Hebrew Diachrony and the Linguistic Periodization of Biblical Texts: Observations from the Perspective of Reworked Pentateuchal Material[1]

Abstract: The accepted ancient Hebrew diachronic paradigm and the standard linguistic approach for the periodization of biblical texts are today heavily criticized, the criticism most recently centering on the textual situation of the sources. Critics argue that the high degree of textual instability and linguistic fluidity characterizing the extant witnesses preclude any reliable tracing of the history of the language and make even the most approximative attempts at linguistic dating impossible. However, much of this textual argument is abstract, since the effect of secondary intervention on the stability of diachronically significant features has been studied in detail in the case of only a few texts, the investigations reaching conflicting conclusions. After a brief survey of foregoing investigations, the present study compares Pentateuchal material from the MT and Qumran, concluding that (a) preservation of diachronically meaningful detail is still very much the norm and (b) differences between editions of the Torah often indicate the linguistic conservatism of one edition, here the MT, as opposed to linguistic development of the other, here the Qumran material.

1 Introduction

For some years now, philologists and biblical scholars have engaged in a protracted dispute over the history of Hebrew, specifically the extent to which the language's evolution may be reliably traced in the extant sources and, conversely, whether marks of such development can be used to aid in the periodization of the sources.[2] Given the comparatively small number of active litigants, along with the only-slowly-diminishing obscurity in which much of the debate has been conducted, it might be inferred that the issues involved were trivial, marginal within Biblical Studies. Yet, for virtually every area of research that touches on the Hebrew Bible—whether textual, literary, exegetical, historical, theological, or otherwise—the question at stake, namely the dating of biblical compositions—approximate if not precise, relative if not absolute—is an important one.

Since the earliest stages of the critical approach to biblical compositions, details of the Hebrew language's historical development have played a role in literary periodization.[3] While language has by no means been the sole parameter according to which scholars have sought to estimate compositions' ages, philology has long been considered a valuable implement in the biblical scholar's toolkit. In the past, the relative paucity of securely datable evidence necessitated the tentativeness of many hypotheses. All the same, and despite some missteps, several early scholars reached impressive historical linguistic conclusions using the limited and problematic

[1] This paper is an expansion of a lecture, entitled "Historical Linguistics and Biblical Hebrew: Observations from the Perspective of Reworked Pentateuch Material," given in the context of a joint session of the Society for Biblical Literature and the National Association of Professors of Hebrew at the 2015 SBL-AAR meetings in Atlanta, Georgia. I wish to express my gratitude to Jacobus Naudé for both chairing the session and arranging for the publication of the proceedings, to the editors and anonymous readers of *Journal for Semitics* for their helpful observations, and to the SBL-AAR session participants, presenters and audience alike, for their valuable questions, advice, and criticism.

[2] The studies in Young 2003a—on both sides of the issue—were salvos in what may be considered the first major skirmish of the conflict, which continued in collections of articles published in *Hebrew Studies* 46 (2005) and 47 (2006). The most comprehensive and sustained attack on approaches to ancient Hebrew diachrony and linguistic periodization, along with elaboration of an alternative view, may be found in Young, Rezetko, and Ehrensvärd 2008 and Rezetko and Young 2014. See also Rezetko 2003; 2010; 2013; Rezetko and Naaijer 2016a; 2016b; Young 2005; 2008; 2009; 2103a; 2013b. For responses to criticism of the standard model and a critique of the proposed alternative see many of the articles in Miller-Naudé and Zevit 2012; Hornkohl 2014a:27–50; f.c. a; f.c. b; Joosten 2012a. Kim 2013 has attempted to carve out a mediating position.

[3] Among pre-20th-century studies, note Grotius 1644:434–435; Gesenius 1815; Ewald 1855:§3d; Delitzsch 1877:190; Wellhausen 1885:§§IX.III.1–IX.III.2; S R Driver 1898.

evidence available to them.[4] Significantly, it has long been recognized that those biblical books that assign themselves to the early post-exilic and Restoration periods—Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi, Esther, Daniel, Ezra, Nehemiah, Chronicles—betray the era of their composition—to varying degrees, but unmistakably—in their use of Second Temple linguistic phenomena especially characteristic of acknowledged post-exilic Hebrew and Aramaic corpora, as preserved in various late literary and documentary collections. Nowadays, thanks to both the ever-growing corpus of ancient Hebrew (and more generally Semitic) epigraphic and documentary evidence as well as important methodological advances—not least among them the Hurvitzian procedure for linguistic periodization[5]—a text's linguistic Hebrew profile is widely regarded among experts as a reliable yardstick for measuring its approximate date of composition—this notwithstanding the persistence of unknowns, uncertainties, and even apparent evidence to the contrary, the reality of which must be acknowledged and accounted for.

Given the admittedly problematic nature of the textual evidence—limited in scope, temporally far-removed from the autographs, subject to alteration during transmission, often fragmentary, and, in the best of cases, frustratingly ambiguous with regard to important linguistic detail—it is clear that linguistic investigation can get one only so far. The firmest conclusions are no more than approximations (e.g., pre-exilic vs post-exilic); diagnostically ambiguous features abound (e.g., the relativizer -שֶׁ), as do chronologically liminal texts (e.g., Jonah, Ruth, Song of Songs, to name just a few); philological analysis is not devoid of subjectivity and is not independent of other disciplines, but requires sound judgment informed by broader, extra-linguistic considerations, be they historical (e.g., events/situations that facilitated the infiltration of foreign loans), textual (e.g., appearances of characteristically late features in apparently classical material not represented in all witnesses), literary (e.g., differences in linguistic character between apparently primary and suspected secondary material, such as glosses, headings, supplements, and expansions), and exegetical (e.g., sensitivity to a lexeme's semantic development, such as specialization, as used in various sources ostensibly representing different eras). For these and other reasons there have always been—and remain—disagreements among practitioners of linguistic methods for the periodization of biblical texts, as well as differences between the proponents of such approaches and advocates of other techniques, especially where linguistic arguments contradict what is in other circles considered established consensus. Be that has it may, while it had long been ignored, until recently there had been no serious attempt to challenge the validity of the linguistic approach to periodization *in toto*, which is the objective of much of the recent criticism.[6]

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[4] Consider, by way of example, the recent commendation of Gesenius' (1815) methods found in Joosten 2013a.

[5] Developed by Israeli Hebrew and Bible scholar Avi Hurvitz of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, the procedure calls for the amassing of an inventory of characteristically late linguistic features on the basis of *late distribution*, *classical opposition*, and *extra-biblical corroboration*, followed by the periodization of texts according to the concentration of post-classical linguistic elements they contain, with texts marked as late only if they contain an *accumulation* of post-exilic features relative to length. See Hurvitz 2000; 2014; Hornkohl 2013.

[6] From the rather neutrally-worded titles of Young, Rezetko, and Ehrensvärd 2008 and Rezetko and Young 2014—*Linguistic Dating of Biblical Texts: An Introduction to Approaches and Problems* and *Historical Linguistics and Biblical Hebrew: Steps toward an Integrated Approach*, respectively—one might infer a desire on the part of the authors to provide points of constructive criticism for scholars working within the standard approaches to Hebrew historical linguistics and linguistic periodization. What one quickly realizes, though, is that the monographs present wholly negative assessments of the entire diachronic linguistic enterprise, calling for the abandonment of any philological dimension in periodization, very much in line with the more transparent titles of some their other works, e.g., Young

1.1 Hebrew Diachrony, Linguistic Periodization, and Recent Criticism

In the approach to linguistic diachrony and periodization standard among Hebraists, securely datable compositions serve as the diagnostic starting point. These include extra-biblical material from both before and after the exile, as well as biblical texts of undisputed post-exilic provenance. Second Temple Hebrew is far from homogenous,[7] but all unanimously acknowledged post-exilic Hebrew compositions exhibit unmistakable constellations of late linguistic features—by dint of which they differ palpably from pre-exilic inscriptions. Such late works have, in accordance with objective criteria, been mined to compile an inventory of distinctively post-Restoration linguistic phenomena, an inventory still being supplemented and refined.[8] These features, in turn, serve as markers for the approximative dating of diachronically problematic texts. Works in which demonstrably late features appear in concentrations similar to those characteristic of recognized late material show themselves unequivocally to be post-exilic; lesser accumulations are considered indicative of earlier composition.

According to the standard paradigm, then, (a) pre- and post-exilic Hebrew are readily discernible;[9] (b) there exists a direct correlation between a work's linguistic character and its actual date of composition; and (c) whatever the individual styles and abilities of a given period's writers, all manifest usages that betray undeniable affiliation with a distinctive historical linguistic milieu.

Of course, the data are complex, demanding a careful and nuanced approach not always applied among practitioners. This has occasioned a measure of legitimate criticism, with scholars offering valid assessments and useful suggestions for improvement. *Inter alia* critics have

(a) questioned overly-simplistic conclusions regarding linguistic features (e.g., that the relativizing/complementizing particle -שֶׁ or nouns ending in -וּת are necessarily late);
(b) pressed for greater quantitative precision (e.g., how should one define *accumulation*?);
(c) demanded explanations for distributional anomalies (e.g., how to explain the early appearance of a characteristically late features, e.g., the employment of אֲנִי to the near-total exclusion of אָנֹכִי in the otherwise classical diction of the Priestly material);
(d) called attention to the importance of non-diachronic factors for linguistic variety (e.g., dialect, register, personal style, scribal and/or editorial intervention);
(e) urged consideration of non-linguistic approaches (e.g., literary and text-critical);
(f) brought to bear useful cross-linguistic perspectives (e.g., how historical linguistics is conducted on other languages); and

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2005—"Biblical Texts Cannot Be Dated Linguistically"— and Ehrensvärd 2006—"Why Biblical Texts Cannot Be Dated Linguistically."

[7] As Carr (2011:132–133, n. 72) rightly points out, it can hardly "be termed a coherent 'style'," but is best viewed as that generally more unified literary dialect known as Standard/Early/Classical Biblical Hebrew "mixed with a variety of features—colloquial, geographical, late—in various contexts and times, particularly as there was increasing distance from the pre-exilic monarchical structures that originally housed the training of scribes in classical Hebrew." See also Hurvitz 2013:336: "[I]t is impossible to view Persian Period BH as a monolithic stylistic stratum or as a unified linguistic entity. LBH is rather a 'repertoire' of late elements that in many cases have close ties to (Imperial) Aramaic and/or Rabbinic Hebrew;" see also Hurvitz 2006:209.

[8] For representative, though by no means exhaustive lists of features, see Hornkohl 2013:321–322 and Hurvitz 2014. Young, Rezetko, and Ehrensvärd 2008:II 162–214 also provide a longer, useful, though overly-inclusive list.

[9] Attempts have also been made to identify archaic, pre-classical Hebrew texts (
Robertson 1972; Mandell 2013; Notarius 2013) and material transitional between the pre- and post-exilic periods (Polzin 1976:85–115; Hurvitz 1982; Rooker 1990; Joosten 2013b; Hornkohl 2014a; f.c. c).

(g) stressed the methodological dangers of limiting investigations to 'accepted' or 'standard' traditions (e.g., the MT vis-à-vis the DSS and the Samaritan tradition).

While the aforementioned emphases can hardly be considered innovative from the perspective of some of the more circumspect discussions of ancient Hebrew diachrony, the field has arguably profited from the critique, which has led to both more cautious and refined argumentation as well as broader exposure.

But it would be misleading to characterize the recent criticism as primarily constructive in character. Though linguistic analysis often provides welcome confirmation of widely held views, a recurrent complaint is that the results of linguistic periodization too often fly in the face of consensus positions reached via alternative methods. In other words, certain diachronically significant conclusions reached on linguistic grounds are vexingly inconvenient—not just because they contradict accepted scholarly opinion, but because they do so with what many see as a firmer grounding in data and methodological rigor than what is characteristic of alternative approaches. Thus, a great deal of energy has been expended in seeking to lay bare the allegedly hidden and shaky presuppositions undergirding the linguistic approach and to expose the fatal weaknesses behind its façade of objectivity and verifiability. These efforts, including arguments for an alternative historical linguistic paradigm, has arguably proven less beneficial to the field at large than the points of constructive criticism mentioned above.

The alternative approach emphasizes the lack of clear-cut isoglossic boundaries between pre- and post-exilic Hebrew. For example, it is routinely observed that many so-called characteristically late linguistic features consist not of genuine Second Temple innovations, but of post-exilic tendencies for the intensified or exclusive usage of a pre-existing feature, and, likewise, that use of classical features persists in late texts.[10] Further, differences between apparently

[10] For example, the challengers contend that no biblical book, whatever its date of composition, is free of late features and that the core Late Biblical Hebrew books—Esther, Daniel, Ezra, Nehemiah, and Chronicles—are so uniquely open to the use of such neologisms and late tendencies, that they cannot be considered generally representative of post-exilic style (see, e.g., Young 2013a:18ff; 2013b:95ff). These claims are made on the basis of ostensibly objective statistical counts of late linguistic elements, on which the challengers rely heavily (for the methodology and examples see Young, Rezetko, and Ehrensvärd 2008:I 129–141). Significantly, the resulting counts appear to demonstrate comparable rates of late linguistic accretion in a variety of sample texts, both (purportedly or genuinely) early and late. The call for more objective quantification is justified and the attempt to develop and apply just such a methodology laudable. It is of crucial importance to note, however, that the statistical procedures in question have been roundly criticized. Among other things, scholars have taken issue with the fact that they count features, but ignore frequency (Cook 2012:91–92; Dresher 2012:24–29; Forbes 2012:280–281, 291–292, 294; Holmstedt 2012:102–103; Naudé 2012:78; Hornkohl 2014a:38); fail to exercise sufficient discrimination in the selection of features (Forbes 2012:267–269, 289–291, 294; Hornkohl 2014a:39–40) and/or in the identification of relevant cases (Forbes 2012:282–288, 294; Hornkohl 2014a:39–40); and utilize sample sizes too small to be relied upon to deliver representative results (Forbes 2012:276–281, 294; Zevit 2012:464; Hornkohl 2014a:40). To the best of my knowledge, the challengers have yet to respond to these points, though Young (2013a:18ff; 2013b:95ff) continues to make much of the statistics. Finally, Rezetko and Young (2014:597–598) claim that their results are no more than the objective numerical out-workings of the standard Hurvitzian approach. But this is misleading. First, by their own admission, Young, Rezetko, and Ehrensvärd (2008:I 130–131) "follow a loose definition of LBH features," accepting "any feature cited by an authority as LBH provided that it occurs in more than one core LBH book (including… Qohelet)." This can hardly be described as adherence to Hurvitz' approach, which is characterized by far greater discernment. For example, Young, Rezetko, and Ehrensvärd's list of late lexical features (2008:II 179–214) numbers 372 entries, whereas Hurvitz' entire LBH lexicon (2014) has just eighty. Second, Hurvitz' notion of accumulation considers both features and frequency, while, as noted above, Young, Rezetko, and Ehrensvärd (2008:I 130) count features, not tokens, meaning that their methodology cannot distinguish between rare phenomena and elements genuinely characteristic of a text or period. In view of two such significant deviations from Hurvitz' method, it cannot be maintained that the challengers' figures are simply the statistical manifestation of the standard, accepted practice.

classical and post-classical style are said to be unreliable indicators of actual dates of composition, because one may not exclude the possibility—despite a conspicuous lack of unambiguous evidence in this connection—that late writers could successfully imitate classical style.[11] Thus while there is no doubting the post-Restoration origin of those acknowledged Second Temple works characterized by pronounced accumulations of distinctively late language, it is argued that the *non-appearance* or *non-accumulation* of post-exilic elements in a given text is not necessarily indicative of pre-exilic composition. Instead of chronological linguistic phases linked to historical periods, the new paradigm envisions coeval styles, from those more conservative (if not archaistic) to those more amenable to innovation and the inclusion of non-standard features.

However, since the traditional diachronic model is based on numerous pieces of evidence found in concrete texts and is not just an abstract theory, simple preference for a more attractive view, i.e., one more compatible with the conclusions reached in related fields or that allows for greater conjectural freedom, are not sufficient grounds for its rejection. Thus, the first wave of the challengers' criticism dealt chiefly with methodology and the evidentiary value of individual features. Yet, to judge from the contributions of scholars who have deigned in writing to enter into the fray, one is forced to conclude that these latter remain unconvinced of the challengers' central arguments. In other words, and though some may disagree with the assessment, it seems fair to say that among Hebrew and Bible specialists who have responded explicitly to the recent critique there is general agreement that (a) the decidedly negative assessment offered by opponents of the standard diachronic linguistic model is too extreme, (b) many of its individual points have been competently refuted, and (c) there is no need to adopt the radical paradigm shift that has been proposed.[12] *This widespread consensus is worth highlighting if for no other reason than to dispel misconceptions among those less acquainted with the arguments, who may, on account of the challengers' strongly-worded and voluminous writings, think it wholly legitimate to disregard the linguistic dimension in discussions of the periodization of ancient Hebrew texts*.

