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***THE HEBREW OF THE  
DEAD SEA SCROLLS***

**Elisha Qimron**

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# THE HEBREW OF THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS

Elisha Qimron

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**For Sara**



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## — Abbreviations —

- 1 Ch 1 Chronicles
- 1 K 1 Kings
- 1Q D. Barthélemy, O.P. and J.T. Milik, *Qumran Cave 1* [=DJD, I], Oxford 1955.
- 1Q34 J.C. Trever, *RQ*, 5 (1965), pp. 340–341.
- 1QIs<sup>a</sup> M. Burrows, *The Dead Sea Scrolls of St. Mark's Monastery, I*, New Haven 1950.
- 1QIs<sup>b</sup> א"ל סוקניק, אוצר המגילות הגנוזות, ירושלים תשט"ו.
- 2 Ch 2 Chronicles
- 2 K 2 Kings
- 2Q M. Baillet, J.T. Milik et R. de Vaux, O.P., *Les 'Petites Grottes' de Qumrân*, Oxford 1962, [=DJD, III], pp. 48–93.
- 3Q *Ib.*, pp. 94–104.
- 4Q158–186 John M. Allegro, *Qumrân Cave 4, I (4Q158–4Q186)* [=DJD, V], Oxford 1968; J. Strugnell, Notes en Marge du Volume V de "Discoveries in the Judaean Desert of Jordan", *RQ*, 7 (1970), pp. 163–276.
- 4Q482–520 M. Baillet, *Qumrân Grotte 4, III (4Q482–4Q520)* [=DJD, VII], Oxford 1982.
- 4Q400–405 C.A. Newsom, *4Q Serekh Šîrôt 'Olat HaŠšabbāt (The Qumran Angelic Liturgy): Edition, Translation and Commentary* (PhD thesis), Harvard University, Massachusetts 1982. [See the Appendix].
- 4Q280, 286 J.T. Milik, *JJS*, 23 (1972), pp. 95–144.
- 4QD<sup>a</sup> J.T. Milik, *RB*, 73 (1966), pp. 94–106.
- 4QMMT J. Strugnell & E. Qimron, *Miqṣat Ma'asē HaTorah* (to be published in *RQ*).
- 4QpGen J.M. Allegro, *JBL*, 75 (1956), pp. 174–175.
- 4QPrLit M. Baillet, *RB*, 71 (1964), pp. 360–365.
- 4QPhyl J.T. Milik, *Qumrân Grotte 4, II* [=DJD, VI], Oxford 1977.
- 5Q M. Baillet, J.T. Milik et R. de Vaux, O.P., *Les 'Petites Grottes' de Qumrân*, Oxford 1962, [=DJD, III], pp. 167–197.
- 6Q *Ib.*, pp. 105–141.
- 8Q *Ib.*, pp. 147–162.

- 11QBr A.S. Van der Woude, *Bibel und Qumran — Hans Bardtke zum 22. 9. 1966*, Leipzig 1968, pp. 253–258.
- 11QPs<sup>a</sup> J.A. Sanders, *The Psalms Scroll of Qumrân Cave 11 (11QPs<sup>a</sup>) [=DJD, IV]*, Oxford 1965; Another fragment: Y. Yadin, *Textus*, 5 (1966), pp. 1–10.
- 11QTJob J.P.M. van der Ploeg, O.P. et A.S. van der Woude, *Le Targum de Job de la Grotte XI de Qumrân*, Leiden 1971.
- BDB F. Brown, S.R. Driver, Ch. A. Briggs, *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament*, Oxford 1907.
- Ben-Hayyim, *Scripta* Z. Ben-Hayyim, 'Traditions in the Hebrew Language, With Special Reference to the Dead Sea Scrolls', *Scripta Hierosolymitana*, IV, Jerusalem 1958, pp. 200–214.
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- Ben-Hayyim, *Traditions* Z. Ben-Hayyim, *Studies in the Traditions of the Hebrew Language*, Madrid-Barcelona, 1954.
- Ben-Yehuda, *Dictionary* E. Ben Yehuda, *A Complete Dictionary of Ancient and Modern Hebrew*, Jerusalem.
- Bergsträsser G. Bergsträsser, *Hebräische Grammatik*, I & II, Leipzig 1918, 1929.
- BH Biblical Hebrew
- B-L H. Bauer und P. Leander, *Historische Grammatik der hebräischen Sprache*, Halle a/S. 1922.
- CD Ch. Rabin, *The Zadokite Documents*<sup>2</sup>, Oxford 1954.
- DJD *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert* — see 1Q, 2Q etc.
- Dn Daniel
- Driver, *Introduction* S.R. Driver, *An Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament*, New York 1956.
- DSS Dead Sea Scrolls
- Dt Deuteronomy
- Ec Ecclesiastes
- Elliger K. Elliger, *Studien zum Habakuk-Kommentar vom Toten Meer*, Tübingen 1953.
- Ex Exodus
- Ez Ezekiel
- Gen Genesis
- Gen. Ap. N. Avigad and Y. Yadin, *A Genesis Apocryphon, A Scroll From the Wilderness of Judaea*, Jerusalem 1956.
- Gesenius E. Kautzsch (A.E. Cowley), *Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar*<sup>2</sup>, Oxford 1910.
- Ginzberg L. Ginzberg, *An Unknown Jewish Sect*, New York 1976.
- Goshen, *Linguistic* M.H. Goshen-Gottstein, 'Linguistic Structure and Tradition in the Qumran Documents', *Scripta Hierosolymitana*, IV, Jerusalem 1958, pp. 101–137.

- Gram.* א' קימרון, דקדוק הלשון העברית של מגילות מדבר יהודה, חיבור לשם קבלת תואר דוקטור לפילוסופיה, האוניברסיטה העברית ירושלים 1976.
- H א"ל סוקניק, אוצר *Hodayot* (The Thanksgiving Psalms) המגילות הגנוזות, ירושלים תשט"ו.
- Hurvitz, א' הורביץ, בין לשון ללשון – לתולדות לשון המקרא בימי בית *Post-Exilic Heb.* שני, ירושלים תשל"ב.
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- Licht, H י' ליכט, מגילת ההודיות ממגילות מדבר יהודה, ירושלים תשי"ז.
- Licht, S י' ליכט, מגילת הסרכים ממגילות מדבר יהודה, ירושלים תשכ"ה.
- Lv Leviticus
- M א"ל סוקניק, אוצר המגילות *Milhamah* (The War Scroll) הגנוזות, ירושלים תשט"ו.
- MH Mishnaic Hebrew of the Tannaitic literature.
- MH<sup>2</sup> Mishnaic Hebrew of the Amoraic literature.
- Milik, *Enoch* J.T. Milik, *The Books of Enoch – Aramic Fragments of Qumrân Cave 4*, Oxford 1976.
- Morag ש' מורג, קרית ספר, לז (1960/1), עמ' 24–32.
- Moreshet מ' מורשת, 'הפעיל ללא הברל מן הקל בלשון חז"ל (בהשוואה ללשון המקרא)', ספר בר-אילן, יג (תשל"ז), עמ' 249–281.
- Masada, C. Newsom and Y. Yadin, 'The Masada Fragment of the *Shirot* Qumran Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice', *IEJ*, 34 (1984), pp. 77–88.
- MS Manuscript
- MT Massoretic Text
- Neh Nehemiah
- Nu Numbers
- pH *Pesher Habakkuk* — E. Qimron, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, Tokio 1979.

- Polzin R. Polzin, *Late Biblical Hebrew, Toward an Historical Typology of Biblical Hebrew Prose*, Harvard Semitic Monographs, 12, 1976.
- Pr Proverbs
- Qimron, TSa א' קימרון, 'לשונה של מגילת המקדש; לשוננו, מב (תשל"ח), עמ' 98-83
- Qimron, TSb א' קימרון, 'למילונה של מגילת המקדש; שנתון למקרא ולחקר המזרח הקדום, ד (בעריכת משה ויינפלד), ירושלים תש"ם, עמ' 262-239
- Qimron, Waw and Yod א' קימרון, 'ההבחנה בין ו"ו ליו"ד בתעודות מדבר יהודה; בית מקרא, נב (תשל"ג), עמ' 112-102
- Rabin See CD
- S *Serekh Hayyahad* — E. Qimron, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, Tokio 1979.
- Sa = 1Q28a (see 1Q)
- Sb = 1Q28b (see 1Q)
- Segal, MHG<sup>1</sup> M.H. Segal, *A Grammar of Mishnaic Hebrew*, Oxford 1927.
- Segal, MHG<sup>2</sup> מ"צ סגל, דקדוק לשון המשנה, תל-אביב תרצ"ו.
- Strugnell & Qimron see 4QMMT
- Thorion Y. Thorion, 'The Use of Prepositions in 1Q Serek', RQ, 10 (1981), pp. 405-433.
- TS Y. Yadin, *The Temple Scroll*, I-III, Jerusalem 1977.
- Wernberg-Møller, S P. Wernberg-Møller, *The Manual of Discipline*, Leiden 1957.
- Yadin, M Y. Yadin, *The Scroll of the War of the Sons of Light against the Sons of Darkness*, Oxford 1962.
- Yalon ח' ילון, מגילות מדבר יהודה — דברי לשון, ירושלים תשכ"ז.
- Yeivin, Forms י' ייבין, 'הצורות יקטלנו, יקוטלנו במגילות מדבר יהודה לאור מסורת הניקוד הבבלי', המקרא ותולדות ישראל — מחקרים במקרא ובספרות ימי הבית השני לזכרו של יעקב לינור, עמ' 276-256.
- Yeivin, Babylonian Voc. י' ייבין, מסורת הלשון העברית המשתקפת בניקוד הבבלי, ירושלים תשמ"ה.

## — Symbols —

(The letters א and ב serve as symbols for any letter of the alphabet)

(א) — erasure in MS (note: in grammatical patterns, parentheses denote two (or more) variations (or spellings) of a form, e.g. יִהְיֶה(ה) = יִהְיֶה, יִהְיֶה, יִהְיֶה).

[א]ב) — correction in MS : original text א corrected to text ב.

[ב] ) — correction in MS : ב is the result of correction.

[א] — restoration of the text.

ā — reading of MS is doubtful.

ב/ā — (in grammatical patterns) the prefix or suffix is either א or ב;  
e.g. נִקְטְלָה/ā = נִקְטְלָה א or נִקְטְלָה ב.

ב — suspended letters in MS: interlinear ב.

\*

o, e — (in transcriptions) the small letters mark reduced vowels.

w, y — (in transcriptions) the small w or y marks a glide.

~ — (in the subject index) markation of the entry title.



## 0.1 Introduction

### 0.11\* *Previous Studies of the DSS Language*

By the early 1950's most of the scrolls from Qumran cave 1 had been published, and for the rest of the decade the attention of Hebraists was intensively engaged in the study of their language, the Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls [=DSS]. The important studies<sup>1</sup> produced during that period present and interpret most of the specific features of the DSS language. Yalon's studies laid the foundation for the understanding of DSS Hebrew and its background. Goshen's comprehensive study (in *Scripta Hierosolymitana* IV) delineates the distribution of the special DSS features over the various scrolls. Important comments on the DSS language, especially regarding pronunciation, can be found in Ben-Hayyim's studies of the Samaritan tradition. Yet the most important work in this field is undoubtedly Professor Kutscher's study of the Isaiah Scroll [1QIs<sup>a</sup>] (1959; English translation 1974). It presents the orthography, phonology and morphology of the DSS in general and of 1QIs<sup>a</sup> in particular.

It is characteristic of the studies of DSS Hebrew which have hitherto been produced that wide differences of opinion exist even about such basic matters as accentuation, pronunciation of the imperfect forms of *qal* (יקטלוהו, יקטלוהו), and the like. The main reason for this is that most studies have been comparative in approach, i.e. they have compared DSS Hebrew to other Hebrew traditions, to Aramaic, or to some other Semitic language. Each scholar interpreted certain particular features of DSS Hebrew in the light of a comparison with some other language or other type of Hebrew, and this colored the various interpretations and led to disagreements. Another feature of existing studies is that they have not always been based on an exhaustive treatment of the relevant material in the texts; instead there has sometimes been a tendency merely to select a few illustrative examples to support a point.

The perceived need for a full grammar of DSS Hebrew led me to compose a doctoral dissertation on this subject, under the supervision of the late professor E.Y. Kutscher and of Dr. A. Hurvitz, both of the

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1 See Dr. B. Jongeling, *A Classified Bibliography of the Finds in the Desert of Judah 1958-1969*, Leiden 1971, pp. 11-21.

Hebrew University. My aim was to produce as complete a description as possible of the orthography, phonology and morphology of DSS Hebrew, and to approach the complex problems of the language through a full analysis of all the material. The dissertation served as the basis for the present book.

### 0.12\* *The Corpus*

The corpus for the dissertation consisted of all the Hebrew non-biblical and non-apocryphal texts published before 1976: i.e., the scrolls from cave 1 (M, S, H, pH), and the fragmentary scrolls found in the Qumran caves and published mainly in the series *DJD*. These texts run to some 21,000 words (excluding biblical quotations). The Major MSS of Damascus Covenant [=CD] found in the Cairo *geniza* were not included, since their text was distorted by the copyists of the Middle Ages and thus does not reflect the DSS language, especially in its phonology and morphology. The available biblical and Aramaic texts from among the DSS were utilized only for comparative purposes. Material from the recently published Temple Scroll [=TS] from Qumran, amounting to some 8000 words, has been dealt with elsewhere<sup>2</sup>. In the present book, full use has been made of the material from the Temple Scroll.

I also incorporated the outstanding features in the recently published texts from Qumran Cave 4: (*DJD*, VII = 4Q482–4Q520; published by M. Baillet), *Shirot Olat Hashabbat* (published by C.A. Newsom), and 4QMMT (to be published by J. Strugnell & E. Qimron). However, these texts do not figure in the statistical descriptions, save for those texts which were previously published (4Q491, 4Q504). I have most recently included some distinctive features from the texts which are to be published by J. Strugnell (I would like to thank Professor Strugnell for allowing me to use these texts).

### 0.13\* *The Method*

This book gives the main results of the doctoral dissertation, including the new material from the Temple Scroll. It presents the specific features of DSS Hebrew, emphasizing deviations from classical BH. Generally, the grammatical discussion ignores isolated features in favor of systematic phenomena; these isolated grammatical features, however, are entered in the word lists [500]. For practical reasons, all instances of rare phenomena have been cited, while frequently occurring phenomena are only illustrated by one or two examples with accompanying

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2 Qimron, TSa.

statistics. The treatment of syntax obviously could not be exhaustive; therefore, we have presented only twenty outstanding features which deviate from classical BH.

In the lexicographical section, I present most of the words and idiomatic phrases not found in classical BH, or very rare there and becoming frequent in late BH.

For practical reasons, the section numbers generally follow those of the dissertation, but in this book, I have altered the order of some paragraphs. Those section numbers which deviate from the dissertation are marked by an asterisk. In presenting illustrative examples, I have indicated with *e.g.*, *etc.*, *such as*, or *like* those instances where only a few representative examples are given. If none of these words appears, then the list of illustrations is complete and covers all relevant examples. In reconstructed forms, vowel-length is generally not marked, except in those cases where essential to the discussion.

100.2 *Waw as a Vowel Letter*

The most characteristic feature of the orthography of the DSS is the extensive use of *waw* as a vowel letter (*mater lectionis*). This *waw* in DSS Hebrew corresponds to the various *o/u* sounds of the Tiberian tradition, i.e. long *holem* (כּוֹהֵן), *shureq* (רִוּחַ), short *holem* (חוֹשֶׁךְ), *qibbuṣ* (כוּלֵם), *qameṣ haṭuf* (כוּלֵי) and *hatef qameṣ* (חֹרְדִּים). The *waw* also sometimes appears where the Tiberian tradition has a *shewa* (יְקטולהוּ) (פּוֹתאִים).

Note: short Proto-Semitic *u* is almost always designated by *waw* in the Scrolls. This proves that it was preserved as *u* (or *o*) in DSS Hebrew, as is generally the case in the Babylonian tradition; it was not lowered to *ā* as in the MT, or to *a/e* as in the Samaritan tradition [cf. 200.22].

This use of *waw* is almost universal; there are only some 230 exceptions. Many of these are not really defective spellings, but rather apparently represent special Qumran linguistic features. This assumption is especially plausible for words which are always spelled defectively, in particular words attested in a different form in another Hebrew tradition or another Semitic language. For example, the word טמא, which is always (12 times) spelled defectively, apparently reflects the form טמאָ as in the Babylonian tradition of MH<sup>1</sup>. Words which are usually (but not always) spelled defectively may represent two different morphological forms: thus the spelling טהרה (19 times) would represent the form טְהַרָה as in MH, in contrast to ולטהרה S 6: 22. Generalizing from such cases, we believe that other such spellings, apparently defective orthography for Tiberian patterns such as קטל, קטלה, actually indicate a different pattern altogether, e.g. חמר (= רמח) 'clay' (as in MH), תהו (= *tō*, cf. לתהו 1QIs<sup>a</sup> 49: 4; but cf. 100.21), כידן (= כידון), as in a *piyyut*) כחונת (= כחונת, as in the Samaritan tradition (*kittānet*) and other sources, or = כחונת<sup>1a</sup>; see *Gram.* §100.215). Note that the word ערמה is always written defectively (7 times) and that the word חכמה is written 10 times without *waw* and only once with *waw* (cf. חכמות Pr 14: 1). [On קושי עורף and בקשי עורף, see 200.27b].

1 Yeivin, *Babylonian Voc.*, p. 679.

1a *Ib.*, p. 975.

In a class by itself is the plural suffix יות, which is spelled defectively no less than 8 times (e.g. לִדְוֵרָתָם TS 8: 13), and spelled twice with suspended *waw*. Could this suffix have been pronounced *-āt*, as in Aramaic<sup>1b</sup> ?

The defective spellings differ in their distribution from scroll to scroll; rare in some scrolls, they are frequent in others, as can be demonstrated by the distribution of the spellings כול, כל:

Scroll	S	M	pH	H	4Q179	4Q185	TS
כל	-	-	1x	13x	8x	6x	-
כול	180x	137x	20x	208x	2x	-	c. 200x

### 100.21\* *Special Defective Spellings*

The spelling of certain words that belong to categories whose form in DSS Hebrew differs from that of the MT, should be considered as defective within the DSS tradition:

1. The spellings יקטלני, יקטלו etc. (pronounced *yiqṭolu*, *yiqṭoleni* etc. [311.13];
2. The spellings קוטל, קטול in the construct state of the *quṭl* pattern (pronounced *qoṭol* [200.24]);
3. Exclusively in 1QIs<sup>a</sup>, the spellings קוטל, קטול in the *qittūl* pattern (sometimes pronounced *quṭṭūl*).

Kutscher has noted<sup>2</sup> that the spellings קוטל, קטול, whether from the *quṭl* pattern (pronounced *qoṭol*) or from the *qittūl* pattern (pronounced *quṭṭul*) are sometimes defective alternates of the spelling קוטל, which occurs only rarely. He rightly explains the fact that we do not find many such plene spellings by the tendency of the scribes (already found in the MT) to represent with *waw* only one of two contiguous *o* (*u*) sounds<sup>3</sup>. This also explains some defective spellings in the forms יקטלוהו, קטלוהו (for יקטלוהו, קטלוהו)<sup>4</sup>.

1b Cf. Kutscher, *Isaiah*, pp. 134–135; Ben-Ḥayyim, *Grammar*, § 4.3.14.

2 Kutscher, *Isaiah*, pp. 52–55, 475–476. In our corpus the only spelling of the קטל pattern is קטל. However, it is conceivable that this spelling may also represent the pronunciation *quṭṭūl*; for example, the word גִּדּוּפִים S 4: 11 may well have been pronounced *guddufim* as it is in 1QIs<sup>a</sup>.

3 *Ib.*, pp. 503–504.

4 G. Šarfatti (*Lešonenu*, 32 (1968), pp. 63–66) has suggested explaining these forms which occur in S, as plural forms in which the *u* vowel of the personal suffix has caused the dissimilation of the *u* vowel of the verbal ending (*-uhu* → *-ehu*), a phonetic phenomenon already known from Samaritan Hebrew. However plene spellings like קטלוהו, יקטלוהו, which are attested in the DSS, are sufficient to disprove his hypothesis.

### 100.32 *Yod Representing the Vowel i*

The use of *yod* as vowel letter to represent the sound *i* is much less frequent than the analogous use of *waw*. *Yod* represents a long *i* but not a short one<sup>5</sup>, e.g. חמשים (=חֲמִשִּׁים) S 2: 22 *et al.* שמיים (=שְׁמַיִם) M 2: 8.

This orthographical distinction between long and short *i* may reflect simply a difference in length, but it could also indicate a difference in quality; while Proto-Semitic long *i* is preserved as such, Proto-Semitic short *i* could well have evolved to *e*, as in Syriac<sup>6</sup>.

There are only some 45 instances of defective spellings for long *i*, most of them words containing a consonantal *yod* followed by *i*, e.g. גיים (20 times; pronounced *go-im*; the consonantal *yod*, rather than the long *i*, is unmarked; see 200.17d).

### 100.33 *Orthographic Representation of Medial e*

The use of *yod* as a vowel letter to represent the sound *e* shows considerable inconsistency, and a tendency to deviate from the largely etymological spelling found in the Bible. On the one hand, a radical *yod* is sometimes dropped (1); on the other hand, a non-radical *yod* sometimes represents *šere* (or *segol*) (2):

1. אמה (=אימה) pH 3: 7, 4: 7, בעים TS 65: 3 (twice), הזתים TS 22: 15, אנו TS 64: 2, 5, לעני (=לעני) 4Q504 II: 12, אלים 'rams' TS 17: 15, 22: 4, 25: 16, 28: 5, 7, 10, אלי (rather than אלו) TS 35: 14, מלחמותכה 1Q36 8: 2, אסרה (=אֲסָרָה) TS 53: 19, נפלאותכה H 10: 15, מעלהמה TS 44: 9, רקים S 10: 24, בנים (5×) 4Q159 II: 13, שיבה H 4: 30, אילים TS 15: 12, 19: 16, צפורניה TS 63: 13 [עדיה (=עדייה) 4Q184 1: 5, see 200.17d].
2. מיתות (=מיתות) 4QD<sup>a</sup>: 10, 12, העיד (העיד) TS 61: 9, ריעיכה TS 54: 20, [מציבות]יהמה TS 2: 6, להוסיפ (=להוסיפ; unless the *hif'il* was intended) S 6: 14, יבדילו (=יבדילו; unless the *hif'il* was intended) S 9: 6, והדריכה Sb V: 19, עוונך S 2: 8, ישכיליהו Sa I: 7, ולמשתוהיחי H 9: 9, החזיק (=החזיק) Sa II: 5, פליטה (3×) H fragment 45: 5, מקניה (=מקניה) H 7: 2, 8: 33, אילים 'angels' 4Q511 10: 11, 4Q381 15: 6, אילי 4Q403 1 I: 38, עיצה 'her wood' pH 10: 1, רעיהו pH 4: 12.

This phenomenon is also attested in 1QIs<sup>a</sup>, as well as in other Hebrew sources<sup>7</sup>. S. Morag has suggested that this variable orthography may

5 Plene spelling for short *i* is extremely rare. Such spellings as ריקמה M 5: 6, 9, 14 *et al.*, in which *yod* apparently represents short *i*, are modern editors' misreadings for רוקמה etc., see Qimron, *Waw and Yod*.

6 See Kutscher, *Studies*, pp. קלה-קטו; A. Bendavid, *Lešonenu*, 22 (1958), p. 12.

7 Kutscher, *Isaiah*, pp. 151–156.

indicate that plene *šere* and defective *šere* were pronounced alike. [For radical *alef* designating medial *e* see 100.61].

### 100.34 *Yod Representing Final e*

Yod representing *e* in final position appears not only in the construct state of the plural (דברי etc.), but also in the construct state singular of ליי nouns, especially those of the מקטה pattern, e.g. מעשי חרש מחשבת M 5: 9, 10, 11 (but מעשה חרש מחשבת M 5: 6), אשי 'burnt offering' TS 23: 17, 28: 02, 2 (also אשה). The singular of this מקטה pattern is written as follows:

construct state	absolute state
מקטי 27×	מקטי 2×
מקטה 24×	מקטה 27×

Since *yod* and *he* appear with equal frequency in the construct state but *he* predominates in the absolute, the *yod* would correspond to Tiberian *šere*, not *segol*. Thus, the claim<sup>8</sup> that the well-known phrase ספר ההגי in the Scrolls should be read with *segol* ספר ההגי is unlikely. We suggest instead ספר ההגי. This is confirmed by the spelling הגיא in the phrase בהגיא רנה 4Q491 11: 21 (note that הגי like הגיון has two meanings, 'resounding music' and 'meditation').

This kind of spelling is common in the Samaritan Pentateuch, in some manuscripts of the Tannaitic literature, and in Aramaic sources<sup>9</sup>. It rarely occurs in the MT<sup>10</sup>. [On גוי (=גויי), חי (=חיי), הוי (=הויי), see 200.17d].

### 100.5\* *Digraphs -יא-, -אי-, -יא-, -אי- in Medial Position*

Digraphs (i.e. two vowel letters indicating one vowel) are characteristic of the DSS. In medial position digraphs occur almost exclusively in words containing radical *alef* (ראש, יאמר etc.)<sup>11</sup>. Only rarely does this *alef*, standing alone, represent the sound *o* in the DSS (some 20 times). In most cases either there is an additional *waw* — before the *alef* (over 60 times, e.g. תואכל, רואש), or after it (some 25 times, e.g. צאון, ראוש), or the *alef* is dropped and the *waw* alone indicates the vowel (over 30 times, e.g. רוש, צון, תוכלו). Similarly, the word ראשון has an

8 As M. Goshen suggested (VT, 8 (1958), pp. 286–288).

9 Kutscher, *Isaiah*, p. 158. Phonetic spellings such as עושה for עושי (plural) are found, though very infrequently, in the above mentioned sources, e.g. 4Q171 1–2 II: 22.

10 Goshen, *JJS*, 4 (1953), pp. 104–105.

11 In the biblical texts we find בראש 'cypress' 1QIs<sup>a</sup> 41: 19, 55: 13, מןאח 'unleavened bread' 4QPhyl M: 14 (twice), and לנאם = לנאם 1QIs<sup>a</sup> 56: 10 [see also 200.17].

additional *yod* to represent the sound  $i^{11a}$  (ראישון, rarely ריאשון, also רישון, ברשונה).

As Kutscher has demonstrated<sup>12</sup>, such digraphs occur in other Hebrew (and Aramaic) sources. However, nowhere are they as common as in the DSS.

### 100.51\* *Digraphs in Final Position*

Digraphs in final position (יֵיא, יֵיא) sometimes appear in words whose *alef* is not radical; יֵיא mainly in the word ביא (156 times, and כֵּי 210 times). The other instances are מיא M 10: 8, 9, 13: 13, 14 (מֵי 19 times), PH 2: 2, [פיא] S 10: 19 (יֵי =  $i$  hundreds of times). יֵיא = יֵיא: H 6: 21, בֵּיא 4Q174 I: 6, לֵיא *ib.*, S 6: 27, TS 56: 19, 65: 15, 66: 10, 4Q176 14: 6. יֵיא =  $u$ : יֵיא *ph* 2: 6.

Note, however, that relevant examples are more frequent in 1QIs<sup>a</sup> than elsewhere (though quite rare even there)<sup>13</sup>. This phenomenon is especially common in short words, probably as the result of a desire to lengthen them graphically.

The word לֵיא is generally spelled לֵיא (about 400 times), though לֵיא is also found (119 times, mainly in H, which is very conservative in its spelling and language). The spelling לֵיא (=לֵיא) occurs 7 times, e.g. S 9: 24, 4Q504 V: 7.

Likewise, final *he*, when it represents  $o$ , can be preceded by a *waw* (כֵּוא). In this case as well, examples occur almost exclusively in 1QIs<sup>a</sup> and certain other biblical texts. This spelling too is particularly common in the short words כֵּוא, כֵּוא (which appear only in biblical texts). In the non-biblical texts, three examples could be cited: פֵּוא M 11: 9, שלומה 4QMMT C: 1 — with *waw*; and אֵיפֵוא 1Q27 1 I: 11 — without *waw*.

### 100.52\* *Analysis of the Digraph System*

Kutscher believes<sup>14</sup> that these digraphs originated from the desire to safeguard against an Aramaic pronunciation in such words as לֵיא, רֵיא, רֵיא, כֵּוא, which might otherwise be read לֵיא, רֵיא, כֵּוא. These spellings then spread to other words such as צֵיא, עֵיא, words lacking an Aramaic parallel. We prefer, on the other hand, to explain the

11a  $e$  representing the sound  $e$  occurs in 1QIs<sup>a</sup> 46: 10 and in Aramaic texts from Qumran [100.52, 100.61].

12 Kutscher, *Isaiah*, pp. 167–168; cf. also הֵיא Gen. Ap. 19: 24, 21: 28, 22: 9.

13 *ib.*, pp. 174–175; cf. also תֵּיא 'return' 11QTJob 39: 4, גֵּיא (=גֵּיא) Milik, *Enoch*, p. 305. יֵיא =  $i$  in final position dominates in a recently published MS of the War Scroll (4Q491 11 I): מֵיא (6 times), בֵּיא (3 times), לֵיא, אֵיא, בֵּיא, אֵיא.

14 Kutscher, *Isaiah*, pp. 20–22.



additional *waw* (and *yod* in occasional cases) as a means to indicate the sound *o* (or *i/e*), since *alef* and *he* generally indicate other vowels. This tendency went hand in hand with the desire to lengthen short words. Our explanation, unlike Kutscher's, also applies to the spelling לוי in the MT (in early texts not influenced by Aramaic) and to spellings such as ראישה 'her head' and לביא 'to a house' in Aramaic texts from Qumran. A further phenomenon which accords with our analysis is that the *alef* (or *he*)<sup>15</sup> may be dropped entirely in these contexts. Because of the presence of the added *waw* (*yod*), the *alef* was felt to be extraneous and hence deletable (ראיש / ראש → ריש). This principle also applies to the dropping of *alef* in the word נשי (=נשיא) etc. (see below).

It has been conjectured that these digraphs reflect a special pronunciation<sup>16</sup>, e.g. ראש = *rooš* or *rōš*, מיא *mī* or *miyya*, כוה = *kō*. Kutscher<sup>17</sup> strongly rejects these phonological explanations, seeing in the phenomenon merely an orthographical convention. The data [see 100.5] support Kutscher's line of argumentation. However, the phonological explanation should not be discarded out of hand, for *alef* in other environments can indeed designate a special pronunciation, such as two consecutive vowels or a (very) long vowel (רבויתם, כתיאום) etc. pronounced *kittīm*, *ribbōt* (?) — 200.17)<sup>17a</sup>.

### 100.61 Medial Alef Representing the Vowels *a*, *e*

In our corpus medial *alef* representing the vowels *a*, *e* does not occur unless it is radical<sup>18</sup>. Radical (quiescent) *alef* in medial position mostly designates *a*, and is only infrequently dropped: ברטנו 4Q504 III: 4, קרתה *ib.* III: 5, חטתנו *ib.* VI: 3, חטתו S 3: 8, רשים (=ראשים) 4Q171 III: 5. It can also designate *e* (some 40 times, e.g. צאת etc.), though in such cases the *alef* does frequently drop (25 times): חבתה (=חבֶּתָה) H 5: 11, 25, לשח (=לשח) H 10: 25, הפלתה (=הפֶּלְתָה) always (5 times) without *alef*, and perhaps also הפלתנו M 13: 9 (taken perhaps as קְלִי cf. להפלה pH 7: 8; or from קנפל פרי (=פְּרִי – פֶּאֲרִי 'head-dress' M 7: 11, רשית (=רֶשִׁית) 9 times, ברשת (=בְּרֶשֶׁת) Sa 2: 18, רשית (=רֶשִׁית) S 10: 13, שרית (=שֶׁרִית) S 4: 14, 5: 13, H fragment 7: 2, 4Q280: 5, שנתה (=שֶׁנְתָה) 4Q511 18: 7.

Alongside the spelling רשית (=ראשית), there is a spelling with *yod* instead of *alef* (רישית 4Q511 II: 3, III: 2). This spelling evolved from the digraph

15 פריעו Gen. Ap. 20: 14.

16 See especially Ben-Ḥayyim, *Traditions*, pp. 82–87, *Grammar*, § 1.4.5, and recently Milik, *4QPhyl.*, p. 38.

17 Kutscher, *Isaiah*, pp. 168–170, 180–182, 499–500.

17a See Yeivin, *Babylonian Voc.*, pp. 258–261, and my forthcoming article in מסורות.

18 In some biblical and Aramaic texts non-radical *alef* does sometimes represent these sounds — see Kutscher, *Isaiah*, pp. 160–162; Qimron, *Lešonenu*, 39 (1975), pp. 133–146.

in forms such as ראישית (found only in 1QIs<sup>a</sup> 46: 10) [on radical *alef* representing *o*, *i*, see 100.5].

### 100.63 Dropping of Radical Alef in Final Position

Radical *alef* in final position is only rarely dropped (mostly after a vowel): (את) S 1: 7, ולהבי (אח) 4Q159 2: 8, נשי M 3: 15, 4: 1, שו 'vanity' H 7: 34 שׁוּ pH 10: 10, 11 (also שׁוּא; 3 times). A clear example in which radical *alef* is dropped after a consonant is provided by the word חטא TS 57: 10, חטא (*ib.* 64: 9). In the word שׁוּא 'vanity' it is not clear whether the *waw* is consonantal or vocalic<sup>19</sup>; hence the spelling שׁוּ could fall into either of the above categories. [On the spelling לר (=לא), see 100.5].

### 100.64\* Alef Quiescent: Summary Table of Spellings

Vowel	Vowel Letter	
	Medial	Final
<i>a</i>	א, אָ	א
<i>e</i>	א, אָ	א, ה (rare)
<i>o</i>	א, או, ו, וּ	א, ו, וּ (rare)
<i>i</i>	א, אי, י, יָ	י, יָ (rare)

### 100.7 He and Alef as Final Vowel Letters for *a*, *e*

The *he* is used as a final vowel letter to represent *a*, *e*, as in the Bible. In addition, DSS Hebrew adopts a plene spelling for the pronominal suffix כה (about 900 times, ך 160 times) and for the second person affirmative of the perfect, e.g. קטלה (only 5 times קטלה, see 310.11). Defective spelling predominates only in the third person feminine suffix ייה (ייה) only 3 times); it occurs in order to avoid a sequence of two identical letters. The sound *a*, *e* can also be represented by *alef* in final position, but only when it is radical (מִצָּא, מִצָּא). Only four times does *he* replace radical *alef*: קורה S 7: 1, להפלה pH 7: 8 (possibly taken as ליי)<sup>20</sup>, למלה 'to fill' TS pl. 35\*, 1: 10, הטמה 4QMMT B 16. Sometimes non-radical *alef* replaces *he*, to represent *a*: עשורא 6Q 9 45: 2, עשורא Sa 2: 22, התורא Sa 1: 11, מִאֲמוֹעַ S 5: 16, היא 'was' 4QMMT C 21, 27, 28, והקללא, *ib.* C 23; and to represent *e*: עשורא [א]6Q9 1: 1, שחיים עשורא 4Q405 20: 6, הרִאָ S 11: 4, 5, מרפא 'cease' H 2: 26, הונא 4QD<sup>a</sup> 4, 6. Such spellings are more frequent in 1QIs<sup>a</sup> and in other biblical texts<sup>21</sup>.

19 Qimron, *Lešonenu*, 35 (1971), p. 107, Note 25.

20 Kutscher, *Isaiah*, p. 343.

21 Kutscher, *Isaiah*, pp. 163–164.

Note that in 4QMMT the relative ך is sometimes written ךא<sup>22</sup>. [For final *e* represented by *yod*, see 100.34]

### 100.8 Orthographic Representation of ś

Ś is generally written ך (about 1000 times) but very occasionally ס: ספות 'edges' M 10: 12, בסמחה 4Q177 12: 10, בבטר (?) H Fragment 45: 6, בסכלות S 7: 14, סלמותמה 'their garments' TS 49: 18, ה(ס)שרים M 3: 3, גבה[ש] H 6: 25, גבה[ש] H 7: 8. Spellings with ס are more frequent in 4QMMT, where the ś is written with ס 4 times as against 12 times with ך<sup>23</sup>.

Such spellings are also found in 1QIs<sup>a</sup> and in other biblical texts, e.g. סדוהו 4QPhyl G 1: 26, בסדיך *ib.* 1: 2. In an apocryphal Psalm from Qumran cave 4 we find מסיני, מסיני (RB, 73, p. 356 — in the same Psalm which is found in 11QPs<sup>a</sup> these words are spelled with ך). [On the pronunciation of the sibilants, see 200.15].

### 100.9\* Orthographic Representation of Consonantal Waw, Yod and Glides

Consonantal *waw* and *yod* are written ו, י. The occasional instances of the spellings וו, יי are mostly misreadings by modern editors.<sup>24</sup> In 1QIs<sup>a</sup> and the Gen. Ap., consonantal *waw* and *yod* are sometimes spelled with a following *alef*<sup>25</sup>, e.g. עואר (= עור), to safeguard against interpreting such *waw*, *yod* as vowel letters. Sometimes the vowel letters serve as an orthographic device to designate two consecutive vowels (*Vokalträger*). Two consecutive vowels occur where a guttural, a *waw* or a *yod* became silent (see 200.133, 200.17, 200.18 and the examples cited there — גויים, גויים, גויים, לויים, לויים, לויים, לויים etc; also ציאה 1QIs<sup>a</sup>. 41: 18, 53: 2 and הוואה (= הוואה) pH 1: 9). The *Vokalträger* is an orthographic device for designating the glide evolved between the two vowels. Vowel letters as *Vokalträger* can be found in other Hebrew and Aramaic texts<sup>26</sup>. I cite here some examples from the Samaritan Pentateuch accompanied with their pronunciation: צפואי *ṣabbuwwi* (= צפוי Ex 38: 17, 18), *karuwwa* (= כרוואה), תלווי (= תלוי Dt 21: 23) pronounced *talo*, yet the spelling suggests \**taluwwi*.

22 Strugnell & Qimron, § 3.1.4.4.

23 Strugnell & Qimron, § 3.1.6.

24 Qimron, *Lešonenu*, 39 (1975), p. 144.

25 *ib.*, pp. 134–136.

26 See my forthcoming article in *מסורות*.

## 200.11 Weakening of the Gutturals

In non-formal manuscripts — and very occasionally in formal ones — there are a number of spelling irregularities involving gutturals<sup>1</sup>. A guttural may be omitted (and perhaps inserted later above the line); or one guttural may be miswritten for another (and often emended subsequently); it may even happen that vowel letters near gutturals are miswritten. Hence we can conclude that gutturals in the Qumran pronunciation were weakened. This fact is not reflected in the formal texts simply because of the effort made to preserve the historical spelling.

