

Israelian Hebrew in the Song of Songs

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During the past 15 years I have published two monographs and more than a dozen articles on the subject of the northern dialect of ancient Hebrew, more properly termed “Israelian Hebrew” (IH).¹ 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, along with even more localized varieties. The continuation of IH in post-biblical times is evident in Mishnaic Hebrew (MH) – one should keep in mind that the Mishna and related texts were redacted in Sepphoris and Tiberias – notwithstanding important differences between IH and MH.

Among the sections of the Bible treated in my studies are the Israelian material in the book of Kings, several dozen northern psalms, “The Last Words of David” in 2 Sam 23:1–7, the blessings to the northern tribes in Genesis 49, and Nehemiah 9. In addition, two of my doctoral students, Yoon Jong Yoo and Yiyi Chen, wrote dissertations on two other northern compositions, Hosea and Proverbs, respectively.² Other scholars have

- 1 The two monographs are: G. A. Rendsburg, *Linguistic Evidence for the Northern Origin of Selected Psalms* (SBLMS 43; Atlanta, 1990); and G. A. Rendsburg, *Israelian Hebrew in the Book of Kings* (Occasional Publications of the Department of Near Eastern Studies and the Program of Jewish Studies, Cornell University 5; Bethesda, 2002). There is no need here to list all the relevant articles; the reader is asked to consult the bibliography in Rendsburg, *Kings*, 163–164. One recent study not listed therein is the following: G. A. Rendsburg, “Some False Leads in the Identification of Late Biblical Hebrew Texts: The Cases of Genesis 24 and 1 Samuel 2:27–36,” *JBL* 121 (2002): 23–46.
- 2 Y. J. Yoo, *Israelian Hebrew in the Book of Hosea* (Ph.D. diss., Cornell University, 1999); and Y. Chen, *Israelian Hebrew in the Book of Proverbs* (Ph.D. diss.; Cornell University, 2000).

treated still other biblical texts; see, for example, James Davila's study of Qohelet.³

Throughout my studies and those of my students, one will find constant reference to Song of Songs. In my estimation, this exquisite poem is another example of an Israelian composition. Until now, however, I have not published a comprehensive listing of the IH features to be found in the book. The present article attempts to fill that gap. I hasten to add, though, that the material below appears only in outline form. Scott Noegel and I have completed a major study on the language of Song of Songs, which will appear in the years ahead, as a chapter in our planned co-authored book with the working title *Studies in the Song of Songs*.⁴ That study will include the full documentation in support of the identification of the grammatical and lexical features listed below as IH traits. But since said monograph is still years in the offing, I welcome the opportunity to provide the scholarly community with the current contribution. I trust that the reader will understand that limitations of space permit only the outline form. I equally hope that the schematic presentation will be beneficial to interested scholars, in advance of the full publication described above. I also should mention that I have presented the argument for the northern origin of Song of Songs at several scholarly gatherings in the past, most recently at the Institute for Advanced Studies of the Hebrew University, Jerusalem, in December 2001; this will explain the inclusion of this study in the present volume.

I begin with a few basic points of introduction. A northern origin for Song of Songs was proposed by several scholars in the 19th Century on the basis of the northern toponyms mentioned therein (Lebanon, Hermon, Senir, Amanah, Gilead, Tirzah, Damascus, etc.). As far as I am aware, S. R. Driver was the first to bring the linguistic evidence into the picture, in his classic book *An Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament*: "The diction of the poem exhibits several peculiarities, especially in the *uniform* use of the relative -ש (except in the title 1:1) for אשר, and in the recurrence of many words found never or rarely besides in Biblical Hebrew, but common in Aramaic, which show either that it must be a late work (post-exilic), or, if early, that it belongs to *North* Israel, where there is reason to suppose that the language spoken differed dialectically from that of Judah."⁵ Driver, of

3 J. R. Davila, 'Qoheleth and Northern Hebrew,' in *Sopher Mahir: Northwest Semitic Studies Presented to Stanislav Segert* (ed. E. M. Cook) = *Maarav* 5-6 (1990): 69-87.

4 Accordingly, I here express my thanks to Prof. Scott Noegel of the University of Washington (Seattle) for his contributions to the current line of research.

