A comprehensive guide to Israelian Hebrew: 
Grammar and Lexicon

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Introduction

During the past 15 years I have published a number of studies on the 
subject of the northern dialect of ancient Hebrew, more properly termed 
“Israelian Hebrew” (IH). Israelian Hebrew stands in contrast to the standard 
dialect in which most of the Bible was written, namely, the dialect of Judah in 
general or of Jerusalem in particular. This latter dialect should be called 
Judahite Hebrew (JH), which in turn equals Standard Biblical Hebrew (SBH).

Most likely IH is an umbrella term, for within IH there probably were several 
main subdialects, such as Ephraimite, Galilean, and Gileadite, not to mention 
other local varieties (see the very end of this article for further thoughts in this 
direction).

My publications on IH include two monographs and 14 articles. The 
monographs include appendices in which may be found a classified listing of the 
various IH features identified, but no such appendices or indices appear in the 
published articles (or in two forthcoming articles, items A15 and A16 listed 
below under references). In addition, I have supervised two doctoral disserta-
tions on the subject, one by Yoon Jong Yoo devoted to IH features in Hosea (Yoo 
1999), the other by Yiyi Chen devoted to IH features in Proverbs (Chen 2000); 
these works also include appendices allowing for easy reference. Furthermore, 
in collaboration with Scott Noegel I have completed a lengthy study of IH 
elements in Song of Songs, to be published in a planned volume authored by the 
two of us tentatively entitled rather plainly and prosaically Studies in Song of 
Songs (item A17 listed below). Noegel also wrote an article on dialect issues in 
Isaiah 24-27 (Noegel 1994). There are other IH sources in the Bible not yet 
treated in detailed fashion by myself or by my students (or by other scholars), 
such as Deuteronomy 32, the blessings to the northern tribes in Deuteronomy 33, 
Judges 5, and the book of Qohelet, though occasional references to these 
compositions may be found in the oeuvre already in print or listed as 
forthcoming. Other individuals, outside of my own personal scholarly orbit,
who have written on the subject of IH, include James Davila who wrote a basic study on Qohelet (Davila 1990); and Jun Ikeda who recently contributed an article on a specific syntactic issue in the book of Kings (Ikeda 2000).  

It has occurred to me that a comprehensive listing of all IH grammatical and lexical traits identified in the aforecited works would be of value to the scholarly community. This is especially necessary because my approach has been to proceed through the selected IH composition verse-by-verse in systematic fashion, as opposed to methodically presenting the material feature-by-feature. Thus, for example, a specific syntactic feature may be treated near the beginning of a particular article or monograph, because said feature appears near the beginning of the composition treated; while conversely a phonological feature may be discussed toward the end of the article or book, because said feature occurs toward the end of the composition being studied. In the situation just posited, this would run counter to the normal approach to grammar, which begins with phonology, proceeds to morphology, and then concludes with syntax.

Though I long have recognized the potential benefit of the study just described, until now I have not taken the time to present such a work to the scholarly community, preferring instead to push forward with other researches, both in the field of IH and in other areas of personal interest. But clearly the time is ripe.

It was at the invitation of Dr. Jun Ikeda of Tsukuba University that I have come at last to compile the kind of comprehensive list that is necessary to obtain a “snapshot” of the current state of IH research. I owe a debt of gratitude both to Dr. Ikeda and to Professor David Tsumura for hosting me for two weeks in Japan in July-August 2002, during which time I had occasion to speak both at Tsukuba University and at the Japan Bible Seminary in Hamara. I value their friendship, I appreciate the wonderful hospitality shown to me and to my wife Susan, and I am grateful for the opportunity to have made the acquaintance of other Japanese scholars of the Bible, the Hebrew language, and the ancient Near East.

By necessity this article will be dominated by an outline of the data, as opposed to a full treatment of each feature isolated. The latter, of course, would demand an entire book of considerable size. In the years to come, after all studies of this ilk have been completed, I hope to write such a volume. In the meantime, however, I trust that the present project will be deemed helpful and beneficial.  

I proceed, as adumbrated above, from phonology to morphology to syntax, and within each of these categories, according to the method commonly utilized
in reference grammars (consonants before vowels, pronouns before nouns, etc.).
In addition, I include a list of all IH lexical items thus far identified. Each
feature presented includes a cross-reference to a published work (or in the case
of the Song of Songs study and two other articles, forthcoming works). I have
not included page numbers. For the monographs and the dissertations, with their
detailed appendices, there should be no problem finding the full treatments
contained in these works. The articles are all relatively short, so a quick flipping
of just a few pages should allow the reader to find the specific discussion with
relative ease.

The reader who has followed the progress of my research in ancient
Hebrew dialects will be aware of the fact that many IH features occur also in
style-switching and addressee-switching settings. The former occurs in several
situations, for example, in stories set in foreign lands (such as Abraham’s servant
in the land of Aram, Jacob and Laban in Aram, etc.) and in instances where
foreigners speak (e.g., Balaam, the characters in the book of Job, etc.). The
latter occurs in prophetic oracles addressed to the foreign nations. In the
material below, I have included instances of style-switching and addressee-
switching relevant to the study of IH, but I have not included examples of these
techniques which are not directly relevant to IH research (most of these, in any
case, will be items of a lexical nature, e.g., the use of īṣū ‘almond’ in Gen 30:37,
in place of the standard Hebrew word šāqēd).3

In addition, although a thorough study remains a desideratum, I also have
suggested that the dialect of Benjamin served as a border dialect, at times
sharing features with IH, at times sharing features with JH. The book of
Jeremiah and the material about Saul in the book of 1 Samuel are the natural
places to look for potential Benjaminite dialectal features.4 In the case of the
former, however, one typically cannot determine if the presence of a particular
grammatical trait is due to the Benjaminite dialect itself or due to the influence
of Aramaic c. 600 B.C.E. This will explain the oft-repeated “Benjaminite?
Aramaism?” occurring in the presentation of the data below.

Finally, note that material which appears in the smaller font size does not
fit into the schema underlying my research into IH. In such cases, I have
attempted to offer an explanation, for example, a feature may also be an element
of Archaic Biblical Hebrew (ABH) or of Late Biblical Hebrew (LBH). In the
former cases, we may posit traits which Hebrew inherited from its 2nd
millennium precursor and which were continued in IH but not in JH. In the
latter cases, as well as in texts which date from the time of the exile, we most
likely are dealing with IH features which penetrated JH due to the reunion of
Israeli and Judahite exiles during the 6th century B.C.E.  At times, however, I can offer no explanation for an occasional example, in which case I have indicated simply “no explanation.”

The Corpus

The corpus of IH texts is the following:

- Blessings to the northern tribes in Genesis 49
- Leviticus 25:13-24
- Deuteronomy 32
- Blessings to the northern tribes in Deuteronomy 33
- Selected stories in Judges (especially Deborah, Gideon, Jephthah)
- 2 Samuel 23:1-7
- Material in Kings devoted to the Northern Kingdom of Israel (see the list in my book on Kings [B2], pp. 23-24)
- Hosea
- Amos
- Micah 6-7
- Northern Psalms: Pss 9-10, 16, 29, 36, 45, 53, 58, 74, 116, 132, 133, 140, 141, as well as the Korah and Asaph collections
- Proverbs
- Song of Songs
- Qohelet
- Nehemiah 9

According to my calculations, this amounts to 149 chapters out of a total of 920 (Hebrew) chapters in the Bible, or approximately 16% of the Bible.

As indicated, however, IH forms occur in other settings as well, in particular, style-switching and addressee-switching contexts. Style-switching is most prominent in the 42 chapters of Job and the 3 chapters of the Balaam story, along with selected pericopes elsewhere, e.g., Genesis 24 and Genesis 29-31 both set in the land of Aram. Addressee-switching occurs most prominently in the prophetic oracles to the foreign nations, which comprise 8 chapters in Isaiah, 6 chapters in Jeremiah, 8 chapters in Ezekiel, and approximately 2 chapters total among the minor prophets. In addition, one should mention 1 Kings 6-8 with a high concentration of Phoenicianisms, indicating that Phoenician scribes recorded the Temple-building project, in line with the Phoenician architects and builders responsible for the construction of the Temple.

If we now include these additional sections of the Bible, we should add 76 more chapters to the sections of the Bible in which one may expect to find IH
features, thus bringing our total to 225 chapters, or approximately 24% of the biblical corpus. This does not include the Benjaminit material which is to be found in Jeremiah (all of the book? portions of the book?) and in the early chapters of 1 Samuel. Including this material, even without quantifying it in an exact manner due to some uncertainty, we probably reach an upper estimate of about 30% of the Bible in which one would expect to find IH grammatical and lexical traits.

References
The references for the present study, with the abbreviations, are as follows. Note that B = Book, D = Dissertation, and A = Article.


