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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17. 1ST-PERSON *WAYYIQṬOL*

The morphology of the 1st-person *wayyiqṭol* within the combined Masoretic written-reading tradition is characterised by complex diversity.[1] It also represents an area of dissonance between the tradition's written and reading components. Thankfully, evidence from alternative biblical traditions (the BDSS and the SP) and extra-biblical sources (Iron Age epigraphy, the NBDSS, and BS) sheds light on matters.

Not surprisingly, 1st-person forms comprise a small minority of the total number of occurrences of what is BH's main narrative TAM form, accounting for just under 700 of the more than 15,000 instances, or less than 5 percent. While in the vast majority of cases across all traditions and sources, eligible 2nd- and 3rd-person *wayyiqṭol* forms preserve short *yiqṭol* ($<$ PS *yaqṭul*; cf. Akkadian *iprus*) morphology,[2] the 1st-person *wayyiqṭol* presents in all three of the relevant morphological templates, which, for convenience, are referred to throughout the present chapter with both descriptives and prototypical forms:

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[1] Among the relevant studies, see S. R. Driver ([1892] 1998, §72); Ungnad (1907, 58 fn. 1); Bergsträsser (1918–1927, II:§5f); Kutscher (1974, 326–27; Rainey (1986, 13–14); Talshir (1986; 1987); Revell (1988, 423); Qimron (1997, 177; 2008, 153–54); Bloch (2007); Hornkohl (2013a, 159–71); Gzella (2018, 29–35); Khan (2021, 319–40); Sjörs (2021).

[2] For various scholarly approaches to exceptions among 2nd- and 3rd-person *wayyiqṭol* forms and further bibliography, see Bloch (2007), Hornkohl (2013a, 171–80), and Gzella (2018).

1. **short** jussive-like וָאָקֶם/וָאָ֫עַד/וָאַ֫עַשׂ* < PS *yaqtul*;
2. **long** *yiqtol*-like וָאָקוּם/וָאָעִיד/וָאֶעֱשֶׂה < PS *yaqtulu* or *yaqtula*;
3. lengthened **pseudo-cohortative** וָאָקֻ(וּ)מָה/וָאָעִ(י)דָה/וְאֶקְטְלָה*
   < PS *yaqtula* or *yaqtulan(na)*.[3]

Table 1: Short, long, and pseudo-cohortative 1st-person *wayyiqṭol* forms
in the Tiberian tradition[4]

	Strong	**III-*y***	*hif'il*	*qal* **II-*w/y***
1cs	וָאֶשְׁלְחָה ,וָאֶשְׁלַח	וָאֶעֱשֶׂה ,וָאַ֫עַשׂ	וָאָעִ֫ידָה ,וָאָעֵד ,וָאָ֫עַד	וָאָקֻ֫מָה ,וָאָקוּם ,וָאָ֫קֶם*
3ms	וַיִּשְׁלַח	וַיַּ֫עַשׂ	וַיָּ֫עַד	וַיָּ֫קֶם
1cpl	וַנִּשְׁלְחָה ,וַנִּשְׁלַח	וַנַּעֲשֶׂה ,וַנַּ֫עַשׂ	וְנָעִ֫ידָה* ,וְנָעִיד* ,וְנָעֵד*	וַנָּקֻ֫מָה ,וַנָּקוּם ,וַנָּ֫קֶם*

The orthographic distinction between the short (ואקם, ואעד, ואעש)
and long (ואקום, ואעיד, ואעשה) templates is possible only with cer-
tain *hif'il* and weak verb forms (especially III-*y* and II-*w/y*) *qal*
forms. The pseudo-cohortative template is possible in all but III-
y verbs.[5] The variation between short and longer forms also ap-

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[3] The reconstructed forms are based on the analogy of documented
forms; see below. For various opinions on the derivation of the pseudo-
cohortative morphology see, among others, Rainey (1986, 4, 8–10); JM
(§§114a–f, 116a–c); Bloch (2007, 143); Blau (2010, §4.3.3.3.4 and the
note there); Dallaire (2014, 108–11); Khan (2021, 322–23); Sjörs
(2021).

[4] For the sake of convenient comparison, the table includes both docu-
mented and reconstructed forms. Of the latter, some are less contentious
than others. For example, 1CPL וַנָּ֫קֶם* is based on *qere* וַנֵּ֫שֶׁב כֻּלָּ֫נוּ 'and we
all returned' (Neh. 4.9). For the grounds for other reconstructed forms,
e.g., 1cs וָאָ֫קֶם* 'and I arose', see below, §2.0.

[5] This is the case in the Masoretic reading tradition. Some scholars hold
that this is not necessarily characteristic of other traditions of ancient
Hebrew, including, theoretically, the Masoretic written tradition (Berg-
strässer 1918, II:§5f; Revell 1988, 423; Bloch 2007, 150, fn. 35, 155).
See below, §1.4.2, fn. 11.

plies to other weak verb types, e.g., contextual 3MS וַיֹּאמֶר versus 1CS וָאֹמַר (but consistently 1CPL וַנֹּאמֶר), contextual 3MS וַיֵּלֶךְ versus 1CS וָאֵלֵךְ (but consistently 1CPL וַנֵּלֶךְ), where the distinction is one of stress and vocalisation (see below, §2.0).

While the evidence has been variously interpreted (Talshir 1986; 1987; Bloch 2007; Hornkohl 2013a; Gzella 2018), the respective distributions of the short, long, and pseudo-cohortative alternants in ancient Hebrew sources seems to indicate that an early situation characterised by the dominance of short forms in all persons gave way to situations in which short morphology continued to reign in 2nd- and 3rd-person forms, but was commonly replaced by long and/or pseudo-cohortative morphology in the 1st-person.

While short, long, and pseudo-cohortative 1st-person *wayyiqṭol* forms seem to have coexisted throughout the history of ancient Hebrew, specific usage patterns involving the prevalence of one or more forms are especially characteristic of certain compositions and corpora. Surveying the data across the various biblical traditions and extra-biblical sources, a perceptible, if somewhat fuzzy, diachronic pattern emerges. Even so, though historical change proves to be the main factor, diachrony does not explain all. Sporadic outliers to the general typological trends suggest the relevance of additional factors.[6] Even the significance of certain distribution patterns apparently governed by diachrony merit

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[6] For critical discussion of several phonological, prosodic, and textual explanations see Bloch (2007), Hornkohl (2013a, 174–78), and Gzella (2018, 31–35). See Robar (2013, 36–39; 2015, 178–81) for explanations related to pragmatics and discourse.

scrutiny, as they may be deceptive. Be that as it may, as shown below (§1.0), the general statistical picture is sufficiently clear to warrant starting from a diachronic comparison of distribution between corpora and then moving to a more granular analysis of individual compositions and or forms together with consideration of complementary or contradictory conditioning factors.

1.0. The Masoretic Written (Consonantal) Tradition

1.1. Short III-*y* (ואעש) and Pseudo-cohortative (ואקטלה, ואק(ו)מה, ואע(י)דה) Forms

The clearest point of departure is a comparison focusing on the respective distributions of short versus long III-*y* (ואעש versus ואעשה) forms and pseudo-cohortative versus non-pseudo-cohortative forms (ואק(ו)ם, ואע(י)ד, ואקטל versus ואקומה ואעידה, ואקטלה) in the combined Masoretic written-reading biblical tradition and in relevant non-Masoretic biblical and extra-biblical material. Significantly, in the case of such forms the Tiberian written and reading traditions are in near total harmony (with the exception of a few instances of *ketiv-qere*; see below, §2.2.2). Tables 2 and 3 give the raw numbers and percentages across representative corpora in various biblical traditions and extra-biblical sources.

Table 2: Incidence of short 1st-person III-*y wayyiqṭol* (ואעש) forms across representative ancient Hebrew corpora (see §4.0 for citations)

	MT			BDSS	NBDSS	SP	BS
Torah	Proph.	Non-LBH + Writings	LBH +				
18/21 (85.7%)	28/66 (42.4%)	6/13 (46.2%)	7/25 (28%)	3/10 (30%)	1/11 (9.1%)	1/22 (4.5%)	0/2 (0%)

Table 3: Incidence of pseudo-cohortative 1st-person *wayyiqṭol* (ואקטלה, ואק(ו)מה, ואע(י)דה) forms across representative ancient Hebrew corpora (see §4.0 for citations)

Torah	Proph.	MT Non-LBH+ Writings	LBH+	BDSS	NBDSS	SP	BS
4/105 (3.8%)	19/254 (7.5%)	8/26 (30.8)	69/127 (53.9%)	21/55 (38.2%)	23/31 (73.3%)	34/106 (32.4%)	4/7 (57.1%)

Chart 1 visually displays the incidence of short 1st-person III-*y* (ואעש) and pseudo-cohortative 1st-person (ואקומה, ואעידה, ואקטלה) forms in representative ancient Hebrew biblical traditions and extra-biblical sources as percentages of potential cases.

Chart 1: Percentages of short 1st-person III-*y* (e.g., ואעש) and pseudo-cohortative 1st-person (ואקומה, ואעידה, ואקטלה) forms across representative ancient Hebrew traditions as percentage of potential cases
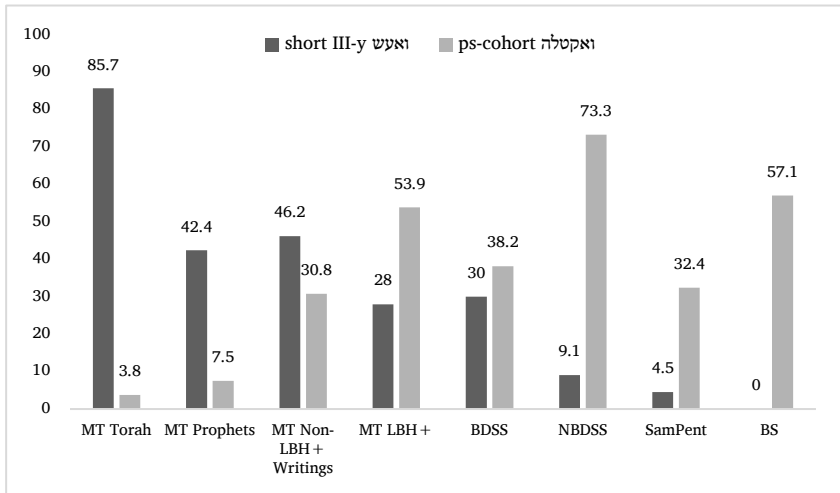
Short (ואעש) forms dominate in the Tiberian Torah, where pseudo-cohortative forms are rare. Conversely, in the BDSS, NBDSS, the SP, and BS, short III-*y* forms are relatively infrequent. In the MT pseudo-cohortative (ואקטלה) forms appear to be somewhat more characteristic of poetic than of prose texts outside of

LBH+ (occurring in about a third of the potential cases in non-LBH+ parts of the Writings), but gain ascendancy only in LBH. They are also variously typical of other late corpora, e.g., the BDSS, NBDSS, the SP, and BS, in which, proportionally, they are between eight and eighteen times as common as in the written tradition of the Tiberian Torah. See below, §1.4, for discussion of the situation in Masoretic CBH outside the Torah, i.e., in the Prophets and Writings.

The apparent diachronic significance of the variations in use of the short and pseudo-cohortative patterns discussed above finds support in Iron Age epigraphy. Though the limited corpus of Hebrew inscriptions is devoid of 1st-person *wayyiqṭol* forms, the Meshaʿ Stele, written in the related Canaanite dialect of Moab, contains several. Here III-*y* 1st-person *wayyiqṭol* forms are consistently short, e.g., ואעש 'and I made' (lns 3, 9), וארא 'and I saw' (ln. 7), ואבן 'and I built' (ln. 9), ואשב 'and I captured' (ln. 12). At the same time, forms eligible for pseudo-cohortative morphology show no indication thereof, e.g., ואהרג 'and I killed' (lns 11, 16), ואהלך 'and I went' (lns 14–15), ואקח 'and I took' (lns 17, 19–20), ואסחב 'and I dragged' (ln. 18), ואמר 'and I said' (ln. 24), ואשא 'and I carried' (ln. 30), and וארד 'and I descended' (ln. 31). And to forestall the suggestion that a final *a* might be realised, but not orthographically represented (i.e., spelled defectively), it is critical to note the apparent marking of final *a* in such forms as בללה 'at night' (ln. 15) and בנה 'he built' (ln. 18). Such spellings lead one to expect that similar orthography would have been employed in the case of pseudo-cohortative *wayyiqṭol* morphology, had it been in use.

To summarise: evidence from several biblical traditions (MT, the BDSS, SP) and extra-biblical sources (the Meshaʿ Stele,

the NBDSS, BS) converges to depict two diachronic trends involving 1st-person *wayyiqṭol* forms, namely, (a) a decline over time in the short III-*y* pattern in favour of the long pattern, e.g., ואעש‬ > ‫ואעשה‬, and (b) increased usage in the later period of the pseudo-cohortative pattern in the case of other *wayyiqṭol* forms, e.g., ‫ואשלח > ואשלחה ,ועד > ‬‬‫ואע)י(דה ,ואקם > ואק)ו(מה‬.

1.2. Long III-*y* (ואעשה‬), *Hifʿil* (ואעיד‬) and *Qal* II-*w/y* (ואקום‬) Forms

Because the respective alternants of III-*y* and pseudo-cohortative 1st-person *wayyiqṭol* forms involve vowel-final versus consonant-final realisations, the distinctions are orthographically transparent, e.g., ואעש‬ versus ואעשה‬ and ואשלח‬ versus ‫ואשלחה ,ועד‬ versus ‫ואע)י(דה ,ואקם‬ versus ‫ואק)ו(מה‬. More complex is the situation of the long alternatives to short forms in a number of weak verbal patterns, especially, *qal* II-*w/y qal*, and in *hifʿil*. See Table 4.

