The Article in Epigraphic Hebrew

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The article, its origin and semantic import, are topics of a vigorous debate. The present paper analyzes the use of the article in epigraphic Hebrew, a corpus that has remained on the margins of the current discussion. It concludes that the use of the article in Hebrew inscriptions closely resembles its use in the Hebrew Bible. The article is the marker of definiteness and is used with nouns that have a specific, identifiable reference.

1. Introduction

Recent scholarship on the article in Ancient Hebrew is characterized by a growing awareness that the use of the article is highly contextual and governed by the information structure of texts rather than formal grammatical rules linking the article to an anaphoric force. In Ancient Hebrew, as in other languages of the world, the article marks the cognitive status of the noun within the world of the discourse by indicating to the communicative participants whether or not the item should be known and identifiable from the previous discourse. The use of the article grounds the references of noun phrases in the context because it classifies the items as specific, unique, or generic. The article contributes to the cohesiveness of a text by indicating thematic continuity as well as the appearance of new agents and topics. All these issues relating to the use of the article have been recently explored in several studies that employ the current linguistic view of definiteness as a binary grammatical category relating to the pragmatic and scalar category of identifiability (Lee 2002, Baranowski 2011, Bekins 2013). Focusing on Biblical Hebrew, these studies have left aside the evidence of ancient Hebrew inscriptions. The present contribution addresses this desideratum.[1]

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[1] This is not to say that there are no treatments of the Hebrew article in the epigraphic corpus. For example, *HAE*, vol. II/1, 217, vol. II/2, 10-12 and Schüle 2000,

2. Linguistic Background and Methodological Considerations

Generally speaking, there are the two principal groups of reasons for which a word is considered "definite" and thus marked with the article:

1. Familiarity and identifiability. Words that are definite are perceived as "specific," "particular," or "individualized" by the speaker or the hearer. The reasons for which they are perceived as such can be different. Familiarity can stem from the physical location of the speaker or hearer ("situational definiteness"), from general knowledge, from previous information ("anaphoric definiteness"), and from the combination of the anaphoric and general knowledge ("associative definiteness").[2]

2. Uniqueness and inclusiveness. Words are regarded as definite because they refer to an object that is unique for some reason within the world of the discourse. This reason can be the natural uniqueness of the object (the sun, the universe) or the uniqueness of an object that can be identified unambiguously in the given discourse context. Objects can also be thought of as definite when the reference is to the entirety of a class or group (again, in general or in the given context). Especially

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53-63 provide exhaustive lists of the occurrences and discuss some difficult cases of the presence or absence of the article. However, by and large, they treat the category of definiteness as self-evident and the use of the definite article as cross-linguistically uniform. The abundant use of linguistic concepts and argumentation in recent scholarship alters the quality of the entire discussion. The observations within these older discussions may still be insightful but they lack a unified conceptual framework and consequently form a series of ad-hoc solutions rather than a comprehensive analysis. Therefore, they can be used only sparingly in the present study. Similarly, the question of the historical origin and development of the West Semitic article has no systematic bearing on its semantics because whatever its meaning and uses were during various stages of its development, by the time of the inscriptions the article had become the expression of definiteness with established patterns of conventional uses. Only a few instances of the presence or absence of the article may reflect the retention of older semantics or uses and clues to its historical development. For recent discussions about the origin of the article in West Semitic see Marassini 1996, Voigt 1998, Zaborski 2000, Tropper 2001, Gzella 2006, Zemánek 2007, Pat-El 2009. The inscriptions included in *HI* and *AHI* constitute the textual basis of the present study. The texts are quoted from these collections.

[2] Lyons 1999, 2-7.

with plural and mass noun phrases the article may signal the reference to the totality of objects and be similar in meaning to the universal quantifier "all." If the noun in such phrases is singular, inclusiveness equals uniqueness.[3]

Although it is commonly held that the article marks a noun phrase as definite, since the very definition of definiteness is a semantic problem that Hebraists are only now addressing, a clear and rigorous methodology is required to avoid further obfuscation, or, worse, vicious circularity. The present study is concerned with two main questions. Because it is assumed that all noun phrases with the article in Hebrew are semantically definite, the analysis of such phrases entails understanding why they are considered definite in a given context or, in other words, classifying them according to factors which make them contextually definite. In this way, a better understanding of the reasons for the appearance of the article contributes to a deeper comprehension of texts by following more closely their logical and informational structure. The analysis of syntactic and semantic patterns of the use of the article is the second research objective. In this group of problems are the use of the article with other quantifiers (compare, for example, the article is obligatory with possessive adjectives in Italian, *la mia casa*, but ungrammatical in the English equivalent, **the my house*; also compare the use of the article with demonstrative pronouns in Hebrew - נער זה vs. הנער הזה) and the idiomatic uses of the article, as in the English name of the city "the Hague" or the expression "by the waters" meaning "close to a body of water."

Since in Hebrew there is only one article, for the understanding of its use not only are the instances in which it appears meaningful, but also those in which it is absent. This simple observation informs the procedure adopted in the present study. In order to observe the patterns of use and non-use of the article, noun phrases of similar content will be analyzed together.

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[3] Lyons 1999, 7-12.

3. The Article in Time Expressions

Text No.	Provenance[4]	Text	Translation
1	Arad 1:2-3; [8]	וכתב שם הים	... and record the date...
2	Arad 2:1-4 [13]	נתן לכתים ב/11 יין לערבת הימם	... give to the Kittim two baths of wine for the four days...
3	Arad 5:12-13 [20]	בטרם יעבר החדש	... before the month passes ...
4	Arad 7:2-9 [22]	נתן לכתים לעשרי ב 1 לחדש עד הששה לחדש ב/ 111 [ו]כתבתה לפֿנֿיך בשנים לחדש בעשרי ושמן ח]תם ושלחנו]	... give to the Kittim for the tenth month, on the 1st of the month up to the sixth of the month, 3 baths. [And] write it before you on the second of the tenth month. And oil, se[al and send it] ...
5	Arad 8:1-5 [24]	נתן לכת]י[ם 1 קם מן השלשה אשר לחדש עד השמנה אשר לחדש יין ב/ 111	... give to the Kittim 1 (measure) of flour from the thirteenth of the month until the eighteenth of the month. 3 baths of wine.

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[4] Page in *HI* [1-3 digits] or number in *AHI* [6 digits].

