## Miguel Pérez Fernández

# An Introductory Grammar of RABBINIC HEBREW 

Translated by John Elwolde

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BY

MIGUEL PÉREZ FERNÁNDEZ

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## FOREWORD

This practical teaching grammar for students who already have a reasonable knowledge of Biblical Hebrew was initially developed over the period 1990 to 1992 as a handbook for courses in Rabbinic Hebrew at the University of Granada. Each unit concludes with vocabulary and twenty exercise texts relating to the grammatical point at issue in the unit. The exercises are generally drawn from tannaitic literature, and the student should find everything required to deal with them in the book. Many of the early exercises come from Abot, which, although not typical of the Mishnah, is more accessible to the beginner in rabbinic language and thought.

Each unit is divided into six sections: Introductory text, Morphology (including a presentation of diachronic matters), Grammar and usage, Phraseology, Vocabulary, and Exercises. The introductory texts and short explanations are designed to introduce the student to the language and concepts of the tannaim. Each introductory text exhibits the linguistic feature covered by the unit, although it serves primarily as a starting-point for discussion of literary, theological, historical, and methodological issues.

Overall, the work is divided into four parts: Nouns (including pronouns and adjectives), Verbs, Particles (including prepositions, conjunctions, and adverbs), and Clauses. The part dealing with clauses includes sentence syntax and the use of the conjunctions, but excludes the syntax of the noun and of the verb, which are dealt with in the first two parts.

The Introduction gives an account of the present state of Rabbinic Hebrew research, including a discussion of (1) the relationships of early-or tannaitic-Rabbinic Hebrew to its later-or amoraic-variety, to classical and later Biblical Hebrew, and to the Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls, and (2) the nature of Rabbinic Hebrew as a spoken language in the light of modern studies in phonetics, vocabulary, and dialect. The Bibliography at the close of the book should be helpful to readers wishing to pursue particular issues further, although it is not exhaustive.

It is not only the pedagogical orientation of this book that clearly sets it apart from M.H. Segal's A Grammar of Mishnaic Hebrew (Oxford, 1927), but also its use of manuscripts-rather than printed editions-of the Mishnah (notably Codex Kaufmann), its general avoidance of later-amoraic-Rabbinic Hebrew, and its inclusion of texts from the early midrashim.

Texts from the Mishnah follow either C. Albeck's edition or, if preceded by ' K ', Codex Kaufmann. For the Tosefta, the editions of M.S. Zuckermandel and S. Lieberman are followed, and for the Mekhilta, Sifra, Sifre to Numbers, and Sifre to Deuteronomy, those of J.S Lauterbach, I.H. Weiss, H.S. Horovitz, and L. Finkelstein, respectively.

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Dr J.F. Elwolde of the Dept. of Biblical Studies, University of Sheffield, brought the Spanish original to the attention of scholars through his review in The Society for Old Testament Study Book List of 1993. His English version incorporates many minor additions and corrections as well as an improved bibliography and a greatly expanded set of indices. We are extremely grateful to Anne Lee, a student in Dr Elwolde's department, who entered the vast bulk of the exercises into the computer, and who, with Rosemarie Kossov, a graduate student, helped with the proofreading; thanks are due as well to Martin F.J. Baasten of the University of Leiden, for his help with the passage from Contini on p. 186, and Kate Dove Davis, a colleague of Dr Elwolde, who helped with the production of the camera-ready copy. We should also like to record our thanks to the publishers, E.J. Brill, especially in the persons of Hans van der Meij, who oversaw the commissioning and progress of the translation, and Anne Folkertsma and her successor, Mattie Kuiper, for their helpfulness at the beginning and end of the publishing process. The publication has been funded in large measure by a grant to the publishers from the Dirección General del Libro y Bibliotecas of the Ministerio de Cultura in Madrid and was undertaken as part of a research project, Lengua y Literatura del Judaismo Clásico, sponsored by the Ministerio de Educación y Ciencia (PB93/1161).

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#### Abstract

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## ABBREVIATIONS

## Mishnah tractates

| Abot | Abot | Naz | Nazir |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Arakh | 'Arakhin | Ned | Nedarim |
| AZ | 'Abodah Zarah | Neg | Nega'im |
| BB | Baba Batra | Nid | Niddah |
| Ber | Berakhot | Ohol | Oholot |
| Bes | Besah | Orl | 'Orlah |
| Bekh | Bekhorot | Par | Parah |
| Bik | Bikkurim | Pea | Pe''ah |
| BM | Baba Meși'a | Pes | Pesahim |
| BQ | Baba Qama | Qid | Qiddushin |
| Dem | Dema'i | Qin | Qinnim |
| Eduy | 'Eduyyot | RS | Rosh ha-Shanah |
| Erub | 'Erubin | Sanh | Sanhedrin |
| Git | Gittin | Shab | Shabbat |
| Hag | Hagigah | Shebi | Shebi'it |
| Hal | Hallah | Shebu | Shebu'ot |
| Hor | Horayot | Sheq | Sheqalim |
| Hul | Hullin | Sot | Sotah |
| Kel | Kelim | Suk | Sukkah |
| Ker | Keritot | Taa | Ta'anit |
| Ket | Ketubot | Tam | Tamid |
| Kil | Kil'aim | Teb | Tebul Yom |
| Ma'aśrot | Ma'aśrot | Tem | Temurah |
| Mak | Makkot | Ter | Terumot |
| Makhsh | Makhshirin | Toh | Tohorot |
| Meg | Megillah | Uqs | 'Uqgin |
| Mei | Me'illah | Yad | Yadaim |
| Men | Menahot | Yeb | Yebamot |
| Mid | Middot | Yom | Yoma |
| Miqw | Miqwa'ot | Zab | Zabim |
| MQ | Mo'ed Qatan | Zeb | Zebahim |
| MS | Ma'asser Sheni |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |

## Other rabbinic texts

ARN Abot de Rabbi Nathan, 'A' text, numbered according to the 1987 translation of $\mathrm{M}^{\mathrm{a}}$ Angeles Navarro Peiró
F L. Finkelstein's 1939 edition of Sifre to Deuteronomy
H H.S. Horovitz's 1917 edition of Sifre to Numbers
K Codex Kaufmann of the Mishnah
L J.Z. Lauterbach's 1933-35 edition of Mekhilta
Mek Mekhilta de Rabbi Ishmael (followed by Exodus chapter and verse reference)
PesR Pesiqta Rabbati
PRE Pirqe de Rabbi Eliezer. numbered according to the 1984 translation of M. Pérez Fernández
S S. Schechter's 1887 edition of Abot de Rabbi Nathan
SDt Sifre to Deuteronomy
SLv Sifra (followed by Leviticus chapter and verse reference)
SNm Sifre to Numbers
j Talmud Jerushalmi (Jerusalem, or Palestinian, Talmud)
Tos Tosefta (according to MSS Erfurt and Vienna)
W I.H. Weiss's 1862 edition of Sifra

## Books of the Bible

Gn Ex Lv Nm Dt Jos Jg 1 S 2 S 1 K 2 K Is Jr Ezk Ho Jl Am Ob Jon Mc Na Hb Zp Hg Zc Ml Ps Jb Pr Ru Ca Ec Lm Est Dn Ezr Ne 1 C 2 C

Mt Mk Lk Jn Act Rm 1 Co 2 Co Gal Eph Ph Col 1 T 2 T Tit Phlm Hbr Jm 1 P1 J 2 J 3 J Ju Rv

Other abbreviations (see also Bibliography)
AH Archaic Hebrew (of early biblical poetry and of inscriptions)
BH ('Classical') Biblical Hebrew (especially of pre-exilic prose)
LBH Late Biblical Hebrew
RH Rabbinic Hebrew
RH1 Rabbinic Hebrew of the tannaim ('Mishnaic Hebrew')
RH2 Rabbinic Hebrew of the amoraim

## INTRODUCTION

## 1. The language of the Torah by itself, the language of the wise by itself

The student who reads a Rabbinic Hebrew text for the first time will usually be surprised and somewhat disconcerted by a series of striking differences from the grammar of Biblical Hebrew, among them the following:

Merger of final mem and nun, with masculine plurals usually ending in $n u n$;

Genitive particle ששל 'of', partially replacing the construct chain of classical Biblical Hebrew;
Very frequent use of הָהָ 'be' with participle;
Complete disappearance of the waw-consecutive;
Loss of the infinitive absolute and of special forms for the cohortative and jussive.
Nowadays, Rabbinic Hebrew is generally treated as an historically distinct phase of the Hebrew language, and the saying attributed to Rabbi Johanan in AZ 58b-the language of the Torah by itself, the language of the wise by itself-reflects early awareness of its distinctiveness.

In the development of Hebrew, four major periods are discernible: BH (Biblical Hebrew), RH (Rabbinic Hebrew), MH (Mediaeval Hebrew), and IH (Israeli, or Modern, Hebrew). This wide-ranging classification allows for further subdivision and transitional phases. Thus, BH can be subdivided into Archaic Hebrew (AH), the Hebrew of archaic poetry; Biblical Hebrew (BH) proper, the standard language of pre-exilic prose writings; and post-exilic, or Late Biblical, Hebrew (LBH), whereas RH naturally divides into Early Rabbinic Hebrew (RH1), the language of the tannaim; and Late Rabbinic Hebrew (RH2), the language of the amoraim. This study will focus on RH1.

## 2. Tannaitic Hebrew (RHI) and Amoraic Hebrew (RH2)

In political terms, the tannaitic period is that of the 'restoration' of Judaism after the disasters of 70 and 135 CE ; from a literary and theological perspective, this period witnesses the compilation, classification, and editing of an immense corpus of oral law, which is presented, and defended, as being a logical development of the written law of the Bible. The vast literature that emerged over this period (from 70 CE until halfway through the third century) is evidence of the enormous labour and exceptional ability of the tan-
naitic teachers who developed the Mishnah, Tosefta, halakhic midrashim (Mekhilta de Rabbi Ishmael, Mekhilta de Rabbi Shimeon ben Yohai, Sifra to Leviticus, Sifre to Numbers and to Deuteronomy, Sifre Zutta, etc.), as well as non-halakhic works such as Seder Olam Rabbah.

The language of these works clearly differs from BH, as is evident from the most cursory examination, and also has features that distinguish it from the Hebrew of the amoraim (RH2), who, from the fourth century, compiled the Jerusalem Talmud, early haggadic and homiletic midrashim (Genesis Rabbah, Leviticus Rabbah, Pesiqta de Rab Kahana), and the Babylonian Talmud. The main difference is that in the RH2 period Hebrew began to die out as a spoken language, being replaced in this rôle by Aramaic. Other features include the enormous Aramaic influence on RH2 in morphology, vocabulary, and grammar, the large number of Graecisms, and a return to biblical vocabulary and constructions. Indeed, the dictum of Rabbi Joḥanan given earlier occurs in connection with the claim of a Babylonian amora that the plural form רִחלים 'sheep', attested in the Bible, was more correct than רחלוֹת. E.Y. Kutscher (1972b, 57) makes the important point that if a BH or Aramaic form is not found in the tannaim but 'reappears' in RH2, it was probably never employed by the tannaim at all but is an amoraic innovation
M. Bar-Asher (1990a, 208) lists three characteristic features of RH2 (see also Sokoloff 1969): the demonstrative הַּלְלָ, first person singular imperfect with initial nun (reflecting Aramaic influence), and the expression פַּשֶּהוּ 'something' used in the sense of כָּלֹ-שֶהו 'a little'. While some RH2 texts can give the appearance of a linguistic mosaic. other amoraic compositions, such as Midrash Rabbah to Song of Songs (see Girón 1988-89; 1990), employ the language and style of the tannaim.

## 3. RHI, a spoken language

Given the highly technical nature of tannaitic literature (legal, halakhic, exegetical), we have to specify what is meant when we say that RH1 was a spoken language. It could have been spoken just in academic circles, for teaching or in court-in the same way that Latin was used in mediaeval scholarship and, until quite recently, in the Roman Catholic church-but not in everyday life. We know, in any case, that the early rabbinic texts in the form they are preserved in the Mishnah postdate any original spoken version of such material by a considerable period, during which the writing down of the oral law was prohibited (see Rabin 1976, 1008; Stemberger 1996, 31-44)-although there were a few incomplete collections of written halakhot, systematic editing of such works is assumed not to have begun until around 300 CE .

Even so, these considerations do not mean that RH1 should not be regarded as a popular, spoken language. Indeed, it is generally believed that the

Dead Sea Scrolls, specifically the Copper Scroll and also the Bar-Kokhba letters, have furnished clear evidence of the popular character of MH. Moreover, the faithfulness and care with which oral traditions can be transmitted is well known. For example, in the Mishnah (Eduy 1.3) it is stated that 'each person has to speak in the language of his teacher'; however this is to be understood exactly, it clearly functions as a guarantee of fidelity of transmission of rabbinic statements, and in the light of this it comes as no surprise that the Mishnah itself records sayings of Hillel in Aramaic (Abot 1.13), doubtless because they were originally formulated in that language. Finally, without denying the technical nature of most tannaitic literature, the language of which would clearly have differed from the daily vernacular, within the tannaitic corpus itself there are also popular sayings and parables (meshalim), exempla (ma'aśiyyot), testimonies, and descriptive narratives relating to, for example, the royal liturgy in Sot 7.8 or the festival of first fruits in Bik 3.2-8, which display a more lucid and popular style.

In terms of dialect geography, at the time of the tannaim Palestine could be divided into the Aramaic-speaking regions of Galilee and Samaria and a smaller area, in Judaea, in which Rabbinic Hebrew was used among the descendants of returning exiles. To the south of Palestine, North Arabian dialects would have been spoken, while in the north there were probably a few isolated areas where Phoenician was still spoken. Greek would have been predominant in Hellenistic cities and, along with Latin, was employed as the language of Roman administration, used in official documents and inscriptions as well as in politics and commerce. There would also have been languages spoken by Jews in the diaspora, as well as Biblical Hebrew with its prestigious and insistent presence in the temple cult and synagogue liturgy. It is not simply that at this time there were many languages spoken in Palestine but that the same person would speak a variety of languages. To be more precise, the following three situations are possible (following Rabin 1976).

1. Bilingualism/multilingualism, typical, for example, of exiles who returned speaking both Hebrew and Aramaic or of the children of marriages of Hebrew- and Aramaic-speakers;
2. Lingua franca, used by speakers of different native languages who would adopt it as a common 'second' language for communication among themselves in, for example, the realms of administration, commerce, or liturgy-such a language does not require perfect fluency, and, for commercial purposes, for example, an elementary knowledge suffices;
3. Diglossia, or the use, as determined by social convention, of a native language at two levels, popular and literary, is found to some extent in all languages (it is particularly striking in the differences between spoken and literary Arabic), and it is noticeable that switching between levels is not easy for all speakers.

It is obvious, then, that all three situations would have been commonly
found, and it is against this background that the use by the same writer of Hebrew and Aramaic or the abundant production at this time of Jewish literature in Greek-the New Testament, apocrypha, pseudepigrapha, etc.-is to be explained.

As a lingua franca, Greek was doubtless employed in a myriad different day-to-day situations, and BH would have served a similar function in liturgical contexts.

Given the different stages and styles of RH, we may conclude that Hebrew-speakers could have found themselves in a situation of diglossia, with the language of the Mishnah and midrashim belonging to a level that required a relatively high degree of education in order to understand its grammar and terminology.

Bearing in mind the small area in which it took root-post-exilic Judaea-it is generally accepted that the decisive factor in the extinction of RH1 in Palestine was the suppression of the Bar-Kokhba revolt in 135, with the consequent ravaging of the land, deportations, and an exodus to Galilee.

Although we know that even in the fourth century Hebrew was still used in Palestine for conversation (עבִרי לַדּבּוּר), along with Greek, Latin, and Aramaic (see Mishor 1989), its linguistic isolation and the transfer of Judaean intellectuals to Galilee caused RH to lose its literary character and the ability to develop. In Aramaic-speaking Galilee, the descendants of Judaean exiles found it increasingly difficult to maintain RH1 as a living language, with the result that Aramaic became dominant and a new scholarly language, RH2, emerged (see Kutscher 1972b, 57 ff .).

## 4. Foreign influence in vocabulary

Given the sociolinguistic facts as described, it is hardly surprising that we find incorporated in RH1 many features of vocabulary and grammar from the surrounding languages. Recent studies suggest that about half the vocabulary of RH1 coincides with that of BH , while of the remainder, a large proportion is shared with Aramaic, with a significant number of Greek-and to a lesser extent Latin-loanwords, as well as words of Akkadian or Persian origin.

### 4.1 The legacy of Hebrew

We begin with an obvious fact, namely, that the Bible does not include all the Hebrew vocabulary spoken in biblical times. In the light of this, it is quite possible that RH has conserved a number of ancient-but non-biblicalHebrew words. Among those recognized as falling into this category are 'return', טָמןך ‘harvest olives', עָצחּ 'uproot', צָּרוֹ 'necessary', and 'spleen'.

For some words, early forms, not found in BH, have been preserved, for
 whereas ליל ליל and are secondary forms resulting from the loss of the second diphthong, לִילַה results from the reduction of this diphthong (*laylay $>$ laylă, with the final he as mater lectionis), and it is only in RH that the shape of the original form of the word has persisted (see Bar-Asher 1990a, 204).

As might be expected, BH words commonly undergo semantic development in RH, for example מִעְה 'grain' > 'money', 'mezuzah (attached to doorpost)', עוֹלָם 'eternity' > 'world', רֶּ 'a 'cut' > 'decree', לָקָח 'take' > 'buy', and טַשְשְׁה 'deed' > 'event'.

A word that has thus acquired a new meaning will sometimes undergo a change in its morphological shape (see Unit 9 ) or in its gender or number (see Unit 10); note, for example, the forms. הַליכָה , כֵּלָה 'woodk', כבּוּד 'honour', הלך Qal 'go', Pi'el 'walk about'.

### 4.2 The infuence of Aramaic

Perhaps as a reaction to earlier scholarship, which had viewed Mishnaic Hebrew as an artificial language-either Hebraized Aramaic or Aramaized Hebrew-M.H. Segal understated the influence of Aramaic on RH. In fact, without detracting from the independent status of RH1, the presence of Aramaic is obvious, not simply in loanwords and loan-translations but also in the basic grammatical structure of the language, in the inflection of nouns and verbs, as the following examples demonstrate.