Table 4: Short and long 1st-person *wayyiqṭol* forms in the Tiberian tradition

	III-*y*	*hifʿil*	**II-*w/y***
1CS	וָאַ֫עַשׂ, וָאֶעֱשֶׂה	וָאָ֫עַד, וָאָעִיד	*וָאָ֫קָם, וָאָקוּם
3MS	וַיַּ֫עַשׂ	וַיָּ֫עַד	וַיָּ֫קָם
1CPL	וַנַּ֫עַשׂ, וַנַּעֲשֶׂה	*וַנָּ֫עֶד, *וַנָּעִיד	*וַנָּ֫קָם, וַנָּקוּם

1.2.1. Short versus Long III-*y* Morphology: ואעש‬ versus ואעשה‬

Thanks to their orthographic transparency, the most straight-forward evidence again involves III-*y* verbs, where long and short forms are distinguished by the presence and absence, respectively, of word-final *mater heh*. Table 5, an inverse of Table 2

above, gives the relevant statistics, while Chart 2 presents a visual comparison of long and pseudo-cohortative forms.

Table 5: Incidence of long 1st-person III-*y* forms (e.g., ואעשה) across representative ancient Hebrew traditions

| | MT | | | | | | | |
Torah	Proph.	Non-LBH+ Writings	LBH+	BDSS	NBDSS	SP	BS
3/21 (14.3%)	38/66 (57.6%)	7/13 (53.8%)	18/25 (72%)	7/10 (70%)	10/11 (90.9%)	21/22 (95.5%)	2/2 (100%)

Chart 2: Percentages of long 1st-person III-*y* (e.g., ואעשה) and pseudo-cohortative 1st-person (ואק(ו)מה, ואע(י)דה, ואקטלה) forms across representative ancient Hebrew traditions as percentage of potential cases
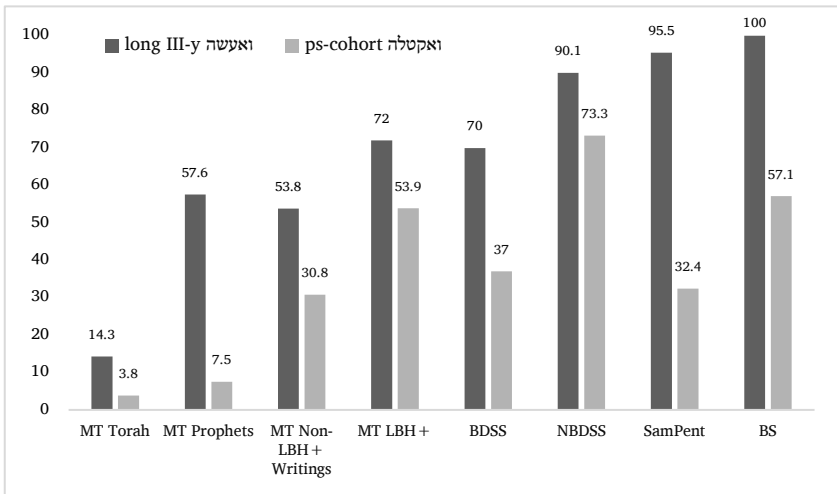
As noted above, short forms (ואעש) dominate long forms (ואעשה) in the Tiberian Torah. Conversely, in a phenomenon crucially limited to 1st-person forms, the long III-*y* pattern (ואעשה) substantially outnumbers the short pattern (ואעש) in late material: Tiberian LBH+, the BDSS and NBDSS, the SP, and BS—the same corpora that witness regular usage of pseudo-cohortative ואקטלה morphology. Notably, long forms also occur in the majority of cases in the MT Prophets and the non-LBH+ Writings (see below,

§1.4). In the former there is no corresponding high frequency of tokens of the pseudo-cohortative pattern, while in the latter the increase is significant, but less than in LBH+ proper; these facts are discussed in detail below, §1.4.

1.2.2. Short versus Long *Hifʿil* and *Qal* II-*w/y* Morphology: ואקום versus ואקם and ואעיד versus ואעד

Turning to additional verb classes in which a distinction between short and long *wayyiqṭol* forms obtains, namely *hifʿil* and II-*w/y qal*, one confronts a degree of orthographic ambiguity. While *plene* spellings such as ואעיד and ואקום likely reflect long morphology, the corresponding spellings ואעד and ואקם are ambiguous. Theoretically, the latter spellings might have been intended to reflect short morphology, but could conceivably be defective representations of long morphology (but see below, §1.3.1). Nor does treatment of such forms in the reading tradition resolve the matter. Many forms written like ואקם and ואעד are realised with long morphology—וָאָקֻם and וָאָעֵד—but there are significant exceptions (see below, §2.0). One must proceed with caution.

Even so, it is difficult to ignore the striking distribution patterns. Significantly, a trend similar to that witnessed in the case of 1st-person III-*y wayyiqṭol* forms (ואעש versus ואעשה) also obtains in the case of 1st-person *hifʿil* (ואעד versus ואעיד) and II-*w/y qal* (ואקם versus ואקום) *wayyiqṭol* forms. Table 6 lists the relevant data for the written (consonantal) component of the Tiberian biblical tradition and for several other representative ancient Hebrew corpora.

Table 6: Incidence of long 1st-person III-*y* (ואעשה), *hifʿil* (ואעיד), and II-*w/y* (ואקום) *wayyiqṭol* forms: number of long forms out of number of combined short, long, and pseudo-cohortative forms (percentage long; for citations, see §4.0)

	Verb Class	MT				BDSS	NBDSS	SP	BS
		Torah	Proph.	Non-LBH + Writings	LBH +				
	III-*y*	3/21 (14.3%)	38/66 (57.6%)	7/13 (53.8%)	18/25 (72%)	7/10 (70%)	10/11 (90.9%)	21/22 (95.5%)	2/2 (100%)
hifʿil	long	1/12 (8.3%)	14/33 (42.4%)	—	9/21 (42.9%)	0/2 (0%)	2/5 (40%)	10/13 (76.9%)	2/2 (100%)
	ps-cohor	0/12 (0%)	3/33 (9.1%)	—	10/21 (47.6%)	2/2 (100%)	3/5 (60%)	3/13 (23.1%)	—
	long + ps-cohor	1/12 (8.3%)	17/33 (51.5%)	—	19/21 (90.4%)	2/2 (100%)	5/5 (100%)	13/13 (100%)	2/2 (100%)
qal	II-*w/y* long	0/6 (0%)	9/15 (60%)	1/3 (33.3)	14/21 (66.7%)	0/3 (0%)	0/3 (0%)	4/5 (80%)	—
	II-*w/y* ps-cohor	0/6 (0%)	1/15 (6.7%)	2/3 (66.7%)	7/21 (33.3%)	1/3 (33.3%)	3/3 (100%)	1/5 (20%)	—
	II-*w/y* long + ps-cohor	0/6 (0%)	10/15 (66.7%)	3/3 (100%)	21/21 (100%)	1/3 (33.3%)	3/3 (100%)	5/5 (100%)	—
TOTALS	long	4/39 (10.3%)	61/114 (53.5%)	8/16 (50%)	41/67 (61.2%)	7/15 (46.7%)	12/19 (63.2%)	35/40 (87.5%)	4/4 (100%)
	long + ps-cohor	4/39 (10.3%)	65/114 (57%)	10/16 (62.5%)	58/67 (86.6%)	10/15 (66.7%)	18/19 (94.7%)	39/40 (97.5%)	4/4 (100%)

Visual comparisons of the incidence of long and pseudo-cohortative *wayyiqṭol* morphology in the representative corpora are presented, respectively, in charts 3 and 4.

Chart 3: Percentages of long 1st-person III-*y* (ואעשה), *hifʿil* (ואעיד), and II-*w/y* (ואקום) *wayyiqṭol* forms in representative ancient Hebrew corpora
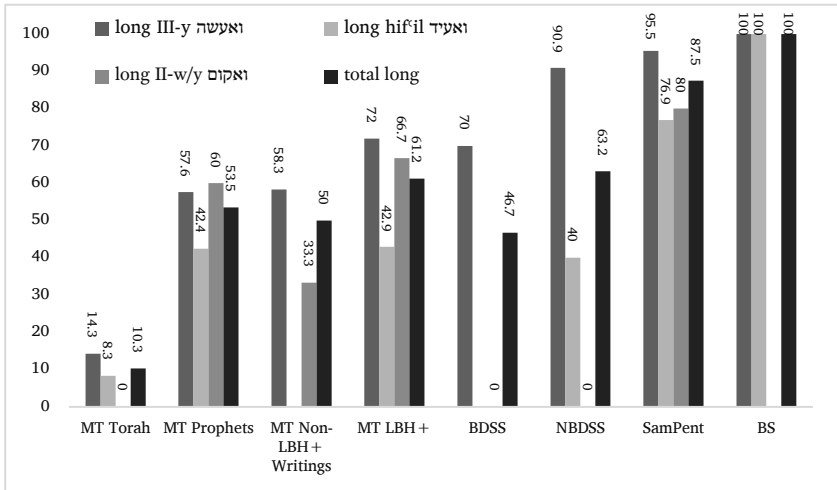
Though limited sample sizes and/or the fragmentary nature of some corpora leave conspicuous gaps in the data, trends in the use of long III-*y*, *hifʿil*, *qal* II-*w/y* and in long plus pseudo-cohortative 1st-person *wayyiqṭol* forms are broadly discernible. The Tiberian Torah reflects classical infrequency of long and pseudo-cohortative forms and the representative Second Temple corpora exhibit noticeable concentrations of both. Also, it is important to point out that where long morphology does not obtain in Second Temple corpora, more often than not the text resorts to pseudo-cohortative, rather than short morphology. In this way, between them, long and pseudo-cohortative morphology largely crowd out short morphology in late material.

Chart 4: Percentages of long III-*y* (ואעשה), long + pseudo-cohortative *hifʿil* (ואעיד, ואע(י)דה) and *qal* II-*w/y* (ואקום, ואקומה), and total long + *wayyiqṭol* (ואקומה, ואקום, ואע(י)דה, ואעיד, ואעשה) forms in representative ancient Hebrew corpora
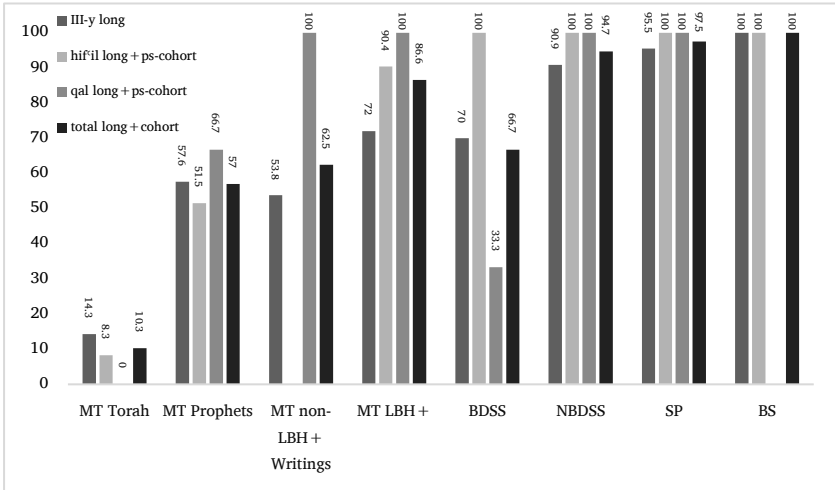
Perhaps surprising is the status of the Tiberian Prophets and non-LBH+ Writings, both broadly classified as CBH. Different from the situation of the pseudo-cohortative discussed above, where such forms are conspicuously lacking from the Masoretic Pentateuch, Prophets, and, to a lesser extent, the non-LBH+ Writings, when it comes to long forms, the Prophets and non-LBH+ Writings show concentrations similar to those of acknowledged Second Temple material. This matter is discussed in detail below, §1.4.

1.3. Anticipating Potential Objections

Before proceeding, however, it is worth considering some potential objections.

1.3.1. Spelling Variation versus Linguistic Variation

First, focusing on *hifʿil* and II-*w/y qal* 1st-person *wayyiqṭol* morphology, and excluding III-*y* forms, it is reasonable to question the linguistic significance of the distinction between apparently short and long spellings. This doubt applies to all representative ancient Hebrew traditions. Beginning with the MT, do the Torah's typical short spellings, like ואקם, and long spellings, like ואקום, elsewhere in the Bible reflect a genuine morphological difference, or are they merely divergent orthographic representations of the same form? After all, though a spelling like ואקום with *mater waw* almost certainly represents a form along the lines of the Tiberian long-pattern *wā̍-ʾā̍qū́m*, the Masoretic Torah's spelling without *waw*, ואקם, is ambiguous: conceivably defective for the same long *wā̍-ʾā̍qū́m* realisation or representing something more akin to **wā̍-ʾā̍qå̍m*, as in the corresponding Tiberian 3MS, 3FS, and 2MS forms. Given the notoriously variable character of spelling in the Tiberian written tradition (Barr 1989; cf. Andersen and Forbes 2013), is it reasonable to interpret this spelling discrepancy in linguistic terms?