The corpus includes 80 such misspellings, chiefly with *alef*, less often with *he*, *ayin*, and *het*, e.g. בהספם (= בְּהֶאֱסָפָם) Sa 1: 1, ונצה (= ונאצה) 4Q175: 28, נשיי (= נשיאי) TS 57: 12 [see 200.17], ולהתלך (= ולהתהלך) S 5: 10, נשנתי (נשענתי) H 11: 32, תגער H fragment 4: 6, הבחרה (= אבחרה) S 10: 12, באופיע (= בהופיע) S 10: 2, הטמ(ו)אות TS 51: 6, וכוהנתנו 4Q400 2: 6 (= וְכִדְהוֹנְתָנוּ), ממשלוחותו (= ממשלוחותו) 4Q400 1 II: 19, ממשלוחותו 4Q405 23 I: 11 (as in line 13). Note also the omissions in cases where two guttural letters meet: אשמעל (= ישמעאל) 4Q496 13: 1, הבנים (= האבנים) H fragment 2: 8, שבע רוי (= בשעה) 4Q394, שש עשר (= שש אסר) 4Q403 1 II: 27, שש אסר (= שש עשר) 4Q403 1 I: 30.

The *alef* is also elided when it follows *shewa* (according to the Tiberian tradition)<sup>3</sup> e.g. מאודה (= מאודה) S 10: 16 *et al.*, שאריח (= שאריח) S 4: 14 *et al.*, רויח (= רויח) TS 66: 9, ורבעים (= ורבעים) TS 40: 10. [On the word שאול, see 200.25].

In morphology, too, we can see the imprint of the weakening of the gutturals. A good example is the variation in spelling in the *quṭl* pattern in the absolute state. In nouns without a guttural second consonant, the

1 Note that in H, which was written by two different scribes, such irregularities are concentrated in those sections written in the less polished hand.

2 בשבעה ריח and שבע ריח were pronounced alike and were interchangeable, cf. 4Q403 1 I: 5, תגבר בשבעה and תגבר שבע and 4Q403 1 II: 27–28. Cf. also 4Q364 [ארבעה עשרה] (unpublished).

3 Kutscher, *Isaiah*, pp. 498–500 (also in BH).

absolute state is always spelled קטול; but if the second consonant is guttural, the spelling קטול (pronounced *qotol*) can also be found<sup>4</sup>: להרוב (= להרב; pronounced *lōv*) H 3: 30, הרוב (= ררבב) TS 38: 12 (cf. מאור in MT, מלול in the Babylonian tradition — for details see 200.24).

It should be noted that indications of the weakening of the gutturals are also to be found in the biblical texts, especially in 1QIs<sup>a</sup><sup>5</sup>.

### 200.133 Glides

The weakening of the gutturals sometimes brings about a succession of two vowels, which may produce a glide: המיאיות (ה)מאיות TS 42: 15, 57: 4, המיאיות TS 58: 4, מאיותי M 3: 17, 4: 2 (= 'a unit of 100 men'; *me'ot* → *meot* → *meyot*), שבאור 4QMMT C 3 (באור = *bawu* → *bau* → *ba'u*)<sup>6</sup>, תהוו 'emptiness' 4Q504 III: 3 (*toho* → *tō* / *towo*) [cf. 100.2]. הבריה (= הבריאה; *biryā*) TS 29: 9. Glides also occur in biblical texts from Qumran, e.g. ללבויותי 4Q169 I: 4 (= ללבויותי) Nahum 2: 13). אליב (אליאב) 4QPhyl K: 13. This phenomenon was apparently quite common, but (as in the Samaritan tradition)<sup>7</sup> only rarely was it reflected in the spelling. Thus the 3rd person independent personal pronouns, though pronounced with glide *huwa*, *hiya*, preserved the historical spellings הווא, היאה. Only in 1QIs<sup>a</sup> do we find the phonetic spellings הוה (= הוה) 7: 14, היה (= היה) 30: 33, 36: 21 [321.13; for other possible examples see 200.17, 200.18].

### 200.14 Weakening of the Resh

The pronunciation of the *resh* was also weak<sup>8</sup>, as may be inferred from the fact that it is omitted far more often than any other non-guttural root-consonant (though in most cases it is inserted above the line). Such omissions occur for the most part near gutturals, e.g. המערכות M 6: 10, מערכת M 5: 3, 6: 5, משע (= משער) TS 40: 15, משער TS 44: 15, אבחר TS 52: 16. Miswriting of a vowel letter near *resh* (as in קיראי Sa 2: 2) or omission of a guttural near *resh* (as in נקרא 4Q504 II: 12) also testify to a weak pronunciation. [cf. 200.11]. In our corpus there are over 20

4 In 1QIs<sup>a</sup> also שחור, שחור (Kutscher, p. 502). Samaritan Hebrew too has the קטול form with second radical guttural in 3 words of the *quṭl* pattern (Ben-Ḥayyim, *Grammar*, § 4.1.3.20).

5 Kutscher, *Isaiah*, pp. 505–511.

6 Strugnell & Qimron, § 3.2.1; cf. בוו (= באו) 4QPhyl N: 12, ימחוו (= ימחוו) 1QIs<sup>b</sup> 55: 12 (rather than ימחוי).

7 Ben-Ḥayyim, *Grammar*, § 1.1.8; for other parallels, see Kutscher, *Isaiah*, pp. 515–516.

8 Yalon, p. 55, note 32; J.T. Milik, *Biblica*, 31 (1950), p. 205; Kutscher, *Isaiah*, p. 531.

instances of such spelling irregularities with *resh*, and some 15 instances in the biblical, apocryphal, and Aramaic texts from Qumran<sup>9</sup>.

### 200.141\* *Gimel / Kaf Substitutions*

1. *Kaf* instead of *gimel*: רוכנים (= רוגנים) S 11: 1, תנכח (= תנגח) Sb 5: 27. Cf. דקלי (= דקלי) 4Q503 51-55: 8.
2. *Gimel* instead of *Kaf*: (י)ופלכיו (= ופלגיו)<sup>10</sup> H 8: 23, 25, and perhaps כוחגה — according to the reading [יב]רוב כחגה גאל[תנן] proposed by M. Mishor in 4Q504 5 II: 4. In 1QIs<sup>a</sup> אגורי (= אכזורי) 13: 19.

Such substitutions occur both in the Samaritan tradition and in other sources<sup>11</sup>.

### 200.142\* *Mem = Nun in Final Position*

Interchanges between *mem* and *nun* in final position are very frequent in Hebrew and Aramaic sources from the Second Temple period onward<sup>12</sup>. They reflect the loss of the phonological distinction between *m* and *n* in final position. The exact nature of the resulting sound is a matter of dispute: Kutscher has suggested that it was *n* (*m* → *n*)<sup>12</sup>. Ben-Hayyim has suggested that both *m* and *n* turn into a nazalized vowel<sup>12a</sup>.

In the DSS we note the following examples: ובשוכן (= ובשוקם) 'when they (masculine) descend' 4Q405 20:12, ולבנימים 4Q364 11: 2 (= Gen 45: 22)<sup>12b</sup> [ם]ימין[ן] TS, Supplementary Plates, 39\* 1, and maybe פחין<sup>13</sup> 4Q184 1: 2. Further examples are to be found in 1QIs<sup>a</sup><sup>14</sup>.

### 200.143\* *Addition and Elision of a Nasal in Final Position*

In some words which ended with an open syllable, a *mem* was affixed: גבורתום (במעשי) 'with His wondrous acts' S 1: 21, רחום 'his spiritual quality' S 5: 21, סבבום 'surrounded' H 2: 25 (unless it is a corruption from סבבוני)<sup>14a</sup>. In the Aramaic of Qumran we find: עומרם 'Gomorra' Gen. Ap. 21: 24, 32, כמן *ib.* 20: 2, 4 etc., תמן *ib.* 21: 1, 2, 3 etc., and perhaps<sup>14b</sup> ובעון *ib.*, 19: 15, ואתון *ib.* 19: 26, ואתון 11QTJob 42: 11. Two

9 Add: מגש (= מגרש); *Shnaton, An Annual for Biblical and Ancient Near Eastern Studies*, (ed. M. Weinfeld), III, Jerusalem-Tel-Aviv 1978, p. 238.

10 M. Wallenstein, *VT*, 7 (1957), p. 209-210, and [500.3].

11 Ben-Hayyim, *Scripta*, p. 202; Kutscher, *Isaiah*, p. 511.

12 E.Y. Kutscher, *Studies in Galilean Aramaic*, Ramat-Gan 1976, pp. 58-68.

12a Ben-Hayyim, *Scripta*, pp. 210-211.

12b Cf. Kutscher, *ib.*, p. 63.

13 J. Strugnell, *RQ*, 7 (1970), p. 264.

14 Kutscher, *Isaiah*, pp. 61, 91, 518; Qimron, *TSa*, pp. 93-94.

14a See M. Mansoor, *The Thanksgiving Hymns*, Leiden 1961, pp. 108-109; R. Weiss, *Lešonenu*, 26 (1962), pp. 92-103.

14b A. Tal, *Lešonenu*, 43 (1979), pp. 171-173.

cases occur in Qumran biblical texts: 1Q5: 12 (=עמנו עמד היום) Dt 29: 14), and 4Q166 II: 18 (=אתנה Hosea 2: 14).

There are also a few cases of the opposite phenomenon, namely the dropping of a radical *nun* in final position: למע (=למען) H 4: 11, כעש (=כעשן) H 9: 5, דשא המזבח (=דשן) 4QMMT B 26; cf. במועדיהם H 4: 12. In biblical quotations from pH, there are two doubtful cases: דומה 12: 15 (=MT דומים), יחיתה 12: 1 (=MT יחיתן). Could שלמא Gen. Ap. 20: 6 be taken as feminine plural participle (=שלמין) rather than the perfect (=שלמא)?

These forms have generally been dismissed as scribal errors. E.Y. Kutscher's research<sup>14c</sup> enables us, however, to explain them on phonological grounds. Kutscher shows that addition and elision of *nun* was common in Hebrew and Aramaic from the Second Temple Period onward. The fact that in the DSS *mem* rather than *nun* is involved is immaterial, since *m* and *n* in final position were pronounced alike [see 200.142].

The opposite phenomenon, i.e., the dropping of the final nasal, may be explained on orthographical grounds as follows: since the added nasal was generally not written, even the radical nasal was sometimes dropped orthographically.

### 200.15 *The Sibilants Šin, Śin, Samekh*

Alongside cases where an original *ś* is spelled with *š* [see 100.8], there are occasional instances where an original *s* is spelled with *š*: מאשו (=מאסו) pH 1: 11, מנשה (paraphrasing Dt 13: 4 מנסה) TS 54: 12, ישיחבה (paraphrasing Dt 13: 7 יסיתך) TS 54: 19, ונש[ס]כמה, TS pl. 37\*, 2, 4QD<sup>a</sup>: 10. According to Milik<sup>15</sup>, the last-mentioned fragment belongs to a special class of manuscripts (including both biblical and non-biblical texts), which have characteristically "non-Judaeian" orthography and writing. These (still unpublished) fragments include a few more instances of *s* spelled with *š*, as indicated by Milik<sup>15</sup>. Some further examples occur in the list of variant readings of 4Q Psalms MSS<sup>16</sup>, e.g. ישר (=יסר Ps 104: 5), שפרתי (=ספרתי Ps 119: 13). I have also found the following examples in biblical texts: יישר (=ייסר) Dt

14c E.Y. Kutscher, *Studies in Galilean Aramaic*, Ramat-Gan 1976, pp. 58-67, especially note 82; see also Kutscher, *Studies*, pp. 23-24; Ben-Hayyim, *Lešonenu*, 22 (1958), p. 233; H Nathan, *מסורות Studies in Language Traditions* (ed. M. Bar-Asher), Jerusalem 1984, pp. 121-133; A. Tal, *Lešonenu*, 43 (1979), pp. 165-184.

15 RB, 73 (1966), pp. 103-104.

16 P.W. Skehan, 'Qumran and Old Testament Criticism', *Qumrân — Sa Piété, sa théologie et son milieu* (ed. M. Delcor), Louvain 1978, pp. 173-182.

17 H. Stegemann, RQ, 6 (1967-69), p. 222.

8: 5, השבישים 1QIs<sup>a</sup> 3: 18, שעפי *ib.* 57: 5, שפיה (= ספיה Is 37: 30) 4Q177 5–6: 2 (twice), כשפֿו (= כְּסָף Ex 12: 44) 4QPhyl I: 7, פֿשה (= פֿסָח Ex 12: 48) 4QPhyl I: 8, cf. also גרשה (= MT גרסה) 11QPs<sup>a</sup> 119: 20. Examples from CD: שר (= טר) 7: 13, להשתפח (= להסתפח) 4: 11. It has been also suggested that אנוש S 7: 12 (= אנוס)<sup>18</sup>. Original ś spelled with ס occurs only once: יכחש (= יכחש)<sup>19</sup> S 7: 3.

Spellings of ש for s can also be found in other early Hebrew and Aramaic sources:

1. In the Bar Kokhba letters: כושבה, משבלא, שפינא, בשרון, פרניש (?); once ś is spelled with ס: סלם (= שְלָם)<sup>20</sup>.
2. In Ben Sira, both in the Masada Scroll — שימה (= סימה) 'treasure' 41: 14, מהתעשק (= מהתעסק) 41: 22 — and in the *Geniza* manuscripts: שמים (= סמים) 38: 4, עשקר (= עסקר) 11: 10.
3. In manuscripts of the Tannaitic and Amoraic literature<sup>21</sup>.

It should be noted that such spellings are also found in Punic.

The pronunciation of the sibilants at Qumran is a complicated problem. The orthography of ס for original ś [100.8] testifies to the sound change ś → s. This change was already operative in BH, but is not often reflected in the orthography before MH.

In the Bible and DSS Hebrew, sporadic ס written instead of ש should be considered a scribal lapse. In Aramaic, as well, the change ś → s took place; and in 11QTJob ś is written as ס in 23 cases whereas in only 4 as ש<sup>22</sup>.

It seems probable that in Qumran there were no more than two voiceless non-emphatic sibilants: ś and s. The orthography does not reflect the phonetic values accurately, because ש is used for /ś/ and /s/ (whose origin is Proto-Semitic ś) and ס is used for /s/ (whose origin is Proto-Semitic s and only rarely ś).

There are two possible explanations for the orthography ש for Proto-Semitic s (and ס for Proto-Semitic ś):

1. There was no longer a phonetic opposition /s/ — /ś/, either because ס was pronounced ś (as the evidence amassed above would seem to

18 For the various interpretations of this word see Wernberg-Møller, S, pp. 117–118 (28).

19 See Wernberg-Møller, S, p. 144; Licht, S, p. 161, suggested that יכחש = יכעס, but his suggestion seems contextually and linguistically unlikely.

20 Cf. Kutscher, *Lešonenu*, 25 (1961), p. 120; 26 (1962), pp. 9, 23; B. Gross, *Lešonenu*, 32 (1968), pp. 285–289.

21 Kutscher, *Lešonenu*, 25 (1961), p. 120, note 1 (שבק = סבק); Gross, *ib.*

22 M. Sokoloff, *The Targum of Job from Qumran Cave XI*, Ramat-Gan 1974, pp. 14–15.



indicate) or because  $\psi$  was pronounced as  $s$  (or perhaps both  $\psi$  and  $\psi$  had some other single realization).

2.  $\psi$  written for  $\psi$  is Hebrew  $\text{śin}$  (pronounce  $s$ ). It is a hypercorrect spelling, the scribe assuming that the "correct" root was with  $\text{ś}$  rather than  $s$ , both of which were homophonous in his pronunciation<sup>23</sup>.

The following facts negate the second explanation:

1. The instances of  $\psi$  representing  $s$  are too numerous to be explained as hypercorrections).
2. There are a few cases of Proto-Semitic  $\text{š}$  represented by  $\psi$ .
3.  $\psi$  for  $s$  appears in such common words as  $\text{פסח}$  or the root  $\text{נסה}$ .
4. Such hypercorrections are unknown from other sources.

Returning to the first explanation, since most of the exceptional cases are those where  $\psi$  is written for Proto-Semitic  $s$ , it would seem that the sibilant was pronounced  $\text{š}$ . (The opposite cases may be considered hypercorrections.) But it is also possible that since  $\psi$  is found more often than  $\psi$  in Hebrew, it was also used to represent the sibilants, whose pronunciation was identical.

If indeed  $/\text{š}/$  and  $/s/$  coalesced, this process must have occurred after the phonetic change  $\text{ś} \rightarrow s$ . It was by no means general, as the distribution of these spellings in the various Scrolls shows. Evidence for this sound change appears only in some of the DSS manuscripts (whether "Judaean" or "non-Judaean"), indicating that it was perhaps unique to a particular segment of the speech community.

Kutscher and Gross<sup>24</sup> attributed the change in sibilants to Greek influence: Hebrew, like Punic, was influenced by the existence of only a single voiceless non-emphatic sibilant in Greek (whether its pronunciation was  $s$  or  $\text{š}$ ). These spellings reflect the Hebrew pronunciation of Greek-speaking Jews.

The entire subject requires a re-examination of the relationship between Hebrew and contemporaneous Greek and Punic. In any event it does seem that these spellings reflect actual pronunciations rather than hypercorrections.

#### 200.16 Assimilation of Nun

The rules governing the assimilation of *nun* in DSS Hebrew are identical to those of BH, but exceptions are more frequent especially as regards the word  $\text{מן טהרת}$ : S 7: 3,  $\text{ומן נע[וריו]}$ , Sa 1: 6,  $\text{מן [ג]בורת}$ , 4Q185 I: 14,  $\text{מן מל[א]כיו}$  *ib.* II: 4,  $\text{ומן ספר}$ , 4Q176 I: 4,  $\text{מן מקרת}$ , TS 34: 15,  $\text{מן פנה}$ , TS 39:

23 Z. Ben-Ḥayyim, *Lešonenu*, 42 (1978), pp. 284–285.

24 See note 20 above.

14, and in a manuscript of S from cave 4 (= מִבְּשֵׁר S 9: 14), 4Q511 II: 4, 4Q175: 3 (= יִתֵּן Dt 5: 29)<sup>25</sup>.

The non-assimilation of מן (before nouns without the definite article *he*) should properly be described as morphophonological; there is no purely phonological basis for the non-assimilation in these cases. This phenomenon, which is also found in the biblical texts and in other contemporaneous Hebrew sources<sup>26</sup> is apparently an Aramaism.

In 4QMMT, we note three cases where the *nun* of מן was assimilated to the article, there being no instance of מן ה־<sup>27</sup>.

### 200.17 Assimilation of Yod (and Waw)

a. The plural of some words, mainly words ending in the gentilic suffix, is spelled with an additional *alef* written before the sounds *i* and *e*, e.g. כְּתִיאִים (13 times — also כְּתִיִּים 15 times, כְּתִי once), גּוֹאִים<sup>28</sup> (14 times — also גּוֹיִם 21 times, גּוֹיִים 7 times, גּוֹי once), פְּתִיאִים (6 times; פְּתִיִּים / פְּתִיִּים — twice H 2: 9, 4Q439: 7), לִיאִים 4Q491 13: 6 (forms without א are very common). The orthography is not quite consistent even within each scroll. For example, pH has always כְּתִיאִים with *alef*, but גּוֹיִים without *alef* (גּוֹיִים occurs only once, inserted between the lines 3: 5); M has כְּתִיִּים, גּוֹיִים, but also גּוֹאִים; TS has גּוֹאִים and גּוֹיִים.

b. The pronunciation of these forms in DSS Hebrew is not quite clear. Kutscher<sup>29</sup> is of the opinion that the *alef* in these forms results from dissimilation — *yod* becomes *alef* near<sup>30</sup> the sounds *i* and *e*. However, since 1QIs<sup>a</sup> has a few forms like נְלוֹיִים (instead of נְלוֹיִים), Kutscher further assumes that the suffix יִים was only an orthographic convention; the actual pronunciation was יִיאִים, which in turn became יִים. Thus hypercorrect spellings like נְלוֹיִים were actually pronounced נְלוֹיִים.

c. In point of fact, this explanation does not adequately account for all the available data. Many words (like חִיִּים) are always spelled without *alef*; are we then to suggest that the dissimilation took place even in these words, despite the orthography? Moreover, it is doubtful whether intervocalic *alef* was pronounced at all in DSS Hebrew. Consider the

25 In Punic נַתָּן (Lešonenu, 33 (1969), p. 106). H 2: 37 is a misreading; read נַתָּן according to the forthcoming edition of H. Stegemann.

26 Kutscher, *Isaiah*, p. 214; Polzin, p. 66.

27 Strugnell & Qimron, § 3.2.6.

28 Cf. הגּוֹאִין in a letter of Bar Kokhba (Kutscher, *Lešonenu*, 26 (1962), pp. 11, 20).

29 Kutscher, *Isaiah*, pp. 511–515.

30 Relevant examples are only of *yod* before *i* and *e*.

form *נשיא* (= *נשיאי*) TS 57: 12. Had the *alef* in *נשיא* been pronounced, it would not have been dropped in the spelling. Since it was dropped, it evidently was not pronounced in *נשיאי*, and hence also not in *נשיאים* etc. This argument casts serious doubts on Kutscher's explanation: it is unlikely that simultaneously  $\bar{i}\bar{e} \rightarrow \bar{i}\bar{y}\bar{e}$  (in *נשיאי*) while (according to Kutscher)  $\bar{i}\bar{y}\bar{e} \rightarrow \bar{i}\bar{e}$ . As noted, in the forms *נשיאים* etc, the original *yod* is no longer pronounced; resulting, apparently, in the assimilation to the following *i*, *e* sounds ( $yi / ye \rightarrow i / e$ )<sup>31</sup>, regardless of the preceding vowel. Such spellings as *נשיאים*, *נשיים* were pronounced *kit-ti-im* and the *alef* or the consonantal *yod* served as an orthographic device to designate two consecutive vowels (*Vokalträger*)<sup>32</sup>; sometimes these, in turn, may well have merged into one (very) long vowel. In words like *נשיים*, *נשיים* a glide of unclear character may have been produced between the vowels [cf. 200.133].

d. The assumption that neither *yod* nor *alef* was pronounced in this phonological environment can shed light on many irregular spellings in the DSS which until now have lacked phonological explanation<sup>33</sup>:

1. Since *י* was pronounced *i*, and *יי* was pronounced *e*, a number of words which should have *י*, *יי* are sometimes spelled with only one *yod*: *גוים* (20 times), *לוים* M 16: 7, *עשויים* TS 37: 10, 38: 15, *נסוים* S 1: 18, *עדים* 4Q179 1 II: 11, *גוי* (= *גויי*) M 6: 6, 9: 9, 11: 9, 15: 2, *הוי* (= *הויי*) Masada Shirot 1: 2, *חי* (= *חיי*) 6Q18 2: 5, *עדיה* 4Q184 1: 5 [on *שקוי* see 200.18]. In fact, most instances of defective spelling for long *i* in the DSS appear in such words. It now becomes clear why the 3rd person imperfect of *פני* verbs (*יירש* = *īraš* etc.) is always spelled with one *yod* (8 times) in the DSS, while in the Bible the spelling with two *yods* prevails.
2. On the other hand, since the spelling with double *yod* can designate long *i* and *e*, it sometimes appears as a hypercorrection in words where we would expect one *yod*: *ובמעשייכה* Sa 3: 27, *ידי* (pronounced  $\bar{i}\bar{d}\bar{e}$ ) M 17: 11, *בפליליים* (?) 4Q158 9: 5, *בתענייות* 4Q511: 8. 1QIs<sup>a</sup> provides a convincing example: the word *אי* occurs once with double *yod* in the singular *איי* 20: 6, while the plural is spelled *איים* 66: 17 with only one *yod* and even *איים* 13: 22 (!). This last spelling of the word, in

31 Such assimilation is very common in the various Hebrew traditions and in Aramaic dialects (Qimron, TSa, pp. 88–89); add: *אשמעל* (= *אשמעל*) 4Q496 13: 1.

32 A similar, purely orthographic use of *alef*, is found word-initially in Aramaic, e.g. *hand* 'hand' (Qimron, *ib.*). This in fact is Bergsträsser's analysis of similar spellings in BH (I, s 15h, 17n, t). Further examples for *alef* as a *Vokalträger* can be found in *ספר שליוגור*, Jerusalem 1962, p. 46, and Yeivin, *Babylonian Voc.*, pp. 264–265. Babylonian forms such as *זכאין רבוין* (Yeivin, pp. 275–276) are also relevant.

33 Cf. Qimron, TSa, p. 88, note 29.

which the *yod* was only a secondary addition, makes sense only if this word was not pronounced with consonantal *yod*.

3. Worth mentioning here are the spellings [ן]הלייים (with 3 *yods*!) 4Q491 1–3: 17, חילכיא (=חילכאי)<sup>34</sup> 4Q501 1: 4, [ם] נושיאי 'carry' (pronounced *nošim*) 4Q364, הנבאים (=nebīm) pH 7: 5, אוּב (=איב; RB, 73 [1966], pp. 97, 370).

e. Similarly, *waw* is assimilated to the following *o* sound, *wo* – *ō*, as can be inferred from the forms רבואותם (=ירבוותם) M 12: 4, ולקשואת (ed. ולקשואות) TS 33: 13 (cf. קסאות in the Copper Scroll 3: 4), ספּוּת (=sefaot?) M 5: 12. Similar forms occur in the biblical texts: ומצאותו (=ומצותיו) 4QPhyl. M: 26 *et al.* (pronounced *miṣ-ōt* or *maṣ-ōt*), cf. כמצאָת CD 6: 19, שפּאוּתיכּה 1QIs<sup>a</sup> 37: 29 (pronounced *sif-ōt*), עדוּותיך 4QPs<sup>h</sup> (=עדוותיך; frequent in the Qumran biblical texts)<sup>34a</sup>. In one biblical quotation, we find evidence for assimilation of the *waw* to the preceding *ō* sound: וקוּאי (=qo-e – qowe) 4Q171 II: 4 (=וְקוּי Ps 37: 9; cf. קוּי 1QIs<sup>a</sup> 40: 31 = MT קוּי).

Since the *alef* was not pronounced in these words it should be taken as an orthographic representation of the second of two consecutive vowels (*Vokalträger*). It is possible that a glide has been produced here<sup>34b</sup> [cf. c above, and 200.133]. Here we have a real digraph וּא, וּא with non-radical *alef*. The fact that it occurs only where the *ō* is derived from *wō* and not elsewhere, indicates that it reflects a special pronunciation (presumably a special length)<sup>34c</sup>. This apparently supports the view that the spellings וּא, וּא in רואש etc. involve a special pronunciation. Yet, in these cases, the *alef* is radical and the וּא, וּא can also be viewed as orthographic variants [cf. 100.52].

## 200.18 The Descending Diphthongs *āw*, *ūy* in Final Position

In the third person masculine pronominal suffix, there are interchanges between the spelling יוּ and יוּ, e.g. מצוּותו (instead of מצוּותיו) and פּלגּיו (instead of פּלגּיו) [see 322.14]. It has been suggested, therefore, that the diphthong in the plural יוּ form was contracted, and both יוּ and יוּ were pronounced alike (*ō* or *ū*)<sup>35</sup>. Only this assumption can explain such

34 Cf. כּשדיא (*ktib*) Dn 2: 5 *et al.*, נוּיא (=נויא; *Mishna, Abodah Zarah* 3: 4 MS Paris).

34a As yet unpublished — see in the article mentioned in [200.15], footnote 16.

34b Cf. Bergsträsser, I § 17n (b). Note vocalizations such as וּשְׁתָּחִיּוּ in some excellent biblical MSS. (66–64 עמי' ירושלים תשכ"ט, וטעמיו, ירושלים תשכ"ט, עמי' 66–64). If the dot in the first *waw* is a *shureq* it reflects the transition *wū* – *ū*; if it is a *mappiq* it comes to prevent this pronunciation. Cf. also the discussion on the pronunciation of words such as פּוּחַ (*ib.*, p. 66), and the Babylonian vocalization וּלצוּחַ (=lešawwot; Yeivin, *Babylonian Voc.* p. 267).

34c Cf. A. Bendavid, *Lešonenu*, 22 (1958), pp. 11–12.

35 Yalon, pp. 61–62; Ben-Hayyim, *Tradition*, pp. 79–82.

awkward spellings as ברואשיו 1QIs<sup>a</sup> 59: 17 which is formally and contextually singular ('head') and not plural ('heads'). The same phenomenon is found in the Samaritan oral tradition in which *debaro* (–*debaraw*\*) = 'his words', and *debaru* = 'his word'<sup>36</sup>, and the spelling יו and יו are also interchangeable in Samaritan MSS<sup>37</sup>.

Contraction of the diphthong *aw* is typical of some Aramaic dialects, and of the Samaritan tradition. In DSS Hebrew too, the diphthong *aw* (as well as other diphthongs — see below) was never sustained in final position. Yet contraction was not the only result. Sometimes the diphthong was broken into two vowels (*aw* → *au* — apparently pronounced *awu* with a glide — cf. 200.133). Thus the spelling עישאו 4Q364 3 II: 7 *et al.* 'Esau' may reflect the pronunciation 'ešawu; the *alef* being a *Vokalträger* (cf. 100.9)<sup>38</sup>; תאר (=תא) 'room' TS 38: 15 (in a MS of 4Q: תר) may reflect the pronunciation *tawu*.

The diphthong *ūy* in final position contracted to *ō* (or *ū*), as can be inferred from the spelling ראו in MS *a* of 4QMMT B 12 (=ראוי in MS *b*). Other attestations of this contraction are to be found in the biblical material: וגלו עין (=וגלוי עינים) Nu 24: 4 4Q175: 11, לבליו עץ, 1QIs<sup>a</sup> 44: 17 = בלוי *ib.* 19. Such contraction to *ō* is frequent in the Samaritan oral tradition (see below, and cf. הקעשו Job 41: 25, רצפו *ktib* Job 15: 22 and פניו 'empty' DJD, II, p. 162).

The word ראו is also attested with another spelling — ראווי 4QMMT B 17 (pronounced *rauwi* — the second *alef* constituting a *Vokalträger* — see 100.9). This spelling is to be compared to צפואי Ex 38: 17, 19 in a Samaritan MS, which reflects the pronunciation *sabbuwwi*. The diphthong *ūy* in the Samaritan oral tradition is either contracted (e.g. *galō* = גלוי)<sup>39</sup> or broken up into two vowels (e.g. *rašuwwi* = רצוי). That was approximately the case in DSS Hebrew. However, it is surprising that in 4QMMT both "Samaritan forms" appear in the same word and in the same MS. [On such possible double pronunciation of the suffix יויה, see 322.144; on the glide evolved between the vowels, see 200.133].

36 ben-Hayyim, *Grammar*, § 1.4.4.

37 Note also the spelling יו (or יו ? =ul) in the 3rd person plural perfect aformative: כליו 4QPs<sup>a</sup> (as yet unpublished = Ps 69: 4 — see [200.15] note 16).

38 In the Samaritan oral tradition final *aw* was always contracted. Yet עשו is pronounced *išab* (–*isav*\* – *isaw*\* — Ben-Hayyim, *ib.*). Ben-Hayyim, *Studies*, p. 81 suggested that the diphthong *aw* in DSS Hebrew was contracted only in the pronominal suffix, inferring it from the spelling שו in the editions of pH 10: 10, 11. We prefer the alternative possible reading שוי (pronounced šo; cf. šu in the Samaritan oral tradition).

39 Ben-Hayyim, *Grammar*, § 1.4.4.

The fact that  $\text{וי}$  was pronounced  $-uwi$  throws light upon the form שקי 'my drink' H 5: 34, 35 written with only one *yod*. One can assume that both שקי 'drink' and שקיוי 'my drink' were pronounced  $\text{šiqquwi}$ . [cf. 200.17d]. Was there a difference in accent:  $\text{šiqqūi}$  vs.  $\text{šiqquī}$ ?

The possible reading מבואי (pronounced *maboyi*) 4Q405 23 I: 9 supplies evidence for the resolving of the diphthong *oy*. Since it requires no emendation, the reading מבואי is preferable to the editor's מבואו. The word מבווי 'entry' (pronounced *maboyi*) is frequent in MH. Note also the construction יתמו כול גויי רשעה 4Q491 8–10 I: 5 = יתמו כול גויי רשעה M 14: 7. If the reading יתמו is correct, the word גויי is singular, and the phonetic spelling with *alef* reflects the pronunciation *goyi* (cf. *guwwi* in the Samaritan oral tradition = גוי, גויי). For the contraction  $\bar{o}y \rightarrow \bar{o}$ , I was able to find only one instance הוה (=הוי) 1QIs<sup>a</sup> 1: 24. [There is no necessity to explain the form of the Scroll as a lexeme different from that of MT]<sup>39a</sup>.

Note: In Hebrew MSS of MH, final *waw* and *yod* are vocalized either with a *shewa* or with a dot (placed under or inside the *waw* / *yod*), e.g.: עָלָי, עָלָי, עָלָי, עָלָי, עָלָי, עָלָי, עָלָי, עָלָי (cf. עָלָי, עָלָי, עָלָי, עָלָי in the Babylonian tradition). Scholars are divided on the question of whether the dot should be taken as a *mappiq* marking the consonantal *waw* and *yod* (e.g. *alay*, *alaw* etc.) or as a *hiriq* or *shureq* (e.g. *alayi*, *alawu* etc.). I adopt the view of M. Bar-Asher that in some MSS it should be taken as a *mappiq* and in others as a *hiriq* or *shureq*<sup>40</sup>. DSS Hebrew then becomes an important piece of evidence for the history of the final diphthongs in Hebrew.

## 200.22 Recording of the Proto-Semitic Short *u*

A prominent feature which has not attracted much attention is the recording of the Proto-Semitic short *u* in open unstressed syllables. This phenomenon is quite common in the DSS. In nouns we find 42 instances, of which 28 are parallel to Tiberian *qameṣ ḥaṭuf*, e.g. אוניה H 3: 6, 13 *et al.*; חודשים S 7: 3, 4 *et al.*, and 14 are parallel to Tiberian *shewa*, e.g. פורתים H 8: 18 *et al.*, רוקמות 4Q405 14: 6, פורת 'Euphrates' M 2: 11 בתשבוהות<sup>41</sup> 6Q18 2: 8, [למ]הלוקותמה 4Q491 1–3: 6. Furthermore, we are of the opinion that the accent in the construct state of the *quṭl*

39a Cf. Kutscher, *Isaiah*, p. 229.

40 מ' בריאשר, פרקים במסורת לשון חכמים של יהודי איטליה – עדה ולשון ו', ירושלים תשמ"ז, עמ' 49–46, 44–43; cf. Yeivin, *Babylonian Voc.*, pp. 276–279.

41 Further occurrences of תשבוהות (written either with or without a *waw*) are to be found in *Shirot Olat Hashabbat*, and in yet unpublished texts from Qumran, e.g. 4Q400 1 I: 21, 2: 1, 4Q403 1 I: 3, 32; 1 II: 25, 36. See also J.C. Greenfield, *JAOS*, 89 (1969), p. 131.

pattern fell on the ultimate syllable, i.e. it was pronounced *qotol* [see 200.24]; here, then, we have a further example of the ancient *u* vowel recorded in open unstressed syllables. This phenomenon is still more frequent in verbs. Some verbal forms in the *qal* conjugation have *waw* after the second radical: יקטולו, יקטול (imperative), יקטולני, יקטולני, לקטולני, לקטולני, יקטולני, יקטולני. The forms יקטולו, יקטול need not necessarily be relevant here, for the syllable of the second radical could well have carried the accent; but in the suffixed forms, the added *waw* certainly comes in an unstressed syllable (antepenultimate accentuation being unlikely in Hebrew — 311.13, 311.14, 311.15). This phenomenon is also frequent in biblical and Aramaic texts from Qumran, e.g. זועירן (= זעירן; CBQ, 27 (1965), pp. 357, 361).

If we regard the *waw* as representing either a full vowel or even a half-vowel, we have here an ancient feature which is far more common in DSS Hebrew than in any other tradition — including even the Babylonian tradition, which to a large extent preserves the short *u*.

Assumptions that the *waw* represents either a *shewa* which is pronounced like the vowel in the following syllable (as in MT), or a *shewa* which is a product of assimilation to a labial<sup>42</sup>, are only valid in a very few cases, and should therefore be rejected as a general explanation. Furthermore, in 1QIs<sup>a</sup> short *u* is not only preserved in open unstressed syllables, but also in other phonological environments, e.g. in the pattern קוטול (=קטול) (contrast קטל in other traditions)<sup>43</sup>. These phenomena are instances of the DSS language preserving ancient features which help us significantly in understanding the phonology of BH.

#### 200.24 Pronunciation of the *Quṭl* Pattern

Words of the *quṭl* pattern were pronounced in a fashion unique to the DSS. These words are spelled in three different ways: קוטל, קטול, קוטול. Kutscher<sup>44</sup> took the view that the form קוטול was pronounced *qotol*, i.e. that it was a *quṭl* form with an auxiliary *o* in the second syllable. He

42 E.g. מועט (=מקטט) S 4: 16, Sa 1: 18 — M. Bar-Asher, *Lešonenu*, 45 (1981), pp. 91–92; cf. also מולאת and זרובות [500.3].

43 Kutscher, *Isaiah*, pp. 52–54.

44 *Lešonenu*, 22 (1958), pp. 99–106; Kutscher, *Isaiah*, pp. 502–504; see also: B. Jongeling, 'Les Formes QṬWL dans l'Hébreu des Manuscrits des Qumrân', *RQ*, 1 (1959), pp. 483–494.

argued that in some instances קטול and קוטל are probably defective spellings of קוטול, a view which is exceedingly plausible in those cases where the same word is sometimes spelled קוטול and sometimes קטול. The analysis of these forms in our study starts from the observation that while all three spellings are found in the construct form (קוטל 39 times, קטול 24 times, קוטול twice), only קוטל is found in the absolute (165 times; on the two exceptions with second consonant guttural להוב and רחוב see 200.11) [see table below]. This indicates that the absolute form was apparently קטל, as in the Tiberian tradition, while the spellings in the construct must represent *qoṭol* [100.21].

The hypothesis that the construct state, like the absolute, is built on a form containing a helping vowel<sup>44a</sup> and having a penult accentuation, leads to the untenable conclusion that the helping vowels in the construct (*o*) and the absolute (*e*) are different. Instead, we conclude that the construct forms are variations of the form קטול (as in Aramaic)<sup>45</sup>. These forms were pronounced *qoṭol* (=קטל) in the DSS tradition; *waw* representing *ḥatef qameṣ* or even *shewa* is common in the DSS [200.22]. This kind of differentiation of the construct state from the absolute in the *qitl*, *qaṭl*, *quṭl* patterns is attested in the Tiberian tradition as well, e.g. קדר / קדר, נטע / נטע, קדש / קדש<sup>46</sup>. Note also רהב (=רהב; construct) in the Babylonian vocalization<sup>47</sup>. The *qoṭol* pronunciation for the *quṭl* pattern is also found in transliterations in the Septuagint and in Christian Aramaic; however, it is doubtful whether the rules governing the appearance of *qoṭol* forms in these sources are identical with those of the DSS.

#### 200.241\* *The Spellings of the Quṭl Pattern (Singular without Suffixes)*

44a See, however, the analysis of R. Steiner in the article cited below (note 46).

45 In Qumran Aramaic, the pattern קטול was apparently pronounced *qoṭol*, since the spellings קטול / קוטל both occur even for the same word. Similarly, in DSS texts, the word סדום is spelled סדום / סודום, attesting to a pronunciation *sodom*. This word, to be sure, could be of the pattern *quṭl* (discussed above), as Kutscher has suggested (*Isaiah*, pp. 109–110; note the form *sadem* in the Samaritan oral tradition). However, Kutscher's explanation cannot be applied to the feminine counterpart of סדום, עמרה / עמרה (pronounced 'omora). Moreover if סדום in Qumran were of the *quṭl* pattern it should have been pronounced *qoṭel*, like the other absolute forms of this pattern.

