JBL 121/1 (2002) 23–46

SOME FALSE LEADS IN THE IDENTIFICATION OF LATE BIBLICAL HEBREW TEXTS: THE CASES OF GENESIS 24 AND 1 SAMUEL 2:27–36

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One of the major achievements in the modern study of the Bible and the Hebrew language is the capacity for scholars to distinguish between Standard Biblical Hebrew (SBH) and Late Biblical Hebrew (LBH). Major strides in this direction were made already in the nineteenth century,[1] while more solid philological work in the twentieth century elevated the discussion to even firmer ground.[2]

The identification of late biblical texts is often quite obvious. Books such as Ezra, Nehemiah, Chronicles, Esther, Daniel, Qohelet, Haggai, Zechariah, and some others clearly date from the Persian period (or, in the case of Daniel, from the Hellenistic period). Occasionally the evidence is less obvious, but given the strong foundation of the SBH–LBH dichotomy, scholars have sought to expand the size of the late biblical corpus by identifying selected texts elsewhere in the Bible as exilic or postexilic compositions. This paper will have a look at two such attempts, with the hope of demonstrating that the learned authors who have made these specific proposals have been misled by some false leads.

[1] GKC, 12–17 §2l–v presented a general picture distinguishing the two strata of BH. In addition, many comments may be found in S. R. Driver, *An Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1906), as well as in the entries in BDB.

[2] The leading scholar working in this area is Avi Hurvitz. Among his many publications, the most comprehensive are his monographs *Beyn Lashon le-Lashon* (Jerusalem: Bialik, 1972) and *A Linguistic Study of the Relationship Between the Priestly Source and the Book of Ezekiel* (Paris: Gabalda, 1982).

I. Genesis 24

The first proposal is that of Alexander Rofé, who advocated a Persian period dating for Gen 24.[3] Rofé argued along five independent lines—language, legal background, religious doctrine, literary form, and the moral of the story—which he believed converge to prove his point. I will treat only the first of these approaches, the language issue, for it is on this pillar, I think one may state safely, that the remaining ones rest.

Rofé put forward eight linguistic points, which in his mind have strong parallels in Aramaic and in Mishnaic Hebrew (MH).[4] Since these latter two idioms form the basis for isolating LBH features, one can easily see how Rofé arrived at his conclusion. We will review these items one-by-one, but first let me state my alternative approach. Rofé is not incorrect; there are Aramaisms in Gen 24. But Rofé is wrong in utilizing these features to date the text to the Persian period, for he has not paid attention to the setting of the story. Abraham sends his trusted servant to Aram to procure a proper bride for Isaac. As occurs elsewhere in the Bible, so here: the Aramean setting serves as the catalyst for the inclusion of Aramaisms in the narrative. The best example of this technique occurs only a bit down the road in the book of Genesis, in the story of Jacob and Laban, where the language is filled with Aramaisms.[5] With this in mind, let us look at the individual features noted by Rofé. Generally, Rofé presented the information in skeleton form; I have expanded the discussion to produce a fuller treatment.

[3] Rofé has published his study in three versions: "Sippur ʾErusei Rivqa (Bereshit 24): Meḥqar Sifruti-Histori," *Eshel Beer-Sheva* 1 (1976): 42–67; "La Composizione di Gen. 24," *BeO* 23 (1981): 161–65; and "An Enquiry into the Betrothal of Rebekah," in *Die Hebräische Bibel und ihre zweifache Nachgeschichte: Festschrift für Rolf Rendtorff zum 65. Geburtstag* (ed. E. Blum, C. Macholz, and E. W. Stegemann; Neukirchen: Neukirchener Verlag, 1990), 27–39. Of these, the Italian version is a mere sketch of the fuller treatment found in the Hebrew and English versions. Unfortunately, however, the existence of the larger two articles came to my attention (courtesy of Professor Rofé himself, in fact, during a conversation in December 2001 during a visit of mine to Jerusalem) only after I received the proofs for this article. That is to say, I based the present article on my reading of solely the Italian version. I was able to make some last-minute changes through the good graces of the *JBL* editorial staff, but I apologize for not being able to interact wholly with Professor Rofé's longer studies. On the other hand, the differences among all three versions are not great.

[4] See in the Hebrew version, pp. 49–52; in the Italian version, pp. 162–63; and in the English version, pp. 28–30. I will refrain from footnoting each individual point raised by Rofé. The entirety of the linguistic treatment may be found on these pages.

[5] See J. C. Greenfield, "Aramaic Studies and the Bible," in *Congress Volume: Vienna 1980* (ed. J. A. Emerton; VTSup 32; Leiden: Brill, 1981), 129–30; and G. A. Rendsburg, "Linguistic Variation and the 'Foreign' Factor in the Hebrew Bible," *IOS* 15 (1996): 177–90, esp. 182–83.

1. The expression אלהי השמים, "God of Heaven," appears in vv. 3 and 7. This phrase occurs elsewhere in the Bible in Jonah 1:9; Ezra 1:2; Neh 1:4, 5; 2:4, 20; and 2 Chr 36:23, all under the influence of Aramaic אלה שמיא, attested in Ezra 5:12; 6:9, 10; 7:12, 21; Dan 2:18, 19, 37, 44, as well as in the Elephantine texts (e.g., Cowley 30:2 = *TAD* A 4.7:2). There is no doubt that it is an Aramaism in the Hebrew texts in which it occurs.

2. The phrase אשר לא תקח, "that you not take," in v. 3, within the imprecation of what the servant must swear not to do, runs counter to the expected Hebrew wording אם תקח.[6] According to Rofé, Gen 24:3 presents a calque on the usual Aramaic wording, a point with which I agree. For example, Gen 21:23 אם תשקר לי, "that you not deceive me," is rendered by *Tg. Onqelos* as דלא תשקר בי; and 1 Sam 24:21 אם תכרית את זרעי אחרי, "that you will not destroy my seed after me," is rendered by *Tg. Jonathan* as דלא תשיצי ית זרעי בתרי. In light of these examples, Abraham's words to the servant, אשר לא תקח, are to be seen as a calque on a postulated Aramaic דלא תסב (indeed, this is the rendering of *Tg. Onqelos*).[7]

3. Rofé's next example is the use of the verb ברך in v. 11 meaning "to kneel," or in this case, the only *hipʿil* of this root in the Bible, "to cause to kneel." He noted Ps 95:6 and 2 Chr 6:13 as the only other two cases of ברך "kneel" in BH (both in the *qal*), and claimed that both of these texts are late. Clearly, the latter passage dates to the Persian period, but I see no other evidence of LBH in Ps 95.[8] Moreover, as Avi Hurvitz has emphasized, it is insufficient merely to demonstrate that a particular lexeme is attested only in late

[6] Rofé also suggested כי לא תקח as an alternative standard Hebrew wording, but I do not believe that such a phrase is attested within oaths. The example in 1 Kgs 18:10, if this is what Rofé had in mind, represents another usage.

[7] The only other possible example of this usage in the Bible, as far as I can determine, is 1 Kgs 22:16 אשר לא תדבר אלי, "that you not speak to me," in the mouth of the king of Israel (most likely Ahab, though he is mentioned by name only once [v. 20] in this story, and even then in a relatively indirect manner) to the prophet Micaiah. This would be an example of an Israelian Hebrew (IH) feature, with an isogloss created between IH and Aramaic. See G. A. Rendsburg, *Israelian Hebrew in the Book of Kings* (Bethesda, MD: CDL Press, forthcoming).

[8] I am not sure what has led Rofé, among others, to consider Psalm 95 a late composition. Its inclusion in section 4 of the book of Psalms is clearly insufficient grounds. Note that Hurvitz (*Beyn Lashon le-Lashon*) did not treat Psalm 95 in his study of the late psalms. In fact, the statement in v. 3 ומלך גדול על כל אלהים, "and a great king over all gods," suggests to this reader a preexilic date for Psalm 95. I, along with most scholars, place the shift from monolatry to monotheism in the exilic period. Accordingly, this passage, with its acceptance of the existence of other gods, suggests a preexilic date. For my views on the historical development of ancient Israelite religion, see G. A. Rendsburg, "An Essay on Israelite Religion," in *Approaches to Ancient Judaism* (new series, vol. 8; ed. J. Neusner; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995), 1–17.

texts. One also must demonstrate the linguistic contrast, that the putative LBH vocabulary item replaces a semantically equivalent SBH word or phrase. Since there is no SBH equivalent to ברך "kneel" (*qal*), "cause to kneel" (*hipʿil*),[9] one must assume that this usage was attested throughout the history of the Hebrew language, with only a few attestations, but equally distributed throughout the corpus, two preexilic (Gen 24:11; Ps 95:6) and one postexilic (2 Chr 6:13). In short, this example is not relevant to the current discussion.

4. The verb גמא occurs in v. 17 in the *hipʿil*, with the meaning "give drink." The root occurs elsewhere in the Bible only in Job 39:24, in the *piʿel*, where the meaning is "swallow" in a metaphorical sense,[10] with reference to the horse pummeling the ground. The presence of this root in Job is relevant to our discussion, since Job is another book replete with Aramaisms—though, again, not because it is late necessarily, but because the setting of the book, in the Transjordanian desert fringe, prompts such usages.[11] The broader Aramaic picture provides some further usages of the root גמא, though in truth one never finds the verb in regular or frequent use. The *Samaritan Targum* employs the root, in the form גמי, only in our passage, Gen 24:17.[12] Y. *ʿAbodah Zarah* 2:41c uses the root גמי to explain the root שרף, "suck," in *m. ʿAbod. Zar.* 2:5.[13] A byform occurs

[9] The more frequently attested root כרע generally is translated as "bow" (*qal*), "cause to bow" (*hipʿil*), though clearly it sometimes means the same as the root ברך (e.g., Ezra 9:5). But the root ברך does not replace the root כרע, which continues to be used throughout classical Hebrew, including in late biblical texts (e.g., Ezra 9:5; Esth 3:2, 5) and in postbiblical sources (e.g., 1QM 11:13; *m. Yoma* 6:2).