6	Arad 24: (reverse) 2-9 [48]	הים האנשם את אלישע	... today the men (must be) with Elisha, ...
7	Arad 32 [64]	ב 5 111 לחדש	On the eight of the month, ...
8	Ketef Hinnom 1:8 [265]	• העלם ש	... eternity ...
9	Lachish 2:3 [306]	עת כים עת כים	... now, today, this very day.
10	Lachish 3:4-6 [309]	ועת הפקח נא אֿתֿ אֿזֿן אֿבדך לספר אשר שלחתֿהֿ אל עבדך אמש	And now, open the ear of your servant concerning the letter that you sent to your servant last night, ...
11	Lachish 4: (reverse) 1 [315]	אם בתסבת הבקר	... when morning comes around ...
12	Lachish 5:7-9 [320]	יראך יהוה הֿקֿצֿר בֿטֿבֿ הֿם	May YHWH cause you to see the harvest in prosperity today.
13	Lachish 6:1-2 [322]	ירא יהוה את אדני את העת הזה שלם	May YHWH cause my lord to see this season (in) peace.
14	Samaria 1:1-3 [428]	בשת העשרת	In the tenth year.
15	Samaria 2-3 [432-33]	בשת העשרת	In the tenth year.
16	Samaria 7:1 [436]	בֿשֿת התשעת	In the ninth year.

17	Samaria 22-23:1 [450-51]	בשת 10 5	In the 15th year.
18	Samaria 27-30:1 [454-56]	בשת 10 5	In the 15th year.
19	Samaria 31a:1 [457]	בשת ה 10 5	In the 15th year.
20	Samaria 32:1 [458]	בשת 10 5	In the 15th year.
21	Samaria 34:1 [459]	[בש]ת ה 10 5	[In] the 15th [ye]ar.
22	Samaria 38-39:1 [461-62]	בשת 10 5	In the 15th year.
23	Samaria 43:1 [465]	בשת ה]10 5 ...]	In the [15th] year.
24	Samaria 44:1 [466]	[בשת] ה 10 5	[In] the 15th [year].
25	Samaria 45:1 [467]	בשת ה 10 5	In the 15th year.
26	Samaria 51:1 [471]	בשת העשרת	In the tenth year.
27	Samaria 53:1-3 [473]	בשת העשרת	In the tenth year.
28	Samaria 53:1-3 [474]	בשת העשרת	In the tenth year.
29	Samaria 55:1-3 [474]	בשת העשרת	In the tenth year.
30	Samaria 56:1 [475]	בשת 10 5	In the 15th year.

31	Samaria 58:1-2 [477]	בשת 10 5	In the 15th year.
32	Samaria 61:1-2 [479]	כרם התל [•••] בשת 10	The vineyard of the Tell... in the 15th year.
33	Samaria 72:1-2 [482]	בשת העשרתין כרם התל בֹּנבל שמן רחץ	In the tenth year. Wine of the vineyard of the Tell with a jar of fine oil.
34	Siloam 1:3-4 [500]	ובים הנקבה	At the time of the breakthrough, ...

Time expressions are naturally susceptible to a definite reference be-cause with a time expression the language user aims at indicating the specific time of an event. Therefore, the definite article is expected in time expressions. However, some languages do not express the inherent definiteness of time expressions with the article; others follow particu-lar conventions. For example, Spanish uses the definite article in many time expressions (with the names of days, before the names of seasons of the year, with the majority of the names of ecclesiastical festivals), but in some instances the expected article is lacking (before numerals indicating the date by means of a preposition or before certain temporal expressions such as *fines, mediados, principios*).[5]

In Hebrew inscriptions, the inherent definiteness of time expressions is always expressed with the article, as exemplified by the article on the numbers of the days of month (texts no. 4 and 5). The measure in which time expressions are felt as definite and so requiring the article is par-ticularly clear in the Samaria ostraca. As can be seen in texts nos. 14-16, 26-29, 33, the article is used on numerals written as words. When the numerals are written with the hieratic numbers, the article is not written, as one might expect with use of symbols instead of letters. This is the case with texts nos. 7, 17, 18, 20, 22, 31, 32. However, in some

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5 Krámský 1972, 87.

instances the article is prefixed even to a hieratic number (nos.19, 21, 23-25). The prefixing of the article to the hieratic numbers shows how strongly the definiteness of the date was perceived and that some scribes felt obligated to express it with the article.[6] The same strong perception that time expressions by their nature refer to a specific moment or period could explain the appearance of an unexpected article in text no. 2 (יין לערבת הימם). Of course, the speculation that the article was used here because the period of four days referred to a festival or a trip is possible but remains hypothetical since the context is lacking.[7]

In some cases, there are additional reasons behind the appearance of the article. In text no. 1 the expression שם הים "the name of the day" is used in the meaning of "date," as can be seen from the comparison with Ezek 24:2.[8] In this expression the article has demonstrative force and it could be translated with a pronoun ("that day"), since the sender of the letter intends to indicate with it the particular day on which the Kittim are going to receive their provision. The same force is perceivable in the cited passage of Ezekiel, which exhibits a longer form of the expression: כתב לך את שם היום. In the inscription the expected definite direct object marker is lacking. Its omission can be accidental or might be a trace of a spoken language style that drops the marker since the syntactic relationship between the verb and the noun is obvious.[9]

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[6] Gogel thinks that the article is optional with the hieratic numbers and its presence or absence is a purely orthographic phenomenon. See Gogel 1998, 174-75.

[7] Pardee 1982, 33.

[8] In texts nos. 6 and 9 הים means simply "today."

[9] The omission of the definite direct object marker occurs also in Arad 40:12 (והא המכתב בקש "he tried to obtain the report"). Gogel ascribes it to the fact that the direct object precedes the verb (1998, 284). However, her reasoning does not explain the omission of את in texts nos. 42, 133, 139. One should rather consider that the direct object is not a patient affected by the action of the verb to the extent of transforming it completely, the case to which the direct object marker את is particularly sensitive. For this interpretation of the grammatical role of the direct object marker see Garr 1991, 119-134. Note also that the use of this particle is governed by variational rather than apodictic rules. Among the factors that motivate the use or absence of the particle את are word order and the pragmatic structure of the sentence (van Loon 2012, 93-114).

