Diachronic Diversity in Classical Biblical Hebrew

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2. 1ST-PERSON *WAYYIQṬOL* MORPHOLOGY

Depending on verb class, 1st-person *wayyiqṭol* verbs in Tiberian BH may exhibit up to three alternative patterns: short (< PS *aqtul*), long (< PS *aqtulu/a*), and augmented (< PS *aqtulan[na]*) (also known as 'pseudo-cohortative').[1] See Table 1.

Table 1: Short, long, and augmented 1st-person *wayyiqṭol* forms in the Tiberian tradition[2]

	Strong	**III-*y***	*hifʿil*	*qal* II-*w/y*
1CS	וָאֶשְׁלַח, וָאֶשְׁלְחָה	וָאַעַשׂ, וָאֶעֱשֶׂה	וָאָעֵד, וָאָעִיד, וָאָעִידָה	*וָאָקֻם, וָאָקוּם, וָאָקוּמָה
1CPL	וַנִּשְׁלַח, וַנִּשְׁלְחָה	וַנַּעַשׂ, וַנַּעֲשֶׂה	*וַנָּעֵד, *וַנָּעִיד, *וַנָּעִידָה	*וַנָּקֻם, וַנָּקוּם, וַנָּקוּמָה

Though each of the morphological patterns finds representation throughout the biblical text, their respective distributions exhibit discernible diachronic correlations. These distinguish not just LBH from CBH, but also the CBH of the Torah from the rest of CBH.[3]

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[1] For various opinions on the proto-Semitic antecedents to the various forms, see, among others, Rainey (1986, 4, 8–10); Talshir (1987, 589); 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 (2021a; 2021b).

[2] For the sake of convenient comparison, the table includes both documented and reconstructed forms. See Hornkohl (2023, 386, fn. 4, 426–34) on the reconstructions.

[3] Recent discussions include Talshir (1986; 1987); Revell (1988, 423); Qimron (1997, 177; 2008, 153–54); Bloch (2007); Hornkohl (2014a, 159–71; 2023, 385–439); Gzella (2018, 29–35); Khan (2021, 319–40); Sjörs (2021a; 2021b).

1.0. Late Biblical Hebrew and Post-Exilic Sources

LBH 1st-person *wayyiqṭol* morphology is distinctively character-
ised by high incidence of long and augmented forms, which each
come at the expense of shorter alternatives. Hornkohl (2023, 388,
392) presents the following tables, Table 2 showing the incidence
of augmented 1st-person *wayyiqṭol* morphology, which excludes
III-*y* forms, and Table 3 showing the incidence of long III-*y* 1st-
person *wayyiqṭol* morphology.

Table 2: Incidence of augmented 1st-person *wayyiqṭol* (ואעידה, ואקטלה,
ואקומה) forms across representative ancient Hebrew corpora

		MT					Ben Sira
Torah	Proph.	Non-LBH+ Writings	LBH+	BDSS	NBDSS	SP	
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%)

Table 3: Incidence of long 1st-person III-*y* forms (e.g., ואעשה) across rep-
resentative ancient Hebrew traditions

		MT					Ben Sira
Torah	Proph.	Non-LBH+ Writings	LBH+	BDSS	NBDSS	SP	
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%)

In both categories, the statistics show that LBH+ opts for the
longer alternative—augmented forms in the case of non-III-*y*
verbs, long forms in the case of III-*y* verbs—far more frequently
than other parts of the Bible.[4]

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[4] Hornkohl's (2023, 385–439) study compares CBH to LBH+, the latter
a broader category than the core LBH corpus of Esther, Daniel, Ezra–
Nehemiah, and Chronicles, that also includes Ps. 119 (Hurvitz 1972,
130–52); Job 1–2; 42.7–17 (Hurvitz 1974b; cf. Young 2009; Joosten
2013); and Qohelet (Delitzsch 1877, 190–99 *et passim*; Driver 1898,
474–75; Hurvitz 1990; 2007; Schoors 1992–2004; Seow 1996; cf.

The LBH+ predilection for long 1st-person *wayyiqṭol* morphological alternatives also obtains beyond III-*y* verbs, i.e., in the case of *hifʿil* and *qal* II-*w/y* verbs (see Hornkohl 2023, 393–96, for detailed discussion). Table 4, which focuses on consonantal morphology alone (see below on the pronunciation tradition), is reproduced from Hornkohl (2023, 394).