More recently, the focus of the debate has shifted. Critics now not only contest the validity of linguistic approaches to periodization, but cast doubt on much of the textual base on which biblical scholarship rests, including most of what is known of ancient Hebrew.[13] In a way, then, the quarrel no longer concerns competing interpretations of the data; now the very data themselves are being called into question. Expressing profound pessimism as to the potential for getting back to authentic ancient Hebrew given the nature of the available evidence, several recent studies are scathingly critical of the scholarly convention of describing First and early Second Temple language use on the basis of evidence gleaned from linguistic traditions preserved in manuscripts that are the end-products of long compositional and transmissional processes, temporally distant from the ostensible biblical period. Naïve use of the standard Masoretic sources comes in for

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[11] Against the claim that such post-exilic books as Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi "show no clear signs of lateness" (Rezetko 2003:244, n. 87), see Hurvitz 2006:206–207 and Shin 2007. See Hurvitz 2000:155–156 on the later attempts to imitate classical style in Ben Sira (cf. Young 2013a:23), the Temple Scroll, and Ps 151 from Qumran.

[12] Admittedly, it is difficult to gauge overall sentiment among biblical scholars and Hebraists and impossible to predict the eventual outcome of the debate, but this is certainly the impression given by the majority of the relevant articles in Miller-Naudé and Zevit 2012, which, though characterized by a variety of opinions and approaches, seem generally to reject the main thrusts of the anti-diachronic approach to ancient Hebrew texts and the anti-linguistic approach to periodization (though it is to be noted, per Rezetko and Young 2014:2, n. 12, that the studies of several prominent challengers are, for various reasons, not to be found in the published volume).

[13] To be sure, textual pluriformity and linguistic instability have long been cited as obstacles to historical linguistics and linguistic periodization; see, e.g., Young 2003b; 2005; Young, Rezetko, and Ehrensvärd 2008:I 341–360. However, the issue is the main focus of four chapters covering over 150 pages in Rezetko and Young 2014:59–210.

special criticism. To quote the most thoroughgoing among such critiques, Rezetko and Young 2014:

> Historical linguistic analysis of ancient Hebrew has habitually proceeded on the assumption that the Hebrew language of the MT represents largely unchanged the actual language used by the original authors of biblical writings.... This assumption, however, is out of line with the consensus view of specialists on the history of the text of the Hebrew Bible, who consider that the details of the biblical writings were so fluid in their textual transmission that we have no way of knowing with any degree of certainty what the original of any biblical composition looked like.[14]

The question is not, then, whether we have access to pristine editions of the works that comprise the Hebrew Bible—we do not—but rather whether it is reasonable to suppose that the existing copies—all products of literary, textual, linguistic, and orthographic development that considerably postdate their respective autographs—could possibly furnish linguistic testimony sufficiently reliable for description of ancient Hebrew as it was in the pre- and post-exilic periods. Rezetko and Young (2014:73), citing authority after authority as to the textual uncertainty and pluriformity of biblical manuscripts, appear to agree with D J A Clines (2001:81), whom they quote favorably: "The text of the Hebrew Bible is in a state of radical uncertainty. That means that we cannot be sure about any word or phrase in Hebrew Bible texts we have today that these were the words and phrases of their original author." However, while such a survey of expert opinion may be useful for painting in broad strokes the general outlook current among scholars, the most persuasive quality of the linguistic approach to periodization has always been its firm grounding in data. This evidence is far more compelling than the overwhelmingly negative testimony of biblical authorities, because even if the general textual situation is as dire as their pronouncements portray it to be, the texts might yet preserve sufficient amounts of authentic linguistic information from the earliest periods to be of historical linguistic value.

Of course, according to Rezetko and Young (2014:75), there is also an abundance of specific and concrete evidence indicating rampant textual fluidity, which "comes primarily from placing the Qumran scrolls, the SP [Samaritan Pentateuch], and the LXX alongside the MT to reveal a rather startling variety of biblical texts." The problem is that the argument as framed is still far too abstract. Comparing these four traditions, it would be useful to know how many of the truly textual differences between them actually involve diachronically meaningful features, since these latter discrepancies are far more compelling evidence of diachronic linguistic distortion than are the general textual impressions of experts, no matter their experience or eminence.

Now, from a purely theoretical standpoint, since all extant manuscript evidence is chronologically far-removed from the biblical autographs, every word in the Hebrew Bible is subject to doubt. In practice, however, for all the divergence between the various witnesses, the majority of the material preserved actually proves common to all manuscript traditions. Consider, by way of concrete example, Rezetko's (2013:64–65) enlightening discussion comparing MT Judges, on the one hand, and the book's fragmentary DSS editions, on the other. While he plainly succeeds in showing the non-trivial frequencies of linguistic variants between Codex Leningrad and the four extant DSS manuscripts[15]—from zero variants in 55 words (= graphic units; 18

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[14] Rezetko and Young 2014:59–60. See also Rezetko 2013:63–66; Young 2013a:24–28. Cf. Zevit 2012:469–473; Hornkohl f.c a.

[15] 1QJudg (1Q6), 4QJudg[a] (4Q49), 4QJudg[b] (4Q50), and XJudges (for the constituent fragments see Eshel, Eshel, and Broshi 2007).

incomplete) to proportions of one variant every 11, 13.5, and 22.7 words, or an average of one variant every 19 words—Rezetko also ends up demonstrating *the much greater regularity of linguistic preservation*—from 55 out of 55 words (18 incomplete) to proportions of 10 preserved words out of every 11, 12.5 out of every 13.5, and 21.7 out of every 22.7, for an average of 18 preserved words out of every 19. Extrapolating these figures based on the total 9885 graphic units in MT Judges (for which figure see Rezetko 2013:65), and this projects to linguistic detail being preserved in an average of 9365 (8986, 9252, 9450, and 9885) words, amounting to 94.7 (90.1, 93.6, 95.6, and 100) percent or the graphic units. On the basis of these data, linguistic similarity turns out to be *far more prevalent* among the extant Judges manuscripts than linguistic divergence. And it must be emphasized: these statistics include *all* linguistic variants. Were only *diachronically significant* linguistic features taken into account, the degree of variation ostensibly impeding linguistic periodization would prove that much lower.[16] Where there is a basis for textual doubt—preferably a documented discrepancy between witnesses, but perhaps also considerations internal to a given edition or editions—this should by all means be entertained.[17] But it is gratuitous *a priori* to adopt an attitude of extreme textual distrust.

With specific regard to linguistic periodization, it is reasonable to interpret a situation involving *some* textual instability as implying *some* related, though necessarily lesser, degree of linguistic fluidity—lesser, since not all textual variants have linguistic import. But it is logically offensive to construe the reality of the *limited* textual instability discernible in the sources as proof of their *total* linguistic opacity, as if the manuscript evidence showed more cases of change than preservation. The critics' recent attempts to quantify linguistic variation between biblical witnesses are, it is true, an apt response to charges, like that of Zevit (2012:483), that the "notion of 'linguistic fluidity' as a historical phenomenon" is "vague." But the added precision hardly justifies the sweeping conclusion that the extant manuscripts are useless for historical linguistic enquiry. Notwithstanding the hopelessness bordering on nihilism they espouse in this regard, far from demonstrating a dire textual state, the critics' statistics are cause for robust optimism as to the historical value of the various linguistic traditions preserved in ancient Hebrew manuscripts.

Of course, as is frequently observed, all the biblical evidence is relatively late, exhibiting the (near) final editions of the biblical books; only rarely do the manuscripts and versions furnish (probable) evidence of the development, editing, revision, and transmission of the presumed intervening stages. With this in mind, it is not farfetched to assume *some* amount of textual instability, a *certain portion* of which would presumably involve linguistic variance, a *fraction* of which would have diachronic significance. But even if the instances of linguistic change were

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[16] Rezetko and Young's (2014:204–208) discussion and statistics comparing MT and DSS Samuel material is less helpful than Rezetko's aforementioned discussion on Judges, as the former includes all textual variants, linguistic and otherwise, and focuses on specifically linguistic variants only in a comparison between MT Samuel and 4QSam[a] (4Q51). Between these two editions there are 167 such variants, or one about every 13 to 17 words, which projects to 1,500 assuming a complete 4QSam[a] manuscript approximately the same length as MT Samuel. There is no denying that this is a substantial rate of linguistic variation. However, beyond the likelihood that most of these variants have no diachronic bearing, as common as they are, *linguistic preservation still proves the norm*—from 12 out of every 13 to 16 out of every 17 words, which projects to between 22,430 and 22,870 of the total 24,300 graphic units in MT Samuel (see Rezetko and Young 2014:203), corresponding to linguistic preservation in 92–94 percent of the words.

[17] Indeed, several cogent examples have recently been discussed. For examples see Joosten 2012b and Hornkohl f.c. d. It should be noted, however, that doubt attaches to only a minority of the instances of just a few diachronically meaningful features. In other words, in the vast majority of the occurrences of most diachronically significant features there is no evidence calling for suspicion. On the textual-diachronic cruces detailed in Young, Rezetko, and Ehrensvärd 2008:I 348–358 see Hornkohl 2014a:34, n. 97.

doubled or tripled in the case studies mentioned above, there would still be a considerable degree of linguistic stability. From a statistical perspective, there is simply no reason to assume a situation of unmitigated linguistic uncertainty. Besides, given the near total absence of documentary evidence for the intervening textual and literary stages, it is, in any case, very much an exercise in speculation, subject to neither verification nor disconfirmation.[18]

The aim of the present study is to confront what is here considered an overly bleak appraisal of the prospects of doing sound historical linguistics on the basis of the admittedly problematic evidence available. This is not to deny some degree of distortion of the texts' earliest linguistic profiles due to the effects of literary, linguistic, textual, and orthographic change, which is discernible in all extant manuscript evidence. Rather, my contention is that whatever distortion occurred, it should not be assumed to have been so pervasive as to render our transmitted sources of knowledge for ancient Hebrew useless for historical linguistic enquiry. Despite the merit of some of the criticism raised, the epistemological defeatism advocated in some circles is unwarranted.

1.2 The Preservation of Linguistic Detail in the Face of Change

That the extant Hebrew manuscript evidence does not represent unchanged the earliest forms of pre-exilic biblical texts emerges clearly from a comparison of sources thought to stem from this period and contemporary epigraphic evidence. In pre-exilic Hebrew inscriptions *matres lectionis* are common only in final position. By contrast, in biblical manuscript evidence, though spelling varies greatly, use of medial vowel letters is comparatively frequent, no matter the material's reputed date of composition or the tradition in which it is preserved. Since epigraphic evidence for widespread use of internal *matres lectionis* in Hebrew comes only from the sixth century BCE on, there is no escaping the conclusion that, in terms of spelling, all available biblical manuscripts, whatever period their contents appears to represent, reflect in varying measures the application of Second Temple orthographic conventions.[19]

And what is true of the various witnesses to the consonantal text holds also for the received reading traditions. Consider, by way of example, the pronunciation embodied in the Tiberian vocalization. Though it certainly predates the medieval sources in which it is found and preserves many linguistic features that had become antiquated or even obsolete by Second Temple times, it nevertheless exhibits elements that mark it unambiguously as a product of the Second Temple period.[20] And this holds not just where the vocalization accompanies the respective consonantal texts of acknowledge post-exilic compositions, but also where it has been wedded to the orthographical tradition of presumed pre-exilic material.[21]

Other Hebrew traditions, such as the Samaritan and those known from the Dead Sea texts, also show clear signs of influence from Second Temple linguistic practices.[22] Thanks to detailed research into both the Tiberian and non-Tiberian traditions, Hebraists have perhaps never before

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[18] From this perspective, Hurvitz (2006:210, n. 69) is entirely justified in stating that "the point of departure for the theory suggesting unlimited 'fluidity' of the textual tradition underlying the MT is not corroborated by factual evidence and must be viewed as a conjectural assumption."

[19] See Hornkohl 2014b for a recent discussion and bibliography.

[20] Khan 2013a:307–308; 2013b:47–51, 63–65.

[21] For example, see the discussion on the pointing of defective 1c *wayyiqtol* forms below, §2.3.1 and n. 51.

[22] On Samaritan Hebrew see Kutscher 1982:108–111; Ben-Ḥayyim 2000:3–4 *et passim*; Tal and Florentin 2010:25ff; Florentin 2013:451. On DSS Hebrew see Kutscher 1982:93–106; Qimron 1986:116–118 *et passim*; Fassberg 2013:663; Reymond 2014:18, 233.

been more conscious of the variety that existed in terms of Second Temple Hebrew dialects and traditions.

Despite this awareness, however, and notwithstanding recognition of the reality of textual instability and linguistic development, it is important to note that Hebrew philologists still generally operate according to the notion that the extant biblical manuscript traditions preserve discernible, diachronically meaningful arrays of linguistic features. And the most obvious evidence for their widespread preservation is this: notwithstanding the admitted obstacles to preservation inherent in natural linguistic development, deliberate revision, and unintentional corruption, *numerous unmistakable assemblages of diachronically distinctive phenomena have survived*, clearly distinguishing acknowledged late texts from their presumably earlier counterparts. These features represent not only those domains of the language where stability was less affected by changes in spelling, such as syntax and vocabulary, but the realms of orthography, phonology, and morphology as well. Neither the general shape of ancient Hebrew's developmental history nor many of the chronological isoglosses that combine to form its contour lines have been obliterated due to the vicissitudes of editing, revision, and transmission. For if they had, accumulations of late linguistic features would be strewn more or less randomly about within biblical manuscripts, not concentrated as they are in demonstrably late material.[23]

1.3 Linguistic Differences in Alternative Biblical Traditions

But what of discrepancies among witnesses to a single book or passage? Surely, these indicate that biblical texts were subject to fluctuations that necessarily obfuscate their earliest linguistic profiles. Consider, for example, a comparison of Masoretic and Dead Sea versions of certain biblical books. Though many of the differences between them have no linguistic and/or diachronic import, in the case of those that do, there is frequently no discernible pattern—the two (or more) traditions alternate in preserving the typically classical feature and its respective late substitute, so that no consistent direction of replacement emerges. It is thus impossible, at least from the standpoint of language, to determine which version reflects the earlier state of text or language.

Such a scenario accurately represents the respective relationships between the Masoretic and Dead Sea editions of certain biblical texts—for example, in the case of Isaiah, between the MT and 1QIsa^{b} (1Q8, not to be confused with the more celebrated Great Isaiah Scroll, 1QIsa^{a}, on which see below). For purposes of illustration, a recent comparison of the two determined there to be 161 cases of orthographical deviation and 622 individual textual variants (some consisting of several words). Even so, no diachronically meaningful pattern was detected. Indeed, most of the variants between these two editions of Isaiah mirror the frequent disagreements among the book's various Masoretic manuscripts, so that 1QIsa^{b} should be classified, in the words of its editors, "as belonging to the textual group that eventually emerges as the Masoretic family."[24]

Similar results obtain in comparisons between the MT and certain non-Proto-Masoretic Dead Sea editions: for example, the aforementioned recent work on the Masoretic and Dead Sea manuscripts of Judges and Samuel also shows no clear-cut patterns of diachronic linguistic disparity. First, many of the numerous differences are not properly linguistic. Second, rarely do the

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[23] Hurvitz 1999:31*; 2000:157–160. With specific regard to the preservation of orthographical development in the face of presumed editorial/scribal revision consider Forbes' (2012:262, n. 3) comments on his earlier work with Andersen (1986:103, 121–123): "Andersen and Forbes used a model (the 'mixed theory') that allowed text transmission to range from error-free to completely random. Had the characteristics of the transmission channel(s) fully randomized the spelling, we would have detected that analysis-ending situation."

[24] Ulrich and Flint 2010:200.

genuinely linguistic variants have diachronic import. And, finally, of the few diachronically meaningful ones, telltale features do not clump together conspicuously in a single tradition. In other words, in such cases no manuscript sets itself apart in terms of its language as an obvious Second Temple copy.

The foregoing situation has been construed by some as proof of random variation between characteristically classical and late features in the transmission of biblical texts, a state of textual-linguistic chaos that precludes discerning early and late in the extant manuscripts.[25] Yet this same situation may also be interpreted otherwise, namely, as an indication that, despite being answerable for some amount of textual and linguistic fluidity, the relevant scribes nevertheless managed to preserve the general profiles of their sources' language. Whatever changes they made, these do not appear to have drastically distorted the material's linguistic profile. The language of Judges and Samuel is the Classical Biblical Hebrew associated with pre-exilic times in both Dead Sea and Masoretic manuscripts. The upshot of all this is that there is no reason to assume that the biblical manuscripts at our disposal are plagued by such pervasive linguistic anachronism that their linguistic credibility is irremediably impeached. Only given a preponderance of evidence of linguistic distortion, e.g., a clustering of characteristically late elements in only one manuscript or tradition, are we warranted in hypothesizing substantial alteration to a text's diachronic linguistic profile in that manuscript/tradition.

