The Historical Depth of the Tiberian Reading Tradition of Biblical Hebrew

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Cover image: T-S AS 8.129. A leaf from a Cairo Geniza biblical codex containing Gen. 30.17–20 and showcasing Moshe Moḥe's non-standard Tiberian pointing of the standard Tiberian pronunciation of *Issachar* (see within, ch. 4), courtesy of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library.

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13. HITPAELISATION

Along with the fairly common processes of nifalisation (ch. 10), hifilisation (ch. 11), and pielisation (ch. 12)—all generally involving movement away from the *qal* verbal stem—hitpaelisation is also a known phenomenon. It differs, however, from the three aforementioned processes, in that it rather rarely manifests in the *hitpaᶜᶜel* revocalisation of *qal* orthographic forms. This must be due, at least in part, to the consonantal difference between *qal* and *hitpaᶜᶜel*, i.e., only with difficulty would original *qal* orthography lend itself to *hitpaᶜᶜel* realisation. More frequently, *hitpaᶜᶜel/ nitpaᶜᶜal* replaces passive or reflexive *nifᶜal* or passive *puᶜᶜal*, especially in the case of finite forms. Other stems are also occasionally affected. In these cases, too, revocalisation often required special measures, especially the assimilation of *hitpaᶜᶜel/ nitpaᶜᶜal*'s characteristic *t*-infix.

1.0. Second Temple Evidence

1.1. Tiberian Late Biblical Hebrew

1.1.1. Movement to *Hitpaᶜᶜel*

Broad indication of the diachronic significance of hitpaelisation may be gleaned from Baden's (2010, 39, fn. 18) acceptance of conclusion reached by Bean (1976, 149–53), namely, that the later books of the Hebrew Bible witness increased *hitpaᶜᶜel* usage in comparison to earlier books. But Bean's statistics must be considered no more than impressionistic, because his methodology

has no means of ruling out the possibility that differences in content are responsible for the apparent increase, i.e., that further *hitpaᶜels* might possibly have been used in CBH given the same subject matter. What is needed is a more detailed, word-by-word study that applies Hurvitz's (2014, 9–11) three-pronged strategy for identification of diagnostically late linguistic features, namely, (1) late distribution, (2) classical opposition, and (3) extrabiblical confirmation. Such an approach is applied to a series of Tiberian LBH *hitpaᶜel* forms below.

הִתְבָּאֵשׁ 'stink, be odious'

The root is represented by *qal* (Exod. 7.18, 21; 8.10; 16.20; Isa. 50.2) and *nifᶜal* (1 Sam. 13.4; 2 Sam. 10.6; 16.21) forms. The *qal* consistently refer to physical smells, the *nifᶜal* to the metaphorical 'you have become a stench'. The *hitpaᶜel* comes just once in Tiberian Hebrew, in the late parallel to the *nifᶜal* in 2 Sam. 10.6 found in 1 Chron. 19.6; see examples (1)–(2).

(1)   ‫וַיִּרְאוּ֙ בְּנֵי עַמּוֹן כִּי **נִבְאֲשׁוּ** בְּדָוִד...‬
         'When the Ammonites saw that **they had become a stench to David…**' (2 Sam. 10.6)

(2)   ‫וַיִּרְאוּ֙ בְּנֵי עַמּוֹן כִּי **הִתְבָּאֲשׁוּ** עִם־דָּוִיד...‬
         'When the Ammonites saw that **they had become a stench to David…**' (1 Chron. 19.6)

While *hitpaᶜel* התבאש is not again documented in Hebrew sources until *piyyuṭ*, the Targumic equivalent of both N-stem נבאש and Dt-stem התבאש in Tiberian BH is Aramaic Dt-stem אתגרי.

הִתְגָּאֵל 'defile'

All derivations of the root גאל II 'defile' are late, including *piʿʿel* (Mal. 1.7), *puʿʿal* (Mal 1.7, 12; Ezra 2.62; Neh. 7.64), *nifʿal* (Isa. 59.3; Zeph. 3.1; Lam. 4.14), and *hitpaʿʿel* (Dan. 1.8, 8). The *hitpaʿʿel* 'become defiled' is also known from NBDSS texts (1QM 9.8; 4Q379 f3i.5). The classical equivalents are derivations of גע"ל 'abhor', for the *hitpaʿʿel* of גא"ל II evidently *nifʿal* נִגְעַל 'be defiled' (2 Sam. 1.21).

הִתְגַּדֵּל 'magnify oneself'

In classical texts, the *hifʿil* expression הִגְדִּיל עַל is sometimes used in the antagonist sense 'to raise oneself against' (Ezek. 35.13; Zeph. 2.8, 10; Ps. 35.26; 41.10). Twice in LBH, the phrase with *hitpaʿʿel* הִתְגַּדֵּל עַל comes in the same meaning (Dan. 11.36–37[1]). Cf. also RH: ר' צָדוֹק אוֹ' אַל תַּעֲשֵׂם עֲטָרָה לְהִתְגַּדֵּל בָּהֶן 'R. Sadoq says, "Do not make [Torah teachings] a crown with which to glorify yourself…"' (m. ʾAvot 4.5). Interestingly, the Targumic equivalent of C-stem הִגְדִּיל עַל is t-stem אתררב; Syriac ܐܬܬܓܐ is also t-stem.

הִתְחַבֵּר 'join, associate'

The *qal* has the basic sense of 'join, associate', and can refer to people (Gen. 14.3; Hos. 4.17; Ps. 94.20) or objects (Exod. 26.3, 3; 28.7; 39.4; Deut. 18.11 [?]; Ezek. 1.9, 11; Ps 58.6 [?]; 94.20). The *hitpaʿʿel* refers only to human alliances (Dan. 11.6, 23; 2 Chron. 20.35, 37). The *hitpaʿʿel* also occurs in reference to human

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[1] Possibly also in Isa. 10.15, but the context does not involve a ruler raising himself up.

association in BS (SirA 5r.23–25 ‖ Sir. 13.2), NBDSS material (4Q374 f1a–b.3; 4Q416 f2iii.21); and RH (m. ʾAvot 1.7). The Mishna also includes an example of non-human association (m. Ṭohorot 9.1). In reference to human association, the Targums also utilise Dt-stem forms, e.g., אתכנש and אתחבר; so, too, occasionally the Peshiṭta.

הִתְנַדֵּב 'freely offer (cultic)'

In the cultic sense of 'freely offer', the relevant CBH usages involve transitive *qal* with רוּחַ 'spirit' or לֵב 'heart' as subject, e.g., כָּל־אִישׁ אֲשֶׁר יִדְּבֶנּוּ לִבּוֹ 'every man whose heart moves him' (Exod. 25.2), וְכֹל אֲשֶׁר נָדְבָה רוּחוֹ אֹתוֹ 'and every one whose spirit moved him' (Exod. 35.21), כָּל־אִישׁ וְאִשָּׁה אֲשֶׁר נָדַב לִבָּם אֹתָם 'every man or woman whose heart moved them' (Exod. 35.29). In LBH, the early transitive *qal* expression gives way to an apparently reflexive *hitpaʿʿel* involving the freewill offering of sacrifices or service (Ezra 1.6; 2.68; 3.5; Neh. 11.2; 1 Chron. 29.5–6, 9, 14, 17; 2 Chron. 17.16).[2] The Dt-stem form is also common in Qumran writings (1QS 5.1, 6, 8, 10, 21–22; 6.13; 1Q14 f8–10.7; 1Q31 f1.1; 4Q256 9.1, 5; 4Q258 1.1, 5; 2.1–2; 4Q368 f10i.6; 4Q433a f2.5) and in RH (m. Sheqalim 4.1; 5.6; m. Zevaḥim 10.8, 8; m. Menaḥot 12.3, 4, 4, 4, 5, 5, 5, 5, 5; 13.3; m. Keritot 6.3, 3; m. Meʿila 3.6, 6; m. Middot 3.8). The Targums also frequently resort

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[2] *Hitpaʿʿel* forms also occur in Judg. 5.2, 9, but these are in a military, rather than cultic context. In other words, the late aspect of הִתְנַדֵּב is not merely its Dt-stem morphology, but its cultic semantics and use in place of *qal* נָדַב.

to Dt-stem forms, whether of נד״ב or רע״י (the latter even in the case of two of the CBH *qal* usages).

