# 16 The Patterns *Pᵉʿila* and *Piʿʿul* in Qumran Hebrew

## 16.1 Introductory Comments

§ 1    From the beginning of research into Qumran Hebrew, scholars have recognized the affinity between it and Classical Biblical Hebrew,[1] and especially to the late layer of Biblical Hebrew.[2] Similarly, scholars have examined the many linguistic features unique to this stratum of Hebrew.[3] Scholars have also written on the not-insignificant presence of Aramaic in Qumran Hebrew.[4] In addition to these three aspects,[5] scholars have pointed out a fourth feature of the Hebrew language of the Dead Sea Scrolls: evident within this dialect are linguistic features known from the manuscripts (and even the printed editions) of Mishnaic literature. These include lexical items as well as grammatical features. Anyone familiar with Mishnaic Hebrew can provide many examples of links between the Hebrew of Qumran and that of the Mishna.[6]

§ 2    Here are a few examples from the lexicon. The noun גודל appears in the War Scroll: והבטן ארבע גודלים "The belly (shall be) four thumbs" (1QM

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**1** Already at the early stage of research into Qumran Hebrew Hanokh Yalon pointed out this relationship in a series of publications (see for example Yalon 1967:9, 11, 30, etc.). Yalon's studies had been published between 1949–1952, over fifteen years before they were collected in his book.

**2** See for example Kutscher 1959:23–34, and various issues dealt with on pp. 164–342.

**3** One example is the use of the long independent personal pronouns הואה, היאה. See the material cited in Fassberg 2003.

**4** Many have paid attention to the relationship between Qumran Hebrew and the Aramaic language. Important research into this aspect has been carried out by Kutscher in his study of the Isaiah Scroll (Kutscher 1959, especially pp. 19–22, 141–163) and Menahem Kister in a number of his articles (for example Kister 1999, Kister 2000).

**5** Fassberg has recently written concise, important comments on the Hebrew language of the scrolls. See Fassberg 2003, especially in the introduction and the conclusions (pp. 227–229, 234–236).

**6** Kutscher has brought many examples from the Isaiah Scroll, such as לרד (= לֵירֵד, Isaiah 30:2), which was corrected to [לרד]ת; להוכין (ibid. 40:20) conjugated as a I-*yod* verb, instead of להכין like a hollow verb; נודף (= נָדַף ibid. 41:2) in the verbal form נִפְעַל (the alternative form for the נִפְעַל verbal stem, primarily used for I-*nun* and I-*yod* verbs) instead of נדף (= נָדַף) the regular form of the stem נִפְעַל. (These three examples and others appear in Kutscher 1959:30). A condensed list of words and phrases in the Dead Sea Scrolls which appear in Mishnaic Hebrew can be found in Qimron 1976: 297–299. On pp. 299–300 he brings a list of words that appear in Amoraic Hebrew (as well as in the Piyyut and in Medieval Hebrew Literature). Since the publication of Qimron's book many items have been added and it is possible to enlarge these lists (See, for example what is cited in Kister 2000:138).

5.13).[7] This evidence antedates the use of the word גֶּדָּל/אֲגוּדָּל of Mishnaic Hebrew by hundreds of years. Similarly, גמר[8] appears in the Pesher Habakkuk (7.2): ואת גמר הקץ לא הודעו "but the fulfillment of the period he did not make known to him."[9] The noun כלל is found in a fragmentary scroll: לכלל חלליהם "the total of their slain" (4Q169 3ii3).[10] The noun ממון also appears several times in the scrolls; one example is in 1QS 6:2: וישמעו הקטן לגדול למלאכה ולממון "the lesser one shall obey the greater with respect to work and money." The scrolls also contain quite a few phrases known from Mishnaic Hebrew. One example is בני ברית:[11] ואתם בני ברית התחזקו "As for you, sons of his covenant, strengthen yourselves" (1QM 17.8–9). Another is the phrase לשון הקודש, found in a fragmentary scroll (4Q464 3i7), and one more is the expression חסדים טובים is brought in another fragment:[12] כחסדיו הטבים "according to his good mercies" (4Q185 1–2ii:1).[13] I will also mention here two verbs. גִּבֵּל is attested in the Thanksgiving Scroll (9 [1] 23),[14] יצר החמר ומגבל המים "he forms the substance and kneads the water," and in the Rule Scroll, והואה מעפר מגבלו "he whose kneading (is) from dust" (1QS 11.21).[15] Second, the verb יוֹפַּךְ – the future form of the root אפ"ך (> הפ"ך) in the Qal – is attested in ויופך [מימ]יהמה לדם "He turned their [water] to blood" (4Q422 iii 7); this form was previously known only from Mishnaic Hebrew. It is also worth mentioning the adverb עכשו "now." It only occurs once in Qumran in the scroll known as Pseudo-Jubilees: שמחים ואומרים עכשו יאבד "being happy and saying 'Now he will perish'" (4Q225 2 ii 7),[16] and is, of course, very common in MH.

§ 3    Here are a few examples from the area of grammar. The first person plural personal pronoun אנו is the most common pronoun in the scrolls.[17]

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**7** See Qimron 1976:297.

**8** In Mishnaic Hebrew this noun has at least two traditional pronunciations: גְּמָר and גְּמַר.

**9** See Qimron 1976:297.

**10** *Ibid.*

**11** *Ibid.*

**12** This is the Hebrew word הטובים, spelled defectively; I do not think that the Aramaic form טָב is intended here.

**13** The two phrases quoted above are mentioned in Kister 2000:138.

**14** See Licht 1965:61. References to the Thanksgiving Scroll from Cave 1 (1QHᵃ) are quoted according to the edition by Stegemann and Schüller (2009) by column and line. Next to this reference the reference to columns in Sukenik's 1954 edition will appear in square brackets.

**15** See Licht 1965:237; Yalon 1967:30, 43, 98; Yalon cited the example from the Thanksgiving Scroll and concentrated on its grammatical form. Kister (2000:138) brings the two examples and adds the noun גבול (= גְּבוּל, see below §§ 18, 20).

**16** This example is mentioned by Kister (2000:138) among the various examples from Mishnaic Hebrew (he indicates that this is an Aramaic calque).

**17** See Qimron 1976:224.

Already fifty years ago Kutscher pointed out the verb נודף in the Isaiah Scroll in the form נְפְעַל.[18] We can add to this example a form from the strong verb – נוכנעים "the lowly" (1QS 10.26).[19] Another grammatical feature is the double plural in construct phrases, that is the use of the plural form both in the *nomen regens* and in the *nomen rectum*, as is reflected in a number of expressions, such as the phrase ראשי שנים "the heads of years" in the Rule of the Community (1QS 10.6) and the phrase ובשני השמטים "but during the years of remission" in the War Scroll (1QM 2.8).[20] It is also found in the well-known expressions from the Isaiah Scroll, מאורות צפעונים "the cobra dens" and בצי צפעונים "cobra eggs," as opposed to Masoretic מאורת צפעוני "the cobra den" (Isaiah 11:8) and ביצי צפעוני "cobra eggs" (Isaiah 59:5).[21] In this use of the construct, Qumran Hebrew is similar to Mishnaic Hebrew in which the use of the double plural is quite common, as in the phrases ראשי שנים "New Years," בתי כנסיות "synagogues," בתי מדרשות "houses of study." Even so, it must be mentioned that this linguistic feature is already present in late Biblical Hebrew.[22] There is no reason not to assume that this structure entered into late Biblical Hebrew from the spoken dialect – that dialect which was consolidated, a few generations later, following the destruction of the Second Temple, into the literary language of Tannaitic literature – Mishnaic Hebrew.