5 S. R. Driver, *An Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament* (New York, 1906), 448-49. I cite here the 12th edition of Driver's book. I have not been able to consult each previous edition, so I am unsure as to the earliest date of Driver's statement.

course, had far less Northwest Semitic material to work with than we possess today, and yet his general insight is, in my opinion, correct. Since Driver's day, with the steady increase of Phoenician, Ugaritic, Old Aramaic, and other texts at our disposal, other scholars have posited the northern origin of Song of Songs. Here I mention three Israeli scholars in particular: Shelomo Morag, Avi Hurvitz, and most importantly Yitzhak Avishur.⁶

Notwithstanding the work of these scholars, recent commentaries on the Song of Songs still do not regard the book as a northern composition. For example, in his 700-page classic Marvin Pope raises only a few points related to the question of the language of Song of Songs, and devotes only two or three lines to the issue of northern dialect, without even citing Driver or later scholars.⁷ Michael Fox, by contrast, enters into a lengthy discussion on the language of the Song of Songs. I agree with much of what he says, except for his conclusion: "What dialect, then, is it? There is no reason to identify it as a northern dialect (which, in any case, is not known to us)."⁸ Obviously I disagree with his statement that the northern dialect is not known to us. More pertinent to the present enterprise, I believe that quite clearly Song of Songs is written in the northern dialect, or as I prefer to call it Israelian Hebrew.

The reader familiar with my previous publications should be able to follow the argument from the outline alone. One immediately will be struck as to how often I appeal to Aramaic cognate material. Indeed, the presence of so many so-called Aramaisms serves as the basis for the oft-mentioned post-exilic date for Song of Songs (see already the one option noted by Driver in the quotation above). In truth, however, the presence of these Aramaic-like features in the book – or in any biblical book – is much more complicated. A conglomeration of Aramaic-like features (I prefer this term to "Aramaisms" when discussing IH issues) can just as easily signal a northern provenance.⁹

6 S. Morag, "On the Historical Validity of the Vocalization of the Hebrew Bible," *JAOS* 94 (1974): 308; A. Hurvitz, "Ha-Lashon ha-ʿIvrit ba-Tequfa ha-Parsit," in *Shivat Sīyyon – Yeme Shilton Paras* (Ha-Historiya shel ʿAm Yisraʿel; Jerusalem, 1983), 217–18 (with some qualification); Y. Avishur, "Le-Ziqa ha-Signonit beyn Shir ha-Shirim ve-Sifrut ʿUgarit," *Beth Miqra* 59 (1974): 508–25; and Y. Avishur, *Stylistic Studies of Word-Pairs in Biblical and Ancient Semitic Literatures* (AOAT 210; Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1984), 440.

7 M. H. Pope, *Song of Songs* (AB 7C; Garden City, 1977), 33–34, 362.

8 M. V. Fox, *The Song of Songs and the Ancient Egyptian Love Songs* (Madison, 1985), 188–89.

9 See the classic study by A. Hurvitz, "The Chronological Significance of 'Aramaisms' in Biblical Hebrew," *IEJ* 18 (1968): 234–40; along with my recent article: G. A. Rendsburg, "Hurvitz Redux: On the Continued Scholarly Inattention to a Simple Principle of Hebrew Philology," in *Biblical Hebrew: Chronology and Typology* (ed. I. Young; Sheffield, 2003), 104–28.

This is especially the case when one finds, as one does in Song of Songs, a large number of Ugaritic and Phoenician parallels.

In actuality, the only piece of linguistic evidence which serves the scholar to date the book to the post-exilic period is the presence of the Persian loanword פֶּרְדִּים “orchard, garden” in 4:13, assuming, with most scholars, that such a word could not have entered Hebrew prior to the late 6th century B.C.E., more likely the 5th century B.C.E. Though even here it is worth noting that several prominent scholars, Driver among them, were open to the suggestion that such a word “might have reached Israel through Solomon’s connexions with the East.”¹⁰ Though without concrete evidence in support of this latter position, one will accede to the Persian-period dating for Song of Songs. At any rate, in general the *date* of Song of Songs is an issue independent of the question of the book’s *geographical provenance*.

