

פתח דבר

כרך זה של מחקרים בלשון מוקדש לפרופ' דוד טלשיר ז"ל, מורה וחבר שהלך לעולמו בטרם עת. דודיק, כפי שכונה בפי הכול, היה אחד מחוקרי העברית והארמית הבולטים בארץ בעשורים האחרונים. את שלושת תאריו האקדמיים עשה בחוג ללשון העברית שבאוניברסיטה העברית בירושלים וגם לימד בו עד שהצטרף לסגל ההוראה באוניברסיטת בן-גוריון בנגב. במשך השנים כתב דודיק מאמרים פורצי דרך שנתפרסמו בבימות חשובות, ביניהן גם "מחקרים בלשון". חברי החוג באוניברסיטת בן-גוריון פנו לכתב העת והציעו להקדיש לכבודו ספר יובל. הרעיון נתקבל בברכה ובשמחה. ליגוננו הגדול, קודם שנתגשם חלה דודיק במחלה קשה שממנה לא קם, וספר היובל היה לספר זיכרון.

חמישה עשר חוקרים, ובהם מוריו, עמיתיו ותלמידיו של דודיק, חברו יחד כדי לתרום ממחקריהם לכרך הזה. המאמרים נוגעים בתחומי עיסוקיו העיקריים של דודיק: לשון המקרא, וכיחוד לשון המקרא המאוחרת, לשון חז"ל, הארמית לניביה, לשונות השומרונים, מילונות ומילונאות, וריאליה.

בכרך המיוחד הזה הצטרף אל העורכים פרופ' כריסטיאן שטארל מן המחלקה ללשון העברית שבאוניברסיטת בן-גוריון בנגב. אין ספק שבלא עבודתו הקשה ומאמציו המרובים לא היה הכרך רואה אור. שני העורכים האחרים מודים לו מקרב לב. חובה נעימה להודות גם לאנשים ולמוסדות שתמכו בהוצאת הספר לאור: לפרופ' צבי הכהן, רקטור אוניברסיטת בן-גוריון בנגב; לפרופ' חיים היימס, דקן הפקולטה למדעי הרוח והחברה באוניברסיטת בן-גוריון; ולפרופ' נח חכם, ראש המכון למדעי היהדות ע"ש ג'ק, ג'וזף ומורטון מנדל שבאוניברסיטה העברית בירושלים. ד"ר סמדר כהן וד"ר עדי אמסטרדם ערכו את הלשון והגב' אירית נחום התקינה את הסדר בידיים אמונות. אנחנו מודים גם להוצאת מאגנס על ההפקה מהחל ועד כלה. ולבסוף, כתב העת מחקרים בלשון נפרד בצער רב מפרופ' יוחנן ברויאר, שהיה חבר המערכת בכרכים טז-יט. יוחנן פרש מן ההוראה ויצא לגמלאות בסוף שנת תשפ"ב. כמו בכל דבר שיוחנן עושה, גם בעריכת מחקרים בלשון בלטו חוכמתו, חריצותו ויושרו. הוא יחסר לי ולכל קוראי מחקרים בלשון. בשם כולנו אני מודה לו על שנים של עבודה משותפת ומהנה ומאחל לו עוד שנים רבות של מחקר ועשייה מבורכים.

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שמואל פסברג

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Ohad Abudraham

A New Reading of a Mandaic Incantation Bowl in the Miami University Art Museum

This article presents a new edition of a Mandaic incantation bowl in the Miami University Art Museum, which was originally published by A. Yamauchi in 2000. Although the inscription is generally well preserved, Yamauchi's edition contains numerous misreadings in both the transcriptions and the translations. The present author proposes a new transcription, translation and short commentary based on the published photographs and a new unpublished parallel appearing in the Schøyen collection (MS 2054/47). Almost every new epigraphic source that is published adds something, great or small, to our knowledge of Mandaic literature and language, and the Miami Bowl is no exception.