§ 4   The authors of the Dead Sea Scrolls composed the texts in their own literary Hebrew, characterized by (1) a deep affinity to Biblical Hebrew, (2) unique linguistic features, and (3) the influence of Aramaic.[23] Despite this, we frequently encounter echoes of the spoken Hebrew dialect of their time, which was something like what is known to us as Mishnaic Hebrew. The scribes who composed the scrolls were taught to write in a certain type of Hebrew. This language type, which has quite a few unique linguistic features, is primarily a literary language, and perhaps even an artificial one.[24] In these dialects, or in

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**18** See note 6 above.

**19** See Qimron 1976:177.

**20** See Yadin 1957:268–269; Qimron 1976:288.

**21** See Kutscher 1959:488. He only brings the second phrase (and note that the reference to Isaiah 49:5, instead of 59:5, is a mistake); see also Hurvitz 1972:38–39; Qimron 1976:288.

**22** See the references to scholarly literature mentioned in the previous note.

**23** See above the presentation of these points above in § 1.

**24** In our discussion of the pronominal suffixes attached to third person forms such as שְׁמוֹתָם/שְׁמוֹתֵיהֶם (Chapter Eleven above) we have found that the pattern שְׁמוֹתָם is more prevalent in Qumran Hebrew than the pattern שְׁמוֹתֵיהֶם. This reveals a feature characteristic of a literary language. Even though I stressed that one should not formulate general conclusions from the data presented there, it is impossible to ignore the literary nature of the language of the scrolls. Not less important is Fassberg's comprehensive and thorough study (Fassberg 2003), which points out the literary-artificial nature of the use of lengthened forms in Qumran Hebrew (see the scholarly literature referred to there).

similar ones, were written the Bar Kokhba letters as well as the Rabbinic litera-
ture, especially Tannaitic literature. It is natural that these scribes would give
expression to the customary modes of expression of themselves and the mem-
bers of their community.

## 16.2 Specifics and Generalities in the relationship of Qumran Hebrew to Mishnaic Hebrew

§ 5    When clarifying the relationship between Qumran Hebrew and Mish-
naic Hebrew, it is important to understand the nature of and the distribution
of the particular linguistic features in Qumran Hebrew that are similar or iden-
tical to Mishnaic Hebrew which, as had been said, was the prime representa-
tive of the spoken Hebrew dialect in the Land of Israel in the period when the
scrolls were composed.

Indeed, an examination of the linguistic features that penetrated the litera-
ture of Qumran from this dialect shows that these are specific features, but
not general linguistic phenomena or whole grammatical categories. That is,
the linguistic phenomena in Qumran Hebrew which are similar to Mishnaic
Hebrew are limited to words and grammatical forms in one occurrence or in a
small number of occurrences. That is how the situation seems according to the
evidence before us today.

In this study I will examine two grammatical categories – the verbal nouns
*pᵉʻila* and *piʻʻul* – to see if the relationship to Mishnaic Hebrew in the scrolls
is indeed limited to individual words appearing only once or twice.

§ 6    There is no doubt that these two patterns appear quite a bit in the
scrolls. The first, *pᵉʻila*, is the verbal noun pattern of the Qal and Nifʻal verbal
stems; the second, *piʻʻul*, is the verbal noun pattern of the Piʻʻel and Hitpaʻʻel
verbal stems (in the scrolls this verbal stem always appears with the consonant
*he* and not *nun*).[25] The truth is these patterns already existed in Biblical
Hebrew;[26] but in Mishnaic Hebrew they became much more extensively used
and became a regular grammatical category.

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**25** In Mishnaic Hebrew the verbal noun of the active stem is also the verbal noun of its
reflexive (and passive) stem (see Sharvit 2008:117); Sharvit presented the material well, in that
he speaks of the verbal nouns of the "Qal system", that is the Qal and Nifʻal verbal stems in
one category, and the "heavy, doubled system" meaning the Piʻʻel and Nitpaʻʻel stems in one
category. See also Bar-Asher 2009b, chapter 1 p. 26 § 35.
**26** For example, the forms אֲכִילָה and שְׁחִיטָה (see Kutscher 1977:110; Sharvit 2008:115); חִבּוּק,
גְּדוּפִים, כִּפֵּרִים (Sharvit ibid.).

In the Mishna alone Kutscher found approximately 130 *pᵉ'ila* forms attested hundreds of times.[27] In all of Tannaitic literature Shimon Sharvit listed 190 nouns in the *pi''ul* pattern.[28] As mentioned, the examination of the material in the scrolls shows that many *pᵉ'ila* and *pi''ul* forms are attested. However, the question that needs to be asked is whether the relationship between these forms and the verbs they are connected with is regular and automatic, as in Mishnaic Hebrew, or not.

I will now examine each of these patterns in Qumran Hebrew in a more detailed way. Following that I shall present the conclusions.

## 16.3 The Pattern *Pᵉ'ila*

§ 7    First it should be said that based on a comparison of the nouns brought henceforth with vocalized forms in the Bible and the Mishna, I accept the generally held opinion of scholars that all of the nouns with the orthographic form פעילה belong to the *pᵉ'ila* pattern and not to any other pattern.[29] I will present here a total of seventeen nouns whose total number of occurrences in the Qumran scrolls is more than one hundred fifty. Hereinafter will follow a comprehensive, annotated description of the examples.[30]

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**27** See Kutscher 1977:110–129. Actually, there is no verb that does not have a verbal noun. Segal is correct in saying that "the feminine form קְטִילָה is regularly used in Mishnaic Hebrew as the verbal noun of the Qal verbal stem … it is possible to produce verbal nouns in this form from any verb" (Segal 1936:73; see also Sharvit's comments on "the degree of regularity between the pattern of the verbal noun and its stem" in Sharvit 2008:120). However, as is well known, the פְּעִילָה pattern is not the only pattern used as the verbal noun the Qal and Nif'al stems. Kutscher (ibid pp. 110–130) described the verbal nouns of the Qal stem in the Mishna according to the Kaufmann manuscript; Sharvit (ibid p. 117) lists approximately 300 nouns in the patterns פְּעִילָה and פְּעָלָה in all of Tannaitic literature.
**28** See Sharvit ibid. Elitzur 1987:72–82 lists all of the nouns in the pattern derived from the Pi''el [stem] found in the Mishna according to the Kaufmann manuscript.
**29** This view is reflected in all of the publications of the scrolls by various scholars, and no further comment on this matter is necessary.
**30** I should add that over the years, I had collected only sixteen nouns with approximately one hundred forty five occurrences, but with the help of Elisha Qimron some material was added. I wish to thank him for his assistance. I will bring here a comprehensive exampling but not all of the appearances of the various nouns. Moreover there are another one or two nouns whose attestation is not certain. I have decided not to mention them since their presence or absence does not change the general picture that I am describing here (I will mention here that Qimron also provided me with a list of the nouns in the *pi''ul* pattern).