The view espoused here is that 1st-person *wayyiqṭol* spelling practices that distinguish the Tiberian Torah from the rest of the Bible have linguistic, not just orthographic, import. Three lines of argumentation may be cited in support of this view. First, *plene wayyiqṭol* spelling in the consonantal components of the Tiberian tradition outside the Torah and in the SP is limited to 1st-person forms, while the relevant 2nd- and 3rd-person *wayyiqṭol* forms preserve short orthography.

Second, the dominant *plene* spelling of relevant standard *yiqtol* (< PS *yaqtulu/a*) forms in all persons—יקום, תקום, אקום—throughout the Tiberian and Samaritan written traditions makes it clear that long orthography was an option. If the prominent distinction in spelling between 1st-person *wayyiqtol* forms in the Torah (ואקם) and in the rest of the Bible (ואקום) were merely a function of divergent orthographic policies, one might reasonably expect the regular incidence of defective standard *yiqtol* (< PS *yaqtulu/a*) forms in the Torah and/or long 2nd- and 3rd-person *wayyiqtol* spellings beyond the Torah. The fact that 1st-person *wayyiqtol* forms in the Torah pattern orthographically like their 2nd- and 3rd-person counterparts and not like 1st-, 2nd-, and 3rd-person *yiqtol* forms, while in the rest of the Bible 1st-person forms depart from the short morphology typical of 2nd- and 3rd-person *wayyiqtol* forms in favour of the *plene* spelling characteristic of standard *yiqtol* (< PS *yaqtulu/a*) forms suggests a morphological change in 1st-person forms, specifically a shift from the short template (ואקם, ואעד) in the Torah to the standard long template (ואקום, ואעיד) in the rest of the Bible.

Finally, the distribution of short and long III-*y* forms in the Torah—predominantly short (ואעש)—and beyond—mixed, but predominantly long (ואעשה)—supports the linguistic significance of analogous distribution patterns in the case of *hifʿil* and II-*w/y qal* forms.

The foregoing arguments apply to 1st-person *wayyiqtol* morphology outside the MT as well. In the BDSS, the NBDSS, the SP, and BS there is a marked spelling difference between III-*y*, *hifʿil*, and *qal* II-*w/y wayyiqtol* forms in the 1st person (ואעשה, ואקום, ואעיד), on the one hand, and 2nd and 3rd person (ויעד, ויעש,

ויקם), on the other. At the same time, there is striking orthographic similarity between 1ˢᵗ-person III-*y*, *hifʿil*, and II-*w/y qal wayyiqṭol* (ואעשה ,ואעיד ,ואקום) and *yiqṭol* III-*y*, *hifʿil*, and II-*w/y qal* forms in all relevant persons (יעשה ,יעיד ,יקום) (see further Hornkohl 2013a, 171–80).

To summarise: in all the cited representative sources and traditions of ancient Hebrew, there is compelling evidence that the once-strong association unifying 1st-person *wayyiqṭol* morphology with 2nd- and 3rd-person *wayyiqṭol* morphology shifted in the Second Temple Period to one linking 1st-person *wayyiqṭol* morphology and standard, i.e., long, *yiqṭol* ($<$ PS *yaqtulu/a*) morphology (or cohortative morphology; see below, §1.4). This new association is regularly manifest in the long spelling of *hifʿil* and II-*w/y qal wayyiqṭol* morphology unique to 1st-person forms.

1.3.2. Group versus Individual Distribution Patterns

In the interests of clarity and convenience, the presentation of data to this point has been according to corpus, rather than individual composition. Yet, it is fair to ask whether the corporate statistical profiles are representative of the individual constituent works.

MT Torah

All books in the Masoretic Torah show strong preferences for short (ואעש ,ואעד ,ואקם) 1st-person *wayyiqṭol* forms, to the near total exclusion of long and pseudo-cohortative morphology, which justifies their combined treatment in this study. See Table 7.

Table 7: Long (ואקום, ואעיד, ואעשה) and pseudo-cohortative (ואקטלה,
ואק(ו)מה, ואע(י)דה) 1st-person *wayyiqṭol* forms in the Tiberian Torah

	long III-y	long hifʿil	long *qal* II-w/y	total long	pseudo-cohorta-tive
Genesis	1/4	0/3	0/2	1/9	3/42
Exodus	0/2	0/1	—	0/3	0/8
Leviticus	—	0/2	0/1	0/3	0/8
Numbers	0/2	1/2	—	1/4	1/6
Deut.	2/13	0/4	0/2	2/19	0/41
Torah	**3/21**	**1/12**	**0/5**	**4/38**	**4/105**

MT Prophets

It was noted above that the books of the Former and Latter Proph-
ets resemble those of the Pentateuch in terms of relatively low
incidence of pseudo-cohortative (ואק(ו)מה, ואע(י)דה, ואקטלה)
forms, but show comparatively high incidence of long (ואעשה,
ואקום, ואעיד) forms. There is, however, variation within the distri-
bution. Samuel and Judges are outliers of a sort. Though pseudo-
cohortative forms represent minorities in the two books, between
them they account for a disproportionately high number of the
cases in the Prophets as a whole (12 of 13).

When it comes to long forms, Kings favours long III-*y*
(ואעשה) forms, but not long *hifʿil* (ואעיד) and II-*w/y qal* (ואקום)
forms, whereas Samuel shows strong preference for ואעיד, ואעשה,
and ואקום forms. Indeed, the counts of long morphology in Sam-
uel alone are largely responsible for the difference in incidence
of long forms between the Former and Latter Prophets. Excluding
the outlier Samuel, the books of the Prophets, Former and Latter
alike, are broadly similar in terms of incidence of long forms,
making up from about one-third to one-half of the potential
cases—far higher than in the books of the Masoretic Torah, sim-

ilar to the non-LBH+ Writings, but lower than in LBH+. See Table 8.

Table 8: Long (ואקום, ואעיד, ואעשה) and pseudo-cohortative (ואקטלה, ואק(ו)מה, ואע(י)דה) 1st-person *wayyiqṭol* forms in the Tiberian Prophets

	long III-*y*	long *hifʿil*	long *qal* II-*w/y*	total long	pseudo-cohorta-tive
Joshua	2/3	1/4	—	3/7	1/20
Judges	1/2	2/3	—	3/5	5/14
Samuel	8/8	3/3	2/2	13/13	7/25
Kings	2/2	0/2	0/3	2/7	0/17
Isaiah[7]	1/2	1/1	1/1	3/4	0/13
Jeremiah	6/11	2/6	0/1	8/18	2/53
Ezekiel	11/22	2/6	4/4	17/32	3/68
The XII	6/14	3/5	2/3	11/22	1/44
F. Proph.	**13/15**	**6/12**	**2/5**	**21/32**	**13/76**
L. Proph.	**24/49**	**8/18**	**7/9**	**39/76**	**6/178**
Prophets	**37/64**	**14/30**	**9/14**	**60/108**	**19/254**

MT Writings

Because the Writings include LBH material together with compositions of likely classical or unknown provenance, it seems judicious to segregate LBH+ and non-LBH+ material. And, indeed, when one filters out the LBH+ figures from those of the rest of the Writings, two distinctive patterns emerge. In terms of long (ואקום, ואעיד, ואעשה) forms, the non-LBH+ material shows an incidence broadly comparable to that of the Former and Latter

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[7] Given the relatively small numbers of relevant forms in Isaiah, it is perhaps not surprising that no component of the book presents a distinctive concentration of long or pseudo-cohortative forms. Long forms come in 1/1 and 2/2 potential cases in Isa. 1–39 and 40–55, respectively, but not in Isa. 56–66 (in one potential case). MT Isaiah contains no pseudo-cohortative forms.

Prophets. The relatively high incidence of pseudo-cohortative (ואקטלה, ואע(י)דה, ואק(ו)מה) forms in the non-LBH+ Writings, mainly Psalms (6/14 cases outside of Ps. 119), but also Job's po-etry (2/11 cases), is possibly genre-driven, as poetic style may have favoured the relatively early use of forms not (yet) charac-teristic of contemporary non-poetic style. See Table 9.

Table 9: Long (ואקום, ואעיד, ואעשה) and pseudo-cohortative (ואקטלה, ואק(ו)מה, ואע(י)דה) 1st-person *wayyiqṭol* forms in the Tiberian Writings

	long III-y	long hifʿil	long qal II-w/y	total long	pseudo-cohorta-tive
Psalms	3/7	—	—	3/7	12/21
(Ps 119	—	—	—	—	6/7)
Job	1/2	—	1/1	2/3	6/15
(Job narra-tive	—	—	—	—	4/4)
Proverbs	3/4	—	—	3/4	—
Qohelet	2/2	—	—	2/2	1/1
Ruth	—	—	—	—	—
Esther	—	—	—	—	—
Daniel	6/7	—	1/1	7/8	10/18
Ezra	1/1	0/1	1/1	2/3	17/22
Nehemiah	5/11	8/8	10/10	23/29	31/69
Chronicles	3/3	1/2	2/2	6/7	0/7
Writings	24/37	9/11	15/15	48/63	77/153
Non-LBH+	7/13	—	1/1	8/14	8/25
LBH+	17/24	9/11	14/14	40/49	69/128

For their part, the LBH+ works present 1st-person *way-yiqṭol* usage profiles unlike those of any other books or corpora in the MT. They consistently display clear preferences for long (ואעיד, ואקום, ואעשה) morphology and in all but one case have marked accumulations of pseudo-cohortative (ואע(י)דה, ואקטלה, ואק(ו)מה) morphology. Long forms comprise the majority in every LBH+ composition—Qohelet (2/2), Daniel (7/8), Ezra (2/3), Ne-hemiah (23/29), and Chronicles (6/7). Pseudo-cohortative forms

make up sizeable proportions of the relevant cases in Ps. 119 (6/7), Job 1–2 and 42.7–17 (4/4), Qohelet (1/1), Daniel (10/18), Ezra (17/22), and Nehemiah (31/69). Chronicles is an outlier when it comes to pseudo-cohortative 1st-person *wayyiqṭol* morphology, completely eschewing forms of this type (in seven potential cases).[8] While long forms are common in both the Prophets and the Writings, pseudo-cohortative forms dominate only in LBH+ material.

In summary: the non-LBH+ Writings join the books of the Prophets in rather common use of long 1st-person *wayyiqṭol* morphology, but show a stronger inclination to pseudo-cohortative morphology, possibly due to poetic style. The LBH+ material shows strong preference for long morphology throughout and, excluding Chronicles, far higher incidence of pseudo-cohortative forms than any non-LBH+ Masoretic book except for Psalms. Chronicles resembles LBH+ material in its preference for long

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[8] This may be a result of Chronicles' preference for long morphology, which is similar to that of MT Samuel, but perhaps more self-consciously systematic. Despite one clear-cut short form—ואגד 'and I have said' (MT 1 Chron. 17.10) || והגיד 'and (the Lord) says' (MT 2 Sam. 7.11)—the Chronicler's predilection for long morphology is such that he leaves unchanged long forms in his sources—ואהיה 'and I was' (MT 1 Chron. 17.5 = MT 2 Sam. 7.6; MT 1 Chron. 17.8 = MT 2 Sam. 7.9); ואבנה 'and I built' (MT 2 Chron. 6.10 = MT 1 Kgs 8.20)—but, in the interest of consistency, levels divergent morphology, whether pseudo-cohortative, ואכרית 'and I cut off' (MT 1 Chron. 17.8) || ואכרתה (MT 2 Sam. 7.9), or short, ואקום 'and I arose' (MT 2 Chron. 6.10) || ואקם (MT 1 Kgs 8.20); ואשים 'and I placed' (MT 2 Chron. 6.11) || ואשם (MT 1 Kgs 8.21).

forms, but, perhaps due to this preference, includes no pseudo-cohortative forms.

The Biblical Dead Sea Scrolls

Several upshots of the fragmentary character of the BDSS mean that care must be taken in interpreting the distribution of 1st-person *wayyiqtol* variants. Considerations include the infrequency or total non-preservation of certain forms, the potential skewing of the broader picture due to the idiosyncrasies of better-preserved manuscripts, and the arbitrary nature of the specific forms preserved. Thus, while pseudo-cohortative morphology is fairly well represented in the BDSS, relatively few cases that might showcase a distinction between short and long morphology are extant, especially with regard to *hifʿil* and II-*w/y qal* forms. See Table 10.

Table 10: Long (ואקום, ואעיד, ואעשה) and pseudo-cohortative (ואקטלה, ואקו(ו)מה, ואע(י)דה) 1st-person *wayyiqtol* in the BDSS: Select scrolls and totals

	long III-y	long *hifʿil*	long *qal* II-*w/y*	total long	pseudo-cohortative
1QIsaᵃ	—	1/1	—	1/1	6/12
1Q8	—	—	—	—	0/2
4Q51	1/1	—	—	1/1	3/3
4Q70	1/1	—	0/1	1/2	0/2
4Q80	1/1	—	—	1/1	2/2
11Q5	—	—	—	—	5/5
BDSS	7/10	—	0/2	7/12	21/55

Beginning with pseudo-cohortative forms, it must be asked whether their apparently high incidence is due largely to the fact that they are especially frequent in the largest scroll, 1QIsaᵃ, which accounts for over 25 percent of BDSS material (Abegg

2010, 25), but whose linguistic profile is rather exceptional within the broader corpus (Tov 2012, 100–10; Young 2013; Reymond 2014, 11; Rezetko and Young 2014, 138–39; Hornkohl 2016a, 1020). Likewise, the prevalence of pseudo-cohortative forms in the biblical component of 11QPsalmsᵃ (11Q5) is at least partially due to the chance preservation there of relevant sections of Ps. 119, which also in the MT exhibits an accumulation of pseudo-cohortative forms. Similarly, two of the three pseudo-cohortative forms (as well as the single long III-*y* form) in 4QSamuelᵃ (4Q51) are also found in MT Samuel. In light of these considerations, it is worth entertaining the possibility that the concentration of pseudo-cohortative forms in the BDSS, rather than being broadly representative, is to some extent an accident born of their fragmentary state and the capricious nature of their preservation.