[10] See the evidence adduced by S. R. Driver and G. B. Gray, *The Book of Job* (ICC; Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1921), 322. For an alternative view, see R. Gordis, *The Book of Job* (New York: Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1978), 462.

[11] See S. A. Kaufman, "The Classification of the North West Semitic Dialects of the Biblical Period and Some Implications Thereof," in *Proceedings of the Ninth World Congress of Jewish Studies: Panel Sessions, Hebrew and Aramaic Languages* (Jerusalem: World Union of Jewish Studies, 1988), 54–55.

[12] A. Tal, *A Dictionary of Samaritan Aramaic* (2 vols.; HO; Leiden: Brill, 2000), 1:149.

[13] This is an instance of the later printed editions of the Talmud Yerushalmi preserving a better reading than the earlier witnesses. The Venice edition and the Leiden manuscript both read גמילה as one word (see P. Schäfer and H.-J. Becker, *Synopse zum Talmud Yerushalmi,* vol. 4 [Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1995], 269), whereas the standard printed edition of more recent vintage reads two separate words גמי לה, "swallow it" (*Talmud Yerushalmi* [n.pl.: n.p., 1980], 7:29 [of the *ʿAbodah Zarah* section]). On the latter as the proper reading, see J. N. Epstein, *Mavoʾ le-Nusaḥ ha-Mishna* (2d ed.; Jerusalem: Magnes, 1964), 405; and G. A. Wewers, *Avoda Zara: Götzendienst* (Übersetzung des Talmud Yerushalmi 4/7; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1980), 72 n. 270. Prof. Shamma Friedman informs me that it is common in manuscripts of the Talmud Yerushalmi for two short words to be written as one longer word, that is, without the expected space. Our case of גמילה would be a prime example of this phenomenon.

as the root גמע in other Jewish Aramaic sources and in Syriac.[14] In Tannaitic Hebrew, the form גמע predominates, but the forms גמא and גמי also occur; assuming that the root is not part of the standard Hebrew vocabulary, in any of its dialects, we may consider the presence of גמי/גמא/גמע in Tannaitic Hebrew to be a borrowing from Aramaic.[15] The evidence is slender, but we concur with Rofé that this is an Aramaic lexical element.

5. The next item raised by Rofé is the use of the verb ערה in v. 20 for "pour (liquids)," the only such case in the Bible.[16] He noted correctly that this usage is typical of MH, e.g., *m.* ʿ*Abod. Zar.* 5:7 and *m. Nid.* 10:6, and he therefore concluded that the sole biblical usage points to the lateness of Gen 24. However, Rofé did not bring the Aramaic evidence into the picture. In Aramaic, this verb also occurs in the sense of "pour (liquids)," as well as "flow." Note, for example, *Pesiqta de-Rab Kahana* 234 כהדין דמערי סאתא, "like the one who pours out a seah";[17] *Samaritan Targum* to Gen 49:4 אתרעת כמיה, "you flow like water" (with metathesis from original אתערת), rendering the difficult Hebrew phrase פחז כמים;[18] and אערי in *Tg. Qohelet* to Qoh 11:3, rendering Hebrew ריק, with reference to the clouds emptying themselves of water.[19] In light of these usages, one may assume that the root ערה in Gen 24:20 is another Aramaic feature in the narrative, not simply a sign of LBH. The MH employment of this verb for pouring liquids is most likely a sign of Aramaic influence.

6. The verb משתאה, "gaze, watch," from the root שאה, in v. 21, is a *hapax legomenon.*[20] Rofé related this word to the MH root שהה, meaning "pause, delay, tarry, wait." The semantics are not perfect, but the connection is possible. However, the MH verb is almost certainly borrowed from Aramaic, as noted by

[14] Jastrow 1:252; and J. Payne Smith, *A Compendious Syriac Dictionary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1903), 72 (though with the meaning "dip, immerse, baptize").

[15] For details, see M. Moreshet, *Leqsiqon ha-Poʿal she-Niṯhadesh bi-Lshon ha-Tannaʾim* (Ramat-Gan: Bar-Ilan University Press, 1980), 124. One passage, *m. Šabb.* 14:4, attests all three forms in different versions! Printed editions and the Yemenite tradition have ינמע; the Kaufman and Parma manuscripts have ינמה; and the Lowe manuscript and the ʿ*Arukh* have ינמא (ibid., 124 n. 33).

[16] BDB, 788.

[17] M. Sokoloff, *A Dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic* (Ramat-Gan: Bar-Ilan University Press, 1990), 419.

[18] Tal, *Dictionary of Samaritan Aramaic*, 2:664.

[19] Jastrow 2:1116.

[20] Not a pure *hapax*, of course, since the root שאה is attested widely with an altogether different meaning—"ruin, destroy." See BDB, 980–81. The meaning "gaze" is determined from the context, as well as from the LXX rendering with καταμανθάνω, "observe well, examine closely" (see H. G. Liddell and R. Scott, *Greek-English Lexicon* [2 vols.; Oxford: Clarendon, 1925], 1:900), used elsewhere to translate ראה (Gen 34:1; Lev 14:36) and שור (Job 35:5) (see HRCS, 739).

M. H. Segal and M. Moreshet.[21] If Rofé is correct in associating the two roots, BH שאה and MH-Aramaic שהי/שהה,[22] then we may utilize this evidence as additional fodder for the Aramean coloring of the story. But beyond this, the author of our pericope selected this rare word for the specific purpose of producing alliteration with the roots שתה, "drink," occurring seven times in the chapter (including nearby in vv. 18, 19, 22), and שאב, "draw (water)," also occurring seven times in the chapter (including nearby in vv. 19 and 20). Note especially the form ותשאב in v. 20, which alliterates the most with משתאה, following four words later, because of the presence of the 3d feminine singular preformative ת- (the alliteration is completed by the correspondence of the labial consonants *bet* and *mem* in these two words).[23]

7. Rofé correctly noted that אם לא occurs in v. 38 with the sense of "but rather," instead of the standard Hebrew form כי אם. (Indeed, the Samaritan Pentateuch reads כי אם.) Rofé related this usage, again correctly, to MH אלא, "but, however, rather, instead."[24] But once more he neglected to incorporate the Aramaic evidence. The form of MH אלא, vocalized *ʾellā*, with *lā* (and not *lô*) as the second syllable, points to an Aramaic origin, as all scholars recognize.[25] Middle Aramaic texts provide extensive evidence of אלא.[26] The source of אלא is אן לא,[27] earlier Aramaic הן לא, that is, the conditional particle אן/הן fol-

[21] For full treatment, see Moreshet, *Leqsiqon*, 358 n. 10°°. For an earlier reference, see M. H. Segal, *A Grammar of Mishnaic Hebrew* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1927), 51 = M. Z. Segal, *Diqduq Leshon ha-Mishna* (Tel-Aviv: Devir, 1936), 108.

[22] Jastrow (2:1527) believed that שהי in *b. Ḥul.* 75b means "gaze," and he may be correct—in which case the semantic link between the two roots is firmer—but the context permits "pause" here too. Recent translations, in fact, understand שהי in this manner; see E. Cashdan, *Ḥullin* (London: Soncino, 1980), 150, with the rendering "was waiting"; and J. Neusner, *Bavli Tractate Hullin* (The Talmud of Babylonia: An Academic Commentary 30; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1994), 328, with the rendering "hesitated."

[23] I am preparing a monograph on alliteration in the Bible, not only in poetry, where scholars are more inclined to see the technique in operation, but also in prose. I have delivered a public lecture on several occasions in recent years, entitled "Alliteration as a Compositional Factor in Biblical Hebrew Literature" (Association for Jewish Studies annual meeting, Boston, Mass., December 1997; Leiden University, January 2000; and Johns Hopkins University, February 2000), and I would be happy to supply a copy of the handout to any interested reader. See provisionally G. A. Rendsburg, "Word Play in Biblical Hebrew: An Eclectic Collection," in *Puns and Pundits: Word Play in the Bible and in Near Eastern Literature* (ed. S. B. Noegel; Bethesda, MD: CDL Press, 2000) 137–62, esp. 137–38.

[24] See already Segal, *Grammar*, 147 = Segal, *Diqduq*, 170.

[25] Ibid., for example.

[26] Jastrow 1:66; Sokoloff, *Dictionary*, 58–59; D. R. Hillers and E. Cussini, *Palmyrene Aramaic Texts* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), 338; and Tal, *Dictionary of Samaritan Aramaic*, 1:31.

[27] See, e.g., Sokoloff, *Dictionary*, 58.

lowed by the negative particle לא.[28] Hebrew אם לא, with the meaning "but, however, rather, instead" as in Gen 24:38, is modeled after the Aramaic usage. The only other sure case of אם לא in the Bible with this sense is Ps 131:2.[29] In Ps 131:2 the expression clearly must mean "but rather," as the psalmist contrasts the things that he does not do in v. 1 with the things that he does do in v. 2. Possibly Ps 131 is a late psalm,[30] even though I see no glaring LBH features in this short composition, and thus אם לא in v. 2 can be attributed to Aramaic influence.[31] In addition, however, we also must reckon with a literary purpose. Since the word לא occurs three times in v. 1 (and see also the *lamed-'aleph* combination in the word נפלאות), the poet may have opted for אם לא instead of SBH כי אם thereby to include one additional use of the word לא. Regardless of how we assess Ps 131:2, the bottom line is this: אם לא in Gen 24:38 is a calque on the Aramaic phrase הן לא (later אן לא, yielding eventually אלא, which then was borrowed into MH as a regularly occurring feature).

