# THE GEOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE MISHNAIC HEBREW LEXICON

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#### **Previous Research**

As indicated in my article "A Comprehensive Guide to Israelian Hebrew: Grammar and Lexicon," in the preceding pages in this journal (Rendsburg 2003), I began my research into the question of regional dialects of ancient Hebrew in 1987. Almost immediately I noticed that many grammatical and lexical features of Israelian Hebrew (IH) appear in Mishnaic Hebrew (MH) as well. The reason for this became clear to me at once: the Mishna and related texts (Tosefta, Tannaitic midrashim, etc.) were edited and compiled, if not authored, in Sepphoris and Tiberias, the two major Galilean cities of Romanperiod Palestine.<sup>1</sup> The text for which we have the most specific information, of course, is the Mishna, the work of Rabbi Judah ha-Nasi, edited in Sepphoris c. 200 C.E. One may assume that the Tosefta also was produced at Sepphoris (regardless of which view we accept, the regnant position that the Tosefta postdates the Mishna, or the alternative position that the Tosefta predates the Mishna<sup>2</sup>). There is less information on the redaction of the Tannaitic midrashim, but presumably they come from a slightly later period and thus we may assume that they achieved their final version in Tiberias.

I was eager to present my initial findings on the relationship between IH and MH, especially after I received an invitation to participate in the First International Conference on Galilean Studies in Late Antiquity, held most appropriately at Kibbutz Hanaton, not far from Sepphoris, in August 1989. The proceedings of that conference were published three years later in a volume entitled *The Galilee in Late Antiquity*, under the editorship of L. I. Levine. My contribution to this volume, "The Galilean Background of Mishnaic Hebrew" (Rendsburg 1992), paralleling my presentation to the conference, focused on grammatical issues mainly, with a special eye to those MH grammatical features with analogs in Ugaritic, Phoenician, and IH.

In the years following my Hanaton talk and the appearance of said article, I

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continued to collect data to bolster the IH - MH link. Most of the evidence which I garnered comes from the realm of the lexicon. I was privileged to be invited to another scholarly colloquy in Israel in August 1996, a workshop entitled "Diqduq Leshon Ḥakhamim u-Millonah" ("The Grammar and Lexicon of Mishnaic Hebrew"), organized by Moshe Bar-Asher and held at the Institute for Advanced Studies of the Hebrew University, Jerusalem. I there presented my research on the MH lexicon under the title "Riq°o ha-Ge°ografi ve-ha-Histori shel Millon Leshon Ḥakhamim" ("The Geographical and Historical Background of the Mishnaic Hebrew Lexicon"). The workshop did not produce a proceedings volume, but a relatively detailed abstract of my talk is included in the abstract book (Rendsburg 1996), though naturally only a few specific examples could be included in the limited space available.

Since presenting my data in Jerusalem, I have accumulated still more evidence. I very much welcomed the opportunity, therefore, to present an even more detailed account of my research into the MH lexicon at Tsukuba University in Japan during my visit in July-August 2002. As noted in my companion article in this volume, I am indebted to our hosts in Japan, Dr. Jun Ikeda and Prof. David Tsumura, for their wonderful hospitality in all matters, both personal and logistical.

#### The General Picture

The current article presents the totality of the evidence now at hand, the results of about 15 years of research, but it does so only in outline form. A full treatment detailing the sources, the nature of the evidence, and so on, would demand an article of considerable length, or perhaps even a monograph. I plan to write such a work one day, but for now the present outline form will have to suffice.

I have divided the evidence into three categories: Nouns, with 38 examples; Verbs, with 44 examples; and Particles, with but a single example. All told, then, there are 83 MH lexemes with links to the cluster of northern Canaanite dialects, that is, Ugaritic, Phoenician, and IH (I include in this count three MH items with links to Transjordanian dialects: two with the Deir 'Alla dialect [verbs nos. 16-17] and one with the dialect represented by the *mrzh* papyrus [noun no. 35]<sup>3</sup>).<sup>4</sup> To gain a fuller understanding of this picture, I must emphasize that these 83 lexemes do not occur in JH, or if they do, they appear very sporadically and with no regularity.