Even so, a strong argument that long and pseudo-cohortative forms are more characteristic of the BDSS than of the Tiberian written tradition can be sustained if, upon examination of parallel cases, one perceives a consistent pattern of difference. As things stand, in most instances (49 out of some 67 unambiguous cases), the MT and the BDSS textual versions agree on form. The remaining 18 may be sorted as in Table 11.

Table 11: Instances of variation in 1st-person *wayyiqṭol*: MT versus BDSS

	Total	Total excluding 1QIsaᵃ
MT short || BDSS long	2	1
MT long || BDSS short	1	0
MT non-ps-cohort. || BDSS ps-cohort.	13	7
MT ps.-cohort. || BDSS non-ps-cohort.	2	2

When the MT and the BDSS differ with regard to 1st-person *wayyiqṭol* morphology, it is more common for the MT to exhibit short (ואעש, ואעד, ואקם) or non-pseudo-cohortative (ואע(י)ד, ואקטל, ואק(ו)ם) morphology than for the BDSS to do so. The relative incidence of BDSS pseudo-cohortative (ואק(ו)מה, ואע(י)דה, ואקטלה) morphology is especially striking. And, crucially, this remains true even if one corrects for such skewing factors as 1QIsaᵃ's disproportionate size and atypical linguistic profile and if one excludes LBH+ 1st-person *wayyiqṭol* forms (which are pseudo-cohortative in both the MT and the BDSS). Though the vagaries of fragmentation preclude certainty, the comparative accumulation of pseudo-cohortative forms in the BDSS is arguable evidence of a direction of change from the shorter forms preserved in the MT to longer forms in the BDSS. This is consistent with BDSS treatment of other linguistic features, which more closely conforms to Second Temple conventions than does the MT (Hornkohl 2016a).

The Non-Biblical Dead Sea Scrolls

Large gaps in the evidence rule out a complete picture. However, among the extant cases of the 1st-person *wayyiqṭol*, short (ואעש, ואקם, ואעד) forms are extremely rare and long (ואקום, ואעיד, ואעשה) and pseudo-cohortative (ואק(ו)מה, ואע(י)דה, ואקטלה) forms are far more common, though not necessarily in the same texts. See Table 12. The Thanksgiving Scroll (1QHᵃ), which offers the greatest number of examples by far, uses pseudo-cohortative forms wherever possible and long morphology in III-*y* forms. The Apocryphon of Jeremiah Cᵃ (4Q385a) and Cᵈ (4Q389) also exhibit concentrations of pseudo-cohortative morphology, but are too

broken to sustain more extensive conclusions. The highly frag-
mentary 4QReworked Pentateuch[b] (4Q364) appears to prefer
long forms—two of three candidates, all short in the MT[9]—but
shows low incidence of pseudo-cohortative forms (just one of
six). A similar pattern of long, but not pseudo-cohortative, mor-
phology might also characterise 4QPseudo-Ezekiel[e] (4Q391), but
cases are too few to draw firm conclusions, a situation typical of
other scrolls as well. In sum, though severely obscured by frag-
mentation, the apparently high incidence of long and pseudo-co-
hortative 1st-person *wayyiqṭol* morphology in the NBDSS is
consistent with broader Second Temple trends.

Table 12: Long (ואקום, ואעיד, ואעשה) and pseudo-cohortative (ואקטלה,
ואק(ו)מה, ואע(י)דה) 1st-person *wayyiqṭol* in the NBDSS: Select scrolls and
totals

	long III-*y*	long *hifʿil*	long *qal* II-*w/y*	total long	pseudo-cohorta-tive
1QHᵃ	7/7	—	—	7/7	6/6
4Q364	1/2	1/1	—	1/2	1/6
4Q385a	—	—	—	—	4/4
4Q389	—	1/1	—	1/1	3/4
4Q391	2/2	—	—	2/2	0/1
NBDSS	**10/11**	**2/6**	**0/3**	**12/20**	**23/31**

Samaritan Pentateuch

The Samaritan written tradition displays strong proclivity for long
1st-person *wayyiqṭol* morphology. In contrast to the rarity of forms
such as ואעשה ,ואעיד, and ואקום in the MT (3/21 III-*y*, 1/12 *hifʿil*,

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[9] ונעלה 'and we ascended' (4Q364 f24a–c.15) || וַנַּעַל (MT Deut. 3.1);
ואשליך 'and I cast' (4Q364 f26fbii + e.1) || וָאַשְׁלִךְ (MT Deut. 9.21); but
וא̊ר[א 'and I saw' (4Q364 f26bi.6) = וָאֵרֶא (MT Deut. 9.16).

0/5 II-*w/y qal*, 4/38 total), they are the rule in the SP (21/22 III-*y*, 10/10 *hifʿil*, 4/5 II-*w/y qal*, 35/37 total). See Table 13.

Table 13: Long (ואקום, ואעיד, ואעשה) and pseudo-cohortative (ואקטלה, ואק(ו)מה, ואע(י)דה) 1st-person *wayyiqtol* in the SP (figures of long out of total short and long forms; figures in brackets represent the total of long and pseudo-cohortative forms out of total short, long, and pseudo-cohortative forms)

	long III-*y*	long *hifʿil*	long *qal* II-*w/y*	total long	pseudo-cohortative
SP Gen.	4/4	3/3	2/2	9/9	1/42
SP Exod.	3/3	1/1	—	4/4	3/8
SP Lev.	—	3/3	0/1	3/4	1/8
SP Num.	1/2	2/2	—	3/4	1/6
SP Deut.	13/13	1/1 (4/4)	2/2 (3/3)	16/16 (20/20)	28/42
SP	21/22	10/10 (13/13)	4/5 (5/6)	35/37 (39/41)	34/106

When it comes to pseudo-cohortative 1st-person *wayyiqtol* (ואק(ו)מה, ואע(י)דה, ואקטלה) morphology, however, the Samaritan situation is more complex. Overall, the proportion of 34 of 106 cases is far higher than MT Torah's of 4 of 105. However, in the books of the Tetrateuch (Genesis–Numbers) the totals in the two traditions are comparable—Samaritan 6 of 64 versus Tiberian 4 of 64—with little in the way of disharmony between the two.[10] In Deuteronomy, conversely, the SP has pseudo-cohortative forms in 28/42 cases, against a total absence of pseudo-cohortative forms in the 41 MT cases. The uniqueness of SP Deuteronomy

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[10] SP pseudo-cohortative || MT non-pseudo-cohortative: Exod. 3.8, 17; 6.5; Lev. 26.13. SP non-pseudo-cohortative || MT pseudo-cohortative: Gen. 41.11; 43.21.

is particularly striking when its 1st-person *way-yiqṭol* profile is compared to that of SP Genesis, which has a comparable number 1st-person *wayyiqṭol* cases, but a far lower incidence of pseudo-cohortative morphology (1/42).

 While it may be tempting to hypothesise sweeping linguistic, compositional, and/or text-critical explanations for the inner-Samaritan diversity between the SP Tetrateuch and SP Deuteronomy, their differential treatment of 1st-person *wayyiqṭol* forms turns out to be casual. When the specific verbs that obtain as non-pseudo-cohortative and pseudo-cohortative 1st-person *wayyiqṭol* forms are analysed, there emerges striking consistency in treatment throughout the SP. With just two exceptions, individual verbs take one pattern or the other, not both. See Table 14 (p. 420).

 Table 14 lists the 49 verbs that account for the 106 potential cases of pseudo-cohortative 1st-person *wayyiqṭol* morphology in the SP. The 72 tokens of non-pseudo-cohortative morphology (ואקטל, ואע(י)ד, ואק(ו)ם) in the SP represent 32 different verbs, while the 34 tokens of pseudo-cohortative (ואע(י)דה, ואקטלה, ואק(ו)מה) morphology represent 19 different verbs. Crucially, only two verbs present both non-pseudo-cohortative and pseudo-cohortative alternants—אמר (18 non-pseudo-cohortative cases in Genesis [11], Exodus [2], Leviticus [2], and Deuteronomy [3]; two pseudo-cohortative cases, in Exodus and Deuteronomy) and שים (one non-pseudo-cohortative case in Genesis, one pseudo-cohortative case in Deuteronomy). Thus, despite the surface-level statistical profiles, there is virtually no basis for claiming a distinction in 1st-person *wayyiqṭol* morphology between SP Deuter-

onomy and the rest of the SP. SP Deuteronomy's apparently exceptional character vis-à-vis the SP Tetrateuch results merely from Deuteronomy's use of a number of verbs unused elsewhere in the Torah. Those that appear in Deuteronomy and elsewhere either share the preservation of non-pseudo-cohortative morphology or, more rarely, present with pseudo-cohortative morphology in both the Samaritan Tetrateuch and Deuteronomy. Only among verbs exclusive to Deuteronomy is there a noticeable concentration of pseudo-cohortative morphology. Presumably, were these to appear in SP Genesis–Numbers, an analogous percentage would also have pseudo-cohortative morphology. See Table 14 (following page).

Sjörs (2021a, 20–25) notes that pseudo-cohortative lengthening in the SP is used with a limited number of semantic classes of verbal lexemes, including motion verbs and verbs of appropriation. Crucially, Sjörs (2021b) observes no such semantic correlation in LBH, where the extent of lengthened 1st-person *wayyiqṭol* morphology demands a more comprehensive explanation.

Stepping back for a broader perspective on Samaritan 1st-person *wayyiqṭol* morphology in comparison with other sources and traditions, the SP joins LBH + and the DSS in displaying an overwhelming preference for long (ואקום, ואעיד, ואעשה) forms and shows incidence of pseudo-cohortative (ואע(י)דה, ואקטלה, ואק(ו)מה) forms between that characteristic of Tiberian CBH (Torah, Prophets, non-LBH + Writings) and what obtains in Tiberian LBH + and the NBDSS. The diachronically advanced stage of Samaritan 1st-person *wayyiqṭol* morphology relative to that

in the Tiberian Torah is consistent with the broad linguistic pro-
files of the two traditions (Ben-Ḥayyim 2000, 3–4).

Table 14: Alphabetical list of non-pseudo-cohortative and pseudo-co-
hortative 1st-person *wayyiqṭol* verbs in the SP

non-pseudo-cohortative			pseudo-cohortative			non-pseudo-cohortative			pseudo-cohortative		
#	1CS	1CPL	#	1CS	1CP	#	1CS	1CPL	#	1CS	1CP
1	אחר					18	ירא				
2	אכל								10	ירד	
3	אמר	אמר	1	אמר		19	ישב	ישב			
4		בוא							11	כתת	
5	ברך		2	דבר		20	לקח	לקח	12		נסע
6	הבדיל					21	נשא				
7	הביא					22	נתן				
8		הגיד				23		סבב/סוב			
9	הוליד					24		ספר			
			3		החרים				13		עבר
			4		הלך				14	פסל	
10	הפקיד					25		פתח			
11		הקריב				26		צעק			
12		השיב				27	קדד				
			5	השליך		28	קלל				
13		השם/השה				29	קרא				
			6	התחנן					15	קרב	
			7	התנפל		30	שאל				
			8	התפלל		31	שים		16	שים	
			9	זכר		32	שחט		17	שלח	
14	חבא								18	שרץ	
15		חלם							19	תפש	
16	חשך										
17	קוץ/יקץ										

Ben Sira

Of the relatively few relevant forms preserved in manuscripts of
BS, all potentially long cases are long (ואביט, וארים, ואצפה; ואצפה, ואפנה),
while four of seven potentially pseudo-cohortative cases are

pseudo-cohortative (וֽאשחקה, ואברכה, ואהללה). Two of the three non-pseudo-cohortative are long (ואביט, וארים). Only one strong form is left unlengthened (ואתפלל). Thus, the extant BS 1st-person *wayyiqṭol* forms pattern like those of other Second Temple sources, with strong inclination for long and pseudo-cohortative 1st-person morphology. See Table 15.

Table 15: Long and pseudo-cohortative 1st-person *wayyiqṭol* in Ben Sira

MS	long III-*y*	long *hifʿil*	long II-*w/y qal*	total long	pseudo-cohortative
SirB	2/2	2/2	—	4/4	3/6
11Q5	—	—	—	—	1/1
TOTALS	**2/2**	**2/2**	**—**	**4/4**	**4/7**

Conclusion

Drilling down beneath the surface-level statistical profiles of 1st-person *wayyiqṭol* morphology across ancient Hebrew sources and traditions, one finds broad support for the hypotheses suggested by the corporate surveys in §§1.1–2 above. Indeed, far from contradicting the postulated diachronic contours, the details of a granular analysis of individual compositions validates distinguishing among the CBH of the Torah, the CBH of the Prophets and non-LBH + Writings, and the late chronolects reflected in MT LBH +, the BDSS and NBDSS, SH, and BS.