1. Pronominal suffixes of the second person singular masculine and feminine in 7 - or 7 - (see Unit 4.4).
2. The imperatives 'הִּ 'be' (singular) and הִוּ 'be' (plural), alongside the

3. The second person singular masculine pronoun $\cap \mathbb{N}$, perhaps an archaic dialect form (see Nm 11.15) that has re-emerged under Aramaic influence (see Unit 1.4B).
4. M. Moreshet (1980a) registered 210 RH1 verbs derived from Aramaic as against 241 from BH.
 'mammon, wealth' are Aramaic loanwords.
5. New nouns are frequently patterned according to the Aramaic mor-
 כִּלְל 'general rule, generalization' for כָּלוֹל.
6. Aramaic influence is also visible in the addition to קיקִילְ-type nouns of the suffix 'fulfilment, act of fulfilling', בְשִיאּ 'elevation, act of raising up'.
7. Aramaic has been instrumental in changes of gender in certain words-for example, כּכ 'cup' is feminine in BH, with the feminine plural כּכוֹֹת attested in RH (Pes 10.1), but in the singular it is treated as masculine for the purpose of agreement with adjectives: כוֹטר 'first cup' (Pes 10.2).
8. Numerous Aramaic particles have entered RH1, for example לק 'not', generally used in disjunctives or as an alternative-negative-condition ('and if not'; see Units $23.11 \mathrm{~B} ; 28.7 \mathrm{C}$ ). The adversative $\mathrm{N}^{\circ}$ 's 'but rather' is simply a contracted form of Aramaic
9. Although the relative particle is a native Hebrew form, the extent of its use has been influenced by the Aramaic relative

However, it has been emphasized that not all the Aramaisms of RH are necessarily of recent origin, with some deriving from a common Semitic substratum, and others reflecting a reverse influence, of RH on Aramaic. Statements about the correspondence of the two languages in other areas, such as the syntax of the verb, likewise have to be formulated with care.

### 4.3 Greek and Latin loanwords

See Unit 12. Although there is an abundance of Greek words in RH1, which became even more pronounced in RH2 (however, it is not always clear when a form entered the language), Greek has not had any significant effect on the morphological or syntactic structure of Hebrew, but has simply enriched the lexicon of RH. The following are a few of the more obvious examples.

1. Loan-translations (calques), translated verbatim from Greek into Hebrew, include תָּ
 ( $\dot{\varepsilon} \kappa \pi \alpha v \tau o ̀ \varsigma \tau \rho o ́ \pi o v)$.
2. Greek words ending in $-\eta$ usually have a Hebrew plural in $-a$ 'ot, which recalls to some degree the plurals $-\alpha \mathrm{a}$ and -ae of Greek and Latin (see Units $10.6 ; 12.5 \mathrm{C}$ ). Some native Hebrew words have also adopted this fea-

3. Various Greek words compounded with $\dot{\alpha} \rho \chi^{i-}$ ('chief') have passed into RH, for example 'גרכייודיק 'chief judge' (d.pxiiudex) (Genesis Rabbah 50.2). In Abot 1.8, there is a striking example, in which this Greek prefix has been placed before a native Hebrew word, yielding the sequence ארכי דינים, found in Codex Kaufmann and later rather clumsily erased in order to Hebraize $\dot{\alpha} \rho x i ́-$ as עוֹרכֵ 'עrrangers of' (see Sznol 1990).
4. Only a few verbs are taken from Greek (Moreshet 1980a lists just thirty from Greek and Latin), of which some are native Hebrew denominalizations of loanwords, for example


The extensive Greek vocabulary of the meshalim (see Unit 12.7) shows the influence of Greek in the popular language and the high degree to which it had been integrated within RH at all levels.

### 4.4 Akkadian and Persian

Akkadian vocabulary has come via Aramaic, as, for example, with תֵרנגנוֹל 'cock', © administration of Palestine also left its mark in a few words like ורְ 'rose'.

## 5. BH and RHI -two different languages

Nowadays the status of RH1 as a popular, spoken, language is no longer in question, and the linguistic debate has a different focus, namely, whether RH1 should be regarded as the last stage of BH, that is, as representative of BH as it developed in the post-exilic period, or, instead, as a dialect that was already in existence before the exile, which had carried on evolving alongside BH as the language of a particular group or area and which-for whatever reason-emerged as a literary idiom in the rabbinic period.

In support of the first position, it is clear that every language develops over time, and in the case of RH, there are several clear examples of such development.

1. New conjugations, such as the Nitpa'al and Nuf'al, have to be understood as the result of popular desire to find a more expressive way of stating reflexive and passive verbal relationships. Both examples mentioned result from a merger with the Nif'al-of the Hitpa'el on the one hand and of the Pu'al on the other (see Units 15.3C; 15.4D).
2. The same tendency is seen in the conjugation of stative verbs, like יָר 'fear', as reflexives or intensives, thus: מחקיְירא.
3. In vocabulary, semantic changes and the incorporation of new words, especially from Greek and Latin, imply diachronic development. Aramaic vocabulary in particular requires detailed study in this respect (see above, at the end of §4.2).
4. The first person plural pronoun, ${ }^{\text {, }}$ נאָ 'we', has been constructed by analogy with 'נֵ 'I' and with the first person plural object suffix, exemplified in שִׁקָרנו 'he has kept us'. Similarly, the demonstrative 'these' has supplanted biblical אֵֵלֶה in an attempt to express more clearly the demonstrative's plural reference, employing the $i$ - ending of the third person plural of the verb in the perfect.

On the other hand, it is also clear that RH witnesses to a very early form of the Hebrew language, as seen in the following examples.

1. ' to the exclusion of the alternative BH form, אָנכי.
2. While Aramaic influence might be responsible for the widespread use of m 'you' as a masculine pronoun, it is also found in the Bible at Nm 11.15.
3. The feminine demonstrative $\pi$ IT/it 'this', which replaces BH $\pi \mathrm{N}$, seems to have come from a northern dialect of Hebrew (see 2 K 6.19; Ezk 40.45; Ho 7.16; Ps 132.12).
4. The relative particle - $-\boldsymbol{j}$ 'that, which' (not a development from found in Akkadian and Phoenician as well as in some of the earliest biblical texts (Jg 5-8; see Unit 8.3-4).
5. The extent to which the use of final nun in place of mem became widespread is perhaps due to Aramaic influence, but the phenomenon itself probably reflects a dialect feature of nasalization found at a very early stage of the language, as evidenced by the Mesha stela (in Moabite) and by Jg 5.10. The use of nun is not limited to plurals, in K BB 6.6 we find花 'the way of the sons of humankind', although in the printed editions the form
6. The RH1 second person singular masculine perfect ending in alongside standard BH 68.10; see Unit 16.4A).
7. The archaic third person singular feminine perfect termination in $\Omega$ instead of $i$ - reappears in lamed-he (lamed-alef) and lamed-yod verbs in RH. The form is also attested in the Siloam tunnel inscription (הית 'it was') and sporadically in the Bible (see Units 16.4B; 17.5B).
8. The plural מימזים 'days', may be due to the influence of Aramaic 5מָic although it is also attested at Dt 32.7 (see Unit 10.11).
9. In the use of the tenses there are also archaic features, for example
 (Meg 4.9), where the durative function of the imperfect is evidenced (see Unit 18.12).

These examples show clearly that RH may be regarded neither as an artificial creation nor simply as the result of evolution from BH. Certain phenomena are best explained by assuming that RH was a living dialect even before the exile and that it developed alongside-but not out of-BH. That is the conclusion of M. Bar-Asher (1990a, 205): 'We have to recognize that it is not a matter of two successive stages of the language, but of two different synchronic systems, reflecting two different dialects. In other words, RH is not the direct result of BH , but rather a related dialect'.

It is not difficult to imagine where and by whom this language was spoken. For C. Rabin (1976, 1015), it was the language used by the inhabitants of the area known in post-exilic times as Judaea; for E.Y. Kutscher (1972b, 57 ff .), this area was more precisely that of Jerusalem and its environs, to
which the exiles from Babylonia returned. It is clear that RH was the language of the Pharisees, in which their literature was composed and in which it was for so long faithfully transmitted; it was the language of the oral law, scandalizing the (priestly?) Qumran sectarians, who called it a 'blasphemous, uncircumcised language' (see Hodayot 2.18-19; 4.16-17; Damascus Document 5.11-12, cited in Rabin 1976, 1018). What we seem to have in RH is a further sign of the Pharisaic revolution and one of the keys to its success-the ascent of the common people and their language to the realm of religious discourse and debate. There is an obvious analogy here with similar phenomena in the western world, where the introduction of vernacular languages into the Roman Catholic liturgy has marked the conclusion of a centuries-long struggle.

## 6. RHI, LBH, and the Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls

The eruption of this dialect into literary expression had begun centuries before in various contexts, as demonstrated by the presence of RH syntax and vocabulary in the Hebrew of the later books of the Bible (LBH) and of the Dead Sea Scrolls. The following are a few examples (others may be found in Qimron 1986, 98-104).

1. The BH Hif'il participle is formed according to the pattern מַקִטיל (masculine), מַקטִילָה (feminine). RH, as ever seeking greater expressivity, adds the feminine marker $\pi$ - to the second form, hence, מַקטלִ, on the anal-
 cannot impose a vow on her son' (Sot 3.8). But the same pattern is already found in Esther: א"אן אִחתר מַגִּדת 'Esther did not tell' (Est 2.20; see Unit 19.7A).
2. בּ בּ 'scorn, shame, opprobrium' is a technical term in tannaitic literature (see SNm 35 [H 39]; 116.1 [H 130]) that had already appeared in Esther (1.18).
3. The RH genitive particle של 'of appears in Ca 3.7 (along with the characteristically RH phenomenon of proleptic possessive suffix on the pre-
 Solomon'. שִׁל also occurs in the Temple Scroll and Copper Scroll from Qumran and in the Bar-Kokhba letters.
4. The Book of Jonah makes an obvious effort to imitate classical BH. But even here, in the space of two verses (Jon 1.7-8), we find, first, RH 'בּשְּלְּמי 'on whose account?', followed by an attempt to recast this expression in a more classical mould: בַּהַשִׁר למי.

## 7. The influence of BH on RHI

RH1 should not be regarded as a homogenous body of literature. Some tannaitic literature displays a relatively high level of influence-much of it in-evitable-from BH, and we find that biblical structures and meanings have not yielded to their rabbinic counterparts. Three examples, drawn from the work of M. Bar-Asher, are as follows: jussives, although virtually obsolete in RH1, are retained in Abot (1.8; 2.4, etc.; see Unit 18.4-5); the denominative form הִתְחִיל 'he began' (from תְחִילְה 'beginning'), found throughout RH1, gives way to the standard BH Hif'il form חלל (root in Tam 2.2-3; the verb is still found at RS 1.9 and elsewhere in the biblical sense of 'take'.

Analysis and evaluation of textual sources is required in such instances, to ascertain whether they represent an earlier stage of literary RH or, instead, a later revision. But in any case, the prestige of the biblical language was such as to maintain certain BH forms in the face of a popular tendency to replace them, for example, the infinitives לְלֶכֶח 'to go', לְחת 'to give', and
 לִיתִן , and לוֹתַל (see Unit 20.3). E.Y. Kutscher claimed that such remnants of BH 'were not part and parcel of M[ishnaic] H[ebrew]' (Kutscher 1972b), but that one should not draw wider conclusions from this.

## 8. Differences between manuscripts and printed editions

A superficial comparison of printed texts of the Mishnah with texts found in the earliest manuscripts reveals a large number of linguistic and even literary differences. Evaluating them is of the essence in attempting to uncover spoken RH. The following are some of the differences between C. Albeck's edition of the Mishnah (Jerusalem, 1952) and Codex Kaufmann (K), dated between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries and unanimously agreed to be the best witness to the language of the Mishnah.

 ר ר 'R. Joseh'. Which of the two better reflects the original orthography and pronunciation?

In the same text, Albeck reads four times הַלוֹמַ 'the one who learns', while $K$ has הַקְּמֵד in the same sense. The first is an active participle, the second an intransitive, stative, participle. Are we to believe that over time active forms replaced earlier statives (see Unit 19.3A)?

Also in Abot 4.20, Albeck reads לְאוֹכֵל טָנִבִים 'for him who eats grapes' and $K$ reads לְאכָול עַנְבִים, where it is clear that the vocalization does not correspond to the consonantal text. Given the existence of a Pa 'ol participle, should K's reading be regarded as more consistent with the spoken
language?
 provoking'. וּרָאׁין (literally, 'and coming') is a characteristic participial usage of RH, indicating modality-of movement, progression, etc. (similarly, ויוּוֹלִ 'and going', ויורך 'and going down', etc.; see Unit 19.14). Yet it is precisely וָבֶאין that is lacking in $K$ and in other good manuscripts.
 'whatever he might offer in the name of a sin offering or in the name of a

 ter reflect Palestinian pronunciation (see Unit 22.19-20)?

 nomenon is frequently found in respect of other texts, leading us to ask whether the longer form - לִכְׂ is a later development (see Unit 27.8). A similar question arises in connection with the conjunction - כְּ
 imperfect (see Unit 30.8), for which K sometimes just has the infinitive or imperfect, as, for example, at Ber 1.1; 2.2.
5. The differences sometimes go beyond the purely linguistic, as, for example, at Pes 10.5 (introductory text in Unit 29), where K lacks completely the citation of Ex 13.8. Similarly, at Abot 3.17 (introductory text in Unit 8), K does not cite Jr 17.6, 8. This seems to reflect a midrashic tendency over time to introduce biblical passages in justification of halakhic statements.

## 9. RH phonetics

In order to evaluate the differences described in the preceding section and to place them in a sociolinguistic context, a close consideration of the various phonetic phenomena of RH is required, for it is clear that phonetic developments have not always been consistently represented in orthographic practice.

1. There has been a weakening, though not a complete disappearance, of the gutturals, as shown by the Greek transcriptions of Aquila, Theodotion, and Symmachus. Usually, this is a purely phonetic phenomenon with no consequences for orthography. In Meg 24b, there is an explicit testimony regarding the inhabitants of various Galilaean villages, who did not distinguish alef and ayin or he and het. Doubtless it is this phonetic confusion that helps explain the change from טוֹרֵכי to at Abot 1.8 (see above, §4.3.3).
2. There are some instances in which a different pronunciation has had morphological repercussions and created a new word, as, for example, at Taa 3.8, עָג עוֹגָה 'he made a circle' instead of the expected חָח חוּנְה (we find a similar phenomenon at Ben Sira 37.29, where two mediaeval manuscripts have
 Elision of intervocalic he in Hif'il and Nif'al infinitives is attested in nu-

 לִרְבּוֹת (see Units 9.5C; 15.4A. E). A few instances of the same phenomenon


3. Alef at the beginning or end of a word may lose its consonantal value and function simply as a mater lectionis. For example, the verb $\boldsymbol{\sim} \boldsymbol{ש}$ 'remain' has given rise in RH to a Pi'el form 'שׁ 'he abandoned', which uses the same pattern that is found in the Pi'el of pום 'arise', namely, app 'he established'. Continuing the analogy with pe may surmise that the Qal form of שטאר was pronounced not שָׁר 'he left', but without the alef, as שָׁר just like $\square$ p 'he arose' (see Units 15.4B; 17.4B).

We also find that original lamed-alef verbs can be treated as though they
 מעצָאנו and 'we found' (see Unit 17.5A)-and vice-versa-thus, some lamed-he verbs take an alef when suffixes are attached, for example פַעטָאן 'he prepared them' (Par 3.5) and עָעׁאוּTּ 'they prepared him' (Toh 1.5).

Similarly, at the beginning of a word alef can alternate with he, and we
 Tתַגָּדָ 'haggadah, legend'-in which the first form in each pair corresponds to the Palestinian tradition and the second to the Babylonian-reflect different pronunciations in which Aramaic influence has had an effect on the weakening/confusion of the gutturals.
4. There is clear evidence that het continued to receive a guttural pronunciation. Even in the amoraic era, the Greek word $\kappa \lambda \varepsilon \pi \sigma v \delta \delta \rho \alpha$ 'bowl' was transcribed as חַלַף סדְרָ (Genesis Rabbah 49), and in Miqw 9.4 het is confused with fricative kaf. לכִלוּכֵי 'soilings of' > לִחלוּחִי.
5. In respect of the bgdkpt consonants, RH has clearly taken part in a general process of spirantization evident in Hebrew and Aramaic dialects of the period, and we find Greek chi regularly transcribed as kaf, for example
 SNm 131.1 (H 170). But the interchange of bet and pe in, for example, חִ?
 shows that a plosive realization of these consonants was still maintained (this interchange is also attested in very early Hebrew sources; for example, Arad ostracon 24 reads והבקידם for BH והפְקיקִידֶם 'and appoint them'). Spirantization of bet is evident in its interchange with waw or waw-waw, as in the case of יוונה and יבנה 'Jabneh, Jamnia' or אביר and אויר 'air'.
6. To judge from the Greek transcriptions, there were just two sibilants, with zeta representing zayin and sigma representing samekh, sade, sin, and shin, although this might simply reflect the inability of one language to represent the phonemes of another. However, RH orthography has retained
all five sibilants, although some interchange of samekh and sin-for example

 tended not to be distinguished.
7. The alternation of final mem and nun is a characteristically RH phenomenon, reflecting an old dialect feature (see Unit 10.5 A ), in which Aramaic has had a considerable influence.
8. Assimilation of consonants occurs as in BH, although in the Hitpa'el and Nitpa'al conjugations, the taw of the prefix has a greater tendency to be assimilated in RH (see Unit 15.4D).

Instances of dissimilation are common in transcription of Greek words, for example מַרגנּלִיח 'pearl' ( $\mu \alpha \rho \gamma \alpha \rho i \not n \varsigma)$ at Kel 26.2 and 'praetorium' ( $\boldsymbol{x} \rho \alpha, \tau \omega \rho \rho i o v)$ at SNm 134.5 (H 180). Metathesis of consonants is also found, as in the case of Greek $\lambda_{1 \mu \eta} \nu$ 'port', transcribed in the Babylonian tradition as נמיל-compare the textus receptus of Erub 4.2, 'on one occasion they did not enter the port', with the

9. Prosthetic alef is frequent in the transcription of Greek words beginning with a double consonant. for example $<\boldsymbol{<}$ < $\sigma \boldsymbol{i} \lambda \eta$ 'razor, scalpel',
 Prosthetic alef can also be found in native Semitic words, such as אגוּדָדל 'thumb' (Yom 2.1) and אבית 'in, within, where' (see Unit 22.6A).