Accordingly, my research at this point focuses only on the language of Song of Songs as evidence for a northern origin, regardless of the period of composition. The strongest point in favor of this conclusion is, to repeat what I stated above, the presence of a large number of features with parallels in Ugaritic and Phoenician, alongside those with parallels in Aramaic. One should conclude, then, at least preliminarily, that Song of Songs is both late *and* northern (on a par, therefore, with a text such as Nehemiah 9).

With the preceding as introduction, we turn now to the specific evidence at hand. I present first the grammatical traits, proceeding from phonology to morphology to syntax, in usual manner, after which I turn to the lexical features. Within each division, I present the evidence in verse order.¹¹

10 Driver, *Introduction*, 449. See also C. Rabin, “The Song of Songs and Tamil Poetry,” *Studies in Religion: Sciences Religieuses* 3 (1973–74): 215. Unfortunately, Rabin stated about פֶּרְדִּים only the following: “It seems to me, however, that this word, to which also Greek *paradeisos* belongs, may be of different [i.e., non-Persian] origin.” But he provided no further information, neither here nor in a much more philologically detailed article: C. Rabin, “Millim ba-’Ivrit ha-Miqra’it mi-Lshon ha-’Indo-’Arim she-be-Mizrah ha-Qarov,” in *Sefer Shmuel Yeivin* (eds. S. Abramsky et al., Jerusalem, 1970), 462–96.

11 In most cases, *all* of the attestations of a given usage or lexeme occur in other IH texts. In a few instances, as noted throughout my research into IH, *occasional* attestations of a given feature occur in JH texts as well. They are marked in the outline by a smaller font and are tagged with the term “elsewhere” or with similar designation. One must expect such sporadic examples, as interdialectal penetration occurs in all languages from time to time.

1. Phonology

1. PS /z/ > /t/: נטר 'guard' (=standard Hebrew נצר) Song 1:6, 8:11, 8:12. Cf. Aramaic. See also below 4.3, 4.33.

2. PS /t/ > /t/: ברושים 'cypresses' Song 1:17 (=standard Hebrew ברושים). Cf. Aramaic, Song of Deborah (Judg 5:11), Jephthah story (Judg 11:40).

3. PS /d/ > /d/: דובב 'flow' (?) Song 7:10, from a byform of the root דוב (=standard Hebrew דוב). Cf. Aramaic.

4. /d/ > /f/: תרעה 'desire' Song 1:7 (as Janus word, parallel to שאהבה נפשי). Cf. Aramaic; various IH attestations.

2. Morphology

1. Relative pronoun -ש: *passim* in Song. Cf. Song of Deborah (Judg 5:7 [2x]), Gideon cycle (Judg 6:17, 7:12, 8:26); MH; cognate אש in Phoenician and Ammonite.

2. Independent possessive pronoun -שלי: Song 1:6, 8:12 שלי 'of mine' Song 3:7, שלשלמה 'of Solomon'. Cf. 2 Kgs 6:11 (Elisha cycle), Qoh 8:17, MH.

3. אִיכָה 'where': Song 1:7 (2x). Cf. אִיכָה 'where' 2 Kgs 6:13 in Elisha cycle; MH היכן (212x); Aramaic איכא/היכא, e.g., Peshitta איכא rendering אִיכָה in Gen 3:9. (See also Judg 20:3, according to Chaim Rabin.¹²)

4. דיילמא 'lest': Song 1:7. Calque of Aramaic דיילמא 'lest'.

5. עד ש 'until': Song 1:12, 2:7, 2:17, 3:4, 3:5, 4:6, 8:4 (three of these occur in the refrain [2:7, 3:5, 8:4]; two others [2:17, 4:6] are in a repeated expression). Cf. Judg 5:7. [Elsewhere Ps 123:2.] Cf. MH; Aramaic עד די. Note, e.g., *Tg. Neofiti* to Gen 8:7 מיא די יבשו מיא עד די יבשו המים rendering Hebrew עד יבשת המים.

6. 2fsg pronominal suffix כִּי-: Song 2:13K לכי. Cf. Elisha cycle (2 Kgs 4:2K, 4:3K, 4:7K [2x]), Psalm 116 (vv. 7 [2x], 19). [Elsewhere (Jer 11:15, Ps 103:3 [2x], 103:4 [2x], 103:5, 135:9, 137:6) due to Anathoth dialect (?), as true Aramaisms (?), or due to the reunion in the exile (?).]

