

Gary A Rendsburg (Cornell University)

NOTES ON ISRAELIAN HEBREW (II)¹

לשלמה מורג
יהי זכרו ברוך

ABSTRACT

This article presents four separate notes on lexical items characteristic of Israelian Hebrew. The items studied are 1) the phrase שגר אלפיך ועשתרות צאנך "the offspring of your cattle and the fertility of your flock"; 2) the noun עיר "donkey"; 3) the unique form עירי "villages" appearing in Judg 10:4; and 4) the noun מנא "basket".

1. שגר אלפיך ועשתרות צאנך

The phrase שגר אלפיך ועשתרות צאנך "the offspring of your cattle and the fertility of your flock" occurs four times in the book of Deuteronomy (7:13, 28:4, 28:18, 28:51).² Of the four words in this expression, only צאן "flock" is standard Hebrew; the other three words are rare. The distribution of these three words – and their cognates – suggests that the phrase developed in northern Israel.

The word אלה is standard Phoenician for "cattle, bull, ox" (Hoftijzer and Jongeling 1995:64). The expected alternative word שור (or better שר without *mater lectionis*) does not occur in Phoenician.³ In Ugaritic *alp* is used commonly (Gordon 1967:359; del Olmo Lete & Sanmartín 1996:29-30), though of course *tr* also appears (Gordon 1967:501-502). However, if the instances of the phrase *tr il* "Bull El" are disregarded, it appears that *alp* is the more common term.⁴

- 1 The first article by this title appeared in the *Festschrift* for Michael Heltzer (Rendsburg 1999:255-258). I continue my studies into Israelian Hebrew (IH), the northern dialect of ancient Hebrew, with the following contribution.
- 2 In the first and fourth occurrences, עשתרת is written *defectiva*; while in the second and third occurrences, the word appears *plene* as עשתרות. I use the latter spelling herein throughout for clarity and consistency.
- 3 The form Θωρ in "The Life of Sulla after Plutarch," line 17:8, reflects Aramaic, not Phoenician, as seen correctly by Altheim & Stiehl 1963:228.
- 4 Of course, it is possible that a slight semantic distinction existed between *alp* and *tr* in Ugaritic, but our data do not allow us to refine the general translations "cattle, bull, ox."

In the Bible, outside of the phrase in Deuteronomy, אֵלֶיךָ occurs in Isa 30:24, Ps 8:8, 50:10, Prov 14:4. There is little in Isaiah 30 that suggests a northern source for this chapter or this section. However, it is striking that the phrase והאֵלֶפֶים והעִירִים עֲבָדֵי הָאֲדָמָה "and oxen and donkeys, tillers of the soil" in v. 24 pairs the word אֵלֶיךָ with the word עִיר, itself an Israelian lexeme (see below, Section 2). A clear instance of אֵלֶיךָ in a northern text is Prov 14:4, as this book is a well-known repository of Israelian lexical and grammatical features.⁵

The two instances in Psalms do not appear to help our case. Ps 8:8 occurs in a poem without a concentration of northern forms, though it is worth remarking that the phrase צֹנֶה וְאֵלֶפֶים כֻּלָּם "sheep and oxen, all of them" includes the exceptional form *šōneʿ* "sheep". Ps 50:10, on the other hand, is part of the Asaph collection, which originated in northern Israel.⁶ However, the phrase הַרְרֵי אֵלֶיךָ "mountains of cattle" or "mountains of thousands" is most likely to be emended to הַרְרֵי אֵל "mountains of God" or "lofty mountains," with the letter *pe* to be attached to the next verse as the conjunction.⁷ But if one wishes to follow those scholars who desire to retain אֵלֶיךָ in Ps 50:10, without emendation,⁸ and to understand it as "cattle," then this attestation of the word should be accounted as a northern occurrence.

In short, regardless of how one understands Ps 50:10, and notwithstanding the use of אֵלֶיךָ in Ps 8:8, the appearance of our word in Isa 30:24 and Prov 14:4, along with the cognate evidence forthcoming from Phoenician and Ugaritic, points to the conclusion that אֵלֶיךָ "cattle, bull, ox" is an Israelian lexeme.