הִתְעַנָּה 'fast'

Classical cases of הִתְעַנָּה have the general sense of 'humble one-self, afflict oneself, suffer affliction' (Gen. 16.9; 1 Kgs 2.26; Ps. 107.17). It is possible that in LBH the sense narrows to 'fast' (Dan. 10.12; Ezra 8.21), in line with post-biblical sources (DSSH, RH; see BDB 726b; Qimron 1980, 250; Hurvitz 2014, 242). Clearly, only in the specific meaning 'fast' can הִתְעַנָּה be considered especially characteristic of post-exilic Hebrew.

הִתְפָּעֶם 'disturb'

Nifʿal forms in the sense 'be disturbed' occur in CBH (Gen. 41.8), LBH (Dan. 2.3), and poetic material of less certain diachronic linguistic profile (Ps. 77.5). *Nifʿal* forms are also preserved in the BDSS (4Q3 f1ii.15 ‖ MT Gen. 41.8) and in SH (Gen. 41.8). Against the *nifʿal* וַתִּפָּעֶם רוּחִי 'and my spirit was troubled' (Dan. 2.3), one nearby encounters *hitpaʿʿel* וַתִּתְפָּעֶם רוּחוֹ 'and his spirit was troubled' (Dan. 2.1). While further Hebrew examples of הִתְפָּעֶם go undocumented until the time of *piyyuṭ*, making them non-diagnostic as far as ancient periodisation goes, TA and, to a lesser extent, Syriac resort to t-stem forms in their renderings of both Tiberian נִפְעַם and הִתְפָּעֶם.

הִשְׁתַּכַּח 'forget'

Throughout the Tiberian biblical tradition, the standard passive of שָׁכַח 'forget' is *nifʿal* נִשְׁכַּח 'be forgotten' (Gen. 41.30; Deut.

31.21; Isa. 23.15–16; 65.16; Jer. 20.11; 23.40; 50.5; Ps. 9.19; 31.13; Job 28.4; Qoh. 2.16; 9.5). Qohelet, widely considered late on the basis of its post-exilic linguistic profile (Schoors 1992–2004; Hurvitz 2007; see Hornkohl 2013b, 321, for further bibliography), includes two of the classical *nifʿal* cases, but also the only Tiberian biblical example of *hitpaʿʿel* (Qoh. 8.10), apparently with the same meaning as its more common *nifʿal* counterpart. The *hitpaʿʿel* also appears in Tannaitic sources (Mekhilta deRabbi Ishmaʿel; Sifre Devarim; Tosefta) and Amoraic Hebrew (Yerushalmi; Bavli). Finally, the Aramaic and Syriac equivalents to both Tiberian *nifʿal* נִשְׁכַּח and *hitpaʿʿel* הִשְׁתַּכֵּח are commonly t-stem verbs.

1.1.2. *Hippaʿʿel < Hitpaʿʿel*

On relatively rare occasions, Tiberian Hebrew evinces forms of the type *hippaʿʿel < hitpaʿʿel*. In these cases, suffix conjugation forms in texts from no earlier than the Exile can be read only as *hitpaʿʿel* forms with assimilated *tav*: הִנַּבְּאוּ 'they prophesied' (Jer. 23.13); וְהִנֶּחָמְתִּי 'and I will be satisfied' (Ezek. 5.13); וְהִנַּבֵּאתִי 'and I prophesied' (Ezek. 37.10). These unambiguous consonantal *hitpaʿʿel* forms with assimilated *tav* are not especially important in their own right, as the *hitpaʿʿel* forms of both נב"א and נח"ם are well attested throughout the Tiberian biblical corpus, from CBH to LBH. Their significance in the context of the phenomenon of hitpaelisation is as evidence of the door opened via assimilation of the infix *tav* for the apparent secondary development in the Tiberian reading tradition of consonantal *nifʿal* forms into *nip-*

pa‘‘el [< *nitpa‘‘el*] forms (see §2.0 below; the development is especially characteristic of SH, §1.3).

1.2. Dead Sea Scrolls Hebrew

There is limited evidence of hitpaelisation in the Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls, in both biblical and non-biblical material.

1.2.1. The Biblical Dead Sea Scrolls

In the BDSS, a possible manifestation of hitpaelisation involves textual variation in which various MT forms are paralleled in Qumran texts by synonymous t-stem alternatives. Consider the following cases:

(3) מֹתּ]נבא 'prophesying' (4Q51 9e–i.13) || MT נִבָּא (1 Sam. 10.11)

(4) ’תיסד 'its foundation will be laid' (1QIsaᵃ 38.6) || MT תִּוָּסֵד 'your foundation will be laid' (Isa. 44.28)

(5) תתמוטינה '(and the hills) will shake' (1QIsaᵃ 45.8) || MT תְּמוּטֶנָה (Isa. 54.10)[3]

(6) ויתגרשו 'and (its waters) are tossed up (with mire and dirt)' (1QIsaᵃ 47.20) || MT וַיִּגָרְשׁוּ 'and (its waters) tossed up (mire and dirt)' (Isa. 57.20)

(7) תתנחמו '(and in Jerusalem) you will be comforted' (1QIsaᵃ 53.29) || MT תְּנָחֵמוּ '(and in Jerusalem) you will be comforted' (Isa. 66.13)

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[3] Cf. התמוטטה '(the earth) shook' (1QIsaᵃ 19.18) || MT הִתְמוֹטְטָה (Isa. 24.19).

The frequency of hitpaelisation in 1QIsaᵃ in particular—representing shifts from *qal* (5)–(6), *nifʿal* (4), and *puʿʿal* (7)—seems to have diachronic significance. Despite its basis in CBH, 1QIsaᵃ is renowned for its degree of linguistic contemporisation (Kutscher 1974, 77–89; Abegg 2010, 25; Fassberg 2013; Muraoka 2013; cf. Young 2013). The t-stem forms נב"א (3) and נח"ם (7) are known from CBH, and that of מו"ט (5) occurs elsewhere in MT Isaiah and 1QIsaᵃ (see fn. 4), so that it might stem more from stylistic harmonisation than linguistic convention, but the t-stem form of יס"ד (4) is unknown in Tiberian BH, being unique in Hebrew until it resurfaces in early medieval poetry, and the earliest documentation of t-stem גר"ש comes in the BDSS (6) and NBDSS (1QHᵃ 10.14; 11.16–17), it next appearing in the meaning 'be divorced' in RH (m. Yevamot 14.1; m. Nedarim 9.9; m. Giṭṭin 6.2) and in Amoraic sources (Yerushalmi; Bavli). The evidence as such does not confirm the late character of hitpaelisation in the BDSS, but it is in line with such a theory.[4]

1.2.2. The Non-biblical Dead Sea Scrolls

It has already been noted that the NBDSS exhibit diagnostically late *hitpaʿʿel* forms known from Tiberian LBH—התגאל 'be defiled' (2x), התחבר 'join, associate' (2x; also in BS, RH), and התנדב 'freely