8. The final item identified by Rofé is the noun מגדנות, "choice gifts," in v. 53; elsewhere in the Bible it is attested in Ezra 1:6; 2 Chr 21:3; 32:23.[32] The word מגדנות is related to the shorter noun מגד, "choice fruit," attested five times in Deut 33:13–16, the blessing to Joseph, and three times in Song of Songs (4:13, 16; 7:14). This distribution alone points to an IH (= Israelian Hebrew)

[28] Three cases of הן לא are attested in Egyptian Aramaic, though the meaning in these passages is "if not, otherwise." For the passages and bibliography, see *DNWSI* 1:286 (*sub* definition 3). See now also T. Muraoka and B. Porten, *A Grammar of Egyptian Aramaic* (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 323. Although the two elements of the phrase retain their individual meanings in these cases, that is, הן = "if" and לא = "no, not," one can presume that in Old Aramaic הן לא also could mean "but, however, rather, instead," in line with the sense of the later Aramaic form אלא.

[29] Otherwise אם לא means simply "if such-and-such does not happen" (see previous note). An additional force is present in Ezekiel on a number of occasions, where אם לא is used as an emphatic particle "surely, truly"; see M. Greenberg, *Ezekiel 1–20* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1983), 69. This meaning also may be present in Deut 32:30; for a recent treatment of this verse, see P. Sanders, *The Provenance of Deuteronomy 32* (OTS 37; Leiden: Brill, 1996), 211. Normally, A. Even-Shoshan is very good about distinguishing the different nuances of words and phrases (*Qonqordanṣya Ḥadasha* [Jerusalem: Qiryat Sepher, 1992]), but in this case he lumps all instances of אם לא together (pp. 80–81). Finally, see BDB, 50.

[30] As is well known, many of the psalms numbered 101–150 are dated to the postexilic period. Indeed, all the psalms discussed by Hurvitz, *Beyn Lashon le-Lashon,* are within this span.

[31] Alternatively, Ps 131 may be a northern composition. The following two psalms (Pss 132–133) reflect Israelian Hebrew (IH) (see G. A. Rendsburg, *Linguistic Evidence for the Northern Origin of Selected Psalms* [Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990], 87–93), and there is a tendency for northern compositions to follow each other in the corpus (Korah psalms, Asaph psalms, Pss 140–141). However, just as there are no other signs of LBH in the short Ps 131, there also are no other signs of IH.

[32] Note that the form is written *defectiva* as מגדנת in Gen 24:53; it appears *plene* as מגדנות in its other biblical occurrences. I will spell it with *waw* throughout for the sake of clarity and consistency.

origin for מגד (we will discuss IH further in the second section of this article).[33] But bolstering that conclusion, and more pertinent to our present enterprise, is the fact that both the shorter and longer forms of our word, but especially the longer form, occur more frequently in Aramaic.[34] Thus we have another isogloss between IH and Aramaic. Most striking is the fact that *Tg. Onqelos*, *Tg. Neofiti*, and the *Fragmentary Targum* (MS Vat. Ebr. 440) render the shorter form מגד in Deut 33:13–16 with the longer form מגדין (albeit with the ending -ין).[35] Furthermore, the form that we find in Gen 24:53, with the ending -ות, is employed by the Samaritan Targum in the phrase מגדנות חקלא to render Hebrew תנופת שדי in Deut 32:13 (thus the Samaritan Pentateuch; MT has תנובת שדי).[36] In sum, the form מגדנות in Gen 24:53 is a glaring Aramaic feature in the narrative.

We sum up the preceding discussion as follows: items 1, 2, 7, and 8 have strong Aramaic affinities; items 4 and 5 have less evidence to support them, but an Aramaic connection is evident nonetheless; item 6 may be germane, but the evidence is even slighter; and item 3 is not relevant. In short, Rofé was absolutely correct to note the concentration of Aramaic elements in Gen 24.

In fact, there is another Aramaic feature in Gen 24, though not noticed by Rofé, which we may call item 9.

9. One of the characteristic features of Gen 24 is the word כד, "jug, vessel, pitcher," appearing nine times in the chapter (vv. 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 20, 43, 45, 46). This lexeme occurs elsewhere in the Bible only in northern settings: Judg 7:16 (2x), 19, 20 in the Gideon cycle; 1 Kgs 17:12, 14, 16; 18:34 in the Elijah cycle; and Qoh 12:6, a northern composition.[37] This distribution permits the conclusion that כד, "jug, vessel, pitcher" was a lexical feature of IH.[38] Supporting this conclusion are the following pieces of evidence: (a) the form is attested

[33] The evidence for Song of Songs as a northern composition, including a discussion of מגד, will be presented in S. B. Noegel and G. A. Rendsburg, *Studies in Song of Songs* (work in progress). I have presented the linguistic data on several occasions, most recently at the Institute for Advanced Studies of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem in December 2001.

[34] In addition to the sources cited in the next two footnotes, see Jastrow 2:726; and C. Brockelmann, *Lexicon Syriacum* (Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1928), 373.

[35] For the latter two sources, see Sokoloff, *Dictionary*, 289.

[36] See Tal, *Dictionary of Samaritan Aramaic*, 2:449–50.

[37] The northern origin of the Gideon and Elijah cycles should be self-evident. The latter will be treated in detail in my forthcoming book *Israelian Hebrew in the Book of Kings* (see n. 7 above). For the northern provenance of Qohelet, see J. R. Davila, "Qoheleth and Northern Hebrew," in *Sopher Mahir: Northwest Semitic Studies Presented to Stanislav Segert* (ed. E. M. Cook; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1990) = *Maarav* 5–6 (1990): 69–87.

[38] As noted by Davila, "Qoheleth and Northern Hebrew," 86. See also W. Schniedewind and D. Sivan, "The Elijah-Elisha Narratives: A Test Case for the Northern Dialect of Hebrew," *JQR* 87 (1997): 303–37, in particular 327–28.

in an inscription from Tel el-ʿOreme (on the Sea of Galilee) dated to the eighth century: כד השער, "jar of the gate";[39] (b) it occurs very frequently (53 times, to be specific) in MH,[40] representing a northern or Galilean dialect of Hebrew in Roman times;[41] and (c) cognates occur in Ugaritic and Phoenician.[42] But more important for the topic at hand, the word כד is also well attested in Aramaic, in diverse dialects.[43] Accordingly, as with item 8 above, we may posit a lexical isogloss between IH and Aramaic.

To repeat once more: Rofé was correct to note the presence of Aramaisms in Gen 24. He erred in two ways, however. First, he pushed the MH connection at times without recognizing that the MH evidence in these cases was due to Aramaic influence. And, second and more important, he reached the wrong conclusion regarding the Aramaisms in Gen 24. As I stated above, he neglected to consider the literary setting of this narrative. The Aramaisms in this narrative are not evidence for a late date, but rather are to be explained as the author's desire to provide an Aramean coloring for a story set in Aram.[44]

The author even went so far as to place some of these Aramaisms in Abraham's mouth (items 1 and 2). Abraham is sending one of his servants to Aram to

[39] See I. Ephʿal and J. Naveh, "The Jar of the Gate," *BASOR* 289 (1993): 59–65.

[40] See *Maʾagarim: The Hebrew Language Historical Dictionary Project,* CD-ROM (Jerusalem: Academy of the Hebrew Language, 1998); and the older microfiche publication *The Historical Dictionary of the Hebrew Language,* Materials for the Dictionary, Series I, 200 B.C.E.–300 C.E. (Jerusalem: Academy of the Hebrew Language, 1988), microfiche 050, plates 10146-47 (henceforth *HDHL*).

[41] G. A. Rendsburg, "The Galilean Background of Mishnaic Hebrew," in *The Galilee in Late Antiquity* (ed. L. I. Levine; New York: Jewish Theological Seminary, 1992), 225–40. Since publishing this article, I have done further research, mainly on the lexical end. The main outcome of this research was a public lecture given on several occasions in Israel, most importantly at the workshop entitled "Diqduq Leshon Ḥakhamim u-Millonah," organized by Moshe Bar-Asher, held at the Institute for Advanced Studies, Hebrew University, Jerusalem, August 1996. An abstract of my presentation "Ha-Reqaʿ ha-Geʾografi ve-ha-Histori shel Millon Leshon Ḥakhamim" appears in the workshop publication *ʿIyyunim bi-Lshon Ḥakhamim* (Jerusalem: Institute for Advanced Studies, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1996), 108–9. I would be happy to send a copy of the abstract (since the volume is not readily available) and the lecture handout to any interested party.

[42] For the Ugaritic, see C. H. Gordon, *Ugaritic Textbook* (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1967), 417; and G. del Olmo Lete and J. Sanmartín, *Diccionario de la lengua ugarítica* (2 vols.; Barcelona: Editorial Ausa, 1996, 2000), 1:210. For the Phoenician, see *DNWSI* 1:487–88.

[43] See *DNWSI* 1:487–88; Jastrow 1:612; Sokoloff, *Dictionary,* 250; and Payne Smith, *Dictionary,* 205 (variant form *kědānāʾ*).