§ 8    Forms derived from strong roots:

**בְּרִיאָה/בְּרִיָּה**:[31] (Of course, we do not know if the form בְּרִיָּה, which is known from the most reliable manuscripts of Mishnaic Hebrew, also existed at Qumran.[32]) This noun occurs over ten times in the scrolls. For example in the Commentary on Genesis B, we read טהורים מן הבריאה "pure things from creation" (4Q253 2 3). In Pseudo-Jubilees[a] is found: עד יום הבריאה "until the day of the creation" (4Q225 1 7). The same, apparently, is intended in the Temple Scroll: עד יום הבריה "until the day of creation" (29 9). This is also in a clause in the Damascus Document: ויסוד הבריאה זכר ונקבה "while the foundation of creation" (CD MS A 4.21) and in a phrase from Jubilees[a] רוחות בריאתו "the spirits of his creatures" (4Q216 V, 9).

**הֲלִיכָה**: The reading in Jubilees[h] is עש[ה] עמנו מיום [ה]ליכת אחיהו "he has don]e with us from the day his brother [Jacob w]ent" (4Q223–224 2 I 50).

**חֲלִיפָה**:[33] This form is attested a number of times in the scrolls. For example in the War Scroll, we read מערכה אחרת חליפה למלחמה "another line of the reserve in its turn to the battle" (1QM 16.12), and in the parallel text, we read מערכה אחרת חליפות למלחמה "in turns to the battle" (4Q491 1–3 12), למ[ן]לחמה (4Q491 11 ii 1). This form also appears in the Community Rule (spelled with *ʿayin* instead of *het*): עליפות איש לרעהו "each man relieving another" (1QS 6.7).

**יְדִיעָה**: There is a correction in the Thanksgiving Scroll:[34] כי אל ה(י)ד(י)עות ואין אחר עמו "for the God of knowledge; none else is with him" (12, 13).[35] I assume that the scribe originally wrote אל הידיעות. The *nomen rectum* in this construct phrase is the definite plural form of the noun יְדִיעָה. Apparently, the scribe used this form which he borrowed from his own spoken dialect, but afterwards changed it (either he himself or someone who checked the text) to the biblical phrase אל (ה)דעות "God of knowledge." (1 Samuel 2:3).

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**31** Perhaps it is not unnecessary to note that the forms cited here are given with Tiberian vocalization, but this should not be taken a conjecture as to the pronunciation at Qumran.

**32** See Kutscher 1977:272–273.

**33** Because of the *plene* spelling (with *yod* after the *lamed*) there is no need to assume that the reading is חֲלִיפָּה according to the pattern *peʿilla* with double *lamed* (see Qimron 1976:53–57).

**34** See Licht 1957:174. He pointed out the correction but in the edited text he brought the form הדעות; see also Qimron ibid p. 297. Qimron is still of the opinion that the text originally read הידיעות and was only corrected afterwards.

**35** Stegemann and Schüller 2009:250 give the reading ה(ו)ד(י)עות; in their opinion the erased letter following the *he* is *vav* (but I accept Qimron's reading that the letter is *yod*). On page 256 they point out that in a parallel text from the fourth cave (4Q427 8 ii) the text reads א[ל הדעות הכ]ינה. They also refer to the phrase אל הדעות (Thanksgiving Scroll 22, 34; 25 [7], 22–32; and also in the Rule of the Community 3, 15). In all of these places the text reads הדעות like the emended text of the Thanksgiving Scroll from cave one as edited by Licht 1957.

**מְשִׁיחָה**: I have found only two occurrences of this noun. In the Apocry-phon of Moses[a]: אשר יוצק על ר[ו]אשו שמן המשיחה "upon whose head will be poured the oil of anointing" (4Q375 1 i 9), and in the War Scroll שמן משיחת כהונתם "the oil of their priestly annointing" (1QM 9.8).

**מְשִׁיכָה**: This form appears in a halakhic text: המשיכה[36] ש "the drawing" (4Q251 1–2 4).

**סְלִיחָה**: This noun appears a number of times in the scrolls. For example in the Rule of the Community הצמאה עם הרווה לאין סליחה "thirst along with saturation, without forgiveness" (1QS 2. 14–15); in the Thanksgiving Scroll: רחמים ורוב סליחה "mercy and much forgiveness" (14[6] 12); and in the Damas-cus Document: ורוב סליחות לכפר בעד שבי "and manifold forgiveness, so as to atone for those who repent" (CD MS A 2.4–5), etc.

**רְחִיצָה**: This form appears in the Rule of the Community [בכל מי] רחיצה "[by any water] of ablution" (4Q262 1 3).

§ 8   Forms derived from hollow roots:

**בִּיאָה**: This noun is found eight times[37] in those sections of the scrolls that deal with the priestly divisions. For example, בעשרים ושמונא בוא ביאת מלכ[יה] "on the twenty-eighth in it (is) the entrance of Malki[ah]" (4Q324a fl ii 2); באחד עשר בשביעי ביאת [הפצץ] "on the eleventh of the seventh (month) the entrance [of Happiṣṣeṣ]" (4Q324 1 7). In these examples the word ביאה functions as a verbal noun – 'coming (entering)'.[38]

**בִּינָה**: There are over ninety occurrences of this noun in the scrolls. Here are a few examples. In the Damascus Document: אין בהם בינה "they have no discernment" (CD MS A 5.17); in the Rule of the Community: וטוב עולמים ושכל ובינה וחכמה וגבורה "and constant goodness, and of prudence, insight, and wisdom and might" (1QS 4.3); in 4QMysteries[b]: היש אתכם בינה "whether you have understanding" (4Q300 8 6).

**גִּילָה**: This noun appears in 4QShirot ʿOlat HaShabbat[f]: קול גילות רנה השקיט "The sound of glad rejoicing falls silent." (4Q405 ii 20–22 13) and also in the War Scroll: יכתובו גילות אל במשוב שלום "they shall write 'Rejoicings of God in peaceful withdrawal'" (1QM 3.11).

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**36** The full context is lost, so we can not know the exact usage of the word.

**37** I have not included the seven occurrences of the noun ביאה which appear in the Copper Scroll, such as בביאה מיריחו לסככא (3Q15 3 13), ביאתו תחת הסף הגדול (3Q15 2 12). In all of these cases the noun ביאה has the meaning 'opening' (as a variant of the noun מבוא/מבוי; see Chapter Thirteen above, n. 10). As is well known, the language of this scroll is very close to Mishnaic Hebrew and is not representative of Qumran Hebrew.