The word that follows אֵלֶיךָ, namely עֲשָׂהרֹת, is treated here as a common noun, conveniently translated "fertility"; but it derives, as is well known, from the name of a Canaanite fertility goddess Astarte (thus in Greek sources), Ugaritic *ʿttrt* (Gordon 1967:463; del Olmo Lete & Sanmartín 1996:94-95). The Deuteronomy usage is the only place in Northwest Semitic where this word, or at least this specific form of the noun (i.e. the feminine) is utilised as a common noun.⁹

5 See provisionally Rendsburg 1990:10 and the sources cited in nn. 39-40. See now more comprehensively Chen 2000.

6 Rendsburg 1990:14, and the sources cited in nn. 60-61; with the supporting linguistic evidence in Rendsburg 1990:73-81.

7 Rendsburg 1990:74, citing M. Dahood in n. 8.

8 For examples see the sources cited in Rendsburg 1990:74, nn. 8-9.

9 Recent treatments of the phrase עֲשָׂהרֹת אֵלֶיךָ include Görg 1993:9-11 and Hadley 1996:115-133.

A parallel usage may occur in the Deir 'Alla inscription, Combination I, line 14, where the text reads *skl ḥzw qqn šgr w'štr*. Unfortunately, a) the text is broken at this point; b) the reading of the first word is unclear, as it could be *wkl*; c) we are unsure where to punctuate this group of words; and d) the word *qqn* suggests several different meanings. In the words of Hackett, "This is the most perplexing grouping in the first combination" (Hackett 1980:53). Accordingly, nothing definite can be said about the word *štr* here, except that it is paired with *šgr*, in striking agreement with the phrase in Deuteronomy. However, since the general context of the inscription at this point is the reversal of the norms of nature, most likely the text "has something to do with failure to produce offspring" (Hackett 1980:53). If so, the Deir 'Alla inscription affords us a very close parallel to the Hebrew usage, differing only in the gender of the noun. Moreover, since the dialect of the Deir 'Alla inscription shares so much in common with Israelian Hebrew (Rendsburg 1993:309-329), the nexus between these two usages provides evidence for the IH nature of *עשתרות* as a common noun meaning "fertility."

In addition, it is worth mentioning that the city named *עשתרת* is located in Bashan. While one would not wish to rely too strongly on toponymic evidence, this fact serves to support the above conclusion.

The noun *שגור* "offspring" occurs elsewhere in the Bible in Exod 13:12. This source is devoid of any northern connections, so I have no explanation for its appearance here. But the cognate evidence once more points to a northern home for the four-word expression under discussion. As noted above, the form *šgr* occurs in the Deir 'Alla inscription. In addition, the word is attested in Ugaritic, albeit in a broken context in *CAT* 1.5 (*UT* 67) III:16, 17, and again as the name of a deity (presumably connected with fertility of flocks) in *CAT* 1.148 31.¹⁰

In sum, with the exception of the common noun *צאן* "flock," the members of the repeated expression *שגור אלפיך ועשתרות צאנך* "the offspring of your cattle and the fertility of your flock," occurring four times in Deuteronomy, point to a northern home for this phrase. Numerous scholars have suggested that the book of Deuteronomy is a northern composition (Nielsen 1977-78:77-89; Weinfeld 1991:44-50), though the linguistic evidence has not been utilised in such discussions. The identification of one northern linguistic coinage in the rather large composition of Deuteronomy is insufficient grounds for reaching a

10 Gordon 1967:488. For the evidence from Emar and elsewhere, see Dalley & Teissier 1992:90-91.

general conclusion.¹¹ But if more such terms could be identified (see below, Section 4), the linguistic evidence should then be brought to bear on the discussion.

2. עִיר "DONKEY"

The standard Hebrew word for "donkey" is חמור, with the feminine noun אֲתוֹן "jenny." But a second term appears as well, namely עִיר (henceforth to be indicated without vowels), attested eight times in the Bible. In some cases, exemplified best by Isa 30:24, there appears to be no semantic distinction between עִיר and חמור. In other instances, such as Zech 9:9, it appears that עִיר bears the special meaning "young ass."¹² But this issue aside, as we shall see in the following discussion, the word occurs almost without exception in Israelian contexts.

The most obvious examples are Judg 10:4 with reference to Jair the Gileadite,¹³ and Judg 12:14 with reference to Abdon from Pirathon in Ephraim. Normally one would not expect to find IH features in the Patriarchal Narratives in Genesis,¹⁴ but in Gen 32:16 the setting is in Transjordan (specific toponyms mentioned are Mahanaim, Penuel and the Jabbok River). Apparently the author wished to denote the Transjordanian setting and thus used the IH form עִיר as the male of the species, alongside אֲתוֹן for the feminine, instead of the usual word חמור.