A demonstrative and individualizing meaning can be spotted also in some expressions that refer to a time of the day. The definiteness of these expressions is inherent but in the context the article acquires an additional demonstrative meaning of "particular this, that." And so, in text no. 3 the author seems to have in mind the passing of the current month. Also the phrase בתסבת הבקר (text no. 11) has in the context a particularizing meaning, as it refers not in general to the beginning of morning but to the specific morning of the following day. The same force that the article shares with the demonstrative pronouns can be seen in the time expressions in the Hebrew Bible.[10] Although similar, definiteness marked with the article and demonstrative reference expressed by a pronoun differ from each other. As can be seen in text no. 13, a clear demonstrative reference requires the pronoun: העת הזה means unambiguously "this time/season." The word העת, without the demonstrative pronoun, would be interpreted in the sense of "now" because this is the time immediately identifiable in the communicative context and relevant to it. A demonstrative allows greater flexibility because it can refer both to the current moment and to a broader timeline that encompasses the present "now" and the foreseeable future.

There is only one possible omission of the article in time expressions in inscriptions.[11] This exception is Aharoni's reconstruction of lines 10-11 in Arad letter no. 40: בטרם י[רד ים]. The indefiniteness of the word "day" would seem here to be without explanation.[12] Moreover, it seems that the sender of the letter states that he sent the letter back before the evening of a determinate day.[13] Thus, the lack of the article is a strong argument for rejecting Aharoni's reconstruction.[14]

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[10] Waltke and O'Connor 1990, 13.5.2.b.

[11] The word אמש in text no. 10 has no article but is semantically definite because it refers to the evening or the night of the preceding day. In the Bible the word אמש also never takes the article (Even-Shoshan 2000, 92). It is possible that, in spite of its definite reference, this word did not admit the article because of a conventional use or because in time expressions it was felt as a true adverb and not a noun used adverbially.

[12] Pardee 1978, 325.

[13] Gogel 1998, 174, note 206.

[14] *HI*, 74.

4. The Article with Substances and Products

Text No.	Provenance[15]	Text	Translation
35	Arad 1:2-3; [8]	נתן לכתים יין ב/111	... give to the Kittim 3 baths of wine ...
36	Arad 1:5-9; [8]	ומעוד הקמח הרשאן תרכב ⊢ קמח לעשת להם לחם	Then, from the rest of the choicest flour, load one measure of flour to make bread for them.
37	Arad 1:9-10; [8]	מיי האגנת תתן	You shall give them from the wine of the mixing vessels.
38	Arad 2:1-4 [13]	נתן לכתים ב/11 יין לערבת הימם [ ] ו 300 לחם	And now, give to the Kittim two baths of wine for the four days ... and 300 (loaves of) bread.
39	Arad 2:4-5 [13]	ומלא החמר יין	And fill with fermenting wine ... or ... and a full ḥomer-measure of wine.
40	Arad 2:7-8 [13]	ואם עוד חמץ ונתת להם	And if there is still sour wine, you shall give (it) to them.
41	Arad 3:2 [15]	תן מן היין 111 ב/	... give from the wine, 3 baths.

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15 Page in *HI* [1-3 digits] or number in *AHI* [6 digits].

42	Arad 3:6-8. reverse 1[16]	וספר החטם והלחם ולקחתאﬥלכֿﬦ	Then count the wheat and the bread and take for yourself.
43	Arad 4:1-2 [18]	תן לכתים שמן 1	Give to the Kittim 1 (jar of) oil.
44	Arad 4:2-3 [18]	ויין ב/ 1 תן להם	And give them 1 bath of wine.
45	Arad 5:3-4 [19-20]	מעוד הקמח הֿ[ר]א[שן א]שר	... from the rest of the [choi]c[est] meal[wh]ich ...
46	Arad 6:4 [21]	לח[ם] 111	... 3 ... (loaves of) bre[ad] ...
47	Arad 6:5 [21]	השמן	... the oil ...
48	Arad 7:2-9 [22]	נתן לכתים לעשרי ב 1 לחדש עד הששה לחדש ב/ 111 [ו]כתבתה לפֿנֿיֿך בשנים לחדש בעשרי ושמן ח[תם ושלחנו]	... give to the Kittim for the tenth month, on the 1st of the month up to the sixth of the month, 3 baths. [And] write it before you on the second of the tenth month. And oil, se[al and send it] ...
49	Arad 8:1-5 [24]	נתן לכת[י]ם 1 קם<ח>	... give to the Kitt[i]m 1 (measure) of flour ...
50	Arad 10:2-4 [26]	[נתן לכת]ים יין ב/ 111 [ ] מא [] בֿתים ושמן 1 [ח]תם לבן עבדיהו	... [give to the Kitt]im 3 baths of wine ... and 1) jar of) oil [se]al for the son of Obadiah.

51	Arad 12:1-2 [28]	ק[ח] שמן 1 ו[חתם וקח [2 11 קמח	Ta[ke] 1 (jar of) oil and [seal it and take] 2 (jars of) flour ...
52	Arad 12:5-6 [28]	ותן [א] ת הלחם	... and give ... the bread ...
53	Arad 13:1-2 [29]	תש[לח את הש[מן הזה	... you shall se[nd] this [o]il ...
54	Arad 14:3 [30]	שלח 1 שמן	... send 1 (jar of) oil ...
55	Arad 17: 9. reverse 1-2 [35]	נתן נחם שמן ביד הכתי 1	... Nahum delivered (the) oil by the hand of the Kitti, 1 (jar).
56	Arad 31:1 [60]	חטם	Wheat: ...
57	Jerusalem 23:2 [226]	[רך המים]	... the water ...
58	Lachish 3:16- (reverse) 2 [309]	ואת הודויהו בן אחיהו ואנשו שלח לקחת מזה	... and he has sent (orders) to take Hodaviah son of Ahiyah, and his men from here.
59	Lachish 9:3-6 [327]	תן לחם 10 ו[יי]ן 11 הש[ב] [אל] ע֗ב֗ד֗ך ד֗בר	... give 10 (loaves of) bread and 2 (measures) [of wi]ne. Retu[rn to] your servant word ...
60	Samaria 1:1-3 [428]	בשת העשרת לשמריו מב֗ארים נבל <ין> ישן	In the tenth year. To Shamaryaw, from Bi'ryam, a jar of old <wine>.

