LANGUAGE AND NATURE

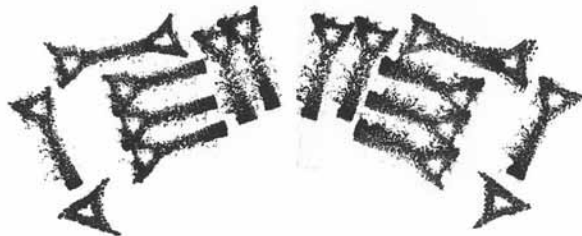## PAPERS PRESENTED TO JOHN HUEHNERGARD ON THE OCCASION OF HIS 60TH BIRTHDAY

edited by

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and

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PREFACE

This volume includes thirty contributions — twenty-nine papers and one artistic contribution — by John's colleagues, former students, and friends, on a variety of topics, representing John's versatility and many interests:

Eran Cohen reviews and discusses the functional value of Akkadian *iprus* in conditional clauses in epistolary and legal texts. Cohen points to the syntactic environment and the genre as conditioning factors.

Lutz Edzard discusses the Akkadian injunctive *šumma*, used in oath formulae, where it expresses positive statement when it is followed by a negation particle. Edzard examines whether this pattern should be considered an elliptical conditional.

Steven Fassberg deals with verbal *t*-forms that do not exhibit the expected metathesis in Hebrew and Aramaic of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Fassberg suggests an explanation on the basis of diachronic evidence as well as comparative evidence from other Aramaic dialects.

Daniel Fleming asks who were the ʿApiru people mentioned in Egyptian texts in the Late Bronze Age and what was their social standing as is reflected in the Amarna letters.

Randall Garr studies one class of denominal *hiphil* verbs and asks why these verbs are assigned to the causative stem despite their non-causative semantic content.

Gideon Goldenberg discusses the concept of vocalic length and the status of *yā, waw,* and *ʾalif* in Arabic grammatical tradition and in the medieval Hebrew tradition that was its product.

Ed Greenstein suggests that the roots of biblical wisdom can be located in second-millennium Canaanite literature by identifying wisdom sayings and themes in the Ugaritic corpus. This is a part of the author's ongoing research into this genre.

Charles Häberl looks into predicates of verbless sentences in Semitic and particularly in Neo-Mandaic, which exhibits syntactic subtleties not found in the classical Semitic languages.

Jo Ann Hackett takes another look at Ugaritic *yaqtul* and argues for the existence of a preterite *yaqtul,* contra several recent studies.

Rebecca Hasselbach tackles the evasive origin of the Semitic verbal endings *-u* and *-a* and explains their development in the various branches.

Wolfhart Heinrichs's contribution is a study of a passage from Ibn Khaldūn's Muqaddima on the pronunciation of Arabic *qāf*. This study shows that Ibn Khaldūn held innovative views of language and its evolution.

Jeremy Hutton sheds more light on tG forms in Biblical Hebrew, through an analysis of the anomalous form *təpôṣôtîkem*. This study further uses comparative evidence to suggest a better understanding of this, and similar forms.

Shlomo Izre'el offers a revised and improved version of his important study of the language of the Amarna letters, so far available only as an unpublished manuscript.

Geoffrey Khan discusses the functional differences between the preterite and the perfect in NENA. Khan suggests that one of the functions of the perfect is marking a speaker's attitude toward the event.

Leonid Kogan offers a comparative etymological study of botanical terminology in Akkadian.

Paul Korchin argues that occurrences of the cohortative in Biblical Hebrew that do not conform to the normative volitive function, the so-called pseudo-cohortatives, represent instances of a "centrifugal" directive affix expressing motion away from the speaker/main event.

Dennis Pardee provides a detailed description and explanation of his understanding of the Hebrew verbal system as primarily expressing aspect, tense only secondarily.

Naʿama Pat-El continues the discussion of the origin of the Hebrew relative particle *šeC-* from a syntactic perspective. She argues that, based on its syntactic distributions, the origin of the particle from the relative particle *ʾăšer* as proposed by John Huehnergard is more likely than a recent suggestion that the two particles are unrelated.

Gary A. Rendsburg argues in favor of Late Biblical Hebrew features in the book of Haggai against Young, Rezetko, and Ehrensvärd, who denied the presence of such features in the text. Rendsburg argues that Late Biblical Hebrew features are found in various layers of grammar and style throughout the book.

Aaron D. Rubin provides Semitic etymologies of two Modern South Arabian words, *lxm* 'shark,' and Mehri *nǝxāli* 'under.'

P. Oktor Skjaervo elucidates a passage from the Pahlavi *Rivāyat* and discusses the Pahlavi verb *ʾāwās* 'to dry.'

Richard C. Steiner discusses a universal that governs the evolution of phonological rules and applies it to the reconstruction of Proto-Semitic. He proposes a new vowel syncope rule for Proto-Semitic construct forms that accounts for many alternations and biforms throughout the Semitic languages, and for phonological enigmas such as Hebrew *šteᵧ* 'two of (fem.),' *mǎlǎḵǎṯ* 'queen of,' *lǝḇǎn* 'white of,' Aramaic *tarteᵧ* 'two of (fem.),' Arabic (*i*)*smu* 'name of,' Mehri *bǝrt* 'daughter of,' and Akkadian *ašti* 'wife of (gen.).'

David Testen argues that the traditionally reconstructed case system is a secondary development and that the original system should be reconstructed with a contrast of nominative *-u-* and a genitive with two allomorphs, *-i-* and *-ay-*.

Ofra Tirosh-Becker discusses the language of the Judaeo-Arabic translation of portions of the books of Prophets and argues that the language is characterized by a mixture of conservative and colloquial linguistic elements.

Josef Tropper argues that Akkadian poetry, as well as Northwest Semitic poetry, are based on certain metric principles, based on stressed and unstressed syllables.

Wilfred van Soldt lists and discusses personal names ending in *-āyu* from Amarna. This contribution is a continuation of his recent work studying the orthography of personal names in this language.

Richard Walton, a specialist in the fauna of Concord, Massachusetts, contributes a paper about the jumping spiders (Araneae: Salticidae) of the region. His short paper is accompanied by a series of videos showing specimens of this group.

Andrzej Zaborski, in the sole Afroasiatic contribution, suggests that Berber and Cushitic preserve archaic features that have been lost for the most part in the Semitic languages. One such example, which is discussed at length, is the verbal suffixes of the prefix conjugation.

Tamar Zewi offers a comparative study that purports to show that prepositional phrases function as subjects in a variety of Semitic languages. Zewi provides a constructive discussion and suggests a number of explanations to this phenomenon.

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Late Biblical Hebrew in the Book of Haggai

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Among the venerable and time-honored methodologies in the field of biblical studies specifically, ancient Near Eastern studies generally, and philology more broadly is the application of diachronic linguistic analysis to the texts at hand. Thus, already in the nineteenth century, or the early twentieth century at the latest, scholars had distinguished among Old Akkadian, Old Babylonian, and Late Babylonian (in addition to the Assyrian dialects); Old Egyptian, Middle Egyptian, and Late Egyptian; Old Latin and Classical Latin (in addition to Vulgar Latin); Old Chinese and Middle Chinese; and so on.