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- 11 By "Deuteronomy" here, I mean the core of Deuteronomy. The poem in Deuteronomy 32 is replete with IH features; this point needs to be defended in detail, but for the moment the reader may consult examples via the index in Rendsburg 1990:127. For previous scholars who have claimed a northern provenience for Deuteronomy 32, see Rendsburg 1990:12 and nn. 52-53. The blessings of the northern tribes in Deuteronomy 33 also have a concentration of IH features, and I hope to devote a study to this material as well.
- 12 Some lexicographers extend the meaning "young ass" to all the attestations of the word, but the evidence does not bear this out. Thus, for example, BDB, p. 747 ("male ass, young and vigorous"); and Even-Shoshan 1992:862 ("חמור צעיר"). The LXX translators rendered Gen 32:16, 49:11, Judg 10:4, 12:14, Zech 9:9 with πῶλος "young ass, young horse," but translated Isa 30:6 and Job 11:12 with ὄνος, the regular word for "donkey" (Isa 30:24 is understood completely differently, as "oxen"). On the Greek terms, see Lust *et al.* 1992-1996:334, 413. The Targumim typically use עִיר/עוֹל "young ass" to render עִיר, but occasionally there is a departure from this norm; for example, Targum Yonatan uses חמריא "donkeys" for עִירִים in Isa 30:24. For Aramaic עִיר/עוֹל "young ass," see Jastrow 1903:1069; and Sokoloff 1990:404.
- 13 On the homonym עִירִים "villages" in this verse, see below, Section 3.
- 14 However, note the Aramaisms in the Jacob and Laban story, as deduced by Greenfield 1981:129-130; and Rendsburg 1996:182-183.

Job 11:12 once more places us in a Transjordanian setting. Isa 30:24 was treated above; again, while there is nothing in this section that would indicate an Israelian context, the pairing והאלפים והעירים "and oxen and donkeys" nonetheless collocates two IH terms.

The remaining examples do not fit the pattern, but a few comments are worth noting. In Isa 30:6Q, עיר occurs in the משא בהמות נגב "The Beasts of the Negeb Pronouncement"; while there are no other glaring indications of IH or non-standard language in this poem,¹⁵ one must assume that the author used עיר for the specific purpose of his desert setting. The most famous attestation of עיר in the Bible is in Zech 9:9 (famous because of its reverberation in the New Testament [Matt 21:5, John 12:15]); while one does not wish to rely too heavily on the crutch of IH features in post-exilic Hebrew due to the reunion of Israelian and Judahite exiles in Mesopotamia,¹⁶ this explanation cannot be ruled out. In addition, the poet may have included the word עיר here to create an alliteration with the key word עני "poor, humble" earlier in the verse.¹⁷ The sole exception which runs counter to the evidence presented here is Gen 49:11, part of the blessing to Judah.¹⁸

In short, five of the eight attestations of עיר "donkey" occur in Israelian contexts (and one or two of the other occurrences may be relevant). This is sufficient evidence by which to claim the word as an IH lexeme, especially when one recalls that the great majority of the Bible is Judahite in origin.

The cognate evidence supports our conclusion. Ugaritic 'r "donkey" is well attested, occurring in the major literary texts (*CAT* 1.4 [UT 51] IV:9, 14; *CAT* 1.19 II:3, 8, 10 [UT 1 Aqht 52, 57, 59]) and elsewhere (e.g. *CAT* 1.119 16; see Gordon 1967:455; del Olmo Lete & Sanmartín 1996:87). While *hmr* "donkey" also occurs (e.g. *CAT* 1.14 III:17, V:10

15 However, note that the final word of the first stanza, שבת in Isa 30:6, may mean "hot wind, extreme heat." This word occurs in Bereshit Rabba 29:2 and in 2 Sam 23:7 (see also some textual traditions of B. Ta'anit 6b [line 29] for the Aramaic cognate שבתנא), as noted by Naeh 1996:260-265. For this lexeme as an IH trait, see Rendsburg 1999:258.

16 Posited first by Gordon 1955:85-88; and accepted by Kutscher 1982:55.

17 For more on this technique, see Note 30 below.

18 There are, of course, IH elements in Genesis 49, specifically in the blessings to the northern tribes; see Rendsburg 1992b:161-170. However, one would not expect them in the verses devoted to Judah. While on the subject of this verse, note that the actual form is עיריה "his (young) donkey," with the diphthong reduced from *ay* to *î* (and not the expected *ê*); does this peculiarity have a bearing on our problem?