61	Samaria 17a:2-3 [446]	נבל שמן רחץ	..., a jar of refined oil.
62	Samaria 21:2-3 [449]	נבל שמן רחץ	..., a jar of refined oil.
63	Samaria 26:2 [453]	ה[י]ן מח[צרת]	(The) wine from Hatzerot.
64	Samaria 53:1-3 [473]	בשת העשרת ין כרם התל בנבל שמן רחץ	In the tenth year. Wine of the vine-yard of the Tell, with a jar of refined oil.
65	Samaria 54:1-3 [474]	בשת העשרת ין כרם התל בנבל שמן רחץ	In the tenth year. Wine of the vine-yard of the Tell, (with) a jar of re-fined oil.
66	Samaria 55:1-3 [474]	בשת העשרת כרם יחועלי נבל שמן רחץ	In the tenth year. The vineyard of Yuḥawʿli, a jar of refined oil.
67	Samaria 56:1 [475]	בשת 10 5 [מ]ה[תל]	In the 15th year. From the Tell.
68	Samaria 72:1-2 [482]	בשת העשרת ין כרם התל בֹּנבל שמן רחץ	In the tenth year. Wine of the vine-yard of the Tell, with a jar of refined oil.
69	Samaria 111:2-3 [488]	הרֹעם הקשבו [ ] ימנה שערם ? 111	... the shepherds have been attentive ... there shall be re-mitted 3 measures of barley

In the corpus of Hebrew inscriptions there are numerous receipts, administrative letters and documents. They refer mainly to agricultural products such as wine, bread, and oil. One may expect that what is considered in this context as definite and specific is first of all the amount of a particular product and in the second place its kind and quality. Moreover, products can also be definite for various reasons, for example, because they refer to crops paid as taxation, or substances received customarily from certain places, or requested in previous correspondence. If so, it is necessary to distinguish between the specificity of the substances and the definiteness of the references to them. Specificity is an intrinsic quality of the products and is independent from the conversational context. The definiteness of products refers to their cognitive status in a given context and reflects their identifiability by the participants in communication. Consequently, textual references to substances and products can be divided into generic references to a product, references to products of a specific quality, definite references to a product, and definite references to a specific product. Mentions of the amount of products may accompany these references but they do not change their specificity or definiteness.

A general reference to a product is achieved by naming it without prefixing the article. Further information is sometimes added. In general references, the amount and sometimes the recipient or the time of providing the goods may occur. Examples of such general references include texts nos. 35, 38, 40, 41, 43, 46, 50, 51, 54-56, 59, 60, 63 and 64.

Specificity of substances and products is typically indicated by an adjective or by the place of origin. While the presence of the adjective must be interpreted as an indication of a specific kind or quality of the product (texts nos. 45, 60-62), the name of the product followed by the place of the origin in a construct chain may seem to constitute a definite reference (texts nos. 64-66, 68). The designation of the origin of the product with an alternative construction (a phrase with the preposition מ) in texts nos. 63 and possibly 67 shows that the reference to the place is not necessarily meant to make the word "wine" definite. Even if wine comes from a specific location the author can mean "some" or "any" wine from that place. It appears that the mention of the place of the

origin can be parallel to naming the brand of the product in modern categories rather than making it a definite reference.

The determinate reference to a product should be perceivable in words with the prefixed article. However, such a force of the article and the patterns for treating the noun phrase as determinate are not always clear in the context. The lack of context is an obvious problem in interpreting these cases. On one hand, it seems possible, but unlikely, that some kind of flour or wine was distinguished from another kind by means of the article and referred as "the flour" or "the wine" because of its kind. On the other hand, the presence of the article indicates that in the author's mind the product was somehow particular and identifiable in the context. The best explanation seems to be that with the article the scribe wanted to designate the particular delivery of the product that is intended in the document. This interpretation is suggested by the fact that when the article is prefixed to the name of a product an indication of its quantity is lacking (nos. 36, 42, 47, 52). The article would have here the defining and particularizing meaning of "a portion" which is requested. The determining function of the article is especially clear in text no. 36, in which it reinforces the specific reference of the adjective. The lack of the article with the second occurrence of קמח in this text illustrates the difference between a definite and generic reference. By using the article on the designation of the specific quality of flour, the author emphasized the determined nature of the product. The article on the word "flour" that follows the measure is lacking because in the context what is relevant and in the focus is the quantity, not the product itself. Consequently, the article is not prefixed, even if the anaphoric definiteness could be involved since the author speaks about the same flour.

In summary, in the case of substances and products, the article does not occur in the generic references to them. When the article is used, it implies that a determinate quantity or shipment of the product is meant. If the author has in mind a specific quality or brand of the product, he identifies it with an adjective or mentions its place of origin.

5. *The Article with the Units of Measure*

Text No.	Provenance[16]	Text	Translation
70	Arad 2:4-5 [13]	ומלא החמר יין	And fill with fermenting wine ... or ... and a full *ḥomer*-measure of wine.
71	Susa 1 [513]	הן 1 וחצי הלג וערבת הלג	One hin and one-half log and one-fourth log.
72	Susa 2 [514]	ת הלג] [	... of a log.

In the Hebrew Bible units of measure can take the article.[17] This usage is attested also in the Hebrew inscriptions as can be seen in the inscriptions from Susa (texts nos. 71 and 72). The optional use of the article with a unit of measure in the Hebrew Bible is exemplified by its distribution with the unit בת: it occurs 6 times with the article and 6 times without it.[18] Consistent lack of the article with it in the letters from Arad (texts nos. 2, 3, 5, 35, 44, 48, 50, 51) is probably due to the use of abbreviations rather than full words.[19] In light of the optional use of the article on the units of measure, one cannot exclude that the possibility of its prefixing to the units of measure was a pure convention. The use of the article on the units of measure is, however, not void of logic. Units of measure refer always to a specific amount of product or goods and this inherent specificity could generate the use of prefixing the article to them.

The presence of the article in text no. 70 is the clue to the correct interpretation of this passage. Its difficulty is due to the ambiguity of the

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16 Page in *HI* [1-3 digits] or number in *AHI* [6 digits].