The reverse phenomenon, loss of initial alef, especially in proper names,
 feature attested in inscriptions and the presence of which in Palestine is evidenced by the Gospels in the name Lazarus (Jn 11.1, etc.).
10. As already noted, differences in pronunciation from one dialect to another are evident in the manuscript tradition. To the examples already cited may be added the proper name 'Hillel', thus vocalized (הֵלֵל) in the printed editions but rendered as הֶלל in K and other western manuscripts, reflecting 'E $\lambda \lambda \dot{\eta} \lambda$ in the Septuagint, and demonstrating the existence of different dialects in Palestine.

Other examples from K include לבלַר (Latin libellarius, librarius)

 K has retained the original Latin vowel, while to replace original short $u$ by an $o$-vowel.
11. The shift of -em to -um in, for example, שִׁם > $\boldsymbol{\text { שטו }}$ 'name' probably results from labial assimilation. Assimilation also occurs with $r$, as in

12. Vowel dissimilation occurs in the vocalization נִימוֹס for Greek vóros 'law'.

## 10. The traditions and dialects of RHI

M. Bar-Asher has attempted to classify and evaluate the written and oral traditions of the Mishnah and place them in a sociolinguistic context. For the Mishnah, Bar-Asher distinguishes a Palestinian and a Babylonian branch, with the Palestinian variety represented by manuscripts of the Mishnah alone, that is. without the Gemara of the Babylonian Talmud, whereas the Babylonian branch is represented by the text of the Mishnah incorporated within manuscripts of the Babylonian Talmud as a whole. The differences between them are easily noticed by any reader of rabbinic texts. Some of the more obvious are as follows.

1. Orthography. Word-final diphthong -ay: Palestinian'- or "- (e.g. שמזי
 Palestinian $\pi$ - (e.g. עקיבה 'Akiba’), Babylonian $א$-- עקיבא); interconsonantal $-a-$ - not represented in Palestinian (e.g. $\overline{\mathrm{j}}$ 'here'), Babylonian $-\mathbb{N}$ - ( O ); final -e: Palestinian $\boldsymbol{\pi}$ - (e.g. יוסה 'Jose'), Babylonian '- (יוסי).
 'instruction', חֲוֹזיר, 'pig'; Babylonian
2. Morphology. Plural of nouns in $\boldsymbol{n}^{\boldsymbol{1}}$ - (see Unit 10.6B): Palestinian nim-
 with third person singular suffixes (see Unit 22.6C: 22.14): Palestinian מạּ
 (see Units 15.4C; 19.5B): Palestinian מִמּוֹעט 'reduced', Babylonian מוּעִט
3. Syntax. Palestininian: relative - $\boldsymbol{y}$ followed by pronoun and participle
 establish'), Babylonian: relative $-\underset{y}{\text { f }}$ followed by participle (printed editions:

The 'Babylonian' forms do not have to be generally or originally due to the influence of Babylonian Aramaic in the Babylonian Talmud, but might instead be genuinely Palestinian, as indicated by the use of and and and מַלכוּיֹת ticiple (without an intermediate pronoun) is also found in LBH (Ec 9.12; 10.5 ; Ps 133.2-3). There is an interesting re-evaluation of 'Palestinian' and 'Babylonian' characteristics in Friedman 1995.

Within the Palestinian branch, Bar-Asher further distinguishes two traditions of pronouncing the same consonantal text, a western tradition represented by manuscripts from the area of Italy (MSS Kaufmann, Parma A, Cambridge, Paris, Florence), and an eastern tradition, represented by MSS Parma B and Antonin 262. To give but one example, the western nominal type קַשְׁלן (e.g.药 'robber') is read in the east as the western forms are no less Palestinian than the eastern ones, as indicated by numerous Greek transcriptions and the oral tradition of different communities.

In conclusion, both textual and pronunciation differences signal the existence of dialect variants within the spoken Hebrew of tannaitic Palestine and the need for further detailed analysis of texts in order to advance our understanding of this subject.

## 11. Conclusion

In the face of the complex issues raised concerning the texts and traditions of tannaitic literature, the words of M. Bar-Asher (1987, 12), especially those of his final sentence, are encouraging, and provide a rationale for the present work: 'These distinctive features, be they early or be they individual scribal peculiarities, are an integral part of any linguistic description. They must be noted, investigated, and clarified. They must not, however, distract the student of mishnaic Hebrew from the main task at hand, namely, finding and collecting features common to all manuscripts and describing the language according to all its branches and traditions'.

PART I

NOUNS

## UNIT ONE

## PERSONAL PRONOUNS

I Introductory text (Abot 1.1)



Moses received the Torah from Sinai and transmitted it to Joshua, Joshua to the elders, the elders to the prophets, and the prophets to the men of the Great Assembly. They are the ones who made the three statements.

1. The concept of tradition is absolutely basic to Judaism. The word-pair קבּבל-מָסַר (cf. English masorah and kabbalah) expresses the reception and transmission of the Torah in an uninterrupted chain of tradition, 'Moses received the Torah and transmitted it'. The terminology is reflected in New Testament passages ( $\pi \alpha \rho \alpha \delta i \delta \omega \mu \mathrm{l}, \pi \alpha \rho \alpha \lambda \alpha \mu \beta \dot{\alpha} v \omega$ ) that emphasize the faithfulness of the process of gospel transmission-I transmitted to you first that which I in turn had received ( 1 Co 15.3; cf. 11.23).

The Torah from-or received at-Sinai is not simply the Bible, which is a material copy of the Torah. but also its interpretation or spirit, which Judaism labels as the oral Torah (תוֹרָה שִבּעַלֹתֵּה). In the naïve representation of Moses receiving the written law and the oral law at Sinai, there is an obvious implication, namely that the text of the Bible has to be read and transmitted within the tradition of Israel (see Pea 2.6; Eduy 8.7). ממקְרָה 'Scripture, reading' and משִׁנָה 'Mishnah, repetition' are two other terms that express the Torah in its double aspect.
2. The Great Assembly or Synagogue refers in Pharisaic tradition to the assembly of the people, who, on returning from exile, congregated around Ezra to hear the law (Ne 8). Although it is unlikely that the Great Assembly ever became a regular institution, it is around the time of the return from exile that the resurgence of Judaism and the special place in it of the Torah is to be placed.

## II Morphology

3. The following is a comparative table of RH and BH pronouns.

| Person | RH form | BH form |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| lcs | - |  |
| 2 ms | התֻM | The |
| 2 fs | 5 | M* |
| 3 ms | הו** | הוּ |
| 3fs | הT30\% | Nי\% |
| 1 cpl | \% |  |
| 2 mpl | 1/[7\% | \% |
| 2 fpl | -MFs | א\% |
| 3 mpl | 1/םT |  |
| 3 fpl | - |  |

## 4. Observations.

A. The form 'אנכי 'I' has disappeared in RH except in solemn liturgy and, of course, in citations of biblical texts, being replaced by ' a popular form already found in BH that has almost entirely supplanted ${ }^{2} \mathrm{~J}$ Nָ in the literary idiom of LBH-Chronicles systematically replaces 'אָּכי in Samuel and Kings by M אנ; at Jon 1.9 both are found together (in Ugaritic the form 'an is attested).
B. $\mathbb{R}$ 'you', undeniably influenced by Aramaic, is frequently used for the masculine, for example אחת מכרית זרע עמלק 'you will destroy the descendants of Amalek' (SDt 67 [F 132]) and אם א'ן אָּ קִּא 'if you do not come' (K Ned 8.7). It is also found at Qumran and three times in LBH ( Jb 1.10; Ec 7.22; Ne 9.6 ), where the Masoretes have vocalized according to the qereTBTR. Such 'corrections' are commonplace in printed editions and manuscripts of the Mishnah. But bearing in mind that the reading $\pi \mathbb{N}$ with masculine reference also exists in BH (e.g. Nm 11.15), it is possible that here we have an archaic, dialect, form, which, under pressure from Aramaic, only rose to the literary surface in the final phase of BH and during the rabbinic period.
C. In the first person plural. RH 'we' has completely replaced the BH forms אגנחחנוּ and the result of internal development in Hebrew, whereby the first person plural suffix in forms like שִקרְעו 'he has kept us' is used to form a plural pronoun corresponding to that of the singular, אָאנוּ וא ו is attested at Qumran and as a ketiv at Jr 42.6. When occasionally emerges, it is due to copyists, who, perhaps unconsciously, have reinstated the biblical form.
D. In the second and third persons plural, RH has simplified the various
 resulting in the merger of masculine and feminine pronouns. Aramaic influence and the characteristic alternation of final mem and nun are both seen here.
5. As in BH , personal object pronouns are suffixed to $\boldsymbol{\pi}$, , אֶל, ,בִּ, ,- , etc. or directly to finite and infinitive forms of the verb. It is only the plural
active participle that always takes the object-marker $\pi \mathbb{N}$ before an object pronoun.
6. The negative particle $\dagger$ ' 'there is not' takes personal suffixes without



## III Grammar and usage

7. RH uses the personal pronouns rather less than BH. They tend to be employed for purposes of emphasis, a function that is especially obvious when pronouns are preceded by or follow verbs, which already include reference to a subject in their affixes. Frequently, an even greater emphasis is provided by an associated particle with adverbial or adjectival force, for example,
8. Just as in BH , the third person pronoun, singular or plural, can be used
 important thing' (Abot 1.17) or ראש ( Naz 8.1 ). For greater emphasis, the pronoun may come at the end of a phrase, as in הַקְּרוֹשִּבּרוּך הוּא 'the holy one, blessed be he' or כל מה שאתה רואה שלך הוא 'everything you see is yours' (SDt 19 [F 31]).
9. A particular way of emphasizing the subject is to anticipate it with its corresponding pronoun. The expression עומר הַּטְהוֹר 'the one who is purified may stand up' is made more emphatic in Par 5.5: עוֹמר הוּא הַפּדוֹר 'that one, the one who is purified, is the one who may stand up'.
10. The previous example indicates the demonstrative use of the personal pronouns, found also in constructions like בַַּיוֹם הַהוּא 'that day', frequent in BH . in which the pronoun, preceded by the article, functions as an adjective with demonstrative value, 'that, those', alongside the other demonstratives, 7 T! 'this' (masculine), it 'this' (feminine), skese'.
11. A characteristic feature of RH is the placing of the pronoun proleptically before an object, as in מה מהנה להם לישראל 'What use was it to themto the Israelites' (Mek 17.11 [L 2.144]), אין מקרבין לו לאדם 'they do not come near to him-to the man' (Abot 2.3), or עומרין לו לאדם 'they do not stand by him-by the man' (Abot 2.3); however, $K$ tends not to use the proleptic pronoun-at Abot 2.3 the is is omitted both times and at Abot 1.17 K reads היו לו לרבבן they were to our rabbi' as against היו in printed editions.

IV Phraseology
12. הוּא הָיָה אוֹמָּ 'he used to say' is a common formula used to introduce a saying of an authority who has just been cited. The construction
participle conveys continuity and iteration, as a rhetorical device to signal the correctness or permanent validity of what is being said. The pronoun, which is not strictly necessary, adds a special emphasis that can be conveyed by a rendering such as 'this is what he used to say'.
13. וכֵן הוּאא אוֹמִר 'and in the same sense it says' is frequent in the tannaitic midrashim, with silways having reference to a biblical text, and is employed to introduce new texts intended to confirm a particular exegesis.
14. tannaitic midrashim to introduce an analogical, or gezerah shawah, argument.

## V Vocabulary

א
N 'these' (demonstrative)
בדֵה 'friend'
 16.19 ; 19.18)

ITITּ
בּקִּ 'pillage, robbery'
$\rceil$ T 'judge, deduce logically'
הנהּ 'behold' (contrast BH הַּרי)
חָביב 'beloved'
!
(Latin tabula, tabella) '(writing) tablet'
טִדְרֶש •study, investigation, exegetical or homiletic commentary'
Tovio '(suspected) adulteress'
بִקְך 'root, principle, essence’

 ing the suspected adulteress' $[\mathrm{Nm} 5.12-31]$ )
P㓭 ‘withdraw'
"
שָּדָּ 'prize, recompense'

VI Exercises
2 2.






 בניך. והוא אמר לדה, לא.
13. מפני מה אתה בורח? אמר לו, לא מפמיך אני בורח אלא מפני המלך. 14. אביהן אמר ... אף אני לא אקפח שכרכם.
15. חביבים הם ישראל.
16. הרי אתה דן.
17. איץגזירה בכל מקום אלא פרישה, וכן הוא אומר, וינזרו מקדשי

בני ישראלן
18. והלך לו הבן ההוא אצל אוהבו של מלך.
19. אם אחהה מבקשׁ אגו גותנים לך כל מה שחבקשם ... והוא לא היה מבקט. 20. אתה הואהלל.

Sources. 1. Abot 1.3. 2. Abot 1.17. 3. Abot 2.8. 4. Abot 2.14, 16. 5. Abot 3.1. 6. Abot 4.22. 7. BB 5.2. 8. Dem 6.11. 9. Pes 9.10. 10. Shab 1.3. 11 . Yom 3.10. 12. Mek 13.21 (L 1.185). 13. Mek 14.21 (L 1.228). 14. Mek 14.2 (L 1.233). 15. SNm 1.10 (H 4). 16. SNm 22.4 (H 25) et passim. 17. SNm 23.3 (H 28). 18. SNm 86.1 (H 85). 19. PesR 14. 20. Shab 31a

## UNIT TWO

## DEMONSTRATIVES

I Introductory text (SNm 84.2 [H80])

> ויאמר משה קומה ה'[במדבר י׳לה'ז, וכתוב אחר אומר, עלפי ה' יחנו ועל פי ה' יסעו [במדבר צ׳ כג׳]. כיצד יחקיימו שני כתובים הללו?

Moses exclaimed, Arise, O Y. [ Nm 10.35]. But a scripture says, At the voice of Y. they encamped and at the voice of Y. they decamped [ Nm 9.23 ]. How can these two scriptures be fulfilled?

1. A typically rabbinic form of exegesis is to put somewhat contradictory texts alongside each other in an attempt to harmonize them. The text above endeavours to resolve the contradiction between Nm 10.35 , according to which Moses used to give the command to decamp, and Nm
$9.20-23$, according to which it was God himself who gave the command. How can both texts be fulfilled? How can they both be valid?
2. The rabbinic expression 'fulfilment of scriptures' extends beyond the fulfilment of prophecy to the truth or verification of the Bible as a whole, and is typically associated with the verb in the Pi'el, 'establish', and Nitpa 'al or Hitpa'el, 'be established'.

## II Morphology

3. The RH demonstratives listed below display a number of differences with respect to their BH counterparts. Some, like אלּ, result from developments within RH itself, while others, like it or it, appear to derive from an early dialect of BH .

Meaning<br>'this' (masc.)<br>'this' (fem.) 'these' (common)

| RH form | BH form |
| :---: | :---: |
| Tir | ה! |
| ir | תkr, |
| אלוּ | אלה |

nir tends to be replaced in RH by it or, less often, if , apparently a northern dialect form (see 2 K 6.19; Ezk 40.45; Ho 7.16; Ps 132.12), which reappeared in LBH. it and it are probably older forms. cognate with Aramaic $\mathbb{\aleph}$ while $\pi \mathrm{N}_{\mathrm{r}}$ is a secondary form, with $\Pi$ - suffixed to emphasize its grammatically feminine character. The replacement of by wh is to be understood as resulting from an internal development within RH, whereby the plural reference of the particle is made more explicit by replacing the $ה$ - of with the $i$ - of the third person plural of the perfect.
4. RH, especially in the amoraic period, also uses the following longer forms of the demonstratives.

| Meaning |
| :--- |
| 'this' (common) |
| 'this' (common) |
| 'this' (fem.) |
| 'these' (common) |


| RH form | BH form |
| :---: | :---: |
| הַלִּ | הַלִז, הַלִזה |
| הַלִּד | - |
| הַּנִּ |  |
| הַּלִלוּ |  |

 of אַלְלו and and a form typical of the Palestinian amoraim, although already common in both SNm and SDt. In our introductory text, הללו is lacking in MS Vatican 32.

## III Grammar and usage

5. Apart from הַּלְה , which is only employed as a pronoun, the demonstratives are used both as pronouns, for example זוה אוֹחֵר 'this one says' or
 world', פִּתוּבים הַּלְלוּ 'these writings', and כל הנסין האלו 'all these miracles'. As adjectives, they usually follow the noun, for example it sage', but sometimes precede it, for example זְה מדִרְשׁ 'this interpretation' (Ket 4.6) or (it 'this testimony' (Naz 3.2), perhaps due to the stylistic influence of Aramaic. The BH noun clause construction, exemplified by זה פתרוֹנוֹ 'this is its interpretation' (Gn 29.12), is also found in RH, for example

זו עדות סחירה ... זו עדות טגמאה
It is the testimony concerning concealment ... it is the testimony concerning impurity (TosSot 1.2).
6. In listing a number of items, repetition of a demonstrative expresses succession, movement, or reciprocity (see Unit 7.7A), as in the following texts: זה באוחרשוישב לו וחה בא וחרשוישב לו 'one after another, they were coming, ploughing, and resting' (SLv 26.13 [W 111b]), ושָׁין אליוּ וָאּוֹ 'these and the others [i.e. the followers of Hillel and Shammai] agree' (Shab 1.9); זו למעלה לזו 'one on top of the other' (SDt 10 [F 18]).
7. The particle $\Omega$ strengthens its originally determinative or deictic force.
A. With third person suffix attached, it has a demonstrative and sometimes emphatic function, as in אוֹתו הַיוֹם 'this very day' or

ונכנס אותו הפועל עמהם. אמר לס למלך לאותו הפועל
That worker entered with them. The king said to that worker (SLv 26.9 [W 111a]).
B. It is used to emphasize a subject (as sometimes in BH, e.g. Jg 20.46, and especially in LBH) or, in the form - $-\underset{\sim}{\pi}$, a clause functioning as subject,
 bidden' (AZ 4.1). The subject of a passive sentence may also be introduced by $\boldsymbol{\pi}$ (as also, for example, at Gn 27.42).
C. $\Omega \mathbb{\$}$ as object-marker is employed less often than in BH, and RH maintains the preference found at Qumran for object pronouns attached directly to the verb.
8. In BH, the use of עצם, literally 'bone', in the sense of 'the same' is
 usage is continued and developed in RH, so that (a) עי pan also apply to persons and (b) עֵצֵם with suffix is used as a demonstrative particle with intensive or reflexive value (see also Unit 7.4), as in

The woman herself is to bring her document of divorce (Giṭ 2.7).
9. The locution -כָּ עַצְם means 'absolutely, totally', for example:

These two crowns [of priesthood and kingship], in their totality (SNm 119.3 [H 144]);

כל עצמם אביהם ליסטים היה
All their ancestors, without exception, were robbers (SDt 343 [ F 396]).
10. For the demonstrative use of the article followed by third person pronoun, see Unit 1.10.