[*UT* Krt 121, 225; see Gordon 1967:397; and del Olmo Lete & Sanmartín 1996:177), it appears that 'r is the more common of the two lexemes in Ugaritic, certainly in the literary texts.

In addition, I am inclined to correlate the aforementioned (see Note 12) Aramaic עיל "young ass." One cannot dismiss the possibility that this word developed from the root עלל "suckle," but most likely Aramaic עיל is the cognate of Hebrew עיר, with interchange of *lamed* and *resh*.

3. עִירִים "VILLAGES"

In the discussion above, I referred to Judg 10:4 where the plural of עיר "donkey" occurs within the brief notice about the minor judge Jair the Gileadite. The full passage reads as follows:

ויהי לו שלשים בנים רכבים על שלשים עירים ושלשים עירים להם
להם יקראו חות יאיר עד היום הזה אשר בארץ גלעד

"And he had thirty sons, riding on thirty donkeys, and they had thirty villages; and they call them Havvoth-jair until this day, that are in the land of Gilead."

I have translated the passage following the syntax and word order of the Hebrew original. A more idiomatic translation, which also captures the wordplay most felicitously, is that of the NJPSV:

"He had thirty sons, who rode on thirty burros and owned thirty boroughs in the region of Gilead; these are called Havvoth-jair to this day."

With a footnote adding:

"Imitating the pun in the Heb., which employs 'ayarim first in the sense of 'donkeys' and then in the sense of 'towns'."

In short, the form עִירִים occurs twice in this passage, in the first instance meaning "donkeys" (see above, Section 2) and in the second instance meaning "villages."

This is the only appearance in the Bible of the form עִירִים "villages" (henceforth to be indicated without vowels). Some commentators simply emend the word by deleting the second *yod* and thereby restore the common plural form ערים "cities."¹⁹ Others recognise that the form is

¹⁹ See, for example, Burney 1918:292; and Boling 1966:295-296, summarized in Boling 1975:188.

genuine, stating that it has been chosen specifically because of the wordplay created.²⁰ The latter approach is clearly the preferred route.²¹

But we should not think that עִירִים is simply an alternative, perhaps dialectal, form for עָרִים. I have been careful in the above to distinguish the meanings of the two: the former means "villages" and the latter means "cities." Clearly there could be small "cities" or "towns" in ancient Israel, and the Bible uses the word עִיר in such contexts (e.g. Josh 13:17, where עִירֵיהָ "its cities" must refer to towns smaller than Heshbon), but it is very unlikely that this is what is intended by עִירִים שְׁלֵשִׁים in Gilead, an area better known for its grazing land. More plausibly, these עִירִים should be understood as a different type of settlement, probably to be identified with some kind of open settlement typical of Transjordan.²² Indeed, the עִירִים that belong to Jair are referred to in the same verse as חֹתָת (see also Numb 32:41, Deut 3:14, etc.), a word which appears to mean "encampments," "tent camps," or the like. Note the Arabic cognate *hiwa'* "circle of tents."²³

Our understanding of עִירִים in Judg 10:4 can be advanced by incorporating the full evidence of ancient Hebrew into the picture. By this phrase I intend the evidence from Mishnaic Hebrew, in which the form עִירוֹת "villages" (always in the plural; and here written with double *yod*, as typical in manuscripts of the Mishna, Tosefta and other Tannaitic texts) occurs commonly.²⁴ Kutscher posited that MH עִירוֹת is a new

20 See the sources cited in Moore 1895:275.

21 The standard form עָרִים "cities" would alliterate with עִירִים "donkeys" (on this phenomenon, again, see below, Note 30), but the wordplay is more effective with the form עִירִים "villages." On wordplay in the Bible, see Rendsburg 2000.

22 I have consulted the standard works on the archaeology of Transjordan, but apparently a true survey of the region (of the type conducted in Cisjordan by mainly Israeli scholars) has not been accomplished. Still, even without empirical archaeological evidence, and notwithstanding the presence of several large cities in Gilead, one can assume, based on the textual evidence in the Bible, that the region supported large numbers of animals and that open settlements conducive to supporting animal husbandry would have been common in the region. For very general information, including a reference to "dozens of small Iron Age I sites in Gilead," see Mazar 1990:337, 357-359 (the quotation is from 1990:337).