46 B-L, 72x, pp. 573–574; R. Steiner, *Monographic Journals of the Near East — Afroasiatic Linguistics*, 3/5 (1976), pp. 1–18.

47 Cf. K. Fellman, עיר ולישן, VIII, Jerusalem 1982 (ed. S. Morag), p. 103.



noun	absolute state			construct state		
	קוטל	קטול	קוטול	קוטל	קטול	קוטול
און	3	-	-	3	-	-
אכל	2	-	-	-	-	-
אמץ	-	-	-	1	2	-
ארך	2	-	-	9	2	-
בקר	8	-	-	-	-	-
בשת	3	-	-	2	-	-
גבה	5	-	-	2	-	-
גדל	-	-	-	-	6	-
גרן	1	-	-	-	-	-
חדש	12	-	-	-	-	-
חזק	-	-	-	1	3	-
חלד	1	-	-	-	-	-
חמץ	1	-	-	-	-	-
חסר	-	-	-	-	1	-
חרף	1	-	-	-	-	-
חשך	38	-	-	-	-	-
טהר	1	-	-	-	-	-
ישר	2	-	-	-	1	1
כבד	-	-	-	-	1	1
כפר	1	-	-	-	-	-
להב	2	1	-	1	1	-
נגה	2	-	-	-	-	-
נכח	-	-	-	1	-	-
סלת	3	-	-	-	-	-
עמק	-	-	-	1	-	-
עמר	3	-	-	-	-	-
עצם	-	-	-	-	1	-
ערל	-	-	-	-	1	-
ערף	3	-	-	2	-	-
קדש	61	-	-	7	2	-
קצר	-	-	-	1	1	-
רבע	-	-	-	1	-	-
רחב	2	1	-	7	2	-
שחד	5	-	-	-	-	-
שפל	-	-	-	-	1	-
שךש	2	-	-	-	-	-
תאר	1	-	-	-	-	-
תחת	-	-	-	-	1	-
total	165	2	-	39	24	2

200.25\* *Prosthetic Alef*

To avoid initial consonant clusters a helping vowel (designated by *alef*) is prefixed to some words<sup>48</sup>: אבדני 'form' M 5: 6 (but בדני M 5: 9 *et al.*), אבית pH 11: 6 (=בבית)<sup>49</sup>, האורוע TS 20: 16, 21: 04, but זרועי H 8: 33. In the Qumran biblical texts, one commonly finds the form אורוע where the MT has זרוע.

Prosthetic *alef* occurs in BH and in MH, as well as in other Semitic languages; it is extremely common in the Samaritan oral tradition, although not usually indicated in the spelling<sup>50</sup>. In this respect, the DSS language was apparently similar to the Samaritan tradition. This can be inferred from the word שאול 'underworld', generally spelled שאול, and once אשאל 11QPs<sup>a</sup> 141: 7. Were the word not consistently pronounced *eš'ol*, but also *šōl* (–*š'ol*) [200.11]J<sup>1</sup> then we should also find spellings ישול, ישואל similar to מאודה, מואדה, מודה 'very'.

200.26\* *Waw (=o, u) instead of a, e*

*Waw* sometimes appears where the Tiberian tradition has *qameṣ*, *pataḥ*, or *segol*:

1. In the 3rd person plural pronominal suffix<sup>52</sup> (beside the regular form): רוחים S 9: 14, הונותם S 5: 20, בבואם Sa 1: 4, עליהם 4Q176 20: 3, עליהן (feminine) S 3: 5. [On גבורתם S 1: 20, רוחים S 5: 21, see 200.143].
2. In nouns: עולים (=עולם) H 11: 27, Sb 5: 23 (?), עילול 'suckling' H 7: 21, 4Q169 4: 2, 4, ולקדל [יה]מָה 4Q491 8–10: 9, שומה (=שָׁמָה) TS 59: 4, והחורגול TS 48: 3, והסולעם (=והסולעם) *ib.*, מרדף M 9: 6 (but מרדף M 3: 2, 9, 7: 13), מוחלה 11QBr: 11, אגונות (related to אָגַת Ex 24: 6) 4Q158 4: 6, משלח M 1: 1 (but משלח S 9: 23, 10: 13), מושקה TS 47: 7, 49: 7, 9 (but משקה S 6: 20 *et al.*)<sup>53</sup>, והיזרדן (=והיזרדן) 4QMS (not yet published), [ה]חורטומים 4Q365 (unpublished), רחמון 4Q381 10–11: 3, 47: 3. And maybe שובועי (=שְׁבוּעִי) 4Q404 2: 9 *et al.* [On מועט see 200.22].

This phenomenon is also attested in the Qumran biblical texts, e.g. הנומה 1QIs<sup>a</sup> 41: 27, חנום (=חָנָם) 11QPs<sup>a</sup> 119: 161.

48 The form אמשפט S 7: 8, אמקנה H 10: 25 should be read במשפט, במקנה, according to the photographs.

49 Also found in MH, in a letter of Bar Kokhba, in Samaritan Hebrew, in Aramaic, and in Punic (cf. Kutscher, *Lešonenu*, 33 (1969), p. 108).

50 Ben-Hayyim, *Grammar*, p. 205.

51 Cf. Kutscher, *Isaiah*, pp. 498–500.

52 Cf. the 3rd person pronominal suffix יָדוּם, יָדוּן in biblical Aramaic. M. Bar-Asher has found 3 cases of ון (–ן; third person plural suffix) in MS Kaufmann of the *Mishnah* (see מסירות *Studies in Language Traditions*, I [ed. M. Bar-Asher], Jerusalem 1984, pp. 5–6).

53 Z. Ben-Hayyim, *Lešonenu*, 42 (1978), pp. 279–280.

There has been much dispute about such forms<sup>54</sup>; there is little agreement either on the facts (which of the forms are morphological variants and which are phonetic variants), or on how to explain them. Some scholars have concluded from these forms that the vowel corresponding to Tiberian *qameṣ* was pronounced like *o*, while others have claimed that the *o* sound is a product of assimilation of the vowel to the neighbouring labial consonant (or to *resh*).

The fact that the *o* sound represents not only *qameṣ* but also *pataḥ* and *seḡol* argues against the first explanation. The second explanation is more reasonable, but in order to cover all the data (excluding morphological variants) we must assume that the assimilation was conditioned by liquids (למניר) as well as labials.

### 200.27\* *Accentuation (and Vowel-Length)*

a. Some scholars have assumed that in DSS Hebrew the accent fell on the penult<sup>55</sup>. This assumption is based on forms like יקטולו (appearing both in and out of pause), in which the *o* must be accentuated according to the Tiberian tradition. However, in DSS Hebrew, Proto-Semitic short *u* is also preserved in the unaccentuated antepenult (יקטולני — 200.22), so this argument is not conclusive.

Z. Ben-Ḥayyim, dealing with this problem, argued that “the linguistic tradition emerging from the DSS is on the whole identical with that of the Samaritans”<sup>56</sup>. Observing that the short *u* is preserved in the antepenult, he argued that in the DSS language (as in the Samaritan tradition) there was no *shewa mobile*; thus forms such as יקטולני, יקטולו, קושי עורף, קצאות (=MT קצוות) have a full vowel instead of *shewa*. Only this assumption will explain why the vowel represented by *waw* is not reduced to *shewa quiescent* when preceded by prepositional *lamed* in forms like לפותי (=לפתִי), לפורת (=לפת־ת). In Ben-Ḥayyim’s view this is one of the principal links in the proof that the DSS language had constant penultimate accentuation<sup>57</sup>. Thus (as in the Samaritan tradition), the unstressed vowel in the final syllable is short and is sometimes spelled defectively, e.g. סודם (=sodom), ויארך 1QIs<sup>a</sup> 53: 10.

54 See Yalon, pp. 59–60, 98; R. Meyer, ZAW, 70 (1958), pp. 41 ff.; Kutscher, *Isaiah*, pp. 473–474, 496–498, Morag, pp. 29–31; id. *The Hebrew Language Tradition of the Yemenite Jews*, Jerusalem 1963, p. 104.

55 See F.W. Bush, RQ, 2 (1960), pp. 501–514, and the studies mentioned in note 3; Kutscher, *Isaiah*, pp. 332–340.

56 Ben-Ḥayyim, *Scripta*, p. 207.

57 *Ib.*, pp. 202–208.

b. As a matter of fact, the orthography of the DSS does not support Ben-Hayyim's hypothesis<sup>58</sup>.

First of all, the words עֹר, יָרוּם in 1QIs<sup>a</sup> are sometimes spelled עֹר, יָרוּם, but the plural is always spelled without *alef*. This means that at least in these cases, *alef* designates a full vowel, while the absence of *alef* apparently indicates a reduced vowel (*shewa mobile*)<sup>59</sup>.

Secondly, imperfect forms which can have a long *i* in the ultimate syllable are spelled in the DSS in two different ways: when not preceded by *waw*, the spelling is with *yod* (יִקְטִיל), but whenever there is a conjunctive (or consecutive) *waw* they are spelled without *yod* (יִקְטִל) [310.129. cf. also 310.141]. It seems, then, that these forms differ from their counterparts in the Samaritan tradition, and in fact behave as in the MT. The difference in spelling reflects a difference in pronunciation (unlike the Samaritan tradition), and in neither form does the ultimate syllable have a neutralized vowel (also unlike the Samaritan tradition). Thus it can indeed happen that the stress falls on the ultimate syllable and that the final vowel is long, i.e. *hireq* (יִקְטִיל) or *šere* (יִקְטִל).

Thirdly, Ben-Hayyim's analysis of forms like לְפֹרִי is by no means the only one possible. The *waw* might well represent a reduced vowel לְפֹרִי (like לְקַבֵּל in biblical Aramaic). Yet from the spelling variants קוּשִׁי עוֹרָף S 4: 11 and בְּקִישׁ עוֹרָף S 6: 26, one can infer that this construct form contains a half-vowel (קִישִׁי) which does reduce to zero after *beth* בְּקִישִׁי. (Cf. צָרִי but רִצְרִי Gn 43: 11).

Fourthly, even if we were to accept the view that the *shewa* in DSS Hebrew was pronounced as a full vowel, how could we explain such forms as אִשְׁאוּל (= אִשְׁאוּל) 11QPs<sup>a</sup> 141: 7, and רוּיָהּ (= רוּיָהּ) TS 66: 9? Can one imagine that the *alef* would be dropped after a full vowel as well, e.g. in רִאוּי?

Finally, it may not be valid to draw conclusions about accentuation from the presence of *waw* for Proto-Semitic short *u* in the penult or antepenult. Thus the Babylonian tradition has forms like קְדִישִׁים, and the Tiberian tradition has forms like יִקְטִילָן, and also forms with *qames hatuf*, e.g. יִקְטִילָנִי. In principle, the *waw* in DSS Hebrew could represent any of these sounds.

58 Cf. Kutscher, *Isaiah*, pp. 566–567.

59 For the two anomalous spellings where *alef* does apparently represent *shewa mobile* (קָאוּת 1QIs<sup>a</sup> 41: 5, כְּלָאוּת *ib.* 34: 6) see Kutscher, *Isaiah*, pp. 207, 501–502, 566–567, and [200.17].

c. In fact, the presence or absence of *waw* is not a firm indicator of accentuation. Thus, as the *waw* in forms like *יקטלני*, פורתאים [200.22] might (or might not) represent a full but unaccented vowel, so the *waw* in forms like *יקטלו* need not necessarily indicate penultimate accentuation. However, the presence of *yod* is a much more definite clue to accentuation, for the *yod* (unlike *waw*) never represents a reduced vowel. Thus the forms *התקדשו* 1QIs<sup>a</sup> 30: 29 (perfect rather than infinitive), *ib.* 45: 22 (*nif'al* rather than *hif'il*) apparently did have penultimate stress. The same holds for forms like *דבריכה* (singular, appearing out of pause) [100.33]. By analogical reasoning, it seems reasonable to infer that the forms in *waw* *יקטלו*, *יקטלו* and the like did in fact have penultimate accentuation as well [cf. 311.13]<sup>60</sup>.

d. In sum, although it has not been proven that all words had penultimate accentuation in DSS Hebrew, some categories, such as verbal forms with affirmatives, probably were accentuated on the penult as in MH and in biblical Aramaic (and not as in the Tiberian tradition of BH). On the other hand, there seem to have been categories which had penultimate accentuation in the Tiberian tradition but ultimate accentuation in DSS Hebrew (cf. the construct state of the pattern *quṭl* — 200.24)<sup>61</sup>.

Other phenomena which perhaps have a bearing on accentuation are:

1. Clitic attachment of some short word to a neighbouring word, e.g. *אתכול* S 1: 19 *et al.*, *אתרוחם* S 5: 24, *ארנהלו* S 10: 14.
2. The writing of “openend” mem in final position, especially in short words like *עמ*, *אמ* which can combine proclitically with the following word.

60 It is hard to imagine anything but penultimate accentuation for the perfect forms in 11QPs<sup>a</sup>: *יכולו* לי 129: 2, *יקשו* לי 141: 9, where *waw* occurs instead of MT *shewa*. Note, however, that BH does have some rare forms such as *קטמי*, *ישפטו* — see Kutscher, *Isaiah*, pp. 339–340.

61 Cf. *קטול* in Aramaic.

## 310 The Verb

## 310.11 The Affirmatives of the Perfect

person	singular		plural	
	masculine	feminine	masculine	feminine
1		יְתִי		יָנוּ
2	יְתָה (יִתְּה)	–	יְתָמָה, יְתָמָם	–
3	יָ	יָהּ	יָו	יָו

*2nd person singular:*

The masculine form יְתָה<sup>1</sup> is very frequent (over 250 times). יִתְּ is attested only 5 times: יצִדֶּה H 1: 15, דִּנְתָּ H 5: 13, סִתְּרָתָּ H 5: 26, וּבִעַרְתָּ TS 54: 17 (end of line), זָכַרְתָּ 1Q34 II: 5. The feminine does not occur in our corpus; 1QIs<sup>a</sup> has the form יְתִי as well as יִתְּ<sup>2</sup>.

*2nd person masculine plural:*

1. וְהִדְשַׁנְתֶּם, וְאִכְלַתֶּם, 6Q10 1: 3, שְׁמַעְתֶּם M 16: 15, 11QBr: 10. וְיִשְׁבַּחְתֶּם TS pl 40\* 1: 5, [וְנִתְּ] *ib.* 6.
2. וְהִקְרַבְתֶּמָּה 2Q23 1: 3, and 13 times in TS, e.g. וְהִקְרַבְתֶּמָּה 17: 12, 21: 14, 25: 12.

The long form (2) is very frequent in the Qumran biblical texts<sup>3</sup>, and is known from the Samaritan tradition as well<sup>4</sup> [cf. 322.17, 322.18].

1 This spelling disproves the theory of P. Kahle, who believed that the vocalization יִתְּ in the MT came about under Arabic influence (after the seventh century C.E.); see Kutscher, *Isaiah*, pp. 45–48.

2 Kutscher, *Isaiah*, pp. 188–190. For 2nd person feminine suffix with final *i* cf. [321.12, 322.13]. See also Qimron, *Kirjath Sefer*, 54 (1979), p. 365.

3 Kutscher, *Isaiah*, p. 441.

4 Ben-Hayyim, *Grammar*, § 2.0.13.

### 310.121 *The Preformatives and Affirmatives of the Imperfect*

The preformatives and affirmatives of the imperfect are set out in the following table:

person	singular		plural	
	masculine	feminine	masculine	feminine
1	א-ה, א-		נ-ה, נ-	
2	ת-	-	ו-ת, (ת-וין)	-
3	י-	ת-	ו-י, (י-וין)	ת-נה, נ-י

### 310.122 *The (ה)אָקטל(ה) Pattern*

1st person has two forms, one with affirmative and one without:

with affirmative		without affirmative	
אָקטל	19×	אָקטל	70×
נָקטל	8×	נָקטל	2×
וּאָקטל	31×	וּאָקטל	1×
וּנָקטל	8×		
total	66×	total	73×

It is a well-known feature of DSS Hebrew that cohortative forms  $\text{אָקטל/נ}$  denote the indicative alongside the forms  $\text{אָקטל/נ}$ , as in the late books of the Bible and the Samaritan pentateuch<sup>5</sup>. However, a thorough examination of all the material shows that  $\text{אָקטל/נ}$  and  $\text{אָקטל/נ}$  are not merely free variants. In the non-biblical Scrolls, there is only a single instance of the form  $\text{אָקטל/נ}$ : וַאֲסַתִּיר TS 59: 7 (biblical phraseology). Otherwise the universal form with consecutive (or conjunctive) *waw* in the 1st person is  $\text{אָקטל/נ}$  (in contrast with the late books of the Bible, which have these forms as well as  $\text{אָקטל/נ}$ ). This phenomenon is only one instance of a basic feature of the language of the DSS, which is that the system of “conversive” imperfect forms is almost identical to the system of the biblical cohortative-jussive forms. Thus in imperfect forms with *waw* (consecutive or conjunctive) the language of the DSS systematically distinguishes between forms of the 1st person and those of the 2nd and 3rd person [see 310.129].

<sup>5</sup> Kutscher, *Isaiah*, pp. 326–327; note that the Samaritan tradition uses the forms  $\text{אָקטל/נ}$  to denote the perfect (instead of MT  $\text{אָקטל/נ}$ ) — Ben-Hayyim, *Grammar*, § 2.9.10.

310.127 *The Affirmative ין*

The ancient plural affirmative ין is practically unused. The seven instances found in TS are all linked to biblical verses, as is ישובן 4Q177 19: 6, 4Q184 1: 11. The biblical texts from Qumran differ from MT in the use of this form; in most cases they prefer the form י (even where MT has ין), as do the late biblical books and the Samaritan Pentateuch<sup>6</sup>. Yet occasionally they have ין instead of MT יו.

310.128 *The 3rd Person Feminine Plural Affirmative*

The biblical form of the 3rd person feminine plural תקטלנה occurs only 3 times (תהיינה M 8: 1, TS 21: 13, תאלמנה H 7: 11). Instead the masculine form יקטלו (as in MH) is used: יהיו M 7: 12, TS 59: 4, וילכו H 4: 33, 8: 34, ויפרשו H 3: 26, ישבילו 4Q184, 1: 13, יסירו TS 56: 19, and perhaps also יריבו and יתהלכו S 4: 23–24, יושרו H 1: 6, יהיו TS 58: 8, cf. also TS 3: 12, and 1QIs<sup>a</sup> 34: 14. [see also 321.16, 322.18]

310.129 *The Imperfect with Waw<sup>7</sup>*

In a few categories the imperfect assumes a special form when preceded by *waw*:

a. In the 2nd and 3rd person of the *hif'il* conjugation, and of עיי verbs in the *qal* conjugation (identical to *hif'il* (עיי), only forms without *yod* exist, e.g. ותעמד H 2: 8, 18: 1, ותשם H 1: 28, 11: 33, H fragment 5: 5 (altogether 31 instances) — contrast the imperfect יקטיל etc. without *waw*. The only exception is the Aramaic form ויהכין S 3: 9.

b. In the 2nd and 3rd person of ליי verbs, final *he* is lacking<sup>8</sup>, e.g. ותפד H 2: 35, ותעש M 11: 9, ויעש TS 56: 8, 59: 16, ויהי H 8: 8 (altogether 23 instances). Exceptions: ותגלה H 18: 24 (before correction), and perhaps ויהיה 1Q22 II: 7.

c. In the 1st person, the form has final *he* in all conjugations, strong and weak verbs alike [310.122]. In ליי verbs the form is ואהיה etc. (10 times).

d. The imperfect with 3rd person pronominal suffix also has a distinct form when *waw* is prefixed [see 322.143].

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Kutscher, *Isaiah*, p. 193.

<sup>7</sup> It is unclear whether DSS Hebrew has a distinct form for consecutive *waw*, as the short imperfect is used even in cases where the *waw* does not convert the tense, e.g. TS 23: 17. BH too employs the short form of the imperfect with both *waw* consecutive and *waw* conjunctive, e.g. וְהָשָׁב Dn 11: 19 (contrast וְשָׁב *ib.* 18),

ויעל גלוליו אל לבו ומכשול עונו ישים נוכח פניו Ez 14: 7,

וְאִשֶׁר יַעֲלֶה גִלּוּלָיו אֶל לְבוֹ וּמִכְשׁוֹל עֲוֹנוֹ יִשִּׁים נֹכַח פְּנָיו *ib.* 4.

This matter will be treated in a forthcoming article.

<sup>8</sup> But 1QIs<sup>a</sup> prefers the long form (see Kutscher, pp. 328–329), as does a fragment of the book of Samuel (1Q7).



The clear distinction between the 1st person and the other persons is shown in the following table:

grammatical category	1st person	2nd and 3rd persons
1. the strong verb (all conjugations except <i>hif'il</i> )	ואקטלה	ויקטל, ותקטל
2. <i>hif'il</i>	ואקטילה	ויקטל, ותקטל
3. <i>qal</i> וי and <i>hif'il</i> וי forms	ואקימה	ויקם, ותקם
4. imperfect with 3rd person pronominal suffix	ואקטלנו	ות־/יקטלה(ו)

This distinction by person can already be found in BH,<sup>9</sup> but it is not as general there as in the DSS language. This phenomenon does not seem to be simply an artificial systematization of BH. Rather, DSS Hebrew is an offshoot from the last stages of BH, and the phenomenon can be explained as the culmination of a linguistic process already under way in BH. In the imperfect with *waw* consecutive<sup>10</sup> in BH, 1st person is distinguished from 2nd and 3rd persons: shortened forms are characteristic of 2nd and 3rd persons (וְיָקַם, וְיָקַם, וְיָקַם, וְיָקַם), while the normal (unshortened) forms dominate in 1st person (וַיִּקְרָא, וַיִּקְרָא). However, the verb-class ל"י is exceptional in allowing shortened forms in the 1st person as well (וואהי). Citing these shortened ל"י verbal forms and the many instances of defective spelling for 1st person imperfect forms of the type וַיִּקְרָא, וַיִּקְרָא, Bergsträsser<sup>11</sup> postulates that in the early stages of Hebrew, all three persons behaved identically as to shortened / unshortened forms, and that only secondarily did 1st person assume unshortened forms. This development is to be explained by the fact that the imperfect consecutive was repatterned after the cohortative-jussive paradigm, which does distinguish 1st person from 2nd and 3rd persons.

In fact, the overlap of these two paradigms in BH is not total (e.g., the cohortative וואהי is not identical to the form ויאקם). In DSS Hebrew, however, the process of analogy is complete and there is no difference between the paradigms.

### 310.13 *The Affirmatives of the Imperative*

singular		plural	
masculine	feminine	masculine	feminine
הִי, הִי	יִי	יִי	יִנה

<sup>9</sup> Bergsträsser, II, s 5d.

<sup>10</sup> Or conjunctive — see note 7.

<sup>11</sup> *Ib.*



The word הפלא is of great interest, since it retains the *e* not only when preceded by *beth* (בהפלא S 10: 16 *et al.*), but also (once) when preceded by *lamed* [ה] (להפלא) pH 7: 8 (against 3 times להפליא). It is difficult to tell in each case whether it was no longer perceived as an infinitive, or was taken as לִי<sup>18</sup>.

Some of the הקטל forms and others are used as nouns or adverbs, e.g. הפלא (9 times), מוהר M 15: 11, כדי הטל M 16: 6, הנף TS 11: 10, הקרב TS 43: 10. The form ונסלוח 4QMMT C 28 is infinitive absolute employed as finite verb, a feature typical of late BH<sup>19</sup>. [On the form מקטל, see 330.1].

### 310.145 Omission of He in the Infinitive of Some Conjugations

The *he* in the infinitive *nif'al*, *hithpa'el* and *hif'il* is sometimes dropped. In *nif'al*: לוסף (=לְוֹסֵף) 1Q14 8: 7, ללחם (=לְלַחֵם) 4Q161 5–6: 11 (להקטל) occurs 26 times). In *hithpa'el*: ולהלך H 15: 15, 4Q504 8: 7, לחיסר S 9: 10, ולשתחות pH 12: 13, ליחד (=לְיַחֵד)<sup>20</sup> S 3: 7, Sa 1: 9, ולהתיצב H 12: 30 (להתקטל) occurs 52 times). In *hif'il* the form לקטיל occurs 19 times and להקטיל 210 times, e.g. לחריב pH 6: 8, לוגיע pH 10: 11, לאיר 4Q511 2 I: 4. This phenomenon is characteristic of pH. It also occurs in the biblical texts and in BH proper, and is very common in MH.

The dropping of the *he* is not purely phonological, but stems from the tendency to repattern the infinitive with *lamed* after the imperfect, a process already perceptible in BH (לכתב) לקום, לכתב) לקום, as against בכתב) לקום, and common in MH (לחתן) לרד, לומר) לקום.

### 310.16 The Conjugations (Binyanim)

The outstanding feature of the system of conjugations is the reduction of the internal passive<sup>21</sup> (except *pu'al* participle; see 330.1). These conjugations appear only rarely: the passive of *qal* 9 times, the *pu'al* 17 times, and 51 times in the participle, the *hof'al* 5 times and 10 times in the participle. The passive is expressed mainly by the *nif'al*.

The *hithpa'el* is likewise very common in the DSS language. Sometimes it is employed as a passive, as in MH and Aramaic, e.g. וצדיקים [ ] נו 4Q174 II: 4 (cf. ויתלבנו וְיִצְרְפוּ Dn 12: 10), התקדש M 17: 2, (cf. אָקַדְשָׁ Lv 10: 3), ותענה TS 25: 12; ובגדים ושקים ועורות יתכבסו TS 49: 16; ותענה TS 25: 12

18 Kutscher, *Isaiah*, p. 343. Cf. the spellings הפלטה (=הפלאטה) M 14: 9, 18: 10, H 5: 15, 11: 3, H fragment 2: 16, M 13: 9 (?) (never with *alef*), and Bergsträsser, II, § 29 e.

19 Strugnell & Qimron, § 3.4.2.1.

20 Yalon, p. 80.

21 Cf. Ben-Hayyim, *Grammar*, § 2.0.8.

(=תַּעֲנֶה Lv 23: 29; cf. also TS 27: 7)<sup>22</sup>. In some verbs there seems to be no difference in meaning between the *hithpa'el* and the *nifal*, e.g. תַּרְגַּשׁ H 2: 12 after בַּהֲרַגְשׁ *ib.* (cf. רָגַשׁ Ps 2: 1 — intransitive *qal*), הַמְתַּנְדְּבִים H 2: 12 after בַּהֲרַגְשׁ *ib.* (cf. רָגַשׁ Ps 2: 1 — intransitive *qal*), הַתַּחֲשֵׁב S 5: 10 to be compared with הַנִּרְבִּים לְאִמְתּוֹ S 1: 11, הַתַּחֲשֵׁב and נַחֲשֵׁב. Cf. יִתְפַּתֵּה CD 15: 11. *Hithpa'el* with intransitive meaning occurs in the verb רָשַׁע בְּהִתְרַשַׁע 4Q491 8–10 I: 7 alongside the *hif'il* (below) and the *qal*. Cf. תַּרְגְּזוּ as opposed to מִתְרַגְּזוּ MT Gn 45: 24 (= *titragazu* in the Samaritan tradition) 4Q364 (unpublished), and מִתְבַּהֲלַת [500.3].

Worth mentioning is the *hif'il* instead of *qal* used in a number of verbs. Indeed, the use of the *hif'il* alongside the *qal* is found already in classical BH. However it has been claimed<sup>23</sup> that the phenomenon became more frequent in the later biblical books, in the DSS and in MH. Here follows all the relevant material which I have found (for further discussion, see the particular items in 500.1): הִזְנַחְתִּי (= וְזָנַחְתִּי) H 9: 7, הִזְנַחְתָּהּ H 9: 11, הִרְשַׁעְנוּ (= הִרְשַׁעְנוּ) S 1: 25 (רָשַׁעְנוּ) S 1: 25 *et al.*, הִשְׁמַם (= שָׁמַם) H 7: 3, 18: 20, הִגְלִנָּה (= גִּלְנָה) M 12: 13, 19: 5, מִקְנֵי S 11: 2, לְהַעֲרִיף בִּנְיָן הַשָּׁמַשׁ (= בְּכֹרֵא הַשָּׁמַשׁ BH) 4QMMT B 15. Note also the form לְהַבְזוּתָּהּ CD 9: 4; cf. the Samaritan oral tradition to נִוּ 15: 31. The form וַיִּמְתְּקוּ 4Q365 (= וַיִּמְתְּקוּ Ex 15: 25, *wyimmatequ* in the Samaritan oral tradition) may also be read וַיִּמְתְּקוּ. For the *hif'il* see Job 20: 12 and for יִמְתְּקוּ see Mishnah, Uktsin 3: 4.

Z. Ben-Hayyim has pointed out that both MH and the Samaritan tradition tend to employ the *pi'el* conjugation instead of the *qal* in BH<sup>23a</sup>. He believes that such a tendency may have existed in DSS Hebrew as well, but he was not able to find clear-cut evidence to support his suggestion<sup>23b</sup>. The following *pi'el* forms, however, speak in favour of Ben-Hayyim's suggestion: מֵאֲכִלֵיהֶם 4Q513 2 II: 5, הַמְּמַכְרָת<sup>23c</sup> (a biblical quotation of Nahum 3: 4 הַמְּכַרָת) 4Q169 3–4 II: 6.

22 Cf. *ib.* s 2.10.4; Kutscher, *Isaiah*, p. 362.

23 Moreshet; the *hif'il* instead of *qal* is characteristic also of Samaritan Hebrew, see T. Zurawel, מסורות — *Studies in Language Tradition*, I (ed. M. Bar-Asher), Jerusalem 1984, p. 144.

23a *Lešonenu*, 22 (1958), pp. 236–237.

23b The *pu'al* participle forms, which he cites, are disputable. As to עָבְרוּ 1QIs<sup>a</sup> 24: 5 — examination of the MS proves that there is no *yod* suspended above the *beth*.

23c The Samaritan tradition always employs the *pi'el* of מָכַר instead of the *qal* in the MT.

## 311 The Strong Verb

## 311.1 Qal

## 311.112 Verb Classes

Some verbs which in BH belong to the neuter (intransitive) class take the form of the active (transitive) class, i.e. an original *a*-form sometimes becomes an *o*-form in the imperfect (and infinitive), and קטל sometimes becomes קטל in the participle: ישכוב S 7: 10, יארוך<sup>24</sup> pH 7: 7, יחלו<sup>25</sup> M 2: 7, 8, וימתקו (?) 4Q365 [cf. 310.16], (cf. ישחוקו — second radical *het* — pH 4: 6), לשכוב 4Q160 7: 4, רויה<sup>26</sup> S 2: 14, pH 11: 14. ישפול S 2: 23 is misread for ישפל (the vertical line which looks like a *waw* is the leg of the *lamed*).

This phenomenon, already under way in BH, is further attested in the biblical texts from Qumran, in MH, in Aramaic, and in the Greek transliterations of Origen<sup>27</sup>.

## 311.13 Imperfect Qal

a. In verbs having an *o*-form imperfect, the root-vowel is generally represented by a *waw* even when affirmatives or pronominal suffixes are present, as indicated in the following table<sup>28</sup>:

יקטולו	etc.	87×	יקטולהו	etc.	7×
יקטולין	etc.	3×	יקטלהו	etc.	8×
נֶ/אֶקטולהו	etc.	5×	יקטלהו	etc.	18×
יקטלו	etc.	5×			

b. These forms have been extensively discussed. The principal explanations which have been put forward are as follows:

1. These forms are phonologically regular (like the forms יקטלו in the Tiberian tradition), but are spelled “grammatically”<sup>29</sup> — i.e. “the normal pausal orthography may have been employed in the context

24 Rather than יאריך; Yalon, p. 67, Elliger, p. 191.

25 Rather than יחליצו.

26 Rather than רייה; Qimron, *Waw and Yod*, p. 108.

27 Kutscher, *Isaiah*, pp. 340–342.

28 A similar picture emerges from material in the biblical texts from Qumran (Yeivin, *Forms*, pp. 257–258).

29 E. Brønno, *ZDMG*, 106 (1956), pp. 252–258; Morag, p. 28. Both Brønno and Morag refer only to imperfect forms, but not to the imperative קטולו etc. [see 311.14]. Orthographic analogy to the non suffixed forms (יקטלו etc.) may also have been involved.

too, even if the context pronunciation differed strongly from that of the pause<sup>30</sup>.

2. These forms have preserved the ancient short *u*, like יכתובי in the Babylonian tradition<sup>31</sup>.
3. These are pausal forms יקטלו (appearing both in and out of pause)<sup>32</sup> arising from the putative penultimate accentuation in DSS Hebrew.

c. Previously suggested explanations for the forms of the imperfect in the DSS have largely ignored the striking morphological parallelism among the forms of the imperfect, imperative, and infinitive, which in DSS Hebrew (unlike MT) obtains not only in the derived conjugations but also in *qal*. It is a general principle that the more comprehensive an explanation, the better it is. Thus, rather than ignoring the three-fold parallelism above, we should make it the cornerstone of the analysis. Our explanation will cover in a unified way all forms in all three categories.

d. None of the above mentioned explanations is completely adequate. The first two do not apply to clear pausal forms appearing out of pause in the DSS, such as יבדילו [=יבדילו] S 9: 6 (cf. 100.33, 200.27 — the *yod* in the DSS never represents Tiberian *shewa*). The third one cannot be reconciled with the fact that the *waw* in forms like יקטלני appears in the antepenultimate syllable (antepenultimate accentuation is, of course, unlikely in Hebrew). Furthermore, the first explanation above cannot apply to the imperative [cf. 311.14], and hence violates our general parallelism principle<sup>33</sup>.

The only way to explain all the data is to distinguish between forms with pronominal suffixes (= *yiqtolēni*, *yeqotlēni*) and forms with affirmatives (*yiqtolū*). The orthography supports this distinction: יכתובי is generally spelled with *waw*, since the *o* is long and accentuated; while in יכתובי spellings with and without *waw* are equally common, since the *o* is short (or very short) and unaccentuated (see the table above). The fact that these two categories are subject to different rules is well established both in DSS Hebrew and in other Hebrew traditions. In the DSS the יקוטל form only appears in combination with pronominal suffixes. Likewise 1QIs<sup>a</sup> has a distinct imperfect form for the verb אכל with pronominal suffix יאכולם (= *yokolem*) etc. 50: 9 *et al.*, in contrast to the forms with affirmative יאכלו etc<sup>34</sup>.

30 Brønno, *ib.*, p. 257.

31 Kutscher, *Isaiah*, p. 332; Yeivin, *Forms*, pp. 258–261.

32 Kutscher, *Isaiah*, pp. 330–340, and others.

33 See also Kutscher, *Studies*, pp. קה–קי.

34 Cf. also יישומעווי H 4: 24.

e. It is hard to decide whether the forms אקטלה etc. had ultimate accentuation and a (very) short vowel, which would parallel MT אקטלה, or penultimate accentuation and a long vowel, which would conform to the plene spelling of these forms<sup>35</sup>. It should be noted that the form אקטלה/ַ/ֿ is very common in the Qumran biblical texts.

f. The forms אקטלה/ַ/ֿ are also found in the Bible<sup>36</sup>; but it is unclear whether their accentuation in DSS Hebrew was ultimate as in the MT.

g. Forms like יקטלני have no parallel in any other Hebrew tradition, and Hebraists disagree as to their origin. The assumption of R. Meyer<sup>37</sup> that they represent an ancient tense (=Akkadian *yeqat̄tel*) is unfounded. The prevailing view, that the *waw* in יקטלני designates a helping vowel arising under purely phonological conditioning<sup>38</sup> (like יקטלו in the Babylonian tradition), is also suspect, for the following reasons:

1. *u/o* as helping vowel is rare in Hebrew, and is restricted to special phonological environments.
2. Helping vowels occur mainly where two consonants meet (e.g. אקטלה), and it is doubtful whether such imperfect forms existed at all in DSS Hebrew.
3. In the Babylonian tradition the helping vowel generally comes before liquids and a few other consonants, and this is not the case in DSS Hebrew where even the same verb can occur in two different forms, e.g. ידרושו S 6: 17, ידרושו S 6: 14
4. We have no orthographic evidence for helping vowels elsewhere in DSS Hebrew.
5. The proposed phonological explanation does not explain the distinction between forms with suffixes and those with affirmatives.

It seems, in fact, that the explanation here is morphological. DSS Hebrew, like other Hebrew traditions, has two possibilities for the infinitive and imperative with suffixes: קטלני alongside קטלני (imperative), and לקטלני alongside לקטלני (infinitive). The corresponding doublets in the imperfect with suffixes (יקטלני / יקטלני) are an analogical extension of this behavior: to the earlier form יקטלני was added the innovation יקטלני<sup>39</sup>. This explanation, as well as taking into account the

35 Cf. ותשׁעׁה Is 41: 23, וְאֶהְיֶה Ps 77: 3.

36 Bergsträsser, II, s 5 b.

37 BZAW, 77 (1958), pp. 118–128.

38 M. Goshen, *JJS*, 4 (1953), p. 107; *RQ*, 5 (1959), pp. 43–46; Ben-Ḥayyim, *Traditions*, p. 87.

39 It has been proposed that in Proto-Semitic not only the infinitive and imperative but also the imperfect were built on the pattern *-quṭul-* (L.H. Gray, *Introduction to Semitic Comparative Linguistics*, New York 1934, p. 96); cf. יָסֻבוּ – *yasububu*.

three-fold parallelism (cf. c), resolves several difficulties besides:

1. The fact that these doublets only occur in forms with pronominal suffixes.
2. The presence of the vowel *o* in the forms *וישומעוני* H 4: 24 and *יאכולם* 1QIs<sup>a</sup> 50: 9 *et al.*, where the imperfect without suffixes has the vowel *a*.

### 311.14 Imperative Qal

The basic masculine-singular imperative presents no difficulties. Since the forms with affirmatives and pronominal suffixes barely appear in the non-biblical Scrolls, we deviate from our usual practice and also present here biblical material. The data can be divided into the following patterns (some of which are only defective spellings):

with affirmatives					with suffixes		
קטולד/י	קטולי	קטלד/י	קטולה	קטולה(?)	קטולני etc.	קטולני etc.	קטלני etc.
30×	1×	7×	3×	1×	2×	3×	2×

Several explanations have been put forward to explain the above forms with *waw* after the second radical:

1. These are Aramaic forms<sup>40</sup>;
2. These are forms which preserve the short *u*, like kindred forms in the Babylonian tradition<sup>41</sup>;
3. These are pausal forms<sup>42</sup>.

The second and third explanations are inadequate, as explained in [311.13 d]; and the first, dealing with the imperative as an isolated category, ignores the parallelism in vocalization between the corresponding imperative and imperfect forms in DSS Hebrew. No explanation in terms of “grammatical spellings” of MT forms can be accepted here, since forms like *קטולו* could not reflect MT *קטלו* [cf. 311.13 b, d].

I believe the analysis which I suggested for the imperfect [311.13 d] also holds good here, *viz.* distinguishing forms with suffixes and forms with affirmatives: *קטולי* = *qetōlu* (long stressed *o*), while *קטולני* = *qetōlēni*; (short unstressed *o*).