7. Reduplicatory plural of geminate nouns: צללים 'shadows' Song 2:17, 4:6, and הררי 'mountains (of)' Song 4:8. Cf. Aramaic, and 14 of 18 biblical examples in non-Judahite settings (Balaam, Judges 5, northern Psalms, Nehemiah 9, etc.).

8. Feminine plural ending -ān: נצנים 'blossoms' Song 2:12. Cf. Aramaic nominal feminine plural ending -ān. Note the following similar forms with

12 C. Rabin, "Leshonam shel 'Amos ve-Hoshea'," in *Iyyunim be-Sefer Tre-'Asar* (ed. B. Z. Luria; Jerusalem, 1981), 123–24.

nun, albeit with masculine plural nouns: קמשונים 'weeds' Prov 24:31 (plural of קמוש). Cf. MH סמנים 'spices' (plural of סם); Phoenician אלנם 'gods'.

3. Syntax

1. Double plural construction: Song 1:17 קרוח בחינו 'beams of our houses' = 'beams of our house'. Cf. the following examples: Ps 29:1 בני אלים 'sons of the gods' (=deities); Ps 45:10 בנות מלכים 'daughters of the kings' (=princesses); Ps 77:6 שנות עולמים 'years of eternities', Ps 78:49 מלאכי רעים 'messengers of evils'; 2 Kgs 15:25 בני גלעדים 'sons of the Gileadites'.

2. Periphrastic genitive: מטתו שלשלמה 'the litter of Solomon' Song 3:7. Cf. MH, Aramaic, Amurru Akkadian.

3. Passive participle with active voice: אחזי חרב 'skilled in the sword' Song 3:8. Cf. 2 Kgs 6:9 נחתים 'descending'; MH, Syriac.

4. Numeral syntax: אחד ענק 'one bead' Song 4:9. Cf. Aramaic.

5. Preposition מן before an anarthrous noun: מן לבנון 'from Lebanon' Song 4:15; cf. IH, Deir 'Alla, Aramaic.

6. Copula construction, using 3rd person independent pronoun: ששים המה 'there are sixty queens' Song 6:8. Cf. MH; Syriac.¹³

7. Demonstrative pronoun with irregular syntax: זאת קומתך 'this stature of yours' (or 'this your stature') Song 7:8. Cf. IH (1 Kgs 14:14, 2 Kgs 6:33), MH, Aramaic (and probably Phoenician, e.g., ז מצבת סכר שם עבדעו [Umm el-'Amed 10:1-2).

4. Lexicon

1. נעם 'good, sweet, pleasant': Song 1:16, 7:7. Note 22 of 30 attestations of this root in BH in northern contexts. Cf. Phoenician, Ugaritic.

2. ערש 'bed': Song 1:16. Note 6 of 8 other attestations in BH in northern or Transjordanian contexts: Deut 3:11 (Bashan), Amos 3:12, 6:4, Ps 132:3, Prov 7:16, Job 7:13. [Elsewhere Ps 6:7, 41:4.] Cf. MH עריסה, Ugaritic, Aramaic.

13 The MH syntagma is slightly different, since the pronoun form serving as copula comes at the end of the phrase, e.g., *m. Roš Haš* 1:1 ארבעה ראשי שנה הם "there are four new years." As Prof. Jan Joosten (Université des Sciences Humaines de Strasbourg, Faculté de Théologie Protestante) kindly informs me, the Syriac syntagma bears closer resemblance to the usage in Song 6:8. Details will be presented in our more comprehensive study forthcoming.

14 See E. Y. Kutscher, *Studies in Galilean Aramaic* (Ramat Gan, 1976), 33.

Note, for example, ערס in *Tg. Onqelos* to Exod 7:28 and *Tg. Jonathan* to 2 Sam 3:31, both times rendering מטטה; in *Tg. Neofiti* to Gen 50:1; and *Lev. Rab.* 105:5 מטות שן דשן פיל translating Amos 6:4 שן.

3. רהיטים 'beams': Song 1:17Q. Derived from Aramaic root רהט 'run', thus 'runners' = 'beams'.