**38** This is as opposed to its usage in the Copper Scroll as explained in note 37 above (see also below §§ 11, 14).

**חִידָה**: In Pesher Habakkuk (8.6): כולם משל עליו ישאו ומליצי חידות לו "all of them raise a taunt against him and interpreters of riddles about him", and in 4QMysteriesᵇ: אמרו המשל והגידו החידה "utter the parable and relate the riddle" (4Q300 1 ii 1) etc.

**קִינָה**: There are a few occurrences of this noun, like in the Thanksgiving Scroll: ואנחנו בכינור קינה "and we, on the lyre (sing) a dirge" (19[11] 22a), עושי בקינה תשא "raise my bed on a dirge" (19[9] 4) etc.³⁹

**שִׁיבָה**: In the Rule of the Community it states וגאולים בש[י]בתו "and there are def[ilement]s where he returns" (4Q257 III, 4). This noun also appears in a narrative text: וראה ה' את שיבתם (4Q461 1 10) "and God saw their returning."

**שִׁיחָה**: In the Psalms Scroll we find: שיחתם בתורת עליון "Their meditation is on the Law of the Most High" (11Q5 XVIII, 12).

**שִׁירָה**: In a text that refers to commandments it states: בלילה שירות שמונה "in the night: songs eight" (4Q334 4 4); there are two other occurrences in this scroll. A similar text in the Thanksgiving Scroll states: שירותיו קודש "his songs are sacred" (4Q433a 1 4).

§ 9   A form derived from a III-Yod root:⁴⁰

**רְמִיָּה**: There are many occurrences of this noun in the scrolls. For example in the Rule of the Community: ורום לבב כחש ורמיה אכזרי "pride and hautiness, atrocious disguise and falsehood" (1QS 4.9). This noun comes in a number of expressions such as אנשי רמיה (Rule of the Community 9, 8), דורשי רמיה "those who study falsehood" (Thanksgiving Scroll 10[2] 18) and others.

§ 10   It is easy to see that not all of these forms function only as verbal nouns. Some of these nouns indicate the result of an action, such as בריאה/ בריה, which indicates the action of the creator and also the result of this action, namely creation. This is similar to the noun מְצִיאָה in Mishnaic Hebrew which indicates both the action of the finder and the found object.⁴¹ As is well

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**39** As is well known, this verb appears in the *binyan piʿel* (קוֹנֵן), as in, e.g., וְקוֹנְנוּ (Ezekiel 27:32). In MH only the nominalized feminine participle, מְקוֹנֶנֶת, is attested (M. Ketubbot 4:4; Moʿed Qaṭan 3:9), and this is a clear borrowing (or inheritance) from the Bible. It appears that the form קינון/קינן was blocked by the existence of the root קנ"ן, meaning "to build a nest (קֵן)," which is attested in both BH (e.g., Isaiah 34:15) and MH (e.g., M. Ḥullin 12:1). It would seem that this is the background for the existence of the noun קִינָה in a pattern associated with the *binyan Qal*, and not the *piʿel*.

**40** I did not include the form בְּנִיָּה which the editors thought they had found at Qumran in the sentence חיץ יבחר לבניתה ותפל פה קירו (4Q424 1 3) because Qimron (2009:105) convinced me that it is not possible to rely on this reading. Other possible occurrences of בְּנִיָּה (in 4Q429 4 ii 9; 3Q14 3 2) depend on missing letters supplied by the editor and therefore I did not include them.

**41** This is in opposition to Kutscher (1977:115), who brings a list of nouns that indicate the result of an action. He states there that "מציאה (apparently this does not exist as a verbal

known, there are forms which, over the course of time, no longer function as verbal nouns, but rather indicate only the result of an action. For example, the noun חֲתִיכָה which originally indicated the verbal noun[42] (cutting) indicates in later Hebrew the thing that is cut (a piece, a cut) and not the action of the one who cuts.[43]

§ 11   When considering the evidence presented above (in §§ 8–10), we must conclude that there is no direct relationship between the nouns in the *peʿila* pattern in Qumran Hebrew and the grammar of Mishnaic Hebrew. Four out of the eight nouns derived from strong roots are already attested in Biblical Hebrew: בְּרִיאָה occurs once in the Pentateuch, as in ואם בְּרִיאָה יברא ה' "But if the Lord make a new thing" (Numbers 16:30). The form בריותיו is also attested in Ben Sira (16:16): רחמיו יראו לכל בריותיו "to all creation is his mercy manifest." The word הֲלִיכָה appears six times in the Bible. For example, רָאוּ הֲלִיכוֹתֶיךָ אלהים הֲלִיכוֹת אלי מלכי בקדש "They have seen thy goings, O God; even the goings of my God, my King, in the sanctuary" (Psalms 68:25). The noun חֲלִיפָה is attested four times, in, for example, אשר אין חֲלִיפוֹת למו "because they have no changes" (Psalms 55:20), as well as in Ben Sira (42:19): מחוה חליפות נהיות "relating the things that passed." The noun סְלִיחָה appears three times, in, for example, כי עמך הַסְּלִיחָה, "but there is forgiveness with thee" (Psalms 130:4); הרחמים וְהַסְּלִיחוֹת "mercies and forgivenesses" (Daniel 9:9); and also in Ben Sira (5:5): אל סליחה אל תבטח "Do not become fearless concerning atonement." On the other hand, the other four nouns – רְחִיצָה, מְשִׁיחָה, מְשִׁיכָה, יְדִיעָה – are not found in the Bible but are attested in Mishnaic Hebrew. The data regarding these nouns (in Mishnaic Hebrew) is as follows: אם היתה יְדִיעָה בנתים "If there was knowledge in the meantime" (m.

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noun)." However, this noun does in fact function as a verbal noun: כל (שכל) הטמאות כשעת מציאתן "conditions of uncleanness are so accounted of as they appear at the time of their finding" (m. Teharot 3:5 [2×]; 4:12; 5:7; 9:9). Certainly, we can not hold anything against a scholar who brings hundreds of examples if, on rare occasions, he overlooks a few details.

**42** This is its meaning in the phrase וַחֲתִיכַת יבלתו "cutting off its callus" (m. Pesahim 6:1) according to the text of the Kaufmann manuscript (see Kutscher 1977:110) and MS Parma A; this is also the form according to the Yemenite tradition (see Shivtiel 1971:220). An object that has been cut is called in the Mishna, according to the most reliable witnesses, חֲתִיכָּה in the *peʿilla* pattern (see Kutscher 1977:133. See also Shivtiel *ibid.*, who calls חֲתִיכָה "name of an action" and חֲתְכָּה "name of a thing").

**43** Today we speak of the noun חִתּוּךְ as the verbal noun of the verbs חָתַךְ and נֶחְתַּךְ, and the noun חֲתִיכָה is the cut object. This is not the only verb in the Qal verbal stem whose verbal noun is in the *piʿʿul* pattern. In Modern Hebrew there is a clear distinction between the verbal noun [חִתּוּךְ] and the noun indicating the result of the action [חֲתִיכָה] (see additional examples in Sharvit 2008:120, towards the end).

