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LANGUAGE UNDERSTANDING IN SIFRE DEUTERONOMY:
A STUDY OF LANGUAGE CONSCIOUSNESS IN
RABBINIC EXEGESIS.

New York University, Ph.D., 1972
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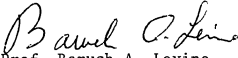
LANGUAGE UNDERSTANDING IN SIFRE DEUTERONOMY

A STUDY OF LANGUAGE CONSCIOUSNESS IN
RABBINIC EXEGESIS

A DISSERTATION IN THE DEPARTMENT OF HEBREW
SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL
OF ARTS AND SCIENCE IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF
PHILOSOPHY AT NEW YORK UNIVERSITY.

ISAAC B. GOTTLIEB

SEPTEMBER, 1972


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INTRODUCTION

Aims

The aims of this thesis are (1) to analyze the Rabbinic language exegesis in Sifre Deuteronomy, (2) to describe the component of Mishnaic Hebrew (MH) in this exegesis, (3) to evaluate the role of language exegesis in Midrashic activity. We devote a paragraph to each of these aims to describe and define each one.

The method of investigation in this thesis is descriptive; we intend to describe the language exegesis as it is found in the detailed explications of the particular verse. Conclusions and evaluations are all deduced from this process.

Language Exegesis

1. Language exegesis includes all the comments on Biblical verses that are based on some type of linguistic observation. This includes the areas of lexicography, phonetics, morphology, and syntax. We can further delineate the term by saying what it does not include. It does not include exegesis based on hermeneutic principles, on logical deductions, or on free associations.

The MH Component

2. The language of the Bible is termed Biblical Hebrew (BH). The Hebrew of the Tannaim is called Mishnaic Hebrew (MH). In contrast

to BH, MH has received linguistic description only in the last one hundred years, with the bulk of scientific work being done in the last generation. The original notion that MH was solely a literary idiom in which the Mishna and Midrashim were composed has given way to the view that MH was a living dialect current in Israel during the Second Temple period until ca. 200 C.E.¹

This thesis assumes that if MH was a spoken dialect, its influence would be felt in the exegesis of a text written in the same language but in an earlier dialect. Unconsciously, it would serve as the yardstick against which all anomalies in grammatical form or changes in semantics in BH would be measured.

While work has been done in portraying Rabbinic exegetical activity,² little systematic description has been made with a view to uncovering the MH factor in this exegesis. In part, this has been due to the lack of critical texts and the insufficient classification of this exegesis from a typological point of view. We have nevertheless undertaken this study because the drashot, being a philological study of the Bible, seems to be a most fertile source of language information for MH itself.

Language Exegesis and "Midrash Studies"

3. In effect, the place of language exegesis is the natural

¹ In addition to the sources on the Palestinian language situation mentioned in ch. 5, n. 1, see J. Cantineau, "Quelle langue parlait le peuple en Palestine au I^{er} siècle de notre ère?," Semitica, V (1955).

² E.G., the works of Bacher, Berliner, Dobschutz, and the material in Lieberman's Hellenism in Jewish Palestine. See Bibliography.

product of our investigations. However, during the course of work on this dissertation numerous articles have appeared³ in the general area of "Midrash Studies." As if opening a new field of research, these papers have dealt with basic definitions of terms. Some have tried to designate Midrash as a unique literary genre while others have argued that Midrash is an all-inclusive name for different types of literatures.

There is a marked accent among some writers to see the Jewish Midrashic activity as a prologomenon to "midrash" activity in the New Testament. It therefore seems that Jewish exegesis is not getting the in-depth treatment it deserves. Though the ideas for this dissertation were formulated before we became aware of this new scholarly activity, they may make a modest contribution to this newly-defined field. Our language investigation has enabled us to classify different types of drashot which will partially clarify the "genre" problem.

While there have been previous works that dealt with Rabbinic exegetic terminology or with Rabbinic exegesis as a whole, these works were not isolated to any particular corpus. They generally treat the Mishna, Midrashim, and Talmud together. Secondly, the treatments were not oriented to language as such but to general philology. Thirdly, the main point of interest was not in the reflections

³For a comprehensive bibliography, see Merrill P. Miller, "Targum, Midrash, . . .," Journal for the Study of Judaism, II (1971), 43, 48.

of this exegesis on MH, but on the value of Rabbinic exposition for actual study of the Bible. Finally, these studies generally treat the specific grammatical statements of the Rabbis, while we have tried to extract language information from the process of midrash itself, as exemplified in the drashot.

The exceptions to the above are: The Interpretation of the Bible In the Mishna, by Samuel Rosenblatt. This small (35 pages + 58 pages of notes) but comprehensive treatise systematically covers Rabbinic language consciousness as exhibited in the drashot in the Mishna. The style of work is deductive: General statements are illustrated by several examples. The exhaustive appendices record the exegesis of Biblical verses as given in the Mishna.

Rosenblatt himself noted that "it is intended to be the first of a series of monographs each dealing with one of the major compilations of Tannaitic...literature." This work is an attempt to fill that gap for the Tannaitic Midrash on Deuteronomy.

Another language study that devotes itself to a single text is Moshe Arendt's paper on Bereshit Rabba. This is an excellent analytic work, but it deals only with a small part of that Midrash. Mr. Arendt's conclusions show that while there is much language information in the drashot, too much material is based on wordplays and phonetic interchanges that follow no real language-developments. He likewise communicated this impression to me personally.

We were not deterred by his conclusions because the drashot and the language environment of BR differs from Sifre Dt, as we point out numerous times within the body of this dissertation.

The limitations imposed on this thesis are twofold: (1) Only the drashot are investigated. What we have termed the literary unit, or the narrative sections in which the drasha was embedded, was referred to only to elucidate the drasha and its language nucleus. This dissertation is not a study of MH or its texts, but of Rabbinic Biblical exegesis and the MH component in that particular type of literary activity, as described above.

(2) Only the drashot in Sifre Dt were evaluated. The conclusions of scholars in the fields of Talmud and Midrash require us to divide the Midrashic works of both schools, R. Akiba's and R. Ishmael's. The ample material from both enables us to compare the language exegesis in both. Of course, conclusions about language exegesis as a whole await evaluations of each and every midrash, but Sifre Dt is a valid representative sample.

INTRODUCTION

Lexicographic¹ Drashot

In surveying the MH grasp of Biblical Hebrew, one of the aims of this paper is to increase our knowledge of MH itself by comparing and contrasting the language of both dialects. In many respects, this group of drashot provides the best starting point. These drashot do not contain language material hidden beneath Aggadic remarks; their stated purpose is to define difficult BH words and terms. Since they contain the clearest comments on BH, they should also provide the strongest reflections of language conditions in MH, the idiom of the expositors. We assume that in a serious philology of a given text the interpreters will hold up their own language situation as a standard for comparison where it is applicable.

These drashot contain observations in one major area of language, the lexicon. For our purposes, they serve mainly as the basis for

¹ We use the word as defined in A Dictionary of Linguistics, edited by Mario Pei and Frank Gaynor (London: 1958): "The definition and description of the various meanings of the words of a language or of a special terminology." The other conceivable term, "lexicological," seems out of place in light of their definition, "The semantic or morphological study of the linguistic stock of a language." S. Ullmann, An Introduction to the Science of Meaning (Oxford: 1962), 29-30, defines lexicology as dealing "with words and word-forming morphemes, ... with significant units. Lexicology must not be confused with lexicography, ... which is a special technique rather than a branch of linguistics." The nature of the Rabbinic activity in the drashot is lexicographic.

semantic studies; specifically, as a key to semantic development from BH to MH.

Our method of investigation follows these guidelines, though the order and stress given to each point varies in the individual case.

1. To cite the drasha according to Finkelstein's edition. The Pisqa over F's page number appears to the left of the citation. Biblical quotations within the drasha are marked with an "x" and their source is indicated in the right margin.

2. To compare the definition of the Sifre with the meaning of the word as understood in the Biblical context, from comparative sources, and as defined by commentaries and the lexicons. References from the latter two sources will, on the whole, be cited in the notes.

3. To survey the meaning of the word in the MH vocabulary, utilizing the methods enumerated in rule number two.

4. To determine, on the evidence of the above rules, if the drasha was defining in a scientific, objective way or in a homiletical, subjective fashion.

5. To discuss philological matters of the text at large, provided they have bearing on the language information content of the drasha.

Our investigations of the exegesis in Sifre Dt suggest the following definitions of its contents. The language information, which is the portion that most interests us, we term the language nucleus. The drasha which frames that nucleus or leads up to it is called the literary unit. Where the larger drasha is an Aggadic homily, the unit may be several paragraphs long and may include

more than one nucleus. The Halakic exegesis is generally much shorter; often, the literary unit is synonymous with the nucleus, i.e. the entire drasha is comprised of the language nucleus alone.

Particularly in the case of lexicological drashot, the same nucleus may be found in several different literary units. The reason for this may be: (1) a need to define the same word, which reappears in several verses, (2) a philological reason, i.e. due to the multiplicity of sources which were combined into a final version of the Sifre.

Where reason (2) applies, an assessment of the entire literary unit clarifies the position of the repeated language nucleus. To this end we have included rule number five above. Treating the nucleus as part of a unit also gives us a picture of the Sifre as an individual literary work rather than an anonymous source of Rabbinic language exegesis.

A sizeable number of drashot in this category have a unified style of expression. They are treated together in chapter one. These drashot fit into a larger grouping of drashot that are corroborated by proof-texts from the Biblical corpus. The drashot with proof-texts comprise chapter two. Chapter three is entitled "Drashot Based on MH Semantics". Chapter four summarizes the entire section of "Lexicographic Drashot".

PART I: LEXICOGRAPHIC DRASHOT

CHAPTER I

EN-ELLA' DRASHOT

The fifteen drashot in this chapter bear the formula en . . . ella'. Almost all are followed immediately by a supporting quotation. An analysis of the group as a whole follows the individual discussions.

21/7'

אִין חָבַר אֵלָא עֵצָה שֵׁנ' חָבַר לְכֶם עֵצָה II SAM 16:20
מָה נַעֲשֶׂה, חָבַר נַחֲחֻמָּה לִי. Ex 1:10

The role of the lengthened imperative haba and its plural habu is twofold in BH. In some places this verb maintains the meaning of Aramaic YHB, 'give', and appears as a predicate, taking a direct object¹. In other places it is an interjection, serving as a general call to action and preceding a modal² verb. In such cases in its form is frozen as haba or habu, irrespective of the number of the

¹Ruth 3:15: habi hammitpahat; GN 47:16: habu micnekem.
But note that it only appears in BH as an imperative.

²'come now' (orig. 'grant, permit'), before voluntative."
BDB.

subject³ Its usage is thus identical to Latin age, agite. In the latter case its syntax follows its semantic development which parallels English "let's" in expressions such as "let's go". The original "let us" was a genuine request for the granting⁴ of permission. The Drasha is cognizant of the semantic differences: it defines haba, habu, in its role before a verb, but does not include its function as the verb 'give.' However, the proofs are oblivious to syntactic roles. In the first proof, though habu is call to counsel or action, syntactically it governs the direct object Ceṣa, indirect object lakem, making it the predicate. The second verse contains haba as a frozen, stereotyped interjection. The first verse was probably chosen because it contains the word Ceṣa.

Within the area of semantics itself, the drasha, defining haba as Ceṣa, does not allow the word as wide a range as its use as an interjection indicates, unless Ceṣa was meant in the general sense of 'initiative.'⁵

The failure of the drasha to distinguish between lexicological

³GK, 190, par. 690; 307, par. 105b. Ibn Ezra grasped the entire situation in his commentary (GN 4:11): ומלח הכה כמו חנה ושרשו יחב והעד שלח על ה' יהבך, ובעבור שיזכרו בה הרכה המצא כן לשון רבים הכה נהחכמה לו גם לנקבה הכה נא אבא אליך

⁴See n. 2 above.

⁵Rashi ad loc expresses the idea of the Midrash in a wider sense: כל הכה לשון הזמנה היא, שמכינים עצמן ומתחברים למלאכה או לעצה או למשא.

and syntactic categories leads to confusion of the two. It is obvious that the drasha was interested in defining haba in a limited lexical context, not in defining its meaning according to its syntactic roles. It therefore did not pay attention to the syntax of haba in the prooftexts, so long as it meant "a call for an idea."

כז/41

I Sam 14:24 ואין הואלה אלא שכועה שנ' ^xויוראל שאול אה העם

Ju 19:6 ר' יהודה אומר אין הואלה אלא התחלה שנ' ד/12

I Ch 17:27 ^xהואל נא ולין ... ואומר ^xועהה הואלה לברך,

I Sam 14:24 וחכמים אומרים אין הואלה אלא שכועה שנ' ^xויאל שאול.

The word ho'il appears in MH with the meaning 'since'. However, it is homonymic and morphologically unrelated⁶. The drasha here attempts to define a BH word which does not appear in the MH lexicon.

The meanings cited by the lexicons are "show willingness, be pleased, undertake". The last, "undertake" approximates R. Judah's hathala 'beginning.' This word hathala is strictly MH in both form and root. The root THL is secondarily derived from HLL, the /t/ taken from t^ehilla, cf. the MH root TRM < teruma.

Bearing in mind the meaning of the original verb HLL

⁶Levy thinks it is a contraction of ואל + אילן, while Jastrow derives it from Hif. of Y^CL, in the sense of "outcome."

'undertake', we have R. Judah's MH definition of ho'il.

While the lexicons' definition handily covers all instances of the word, the semantic relation between the first two meanings and the final one, "undertake", is not clear. In truth, they are not related. Ben-Hayyim has shown ["The contribution of the Samaritan Tradition to the Investigation of the Hebrew Language, "(Heb.) Proceedings of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities (Heb.) III (1970), 67-68, and, in greater detail, in "Observations on the Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon from the Samaritan Tradition," Hebraische Wortforschung, ("Supplements to Vetus Testamentum, "XVI; Leiden: 1967), 13-15.] that in Samaritan Hebrew, the word ho'il is read as if Pi^Cel from a root 'WL and its meaning is 'begin'. R. Judah's statement is thus another source that preserves the meaning of a root subsequently lost in Hebrew.

The definitions 'show willingness, be pleased, undertake' fit all occurrences of the word except one. In the very example cited as proof for the majority view (I Sam 14:24) the word wayvo'el takes a direct object haCam; the meaning 'undertake' does not suit the syntax or the context. TO and Jerome both relate the word to ALY 'swear'.⁷

In the ICC, on Samuel, page 118, Smith writes: "לִּקְרָא is pointed as if from לָקַח, he behaved foolishly. But this does not agree with the context, so that we should read לִּקְרָא

⁷TO: we'ome. Jerome: adiuravit.

from אלה : he caused the people to swear, like השניע below (verse 27)." Segal's comments^{7a} are identical. We could find only one (medieval) commentary who understands vayvo'el differently⁸.

Thus, the view of the Rabbis that vayvo'el "he swore" is well-founded, at least for one proof-text that they offer. For the proof-text, (Ex 2:21),

the meaning 'swear' is clearly the outcome of homiletic exegesis⁹, for the Sifre (41/ כז) attempts to derive from the verse in Exodus an oath which Moses swore to Jethro that he would not leave him.

The fact that the view of Hakamim is well-founded for only a single verse makes it difficult to understand their argument with R. Judah. Did they really think that in the verse in question, "ho'il moshe be'er," ho'il means 'swear'?

Here, as in other places, a philological investigation of the literary units is very helpful. In 41/ כז, the en-ella' formula served homiletic ends, as we explained above. The language nucleus of that drasha, אין הואלה אלא שכועה , was transferred to Sifre 12/ג , and the words wehakamin

^{7a}Sifre Shmu'el (Jerusalem: 1956), 108.

⁸ Rabbi Isaiah de Trani, thirteenth century Italian commentator, writes: ויואל שאול את העם. כמו הואל וקח את הכריים. ואין שרשו כמו ווא אלית [נשבעת].

⁹ Interestingly, the Vulgate ad loc reads: iuravat.

om^erim were added to the anonymous -- hence majority -- opinion. The resultant literary unit, a combination of two language nuclei, assumed the form of a maḥloket (argument). In reality, R. Judah's view that ho'ala means hathala is a true lexicographic entry, whereas the second opinion has but limited Aggadic application.

Sifre 12/7 is thus a combination of two types of en-ell¹ drashot; the first, genuinely lexicographical, the second, an adaptation of the form for Aggadic purposes.

48/ כט

אין צוואה אלא זירוון שנאמר^x ויקרא משה ליהושע Dt 31:7

בן נון ויאמר אליו לעיני כל ישראל חזק ואמץ.

The verb SWY, very common in BH, appears only once¹⁰ in the Mishna. The root SWY appears in the nominal form mišwa which means, 'positive command'. In the Sifra, the verb appears only in citations of Biblical verses and in the forms nišawweh, m^ešuwwin which all have the limited sense of 'obligated (to perform a mišwa).' In the Talmud, it is found in the more general sense of command, though often assuming a technical-legal ramification, e.g. its use in respect to death-bed wishes (cf. the noun šawwa'a 'will'), or to decrees of rulers.

The word zeruz, generally translated 'hasten', carries

¹⁰ Sh^ewuot 4:13.

carries here the added implication of 'encourage'. The root ZRZ does not appear in BH. The language nucleus therefore deals with a common BH root which serves a more specialized function in MH. The sense of "hastening" that the drasha gives to the BH verb does not appear at all in MH. Consequently, there was a need to define this word for the MH reader of the Bible.

Formally, this drasha is of the type en-ella' plus proof-text. Closer examination reveals that the crucial word saw is missing from the proof. This leads us to check the entire literary unit against its comparative sources in other Midrashim.

In Sifre Numbers 1/ א , referring to the word saw in Nu 5:2, four opinions are given. Rabbi Ishmael says

צורי מיד בשעה מעשה ולדרורה. He uses the hermeneutic principles of the general and the particular. This same drasha appears (as an example of hermeneutic exegesis) in Baraita' de R. Ishmael.

R. Judah b. Batira says that siwuy = zeruz and his proof-text is our verse (Dt 29:28). In addition, two other opinions are cited¹¹. All three drashot are in the form of En-Ella' plus proof-text.

Our drasha, then, is a repetition of the view of R. Judah b. Batira in Sifre numbers. Here, it is given anonymously.

¹¹ אין ציורי אלא חסרון כּיט; אין ציורי אלא אזרה¹¹

Since the en-ella' form was likewise copied, a citation was also provided to replace our verse, which served as the proof-text in Sifre Numbers. The two verses are very similar. However, the crucial word saw is missing in Dt 31:7.

The need to append a proof-text to the drasha, even though the verse is ill-suited, shows that there was a stylistic consciousness to fit the drasha into certain set patterns. This consciousness is, at the latest, as old as the editing of Sifre Dt.

A study of the entire literary unit in Sifre Nu 1/א shows that the en-ella' form was used even where the "basic meaning" of a word was not in doubt. Nuances and even implications (e.g. en siwavy ela' hissaron kis) of words are established by the formula of words en-ella'. The use of b'kol ma'om at the end of the formula does not alter the fact that the definition given was only intended for a limited context.

פז/151

אין הסתח אלא טעות כענין שנאמר^x אשר הסתח אהו I K 21:25
אזובל אשתו. אחרים אומרים, אין הסתח אלא גירוי I Sam 26:19
שנאמר^x אה' הסיחך בי ירח מנחה.

The two views do not differ on the basic definition of the word hassata, 'incitation' but the first opinion maintains that it carries with it the nuance added of 'incitement to wrong.' This emotive value of the word is its sole sense in MH. In the Mishna, it always appears as messit ummaddisah - 'one who incites to idol-worship.'

Emotive value, where it is not part of the word's basic meaning, depends on context, and our case is no exception.

The proof-texts are cited for the clarity of their contexts. Since God is the subject of the verb sut in the verse from Samuel (I 26:19), it can have no nuance of incitement to evil. The first proof-text relies on the universal designation of Jezebel as a wicked queen to arrive at the definition ṭa^Cut.

The MH connotation of this word forms the basis of the first opinion; but the attempt at substantiation is made only from within the Biblical corpus. The second view defines the word as having wider applications in BH than in MH. However, the MH sense of "idolator" was so strong that even the verse in Samuel is interpreted by another Midrashic tradition¹² as having the connotation of "incitement to idolatry." According to that tradition¹³, since David used mesit with reference to God, he was punished for it.

קמג/195

שלש פעמים, אין פעמים אלא זמנים] דבר אחר אין פעמים
Is 26:6 אלא רגלים] וכן הוא אומר^x חרמסנה רגל רגלי עני פעמי דלים

The bracketed words do not appear in any MS cited by F. They

¹²TB Be'arakot 62b מסית לדוד, אמר ליה הקב"ה לדוד, קריה לי, הרי אני מכשילך.

¹³By way of contrast to the above citation, TJ preserves the argument in our Sifre by translating each proof-text accordingly.

appear (also bracketed) in Ish-Shalom's edition, presumably taken from the MS of Sifre with commentary of R. Hillel. However, it does not appear in the MS of this commentary which F. had before him, that of Merzbacher. Nevertheless, F. decided in favor of inclusion. He cites the following comparative sources: TB Ḥaḳiqa 3a; Mekilta' mishpaṭim, Masseket im Kesef, Parasha 20; M^ekilta' deRashbi 17:23. We cite them in different order:

332/מכילהא
 שלש רגלים חתוב לי בשנה. למה נאמר, לפי שהוא אומר

שלש פעמים בשנה יראה כל זכורך, שומע אני בכל Dt 16:16
 זמן שירצה, ה"ל כחג המצוה כחג השבועות וכחג הסוכות Ibid.

According to M^ekilta', the word pa'am is understood as 'a time'. Therefore regalim is necessary to set the visitations on specific occasions, as opposed to any three times of the year. This supports our version of the language nucleus, אין פעמים אלא זמנים, where zman also means "a set time."

This version^{13a} originates from the same source as our version in the Sifre, again confirming the reading אין פעמים אלא זמנים.

^{13a}Not actually from an MS of the M^ekilta de Rashbi, but excerpted from Midrash Haqqadol.

חגיגה ב א

אמר רבי תנחום חיגר כדגלו אחת פטור מן הראיה שנאמר רגלים. והא
רגלים מכעי ליה פרט לבעלי קבין? ההוא מפעמים נפקא, דתניא
פעמים, אין פעמים אלא רגלים וכן הוא אומר תרמסנה רגל רגלי עני

R^eqalim, according to R. Tanhum, excludes from the com-
mandment of visitation someone who is lame in one leg. In
response to the claim that r^eqalim is necessary to exclude those
who walk on stumps, the Gemara says that those with stumps are
excluded from the word p^e'amin, for we have a Barayta':

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For purposes of the drasha, the Gemara is actually
reading r^eqalim as if it were: raqlayim, 'legs'. The final
Barayta' is quoted as saying: p^eCamim means raqlayim, as
evidenced in the proof-text, where pa^ceme d^allim is paralleled
by raql^e Cani.

As odd as this Talmudic discussion appears, especially
in light of the Sifre and two M^ekiltas previously cited, it
should be treated independently.

¹⁴pa^cam 'foot' has the meaning 'beat, stroke' and hence

¹⁴This is the semantic reasoning of the Gemara Hagiga.
A. Ben-david, L^eshon Migra' Ul^eshon Hakmim² (Tel Aviv:
1967), I, 107, also cites pa^cam and regel as two "families"
of words that underwent a common semantic development. How-
ever, C.H. Gordon lists Ugaritic p'm, 'time' and p^cn, 'foot.'
פעם is a blend...having the meanings of both" (UT. 466). The
relationship now between the semantic development of pa^cam
and/or its being a product of two different words is complex,
made further complicated by the semantic parallel in regel
(and other words that are organs of the body; Kutscher,
L^eshonenu, XXIX/1965, 48). See also Y. Blau's review of
Bendavid, Kirjath Sepher, XLIV (1968-69), 33.

'occurrence' time.' The semantic growth of pa'am = foot > stroke > occasion was paralleled by regel so that it, too, carries both meanings of 'foot' and 'occasion'. The Talmud in Hagiga exegetically gives pe'amim, meaning 'occasion', its base meaning, 'foot' to derive therefrom a halacha. The proof-text furnishes ample evidence for this meaning.

The Midrash in the Mekilta' is entirely different. Inquiring after the necessity of duplicating shalosh pe'amim with shalosh reqalim seems to have already assumed the specific connotations of "the three major Jewish festivals."

The Sifre seems to be a "conflate Midrash," incorporating the two drashot of the Gemara and Mekilta' into a single literary unit. Its form of en-ella' plus proof-text is taken from TB Hagiga, but the definition of pe'amim as 'occasions' was borrowed from Mekilta'. The net result is the citation of a verse from Isaiah to prove that pe'amim = zmanim -- an unintelligible proof.

This situation highlights the intersection of philology and language or literary studies in Rabbinic Hebrew. The evolution of the Midrashic text is not our problem, and hence we will not investigate the development of this conflate Midrash. Nevertheless, examination of the language nucleus may have implications for the philological study of the text, as it did in this instance.

The difficulty of the drasha as we have it prompted the emendation

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in the critical editions of Sifre. The Mekilta' deRashbi,

extant until recently only in MSS, preserves the original version of our Sifre. The emendation renders the language nucleus in Sifre and Haqica identical. However, without the entire Talmudic give-and-take which is absent in Sifre, the drasha cannot be understood.

In summation, we may assume that there never was a drasha en p^{ec}amim ella' z^emanim plus a proof-text since such a version is not found in any MS of Sifre. Perhaps there was an en-ella' drasha without a proof, to explain that p^{ec}amim = z^emanim. If so, it would conform to the pattern of explaining a BH word with an MH word, z^eman.

229/ קפט

לענות כו טרה, אין טרה אלא עכירה שנאמר ^xכי דבר Dt 13:6

טרה ואומר ^xהשנה אתה מה כי טרה דברה על ה'. Jer 28:16

The noun sara appears seven times in BH. In four instances the phrase is 'טרה בה' . . . על ה'. A fifth occurrence is the expression עוד הוסיפו טרה referring to Israel's actions contrary to God's will. A sixth citation is indeed questionable, as the concordance itself points out, and is probably the homonymic feminine singular participle. The seventh instance is our verse. The range of the word from all the evidence is in a negative sense, and excepting our verse, always refers to an action contrary to God.

This word does not appear in MH. Its definition in the drasha, Cabera, is a common MH word, though it does not carry the idea of "going astray," as does sara but is rather a static technical term for transgression, like BH peshaC, het'.

Verbal forms of STR appear in Qal, Hif^Cil, and Hof^Cal. Their meaning is either positive,¹⁵ neuter¹⁶, or negative¹⁷. In MH, only the Hif^Cil appears (5x). Three instances mean 'to remove (an object or idea)', and two mean 'to distract from God.' The latter phrase, מסירות את לבנו is modeled after BH ולא יסור לבנו.¹⁸ Both the Mishna and the verse refer to the same halacha.

Of all the verses in which sara appears, ours is the most problematic. It does not refer to sara as something contrary to God, though the negative field of the word is clear from the subject of the verse, Ced hamas. Nevertheless, the precise explanation of the word depends on an interpretative crux. Is the word sara in the phrase laCanot ho sara, an objective description of the testimony given by the witness about the victim, ie. , evidence that he committed idolatry, or is it the Torah's subjective

¹⁵Job 1:1 וטר מרע 1

¹⁶Ex 3:4 כי סר לראות

¹⁷Dt 17:20 המצותה סור מן

¹⁸Dt 17:17

evaluation of the testimony -- that it is patently false?¹⁹
 Stated in grammatical terms, is sara an adverb ("falsely"), or
 an adjective ("false") which serves as the object of the predi-
 cate laCanot, with ellipsis of the noun "testimony".

Which view the Sifre adopts may become clearer by examining
 the other en-ella' drasha in this literary unit. Referring
 to the subject of the sentence, the drasha is en hamas ella'
gazlan. F. understands the drasha as explaining the nature of
 the testimony, i.e. the use of the nomen agentis shows that the
 drasha understood hamas as an adjective modifying the subject
Ced. If so, sara may also be a description of the false wit-
 ness and his testimony. However, F. understands the drasha on
sara as describing the content of the testimony.

רנז/281

יד אין יד אלא מקום שנאמר^x וְהָנָה מְצִיב לוֹ יָד I Sam 15:12

וְאוֹמֵר אִישׁ עַל יָדוֹ לְדוֹגְלֵיהֶם. Nu 2:17

Yad has several metaphorical meanings, among them, 'place'.
 TO and Targum to the proof-text translate atar. Macom as a
 general definition, acknowledges the sense of all the verses,
 though we might resort to different words (monument, side,
place) to define each particular proof-text.²⁰

¹⁹The two interpretations underly the comments of Rashi and
 ibn Ezra. Rashi (Dt 6:13): שְׁהִיטָה הָעֵד מִכָּל־
Sarah is thus the subjective view of the testimony: It is
 removed from all truth. Ibn Ezra says here: כְּמוֹ עֵבוֹדָה זָרָה
 i.e. sara refers to the content of the testimony. His
 comments to Dt 6:13 are lengthier, but make the same point.

²⁰BDB defines yad in our verse: "side = place, properly
 'place at one side'."

In MH, vad retains a figurative meaning only within fixed prepositional phrases, e.g. al y^ede. The word alone as a substantive means only 'hand'. For this reason the Sifre finds it important to comment upon and define the BH sense of the word.

336/ שו

ואין יערף אלא לשון כנעני משל אין אדם אומר
לחבירו פרוט לי סלע זה אלא ערוף לי.

The information derived from everyday speech establishes an MH²¹ root, ^CRF, 'change money,' otherwise known to us only in Syriac.²² The term l^eshon K^ena^Cani, which ordinarily means "Phoenician",²³ may not be referring to its status as a loan-word; it may mean "in business jargon."²⁴

337/ שו

דבר אחר ... אין יערף אלא לשון הריגה שנ' וערפו שם
^CRF in Dt 21:4 is the same root as Coref, 'back of the neck.' Ritually, it refers to death caused by a stroke of the blade to the neck, as opposed to sh^ehita from the throat.

²¹There is no reason to assume the Sifre is not citing the Hebrew vernacular of its time.

²²^CRF (PaCel) 'to change money' (commutavit). PS 429, Brockelmann, 549.

²³The Phoenicians "employed the term for themselves and for their land." Z. Harris, Grammar of the Phoenician Language (Phila: 1956), 7.

²⁴Levy, Wörterbuch, 704, translates the Sifre: "welches W. nur in Kaufmannischer (phonizischen) Sprache zu verstehen ist."