Grammar

I. Phonology

A. Consonants

1. PS /l/ > /t/, as in Aramaic (A15, A17):

Judg 5:11 yēṭannū ‘repeat’ (IH poem)
Judg 11:40 lēṭannōt ‘repeat’ (?) (Jephthah)
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Song 1:17 be'rotîm 'cypresses' (IH poem)

2. PS /q/ > /q/, as in Aramaic (A17):
   Song 1:6, 8:11, 8:12 ntr ‘guard’ (IH poem)

3. PS /d/ > /t/, as in Aramaic (A17):
   1 Sam 28:16 ‘arekā ‘your enemy’ (medium of Endor)
   Hos 12:2 rōēh (rûah) ‘desires (the wind)’ (northern prophet)
   Ps 9:7 ‘arîm ‘enemies’ (IH psalm)
   Ps 139:20 ‘arekā ‘your enemies’ (IH psalm)
   Qohelet – nouns derived from the root rēh ‘desire’: rē‘ūt, rā‘yôn
      (IH composition)

4. PS /d/ > /d/, as in Aramaic (A17):
   Song 7:10 dôbeb ‘flow’, if this is a byform of the root dwb (IH)

B. Vowels

1. Shift of /a/ to /o/, as in Phoenician (B1, B2):
   2 Kgs 3:19 mibhōr ‘choice’ (Elisha) (see also 2 Kgs 19:23 in the
      speech of Rabshakeh)
   Ps 87:6 biktob ‘in the register of the people’ (IH psalm)
      (see also below II.B.2)

2. Shift of /ô/ > /û/, as in Phoenician (D1):
   Hos 7:14 yāsūrû (from the root srr, not swr) (northern prophet)

C. Diphthongs

1. Monophthongization of ay > ē and aw > ô, as in Ugaritic and
   Phoenician:

2. Monophthongization of ay > ā, as in Syrian Semitic and Arabic
   dialects of Lebanon, Syria, and northern Israel to this day (B1, B2, A3,
   A10):
   1 Sam 10:14 ‘ān ‘where?’ (Saul’s uncle)
   2 Kgs 5:25K mē‘an ‘from where?’ (Elisha)
   Job 8:2 ‘ad ‘ān ‘how long?’ (style-switching)
      cf. MH l’n ‘to where?’
   Job 9:9 ‘ās ‘Ursa Major’ (style-switching)
   Ps 141:5 yānî ‘my wine’ (IH psalm)

II. Morphology

A. Pronouns

1. 2fsg independent pronoun ʿattî, as in Aramaic and Samaritan Hebrew
   (B2):

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Judg 17:2K (Micah of Ephraim)
1 Kgs 14:2K (Jeroboam I)
2 Kgs 4:16K, 8:1K (Elisha)
2 Kgs 4:23K (husband of the Shunammite woman)
Jer 4:30K (Benjaminite? Aramaism?)
Ezek 36:13K (Aramaism?)

2. 2fsg pronominal suffix -kî, as in Deir *Alla and Aramaic (B1, B2, A6, A9, A15, A17):
   2 Kgs 4:2K, 4:3K, 4:7K (2x) (Elisha)
   Ps 116:7 (2x), 116:19 (IH psalm)
   Song 2:13K (IH poem)
   Jer 11:15 (Benjaminite? Aramaism?)
   Ps 103:3 (2x), 103:4 (2x), 103:5, 135:9, 137:6 (Aramaisms)

3. 3msg pronominal suffix -ôhî, as in Aramaic, Deir *Alla, Moabite(?)
   (B1, A6, A9, A15):
   Ps 116:12 tagmûlôhî ‘his good deeds’ (IH psalm)

4. 3mpl pronominal suffix -ham in the form kullâham, parallel to Aramaic kîhm (A1, A6):
   2 Sam 23:6 (IH poem)

5. 3mpl objective pronoun hêm, parallel to Mesha Stele, line 18 w’shîh,âm ‘and I dragged them’, and similarly in Aramaic (B2, A5, A6):
   2 Kgs 9:18 ‘ad hêm (Israelian scout)

6. Relative pronoun ze’h/zû, with cognates in Aramaic and Byblian dialect of Phoenician (B1, D2):
   Ps 9:16 bêrešet zû tâmanû ‘in the net in which they hid’ (IH psalm)
   Ps 10:2 bîmzînmôṯ zû hâšâbû ‘in the schemes which they devised’ 
   (IH psalm)
   Prov 23:22 lê’âbiḵà zê’h yêlôdêkâ ‘to your father who begot you’
   (IH composition)
   Job 15:17 wêze’h ḥâzîṭî ‘and that which I have seen’ (style-switching)
   Job 19:19 wêze’h ẑâhaṭî ‘and those whom I have loved’ (style-switching)
   Judg 5:5 zê’h sînây ‘the one of Sinai’ (IH and ABH)
   Other examples in Exod 15:13, 15:16, Ps 68:29, etc., are ABH

7. Relative pronoun še- (including cases of the genitive particle šel), with cognates in Phoenician and Ammonite (B1, B2, A7, A15, A17, A18):
   Judg 5:7 (2x) (IH poem)
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Judg 6:17, 7:12, 8:26 (Gideon cycle)
2 Kgs 6:11 (IH – Aramean king)
Ps 133:2, 133:3 (IH psalm)
Song of Songs (always, except in the superscription in 1:1) (IH)
Qohelet (67x) (IH composition)
Other examples are LBH (Jonah [3x], Lamentations [4x], Ezra 8:20, 1 Chr 5:20, 27:27, and often in late Psalms)

8. Feminine singular demonstrative pronoun zô/zô, with cognates in Phoenician and Aramaic, and see also MH (B1, B2, D1, A7, A18):
   2 Kgs 6:19 (Elisha)
   Hos 7:16 (northern prophet)
   Ps 132:12 (IH psalm)
   Qohelet (6x) (IH composition)
   Ezek 40:45 (reunion)

9. Interrogative pronoun meh before non-laryngeal consonants, 23 of 36 attestations, or 64% (B1, B2, D2, A6, A14):
   Judges 16 (7x) (Samson cycle, all with Philistines speaking)
   1 Sam 4:6, 6:2, 29:4 (Philistines speaking)
   1 Sam 1:8 (3x) (Elkanah of Ephraim speaking)
   1 Sam 4:14 (Eli of Shiloh speaking)
   1 Sam 15:14 (Samuel of Ephraim speaking)
   1 Kgs 22:16 (Ahab speaking)
   2 Kgs 1:7 (Ahaziah speaking)
   2 Kgs 4:13, 4:14 (Elisha speaking)
   Ps 10:13 (IH psalm)
   Prov 4:19 (IH composition)
   Prov 31:2 (Massa section)
   Job 7:21 (style-switching?)
   see also Jer 8:9, 16:10 (Benjaminite?), in which case 25 of 36 attestations, or 69%

B. Nouns

1. Feminine singular nominal ending -at (pointed with either pataḥ or qames), as in Phoenician, Moabite, and Aramaic (B1, B2, D1, A5, A6, A8, A10):
   Gen 49:22 pôrāt ‘she-ass’ (2x) (blessing to Joseph)
   2 Kgs 9:17 šip’at ‘multitude’ (Israeli scout)
   Hos 7:5 ḥāmat ‘poison’ (northern prophet)
Ps 10:2 ga‘awat ‘haughtiness’
Ps 16:5 mēnāt ‘portion’
Ps 16:6 nāhālāt ‘inheritance’
Ps 74:19 hayyat ‘beast’
Ps 132:4 sēnāt ‘sleep’
Qoh 8:12 mē’at ‘hundred’ (IH composition)
Jer 48:36 yir’at ‘abundance’ (addressee-switching, to Moab)
Jer 49:25 Q tehillāt ‘praise’ (addressee-switching, to Damascus)
Ezek 28:13 bārēqat ‘emerald’ (addressee-switching, to Tyre)
Ps 53:1, 88:1 māhālāt and Ps 61:1 nēgînat, musical terms (instruments?)
   borrowed from Canaanite (?)
Other examples have different explanations:
   zimrāt ‘song/strength’ Exod 15:2 (ABH)
   māhōrat ‘tomorrow’ (25x) – adverbial
   rabbat ‘much’ (7x) – adverbial
   qēzāt ‘end’ (5x in Neh and Dan) – Aramaism
2. Feminine singular nominal ending -ôt, as in Phoenician (see also I.B.1 above) (B1, B2, D2, A5, A6, A10, A15):
   Judg 5:29 ḥakmōt ‘wise lady’ (IH poem)
   2 Kgs 6:8 taḥānōtî ‘my camp’ (IH – Aramean king)
   Ps 45:1 yēdīdōt ‘love’ (IH psalm)
   Ps 45:16 sēmāhōt ‘joy’ (IH psalm)
   Ps 53:7 yēṣū’ôt ‘salvation’ (IH psalm) (cp. Ps 14:7 yēṣū‘at)
   Ps 73:22 bēhēmōt ‘beast’ (IH psalm)
   Ps 132:12 ’edōtî ‘my testimony’ (IH psalm)
   Prov 1:20, 9:1, 24:7 ḥokmōt ‘wisdom’ (IH composition)
   Prov 14:1 ḥakmōt ‘wise lady’ (IH composition)
   Prov 28:20 ’ēmūnōt ‘faith’ (IH composition)
   Qoh 1:17, 2:12, 7:25, 9:3 hōlēlōt ‘madness’ (IH composition)
   Ezek 26:11 maṣṣēbōt ‘pillar’ (Tyre – style-switching)
3. Reduplicatory plural of geminate nouns, as in Aramaic (B1, D1, A4, A5, A6, A10, A15, A17):
   Numb 23:7 hařērē (Balaam – style-switching)
   Deut 33:15 hařērē (blessing to Joseph)
   Judg 5:14 ’āmāmekā (IH poem)
   Judg 5:15 hiqēqē (IH poem)
   Ps 36:7 hařērē (IH psalm)
   Ps 50:10 hařērē (IH psalm)
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Ps 76:5 harērê (IH psalm)
Ps 77:18 hāšāšeḵā (IH psalm)
Ps 81:1 harērê (IH psalm)
Ps 133:3 harērê (IH psalm)
Prov 29:13 tēkākim (IH composition)
Song 2:17, 4:6 sēlālim (IH poem)
Song 4:8 harērê (IH poem)
Neh 9:22 ‘āmāmîn (IH text)
Neh 9:24 ‘āmēmê (IH text)
Jer 6:4 šišēlê (Benjaminites? Aramaism?)
Ezek 4:12, 4:15 gelēlê (Aramaism?)