No study of MH can proceed far without discussing the interplay between MH and Aramaic. As everyone recognizes, the influence of the latter over the

former is to be seen in every aspect of the language: both grammar and lexicon. And indeed many of the vocables presented below are attested in Aramaic as well. But here is the crucial point: since these lexical items are attested in other Canaanite dialects, such as Ugaritic and Phoenician,<sup>5</sup> as well as in IH, one should not look to Aramaic as the source for these words in MH. That is to say, I prefer to look at Ugaritic, Phoenician, IH, and MH as constituting a dialect bundle, stretching from the territory of Ephraim northward and attested from the Late Bronze Age through the Roman period. Generally speaking, this dialect bundle stands in contrast to Judahite Hebrew (JH), that is, standard Biblical Hebrew (SBH).

To illustrate this point, we may use the second noun on the list below, namely 'wmh 'people, nation'. This word is widely attested in Aramaic, 6 and therefore one might conclude that its common use in MH (238x) is due to Aramaic influence. But when one realizes that the word is attested twice in the relatively limited Ugaritic corpus, in KTU 1.14.I:6, 1.19.IV:35, one should conclude that 'wmh "people, nation" is part of the Canaanite lexical stock, spanning Ugaritic and MH. It is possible that Aramaic influence played a role in the wide use of this word in MH, but one should not consider the word to be a loanword from Aramaic. In Biblical Hebrew (BH), 'ummāh is attested only twice, in Gen 25:16 and in Numb 25:15, both of which have desert settings (Ishmael and Midian, respectively). Accordingly, we may conclude that the word was used in northern Canaanite dialects (Ugaritic and MH) and in whatever dialects or languages we may wish to associate with the desert regions south and east of Canaan (fringe Canaanite? something akin to Aramaic, such as the dialect underlying the style-switching in Job? North Arabian?); but the word was not used in JH and perhaps not even in some IH subdialects (for example, the variety used in Samaria).

As another illustration we may look at the case of the verb \$\slime{s}lb\$ 'hang' (verb no. 28). As is well known, this verb is common in all dialects of Aramaic, where it serves as the semantic equivalent of the common Hebrew verb \$tlh\$ 'hang' (viz., the Targumim regularly render \$tlh\$ with \$\slime{s}lb\$). At first glance, accordingly, one might assume that the relatively common usage of \$\slime{s}lb\$ in MH (20x, plus three instances of the noun \$\slime{s}lwb\$ 'gallows') is a case of lexical influence from Aramaic. When one realizes, however, that the verb \$\slime{s}lb\$ also occurs in Phoenician, even though it is limited to a single attestation, one again should conclude that this vocable belonged to the Canaanite lexis, though limited, it appears, to the geographical region of the Tyro-Sidonian littoral and the Galilean hinterland. The alternative is to assume some amount of Aramaic

influence on Phoenician as well, but such is most unlikely in the present instance, since the sole attestation of *slb* in the Phoenician corpus comes from a Punic inscription from Carthage. In short, the presence of *slb* alongside *tlh* in MH is to be explained by recourse to inner-Canaanite regional dialectology.

A third illustrative case is the following (verb no. 30 from the list). The root snn 'be cold' appears commonly in Aramaic<sup>9</sup>; in the Bible it is limited to one attestation, a nominal form in Prov 25:13; and in MH the root also occurs regularly, 71x as a verb and 13x as the noun snh 'cold'. At first glance, given the common usage of snn in both Aramaic and MH, versus its very limited use in BH, one might wish to conclude that this lexeme represents yet another case of Aramaic influence over the language of the Mishna and related texts. One would further need to state that the sole instance of the root snn in Prov 25:13 is an Aramaism in the Bible, 10 or that the author of this text invoked a rare poetic usage. 11 But such inferences would be too hasty, for they would neglect to consider the fact that Proverbs teems with lexical features better known from Ugaritic, Phoenician, and Aramaic, thus yielding the more appropriate conclusion that Proverbs is an IH composition. 12 Once this point is recognized, it becomes clear that snn 'be cold' was always characteristic of northern Hebrew, from biblical times through the Roman period. One can state that the use of snn 'be cold' both in IH/MH and in Aramaic represents an isogloss connecting the two border dialects/languages—with the additional conclusion that this root did not occur in JH—but one should not accede to labeling snn as an Aramaic loanword in Hebrew.