Of course, the most celebrated example of just such a manuscript is Qumran's Great Isaiah Scroll (1QIsa[a]). Though Masoretic Isaiah is preserved in medieval sources that post-date 1QIsa[a] by more than a thousand years, it is clear on the basis of 1QIsa[b] that the Masoretic tradition safeguards a text-type and linguistic tradition that goes back to at least the third century BCE. Moreover, there is consensus that both 1QIsa[b] and medieval Masoretic Isaiah preserve an even earlier linguistic profile, in many ways commensurate with the book's presumed origins in the 8th–6th centuries BCE. For its part, however, the language of 1QIsa[a] unambiguously reveals it to be a late Second Temple, 'popular' copy.[26]

The problem comes when conclusions of limited application drawn on the basis of text-specific investigations are turned into sweeping generalizations. As it turns out, though extensively preserved and intriguingly representative of the linguistic milieu of its day—especially for a biblical scroll—1QIsa[a] actually proves quite unique among Dead Sea biblical material. Despite being a copy of a biblical text, in some ways it tells us more about contemporary Hebrew than about the norms of scribal transmission at Qumran. It is difficult to point to any other Dead Sea biblical scroll as extreme in its penchant for linguistic contemporization. Though it comprises nearly a quarter of Dead Sea BH and bears many Qumranesque linguistic features more generally typical of DSS Hebrew, the marked Second Temple nature of its BH should not be allowed to skew one's conception of BH as represented in other Dead Sea material.[27]

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[25] Rezetko 2013:63–66; Rezetko and Young 2014:208–210.

[26] Kutscher 1974:77–89 *et passim*; Muraoka 2013.

[27] Kutscher 1974:15; Abegg 2010:25; Reymond 2014:11; Young 2013b; Rezetko and Young 2014:138–139. Tov's (2012:100–110) discussion of 1QIsa[a] in relation to when he terms "Qumran Scribal Practice" makes it clear that though the former differs from many DSS biblical manuscripts as regards the extent of its linguistic updating, it is nevertheless representative of the language of the vast majority of sectarian scrolls, including a number of biblical manuscripts. Despite its biblical content, 1QIsa[a] is still routinely held up as an exemplar of Second Temple Hebrew with regard to many of its features; see, e.g., Fassberg 2013. Despite what he seems to think, Young's (2013b) contention that "1QIsa[a] is not 'Late Biblical Hebrew'" is hardly revolutionary. As a copy of what was evidently a more classically-formulated source (to which both MT Isaiah and 1QIsa[b] testify), it is hardly surprising that it should evince far fewer neologisms than the core Late Biblical Hebrew books. Even so, the method underlying Young's statistical comparisons between

But if it is incorrect to take 1QIsa[a] as representative of Dead Sea BH, it is no less specious to overgeneralize on the basis of linguistically conservative Dead Sea biblical scrolls. The fact that clear patterns of late-for-classical replacement do not materialize in comparisons of some Masoretic and Dead Sea material does not mean that they fail to obtain in all such comparisons, even if the direction of replacement is less pronounced than in the case of MT Isaiah versus 1QIsa[a].

Rather, an accurate linguistic comparison between Masoretic and parallel DSS material can be drawn only through examination of individual parallel texts in each corpus on a case-by-case basis and must be informed by broader diachronic trends. To this end, the remainder of the present study will focus on the results of a comparative analysis of parallel Pentateuchal material as represented in the MT (as represented by the Firkovitch B19 Leningrad Codex) and two quasi-biblical DSS works—4QCommentary Genesis[a] (4Q252 = 4QComGen) and 4QReworked Pentateuch (= 4QRP).[28] 4QComGen is a fragmentary exegetical work that presents long stretches of biblical material, sometimes retold or paraphrased, interspersed with explicit commentary. The nature and scope of 4QRP are harder to define. The five fragmentary manuscripts thought to contain parts of the work each present portions of the Torah, but it is impossible to determine if they all actually represent the same work and whether that composition (or those compositions) spanned the entire Pentateuch in unabridged fashion. What does seem clear is that, similar to the Samaritan Pentateuch, 4QRP presents certain 'helpful' additions, expansions, and harmonizations.[29] Whatever the precise coverage and character of the manuscripts that comprise these works, the fact remains that they present relatively lengthy sections of text that may be profitably compared to the relevant portions in the Masoretic Torah, furnishing potentially fertile ground for linguistic comparison focusing on diachronic development.

2 Diachronically Meaningful Linguistic Differences between Pentateuchal Sources: The MT, 4QRP, and 4QComGen

The linguistic differences of apparent diachronic import distinguishing the Hebrew of the Masoretic Pentateuch, on the one hand, and parallel sections preserved in the fragments of 4QRP and 4QComGen, on the other, are listed in table 1. Each feature merits its own discussion. Indeed, nearly all have been previously examined, many in great detail and/or repeatedly. For this reason, and given constraints of space, the ensuing feature-specific discussions are brief, except where a feature has yet to be exhaustively examined.

Table 1: Diachronically Significant Linguistic Differences between 4QReworked Pentateuch (4Q158, 364–367) / 4QCommentary Genesis[a] (4Q252) and the Masoretic Pentateuch (L)

		Late Feature	Classical Feature	Notes on Usage in 4QRP and 4QComGen	Relevant Ms(s)

MT Isaiah (and Kings) and 1QIsa[a], purportedly demonstrating their linguistic affinity, has, as stated above (n. 10), been widely criticized and his results are therefore highly questionable (as I hope to show in another forum).

[28] Formerly 4QPentateuchal Paraphrase, generally agreed to consist of 4Q158 (formerly "Biblical Paraphrase") and 4Q364–367. 4Q365[a]'s inclusion in the work is disputed. However, since it contains no material paralleled in the MT (or other known versions of the Pentateuch), the issue is of no relevance for the present study. In the case of two additional fragments considered by J. Davila (1994a:61–64; 1994b:75–78) as possibly belonging to 4QRP, namely 4QGen[h-para] (4Q8b) and 4QGen[k] (4Q10 f5), the text differs only slightly from the MT, never with regard to a diachronically diagnostic feature. See also Tov 1995:647–653, especially 649–650.

[29] For a balanced and thoughtful discussion of the issue, along with further bibliography, see Zahn 2008:315–339.

Orthography	*1*	*plene* spelling	defective spelling	especially in the case of *o*-vowels; generally, and in the case of specific, diachronically significant *plene* forms, such as שלוש, קודש (and other segolates), לקטול, קוטלים, קוטלות, etc.	4Q158; 4Q252; 4Q364; 4Q365; 4Q366; 4Q367
Phonetic Realization and Phonology	*2*	weakening of gutturals	retention of gutturals	rare (3x)	4Q158; 4Q364; 4Q365
	3	dominant/exclusive use of זע"ק	mixed use of צע"ק and זע"ק	on both potential occasions	4Q365
	4	dominant/exclusive use of שח"ק, incl. the proper name ישחק	mixed use of שח"ק and צח"ק (dominance of יצחק)	on both potential occasions of the proper name	4Q364
	5	preposition מן with unassimilated נ before anarthrous nouns	assimilation of נ in מן	relatively rare (in two of 42 potential cases)	4Q364; 4Q365
Morphology	*6*	full/long 1c *wayyiqtol*	short/full 1c *wayyiqtol*	in three of the six legible potential cases the form is lengthened (with added *heh*) or full (III-*yod* w/ *heh*, *hif'il* with *yod*)	4Q364
	7	3pl possessive suffix on *-ot* plurals: תיהם(ו)-	תם(ו)-	in one of four potential cases	4Q365
Syntax	*8*	movement verb + ל-	movement verb with אל, directional *heh*, or bare accusative	one out of four/five potential cases with the verb עָלָה	4Q365
	9	directional *heh*: מִ(שָּׁמָּה) in the absence of venitive, or with ablative movement	מִ(שָּׁם)	out of the ten cases of שמה/שם shared by the two corpora, there are five in which DSS שמה || MT שם (without venitive movement), one case in which DSS שם || MT שמה (with venitive movement), one case in which DSS שמה || MT שמה (with venitive movement), and three cases in which DSS שם || MT שם (without venitive movement); cf. the case of other lexemes denoting direction	4Q158; 4Q364; 4Q365
	10	directional *heh*: absence from toponyms and other lexemes in the case of venitive movement	use of directional *heh*	in two cases the DSS present a toponym or other noun without directional *heh* || MT forms with *heh* in cases of venitive movement; in another case there is no venitive movement; in a final case the DSS apparently have a toponym with *heh* against an MT form without in the absence of movement	4Q158; 4Q364; 4Q365
	11	interchange of אל and על: hypercorrect use of אל for על	more consistent distinction of אל and על	4Q365: in three cases out of 44 DSS אל || MT על (12 cases DSS אל || MT אל; 29 cases DSS על || MT על)	4Q365
	12	obligatory use of infinitive construct with prefixed ל- as verbal complement	optional use of bare infinitive construct as verbal complement	in two cases 4QComGen has an infinitive with ל- against a bare infinitive in the MT, in a third both texts have bare forms; one bare form in 4Q364 parallels the same in the MT	4Q252
	13	Non-conversive verbal forms	Conversive verbal forms	two cases *we-qatal* || MT *qatal* for simple past; two cases *we-qatal* || MT *wayyiqtol* for simple past; one case *we-yiqtol* || MT *weqatal* for	4Q364; 4Q365

				indicative future	
Lexicon and Phraseology	*14*	*qəṭāl* nominal pattern	alternative patterns	a single case apparently added at Num 1.4	4Q365
	15	*məquṭṭāl* nominal pattern	alternative passive adjectives	משוזר for מְשֻׁזָּר in at least one of four occurrences (twice defective משזר [?] and once *plene* מושזר)	4Q365
	16	מ… ולמעלה	מבן… ומעלה	a single possible case	4Q365
	17	יהוסף	יוסף	three out of four potential cases	4Q364; 4Q365
	18	date formulae with ב-, esp. with resumptive pronoun	date formulae with ל-	two of three cases	4Q252

Grammatical Leveling of Non-Standard Language			
	Feature	**Notes on BH in 4QRP and 4QComGen**	**Relevant Mss**
19	standardization of האל 'these' to האלה	consistently standardized as האלה in DSS and SP	4Q365
20	addition of את where wanting before definite DO	occurs three times 4QRP (all paralleled in SP) when missing in MT	4Q364; 4Q366

2.1 ORTHOGRAPHY

Unlike spelling variations that reflect developments in pronunciation, the relevance of purely orthographical innovations are of only marginal significance in the study of linguistic development. Assuming some degree of orthographic stability, however, developments in spelling might conceivably shed light on a work's history. With specific regard to Hebrew, the growing use of *matres lectionis* to mark certain vowel sounds, while not entirely devoid of diachronic import, is rarely probative. The most obvious problem is that classical texts originally written defectively could have been rewritten more fully but still retain classical diction. Indeed, the Masoretic editions of presumably pre-exilic biblical texts all exhibit what must be considered anachronistic use of vowel letters, though it should be noted that patently late works evince still greater use of *plene* spelling, especially in specific forms and patterns.[30] Thus, Rezetko and Young are not incorrect when they emphasize "that all MT orthography is postexilic,"[31] in the sense that no biblical text can be said to be free of post-exilic spellings. However, one may reasonably admit that Second Temple spelling revision is responsible for a great deal of anachronistic orthography in classical biblical material without conceding that this has effaced all indications of how writers originally spelled words.[32] As for the use of vowel letters in 4Q252 and 4QRP, with rare exceptions, all manuscripts concerned display fuller spelling than the parallel MT material.[33]

[30] See, recently, Forbes and Andersen 2012; Forbes 2012; Andersen and Forbes 2013; Hornkohl 2014b.

[31] Rezetko and Young 2014:107, 459 n. 17 (citing Andersen and Forbes 1986:312).

[32] Cf. Rezetko and Young's (2014:461) sweeping and unnecessarily pessimistic conclusion, "Given that all manuscripts exhibit postexilic orthography, it seems extremely unlikely that any argument from the current orthography of any manuscript back to an original putative preexilic author is plausible."

[33] It should be noted that this is by no means a foregone conclusion in light of the respective spelling practices found in the MT and the biblical DSS. While DSS orthography is often fuller than Masoretic spelling, some scribes responsible for DSS biblical material seem to have been as orthographically conservative as those responsible for the MT, if not more so. For example, the degree of *plene* spelling in the fragments of the aforementioned 1QIsa^{b} is comparable to that in MT Isaiah, whereas the orthography in 4QDeut^{d} (4Q31 || MT Deut 2.24–35; 3.14–4.1) and 4QSam^{b} (4Q52) is consistently more defective than in the parallel Masoretic material.

2.2 PHONOLOGY

2.2.1 Weakening of the Gutturals

The general weakening of the guttural (laryngeal or pharyngeal) letters, involving either total elision or confusion, is a well-known feature in certain Second Temple dialects of Hebrew, especially the Samaritan reading tradition and, to a lesser extent, DSS and Rabbinic Hebrew.[34] There are four cases of difference in the corpora examined arguably involving weakening of the guttural letters:

a) two involve the quiescing of *ʾalef*—וישאל 4Q158 f1–2.6[35] || וַיִּשְׂאַל MT Gen 32.30 and הזין 4Q364 f22.2 || הָאֲזִין MT Deut 1.45;
b) one apparently involves confusion of *ʿayin* and *heh*—מזבח ההולה 4Q365 f12a–bii.7 || מִזְבַּח הָעֹלָה MT Exod 38.1;[36]
c) and one possibly indicates elision of *ḥet*—רחובו 4Q365 f12biii.9 || רָחְבּוֹ MT Exod 39.9.[37]

2.2.2 זע"ק versus צע"ק[38]

Evidently under the influence of Aramaic, in which derivatives of זע"ק are the norm, certain Second Temple Hebrew corpora display a noticeable tendency toward the disuse of צע"ק.[39] In MT works characterized by more classical Hebrew, e.g., the books of the Pentateuch, Former Prophets, and the presumably pre-exilic Latter Prophets and Writings, derivatives of both roots are employed in various frequencies and distributions.[40] See table 2.

Table 2: MT distribution of derivatives of צע"ק and זע"ק (verbs and nouns)

Book/Corpus	צע"ק	זע"ק	Book/Corpus	צע"ק	זע"ק	Book/Corpus	צע"ק	זע"ק
Genesis	6	1	Isaiah	6	9	Psalms	6	5
Exodus	15	1	Jeremiah	7	14	Proverbs	0	1
Numbers	3	0	Ezekiel	0	5	Job	5	3
Deuteronomy	3	0	Hosea	0	2	Lamentations	1	1
Pentateuch	**27**	**2**	Joel	0	1	Qohelet	0	1
Joshua	1	1	Jonah	0	2	Esther	0	3
Judges	6	13	Micah	0	1	Ezra	0	0
Samuel	4	15	Habakkuk	0	2	Nehemiah	2	4

[34] The nature and the degree of the 'weakening', especially in DSS Hebrew, is much discussed. For convenient and up-to-date discussions, including further bibliography, see Breuer 2013:110–111; Florentin 2013:445–446; Reymond 2014:71–114.

[35] The scribe originally wrote וישל, and א was then inserted above the line.

[36] Tov and White (1994:279) note "Above the unusual second letter of this word the scribe wrote a sign or letter, the nature of which is unclear."

[37] See Qimron 1986:26; cf. Reymond 2014:110–111.

[38] The following discussion is an abridged, and slightly modified version of that found in Hornkohl 2014a:78–82. It deals with both nominal and verbal derivatives of the roots under discussion. For other recent discussions see Kim 2013:144–150 and Rezetko and Young 2014:278–282.

[39] This is true of Masoretic LBH and of the DSS. Other demonstrably late Hebrew corpora, such as Ben Sira and rabbinic literature, are characterized by the continued use of classical צע"ק. The Samaritan written and oral traditions also know only צע"ק. The four occurrences of צע"ק in fragments of Ben Sira are not especially surprising, given the author's archaistic predilections. In the case of the Samaritan Pentateuch, the preservation of צע"ק merely reflects the antiquity of this version's source (apparently leveling the two cases of זע"ק at MT Gen 18.20 and MT Exod 2.23 in the name of harmonization). The situation in Rabbinic Hebrew, on the other hand, is puzzling. Perhaps the 'resurrection' of classical צע"ק in these sources is to be explained as a result of what Kutcher, dealing with another feature (1982:141, §243), termed "a resistance to wholesale Aramaization."

[40] See Hornkohl 2014a:79–80 for a statistical chart. The argument is often framed "Early צע"ק vs. Late זע"ק" (see, e.g., Kim 2013:144–150 and Rezetko and Young 2014:278–282), but this is overly simplistic, since there seems no basis for arguing that צע"ק preceded זע"ק. Rather, derivatives of the two roots seem to have coexisted early on.