Only one occurrence which does not fit: Hab 3:6 harērê

4. qētilāh formation (as nomen actionis), as in MH (B2, A7):
   Judg 5:16 šēriqāt ‘pipings’ (IH poem)
   1 Kgs 19:8 ṭāqīlāh ‘eating’ (IH – Elijah cycle)
   Job 41:10 ṭātīsōtaw ‘his sneezes’ (style-switching?)
   Qoh 12:12 yēgi’at ‘tiring (of)’ (IH composition)
   Exceedingly common in MH
   1 Sam 13:21 pēṣīrāh ‘payment’ (?), ‘sharpening’ (?)
      (Benjaminites?)
   2 Chr 30:17 šēkḥat ‘slaughtering (of)’ (LBH? northern setting?)
   A non-IH example occurs in Numb 16:30 bērēvaḥ ‘creation’ – used very
      effectively for literary purposes, to alliterate and assonate with ṭābīrām,
      pace Moshe Garsiel9

5. ṭēʾēt ‘woman’ in absolute state (cf. Phoen. ṭēt in Karatepe A:ii:5) (B1):
   Ps 58:9 (IH psalm)
   6. ṭēṣīm ‘men’ as plural of ṭēṣ, as in Phoenician (B1, D2, A5, A6):
      Ps 141:4 (IH psalm)
      Prov 8:4 (IH composition)
      Isa 53:3 (reunion)
   7. Feminine nominal plural ending –ān, as in Aramaic (A17):
      Song 2:12 nēṣṣānām ‘blossoms’ (with repluralization in –ān) (IH)
   8. Masculine nominal plural ending –în, as in Aramaic, Moabite, Deir
      ṭālla, Phoenician (Arslan Tash dialect) (D2, A5, A9, A10, A15):
      Judg 5:10 mîddīn ‘saddle-rugs’ (IH poem)
      Prov 31:3 mēlākîn ‘kings’ (Massa section)
      Ezek 26:18 ṭīyyān ‘islands’ (style-switching – Tyre)
      1 Kgs 11:33 šîdōnîn ‘Sidonians’ (style-switching – Ahijah of
Shiloh to Jeroboam of Ephraim)
15x in Job (style-switching)
Scattered JH examples: Ezek 4:9, Lam 1:4, 4:3, Dan 12:13 (Aramaisms)
2 Kgs 11:13 rāṣîn ‘runners’ (unless we have here a very subtle literary style-switching with the perspective of Athaliah presented)
Mic 3:12 ‘iyyîn ‘heaps’ (unless this represents rural dialect used in an anti-Jerusalem prophecy)

C. Verbs
1. 3msg qtl form with shwa in first syllable, as in Aramaic (A15):
   Judg 5:13 yērad ‘went down’ (2x) (IH poem)
2. 3fsg qtl form of IIIy verb ending in -t, as in MH and Aramaic (B2, A7):
   2 Kgs 9:37K hyt (Jehu’s men)
   Lev 25:21 ‘āsāt (an unusual section of Torah, with several IH features)
   Jer 13:19 hōglāt (2x) (Benjaminite? Aramaism?)
   Ezek 24:12 hel’āt (Aramaism? reunion?)
   Siloam Tunnel inscription, line 3 hyt (refugee from Israel? Benjaminite?)
   Lev 26:34 hīrāt (apparently used to alliterate with tīrāb earlier in the verse)
3. 3fsg qtl form of strong verbs (and other weak verbs other than IIIy verbs) ending in -t, as in Aramaic and Deir ‘Alla (A9):
   Deut 32:36 ‘āzēlāt ‘gone’ (IH poem)
   Isa 23:15 wēnīškāhāt ‘will be forgotten’ (style-switching – Tyre)
   Ezek 46:17 wēšābat ‘it shall revert’ (Aramaism? reunion?)
4. Non-elision of he in Hiph’īl/Hoph’āl verbs, as in Aramaic (B1, A6, A15):
   Ps 45:18 yēḥōdūkā ‘they praise you’ (IH psalm)
   Ps 81:6 yēḥōsēp ‘Joseph’ (IH psalm)
   Ps 116:6 yēḥōśīa ṣ ‘he saves’ (IH psalm)
   Isa 52:5 yēḥēlīlā ‘they howl’ (Aramaism? archaism?)
   Jer 9:4 yēḥātēlā ‘they mock’ (Benjaminite? Aramaism?)
   Ezek 46:22 mēhuqṣāqōt ‘the same size’ (Aramaism)
   Job 13:9 tēḥātēlā ‘you deceive’ (style-switching)
   Neh 11:17 yēḥōdeb ‘he praises’ (Aramaism)
   1 Sam 17:47 yēḥōsāt ‘he saves’ (no explanation – David)
   Ps 28:7 tāhōdennā ‘I praise him’ (no explanation)
5. Retention of yod in IIIy verbs, as in Aramaic and Deir ‘Alla (B1, D2,
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A5, A6, A9, A10, A19):

Deut 32:37 ֶָּסָּעָ יָּ ‘seek refuge’ (IH poem)
Ps 36:8 ֶָּסָּאְיָ יָּ ‘seek refuge’ (IH psalm)
Psa 36:9 ָּיָ ‘feast’ (IH psalm)
Ps 77:4 ֶָּסָָ ‘moan’ (IH psalm)
Ps 78:44 ָֹּיָ ‘drink’ (IH psalm)
Psa 83:3 ֶָּסָָ ‘rage’ (IH psalm)
Psa 140:9 ָֹּאָ ‘desires’ (nominal form) (IH psalm)
Prov 26:7 ָּאָ ‘hang’ (IH composition)

Numb 24:6 ָּאָ ‘stretch’ (Balaam – style-switching)
Isa 17:12 ֶָָ ‘roar’ (Damascus – addressee-switching)
Isa 21:12 ָָֹ ‘request’
Isa 21:12 ָָֹ ‘request’ } (Dumah – addressee-switching)
Isa 21:12 ָָֹ ‘come’
6x in Job (style-switching)

Exod 15:5 ָָ ‘hang’ (ABH)

Ps 58:9 ָָֹ (IH psalm)
Jer 9:3 ָָֹ (Benjaminites? Aramaism?)
6x in Job (style-switching)
Qoh 6:8 ָָֹ (IH composition)
Jer 51:50 ָָֹ (Babylon – addressee-switching)
Exod 3:19 ָָֹ (no explanation)
Psa 91:6 ָָֹ (no explanation)

8. Unusual infinitive construct of הָוָ (B2):

1 Kgs 17:14K ֹֹֹ (Elijah)

9. Infinitive construct of IIIy verb, as in Ugaritic (D1, A14):¹⁰
Judg 13:21 lēhērāʾōḇ (Samson)
1 Sam 1:9 šātīḇ (Shiloh)
1 Sam 3:21 lēhērāʾōḇ (Shiloh)
2 Kgs 13:17 kallēḇ (Elisha)
Hos 6:9 ḥakkā (northern prophet)

10. Irregular infinitive form bēhiṣṭuṭaḥāwāyāṯī ‘in my prostrating’, as in Aramaic (B2):
   2 Kgs 5:18 (Naaman)
11. Masculine singular participle of IIIy verb ending in -ōḇ, as in MH (B2):
   1 Kgs 20:40 *ōšeḇ (northern prophet)
12. Inflected participles, as in Aramaic (B2, A6, A10):
   2 Kgs 4:23 K ḥlkty (man from Shunem)
   Gen 31:39 gēnubtī (style-switching – Jacob to Laban)
   Jer 10:17 K ywšfty (Aramaism? Benjaminite?)
   Jer 22:23 K ywšfty (Aramaism? Benjaminite?)(note Lebanon)
   Ezek 27:3 K ywšfty (Aramaism? addresser-switching [Tyre]?)
   Lam 4:21 K ḥlkty (Aramaism?)