These three examples may serve as paradigms for those cases presented below, in which the MH vocables are known from Aramaic as well. I do not wish to deny the strong influence that Aramaic exerted over MH; such language interference is obvious to all who have studied the matter. I seek only to encourage scholars to look at the entire picture before automatically pushing "the Aramaic card" each and every time a particular MH lexeme is paralleled by an Aramaic congener. In all of the instances to be presented below, the MH lexeme occurs elsewhere within the Canaanite umbrella—typically in Ugaritic, Phoenician, and/or IH (though, as noted above, in three cases there are links to Transjordanian dialects)—yielding the conclusion that these lexical features of MH are simply the latest attestations of these Canaanite words, and not borrowings from Aramaic.

In referring to Mishnaic Hebrew in this article, I have focused mainly on Tannaitic sources, or what scholars call MH<sup>1</sup>, that is, material dated prior to the year c. 300 C.E., when Hebrew was still a living language. These sources are, in

the main, the Mishna, the Tosefta, and the three large Tannaitic midrashim, namely, Mekhilta (on Exodus), Sifra (on Leviticus), and Sifre (on Numbers and Deuteronomy), in addition to which there are smaller texts in the corpus. In the presentation below, when I include the number of times that a particular word occurs in the sources, e.g., 'bws 'bowl' 15x, I have counted only those attestations from Tannaitic sources. The data are taken from the comprehensive Historical Dictionary of the Hebrew Language project under the direction of the Academy of the Hebrew Language in Israel. 13

I have made less use of the later material, from Amoraic sources, or what scholars call MH<sup>2</sup>, since Hebrew was no longer spoken after 300 C.E. Many if not most of the words adduced herein are attested in MH<sup>2</sup> also, but, as just noted, I have not incorporated these occurrences into the count provided for each lexeme. On the other hand, seven of the MH lexical items presented below are attested only in MH<sup>2</sup> (noun no. 12, verbs no. 4, 6, 8, 12, 18, 22; and see also noun no. 15), and yet I have opted to include them nevertheless. I do so for the following reasons. First of all, it may be only coincidental that these words are not attested in MH<sup>1</sup>, and thus we still can assume that they were part of living Hebrew, or of living northern Canaanite dialects, as this paper attempts to argue. Secondly, this is almost undoubtedly the case especially with those words which are not attested in Aramaic, e.g., mdd Pi'el 'stretch' (verb no. 18), paralleling the use of this root in the Hitpa<sup>c</sup>el in 1 Kgs 17:21.<sup>14</sup> One could argue that the handful of attestations of this usage in Amoraic sources are patterned after the sole biblical usage, but if that were the case one would expect the verb to appear in the same binyan. It is much more likely that we are dealing here with a living usage over a period of about one thousand years, even if we have only a handful of occurrences in our sources, with the root fluctuating between Pi<sup>e</sup>el and Hitpa<sup>e</sup>el with the same meaning.

With the foregoing as introduction, we now may proceed to the outline of the data. As noted above, a full treatment eventually will appear, but the following sketch hopefully will provide the reader with the basic information, including, for example, the number of attestations in Tannaitic sources, sample occurrences (especially for the rarer items), cognate evidence (typically Ugaritic, Phoenician, and IH, as noted above), and sources for the cognate material. As with my companion article in this volume (Rendsburg 2003), I have used the smaller font for the occasional instance where additional attestations of the lexeme run counter to the general argument presented herein. 15

