

AN 'I FOR AN 'I:
THE FIRST-PERSON, COMMON, SINGULAR PRONOUN
IN BIBLICAL HEBREW

By

CHARLES W. LODER

A thesis submitted to the
Graduate School–New Brunswick
Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey
In partial fulfillment of the requirements

For the degree of

Master of Arts

Graduate Program in Jewish Studies

Written under the direction of

Gary A. Rendsburg

And approved by

New Brunswick, NJ

October, 2016

ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS

AN 'I' FOR AN 'I': THE FIRST-PERSON, COMMON, SINGULAR PRONOUN IN BIBLICAL HEBREW

By CHARLES W. LODER

Thesis Director:
Gary A. Rendsburg

This thesis is a holistic approach to understanding the first-person (1), common (c), singular (sg), independent (ind.) pronoun (pro.) in Hebrew. Unlike the second and third-person pronouns that have two forms which are marked for gender, the two forms of 1csg ind. pro. are not marked for gender, making the distinction between the two forms an anomaly. This thesis will seek to understand this anomaly diachronically in the first two chapters and synchronically in the final two chapters. Diachronically, it traces the development of the two forms from proto-Semitic (PS) and provides a postulation on how the two forms developed and why both persisted in Hebrew. It also traces the development of the two forms within in Hebrew providing perspective on the role of the pronoun as a delimiting factor for the different periods of Hebrew. Synchronically, it examines various scholastic efforts to rectify the seemingly indiscriminate usage of the two forms in biblical prose. It also considers the insights that non-traditional grammar offers in determining the difference in usage of the two forms. Ultimately, while the thesis does not set forward a framework for discriminating between the usages of the two forms in biblical prose, it evaluates the strengths and weaknesses of previous methods and explores new avenues of insight.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABBREVIATIONS	ix
INTRODUCTION	1
Purpose	1
Structure	2
Concluding Remarks	3
CHAPTER 1: THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE 1CSG INDEPENDENT PRONOUN IN THE SEMITIC LANGUAGES	5
Introduction	5
The Semitic Languages	6
Development From Proto-Semitic	15
CHAPTER 2: THE DIACHRONIC DEVELOPMENT OF THE 1CSG INDEPENDENT PRONOUN WITHIN HEBREW	21
Introduction	21
Overview of the Data	22
<i>Archaic Biblical Hebrew</i>	22
<i>Classical Biblical Hebrew</i>	24
<i>Transitional Biblical Hebrew</i>	26
<i>Late Biblical Hebrew</i>	28
<i>Epigraphic Hebrew</i>	31
<i>Ben Sira</i>	32
<i>Samaritan Hebrew</i>	32
<i>Qumran Hebrew</i>	33
<i>Rabbinic Hebrew</i>	33
Summary	33
CHAPTER 3: THE 1CSG INDEPENDENT PRONOUN IN CLASSICAL HEBREW PROSE	35

Introduction	35
Scholarly Assessments	35
An Examination: Judges	39
Conclusion	52
CHAPTER 4: THE 1CSG INDEPENDENT PRONOUN AND FUNCTIONAL GRAMMAR.	57
Introduction	57
Functional Grammar	58
<i>What It Is</i>	58
<i>Theme & Rheme / Topic & Focus</i>	58
<i>Relational Clauses</i>	64
Summary	67
CONCLUSION	69
Summary	69
Suggestions for Further Research	70
BIBLIOGRAPHY	73

LIST OF TABLES AND FIGURES

TABLES

Table 1.1 Harmonization in Various Languages	19
Table 2.1 The 1csg Ind. Pro. in ABH	23
Table 2.2 The 1csg Ind. Pro. in CBH	25
Table 2.3 The 1csg Ind. Pro. in TBH	26
Table 2.4 The 1csg Ind. Pro. in LBH	28
Table 2.5 Transposition of the 1csg ind. pro. in the MT vs. the SP	32
Table 2.6 Total Occurrences in the Bible According to Book	34
Table 3.1 Attestations in Judges According to Pericope	40
Table 3.2 Syntactical Variation of אֲנִי and אֲנֹכִי in Judges	40

FIGURES

Figure 1.1 Development from Proto-AfroAsiatic and Proto-Semitic	18
---	----

ABBREVIATIONS

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL

<i>BASOR</i>	<i>The Bulletin of the American School of Oriental Research</i>
<i>BDB</i>	Brown, F., S.R. Driver, and C.A. Briggs. <i>A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament</i> . Oxford, 1907.
<i>BE</i>	Ranke, Herman. <i>The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania</i> . Vol. 6.1. Series A: Cuneiform Texts, ed. H.V. Hilprecht. Philadelphia: Department. of Archaeology, University of Pennsylvania, 1906.
<i>BIN</i>	<i>Babylonian Inscriptions from the Collection of J. B. Nies</i>
<i>CAD</i>	<i>The Assyrian Dictionary of the University of Chicago</i>
<i>CIS</i>	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum</i>
<i>CT</i>	<i>Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets</i>
<i>EN</i>	<i>Excavations at Nuzi</i>
<i>Eph</i>	<i>Ephemeris Semitische Epigraphik</i>
<i>EA</i>	El-Amarna = http://www.tau.ac.il/humanities/semitic/amarna.html
<i>GKC</i>	Gesenius, W. and E. Kautzch. <i>Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar</i> . Translated by A. E. Cowley, 2nd English ed. New York: Oxford University Press, 1910.
<i>J</i>	A. Jamme, W. F. J1013 in Jamme, A. <i>Sabaeen and Hasaeen Inscriptions from Saudi Arabia</i> . Studi Semitic 23. Università di Roma: Istituto di studi del Vicino Oriente, 1966.
<i>JM</i>	Joüon, Paul and Tamitsu Muraoka. <i>A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew</i> . 2nd ed. Subsidia Biblical 27. Rome: Gregorian and Biblical Press, 2011.
<i>JSOTSup</i>	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series
<i>JSS</i>	<i>Journal of Semitic Studies</i>

<i>KAI</i>	<i>Kanaanäische und Aramäische Inschriften</i>
<i>LSAW</i>	<i>Linguistic Studies in Ancient West Semitic</i>
<i>MAD</i>	<i>Materials for the Assyrian Dictionary</i>
<i>STDJ</i>	<i>Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah</i>
<i>UDB</i>	Cunchillos, Jesús-Luis, Juan-Pablo Vita and José-Angel Zamora. <i>Ugaritic Data Bank</i> . Madrid: CSIC, Laboratorio de Hermeneu- mática, 2002.
<i>ZAW</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>

BOOKS OF THE BIBLE

Gen	Genesis	Nah	Nahum
Exod	Exodus	Hab	Habakkuk
Lev	Leviticus	Zeph	Zephaniah
Num	Numbers	Hag	Haggai
Deut	Deuteronomy	Zech	Zechariah
Josh	Joshua	Mal	Malachi
Judg	Judges	Ps(s)	Psalms(s)
1 Sam	1 Samuel	Job	Job
2 Sam	2 Samuel	Prov	Proverbs
1 Kgs	1 Kings	Ruth	Ruth
2 Kgs	2 Kings	Song	Song of Songs
Isa	Isaiah	Qoh	Qoholeth
Jer	Jeremiah	Lam	Lamentations
Ezek	Ezekiel	Esth	Esther
Hos	Hosea	Dan	Daniel
Joel	Joel	Ezra	Ezra
Am	Amos	Neh	Nehemiah
Obad	Obadiah	1 Chr	1 Chronicles
Jonah	Jonah	2 Chr	2 Chronicles
Mic	Micah		

MISCELLANEOUS

1	First Person
ABH	Archaic Biblical Hebrew
Akk.	Akkadian
Ara	Aramaic
BH	Biblical Hebrew
c	common
CBH	Classical Biblical Hebrew
ch.	chapter
DN	divine name
DSS	Dead Sea Scrolls
ESA	Epigraphic South Arabian
ind.	independent
l.	line
LBH	Late Biblical Hebrew
MSA	Modern South Arabian
OSA	Old South Arabian
PN	Personal Name
pro.	pronoun
PS	proto-Semitic
RH	Rabbinic Hebrew
S	subject
SFG	Systemic Functional Grammar
sg	singular
SH	Samaritan Hebrew
TBH	Transitional Biblical Hebrew
V	Verb
QH	Qumran Hebrew

HEBREW TRANSLITERATION

CONSONANTS

א	ʾ	ט	<i>t</i>	פ,ף	<i>p</i>
ב	<i>b</i>	י	<i>y</i>	צ,ץ	<i>ṣ</i>
ג	<i>g</i>	כ,ך	<i>k</i>	ק	<i>q</i>
ד	<i>d</i>	ל	<i>l</i>	ר	<i>r</i>
ה	<i>h</i>	מ,ם	<i>m</i>	שׁ	<i>ś</i>
ו	<i>w</i>	נ,ן	<i>n</i>	שׂ	<i>š</i>
ז	<i>z</i>	ס	<i>s</i>	ת	<i>t</i>
ח	<i>ḥ</i>	ע	ʿ		

VOWELS

אֲ	<i>a</i>	אִ	<i>ī</i>	אֻ	<i>ō</i>
אָ	<i>ā</i>	אֵ	<i>ī</i>	אֶ	<i>ə</i>
אֲ	<i>ă</i>				

INTRODUCTION

PURPOSE

This thesis is about the two forms of the first-person (1), common (c), singular (sg), independent (ind.) pronoun (pro.) in Hebrew—the long-form, אֲנִי /ʾānōkī/, and the short-form, אֲנִי /ʾānī/. The holistic approach that this thesis presents incorporates methods derived from comparative philology, in addition to diachronic and synchronic linguistics as a means to understand two perplexing problems in Hebrew grammar—the existence of two forms, and the seemingly undifferentiated use of those two forms. In this work I postulate a reason for the existence of the two forms, and track the development of the 1csg ind. pro. paradigm in Hebrew while considering commonly held assumptions. Also, I examine the arguments set forward by theories that seek to differentiate the usage of the two forms in biblical prose, and consider insights from non-traditional grammar in differentiating the two forms.

Few grammarians comment on the two forms, typically only mentioning the decreased use of the long-form in later biblical and post-biblical writings,¹ and with regard to the syntax of the pro., only commenting on the manner in which the pro. is used with in nominal and verbal sentences²—but never making

1. GKC §32c; JM §39a, though JM does make mention of work done on the existence of the two forms in a footnote, he does not comment on it directly; Bruce K. Waltke and Michael Patrick O'Connor, *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax*, §16.3.a; Jo Ann Hackett, *A Basic Introduction to Biblical Hebrew* §7.1.

2. GKC §135a-c; JM §146a.

a distinction in usage between the long-form and short-form. The average student of Hebrew is left with the impression that both forms are completely interchangeable. This study seeks to consolidate much of the previous work on etymology, diachronic development, and usage in prose of the 1csg ind. pro.

STRUCTURE

The first two chapters address diachronic issues regarding the ind. pro. The first chapter pertains to the philological development of the two forms from proto-Semitic into Hebrew and provides new perspective on the retention of them in Hebrew. I will examine the various Semitic languages, most of which possess analogous forms of both forms of the 1csg ind. pro. indicating that neither form in Hebrew is derived from the other and that they are etymological doublets. Additionally, I propose that the long-form, which Hebrew would have been less likely to possess, persisted in the language due to interaction with Egyptian, much in the same way the short-form became prominent in Hebrew due to interaction with Aramaic.

The second chapter pertains to the diachronic development of the 1csg ind. pro. within Hebrew, assuming the four major periods of BH—Archaic BH (ABH), Classical BH (CBH), Transitional BH (TBH), and Late BH (LBH). While the long-form certainly waned in usage in BH, this work argues that it cannot be simply regarded as a more archaic form, which the earliest periods of Hebrew possessed, from which the short-form arose, due in part to their etymological relationship discussed in the first chapter but also due to the greater usage of the short-form in ABH poetry. This challenges some commonly held assumptions about the development of the pro. in diachronic development of Hebrew. In addition, the second chapter examines various other dialects of Hebrew including Epigraphic Hebrew, the Hebrew of Ben-Sira, Samaritan Hebrew, Qumran Hebrew, and Rabbinic Hebrew (particularly the Hebrew of the Tanna'im).

Moving from diachronic issues to synchronic issues, the third chapter pertains to one of the more perplexing problems in BH—the vacillation between the two forms in BH prose. Unlike the other pronouns, which are marked for gender,

the distinction between the two forms of the pro. is not that simple; men use the long and short-forms (Gen 3:10; 6:17) as do women (Ruth 2:10; 1:21). Even more complicating is when a speaker uses both forms within the same discourse (Judg 19:18). Three major theories have been posited for the differences in usage, suggesting that the vacillation can be accounted for by rhythm of the words, syntactical variation, or social constructs. This chapter will evaluate the strengths and weaknesses by considering the 27 occurrences of the pro. in the book of Judges.

The final chapter considers the role that Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG) can play in differentiating between the forms in prose. The role that ‘theme and rheme’ and ‘topic and focus’ play in how clauses convey message by means of structure offers insight into how the pronoun functions pragmatically in clauses with finite verbs, but it does not offer a means to distinguish when one form will be used against the other. In nominal clauses, the word-order affects the type of message being conveyed, but it does not offer a means to distinguish between the two forms.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Throughout this thesis, all specific quotations from the Bible are taken from the Masoretic Text and thus presented with all their vowels and accent marks. Additionally, the Hebrew is not transliterated into English, except for in the first chapter, where the transliteration allows for greater clarity between multiple languages. All translations represent my own, and generally follow the New American Standard Bible. In nominal clauses, which contain no verb, the auxiliary verb ‘am’ has been italicized in the translations to indicate that it is not original (e.g. I *am* a slave). I use the addition of ‘myself,’ in verbal clauses where the pro. is used in conjunction with a finite verb (e.g. I, myself, brought you up Judg 6:8) as a convention to make the pleonastic use evident in translation, even when such a restrictive sense is clearly not evident (cf. Judg 11:37).

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE 1CSG INDEPENDENT PRONOUN IN THE SEMITIC LANGUAGES

INTRODUCTION

All the Semitic languages share a certain number of commonalities in relation to the 1csg ind. pro. None of the languages mark the 1csg ind. pro. (or 1cpl pronoun) for gender like the other independent pronouns, most likely because the gender of the speaker is self-evident. The first-person pro., along with the second-person pronouns, is developed from the proto-Semitic (PS) deictic particle *'an-* as in the majority of Semitic languages.¹ This development from PS will be resumed after the survey of the languages.

All the languages with sufficient attestation use the 1csg ind. pro. in both nominal and verbal clauses. In nominal clauses the pronoun is identified with another entity; this is expressed in English by means of the auxiliary verb 'am.' In verbal clauses the pronoun is paired with a finite verb and is typically used to add emphasis.²

In addition, in Biblical Hebrew (BH), the 1csg ind. pro., the pronominal suffix, and the 1csg suffix-form verbal termination have been harmonized to the final vowel /*i*/. The pronominal suffix as /*i*/ is attested nearly homogeneously in the Semitic languages, so that /*i*/ must represent the PS pronominal suffix, and

1. Gotthelf Bergsträsser, *Introduction to the Semitic Languages*, 7.

2. see GKC §135. Though the term "emphasis" is vague, it calls attention to the fact that the use of the pronoun is pleonastic since finite verbs are already marked for person and gender.

the 1csg ind. pro. and verbal termination were later harmonized to it. The majority of the languages surveyed harmonize these endings in various ways. This harmonization and the aforementioned syntactical usages will be surveyed below.

The general flow of this section will move from those languages that are least similar to Hebrew towards those that are more similar to Hebrew in terms of genetic relationship.³ It will begin with East Semitic, then to the South Semitic group of Modern South Arabian and Ethiopic (i.e. Ge'ez), and then to the Central Semitic group of Arabic, Aramaic, and the Northwest Semitic languages.

THE SEMITIC LANGUAGES

AKKADIAN

In East Semitic, i.e. Akkadian (Akk.), the first-person pronoun remains relatively constant in its form and vocalization throughout the various periods and dialects of Akk. As Akk. cuneiform is a syllabic writing system, unlike the alphabetic system that many other Semitic languages utilize,⁴ the full vocalization of the pronoun is knowable as /ʾanāku/. It is attested in the various dialects of Akk. including: Old Akkadian (1), Assyrian (2), and Babylonian (3).

(1) *anaku lu amat* 'I am a slave girl' (*MAD* v.3 51)

(2) *šazzuztum anaku* 'I am the representative' (*BIN* v.4 105:4)

(3) *māri PN-ma anaku* 'I am the son of PN' (*BE* v.6.1 59:11)

In the above examples the pronoun is used in a nominal clause. It also appears in verbal clauses, emphasizing the verb (4, 5).

(4) *anaku agasaar* 'I, myself, will make it good' (*EN* v.3 5:15)

(5) *u anaku amtaraš* 'and I, myself, fell sick' (*CT* v.2 49:8)

3. The general scheme followed is that of Aaron D. Rubin, "The Subgrouping of the Semitic Languages," though the grouping of many languages is subject to debate.

4. Peter Daniels has proposed the term abjad for a system of writing where each symbol stands, usually, for a consonant, in contrast to an alphabet where symbols represent both consonants and vowels. However, for simplicity, it will be referred to simply as an alphabet. Peter T. Daniels and William Bright, *The World's Writing Systems*, 4.

The Akk. pronoun, *anāku*, is similar to the long-form in Hebrew. Note that the final vowel is /u/, indicating that it has not been harmonized to the pronominal suffixes (-ī, -ya, -nī) in Akk., but it does appear to be harmonized to the 1csg suffix (-ku) of the G-stem stative verbal paradigm.

EBLAITE

Spoken in the third millennium BCE around the city of Ebla just South of Aleppo, Eblaite is a Semitic language of debated classification. While a comprehensive understanding of the language is not possible, the 1csg ind. pro is attested as the typical short-form—/ʾanā/. The pronominal suffix is attested as /ī/. While a stative stem exists in Eblaite, as in Akk., the 1csg suffix is not attested.⁵

MSA: JIBBALI & MEHRI

The Modern South Arabian (MSA) languages are not as well studied save for Jibbali and Mehri. For this reason, the discussion of MSA will be limited only to them.⁶ The 1csg ind. pro. is not built off of the PS *ʾan-, but rather is attested as /he/ in Jibbali and as /hō/ in Mehri.⁷ Though the pronoun is not morphologically similar to the majority of the Semitic languages, syntactically, it operates the same way in a nominal clause and a verbal clause, as seen in these examples from Jibbali (6,7) and Mehri (8,9).

(6) *he axér ʿankúm* ‘I am better than you’ (20:8)

(7) *he ɔl ɔd lɔ* ‘I, myself, don’t lie.’ (23:17)

(8) *hō gayg fəḳayr* ‘I am a poor man’ (91:3)

(9) *hō hōm šūk* ‘I, myself, want (to go) with you’ (76:4)

5. Taken from Michael P. Streck, “Eblaite and Old Akkadian,” esp. 343.

6. The most comprehensive works to date on Jibbali and Mehri are Aaron D Rubin, *The Jibbali (Shahri) Language of Oman: Grammar and Texts*, and Aaron D Rubin, *The Mehri Language of Oman*. All examples herein are taken from the texts listed in Rubin's works.

7. T. M. Johnstone, *Mehri Lexicon and English-Mehri Word List, With Index of the English Definitions in the Jibbali Lexicon*, 150.