Kings	9	1	Zephaniah	1	0	Chronicles	1	4
Former Prophets	**20**	**30**	Zechariah	0	1	**Writings w/o LBH**	**12**	**10**
			Latter Prophets	**14**	**37**	**LBH + Qohelet**	**3**	**12**
						Total	**30**	**44**

However these distributions are to be explained—dialect, authorial style, secondary editing, scribal intervention—it seems ill-advised to deny at least some diachronic dimension, since צע"ק is exceedingly rare in acknowledged exilic and post-exilic compositions as reflected in the MT. Thus the combined ratio of זע"ק to צע"ק in Ezekiel (5:0), Zechariah (1:0), Lamentations (1:0), Qohelet (1:0), Esther (3:0), Nehemiah (2:2), and Chronicles (4:1) is 17:3.

A similar trend is observable in the DSS. In non-biblical material צע"ק is altogether absent, against ten cases of זע"ק; in biblical material, the ratio of זע"ק to צע"ק is 33:10 and among the 43 cases there are ten in which MT and DSS parallels differ with respect to the feature in question.[41] In one of the ten DSS צע"ק lines up with MT זע"ק; in the remaining nine MT צע"ק is paralleled by DSS זע"ק. Two of these are found in 4QRP: תזעק 4Q365 f6ai.4 || תִּצְעַק MT Exod 14.15 and ויזעק 4Q365 f6aii+6c.10 || וַיִּצְעַק MT Exod 15.24. Given the occurrence of צע"ק in these two cases in both the MT and the SP (and, in the case of MT Exod 14.15, in 4Q11 f10ii.1, as well), and in light of similar late-classical correspondences discussed in the present study, the use of זע"ק in RP as opposed to MT צע"ק may reasonably be explained as a case of the replacement of a characteristically classical feature with its more common contemporary alternative.

2.2.3 שח"ק versus צח"ק, with Special Reference to the Proper Name *Isaac*

As in the preceding discussion of צע"ק and זע"ק, so in the case of צח"ק and שׂח"ק—derivatives of both roots are used in texts written in CBH, whereas clearly exilic and post-exilic texts show a marked preference for שׂח"ק. Thus, within the MT such acknowledged late texts as Zechariah (one potential occurrence), Lamentations (two), Ecclesiastes (five), and Chronicles (three) know only שׂח"ק. Similarly, the ratio of שׂח"ק to צח"ק in non-biblical DSS manuscripts is 10:0 (once סח"ק), in Ben Sira 4:0, and in the Mishna 15:1. Forms of צח"ק are confined almost exclusively to the Pentateuch (with individual exceptions in each of Judges and Ezekiel), as can be seen in both the Masoretic and Samaritan traditions (and, in two cases, in 4Q1).[42]

Matters are different when it comes to forms of the proper name *Isaac*. Dominant throughout the MT is יִצְחָק (108 hits, all but ten of them in the Torah); the form יִשְׂחָק comes just four times (Jer 32.26; Amos 7.9, 16; Ps 105.9). Whatever process was responsible for the shift from mixed use of צח"ק and שׂח"ק in classical texts to use of שׂח"ק alone in late texts in the case of verbs and common nouns, it seems to have had less of an effect on forms of the proper name. Then again, as noted above, צח"ק comes almost exclusively in the Torah, where most (98 of 108) of the relevant forms of the proper name occur, all of them spelled יִצְחָק, and where שׂח"ק goes unattested. In the rest of the MT, four of 14 cases of the name are spelled יִשְׂחָק. At first glance, there seems to be no diachronic significance to this spread. But the situation of the proper name must be seen in the broader context of other derivations of the relevant roots. In view of the distribution of צח"ק and שׂח"ק more generally, there seems much to commend an explanation incorporating diachronic considerations.

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[41] For purposes of the present study, here and elsewhere biblical DSS material is deemed to include biblical citations in what might otherwise be considered non-biblical texts. Thus the statistics differ from those in some other studies.

[42] The Samaritan tradition reads צעקה rather than צחקה at Gen 18.13. 4Q1 f9.4, 7 || Gen 39.14, 17.

The Dead Sea manuscripts shed some light on the issue. In these the process that led from the use of both צח"ק and שׂח"ק to שׂח"ק alone has also been extended to affect forms of the related proper name. Thus in the non-biblical DSS יצחק comes five times, but ישחק (יסחק) is more than three times as common (16 times, with two additional instances in Aramaic). In DSS biblical material the ratio יצחק to ישחק is 11:9 (on three occasions these latter match ישחק in the MT). Two of the cases of ישחק come in 4QRP, specifically 4Q364, apparently results of a post-exilic preference for שׂח"ק over צח"ק, which, as stated, in certain corpora was allowed to affect spelling of the patriarch's name, perhaps in line with vernacular pronunciation: 4Q364 f1a–b.2 || יִצְחָק בֶּן־אַבְרָהָם MT Gen 25.19; ישחק 4Q364 f8i.2 || יִצְחָק MT Gen 35.28.

2.2.4 מן with Unassimilated *nun* Preceding an Anarthrous Noun[43]

It has long been recognized that cases of the preposition מִן with unassimilated *nun* before an anarthrous noun, though occurring sporadically throughout the Masoretic Hebrew Bible, preponderate in LBH, especially the book of Chronicles. It is thought that this is due to the influence of Second Temple Aramaic, in which the same feature is relatively common. Of the 103 cases in the MT, 62 (60.2 percent) come in the core LBH books of Daniel, Nehemiah, and Chronicles, 57 (55.3 percent) in Chronicles alone. The remaining 41 cases are divided among works in the Pentateuch (four cases, 3.9 percent), Former Prophets (16 cases, 15.5 percent), Latter Prophets (eight cases, 7.8 percent), and the non-LBH writings (13 cases, 11.7 percent). Two-thirds of the cases (69 instances, 67 percent) come in works acknowledged to be from the late pre-exilic period or later, i.e., the core LBH books, Jeremiah, and Lamentations.[44] Several apparently early cases have been explained as northern dialectal traits.[45]

Some proportion of the marked propensity for the non-assimilation in MT Chronicles may reasonably be explained as idiosyncratic to the author (or a later scribe). However, before chalking everything up to personal style, it is worth pointing out that incidence of this feature in other late works is reminiscent of its use in Chronicles, though never so extreme, arguably showing this feature to be part of a broader phenomenon. To be sure, in some late corpora and compositions—such as the Mishna, Ben Sira, and the Samaritan Pentateuch[46]—the feature is not at all prominent. The DSS[47] and other documents from the Judean desert, though, display a greater affinity for its usage.[48]

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[43] König 1881–1895:II 292–93; GKC 1910:298; Polzin 1976:66; Qimron 1986:30–31; Joüon-Muraoka 2006:312.

[44] It is customary in discussions of this feature to cite König's (1881–95:292) list of 98 cases. However, the instance he cites at 1 Kgs 18.5 is not to be found in L. Furthermore, in six cases (1 Chr 24.3; 2 Chr 20.19; 29.12, 13, 14; 34.12) he notes only one instance of the phenomenon in a verse containing two. It is hoped that the following list is more precise and exhaustive: Exod 18.14; Lev 1.14; 14.30; Num 23.7; Jos 11.21 (3x); Jdg 5.20; 7.23 (2x); 10.11 (2x); 19.16; 2 Sam 20.6; 22.14; 2 Ki 14.2; 15.28; 18.17; 21.19; 23.36; Isa 20.5; Jer 7.7; 17.5; 25.3, 5; 44.18, 28; Joel 1.12; Ps 18.4, 49; 30.4; 45.9; 73.19; 104.7 (2x); 116.8; Job 30.5; 40.6; Prov 27.8; Cant 4.15; Lam 1.6; Dan 1.15; 9.25; 11.5, 23; Neh 12.28; 1 Chr 4.40, 42; 5.18; 8.8, 9; 9.3 (3x), 4, 6, 7, 14, 30, 32 (2x); 11.22; 12.17, 26, 27, 30, 31; 13.2, 5; 15.17 (2x), 25; 17.7; 19.6 (2x); 24.3 (2x), 4; 26.1, 10; 27.3, 10, 14; 2 Chr 2.13; 8.8, 9; 13.2; 15.13; 17.11, 17; 20.14, 19 (2x); 26.3; 29.12 (2x), 13 (2x), 14 (2x); 31.3; 34.12 (2x).

[45] Rendsburg 2002:132.

[46] Codex Kaufmann of the Mishna contains some twenty cases: Kil 3:2; 8:6 (2x); Shabb 8:7 (?); Sukk 1:11; 2:4; Ketub 4:11, 12; Git 9:7; BabaM 4:8; 7:4 (?); Sanh 4:3; Shevu 6:3; Hul 1:4; Tem 1:2 (2x); Mid 1:9; Tamid 6:1; Kelim 28:2; Ohol. 2.1; Uqtzin 3:2. The Ben Sira manuscripts show only two cases: SirB 21v.4 (|| Sir 51.24) and SirE 11r.18 (|| Sir 33.10). Perhaps due to its harmonistic tendencies, the Samaritan Pentateuch shows no examples of the feature, even in the four cases in which it occurs in the Tiberian Pentateuch.

[47] While the 28 cases in the non-biblical manuscripts are negligible in comparison with the nearly 1500 potential cases, preservation of the feature in several fragmentary texts seems significant, in that they may be indicative of rather routine usage (the references here are followed by the proportion of forms with preserved *nun* out of potential forms

Of particular significance in the present discussion is parallel Masoretic and DSS material, in which the relevant מן with unassimilated *nun* is more likely to appear in the latter than the former. There are two instances in which DSS -מ || MT מן, fifteen in which DSS מן || MT -מ.[49] Two of the latter come in 4QRP:]מן בן עֹ[4Q364 fi8.6 || מִבֶּן עֶשְׂרִים MT Num 14.29;]ומן שמ[4Q365 f9bii.2 || וּמִשֶּׁמֶן MT Exod 29.21; שרים[.

2.3 MORPHOLOGY

2.3.1 1c *wayyiqtol*: Lengthened/Full versus Standard/Short Forms[50]

Evidence indicates that the prefix pattern used in the BH narrative *wayyiqtol* verbal form developed from consonant-final Proto-Semitic *yaqṭul*. Early on, forms in all persons utilized the short *yiqtol* in this narrative tense. Thus in CBH texts, for example, third-person וַיִּפֶן (e.g., MT Exod 2.12) is paralleled by first-person וָאֵפֶן (MT Deut 9.15; 10.5) and וַנֵּפֶן (MT Deut 2.1, 8; 3.1) in ל"י verbs (cf. the full *yiqtol* in the future forms יִפְנֶה, אֶפְנֶה, נִפְנֶה), while third-person וַיִּשְׁלַח (e.g., MT Gen 8.9) lines up with first-person וָאֶשְׁלַח (e.g., MT Deut 2.26). Later on, evidently due to analogical pressure, there was a tendency to use longer first-person forms. The shift is seen unambiguously in full first-person ל"י forms ending in -ֶה, e.g., וָאֶבְנֶה (e.g., MT Neh 3.38; MT 2 Chr 6.10), and lengthened first-person forms ending in -ָה, e.g., וָאֶשְׁלְחָה (e.g., MT Ezra 8.16; MT Neh 6.3, 8) against standard וָאֶשְׁלַח (MT Deut 2.28). *Qal* ע"ו/י and *hifʿil* forms also exhibit the difference between short and full forms in their consonantal spelling—consider וַנָּשָׁב MT Gen 43.21 and וָאָשֹׁב MT Josh 14.7 versus וָאָשִׁיב MT Neh 2.20; 6.4 versus וָאָשִׁיבָה Ps 119.59; Neh 13.9—though it should be observed that the vocalization of orthographically short forms sometimes reflects pronunciation in line with the full orthographical pattern, e.g., וָאָקֵץ MT Lev 20.23 and וָאַבְדֵּל MT Lev 20.26.[51] In the Masoretic Torah a short form obtains in 18 of 21 possible cases (85.7 percent) of first-person *wayyiqtol* forms ל"י, in all five *qal* ע"ו/י, and in 12 of 13 *hifʿil* (excluding ל"י). A lengthened form occurs in the Masoretic Pentateuch in just four of 105 instances (3.8 percent). In the core LBH books and Qohelet, by contrast, the short first-person ל"י *wayyiqtol* comes in just seven of 25 cases (28 percent), in one of 22 cases in *qal* verbs ע"ו/י, and in two of 19 cases in *hifʿil*. Fort its part, the lengthened pattern obtains in 59 of 116 cases (50.9 percent) in LBH.[52] See table 3.

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with preserved *nun*): 1QS 7.3, 13 (2/79); 1QSa 1.6 (1/6); 1Q22 fiiv.2 (1/4); 4Q166 1.11 (1/4); 4Q176 fi–2i.4 (1/11); 4Q185 fi–2i.14; fi–2ii.6, 9 (3/11); 4Q223–224 f2i.49 (1/3); 4Q266 fi6a.2 (1/32); 4Q271 f2.10 (1/10); 4Q374 f9.4 (1/2); 4Q379 fi.6 (1/2); 4Q381 f69.5; f97.3 (2/17); 4Q382 fi15.2 (1/8); 4Q385b fi.4 (1/1); 4Q397 fi–2.2 (1/10); 4Q437 f2i.7 (1/5); 4Q443 fi.8 (1/2); 4Q522 f9ii.12 (1/6); 11Q5 28.3 (1/23); 11Q19 34.15; 39.14; 57.11; 60.10 (2x) (5/153). Biblical material— DSS מן || MT -מ: 1QIsa[a] 28.4–5 (|| Isa 34.4); 46.16 (|| Isa 56.5) (2/412); 4Q22 18.21 (|| Exod 18.13); 4Q83 f9ii.3 (|| Ps 38.19); 4Q98g fi.2 (|| Ps 89.20), 3 (|| Ps 89.21); 4Q107 f2ii.7 (|| Song 4.8 [2x]), 8 (|| Song 4.8), 9 (|| Song 4.8), 12 (|| Song 4.10), 13 (Song 4.10); f3.11 (|| Song 4.16); 4Q364 fi8.6 (|| Num 14.29); 4Q365 f9bii.2 (Num 14.29); DSS -מ || MT מן: 1QIsa[a] 16.11 (|| Isa 20.5); 4Q96 f2.4 (|| Ps 116.8). Note also -מ 4Q111 1.11 || *ktiv* מן *qre* -מ MT Lam 1.6; ל]ב 4Q35 fi1–15.4 || מן MT Deut 33.11. DSS מן || MT מן: 4Q85 fi2.3 || Ps 45.9.

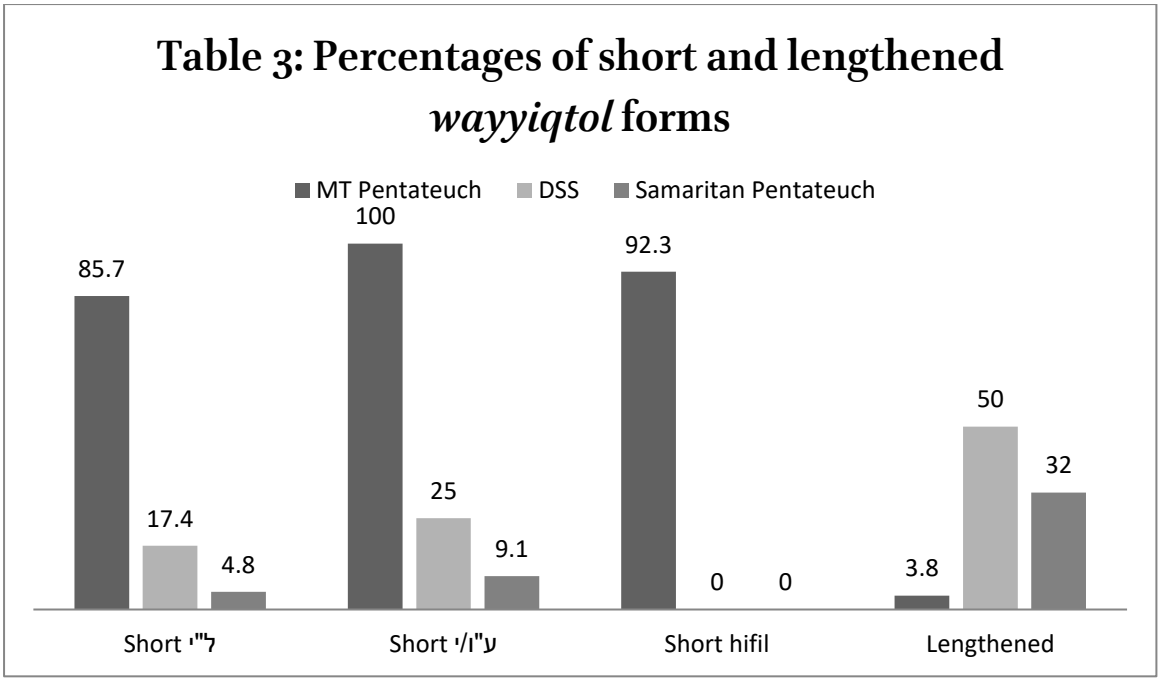
[48] Mur24 fiB.7; fiC.7; Mur42 fi.1 (2x), 3, 6; Mur43 fi.4; Mur48 fi.2; 5/6Hev44 1.2, 4, 6, 18; 5/6Hev45 1.4, 11; 5/6Hev46 1.2, 10; 5/6Hev49 1i.3; XHev/Se30 fiR.2; XHev/Se49 fiR.11.