4. חוזה 'thistle': Song 2:2. Cf. 5 of 6 other attestations in BH in northern contexts: 2 Kgs 14:9 = 2 Chr 25:18 (in the mouth of the Israelian king Jehoash, with reference to Lebanon), Hos 9:6, Prov 26:9, Job 31:40; Aramaic. [Elsewhere Isa 34:13.]

5. רפד 'spread out, support, refresh': Song 2:5. Cf. Job 17:13, 41:22.

6. קפץ 'jump': Song 2:8. Cf. MH, Aramaic. Note, for example, קפץ in *Tg. Neofiti* to Lev 11:21 rendering נתר 'jump', and *Pesiq. Rab Kah.* 392:11 explaining Job 37:1 ויתר.

7. כהל 'wall': Song 2:9. Cf. Aramaic, e.g., in the Targumim *passim* for Hebrew קיר.

8. חרכים 'lattices': Song 2:9. Cf. MH, Aramaic. See *Tg. Neofiti* to Gen 8:6M, 26:8, *Tg. Jonathan* to Josh 2:15, 2:18, 2:21, Judg 5:28, 1 Sam 19:12, 2 Sam 6:16, etc., all rendering חלון; *Tg. Neofiti* to Gen 7:11M rendering ארבות; and *Tg. Pseudo-Jonathan* to Exod 22:1 rendering מחתרת.

9. סחו 'winter': Song 2:11. Cf. Aramaic, e.g., *Tg. Neofiti* to Gen 8:22 translating חרף.

10. פג 'unripe fig': in Song 2:13. Cf. MH (32x), Aramaic. Note *Tg. Pseudo-Jonathan* to Numb 6:4 with פגא for Hebrew ג.

11. סמדר (referring to some stage of the ripening of grapes): Song 2:13, 2:15, 7:13. Cf. Hazor epigraph, MH (4x), Aramaic. Note *Tg. Jonathan* to Isa 18:5 rendering Hebrew גמל.

12. ערב 'pleasing': Song 2:14. Cf. Prov 20:17; MH (16x).

13. שוק 'street': Song 3:2. Cf. Prov 7:8, Qoh 12:4-5; Aramaic. Note, e.g., *Tg. Neofiti* to Gen 39:12, 39:15, 39:18, Exod 21:19, Deut 24:11, *Tg. Jonathan* to 2 Sam 22:43, 1 Kgs 20:34, *Targum* to Prov 7:12, all rendering חוץ.

14. גלש 'flow': Song 4:1, 6:5. Cf. Ugaritic *glš*, plus one attestation in MH², namely, *b. Pes.* 37b ('boil').

15. קצב 'cut, shear': Song 4:2. Cf. 2 Kgs 6:6; MH; Phoenician; Aramaic. Note, e.g., *Samaritan Tg.* to Gen 15:10 rendering Hebrew בחר (2x).

16. שור 'leap, bound': Song 4:8. Cf. Syriac שור 'leap, bound, spring, jump'.

17. נפת 'honey': Song 4:11. Cf. Prov 5:3, 24:13, 27:7; Ugaritic *nbt*, Phoenician נפת. [Elsewhere Ps 19:11.]

18. מגד 'choice fruit': Song 4:13, 4:16. Cf. Deut 33:13-16 (5x) (blessing to Joseph), Aramaic.