GE'EZ

Ge'ez (often referred to as Ethiopic or Classical Ethiopic) is a South Semitic language used primarily in Ethiopia. Though it is no longer a living language, it remains the liturgical language of many Ethiopian Jews and Christians. The script used in Ge'ez is classified as an abugida⁸ or alphasyllabary, where individual consonants change form depending on their corresponding vowels.⁹ Like Akk., this enables certain vocalization of Ge'ez. The vocalization in Ge'ez, /ʾanā/, is similar to the short-form in Hebrew.¹⁰ It appears in both nominal clauses (10) and in verbal clauses emphasizing the subject (11).

(10) ረእሳዬ ለእብራ : እነ za-ʾəgziʾabəher ʾanā 'I am of God' (Gen 50:19)

(11) እነ : አብዐልዎ : ለአብራም ፡ ʾanā ʾabʾalam la-ʾabram 'I, myself, have made Abram rich' (Jub 13:29)

Unlike Akk., Ge'ez did not harmonize the 1csg ind. pro. with the 1csg termination of the suffixed form -ኩ /-ku/.

SABAIC

Sabaic, part of the Old South Arabian (OSA) languages,¹¹ is known primarily through various inscriptions, as is the same for the other OSA languages. For this reason, it is often difficult to have a complete picture each language's grammar, since no true literary texts survive. As Sabaic is the most well attested of the OSA languages (with approximately 5500 inscriptions), only it will be observed to the exclusion of the others.

According to Beeston, the 1csg ind. pro. appears in one inscription as ʾn (Gl 1782),¹² with no certain vocalization, but /ʾanā/ is a reasonable postulation.

8. A term also proposed by Daniels. Daniels and Bright, *Writing Systems*, 4.

9. This is unlike Akk. where syllables, though they may be similar in vocalization, share no common symbols.

10. Thomas O. Lambdin, *Introduction to Classical Ethiopic*, 29–30.

11. The languages of Sabaic, Minaic, Qatabanic, and Ḥaḍramitic comprise the OSA languages, which are sometimes referred to as Ancient South Arabian (ASA), Epigraphic South Arabian (ESA) or Ṣayḥadic.

12. A. F. L. Beeston, *Sabaic Grammar*, §22.1.

In addition ʾny appears in P104:1 and JA1013.e. However, since Sabaic does not employ *matres lectionis*, it is reasonable that this is not the 1csg ind.pro. but rather a personal name.¹³ With such limited attestation, it is not determinable how the pronoun was used, except, possibly in apposition.

ARABIC

Classical Arabic, found primarily in the Quran, is written in an alphabet, along with sublinear and supralinear pointing to indicate vowels. Like many Semitic languages, the final *aleph* is used as a *mater lectionis* to represent /ā/. Thus, the vocalization of the pronoun as /ʾanā/ is certain. It can be used in a nominal clause (12) and to emphasize the verb (13).

(12) وَأَنَا التَّوَّابُ wa-ʾanā l-tawābu ‘I am the Acceptor of Repentance’ (Quran 2:160)

(13) قَالَ أَنَا أُحْيِ qāla ʾanā uḥ’yī ‘he said, “I, myself, give life”’ (Quran 2:258)

The 1csg ind. pro. in Arabic has not been harmonized to the pronominal suffix, similar to Aramaic and Ge'ez. The 1csg suffix-from verbal termination (-tu) has undergone some harmonization (*-ku > -tu), but it has not been harmonized to the pronominal suffixes (-ī, -ya, -nī) as in Hebrew.

ARAMAIC

The Aramaic pronoun is similar to the Hebrew short-form. The vocalization is certain as /ʾanā/; the final *he* is only used as a *mater* and in Syriac the *aleph* is used as the *mater* for the final long-a. The pronoun can be used in a nominal clause (14) and to emphasize the verb (15).

(14) [ר] אֵלֶּזְרָא בֶר כְּהֵנָּה אֵלֶּזְרָא ʾNH ʾBH BR KHNH ʾLʿZ[R] ‘I am PN, son of the priest, PN’ (Givʿat Ha-Mivṭar Ossuary 1.1–2)¹⁴

13. Joan Copeland Biella, *Dictionary of Old South Arabic*, 22.

14. Taken from Joseph A. Fitzmyer and Daniel J. Harrington, *A Manual of Palestinian Aramaic Texts*, 168. Admittedly, the use of the personal pronoun in a nominal clause is rare in

(15) אָנָה דָרְיָאֶשׁ שָׁמֶת טֶעַם 'ānā dāryāweš šāmet ṭə'ēm 'I, myself, Darius, made a decree' (Ezra 6:12)

The form has not been harmonized to the 1csg pronominal suffixes (-ī, -nī), nor has the suffixed-form 1csg verbal termination (-t).

While in most dialects of Aramaic, the form above is the only attested form, but in Samalian, a rather ancient dialect of Aramaic, the long form is attested as 'nk¹⁵ on the Hadad inscription (KAI 214 l.1) and as 'nky on the Barrakib inscription (KAI 215 l.19).¹⁶

UGARITIC

Ugaritic (Ug.) undoubtedly is the most similar of the Semitic languages to Hebrew in that there is ample attestation to both a long-form and short-form of the pronoun—'ank and 'an respectively. Since the cuneiform system of Ug. is more similar to an alphabet than the syllabic transcriptions of Akk. cuneiform, vocalization is less certain than in other languages. However, the three distinct signs representing the *aleph* indicate vocalization as /a, i, u/; the symbol which represents an *aleph* with an /i/ vowel can often be used to represent a closed syllable /ø/. Furthermore, Akk. cuneiform words lists from Ugarit also shed light on Ug. vocalization. The long-form is attested in these lists as *a-na-ku*,¹⁷ therefore the vocalization of /'anāku/ is certain. The vocalization of the short-form is uncertain, but, as the long-form has not been harmonized to 1csg pronominal suffix (-ī, -ya?, -nī?) nor is it likely that the 1csg verbal termination (-tu?) had either, it is highly unlikely that the short-form would reflect such a harmonization. Thus,

Aramaic, unlike the use of the pronoun as a copula. The text could be read merely as apposition, "I, PN, son of...I...brought back" with the verb following later in l.5. Since the 1csg ind. pro. is repeated in l.2–3, it is better to understand this first clause as independent of the second (i.e. I am PN...I brought back...).

15. In 2008 an inscription was found that also attests to the long form as 'nk, though Pardee does not identify the language of the inscription as Samalian, but rather as "a previously unattested dialect of Aramaic situated typologically between Samalian and Old Aramaic," Dennis Pardee, "A New Aramaic Inscription from Zincirli," 52–53.

16. For an exhaustive treatment of these texts see Josef Tropper, *Die Inschriften Von Zincirli*.

17. John Huehnergard, *Ugaritic Vocabulary in Syllabic Transcription*, 108.

the vocalization /ʾanī/ is not likely, but more so would be /ʾanā/ as in Arabic and Aramaic.

Both the long-form and the short-form appear in nominal clauses (16, 18) and in verbal clauses, adding emphasis to the verb (17, 19).

(16) *ḥrd ʾank* ‘I am a guard’ (UDB 2.16:13)

(17) *lʾikt ʾank lḥt* ‘I, myself, have sent a tablet’ (UDB 2.72:20)

(18) *ʾat ʾaḥ w ʾan ʾa[ḥtk]* ‘You are my companion, and I am your companion’ (UDB 1.18 I:24)

(19) *ʾan arnn* ‘I, myself, am crying aloud’ (UDB 1.82:6)

What is most interesting is that based on the available data Ug. relegates the short-form exclusively to literary texts, while the long-form is found in non-literary texts (17) and literary texts (20).¹⁸

(20) *ʾap ʾank ʾaḥwy* ‘Also, I, myself, will give life’ (UDB 1.17 VI:32)

AMARNA LETTERS

Though the Amarna letters are written in Akk., they attest to many Canaanitisms.¹⁹ While the Canaanite glosses within the Amarna letters are not indicative of a homogenous language, they do offer a picture of the various dialects in Canaan before the advent of Hebrew. Because they are written in Akk., the texts are fully vocalized, notwithstanding some phonological issues.²⁰ The 1csg ind. pro. appears twice within the Amarna letters (21, 22), each instance in a nominal clause. The syllabic transcription *a-nu-ki* demonstrates two important developments within the pronoun: first, the “Canaanite shift” from /ā/ > /ō/ in the

18. John Huehnergard, *An Introduction to Ugaritic*, 31–32; Daniel Sivan, *A Grammar of the Ugaritic Language*, 50.

19. See Anson F. Rainey, *Canaanite in the Amarna Tablets: A Linguistic Analysis of the Mixed Dialect Used By the Scribes in Canaan*, for a comprehensive overview of the Canaanite languages in the Amarna letters.

20. Akkadian cuneiform, derived from Sumerian cuneiform, was unable to represent certain laryngeal and pharyngeal consonants found in most Semitic languages, as Sumerian lacked these. Nor was the script able to properly represent the vowel /ō/, instead using /u/ as evidenced in the examples above and below.

second syllable has already taken place; second, the final syllable has been harmonized to the 1csg pronominal suffix.

(21) *arduka anuki* ‘I am your servant’ (EA 287 1.66)

(22) *š[a]rri^{ti} anuki* ‘I am an officer’ (EA 287 1.69)

In addition to the 1csg ind. pro. having been harmonized to the 1csg pronominal suffix, the suffixed-form 1csg verbal termination had also been harmonized (23). In this regard, the Canaanite glosses of the Amarna letters greatly resemble BH. However, there is no evidence of the pronoun being used to emphasize a verb already marked for the 1csg. Nor is there any attestation of the short-form,²¹ which, if the situation was like what is found in the Ug. texts, one would not expect to find in a non-literary text.

(23) *nuḥtî* ‘I rested’ (EA 147:56)

PHOENICIAN

Phoenician is attested in various inscriptions and graffiti. One particular piece of graffiti from the temple of Seti I in Abydos during the 5th–3rd centuries B.C.E illuminates the 1csg ind. pro. where the author began writing, stopped, and corrected himself (24). The first occurrence shows the pronoun without a final *mater* and the second with it. Though the use of a *mater* is unparalleled in Phoenician, if the pronoun had been not harmonized to the 1csg pronominal suffix in the dialect of this particular author, then the correction would be superfluous. In addition the Canaanite /ā/ > /ō/ shift can be postulated for Phoenician. However, evidence from Punic would indicate an /i/ in the second syllable (25), and the loss of the final vowel, which may be a dialectal variant.²² The vocalization can be postulated as /ʔanōkî/²³ or as /ʔanīkî/.²⁴

21. Some have proposed that a short-form can be read in the texts, but it seems unlikely. See Ibid., 47–48 for a presentation of those who read a short-form and a refutation of their proposals.

22. Zellig S Harris, *A Grammar of the Phoenician Language*, 47.

23. Ibid., 47.

24. Charles R. Krahmalkov, *A Phoenician-Punic Grammar*, 39–40.

(24) line 1: **אנכ פסר ב** ^ʾNK PSR B...; line 2: **אנכי פסר בנ בעליתנ** ^ʾNKY PSR BN B^ʿLYTN (*Eph* 3.97/*KAI* 49:7)

(25) *Al. Anec este mem.* ‘No! I, myself, will drink water.’ (*Poen* 1142).

In Phoenician the pronoun exhibits the typical usages of being used in a nominal clause (26) and being used to emphasize the verb (27).

(26) **אנך אזתוד הברך בעל** ^ʾNK ^ʾZTWD HBRK B^ʿL ‘I am PN, the blessed one of Ba‘al’ (Karatepe Inscription, *KAI* 26:1)

(27) **אנך כלמו בר חיא ישבת על כסא אבי** ^ʾNK KLMW BR HY^ʾ YŠBT ^ʿL KS^ʾ ^ʾBY ‘I, myself, PN, son of PN, ascended to the throne of my father’ (Kilamuwa Stela, *KAI* 24:9)

Krahmalkov asserts that Phoenician possessed a short-form, ^ʾn, appearing in an inscription from Sardinia,²⁵ the Goblet inscription,²⁶ a graffito,²⁷ and in Neo-Punic on a tombstone in Tripolitania.²⁸ Though an attractive suggestion, especially as it would bring Phoenician closer to Hebrew and Ugaritic by possess-

25. *CIS* i.145:1. The transcription in *CIS* reads ^ʾTH^ʿ/P^ʿL . NK, but in his dictionary, Krahmalkov cites it as ^ʾn p^ʿl ‘I am Paal,’ *Phoenician-Punic Dictionary*, 63. His reading originated with F. M. Cross, “An Interpretation of the Nora Stone,” who contended that the transcription in *CIS* was upside down and that the inscription was written in the boustrophhedon style. He reads the stone as ^ʾN . P^ʿL/LT . HT. For a rebuttal against Cross, see Wolfgang Röllig, “Paläographisch Beobachtungen zum ersten Auftreten der Phönizier in Sardinien.” I am indebted to Philip C. Schmitz who clarified how Krahmalkov came to his reading [Personal Communication, July 23, 2016].

26. Krahmalkov reads the goblet inscription as QB^ʿM ^ʾN HN ^ʿRBT LMRZH ŠMŠ ‘[This is] the goblet that I, Hanno, presented to the *marzeḥ*-sodality of Semes,’ *Ibid.* However, Avigad and Greenfield’s original reading of QB^ʿM ^ʾNHN ^ʿRBT LMRZH ŠMŠ ‘Cups we 2 offer to the *marzeḥ* of Shamash,’ is just as likely, if not more plausible than Krahmalkov’s reading since it does not have the short-form, which is not common (or possibly extant) in Phoenician, “A Bronze *phialē* with a Phoenician Dedicatory Inscription,” 120. The syntax of the inscription is somewhat confused by two vertical strokes between the N and the ^ʿ, hence Avigad and Greenfield’s reading of ‘2.’

27. *KAI* 49: 29 Ae. The inscription reads ^ʾL ^ʿBDŠMŠ. Possibly, Krahmalkov is reading the L as N, though this is unlikely as the reading of ^ʾL is certain. It is not uncommon for L to be substituted for N, especially in the long-form of the pro., see *KAI* 49:15 ^ʾLK YHLB^ʿL ‘I am PN.’ It is likely that he understands this substitution to represent the short-form; however, it is more plausible that the author simply omitted the final K.

28. For a transcription see R. G. Goodchild, “La necropoli romano-libica di Bir ed-Dréder,” 98. It appears that he restores NI in the inscription (l.5) as [a]ni, though this is inadmissible given the lack of space; he then immediately states it is “problematic,” *Phoenician-Punic Grammar*, 40.

ing two forms, the evidence that he presents can be easily read without the introduction of a new lexeme.

MOABITE

The major witness of the Moabite language is the Mesha Inscription. A dedicatory inscription recounting the acts of Mesha, king of Moab, the stela uses the 1csg ind. pro. multiple times. The vocalization of the form is uncertain since the text employs *matres lectionis* inconsistently. The *matres lectionis* are used to mark final long vowels, such as the 1csg verbal termination (28) and less often used to mark internal long vowels.

(28) וּאֲנִי בִנֵּיתִי בֵּית מַלְכִּי W'NK BNTY BT MLK 'And I, myself, built a royal palace'
(KAI 181:22–23)

However, there are instances when one would expect a final long vowel, such as on the 3ms suffix *-ēhû* (29). Since the text marks final long vowels, one would expect to see *wyḥplhw*, provided that the suffix was indeed *-ēhû*, though it is possible that it was simply *-ō* and spelled with a final *he* like in some biblical material (Gen 49:11).

(29) וַיַּחֲלֶפֶה WYḤLPH 'And he replaced him' (KAI 181:6)²⁹

The *plene* orthography also indicates that the 1csg suffix-form verbal termination (28) has already been harmonized to the 1csg pronominal suffix (30).

(30) וַיֹּאמֶר לִי כִמְשׁ WY'MR LY KMŠ 'And DN said to me' (KAI 81:14)

As the 1csg verbal termination and pronominal suffix have been harmonized it is reasonable that 1csg ind. pro. was vocalized as */ʾanōkī/*, though not completely certain.³⁰ However, since the inscription employs *plene* orthography rather consistently, and especially so for final */-ī/* vowels, it is more reasonable that the vocalization was */ʾanōk/*.

29. However, as Aḥituv notes, some instances of the 3ms suffix in the Hebrew Bible are also written defectively, with only the *he*, but are indicated to be pronounced as *-ēhû* (1 Sam 7:9; 2 Kgs 22:5). Shmuel Aḥituv, *Echoes From the Past*, 400.

30. Joshua Blau, *Topics in Hebrew and Semitic Linguistics*, 148.

Syntactically, the 1csg ind. pro. functions the same as in Hebrew and the rest of the Semitic languages. It can emphasize the verb (28), and it can be the subject of a nominal clause (31)

- (31) [ית] אַנְךְ מֶשֶׁע בֶּן כְּמֶשׁ [יֵת] ^ʾ_{NK} MŠ^ʿ _{BN} KMŠ[_{YT}] ‘I *am* Mesha, son of PN’
(KAI 181:1)

EGYPTIAN

Though not a Semitic language, Egyptian has a similar paradigm to that of Akk. The ind. pro. is *jnk* /*īnok*/,³¹ which is akin to the long-form in Hebrew. The 1csg verbal termination of the stative paradigm in Egyptian is *kw* /-*ku*/,³² and the suffixed pronoun is *j* /-*ī*/, like all the Semitic languages.³³ Additionally, from Coptic the pronoun is known as /*anok*/.³⁴

DEVELOPMENT FROM PROTO-SEMITIC

Having surveyed various Semitic languages above and Egyptian, attention is now turned to the development of 1csg ind. pro. from PS. In Hebrew the two forms are doublets, having the same etymological root. The formation of the pronouns in the Semitic languages is complex and various means of formation have been posited.

I argue that the development of the 1csg ind. pro. from PS can be viewed as one of multiple harmonizations relating to the 1csg verbal termination and 1csg pronominal suffix. The proto-form of the pronoun can be posited to be *^ʾ*anā* as far back as proto-Afroasiatic. From there diverged two forms—*^ʾ*anāku* and *^ʾ*anā*. The long-form was created by harmonizing *^ʾ*anā* to the 1csg verbal termination of the stative paradigm as seen in Akk. and Egyptian, and from there in Hebrew it was harmonized to the possessive suffix and verbal termina-

31. James P Allen, *Middle Egyptian: An Introduction to the Language and Culture of Hieroglyphs*, 51.

32. *Ibid.*, 206.

33. *Ibid.*, 50.

34. Walter E. Crum, *A Coptic Dictionary*, 11.

tion.³⁵ In Ge'ez, Arabic and Aramaic the pronoun is not harmonized to any other paradigm. This is discussed in greater detail below

This formation of the long-form by means of harmonization to the suffix-form verbal termination is different from that of Driver who postulated a formation involving *'anā* “strengthened by the addition of the demonstrative basis *-ku*,” which he relates to כֹּה ‘here’ not the verbal termination.³⁶

Another solution for the development of the two forms, albeit dated, comes from Edward Hincks.³⁷ He sees the long-form from Akk. as being comprised of two parts, a verbal prefix, *'an-*, which is not attested but survives as the particle *āna* ‘to, for, at, on’—a lexicalized form stemming from the imperative or infinitive of the root,—and the “true” pronoun *āku*, which he finds evidence for in the phrase *sarrāku* ‘I am a prince.’ Thus, the Akk. pronoun, *'anāku*, was originally a nominal sentence meaning ‘I am here,’ which eventually was lexicalized and later passed on into Hebrew. As for the Hebrew short-form, he describes it as “consist[ing] of the indeclinable noun *an*, and the affix *i*.”³⁸ In this view, *'ānī* is a noun equatable to ‘my presence.’ Additionally, the short-form and long-form in Hincks view are not etymologically related.