[44] One might object that the Aramaisms noted here are attested only in later Aramaic sources (Persian period onward), and not in earlier Aramaic sources. But we must recall that we have a vast corpus of later Aramaic material, especially the Middle Aramaic stratum, and that we have, relatively speaking, very little in the way of Old Aramaic texts. I assume that if we possessed more Old Aramaic texts, many of the lexemes and forms that appear only in later dialects would occur in the early material also. This approach underlies almost all works dealing with contact between Hebrew and Aramaic.

procure a bride for Isaac. We know that Abraham brought servants with him from Haran (see Gen 12:5), and no doubt he obtained more servants later (Hagar would be such a person, for example). Most likely the servant that he sent to Haran was from the former group, someone who knew the environs and could speak the language.[45] Thus, when Abraham addresses the servant, the text produces the conversation in Hebrew, but it includes a sprinkling of Aramaisms among Abraham's words. When the servant speaks to Rebekah and her family, again the text is in Hebrew, naturally, but the author incorporated three Aramaisms into his speech as well (items 4, 7, and 9). These conversations were in Aramaic (certainly the latter exchanges, and perhaps also Abraham's exchange with the servant), and the author of Gen 24 attempted to capture that mode of discourse by peppering the conversations with Aramaic features.[46] But he goes even further, because the narrative as a whole includes Aramaic features (items 5, 6, 8, and 9), all to give the flavor of the Aramean setting. All of this is present in the story of Jacob and Laban as well, with Aramaisms in both direct speech and third person narration.[47]

But notwithstanding all of the above, perhaps Rofé is correct. After all, I myself said above that one needs to show linguistic contrast between LBH and SBH before reaching a definitive conclusion. Accordingly, I now turn to additional evidence, specifically, the linguistic evidence that demonstrates that Gen 24 is indeed written in classical Hebrew. My former student Richard M. Wright wrote his doctoral dissertation on the language of the so-called Yahwist source,[48] to which source critics would attribute all or most of Gen 24. Wright showed that, without exception, whenever a relevant LBH–SBH linguistic contrast occurs in "J," the SBH form prevails. Examples (not a total list!) relevant to Gen 24 include the following:[49]

(a) the regular *waw* consecutive in vv. 39, 42, 45, 47, 48 (3x), against no examples of the long *waw* consecutive form prevalent in LBH

[45] The midrashic tradition, of course, identified the servant with דמשק אליעזר (see *Tg. Ps.-J.* at Gen 24:2; *b. Taʿan.* 4a; *b. Yoma* 28b; *Wayyiqra Rab.* 37:4; *Pirqe Rabbi Eliezer* 16, etc.). Eliezer's name may indicate that he hailed from Damascus, that is, Aram. Did Abraham obtain him already in Haran? Did he obtain him en route from Haran to Canaan, when he passed through Damascus? Naturally, we do not know the answers to these questions.

[46] When I state that "we know that Abraham brought servants with him from Haran," "these conversations were in Aramaic," and so on, I am not judging the historicity of the patriarchal narratives. Rather, I simply am judging the story on its own terms, that is, the story as a literary creation.

[47] Rendsburg, "Linguistic Variation and the 'Foreign' Factor in the Hebrew Bible,"182–83.

[48] R. M. Wright, "Linguistic Evidence for the Pre-Exilic Date of the Yahwist Source of the Pentateuch" (Ph.D. dissertation, Cornell University, 1998). In what follows, following Wright, I cite examples only from verses that a consensus (using Driver, Noth, von Rad, and Eissfeldt as the guide) would attribute to "J," namely, vv. 1–6, 8–9, 11, 18, 21–67.

[49] Details for these items may be found in Wright, "Linguistic Evidence," on pp. 40, 71, 89, 98, 105, 123, 140, 178. I use the term "LBH" in the following enumeration, but of course many of these items are attested in postbiblical Hebrew as well (Ben Sira, Qumran, MH, etc.).

(b) the presence of ויהי before the infinitive construct with -כ/-ב in v. 30, against the absence of ויהי before this form as typical of LBH

(c) the use of פן, "lest," in v. 6, against the LBH form למען לא

(d) the use of ברוך יהוה, "blessed be the LORD," in v. 27, against either of the LBH phrases ברוך אתה יהוה or ברוך שם יהוה[50]

(e) the use of the phrase לקח אשה, "to take a wife," in vv. 37, 38, 40, 48, 67, against the LBH expression נשא אשה

(f) the use of מהר, "hurry," in v. 18, against the LBH equivalent בהל

(g) the use of לקח, "take," in vv. 22, 51, 61, 65, against the LBH equivalent קבל

To some extent, this evidence amounts to an *argumentum e silentio,* because one could argue that SBH features can continue in LBH, and indeed that is correct. But the main point of Wright's work is that if "J" were written in the postexilic period, one would expect at least one feature of LBH to appear within this extremely large source. Or to limit this point to our story, if Gen 24 were written in the postexilic period, one would expect at least one feature of LBH—that is, apart from the Aramaisms discussed above, which serve a stylistic purpose—to appear within this very long chapter (the longest narrative chapter in the Torah [only Num 7 is longer, owing to the repetitive language of the gifts from the tribal leaders]). But none are to be found.

There is still more that one can say to bolster the case for a preexilic date of Gen 24. Frank Polak has recently published several studies of great significance for the dating of biblical prose texts. Polak utilizes a vast array of data in his project, including (a) the ratio of nouns to verbs in a given section, abbreviated NV; and (b) among verbs, the ratio of nominal forms (participle and infinitive construct) to finite forms (suffix conjugation, prefix conjugation, imperative, and infinitive absolute), abbreviated NF. Polak's statistics show clearly that Persian-period texts have a higher NV and a higher NF, while the classical stratum of biblical prose has a lower NV and a lower NF.[51] For example, the book of Ezra has the highest NV ratio at .772, while the Samson cycle has the lowest NV ratio at .581; the book of Ezra also has the highest NF ratio at .383, while the Jacob story has the lowest NF ratio at .119.[52] In addition, Polak paid attention to the use of some specific verbs within the narrative corpus: he noted that לקח, הלך, and ראה are frequent in earlier compositions, whereas the contrastive terms

[50] To be technical, this latter phrase does not occur in the Bible, but it forms the basis of very similar expressions (Pss 72:19; 113:2; 145:1, 21; Job 1:21; Neh 9:5; etc.).

[51] F. Polak, "Temurot u-Tqufot bi-Lshon ha-Sipporet ba-Miqraʾ: Ḥeleq Riʾshon," *Bet Miqra* 43 (1997): 30–52; and F. Polak, "The Oral and the Written: Syntax, Stylistics, and the Development of Biblical Prose Narrative," *JANES* 26 (1998): 59–105.

[52] Polak, "Oral and the Written," 70.

בוא, הביא, and שמע predominate in postexilic texts.[53] We may utilize these new tools developed by Polak for the present project.[54]

Polak already used the NV and NF ratios to date the Abraham stories as a whole to the classical stratum. The NV ratio of .614 and the NF ratio of .150 are clearly within the bounds of early biblical compositions. The data for Gen 24 specifically, according to my calculations, are as follows: 394 nouns and 263 verbs, for an NV ratio of .600; and 44 nominal verbs and 219 finite verbs, for an NF ratio of .167. Both of these figures place the chapter firmly within the classical stratum.[55]

As to the verbs identified by Polak for the purposes of distinguishing classical narrative from postexilic narrative, note the following statistics for Gen 24, as compared to the overall data for the classical and postexilic strata of biblical narrative (including a third verb for each group, as a control):[56]

Occurrences	נשא	הביא	לקח	*Unit*
15x	—[57]	06.7% 1x	93.3% 14x	Gen 24
370x	17.8% 66x	18.9% 70x	63.2% 234x	classical
88x	27.3% 24x	48.9% 43x	23.9% 21x	postexilic
Occurrences	יצא	בוא	הלך	*Unit*
30x	30.0% 9x	26.7% 8x	43.3% 13x	Gen 24
982x	14.9% 146x	42.5% 417x	42.7% 419x	classical
184x	11.4% 21x	64.1% 118x	24.5% 45x	postexilic
Occurrences	ידע	שמע	ראה	*Unit*
8x	37.5% 3x	25.0% 2x	37.5% 3x	Gen 24
396x	23.7% 94x	23.5% 93x	52.8% 209x	classical
85x	22.4% 19x	45.9% 39x	22.7% 27x	postexilic

[53] F. Polak, "Temurot u-Tqufot bi-Lshon ha-Sipporet ba-Miqra': Ḥeleq Sheni," *Bet Miqra* 43 (1997): 142–60.

[54] Polak also developed another, much more complicated tool for analyzing narratives, based on the use of expanded noun phrases, embedded (dependent) clauses, and other syntactic issues ("Oral and the Written," 76–100). I have not analyzed the material under discussion in this article according to this system. However, Professor Polak kindly sent me his data for a section of Gen 24, namely, vv. 1–20, and the analysis indicates that these verses belong firmly in the classical stratum (e.g., 25.88% embedded clauses, 41.12% expanded clauses [the latter occur at a much higher frequency in Persian-era texts]). I take this opportunity to thank Professor Polak not only for this specific information, but also for a lively e-mail exchange during December 2000.

[55] I am aware of the danger in employing statistical analysis in a short section of the Bible, since any number of idiosyncratic usages could skew the data. I am confident in the present instance, however, because (a) as noted above, Gen 24 is the longest narrative chapter in the Bible, and (b) the data for this chapter conform perfectly with the data presented by Polak for the Abraham cycle as a whole.

[56] The overall data appear in Polak, "Temurot u-Tqufot, Ḥeleq Sheni," 158–60.

[57] Technically, the root נשא occurs twice, in vv. 63 and 64, but both occur in the expression נשא עינים, "lift one's eyes," which is not relevant to this analysis.

Obviously, as indicated (see n. 55 above), one must be cautious, given the limited size of Gen 24, especially when comparison is made with the very large corpora presented here. Nevertheless, the data show that with these three lexical discriminants, Gen 24 follows the pattern for the classical stratum, while it diverges from the pattern for the postexilic or Persian-period stratum.