Karetot 4:2);⁴⁴ יְדִיעוֹת הטומאה "Knowledge of uncleanness" (m. Shevuʿot 2:1); כל כלי וכלי טעון מְשִׁיחָה⁴⁵ "every vessel needs anointing" (Sifra Tzav Miluʾim § 1); כל המיטלטלין נקנין בִּמְשִׁיכָה "All moveable goods are [legally] acquired [only] by the act of drawing [them into the purchaser's possession]" (m. Sheviʿit 10:9);⁴⁶ יום הכיפורים אסור באכילה ... וּבִרְחִיצָה "On the Day of Atonement eating ... washing ... are forbidden" (m. Yoma 8:1).

I wish to stress that these four nouns are only sparsely attested in the scrolls. It is impossible to say whether the first of these nouns, the noun יְדִיעָה, is attested at all. As mentioned (above § 8), it was originally written as אל הידיעות but the scribe of the Thanksgiving Scroll, or someone who proofread the text, removed it from the text when he corrected it to אל ה(י)ד(י)עות (= הַדֵּעוֹת); the person who corrected the text replaced the original phrase with a phrase taken from the prayer of Hannah: אֵל דֵּעוֹת (1 Samuel 2:3). The other two nouns מְשִׁיכָה and רְחִיצָה each appear only once in the scrolls. מְשִׁיחָה occurs only twice in the scrolls. We can say that these four nouns are to be considered like all lexemes which appear only once in the scrolls, like the words ממון, עכשו and others.⁴⁷ That is to say, we can not consider these lexemes to be characteristic examples of the *pᵉʿila* pattern of Mishnaic Hebrew in the scrolls. Rather, these are isolated words from it that were borrowed to be used in those specific places.

§ 12 What we have said about the verbal nouns of strong roots is also valid all the more so for nouns derived from hollow roots. All of the nouns that were found in the scrolls are already attested in the Bible: בִּיאָה (one occurrence in the Bible: בַּבִּיאָה, Ezekiel 8:5);⁴⁸ בִּינָה (37 occurrences, including, תתבוננו בה בִּינָה "you shall consider it perfectly," Jeremiah 23:20, as well as in Ben Sira 6:35, ומשל בינה אל יצאך "and do not let proverbs of understanding escape you." גִּילָה occurs twice in Isaiah: once in the absolute – הנני בורא את ירושלים גִּילָה "behold, I create Jerusalem a rejoicing" (65:18) and once with the feminine ending -*at* – אף גִּילַת ורנן "even with joy and singing" (35:2).

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**44** This mishna is missing from the Kaufmann manuscript. The (unvocalized) reading ידיעה is found in the Cambridge manuscript (Lowe edition) and in Maimonides' version (Kafih edition). This form is vocalized יְדִיעָה in MS Paris 328–329 as well as in the printed editions. MS Parma A (De Rossi 138) reads יְדוּעָה.

**45** The vocalized form מְשִׁיחָה is found in the Vatican 66 manuscript of the Sifra (see Yeivin 1985:885).

**46** The vocalizations יְדיעות, מְשִׁיכָה, and רְחִיצָה do not require any evidence; they are attested in the manuscripts and in the printed editions.

**47** As we have said about most of the examples brought above in §§ 2–3 and many like them.

**48** This word already here has the meaning of "opening," "entry" (see above § 9 and notes 37–38).

חִידָה occurs seventeen times, for example, in וְלֹא יָכְלוּ לְהַגִּיד הַחִידָה "and they could not ... expound the riddle" (Judges 14:14); again, the word is also attested in Ben Sira (47:17): בְּשִׁיר מ[שׁ]ל חידה ומליצה "For songs and proverbs and ridles and illustrations." קִינָה has 18 occurrences, for example וּשְׂאִי עַל שְׁפָיִם קִינָה "and take up a lamentation on high places" (Jeremiah 7:29). שִׁיבָה occurs only once, in Psalm 126:1:[49] בְּשׁוּב ה' אֶת שִׁיבַת צִיּוֹן "When the Lᴏʀᴅ turned again the captivity of Zion" (Psalms 126:1). שִׂיחָה is attested three times, for example, כִּי עֵדְוֹתֶיךָ שִׂיחָה לִי "for thy testimonies are my meditation" (Psalms 119:99). שִׁירָה occurs thirteen times, as in, אָז יָשִׁיר מֹשֶׁה ... אֶת הַשִּׁירָה הַזֹּאת "Then sang Moses ... this song" (Exodus 15:1).

§ 13    As has been stated, the only noun in this pattern derived from a III-Yod root is רְמִיָּה. This noun, which occurs many times in the scrolls, is very common in the Bible. It is attested 15 times, for example in the phrases מִלְּשׁוֹן רְמִיָּה, לְשׁוֹן רְמִיָּה "(from) a deceitful tongue" (Psalm 120:2–3). It would be difficult to claim that the use of רְמִיָּה in the scrolls is not dependant on the Biblical usage.

§ 14    We can summarize: only isolated nouns in the *pᵉila* pattern that are attested in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Mishnaic Hebrew, but not in the Bible, can legitimately be said to reflect a connection between Qumran Hebrew and Mishnaic Hebrew. There are four such nouns: מְשִׁיכָה, מְשִׁיחָה, יְדִיעָה and רְחִיצָה. These are sparsely attested in the scrolls (most occurring only once). The noun יְדִיעָה was rejected by the scribe or the corrector of the Thanksgiving Scroll. The two nouns מְשִׁיכָה and רְחִיצָה occur only one time each, and מְשִׁיחָה only twice. It can be said, therefore, that the *pᵉila* pattern was not adopted by the authors of the Scrolls from their spoken dialect (Mishnaic Hebrew), but rather reflects the literary influence of Biblical Hebrew on the language of Qumran.

## 16.4 The Pattern *Pi''ul*

§ 15    The *pi''ul* pattern is the common pattern of the verbal noun of the Pi''el and Hitpa''al/Nitpa''al verbal stems in Mishnaic Hebrew. As stated, the *pi''ul* pattern is already present in the Bible;[50] many of the nouns built according to this pattern are in the plural form, such as הִלּוּלִים (Leviticus 19:24;

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**49** I did not mention the second occurrence of this noun (וְהוּא כִלְכַּל אֶת הַמֶּלֶךְ בְּשִׁיבָתוֹ בְמַחֲנָיִם "and he had provided the king of sustenance while he lay at Mahanaim" [2 Samuel 19:33]), since this can be derived from the noun יְשִׁיבָה (בְּשִׁיבָתוֹ במחניים > בִּישִׁיבָתוֹ במחנים).