13a. 3sg pronominal suffix -ennū/-ennāḇ attached to wayyiqtol form (B2):
   Judg 15:2 waʾattēnennāḇ ‘and I gave her’ (Samson’s father-in-law)
   2 Kgs 9:33 wayyirmēsenennāḇ ‘and he trampled her’ (IH)
   Job 7:18 wattipqēdennū ‘and you inspected him’ (style-switching?)
   Job 33:24 wayēhunnennū ‘and he was gracious to him’ (style-switching?)
   One non-IH example: Lam 1:13 wayyirdennāḇ ‘and he ruled it’
13b. 2msg pronominal suffix -ekkā attached to wayyiqtol form (B2, D2):
   Ps 81:8 wāʾahallēsekkā ‘and I rescued you’ (IH psalm)
   Prov 7:15 wāʾemšāʾekkā ‘and I found you’ (IH composition)
   Isa 49:7 wayyibharekkā ‘and he chose you’ (reunion)
14. ’Etpolel form, as in Deir ’Alla and Aramaic (B1, A9):
   Ps 76:6 ’eṣṭōlēlā ‘be despoiled’
15. Hitpaʿel used with passive sense, as in Aramaic (two different T-stem formations) and MH (in the Nitpaʿal form) (D2, A7):
   Mic 6:16 wēyiṣṭammēr ḥuqqāṯ ʾomrī ‘and the laws of Omri are observed’ (northern section of Micah)
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Prov 31:30 hî tithallal ‘she is to be praised’ (IH composition)
Qoh 8:10 wéyištakkêhû bâ‘îr ‘and they are forgotten in the city’ (IH)

D. Particles

1. Prepositions b-/l- ‘from’, as in Ugaritic and Phoenician (B1, B2, A6):
   Josh 3:16K b‘dm ‘from Adam’ (northern setting)
   2 Kgs 4:24 lîrkôb ‘from riding’ (Shunammite woman)
   2 Kgs 14:13 bêšâ‘ar ‘eprayim ‘from the gate of Ephraim’ (IH)
   2 Kgs 14:28 lîhûdâh ‘from Yehuda (=Sam’al) (IH)
   Ps 10:1 bêráhôq ‘from afar’ (IH psalm)
   Ps 29:10 lammabbûl ‘from the flood’ (IH psalm)
   Ps 140:11 bêmahâmôrôt ‘from the deep-pits’ (IH psalm)

2. Preposition ‘ad lê-, as in Aramaic (B2):
   1 Kgs 18:29 ‘ad la‘âlot hamminhâh ‘until (the time of) the offering of the minhâ’ (IH)
   More examples in Ezra and Chronicles (Aramaisms)

3. Preposition ‘ad el, related to the above (B2):
   2 Kgs 9:20 ‘ad ‘âlêhem ‘unto them’ (Israelian scout)

   I note this issue here under Morphology, since it belongs to the morphosyntactic realm, but for further treatment see below under Syntax, III.8.

5. Conjunction ‘ad meaning ‘while’, as in Aramaic (B2):
   2 Kgs 9:22 ‘ad zênûné ‘izebel ‘while the harlotries of Jezebel (continue)’ (Jehu)
   Ps 141:10 ‘ad e’ebôr ‘while I pass’ (IH psalm)
   Judg 3:26 ‘ad hitmahâmêhâm ‘while they delayed’ (Benjaminite?)
   1 Sam 14:19 ‘ad dibber šâ‘ûl ‘while Saul was speaking’ (Benjaminite?)
   Jon 4:2 ‘ad hêyôtî ‘while I was’ (Aramaism? style-switching? IH?)

6. Conjunction ‘ad šê- until’, as in MH, with cognate in Aramaic ‘d dy (A17):
   Judg 5:7, Song 1:12, 2:7, 2:17, 3:4, 3:5, 4:6, 8:4 (IH poems)
   Elsewhere only Ps 123:2

7. Conjunction ‘ad lô ‘ere, before’, literally ‘while not’ as in Aramaic (D2):
   Prov 8:26 ‘ad lôr ‘ásîrb ‘ereš ‘before he made earth’ (IH)

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8. Preposition qābol ‘before’, as in Aramaic (B2):
   2 Kgs 15:10 qābol ʾām ‘before the people’ (IH)
9. Non-elision of the definite article he after uniconsonantal prepositions
   b-, l-, k-, as in Punic (B1, B2, A4, A6, A18):
   2 Kgs 7:12K ḫshd ‘in the field’ (Joram)
   Ps 36:6 bēhaṣṣāmayim ‘in the heavens’ (IH psalm)
   Qoh 8:1 kēheḥkām ‘like the wise-man’ (IH composition)
   Neh 9:19 bēḥadderek ‘in the way’ (IH text)
   1 Sam 13:21 ṭēḥaqqardummīm ‘and for the axes’ (Benjaminite?)
   Ezek 40:25 kēḥahallōnōt ‘like the windows’
   Ezek 47:22 ṭēḥaggērīm ‘and for the foreigners’
   Neh 12:38 lēḥāḥōmāh ‘and for the wall’
   2 Chr 10:7 lēḥaʾām ‘to the people’
   2 Chr 25:10 lēḥaggēḏūd ‘the troop’
   (with l- serving as nota acc.)
   2 Chr 29:27 lēḥammizbēʾah ‘on the altar’
10. Interrogative ykh ‘where’, with cognates in Aramaic and MH (B2, A17):
   2 Kgs 6:13 ṭēḵóh (IH – Aramean king)
   Song 1:7 (2x) ṭēḵāh (IH poem)
11. Negative particle bal ‘no, not’, as in Ugaritic and Phoenician (B1, D1, D2, A5, A19):
   Psalm 10 (5x) (IH psalm)
   Psalm 16 (4x) (IH psalm)
   Ps 44:15, 46:6, 49:13, 58:9, 78:44, 140:11, 140:12, 141:4
   (all IH psalms)
   Hos 7:2, 9:16Q (northern prophet)
   10x in Proverbs (IH composition)
   1x in Job (style-switching?)
   thus: 30 of 69 occurrences in non-JH texts
12. Particle of existence ṭiš, with cognates in Ugaritic ʿt, Aramaic ṭyṭy
   (D2, A16):
   2 Sam 14:19 (woman of Tekoa = northern Tekoa)
   Mic 6:10 (northern section of Micah)
   Prov 18:24 (IH composition)
   Song 1:7 (IH poem)
III. Syntax

1. zeḥ hayyōm ‘this day’ syntagma, as in Aramaic, Phoenician, and MH (B2, A10, A12, A17):
   1 Kgs 14:14 zeḥ hayyōm ‘this day’ (IH)
   2 Kgs 6:33 zō’t hārāʾăh ‘this evil’ (Israeli messenger)
   Song 7:8 zō’t qōmātēk ‘this your stature’ (IH poem)
   Josh 9:12 zeḥ lahmenū ‘this our bread’
   Josh 9:13 ʾēlēh nōʾdōt hayyayin ‘these wineskins’
   Isa 23:13 zeḥ haʾam ‘this people’ (Tyre – addressee-switching)

2. ʾholî zeḥ ‘this illness’ construction (indefinite noun + indefinite demonstrative pronoun), as in Phoenician (B2):13
   2 Kgs 1:2, 8:8, 8:9 ʾholî zeḥ ‘this illness’ (Ahaziah, Ben-Hadad)
   Mic 7:12 yôm hû ‘that day’ (northern section of Micah)
   Ps 80:15 gepen zōʾt ‘this vine’ (IHpsalm)

3. Double plural construction, as in Byblos Amarna, Ugaritic, Phoenician, Deir ’Alla, and MH (B1, B2, A7, A9, A15, A17, A19):
   2 Kgs 15:25 bēnê gil’ādîm ‘Gileadites’ (IH)
   Ps 29:1 bēnê ʾēlîm ‘sons of the gods’ = ‘deities’ (IHpsalm)
   Ps 45:10 bēnôt mēlākîm ‘daughters of the kings’ = ‘princesses’ (IHpsalm)
   Ps 47:10 nedībê ʾammîm ‘princes of the peoples’ (IHpsalm)
   Ps 74:13 rāʾšē tannînîm ‘heads of the sea-monsters’ (IHpsalm)
   Ps 77:6 sēnôt ʾōlāmîm ‘years of eternities’ (IHpsalm)
   Ps 78:49 malʾākē rāʾînîm ‘messengers of evils’ (IHpsalm)
   Ps 116:9 ʾārṣōt haʾhayyōm ‘lands of the living’ (IHpsalm)
   Song 1:17 qōrōt bāṭtēnû ‘beams of our houses’ (IHpoem)
   Commonly in Chronicles (reunion)