This drasha is linguistically untenable. The plain meaning of CRF in our verse as seen in the poetic parallelism, is 'drip.' Comparative sources show that the historic root is GRF ,²⁵ not CRF . In Hebrew, the two phonemes /ġ/ and /c/ coalesced into c.

The linguistic standing of the first drasha lends itself to a different sort of phonological check. In all probability, the Syriac-MH root CRF is a secondary derivation from a phonetically related stem,²⁶ thus unconnected to BH CRF . But whereas the second drasha has only homiletic value, the first makes an important contribution to our knowledge of the MH lexicon, far outweighing the light shed on BH CRF .

שכב/371

אגור, אין אגור אלא כנוס שנ' דברי אגור בן Prov 30:1
 יקה, ואומר ישי מות עלימו ... כי רעות במגורם Ps 55:16

Morphologically, agur is homonymic. It is l.s. Imperfect of the root GWR, 'fear', and the passive participle of 'GR, "gather". It has been understood both ways in our verse. TYI²⁷ and modern commentators²⁸ take the first option, while T0²⁹ and our drasha read the form as AGR.

25 Arab. خرف, 'ladle out water,' Phoen. Crpt, 'portico where rain falls' (In Phoen., /g/ c/, Harris, Grammar, 20). In Ug., /ġ/ and /c/ are separate phonemes, yet Driver, Canaanite Myths and Legends (Edinburgh: 1956), Glossary, cites Crpt, 'roof' and compares it to words above. For Ug. Crpt, 'cloud,' he cites Heb. cārāphēl, cārāpōt. Gordon (UT) cites only Ar. خرف 'wind,' but has separate entry "خرط (= خرط)" (h. ערבס)

26 Brockelmann, Lexicon Syriacum, 549: "ח' חרט (h. ערבס) assim. ad. (חרט)".

27 דחיל

28 Driver, ICC, 369: "Except I dreaded."

29 אילן לא פון רגוזא דסנאמה כניש Rashi: לא אס שכנס האריב כנוס עליהם.

The motivation of the latter sources may be theological, on the following grounds: It is difficult to translate "Expect I dreaded" when the subject is God. Thus, the interpretation of TYII³⁰ is a circumlocution for "I fear", and Aquila uses a passive participle, rather than an active verb.³¹ This motivation was noted by ibn Ezra.³²

The proper name agur is found also in Ugaritic literature, as the name of a deity who serves as a messenger. Its root may be 'GR, "hire", known from Accadian, Ethiopic, and many Aramaic dialects.³³ The noun form means "salary, hire," cf. BH agora. Albright derives the name from Accadian 'GR "field," itself a borrowing from Sumerian.³⁴ This root 'GR is the root of "Ugarit" itself.

The word bimguram in the second proof-text derives either from GWR, 'dwell,' or GWR 'fear'. Actual attested forms are: m^egureka for the former, and magor for the latter. A form m^egurim is possible for either, as is bimguram. However, bimguram cannot represent a form of 'GR, where the /' is a root-letter.

Neither proof-text, then, is explained on the basis of the root 'GR 'gather' by any source other than the Sifre. There are even signs that the Midrash itself considered the drasha in Ecclesiastes as homiletic.³⁵

30 אילולי כעסא דסנאה יחקך

31 Nisi in iracundia hostis irritatus est. F. Field, Origenis Hexaplorum Quae Supersunt (London: 1871), I, 369.

32 אגור: אפחד, מגורה ויגר מואב, והמתרגם אמר מגורת אגרה אגרה בקציר והנכון הוא מלשון חגרה, והכתוב דבר כדרך בני אדם. [cf. Ps 39:11 מחרתה ידך KB: גרה "irritate"]

33 Cassuto, Orientalia, XVI, 474, translates: "il salariato."

34 BASOR 83. See also Ginsburg, BASOR 95; C. Gordon, Ugaritic Textbook (Rome: 1965), 351.

35 Yalqut Hamakiri, ed. Greenhut 876, quotes Qohelet Rabba: ואמרן שם ומורה ר"ש כאילין ארבעה [שמות של שלמה] ... שנתגבנה בהם שלמה ושנתכנין להדרש; אגור -- שאגר בלברי חורה.

The main reason for defining agur as "gathered" is theological, as we explained. However, the MH position of this root sheds some light on our drasha. A form of 'GR appears only once in the Mishna³⁶ and it is probably a geographic place-name,³⁷ as its morphology indicates.³⁸ Yet, it is explained in the Talmud on the basis of 'GR 'gather',³⁹

The word m^egura 'storehouse', 'container' appears thirteen times in the Talmud. Though its root is GWR, its pattern-morpheme (mishgal) probably influenced the definition of binguram in our second proof-text.

In am, the motivation for the Sifre's interpretation was theological, but the actual definition and the choice of proofs are derived from MH usage.

377/ שכר

כי^x ועל עבדיו יתנחם, ואין נחמה אלא תהרת שנאמר Gn 6:7
 I Sam 15:11 נחמתי כי עשיתים ואומר^x נחמתי כי המלכתי את
 שאול.

The root N^hM has several meanings in BH, depending upon its formation (binyan). However, the relationship between form and meaning is not one to one. In both Nif^{al} and Hitpa^{el} it can mean 'be sorry,'

36 Kelim 17:8.

37 Levy, Wörterbuch, I. 25: "איגורי", gr. *ἀγορά*. Diese Olive wird in Ber. 39a durch אברומי ... und in j. Bicc. l, 63d durch אורס bezeichnet, was denselben Sinngiebt, nämlich *ἀφρο*. See also Krauss, Lehnwoerter, 7, אברומי

38 GK, 240, par. 86 h.

39 TB Brachot 39a: זית האוגר את שמנו בתוכו.

or 'be comforted'.⁴⁰ The Hitpa^cel itself carries the added meaning 'avenge'.⁴¹ Pi^cel conveys the meaning 'console' and Pu^cal its passive 'be consoled.' Thus Pi^cel and Hitpa^cel each bear distinctive meanings while Nif^cal overlaps Hitpa^cel. Care must be used in the apportionment of semantic fields, especially in the matter of the Nif^cal - Hitpa^cel overlap of meaning.⁴²

NHM appears in MH in Pi^cel with the same sense it has in BH Pi^cel - 'comfort, console (mourners).' Hitpa^cel⁴³, however, replaces Pu^cal as the expression of the passive sense:⁴⁴ It no longer means 'avenge' or 'be sorry'. NHM in our verse therefore has a meaning which the identical form in MH does not convey.

The word yitneham (Cal) in our verse is variously explained as 'avenge'⁴⁵ or 'be sorry for'.⁴⁶ Our drasha assumes the latter and cites two proof-texts in which NHM means 'repent, be sorry.' However,

⁴⁰ The development being "comfort oneself (by vengeance)" > 'avenge' (KB), or, in GK's language, 'to show oneself consoled', i.e. 'avenge' being the reflexive of the Pi^cel. Cf. his example hitnaggem "to show oneself revengeful," where, however, the Nif^cal means simply 'to take revenge' (GK 149, par. 54d).

⁴¹ In the case of נִחַם (Ez 5:13) it is not agreed by all that the binyan is Hit. Thus, D. Yellin sees here the "hippa^cel" (JPOS, IV, 85-106). Bergstrasser considers cases of assimilation of /t/ before non-dentals not as Hitp; some should be read as Nif. (so נִחַםְתָּ Nu 24:7). Of our word he says: "Das angebliche Hitp. נִחַםְתָּ Ez 5, 13 ist sehr unsicher." (Hebräische Grammatik, I, 109). H. Yalon, Pirge Lashon (Jerusalem: 1971), 62-75, maintains that there are many cases of Hit. with assimilation of /t/. To my knowledge, no one cites the analogy between the verses in Ez and in Dt as support for this view. (See the following note.)

⁴² KB assigns to Hitp. NHM in our verse (Dt 32:36) the meaning 'be sorry' but to Ez 5:13 נִחַםְתָּ the sense 'comfort...by vengeance,' though it is evident that Ezekiel is expropriating many words (and their senses) in toto from Dt 32, this one amongst them.

⁴³ E.G., Sanhedrin 2:1; Tosefta San. 2:4; Sifra Behuqqotai, ed. Weiss (Vienna: 1862), 86, col. I.

⁴⁴ A regular trend in MH. M.H. Segal, A grammar of Mishnaic Hebrew (Oxford: 1927), 62.

⁴⁵ TO: וְעָלְתָּ עִירְךָ וְעָלְתָּ עָלֶיךָ יְהוָה יִחַםְתָּ see above, n.42.

⁴⁶ TY: וְעָלְתָּ עָלֶיךָ יְהוָה יִחַםְתָּ... יְהוָה יִחַםְתָּ Driver, ICC, 375, translates "repent himself."

both texts contain Nif^{cal} forms which do not necessarily have any bearing on the Hitpa^{cel}. We have said above that the extent of the Nif^{cal} - Hitpa^{cel} overlap is questionable. KB cites three examples for Hitpa^{cel} NHM 'be sorry';⁴⁷ we would translate the last two 'avenge'.

Bearing out the drasha are: (1) the one definite instance of Hitpa^{cel} NHM 'be sorry', in Nu 23:19; (2) the fact that our phrase והנחם על עבדיך is paraphrased ועל עבדיך והנחם in Ps 90:13,⁴⁸ meaning 'repent, be sorry.' This last fact shows a very early interpretive tradition within BH itself, possibly a precursor of our Midrash.

A clarification of both the literary context of verse thirty six and the literary unit of our drasha gives us the motivation for the language comments before us.

The drasha's sense of 'repent, be sorry,' is not equivalent to the commentators' use of this word. Driver, for instance, understood yitneham as expressing God's compassion for Israel. This follows from his analysis of 36a and b as parallel phrases.⁴⁹ The Midrash, however, understood the hemistichs as contrasting, thus establishing the context to render yitneham as 'take revenge (upon His servants)'. In a homiletic turnabout, the Midrash introduces

⁴⁷ Nu 23:19, Dt 32:36, Ps 135:14.

⁴⁸ Driver, ICC, 375. See also Midrash Rabba Sh^emot, par. 43: והנחם על הרעה לעמך, אמר רבי חנינא בר אבא, והא התהורו מצוריה לפניך.

⁴⁹ "The Israel referred to in v.36 [a] is implicitly conceived as penitent (which is also indicated by the use in the parallel clauses of the expression "His servants"): The fate of the impenitent Israelites lies here outside the range of the poet's thought." Driver, ibid. The Midrash does not agree.

the meaning 'regret.' God finds it, as it were, difficult to punish His nation.

The contrast⁵⁰ between hemistichs "a" and "b" is evident from the entire literary unit, as is the homiletic "about-face" which is expressed by our language nucleus.

כשהקדוש ברוך הוא דן את האומות שמחה היא לפניה שנאמר כי
ידין ה' עמו, וכשהקדוש ברוך הוא דן את ישראל כביכול
ההנה היא לפניה שנאמר ועל עבדיו יחנאם.

tehut means 'wonder, bewilderment,' but also 'regret'.⁵¹ Its cognates are known;⁵² Segal considers it a borrowing from Aramaic.⁵³ The pattern-morpheme (mishqal) is typically MH.⁵⁴

Summary

General Remarks

In the preceding section fifteen en-ella' statements were examined. In addition, five other en-ella' drashot are treated in other sections, giving us a total of twenty drashot patterned in this formula.

Some general remarks apply equally to all of them. It has been noted that the Rabbis did not differentiate between the Pentateuch, Prophets or Hagiographa for exegetical purposes. In support of a

⁵⁰ To achieve this contrast, the Midrash is forced to interpret Cammo in strophe "a" as referring to the nations of the world.

⁵¹ TB Qiddushin 40b.

⁵² Syriac teha'. Schulthess, 218.

⁵³ Grammar, 51, par. 96.

⁵⁴ Like zekut, genuit.

religious idea or a point of language in one book of the Bible, parallels or proofs may be cited from any other source in the Biblical corpus. No concept of difference or development affects their exegetical method.

Proof-text

The evidence from the lexicological drashot in this chapter confirms this, as proof-texts are cited from the prophets, Chronicles, Psalms, and the Wisdom literature, often side by side. Even when one text is pentateuchal and the second from a later book, no chronological preference is accorded to the Biblical phrase -- it may be mentioned last.

All but two of the en-ella' drashot had proof-texts. The proof-text is introduced by one of a number of phrases. Eleven were introduced by shene'emar, one by w^eken hu'omer, and one by keCinyan shene'emar. In other words, the en-ella' drashot as a unit maintain a consistent form in the introductory phrase to a proof.

Exceptions to the Rule

Of the en-ella' drashot which bear a different formula, 151/ 1D seems to use keCinyan shene'emar arbitrarily. The drasha offers two definitions, both in the en-ella' form. The second uses the introductory word shene'emar, the first could have done the same. keCinyan shene'emar does have a specialized meaning, but it is not conveyed in its usage here. Bacher⁵⁵ counts the formula as part of

⁵⁵ Cerke Midrash, trans. A.Z. Rabinowitz (Tel Aviv: 1923).

R. Ishmael's terminology; this drasha falls squarely into that section attributed to R. Akiba.⁵⁶

All the above indicates that we should expect to find the reading shene'emar, and the word kecinyan is not above suspicion. A check of F's critical apparatus reveals one text of Sifre which reads kecinyan ...; the other two sources are Midrashic anthologies. Opposed to this reading are three MSS of Sifre and Yalqut Shimoni which have the expected shene'emar. The basis for F's decision to print kecinyan shene'emar is not sufficiently clear.

The use of w^eken hu' omer as the equivalent of shene'emar presents no semantic problem. However, it is our contention that 195/127 is a reworking of several sources. The en-ella' drasha here is not found in any of the primary sources. It is therefore understandable that shene'emar, as the standard formula in en-ella' drashot, does not appear here. MS $\bar{\eta}$, reading kecinyan ha'amur, likewise expresses the disjunctive relation between the language nucleus and the proof-text.

Conclusions Regarding Proof-Text

The MSS have preserved a tradition not to affix the word shene'emar to a proof-text that is not part of a "sound" en-ella' drasha. If the verse does not really prove the definition, some other introductory phrase is used. The reason the verse does not prove the text is because the drasha is philologically "unsound." It is a reworking or

⁵⁶ I.e., Pisqa 54-303. A full discussion on the sources of the Sifre is to be found in J.N. Epstein, M^ebo'ot L^esifrut Hattanna'im (Jerusalem: 1957), 625-33, and 703-24.

artificial casting of other sources into the mold of an en-ella' drasha, when the content is not lexicographic material at all.

In 410/בשׁו the proof-text sheds no light on the word being defined. It is just an example of similar phrasing. Here, though, there are no signs that the en-ella' drasha is not original, or a reworking of other sources. The one anomaly is that the definition is cited in Aramaic rather than in MH.

Clearly, a legitimate en-ella' drasha generally introduces a proof-text by shene'emar. The use of another term, if it has proper textual corroboration, renders the literary unit philologically suspect and comparative sources must be consulted.

Other Observations

There are some observations to be made about the en-ella' drashot themselves. Bacher⁵⁷ says that when they define a verb, finite forms are changed into infinitives or verbal nouns. 12 of the 15 en-ella' drashot deal with BH verbs. Of these, seven are rendered into verbal nouns, and five are presented in their finite forms, as they appear in the verse. He also says that "occasionally ("lifCamim")" the drasha is accompanied by a proof-text. However, we have found that 13 out of 15 drashot were accompanied by Scriptural verses. Of course, Bacher examined all the Tannaitic Midrashim of which the instances in Sifre Dt are but a fraction. Nevertheless, the discrepancies between our findings and his conclusions warrant more investigation.

⁵⁷ cerke Midrash, 3.

Division of en-ella' drashot according to sources

The division of en-ella' drashot according to the schools of R. Ishmael and R. Akiba is not revealing. It is commonly accepted that Pisqa 1-54 and 304-357 are from Ishmael's school and the rest is R. Akiba. Of 17 drashot, five are in 1-54, six in 304-357, and eight in the middle section. The en-ella' form is thus not restricted to any one school.

By comparison, there are more than 40 en-ella' drashot in Mekilta', but only about 15 in Sifra. This evidence above would indicate that the en-ella' type is much more prevalent in the Midrashim of the school of R. Ishmael. However, Mekilta' Derashbi which is "of the house of R. Akiba" also has well over 40 en-ella' drashot. Therefore, the picture projected by Sifre Dt is not contradicted by the other Midrashim: en-ella' drashot are found in works of both schools.

Conclusions

The rigid formula of en-ella' drashot, which extends even to the wording which introduces proof-texts, shows that it was a set lexicographic pattern, into which words to be defined were placed. The fact that it is common to both schools and their literary activities. Our results thus confirm S. Lieberman's observations: "It appears that comments formulated en-ella' which are incorporated in the Halakhic Midrashim have their origin in a very ancient commentary of the law."⁵⁸ These drashot in effect constitute a Rabbinic

⁵⁸ Hellenism in Jewish Palestine (New York: 1950), 51.

dictionary of Biblical Hebrew. Perhaps they never existed outside the literary framework of an entire Midrash containing other elements of exegesis, but methodologically they form an independent unit and a conscious lexicographical effort. "In course of time this vigorous assertion . . . was extended even to Midrashic exposition,"⁵⁹ losing its lexicographic function. We shall have occasion to witness the degeneration of other language formulas in Sifre Dt, on account of subsequent indiscriminate application.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

CHAPTER II
DRASHOT WITH PROOFTEXTS

Introduction

The drashot in this chapter are lexicographic drashot of assorted form and style. Their unifying feature is the citation of internal proof from other Biblical verses. We will analyze them individually, to see their language treatment of the words under discussion. Whether these drashot can be considered as one method of exegesis because they cite prooftexts, or if their differences are too great to warrant single classification, will be considered in the summary.

ר"ט 252/

זולל כבשר וסוּבא כִּיִן וּאָף אַל פִּי שְׂאִין רֵאִיָּה לְדַבֵּר
זָכַר לְדַבֵּר אַל תְּהִי כְּסוּבְאֵי יִין בְּזוּלְלֵי בֶשֶׂר לְמַר.

The term zeker laddabar comes in contrast to re'ava laddabar, which signifies a conclusive proof of internal nature. Zeker is literally 'a remembrance,' i.e. a similar usage elsewhere in the Biblical corpus which may serve as an associative reminder. The parallel term in the Talmud is Aramaic asmakta'. As Bacher already

points out,¹ the boundary between a re'aya and a zeker is not always clear. Sometimes, the very same verse is cited now as one, now as the other, in support of the identical point. Our drasha highlights this problem, for the verse in Proverbs furnishes clear proof regarding the usage of the verbs in question, yet the Sifre calls it only a zeker laddabar.

The true nature of the drasha as well as the solution of the above problem is clarified by the Mishna in Sanhedrin 8:2.

מאימתי חייב משיאכל הרטימר בשר וישתה חצי לוג יין
 ... אכל כל מאכל ולא אבל בשר, שחה כל משקה ולא שחה
 יין, אינו נעשה כן סורר ומורה ... ואע"פ שאין ראיה
 לדבר, זכר לדבר שנאמר אל תהי כסוכאי יין כדוללי בשר

The halaka states that only a glutton of meat and wine is subject to the law of ben sorer umoreh. The Mishna stresses the oral nature of this law, for it is a Rabbinic dictum that a verse outside the Pentateuch may not serve as the basis for a Biblical injunction.² The verse, however, can serve as a reminder. Af Cal pi she'en re'aya means that though there is no Biblical (Pentateuchal) verse which so specifies, nevertheless there is a hint to the ruling that zolel we'sobe' is to be associated exclusively with wine and meat.

The Sifre is actually paraphrasing the Mishna. The drasha is not originally a lexicographic definition but a halakic definition.

¹ Cerke Midrash, 38, n.70.

² Cf. TB Baba' Qamma' 2b, Hagiga 10b: דברי תורה מדברי קבלה לא ילפינן.

She'- en r'e'aya refers to the technical inadequacy of the verse, not its philological weakness as a proof.³

175/ קטז

אשר יחסר לו, לו זו אשה, כענין שנאמר אעשה לו עזר כנגדו

The drasha seems to be homiletical in the classic sense; the language connection to the verse in Genesis is of the most tenuous sort, something the Midrash itself may be hinting at by the use of k'cinyan shene'emar. The quote from Genesis speaks of Woman, and calls her Cezer. However, the word lo clearly refers to Man. How does this text elucidate lo in ours?

In MS K, the phrase lo, zu i'ssa is replaced by: w'not'enin lo i'ssa. This effectively removes any lexicological implications for the word lo. The drasha is, instead, a statement of halaka, connected to the verse on logical grounds.⁴ The version in Midrash Haggadol is: אשר יחסר לו, זו אשה with no proof-text. Here, too, the form is not that of a lexicological entry explaining a particular word.

This drasha appears twice in the Tosefta.⁵ In K'tubot: ...

שנאמר די מחסורו אשר יחסר לו וזלהלן הוא אומר אעשה לו עזר

³ We did not see Rosenblatt when formulating this interpretation of the term. He arrives at the identical conclusion, based on other drashot. Interpretation, 52, n.9. This interpretation is not self-evident. Albeck, Mishna, IV (Tel Aviv: 1959), 197, thinks the verse is linguistically an inadequate proof. One could always argue (Albeck did not) that the verse in Proverbs was influenced by the Pentateuchal rendering.

⁴ I.e., he is given the assistance he lacks.

⁵ K'tubot 6:8, Pe'a 4:10.

Here the form of the drasha is that of an exegetical g'zera shawa. In sum, all the parallel sources show clearly that we do not have a lexicographical entry before us. Perhaps the term ke'inyan shene'emar rather than the simpler shene'emar means to call attention to the ellipsis of the fuller drasha in the Tosefta'.

פג/149

ונתן אליך אות, בשמים, וכן הוא אמר והיו לאותות.
מופת, בארץ, וכן הוא אמר אם טל יהיה על הגזה.

A lexicographical drasha usually cites the word to be explained in isolation and in the en-ella' type, changes its form from finite to infinitive. Since our drasha cites the word to be explained within the whole phrase verbatim,⁶ it may well be that the drasha is offering an interpretation of the verse in general, and not a definition of the words ot, mofet. However, the structure of the drasha and the proofs brought as evidence relate to the specific words, so we treat it as a lexicographical drasha.

This drasha is contradicted in Sifre Numbers:

כג/127

אזה הוא מופת ומופת הוא אזה אלא שדברה תורה שתי לשונות.
Sifre Numbers is a product of the school of R. Ishmael and the

⁶ This appears more clearly in Midrash Haggadol, which reads o mofet instead of mofet alone. In other words, it cites the Biblical phrase in its entirety for both ot and mofet.

principle of le'shonot k'fulim hen, which is the import of this drasha, is one of the foundation blocks of R. Ishmael's exegesis.⁷ Our drasha falls into that section attributed to R. Akiba's school.⁸ In light of his principle that there is not one extra word in the Torah,⁹ the need to differentiate here is well understood.

That our Sifre's drasha is unsupportable on semantic grounds is clear from BH usage. The two words ot, mofet often parallel each other, and a verse reading otot hassamayim is countered by w'natati mofetim bassamayim uba'areg. The distinction is an artificial one, in keeping with R. Akiba's principle to explain each term individually.

61/ד

לכניך, אלו חלמידים, וכן אתה מונא בכל מקום שהחלמידים
קרויים בנים שנאמר ויצאו בני הנביאים ... וכי בני
נביאים היו והלא חלמידים היו, אלא מיכן לחלמידים ...

The entire literary unit is a homily which compares the relationship between student and master to the kinship of father and son. The common use of bne han'bi'im is 'students of prophets' or 'student prophets.' Indeed, one of the meanings of ben is member, fellow of a group, class, profession. Our prooftext is subsumed in the lexicons under such a use.

It may be argued that the Midrash is, in homiletical fashion, ascribing to ben a figurative (metaphorical) meaning of 'disciple,'

⁷ Epstein, Mebo'ot, 522.

⁸ Ibid., 703, See ch. 1 n. 56.

⁹ Ibid., 521.

rather than relying on the use of ben in BH to mean 'member of a class.' This argument is bolstered by the fact that ben in the latter sense in BH is always in the construct, and the nomen rectum is the class or profession, e.g. ben adam 'human being.' But l'ebaneka does not follow this syntax.

These objections compel us to class this drasha as primarily homiletic. However, the Midrash utilized its knowledge of the meaning of ben in the construct state by its citation of prooftexts, which convey a non-literal meaning. This is, after all, what our drasha wants to prove.

92/ מב

רבי אומר ונחתיל עשב כשדך לכהמתך, זה פשתן, וכן הוא
אומר מצמיח הציר לכהמה ועשב לעבודה האדם.

Rabbi Judah the Prince draws on the word hasir in the proof-text as the parallel to Ceseb in our verse, since both are described as food for animals. Indeed, Targum renders hasir as Cisba'.

To qualify as a linguistic drasha, we should have to establish that pishtan was called Ceseb or hasir in either BH or MH. We have, however, no proof for either of these contentions.¹⁰ We may note also the use of the term w^eken hu omer, which seems to indicate a second or parallel, verse, rather than a proof-text.

¹⁰ See F for several non-linguistic interpretations of this drasha.

ועשתה את צפרניה, רבי אליעזר אומר הקוץ, רבי עקיבה אומר
 חגדל. אמר רבי אליעזר נאמרה עשיה בראש ונאמרה עשיה בצפרנים
 מה עשיה האמורה בראש העברה אף עשיה האמורה בצפרנים העברה.
 רבי עקיבה אומר נאמרה עשיה ... מה עשיה האמורה ... ניוול,
 אף ... וראיה לדברי רבי אליעזר ומפיכושת בן שאול ירד
 לקראת המלך לא עשה רגליו ולא עשה שפמו.

The root CSY, 'do,' is one of the most common verbs in BH. Be-
 cause of its very broad meaning, it is used to describe all sorts of
 actions which in other languages translated into more limited words,
 e.g. Casa milhama, 'waged war.' The exact meaning of CSY often de-
 pends on the larger context, rather than on the specific verbal
 phrase alone. Such a philological problem is the subject of this
 drasha.

A loose translation of the text would be "and she should attend
 to her nails". However, the verse no doubt intended to convey the
 specific action involved.¹¹ Of course, "to attend to" is not an
 incorrect translation on one plane of meaning, and the expression
'Casah--' in its earlier stages probably had this general sense.
 But the context of ritual instruction calls for a very specific ren-
 dering.

P. Eliezer approaches the phrase from the immediate context.

Note 1 s expression נאמרה עשיה בראש ונאמרה עשיה בצפרנים

¹¹ Just as English "to do one's hair," French faire la barbe,
 German die Haare machen conveys no ambiguity.

If this is a linguistic g^ezera shawa,¹² it is puzzling: the verb used with reference to hair in this verse is GLH, not CSY. R. Eliezer's proof is therefore not internal but contextual. By Casiya he means "a verb of action." Since the more specific verb of action used is shaving (GLH), the general verb which follows, CSY, must refer to a similar action of removal.

R. Akiba bases himself on a context of logic rather than of language. It is his opinion that all the rulings regarding a captive woman aim at making her appear unattractive. (See 246/ג' and F's comments.) Shaving her head conforms to this pattern, so "attending to" her nails must refer to an unattractive treatment which, in Rabbinic times, meant growing them long.

The Midrash adduces a proof-text to the view of R. Eliezer from II Sam 19:25. Driver, in his note to CSY in that phrase, says: "as Deut. 21, 12b."¹³ Nevertheless, while the meaning of Casa s^efamo might be clear, the commentators and translations differ in the explanation of Casa raglaw.¹⁴

While R. Eliezer's contextual approach is philologically sound, by its very nature the meaning of CSY would vary in differing contexts, so that citation of the proof-text (or any proof-text) is not as strong as it seems. However, the meaning of Casa s^efamo seems

¹² The distinctions between a linguistic g^ezera shawa and a halakic one are drawn by S. Federbush in vol. of Azkara (),

¹³ Notes, 336.

¹⁴ TJ פירוש רש"י: "לשון תקון הוא, ולא שטף רגלוי תי העברה שער שבין הרגלים.

to be 'trimmed' independent of its context, and hence is good support for R. Eliexer's interpretation.

R. Akiba's reasoning can be outlined as follows: (a) We must assign a negative (pejorative) meaning to CSY in our verse, on logical grounds. (b) Growing the nails is considered unsightly and fulfills the requirements of (a). (c) Ergo, w^easa means 'and she must grow her nails.'

From the point of view of BH semantics, we have no reason to make assumption (a). In all the instances where CSY refers to attending to the body, its meaning is always positive, and the proof-text is no exception. Secondly, if (a) were true, assumption (b) is dependent on the social milieu. It is possible that in BH times, as in ours, long nails were considered attractive.

Thus, we might arrive at the same conclusion as R. Akiba, but on completely different grounds. His method of approach is not language exegesis but a more general philology; R. Eliezer's method is based on language considerations.

שמב/393

לפני מותו, וכי עלתה על דעתך שלאחר מותו היה משה מברך את ישראל, אלא מה תלמוד לומר לפני מותו, סמוך למותו, כיוצא בו לפני כוונת יום ה' ... סמוך לכיאה.

Lifne means 'before,' locally or temporally. There is no distinction between BH and MH on this point. Thus, Gn 7:27: Lifne Y--H lifne moti illustrates its use in both senses. Likewise, in the Mishna both senses are common, sometimes in the combination lifne...l^eahar, referring to either local or temporal precedence.

We may note that in MH the adverb godem is often used instead of lifne in the temporal sense. This, no doubt, is due to Aramaic q'adam which is used primarily in the local sense in Biblical Aramaic,¹⁵ but also temporally in expressions such as (Dan 6:11) min gadmat dena "from time immemorial."

The rhetorical style of the Sifre shows that the meaning of the word lifne was well understood. The intent of the drasha is to provide a nuance of the word lifne, "immediately before." The proof for the immediacy of lifne is strictly logical. This logic applies equally to all cases of 'lifne---.' Consequently, the term kayyose bo is used as an introduction to the "proof" -text. It indicates a second example, not a proof. The word given in definition, samuk, does not appear in BH.

כד/34


וחרגנו באהליכם ... מלמד שהיו יושבים בתוך
משכניהם ואומרים דברים כמתלהמים.

The drasha is obviously based on Prov 26:22, where the root RGN appears in Nif'al as a participle. Its meaning is 'murmur, complain.'¹⁶ More difficult is the word mitlahamim.¹⁷ If we accept

¹⁵ q'adam malka', Dn 2:10 et passim.

¹⁶ In DSS Hymn, col. 5, 1.23, RGN appears as a noun // t'eluna.
Y. Licht, Megillat Mahodayot, 105.