The overwhelming weight of the linguistic testimony, using both Wright's material and Polak's material, demonstrates that Gen 24 belongs to the classical stratum of biblical narrative. Polak further argues, and I agree with him, that this stratum antedates the Mesha Stele, written in the mid-ninth century B.C.E.[58] We are dealing here with texts composed in the early monarchic period.[59] In light of this evidence, the Aramaisms in the chapter are to be explained as a literary device adding local color to the story set in Aram.

II. 1 Samuel 2:27–36

The second proposal is that of Marc Brettler, who in a recent article proposed a four-stage development underlying the final product of 1 Sam 1–2.[60] Brettler posited (a) a Base Text of 1:1–2:11a (minus Hannah's prayer), 2:18–21; (b) 2:12–17 as Addition A, added as a midrashic explication of the sins of Eli's sons; (c) 2:22–25 as Addition B, as an alternative tradition concerning said sins; and (d) 2:27–36 as Addition C, added by an exilic editor interested in legitimating the house of Zadok. The remaining verses, 2:11b and 2:26, function as *Wiederaufnahmen* reflecting 2:18a and 2:21b, respectively.[61]

I have a host of reasons for doubting this schema. Prime among them is the integration of a variety of literary interconnections embedded into the story as a whole, associations that cut across the boundaries of Brettler's hypothesized sources. Brettler himself cited Robert Polzin in this regard,[62] to which may be added the observations of Moshe Garsiel.[63] Along the same lines, Brettler noted that other scholars view the *Wiederaufnahme* device as an authorial technique, not as a redactional one.[64]

[58] Polak, "Oral and the Written," 104–5.

[59] See G. A. Rendsburg, "Biblical Literature as Politics: The Case of Genesis," in *Religion and Politics in the Ancient Near East* (ed. A. Berlin; Bethesda: University Press of Maryland, 1996), 47–70; and G. A. Rendsburg, "Reading David in Genesis: How We Know the Torah Was Written in the Tenth Century B.C.E.," *BRev* 17, no. 1 (February 2001): 20–33, 46.

[60] M. Brettler, "The Composition of 1 Samuel 1-2," *JBL* 116 (1997): 601–12.

[61] See the convenient chart, ibid., 612.

[62] R. Polzin, *Samuel and the Deuteronomist: A Literary Study of the Deuteronomic History*, Part 2, *1 Samuel* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1989), 39–44, cited by Brettler, "Composition of 1 Samuel 1–2," 604 n. 15.

[63] M. Garsiel, *The First Book of Samuel: A Literary Study of Comparative Structures, Analogies and Parallels* (Ramat-Gan: Revivim, 1985), 33–41.

[64] Such scholars include S. Talmon, B. O. Long, and P. A. Quick, all cited by Brettler, "Composition of 1 Samuel 1–2," 604 n. 14.

In addition, there are language issues that point to the unity of these two chapters (again, excluding Hannah's prayer, which undoubtedly has been incorporated into the text, though in my estimation this occurred at the authorial level). For example, one may note the alliteration of words with *ʿayin* and *lamed* spanning the latter part of Brettler's Base Text and his Addition A, that is, 1 Sam 2:11–21: על (for expected אל) in v. 11,[65] בליעל in v. 12, יעלה in v. 14, מעיל in v. 19, והעלתה in v. 19, and בעלותה in v. 19, all working in conjunction with עלי ("Eli") in vv. 11, 12, 20.[66]

Furthermore, it should be noted that 1 Sam 2:15–23 includes five instances of the prefix conjugation with paragogic *nun* (יקטרון in v. 15, יקטירון in v. 16, יעשון in v. 22, ישכבון in v. 22, and תעשון in v. 23), bridging Brettler's Addition A and Addition B. As S. R. Driver noted, this form "sometimes abounds in particular sections (e.g., Gen. 18, 28–32: Joel 2, 4–9)."[67] The present pericope would be another instance; to assign the two attestations in vv. 15–16 to one source and the three occurrences in vv. 22–23 to another source runs counter to Driver's observation. Moreover, none of these five instances of the paragogic *nun* appears in pause, though this form occurs in such settings with high frequency.[68] In fact, three of the five are with conjunctive accents (v. 15, v. 16, and the first one in v. 22), and two are with mildly disjunctive accents (second one in v. 22 on *pašṭa*, v. 23 on *ṭifḥa*). This makes the use of these five cases of paragogic *nun* even more striking, since they occur in unexpected conditions.[69]

In sum, for all the reasons stated here, one should assume a single author for 1 Sam 1–2. I admit that in the scholarly divide between those who assume textual unity until proven otherwise versus those who are receptive to texts being formed by accretion, I side ardently with the former position. But regardless of where one situates oneself in this divide, given the evidence that I have

[65] I understand completely that the interchange of אל and על is common in the Bible, especially in the book of Samuel (see BDB, 41). But the verb הלך almost never governs על meaning "to." See *DCH* 2:552.

[66] The play on בליעל and עלי was noted by M. Garsiel, *Biblical Names: A Literary Study of Midrashic Derivations and Puns* (Ramat-Gan: Bar-Ilan University Press, 1991), 214.

[67] S. R. Driver, *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Samuel* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1890), 23.

[68] Joüon-Muraoka 1:137. This fact forms the basis of a recent explanation of the form; see S. A. Kaufman, "Paragogic *nun* in Biblical Hebrew: Hypercorrection as a Clue to a Lost Scribal Practice," in *Solving Riddles and Untying Knots: Biblical, Epigraphic, and Semitic Studies in Honor of Jonas C. Greenfield* (ed. Z. Zevit, S. Gitin, and M. Sokoloff; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1995), 95–99. The most thorough survey of the data remains J. Hoftijzer, *The Function and Use of the Imperfect Forms with Nun Paragogicum in Classical Hebrew* (SSN 21; Assen: Van Gorcum, 1985).

[69] Another example of the paragogic *nun*, on the rarer 2d feminine singular prefix conjugation, occurs in 1 Sam 1:14, with the *ʾatnaḥ* accent. This instance is more distant from the cluster in 2 Sam 2:15–23, and it may not be relevant, but I note it nonetheless.

presented in the preceding paragraphs, I trust the reader will agree that Brettler's reconstruction must remain in the realm of the theoretical.

But the above is not my main point in this article. Rather, I would like to focus my attention on Brettler's Addition C, 1 Sam 2:27–36, which he dates to the exilic period, as noted above. Brettler identified three signs of LBH in these ten verses.[70] As we did above with Rofé's list, we shall treat these three items one by one. But once more, let me state my alternative approach first. I will attempt to show that not only this unit of ten verses, but indeed all of 1 Sam 1–2, reflects Israelian Hebrew (IH). The heroes are from the territory of Ephraim, and the action centers on Shiloh in Ephraim, so it would not be surprising to find these chapters composed in the northern dialect of ancient Hebrew.

1. The infinitive absolute וּבָחֹר, "I chose," is used in v. 28 in place of the finite verb, continuing the tense of the previous finite verb, in this case, נגלית, "I revealed," in v. 27. But this is not an LBH feature per se. This usage is common in Ugaritic,[71] Phoenician,[72] and the Amarna letters from Byblos and other northern sites.[73] In preexilic biblical texts, this use of the infinitive absolute occurs much more frequently in northern settings than in southern ones.[74] Judges 7:19 is part of the Gideon cycle; our passage focuses on Eli the priest at Shiloh; 1 Sam 22:13 concerns Saul of Benjamin;[75] 1 Kgs 22:30 deals with a northern king (almost undoubtedly Ahab); 2 Kgs 3:16, 4:43 are part of the

[70] Brettler, "Composition of 1 Samuel 1–2," 609–10.

[71] Gordon, *Ugaritic Textbook,* 80; S. Segert, *A Basic Grammar of the Ugaritic Language* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 93; D. Sivan, *Diqduq Leshon ʾUgarit* (Jerusalem: Bialik, 1993), 82; D. Sivan, *A Grammar of the Ugaritic Language* (HO; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 124; and J. Tropper, *Ugaritische Grammatik* (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2000), 483–84, 491–92.

[72] J. Friedrich and W. Röllig, *Phönizisch-punische Grammatik* (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1970), 135–36; and S. Segert, *A Grammar of Phoenician and Punic* (Munich: Beck, 1976), 197.

[73] For Byblos, see W. L. Moran, "The Use of the Canaanite Infinitive Absolute as a Finite Verb in the Amarna Letters from Byblos," *JCS* 4 (1950): 169–72 (ten examples are given). Three additional examples, two from the Beqaʿ (EA 173:12, 185:72) and one from Ashtaroth in Bashan (EA 364:21), were adduced by S. Izreʿel in an unpublished paper "Ve-shuv ʿal *(y)qtl ʾnk* u-Maqbilav ba-Leshonot ha-Kenaʿaniyot" (my thanks to Prof. Izreʿel for sharing his paper with me).

[74] I have reviewed the material more thoroughly in G. A. Rendsburg, "The Northern Origin of Nehemiah 9," *Bib* 72 (1991): 348–66.

[75] Benjamin represents a border area, between Israel and Judah, and its dialect was most likely a border dialect, with features of both IH and JH (= Judahite Hebrew). See Rendsburg, *Psalms,* 4 n. 18. Relevant biblical texts are Ps 80:3, which links Benjamin with Ephraim and Manasseh; Judg 5:14, which places Benjamin and Ephraim in parallelism; and 1 Kgs 12:20-21, which suggests that Benjamin was ready to join the northern kingdom of Israel, though ultimately it became part of the southern kingdom of Judah.