## IV Phraseology

 a word that has undergone a clear semantic development in RH, from 'eternity' to 'world', employed in eschatological contexts in constructions that contrast the present and future worlds.
12. - פּכל עַצִם 'all of it, absolutely, without exception' (see above, §9; for other examples, see Sot 2.3, SNm 70.2 [H 67], and SDt 1 [F 343]).

## V Vocabulary

היאך 'how?'
טִעם 'sense, cause, reason'
ביבנה: 'Yavneh, Jamnia' (near to modern-day Jaffa)
ל ‘cynical. wicked’
מדְּה 'rule, norm, quality’
ำ
(Tyrian) coin', plural מִעְה 'money’
משׁׁua 'in the name of, in the capacity of, in virtue of'
עִסָּ 'occupy oneself with’
( $\pi$ 的óOro
'study'
תַּלמיד 'pupil, disciple'

VI Exercises

> מן הןּחִּילּד.
> 7.

> 11. גדולה מדהזו.
> 12. זה אחת משלשה דברים.
> 13. זו מדה בתורח.
> 14. והיהלאותו האישעשרה בנים, זהבאוחרשוישב לווזה באוחרש וישבלו.
> 15. נכנסו כל הפרותואוחההפרהלאוכנסדה.
> 16. למה משה דומה באותה שעה?
> 17. הכרתתכרח הנפש ההיאנבמדבר ט׳'לא׳ן, הכרת, בעולם הזה, תכרת,
> בעולם הבא. דבריר'עקיבא.
> 18. אלו מביאים טעם לדבריהםואלו מביאים טעםלדבריהם.
> 19. מה עשה אותו הרשער אומר לגוי אחד חבירו, בא וראה היאך אגימשחק
> ביהודיםהללו.
> 20. אותו הפה שאמר, אני משחקבהם, התחיל אומר, ברוך שבחר
> באומה הזו.

Sources. 1. Abot 3.2. 2. Abot 4.16. 3. Abot 4.17. 4. Abot 5.19. 5. Abot 6.2. 6. Ber 3.1. 7. Git 9.5. 8. Ket 4.6. 9. MS 3.3. 10. Yeb 13.7. 11. ARN 1 (S 1). 12. Mek 12.2 (L 1.15-16). 13. Mek 12.5 (L 1.32). 14. SLv 26.13 (W 111a). 15. SLv 26.13 (W 111a). 16. SNm 93 (H 94). 17. SNm 112.4 (H 121). 18. Genesis Rabbah 1.15. 19. PesR 14. 20. PesR 14.

## UNIT THREE

ARTICLE

I Introductory text (Abot 1.17)

The important thing is action, not words.

1. In rabbinic usage, מרךְשׁ (from the root דָדרַש 'seek') refers to the investigation and study of Scripture, and is in this sense broadly synonymous with מַדרְשׁ . תַּמוּד can also denote the exposition and clarification of Scripture, with one of its two plurals, מדרְשׂוֹח, meaning 'interpretations' and the other, מִדרְשׁים, employed for rabbinic commentaries of an exegetical or
homiletic character (although this form never appears in the tannaitic literature).

Although Judaism gave a special place to the study of the Torah (תֵּלמּד תורְה) as the activity for which humankind had been created (Abot 2.8 ), the saying quoted above, attributed to Simeon ben Gamaliel, demonstrates awareness of the tension that could exist between study and practice (מַטְטִחה).

## II Morphology

2. In Abot 1.17, each of the three nouns is preceded by the article:
 strengthening of the following consonant where possible, or, where not, by alteration of the length or quality of the vowel of the article itself) entered West Semitic relatively late (see Meyer 1992, §32.1) and, although uncommon in AH poetry, remained in this form in BH and throughout the subsequent stages of Hebrew.

## III Grammar and usage

3. In origin, the article functioned as a demonstrative with deictic function. It is used less widely in RH than in BH.
4. As in BH, the article can be used as a vocative, as in הַמִּלך 'O king', and this usage has given rise to certain expressions that have survived as in-
 the service (of the temple)', and הַקִּעוֹן הַּה 'by this abode' (i.e. the temple).
5. Adjectives and participles used as nouns can also take the article:

6. As a general rule, the article is repeated before an attributive adjective accompanying a definite noun. as in BH , for example דָאיש הַיָּם הַגְּדוֹל 'the great sea' (i.e. Mediterranean). Very often, though, an indefinite noun is followed by an adjective with article, the purpose of which is to emphasize the importance of the attribute (expressed by the adjective) for the noun or relative to other, indefinite, adjectives. For example. in Mek 13.2 (L 1.133), we find

The latter tribulations erase the memory of the former
and at TosSot 1.2

Which one is the first testimony?
In both instances, the use of the article seems to emphasize the adjective: the last of the tribulations (in contrast to all the earlier ones), the first of the tes-
timonies (as more important than any subsequent ones).
7. As well as such semantically significant usages of the article with adjective, there are also many set phrases or technical terms where the article is


 The construction is also occasionally evidenced in BH, at least according to the Masoretic pointing, for example לאישׁ העָשיר 'to that rich man' (2 S 12.4).
8. In the reverse situation, where only the noun has the article, the adjective is sometimes to be understood as forming a circumstantial clause:

They are to be trusted concerning vegetables when they are raw but they are not to be trusted concerning cooked (vegetables) (Pea 8.4).
In other words, $\begin{aligned} \text { an } \\ \text { functions at a certain level of grammatical analysis }\end{aligned}$ as a noun clause: 'the vegetables are raw'. In adjectival constructions of this kind, the absence of the article may be attributable to such factors as scribal error and vernacular usage for which we lack the evidence to analyse systematically.
9. Various other expressions, especially construct chains, are regarded as intrinsically definite and, therefore, regularly omit the article. Examples include פַּלמוּד תוֹרָה 'the study of the law', על תוֹרָה 'the yoke of the law',

 'courtesy, work', and במילוּת חַסָדים 'deeds of mercy'. Probably in the alternation of צִּר טוֹב 'the impulse of goodness' and צִר 'the impulse of wicked-
 two consecutive stressed syllables (Waldman 1989, 133).
10. In proverbs and aphorisms, the absence of the article points to a general or universal significance, as in
מַרבִּה חוֹרָה מַרבּה חַיִם

One who increases Torah, increases life (Abot 2.7), with which we might compare

The fear of $Y$. is the beginning of wisdom $(\operatorname{Pr} 1.7)$,

The blind and the lame will not enter the temple ( 2 S 5.8 ),
and
בִּרב חָכְמָה רַב־־ּכַּט
With great wisdom comes great vexation (Ec 1.18).
Here again, though, there is little consistency, and N.M. Waldman (1989,

 thers and servants, their masters' (although here it also has to be borne in
mind that in BH poetry, following the example of AH, the article is often lacking in situations where in prose we would expect to find it).
11. The article is not employed before a noun introduced by שטל 'of' if the noun is referred to proleptically by a suffix attached to the preceding noun (see Unit 4.14), for example יָדוֹ שִׁל עָנִי 'the hand of the poor' (Shab 1.1) and שֶשלוּחוֹ שֶׁל אָדָם צִּמוֹתו 'a person's agent is like the person themself' (Mek 12.3, 6 [ $\mathrm{L} 1.33,40]$ ). In such cases, the second noun is regarded as already definite due to the construction in which it occurs.

## IV Phraseology

12. בָּ הַּכְּתוּב וִלפִּד עַל 'this text is there to teach about', in reference to the teaching expressed by a particular verse or longer text that has just been cited. Because of that, the article should be rendered as a demonstrative, 'this', and פְּחוּב, literally 'written', as '(scriptural) passage, text', thus, 'this text', 'the verse in question', etc.

## V Vocabulary

ロּגְ 'cause, be the cause of, bring about'
הוֹכיחָּ (hi. of יכח (י) 'respond, admonish, argue against'
הרבְּה (hi. of (רבה ) 'increase, multiply'
שירָה 'class, school, rest'
מַּקּאן 'from here'
(ntp. of נְתקּים (p) 'be fulfilled, continue, endure'
סיגי 'fence, hedge, protection'
שיחָה 'conversation'

'טִׁכינָּ 'abode, divine presence' (used as a substitute for the divine name)

## VI Exercises



Sources. 1. Abot 1.2. 2. Abot 1.5. 3. Abot 1.11. 4. Abot 2.2. 5. Abot 2.7. 6. Abot 2.7. 7. Abot 3.2. 8. Abot 3.5. 9. Abot 3.17. 10. Abot 4.3. 11. Ker 1.7. 12. ARN 1 (S 3). 13. ARN 1 (S 4). 14. ARN 38 (S 114). 15. Mek 12.3 (L 1.26) et passim. 16. Mek 13.2 (L 1.133). 17. Mek 13.2 (L 1.134). 18. SNm 124.2 (H 155). 19. SNm 124.12 (H 157). 20. SDt 1 (F 3).

## UNIT FOUR

## POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS AND THE GENITIVE PARTICLE SHEL

I Introductory text (SNm 78.4 [H 76])

> קלוחומר לבן ביתו שלשר ודם מטמיברים לוה עולם.

If they treat the son of a human family well, how much more the son of the family of the-one-that-spoke-and-the-world-was.

1. This is a comment on Nm 10.29: Moses said to Jobab son of Reuel the Midianite ..., Come with us and we shall treat you well. Jobab is representative of the proselyte, a person who is not by birth a member of the people of Israel, but who incorporates himself into it.
2. The text contrasts the son of a human family (literally, 'son of the house of flesh and blood'), that is, a proselyte, with the son of the divine family (literally, 'son of the house of the-one-that-spoke-and-the-worldwas'), that is, a native Israelite. The collocation 'flesh and blood' in rabbinic literature emphasizes the fragility of human beings compared to the power of
the creator (the one who by a mere word calls the world into existence).
3. קַל וָוֹוֹמֵר (also written קולוחומר in some of the best manuscripts, for example MS Vatican 66) is a stereotype phrase (literally, 'light and heavy'), here used to introduce the second term of an a fortiori comparison (if ... how much more!). Argument by קַלוְחוֹמִר is the first of Hillel's rules for the interpretation of Scripture (see Unit 26.8C).

## II Morphology

4. The RH possessive suffixes coincide with those of BH, except for the second person singular masculine ( $T_{-}$) and feminine ( $T_{-}$), in which the influence of Aramaic can be seen and which are reflected to some degree in the Greek transcriptions of Hebrew in the second column (Secunda) of Origen's Hexapla (third century CE). These characteristic RH forms were retained in good manuscripts and in the Sefardi and Yemenite oral traditions, although in printed editions they have been 'corrected' and assimilated to their BH counterparts. In the second and third persons plural, BH final $\square$ - is frequently replaced by $\dagger$ - and vice-versa.

| Person | RH form | BH form |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1cs | דָּרִר | דרבר |
| 2 ms | רדבִ | דּבָּדָ |
| 2 fs | דּכִריך | דּבָּרך |
| 3ms | דּבָּ | דרכרו |
| 3 fs | דבּרִדּהּ | דּבדרָּ |
| 1 cpl | דרבִרִנוּ | דִדָרִנוּ |
| 2 mpl | דִברַכן | דּדבּרכם |
| 2 fpl |  | דְּרַרְּן |
| 3 mpl | דִּרָרן\| | דִּבָּם |
| 3 fpl | דּבָרן |  |

(It should also be noted that as well as the endings $\square$ - and $\uparrow$ - there is another possessive suffix, $\square$ י-, which has generally been 'corrected' in manuscripts and printed editions.)
5. In addition to the possessive suffixes, RH has developed an independent possessive pronoun, which consists of the particle שֶׁל followed by
 seen in the table at $\S 7$, below).
6. שֶׁל is made up of the relative - שֶׁ 'that, which, who' (see Unit 8) and the preposition - 'to, of', and corresponds to the BH formula of possession אֲשֶׁר ל- ( S 21.8 ; 1 K 4.2 , etc.), literally 'which is to', that is, 'belonging to, of'.

Although printed editions normally write as a separate word, good
manuscripts show that it was originally prefixed to the following noun, with


 Temple Scroll from Qumran (6.1: שלנחושת 'of bronze'); the construction שלרבי 'of Rabbi (Gamaliel, etc.)' occurs twice in late second-century CE and twelve times in mid third-century CE tomb inscriptions from Beth Shearim. Thus, it would seem that $\underset{\text { as a }}{ }$ a separate word was a mediaeval scribal creation. On the other hand, the discovery of the same form in a fragment of a letter from Bar-Kokhba ( $5 / 6 \mathrm{HevEp} 5$ : 5 : שהיו של הגואוֹ which were of the gentiles') means that we can no longer regard it as a purely mediaeval phenomenon. It also shows, as E.Y. Kutscher (1971, 1602) points out, 'that the dialect of the Bar-Kokhba letters is not identical with MH as it is known today', and, more generally, that we should be aware of dialect differences within RH, as strikingly reflected in the use of של .
 have, then, the following series of forms based on של

| Person | With shel | Meaning |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 cs | שִׁלִיִ | my, mine |
| 2 ms |  | your(s) |
| 2 fs | שֶׁלִיך | your(s) |
| 3 ms |  | his |
| 3 fs | שִַּׁדּה | her(s) |
| 1 cpl | שֶׁקִינוֹ | our(s) |
| 2 mpl | - | your(s) |
| 2 fpl |  | your(s) |
| 3 mpl |  | their(s) |
| 3 fpl |  | their(s) |

8. M.H. Segal ( $1927, \S 385$ ) rightly notes that the genitive construction with של is a genuinely Hebrew development, not an adaptation of Aramaic דִי דִי

## III Grammar and usage

9. As we can see from the translations in $\S 7$, the independent possessive
 yours is mine') or simply as a replacement for a pronominal suffix (e.g. דרדבָ שְִּׁי in place of דְבָּ 'my word'). The latter usage is standard in connection with loanwords that fit uneasily into normal patterns of Hebrew word formation, or when a suffixed pronoun would have to be added to each of a series of nouns or to an expression consisting of several words. But in the
 tionship for stylistic variety or for the sake of emphasis.
10. In RH, as in BH, the genitive relationship is also commonly conveyed by means of a construct chain. where two or more nouns are linked together in such a way that the first noun 'belongs to' the second, and the second to the third, etc. The final noun, or nomen rectum, remains in its 'absolute' state, that is, it undergoes no changes in the position of its accent (that is, where it is stressed) or, consequently, in its vowels. Any preceding noun, or nomen regens, however, is converted into a 'construct' form, that is, a form which usually does undergo such changes, and, in any case, does not bear the accent of the construct chain as a whole; that is borne by the nomen rectum (See Unit 11).
11. However, in RH the use of שֶׁל becomes ever more frequent, and, like the construct chain, it expresses not only relationships of possession but also other close associations that might exist between two nouns. In such cases, שְ may more accurately be rendered by 'made from', 'consisting of', etc.,
 ביִ 'seven classes of just ones' (SDt 10 [F 18]).
12. As a general rule, של is employed when a construct chain would be unwieldy or unclear, if, for example, there is more than one nomen regens and/or the nomen regens or nomen rectum consists of more than one word, or if the nomen regens is a loanword for which no special construct form exists, or if, for any reason, a construct chain might be difficult to interpret.
13. Given that there is often no clear motive for the use of rather than the construct chain, it is also possible that the use (and abuse) of שְׁל has been affected by Aramaic practice.
14. A typically RH device (already seen in Unit 3.11) is to anticipate the word to be introduced by be be means of a suffix attached to a nomen re-
 (Mek 12.3, 6 [L 1.33, 40]). The construction also occurs in LBH, at Ca 3.7 (see above, §6): in RH it is especially common when the noun following שִׁ is a personal name.

## IV Phraseology

 originated as relative clauses ('which is to me', 'which is to you'), can function as possessive pronouns ('my', 'your') or as nominalized relative clauses ('that which is to me, mine', 'that which is to you, yours'), which can also be employed predicatively ('what's mine is yours', etc.). By means of such forms, we find at Abot 3.7 concise and alliterative expression of a fundamental doctrine of Judaism, namely, that a human being is a creation of God and can give nothing to God which does not in fact already belong to
 and yours are his'.

## V Vocabulary

(际 $\mu \alpha$ ) 'platform'
בּ בּוֹני 'central, halfway, average, common'
(v́ $\alpha \rho \rho \chi \circ \varsigma)$ 'governor'
חָחיח 'jug, flask'
חיצוֹן 'outer'
מסלִכוּחת 'kingdom' (especially in reference to the Roman empire)
חָקוֹם 'place' (also in metonymic reference to God as omnipresent)
 festival'
( $\pi \rho \alpha \iota \tau \omega ́ \rho \iota o v)$ 'palace’

VI Exercises
2 2.

> 4. 4.
> 5.
9. 9.

> 11. כל אחד ואחד מכיר את שלו.
> 12. לא היתה שמחה לפניו במרום על אבדן שלרשעים.
> 13. בשישרהל עושיץ רצונו שלמקום.
> 14. אף חולדה הנביאה היתה מבני בניה של לחבב הונה.
> 15. לפחחפלטריץ שלו.
> 16. ר' הליעזר אומר, נתן כחבעיניו של משהוראה מסוף העולםועד סופו.
> 17. אמר להם הפרכוס שלו.
> 18. מלך בשג ודם יששב עלבימה מלו.
> 19. שבע כתות על צדיקים בנן ערן.
> 20. לשבע שמחות פניהם טל צדיקים דומים.