While in Hebrew the development **'anāku* > *'ānōkī* is generally regarded as harmonization to the 1csg suffix, Blau regards the change due to “pluralinear development,” where after the the Canaanite */ā/* > */ō/* shift the final vowel dissimilated to */i/*, yielding **'anāku* > **'anōku* > (dissimilation) *'ānōkī*.³⁹ In turn, this impacted the short-form, which became */'ānī/*.⁴⁰

35. See JM 109 n.3

36. BDB 59.

37. Edward Hincks, “On the Personal Pronouns of the Assyrian and Other Languages, Especially Hebrew.”

38. Ibid., 7.

39. Blau, *Topics in Hebrew*, 146–148.

40. The ultra-short a-vowel in */'ānī/* is slightly unexpected, as one might expect pretonic lengthening of the original short-a in */'anī/*. However, as Blau demonstrates, the stress shift to the ultimate syllable occurred relatively late in Hebrew, even later than pretonic lengthening, causing unstressed short-vowels to be reduced rather than lengthened, under the influence of Aramaic. In the pausal form, we see the original penultimate stress with pausal lengthening as אֲנִי */ānī/*. cf. Arabic */ānā/* with original the short-a vowel and penultimate stress. Blau *Phonology and Morphology of Biblical Hebrew*, 17–18.

Akkadian and Egyptian are the only languages which retained the original **-ku* ending in both the 1csg ind. pro. and 1csg verbal termination. In Akk., the pronoun paradigm and verbal paradigm line up nicely with */-ku/* in the first-person and */-ta/* and */-ti/* in the second-person. Akkadian and Egyptian retained the long-form exclusively, grammatically marking the first-person pronoun explicitly for first-person. Since Ge'ez harmonized the entire verbal paradigm to */-ku/*, harmonizing the first-person pronoun would not have created the same effect it did in Akk. and Egyptian. In Arabic and Aramaic the entire verbal paradigm had been harmonized to the second person with **-/ku/ > /-tu/* in Arabic and **-/ku/ > /-t/* in Aramaic. However, why would the languages that also harmonized the verbal endings in the first-person to the second-person (i.e. Ug., Phoenician, Moabite, Hebrew) retain the long-form? The use of the short-form is more likely in those languages where the first-person and second-person have been harmonized to *-t*. This retention, even though it makes for a mixed paradigm, I believe is attributed to Egyptian influence, since the peoples who spoke these languages were often either under Egyptian control (most of Canaan) or traded extensively with Egypt (Ugarit). This is analogous to the situation of Late Biblical Hebrew where the short-form rose to prominence due to increased contact with Imperial Aramaic, which only had the short-form. Egyptian did not introduce the long-form to these languages, but contact with Egyptian allowed the form to persist.

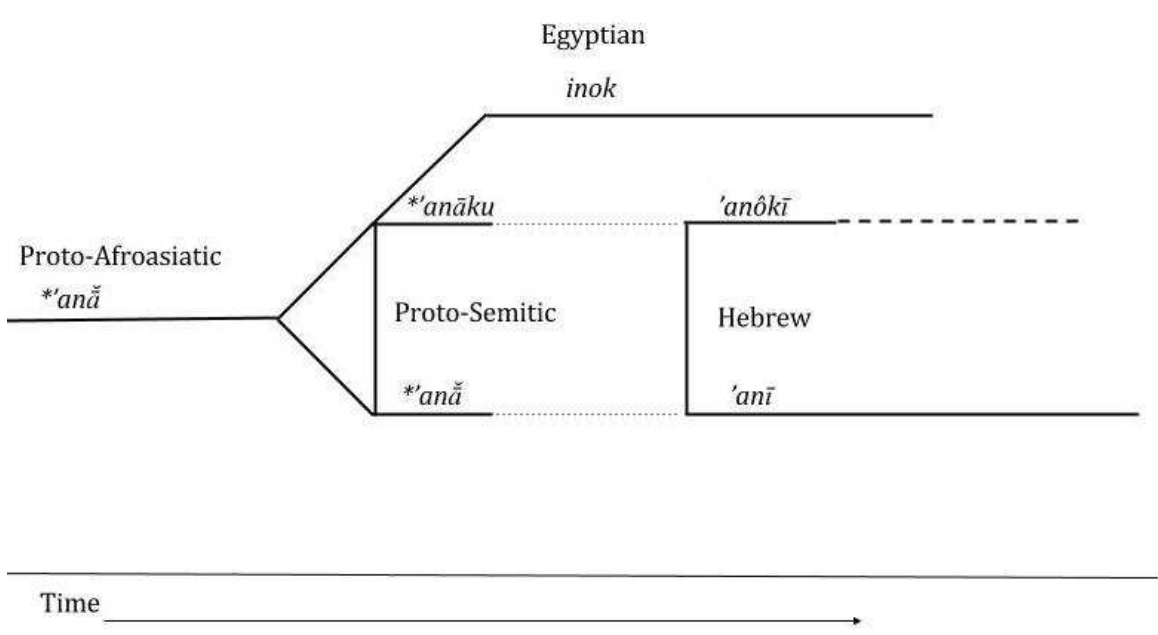


Figure 1.1 Development from Proto-AfroAsiatic and Proto-Semitic

HARMONIZATION IN VARIOUS LANGUAGES

		Egyptian	Akkadian	Ge'ez	Ugaritic	Arabic	Aramaic	Hebrew
Nominative: Ind. pro.		<i>anok</i>	<i>anāku</i>	<i>ʾana</i>	<i>ʾanāku</i> <i>ʾanā ?</i>	<i>ʾanā</i>	<i>ʾanā</i>	<i>ʾānōkī</i> <i>ʾānī</i>
Genitive: Suffix pro.	n.	<i>-ī</i>	<i>-ī, -ya</i>	<i>-ya</i>	<i>-ī, -ya?</i>	<i>-ī, -ya</i>	<i>-ī</i>	<i>-ī</i>
	prep.	<i>-ī</i>	<i>-ī, -ya</i>	<i>-ya</i>	<i>-ya?</i>	<i>-ī</i>	<i>-ī</i>	<i>-ī</i>
Accusative: Verbal Suffixes		<i>-wī</i>	<i>-nī</i>	<i>-nī</i>	<i>-nī?</i>	<i>-nī</i>	<i>-nī</i>	<i>-nī</i>
Verbal Termination: Suffixed Conjugation		<i>-ku</i>	<i>-ku</i>	<i>-ku</i>	<i>-tu?</i>	<i>-tu</i>	<i>-t</i>	<i>-tī</i>

Table 1.1 Harmonization in Various Languages

THE DIACHRONIC DEVELOPMENT OF THE 1CSG INDEPENDENT PRONOUN WITHIN HEBREW

INTRODUCTION

Some regard the long-form of the 1csg ind. pro. as a more original form of the pronoun and the short-form is a contracted variant.¹ However, as seen in the previous section the development of the Hebrew long and short forms stem from the proto-AfroAsiatic and PS *ʾanā. The development is one of harmonization, not contraction. To state simply, in Hebrew אֲנִי is not ‘older’ than אָנֹכִי; though, the long-form fades from usage.

With this in mind, attention will now turn to the issue of the diachronic development within BH, particularly the role the 1csg ind. pro. has as a delimiting factor between the different strata of Hebrew. The issue of dating Biblical texts according to their linguistic affinities has come under scrutiny in recent years, particularly in the work by Ian Young, Robert Rezetko, and Martin Ehrensverd—*Linguistic Dating of Biblical Texts*.² These authors argue that that diachronic development within BH cannot be ascertained and that all differences should be ascribed to different but contemporaneous scribal styles.³ In this sec-

1. Wilhelm Gesenius and Samuel Prideaux Tregelles, *Gesenius’s Hebrew and Chaldee Lexicon to the Old Testament Scriptures*, 65.

2. Ian Young, and Robert Rezetko, and Martin Ehrensverd, *Linguistic Dating of Biblical Texts: An Introduction to Approaches and Problems*, 2 Vols.

3. “‘Early’ BH and ‘Late’ BH, therefore, do not represent different chronological periods in the history of BH, but instead represent coexisting styles of literary Hebrew throughout the

tion the argument will be made that the 1csg ind. pro. can be used as a delimiting factor between different styles of Hebrew which can be ascribed to changes over time, though it must be used in conjunction with other delimiting factors.⁴

The general paradigm regarding the pronoun is that earlier works are predominated by the long-form and later works, the short-form. E. Y. Kutscher states the issue succinctly as such:

They are not used side by side in all strata of BH. The early and poetical sections of BH prefer אֲנִי, while in later BH אֲנִי has displaced אֲנִי almost entirely. The trend is especially conspicuous in Chronicles which includes a large amount of material that parallels the Second Book of Samuel and both Books of Kings which were apparently among its sources. Wherever the writer of Chronicles finds אֲנִי in these sources, he substitutes אֲנִי; compare, for example, I Chron. 21, 10, 17 with II Sam. 24, 12, 17.⁵

These claims will be examined in this section, particularly the claim that the long-form is predominant in ABH poetry and the substitutions made by the Chronicler.

OVERVIEW OF THE DATA⁶

ARCHAIC BIBLICAL HEBREW

The first claim to be examined is that ABH prefers to use the long-form. The following ABH sections are: Gen 49:1–27, Exod 15:1–18, Num 23–24, Deut 32, 33, Judg 5, 1 Sam 2:1–10, 2 Sam 22, Ps 18 (|| 2 Sam 22), Ps 78, and Hab 3.⁷ The table below enumerates the occurrences of each form in a particular section.⁸

Biblical period.” Ibid., vol.2 p.96.

4. Avi Hurvitz, “Can Biblical Texts Be Dated Linguistically? Chronological Perspectives in the Historical Study of Biblical in Hebrew”, 146–148.

5. Eduard Y. Kutscher, *A History of the Hebrew Language*, 30.

6. A chart of the total occurrences in the Bible according to book can be found at the end of this chapter.

7. While the majority of these sections are agreed upon in being ABH, this particular selection is taken from Aaron D. Hornkohl, “Biblical Hebrew: Periodization,” along with the selections for CBH, Transitional BH, and LBH.

8. All occurrences taken from Tyndale’s STEP Bible program, available at

ABH Corpus	Occurrences of the Short-Form: אֲנִי	Occurrences of the Long-Form: אֲנִי־כִי
Gen 49:1–27	0x	0x
Exod 15:1–18	0x	0x
Num 23—24	0x	1x
Deut 32	6x	2x
Deut 33	0x	0x
Judg 5	0x	2x
1 Sam 2:1–10	0x	0x
2 Sam 22	0x	0x
Ps 18 (2 Sam 22)	0x	0x
Ps 78	0x	0x
Hab 3	1x	0x
total:	7x	5x

Table 2.1 The 1csg Ind. Pro. in ABH

As the data show, the pronoun is not used much throughout ABH, with only a combined total of 12 occurrences. The long-form appears in three distinct units, while the short-form appears in two, but the short-form occurs more frequently than the long-form with a ratio of 1.4:1. Kutscher's claim that "The early and poetical sections of BH prefer אֲנִי־כִי," seems almost unfounded. By the totals alone, the short form appears more, though concentrated in one section. However, this concentration should give pause as the 6 occurrences in Deut 32 account for the majority of uses of the short-form in Deut, a book that overwhelmingly prefers the long-form (3:54)⁹, not including the ABH sections. If ABH prefers the long-form, why then does an ABH poem in Deut predominately use the short-form?

www.stepbible.org.

9. All ratios are presented as short-form:long-form, in keeping with the presentation in the tables.

If the long-form truly was the ‘original’ form, then one would expect a much greater occurrence, or at least the exclusion of the short-form. However, since this is not the case, the original assessment must be reconsidered. Since neither form is ‘older’ than the other, both forms were able to be used freely within Hebrew, at least from a diachronic perspective.¹⁰

CLASSICAL BIBLICAL HEBREW

In CBH the general paradigm is that the ‘older’ works will use the long-form to a greater extent. Again, it must be noted that since the long-form is not older than the short-form both forms are able to be freely used by authors of CBH texts. This selection of texts is generally regarded as the core corpus CBH texts, and the occurrences do not include the ABH texts found within each book.

10. Some theories have been posited as to why one form is used and not another, but what is clear from the data above is that either form was readily available to an author writing in ABH.

CBH Corpus	Occurrences of the Short-Form: יָגַל	Occurrences of the Long-Form: יָגַלְתִּי
Gen	41x	56x
Exod	39x	22x
Lev	71x	0x
Num	21x	6x ¹¹
Deut	3x ¹²	54x
Josh	4x ¹³	9x
Judg	12x	15x
1 Sam	20x	26x
2 Sam	30x	24x
1 Kgs	30x	7x ¹⁴
2 Kgs	16x	2x ¹⁵
total:	286x	221x

Table 2.2 The 1csg Ind. Pro. in CBH

The short-form occurs with a greater frequency than the long-form, with a ratio of 1.3:1. The Book of Samuel represents one of the more unique cases with 50 attestations of the short-form and 50 attestations of the long-form. However, the unequal distribution in the Pentateuch is also noteworthy. Genesis and Exodus are not surprising in their distribution, but the only 6 occurrences in Num and 0 occurrences in Lev seem surprisingly low; it should also be noted that the 6 occurrences of the long-form in Num appear after ch.10 as ch.1–10 are a continuation of the priestly material set forward in Lev. Since the short-form is not an inherently late form, the author of either text was by no means required to use one form. While the exclusive use of the short-form by a CBH author is not the norm, it is not outside of the range of possibilities.

11. Num 11:12 (2x), 11:14, 11:21, 22:30, 32. Numbers 22 is the story of Balaam, not including the oracles.

12. Deut 12:30, 29:6, 35:52.

13. Josh 5:14, 8:5, 17:14, 23:2.

14. 1 Kgs 2:2, 16, 18, 20, 3:7, 14:6, 19:4.

15. 2 Kgs 4:13, 22:19.

TRANSITIONAL BIBLICAL HEBREW

As Hebrew progressed from CBH to LBH, in Transitional BH (TBH) the long-form began to fade from usage while the short-form grew in frequency and began to influence the entire pronoun paradigm.

Transitional BH Corpus	Occurrences of the Short-Form: אָנִי	Occurrences of the Long-Form: אֲנִי
Jer	54x	37x
Second Isa (chs. 40—66)	71x	21x
Ezek	169x	1x ¹⁶
Mal	8x	1x ¹⁷
Lam	4x	0x
total:	306x	60x

Table 2.3 The 1csg Ind. Pro. in Transitional BH

In TBH the short-form rises to prominence with 306 attestations against 60, or a ratio of 5.1:1. The obvious outlier within this corpus is Ezekiel with a staggering 169 occurrences of the short-form with only one occurrence of the long-form. This disproportionately high usage of the short-form is similar to that of Lev and Num in CBH.

The affinities between Ezekiel and the Priestly corpus (particularly Lev-Num) in both content and language have long been recognized. The overwhelming preference for the short-form against the long-form represents one of these affinities. In Leviticus the long-form never appears, and in Numbers the long-form appears 7x (including the ABH Balaam Oracles), with three of those times appearing in the story of Balaam, a story replete with peculiar features that serve as a means to give the story of non-Israelite feel.¹⁸ The only instance of the

16. Ezek 36:28.

17. Mal 3:23.

18. Clinton J. Moyer, “Literary and Linguistic Studies in *Sefer Bil’am* (Numbers 22-24)” (Cornell University, 2009). See especially ch.3 “Dialectal Features in the Language of *Sefer Bil’am*: Evidence and Implication.” While אֲנִי does not belong exclusively to any one dialect, the use of this form in the mouth of Balaam to the exclusion of the short form, which is standard in the book of Numbers, would indicate that its use in Numbers is not merely accidental, but rather, coupled with numerous non-standard features, produces the effect of Balaam speaking

long-form in Ezekiel is 36:28 where it is found verbatim in Jer 11:4 and 30:22, where all the verses read **וְהָיִיתֶם לִי לְעָם וְאֲנִי אֶהְיֶה לָכֶם לֵאלֹהִים** ‘And you will be my people, and I will be your God.’¹⁹ This overwhelming preference for the short-form should be attributed to stylistic idiosyncrasies rather than pure chronological development²⁰ as many other delimiting factors in the language of P place it securely before LBH.²¹

Overall, the trend in TBH is an increase towards the use of the short-form over the long-form. What is most striking is not the general increase, but the slight force that the short-form begins to exhibit over the pronoun paradigm where in Jer 42:6 **אֲנִי**, the standard 1cpl ind. pro. in Mishnaic Heb, appears as a *ketiv*. As **אֲנִי** was harmonized to the 1csg pronominal suffix, so **אֲנִי** was formed

with a ‘foreigner’s’ tongue. Even though Balaam is an Aramean and would naturally use the short-form, the story takes place in Moab, where the long-form is standard.

19. Variations of this phrase appear sparingly (5x) throughout the Bible – Exod 6:7, Jer 7:23, 11:4, 30:22, and Ezek 36:28. Three times it appears exactly the same as mentioned above; Jer 7:23 reads **וְהָיִיתֶם לִי לְעָם וְאֲנִי אֶהְיֶה לָכֶם לֵאלֹהִים**, and Exod 6:7 reads **וְהָיִיתֶם לִי לְעָם וְאֲנִי אֶהְיֶה לָכֶם לֵאלֹהִים**. Perhaps this was a well known phrase among the ancient Israelites and was subject to variations, such as the epithet in Exod 34:6–7, which is found throughout the Bible in multiple variations. Though Ezekiel uses the short-form predominately, this one instance of the long-form may be in part to the phrase having become fixed during the time of Ezekiel and Jeremiah, and possibly the retention of the long-form gave the phrase a sense of antiquity.

20. Avi Hurvitz, *A Linguistic Study of the Relationship Between the Priestly Source and the Book of Ezekiel: A New Approach to an Old Problem*, 169 n.35. “However, **אֲנִי** is dominant in H [i.e. Holiness code] as well, and the antiquity of H is acknowledged by (even eminent) late-daters of P. It turns out, therefore, that the very same element may in certain texts reflect LBH usage, while in others it represents simply a stylistic peculiarity which does not necessarily have any distinctive chronological implications. A similar phenomenon exists in regard to ‘aramaisms’. . .” For an overview of stylistic usages of Aramaisms see Gary A. Rendsburg, “Aramaic Like Features in the Pentateuch.”

21. See Ziony Zevit, “Converging Lines of Evidence Bearing on the Date of P,” who dates the composition of P from sometime in 8th–4th century BCE. Robert Polzin, *Late Biblical Hebrew: Toward an Historical Typology of Biblical Hebrew Prose*, places P sometime after the majority of the Pentateuch and the Sam-Kgs narrative (i.e. CBH) but definitively before LBH, without assigning a specific date. Gary A. Rendsburg, “Late Biblical Hebrew and the Date of P,” places the language of P contemporaneous with CBH. Hurvitz, *A Linguistic Study of the Relationship Between the Priestly Source and the Book of Ezekiel*, 154, concludes, like Rendsburg, the language of P is squarely within the confines of CBH and additionally that the language of Ezek is later than P. However, both represent a “language of the cult” that underwent chronological development like the rest of CBH.

by harmonizing אָנִי to the 1cpl pronominal suffix. As לָנוּ is to לִי, so אָנִי is to אָנִי. In Transitional BH the short-form can be seen gaining precedence over the long.