Erhard Blum

A “Neglected” Aramaic Dialect: The Literary Idiom of the Kingdom of Aram-Damascus

The Aramaic language of the kingdom of Aram-Damascus is attested only in a handful of what are usually short inscriptions. This situation changed dramatically with the discovery of the Tel Dan inscription in the early 1990s. The present article presents a re-edition of this important text, complete with a discussion of some of its linguistic features and a historical contextualization. In addition, linguistic and historical evidence is provided in support of the hypothesis that the Tell Deir 'Alla plaster texts were written in the same dialect. The political geography of the region and the attested language features make it likely that both the Tel Dan inscription and the Tell Deir 'Alla plaster texts represent the official Aramaic language of the kingdom of Aram-Damascus at the time of Hazael.

Haim Dihi

Some Linguistic Innovations in the Book of Ben Sira: The Contribution of MS F from the Cairo Geniza

In this article I present a number of linguistic innovations found in the text of the book of Ben Sira, based solely on MS F from the Cairo Geniza, which was discovered in 1982 by the Hungarian scholar Alexander Scheiber. Some of these innovations are unique to Ben Sira, while others are common to Ben Sira and to the Hebrew of the Second Temple period.

The two verses examined in this article contain no fewer than four innovations with respect to classical or Standard Biblical Hebrew (SBH of the First Temple period)—one involving the root קמ"ע, two relating to morphology (the nouns חרווה and נגשה) and one unique form (טס). Some of these are also innovations with respect to Late Biblical Hebrew (LBH) of the Second Temple period. Of the four, the post-Exilic Biblical books contain only the noun חרווה. None of the four are attested in the Hebrew Dead Sea Scrolls. Three of them occur in Rabbinic Hebrew and are also known in Aramaic: the nouns חרווה and טס and the root קמ"ע. The noun /נגשה/ נגְּשָׁה is unique to Ben Sira.

Shai Heijmans

Pretonic Reduction of Greek Loanwords in the Mishna and its Significance

In this article the author compares the syllabic structure of the Greek loanwords in Mishnaic Hebrew with their corresponding words in Greek. The comparison is made, on the one hand, according to the vocalization in reliable manuscripts of the Mishna, and on the other hand, according to the pronunciation of Greek in the Hellenistic and Roman periods. The comparison indicates that, in many cases, one of the vowels was reduced (or elided). In fact, in most cases this reduction takes place in the pretonic syllable, e.g., ἴσάτις > *estes* (טַטְטִי). The author suggests that the origin of this reduction is in the Aramaic language, and that the Greek loanwords in

the Mishna made their way into Hebrew from Aramaic—and not directly from Greek.

Abraham Tal and Moshe Florentin

Concealed Variants in the Samaritan Pentateuch

This article characterizes several differences between the Samaritan and the Masoretic versions that are reflected only in the oral tradition of the Samaritan Pentateuch. In a number of cases, it is difficult to understand certain Samaritan words even when their grammatical parsing is clear. Though the Samaritan translations into Aramaic and Arabic serve as interpreters of the Hebrew source and at the same time may bear witness to its original form, they also frequently contradict each other. We have chosen to introduce the problems by discussing the following words and roots: **בחרט** / **ברהט**, **הרי** / **הורי**, **כלנה**, **מגן**, **מתם** (אנשים), **מצער**, **עבר** / **חבר**, **שבע** / **שבח**, **שדי**, **שכך**, **שמ"ם**, **תשטה**, **תחת** / **חתת**.

Alexey (Eliyahu) Yuditsky

On Qorpayot and Sidonian Qosim

The present paper elucidates the origin and meaning of the words **קורפיות** and **קוסים הצדניים**, which occur in *m. Kelim* 4:3. It has been argued that **קורפיות** is named after its place of origin, but the exact place has not been specified. The noun **קוסים** has usually been interpreted as an original Hebrew word, a by-form of **קוסים** or **קסוא**. I prefer to explain both nouns as *nisbe* (gentilic) forms, adjectives derived from toponyms of the islands of Kos and Cyprus or Karpathos. They are vessels, perhaps, amphorae, which were imported to the Land of Israel from or by way of these islands. I base this derivation on an examination of the reliable manuscripts of the Mishna and the Tosefta. It is also well supported by the archaeological material from the Levant and the supposed trade routes in the Mediterranean during the Hellenistic period.

The Mesopotamian Background to Jer 31:15-17: Which *Rachel* Originally Cried Out at the Loss of Her Offspring?

