

Israelian Hebrew, Inscriptions from the North of Israel, and Samaritan Hebrew: A Complex of Northern Dialects

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I. Examples of IH grammatical features:

1. Infinitive construct of ל"י (IIIy) verb, as in Ugaritic:

- Judg 13:21 לְהִרְאֶה (Samson)
- 1 Sam 1:9 שָׁתָה (Shiloh)
- 1 Sam 3:21 לְהִרְאֶה (Shiloh)
- 2 Kgs 13:17 בָּלָה (Elisha)
- Hos 6:9 חָפִי (northern prophet)
- CAT 1.6:I:9 ‘*d tšb^c bk*
‘until she is sated in crying’
- CAT 1.15:IV:27, V:10, VI:4 *llḥm . lšty . šḥtkm*
‘to eat (and) to drink I have summoned you’
- Phoenician לבנת ‘to build’ (KAI 26 A II 11),
למחת ‘to erase’ (KAI 26 C IV 15)

2. Preposition קבל ‘before’, as in Aramaic:

- 2 Kgs 15:10 קִבְּלִי-עַם ‘before the people’ (Shallum)

3. גִּפְּן זֹאת ‘this vine’ construction (indefinite noun + indefinite demonstrative pronoun), as in Phoenician:

- 2 Kgs 1:2, 8:8, 8:9 חָלִי זֶה ‘this illness’ (Ahaziah, Ben-Hadad)
- Mic 7:12 יוֹם הוּא ‘that day’ (northern section of Micah)
- Ps 80:15 גִּפְּן זֹאת ‘this vine’ (IH psalm)

- KAI 14.4, 7, 10 משכב ז 'this resting-place' (Eshmunazor)
- KAI 14.11 חלת ז 'this coffin' (Eshmunazor)
- KAI 10.11 מזבח ז 'this altar' (Yehawmilk)
- KAI 10.14 מקם ז 'this place' (Yehawmilk)
- KAI 1.2 ארן ז 'this coffin' (Ahiram)
- KAI 13.2 ארן ז 'this coffin' (Tabnit)
- Kition A.29.2, A.30.2 סמל אז 'this image'
- Kition B.47.2 מצבת ז 'this stele'

II. Examples of IH lexical items:

1. חֶלֶק 'field': 2 Kgs 9:10, 9:36, 9:37, Hos 5:7, Amos 7:4. /Aramaic/
2. בַּד 'jar': 1 Kgs 17:12, 17:14, 17:16, 1 Kgs 18:34 (Elijah),
Judges 7 (4x) (Gideon), Qoh 12:6 (IH), Genesis 24 (9x as
style-switching). /Ugaritic, Phoenician, Aramaic
(see also Kinneret epigraph below)/
3. שְׂפָעָה / שְׂפָע 'abundance, multitude': Deut 33:19 (Issachar-
Zebulun), 2 Kgs 9:17 (2x), Ezek 26:10 (Tyre), Job 22:11, 38:34
[elsewhere only Isa 60:6]. /Phoenician, Aramaic/
4. עֶרֶב-ב 'offer, sacrifice': /Phoenician/
 - Hos 9:4 לֹא יִסְבּוּ לַיהוָה | יֵינֹ וְלֹא יַעֲרְבוּ-לוֹ זִבְחֵיהֶם
'they shall not libate to YHWH wine,
and they shall not offer to him their sacrifices'
 - Avigad-Greenfield, *IEJ* 32 (1982), pp. 118-128:
קבעם || אנ חנ ערבת למרזח שמש
'2 cups I, Hanno, have offered to the *marzeah* of Šemeš'

III. Inscriptions from the north of Israel:

1. Kinneret jar fragment: כד השער 'the jug of the gate'
(cf. above II.2)
2. Hazor jar fragment: לפקה סמדר 'to Peqah, wine-blossom'
(cf. Song 2:13, 2:15, 7:13) (2x Mishna / 1x Sifra)
(Aramaic-Syriac-Mandaic)

IV. Aramaic inscriptions from the far north:

1. Tel Dan mentioning ביתדוד
2. 'Ein Gev: לשקיא 'to the drink providers'

V. Samaria Ostraca

1. vocabulary items

שח 'year'	שמן 'oil'
נבל 'bottle'	רחץ 'washed'
ין 'wine'	כרם 'grove, vineyard'
ישן 'old'	

2. Samaria ostrakon 111:

ברך שלם Barukh paid [
ברך הרעם הקשבון Barukh, the shepherds heeded [
ימנה שערים ? 1 1 1 shall be remitted 3 barley (measures)

3. monophthongization of $ay > \hat{e}$ (as in Phoenician and Ugaritic):

ין 'wine' – cp. BH יין and Arad, Lachish, Hebron יין

4. שַׁנָּה 'year' (as in Phoenician, Aramaic) ~ שַׁנָּה 'year'
 - English *lb.* 'pound' < Latin *libra*
5. שָׁמַן רָחַץ /rahūṣ/ 'washed', in the expression שָׁמַן רָחַץ –

cf. Ahituv, *Echoes from the Past*, p. 277: 'the standard technical term used in the northern Kingdom for the biblical שָׁמַן זָךְ'