LATE BIBLICAL HEBREW

LBH Corpus	Occurrences of the Short-Form: אָנִי	Occurrences of the Long-Form: אָנֹכִי
Esth	6x	0x
Dan	23x ²²	1x ²³
Ezra	2x ²⁴	0x
Neh	15x	1x ²⁵
1 Chr	12x	1x ²⁶
2 Chr	18x	0x
total:	76x	3x

Table 2.4 The 1csg Ind. Pro. in LBH

In the undisputed LBH corpus the short-form dominates, while the long-form is relegated to only three occurrences. Most striking is not the uses of the short-form, such as in Esther, where the material is new, but rather how the Chronicler, taking from the Sam–Kgs narrative, ‘updates’ the text:²⁷

22. Also, 14x in Aramaic–2:8, 23, 30; 3:25; 4:4, 7, 9, 18, 30, 34, 37; 5:16; 7:15, 28.

23. Dan 10:11.

24. Also, 2x in Aramaic–6:12; 7:21.

25. Neh 1:6.

26. 1 Chr 17:1.

27. For scholarly assessment of this point, see Kutscher, *A History of the Hebrew Language*, 30; Angel Sáenz-Badillos, *A History of the Hebrew Language*, 117; Polzin, *Late Biblical Hebrew: Toward an Historical Typology of Biblical Hebrew Prose*, 126–127

(1a) 2 Sam 7:18

וַיֵּבֶא הַמֶּלֶךְ דָּוִד וַיֵּשֶׁב לִפְנֵי יְהוָה וַיֹּאמֶר מִי אֲנֹכִי אֲדֹנָי יְהוִה וּמִי בֵּיתִי כִּי הֵבִיאַתְנִי
עַד־הַלֵּם:

(1b) 1 Chr 17:16

וַיֵּבֶא הַמֶּלֶךְ דָּוִד וַיֵּשֶׁב לִפְנֵי יְהוָה וַיֹּאמֶר מִי־אֲנִי יְהוָה אֱלֹהִים וּמִי בֵּיתִי כִּי הֵבִיאַתְנִי
עַד־הַלֵּם:

(2a) 2 Sam 24:12

הַלֹּחַד וּדְבַרְתָּ אֶל־דָּוִד כֹּה אָמַר יְהוָה שְׁלֹשׁ אַנְכִּי נֹטֵל עָלֶיךָ בַּחֲרֹלֶךְ אַחַת־מֵהֶם
וְאֶעֱשֶׂה־לָּךְ:

(2b) 1 Chr 21:10

לָךְ וּדְבַרְתָּ אֶל־דָּוִד לֵאמֹר כֹּה אָמַר יְהוָה שְׁלוֹשׁ אַנִּי נֹטֵה עָלֶיךָ בַּחֲרֹלֶךְ אַחַת מֵהֵנָּה
וְאֶעֱשֶׂה־לָּךְ:

(3a) 2 Sam 24:17

וַיֹּאמֶר דָּוִד אֶל־יְהוָה בְּרֹאֲתוֹ אֶת־הַמֶּלֶךְ הַמַּכָּה בָּעָם וַיֹּאמֶר הִנֵּה אֲנֹכִי חָטָאתִי וְאַנְכִּי
הָעוֹיָתִי וְאַלֶּה הַצֵּאֵן מִנִּי עֲשׂוּ תְּהִי נָא יָדְךָ בִּי וּבִבֵּית אָבִי:

(3b) 1 Chr 21:17

וַיֹּאמֶר דָּוִד אֶל־הָאֱלֹהִים הֲלֹא אֲנִי אֲמַרְתִּי לְמַנּוֹת בָּעָם וְאֲנִי־הוּא אֲשֶׁר־חָטָאתִי וְהִרָע
הִרְעוֹתִי וְאַלֶּה הַצֵּאֵן מִנִּי עֲשׂוּ יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי תְּהִי נָא יָדְךָ בִּי וּבִבֵּית אָבִי וּבַעֲמֻךְ לֹא לְמַגָּפָה:

(4a) 2 Kgs 22:19

יַעַן רָד־לְבָבְךָ וּתִפְגַּע מִפְּנֵי יְהוָה בְּשִׁמְעֶךָ אֲשֶׁר דִּבַּרְתִּי עַל־הַמָּקוֹם הַזֶּה וְעַל־יֹשְׁבָיו לֵהָיוֹת
לְשִׁמָּה וּלְקַלְלָהּ וּתְקַרַע אֶת־בְּגָדֶיךָ וּתִבְכֶּה לְפָנַי וְגַם אֲנֹכִי שִׁמַּעְתִּי נְאֻם־יְהוָה:

(4b) 2 Chr 34:27

יַעַן רָד־לְבָבְךָ וּתִפְגַּע מִלִּפְנֵי אֱלֹהִים בְּשִׁמְעֶךָ אֶת־דִּבְרֵי עַל־הַמָּקוֹם הַזֶּה וְעַל־יֹשְׁבָיו וּתִפְגַּע
לְפָנַי וּתְקַרַע אֶת־בְּגָדֶיךָ וּתִבְכֶּה לְפָנַי וְגַם־אֲנִי שִׁמַּעְתִּי נְאֻם־יְהוָה:

It should be noted that in the above synoptic verses, the Chronicler updates the ind. pro., but does not always update other aspects, such as the appositional word order (i.e. from הַמֶּלֶךְ דָּוִד to the anticipated הַמֶּלֶךְ דָּוִד), a typical hallmark of LBH. The only time the Chronicler retains the long-form is in one synoptic verse, though the wording of the Chronicler is divergent from the source material:

(5a) 2 Sam 7:2

וַיֹּאמֶר הַמֶּלֶךְ אֶל־נָתָן הַנָּבִיא רְאֵה נָא אֲנֹכִי יוֹשֵׁב בְּבֵית אֲרָזִים וְאֶרְזֹן הָאֱלֹהִים יֹשֵׁב בְּתוֹךְ
הַיְרִיעָה:

(5b) 1 Chr 17:1

וַיְהִי כַּאֲשֶׁר יֹשֵׁב דָּוִד בְּבֵיתוֹ וַיֹּאמֶר דָּוִד אֶל־נָתָן הַנָּבִיא הֲנֵה אֲנֹכִי יוֹשֵׁב בְּבֵית הָאֲרָזִים
וְאֶרְזֹן בְּרִית־יְהוָה תַּחַת יְרִיעוֹת:

Perhaps the long-form is retained because the phrase אֲנֹכִי יוֹשֵׁב בְּבֵית אֲרָזִים was well known. In the synoptic sections, the short-form appears in both Samuel and Chronicles eight times, with no ‘updating.’²⁸

Critique is appropriate, as the Chronicler does not update the text from the long-form to the short-form “wherever” it is found,²⁹ but only on four instances. For this reason, some scholars express hesitancy in declaring that the LBH represents a linguistic development from CBH.³⁰ Additionally, as seen above, while the author may update the ind. pro., the appositional word order remains the same. While this may cast doubt on the claim that the Chronicler systematically updates the language of the Sam-Kgs narrative, perhaps then greater inquiry should be made into the Chronicler’s sources. This does not discredit the majority view that as a whole, by the time of LBH the long-form had fallen into disuse, a trend which continued in Hebrew.

Both Daniel and Nehemiah represent unusual cases in LBH. It can be argued that since the Chronicler was quoting source material (albeit with modification), he retained the long-form. However, neither Daniel nor Nehemiah are quoting any source material. Hornkohl attributes the uses in Daniel and Nehemiah to “archaization” because the former appears in divine speech and the latter

28. 2 Sam 7.2 || 1 Chr 17.7; 2 Sam 7.1 || 1 Chr 17.13; 1 Kgs 12.11 || 2 Chr 10.11; 1 Kgs 12.14 || 2 Chr 10.14; 1 Kgs 22.8 || 2 Chr 18.7; 1 Kgs 22.16 || 2 Chr 18.15; 1 Kgs 22.21 || 2 Chr 18.20; 2 Kgs 22.20 || 2 Chr 34.28; see Robert Rezetko, “Dating Biblical Hebrew Evidence from Samuel-Kings and Chronicles,” 225.

29. Kutscher, *A History of the Hebrew Language*, 225, “Wherever the writer of Chronicles finds אֲנֹכִי in these sources, he substitutes אֲנִי.”

30. Rezetko, “Dating Biblical Hebrew Evidence from Samuel-Kings and Chronicles,” 225–226.

in a prayer.³¹ While this is a plausible explanation, it is somewhat lacking, for in Dan 10:12 the same divine speaker uses the short-form, and in the case of Nehemiah, the short-form appears in the final clause of the same verse.

Overall, from the data emerges a trend where both the long and short-forms were used seemingly indiscriminately in ABH and CBH. In Transitional BH, the short-form gained prominence, and in one instance is seen to have influenced the ind. pro. paradigm. In LBH, the long-form did not disappear from the language, but its usage appears limited.

EPIGRAPHIC HEBREW

Attestations of the 1csg ind. pro. in pre-exilic Hebrew inscriptions are scarce.³² In Arad 88 there is a clear reading of אני in l.1, and an ostrakon originating in the Judean shephelah reads אני אמרתי on l.4.³³ As for the long-form, אנכי is read in Lachish 6.8.³⁴

With only three possible attestations, the only surety is that during the time of the Divided Monarchy both forms were in use. Perhaps this can lend credence to the proposition that the long-form was fading from usage while the short-form was becoming more dominant, but the data are hardly conclusive.

31. Aaron D. Hornkohl, *Ancient Hebrew Periodization and the Language of the Book of Jeremiah: The Case for a Sixth-Century Date of Composition*, 108.

32. In a two lined cave inscription from Khirbet Beit Lei, Cross reconstructs the short-form, but the difficulty in reading the inscription makes his proposal doubtful. See Frank M. Cross, "The Cave Inscriptions From Khirbet Beit Lei,"; for an alternate reading see J. Naveh, "Old Hebrew Inscriptions in a Burial Cave."

33. André Lemaire and Ada Yardeni, "New Hebrew Ostraca From the Judean Shephelah," 197–200.

34. Ahituv, *Echoes From the Past*, 80, and G. I. Davies, *Ancient Hebrew Inscriptions: Corpus and Concordance*, 288.

BEN SIRA

Continuing in the same vein as LBH, in Ben Sira there are three instances of the short-form, the standard form, and no instances of the long-form. The three instances are: 33:16, 33:17, and 51:13.³⁵

SAMARITAN HEBREW

Samaritan Hebrew (SH), represents a different dialect of BH (especially Tiberian Hebrew) unlike Qumran Hebrew and Rabbinic Hebrew. The most striking aspect of SH is that the long-form retains the original /ā/ vowel from PS, yielding the form /ʔanākī/.³⁶

The table below records instances when the MT and Samaritan Pentateuch (SP) diverge;³⁷ however, material that is only attested to the SP is not regarded. The number of transpositions for each is equal with 3x the long-form being used in place of the short and vice-versa, with Genesis having the greatest number of transpositions. Since this data is taken from one diplomatic text, it is not indicative of every Samaritan Torah; older printed editions do not have these transpositions.

	MT אֲנִי vs. SP אֲנִי	MT אֲנִי vs. SP אֲנִי	Lacking in SP
Gen	14:23	24:42; 28:20 37:16	-
Exod	22:26	-	18:6
Lev	-	-	22:31
Num	-	-	-
Deut	32:39	-	-

Table 2.5 Transposition of the 1csg ind. pro. in the MT vs. the SP

35. This verse appears in two different manuscripts—one from the Cairo Geniza and one from Qumran—with the similar wording אֲנִי נֶעַר. Verses and the manuscripts in which they can be found are accessible online at www.bensira.org.

36. Ze'ev Ben-Hayyim, *A Grammar of Samaritan Hebrew: Based on the Recitation of the Law in Comparison with the Tiberian and Other Jewish Traditions: A Revised Edition in English*, 225.

37. Data taken from Abraham Tal and Moshe Florentin, *The Pentateuch—The Samaritan Version and the Masoretic Version*. The transpositions in Genesis were initially supplied to me by Stefan Schorch, [Personal communication via email Jan 14, 2016].

QUMRAN HEBREW

Unlike SH, the language of Qumran can be regarded as a continuation of LBH.³⁸ The exact number of occurrences is often hard to determine, as there are many possible reconstructions and not all grammars are based upon the entire non-biblical DSS corpus. However, the most complete count of occurrences of the short-form to long-form is 150:40.³⁹ Thus, in the DSS the short-form is standard while, the majority of occurrences of the long-form appear in the Temple Scroll with God as the speaker/antecedent.⁴⁰

RABBINIC HEBREW

In Rabbinic Hebrew (RH), particularly the Hebrew of the Tanna'im, the long-form fell from usage save in either quotations or allusions to biblical passages, and the short-form is the standard.⁴¹ The 1cpl ind. pro., אני, was from אני based on an analogy to the plural suffixes and verbal ending (see Transitional BH, above).

SUMMARY

Both forms of the 1csg ind. pro. are used within all strata of BH and in many post-biblical texts. The preference for one form over another is not always a matter of chronological development, such as with the language of P material. Though the long-form never completely disappears, by LBH its usage is limited. In post-biblical Hebrew the usage of the long-form becomes restricted, such as in QH where it is found primarily within the Temple Scroll and God is typically the antecedent. In RH the form is reserved only for biblical references and allusions.

38. E. Y. Kutscher, *The Language and Linguistic Background of the Isaiah Scroll (1QIsa^a)*.

39. Hornkohl, *Ancient Hebrew Periodization*, 109 n.5. Hornkohl arrived at this number using the Qumran non-biblical Manuscript module available for Accordance and excluding reconstructed forms [Personal Communication via email Jan. 11, 2016].

40. Elisha Qimron, *The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 57. Eric D. Raymond, *Qumran Hebrew: An Overview of Orthography, Phonology, and Morphology*, 13.

41. M. H. Segal, *A Grammar of Mishnaic Hebrew*, 39; Miguel Pérez-Fernandez *An Introductory Grammar of Rabbinic Hebrew*, 19.

Book	אני	אנכי
Gen	41x	56x
Exod	39x	22x
Lev	71x	0x
Num	21x	7x
Deut	9x	56x
Josh	4x	9x
Judg	12x	17x
1 Sam	20x	26x
2 Sam	30x	24x
1 Kgs	30x	7x
2 Kgs	16x	2x
Isa	79x	26x
Jer	54x	37x
Ezek	169x	1x

Book	אני	אנכי
Hos	12x	11x
Joel	4x	0x
Am	1x	10x
Obad	0x	0x
Jonah	5x	2x
Mic	2x	1x
Nah	0x	0x
Hab	1x	0x
Zeph	2x	0x
Hag	4x	0x
Zech	11x	5x
Mal	8x	1x
Ps(s)	70x	13x
Job	29x	14x

Book	אני	אנכי
Prov	7x	2x
Ruth	2x	7x
Song	12x	0x
Qoh	29x	0x
Lam	4x	0x
Esth	6x	0x
Dan	23x	0x
Ezra	2x	0x
Neh	15x	1x
1 Chr	12x	1x
2 Chr	18x	0x
total:	874	359

Table 2.6 Total Occurrences in the Bible According to Book

THE ICSG INDEPENDENT PRONOUN IN CLASSICAL HEBREW PROSE

INTRODUCTION

There are numerous theories that seek to explain how the text utilizes the two forms ranging from those who see no difference between the two,¹ those who regard it as a dialectal difference,² and those whose theories involve more complexity. This section will present an overview of those theories which seek to untangle the usage between the two forms and then weigh those theories against the usages of the pronouns in the book of Judges.

SCHOLARLY ASSESSMENTS

T. Muraoka's *Emphatic Words*, while not concerned with the differences between the two forms, presents a helpful schema for differentiating “emphatic” uses of the pronouns, especially those constructions involving a finite verb and ind. pro.³ The categories include: (1) antithesis⁴—“I am the one who has

1. Waltke and O'Connor, *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax*, §16.3.a.

2. Bo Isaksson, *Studies in the Language of Qoheleth: With Special Emphasis on the Verbal System*, 142; cf. Gary Rendsburg, *Diglossia in Ancient Hebrew*, 142–143. It is highly unlikely that one form was preferred to another in either dialect of BH as evidenced by Ugaritic, which employs analogous forms.

3. T. Muraoka, *Emphatic Words and Structures in Biblical Hebrew* 47–82. Chapter 2 particularly deals with the pro. used with a finite verb. See also Waltke and Michael O'Connor, *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax*, §16.3.

4. T. Muraoka, *Emphatic Words and Structures in Biblical Hebrew*, 54–55

sinned...But what have *these sheep* done?” (2 Sam 24:17); (2) implicit contrast⁵—“I have made Abraham rich [as opposed to YHWH]” (Gen 14:23); (3) juxtaposition⁶—“Thus and so did Ahithophel counsel..., and thus *I* have counseled” (2 Sam 17:15); (4) psychological focus, with “strong emotional heightening”⁷—“*I myself* will sing to the Lord” (Judge 5:3).

Within the documentary hypothesis framework, the differentiation between the long and short-forms is often a discriminating feature between different sources, where P uses the short-form almost exclusively, D uses the long-form exclusively, and J and E prefer the long-form but occasionally use the short-form.⁸ There is no doubt that the language of P exhibits a preference for the short-form, but the documentary hypothesis does not account for the vacillation between the forms within those sections labeled as J or E; as this vacillation between the two forms is the focus of this chapter, the different sources will not be considered.

S. R. Driver sought to differentiate the use of the two forms on the grounds that though one form or the other may be used in particular fixed phrases, when the author is able to make a choice his decision is affected by the rhythm of the sentence.⁹ As an example, in the formulaic expression, אֲנִי יְהוָה, or cognate expressions with appendations, the short-form is standard whenever the predicate is the divine name. If the predicate is longer, then the long form is used, such as אֲנִי אֱלֹהֵי אַבְרָהָם (Gen 26:24). Instances of the long-form and the divine name do appear, but only so when אֱלֹהֵיךָ is appended.¹⁰

5. Ibid., 55–56

6. Ibid., 57–58

7. Ibid., 58

8. S. R. Driver, *An Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament* 9th ed., 134–135. For a comparison chart, see Herman L. Strack, *Einleitung in Das Alte Testament: Einschliesslich Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen*, 47.

9. He argues that one form is used in preference to another not “by accident or caprice, but rather by a delicate, instinctive appreciation of the best form adapted to the structure and rhythm of particular sentences.” S. R. Driver, “On Some Alleged Linguistic Affinities of the Elohist,” 222–223.