The few forms in the above table which are apparently inconsistent with my explanation can themselves be explained: they are in fact

40 Kutscher, *Isaiah*, pp. 193–197.

41 Yeivin, *Forms*, pp. 262–264; cf. also Kutscher, *ib.*

42 Kutscher, *ib.*



phonological variants of קטול etc. If the reading [ע]ומרה 4QPhylJ: 56 is correct, the word must have been pronounced 'omodā, the half-vowel being pronounced like the following vowel<sup>43</sup>. Similarly, עוברי 1QIs<sup>a</sup> 23: 6 was pronounced 'oborī<sup>44</sup>, and יעיבורנה ib. 35: 8 was pronounced yo'oborena. Note that in all the above examples, first radical *ayin* is involved. Contrast the Tiberian school, which applied this rule only when the consonant *following* the *shewa* is a guttural<sup>43</sup>.

Doublets like קטולני / קטולני can be found in other Hebrew traditions as well. This corresponds to the Proto-Semitic imperative form *qutul*. Sometimes the first vowel was preserved, and sometimes the second one. The fact that both vowels are attested in verbs with first radical *ayin* in DSS Hebrew and in other sources<sup>43</sup> may be significant for the understanding of the imperative, infinitive and imperfect *qal* forms in Hebrew, since these vowels correspond to the original ones.

### 311.15 Infinitive Qal

The infinitive *qal* with pronominal suffix occurs in 3 spellings:

1. לקוטלני etc. (30 times).
2. לתפושם pH 4: 7, לפקדורה 4Q504 V: 16, ללכרני 4Q437 2 II: 2 (not yet published), [ב]רואם 5Q13 24: 3, בקרובכמה TS 61: 14 (= בקרבכם Dt 20: 2) גועו pH 9: 1 is apparently not an infinitive).
3. בברחו 4Q161 8–10: 9.

These forms are parallel to their counterparts in the imperfect and imperative, and the analysis suggested for the imperfect forms holds good here as well. Forms with a vowel after the second root-radical (group 2) occur in the Tiberian (and Babylonian) tradition only with the suffixes *-ך*, *-כם* (apparently for phonological reasons)<sup>45</sup>. In DSS Hebrew, such forms occur even with other suffixes<sup>46</sup>. Here the two types (כותבם and כתובם) are morphological variants.

Are the types כותבם and כתובם free variants as is the case of the imperfect and imperative counterparts? *A priori* the infinitive distinguishes either between forms prefixed by *lamed* and those prefixed

43 Kutscher, *Isaiah*, pp. 500–501; note the form בעלזם (Yeivin, *Babylonian Voc.*, pp. 391, 491).

44 Kutscher, *Isaiah*, p. 194.

45 Bergsträsser, II, § 14n; Yeivin, *Babylonian Voc.*, pp. 488–489.

46 Cf. קרופי Ps 38: 21, בעבור (= בעברו) Ben sira (M. Kister, *Lešonenu*, 47 (1983), p. 136), עמדי Jer 18: 20 (Yeivin, *ib.*, p. 489), ללקוטן (Yeivin, *ib.*, p. 386), and פקדי in the Samaritan Pentateuch Ex 32: 34.

by another preposition<sup>47</sup>, or between forms whose suffix denotes the subject and forms whose suffix denotes the object<sup>48</sup>. In fact, the suffixes added to the infinitive with *lamed* generally denote the object, and those added to the infinitive with other prepositions generally denote the subject.

Examining the DSS evidence we find that most of the כותבם forms are prefixed by *lamed* and their suffix denotes the object. Indeed, some of the כותבם forms are also prefixed by *lamed* with their suffix denoting the object, but they constitute only one third of the כותבם forms. We may, then, say that the Qumran tradition tends to make use of the duplicated forms for morph-syntactical distinction.

### 311.2\* *Derived Conjugations and Weak Verbs*

As far as we can tell from the unvocalized text of the Scrolls, there are no systematic differences between BH and DSS Hebrew in the treatment of the derived conjugations and weak verbs, except for the few items discussed in the following sections.

#### 311.5 *Hithpa'el*

a. The *taw* of *hithpa'el* can be assimilated to the following consonants:

1. To *ṭet* and *dalet* (as in the Bible): יהרהר S 3: 4, 5, 7, יהרהרו S 5: 13, להטהר H 6: 8, להדשן M 2: 5, H 10: 26, S 10: 15, ויהרשנו 4Q504 IV: 14, והרשנתם. 11QBr: 10, but והתהרשנו 4Q171 II: 1.
2. Perhaps to *zayin* and *yod*: יזכה 5Q13 4: 2, S 3: 4, יזכו<sup>49</sup> S 8: 18, ייחד S 5: 14, להיחד S 1: 8, 5: 20, 9: 6, H 11: 11, (ל)יחד<sup>50</sup> S 3: 6, Sa 1: 9.
3. Partially to *ṣadi* (ט – ת), and to *zayin* (ד – ת): ויצטרפו 4Q174 II: 4, יודעו, יודעו S 8: 8, תודו(ו)עו, תודו(ו)עו H 7: 9, but תתועו H 6: 27.

b. When the stem begins with a sibilant, the *taw* and the sibilant change places (10 times, e.g. יודעו S 8: 8), but there are also non-metathesized forms: תתועו H 6: 27, תודו(ו)עו H 7: 9, יתשגגו H 8: 9 (all quadrilateral verbs). Kindred forms are found in 1QIs<sup>a</sup> (התשעתהשעו 29: 9), and in

47 A tendency to such a distinction can be observed in the Samaritan tradition where the infinitive *qal* with *lamed* is always of the type *liqtali*, and with other prepositions is of the types *abqatali*, *abqatli* or *biqtali*, see Ben-Hayyim, *Grammar*, § 2.14.6, pp. 153–154.

48 Such a distinction has perhaps been made in the Tiberian tradition, where we find such forms as לשמרך 'to guard you' as against בשכרך 'when you lie' (Bendavid, II, pp. 497–498).

49 See Wernberg-Møller, S, p. 59, note 11.

50 Yalon, p. 80; Qimron, *Waw and Yod*, p. 108.

Aramaic dialects, especially Nabataean<sup>51</sup>. There is only one occurrence in BH התשוטטנה Jeremiah 49: 3.

### 315.1 Verbs עיע Qal

The infinitive of the geminate verbs is ילסוב (18 times), e.g. ולבו pH 3: 1, לשול M 10: 1; once להס (=להס)<sup>52</sup> H 10: 15. Triliteral forms (ילסוב), which occur rarely in the Bible alongside their biliteral counterparts, are not attested in DSS Hebrew (or in MH).

### 316.6 Verbs עיו Hif'il

The perfect of *hif'il* עיו 1st and 2nd person always has a separating vowel *o* before the affirmative ( 30 times), e.g. האירותה H 3: 3 *et al.*, הכינותה (8 times). והביאותים TS 59: 11.

BH has two possible forms in these persons, one with separating vowel (הקימותי) and one without (הקמתתי). The latter form is standard in MH as well as in Samaritan Hebrew<sup>53</sup>. The universal presence of a separating vowel in the DSS explains why 1QIs<sup>a</sup> has forms with a separating vowel (in *hif'il*, and in *qal* as well — תבואינה) corresponding to forms without a separating vowel in the MT<sup>54</sup>. The history of these forms needs a re-examination in the light of the DSS evidence.

51 J. Cantineau, *Le Nabtéen, I, Notions Générales — Écriture Grammaire*, Paris 1930, p. 73; E.Y. Kutscher, *Lešonenu*, 25 (1961), pp. 122–123 (והחשר) in an Aramaic letter of Bar Kokhba).

52 Cf. Bergsträsser, II, § 27 e.

53 Ben-Hayyim, *Grammar*, § 2.6.7.

54 Kutscher, *Isaiah*, p. 342.

### 321 Independent Personal Pronouns

person	singular		plural	
	masculine	feminine	masculine	feminine
1	אנוכי, אני		אנו (אנחנו)	
2	אתה (את)	—	אתם, אתמה	—
3	הוא, הווא, הוואה	היא, היאה	הם, המה	הנה, המה

#### 321.11 1st Person Singular

In the 1st person singular the form אני (57 times) is normal. אנוכי occurs only in TS (22 times) and in 1Q22 2: 4 (and perhaps also *ib.* 1: 7, 9). Both TS and 1Q22 are written in the style of the Pentateuch (and especially of Deuteronomy), and in them אנוכי always refers to God. It has been noted that the sole use of אני instead of an alternation אני / אנכי is a mark of late BH, and that אני is the MH form<sup>55</sup>.

#### 321.12 2nd Person Singular

The form of the 2nd person masculine is אתה (90 times). את occurs only once (H 5: 32) and apparently represents a form without final vowel (as in MH), rather than being an atypical defective spelling of אתה. The feminine (את and אתי) occurs only in the biblical Scrolls<sup>55a</sup>.

#### 321.13 3rd Person Singular

The forms of the 3rd person masculine singular are: הוואה (45 times)<sup>56</sup>, הווא (65 times), הו (twice, in the compound word H אפדו H 10: 3, 12: 31 — cf. אפדו H 10: 12, אפ הוואה S 11: 20). Similarly, the feminine forms are: היאה (19 times)<sup>56</sup>, היא (21 times)<sup>57</sup>.

55 Polzin, pp. 126–127, and others.

55a See Qimron, *Kirjath Sefer*, 54 (1979), p. 365.

56 On the pronunciation and origin of this pronoun, see S. Morag, *Eretz-Israel*, 3 (1954), pp. 166–169; Kutscher, *Isaiah*, pp. 431–440. Note that הוואה also occurs in Qumran Aramaic (Milik, *Enoch*, p. 353). The final *a* in this pronoun may be a survival of Proto-Semitic as is indicated by both Arabic and Ugaritic (see D. Sivan, *Lešonenu*, 47 (1983), p. 182.

57 In a biblical text also יהוי (4QPhyl G: 11).

The *alef* in these pronouns requires explanation. According to the orthography, הוואה and היאה would seem at first glance to have been pronounced *hu'a*, *hi'a*; but since the guttrals in DSS Hebrew are weak, the pronunciation *hua*, *hia* is more probable. In this case, a glide may occur [200.133], with *hua*, *hia* becoming *huwa*, *hiya*. Thus, הוה 1QIs<sup>a</sup> 7: 14, היא *ib.* 30: 33, 36: 21 are apparently phonetic spellings of *huwa*, *hiya*.

### 321.14 1st Person Plural

In the 1st person plural, the regular form אנו (as in MH) occurs 7 times; אנונו appears in H fragment 10: 6 and perhaps also in 2Q27 1: 5. Surprisingly, אנונו predominates in 4QMMT whose nature is very close to MH<sup>58</sup>.

### 321.15 2nd Person Plural

The forms of the 2nd person masculine plural are אתמה (M 17: 2, TS 29: 8, 48: 7, 61: 15, 4Q185 II: 7), and אתם (M 17: 4, 8, 4Q185 1: 9).

### 321.16 3rd Person Plural

In the 3rd person masculine plural, we find המה (70 times), and הם (17 times). The feminine preserves the ancient form (twice) הנה S 3: 18, H fragment 2: 7, alongside המה TS 52: 5, 62: 13 (= הנה Dt 20: 15), pH 12: 4 (?) (cf. 1QIs<sup>a</sup> 51: 19) [see also 310.128, 322.18].

## 322 Pronominal Suffixes

person	singular		plural	
	masculine	feminine	masculine	feminine
1	־י	־ני	־נו(י)	
2	־יך(י)כה	־ך	־כמה, ׀כם	
3	־יו, ׀הו, ׀יו, ׀ו	־נה, ׀י(י)ה(ה), ׀ה	־ם, ׀מה, ׀ים ־המה, ׀ה(ה)ים, ׀המה (־מו)	־הן, ׀הן, ׀ן ־המה, ׀הם, ׀ים

### 322.12 2nd Person Singular

The regular 2nd person masculine singular form כה־ occurs about 900 times<sup>59</sup>. The alternate form ׀ך (apparently a defective spelling) is attested

58 Strugnell & Qimron, § 3.3.1.1.2.

59 This spelling disproves the theory of P. Kahle, who believed that MT ׀ך came into being under Arabic influence [see 310.11 note 1].

some 160 times<sup>60</sup>, mostly in H. The feminine suffix ך occurs only 6 times (M 12: 14, 19: 6); in the biblical and apocryphal texts, the Aramaic feminine suffix כׁי is also attested<sup>60a</sup>.

### 322.14 3rd Person Masculine Singular

#### 322.141 יו = $\bar{o}$

As in BH, the suffix יו is generally attached to nouns in the singular, and יו to nouns in the plural (and to certain prepositions). However, there are about 30 cases where we find יו instead of יׁו (e.g. מצוותו pH 5: 5, מאחרו S 1: 17, 6: 3), and one case where we find יׁו instead of יו<sup>61</sup>: יעל ופלגיו יעל H 8: 24. Such instances of non-standard spelling for the 3rd person singular suffixes — with both singular and plural nouns — indicate that these suffixes were pronounced alike ( $\bar{o}$  or  $\bar{u}$ ). The scribes, however, almost always succeeded in preserving the orthographic distinction<sup>62</sup>. The pronunciation  $\bar{o}$  in the plural (יׁו) suffix resulted from the contraction of the “long” diphthong *aw* in this suffix [see 200.18].

In לׁי singular nouns with 3rd person singular pronominal suffix, there is only one instance with the original *he* (of *-ayhu*) being preserved: ומשנהו M 2: 1. Elsewhere, the *he* is dropped between the two vowels, just as it is when the suffix is added to the masculine plural noun (e.g. *malakayhu* → מלכיו). These cases are spelled either with יׁו or with יו<sup>63</sup>: יבול עליו (= עלהו) H 8: 26, עשויו (= עושהו) S 9: 26, משניו (= משנהו) 4Q405 11: 3 (cf. 4Q401 3), שדו (= שדהו) 4QMMT B 73, ממקרו (= ממקרהו) rather than ממקורו ‘from his nocturnal pollution’ 4Q514 1 II, 7.

Considering the small number of cases of לׁי singular nouns with third person masculine suffixes, one can view the spellings above as typifying the Qumran tradition. They reflect the contraction of the diphthong *aw* to  $\bar{o}$  in this category, e.g. *mašayhu* → *mašayu* → *mašau* → *mašaw* → *mašo* [see 200.18].

60 Whoever claims that the defective spellings of this suffix reflect the form *-ak*, should not overlook the fact, that defective spellings are found also after vowels, e.g. לפניך. In such forms, even MH preserves the final vowel.

60a See Qimron, *Kirjath Sefer*, 54 (1979), p. 365.

61 Perhaps also אומניו H 7: 22.

62 Exceptions are more frequently found in 1QIs<sup>a</sup> than in any of the non-biblical Scrolls (Kutscher, *Isaiah*, pp. 443, 447).

63 Cf. מראיו (= מראו) in Job 41: 1, *Gesenius*, § 93ss, and Strugnell & Qimron § 3.2.2.2.

322.142 *The suffix יהו*

The rules governing the usage of the suffix יהו are similar to those of BH. However, the suffix יהו does not contract into יי as it does in the Bible, e.g. אביהו TS 25: 11 *et al.*, אחיהו S 6: 10 *et al.*, פיהו S 7: 9 *et al.*, והושעתיהו TS 59: 18 (altogether 27 instances)<sup>64</sup>. Contracted forms like אביי are not attested. Thus, in the biblical texts, the suffix יהו universally replaces the suffix יי in the corresponding MT passages<sup>65</sup>. The form יהו seems to be an historical spelling. In fact the *he* was not pronounced between two vowels, and a glide was produced, e.g. *ʾabihu* → *abīū* → *abiyu*, as is the case in the Samaritan oral tradition: *abiyyu* (=אביהו)<sup>66</sup>. The historical spelling with *he* was preserved in DSS Hebrew, because the *he* could have been taken as a *Vokalträger* (cf. 100.9).

Some scholars assume that the suffix יהו was preserved in the DSS to a greater extent than in other traditions. But in fact this is true only after *i*<sup>67</sup>, whereas forms like יהו in the plural are misreadings for יהי [322.144].

322.143 *Imperfect Suffixes with and without Nun*

The 3rd person singular suffixes attached to those forms of the imperfect which are without affirmatives, are יהו, ינו in the masculine and יה, ינה in the feminine. Their distribution is presented in the table below:

person	suffix	forms with <i>nun</i>		forms with <i>he</i>	
		imperfect without <i>waw</i>	imperfect with <i>waw</i>	imperfect without <i>waw</i>	imperfect with <i>waw</i>
1st	masculine	אקטלנו 7×	ואקטלנו 1×	—	—
	feminine	—	—	—	—
2nd & 3rd	masculine	יקטלנו 23×	ויקטלנו 1×	יקטלהו <sup>68</sup> 14×	ויקטלהו <sup>68</sup> 9×
	feminine	יקטלנה 10×	ויקטלנה 1×	—	ותקטלה 2×

64 In two passages we find a form without final *waw*: תתיהו TS 59: 20, אביהו TS 66: 13. If both forms are not scribal errors they may reflect a contraction of the diphthong *iw* into *i*, (the *he* being an historical spelling). Cf. וחבוהו (= וחבו) TS 52: 20.

65 In the books of Chronicles, too, there are 3 instances of uncontracted forms opposing contracted forms in the parallel passages from the First Temple period: פיהו 1 Ch 17: 9 vs. ותטעתיו 2 S 7: 10; שנאתיהו 2 Ch 18: 7 vs. שנאתיו 1 K 21: 8; פיהו 1 Ch 16: 12 vs. פיו Ps 105: 5

66 Note also the Babylonian vocalizations: אביי (= *ʾabiyu*), בקשתיו (= *biqqaštiwu*), אשתיו (= *ʾistiwu*) — Yeivin, *Babylonian Voc.*, pp. 201–202.

67 The remaining cases of יהו dealt with by Kutscher in 1QIs<sup>a</sup> (*Isaiah*, pp. 350–353) are misreadings, with the single exception of ריחורו (after פיהו). By contrast, TS has למינו instead of MT למינהו (48: 3, 4 [twice], 50: 20).

68 Some of these forms in S may be plural forms (יקטלוהו) spelled defectively.

In the 1st person, only forms with *nun* occur. In the other persons, the presence or absence of initial *waw* is an important factor controlling the choice of pronominal suffix. Forms with *waw* strongly prefer suffixes with *he*. In forms without *waw*, suffixes with *nun* predominate. Note that the feminine suffix always takes *nun*. See [310.129] for general discussion of the distinction between 1st person and the other persons, and between imperfect forms with and without *waw* of the type יקטיל / יקטל / יעש / יעשה.

In BH, too, both יהו and ינו can be suffixed to the imperfect. However, the distinction there is made not only according to person and presence or absence of *waw*, but also according to mood<sup>69</sup>.

### 322.144 *The Aramaic Suffix* יהוי

The Aramaic suffix יהוי occurs 10 times (S 5: 5, 11, 25, 6: 13, 26, 8: 8, 4Q175: 21, pH 12: 11)<sup>70</sup>, always suffixed to a plural noun (or a preposition). It is more frequently found in 1QIs<sup>a71</sup>, where it is suffixed not only to nouns but also to verbs in the plural. It occurs once in the MT (Ps 116: 12), and once in the second column of the Hexapla<sup>71</sup>

According to Z. Ben-Ḥayyim, the form יהוי (with nouns) is merely an orthographical convention indicating the sound *o*, as in the Samaritan tradition<sup>72</sup>. Several irregular spellings from The Aramaic Qumran documents can be adduced in support of his thesis: נחיריה 11QTJob 41: 12, אֵלָּה Gen. Ap. 20: 26, אנפיה (RB, 1972, p. 79) (instead of נחיריה, אנפיה, אלודי, אנפיה).

However, the fact that יהוי never appears suffixed to nouns in the singular argues against this view<sup>73</sup>. Moreover, Ben-Ḥayyim himself admitted that verbal forms like קראויה in 1QIs<sup>a</sup> were pronounced as written. Maybe we have to assume a double pronunciation for יהוי: the *he* between the two vowels must have been dropped, and a diphthong *-ōy* (or *-ūy*) evolved here. This diphthong was either contracted to *o* or resolved with a glide, e.g. עלויה was sometimes pronounced *ʾalō* and sometimes *ʾalōwī*; קראויה was pronounced *qeraʾūwī* [cf. 200.18].

69 M. Lambert, *REJ*, 46 (1903), pp. 178–183; J. Blau, *Eretz-Israel*, 14 [=H.L. Ginsberg Volume], Jerusalem 1978, pp. 125–131 (English summary on p. 127\*).

70 In all these instances, modern editors have misread יהוי. See Qimron, *Waw and Yod*, p. 107. Cf. also [ימוי] Sa 1: 7, פקויה 4Q491 1-3: 8 (the editor read יהוי), and ארויה 4Q364 (unpublished).

71 Kutscher, *Isaiah*, pp. 64, 213–214.

72 Ben-Ḥayyim, *Traditions*, pp. 90–91.

73 The unique example in which יהוי can be analyzed as suffixed to a noun in the singular is וזעליחה דרכויה 1QIs<sup>a</sup> 48: 15. This is Ben-Ḥayyim's interpretation: for another viewpoint, see Kutscher, *Isaiah*, pp. 191–192, who suggested that וזעליחה was third person plural.



## 322.17 2nd Person Plural

The forms of the 2nd person masculine plural pronominal suffix are כֹּם (26 times), and כֹּמָה (31 times, of which 28 are in TS). כֹּמָה is found in the Qumran biblical texts as well as in the Samaritan oral tradition<sup>74</sup>.

## 322.18 3rd Person Plural

The non-biblical Scrolls have some 650 occurrences of the short forms ם(ה) and some 250 of the long form ם(ה)מָה. Most of the long forms occur in TS (191 long versus 31 short forms). In the other major Scrolls they are extremely rare, whereas, in some fragmented Scrolls they occur frequently (1Q27, 4Q174, 4Q177, 4Q287), especially with prepositions or other short words.

The short form appears in all phonological environments; the long form is more restricted. Both forms are attested after the sounds *e*, *a* עמָה(ה) / עמָהם, אבותָה / אבותָם, while after *ū*, *ī*, only the short form occurs (קטלָהם — 35 times)<sup>75</sup>. The same holds for the biblical texts.

In this respect, the DSS language differs from the Samaritan tradition, which requires the long suffix in all phonological environments<sup>76</sup>. In these forms, DSS Hebrew apparently preserves an ancient stage of the language, where the final vowel was only pronounced after a short vowel followed by geminated *mem*. Traces of the gemination of the *mem* may well be preserved MT in the vocalization with *segol* of the endings ם(ה)ם, כֹּם, תָם<sup>77</sup>.

A form with *nun* instead of *mem* occurs in 4Q405 20: 12 ובִשׁוּכְן 'when they (masculine) descend'. For the *nun* instead of *mem* in final position see 200.142.

The forms ם(ה)מָה, ם(ה)ם are also used as feminine suffixes. The feminine ם(ה)מָה occurs more than 20 times, all of them in TS (including biblical paraphrase for MT (ה)גָה), e.g. בְּהוֹיִתְהֶמָה בְּנֹדַת טְמֵאָתָמָה וּבְלִדְתָמָה 48: 16; while ם(ה)ם occurs 8 times (5 doubtful), e.g. אַחֲרֵיהֶם M 2: 13. The biblical

74 Ben-Ḥayyim, *Grammar*, § 3.2.5; cf. Kutscher, *Isaiah*, pp. 444, 448. The 2nd person feminine plural is not attested in our corpus. In 1QIs<sup>a</sup> we find both כֹּנָה and כֹּן. It is strange to note that in the Samaritan oral tradition the long form (כֹּמָה; where the ending *a* is in fact Proto-Semitic) is not preserved (Ben-Ḥayyim, *Grammar*, § 3.2.5.1).

75 E.g. TS 58: 11–12; והוֹשַׁעְתִּים מִיַּד אוֹיְבֵיהֶמָה וּפְדִיתִים מִכַּף שׁוֹנְאֵיהֶמָה הַבִּיאוֹתִים לְאַרְץ אֲבוֹתֵיהֶמָה וּפְדִיתִים הַרְבִּיתִים הוֹשַׁעְתִּים מִיַּד אוֹיְבֵיהֶמָה וּפְדִיתִים מִכַּף שׁוֹנְאֵיהֶמָה הַבִּיאוֹתִים לְאַרְץ אֲבוֹתֵיהֶמָה וּפְדִיתִים הַרְבִּיתִים TS 59: 11–12; Qimron, *TSa*, pp. 91–93. I also noted that the suffix added to the imperfect (=ם in the Tiberian tradition) is mostly short in Qumran.

76 Ben-Ḥayyim, *Grammar*, § 3.2.6; cf. אליהֶם Ez 40: 16.

77 Qimron, *TSa*, p. 93.

suffix (הן) occurs 14 times; the alternate biblical form (יהנה) is not found at all in our corpus (though it occurs in 1QIs<sup>a</sup> instead of MT (יהן<sup>78</sup>). [See also 321.16, 310.128.]<sup>79</sup>

ים (feminine יהן) is merely a phonological variant of ים (יהן) [See 200.26 a]. ים exists only in the word למו (8 times).

### 322.182 *The Doublets* יתים / יתים

After the ending ית, the form ים (or ימה) is preferred to the form יתים (or יתמה): forms like אבותם occur some 70 times, as opposed to 15 times for forms like אבותיהם<sup>80</sup>. This is somewhat surprising, since the short form is older<sup>81</sup>.

78 Kutscher, *Isaiah*, p. 445.

79 For further instances where the feminine in the 3rd person plural is identical with the masculine in Hebrew and Aramaic see Strugnell & Qimron § 3.3.1.2.1. It has been noted that this phenomenon is especially common in the later biblical books, but occurs also in the early ones. Opinion is divided as to whether this can be defined as a late phenomenon (cf. G. Rendsburg, *JANES*, 12 (1980), p. 69; Hurvitz, *The P Source*, pp. 168–169). Examination of the 3rd person feminine plural pronominal suffix in the Pentateuch revealed 78 forms with *nun* and 40 with *mem* (15 of them are concentrated in 4 chapters of the P source: Ex 28, 39, Nu 16–17). With respect to the 3rd person feminine plural pronominal suffix following the word ערים 'cities' in the early historical books, 35 forms are with *nun* and only 2 with *mem*. In view of the much greater frequency of the use of the suffix with *mem* in the later biblical books and at Qumran (cf. Kropat, pp. 61–62, Polzin, pp. 52–54), and the fact that both the late biblical texts and the Qumran biblical texts may use this form instead of the form with *nun* in their ancient parallel — the opinion is adopted here that extensive use of the form with *mem* can be defined as “a late feature” (or characteristic of P). Note that several scholars consider some of the third person feminine plural suffixes terminating in *mem* as dual rather than plural. (See G. Rendsburg, *JQR*, 73 (1982), pp. 38–58.) If they are right, the number of forms of third person feminine plural with the classical BH *mem* is reduced.

80 And twice in TS, (לדורותיהם) (לדורותמה) is corrected to לדורותמה (21: 9, 27: 5; see also 44: 10, 12).

81 Gesenius, § 91 n; A. Kohen, *Beth Mikra*, 61 (1975), pp. 303–305; Hurvitz, *The P Source*, pp. 24–27; the biblical texts from Qumran as well as the Samaritan Pentateuch prefer the long form. The fact, unnoticed by Hurvitz, that the short form predominates in DSS Hebrew and is not absent from MH (contra Hurvitz), shows that both forms were in use in pre-exilic Hebrew, in post-exilic Hebrew and perhaps in MH as well.

### 322.2\* Conclusion

The outstanding morphological feature of the personal pronouns and pronominal suffixes is the presence of pronoun doublets, forms with and without final *he*<sup>82</sup>: הוּאָ / הוּא, הִיאָה / הִיא, אַתְמָה / אַתְם, הֵם / הֵמָה, אַתְּ / אַתְּמָה, כֵּם / כֵּמָה, אֲנִי / אֲנִימָה (to be compared with קִטְלַתְּמָה / קִטְלַתְּם). Surprisingly, some of the lengthened forms (אַתְּמָה, כֵּמָה) and also the affirmative (אַתְּמָה) are specifically characteristic of the biblical texts, though they do appear occasionally in some others. Their frequency in TS probably stems from the fact that the Qumran sectarians held much the same attitude to this Scroll as they did to a biblical text.

Although the pronouns in Proto-Semitic also terminated with a vowel, the fact that the final vowels in Qumran do not always correspond to those of Proto-Semitic proves that most of them are not ancient, but rather newer analogical formations<sup>83</sup>.

It might be suggested that some of the short forms of the pronouns in the DSS were indeed defective spellings of the long forms. However, this would be out of keeping with the orthography of the DSS [cf. 100.7]. Moreover, short forms undoubtedly did exist, as is shown from the spelling הוּ in אַפְהוּ (also הוּאָה — see 321.13), and from the forms קִטְלוּם, קִטְלִימָה, which never have a final vowel [322.18]. For these reasons, the suggestion that the short forms are defective spellings cannot be maintained as a general explanation. It should be noted that the phenomenon of pronoun doublets (with and without a final vowel) is known throughout the Semitic language family.

אֲנִי is known from MH; there is only one occurrence in the Bible, as *ketib* (Jeremiah 42: 6). The form יְהוּי is an Aramaism.

82 Also with and without final *yod* אֲנִי / אֲנִיְי (to be compared with אֲנִיְי / אֲנִיְי).

83 Cf. Kutscher, *Isaiah*, pp. 49–51.

## 330.1\* Noun Formation

Noun formation in the DSS is not significantly different from that in BH. We have already mentioned the pronunciation of the *quṭl* pattern [200.24]. Apart from this, the spelling of nouns does not reveal any systematic differences from BH, though there are a few isolated discrepancies.

a. A striking phenomenon is the dissimilarity between the DSS and the Tiberian tradition in nouns of the *qiṭl(at)*, *qaṭl(at)*, *quṭl(at)* patterns. Several such nouns are found in the Tiberian tradition in the *qiṭl(at)* or *qaṭl(at)* patterns, while in the DSS they occur in the *quṭl(at)* pattern, e.g. לָהֵב in the Tiberian tradition, ליהב in the DSS; רקמה in the Tiberian tradition, רוקמה in the DSS<sup>84</sup>. Other examples are: בורכים<sup>85</sup> (בָּרַךְ) 4Q491 8–10 I: 4, לועג (?) H 4: 16, מועל (also מעל) [500.3], עורך (?) M 7: 3 (עָרַל) ערול H 2: 18, פוּחִי Sa 1: 19 *et al.* (also פָּחִי), קורב 'nearness' 4Q400 1 I: 8 *et al.*, רוּחַץ 4Q417 (also רֹחֵץ), שפּוּל (שָׁפַל) S 7: 13, שוּקֵט H 12: 2, תּוּחַת S 7: 13.

The reverse phenomenon is hinted at in the defective spellings in the DSS, e.g. רִמַּח in the Tiberian tradition, רמח (=רִמַּח) in the DSS; טַמְאָה in the Tiberian tradition, טמאה (=טַמְאָה) in the DSS (also in the Babylonian tradition) [100.2]. Other examples are: אהל H 12: 3, גדל [500.3], חנה S 4: 10, חכמה [500.3] (on the words חמר, טהרה and ערמה see 100.2).

b. The *מקטל* pattern is common as a verbal noun and even as an infinitive (as in Aramaic), e.g. למשוב גורל (לגנוף רשעה/ו) M 1: 13; בצאת ומבוא בשערי (לנגוף רשעה/ו) 4Q403 25 I: 10 [see 500.3]. Verbal nouns in the patterns *קטילה* (*qal* — 9 lexical items) and *קטול* (*pi'el* — 12 items) are relatively more frequent in DSS Hebrew than in BH (though not as widespread as in MH). The following words in these patterns are hitherto unattested: חִיור H 12: 10, משיחה M 9: 8, יסור S 3: 1 *et al.* כּיּוּר TS 36: 10, נסוי S 1:

84 Qimron, *Waw and Yod*, p. 109.

85 Cf. Kutscher, *Isaiah*, pp. 24, 201, 477.

86 1QIs<sup>a</sup> includes some examples of the older form *quṭṭul* (Kutscher, *Isaiah*, pp. 52–53).

18 *et al.*, פרוש M 4: 6 *et al.*, תכון S 5: 3 *et al.* The *hif'il* verbal noun form common in MH, already occurs in the DSS, though its vocalization is of course uncertain: הנה העומר TS 11: 10 (also הניפת העומר TS 18: 10), הקרב TS 43: 10, הטל M 16: 6 *et al.*

Another pattern of the *hif'il* verbal noun is הקטילה occurring twice in the DSS (in the construct state): הניפת העומר TS 18: 10, להערי[בן]השמש<sup>87</sup> 4QMMT B 15. Such forms are attested in Hebrew sources from the Second Temple period and onwards, yet they are rare in the Tannaitic literature<sup>88</sup>.

c. Worth mentioning also are words not attested (or very rare) in classical BH in the patterns קָטַל (1) and מְקַטֵּל (2), as well as previously unattested abstract nouns with the suffix יוֹת (3):

- 1) כָּלל 4Q169 II: 6, גמר pH 7: 2, כתב 1Q34 1: 7, בן(?) M 5: 6, 9, 'the rest' [see 500.1].
- 2) משוור M 7: 10, מנוגע M 7: 4 *et al.*, מקורה TS 36: 10 *et al.*, מרודד M 8: 5, 14, מרולתים (if the reading is correct) TS 33: 13, ממוזים M 5: 5, 8, משוחת 5Q10 1: 1; מרובע (?) TS 30: 5 *et al.*
- 3) תעות 1Q42 6: 1, רעבות Sa 2: 7, מלכות M 12: 7 *et al.*, סכלות S 7: 14, ראות Sa 2: 7, אבות S 3: 21 *et al.*, אבות S 2: 9 [see 500.3], אלוהות 4Q400 1 I: 2, 4Q403 1 I: 33.

These three patterns occur only rarely in classical BH. Later they become much more common<sup>89</sup>. The pattern קָטַל (with long Proto-Semitic *ā* and pre-tonic *shewa*) is apparently of Aramaic origin<sup>90</sup>.

d. Many nouns in DSS Hebrew have a pattern distinct from that known from the Tiberian tradition: זונות (=זנות) [100.34] הָגִי<sup>91</sup> (אָגִישִׁי=) אנישי 4QMMT B 70, כאוב (=כָּאֹב) כִּידֶן, כִּידֶן (=כִּידוֹן) M 5: 7 *et al.*, כִּתוֹנָה<sup>92</sup> מְבִינָה S 11: 8 *et al.*, מְחוֹתָה (=מְחַתָּה; *maqṭulat* from חתת)<sup>94</sup> 4Q437 (also מחתה 4Q175: 24, מקרת (מקרה) 'ceiling' TS 34: 15 *et al.* (cf. מקרה Ec 10: 18), משיחה (משחה) 'oil' M 9: 8, משוטה (=מְשֻׁטָה; *maqṭulat* from שטס)<sup>94</sup> נגועים (plural of נָגַע)<sup>95</sup> עושרות (עֲשָׂרָה) M 2: 16 *et al.*, שיח 'ditch' 4Q184 1: 3, שלהובת M 6:

87 On the Aramaic termination *ūt* see Kutscher, *Isaiah*, p. 200.

88 For further discussion see Strugnell & Qimron, § 3.3.3.5.

89 Cf. Hurvitz, *The P Source*, pp. 27–30; *Post Exilic Heb.*, pp. 79, 86; E.Y. Kutscher, *A History of the Hebrew Language*, Jerusalem and Leiden 1982, p. 75; but cf. H. R. Cohen, *Biblical Hapax Legomena in the Light of Akkadian and Ugaritic*, Montana 1978, pp. 79–80.

90 Kutscher, *ib.*

91 Qimron, *Waw and Yod*, p. 106.

92 *Ib.*, p. 110

93 *Ib.*, p. 110, n. 10.

94 *Ib.*, pp. 111–112; both משוטה and מחותה can reflect the original form, while in the Tiberian tradition the short *u* became *i* (see Kutscher, *Isaiah*, pp. 462–463 — citing also the Hieronimus' transcription *mesuloth* — cf. also תשובה below.

95 *Ib.*; cf. [500.3].

3, שפכת (= שִׁפְכָה) 4QMMT B 34, (תִּסְבָּה) 4Q503 III: 9 (in BH one would expect the form תִּסְבָּה cf. תִּסְבַּתה in letter 4 from Lakhish).

e. Some other special noun formations have been treated in the Phonology [e.g. 200.26]. For the special pattern found only in the Qumran biblical text see *Gram.* §§ 331–332. For further discussion and evidence, see the word lists [500].

### 330.2\* *Special Plural Forms*

Plural forms of the *qutl* pattern preserve the original *u*, e.g. פּוֹתָאִים [200.22].

### 330.3\* *The Plural Endings*

a. The masculine plural suffix יִים (יִי in construct) is sometimes added to feminine nouns (שְׂמִיטִים, שְׂנִיִּים). Much more frequent is the addition of the feminine plural suffix יוֹת to a masculine noun (שְׂמוֹת, שׁוֹפְרוֹת). Some nouns can take either suffix, e.g. מַגְדָּלִים / מַגְדָּלוֹת (already found in BH). The frequent form רוּחֵי (רוּחֵיהֶם) 'ghosts' e.g. M 13: 2 (alongside רוּחוֹת) does not occur in BH. שְׁבוּעֵיהֶם S 10: 7, 8 (alongside שְׁבוּעוֹת) occurs in the Bible only in Daniel (9: 24 *et al.*). Cf. הַמְעוֹדוֹת CD 6: 18, 12:14 (as in MH and 2 Ch 8:18). The form דּוּרֵי H fragment 5: 7, 4Q504 VI: 9 (corrected to דּוּרוֹת) H 1: 16 (alongside the more frequent דּוּרוֹת) occurs in BH only in the archaic phrase דּוּר דּוּרִים<sup>96</sup>. The form תְּהִלִּים 4Q492 17: 4, 4Q400 2: 4 *et al.* (also תְּהִלוֹת) was hitherto attested only as early as MH (in BH תְּהִלוֹת). In TS plate 38\* 5 I: 4 the ת of קוֹרְבָנוֹת was corrected to ם; the original plural form (יִוֹת) occurs in MH and the corrected one (יִים) occurs in BH.

The following masculine plural forms are unknown to me from any other early Hebrew source: לְשׁוֹנֵיהֶם 4Q405 23 II:12, 4Q503 IV: 4, לְשׁוֹנֵיהֶם 4Q403 1 II: 26 (alongside לְשׁוֹנוֹת), צוּרֵי 4Q400 3: 3, 4Q405 19:5 (also צוּרוֹת), הַרְדֵי 4Q403 1 I: 21, 4Q405 3 II: 11, תְּהוֹמֵיהֶם 4Q502 9: 7. (Cf. also מְעוֹנֵיהֶם below — מְעוֹנוֹת is not attested in the DSS).

In most of the above examples the ending יוֹת is the one found in BH. The forms with the masculine ending are the ones which need an explanation. I can see three factors responsible for the rise in frequency of the masculine plural ending in the DSS:

1. The masculine plural ending occurs mostly in the construct state, whereas the feminine ending occurs in both the absolute and the construct. If we note that in the feminine form the absolute and the construct are morphologically (almost) identical, we can understand

96 The form לְדַרְתֵּיהֶם (instead of MT לְדַרְתֵּיהֶם) stood in the Torah Scroll of the Synagogue of Asverus (severus) in Rome (D.S. Löwinger, *Beth Mikra*, 42 (1970), p. 244).

why the masculine form was preferred in the construct of such phrases as [ות צורי צֹדֶד] 4Q400 3: 3 (cf. דורי רבבות, דורי דורות, פירי פירות, קהלי קהלות, רבי רבבות, דורי דורות). Note also צורי רוחות 4Q405 19: 5 vs. צורות אלהים *ib.* 6.