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[4] There are also a few cases of apparent BDSS shifts away from *hitpaʿʿel* in comparison to the MT. Thus, והנחלתם 'and you will bequeath' (4Q24 f27–28.2) || MT וְהִתְנַחַלְתֶּם (Lev. 25.46); הרגזכה 'your raging' (1QIsaᵃ 31.7) || MT הִתְרַגֶּזְךָ (Isa. 37.28); יכסו 'they will (not) cover' (1QIsaᵃ 48.17) || MT יִתְכַּסּוּ 'they will not cover themselves' (Isa. 59.6). Rather than reflecting a broad shift away from *hitpaʿʿel*, these cases seem to stem from local exegetical differences and/or difficulties.

offer (cultic)' (17x; also in RH)—and from the BDSS—התגרש 'storm, be tossed up (waves)'. But this does not remotely reflect the degree of hitpaelisation encountered in the NBDSS. Indeed, many *hitpaʿʿel* forms unknown from BH are documented in the NBDSS, sometimes also appearing other Second Temple Hebrew material. Here they are listed in order of frequency in the NBDSS with notation of additional corpora in which they occur, if relevant: ה(ת)דשׁן 'become fat, savour' (10x; BS); התיסר 'be chastised' (8x; RH2); הטמא 'become defiled, unclean' (6x; BDSS, SH, RH, Tiberian reading tradition [see below, §2.0]); התאחר 'be delayed' (6x; BS (cf. below, התקדם); השתלם 'be rewarded' (5x; RH); התיחד 'unite (intr.)' (4x; RH); הזכה 'be cleansed, considered innocent' (?; 4x; BDSS, Tiberian reading tradition [see below, §2.0]; Amoraic Hebrew; התרגש 'storm, be tossed up (waves)' (4x; Amoraic Hebrew); השתלח 'be sent' (3x; RH); התבהל 'be eager, pass quickly' (3x); התפזר 'be scattered' (3x; RH); התרמה 'be cheated' (3x); התקדם 'go/be early' (2x; cf. above, התאחר); התבעה 'inquire (of prophetic dreams)' (?) (2x); התענה if in the meaning 'fast' (2x; LBH, BDSS, RH); התקלה 'be put to shame' (2x); התארמל 'become a widow' (RH); התפתה 'be fooled, deceived' (BS); התקרע 'be torn asunder' (RH); התרשע 'condemn oneself, be condemned'; התפרר 'break (intr.), be shattered'; התאמן 'trust' (?); התאנח 'sigh, groan' (BS, Amoraic Hebrew); התישׁר 'be right' (?); התכבס 'be washed' (RH); התמלא 'be filled' (RH—different semantics in MT Job 16.10); התנסה 'be tested' (?) (RH); התעכל 'be consumed' (?); התעצל 'hesitate, be sluggish' (RH); התפחד 'fear, tremble'; הצטרף 'be refined'

(RH). Consider the following NBDSS example with התקדם 'be/go early' and התאחר 'be/go late'.

(8)   יתקדם או יתאחר ולא ישביתו את העבודה כולה

    'let him **go earlier** or **later** so that they need not stop the whole service…' (CD 11.23)

(9)   מִי הִקְדִּימַנִי וַאֲשַׁלֵּם תַּחַת כָּל־הַשָּׁמַיִם לִי־הוּא׃

    'Who **has preceded me**, that I should repay him? Whatever is under the whole heaven is mine.' (Job 41.11)

(10)   וַיְצַו אֹתָם לֵאמֹר כֹּה תֹאמְרוּן לַאדֹנִי לְעֵשָׂו כֹּה אָמַר עַבְדְּךָ יַעֲקֹב עִם־לָבָן
        גַּרְתִּי וָאֵחַר עַד־עָתָּה׃

    'And he commanded them, "Thus you shall say to my lord Esau: Thus says your servant Jacob, 'I have sojourned with Laban **and delayed** until now.'"'

The Tiberian *hifʿil* and *qal* forms are matched by DSS *hitpaʿʿel* forms in approximately the same meanings.

    Consider also the case of הצטרף 'be refined'. Parallel to Tiberian *nifʿal* וְיִצָּרְפוּ 'and will be refined' (Dan. 12.10), 4Q Eschatological Commentary A presents *hitpaʿʿel* ויצטרפו 'and they will be refined' (4Q174 f1–3ii.4). Though in RH the *hitpaʿʿel* generally has the sense 'join', the meaning 'be refined' also occasionally surfaces, e.g., מִישֶׁיְּצַּטְרְפוּ בכבשן 'after they are fired in a furnace' (m. Kelim 4.4–5);[5] מישיצטרפו בכבשן 'after they are fired in a furnace' (t. Kelim Bava Batra).

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[5] In Codex Kaufmann, an interlinear *ṭet* has been placed above the apparently *nifʿal* form מִישֶׁיְּצַּרְפוּ between the *tsade* and the *resh* (Beer 1968, 447b). The vocalisation also corresponds to that of the *hitpaʿʿel* rather than a *nifʿal*—what appears to be a *ḥaṭef qameṣ* below the *tsade* is in reality a *shewa* beneath the *ṣade* and a *qameṣ* below the supralinear *ṭet*.

1.3. Samaritan Hebrew

1.3.1. *Nifʿal B = Nippaꜥꜥel (< Nitpaꜥꜥel) < Nifʿal*

As has already been discussed above (ch. 10, §1.3.4), from a syn-
chronic perspective, SH has a second N-stem alongside its stand-
ard *nifʿal* (Ben-Ḥayyim 2000, 117–18). This so-called *nifʿal B* is in
reality a result of hitpaelisation, since it is a hybrid that incorpo-
rates components of the N- and Dt-stems. It consists of secondary
hitpaꜥꜥel/nitpaꜥꜥel pronunciation imposed on originally *nifʿal* or-
thography, with gemination of both the first and middle radi-
cals—the former in line with assimilation of the *t*-infix especially
common in some late Aramaic dialects (Ben-Ḥayyim 2000, 117–
18; Bar-Asher 2016, 209–10) and the latter characteristic of the
Dt-stem pattern.

1.3.2. Samaritan *Nifʿal B* || Tiberian *Qal*

Above in ch. 10, §1.3.4, the focus was on shifts *nifʿal B < qal*.
Relevant Tiberian *qal* verbs with SH *nifʿal B* parallels include (in
order of frequency) נָחַל 'inherit' (6x), קָדַשׁ 'be holy' (5x), כָּלָה 'fin-
ish (intr.)' (3x) (along with *puʿal* כֻּלָּה 'be finished'), גָּבַר 'prevail'
(2x), קָשָׁה 'be hard, severe' (2x), with single instances of יָרֵא 'fear',
לָוָה 'borrow', מָכַר 'sell', רָגַז 'tremble with emotion', תָּמַהּ 'be aston-
ished'.[6] In these cases, *qal* morphology is preserved in the case of
suffix conjugation forms, whereas prefix conjugation forms have

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[6] Certain individual cases may represent local interpretive peculiarities,
rather than broad shifts in verbal morphology.

secondary *nifʿal B* realisations (Hornkohl 2022, 7–9). Compare (11) and (12), repeated from ch. 10, §1.3.4.