10. Ibid., 224–225.

Driver argues that the rhythmic cadence of each form can produce desired emphasis—the short-form adding slight emphasis but the long-form adding strong emphasis. In Gen 27:32, when Esau approaches his father in order to obtain his birthright, Esau states *אֲנִי בְּכֹרֶךָ עֵשָׂו* ‘I am your firstborn son, Esau,’ using the short-form as Esau assumes his own identity, but, when Jacob had previously portrayed himself as Esau, he states, *אֲנֹכִי עֵשָׂו בְּכֹרֶךָ* ‘I am Esau, your firstborn,’ using the long-form to emphasize the pro.¹¹ This emphasis is carried over into verbal clauses when the pro. is used in conjunction with a verb marked for person as in 1 Sam 26:6b *וַיֹּאמֶר אֲבִישִׁי אֲנִי אֶרֶד עִמָּךְ* but in Gen 46:4 *אֲנֹכִי אֶרֶד עִמָּךְ*.¹² It is evident that Driver’s model is highly subjective.

Umberto Cassuto posits one of the more robust theories that attempts to differentiate the use of the two forms on syntactical grounds.¹³ His work is based solely on the book of Genesis, and it is divided into 5 categories: (a) if the pro. serves as the subject of a finite verb, positioned either before or after the verb, then the long-form is used (though he notes one instance in which the short-form is used); (b) if the pro. serves as one part of a compound subject [i.e. pro. + noun] and it follows the verb, then the short-form is used; (c) if the pro. is in a state of *nominativus pendens* and the subject of the sentence pertains to the speaker, then the short-form is employed (e.g. As for me [*אֲנִי*], behold my covenant is with you [Gen 17:4]); but if the pro. does not relate to the subject, then the long-form is used (e.g. As for me [*אֲנֹכִי*], the LORD has led me in the way [Gen 24:27]); (d) if the pro. is not the subject, but rather emphasizes the pronominal suffix of the verb, then the short-form is used; (e) if the pro. is used in a nominal sentence or used with a non-finite verb, and it is used to highlight the subject, then the long-form is used, but if it the object is being highlighted, then

11. Ibid., 223.

12. Ibid.

13. Umberto Cassuto, *The Documentary Hypothesis and the Composition of the Pentateuch; Eight Lectures*, 49–51. In his work the categories were given in an alphabetical list, which is retained herein.

the short-form is used. While Cassuto's system may hold true for Genesis, it does not always work well as a predictive model for the rest of CBH.¹⁴ His model lacks the subjectivity inherent to Driver's model.

E. J. Revell posited a model to differentiate between the two forms that is based on situational context, particularly, the status of the speaker and the addressee.¹⁵ He divides speakers and addressees into two groups: those who are 'status marked' are God, divine figures, and any person addressed with a title (e.g. 'king' or 'lord'), and often when one addresses a status marked speaker, some deferential forms may be used in place of the first person pro. (e.g. 'your servant'); the remainder are non-status marked speakers. In Revell's model, both categories are able to use either form, but the use of one form by a group is not identical in meaning to the same form being used by the other group.¹⁶ God, a status marked speaker, can only address lower level speakers; the short-form is the standard usage, and the long-form denotes condescension or is used to establish a background for a future intended action. Other status marked speaker use the short-form when addressing lower level speakers, but the long-form is standard for addressing higher level speakers; if a status marked speaker uses the short-form when addressing a higher level speaker, then it indicates strong emotion on behalf of the speaker or the clause if of utmost interest to the speaker or addressee. Since non-status marked speakers are usually speaking to higher level speakers, the long-form is standard; when the short-form is used by non-status marked speakers it carries the same connotations as when a status marked speaker addresses a higher level speaker.

These three previous works will be considered in the examination of the 1csg ind. pro. in Judges below.

14. Gary Rendsburg, *Diglossia in Ancient Hebrew*, 142.

15. E. J. Revell, "The Two Forms of First Person Singular Pronoun in Biblical Hebrew: Redundancy or Expressive Contrast?" 199–217.

16. A very helpful chart that outlines the different uses can be found in Y. Chen, "The Phrase אנכי יהוה in the Bible," 68–69.

AN EXAMINATION: JUDGES

In this section, the previous scholarly assessments will be examined in light of the usages in the book of Judges. Judges will be used as a test case because the entire book constitutes a complete literary whole comprised of discreet literary units. The language of the book is also unmistakably CBH, except for the poem in ch.5 which is considered ABH and will not be considered in this examination.

Overall there are 27 instances of the 1csg ind. pro. in Judges, not including the ABH section in ch.5; the short-form appears 12x, and the long-form appears 15x. In the Prelude (1:1–2:10) the short-form appears 1x. In the Deuteronomistic Introduction (2:11–3:6)¹⁷ the short-form appears 1x. For the first four judges stories the pro. does not appear (save in ch.5). In the Gideon story (6:1–8:32) the short-form appears 2x and the long-form appears 7x; this section has the greatest number of usages of the ind. pro. In the Abimelech story (8:33–9:57) the short-form appears 1x and the long-form is not found. In the story of Jephthah and his sons (10:6–12:15) the short-form appears 1x and the long-form appears 4x. In the Samson story (13:1–16:31) only the short-form is found 3x. In the story of Micah (17:1–18:31) the short-form appears 1x and the long-form 3x. In the final story concerning the Levite, his concubine, and the tribe of Benjamin (19:1–21:25) the short-form appears 2x and the long-form 1x. In stories that have more than one attestation of the pro., only in the Samson story is one form used to the exclusion of another. Thus, the majority of the stories show some variation between the two forms, making the book of Judges good fodder for examining the differences in usage.

17. John J. Collins, *Introduction to the Hebrew Bible* 2nd. ed., 213.

Pericope	אני	אנכי
1:1–2:10	1x	0x
2:11–3:6	1x	0x
3:7–4:24	0x	0x
6:1–8:32	2x	7x
8:33–9:57	1x	0x
10:6–12:15	1x	4x
13:1–16:31	3x	0x
17:1–18:31	1x	3x
19:1–21:25	2x	1x
total	12x	15x

Table 3.1 Attestations in Judges According to Pericope, excluding ch.5

Syntactically, the *pro.* is used most often with a finite-verb for a total of 14x; the short-form is used 6x, and the long-form is used 8x. In a nominal clauses the short-form is used 4x, and the long-form is used 3x. With a non-finite verb the short-form is used 2x, and the long-form is used 4x. The fixed form *אני יהוה* is found only once in 6:10. Thus, the majority of the usages represent unique instances that cannot be regarded as formulaic.

	אני	אנכי
Nominal Clause	6:10; 9:2; 13:11; 16:17	6:15; 17:9; 19:18
With Finite Verb	1:3; 2:21; 8:23; 12:2; 17:2; 20:4	6:8; 6:18; 7:18; 11:9, 27, 35, 37; 17:10
With Non-Finite Verb	15:3; 19:18	6:37; 7:17; 8:5; 17:9

Table 3.2 Syntactical Variation of *אני* and *אנכי* in Judges

INDIVIDUAL EXAMINATION:

JUGDES 1:3 – אני

וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוּדָה לְשִׁמְעוֹן אָחִיו עֲלֵה אִתִּי בְּגֹרְלִי וְנִלְחַמָּהּ בְּכַנְעֲנִי וְהִלַּכְתִּי גַם־אֲנִי אִתְּךָ
בְּגֹרְלֶךָ וַיֵּלֶךְ אִתּוֹ שִׁמְעוֹן:

And Judah said to Simeon his brother, “Come up with me into my territory and let us fight against the Canaanites. Moreover, I, myself, will go with into your territory.” Then Simeon went with him.

For Driver the short-form is preferred when used with *gam* (223, 226).¹⁸ According to Cassuto, the long-form is standard when the pro. is the subject of a verbal clause (50, a); this verse is in disagreement with Cassuto’s theory. In Revell’s view this is an instance of one non-status marked speaker speaking to another. Though the long-form is standard, the use of the short-form is, “seems to have no connotations beyond the desire to draw attention to the pronoun. It is used to emphasize the actions of the speaker in contrast to those of others,” (206).

JUDGES 2:21 — אני

גַּם־אֲנִי לֹא אוֹסִיף לְהוֹרִישׁ אִישׁ מִפְּנֵיהֶם מִן־הַגּוֹיִם אֲשֶׁר־עָזַב יְהוֹשֻׁעַ וַיָּמָת:

“Moreover, I, myself, will no longer drive out before them any of the nations that Joshua left when he died.

This verse is part of a monologue where Y_{HWH} expresses his anger with Israel for following after other gods. The construction in 2:21 is similar to 1:3, but the main difference is that the speaker’s status has changed. For Driver the short-form is preferred when used with *gām* (223, 226). According to Cassuto, the long-form is standard when the pro. is the subject of a verbal clause (50, a); this verse is in disagreement with Cassuto’s theory. In 2:21 Y_{HWH} is speaking to the

18. For the sake of space and ease of reading, all references to S. R. Driver, “On Some Alleged Linguistic Affinities of the Elohist,” Umberto Cassuto, *The Documentary Hypothesis*, and E. J. Revell, “The Two Forms of First Person Singular Pronoun in Biblical Hebrew,” will be made as parenthetical citations.

people of Israel; according to Revell, the short-form is standard for God to use in clauses that do not refer to the addressee (213).

JUDGES 6:8 — אנכי

... וַיֹּאמֶר לָהֶם כֹּה־אָמַר יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל אֲנִי הָעֹלִיתִי אֶתְכֶם מִמִּצְרַיִם וָאֶצִּיא אֶתְכֶם מִבֵּית עַבְדִּים:

... And he said to them, “Thus says the LORD, God of Israel, ‘I, myself, brought you up from Egypt and brought you out from the house of bondage.’”

This verse begins a prophetic oracle delivered by a unnamed prophet to the children of Israel. Driver does not remark on this verse specifically, and his use of rhythm as a discriminate does not provide much help as it he does not give reason as to why the long-form would be better suited in this instance than the short-form. However, when the pro. is appended to the verb he states that the long-form is used when a “strong emphasis” is required (223); perhaps this “strong emphasis” is meant to distinguish YHWH from the gods of the Amorites in 6:10. This instance is in concordance with Cassuto’s first category (50, a). This instance falls into Revell’s category of speech ascribed to God. The long-form is used to establish ‘background’ for what will come (213).¹⁹

JUDGES 6:10 — אני

וָאִמַּרְתָּ לָכֶם אֲנִי יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם לֹא תִירָאוּ אֶת־אֱלֹהֵי הָאֻמִּי אֲשֶׁר אַתֶּם יוֹשְׁבִים בָּאָרֶץ

And I said to you, “I am the LORD, your God. Do not fear the gods of the Amorites in whose land you dwell.

This verse is a continuation of the prophetic oracle begun in 6:8. According to Driver, the long-form is only used by God when the predicate is not the divine name or when אֱלֹהֵיךָ is used in apposition; since the heavier 2mpl suffix is used, the short-form is standard (225). The closest of Cassuto’s categories under which this instance falls is category (e), where in a nominal clause he says the long-form is standard (51). While Cassuto’s work is focused only on Genesis,

19. cf. 1 Sam 10:18 for the same usage.

the phrase *אֲנִי יְהוָה* does appear in Gen 15:7, though he does not seem to address it. For Revell, the short-form is standard for God (213).

JUDGES 6:15 — אֲנִי

וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלָיו בִּי אֲדֹנָי בְּמָה אוֹשִׁיעַ אֶת־יִשְׂרָאֵל הִנֵּה אֶלְפִי הַדֵּל בְּמַנַּשֶּׁה וְאֲנִי הַצָּעִיר בְּבֵית אָבִי:

And he said to him, “Oh my lord, how will I save Israel? Behold, my clan is the weakest in Manasseh, and I *am* the least in my father’s house.”

This verse is part of an exchange between the angel of YHWH and Gideon. Driver indicates that the long-form is used in nominal clauses to lay “slight emphasis” on the subject, in contrast to the short-form that would be used as the standard (223). In Cassuto’s model the long-form is standard in a nominal clause and draws attention to the subject (51, e)—“*I am the least in my father’s house.*” Since Gideon is an inferior speaking to a superior, the long-form is standard in Revell’s theory. Though the speech can be construed as self-advancement (204),²⁰ which uses the short-form as the standard, since the statement is self-abasing, the long-form is used (204–205).

JUDGES 6:18 — אֲנִי

. . . וַיֹּאמֶר אֲנִי אֶשָּׁב עַד שׁוֹבֶדָּ:

. . . And he said, “I, myself, will remain here until you return.”

This is a continuation of the exchange between the angel and Gideon; the angel is the speaker in this verse. According to Driver, when the subject of the verb is expressed in the pro., the short-form is only slight emphasis while the long-form shows “stronger emphasis” (223). This instance is in concordance with Cassuto’s first category (50, a). This also holds true in Revell’s approach where the short-form is the standard for a superior (the angel) speaking to an in-

20. Gideon would be seeking after his own gains by abasing himself so as to *avoid* having to fight.

ferior (Gideon). Since the angel uses the long-form, he is showing ‘solidarity’ with Gideon (210).

JUDGES 6:37 — אֲנֹכִי

הִנֵּה אֲנֹכִי מַצִּיג אֶת־גִּזְתְּ הַצֹּמֶר בַּגֶּרֶן

“Behold, I am laying a wool fleece on the threshing floor.”

This is a continuation of the exchange between the angel and Gideon; Gideon is the speaker in this verse. According to Driver, when the particle הִנֵּה precedes the pro., then the long-form is more commonly used, with אֲנֹכִי appearing only once in Jer 7:11 (226). This verse poses the same problem for Cassuto’s scheme as Judg 6:15—there is no reason to understand the pronoun as having a great significance in this clause (51, e). Gideon is not attempting to differentiate himself from the angel or any other person, rather the present focus of the verse is the fleece as a sign. Since Gideon is speaking to a superior, his use of the long-form is standard in Revell’s approach, since it is the unmarked form used by non-status marked speakers (203).

JUDGES 7:17 — אֲנֹכִי

וַיֹּאמֶר אֲלֵיהֶם מִמָּנִי תִרְאוּ וְכֵן תַּעֲשׂוּ וְהָיָה אֲנֹכִי בְּאֶבְקַתְּהֶם וְהָיָה כַּאֲשֶׁר־אֶעֱשֶׂה
כֵּן תַּעֲשׂוּ:

And he said to them, “Look at me and do likewise. Behold, when I come to the edge of the camp, it will be as I do so you will do.”

In this verse, Gideon is giving instructions to his men in preparation for a battle. As in 6:37, according to Driver, when הִנֵּה precedes the pro., then the long-form is more commonly used (226). Unlike as in 6:15 and 6:37 where the focus does not appear to be on Gideon, in this verse, Gideon is clearly the focus; this is in alignment with Cassuto (51, e). According to Revell, since Gideon, the superior, is leading his army into battle, the use of the long form could reflect a sense of solidarity with the men (209).

JUDGES 7:18 – אנכי

וְתַקַּעְתִּי בַשּׁוֹפָר אֲנִי וְכָל-אֲשֶׁר אִתִּי וְתַקַּעְתֶּם בַּשּׁוֹפְרוֹת גַּם-אַתֶּם סְבִיבוֹת כָּל-הַמַּחֲנֶה

“And I, myself, will blow on the trumpet, I and all those with me. Then you will blow on the trumpets, you surrounding the whole camp.”

This verse is a continuation of the instructions for battle. This is the first time the long-form appears *following* the finite verb (cf. 6:8, 18). According to Driver, the long-form is again used for “stronger emphasis” (223), perhaps this emphasis can be ascribed to the emotion of the upcoming battle. However, syntactically, Driver states the usual custom is for the short-form to appear after the verb, not the long-form (226). For Cassuto, the use of the long-form with a finite verb is standard (50, a). Like 7:17 Gideon is demonstrating solidarity with his men (Revell 209).

JUDGES 8:5 – אנכי

וְאֲנִי רֹדֵף אַחֲרֵי זִבְחָ וְצַלְמוֹנָה מְלֻכֵּי מִדְיָן:

“And I am pursuing after Zebah and Zalmuna, the kings of Midian.”

Gideon is speaking to the men of Succoth in this verse. According to Driver, when the pro. precedes a non-finite verb the long-form is standard (223), since Gideon and his men are said to be faint (8:4) the use of the long-form for “strong emphasis” makes sense. According to Cassuto, the long-form puts focus on the subject, not the object (50, e). It is difficult to determine the status of the speakers in accordance with Revell’s model. While Gideon is not marked for status, he is obviously portrayed as a charismatic leader; the addressees are introduced in 8:5 as אֲנָשֵׁי סֻכּוֹת ‘the men of Succoth,’ with no status markings but in 8:6 as שָׂרֵי סֻכּוֹת ‘the princes of Succoth,’ making Gideon and the addressees equals. Either way the use of the long-form would be to show self-effacement on behalf of Gideon (208).

JUDGES 8:23 – אני

וַיֹּאמֶר אֲלֵהֶם גִּדְעוֹן לֹא-אֶמְשָׁל אֲנִי בָכֶם וְלֹא-יִמְשָׁל בְּנִי בָכֶם יְהוָה יִמְשָׁל בָּכֶם:

And Gideon said to them, “I, myself, will not rule over you, nor will my son rule over you. The LORD will rule over you.”

Gideon is speaking to men of Israel. According to Driver, the use of the short-form after the verb is typical (226; cf. 7:18). Cassuto states that long-form is standard in a verbal clause (50, a). For Revell the use of the short-form is for emphasis, especially by non-status marked speakers (206).

JUDGES 9:2 – אני

... וּזְכַרְתֶּם כִּי-עֲצָמְכֶם וּבֶשָׁרְכֶם אֲנִי:

“... and remember that I am your flesh and bone.”

Abimelech, the son of Gideon, who is referred to as Jerubaal in this story, is speaking to his in-laws in Schechem, particularly the brothers of his wife. He is persuading them that it is better for him alone to rule over the men of Shechem than all of Gideon’s 70 sons. Driver indicates that the short-form is used in nominal clauses as the standard with no emphasis (223). According to Cassuto the short-form is used in nominal clauses when stress is given to “object” (in this case, the predicate) over the subject (51, e). Thus it should be read as, “and remember I am your *flesh and bone*,” not, “remember *I* am your flesh and bone.” Since all the characters are non-status marked Abimelech’s use of the short form indicates that the clause is central to the speaker’s concerns (Revell 204, 207n).

JUDGES 11:9 – אנכי

וַיֹּאמֶר יִפְתָּח אֶל-זִקְנֵי גִלְעָד אֲסִי-מְשִׁיבִים אַתֶּם אוֹתִי לְהִלָּחֵם בְּבָנֵי עַמּוֹן וְנָתַן יְהוָה אוֹתָם לְפָנַי אֲנֹכִי אֶהְיֶה לָכֶם לְרֹאשׁ:

And Jephthah said to the elders of Gilead, “If you bring me back to fight against the Ammonites, and the LORD delivers them to me—will I, myself, be your head?”

Driver's states that the short-form is the rule for appending the pro. to the verb, but when the long-form is used it is for "strong emphasis" (223). For Cassuto, the use of the long-form with a finite verb is standard (50, a). Revell does not list 'elders' as a status marker (201). Since Jephthah is not marked for status, his use of the long-form is merely the standard form (203).

JUDGES 11:27 – אנכי

וְאֲנֹכִי לֹא־חָטָאתִי לָךְ וְאַתָּה עָשִׂה אֵתִי רָעָה לְהִלָּחֵם בִּי

"And I, myself, have not sinned against you, but you have done evil by warring against me."

This speech comes in the context of a message sent by Jephthah to the Ammonites (11:12). For Driver, the long-form is indicative of "strong emphasis" (223). For Cassuto, the use of the long-form with a finite verb is standard (50, a). Since Jephthah is not marked for status and his messengers are addressing a status marked speaker, the king of the Ammonites, his use of the long-form is merely the standard form (Revell 203).