# The Data in Outline Form 16

## I. Nouns

- 1. 'bws 'bowl' (15x) Ph. 'bst (Malta 31:2)
- 2. 'wmh 'people, nation' (238x) Ug. 'mt (KTU 1.14.I:6, 1.19.IV:35)
- 3. 'wmn 'artisan, craftsman' (86x) Ph. (KAI 178:3 YMMANNAI), IH (Prov 8:30, Song 7:2)
- 4. gyp (hnhr) 'river edge' (1x: M. Makshirin 1:4, according to the 'Arukh) Ug. gp, e.g., gp ym, gp thm, gpt gr; see also gpp (verb no. 7) below
- 5. grgrt 'throat' (20x) IH grgrt (Prov 1:9, 3:3, 3:22, 6:21)
- 6. *drwm* 'south' (191x) IH *drwm* (Deut 33:23 [Naphtali], Qoh 1:6, 11:3, Job 37:17, Ezekiel 13x [Aramaism])
- 7. *zbwryt* 'vessel' (16x) Ph. *zbrm* (*KAI* 137:6)
- 8. hbq 'clasp, fastener' (for riding an animal) (4x) Ug. hbq 'fastens (the equipment on an animal for riding)' (KTU 1.4.IV:13)
- 9. hwryn 'freemen' (120x) (see also the verb hrr) IH hwrym (1 Kgs 21:8, 21:11, Qoh 10:17, Jer 27:20, 39:6, Nehemiah 7x [Aramaism])
- 10. hzrt 'lettuce' (21x) Ug. hdrt (KTU 1.71:12, 1.72:19, 1.85:14, 1.85:27)
- 11. hmh 'sun' (207x vs. sms 114x) IH (Ps 19:7, Song 6:10, Job 30:28; Isaiah 2x)
- 12. hrkyn 'window lattice' (MH<sup>2</sup> only) IH hrkym (Song 2:9)
- 13. hrm 'fish net' (9x) Ph. hrm 'fisherman' (KAI 51:rev.2; CIS I.324:3)
- 14.  $tny/tn^2$  'basket' (14x) Ph.  $tn^2$  (verb) 'set up, donate', perhaps 1x as noun = 'basket' (*KAI* 37A:10 [Kition]); IH  $tn^2$  (Deut 4x)
- 15. ybbh 'wail, shrill' (1x: M. Rosh ha-Shana 4:9; 1x in MH<sup>2</sup>: Y. Yevamot 15:4)

   IH ybb (verb) (Judg 5:28)
- 16. kbwl 'garment' (2x: M. Shabbat 6:1, 6:5) Ug. kbl (KTU 4.182:6)
- 17. kd 'jar' (53x) Ug. kd, Ph. kd, IH (1 Kgs 17:12, 17:14, 17:16, 1 Kgs 18:34, Judges 7 [4x] [Gideon], Qoh 12:6, Genesis 24 [9x as style-switching])
- 18. lbnh 'moon' (55x never yrh) IH (Song 6:10, Isaiah 2x)
- 19. *lmwd* 'fastener' (4x, e.g., M. Kelim 5:9) Ug. *mdl* 'hitch' (*KTU* 1.19.II:3, 1.19.II:8) (with metathesis)
- 20.  $lmpr^{\circ}$  'from the start' (36x) Ug.  $pr^{\circ}$  'first' (KTU 1.19.I:18 [p]r' qz 'first fruits of summer', 4.279:1  $ym pr^{\circ}$  'first day'), IH  $pr^{\circ}$  'lead' (Judg 5:2)
- 21. mdynh 'district' (256x) IH (1 Kings 20 [4x]); all other BH occurrences are in exilic and post-exilic texts under Aramaic influence
- 22. mzg 'mixed wine, mixture' (8x) (also the verb mzg 'mix' 46x) IH mzg (Song 7:3)
- 23. mlwg 'dowry' (12x) Ug. mlg