As intimated in the opening sentence above, the world of biblical studies participated in this trend, with the major finding differentiating between Standard Biblical Hebrew (SBH) and Late Biblical Hebrew (LBH). In the words of one classical reference work, "Even in the language of the Old Testament, notwithstanding its general uniformity, there is noticeable a certain progress from an earlier to a later stage. Two periods, though with some reservations, may be distinguished: the *first*, down to the end of the Babylonian exile; and the *second*, after the exile" (GKC, 12). This judgment in the field of Hebrew studies has been more recently ensconced in the two standard histories of the Hebrew language, by E. Y. Kutscher (1982, pp. 12, 45, 81–84) and by Angel Sáenz-Badillos (1993, pp. 112–29).

A challenge to this approach has been introduced of late through the work of Ian Young, Robert Rezetko, and Martin Ehrensvärd. These scholars argue that seeing SBH and LBH "as two successive chronological phases of BH is incompatible with the evidence." Rather, they aver, "a better model sees LBH as merely one style of Hebrew in the Second Temple period and quite possibly First Temple period also. 'Early' BH [= SBH] and 'Late' BH, therefore, do not represent different chronological periods in the history of BH, but instead represent co-existing styles of literary Hebrew throughout the biblical period." Which is to say, "these two general language styles, EBH and LBH, are best taken as representing two tendencies among scribes of the biblical period: conservative and non-conservative" — which is to say, not as successive chronological stages of the language, as per the dominant approach.[1]

[1] For the direct quotations, see Young, Rezetko, and Ehrensvärd 2008, vol. 1, p. 361. For the most recent statements, see Young 2009b and Rezetko 2009, with the former essay representing a fine summary of the findings of the co-authored 2008 book. As an aside, note that Young, Rezetko, and Ehrensvärd use the term EBH (Early Biblical Hebrew) as the equivalent of SBH (Standard Biblical Hebrew) employed by most scholars, myself included (see also Ben Zvi 2009, p. 269 n. 1). For the periodization of ancient Hebrew, see Kutscher 1982, p. 12, and Sáenz-Badillos 1993, p. 52.

This assertion thereby allows Young, Rezetko, and Ehrensvärd to claim that certain books of the Persian period are written in "Early" BH (see below for sample statements), and by extension to claim that books written in SBH and hence traditionally dated to the First Temple period (for example, virtually all of Genesis through Kings) may be dated to the Persian period as well.[2] I have already voiced my opinion on the subject (Rendsburg 2003; 2006), siding with those scholars who adhere to the traditional scholarly methodology, embodied most of all in the work of Avi Hurvitz.[3] There is much more work to be done, however, in order to demonstrate that the conclusions drawn by Young, Rezetko, and Ehrensvärd are incorrect, based on a misinterpretation of the data.

The present essay will expound the point vis-à-vis the book of Haggai, dated by all responsible scholars to the early part of the Persian period, around 520–500 B.C. Haggai is a parade example for the Young-Rezetko-Ehrensvärd thesis, since they contend that this short book of two chapters is devoid of LBH features, even though it is written during the (early) post-exilic period. The following statements are illustrative:[4] "undisputed postexilic texts, including Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi, and probably also Isaiah 40–66 and Joel, *lack* characteristic LBH features, and instead, when the opportunities arise, they *use* linguistic features that are characteristic of EBH texts" (1.56; see also 1.87); "We certainly have undisputed postexilic texts written in EBH (e.g., Haggai-Malachi)" (1.56); "EBH continued in the postexilic period, as demonstrated by the EBH language of Haggai, Zechariah and Malachi, but also II–III Isaiah and Joel" (1.141); and "However, there are very few good LBH candidates in Haggai and Malachi" (2.68).[5] As the evidence below will make clear, there are ample lexical and grammatical LBH traits present in the book of Haggai; these features collectively constitute sufficient evidence to refute the aforecited comments by Young, Rezetko, and Ehrensvärd.[6] I anticipate my conclusion: no writer of the Persian period could write in pre-exilic Hebrew any longer; it was simply beyond his/her ability to do so.

Before proceeding to the specific LBH characteristics, it is apposite to mention the recent dissertation of Seoung-Yun Shin (2007), written under Hurvitz's guidance, to be cited freely below.[7] Note, however, that this work was devoted to Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi as a collective unit, representing the three prophets of the early Persian period, plus it dealt with lexical features only. Since Haggai is the smallest of these three books, only a very few traits were recognized in its two chapters. Not only do I identify several more LBH lexemes in what follows, but I also deal with grammatical features and further expand the discussion in the direction of phraseology, syntax, and poetic elements.

I begin with a few basic grammatical points, to set the stage.

I. The coordinating particle הֵן 'if' appears in Hag 2:12:

הֵן | יִשָּׂא־אִישׁ בְּשַׂר־קֹדֶשׁ בִּכְנַף בִּגְדוֹ וְנָגַע בִּכְנָפוֹ אֶל־הַלֶּחֶם וְאֶל־הַנָּזִיד וְאֶל־הַיַּיִן
וְאֶל־שֶׁמֶן וְאֶל־כָּל־מַאֲכָל הֲיִקְדָּשׁ וַיַּעֲנוּ הַכֹּהֲנִים וַיֹּאמְרוּ לֹא:

> 'If a man carries sacrificial flesh in the fold of his garment, and with his fold touches the bread or the stew or the wine or oil or any food, will it [sc. any of the foodstuffs] become holy? And the priests answered and said, "No."'

The particle הֵן 'if' is well known from Aramaic (e.g., it appears sixteen times in Biblical Aramaic and throughout Egyptian Aramaic [BDB: 1090; Muraoka and Porten 1998, p. 94]); it is attested elsewhere in BH in Lev 25:20, Jer 2:10, 3:1, Prov 11:31, 2 Chr 7:13 (two times). Lev 25:20 appears in an Israelian pericope (see Rendsburg 2008), while Prov 11:31 occurs in a book replete with Israelian Hebrew features (Ginsberg 1982, pp. 35–36; Chen 2000).

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[2] The latter contention, in turn, serves to bolster the allegations of other scholars (most prominently, N.-P. Lemche, T. L. Thompson, and P. R. Davies) who have dated virtually the entire biblical corpus to the Persian if not Hellenistic period. Note, however, that these scholars completely ignore the linguistic evidence, which remains the most objective criterion for the dating of biblical texts. See the perceptive comment of Joosten (2005, p. 328): "Linguistic data are no longer expected, it seems, to play a part within the historical-critical approach."

[3] The most important works are the two books: Hurvitz 1972a and Hurvitz 1982. Among the more recent articles, see Hurvitz 2006.

[4] Quotations from Young, Rezetko, and Ehrensvärd 2008 — page numbers are indicated in the body of the article.

[5] See also Ehrensvärd 2003, p. 185: "It seems fair, then, to regard Isaiah 40–66, Joel, Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi as EBH texts; they have their (expected) share of features that *may* belong to LBH, and no clear LBH features."

[6] In addition, note that Young, Rezetko, and Ehrensvärd also err regarding Isaiah 40–66, which is replete with LBH features, for which see the convenient list compiled in Paul 2008, vol. 1, pp. 31–33.

[7] I am grateful to Dr. Shin for providing me with a copy of his dissertation.

The twofold use of הֵן 'if' in Jeremiah may reflect the Benjaminite dialect that characterizes this book, or it may be due to Aramaic influence already in late First Temple times (see Smith 2003). The presence of this form in Judean texts of the Persian period, namely, Hag 2:12 and 2 Chr 7:13 (alongside אִם later in the verse), is plainly due to Aramaic influence.