In this study, in continuation of an almost completely forgotten proposal of T. H. Gaster from 1969, it is suggested that the *Rachel* who originally cried out over the loss of her offspring (as depicted in Jer 31:15-17) was *not* the matriarch Rachel (Jacob's wife), but rather the reference is (originally) to the BH common noun רחל "ewe," which occurs four times (Gen 31:38; 32:15; Isa 53:7; Cant 6:6) and is the semantic and etymological (via metathesis) equivalent to Akk. *lahru*. The latter Akk. term occurs in an almost identical simile / metaphor in an Old Babylonian text (UET 6/2, 403) shown by N. Wasserman and U. Gabbay in 2005 to have been translated from part of a Sumerian text (the OB Ur manuscript of the Balaḡ Úru àm-ma-ir-ra-bi), which "consists of a lament of the goddess Inanna over her destroyed city" (namely in this manuscript the city of Ur). Lines 7'-11' of the Akk. text may best be translated as follows:

My ewe (*lahrī*), in the enemy's land, calls out (in distress),
My lamb moans (mournfully like a dove).
My ewe and her lamb were taken away (from here).
My ewe, when crossing the river,
Abandoned her lamb (against her will) on the (opposite) shore.

As opposed to Gaster, who suggested interpreting רחל in the extant text of Jer 31:15 as referring only to the "regular Hebrew word for *ewe-lamb*," the entire extant context of Jer 31:15-17 is understood here in agreement with S. N. Kramer as ultimately referring to the matriarch Rachel (as proven especially by verses 16-17 of the wider context), but based originally on the Sumerian lament-motif of the *mater dolorosa* (i.e., the weeping mother) "as a prototype of Rachel weeping for her children 'because they are not'." Kramer was apparently unaware, however, that the original meaning of רחל in BH was 'ewe' (= u₈ in Sumerian), whose cries of distress when separated from her lamb, was noted by Kramer himself as one of the main metaphors /

similes reflecting this motif in Sumerian laments (and in the above Akk. translation where u_8 is translated by Akk. *lahru*). Thus, it can be assumed that the literary connection between this ancient Sumerian lament-motif and Jer 31:15-17 was based especially on an ancient midrash regarding the original meaning of the PN רחל as derived from the common noun רחל meaning “ewe.” The רחל who *originally* cried out in distress at the loss of her offspring as depicted in Jer 31:15 was *not* the matriarch Rachel (who is never attested as crying for her children in the patriarchal narratives or anywhere else in the Hebrew Bible), but rather the proverbial mother-ewe weeping at the loss of her lambs!

Uri Mor

Two Lexical Phenomena in the Language of the Legal Documents and Letters from Judea

This article investigates two phenomena in Judean Hebrew and Aramaic, both of which concern not only the Judean corpora but also more profound questions of lexicography, dialectology, realia, and language contact.

a. The semantic field of taking and receiving (and buying) — לקח was partially replaced by other verbs (נשא, גטל, and קיבל in Hebrew, נשא and נסב in Aramaic), and a semantic dissimilation evolved between קנה ‘acquire’ and לקח/זבן ‘buy’ (Hebrew/Aramaic). Judean Hebrew exhibits significant resemblance to Rabbinic Hebrew on the one hand and the influence of Aramaic legal formulae on the other.

b. The verb עימר/עמר (Hebrew/Aramaic) in the letters – a survey of the various interpretations suggested for this verb leads to the conclusion that the most plausible is ‘gather’ or ‘gather and prepare’.

Matthew Morgenstern

Forgotten Forms in Babylonian Aramaic (Mandaic and Jewish)

The recent study of Mandaic and Jewish Babylonian Aramaic epigraphic sources and manuscripts has uncovered several grammatical forms that were previously unattested or regarded as questionable. Four are presented here: (a) the 2 f.s. imperfect morpheme *-ay*, which originates in the III-*yod* class but in Mandaic has spread by analogy to other verbal root classes; (b) the use of the Mandaic grapheme **-h** for the 3 f.s. affixed pronoun; (c) the apocopation of word-final *n* in pre-classical Mandaic pronominal affixes, a feature shared with Neo-Mandaic and Jewish Babylonian Aramaic; (d) 2 f.pl. participles based upon f.pl. *qātlān-*, previously attested only in Classical Syriac but now found in Mandaic and Jewish Babylonian Aramaic texts. Such examples exemplify the complex interrelations of the Babylonian Aramaic dialects and Neo-Mandaic and highlight the importance of correlating the evidence of all available sources.