JUDGES 11:35 – אנכי

וַיְהִי כִּרְאוּתוֹ אוֹתָהּ וַיִּקְרַע אֶת־בְּגָדָיו וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלֶיהָ בְּתִי הִכְרַעַתְנִי וְאַתָּה הָיִיתְ בְּעֵבְרִי
וְאֲנֹכִי פָצִיתִי־פִי אֶל־יְהוָה וְלֹא אוּכַל לָשׁוּב:

And when he saw her, he tore his clothes. Then he said, "Alas! My daughter! You have brought me very low. And you have become my troubler. I, myself, have opened my mouth to the LORD, and I cannot go back."

This verse takes place when Jephthah sees his daughter coming to greet him, unaware of the vow he had made. For Driver, the long-form is indicative of "strong emphasis" (203). For Cassuto, the use of the long-form with a finite verb is standard (50, a). According to Revell, the use of the long-form indicates 'solidarity' and "shows care and concern through the use of polite language." (209–210).

JUDGES 11:37 – אֲנִי

וַתֹּאמֶר אֶל-אָבִיהָ יַעֲשֵׂה לִּי הַדָּבָר הַזֶּה הַרְפָּה מִמֶּנִּי שְׁנַיִם חֳדָשִׁים וְאֵלְכָה וְיָרַדְתִּי
עַל-הַהָרִים וְאֶבְכֶּה עַל-בְּתוּלִי אֲנִי וְרַעוּתִי:

And she said to her father, “Allow this thing to be done to me. Leave me alone for two months, then I will depart. I, myself, will go up to the mountains and bewail my virginity, I and my companions.”

This is a continuation of the exchange between Jephthah and his daughter. For Driver, the long-form is indicative of “strong emphasis” (203, 226n). For Cassuto, the use of the long-form with a finite verb is standard (50, a). For Revell, the use of the long-form by a non-marked status speaker is the norm (203).

JUDGES 12:2 – אֲנִי

וַיֹּאמֶר יִפְתָּח אֲלֵיהֶם אִישׁ רִיב הָיִיתִי אֲנִי וְעַמִּי וּבְנֵי-עַמּוֹן מֵאֹד

And Jephthah said to them, “I, myself, and my people had a great strife with the Ammonites.”

For Driver, the short-form is preferred when it is “appended to the verb for the sake of emphasis,” though not demonstrating as much emphasis as the long-form (223). For Cassuto, the long-form is standard when the pro. is being used in conjunction with a finite verb (50, a). According to Revell, the short-form is used here in “forceful (or emotional) presentation of a case,” (206–207)—in this instance, Jephthah’s justification of his action.

JUDGES 13:11 – אֲנִי

וַיָּקָם וַיֵּלֶךְ מִנּוֹחַ אַחֲרֵי אִשְׁתּוֹ וַיָּבֹא אֶל-הָאִישׁ וַיֹּאמֶר לוֹ הֲאֵתָה הָאִישׁ אֲשֶׁר-דִּבַּרְתָּ
אֶל-הָאִשָּׁה וַיֹּאמֶר אֲנִי:

Then Minoah arose and went after his wife, and he came to the man. Then he said to him, “Are you the man who spoke to the woman?” And he said, “I *am*.”

This is the first occurrence of the pro. in the Samson story, though the only characters so far are Minoah, his unnamed but barren wife, and the man/angel of God who had—previous to verse—appeared to Minoah’s wife. Driver indicates that the short-form is used in nominal clauses as the standard with no

emphasis (223). According to Cassuto, the long-form is used in nominal clauses to emphasize the subject and the short-form is used to emphasize the object (50, e); since there is only a one word response, the subject must have the emphasis, in contrast to his view. This verse sits nicely into Revell's framework, where the man/angel of God is speaking to a non-status marked speaker (208).

JUDGES 15:3 – אני

וַיֹּאמֶר לָהֶם שְׁמִשּׁוֹן נִקִּיתִי הַפֶּעַם מִפְּלִשְׁתִּים כִּי־עָשָׂה אֲנִי עִמָּם רָעָה:

And Samson said to them, “This time I will be blameless regarding the Philistines for the evil I am going to do to them.”

Samson is speaking in this verse to the father of his Philistine bride because he gave his daughter to another man, having assumed that Samson had deserted his own wife. According to Driver, the short-form is the rule when following a participle, contra when the long-form precedes the participle (223). For Cassuto, the short-form used with a non-finite verb places emphasis on the object, which would be the impending ‘evil’ (50, e). Revell determines this use as an instance of a non-status marked speaker using the short-form to highlight the clause as crucial to the situation (207).

JUDGES 16:17 – אני

וַיַּגֵּד־לָהּ אֶת־כָּל־לִבּוֹ וַיֹּאמֶר לָהּ מוֹרָהּ לֹא־עָלָה עַל־רֹאשִׁי כִּי־נָזִיר אֱלֹהִים אֲנִי מִבֶּטֶן אִמִּי

And he told her his entire heart, and he said to her, “A razor has never come on my head for I *have been* a Nazirite of God from my mother’s womb.”

In this classic scene, Samson finally reveals to Delilah the secret of his strength. Driver indicates that the short-form is used in nominal clauses as the standard with no emphasis (223) Cassuto understands the use of the short-form in clauses without a finite verb as emphasizing the object; though there is no grammatical object in the clause, the predicate, “a Nazirite of God,” has the same function (50, e). Revell categorizes this as an instance of a non-status

marked speaker using the short-form to indicate self-advancement or asserting a claim (204).

JUDGES 17:2 – אני

וַיֹּאמֶר לְאִמּוֹ אֵלָיוּ וּמֵאָה הַכֶּסֶף אֲשֶׁר לָקַחְתָּ לְךָ וְאֵת אֵלֶיךָ וְגַם אֶמְרַתְּ בְּאָזְנִי הִנֵּה-הַכֶּסֶף
אֵתִי אֲנִי לָקַחְתִּיו וְתֹאמַר אִמּוֹ בְּרוּךְ בְּנִי לַיהוָה:

And he said to his mother, “The eleven-hundred pieces of silver that were taken from you and you had uttered a curse, moreover you said in my ear—behold, the silver is with me. I, myself, took it.” And his mother said, “My son is blessed of the LORD.”

The short-form is standard when appended to the verb for the sake of emphasis, according to Driver (223). Cassuto states the opposite, that the long-form is standard when being used in a verbal clause (50, a). Revell categorizes Micah’s use of the short-form as that of a non-status marked speaking showing strong emotion (205).

JUDGES 17:9A – אנכי

וַיֹּאמֶר-לּוֹ מִיכָה מֵאֵין תָּבוֹא וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלָיו לֵאמֹר אֲנִי מִבֵּית לָחֶם יְהוּדָה . . .

And Micah said to him, “Where are you coming from?” And he said to him, “I *am* a Levite from Bethlehem in Judah . . .”

The long-form appears twice in Judges 17:9 in two different usages, both by the Levite to whom Micah is speaking. The first appears in a nominal clause. Driver indicates that the long-form is used in nominal clauses to lay “slight emphasis” on the subject, in contrast to the short-form that would be used as the standard (223). According to Cassuto, the use of the long-form in a nominal clause emphasizes the subject (51, e). According to Revell, the long-form in a nominal clause like this is meant to indicate that the speaker is “a member of a group,” (206n).

JUDGES 17:9B – אנכי

וְאֲנִכִּי הֵלֵךְ לְגוֹר בְּאֶשֶׁר אֶמְצָא:

“. . . and I am going to sojourn wherever I find a place.”

For Driver, this verse is an axiomatic example for the differentiation of the forms according to rhythm. In 2 Sam 15:20 a similar clause is used: וַאֲנִי הוֹלֵךְ. עַל אֲשֶׁר-אֲנִי הוֹלֵךְ. Driver observes that the heavier long-form would be inappropriate for the repetition of the pro., but in Judges 17:9, where the pro. is not repeated, the long-form is appropriate (223). According to Cassuto, the long-form is standard in clauses without a finite verb (51, e). For Revell, the use of the long-form by a non-status marked speaker is the norm (203).

JUDGES 17:10 – אַנְכִי

וַיֹּאמֶר לוֹ מִיכָה שְׁבָה עִמָּדִי וְהָיָה-לִּי לְאָב וְלִכְהֵן וְאֲנֹכִי אֶתֶן-לְךָ עֲשֶׂרֶת כֶּסֶף לַיָּמִים וְעֶרְךָ בְּגָדִים וּמַחֲזִיקְךָ וְיֵלֶךְ הַלֵּוִי:

And Micah said to him, “Remain here with me, and be to me a father and a priest. And I, myself, will give to you ten pieces of silver a year, a suit of clothes, and a living.” The Levite went.

Driver notes that the long-form demonstrates “strong emphasis,” perhaps, in this instance, in contradistinction between the Levite in the preceding clause and Micah (223). This fits into Cassuto’s category of the long-form being standard with a finite verb (50, a). Revell categorizes this instance of a status marked speaker using the long-form to show ‘solidarity’ (209).

JUDGES 19:18A – אַנְכִי

וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלָיו עַבְרִים אֲנִיחֵנוּ מִבֵּית-לָחֶם יְהוּדָה עַד-יִרְכָּתִי הַר-אֶפְרַיִם מִשָּׁם אֲנִי

And he said to him, “We are passing from Bethlehem in Judah unto the farther side of the hill country of Ephraim. I *am* from there. . .”

In this episode, a Levite (different from the one in the previous verses) is returning from Bethel in Judah where he was reclaiming his concubine in order to return to Ephraim. Unwilling to lodge the night in Jerusalem, a Jebusite city, he enters to Gibeah, where he is met by an old man. Driver indicates that the long-form is used in nominal clauses to lay “slight emphasis” on the subject, in contrast to the short-form that would be used as the standard (223). Accord-

ing to Cassuto, the long-form in nominal clauses is standard (51, e). Revell does not cite this verse, but it may fall into the same category as 17:9a where it is meant to indicate that the speaker is “a member of a group,” (206n).

JUDGES 19:18B – אני

וַאֲלֹךְ עַד־בֵּית לָחֶם יְהוּדָה וְאֶת־בֵּית יְהוָה אֲנִי הֹלֵךְ וְאִין אִישׁ מֵאֶסֶף אוֹתִי הַבֵּיתָה: . .

“. . . And I went unto Bethlehm in Judah. And now I am going to the house of the LORD, but there is not who will take me into a house.”

Driver notes that when the pro. precedes the participle the long-form is the rule (223). Cassuto states that the short-form is used with non-finite verbs when the object is being stressed (51, e); this can be possibly inferred by the way the object, the house of Y_{HWH}, is fronted. Revell regards the use of the short-form by the Levite, a non-status marked speakers, as emotional, indicating strong emotion is desiring to see the ‘house of Y_{HWH},’ the meaning of which is uncertain (205).

JUDGES 20:4 – אני

וַיֵּעַן הָאִישׁ הַלֵּוִי אִישׁ הָאִשָּׁה הַנִּרְצָחָה וַיֹּאמֶר הַגְּבֻעָתָה אֲשֶׁר לְבִנְיָמִן בָּאתִי אֲנִי וּפִילֹגְשִׁי לָלוּן:

And the Levite, the husband of the woman who was murdered, said, “To Gibeah, which is in Benjamin, I, myself, and my concubine came to spend the night.”

For Driver, the short-form is standard when the pro. emphasizes the verb and especially when it comes after the verb (223). According to Cassuto, the long-form is standard when emphasizing a verb (50, a). Revell regards this as an instance of a non-status marked speaker using the short-form to show emphasis.

CONCLUSION

While each author’s model has certain strengths and weaknesses, none is able to account for all the data well or able to give a satisfactory explanation as to why the language operates the way it does.

Driver's model brings a certain sense of literary sensitivity to the text regarding the effect that would have been produced by the rhythm of the two forms. One can find agreement with Driver when he states that the long-form fits with the stately language of Isa 43:25 *אֲנֹכִי אֲנֹכִי הוּא מַחֶה פְּשָׁעֶיךָ לְמַעְנִי* 'I, I am he who blots out transgressions for my own sake.' However, his way in which the rhythm of the word affects position within a sentence and emphasis is lacking. The off-handed remark in 19:18a, *מִשָּׁם אֲנֹכִי* 'I *am* from there,' would seem better suited to use the rapid movement of the short-form. Driver asserts that when the pro. is used in conjunction with a participle the short-form will appear after the participle, and the long-form will appear before the participle, especially with *הִנֵּה*. The long-form does appear before the participle with *הִנֵּה* in 6:37 and 7:17, without *הִנֵּה* in 8:5 and 17:9a. The short-form appears after the participle in 15:3, but in 19:18b the short-form is used before the participle. Additionally, much of Driver's idea of 'emphasis' must be read into the text. He argues that the long-form is used with a finite verb to show strong emphasis, but in 6:18 the simple phrase, "I [*אֲנֹכִי*] will remain here," shows no real emphasis; 7:18 is a similar situation.

Cassuto's model is more scientific in its approach than Driver's, and the exactness of the model allows it to be tested more accurately. It should be noted that Cassuto's work was meant to show the inadequacies of the Documentary Hypothesis and his samples are taken only from Genesis. While his findings may hold true for Genesis, they do not transfer well into the rest of biblical prose. His first category—(a) that when the pro. serves as the subject of a finite verb, positioned either before or after the verb, the long-form is used—fails in multiple verses (1:3, 2:21, 8:23, 12:2, 17:2, 20:4). His last category—(e) if the pro. is used in a nominal sentence or used with a non-finite verb, and it is used to highlight the subject, then the long-form is used, but if it the object is being highlighted, then the short-form is used—also fails in many verses. 13:11 is a clear

verse where the subject must be highlighted, since there is only one word in the whole sentence.

Revell's model involving speaker status is robust and able to account for many more occurrences than Driver or Cassuto's models. Notwithstanding, there are times when it fails to account for every occurrence. Revell classifies 17:10 as an instance of a status marked speaker using the long-form to show 'solidarity' (209). Micah, however, is never addressed with any status marking title nor is he addressed with any deferential forms that would indicate that he is a status marked speaker (201).²¹ While it could be argued that Micah is clearly in a position over the Levite,²² it would then complicate 8:23, where Revell identifies Gideon as a non-status marked speaker, even though as a military leader he is clearly superior to those around him. The most interesting case is 19:18 where both forms are used in the mouth of the same person while speaking to the same person. Revell argues that the first is to show identity with a group and the second to show heightened emotion.

The use of honorifics in language is a well documented linguistic phenomenon,²³ and Revell's contribution helps to situate BH within this larger framework. However, status-marked speech typically manifests itself in the second-person pronouns (i.e. T-V distinction),²⁴ and languages which do have status-marked forms of the 1csg ind. pro., such as Japanese and Korean, have a far more robust system for marking status. The use of morphosyntactic honorifics²⁵ does not occur in BH (other than the possibility of the 1csg ind. pro.) or any of

21. As Cynthia L. Miller notes, "deferential language indexes the social relationship of participants within a conversation. Within narrative, however, the ideology of the narrator, rather than the putative social relationships of the characters, ultimately controls the use of deferential language," *The Representation of Speech in Biblical Hebrew Narrative: A Linguistic Analysis*, 280.

22. However, in 17:10 Micah asks the Levite to be a father to him, a term of status. This would undoubtedly make the Levite, not Micah, the status marked speaker.

23. M. Shibatani, "Honorifics."

24. The term 'T-V' was popularized by Brown and Gilman, "The Pronouns of Power and Solidarity," based off of the Latin pronouns *tu* and *vos*.

25. All languages allow for some form of status-marking. While this may not be accomplished by morphosyntactic features, it may be accomplished by semantic analogues: in the first-person by deferential language ('I' > 'your servant'), or in the second-person by titles ('ma'am,' 'your honor').

the Semitic languages. Thus, Revell's theory that BH has status-marked forms of the 1csg ind. pro. seems unlikely to be inherent in Hebrew grammar.

While Revell's work is the most comprehensive, one question remains—why? From the outset, Revell notes that his work is descriptive (200), it does not seek to answer why each form was used in a certain category. But certain questions still remain. Why would quotations ascribed to God use the long-form in 'background' clauses? No biblical author would conclude that God's status is somehow diminished by speaking about previous events. Revell's categorization may be correct, but it does not give reasons. Many times, the reader is forced to read into the text, the strong emotion, sense of effacement, or any other reason given as to why the non-standard form is used. Verses 7:17 and 18 do not give any reason to believe that Gideon is showing solidarity with his men; while it may be reasonable to do so, he is never addressed with a status marking title nor addressed with any deferential forms.

THE 1CSG INDEPENDENT PRONOUN AND FUNCTIONAL GRAMMAR

INTRODUCTION

Having examined the three major theories regarding the vacillation between the long-form and the short-form, we will now turn to functional grammar and the role it may play in differentiating between the two forms. Within recent years the application of Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG), particularly information structure, to Biblical Hebrew has grown,¹ primarily in narrative. In this chapter I examine the role that information structure plays in direct speech with regards to the 1csg ind. pro. This includes examining what pragmatic functions one form serves versus the other in verbal clauses (e.g. does only the long-form appear what the pronoun is topicalized, but the short-form when it is focused?). In nominal clauses, the role the forms play in different types of relational clauses is considered (e.g. does the long-form appear in attributive clauses, but the short-form in identifying clauses?) Like the previous chapter, this chapter will focus on examples taken from the book of Judges. Though insights are

1. To note a few: Matthew P. Anstey *Towards a Functional Discourse Grammar Analysis of Tiberian Hebrew*; Barry. L. Bandstra, "Word Order and Emphasis in Biblical Hebrew Narrative: Syntactic Observations on Genesis 22 from a Discourse Perspective"; Katsuomi. Shimshaki, *Focus Structure in Biblical Hebrew: A Study of Word Order and Information Structure*; Adina Moshavi *Word Order in the Biblical Hebrew Finite Clause*; Sebastian J. Floor, "From Information Structure, Topic and Focus, to Theme in Biblical Hebrew Narrative"; Silviu Tatu, *The Qatal//Yiqtol (Yiqtol//Qatal) Verbal Sequence in Semitic Couplets*.

gained from a close reading of these texts through a different perspective, overall, it does *not* provide a helpful framework for differentiating between the two forms.

FUNCTIONAL GRAMMAR

WHAT IT IS

Systemic Functional Grammar is field of grammar closely associated with the work of M. A. K. Halliday, who was influenced by the Prague School, particularly Vilém Mathesius, by J. R. Firth, and by American linguists E. Sapir and B. L. Whorf. Unlike traditional grammar, which generally seeks to describe the fundamental components of a language, SFG is a grammatical description of how a language is structured so as to convey meaning, hence functional. It is systemic in that it views language as “a network of systems.”² Put succinctly, “A language is a resource for making meaning, and meaning resides in systemic patterns of choice.”³ While much has been written on the subject, this study will rely primarily on Halliday’s major work, *An Introduction to Functional Grammar*, which was revised and expanded in its third edition by Christian M. I. M. Matthiessen.