¹⁷ Rashi relates LHM to LHM 'battle.' Ibn Ezra, Jonah Gerondi and Menahem Hame'iri invoke metathesis and make comparison to HLM 'strike'. The moderns are not more helpful. Jastrow defines "professing attachment, flatterers, hypocritical sympathizer" (no source). Ben-Yehudah: Tur-Sinai
(in Ben-Yehudah, notes) emends כמתלה מים and then explains
כמתלה as incomprehensible, being a scribal error (!)

the root meaning based on Arabic ,¹⁸ 'swallow greedily,' the verse in Proverbs may be translated: "The words of the slanderer are swallowed greedily."

Be that as it may, it is clear from our drasha that the Rabbis understood mitlahmim as parallel to nirgan, namely "those who _____," rather than as a modifier of dibre. Did they really know what it meant, or did they rely upon their understanding of the syntax to allow for a rough parallel in meaning between nirgan and mitlahmim?

The test would be the relative currency of the words in MH literature. It turns up only once more, in Sifre Numbers.

פה/ 84

ר' אליעזר אומר אין כמהרננים אלא כמהלמים וכן הוא אומר דברי נרגן כמהלמים וכן הוא אומר והרגנו באהליכם.

This drasha is no more enlightening than ours,¹⁹ and follows the same reasoning. The fact that mitlahmim is not found elsewhere, coupled with the fact that mitlahmim in the next drasha is treated as a compound of two words²⁰ shows that it was not current, or even familiar, in the MH lexical stock. The drasha relies on the identity of the root RGM in our verse and in Proverbs.

SUMMARY

The seven drashot in this chapter were instances of lexicographic

¹⁸ First suggested by ibn Genah (see Ben-Yehudah, entry LHM, 2632, n.3).

¹⁹ Horowitz comments in his notes to Sifre Nu ad loc:

וצ"ב [צריך ביאור] איך מפרש לשרן מהלמים וצ"ע.

²⁰ See chapter on word-division, p.73.

drashot accompanied by prooftexts. They differed from those in chapter one because they had no set formula; however, the general remarks in the summary to the first chapter likewise apply to the drashot in the present grouping.

These drashot introduced their prooftexts with the following phrases: shene'emar; weken hu omer; were'aya laddabar; zeker laddabar; k^ecinyan shene'emar; w^eken atta mose; kayyose bo; we'af cal pi she'en re'aya laddabar, zeker laddabar. These various formulae for introducing prooftexts are related to the literary unit and its style, rather than to the language unit. The only thing shared by these drashot is the conceptual framework of a language nucleus and its support from within the Biblical corpus. Even this framework is not shared by all, for we have shown that several of the drashot are condensations of other Midrashic sources which are not lexicographic comments at all. However, the recasting into the present form in Sifre might show that there was a consciousness of the framework of exegesis + internal substantiation.

In sum, the multiplicity of introductory phrases shows that these drashot do not comprise a single genre as do the en ella' drashot. In certain cases, we are not even sure that they can be classed as lexicographic drashot at all. These marginal instances are best understood as exegetical drashot, some of which are more homiletically oriented, rather than language-derived.

CHAPTER III
DRASHOT BASED ON MH SEMANTICS

This third category of lexicographic drashot differs from the first two in the following ways: (A) Unlike the en-ella' drashot, they do not bear the stamp of a set formula. The language nucleus is embedded in a variety of literary units; many are found in frameworks of homiletic exegesis. (B) As opposed to the first two chapters, these drashot have no internal proofs. The reasons for this are twofold. First, the language information in these drashot is implicit. On the surface, it is not their aim to explicate difficult words, as was the case in previous lexicographic entries. Secondly, internal proofs are used to substantiate the meaning of a word from other BH contexts. Here, the sense of words is arrived at in accord with the MH lexicon. As opposed to the material assembled in the first two chapters, the proof of meaning here is external to the Biblical text: It is the language situation of the exegetes themselves.

We have seen that even where word explanations were ostensibly based on BH comparisons, the definitions themselves were part of the MH vocabulary. The influence of MH in Midrashic lexicographic exegesis is thus wide-ranging, as will be seen in further discussions. Consequently, this chapter would have been much larger had we not limited its entries in accord with the following principle: A

drasha whose language information about a BH word is predicated on the fact that the lexeme has a different meaning in MH was included.

כה 35/

עם גדול, מלמד שהיו גבוהים בקומה. ורב, מלמד שהיו

מרובין באוכלוסין.

ב/115

וירשתם גוים גדולים ועצומים, גדולים בקומה ועצומים בכח.

The adjective gadol appears over 550 times in BH, modifying both concrete and abstract terms. It variously signifies "great in number, expanse, weight, importance, size or shape."

The semantic range of the word is quite large. It covers the ground of a host of adjectives, e.g. "tall, big, many, great, large." The particular largeness is indicated by the BH context, by the use of more specific adjectives as parallels, or not expressed at all.

In both our verses gadol has specific reference to number. In the latter phrase, Dt 11:23, the accompanying adjective wacagumim makes this clear; caqum parallels gadol and rab in numerous phrases. In the first passage, cam gadol waram, the parallelism gadol // ram seems to attribute to gadol the meaning "tall," rendering the drasha superfluous. We must, however, take into account the occurrence of the phrase cam gadol warab waram cacannaqim twice in the next chapter,¹ indicating that gadol warab are parallel adjectives

¹ 12:10, 12:21.

meaning "great in number;" waram is a separate attribute.² Therefore, gadol waram are not to be understood as conveying a single idea.

Even if one disagrees with this analysis,³ the fact is that our Sifre is commenting on just such a phrase — Cam gadol warab -- and not on the Massoretic text as we have it. Laying aside any textual implications of this drasha,⁴ it may well be that in a context of gadol waram (The Massoretic text), the Sifre's comments would be different.⁵

In sum, the Sifre's interpretation of gadol in both phrases as "tall" is noteworthy for its deviation from the plain sense of "large in number." Secondly, it renders a very general term into a specific one, "tallness."

At first glance, one is tempted to explain that in MH, the BH general adjective assumed the specific meaning "tall." However a sample analysis of one MH corpus, the Tosefta' shows that this is

² The Massoretic accents (tebir under warab) also designates such a division. It cannot be argued that ram, like gadol, is also a general adjective with the connotation 'lofty.' The context of bne Canagin in all three phrases shows that height is the intended meaning. Cf. the parallel rendition of the episode in Nu 13:32f., and the references to height there.

³ The difficult phrase Cam gadol waram recurs in Dt 9:2.

⁴ F, 35, n.3: "ואולי יש להגיה בספרי 'עם גדול, מלמד, מלמד שחיו בבורהים בקומה שהיו מרובים באוכלוסין. ורם, מלמד שחיו בבורהים בקומה' However, the parallel drasha 115/3 (which he mentions in the next line) verifies the readings of the MSS. F's proposed emendation was carried out by the Gaon in Hagahot Hagra', Sifre, ed. S. Koliditzky (Jerusalem: 1948), Part 2:12.

⁵ Witness the emended version (above n.4) whose comments are rendered superfluous by the Massoretic reading.

not the case.⁶ Gadol remains, in MH, the general adjective "large". The specific MH term for tall is gaboah.⁷ The MH picture is thus identical to BH usage.⁸ The very construction of the phrase in the drasha gadol b'qoma, shows that gadol alone does not have the specific meaning "tall" in MH; a more restrictive adjective is necessary for clarification. However, a major development in the meaning of gadol in another field of meaning stands out in MH.

The term gadol and its antonym qatan are relegated in MH to specific legal terminology. A gadol is a Jew over the age of thirteen who is religiously obligated to fulfill the commandments and legally responsible for his actions. Qatan defines a legal "minor". This use of the terms rivals the meanings "large, small," in frequency.

This development explains the Sifre's comments in the two drashot. The MH sense of gadol as "mature person" did not fit the BH context. Consequently, the Midrash interpreted "tall", since "great in number" was conveyed by the second adjective in each phrase: rab and Casumim respectively.

⁶ There was no place in the Tosefta' that gadol could not be defined as 'large size.' In fact, in no instance could height' be an accurate translation. In Yoma' 1:6, where the High Priest is described as being greater than his brethren — gadol me'ehav b'eny, b'koah, ...ub'mar'eh, gadol b'mar'eh might mean height, but again, the fact that gadol is further restricted by mareh is proof that gadol alone does not mean "tall."

⁷ This is true for BH, too. However, its antonym, namuk, does not appear in BH. Twice (Sotah 4:2, 14:7) the antonym is shafal.

⁸ The word rum is also used in MH for height, e.g., rum tefah, rum q'lipat hassum. The Aramaic phrase "depth and height," appears once in the Tosefta' (BB. 3:1).

כעסרנני בהכליהם, יש לך אדם עובד לצלם דבר הרואה אותו
אבל הם עובדים לכבואה ... להכל זה שעולה מן הקדירה.

The word hebel appears in BH 70 times. About half⁹ of these occurrences are in Ecclesiastes, with the meaning 'vanity.' This, or 'in vain', is its meaning in most of the other verses. Four times,¹⁰ its meaning is '(transitory) breath.'¹¹

In Babylonian Aramaic and Mandaic it means 'exhalation, damp'; 'steam, vapor,' and in Syriac: 'dust.' MH follows these eastern dialects, as our drasha illustrates.¹² The gist of the drasha is that these idolators worship a 'reflection (babu'a), steam,' i.e. an intangible.¹³

The 'vanity' in our verse has specific reference to the 'vainness of idolatry': Hebel has this meaning in several verses.¹⁴ The drasha accurately interprets hebel as idolatry on the basis of BH usage, but the meaning of hebel in the drasha's comments is clearly derived from its Aramaic-MH meaning.

⁹ In KB, the statistics given are: "(72x, 37x KO)."

¹⁰ Is 57:13; Ps 62:10; 144:4; Jb 7:16.

¹¹ See KB. In old Arabic and Ethiopic noun forms of hebel mean "wind." Cf. hebel // ru'ah in Is and hebel // reCut ru'ah in Ecc.

¹² The noun hebel does not occur in the Mishna. The sole example of the root HBL is in Shabbat 1:6, sheyahbilu. No forms of HBL are listed in concordances to Sifra' and Me'kilta'; there are several occurrences in Tosefta'.

¹³ The use of babu'a need not be taken as a literary metaphor only. Worship of reflections was a form of idolatry with which the Rabbis were familiar. Lieberman, Hellenism, 131.

¹⁴ This point is discussed by W.E. Staples, "The 'Vanity' of Ecclesiastes," JNES, II (1943), 95-104, but the meaning 'profound' he posits for hebel has no grounds.

עבד ה', לא בגנותו של משה הכהוב מדבר אלא בשכחו שכך
מצינו בנביאים ראשונים שנקראו עבדים שנאמר אל עבדי
הנביאים.

The word Cebed appears in many Semitic languages, "meaning al-
most everywhere both slave and worshipper."¹⁵ Its positbn is
identical in BH. In MH, the verb ^cBD means both 'serve' and 'worship',
but the overwhelming number of references refer to idolatry, e.g.
the acronym cakum.¹⁶ In the Mishna, we could find only one reference
to the worship of God.¹⁷

However, the noun Cebed in MH means only "slave." It is often
further qualified by Cibri or k^ena^cani, but its use is strictly
within this legal framework; it never refers to a devotee of any
sort.

The drasha therefore clarifies the BH language situation for
the reader whose idiom was MH. The phrase shekken masinu binbi'im
rishonim indicates that the usage of Cebed in that sense was already
considered archaic in the period when MH was spoken, if not earlier.

כ 32/

וישיבו ארוננו דבר, באיזה לשון הם מדברים.

פכ 148/

מנין שאם פתח לברך ברכת כהנים לא יאמר הואיל ופתחתי לברך
אומר ה' א-להי אבותיכם יוסף עליכם, ת"ל הדבר הזה, אפילו
דבר לא תוסף עליו.

15. KB.

16. עובדי כוכבים ומזלות

17. Sota 5:5.

קיב/172

זוה דבר השמטה, מיכן אמרו המחזיר חוב בשביעיה יאמר להם
משמט אני.

רמב/272

כשהוא אומר על דבר, על פי ההריה.

רנ/278

כשהוא אומר על דבר, אף על העצה.

רנד/280

כשהוא אומר על דבר; אף על לשון הרע.

רסב/284

רבי שמעון אומרמנין שלא יאמר לו צא ושאל שלום פלוני או דע

אם בא ... הלמוד לומר נשך כל דבר אשר ישך.

The semantic range of dabar in MH and BH, with reference to

drashot, has been discussed by Sarfatti.¹⁸ His main points are as follows:

Dabar in BH means both 'speech' (dibbur) and 'matter, something, thing' - a general catchword whose range is very wide. As regards the first meaning, there is no discernable difference between BH and MH. However, there is a considerable shift in MH from the prime meaning 'matter, affair' to '(concrete) thing'. For 'matter, affair,' MH uses Cinyan.

BH hardly uses dabar for concrete thing;¹⁹ in fact, it needs no word at all to express 'thing'.²⁰ Thus, the overlap between BH

¹⁸ Gad B. Sarfati, "Ciyyunim b'semantiqa shel l'shon hazal ubidrashotehem," L'shonenu, XXX (1966), 32-34.

¹⁹ Nu 31:32: כַּל דְּבַר אֲשֶׁר יִבּוֹא בְּאָזְנוֹ יִשְׂרָאֵל וְלֹא יִמּוֹת מִכָּל לְבִנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל' We add to Sarfatti's example Ex 9:4 paralleled by 9:6

וּמִמֶּקְוֵה בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל לֹא מֵה אֶחָד.
²⁰ I.e., it mentions the object itself.

and MH is small. In the main, each vocabulary utilizes the word in a different field.

Therefore, when BH uses dabar for 'matter, affair' the Rabbis understand it as 'concrete thing.' Since this often renders the verse unintelligible, they resort to the exegesis of dabar, 'matter', as dibbur, 'speech.'

The matter is somewhat overstated. Rather than saying that the Rabbis misunderstood²¹ the meaning on the literal level and therefore had to resort to the drasha, we would say: These drashot reflect the semantic difference in the word dabar as used in BH and MH, and as known to us from a study of its overall incidence in both corpa.

עג 321/

לא עברתי ממצותיך, לא הפרשתי ממין על שאינו מינו, לא מן החלוש על המחוכר ולא מן המחוכר על החלוש, ולא מן החדש על הישן ולא מן הישן על החדש.

The meaning of cabarti here is "transgress."²² This meaning is common in the MH expression Cabar Cabera, and is a development from the meaning "pass, pass over."

The interpretation of the Sifre does not convey the idea of transgression but rather of improper fulfillment of the commandment.

21 His exact words are: 'ענין' או כדומה, "המקרא השחמט בה כמשמע 'ענין' או כדומה, "

והם הפשו אותו כמשמעות 'עצם מוחשי' וכיורן שעל ידי זה יצא ההפסוק בלתי מוכן, דרשו מה שדרשו."

22 Ibn Ezra: lo Cabarti, b'ezadon. Driver, ICC, 291: "transgressed" So, too, J. Reider, Deuteronomy, JPS (Philadelphia: 1937), 241.

The drasha lists five ways in which maCaser was indeed tithed, albeit not in accord with the halacha.

The root CBR underwent semantic developments from BH to MH.²³ One MH meaning of the root is "to change", as in this Talmudic passage: כּוּר נִשְׁכַּעְנוּ לְהַקְבִּי"ה שֶׁאֵין אִנוּ מַעֲבִירִין אוֹתוֹ כֹּאֵל אַחַר (ביטין נז:).
This sense "to change" is also found in the MH phrase t^eCubbar surato which appears as cibb^era surato in the Tosefta' and in MSS of the Mishna.²⁴

The Sifre evidently understood Caarti in this MH sense of "change," rather than BH "transgress," and thus the drasha lists all the changes that can be made in the performance of the commandment.

ר"י/243

וענו, בלשון הקדש. רצא/310

וענתה ואמרה, מה ענייה האמורה להלן בלשון הקדש, אף ענייה האמורה כאן. שא/318

וענית ואמרת... אף ענייה האמורה כאן בלשון הקדש. שא/319

וענית, אין ענייה אלא מפי אחרים.

The root CNY has a wide range of meaning in BH. Following

²³ This root and its meanings have been discussed numerous times by Yalon. See Pirge Lashon, 133, 425-26, 474; Leshonenu III (1930), 349-50; Mabo' Leniqqud Hammishna (Jerusalem: 1964), 142-45.

²⁴ Terumot 9:10.

Gesenius²⁵ we list the main categories: (1) chant, sing > (2) cry aloud, shout. (3) begin to speak, speak. (4) answer, respond; frequently said of God. Its range thus includes both initiation of speech and response.

In MH, the range of CNY is restricted to (1) God's response to prayer;²⁶ (2) Ritual response.²⁷ In the latter case, the verb always takes the preposition 'after', e.g. Conin amen ahare.²⁸ Of the four categories in BH, MH confines the usage of CNY to the last one and further restricts it to a specific context-prayer.

In Tosefta' and Mekilta'²⁹ there are several instances of CNY with the sense of 'spoke up and said,' i.e., initiation of speech rather than response. However, the form of the words is always Nifcal naCna, (נענה) followed by we'amar. The differentiation of conjugation corresponds to the semantic differentiation 'say' vs. 'answer.' The origins of this specialization of Nifcal CNY are early.³⁰

While CNY in Deuteronomy, when used in the Imperfect, means 'said, spoke,'³¹ its use in the perfect with the verb AMR is confined to ritual situations.³² The Sifre, familiar with the

25 Ed. Robinson (1863).

26 TaCanit 2:4, פק

27 E.g., Rosh Hassana 2:7, Succa 3:10.

28 Berakot 8:8.

29 Tosefta' Horayot 2:6; Mekilta' Beshallah 3:9 (Ex 15:13); Yitro 2:10 (Ex 20:20).

30 Cf. the use of Nif. CNY in Ez 14:4, 7.

31 "wayyacan...wayyomer" is common.

32 21:7 וענו ואמרו ידינו לא שפכה
25:9 וענתה ואמרה ככה יעשה לאיש.
26:5 ועניה ואמרה לפני ה' א-להיך
27:14 וענו הלויים ואמרו אל כל איש ישראל

MH usage of CNY in the context of prayers recited in Hebrew, interpreted all³³ the ritual situations in Deuteronomy as requiring recitation b'elashon haggodesh.

How much the MH range of this word influenced the Midrashic interpretation may be seen in the last drasha, 319/ש"א. The sense of CNY + AMR is always "declare" and never "respond." Yet, since the MH use of this word always refers to ritual response of the worshippers following the benediction or prayer of the hazzan, the Sifre says:

מיכן אמרו³⁴ בראשונה כל מי שהוא יודע לקרוא קורא ושאינו
יודע לקרוא מקריין אותו, נמנעו מלהביא החקיננו שיהו מקריים
את היודע ואת מי שאינו יודע, סמכו על המקרא וענית, ואין
עניה אלא מפני³⁵ אחרים.

Thus, on the basis of MH usage, these drashot are able to read two aspects into CNY. First, CNY signifies formal utterances on the order of prayers. Their wording is frozen and must be recited in Hebrew. No doubt these declarations were always recited in that language, but the halakah of the drasha assumes meaning in a multi-lingual situation, i.e., Israel in the Tannaitic period.

Secondly, also on MH lexical grounds, BH 'declare' becomes 'respond,' i.e., repeating word for word. In the same vein, M^ekilta'

³³ Sifre does not cover the verse in ch. 27 (26:15 - 31:14 is missing). However, the drasha on 26:5 (318/ש"א) refers to 27:14 (ונאמר להלן).

³⁴ Bikkurim 3:6.

³⁵ Cf. T.Y. Bikkurim 64b.

interprets CNY 'sing, chant' as 'respond', converting the Song of Moses into responsive singing.

The Sifre limits the sense of b'elashon haqqodesh to the word CNY. However, both the M'ekilta'³⁶ and Sifre Nu³⁷ extend this dictum to all cases where CNY, AMR, Koh and KaKa are used. A check of the Sifre reveals no such exegesis even where there is opportunity for its application.³⁸ Furthermore, drasha 321/ 1W is in direct opposition to the drashot in Sifre Nu and M'ekilta'. It states: we'amarta, b'ekol lashon.

The possibilities of explanation are several. Either the drasha which reads . כל מקום שנאמר כה, ככה, עניינה ואמירה הרי זה בלשון הקדש (מכילהא/238)

should be understood as listing three items which signify Hebrew language: (a) koh, (b) kaka, (c) Canaya wa'amira together, in constructions of the type wecan'eta we'am'era. Waw copulative between Canaya and amira (in the drasha), but not between koh and kaka, supports such an understanding.³⁹

Alternately, the drashot in M'ekilta' and Sifre Nu may originate from one school, and our drashot from another. This possibility is enhanced by the fact that M'ekilta' and Sifre Nu are attributed to R. Ishmael, while all four drashot presently under discussion are in that section of Sifre Dt attributed to the school of R. Akiba.

³⁶ HR 238. מסכתא דתנחומא, פ' ט', ט'.

³⁷ 42/ ט'.

³⁸ E.g., wecamad we'amar in Levirate marriage proceedings (Dt 25:8, 309/ט' ט').

³⁹ See the apparatus to Sifre Nu 42/ ט' .

ויאמר ה' אלי רב לך, אמר לו משה אדם נדרר
לאין הרלך, לא אצל רבו שיתיר לו נדרר?

The adverb rab 'much, many, enough' is treated as the noun rab 'teacher, master'. The word rab meaning 'captain, overseer' appears in BH⁴⁰ but its use as 'teacher of Torah', is unique to MH. Subsequently, it becomes a formal title for the Amoraic teachers; the Tannaim and Palestinian teachers are called rabbi, the sense of the possessive suffix having been lost.⁴¹ Here rab still means any teacher or Rabbi. The entire setting of hattarat nedarim before a hakam is a Rabbinic picture,⁴² the result of explaining rab in our verse in its MH sense.

240/רה

חלל, ולא חנוק.

The meaning 'one who was killed' for halal stems from HLL 'pierce'. The word assumes the more general meaning 'slain', even without the implication 'by the sword'. So in Lm 4:9 the phrase mehalele raCab, and in Is 22:2 halalayik lo halele hereb. The phrase halele hereb⁴³ itself shows that halal alone does not refer only to one who was stabbed.

⁴⁰ E.g., 2K 18:17; Jon 1:6; Es 1:6.ⁱ

⁴¹ H. Strack, Einleitung in Talmud and Midras 5 (München: 1921), 120, n.1.

⁴² This method of nullifying oaths is not mentioned in the Bible. See Mishna Hagiga 1:8.

⁴³ Appears as the first part of the verse cited from Lamentations, also in Nu 19:16; Is 22:2; Ez, numerous places.

In the Dead Sea War Scroll, halal means 'slain' in several phrases.⁴⁴ A recurring phrase, hasos^orot halalim,⁴⁵ is translated as a proleptic use of HLL, but some understand halalim as "battle, slaughter, carnage,"⁴⁶ widening its range even more than in BH.

The following discussion in the Tosefta', though not altogether clear,⁴⁷ seems to be based on the semantic range of halal:

ר' אלעזר אמ' בכולן היה חלל היו עורפין אמר לו ר' יצחק
בר' יהודה וכי אם היה חנוק ומושלך בשדה שמא היו עורפין?
לכך נאמר חלל. אם כן למה לאמר נפל? אלא אפילו הרגו וחלוי
בנאילן לא היו עורפין.. (סוטה ט א).

R. Elazar seems to maintain that any type of slaying, even death by strangulation, would fall into the category of halal. While there is no evidence, other than that cited, that halal in MH meant 'slain by any means,' we have outlined a semantic development from a particular to a general meaning.⁴⁸ The drasha restores to halal its specific meaning of 'slain by the sword.' Generally, we have found that the drasha ascribes to RH words their MH sense. For halakic purposes, the drasha wishes to maintain the BH sense.

⁴⁴ 6,3: חללי מעל 3,8: חללי און

⁴⁵ 3,1, 8; 8,9; 9,2; 16,7,9; 17,13.

⁴⁶ J.J. Glück, "HALALIM (HALAL) "carnage, massacre," Revue de Qumran, VII, No. 27 (1970), 417-19.

⁴⁷ The barayta' is cited in TB Sotah 45b. The Talmud seems to maintain that R. Elazar never argued over the meaning of halal, but over the other drashot on the words ba'adama nofel bassadeh.

⁴⁸ In Modern Hebrew, halal is a soldier killed in the line of duty.

ויהעכר ה' בי... רבי אליעזר אומר נאמלא עלי חמה
 רבי יהושע אומר כאשה שאינה יכולה לטוח מפני עוברת.

The word hitCabber in BH means 'infuriate oneself, be angry'.

In MH, the Hitpa^cel has three meanings: (1) 'become pregnant';⁴⁹
 (2) 'be annexed';⁵⁰ (3) 'be intercalated.'⁵¹ Both parts of our
 drasha explain the Biblical word in light of the first meaning.

R. Eliezer expresses the idea of pregnancy in the word nitmalle;⁵²
wayvitCabber is a metaphor. R. Yehoshua expresses the same idea
 with a simile.

This drasha is a good example of a word with totally different
 meanings in BH and MH⁵³ whose Midrashic treatment is grounded in
 literary applications of the MH meaning to ingeniously explicate or
 expand the BH text.

ריד/247

לא תחעמר בה, שלא תשתמש בה.

רעב/293

ותחעמר... שאינו חייב עד שיכניסנו לרשותו רבי
 יהודה אומר עד שכניסנו לרשותו וישתמש בו שנאמר

The root ^cMR occurs twice in Hitpa^cel, here and in Dt 21:14.⁵⁴

⁴⁹ BR, TA 449, Parasha 45: אין האשה מתעכרת מכיאה ראשונה

⁵⁰ T.Y. Cerubin 22b: שתהא בית מעון מתעכרת עם סכריה.

⁵¹ T.Y. Rosh Hashana 58c: ניסן לא תחעמר מימיו.

⁵² Cf. TB Berakot 29b: מאי פרשת העיבור? אמר רב חסדא

אפילו בשעת שאתה מתמלא עליהם עברה כאשה עוברת...

⁵³ The semantic development from Qal 'pass' to Piel 'pregnant' is paralleled by Targumic Aramaic. Other spheres of meaning of this root are also found in Aramaic. Yalon, Pirge Lashon, 348 (Sam. Ar.); 426 (Syriac); 21 (C.P. AR.).

⁵⁴ לא תחעמר בה חתה אשר ענייתה.

The third (and final) occurrence of this root (in the Pi^cel)⁵⁵ seems to be unrelated.⁵⁶

The hitpa^cel in both instances is paralleled by the root MKR, 'sell.' This supports the explanation of TO⁵⁷ and TYI⁵⁸ who translate 'do business with.' The Hitpa^cel thus expresses reciprocity.⁵⁹ The Biblical lexicons, however, ignore this parallel and explain 'handle roughly, deal violently with,' on the strength of Arabic كسر in the third Conjugation.⁶⁰

Neither the contextual explanation or that derived from كسر explains our drasha. However, Syriac and Christian-Palestinian Aramaic ܕܚܫܐ means 'inhabit, dwell.'⁶¹ With that meaning in mind, the drasha understands the crime as consisting, in part, of forcing the man to dwell, reside with him, i.e., taking him into his possession.⁶² R. Judah also bases himself on this meaning. His addition weyishtammesh bo is simply an amplification (or implication) of CMR. Though it would appear that he somehow learns this from the phrase wehitcammer bo umkaro, philological considerations indicate otherwise.⁶³

⁵⁵ רחצנו מעמר Ps 129:7.

⁵⁶ But see A. Alt, "Zu Hitcammer," VT, II (1952), 153-159.

⁵⁷ ויחגר בה

⁵⁸ ויעבד ביה פרקמטיא

⁵⁹ See M. David, "Hitcamer," VT, I (1951), 220.

⁶⁰ So GB, KB, Gesenius, ed. Robinson (Boston: 1863), 798, adds: by conj. 'to make' merchandise of any one."

⁶¹ Brockelmann, Schulthess. This verb is also found in Arabic كسر

⁶² None of the lexicons cite the Aramaic root. Jastrow, who defines wehitcammer as "to be master over," does not cite any cognates ad loc.

⁶³ The identical drasha appears in Dt 21:14 (247/717) without reference to any words other than titcammer bah; secondly, MS Vat. (Assemani) 32 does not have the concluding phrase shene^cemar wehitcammer bo umkaro.

We have no evidence that the root ^CMR in the sense 'dwell' was part of Mishnaic Hebrew. Nevertheless, its currency in Aramaic, the vernacular, made it suitable for inclusion in a drasha.

SUMMARY

The twenty-one drashot presented in this chapter, dealing with ten different words, furnish ample evidence of Biblical explication based on the MH lexicon. Not only are BH words defined by the term current in Rabbinic Hebrew--this we have seen in the en-ella' drashot--but where the same word has assumed a different meaning in MH, that meaning is utilized by the Midrash.

These drashot are predicated on the semantic evolution of the word from its BH sense to the MH meaning. In some cases, the development of meaning is a logical extension of the sense of the word. In such instances, the drasha impresses us with its logical explication of the verse. In other cases, the word in MH has different associations and the drasha is able to utilize this fact to put the verse into a different context.

In brief, the history of the word's meaning, often ignored by the speaker, is brought to the fore by these drashot. It is not our function to trace word-meanings, but such a study is complementary to understanding these drashot, and vice versa.

The fact that there are twice as many drashot as there are words discussed is due to the fact that dabar and verbs of the root ^CNY were commented upon repeatedly. These drashot assume the proportions of a stereotype, and it is safe to assume that similar drashot on these words are found in other Midrashic works.

Nevertheless, their commonness does not mean that there is no underlying originality. One might dismiss the motif dabar-dibbur as a simple phonetic wordplay when in fact, as Sarfatti has shown, the semantic changes in this word motivated the Rabbinic comments. As we shall show in the chapter on wordplays, such devices are often reactions to a deeper stimulus such as the changing vocabulary or phonetic situation of MH in comparison to the BH text.

Rosenblatt, in enumerating the linguistic equipment at the disposal of the Tannaim, says: "There are given to the vocabulary of the Bible neo-Hebrew connotations prevalent at the time of the Tannaim. On the whole however, the Mishnaic exegetes remained within the bounds of biblical Hebrew in their definitions."⁶⁴ The results of our investigations in Sifre reveal a more complex situation; the MH language picture plays a great role in (a) determining the drasha's comments, (b) deciding which Biblical words require Midrashic elucidation.

⁶⁴ Interpretation, 9.