1.4. 1st-person *Wayyiqṭol* Morphology and Historical Depth in the Masoretic Written Tradition

1.4.1. Short III-*y* (ואעש) and Pseudo-cohortative (ואקטלה, ואק(ו)מה, ואע(י)דה) Forms

The Mesha' Stele's exclusive use of short III-*y* 1st-person *wayyiqṭol* (ואעש) forms and lack of pseudo-cohortative *wayyiqṭol* (ואק(ו)מה, ואע(י)דה, ואקטלה) forms (see above, §1.1) tally with the Masoretic Torah's preference for short 1st-person morphology. Likewise, the striking affinity for long and pseudo-cohortative 1st-person *wayyiqṭol* forms among late non-Tiberian biblical traditions—the BDSS, the SP—and extra-biblical sources—the NBDSS, BS—is strong evidence of the historical authenticity of the Masoretic LBH+ preference for long and pseudo-cohortative *wayyiqṭol* morphology.

Since the morphological shifts away from short forms seen thus far are not confined to the Tiberian reading and/or written tradition, but—even after probing beneath the surface-level statistical profiles—prove to be characteristic of late biblical and extra-biblical corpora more generally, there are no grounds for attributing the expanded use of long and pseudo-cohortative morphology to medieval or even Byzantine scribal intervention, much less to anachronistic medieval vocalisation (but see below, §2.0). Despite the Tiberian consonantal tradition's status as a product of scribal transmission, necessarily entailing the possibility of textual fluidity, the shift from short 1st-person *wayyiqṭol* forms in the Tiberian Torah to long and pseudo-cohortative alternatives in Masoretic LBH+ is broadly consistent with patterns

seen in early and late non-Masoretic sources. The crystallisation of Masoretic 1st-person *wayyiqtol* morphology plausibly dates to Second Temple times, though, relative to contemporary sources, it must be considered conservative by dint of its comparative preservation of short morphology.

1.4.2. Long III-*y* (ואעשה), *Hifʿil* (ואעיד) and *Qal* II-*w/y* (ואקום) Forms

The argument advanced to this point is consistent with, but does not exhaust the evidence. The data sustain more far-reaching conclusions. Not only are long 1st-person *wayyiqtol* forms—ואעשה ,ואעיד ,ואקום—the norm in Tiberian LBH+ and other late written traditions; they are also common in what is generally considered CBH material outside the Pentateuch, e.g., the MT Prophets and non-LBH+ Writings, where their incidence is closer to that seen in MT LBH+ than to that in the MT Torah. For the sake of convenience, Chart 3 is reproduced below as Chart 5.

Against the background of the associations already established—i.e., classical short, on the one hand, and late long and pseudo-cohortative, on the other—how are the specific profiles of the MT Prophets and non-LBH+ Writings—involving the apparently early distribution of long, but not pseudo-cohortative forms—to be explained?

Chart 5: Percentages of long 1st-person III-*y* (ואעשה), *hifʿil* (ואעיד), and II-*w/y* (ואקום) *wayyiqṭol* forms in representative ancient Hebrew corpora
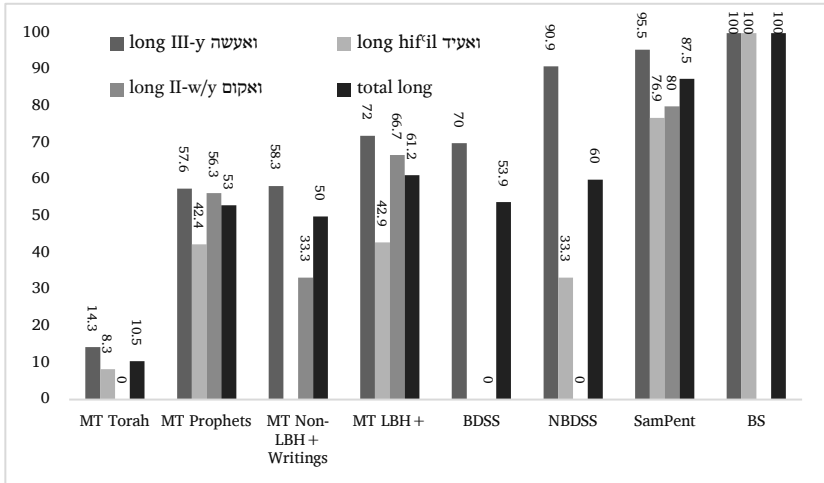
Since long orthographic forms (ואקום, ואעיד, ואעשה) are absent from the Torah's written tradition, but common in the rest of the MT—again, not just in LBH +, but outside the Pentateuch more generally—one might venture the hypothesis that long forms were not originally characteristic of *any* CBH material and pin responsibility for the difference between the CBH of the Torah (where short forms dominate) and CBH outside the Torah (where long forms are quite standard) on late scribes. These copyists—it seems reasonable to conjecture—might have preserved the ancient orthographic integrity of the venerated Torah more strictly than that of the rest of CBH, which was allowed to 'drift' in the direction of LBH +. In this way, 1st-person *wayyiqṭol* forms in the MT Torah could have been kept pristinely short, while elsewhere in CBH they were updated under the influence of later morphological trends. The theory, while attractive, is contradicted by the data.

Key in this connection is the unambiguous orthographic evidence of long 1st-person III-*y* (ואעשה) and pseudo-cohortative (ואקטלה, ואע(י)דה, ואק(ו)מה) forms, the incidence of which is compared in Chart 6.

Chart 6: Incidence of long 1st-person III-*y* (ואעשה) and pseudo-cohortative 1st-person (ואק(ו)מה, ואע(י)דה, ואקטלה) forms across representative ancient Hebrew traditions as percentage of potential cases
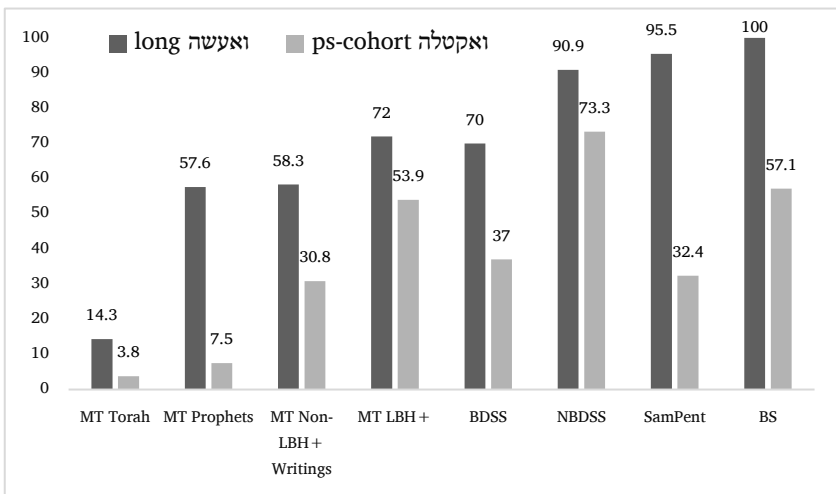
Generally speaking, frequency of long (ואעשה) forms positively correlates with frequency of pseudo-cohortative (ואע(י)דה, ואקטלה, ואק(ו)מה) forms. Thus, both largely lack in the MT Torah, but are common in MT LBH+ and in other late corpora, biblical and extra-biblical alike. The glaring exception is the MT Prophets, where long forms are frequent (57.6 percent), whereas pseudo-cohortative forms are rare (7.5 percent). Returning to the speculative hypothesis proffered above, i.e., that 1st-person *wayyiqṭol* forms may have been more or less uniformly short throughout CBH and that only outside the Torah underwent contemporisation in line with late linguistic customs—on this assumption, it

would be reasonable to expect a marked increase in *both* long III-*y* forms *and* pseudo-cohortative forms in CBH outside the Torah. For if late scribes felt free to append final *heh* to originally short 1st-person III-*y* *wayyiqṭol* forms according to Second Temple convention, i.e., changing ואעש to ואעשה, then it is reasonable to expect that they would also have felt free to do the same where necessary to expand the use of pseudo-cohortative forms, changing ואקטל to ואקטלה, etc., since these were no less characteristic of Second Temple Hebrew.

Crucially, this state of affairs does not obtain. Against the norm in the MT Torah, and similar to MT LBH+ and other late corpora, the MT Prophets show an affinity for long 1st-person III-*y* *wayyiqṭol* (ואעשה) forms. Yet, similar to the MT Torah and against convention in MT LBH+ and other late texts, pseudo-cohortative (ואק(ו)מה, ואע(י)דה, ואקטלה) forms are largely absent from the CBH of the Prophets. From the admittedly narrow perspective of 1st-person *wayyiqṭol* forms, then, the written tradition of the MT Prophets is that of *neither* the MT Torah *nor* MT LBH+, but reflects some sort of typologically transitional phase between Pentateuchal CBH and LBH+. This leaves us with a tantalising prospect, namely, that of a tri-valent 1st-person *wayyiqṭol* historical typology:

1. nearly uniformly short (ואעש, ואעד, ואקם, ואקטל) morphology in the CBH of the Torah;
2. commonly long (ואעשה, ואעיד, ואקום, ואקטל) but rarely pseudo-cohortative morphology in the CBH of the Prophets;

3. commonly long (ואקום, ואעיד, ואעשה) and commonly
   pseudo-cohortative (ואק(ו)מה, ואע(י)דה, ואקטלה) morphol-
   ogy in LBH + .[11]

A note on the MT non-LBH + Writings: their incidence of long
(ואקום, ואעיד, ואעשה) forms is similar to that of the MT Prophets,
but Psalms especially shows a comparatively high incidence of
pseudo-cohortative (ואק(ו)מה, ואע(י)דה, ואקטלה) forms. Given the
uncertainty inherent in the linguistic periodisation of poetry, it is
difficult to determine whether this relative frequency of pseudo-
cohortative forms is a function of chronolect, poetic genre, an-
other factor or factors, or some combination thereof.

It bears explicit acknowledgment at this point that the pro-
posed chronological interpretation of the typology is at odds with
certain views current in biblical studies, not least those that see
the Torah and other CBH biblical material as products of the post-
exilic period and/or that reject language as reliable diachronic
indicators. The position advocated here is not that alternative ev-
idence should be deprivileged in favour of orthographic and lin-
guistic evidence, but that the latter should receive due attention
and be integrated with evidence gleaned from other approaches.

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[11] The specific distribution patterns seem to militate against the theory
(mentioned above, fn. 5) that III-*y* forms could take pseudo-cohortative
morphology in CBH. The general lack of pseudo-cohortative morphol-
ogy in the reading tradition of the Masoretic Torah and the Prophets
suggests that the final ה on III-*y* forms in those corpora reflects long
rather than pseudo-cohortative morphology. This does not apply to
LBH + , where pseudo-cohortative forms are plentiful.

To summarise provisionally, whatever the chronological significance of the typological divisions proposed above, the Tiberian consonantal text reflects a linguistic tradition of considerable historical depth. This is true in terms of both antiquity (i.e., the extent of its reach into the past) and stratification (i.e., the number of linguistic phases to which it bears witness).

1.4.3. 1st-person *Wayyiqṭol* Morphology and the Linguistic Periodisation of Ancient Hebrew

Most discussions of ancient Hebrew diachrony distinguish LBH from CBH (Hornkohl 2013b; Hurvitz 2013). Pre-classical poetic ABH (Mandell 2013) and an intermediate category between CBH and LBH termed TBH also have proponents (Hornkohl 2013a; 2016b). Certain aspects of 1st-person *wayyiqṭol* morphological diversity are consistent with such a paradigm, especially, the high frequency of short (ואקם, ואעד, ואעש) morphology in the written tradition of the Tiberian Torah and the Mesha‘ Stele, on the one hand, and, on the other, the rarity of short morphology and concomitant accumulation of pseudo-cohortative (ואע(י)דה, ואקטלה, וא(ו)קמה) morphology in Tiberian LBH + and other traditions and sources that reflect Second Temple Hebrew.

Yet the proposed typology also challenges at least one component of the regnant diachronic linguistic paradigm. In the distributions of the 1st-person *wayyiqṭol* morphological variants in the Tiberian written tradition one confronts a situation that calls for greater nuance than that which typically characterises diachronic discussions. This is because, as noted above (§1.4.2), the three-stage diachronic division of material based on distribution

of 1st-person *wayyiqṭol* morphology is on the surface consistent with neither the ABH-CBH-LBH paradigm nor the CBH-TBH-LBH arrangement, but calls for finer shading within what is conventionally termed CBH.

Preliminarily, two explanations suggest themselves. One option is that the Torah's written linguistic tradition is typologically older than that of the rest of CBH, in which case there may be some justification to distinguishing between CBH[1] and CBH[2], both typologically prior to LBH (see Elitzur 2015; 2018a; 2018b; 2019; 2022). Alternatively, it is possible to envision a scenario in which original CBH short 1st-person *wayyiqṭol* morphological dominance gave way to secondary diversity when material outside the Torah was contemporised—not according to LBH, but in line with norms typologically transitional between those of the MT Torah and LBH proper, that is, of a period when long (ואעשה, ואקום, ואעיד) forms were in wide use, but pseudo-cohortative (ואק(ו)מה, ואע(י)דה, ואקטלה) were not. In this case, what appears to be CBH[2] would be a result of the updating of CBH in line with TBH conventions. It bears repeating that the similarity between the CBH of the MT Prophets and MT LBH+ involving the incidence of long III-*y* morphology (ואעשה) combined with their difference in regard to pseudo-cohortative (ואע(י)דה, ואקטלה, ואק(ו)מה) forms militates against the view that the potentially secondary status of long 1st-person *wayyiqṭol* morphology in the CBH of the MT Prophets is due to levelling in line with LBH+ standards, since one should reasonably expect this to have resulted in relatively high incidence of both long and pseudo-cohortative 1st-person *wayyiqṭol* morphology.