II. SBH retains the distinction between עַד 'until' and עוֹד 'still, while,' whereas Aramaic uses only עַד for the range of meanings 'until, still, while, during' (note, for example, Dan 6:8, 13 עַד יוֹמִין תְּלָתִין 'during [the next] thirty days'; the Targumic use of עַד to render עוֹד; etc.). The employment of עַד 'still, while' for expected עוֹד occurs in the Hebrew portions of the Bible in 2 Kgs 9:22 and Ps 141:10, as an Israelian Hebrew trait in these northern compositions (Rendsburg 2002, pp. 116–17); in Judg 3:26 and 1 Sam 14:19, in passages concerning Benjaminite heroes (Ehud and Saul, respectively) and thus reflecting the Benjaminite dialect; and in the LBH texts Jon 4:2, Job 1:18, and Neh 7:3,[8] under Aramaic influence, in addition to our relevant text, Hag 2:19:[9]

הַעוֹד הַזֶּרַע בַּמְּגוּרָה וְעַד־הַגֶּפֶן וְהַתְּאֵנָה וְהָרִמּוֹן וְעֵץ הַזַּיִת לֹא נָשָׂא

'Indeed the seed is still in the granary, and the vine and the fig and the pomegranate and the olive tree still has not borne fruit.'[10]

III. Twice in Haggai (1:5, 7) we encounter the idiom שִׂים לֵב 'place (one's) heart' > 'consider, pay heed, pay mind' followed by the preposition עַל, in the following verbatim expression:

'pay mind to your ways'   שִׂימוּ לְבַבְכֶם עַל־דַּרְכֵיכֶם

Normally in BH this idiom governs the preposition -לְ, (as in Deut 32:46; 1 Sam 9:20; and Ezek 40:4; 44:5), or the preposition אֶל (as in Exod 9:21; 1 Sam 25:25; 2 Sam 18:3; Job 2:3, 34:14). Also germane is the semantically equivalent idiom שִׁית לֵב, which governs the preposition -לְ (in Exod 7:23; 2 Sam 13:20; Jer 31:21; Ps 48:14; Prov 22:17; 27:23), and the preposition אֶל (in Job 7:17). Against all these cases stand the two aforecited Haggai passages and only one other instance with the preposition עַל, namely, Job 1:8, within the LBH prose prologue.[11] This shift from SBH שִׂים (שִׁית) לֵב לְ-/אֶל to LBH שִׂים לֵב עַל, with no apparent change in meaning, is part of the larger picture of the increased use of the preposition עַל during the Persian period in a wide variety of contexts (most likely due to Aramaic influence) — as illustrated by several idioms studied by Hurvitz (1974, pp. 23, 25–26). In fact, the Aramaic nature of this idiom is detectable via the translation technique reflected in Targum Yonatan, which uses עַל to render the SBH idiom with -לְ (in 1 Sam 9:20; 25:25; 2 Sam 18:3), and in the Targum to Job, which does likewise when it translates Job 2:3.

IV. The form הַרְבֵּה 'much, greatly,' which originates as a Hiphʿil infinitival form from the root רבה, serves as an adverb throughout the history of the Hebrew language. Two developments transpire in LBH: (a) the word itself is used much more frequently (thirty times [Jonah once, Haggai twice, Qohelet fifteen times,[12] Ezra–Nehemiah six times, Chronicles six times], out of a total of forty-nine occurrences in the Bible), and (b) the word undergoes substantivization.[13]

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[8] On the Job and Nehemiah passages, with the specific usage of עַד + participle, see Hurvitz 1974, pp. 26–28. Since I deduce another LBH feature in the prose framework of Job (see immediately below, no. III), it is appropriate to mention the recent challenge to Hurvitz's position by Young (2009a) — even if I side with Hurvitz against Young on the matter.

[9] Another factor is at play in two of these passages, namely, the employment of morphological variation, as described by Ratner (1992). Note how עַד in Job 1:18 parallels עוֹד in Job 1:16, 17; and observe the presence of both forms in Hag 2:19 — though such variation is possible in these late texts only because of the neologistic usage of עַד 'still, while' as part of the Aramaic impact on LBH. See further n. 11 below.

[10] For the use of the interrogative marker -הֲ (in this case -הַ before the ʿayin in עוֹד) with an exclamatory nuance, see Joüon and Muraoka 1991, pp. 609–10.

[11] Note that the SBH idiom can continue in late texts, such as Job 2:3, but that the LBH idiom occurs *only* in late texts, such as Job 1:8. This allows the author of the prose prologue in Job to employ morphological variation (see above, n. 9), with the two expressions in Job 1:8, 2:3, using different prepositions — though once more this specific application of this technique is feasible only because the new usage is now available.

[12] For discussion, see Schoors 2004, pp. 263–66.

[13] I am grateful to Jan Joosten for drawing this feature to my attention.

The two occurrences in Haggai (see the passages below) represent both of these developments, though it is the process of substantivization that attracts our attention here.

1:6   זְרַעְתֶּ֤ם הַרְבֵּה֙ וְהָבֵ֣א מְעָ֔ט

'you have sown much and harvested little'

1:9   פָּנֹ֤ה אֶל־הַרְבֵּה֙ וְהִנֵּ֣ה לִמְעָ֔ט

'you have expected much, and behold a little'

In both of these passages,[14] the word הַרְבֵּה no longer functions as an adverb, but now appears as a noun, with the connotation 'great quantity,' especially in contrast to its opposite member מְעַט (pausal מְעָט) 'little, small amount.' In SBH, the polar opposite to מְעַט is either רַב or רֹב (but never הַרְבֵּה — as illustrated by Gen 30:30; Lev 25:16; Num 13:18; 26:54, 56; 33:54; 35:8; Deut 28:62; 1 Sam 14:6; Prov 16:8). The LBH usage, as reflected in the two Haggai passages, occurs elsewhere in the Bible only in Jer 42:2 (on the way to LBH) and Qoh 5:11 (a decidedly late text).[15]

Other LBH texts that reflect substantivized הַרְבֵּה 'much, large quantity, abundance' include Jon 4:11; Qoh 5:16; Neh 5:18; and 2 Chr 25:9.[16] The only SBH text that includes this usage is 2 Sam 1:4 וְגַם־הַרְבֵּ֥ה נָפַ֖ל מִן־הָעָם֙ 'and there fell many from among the people.'[17] Given the placement of these words in the mouth of the Amalekite, who reports the death of Saul and Jonathan to David, one wonders whether a colloquial, non-standard, or sub-standard phrase is not represented here, which only in later times surfaced in literary usage.[18] Regardless, the evidence demonstrates quite clearly that substantivized הַרְבֵּה 'much, large quantity, abundance' is an LBH feature, with seven of the nine attestations occuring in post-exilic compositions, along with one attestation in Jeremiah.

One also should note that the two aforementioned developments concerning הַרְבֵּה continue into post-biblical Hebrew as well. The figures for the total number of usages are Ben Sira four, Dead Sea Scrolls three, Tannaitic texts 185 (with the latter demonstrating the continuation of this trend most dramatically). Among these (especially, though not only, in the Tannaitic corpus) one finds more instances of substantivized הַרְבֵּה, including cases of the word standing as the antithesis of מְעַט, for example, Ben Sira 5:15 מעט והרבה אל תשחת 'small and large, do not ruin,'[19] M. ʾAvot 1:15 אמור מעט ועשה הרבה 'say little and do much' (the famous dictum of Shammai), and so on.

I now turn to some basic lexical items found in the book of Haggai.