Table 4: Incidence of long 1st-person III-*y* (ואעשה), *hifʿil* (ואעיד), and *qal* II-*w/y* (ואקום) *wayyiqṭol* forms: number of long forms out of number of combined short, long, and augmented forms (percentage long)

	Verb Class	MT				BDSS	NBDSS	SP	Ben Sira
		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	*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%)
	hifʿil aug.	0/12 (0%)	3/33 (9.1%)	—	10/21 (47.6%)	2/2 (100%)	3/5 (60%)	3/13 (23.1%)	—
	hifʿil long + aug.	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* aug.	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 + aug.	0/6 (0%)	10/15 (66.7%)	3/3 (100%)	21/21 (100%)	1/3 (33.3%)	3/3 (100%)	5/5 (100%)	—
total	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 + aug.	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%)

Fredericks 1988; Young 1993, 140–57)—all material of unknown date the linguistic profile of which dates them to the post-Restoration period.

Forestalling the objection that this corpus-centric presentation obscures inner-corpus variation of potential linguistic significance, Hornkohl (2023, 399–404) compares book by book, concluding—despite outliers—that these figures indeed give a representative picture of the linguistic profiles of the constituent compositions.

Crucially, the above data also demonstrate late non-Masoretic biblical and extrabiblical confirmation of the late tendencies seen in the Tiberian LBH+ distributions of augmented and long 1st-person *wayyiqṭol* morphology. From this perspective, the evidence of the BDSS and NBDSS is especially important, as, once produced near the turn of the era, these corpora were subject to no further scribal transmission (see Hornkohl 2023, 404–7, for detailed discussion).

2.0. Classical Biblical Hebrew and Pre-Exilic Sources

Tiberian CBH texts display 1st-person *wayyiqṭol* morphological unity, corporately contrasting with LBH+, as well as diversity, with some texts, but not all, showing significant commonalities with LBH+ and other late non-Masoretic and extrabiblical Hebrew sources.

Against the late predilection for lengthened augmented 1st-person *wayyiqṭol* morphology with הָ-, CBH corpora generally eschew forms of this type. Table 2, from above, is reproduced here as Table 5 (facing page) for the sake of convenience.

Table 5: Incidence of augmented 1st-person *wayyiqṭol* (ואעידה, ואקטלה, ואקומה) forms across representative ancient Hebrew corpora

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

While all the above corpora reveal some use of augmented 1st-person *wayyiqṭol* morphology, only those comprised of material composed in the Second Temple period—Masoretic LBH+, the NBDSS, and Ben Sira—reveal majority augmented morphology. The significant minorities seen in other corpora are also important, though they arguably reflect a variety of factors. The elevated percentage in non-LBH+ Writings evidently indicates a correlation between augmented 1st-person *wayyiqṭol* morphology and poetry (Hornkohl 2023, 401–2). Comparable proportions in the BDSS and the SP show the effects of late secondary developments in otherwise classical material, evidencing both classical and late features—though it should be noted that the fragmentary state of the BDSS renders their testimony somewhat challenging to interpret (Hornkohl 2023, 404–11).

In addition to the morphological similarity uniting CBH texts that has just been discussed, they also divide with respect to an important distinction, that is, incidence of short versus long 1st-person *wayyiqṭol* morphology in the case of III-*y*, *hifʿil*, and *qal* II-*w/y* verbs. Table 6 (overleaf) gives the totals of forms per corpora according to the relevant lines in Table 4 (above).

Table 6: Incidence of long 1st-person III-*y* (ואעשה), *hifʿil* (ואעיד), and *qal* II-*w/y* (ואקום) *wayyiqṭol* forms across representative ancient Hebrew corpora

Verb Class	MT				BDSS	NBDSS	SP	Ben Sira
	Torah	Proph.	Non-LBH+ Writings	LBH+				
III-*y* long	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%)
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%)	—
total 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%)

Conspicuous here is the Tiberian Torah, the only corpus in which long 1st-person *wayyiqṭol* morphology is rare. Notably, other CBH corpora—the CBH Prophets and non-LBH+ Writings—display comparatively frequent use of long 1st-person *wayyiqṭol* forms, similar to LBH+ and late non-Masoretic biblical and extrabiblical corpora.