Noam Mizrahi

The Transmission of the Hebrew Bible and Biblical Hebrew in the Second Temple Period: The Case of Exod 12:9 in 4QpaleoGen-Exod¹ (4Q11)

The paper offers an integrative analysis of two variant readings found in the text of Exod 12:9 as witnessed by 4QpaleoGen-Exod¹ (4Q11) vis-à-vis the MT and the versions. These variants arguably adapt the text of the scriptural passage to the linguistic standards of the Second Temple period—be they grammatical (נו, for MT נא) or syntactic (ובשל ומבשל, for MT ובשל מבשל). The adaption was motivated primarily by considerations of legal (*halakhic*) exegesis, which aimed at clarifying the number and nature of the precise ways in which the preparation of the Passover sacrifice should either be followed or avoided.

“My Foes Loved Me”: A New Incantation Bowl for Popularity and Success

This study comprises an edition of a new Jewish Babylonian Aramaic incantation bowl for popularity and success (Davidovitz 41). The incantation reads as follows:

(¹) ... (²) ... my foes loved me (³) and [my enemies honored me], behold (those) who contended with me spoke with me, wearers of crown(s) bowed to me and riders of horses dismounted (⁴) before me. The Lord of Heaven, the great ... responded and said: Who is the one whose foes loved him and whose enemies honored him, behold (those) who contended with him spoke (⁵) with him, wearers of crown(s) bowed to him and riders of horses dismounted before him? I am Aḥay son of Maḥozanita, [who] has come to take away the wax (⁶) of your ears and the murmuring between your lips. Who will give you the wax of our ears and the murmuring between the lips? Go and take for yourself the beauty of seven women (⁷) and the splendor of eight maidens. And if they will not give you the beauty of seven women and the splendor of eight maidens, you, Aḥay son of Maḥozanita, go and take for yourself the beauty (⁸) of the dawn and the splendor of the evening, beauty for your face and splendor for your forehead. Behold, I am indeed anointed (with beauty and splendor) in the name of [...] exists forever (⁹) and ever. Amen, Ame[n, Selah. ... *May*] *we enjoy, O Lord, Your faithful care, as [we] have put our hope [in You] ...* (¹⁰)....

The text contains two additions to the JBA lexicon, פדרין ‘(those) who contended’ and טופשא ‘dirt, filth’ (in the expression טופשא דאודני ‘earwax’), and the phonetic variants רדנא ‘murmuring’ (for ריטנא) and איצפתא/איספתא ‘lips’ (for סיפתתא).

Steven E. Fassberg

The Biblical Expression תמול שלשום

The expression תמול שלשום and related forms show up twenty-four times in the Hebrew Bible. The meaning is clear: “formerly”, lit., “yesterday, the day before yesterday.” The etymology of both words, however, is not. The article surveys and discusses the morphology and origin of the words in the light of cognates, particularly *tumāl šalšāmi*, which is attested in El Amarna 362, and arrives at the conclusion that שלשום is not derived from a blend of the cardinal numeral שלש and the noun יום.

Elisha Qimron

The Medial Quiescent א"ל and the Independence of Some א"ל Forms

It is a commonplace that the following א"ל forms are patterned after their א"י equivalents: לְמִלְאֵת (after לְבָנוֹת), קְרָאֵת and קְרָאֵתָה (after בָּנָת and בְּנֵתָה), נִמְצְאֵתִי (after נִבְנֵיתִי). These forms, however, are pronounced in the Babylonian tradition *limloʿot*, *qaraʿat*, *nimšeʿeti* in contradistinction to the Tiberian equivalents. The Babylonian (and other Hebrew traditions including the consonantal text of the Bible) records the early ultra-long vowel, which evolved in environments where the original *aleph* became quiescent.

Christian Stadel

Animal Names in a Judeo-Syriac Version of Aesop’s Fables

There are a handful of Syriac texts that have been transcribed into Hebrew characters and transmitted in Jewish circles. The longest of these is a Judeo-Syriac version of a collection of sixty-seven of Aesop’s fables. Based on a reexamination of the two manuscripts of the text, I offer a discussion of some of the animal names attested in the fables, comparing them to the parallel Syriac, Garshuni, and Greek versions.