Pending the examination of more data with these scenarios in mind, they remain conjectural. And, of course, they are not mutually exclusive. Either way, from the perspective of the MT distribution of 1st-person *wayyiqṭol* forms, it seems necessary to reckon with the reality of some sort of multivalent division of CBH, whether it involves an organic distinction between CBH[1] and CBH[2] or the artificial creation of CBH[2] due the secondary drift of some authentic CBH material in the direction of TBH.

Rounding out this examination of 1st-person *wayyiqṭol* diachrony in the Tiberian written tradition, it is opportune to discuss a few sundry matters.

Non-characteristic Diachronic Usages

First, though short and pseudo-cohortative forms are charac-teristic, respectively, of classical and post-classical forms of ancient Hebrew, there is no reason to expect that they should be exclusively restricted to the corpora they characterise. According to more nuanced renditions of the dominant diachronic paradigm, many classical features remained available to late writers and copyists, even if the latter may often have opted for contemporary alternatives. By the same token, exceptional pseudo-cohortative forms in apparently classical texts do not necessarily indicate late composition or textual drift, since there is no logical impediment to the early development of a feature whose later expansion makes it characteristically post-classical. The plausibility of diachronically distinct concentrations of 1st-person *wayyiqṭol* morphology does not preclude the sporadic use of atypical forms at any given stage.

The Problem of Archaic Heterogeneity

From the perspective of Hetzron's (1976) principle of *archaic heterogeneity* the situation is somewhat complex. At first glance, the claim of early short morphological unity among 1st-, 2nd-, and 3rd-person *wayyiqṭol* forms may appear to contravene expectations. Would it not be more appropriate to posit early *wayyiqṭol* heterogeneity, e.g., a paradigm consisting of pseudo-cohortative 1st-person forms and short 2nd- and 3rd-person forms, which was later levelled via analogical processes to a uniformly short paradigm, with a few pseudo-cohortative leftovers?

While such an approach may seem logical from the narrow perspective of *wayyiqṭol* morphology, it is neither borne out in the data nor more theoretically attractive than an alternative view. The diachronic pattern of change for the *wayyiqṭol* paradigm cannot be described as homogenising, since the morphological distinction between 1st-person forms and 2nd- and 3rd-person forms gradually increases, rather than decreases, with time. Moreover, methodologically, early *wayyiqṭol* paradigmatic heterogeneity is *a priori* no more compelling a possibility than early heterogeneity viewed from a broader perspective, namely one that includes both the *wayyiqṭol* paradigm and that of the directive-volitive forms, i.e., the cohortative (אקומה), imperative (קום), and jussive (יקם). Indeed, bringing into consideration this latter paradigm, especially the presumed link between the cohortative (אקומה) and the 1st-person *wayyiqṭol* (ואקומה > ואקם) (see Hornkohl 2013a, 165–70; Khan 2021, 321–27; see below), it is reasonable to argue that the archaic heterogeneity eventually homogenised was that between the 1st-person *wayyiqṭol* and cohor-

tative forms. But from the perspective of the narrow confines of the *wayyiqṭol* paradigm, this merging of 1st-person *wayyiqṭol* and cohortative morphology had the effect of increasing, rather than decreasing, heterogeneity.

The Relevance of a Recent Proposal

Ch. 16, above, focused mainly on Khan's (2021, 319–40) recently propounded theory of the genesis of ancient Hebrew *wayyiqṭol* (see especially §§1.0–3.0). It is now opportune to assess his approach in light of what has been said here about the distribution of 1st-person *wayyiqṭol* forms in ancient Hebrew sources. Crucially for the present discussion, Khan speculates on the timing of the reanalysis he proposes.

> Some scholars have, indeed, already expressed the view that there was a convergence between the *wayyiqṭol* form and the modal system during the period of Late Biblical Hebrew [e.g., Bergsträsser 1918–1929, II:§5d; Talshir 1986]. I would like to argue that this had taken place already in Classical Biblical Hebrew….

> The most obvious structural manifestation [of the reanalysis of the narrative *yiqṭol* as a schematised extension of a jussive] is the occurrence of the cohortative jussive form of first person in *wayyiqṭol* forms. These become particularly frequent in Late Biblical Hebrew (Cohen 2013, 121–13), but are found sporadically already in the Pentateuch in Classical Biblical Hebrew. (Khan 2021, 321–22, 327)

A few brief observations are in order. First, Khan's proposal arguably conceives of a more profound and pervasive convergence of the *wayyiqṭol* and directive-volitive paradigms than is usually envisioned. According to Khan, it was not merely by late

analogy with cohortative אקטלה that classical ואקטל shifted to ואקטלה. Rather, the antecedents of *wayyiqṭol* וָאֶקְטְלָה and cohortative (purpose/result) וְאֶקְטְלָה had already fused in Iron Age Hebrew. Originally conveying distinct preterite and modal senses, they had merged into a semantically underdifferentiated *w-yiqṭol* structure broadly associated with temporal consecution. Only later were they re-differentiated via gemination of realis (mostly preterite) *waw-yiqṭol* > *wayyiqṭol* in the Second Temple Period.

Second, while it is clear that the frequent use of pseudo-cohortative 1st-person *wayyiqṭol* morphology is distinctive of LBH+ and other late corpora, Khan's theory is consistent with a distribution that is not exclusively late. In other words, at the very least, it allows for the early 1st-person *wayyiqṭol* morphological variety acknowledged above. The dominance of short 1st-person *wayyiqṭol* morphology especially characteristic of the MT Torah written tradition can be interpreted as a stage in the convergence of preterite *waw-yiqṭol* and dependent volitional *waw-yiqṭol* where a morphological distinction between the two *yiqṭol* forms was still largely preserved in the 1st person. Even so, there is no reason to deny the authenticity of sporadic pseudo-cohortative morphology in the Torah and the Former Prophets.[12]

Khan (2021, 327, 337–38) notes the LBH proliferation of long and pseudo-cohortative forms, providing a theoretical

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[12] Qimron (2018, 169) also sees the CBH pseudo-cohortative forms as authentically ancient, but claims that their apparent early infrequency is the product of "an illusion created by the defective spelling of the early Biblical books," i.e., that verbs could be realised with final -*a* without final *mater heh*.

mechanism for well-rehearsed hypotheses concerning late influence of the cohortative on the 1st-person *wayyiqṭol* and the late partial merger of long and cohortative morphology in *wayyiqṭol* and *yiqṭol* more generally. Attempting to flesh out Khan's argument: on the assumption of early contrast between a uniformly short preterite paradigm (ויקם, ותקם, ואקם) and a mixed modal paradigm (cohortative ואקומה, imperative וקום, and jussive ויקם), the similarity and narrative frequency of 3rd-person forms (both short) would make them the logical starting point for reanalysis. Convergence of the respective 1st- and 2nd-person forms, which were dissimilar and far less frequent, might be expected to lag. And, at least in the case of the 1st-person, this is exactly what one encounters. Not until the Persian Period does the convergence apparently begun in CBH become common in 1st-person *wayyiqṭol* forms.[13]

When it comes to the distribution of long 1st-person *wayyiqṭol* (ואקום, ואעיד, ואעשה) morphology, Khan (2021, 337–38) notes the differences between the CBH of the Torah and Former Prophets and between the written and reading traditions of CBH material (on the latter, see below, §2.0). He describes the shift as gradual, attributing it to the "merging in function of the cohorta-

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[13] The matter of 2nd-person forms lies beyond the scope of this chapter. The BH equivalent of the 3rd-person dependent jussive (purpose/result) ויקם is the imperative, e.g., וקום (JM, §116f). Narrative 2nd-person וקום never arose in Hebrew (unless this is behind the late penchant for the infinitive absolute replacing a finite verb (?)). It is not clear whether the expected alterative, 2nd-person dependent jussive (purpose/result) ותקם, ever developed. Perhaps the infrequency of 2nd-person narrative forms hindered the expected effects of convergence.

tive with the long [i.e., long] *yiqṭol* form" (Khan 2021, 337). This seems consistent with the position elaborated in Hornkohl (2013a, 165–70), where it is hypothesised that, in addition to late cohortative influence on *wayyiqṭol*, both the preterite and volitive short *yiqṭol* forms were subject to constant analogical pressure exerted by the standard *yiqṭol* (< PS *yaqtulu*), the semantics of which also included both past (mainly habitual) and modal shades. Whatever the case may be, any proposal for explaining the expanded use of long and pseudo-cohortative 1st-person *wayyiqṭol* morphology must successfully account for the disparities in their respective CBH frequencies. In the Tiberian written tradition of the Pentateuch, pointedly, long III-*y* morphology (3 of 21 cases) is comparatively more common than pseudo-cohortative morphology (4 of 105 cases). What is more, long III-*y* morphology is commonplace in CBH outside the Torah, while it is not until post-exilic Hebrew that pseudo-cohortative morphology becomes frequent. From a perspective of historical depth, Khan's theory of *wayyiqṭol* development substantially preposes the starting point for convergence of the three *yiqṭol* templates employed in *wayyiqṭol* morphology.

2.0. The Masoretic Reading Tradition

We are now in position to investigate the matter of dissonance between the written and reading components of the Tiberian biblical tradition as it manifests in 1st-person *wayyiqṭol* forms and to evaluate its historical significance.

2.1. Dissonance and Secondary Character

At issue is whether spelling and vocalisation are in harmony as regards short and long 1st-person *wayyiqṭol* morphology in the case of 1cs and 1cpl *hifʿil* and II-*w/y qal* forms. Table 16 compares the Tiberian written (consonantal) and reading (vocalic) traditions in terms of short 1st-person *wayyiqṭol* morphology.

Table 16: Short 1st-person *wayyiqṭol* morphology according to written (orthographic) and reading (vocalisation) traditions: number of short forms out of total short and long (percentage) (for citations, see §4.0)

	Torah		Prophets		Non-LBH + Writings		LBH +	
	Orth.	Voc.	Orth.	Voc.	Orth.	Voc.	Orth.	Voc.
hifʿil	11/12	8/12	18/31	4/31	—	—	2/11	1/11
	(91.7%)	(66.7%)	(58.1%)	(12.9%)			(18.2%)	(9.1%)
qal II-*w/y*	6/6	1/4	5/14	0/10	0/1	0/1	0/14	1/9
	(100%)	(25%)	(35.7%)	(0%)	(0%)	(0%)	(66.7%)	(1.1%)
hifʿil +	17/18	9/16	23/45	4/41	0/1	0/1	2/25	2/20
qal II-*w/y*	(94.4%)	(56.3%)	(51.1%)	(9.8%)	(0%)	(0%)	(8.0%)	(10.0%)

Of the 78 cases of *hifʿil* and *qal* II-*w/y* 1st-person *wayyiqṭol* forms throughout the MT, in just 15 is the vocalisation consistent with short morphology (9 in the Torah, 4 in the Prophets, 2 in LBH +). In the MT Torah the orthography nearly always reflects short morphology—16 of 17 cases, the sole exception the questionably relevant וַנַּשִּׁים (Num. 21.30). According to the Pentateuch's vocalisation, by contrast, short morphology comes in just 8 of 15 cases.[14] In the Prophets, too, one encounters dissonance: according to the spelling tradition, just over half of the instances (23 of

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[14] Here and throughout forms with invariable *wayyiqṭol* vocalic realisation regardless of their orthography, such as *qal* בּוֹא, are excluded from the counts.

45) reflect short morphology, but that proportion drops to under ten percent (4 of 41) according to the reading tradition. The non-LBH+ Writings present just one relevant example, both traditions exhibiting long morphology. Only in LBH+ does one encounter relative harmony between the orthography and vocalisation when it comes to 1st-person *wayyiqṭol* morphology: short forms are rare according to both traditions.

　　Two related observations are in order.

2.1.1. The Diachronic Significance of Dissonance in Classical Biblical Hebrew Material

First, the most plausible explanation for the frequent mismatch between long vocalisation and short orthography in 1st-person *wayyiqṭol* (וָאֶעְד, וָאָקֶם) forms throughout CBH texts is that a comparatively late reading tradition characterised by long 1st-person *wayyiqṭol* morphology was secondarily imposed upon a written tradition in which the spelling of many such forms reflected earlier short morphology. Since the Tiberian reading tradition coincides at salient points with post-exilic written tradition, it is reasonable to see the vocalisation as a product of Second Temple times. This means that the Tiberian reading tradition presents a stage in the development of 1st-person *wayyiqṭol* forms more historically advanced than that discernible in the written tradition to which it has been textually wedded.

2.1.2. The Diachronic Significance of Harmony in Late Biblical Hebrew + Material

Second, the regular written-reading agreement found in LBH + material is no accident, but rather results from historical proximity. In other words, the fact that the 1st-person *wayyiqṭol* morphology applied by the reading tradition throughout the MT corresponds so closely to the LBH + written tradition (e.g., וָאָעִיד, וָאָקוּם) is because, though semi-independent, they are related products of the same period.

2.2. A Need for Nuance

But while the foregoing narrative is true as far as it goes, there is more to the story. Indeed, such a broad-strokes account is something of a distortion. Nuance is required.

2.2.1. The Antiquity of Long 1st-person *Wayyiqṭol* Morphology

First, while the *extent* of the use of long (וָאָעֵד, וָאָקֻם) forms in the reading tradition is more in line with the LBH + written tradition than with the CBH written tradition, as has already been noted regarding the written tradition, the *phenomenon itself*—namely, the likely orthographic representation of long (ואקום, ואעיד) 1st-person *wayyiqṭol* morphology—predates LBH +. This is clear from the particular constellation of long III-*y* (ואעשה) and pseudo-cohortative (ואקטלה, ואע(י)דה, ואע(ו)מה, ואק(ו)) 1st-person *wayyiqṭol* morphology in Tiberian CBH outside the Torah, where—like LBH +, but unlike the Torah—long forms diffused, but—like the Torah, but unlike LBH +—pseudo-cohortative forms did not.