23 All three standard Hebrew dictionaries cite the Arabic cognate *hiwa'*, thus *BDB*, p. 295; *KB*, p. 280; *HALAT*, p. 284 = *HALOT*, p. 296. See further Lane 1863:679, which lists not only *hiwa'* but also the derived nouns *muhawwan*, *mahwan* as "a collection of tents."

24 For citations consult the database for the Historical Dictionary of the Hebrew Language produced by the Academy of the Hebrew Language in either its

plural formation of עיר, replacing ערים,²⁵ and that the meaning of singular עיר, plural עיירות, shifted from "city" to "village(s),"²⁶ with the MH words כרך and מדינה taking over the meaning of "city".²⁷

Other options are possible, though. One could posit that a singular form such as עִירָה meaning "village" existed in the Hebrew of biblical times, though it was restricted to certain regional dialects. Or one could posit that עיר meant "village" in certain areas of the country, perhaps in Transjordan (note the setting of the aforementioned Josh 13:17 in the region of Heshbon).

Regardless of how we analyse the data, we can state with certainty that a plural formation עירים existed in at least one variety of ancient Hebrew, and that it managed to find its way into the Bible in one passage, Judg 10:4. The setting suggests that this is a regional usage, perhaps limited to Gilead in Transjordan, perhaps more widespread within the IH umbrella. The word surfaced in Hebrew sources in post-biblical times, with a new plural ending, thus as עיירות, but these sources are rabbinic texts which originate in the Galilee and again point to a non-Judahite usage.²⁸

microfiche or CD-ROM versions: *Historical Dictionary of the Hebrew Language, Materials for the Dictionary, 200 B.C.E.-300 C.E.* (Jerusalem: Academy of the Hebrew Language, 1988), Microfiche 069, Plates 14050-14063; and *Ma'agarim: The Hebrew Language Historical Dictionary Project* (Jerusalem: Academy of the Hebrew Language, 1998), CD-ROM search under עיר. For a discussion of the word, see Krauss 1922:30-32; Sussman 1974:106-107, n. 104; and Applebaum 1976:644. The most recent treatment is that of Miller 1998:59-61, especially nn. 45, 47, 49.

- 25 The database of the Academy of the Hebrew Language (see previous note) allows us to test Kutscher's position. By my count, there are 58 examples of עיירות and only 10 examples of ערים (though the construct form remains as ערי [also with pronominal suffixes]).
- 26 On עיר as "village," see especially Applebaum 1976:641-643.
- 27 If he does not state this last point explicitly, it certainly is implied quite strongly. See Kutscher 1961:19-21; and earlier Kutscher 1957:291-292. In the former source (1961:19) he cited our word עירים in Judg 10:4.
- 28 See Rendsburg 1992a:225-240. This article treats mainly grammatical issues. In the last few years, I have collected dozens of MH lexemes with parallels in IH, Ugaritic and Phoenician; both individually and collectively they serve as additional evidence for the northern home of MH. I presented this material at the conference on "Mishnaic Hebrew Grammar and Lexicon" organized by Moshe Bar-Asher at the Institute for Advanced Study, Hebrew University, in September 1996. I plan to publish this material in the future. But anyone wishing a copy of the extensive handout may request one from the author.

In short, עִירִים "villages" is an IH lexeme, attested in a sole biblical text with a Gileadite context, and, in the form עִירוֹת, in numerous instances in MH texts stemming from the Galilee.

4. תָּנָא "BASKET"

Unlike standard Hebrew סַל "basket," which is well distributed throughout the Bible (actually mainly in the Torah, but in a variety of contexts; only Judg 6:19 otherwise), the atypical term תָּנָא "basket" occurs only four times, all in Deuteronomy (26:2, 26:4, 28:5, 28:17). Due to the restricted use of this lexeme in the Bible, I am unable to bring internal BH evidence (see below, however, for MH evidence) to support the view that תָּנָא is an IH feature. The cognate evidence is helpful, but not definitive. In Phoenician תָּנָא is an exceedingly common verb meaning "erect" (Hoftijzer & Jongeling 1995:424-426), but it is not clear if our word תָּנָא "basket" derives from this root.