[49] See above, n. 47.

[50] For a more detailed discussion and bibliography see Hornkohl 2014a:159–171, of which the following is a revised summary.

[51] This is a probable example of the occasional diachronic mismatch between the late pronunciation called for by the Tiberian reading tradition and the earlier tradition preserved in the consonantal text.

[52] Rezetko and Young (2014:507–508) question the traditional status accorded the ואקטלה pattern as characteristically late. Among other things, they emphasize that the form is entirely lacking from MT Chronicles and occurs in a significant minority of the cases in MT Samuel. However, there are only five potential examples in Chronicles, and, in any case, the late preservation of classical features is entirely acceptable within the conventional theory of Hebrew diachronic linguistics. Regarding the apparently early employment of ואקטלה in Samuel—it is not impossible that this is the result of scribal anachronism, but there is no reason to accept this conclusion without more evidence. If



Non-Masoretic and extra-biblical sources exhibit the same trends. The four first-person ל"י *wayyiqtol* forms in the Moabite of the Mesha Inscription (KAI 181) are all short and there is no evidence of lengthened *wayyiqtol*. In the DSS first-person *wayyiqtol* forms are short in just four of 19 possible cases (21 percent) in ל"י, two of eight cases in ע"ו/י (25 percent), and never in nine cases of *hifʿil*, whereas first-person *wayyiqtol* forms are lengthened in 42 of 84 cases (50 percent). In the Samaritan Pentateuch these same ratios are one of 21 (4.8 percent), one of 11 (9.1 percent), and zero of 11, with 33 of 103 cases (32 percent) lengthened forms (cf. 3.8 percent in the MT).[53]

In the DSS material under examination here there are nine instances of a first-person *wayyiqtol*. Three are ל"י, of which one is full, and two have unreadable endings.[54] Of the remaining six forms, one is a full *hifʿil* form, one is lengthened, three are unlengthened strong *qal* forms, and one has a broken ending. This means that of the six cases with legible endings, three have characteristically late forms—two full, one lengthened:

full ל"י:	ונעלה דרך הבשן 4Q364 f24a–c.15	|| וַנַּעַל דֶּרֶךְ הַבָּשָׁן Deut 3.1
lengthened:	שהֹ בשני [ואתפ]שׁ 4Q364 f26bi.8	|| וָאֶתְפֹּשׂ בִּשְׁנֵי Deut 9.17
full *hifʿil*:	[עפרו] ואשליך את 4Q364 f26bii+e.1	|| וָאַשְׁלִךְ אֶת־עֲפָרוֹ Deut 9.21

There would seem to be a mix of typically classical and typically late patterns, but, significantly, where RP forms differ from their Masoretic parallels, the DSS version consistently presents the characteristically later alternative.

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there was a shift from ואקטל to ואקטלה, it was probably gradual and incremental, in which case one might very well expect evidence of early sporadic usage. The use of full first-person ל"י *wayyiqtol* forms is also documented in purportedly pre-exilic texts, e.g., Samuel, where it comes in all eight of the potential cases. This feature is thus typical of late material, but is distinctively characteristic of such only in combination with other typically late features. And, again, its presence in purportedly classical texts may indicate early adoption of what would later become a more dominant usage, though, to be sure, the possibility of linguistic fluidity during transmission cannot be excluded.

[53] The table in Hornkohl 2014a:162 gives a figure of 32 for the number of lengthened forms in the Samaritan Pentateuch, against 33 cases listed there on p. 164, n. 20. The figures here reflect the latter.

[54] Regarding the reading אֹ[ואר 4Q364 f26bi.6 || MT Deut 9.16, Tov and White (1994:236) note that "[t]he letter trace may be reconstructed as *ʾaleph* with 𐤀 or *he* with 𐤄", but no trace is visible in the photograph (ibid., Plate XIX).

2.3.2 The *-ot* Plural Ending with a 3mpl Suffix: -וֹתֵיהֶם versus -וֹתָם[55]

In terms of both morphological development and distribution, the combination of the plural ending -וֹת plus a 3mpl possessive suffix resulting in -וֹתֵיהֶם, e.g., אֲבֹתֵיהֶם 'their fathers', seems to be a characteristically late alternative for more typically classical -וֹתָם, e.g., אֲבֹתָם 'their fathers'. While both were evidently available for use throughout the pre- and post-exilic eras, and while non-diachronic factors—among them euphony, attraction, preference in specific collocations, genre, and scribal intervention—likely account for some degree of their distribution, scholars have long recognized a diachronic dimension as well. The ending -וֹתָם is found throughout the MT; conversely, considering texts containing more than just a handful of potential cases, the figures for -וֹתֵיהֶם match or exceed those of its shorter alternative chiefly in later material. In the Pentateuch the ratio of -וֹתָם to -וֹתֵיהֶם is 209:9 (4.1 percent -וֹתֵיהֶם), in the Former Prophets 67:15 (18.3 percent -וֹתֵיהֶם), in the Latter Prophets 80:50 (38.5 percent -וֹתֵיהֶם), and in the non-LBH Writings 40:19 (32.2 percent -וֹתֵיהֶם); in LBH, by contrast, it is 49:61 (55.5 percent -וֹתֵיהֶם). Seen from a different perspective, approximately two-thirds of the 150 cases of -וֹתֵיהֶם come in Second Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the core LBH books. See table 4.

Table 4: MT distribution of -וֹתָם and -וֹתֵיהֶם

Book	-ותם	-ותיהם	% -ותיהם	Book	-ותם	-ותיהם	% -ותיהם	Book	-ותם	-ותיהם	% -ותיהם
Gen	22	2	8.3%	Isa	12	9	42.9%	Pss	24	14	36.9%
Exod	35	2	5.4%	Jer	18	19	51.4%	Prov	5	3	37.5%
Lev	13	1	7.1%	Ezek	28	15	34.9%	Job	5	1	16.7%
Num	132	2	1.5%	Hos	10	1	9.1%	Lam	5	1	16.7%
Deut	7	2	22.2%	Joel	1	1	50%	Est	0	1	100%
Pent	**209**	**9**	**4.1%**	Amos	2	1	33.3%	Ezra	3	6	66.7%
Josh	40	3	7.0%	Mic	4	4	50%	Neh	3	14	82.4%
Jdg	10	4	28.6%	Nah	1	0	0%	Chron	43	40	48.2%
Sam	2	4	66.7%	Zeph	3	0	0%	**Writings**	**88**	**80**	**47.6%**
Kgs	15	4	21.1%	Mal	1	0	0%	**Writings *sans* LBH**	**40**	**19**	**32.2%**
FProph	**67**	**15**	**18.3%**	**LProph**	**80**	**50**	**38.5%**	**LBH**	**49**	**61**	**55.5%**
								TOTAL	**444**	**154**	**25.8 %**

Consider now table 5, which presents the distribution of the two endings in non-Masoretic biblical material and late extra-biblical sources.

Table 5: Non-Masoretic and Late Extra-biblical Corpora

Corpus	-ותם	-ותיהם	% -ותיהם
Samaritan Pentateuch	202	12	5.6%
Ben Sira	11	1	8.3%
Non-biblical DSS	120	55	31.4%
Biblical DSS	64	31	32.6%
Mishna	11	78	87.6%

Though only the Mishna shows dominant usage of the long form, the DSS present a sizeable minority of forms with this ending. The persistence of the classical form in late literary texts, as opposed to the presumed vernacular that came to serve as a literary medium in the case of

[55] The diachronic import of the distribution of the two endings is treated in detail in Hornkohl 2014a:135–142; f.c. a; f.c. b, where references to earlier studies may be found. See also Kim 2013:99–107. Versions of the dissenting opinion may be found in Young, Rezetko, and Ehrensvärd 2008:I 76, II 156; Rezetko 2013:56–59; and Rezetko and Young 2014:351–374.

Tannaitic Hebrew,[56] is not particularly surprising, especially in the case of the Samaritan Pentateuch and the biblical DSS, in which preservation of the biblical source-text was the goal. Yet raw statistics, while certainly indicative of a chronological trend within the MT and, to a lesser degree, within non-Masoretic biblical and extra-biblical material, too, fail to capture certain meaningful aspects of historical development.

In DSS biblical material there are 72 cases in which a Masoretic form with וֹתָם- is represented in one way or another; in 62 of them it is paralleled by a form with ותמה-/ותם-, in ten by a form with ותיהמה-/ותיהם-. Conversely, the biblical DSS have 23 cases in which a MT form with וֹתֵיהֶם- is represented one way or another; in 22 of them the ending is ותיהמה-/ותיהם-, in only one ותמה-/ותם-. Thus, in the majority of parallel cases there is correspondence between the relevant forms in the two corpora. However, of the eleven cases where they differ, the DSS show the characteristically later form in ten.[57] This means that the biblical DSS show the more characteristically late form in ten of 72 cases (13.9 percent), the MT in just one of 23 (4.4 percent). Neither proportion is overwhelming, but, clearly, the DSS are nearly three times more likely than the MT to opt for the typically post-classical alternative. And where the two corpora differ with regard to parallel forms, the DSS are ten times more likely than the MT to opt for the characteristically late ותיהמה-/ותיהם-. Contrary to what is sometimes claimed with regard to the distribution of these two alternatives, there is "a trend in the direction of replacement."[58] And though in three cases RP (specifically 4Q365) and the MT agree on words ending in ותם-,[59] a late-for-classical replacement seems to apply in one case, namely, במלואֹ[ו]תֹיהמה 4Q365 f12biii.12 || בְּמִלֵּאתָם MT Exod 39.13. On its own this solitary case means very little, but in conjunction with numerous other late-versus-classical correspondences between the Masoretic and DSS versions of the texts here turns out to be part of a broader trend.

2.4 SYNTAX

2.4.1 Movement Verb + [60]ל-

Outside specific collocations that occur throughout the Hebrew Bible,[61] the syntagm consisting of MOVEMENT VERB + ל- is relatively rare. More common alternatives to ל- include the

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[56] The classic formulation is that of Segal 1908. More recently, see Kutscher 1982:115–119; Sáenz-Badillos 1993:171.

[57] במסלותיהמה 1QIsa[a] 48.19 || בִּמְסִלּוֹתָם MT Isa 59.7; במעגלותיהמה 1QIsa[a] 48.19 || בְּמַעְגְּלוֹתָם MT Isa 59.8; ובמגורותיהסה 1QIsa[a] 53.15 || וּמְגוּרָתָם MT Isa 66.4; לאבותיהמ[ה 2Q12 f1.7 || לַאֲבֹתָם MT Deut 10.11; מִצבותיהם 4Q45 f15–16.2 || מַצֵּבֹתָם MT Deut 12.3; אבותֹיה[ם 4Q50 f2–3.8 || אֲבוֹתָם MT Jdg 21.22; וקשתותיהם 4Q171 f1–2ii.16 || וְקַשְׁתוֹתָם MT Ps 37.15; במלואֹ[ו]תֹיהמה 4Q365 f12biii.12 || בְּמִלֵּאתָם MT Exod 39.13; וקשתותיהם 4Q437 f2i.3 || וְקַשְׁתוֹתָם MT Ps 37.15; מֹעֹנותי[הֹם 11Q5 fEii.1 || מְעוֹנָתָם MT Ps 104.22. Consider also וי[וֹנקֻ]תֹיהמה 1QIsa[a] 53.28 || וְינַקְתֶּם MT Isa 66.12, though in this case the readings are very different; cf. the Greek. The lone instance in which the biblical DSS present a short form that contrasts with a long one in the MT is וחניתתֹם 4Q56 f2.2 || וַחֲנִיתוֹתֵיהֶם MT Isa 2.4, in which the short DSS form may well be due to attraction of חַרְבוֹתָם in the preceding hemistich (as preserved in both the MT and 4Q56).

[58] Cf. Rezetko (2013:58), who, commenting specifically on the ramifications of the Masoretic and biblical DSS distribution of אבותם and אבותיהם in editions of the book of Judges, writes "[t]he absence of a trend in the direction of replacement weakens any claim that 4QJudg[a]'s אבותיהם is simply a linguistic modernization." While this may be true for the specific forms and material that he discusses, since there is no obvious clustering of late features in any single version, in the case of other DSS and MT parallels, such as 4QRP there nevertheless seems to be a discernible tendency.

[59] לגולגלותם 4Q365 f26a–b.6 || לְגֻלְגֹּלְתָם MT Num 1.2; לצבאותם 4Q365 f26a–b.7 || לְצִבְאֹתָם MT Num 1.3; אבותם 4Q365 f35ii.4 || אֲבֹתָם MT Num 17.21.

[60] For a more detailed discussion and bibliography see Hornkohl 2014a:218–226, of which the following is a revised summary. See also Rezetko and Young 2014:390–391.

preposition אֶל (sometimes interchanged with עַל; see below), *directional/locative heh* (see below), and the so-called accusative of direction. The rarity of MOTION VERB + -ל + TOPONYM is especially clear. In the Pentateuch there are no cases of MOVEMENT VERB + -ל + PROPER NOUN, in the Former Prophets there are two, in the Latter Prophets eight, and in the core LBH books fifty. In some forms of post-biblical Hebrew the use of -ל to connect verbs of movement and toponyms is common, e.g., RH. Since the feature is also well-documented in late Aramaic dialects, especially Targumic Aramaic and Syriac, but also the BA of Ezra,[62] it may be that the marked increase in usage of what was previously a marginal feature in Hebrew should be attributed to Aramaic influence.

To the best of my knowledge, collocations involving motion verbs, -ל, and toponyms are rare in the DSS. Indeed, I have found just five,[63] one in RP, where the MT parallel has -ב instead: ועלו לנגב 4Q365 f32.10 || וַיַּעֲלוּ בַנֶּגֶב MT Num 13.22. Too much should not be made of this single example. Even so, it is interesting that it tallies with a feature common in certain late sources and that in comparison to the Masoretic Pentateuch, again, in terms of the various alternatives, RP exhibits that characteristically late one.

2.4.2 Directional *heh*[64]

Second Temple Hebrew sources display two apparently contradictory tendencies with regard to directional *heh*. On the one hand, there is a marked general reduction in the use of the suffix in late sources, in which it is variously replaced by alternative means for marking direction and destination, e.g., increased use of the preposition -לְ (see above). This trend is felt in Masoretic LBH and is unmistakable in RH, where use of directional *heh* is restricted to specific words and/or fixed phrases. On the other hand, due evidently to the archaistic propensities of certain writers, there was an increase in the non-standard use of directional *heh*.[65] This tendency is somewhat characteristic of Masoretic LBH, but is especially manifest in the Hebrew of the DSS.[66]

The two opposing trends are particularly noticeable in terms of the use of directional *heh* with proper names, which is routine in Masoretic biblical material considered classical, but rare in post-exilic sources. For example, in the core LBH books there are only 21 cases, all of them in MT Chronicles, and eight of these are already found in the Chronicler's sources, whereas in four cases the use of the particle seems non-standard. To the best of my knowledge there are no cases of a proper name with directional *heh* in either the non-biblical DSS material, Ben Sira, or the

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[61] These are cases in which the word referring to the destination of movement is מָקוֹם, אֶרֶץ, אֹהֶל, or בַּיִת, or the collocation is of the type אִישׁ לְ-X-ו.

[62] MT Ezra 4.12, 13; 5.8, 12; 6.5; 7.13.

[63] 3Q15 5.13; 4Q248 f1.6, 8; 4Q365 f32.10; 4Q379 f12.5–6. Rezetko and Young (2014:390) mistakenly cite Hornkohl 2014a:223, n. 135, as listing six examples, the last of which, 4Q522 f9ii.2, they say "has to be excluded since the crucial factors (e.g., verb בוא, preposition ל) are reconstructed." There is no doubt that the case in question should be excluded. Indeed, it is not to be found in Hornkohl's discussion.

[64] For a more detailed discussion and bibliography see Hornkohl 2014a:203–217, of which the following is a revised summary. Cf. Rezetko and Young 2014:182–184, 374–394 (which discussion, for purposes of manageability, is limited to instances of collocations involving words designating destinations and *qal* בוא).

[65] In line with the considerations given in Hornkohl 2014a:205 and n. 69, standard use of the suffix is defined here as indication of destination or direction; deviations from this rule are considered non-standard.

[66] Qimron 1986:69.