- 24. m<sup>c</sup>pwrt 'garment' (3x: M. Kelim 19:1 T. Megilla 3:30, Sifre Devarim 234) Ug. śprt
- 25. nwqd 'shepherd' (3x) Ug. nqd (common in administrative texts), IH nwqd (2 Kgs 3:4, Amos 1:1)
- 26. *spl* 'bowl' (22x) Ug. *spl* (*KTU* 4.123:17, 4.385:3), IH *spl* (Judg 5:25, 6:38)
- 27. srswr 'broker, middleman' (5x, e.g., M. Bava Batra 5:8 [2x]) Ph. srsr (KAI 34:1, 34:2, 34:3 [Kition])
- 28. 'rysh 'bed' (24x) Ug. 'rš (*KAI* 1.14.II:45, 1.16.VI:35, 1:16.VI:51, 1.17.I:38, 1.17.II:41, etc.), IH 'rś (Deut 3:11 [Bashan], Amos 3:12, 6:4, Ps 132:2, Prov 7:16, Job 7:13, Song 1:16, 2x in Judahite Psalms)
- 29. *pgh* 'unripe fig' (32x) IH *pg* (Song 2:13)
- 30. *slwhyt* 'dish' (58x) IH (2 Kgs 2:20)
- 31. *sml* 'nearly ripe fig' (3x: M. Nidda 5:7 [2x], T. Nidda 6:4) Ug. *sml* (KTU 4.158:10, 4.341:12)
- 32. *qb* 'unit of measurement' (189x) IH (2 Kgs 6:25)
- 33. *qll/qlylyt* 'vessel' (16x, 1x: T. Para 3:4) Ph. *qll* (*KAI* 51:rev.3)
- 34. rb 'master' (common) Ug. rb (common), Ph. rb (common)
- 35. *šlyš* 'trustee, depositary' (10x, e.g., M. Ketubbot 5:8, 6:7; and also *šlyšwt* 'trust, deposit' 2x: T. Bava Meṣi<sup>c</sup>a 1:10 [2x]) attested in the dialect represented in the *mrzh* papyrus<sup>17</sup>
- 36. šns 'buckle' (5x, e.g., M. Kelim 26:1, 26:2 [2x]) Ug. šns 'fasten' (as a verb: KTU 1.3.II:12), IH šns 'gird' (as a verb: 1 Kgs 18:46)
- 37. *špwd* 'spit (for food)' (32x, e.g., M. Pesaḥim 7:1) Ug. *tpd* 'place' (as a verb: *KTU* 1.4.IV:29)
- 38.  $\check{s}p^{r}$  'plenty' (6x),  $\check{s}p^{r}h$  'plenty' (2x, e.g., M. Soța 8:1) Ph.  $\check{s}p^{r}t$  (Punic), IH  $\check{s}p^{r}$  (Deut 33:19 [Zebulun]), IH  $\check{s}p^{r}h$  (2 Kgs 9:17 [2x], Ezek 26:10 [Tyre], Job 22:11, 38:34, Isa 60:6)

## II. Verbs

- 1. 'gd 'bundle, gather' (39x; plus noun forms 'gwdh 41x, 'gd 6x) Ph. 'gd (MUSJ 45 [1969] 262:2 [Byblos])
- 2. <sup>?</sup>hr Hiph<sup>°</sup>il 'cause to whore' (1x: Mekhilta Vayehi 1) IH <sup>?</sup>hr (Judg 11:2: <sup>?</sup>šh <sup>?</sup>hrt)
- 3. 'rh' pluck, pick fruit' (2x: M. Shevi'it 1:2, T. Bava Batra 4:9) IH 'rh (Ps 80:13, Song 5:1)
- 4.  $bd^{\gamma}/bdh$  'devise' (MH<sup>2</sup> only) IH  $bd^{\gamma}$  (1 Kgs 12:33) (Neh 6:8 as Aramaism)
- 5.  $gb\ddot{s}$  'pile, heap' (1x: T. 'Oholot 17:9) Ug.  $gb\underline{t}t$  'bulk' (KTU 1.12.I:31)
- 6.  $gl_s^{\vee}$  'boil, bubble' (1x in MH<sup>2</sup>: B. Pesahim 37b) Ug  $gl_t$  'downpour' (?)