(11) המים ויכסו (גָבְרוּ *gēbēru* || MT *gēbēru*) גברו מלמעלה אמה עשרה חמש ההרים:

> 'The waters **prevailed** above the mountains, covering them fifteen cubits deep.' (Gen. 7.20; see also Gen. 7.19; 49.26)

(12) יום ומאת חמשים הארץ על המים (וַיִּגְבְּרוּ *wyiggåbbā̆ru*) MT || ויגברו:

> '**And** the waters **prevailed** on the earth 150 days.' (Gen. 7.24; see also Gen. 7.18)

The Tiberian form is *qal* in both (11) and (12), whereas the SH form is *qal* in (11), where required by the orthography, but *nifʿal B* in (12), where the spelling is amenable to *nifʿal B* realisation.

1.3.3. Samaritan *Nifʿal B* || Tiberian *Nifʿal*

The hitpaelisation inherent in the SH proliferation of *nifʿal B* goes beyond shifts *nifʿal B < qal*. Indeed, far more common is correspondence between Samaritan *nifʿal B* and Tiberian *nifʿal*, which occur in the case of the following Tiberian *nifʿal* forms (listed here in order of frequency of Samaritan *nifʿal B* forms): נמכר 'be sold' (10x), נטמא 'become unclean' (9x; BDSS, NBDSS, RH, Tiberian reading tradition), נפרד 'separate (intr.), be separated' (7x), נחם* 'be comforted, regret, relent', נמלט* 'escape' (5x), נקדש 'be sanctified' (4x), נאות 'consent' (3x; ?), נברך 'bless' (3x), נלוה 'join' (3x), נשמד 'be destroyed' (3x), נבנה* 'be built' (2x), נכבש 'be subdued' (2x),[7] נצל 'survive, escape' (2x), נקה* 'be released, freed' (2x),

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[7] Note that the Samaritan reading tradition is consistent in its reading of Dt-stem forms in Gen. 12.3; 18.18; 22.18; 26.4; 28.14; Deut. 29.18,

‏נקרע‎* 'tear (intr.)' (2x), ‏נגר‎* 'ruminate, chew the cud', ‏ניסד‎* 'be founded', ‏נצה‎* 'fight', ‏נקש‎* 'become ensnared', ‏נסכר‎* 'be closed', ‏נעלם‎ 'be hidden', ‏נענש‎* 'be punished', ‏נפתח‎ 'be opened', ‏נקבץ‎ 'gather (intr.)', ‏נקרב‎ 'approach', ‏נשם‎ 'be desolate'. *Nifʿal B* passives are particularly common when the corresponding active form is in *piʿʿel*.

Consider the case of ‏נמכר‎ 'be sold'. The Tiberian active-passive *qal-nifʿal* combination is paralleled by a *piʿʿel-nifʿal B* combination according to the Samaritan reading tradition (on the *piʿʿel*, see above, ch. 12, §1.3.1). Thus,

(13) ‏אם זרחה השמש עליו דם לו שלם ישלם אם אין לו ונמכר‎
(*wnimmakkår* || MT ‏וְנִמְכַּר‎) ‏בגנבתו:‎
'but if the sun has risen on him, there shall be bloodguilt for him. He shall surely pay. If he has nothing, **then he shall be sold** for his theft.' (Exod. 22.2; see also Lev. 25.39, 47–48; 27.27)

(14) ‏והארץ לא תמכר‎ (*timmakkår* || MT ‏תִּמָּכֵר֙‎) ‏לצמיתת כי לי הארץ כי‎
‏גרים ותושבים אתם עמדי:‎
'The land **shall not be sold** in perpetuity, for the land is mine. For you are strangers and sojourners with me.' (Lev. 25.23, 42; 27.28; Deut. 15.12)

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whereas the Samaritan written tradition and Tiberian tradition show a mixture of Dt- and N-stem forms.

(15) וחשב עם קנהו משנת המכר (הַמָּכְרוֹ MT || *immakkår*) לו עד שנת
היובל והיה כסף ממכרו במספר שנים כימי שכיר יהיה עמו:

'He shall calculate with his buyer from the year of (his) **be-
ing sold** to him until the year of jubilee, and the price of
his sale shall vary with the number of years. The time he
was with his owner shall be rated as the time of a hired
worker.' (Lev. 25.50)

The double gemination—of first and second radical—is clear ev-
idence of the *hitpaʿʿel/nitpaʿʿel* derivation of these forms, showing
an advanced stage of hitpaelisation in the Samaritan reading tra-
dition.

1.4. Ben Sira

Hitpaelisation in BS is evident in the occurrence of several
hitpaʿʿel forms already mentioned as characteristic of

- LBH: התחבר 'join, associate' (§1.1.1, above);
- DSS Hebrew: ה(ת)דשן 'become fat, savour'; התאחר 'delay
  (intr.), be delayed' (3x); התפתה 'be seduced' (2x); התאנח
  'sigh, groan' (3x; Amoraic Hebrew; §1.2.2, above)
- SH: התירא 'fear' (see §1.3, above).

BS also presents the first documentation of certain *hitpaʿʿel*
forms (presented here in order of frequency): התנצב 'stand' (8x);
התסייד 'become intimate, take counsel with' (7x); התעבר 'neglect,
pass' (5x; RH); התחנג 'take delight' (2x); התמרר/התמרמר 'be bitter'
(2x); התרחק 'distance oneself, move away' (2x; RH); התגר 'trade'
(2x); התחרש 'be deaf' (?); התישן 'grow old' (RH); התלבש 'wear'
(RH); התלעב 'mock' (?); התנבל 'become a fool' (RH2); התנוה 'brag'
(RH1); התעלה 'go up' (?); התעסק 'exploit' (MT Gen. 26.2, RH);

התעשר 'become rich' (RH2); התפחז 'be reckless'; התקצר 'be short' (RH); התקרב 'come near, approach' (RH); התרטש 'break down'; התשעה 'be looked upon'. Several of these are characteristic of RH, whether Tannaitic, Amoraic, or both.

1.5. Rabbinic Hebrew

RH, consisting of Tannaitic Hebrew and Amoraic Hebrew, has in common with other Second Temple Hebrew chronolects the use of many Dt-stem/Nt-stem forms unknown from Tiberian CBH. The following list focuses on the Mishna (no attempt is made in the following lists to distinguish between *hitpaʿʿel* and *nitpaʿʿal*, i.e., all forms are listed as *hitpaʿʿel*):

- LBH: התענה 'fast' (19x; NBDSS; BS); התנדב 'freely offer (cultic)' (19x; NBDSS), התחבר 'join, associate' (2x; BS), and התגדל 'magnify yourself' (LBH);

- NBDSS: הטמא 'become defiled, unclean' (167x; SH, Tiberian reading tradition [see below, §2.0]); השתלח 'be sent' (14x); התיחד 'unite (intr.)' (10x); התמלא 'be filled' (4x—different semantics in MT Job 16.10); התפזר 'be scattered' (2x; RH); התכבס 'be washed'; התעצל 'hesitate, be sluggish'; הצטרף 'be refined';

- BS: התעסק 'exploit' (7x; MT Gen. 26.2); התירא 'fear' (2x; SH); התלבש 'wear'; התרחק 'distance oneself, move away'.