THEME & RHEME / TOPIC & FOCUS

This section will explore two key concepts in SFG—theme and rheme, and topic and focus. The first set of concepts, theme and rheme, describe how *intra*-clausal constituents are arranged so as to convey a message. The second set of concepts, topic and focus, describe how these constituents operate on the *inter*-clausal level (i.e. across clauses).⁴

The theme of a sentence (or rather, clause) is the element that is central to the development of the discourse and generally adds the no new informa-

2. M. A. K. Halliday and Christian M. I. M. Matthiessen, *An Introduction to Functional Grammar* 3rd. ed., 23.

3. Ibid.

4. See Robert D. Holmstedt “Word Order and Information Structure in Ruth and Jonah: A Generative-Typological Analysis,” whose general scheme is being followed herein.

tion—the theme of sentence is often described as ‘old’ or ‘given.’ and as “the point of departure.”⁵ The rest of the sentence develops the theme; this is referred to as the Rheme.⁶ Consider the following example:

Barack Obama is the President of the United States.

The theme is “Barack Obama,” and what is being said about the theme, the rheme, is “is the President of the United States.” The theme, being the “point of departure” occupies the clause-initial position. An author can change the thematic element of the clause by changing what occupies the clause-initial slot, as seen below.

(1)

Barack Obama The President of the United States	is the President of the United States. is Barack Obama.
Theme	Rheme

In a declarative clause the theme and grammatical subject are conflated—this is called an unmarked theme, since it is the standard (2). When the theme is any constituent other than the grammatical subject (i.e. object, verb, adverbial phrase) it is said to be a marked theme (3).⁷

(2)

Little Bo-peep	has lost her sheep.
Unmarked Theme	Rheme

(3)

In my younger and more vulnerable years	my father gave me some advice that I’ve been turning over in my mind ever since. ⁸
Marked Theme	Rheme

5. Halliday and Matthiessen, *IFG*, 64.

6. Arab grammarians developed a somewhat similar idea. The subject of a nominal clause is the **المُبْتَدَأُ** *al-mubtadaʾu* ‘the initiator’ (lit. that with which a beginning is made), and that which explains the initiator is **الْخَبَرُ** (*al-ḥabaru*) ‘the announcement.’ The initiator is similar to the theme, and the announcement is similar to the rheme. However, the categories for Arabic only apply to nominal clauses. The terms of theme and rheme apply to any clause type, and describe how information is conveyed on the clause level.

7. Halliday and Matthiessen, *IFG*, 73–74.

8. F. Scott Fitzgerald, *The Great Gatsby*, 1.

In Biblical Hebrew the situation is similar where, “The constituent placed first in the clause is that which the author wishes to be the primary focus of the readers attention,”⁹ (i.e. the theme). Determining which theme is marked vs. unmarked is dependent on the type of discourse and is strongly linked to the debate concerning word-order. For example, in narrative, there are two common structures: the verb in the initial position (V-S) (4)—the typical *wayyiqtol* form, and when another constituent is initial (S-V) (5). In (4), the theme is וַיֵּרֶד and the remainder is the rheme; in (5), וַיְהִי is the theme and the remainder is the rheme.

וַיֵּרֶד בָּהּ לָבוֹא עִמָּהֶם תַּרְשִׁישָׁה מִלִּפְנֵי יְהוָה: (4)

And he went down in it to go with them to Tarshish from before the LORD.
(Jonah 1:3d)

וַיְהִי הַטִּיל רִיחַ-גְּדוּלָּה אֶל-הַיָּם (5)

Now the LORD had cast a great wind to the sea. (Jonah 1:4a)

These two different constructions allow the author of a biblical text change which constituent is thematic—the verb in (4) and the subject in (5).¹⁰ The *wayyiqtol* construction is the default narrative structure and the unmarked theme. The change in word-order is pragmatically motivated—that is, the author intentionally shifts from the standard form in order to convey the information in a different way.

Above the theme and rheme is the layer of topic and focus, which describes how the theme and rheme function pragmatically. Theme and rheme function on the clause level, while topic and focus function above the clause level in order to orient the listener to multiple themes or to contrast them. Topicaliza-

9. E. J. Revel, “The Conditioning of Word Order in Verbless Clauses in Biblical Hebrew,” 2.

10. This study is only concerned with how word-order affects the information structure of the clause. For a survey of how the different syntactical forms affect discourse analysis, see Robert E. Longacre, “The Discourse Structure of the Flood Narrative,” who demonstrates that *wayyiqtol* forms compose the ‘foreground’ information in narrative and the *x-qatal* constructions compose ‘background’ information.

tion orients the listener to new information, and focusing contrasts themes. Consider Job 1:1 (6) which begins a new discourse with no prior information.

אִישׁ הָיָה בְּאֶרֶץ-עוּז (6)

A man was in the land of Uz. (Job 1:1)

Since this begins a whole new discourse, there is no previous information, the theme—‘a man’—is neither topicalized nor focused. In the case of examples (4) and (5), the shift from V-S to S-V is pragmatically driven in order to topicalize the theme.¹¹ Focus is like topicalization except that it is inherently contrastive (7).

וְרִיקָם הָשִׁיבֵנִי יְהוָה (7)

“But empty, the LORD has brought me back.” (Ruth 1:21b)

In the beginning of Ruth 1:21, Naomi states *אָנִי מְלֵאָה הִלְכֹתִי* ‘I went out full,’ and in the second clause (7), the theme—*וְרִיקָם* ‘but empty’ is contrasted against ‘full.’ Regarding the 1csg ind. pro., both forms are used with finite verbs to present either topic or focus.

Since the finite verbs are marked for person, the pro. must serve a pragmatic purpose. In (8), which is historical narrative embedded in direct speech, the pro. serves to topicalize the theme.

אֲנִי הָעֵלִיתִי אֶתְכֶם מִמִּצְרַיִם (8)

“I, myself, brought you up from Egypt.” (Judg 6:8)

It is not uncommon in BH for a speaker to begin first-person historical narrative without topicalizing the pro. (9).¹²

11. Bandstra, “Word Order and Emphasis in Biblical Hebrew Narrative” esp. 123., who describes the shift in BH as ‘topicalization.’

12. The lad’s speech begin’s with *נִקְרָא נִקְרִיתִי* ‘I happened by chance,’ a suffixed conjugation verb but no topicalized pronoun. The second clause serves to topicalize Saul. Note how once the background is established, *wayyiqtol* forms are used to move the narrative along. The same structure occurs in Judg 6:8, where after the pronoun is topicalized, the remainder of the narrative is moved along by *wayyiqtol* forms.

וַיֹּאמֶר הַנָּעַר הַמַּגִּיד לֹא נִקְרָא נִקְרִיתִי בְּהָר הַגִּלְבֹּעַ וְהִנֵּה שָׁאוּל נֹשֵׁעַן עַל־חֲנִיתוֹ (9)
 . . . וַיִּפֹּן אַחֲרָיו וַיִּרְאֵנִי וַיִּקְרָא אֵלַי וַאֲמַר הִנְנִי:

And the lad who was talking to him said, “I happened by chance upon mount Gilboa, and behold, Saul was leaning upon his spear. . . and he fell upon it. Then he saw me and called to me. I answered, ‘Here am I.’”

(2 Sam 1:6–7)

In (8) the pro. served as a topicalized theme at the beginning of a discourse. If the pro. serves to topicalize the theme and is preceded by independent clauses, then it is introduced by a *waw* (10).

וַיֹּאמֶר לֹא מִיָּכָה שְׂבָה עִמָּדִי וְהָיִה־לִּי לְאָב וְלִכְהֵן וְאֶנְכִּי אֶתֶּן־לָךְ עֲשֶׂרֶת כֶּסֶף (10)
 לַיָּמִים וְעֵרֶךְ בְּגָדִים וּמַחֲתָךְ

And Micah said to him, “Remain with me. And be to me a father and a priest. And I, myself, will give to you ten pieces of silver a year, a suit of clothes, and your food.” (Judg 17:10)

Not only is the long-form of the 1csg ind. pro. used for topicalization, so is the short-form (11)

וַיֹּאמֶר לְאִמּוֹ . . . הִנֵּה־הַכֶּסֶף אִתִּי אֲנִי לְקַחְתִּיו (11)

And he said to his mother, “. . . Behold, the silver is with me. I, myself, took it” (Judg 17:2)

The remainder of the verses in Judges where the pro. served to topicalize the theme are 6:18; 11:9, and 27.¹³

In addition to topicalization, which sets one theme apart from others, the ind. pro. can also represent focus, where one theme is *contrasted* to another theme. This can be realized with the long-form (12) and with the short-form (13), though an example of the latter is not found in Judges.

13. 11:27 is especially interesting as the use of *לֹא* would normally ‘syntactically trigger’ the verb to the clause-initial position, Holmstedt “Word Order and Information Structure in Ruth and Jonah,” 125–126. However, the authorial desire to topicalize the pro. causes it to occupy the clause-initial position.

וַיֹּאמֶר אֵהָה בְּתִי הִכְרַעַתְנִי וְאַתָּה הֵייתָ בְּעֶכְרִי וְאַנֹכִי פָצִיתִי-פִי אֶל-יְהוָה (12)
וְלֹא אוּכַל לָשׁוּב:

And he [Jephthah] said, “Alas, my daughter! You have brought me low.
And you have become one that troubles me. But I, myself, have opened
my mouth to the LORD. And I am unable to return.” (Judg 11:35)

וַיֹּאמֶר אַבְרָהָם אֶל-נַעְרָיו שְׁבוּ-לָכֶם פֹּה עִם-הַחֲמוֹר וְאֲנִי וְהַנֶּעֱר נִלְכָּה עַד-כָּה (13)
וְנִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה וְנִשׁוּבָה אֵלֵיכֶם:

And Abraham said to his lads, “Stay here with the donkey. But I and the
boy will go yonder, and we will worship. Then we will return to you.”
(Gen 22:5)

Note how in (12), when speaking concerning himself, Jephthah introduces a new line of discourse using the 1csg ind. pro., but in the next clause, since the topic is still the same, there is no need to use the pro.

Four times in the book of Judges, the 1csg ind. pro. is used when it is not the theme of the clause (14–17). In (14, 15) this is because the *wəqatal* form, a volitional form which is a semantically linked to the preceding imperatives,¹⁴ must occupy the clause-initial position.

וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוּדָה לְשִׁמְעוֹן אָחִיו עֲלֵה אִתִּי בְּגוֹרְלִי וְנִלְחַמָּה בְּכַנְעֲנִי וְהִלַּכְתִּי (14)
גַּם-אֲנִי אִתָּךְ בְּגוֹרְלֶךָ

And Judah said to Simeon, his brother, “Go up with me into my territory.
And let us fight against the Canaanites. Moreover I, myself, will go with
you into your territory.” (Judg 1:3)

14. Thomas O. Lambdin, *Introduction to Biblical Hebrew*, §107.c; Waltke and O'Connor, *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax*, §32.2 especially §32.2.3.d. Steven E. Fassberg, “Sequences of Positive Commands in Biblical Hebrew: *וְאָמַרְתָּ, הֲלוֹךְ וְאָמַרְתָּ*,” which, as the title suggests, is only concerned with second-person commands.

וְתִקְעֵתִי בְּשׁוֹפָר אֲנִי וְכָל-אֲשֶׁר אִתִּי וְתִקְעֻם בְּשׁוֹפְרוֹת גַּם-אַתֶּם סְבִיבוֹת (15)
כָּל-הַמַּחֲנֶה

“And I will blow the trumpet, I, myself, and all who are with me. And then you will blow the trumpets, even yourselves, on every side of the camp.” (Judg 7:18)

In (16, 17) the complement is used as a marked theme.

וַיֹּאמֶר יִפְתָּח אֲלֵיהֶם אִישׁ רִיב הָיִיתִי אֲנִי וְעַמִּי וּבְנֵי-עַמּוֹן מֵאָד (16)

And Jephthah said to them, “I, myself, and my people had a great strife with the Ammonites.” (Judg 12:2)

וַיֵּעַן הָאִישׁ הַלֵּוִי אִישׁ הָאִשָּׁה הַנֶּרְצָחָה וַיֹּאמֶר הַגִּבְעָתָה אֲשֶׁר לְבִנְיָמִן בָּאתִי (17)
אֲנִי וּפִילִגְשִׁי לָלוּן: (Judg 20:4)

And the man, the Levite, the husband of the woman who was murdered, said, “Gibeah, which belongs to Benjamin, came I, myself, and my concubine to spend the night.”

As can be seen from the above examples, the 1csg ind. pro. is used with finite verbs either used for topicalization or focus, regardless of which form is used. Additionally, the pro. is used even when it does not serve as the theme (14–17).

RELATIONAL CLAUSES

Halliday and Matthiessen state, “‘Relational’ clauses serve to characterize and to identify,” and they are realized by the use of the verb *to be*,¹⁵ which is not explicit in Hebrew. Relational clauses have two modes—attributive (18) and identifying (19).

(18) Sarah is wise.

(19) Sarah is the leader.

In attributive relational clauses one entity, the Carrier, has some class, the Attribute ascribed to it. In the first example, the Carrier is Sarah, and the

15. Halliday and Matthiessen, *IFG*, 210–211.

Attribute is wise (20). Typically, the Attribute is indefinite, and cannot be a proper noun unless the proper noun functions as a class. While the sentence, “He is Charles Darwin,” is not attributive since it identifies the person, the sentence, “He is another Charles Darwin,” construes the proper noun as a class of people. A key characteristic of attributive clauses is that they are not reversible like identifying clauses. In the above identifying clause, “Sarah is the leader,” the two parts can be reversed with no loss of meaning (i.e. The leader is Sarah.); in the attributive clause, “Sarah is wise,” the constituents cannot be reversed.

(20)

Sarah	is	wise.
Carrier	Attribute	

In identifying relational clauses one entity, the Identifier, is being used to identify another entity, the Identified (21). In the case of indentifying clauses, the theme and rheme are equated. Unlike attributive clauses, identifying clauses do not denote class membership. In the above attributive clause, “Sarah is wise,” Sarah is part of a class—those who are wise; in the above identifying clause, “Sarah is the leader,” the Identifier can be only one. Unlike attributive clauses, identifying clauses can be reversed without change in meaning.

(21)

Sarah	is	the leader.
Identified	Identifier	

Now, attention is turned to how relational clauses are expressed in Biblical Hebrew, particularly with the 1csg ind. pro. In the book of Judges there are seven occurrences of the ind. pro. in nominal clauses (i.e. clauses without a finite or non-finite verb)—6:10, 15; 9:2; 13:11; 16:17; 17:9; 19:18. In these clauses, identifying clauses are marked by the placing of the 1csg ind. pro. at the head of the clause,¹⁶ regardless if the long (22) or short-form (23, 24) is used:

16. Francis I. Anderson, *The Hebrew Verbless Clause in the Pentateuch*, uses the terms “identification” and “classification.” I, however, prefer to use the terminology set out by Halliday. See Bruce K. Waltke and Michael Patrick O’Connor, *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax* §8.4 for an application of Anderson’s work. See Randall Buth “Word Order in the Verbless

וַיֹּאמֶר . . . וְאֲנֹכִי הַצָּעִיר בְּבֵית אָבִי: (22)

And he said. . . “And I *am* the least in my father’s house.” (Judg 6:15)

וַאֲמַרְהָ לָכֶם אֲנִי יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם (23)

And I said, “I *am* the LORD, your God.” (Judg 6:10)

וַיֹּאמֶר אָנֹכִי: (24)

And he said, “I *am* [the man who spoke to this woman].” (Judg 13:11)

In these three instances the speaker, the Identified, identifies himself as another entity, the Identifier, that cannot be construed as a class of people. A random sampling of the 1csg ind. pro. indicates that this is not constrained to the book of Judges with either the long-form (25) or short-form (26).

וַיֹּאמֶר אֲנֹכִי אֱלֹהֵי אָבִיךָ (25)

And he said, “I *am* the God of your father” (Exod 3:6)

וַיֹּאמֶר אֲנִי בְנוֹךְ בְּכֹרֶךָ עֲשׂוֹ: (26)

And he said, “I *am* your first-born son, Esau.” (Gen 27:32)

There is no distinction between the long-form and the short-form; when either form appears at the head of a nominal clause, the mode of the relational clause is identifying.

The inverse is true for attributive clauses. In English, the Carrier typically precedes the Attribute in an attributive clause (see 20); however, in Biblical Hebrew, the method to express an attributive clause is to place the Attribute before the Carrier. This can be seen in the remaining four nominal clauses with the 1csg ind. pro. from the book of Judges:¹⁷

. . . וְזָכַרְתֶּם כִּי־עַצְמֵיכֶם וּבִשְׁרֵיכֶם אֲנִי: (27)

“. . . And remember that your flesh and bone *am* I.” (Judg 9:2)

Clause” for a dissenting opinion.

17. Though it makes for poor English, the original Hebrew word order is retained for sake of clarity.

(28) וַיִּגְדֹּלָהּ . . . כִּי־נָזִיר אֱלֹהִים אָנִי מִבֶּטֶן אִמִּי

And he told her, “. . . for a Nazirite of God *am* I from my mother’s womb.” (Judg 16:17)

(29) וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלָיו לֹא אֲנִי מִבֵּית לָחֶם יְהוּדָה

And he said to him, “A Levite *am* I from Bethlehm-Judah” (Judg 17:9)

(30) וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלָיו . . . מִשָּׁם אָנֹכִי

And he said to him, “. . . from there *am* I.” (Judg 19:18)

The clearest is Judg 19:18 where the speaker is expressing an attribute concerning himself—where he is from. Like identifying clauses, both the long-form and the short-form are used; only clause position determines if the nominal clause is identifying or attributive. This pattern is also found in other books:

(31) וַיֹּאמֶר הַפִּלִּשְׁתִּי אֶל־דָּוִד הַכֶּלֶב אָנֹכִי

And the Philistine said to David, “A dog *am* I?” (1 Sam 17:43)

(32) וְתֹאמַר אֲבָל אִשָּׁה־אַלְמָנָה אָנִי

And she said, “Alas, a widow *am* I.” (2 Sam 14:5)

This pattern in nominal clauses is also used with other pronouns for identifying (33) and attributive clauses (34):

(33) וַיֹּאמֶר נָתָן אֶל־דָּוִד אַתָּה הָאִישׁ

And Nathan said to David, “You *are* the man.” (2 Sam 12:7)

(34) וַיֵּט לִבָּם אַחֲרַי אַבִּימֶלֶךְ כִּי אָמְרוּ אַחֲיָנוּ הוּא:

And their hearts inclined to follow after Abimelech, for they said, “Our brother *is* he.” (Judg 9:3)

SUMMARY

Overall, while SFG has offered great insights into BH, it does not provide a helpful model for distinguishing between the uses of the long-form and the short-form of the 1csg ind. pro. When used with finite verbs, it does often serve the purpose of representing either topic or focus. When used in nominal clauses,

only the position of the pro. determines whether or not the clause is identifying or attributive.

CONCLUSION

SUMMARY

In chapter 1 this thesis examined the development of the 1csg ind. pro. from PS into various semitic languages and into BH. It is demonstrated that the long-form and short-form of the pro. in BH are derived from the PS pro. */anā/*. Akkadian and Egyptian, both of which maintain a *-k/-t* distinction in the first and second person, harmonized the pro. to the first-person verbal termination. Arabic, Aramaic, and Ge'ez, which do not maintain a *-k/-t* distinction in the first and second person, did not harmonize the pro. to the first-person verbal termination. Phoenician, Moabite, Ugaritic, and Hebrew, which do not maintain a *-k/-t* distinction in the first and second person, possess either a version of the long-form pro. (Phoenician and Moabite) or both forms of the pro. (Ugaritic and Hebrew). The reason for this retention of a long-form in languages where the *-k* ending does not explicitly mark first-person, I believe is due to contact with Egyptian. Eventually, in Hebrew, both the long-form and the short-form would be further harmonized to the first-person pronominal suffix */-ī/*. This chapter demonstrates the antiquity of both forms and the separate (and unrelated) development of both forms into Hebrew.

