

ANTICIPATORY PRONOMINAL AGREEMENT AND QUMRAN  
HEBREW PHRASEOLOGY\*  
Concordancia pronominal anticipadora y la fraseología hebrea de Qumrán

MARTIN F.J. BAASTEN  
*Universiteit Leiden*

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**Resumen:** Recientemente ha sido sugerido que 4Q252 1.4 בּוּ בַיּוֹם הַהוּא 'en aquel día' sea un caso de *prolepsis*, o concordancia pronominal anticipadora, en el Hebreo de Qumrán. El presente estudio afirma, al contrario, que esta proposición carece de prueba concreta. Tras un análisis de la fraseología calendaria de Qumrán el sintagma בּוּ resulta referirse a lo que precede, mientras בַיּוֹם הַהוּא constituye el principio de la frase siguiente. Los otros dos presuntos casos de *prolepsis* en el Hebreo de Qumrán (4QRP<sup>c</sup> 12b iii 2 כאשר צוהו יהוה את מושה y 11QT 66.4 מצאה האיש את האשה) también se muestran muy inciertos.

**Abstract:** Against a recent suggestion that 4Q252 1.4 בּוּ בַיּוֹם הַהוּא 'on that day' is a case of prolepsis or anticipatory pronominal agreement in Qumran Hebrew, the present study contends that the evidence for the suggestion is rather weak. An examination of Qumran Hebrew calendrical phraseology shows that בּוּ refers to a preceding phrase, whereas בַיּוֹם הַהוּא constitutes the beginning of the next sentence. The two other alleged instances of prolepsis in Qumran Hebrew (4QRP<sup>c</sup> 12b iii 2 כאשר צוהו יהוה את מושה and 11QT 66.4 מצאה האיש את האשה) also prove to be highly uncertain.

**Palabras clave:** Lengua Hebrea. Sintaxis. Concordancia pronominal. Prolepsis.

**Key words:** Hebrew language. Syntax. Pronominal agreement. Prolepsis.

1. *Anticipatory pronominal agreement in Qumran Hebrew*

Pronominal agreement in various Semitic languages has been described in detail, alongside extraposition, by Khan.<sup>1</sup> He defines pronominal agreement as 'a construction where a noun or nominal phrase whose grammatical relation is indicated by its case inflection or by an

\* It is a pleasure for me to dedicate this study to Miguel Pérez Fernández, to whom students of the Hebrew language in its various phases owe their lasting gratitude. I am grateful to my friends Wido van Peursen and Mervyn Richardson for their useful remarks on an earlier draft of this article.

1. G. Khan, *Studies in Semitic Syntax* (London Oriental Series 38; Oxford 1988).

adjoining relational particle is accompanied in the same clause by a co-referential pronoun agreeing with it in number, gender, person, and grammatical relation'.<sup>2</sup> Unlike extraposed nominals, in pronominal agreement constructions the 'agreed with' nominal need not occur at the front of the clause and the agreement pronoun may be either resumptive or anticipatory, as in the Syriac examples *l-malktā qaṭl-āh* 'The queen – he killed her' and *qaṭl-āh l-malktā* 'He killed her – the queen'.<sup>3</sup> Furthermore, it can be expressed on clause level, as in *weškḥeh la-mšihā* 'he found him – the Messiah', or on phrase level, as in *beh b-ma'lānā* 'at it – at the entrance'.<sup>4</sup> Biblical Hebrew examples include 1 Kgs. 21:13 ויעידהו אנשי הבליעל את נבوت 'and the scoundrels brought a charge against him – against Nabot' and Num. 32:33 ... ויתן להם משה לבני גד... 'and Moses gave to them – to the sons of Gad...'.<sup>5</sup> Anticipatory pronominal agreement is also attested in Mishnaic Hebrew, e.g. Avot 2.3 ואין עומדין לו לאדם בשעת דחקו 'but they stand not with him – with that man in his time of stress'.<sup>6</sup> In Aramaic the feature is even more usual; see e.g. in Biblical Aramaic Dan. 5:30 בה בליליא 'in it – in that night';<sup>7</sup> in Qumran Aramaic 4Q550 (4QPrEsther<sup>a</sup> ar) 3 בה בשתא 'in it – in that year'.<sup>8</sup>

2. *Ibid.*, xxvi-xxvii.

3. *Ibid.*, xxvii.

4. *Ibid.*, 128–130. In addition, we find cases of anticipatory pronominal agreement in which the preposition is not repeated, as in Biblical Aramaic בה שעתה 'at that moment' (Dan 5:5), cf. *ibid.* 109, ## 17–18.