CHAPTER IV
WORD DIVISION

This chapter consists of drashot based upon various types of word-divisions. Linguistically, we may class them as follows:

Class A: Quadriliteral (or larger) roots¹ reduced the tri- and biliteral units. Reduplicated biliteral roots are included here.

Class B: Morphologically motivated words² whose morphemic components are reinterpreted. In other words, grammatical (=bound) morphemes, both prefixes and suffixes, are understood as homonymic lexical (=free) forms.

Class C: True compound words which are reduced in the drasha to their components, correctly or otherwise.

It is possible that a drasha may fall into two of the above categories because of ambiguity in the nature of the word under study.³ Such observations will be noted in the individual discussions.

¹ Generally foreign loanwords; cf. GK, 103, par. 30q.

² The term is used by S. Ullmann, Semantics (Oxford: 1962), 91, to describe transparent words which are formed by combining suffixes or prefixes to a root. The combination will always be understandable to someone who knows what the root means and what the affix indicates.

³ Sometimes, the ambiguity is linguistically genuine. In other cases, the drasha may view the word as a compound or patterned form of Hebrew root, when comparative evidence shows that it is a loanword of four radicals or more.

The drashot in each class are as follows:

<u>Class A</u>	<u>Class B</u>	<u>Class C</u>
1. שעטנז	1. מחלהמים	1. בליעל
2. אברך	2. לכבך	2.
3. חדרך	3. וכתבתם	3.
4. קלוקל	4. אפאיחם	4.

רלב/265

שעטנז, דבר ששוע טווי ונוז.

The word sha^catnez appears only twice in BH, and the context in both cases offers clear explanation. In our verse, sha^catnez is explained as semer ufishtim yahdaw. In Lv 19:19 the entire phrase is ubeged kilbyim sha^catnez, and kil'ayim in the Bible is a mixture of two types.

Our drasha, whose meaning is "something that is carded, spun, and woven," was accepted as the literal meaning of sha^catnez, mainly because the Mishna adopted it as the halakic definition.⁴ The drasha was understood as an analysis of the acronymic sha^catnez (שעטנז) into its actual component parts, טווע, טווי, נוז⁵ not as a homiletic approach. Nonetheless, ibn Ezra, while citing the Midrashic approach, first suggested that the word may be a quintiliteral.⁶ His definition, me^corab, accords with the versions.⁷

⁴ Kil'ayim 8:9 "אין אסור משום כלאים אלא טווי וארוג שנאמר לא תלבש שעטנז, דבר שהוא שוע טווי ונוז."

⁵ Nahmanides, Lv 19:19 "לשון נוז מלמ מקוצרת כהיכה המורכבת הזאת כמו הטווי שאין ממנה אלא הטי"ת וענינה ... בלוז."

⁶ Lv 19:19 "המעתיקים אמרו שהיא שלש מלות או מחומשה ופירושו מעורב."

⁷ Field, Hexapla, I, 305.

Of the three words comprising sha^catnez only forms of the root TWY appear in BH.⁸ ShuCa though, in the sense of "carded", is not found and nuz does not appear at all. This drasha, then, reveals the "telescoped" or synchronic view the Rabbis took not only of the Biblical corpus, but even of BH and MH language forms, by assuming a BH word to be formed of MH roots.⁹

8/א

ויקראו לפניו אברך, זה יוסף שהיה אב כחכמה ורך כשנים, אמר
 לו רבי יוסי בן דורמסקיה, יהודה ברבי, למה אתה מעויה עלינו
 את הכתובים, מעיד אני עלי שמים וארץ שאין אברך אלא לכירכיים
 [אל ברכיים]

This language nucleus is part of a larger literary unit which contains two other language drashot. The form of the entire unit is a dialogue between R. Judah b. Ila^ci and R. Yose b. Durmasqit. R. Judah interprets three terms describing realia -- geographical place names and honorific titles -- as no more than material for drashot. Here, he considers abrek as a synopsis of Joseph's traits, rather than a real term. R. Yose considers the place names as representing real sites which were called after incidents that occurred.¹⁰

⁸ Ex 35:25, 26.

⁹ Actually, TWY is the only root that appears in Tosefta', to give a sample selection. There is also a noun, ṭawi, in expressions such as beḡed ṭawi. Nuz and shuCa do not appear in that corpus. However, it stands to reason that these last two are also real words and not fabrications for the notarikon. Nahmanides tries to relate nuz to BH naloz (above, n.5). This is actually the basis of an individual drasha in Sifre (265/ רלב), and some MSS read luz in place of nuz in our drasha.

¹⁰ See notes F ad loc; W. Bacher Aggadot Hatannaim, vol. I part 2, 113, citing M. Friedman (Ish-Shalom).

In line with his realistic view, the term abrek is a designation for foreign office, probably a loanword.¹¹

We turn our attention to the phrases resulting from the R. Judah's analysis, ab b'ehokma and rak b'eshanim. ab meaning "teacher, master," is attested in BH, in Elisha's call to Elijah.¹² However, others see in the Midrashic phrase a usage reflecting Latin pater, Syriac ܐܒܐ,¹³ making the phrase an MH coinage.¹⁴

Rak b'eshanim means young. Rak in BH means 'tender, soft,' hence 'tender of years.' Two verses in Chronicles use rak in clear contextual sense of "young."¹⁵ The phrase rak b'eshanim itself is not found elsewhere in MH. TYII actually translates the phrase as "young", rather than as "tender of years."¹⁶

Though our drasha is echoed in many sources,¹⁷ there exists another tradition of word-division. TO translates דמלכא דאבא דין אבא דין אבא דמלכא רב בחכמתא ורביך בשנייה¹⁸ and TY has a conflate version:¹⁸ דין אבא דמלכא רב בחכמתא ורביך בשנייה. This alternate tradition, also found in the Peshitta,¹⁹ is based on אבא , "father," and * רך "king."

¹¹ F's reading אל ברבים is based upon Hoffman's emendation in Midrash Tanna'im (Berlin: 1909), viii. N. Brill, Zeitschrift, ed. Geiger, III, 281, first proposed this reading from the corresponding Arabic word. This is the לברבים which appears in the MSS, further corrupted to לשון ברבים.

¹² 2R 12:12. TJ. "רבי רביך"

¹³ BR, ed. TA, 1102, n.5.

¹⁴ Cf. the recurrent phrase in DSS, abot ha'ceda.

¹⁵ 1 Ch 22:5; 29:7.

¹⁶ Gen. 49:22, דרב בחוכמתא ורביך

¹⁷ BR Parasha 90(TA, 1102) and references there.

¹⁸ Neophyti I. 275: חכי אבוי דמלכא דרב בחכמתא ורביך בשפר רביך. In addition to the similarities to TY, there is material בשנייה. here from another verse: see below.

¹⁹ אבא ושלמא

Several medievals likewise did not feel bound by our drasha or by the view that abrek is of foreign origin.²⁰ Most modern commentaries adopt the latter approach.²¹

In the Targum tradition we have cited, the word-division results in different usages. Abba' d'emalka' no doubt reflects Aramaic abba' as a title. Being so well understood, abba' has no need of a modifier as does the Hebrew ab in our drasha ("...בַּחֲמָה").

*Rak, "King," is the basis of TO's malke'. Rashi postulates an Aramaic root,²² based on a Talmudic discussion.²³ However, it is likely that such reasoning is circular: The Talmud predicates that Aramaic rakka' = king, based on its knowledge of the TO tradition.²⁴ None of the modern²⁵ Aramaic dictionaries have such an entry. The Aramaic word no doubt reflects Greek $\rho\acute{\alpha}\xi$ (Latin rex)²⁶ and this, too, is the basis of the TO tradition.

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- 20 Ibn Ezra: וזו מלה מכנין הכבוד הנוסף ... וכולם מגזרת כרכים ואמר רבי יונה המדקדק הספרדי כי אכרך שם הפועל ואל"ף החה ה"א. ולפי דעתו שאל"ף המדבר.
- 21 KB: An "acclamation not yet explained, of possible Egyptian origin." G. Von Rad, in his commentary of Genesis, Old Testament Library, 372, mentions both an Egyptian and a Hebrew source. "Less probable is the suggestion to connect the word with Babylonian abbaraku... a high military and court dignitary (ibid.)."
Driver, Genesis, Westminster Commentaries, 344, also favors an Egyptian origin.
- 22 "רך בלשון ארמי מלך, בהשוהפין ד ע"א לא ריכא ולא בר ריכא.
- 23 Tb B.B.4a לא רכא ולא בר רכא ... מאי רכא, מלכותא, דכהיב אנכי היום רך ומשוח מלך, ואי בעיה אימא מהכא ויקראו לפניו אכרך.
- 24 MS Florence, cited in N. Rabinowitz, Diqduqe Sofrim, B.B., 11, adds the following to the above passage: ומחרגמין: דין אבא למלכא.
- 25 It is found in the Aruch Completum, VII, 274.
- 26 Ibid.; S. Kraus, Lehnwörter, II, 579. Immanuel Low, in an additional note there, cites an opinion that the source is Old Persian aryaka. D. Geiger, in Tosfot He-Aruk Ha Shalem, 383, denies the existence of such a word in Persian.

Both R. Judah's word-division and R. Yose's opposing view indicate that abrek was not considered a patterned form of Hebrew BRK. Whether R. Judah really thought abrek to be a compound form, or was just utilizing a homiletic device, cannot be ascertained.

What the drasha does reveal is a further development of ab from the generic term to a title of honor, and the use of rak to mean 'young' -- a connotation it already has in BH, explicitly expressed here. The parallel Targum tradition uses ab in the same sense, under clear Aramaic influence. The understanding of rak reveals a Greek language-background, placing the tradition in Palestine.

7/ א

כיוצא בו דרש רבי יהודה משא דבר ה' כארץ חדרך
ודמשק מנוחתו ... זה משיח שהוא חד לאומות ורך לישראל.

The word-division here is of the same type as the previous example and is contained in the same literary unit. Both words resulting from the division maintain their BH meaning: had 'sharp,' rak 'soft'. This drasha does not, therefore, reveal any MH influence. Unlike the analysis of abrek, there is no relationship between hadrak as a place-name and R. Judah's analysis, which refers to the Messiah. This might indicate that R. Judah did not consider these words as compounds, but applying a Midrashic technique to break down strange terms into smaller, known components.

5/ א

ונפשנו קצה בלחם הקלוקל, אמר להם שוטים, כל עצמם של מלכים
אין כוררים להם אלא לחם קל שלא יהא אחד מהם גוסס ודלריא
אוחזתו אבל אתם; בטובה שהיטבתי לכם כה אתם מתרעמים לפני.

Though q^eloqel is an hapaxlegomenon, the entire literary context of this drasha reveals its view of the word's etymology: A reduplicated stem of the element gal.²⁷ Nevertheless, the drasha did not simply explain q^eloqel as gal 'light, minor' in the expression lehem gal. The pejorative sense of the word was also felt, as expressed by the phrase bah attem mitracamim lefanay.

We possess an MH root. QIQL "ruin," e.g. m^equlqal "spoiled."²⁸ It fits the BH context so well that we feel obliged to inquire if indeed the Midrash drew any connection.

Termining QIQL an MH root is misleading;²⁹ it does appear twice in BH.³⁰ Nevertheless, its meaning there is altogether different,³¹ justifying our inquiry.³²

Targum to Ecclesiastes does relate MH. QIQL to the BH occurrence of this root, translating: והוא לא פנים קלקל, והוא דרא לא עלי קדם ה' בגין כן אתקלקל כל עלמא :בכפנא.

However, our particular drasha makes no such association.

Class B

כד / 34

והרגנו באהליכס דבר אחר מלמד שהיו יושבים בתוך משכניהם ומבכים כמה להם.

²⁷ The noun-pattern is galaqil. See Bauer-Leander, Historische Sprache, 482.

²⁸ Also the noun gilgul "wrongdoing, misdeed," and its Galilean Aramaic form gilqula, which has the added meaning "dung-hill, garbage heap."

²⁹ Segal does not list it as an MH root not found in BH.

³⁰ Ez 21:26; Ecc 10:10.

³¹ "to whet a blunt iron," "to shake (arrows for decision by lots)."

³² Segal, Grammar, fails to list QIQL as a BH root which assumes a different meaning in MH pattern. Ibid., 112, par. 247.

We have previously referred to this drasha as proof that the word mitlahamin was not part of the MH lexical stock. If the word was common, or even if its meaning were known, it would not have been treated by this type of word-division, which splits words that are not understood in their undivided form.

Unlike the treatment of uktabtam, discussed further on, the root LHM is not given its real meaning. Both the prefixed mit and the root-letter are presented as their orthographic homonyms, met "dead," lahem "to them."

לכ/55

ככל לכבך, בשני יצריך כיצד טוב וכיצד רע, דבר אחר ככל
לכבך, ככל לכ בך, שלא יחא לכך חלוק על המקום.

There are two distinct language drashot before us. The second falls into the category of word-division, though the first is influenced by similar considerations, as will be discussed here.

BH knows two words for heart, leb and lebab. They represent two different West-Semitic nominal patterns, *libbu and *libabu.³³ Leb is much more frequent in BH (598x against 253x). In many Aramaic dialects, only leb survives. This is the case in MH, too. In the Tosefta', only four examples of lebab are recorded; two are quotations from BH.

³³ W. Baumgartner, "Introduction to the Aramaic Part of the KB Lexicon," xlii.

No doubt the relegation of lebab to the position of an "archaic" form inspired this drasha. Note that the word-division is not along the morphemic lines of lebab but of leb. Unlike the previous drasha, word-division here does not indicate lack of familiarity with the word. It does, however, point to non-currency in the MH Wortschatz.

65/ לָבָב

ובתבניתם, כתב שלם.

A plethora of halakot are derived from this drasha, whose import is: "A whole writing, not lacking in orthographical aspects." The word-division means "whole (complete) writing."

The bound form -tam, a combination of the morpheme for the pronominal suffix 2 m.s. + accusative suffix, is taken as the homonym tam "whole."³⁴

It is hard to find a motivation for this drasha in the linguistic background of the word. The suffix is the regular form in BH (MH לָבָב) and does not elicit special attention in other contexts. But the word k'etab appears only in the late books of the Bible (Esther, Ezra, Nehemia, Daniel, Chronicles) and once in Ezekiel. Its origin is Aramaic, as its mishqal shows.³⁵ The resultant word-division, then, is based on an MH form of a common BH root.

³⁴ MS לָבָב in F's apparatus. Portions of Midrash Haggadol as cited by Hoffman in MF actually read שְׁלֵמָה כְּתִיבָה שְׁלֵמָה So, too, TB M'nahot 34a.

³⁵ Y. Kutscher, "Aramit," Encyclopaedia Hebraica, V (1953), 963.

MF⁴³ preserves a version of our drasha as Rashi cites it.

That so many MSS preserve the reading "bne" may indicate a drasha based, in part, on the interchanging of the liquid consonants ב;ר;ל, a phenomenon known to us from different Midrashim.⁴⁴

Save for S.R. Driver, all the moderns concur in the view that b'liya'al is a compound word.⁴⁵ Against the drasha's analysis, however, it may be argued that according to the reading of the MSS, we should expect some sign of the consonantal [ר] in the root ערל. True, the diphthong עולה > עולה, but we should expect the preservation of the long vowel, i.e., *בליעול, in this word, too.

However, even according to F.'s reading, the analysis of our Sifre, should also presuppose a form * בליעול, since the ו is related only to the preposition בלי, not to the root ערל, or its nominal form ערל.

SUMMARY

Word-division as a method of Midrashic analysis is reserved,

⁴³ Ed. Hoffmann, 66 (Dt 13:13).

⁴⁴ For examples in BR, see M. Arend, "Tefisatam habbalshanit shel HZL" (unpublished Master's dissertation, Dept. of Hebrew, Hebrew University), 40.

⁴⁵ KB cites the following: A) בלי יעל 'without resourcefulness' (Konig; B) בלי יעל (root עלה), 'without rise, prosperity' (Hupfeld); Driver postulates בליעל (בלע III in KB = 'confusion, disorder'), Ben-Shevet, Leshonenu, I (1928), 199, thinks it means 'without honor', from Arabic عجل, 'honor.' Tur-Sinai says it variously represents either of two of the above suggestions (Encyclopaedia Miqra'it, I, 132-133).

on the whole, for EH words which are difficult both in their meaning and morphology. Three are hapax legomena⁴⁶ and six⁴⁷ are patterned in ways foreign to Hebrew. The two words that do not fit this description⁴⁸ are explained on the basis of exclusive ME language situations. It may well be that the exceptions compel us to modify the rule, perhaps certainly so for the Rabbinic exegetical literature⁴⁹ as a whole. However, our opening remarks are certainly true for Sifre Deuteronomy.

Having stated the circumstances underlying these drashot, the question is: Do these drashot reflect the Rabbinic language-grasp of the words in question, or are they conscious homiletic devices and no more? On the strength of the general theory that difficulty of understanding is the main motivation, the first alternative should be ruled out. After all, how can drashot which are the outcome of an inability to deal with the etymology be considered as the Rabbinic language understanding?

Yet, the answer varies from drasha to drasha, and a variety of factors helps to answer the question in each case. We stress again that a serious attempt at language-understanding is to be judged from point of view of the authors, not by present scientific standards. Thus, the etymology of shaCatnez is non-scientific, a priori postu-

⁴⁶ abrek, af'ekem, q'loqel.

⁴⁷ Abrek, b'eliya'al, hadrak, shaCatnez, af'ehem (suffix-hem).

⁴⁸ ukatabam, l'bab'eka.

⁴⁹ Word-division, aside from the Tannaitic Midrashim and Talmud, is also found in Aquila and Jerome. See Driver, Notes on...Samuel² (Oxford: 1913), xl, note 2; lxxxiii.

lating a linear (synchronic) approach to BH-MH, and resulting not in a compound word but an acronym, which cannot be the result of natural language development. Yet, the citation of the drasha in the Mishna for halakic purposes shows that the Rabbis accepted it with seriousness as the etymology of the word.⁵⁰

On the other hand, the drashot of R. Judah on abrek and badrak are homiletic in intent, as the construction of the entire literary unit reveals. The fact that several such drashot are grouped together in one unit establishes word-division as an exegetical device and a unique element of R. Judah's style.

Taking both drashot together as illustrative of one style is quite revealing. We find that these divisions both contain an element of contrast. The two words in each drasha are antonymic providing a type of contrasting parallelism. Ab-rak is "old-young," and had-rak is "harsh-soft." This literary component in R. Judah's word-divisions must be sought out in other examples. By this new yardstick of "antonymic word-division," abba' d'emalka' in TO is a different Midrashic exegetical tradition altogether.

For the drasha on q'loqel we must also examine the literary setting. Whereas the language nucleus is seemingly the phrase lehem gal, the theme of the literary unit is "battoba shehetabti lakem, bah attem..." -- the very good I gave you, eo ipso you have converted

⁵⁰ Rosenblatt, Interpretation, 6, citing Dobschutz, Die einfache Biblexegese der Tannaim (Breslau: 1893), 27, goes so far as to say that this drasha is evidence of the Rabbinic belief in biliteral and even uniliteral roots.

He does not cite examples of words-division in halakic cases, only Aggadic. The small number of word-divisions in Sifre has suggested when this type of exegesis was applied, but our conclusions must be substantiated by examples from the rest of Tannaitic literature.

CHAPTER V

DRASHOT BASED ON FOREIGN LANGUAGES

Introduction

This chapter is the final one in the first part of this dissertation, "Lexicographic Drashot." The drashot presented here do not contain all the foreign words in Sifre. Many more are to be found within the literary units as part of the speech or literary vocabulary of the Tannaim. We present only those instances where a foreign term is the core of a language nucleus in a drasha.

This chapter has its rightful place among the lexicographic drashot because these drashot tell us about the loanwords which were taken into MH. They are also reflective of the language situation in Palestine¹ at the time of the Sifre's composition. While this date is the subject of scholarly debate,² compounded by the interval

¹ On this topic see A. Bendavid, Leshon, I; Joseph A. Fitzmyer, "The Languages of Palestine in the First Century A.D.," CBQ, XXXII (1970), 501-531; Segal, Grammar, Introduction; James Barr, "Which Language did Jesus speak?," JRL, LIII (1970), 9-29.

² 3-4 CE: is referred to by Fitzmyer, ibid., 517; He also mentions those who consider an earlier date. B.Z. Wacholder, "The Date of the Mekilta DeRabbi Ishmael," HUCA, XXXIX (1968), 117-144, considers this Midrash to be from the ninth century (142, bot.). He seems to feel his conclusions are warranted for all the Tannaitic works (119, n.6). He deals with language minimally (135) but his conclusions are sweeping: "Stylistically and structurally all of these halakic midrashim appear to be similar (119, n.6).

between the sources and their editing, we will assume the second and third centuries of the common era as the setting for the Sifre, allowing for later interpolations.

As such we may speak of four³ languages in Palestine: Hebrew, Aramaic, Greek, and Latin. The ratio between speaking and writing for each one varies greatly, especially as we advance the dating. It is in the midst of the Tannaitic period that Hebrew ceases to be the vernacular and is completely supplanted by Aramaic.

A drasha which serves as a near-perfect introduction to the Palestinian language situation described above is the following:

שמג/395

כשנבלה הקדוש ברוך הוא ליתן תורה לישראל לא כלשון אחד
אמר להם אלא בארבעה לשונות שנאמר ה' מסיני בא זה לשון
עברי, וזרח משעיר למז זה לשון רומי, הופיע מהר פארן
זה לשון ערבי, ואתה מרכבות קדש זה לשון ארמי.

This is nearly perfect because three out of four languages are represented. The presence of Arabic as one of the languages indicates either 1) a somewhat later date for the composition of this drasha,⁴

³ The multiple is larger if we distinguish between BH and MH. See M.H. Goshen-Gottstein, "Linguistic Structure and Tradition in the Qumran Documents," SH, IV (1958), 135. Chaim Rabin, in the same volume, speaks of a "trilingual" situation in the earlier Persian period - BH, MH, and Aramaic ("The Historical Background of Qumran Hebrew," 152).

⁴ "The Rabbis of third and fourth century Palestine often had recourse to Arabic for the interpretations of difficult words." J.C. Greenfield, "Lexicographical Notes I," HUCA, XXIX (1958), 213, n.7. See also Y. Blau, "Arabic," EJ, III, 237. Another source of information for Arabic might have been the Nabateans in Syria and Galilee, who in part spoke Arabic after the first century CE: J. Cantineau, Le Nabatéen (Paris: 1930), 12.

2) a non-linguistic interpretation of this Midrash, since Arabic was not a factor in the language situation of the Tannaitic period. M. Ish-Shalom⁵ sees the references to foreign languages in this drasha as rooted in the place-names mentioned: Sinai = Israel, hence Hebrew, Se'ir = Rome, Har Paran = Arabia; Rib'ot Qodesh represents Aramaic, though he is not sure of its location (M^eribat Qadesh?).⁶

However, the linguistic explanation of this drasha appears to be correct. The drasha, of course, could not be tailored to include Greek and not Arabic, if no language-association for it could be found in the verse. But the presence of Aramaic and Latin, as well as the central idea that the Torah was given in four languages, clearly reflects the multilingual situation.

The linguistic explanation of the drasha is as follows: ba' 'came' is a common Hebrew word. It appears in other Semitic languages but, interestingly, not in Aramaic or Arabic. The root of hofic'a is Arabic; in BH it is reserved for poetic phrases. Ata is Aramaic in a stricter sense; its use in BH is generally understood as Aramaic⁷ influence, conscious borrowing,⁸ or archaic usage of a root once common to Hebrew and Aramaic.⁹

Zarah in a semantic range of 'rise, come forth' is common in

⁵ Cited by F, 395, n.11.

⁶ Ish-Shalom's suggestion, ibid.

⁷ In the latter Biblical works (Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther, Qohelet).

⁸ E.G., The aramaic words in Is 21:11-14. Kutscher, Millim Wetoledotehen, (Jerusalem: 1965), 50.

⁹ E.G. millel, Gn 21:17; ozlat yad, Dt 32:36. Kutscher, ibid., 50.

BH. However, in Hebrew, its use in this sense is figurative.¹⁰ But Latin orior is primarily used to mean 'born, rise forth'. By extension, it also refers to the shining of the celestial bodies. Thus, the participle oriens is actually a substantive meaning 'the rising sun,' cf. English 'Orient.'¹¹

Another drasha based on Aramaic is 398/ שׁמב (the same verse as the above drasha).

דבר אחר, ואתא מרבכות קדש, מלך בשר ודם יושב בחורך פלטיא
שלו יש בה בני אדם נאים ממנו בני אדם משובחים ממנו ...
אבל מי שאמר והיה העולם אינו כן אלא ואתא מרבכות קדש,
אות הוא בחורך רבכות קדש.

Ata is third person singular masculine perfect of ATY, Aramaic 'come'. It is here interpreted as the Aramaic noun in the definite state meaning 'sign', Hebrew ot. Actually, the verb is vocalized in Aramaic with hataf under the first alef, and the noun with gamaš. However, it is vocalized in the verse by the Massoretes as any Hebrew verb with a semi-vowel for the third radical, which renders its vocalization identical to the noun. Hebrew ot is understood as parallel to nes, in the sense of 'an outstanding sign.'¹²

שנב/410

ישכון לכטה עליו, אין כטה אלא רחמן.

¹⁰ For a brief discussion of the semantic connection between the fields of "light" and "growth" in Semitic languages see S. Morag, Tarbiz, XLI (1971), 4, and the references in his note, esp. Greenfield.

¹¹ I am indebted to Prof. Z. Ben Hayyim for the linguistic interpretation of this drasha.

¹² E.G. Nu 26:10 wayihyu lenes.

וישכרן ישראל בטח, אין בטח אלא רחשן.

Betah is used adverbially to mean 'securely'. Sometimes the substantive stands alone¹³ and sometimes it is accompanied by the participle l-. This usage is duplicated in Aramaic by the indeterminate (status absolutus) noun rushsan. TO translates betah, labetah, in both passages as lrhṣn.

The explanation of betah by an Aramaic word, especially in the set lexicographical phrase en-ella', would seem to indicate that rushsan was part and parcel of MH vocabulary. However, no instance of it is noted in the present concordances. If our drasha is defining in Aramaic, it is the sole instance in a lexicographic drasha in Sifre.

איזהו קוסם, זה הארוחזומקלו ואומר אם אלך אם לא אלך
Amos 4:12 וכן הוא אומר ^xעמי בעצור ישאל ומקלו יביד לו.

QSM is used in BH to describe sorcery and magic. The root covers all types of prophesying, future-telling, and soothsaying. The drasha defines it as a very specific form of superstition. This seems to be an allusion to auguring procedures that involved pieces of wood, e.g. the Roman virgula divina, or to the use of the divining rod.

The Rabbis were quite familiar with pagan forms of worship of their time.¹⁴ In this instance, though, the forms of auguring are

¹³ GK, 294, par. 100b, c.

¹⁴ Lieberman, Hellenism, 131.

not necessarily anachronistic to the Biblical period.¹⁵ In Aramaic, qisma' is 'rod, staff'.¹⁶ In MH, qisa, qisem means 'chip, twig, piece of wood'.

The drasha, through language comparison, restores to QSM its probable original meaning, referring to divining procedures. The other types of superstition mentioned (me^conen, me^kassef^v), show clearly that the role of each was specified. Only later on in BH does QSM assume more general meaning.

The explanation as adapted to the proof-text seems to be the true meaning of the verse in Amos, though it has gone unnoticed.¹⁷ The introduction to this drasha in Midrash Haggadol¹⁸ reads w^eaf^a cal pi she'en r^eaya laddabar, zeker laddabar. This further substantiates the theory that this expression refers to the halakic, not exegetical, value of the proof-text.

368/ מכז

מזי רעב ... שיהיו מונאים ברעב.

The word is unique in BH, apparently from the root MZY. Some commentators relate it to le^emeze' (Dan 3:19),¹⁹ though it is

15 Aside from the linguistic information, superstitions and folk-magic have long life-spans. The modern use of the divining rod is a good example. See Lieberman, Tosefta Ki-fshutah, III (NY: 1962), 93, n.5-6.

16 Schulthess, 182: מכז "festuca (rod).: Dalman, Hand-wörterbuch, 377: מכז, מכז = Holz, Holstuck.: מכז = chip, shaving. So, too, PS, 504, Krauss, II, 534.

17 By the commentaries, but Maimonides, Yad Hahazaqa, Hilkot Caboda zara, 5:6, cites the Sifre.

18 Also in Tosefta' Shabbat 7(8): 4, ed. Zuckerman, 118, ed. Lieberman, 26.

19 Ibn Ezra, Kimhi.

וַאֲתָן לְךָ אֶרֶץ חֲמֵדָה נְחֻלָּה אֲבִי אֲבֹתָהּ בְּיָמֶיךָ,
 אֶרֶץ שְׁעָרֶיהָ חוֹלֵלָאוֹת וְחוֹלֵלָאוֹת לְמַלְכֵיהֶם וְשִׁלְטוֹנֵיהֶם. Jer 3:19

The word hawila'ot is Latin 'villa.'²⁶ The drasha effects a wordplay between nahlat and hawila'ot on the similarity of the consonants /h/, /l/, and /t/.²⁷

שיב/356

יִסְרָכְנָהוּ, בּוֹקְנֵיהֶם.

This drasha is based on Aramaic sab, saba' 'elder, ancestor.' Cognates exist in the other Semitic languages including Hebrew,²⁸ but it is spelled with samek only in Aramaic, and the drasha is interested in orthographic and phonetic considerations. This is evident from the following drasha: y^ebon^enehu, binn^ebi'im. No doubt saba' was a common term in the spoken Aramaic, though there is no evidence²⁹ that it was as yet part of the Hebrew lexicon.³⁰

שנה/442

וְכִימִיךָ דְבַאךְ, שְׂכַל הָאֲרָצוֹת דּוֹבְאוֹת כֶּסֶף לְאֶרֶץ יִשְׂרָאֵל.

²⁶ Krauss, II, 249. He ascribes the het, "eigentlich heh," to dittography from שְׁעָרֶיהָ. This is not plausible, for further on in the drasha פְּלִטְרִירוֹת וְחוֹלֵלָאוֹת appears. (The het is present in all MSS.) Het was sometimes used to transcribe Greek words that began with an aspirate (*Ibid.*, I, 61, par. 80).

²⁷ For other occurrences of this drasha, see BR, TA, 1050 and notes.

²⁸ שִׁיבָה (Is 12:2; Jb 15:10); as a noun- שִׁיבָה

²⁹ It is not listed in the MH concordances.