**50** See above § 6 and footnote 26.

Judges 9:27) and שַׁלּוּחִים (Micah 1:14). In Mishnaic Hebrew this pattern is a systematic grammatical category indicating the verbal noun and the result of the action for the Pi''el and Nitpa''al verbal stems. The use of this pattern is regular for any verb in these verbal stems.[51] In Mishnaic Hebrew the nouns in the *pi''ul* pattern occur mostly in the singular, although there are quite a few nouns which occur normally in the plural. For example, there is the well known group of nouns concerned with family status which use the plural form such as אֵרוּסִין, גֵּרוּשִׁין, קִדּוּשִׁין and שִׁבּוּקִין.[52] There are also other nouns which occur mostly in the plural, such as גִּדּוּלִים.[53] There is no reason to doubt the regularity of the use of this pattern as a verbal noun, and most of the verbs in the Pi''el and Nitpa''al verbal stems have verbal nouns attested in this pattern.[54] In the event that a verb in one of these verbal stems occurs in rabbinic literature but no verbal noun in the *pi''ul* pattern is attested for it, this is to be explained as a coincidence wherein the verbal noun was not attested.

Our examination has revealed that quite a few forms in the Dead Sea Scrolls are in the *pi''ul* pattern,[55] but here too a strong affinity with Biblical Hebrew is recognizable. It is not a coincidence that a number of these forms are in the plural, like in the Bible.

§ 16    Firstly I will present the findings from the scrolls and afterwards I will analyze them. I found that there are eleven certain forms of the *pi''ul* pattern,[56] with a total of close to one hundred occurrences.

Here are the examples:

**גִּבּוּל**: This is the very plausible reading of Menahem Kister in a sentence from the Rule of the Community: גבול סמוך לשמור אמונים (1QS 10:25). The word גבול is not *gᵉvul* "border, boundary," but rather *gibbul*, derived from the verb *gibbel* "to knead, form (clay)," and hence "to create human beings)." The phrase גבול סמוך is an obvious synonym, then, of the biblical expression יצר סמוך, derived from Isa 26:2–3.[57]

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**51** See the demonstration and the excellent analysis of the Mishnaic material in Elitzur 1987: 72–82, 83. (Clearly, his distinction between these two verbal stems, Pi''el and Nitpa''el, is unnecessary, since in these stems only one verbal noun is used, as Sharvit has shown. See above in § 6 and in footnote 25).

**52** See Segal 1936:77; he calls them "legal terms."

**53** See Elitzur 1987:71–72.

**54** As stated above in § 6, Sharvit counted 190 nouns in this pattern in Tannaitic literature.

**55** Almost all of the forms in the Dead Sea Scrolls are written defectively, without *yod* (see Qimron 1976:53–57).

**56** For this purpose I used a list that I had prepared together with the list prepared by Elisha Qimron (see above towards the end of footnote 30). Here too I ignored doubtful forms in the data presented here.

**57** See the thorough and convincing discussion in Kister's important study: Kister 2000:157.

**הַלּוּלִים**: We read in the Temple Scroll הלוליהמה [קוד[ש] עם כול קוד יקדישו לו "they hallow me, with all their hol[y] (fruit) offering of praise" (60:4).

**יִסּוּרִים**: Apparently, all of the occurrences of this form in the scrolls are in the plural form יִסּוּרִים – as in Mishnaic Hebrew. Here are two examples out of the nine that I collected. First, in the Damascus Document: וכמשפט היסורים כסרך התורה "and the precept to instruct according to the rule of the Torah" (CD MS A 7.8); second, in the Rule of the Community: כי געלה נפשו ביסורי דעת "his soul detests instructions about knowledge" (1QS 3:1). Based on the fact that this word occurs eight times in the scrolls in the plural form, and that in Mishnaic Hebrew this word is also almost always plural,[58] it seems to me that we should read another occurrence as the nomen regens in the plural: בתמים קדש על פי כול יסורי [יְסוּרֵי] = ]58a ברית אל "in perfect holiness (and) are governed according to all these instructions of God's covenant" (CD MS A 7:5).

**כָּבוּס**: In the Damascus Document: אל יבא טמא כבוס "let him not come (when he is still) unclean after washing" (CD MS A 11.22); and also אל יבוא טמא כבוס "let him not come when he is unclean (due to un-)washed clothing" (4Q271 5i 15).

**כִּיּוּר**: This noun is attested in one certain occurrence in the Temple Scroll: ומקורה כיור ארז מצופה זהב טהור (26, 10–11). Yadin correctly vocalized this word כִּיּוּר and explained "this is a general noun for the adorned part of the roof which was visible from the outside."[59]

**מִלּוּאִים**: This noun occurs only once in the Temple Scroll: ולמלואים איל איל לכ]ול[ "And for the consecration one ram for ea[ch" (11Q20 I, 12).

**נִסּוּי**: This noun appears as least five times in the scrolls, for example in the Paroles des Luminaires: ולא מאסנו בנסוייכה "we have not rejected your ordeals" (4Q504 1–2 vi 7); and in the Rule of the Community: ולא לשוב מאחרו מכול פחד ואימה ומצרף נסוים בממשלת בליעל "They must not turn back from following after him because of any terror, dread, affliction or agony during the reign of *Belial*" (1:17–18).

**עִזּוּז**: This noun occurs once in a liturgical text: ובמופתיכה ועזוז ימינכ]ה[ "and your wonders and the might of your right hand" (4Q451 3).

**פֵּרוּשׁ**: There are at least seven occurrences of this noun in the scrolls: three in the Damascus Document and four in the War Scroll. For example: פרוש המשפטים "elaboration of the laws" (4Q266 11:18); פרוש שמותם "list of their names" (1QM 4:64, 6).

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**58** I have shown the possibility that the singular form may be attested in a Tannaitic work: יִסּוּר (see Bar-Asher 2009a:250 § 22; there is evidence that this singular form occurs in Ben Sira (see below § 17B).

**58a** Not יְסוּדוֹ.

**59** See Yadin 1977:110. Qimron agreed with his opinion (Qimron 1980:255).

שִׁלּוּם: This noun occurs at least five times in the scrolls. Here is one example from the Thanksgiving Scroll: ופקודת שלומם עם כול נגעיהם "and the order of their payment with all of their afflictions" (9[7]:19–20).

תְּכוּן: This noun is very widespread in the scrolls, with approximately sixty occurrences. For example in the Rule of the Community: על פיהם יצא תכון הגורל לכל דבר "According to their order shall go forth the determination of the lot about everything" (1QS 5.3); in the War Scroll: מלומדי רכב ותכון ימיהם "drilled to mount, and the measure of their days" (1QM 6.13); and in the מוסר למבין = Instruction[d]: במוזני צדק שקל כול תכונם "For with righteous balances He has weighed out all their measurement" (4Q418 127 6).