5. *Ibid.*, 76–77.

6. M. Pérez Fernández, *An Introductory Grammar of Rabbinic Hebrew* (trans. J.F. Elwolde; Leiden 1997) § 11, p. 19; M. Azar, תחביר לשון המשנה (*The Syntax of Mishnaic Hebrew*) (Jerusalem 1995) 213.

7. Khan, *Studies in Semitic Syntax*, 108–109.

8. On the proleptic genitive construction in Semitic in general, see F. Pennacchietti, *Studi sui pronomi determinativi semitici* (Napoli 1968), esp. ch. 1 and 2, pp. 1–70. For Official Aramaic, see M. Folmer, *The Aramaic Language in the Achaemenid Period. A Study in Linguistic Variation* (OLA 68; Leuven 1995) § 4.1, pp. 259–325. T. Muraoka and B. Porten, *A Grammar of Egyptian Aramaic* (HdO 32; Leiden 1998) § 63, pp. 233–234. For Syriac, see Th. Nöldeke, *Kurzgefaßte syrische Grammatik* (Leipzig 1898; repr. Darmstadt 1977) §§ 205 C, 222; Khan, *Studies in Semitic Syntax*, 128–130; J. Joosten, *The Syriac Language of the Peshitta and Old Syriac Versions of Matthew. Syntactic Structure, Inner-Syriac Developments and Translation Techniques* (Studies in Semitic Languages and Linguistics 22; Leiden 1996) chapter II, §§ 2.1.3–4, 2.2.3–4, 3, 4, 5.2; T. Muraoka,

In a recent study on some morphosyntactic and syntactic issues in Qumran Hebrew, Muraoka noted three cases of anticipatory pronominal agreement in Qumran Hebrew. These were:

- (a) 4Q365 (4QRP<sup>c</sup>) 12b iii 2 כאשר צוהו יהוה את מושה 'as the Lord commanded him – Moses';
- (b) 11Q19 (11QT) 66.4 מצאה האיש את האשה 'the man met her – the woman';
- (c) 4Q252 (4QcommGen A) 1.4 בו ביום ההוא 'on it – on that day'.<sup>9</sup>

However, all these instances of the proleptic pronoun in Qumran Hebrew are problematic, as will be shown by the following observations.

#### 1.1. 4QRP<sup>c</sup> 12b iii 2 כאשר צוהו יהוה את מושה

As for the first instance, it must be borne in mind that in the official edition the pivotal word actually reads צוהו.<sup>10</sup> This means that the pronominal suffix *waw* at the end of this form is not clear; the underlying biblical verse, Exod. 39:2, reads צוה. The editor of the text, having marked this *waw* with a circle over it, explicitly states: '*waw* is not certain'. Moreover, the immediate context of this passage is damaged, so that we cannot be sure what is actually referred to in the clause.<sup>11</sup>

Since this alleged case of prolepsis entirely depends on the reading of this particular *waw*, it is arguably wiser to err on the side of caution and to take 4QRP<sup>c</sup> 12b iii 2 as ancillary support of anticipatory pronominal agreement in Qumran Hebrew only if more compelling evidence is available.

*Classical Syriac. A Basic Grammar with a Chrestomathy* (PLO 19; Wiesbaden 1997) § 112.

9. In fact, Muraoka quotes this latter passage incorrectly as בו ביום הזה. Cf. T. Muraoka, 'An Approach to the Morphosyntax and Syntax of Qumran Hebrew', in T. Muraoka and J.F. Elwolde (eds.), *Diggers at the Well. Proceedings of a Third International Symposium on the Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Ben Sira* (STDJ 36; Leiden 2000) 193–214, esp. 199–200.

10. E. Tov, '4QReworked Pentateuch', in H. Attridge et al. (eds.), *Qumran Cave 4. VIII, Parabiblical Texts, Part 1* (DJD 13; Oxford 1994) 255–318, esp. 280.

11. *Ibid.*, 282.

### 1.2. 11QT 66.4 מצאה האישה את האשה

The second instance adduced by Muraoka presents even more problems than the first. Editions of the Temple Scroll reveal that the full passage 11QT 66.4–5 runs as follows: ואם בשדה מצאה האיש במקום רחוק וסתר: 'but if in the open country a man meets her, in a far-away place, hidden from the city'.<sup>12</sup> The phrase 'את האשה' 'the woman' is clearly not part of the text, but was added as a supralinear gloss, over and slightly to the left of the word 'במקום'.<sup>13</sup> According to Yadin, 'the author added these two words as an afterthought, suspending them above the line. The text was changed to adapt the matter to the preceding case concerning the young woman in the city'.<sup>14</sup> The biblical verse closest to the formulation in 11QT is Deut. 22:25 ואם בשדה ימצא האיש את הנערה, which has a *yiqtol* form in the protasis, where 11QT uses *qatal*.<sup>15</sup> There can be little doubt that the specific word-form 'מצאה' 'he met her', which also occurs at 11QT 66.7 כי בשדה מצאה, was inspired by the same Deuteronomic passage, since Deut. 22:23 reads ומצאה איש בעיר, whereas in Deut. 22:27 we find the words ומצאה בעיר.<sup>16</sup>