Sources. 1. Abot 1.12. 2. Abot 2.1. 3. Abot 2.2. 4. Abot 2.10. 5. Abot 3.2.
6. Abot 3.10. 7. Abot 5.10. 8. Yom 5.6. 9. Suk 4.10. 10. Suk 5.2. 11. ARN 2 (S 14). 12. Mek 15.1 (L 2.6). 13. Mek 15.1 (L 2.19). 14. SNm 78.1 (H 74). 15. SNm 134.5 (H 180). 16. SNm 136 (H182). 17. SDt 3 (F 11). 18. SDt 9 (F 17). 19. SDt 10 (F 18). 20. SDt 10 (F 18).

## UNIT FIVE

## INTERROGATIVES

I Introductory text (ARN 4 [S 21])

> פעם אחת היה רבן יוחנן בן זכאי יוצא מירושלים והיהר׳ יהושע הולך אחריו וראה בית המקדש חרב. אמר ר'יהושע, אוי לנו על זדה שהוא חרב מקום שמכפרים בו עונותיהם של ישראל. א״ל, בגי אל ירע לך, ישלונ כפרה אחת שהיא כמותה. ואאזה, זהגמילות חסרים, שצאמר, כי חסר חפצתי ולא זבח[הושע ר׳וֹ.

Once, Rabban Johanan b. Zakkai was leaving Jerusalem and R. Joshua, who was coming behind him, saw the temple in ruins. He exclaimed. Woe to us, for the place where the sins of Israel used to be expiated lies in ruins. He replied, My son, do not torment yourself, for we have a form of expiation that is as (effective as) that. What is it, then? Deeds of mercy; as it was said, For I desire mercy and not sacrifice [Ho 6.6].

1. The destruction of the temple at Jerusalem by the Romans in 70 CE was of enormous consequence throughout the Jewish world, not simply because of national pride but also. and perhaps more profoundly, for religious reasons. Without the temple, and, therefore, without the opportunity to offer atoning sacrifices, the people would remain with their sins before God for ever. From this abject situation, the rabbis were able to point to the prophetic tradition: love for one's neighbour and acts of mercy can take the place of sacrifices.

גמילוּת חֲסָרים, literally 'fulfilment of mercies', is the technical term for acts of kindness. Lists of such acts are to be found in Sot 14a, Ecclesiastes Rabbah 7.1-3, Targum Neofiti to Gn 35.9, Targum pseudo-Jonathan to Ex 18.20 and Dt 34.6, and, in the New Testament, Mt 25.35-40. Jewish tradition gave particular emphasis to attending weddings and congratulating newlyweds and to burying the dead and consoling the bereaved as acts of kindness (see PRE 16-17).

## II Morphology

 'what?'. $מ$ is used with both masculine and feminine nouns, generally in reference to persons, rarely, to things, whereas טֶה usually refers to things rather than persons. As in BH, the vocalization of $\underset{\text { p̦ varies, although it usually be- }}{\text { a }}$ haves like the article in that it strengthens the first consonant of the word that
 , מָה consonant, strengthening it with dagesh rather than compensating for lack of strengthening by increasing the vowel length of the interrogative. (In fact, resh with dagesh is typical of the eastern tradition of Hebrew and only rarely appears in K: see Unit 8.2 and Bar-Asher 1987, 13-14.)
3. RH has also developed another interrogative structure:

Meaning<br>which (one)? (masc.)<br>which (one)? (fem.)<br>which ones? (common)

The forms איאיזו, and are composed of the old interrogative particle
 printed editions, אילו, the proper form of the plural interrogative, is often written like the demonstrative אלמיוֹ.

The form enteen times in the Bible. In RH, the singular sometimes, as in our introductory text, has feminine reference and is to be pointed not wher wron bir

In LBH, at least as represented by Ecclesiastes, the feminine demonstrative it came to prominence as a phonetic variant of $\pi$, , although it is also found, always in the company of 7 It, in earlier texts ( $\mathrm{Jg} 18.4 ; 2 \mathrm{~S} 11.25 ; 1 \mathrm{~K}$ 14.5; 2 K 6.19 ), as well as in Ezekiel (40.45), regarded as transitional between classical BH and LBH; eventually, in RH, the it form became lexicalized as ir (which also appears twice in the Bible, at Ho 7.16 and Ps 132.12).

איזהוֹ and are evidently composed of the interrogative and demonstrative particles followed by a suffixed pronoun; in important early manuscripts like K, these forms are also written as separate words: זֶי זֶה הוּא

4. M.H. Segal $(1927, \S 82)$ claimed that the semantic development of the RH interrogative can be traced clearly within BH. Thus, at 1 S 9.18 ,
 interrogative, 'where?' (hence, 'where is the house of the seer?'), whereas at
 ticle, so that the sense is not so much 'where?' as 'which?' (hence, 'which way shall we go up'?); this second usage is the one that survived, and is
clearly seen in texts like Ec 11.6, which one will be successful, this one or this one?', where there is no trace of the locational sense found in the Samuel passage. To Segal's observations, we might add that the later, non-locational, meaning of is also seen in the early postbiblical book of Ben Sira (30.40), according to Segal's own reconstruction: באיזה דןרך תבקשנח

## III Grammar and usage

5. מי is only used as a pronoun, whereas שָׁ can function as a pronoun or as an adjective. Both forms may be preceded by a preposition, for example,
 'by what?', etc.
6. In exegetical literature, the contraction $\begin{array}{r}\text { in } \\ \text { is commonly used for }\end{array}$ 'what is he?, what is it?' when asking about the meaning of a biblical text. Thus, at Mek 17.8 (L 2.138), רפידים מהו, literally, 'Refidim, what is it?', means 'How is one to interpret refidim?' In the Tosefta and various midrashim, particularly Sifre to Deuteronomy, the expression מָהּוֹ אוֹרִר, literally 'what is it saying?', is also frequently employed to introduce one of a series of biblical citations and means 'what does this text add?' (here, as in the formula וְקן הוּא אוֹמר 'and in the same sense it says', already encountered at Unit 1.13 , הוּ always refers to a biblical text).
7. Although the combinations -סָה שֶׁ- מי שי may represent indefinite pronouns, 'whoever, whatever' (see Unit 6.7), this is not always so. For example, they are used with very definite reference in the divine 'name' and (the-one-that-spoke-and-the-world-was' (see introductory text of Unit 4) and in the saying recorded at Abot 2.14:

דע מה שחשיב לאביקורוט
Know what you have to reply to a heretic.
Sometimes, as in the Bible (e.g. 1 S 20.4 and Est 9.26), the relative particle
 sible' (Men 4.3) and 'I have nothing to reply' (Kel 13.7).
8. Ộ can also be used to introduce the first term in a comparison:
 not correct?/it is correct', more true for that'. Such formulations are common in rabbinic arguments that employ gezerah shawah or a fortiori deductions (see Unit 26.8; there are numerous examples in the tannaitic midrashim). M.H. Segal's interpretation (1927, §§463; 499-500) of the here as exclamatory, 'what!' is debatable; whatever its origins, in RH it simply functions as part of a lexicalized expression introducing the first term in a comparison.
9. $\boldsymbol{\text { In in }}$ in particular is also found as part of numerous adverbial expres-

 what?'.

Frequently, a preposition is attached to an interrogative, as in
משלמי היו הבדמות
Whose were the cattle? (Mek 14.7 [L 1.201]).
Compare Jon 1.7:
בְּשֶּלִִי הָרָעְה הַּאֹת לְני

On whose account has this misfortune come to us?
 איל may be used as pronouns or as adjectives, for example

And they examine which stones are likely to break (BM 10.1)
and

And it is not known who have changed and who have progressed (TosNeg 2.7).
11. איאלוּ

For which contaminations does the Nazirite have to shave? (Naz 7.1)
and
ואשיני יוֹדע אצִה מכּם
And I do not know which of you two (Naz 8.1).
Followed by the relative $-\underset{\mathrm{E}}{\mathrm{j}}$, they are employed demonstratively to specify one of a group of items, for example יִבִיא איזֹ שִׁיִֶֶּ 'he will bring that which he wishes (from among the offerings promised)' (Men 13.7).

## IV Phraseology

12. לסקָה הָדָּבָּ דוֹמֵה 'what is this like?'-parables (or narrative meshalim) are usually constructed around a series of rigidly defined formulas:

B. 'what is this like?, to what might it be compared?';
C. - 'to a(n)';
D. at the end, the parable's relevance to the lives of the audience or to biblical interpretation is usually stated, with such statements gen-
 These narrative formulas are found not only in the rabbinic meshalim but also in the parables of the New Testament.
13. משה 'what did he/they/you see?', a lexicalized expression meaning 'what is the reason why he/they/you?, what is his/their/your basis for?', for example:
 They said to R. Nehunia, What is your basis for distinguishing your norms (i.e. for establishing new rules) (Eduy 6.3).
It is commonly used in exegetical literature, for example מה ראו חכמים לומר 'On what basis do the sages interpret?' (SNm 77.4 [H 71]) and מה ראית לומר עולה בעולה What is your reason for saying one holocaust (may be offered) for another? (SLv 1.3 [W 5c]).

## V Vocabulary

איק
בַקֹשׁק 'request'
הכשׂר 'permit, make suitable or kosher'
דחקהד 'make use of, benefit from'
הַגָּ
חָּלִ 'take off sandal (etc.), perform the ritual of halisah (Dt 25.5-10)'
חחמּים 'thermal waters'
פבריה ‘Tiberias’
יִִּ 'fulfil the law of levirate marriage, marry the widow of a deceased childless brother' (Dt 25.5-10)
כַּפּׁר 'expiation, atonement'

- כִּ 'when’ (contrast BH כִּ כַּ

מגּר 'permitted' (from the root נתחר '
נְהּ 'beautiful'
'פַבַרָה 'transgression, sin'
עָשיר 'rich’

VI Exercises








 מן


10. מה ראו ישראל לפדות פטרי מחמורים ולא פטרי סוסיםוגמלים? 11. מה הדםמהנה למלאך או מה מהנה להם לישראל? 12. מהראית להשחית שער גאה?
13. מפני מה המן משתנה להם לכל דבר שהיו רוצים? 14. מפגי מה לא ברא המקום חמים בירושלים כחמי טבריה? 15. ראה משח בעיניו מה שלא הלך יהושע ברגליו.
16. ראו א׳זו עבירה עברחי וכמה בקשות בקשחי. 17. נאמר כאן שמחה ונאמר להלן שמחה מה שמחה האמורה להלן שלמים אף שמחה האמורה כאן שלמים. 18. שלש מצווח... איני יודע אזזה יקדום. 19. במה הכחוב מדבר?
20. מה מיםמותריםבהניה אף דם מותר בהניה, מהה מים מכשירים את זרעים אף דם מכשיר את הזרעים.

Sources. 1. Abot 1.14. 2. Abot 2.1. 3. K Abot 2.9. 4. Abot 2.14. 5. Abot 3.7. 6. K Abot 4.1. 7. Abot 4.20. 8. Ber 6.4. 9. Yeb 2.2. 10. Mek 17.8 (L 2.138). 11. Mek 17.11 (L 2.144). 12. SNm 22.6 (H 26). 13. SNm 87.2 (H 86). 14. SNm 89.5 (H 90). 15. SNm 136 (H 183). 16. SNm 136 (H 183). 17. SDt 64 (F 130.1). 18. SDt 67 (F 132). 19. SDt 71 (F 134) et passim. 20. SDt 71 (F 136).

## UNIT SIX

## INDEFINITE EXPRESSIONS

## I Introductory text (Abot 3.9)

Rabbi Heaninah ben Dosa says, All whose fear of sin exceeds their wisdom, their wisdom will endure, but all whose wisdom exceeds their fear of $\sin$, their wisdom will not endure. He also used to say, All whose deeds are greater than their wisdom, their wisdom will endure, but all whose wisdom is greater than their deeds, their wisdom will not endure.

1. Haninah ben Dosa was a charismatic miracle-worker from Galilee. Some authors have compared him to another Galilaean, Jesus of Nazareth. Haninah's declaration emphasizes the tension that exists between study and
practice. The dialectic contrast in which the statement is couched is typical of Semitic rhetoric. But Haninah does not claim that the one excludes the other, as if wisdom and practice/piety were incompatible. Set against the isolated wisdom of the scholar, which can lead to pride, he affirms the superiority of charity and humble piety, which form the basis of a pure and enduring wisdom.

## II Morphology

2. RH's only indefinite pronoun is כְּלוּם (not) anything, nothing', which, כֹלֹ־מִאוּמָה (literally, 'all something', i.e. 'everything, anything').
3. Other terms that function as part of indefinite expressions, in RH as in BH , include:
A. the interrogatives מי 'who?' and מִה 'what?';
B. various nouns of generalized reference, such as 'person', פּלוֹנ 'someone', דָּ 'all', and דָּר 'thing';
C. a number of grammatical constructions.

## III Grammar and usage

4. The indefinite function of אָרָם 'person, (some)one', כָּל־אָּ 'ever 'every-
 thing, anything', and of אין 'nothing' can be seen at Abot 4.3:

Do not despise anyone and do not allow anything to seem impossible to you, for you will find no-one for whom there is not a time and nothing for which there is not a place.
In fact, this usage is presaged in the Bible, where we find at Ec 9.15 the following:

And nobody had mentioned that poor man.
כִלֹל may be used as an adjective with any noun, giving that noun a general or indefinite sense, as in 2.2),

Any assembly that gathers in the name of heaven (Abot 4.11),
and


Any holy writings ... in whatever language they are written (Shab 16.1).

In addition, the formula מִּכּל־מִקוֹם 'in every case, whatever the circumstance' is used to confirm the overall validity of a conclusion.
 adjectives or pronouns and convey the sense of 'whatever it (e.g. quantity, character, etc.) might be', for example בּפֶחמין כִּ שִׁוֹאוֹא 'with coals in what-
 ever their quantity, are prohibited and cause prohibition' (AZ 5.9).
6. Statements of universal validity usually begin with כְּל followed by participle (see the exercises at the end of the unit), as in several mishnayot from Abot, for example כָּל הַמִּחֵּל אחת שֵׁם שְׁמִיִם 'anyone who profanes the heavenly name' (4.4).
 'whoever is not able' (Hag 1.1).
 ticularly in the sequence - מתמָה 'whoever, whatever' (see Unit 5.7) and especially when preceded and reinforced by מַאֲכִיל לְכֶל מִי ֶֶשְֶֶּה 'feeding whomsoever' (BB 8.7). In the earliest stages of Hebrew, $\boldsymbol{p}$ appears to have had a similar function, as at Dt 33.11 : מן 'יקוּמוּ 'whoever rises up'.
 any amount, the smallest quantity' and are usually employed with adverbial force, for example אדם טועה משהו 'whoever is wrong in the smallest matter' (Pes 11b), הברזל ממיח במשדוא 'iron kills, whatever its size’ (SNm 160.5 [H
 Bar-Asher (1990a, 208) claims that in Babylonian amoraic literature the first form eventually replaced the second.

 third and the fourth don't have anything' (Qin 2.3), although it can function as a negative word in its own right, as in כלום ישלו עלינו אלא גשמים 'he has nothing for us except rain' (MS Erfurt TosSot 3.7, the import of which is clearer in MS Vienna: 'he only inconveniences himself for us to the extent of giving us a couple of drops of rain').
 of') has a partitive function and usually governs a genitive, for example

Some of them were hungry and some of them were sated/ While some were hungry, others were sated (Abot 5.8).
11. An indefinite structure is also formed by partitive $\boldsymbol{0}$ 'some (of)', as at Mek 15.18 (L 2.80): תפשט מהם, הרג מהם, צלב מהם 'some he seized, others he slaughtered, others he crucified' (see also Unit 22.14).
12. [פּלוֹדין 'so-and-so, such-and-such' can be used pronominally or adjectivally with reference to both persons and things, as at Yeb 16.6:

Such-and-such a person, the son of such-and-such a person, from such-and-such a place, is dead.
13. Statements of general application, in which the subject is not specified (with a second or third person form of the verb or a participle [see Unit 19.11]), comprise a further class of indefinite expressions. An example is

אם לָמְדְתָּתוֹרָה הַרְבּה נוֹתנים לָּך שָּכָּר הַרִבּהּה
If one has studied (literally, 'you have studied') much Torah, one will be given (literally, 'giving to you') an abundant reward (Abot 2.16).

To this category belongs the standard formulation of conditional sentences in legal and sapiential contexts (see Units 17.10-12; 19.19; 28.4-5),
 clearly enunciating the letters, one has fulfilled one's obligation' (Ber 2.3) and children, that person must write it down' (BB 8.7).

## IV Phraseology

14. 'there are those who say', a formula employed to introduce divergent opinions.
15. ממכּל-מָקוֹם 'in every case, whatever the circumstance' (see above, §4). This appears to be a loan-translation from Greek éx $\pi \alpha v \tau o ̀ \varsigma ~ \tau \rho o ́ \pi o v: ~$

חלמור לומר, קדוש יהיהנבמדבר וֹה׳ן, מכלמקום
The text says, It will be holy [ Nm 6.5 ]-whatever the circumstance! (SNm 25.5 [H 31]).

## V Vocabulary

Tּדָּ ‘despise’
חּ בּx 'drought'
דַּרַר 'clarify, select, choose'
גּוּף 'body, essence' (as in in שִׁעָה גוּפּ עַברָּ 'the seven basic transgressions, the seven capital sins')
הבִיא 'bring’ (בi. of בוא); in liturgical language, 'offer’; in exegetical texts, 'include, cite, expound'

$N \underset{N T}{ }$ ', 'go out'; in legal parlance, 'fulfil an obligation'

מוֹעַדוֹת (plural of מוֹער 'appointed time') 'days on which festivals are held, holidays'
ממֹֹן 'money, wealth'

מַתּכת 'metal'

עגֹר 'give/take tithe'
פִּלְּפּל 'pepper'

 adjectives) 'much-little'
שעואבדה 'house from where water is drawn' (in reference to the temple fountain in the court of the women, from where water was carried in procession for libations during the festival of Succoth)
זשטָחַּית 'dawn, morning, morning prayer (in synagogue)'

VI Exercises


Sources. 1. Abot 1.15. 2. Abot 1.17. 3. Abot 2.1. 4. Abot 2.7. 5. Abot 3.5 . 6. Abot 3.11. 7. Abot 4.1. 8. Abot 4.10. 9. Abot 5.8. 10. Ber 2.3. 11. Hag 1.1. 12.Hag 1.5. 13. Shab 9.6. 14. Suk 5.1. 15. ARN 11 (S 45). 16. ARN 11 (S 47). 17. Mek 22.3 (L 3.107). 18. SLv 1.2 (W 4c). 19. SNm 22.3 (H 25). 20. SNm 160.5 (H 217).