17 Joüon and Muraoka 2006, § 137 p; Waltke and O'Connor 1990, 13.5.1.g.

18 Even-Shoshan 2000, 214.

19 Suggested by R. Lehmann in a personal communication.

word חמר, which can be taken as a designation of a quality of wine (חֶמֶר) or a unit of measure (חֹמֶר). If חמר refers to a kind of wine, the article would hint at its specific quality or origin, or similar. Following this interpretation, it is incomprehensible why such a detailed designation of the product would be further specified with a generic reference to its being "wine." Therefore, the word חמר is likely a unit of measure. This interpretation is also supported by a close syntactic and semantic parallel in Ex 16:32.33, which differs only in the employed measure as it reads עֹמֶר, not חֹמֶר. The appearance of the article in both passages, which employ the same wording, suggests that מלא followed by a unit of measure with the article was a technical idiom.[20]

6. The Article in References to People

Text No.	Provenance[21]	Text	Translation
73	Arad 26:2 [55]	מֹן אדני שר	... from my master, (the) officer ...
74	Arad 38:1 [67]	הכוס	"the Owl"
75	Jerusalem 1:2 [207]	אחיהו בן השרק בעמק ידת	Ahiyahu the wool-comber in the valley of the monuments.
76	Jerusalem 25:1 [230]	ס בן אחיאל הסרט] סחבת	... son of ʾAḥiʾel who tears rags.
77	Jerusalem 25:2 [230]	י]הו בן חסדיהו הכנס כֹסֹף] [	...[-y]ahu son of Hasadiyah who gathers silve[r].
78	Jerusalem 25:3 [230]	יהו] . בן י]דעיהוֹ הכנֹס [זהב]	... -yahu [son of Je]dayah who gathers [gold].

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[20] For a more detailed discussion of this passage, see Pardee 1978, 298 and *HAE*, vol. I, 357-359. Also Aḥituv 2008, 92 translates "a full ḥomer of wine."

[21] Page in *HI* [1-3 digits] or number in *AHI* [6 digits].

79	Lachish 3:14-16 [309]	ירד שר הצבא כניהֿוֿ בֿןֿ אֿלֿנתן לבא מצרימה	... "The commander of the army, Coni-yah the son of Elna-than, has gone down to go into Egypt," ...
80	Lachish 3: (reverse) 3-4 [309]	וספר טביהו עבד המלך הבא אל שלם בן ידע מאת הנבא	As for the letter of Tobiyah, the servant of the king, which came to Shallum the son of Yaddua from the prophet, ...
81	Meṣad Ḥashavyahu 1:1-2 [358]	ישמע אדני השר את דבר עבדה	May my lord, the officer, hear the word of his servant.
82	Meṣad Ḥashavyahu 1:10-11 [358]	וכל אחי . יענו לי . הקצרם אתי בחם[השמש]	Now all my col-leagues will testify for me - those who harvested with me in the heat of [the sun.]
83	Khirbet el-Qôm 3:1 [409]	אריהו העשר כתבה	Uriyah the rich commissioned it.
84	Siloam 1:4 [500]	הכו החצבם אש לקרת רעו	... the hewers struck, each to meet his fel-low, ...
85	Siloam 1:5-6 [500]	ומ[א]ת אמה היה גבה הצר על ראש החצב[ם][22]	And a hu[nd]red cu-bits was the height in the rock above the heads of the hewer[s].

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22 *HI* reads mistakenly: גבה בצר.

86	Ḥorvat ʿUza 3A:1-3 [528]	ראשן על ידי נתן נחמי[הו] קצׁן למטה גדל[י]	First next to Nathan is Nehemy[ah], a tribal leader, a Gid-delite...
87	Ḥorvat ʿUza 3B:1-2 [533]	[ק]צׁן אלנתׁן [ ] [ק]צׁן למטה גדלי]	..., the [le]ader, is Elnathan, a tribal [le]ader, a Giddel-ite.
88	Deutsch and Heltzer 78:4 [552]	עשיהו הגזה	Asayahu the shea-rer.
89	Deutsch and Heltzer 78:5 [552]	ירם בן שקץ	Yarem son of (the) scoundrel.
90	Deutsch and Heltzer 78:6 [552]	פדיהו בן ערס	Pedayah, a baker.
91	Deutsch and Heltzer 78:7 [552]	בתר	(The) butcher.
92	Moussaieff 1:1-2 [568]	עשיהו המלך	Ashyahu the king.
93	Moussaieff 2:1-2 [571]	ישמע אדני השר את אמתך	..., let my lord, the official, hear your maidservant: ...
94	Tell en-Naṣbeh [100.069]	עבד המלך	Servant of the king.
95	Jerusalem [100.071]	לשמע עבד המלך	Belonging to Shemaʿ servant of the king.

96	Palestine [100.072]	לאלשמע בן המלך	Belonging to Eli-shamaʿ son of the king.
97	Beth-Zur [100.110]	לגאליהו בן המלך	Belonging to Geʾal-yahu son of the king.
98	Tell Qasile [100.125]	לעשניהו עבד המלך	ʿAsaniyahu servant of the king.
99	unknown [100.209]	למנשה בן המלך	Belonging to Ma-nesheh, son of the king.
100	unknown [100.228]	לעזריו הגבה	Belonging to ʿAzarya -u Haggeba (the locust).
101	unknown [100.307]	ליערמי הספר	Belonging to Yere-mai the scribe.
102	unknown [100.345]	למאש בן מנח הספר	Belonging to Maʾash son of Manoaḥ the scribe.
103	unknown [100.402]	שר הער	Governor of the city.
104	Tell Beit Mirsim (?) [100.501]	לאדניהו אשר על הבית	Belonging to Adoniyahu "who is over the House."
105	Tell Beit Mirsim (?) [100.502]	לאדניהו אשר על הבית	Belonging to Adoniyahu "who is over the House."
106	Tell Beit Mirsim (?) [100.503]	לאדניהו אשר [ע]ל הבית	Belonging to Adoniyahu "who is ov[er] the House."

107	Tell Beit Mirsim (?) [100.505]	לגדליהו עבד המלך	Belonging to Geʾal-yahu servant of the king.
108	Tell Beit Mirsim (?) [100.508]	לירחמאל בן המלך	Belonging to Yeraḥmeʾel son of the king.
109	Tell Beit Mirsim (?) [100.509]	לברכיהו בן נריהו הספר	Belonging to Berekyahu son of Neriyahu the scribe.
110	Tell Beit Mirsim (?) [100.510]	שר הער	Governor of the city.
111	Judean [100.719]	לנריהו בן המלך	Belonging to Neri-yahu son of the king.
112	unknown [100.734]	לחנן בן חלקיהו הכהן	Belonging to Ḥanan son of Ḥilqiyahu the priest.
113	unknown [100.781]	למאדנה בת המלך	Belonging to Maʾadanah the king's daughter.
114	City of David [100.804]	[לטבשלם] בן זכר הרפא	[Belonging to Tovshalem son of Zakkur, the healer.
115	unknown [100.858]	לאזריהו שער המסגר	Belonging to ʿAzaryahu porter of the prison.
116	silver coin [106.049]	יוחנ[ן] הכוהן	Yoḥana[n] the priest.