Since the possibility of prolepsis 11QT 66.4 depends entirely on the supralinear gloss, we must conclude that this evidence for anticipatory pronominal agreement in Qumran Hebrew is significantly weakened.

### 1.3. 4QcommGen A 1.4 בו ביום ההוא

There is no question about the reading of the text itself in this instance, but the particular phrase בו ביום ההוא immediately raises suspicion for quite

12. For the peculiar syntax of the locative phrase, see Y. Yadin, *The Temple Scroll* (3 vols.; Jerusalem 1977) II, 297 *ad loc.*

13. E. Qimron, *The Temple Scroll. A Critical Edition with Extensive Reconstructions* (Beer Sheva/Jerusalem 1996) 91. A facsimile picture of this column is available in Yadin, *Temple Scroll* III, plate 81.

14. Yadin, *Temple Scroll* II, 297.

15. For the frequent use in Qumran Hebrew of *qatal* instead of MT *yiqtol* in the protasis of conditional sentences, see Qimron, *Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, § 400.19; W.Th. van Peursen, 'Conditional Sentences with אִם in the Protasis in Qumran Hebrew', in Muraoka and Elwolde (eds.), *Diggers at the Well*, 215–231, esp. 215–217, 224.

16. In his commentary on the Temple Scroll, Wise considers the passage to be an extensive verbatim quotation from a source other than MT, cf. M.O. Wise, *A Critical Study of the Temple Scroll from Qumran Cave 11* (Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization 49; Chicago, IL 1990) 233, 208.

another reason. Not only would it be the only instance of anticipatory pronominal agreement beginning with a prepositional phrase in Qumran Hebrew, as Muraoka duly noted, but to the best of my knowledge it would also be the only case in the entire corpus of the Hebrew language — or, for that matter, of Aramaic<sup>17</sup> — where the proleptic pronoun occurs together with the demonstrative. Normally the proleptic pronoun can be understood to be a substitution for, not a supplement to, the demonstrative element: instead of *הוא* *ביום ההוא* one gets *ביום ביום*. A more thorough investigation is therefore in order.

The text 4QcommGen A is a commentary on selected passages from the book of Genesis, in which various sentences or phrases from the Masoretic text are quoted, with additional exegetical remarks. The text displays a notable interest in calendrical details of the biblical stories it quotes.<sup>18</sup> A comparison of the passage 4Q252 1.3–5 with the Masoretic

17. The context of 4Q541 (4QapocrLevi<sup>b</sup>? ar) 10 3 מ[ ] ובה בזמנא דנא מ[ ] does not allow us to draw any conclusion as to the nature of the letters ובה[ ].

18. On 4Q252 in general, see M.J. Bernstein, '4Q252: Method and Context, Genre and Sources. A Response to George J. Brooke', *JQR* 85 (1994) 61–79; M.J. Bernstein, '4Q252: From Re-Written Bible to Biblical Commentary', *JJS* 45 (1994) 1–27; M.J. Bernstein, '4Q252 i 2 לעולם לא ידור רוחי באדם לעולם?', *RdQ* 16 (1994) 421–427; G.J. Brooke, 'The Deuteronomistic Character of 4Q252', in J.C. Reeves and J.I. Kampen (eds.), *Pursuing the Text. Studies in Honor of Ben Zion Wacholder on the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday* (JSOTSup 184; Sheffield 1994) 121–135; G.J. Brooke, 'The Genre of 4Q252. From Poetry to Peshet', *DSD* 1 (1994) 160–179; G.J. Brooke, 'The Thematic Content of 4Q252', *JQR* 85 (1994–1995) 33–59; G.J. Brooke, '4Q252 et le Nouveau Testament', in D. Marguerat (ed.), *Le déchirement. Juifs et chrétiens au premier siècle* (Le monde de la Bible 32; Genève 1996) 221–242; G.J. Brooke, '4Q252 as Early Jewish Commentary', *RdQ* 17 (1996) 385–401; G.J. Brooke, 'Some Comments on 4Q252 and the Text of Genesis', *Textus* 19 (1998) 1–25; G.J. Brooke, '4Q252 and the 153 fish of John 21:11', in B. Kollmann, W. Reinbold and A. Steudel (eds.), *Antikes Judentum und frühes Christentum. Festschrift für Hartmut Stegemann zum 65. Geburtstag* (BZNW 97; Berlin/New York 1999) 253–265; I. Fröhlich, 'Themes, Structure and Genre of Peshet Genesis', *JQR* 85 (1994) 81–90; I. Fröhlich, 'The Biblical Narratives in Qumran Exegetical Works (4Q252; 4Q180; The Damascus Document)', in H.-J. Fabry, A. Lange and H. Lichtenberger (eds.), *Qumranstudien* (Schriften des Institutum Judaicum Delitzschianum 4; Göttingen 1996) 111–124; I. Fröhlich, "'Narrative Exegesis" in the Dead Sea Scrolls', in M.E. Stone and E.G. Chazon (eds.), *Biblical Perspectives: Early Use and Interpretation of the Bible in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Proceedings of the First International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 12-14 May, 1996* (STDJ