§ 17   The collection of nouns detailed above is not uniform in so far as the relation of the various nouns to other layers of the Hebrew language. These nouns can be divided into two groups:

A.  Six nouns were borrowed from the Bible in their exact form or they have a clear affinity to the Bible. It is clear that the use of the noun הִלּוּלִים – in the phrase קוד[ש] הלוליהמה – is based on the Biblical verse יהיה כל פריו קֹדֶשׁ הִלּוּלִים לה' "all the fruit thereof shall be holy to praise the Lᴏʀᴅ" (Leviticus 19:24). Also, the word מִלּוּאִים – in the phrase ולמלואים איל איל לכ[ול] – was taken in its exact form from the Bible. This usage is clearly connected to the many verses that speak of איל המלואים "a ram of consecration" (such as in Exodus 29:22; Leviticus 8:22 and many others).[60] The nouns עִזּוּז and שִׁלּוּם are also borrowed from the Bible. The former appears in the verse רכב וסוס חיל ועזוז "the chariot and horse, the army and the power" (Isaiah 43:17),[61] and the occurrence of this noun in Ben Sira (45:18) should be understood thus as well: ועדת קרח בעזוז אפם "and the gathering of Korah in the strength of their wrath." It is easy to see the connection between the quote cited earlier – ופקודת שלומם – and the verse באו ימי הַפְּקֻדָּה ימי הַשִּׁלֻּם "The days of visitation are come, the days of recompense are come" (Hosea 9:7).

We can add to this list the nouns נִסּוּי and תְּכוּן. נִסּוּי is first attested in the Dead Sea Scrolls[62] and in Ben Sira. In Ben Sira we find: כי אם בנסוי (36:1); ובניסוי נמצא נאמן (44:20).[63] The noun נִסּוּי can be

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**60**  In the edition of Ben Sira of the Historical Dictionary Project of the Academy of the Hebrew Language the text reads [במל]ואים חותם פתוחי (45:11). In my opinion it would have been preferable to complete the word thus: [ואותם]במל. But I will not deal with this matter here.

**61**  However, the second occurrence of this word – ה' עִזּוּז וגבור "The Lord strong and mighty" (Psalms 24:8) – is a participle (functioning as an adjective) from the root עז"ז like לָמוּד from למ"ד. See what I wrote on this topic elsewhere (Bar-Asher 2008 § 32).

**62**  As was shown above in § 18.

**63**  The reference is to Abraham of whom the Bible states והאלהים נִסָּה את אברהם (Genesis 22:1).

clearly connected to the biblical verb נִסָּה in the verse וְהָאֱלֹהִים נִסָּה אֶת
אברהם "and God put Abraham to the test" (Genesis 22:1), and in other
verses such as לְמַעַן עַנֹּתְךָ לְנַסֹּתְךָ "to humble you, to prove you" (Deuteron-
omy 8:2). Also תִּכּוּן, which is a noun characteristic of the Dead Sea Scrolls
and which attested only in those texts within the entire corpus of Classical
Hebrew,[64] is connected to the biblical verb תִּכֵּן (Isaiah 43:1, etc.).

§ 18

B.  Five nouns – פֵּרוּשׁ, כִּיּוּר, כִּבּוּס, יִסּוּרִים, גִּבּוּל – were, until recently, thought
to have been first attested within Mishnaic Hebrew (for the most part in
Tannaitic Hebrew). Some of the examples are:

**גִּבּוּל**: עפר, דְּבַר[65] גבול הוא "soil, which is kneadable" (b. Shabbat 18a)[66]

**יִסּוּרִים**: החביבין יסורין "suffering is desirable" (Sifre Deuteronomy § 32).
Note that this word is also found in Ben Sira: יסור מעים "suffering of
the intestines" (40:29) and also ויסרתיהו באסורים "will torment him with
training" (4:17), with *aleph* instead of *yod*.

**כִּבּוּס**: אינו טעון כבוס "it does not require washing" (m. Zevahim 11:3)

**כִּיּוּר**: המוצא פלטרין בנכסי הגר וסד בהן סיוד אחד או כיור אחד קנאן
"If a man finds a villa already erected on the estate of a [deceased] prose-
lyte, and he adds one coat of whitewash or mural decoration,[67] he acquires
ownership" (b. Baba Batra 53b)[68]

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**64** In using the term "Classical Hebrew," I mean the Hebrew that had as its background as a
living, spoken language (i.e. Biblical Hebrew, the language of Ben Sira, Qumran Hebrew and
the language of the Tanna'im).

**65** In this phrase only the word דְּבַר (דְ + בַר) is Aramaic, indicating that soil is kneadable.

**66** The verb is attested in Tannaitic Hebrew (in the Qal and) Pi''el stem, for example נותנין
מים לתוך קמח [...] שלא יגבל "One may put water into dough ... he should not knead it into
a mass" (t. Shabbat 12:14).

**67** The Ben Yehuda dictionary notes that there are witnesses that the text is faulty (they read
כיוד with *dalet*), but the note states that the 'Arukh also gives the spelling כיור with *resh*. See
the quote from the Mishna in the following footnote (67) which brings the text סיידו וכיירו;
the verb is כִּיֵּר in the Pi''el stem, and the verbal noun is כִּיּוּר. It is important to note that the
word כִּיּוּר appears in Targum Yonatan: the phrase וספון בארז "paneled with cedar" (Jeremiah
22:14) is translated as מטלל בכיורי ארזיא (= covered with panels [= decorations] of cedar),
and the phrase בבתיכם ספונים "your well-roofed houses" (Haggai 1:4) is translated as בבתיא
דמטללין בכיורי ארזיא (= in houses roofed with decorations of cedar). The vocalization בְּכִיּוּרֵי
with *vav* and *šuruq*, which is brought by Sperber in the texual variants,is to be preferred over
בְּכִיֹּרֵי with *holam* which appears in the text itself (Stadel 2008:70 n. 523 comments on these
two verses in Targum Yonatan).

**68** As stated, the verb כִּיֵּר is attested in Tannaitic Hebrew, for example בית שבניו מתחילה
לשם עבודה זרה ... סיידו וְכִיְּירוֹ לשם עבודה זרה וחידש מה שחידש נוטל מה שחידש "if a house was built
from the first for idolatry ... if it was plastered and bedecked for idolatry, or if aught was done
to it anew, one only need remove what was done to it anew" (m. 'Avoda Zara 3:7 according to
MS Kaufmann).

**פֵּרוּשׁ:** פירושו שֶׁל דבר "the meaning of the thing" (t. Ta'anit 2:10).

Thus, most of the forms in the *pi''ul* pattern in the scrolls are attested in the Bible or are linked to biblical verbs. Only a minority (albeit a not insignificant minority) are known from Mishnaic Hebrew. However, all of these forms, with the exception of פֵּרוּשׁ, are sparsely attested in Qumran Hebrew.

§ 19    I wish to add two marginal comments to the above discussion concerning two nouns which were not included in paragraphs 16–18: יסוד and למודים.

A.  The grapheme יסוד is ambiguous. It can represent the form יְסוֹד or the form יְסוּד.[69] In the Temple Scroll we read וזרקו את דמו על יסוד מזבח העולה "… on the base of the altar of burnt offering" (52:21). Clearly this echoes the language of the verse in Leviticus אֶל יְסוֹד[70] הַמִּזְבֵּחַ "at the bottom of the altar" (for example 4:7; 4:18; 4:25). However, it is possible that some of the graphemes יסוד in the scrolls are to be vocalized יְסוּד like the two examples below.[71] Here is an example from the Thanksgiving Scroll: תמיד בכול מולדי עת יסוד קץ "always in all beginnings of time, the foundation of the end" (20[12]:10–11). And an example from the Rule of the Community: והאיש אשר ילון על יסוד היחד "The man who grumbles against the authority of the Community" (1QS 7:17). Due to the uncertainty the grapheme יסוד was removed from the list in paragraph 16 above.