RH, generally, and the Mishna, more specifically, also manifest hitpaelisation via the innovation of many *hitpaʿʿel* forms unattested in earlier classical or contemporary Second Temple sources. In the following list, forms are presented in order of frequency, with cognate BH and BA forms noted where relevant:

הצטרף 'to be joined' (137x); התייבם 'enter into levirate marriage (said of a woman)' (35x); התכוון 'intend' (35x); התקיים 'persist, continue' (25x; cf. LBH *pi^{cc}el*); הסתאב 'become blemished' (23x); התעשר 'be tithed' (20x); השתמש 'use' (17x; cf. BA *pa^{cc}el*); התחלק 'be divided, distributed' (12x; cf. BH reflexive *hitpa^{cc}el* with direct object in Josh. 18.5 || *nif^cal*; *pu^{cc}al*); התקבל 'receive, accept' (12x; cf. LBH *pi^{cc}el*); השתכל 'look at' (11x; cf. BA *hitp^{cc}al*); השתתף 'part-ner, form a partnership' (11x); התייחד 'be alone (with)' (10x); התחייב 'be liable' (8x; cf. LBH *pi^{cc}el*); התפרנס 'be provided for, make a living' (7x); התארש 'become betrothed' (6x; || BH *pu^{cc}al*); מעט 'become diminished' (6x; || BH *qal*); התרגם 'be translated (5x; cf. BA *pu^{cc}al*); התארח 'be hosted' (4x); התכנס 'gather (intr.)' (4x); הסתלק 'move, leave, avoid' (4x; cf. TA Dt, BA *qal*); הצטער 'suffer pain, distress' (4x); הטפל 'attend to, take care of' (3x); הטרף 'be shaken, torn away' (3x; || BH *qal* internal passive; *nif^cal*); הסתפר 'have one's hair cut' (3x); השתעבד 'be enslaved' (3x); השתער 'be measured' (3x; cf. BH *qal*); התבייש 'be ashamed' (3x; BH *qal*); התבשל 'be cooked' (3x; || BH *pu^{cc}al*); התגרש 'be/get divorced (in reference to the wife)' (3x; cf. BH *qal* passive participle); התחלל 'be profaned, deconsecrated' (3x; || BH *nif^cal*; *pu^{cc}al*); התקשט 'adorn oneself' (3x); השתדל 'make an effort, try' (2x); התבער 'be removed' (2x); התגייר 'convert to Judaism' (2x); התאבק 'wallow'; התחרר 'be freed' (2x); התייאש 'despair, give up hope' (2x || BH *nif^cal*; transitive *pi^{cc}el* in LBH); הסתפג 'dry oneself' (2x); הזדייג 'form pairs'; הזדייף 'be falsified'; הסתכר 'earn a profit'; הצטרך 'need'; השתבר 'be broken' (|| BH *nif^cal*); השתלש 'be divisible by three' (cf. BH *pu^{cc}al* with different semantics); התאכל 'be digested' (≈ BH *nif^cal*); התחכך 'rub up against'; התיישב 'become stable'; התלבן

'become white, be bleached' (the form in MT Dan. 12.10 is often rendered as a reflexive); התמעך 'be pressed' (|| BH *qal* internal passive; *qal* passive participle); התמצה 'drain, be drained' (|| BH *nifʿal*); התמרח 'be rubbed, smeared'; התנונה 'waste away'; התעבר 'be intercalated'; התעטש 'sneeze'; התעכב 'be delayed'; התעמל 'be kneaded'; התקנב 'be trimmed'.

Finally, it should be noted that one of the acknowledged results of hitpaelisation in RH was the replacement of *puʿʿal* *hitpaʿʿel/nitpaʿʿal*. Generally speaking, only *puʿʿal* participles persisted, whereas finite forms gave way to *hitpaʿʿel/nitpaʿʿal* alternatives e.g., BH בֻּשַּׁל 'be cooked' (Lev 6.21, 21) versus RH נִיתְבַּשֵּׁל 'be cooked' (m. Terumot 10.12; m. Maʿaser Sheni 2.1; m. ʿOrla 2.7, 16–17; m. Nederim 6.6; m. Ḥullin 7.4–5; see https://hebrew-academy.org.il/2018/07/24/התבקשנו-או-נתבקשנו-על-התפעל-ונתפעל/).

2.0. The Tiberian Reading Tradition of Classical Biblical Hebrew Texts

The Tiberian reading tradition only occasionally deviates from the morphology reflected by the corresponding written tradition in favour of secondary *hitpaʿʿel/nitpaʿʿel* morphology. In so doing, it joins with the Second Temple chronolects discussed above in terms of hitpaelisation.

2.1. *Nippaʿʿel (< Nitpaʿʿel) < Nifʿal*

Similar to the Tiberian Hebrew written tradition of exilic texts with *hippaʿʿel < hitpaʿʿel* forms (see above, §1.1.2), the Tiberian reading tradition occasionally interprets apparently original *nifʿal* orthographic forms as cases of *nippaʿʿel (< nitpaʿʿel)*. Tiberian vo-

calisations of this sort are relatively rare (see also ch. 10, §2.3): וְתִנַּשֵּׂא 'and (his kingdom) will be exalted' (Num. 24.7); וְנִכַּפֵּר 'and (the blood guilt) will be atoned for' (Deut. 21.8); וְנִוַּסְּרוּ 'and (all women) should take warning' (Ezek. 23.48); תִּכַּסֶּה '(hatred) will be covered' (Prov. 26.26); יִנַּשְּׂאוּ '(and the sons of the violent of your people) will rise up' (Dan. 11.14); וַיִּנַּשֵּׂא 'so he was exalted' (2 Chron. 32.23); several, but not all, of these come in exilic or post-exilic material.

2.2. I-alveolar Verbs

2.2.1. טמ"א 'become unclean, defile oneself'

Baden's (2010, 38–39) discusses the case of the *nifʿal* and *hitpaʿʿel* of טמ"א, both meaning 'become unclean, defile oneself'. This appears to be a clear case of secondary suppletion, in which the originally *nifʿal* form was reinterpreted as *hitpaʿʿel* where permitted by the consonantal spelling. Thus all 18 *nifʿal* forms are either suffix conjugation forms (16x: Lev. 11.43; 18.24; Num. 5.13–14, 14, 20, 27–29; Jer. 2.23; Ezek. 20.43; 23.7, 13, 30; Hos. 5.3; 6.10) or participles (2x: Ezek. 20.30–31). By contrast, all 15 *hitpaʿʿel* forms are in the prefix conjugation (Lev. 11.24, 43; 18.24, 30; 21.1, 3–4, 11; Num. 6.7; Ezek. 14.11; 20.7, 18; 37.23; 44.25; Hos. 9.4). Note that the two forms often come in the same context, or even the same verse, e.g.,

(16) אַל־תְּשַׁקְּצוּ אֶת־נַפְשֹׁתֵיכֶם בְּכָל־הַשֶּׁרֶץ הַשֹּׁרֵץ וְלֹא תִטַּמְּאוּ בָּהֶם וְנִטְמֵתֶם בָּם:

> 'You shall not make yourselves detestable with any swarming thing that swarms, and **you shall** not **defile yourselves** with them, **and become unclean** through them.' (Lev. 11.43; see also Lev. 18.24)

(17) וָאֹמַר אֶל־בְּנֵיהֶם בַּמִּדְבָּר בְּחוּקֵּי אֲבוֹתֵיכֶם אַל־תֵּלֵכוּ וְאֶת־מִשְׁפְּטֵיהֶם אַל־תִּשְׁמֹרוּ וּבְגִלּוּלֵיהֶם אַל־תִּטַּמָּאוּ:... לָכֵן אֱמֹר | אֶל־בֵּית יִשְׂרָאֵל כֹּה אָמַר אֲדֹנָי יְהוִֹה הַבְּדֶרֶךְ אֲבוֹתֵיכֶם אַתֶּם נִטְמְאִים וְאַחֲרֵי שִׁקּוּצֵיהֶם אַתֶּם זֹנִים: וּבִשְׂאֵת מַתְּנֹתֵיכֶם בְּהַעֲבִיר בְּנֵיכֶם בָּאֵשׁ אַתֶּם נִטְמְאִים לְכָל־גִּלּוּלֵיכֶם עַד־הַיּוֹם וַאֲנִי אִדָּרֵשׁ לָכֶם בֵּית יִשְׂרָאֵל חַי־אָנִי נְאֻם אֲדֹנָי יְהוִֹה אִם־אִדָּרֵשׁ לָכֶם:

> 'And I said to their children in the wilderness, "Do not walk in the statutes of your fathers, nor keep their rules, nor **defile yourselves** with their idols."… Therefore say to the house of Israel, Thus says the Lord GOD: "**Will you defile yourselves** after the manner of your fathers and go whoring after their detestable things? When you present your gifts and offer up your children in fire, **you defile yourselves** with all your idols to this day. And shall I be inquired of by you, O house of Israel? As I live, declares the Lord GOD, I will not be inquired of by you."' (Ezek. 20.18, 30–31)

Though translations sometimes appear to reflect a semantic distinction between the *nifʿal* and *hitpaʿʿel* forms, e.g., (14), any distinction between the two is in reality merely formal, both capable of a range of middle semantics covering passive and reflexive force, e.g., (15). The suppletion is an example of partial hitpaelisation made where allowed by the orthography. Note that in

SH, all forms are *nifʿal B* (§1.3.3). Hitpaelisation of this verb is also documented in the NBDSS (§1.2.2) and RH (§1.5).

2.2.2. זכ"י 'be cleansed, cleanse yourself'

Active verbs with this root occur in *qal*, in the sense 'acquit, be justified' (Mic. 6.11; Ps. 51.6; Job 15.14; 25.4), and *piʿʿel*, in the sense 'keep/make pure' (Ps. 73.13; 119.9; Prov. 20.9). The im-peratival form הִזַּכּוּ (Isa. 1.16) is orthographically ambiguous, the-oretically presupposing *nifʿal* *הִזָּכוּ or its traditionally *hitpaʿʿel* morphology. This is the only apparently *hitpaʿʿel* form of a I-*z* root in BH, so it is impossible to tell whether the full assimilation of the root-initial *z* is routine. By way of comparison, root-initial *ṣ* does not assimilate, but undergoes metathesis. The morphologi-cal ambiguity of the NBDSS occurrences of this verb (1QS 3.4; 8.18; 4Q257 3.6; 5Q13 f4.2) make them unhelpful. Metathesis takes place in NBDSS] להזד 'to…?' (5Q13 f1.12) and in RH לְהִיזְדַּיֵּיף 'be falsified' (m. Giṭṭin 2.4) and וּמִיזְדַּוְּוגִין 'and (they) would form pairs' (m. Sanhedrin 5.5). It seems possible that the biblical or-thography הזכו (Isa. 1.13) reflects a *nifʿal* form that was second-arily read as a *hitpaʿʿel*.

2.2.3. דכ"א 'be crushed'

The verb with transitive semantics is *piʿʿel* (Isa. 3.15; 53.10; Ps. 72.4; 89.11; 94.5; 143.3; Job 4.19; 6.9; 19.2; Prov. 22.22; Lam. 3.34). The corresponding passive *puʿʿal* comes four times (Isa. 19.10; 53.5; Jer. 44.10; Job 22.9). An unequivocal *nifʿal* form comes in נִדְכָּאִים 'ones being crushed' (Isa. 57.15). Ambiguous or-thographic forms vocalised as *hitpaʿʿel/nitpaʿʿal* come in the case

of וְיִדַּכְּאוּ 'and they are crushed' (Job 5.4) and וְיִדַּכָּאוּ 'and they are crushed' (Job 34.25). On semantic grounds, Baden (2010, 38) assumes an original *nifʿal* secondarily read as *hitpaʿʿel*, but the regularity of *piʿʿel* and *puʿʿal* forms may point to the authenticity of the t-stem morphology. Baden (2010, 40–43) also notes that initial-alveolar and initial-affricate forms are disproportionately underrepresented in terms of *nifʿal* morphology, suggesting that such forms were disproportionately reinterpreted as *hitpaʿʿel* forms.[8]

2.2.4. דב"ר 'speak (divine)'

On three occasions in Tiberian BH one encounters the *hitpaʿʿel* active participle מִדַּבֵּר:

(18) וּבְבֹא מֹשֶׁה אֶל־אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד֮ לְדַבֵּר אִתּוֹ֒ וַיִּשְׁמַע אֶת־הַקּוֹל מִדַּבֵּר אֵלָיו מֵעַל הַכַּפֹּרֶת֙ אֲשֶׁר֙ עַל־אֲרֹן הָעֵדֻת מִבֵּין שְׁנֵי הַכְּרֻבִים וַיְדַבֵּר אֵלָיו:
'And when Moses went into the tent of meeting to speak with the LORD, he heard the voice **speaking** to him from above the mercy seat that was on the ark of the testimony, from between the two cherubim; and it spoke to him.' (Num. 7.89)

(19) וַתָּבֹא בִי רוּחַ כַּאֲשֶׁר דִּבֶּר אֵלַי וַתַּעֲמִדֵנִי עַל־רַגְלָי וָאֶשְׁמַע אֵת מִדַּבֵּר אֵלָי:
'And the Spirit entered into me as he spoke to me and [the spirit] set me on my feet, and I heard **him speaking** to me.' (Ezek. 2.2)

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[8] Citing the likes of Yellin (1924), Bergsträsser (1918–1929, II:§16d), and Siebesma (1991, 169), Baden (2010, 39, fn. 17) also lists the roots בר"ר, גא"ל, and כס"י as mixing *nifʿal* and *hitpaʿʿel* morphology. But the suppletion in these cases is not as consistent as in those discussed above.

(20) וָאֶשְׁמַ֤ע מִדַּבֵּר֙ אֵלַ֔י מֵהַבָּ֑יִת וְאִ֕ישׁ הָיָ֥ה עֹמֵ֖ד אֶצְלִֽי:

> 'I heard **one speaking** to me out of the temple, while the man was standing beside me.' (Ezek. 43.6)

The apparently secondary use of *hitpaᶜᶜel* is restricted to originally *piᶜᶜel* participles, as this consonantal form is amenable to hitpae-lisation due to the assimilation of the infix *-t-* to the following dental *d*. Notably, it is restricted to contexts of divine speech. This was evidently one strategy among many employed as part of a broad Second Temple effort to avoid anthropomorphism of the deity. Ben-Ḥayyim (2000, 218, §2.14.18, fn. 198) notes that such techniques are especially characteristic of the Targums. Indeed, observe that in the Aramaic rendering of Targums Onqelos in (21), Dt-stem participles correspond to both the participle and a finite verbal form in the MT:

(21) וכד עליל משה למשכן זמנא למללא עמיה ושמע ית קלא דמ֫תמלל עימיה מעלוי כפורתא דעל ארונא דסהדותא מבין תרין כרוביא ומ֫תמלל עמיה:

> 'And when Moses would go into the tent of meeting to speak with the LORD, and he would heard the voice **speaking** to him from above the mercy seat that was on the ark of the testimony, from between the two cherubim; and it would speak to him.' (TO Num. 7.89)

For further evidence of the Targumic distinction between the D-stem for human speech and the Dt-stem for divine speech, see

(22) וַיֹּאמְרוּ אֶל־מֹשֶׁה דַּבֵּר־אַתָּה עִמָּנוּ וְנִשְׁמָעָה וְאַל־יְדַבֵּר עִמָּנוּ אֱלֹהִים פֶּן־
MT נָמוּת:

TO ואמרו למשה מַלִיל את עימנא ונקביל ולא יִתְמַלֵּל עמנא מן־קדם יוי
דלמא נמות:

> 'And they said to Moses, "You **speak** to us, and we will
> listen; but do not **let** God **speak** to us, lest we die."' (Ex-
> od. 20.19)