Elisha cycle; Amos 4:5 is from a northern prophet;[76] and Prov 12:7; 15:22; 17:12 appear in a northern composition.[77] In addition, 1 Kgs 9:25 is to be explained as the result of Phoenician scribes recording the activities of Solomon's reign.[78] At first glance, Lev 25:14 would appear to be a southern text (as is almost the entire Torah), and yet nearby one finds two other IH features, the shift of short *a* > *ō* in מִמְּעֹט in v. 16 (in line with Phoenician phonology), and the retention of *-at* in עֲשָׂת in v. 21, suggesting, quite unexpectedly, that the Jubilee pericope is of Israelian origin. The only southern preexilic attestations of the infinitive absolute in place of a finite verb are Exod 8:11; 1 Sam 25:26; Isa 5:5; 37:19. All of this goes to show that this feature is a trait of IH. On the other hand, Brettler is correct that the feature is common in LBH. It occurs in the following passages: 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; Esth 2:3; 3:13; 6:9; 8:9; 9:1, 6, 12, 16 (3x), 17 (2x), 18 (2x); Dan 9:5, 11; Neh 7:3; 8:8; 9:8, 13; 1 Chr 5:20; 16:36; 2 Chr 28:19; 31:10. Some of these passages are both late and northern (e.g., Neh 9 and Qohelet[79]), but the great majority are products of the exilic and postexilic Judahite community. The explanation for the appearance of this northernism in LBH was submitted by C. H. Gordon: it is to be attributed to the influence of IH on JH (= Judahite Hebrew) during the 500s and beyond in the wake of the reunification of northern and southern exiles in Mesopotamia.[80] In short, if an example of this feature appears in 1 Sam 2:28, it is not to be seen as evidence of LBH, but rather of IH. This is especially so given the evidence based on Polak's work that we will present below.

2. The form להבריאכם, "to make yourselves fat," in v. 29 is the only verbal form of the root ברא II in the Bible. As Brettler noted, it occurs more commonly in Aramaic and in postbiblical Hebrew. In Aramaic, the corresponding *ʾapʿel*, with the meaning "strengthen, make well, be healthy," is widely attested in Jewish Babylonian Aramaic, as the following passages indicate: *b. Sukkah*

[76] I embrace David Qimḥi's view that Amos came from northern Tekoa. See now S. N. Rosenbaum, *Amos of Israel* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1990). On the language of Amos, see C. Rabin, "Leshonam shel ʿAmos ve-Hoshea," in *ʿIyyunim be-Sefer Tre-ʿAsar* (ed. B. Z. Luria; Jerusalem: Kiryat Sepher, 1981), 117–36.

[77] See Y. Chen, "Israelian Hebrew in the Book of Proverbs" (Ph.D. diss., Cornell University, 2000), esp. 115–16, 135, 143.

[78] Note that these chapters include the Phoenician month names Ziv, Bul, and Ethanim, in 1 Kgs 6:1, 37, 38; 8:2. See also the Phoenician-style orthography of בניתי, "I built," in 1 Kgs 8:48 (Ketiv). There are still other Phoenicianisms in these chapters, and I hope to present them in an article in the future. For the present, see provisionally Rendsburg, *Psalms*, 29–30.

[79] On the former, see Rendsburg, "Northern Origin of Nehemiah 9"; for the latter, see Davila, "Qoheleth and Northern Hebrew," as noted above, n. 37.

[80] C. H. Gordon, "North Israelite Influence on Postexilic Hebrew," *IEJ* 5 (1955): 85–88. See also E. Y. Kutscher, *A History of the Hebrew Language* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1982), 85.

44b; *b. Taʿan.* 21b; *b. Moʿed Qaṭ.* 3a; *b. Yebam.* 97a; *b. ʿAbod. Zar.* 50b; *b. Nid.* 47b; etc.[81] It also occurs in a few passages in Jewish Palestinian Aramaic (*y. Sanh.* 26c; *Eikha Rab.* 59:14).[82] Tannaitic Hebrew sources reveal six attestations of the *hipʿil* of ברא, e.g., *m. Šabb.* 19:5; *t. B. Qam.* 9:3 (2x);[83] while in Amoraic Hebrew sources, one finds the verb in a few more passages (*y. Peʾah* 17d; *b. Ḥul.* 33a; *b. Meʿil.* 17a).[84] I posit the following. The root ברא, "strengthen, make well, be healthy" (*hipʿil*), was limited to IH. It appears in one place in the Bible, in a story set in Shiloh, and it occurs six times in MH,[85] which, as noted above, represents the dialect of the Galilee in particular or of northern Israel in general during the Roman period. The wider use of this root in Aramaic (in the corresponding *ʾapʿel*), albeit only in later sources, reveals a lexical isogloss between IH and Aramaic.

3. Brettler opined that יבוא, "will come," occurs in v. 36 in place of the expected converted form ובא. But there is nothing unusual with the phrase והיה כל הנותר בביתך יבוא להשתחות לו, "and it will be, whoever is left in your house will come to prostrate himself to him."[86] Compare, for example, Gen 4:14 והיה כל מצאי יהרגני, "and it will be, whoever finds me will kill me."[87] If anything, since והיה greatly disappears in LBH—there are only five cases in the late narrative books (Neh 6:13; 10:39; 1 Chr 17:11; 2 Chr 13:9; 19:10)[88]—one cannot argue that this syntagma in 1 Sam 2:36 reflects LBH.

Accordingly, of the three linguistic items advanced by Brettler, two are evidence for IH (items 1 and 2) and one is not germane (item 3). As with Rofé, so with Brettler: he was correct to identify an unusual grammatical trait (item 1) and an unusual lexical trait (item 2), but he erred in attributing their presence in the text to a late date for 1 Sam 2:27–36. Just as Rofé failed to consider the Aramean setting of Gen 24, Brettler failed to recognize the Ephraimite setting of 1 Sam 1–2. In light of the geographical location of this narrative, Brettler's

[81] Jastrow 1:192.

[82] Sokoloff, *Dictionary,* 112.

[83] See *Maʾagarim;* and *HDHL* microfiche 030, plate 5995.

[84] Jastrow 1:192.

[85] That is, MH^1, the language of the Tannaitic sources, when Hebrew was still a living language. MH^2 is the language of the Amoraic sources, composed when Hebrew had ceased to be spoken.

[86] I have translated rather literally, attempting to capture the use of והיה, but other translations render this passage a bit more smoothly, e.g., RSV "And every one who is left in your house shall come to implore him," NJV "And all the survivors of your house shall come and bow low to him."

[87] S. R. Driver, *A Treatise on the Use of the Tenses in Hebrew* (London: Oxford University Press, 1892; reprint, Grand Rapids: Eerdmans; Livonia, MI: Dove, 1998), 147. Though Driver added that the *waw* consecutive form והרגני, "would have been equally idiomatic."

[88] See R. Polzin, *Late Biblical Hebrew: Toward an Historical Typology of Biblical Hebrew Prose* (HSM 12; Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1976), 56.

first two points, along with other items to be identified below, are testimony to the presence of IH in these chapters.

The additional IH items in 1 Sam 1–2 are the following:

(a) The root רעם, "vex," occurs in 1:6 (in the *hipʿil*) and again only in Ezek 27:35 (in the *qal*) with the meaning "be disturbed."[89] This distribution suggests a northern lexeme. The former focuses on an Ephraimite family; the latter appears in the prophet's oracle to Tyre. We have no evidence for this root in our meager remains of Phoenician, but the prophets commonly peppered their speeches to the foreign nations with forms and words distinctive of the languages of their addressees.[90] The root רעם, "be disturbed, vex," is better attested in MH and in Aramaic. In postbiblical Hebrew, the verb occurs relatively frequently in Tannaitic texts, in the *hitpaʿel* form meaning "be disturbed, be discontented" (see especially *Sifre BeMidbar* 84–95, with seventeen attestations);[91] and this usage continues in Amoraic texts, e.g., *b. Meg.* 6a.[92] Also common in MH is the noun form תרעומת, "complaint, quarrel, disturbance," with eighteen occurrences in Tannaitic texts (e.g., *m. B. Meṣiʿa* 4:6; 6:1; *t. Soṭah* 6:1; *Sifra BeHar* 3:1),[93] and additional ones in Amoraic texts (e.g., *b. Šabb.* 56b).[94] In Aramaic, the verb רעם (in various conjugations) is used in the Targumim to translate a series of Hebrew verbs. For examples, see *Tg. Onqelos, Tg. Pseudo-Jonathan,* and *Tg. Neofiti* to Num 14:36; 16:11, rendering וילינו (Qere), תלינו (Qeri), respectively, "cause to complain, cause to rebel"; *Tg. Onqelos* and *Tg. Neofiti* to Deut 1:27, rendering ותרגנו, "sulk, brood, murmur"; and *Tg. Psalms* to Ps 55:3, rendering אריד, "vexed, troubled." Though these few examples do not

[89] We do not have to decide whether רעם, "vex," is the same root as רעם, "thunder." Moreover, comparative Semitic does not allow us to settle the question. Arabic and South Arabian provide the etyma for רעם, "vex," since *rǵm* means "force, compel, coerce" in Arabic, "ill will, disfavor, spite" in Sabaic (attested once as a noun form), and "criticize" in Jibbāli. In Geʿez one finds *rʿm,* "thunder," but since *ʿayin* and *ǵayin* have merged in Geʿez, one cannot determine the original middle root consonant of this form. Ugaritic provides two personal names *yrǵmbʿl* and *yrǵmil* (del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín, *Diccionario de la lengua ugarítica,* 2:387); it is tempting to associate the verbal root *rǵm* with "thunder," but one cannot be sure. The attempt by M. Dietrich and O. Loretz ("Die Bannung von Schlangengift [KTU 1.100 und KTU 1.107: 7b–13a.19b–20]," *UF* 12 [1980]: 157, 161) to relate *trǵn* in *KTU* 1.100:61 to רעם, "be disturbed," is tempting, but the divergent third consonant remains to be explained. For an alternative approach, relating *trǵn* to the root רענן, "be green, be verdant," see E. Lipiński, "La Légende Sacrée de la Conjuration des Morsures de Serpents," *UF* 6 (1974): 172. See further *HALAT* 4:1182 = *HALOT* 3:1267.