Incidentally, the typological antiquity of the Tiberian Torah's preference for short 1st-person *wayyiqṭol* morphology and general lack of augmented 1st-person *wayyiqṭol* morphology find confirmation in the (admittedly foreign, but cognate) ancient Moabite of the Meshaʿ Stele. Here III-*y* 1st-person *wayyiqṭol* forms are consistently short, e.g., ואעש 'and I made' (ll. 3, 9), וארא 'and I saw' (l. 7), ואבן 'and I built' (l. 9), ואשב 'and I captured' (l. 12). At the same time, forms eligible for augmented morphology show no indication thereof, e.g., ואהרג 'and I killed' (ll. 11, 16), ואהלך 'and I went' (ll. 14–15), ואקח 'and I took' (ll. 17, 19–20), ואסחב 'and I dragged' (l. 18), ואמר 'and I said' (l. 24), ואשא 'and I carried'

(l. 30), and וארד 'and I descended' (l. 31). Anticipating the possible objection that a final *a* might have been realised, but not orthographically represented (i.e., spelled defectively), it is relevant to note the apparent marking of final *a* in such forms as בללה 'at night' (l. 15) and בנה 'he built' (n. 18), which lead one to expect that similar orthography would have been employed in the case of augmented *wayyiqṭol* morphology, had it been used.

To summarise, Tiberian CBH compositions unite when it comes to infrequency of the augmented 1st-person *wayyiqṭol* morphology so typical of LBH+ and other later material, but divide when it comes to the use of long, rather than short, 1st-person *wayyiqṭol* morphology in the case of III-*y* (ואעשה), *hifʿil* (ואעיד), and *qal* II-*w/y* (ואקום) verbs. The Masoretic Pentateuch is largely devoid of such forms, while in the CBH Prophets and non-LBH+ Writings they are common, appearing in proportions that approach those characteristic of LBH+ and additional late sources.

3.0. Interpreting the Data[5]

The Meshaʿ Stele's exclusive use of short III-*y* 1st-person *wayyiqṭol* (ואעש) forms and lack of augmented *wayyiqṭol* (ואקטלה, ואקומה, ואעידה) forms tally with the Masoretic Torah's preference for short 1st-person morphology. Likewise, the striking affinity for long and augmented 1st-person *wayyiqṭol* forms among late non-Tiberian biblical traditions—the BDSS, the SP—and late extrabiblical sources—the NBDSS, Ben Sira—is strong evidence of

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[5] The ensuing discussion is a slightly abridged version of Hornkohl (2023, 413–26).

the historical authenticity of the Masoretic LBH+ preference for long and augmented *wayyiqṭol* morphology.

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 *wayyiqṭol* 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 CBH Prophets and non-LBH+ Writings, where their incidence is closer to that seen in MT LBH+ than to that of the MT Torah (Talshir 1986, 6–8; 1987).

Against the background of the associations already established—i.e., classical short, on the one hand, and late long and augmented, on the other—how are the specific profiles of the CBH Prophets and non-LBH+ Writings—characterised by the apparently early distribution of long 1st-person *wayyiqṭol* morphology, but not augmented 1st-person *wayyiqṭol* morphology—to be explained?

Since long morphological 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 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 more assiduously preserved the ancient morphological integrity of the Torah than that of the

rest of CBH, which was contemporised in the direction of LBH +
under the influence of Second Temple morphology. If so, 1st-per-
son *wayyiqṭol* morphology in the Torah's written tradition would
be historically more pristine and authentic than its counterpart
in the rest of CBH, which shows many signs of secondary devel-
opment. The theory is attractive, but can be no more than par-
tially correct, as it is contradicted by important data points.

     Key in this connection is the unambiguous written evidence
of long 1st-person III-*y* (ואעשה) and augmented (ואעידה, ואקטלה,
ואקומה) forms. See Chart 1 (reproduced from Hornkohl 2023,
416).