2. The phenomenon is especially frequent in *Shirot Olat Hashabbat*, whose style is peculiar. Can the growth of the phenomenon be related also to style?
3. Some of the above words e.g. רוּחִי, דורי may have been borrowed from Aramaic. It is unclear, however, why their absolute forms are not attested (cf. אילני — construct, but אילנות — absolute, in MH).

b. The following plurals are not attested in classical BH (most of them occur in late BH or in MH): אברונים 4Q491 8–10: 5 (twice — result of correction), אביבות TS 19: 7, אופירים 4Q405 23 II: 9, 4Q491 11 I: 18, גילות M 3: 11, גתות 4Q177 1: 15, ידירים 4Q405 19: 3 *et al.*, הינים TS 19: 14, 4Q400 3: 1, 4Q403 1 I: 40 (in BH זמרות; always without *yod!*), חטאות 'sin-offerings' TS 35: 12 *et al.*, טפחים M 5: 13, 14 (= טפחות in BH), סודי pH 9: 1, מעונייהם 4Q400 2: 6, מעוני 4Q405 9: 3, נדות S 10: 24, 4Q403 1 I: 34, סליחות H 9: 34 *et al.*, עריות TS 3: 11, פסחים TS plate 38\* 1: 7, פרכות 4Q405 15: 5, קצים S 10: 1 *et al.*, קרבים (dual) TS 23: 15 *et al.*, רומים 4Q403 1 I: 41, רנות M 4: 14, 12: 13, שירות 4Q491 8–10: 17, שמטים M 2: 8, תעניות 4Q510 1: 7 *et al.*

In classical BH words such as רנה, חטאת occur regularly in the singular, even when denoting the plural. Late BH, MH and Aramaic, however, prefer the plural form in such cases<sup>97</sup>. This tendency of the post classical Hebrew may explain a substantial number of the above instances. Note also the extensive use of the plural ending in words denoting time (such as עתים, עולמים) in post classical Hebrew.

c. Some feminine (mostly ל"י) nouns have the plural ending יוֹת or יָאוֹת:<sup>98</sup> לקשואה, מ 1: 8, עדוות 1Q22: 2, רבואות M 12: 4, והקבאות TS 21: 03, קצוות TS 33: 13. Both יוֹת and יָאוֹת were pronounced *ōt* [see 200.17 e]. Thus [ קצות 4Q181 1: 3 and ספות M 5: 12 differ from קצוות and שפאותיכה 1QIs<sup>a</sup> 37: 29 only orthographically.

### 330.4\* Nouns which Differ in Gender from their BH Counterparts

Some nouns which are only feminine in BH have a masculine by-form in DSS Hebrew: בין (= בינה) 4Q403 1 I: 37, ברך (= ברכה) 4Q403 1 II: 11 *et al.*, זמר (= זמרה) 4Q403 1 I: 6, 7, חבל (= חבלה) S 4: 12 *et al.*, טמא (= טמאה) S 5: 14, 20, CD 4: 18 [500.3], רנן (= רנגה) 4Q403 1 I: 4, 4Q405 25: 2, and perhaps also: אשמורת (= אשמרת) S 10: 2, ימהפך (= מהפכה) 4Q403 1 II: 4,

<sup>97</sup> See Hurvitz, *The P Source*, pp. 43–46 and the bibliography cited there.

<sup>98</sup> Cf. Kutschler, *Isaiah*, pp. 207–208.

מפּלג \* (מפּלגה) (=מחלָה) pH 9: 1, מחשב \* 'depth' (=מחשָׁבָה) H 3: 32 *et al.*, 'division' (also מפּלגה) S 4: 15, *et al.*

There are also nouns which are only masculine in BH having the feminine ending in DSS Hebrew: בּרְקָה M 6: 2, לֶחֶה 'moisture' TS 49: 12, 4QMMT B 52, 53, מִטְעָה S 8: 10 *et al.*, מִסְכָּה (=מִסְרָךְ) 4Q365 (unpublished), יִמְשָׁגָה H 2: 19 *et al.*, פֶּאֲרָה (=פֶּאָר) 4Q501 1: 5, H 8: 22 (?), CD 6: 7, פֶּרְצָה CD 1: 19.

The frequency of the special masculine by-forms in Qumran (mostly in *Shirot Olat Hashabbat*) shed a new light on this phenomenon which is typical to the language of the *piyyutim*.

### 340\* *He as a Locative Termination*

A number of locative expressions (compounded with prepositions) terminate with  $\bar{a}$  (*he*): מִשָּׁמָה 'from there' 4Q177 1: 13, לִ טְבִיבָה 4Q405' 6: 7 *et al.*, לִ חוּצָה TS 42: 2, לְחוּצָה וְלְחוּצָה מִ, לִ חוּצָה TS 42: 04, לִ מְבִיתָה 4Q405 15: 6, לִ וּלְפִנִּימָה TS 43: 13, לִ וְלִימָה 'to the west' TS Pl 40\* 2: 4. עַד פֶּנֶה (מִזְרַח־הָ) TS Pl 38\* 5: 4, לִ מְעַלָּה TS 6: 2, *et al.*, לִ מִטָּה TS 59: 20. Cf. the adverbs מְאֹדָה 'very' M 19: 5 *et al.*, אִיכָה H 10: 7 *et al.*, and the locative מִתַּחַתָּה 1QIs<sup>a</sup> 51: 6. Most of these words occur (with  $\bar{a}$ ) in the Bible; especially in the later books. The *he* in these expressions does not designate the direction, since the *he* of direction lost its syntactical function in DSS Hebrew<sup>99</sup>. It was rather perceived as a locative termination without any syntactical function. It is known that  $\bar{a}$  is an ancient locative termination. It occurs in BH<sup>100</sup>, in MH and in Aramaic<sup>101</sup>.

99 Qimron TS a, pp. 94–96; the phenomenon had already begun in BH (*ib.*; Gesenius, s. 90 e; Y. Thorion, RQ, 11 (1984), pp. 579–580).

100 Gesenius, s. 90 f.

101 Qimron, *ib.*



400.01\* *The Periphrastic Tense* היה + Participle

The Mishnaic and Aramaic periphrastic construction היה + participle to express continuous or habitual action<sup>1</sup> is found only occasionally in the Bible, mostly in the later books<sup>2</sup>. Instead, BH uses the forms וקטל, וקטל, which also indicate a simple action, e.g. ... ישקו העדרים. In the DSS, the periphrastic construction is attested about 50 times, chiefly in TS<sup>3</sup>, e.g. יהיה מהלך. M 7: 12, להיות משרחים M 2: 1.

400.02\* *Predicative Use of the Infinitive*

Typical of late BH as well as DSS Hebrew is the predicative (mostly “modal”) use of the infinitive with *lamed* (e.g. לשלח ‘one must send’). This phenomenon has been noted by Kropat<sup>4</sup> and Leahy<sup>5</sup>; Kutscher has pointed out the parallel use of the infinitive in Aramaic and Punic (in negative sentences only), and the possible correspondence in Greek<sup>6</sup>.

This phenomenon needs further investigation. Neither Kropat nor Leahy dealt with all the available material in the texts they used. There are a number of problems which might be resolved by a thoroughgoing classification of the various uses of the infinitive. It is not clear, for example, in what cases the infinitive should be used in preference to a finite verb.

What follows, therefore, is not a full description of the “predicative infinitive” in the Scrolls, but rather an account of some of the constructions into which it enters [on the negation of this infinitive see 400.12].

1 Segal, MHG<sup>1</sup>, pp. 156–158.

2 Joüon, pp. 340–341.

3 I, p. 30; cf. also Strugnell & Qimron, § 3.4.1.3. For other late usages of the participle, cf. *ib.* §§ 3.4.1.4 and 3.4.1.5.

4 pp. 24–25.

5 p. 142.

6 *Judaica*, p. 1588; see also H. Bauer und P. Leander, *Grammatik des Biblisch-Aramäischen*, Halle / Saale 1927, § 85 e.

## 1. To denote commands:

a. **S 5: 17–18.** **כיָא כול אשר לוא נחשבו בבריתו להבדיל אותם.**

b. **והאיש אשר ילך רכיל ברעהו והבדילהו שנה אחת מטהרת הרבים ונענש. ואיש רבים ילך רכיל לשלח הואה מאתם ולוא ישוב עוד. והאיש אשר ילון על יסוד היחד ש 7: 16–17.** **ישלחהו ולוא ישוב**

The infinitive לשלח in (b) plays the same role as the two finite verbs with indefinite subject ושלחהו, והבדילהו. Wernberg-Møller<sup>7</sup> translates it correctly: “then he (or: they) shall banish him from them”. This translation fits the style of S better than a translation ‘he is to be banished’.

In 4QMMT there are examples with a definite subject, expressed by means of a prepositional phrase:

c. **B 15 “All these at sunset should be pure”.** **לכול אלה להערי[בן]ת השמש להיות טהורים.**

And with the (optional) auxiliary word ראוי before the infinitive:

d. **B 11–12 “For the members of the priesthood should beware...”** **ראוי להזהר [כי לבני] הכהונה[ים]**

The “modal” use of the infinitive (with either definite or indefinite subject) is especially frequent in S; the succession of infinitives in S 1: 1 ff., 5: 1 ff., 8: 2 ff., 9: 12 ff. is to be explained in this way<sup>8</sup>.

The corresponding negative construction **אין לקטל** or **לא לקטל** is mostly used prohibitively or in the sense ‘one can not’ [see 400.12]. The infinitive in the phrases **ואין לצעד** S 3: 10–11 and **ואין להשנות** S 3: 16 is the predicate rather than the subject<sup>9</sup>, as can be inferred from the preceding phrase **ולוא לסור** S 3: 10.

## 2. As indicative (less frequent):

a. **כיָא ביד אביונים תסגיר [אן]יבי כול הארצות וביד כורעי עפר להשפיל גבורי M 11: 13–15.** The infinitives following **תסגיר** are used here as an imperfect.

b. **ואת ראשי הכהנים יסרכו אחר כוהן הראש ומשנהו ראשים שנים עשר להיות משרתים בתמיד לפני אל וראשי המשמרות ששה ועשרים במשמרותם ישרתו ואחריהם ראשי הלויים לשרת תמיד ... וראשי משמרותם איש במעמדו ישרתו וראשי השבטים M 2: 1–3.** **ואבות העדה אחריהם להתניב תמיד בשערי המקדש**

c. **M 6: 3.** The infinitive in the last example should be regarded as equivalent to a participle, by comparison with the

7 S, p. 32.

8 For further discussion see Strugnell & Qimron, § 3.4.2.3.

9 Unlike Leahy (p. 142), who thinks that the infinitive in these phrases is the subject and אין the predicate; but see the conception of E. Rubinstein cited in Strugnell & Qimron, § 3.4.2.2.

adjoining passage שלהובת חרב אוכלת חללי און במשפט אל (*ib.*). Perhaps the infinitive in the other formulas for weapon-inscriptions in M are also equivalent to participles.

d. [כ]עננים וכעבי טל לכסות ארץ וכזרם רביבים להשקות משפט לכול צאצאיה. “...and as clouds of dew covering the earth...” M 12: 9–10 (cf. 19: 1–2).

e. “He has lifted up in judgement...” M 14: 5–6. ולפתוח... וללמד.

f. “He will enlighten with joy...” M 17: 7. להאיר בשמחה ברית ישראל... להרים באלים משרת מיכאל.

g. M 18: 11 להסיר ממ[ש]ל[ת] אויב.

h. H 6: 9–10 ובחסדיך תשפטם... וכפיכה להורותם וכישור אמתכה להכינם בעצתכה.

3. After היה<sup>10</sup> (instead of participle):

a. M 1: 14. The phrase והגלי הבנים יהיו להמס לבב וגבורת אל מאמצה [לב]. The phrase יהיו להמס לבב may be interpreted either passively<sup>11</sup>, as equivalent to יהיו נמסי לבב (they will be “melted of heart”), or actively, as equivalent to יהיו ממסי לבב; the broken context here (damaged manuscript) precludes resolving the ambiguity.

b. H 8: 6–7. והיו להפריח נצר למטעת עולם להשריש טרם יפריחו.

#### 400.03\* *Temporal Clauses of the Type* בקטלו

Temporal clauses beginning with (ו)ב- + suffixed infinitive or (ו)ב- + infinitive in construct (noun + ובקטל) are common in DSS Hebrew<sup>12</sup>, e.g. ובגשתם למלחמה יכתובו על אותותם M 4: 7, 11. In the Bible, the constructions ו־בַקְטְלו, ו־בַקְטְלו are characteristic of the later books<sup>13</sup>, while in the early books the dominant constructions are יהי ו־בַקְטְלו, יהי ו־בַקְטְלו. The latter constructions are practically absent from DSS Hebrew, appearing only in biblical paraphrases). In late BH, they are already in retreat, as evidenced by the following parallel biblical texts:

10 Cf. יהי לדרש אלהים. 2 Ch 26: 5.

11 On the passive use of an active infinitive, see Segal, MHG<sup>2</sup>, p. 138.

12 Forms with *kaf* (וקטלו etc. — temporal) do not occur. Accordingly, TS paraphrasing the Pentateuch, may have ב where the MT has כ: 20 והיה בשבתו 56: 20 (= כבוא השמש Dt 17: 18), כבוא השמש 50: 4 (the editor erroneously read השמש as in BH), cf. also בקרבכם M 10: 2 below. In BH there is a difference in meaning between ב and כ in temporal constructions, such as בקטלו / בקטלו; see Joüon, pp. 510–511; Bendavid, II, p. 585 ff.; cf. also 400.04.

13 See: Driver, *Introduction*, pp. 506, 538 (especially on the form בכליות), and the reference there to his commentary on the books of Samuel, q.v.; Polzin, pp. 45–46, 56–58.

ויהי כראותם כי רב הכסף בארון ויעל	2 K 12: 11
וכראותם כי רב הכסף בארון ובא	2 Ch 24: 11
ויהי ככלות שלמה להתפלל	1 K 8: 54
וככלות שלמה להתפלל	2 Ch 7: 1
ויהי ככלות שלמה לבנות את בית ה'	1 K 9: 1
ויכל שלמה לבנות את בית ה'	2 Ch 7: 11

Similarly in Qumran, paraphrasing Deuteronomy:

והיה כקרבכם אל המלחמה ונגש הכהן ודבר אל העם	Dt 20: 2
בקרבכם <sup>14</sup> למלחמה ועמד הכוהן ודבר אל העם	M 10: 2

But cf.

והיה כקרבכמה למלחמה ונגש הכוהן וידבר אל העם	TS 61: 14–15
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The syntax of temporal clauses with בקטלו deviates in yet another way from BH. In DSS Hebrew, (ו)בקטלו is practically always followed by a simple imperfect (some 35 times), as in ובשובם מן המלחמה יתוובו M 3: 10, 4: 8, 13. There is only one clear-cut example of a conversive tense-form (S 6: 15–16), and some cases in biblical quotations (M 10: 2, TS 62: 4). By contrast, in BH the verb after (ו)בַּקְטִלוֹ/־וֹ can occur either in a simple or a conversive tense-form. In fact, in the related BH construction, ויהי בַּקְטִלוֹ/־וֹ followed by a finite verb, the following verb occurs almost universally in the conversive tense-form; and in general, temporal expressions with ויהי ויהיה tend to be followed in BH by conversive tense-forms<sup>15</sup>.

In light of this, it becomes clear why in the biblical passages of the DSS the simple imperfect appears where the MT uses the conversive perfect:

והיה בשמעו את דברי הברית הזאת יתברך בלבבו...	S 2: 12–13
והיה בשמעו את דברי האלה הזאת והתברך בלבבו...	Dt 29: 18
והיה כיא ירעב יתקצף	1QIs <sup>a</sup>
והיה כי ירעב והתקצף	Is 8: 21

#### 400.04\* Temporal Usage of עם + Infinitive

This construction occurs more than 15 times in the DSS, e.g.

ועם צאת הקול	M 16: 8
ובתקופתו עם האספו מפני אור	S 10: 2
ועם מוצא <sup>15a</sup> ערב ובוקר אמר חוקי	S 10: 10

14 For the use of ב instead of ב. see note 11.

15 S.R. Driver, *A Treatise on the Use of the Tenses in Hebrew*, Oxford 1892, pp. 89–90, 157 end of note 3.

15a Infinitive in *miqta* pattern.

Compare also Ezra 1: 11, Ben-Sira 38: 23, 40: 14. It is well established that this usage is late<sup>16</sup>. At first glance there seems to be no difference between this construction and the one described above [400.03], as can be seen especially from S 10: 10–17, where the two constructions interchange freely. But there may well have been a subtle distinction in meaning between the construction with ב and the construction with עם. The former construction apparently indicates in a general way the time span during which the action in the main clause unfolds, while the latter construction indicates more specifically the time just before the immediately ensuing action in the main clause. For example:

ובשובם מן המלחמה לבוא המערכה יכתובו על חצוצרות המשוב M 3: 10

ועם צאת הקול יחלו ידם להפיל בחללים M 16: 8

(cf. M 8: 10)

A number of the relevant passages, unfortunately, occur in obscure contexts in which the determination of exact temporal relationships is problematic. On the temporal use of עם see Ben-Yehuda, *Dictionary*, IX, pp. 4540–4541 [cf. also 400.03 note 11].

#### 400.05\* *Object Preceding its Infinitive*

In BH, the direct object of an infinitive almost always follows the infinitive, e.g. לעבר את הארמה Gn 3: 23. By contrast, in Aramaic dialects (Official Aramaic, Syriac), the reverse order is common, e.g. ביתא דנה לשכללה Ezra 5: 9. J. Carmignac, in his study of the word-order of this construction in the Semitic languages (especially Hebrew and Aramaic)<sup>16a</sup>, reached the conclusion that the word-order Object-Infinitive is relatively more frequent in Qumran (8 sure instances, and 6 or 7 doubtful) than in BH, apparently under the impact of Aramaic. However, with so few examples, any conclusion here must be tentative.

#### 400.06\* *Doubly-marked Plural of Attributive Constructs*

In classical BH the plural of attributive constructs is normally expressed by pluralizing the first noun alone (e.g. גבורי חיל). In MH, both nouns are often pluralized (e.g. בתי כנסיות). The latter doubly-marked construction does occur occasionally in the Bible, chiefly in books composed during the time of the Second Temple<sup>17</sup>. In DSS Hebrew, it is quite common: ראשי שנים S 10: 6, ובשני השמטים M 2: 8, כלי מלחמות<sup>18</sup> H 2: 26, 6: 31, pH 6:

16 BDB, p. 768, entry עם, g.

16a RQ, 5 (1966), pp. 503–520.

17 Hurvitz, *Post-Exilic Heb.*, p. 38; Polzin, p. 42.

18 Also כלי מלחמה M 5: 8 *et al.* Note that the Targum renders כלי מלחמתם (Judges 18: 16) as מני קריהון.



does the construction with את occur for no apparent reason: ויניפו אותמה TS 20: 16, ונתתי אותמה בידיכה TS 63: 10. The last example is rather surprising in that the parallel biblical passage does have an attached suffix: ונתנו ה' אלהיך בידיך Dt 21: 10.

On the other hand, as opposed to this last unique example, there are 7 passages in TS in which an attached suffix occurs where MT uses את (in two of these cases the verb is a masculine singular participle):

הניאה	53: 21	//	הניא אביה אתה	Nu 30: 6
מצובה	54: 6	//	מצוה אתכם	Dt 13: 1 (מצוך in the Samaritan version)
אשר הוציאה	54: 16	//	המוציא אתכם	Dt 13: 6 (המוציאך in the Samaritan version)
מורישם	60: 20	//	מוריש אותם	Dt 18: 12 (מורישם in the Samaritan version)
ילמדוכה	62: 16	//	ילמדו אתכם	Dt 20: 18
והוציאוהו	64: 3	//	והוציאו אתו	Dt 21: 19
וסקלום	66: 2	//	וסקלתם אתם	Dt 22: 24

These variations are not merely incidental; they testify to the overwhelming predilection for attached pronominal suffixes in DSS Hebrew.

The participle behaves somewhat differently from the finite verb. Because the masculine singular participle can take either a noun-suffix or a verbal suffix, it comes as no surprise to find forms such as מורישם instead of MT מוריש אותם (above). However, the plural participle always takes a noun-suffix; hence we find in the DSS the analytic construction in those cases where the plural participle is employed as a verb: TS 34: 7–11, 43: 5, 57:10; 4Q174 I: 8 (but cf. CD 19: 9).

In the infinitive, the suffix pronouns may represent either the subject or the object. To express both the subject and the object together, the latter appears with את: וברחקך אותו (H 14: 21). In the passage להבדיל אותם ואת להם להבדיל אותם ואת (S 5: 18, where a second object is conjoined to the pronominal object, the object pronoun occurs with את. This is the preferred construction in BH; however, the enclitic form can also occur<sup>32</sup>. In two passages the pronominal object is expressed by the independent pronoun: לשלח הוא S 7: 16, להמית הוא CD 9: 1.

It should be noted, finally, that DSS Hebrew, in its strong preference for enclitic object pronouns, is representative of the later stages of Hebrew<sup>33</sup>. The book of Chronicles, as Kropat has demonstrated<sup>34</sup>

<sup>32</sup> Joüon, § 125 e.

<sup>33</sup> In classical BH, the object pronoun may be expressed either by an enclitic suffix or by את.

(contrary to previous opinion), shows the same preference, as does MH<sup>35</sup>.

#### 400.09\* לאין + (Abstract) Noun or Infinitive

This construction occurs some 40 times in the DSS with the meaning 'without, so that not', and the like. For example: לאין קים M 18: 2, לאין רחמים S 2: 7. It is characteristic of the Second Temple period; no similar construction is found in First Temple texts<sup>36</sup>. There is one instance of לאין + Noun: ער לאין מספר H 4: 27 [cf. 500.1].

#### 400.10\* ללא, בלא + Finite Verb

Parallel to the preceding construction, and similar in meaning, is the formation ללא + verb in the imperfect (passive): H 5: 37, 6: 27, 28, 7: 9. Poetic passages bring out the parallelism especially well: in one hemistich we may have "לאין + infinitive (without *lamed*) or noun", in the second "ללא + verb in imperfect". Thus:

H 6: 27–28. ובריחי עז ללוא ישוברו

H 5: 37. כי נאסר־תִּי [י] בעב־תֵּיִם לֵאֵין נתק חקים ללא ישוברו

Furthermore, in addition to the above two forms, the construction "בלא + perfect" (= 'without') occurs (only in H; 13 times)<sup>37</sup>, e.g. כי ראה בלא H 8: 16. We appear, then, to have the following tripartite complementary distribution in DSS Hebrew:

לאין + infinitive (or abstract noun),  
ללא + imperfect,  
בלא + perfect.

However, since the latter two constructions are rare and only occur in H, conclusions of this sort may be premature. Further study is needed.

#### 400.11\* אשר and -ש Introducing Prohibitions and Commands

The particles אשר, ש and די (Aramaic) serve to introduce main clauses denoting commands or prohibitions (אשר לא יעשה etc.) in sources dating approximately from the destruction of the Second Temple. This usage is found in the letters of Bar Kokhba and in Nabataean burial inscriptions (perhaps also in Neh 10: 31–32; cf. also Neh 2: 5)<sup>38</sup>. In the DSS it is

34 Pp. 35–36; for the usage in other late biblical books, see Polzin, pp. 28–31. Cf. also the Samaritan version of Lv 20: 27, Dt 27: 26; 28: 14.

35 The construction with את occurs only with the plural participle (hundreds of cases), and in special syntactical or phonological circumstances (cf. C. Cohen, *Lešonenu*, 47 (1983), pp. 208–218).

36 Hurvitz, *Post-Exilic Heb.*, p. 39.

37 BH has one example of a verb in the perfect with ללא (בלא) — Is 65: 1.

38 See E. Qimron, *Lešonenu*, 46 (1982), pp. 27–38.



attested 5 times in the negative and once in the affirmative, all in S. The passages in question follow, accompanied by the translation of Wernberg-Møller:

אשר לוא ילב איש בשרירות לבו

“No one shall go in his stubbornness of his heart” S 5: 4

ואשר לוא ייחד עמו בעבודתו ובהנֹו

“No one must be united to him in his possessions and his property” S 5: 14

אשר לוא ישוב איש מאנשי היחד על פיהם לכול תורה ומשפט

“No one of the men of the community must submit response...” S 5: 15–16

אשר לוא יוכל מהונם כול ולוא ישתה...

“No one must either eat or drink anything of their property...” S 5: 16

אשר לוא ישפוט איש ולוא ישאל על כול עצה שנתים ימים

“He must neither judge anybody, nor be asked...” S 8: 25

[For לא + infinitive, see 400.12]. In the affirmative:

ואשר יקים בברית על נפשו להבדל מכול אנשי העול

“He shall undertake by oath to separate himself...” S 5: 10

The particle אשר does not play an essential role in these constructions. In prohibitions, the negation אשר לוא and the ordinary negation with אל or לוא are interchangeable and can occur together even in the same paragraph (see S 2: 8–9, 5: 13–14). Moreover, for ואשר לוא יוכל S 5: 15, another manuscript of S reads ואל יוכל [400.13]. In the affirmative, the (unique) example ואשר יקים בברית על נפשו S 5: 10 has a parallel without אשר S 5 8.

In 4QMMT we note the use of ש- with this function:

B 63 ושלוא לזרוע שדו ו[כרמו כלאי]ם

“No one shall sow his field and his vineyard with two kinds of seed”<sup>39</sup>.

#### 400.12\* *Negation of the Infinitive*

In BH, the word לבלתי is used to negate the infinitive. This option is still available in the DSS (10 times) if the infinitive occurs without *lamed* and does not express a command. For example: לבלתי התיסר ביחד עצתו “So that he cannot be instructed...” S 3: 6; ובהיותם אשים גבולי לבלתי שוב “Where they are I will establish my boundary without back-sliding” S 10: 11. However, the use of the negative particles (ו)לא, (ו)אין is more common. The construction לא + infinitive (with *lamed*)<sup>40</sup> occurs about a dozen times, always predicatively [see 400.02] and primarily with the meaning ‘one must not’. For example: ולוא לסור מחוקי אמתו “They must not turn aside from His true ordinance” S 1: 15.

<sup>39</sup> Strugnell & Qimron, § 3.4.2.

<sup>40</sup> See Leahy, p. 144.



400.13\* *Prohibitive Use of אַל*

a. Characteristic of DSS Hebrew is the use of the negative particle אַל where לא might have been expected. This phenomenon has been dealt with at length in a separate article<sup>46</sup>, and accordingly the following discussion will simply summarize those aspects relevant to DSS Hebrew.

It is a familiar dictum that “The imperfect with לא represents a more emphatic form of prohibition than the jussive with אַל”<sup>47</sup>. Thus the prohibitions of the Pentateuch are formulated with לא (only 13 cases of אַל), while proverbs, expressing recommendations and wishes, are negated with אַל. This is demonstrated by the following oppositions:

Dt 23: 22 כי תדר נדר לה' אלהיך לא תאחר לשלמו  
 Ec 5: 3 כאשר תדר נדר לה' לאלהיך אל תאחר לשלמו  
 Dt 19: 14 לא תסיג גבול רעך  
 Pr 22: 28, 23: 10 אל תסג גבול עולם

Generally, words addressed by a superior to an underling are construed with לא ותאמר האשה...תנו לה את הילוד החי והמת אל תמיתהו... ויען המלך: לא. 1 K 3: 26–27. To be sure, there are a few exceptions in the Bible, but hardly enough to undermine the rule, which is further corroborated by the Aramaic Sefira inscription. In the halakhah of the Tannaim, too, the syntagm לא יעשה is used for prohibitory laws “one shall not do”, while אל יעשה means “one ought not to do”.

b. In contrast to the Pentateuchal prohibitions, which are by and large construed with לא, many of the prohibitions laid down by the Dead Sea Sect are formulated with אַל. In S there are 18 cases of prohibitions with אַל, e.g. אל יבוא במים לגעת בטהרת אנשי הקודש...ואשר לוא ייחד עמו בעבודתו. אַל ובהונו...ואשר לוא ישוב...ואשר לוא יוכל מהונם כול ולוא ישתה ולוא יקה מידם כול 5: 13–19. מואמה...ולוא ישען איש הקודש על כול מעשי הבל

In another manuscript of S<sup>48</sup>, we find: ואל יוכל אתם ביחד אשר לוא...ואשר לוא. The particles אַל and לא occur side by side indiscriminately in both of these (slightly divergent) copies of S, and are even interchangeable from one manuscript to the other. This use of אַל occurs 4 times in 4Q514 1 I and is especially frequent in CD (66 times), e.g. אל ישלח את בן הנכר לעשות 11: 20. How strongly it was rooted in the language of the DSS can be seen from the biblical law<sup>49</sup> לא יהיה כלי גבר על אשה ולא ילבש

46 א' קימרן, 'מלת השלילה אַל במקורותינו הקדומים', מחקרי לשון מוגשים לזאב בן-חיים בהגיעו לשיבה, ירושלים תשמ"ג, עמ' 473–482.

47 Gesenius, s 107 o.

48 *Semitica*, 27 (1977), p. 78.

49 Dt 22:5.

אל יהיו כלי גבר על: אַל which is formulated in the DSS with אַל 4Q159 2: 6–7. אשה ואל ילבש כתונת אשה

The incursion of אַל into the domain of לא in DSS Hebrew can be explained by the (at least partial) collapse of the verbal moods in the Hebrew of the Second Temple period<sup>50</sup>.

#### 400.14\* אשר לא ב/כ

Adverbial constructions of the type ... אשר לא ב/כ, ... אשר לא ב/כ = ‘without’ do not occur in classical BH. They are common, however, in Hebrew from the Second Temple period, and parallel the Mishnaic ... שלא ב/כ and the Aramaic ... די לא ב/כ<sup>51</sup>. In the DSS, only the construction with ב occurs: S 5: 17, אשר לוא במחיר S 7: 8, 18, אשר לוא בעצה S 7: 11, אשר לוא בתוכחת S 6: 1, 12, אשר לוא במעמד S 6: 12.

For other combinations of a preceding relative pronoun and the negative particle לא see [400.11] and note 38.

#### 400.15\* X ר-X (כל)

The construction “X ר-X”, meaning ‘every X’, is only attested in the Hebrew of the Second Temple period and thereafter<sup>52</sup>; it is common in late biblical, Mishnaic and Aramaic usage. Very often it is used temporally; thus כל יום יום ‘every day, day by day’ as opposed to classical biblical idioms such as יום יום<sup>53</sup>. Its overall function, of course, is distributive; thus עיר ועיר (ב)כל (in) each and every city’.

In the DSS, this construction appears 7 times: M 7: 15–16, ועם כול מערכה ומערכה TS 15: 1, 17: 2, ולכול מטה ומטה TS 22: 12, 23: 7 (?), ורוח TS 48: 14, ובכול עיר ועיר, TS 42: 13, ובכול שנה ושנה TS 40: 8, ולכול רֹחַ ורוח

Alongside this idiom, there exists another, similar in structure and identical in meaning: “X ר-X” (כל). This construction, which is rarer, is characteristic of texts from the Second Temple period; Driver<sup>54</sup> asserts that “except in the phrase דור ודור<sup>55</sup> the idiom is a distinctively

50 Bergsträsser, II, § 10 l.

51 Cf. Hurvitz, *Post-Exilic Heb.*, pp. 142–144, and the references cited there.

52 Hurvitz, *Post-Exilic Heb.*, pp. 70–73, and references cited there; Polzin, pp. 47–51.

53 Gesenius, § 123 c.

54 Driver, *Introduction*, p. 538; see also Polzin, pp. 47–51.

55 On this idiom and its history, cf. S.E. Loewenstamm, *Lešonenu*, 32 (1968), pp. 30–33, and in particular Kutscher’s editorial comment on the Samaritan version of the Pentateuch, p. 31. Note that the phrases דור דור, דור דור, דור דור are not distributive in BH, but mean simply ‘forever’. In 4QMMT C 18, however, [ ] דור [ ] is surely distributive and means ‘every generation’ (Strugnell & Qimron, § 3.4.5). Other formally similar constructions occur in BH, e.g. שוש ושש 2 S 21: 20, אבן ואבן ואבן איפה ואיפה Pr 20: 10. These, too, are not used distributively. (Cf. Polzin, *ib.*.)



To be sure, constructions of this sort do appear in BH<sup>57</sup>, but they seem to be far more common in TS. Any doubt as to the link between *ש* and the phenomenon under discussion should be dispelled by consideration of the form *שלנוחשת* TS Pl. 40\*; *ש* could not have found its way into a holy text unless it belonged to the spoken language of the period.

#### 400.17 *Y*-ל-*X* בין

Haneman<sup>58</sup> made the interesting discovery that the construction *בין...ל...* antedates the construction *בין...ל...*; the former predominates in BH, the latter in MH. The second type does occur in BH, but with the exception of two late instances (Dn 11: 45, Neh 3: 32) it is restricted to certain syntagms, chiefly “*בין X ל-X*”. Only the second type is found in the DSS, e.g.<sup>59</sup> *בין הקודש לעיר* TS 46: 10.

#### 400.18\* *Collective Nouns*

In BH, nouns used collectively and names of nations can take plural concord<sup>60</sup>. This feature is much more common in the later language than in classical BH, which uses both singular and plural in these cases<sup>61</sup>. In this respect, MH is similar to late BH<sup>62</sup>; there are some collective nouns in the feminine (e.g. *עדה*), however, which are generally construed as singular.

In DSS Hebrew as well, nouns used collectively are treated as in late BH:

1. *עם*, construed 21 times as plural (e.g. *וכול העם יעבורו* S 2: 21)<sup>63</sup>, and only 4 times as singular<sup>64</sup>. Moreover, in TS, there is one instance where *עם* is treated as plural in contrast to the parallel in the MT<sup>65</sup>: *והיה כול העם הנמצאים בה יהיו*... 62: 7 (=...הנמצא... Dt 20: 11).

57 Joüon, § 130; Polzin, pp. 38–40.

58 G. Haneman, *Lešonenu*, 40 (1976), pp. 33–35.

59 A complete listing of all examples (excluding TS) is given in Haneman, *ib.*, p. 40 and note 15. On the idiom *בין הטמא לטהור* 4QMMTB 51–52 and elsewhere, see Strugnell & Qimron, § 3.4.6.

60 Polzin, pp. 40–42. However, attributive adjectives modifying collective nouns always agree in number morphologically with the noun, e.g. *כל העדה הרעה הואת* *כל העדה הנועדים* Nu 14: 35.

61 Joüon, § 150 e; Note especially such remarkable cases as *וירא העם ויפלו* 1 K 18: 39.

62 Bendavid, I, p. 70.

63 Also M 8: 9, 9: 1, 10: 10, 16: 7, 9, 17: 13, 14, S 6: 9, TS 29: 7, 35: 12, 56: 11, 58: 5, 11, 16 (?), 59: 13, 61: 13–15, 4Q185 1 I: 13, 4Q504 4: 9, 5: 7.

64 4Q160 3 III: 2, 6, TS 58: 6, 16 (in the last case, the verb precedes its subject). In 1Q27 1 I: 10–11: *איפה [ו] עשק רעה[ו]* *איפה*, *עם* *אשר* *לוא* *גול* *הון*, the words *עם* and *גוי* are not used collectively.

65 Likewise in 1QIs<sup>a</sup> and the Samaritan Pentateuch, there are cases of collective nouns construed in the plural where MT has singular concord (Kutscher, *Isaiah*, p. 398; for inverse cases, see p. 400).

## 2. Other collective nouns:

יתאזרו חיל בליעל	M 1: 13
חיל בליעל הנועדים	M 15: 2
ובית יחד לישראל ההולכים בתמים דרך	S 9: 6
כול הרכב היוצאים למלחמה	M 6: 10–11
וצבא השמים יתנו בקולם	H 3: 35
ובכול קהלו הנק[ה]ל[ים]	M 11: 16
יעורכוה כול העדה יחד	M 2: 9
עדת ישראל... בהאספם	Sa 1: 1
אלה משרץ העוף תואכלו ההולכים <sup>65</sup> על ארבע	TS 48: 4

## 3. The nouns גרוד and זרע are construed as singular in the extant examples:

בל יבוא גרוד בכלי מלחמתו	H 6: 28
לוא יבוא גרוד אל תוך ארצמה	TS 58: 9
ולא הבין זרע האד[ם]	1Q34 1: 3

(but cf. יהלכו זרע ישראל ולא יוארו CD 12: 22).

400.19\* קטל *Expressing the Future Perfect in Conditional Sentences*

BH conditional sentences expressing possibility in the future and introduced by אם, generally take יקטל in the protasis and יקטל or וקטל in the apodosis: אם תלכי עמי והלכתי ואם לא תלכי עמי לא אלך (Judges 4: 8). Only exceptionally is קטל found in the protasis: אם גלחתי וסר ממני כחי קטל (Judges 16: 17)<sup>66</sup>.

Although the BH syntax prevails in DSS Hebrew, קטל in the protasis is much more common here. This usage may reflect the spoken language of the time; it is found in MH<sup>67</sup>, Aramaic<sup>68</sup>, and Arabic<sup>69</sup>. It seems that it is not accidental that this construction is commonly used with certain verbs such as בוא, מות in both DSS and Mishnaic Hebrew. Here are the relevant examples:

ואם קלל... והבדילוהו ולוא ישוב עוד על עצת היחד. ואם באחד מן הכוהנים הכתובים בספר דבר בחמה ונענש שנה אחת... ואם בשגגה דבר ונענש ששה חודשים. ואשר יכחס במדעו ונענש ששה חודשים... ואם ברעהו יתרמה ונענש שלושה חודשים. ואם בהון יתרמה לאברו ושלמו ברושו S 7: 1–7.

65a Equals להלך Lv 11: 21. Note, however, the singular suffixes in line 5.

66 Cf. S.R. Driver, *A Treatise on the Use of the Tenses in Hebrew*, Oxford 1892 (Reprint: 1969), p. 178.

67 Segal, MHG<sup>1</sup>, § 486.

68 E.Y. Kutscher, *Hebrew and Aramaic Studies*, Jerusalem 1977, p. 116; Th. Nöldeke, *Syriac Grammar*, London 1904, § 258; M. Schlessinger, *Satzlehre der Aramäischen Sprache des babylonischen Talmud*, Leipzig 1928, p. 275.

69 W. Wright, *A Grammar of the Arabic Language*, II, Cambridge 1967, p. 14 f.

Note that in this passage both *קטל* and *יקטל* appear in the protasis. Cf. also S 8: 27 – 9: 2.

ואשה לוא ישא מכול בנות הגויים כי אם מבית אביהו יקח לו אשה ממשפחת אביהו ולוא יקח עליה אשה אחרת כי היא לבדה תהיה עמו כול ימי חייה ואם מתה ונשא לו אחרת מבית אביהו ממשפחתו. ...and if she dies he will marry... TS 57:

15–19.