(23) וַיֹּאמֶר שְׁמוּאֵל אֶל־שָׁאוּל הֶרֶף וְאַגִּידָה לְּךָ אֵת אֲשֶׁר דִּבֶּר יְהוָה אֵלַי הַלָּיְלָה
MT וַיֹּאמרו (K) וַיֹּאמֶר (Q) לוֹ דַּבֵּר׃ ס

TO ואמר שמואל לשאול אוריך ואחוי לך ית דְאִתְמַלֵּל מן קדם יי עמי בליליא
ואמר ליה מַלִּיל:

> 'Then Samuel said to Saul, "Stop! I will tell you what which
> the LORD **spoke** to me this night." And he said to him,
> "**Speak**."' (1 Sam.15.16; see also TJ Ezek. 2.2)[9]

The Targums, thus, reflect a tradition similar to that re-
flected in the Tiberian reading tradition. The same is true of RH
(Tannaitic and Amoraic sources). Conversely, other Second Tem-
ple Hebrew sources show no sign of this distinction. In the rele-
vant passage, the SP has the more expected—and original—*pi‘‘el*
form מדבר *amdabbər* '[the voice] speaking' (Num. 7.89). Likewise,
the Peshiṭta has D-stem forms parallel to the MT *hitpa‘‘el* forms.
Neither the Old Greek nor the Vulgate show special forms corre-
sponding to the MT's *hitpa‘‘els*. The use of dedicated Dt-stem
verbs for divine speech is thus a feature specific to Jewish inter-
pretive traditions. It dates to at least the Tannaitic period, prior

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[9] For Dt-stem forms of מל"ל 'speak' more generally in reference to divine
speech, see in TO Gen 16.13; Exod. 33.9; TJ Jer. 9.11; Ezek. 1.3, 28;
13.7; 22.28; Hab. 2.1; Targum Song 1.2; 2.5.

if the reading component of the Tiberian biblical tradition had already crystallised by then.

3.0. The Tiberian Classical Biblical Hebrew Written Tradition

3.1. Northwest Semitic Inscriptions

No *hitpaᶜᶜel* forms occur in the limited corpus of Iron Age Hebrew epigraphy (Gogel 1998, 119). However, t-stem forms are found in the wider Northwest Semitic repertoire, specifically, in the Moabite of the Meshaᶜ Stele, where one finds repeated occurrences of the *hifteᶜel* form הלתחם 'fight' (*KAI* 181 1.11, 15, 19, 32–33). Clearly, t-stem forms semantically parallel to BH *nifᶜal* forms were extant in Iron Age sources.

3.2. Synonymy between *Hitpaᶜᶜel* and Other Stems

Yet, it would be misleading to suggest that synonymy between *hitpaᶜᶜel* and other stems is an exclusively late phenomenon. Consider the following examples, which may be considered more broadly representative.

3.2.1. נִבְרַךְ || הִתְבָּרֵךְ 'be blessed, bless oneself'

Whatever the exact meaning of the *hitpaᶜᶜel* (Gen. 22.18; 26.4; Deut. 29.18; Isa. 65.16; Jer. 4.2; Ps. 72.17) and *nifᶜal* (Gen 12.3; 18.18; 28.14), their appearance in nearly parallel contexts in Genesis would seem to demonstrate early semantic overlap.

3.2.2. הִתְחַבֵּא || נֶחְבָּא ‘hide (intr.)

In both Tiberian CBH and LBH, the *hitpaʿʿel* (Gen. 3.8; 1 Sam. 13.6; 14.11, 22; 23.23; 2 Kgs 11.3; Job 38.30; 1 Chron. 21.20; 2 Chron. 22.9, 12) and *nifʿal* (Gen. 3.10; 31.27; Josh. 2.16; 10.16–17, 27; Judg. 9.5; 1 Sam. 10.22; 19.2; 2 Sam. 17.9; Amos 9.3; Job 5.21; 29.8, 10; Dan. 10.7; 2 Chron. 18.24) forms appear with identical semantics. Indeed, they occur separated by a single verse in the same story in Gen. 3.8 and 10.

3.2.3. נִצַּב/הִתְיַצֵּב ‘position oneself, stand’

The connection between the *hitpaʿʿel* הִתְיַצֵּב and the *nifʿal* נִצַּב is not merely one of semantic synonymy, but of partial suppletion. In Tiberian BH the *hitpaʿʿel* occurs primarily as a prefix conjugation form, imperative, or infinitive construct. It occurs just twice as a suffix conjugation form, specifically in LBH. The *nifʿal*, conversely, occurs only as a participle and suffix conjugation form, the latter outside of LBH. Given this sort of mutual exclusivity, it is not surprising that the two forms should occur with similar semantics in close proximity, e.g., וְנִצַּבְתָּ ‘and you will stand’ (Exod. 34.2) and וַיִּתְיַצֵּב ‘and he stood’ (Exod. 34.5). Consider also the *hitpaʿʿel* forms in Num. 22.22; 23.3, 15 versus the *nifʿal* forms in Num. 22.23, 31, 34; 23.6, 17. Finally, nearly parallel uses involve the *nifʿal* וְנִצַּבְתָּ ‘and you will stand’ (Exod. 7.15; see also 5.20) and the *hitpaʿʿel* וְהִתְיַצֵּב ‘and stand’ (Exod. 8.20; see also 9.13). Clearly, the above is strong evidence of early *hitpaʿʿel-nifʿal* correspondence.

3.2.4.   נָכוֹן || הִתְכּוֹנֵן 'be established'

There is arguable semantic overlap between the *hitpolel* and the *nifꜥal*, but the most striking feature of the *hitpolel* is the consonantal evidence it provides for the *hippaꜥꜥel* < *hitpaꜥꜥel* (*nippaꜥꜥel* < *nitpaꜥꜥel*), or, more specifically, *hippolel* < *hitpolel* (*nippolel* < *nitpolel*), shift more evident in the pronunciation component of the Tiberian reading tradition and other Second Temple traditions (i.e., SH). Indeed, in three of the four *hitpolel* instances, the *t* has assimilated: וְתִכּוֹנֵן 'be established, rebuilt (FS)' (Num. 21.27); תִּכּוֹנָנִי 'you (FS) will be (re)established' (Isa. 54.1); וְיִכּוֹנָנוּ 'and they (M) make ready' (Ps. 59.5); cf. יִתְכּוֹנָן 'it (M) is established' (Prov. 24.3). Note that the relevant consonantal forms are unambiguously *hippolel/nippolel* < *hitpolel/nitpolel*, as evidenced by reduplication of the *n*. This is strong evidence that the apparently secondary vocalisation development seen above in §2.1 is in line with developments already seen in the Tiberian written tradition.[10]

3.2.5.   נִבָּא || הִתְנַבֵּא 'prophesy'

So apparently interchangeable are the *hitpaꜥꜥel* and *nifꜥal* of נב״א that they both come throughout BH, frequently appearing in close proximity, including on four occasions within a single verse: נִבְּאִים 'prophesying (MPL)' and וַיִּתְנַבְּאוּ 'and they prophesied' (1 Sam. 19.20); נִבְּאִים 'prophesying (MPL)' and מִתְנַבְּאִים 'prophesying (MPL)' (Jer. 14.14); הָיָה מִתְנַבֵּא 'would prophesy (MS)' and וַיִּנָּבֵּא 'and he prophesied' (Jer. 26.20); הַמִּתְנַבְּאוֹת 'who are prophesying

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[10] Consider also *hippolel/nippolel* אֲרוֹמָם 'I will exalt myself' (Isa 33.10) versus *hitpolel/nitpolel* וְיִתְרוֹמֵם 'and he will exalt himself' (Dan 11.36).