## UNIT SEVEN

## REFLEXIVE AND RECIPROCAL STRUCTURES

## I Introductory text (Pea 1.1)

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { כּנֶגר כַּלָּם. }
\end{aligned}
$$

These are the things whose fruits one enjoys in this world and whose capital remains for one in the world to come: honouring one's father and mother, acts of kindness, and making peace among people. But the study of the Torah takes in all of them.

1. Judaism holds that any action, good or bad, must have its recompense; if that has already come in this life it must not be expected again in the next. However, certain deeds, such as those mentioned in this text, endure for ever, and reward for them is obtained not only in the present world but throughout eternity. The belief in heavenly reward/punishment also underlies numerous New Testament texts, such as Lk 6.20-38 (the beatitudes), 14.12-14, and 18.28-30 (a further instance of a double reward. both on earth and in heaven).

In the final clause, the expression 7 T 3 conveys the idea of 'correspondence' (see Unit 26.6A), and we might translate more literally as 'the study of the Torah corresponds to all of them'. תַּלמוּד תוֹרָה 'study of the Torah' has to be understood in an extended sense that encapsulates both study and practice: the Torah tells us exactly how to carry out good deeds and prevents us from claiming ignorance of them.

Note that in the first line K reads מתחקיקִח 'is raised' for 'stands (i.e. 'remains')', employing the Hitpa'el in its 'middle' sense (see Unit 15.10D).

## II Morphology

2. RH lacks specific reffexive or reciprocal pronouns ('myself', etc.), making use instead of:

B. the Nif'al and Hitpa 'el/Nitpa'al conjugations of the verb;
 'life', גוּף 'body', לב 'heart', and, most importantly, עֶם 'bone'.

## III Grammar and usage

3. ל- followed by pronominal suffix.
A. The construction is commonly used to express the reflexive, as in BH ,
 (Gn 4.19), with which Abot 2.7 might be compared:

If one acquires for oneself the words of the Torah, one acquires for oneself the life of the world to come.
However, $K$ omits ib both times, indicating that it is a kind of 'superfluous dative', which adds little to the meaning of the text; for a similar phenomenon in K. see Unit 1.11.
B. Especially with verbs of motion, the construction can carry instead a 'middle' or 'ingressive' sense, as at AZ 5.4, הֶלֶד לו 'he betook himself, he went away', Mek 12.1 (L 1.7-8), אלדח לי... אלך לי 'I shall run away ... I shall go away', or Hor 1.2, ישב לו בתךך ביתו ... הלך לו למדינת הים', 'he kept himself at home ... he betook himself to a distant land'.
C. Ambiguity is often inevitable and only the context can show whether, for example, אָמֶר ל means 'he said to another' or 'he said to himself, he thought'.

## 4. עִצם.

A. With pronominal suffixes attached. עצם 'bone, essence' forms not only an emphatic demonstrative ('this very'; see Unit 2.8-9) but also an authentic reflexive pronoun, as in קתנָה שם פוב קָנָה לעַצמו 'whoever gains repute, gains it for himself' (Abot 2.7).
 cise meaning can only be resolved in context: 'by oneself', 'separately', 'on one's own initiative', 'with one's own abilities', 'without coercion', etc. At Shab 19.2, , ly'; similarly, AZ 58b, לשון חורה לעצמה ולשאן חכמים לעצמה, appears to mean that BH and RH are autonomous languages (see Introduction); at Ber
 of the thieves'. At SLv 1.15 (W 9a), to indicate that in the burnt offering of birds the head and the body are burnt separately, we find "the head by itself and the body by itself'. A variant
 come of their own accord'.
C. בִּיִן לִבִין עַצִמְן ,בֵּינוֹ לְבִין עַצְמוֹ, literally, 'between himself and himself', 'between them and themselves', etc., implies 'on his/their own, in private, in a hushed voice', and so on. At Bik 1.4, private prayer (בִּיוֹ לִבין עַצִמו) is dis-
tinguished from that of the synagogue:
 And when he prays on his own, he says ... and when he is in the synagogue, he says.

A. The following example (Abot 4.5) shows how the reflexive is expressed in the first half by the Nif 'al and in the second by
 All who gain themselves (financial, etc.) advantage from the words of the Torah are taking themselves (literally, 'his life') away from the world (i.e. they are working towards their own destruction).
B. נפקט is commonly used with reflexive significance in BH , for example
 usage continues, although less frequently, in RH, as, for example, at SNm 131.1 (H 169): אבדת את נפשך ואבדחת את ממונך, literally, 'you have lost your soul and you have lost your money'.
C. $\mathfrak{Z}$ I only rarely occurs in reflexive structures, for example:
 And I have found nothing better for myself than silence (Abot 1.17);
 Everyone that honours the Torah is honoured themselves (literally, 'his body') by humankind (Abot 4.6);

עדות שבגופה
Testimony concerning oneself (TosKet 1.6).
6. The common formula קִבּל עֵל followed by a suffixed pronoun referring to the subject has the reflexive value of 'take upon oneself, accept, commit oneself', as in דַמקַבִּל עָּליו להיוֹת חָבִר 'one who commits himself to be a member of a group'.
7. Just as RH has no specifically reflexive pronoun, neither does it have one that expresses reciprocity ('one another', etc.). Instead, it employs the following devices.
A. Repetition of the demonstrative, as in BH, for example:

שחרִרוּ זה את זֵה
They freed one another (Yeb 11.5);
בִּזמַן שִׁהן מִעִידוֹת זוֹ את זוֹ
When each testifies concerning the other (Ket 2.6).

 (Pea 4.4);
C. חָּכָ 'colleague, companion' followed by a suffix that refers to the ac-
 'between (a person/thing) ... and their colleague', that is, 'some with others', 'between these and those', 'reciprocally', etc.; examples include:

הַבָאֵח שָׁלוֹם בּין אָדם לַחַבֵרוֹ

Making peace between one person and another (Pea 1.1, quoted in the introductory text);
 If from one reed to another there is not a gap of three palms (Kil 4.4, illustrating how חָבֶר can be used of things as well as persons and animals).
D. The Nif'al form נחלקו 'they were divided', expressing discrepancy (see Unit 15.7C).

## IV Phraseology

8. מחתחִּיב בּנַפטׁוֹ 'being responsible for one's (loss of) life, condemning oneself, placing oneself under sentence of death', for example

No-one sentenced to death pays a fine (Ket 3.2; see also BQ 3.10; Abot 3.4, 7-8; Hul 1.1).
9. בִּינוֹ לבִין עִצִמו 'privately, on one's own' (see above, §4C).
10. קִבּל עָלָּיו 'take upon oneself, commit oneself' (see above, §6).
11. let no-one say to their neighbour, let nobody say to anyone'; for example
 In Jerusalem let no-one say to their neighbour. Drink wine and give me oil (MS 1.1; see also Shab 23.3; BM 5.9; Sanh 4.5; Abot 5.5).

## V Vocabulary

בַּטְּלִּ 'vanity, emptiness, annulment, uselessness'
בֶּ

הַבָאה ‘bringing, taking'

זָהיר 'cautious, prudent’
חַיָּב 'guilty, condemned', החחחּ under obligation'
mint'
יִר 'Jethro' (Moses’ father-in-law)

- כִּדִי 'in order that, so that'

פּנִגד 'corresponding to, opposite'
放'wet and dry, liquid and dry food' (expressing totality)
"coin'
(plural פִּרי (99) 'fruit'
צִעִר 'deprive oneself, abstain'

צ'necessity'
P"

קֶרן 'hom, principal, initial investment'
 'wine that it is prescribed to drink ... wine that one is free to drink'
'silence'

VI Exercises


3.











13. לא יניח ארם עטרה מעצמח בראשו, אבל אחרים יניחו לו.
14. ומה אם המצער נפשו מן היין צריך כפרה, ק"ו למצער נפשו על כל דבר. 15. ישמור אתנפשך בשעת המיחה.
16. אם יחרו חורנו שלמלך לא קי קיבל עליו, ק"ו לשאר בני אדם. 17. כדי שלא יאםר אדם לחבירו, נלך וועלד לירושלים.
18. וישמע ״״בבמדבר יב׳ב׳ן, מלמר שלא היחה שם בריה, אלא בין לבין עצמן דברו בי
19. אבדח את נפשטך ואבדת את ממונך ... אבדת אח עצמך ואברתת את כבודך. 20. אמר לדם, לא מעצמי אני אומר לכם, אלא מפי הקרש אני אומר לכם.

Sources. 1. Abot 1.14. 2. Abot 1.17. 3. Abot 2.4. 4. Abot 2.3. 5. Abot 3.4. 6. BQ 3.10. 7. Dem 2.3. 8. Eduy 1.13. 9. Eduy 3.2. 10. Kil 4.8. 11. Shab 23.3. 12. Sanh 4.5. 13. ARN 11 (S 46). 14. SNm 30.2 (H 36). 15. SNm 40 (H 44). 16. SNm 80.1 (H 76). 17. SNm 89.5 (H 90). 18. SNm 100 (H 99). 19. SNm 131.1 (H 169). 20. SDt 5 (F 13).

## UNIT EIGHT

## THE RELATIVE PRONOUN SHE-

I Introductory text (Abot 3.17)

Those whose wisdom exceeds their works, what are they like?: a tree whose branches are abundant but whose roots are few, and when the wind blows, it uproots it and knocks it over, as it was said, He will be as a tamarisk in the steppe, and will not recognize good when it comes, for it inhabits a burning desert, salty and inhospitable land [Jr 17.6]. However, those whose works exceed their wisdom, what are they like?: a tree of few branches but abundant roots; even if all the winds in the world were to come and blow against it they could not move it from its place, as it was said, He will be as a tree planted next to water, taking root alongside a stream; when the heat comes it will not be afraid, its foliage will stay green; in a year of drought it will not take fright, it will not cease yielding fruit [Jr 17.8].

1. The explanation and application of Scripture is the most typical function of midrash. In the passage above, two texts from the prophetic tradition are adduced in settlement of the issue, possibly more theoretical than real, of the pre-eminence of wisdom (study of Torah) or deeds (fulfilment of Torah).

The same question, couched in very similar terms, is found in the New Testament, where, at Mt 7.24-25, we read of those who hear and practise what they hear (wisdom with deeds) and of others, who hear but do not put what they hear into practice.

In its version of the introductory text, K lacks the biblical quotations, so the passage is also of significance for the study of the development of midrash as a literary genre and how this influenced the textual transmission of the Mishnah.

## II Morphology

2. The BH relative pronoun is almost completely replaced in RH by $-\mathbb{p}$, with reserved only for biblical quotations and liturgical texts. Where possible, $-\underset{\sim}{\text { pr }}$ is accompanied by strengthening of a following consonant, extending even to resh in the eastern tradition and occasionally in K , as at RS 1.7, 9: שִׁרָהָה ,שִׁרֶּאו (see Unit 5.2).
 over time, as it is also present at the earliest stage of Semitic in the form of Akkadian ša, as well as in Phoenician ' $\check{s}$ (with prosthetic alef) and Punic $\check{s}$-.
 sign of which you spoke to me'), four more times in Jg 5-8, as well as in other early texts.
3. Probably because it was regarded as a northern colloquialism, $-\frac{\pi}{\theta}$ disappeared from the literary idiom of BH but re-emerged in the LBH period (in
 be a dialect form that was conserved in the vernacular language. E. Qimron (1986, 82-83) claims that while $-\underset{y}{2}$ was rejected at Qumran as inappropriate for literary composition, the many instances in the Scrolls of ewhich is to' (or simply ל- לof, to' on its own) echo RH usage of -שׁ" (and more specifically שִׁל). In the Copper Scroll and 4QMMT, שְל is used extensively.

## III Grammar and usage

5. $-\underset{\text { Un' }}{ }$ s origins as a demonstrative particle is reflected in its use both as a relative pronoun in relationship to an antecedent and as a conjunction in relationship to a following clause. A text such as
at Ps 124.6 may be interpreted in two, not always mutually exclusive, ways: 'blessed be Y., who did not/because he did not deliver us as prey to their teeth'. In many colloquial situations, $-\boldsymbol{t}$ has a purely demonstrative rôle, for
 (even if) he took away' (Shab 1.1).
6. $-\underset{\square}{2}$ as relative.
A. Like BH צֶ, -שֶׁר is indeclinable and requires further grammatical specification through the use of suffixes referring to the antecedent, which are attached to verbs or prepositions. Retrospective determination of this kind is exemplified by

Any Torah with which there is not (literally, 'which there is not with her') work (Abot 2.2),

A field that gentiles harvested (literally, 'that harvested her') (Pea 2.7),
and
זושעה שנלכדה בה ירושלם
That is the hour at which Jerusalem was captured (literally, 'which was captured at her') (SLv 26.33 [W 112b]).
B. - שֶׁ can also be retrospectively determined by an adverb of place (שָׁ 'there', מִִּם 'from there', and 'to there', equivalent to and

 age is common in BH (e.g. 2 K 6.2 ).
C. Retrospective determination may be omitted when there is no ques-
 that (i.e. 'where') there are no men, make the effort to be a man' (Abot 2.5).
D. $-\boldsymbol{y}$ 's originally demonstrative function is especially clear when it has

 who(m)' (see Unit 6.5-8).
E. For the particle ששׁ (i.e. followed by ל- ל- 'to, of') and the independent possessive pronoun, see Unit 4.
F. Relative $-\boldsymbol{\eta}$ is sometimes preceded by with no clear antecedent. The resulting construction, $-\underset{\sim}{\boldsymbol{p}}$ א 'that which' may function as an object or as a subject, but its primary rôle is to indicate a greater degree of determination, which is sometimes best expressed by rendering -שִׁ $\pi$ as 'with regard
 correctly classified as independent relative clauses, which are in reality clauses introduced by determinative sאשׁׁר (see Meyer 1992. §115.5B-C, where Gn 49.1 is cited; for the demonstrative function of $n \mathbb{N}$, see Unit 2.7). Examples of -

אח שצריך כפרה, יצא מת שכיפרה לו נפשו
With regard to that which requires expiation, the dead are excluded as their soul atones for them ( SNm 4.5 [H 7]);

That which it is customary to immerse, let it be immersed (AZ 5.12);
 That which is prohibited because it is carrion, it is prohibited to cook in milk (Hul 8.4).
7. $-\underset{\sim}{2}$ as conjunction.
A. With the meaning 'that', $-\underset{\sim}{\text { שֶ }}$ introduces an 'object clause' where BH would employ כ or s. In this sense it is also commonly used to introduce
 will come after you' (Abot 4.14). (In Ec 5.4 [LBH], we find and -שֶׁ
 than one who vows and then does not fulfil the vow'.
B. Rarely, $-\underset{\sim}{\text { pi}}$ also introduces direct speech, as in:

> אמר לו בגזירה טחאכל את הדג

He strictly commanded him, Eat the fish (Mek 14.5 [L 1.195]);

Rabbi Papias gave testimony ..., If one shaves for the first time on the thirtieth day ( Naz 3.2 );

> נאמן אדם לומר שאמר לי אבא

Deserving of credit is one who says, My father said to me' (TosKet 3.3).

Usually, though, direct speech is introduced by an oath formula of the
 swear', etc. The following example comes from SNm 15.2 (H 20):

ואמרה האששה אמן אמן [במדבר ה' כב׳ן, אמן מלא נטמיחי, אמן שלא אטמא
And the woman will respond, Amen, amen [Nm 5.22]: Truly I have not defiled myself, truly I shall not defile myself.
The formula - נִשַבּע this context, for example

I swear by your great name, I shall not move from here until you take pity on your children (Taa 3.8).
C. After a biblical quotation, -שְׂ can have explanatory or exegetical value, 'meaning/teaching/showing that', 'that is to say', etc., for example וגזרעה זרע [במדבר ה' כח'ז, שאם היתה עקרה, גפקדת And she will have offspring [ Nm 5.28 ], (which is to say) that if before she was barren. now she is visited (with children) (SNm 19.3 [H 23]).
 that', is often found.

Frequently, though, 'exegetical' -שִׁ has a final sense, 'in order that, so that', as in the common formula שִׁלֹא 'אֹמבר '(this is written) so that one might not say' (see also Unit 30.6).
D. Alone or in combination with a preposition, for example - טַׁ 'until,
 temporal, final, and consecutive clauses. Of special note is the use of causal
 because/if this is so-and-so' (Naz 5.5) or

אקפח אז בני שזו הלכהמקפחחת
May I bury my children if this is not a corrupt halakhah (Ohol 16.1).
8. The demonstrative function of $-\underset{\eta}{\text { in }}$ is especially striking in the adverbial construction $\begin{aligned} & \text { שֶׁלֹא } \\ & \text { introducing a circumstantial clause, for }\end{aligned}$
 A similar construction, שַׁלֹא עַל מַנת, is found at Abot 1.3:

Who serve the master, not for the sake of receiving remuneration.
 attested in the Manual of Discipline from Qumran.

The construction - is frequently employed to help express a totality by means of affirmation and denial, for example

The fruits of the seventh year can be eaten with thanks and without thanks (Eduy 5.1).
With ל- for

Whether deliberately or not.
The following text exemplifies a structure often found in tannaitic exegetical literature:

> כה תברכו את בני ישראלןבמדבר ו׳כג׳ן, בעמידה, אחה אומר בעמידה, או אינו אלא בעמידה חשלא בעמידח?