TS 58: 6. ואם עם רב בא לארץ ישראל ושלחו עמו חמישית אנשי המלחמה

In TS 58: 15, S 6: 18, 21, *יצא* may be read as either perfect or imperfect.

The prevalence of this construction in DSS Hebrew is best demonstrated by the fact that when citing a biblical verse, Qumran scribes sometimes changed the verb in the protasis from imperfect to perfect:

ואם בשדה ימצא האיש... ומת האיש	Dt 22: 25
ואם בשדה מצאה האיש... והומת האיש...	TS 66: 4–5
אם בגפו יבא בגפו יצא	Ex 21: 3
אם בַּגְפּוֹי בא בגפּוֹי יצא	4Q158 7: 10

#### 400.20\* *On the Syntax of the Numerals*

In classical BH, in phrases of measure, weight, time etc., the noun comes after the numeral (e.g. *מאה ככר, שלוש שנים, עשרים אמה*)<sup>70</sup>. In the late biblical books, the noun may precede the numeral (being always in plural) (e.g. *שנים שלוש מאות ותשעים, שבועים שבעה, שנים שלוש*)<sup>71</sup>. In CD, we note: *שנים שלוש מאות ותשעים*: 14: 21. Even though in the other DSS the classical order dominates<sup>72</sup>, it seems that CD reflects a real Qumranic feature, seeing that in the literary MH and thereafter the classical order predominates.

The same practice is applied with words defining the kind of measure e.g. *גובה*<sup>73</sup>: *גובה* and *רוחב*, whereas in post-exilic Hebrew they may precede it<sup>74</sup>. The following corresponding texts exhibit the early and the late construction:

ועשרים רחבו	1 K 6: 2
ורחב אמות עשרים	2 Ch 3: 3

70 Gesenius, § 134 d.

71 Polzin, pp. 58–64.

72 But see M 9: 14, S 8: 1.

73 Also *משקל* 1 Ch 20: 2, 21: 25. Note the addition of the word *מתקל* before the numeral in the Aramaic *Targumim* to Ex 30: 23. Cf. also *סביב שלושים* “in a circle of...” TS 52: 18 (contrast *אלף אמה סביב* Nu 35: 4).

74 Many examples are found in Ez, chapters. 40–43.



In the DSS we find: אות כול העדה אורך ארבע עשרה אמה M 4: 15, ועשיתה חצר... רחוב מאה באמה ואורך, M 9: 12, ורמחיהם א[ו]ר[ך] שמונה אמות TS 38: 12–14, also TS 4: 10, 40: 9

The word order *noun, numeral* in the two word categories discussed here characterizes late Hebrew. Thus שנים עשרים, שנים עשרים etc. is also found in the Copper Scroll<sup>75</sup> and in a bill of Bar Kokhba<sup>76</sup> (but not in literary MH). In the early biblical books, it is attested only in 2 S 24: 24, but it is also found on ostraca from Arad<sup>77</sup> and on an ostrakon from Tel Qasile<sup>78</sup>.

The construction with ארך etc. is not attested in early texts. In BH, it occurs only in the later books, e.g. Ez 40: 30, 36, 42, 47. It occurs in the Copper Scroll 1: 14, in MH<sup>79</sup> and in Aramaic<sup>80</sup>.

It has been maintained that the placing of the cardinal number in appositional relationship after the substantive being in the plural (עיוס מאתים) is typical of later Hebrew and of P source<sup>81</sup>. However scholars are divided as to whether this phenomenon is late, since it is frequent in lists and administrative documents where the substantive would in any case normally precede the number<sup>82</sup>. The categories discussed above, however, are not restricted to lists or administrative documents. The fact that they are almost exclusive to post-exilic Hebrew and Aramaic<sup>83</sup> point to their lateness, no matter whether they came from Aramaic or from a Hebrew dialect.

75 Polzin, *ib.*

76 'י. ידיו, החיפושים אחרי בר כוכבא, ירושלים תש"א, עמ' 176) דינרין ששה עשר

77 E.g. "Three bats of wine" (עמ' 12) "יין ב III"

78 'Gold of Ophir for Beth-Horon 30 shekels' (J.C.L. Gibson, *Textbook of Syrian Semitic Inscriptions*, I, Oxford 1973, p. 17).

79 e.g. (Yoma 35b) ומצאו עליו רום שלש אמות שלג.

80 e.g. ארך אמין תרתין (Tarbiz, 6 (1935), p. 193); cf. also A. Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C.*, Oxford 1923, pp. 44–45.

81 See Polzin, *ib.*

82 Hurvitz, *The P Source*, pp. 167–168; G. Rendsburg, *Late Biblical Hebrew and the Date of "P"*, *JANES*, 12 (1980), p. 71.

83 Cf. Ezra 7: 22, ועד חנטין כורין מאה, Dn 6: 11, 14, וחמנין תלתה, Dn 6: 1, כבר שנין שתין ותרתי. Ezra 7: 22. Checking the words שנים and ימים with numerals in the Bible I found 11 instances where the noun precedes the numeral — 10 of them in the later books and only one case in an early book (with the number 2): ימים שנים 2 S 1: 1.

*500.01\* In General*

The lexicon of the DSS consists primarily of words attested in the Bible. The vocabulary, of course, is not purely classical; since the DSS were written in the Second Temple period, they also include words not attested in classical BH. Some of these post-classical words occur in the late biblical books while some are hitherto unattested. These post-classical words<sup>1</sup> are presented here in 3 lists, according to the literary sources in which they occur:

- a. Words mainly attested in the DSS and in the late biblical books<sup>2</sup>.
- b. Words mainly attested in the DSS and in the Tannaitic and Amoraitic literature.
- c. Words not attested either in the Bible or in the Tannaitic and Amoraitic literature.

The post-biblical vocabulary of the DSS is thus presented here in two lists, (b) and (c). This material has been divided in this way in order to emphasize the connection between DSS Hebrew and MH.

It should not be assumed that all the words included in the word-lists are late; quite possibly, some of these words already existed in classical BH even though they are not attested in the Bible. By contrast, some words which appear once or twice in the early books of the Bible do not in fact belong to the “ordinary” BH of that period. This complicated issue has been dealt with in a number of studies<sup>3</sup>. There will be frequent references to these studies, especially the more recent ones, in the following word-lists. For reasons of space, we have provided textual references only for rare words. Note that the lists also include words from the Damascus Covenant (marked CD). Words are entered with a question-mark (?) when the entry is somehow in doubt — i.e., when there is doubt as to their form, or as to when they first appeared in the language. The preliminary conclusions drawn from this study of the vocabulary of DSS Hebrew are given in section [600].

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1 I have included in the word-lists not only lexical items, but also special forms, combinations, and even spellings peculiar to the DSS.

2 Including some words which occur once or twice in the early books of the Bible, but only become widespread in the late biblical books or in the Tannaitic literature.

3 See Hurvitz.

## 500.1\* Words Mainly Attested in the DSS and in the Late Biblical Books

- אורה 'light' (*Gram.*, p. 293).
- אחר *hithpa'el* 'to be late' (*ib.*, p. 299; Thorion, p. 423).
- [אין] לאין 'without' (BDB, p. 35 col. I, and 400.09).
- אָמְנָה 'faith' pH 8: 2.
- אנח *hithpa'el* 'to moan' (Qimron, TSb, A 2).
- אנס CD 16: 13 (Ginzberg, p. 99, Rabin, pp. 76–77; on אנוש (=אנוס) S 7: 12; see 200.15).
- אָסָף (?) The form אָסָף TS fits the Akkadian *asippu* known from contemporaneous Hebrew and Aramaic (Qimron TSb A 2). But the meaning here is 'threshold' (and not 'vestibule') which corresponds to the word סָף.
- אָרָךְ TS 38: 12–14. The regular word-order in BH is אורך ורוחב except in 3 late passages (Ez 45: 6, 48: 8, Zekariah 2: 6) as noted by the *Massorah*. Cf. in Qumran Aramaic פותיהן ואורכיהן 5Q15 1 I: 2, פותיה ואורכה, *ib.* II: 3 *et al.*
- ארץ ישראל denoting the whole land as a geographical and halakhic term TS 58: 6, 4QMMT B 58. This term is very common in MH and is apparently also found in the late biblical books (Strugnell & Qimron, § 3.5.2.1).
- אָרְצוֹת (?) Polzin, p. 127; on עמי הארצות see 400.06).
- אָשֶׁר 1. denoting commands [400.11].  
2. loan translation of שֶׁ (Bendavid, I, p. 87; Rabin, *Scripta Hierosolymitana*, 4, p. 148; Polzin, p. 128).
- אשר לא כ/ב 'without' [400.14].
- בדל *nifal* 'to be separate' (?; Polzin, pp. 128–129).
- בוא ל *qal*, 'come to', the preference of ל over אָל here is typical of late BH, DSS Hebrew and MH; being a further example of the retreat of אָל in post-exilic Hebrew (G. Brin, *Lešonenu*, 43 (1979), pp. 24–25; Strugnell & Qimron, § 3.5.2.2).
- בוע J. Carmignac, *La Règle de la Guerre...*, p. 261, took הבענה M 19: 12 (// צרונה M 12: 15) as *hifil* of the Aramaic בוע 'rejoice', rather than the Hebrew נבע (for the *hifil*, see 310.16).
- בוה *hifil* CD 9: 4 (cf. 310.16 and Moreshet, pp. 255, 269).
- על בוה *pH* 4: 2, 5; cf. Neh 2: 19.
- בור 'to scatter' (Qimron, TSb, A 4).
- [בין] הבין ב (*Gram.*, p. 293; Polzin, pp. 142–143; Strugnell & Qimron, § 3.5.2.3).
- בין x ל' [400.17].
- בני אנוש (*Beth Mikra*, 73 (1978), p. 148).

- בִּנְיָן 'structure' (Qimron, TSb, A 6; Hurvitz, *The P Source*, pp. 132–135).
- בַּעַת *nif'al* 'to be terrified' (H 1: 23 *et al.*, Driver, *Introduction*, p. 507; Polzin, pp. 145–146). *נבעת* governing מן is exclusive to DSS Hebrew (Thorion, p. 423).
- בִּקְשָׁה 4QMMT C 30; *בקש* followed by the relative pronoun occurs only once in BH (Dn 1: 8), being more frequent in MH. (Strugnell & Qimron, § 3.5.2.4).
- [בִּרְךָ] 1. *ברוך אתה אדני* (Hurvitz, *Post-Exilic Heb.*, pp. 50, 144–145).  
2. *ברך + שם + ה' + עולם* (*ib.*, p. 96).
- בִּרְרָא 'to select, choose' (Polzin, p. 131; Qimron, TSb, A 7). Note the special meaning of *ברור* = 'bright, white' M 5: 14. *ברול ברור* in M 5: 11 can mean either 'bright' or 'hardened' (see commentaries on M and the references cited there; cf. also the *Targum Yerushalmi* to Lev. 26: 19, and Z. Ben-Hayyim in *מוחקרים בלשון* [ed. M. Bar-Asher], Jerusalem 1985, pp. 48–49).
- בִּשְׁלֵשָׁה 'so that' 4QMMTB 12, C 32. This expression occurs in Ec 8: 17 and in one of Bar Kokhba's letters (DJD, II, pp. 165–166). In standard MH it does not exist, cf. *בדיל ד* (Strugnell & Qimron, § 3.5.2.5).
- גָּאַל 'to defile' (Qimron, TSb, A 8).
- גְּאָל 'defilement' (*ib.*).
- גְּבַר *pi'el* Sb 5: 28; in BH only Ec 10: 10 and Zechariah 10: 6, 12; also found in MH.
- גְּבִימִים 'roofs', instead of *גגות* (Qimron, TSb A 9).
- גְּדוּד 'army, troops' (?; Polzin, pp. 131–132).
- [גְּדוּלָּה] מגדול ועד קטן (Qimron, TSb A 10).
- גּוּרְלָה 'community' (Hurvitz, *Post-Exilic Heb.*, p. 155. On *גורל* = 'decision' see J. Licht, *Beth Mikra*, 2 (1956), pp. 91–92; for *גורל* 'time' see 500.3).
- גּוּרְלוֹת plural, in the phrase *הפיל גורלות* instead of *הפיל גורל* etc.; S 5: 3 (Polzin, p. 42; A. Brenner, *Beth Mikra*, 79 (1979), p. 403).
- גָּלַל *hithpolel* (also *polel* [once], and *polal* [once]) 'to pollute', e.g. S 4: 21, H 17: 19. *התגולל* in this meaning is found in Ben-Sira 12: 14 and in later Hebrew sources. Cf. also Is 9: 4 *מגוללה*, best understood in this sense (see Ginzberg, p. 286, Wernberg-Møller, S, p. 85; Licht, S, p. 103; *חי ילון*, 95–94, 91 עמי' א, ירושלים תשל"א, עמ' 91, פרקי לשון, ירושלים תשל"א, עמ' 91).
- בִּדְבָק 'doing good' etc. This usage occurs in BH only once — in a late Psalm — 119: 31. It occurs elsewhere, however, in the Second Temple literature (Licht, S, p. 59).

- דבר בתוך (Thorion, p. 419).  
 דָּוִד written with *yod* (Kutscher, *Isaiah*, pp. 5, 79).  
 דָּרוֹם 'south' (Qimron, TSb, A 11).  
 דַּרַשׁ 'to study the commands of God' (Hurvitz, *Post-Exilic Heb.*, pp. 134).  
 הִיָּה + participle [400.01].  
 הִלֵּךְ *pi'el* S 8: 18 *et al.* Hurvitz (*The P Source*, pp. 48–52) considers the use of the *pi'el* (instead of the *qal*) as characteristic of the later stage of the language.
- זָהָב טוֹב (TS 36: 11) זָהָב טוֹב appears in BH only in 2 Ch 3: 5, 8 (replacing זָהָב טוֹר 1 K 6: 20; cf. Gn 2: 12; also הכתם הטוב Lamentations 4: 1). In biblical Aramaic, we find זָהָב טוֹב Dn 2: 32. In rabbinic literature, it is mentioned as one of seven kinds of gold (e.g. Yerushalmi Yoma, ch. 4: 4).
- זָהָר *nifal* 'to be warned' 4QMMT B 12, 45. The verb זָהָר is basically typical of the post-classical period and of Aramaic. The *nifal* זָהָר is frequently found instead of the classical BH usage נִשְׁמַר (Hurvitz, *The P Source*, pp. 126–128).
- זָוַע 'to move, deviate' (S 7: 18; BDB, p. 266).  
 זָדוֹן 'insolent' (Qimron, *Waw and Yod*, p. 110; *Gram.*, p. 293).  
 זָנָח *hif'il* 'to reject' (Polzin, pp. 133–134; see also 310.16, and Moreshet, pp. 253, 267).  
 זָעַף 'storm (of the sea)' H 6: 22, 7: 4 (A. Brenner, *Beth Mikra*, 79 (1979), p. 399).  
 זָעַק 'to cry' (Qimron, TSb, A 13); for the *hif'il* וּמוֹעִיקִים TS 59: 6, see [310.16]; in BH, the *hif'il* occurs only in Jonah 3: 7; Job 35: 9.  
 זָקַף 'to raise up' (S 7: 11, Hurvitz, *Post-Exilic Heb.*, pp. 93–95).
- [חָבַר] הִתְחַבֵּר S 11: 8 (Thorion, p. 427).  
 חָג מִצּוֹת without the definite article (Qimron TSb, A 14).  
 חָדַשׁ *hithpa'el* (*Gram.* p. 293).  
 [חָדַשׁ] בָּא לְחָדַשׁ (Qimron, TSb, A 15).  
 חֹב 'debt', חֹבֵינִי 4Q179 1 I: 14 (Hurvitz, *The P Source*, pp. 128–131).
- חוּץ לְ 'outside'. This construction is found in MH and rarely in Second Temple Hebrew (Qimron, TSb A 17; Strugnell & Qimron, § 3.5.2.8).
- חוּץ מִן 'except' (Qimron, TSb A 16).  
 (לְ)חוּץ מִן 'outside' (*ib.*; Strugnell & Qimron, § 3.5.2.8).  
 חוּצָה The final *he* here, as well as in some other adverbs, should be considered as an adverbial termination. Originally, this *he* expressed the direction, but in post-exilic Hebrew, it

- became meaningless and prepositions were added to the  
adverb. e.g. מחוצה 4Q491 1-3: 9, ולחוצה TS 42: 4  
(Strugnell & Qimron, § 3.5.2.8) [340].
- חור 'white stuff' (?) 4Q405 23 II: 9.
- חוק *hif'il* 'to become strong' אל להחזיק בגבורת אל M 10: 5 (see  
BDB, p. 304-305).
- חטאות 'sin-offerings' TS 35: 12; in BH, the plural is attested  
only in 1 K 12: 17, Neh 10: 34 [330.3b].
- חיה third person perfect of *qal*, חיה CD 3: 16. In classical BH,  
this form is built on the analogy of the geminated verb חי.  
The form חיה is typical of post-exilic Hebrew; in MH, the  
verb חיה is formed only on the analogy of third weak  
verbs. (See G. Haneman, *Archive of the New Dictionary  
of Rabbinic Literature* [ed. M.Z. Kadari], Ramat-Gan  
1974, pp. 24-29; Hurvitz, *The P Source*, pp. 46-47).
- חנן ורחום H 16: 16 (only traces of the first word). Hurvitz (*Post-  
Exilic Heb.*, pp. 104-106) pointed out that this word-  
order is the late BH one corresponding to רחום וחנן in  
classical BH.
- חסדים plural, referring to human acts, 4QMMT C 27. (Cf. גמילות  
in MH — Strugnell & Qimron, § 3.5.2.9).
- חשבון (S 6: 20 *et al.*, Driver, *Introduction*, p. 475; Polzin, pp.  
138-139).
- [ידיה] *hif'il* infinitive without *lamed* used as a noun,  
'thanksgiving' (*Gram.*, p. 294).
- יותר pH 7: 7 (could also be read ויתר; *Gram.* p. 294).
- ירושלים (instead of ירושלם — Kutscher, *Isaiah*, pp. 5, 106-107).
- ישעיה (instead of ישעיהו, *ib.*, pp. 4-5; cf. צדיקה below).
- ישכאל 'the laity' 4QMMT B 74, S 8: 6, 9: 6 (opposed to כוהנים  
and בני אהרן). This usage, which is typical of post-exilic  
social structure, occurs in later biblical books (Strugnell  
& Qimron, § 3.5.2.14).
- [כל] זה ובכל זה (Qimron, TSb, A 19).
- כלי אור 4Q503 III: 9. כלי as a member of the heavenly host (מאן in  
Aramaic) is known also from Ben-Sira (see M. Kister,  
*Lešonenu*, 47 [1983], p. 142).
- כלכל *hithpa'el* יתכלכלו 4Q511 1: 8. This lexeme, not found in  
BH, occurs twice in Ben-Sira (12: 15, 43: 3).
- [כן] used temporally Sa 1: 11; in the Bible, it occurs only in  
Ec 8: 10 and Esther 4: 16. In the Targum, בכן is given as  
translation for the word או. In Ben-Sira 35: 2, we find  
בכין as a marginal gloss to ואחר ובכין.
- כנס 'enter' (Qimron, TSb, A 20; Hurvitz, *The P Source*, pp.  
123-126).
- כתב 'writing' 1Q34 1-3: 7 (Hurvitz, *Post-Exilic Heb.*, pp.

- 58–59; Polzin, p. 139) [330.1c].
- בַּתֵּל 'wall' CD 12: 17.
- ל used temporarily, e.g. לאהרית הימים pH 9: 6 (Qimron, TSb, A 21; and see העריבות 500.3).
- לֶב אָדָד (Gram., p. 295, No. 30).
- למד ב Sa 1: 7; cf. Is 40: 14 (Thorion, p. 412).
- לְמַעַל מִן (Gram., p. 294).
- לעג על pH 4: 2 (Ben-Yehuda, *Dictionary*, V, p. 2708; on the *hif'il* הִלְעִיג, see 310.16, Polzin, p. 134, and Moreshet, pp. 254, 268, 270).
- לפני in the expression הישר והטוב לפני ה' e.g. S 1: 2 (Qimron, TSb, A 22; Strugnell & Qimron, § 3.5.2.17).
- לקח 'buy' (Qimron, TSb, A 23).
- מִדָּע 'knowledge'. This late word, not occurring in the Tannaitic literature, is apparently an Aramaism (Gram., p. 294; Polzin, p. 141; Strugnell & Qimron, § 3.5.2.18).
- מִדְרָשׁ 'exposition' (Gram., p. 294; Polzin, pp. 141–142).
- מה אשר 1Q27 1 I: 4; loan translation of מה ש Ec 1: 9, and frequently in MH.
- מוֹעֵדוֹת instead of מועדים CD 6: 18, 12: 14; cf. 2 Ch 8: 13.
- מוֹשֵׁב 'session' (L.H. Schiffman, *The Halakhah at Qumran*, Leiden, 1975, pp. 68–70).
- מְלֵאָה 'pregnant' (Qimron, TSb, A 25).
- מְלֻכּוֹת (Hurvitz, *Post-Exilic Heb.*, pp. 79–80).
- מָמוֹן 'money' (Gram., p. 298).
- מִמְשָׁל S 9: 24 *et al.* (BDB, p. 606).
- מִן unassimilated [200.16].
- מְעוֹל (Qimron, TSb, A 28).
- [מְעַלָּה] מִבְּנֵי מִן × שנה ולמעלה (Qimron TSb, A 29; Hurvitz, *The P Source*, pp. 107–109).
- [מַעַן] לא (Qimron TSb, A 30).
- מַעֲרָב 'west' (*ib.*, A 31).
- מִפְלְגָה 'division' (?) S 4: 17 (in BH only 2 Ch 35: 12).
- מצא with the intellectual sense 'to find, to be aware that' and governing two objects: במצאךְ מִקְצַת דְּבָרֵינוּ כֵּן 'when you will be aware that some of our customs are true' 4QMMT C 21. This usage is attested in late BH, in MH and in Aramaic (Strugnell & Qimron, § 3.5.2.22).
- מִקְוָה 'hope', in the phrase יש מקוה (כִּי) H 3: 20, 6: 6, 9: 14, fragment 1: 7; cf. Ezra 10: 2, 1 Ch 29: 15 (ואֵין מִקְוָה).
- מִקָּח 'buying' CD 13: 15 (Polzin, pp. 144–145).
- מרה 'to urge on' CD 11: 12.
- משל על 'to rule' (Qimron, TSb, A 32).
- נרב *hithpa'el* 'to volunteer, devote oneself' (Gram. p. 295; Polzin, pp. 135–136).

- נסוי 'trial' (*Gram.*, p. 302) [330.1b].
- נסך *pi'el* 'to pour out' TS 21: 10. In BH, the root (in this meaning) occurs almost exclusively in *qal* and *hifil*. The *Pi'el*, which is the common form in MH, occurs only once in the Bible (1 Ch 11: 18).
- נצח *pi'el*. נצח with different meanings (and different syntactical constructions) is prevalent in late BH, in MH and in Aramaic. (See Driver, *Introduction*, p. 537; N.H. Torczyner, *Lešonenu*, 6 (1934–35) pp. 120–126; S. Japhet, *Lešonenu*, 31 (1967) p. 264; E.Y. Kutscher, *ib.*, pp. 280–281; Z. Ben-Ḥayyim, עברית וארמית נוסח שומרון, III b, Jerusalem 1967, p. 46). It is difficult to tell which of the meanings fits the attestations in M 8: 1, 9 *et al.* לנצח מלחמה etc.; the meanings 'to strengthen, to urge, encourage' seem preferable here (cf. Torczyner; Kutscher). The exact meaning of נצח in TS 58: 11 is also unclear (cf. Z. Ben-Ḥayyim, *Lešonenu*, 42 (1978), pp. 280–281) [on מתנצחת see 500.3].
- נשא אשה 'to take as wife' (as against אשה לקח in classical BH) TS 57: 15, 18 (BDB, p. 671; Polzin, p. 146).
- נשכה 'chamber' (Qimron, TSb, A 34).
- נתן in the construction ותן לא לעשות 'let someone do' ואת לוי נתן לא לעשות ותתן לו לאגוד ה[קדש]תה ותתן לו לאגוד 5Q13 2: 7 (cf. Esther 8: 11, 2 Ch 20: 10). Classical BH construes נתן 'let' with the accusative לעשות × נתן את × (or נתנו לעשות) (BDB, p. 679g).
- נתן לב ל- 'to determine, cause to determine' (*Gram.*, p. 295; BDB p. 525, I).
- סוף 'end' (*Gram.*, p. 295; Polzin, pp. 146–147).
- סקלית 'folly' (*Gram.*, p. 295) [330.1c].
- סליחות 'forgiveness', and maybe 'penitential prayers' [330.3b].
- ספר משה 'the Torah' 4QMMT C 17, 25. This phrase is typical only of sources from the Second Temple period (cf. M. Baillet DJD, III, p. 90, and add: Ezra 6: 18 — Aramaic). Compare the parallel texts: בתורה בספר משה 2 K 14: 6; בתורה בספר משה 2 Ch 25: 4 (cf. Strugnell & Qimron, s 3.5.2.24).
- [עד ל] 'עד לאין מספר' (Qimron, TSb, A 35), עד לאין מספר H 4: 27 (cf. Polzin, p. 69).
- עולמים 'eternity' (Hurvitz, *Post-Exilic Heb.*, pp. 101–104).
- עזרה 'enclosure' (Qimron, TSb, A 36; Hurvitz, *The P Source*, pp. 78–81).
- על instead of אֵל: עקו על pH 1: 4, שלח על (see below).
- [עלה] העלה למזבח (Qimron, TSb, A 36\*).
- עם + infinitive used temporally [400.04].
- עמקם as predicate of a nominal sentence (*Gram.*, p. 295).
- [עמד] 'in (his) standing-place' (Hurvitz, *Post-Exilic*



- Heb.*, pp. 39–40; Polzin, p. 148).
- עמר 'arise, appear' (*Gram.*, p. 295; Polzin, p. 148; Hurvitz, *The P Source*, pp. 95–97).
- עָמַל (?) 'labour' לעוֹבֵל לְמוֹ הוּן וְעָמַל כְּפִים S 9: 22 (BDB, p. 765).
- עָנָה *hithpa'el* 'to fast' (Qimron, TSb, A 37).
- עָצַר כַּח 'to control power = to be able' H 10: 11 *et al.* (Driver, *Introduction*, p. 507; Polzin, p. 148).
- עָשָׂה 'occurs to him' S 9: 24 (Thorion, p. 416).
- עָשָׂה רְצוֹן 'to do (God's) will' (Hurvitz, *Post-Exilic Heb.*, pp. 73–78; *Gram.*, p. 295).
- עָשָׂה תוֹרָה 'to maintain the precepts of the Torah' (S. Abramson, *Lešonenu*, 19 (1954), pp. 61–65; for עָשָׂה alone in the same meaning see Strugnell & Qimron).
- עַת אֲשֶׁר 'when' אֲשֶׁר בַּעַת 4Q175: 21, 4Q177 1: 5, TS 33: 2; שְׁמַעַת שׁ 4QMMT B 61. In BH, עַת אֲשֶׁר occurs only in the later books. Cf. שׁ עַת in Mishna Orla 1: 2 and the conjunctions שׁ בְּשַׁעָה שׁ, בּוֹמֵן שׁ, and בַּעֲרֹנָא דִּי (Aramaic) (Strugnell & Qimron, § 3.5.2.27).
- פָּטוּר 'free' 4Q491 1–3: 8 (cf. 1 Ch 9: 33).
- פְּסָחִים 'sacrifices of passover' (Qimron, TSb, A 38; Polzin, pp. 42–43) [cf. 330.3b].
- פְּרָרְיָן 'a temple precinct' (Qimron, TSb, A 39; Polzin, p. 149; E.S. Rosenthal in *Hebrew Language Studies, Presented to Prof. Z. Ben-Hayyim*, pp. 509–512).
- פֶּשֶׁר 'interpretation, realization' (*Gram.*, p. 296; S.D. Sperling, *Studies in Late Hebrew Lexicography in the Light of Akkadian*, Columbia University Ph.D. 1973; pp. 53–92).
- פְּתָנָם 'word, command' (*Gram.*, p. 296).
- צְדָקָה (instead of צְדִיקָה); the suffix יָה is the post-exilic parallel of the classical theophoric form יְיָהוּ (cf. ישׁעִיָּה above and Strugnell & Qimron, § 3.5.2.28).
- [צוֹי] צוּאִים 'filthy' CD 10: 11; 11: 3.
- צוּרָה 'form' M 5: 5 *et al.* (Hurvitz, *The P Source*, pp. 82–84).
- [צִלָּח] (וְתִצְלַח [בְּ] כּוֹל, TS 58: 21, וְהִצְלִיחַ בְּכּוֹל דְּרָבּוּי (RB, 73 (1966), p. 104). It is also known from Ben Sira 41: 1, and from Aramaic. The construction in TS reflects the change in meaning; הִצְלִיחַ + דְּרָבּוּי, originally 'cause the way to be swift' (e.g. Dt 28: 29), means here 'to succeed in everything', and the words בְּכּוֹל דְּרָבּוּי are equal to בְּכָל סוֹ.
- צָרְךָ 'need' (Qimron, TSb, A 40).
- קָבַל *pi'el* 'to receive' (*Gram.*, p. 296; A. Hurvitz, *HThR*, 67 [1974], pp. 20–23; Polzin, pp. 149–150). Note especially the use of קָבַל as a terminus technicus for receiving a

- poured liquid in a container 4QMMT B 52 (Strugnell & Qimron, § 3.5.2.29).
- קדם *pi'el* used temporally לוא לקדם עתיהם ולוא להתאחר מכול מועדיהם S 1: 14–15. Similar usages occur in Jonah 4: 3; Ps 119: 147–148. In MH, one finds קדם in *hif'il* in opposition to אחר (*pi'el*), e.g. Mishnah, Megilah 1: 3. The question of the origin of this usage needs further study.
- קדש *hithpa'el* referring to God (M 17: 2). The root קדש in *hithpa'el* is quite common in BH, Both classical and post-classical. Yet when referring to God, only post-classical Hebrew employs the *hithpa'el*, whereas classical BH employs the *nif'al* (Hurvitz, *The P Source*, pp. 39–43).
- קים *pi'el* קים CD 20: 12 (Hurvitz, *Post-Exilic Heb.*, pp. 139–142; *The P Source*, pp. 32–35).
- קלט ב *pi'el* pH 4: 3, also attested in Ben Sira 13: 4.
- קנה *hif'il* מקני הון 'possessors of wealth' S 11: 2. The *hif'il* of קנה appears in Second Temple texts and thereafter: in BH (only Zechariah 13: 5), in Ben Sira (9: 2; 37: 1), and in MH. (Cf. Yalon, p. 83).
- קץ 'epoch' (Ginzberg, p. 29; *Gram.*, p. 296).
- [קצת] מקצת This word, which appears frequently in 4QMMT (e.g. B 1), in late BH, and in MH, is apparently an Aramaism (Strugnell & Qimron, § 3.5.2.23).
- קרב *hithpa'el* 'to approach' — not attested in BH, but occurs in Ben Sira 13: 10 (*Gram.*, p. 298).
- קרכים dual 'entrails' (Qimron, TSb, A 41) [cf. 330.3b]
- קראי 'worthy' (*ib.*, A 42; on the modal use of קראי + infinitive in 4QMMT B 12 see Strugnell & Qimron, § 3.5.3.10).
- ראות 'look' (*Gram.*, p. 296).
- [רב] לרוב used attributively pH 11: 2 (Polzin, p. 140).
- רבוא 'myriad' (*Gram.*, p. 296).
- רבע *pu'al* participle 'square' (Qimron, TSb, A 43; Hurvitz, *The P Source*, pp. 27–30).
- רוח 'quarter, direction' (Qimron, TSb, A 44).
- רוז 'mystery' (also attested in Ben Sira; see Ben-Yehuda, *Dictionary*, XIII, p. 6514).
- רחם על 'to pity' (Hurvitz, *Post-Exilic Heb.*, p. 109).
- רעה 'companion'; attested in the Bible only in Ct and Ju 11: 37 (as *ketib*); dialectal?
- רצון 'will, desire' (Qimron, TSb, A 45).
- רשה 'to permit' (J.C. Greenfield, *Henoch Yalon Memorial Volume*, pp. 79–82).
- רשם 'to inscribe' (*Gram.*, p. 296).
- רשע *hif'il* 'act wickedly' (310.16; BDB, p. 957. II, 3).

- ש- (Gram., p. 24; Strugnell & Qimron, § 3.5.2.30; cf. אשר above).
- שאל על, על 'be asked concerning something' S 6: 15, 18, 7: 21, 8: 25. שאל occurs in the late biblical books, in MH and in Aramaic. Classical BH uses ל שאל (cf. שאל אל in S 7: 21). The *nif'al* used in juridical contexts is frequent in MH, as is the *hithp'el* in Aramaic. Kutscher (*Studies*, p. ט) also compares the meaning of שאל in Akkadian; cf. also MH שאלה and Aramaic שאילתא in similar usages, e.g. שאלת דינין translating משפטים in Jer 12: 1).
- שאָר 'the rest' S 6: 8, M 2: 11, 11: 15. שאָר in this meaning occurs only in the late biblical books. In Isaiah it means 'remnant' (see Kutscher, *Isaiah*, p. 385; Ben-Yehuda, *Dictionary*, XIV, p. 6815).
- שבועים 'weeks', with the plural suffix ימים [330.3a].
- שבח *pi'el* and *hithpa'el* 'to praise', שבו 4Q402 1 I: 32, שבו *ib.*, 1 I: 32, ומשתבח 4Q502 9: 10 (Hurvitz, *Post-Exilic Heb.*, pp. 122–126).
- [שָׁבַת] שבתות קדושו 'His holy sabbaths' CD 3: 14 (Ginzberg, p. 13; but cf. Ex 16: 23).
- שוב *hif'il* 'to reply' S 6: 25 *et al.* השיב with this meaning is prevalent in MH. Classical BH uses instead the fuller expression דבר השיב. In late BH, however, we do find the MH usage, e.g.
- וישיבו העם את המלך לאמר 2 Ch 10: 16  
וישיבו העם את המלך דבר לאמר 1 K 12: 16
- Exceptional is the usage of השיב (דבר) in the Book of Job (e.g. 13: 22). This can be explained there as an Aramaism (see E.Y. Kutscher, *Words and Their History*, Jerusalem 1961, p. 77; Hebrew). Note also the expression ולהשיב ענה S 11: 2 in which ענה is used adverbially (cf. Pr 26: 16; Dn 2: 14). Another late feature is the introduction of the object by means of *lamed*: השיב לא דבר (H 8: 24); here classical BH uses the direct object, as can be seen in the following parallel texts:
- ונשיב דבר את העם הזה 1 K 12: 9  
להשיב לעם הזה דבר 2 Ch 10: 6
- שכל, שכל 'to understand' (Thorion, p. 416; cf. הבין ב. [400.16])
- [שָׁלוֹם] שָׁלוֹם על ישראל 4Q503 56–58: 12 *et al.* This is a blessing formula, established during the Second Temple period (A. Hurvitz, *Lešonenu*, 27–28 (1963–1964), pp. 297–302).
- שלח על 'to send, to inform' (?; Qimron, TSb, A 47).
- שליט 'ruler' (?; Hurvitz, *Post-Exilic Heb.*, pp. 134–136).
- שלם 'to be finished', with time-expressions (Qimron, TSb, A 48).

- שִׁלְמָה 'cloth' (*ib.*, A 49).  
 שָׁמַם *hif'il* (?) [310.16]; cf. Ez 3: 15; Job 23: 5; Micah 6: 13.  
 שָׁעַן ב שָׁעַן ב S 4: 4 (Thorion, p. 415).  
 שָׂר 'angel' S 3: 20 (BDB, p. 978 col. II).  
 [שָׂרָת] מִשְׂרָת 'Servant of God' (Hurvitz, *Post-Exilic Heb.*, pp. 122–126).  
 תוּר 'turn' (?) S 6: 11.  
 תַּעֲנִית 'affliction' (Hurvitz, *Post-Exilic Heb.*, p. 44 — also in the plural תַּעֲנִיּוֹת, see [330.3b, 500.3]).  
 תִּשְׁבַּחַת 'praise'; occurs for the first time in Ben Sira 51: 12; for the plural form תִּשְׁבַּחוֹת see [200.22] and *Gram.*, p. 299; the by-form תוֹשְׁבַחַת 4Q403 1 I: 31 is known from both Aramaic and later Hebrew sources (see Ben-Yehuda, *Dictionary*).