Reference to people, particularly with personal names, is always definite by its nature because it identifies them unambiguously. The references to some people, such as the king or the governor of the city, are usually definite because of the cultural context: normally there is only one king or governor. However, nouns in this category should not be considered inherently unique since they can refer to many people in the span of time and space.[23]

Personal names never admit the article.[24] In Hebrew inscriptions there is no exception to this rule. With appositives to personal names, the situation is slightly more complicated. Usually an appositive, such as the name of a profession, takes the article (texts nos. 75-79, 81, 83, 88, 101-102, 111, and 114-116). There are, however, some exceptions (texts nos. 86, 87, and 89-91). In texts nos. 86 and 87 the lack of the article can be explained as follows: each of the mentioned men was simply one of the group of the leaders who governed the tribe together or in succession.[25] The reference with the article would suggest the uniqueness of the leader and therefore it was avoided. In other cases, lacking the context, no hypothesis can be proposed.

The word "king" always has the article (or is definite, as in Arad 40:13: [מלך יהוד]ה) because it refers to the unique king in a given time and it is often in apposition to the personal name (nos. 6, 79, 92, 94-99, 106, 107, 113). Similarly, references to another official, the שר, usually contain the article (nos. 79, 81, 93, 110). In texts nos. 79, 103 and 110 the reference to this person is definite due to the mention of the specific institution under his control, indicated by the construct phrase following שר.[26] In texts nos. 73, 81 and 93 the official receives the title אדני and thus one expects the word שר to have the article also in these examples.

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[23] Lyons 1999, 8-9.

[24] For an apparent exception in the Hebrew Bible see Joüon and Muraoka 2006, 474, note 1.

[25] *HI*, 529-30.

[26] Two inscriptions on jars from Kuntillet ʿAjrud (2.4 and 2.5) read לשרער, without the expected article (Aḥituv, Eshel and Meshel 2012, 80-81). It is certainly possible, as seems alluded by the editors, that this writing is a case of a phonetic spelling which attests to the elision of the article in a cluster of two guttural consonants and the *resh* and consequently the pronunciation *śarāʿir (Aḥituv, Eshel and Meshel 2012, 81).

Indeed, this is the case with text nos. 81 and 93, but in text no. 73 the article is omitted. However, it is possible that the title שר in text no. 73 was followed by the mention of the institution in the same way as in texts nos. 79 and 110. The lacuna in the text hinders the verification of this hypothesis. In text no. 80, the article in הנבא may be due to situational or anaphoric definiteness (the prophet known to both sender and addressee of the letter or mentioned in the previous correspondence) or to the conceptual uniqueness of the person in question who is referred as "the prophet" due to his authority and reputation.

In the letters from Arad that refer to "the Kittim," the preposition should be vocalized with the article (לכתים), since gentilics usually take the article when referring to the entire group.[27] Text no. 55 uses the singular (ביד הכתי) and thus a particular Kitti is meant.

The article in texts nos. 74 and 100, in which names of animals are used as nicknames, has an additional function.[28] In these two cases, by marking the definiteness of the noun, the article indicates that they are appellatives rather than common nouns. However, it is difficult to decide whether such convention was obligatory since in text no. 89 the article is lacking in a similar appellative.

7. The Article in Place Names

Text No.	Provenance[29]	Text	Translation
117	Arad 17:1-2 [35]	בא ביתה אלישב	..., go to the house of Elyashib ...
118	Arad 24: (reverse) 2-9 [48]	ושלחתם אתם רמת נג[ב ביד מלכיהו בן קרבעור והפֿקידם על יד אלישע בן ירמיהו ברמת	... and you shall send them to Ramath-Nege[v by

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27 Waltke and O'Connor, 13.5.1.f.

28 Gogel thinks that these are personal names (1998, 173). However, it is dubious that a parent would name a child after an unclean animal and thus these are more probably nicknames. See *HI*, 67.

29 Page in *HI* [1-3 digits] or number in *AHI* [6 digits].

			נגב פן יקרה את העיר דבר ודבר המלך אתכם בנבשכם הנה שלחתי להעיד בכם הים האנשם את אלישע	the han]d of Malchiyah son of Qarubʾur and he shall turn them over to the command of Elisha son of Yeremiah in Ramath-Negev, lest anything happen to the city. And the command of the king is with you as a matter of your life. Now I send (this message) in order to solemnly admonish you; today the men (must be) with Elisha, ...
119	Jerusalem 24:1 [227]		[צבר ה•]	... the heap of ...
120	Kuntillet ʿAjrûd 19:5-7 [293]		ברכתך ל[י]הוה תֿמֿן ולאשרתה	I hereby bless you by [Y]HWH of Teman and by his Asherah.
121	Kuntillet ʿAjrûd 20:1 [296]		ליהוה התֿמֿן ולאשרתה [ ]	... by YHWH of (the) Teman and by his Asherah ...
122	Lachish 4:3-4 [315]		על דבר בית הרפד אין שם אדם	And with regard to what my lord sent concerning Beth-Harapid, there is no one there.

123	Lachish 4:6-7 [315]	וסמכיהו לקחה שמעיהו ויעלהו העירה	As for Sema-chyah, Shemayah has taken him and sent him up to the city.
124	T. el ʿOreimeh 2 [398]	כד השעׄר	Jar of the gate.

The names of places are definite because they are proper names and refer to specific locations. Place names usually do not contain the article. In Biblical Hebrew the article appears, however, with some designations of localities since their appellative value is still perceived to be present.[30] There are comparable cases in Hebrew inscriptions. The name התל (texts nos. 64, 65, 67, 68) is instructive because this is a common noun and potentially can designate every elevated place; however, with the prefixed article it has the determinate reference to a specific location. In these cases, by marking the definiteness of the noun, the article clarifies that a proper name is meant. Similar are texts nos. 119, 122, and possibly 115, in which common nouns with the article form place-names.

In some cases, the references to places do not contain the expected article. Thus, one anticipates finding the article with the toponym נגב since in the Bible the article accompanies it.[31] However, the epigraphic attestation of this place-name is without the article (text nos. 118). The name of the location in text no. 75 also has no article, but in this case the first member of the name (עמק) clearly suggests that the entire expression is a place name.