text underlying it throws an entirely different light on this third alleged case of anticipatory pronominal agreement.<sup>19</sup>

4Q252 1.3–5      בשנת שש מאות שנה<sup>4</sup> להי נה בחודש השני באחד בשבת  
 ... ביום ההוא<sup>5</sup> נבקעו ...      

בו	בשבעה עשר
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MT Gen. 7:11      –      בהדש השני      בשנת שש מאות שנה להי נה  
 ... ביום הזה נבקעו ...      

לחדש	בשבעה עשר יום
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After the biblical words 'in the second month' the author of 4Q252 adds the interpretative phrase 'on Sunday', literally 'on the first (day) of the week'. Moreover, it becomes evident that the equivalent of the Masoretic idiomatic expression 'on the seventeenth day of the month' in 4Q252 is 'on the seventeenth of it'. In other words, the Qumran scribe omits the word 'day',<sup>20</sup> while the frequent biblical phrase 'of the month' is rendered more concisely, using another preposition with a suffix; therefore, 'on it', 'in it' means 'in the previously mentioned second month'.<sup>21</sup> The fact that Qumran Hebrew prefers the preposition ב to the biblical ל in such phrases is illustrated by passages like 4Q252 1.22 'באחד בחודש הראשון', where the underlying MT Gen. 8:13 has 'באחד לחדש', and 11QT

28; Leiden 1998) 81–99; R.S. Hendel, '4Q252 and the Flood Chronology of Genesis 7–8: A Text-Critical Solution', *DSD* 2 (1995) 72–79; H. Jacobson, '4Q252: Addenda', *JJS* 44 (1993) 118–120; H. Jacobson, '4Q252 fr. 1: Further Comments', *JJS* 44 (1993) 291–293; T. Lim, 'Notes on 4Q252 fr. 1, cols. i–ii', *JJS* 44 (1993) 121–126; G.S. Oegema, 'Tradition-Historical Studies on 4Q252', in J.H. Charlesworth, H. Lichtenberger and G.S. Oegema (eds.), *Qumran-Messianism. Studies on the Messianic Expectations in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Tübingen 1998) 154–174 (recent bibliography on pp. 172–174).

19. For the official edition, see G. Brooke, '4QCommentary on Genesis A', in G. Brooke et al. (eds.), *Qumran Cave 4. XVII, Parabiblical Texts, Part 3* (DJD 22; Oxford 1996) 185–207.

20. The same happens, e.g., in 11QT 17.10 'ובחמשה עשר' = MT Lev. 23:6 'ובחמשה עשר יום'.

21. See also Brooke, 'Some Comments on 4Q252', 13.

25.10 אך בעשור לחדש הזה, ובעשרה בחודש הזה, where MT Lev. 23:27 reads *אך בעשור לחדש השביעי*.<sup>22</sup>

This comparison shows that the prepositional phrase *בו* should not be construed as belonging to the words that follow it, but rather as a normal, anaphoric pronoun referring back to the words *בחודש השני* mentioned before, just like its biblical model does by means of the phrase *לחדש*. It is my contention, therefore, that the alleged instance of anticipatory pronominal agreement in 4Q252 1.4 *בו ביום ההוא* 'on that day' is not genuine.