There may, however, be one attestation of תָּנָא "basket" in Phoenician, but unfortunately the text is difficult to read at this very point. I refer to *KAI* 37A:10, a Kition tariff inscription. Peckham, "with some hesitation," read the line in question to include the word תָּנָא "basket" (Peckham 1968:305-306, 314; the quotation is from the last-cited page). Healey, on the other hand, read the text differently, with the frank comment, "The text now becomes very difficult to read ... any reading is dubious" (Healey 1974:55). I have checked the excellent photograph published by Peckham (1968:Plate XLIX), but I am unable to determine whether or not he is correct in his assessment. The text simply is too difficult to read.²⁹

The only sure extra-biblical evidence, then, is forthcoming from Mishnaic Hebrew.³⁰ Here the form תָּנִי (once תָּנָא, in T. Sotah 15:1)

29 For a summary of views and additional bibliography, see Hoftijzer & Jongeling 1995:426.

30 The word תָּנָא also occurs in Ben Sira 34:14 (Greek 31:14), but I exclude this attestation from the discussion on IH. Unless one can prove otherwise, we assume that Ben Sira is a Judahite composition. Nonetheless, I take the opportunity for a few remarks. The Greek and Syriac texts use words for "dish" (Greek *τρουβλίω*, Syriac *ܬܘܒܠܝܘܐ*; cf. Barthélemy & Rickenbacher 1973:145), which fits the context of proper etiquette for dining better than the word "basket." But this does not mean that the Hebrew original is incorrect. Rather, I assume that the author reached into the deep resources of the Hebrew language, and stretched the meaning of תָּנָא, normally "basket" but here "dish," in order to produce alliteration in the verse. The entire verse reads *מִקּוֹם יְבִיט אֵל תּוֹשִׁיט יָד וְאֵל דִּיחַד עִמּוֹ בַּתָּנָא* "to the place that he looks, do not extend (your) hand; and do not unite with him in the basket" (a marginal note

appears on a regular basis, with the meaning "container" of various types ("basket", "box", etc.) (M. Tamid 3:6, etc.; M. Kelim 12:3, etc.; and elsewhere).³¹ As discussed above, MH is a later variety of IH, and thus we may use this evidence to bolster our claim. The evidence for classifying מַנָּה "basket" as an IH lexeme is not as abundant as the above examples, but even the small amount of evidence that we possess points to that conclusion.

Above I stated that one IH item in the large book of Deuteronomy is insufficient grounds for positing a northern home for the composition in general. We have now identified a second item. I still would argue that this is insufficient data on which to develop the linguistic argument, especially given the size of the book. But some serious research into the language of Deuteronomy might identify still other IH usages, in which case the linguistic argument could be put forward.³² Should the two items presented here, the expression שָׂגַר אֶלְפִיךָ וְעִשְׂתָּרוֹת צֹאֲנֶיךָ "the offspring of your cattle and the fertility of your flock," and the noun מַנָּה "basket," prove to be the totality of the evidence, then some other explanation for the presence of these words in Deuteronomy will have to be sought. One could imagine, for example, that the terms originated in the north, but that they filtered southward. This explanation would work well with the first

in the manuscript [MS B] corrects דִּיחַד to דִּיחַד; cf. *Sefer Ben Sira* [Jerusalem: Academy of the Hebrew Language and Shrine of the Book, 1973], p. 30). Note that מַנָּה provides a third use of the letter *ṭet* in this poetic couplet, in addition to which there are two *taws* and two *dalets* (another marginal note in MS B "corrects" תושיט "extend" to תשית "place," which would affect our argument for the centrality of the letter *ṭet* to this passage, but the number of dental consonants remains the same nonetheless). This would be another example of "Alliteration as a Compositional Factor in Biblical Hebrew Literature," the title of a talk that I have delivered on several occasions in recent years (Association for Jewish Studies annual meeting, Boston, Mass., December 1997; Leiden University, January 2000; and Johns Hopkins University, February 2000). I am preparing a monograph on the subject.

31 Jastrow 1903:541; *Historical Dictionary of the Hebrew Language*, Materials for the Dictionary, 200 B.C.E.-300 C.E., Microfiche 046, Plate 9242; and *Ma'agarim: The Hebrew Language Historical Dictionary Project*, CD-ROM search under מַנָּה/מני.

32 The only statement about Deuteronomy that I have made heretofore is in Rendburg 1992c:88, n. 102. There I referred to "the lack of any northernisms ... in the core of Deuteronomy," thus mitigating against the view that the book is Israelian. The identification of two elements in the present article necessitates an adjustment of my previous statement, but I repeat that it does not thereby prove the northern provenance of Deuteronomy.

example, since it is an entire phrase, for which Judahite Hebrew may not have had an equivalent expression.

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