19. ארה 'pluck': Song 5:1. Cf. Ps 80:13, MH (3x).
20. קוצות 'locks': Song 5:2, 5:11. Cf. MH (2x); Syriac, e.g., *Peshitta* to Ezek 44:20 translating Hebrew פָּרַע 'long hair'.
21. רסיסים 'droplets': Song 5:2. Cf. Aramaic-Syriac. Note, e.g., *Tg. Onqelos*, *Tg. Neofiti*, and *Fragment Tg.* to Deut 32:2, *Tg. Jonathan* to Jer 3:3, 14:22, rendering Hebrew רביבים 'droplets'. Note also the Aramaic-Syriac verbal root רסס 'drip, moisten, sprinkle', e.g., *Samaritan Tg.* to Deut 33:2 for Hebrew עָרַף, *Targum* to Prov 3:20 for Hebrew רָעַף, *Targum* to Prov 7:17 for Hebrew נוּף II. The Hebrew verb רסס in Ezek 46:14 is most likely a true Aramaism.
22. טנף 'soil': Song 5:3. Cf. MH (14x); Aramaic. Note, e.g., *Tg. Pseudo-Jonathan* to Numb 35:33 to render Hebrew חֲנֵף (2x), Deut 21:23 to render Hebrew טמא, *Targum* to Lam 4:14 to render Hebrew גאל.
23. מלאח 'pool': Song 5:12. Cf. *Gen. Rab.* 95:14
24. לבנה 'moon': Song 6:10. (Other BH examples are Isa 24:23, 30:26, which do not appear to aid our project.) Cf. MH (55x), to the exclusion of ירה (4x in Ben Sira, 1x in QH).
25. חמה 'sun': Song 6:10. Cf. Ps 19:7, Job 30:28. (Again, other BH examples are Isa 24:23, 30:26, which do not appear to aid our project.) Cf. post-biblical Hebrew data: חמה 207x in MH, 1x in Ben Sira; שמש 12x in Ben Sira, 22x in QH, 114x in MH.
26. אב 'fruit': Song 6:11. Cf. Job 8:12; MH (2x); Ugaritic *ib*; Aramaic איבא, אובא. Note, e.g., *Tg. Onqelos* to Gen 4:3, *Tg. Jonathan* to 2 Kgs 19:29 rendering פרי, *Targum* to Job 31:12 rendering תבואה.
27. נחל 'palm tree': Song 6:11. Cf. Num 24:6 (Balaam).
28. פֶּעַם 'foot': Song 7:2. Cf. Phoenician פֶּעַם, Ugaritic *pʿn*. BH distribution: Ps 58:11, 140:5 (northern psalms), perhaps 2 Kgs 19:24 = Isa 37:25 (in the mouth of Sennacherib). [Elsewhere Isa 26:6.]
29. חלאים 'jewels': Song 7:2. Cf. slightly variant forms in Hos 2:15, Prov 15:12.
30. אמן 'artisan, craftsman': Song 7:2. Cf. Prov 8:20 (and apparently Jer 52:15). Cf. post-biblical Hebrew data: אומן 86x in MH, 1x in Ben Sira; חרש 19x in MH, 6x in QH. Cf. Phoenician KAI 178:2–3 (Leptis Magna, Tripolitana): FELIOTH IADEM SY ROGATE YMMANNAI "the handiwork of Rogate the artisan." Cf. Aramaic אומן, e.g., *Peshitta* to Gen 4:22, Exod 28:11, *Samaritan Tg.* to Deut 27:15, *Tg. Neofiti* to Gen 4:22, all rendering Hebrew חרש; *Tg. Onqelos* and *Tg. Neofiti* to Exod 26:1 rendering Hebrew חשב.
31. מוג 'mixed wine': Song 7:3. Cf. MH, Aramaic. (The related root מסך also may be northern; cf. Ps 75:9 [Asaph psalm], Prov 23:30, Isa 65:11; Ugaritic *msk*.)
32. סוג 'fence': Song 7:3. Cf. MH סוג (18x), Aramaic סוג. See, e.g., *Tg.*

Pseudo-Jonathan to Num 22:25 rendering קיר, *Tg. Neofiti* to Num 22:24 rendering גדר, and *Tg. Neofiti* to Deut 22:8 rendering מעקה.

33. רהטים 'tresses': Song 7:6. Derived from Aramaic root רהט 'run', thus 'runners' = 'tresses'.

The accumulation of data, nineteen grammatical features and thirty-three lexical items, demonstrates that the book of Song of Songs is a northern composition. I obviously recognize that the poem nevertheless deals with Jerusalemite characters, in particular King Solomon and the daughters of Jerusalem. How and why this is can only be theorized, and this question remains fertile ground for further discussion. But from the objective treatment afforded by linguistic analysis, there seems to be little room for debate. The great master of Hebrew studies, S. R. Driver, was correct in assigning the origins of Song of Songs to northern Israel.¹⁵

15 For additional studies on ancient Hebrew dialect issues, I draw the reader's attention to my most recently published articles on the subject: "A Comprehensive Guide to Israelian Hebrew: Grammar and Lexicon," *Orient* 38 (2003): 5–35; and "The Geographical and Historical Background of the Mishnaic Hebrew Lexicon," *Orient* 38 (2003): 105–15.

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