Mishna.[67] With regard to non-standard usage of the suffix—Hornkohl's (2014a:209–210) figures regarding the MT provide a rough guide: Torah—approximately 17 percent (63 out of 395; these figures are somewhat misleading, because all 24 of the non-standard cases in Leviticus involve the recurring phrase הַקְּטִיר הַמִּזְבֵּחָה; excluding these examples the percentage drops to under ten); Former Prophets: 14.1 percent (51 out of 361 cases); Latter Prophets: 41.7 percent (88 out of 211; however, here, too, the raw statistics are deceptive, since there is a particular concentration of 33 non-standard cases in the final two chapters of the book of Ezekiel, and most consist of construct phrases of the type פְּאַת קֵדְמָה; if these instances are excluded, the relevant percentage drops to 30.9); core LBH material: 34.4 percent (33 out of 96 cases). It is also relevant to point out that the poetic books of the Bible exhibit a pronounced propensity for non-standard use of directional *he*. In the corpus composed of Psalms, Job, Proverbs, and Song of Songs use of the particle deviates from the standard in 18 of 22 cases (81.8 percent). Genre is clearly a factor. Doubtless, some of the non-standard cases in other books containing poetry, such as Isaiah, should also be ascribed to poetic factors.

In the DSS 45.6 percent of the instances of directional *heh* (123 out of 272 cases) deviate from standard usage. This non-standard usage is more common in non-biblical texts—64.8 percent (59 of 94 cases)—than in biblical texts—35.9 percent (65 of 181 cases [in 33 cases the non-standard usage in the DSS matches that in the MT; the remaining proportion in 32 of 148 or 21.6 percent]).

Both of the abovementioned developments are manifest in a comparison between the Pentateuchal material represented in the MT and the DSS manuscripts under examination here. In one case, a proper name representing a destination comes with directional *heh* in the MT and is evidently missing it in 4QRP: וְשִׁלַּח אֹתוֹ פַּדֶּנָה אֲרָם || 4Q364 f3ii.7–8 [ושלח אותו] פ[דן] אֹרמ לקחת לו: לָקַחַת־לוֹ MT Gen 28.6. This is comparable to another parallel, in which, however, reference to the destination is by means of a common noun: וַעֲלֵה אֵלַי הָהָרָה || 4Q364 f26bii+e.4 ועלה אלי ההר MT Deut 10.1. More common is the otiose addition of the suffix, especially in the case of the particle שָׁם when not referencing a direction or destination: 4Q158 f1–2.3 יו[ותר י]עקֹ[וב ל]בדו שמה ויאבקֿ || MT Gen 32.25; וַיִּוָּתֵר יַעֲקֹב לְבַדּוֹ וַיֵּאָבֵק 4Q365 f6aii+6c.11 שמֹה שם לו חוק || MT Exod שָׁם שָׂם לוֹ חֹק 15.25; מה הענן ש]ישכון 4Q365 f31a–c.6 || MT Num 9.17; יִשְׁכָּן־שָׁם הֶעָנָן 4Q365 ע]ד חברון ושמֹה אחימון f32.11 || MT Num 13.22. עַד־חֶבְרוֹן וְשָׁם אֲחִימַן The non-standard character of the usage is particularly evident when *heh* is attached to מִשָּׁם in the case of andative (rather than venitive) movement: משמה[נסעו 4Q364 f27.4 || MT Deut 10.7 מִשָּׁם נָסְעוּ (though caution must be exercised in this case due to the fragmentary nature of the text).[68] The instance of מבן חודש ולמעל[ה 4Q365 f27.4 || מִבֶּן־

[67] Hornkohl 2014a:209 and n. 83 gives a figure of three such instances in the non-biblical DSS: בֹּא אל עיתה[4Q161 f5–6.5 || MT Isa 10.28; בָּא עַל־עַיִת ;ה]אכה אש[ור בו 4Q364 f1a–b.1 || MT Gen 25.18; ו֯יבואו מרתֹה 4Q365 f6aii+6c.9 || MT Exod 15.23. However, in the present study such biblical citations within non-biblical texts are considered biblical material.

[68] There are other relevant cases, but these have questionable diachronic significance. In one case, 4QRP has a lexeme designating a cardinal direction with *heh* against the MT form without it: ואת השלחן תתן על צלעו צפונה 4Q364 f17.5 || MT Exod 26.35. וְהַשֻּׁלְחָן תִּתֵּן עַל־צֶלַע צָפוֹן However, this usage is not uncommon in the MT and is, in fact, found in the surrounding context in the MT, including earlier in the same verse. The two versions also differ with respect to the presence or absence of the suffix on toponyms when (arguably) no direction or movement toward a destination is intended, as in ה]בחור הגדגד 4Q364 f19a–b.12 || MT Num 33.32 בְּחֹר הַגִּדְגָּד and ת֯ימֹ]בעלמון דבל 4Q364 f19a–b.12 || MT Num 33.46. בְּעַלְמֹן דִּבְלָתָיְמָה Besides the fact that both cases are fragmentary and, therefore, dubious, they also cancel each other out. Finally, in one (fragmentary) case involving שָׁם and a verb of movement, the MT uses the suffix, while 4QRP does not: תֹה שם והבי[א 4Q364 f17.1 || MT Exod 26.33. וְהֵבֵאתָ שָׁמָּה But absence of directional *heh* with motion verbs is a viable option in classical style.

חֹדֶשׁ וָמָעְלָה MT Num 3.28, in which -ל was added to a form already apparently suffixed with directional *heh* is discussed separately below.

Here again a number of cases of difference between 4QRP and the MT can be reasonably explained due to linguistic developments affecting the Hebrew of the period in which the former's biblical citations were copied and/or quoted from memory.

2.4.3 Interchange of the Prepositions אֶל and עַל[69]

The phenomenon is much discussed, but often without sufficient nuance. First, it is crucial to observe that there already evidently existed a degree of semantic and functional overlap between the two prepositions in the First Temple period. Be that is it may, several MT biblical texts exhibit remarkable concentrations of the interchanges אֶל > עַל and עַל > אֶל in comparison to other MT material.[70] Some scholars point generally to late texts, whereas others restrict their comments to the individual books Samuel, Kings, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel, or to some combination thereof, especially the latter pair. Since the biblical text was transmitted by copyists, the requisite change involves a single letter, and the late weakened pronunciation of the guttural letters rendered their pronunciation indistinguishable in some Second Temple locales (see above), the possibility of any instance of interchange being due to scribal intervention cannot be definitively rejected.

It has been noted that texts written after the Exile (biblical and non-biblical) are in general characterized by significantly reduced usage of the preposition אֶל. This, along with the preposition's frequent replacement with עַל, are partially attributable to the influence of late Aramaic dialects, in which על is employed and use of אל is rare. However, as in the case of directional *heh* above, so to in the present case—late sources exhibit seemingly opposing tendencies. Against the background of the decreased use of אֶל in late sources, there are also cases of hypercorrection, in which writers (editors, or copyists) keen to imitate classical style incorrectly replaced עַל with אֶל. While diachronic factors alone are insufficient to explain the relative distributions of the two prepositions, including cases of interchange, it is reasonable to include a diachronic dimension in the explanation.

From a comparison of the Masoretic Pentateuch and parallel material in 4QRP, three cases of interchange obtain. In all three the context would seem to call for the use of עַל, which obtains in the MT against אל in the Dead Sea parallel: וַיֵּעֲמֹד הָעָם עַל- || 4Q365 f7ii.1 ויע]מֹוד֙ הֹעֹ֣ם אֹ[ל משה MT Exod 18.13; כְּתֵפֶת עֲשׂוּ־לֹו חֹבְרֹת עַל- || 4Q365 f12iii.5 כתפות עשו לוא חוברות אל שני קצותיו מֹשֶׁה MT Exod 39.4; שְׁנֵי קצוותו [קְצוֹתָיו] || 4Q365 f17a–c.2 כול ההולך אֹ[ל גחון כָּל־הוֹלֵךְ עַל-גָּחֹון MT Lev 11.42. While these examples of interchange may be variously explained, it is not implausible to attribute 4QRP's use of אל here to an overly zealous attempt to duplicate what was felt to be archaic style. Such pseudoarchaisms are an acknowledged feature of some late sources, particularly DSS compositions, and tally with the other features cited in this study indicating that, from the perspective of significant linguistic details, the Torah material in 4QRP is consistently couched in typologically later Hebrew than parallel material in the MT.

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[69] For a more detailed discussion and bibliography see Hornkohl 2014a:227–238, of which the following is a revised summary. Cf. Rezetko and Young 2014:208–210.

[70] Of course, these can be identified only on a case-by-case basis, and identification often involves the subjective judgment of the investigator.

2.4.4 The Infinitive Construct as Verbal Complement with Prefixed ל-[71]

A comparison of Masoretic BH, Second Temple Aramaic/Syriac, and RH reveals unmistakable evolution in the morphosyntax of the infinitive construct. In Masoretic BH the infinitive may occur with or without a preceding preposition. In RH and Targumic Aramaic, conversely, unless serving as the *nomen rectum* of a construct phrase (e.g., יוֹם צֵאתְךָ 'the day of your leaving' M Berakhot 1.5), the infinitive is obligatorily preceded by a preposition, the default being ל-, which may even intervene between the infinitive and another preposition, e.g., מִן. With the passage of time, it seems that the ל- came to be considered an integral morphological component of the infinitive construct.

The infinitive construct prefixed with ל- is not itself a late feature. Infinitival forms with and without ל- are found in both classical inscriptions and Masoretic material considered classical. Moreover, overall the infinitive with ל- is far more common as a verbal complement within Masoretic BH than the bare infinitive. The chronological development consists not in the late appearance or use of the infinitive with ל-, but in the abandonment of the bare infinitive, a tendency manifest in the distribution of the infinitive construct with and without ל- functioning as a verbal complement within the MT (see table 6), in non-Masoretic biblical material, in extra-biblical Hebrew, and in non-Hebrew sources (see table 7).

Table 6: MT distribution of the infinitive construct as verbal complement with and without ל-

Book	קְטֹל	לִקְטֹל	Book	קְטֹל	לִקְטֹל	Book	קְטֹל	לִקְטֹל
Gen	8	41	Ezek	1	6	Ruth	0	4
Exod	8	31	Hos	1	4	Song of Songs	0	8
Lev	0	3	Amos	4	2	Qohelet	0	8
Num	9	13	Jon	0	2	Lamentations	1	3
Deut	12	31	Nah	0	1	Est	0	8
Pent	37	119	Hab	1	0	Dan	0	1
Josh	1	12	Zeph	0	1	Ezra	0	2
Jdg	2	34	Zech	0	3	Neh	0	6
Sam	4	57	**LProph**	**38**	**19**	Chron	0	26
Kgs	2	24	**Proph**	**47**	**183**	**Writings *sans* LBH+Qohelet**	**20**	**37**
FProph	9	127	Pss	10	15	**LBH+Qohelet**	**0**	**51**
Isa	21	14	Job	7	2	**Writings**	**20**	**88**
Jer	10	23	Prov	2	5	**TOTAL**	**104**	**390**

In the MT forms with ל- outnumber forms without in nearly every book. Factors related to genre would seem to be at work, the bare infinitive as verbal complement being relatively more common in poetic material, e.g., the Latter Prophets and the Writings (excepting LBH and Qohelet), than in non-poetic material, e.g., the Torah and the Former Prophets. However, there is also an unmistakable diachronic pattern: while the infinitive as verbal complement without ל- occurs in a minority of the potential cases in most of the Masoretic Hebrew Bible, it is *entirely absent* from LBH and Qohelet, despite over fifty instances in which it could have been employed.

Confirmation that this apparent neglect is no mere accident of the limited scope of LBH, but is indeed representative of a broad post-Restoration linguistic trend, emerges from late extra-biblical, non-Hebrew, and non-Masoretic biblical material.

[71] For a more detailed discussion and bibliography see Hornkohl f.c. b, of which the following is a revised summary.

Table 7: Masoretic, cognate, extra-biblical, and non-Masoretic biblical distribution of the infinitive construct as verbal complement with and without ל- according to corpus							
MT				non-Hebrew, non-Masoretic, and post-biblical corpora			
Corpus	קְטֹל	לִקְטֹל	% לִקְטֹל	Corpus	קְטֹל	לִקְטֹל	% לִקְטֹל
Pentateuch	37	119	76%	BA	0	21	100%
Former Prophets	9	127	93%	Ben Sira	0	16	100%
Latter Prophets	38	56	60%	Mishna	0	269	100%
Writings w/o LBH + Qohelet	20	37	65%	Non-biblical DSS	4	43	92%
LBH	0	51	100%	Biblical DSS	29	72	71%
BH TOTAL	104	390	79%				

In BA, Ben Sira, and the Mishna the infinitive as verbal complement without ל- is unattested. It is also exceedingly rare in the non-biblical DSS, Targumic Aramaic, and the Syriac of the Peshiṭta.[72]

Turning to the biblical DSS, the ratio of verbal complement infinitives construct with ל- to those without is comparable to that in the MT. However, these statistics are somewhat deceptive, the relative frequency of the form without ל- probably resulting at least partially from the fragmentary nature of the Scrolls. Kutscher (1974:346–348) observed that infinitives construct without ל- in MT Isaiah are regularly paralleled by any number of alternative forms (the infinitive construct preceded by ל-, imperfect, *wayyiqṭol*, imperative, perfect, participle) in 1QIsa[a]. While the latter's penchant for linguistic 'updating' far exceeds the slips in favor of contemporary Second Temple Hebrew discernible in most DSS biblical material, whether biblical texts or citations thereof in non-biblical texts, the general move away from using the infinitive construct as a verbal complement without prefixed ל- is evidenced in other biblical DSS texts as well.[73]

4QComGen contains three potential cases. In the parallel MT material all are without ל-, whereas in 4QComGen two are preceded by ל-: ויוסף לשלחה 4Q252 1.16 || וַיְשַׁלַּח MT Gen 8.10; יספה לשוב 4Q252 1.19 || יָסְפָה שׁוּב MT Gen 8.12. Cf. שוב [ה]יסֹפֹ 4Q252 1.20–21, which has a bare infinitive.[74] Once again, where there is a difference, the direction of replacement involves a late feature in the DSS Pentateuchal material (here 4QComGen) substituted for its classical equivalent in the MT.

2.4.5 Replacement of Conversive Verbal Forms with Non-conversive Alternatives

One of the more noticeable differences between BH (in any tradition) and RH is the absence of conversive verb forms in the latter. In the Hebrew Bible only Qohelet exhibits a verbal system similar to that of Rabbinic literature, regularly utilizing unconverted forms, though, it should be noted, Qohelet also contains a few cases of *wayyiqtol* and even more of *weqatal*.[75] However,

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[72] Statistics are not provided here for the targums and the Peshiṭta. It should suffice to note that in the vast majority of cases where these translations do not completely reformulate phrases containing a BH infinitive construct without ל- as represented in the MT, they render using an infinitive with ל-.

[73] 1Q4 f12.2 || MT Deut 14.24; 1QIsa[a] 1.14–15 || MT Isa 1.12; 1QIsa[a] 1.15 || MT Isa 1.13; 1QIsa[a] 7.22 || MT Isa 8.4; 1QIsa[a] 22.13–14 || MT Isa 28.12; 1QIsa[a] 24.16 || MT Isa 30.9; 1QIsa[a] 39.31 || MT Isa 47.11; 4Q40 f5.6 || MT Deut 7.22; 4Q111 3.6 || MT Lam 1.14; 4Q252 1.15–16 || MT Gen 8.10; 4Q252 1.18–19 || MT Gen 8.12. One might also consider the following cases, which, for one reason or another, have been excluded from the above list, but which also exhibit the preference for infinitival forms with ל-: 1QIsa[a] 36.7 || MT Isa 42.24; 1QIsa[a] 47.20 || MT Isa 57.20; 4Q67 f1.4 || MT Isa 58.13; 4Q166 2.9 || MT Hos 2.11.

[74] In the single potential case preserved in RP, both it and the MT read bare infinitives: באר [ושה]מ[ו]אל{{ה}}ה 4Q364 f20a–c.7–8 || הוֹאִיל מֹשֶׁה בֵּאֵר MT Deut 1.5.

[75] *Wayyiqtol*: Qoh 1.17; 4.1, 7. *Weqatal*: Qoh 1.5 (*bis*); 2.24 (*bis*); 3.13 (*bis*) et al.

scholars have adduced evidence within the rest of the Hebrew Bible of the gradual collapse of the system of converted tenses, for example, increases in the use of perfective *we+qatal* in place of *wayyiqtol* and *qatal*, of future-oriented non-volitive *we-yiqtol* in place of *weqatal*, and of periphrastic *haya qotel* for past imperfective *weqatal*.[76] Such structures, it is true, appear here and there throughout the Bible, including use in supposedly classical texts, and while some allowance must be made for other factors, e.g., genre, literary effect, register, and scribal corruption, the expanded encroachment in late sources of non-conversive forms into areas more commonly reserved for conversive ones cannot be denied (though a full-scale statistical study, which would necessitate a great deal of subjective semantic judgment, remains a desideratum). Despite the gradual collapse, it is important to bear in mind that a form of the classical BH verbal system, with the complementary use of conversive and non-conversive forms, persists as the norm in the core LBH texts.