³⁰ It appears in the Hebrew of BR, Parasha 56, TA II 598:

" מַה סָבָה (סָבָא אֲבֹתָהּ) לְבָךְ. "

שחיה ארץ ישראל מלאה דגן חירוש ויצהר וכל הארצות דובאות
למלאות אותה כסף וזהב שנאמר וילקט יוסף את כל הכסף ואומר
וכימין דבאך ייהו כל הארצות דובאות כסף וזהב לארץ ישראל

The meaning of the word dob'eka was, for a long time, uncertain.³¹
Though the ancient versions rendered it as "strength" no Semitic root
DB' with this meaning was known (our word is an hapax legomenon).
However, in a Ugaritic text,³² DB' is found and a meaning approximating
"strength" makes sense in context.³³

The Midrash uses the word within its own sentences, in finite
forms. On the fact of it, this seems to show that DB' was part of
the MH vocabulary. However, we have already seen that inclusion in
the structure of a sentence does not indicate familiarity with the
meaning of a word.³⁴

Moreover, the feminine plural participle of DB', dob'ot, is used
in three different syntactic constructions. In 422/ שנה it takes
both a direct and indirect object; in 91/ מב it is intransitive; in
Wayyiqra' Rabba it takes only a direct object: dob'ot kesef
um'bi'ot le'ereš yisrael.

The Sifre seems to interpret DB' on the basis of this root in

³¹ See Driver, ICC.

³² IV AB ii: 21-25 (Gordon 76).

³³ Gordon, UT (1965), Glossary, 383, #635. Cross and Freedman,
"The Blessing of Moses," JBL, LXVII (1948), 209 n. 80; Cross,
"Ugaritic DB' AT and Hebrew Cognates," VT, II (1952), 162 ff.

³⁴ As in the case of mitlahamim.

Aramaic,³⁵ which is the equivalent of Hebrew zeb 'flow;' Arabic 'spread, fill, pervade.'³⁶ The drasha says that the other lands "run, empty themselves of, silver (and gold), in order to fill Israel." The exact translation is dependent on the sentence structure, which varies in each drasha.

4/ א

כמדובר, מלמד שהיו נוטלים כניהם ובנוהיהם קטנים וזורקים
להוך חיקו של משה ואומרים בןעמדם מה אנונה התקנה להם לאלו
מה פרנסה התקנה להם לאלו?

Though this drasha includes a word in Greek, its language nucleus is not related to that language. In order to understand what relationship exists between the verse and the drasha it is necessary to examine the literary unit as a whole.

A large part of the first Pisqa in Sifre is devoted to a single theme: The enumeration of the sins for which Moses reprimanded the Jews prior to their crossing the Jordan. The first verse in Deuteronomy is understood by the Midrash as an "index" to the misdeeds of the Israelites.

This theme is found in the opening lines of the Sifre:

אשר דבר משה, מלמד שהיו דברי תוכחות.

³⁵ This interpretation of the Sifre is given by R. Hillel, as cited by F: זכות בסוף וזכות, דמשמע הכקבל ימין דבואות
לך דהיינו דבואות בסוף וזכות
דבאות: זכות, מלשון ז, זכה חלב ודבש.
As cited by Koliditzky, Sifre, 30

³⁶ Wehr, 269.

The subsequent place-names mentioned are all exegetically explained as sins. It follows that any drasha on the word bamidbar should likewise be the enumeration of a sin. The drasha should have a language connection to the word bamidbar, as is true of all the other drashot here. Regarding the first place enumerated, Transjordan, the Midrash says:

בעבר הירדן, מלמד שהוכיחום על מה שעשו בעבר הירדן.

This is followed by במדבר, מלמד שהוכיחום על מה שעשו במדבר which is followed by the drasha here under discussion. F cites a lengthy opinion of H.S. Horovitz to the effect that the drasha on b'Ceber hayyarden is difficult, for no sin is here enumerated. Rather, these words should be taken literally; the chastisement was delivered b'Ceber hayyarden, on the other side of the Jordan river.

In support of his contention that b'Ceber hayyarden was taken literally, Horovitz cites T0, who preserves the same tradition as the Sifre. T0 begins the exegesis with ארכה יתרון על דתור במדברא The words b'Ceber hayyarden 'Transjordan' are simply translated.

Horovitz's point is well-taken; all the other drashot involve some type of wordplay, and this would have been the exception. The probable explanation is that the comment on b'ceber hayyarden was added to the Sifre in light of the identical comment which follows on bamidbar. However, to avoid the very same objections to the drasha on bamidbar, we must say that some wordplay is implicit here.

No doubt T0 preserved the same thematic drasha as the Sifre and he, too, begins the homiletic exegesis with bamidbar. However, T0's d'habu b'emadb'era gives no hint of what the crime was.

Our drasha provides the connection between these points. It is the detailed explanation of the drasha which precedes it, "shehokihum Cal ma sheCasu bammidbar," as well as the key to understanding TO, the equivalent of the preceding drasha.

It should be remembered that most of the drashot in the first Pisqa have a linguistic explanation. We have dealt with several in the chapter on wordplays. Our drasha, too, is based on a language-play. It portrays the parents challenging Moses in his role as leader. This is based on the root DER, at the heart of Heb. midbar and in Aramaic a verb meaning "lead." TO's d^ehabu b^emadb^era' means "concerning their sins against their leader, Moses." The word m^edabra' 'leader' or m^edabrana' appears in Targum to Esther and Chronicles and in TB Sanhedrin 14a.

PART II. WORDPLAYS AND PHONETICS

INTRODUCTION

We have gathered nearly sixty examples of verbal wordplays. This term includes many different linguistic phenomena, most of which are related to phonetic considerations, hence the title of this section. Our approach will be as it has been all along, to describe the different types of drashot and to analyze the explicit or implicit language information. The accumulated data will serve the purposes of general remarks in the summation. A numbered list of the wordplays is provided in the appendix. References to wordplays in the footnotes are indicated by this sequential number. It is also given in the individual discussions, to the left of the Pisqa and page number.

By their nature the language nuclei of these drashot lend themselves to easier classification. For the most part, they consist of two words, the Biblical word being analyzed, which we call the referent, and the word resulting from the wordplay, or, the reference. The linguistic phenomena the drashot exhibit are of various sorts, but the change between referent and reference is usually easily recognizable.

By definition, wordplays are based on phonetic changes. As such, many of the drashot are evidence of actual phonetic developments between the period of BH and the period of MH. However, other wordplays have more than phonetic significance. Do the frequent interchanges

between middle weak and final weak geminate roots indicate the Rabbinic view of aspects of Hebrew morphology, e.g. that Hebrew has biliteral and uniliteral roots? Were the weak letters not considered radicals but only artificial aids in patterning the stem? Do interchanges between homonymic roots indicate that they were conceived as of being etymologically or semantically related?

All the above questions are worded as positive statements by Rosenblatt.¹ It is the nature of his compact work to present the outcome of his researches; the examples are reserved for the copious notes. Since this thesis discusses each example in detail, our views on these questions will be found in the discussions, and finalized in the summary chapter.

On the whole, the wordplay is not embedded in a larger literary unit. As if to accent the wordplay, whose thrust is its brevity, the literary unit is often identical with the language material, or exceeds it by no more than several words. Such tendency towards a uniform style makes these drashot more easily analyzable from a statistical viewpoint. By contrast, the lexicographic drashot we analyzed exhibited such individualistic styles that it was difficult to arrange and classify them with any rigidity.

Classification and Analysis

Because these wordplay drashot are easily manipulated, several different classifications were carried out, in the hope that they would shed light on the nature of these drashot. The first

¹ Interpretation, 6-7.

arrangement deals with matters of form. The drashot were arranged in the following groups: (A) Drashot where the word analyzed is a noun and the resultant wordplay likewise (=NN). (B) The word analyzed is a noun and the resultant wordplay a verb (=NV). (C) VV. (D) VN. The results are:²

NN	23
NV	18
VV	16
VN	21
TOTAL	78

Since no one grouping is heavily predominant we may conclude that the form of the words in these drashot is inconsequential. Form is secondary; the play on the root is seminal. It therefore does not matter how the resulting wordplay finds its morphological expression, as a verb or as a noun. In some of these drashot, a phonetic change is the pivotal point, and this change is as likely to result in a verb as in a noun. In several drashot, the same word is submitted to different language treatments and the resultant two (or more) wordplays are all different in form.³

All this is in contrast to the lexicographic types of drashot, where matters of style were rigid, e.g. the preference of en-ella' drashot to cast the word being analyzed into the pattern of an infinitive or verbal noun.

² In detail: NN: 2, 7a, 8, 10, 12, 14, 15, 18, 20, 21, 25, 27, 30, 31, 27, 41, 42, 45a, 46, 47, 48, 49, 55.
 NV: 1, 4, 6, 7b, 13, 16a, b, 17a, c, e, 24, 26, 42a, b, 45b, c, 54, 56.
 VV: 22a, b, c, 28, 32a, 33a, b, 38, 40, 43a, 44, 53b, c.
 VN: 3, 5, 9, 11, 17b, d, 19, 23a, b, c, 28, 29, 32b, 34, 39a, b, 43b, 50, 51, 52b, 53a.
³ 7, 17, 32, 43, 45, 52, 53.

A second classification was made according to the nature of the root.⁴ This was done in the usual system of Hebrew grammars, i.e. the division into strong and weak stems. The groups are (1) primae gutturalis (=PG) (2) primae N (PN) (3) primae Y (PY) (4) middle weak (MW) (5) geminated stems of the pattern 1.2.2 (GM) (6) final weak (FW) and (7) the strong stem.

PG	PN	PY	MW	GM	FW	STRONG
12	3	1	11	9	13	15

The total number above (64) exceeds the number of drashot (56) due to the fact that several roots fall into two classes, e.g., PG and strong roots, while bilateral particles and roots⁵ were not included.

The percentages⁶ for the different types of verbal roots treated by wordplays are:

PG	PN	PY	MW	GM	FW	STRONG
23%	5%	2%	21%	17%	25%	7%

Only seven percent of the wordplays were made on strong verbs, in comparison with sixty-one percent on MW, GM, and FW. Most of

⁴ Included here are the roots that are not actually mentioned but which are implicit in the wordplay (see below, "Explicit and Implicit Wordplays"). Also included in the statistics are roots of nouns. From the point of view of the wordplays, their treatment is not different from that of the verb.

⁵ 14 15 21 37.

⁶ The percentage was reckoned against the actual number of trilateral roots, 52.

the roots included under "strong" were nouns; the number of verbal stems is only four.

Like all statistical data, these need further modification and explanation to be accurate. The linguistic point at the heart of a wordplay is not necessarily the infirm radical, even if that happens to be present. Thus, for example, the figure of 23% primae gutturalis is not significant because this factor is rarely the focal point of the drasha.

The above figures are a picture of the types of roots dealt with by Sifre Dt; the language information at the core of each drasha needs separate evaluation. However, in the categories of middle and final weak our findings are that the drashot on the whole are related to the weak consonant.

Explicit And Implicit Wordplays

Finally, we have arranged the wordplays according to the transparency of the drashot. If the relationship between the word and the wordplay (referent and reference) is immediately evident, it is counted as "explicit." These are the drashot where some phonetic play is the basis of the exegesis. Also included are instances where the reference speaks of phonetic characteristics e.g., sorer, bet p'ecamin, based on the geminate (GM) nature of the stem SRR.

Where language factors other than phonetic⁷ provide the dynamics of the drasha, it is counted as an "implicit" wordplay. We shall

⁷ Into this category fall drashot whose reference is (a) semantic, or is (b) a definition or synonym that makes associative reference to a third root which is phonetically linked to the referent.

have more to say about this category of drashot in the summary chapter. In our citation of the drashot, explicit references are given in larger letters; attention is called to implicit wordplays in the body of the discussion.

The total number used here was not of drashot, but of language nuclei, which is 78. Roughly three fourths of the wordplays are explicit (57), and one quarter (21) implicit. Taking into consideration that, in the final analysis, many of the implicit drashot also rely secondarily on phonetic understanding, the language link of these wordplays is overwhelmingly phonetic.

We deal with these drashot according to the nature of the roots. However, this arrangement is for purposes of convenience. In many cases, as already stated, this classification is not the overriding linguistic criterion of the drasha. Such clarifications will be made in the individual discussions.

CHAPTER VI
INITIAL WEAK ROOTS

The roots whose initial radical is guttural or laryngeal are dealt with first. The gutturals ' , h, ḥ, ʿ, are termed PA, PH, PḤ, and p^c respectively. After them we deal with PN and Py stems.

The total number of PG drashot is 12. There are 5 PA,¹ no PH, 5 PH,² 2 p^c.³ Four of the PH roots are Middle Weak or are geminates, and they will be treated in those categories. The same is true of the p^c examples. This leaves us with 5 PA and 1 PH.

PA Roots

1. 174/707

אָבִיּוֹן, אָבִיּוֹן אָבִיּוֹן קוֹדֵם.

The noun ebyon has as its root final weak ABY. The root T'B is a "secondary √ from אָבִיּוֹן, or denominative from אָבִיּוֹן, and this from אָבִיּוֹן."⁴ T'B appears but twice in BH, in Ps 119:40, and 119:174. We may consider its use in Psalms as presaging MH, since it appears

¹ 1-5.

² 16-20.

³ 38, 39.

⁴ BDB, 1060. Also of the opinion that T'B is a denominative from tobeh is A.M. Honeyman, "Some Developments of the Semitic Root 'by," JAOS, LXIV (1944), 81f. He writes: T'B is a "denominative back formation. Roots containing weak letters are partial to noun formations of this and similar types" (81, n. 5).

in MH,⁵ not only in literary or halakic use but also in relating ordinary speech.⁶ The Rabbis saw both the semantic and phonetic relations here. Other⁷ drashot link ebyon to the root AWY, on semantic and phonetic considerations, though the roots ABY and AWY are, in all senses, independent.

2. 281 /זנך

אין זנך אלא מקום זיך

The drasha, in relating azeneka to MH (kle) zayin,⁸ "weapons," postulates the same etymology as the modern lexicons, who relate azeneka (*זיך) to Aramaic zena, 'weapons',⁹ or to a root in Ethiopic meaning 'sharpness'.¹⁰ The alef must have been understood as prosthetic, and the long vowel ē in both the BH and Aramaic words assured the connection of the two.

The drasha has the form of an en - ella' lexicographic entry, which it is in the true sense. According to F's reading, the drasha is using the denominative pi^celZYN, "arm" and the meaning of m^eqom ziyyuneka is 'the place or armament,' i.e., the battlefield. According to other MSS, the reading is m^eqom zeneka, 'the place of your

⁵ It is not found in the Mishna but appears in Mekilta (5x) and Tosefta' (3x).

⁶ Tosefta Yebamot 1:10 ארץ ה'... האלפים, אמר רבי טרפון, האלפים.

⁷ Mekilta Mishpatim, Masseket im kesef, Parasha 20.

⁸ It does not appear in the Mishna, but is found in Wayyiqra Rabba, Tal. Yer., and in Sifre Dt 424/זנך

⁹ KB3.

¹⁰ BDB. However, C. Rabin, "Etymological Miscellanea," SH, VIII (1961), 387, disqualifies the Aramaic cognate, since that itself is a borrowing from Persian zaena. He suggests South Arabic 'dhn (a'dhan) 'possessions', with the meaning in Dt 'equipment, tools;' he compares MH kelim, Aramaic mane, 'tools, clothes, possessions.'

weapons.' The word maqom was added to clarify the definition of an otherwise difficult verse.

3. 90/ מב

או ואספה דבניחתירושך ... מפני מיעוט הפירוט?

The root ASF means to gather. Closely related is YSF. However, the roots SWF and SFY have negative connotations. The first is 'come to an end, cease,' and the latter 'sweep, snatch away.' Because of the similarity of the radicals, certain finite forms of these verbs are distinguished only by the vocalization.

The drasha here, while unclear, seems to be playing with ASF, 'gather,' and a form such as Hif^cil asifem from SWF, 'I will destroy,' especially since such a wordplay is already employed in BH, cf.

Is 8:13 אסף אסופם , Zef 1:2 אסף אסף

although emendations propose to change both verbs to forms of ASF.¹¹

The fact that this root is initial A and the letter A serves as an affirmative in the Imperfect of SWF, allowed for this drasha. But such a phonetic similarity does not mean that both ASF and SWF were considered to originate from biradical *SP.

4. 59/ לב

על לבבך, מיכּן היה רבי יאשיה אומר, צריך אדם להשביע את יצרו

H.S. Horovitz¹² suggested that the quotation from the verse here is incomplete, making the drasha not understandable. The quote should be "... על לבבך. מיכּן" reading the word eleh as ala 'oath'. Hence the language nucleus .

¹¹ GK, 102, par. 72 aa.

¹² See F ad loc.

l^ehashbi^a et visro. If this interpretation is correct,¹³ the drasha is based on a change of vocalization. We include it under PA roots because the implicit wordplay is eleh-ala.

5. 398/שמו

ואתא מרככות קדט, אתה הוא כחוך רככות קדט.

This drasha was analyzed in the chapter dealing with drashot based on foreign words. The motivation is not only the phonetic closeness of the consonants, but also the fact that suffix -a' (qamas+alef) in Aramaic is the sign of the determined state, which makes the verb נאנא homonymic with the Aramaic noun נא in the determined state.¹⁴

Summary

In the above five examples of PA verbs, only in two cases, (2,3) can we say that the special qualities of alef as the first radical influenced the drasha. In the other three cases, the alef is treated as any other strong consonant.

PH Roots

20. 424/שנו

ואשר חרב באורותך, אמר לו הקב"ה, עתיד אני ליתן להם לישראל אותו זיין שניטל מהם כחורג.

¹³ R. Hillel interprets that yesser is related to lebab, cf. The drasha bishne visreka, above, 73: This explanation is supported by the end of Pisqa 33, where yesser hara^c is the subject.

¹⁴ It is hard to say if this drasha reveals anything about the MH realization of the vowels qamas and holam. Arendt, 27, presents a wordplay involving the same vowels: ההריים-ההוויים (BR TA 770). He is certain that the Rabbinic drashot paid no attention to the vowels altogether since the text of the Bible was as yet unvocalized.

The basis of the drasha, the only one involving initial het, is the vocalization of hereb as horeb.

PN Roots

The actual number of PN roots is 6.¹⁵ However, half of them are treated as GM, MW, and FW roots.

30. 358/ שטר

ואין עמן אל נכר, שלא יהו נכס
בני אדם עסיקים בפרקמטיא של כלום.

This drasha is one we have termed "implicit." The language nucleus is nekar-pragmatya. To find the wordplay it must be carried one step further. מכר פרקמטיא-נכר. I.e., it is a synonym of the reference, pragmatia, that relates to the BH word. The drasha is based on the phonemic identity of two out of three radicals and also on the interchange m/n. This change in final position is well-documented in Mishnaic Hebrew.¹⁶ However, we have no documentation of such an interchange h initial position, nor is it explainable according to the phonetic developments when it is in final position.¹⁷ Possibly the drasha is based on the letters /k/ and /r/ alone, the /m/ and /n/ being dropped;¹⁸ cf. the talmudic statement that

¹⁵ 28-33.

¹⁶ Examples in J.N. Epstein, Mabo LeNosah Hammishna (Jerusalem: 1962), II, 1228 ff. For explanations, see Kutscher, Tarbiš XXIII, 38-41, and Ben-Ḥayyim, Leshonenu, XXII, 232.

¹⁷ According to Kutscher: m > n at the end of a word. Ben Ḥayyim: a vowel+m or n=nasalized vowel.

¹⁸ TB Rosh Hašana 26a, Sota 13a, Hullin 92a. In R.H.: היו קורין למכירה כירה other sources cite R. Akiba as the author of the statement, see Levy, Wörterbuch, entry כירה. In either case, the testimony is Tannaitic.

m^ekira 'selling' was called kira.¹⁹

32. 146// נד

פן תנקש אחריהם, שמה המשך אחריהם או שמה תדמה להם,
שמה תעשה כמעשיהם ויהיו ל למוקש.

There are three separate wordplays here. The first, tmmashek, is actually a definition of the root NQ[√]S.²⁰ The second tiddamneh (or t^edamneh), implies the word heqqesh²¹ 'comparison', which derives from the root NQ[√]S. The third word, moqesh 'snare, trap,' comes from YQ[√]S 'ensnare, lay a trap.'

The second definition contains an implicit language nucleus. The word 'tiddamneh' makes associative reference to the MH meaning of NQ[√]S, 'comparison', in the form of the word heqqesh. The language contact between word and wordplay is thus, in the last analysis, phonetic, though it began as a semantic reference.

The third explanation relies on an explicit phonetic relation between moqesh and a form such as noqesh,²² or, in reverse, the Nif[√]cal forms of YQ[√]S in the Perfect, which, because they contain /n/²³ as the preformative of that stem, end up with the consonants n, q, sh. Our verse is paralleled by Dt 7:25, pen tiwqesh bo. Thus,

¹⁹ The dropping of preformative /m/ is known, e.g., Segal, 37; Epstein, Mabo Lenosah, II, 1256.

²⁰ Rashi, ad loc., explains similarly: פן תטרף אחריהם להיות כרוך אחר מעשיהם.

²¹ The name of one of Hillel's middot (hermeneutic rules), TY Pesahim 33a.

²² Participle m.s. of NQ[√]S (Ps 9:17). Note m/n interchange in initial position in the wordplay.

²³ The preformative is actually na - which, in conjunction with (original) primae waw, forms the diphthony aw > o. Jouon, 146.

in addition to homophony, there is a BH semantic closeness between the two roots. However, the characteristic of prima^ve num., i.e., the tendency to be assimilated in certain stems, plays no part in this drasha. It is rather the PW (historic PW) nature of YQ^v that is important.

33. 365/ שיט

צור ילדך חטי, שכחתם אותי ... דבר אחר כל
זמן שאני מבקש להיטיב לכם אתם מוסיפים כהו
של מעלה.

The first reference sh^ekahtem, is the definition of the root NSY 'forget.' The Rabbis apparently took teshi as the imperfect 2 m.s. of this root, its difficult form notwithstanding.²⁴ Formally, though, we may consider this a wordplay between phonetically similar verbal forms and not a definition, since the Massoretic vocalization teshi assumes a root SY^v, on analogy to tehi from HY^v.²⁵

The second language nucleus, teshi-mattishim, relies on the phonetic similarity of /t/ and /sh/ in both words. The root of mattishim is NT^vS. If we assume the Rabbis considered NSY as the root of teshi, the PW factor in both the BH word (referent) and wordplay (reference) is at the heart of the drasha. The assimilation of num, plus the fact that /t/ is the prefix indicative of the second person, -enable the phonetic relation between roots having only one consonant

²⁴ EDB reads tishev. However, the orthography of DSS shows that segol in the final open syllable may be represented by yad instead of heh; M.H. Gottstein, "Studies in the Language of the Dead Sea Scrolls," JSS, IV (1953), 105.

²⁵ Ibid.

in common. Of course, if the root of teshi is SY^Y, the PN factor relates only to mattishim. The prefix /t/ is the factor which makes for phonetic similarity, giving both words the sounds /t/ and /s/.

Summary: PN Roots

Of the three drashot relating to a PN verb, which contained six language-statements, only two were affected by the characteristics of PN. In two cases, the interchange of /m/ and /n/ were involved. In both cases, these letters were in initial position. Such an interchange is not documented in MSS of MH. Perhaps the phenomenon is reserved to drashot, and its explanation may not be phonetic, but a conscious, artificial exchange. More cases might decide the matter.

PY Roots

22. 89/ מב

יורה, שיורד ומורה את הכריות להכניס פירותיהם ... ד"א
יורה, שמהכנין לארץ ואינו יורד בזעף. ד"א יורה, שילוד ומורה.

The first language nucleus, yoreh - moreh, bases itself on the semantic range of the root YRY 'throw, shoot, direct, teach.' The phonetic factor is not to be considered, since we are dealing with one and the same root.²⁶

Mitkawven is an implicit drasha which recalls YRY in the sense of 'shoot', i.e., the rain is aimed at the earth. Mitkawven in MH

²⁶ GB posits distinct roots: 'throw' is YRY, Arabic warra, whereas 'teach' is related to Arabic سَلَسَ, دَأَسَ. BDB (434b) questions the distinction.

is 'intend', and PiCiel KWN is 'arrange, direct.' Both these classes do not appear in BH, though the sense of 'arrange, direct' is found in BH Hif^cil in the late books. Relating the early rains called yoreh to YRY, 'shoot', is actually the definition of the lexicon. What distinguishes the drasha is the idea of directed, intentional aim: "mitkawwen we'eno yored beza'af."

RWY means 'saturated'. The language play is based on the phonetic relation of the Hif^cil participles of both roots, moreh-marweh. Assuming the waw was pronounced as the semivowel /w/,²⁷ the phonetic relationship is even closer. In fact, GB etymologically relates the two roots, defining Hif^cil yoreh as 'moisten', and cites our drasha as proof (!)

Summation

On the face of it, phonetic considerations are not important for the first two wordplays. The final language nucleus, RWY--YRY, does take advantage of the PY nature of YRY. The primitive PW nature of YRY makes for the initial diphthong in the Hif^cil, leaving us with only one strong consonant, /r/. This situation is matched in the word marweh from RWY.

Yet, it is possible to discern a phonetic aspect to the first wordplay. This is the fact that the reference is expressed by the two words sheyyored umoreh. In the third wordplay, too, the phrase is sheyyored umarweh. The word yored was added in both cases for

²⁷And not like the Ashkenazi labiodental voiced fricative /v/, or the Sephardic variations. See S. Morag, "Pronunciations of Hebrew," EJ, XIII, 1134.

greater phonetic correlation with the word yoreh. In the second
wordplay, which is implicit and not based on phonetic aspects,
there is no need for the word moreh.

CHAPTER VII

GEMINATE AND MIDDLE-WEAK ROOTS

In MH, the tendency already visible in BH to conjugate these verbs according to the pattern of the trilateral strong root is carried further. The biliteral forms are found only in the Hif^cil and, to a lesser extent, in the Imperfect Qal and Nif^cal. In the Pi^cel, only trilateral forms are found.

This situation is in contrast to Aramaic, where the development went in the other direction towards the biliteral forms of the MW type. Save for the Pa^cel and participial forms, biliteral forms are in the majority.¹

The number of GM roots which are treated by wordplays is eight, and the number of wordplays in these drashot is 11. As above, we will analyze each wordplay to see if it is primarily phonetic or semantic, and whether the peculiarities of the geminated conjugation play a role in determining the wordplay.

11. 158/ זצ

לא חתגודדו, לא חעשו אנודודו

Verbal patterns in the class Hitpo^cel, rare in BH, are even

¹Segal, 85; Idem, Heb. ed., 147.

rarer in MH.² Secondly, the root GDD 'cut' is one of those exceptions that appears in MH in biliteral forms³: Imperfect yagod,⁴ and infinitive lagod.⁵ The strangeness of the BH form and its appearance as a triradical may have motivated the drasha on this word.

The language nucleus GDD-AGD, points to a weakness of alef in initial position. We know of dropping of initial alef in MH.⁶ In PA roots, the alef and its vowel are often elided following a vowel.⁷ There are examples of this phenomenon with our root, AGD.⁸

Three sources in F's apparatus⁹ read: לֹא הֵעִשׂוּ אִנּוּדוֹת אִנּוּדָהּ
This reading, in addition to the wordplay, expresses multiplicity by the distributive. This idea¹⁰ is derived from the geminate nature of the root GDD. We have noted this technique in the case of lebab;¹¹ there are other examples we will comment upon.

16. כּוּז 41/

אתה החלום, אתה החרה לי כדרי, ... ד"א
אתה פתחה לי פתח שאעמוד ואתפלל לפניך.

² Idem, Heb. ed., 148.

³ The Mishna Concordance, I, 436a, lists the root as GWD.

⁴ Para, 2:2.

⁵ Ohalot 15:8.

⁶ Li^cezer for Eli^cezer; Segal, 37. He also cites gis 'brother-in-law' for agis. Epstein, Mabo, 1249, speaks of agis as prosthetic alef.

⁷ The alef is susceptible to dropping when followed by a hataf. Kutscher, "L^eshon Hazzal", Sefer Hanok Yalon (Jerusalem: 1963), 257.

⁸ Yogdenu (יגדנו), Succa 3:1. Epstein, ibid., 1250.

⁹ MSS of Yalqut Shim^coni, Yalqut Hammakiri, and MS א¹.

¹⁰ See E.Z. Melamed, "Kefel otivot kisod lidrashot hazzal," Leshonenu, XXI (1957), 271-78.

¹¹ Above, 73.

The Hif^cil of HLL means 'begin'. It appears in biliteral form in MH, imperfect hehellu.¹² Generally, though, the meaning 'begin' has passed in MH to the secondary root THL, and HLL appears in the Pi^cel (hence trilateral) class, meaning 'profane' in a ritual sense.

The first wordplay, hahilota-hittarta, is implicit. Hittarta 'permit' untie, undo' brings to mind Arabic كَلَّ 'untie, undo'. This meaning underlies Hebrew HLL in its semantic fields of 'begin' and 'profane'. NFR in BH is 'untie' while in MH it is most frequently used in the sense 'permit'. The same development is true of Armaic ^vSR', which is the translation of hahilota in TO.

The second wordplay, hahilota-patahta, has a different association. "To open an opening" recalls the homonymic Hebrew root HLL, 'bore pierce.' This root is historically *HLL, Arabic حَلَّ.

The two drashot show parallel structure not only in the implicit nature of the wordplay but also in the entire context into which they place the verse.

The first wordplay, HLL 'begin' - HLL 'untie, undo', sets up our own verse in the context of neder, oath. The ensuing narrative of the literary unit assumes the reader's knowledge of a previous Midrashic exposition¹³ that Moses had sworn allegiance to Jethro. The expression hittarta li nidri is a Rabbinic one. The process of nullifying an oath is called hattarat nedarim¹⁴ in Halakic terminology.

¹² Tamid 2:3.

¹³ Sifre 41/73. This exposition was also based on language exegesis.

¹⁴ Or heter nedarim, Hagiga 10:1. This expression is defined in the Responsa of RaSHBA attributed to Ramban [Heb.] (Tel Aviv: 1959), 220, no. 262, as meaning "The loosening of a knot," i.e. the annulment of the oath.

With the introduction of the concept of neder the Midrash sets the stage for interpreting the Biblical verse in Rabbinic terms of reference.

In effect, we have multiple levels of language exegesis. The immediate wordplay is set into a literary framework which was previously established in the story of Jethro, also through language exegesis. Subconsciously, this context is reestablished here, for the BH expression about violation of oaths is lo yahel d'baro. Yahel is likewise a form of HLL, 'profane', hence related to hahilota.