The problem obviously lies in the fact that our manuscripts almost completely lack punctuation, so that it is often difficult to determine where sentences or biblical verses begin or end.<sup>23</sup> As a consequence, translations of the Dead Sea Scrolls sometimes differ considerably in this respect. In the case of 4Q252, an accurate understanding of the syntax of this passage is shown by García Martínez and Tigchelaar in their rendering:

<sup>3</sup>In the year six hundred <sup>4</sup>of Noah's life, in the second month, on the first (day) of the week, on *its* seventeenth (day) (*בשבעה עשר בן*), on that day (*ביום ההוא*) <sup>5</sup>all the springs of the great abyss were split and the sluices of the sky opened and rain fell upon <sup>6</sup>the earth forty days and forty nights, until the twenty-sixth day of the third <sup>7</sup>month, the fifth day of the week.<sup>24</sup>

Here the possessive pronoun in 'on *its* seventeenth (day)' is the equivalent of the prepositional phrase *בו*. The same correct rendering can

22. See also § 3.1 below. Occasionally the Qumran scribe echoes the biblical phrase *לחדש* exactly, as in 11QT 17.10 *ובחמשה עשר לחדש הזה* = MT Lev. 23:6 *ובחמשה עשר יום לחדש הזה*; 4Q252 2.1 *ובחודש השני ביום לחדש השני* = MT Gen. 8:14 *ובחודש השני בשבעה ועשרים יום לחדש*.

23. On the general problem of the lack of punctuation in the Dead Sea Scrolls, see E. Tov, 'The Indication of Small Sense Units (Verses) in Biblical Manuscripts', in M.F.J. Baasten and W.Th. van Peursen (eds.), *Hamlet on a Hill. Semitic and Greek Studies Presented to Professor T. Muraoka on the Occasion of his Sixty-Fifth Birthday* (Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 118; Leuven 2003) 473–486.

24. F. García Martínez and E.J.C. Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls. Study Edition I, (1Q1–4Q273)* (Leiden 1997) 501 (emphasis added, MB).

be found in translations by García Martínez and van der Woude,<sup>25</sup> Brooke<sup>26</sup> and Trafton.<sup>27</sup>

Other translators, however, seem to have been misled by the apparent case of pronominal agreement. Thus, for instance, Wise, Abegg and Cook's rendering '... on the second month, on Sunday, the seventeenth. On that day ...' does not seem to contain an equivalent for בּוּ, such as 'on its seventeenth (day)' or 'on the seventeenth (day) of it', which suggests that this prepositional phrase was considered to be proleptic and hence part of the phrase 'on that day'.<sup>28</sup> Similarly, Vermes translates '... on the seventeenth (of the month). On that day...', which implies the same interpretation.<sup>29</sup>

## 2. *Qumran Hebrew calendrical phraseology*

Supporting evidence for the interpretation of בּוּ בַיּוֹם הַהוּא is gained from a study of Qumran Hebrew calendrical phraseology. In this section it will be shown that

(a) the prepositional phrase בּוּ is part of a fixed phrase pattern < *b-* + numeral + *bō* > (where בּוּ always stands for 'in the month mentioned previously'), which occurs frequently in calendrical passages in the Dead Sea Scrolls;

(b) the phrase בּוּ בַיּוֹם הַהוּא, or a similar expression such as בַּעַת הַהַיָּא, often occurs at the beginning of a new sentence in Qumran Hebrew;

25. F. García Martínez and A.S. van der Woude, *De Rollen van de Dode Zee. Ingeleid en in het Nederlands Vertaald II* (Kampen/Tielt 1995) 262: 'op de zeventiende daarvan' (emphasis added, MB).

26. Brooke, '4QCommentary on Genesis A', 196: 'on its seventeenth day'.

27. J.L. Trafton, 'Commentary on Genesis A (4Q252= 4QCommGen A = 4QP Bless', in J.H. Charlesworth et al. (eds.), *Hebrew, Aramaic and Greek Texts with English Translations 6B, Pesharim, Other Commentaries, and Related Documents* (The Princeton Theological Seminary Dead Sea Scrolls Project 6B; Tübingen/Louisville 2002) 203–219, esp. 209: 'on its seventeenth (day)' (emphasis added, MB).

28. M. Wise, M. Abegg Jr. and E. Cook, *The Dead Sea Scrolls. A New Translation* (San Francisco 1996) 275.

29. G. Vermes, *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English* (Harmondsworth 1997) 461. Note that in Vermes' translation words between parentheses suggest that the expression is not there in the original, but constitute a gloss added by the English translator necessary for fluency. Cf. *ibid.*, 93.



(c) the resumptive function of the preposition ב in ביום ההוא, which refers back to an earlier co-referential prepositional phrase, has various parallels in Qumran Hebrew phraseology.

### 2.1. *The phrase < b- + numeral + bō >*

A survey of calendrical phraseology in the Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls shows that one may recognise a frequent, fixed construction < b- + numeral + bō >, in which bō stands for 'in the month previously mentioned'.