VI. Kuntillet 'Ajrud inscriptions

1. nos. 2.4-2.5-2.6 (stone vessels)
 - 2.4 – לְשָׂרֵעַר 'to the governor of the city'
 - 2.5 – לְ[שָׂרֵעַר] '[to] the governor of the city'
 - 2.6 – לְ[שָׂרֵעַר] '[to the governor of] the city'
 - Contrast Avigad-Sass, *Corpus of West Semitic Stamp Seals*, bulla no. 402 שַׂר הָעָר (Jerusalem), with def.art.
 - Phoenician – KAI 43.2 רַב אֶרֶץ 'governor of the land'
 - though see now the new Jerusalem bulla שַׂרֵעַר
2. no. 3.9, lines 2-3: וְאִם פָּתָה וְנָתַן לָהּ יְהוָה כְּלִבָּבָהּ (Pithos B)

'and if he would desire, then YHW will grant him in accordance with his heart'

 - Hos 2:16 לָכֵן הִנֵּה אֲנִי מְפַתֶּיָּהּ וְהִלַּכְתִּיָּהּ הַמִּדְבָּר וְדִבַּרְתִּי עַל־לִבָּהּ:

'hence, behold I persuade her, and I will lead her into the wilderness, and I will speak to her heart'
 - Prov 25:15 בְּאַרְךָ אַפִּים יִפְתָּה קָצִין וְלִשׁוֹן רַכָּה תִשְׁבַּר־גִּרָּם:

'with patience a ruler may be persuaded, and a soft tongue may break a bone'

3. no. 4.1.1, line 1: יתנו ל[י]הוה (plaster inscription)

‘may they recount to [Y]HWH’

- Judg 5:11 שם יתנו צדקות יהוה (Deborah)

‘there they recount the righteous-acts of YHWH’

- Judg 11:40 מִיָּמִים | יְמִימָה תִּלְכְּנָה בָּנוֹת יִשְׂרָאֵל לְתַנּוֹת לְבַת-יִפְתָּח הַגִּלְעָדִי

‘from year to year the daughters of Israel go-out to recount
(the story) of the daughter of Jephthah the Gileadite’

VII. Samaritan Hebrew

1. contraction of diphthongs (*GSH*, 65):

TH מוֹת SH /mot/

TH תוֹךְ SH /tok/ (Num 35:5)

TH בֵּית SH /bit/ /bet/

TH זֵית SH /zit/

TH אֵין SH /īn/

TH עֵין SH /īn/

cf. letter names עֵין /īn/ and זֵין /zīn/

2. Merger of *šin* and *śin* (as in Phoenician and Ugaritic)

3. Relative pronoun -ש

- IH: Judg 5:7 (2x) (IH poem); Judg 6:17, 7:12, 8:26 (Gideon cycle); 2 Kgs 6:11 (story set in the north); etc.
- MT Torah and SP both use אשר
- toponym שניר (Deut 3:9) /šinnər/ ‘of the yoke’ (*GSH*, 321)

4. 1st common singular personal pronoun
 - Proto-Semitic *'anāku* (as in Akkadian)
 - TH אֲנִי ~ SH /ānāki/ (*GSH*, 226)
 - cf. Punic *anec* (Plautus)
5. 2nd feminine singular personal pronoun אַתְּ /ātti/ (*GSH*, 226)
(as in Aramaic)

7x in the Bible as Ketiv

 - 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?)
6. SC 2nd person feminine singular -ti: פִּקְדַּת /fāqādti/ (*GSH*, 108)
 - cf. Judg 5:7 (2x) עַד שֶׁקָּמְתִי דְּבוּרָה שֶׁקָּמְתִי אִם בִּישָׁרָאֵל
 - see also Ruth 3:3 (K), 3:4 (K) – archaism
 - many occurrences in Jeremiah and Ezekiel
7. Single infinitive form /fāqad/ (with variants) (*GSH*, 208-209)
cf., e.g., 1 Sam 1:9 וְאַחֲרֵי שֶׁתָּה
8. Expression of the reciprocal
 - MT אִשׁ אֶל-אֶחָיו (masc.) ~ אִשָּׁה אֶל-אֶחָתָהּ (fem.)
 - (Exod 25:20, 37:9) ~ (Exod 26:3 [2x], 26:5, 26:6, 26:17)
 - SP אחת אל אחת ~ אחד אל אחד
 - [not, however, in Exod 16:15, Lev 25:14, Num 14:4]
 - [though see also MT Exod 36:10 אֶחָת אֶל-אֶחָת]
 - IH: 2 Sam 14:6 הָאִשָּׁה אֶת-הָאָחָד (woman of Teqoa)
 - Targum Onqelos to Exod 26:3 אחד עם אחד, etc.
 - Job 41:8 אָחָד בְּאָחָד