4. Use of ʾehād /ʾahat as indefinite article, as in Aramaic and MH (B2):
   Judg 9:53 (Abimelech – Shechem/Thebez)
   1 Sam 1:1, 6:7, 7:9, 7:12 (Samuel narrative)
   2 Kgs 4:1, 7:8, 8:6 (IH)
   2 Sam 18:10, 2 Kgs 12:10
   3 JH examples: Exod 16:33, 2 Sam 18:10, 2 Kgs 12:10

5. yqtīl preterite (in prose), as occasionally in Phoenician, Aramaic,
Moabite (B2, A15):

1 Kgs 20:33 wehā'ānāśim yēnāhāšū ‘and the men divined’ (IH)
1 Kgs 21:6 ki 'ādabbēr 'el nābōt ‘because I spoke to Naboth’ (Ahab) (note Mesha Stele 5-6 ky ȳnp kmš)
2 Kgs 8:29, 9:15 'āšer yakkāhū 'ārāmmīm ‘which the Arameans had inflicted upon him’ (IH)
Gen 37:7 wehānnēb tēsubbēnē 'ālūmmōtēkēm ‘and behold your sheaves surrounded (it)’ (excited/confused language?)
Judg 2:1 wēleb ŋēšām mīmīnšārayim ‘I brought you up from Egypt’ (archaism in mouth of angel?)

6. Passive participle with active voice, as in Aramaic and MH (B2, A17):
2 Kgs 6:9 nēhīttim ‘descending’ (Elisha)
Song 3:8 'āhūzē hēreb ‘skilled in the sword’ (IH poem)
7. Infinitive absolute used as narrative tense, as in Byblos Amarna, Ugaritic, and Phoenician (B2, D2, A4, A14):14
Judg 7:19 wēnāpōš hakkāddim ‘and they shattered the jugs’ (Gideon)
1 Sam 2:28 ūbāhōr 'ōtō ‘and I chose him’ (Shiloh in Ephraim)
1 Kgs 22:30 hēṭappēš wābōt hāmēlētāmō 'I will disguise myself and go into the battle’ (Israelian king [Ahab?])
2 Kgs 3:16 'āšē hannaħal hazē gēbīm gēbīm ‘I will make this wadi full of pools’ (Elisha)
2 Kgs 4:43 'ākōl wēhōtēr ‘they shall eat and have leftover’ (Elisha)
Neh 9:8 wēkārōt 'immō habbērīt ‘and you made a covenant with him’ (IH text)
Neh 9:13 wēdābbēr 'immāhem mīssāmāyim ‘and you spoke with them from heaven’ (IH text)
Amos 4:5 wēqattēr mēhāmēṣ tōdā ‘and burn a toda-offering from leaven’ (northern prophet)
Prov 12:7 ḫāpōk rēśāātim ‘the wicked are overthrown’
Prov 15:22 ḥāpēr māːḥāsābōt ‘plans are undone’
Prov 17:12 pāḡōs dōb šākāl bēʾēs ‘better that a bereaved bear meet a man’
1 Kgs 9:25 wēhaqtēr 'ittō 'and he offered with it’ (Phoen. scribes?)
Lev 25:14 ō qōnō 'āmītēkā ‘or buy from your friend’ (an unusual section of the Torah with several IH features)
Pre-exilic JH examples: Exod 8:11, 1 Sam 22:13, 25:26, Isa 5:5, 37:19
Very common in LBH: Second Isaiah (2x), Ezekiel (3x), Haggai (2x), Zechariah (3x), Job (1x), Qohelet (3x), Esther (14x), Daniel (2x), Nehemiah (4x), Chronicles (4x), due to reunion (?). Of these occurrences, 3 in Qohelet (4:2, 8:9, 9:11) and 2 in Nehemiah 9 (vv. 8 and 13) are both late and northern.

8. Confusion of prepositions ‘el and ‘al, due to Aramaic interference (B2, A14):

A complete listing is not presented here, but see the following examples: 1 Kgs 13:4, 17:21-22, 18:46, 20:43, 2 Kgs 7:7, 8:3 (2x), 9:3, 9:6 (3x), all IH.

9. Preposition min followed by anarthrous noun, as in Aramaic and Deir 'Alla (B2, D2, A9, A15, A17):

Judg 5:20 min šāmāyim ‘from heaven’ (IH poem)
Judg 7:23 min rāšîr ‘from Asher’ (Gideon)
Judg 7:23 min kol mēnašēh ‘from all of Manasseh’ (Gideon)
Judg 10:11 min bēnê ‘ammôn ‘from the Ammonites’ (Gilead setting)
Judg 10:11 min pēlíšīt ‘from the Philistines’ (Gilead setting)
Judg 19:16 min mā‘āšēhū ‘from his work’ (Gibeah of Benjamin)
2 Kgs 15:28 min ḥattōt ‘from the sins’ (IH)
Ps 45:9 min hēkēlē šēn ‘from the palaces of ivory’ (IH psalm)
Ps 73:19 min bālāḥōt ‘from terrors’ (IH psalm)
Ps 116:8 min dim‘ēḏ ‘from tears’ (IH psalm)
Prov 27:8 min qinmah ‘from its nest’ (IH composition)
Song 4:15 min lēbānōn ‘from Lebanon’ (IH poem)
Numb 23:7 min ‘ārām ‘from Aram’ (Balaam – style-switching)
Job 30:5 min gēw ‘from the midst of’ (style-switching)
Job 40:6 min sē‘ārāh ‘from the storm’ (style-switching)
6x in Jeremiah (Benjaminites? Aramaism?)

Scattered additional occurrences in JH (no explanation)
Common in LBH, e.g., 51x in Chronicles (Aramaism)

11. Use of ‘ōt- forms for expected ‘itt- forms, due to Aramaic interference (B2):

1 Kgs 20:25, 22:7, 22:8, 22:24 (IH)
2 Kgs 1:15 (2x), 3:11, 3:12, 3:26, 6:16, 8:8 (IH)

A single example:

2 Kgs 1:15 wayyāqom wayyēred ‘ōtō ‘el hammelek ‘and he arose and he went down with him to the king’ (IH)
12. Interrogative \( \text{ê} \) \( ze^b \) governing verb, as in MH (B2):

1 Kgs 22:24 \( \text{ê} \) \( ze^b \) \( \text{êbar rûah YHWH} \) ‘which way did the spirit of the LORD pass?’ (Zedekiah)
Qoh 11:6 \( \text{ê} \) \( ze^b \) \( yiksär \) ‘which will prosper?’ (IH composition)

13. Interrogative series \( hâ ... \) \( \text{ê} \), as in Deir \( ^\text{\textcircled{A}} \) All (B2, A9):

2 Kgs 4:13 \( \text{hâyës lêdaber lâk} \) \( \text{ê} \) \( \text{el hammelek} \) \( \text{ê} \) \( \text{el šar hassâbâ} \) ‘can one speak on your behalf to the king or to the commander of the army?’ (Elisha)?
2 Kgs 6:27 \( \text{hâmîn haggören} \) \( \text{ê} \) \( \text{min hayyâqeb} \) ‘from the threshing floor or from the wine press?’ (Joram)
3x in Job (16:3, 38:28, 38:31) (style-switching)
2x in Qohelet (2:19, 11:6) (IH composition)

Judg 18:19
\( \text{hâtôb hêyôtékâ kôhên lêbêt} \) \( \text{ê} \) \( \text{êhâd} \) \( \text{ê} \) \( \text{hêyôtékâ kôhên lêšebêt uîlëmîsphâh} \) \( \text{ê} \) \( \text{beïsâ-râl} \) ‘is it better for you to be a priest to the house of one man, or to be a priest to a tribe and family in Israel?’ (Danites to the Levite of the house of Micah in Ephraim)

14. Periphrastic genitive, as in MH, Aramaic, Amurru Akkadian (A17):

Song 3:7 \( \text{miîtató} \) \( \text{sellislômô} \) ‘the palanquin of Solomon’ (IH poem)

15. Negative particle \( \text{ê} \) \( \text{al} \) followed by a noun, as in Deir \( ^\text{\textcircled{A}} \) All (D2, A9):\(^\text{16}\)

Amos 5:14 \( \text{wê} \) \( \text{al râ} \) ‘and not evil’ (northern prophet)
Ps 83:2 \( \text{wê} \) \( \text{al dôme} \) ‘not silence’ (IH psalm)
Ps 141:5 \( \text{wê} \) \( \text{al yâmî} \) ‘not my wine’ (IH psalm)
Prov 8:10 \( \text{wê} \) \( \text{al kásêp} \) ‘and not silver’
Prov 12:28 \( \text{wê} \) \( \text{al mawet} \) ‘not death’
Prov 17:12 \( \text{wê} \) \( \text{al kësil} \) ‘and not a fool’
Prov 27:2 \( \text{wê} \) \( \text{al šêpâtekâ} \) ‘and not your lips’