A similar situation emerges from an examination of the morphological variety of *hifʿil* and II-*w/y qal wayyiqṭol* forms tabulated above in Table 16 (above, p. 428). Note that though long morphology's eclipsing of short morphology in both the LBH+ written and reading traditions is especially striking (2 of 25 and 2 or 20 cases, respectively), the shift was by no means unprecedented. The extensive replacement of short with long morphology in the vocalisation of the Prophets (just 4 of 41 short) is merely the continuation of a trend already well established in the written tradition of the same material (23 of 45 short). The consistency of long vocalisation in the Prophets is probably partially secondary and anachronistic, but it is merely an extrapolation of a trend already begun, just less advanced, in the corpus's orthography.

It is in the Torah, with orthography predominantly indicative of short 1st-person *wayyiqṭol* morphology, that the partial deviation in favour of long morphology appears especially anachronistic (the reader is once again reminded that the linguistic significance of the long *hifʿil* and *wayyiqṭol* spellings has been demonstrated above, in §1.3.1).[15] In sum, the incidence of 1st-person *wayyiqṭol* morphological dissonance between the written and reading components of the Tiberian tradition increases as

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[15] Cf. Khan (2021), who presents different explanations for long 1st-person *wayyiqṭol* morphology in the Masoretic written and reading traditions. In the case of the former he seems to envision a gradual process of organic convergence (337), while he attributes the latter to 'top-down' imposition unlikely rooted in vernacular usage (339).

one moves back in time from LBH+ through the Prophets to the Torah.

2.2.2. Dissonance and Diversity within the Tiberian Reading Tradition

This leads to a second important observation. Considering the hypothesis that the Tiberian reading tradition is a Second Temple oral realisation that was applied to contemporary texts and ret-rojected onto earlier material, it would be reasonable to suppose that it might exhibit greater uniformity, or, at the very least, that it would deviate toward late conventions wherever the written tradition was amenable thereto. Reality, however, proves more complex. Despite its clear Second Temple affinities at certain striking points, the Tiberian pronunciation tradition, like the con-sonantal tradition, is multifarious, routinely preserving features especially characteristic of early material in the face of the influ-ence of later linguistic convention. Focusing on 1st-person *wayyiqṭol* morphology, this is manifest in linguistic diversity *within* the Tiberian reading tradition.

1CS versus 1CPL Forms

Consider the differential treatment of singular and plural 1st-per-son *wayyiqṭol* forms in the Torah (see Khan 2021, 338–39). See Table 17. Whereas 1CS forms often—in 6 of 8 potential cases—combine short spelling with long phonology, in the 1CPL, spelling consistently matches phonology, so that the classical template is preserved except where long spelling obtains.

Table 17: 1st-person short and long *hifʿil* and *qal* II-*w/y wayyiqṭol* morphology in the Masoretic reading tradition of the Torah

	Singular	**Plural**
Short	וָאוֹלֵךְ (Lev 26.13; Deut. 29.4)	וַנַּגֶּד־לֹו (Gen. 43.7; Gen. 44.24)
		וַנֵּשֶׁב (Gen. 43.21)
		וַנַּקְרֵב (Num. 31.50)
		וַנֵּסָב (Deut. 2.1)
		וַנַּחֲרֵם (Deut. 2.34; 3.6)
Long	וָאָשִׂם (Gen. 24.47; Deut. 10.5)	וַנַּשִּׁים (Num. 21.30)
	וָאָבִא (Exod 19.4)	
	וָאָקֵץ (Lev 20.23)	
	וָאַבְדִּל (Lev 20.26)	
	וָאַשְׁלִךְ (Deut 9.21)	
Invariable	וָאָבִא (Gen. 24.42)	וַנֵּלֶּךְ (Deut. 1.19)

The Sporadic Preservation of Short 1CS Forms

But even in the case of 1CS *wayyiqṭol* forms: though *hifʿil* and II-*w/y qal* forms are routinely pointed long where written (and presumably intended) short, in a minority of cases, typologically early short vocalisation is preserved. Several of these might be conditioned, but it is intriguing that all occur in the reading tradition of CBH texts.[16] Conversely, the LBH+ reading tradition is very much in sync with the parallel written tradition, strongly preferring long and pseudo-cohortative forms at the expense of short ones. In LBH+, the spelling of 1CS forms nearly always reflects long or pseudo-cohortative morphology (in 38 of 39 cases of *hifʿil*

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[16] Four such cases involve the specific verb וָאוֹלֵךְ, behind whose short form there may well stand phonological factors—perhaps an original diphthong in the first syllable favoured preservation of short morphology in the second (cf. ואוליך in the SP). The preservation of another short form may be attributed to euphony in וָאֶעֱד עֵדִים (Jer. 32.10); cf. וָאָעִיד (Neh. 13.15). That leaves only וָאָשֵׁב אֹתוֹ דָּבָר (Josh. 14.7), which contrasts with LBH וָאָשִׁיב אוֹתָם דָּבָר (Neh. 2.20).

and II-*w/y qal* combined), the sole exception being וָאַגֶּד (1 Chron.
17.10). When it comes to the mere three relevant 1CPL cases, the
two traditions once agree on short morphology (וַנֵּשֶׁב Ezra 10.2),
once agree on long morphology (וַנַּעֲמִיד Neh. 4.3), and once clash
(ונשוב *ketiv* וַנֵּשָׁב *qere* Neh. 4.9). These exceptional instances of mis-
match between orthography and vocalisation in Tiberian LBH+
are doubly important, evincing both the continued independence
of the written and reading traditions as well as their close congru-
ence. Indeed, their potential divergence makes their consistent
agreement all the more striking.

Ketiv-Qere Mismatches

A final note on the six relevant instances of *ketiv-qere* dissonance:
these are cases where the disparity occasioned by merging diver-
gent written and reading traditions could not be resolved except
by explicit emendation of the written form. See Table 18.

Table 18: *Ketiv-qere* cases involving 1st-person *wayyiqṭol* forms in Codex
Leningrad

ketiv	*qere*	Reference	Description: *ketiv* || *qere*
ואראה	וָאֵרֶא	Josh. 7.21	long || short
וארב	וָאַרְבֶּה	Josh. 24.3	short || long
ואבאה	וָאָבִיא	Josh. 24.8	pseudo-cohort. || long
ואוצאה	וָאֲצַוֶּה	Ezra 8.17	pseudo-cohort. || long
ואשקולה	וָאֶשְׁקֲלָה	Ezra 8.25	pseudo-cohort. || pseudo-cohortative
ונשוב	וַנֵּשָׁב	Neh. 4.9	long || short

Beyond confirming the independence of two related traditions,
these do not materially alter the picture drawn to this point. In-
triguingly—and contrary to what might be expected, but con-
sistent with what was said above—there is no unambiguous
correlation between the *ketiv* and classical short morphology or

between the *qere* and later long or pseudo-cohortative morphology. This is a further indication that, despite crystallising in the Second Temple Period, the Tiberian reading tradition—including, but not limited to, explicit *qere* instances—manifests profound historical depth and intricacy, even preserving individual Iron Age phenomena in the face of the standardisation of others.

3.0. Conclusion

A detailed study of 1st-person *wayyiqṭol* forms in the Tiberian written and reading traditions yields typologically rich results. Having established that orthographic variation in the written tradition is as at least partially indicative of typological shifts in morphology, it can be plausibly maintained that the Tiberian written tradition testifies to three typological strata of 1st-person *wayyiqṭol* development in chronologically suggestive concen-trations.

Dissonance between the Tiberian CBH written and reading traditions shows that the reading tradition is typologically later, akin to other Second Temple traditions, including the LBH+ written tradition. However, the Tiberian reading tradition is itself typologically diverse: the relevant vocalisation in CBH is not identical to that in LBH+; 1CS and 1CPL forms receive different treatment in CBH; and there is no clear pattern to *ketiv-qere* divergence.

The extent of long morphology in the reading tradition of CBH material seems more characteristic of the Tiberian written tradition of LBH+ and other late material than of the written tradition of CBH texts. Yet the frequency of long forms in the

written CBH tradition outside the Torah shows that, in this re-
spect, the reading tradition merely extended and standardised a
feature that had diffused prior to LBH+ times. The *regularity* of
the reading tradition's use of long morphology appears to be
anachronistic for the earliest parts of the Bible, but evidence of
its *initial appearance* points to the Iron Age. Common usage of
long and pseudo-cohortative morphology can be dated no earlier
or later than the LBH+ compositions, and, given the incidence
of long morphology in the CBH of the Prophets, its diffusion may
well have begun centuries earlier. Long and pseudo-cohortative
1st-person *wayyiqṭol* morphology joins many other features of the
Tiberian reading tradition that deviate from the reading tradition
reflected in the consonantal in their early minority incidence fol-
lowed by later standardisation.

4.0. Citations

Table 2

MT Torah—short: Gen. 24.46; 31.10; 41.22; Exod. 6.3; 9.15; Num. 13.33; 23.4;
Deut. 2.1, 8, 33; 3.1, 1, 18; 9.15, 16; 10.3, 3, 5; **long:** Gen. 24.48; Deut. 1.16,
18; **MT Prophets—short:** Josh. 7.21 (*qere*); 24.3 (*ketiv*); Judg. 18.4; Isa. 64.5;
Jer. 3.8; 11.5; 15.6; 20.7; 35.10; Ezek. 1.4, 15, 27; 11.16; 12.7; 20.9, 22; 23.13;
24.18; 43.8; 44.4; Hos. 13.7; Zech. 2.1, 5; 4.4, 11, 12; 5.9; 6.4; **long:** Josh. 7.21
(*ketiv*); 9.24; 24.3 (*qere*); Judg. 12.3; 1 Sam. 10.14; 13.12; 26.21; 2 Sam. 7.6, 9;
11.23; 12.22; 22.24; 1 Kgs 8.20; 11.39; Isa. 6.1; Jer. 13.2; 25.17; 31.26; 32.9,
13; 44.17; Ezek. 1.1, 28; 2.9; 8.2, 7, 10; 10.1, 9; 11.1; 16.8; 20.14; Hos. 11.4;
Amos 4.10; Zech. 5.1; 6.1; 11.7, 7; **Non-LBH+—short:** Ps. 18.24; 38.15; 69.12;
73.14; Job 30.9; Prov. 7.7; **long:** Ps. 69.11, 21; 102.8; Job 7.20; Prov. 8.30, 30;
24.32; **MT LBH+—short:** Dan. 10.5; Neh. 1.4; 2.11, 13, 15, 15; 4.8; **long:** Qoh.
4.1, 7; Dan. 8.2, 2, 3, 27; 9.4; 10.8; Ezra 8.15, 17 (*qere*); Neh. 1.4; 3.38; 7.2;
12.31; 13.25; 1 Chron. 17.5, 8; 2 Chron. 6.10; **BDSS—short:** 4Q31 2.4 (‖ Deut.
3.18); Mur2 f1i.3 (‖ Deut. 10.3a); 5/6Hev1b f6–7.10 (‖ Ps. 18.24); **long:** 1QIsaᵃ
51.19 (‖ Isa. 64.5 short); 4Q51 f42a.1 (‖ 1 Sam. 26.21); 4Q70 f21–22i.3 (‖
Jer. 13.2); 4Q73 f2.10 (‖ Ezek. 11.1); 4Q80 f14–15.2 (‖ Zech. 5.9 short);

4Q112 f14.12 (|| Dan. 8.2); 4Q114 1.7 (|| Dan. 10.8); **NBDSS—short:** 4Q364 f26bi.6 (|| MT Deut. 9.16); **long:** 1QHᵃ 10.10, 12, 16, 17; 11.8; 14.27; 16.28; 4Q364 f24a–c.15 (|| MT Deut. 3.1 short); 4Q391 f9.3 (?); f65.4 (?);[17] **SP—short:** Num. 13.33 (|| MT short); **long:** Gen. 24.46, 48 (|| MT long); 31.10; 41.22; Exod. 6.3; 9.15, 19+ (|| MT Exod. 9.15 short); Num. 23.4; Deut. 1.16 (|| MT long), 18 (|| MT long); 2.1, 8, 33; 3.1, 1, 18; 9.15, 16; 10.3, 3, 5;[18] **BS—long:** SirB 20v.2 (|| Sir. 51.7), 2 (|| Sir. 51.7).