500.2 *Words Mainly Attested in the DSS and in the Tannaitic and Amoraitic [MH<sup>2</sup>] Literature*

- אבות designating the three patriarchs; CD 8: 18 (Ginzberg, pp. 205–208); the form אבותינו in the same meaning (M 13: 7 *et al.*) needs further study.
- אגדל 'a measure of length', feminine גודלים M 5: 13.
- אהל 'tent' (?; *Gram.*, 100.212).
- [אחת] 'very' (M. Mishor, *Lešonenu*, 36 (1972), p. 311).
- אכל 'to eat', *pi'el*, מאכליהם 4Q513 2 II: 5.
- אכל *hif'il* in the expression לקדשים מ' להאכילם etc. 4QMMT B 55 'to let to eat from the sacrifices' cf. 4Q513 2 II: 3. This usage is frequent in MH (Strugnell & Qimron, § 3.5.3.1, and נגע in 500.3).
- אלוהות 'divinity, divine power' 4Q400 1 I: 2, 4Q403 1 I: 33; cf. אלהו in Aramaic (Ben-Hayyim נוטח שומרין עברית וארמית נוטח שומרין IIIb, Jerusalem 1967, p. 43; and dictionaries).
- [אמן] אחר + אמן + אמר S 1:20; 2:10, 18 (cf. Mishna *Taanith* 2:5).
- אמצע 'middle' (Qimron, TSb, B 1).
- אמר ש in contexts of the determining of Halakhic opinion. Cf. אמר אשר Ec 8: 14, Neh 3: 19 (Strugnell & Qimron, § 3.5.3.2).
- אנו 'we' [321.14, 322.23].
- אף 'also', occurs frequently in 4QMMT and rarely in the other DSS and in BH (Strugnell & Qimron, § 5.3.3.3).
- אפך (=הפך) 4Q501 1: 4. The root אפך occurs both in Aramaic and MH. In 1QIs<sup>a</sup> and in the Samaritan Pentateuch we find מאפכה (=מהפכה). Cf. also אפכות in the Samaritan Pentateuch (Dt 32: 20; Kutscher, *Isaiah*, p. 251).
- אָרֶךְ אפים (construct state) 4Q511 52–59: 1, H 16: 16 (?). The form אָרֶךְ is not attested in the Bible. From the feminine form אָרְכָה and the construct אָרְךָ it is not clear whether the basic form was אָרֶךְ or אָרֶךְ (note also the form אָרֶךְ in MH). In DSS Hebrew, the form ארוך is found both as absolute and construct. The construct form, at least, differs from that of BH.
- אשור 'Syria' (ירושלים בימי בית שני, ירושלים) ד' פלוסר, פרקים בתולדות ירושלים בימי בית שני, עמ' 443
- אשמות plural, guilt-offerings (Qimron, TSb, B 2).
- בד בבד 'separately' S 4: 16, 25 (Wernberg-Møller, S, p. 84, MH<sup>2</sup>).
- בדל *hof'al* participle 'to separate' (Qimron, TSb, B 3).
- בוא used as a technical term for both the application for *Haberuth* and for conversion (S. Lieberman, *JBL*, 71

- (1952), p. 202).
- בין... ובין 'both' 4Q186 I: 1 (Haneman, *Lešonenu*, 40 (1976), p. 36).
- בלה 'confusing' (MH<sup>2</sup>; Yadin, M, p. 308).
- בן ברית 'Jew' (*Gram.*, p. 297).
- בריה 'creation' (Qimron, TSb, B 3\*).
- ברית אברהם 'circumcision' CD 12: 11 (Ginzberg, p. 285).
- ברך *pi'el* 'to say benedictions'. In BH בָּרַךְ almost always takes a direct (personal) object, while in DSS Hebrew it can be used intransitively with the above new meaning. Note also the phrase ל בָּרַךְ, frequent in *Shirot Olat Hashabbat*.
- ברך 'knee' (*Gram.*, p. 297; 330.1a).
- גדר *hithpa'el*, התגדר 'to cut oneself' (?; Qimron, TSb, B 4).
- גמר 'end' pH 7: 2 [330.1c].
- גר 'proselyte' 4Q174 I: 4, CD 14: 4.
- גרד *qal* 'to scrape' (Qimron, TSb, B 5).
- דורים 'generations' [330.3a].
- דיש 'threshed grain' or 'place of threshing', ולוא תחסום שור על דישו TS 52: 12. In BH, דִּישׁ means 'threshing time' Lv 26: 5. The form בְּדִישׁוֹ Dt 25: 4 (the biblical source of our passage) had been understood either as an infinitive (= בדושו) or as a noun (= בְּדִישׁוֹ). The TS, which took it as a noun (cf. the Samaritan tradition), changed the biblical phrase making it syntactically unequivocal (cf. Job. 6: 5). The halakhic aspect of this change can not be dealt with here.
- דף board' (?; Qimron TSb, B 6).
- דקדק *pu'al* participle 'precisely explicated' CD 16: 2, 3 (MH<sup>2</sup>; cf. Ginzberg, p. 286).
- הינים '*hins*' [330.3b].
- הלכה 'walking' (Kutscher, *Isaiah*, p. 199).
- הנף 'waving' (Qimron, TSb, B 7; 330.1b).
- גלד 'embryo' (*ib.*, B 8; Strugnell & Qimron, § 5.3.3.4). For another explanation, see M. Bar Asher, תעודה, 3 (1983), p. 156.
- זונות (=זונת) 4QMMT B 69, 76; this form occurs also in CD 8: 15 and in some MSS of MH (Strugnell & Qimron, § 3.1.1.1). For another explanation, see M. Bar-Asher, תעודה, 3 (1983), p. 156.
- זמר (?) 4Q402 1 I: 6.
- זוע *hithpa'el* 'to be shaken' S 8: 8 *et al.*
- זעטוט 'a little boy' (*Gram.*, p. 297).
- חבל 'destruction', מלאכי חבל S 4: 12 *et al.*, רוחי [ח]בלו, M 14: 10. In MH, we find חָבַל = 'destruction', but מלאכי חבלה. Cf. חָבַל in biblical Aramaic (Dn 6: 24 *et al.*)

- חגר 'lame' M 7: 4 (cf. S.D. Sperling, *Studies in Late Hebrew Lexicography in the Light of Akkadian*, Columbia University, Ph.D., 1973, pp. 1-24; id., *JANES*, 3 (1970-1971), pp. 120-128).
- חוב *qal*, 'to be culpable', חבו (read: חבו) CD 3: 10 (cf. Ginzberg, p. 287; Hurvitz, *The P Source*, pp. 128-131).
- חובה 'doom'; לחובת 4Q162 1 II: 1.
- חמר 'clay' (*Gram.*, § 100.212 and note 15).
- חמש 'the pentateuch' (?) חומשים 1Q30 1: 4.
- חרבן CD 5: 20.
- [חשב] עם 'to be reckoned with' (Thorion, p. 427).
- טהר (?) TS 52: 11, 4QMMT B 16. The word טהר could be simply a defective spelling for טהור. But perhaps we have here rather another pattern, טהר, attested by some reliable MSS of the Tannaitic literature (though in the reflexive meaning), and perhaps by Samaritan Hebrew (contra Ben-Hayyim, *Grammar*, p. 194). Cf. also CD 10: 10. Was this form patterned after its antonym טמא ?
- טהרה both the form and the specific meanings of this word in DSS Hebrew are identical to those of MH. On the form see [100.2]. On the meaning 'ritually clean food' see S. Lieberman, *JBL*, 71 (1952), p. 203. On the meaning 'rules of purity' (S 6: 22); cf. M. Jastrow, *A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature*, New York 1903, p. 520).
- טוח 'sealed with plaster' CD 11: 9.
- טמא על 'to become unclean' (Qimron, TSb, B 10).
- טמאה 'impurity' [100.2].
- טפחים 'hand-breadths' (plural suffix יים instead of ית) M 5: 13, 14 [330.3b].
- יד 'Handle' M 5: 14.
- ידיעה 'knowledge' ידיעות (emended to ידעות) H 12: 10.
- יומים 'days' (*Gram.*, p. 257, note 46); the form יומיי is attested in the Talmud Yerushalmi, Berakhot 14: 2 (=MH<sup>2</sup>; cf. also 60-57 ירושלים תש"א, פרקי לשון, ילון, פרקי לשון, 60-57).
- יחד *hithpa'el* 'to unite' — *taw* assimilated to *yod* [311.5].
- יבח *hifil*, 'to prove' CD 9: 3, 18 (Ginzberg, p. 288); this meaning is rarely found in BH (only in Job — BDB, p. 407).
- יסוד 'law, principle' (?) S 7: 17 *et al.* (see Ginzberg, p. 289, and commentaries on S and CD, but cf. 500.3).
- יסור 'bond' (*Gram.*, p. 297).
- יתר 'more' (if this is the correct reading; see יתור 500.1).
- כאר 'to be ugly' (*Gram.*, p. 297).
- כבר *pi'el* 'sweep' (Qimron, TSb, B 12).

- כבוט 'washing' CD 11: 22.  
 כבס *hithpa'el* 'to be washed' (Qimron, TSb, B 13).  
 מוכן [כון] 'food prepared before the Sabbath' (Ginzberg, p. 290).  
 כיור 'paneling work' (Qimron, TSb, B 14).  
 קליל 'crown' (*Gram.*, p. 299; MH<sup>2</sup>).  
 כלכל ב S 3: 17 (Thorion, p. 416).  
 כלל 'all' 4Q169, 3, II: 6 [330.1c].  
 כמה 'how' [רן] 4Q481 1: 2. The use of כמה rather than מה in such idioms is a late feature, known from MH and Aramaic (Hurvitz, *RQ*, V (1965), pp. 231–232).  
 כמו ש 'as if' CD 20: 4 (in Rabin ed. ש במי). This combination, also found in MH<sup>2</sup>, is a loan translation of the Aramaic כמא ד (M. Sokoloff, *Lešonenu*, 33 (1969), pp. 141–142).  
 כנסת 'assembly' (4Q169 3 III: 7; 4QpGen 1, I: 6).  
 כתנת 'shirt' [100.2].  
 [לבן] 'whiteness, garments of white stuff' (A. Hurvitz, *Studies in Bible and Ancient Near East Presented to S.E. Loewenstamm*, Jerusalem, 1978, pp. 140–141). For the unusual meaning of the word לבן in M 5: 10, see commentaries on M.  
 לחה 'moisture' TS 49: 12, 4QMMT B 52, 53 (Qimron, TSb, B 15).  
 מבוי 'entering' מבואי [200.18].  
 מדה 'nature, way' (ב)מדת האמת S 8: 4; spiritual meanings of this word are typical of MH; cf. H 6: 26.  
 מדכס 'treading' 4Q403 34: 1.  
 מולד 'birth' H 3: 11 *et al.* (MH<sup>2</sup>).  
 מושב 'seat, chair' (Qimron, TSb, B 16).  
 מזרח צפון 'north-east' (*ib.*, B 17).  
 מזרחי 'eastern' (*ib.*, B 18).  
 משעת 'plantation' (*Gram.*, p. 297), add: 4QMMT B 57.  
 מנהג 'custom' CD 19: 3 (Ginzberg, p. 291).  
 מסכה 'winding staircase' (Qimron, TSb, B 19).  
 מסר 'to transmit' CD 3: 3.  
 מסרת 'military unit' (Ben-Ḥayyim, *Accentuation*, p. 211–214).  
 מעוט 'less' CD 10: 11.  
 מעמד 'post' (Yadin, M, pp. 203–204).  
 מערב צפון 'north-west' (Qimron, TSb, B 20).  
 מעשים 'precepts'. The word מעשים with this meaning in MH has been largely discussed: In BH, we note only the singular (Ex 18: 20; the LXX reads here the plural! Cf. discussion and bibliography in Strugnell & Qimron, s 3.5.3.4.a).  
 מקח וממכר 'trade' CD 13: 15.  
 [מרחל] 'a hamper containing forty seah of liquid' CD 10:



11. (S. Lieberman, *Greek in Jewish Palestine*, New York, 1942, p. 135).
- [מְשָׁכִים] 'at rising time' למשכים CD 10: 19 (S. Lieberman, *ib.*, p. 135; see also 500.1 — ל).
- מְשָׁמֵר 'a division for duty of priests and Levites' (?; Yadin, M, pp. 204–206; Qimron, TSb, B 21).
- נָגַע *pu'al* participle 'afflicted with leprosy' (*ib.*, B 22).
- נְדוּת plural 'impurities' [330.3b].
- נִחְשׂוּל 'wave' H 2: 12.
- נָטַל 'pick up' CD 11: 10.
- נָשָׂא וְנָתַן 'to trade' CD 13: 14. (M. Kister, *Lešonenu*, 47 (1983), pp. 138–139).
- נָשָׂא פָּנִים ל (Thorion, pp. 420–421).
- סָגְלָגַל 'elliptical' (MH<sup>2</sup>) 4Q186 2 I: 5.
- סָגַר 'socket (of a spear)' (?; Yadin, M, pp. 137–138; in MH<sup>2</sup> סָגַר = 'a lock').
- סָדַר 'to arrange, array' (*Gram.*, p. 298).
- סָדַר 'row, order' (*ib.*, note the phrase מְלַחְמָה = סְדוּרֵי קֶרְבָּא in Aramaic).
- [סָמָה] סוּמִים 'blind' 4QMMT B 44 (Strugnell & Qimron, s 3.5.3.5).
- סָמְנִים 'medicaments' CD 11: 10.
- סָדַר 'order, array' etc. (Ginzberg, p. 33, Wernberg-Møller, S., p. 44).
- עָבְרָה 'pregnant' 4QMMT B 33 (Strugnell & Qimron, s 3.5.3.6).
- עוֹנָה 'a period of time' 4Q491 1–3: 15, 16, 4Q493: 8, 10 (עוֹנָה in Ex 21: 10 has a special meaning).
- עוֹק *qal* 'to dig' H 8: 22.
- עָסְרָה 'cornice' (Qimron, TSb, B 23).
- עָלָב referring to participation in purities 4QMMT C 4 (Strugnell & Qimron, s 3.5.3.7).
- עָלָה 'pretext' (Qimron, TSb, B 24).
- עָמַל 'engagement in the Torah' pH 8: 2, 10: 12 (cf. עָמַל בְּתוֹרָה etc. in MH) contra Yalon, p. 67.
- עָרַב *pi'el* and *pu'al* S 6: 22, 4Q186 I: 6, TS 35: 12. Note that עָרַב (*pi'el* and *hithpa'el*) means in some passages 'have part in, form a partnership'. This meaning is known in the halakhic literature (עָרִיב), and may be found in the Bible (Pr 14: 10, 24: 21 — see Licht, S, p. 150; but cf. C. Rabin, *Qumran Studies*, Oxford 1957, pp. 22–36).
- עָרִיזוֹת plural, 'sexual impurity' (Qimron, TSb, B 25) [cf. 330.3b, 500.3].
- עָרַךְ (?) 'arranging' M 7: 3. Cf. עוֹרְכֵי מְלַחְמָה = עוֹרְכֵי מְלַחְמָה in the Babylonian Talmud, Sukkah, 3a.
- פֶּה 'mouth', construct (*Gram.*, p. 298).

- פזר *hithpa'el* corresponding to *nifal* in BH 4Q510 1: 3.  
פזר *pi'el*, causative = 'to frighten' S 4: 2, 4Q510 1: 4; also found in Medieval Hebrew.
- פטר *nifal* 'to go away' S 7: 10, 12.  
[פָּרָה] פרת החטאת 'the red heifer' 4QMMT B 13. This is the MH term; in the pentateuch the red heifer (פרה אדומה) is labeled חטאת alone חטאת (Strugnell & Qimron, § 3.5.3.8).  
פָּרוּשׁ 'explicit, setting out in order' M 4: 6 *et al.*
- פָּרְכוּת plural of פָּרַכְתָּ [330.3b].  
פָּרְצָה (?) 'frivolity' CD 1: 19 (Ginzberg, p. 294).  
פרש מן as a technical term for religious dissent 4QMMT C 3. Elsewhere in DSS Hebrew, the expression טור מן הדרך is used (Strugnell & Qimron, § 3.5.3.9).
- פשט *nifal* M 8: 6, 17: 10.  
פתה *hithpa'el* CD 15: 11.  
פְּתוּחַ ל 'open' (Qimron, TSb, B 26).  
צֶלֶה 'shadow' (?) בצלתנו 4Q502 6-10: 6.  
צפון מערב 'north-west' (Qimron, TSb, B 27).  
צרף *hithpa'el* 'to be refined' 4Q174 II: 4 (related to Dn 12: 10).
- קום *pi'el* 'rescue' בשבת אל יקימה CD 11: 14. For this meaning of קים in MH and in Aramaic, see M. Kister, מחקרי ירושלים, במחשבת ישראל, 3 (1984), pp. 356-357.
- קים 'enduring' H 13: 12.  
קצים 'periods' [330.3b]; MH<sup>2</sup>.  
קרב *pi'el* 'to offer a sacrifice' TS 20: 9-10 [twice]. The verb appears in *pi'el* with this general meaning, in the Tannaitic literature, but is used intransitively ('be sacrificed'). With transitive meaning it occurs possibly (judging from the defective spellings מקרבין) in Tosefta Zebahim 13: 13 (MS Vienna) instead of the usual *hifil*. In the present case (אשר קרב עמה נסך... אשר קרב עליה) (לבונה), the verb might well be interpreted as intransitive (*qal*) 'be sacrificed'; but then we are faced with a lack of gender concord between the subject לבונה and the verb. In either case, however, the construction is post biblical, for only the *hifil* occurs in the Bible in the meaning 'to sacrifice'.
- קרב 'to admit' S 7: 21 *et al.* (S. Lieberman, *JBL*, 71, (1952), pp. 19-20; on קרב governing ל, see Thorion, p. 421).  
קרבנות with plural suffix ית (Qimron, TSb, B 28) [cf. 330.3a].  
קרה *pu'al* 'covered' (*ib.*, B 29).  
קרוב ל 'close' (*ib.*, B 30).  
קרע 'to split (fish)' CD 12: 13 (see Ginzberg, p. 79 and Ben-Yehuda, *Dictionary*).

- ראה דם רב CD 5: 7 (Ginzberg, p. 295).  
 'majority' 4QMMT C 14 (Strugnell & Qimron, § 3.5.3.11).
- רבים רבד 'community' (S. Lieberman, *JBL*, 71 [1952], p. 199–206).  
 'paved terrace' (Qimron, TSb, B 31).
- רבע רבע 'quarter (¼)'. In both BH and MH the word is found (in the arithmetic meaning) only in connection with the dry measure (הקב) (in BH, only 2 K 6: 25). In TS 20: 06 we find the phrase רובע היום, i.e. about 9 AM. רובע instead of רבע, רביע is also found in Tosefta, Shebi'it 4: 3 MS Erfurt.
- רגל רגל *pu'al* participle 'tied over the leg' (Yadin, M, p. 127).
- רגש רגש *hithpa'el* 'to rage' H 2: 12, 3: 15, 16 (MH<sup>2</sup>).
- רדד רדד *pu'al* participle M 8: 5, 14 [see 500.3].
- רוחים רוחים [330.3a] (MH<sup>2</sup>).
- רחץ רחץ *pi'el* (Qimron, TSb, B 32).
- רס רס 'ris' (*ib.*, B 33).
- שבוע שבוע 'hepatad' S 10: 7, 8, CD 16: 4.
- שבח שבח 4Q402 1 I: 2 (see Ben-Yehuda, *Dictionary*, XIV, p. 6833; cf. also שבח [500.1] and תשבחה [500.3]).
- שוב שוב *hif'il*; 1. 'refute' (mostly על השיב — S 11: 18 *et al.* Yalon, p. 85; Wernberg-Møller, S, p. 154 — cf., however, Habakkuk 2: 1); 2. 'answer' (ל השיב S 11: 1; Thorion, p. 422).
- שוף שוף 'rubbed' CD 11: 4.
- שור שור *pu'al* participle 'twisted' (*Gram.*, § 311.45; MH<sup>2</sup>: *Midrash Agur*, ed. Enelow, p. 267).
- שיח שיח 'ditch' 4Q184 1: 3.
- שירות שירות plural 'songs' [330.3b].
- שית שית 'foundation' (שיתיהם H 3: 30; could be read שותיהם as well).
- שלם שלם 'deliver' (Qimron, TSb, B 34).
- שִׁלְשֵׁלֶת שִׁלְשֵׁלֶת 'chain' (*ib.*, B 35).
- שָׁמָא שָׁמָא 'lest' CD 15: 11.
- שָׁמַשִּׁים שָׁמַשִּׁים plural 'Sabbatical years' [330.3b].
- שָׁפוֹת שָׁפוֹת 'edges' ספוח M 5: 12 [330.3c] (cf. σφωθα in the Hexapla Ps 89: 35).
- תהלים תהלים plural [330.3a].
- תלמוד תלמוד 'teaching' 4Q169 3 II: 8.
- תערבת תערבת 'mixture, impurity' (Qimron, TSb, B 36; Strugnell & Qimron, § 3.5.3.12).
- תקן תקן 'to repair, straighten' 4QMMT C 30 (if the reading is correct).

## 500.3 Words Not Attested either in BH or in MH

- אברונים [330.3b].
- [אַבוּת] אבות 'intercessors' (Wernberg-Møller, S, p. 53, note 26; Kutscher, *Studies*, pp. תא-תב [330.1c].
- אַבִּיבוֹת plural, 'fresh, young ears of barley' (Qimron, TSb, C 1) [cf. 330.3b].
- אַגוֹנוֹת = אַגְנוֹת [200.26].
- אַגְף 'river bank' (*Gram.*, p. 299).
- אַרְשָׁךְ (Qimron, TSb, C 2).
- אוּה, אַוּה S 9: 25 (Thorion, p. 414).
- אוּפִירִים 'gold' (?), cf. Job. 22: 24. The plural is otherwise unattested [330.3c].
- אַלִּים 'angels' M 1: 10 *et al.* (Yadin, M. p. 210; for other phrases denoting the heavenly host, see Hurvitz, *Post-Exilic Heb.*, pp. 122-124).
- [אַלְהָ] באלה הימים = בימים האלה TS 43: 4, also בחקים CD 19: 14 (contra Rabin, CD, p. 32). This usage, reflecting the Aramaic באלין יומיא etc. is found neither in BH nor in MH. (*Gram.*, p. 299).
- אַלוּהֵי הַכֵּל אַנִּישִׁי = אַנְשֵׁי (M. Bar-Asher, *The Tradition of Mishnaic Hebrew in the Communities of Italy*, Jerusalem 1980, pp. 118-120).
- אַפְעָה 'wickedness' (Yalon, p. 45).
- אַרְמוֹנוֹת 'castles' (Kutscher, *Isaiah*, p. 367; for another view — *Gram.* s 200.22).
- אַרְכָּה (?) 5Q16 1: 3.
- אַש 'foundation' H 3: 35 *et al.*
- [אַשְׁמוֹר] אַשְׁמוֹרִים 'watches' S 10: 2 (another MS read אַשְׁמוֹרוֹת).
- אַשְׁפוֹתוֹת 4Q179 1 II: 7.
- בְּנָן 'form' M 5: 6, 9 and very frequently in *Shirot Olat Hashabbath*, e.g. 4Q403 1 II: 9, always in plural construct (בדני). Contextually, the meaning of the word is fairly certain, but its etymology is obscure.
- בְּהַל *hithpa'el* מתבהלת Testament of Naphtali (Milik, *Enoch*, p. 198). The *hithpa'el* is the Aramaic equivalent of *בהל* in Hebrew (cf. Ben-Yehuda, *Dictionary*).
- בְּחוֹן 'expert' CD 13: 3 [twice].
- בְּטָן 'scabbard' M 5: 13 (Yadin, M, pp. 126-127).
- בִּין 'understanding', a masculine by-form of בִּינָה 4Q403 1 I: 37 (Ben-Yehuda, *Dictionary*, I, p. 527).
- בִּין 4Q503 51-55: 13 etc. The defective spellings occurring 5 times with respect to this word indicate that in DSS Hebrew, not only forms with *o* vowel after the *nun* were known (as in the Tiberian tradition), but also forms

- with *a* (as in the Samaritan tradition).
- בית המשפט 'judgement' (?; S. Abramson, *Lešonenu*, 19 (1954), p. 65 note 1).
- בית ראש 'helmet' (Yadin, M, pp. 123–124).
- בית שוק 'greave' (*ib.*, pp. 122–123).
- בלה pH 9: 11 (*Gram.* s 318.06; E.Y. Kutscher, *Lešonenu*, 31 (1967), pp. 281–282).
- בלצעל as a name of an angel (Yadin, M, pp. 229–242; A. Hurvitz, *HThR*, 67 (1974), pp. 19–20; other names of angels appear as well in the DSS).
- בלע (Qimron, TSb, C 3).
- בני כנף 'birds' M 10: 14 (Yadin, M, p. 308).
- בעול 'versed, accustomed' (Yalon, pp. 32–33).
- בקר as in Aramaic, e.g. Ezra 7: 14 (Thorion, p. 426).
- ברך (or בָּרַךְ) 'blessing' 4Q403 1 II: 11, 12 *et al.* (cf. J. Strugnell, *VT Suppl.* 7 (1960), pp. 337, 341).
- ברקה 'flash (of a lance)' M 6: 2.
- גָּרַל = גָּרַל. The spelling גָּרַל occurs in Qumran. Yet we also find 5 cases of the spelling גַּרַל (M 4: 8, 4Q403 1 I: 8, 4Q403 3 I: 9, 10, 4Q405 12: 3). This spelling would reflect another noun pattern (cf. גָּרַלִי Ez 16: 26).
- גורל 'time' M 1: 13 and perhaps also H 3: 27. The basic meaning of גורל in the DSS seems to be 'appointment'. The semantic field of this word overlaps considerably that of the root יעד 'appoint': 1. predestination (יעיד); 2. time (יעיד see also תעודה below); 3. congregation (עידה; above, 500.1). For a different explanation see J. Licht, *Beth Mikra*, 2 (1956), pp. 90–99.
- גז (?) CD 11: 3.
- גיל *hifil* 'to rejoice' (310.16; *Gram.*, s 316.641).
- גילוח 'rejoicing' M 3: 11 (see Ben-Yehuda, *Dictionary*, II, p. 758) [cf. 330.3b].
- גלה *pi'el* in the phrase מְגַלֵּי אֵוֶן, גלה אֵוֶן M 10: 11.
- גָּלַל ש 'because'. The word בגלל is itself rare in both BH and MH where it is found only in the construct or with suffixes. The combination ש בגלל is not attested in any early Hebrew source and would appear to be borrowed from Aramaic (Strugnell & Qimron, s 3.5.4.1).
- גער מן 'drive out' (evil spirit etc.) מן [ח]בלו גערתה מן [מנן] M 14: 10, and thus in Aramaic and Hebrew incantations of the Middle Ages (cf. J.C. Greenfield, *Studies in Hebrew and Semitic Languages Dedicated to the Memory of E.Y. Kutscher*, Ramat-Gan 1980, pp. XXXVII–XXXIX).
- גֶּדֶגֶ 'ledge' (Qimron, TSb, C 4).
- דבירים [330.3b].

- דבק infinitive *qal*, לדבוק (S 1: 5, H 16: 7).
- דכי 'purity' (Yalon, p. 80).
- דלת *pu'al* participle (Qimron, TSb, C 5) [330.1c].
- דגני 'resounding music, meditation' [100.34].
- הואה 'he' [321.13].
- הודי 'splendors' [330.3a].
- הולל 'indecent, immoral acts' H 4: 8 *et al.* (Yalon, pp. 93–95).
- [הון] 'concerning civil law' CD 9: 22 (contrasted with דיני ממונות 'capital law' *ib.* 17; see also 9: 17); cf. MH and [נפש] (below); the use of על 'concerning' to introduce a legal subject is typical of CD and of 4QMMT, e.g. על השבועה CD 9: 8 (cf. Ruth 4: 7).
- החרם 'destruction' M 9: 7.
- היאה 'she' [321.13].
- היה *qal* participle (הייה; A. Loewenstamm, *Lešonenu*, 42 (1978), pp. 47–48).
- [הלך] עם 'to behave' (Thorion, p. 427).
- הניפה 'waving' (Qimron, TSb, C 8).
- הסס *qal* infinitive 'to be silent' H 10: 15, cf. *wya'es* in the Samaritan oral tradition (Nu 13: 30).
- העריבות (העריבה) להעריב[ון]ת השמש, 'at sundown' 4QMMT B 15. This is a *hif'il* verbal noun (cf. הערב שמש in MH; Strugnell & Qimron, §§ 3.3.3.5, 3.5.4.2; on the ל denoting the future see Segal, MHG<sup>1</sup>, § 296).
- הקרב 'sacrificing' (Qimron, TSb, C 9). הקרב also occurs in the *piyyuṭim* of Yanay.
- התל *pu'al* participle במהותלות 4Q437 4: 1 = מתלתות Is 30: 10 (תלתות in 1QIs<sup>a</sup>).
- זולתם = חולתה לוא היה H 12: 1, חולת רצון אל לוי יחפץ S 9: 24, 'and others than they...' CD 6: 10. Such substantivized use of the word זולת does not occur in BH, nor does such a syntactical construction (זולת coming before the negative, and having a conjunctive *waw*). In BH, זולת (always without *waw*) comes after the negative and without *waw* (cf. the syntax of בלתי לא, אלא, אם, לא, אלא etc.).
- זיק 'a kind of dart' M 6: 3, cf. זיק in Pr 26: 18.
- זלעופות H 5: 30.
- זמרות plural [330.3b].
- זרק 'dart' M 6: 2 *et al.*
- זבא *pi'el* H 5: 11, 25 *et al.*
- [זד] 'strong, high sound' (Yadin, M, pp. 101–104).
- זוש 'to be silent' (like חשה) M 8: 11.
- [חוק] מעמד (Gram., p. 301; D. Yarden, *Midrash Lashon*, Jerusalem, 1956, pp 90–93).
- חזק מעמד (*ib.*)

- חיי נצח 'eternal life' S 4: 7, CD 3: 20 (Rabin, p. 13; Ginzberg, p. 292).
- חִקְמָה *Gram.* s 100.214, and Kutscher, *Studies*, p. רעו.
- חִלְפִּיה 'a battle reserve' M 16: 12.
- חִלְכָאִים 'wicked men, tyrants' (Yalon, p. 37).
- חִק with the definite article (?; Qimron, TSb, C 10).
- חִרְגוּל = חִרְגוּל 'a kind of locust' [200.26].
- חִרְף (?) 4Q493 1: 5.
- חִרְץ *pu'al* participle 'grooved' M 5: 9.
- חִרְת 'inscription' (?) (*Gram.*, p. 299).
- חשב ש 'to think' 4QMMT B 24, 31, 37, C 19. Formalistically speaking, the combination ש חשב can also be found in MH, but the sense 'to think' is not attested elsewhere in any early Hebrew source (see Strugnell & Qimron, s 3.5.4.3).
- [חשב] ב 'to belong' (Thorion, pp. 417–418).
- חטאטי H 5: 21 maybe 'trampling' or 'sinking' [רגל] (Licht H, p. 104; M. Mansoor, *The Thanksgiving Hymns*, Leiden 1961, p. 135).
- חטמא 'impurity' S 5: 14, 20, CD 4: 18. This form should be taken as a masculine by-form of חטמא (חטמא or חטמא; cf. *ṭāma* in the Samaritan oral tradition Dt 26: 14 = חטמא in the MT (Ben-Ḥayyim, *Grammar*, s 4.1.3.19). Note, however, that חטמא in MT is sometimes used substantively, e.g. Ju 13: 4 (cf. 13: 7).
- [חטוד] קול 'staccatto', Yadin, M. pp. 101–104).
- (ב)חטום + verb in perfect. Whereas in the Bible, חטום (ב) is generally construed with the imperfect (more than 40 times; with the perfect only 4 times) in the Scrolls it is mostly followed by the perfect (5 times; by the imperfect only 3 times). It seems that חטום (ב) did not play any role in the use of the tenses in the Scrolls.
- חידע 'sage' 4Q405 8: 3, *nomen agentis*; variant of חידע; cf. חידע in Syriac.
- חידע 'sage' (*Gram.*, s 100.221; and add: 4Q400 2: 9, 5: 3).
- חיומם 4Q503 IV 15–16: 6 *et al.* חיומם in the Bible is apparently an adverb ('in the daytime'), but also has the meaning of the substantive ('day time'). Here the lexeme is morphologically a noun as well (חיומם in Samaritan Aramaic, see Ben-Ḥayyim, *Grammar*, p. 38, n. 66).
- חיהד 'community' (S. Talmon, VT, 3 (1953), pp. 133–140).
- יבח *hif'il* 'to instruct', in the construction יבח דבר (Thorion, p. 409).
- יסוד 'congregation' (?); יסוד היחוד S 7: 17 *et al.*, equals סוד היחוד S

- 6: 19 (cf. commentaries on S, [500.2], מוסד and סוד below).
- יעוד 'destined' M 1: 10.
- [יירה] הורות (infinitive) 'teachings' 4Q400 1 I: 17; cf. הורות in [500.1].
- כאוב 'pain' instead of כָּאב (Qimron, *Waw and Yod*, p. 110).
- כהה 'to be blunt' (refers to weapons) M 17: 1; apparently כהה here replaces קהה; (note that the root ברק (the antonym of כהה) means both brightness and sharpness of a weapon. The relation between כהה and קהה needs further study.
- כוננה 'brazier' (Qimron, *Tarbiz*, 52 (1983), p. 133).
- כידן 'sword' [100.2].
- כנפים 'wings' (a military term), M 9: 11.
- כנע *nuf'al* participle, נוכנעים 'humbles' S 10: 26 (*Gram.*, s 311.25; add: הנודשים Ben Sira 16: 9).
- כשל imperfect *qal* (*Gram.*, s 311.113).
- כתוב 1. משכתוב 4QMMT B 71 (MSd, כשכתוב) is unique in Hebrew and is apparently a loan translation of the Aramaic מדכתיב. 2. שכתוב 4QMMT C 4 would reflect the Aramaic דכתיב (Strugnell & Qimron, s 3.5.4.6).
- להב 'blade' instead of לָהֶב M 5: 10 *et al.*
- לשוני 'tongues' [330.3a].
- מאדה 'very' (*Gram.*, s 100.61; Kutscher, *Isaiah*, pp. 413–414). 4Q493 1: 5.
- מאבן 'withdrawal' M 3: 2, 7: 13.
- מאסר *nif'al* 'malignant' H 5: 28.
- מבוא used as infinitive S 10: 10 *et al.*
- מבנית 'structure' S 11: 8 *et al.*
- מבע 'utterance' H 1: 29.
- מבעק 'cleaving' M 10: 13.
- מגבל 'kneading' (J.C. Greenfield, *RQ*, 2 (1960), pp. 155–162). 1. loan translation of the Latin *testudo* (Yadin, M. pp. 187–190). 2. 'magnification' 4Q403 1 II: 25 [330.1b].
- מגדל *pi'el* 'to break' M 18: 13, cf. מגנת לב Lamentations 3: 65; in Gen 14: 20 מגן means 'delivered'.
- מגן
- מדהוב 'oppression' (?) CD 13: 9 (Rabin, p. 65).
- מדע 'fellow', S 7: 3; cf. מודע, מודעת, מודע in BH, and [500.1].
- מהפך 'turning' מהפכיהם 4Q403 1 II: 4.
- מוסד 'council' 4Q400 2: 2 (cf. יסוד above).
- מועד דשא 'springtime' (Kutscher, *Judaica*, p. 1589).
- מוצקת 'an uninterrupted flow of liquid' (=נצוק in MH) 4QMMT B 50, 51, 52. The word also occurs in Zc 4: 2 and 2 Ch 4: 3 but not with this sense (cf. Strugnell & Qimron, s 3.5.4.4).
- מושבת (?) 'dwelling' CD 11: 10 (cf. Lv 25: 29).



- מזו *pu'al* participle 'melted' M 5: 5, 8; but cf. מזו in MH and Aramaic.
- מזל in the phrase מול שפתים 'utterance' Sb 3: 27, H 11: 5.
- מום עולם = מום קבוע in MH, M 7: 4 (M. Kister, *Lešonenu*, 47 (1983), p. 131).
- מחיר 'estimation' H 10: 10; cf. also the expression עד מחיר מות יהרג ואל יעבור (Ginzberg, p. 95).
- מחלה = מחלה 'sickness, affliction' [200.26].
- מחלים plural of מחלה 'sickness, affliction' [330.3b].
- מחקה (?) 'form, semblance', מחקת 4Q405 15:4. cf. מחקה 1 K 6: 35 *et al.*
- מחפש 'thought' S 3: 2.
- מחשב 'depth' (?); מחשבי H 3: 32, מחשביה H 3: 33, 4Q504 VII: 7.
- מכון used as infinitive S 10: 15.
- [מלא] מולאת S 6: 17 *et al.* ומולות 4Q511 63 III: 2 (Qimron, *Waw and Yod*, p. 108; Yeivin, *Babylonian Voc.*, pp. 669-670
- [מלה] מלה 'epithet of God' M 14: 13, 4Q403 1 I: 34 (see S. Abramson, *Lešonenu*, 41 (1977), pp. 73-74).
- מס 'melted' M 10: 6 (*Gram.*, s 315.13).
- מעונייהם plural of מעון [330.3b].
- [מעט] מעט 'whether much or little' S 4: 16, Sa 1: 18, cf. also CD 13: 1 (M. Bar-Asher, *Lešonenu*, 45 (1981), pp. 91-92; cf. 200.22).
- מעל 'treachery', מועלם 4Q166 I: 9 is a noun in the *qutl* pattern rather than an infinitive of *qal* (cf. CD 1: 3, 20: 23).
- [מעלה] מעלה מלמעלה (Qimron, TSb, C 12).
- מפלג 'division' S 4: 15 *et al.*
- מפרד 'separation' M 10: 14.
- מפשע 'advance' M 8: 7.
- מצול 'rescued', *maqṭul* participle from נצל (Strugnell & Qimron, s 3.3.3.4).
- מצעד used as infinitive H 3: 17.
- מצרף (?; Yalon, pp. 44, 77; also in plural).
- מקטרת 'incense-offering' M 2: 5.
- מקרה 'ceiling' (Qimron, TSb, C 13).
- מרדף 'chase' M 3: 2, 9, 7: 13, מרדוף M 9: 6.
- מרום 'deceit' S 7: 5.
- מרחק מן (Qimron, TSb, C 14).
- מרפה 'cease', לאין מרפה 'ceaselessly' H 3: 11 (Yalon, p. 45; cf. also commentators on Pr 14: 30). The word also occurs in Josippon, e.g. in MS Jerusalem 8°41280 (ed. D. Flusser, p.



- סגר *hif'il* in the same meaning as the *qal* (CD 6: 12).  
 סוד equals יסוד H 1: 22 *et al.* (cf. יסוד above).  
 סוך מן (Qimron, TSb, C 16).  
 [סמוך] 'connected, legato' M 2: 1, 6 *et al.*  
 סרך 'to set in order' M 2: 1, 6 *et al.*  
 סתר 'hidden' (?; Qimron, TSb, C 17).  
 עבור אשר followed by a verb in the perfect = 'because' (pH 9: 11, CD 1: 18). In BH, בעבור (אשר) is construed with the imperfect = 'so that'. The construction with the perfect is not known to me from any other source (cf. טרם, above).  
 עגלי 'the larvae of the bees' CD 12: 12 (Rabin, p. 61; S. Lieberman, *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research*, 20 (1951), p. 397).  
 הדבורים  
 עולם 'eternity' alternant for עולם [200.26].  
 עזב 'forgive' ויעזבם לו אל CD 5: 6. M. Kister suggests that this is a loan translation of the Aramaic שבק (ירושלים) שבק ישראל, במחשבת ישראל, 3, Jerusalem 1984, p. 354). Such usage may exist in Ben Sira 3: 13 עזיב לו (the Syriac version: שבוק). Note that עזב לא in BH is followed by a concrete object, e.g. לעני ולגר תעזב אתם Lv 19: 10.  
 עילול 'child' alternant for עולל (Qimron, *Waw and Yod*, p. 110).  
 עיר 'angel' עידי השמים (read: עירי) CD 2: 18.  
 ענה 4Q159 2-4: 9. ואם בש[קר] ענה בה 'testify falsely' ענה בשקר  
 ענה ל 'to answer' H 4: 18.  
 עף 'weary' alternant for עיף (*Gram.*, s 316.152).  
 עצה 'council' as in Christian Aramaic (Yalon, p. 75).  
 ערב *hithpa'el* 'to be defiled, to have intercourse', CD 11: 4 (Strugnell & Qimron).  
 ערוה 'sexual' impurity'. In BH ערוה means 'nakedness, pudenda, indecency'. In MH it also means 'forbidden woman' or 'fornication'. The special meaning in DSS Hebrew apparently stems from the attitude of the sect to sexual relations as a source of impurity (cf. עריות 500.2).  
 ערך *nif'al* (*Gram.*, p. 298).  
 ערל (?) בערל שפה H 2: 18.  
 ערמה 'wisdom' [100.2].  
 עשרה (Qimron, TSb, C 18).  
 פארה 4Q501 1: 5, H 8: 22 (?), CD 6: 7.  
 פוח 'clad in rags' (*Gram.*, p. 302).  
 פחד as transitive verb S 4: 2 (Thorion, p. 408).  
 פחז 4Q184 1: 2, but פחז *ib.* 1: 13, 15, 2: 6.  
 פלג 'tree-planted field' (?). מטעבה H 8: 24, ופלגיו יעל קוץ ודרדר. פלג with this meaning is used to symbolize the Sect. It is unclear whether פלג in this

- meaning is derived from BH פָּלַג 'spring' or from the Akkadian loan-word פָּלַךְ 'district' occurring in late BH [see 200.141].
- פסלי 'idols' (instead of פסילי) pH 12: 13.
- פרה 'to run' (?) H 2: 26, 3: 27 (Yalon, p. 45).
- פתי 'simple' (=פתיי) Sa 1: 19 *et al.*
- צורי 'forms' [330.3a].
- צחה 'to scoff, to revile' (as in syriac) S 7: 4 (Wernberg-Møller, S, p. 114).
- צירוק S 11: 21 *et al.*
- צעד 'transgress' (?) S 1: 13, 3: 11 (Yalon, p. 75).
- צָעַד 'marcher' M 12: 9 (?; J. Carmignac, VT, 5 (1955), p. 365).
- צָקוּן 'pouring out' 4Q504 V: 17 (see Ben-Yehuda, Dictionary, XI, pp. 5611-5612).
- קבאות plural 'bellies' (Qimron, TSb, C 19).
- קדם *hithpa'el* CD 11: 23.
- קול + modifier (מרודד) נוח וסמוך etc., Yadin, M, pp. 101-104).
- קום *hithpolel* (התקומם) 'endure, maintain oneself' H 12: 35, fragment 1: 6).
- [קום] 'to vow' (Thorion, p. 426).
- קל 'swift' alternant for קל אין מנוס, קל [יה]מה אין מנוס 4Q491 8-10: 9 // ולקליהמה M 14: 11 [200.26].
- קרב 'nearness' 4Q400 1 I: 8 *et al.*; cf. קורבא in Aramaic.
- קשנאות 'jars' (Qimron, TSb, C 20).
- קשת 'a military formation' (Yadin, M, p. 191).
- רב instead of רב למועט: רב בין רוב למועט 'whether much or little' S 4: 16, Sa 1: 18 (cf. Nu 26: 56, 1 S 14: 6).
- [רבה] וברבות = וברבות (Gram., §§ 317.131, 318.14).
- רבע *pi'el* 'to make to copulate' 4QMMT B 72. In BH the *hif'il* is used in this sense (Strugnell & Qimron, § 3.5.4.11).
- רָגַן 'murmur' H 5: 23.
- רדד *pu'al* participle, in the phrase קול מרודד 'level trumpet call' (Yadin, M, pp. 101-104).
- רָדַף 'pursuit' (?) M 9: 6, 18: 2.
- רוח 'nature, moral impulse of man', e.g. רוחות האמת והעול S 3: 18-19 would correspond to יצר הרע and יצר הטוב in MH (cf. Ginzberg, p. 296; Wernberg-Møller, S, p. 67 N. 43). There may exist other late usages of רוח in the DSS; a further study is needed.
- רום 'exaltation' (C. Newsom and Y. Yadin, IEJ, 34 (1984), p. 87; cf. תרומה below).
- רומים plural of רום [330.3b].
- [רחם] מרחמת 'mother' H 9: 36 (cf. Is 49: 15).
- רחמון 'merciful' 4Q381 10-11: 3, 47: 3, phonetic variant of רחמן [200.26].