(2x) Sam 1:21 (2x) \( \text{al} \) \( \text{al wê} \) \( \text{al maîr} \) ‘not dew and not rain’ (ascribed to David, but note northern setting of Gilboa)

Two JH examples: Isa 62:6, Joel 2:13 (reunion)

16. Numeral syntax with ‘one’, as in Aramaic (A17):

Song 4:9 \( \text{aheart} \) \( \text{ranâq} \) ‘one bead’ (IH poem)

17. Omission of ‘et’ from prose narrative (B2\(^\text{17},\) A20):

Lexicon

I. Nouns and Adjectives

1. ḫḇ ‘fruit’: Job 8:12, Song 6:11. MH (2x); Ugaritic ḫḇ; Aramaic ḫḇ, ḫḇ (A17)
2. ḇḥabal ‘love’: Hos 9:10, Prov 7:18 (D1, D2)
3. ḫḥabalīm ‘love’: Hos 8:9, Prov 5:19 (D1, D2)
4. ḫwvelet ‘throne’: Prov 14:24. Ugaritic alt (D2)
5. ḥrōrōt ‘herbs, sprouts’: 2 Kgs 4:39. [See also Isa 26:19.] Ugaritic, MH (B2, A19)
6. ḡl ‘cattle’: 4x in Deuteronomy, as part of a phrase bespeaking IH origins, Prov 14:4. Perhaps also Ps 50:10, unless the final pe is to be attached to the next line as conjunctive p. [Also Isa 30:24, Ps 8:8.] Ugaritic, Phoenician (D2, A13)
7. ḥmr ‘lamb’: Gen 49:21 (Naphtali) (A8)
8. ḥtn ‘price’: Hos 2:14 (D1)
9. ḥmr ‘palace, citadel’: 1 Kgs 16:18, 2 Kgs 15:25, Hos 8:14, Amos 11x, Ps 48:4, 48:14, Prov 18:19, Jeremiah 5x (Benjamite?). [9 JH exx.] (B2, D1, D2)
10. ḵql ‘ear of grain’: 2 Kgs 4:42. Ugaritic ḵql (B2)
12. Ḥ ḩud ‘pot, basket’: 1 Sam 2:14 (Ephraim), 2 Kgs 10:7, Ps 81:7, Jeremiah 3x (Benjamite?), Job 41:12. [Elsewhere 2 Chr 35:13 as Aramaism.] Ugaritic, Aramaic (B2, B14, D14)
13. ḥl ‘door’: Ps 141:3. Phoenician (B1, A5)
14. ḥṣp ‘small (flock)’: 1 Kgs 20:27. Ugaritic ḥṣp, Phoenician ḥṣp (B2)
15. ḫkāl ‘palace’: 1 Kgs 21:1, Hos 8:14, Amos 8:3, Ps 45:9, 45:16, Prov 30:28, Joel 4:5 (Phoenicia). Ugaritic, Aramaic (B1, B2, D1, D2, A5, A10)
16. ḥḏq ‘brier, thorn’: Mic 7:4, Prov 15:19. MH, Aramaic (D2)
17. ḥrīm ‘nobles, freemen’: 1 Kgs 21:8, 21:11, Qoh 10:17. [Nehemiah 7x as Aramaism.] Aramaic (B2, A15, A18)
18. ḥṣḥ ‘thistle’: Hos 9:6, Prov 26:9, Job 31:40; Song 2:2. See also 2 Kgs 14:9 = 2 Chr 25:18 (in the mouth of the Israeli king Jehoash, with reference to Lebanon). [Exception is Isa 34:13.] Aramaic (A17)
19. ḥṭr ‘rod’: Prov 14:3. [Isa 11:1 means ‘shoot’.] Phoenician, Deir ḥAlla, Aramaic (D2, A9)
20. հելյաբ (and variant forms) ‘jewel’:  Hos 2:15, Prov 25:12, Song 7:2  
(D1, D2, A17)
(B2, D1)
22. համմաբ ‘sun’:  Ps 19:7, Job 30:28, Song 6:10.  [See also Isa 24:23.]  
[Elsewhere Isa 30:26.]  MH (A17, A19)
23. հոպեն ‘garment’:  Prov 30:4.  Ugaritic ḫpn (D2)
24. հարուս ‘gold’:  Prov 3:14, 8:10, 8:19, 16:16, Zech 9:3 (style-switching –  
Tyre), Ps 68:14 (ABH).  Ugaritic ḫrs, Phoenician ḫrs (D2, A10)
26. յաղ ‘grievous’:  Ps 116:15.  Aramaic (B1, A15)
27. յերա ‘month’:  Deut 33:14 (Joseph), 2 Kgs 15:13, Job 4x, 1 Kgs 6:37,  
6:38, 8:2 (Phoenician scribal record of the Temple).  [3 JH  
exampes.]  Ugaritic, Phoenician, Aramaic (B2)
28. տենե ‘basket’:  4x in Deuteronomy, perhaps under northern influence.  
Phoenician (?), MH (A13)
29. կադ ‘jar’:  1 Kgs 17:12, 17:14, 17:16, 1 Kgs 18:34, Judges 7 (4x)  
(Gideon), Qoh 12:6, Genesis 24 (9x as style-switching).  Ugaritic,  
Phoenician, Aramaic, MH (B2, A14, A18)
30. կեսի / կեսեբ ‘full moon’:  Ps 81:4, Prov 7:20.  Ugaritic, Phoenician  
(B1, D2)
31. կերեբ ‘feast’:  2 Kgs 6:23. See the verb krh below (B2)
32. լեբանաբ ‘moon’:  Song 6:10.  [See also Isa 24:23.]  [Elsewhere Isa 30:26.]  
MH (A17, A19)
33. լու ‘throat’:  Prov 23:2.  Aramaic (D2)
34. մեգեդ ‘choice fruit’:  Deut 33:13-16 (5x) (blessing to Joseph), Song  
4:13, 4:16.  Aramaic (A14, A17)
35. մագեն ‘gift’:  Hos 4:18. See the verb ngn below (D1)
36. մեդինաբ ‘district’:  1 Kings 20 (4x).  [All other 53 cases from exilic and post-  
exilic texts under Aramaic influence.]  MH, Aramaic (B2)
37. մահիր ‘skilled’:  Ps 45:2, Prov 22:29, Isa 16:5 (style-switching –  
Moab).  [Ezra 7:6 as Aramaism.]  Ugaritic, Aramaic (B1, D2)
MH, Aramaic (D2)
39. մեզեգ ‘mixed wine’:  Song 7:3.  MH, Aramaic (A17)
40. միլեր ‘pool’:  Song 5:12.  Cf. Bereshit Rabba 95 (A17)
Phoenician (B2, D2)
42. **millāḥ** ‘word’: 2 Sam 23:2, Ps 19:5, 139:4, 23:9, 34x in Job (A1, A10)

43. **mamlēkūt** ‘kingdom’: Hos 1:4, 1 Sam 15:28 (Samuel), 2 Sam 16:3 (Ziba [of Benjamin]?), Jer 26:1 (Benjaminites?), 5x in Joshua 13 (references to Og and Sihon in Transjordan) (D1)

44. **man’ammîm** ‘delicacies’: Ps 141:4. Phoenician (B1, A5)

45. **miqsôt** ‘from among, some of’: Judg 18:2 (Dan), 1 Kgs 12:31, 13:33, 2 Kgs 17:32. [Dan 1:2, Neh 7:69 as Aramaisms.] Aramaic (B2)

46. **nē’im** ‘good, pleasant’ (including verbal forms from the root **n**m): Gen 49:15 (Issachar), 2 Sam 23:1, Ps 16:6, 16:11, 81:3, 133:1, 141:4, 141:6, Proverbs 9x, Job 36:11, Song 1:16, 7:7, Isa 17:10 (style-switching – Aram), Ezek 32:19 (style-switching – Egypt); thus 22 of 30 attestations in IH. Ugaritic, Phoenician (B1, D2, A2, A5, A8, A17)

47. **nahal** ‘palm tree’: Numb 24:6 (Balaam), Song 6:11 (A17)

48. **naîm** ‘perversity’: Hos 10:9. Syriac (D1)


52. **spsg** ‘glaze’: Prov 26:23 (reconstructed). Ugaritic (D2)


54. **'ayir** ‘village’: Judg 10:4. MH (A13)

55. **'alwāk** ‘perversity’: Hos 10:9. Syriac (D1)

56. **'erei** ‘bed’: Deut 3:11 (Bashan), Amos 3:12, 6:4, Ps 132:3, Prov 7:16, Job 7:13, Song 1:16. [Exceptions are Ps 6:7, 41:4.] MH **'ārisāḥ**, Ugaritic, Aramaic (D2, A17)\(^{21}\)

57. **'āšārōt** ‘fertility’: 4x in Deuteronomy, as part of a phrase bespeaking IH origins. Ugaritic, Deir **'Alla** (A13)

58. **pag** ‘unripe fig’: Song 2:13. MH, Aramaic (A17)

59. **pa‘am** ‘foot’: Ps 58:11, 140:5, Prov 29:5, Song 7:2. [See also Isa 26:6.] [Elsewhere 2 Kgs 19:24 = Isa 37:25.] Phoenician **p**m, Ugaritic **p**n (B1, D2, A17, A19)

60. **pēlaggōt** ‘divisions’: Judg 5:15-16. [Elsewhere 2 Chr 35:5 as Aramaism.]