Thus you are to bless the children of Israel [ Nm 6.23 ]. Standing. Standing, you maintain, but is it not the same whether standing or not standing? (SNm 39.3 [H 42]).
9. The use of $-\underline{w}$ is (see above, §5) gives an adversative character to the proposition that follows. The Mekhilta text already quoted ( $\S 7 \mathrm{~b}$ ) continues

או טחלקה מאה מכות או שחתן מאה מנה (Eat the fish) or you will suffer a hundred strokes or you will pay a hundred minas (Mek 14.5 [L 195]).
 shaved him' (Naz 6.3) and אכלתו חיה או שירדו שליו גשמים 'if a wild animal devours him or the rain falls upon him' (SNm 112.4 [H 122]). N.M. Waldman (1989, 134-35) repeats J. Blau's finding that a series of alternative propositions beginning with is requires the repetition of the conjunction that introduced the very first clause (i.e. 'if ... or if', not simply 'if ... or'); similarly, each alternative in a sequence of indirect questions may be preceded by $-\underset{\sim}{i j}$ ( (see Pes 9.9, quoted at Unit 25.9). In other structures expressing alternatives, the ik may be omitted, for example

If one slaughters (the lamb), but not for those who might eat it or are numberered (among those who might eat it) (Pes 6.6).
When expressing a contrast, the verb of the antithesis is often introduced by the formula - והוּא 'but, nonetheless, he', for example

Where is my ox? He answered him, It's dead, but in fact it was just lame (Shebu 8.2).

## IV Phraseology

 to something that occurs habitually; the formula as a whole is continued by an infinitive, for example
 That which is normally burnt is burnt and that which is normally buried is buried (Tem 7.5; other examples include Dem 2.5; Shebi 8.3; Orl 3.7).
 quotation from Scripture to back up or exemplify a statement, usually rendered by 'as it is said'.
12. . בִּ-.. 'with ... and without'. See above, §8, and Unit 26.10. A related expression is - בּן 'whether ... or', for example

Whether they read them ... or do not read them (Shab 16.1).

## V Vocabulary

אוֹ אוּנוֹ אלִּא 'is it not rather?' (introducing an alternative interpretation)
אנָ 'bind, unite, make a sheaf'


'house', often with special reference to the temple: בַּנְנִי הַבַּיח 'in the presence of the temple' (i.e. before its destruction)
בּית דין
הּוּרִה 'decree, law'

Tin 'move, depart'
כִּלְל 'totality, general rule, principle, or formula, generalization'
ְקקה 'receive strokes, be whipped'
 to contact/transport' (case-law terms relating to the transmission of impurity)
(1.e. 'from where?' (often used in exegetical literature to find out the biblical source-text of a particular conclusion)
נְהַג 'guide, be in use, be applicable, be practised'
נשׁׂיכָה ‘bite’

קבקע 'fix, establish, determine’
שׁו 'market, town square'
.

## VI Exercises


 2



 טוֹבִים, אֵּן לוֹ חלִק בְּעוֹלְם הַבּּא.












 15. כה תברךך אח בני ישראל [במדבר ו׳ כג׳ז, בנשיאוח כפים. אתה אמר, בנשיאות כפים, או אינו אלא בנשיאות כפים ושלא בנשיאות כפים? 16. והזר הקרב יומת [במרבר יח׳ ז'ז, לעבודה. אחה אומר, לעבודה, או לעבודהושלא לעבודה?
17. מה נחלה נוהגת בפני הבית ושלא בפני הבית, אף מעשר ראשון נוהג בפני הביתושלא בפני הביח.
18. משלו מטל, לעבד שהיה לכהן. אמר, אברח לי לבית הקברות, מקום שאין רב־ יכול לבא אחרי. אמר לו רבו, שי לי עבדים בנענים כמוחך. אמר יונה, אלך לי לחוצה לארץ, מקים שאין השכינה נגלית. 19. טשל. למה הרבר דומה? לאחר שאגר לעבדו, צא והבא לי דג טן השוק. יצאוהביא לו דג מן השאק מבאיש. אמר לו בגזירה, שחאבל את הדג או שחלקה מאה מכות או שתחן מאה ממה. אמר. הריני אוכל.
20. כשעלה האחרון שבישראל מן הים, ירד האחרון שכמצרים לתוכו.

Sources. 1. Abot 2.9. 2. Abot 2.9. 3. Abot 2.10. 4. Abot 2.12. 5. Abot 3.2. 6. Abot 3.11. 7. Abot 4.8. 8. AZ 3.4. 9. Hul 9.5. 10. Shebi 8.3. 11. Shebu 3.1. 12. Taa 3.8. 13. Yeb 13.1. 14. Yeb 16.2. 15. SNm 39.4 (H 42). 16. SNm 116.6 (H 134). 17. SNm 119.6 (H 146). 18. Mek 12.1 (L 1.7-8). 19. Mek 14.5 (L 1.195). 20. Mek 14.27 (L 1.245).

## UNIT NINE

## NOUN PATTERNS

## I Introductory text (Ber 1.5)







During the night, one has to mention the exodus from Egypt. Rabbi Eleazar ben Azariah said, I was already seventy years old and had still not been able to prove that the exodus from Egypt was to be recited at night until Ben Zoma explained it in accordance with what had been said: That you might remember the day of your coming out from the land of Egypt all the days of your life [Dt 16.3]: 'the days of your life' refers to the days, 'all the days of your life' refers to the nights. However, (the) sages affirm: 'the days of your life' refers to the present world, 'all the days of your life' includes the days of the Messiah.

1. This is an example of the typical tannaitic enterprise of legitimizing halakhah through Scripture. The prescription that governed the praying of the shema' was that at night one did not have to recite the section about phylacteries ( Nm 15.37-41) except for the final verse, which mentions the liberation from Egypt. What was the justification for this rule? Ben Zoma saw the answer in the apparently unnecessary use of 'כל 'all' at Dt 16.3, which he understood as a particle of 'amplification' (רִיבּוּי), that extends the meaning of 'the days of your life' to include the nights. It should be said, though, that the value of this halakhah does not in any way derive from the fact that it could be justified by Scripture but simply from its inclusion in the halakhic tradition, for in fact the rabbis rejected Ben Zoma's exegesis.

As we noted in connection with the introductory text of Unit 8 (Abot 3.17), here too K dispenses with biblical quotations.

## II Morphology

2. The vast majority of RH nouns and adjectives are also found in BH or derive from old Hebrew roots. Even nouns taken from Aramaic are usually
found to have counterparts from the same root in Hebrew. In many cases, Aramaic influence is seen in RH's choice of noun pattern (see Introduction, $\S 4.2 .6-7$ ), although these are also always found, albeit to a more limited extent, in BH.
3. RH displays a great capacity for exploiting the noun patterns of BH for generating new words. Particularly striking are the patterns
 tively, the Qal, Pi'el, and Hif'il conjugations, and hephe, which is used to designate persons who work in particular fields or hold particular offices.
4. Nouns of type קטילָ.
A. Nouns of this pattern are created with ease by RH and greatly outnumber instances of the same model found in the Bible-mip שִׁרִ 'hissings' ( Jg 5.16 ) is one of the few examples found in AH and in classical BH the pattern is only attested in texts of northern origin (for example, perhaps in the sense of 'lordship' at 1 K 15.13.). However, in the Mishnah alone, the נששיכָה , pattern has given rise to 130 nouns, such as 'eating' קִכילִילה
 been created by RH from the verbs and

אין נזירהבכלמקום אלא פרישה Abstinence always implies separation (SNm 23.3 [H 28]).
B. The pattern can be realized in a variety of ways, so that we


C. In lamed-yod and lamed-alef verbs, קִּ by בּריָ (plural בּ קיריָידה 'reading, recitation', found at Abot 2.13 in K , is often modified to


 (root ${ }^{\prime}$ ), 1 ), and terpart $\overbrace{\text { MTM }}$.

A. Again, there are numerous examples of new nouns generated according to the Siop pattern, expressing the verbal action of the Pi'el, or intensive, conjugation, as in כבּוּד זָּ וָׁגם 'honouring father and mother' (Pea 1.1),
 tion-diminution', ㄱํำ 'speaking', etc. Often, new formations replace older

 although originally a slight semantic distinction might have been intended (the process or act of commanding as against the commandment that results from this process or act; see below, $\S 10$ ).
B. The frequency of the קָּלָ variant, also found in BH , is clearly due

emptiness', and
C. The passive and reflexive conjugations (Nif'al and Hitpa'el) do not give rise to specific noun patterns; instead, nouns are formed from the corresponding active conjugations (Qal and Pi'el). Thus, for example, the verbal
 the other hand, the noun כָּרִ 'extermination', commonly found in the Mishnah, is simply a form of the Nif'al infinitive הכָּרָת (where the form with introductory ל- לְהדָרחת 'to', i.e be exterminated', has undergone elision of he, giving ליכְרחה; after removal of the now regarded as nothing more than the lamed of the infinitive, the nominal form $\boldsymbol{T}$ is the result; see Segal 1927, §§116-17).



 nominalized forms of the Hif'il infinitive.
B. From lamed-yod verbs are derived nouns exemplified by the word for 'instruction' (from the verb the Palestinian tradition. From pe-yod verbs come nouns like הוֹצָּהָה
 noun derived from an ayin-waw verb is הִבָּ 'bringing' (from Nilu).
7. Nouns of type קַּל

Many names of offices, professions, and verbal actions conform to this

 tion of such terms in Qid 4.14:


Let no-one teach their child (the office of) ass-driver, camel-driver, barber, sailor, shepherd, or shopkeeper, for each is the office of robbers.
8. Nouns of type קָּלָ/קוֹטִּלִ.

This characteristically RH noun pattern, employed, like קָּל, for agents of actions, professions, and permanent attributes, is conserved in the eastern tradition as קוֹשִלק. Thus, for example, at BQ 10.5, in if it is on account of the robber', K reads

## III Grammar and usage

9. The extraordinarily widespread use of the patterns קִּקוֹל, קטילָה, and הַקְטְלָה in the creation of new words is explicable in terms of a corresponding decrease in the use of the infinitive construct, which had previously functioned as a genuine noun, even to the extent of taking pronominal suffixes
and being governed by prepositions, for example בִּדְיוֹחָם בִּמִצְרִים 'when they were (literally, 'in their being') in Egypt' ( 1 S 2.27 ). Already in LBH this kind of usage was beginning to give way to - כּׁ 'when' followed by finite verb and eventually to the use of a noun as such. Using the verb the process may be schematically represented thus:

 mediate position (see Qimron 1986, 72-73).
10. In origin, such new nouns denoted the action of the verbs they derive from and are often incorrectly labelled 'abstract'. In fact, in many cases they have, over time, come to signify the result of an action rather than the action itself. Thus, for example, cree itself or the law decreed by it and, similarly, צִּ '(action of) commanding' ended up by denoting the 'commandment' itself, יְשׁיבָּ ' (act of) sitting' came to mean 'session', 'settlement', or the place or type of meeting, and חַתיכְה '(action of) cutting' came to mean, first, 'cut, slash', and then, with a dagesh in the kaf, the 'piece' that had been cut off. (E.Y. Kutscher [1971, 1601] saw in חַחיקִּה a vestige of RH's attempt to form a special pattern, קטיִּדיה, to express the result of an action.)

In some cases, semantic development went even further. For example, שִׁכינָה targumim, occurs only twice in the Mishnah and not at all in the Bible), came to denote the divine presence and eventually was employed as a figure for God himself, as at SNm 161.3:

חביבים הם ישראל שאע״פ שהם טמאים שכינה ביניהם
How beloved are the Israelites, among whom, even when they are impure, the Shekhinah dwells.
In other instances, though, the original verbal action sense has remained,

11. Clearly under Aramaic influence, nouns of the type pan be made to re-express basic verbal action by addition of the old feminine ab-
自 'raising of hands'.

IV Phraseology
12. אחטוּרן אסוּר הַנָהּ 'the prohibition on them is a prohibition on (deriving any) benefit (from them)' (AZ 2.3; see also AZ 2.4, 6, etc.), used in reference to unclean things from which no benefit may be derived in any way whatsoever, for example, by selling them to gentiles.

 (Abot 2.1) means something like 'what is lost by what is gained' (more liter-
ally, 'the loss [that comes through fulfilment] of a precept is in correspondence to its reward').
14. lous ability of God to say many things with a single utterance, exemplified by the giving of the ten commandments, as presented at Mek 20.1 ( L 2.22):

> וידבר אלוהים את כל הדברים האלהן 20 שמות כ'א'ן, מלמד שאמר
> המקום עשרח דברים בדיבור אחד, מה שאי אפשר לבשר ודם לומר כן ... מלמד שאמר הקב״ה עשרת הדברוח בדיבור אחד וחזר ופרטן דיבור דיבור בפני עצמו

And God spoke all these words (Ex 20.1). This teaches that the omnipresent one spoke the ten commandments by means of only one utterance, something impossible for flesh and blood .... It teaches that the holy one, blessed be he, spoke the ten commandments by means of only one utterance and afterwards specified them one by one separately.
Other, more prosaic, examples can be found at SNm 102.2 (H 100) •.d SDt 233 (F 265).
15. מפני תקּוֹ הֶעוֹלָם 'for the maintenance of the world, for the good order of the world', for example Git 4.6:

Captives cannot be ransomed for more than their price, so as to maintain the order of the world. Nor may one liberate captives, so as to maintain the order of the world.

## V Vocabulary

 אי אֵפִשָׁר 'impossible'
א אשור 'prohibition'
בְּטל בְּ בְּלָה 'empty, null' (participle/adjective from the stative verb
רּרְ 'push, lead'
הְליכְה 'walk'
הַנְהָה 'advantage, use, enjoyment, usufruct'
הדקְּ 'loss, disadvantage’

חָּ
יגיעָה 'weariness, work, effort'
'hiss'
לעי
עיק קרק 'scorpion'

פּ ${ }^{\text {E }}$ 'separation, withdrawal'

רְבִיעָה 'bestiality'
שִִׁׁיכִה 'spilling', as in שְׁפיכַת דָּטִּם 'bloodshed'

VI Exercises











 10











 19. כטזיה הרבור יוצא מפי הקדוש ברוך הוא, היה יוצא דרך יטינו טל הקדוש ברוך הוא לשמאל ישראל. 20. ואין ישיבה אלא אכילה ושתייה.

Sources. 1. Abot 1.12. 2. Abot 1.17. 3. Abot 2.1. 4. Abot 2.2. 5. Abot 2.7. 6. Abot 2.10. 7. Abot 2.10. 8. Abot 3.2. 9. Abot 3.13. 10. Abot 3.17. 11. Abot 4.2. 12. Abot 4.7. 13. Abot 5.12. 14. Abot 5.14. 15. AZ 1.3. 16. AZ 2.1. 17. AZ 2.3. 18. Ber 2.5. 19. SDt 343 (F 399). 20. TosSot 3.10.

## UNIT TEN

## GENDER AND NUMBER OF NOUNS

I Introductory text (SNm 112.4 [H 121])

> הכרח תכרח הנפש ההיא [במדבר טר לאזן, הכרת בעוה״ז, תכרת לעוה״ב, דברי ר׳עקיבא. אמר לו ר׳ישמעאל, לפי שהוא אומר, ונכרחהה הנפש ההיא [במרבר טו לן, שומע אני שלש כריחוח בשלטשה עולמות. מהת״ל, חכרחת תכרח הנפשההיא. דברה חורה כלשאן בני אדם.

That person will be exterminated with extermination [ Nm 15.31 ]: will be exterminated, in this world; with extermination, in the world to come as wellwords of R. Akiba. But R. Ishmael responded, Because it also says, And that soul must be exterminated [ Nm 15.30 ], do I have to understand that there are three exterminations corresponding to three worlds? The Torah was speaking in the idiom of human beings.

1. Here we see the clear difference of mood and method that distinguishes Akiba and Ishmael. For Akiba, the structure of finite verb followed by its infinitive absolute alludes to the present and future worlds. But Ishmael insists that such a form of expression is simply a matter of emphasis, typical of the way in which human beings speak, which is also the way in which the Bible itself communicates. Because of that, inferences of the type drawn by Akiba are avoided by the school of Ishmael-the mention of the verb 'exterminate' in the preceding verse confirms the absurdity of exploiting this kind of linguistic detail for exegetical ends.

Throughout the Mishnah and tannaitic midrashim, the plural עוֹלמוֹת 'worlds' is found only here and at Uqs 3.12 (where the text may well not be original; there is also a further example in a manuscript of the Tosefta), and refers to a fantastic or impossible world (see below, §11).

## II Morphology

2. From a morphological perspective, RH, like BH, recognizes just two genders in the noun and adjective-masculine and feminine-and three kinds of number-singular, plural, and dual.
3. There is no special marker for masculine singular nouns and adjectives.

## 4. Feminine singular.

A. A feminine singular noun is not always discernible as such from the viewpoint of morphology, because it does not necessarily result from the transformation of a corresponding masculine noun but can employ a completely different root (as in BH, female creatures, parts of the body occurring in pairs, and countries and cities are all construed as feminine.
B. As in BH, the typical marker of feminine gender is the suffix $\mathrm{n}_{-}$, which will usually convert masculine adjectives and, less often, nouns into
 'prophet/prophetess'.
C. Because of the $\pi_{-}$- ending, therefore, all nouns of type and הַקטְלד (see Unit 9) are feminine.
D. The ancient Semitic feminine suffix -(a)t is retained in RH much
 a priestly family). The Nif'al participle feminine is generally of the form נקטלחל, not, as in BH, for example, from the verb common form $\pi$ תקרא 'called'. See further Units 16.6 and 19.2.
E. The use of $\aleph$; for $\pi$; has to be understood as an Aramaism, dating back either to the original text or to copyists.
F. A characteristic feminine morpheme is the suffix $乃$ - in adjectives and nouns, especially diminutives, for example ${ }^{\square}$ ' ${ }^{\circ}$ '(prayer) shawl, mantle', אֶרְ expressing the action of a verb (see Unit 9), for example פעַשירוּת 'wealth' and פּרישוּת 'separation'.
5. Masculine plural.
A. The masculine plural marker $\square^{\prime}$ - alternates with $\Gamma^{\top}$-, doubtless under the influence of Aramaic, although this is not to deny that the ending -in is a feature of the Semitic languages in general and appears in the Mesha stela and at Jg 5.10 (see Segal 1927, §281). E.Y. Kutscher (1982, 121-22) showed how final $-m$ passed to $-n$, and not only in the plural, in the final phase of the biblical period. Thus, the pervasive use of final nun for mem probably relates to nasalization as a dialect feature that can be traced back to the very earliest stages in the development of Hebrew.
B. Some nouns change their morphological shape when pluralized, for
 לimp)-in this instance, the alternation is really between noun and participle, although the presence in good manuscripts of a Qal passive participle in לimp, 'corrected' in printed editions (see Unit 19.3F), should also be noted.