[90] Rendsburg, "Linguistic Variation and the 'Foreign' Factor in the Hebrew Bible," 184–88 (with specific attention to Ezekiel 26–28 on p. 186).

[91] See *Maʾagarim;* and *HDHL,* microfiche 084, plates 17103–04.

[92] Jastrow 2:1487.

[93] See *Maʾagarim;* and *HDHL,* microfiche 084, plates 17104–05.

[94] Jastrow 2:1701.

give a full picture of the Aramaic evidence, since רעם is the commonest verb used in the Targumim whenever the Israelites complain or murmur, a common motif in the Torah.[95] Finally, note that the root occurs regularly in Syriac.[96] The totality of the evidence demonstrates that Hebrew רעם is an IH lexeme: it is limited in the Bible to the birth story of Samuel and to a prophetic address to Tyre; the verbal root and the noun form תרעומת are regular in MH, the northern dialect of the Roman period; and the root occurs regularly in Aramaic.

(b) Three times in 1:8 we encounter the use of מֶה *me^h* before nonlaryngeal consonants, in the form לָמָּה *lāme^h*, "why," all in the mouth of Elkanah. The distribution of this form in the Bible indicates that it is an IH feature.[97]

(c) The unusual infinitive construct שָׁתֹה, "drinking," occurs in 1:9. While this looks like the infinitive absolute, since it occurs after the preposition אחרי, one must assume it to be an infinitive construct.[98] Similar forms occur in Judg 13:21 and 1 Sam 3:21.[99] The former occurs in the Samson cycle (and while Dan at this stage is still in the south, the setting is non-Judahite nonetheless), and the latter again concerns Samuel at Shiloh.

(d) The preposition על appears for expected אל in 1:10 and in 2:11. I commented on the latter occurrence above, where I noted that alliteration may be at work. I also noted that this interchange is common in the Bible (see n. 65). However, here I should add that the interchange of the prepositions על and אל is much more frequent in northern contexts (see, e.g., 1 Kgs 13:29; 17:21, 22; 18:46; 20:43; 2 Kgs 7:7; 8:3 [2x]; 9:3, 6 [3x]).[100]

[95] For a complete list of the attestations of רעם in two of the Targumim, see E. G. Clarke, *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan of the Pentateuch: Text and Concordance* (Hoboken, NJ: Ktav, 1984), 554; and S. A. Kaufman and M. Sokoloff, *A Key-Word-in-Context Concordance to Targum Neofiti* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993), 1258, 1337 (the latter page presenting noun forms). See also Sokoloff, *Dictionary*, 528, 578. For still other examples of רעם in the Targumim, see *Tg. Jonathan* to Ezek 27:35 and *Tg. Proverbs* to Prov 24:7.

[96] Payne Smith, *Dictionary*, 546.

[97] Rendsburg, *Psalms*, 25–26; and G. A. Rendsburg, "Morphological Evidence for Regional Dialects in Ancient Hebrew," in *Linguistics and Biblical Hebrew* (ed. W. R. Bodine; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1992), 65–88, esp. 71.

[98] See E. Lipiński (*Semitic Languages: Outline of a Comparative Grammar* [OLA 80; Leuven: Peeters, 1997], 510), who states that the infinitive absolute "does not stand in the construct state nor is it governed by a preposition."

[99] See Joüon-Muraoka 2:421.

[100] See the detailed treatment in Rendsburg, *Israelian Hebrew in the Book of Kings* (forthcoming).

(e) The noun דוד, "pot, kettle, vessel," in 2:14 is an IH lexeme. The word appears elsewhere in 2 Kgs 10:7 in an Israelian context, and in Ps 81:7, within the Asaph collection of northern psalms.[101] In addition, the term occurs three times in the book of Jeremiah, the prophet from Benjamin (24:1, 2 [2x]),[102] and once in the book of Job (41:12). The only attestation that cannot be ascribed to a northern setting is 2 Chr 35:13, though here we can offer the explanation of Aramaic influence.[103] In Aramaic, the word דוד appears more commonly. It occurs in Palmyrene,[104] Palestinian Jewish Aramaic,[105] Babylonian Jewish Aramaic,[106] Syriac,[107] and Mandaic.[108] As we have seen on other occasions, concerning other words, so in this case: the Targumim frequently use דוד to translate a more common Hebrew word, namely, סיר, "pot." Thus, for example, *Tg. Neofiti* uses דוד to render סיר in Exod 16:3; 27:3; 38:3; *Tg. Pseudo-Jonathan* does likewise in all three passages (and also introduces דוד in two other places: Lev 8:31 and Num 6:18); while *Tg. Onqelos* uses דוד to render סיר only at Exod 16:3 (though it too introduces דוד in Num 6:18); and *Tg. Jonathan* opts for דוד as the equivalent of סיר in 2 Kgs 4:38–41 (5x); Zech 14:20–21; etc. In addition, *dd* is used extensively (over one hundred examples!) in Ugaritic as the common word for "pot, vessel"; as one would expect, it is especially well attested in administrative texts.[109] The distribution of דוד in the Bible, along with the well-attested Aramaic and Ugaritic cognates, converge to demonstrate that the word is an IH vocable.[110]

[101] Rendsburg, *Psalms*, 73–81. I neglected to include this feature in my monograph on the northern psalms. I am indebted to my graduate student Colin Smith for bringing this IH feature to my attention.

[102] See n. 75 above concerning the Benjaminite dialect.

[103] The unusual plural forms attested for דוד, namely, the construct form דּוּדֵאִי in Jer 24:1 and the absolute form דְּוָדִים in 2 Chr 35:13, are not relevant to our discussion. I am interested here only in the *use* of the word דוד, in singular or plural, regardless of form. Accordingly, I refrain from commenting upon these irregular plural forms.

[104] D. R. Hillers and E. Cussini, *Palmyrene Aramaic Texts* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), 355.

[105] Sokoloff, *Dictionary*, 140.

[106] Jastrow 1:283.

[107] Payne Smith, *Dictionary*, 85.

[108] E. S. Drower and R. Macuch, *A Mandaic Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1963), 104.

[109] Gordon, *Ugaritic Textbook*, 384; del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín, *Diccionario de la lengua ugarítica*, 1:129; and (for a full list of attestations) J.-L. Cunchillos and J.-P. Vita, *Concordancia de Palabras Ugaríticas* (2 vols.; Madrid: Institución Fernando el Católico, 1995), 1:592–97.

[110] In the above discussion, I have not distinguished between the two meanings of דוד. More frequently it means "cooking pot," and thus one can note the clear opposition with סיר; less commonly, perhaps only in the Jeremiah passages (24:1–2 [3x]), where figs are contained therein, it means "basket." In our Samuel passage, it clearly means "cooking pot."

(f) The verb בעט occurs in 2:29 (incidentally, within Brettler's Addition C). This root occurs again only in Deut 32:15. The meaning of the root בעט has engendered much discussion; indeed some scholars question whether the word means the same in its two attestations.[111] My approach is to assume the same connotation in both passages, with "kick, trample" as the closest English approximation, though with a pejorative tone, suggesting an extended definition "reject." Note that the poet of Deut 32:15 collocates the root בעט with the roots שׁמן, "be fat," עבה, "be thick," and כשׂה, "gorge," just as the author of 1 Sam 2:29 collocates בעט with the word להבריאכם, "to make yourselves fat." This suggests strongly that we are dealing with the same verb in both cases. More to the point of the present enterprise, note that Deut 32:15 is an Israelian composition replete with IH features. The northern provenance of Deut 32 was argued most prominently by O. Eissfeldt,[112] and the linguistic data confirm his supposition.[113] The appearance of a rare lexeme in two texts with northern affinities leads to the conclusion that בעט, "kick, trample," is an IH vocabulary item. This finding is supported by the more common use of בעט in MH (where it is attested twenty-seven times in Tannaitic texts) and in Aramaic.[114]

The general picture that emerges from these data is that the story in 1 Sam 1–2 is a northern composition. Most likely it was the tribe of Ephraim that told and preserved the story of Samuel and Eli centered on the cultic site of Shiloh; and the language of these chapters—with eight IH features (two identified by Brettler [albeit unintentionally], six more by me[115])—confirms this point. Of the eight features enumerated above (I exclude Brettler's third item as not germane), three items show strong connections to Aramaic (items 2, a, and e), while five items are seen as IH traits on the basis of internal biblical evidence

[111] See, e.g., the treatment in *DCH* 2:236–37.

[112] O. Eissfeldt, *Das Lied Moses Deuteronomium 32,1–43 und das Lehrgedicht Asaphs Psalm 78 samt einer Analyse der Umgebung des Mose-Liedes* (Berichte über die Verhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, Philologisch-historische Klasse, Band 104, Heft 5; Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1958), in particular p. 42. See also E. Nielsen, "Historical Perspectives and Geographical Horizons: On the Question of North-Israelite Elements in Deuteronomy," *ASTI* 11 (1977–78): 82.

[113] A full presentation of the IH features in Deut 32 remains a desideratum. For the nonce one may consult the index of passages in Rendsburg, *Psalms*, 127. See also the brief discussion in Sanders, *The Provenance of Deuteronomy 32*, 53. Earlier efforts in the same direction by H. Ewald, A. Dillmann, and S. Oettli are noted by Sanders on pp. 46–47.

[114] For MH, see *Ma'agarim;* and *HDHL*, microfiche 030, plates 5913–14. For Aramaic, see Jastrow 1:180–81; Sokoloff, *Dictionary*, 107; and Payne Smith, *Dictionary*, 50.