Text nos. 120 and 121 from Kuntillet ʿAjrûd exhibit an interesting variation concerning the name of the region "Teman." In text no. 120 the article is absent but in text no. 121 is present. The case of text 121 is

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[30] Joüon and Muraoka 2006, § 137, b. According to Lee (2002), there is a diachronic change in the presence of the article. With passing of time, when a common noun or adjective with the article had been established long enough as a place-name, the article was deleted.

[31] Even-Shoshan 2000, 736.

particularly important since it agrees with one occurrence of the word
תימן with the article in Zech 6:6, which otherwise in the Bible never
takes the article (23 occurrences). Both texts together show that, with
this place-name, although rare, the use of the article was possible. Ac-
cepting Lee's thesis (2002, 347) that the occurrence of the article in
place-names attests to an earlier usage, the variation of the use of article
with the word תימן can be interpreted as a sign of a change in pro-
gress.[32]

The last group of references to place comprises words with the ה of
direction. These references are definite because a precise point of arri-
val is intended. The definiteness, however, is not always marked with
the article. Thus one finds words without the article (texts nos. 79, 117,
because of their syntactic and semantic properties) as well as with the
article (no. 123). The last text is particularly significant as it attests the
antiquity of still ongoing practice of referring to the major city of an
area as "the city."[33]

8. The Article with Various Items

Text No.	Provenance[34]	Text	Translation
125	Arad 111:4-9 [106]	נשב דבר] ... היה [ ] הסוס] ר הֵעֹבר ו [ ] ולשמע] מים [ ] את [	..., we will report back ... the horse was ... the grain (?) ... and to hear ... water ...
126	Jerusalem 2:4 [211]	העזֹב ה]	... the one who for-sakes ...
127	Jerusalem 23:3 [226]	בירכתי הֹ]	... in the far reaches of the ...

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[32] This holds true unless the article is in reality a case of dittography, a possibility
suggested in Aḥituv, Eshel and Meshel 2012, 100.

[33] *HI*, 317.

[34] Page in *HI* [1-3 digits] or number in *AHI* [6 digits].

128	Jerusalem 23:4 [226]	[נסח הכס]	... tear down/re-move the...
129	Jerusalem78:3 [241]	א[ל֯ קנ ארצ	[E]l Creator of the Earth.
130	Lachish 4:3-4 [315]	כתבתי על הדלת ככל אשר שלח֯[תה] א֯לֿי	I have written on the tablet according to all that [you] sent to me.
131	Lachish 4: (reverse) 2-5[315]	וידע כי אל משאת לכש נחנו שמרם ככל האתת אשר נתן אדני כי לא נראה את עזקה	And let him know that for the fire-sig-nal of Lachish we are keeping watch according to all the signals that my lord gave, because we cannot see Azekah.
132	Lachish 5:3-6 [320]	מי עבדך כלב כ֯י [של]ח֯ת אל עבד [ך] את ה[ספרם כ֯[זא]ת]	Who is your serv-ant, a mere dog, that you [sen]t to [your] servant the [letters t]hu[s]?
133	Lachish 5:6-7 [320]	השב עבדך הספרם אל אדני	Your servant has re-turned the letters to my lord.
134	Lachish 6:3-4 [323]	שלח אדני א[ת ספ]ר המלך וֿא֗ת ספרי השר]ם [...	... my lord has sent the [lette]r of the king and the letters of the governor[s]...
135	Lachish 6:5-8 [323]	והנה דברי ה[שרם]לֿא טבם לרפת ידיך[ולהש] קט ידי הא[נשם] המֿידע]ם ב֯[הֿ֯ם	Now the words of the [governors] are not good, weaken-ing yo[ur] hands [and slack]ening he

			hands of the m[en] who [are in]form[ed about] them.
136	Lachish 6:10-12 [323]	הן[נ]ה למלך [ו]ל[ל]בית[ה]ה [ת]עשו הד[בר] הז[ה ...]	N[o]w, against the king [and] his [house y]uo are do-ing thi[s] th[ing.]
137	Lachish 6:13-14 [323]	כי [מ]אז קרא עבדך א[ת] הספרם	.... that [si]nce your servant read the let-ters ...
138	Lachish 18:2 [332]	עד הערב	... until the even-ing...
139	Lachish 18:1-2 [332]	יׁשלח עׁבׁדׁך הׁספר אשר שלח אדני [לע]זרׁיׁהו	... your servant will send the letter which my lord sent [to A]zaryah.
140	Meṣad Ḥashavyahu 1:6 [358]	כאשר כל[ ]עׁ[בׁ]דׁך את קצר	Even as your [se]rvant measured the harvest ...
141	Meṣad Ḥashavyahu 1:8-9 [358]	כאשר כלת את קצרי	When I had meas-ured my harvest ...
142	Wadi Murabbaʿat 1:1 [381]	[ש]לׁח שלחת את שלם ביתך	I hereby [s]end heartfelt greetings to your household.
143	Samaria 111:2-3 [488]	הרׁעם הקשבו	..., the shepherds have been attentive ...
144	Siloam 1:1 [500]	הנקבה	... the breaking through.

145	Siloam 1:1 [500]	וזה היה דבר הנקבה	And this was the manner of the breaking through.
146	Siloam 1:1-2 [500]	בעוד [החצבם נדחם את] הגרזן	While [the hewers were wielding] the pick, ...
147	Siloam 1:3 [500]	כי הית זדה בצר	..., for there was a fissure in the rock...
148	Siloam 1:4 [500]	גרזן על [ג]רזן	, ... pick against [p]ick.
149	Siloam 1:4-5 [500]	וילכו המים	... And then the waters flowed...
150	Siloam 1:5 [500]	מן המוצא אל הברכה	... from the spring to the pool...
151	Siloam 1:5-6 [500]	ומ[א]ת אמה היה גבה הצר על ראש החצב[ם]35	And a hu[nd]red cubits was the height in the rock above the heads of the hewer[s].
152	Silwan 1:1 [508]	זאת [קרבת]יהו אשר על הבית	This is [the tomb of ..]-yahu "who is over the house."
153	Silwan 1:2-3 [508]	ארור האדם אשר יפתח את זאת	Cursed the person who opens this (tomb)!
154	Silwan 2 [510]	חדר בכתף הצר[יח	The room at the side of the burial cha[mber]...