The expression < b- + numeral + bō > is attested twice in our document: we find it in 4Q252 1.4 בשבעה עשר בו 'on the seventeenth (day) of it', where בו refers back to the phrase בחודש השני in the same line, as well as in 1.11 עד החודש [הע]שירי באחד בו 'until the [te]nth month, on the first (day) of it', where בו refers to the preceding phrase שירי [הע] החודש.<sup>30</sup>

But in other calendrical contexts, too, the construction < b- + numeral + bō > is abundantly attested in the Dead Sea Scrolls:

4QMMT A 1.4–6 בשבת ושלושה בשבועים ושלושה בשבת 'on the twenty-third (day) of it (i.e. the second month) is a sabbath';<sup>31</sup>

4QMMT A 5.2–5 מועד השמן בשבת ושנים בשבועים ושנים בשבת 'on the twenty-second of it (i.e. the second month) is the Festival of the (New) Oil';<sup>32</sup>

4Q321 (4QCalendrical Doc B) 2. 3 בארבעה בוא 'on the fourth of it';<sup>33</sup>

4Q321a (4QCalendrical Doc C) 5.3 בשנים בוא 'on the second of it';<sup>34</sup>

4Q324a (4QMishmarot D) 2. 2 ביאת מלכ[יה] בוא 'on the twenty-eighth of it is the entrance of Malch[iah]';

30. For this latter attestation, see already Muraoka, 'Approach', 200 n. 31.

31. The reference to the month itself is not preserved in the context, but can be inferred from it. On the syntactic function of בו, see already E. Qimron *ad loc.* in E. Qimron and J. Strugnell, *Qumran Cave 4. V, Miḡsat Ma'aše ha-Torah* (DJD 10; Oxford 1994) 44: 'The suffix in the regularly recurring word "on it" refers to the (e.g., second) month.'

32. Other examples: 4QMMT A 2.3–5 בשבת ושמונה בשבועים ושמונה בשבת; 4QMMT A 3.6–8 בשבת ושמונה בשבועים ושמונה בשבת; 4QMMT A 4.3–4 בשש אשר בו בשבת ושלושה בשבועים ושלושה בשבת; 4QMMT A 4.5–7 בשבת ושלושה בשבועים ושלושה בשבת.

33. See also 4Q321 4.2 בשלושה ועשרים בוא.

34. See also 4Q321a 5.7 בשש ושלושה בשבת ושלושה בשבת.

4Q325 (4QCalendrical Doc D) 1 2–3 בעשרים וחמשה בו שבת על ידעיה ‘on the twenty-fifth of it is a sabbath in (the week of service) of Yeda‘aya and his duty includes the festival of the barley on the twenty-sixth of it after the sabbath’ (twice, MB);<sup>35</sup>

There are also examples containing a variation on the construction < *b*- + numeral + *bō* >, namely where the month is not referred to by means of a pronoun, as in בו, but is mentioned explicitly, e.g.:

4Q321 3.8 בשלושים בשני ‘on the thirtieth of the second (month)’;  
 4Q324a 2.4 בא[רבע]ה בע[ש]ירי ביאת מי[מ]ין ‘on the f[our]th of the t[e]nth (month) is the entrance of Mija[m]in’;  
 4QMMT A 3.9–11 [ש]ב[ת] [ש]ני ‘on the second of the fi[f]t[h] (month) is a [sa]bba[th]’.

These remarks show that the prepositional phrase בו in 4Q252 1.4 בו ביום ההוא does not belong to the words that follow it, but is part of a fixed construction that occurs frequently in calendrical context, in which it refers back to a previously mentioned specific month.

## 2.2. *The phrase ביום ההוא and its resumptive function*

It appears that in the Hebrew texts of the Dead Sea Scrolls the phrase ביום ההוא (or its equivalent, such as בעת ההיא) is often used at the beginning of a clause and that, in addition, its textual function is that of resumption. It resumes an earlier reference — or several earlier references — to a month or a moment in time, which itself is introduced by the preposition ב. This phenomenon occurs twice in 4Q252:

4Q252 1.4–5 ‘<sup>3</sup>in the year of the six hundredth year <sup>4</sup>of Noah’s life, in the second month, on the first (day) of the week (באהד בשבת),

35. See also 4Q325 1 4 בשנים בו שבת חרים ‘on the second of it is the sabbath of Harim’; 4Q325 1 1 בשמונה עשר בו שבת ע[ל] יויריב ‘on the eighteenth of it is the sabbath of [Jo]iarib’; 4Q325 1 5 בששה עשר בו שבת מלכיה ‘on the sixteenth of it is the sabbath of Malchiah’; 4Q325 1 6 בשלושים בו שבת הקוז ‘on the thirtieth of it is the sabbath of Hakkoz’; 4Q325 2 2 [ב]תשעה בו שבת הזיר ‘[on] the ninth of it is the sabbath of Hezir’.