Unlike RH and Qohelet, but to a lesser extent than LBH, DSS Hebrew for the most part still reflects the classical biblical employment of the conversive tenses in both biblical and non-biblical material. The same is true of other post-biblical or non-Masoretic sources, such as Ben Sira and the Hebrew of the Samaritan Pentateuch. Even so, unmistakable traces of the aforementioned break-down in the verbal system can be discerned in all the aforementioned corpora.[77]

As might be expected, DSS biblical texts generally adhere to the conversive norms considered typical of BH as documented in the MT. However, in a significant minority of cases they also exhibit apparent 'slips', whereby scribes whose vernacular (evidently) did not include conversive verbs inadvertently replaced such classical forms with the corresponding colloquial alternative or made other changes, e.g., added or removed a *waw*, which resulted in forms not standard in BH. The 4QRP material paralleled in the Masoretic Pentateuch exhibits five such cases. In two of them arguably inappropriate perfective past *weqatal* forms parallel apparently more correct *qatal* forms in the MT: וסרתמה 4Q364 f26bi.7 || סַרְתֶּם MT Deut 9.16; וחבר 4Q365 f12biii.5 || חָבֶר MT Exod 39.4. On two further occasions 4QRP has dubious perfective past *we+qatal* forms where the MT's *wayyiqtol* verbs seem more apposite: ועשו קרנותיו 4Q365 f12a–bii.8 || וַיַּעַשׂ קַרְנֹתָיו MT Exod 37.2; ועלו לנגב 4Q365 f32.10 || וַיַּעֲלוּ בַנֶּגֶב MT Num 13.22. Finally, in a non-volitional context 4QRP has *we-yiqtol* against the MT's preferable *weqatal*: עוד מעט ויסוקלוני 4Q365 f7i.2–4 || עֹוד מְעַט וְסָקְלֻנִי MT Exod 17.4. Once again, then, the comparison between the Masoretic Pentateuch and 4QRP demonstrates a shift that can be reasonably attributed to diachronic factors, and, again, 4QRP consistently exhibits the characteristically later usage.

2.5 LEXICON AND PHRASEOLOGY

As might very well be expected in copies and near-copies of biblical material, lexical and phraseological deviations from the ostensible sources are far less common than orthographical, phonological, morphological, and syntactic developments. The following, most of which involve dimensions beyond the purely lexical, are thus all characteristic of Second Temple.

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[76] There are many relevant studies. See, most recently, van Peursen 2004:154–165; Cohen 2013:77–94; Hornkohl 2014a:254–273, the latter providing extensive bibliography. Cf. Ehrensvärd 2003:171–175; Rezetko 2003:233–237; Young, Rezetko, and Ehrensvärd 2008:II 150–155.

[77] On the Hebrew of the Samaritan Pentateuch see Ben-Ḥayyim 2000:170. On Ben Sira see van Peursen 2004:154–165. On DSS Hebrew see Hornkohl 2014a:256–257.

2.5.1 כתב: The *qəṭṯāl* Nominal Pattern[78]

The distribution of the קְטָל nominal pattern within the MT points unambiguously to its status as a linguistic feature especially characteristic of the Second Temple Period. Though it occasionally crops up in apparently classical sources, as well as in texts of unknown date, these potentially early occurrences are frequently uncharacteristic of CBH (e.g., appear in borrowed words) and/or doubtful. Moreover, one cannot ignore the pattern's striking proliferation in biblical material composed during the later period, that is to say from the close of the First Temple Period, through the Exile, into the Period of the Restoration, and beyond, probably under the influence of Aramaic.

The 22 words that apparently belong to the pattern account for approximately 125 occurrences in the Bible. The predominantly post-classical distribution of these forms is striking. Based on Hornkohl's (2014a:155) maximally inclusive list—which include forms whose relevance is somewhat doubtful—the following portrait of distribution emerges: LBH ≈ 70 occurrences; non-LBH Writings ≈ 25; rest of the Bible ≈ 30. At first glance, such a distribution may not seem particularly indicative of a purportedly post-classical phenomenon. However, considering that well over half of the *qəṭṯāl* forms occur in the extremely limited LBH corpus, which accounts for only about fourteen percent of the biblical text in terms of words (graphic units), its use must be considered especially characteristic of the post-450 BCE linguistic milieu.

Words belonging to the pattern in question are particularly common in the various Aramaic dialects. Post-biblical Hebrew corpora also testify to the pattern's status as a characteristically post-classical linguistic element, though it should be emphasized that a certain amount of speculation is involved in the classification of unvocalized forms. One such form apparently comes in 4QRP's parallel to material from MT Numbers: במספר כתב שמות לגולגלותם 4Q365 f26a–b.6 || בְּמִסְפַּ֣ר שֵׁמֹ֔ות כָּל־זָכָ֖ר לְגֻלְגְּלֹתָֽם MT Num 1.2. Here the admittedly unvocalized כתב might conceivably represent some other form, such as an infinitive, imperative, or passive participle, but none of these seems appropriate to the context and the lack of a *mater waw* to represent the required *o* or *u* theme vowel would be surprising given the regularity with which such vowels are represented by *matres* in the manuscript. Though it cannot be proven, a nominal form in the *qəṭṯāl* pattern seems the best fit. If so, this is a blatantly late intrusion into an otherwise classical copy of the text and another feature whereby 4QRP presents a later linguistic mien than the MT Torah.

2.5.2 משוזר: Expansion of the *məquṭṭāl* (*puʿal* Participle) Pattern

Among linguistic trends characteristic of Second Temple Hebrew is the comparative proliferation of passive adjectives in the *məquṭṭāl* (i.e., *puʿal* participle) pattern. By no means rare in works considered pre-exilic, the diachronically significant phenomenon is the pattern's late usage in the case of roots documented in alternative templates in apparently pre-exilic sources. The shift is probably related to the late drift from *qal* to *piʿel* witnessed in the case of many verbs found both in BH and RH, though it should be noted that late *puʿal* forms sometimes correspond to the passive forms of *binyanim* other than *qal*.[79] Especially typical of RH, where such venerable biblical forms as נִכְבָּד 'honored', נָכוֹן 'prepared, established', שׁוֹנֶה 'various', רַב 'great, many, much', יָשֵׁן 'old', חָסֵר 'lacking', and גְּרוּשָׁה 'divorced' are either replaced or joined by the respective

[78] For a more detailed discussion and bibliography see Hornkohl 2014a:152–158, of which the following is a revised summary.

[79] See Ben-Ḥayyim 1958:236–242; Bendavid 1967–1971:II 482; Fassberg 2001.

məquṭṭāl replacements or alternatives מְכֻבָּד ‘honored’, מְכֻוָּן ‘directed, facing’, מְשֻׁנֶּה ‘different’, מְרֻבֶּה ‘great, much, many’, מְיֻשָּׁן ‘old, aged’, מְחֻסָּר ‘lacking’, and מְגוֹרָשֶׁת ‘divorced’, signs of the tendency are also seen to varying degrees in LBH, the Hebrew of the DSS, Ben Sira, and the Samaritan reading tradition.[80]

Thus LBH knows מְלֻבָּשׁ (cf. לָבוּשׁ), מְרֻקָּח, מְתֻרְגָּם, מְזֻמָּן, מְפֹרָץ (cf. פָּרוּץ), מְפֹרָשׁ, מְמֻנֶּה, מְכֻרְבָּל, מְכֻסֶּה, מְפֻזָּר, מְפֻרָּד (cf. נִפְרָד), מְבֻהָל (cf. נִבְהָל), מְקֻדָּשׁ (cf. קָדוֹשׁ/קָדֵשׁ), all of which are either rare or non-existent in the Bible outside the core LBH books.[81] Not all have obvious and/or precise classical alternatives. Some that do not, however, are derived from roots and/or are related to *piʿel* forms that are themselves late (e.g., מְתֻרְגָּם, מְזֻמָּן, מְמֻנֶּה, מְפֻזָּר). Several show up only in other late corpora, such as the Mishna (e.g., מְזֻמָּן, מְפֹרָשׁ, מְמֻנֶּה, מְכֻסֶּה, מְקֻדָּשׁ). The non-biblical DSS have משוגה, מדקדק, מנוגע, מחורץ, מלובן, מרוגל, משוזר, מרודד, (אזן) מגולה, מחובא, מפוגל, מעבא, משונא, מעורב, מסותר, מרוחק, מנודב, מנודה, מרובע, מדולת, and מקורה.[82] Ben Sira has מכוסה, מכוער, מעוטף, מגולה, מסותר, משואל, מיואש, and משובח. In the Samaritan reading tradition the Tiberian *hofʿal* participle מָשְׁזָר is consistently read as the *piʿel* passive participle *mšāzzar*.

For the most part, instances of *məquṭṭāl* forms in the biblical DSS parallel *məquṭṭāl* forms in the MT and, where the DSS parallels are not lacking, vice versa. However, there are a few cases of difference: מְנֻדח 4Q55 f8.12 || מֻדָּח MT Isa 13.14 (but see the *puʿal* forms in 1QIsa[a] 8.16 || MT Isa 8.22); בסידעיו 4Q68 f1.6 || בְּמוֹעָדָיו MT Isa 14.31 (but compare the *ktiv-qre* issue at 1QIsa[a] 11.10 || MT Isa 12.5); וממ(ו)רט 1QIsa[a] 14.25 || וּמוֹרָט MT Isa 18.2; 1QIsa[a] 15.1 || MT Isa 18.7 (but note the *puʿal* form in MT 1 Kgs 7.45). Similarly, in 4QRP one finds the *puʿal* participle in ושש משוזר 4Q365 f12biii.8 || וְשֵׁשׁ מָשְׁזָר MT Exod 39.8, the former of which matches instances of the *puʿal* in the War Scroll (1QM 7.10 and Samaritan Hebrew). If this is rightly considered a representative example of the late propensity for *məquṭṭāl* forms, then here is another instance in which 4QRP deviates from the presumed classical language of its Pentateuchal sources, while the MT preserves it.

2.5.3 מִ… וְלַמַּעְלָה versus מִ… וָמַעְלָה

The idiom מִ… וָמַעְלָה occurs throughout BH and is the norm in DSS Hebrew as well. The same idiom in the modified form מִ… וּלְמַעְלָה is restricted exclusively to late sources (Ezekiel, Chronicles, DSS, and RH; consider also the late Aramaic equivalent מ[ן]…ולעיל).[83] The addition of the preposition -ל presumably indicates some degree of loss in the semantic transparency of the directional *heh* suffix. In the sole potential instance preserved in 4QRP we encounter this late collocation parallel to its classical alternative in the MT: מבן חודש ולמ֯עלה[ה] 4Q365 f27.4 || מִבֶּן־חֹדֶשׁ וָמָעְלָה MT Num 3.28—an especially convincing example of the late-classical linguistic rapport between 4QRP and the Masoretic edition of the Pentateuch.

2.5.4 The Proper Name *Joseph*: יהוסף versus יוסף[84]

In BH as represented in the MT, the name *Joseph* appears 214 times, all but once in the spelling יוסף. The exception, יהוסף, comes in Ps 81.6. The form יסף in seal 587, ln. 2 in Schniedewind’s (2005–2007) Accordance database of Hebrew inscriptions, may also be relevant,

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[80] See Hurvitz 1982:27–30, 35–39; Joüon-Muraoka 2006:153, 155–156.

[81] Note also certain relevant forms in Ezekiel: מְרֻבָּע, מְטֻמָּא, מְקֻדָּשׁ, and מְטֻהָר. Cf. the respective CBH forms רָבוּעַ, קָדוֹשׁ/קֹדֶשׁ, טָמֵא, and טָהוֹר.

[82] See Qimron 1986:66.

[83] See Hurvitz 2013:109–113; 2014:154–155; Hornkohl 2014a:211–212 and n. 93.

[84] See Talshir 1998:370.

though it may conceivably represent a different name. The form without *heh* is also standard in Tannaitic literature. However, in other late sources, both documentary and inscriptional, יהוסף is common—particularly in Hebrew and Aramaic documents from the Judean Desert, e.g., Bar Kokhba, Jericho, and Masada. In non-biblical Dead Sea material, forms of יוסף outnumber those of יהוסף 17:9; in the biblical material the proportion is 18:3. Interestingly, in the Temple Scroll (11Q19 24.13) יוסף was corrected to יהוסף.

The name's derivation is a matter of dispute. It may be an abbreviated nominal sentence incorporating the divine name, e.g., יהו+סף 'Yhwh is a sword', or a verbal sentence, whether *hifʿil* or *qal*. If *hifʿil*, then the *heh* may be considered an early feature, later elided. However, as Talshir (1998:370) reasons, given the frequency of the name in the Bible, it is curious that the form with *heh* is not preserved—like similar names, e.g., יונתן-יהונתן—in presumably early material in the MT. Talshir thus rejects the theory that the form is *hifʿil*, opting to explain it as a *qal yaqtil* meaning '(God/Yhwh) will add'. There is arguable evidence of a late tendency to treat the verb as a *hifʿil*, which eventually affected spelling of the name.[85]

Whatever the name's derivation and meaning, the form יהוסף comes almost exclusively in sources securely dated to the Second Temple period. The First Temple character of יוסף cannot be proven, since its only potential inscriptional testimony is ambiguous, and since texts of the Masoretic tradition, which show no sign of diachronic development in the case of the proper name, are themselves late witnesses. However, given the conservative linguistic nature of the Masoretic Pentateuch indicated by comparisons elsewhere in this study, it is reasonable to take יוסף as the classical form and יהוסף as an archaistic hypercorrection, according to which the form was thought either to contain an abbreviation of the divine name or to be a *hifʿil*. If this is so, then the three instances in which 4QRP reads יהוסף against Masoretic יוסף—יה[וסף 4Q364 fi1.6 || יוֹסֵף MT Gen 45.26; יה[וסף 4Q364 fi2.2 || יוֹסֵף MT Gen 48.15; יהוסף 4Q365 f36.4 || יוֹסֵף MT Num 36.1—are further examples of the late-for-early linguistic replacement characteristic of the former vis-à-vis the latter.

2.5.5 Date Formulae with ב- rather than ל-

Among linguistic features known to distinguish pre- and post-exilic Hebrew are date formulae, especially the characteristically late use of Babylonian month names instead of ordinal numbers or Canaanite names.[86] There is also a syntactic difference. In CBH when a particular day of the month is specified, this is most often accomplished using formulae in which the day number is followed by (a) לַחֹדֶשׁ, (b) יוֹם, or (c) a combination of the two, e.g., (a) בַּחֹדֶשׁ הָרִאשׁוֹן בְּאַרְבָּעָה עָשָׂר לַחֹדֶשׁ MT Lev 23.5, (b) בַּחֹדֶשׁ הַשֵּׁנִי בְּאַרְבָּעָה עָשָׂר יוֹם MT Num 9.11, (c) בְּאַרְבָּעָה עָשָׂר יוֹם לַחֹדֶשׁ MT Exod 12.18. These structures are dominant throughout the biblical text as preserved in the MT, including the latest compositions.

An alternative construction, employing the preposition ב- in place of ל-, is much rarer in the MT. Appearing twice in Numbers, once in Kings, once in Ezekiel, six times in Esther, and once

[85] It is worth noting that out of the 208 cases of verbal derivatives, in only ten—MT Lev 19.25; 1 Kgs 10.7; 2 Kgs 20.6; 24.7; Ps 71.14; Qoh 1.16; 2.9; 3.14; Ezra 10.10; 2 Chr 28.13—does the consonantal text demand interpretation as a *hifʿil*. By comparison, there are 32 cases in which the consonantal text unambiguously calls for a *qal* form—Gen 8.12; 38.26; Lev 22.14; 26.18, 21; 27.13, 15, 19, 27; Num 11.25; 32.15; Deut 5.22, 25; 19.9; 20.8; Jdg 8.28; 13.21; 1 Sam 7.13; 12.19; 15.35; 27.4; 2 Sam 2.28; 2 Ki 6.23; 19.30; Isa 26.15; 29.1, 19; 37.31; Jer 7.21; 45.3; Job 36.1; 2 Chr 9.6. In the remaining 166 instances the form is ambiguous. The question requires further investigation, but the data may point to an early-to-late shift of *qal* to *hifʿil*.