V. The noun פֶּחָה 'governor' occurs in pre-exilic and exilic texts to refer to foreign rulers only: 1 Kgs 10:15 (even if the exact country is unclear); 1 Kgs 20:24 (Aram, in the mouth of the king's advisors to their king); 2 Kgs 18:24 // Isa 36:9 (used by Rabshaqeh); Jer 51 (three times, with reference to Babylonian governors); and Ezek 23 (three times, with reference to [mainly] Assyrian governors). This usage continues in post-exilic texts as well, for example, three times in Esther and five times in Ezra–Nehemiah, all with reference to Persian governors, along with 2 Chr 9:14 (// 1 Kgs 10:15). At the same time, however, the word פֶּחָה 'governor' now comes to be used for Jewish governors serving at the pleasure of the Persian emperor. Thus we find the term applied to Zerubavel (Hag 1:1, 14; 2:2, 21) and to Nehemiah (5:14 [twice], 18; 12:26), in addition to one generic usage in Mal 1:8. Obviously, this new application of the term arises from the new political structure within the Persian empire (with Jews serving as governors of Judea), but the new linguistic usage remains such nonetheless. Also relevant here are the Persian-period epigraphic attestations (bullae, seals, jar impressions — from Ramat Raḥel and other sites) of the word פחה and פחוא, including those with Yahwistic names.[20]

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[14] By coincidence, these two passages are treated below, item no. XIII, concerning the infinitive absolute.

[15] In 2 Kgs 10:18, the two words מְעַט and הַרְבֵּה also stand in contrast, though both serve as adverbs here.

[16] See the examples presented in König 1897, p. 339; BDB: 915; DCH: 7.401 — though without attention to the lateness of this feature.

[17] Note the comment of Driver (1913, p. 232): "Almost = רַבִּים Strictly, of course, הרבה is an inf. abs. in the accus., qualifying נפל, lit. 'with a much-making there fell.'"

[18] For general orientation, see Rendsburg 1990.

[19] See also Ben Sira 35:8 כל לאמר ומעט הרבה, difficult as the text may be.

[20] For a listing, see Davies 1991, p. 470; for discussion, see Meyers and Meyers 1987, p. 14.

VI. Among the findings of E. Y. Kutscher (1962–1963, p. 124; 1982, p. 84) relevant to this subject is the greatly expanded semantic range of the verb עמד (lit.) 'stand' in LBH, especially in the direction of the semantic field typically occupied by the root קום (lit.) 'arise' (again, most likely due to Aramaic influence).[21] This drift is nicely exemplified by comparing two biblical passages, in which the same idiom occurs, with the two aforecited verbs bearing the special nuance 'abide, endure':

Josh 2:11　וְלֹא־קָ֧מָה ע֛וֹד ר֖וּחַ בְּאִ֣ישׁ מִפְּנֵיכֶ֑ם

　　　　'and the spirit no longer abides in anyone on account of you'

Hag 2:5　וְרוּחִ֖י עֹמֶ֣דֶת בְּתוֹכְכֶ֑ם

　　　　'and my spirit abides in your midst'

The former passage employs the SBH idiom (with קום), while the latter presents the LBH idiom (with עמד).

To complete this picture, I submit the data compiled by Francis Andersen and Dean Forbes, regarding the general increase in the use of the verb עמד in LBH. I utilize here sizable chunks of text (since a book such as Haggai is too short for this kind of analysis), presenting both (a) the raw number of attestations, and (b) the ratio based on number of attestations per 10,000 words, as per the method employed by these two scholars (Andersen and Forbes 1989, p. 32):[22]

	a	*b*
Torah	69x	9:10,000
Samuel	32x	13:10,000
Kings	54x	21:10,000
Zechariah	12x	38:10,000
Psalms V	13x	26:10,000
Esther	11x	36:10,000
Daniel	39x	66:10,000
2 Chronicles	31x	23:10,000

VII. The word מַלְאֲכוּת 'message (of God)' is a *hapax legomenon* appearing in Hag 1:13, with no parallel usage elsewhere in Northwest Semitic. Normally under such circumstances, a lone usage serves little or no diagnostic purpose. In the present instance, however, we note the abstract suffix ־וּת, a common feature of both LBH and post-Biblical Hebrew, including Mishnaic Hebrew (MH). Compare, for example, BH זִקְנָה / MH זְקְנוּת 'old age,' BH אֵבֶל / MH אֲבֵלוּת 'mourning,' BH תֹּם / MH תְּמִימוּת 'integrity,' and so on. We can conclude, therefore, that מַלְאֲכוּת 'message (of God)' was formed during the early Persian period, based on the common noun מַלְאָךְ 'messenger (of God)' (see Shin 2007, pp. 72–73, with additional discussion).

Several phrases appear in Haggai, which also reflect new developments of the sixth century and following.

VIII. The idiom הֵעִיר רוּחַ 'rouse one's spirit' occurs eight times in the Bible: Jer 51:1, 11; Hag 1:14; Ezra 1:1, 5; 1 Chr 5:26; 2 Chr 21:16, 36:22. There is no SBH expression to serve as a contrast, though one observes the following. In 2 Kgs 15:19, 29; 17:6; and 18:11, the Assyrian king (Pul/Tiglat-Pileser in the first two verses; the unnamed Sargon in the second two) simply arrives and deports Israelites, whereas in 1 Chr 5:26 we read,

וַיָּ֩עַר֩ אֱלֹהֵ֨י יִשְׂרָאֵ֜ל אֶת־ר֣וּחַ ׀ פּ֣וּל מֶֽלֶךְ־אַשּׁ֗וּר וְאֶת־ר֙וּחַ֙ תִּלְּגַ֤ת פִּלְנֶ֙סֶר֙ מֶ֣לֶךְ אַשּׁ֔וּר

וַיַּגְלֵם֙ לָראוּבֵנִ֣י וְלַגָּדִ֔י וְלַחֲצִ֖י שֵׁ֣בֶט מְנַשֶּׁ֑ה

　　　　'And the God of Israel roused the spirit of Pul king of Assyria and the spirit of Tilgat-Pileser
　　　　king of Assyria; and he exiled the Reubenites, the Gadites, and half the tribe of Manasseh'

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[21] See now also Holtz 2009/2010.

[22] Note that I do not include 1 Chronicles here, since the long lists of personal names at the beginning of the book skew the data considerably.

The verse in Hag 1:14 fits well into this overall picture:

וַיָּ֙עַר֙ יְהֹוָ֜ה אֶת־ר֣וּחַ זְרֻבָּבֶ֣ל בֶּן־שַׁלְתִּיאֵ֗ל פַּחַ֣ת יְהוּדָ֔ה וְאֶת־ר֙וּחַ֙ יְהוֹשֻׁ֣עַ בֶּן־יְהוֹצָדָק֮ הַכֹּהֵ֣ן

הַגָּדוֹל֒ וְֽאֶת־ר֔וּחַ כֹּ֖ל שְׁאֵרִ֣ית הָעָ֑ם וַיָּבֹ֙אוּ֙ וַיַּעֲשׂ֣וּ מְלָאכָ֔ה בְּבֵית־יְהֹוָ֥ה צְבָא֖וֹת אֱלֹהֵיהֶֽם׃

> 'And YHWH roused the spirit of Zerubavel ben Shaltiel, governor of Judah, and the spirit of
> Joshua ben Jehozadaq, the high priest, and the spirit of the all the rest of the people; and
> they came and they did the work in the house of YHWH of Hosts, their God.'

In earlier accounts of the building of the Tabernacle and the construction of the First Temple, no such statements occur (in general see Hurowitz 1992).