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35 *HI* reads mistakenly: גבה בצר.

| 155 | Moussaieff 2:4-6 [571] | ונתתה ביד אמתך את הנחלה אשר דברתה לעמסיהו | ... and that you give into the hand of your maidservant the inheritance about which you spoke to Amasyah. |
| 156 | Moussaieff 2:6-8 [571] | ואת שדה החטם אשר בנעמה נתתה לאחיו | As for the wheat field that is in Naamah, you gave (it) to his brother. |

The definiteness of the words in this group is the easiest to understand. These words are mostly common nouns that are made definite by means of the article or the suffixed possessive pronoun because they refer in the context to a specific person or object. Thus, they are examples of "situational" definiteness. In this category there are also cases in which the article has an additional nuance. In some cases the demonstrative force of the article is quite perceivable (texts nos. 153-155). Particularly in the case of longer inscriptions, the anaphoric article contributes to the coherence of the text and its clarity (texts nos. 84, 118, 132-137, 144-145, 147-151).

Some of the texts in this group require an additional comment. The article in the word הבא in text no. 80 signals anaphoric definiteness and can be construed as a relative word.[36] Depending on its morphosyntactic parsing (the article with the masc. sing. participle or with 3 pers. sing. masc. *qatal*), this text may exemplify the rare construction of the relative article with the *qatal* conjugation.[37]

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[36] For an exhaustive discussion about relative clauses marked by the article see Holmstedt 2002, 83-90.

[37] Parsing the word בא as a *qatal* form is more probable because within the relative clause verbs strongly prefer to default to their prototypical time setting which in the case of *qatal* is the simple past meaning. Such a meaning matches the context of this passage perfectly. The participle has in general a progressive meaning and consequently does not make a good sense here. I am grateful to R. Holmstedt for making this point in a personal communication.

There are two occurrences of the word מים with the article (texts nos. 57, 149), but its use is not immediately comprehensible. The fact that in the Bible the word מים has the article when it refers to a particular body of water does not fully elucidate these passages. In text no. 57 no further comment can be made since the text is fragmentary and does not offer any context. One may surmise that a pool or a spring was intended.[38] In text no. 149 the reference is simply to a flowing liquid. The article was prefixed because the waters in question are clearly identifiable in the context since their point of origin and destination are indicated in the same line (text no. 150).

Text no. 129 contains the divine title קנ ארץ; its second component (ארץ) is an intrinsically definite noun as it has only one referent.[39] However, its inherent definiteness is not marked grammatically with the article. The lack of the article may be due to several factors. The first one is the brevity and compactness of the title, which with the article would become too long. Thus, the article would be omitted for stylistic reasons. The second justification of the lack of the article could be a language convention. Indeed, in the Bible there are references to the Earth with the without the article even in the same context.[40] Finally, the lack of the article in this title is a sign of its antiquity. Since the title קנ ארץ had to be widely used already in the second millennium B.C.E because it attested for the first time before 1200 B.C. in a Hittite myth in the divine name *Ilkunirša* (Miller 1980, 43), this title preserves a frozen form which dates back to the time when the article, a first millennium innovation, was absent in Canaanite languages.[41]

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[38] See, for example, the meaning of המים in Judg 7:4.5 (spring) and Jer 41:12 (pool).

[39] The longer form of this title occurs in Gen 14:19 and has no article too: קנה שמים וארץ.

[40] See, for example, Gen 2:4, in which this noun occurs with the article in the first part of the verse and later without it, a clue to the composite nature of the text originating from two different sources.

[41] Although the final judgment on its exact decipherment and dating as well as "Hebrew" or "Israelite" character must be for now withheld, the Qeiyafa ostracon may be another example of inscription which testifies to a stage of the (Hebrew?) language in which the article was absent. In fact, the readings of this epigraph in

Another case of an expected article that is lacking occurs in text no.140. In this text the word קצר refers to an amount of work at harvest done by the person lodging the complaint. The understanding of the word קצר as having a definite reference is suggested by the presence of the particle את, which usually occurs before a definite direct object. Thus, some scholars proposed that the word קצר should be read with an un-marked 3rd pers. masc. sing. suffix; others argued that this suffix is lacking because of a "scribal lapse" and so should be reconstructed. Finally, given that the text should reflect the actual speech of an illiterate person, the lack of the article might be a colloquialism.[42] None of these explanations is wholly satisfying because they are difficult to accept in light of the orthographic conventions of the time when the text was composed or because they are simply ad-hoc. Instead, another approach appears more convincing: considering that the word את is occasionally used before the words without the article in the Hebrew Bible[43] and following Garr's analysis of the function of את (1991, 119-134), one should rethink the definiteness of the word קצר in the context and the difference in the meaning which the use of the article would introduce. The word קצר refers to an amount of work done on a certain day but not to the entire harvest. Although this amount of work is specific in the context, it does not constitute "the harvest," per se, or the entire season dedicated to harvesting. It may be surmised that the article would have been used if the entire operation of harvesting were intended. This distinction is crucial because of the governing verb כל[ה]. It is clear from the content of the letter that the situation described in it happened not when the person finished all activities associated with harvesting but when he completed his daily work at harvest. The use of the article with the word קצר might have been confusing if it suggested the completion of the entire harvest. Consequently, it was not used even if it could be prefixed to קצר to mark the specific reference of this word in the context.

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the *editio princeps* (Misgav, Garfinkel and Ganor 2009, 243-257) and in other attempts at this text (Galil 2009, 196; Shea 2009, 603; Puech 2010, 171; Achenbach 2012, 121) do not contain the article.

[42] For these interpretations see *HI*, 363.

[43] Joüon and Muraoka 2006, § 125 h.

9. Final Remarks

In the Hebrew inscriptions the article is principally used to mark the nouns that have a specific, identifiable reference, due either to inherent uniqueness ("the king") or to contextually based "situational" definiteness. In other words, a close relationship between the use of the article and definiteness is clear. The patterns of the use of the article in the inscriptions closely conform to the patterns exhibited in the Hebrew Bible. This is not an unexpected or controversial finding in light of recent studies on the article in Biblical Hebrew, though philological rigor always requires careful analysis in the place of assumptions, thereby necessitating this study. Nevertheless, some epigraphic texts discussed here have a special relevance. And so, text no. 80 should be taken into account in the discussion about the use of the relative article with the prefix conjugation. Also, two inscriptions on jars from Kuntillet ʿAjrud mentioned in footnote no. 22 may contribute to the study of ancient Hebrew phonology, in particular of the sandhi phenomena.

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