Chart 1: Incidence of long 1st-person III-*y* (ואעשה) and augmented 1st-
person (ואקטלה, ואע(י)דה, ואק(ו)מה) forms across representative ancient
Hebrew traditions as percentage of potential cases
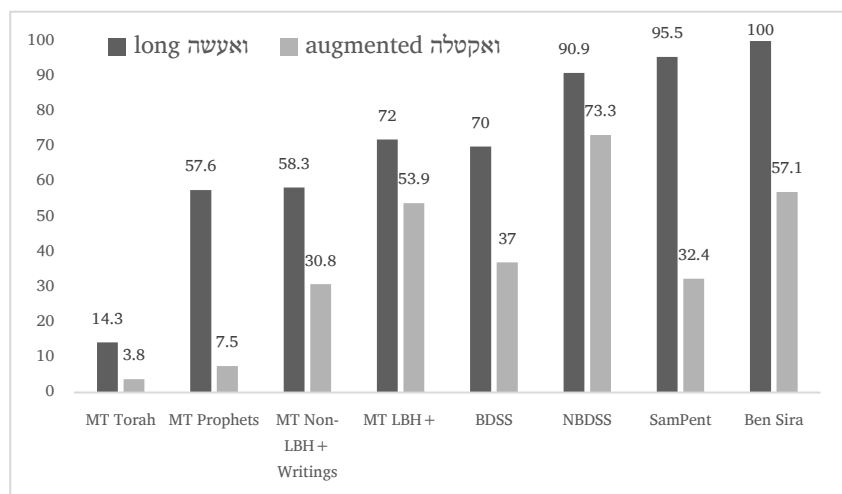
Generally speaking, the frequency of long (ואעשה) forms posi-
tively correlates with the frequency of augmented (ואקטלה,
ואקומה, ואעידה) forms. That is, the use of one often goes hand in
hand with the use of the other. Both are largely lacking in the MT
Torah, but are common in MT LBH + and in other late corpora,

biblical and extrabiblical alike. The glaring exception in this re-
gard is the MT Prophets, where long forms are comparatively fre-
quent (57.6 percent), but augmented 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 only outside the Torah were
contemporised in line with late linguistic customs—on this as-
sumption, it would be reasonable to expect a marked increase in
both long III-*y* forms *and* augmented forms in CBH outside the
Torah. And this for the following reason: if late scribes appended
final *heh* to originally short 1st-person III-*y wayyiqṭol* forms ac-
cording to Second Temple convention, i.e., changing ואעש to
ואעשה, then it is reasonable to expect that they would do the same
where necessary to expand the use of augmented forms, changing
ואקטל to ואקטלה, etc., since these were no less characteristic of
Second Temple Hebrew.

Crucially, this situation does not obtain. Against the norm
in the MT Torah, and similarly to MT LBH+ and other late cor-
pora, the CBH Prophets and non-LBH+ Writings show an affinity
for long 1st-person III-*y wayyiqṭol* (ואעשה) forms. At the same
time, similar to the MT Torah and against the convention in MT
LBH+ and other late texts, augmented (ואקומה, ואעידה, 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 CBH Prophets is that of *nei-
ther* the MT Torah *nor* MT LBH+, but reflects some sort of typo-
logically transitional phase between Pentateuchal CBH and
LBH+.

Less compelling is the explanation proffered by Talshir (1986, 5–8; 1987). On the basis of minority augmented 1st-person *wayyiqṭol* morphology in the Torah and the Prophets, Talshir reasons that augmented 1st-person *wayyiqṭol* morphology early on co-existed with short 1st-person *wayyiqṭol* morphology, the latter dominant in the Torah, the former at one time more prevalent in the Prophets. Talshir speculates that, for unknown reasons, later scribes secondarily expunged and replaced augmented 1st-person *wayyiqṭol* morphology in the Prophets with what he views as completely artificial long 1st-person *wayyiqṭol* morphology. This arbitrary move was, in Talshir's view, based on analogy with the late merger of indicative long and volitive augmented 1st-person *yiqṭol* seen in some Second Temple sources, whereby the formerly semantically distinct forms were no longer morphologically distinguished. With synonymous 1st-person *wayyiqṭol* forms at their disposal, scribes opted for the morphologically simpler. Exactly why this should have happened when LBH and other late forms of Hebrew prefer the augmented 1st-person *wayyiqṭol* form is unclear, especially as any secondary movement in the CBH Prophets may have been contemporary with the composition of LBH texts.