- (KTU 1.4.V:7), IH gls 'pour down' (Song 4:1, 6:5)
- 7. gpp 'surround' (16x, e.g., M. Kelim 15:2) IH gpp (Prov 9:3: "l gpy mrmy qrt 'around the heights of the city"); see also gyp (noun no. 4) above
- 8. dbr Hiph'il 'persuade' (MH<sup>2</sup> only) Ph. dbr (KAI 14:6 [Sidon])
- 9. *zlp* 'drip' (25x) (various noun forms also) IH *dlp* (Prov 19:13, 27:15, Qoh 10:18)
- 10. htt/htht 'engrave, dig out' (13x) Ph. ht (Nora fragment:  $[z]^{\gamma}t ht$   $[w]p^{\gamma}l nk[l]$  "[Th]is (is what) Nakl has engraved [and] has made...")
- 11. hlt 'decide' (126x) IH hlt (1 Kgs 20:33)
- 12.  $h \dot{s} r$  'sift, peel' (MH<sup>2</sup> only) Ug.  $h \underline{t} r$  'sieve' (noun) (KTU 1.6.II:32)
- 13.  $h\check{s}\check{s}$  'fear, worry' (211x) Ph.  $h\check{s}$  'woe' (interjection); perhaps also Ug.  $h\check{s}t$  (noun) if it means 'sorrow' in KTU 1.16.I:3, 1.16.I:18
- 14. *tnp* 'soil, make dirty' (14x) IH (Song 5:3)
- 15. *trd* 'banish; run, drip' (7x) Ug. *trd* 'banish' (*KTU* 1.3.III:47); IH *trd* 'run, drip' (Prov 19:13, 27:15)
- 16. yhd 'unite' (68x, plus mywhd 'special' 275x) Deir 'Alla 'tyhdw
- 17. lqh 'punish' (284x, plus the noun mlqwt 'punishment' 7x) Deir 'Alla mlqh (noun)
- 18. mdd Pi'el 'stretch' (MH<sup>2</sup> only) IH mdd Hitpa'el (1 Kgs 17:21)
- 19. mth Hitpa'el 'lie down' (1x: Sifre BeMidbar 94) IH mth (Prov 24:11: mtym lhrg)
- 20. *mlk* Niph<sup>c</sup>al 'counsel' (52x) IH *mkr* (1 Kgs 21:20, 21:25, 2 Kgs 17:17), involving both metathesis and interchange of *l/r* (Neh 5:7 *mlk* 'counsel' as Aramaism)
- 21. nwm 'say' (33x) IH  $n^2m$  (with human subjects: 6x in Balaam, 2 Sam 23:1, Ps 36:2, Prov 20:1)
- 22. nsh 'conquer' (MH<sup>2</sup> only, though the noun nshwn 'conquest, victory' occurs in Sifre Devarim 192) Ph. nsh (CIS I.91:2 [Idalion])
- 23.  $s^r d$  'dine, feast' (9x, plus the noun  $s^r w dh$  78x) IH  $s^r d$  (1 Kgs 13:7; elsewhere 'support, sustain'); perhaps also Punic: Poenulus 947 sed
- 24.  $spq/\acute{s}pq$  'be enough, be sufficient' (181x, plus the noun spq 783x) IH  $\acute{s}pq$  (1 Kgs 20:10)
- 25. f dn 'luxuriate' (5x) Ug. f dn, IH f dn (Neh 9:25)
- 26.  $^{\circ}rb$  'be sweet, pleasing' (16x) IH (Prov 20:17, Song 2:14)
- 27. 'rp 'break up' (about 15x) IH 'rp (Hos 10:2)
- 28. slb 'hang' (20x, plus the noun slwb 'gallows' 3x) Ph. slb (Slouszch 199:1)
- 29. sll 'be clear, be pure' (12x) Ph. mwsl 'clean' (Amadasi 3:1 [Spain])
- 30. snn 'be cold' (71x, plus the noun snh 13x) IH snn (Prov 25:13)

- 31. *srk* 'need' (69x, plus the form *sryk* 1160x) Ph.(?): see 2 Chr 2:15 within Hiram's letter to Solomon *kkl srkk* 'whatever you need'
- 32. qps 'jump' (45x) IH qps (Song 2:8)
- 33. *qsb* 'cut, decide' (17x) IH (2 Kgs 6:6, Song 4:2)
- 34. qṣh 'cut, cut off, reduce' (44x) Ph. qṣh (3x, e.g., KAI 14:9-10 [Eshmunazor], IH qṣh (2 Kgs 10:32, Prov 26:6)
- 35. qrsm 'chew' (11x) IH krsm (Ps 80:14)
- 36. qrš 'freeze, congeal' (15x) Ph. qrš (Arslan Tash)
- 37. rss 'shatter' (7x) IH rss (Amos 6:11 rsysym)
- 38.  $r^r m$  'vex, disturb' (33x, see also the noun  $tr^r wmt$  'quarrel' [18x]) IH  $r^r m$  (1 Sam 1:6 [Ephraim], Ezek 27:35 [Tyre])
- 39.  $r\check{s}h$  'permit' (6x, also the form  $r\check{s}^2y$  323x and the noun  $r\check{s}wt$  1169x) Ph.  $r\check{s}^2t$  'rule' (noun) (*KAI* 26A.III:6 [Karatepe])
- 40. rtt 'tremble' (4x) IH rtt (Hos 13:1)
- 41.  $\dot{s}kr$  'remember' (2x, both in T. Ketubbot 12:3  $m\dot{s}kyryn$  'they remind') Ph. skr (6x in the corpus vs. zkr 1x)<sup>18</sup>
- 42.  $\check{s}hn$  'be hot' (1x: Sifre Devarim 6 wyšthn 'he was hot') Ug.  $\check{s}hn$
- 43. *šṣp* 'tear' (1x: Sifra Meṣora' 16:1) IH (?) (1 Sam 15:33 *šṣp*)
- 44. štt 'flow' (8x, e.g., M. 'Oholot 3:5 [2x]) IH štt (Ps 49:15, 73:9)