B.  The noun לְמוּדִים was also not included above in § 16. This noun appears at least seven times in the scrolls, four times with *plene* spelling (לימוד); four of the occurrences are in the Thanksgiving Scroll. For example, ולשוני כלמודיך "and my tongue as your teaching" (15[7]:13), אוזן בלמודיך "ear in your teaching" (1Q428 10:7), etc. Most, if not all, of these occurrences should be interpreted as passive participle forms of the *pi''ul* pattern, לְמוּד (a variant of תלמיד as in the Bible), and not as verbal nouns in the same pattern. There are two details that bear emphasizing. First, six out of seven

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**69**  As is well known, the Tiberian tradition of the Bible provides a third form – יְסוּד in the Pᵉ'ul pattern which is reflected in the phrase יֻסַּד הַמַּעֲלָה (Ezra 7:9). See what I wrote elsewhere: Bar-Asher 2009a 2:262 § 18 in the first footnote.

**70**  The Samaritan tradition also has the form יְסוּד (yēsod), according to Ben-Ḥayyim 1957–1977:5.123. In fact, this is how it appears in the Babylonian vocalization, only that the *yod* with *shewa* is frequently replaced by *ḥiriq* as Yeivin (1985:906) pointed out.

**71**  This was apparently was Qimron had in mind when he included יסוד in the nouns in the *pi''ul* pattern with which he was kind enough to provide me (see above the end of footnote 30).

occurrences are in the plural form – [72]לימודים – just like three of the four[73] occurrences of this noun in the Bible. Second, and even more important, is the connection between the usages of the word in the scrolls and the usages in the Bible. Obviously, this can only be said regarding the three occurrences in which the word appears in clear contexts. When the attestation is isolated, devoid of any context, it is impossible to say anything about the usage.[74] Here are the contexts of the three clear occurrences: the phrase למודי אל "taught by God" (CD MS B 20.4) is similar to the phrase לְמּוּדֵי ה' "taught of the Lord" (Isaiah 54:13); ולשוני כלמודיך "and my tongue as your teaching" (Thanksgiving Scroll 15[7]:13) is reminiscent of the scriptural expression לשׁוֹן לְמּוּדִים "the tongue of the learned" (Isaiah 50:4); the phrase אוזן בלמודיך (1Q428 10:7) echoes the verse יעיר לי אזן לשמוע כַּלְּמּוּדִים "he wakes my ear to hear like the learned" (Isaiah 50:4).

§ 20   In summation, most of the occurrences of the words in the *pi''ul* pattern in the Dead Sea Scrolls show a clear affinity to the Bible, with only *isolated* forms having an affinity to Mishnaic Hebrew. Examples of these are the use of the noun גודל, the verb יופף and the particle עכשׁו.[75] These examples indicate the penetration of isolated forms from the spoken language in this pattern, similar to the isolated forms in the scrolls from the *p<sup>e</sup>''ila* pattern, but do not reflect the consolidation of a systematic grammatical category in Qumran Hebrew.

## 16.5 Concluding Remarks

§ 21   Certainly, discovering elements common to Mishnaic Hebrew and Qumran Hebrew is an important task in and of itself. Every detail common to the two linguistic strata has importance for a number of reasons. Above all its importance lies in giving historical depth to the words or to the grammatical phenomena in Mishnaic Hebrew that already appear in the scrolls. I mean that

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**72** The sole occurrence in the singular form is in a portion of a scroll of blessings לשׁמוע למודו (4Q434 1 i4); perhaps this is also the plural form spelled defectively (למודו) instead of למודיו, which is present in the scrolls; see Kutscher 1959:350; Qimron 1976:231–232. As is well known, others scholars also dealt with this issue). However, it should be noted that there is an alternative: the noun למוד may function as the verbal noun of the Pi''el verbal stem.
**73** The sole singular form in the Bible is in the verse פרא לִמֻּד מדבר "a wild ass used to the wilderness" (Jeremiah 2:24).
**74** For example we can not learn anything from the lack of context in this occurrence: [בלמודיכה] (Thanksgiving Scroll 12[2]:39).
**75** See above § 2.

the discovery of these common elements adds an important chapter to their history. That is, we learn that they existed hundreds of years before Mishnaic Hebrew became consolidated as a literary medium following the destruction of the Second Temple. Therefore, the discovery and collection of these elements by scholars is a desideratum.

§ 22   It is very important to follow the development of words and isolated grammatical forms, but especially of complete grammatical categories. In this study I examined two grammatical categories, the verbal noun patterns *pᵉ'ila* and *pi"ul*, in a comprehensive and detailed way. It turns out that the authors of the scrolls borrowed words in these patterns especially from Biblical Hebrew and to a much lesser extent from their spoken language. One of these language types is known to us as Mishnaic Hebrew which served as the written medium for Rabbinic literature. That is to say, the few words from these patterns that are common to both the language of the scrolls and to Mishnaic Hebrew do not indicate a common linguistic element shared by the scrolls and Mishnaic Hebrew. Rather, it indicates the few details in the two patterns which are common to the two periods. These details are to be considered as all of the many, isolated words in Mishnaic Hebrew which already appear in the Dead Sea Scrolls.

§ 23   In short, we can say that the most important element of the connection between Mishnaic Hebrew and most of the linguistic points in Qumran Hebrew are limited to details, namely, nouns, verbs, particles, and phrases from the spoken language, known to us from Rabbinic literature, which penetrated the writings of the authors of the scrolls. Among all of these details we find various forms of the verbal nouns in the *pᵉ'ila* and *pi"ul* patterns, such as יְדִיעָה and גְּבוּל. The appearance of these forms at Qumran should be considered in much the same fashion as the appearance of the words גָּדֵל, מָמוֹן, and עַכְשָׁו. In other words, the authors of the scrolls utilized forms like יְדִיעָה and גְּבוּל, drawn from their spoken language, in their writings in a sporadic fashion. These do not represent linguistic categories common to both Qumran Hebrew and Mishnaic Hebrew.

§ 24   I wish to strongly stress that any investigation into the connection between Qumran Hebrew and Mishnaic Hebrew needs to take into account various linguistic aspects, but firstly an effort must be made to uncover all of the details common to two literary collections from two different periods in time. Afterwards it will be possible to use this material in order to address other linguistic issues such as the historical dimension of the phenomena mentioned or the question of the different dialects of Hebrew during the Second Temple period and following that period. A collection of the data in this area and a discussion of these two important topics – the historical dimension of

the phenomena mentioned and the importance of these phenomena for the description of different dialects of the spoken Hebrew during the Second Temple period and the tannaitic period – as well as others topics, can be found in a detailed study that I published a few years ago.[76] The goal of this study was to model the type of research needed by offering a refinement of the data regarding two grammatical categories, while also allowing us to discuss these basic issues as well as others.

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**76** See Bar-Asher 2010 = Bar-Asher 2012:196–212.