[115] There are other peculiarities in these chapters, but they are isolated items: (a) the form שְׁלָהֵךְ, "your question," in the mouth of Eli in 1:17, with elision of the *'aleph;* and (b) the difficult form לְאַדִּיב, "to languish," in 2:33. On the latter, see F. E. Greenspahn, *Hapax Legomena in Biblical Hebrew* (SBLDS 74; Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1984), 102.

(items 1, b, c, d, f [though the first of these has strong support from the cognate Ugaritic, Phoenician, and Byblos Amarna evidence]).[116] The narrative as a whole reflects Israelian Hebrew, including the pericope that Brettler ascribed to an exilic editor.

Above we utilized a statistical analysis based on Polak's methodology to demonstrate that Gen 24 belongs to the classical stratum of biblical narrative. We repeat that effort here for 1 Sam 2:27–36, though I must issue two caveats. First, as I noted above (see n. 55) concerning a single chapter of the Bible, *qal va-ḥomer* for a pericope of only ten verses: a statistical analysis of an extremely short section of the Bible could produce skewed data. It is for this reason that I limit my analysis to only the NV and NF ratios; the verb analysis would be inappropriate for an extract of only ten verses.[117] Second, 1 Sam 2:27–36 is not true narrative, but rather a long speech addressed to Eli by the anonymous man of God, albeit embedded in a larger narrative. Therefore, to some extent, we are comparing apples with oranges when we apply Polak's methodology to this section. Nevertheless, we shall present the data, if only because this analysis is available to us. At the same time, I present Polak's figures for 1 Sam 1:4–18, the major portion of the Samuel birth tale.[118]

For 1 Sam 1:4–18, Polak counted 97 nouns and 61 verbs, for an NV ratio of .638; among the verbs, 9 are nominal and 52 are finite, for an NF ratio of .148. These figures place the Samuel birth account firmly within the classical stratum. For 1 Sam 2:27–36, I count 86 nouns and 44 verbs, for an NV ratio of .614; among the verbs, 11 are nominal and 33 are finite, for an NF ratio of .250. The former figure places also this pericope decisively within the classical stratum. The latter figure is higher than one would expect for the classical stratum; its closest match is the Jeremiah biographical material, with an NF ratio of .260,[119] close in time to Brettler's posited exilic editor. But I would not attribute undue significance to this figure, because (a) of the two ratios, the former is much more significant and discriminating (thus Polak consistently presents the data by order of the NV ratios, resulting in scrambled NF ratios in his charts); and (b) as noted, the pericope is both short and not strictly narrative.

[116] Some commentators, apparently puzzled by some of these atypical usages, elect the route of emendation, thereby eliminating these crucial pieces of evidence from the text. See, e.g., the manner in which P. K. McCarter (*I Samuel* [AB 8; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1980], 53, 87–88) handled שָׁחָה in 1:9, תבעמו in 2:29, and להבריאכם in 2:29.

[117] In these ten verses, there are only six total attestations of the nine discriminant verbs: הלך in v. 35, בוא in vv. 27, 31, 34, 36, and נשא in v. 28. One glaring point is that בוא far outproportions הלך, but, as noted, this cannot be statistically relevant.

[118] To be found in Polak, "Oral and the Written," 86.

[119] Ibid., 70.

With the possible exception of the NF ratio of 1 Sam 2:27–36, which most likely is a distorted figure for the reasons given, there is no evidence whatsoever to ascribe 1 Sam 2:27–36 to an exilic editor. As I stated at the outset of this section, first of all, both thematic concerns and language issues militate against the suggestion that these verses are an addition to the main narrative. Furthermore, there are no signs of LBH in this section.[120] By contrast, there are three signs of IH within these ten verses, which, when coupled with the five other signs of IH in the preceding sections of the narrative, demonstrate a northern, most likely specifically Ephraimite, origin for 1 Sam 1–2.

III. Conclusion

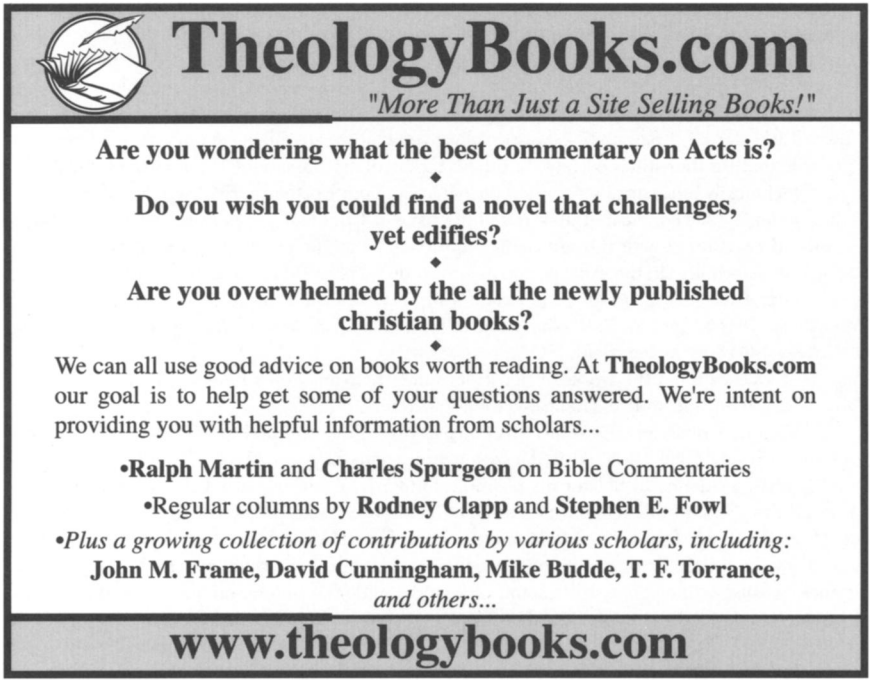
The trend in biblical scholarship in the last decade or more has been to ascribe much of the narrative corpus to the Persian (and in some cases Hellenistic) period. Most often such suggestions have been based on ideological concerns, with a total neglect of the linguistic evidence.[121] The proponents of the two suggestions treated herein are to be commended for recognizing that such proposals cannot be made without attention to the issue of language.[122]

[120] To be fair, one should note that Brettler dated 1 Sam 2:27–36 to the exilic period, and not to the postexilic period. The difference is crucial, because the Hebrew of exilic texts represents a transition period between preexilic SBH and postexilic LBH. One finds elements of postclassical Hebrew in exilic period texts (represented best of all by Ezekiel, Second Isaiah, and Lamentations), but not all of the signs of LBH nor with such frequency. Accordingly, one could argue that even without LBH signs in 1 Sam 2:27–36 (especially given that we are talking about only ten verses), it is possible that Brettler still is correct. But the NV ratio of .614, assuming it is relevant to this pericope of technically non-narrative genre, belies that opinion. Furthermore, it was Brettler himself (to his credit, as I have indicated) that raised the issue of LBH features in these verses, and thus I was moved to respond with this alternative approach to the language of 1 Sam 2:27–36 and of 1 Sam 1–2 as a whole. On the exilic period as a transitional phase in the history of ancient Hebrew, see Hurvitz, *A Linguistic Study of the Relationship between the Priestly Source and the Book of Ezekiel,* esp. 161–62; and M. F. Rooker, *Biblical Hebrew in Translation: The Language of the Book of Ezekiel* (JSOTSup 90; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1990).

[121] I have in mind the works of, most prominently, Niels Peter Lemche, Philip R. Davies, Thomas L. Thompson, and, less radically, John Van Seters.

[122] Though Rofé has not done this consistently. For example, in his book *Sefer Bilʿam* (Jerusalem: Simor, 1980), Rofé posited a sixth-century date for Num 22:22–35, but he did not provide linguistic evidence to bolster his position. Similarly, Brettler (with T. C. Römer) recently advanced the proposal that a few verses in Deut 34 are of Persian-period origin (see T. C. Römer and M. Z. Brettler, "Deuteronomy 34 and the Case for a Persian Hexateuch," *JBL* 119 [2000]: 401–19), without presenting any linguistic evidence. Though the authors may be forgiven in this instance because of the very small amount of material under consideration, just a handful of scattered verses in Deut 34, not a sustained pericope of ten verses as in 1 Sam 2:27–36.

There clearly are differences between LBH and SBH, and this crucial issue cannot be ignored.[123] In the two cases treated above, however, the data that at first glance appear to favor LBH are in fact false leads. In the case of Gen 24, the Aramaisms are evidence for the literary technique of adding foreign flavor to the story set in Aram. In the case of 1 Sam 2:27–36, which in turn is part of the larger narrative of 1 Sam 1–2, the linguistic evidence demonstrates that these chapters are written in IH, consistent with the geographical setting within the tribal territory of Ephraim.[124]

[123] See the following recent articles by A. Hurvitz: "The Historical Quest for 'Ancient Israel' and the Linguistic Evidence of the Hebrew Bible: Some Methodological Observations," *VT* 47 (1997): 301–15; "The Relevance of Biblical Hebrew Linguistics for the Historical Study of Ancient Israel," in *Proceedings of the Twelfth World Congress of Jewish Studies,* Division A: *The Bible and Its World* (Jerusalem: World Union of Jewish Studies, 1999), 21°–33°; and "Can Biblical Texts Be Dated Linguistically? Chronological Perspectives in the Historical Study of Biblical Hebrew," in *Congress Volume: Oslo 1998* (ed. A. Lemaire and M. Sæbø; VTSup 80; Leiden: Brill, 2000), 143–60.

[124] These conclusions correspond well to the approach of A. Hurvitz ("The Chronological Significance of 'Aramaisms' in Biblical Hebrew," *IEJ* 18 [1968]: 234–40), who noted both issues: (a) that northern Hebrew has more in common with Aramaic than does Judahite Hebrew, and (b) that authors employed the stylistic device of adding foreign color to the narrative.