#### III. Particles

1. 'ylw'if, even though' (common) – Ph. 'l, IH 'lw (Qoh 6:6)

#### Notes

- On the two cities, and the relationship between them, see Miller 1987.
- <sup>2</sup> For the latter view, see Friedman 1999.
- <sup>3</sup> On the Deir 'Alla dialect, see Rendsburg 1993; for the *mrzh* text and a discussion of the dialect represented therein, see Bordreuil and Pardee 1990.
- <sup>4</sup> By and large, these lexical links have gone unnoticed, though a major exception is the life work of Jonas Greenfield. In his many essays one can find scattered references relevant to our present study. For a general statement, see Greenfield 1969. For specific examples of lexemes treated herein, namely *lmwd* (noun no. 19) and *m<sup>r</sup>pwrt* (noun no. 24), see respectively Greenfield 1964 and Greenfield 1967, 90-91.
- <sup>5</sup> I accept the classification system of Ginsberg 1970; note especially his view that Ugaritic and Phoenician together comprise a subgroup within Canaanite called "Phoenic."
- <sup>6</sup> See, e.g., Richardson 2000, 1815 (for Biblical Aramaic) and Sokoloff 1990, 39-40 (for Jewish Palestinian Aramaic).
- <sup>7</sup> A variant form of the word,  ${}^{?}om$ , appears in the masculine plural form  ${}^{?}umm\hat{u}m$  in Ps 117:1. I have no explanation for the presence of this word here, though I would emphasize that its form is different from that of  ${}^{?}umm\bar{u}^h$ .
  - <sup>8</sup> See, e.g., Sokoloff 1990, 464; and Tal 2000, 731.
  - 9 See, e.g., Sokoloff 1990, 467; and Tal 2000, 737.
  - The presence of snn in Ben Sira 43:20 most likely reflects the well-known influence of the

book of Proverbs over the later wisdom collection. See Chen 2000 for numerous examples of Ben Sira's evoking the language of Proverbs.

- 11 In line with the classic article by Driver 1953.
- 12 See in detail Chen 2000, building on earlier work by Ginsberg 1982, 36.
- <sup>13</sup> The most up-to-date version is the CD-ROM entitled *Ma'agarim: The Hebrew Language Historical Dictionary Project* (1998).
  - <sup>14</sup> See Rendsburg 2002, 51.
- 15 Please note the following abbreviations: Ph. = Phoenician; Ug. = Ugaritic; M. = Mishna; T. = Tosefta; Y. = Yerushalmi (Talmud of the Land of Israel); B. = Bavli (Babylonian Talmud); KAI = Donner and Röllig 1962-64; KTU = Dietrich, Loretz, and Sanmartín 1995; CIS = Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum (Paris); and MUSJ = Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph (Beirut).
- The Ugaritic and Phoenician material may be checked in the standard dictionaries: Gordon 1967, del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 1996-2000 (for Ugaritic); and Tomback 1978, Krahmalkov 2000 (for Phoenician). Phoenician material is also incorporated into Hoftijzer and Jongeling 1995. A major desideratum in our field is an up-to-date dictionary of Mishnaic Hebrew. Such a project was begun by E. Y. Kutscher, but it has lain dormant for several decades now, though his files remain in the Bar-Ilan University archives. Michael Sokoloff of Bar-Ilan University recently informed me that he now plans to revive Kutscher's project with the goal of producing the dictionary of MH much needed by scholars of ancient Hebrew. Also please note: For the sake of simplicity, I have elected to present the material with transliteration of consonants only.
  - <sup>17</sup> For discussion of this word, see Bordreuil and Pardee 1990, 58.
- <sup>18</sup> All of these forms derive from the same root, whose original form is zkr. The predominant Phoenician form skr and the twice-attested MH form skr reflect the devoicing of the voiced /z/ to the voiceless /s/ due to the following voiceless velar consonant /k/. The Phoenician spelling with samekh is the more expected one, while the MH spelling with sin is a bit surprising; but almost undoubtedly both represent the same consonant, simple voiceless /s/.

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