IX. The phrase הֵיכַל יהוה 'temple of YHWH' occurs twice in Haggai (2:15, 18a), as another lexical feature of the times. The expression is rare in SBH, occuring only three times (1 Sam 1:9; 3:3; 2 Kgs 18:16). During the texts emanating from the sixth century B.C. (the transitional period between SBH and LBH), the phrase is more common (eight times: 2 Kgs 23:4; 24:13; Jer 7:4 [three times]; 24:1; Ezek 8:16 [twice]). And then during the LBH stage of the language, one encounters הֵיכַל יהוה a 'temple of YHWH' relatively frequently (eleven times: Hag 2:15, 18; Zech 6:12, 13, 14, 15; Ezra 3:6, 10; 2 Chr 26:16; 27:2; 29:16).

X. The expression (כֹּה) אָמַר יְהֹוָה צְבָאוֹת '(thus) says YHWH of Hosts' occurs only twice in SBH (1 Sam 15:2; 2 Sam 7:8 // 1 Chr 17:7). It becomes a pet phrase of Jeremiah, with fifty-one occurrences in the book (fifty times with introductory כֹּה, once without); while a half century later, Second Isaiah employs the expression once (45:13, without כֹּה). The three prophets of the Persian period then make (כֹּה) אָמַר יְהֹוָה צְבָאוֹת '(thus) says YHWH of Hosts' a regular part of their phraseology:

Haggai seven times (five times with כֹּה, twice without)

Zechariah twenty-one times (seventeen times with כֹּה, four without)

Malachi twenty-one times (once with כֹּה, twenty without)

The attestations in Haggai are 1:2, 5, 7; 2:6, 7, 9, 11 (with 2:7 and 9 lacking כֹּה 'thus'). Clearly, this phrase achieved great currency during the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. (presumably popularized by Jeremiah himself), becoming a hallmark of prophetic speech in the century and a half following.[23] The SBH usage is the simpler (כֹּה) אָמַר יְהֹוָה '(thus) says YHWH,' attested throughout prose books such as Exodus, Samuel, and Kings and in eighth-century prophets such as Amos, Isaiah, and Micah, but hardly used by the Persian-period trio (see only Hag 1:8; Zech 8:3; 11:4; Mal 1:2; 3:13 — and of these only the two Zechariah passages with כֹּה).

XI. An important and well-recognized diagnostic in the diachronic study of BH is the shift from SBH 'X הַמֶּלֶךְ' to LBH 'הַמֶּלֶךְ X,' that is, whether the word הַמֶּלֶךְ 'the king' either precedes (as in SBH) or follows (as in LBH) the personal name of the monarch (Kropat 1909, pp. 48, 74; Hurvitz 1972a, p. 45).[24] The SBH phrase may continue into later texts, as it does in Esther twenty-five times, perhaps as an intentional archaism by the author. The LBH phrase is exceedingly limited in earlier texts (1 Sam 18:6; 2 Sam 13:39; 1 Kgs 2:17; 2 Kgs 8:29; 9:15);[25] it is used twice by Jeremiah (3:6; 29:2) and then becomes the characteristic mark of Persian-period compositions: Haggai twice (1:1, 15), Zechariah once (7:1), Daniel twice (1:21; 8:1), and Chronicles twenty-once times (again, Esther excepted). The two Haggai attestations are the same phrase:

'of Darius the king'   לְדָרְיָ֥וֶשׁ הַמֶּֽלֶךְ

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[23] For the larger picture concerning this divine name, see Rofé 1991 (with special attention to Haggai-Zechariah-Malachi on p. 315 n. 31). My thanks to Dr. Holtz for calling this essay to my attention.

[24] For a different interpretation of the data, see Rezetko 2003, p. 229; Young, Rezetko, and Ehrensvärd 2007, vol. 2, p. 103.

[25] 2 Sam 24:23 אֲרַוְנָה הַמֶּלֶךְ is not a relevant example, since the first word is not a personal name, but rather the Hurrian title *erwi-ne* 'the lord,' which then is glossed with the Hebrew term 'the king.'

This ordering, with royal name preceding הַמֶּלֶךְ, reflects Aramaic influence over Hebrew during the Persian period, since in the former language 'מלכא X' is preferred over 'X מלכא.' In Biblical Aramaic, for example, the phrase 'מלכא X' occurs thirteen times in Daniel and fourteen times in Ezra; whereas the phrase 'X מלכא' occurs six times in Daniel and not at all in Ezra. In the Aramaic papyri from Egypt, published by Cowley (1923), the 'מלכא X' formula is the only one attested (Darius: letters 1, 20, 21, 25, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32; Behustan, line 37; Artaxerxes: letters 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 13, 14; Sennacherib: Ahiqar 27, 50, 51, 55; Esarhaddon: Ahiqar 53, 70–71, 76–77, 78).[26]

XII. The Bible attests to a number of different calendar formulas, though three are most dominant. Moreover, these options may be plotted on a diachronic development, as follows (Wright 2005, pp. 56–59; Shin 2007, pp. 134–37):

A. SBH — ב-X יום לחדש (e.g., Gen 7:11; Num 28:17; 1 Kgs 12:32)

B. Transitional — ב-X לחדש (e.g., Lev 23:5; 2 Kgs 25:27 // Jer 52:31; Hag 2:1, 20; Ezek 29:21; Esth 8:12)

C. LBH — ביום X לחדש (e.g., Hag 1:1, 15; Esth 9:17; Dan 10:4; Neh 9:1; 2 Chr 7:10); see also BA Ezra 6:15 עַד יוֹם תְּלָתָה לִירַח אֲדָר

Note the overlap of Type B, which spans both a Torah text such as Lev 23:5 and a late text such as Esth 8:12, but which concentrates most of all in works emanating from the late monarchic period, the exile, and early Persian period. On either side of Type B, then, we have the earlier Type A and the later Type C (with the latter paralleled by the Aramaic usage). In light of this scheme, one is not surprised to learn (as indicated in the above listings of illustrative passages) that Haggai attests to two instances of Type B and two instances of type C:

Hag 2:1   בַּשְּׁבִיעִי בְּעֶשְׂרִים וְאֶחָד לַחֹדֶשׁ (type B)

Hag 2:20   בְּעֶשְׂרִים וְאַרְבָּעָה לַחֹדֶשׁ (type B)

Hag 1:1   בְּיוֹם אֶחָד לַחֹדֶשׁ (type C)

Hag 1:15   בְּיוֹם עֶשְׂרִים וְאַרְבָּעָה לַחֹדֶשׁ בַּשִּׁשִּׁי (type C)

Which is to say, the linguistic profile of Haggai on this particular usage sits right at the cusp of the transitional formula and the LBH formula (and with no instances of the SBH formula), exactly as one would expect from a composition dated to circa 520 B.C.

We turn now to a set of three (somewhat) interrelated grammatical issues relevant to our study, all concerning the infinitive absolute.