*on the seventeenth (day) of it* (בשבעה עשר בו) – *on that day* (ביום ההוא)<sup>5</sup> all the fountains of the great deep burst forth ...<sup>7</sup>  
 4Q252 2.1–2 ‘<sup>1</sup>and *on the seventeenth day of the second month* (בשבעה עשר יום לחודש השני)<sup>2</sup> the earth dried up, *on the first day of the week* (באחד בשבת) – *on that day* (ביום ההוא) Noah went forth from the ark ...’

In both these instances there are actually two different introductory prepositional phrases, which are resumed by means of ביום ההוא. The following scheme makes clear that the same phenomenon is to be found in other texts in our corpus as well:

	RESUMPTIVE PHRASE	RESUMED PHRASE
4Q252 1.4–5	ביום ההוא נבקעו ...	(1) באחד בשבת (2) בשבעה עשר בו
4Q252 2.1–2	ביום ההוא יצא נוח ...	(1) בשבעה עשר יום לחודש השני (2) באחד בשבת
1QS 9.3–6	בעת ההיא יבדילו אנשי היחד ...	בהיות אלה בישראל ...
1QM 18.3	בעת ההיא יריעו הכוהנים ...	[ביו]ם משאת יד אל ...
4Q321 5.4	בוא הפסח	בשעורים
3Q15 11.9–10	בו כלי דמע או דמע סות	בקבר בני העבט הירחי

In 1QS 9.3–6 the introductory expression with ב is a temporal infinitive phrase, which is resumed in line 5: ‘*When* these exist in Israel in accordance with these rules ... – *at that moment* the men of the community shall set apart a holy house for Aaron, ...’. The passage in the War Scroll quoted above, 1QM 18.3, displays the syntactic resumption as follows: ‘[*on the da*]y when the hand of the God of Israel is raised against the whole horde of Belial. – *On that moment*, the priests shall blow ...’.

The passage in 4Q321 5.4 shows a slightly different, but similar, resumptive use of the preposition ב, still within a calendrical context: ‘*in* (the week of) Seorim – *in it* (falls) the Passover’.<sup>36</sup> In the Copper Scroll, finally, we encounter this same resumptive function of the preposition ב in its general, locative sense: 3Q15 11.9–10 ‘*in* the grave of the sons of Obed the Jerichoite – *in it* are dedicated vessels and dedicated garments’.<sup>37</sup> This construction is even frequent in 3Q15.<sup>38</sup>

The foregoing remarks show that the prepositional phrase ביום ההוא in 4Q252 1.4 ביום ההוא בו does not belong to the phrase preceding it, but is a case of syntactic resumption that occurs several times in the Hebrew texts of the Dead Sea Scrolls.

### 3. Conclusion

On the basis of these observations it appears that the alleged case of anticipatory pronominal agreement, or the use of a proleptic pronoun, in 4Q252 1.4 ביום ההוא בו can be better explained as a construction conforming to other calendrical expressions in Qumran Hebrew. The prepositional phrase בו refers to the preceding בהודש השני, whereas the words ביום ההוא mark the beginning of the next sentence.

As for the other two alleged cases of anticipatory pronominal agreement in Qumran Hebrew mentioned above (4QRP<sup>c</sup> 12b iii 2 כאשר כאשר (מצאה האיש את האשה 11QT 66.4 and 11QT 66.4 צוהו יהוה את מושה), the evidence for the one rests on a questionable reading of a damaged manuscript, and for the other on an explanatory supralinear gloss which is not part of the main text. The implication of this is that as yet we have no clear instance of

36. Compare also 4Q321 5.2 ביום הכפורים בוא (ביי(י)ריב בוא יום הכפורים); 4Q321 5.8–9 באביה בוא הפסח; 4Q321 5.9 [הש]ני בוא הפסח.

37. J.K. Lefkovits, *The Copper Scroll, 3Q15: A Reevaluation. A New Reading, Translation, and Commentary* (STDJ 25; Leiden 2000) 384. F. Jiménez Bedman, *El misterio del Rollo de Cobre de Qumrán. Análisis lingüístico* (Biblioteca midrásica 25; Estella 2002) 127: ‘*En la tumba de los hijos ..., allí hay utensilios ...*’ (my italics).