[86] See Hurvitz 2014:28–30, 40–41, 120–121, 140–141, 182–184, 191–192, 226–227.

in Ezra—eight of its eleven occurrences are in material no earlier than the Exile, seven of them in LBH proper, e.g., הוּא חֹדֶשׁ הַתְּשִׁעִי בְּעֶשְׂרִים בַּחֹדֶשׁ MT Ezra 10.9.[87] Especially striking is the distribution of a subtype of this structure in which the numeral specifying the day is followed by the resumptive pronoun בּוֹ, as in בַּחֹדֶשׁ הַשְּׁלִישִׁי הוּא־חֹדֶשׁ סִיוָן בִּשְׁלוֹשָׁה וְעֶשְׂרִים בּוֹ MT Est 8.9—all six cases in the MT come in Esther.[88]

Based on their distribution in the MT alone, the characteristically late status of date formulae with -ב is somewhat debatable. However, late extra-biblical and non-Masoretic sources provide conclusive confirmation. In some of these—where, to be sure, structures with -ל persist—formulae with -ב are commonplace. For example, the Mishna shows two cases with -ל, and more than fifty with -ב.[89] Similarly, in the non-biblical DSS there are 13 cases with -ל and some 110 with -ב.[90] In DSS biblical material, conversely, the classical expression remains dominant, the ratio of formulations with -ל to those with -ב ten to two.[91]

The reason for the late preponderance of the date formulae with -ב is unclear. It is found in neither BA, where the single potential case has -ל, nor the Elephantine texts, in which date formulae are frequent, but only structures with -ל appear. For their part, the Targums seem generally to follow their sources, -ל there paralleling its usage in the MT. In the Aramaic of the DSS and other Judean documents, both types of formulae are used,[92] while the Peshiṭta shows extreme preference for structures with -ב.[93] There seems no obvious reason to posit influence one way or the other, though it is intriguing that both Hebrew and Aramaic go from a situation in which formulae with -ל were the norm to one in which those with -ב also became common.

The DSS Pentateuchal material here under examination includes both of the DSS biblical cases of the date formula with -ב, both of which use the resumptive pronoun against a more classical formulation in the MT: בחודש השני באחד בשבת בשבעה עשר בו 4Q252 1.4 || בַּחֹדֶשׁ הַשֵּׁנִי MT Gen 7.11; עד החודש [ה]שירי באחד בו 4Q252 1.11 || עַד הַחֹדֶשׁ הָעֲשִׂירִי בְּשִׁבְעָה־עָשָׂר יוֹם לַחֹדֶשׁ MT Gen 8.5. This same text once employs a classical formula: באחת ושש מאות שנה לחיי נוח ובשבעה עשר יום לחודש השני 4Q252 2.1 || MT Gen 7.14. Here, again, a stylistic element especially characteristic of late texts has found its way into 4QRP's edition of Genesis, the language of which, in line with the features discussed above, patterns as typologically later than the Hebrew of the Masoretic Torah.

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[87] Within the MT see also Num 9.3; 10.11; 1 Kings 12.33; Ezek 45.20; Est 8.9; 9.17, 18 (3x), 21.

[88] See the previous footnote. For discussion see Bergey 1983:73–74.

[89] With -ל: Meg 1.4; 3.5. With -ב: Pesaḥ 4.5; Sheqal 1.1 (2x), 3; 3.1 (9x); RoshHa 1.1 (6x); Taan 1.3 (2x), 4; 2.10; 4:5 (9x), 6 (4x), 7 (2x), 8; Meg 1.3; Sanh 5.3; Bek 9:5 (10x), 6 (2x). See Bendavid 1967–1971:II 471.

[90] With -ל: 1Q22 fii.2; fiii.10; 4Q252 1.17; 4Q254a f3.1; 4Q400 fii.1; 4Q403 fii.30; 4Q404 f3.2; 4Q503 f1–6iii.18; f11.2; f29–32.12; 11Q19 14.9; 17.10; 27.10. With -ב: 4Q252 1.6, 8, 10, 22; 4Q317 f1+1aii.2, 5, 7, 12, 15, 18, 26; f5.4; f6.4; f7ii.14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20; f10.3, 4, 5, 6; f11.2; f24.3; f27.5; 4Q320 fii.6; fiii.1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 8; f2.10, 11, 12, 13, 14; 4Q321 1.1, 3 (2x), 4, 5, 7 (2x), 8; 2.3, 4, 5 (2x), 7, 8; 3.3, 5, 6 (2x), 7, 8; 4.1, 2 (2x), 3, 4, 5, 6; 4Q321a 1.6; 2.6; 5.2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9; 4Q323 f1.1; 4Q324 f1.2, 3, 5 (2x), 6, 7; 4Q324a fiii.2, 3, 4 (2x); 4Q324d f2.3; f3ii.4; 4Q325 f1.1, 2, 3, 4 (2x), 5, 6; f2.2, 3; 4Q326 f1.1, 2, 4, 5; 4Q329 f2a–b.4; 4Q330 fiii.1; f2.2; 4Q332 f1.3; f2.3; 4Q334 f2–4.2; f6+7.2; 4Q394 f1–2iii.5; 4Q401 f1–2.1; 11Q19 17.6; 25.10.

[91] With -ל: 4Q11 f7ii.20 (|| MT Exod 12.6); 4Q17 f2ii.12–13 (|| MT Exod 40.17); 4Q24 f9ii+11ii+18–20.4 (|| MT Lev 23.5); 4Q27 f65–71.26 (|| MT Num 33.3); 4Q35 f1.2 (|| MT Deut 1.3); 4Q252 2.1 (|| MT Gen 8.14); 11Q1 2.4 (|| MT Lev 23.24); Mur88 21.23 (|| MT Hag 1.1); 22.15 (|| MT Hag 2.1); 23.23 (|| MT Hag 2.20). With -ב: 4Q252 1.4 (|| MT Gen 7.11), 11 (|| MT Gen 8.5).

[92] With -ל: WDSP1 1.1 (A); WDSP3 1.11 (A); WDSP6 1.1 (A); Mur19 fiiR.1 (A); fiiiR.12 (A); Mur22 f1_9iR.1; Mur24 f1B.1; Mur29 fiiR.1; fiiiR.9; Mur30 fiiR.1; fiiiR.8; Sdeir2 1.1 (A); 5/6Hev42 1.1 (A); 5/6Hev44 1.1; 5/6Hev45 1.1; 5/6Hev46 1.1; 5/6Hev47a 1.3 (A); XHev/Se7 f1R.1 (A), 7 (A); XHev/Se13 f1R.1 (A); XHev/Se49 f1R.1 (A); Masɨk 1.8. With -ב: 5/6Hev1 R.1 (A), 11 (A), 46 (A); 5/6Hev2 V.1 (A); R.18 (A); 5/6Hev3 R.21 (A); 5/6Hev7 V.2 (A); 5/6Hev10 R.1 (A); 5/6Hev42 1.7 (A).

[93] According to Bendavid (1967–1971:471, n. °°), Nabatean Aramaic also makes use of -ב instead of -ל in date formulae.

2.6 Grammatical Leveling of Non-Standard Language

Finally, there are interesting—but by no means definitive—cases in which arguably non-standard Hebrew preserved in the MT has possibly been leveled in line with grammatical conventions in the Dead Sea material being investigated. For instance, 4QRP, like the Samaritan Pentateuch, has the standard demonstrative האלה against the MT's rarer short form הָאֵל: ת האלה]ו התועבו 4Q365 f22a–b.3 || התּוֹעֵבֹת הָאֵל MT Lev 18.27 (cf. also ת האלה]ו התועבו 11Q1 f1.2; though it should be noted that the more standard form occurs in the preceding verse in the MT). The short form הָאֵל occurs eight times in the MT, all in the Pentateuch, but no trace of these is to be found in the (admittedly fragmentary) DSS (4Q33 f2–3.1 || MT Deut 7.22; 4Q38a f1.6 || MT Deut 19.11) or the Samaritan tradition (consonantal or reading), where the form is consistently the longer standard alternative.

Similarly, 4QRP (specifically, 4Q364 and 365) has several instances of the accusative particle אֵת—all also paralleled in the Samaritan Pentateuch—where it is wanting in the MT:]ו]תקרא אתּ שמו 4Q364 f4a.1–2 || וַתִּקְרָא שְׁמוֹ MT Gen 29.32;]ה]דבר הזה לי את]תעשה 4Q364 f4b–eii.10 || וְהַשֶּׂלְחָן תִּתֵּן עַל־צֶלַע MT Gen 30.31; ואת השלחן תתן על צלעו צפונה 4Q364 f17.5 || תַּעֲשֶׂה־לִּי הַדָּבָר הַזֶּה וְהָאֲנָפָה לְמִינָהּ MT Exod 26.35 (cf. 4Q11 f30ii–34.10);]דוכיפת וה]אנפה למינו ואת 4Q366 f5.3 || וְהַדּוּכִיפַת MT Deut 14.18. These also seem likely candidates for interpretation as archaic preservations in the MT standardized according to later, more crystalized grammatical sensitivities.

However, too much should not be made of such differences. Though they arguably indicate a late harmonistic leveling, they can also be explained otherwise, e.g., as corruptions in the MT, and therefore can serve as only corroboratory evidence.

3 General Discussion

At the risk of stating the obvious, it may be worth pointing out that the DSS texts under examination here are not late Second Temple *compositions*, bearing conspicuous accumulations of characteristically post-Restoration Hebrew, but reworked *copies* of pre-existing texts. As noted above, the number of diachronically significant deviations between the MT and DSS biblical material is usually small, probably slips of the pen where scribes inadvertently replaced classical features with alternatives more common in contemporary usage. Occasionally, linguistic anachronisms must be chalked up to conscious change. Whatever the case may be, it is difficult in biblical manuscripts of any tradition to find late features in accumulations comparable to those typical of works actually *composed* in the Second Temple period. It should thus come as no surprise that the Hebrew of 4QRP and 4QComGen is, generally speaking, very similar to the CBH found in the Masoretic Pentateuch.

It must also be admitted that not all the features identified as 'late' in the foregoing discussion are of equal diagnostic value. Each of them is consonant with Second Temple Hebrew practice, but few are probative. For example, the fact that spelling in the relevant Dead Sea texts is consistently more *plene* than in the parallel Masoretic material, while probably of historical significance with regard to dates of composition and copying, says next to nothing about linguistic development.

Furthermore, while certain of the features cited constitute tendencies especially typical of post-exilic material, it must be acknowledged that exceptions and mixed usage in apparently pre-exilic texts, coupled with infrequent attestation in the Dead Sea material under examination,

make it difficult definitively to attribute their use in the latter to penetration of post-Restoration linguistic practices. Thus in the case of the following features, the fact that our Dead Sea material exhibits features that line up with expected late usage constitutes valid, but still only circumstantial, evidence: זע"ק vs. צע"ק, שׂח"ק vs. צח"ק, non-assimilation of the נ in the preposition מן preceding anarthrous nouns, (ה)ותיהם- rather than (ה)ותם-, full and long (rather than short) 1c *wayyiqtol* forms, superfluous or ablative use of directional *heh*, rarity of directional *heh* with toponyms, interchange of the prepositions על and אל, replacement of the bare infinitive construct as verbal complement with a form prefixed with ל-, use of non-conversive rather than conversive verbal forms, the *qəṭṭål* and *məquṭṭål* nominal patterns, and the proper name יהוסף for יוסף. The presence in a given text of *individual* late features such as these means very little. It is telling, however, that they appear *together* in manuscripts known to date from the late Second Temple period, because this co-incidence is unlikely to be a matter of chance. Excluding *plene* orthography, and taking the two categories of the non-standard use of directional *heh* together, 16 features indicative of Second Temple Hebrew have been identified in the Dead Sea Pentateuchal material under examination, accounting for 39 instances, against which the parallel Masoretic material has classical alternatives. Given the limited scope of the preserved texts of 4QRP and 4QComGen, it is difficult to deny the diachronic import of such a lopsided concentration of late linguistic elements.

Finally, the suspicion that these linguistic differences of apparent diachronic significance are not merely random, but are indeed representative of a post-Restoration historical linguistic context creeping into otherwise classically-worded texts, receives striking confirmation from those features exclusively characteristic of Second Temple sources, for example, ולמעלה מ... for ומעלה מ... and date formulae with ב- + a resumptive pronoun rather than with לַחֹדֶשׁ. Moreover, certain specific examples of generally late tendencies also obtain exclusively in late sources. Thus, while the use of directional *heh* absent movement toward a destination is known from apparently classical texts, its attachment to the ablative construction מִשָּׁם to produce משמה is limited to late material. Likewise, though the of *puʿal* participles characteristic of ancient Hebrew's late strata are not exclusive to post-exilic material, their proliferation is. Additionally, along with several other *mequṭṭal* adjectives that appear only in late texts and that have alternative forms in ostensibly earlier material, the form משוזר (for משזר) is limited in its distribution to material of acknowledged post-exilic provenance. Each of these features on its own has some evidentiary weight regarding the diachronic linguistic profile of the reworked Pentateuchal material here under examination. Further, however, their combined significance is greater than the sum total of each's individual import. For while any one alone might be a meaningless corruption, together they lead rather inexorably to the conclusion that the re-workers responsible for 4QRP and 4QComGen allowed their copying work—whether consciously or unwittingly—to be influenced by the Hebrew of the day. And though, quantitatively, these evident deviations from classical linguistic standards pale in comparison to those in 1QIsa[a], the difference is one of degree, not kind.

However, care must be exercised so as to avoid drawing conclusions that exceed the evidence. While it is clear based on the linguistic profiles of the Dead Sea biblical material examined here that these texts are Second Temple copies into which contemporary Hebrew features have penetrated, this says nothing definitive about the date of composition of the material copied and apparently better preserved—at least from a linguistic perspective—in the MT. That the MT preserves a version of these texts written in a typologically earlier form of Hebrew is readily apparent; proving that said version must, therefore, date back to pre-exilic

times, however, is a different matter. Given the evidence, especially the non-random distribution of late features in the MT—which, despite recent attempts at quantification, still awaits adequate statistical analysis—such a proposition seems not just reasonable, but likely. But this is beyond the scope of the present research, so no more on it will be said here.

The goal of the present research is more modest. Returning to the question of whether or not the manuscript evidence at our disposal is adequate to the task of sustaining descriptions of actual First and early Second Temple Hebrew usage, it is possible to make tentative claims of limited applicability based on the relationship between the Dead Sea reworked Pentateuch texts analyzed here and the parallel Masoretic material. First, in the case of most features—i.e., the vast majority—no diachronically meaningful distinction arises. Thus, in all but a few cases, the allegedly insurmountable problem of sorting through textual evidence ostensibly distorted to the point of irrecoverability by secondary activity remains entirely theoretical. And the relevance of this particular point goes beyond the limits of the texts discussed here. There are a number of intriguing cruxes in which linguistic features of apparent diachronic import are also the subject of textual or literary suspicion. Though interesting and deserving of treatment, they constitute a small minority of the cases, for most of which there is no manuscript-based reason to harbor linguistic doubt. The specter of textual and literary suspicion should be raised only where there is concrete manuscript or versional cause for suspicion or, possibly, strong text-internal grounds.

But what of differing versions of the Pentateuch encountered in Dead Sea and Masoretic or other sources? Is one more likely than the other to represent an earlier form of the material? Is it reasonable to speak of one tending toward replacement of earlier elements more reliably preserved in the other? In this particular case, the evidence seems plain. When comparing 4QRP and 4QComGen against the parallel Masoretic material, the DSS texts—and only the DSS texts—show an unmistakable pattern of characteristically late features. From the perspective of all the diachronically meaningful differences noted, the MT presents the classical feature, the Dead Sea manuscript the characteristically late alternative. Now, as noted previously, this state of affairs cannot be assumed universally to represent the relationships between other Dead Sea biblical texts and their respective Masoretic parallels. However, the conclusion with regard to the specific material under discussion is plainly obvious: in the one case it is clear that, linguistically speaking, the material cannot be said to preserve First Temple Hebrew untainted by later language tendencies. This applies to the Hebrew of 4QRP and 4QComGen. In the other case, notwithstanding obvious updates in spelling and certain anachronisms in the reading tradition, the linguistic profile seems generally commensurate with what might be expected of texts written in the pre-exilic period. This applies to the Masoretic Torah.

The text-critical principle according to which all individual readings are to be given equal consideration is laudable; this does not mean, however, that all textual versions are of identical reliability in terms of the picture they paint of First and early Second Temple Hebrew. Some copyists were more careful and/or conservative than others, including the domain of language.

4 Conclusion

A great deal of research remains to be done on the diachronic linguistic comparison of the various ancient witnesses to the Hebrew Bible, including the relationship between MT and DSS biblical material. Moreover, we are still in need of a nuanced and finely-tuned method for quantifying accumulation. In the meantime, I have sought to demonstrate on the basis of the present comparison that, despite palpable textual, linguistic, and even literary variation in the manuscript traditions representing BH, much in the way of linguistic detail remains discernible. Further, in the case of the material studied here, where diachronically meaningful differences do arise, nearly

all point to the same conclusion, indicating that the medieval Masoretic tradition regularly preserves classical features commensurate with what is known of ancient Hebrew from before the Restoration, whereas the much earlier Dead Sea manuscripts, despite having been spared a millennium of the vagaries and vicissitudes of scribal transmission to which the MT was exposed, are marked by a greater number of intrusions from Second Temple Hebrew. The extent to which this holds or does not hold for other biblical material represented in both traditions is clear only in the case of a few books and manuscripts. The rest await examination.

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