XIII. As is well known, the employment of the infinitive absolute in place of the finite verb is common in Ugaritic, Phoenician, Byblos Amarna, and Israelian Hebrew.[27] Somewhat surprisingly, especially since instances of this syntagma are rare in SBH (that is, Judahite Hebrew of the First Temple period), this usage appears relatively frequently in LBH:[28] Isa 42:20; 59:4; Ezek 23:30, 36, 47; Hag 1:6, 9; Zech 3:4; 7:5; 12:10; Job 15:35; Qoh 4:2; 8:9; 9:11; Esther fourteen times (e.g., 9:16–18 [seven times]); Dan 9:5, 11; Neh 7:3; 8:8; 9:8, 13; 1 Chr 5:20; 16:36; 2 Chr 28:19; 31:10. The two Haggai examples are the following:

1:6 'you have sown much and harvested little'   זְרַעְתֶּם הַרְבֵּה וְהָבֵא מְעָט

1:9 'you have expected much'   פָּנֹה אֶל־הַרְבֵּה

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[26] As far as I know, no systematic study of the 'מלכא X' formula in Aramaic (along with its counterpart 'X מלכא') has been undertaken, but the dozens of instances of the former (to the exclusion of the latter) in the Cowley corpus of documents clearly represents the norm during the heyday of Imperial Aramaic. As an aside, in light of the Aramaic evidence, I would note that two

instances of the 'הַמֶּלֶךְ X' formula in early texts reflect Israelian Hebrew, with an isogloss to Aramaic. I refer to 2 Kgs 8:29 and 9:15, parallel passages dealing with Joram of Israel (in fact, just wounded by the Arameans).

[27] For a survey of the evidence, see Rendsburg 2002, pp. 77–79.

[28] For general orientation, see Gordon 1955 and Gevirtz 1986.

The presence of these two infinitive absolute forms in place of the finite verb in Haggai[29] is yet another example of how the language of this book reflects the developments of the Persian period (see further Cohen 2008, pp. 215–22).[30]

XIV. In contrast to the above point, that the infinitive absolute in place of the finite verb appears more frequently in LBH, the employment of this grammatical form for the imperative appears far less frequently in late texts. The following chart demonstrates the point clearly. The first column of numbers presents the number of infinitive absolutes serving as the imperative (IA.Impv.), the second column presents the number of morphological imperatives (Impv.), and the third column furnishes the ratio of the former per hundred instances of the latter.[31] The corpora are, respectively, (a) all books in the great narrative that spans Genesis through Kings, plus Ruth; (b) the prophets who can confidently be dated 750–550 B.C., namely, Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, Micah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Jeremiah, Obadiah, and Ezekiel;[32] (c) the late prose books Qohelet, Esther, Daniel, Ezra–Nehemiah, and Chronicles; and (d) the prophets of the period 550–450 B.C., that is, Second Isaiah, Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi.[33]

		IA.Impv.	Impv.	IA.Impv. per Impvs.
	Entire Bible:	*61*	*4,253*	*1.43*
a)	Genesis–Kings + Ruth	27	1,744	1.55
b)	Amos–Ezekiel	31	938	3.30
c)	Late Prose Books	2	265	0.75
d)	SecIsa–Hag–Zech–Mal	1	230	0.43

As can be seen, a comparison between (a) and (c) reveals that later prose books use the infinitive absolute for the imperative less than half as frequently as earlier prose books (see also Cohen 2008, pp. 227–30), while a comparison between (b) and (d) reveals even more strikingly the precipitous drop in this usage in the later prophetic books, with Zech 6:10 the sole attestation in the four works included in group (d).[34] The total absence of the infinitive absolute with imperative force in Haggai (alongside fourteen instances of the regular imperative in this book) is yet another LBH element in this book.

XV. Yet a third discernible trend concerning the infinitive absolute in LBH is the great decrease in the usage of this form to add emphasis to the finite verb, what scholars call the paronomastic infinitive absolute or the tautological infinitive absolute, that is, *qāṭōl yiqṭōl* (with the prefix conjugation) and *qāṭōl qāṭal* (with the suffix

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[29] Hag 1:6 includes three other instances of the infinitive absolute — אָכוֹל 'eat,' שָׁתוֹ 'drink,' and לְבוֹשׁ 'dress' — which some have taken as additional examples of this form with predicative use, but which I would prefer to render as true verbal nouns, akin to the English gerund. Thus I would translate the middle section of this verse: '(like) eating though without being satiated, (like) drinking though without being inebriated, (like) dressing though without his being warm.'

[30] My thanks to Naʿama Pat-El for bringing Ohad Cohen's dissertation to my attention.

[31] I adopt here the statistical methodology of (and utilize the data provided by) Young, Rezetko, and Ehrensvärd (2008, vol. 2, pp. 130–31). The number of attestations of the imperative registered in Andersen and Forbes 1989, pp. 23–29, is ever-so-slightly different from time to time, but none of these extremely minor deviations affects the overall statistical analysis presented here.

[32] I omit here Joel, since its date remains questionable, and Jonah, since the book is mainly prose.

[33] The chart does not include the data from works for which a diachronic comparison cannot be made, such as Psalms, Proverbs, Job, and Song of Songs. Though it is worth noting that Psalms uses the imperative more frequently (354 times per 10,000 words) than any other biblical book (save Joel, whose 45 imperatives or 470 times per 10,000 words is a statistical outlier in a short composition), no doubt because of the psalmists' constant petitions and entreaties to God. For the data, see Andersen and Forbes 1989, pp. 23–29.

[34] As one might expect, Young, Rezetko, and Ehrensvärd (2008, vol. 2, pp. 128–32) arrive at a different conclusion, based on the same data. They make much of the fact, for example, that Judges also has no instances of the infinitive absolute with imperative force. For that reason, I have arranged the data as above, to show the larger picture and to allow comparison between sizeable chunks of material of the same genre (early prose vs. late prose; early prophets vs. late prophets). In such a picture, the absence of the grammatical usage under consideration here in Judges remains a curiosity, but it is less critical to the larger issue.

conjugation)[35] (see Eskhult 2000a; 2000b, p. 90; Cohen 2008, pp. 215–17, 230; Kim 2009, pp. 99, 106–07). This major shift is especially demonstrable via the following data for the narrative books.[36] There are 324 examples of this usage in SBH prose (that is, Genesis–Kings + Ruth), but only thirteen occurrences in LBH prose (that is, Esther, Daniel, Ezra–Nehemiah, Chronicles [and of these note that four examples in the latter book appear in passages parallelling Samuel–Kings]). One hardly needs to present the ratios (as presented in the preceding section, for example) to realize the point for the prose texts of the Bible. The decrease in this usage is less marked in prophetic books, but a decrease is present nonetheless. I count 137 examples among the 57,878 words in the group (b) prophets listed above, that is, 2.36 per 1,000 words; and only fifteen examples (nine in Second Isaiah, six in Zechariah) among the 11,636 words in the group (d) prophets noted, that is, 1.29 per 1,000 words. In Haggai specifically, however, there are no examples of this usage, so once more we observe how the language of this book fits into the LBH stratum.

The final set of items presented in this essay derives from the methodology introduced into the field of Hebrew studies by Frank Polak.[37]

XVI. Polak has determined that (a) the ratio of nouns to verbs (NV ratio) in BH prose greatly increases with the passage of time, from the classical period (= SBH) to the Persian era (= LBH); and (b) within the verbal group, the ratio of nominal verbs (participle, infinitive) to finite verbs (suffix conjugation, prefix conjugation, imperative) (NF ratio) also increases during the same span of time.[38] In the book of Haggai, most scholars would agree that the following verses are written in prose: 1:1, 12–15; 2:1, 10–14, 20. Within this material, one encounters 140 nouns and 33 verbs, yielding an exceedingly high NV ratio of .809, exactly as one would expect from a Persian-era composition.[39] On the other hand, these 33 verbs divide as 5 nominal verbs and 28 finite verbs, yielding a low NF ratio of .152, more befitting the classical stratum. According to Polak's methodology, however, it is the NV ratio that is more consistent and thus serves as a better diagnostic to situate a particular composition within a particular stratum. The prose verses of Haggai would not be the only instance of a text with a high (or relatively high) NV ratio with a concomitant low (or relatively low) NF ratio.[40]

The database for the above figures is naturally very small, since the prose portion of Haggai amounts to only twelve verses. Accordingly, even though the NV and NF ratios are relevant for prose texts mainly (or perhaps only), according to the method developed by Polak, it may be worth expanding the database, if for no other reason than the data are so readily available. The full two chapters of Haggai present the following figures: 323 nouns and 120 verbs, yielding an NV ratio of .729, with a division of the latter figure into 27 nominal verbs and 93 finite verbs, yielding an NF ratio of .225. The former places Haggai on the cusp of the Late Monarchic/Exilic- and Persian-era strata, while the latter places the book in the Late Monarchic/Exilic period.