We appear to be left with three typological profiles involving 1st-person *wayyiqṭol* morphology:

(1) nearly uniformly short (ואעש, ואעד, ואקם) and standard (ואקטל) morphology (< PS *aqtul*) in the CBH of the Torah;

(2) commonly long (ואקום, ואעיד, ואעשה) and standard (ואקטל) morphology (< PS *aqtulu/a*), but rarely augmented morphology in the CBH of the Prophets;

(3)   commonly long (ואקום, ואעיד, ואעשה) morphology (< PS *aqtulu/a*) and commonly augmented (ואעידה, ואקטלה, ואקומה) morphology (< PS *aqtulan[na]*) in LBH+.

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 augmented (ואקומה, ואעידה, ואקטלה) forms. Given the uncertainty inherent in the linguistic periodisation of poetry, it is difficult to determine whether this relatively frequent use of augmented forms is a function of chronolect, poetic genre, another factor or factors, or some combination thereof.

It bears explicit acknowledgment at this point that the proposed chronological interpretation of the typology is at odds with certain views common 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 a reliable diachronic indicator when it comes to an oral recitation tradition written down and transmitted over centuries. The position advocated here is not that alternative evidence should be deprivileged in favour of orthographic and linguistic evidence, but that the latter should receive due attention and be integrated with evidence gleaned from other approaches.

But these results also arguably necessitate a revision of the dominant dichotomous linguistic periodisation of BH. Most discussions of ancient Hebrew diachrony distinguish post-exilic (or, more accurately, post-Restoration) LBH from pre-exilic CBH, eschewing any finer sub-divisions (for overviews, see Hornkohl 2013; Hurvitz 2013). While this chronolectal division adequately

comprehends most diachronic variety in BH, it leaves other data unexplained. Some scholars, therefore, also recognise pre-classical (i.e., pre-1000 BCE) poetic ABH (Mandell 2013)—though there is no consensus as to its significance for dating the relevant compositions. A number of scholars also support the notion of an intermediate category between CBH and LBH termed TBH (i.e., 600–450 BCE; for a list of such scholars, see Hornkohl 2014a, 14–15, fn. 39; 2016a). Differences of opinion revolve around such questions as the correlation between language style and date of composition; the heuristic value of positing more or fewer divisions; and the location of the boundaries between proposed chronolects and liminal cases. Whether they are accepted or not, the addition of ABH and TBH does not suffice to explain the inner-CBH diachronic diversity under discussion here.

Certain aspects of 1st-person *wayyiqṭol* morphological diversity are consistent with the regnant bipartite CBH–LBH division, notably, the high frequency of short (ואקם, ואעד, ואעש) morphology in the written tradition of the Tiberian Torah and the Meshaʿ Stele, on the one hand, and, on the other, the rarity of short morphology and the concomitant accumulation of augmented (ואוקמה, ואעידה, ואקטלה) morphology in Tiberian LBH+ and other biblical and extrabiblical sources that reflect Second Temple Hebrew.

Yet the proposed typology also arguably 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 what typically characterises

diachronic discussions. This is because the three-stage diachronic division of material based on the distribution of 1st-person *wayyiqṭol* morphology can only with difficulty be squeezed into a dichotomous CBH–LBH framework. Nor, on the surface, is it consistent with the existing tripartite ABH–CBH–LBH paradigm, or even with the maximally nuanced ABH–CBH–TBH–LBH arrangement. This is because the pertinent distributional combinations of short, long, and augmented 1st-person morphology do not correspond to any of the proposed paradigms, instead respecting different boundaries. The distinction between the CBH of the Torah and the CBH of the relevant Prophets and Writings, on the one hand, and the unity of the non-LBH+ Prophets and Writings, on the other, seem to indicate diachronic isoglosses that do not coincide with the borders of TBH, but land squarely within CBH, thereby calling 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, as it seems, typologically older than that of the rest of CBH, in which case there may be some justification to distinguishing between chronological sub-strata within CBH, i.e., CBH_1 and CBH_2, both typologically prior to TBH and LBH (see Elitzur 2015; 2018a; 2018b; 2019; 2022).

One may, alternatively, 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, ואעיד, ואקום) forms were in wide use, but augmented (ואעידה, ואקטלה, ואקומה) were not yet in vogue. In this case, what appears to be CBH$_2$ would be a result of the contemporisation of CBH in line with post-CBH but pre-LBH conventions.