In chapter 2 this thesis examined the diachronic development of the 1csg ind. pro. within Hebrew. It, like the first chapter, demonstrated the antiquity of both forms and challenged commonly held assumptions by examining the occurrences of each form within different strata of BH. Additional Hebrew sources

were considered including epigraphic material, the language of Ben-Sira, Samaritan Hebrew, Qumran Hebrew, and Rabbinic Hebrew.

Chapter 3 considered the most perplexing problem surrounding the two forms of the *pro.*—the seemingly undifferentiated use of the two forms in CBH prose. The three major theories regarding the use of the two forms seek to differentiate the usage in the basis of rhythm, syntax, and social constructs. This chapter evaluates the strengths and weaknesses of these theories. S. R. Driver sought to explain the usages on the basis of rhythm and emphasis; this theory lacks objectivity and does not set many clear parameters for determining why more or less emphasis would be necessary. Umberto Cassuto sought to explain the different usages on the basis of syntax; unlike Driver's theory, this theory lack subjectivity and is easily testable. E. J. Revell argued that the two forms were differentiated on the basis of social status; while this theory is attractive and Revell's descriptive approach accounts for most of the usages, Hebrew (nor any of the semitic languages) use morphosyntactic features to display 'honorifics,' making his theory seem less likely. All three theories were examined in light of the usages of the *pro.* in the book of Judges, which contains an ample number of both forms in varied syntactical usage.

In chapter 4 this thesis examined the role that Systemic Functional Grammar could play in differentiating between the forms. Though SFG did not aid in generating a paradigm for the two forms, it situated the usages of the form within a larger linguistic framework.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

The conclusion of the first chapter—that the long-form persisted in Canaanite languages due to interaction with Egyptian—is reasonable, and it invites the question of how much or what other kinds of influence did Egyptian play in the development of Hebrew. It is of no doubt that Egyptian loan-words were incorporated into Hebrew, particularly in the Exodus narratives.¹ It is also

1. For the most recent treatment see, Benjamin J. Noonan "Egyptian Loanword as Evidence

likely that the use of prose, contra epic poetry, is an innovation from Egyptian culture.² Further investigation can be made into the influence of Egyptian on the Canaanite languages,³ which could serve to bolster or undermine the claim of chapter 1.

While this thesis considered the usage of the pro. in prose, it did not consider the usages in poetry as both forms are used in parallel fashion (Job 33:9; Isa 45:12). It can be generally assumed that the parallel usage is the only reason to use one form and then the other, though there may be other reasons why one form is used in a particular place in a couplet. The literary triggering of the forms also sheds light on other reasons an author may have chosen to use a particular form, such as alliteration in Judg 11:35 and Ruth 2:10⁴ or style-switching in the Balaam oracles and the phrase *אֲנִי יְהוָה* ‘I am the LORD.’⁵

One area that a study of this type directly affect, but was not addressed, is implications for translation. If the text is attempting to convey great emotional force or highlight the speaker against other participants, than this needs to be conveyed in translations. This is especially pertinent when the pro. is used with a finite verb. While the addition of “myself” is a useful convention, it is rarely used by English translations and does not always accurately reflect the intent of the text. Perhaps other forms of emphasis not available to ancient authors, such as italicizing, underlying, and font sizing, may be more appropriate ways to convey the text.⁶

for the Authenticity of the Exodus and Wilderness Traditions.”

2. Gary A. Rendsburg, “The Genesis of the Bible,” 27.

3. The most notable possible linguistic influence on Hebrew from Egyptian is the development of the *wayyiqtol* form, G. Douglas Young, “The Origin of the Waw Conversive.”

4. Note the clustering of /n/ and /k/ in the four final words *מָדוּעַ מָצָאתִי חֵן בְּעֵינֶיךָ לְהַכִּירָנִי* ‘Why have I found grace in your eyes that you would regard me? And I am a foreigner.’ Gary A. Rendsburg, *How the Bible is Written*, chapter 10, example 20.

5. Y. Chen “The Phrase *אֲנִי יְהוָה* in the Bible.” Chen suggests that the long-form is used, against the typical short-form, in this phrase because all the usages relate to the Exodus event.

6. See Richard E. Friedman, *Commentary on the Torah*. As one example, he translates Gen 3:12 as “And the human said, ‘The woman, whom you placed with me, *she* gave me from the tree, and I ate.’” Especially noteworthy is “*she* gave me” whose vorlage is a pro. used with a finite verb, *הוּא נָתַן־לִי*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Ahituv, Shmuel. *Echoes from the Past*. Translated by Anson F. Rainey. Jerusalem: Carta, 2008.
- Allen, James P. *Middle Egyptian: An Introduction to the Language and Culture of Hieroglyphs*. 2nd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010.
- Anderson, Francis I. *The Verbless Hebrew Clause in the Pentateuch*. Journal of Biblical Literature Monograph Series 14. New York: Abingdon Press, 1970.
- Anstey, Matthew P. *Towards a Functional Discourse Grammar Analysis of Tiberian Hebrew*. Canberra, Australia: Trendsetting Pty Ltd., 2006.
- Avigad, N. and J. C. Greenfield. "A Bronze *phialē* with Phoenician Dedicatory Inscription." *Israel Exploration Journal* 32, no.2 (1983): 118–128.
- Bandstra, Barry L. "Word Order and Emphasis in Biblical Hebrew Narrative: Syntactic Observations on Genesis 22 from a Discourse Perspective." In *Linguistics and Biblical Hebrew*, ed. Walter R. Bodine, 109–124. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1992.
- Beeston, A. F. L. *Sabaic Grammar*. Journal of Semitic Studies Monograph Series 6. Manchester: University of Manchester, 1984.
- Ben-Ḥayyim, Ze'ev. *A Grammar of Samaritan Hebrew: Based on the Recitation of the Law in Comparison with the Tiberian and Other Jewish Traditions: A Revised Edition in English*. Jerusalem: Magnes Press; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2000.
- Bergsträsser, Gotthelf. *Introduction to the Semitic Languages*. Translated by Peter T. Daniels. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1983.

- Biella, Joan Copeland. *Dictionary of Old South Arabic*. Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1982.
- Blau, Joshua. *Phonology and Morphology of Biblical Hebrew*. LSAW 2. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2010.
- . *Topics in Hebrew And Semitic Linguistics*. Jerusalem: The Magnes Press, 1998.
- Brown, Roger., and Albert Gilman. “The Pronouns of Power and Solidarity,” In *Style in Language*, ed. T. A. Sebeok, 103–127. Cambridge, Mass: M.I.T Press, 1960.
- Buth, Randall. “Word Order in the Verbless Clause,” In *The Verbless Clause in Biblical Hebrew: Linguistic Approaches*, ed. Cynthia L. Miller, 79–108. LSAW 1. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1999.
- Cassuto, Umberto. *The Documentary Hypothesis and the Composition of the Pentateuch; Eight Lectures*. Translated by Israel Abrahams. Jerusalem: Magnes Press, Hebrew University, 1972.
- Chen, Y. “The Phrase אֲנֹכִי יְהוָה in the Bible.” *Journal of the Association of Graduates in Near Eastern Studies* 6 (1996): 68–69.
- Collins, John J. *Introduction to the Hebrew Bible* 2nd. ed. Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2014.
- Cross, Frank M. “The Cave Inscriptions From Khirbet Beit Lei.” In *Near Eastern Archaeology in the Twentieth Century: Essays in Honor of Nelson Glueck*, ed. J. A. Sanders, 296–306. New York: Doubleday, 1970.
- . “An Interpretation of the Nora Stone.” *BASOR* 208 (1972): 13–19. Reprinted as “The Oldest Phoenician Inscription from Sardinia: The Fragmentary Stele from Nora,” In *Leaves From An Epigrapher’s Notebook*. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2003.
- Crum, Walter E. *A Coptic Dictionary*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1939.
- Daniels, Peter T., and William Bright. *The World’s Writing Systems*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1996.

- Davies, G. I. *Ancient Hebrew Inscriptions: Corpus and Concordance*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.
- Driver, S. R. *An Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament*. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1913.
- . “On Some Alleged Linguistic Affinities of the Elohist.” *The Journal of Philology* (1882): 201–236.
- Fassberg, Steven E. “Sequences of Positive Commands in Biblical Hebrew: לֵךְ אָמַר, לֵךְ וְאָמַרְתָּ, הֵלֹךְ וְאָמַרְתָּ.” In *Biblical Hebrew in Its Northwest Semitic Setting: Typological and Historical Perspectives*, ed. Steven E. Fassberg and Avi Hurvitz, 51–64. Jerusalem and Winona Lake, IN: The Hebrew University Magnes Press and Eisenbrauns, 2006.
- Fitzgerald, F. Scott. *The Great Gatsby*. New York: Scribner, 1953.
- Fitzmyer, Joseph A., and Daniel J. Harrington. *A Manual of Palestinian Aramaic Texts*. Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1978.
- Floor, Sebastian J. “From Information Structure, Topic and Focus, to Theme in Biblical Hebrew Narrative.” (Ph.D Dissertation). University of Stellenbosch, 2004.
- Friedman, Richard E. *Commentary on the Torah*. San Francisco: HarperCollins, 2001.
- Gesenius, Wilhelm, and Samuel Prideaux Tregelles. *Gesenius’s Hebrew and Chaldee Lexicon to the Old Testament Scriptures*. London: S. Bagster, 1857.
- Goodchild, R. G. “La necropoli romano-libica di Bir ed-Dréder,” *Quaderni di archeologia della Libia* 3 (1964):91–107
- Hackett, Jo Ann. *A Basic Introduction to Biblical Hebrew*. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 2010.
- Halliday, M. A. K. *An Introduction to Functional Grammar* 3rd. ed. Revised by Christian M. I. M. Matthiessen. London: Hodder Arnold, 2004.
- Harris, Zellig S. *A Grammar of the Phoenician Language*. Vol. 8. American Oriental Series, New Haven, CT: American Oriental Society, 1936.

- Hincks, Edward. "On the Personal Pronouns of the Assyrian and Other Languages, Especially Hebrew." *The Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy* 23 (1856): 3–9.
- Holmstedt, Robert D. "Word Order and Information Structure in Ruth and Jonah: A Generative-Typological Analysis." *JSS* 54.1 (2006): 111–139.
- Hornkohl, Aaron D. *Ancient Hebrew Periodization and the Language of the Book of Jeremiah: The Case for a Sixth-Century Date of Composition*. Vol. 74. Studies in Semitic Languages and Linguistics, Leiden: Brill, 2014.
- . "Biblical Hebrew: Periodization." In *Encyclopedia of Hebrew Language and Linguistics*, ed. Geoffrey Khan, online. Brill Online, 2013.
- Huehnergard, John. *An Introduction to Ugaritic*. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 2012.
- . *Ugaritic Vocabulary in Syllabic Transcription*. Harvard Semitic Studies 32. Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1987.
- Hurvitz, Avi. "Can Biblical Texts Be Dated Linguistically? Chronological Perspectives in the Historical Study of Biblical in Hebrew", In *Congress Volume Oslo 1998*. eds. André Lemaire and Mogens Sæbeø, 143–160. Leiden: Brill, 1998.
- . *A Linguistic Study of the Relationship Between the Priestly Source and the Book of Ezekiel: A New Approach to an Old Problem*. Vol. 20. Cahiers de la Revue biblique, Paris: J. Gabalda, 1982.
- Isaksson, Bo. *Studies in the Language of Qoheleth: With Special Emphasis on the Verbal System*. Studia Semitica Upsaliensia 10. Uppsala: Uppsala University, 1987.
- Johnstone, T. M. *Mehri Lexicon and English-Mehri Word List with Index of the English Definitions in the Jibbālī Lexicon*. ed. G. R. Smith. London: School of Oriental and African Studies, 1987.
- Krahmalkov, Charles R. *Phoenician-Punic Dictionary*. Leuven, Belgium: Peeters Publishers & Department of Oriental Studies, 2000.
- . *A Phoenician-Punic Grammar*. Leiden: Brill, 2001.

- Kutscher, Eduard Y. *A History of the Hebrew Language*. ed. Raphael Kutscher. Jerusalem: The Magnes Press, 1982.
- . *The Language and Linguistic Background of the Isaiah Scroll (1QIsa^a)*. STDJ 6. Leiden: Brill, 1974
- Lambdin, Thomas O. *Introduction to Biblical Hebrew*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1971.
- . *Introduction to Classical Ethiopic*. Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1978.
- Lemaire, André, and Ada Yardeni. "New Hebrew Ostraca From the Judean Shephelah." In *Biblical Hebrew in Its Northwest Semitic Setting: Typological and Historical Perspectives*, ed. Steven E. Fassberg, and Avi Hurvitz, 197–224. Jerusalem and Winona Lake, IN: The Hebrew University Magnes Press and Eisenbrauns, 2006.
- Longacre, Robert E. "The Discourse Structure of the Flood Narrative," In *Society of Biblical Literature: 1976 Seminar Papers*, ed. G. MacRae, 235–262. Missoula MT: Scholars Press, 1976.
- Miller, Cynthia L. *The Representation of Speech in Biblical Hebrew Narrative: A Linguistic Analysis*. Harvard Semitic Museum Monographs 55. Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1996.
- Moshavi, Adina. *Word Order in the Biblical Hebrew Finite Clause: A Syntactic and Pragmatic Analysis of Preposing*. LSAW 4. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2010.
- Moyer, Clinton J. "Literary and Linguistic Studies in *Sefer Bil'am* (Numbers 22-24)." (Ph.D Dissertation). Cornell University, 2009.
- Muraoka, T. *Emphatic Words and Structures in Biblical Hebrew*. Jerusalem: Magnes Press, Hebrew University, 1985.
- Naveh, J. "Old Hebrew Inscriptions in a Burial Cave." *Israel Exploration Journal* 13, no. 2 (1963): 74–92.
- Noonan, Benjamin J. "Egyptian Loanword as Evidence for the Authenticity of the Exodus and Wilderness Traditions." In "Did I Not Bring Israel Out of Egypt?" *Biblical, Archaeological, and Egyptological Perspectives on the Exodus*

- Narrative*, eds. James K. Hoffmeier, Alan R. Millard, and Gary A. Rendsburg, 49–67. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2016.
- Pardee, Dennis. “A New Aramaic Inscription from Zincirli.” *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 356 (2009): 51–71.
- Pérez-Fernandez, Miguel. *An Introductory Grammar of Rabbinic Hebrew*. Translated by John Elwolde. Leiden: Brill, 1999.
- Polzin, Robert. *Late Biblical Hebrew: Toward an Historical Typology of Biblical Hebrew Prose*. Vol. 12. Harvard Semitic Monographs, Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1976.
- Rainey, Anson F. *Canaanite in the Amarna Tablets: A Linguistic Analysis of the Mixed Dialect used by the Scribes in Canaan*. Leiden: Brill, 1996.
- Rendsburg, Gary A. “Aramaic Like Features in the Pentateuch.” *Hebrew Studies* 47, (2006): 163–176.
- . *Diglossia in Ancient Hebrew*. American Oriental Series 72. New Haven, Conn: American Oriental Society, 1990.
- . “The Genesis of the Bible” in *The Blanche and Irving Laurie Chair in Jewish History*, Separatum published by the Allen and Joan Bildner Center for the Study of Jewish Life, Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey (2005), pp. 11-30.
- . *How the Bible is Written*. Bethesda, MD: CDL Press, forthcoming
- . “Late Biblical Hebrew and the Date of P.” *Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society* 12, (1980): 65–80.
- Revell, E. J. “The Conditioning of Word Order in Verbless Clauses in Biblical Hebrew.” *JSS* 34.1 (1989): 1–24.
- . “The Two Forms of First Person Singular Pronoun in Biblical Hebrew: Redundancy or Expressive Contrast?” *JSS* 40.2 (1995): 199–217.
- Reymond, Eric D. *Qumran Hebrew: An Overview of Orthography, Phonology, and Morphology*. Society of Biblical Literature Resources for Biblical Studies 76. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2014.

- Rezetko, Robert. "Dating Biblical Hebrew Evidence from Samuel-Kings and Chronicles," In *Biblical Hebrew*, ed. Ian Young, 215–250. JSOTSup 369. New York: T&T Clark International, 2003.
- Röllig, Wolfgang. "Paläographisch Beobachtungen zum ersten Auftreten der Phönizier in Sardinien." In *Antidoron: Festschrift Für Jürgen Thimme Zum 65. Geburtstag Am 26. September 1982*, eds. Metzler, Dieter, Brinna Otto, and Christof Müller-Wirth, 125–130. Karlsruhe: C.F. Müller, 1983.
- Rubin, Aaron D. *The Jibbali (Shahri) Language of Oman: Grammar and Texts*. Leiden: Brill, 2014.
- . *The Mehri Language of Oman*. Leiden: Brill, 2010.
- . "The Subgrouping of the Semitic Languages." *Language and Linguistics Compass* 2.1, (2008): 61–84.
- Sáenz-Badillos, Angel. *A History of the Hebrew Language*. Translated by John Eldwolde. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.
- Segal, M. H. *A Grammar of Mishnaic Hebrew*. Oxford: Claredon Press, 1927.
- Shibatani, M. "Honorifics," In *Encyclopedia of Language and Linguistics* 2nd. ed., ed. Keith Brown. New York: Elsevier, 2006.
- Shimshaki, Katsuomi. *Focus Structure in Biblical Hebrew: A Study of Word Order and Information Structure*. Bethesda, MD: CDL Press, 2002.
- Sivan, Daniel. *A Grammar of the Ugaritic Language*. Leiden: Brill, 2001.
- Strack, Herman L. *Einleitung in Das Alte Testament: Einschliesslich Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen*. München: Beck, 1906.
- Streck, Michael P. "Eblaite and Old Akkadian." In *The Semitic Languages: An International Handbook*, ed. Stefan Weninger, 340–359. Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter Mouton, 2011.
- Tal, Abraham and Moshe Florentin. *The Pentateuch—The Samaritan Version and the Masoretic Version*. Israel: The Haim Ruben Tel Aviv University Press, 2010.
- Tatu, Silviu. *The Qatal//Yiqtol (Yiqtol//Qatal) Verbal Sequence in Semitic Couplets*. Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2008.

- Tropper, Josef. *Die Inschriften Von Zincirli*. Abhandlungen zur Literatur Alt-Syruen-Palästinas 6. Münster: UGARIT-Verlag, 1993.
- Waltke, Bruce K., and Michael Patrick O'Connor. *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax*. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1990.
- Qimron, Elisha. *The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls*. Harvard Semitic Studies 29. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986.
- Young, G. Douglas. "The Origin of the Waw Conversive." *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 12.4 (1953): 248–252.
- Young, Ian, and Robert Rezetko, and Martin Ehrensverd. *Linguistic Dating of Biblical Texts: An Introduction to Approaches and Problems*, 2 vols. London: Equinox, 2008.
- Zevit, Ziony. "Converging Lines of Evidence Bearing on the Date of P." *ZAW* 94.4 (1982): 481–510.