XVII. Polak also has demonstrated that Persian-period prose compositions reflect a much more complex syntax, with greater use of hypotaxis (subordinate clauses) and with more explicit syntactic constituents (arguments) per clause. Again we limit the data to the prose sections of the book (with the number in the second column indicating the percentage of clauses):

0–1 arg	43.91
2+ arg	29.26
Hypotaxis	26.83
Complex Hypotaxis	9.76
3+ arg	12.20

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[35] Thus the most common patterns, since the infinitive absolute also may follow the finite verb, plus there are several arrangements to express the negative. For a thorough treatment, see now Kim 2009.

[36] See the data furnished by Young, Rezetko, and Ehrensvärd 2008, vol. 2, pp. 132–41.

[37] I issue here a blanket expression of gratitude to Professor Polak for graciously providing me with the various data sets presented below.

[38] The basic work remains Polak 1998.

[39] In fact, this NV ratio is higher than other (slightly later) texts, for example, Ezra: .772; Esther: .714; Nehemiah 8–10: .731; Daniel 1:1–2:3: .749 — for which see Polak 1998, p. 70.

[40] Again, see the summary chart at Polak 1998, p. 70.

These figures comport with a later (not earlier) style of prose writing.[41] For a sample passage, reflecting the complex syntax of Haggai, consider the following, Hag 1:12, with the subordination in the last four words:

וַיִּשְׁמַע זְרֻבָּבֶל ׀ בֶּן־שַׁלְתִּיאֵל וִיהוֹשֻׁעַ בֶּן־יְהוֹצָדָק֘ הַכֹּהֵן הַגָּדוֹל וְכֹל ׀ שְׁאֵרִית הָעָם בְּקוֹל֮

יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיהֶם וְעַל־דִּבְרֵי֙ חַגַּי הַנָּבִיא כַּאֲשֶׁר שְׁלָחוֹ יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיהֶם

'And Zerubavel son of Shaltiel, and Joshua son of Jehozadaq the high priest, and all the rest of the people obeyed the voice of YHWH their God and the words of Haggai the prophet, as YHWH their God had sent him'

And then the following verse, Hag 1:13, with four arguments serving the single verb:

וַיֹּאמֶר חַגַּי מַלְאַ֧ךְ יְהוָה בְּמַלְאֲכוּת יְהוָה לָעָם לֵאמֹר

'And Haggai the messenger of YHWH said, in the message of YHWH to the people, saying'

In an earlier style of Hebrew prose, one could imagine a far simpler wording, something like this perhaps:

*וַיֹּאמֶר חַגַּי לָעָם לֵאמֹר   *'and Haggai said to the people, saying'

Or even simpler yet:

*וַיֹּאמֶר חַגַּי לָעָם   *'and Haggai said to the people'

And even though our treatment here concerns prose, I also take the opportunity to present the following verse from the poetic material, Hag 2:3, with double subordination, the first introduced by the definite article הַ- (as expected before the participle) and the second introduced by the standard relative marker אֲשֶׁר before the finite verb (both rendered as 'who' below):

מִי בָכֶם הַנִּשְׁאָר אֲשֶׁר רָאָה֙ אֶת־הַבַּיִת הַזֶּה בִּכְבוֹדוֹ הָרִאשׁוֹן

'who among you who remains, who saw this house in its first glory'

XVIII. Polak also has observed the manner in which extended noun groups characterize LBH texts. According to his calculations, the percentage of such noun groups in the prose sections of Haggai is 145 percent, which is to say, almost every noun clause has a noun group consisting of three nouns, as the mean.[42] The following passages are illustrative:

Hag 1:11

וָאֶקְרָ֨א חֹרֶב עַל־הָאָרֶץ וְעַל־הֶהָרִים וְעַל־הַדָּגָן וְעַל־הַתִּירוֹשׁ וְעַל־הַיִּצְהָ֗ר וְעַל אֲשֶׁר

תּוֹצִיא הָאֲדָמָה וְעַל־הָאָדָם וְעַל־הַבְּהֵמָה וְעַל כָּל־יְגִיעַ כַּפָּיִם:

'And I summoned a drought upon the land and upon the mountains and upon the grain and upon the wine and upon the oil and upon that which the soil brings forth, and upon humankind and upon the animals and upon all the toil of your palms'

Hag 2:6

וַאֲנִי מַרְעִישׁ֙ אֶת־הַשָּׁמַיִם וְאֶת־הָאָרֶץ וְאֶת־הַיָּם וְאֶת־הֶחָרָבָה:

'And I will shake the heavens and the earth and the sea and the dry-land'

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[41] Again, see Polak 1998 for a sampling of passages by way of comparison.

[42] The figure of 145 percent represents an exceedingly high number, as can be determined by perusing the key study Polak 2006 (see also Polak 2009a).

Hag 2:12

וְנָגַע בִּכְנָפוֹ אֶל־הַלֶּחֶם וְאֶל־הַנָּזִיד וְאֶל־הַיַּיִן וְאֶל־שֶׁמֶן וְאֶל־כָּל־מַאֲכָל

'and with his fold touches the bread or the stew or the wine or oil or any food'

Anyone with a sense of the workings of earlier biblical writings (prose or poetry) will realize that such strings of nouns are well nigh never encountered in the classical stage of the language and its literature.

XIX. Yet another diagnostic tool developed by Polak is the distribution of key verbs in the biblical corpus, based on their association within the same semantic field. Polak noticed that (a) within the "conveyance" field, לקח 'take' is more common in earlier texts, and הביא 'bring' is more common in later texts (with נשׂא 'bear, carry' serving as the control verb); (b) within the 'motion' field, הלך 'go' is more common in earlier texts, and בוא 'come' is more common in later texts (with יצא 'go out' serving as the control verb); and (c) within the 'cognition' field, ראה 'see' is more common in earlier texts, and שמע 'hear' is more common in later texts (with ידע 'know' serving as the control verb).[43] The data for the book of Haggai are as follows:

a) Conveyance

לקח 'take'	1x
הביא 'bring'	3x
נשׂא 'bear, carry'	2x

b) Motion

הלך 'go'	0x
בוא 'come'	5x
יצא 'go out'	1x

c) Cognition

ראה 'see'	2x
שמע 'hear'	1x
ידע 'know'	0x

When we total these verbs, we note that (a) those more characteristic of the classical stratum (the first in each list) occur three times, representing 20 percent of the attestations; (b) those more characteristic of the late stratum (the second in each list) occur nine times, representing 60 percent of the attestations; and (c) the control verbs (the third in each list) occur three times, representing 20 percent of the attestations.