38. Compare also 3Q15 2.7–8 בבור שנגד השער המזרחי רחוק אמות תשעסרא בו כלין ‘*in* the cistern which is opposite to eastern gate, at a distance of nineteen cubits – *in it* there are vessels’. Cf. Lefkovits, *Copper Scroll*, 126. Jiménez Bedman, *Rollo de Cobre*, 65: ‘*En el aljibe que está enfrente de la Puerta Oriental, a una distancia de quince codos, en él, vasos*’ (my italics).

this syntactic feature attested in the Hebrew Language of the Dead Sea Scrolls.

This should be remembered when it comes to describing a history of the Hebrew language. Occasionally it may happen that non-existing words, phrases or constructions find their way into our scholarly literature. A well-known example of such a ‘ghost form’ in the study of the Hebrew language of the Dead Sea Scrolls is the alleged occurrence of the verbal form ישפול /yišpōl/, for ישפל /yišpal/, which has been said ‘to suggest that there might have been a prefix-conjugation vocalized with *o*’.<sup>39</sup> To be sure, there is no doubt that the grammatical feature of imperfect *yiqtal* forms appearing as *yiqtol* on account of analogical levelling is genuinely attested in Qumran Hebrew, e.g. 1QS 7.10 ישכוב.<sup>40</sup> Moreover, it may indeed also be found in Mishnaic Hebrew in forms such as ילמוד,<sup>41</sup> while the case could even be made for Biblical Hebrew.<sup>42</sup> Upon checking the manuscript itself, however, the particular form ישפול used as an illustration of this feature in the Dead Sea Scrolls proves to be non-existent;<sup>43</sup> the text in which it is supposed to appear, 1QS 2.23, simply reads ישפל, but due to a vertical crack in the surface of the skin running right through the *lamed*, one is easily tempted to read ול instead of ל, as Burrows did in his *editio*

39. A. Sáenz-Badillos, *A History of the Hebrew Language* (trans. J.F. Elwolde; Cambridge 1993) 142.

40. Compare 4Q160 (4QVisSam) 7.4 לשכוב. See E. Qimron, *דקדוק הלשון העברית של מגילות מדבר יהודה* (Ph.D. diss. Hebrew University of Jerusalem 1976) §§ 311.111a, 311.112, 311.151; E. Qimron, *The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Harvard Semitic Studies 29; Atlanta, GA 1986) § 311.112.

41. G. Haneman, (138 דה־רוסי פרמה) תורת הצורות של לשון המשנה. על פי מסורת כתב־יד פרמה (דה־רוסי 138) *A Morphology of Mishnaic Hebrew. According to the Tradition of the Parma Manuscript (De Rossi 138)* (Tel-Aviv 1980) § 223, see also §§ 214–215.

42. Compare, for instance, word pairs like 1 Sam. 1:11 וַתִּדַּר and Gen. 28:20 וַתִּדַּר or Ps. 7:3 וַיִּטְרַף and Gen. 49:27 וַיִּטְרַף (pausal form), cf. H. Bauer and L. Leander, *Historische Grammatik der hebräischen Sprache des Alten Testaments I* (Halle a.S. 1922) § 40g’.

43. See already Qimron, *דקדוק*, § 311.112; Qimron, *Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, § 311.112.

*princeps* of 1QS.<sup>44</sup> The erroneous reading ישפול was subsequently adopted by several scholars.<sup>45</sup>

44. M. Burrows, with the assistance of J.H. Trever and W.H. Brownlee (eds.), *The Dead Sea Scrolls of St. Mark's Monastery II*, fascicle 2, *Plates and Transcription of the Manual of Discipline* (New Haven 1950) *ad loc.*

45. Cf. P. Wernberg-Møller, *The Manual of Discipline. Translated and Annotated with an Introduction* (STDJ 1; Leiden 1957) 57 n. 56; T.W. Leahy, *A Study of the Language of the Essene Manual of Discipline* (Diss. John Hopkins University, Baltimore, MD 1958) 26; A.M. Habermann, מגילות מדבר יהודה (The Scrolls from the Judean Desert) (Tel-Aviv 1959) 62; J. Licht, סרך היחוד, סרך העדה, סרך הברכות (The Rule Scroll. A Scroll from the Wilderness of Judaea. 1QS, 1QSa, 1Qsb) (Jerusalem 1965) 73; J.C. Kesterson, *Tense Usage and Verbal Syntax in Selected Qumran Documents* (Ph.D. diss. Catholic University of America, Washington DC 1984) 75, see also 93 n. 47; C. Martone (ed.), *La 'Regola della Comunità'. Edizione critica* (Quaderni di Henoch 8; Torino 1995) 95.