- רחץ 'washing' [330.1a].
- ריב *hithpolel* 'to quarrel' S 9: 16.
- [רכן] ריבנים = רוכנים [200.141].
- רמה *hithpa'el* 'to commit a fraud' S 7: 6 [twice], and perhaps H 17: 7.
- רמח (=רמח) 'sword' [100.2].
- רנות 'ringing cries' M 4: 4, 12: 13 [330.3b].
- רן (?) 'song' 4Q403 1 I: 4, 4Q405 25: 2.
- רקמה 'picturing' (Qimron, *Waw and Yod*, p. 109).
- רשיע = רשע 'wickedness' CD 6: 10.
- רשע על *hifil* pH 9: 11.
- שובע [200.26].
- שבר 'to defeat' (Qimron, TSb, C 21).
- שבר *pu'al* 'to break' H 5: 37, 6: 28.
- שגג in imperfect *qal* (Qimron, TSb, C 22).
- שה 'sheep' TS 52: 5, 13. In BH, שה means either 'sheep' or 'goat' (or both), which is why the TS phrase שור ושה ועז never occurs in BH.
- שוב אחר 'to be cancelled' with the word דבר as subject (H 13: 18, 19, 1Q27 1 I: 8). This usage is also found in the blessings of the *haftarah*.
- שחת *pu'al* participle 5Q10 1: 1.
- שחת 'perdition' S 4: 12 *et al.* Wernberg-Møller, S, p. 81 noted that שחת עולמים here is nothing other than בלת עולמים. He compares it with the Septuagint where שחת is occasionally represented by a Greek term attesting a derivation from the root שחת and not שוח.
- שכל *hifil* as causative verb subordinates two objects, the second of which is preceded by *beth* (Thorion, p. 418; cf. ב הבין).
- [שכן] שם the *hifil* in this phrase is found in TS alongside the regular usage שכן שמי: 45: 12, 53: 9, 47: 4, 56: 5, but לשכן שמי (?) 47: 4, 56: 5, but משכן את שמי 47: 11, לשכן שמי 60: 13.
- שלהבת 'blade' M 6: 3.
- שלם *nif'al* 'to be finished' S 10: 6.
- שלם משפט equivalent to נגמר דינו in MH. CD 9: 20 (Rabin, p. 48). TS 59: 5.
- שמם ב H 3: 29 (Yalon, p. 46). Possibly a Persian loan word (see J.P. De Menasche, RQ, 1 (1951), pp. 133-134).
- שנה *hifil* 'to change' (Kutscher, *Studies*, p. תב).
- שער 'battle interval' (Yadin, M, pp. 146-148).
- שפכת, וכר[ות] השפכת 'one whose member is cut off' 4QMMT B 34. The passage relates to Dt 23: 2 and the form agrees with that of the Samaritan Pentateuch (=MT שפכה cf.

- Strugnell & Qimron, § 3.5.4.12).
- שפל מן 'move down from' S 2: 23 (Thorion, p. 423).
- [שפּל] 'inertia' S 4: 9 (Qimron, *Beth Mikra*, 73 (1978), p. 141).
- שקה *hof'al* participle, see משקה.
- שקט (?) 'silence' (שׁוֹקֵט וּשְׁלוּהַּ H 12: 2).
- תגאלת 'pollution' (Qimron, TSb, C 25).
- תהומים 'seas' [330.3a].
- תו = 'room' תָּא TS 38: 15 (another MS of TS reads תו לתו). The plural form is תאים (as in BH) *ib.* The word תָּא is the Aramaic translation of the Hebrew תָּא (det. תָּנָא Ez 40: 7 *et al.* (cf. Syriac תַּנְנָא, and 200.18)).
- תוך 'to have intercourse', *polel and hif'il* 4QMMT B 39 76 (Strugnell & Qimron, § 3.5.4.13).
- תולדות 'nature, character', S 3: 13, 19, 4: 15 (G. Sholem, *Aasaf Jubilee Volume*, Jerusalem 1953, pp. 477–479).
- תחת 'under' (*Gram.*, p. 303).
- תכון 'measure' (*Gram.*, § 332.1, note 1).
- תקמים 'part of the body' S 4: 20 *et al.* (Wernberg-Møller, S, p. 86, note 71).
- [תמיד] 'always' (Kutscher, *Studies*, p. תב and compare בתאם 2 Ch 29: 36, בודאי etc.).
- תסבּה 'revolution' 4Q503 III: 9; cf. בתסבתה in Lakhish letter No. 4.
- תעודה In BH, תעודה derived from the root עוד and means 'testimony, attestation' or the like. In DSS Hebrew, תעודה acquired quite different meanings, corresponding to the root יעד (nowhere in the DSS is there sure evidence of the biblical meanings). The following are the meanings of the word in DSS Hebrew:
1. 'fixed time' (cf. מועד) e.g. S 1: 9, 3: 10, M 14: 13.
  2. 'assembly' (cf. התועדות, עֵבְדָה) e.g. Sa 1: 25 (cf. נועדו *ib.*).
  3. 'destination' (?; cf. ייעוד) e.g. S 3: 16.
- (Cf. B.M. Dombrowski, 'The Meaning of the Qumran Terms *Twdh* and *Mdh*', *RQ*, 7 (1971), pp. 567–572; C. Newsom and Y. Yadin, *IEJ*, 34 (1984), p. 82).
- תעות 'aberration' S 3: 21 *et al.* [330.1c].
- תענית 'affliction' (plural) 4Q510 1: 6, 7 [cf. 500.1].
- תרוּמָה 'blessing' 4Q403 ותשובות כבוד למלך הכבוד... ותרוּמָה לשׁוֹנֵי הַיָּם 1 II: 25–26 (cf. S 9: 4, 10: 6, 14, M 4: 1 and רום above).

## 600\* *The Nature of DSS Hebrew and its Position among the Other Traditions of the Hebrew Language*

The language of the DSS springs from the BH of the Second Temple period. In grammar, vocabulary, and even style<sup>1</sup> it is very close to the language of the biblical books written in this period. The fact that DSS Hebrew is especially close to the language of the late biblical books proves that it is not an imitation of BH but rather a continuation of it. Archaic words and forms, which even in BH usually give way to more common equivalents, are hardly used at all (e.g. אחסיה, למו chiefly in poetry).

Aramaic influences exist (see Aramaic in the Subject Index), but not to the extent assumed by Kutscher; many features that he cites in this context (such as digraphs יואי etc. [100.52] or imperative forms of *qal* קטולו etc. [311.14]) can be explained even without positing any Aramaic influence. Yet the fact that Aramaic has succeeded in penetrating even the morphology proves how far reaching its impact was. Examining the word-lists, we find many items which are commonly considered Aramaisms. Here are words which may have been borrowed from Aramaic. (In addition to the late distribution, they betray Aramaic phonological, morphological, and syntactical features, e.g. preservation of the Proto-Semitic long  $\bar{a}$  or reduction of a short vowel in the penultima):

בגלל ש, ('without' די לא =) אשר לא, אש, אפך, אנס, (לחדא =) 'very' לֶאֱחַת, אורֶה זקף, זעטוט, (ד – ד) דכי, בעת, בנן, בור, (?) 'rejoice' בוע, *hithpa'el* בהל, (לגלל ד =) משכתוב, (?) בנסת, כאר, יומים, (?) חרֶבֶן, (בר מן =) חוץ מן, חֶבֶל (?) מטרת, מקצת, [330.1c] etc. מלכות, (מודע =) מדע, מגבל, כתל, כתב, (מודתיב =) עפי, עזרה, 'forgive', עזב, עגלי הדבורים, סרף, סרך, סמה, סוף, סגלגל, *hithpa'el* נצח, כרעותיה =) כרצונו, [330.3a] etc. רוחי, רבוא, קרב, 'revile', צחה, 'run', פרה, (תא =) תו, תגאלת, שפל, *hifil* שנה, שָמָא, (?) שָבַח, 'rest', שָאָר, רשם, רשה, (כמצביה, תשבת, תשבתה, (בתדירא =) בתמיד, תחת.

Some Aramaic loan words are of Akkadian origin, e.g. אוחזי אבות (?), דף, פֶּשֶׁר, צורה, (?) נחשול, נשא ונתן, כוננה.

Persian loan words (apparently borrowed through Aramaic) are נחשיר, נחשיר, שְנָאב, רַס, רַז, פֶּתָגָם, פֶּרְנִיך.

<sup>1</sup> י' אבישור, סימיונות הנרדפים במליצה המקראית, ירושלים תשל"ז, עמ' 106–124. 1

There are no Greek and Latin loans, though some scholars consider such words as מגדל 'tower' denoting a military structure to be Greek or Latin loan translations<sup>2</sup>.

Of the words and features in DSS Hebrew unattested in the Bible, many are known from MH, e.g. [322.5, 330.1, 500.2]. MH already existed as a spoken language before the destruction of the Second Temple. Yet 4QMMT whose language is most similar to MH and presumably best reflects the spoken Hebrew of Qumran, differs markedly from MH in its grammar.

Significantly, DSS Hebrew and the MH of the Bar Kokhba letters, temporally and geographically coterminous, share (at least) four isoglosses which distinguish both from standard MH: forms like גואים (for גויים) [200.17]; the sound change  $s \rightarrow \zeta$  [200.15], non-assimilation of *nun*; and a pervasive weakening of the gutturals. (Curiously enough, the last three features are characteristic of Punic as well; cf. also אבית = בבית – Yalon, p. 69).

Many features in the DSS language that have no parallel in the Tiberian tradition are known from other Hebrew traditions, particularly the Samaritan tradition (personal pronouns and pronominal suffixes). [310.11, 322.14, 322.142, 322.17, 322.18, משמה (= מִשָּׁם) and other], but also the Babylonian tradition (טמאָה [100.2], preservation of short *u* [200.22], להקטיל / הקטל [310.14], מולות, מולאת, 4Q511 63 III: 2 [Gram., s 317.171], and others) and the Greek and Latin transliterations. But we should be cautious in making comparisons. In some cases, the similarity to another tradition is partial, and a thorough examination of the particular phenomenon in question (e.g. ואקטלה [310.122], *quṭl* [200.24]) would demonstrate essential differences and establish the uniqueness of the DSS language.

DSS Hebrew also has many features not found in any other Hebrew tradition, in MH, or in any Aramaic dialect (such as personal pronouns הוואה, היאה [321.13], the pattern יקוטלני in the imperfect with pronominal suffixes [311.13d], final *he* in the adverb מאר – מוארה, etc.) Some of these unique features are ancient; for example, the preservation of short *u* not only in open unstressed syllables (as in the Babylonian tradition), but elsewhere as well [200.22]. The vocabulary includes many words known neither from other Hebrew sources nor from Aramaic [see 500.3]; however, the number of Semitic roots attested in Hebrew only in the DSS (and unattested in Aramaic) is very small: רמה, תכמים, בָּנָן, מוּזוּ (?), צירוק (?), ארשך (?), צירוק (?). These unique features show that DSS Hebrew is not merely a mixture of BH, MH and Aramaic, but also draws on a distinct

2 Bendavid, I, pp. 92–94.



spoken dialect. Thus the way is open for new theories about the nature and origin of the Hebrew of the Second Temple period; but this topic, necessarily comparative in nature, goes well beyond the bounds of the present work.

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## Word Index

The word index consists of words, forms, and patterns (*mišqalim*) of the DSS discussed in the book (including biblical and Aramaic Scrolls). It is arranged alphabetically, the verbs according to roots, the nouns according to their basic forms. The abstract verbal and nominal patterns themselves (*mišqalim*) appear under “קטל” (and “מקטל”). In cases where the form of the word in the DSS is difficult, the word has been listed according to both its root and its form. Words in the Word Lists [500] are not included in the index. Forms not found as such in the DSS are marked by an asterisk.

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יארין	311.112 N	אבית	200.25, 600
אורך	400.20	מביתה	340
יאש	600	בתי ראשים ושוקים	400.06
אשאל (=שאל)	200.25	בכה תבכה	310.14
אשי	100.34	לבלי	200.18
אשמורי	330.4	לבלי	200.18
אשמעל	200.17 c N	לבלתי הטיסר	400.12
אשר	400.11, 400.12	לבלתי שוב	400.12
אשר ל	400.16	ולבנימים	200.142
אשר לוא (+ imperfect)	400.11, 600	בנין	600
אשר לוא ב	400.14	בבטר	100.8
אשר לעם	400.16	ובערת	310.11
ואשר יקים	400.11	בעת	600
ואשר לוא יוכל	400.11	[ב]ירואם	311.15
ואשר לוא להוכיח	400.12	ברתנו	100.61
אותו	400.08 N	בראוש (=ברוש)	100.5 N
אותמה	400.08	בברחו	311.15
אותנו	400.08 N	הבריה	200.133
אָת	400.08	יתברך	400.03
אתכול	200.27d	נורכים	330.1a
אתרוחם	200.27d	ברך (=ברכה)	330.4
אָת (masc.)	321.12	ברקה	330.4
אָת	321.12	בשל ש	600
אתה	321.12	בבטר	100.8

בשרון	200.15	הואה	200.133, 321.13, 400.08, 600
יגביה בקומה	400.07 N	הוה (=הוא)	200.133, 321.13
וגבוה בקומה	400.07 N	הודי	330.3a
גבורי המלחמה	400.06 N	הואה (=הַהָאָה)	100.9
גבורי מלחמתה	400.06 N	הווא (=הוּו)	100.51 N
גבורי מלחמות	400.06	הוה (=הוּו)	200.18
גבורתום	200.143	הוּו (=הוּוּ)	200.17d
וגבורא	100.7	הוּן	322.181
גברוא	100.51 N	הונום	200.26
יגזר(ו)ג'א	100.51 N	הטל	310.14, 330.1b
גדר	400.18	ההיא	321.13 N
גדופים	100.21 N	היא	321.13, 322.2
גדל	330.1a	היאה	200.133, 321.13, 322.2, 600
גואי	200.17a, 200.18	היה (=היאה)	200.133, 321.13
גואים	100.9, 200.17a, 600	היא (=היה)	100.7
גוי (=גוּוּ)	200.17d	בהיותמה (fem.)	322.18
גוּוּ	200.17a	הוּא	100.7
גוּוּים	100.9, 200.17a	ואהיה	310.129
גוּים	100.32, 200.17a, d	ויהי	310.129
גוי חפץ	400.18 N	ויהיה	310.129
הגלנה	310.16	יהיו (fem.)	310.128
גילות	330.3b	תהיינה	310.128
ותגל(ה)	310.129	והיו להפריח	400.02
גלו (=גלוּו)	200.18	יהיה מהלך	400.01
גמר	330.1c	יהיו להמס	400.02
תגער	200.11	להיות	400.02
גנות	330.3b	להיות משרתים	400.01
דבירים	330.3b	הינים	330.3b
דקלי (=דגלי)	200.141	הלכתם	310.11
דבריכה (singular)	200.27c	יילכו (fem.)	310.128
דומה	200.143	ולתלך	200.11
דנת	310.11	ולתהלך	310.145
דורות	330.3a	יתהלכו (fem.)	310.128
דורי	330.3a	הלוך ואור	310.14
דוריהם	330.3a	ה(ה)ם	322.18, 322.2
לדורתם	100.2	הם (fem.)	322.18
דור ודור	400.15 N	הם	321.16, 322.2
דכי	600	יהמה (fem.)	322.18, 322.2
מדולתים	330.1c	המה	321.16
דף	600	המה (fem.)	321.16
דקלי (=דגלי)	200.141	ה(ה)ן	322.18
דרכוהי	322.144 N	יהנה	322.18
ודרכי ת[וע]בות	400.06	הנה	321.16
יורשהו	311.13g	והנא	100.7
יורשהו	311.13g	הנומה	200.26
והדשנתם	310.11, 311.5	הניפת העומר	330.1b
והתדשנו	311.5	הנף	310.14
וידשנו	311.5	הנף העומר	330.1b
להדשן	311.5	להס	315.1
דשא (=דשן)	200.143	להעריבות השמש	310.16, 330.1b
יה	322.143	בהפלא	310.14
הבחרה	200.11	הקרב	310.14, 330.1b
הגי	100.34, 330.1d	י	310.11, 310.121, 322.141
בהגיא	100.34, 100.51 N	י-א	100.5, 100.51,
והדריכה	100.33		
יהו	322.142, 322.143		
הו	321.13, 322.2		
הוא	321.13, 322.2, 400.08		

	100.52, 600	לחצר	400.16
יִה	100.51, 100.52, 600	לחריב	310.145
		חרבן	600
יֹהִי	322.2	והחורגול	200.26
יֹוֹת	330.3c	החורטומים	200.26
יֹוֹם (=ם)	322.181	התחשב	310.16
יֹוֹן	310.121, 310.127	נחשב	310.16
יֹוֹת	100.2, 330.3	חושך	100.2
יֹוֹת	330.1	יחתה	200.143
יֹוֹבָחַו	322.142 N	יטהר	311.5
יֹוֹדֵן	100.33	יטהרו	311.5
יֹוֹהֶר	400.02	להטהר	311.5
יֹוֹתִים	100.33	טהרה	100.2, 330.1a
יֹוֹכָה	311.5	ולטהרה	100.2
יֹוֹכֹו	311.5	הטל	310.14, 330.1b
יֹוֹכֶרֶת	310.11	טמא (=טמאה)	330.4
יֹוֹמֵרוֹת	330.3b	הטמה	100.7
יֹוֹמֵר (=מרה)	330.4	טמאה	100.2, 330.1a
יֹוֹנוֹת (=זנות)	330.1d	טמאתמה (fem.)	322.18
יֹוֹנַחְתָּה	310.16	הטמו(ו)אות	200.11
יֹוֹנַחְתָּנִי	310.16	טפחים	330.3b
יֹוֹדְעוֹ	311.5	יֵאִים	200.17
יֹוֹדְ(ו)עוֹזֵעַ	311.5	לוגיע	310.145
יֹוֹזְעוֹ	311.5	יֵדֵי	200.17d
יֹוֹזְעוֹ	600	ידיעה	330.1b
יֹוֹזְעִירֵן	200.22	יֵה	100.7
יֹוֹזְעִיקִים	310.16	יֵהה	100.7
יֹוֹקֶף	600	יֵהוּ	322.142
יֹוֹרֵעַ	200.25	יֵוֹ	322.142
יֹוֹרֵעַ	200.25	יֵוֹ	322.141
יֹוֹרֵעִי	200.25	יֹוּמִים	600
יֹוֹרֵעַ הָאָדָם	400.18	יֹוּמִין(ן) [ם]	200.142
יֹוֹרֵעַ יִשְׂרָאֵל	400.18	יֹוּם	400.15
יֹוֹרֵקִים אוֹתוֹ	400.08	יֹוּמִים שָׁה	400.20
יֹוֹבְתָה (=חבאת)	100.61	בִּימֵי הַשְּׁבֻתוֹת	400.06
יֹוֹבְלָה (=חבלה)	330.4, 600	בִּימֵי הַמוֹעֲדִים	400.06
יֹוֹדְשִׁים	100.2, 200.22	בִּימֵי מִצְרַפּוֹתָיו	400.06
יֹוֹזֵן מִן	600	והיורדן	200.26
יֹוֹצֵה	340	יִיחַד	311.5
יֹוֹזֵק	100.33	להיחד	311.5
יֹוֹזֵק מֵעַמַּד	310.14	לִיחַד (=להתיחד)	310.145, 311.5
יֹוֹט	100.63	ליחד	400.16
יֹוֹטָא	100.63	יחתה	200.143
יֹוֹטָאוֹת	330.3b	יִים	200.17
יֹוֹטָנוֹ	100.61	יִים	330.3
יֹוֹטָנֹו	100.61	לימה	340
יֹוֹחִי (=חיי)	200.17d	יִכְלוּ לִי	200.27c N
יֹוֹחִים	200.17a	וּבִלְדַתְמָה (fem.)	322.18
יֹוֹחִל	400.18	יִשָּׂר (=יסד)	200.15
יֹוֹקֵה	100.52	יִשָּׂף (=יוסף)	200.15
יֹוֹכְמָה	330.1a	לְהוֹסִיף	100.33
יֹוֹכְבִּיא (=חלכאי)	200.17	לוֹסֵף	310.145
יֹוֹלְצוֹ	311.112	יִסוֹר	330.1b
יֹוֹלְצוֹ	311.112 N	יִישָׂר (=ייסר)	200.15
יֹוֹמֵר	330.1a	לְתִיֶסֶר	310.145
יֹוֹמְשִׁים	100.32	בְּאוֹפֵיעַ	200.11, 310.14 N
יֹוֹנָם	200.26	בְּהוֹפֵעַ	310.14 N
יֹוֹחֲסִידָה	600	הוֹפֵעַ יִצֵּר	310.14

יצא	400.19	כמן	200.143
הוציאכה	400.08	כנסת	600
הרוציאוהו	400.08	כשפו (=כספו)	200.15
יוצי	100.63	יכחס (=יכעס?)	200.15
צאת	100.61	כרואה	100.9
ול התיצב	310.145	המכשילים אותמה	400.08
להתיצב	400.02	כתב	330.1c, 600
יצרת	310.11	משכתוב	600
יקושו	200.27c N	כתיאים	100.52, 200.17
ויראו	100.32	כתיי	200.17a
והיורדן	200.26	כתיים	200.17a
*ויירש	200.17d	כותל	600
מורישים	400.08	כתונת	100.2, 330.1d
וישבתם	310.11	ל (=של)	400.16
ישיד	200.15	לוא (=לו)	100.51
אשמעל (=ישמעאל)	200.11, 200.17 c N	ליא	100.51N
והושיעו	200.27 c	לא	100.51
והושעתים	322.18 N	לו (=לא)	100.51, 100.63
והושעתיהו	322.142	לוא	100.51, 100.52,
יושף	200.15		400.11
יישר	200.15	בלא האמין	400.10
לישראל ההולכים	400.18	בלא הכיר	400.10
יאתום	200.27b	ולוא יהיה	400.13b
ך	100.7, 322.12, 322.2 and N	ולוא יסלח	400.16b
כאוב	330.1d	ולוא לסור	400.12
כאר	600	ולוא מצעד	400.12
כבודיא	100.51 N	לוא יחונבה	400.13b
יתכבסו	310.16	ללוא ישוברו	400.10
כה	100.7, 322.12, 322.2	ושלוא לזרוע	400.11
כזה	100.51, 100.52	לאחת	600
כוהן	100.2	לאין מבוא	400.10
כזהנתנו	200.11	לאין נתק	400.10
כזהונה	200.11	לאין קום	400.09
כזהגה	200.141	לאין רחמים	400.09
הכינותה	316.6	ללביותיו	200.133
ובהנכין	200.16	לבלתי התיסר	400.12
ויהכין	310.129	לבלתי שוב	400.12
כתנה	600	לבני ישראל	400.16
כושבה	200.15	להוב	200.11, 200.24
יכחס (=יכחש?)	200.15	לוהב	330.1
כי	322.12, 322.2 N	נלוים	200.17
כיא	100.51	והלויים	100.9, 200.17 d
כידן	100.2, 330.1d	לויאים	200.17
כיור	330.1b	לויים	200.17
כול	100.2	לויים	200.17d
כולם	100.2	לחה	330.4
etc. כול יום ויום	400.15	לחצר	400.16
כל x וא	400.15	ליחד	400.16
כליו (=כלו)	200.18 N	ללחם	310.145
כלי מלחמה	400.06 N	ללכודני	311.15
כלי מלחמות	400.06	ללמדוכה	400.08
כלאיות	200.27b N	למו	322.18, 600
כלל	330.1c	למזרח צפון	400.16
כסם	322.17, 322.2	לנואם (=לנום)	100.5 N
כמה	322.17, 322.2	ילעיגו	310.16
וכמוא	100.51	לועג	330.1a
		לעוף לחיה ולדגים	400.16
		ללקוטן	311.15 N

לראשי בתי האבות	400.16	מוכל	200.16
לשתי	330.3a	מן מל[א]כיו	200.16
לשוניהם	330.3a	מן מקרת	200.16
לשת	100.61	מן נע[וריו]	200.16
לתוד	100.2	מן פנה	200.16
המיאות	200.133	למנחת	400.16
מאיותיו	200.133	מנשה (=מנסה)	200.15
מואדה	340, 600	משבלה	200.15
מודה	200.11	מסכה (=מסך)	330.4
מאומא	100.7	(יהיו) להמס	400.02
מאשו (=מאסו)	200.15	מסורת	600
מבוא (infinitive)	330.1b	מעוני	330.3b
מבוי	200.18	מעוניהם	330.3b
מבנית	330.1d	מועט	200.22 N
מגבל	600	מועל	330.1a
מגדלות	330.3a	מעל	330.1a
מגדלים	330.3a	המערכות	200.14
מגש (=מגרש)	200.14 N	מערכת	200.14
מדע	600	ובמעשיכה	200.17d
מהפך	330.4	מעשה	100.34
מהר	310.14	מעשי (singular)	100.34
למו	600	מעשי תועבה	400.06 N
ימו	322.18	מעשי תועבות	400.06
המועדות	330.3	מצאה	400.19
במועדיהם	200.143	מצבות[יהמה]	100.33
ומועדי צרותם	400.06	מץואת (=מצות)	100.5 N
ומועדי תעודתם	400.06	ומצאותו	200.17e
מועדי שנים	400.06	כמצאת	200.17e
מתה	400.19	מצותו	322.141
מיתות	100.33	מקטה (מקטי spelled)	100.34
ימזו	600	מקטל	330.1b, 400.04
ממוזים	330.1c	אמקנה	200.25 N
מזרח(ה)	340	מקצת	600
למזרח צפון	400.16	ממקרו	322.141
ימחו	200.14 N	מקרה	330.1d
מוחלה	200.26	מראיו (=מראה)	322.141 N
מחלים	330.3b, 330.4	מרדוף	200.26
[למ]חלוקותמה	200.22	מרדף	200.26
מחשב	330.4	מרפא (=מקפה)	100.7
מחשבי אברונים	400.06	משגה	330.4
מחותה	330.1d	משוב	330.1b
מחתה	330.1d	משיחה	330.1b
מטעת	330.4	משלוח	200.26
מי	100.51	משלח	200.26
מיא	100.51, 100.52	ממשלוחתו	200.11
הממכרת	310.16	משניו	322.141
למלה	100.7	משושה	330.1d
מולאת	200.22 N, 600	אמשפט	200.25 N
ומלאים בתכון ימיהם	400.07	מושקה (=משקה)	200.26
מלאכי חבל	400.06 N	וימתוקו	310.16, 311.112
מלאכי המשטמות	400.06	וימתיקו	310.16
מלחמותכה	100.33	נצה (=נאצה)	200.11
מלכות	330.1c, 600	הבט (infinitive)	310.14
ומן ספר	200.16	הנבאים	200.17d
מן בשר	200.16	תנכח (=תנגח)	200.141
מן [ג]בורת	200.16	ובהגיע	310.14 N
ומן גוי נכר	200.16	מנוגע	330.1c
מן טהרת	200.16	נגועו	311.15

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 המתנדבים 310.16  
 הנדבים 310.16  
 נדות 330.3b  
 ינה 310.121, 310.128,  
 310.13, 322.143  
 ינו 322.143  
 הניאה 400.08  
 לנואם (=לנום) 100.5 N  
 הנף 310.14  
 נחיריה 322.144  
 נחשולי ימים 400.06, 600  
 נחשיר 600  
 והכום 322.18 N  
 תנכח (=תנגח) 200.141  
 תסיגי 100.8  
 מנשה (=מנסה) 200.15  
 ינסוי 330.1b  
 נסוים 200.17d  
 נפלאותכה 100.33  
 נצח 600  
 לשת (=לשאת) 100.61  
 נושיאים 200.17d  
 נשא ונתן 600  
 תסיגי 100.8  
 נשי 100.52, 100.63  
 נשיי 200.11, 200.17c  
 ונתחיה (=ונתחיהו) 322.142 N  
 [ונת]תם 310.11  
 ינתן 200.16  
 ננתנו 200.16 N  
 סבבום 200.143  
 נסגבה 100.8  
 סגלגל 600  
 סדהו 100.8  
 בסדיך 100.8  
 סדוים 200.24 N  
 סדוי 330.3b  
 סדום 200.24 N, 200.27a  
 סוף 600  
 יסירו (fem.) 310.128  
 שר (=סר) 200.15  
 שימה (=סימה) 200.15  
 ישיחכה (=יסיחך) 200.15  
 בסכלות 100.8, 330.1c  
 ונסלוח 310.14  
 סליחות 330.3b  
 סלמותמה 100.8  
 והסו[ל]עום 200.26  
 שמים (=סמים) 200.15  
 יסמה 600  
 בסמותה 100.8  
 מסנאיך 100.8  
 ספות 100.8, 200.17e, 330.3c  
 להשתפח 200.15  
 שפיח 200.15  
 שפינא 200.15  
 ישפור 200.15  
 שפרתי 200.15  
 וסקלום 400.08  
 שר (=סר) 200.15  
 סרך 600  
 סתרת 310.11  
 בעבורו (=בעוברו) 311.15 N  
 יעובורנה 311.14  
 עוברי 311.14  
 עגלי הדבורים 600  
 העיד 100.33  
 עד 100.33  
 עד לאין 400.09  
 עדה 400.18  
 עדת ישראל 400.18  
 עדואתיך 200.17e  
 עדוותי 330.3c  
 עדיה 200.17d  
 עדיים 200.17d  
 עוויך 100.33  
 עולם 200.26  
 עואר 100.9, 200.27b  
 עורה 600  
 עילול 200.26  
 עינודי 322.142  
 עינידו 322.142  
 לעני (=לעניי) 100.33  
 ערי מב[צ]רים 400.06  
 עליהום 200.26  
 עליהן 200.26  
 עליהמה 322.18 N  
 מעלהמה 100.33  
 עליו 322.141  
 עמ 200.27d  
 עמדי 600  
 עמהם 322.18  
 עמהמה 322.18  
 עמנום 200.143  
 ועם מוצא 400.04  
 ועם צאת 400.04  
 עם האספו 400.04  
 עמוא 100.52  
 העם הנמצאים 400.18  
 העם יעבורו 400.18  
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 עמי ארצותיכה 400.06  
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ערל	330.1a	צאון	100.5
ערמה	100.2, 330.1a	צואן	100.52
יעש	310.129	וצבא השמים יתנו	400.18
ותעש	310.129	מצובה	400.08
עושיו	322.141	יצורה	600
העשו (=העשויו)	200.18	צורי	330.3a
עשוים	200.17d	צחה	600
עישאו	200.18	ציאה	100.9
עש (=עשן)	200.143	צירוק	600
עשרא	100.7	והצליחה דרכויה	322.144 N
עושרות	330.1d	וצפו (=וצפוי)	200.18
עת ועת	400.15	צפואי	100.9, 200.18
פרי (=פארי)	100.61	צפורניה	100.33
פארה	330.4	ויצטרפו	311.5
ופדיתים	322.18 N	והקבאות	330.3c
ותפר	310.129	התקדישו חג	200.27 c
פוח	100.51	קהלו הנקהלים	400.18
מפיא	100.51	וקואי	200.17e
פיהו	322.142 and N	קוי	200.17e
פחין	200.142	אקטולה	311.13a, e
בהפלא	310.14	אקטל	310.122
הפלא	310.14	אקטלה	310.122
הפלתה	100.61, 310.14 N	בהקטיל	310.14 N
הפלתנו	100.61	בהקטל	310.14 N
להפלה	100.7, 100.61, 310.14	(ו)בקטלו	400.02
להפליא	310.14	הקטילות	330.1b
ופלגיו	200.141, 322.141	הקטילת	330.1b
פליטה	100.33	הקטל	310.14
בפליליים	200.17d	הקטל / להקטיל	600
ולפנימה	340	ואקטילה	310.129
פסחים	330.3b	ואקטל	310.122
פשח (=פֶּסַח)	200.15	ואקטלה	310.122, 310.129, 600
פקודי	322.144 N	ואקטלנו	310.129
לפקודכה	311.15	ויקטל	200.27b, 310.129,
פר ופר	400.15		322.143
יפרה	600	ויקטלה	310.129
פרור	600	ונקטלה	310.122
(והיו) להפריח	400.02	ותקטל	310.129
פרכות	330.3b	ותקטלהו	310.129
פרניש	200.15	יקוטלהו	311.13
פרעוה	100.51	יקוטלהו	100.2, 311.13
פרוש	330.1b	יקוטלני	311.13g, 600
פרצה	330.4	יקוטלו	200.22, 200.27a, c,
(fem.) ויפרשו	310.128		311.13
לפורת	200.27a	יקוטלני	200.22, 200.27a, c
פורת	200.22	יקטיל	200.27b, 310.129,
פשח (=פֶּסַח)	200.15		322.143
ופשעי מעשיהם	400.06	יקטלהו	100.21, 311.13a, d
פשר	600	יקטלו	100.21, 311.13a, d
פתגם	600	יקטלני	100.21
יתפתה	310.16	להקטיל	310.14, 310.145
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	200.27c	לקוטלני	200.22
פוטאים	200.17a	לקטיל	310.145
פתיים	200.17a	מקטל	330.1b
לפורתי	200.27a-b	מקטל	330.1c



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 ראשי שנים 400.06  
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 ברשונה 100.5  
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 רישית (=ראשית) 100.61  
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 רוחב 400.20  
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(fem.) יריבו	310.128	ישכוב	311.112
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רמח	100.2, 330.1a	ובשוכן	200.142, 322.18
רנות	330.3b	(fem.) ישכילו	310.128
ארננהלו	200.27d	ישכיליהו	100.33
רנן (=רננה)	330.4	בשל ש	600
רס	600	שלנחושת	400.16
ריעיכה	100.33	שלהובת	330.1d
רעיהו	100.33	לשלח הואה	400.02
רעבות	330.1b	לשל	315.1
כרצונו	600	שללמה	322.18 N
רקים	100.33	סלם	200.15
רוקמה	100.32 N	סלמותמה	100.8
רוקמות	200.22	שלומה	100.51
ירשה	600	שמא	600
ירשם	600	שומה	200.26
הרשענו	310.16	משמה	340
ובהתרשע	310.16	השם	310.16
ש-	400.11	בסמחה	100.8
שא	100.7	שמטים	100.32, 330.3b
אשאל	200.25, 200.27b	ישומעוני	311.13d N, 311.13g
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שרית (=שארית)	100.61, 200.11	שנאיהמה	322.18 N
שבועיהם	330.3a	שנתה (=שנאתה)	100.61
שבועות	330.3a	שנאב	600
שובועי	200.26	להשנות	600
שבח	600	שנים	330.3a
השבישים	200.15	שנים עשרה	400.200
שבע (=שבעה)	200.11	ובשני השמטים	400.06
שבעה (=שבע)	200.11 N	נשנתי (=נשענתי)	200.11
ושברום	322.18 N	משע (=משער)	200.14
שבט ושכט	400.15	משער	200.14
נסגבה	100.8	התשעשעו	311.5
יתשגשגו	311.5	ספות	100.8, 330.3c
(fem.) ירשדו	310.128	שפאותיכה	200.17e, 330.3c
שדו	322.141	להשתפח	200.15
סדהו	100.8	שפיה	200.15
בסדיך	100.8	שפכת	330.1d
והתשדר	311.5 N	ישפול	311.112
שו	100.63	להשפיל	400.02
שוא	100.63	שפול	330.1a, 600
שוו	200.18 N	ישפור (=יספור)	200.15
שיו	100.63	שפרתי (=ספרתי)	200.15
בהשיב	310.14 N	שקוי	200.18
ובשובם	400.04	[ובש]קוצי תועבותיהם	400.06
ישיתכה (=יסיתך)	200.15	ש(ח)קט	330.1a
משחור	330.1c	שר (=סר)	200.15
שוחוד	200.11 N	ה(ס)שרים	100.8
שחוד	200.11 N	משרץ	400.18
ולשתחות	310.145	לשרת	400.02
ולמשותחיהי	100.33	שש אטר	200.11
ישחוקו	311.112	שש עשר	200.11
משוחת	330.1c	אשתיאו	322.142 N
שיבה	100.33	שתיים עשרא	100.7
שיח	330.1d	ית	310.11, 322.2 N
ותשם	310.129	תאו (=תא)	200.18, 600
שירות	330.3b	הו	200.18

תבוא	100.51 N	תכמים	600
תגאולת	600	תלואי	100.9
תה	310.11	תם	310.11
לתוה	100.2	תמה	310.11
תהו	100.2	בתמיד	600
תהוו (=תהו)	200.133	תמן	200.143
תהומיה	330.3a	תסובות	330.1d
תהלי	330.3a	תסבתה	330.1d
תהלים	330.3a	תעות	330.1c
תתורא	100.7	תענייות	200.17 d
תוחת	330.1a, 600	תעניות	330.3b
מתחתה	340	לתפושם	311.15
תו	310.11, 322.2 N	תושבחה	600
תכון	330.1 b	תשבחות	200.22, 600