Ugaritic, Phoenician, Aramaic (A15)

61. **paqqūšōt** ‘wild gourds’: 2 Kgs 4:39. MH, Aramaic (B2)
63. ṣelôhit ‘dish’: 2 Kgs 2:20. MH, Aramaic (B2)
64. ṣinnâb ‘cold’: Prov 25:13. MH, Aramaic (D2)
65. qab ‘unit of measurement’: 2 Kgs 6:25. MH, Aramaic (B2)
66. qawwusût ‘locks’: Song 5:2, 5:11. MH, Syriac (A17)
67. qiryâb ‘city’: Hos 6:8, Ps 48:3, Proverbs 5x, Job 39:7. [JH texts (e.g., Torah) use qiryâb to refer to Transjordanian cities or as B-word for ‘îr.]
   Ugaritic, Phoenician, MH (D1, D2, A19)
68. qeret ‘city’: Proverbs 4x, Job 29:7. Phoenician, Aramaic (D2)
69. qõšt ‘truth’: Prov 22:21. Aramaic (D2)
70. rēbi‘im ‘those of the fourth generation’: 2 Kgs 10:30, 15:12. Aramaic (B2)
71. rēsisûm ‘droplets’: Song 5:2. Aramaic-Syriac (A17)
72. šeber ‘interpretation (of a dream)’: Judg 7:15. Phoenician šbrt (A11)
73. šebet ‘hot wind, extreme heat’: 2 Sam 23:7. Aramaic (A11)
74. šēger ‘offspring’: 4x in Deuteronomy, as part of a phrase bespeaking IH origins. [Also in Exod 13:12.] Ugaritic, Deir 'Alla (A13)
75. šâq ‘street’: Prov 7:8, Song 3:2, Qoh 12:4-5. Aramaic (D2, A17)
76. šîrābh ‘vision’: Ps 42:9. Ugaritic ḏbrt/ḏrt (B1, A11)
77. šît ‘garment’: Ps 73:6, Prov 7:10. Syriac (D2)
79. šeber ‘beauty’: Gen 49:21 (Naphtali), Ps 16:6 (verb form). Aramaic (B1, A8)

II. Verbs
1. ṣr ‘gather, collect’: Prov 6:8, 10:5. [Deut 28:39 northern? pace Weinfeld.]
   MH (D2)
2. ṣl ‘go’: Deut 32:36, Prov 20:14, Job 14:11, 1 Sam 9:7 (Benjaminite?).
   Aramaic (D2)
3. ḫp ‘press, urge”: Prov 16:26, Job 33:7 (noun form). Syriac (D2)
5. ṣr ‘walk, proceed’: Prov 4:14, 9:6, 23:19. [Other occurrences of ṣr appear to derive from the homonymous root ‘be happy’.] Ugaritic ṣr (D2)
6. ṣrh ‘pluck’: Ps 80:13, Song 5:1. MH (A17)
7. ṣh ‘come’: Deut 33:21 (Gad), Prov 1:27, Job 3:25, 16:22, 30:14,
8. bd\textsuperscript{+} "invent, devise": 1 Kgs 12:33. [Neh 6:8 as Aramaism.] MH, Aramaic (B2)
9. b't\textsuperscript{+} ‘kick, trample’: Deut 32:15, 1 Sam 2:29. MH, Aramaic (A14)
10. br\textsuperscript{+} ‘be fat, make fat’: 1 Sam 2:29. MH, Aramaic (A14)
11. gh\textsuperscript{h} ‘heal’: Hos 5:13, Prov 17:22 (D1, D2)
12. ghr ‘bend, crouch’: 1 Kgs 18:42, 2 Kgs 4:34-35. Aramaic (B2)
13. gwr (Hitpolel) ‘dwell, reside, debauch’: 1 Kgs 17:20, Hos 7:14. Aramaic (B2, D1)
14. gzzr ‘cut down a tree, chop wood’: 2 Kgs 6:4. MH and Aramaic nominal forms meaning ‘log, club’ (B2)
15. glm ‘roll up (a garment)’: 2 Kgs 2:8. Aramaic (B2)
16. gls ‘flow’: Song 4:1, 6:5. Ugaritic gl; B. Pesaḥim 37b (‘boil’) (A17)
17. dbr ‘carry off, pursue’: Ps 116:10. Aramaic (B1, A15)
18. dwrr ‘dwell’: Ps 84:11. Aramaic (B1)
19. hbbb ‘singe, roast lightly’: Hos 8:13. MH (D1)
21. zrr ‘sneeze’: 2 Kgs 4:35. Aramaic (B2)
22. hlt ‘decide’: 1 Kgs 20:33. MH, Aramaic (B2)
24. hrrk ‘roast’: Prov 12:27. MH, Aramaic (D2)
25. htp / htp ‘snatch’: Prov 23:28, Job 9:12 htp, Judg 21:21, Ps 10:9 htp. MH (with tef), Aramaic (with both tef and taw) (D2)
26. tnp ‘soil, make dirty’: Song 5:3. MH, Aramaic (A17)
28. ksh ‘cut down’: Ps 80:17, Isa 33:12 (style-switching – northern Israel). Aramaic (B1, A5)
29. krh ‘make a feast’: 2 Kgs 6:23, Prov 16:27. See the noun kērāhh ‘feast’ above (B2, D2)
30. lbt ‘incite, be excited, be troubled’: Hos 4:14, Prov 10:8, 10:10 (D1, D2)
32. *mgn* ‘give, deliver’: Hos 11:8, Prov 4:9. [Elsewhere Gen 14:20 (Melchizedek).] Phoenician, Ugaritic, Aramaic (D1, D2)

33. *mdd* (Hitpolel) ‘stretch oneself’: 1 Kgs 17:21. MH (B2)


36. *ml* ‘crush, squeeze, rub’: Prov 6:13. MH (D2)


40. *nkr* ‘obtain, acquire’: Hos 3:2, 1 Sam 23:7 (Piel) (Saul) (D1)

41. *nsh* (Hiphil) ‘take back, snatch, remove’: Hos 2:11, Gen 31:9 (D1)

42. *sdp* ‘repel, drive away’: Prov 28:3, Jer 46:15 (invoked especially to alliterate with *tlnkh*). MH, Aramaic (D2)


44. *sh* ‘shut, press’: Prov 16:30. Aramaic. Perhaps Ugaritic *s* (D2)


46. *sh* ‘shut, press’: Prov 16:30. Aramaic. Perhaps Ugaritic *s* (D2)

47. *rb* ‘offer’: Hos 9:4. Phoenician (D1)


49. *pwq* ‘find, obtain’: Ps 140:9, Prov 3:13, 8:35, 12:2, 18:22. [Isa 58:10, Ps 144:13 (reunion?).] Ugaritic, Phoenician (D2)


51. *pull* ‘level, straighten’: Ps 58:3, 78:50, Prov 4:26, 5:6, 5:21, 16:11 (noun form). [See also Isa 26:7.] [Elsewhere Isa 40:12 (noun form).] Phoenician *pl* ‘architect’ (B1, D2, A5, A19)


53. *prd* ‘offer’: Hos 4:14. Ugaritic *brd* (D1)
54. *qbl* 'take, receive': Prov 19:20. [All other occurrences are post-exilic: Job, Esther, Ezra, Chronicles.] Aramaic (D2)

55. *qps* 'jump': Song 2:8. MH, Aramaic (A17)

56. *qbb/nqb* 'curse': Balaam 8x, Prov 11:26 (D2)

57. *qsb* 'cut': 2 Kgs 6:6, Song 4:2. MH, Aramaic (B2, A17)

58. *qsh* (Pi’el) 'reduce': 2 Kgs 10:32. Phoenician (B2)

59. *rpd* 'spread out, support, refresh': Job 17:13, 41:22, Song 2:5 (A17)

60. *r* 'be disturbed, vex': 1 Sam 1:6, Ezek 27:35 (style-switching – Tyre). MH, Aramaic (A14)

61. *rtt* 'tremble': Hos 13:1. Aramaic-Syriac-Mandaic (D1)


64. *šwh* 'set > make, produce': Hos 10:1. Aramaic (D1)