(FPL)' and וְהִנָּבֵא 'and prophesy! (MS)' (Ezek. 26.20). In the case of these verbs, semantic correspondence between *hitpaᶜᶜel* and *nifᶜal* seems to have deep historical roots.

3.2.6. נִחַם || הִתְנַחֵם 'be comforted; regret, change one's mind'

Hitpaᶜᶜel forms, usually in the sense 'take comfort, be comforted', (7x) are rarer than *nifᶜal* (48x), usually 'repent, regret'. The *hitpaᶜᶜel* occasionally has the meaning more commonly associated with the *nifᶜal*, e.g., ...לֹא אִישׁ אֵל וִיכַזֵּב וּבֶן־אָדָם וְיִתְנֶחָם 'God is not a man that he should like, nor a human **that he should change his mind**' (Num. 23.19); cf. וְגַם נֵצַח יִשְׂרָאֵל לֹא יְשַׁקֵּר וְלֹא יִנָּחֵם כִּי לֹא אָדָם הוּא לְהִנָּחֵם: 'And also the Glory of Israel does not lie **and does** not **change his mind**, for he is not a man, that **he should change his mind**"' (1 Sam. 15.29).

The reverse semantic shift, that of *nifᶜal* bearing the sense more typically associated with *hitpaᶜᶜel*, also occurs. Consider the following verses about Judah from consecutive chapters:

(24) וַיָּקֻמוּ כָל־בָּנָיו וְכָל־בְּנֹתָיו לְנַחֲמוֹ וַיְמָאֵן לְהִתְנַחֵם וַיֹּאמֶר כִּי־אֵרֵד אֶל־בְּנִי אָבֵל שְׁאֹלָה וַיֵּבְךְּ אֹתוֹ אָבִיו:

'All his sons and daughters stood by him to console him, but he refused **to be consoled**. "No," he said, "I will go to the grave mourning my son."' (Gen. 37.35)

(25) וַיִּרְבּוּ הַיָּמִים וַתָּמָת בַּת־שׁוּעַ אֵשֶׁת־יְהוּדָה וַיִּנָּחֶם יְהוּדָה וַיַּעַל עַל־גֹּזֲזֵי צֹאנוֹ הוּא וְחִירָה רֵעֵהוּ הָעֲדֻלָּמִי תִּמְנָתָה:

'After some time Judah's wife, the daughter of Shua, died. After Judah **was consoled**, he left for Timnah to visit his sheepshearers, along with his friend Hirah the Adullamite.' (Gen. 38.12)

One further piece of evidence for morphosemantic overlap between *hitpaʿʿel* and *nifʿal* can be found in the form וְהִנֶּחָמְתִּי 'and I will satisfy myself' (Ezek. 5.13). It represents the development *hippaʿʿel* < *hitpaʿʿel*, which in SH came to be identified as *nifʿal B* and is related to RH *nitpaʿʿal*.

3.2.7. הִסְתַּתֵּר || נִסְתַּר 'hide (intr.)'

There appears to be little to no semantic difference between *hitpaʿʿel* הִסְתַּתֵּר and *nifʿal* נִסְתַּר when in reference to a human subject (the *nifʿal* is more common overall, and with non-human subjects, but cf. Isa. 29.14). For synonymous usage, compare

(26) וַיַּעֲלוּ זִפִים אֶל־שָׁאוּל הַגִּבְעָתָה לֵאמֹר הֲלֹוא דָוִד **מִסְתַּתֵּר** עִמָּנוּ בַמְּצָדוֹת בַּחֹרְשָׁה בְּגִבְעַת הַחֲכִילָה אֲשֶׁר מִימִין הַיְשִׁימֹון:
'Then the Ziphites went up to Saul at Gibeah, saying, "Is not David **hiding** among us in the strongholds at Horesh, on the hill of Hachilah, which is south of Jeshimon?"' (1 Sam. 23.19; see also 26.1)

(27) וַיִּסָּתֵר דָּוִד בַּשָּׂדֶה וַיְהִי הַחֹדֶשׁ וַיֵּשֶׁב הַמֶּלֶךְ עַל (K) אֶל־ (Q) הַלֶּחֶם לֶאֱכֹול:
'**And** David **hid** in the field. And when the new moon came, the king sat down to eat food.' (1 Sam. 20.24; see also 20.5, 19)

3.2.8. הִתְקַבֵּץ || נִקְבַּץ 'gather (intr.)'

In reference to humans, the *hitpaʿʿel* and *nifʿal* are largely synonymous regarding the meaning 'gather (intr.)', though the *nifʿal* apparently has passive semantics as well. Cf. הִתְקַבְּצוּ וּבֹאוּ עָלֶיהָ וְקוּמוּ לַמִּלְחָמֶה: '**gather** and come against it and rise for war' (Jer. 49.14) and הִקָּבְצוּ וָבֹאוּ הֵאָסְפוּ מִסָּבִיב '**gather** and come, assemble

around' (Ezek. 39.17). Even more convincing as examples of se-mantic synonymy are the *nifʿal* and *hitpaʿʿel* in consecutive verses in *nifʿal* וַיִּקָּבְצוּ 'and they gathered (intr.)' (1 Sam. 7.6) followed by *hitpaʿʿel* הִתְקַבְּצוּ '(the Israelites) gathered (intr.)' (1 Sam. 7.7).

3.3. Evidence of *Hitpaʿʿel-Nifʿal* Merger

Discussed above, in §2.1, was the reinterpretation of *nifʿal* forms as *hitpaʿʿel/nitpaʿʿel* forms with assimilated *t*-infix. Emphasised were the secondary nature of the vocalism and its agreement with trends characteristic of late Aramaic and Hebrew sources. In a few cases, however, suffix conjugation forms can be read only as t-stem forms with assimilated infix *-t-*: וְתִכּוֹנֵן 'be established, re-built (FS)' (Num. 21.27); אֵרוֹמָם 'I will exalt myself' (Isa. 33.10); תִּכּוֹנָנִי 'you (FS) will be (re)established' (Isa. 54.1); הִנַּבְּאוּ 'they prophesied' (Jer. 23.13); וְהִנֶּחֱמְתִּי 'and I will be satisfied' (Ezek. 5.13); וְהִנַּבֵּאתִי 'and I prophesied' (Ezek. 37.10). וְיִכּוֹנֵנוּ 'and they (M) make ready' (Ps. 59.5). Clearly, these unambiguous conso-nantal t-stem forms with assimilated *tav* lend credence to the vo-calisation of the apparently *hippaʿʿel/nippaʿʿel* < *hitpaʿʿel/nitpaʿʿel* forms seen above.

4.0. Conclusion

Probably as a result of factors external (contact with Aramaic) and internal (growing use of *hitpaʿʿel* as a medio-passive, not just a reflexive), hitpaelisation is a characteristic of Second Temple Hebrew as reflected in multiple sources and traditions (§1.0). A number of apparent cases of dissonance between the reading and written components of the Tiberian biblical tradition involve sec-

ondary *hitpaꜥꜥel/nitpaꜥel* analysis of forms originally in other stems, especially, *nifꜥal* (§2.0). As seen in §3.0, however, the secondary vocalic deviations find precedents in several features seen in First Temple sources, including the use of t-stem forms in Iron Age Semitic epigraphy (§3.1); not infrequent synonymy between t-stem and N-stem, including cases of suppletion (§3.2); and evidence of the N- and t-stem merger in the case of *nippaꜥel/ nippolel < nitpaꜥel/nitpolel* shifts.