If we now chart these figures against Polak's aggregate data of the relevant verbs for the Persian period, we note a remarkable correspondence between the two:

	Classical	*Late*	*Control*
Conveyance	23.9%	48.9%	27.3%
Motion	24.5%	64.1%	11.4%
Cognition	21.8%	50.0%	28.2%
Aggregate	23.4%	54.3%	22.3%
Haggai	20.0%	60.0%	20.0%

Once more, the linguistic profile of the book of Haggai, even when the data are relatively limited (that is, fifteen verbs altogether, due to the brevity of the book), is exactly what one would expect from a Persian-period composition.

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[43] The basic studies are Polak 1997/1998 and Polak 2009b.

XX. The final point raised by Polak, relevant to the current study, is the change in poetic parallelism in the later biblical books. The richness of word pairs evident in classical poetry is frequently not encountered in poetic texts dated to the Persian era (Polak 2009a). In Haggai, for example, one finds the collocations of lexemes known chiefly from prose texts — indeed, in Polak's words, "collocations with trivial, prosaic lexemes" (Polak 2009a, p. 205):

    1:6 —   זרע // הביא 'sow : bring'

    1:6 —   הרבה // מעט 'much : little'

    1:8 —   עלה // הביא 'go up : bring'

Plus one instance of two stichs containing words "that are rarely associated and do not reveal semantic correspondence" (Polak 2009a, p. 205):

    1:10 —   טל // יבול 'dew : yield'

Even more common are the many instances of repetitive parallelism, with parallel stichs employing the same lexeme:

    1:2 — עת 'time'

    1:4 — בית 'house'

    1:10 — כלא 'withhold'

    2:4 — חזק 'be strong'

    2:6-7 — רעש 'shake'

    2:7 — גוים 'nations'

    2:16 — בוא 'come'

    2:16 — היה 'be'

    2:22 — ממלכות 'kingdoms'

    2:22 — רכב 'rider'

In addition, as Polak further notes, compositions of the Persian era reveal a conspicuous decline in the use of gapping (typically with compensation or "ballast variant"), a distinctive trait of both Ugaritic and classical Hebrew poetry (Polak 2009a, p. 210). Consider, for example, Hag 1:10:

'the heavens withhold the dew	כָּלְאוּ שָׁמַיִם מִטָּל
and the earth withholds its produce'	וְהָאָרֶץ כָּלְאָה יְבוּלָהּ:

In classical Hebrew poetry, one could imagine any number of two-word phrases that would serve in the b-line, without repetition of the verbal root כלא 'withhold,' expressions such as פְּרִי תְבוּאָתָהּ 'the fruit of its yield' (cf. Ps 107:37) and תְּבוּאַת הָאֲדָמָה 'the yield of the soil' (cf. Isa 30:23). In short, the poetry of Haggai represents a major departure (deterioration, to be subjective) from the richly imaginative poetry of the pre-monarchic and monarchic periods — such as many of the psalms, poems embedded into narrative texts (e.g., the song of Deborah and the song of Hannah), and the oracles of Amos and Isaiah.

The twenty items canvassed here make it abundantly clear that the judgment expressed by Young, Rezetko, and Ehrensvärd (see above) is incorrect. Far from being generally devoid of LBH features, the book of Haggai reflects LBH developments at every turn, in grammar, lexicon, phraseology, prose syntax, and poetic style.[44] This is not to say that certain SBH features do not appear in Haggai (see below), but the author of Haggai clearly was no longer writing in SBH (= EBH, to use the term preferred by Young, Rezetko, and Ehrensvärd).

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[44] Conveniently, the book of Haggai has 600 words, which allows us to compare the accumulation of LBH features in the book to that of other compositions, using the method of Young, Rezetko, and Ehrensvärd (2008, vol. 1, pp. 129–36), which counts LBH traits

in 500-word samples. Twenty features have been identified in the present study (= 16.6 features per 500 words), which places Haggai on a par with Esther 5:1–6:13a, as analyzed by the co-authors. If the five traits derived from Polak's studies are removed (since

Of the various discriminants between SBH and LBH recognized by scholars (Avi Hurvitz *super omnes alios*), I have identified only three of the former in Haggai. The first is the word order זָהָב > כֶּסֶף 'silver : gold' in 2:8 לִי הַכֶּסֶף וְלִי הַזָּהָב (as opposed to LBH where the typical word order is זָהָב>כֶּסֶף 'gold : silver') (Hurvitz 1972b; Rooker 1990, pp. 174–75; Shin 2007, pp. 126–29). The second is the phrase וָמַעְלָה ... -מִ used to express direction (either in space or in time), found in identical phrases in 2:15, 18: מִן־הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה וָמָעְלָה 'from this day onward' (as opposed to LBH מִ- ... וּלְמַעְלָה) (Hurvitz 1982, pp. 107–09; Shin 2007, pp. 145–47).[45] And the third is the personal name יְהוֹשֻׁעַ 'Joshua' found throughout the book (1:1, 12, 14; 2:2, 4) (in contrast to LBH יֵשׁוּעַ [Ezra ten times, Nehemiah seventeen times, Chronicles twice]; see also BA יֵשׁוּעַ [Ezra 5:2]) (Shin 2007, pp. 141–44). To this list one could add the absence of Persian loanwords in the book, though one must recall that the Jewish experience within the Achaemenid empire was only two decades old at the time of the floruit of the prophet Haggai. Which is to say, the author of this short book, at the beginning of the Persian period, still utilizes several SBH elements, but both his prose and his poetry are infused with LBH traits, so much so that this latter stratum of the language clearly dominates.

In sum, no writer during the Persian period — certainly not the author of the book of Haggai, still at the onset of Achaemenid rule over the land of Israel — could compose in SBH. By the year 520 B.C., such an achievement no longer was possible.

Abbreviations

BA	Biblical Aramaic
BDB	Brown, Driver, and Briggs 1906
BH	Biblical Hebrew
DCH	Clines 1993–2010
EBH	Early Biblical Hebrew
GKC	Gesenius, Kautzsch, and Cowley 1910
IA	infinitive absolute
impv.	imperative
LBH	Late Biblical Hebrew
MH	Mishnaic Hebrew
N	noun
SBH	Standard Biblical Hebrew
V	verb

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typically Young, Rezetko, and Ehrensvärd do not contend with these), then one still counts fifteen LBH features in Haggai (= 12.5 features per 500 words), which would place the book on a par with portions of Chronicles, as analyzed by the co-authors. True, the individual features treated herein are not necessarily the ones treated by Young, Rezetko, and Ehrensvärd (thus, for example, the trio [2008, vol. 1, p. 135] specifically omit עַד 'still, while' from consideration [see also Young 2009a, pp. 616–17], while I have included this feature [item no. II above]) — and thus to some extent the aforecited figures derive from a comparison of apples and oranges. Nonetheless, the overall analysis presented

herein, demonstrating an accumulation of LBH features in Haggai, should dispel any notion that the book of Haggai represents an "undisputed postexilic text," which lacks LBH features and is written in EBH (paraphrasing Young, Rezetko, and Ehrensvärd 2008, vol. 1, p. 56 [cited above]).

[45] One should note, though, that the specific phrase with יוֹם occurs only in 1 Sam 16:13; 30:25 מֵהַיּוֹם הַהוּא וָמָעְלָה 'from that day onward'; the more standard usage is with the word וָהָלְאָה, attested in Lev 22:27; Num 15:23; 1 Sam 18:9; Ezek 39:22; 43:27. The general point remains, nonetheless.

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