66. *šḥt* 'harm, abuse, violate': Hos 5:2. Syriac (D1)


68. *šnh* (Hitpa’el) 'disguise oneself': 1 Kgs 14:2. Syriac (B2)

69. *šns* 'gird': 1 Kgs 18:46. Ugaritic. Byform *šnš* in Aramaic (verb), MH (noun = 'strap, lace, thong’) (B2)

70. *š-r* 'prepare a meal, serve food': Prov 23:7. Ugaritic š-r (D2)

71. *tnh* 'hire, deal': Hos 8:9, 8:10. Aramaic (D1)

72. *tnh* 'praise, relate': Judg 5:11, 11:40. Aramaic (A15)

## III. Particles

1. *‘ahālē* 'would that': 2 Kgs 5:3 [Elsewhere Ps 119:5.] Ugaritic *ahl* (B2)

2. *‘ē* ‘any’: Prov 31:4. Ugaritic *ay* (D2)

## Final Thoughts

The number of IH features identified in this line of research is truly remarkable. According to the presentation of the data above, there are 70 individual grammatical traits and 153 different lexical items which distinguish IH from JH. Future research may uncover still other examples. At first glance, one might think that such a large amount of discriminating features is highly unlikely, given the relatively small geographical area in which ancient Hebrew was spoken. But the study of dialect geography around the world has taught us that languages develop dialects and subdialects regardless of the size of the area.
encompassed by that language. Students of English, for example, recognize about 35 different dialects of the language as spoken in the British Isles, but only about a half-dozen or so dialects of English as spoken in the United States.

Furthermore, in a language such as German, even the most basic vocabulary items will differ from region to region and sometimes from place to place. Among the most famous examples in German are the following: Samstag and Sonnabend for “Saturday,” Kartoffel and Erdapfel for “potato,” Senf and Mostrich for “mustard,” and Karotten and Möhren for “carrots.” But German includes literally hundreds of such examples, as a glance at any standard dialect atlas of the German language will indicate, including numerous words limited to a very small area, e.g., Diern for “girl” (instead of Mädchen), Metzger for “butcher” (instead of Fleischer), Onnern for “afternoon” (instead of Nachmittag), and so on. Some of these, I hasten to add, will be unfamiliar to even native speakers of German.29

There also are regional differences in grammatical usage, as the following two examples illustrate. Depending on one’s place of origin, one will be inclined to say “Der Junge ist grösser als das Mädchen,” “Der Junge ist grösser wie das Mädchen,” “Der Junge ist grösser als wie das Mädchen” (with both forms appearing side-by-side), or “Der Junge ist grösser als das Mädchen” (using a very rare form). Similarly, for the telling of time, let’s say 5:45, one will be inclined to use either “viertel vor sechs” or “dreiviertel sechs” depending on one’s place of origin.

I use these examples of English dialectology and German dialectology, especially the latter, as a reminder to the reader that the Hebrew evidence gathered herein is within the bounds of the expected, that is, once one’s eyes are opened to the possibility of regional variation, even within a relatively small geographical region.

In fact, two recently published inscriptions from Transjordan demonstrate quite clearly how linguistically diversified the dialects of ancient Hebrew (and its close cognates, Ammonite, Moabite, etc.) actually were. I refer to the “Marzeah” papyrus of uncertain provenance (see Bordreuil and Pardee 1990) and the incense altar inscription from Khirbet el-Mudeiyineh (see Dion and Daviau 2000; Rainey 2002), each of which presents isoglosses with several different Canaanite dialects, and neither of which matches perfectly with any previously known Canaanite dialect (e.g., Ammonite, Moabite). Although these texts are very short, it would not be unwarranted to conclude that each one reflects its own dialect. These discoveries serve as an important reminder that Canaanite in general and Hebrew especially had numerous local varieties or
subdialects. And if chance discoveries such as these two short texts reflect substantial differences in language, it is not surprising to find hundreds of dialectal traits in our largest corpus of ancient Canaanite, namely, the Hebrew Bible.

Notes

1 For the sake of bibliographic completeness, I also should cite the study of François Briquel-Chatonnet on the relationship between northern Hebrew and Phoenician (Briquel-Chatonnet 1992), but her approach is quite different than ours, yielding the following conclusion: “Le bilan de notre étude linguistique est donc maigre” (p. 125).

2 I have not included every single feature isolated in the studies listed in the References section. In some cases I do not accept the results of other scholars; and on occasion I no longer believe that my own conclusions are necessarily warranted. Such instances are rare (especially for the grammatical material; there are more examples in the section on lexicon), but I note this fact should the reader question why a particular feature treated in a previous publication is lacking in the present study.

3 In addition, I have not listed most of the material from Isaiah 24-27 compiled by Noegel (Noegel 1994). The concentration of unusual grammatical and lexical features in these chapters is undeniable. The only issue remaining, as Noegel himself realized, is the effect of these features, whether they relate to style-switching or to addressee-switching or to some other phenomenon. On the other hand, I do include references to Noegel’s study, listed below as A19, where relevant.

4 For a study of language issues in Jeremiah, with attention to the issue of the Benjaminitic dialect, see Smith 2003. On the stories about Saul in 1 Samuel, see the remarks by White 2000 concerning a potential setting for this material (though she did not incorporate linguistic evidence into her study).

5 The historical and linguistic evidence was surveyed by Gordon 1955.

6 I exclude the Aramaic portions of Daniel and Ezra.

7 Note the abbreviations Q = Qeri and K = Ketiv.

8 I have not had occasion to discuss this feature of IH, and thus I do not cite any of the references listed above. This trait, however, is well known and is discussed in many standard works (e.g., Garr 1985, 35-40). The primary evidence comes from the attestation of $qs$ ‘summer-fruit’ in the Gezer Calendar (line 7) and of $yn$ ‘wine’ in the Samaria Ostraca (passim).

9 See Garsiel 1987, 225.

10 I neglected to discuss this morpheme, with an example in 2 Kgs 13:17, in my book on Kings (B2).

11 I overlooked this feature, as exemplified by the usage in Ps 81:8, while writing my book on Psalms (B1).

12 I neglected to discuss this use of the preposition ‘ad, with an example in Ps 141:10, in my book on Psalms (B1).

13 I neglected to discuss this syntagma, with an example in Ps 80:15, in my book on Psalms (B1).

14 As Jun Ikeda pointed out to me (oral communication), the three examples from Kings cited herein are not examples of the narrative tense per se, since they all point to future usage. But since these infinitive absolute forms replace the expected finite verb, I have elected to retain them in this list nonetheless. To be more accurate, the heading of this feature probably should read “infinitive absolute used in place of the finite verb,” in line with the terminology employed by most scholars. I prefer to continue to use my heading, however, because the basic usage is for qatôl to replace the narrative tense (wayyiqtol mainly), with a few instances of qatôl pointing to future time as well by analogy. I beg the reader’s indulgence to allow this apparent
contradiction in terms.

15 I overlooked this usage, with three examples in northern psalms, in my book on Psalms (B1).
16 This is one more instance of a feature which I neglected to include while researching my book on Psalms (B1).
17 See the “Afterword” on p. 155.
18 I failed to treat this lexical item in my book on Psalms (B1).
19 Once more this is an example of a feature not treated in my book on Psalms (B1).
20 Neither Yoo (D1) nor Chen (D2) treated this lexeme in their respective dissertations. The identity of ḫoah ‘thistle’ as an IH vocable is a recent discovery, to be treated in the forthcoming publication A17, as indicated.
21 I did not treat this word in B1, even though it is attested in Ps 132:3.
22 In my Psalms book (B1), I discussed this word in a footnote only (p. 59, n. 51), with the statement that “the evidence is not conclusive.” I now aver that ʿistros ‘vision’ is a northern feature, as discussed in A11.
23 I failed to include this example in my book on Psalms (B1), even though ʾrh ‘pluck’ occurs in Ps 80:13.
24 Mention of this verb was accidentally omitted from A15, even though Judges 5 is treated therein.
25 This verb was not treated in my Psalms book (B1), even though it appears in Ps 10:9.
26 I failed to discuss mor ‘prevent, withhold’ in my earlier studies B1 (on Psalms; cf. Ps 84:12) and A4 (on Nehemiah 9; cf. v. 20).
27 I neglected to treat this lexeme in both relevant studies, B1 and A4.
28 Yoo also treated the verb ʿsw in his dissertation (D2), but with a different understanding.
29 While in Japan I learned from my Japanese colleagues that, not surprisingly, the Japanese language has similar examples of lexical items characteristic of different regional dialects, including among them both common words and rarer vocabulary items.

### Bibliography

Note: The following list includes only those items cited in the article by name of author and year of publication. For additional bibliographic entries (with an internal reference system for this article alone), see the list of items in “References” (pp. 9-10), especially those works written by the present author.


A COMPREHENSIVE GUIDE TO ISRAELIAN HEBREW: GRAMMAR AND LEXICON