The second wordplay, HLL 'begin' - HLL 'bore, pierce' sets our verse into a literary context of prayer. Our wordplay is part of the expression patahta li petah she'e'c'omod w'e'tpallel. This phrase, like the phrase hattarat n'edarim above, is also an MH concept.¹⁵

Just as we established the literary framework of neder in our verse through language exegesis, so can we show the relationship between the context of prayer and the word hahilota. A word often used in the sense of "beseeched (God)" is the root HLL in the Pi'el, e.g. way'chal moshe et p'ne... (Ex 31:11). The word hahilota is thus related phonetically to HLL, 'beseech (in prayer)'. This relation, not explicitly stated in the drasha, parallels the yahel-hahilota relation underlying the first drasha. Once the context of prayer has been established, the wordplay patahta...petah is well understood.

¹⁵ The word petah is used in Tannaitic literature with regard to oaths, sometimes in the term petah harata, i.e., an opening through which we can annul the vow. It is also used of repentance in general, e.g. petah shel t'shuba, BR 38, TA 359. The same motif of an opening for repentance and prayer is presented in MH by the root HTR; cf. the wordplay Hatira-Catira (prayer), in DT Rabba, 2, 251d.

Summation

In the first drasha, no special qualities of GM roots lay at the heart of the wordplay. The wordplay as well as the context both relied on the wide semantic range of HLL, both in BH and MH usage.

The second drasha did take advantage of the GM nature of HLL. The fact that there is a biliteral pattern allowed for the phonetic relation to the root HLLH, which also has but two radicals in conjugated forms, especially in apocopated forms such as way^ehal. The wordplay itself, though, being implicit, relies only on the association in the reader's mind of the two roots HLL. The reduplicated nature of the root is not important for this association.

18. 114/ מט

חנון ורחום ה', ועשה מתנות חננים.

19. 38/ בר

[ראתחנן] ולא ביקשו מן המקום שיהן להם אלא חננים.

Both these drashot rely on the phonetic interchange of /m/ and /n/ at the end of words. The word hinnam is an adverb formed from hen + adverbial morpheme - am, related to the root HNN. The phrase matnat hinnam is MH.¹⁶ The GM nature of HNN, while not as important as the m/n interchange, plays a part in a related drasha.

34. 365/ שיג

יטרובבנהר, בזקניט.

The implicit wordplay here is Aramaic saba' 'old man', a word

¹⁶ Similar constructions are found in BH, e.g., Qil^elat hinnam, Prov 26:2.

which entered the Hebrew lexicon.¹⁷ However, it is clear that there is secondarily also a phonetic element here. The biliteral patterns of SBB approximate the Aramaic word. Also, the full drasha shows the phonetic underpinnings of the wordplay:

יִסְוֹבְבָנְהוּ כִזְקָנִים, יִכְוֹנְנְהוּ כְנַבְיָאִים.

The second drasha, which is explicitly phonetic, sheds light on the first.

36. 251/ רִיחַ

סוֹרֵר, שְׁתֵּי פְעֻמִּים.

This drasha fully utilizes the geminate nature of the root for its exegesis. The fact that the root is geminated means that two acts must be committed by the rebellious son. This exegesis, if based on language perception, seems particularly out of place here. Since there is no bi-literal alternative pattern for the Qal participle of geminate roots, it is odd that the trilateral form, sorer should evoke comment.

The reading of another MS clarifies this point. MS 7 reads סוֹרֵר, סוֹרֵר שְׁנֵי פְעֻמִּים. In other words, the Midrash takes sorer as expressing an intensification of SWR, 'stray'. The Qal participle of that MW root is sar. The roots SRR and SWR are independent, but their semantic closeness and structural relatedness (sorer is also 3s. Perfect Polel of SWR)¹⁸ permit this wordplay.

¹⁷ We have included this drasha in CH. V as well.

¹⁸ Appears as such in Lm 3:11.

That the Midrash intertwines the two roots SRR and SWR is evident from the next drasha: שׁוּרָר, מִיָּן, שְׁמוּרָה לַעֲצֹמוּ דֶרֶךְ אַחֲרָהּ. The idea of choosing another path clearly brings to mind the root SWR 'stray' which appears in conjunction with derek many times.¹⁹

39. 218/ קעא

מעוּנָן, רַבִּי יִשְׁמַעֵאל אוֹמֵר זֶה הַמַּעֲבִיר עַל הָעֵיץ, רַבִּי עֲקִיבָה אוֹמֵר, אֵלּוּ בּוֹחֲבֵי הָעֵץ, וְחַכְמִים אוֹמְרִים, אֵלּוּ אוֹחֲזֵי הָעֵץ.

As in previous drasha, the closeness in form between GM verbs and MW verbs motivates R. Ishmael's comments. M^{ec}onen would be the Polel participle of ^cYN, as it is the Po'el participle of ^cNN. The root ^cNN is defined 'appear, present oneself' cf. Arabic عَنَّ.

R. Akiba's drasha is based on the word cet (< cint) being related either to ^cNH,²⁰ or to ^cNN itself.²¹ It was not necessary for R. Akiba to have known about the assimilation of /n/; The word Conah 'specific period' appears in BH²², and is the MH equivalent of BH cet.²³ The Aramaic form, canta, preserves the /n/²⁴.

The exegesis of hakamin, while different in content, has the same language-basis as R. Ishmael's drasha.

¹⁹ Lieberman, in his review of F's Sifre, Kirjath Sepher, XIV (1938), 335, explains sar as Talmudic s'e'or, hazar i'suro (i'se'uro), "he returned to his bad ways." This explanation does not account for the words shne pe'camim.

²⁰ KB.

²¹ "ע (cint)", 'Zeit' Hangt wohl mit عَنَّ zusammen."Noldeke, ZDMG, XL (1886), 735.

²² Ex 21:10.

²³ BH W^{ha}cet g^{eshamin} (Ez 10:13) is paralleled by MH Conat g^{eshamin}, Miqva'ot 2:7.

²⁴ Aram. קעא is listed by Dalman, Wörterbuch, 326, as a questionable form.

ושננתם לבניך, שיהו מחודדים בחוך פוך ... ד"א ושננתם לבניך
אלו בשנן ואין קדש לי כל בכור, והיה כי יביאך, בשנן.

shinnantam is Pi^cel perfect 3m.s. of SNN 'whet, sharpen',
hence 'teach incisively'²⁵. The first wordplay invokes the prime
meaning of SNN through its synonym HDD. This latter root appears in
BH, though not in Pi^cel. In a sense, this drasha is defining SNN
as the lexicon does, explaining the metaphorical meaning of
weshinnantam through another dialect, i.e., MH. The use of HDD in a
metaphorical sense for 'keenness in learning' is found in other MH
expressions.²⁶

The second drasha is the subject of varied opinions. The im-
port of the drasha is that this chapter of the shema must be recited,
whereas the other verses mentioned are not part of the daily liturgy.
Some think shinnun is a denominative from shen 'tooth'²⁷. This
derivation, while not difficult in itself, makes the second drasha
simply a repetition of the first.

Another derivation of shinnun is from SNY, 'do again, repeat',
i.e., this chapter must be recited twice a day in the prayers.²⁸

²⁵ BDB, GB. (Cf. German einscharfen;) KB relates the root of
weshinnantam, SNN, to SNH 'do a second time, repeat'. If so, this
root is unrelated to the root SNN 'sharpen', since that root contains
Proto-Semitic /š/, cf. Arabic شحن, Aramaic SNN. SNH, on the
other hand, is Arabic شحن 'fold, double', Aramaic šn 'repeat',
i.e., PS /š/. In support of SNN 'repeat', KB cites Ugaritic šnn,
but Gordon, UT, lists only šny: šn 'two'.

²⁶ TB TaCanit 7a: תלמיד חכם מחודד זה את זה כהלכה.
TB Nazir 59b: לחדד בה את התלמידים

²⁷ Levy, Wörterbuch, IV, 586.

²⁸ So R. David Pardo, see F's notes ad loc. R. Hillel seems to be of
the same opinion (שנן ... למישרוהו ... כשנן) (Koliditsky, 20) but F
relates him to the view shinnun < shen.

This makes sense, especially in light of the following drasha:

אמר רב ספרא, משום ר' יהושוע בן חנניה, פאי דכתיב ושננתם
לבוניך, אל תקרי ושננתם אלא ושלשתם.
Though the drashot are not related, the above citation understood
w^eshinnantam as essentially 'twice'. If so, we must posit a root
*SNN 'double, repeat'.

Summary: GM Roots

We have analyzed eight drashot containing eleven wordplays on roots with doubled second radical. Eight of these plays were phonetic in the wide sense of the term. If we are to break down this figure into the areas of phonetic relatedness, we find five out of eleven wordplays are related to the geminate nature of the BH root.

Of the five, two drashot (11, 36) contain the idea of multiplicity, motivated by repetition of a radical. The remaining three drashot interchange the geminate root for roots containing the same two consonants plus semivowel (In 39a, a middle-weak root, in 39b, 52b, a final-weak root).

The remaining three wordplays were based on the m/n interchange (18, 19) or simple phonetic similarity (34). It should be noted that one drasha (11) which invokes the idea of "many" and was therefore listed above, relies just as much if not more on the phonetic consideration of weakness of alef in initial position.

The remaining three wordplays (16a, b, 52a) are based on semantic considerations alone, drasha 16 involving word usage, as was pointed out in the individual discussion.

The evidence of three instances where GM roots are interchanged with MW roots or FW roots is insufficient to say that the Tannaim had a biliteral conception of the Hebrew root. We have no evidence that they thought in terms of "roots" rather than words. However, it cannot be denied that in the techniques of actual exegesis, the semi-vowel does not hold its own and the identification of roots in these cases is based on the strong consonants.

The information gained from the next section, MW roots, will enable the formulation of more conclusive statements.

MW Roots

7. 110/ מז

שְׁתָּה מִיָּמִים מְבוֹרָךְ, שְׁתָּה מִמִּי שְׁעָמָן Prov. 5:15
 בְּעֵינַיךְ ... שְׁתָּה מִיָּמִיר שְׁבוֹרָאךְ.

Both the above drashot seem predicated on a weakness in the realization of the laryngeals.²⁹ This fact enabled a phonetic comparison between ba^cir, b^era'aka, and borka: In all three, presumably only the consonants /b/ and /r/ + vowel are audible, excluding the suffixes.

9. 356/ שיג

בְּבוֹנֵנוּחַ, בְּבוֹבֵיאִים.

Involved here is a phonetic resemblance that is accomplished by metathesis. See above, p.88 .

²⁹ See E.Y. Kutscher, "Mishnaic Hebrew", EJ, XVI, 1595.

10. 67/ לר

על מזוזות ביתך, על בִּיאָתְךָ.

Again, the comparison between words that have a semivowel in the middle position, and words that have alef in the same position, shows that the alef had a weak realization as a consonant.

13. 27/ טז

גרו, זה נִאָוֶר עליו דברים.

The language nucleus, ger- oger, relies on the identity of the syllable ger in both words. The alef of AGR suffered the same fate as that of other PA verbs - its sound was lost in conjugation.

23. 350/ שט

ויכוונך, היה רבי מאיר אומר כרכא דכולא ביה, כהנים בתוכו ...
רבי יהודה אומר עשך כרין כרין, רבי שמעון בן יהודה אומר הושיבך
על כסיסך, רבי דוסתאי בן יהודה אומר עשך כנרנים כנרנים.

The first wordplay is evidence of the weak realization of the letter heh when followed by a half-vowel (hataf). This, however, is not revealing of the pronunciation of MH in particular.³⁰ The reference of the second wordplay is the word * כו or * כוה 'holes'.³¹ This word appears in Amoraic sources, sometimes with its BA³² sense 'windows'.³³ Apparently the correspondence of the consonants k, w, n, in both words motivated the drasha. It should

³⁰ The half-vowel facilitates pronunciation of the heh. According to the paradigm, no vowel should appear. GK 232, par. 84as; 265, IIIb.

³¹ Levy lists Aramaic כוּא, כוּי, כוּא

³² The plural kawin appears in Dn 6:11.

³³ Bauer-Leander, Grammatik des Biblisch-Aramaischen (Halle/Salle: 1927), 180, par. 51 o, consider BA כוה an Akk. loanword, following Zimmern. This is disputed by Baumgartner, KB, 1085.

also be remembered that in MH, verbal patterns with mediae waw treat this letter as a strong consonant, making the correspondence to kawwin all the stronger.³⁴

The third reference, the comments of R. Simeon b. Judah, is not a wordplay at all, but an explanation based on the noun ken 'base'. K^enunim (kinnunim), the final wordplay, is defined by Levy as 'system', 'arrangement'. A variant here is kon^eniyot, which also appears in a drasha parallel to ours. Both these noun formations derive from KWN in its reduplicated (Polel) patterns.

Aside from phonetic consideration, the second and fourth drashot both contain the idea of multiplicity: Kawwin, kawwin; kinnunim, kinunnim. As noted in other cases, this is derived from the BH verbal pattern with reduplication of the /n/.

43. 167/ קז

וצרתה הכסף, דבר שדרכו ליצרך דברי רבי ישמעאל,
רבי עקיבה אומר דבר שיש עליו צורה.

W^esarta is Qal Perfect 2m.s. of שׂרר 'bind, tie up'. R. Ishmael defines the verb, using the infinitive of the same verb in the Pi^cel but in a trilateral form. R. Akiba plays on the roots שׂרר-שׂור 'fashion', since w^esarta could be a verbal form of either.

³⁴ "Forms like הַחֲכֹנִין ... are replaced (practically always) by the נַחֲכֵינ type, the second radical being geminated, as in the strong verb." Kutscher, EJ, 1595.

44. 237/ 7

וצרה, אף להרעיבה אף להצמיאה אף להמיחה במיתה חלואים.

The root of w^esarta 'you shall besiege' is $\$WR$, perhaps related to $\$RR$ 'tie bind'.³⁵ Unrelated to these two roots are $\$RR$ 'show hostility to, vex'³⁶ and the parallel $\$WR$ ³⁷. The root meaning 'besiege' often takes the preposition Cal or el.

The wordplay here is based on the interchange of the meaning of the homophonous roots: w^esarta, 'besiege' implies all types of harsh treatment, because it is also a grammatical form of $\$RR$, 'vex'. This interpretation is verified by a comparison with קצט/237: להלחם ... עליה, ולא להרעיבה ולא להצמיאה. In other words, all that is implied by the root $\$RR$ is not suggested by the root $\$WR$.

45. 344/ שז

הצור, הצייר שהוא צר את העולם תחלה ויצר בו את האדם.

This drasha, which is the opening sentence of a Pisqa, makes its mark by the use of heavy alliteration. Sur 'rock' is here related to: (1) 'artist', an MH formation in the Pi^{el} (with hardened waw) from the root $\$WR$ 'fashion, delineate'. (2) sar, 'fashions', the Qal participle of the same root. (3) w^eya^{sar} 'created' from $Y\$R$, 'form, fashion'.

³⁵ So KB, entry I. $\$WR$.

³⁶ $\$RR$ 'tie' = Arabic صتر; $\$RR$ 'show hostility' = Arabic صتر 'harm; damage'.

³⁷ "Akin to II צור ('show hostility'), but cf. Ar. صار (ص) 'act unjustly.'" BDB, 849, entry III [צור].

The important factor here is the consonants /s/ + /r/. The emphatic nature of the /s/ and the weakness of preformative /y/ allows for the comparison sar-yasar.

47. 374/ שכב

ענבימו ענכי רוש, בניו של אדם הראשון אהם.

The play is the homophonous rosh 'head' - rosh 'bitter, poisonous herb.' This wordplay reveals nothing about MH phonology since the alef was never pronounced.

50. 23/ יב

ואשימם, אל תהי קורא ואשימם בראשיכם אלא ואשימם בראשיכם.

The al tigre drashot in Rabbinic literature form a class in themselves, so far as their unified form of expression. However, the linguistic phenomena they exhibit are varied. Our example is a wordplay based on no phonetic correspondence, save the identity of the orthographs for s and š. In addition, there is an idiomatic consideration. The expression ואשימם בראשיכם is paralleled by expressions as "damo b^erosho".

51. 103/ מה

ושמתם, מגיד שנמשלו דברי תורה לדם חיים.

The drasha rests on the interchange w/w .³⁸ that this exchange is a real one is already evident in late BH³⁹ and Mishna MSS⁴⁰.

³⁸ Arendt classes interchanges of w/w , w/w and w/w together. In reality, the w/w exchange is based not on any phonetic correspondence but on the fact that the same grapheme serves both. He includes them all together in order to explain the w/w interchange.

³⁹ סכר for שכר, Ez 4:5; שכלוח for סכלוח Kol:17.

⁴⁰ Epstein, Mabo Lenosah, II, 1233-34.

והשכה א-ל מחוללך, רבי מאיר אומר א-ל שהחיל כך, א-ל שנצטער
 כך ... רבי יהודה אומר שעשך מחילים מחילים, ד"א ... שהחיל
 שמו עליך ... רבי נחמיה אומר שעשך חולים על כל באי עולם,
 ד"א שמוחל לך על עוונותיך.

The number of BH weak roots that contain the strong consonants /h/ and /l/ allow for many wordplays. We have encountered some of these forms in drasha no. 16. Here we are presented with five distinct wordplays, not all which are sufficiently clear in their meaning.

1. The parallelism in the phrases שהחיל כך, שנצטער כך helps in understanding hehil in the first phrase. So, too, does the supporting verse. On the grounds of the parallelism alone we might consider HLY 'be sick'. However the Hif'il pattern of hehil does not allow for this, nor the syntax hehil bak. Instead, we translate here "God who was in anguish over you" from the root HWL 'writhe',⁴¹ the connotation being the anguish of birthpangs, as revealed in the supporting verse. "Bringing forth with difficulty" is actually the lexicon's definition of m^ehol^eleka in our verse from the root HWL.

2. M^ehillim 'openings' derives from HLL 'bore, pierce'. The distributive sense, here indicated by the repetition m^ehillim m^ehillim,

⁴¹ The reading of MS אסחח, supports his analysis. This form of the Hif'il of MW verbs is in accord with the pattern of Primae Yod verbs, as in Aramaic. Yalon, Pirge Lashon, 142.

is a play on the geminate nature of the form m^ehol^eleka. So far as the content of this wordplay we have already seen parallels in drasha no. 23⁴².

3. Shehehil sh^emo aleka - This wordplay likewise derives from a sense of ḤWL 'turn, writhe'. MH uses the Participle.Qal of this root⁴³ to mean 'occasions falling out (on a specific day)⁴⁴. In this sense the verb hal takes the particle b^e-. Followed by the preposition cal it means 'take effect⁴⁵, be obligatory upon'. The Hif^cil here is the causative of this meaning⁴⁶: "Who caused his name to be placed (fall, take effect) upon you."

4. Hulim, hullim, holim - Any of these vocalizations is possible. We prefer to read here MH hullim⁴⁷ 'profane, secular'. Used in contrast to godesh, godashim, it connotes items that are permitted for consumption to the general populace as opposed to restricted portions (e.g., tithes) that are reserved for the priests. The sense here would be: 'who made you permissible (i.e. "fair game") to all the peoples of the world, when you do not fulfill the Law.' The supporting text does not bear out this analysis, but if its root is to be taken as the root of the wordplay, we would have to read holim 'dance', which makes no sense in context.

⁴² See further parallels in Levy. Cf. the benediction asher yasar (TB B^erakot 60b) which contains the phrase n^eqabim n^eqabim halulim halulim, the last part being hillim hillim according to Abudraham, cited in Baer, Cabodat Yisrael (Roedelheim: 1863), 36.

⁴³ The Qal Participle also means 'dance', e.g. ḥolot bakk^eramim, Ta^canit 4:8.

⁴⁴ E.g. Pesahim 5:1 and many others.

⁴⁵ E.g. אין קדושה חלה עליהן, T^emura 2:1.

⁴⁶ Neither Jastrow nor Levy record the use of the Hif^cil in this sense.

⁴⁷ Final m > n. Epstein, Mabo, II, 1230, lists three other instances of hullim.

5. The root MHL 'forgive' is MF, from the same base as HLL 'make free, untie'.

Summary: MW Roots

The weakness of the semi-vowel in these roots is seen by their interchange with PY, FW, and geminate roots. This was apparent in the three drashot on the root SWR (43, 44, 45) with a combined total of six wordplays, and the drasha on KWN (23) containing two plays based on the infirm radical.

With regard to the exchange with geminate roots, a special factor is present -- the grammatical forms that MW and GM share in certain conjugations. Historically, this is not a separate cause for relating the roots, but is part and parcel of the nature of the semi-vowel functioning as a root-letter. But for purposes of discovering the motivation of drashot, we may consider the presence of identical forms as an added motivation to relate the roots in a drasha.

In addition, there are drashot rooted in more general phonetic considerations -- those (7, 9, 10, 13) that are based on weakness of the gutturals, and drashot (50, 51) based on consonantal interchanges.

CHAPTER VIII

FW ROOTS

Thirteen¹ drashot fall into this category. Five² of them fall into an additional grouping and have already been dealt with in the previous chapter.

12. 325/ שח

אל תקרי אגדיותיך אלא גריותיך. Cant 1:8

The interchange d/w has no phonetic basis. A. Rosenzweig, in an article classifying al tikre drashot,³ ascribes this one to the orthographic similarity of the letters daled and waw.

28. 357/ שח

בחנו ... עתיד אני להושיב אתכם ברחלים.

This is based on the interchange of the liquids n/l,⁴ not in

¹ 1 4 5 12 22 28 29 31 33 35 38 42 55.

² 1 4 5 22 33.

³ "Die Al-tikre-Deutungen," Festschrift zu Israel Levy (Breslau: 1911), 244, n.2. A. Malamat, Leshonenu XV, 154, also attempts to explain a drasha on the basis of the graphic similarity of /r/ and /w/ but Arendt, 32, denies a graphic basis to any Rabbinic drashot.

⁴ Arendt, 40, lists three interchanges of l/n in Bereshit Rabba. Epstein, Mabo, 1228, documents one such interchange in Mishnaic MSS.

the root, but in the patterned form yanhennu. The resultant word can be read yinhalu, which is what the drasha conveys in the periphrastic ‘atid ... l^ehoshib etkem nohalim.

29. 358/ שטר

ה' בודד ינחנו, עתיד אני להושיב אתכם בנחת רוח בעולם.

Yanhennu is the Hif^cil Imperfect of NHY 'lead, guide.' Nahat is a noun found primarily in late BH⁵ from the root NWH 'rest;' The phrase nahat ruah is MH.⁶ The play is based on the biliteral nature of both verbal roots, which share the same strong consonants.

31. 109/ מה

נפש שמעה תבוט נופת, מה נפה זר מוציאה קמח
Nofet is honey. Nafa 'sieve', a hapaxlegomenon,⁷ is from the root NWF 'move to and fro.' On the face of it, there is no relationship that the Rabbis could have drawn,⁸ save if they envisioned the final /t/ and its anatyptic vowel in nofet as a feminine ending,⁹ thus relating it to the feminine noun nafa. If so, this and the preceding wordplay, nahat - NHY, are both based on identity of the strong consonants in each pair of words.

⁵ Is 30:15, Ecc 4:6; 6:5, 9:17; Jb 17:16; 36:16; Prov 29:9.

⁶ Baer, CAwodat Yisrael, 78.

⁷ Is 30:28.

⁸ Nofet is a masculine noun of the gutl pattern, from the root NFT.

⁹ G.R. Driver, Canaanite Myths, 158, lists Ugaritic nbt 'honey' for which he gives the root ($\sqrt{nw\bar{b}}$). Does this mean he considers nbt a fem. formation from a middle-weak root? By analogy, this would give the root NWF for nofet, making our wordplay contain two homonymic roots. See, however, the preceding note.

35. 368/ שכא

אספה עלימו רעות, הריני מכניס ומביא עליהם כל הפורעניות
ד"א הריני כוננסם כולם לתוך מצודה ... ד"א אסוף עלימו רעות
אין כתיב כאן אלא אספה, שיהו כל הפורעניות כלות והם אינם
כלים.

Implicit in maknis 'gather', (or the participle kon^esam) is the synonymous root ASF. This is related by the drasha to aspeh, even though the alef in that word is the Imperfect preformative, the root being SFY 'sweep on, snatch away.' Interestingly, many modern commentaries read here: osefa¹⁰ from ASF 'gather' or osifa¹¹ from YSF 'add'. However, this drasha cannot serve as a source for such readings; the very existence of a wordplay indicates that the reading differs from the exegetic reference.

The last drasha is based on the meaning 'destroy' for SFY, which it has in the Nif'al. This wordplay may be called semantic, since it refers to the identical root found in the verse through the synonymous KLY 'destroy'. The literary form of this drasha is very important, for it shows that the Rabbis knew to distinguish between primae alef and other roots containing alef as a preformative. The very fact that the drasha chooses the infinitive absolute, asof, which contains all the radicals with no additional formants,¹² shows that they were contrasting ASF and SFY, as if to say; "No pattern of ASF appears in this verse; if it did, its form would be asof."

¹⁰ See KB, BDB.

¹¹ GK 188, par. 69h, n.7.

¹² For this reason, the reading of MT, osif, instead of asof, does not seem to be primary.

38. 23/ ד

ותענו אותי, היה לכם לומר רכיננו משה, ממי נאה ללמוד

תורה, לא ממך שנצטערה עליה? ותענו אותי, כשהייתי מתעצל

כדברים, הייתם אומרים: יעשה הדבר במהרה.

1. The form watta^canu 'you responded,' the Qal Imperfect of ^cNY 'respond,' is also Hif^cil 'you tortured, afflicted' from the homonymic ^cNY. It is to this latter possibility that the word nista^carta calls attention.

2. This drasha is based on the MH phrase Cinnuy haddin,¹³ literally "torturing the judgment," a transferred epithet for prolonging¹⁴ the decision on a case. This sense of ^cNY is projected by the charge of laziness and the request of Moses to make matters go faster.

42. 15/ ך

נהר פרה, שממריד והולך עד שכלה במגריפה, ד"א שמורה ורכ.

1. shemmafrid 'separates.' According to Malamet,¹⁵ this word-play is based on the phonetic interchange of d/t and is one of several examples he cites. S. Lieberman,¹⁶ however, following J.N. Epstein,¹⁷ prefers¹⁸ the reading shemmafrin 'gets wider,' the form many Mishna MS have in Baba Mesi^ca 5:5 for mafriz.

2. This drasha relates the feminine endings ah and at, or

¹³ Abot 5:8, TB Shabbat 33a.

¹⁴ Ibid., and commentaries ad loc.

¹⁵ Leshonenu, XV, 160.

¹⁶ Kirjath Sepher, XIV (1938), 331.

¹⁷ Tarbiz, VIII (1937), 385.

¹⁸ Epstein's preference is based on sound MS philology. The only texts F cites for mafrid are the editio princeps of the Yalqut and R. Hillel's commentary.

simply identifies the strong radicals /p/ and /r/ in both words.

56. 68/ תִּרְסָה

כְּתִרְסָה^x , יָפָה אֵת כִּשְׁמֹן רִצְוִיָּהּ לֵי. Cant 6:4

Tirsa in the Bible is both a proper name¹⁹ and a place-name²⁰ (site uncertain), paralleled by Y^erushalayim. Both words are used as similes for beauty. It is a derivative of the root RSY 'be pleased with' and translated 'pleasure, beauty.' Y. Baniel's²¹ view that tirsa is a word coined by the Rabbis meaning 'beauty' (on the pattern of tiqwa from QWH) is superfluous;²² the drasha is of course based on the root relationship between referent and reference.

Summary: FW Roots

In this category, as in the geminates and MW roots, there is a tendency to identify the roots by the strong consonants alone (29, 31, 35, 42). Fully half of the drashot examined here use this technique. In addition, we have a wordplay based on interchange of consonants with a common point or articulation (28), one based on preformative alef treated as a radical (35), and some that are semantic in nature.

¹⁹ E.g., Nu 26:33.

²⁰ E.g., Jos 12:24.

²¹ "Millim shennogru mittok d'crashot HZL," Leshonenu, XIV (1948).

²² We cannot agree with his entire premise that the drashot "created" words. He probably means that the references in drashot are words in the theoretical sense, i.e. they fit into the standard nominal patterns. However, this does not mean that the word had a real existence, surely not a "lexicographical" entry, as he calls it.

The Strong Verb

Fifteen drashot treat the strong root. Twelve of these words are nouns, indicating that most of the verbal roots treated in wordplays contain a weak consonant.

6. 368/ שכא

אל התי קורא וישן בהמות אשלה במ, אלא וישן בהמות
אשלה במ, שיהו מתחממים ומחזרין על כל עכירות.

There are various types of al tiqre drashot.²³ According to F's reading, this one must be counted as an instance of a change of vocalization, while maintaining the consonantal text. Instead of vocalizing b^ehemot 'animals', F points bahamut 'bestiality'.²⁴ However, he himself realized that there is not much MS support for such a reading.²⁵ MS א reads כחמות וישן from the root חממ 'heat'.²⁶ The rest of the drasha then makes sense, and the al tiqre is based on the interchange of consonants h/h, for which there are many examples.²⁷

Several MSS read w^eshen bahem, or w^eshen bahem asher bam. Rosenzweig reads w^eshen shebbahem, and explains "the beast in them", i.e., they will be victims of their animal passions.²⁸

²³ See Rosenzweig's article, cited above, p. 126, n. 3.

²⁴ Cited by Rosenzweig, 228, n.3.

²⁵ In the apparatus F. writes: "כן נראה לגרס, והגרסות המקובלות הן:"

²⁶ This reading was suggested (by conjecture) by A. Perles, Bet Talmud, I (1881), 114f.

²⁷ Rosenzweig, 243-246.

²⁸ Idem, 228.

88. שכא/370

גם כחור, אתם גרמתם לי לשלוח יד בבחירי, וכן
הוא אומר ריען יהושע... משרת משה מבחוריו.

Bahur in our verse means 'young man.' The root of this word²⁹ is to be distinguished from BHR 'choose',³⁰ from whence derives bahir, b^hhiray '(my) chosen'. The wordplay thus contains two homophonic roots. The pattern bahur can also be a form of BHR 'choose', the passive participle. As is often the case, the referent can also be a form of the root of the reference.

24. 15/ ג

והלכנו, עמלכין עוונותיהם של ישראל.

A simple play on the common root of both words. Underlying the content of the drasha is the assumption that lebanon is the standard Rabbinic symbol (and synonym) for the Temple.³¹ The reference here is a BH verbal pattern in a BH semantic range; cf. Isaiah 1:18.