Table 3

MT Torah—pseudo-cohortative: Gen. 32.4; 41.11; 43.21; Num. 8.19; **MT Prophets—pseudo-cohortative:** Josh. 24.8 (*ketiv*); Judg. 6.9, 10; 10.12; 12.3, 3; 1 Sam. 2.28; 28.15; 2 Sam. 4.10; 7.9; 12.8, 8; 22.24; Jer. 11.18; 32.9; Ezek. 3.3; 9.8; 16.11; Zech. 11.13; **MT non-LBH+ Writings—pseudo-cohortative:** Ps. 3.6; 7.5; 69.12, 21; 73.16; 90.10; Job 19.20; 29.17; **MT LBH+—pseudo-cohortative:** Ps. 119.55, 59, 106, 131, 147, 158; Job 1.15, 16, 17, 19; Qoh. 1.17; Dan. 8.13, 15, 17; 9.3, 4, 4; 10.16, 16, 19; 12.8; Ezra 7.28; 8.15, 16, 17 (*ketiv*), 17, 23, 23, 24, 25, 26, 28, 31; 9.3, 3, 5, 5, 6; Neh. 1.4; 2.1, 6, 9, 13; 5.7, 7, 8, 13; 6.3, 8, 11, 12; 7.5; 12.31; 13.7, 8, 9, 9, 10, 11, 11, 13, 17, 17, 19, 19, 21, 21, 22, 30;[19] **BDSS pseudo-cohortative:** 1QIsaᵃ 6.2 (|| Isa. 6.8 unlengthened), 5 (|| Isa. 6.11 unlengthened); 34.12 (|| Isa. 41.9 unlengthened); 40.10 (|| Isa. 48.5 long); 42.8 (|| Isa. 50.7 unlengthened); 51.20 (|| Isa. 64.5 short); 4Q13 f3ii+5–6i.8 (|| Exod. 3.17 unlengthened); 4Q51 3a–e.25 (|| 1 Sam. 2.28 pseudo-cohortative), 9e–i.16 (|| 1 Sam. 10.14 long), f61ii+63–64a–b+65–67.3 (|| 2 Sam. 4.10 pseudo-cohortative); 4Q80 f8–13.19 (|| Zech. 4.4 unlengthened), f14–15.2 (erasure || Zech. 5.9), 2 (|| Zech. 5.9), 4 (|| Zech. 5.10 unlengthened); 4Q83 f19ii–20.31 (|| Ps. 69.12 pseudo-cohortative); 4Q113 f16–18i+19.5 (|| Dan. 8.3 unlengthened); 11Q5 9.1 (|| Ps. 119.59 pseudo-cohortative); 11.2 (|| Ps. 119.106 pseudo-cohortative); 12.4 (|| Ps. 119.131 pseudo-cohortative); 13.9 (|| Ps. 119.158 pseudo-cohortative); 20.2 (|| 139.11 unlengthened); **NBDSS pseudo-cohortative:** 1QHᵃ 12.37; 14.9, 10; 15.23; 17.9, 10; 1Q49 f1.1; 4Q364 f26bi.8; 4Q385 f2.9; 4Q385a f1a–bii.1, 6, 7, f15i.5;

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[17] The two final ambiguous citations were excluded from the totals in Hornkohl (2013a, 160).

[18] The slight difference between the totals here and in Hornkohl (2013a, 160) is due to the inclusion here of SP Exod. 9.19+ (|| MT Exod. 9.15), which was excluded there.

[19] Hornkohl (2013a, 162) mentions the cases in Ps. 119 and Job 1, but does not count them in the relevant table's LBH totals.

4Q387 f1.7; 4Q389 f2.4, 5, f6.1; 4Q390 f1.6, 6; 4Q437 f2ii.13; 4Q504 f1–2rv.17; 11Q5 28.5; 11Q19 65.8;[20] **SP pseudo-cohortative:** Gen. 32.6; Exod. 3.8, 17; 6.5; Lev. 26.13; Num. 8.19 (= MT); Deut. 1.19, 19, 43; 2.1, 7+ (MT —), 8, 8, 13, 26, 34, 34; 3.4, 6, 23; 9.15, 17, 18, 20, 21, 21, 21, 25, 26, 26; 10.3, 5, 5; 22.14;[21] **BS—pseudo-cohortative:** SirB 20v.3 (|| Sir. 51.8), 20v.11 (|| Sir. 51.12), 11 (|| Sir. 51.12); 11Q5 21.15 (|| Sir. 51.18) (?); unlengthened: SirB 20v.5 (|| Sir. 51.9); 21r.12 (|| Sir. 51.14) (?); 21r.17 (Sir. 51.19) (?).[22]

Table 6

III-*y*—short and **long**: see Table 2, above; *hifʿil*: **MT Torah—short:** Gen. 43.7, 21; 44.24; Exod. 19.4; Lev. 20.26; 26.13; Num. 31.5; Deut. 2.34; 3.6; 9.21; 29.4; **long:** Num. 21.30 (?);[23] **MT Prophets—short:** Josh. 14.7; 24.3, 10; Judg. 6.9; 1 Kgs 2.42; 18.13; Jer. 5.7; 32.10; 35.4; 42.21; Ezek. 28.18; 31.15; 39.23, 24; Amos 2.10; Zech. 11.8; **long:** Josh. 24.6; Judg. 2.1; 6.8; 1 Sam. 10.18; 12.1; 15.20; Isa. 48.5; Jer. 2.7; 11.8; Ezek. 16.50; 36.19; Amos 2.9, 11; Zech. 11.13; **pseudo-cohortative:** Josh. 24.8; Judg. 10.12; 2 Sam. 7.9; **MT LBH+—short:** Ezra 10.2; 1 Chron. 17.10; **long:** Neh. 2.18, 20; 4.3, 7, 7; 6.4; 7.1; 13.15; 1 Chron. 17.8; **pseudo-cohortative:** Ps. 119.59; Ezra 8.17, 24; Neh. 6.12; 12.31; 13.8, 9, 13, 21, 30; **BDSS—pseudo-cohortative:** 1QIsaᵃ 40.10 (|| long MT Isa. 48.5); 11Q5 9.1 (|| MT Ps. 119.59); **NBDSS—long:** 4Q364 f26bii+e.1 (|| short MT Deut. 9.21); 4Q389 f2.2; **pseudo-cohortative:** 1QHᵃ 17.9; 4Q387 f1.7; 4Q389 f6.1; **SP—long:** Gen. 43.7, 21; 44.24; Exod. 19.4; Lev. 18.25 (|| *qal* MT);

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[20] The slight difference between the totals here and in Hornkohl (2013a, 162) is due to the inclusion here of the (admittedly ambiguous) case in 11Q5 28.5.

[21] Since the present citation list is identical to that in Hornkohl (2013a, 162), the difference between the respective tallies is apparently due to an arithmetic error in the latter.

[22] The apparent pseudo-cohortative case in 11Q5 21.15 (|| Sir. 51.18) and the apparent unlengthened cases in SirB 21r.12 (|| Sir. 51.14) and 17 (Sir. 51.19) are ambiguous, e.g., is *waw-yiqṭol* better analysed as *way-yiqṭol* or *we-yiqṭol* or should apparently pseudo-cohortative 1CS ואקטלה be interpreted as standard *wayyiqṭol* with a FS object suffix?

[23] On the problematic וַנַּשִּׁים (Num. 21.30) see Bloch (2007, 149–50); Hornkohl (2013a, 160–61, fn. 5).

Lev. 20.26; 26.13; Num. 21.30 (|| long MT; ?); 31.50; Deut. 29.4;[24] **pseudo-cohortative:** Deut. 2.34; 3.6; 9.21; **BS—long:** SirB 20v.5 (|| Sir. 51.9); SirB 21r.17 (|| Sir. 51.19); **II-*w/y*: MT Torah—short:** Gen. 24.27, 42; Lev. 20.23; Deut. 1.19; 2.1; 10.5; **MT Prophets—short:** 1 Kgs 3.21; 8.20, 21; Jer. 13.2; Zech. 6.1; **long:** 1 Sam. 10.14; 28.21; Isa. 51.6; Ezek. 3.15, 23; 8.10; 16.8; Zech. 5.1; Mal. 1.3; **pseudo-cohortative:** Judg. 12.3; **MT non-LBH + —long:** Job 38.10; **pseudo-cohortative:** Ps. 69.21; 90.10; **MT LBH + —long:** Dan. 8.27; Ezra 8.32; Neh. 2.9, 11, 12, 15, 15, 15; 4.8, 9 (*ketiv*); 13.7, 25; 2 Chron. 6.10, 11; **pseudo-cohortative:** Ezra 8.15, 17, 23; Neh. 5.7; 13.7, 11, 17; **BDSS—short:** 4Q56 f36.2 (|| long MT Isa. 51.16); 4Q70 f21–22i.3 (|| short MT Jer. 13.2); **pseudo-cohortative:** 4Q51 9e–i.16 (|| long MT 1 Sam. 10.14); **NBDSS—pseudo-cohortative:** 1QH^a 12.37; 4Q504 f1–2Rv.17; 11Q5 28.5; **SP—short:** Lev. 20.23 (|| short MT); **long:** Gen. 24.42 (|| short MT), 47 (|| short MT); Deut. 1.19 (|| short MT); 2.1 (|| short MT); **pseudo-cohortative:** Deut. 10.5 (|| short MT).

Table 16

Torah: *hifʿil*—written and reading short: ־וַנַּגֵּד (Gen. 43.7); וַנֵּשֶׁב (Gen. 43.21); ־וַנַּגֵּד (Gen. 44.24); וָאוֹלֵךְ (Lev. 26.13); וַנַּקְרֵב (Num. 31.50); וַנַּחֲרֵם (Deut. 2.34); וַנַּחֲרֵם (Deut. 3.6); וָאוֹלֵךְ (Deut. 29.4); written short, reading long: וָאָבִא (Exod 19.4); וָאַבְדֵּל (Lev 20.26); וָאַשְׁלִךְ (Deut. 9.21); written and reading long: וַנַּשִּׁים (Num. 21.30); *qal* II-*w/y*—written and reading short: וַנֵּסַב (Deut. 2.1); written short, reading long: וָאָשֵׂם (Gen. 24.47); וָאָקֵץ (Lev 20.23); וָאָשֵׂם (Duet. 10.5); invariable: וָאָבִא (Gen. 24.42); וַנָּבֹא (Deut. 1.19); **Prophets:** *hifʿil*—written and reading short: וָאֵשֵׁב (Josh. 14.7); וָאוֹלֵךְ (Josh. 24.3); וָאַעֲמֵד (Jer. 32.10); וָאַעֲמֵד (Amos 2.10); written short, reading long: וָאַצֵּל (Josh. 24.10); וָאַצֵּל (Judg. 6.9); וָאַעֲמֵד (1 Kgs 2.42); וָאַחְבֵּא (1 Kgs 18.13); וָאַשְׁבַּע (Jer. 5.7); וָאָבֵא (Jer. 35.4); וָאַגֵּד (Jer. 42.21); ־וָאוֹצִא (Ezek. 28.18); וָאַקְדִּר (Ezek. 31.15); וָאַסְתֵּר (Ezek. 39.23); וָאַסְתֵּר (Ezek. 39.24); וָאַכְחֵד (Zech. 11.8); written and reading long: וָאוֹצִיא (Josh. 24.6); וָאָבִיא (Judg. 2.1); וָאֹצִיא (Judg. 6.8); וָאָצִיל (1 Sam. 10.18); וָאַמְלִיךְ (1 Sam. 12.1); וָאָבִיא (1 Sam. 15.20); וָאַגִּיד (Isa. 48.5); וָאָבִיא (Jer. 2.7); וָאָבִיא (Jer. 11.8); וָאָסִיר (Ezek. 16.50); וָאָפִיץ (Ezek. 36.19); וָאַשְׁמִיד (Amos 2.9); וָאָקִים (Amos 2.11); וָאַשְׁלִיךְ (Zech. 11.13); written pseudo-cohortative, reading long (*ketiv-qere*): וָאָבִיא (Josh. 24.8); *qal* II-*w/y*—written short, reading long: וָאָקֵם (1 Kgs 3.21); וָאָקֵם (1 Kgs 8.20); וָאָשֵׂם (1 Kgs 8.21); וָאָשֵׂם (Jer. 13.2); וָאָשֵׁב (Zech. 6.1); written and reading long: וָאָשִׂים (1 Sam. 28.21); וָאָשִׂים (Isa. 51.16); וָאָקוּם (Ezek. 3.23); וָאָשׁוּב (Zech. 5.1); וָאָשִׂים (Mal. 1.3); written long, invariable vocalisation: וַנָּבוֹא (1 Sam. 10.14); וָאָבוֹא (Ezek. 3.15); וָאָבוֹא (Ezek. 8.10); וָאָבוֹא (Ezek. 16.8); **Non-LBH +**

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[24] The total and citation list in Hornkohl (2013a, 160, 163 fn. 17) exclude the cases in Lev. 18.25 and Num. 21.30.

Writings: *qal* **II-*w/y***—written and reading long: וָאָשִׂים (Job 38.10); LBH + :
hifʿil—written and reading short: וַנֵּשֶׁב (Ezra 10.2); written short, reading long:
וָאַגֵּד (1 Chron. 17.10); written and reading long: וָאַגִּיד (Neh. 2.18); וָאָשִׁיב (Neh.
2.20); וַנַּעֲמֵד (Neh. 4.3); וָאַעֲמִיד (Neh. 4.7); וָאַעֲמֵיד (Neh. 4.7); וָאָשִׁיב (Neh. 6.4);
וָאַעֲמִיד (Neh. 7.1); וָאַעִּיד (Neh. 13.15); וָאַכְרִית (1 Chron. 17.8); *qal* **II-*w/y***— writ-
ten and reading long: וָאֶקֹּום (Dan. 8.27); וָאָקוּם (Neh. 2.12); וָאָשׁוּב (Neh. 2.15);
וָאָשׁוּב (Neh. 2.15); וָאָקוּם (Neh. 4.8); ונשוב (Neh. 4.9 *ketiv*); וָאָרִיב (Neh. 13.25);
וָאָקֹום (2 Chron. 6.10); וָאָשִׂים (2 Chron. 6.11); written long, reading short: וַנֵּשֶׁב
(Neh. 4.9 *qere*); written long, invariable vocalisation: וַנָּבֹוא (Ezra 8.32); וָאָבֹוא
(Neh. 2.9); וָאָבֹוא (Neh. 2.11); וָאָבֹוא (Neh. 2.15); וָאָבֹוא (Neh. 13.7).