There is some concrete data supporting what otherwise remains quite theoretical conjecture. Hornkohl (2023, 401, Table 8) shows broadly similar proportions of long and augmented morphology in Joshua, Judges, Kings, and Isaiah compared to TBH Jeremiah and Ezekiel. However, the approach cannot account for Samuel's exclusive employment of long morphology (13/13 cases), but rare usage of augmented forms (7/25 cases). Finally, in the interests of methodological parsimony, one should suspend judgment on the notion that TBH influence on CBH best explains the emergence of the sub-chronolect CBH$_2$. If no other feature discussed in this volume necessitates such an explanation, it should be judged unlikely.

As for actual historical dates, the Mesha‘ Stele fortuitously furnishes chronologically fixed control data—albeit in a Canaanite language cognate, and geographically peripheral, to ancient Hebrew, rendering its relevance to the latter somewhat questionable. If the monument's consistent use of short instead of long or augmented (III-*y*, *hifʿil*, *qal* II-*w/y*) and standard instead of augmented (strong, *hifʿil*, *qal* II-*w/y* verbs) morphology can be construed as more or less representative of the situation in ancient Hebrew, then its 840 BCE date usefully serves as a solid historical data point for purposes of historical linguistic comparison. The Tiberian Torah's CBH$_1$ 1st-person *wayyiqṭol* morphological tradi-

tion is consistent with mid-9th century BCE Moabite evidence, while the combination of forms found in LBH+, which is confirmed by late non-Masoretic and extrabiblical material, seems datable to post-450 BCE. This would seem to leave the period of the 8th–6th centuries BCE for the morphological combinations typical of CBH$_2$ and TBH texts from the Prophets and Writings. Interestingly, this diachronic division is largely consistent with that seen in the case of the BH onomasticon (above, ch. 1).

It also bears mentioning that there is no perceptible concentration of typologically late forms in any single Pentateuchal source. J has three forms; E has two; P has one; and Dtr$_1$ has two.[6]

Finally, one should mention a degree of dissonance between the linguistic traditions reflected in the consonantal text, on the one hand, and the vocalisation and accentuation, on the other. In the Pentateuch and the Prophets especially, many apparently short *hifʿil* and *qal* II-*w/y* written forms—which, according to the approach here, presuppose pronunciations associated with short morphology—are realised in the reading tradition with long morphology. See Table 7 (facing page). In this way the pronunciation tradition lines up more closely than the written tradition with Second Temple Hebrew—though it is important to note that (a) the Torah specifically preserves short morphology in the vocalisation of 1cpl *wayyiqtol* forms and (b) the development seen in the vocalisation of CBH beyond the Torah reflects the continuation of a developmental trend already underway in

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[6] J: Gen. 24.48; 32.4; Num. 21.30 (?); E: Gen 41.11; 43.21; P: Num. 8.19; Dtr$_1$: Deut. 1.16, 18.

the corresponding written tradition (for detailed discussion, see Hornkohl 2023, 426–35).

Table 7: 1st-person short and long *hifʿil* and *qal* II-*w/y wayyiqṭol* morphology in the Masoretic reading tradition of the Torah

	Singular	**Plural**
Short	וָאוֹלֵ֣ךְ (Lev. 26.13; Deut. 29.4)	וַנַּֽגֶּד־לֹ֔ו (Gen. 43.7; Gen. 44.24)
		וַנָּ֖שֶׁב (Gen. 43.21)
		וַנַּקְרֵ֞ב (Num. 31.50)
		וַנֵּ֥סָב (Deut. 2.1)
		וַנַּחֲרֵם (Deut. 2.34; 3.6)
Long	וָאָשִׂ֥ם (Gen. 24.47; Deut. 10.5)	וַנַּשִּׁ֖ים (Num. 21.30)
	וָאָבִ֖א (Exod. 19.4)	
	וָאָקֻ֖ץ (Lev. 20.23)	
	וָאַבְדִּ֥ל (Lev. 20.26)	
	וָאַשְׁלִ֗ךְ (Deut. 9.21)	
Invariable	וָאָבֹ֖א (Gen. 24.42)	וַנָּבֹ֗א (Deut. 1.19)