25. 55/ לב

מאוד, בכל מדה ומדה שהוא מודד לך.

26. 59/ לב

מאוד, הוי מודה לו כיעקב אביך.

According to Malamet³², this first drasha rests on the fact

²⁹ Cf. Akk. Bahūlātī (GB, KB).

³⁰ Arab. بهر 'catch sight unexpectedly (of game)', Akk. beru (GB, KB).

³¹ E.g., Sifre Dt 14/ ג : " ואין לבנון אלא בית המקדש."

³² Leshonenu, XV, 156. He does not cite this drasha.

that alef after sh^ewa mobile was not pronounced in MH as a glottal stop and its vowel passed to the letter preceding. Thus, it was pronounced modeka.³³ The Imperfect forms of the root MDD in the bi-literal pattern contain this element /mod/, as does the Infinitive lamod.³⁴ This allowed for the wordplay with the verb MDD 'measure' and the derivative noun midda. The second drasha is based on the same phonetic considerations, i.e., the element /mod/ in modeh 'admit,' from the root WDY.

37. 257/ רכד

אשר האכד ממנו, פרט לפחות משוה פרוטה.

This drasha is an halakic one and utilizes the terminology of halakic exegesis (p^erat, l^erabbot). For these reasons, the drasha may be based on logical considerations rather than exegetical ones (e.g. the superfluousness of the entire phrase). Nonetheless, we conjecture a possible wordplay, based on a change of vocalization: mimmenu 'from him' - mamono 'his money', to exclude less than a p^eruta's worth, which is presumably beneath consideration.

40. 301/ רפכ

לא תפאר, לא תתפאר לעני בני. מיכן אמרו מי שאינו מניח
אה העניים ללקוט, או שמניח אחד ראחד אינו מניח...

³³ The MH monosyllabic pronunciation is in keeping with the pre-Biblical one. Bauer-Leander, Grammatik, vol. I, 460, par. 61i, classify m^e'od as a qutl pattern, on the basis of Akk. mu'du.

³⁴ Mentioned by Rosenblatt, Interpretation, 71.

³⁵ "Gewiss nicht identisch mit פאר II." GB, 631.

Here, too, we deal with two homophonic roots:³⁵ (1) P!R (only in this verse) 'go over the boughs (of olive-trees)' or 'knock down olives with a bough.' (2) P!R 'glorify'. In the Hitpa'el it has the sense of 'show one's glory' on or before someone. The drasha elicits from təfa'er a prohibition for the owner of the field to "lord himself" at the poor man's expense.

41. 381/ שלב

מראש פרעות אויב, כשהקב"ה מביא פורענות ... ד"א
מה ראה ליתלות בראש פרעה?

ParCot is the construct plural of perac 'loose hair on the head'. PurCanut 'calamity' is an MH word, an extension of the prime sense of the word in Aramaic, 'repayment.'³⁶ Pharaoh is brought into the wordplay also on phonetic grounds and the context of eyeb 'enemy'.

46. 427/ שבז

עד צוער, אלו מציקי ישראל.

The term m^esike 'oppressors' brings to mind either of two synonyms which are both phonetically related to so^car; either sar 'enemy' from the root ŠRR, or MH šacar (צער) 'pain, affliction'. The first possibility is based on a weak pronunciation of the laryngeal cayin, the second on the consonantal identity.

³⁵ "Gewiss nicht identisch mit פאר II." GB, 631.

³⁶ E.g., TB Mo'ed Qatan 22b: הוא באריסותא, הוא כפורענותא.

48. 22/ יג

וידועים לשכטיכם, רבו שמעון כן גמליאל אומר
אין כל ישיבה וישיבה יושבת

R. Simeon b. Gamliel's comments are predicated on the similarity of shebet 'tribe' and shebet, the infinitive of Y^{B} , literally 'seating, session', here meaning 'appointment to the court'.³⁷

49. 25/ טו

ושוטרים, אלו המכים כרצועה.

If our conjecture is correct that we have here an implied reference to STR (סטר) 'slap', then this is the first case of a wordplay based on a $\text{ט}/\text{ש}$ interchange in Sifre Dt.

53. 364/ שיח

לא שערום אבותיכם, שלא עמדה לערת אבותיכם בפניהם. ד"א
שלא שערום אבותיכם לידע אם יש בהם צורך אם לאו. ד"א אל
ההי קורא לא שערום אלא לא שערום ... כענין שנאמר ואל קין
וואל מנחתו לא שעה.

1. Secarum from SCR 'know'³⁸ is related by the wordplay to se^car 'hair'. The phrase is thus a metaphor: "their hair did not stand on end," i.e. they did not fear them.³⁹

2. This wordplay relates our word to the root $\text{S}^{\text{C}}\text{R}$, MH 'estimate'.⁴⁰
This is a second example of a drasha with $\text{ש}/\text{ש}$ interchange.

³⁷ S. Lieberman, KS, XIV, 331.

³⁸ Cf. Arabic سَعَرَ 'know'.

³⁹ Ibn Ezra ad loc. explains the verse similarly, but attempts to relate it to a third root, SCR (שער, שער) 'be stormy.'

⁴⁰ Aramaic sha^cara 'price.' The sole occurrence of the verb in BH is Prov 23:7 sha^car (3m.s.perf.). Cf. she^carim 'measure,' Gn 26:12.

3. SCH 'behold, look for'. There is not much phonetic correspondence here, save if we assume that Cayin was not pronounced and its vowel passed to the preceding consonant (sh^ecarum > *sharum) as Malamet assumes of alef. More probably, the s/š interchange is primary here, too.

4. 70/ לז

רבי שמעון בן יוחאי אומר תבל זו ארץ ישראל, ... למה
נקרא שמו תבל, שהיא מחובלת בכל.

MH TBL⁴¹ 'season' is a denominative from tebel, tablin 'spices.'
BH tebel 'continent' is cognate with Akk. tabalu 'dry land'.

55. 5/ א

[תפל] דברי תפלות שתפלו על המן.

Tiflut is 'silliness, silly things.' The verb TFL appears in BH meaning "to say silly things." The homiletic derivation of the place name Tofel is in keeping with the entire literary unit of Pisqa א which attempts to find homilies in all the geographic spots mentioned.

Summary: Strong Roots

The roots here, containing no semi-vowels, do not exchange easily with other roots. Instead, these wordplays are based on the "general" phonetic categories mentioned above, e.g., weakness of

⁴¹ Arabic  'spice'.

gutturals, changes of vocalization, changes of consonants. Even in this grouping, though, there were not many pure semantic drashot; almost all required some change in the phonetic realization of the word to arrive at the wordplay. The statistics for this section are included in the general summary.

SUMMARY

In the preceding three chapters we have dealt with fifty-six drashot, many of them containing more than one language nucleus. To facilitate classification and discussion, they were arranged according to the nature of the root of the BH word. We also explained the division of the drashot according to the "explicit" and "implicit" quality of the wordplay. The explicit drashot were predicated on phonetic interchanges. By way of summary, we list those areas touched upon by the drashot and discuss what they reveal vis-a-vis the MH language situation.

Laryngeals and Pharyngeals

Regarding the gutturals, it is generally accepted that there was some attenuation in their pronunciation in Galilee in the period of the second century. The differences of opinion relate only to the amount of the weakening.¹ However, Kutscher has shown that the gutturals were in fact maintained till the sixth century,² with the exception of h-Cayin, which did interchange (h > c) but even this phenomenon was limited by locale and other factors.³ All this

¹ E.Y. Kutscher, "Mishnaic Hebrew," EJ, XVI (1971), 1595. Idem, "Mehqarim BeAramit Ge'ililit," Tarbiz, XXIII (1952), 43-60.

² Ibid., 49.

³ Ibid.

concerns Sifre Dt and its drashot only insofar as they are of Galilean origin; according to Kutscher's researches, however, even Galilean drashot would not bear witness to the weakening of all the gutturals, since no views place the composition of the Sifre as late as the sixth century,⁴ when the laryngeals no longer were phonetically differentiated.

Kutscher does mention the testimony of Rabbinic drashot,⁵ but he hesitated to weigh their evidence in an atomistic fashion.⁶ It should be borne in mind that the nature of the testimony of the drashot differs from that of other texts. Whereas, in many texts, the exchange of laryngeals is to be ascribed to "corrections" of later copyists, a drasha whose language nucleus is phonetic will preserve the interchange, since any copyist's tampering renders the text not understandable. In other words, interchange of gutturals recorded in a drasha date from the very authorship of the drasha itself.

Finally, we must consider the possibility that the Rabbinic Midrash, like any other exegetical literature, developed its own techniques which were not wholly bound to the language situation. Whereas the actual realization of the laryngeals may have motivated certain drashot, others may have simply been patterned similarly, with no basis in the actual speech habits. Such tendencies seem to exaggerate themselves in time, especially as the number of the drashot increased.

⁴ With the possible exception of B.Z. Wacholder, HUCA, XXXIX (1968), 119.

⁵ Mehqarim, 52.

⁶ Ibid.

Alef

There are several phenomena touched upon in the drashot regarding this letter. They are predicated on weak pronunciation of alef, or its total dropping (apharaesis) in initial possession -- 2, 7, 10, 11, 13, 25, 26.

Heh - Het

There is one wordplay that assumes a weak realization of heh, and one interchange of heh/het: 23, 6.

ʿAyin

One drasha is predicated on weak pronunciation of ʿayin: 7.

Conclusions: Gutturals

We have indications in these drashot of weak pronunciation of the gutturals, and of their interchange in drashot. However, such conclusions must be qualified by other possible explanations. (1) Variant MSS readings, according to which the drashot are not predicated on weakness of the laryngeals. When we have only one example of a phenomenon, e.g. the h/ḥ interchange, and this interpretation is contested by other renderings, we must hold judgment in abeyance. (2) What Kutscher refers to as the "poetic license" of the darshanim.⁷ This last point, however, is only a warning not to exaggerate the evidence, i.e., the frequency of such drashot is not necessarily indicative of the amount of weakness in actual speech. However, the mere presence of

⁷ Ibid., 56.

such drashot requires the assumption that actual speech habits, if only in a limited fashion, provided the basis for such drashot.

The number of "gutturals" drashot is only 10. Interestingly, the one interchange which supposedly was most prevalent, h/c, is not found here. Drashot dealing with alef amount to 70% of these. By way of contrast, Arendt finds the interchange of gutturals the most common type of phonetic drasha in Bereshit Rabba, and he has examples enough for every interchange. This seems to support the thesis that later (=Amoraic) exegesis contains more drashot based on weakness of the laryngeals. The high percentage of alef in initial position is often a morpheme indicating the first person, Imperfect verbal form. They are not to be confused with PA roots.⁸

Consonantal Interchanges

Metathesis

One drasha -- 9

ו/ב 51

ו/ו 49, 53

ל/ס 28

פ/ד 42

פ/ה 6

פ/ב 48

כ/ס 18, 19, 30, 32

⁸ Arendt, 53, isolates those drashot that deal with the preformatives • ך, ך, ך, ך. He bases them on a morphological rationale; they are not indicative of any phonetic situation.

The information here parallels Arendt's conclusions in Bereshit Rabba, that consonantal interchanges are most common among the dentals and liquids. However, we note two discrepancies. (1) Arendt found relatively few examples of drashot based on the m/n interchange.⁹ When he did find them, they were only in final position.¹⁰

Their relative paucity in BR could indicate the unreliability of the Midrashic evidence for language information. Such a conclusion is unwarranted in light of the large amount of reliable evidence accumulated by Arendt. It seems possible, therefore, that the m/n interchange in final position was so common in the Amoraic period that it was not utilized in drashot in Bereshit Rabba, for fear that the point of the drasha would be passed over by the reader.

(2) No example of the t/t (n/v) interchange is given by Arendt in BR. However, the interchange of emphatics and non-emphatics is phonetically natural in several contexts.¹¹ Its appearance in a drasha in Sifre is therefore not surprising, and need not be questioned.

Vocalic Changes

Four drashot involve the following changes in niqqud: 14. hiriq > holam; 20. segol > holam; 21. qamas > holam; 27. hiriq > qamas and segol > holam. In addition, the following drasha might be based on a change of vocalization: 6. sheva na^c > patah and sere > hataf patah.

⁹ Ibid., 41. He himself comments on this peculiarity in light of the m/n interchange known from Mishnaic MSS orthography.

¹⁰ Ibid., 53.

¹¹ E.g., /t/ as Hif^cil preformative > /t/ when the stem begins with one of the sibilants š , s , or the emphatic ṣ , GK, 149, par. 54b.

Taken as a whole, these changes do not correspond to any systematic arrangement of the vowels, quantitative or qualitative, nor to their historical origins. One does not have to look far to realize that the change in vocalization is always secondary to some other motivation for the drasha.

Sometimes the wordplay extends over two words; by a change of vocalization in one word, a new phrase or idiom is arrived at. This is true of 21, hayam ha'ahron > hayom ha'ahron, "Judgment Day," or 50, where a change of vocalization yields a new phrase. We did not even count 50 in this class of drashot, since the vocalization is obviously secondary. The same is true of changes made to achieve a transformation from one verbal class (binyan) to another. These are discussed in the chapter on syntax.

In some of these drashot, the change of vocalization is not the only explanation possible, nor is it a certain one. This is true of 6 (see the discussion above).

Often, change - of - vocalization drashot are of the "al tigre" type. The standardization of a formula, which amounts to the coining of a new exegetical rule, leads naturally to misapplied uses of the rule. Thus, vocalic changes in early drashot may have been based on actualization of the vowels in the speech community, but later applications degenerated into any associative wordplay, regardless of the relation of the vowels being interchanged.

Arendt presents another theory for the arbitrariness of vocalic changes. In the Tannaitic period, the traditional text of the Bible contained only the consonants. The Massoretic tradition of vocalization

in its present form did not exist in the Tannitic period. Since the consonantal text was fixed around this time,¹² no need was felt to abide by the vocalic pronunciation in the making of drashot. The idea of disregarding vocalization for exegetical purposes is enunciated in the Talmudic rule $\text{למסרה אם למקרא-יש אם למסרה אם למקרא-יש}$.¹³

Implicit Wordplays

The drashot of this type encountered in Sifre are both numerous enough and consistent in their style to merit consideration as a Midrashic type. The outline of its method is as follows: The BH word (referent) has, as in all the wordplays, one main reference. This word is often a definition or synonym of the BH word, but sometimes its relationship is not so immediate.

This reference, however, has a close parallel or synonym which can be phonetically related back to the BH word. We might formulate it as follows: $A \rightarrow B // C \rightarrow A$. A is the BH word, B the reference, and C the parallel to B which is recalled by the reader. The drasha provides only A and B, thus imitating the standard phonetic wordplay. The literary unit is thus a whole one in content, but one must search for C, the link between referent and reference. As soon as C is recalled, a phonetic drasha sets itself up in the reader's mind, completing, as it were, the literary unit to the reader's satisfaction.

¹² "The exact contribution of Akiba and his colleagues to the fixation of the Hebrew text is unknown, but it is certain that definite measures inspired by him were taken early in the second century." R.H. Pfeiffer, Introduction to the O.T. (New York: 1948), 76. M.H. Goshen-Gottstein, "Hebrew Biblical Manuscripts," Biblica, XLVIII (1967) 288-89, places the fixing of the official text ca. the first century C.E.

¹³ See Bacher, Ḥerke midrash, entry am:

We give several examples from among those we have discussed in schematic form.

A.	→	B.	//	C.	→	A.
38.	wata ^c anu	shenista ^c arta	//	cinnuy	wata ^c anu	
35.	aspeh	maknis	//	osef	aspeh	
46.	so ^c ar	m ^e sike	//	l ^e sa ^c er	so ^c ar	
32.	tinnaqesh	t ^e dammeh	//	heqqesh	tinnaqesh	

The pattern is clear, though some parallels are more difficult to discern than others. This technique might help to solve many drashot which seem far removed from the verse they refer to. The technique is so interesting that it deserves further study in its own right as an exegetic and literary method in other Midrashim.

PART III. DRASHOT BASED ON SYNTAX

CHAPTER IX

SYNTAX

Introduction

In the previous two sections of this dissertation, we assembled the drashot in Sifre Dt that dealt with lexicological and phonological points respectively. Within these sections, the chapters were arranged according to the forms the drashot themselves took. Not infrequently, a large number of drashot formed a unit unto themselves.

By way of contrast, the area of syntax is so wide that assorted forms of drashot touch upon its problems. Consequently, we arranged the drashot not in accord with their own style but under the topics in syntax with which they dealt.

The lion's share of our attention is directed to the syntax of the verb: Verbal classes (=Binyanim), questions of tense, aspect, and mood, and the related topic of sentence structure. This was dictated by the sheer number of drashot which deal with these problems. This fact is evidence of the contact between the drashot and the living language situation of the Rabbis, for many of the distinctive differences of MH can be related to the uses of the tenses, and the changing structure of complex sentences.

We treated the following topics: Classes, Tenses, Modal forms, Sentence structure, Uses of the Pronoun, The Reflexive, Prepositions, Particles, and Treatment of BH Idioms.

The drashot assembled in the following chapter should be viewed as representative rather than as exhaustive. Deviating from previous practice, we have not made the individual drasha the pivotal point. Instead, we inserted drashot as illustrative of the topic under discussion. This method allowed for more continuity in the analysis of each topic, which we judged to be more important than presenting every drasha in each category.

In addition to periodic summaries where necessary, an evaluation of the treatment of syntactical problems in the drashot concludes this section.

Changes in Class

While the actual use of the verbal classes (also called stems or conjugations) in MH is quite similar to BH, there are several differences. (1) Some of the stems have different or added functions in MH, as Yalon's researches have shown.¹ (2) Lexically, many words are used in BH in one stem and in MH in another. These differences, particularly the last, are very useful tools for the drashot, since the BH word assumes a different semantic coloring when presented in its MH conjugation.

In order to achieve the transformation of the BH word into its MH stem, the drasha may change the vocalization of the lexeme. Thus, for example, a change from BH.Qal to MH Pi^cel can be achieved without a change in the consonantal base. These examples were not included in the previous chapter on vocalic changes since this is only a

¹ See under "Binyanim" in the Index to Pirge Lashon.

technique to arrive at a change in class.

225/ קפב

ונשל הברזל מן העץ המבוקע, רבי אומר מן העץ המתבקע.

NSL in the class Qal is used both transitively and intransitively in BH. Here, its sense is (intransitive) 'slip or drop off'. Transitively it means 'draw off, clear away.'² MH neshila 'a falling off' shows that the root has intransitive meaning in MH, too. However, BH and MH also had forms in Pi³ and Hi³, with the meaning 'cast off.'

The first opinion understands w^enashal as the Qal intransitive 'slipped off,' i.e., the head of the axe slipped off its handle (ha^ces hamme^baqge^ca). R. Judah the Prince explains the verb transitively; the axe chipped off splinters from the tree being chopped (ha^ces hammit^baqge^ca).

Our drasha is presented in the Talmud⁴ in slightly different form. R. Judah himself is cited as basing his explanation on the fact that the Biblical phrase is "from the wood" and not "from its wood" i.e., its handle. R. Hiyya bases the difference of opinion on a change of stem. According to him, R. Judah vocalizes the word as pi³el w^eniššal, which has a transitive meaning. The second opinion maintains that we follow the accepted vocalization as Qal, hence intransitive. According to R. Hiyya, R. Judah reflects the

² Ex 3:5, Jos 5:15: shal 'remove.' Dt 7:1, 22: w^enashal goyim.

³ Besa 5:1: m^eshilin perot.

⁴ TB Makkot 7b.

MH language situation, where a transitive meaning for the root $\text{N}\bar{\text{S}}\text{L}$ is conveyed by the intensive stem, to the exclusion of the Qal. Otherwise, the Qal w^enashal could have been assigned a transitive meaning, as it has in BH.

כט/46

נִיאֵמַר ה' אֵלַי רַב לְךָ, כִּאֲדָם הָאוֹמֵר
לְחַבִּירוֹ עֵינַר פְּלוֹנִי דֶרֶךְ עַל פְּלוֹנִי.

We have discussed the semantic range of the root $\text{C}\bar{\text{B}}\text{R}$ previously. Here, its occurrence in Hitpa^cel is explained by way of an idiomatic MH usage⁵ in Pi^cel, which might be translated "A crossed B" i.e., angered him.

The drasha is not vocaly ng wayyit^cabber differently, but explaining it on the basis of the Pi^cel, sensing a semantic connection between the two classes.

קבא/179

כִּי אַהֲבָךְ, מֵיִכֵּן אַתָּה אוֹמֵר הִיָּה הוּא אוֹהֵב אֶת רַבּוֹ וְרַבּוֹ
אֵין אוֹהֵבוֹ, הִיָּה אַהֲבָה עַל רַבּוֹ וְהוּא אֵין אוֹהֵב אֶת רַבּוֹ

Here, the change in pointing results in the passive participle Qal ahub 'beloved' (with possessive suffix "Your beloved") in place of the active + accusative suffix. Mikkan atta omer is usually an introductory phrase to a halaka from another source, usually Mishnaic. The quoted material here is found in a Barayta' cited in TB Qiddushim 22a. There, however, the halaka is not connected to the phrase ki

⁵ S. Leiberman, Tosefta Kifshutah, Erubin, III, 346, n. 23, cites all the MH sources for this expression.

ahb⁶ka. F ad loc. has noted the discrepancy in our drasha as cited in Sifre Dt and TB. Qiddushih, M^ekilta', and M^ekilta' derashbi. Therefore our interpretation of the language nucleus is conjectural.

250/ רִיז

כִּיר, יִכִּירוּ לְאַחֵיהֶם.

The Hif^cil in BH means 'recognize.' It does not have a causative meaning. The drasha, however, translates the Hif^cil to indicate a causative sense, 'make him known to others.' This sense however, is not predicated on real MH lexicography, since NKR is used in MH just as in BH.

Summary: Changes in Class

The drashot in which there is a change of class involve (1) a stem with a special meaning in MH, or (2) a different explanation of the BH stem itself. 250/ רִיז shows that the Rabbis knew the primarily causative sense of the Hif^cil, and were wont to apply it for exegetic purposes. Changes of class are made even when the particular root in that class has no real lexicographic existence, at least not in the MH corpus in our possession.

Changes in Tense

256/ רִכַּב

עַד שֶׁיִּרְכַּב אֶתְּךָ, עַד שֶׁיִּרְכַּב אֶתְּךָ אִם רָמִי הוּא.

The meaning of the BH phrase is "Until your brother seeks⁶ it

⁶ Or "demands", Driver, ICC, 250.

(the lost object.)" Grammatically, d^erosh is an infinitive construct taking the accusative,⁷ oto. Its subject is ahika.

In MH, the syntax of the infinitive underwent great change.⁸ The infinitive absolute is not employed at all, save in several benedictions which are modelled after Biblical verses,⁹ and whose language is not to be considered identical to MH.¹⁰

The infinitive construct is found only with the prefixed particle l^e- 'to.' The sole example in the Mishna of the infinitive construct sans preposition is yom t^eboah,¹¹ an old name preserved in an early Mishna.

D^erosh is therefore understood by the drasha as the imperative, which is identical in form to the infinitive construct. Both ahika and the pronoun oto are construed as accusatives, the pronoun reinforcing the object. Having reconstructed the entire phrase, the drasha is able to drive therefrom a reminder to question the loser regarding proof of ownership.

124/ כז

כי אתם עובדים את הירדן לבא לרשתה, מעבירתכם
את הירדן אתם יודעים שאתם יורשים את הארץ.

⁷ GK, 352, par. 115a.

⁸ Segal, Heb. ed., 135; Kutsher, EJ, XVI, 1600.

⁹ The benedictions recited at the marriage ceremony, sos tasis, sammeah t^esammah, TB K^etubot 8a. They are patterned after Jer 20:15, Is 61:10 respectively. Cited by Segal, *ibid*.

¹⁰ The language of the prayers and its relation to BH and MH is discussed by M. Schneider, "Hallashon Ha^cibrit Hassifrutit", Leshonenu, VI, 301-26, and VII, 52-73; C. Rabin, "The Historical Background of Qumran Hebrew", SH, IV, 153-55.

¹¹ Hagiga 2:4.

The language nucleus of this drasha revolves around the understanding of the infinitive labo. In MH, the infinitive in this form often carries a sense of purpose and direction of the preceding finite verb.¹² Thus, for example, ba' l^ekabbot¹³, 'he came in order to extinguish.' The same is true when the preceding verb is a participle.

In BH, this same infinitive often serves where we might substitute, in late BH or MH, a finite verb + waw copulative. Thus tishm^erun la^casot (Dt 8:1) is rendered in Ez 36:27 tishm^eru wa^casitem.¹⁴ An MH rendering of our verse would be עוֹבְרִין וְבֹאִין לִירֵשׁ cf. מִשְׁכִּימִין לְבֹאֵא 15 not מִשְׁכִּימִין וְבֹאִין .

The drasha understood the infinitive + le- as an element of purpose and aim, to wit: The crossing of the Jordan itself is taken as indicative of a future inheritance, since there is a cause-and-effect relationship between the verbs.

376/ טכח

לִי נֶקֶם וְאֶשְׁלֵם אִין כְּחֵיב כְּאֵן אֵלֵא לִי נֶקֶם וְשֵׁלֵם, מִשְׁלֵם
אֵנִי שֹׁכֵר מִעֲשִׂיהֶם שְׁעִשׂוּ אֲבוֹתֵיהֶם לִפְנֵי בְעוֹלָם הַזֶּה.

Driver¹⁶ considers shillem as a noun of a rare pattern, like dibber,¹⁷ gitter.¹⁸ The drasha, however, anticipated the Imperfect

¹² Segal, Heb. ed., 136; Rosenblatt, Interpretation, 11.

¹³ Shabbat 16:6.

¹⁴ Bendavid, L'eshon Hakamim, II, 504.

¹⁵ Sukka 3:13.

¹⁶ ICC, 374.

¹⁷ Jr 5:13.

¹⁸ Jr 44:21

first person ashallem and takes shillem as 3 m.s. Perfect, a verbal form. In MH, the Perfect and Imperfect aspects are considered to be synonymous with the past and future tenses. The Perfect is therefore contrasted with the expected ashallem, which would have meant "I shall repay them in the future," i.e., in the World to Come. Shillem, equated with the past tense, implies that their due is already meted out in this world, "baColam hazzeh."

This is the second example of a drasha which cites the hypothetical form it is opposing, setting up a sort of "straw man." This Midrashic form, "Not X is written here, but Y," is a fine check, where it appears, on our interpretations of the Rabbis' intent. It also serves to inform us of the possibilities that were known to them but were rejected for one reason or another.

Midrash Tannaim¹⁹ strengthens the sense of the past by its version: כבד שלמהי לאומות העולם שכר מצור קלה ... בעולם הזה.

In this version, shillem might be considered a "prophetic perfect", or the past expressing an immediate future, like natati in Gn 23:11.²⁰

The influence of the MH language situation on this drasha is clear. Normally, the form w^ashillem, i.e., the Perfect + waw, would be understood in BH as expressing future time. The number of cases where the waw is understood as copulative, as our drasha takes it, is few, and these places are problematic.²¹

¹⁹ 201.

²⁰ Jouon, 298, 112g.

²¹ "The instances which occur must simply be recorded as isolated irregularities, of which no entirely adequate explanation can be offered." Driver, Tenses, 161. See also C. Rabin, The Meaning of Grammatical Forms in BH and Modern Hebrew [Heb.] (Aqademon, Jerusalem: 1970), 10-11.

429/ שנוז

ולא נס לחה, רכי אליעזר בן יעקב אומר אל תהי
קורא לא נס לחה אלא לא נס לחה, עכשיו כל
הנוגע בכשרו של משה לחה פורחה אילך ואילך.

This is an example of an al tigre drasha with no consonantal change. According to Rosenzweig,²² there is no vocalic change²³ here, either, only two senses rendered by one form. As is true of MW roots, 3m.s. Perfect and the Participle are identical. Has is taken not as the past tense, but the present, expressed in the drasha by Ḥakshaw.

249/ רטז

את אשר יהיה לו, מלמד שהבן נוטל כראוי ככמוחזק.

The Imperfect yihyeh is used here because of sequence of tenses. With the main clause lying in the future, as indicated by wehaya, the subordinate clause is made to agree in tense, though in English we can translate "That which he has," as well as "That which he will have (on that day)."

MH equation of the Imperfect with the future leads to the comment that possessions which will accrue to the father in the future, even after the day of inheritance (i.e., after his death) are also bequeathed to the son. The clause is thus explained irrespective of its meaning in grammatical context.

נה /122

והיה כי יביאך, אין והיה אלא מיד.

²² Festschrift. . . Israel Lewy, 222.

²³ Dissenting opinions are cited by F ad loc.

This general statement, formulated as an en - ella' drasha, shows that the Rabbis understood the use of this word as indicating the future. This is its function before a Perfect with waw consecutive, or before an Imperfect alone.²⁴ Of course, the statement is an oversimplification, since w^ehaya is also used as a frequentative before a simple Perfect, e.g. . והיה אם זרע ישראל ועלה מדין. "And it used to happen."²⁵ The en-ella' formula tended to exaggeration when adapted to Aggadic use,²⁶ but it serves here to stress the wide-ranging use of w^ehaya as an indicator of the future.

The notion of immediacy (niyyad) as a general rule is not supported by the uses of w^ehaya. As in 245 אָרְיָה (discussed above) no heed is paid to the BH syntax. w^ehaya is here translated "And it shall be" irrespective of the hypothetical nature of the following sentence. Perhaps, the fact that w^ehaya stands outside the conditional sentence which begins ki y^ebiaka allows it to be understood independently.

Changes in Mood

234/קצד

יֵלֶךְ וְיָשָׁב לְבֵיתוֹ, יֵלֶךְ וְיִשְׁמַע דְּבָרַי כִּהְיֶה מֵעוֹרְכֵי הַמִּלְחָמָה וְיִחְזוֹר.

The drasha recognizes that we do not have before us two verbs in the Indicative mood, but jussive forms in the voluntative sense. The sense of the voluntative here is actually a granting of permission; "Let him return home."²⁷ The drasha outlines the procedure which is

²⁴ Driver, Tenses, 146.

²⁵ Ju 6:3, cited by Driver, ibid.

²⁶ Lieberman, Hellenism, 51.

²⁷ Jotun, 310, par. 114h; Driver, Tenses, 54.

to be followed if the soldier wishes to return home: He must first listen to the Priest and then he is free to return.

Joüon considers this verse an example of the "direct voluntative mode."²⁸ This he defines as a jussive following an indicative and joined to it by waw copulative.

It is, however, possible that the drasha is expressing what he calls the "indirect voluntative," where the waw is consecutive and expresses the sense "in order that." The sense here would be: "Let him go and hear the priest, in order that he may then return home." The two verbs, in any event, do not refer to the same action of returning home, i.e., a compound verb. The action of yelek is a prerequisite for yashob, which is how the drasha expresses the relation.

Either way we understand the drasha, it is clear that the drasha grasped the modal sense of yashob, no doubt because the modal form is here differentiated from the Imperfect by a change in the vowel (yashob-yashub).

44/ כח

אעברה נא ואראה, איפשר שהיה משה מבקש מלפני המקום שיכנס לארץ, והלא כבר נאמר לו כי לא תעבור את הירדן הזה, משל למלך שהיו לו שני עבדים ... וגזר על השני שלא לשתוח יין שלשים יום, אמר, איפשר שאני יכול להיות בלא יין אפילו שעה אחת, כך היה משה מחבב ... ומבקש מלפניו שיכנס לארץ.

Two morphemic elements express the voluntative (cohortative) sense: The lengthened form of the future and the particle na'. That na' signals the voluntative in the sense of asking permission was known

²⁸ Ibid. "Qu'il s'en aille et retourne".

to the Rabbis.²⁹ Here, the sense of "permets-moi de passer"³⁰ is expressed in the literary unit by the word m^ebagqesh.

The point of the drasha however, is not the idea of permission but the optative³¹ sense of this form. The entire literary unit makes the point of Moses' desire to enter the land.

Sentence Structure

Perhaps the greatest differences exhibited by MH in comparison to BH lie in this area of syntax. Naturally, the concept of tenses and moods is directly related to their use in sentences, but the total change of sentence structure is more encompassing.

As broadly as possible, we can say that BH expresses many types of sentences in paratactical relation, where MH uses hypotactical constructions.³² Of course, there are many sentences in BH that contain subordinate clauses. However, the range of conditional, circumstantial, and relative clauses may be expressed in BH by asyndesis. Secondly, the BH subordinate clause possesses the unique ability to stand as an independent sentence. In contrast, MH introduces conditional sentences with im (syndesis), relative clauses by the particle sh^e-, and has many specific prefixes indicative of circumstantial clauses, be they modal, temporal, or local.

The BH syntax of coordination leaves the logical relationship

29 מִן נָא אֵלָא לְשׁוֹן בְּקֶשֶׁת TB B^erakot 9a, Sota 10b.

30 So translated by Jouon, 309, par. 114d.

31 "The idea being expressed with ... a deeper interest or emotion, than by the mere imperfect." Driver, Tenses, 51.

32 C. Rabin, Tahbir L^eshon Hammiqra, ed. S. Skolnikov (Akademon, Jerusalem: 1969), 80-81.

of the various parts of the sentence to the reader. In many instances, the relation is not clear-cut. The Midrash takes advantage of this ambiguity in both ways: Sometimes compound sentences are read as complex ones, sometimes the seemingly complex sentence is given a paratactical construction.

A further ambiguity is the use of syndesis (waw copulative) in verbal clauses. It is not always possible to distinguish between it and waw consecutive. For this reason, a subordinate relation can be understood as; (1) a compound predicate in a simple sentence; (2) two simple clauses in a compound sentence.

This is not to say that in MH all syntactical relationships are crystal-clear. Here, too, there are disparities between construction and meaning. Sentences that are constructed as simple compounds, nominal or verbal, are likely to have circumstantial or verbal meaning.

Then again, there are senses that glide from the temporal to the conditional: Where they fit depends more on sense-criteria than any indicating grammatical element. Within the class of conditional sentences one finds grammarians differing where the apodosis of a particular sentence begins.³³ The Rabbis were just as sensitive to some of these points, as the drashot assembled below reveal.

220/ גק

תמים תהיה עם ה' א-להיך, כשאתה חם חלקך עם ה' א-להיך.

The verse is a nominal sentence with a copula and a prepositional

³³ E.g., Joñon, 512, par. 166a n.4, and GK on the same verse, 494, par. 159d.

phrase. The drasha interprets it as a conditional: "If you are straightforward, your lot (or place) is with God." This reinterpretation is accomplished within the bounds of the existing sentence by disregarding the Massoretic punctuation and thereby rephrasing:

כש(אתה) חמים, תהיה עם ה' א-להיך

To clarify matters, the drasha cites the understood subject, atta, and adds the particle k^eshe-, formulating a syndetic³⁴ conditional sentence. From another viewpoint, we can call the drasha's construction a circumstantial sentence, the nominal sentence atta tamim being converted into an adverbial phrase of time.

The creation of conditional sentences where none existed is seen in other drashot. In the following example, a compound sentence is taken as a conditional one.

נז/124

וירשתם אותה וישבתם בה, בשכר שחירש הישבו.

The implied reading of the drasha is: "If you conquer the Land, you will inhabit it." The vav copulative is taken as vav consecutive, in order to provide the necessary sequence of tenses.

Likewise, in the following instance, a compound sentence consisting of two independent clauses is reinterpreted as a circumstantial (temporal) sentence.

65/לה

וקשרתם לאות על ירך והיו לטוטפות בין
עיניך, כל זמן שליד ביד תן שלראש בראש.

³⁴ Syndesis in conditional sentences is expressed by a conjunction before the protasis, not the apodosis. Rabin, Tahbir, 86, 88.

The drasha formulates a typical BH circumstantial sentence, where the main clause is second and first is temporal. However, the interpretation is somewhat forced, since verbal-clauses as circumstantial phrases are not usual, and the subject always precedes the verb. Finally, the waw of ugshartam is clearly consecutive, not the copulative required by the drasha's interpretation.

We may disregard the forced interpretation, motivated by the need to find the source for a halakah.³⁵ Important to us is the attempt at syntactical recasting. Such remolding sometimes develops into a set pattern, i.e., a particular construction lends itself to the same Midrashic remolding each time it appears.

Such is the case in the following examples, where the technique is to treat the protasis as a complete conditional sentence, containing the consequence (apodosis) within it.

280/ רנב

כי מצא מחנה על איבך, כשהוא יוצא הוי יוצא במחנה.

The actual apodosis is the remainder of the verse, w^enishmartamikkol dabar ra^c. However, because tes^e, here Imperfect 3f.s. agreeing with mahaneh, is also 2m.s., the drasha can translate "When you go out, go only in a camp." The verb tes^e, repeated, becomes the predicate of both clauses. In the following case, the predicate is likewise read twice.

³⁵ The literary *Pisqa* continues: מִיֵּכֶן אָמַרְוּ כִּשְׁנוֹתָן הַפִּילִיָּן נוֹתֵן שְׁלֵיֵד חֲחֻלָּה וְאַחֵר כִּךְ שֶׁל רֵאשׁ. כִּשְׁחוֹלֵץ חוֹלֵץ שֶׁל רֵאשׁ חֲחִילָה וְאַחֵר כִּךְ שְׁלֵיֵד.

מנין כשאחה קונה לא הוה קונה אלא עבד
 עברי, ה"ל כי תקנה עבד עברי.

The implied conditional sentence is: . עברי. כי תקנה תקנה עבד עברי.
 Obviously, such a technique is possible with every protasis that
 has any element besides the subject and predicate. This is exactly
 what is found in this literary unit.

מנין כשהוא נמכר אינו נמכר אלא לך, ה"ל ונמכר לך,
 מנין כשביה דין מוכרים אוהו אין מוכרים אוהו אלא
 לך, ה"ל כי ימכר לך.

The technique of repetition is thus firmly established, though
 in these instances it has only homiletic value.

כי יד על כס י-ה, מלחמה לה' בעמלק, משישב
 המלך על כסא ה' אה מכריה זרע עמלק.

The first part of the verse is an oath formula and ki intro-
 ducing it is asseverative.³⁶ The *drasha* turns this into a temporal
 clause meaning "After (a king is seated on the throne)." Ki is
 interpreted as the conjunction ke- or keshe- even though this is
 clearly not its BH function.

Finally, we have many³⁷ examples of an exegetical pattern that
 is applied indiscriminately, due to its frequent use. The protasis

³⁶ A. H. McNeile, Exodus ("Westminster Commentaries;" London: 1931)
 104.

³⁷ F, 122, n.11, cites ten instances in Sifre Dt alone.

of a conditional sentence is transformed into the apodosis, ki being interpreted as "in order that". The protasis supplied is a stereotyped formula: C'aseh miswa ha'amura ba'inyan, shebbiskarah.³⁸ "fulfill the commandment mentioned (in the previous verse) in order that." One example will suffice to illustrate.

145/ פ

כי יכריח ה' א-להיך את הגוים, עשה מצוה האמורה
בענין שבשכרה יכריח ה' א-להיך את הגוים.

This device is used repeatedly at the beginning of new Biblical chapters where the previous chapter contained commandments and the opening verse of the new one speaks of entry into Canaan. The drasha serves to forge a cause-and-effect relationship between performance of misvot and the acquisition of Israel, and to link separate chapters.

Sometimes, a conditional sentence will contain sub-conditions before stating the consequence. In such cases, the drasha may read the subcondition as the consequence itself.

245/א ג

ונתנו ה' א-להיך בידך, אם עשיתה כל האמור
בענין, סוף שה' א-להיך נותנו בידך.

Unetano is the sub-condition of ki tesse, the consequence being weshabita shibyo. However, utilizing the stereotyped formula

³⁸ There are slight variations: Kabbel Coleka for C'aseh, in 122/ה and an occasional variant in particular MSS.

described above, the drasha chooses to read differently. The fact that the sign of the conditional, ki, is not repeated each time allows for this.

237/ 7

ואם לא תשלמים עמך ועשנת עמך מלחמה, הכתוב מבשרך
ואם אינה משלמת עמך לסוף שהיא עושה עמך מלחמה.

Here, too, the hypothetical sub-condition w^{ec}as^{etah} becomes the impending future consequence. The phrase hakkatub m^ebasser^{eka} has likewise assumed the proportions of a stereotype to link unrelated (or not necessarily related) events. The real apodosis is w^esarta caleha "then you shall besiege her."

Summary

The creation of conditional sentences, where none exists is firmly established as an exegetical method in Sifre Dt. The ability to do so is provided by the BH construction. The remolding usually fits the existing structure of the verse admirably, and only one example was found where the sentence created does not correspond to the MH pattern of circumstantial clauses.

The motivation for such a technique is to be found in its homiletical value of creating cause-and-effect relationships. In this sense, there is no pure language motivation. However, it stands to reason that no reconstruction would have been attempted were the syntax of BH and MH conditional sentences identical. Thus, we have seen several instances of rereading BH ki as MH k^eshe. Yet, the reconstructions do no injustice to the Biblical syntax of the verse, or to BH patterns of conditional and circumstantial sentences.

The direction of this exegesis was not entirely one-sided. We cite and example in reverse: A circumstantial sentence treated as a simple compound sentence, i.e., the relationship between the clauses is severed by the drasha.

ק"ט/176

וקרא עליך אל ה' והיה כך חטא, יכול אם קרא עליך יהיה כך חטא ואם לאו לא יהא כך חטא, ה"ל והיה כך חטא, מכל מקום.

Structurally, it is possible to view the verse as a long string of connected sentences. However, the clauses cited form a syndetic conditional sentence both in syntax and meaning. The drasha wishes to sever this relationship. The words mikol magom show that the drasha chooses to understand the verse as a paratactical chain of simple sentences. The BH syntax allows for either interpretation.

The "Ethical Dative"

The "ethical dative" or dativus commodi³⁹ is found in MH. However, its use seems mostly confined to narrative passages,⁴⁰ many of which are counted as early Tannaitic material.⁴¹

Its absence in Halakic passages and non-narrative Aggadic units makes it vulnerable to Midrashic treatment when it appears in BH.

³⁹ So Joüon, 405, n.1, because "le dativus ethicus (datif de sentiment) du latin ou grec ne repond pas au cas du type לך-לך."

⁴⁰ We checked the expression ba'lo, cited by Segal, 173, from Yoma' 3:8. In the Tosefta', ba'lo appears only in narrative passages, though ba' alone appears hundreds of times.

⁴¹ See Epstein, Mebo'ot, 18, 25, 36, for the criteria which identify early Tannaitic compositions, which coincide with the places where ba'lo appears.

The interpretations given to it are various: In 209/תנ"ך lo = lecasmo in the strictest sense of "for his person", to exclude his possessions. In 193/תנ"ך, ta'caseh leka is taken as reflexive, and opposed to ta'caseh lashem.⁴²

In 323/תנ"ך leka = kemoseka, "like you." In 191/תנ"ך, lakem means "each and every one of you," though perhaps this is derived from the plural form of the verb usfartem as opposed to tispor. The latter possibility seems correct in light of 194/תנ"ך. R. Eliezer's view is based on leka = lecasme'ka; Hakamim think the plural means "each and everyone," but the ethical dative in the singular may be addressed to the community as a unit.

Reflective Pronouns

The reflexive is usually expressed in MH by the use of the noun Ce'gem + pronominal suffix, e.g. hap'eri casmo⁴³ "the fruit itself;" al ta'cas casme'ka⁴⁴ "Don't make yourself (= assume the role of)."

Less frequently, the pronoun suffixes alone preceded by a preposition express the reflexive, e.g., the Sifre's understanding of ta'caseh leka above. Not only lo, leka, etc. is used in this sense, but also bo. כה עד שחזרה רגל⁴⁵ "Until she repents." Whereas the reflexive use of lo is found in BH,⁴⁶ the use of be + suffix is not.

In light of MH usage, bo is understood as a reflexive pronoun, not as an indirect object referring to the victim of the slander.

⁴² The exact interpretation of the drasha is not clear. See f ad loc.

⁴³ Shebi'it 8:7.

⁴⁴ Abot 1:5.

⁴⁵ Tosefta' Sota 1:6. The expression hazar bo appears often in MH.

⁴⁶ Jouon, 453, par. 1461.

The Dative

קלו/191

תספר לך, בכיתה דין. מניין לכל אחד ואחד,
ת"ל וספרתם לכם כל אחד ואחד.

קמ/193

חג הסוכות העשה לך, להדיוט. מניין אף לגבוה,
ת"ל חג הסוכות שבעת ימים לה'.

קמ/194

תעשה לך, רכי אליעזר או' כשם שאין אדם יוצא ידי חובתו
כלולכו של חבירו ... כך אין אדם יוצא ידי חובתו ...
בסוכתו של חבירו שנ' תעשה לך, וחכמים אומרים כלולכו
אינו יוצא שנאמר ולקחתם לכם, לכל אחד ואחד.

קנח/209

לא ירבה לו סוסיים, יכול לא ירבה למרכבתו ולפרשיו, ת"ל
לו, לו אינו מרבה אבל מרבה הוא למרכבתו ולפרשיו.

שה/323

קח לך, בכתן שכמותך.

Particles

165/קה

מזרע הארץ ... ולא כל זרע הארץ.

רצז/316

יכול כל הפירות ... ה"ל מראשית, ולא כל ראשית.

Mem as a particle primarily represents the idea of distance, separation, and motion away from. It is often called mem locative. A development of this sense, as expressed in these drashot, is the idea of "one from among, choosing out of."⁴⁷

שמב/398

ואתא מריבנות קדש, ולא כל ריבנות קדש.

The sense of 'one, some' is called mem partitive. In שמב 398/ , mem locative is understood as mem partitive.⁴⁸ In רצז/316 , and 165/קה , the same formula of welo kol is applied. However, here it is applied (for halakic purposes) where mem really is partitive.

נ 115/

והוריש ה' א-להיך את כל הבוים האלה מלפניכם,
שתהו אתם רבים והולכים והם מחמעטים והולכים.

Sometimes, mem has causative use, in the sense of "on account of, in consequence of."⁴⁹ This is so also in MH, e.g., nafal...miggol

⁴⁷ GK, 382, par. 119v, w.

⁴⁸ In addition, the drasha probably understood w'e'ata' (א ת א ר) as w'eitto "And with him [were]", since the Massoretic spelling is w'e'atah (ו ת א ר).

⁴⁹ GK, 383, par. 119z.

hakkeriya "He fell because of the noise of the digging."⁵⁰ Here, the simple sense of mem as "separation from" is interpreted as causative. "Because of your increase, they will diminish."

Prepositions

155/ צד

לפי חרב, לתוך פיה של חרב, שלא תנורלם.

227/ קפח

על פי שנים עדים ... לא על פי כחכם ולא על פי מחרובגמן.
The BH prepositional phrases cal pi 'according to,' lefi 'by,' with ' are used in MH. However, cal pi is more extensively used in its literal sense of "over an opening." Where it is used as "according to" it always maintains some of its literal sense likewise; cal pi cedim "According to the testimony of witnesses" = 'by the mouth of.'

Lefi is maintained as "according to"⁵¹ but lefi she- means "because," and this usage is extensive. The sense of "by, which, by means of" is instead expressed by the particles Cim or be-.

These changes in usage in MH motivated these two drashot. Where we would understand lefi hereb metaphorically, i.e. "by the sword" the drasha interprets literally, They should be killed with the "mouth"⁵² of the sword, ie. cleanly, in one stroke.

⁵⁰ Baba' Qamma' 5:8.

⁵¹ Cf. Aramaic lefum.

⁵² The mouth presumably refers not to the tip but the blade. Tosefta' Sanhedrin 14:6: v'elo b'roshe shel hereb ella' lefiha. See also Rashi TB Sanhedrin 62b, s.v. lefi hereb.

Cal pi with reference to witnessess is likewise interpreted to exclude either written testimony or even a translation. The mouths of the witnesses themselves must be heard.

Idiomatic Expressions

We may define the above examples of prepositions as metaphorical expressions which are interpreted literally. A similar instance is

157/ צו

ולא ידבק בידך , מיכן אמרו נטל מקל או מלגז או ככר
או שרביט כולם אסורים.

where all the items enumerated are things that are picked up and held in the hand, on the strength of b'eyadeka.

The expression rab lakem is used as an exclamation meaning "Enough!" In MH, day, dayyo, dayveka serve the same purpose. The BH adverbial phrase is literally translated "It is much for you, it is reward enough," with no nuance of exclamation.

Summary

The drashot that deal with syntax continue the tendency to treat BH forms in light of MH use. This is seen in the equation of the Perfect and Imperfect with the past and future respectively, the remodeling of sentences where the BH construction allows for some reinterpretation or slight modification, and the singling out of prepositions and particles for Midrashic treatment when they differ from the use given them in MH.

Simultaneously, though, the drashot also show that the Rabbis were familiar with forms that were not in use in MH, such as the

lengthened forms of the Imperfect, the so-called cohortative modal form. However, this does not necessarily mean that the Rabbis had a tradition about these forms from BH; evidence from the Dead Sea Scrolls shows that this form was used extensively in the Second Temple period, prior to the rise of MH as we know it from the classical texts.⁵³ Nevertheless, the understanding of the meaning of the lengthened forms as modal may indeed show the preservation of an interpretation tradition, since these forms had by and large lost their modal sense in pre-MH.⁵⁴

Finally, there are a number of forced drashot which reinterpret elements that are used identically in BH and MH, or that force the BH phrase into different constructions. These drashot usually accomplish homiletic purposes. However, the number of such drashot is small by comparison to those that can be explained on the basis of MH-BH language factors. The presence of "pseudo-language" drashot is the natural outcome of the Midrashic method when over-applied.

⁵³ With the rise of MH, the regular Imperfect completely overpowered the lengthened forms, even in their special sense. This is one suggestion of Kutscher in his book, The Language...of the Isaiah Scroll (Jerusalem: 1959), 250. However, he also mentions the alternative possibility that the modal forms were completely lost from the spoken language at an early date, already in late BH, and their presence on the scrolls is an artificial archaism, a "hypercorrection." Goshen, "Linguistic Structure and Tradition in the Qumran Documents," SH, IV (1958), 124, has pointed out that the lengthened forms appear only in the Biblical MSS of the Sect. Consequently, there is a "certain stylistic quality" involved in their use.

⁵⁴ Kutscher, ibid., 251.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In summarizing the findings of this dissertation and formulating conclusions, the most helpful guides are the aims set out in the introduction. Briefly stated, they were: To sort out and analyze the language drashot, examine the MH factor in them, and evaluate the role language exegesis plays in Midrashic expositional literature.

In the nine chapters of this thesis, approximately 140 drashot were analyzed. This number, no matter what fraction of the total drashot in Sifre it represents, is sizeable enough to accord language-exegesis a place of honor amongst the exegetic techniques of the Tannaim.

In this summary chapter, it is worthwhile restating the concept of language-drashot in the Tannaitic literature. It cannot be stressed too strongly that it is anachronistic to impose linguistic categories upon the Rabbinic mind. This is true even for older, "classical" grammatical concepts and terms. For this reason, the investigation of the drashot proceeded inductively. The drashot were allowed to form their own categories. We did not gather enough evidence to decide between the views of Rosenzweig and Malamet vs. Arendt, whether some drashot are based on graphic similarity of letters. Nevertheless, it is clear that the vast

majority of wordplays are not based on graphic, but on phonetic interchanges.

Thus, it is not necessary to conclude in any type of apologetic tone concerning Tannaitic language knowledge, due to the lack of a system or terminology. The organic, rather than systemic arrangement, is typical of Midrashic works, but a solid amount of language-consciousness is embedded therein and must be translated into contemporary categories.

The MH factor in Tannaitic exegesis has proven to be exceptionally rich. Dobschutz had already mentioned the exegesis of Biblical words according to Neuhebraisch; the examples he cites are mostly cases where we are told explicitly that "people call it such-and-such." We have been able to find MH influence even where not specifically mentioned. More important, this constant exploitation of the changes between BH and MH is not only found in the area of vocabulary, where perhaps it is most expected, but also in the realm of syntax. This fact adds substantiation (if any was needed) to the view that Hebrew was a spoken language during the Tannaitic period, at least in its earlier phases.

Assuming that the drashot originate from a background of a spoken dialect brings us to the problem of dating. On the fact of it, we have a terminus ad quem, circa 200 C.E. Nevertheless, the Midrashim as literary units must have been arranged and edited later, but the kernel of the drashot had an earlier origin. This "kernel", which we have referred to as the language nucleus, must have been circulated orally. Among the other indicators, are the brevity, stock formulae, and mnemonic relationships found in the language nuclei. Also, the earlier origin of the nucleus explains

how the same exegesis is found in various Midrashic works or in different literary units of the same Midrash.

Another factor important for dating is the division of the drashot into sources. I.e., similar material found in sections originating from both schools of R. Akiba and R. Ishmael either antedates the division into sources, or is common to both of them. The en-ella' drashot, for example, appear to us to be an earlier formulation which was later cited by both schools and incorporated into literary units of each one. This also gives us a terminus ad quem. However, the second possibility, that there is no discernible difference between the sources in their methods of language exegesis, must also be taken into account. Taking one particular type of exegesis as an example, we find that seven out of nine word-divisions (Chapter IV) appear in the sections attributed to R. Ishmael. Yet, the first two instances, in Pisqa alef, are given by R. Judah b. Ila^ci, a pupil of Akiba! Secondly, the two word-divisions which do appear in sections of the school of Akiba, sha^catnez and b^eliya^cal, might be from older sources yet. Therefore, the component of language division in each school is not easily arrived at by tallying the drashot in either part. Further sorting based on comparative sources and names of Tannaim (where mentioned), and the presence of these drashot in Targumic works or the early versions and translations will help in dating and sorting the language exegesis.

Finally, as to the place of language exegesis in Midrashic literature: The technique cuts across the boundaries of halaka and aggada, which are the most commonly used divisions. The drashot

based on phonetic changes can be applied as easily to one as to the other. The terms halaka and aggada refer to a content-analysis, whereas this dissertation has attempted to evaluate the operational methods of the process called Midrash.

The terms of content, halaka and aggada, have been mistakenly extended to the areas of style and technique and have been disappointing when stylistic differences in the treatment of aggada and halaka are not found. The debate on the problem of Midrash as a "genre" unto itself, or as a repository of several genres, also has its roots in the confusion between subject-matter. The literary analysis of Midrash and the determination of literary classes should follow the analysis of the method.

Some of the drashot we chose for analysis turned out to be, upon closer examination, pseudo-language exegesis. There were lexicographic entries whose meanings were not borne out by the use of the word in BH, or in MH; wordplays based on phonetic interchanges not supported by other sources; syntactical comments that involved a rearrangement of the Biblical verse. In some of these cases, the literary unit seemed to show signs of being a secondary compilation or pastiche of other sources. The language nucleus, too, was an imitation of the form of valid drashot, though its contents were questionable. In this way, an examination of the language link of the drashot serves as a valuable tool for the philology and the critical examinations of the Midrash texts.

In cases where the drasha seems original, and yet the language analysis is faulty by modern standards, we must ascribe this to a deficiency of linguistic knowledge. The Rabbis had no way of

knowing about the history of Hebrew, or about the state of the Semitic consonants before they coalesced. Whatever was known in phonetics was based on comparisons with Aramaic, Arabic, or other dialects which individual Rabbis encountered. But these comparisons were individual, atomistic relations of isolated words, and no attempt to synthesize this knowledge was made. The Tannaim, after all, were not linguists by profession.

Nevertheless, their language drashot reveal that the drashot were authentic attempts to interpret the Bible, and many of these drashot are no doubt their conception of the literal meaning of Scriptures.

I would like to take this opportunity to thank Dr. David Rudavsky, who was Acting Head of the Department of Hebrew Studies at New York University while I was a student there, for his able instruction, guidance, and efforts to enable me to research my work in Israel.

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APPENDIX I

Transliterations

The following list contains the Hebrew consonants and the transliterations used in this thesis.

Consonants

'	א	w	א	k	כ	c	ע	sh	ש'
b	ב	z	ז	l	ל	f, p	פ, פ	s	ש
g	ג	ḥ	ח	m	מ	ṣ	צ	t	ת
d	ד	ṭ	ט	n	נ	q	ק		
h	ה	y	י	s	ס	r	ר		

Note: Spirantization of bgdkt is not indicated. Initial alef is not indicated. Gemination is represented by doubling. Geminated ו' is represented by וו'. In quoting transliterated material, the symbols of the source are used.

Vowels

- e sh^ewa' mobile
- a qamaṣ, pataḥ.
- e segol, ṣere.
- i ḥiriq.
- u shuruq, qubaṣ.
- o holam.

Note: sh^ewa' mobile in the bibliography is indicated by e (=šere, segol). Matres lectiones are indicated only in final position; heh in final position is indicated after all vowels except qamaṣ.

Common Names and Terms

In general, the accepted spellings are adhered to, i.e. Torah (with final "h"). For the titles of Tannaitic works, this system was used.

Abbreviations

Books of the Bible

GN	Genesis	Zech	Zechariah
EX	Exodus	Mal	Malachi
Lv	Leviticus	Ps	Psalms
Nu	Numbers	Prov	Proverbs
Dt	Deuteronomy	Jb	Job
Jos	Joshua	Cant	Canticles
Ju	Judges	Lm	Lamentations
I, II Sam	Samuel	Ecc	Ecclesiastes
I, II K	Kings	Es	Esther
Is	Isaiah	Dn	Daniel
Jer	Jeremiah	Ezr	Ezra
Ez	Ezekiel	Neh	Nehemiah
Jn, Jon	Jonah	I, II Ch	Chronicles

Periodicals

BJRL	Bulletin of the John Rylands Library
BSOAS	Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies

CBQ	Catholic Biblical Quarterly
HUCA	Hebrew Union College Annual
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society
JBL	Journal of Biblical Literature
JNES	Journal of Near Eastern Studies
JPOS	Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society
SH	Scripta Hierosolymitana
VT	Vetus Testamentum

Books

BDB	Lexicon of Brown, Driver, Briggs.
BR	Bereshit Rabba.
EJ	Encyclopaedia Judaica (English).
GK, G-K	Gesenius-Kautsch Grammar.
HR	Horovits-Rabin edition of the Mekilta.
ICC	International Critical Commentary
JPS	Jewish Publication Society
KB	Koehler-Baumgartner Lexicon.
PS	Payne-Smith Syriac dictionary.
TA	Theodor-Albeck's edition of Bereshit Rabba.
TB, T.B.	Talmud Babil.
TO	Targum Onkelos.
TY, I, II	Targum Jonathon and pseudo-Jonathon.
T.Y., T. Yer.	Talmud Yerushalmi.

Other Abbreviations

BH	Biblical Hebrew
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C.P. Christian Palestinian Aramaic
DSS Dead Sea Scrolls
F Finkelstein
Hitp. Hitpael
Nif. Nifal

APPENDIX II

List of Wordplays
for Part II

The wordplays listed below are in alphabetical order. Each drasha has a sequential number, by which it is referred to in Part II.

שהחיל מהחיל מהחיל חולים מוחל	מחוללך	17	תאב	אניון	1
חבם	חבון	18	זיונך	אזבך	2
חבם	ואתחבן	19	מיעום	ראספת	3
בחורב	חרב	20	להשביע	האלה	4
היום	הים	21	אות	ראתא	5
ומורה שמתכין ומרה	יורה	22	מתחמם	בהמות	6
כהנים כרין בסיסך	ויכוונך	23	בעיר שנראך	מבורך	7
שמלבין	והלבנון	24	בבחירי	בחור	8
מדה	מאודך	25	בנביאים	יבוננהו	9
מודה	מאודך	26	ביאתך	ביתך	10
פרוטה	ממנו	27	אגודות	תתגודדו	11
גוחלים	ינחבו	28	גויותיך	גדיותיך	12
בחת	ינחבו	29	שאוגר	גרר	13
			ודי	ודי	14
			הא ותירה	ודי	15
			התדת פתחת	החלות	16

מחודדים בשבון	ושננתם	52	פרקמסיה	30	בכר
			בפה	31	נרפת
שערת שערום שעום	שערום	53	תדמה מוקש	32	תבקש
מתורבלת	תבל	54	שכחתם מתישים	33	תשי
תפללות	תפל	55	בזקבים	34	יסובבנהו
רצויה	בתרצה	56	מכביס כלות	35	אספה
			ב' פעמים	36	סורר
			בגובה	37	על
			שבצמערת	38	ותענו
			עין העתים	39	מעונן
			תתפאר	40	תפאר
			פורענות פרעה	41	פרעות
			שפורה שמפריד	42	פרת
			ליצרר צורה להרעיבה	43	וצרתה
			הצייר צר ויצר	44	וצרת
			מציקי	45	הצור
			ראש	46	צוער
			ישיבה	47	רוש
			רצועה	48	לשבטיכם
			ואשמם	49	ושטריכם
			סם	50	ואשימם
				51	ושמתם

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