On occasions, we also find morphological patterns employed for the plural that differ from those used by BH , for example $7 \underset{\text { s }}{ }$ 'side', pluralized as
 'ox' is not unique to RH, as M.H. Segal [1927, §282] seems to imply, but is also found at Ho 12.2).
C. As in BH , there are many feminine nouns that take a masculine form

6. Feminine plural.
A. The standard marker of the femine plural is $n i-$, as in BH .
B. However, nouns ending in $n \mathfrak{i t}$, which in BH would take a plural in
 reflecting the Palestinian tradition of RH (thus, מַלִכִיוֹח). There is a consider-
 '(vow of) Naziritehood' (Naz 3.2). Manuscripts belonging to the Babylonian tradition of RH conserve the equally Palestinian form of the plural in (see Introduction, §10.3).
C. Under the influence of the numerous Greek and Latin words that came into common usage, the ending תiא; or for Hebraized loanwords but also, by analogy, for native words, for example

D. For E s 'mother', the plurals and $n$ nin are attested. As in BH,

E. Many masculine nouns take the feminine suffix in the plural, for ex-
 (תינוֹקוֹת).

To this group belong the numerous nominalized infinitives of type הַקִםר/הקקטל (see Unit 9.3,6), which form their plural in 5i-, according to the feminine pattern הקטְלָה, for example 'consecrated property' (plural
 finitive lar form כִּרִּ
7. The dual retains the same morphological marker that it has in BH: 므…

## III Grammar and usage

8. Because BH represents just a limited portion of the language used in the biblical period, it comes as no surprise that in the Bible certain words are only known in their singular or plural or masculine or feminine forms. The presence in RH of forms unattested in BH is important simply because they represent the way in which the Hebrew language underwent morphological and semantic developments. And, as N.H. Waldman $(1989,118)$ has noted, 'gender changes between Biblical and Mishnaic Hebrew are quite dramatic'.
9. RH can obtain an extended meaning for certain words merely by employing them in a different grammatical gender but without any overt morphological change, for example:
$\eta$ ַeminine 'palm (of hand)', 'scale (for weights)', masculine 'spoon';
Oִלِע feminine 'rock', masculine 'coin';
 (plural רגָלים).
Sometimes, the gender change is due solely to Aramaic influence, as with סiכ' 'cup', which is feminine in BH (Lm 4.21) but masculine in RH (for ex-
 TosSot 3.4), despite maintaining the plural in תi- (see also Pes 10.1).
10. When a noun develops masculine and feminine forms, these usually mean something subtly different, for example:

דיר 'shed (for animals or logs)'; דירֶ 'dwelling place (of humans)';
בוֹח 'debt, offence’;
חוֹל 'sand'; חוֹלְה 'sand dune';
חִר 'sword'; חִר 'knife'.
11. The development of two plural forms, one masculine, the other feminine, implies the addition of a special extended meaning, for example:

םיוֹי 'ימוֹת 'day', 'epoch' (always in the construct), a collective sense employed in such phrases as בִּימוֹת דַמָּטִיִח 'in the
 season' (here we have once again an archaic form that has reappeared in RH-it occurs at Dt 32.7 alongside nixut);


רַב 'much', רַרבּוֹת 'many' suffix);

"world, eternity', עוֹלְמוֹמים/עוֹלִם 'hypothetical worlds', a difference analogous to that of אֵלהים 'God', 'gods' (note also the tone of exaggeration conveyed by the use of the rare plural níי", from ${ }^{[1 .}$ ' 'wine', at TosSot 3.4:

היא השקתו יינות משובחין בכוסות משובחין
She [the adulteress] gave him exquisite wines to drink from exquisite cups);
מדרְשׁ 'midrash, study', מדרְשׁׁים 'midrashic texts' (although this is a mediaeval formation), מדרךשוֹת '(midrashic) interpretations'.
12. In its use of the dual, we can appreciate how RH has developed independently of both BH and Aramaic. For the dual, which had been widely used in the early Canaanite dialects but was much less common in BH and virtually unknown in Aramaic, returned in vigorous form to RH to indicate

 'intestines' (singular קֵרְב ), which are only attested in the Bible in construct or with suffixes.

## IV Phraseology

13. מיקִּמי 'from my days', מיְמֵּ 'from your days', etc. signify, in negative constructions. 'never', as in:

לֹארָהָה שִמִחָה מִיְּסָיו
He never saw happiness/He never knew what happiness was (Suk 5.1);

Who is a maiden? Whoever has never menstruated even when married (Nid 1.4);

מימיהם שלכהנים לאנמנעו
Ever since priests have existed, they have never abstained (Eduy 2.1).

The construction is found as well in questions, always in a negative context, for example

Have you ever seen an animal or a bird that had a profession? (Qid 4.14).
14. דַררך הָרִבִּים-דִרְךִ הַיָּחִיד 'private way-public way' (literally, 'the way of only one-the way of many'), a common formula for distinguishing public and private domains.
15. רַגלִים לַדָּבָּ, literally 'feet for the thing' or 'the thing has feet', meaning that something has a basis or is probable, that there is evidence to maintain it, for example

Rabbi Nehemiah interprets. He is exempt (from responsibility), because there is a basis for it (Naz 9.4; see also 9.2-3).

## V Vocabulary

בּוּ 'uncultivated land’
 'in the future world'
(hi. of (rin) 'cause harm'
-
Tilt 'benevolence’

כַּחַׁ 'strike' (in htp. ‘fight')
מגְּה 'scroll'; used specifically as a designation for the book of Esther

(מַלכוּח plural (מַלכִּוֹחת (kingdoms', also in reference to biblical verses on the kingdom of God recited on new year's day (see RS 4.5, where זשכרוֹנוֹת
sounding of the ram's horn)

עִּדּ 'postpone, delay'
עַצִרחת 'conclusion', as a term for the Festival of Weeks (Pentecost)
TRe 'corner, angle', also the name of a Mishnah tractate concerned with the obligation to leave aside, without harvesting, a corner of the field to help the poor and the sojourner (see Lv 19.9; 23.22; Dt 24.19-22); ' להַפְסיק לַּפְּה fields in order to achieve for the poor as many corners as there are fields (see Pea 2.1).
פּשולחn 'refuse, unsellable stock, unfit item’
שֶׁיל ‘path’
שׁׁלוּליחי 'channel, pool'
שטתיָה 'foundation, basis'


VI Exercises


 מַכִרִיעַ את כִּלִּם.
 הַרַי הוּא כְאֵּשׁׁי הָעיר מִיְּד





 קוֹרִין בַּחִמִּשְּד עָשׁר




 וְחִרע אֵחר







#  <br>  עוֹלְמות. <br>  <br> 16. מהרא חכמים לומר, מלכיות תחילהואחר כך זכרונות ושופרות2 <br> 17. מימיהםלא עשר שלום זה עם זה...,וכשבאו להלחם עם ישראל עשא שלום <br> זה עם זהונלחמו עם ישראל. <br> 18. אםפסולח ערי ישראל ארבע מלכיות מתכחשוח עליה, קל וחמר לשבחה על ארץ ישראל. <br> 19. ארבע מלכיות מושלוחבהםבישראלואין בהם חכםואין בהםנבון. <br> 20. אלו שלשה דורות שלפני ימת המשיח. 

Sources. 1. Abot 1.6. 2. Abot 2.8. 3. BB 1.5. 4. Ber 1.5. 5 BQ 6.1. 6. Eduy 2.2. 7. Eduy 8.5. 8. Meg 1.1. 9. MQ 3.6. 10. Pea 2.1. 11. RS 2.9. 12. Sanh 11.4. 13. Tam 5.4. 14. Uqs 3.12. 15. Yom 5.2. 16. SNm 77.4 (H 71). 17. SNm 157.1 (H 209). 18. SDt 37 (F 72). 19. SDt 304 (F 323). 20. SDt 318 (F363).

## UNIT ELEVEN

## ABSOLUTE AND CONSTRUCT

## I Introductory text (Abot 6.2)





The tablets were the work of God and the writing was the writing of God engraved on the tablets [Ex 33.16]. Do not read חָרוּת 'engraved’ but חרוּה 'liberty', for you can find no free person who does not occupy themself in studying the Torah. Anyone who is constantly occupied with the Torah will be truly exalted.

1. In order to uncover the Bible's wealth of meanings (as the rabbinic saying has it: יֵשׁׁשְבִים פָּנְים לַמִּקְרֶא 'there are seventy faces to Scripture' [Numbers Rabbah 13.15-16]), the exegetical schools turned to different procedures or 'rules' (מדּוֹח), one of which was that of אלחק אn do not read', that is, of changing the vocalization of the consonants in the biblical text. Of course, this was employed to help justify accepted doctrines, never capri-
ciously or arbitrarily, and the use of such middot was governed by rabbinic tradition. Because of its clarity and the interesting nature of its contents, we have selected Abot 6.2 as an example (even though the whole of Abot 6 is a mediaeval addition), but the application of the al tiqra principle is also wellattested in the tannaitic tradition (see Unit 21.1).

## II Morphology

2. As we have already indicated in Unit 4. RH continued to employ the typical BH system of expressing genitive relationships, whereby a single syntagmatic unit is formed out of the two related nouns, the first of them losing the accent (or retaining only a secondary accent) and being supported by the second noun, which bears the main accent. The first noun is designated נְסָמָך 'supported' and the second נִפִרָך 'separated'. In traditional western terms, the first noun is the '(nomen) regens', in the construct state, and the second is the '(nomen) rectum'. in the absolute state. The phenomenon is also known by the Hebrew grammatical term סמִיכוּת 'semikhut, support'.

Because in semikhut the second element determines or specifies the value of the first, we have chosen to call the second element (absolute, rectum, נפרָד) the 'determinant' and the first element (construct, regens, נִסְטָך) the 'determined' noun.
3. The transformations that a word undergoes in the construct state are the same in RH as in BH: shortening, wherever possible, of vowels and conversion of the masculine plural suffix $\square$ - to ${ }^{-}$- and of the feminine singular marker $n$ - to $\Omega$. Sometimes, the only motive for the presence of the article before the determinant is in order to separate two accents that would otherwise be contiguous (see N.H. Waldman 1989, 133 and our earlier remarks at Unit 3.9).

## III Grammar and usage

4. The nature of the determination or the kind of specification varies greatly and certainly cannot simply be mechanically rendered by 'of'.
A. When the determined word is a noun that expresses the action of a verb, the determinant is usually the object of the underlying verb, as can easily be seen in the construction parents (as against כְבוֹד אִם 'honour of mother' and כְבוֹד אָּ 'honour of father' [Ker 6.9], which refers to the dignity parents possess just by being parents).
B. Often, it is only the theological, legal, or exegetical context that can provide the precise sense of a particular determinative relationship, for example:
dead of precept' refers to a corpse that one must touch in order to carry out the 'act of kindness' of burying the dead, even though one will thereby become contaminated;
הֶפְִסד מצוְה 'loss of precept' refers to the loss or inconvenience that occurs through fulfilling a commandment-the sense of the determinative relationship here is made clearer through its counterpart, שִׁכַר מִצְוָה 'recompense of precept';
טבוּל יוֹם is the person who on a given day has been purified through ritual immersion;
חִיבִי חַטָּאוֹת
are those who have come to the land of Israel and טוֹלִי בָבִל grants who came to Israel from Babylonia (see SDt 8 [F 16]).
Compare 'inose who go down to the grave' (Is 38.18) and

C. Passive participles are usually determined by their agent through semikhut, as at Yeb 11.1:

A man may marry a woman raped by his father or seduced by his father or a woman raped by his son or seduced by his son.
In fact, every participle has both nominal and verbal characteristics (see Unit 19.8), which helps account for such phrases as שוֹלי בָבל and בָּאי הָאָּ mentioned above, as well as, for example, עוֹבְדי עַבוֹדָה זָרָ 'adorers of idols'

D. Determinative relationships with בִּ 'son' and בַּעִל 'lord' specify a type of subject (not necessarily a person), for example פבַּעַל תחשוֹבָה 'convert,
 erence to an incorrectly performed circumcision), בַּעַל חוב 'creditor',
 (person)', and בֵּ בּן 'citizen'.
 distinction is made between a $\boldsymbol{\eta}$, a ditch of six handbreadths, and a ,בּן־חִריץ a ditch of half that size.
5. As in BH , the general rule is that with plurals only the determined
 'penitents', etc.

However, in RH it is also common that both nouns, determined and determinant, are made plural, for example בִּנַליבּקִּׁים 'landlords, householders',
 defects' (SLv 1.5 [W 6b]). This phenomenon is seen already in LBH:
 and חָרָשׁי עֵצִים 'carpenters' (1 C 14.1).

With בַּיִ 'house' as the determined noun, the plural marker is sometimes added only to the determinant, as the two words are perceived as
a single unit, for example:

Every kind of meal and flour that are in the markets is impure (Makhsh 6.2).
6. For the use of in in place of semikhut, see Unit 4.11-14. The different constructions that arise can often diverge considerably in meaning. For example, the material from which something is made is usually determined by שֶׁל ('room [made] of wood'), whereas its purpose or nature tends to be expressed through semikhut ('room for wood'). See, for example, Mek 16.33 (L 2.125):

איני יודע של מה היא, אם של כסף או של זהב או של ברזל I don't know what material it was made of, whether of silver or of gold or of iron.
7. Many prepositions are in origin nouns in the construct state:

 state determined by a clause beginning with $-\underset{\text { bj }}{ }$.

In RH, there are also new conjunctions, including כדּ worthy to' < 'as sufficient for'; see Unit 30.8) and -
 sumption that he is they are alive' at Git $3.3,7-8$, which has developed out of the common non-conjunctional structure found in a phrase such as בּחִּקַת עַהרָה

## IV Phraseology

8. בִּןֹאָּ בִּ version, with reference to 'humankind' in general, being common in both the Mishnah and the tannaitic midrashim. Sometimes it is best translated as an adjective, 'human'. Examples include

דּבְּרְה הּוֹרָה בִּלְשׁוֹן בִּנִי־אָּדם
The Torah spoke according to human language (SNm 112.4 [ H 121]; see also SLv 20.2 in the exercises to this unit)
and
ביבשיו מלאכיך השרחת תמהין לומר, בני אדם עוברי עבודה זרה מהלכין

The serving angels were full of wonder, saying, Some humans, idolaters, walking in the middle of the sea as if on dry land (Mek 14.29 (L 1.246]).

But the singular form, the Mishnah, not even in quotations, or in Sifra; it is found just once in SNm ( 103.4 [H 102]), in a quotation of Ezk 16.2, five times in Mek, always in quotations (Is 56.2; Ezk 2.1; 17.2; 26.2; 28.2), and eight times in SDt, of
which six are quotations (Ezk 8.12; 17.2; 24.1-2; 33.7.24; 39.17; 44.5). Thus, in the whole of the Mishnah and the tannaitic midrashim there are just two original passages where meaning is generic or indefinite, 'one, someone, people':

|  |
| :---: |

Do not harden your heart [Dt 15.6]: there are people who worry thinking about whether to give or not to give (SDt 116 [F 175]);

ולאתקפפוץ אז ידך ןדברים פוֹרזן, 'שבן אדם שפוסט את ידו רחוזר וקופצה
And do not close your hand [Dt 15.6]: there are people who stretch out their hand, but then close it again (SDt 116 [F 175]).
It is interesting to compare the Vienna manuscript version of TosSot 3.12,
אין אנו צריכין שיבאו בני אדם עלינו
We do not require anyone to come to us, with that of MS Erfurt.

אין אגו צריכין שיבא אדם אצלינו (where the singular is expressed by

The contrast with the extensive use of viò $\tau \boldsymbol{v} \hat{\alpha} \dot{\alpha} v \theta \rho \dot{\omega} \pi \sigma v$ in the language of Jesus and the gospels is striking.
9. בַּת־קוֹל 'daughter of the voice', possibly with a somewhat diminutive or diminished sense, as it normally refers to a rumour, thunder, or voice, the source of which is uncertain and the authority of which is never accepted unequivocally in the rabbinic tradition, in clear contrast to the clarity of the word, exercises, Abot 6.2, Yeb 16.6, Mek 18.27, and SDt 357).
10. דִרְדּ בִּניאָּ 'the habitual behaviour of human beings', ככִררך

 Whoever has a vegetable garden within the vegetable garden of another may enter when it is the custom to enter and go out when it is the custom to go out (K BB 6.6; see also Ber 1.3, BQ 6.5, etc.).

V Vocabulary
אִרִיכוּת 'prolongation', אֲריכוּת יָמִים 'Iongevity'

דרלקקה 'fire, conflagration'
군 ‘rape’

- הוֹאִיל 'because'

דִכִרִיז ‘announce, proclaim'

הִרהּ 'meditate, think'



עֶלְבּוֹן 'arrogance, insult, humiliation'
-כ... כשָׁטְ 'rank alongside, consider equal to'
'? P? 'accident', as euphemism for involuntary ejaculation
רָּריה 'proof, evidence'

VI Exercises

 Tָּ





 5.















12. מעשה באחד שאמר, קרבן מבני שוחדה מים היום. ויצאה בת קול מבית קדשי הקדשיםואמרה, מי שקיבל את קרבנוחידם במדבר, הוא יקבל הא קרבנותיהם בטעה הזאת.


לעשחת [כרובים] בבית המקדש, הרי אני עושה בבחי כנסיוח ובבתי מדרשחת.ח״ל, לאחעשו לכם.
14. רבי יוסי אמטר, דברהתורה כלשאן בני אדםבלשאנח הרבה וכולם

> צריכיןלהידרש.
> 15. מיין ושכר יזיר חומץ יין וחומץ שכר לא ישתו [במדבר רג׳ן, לעשות "ן מצוהכ״״ רשוח.
> 16. קדושי יהיהנבמדברוּה')ז זי קדושת שער, אתה אומר, זו קרושת
> שער, או אאינו אלא קדושת דגוף?

> ת״״, לאביו ולאמו נבמדבר ריֹז, במה עין מדבר? בנפשאת אדם 18. לאביו ולאמו אינו מטמא, אלא מטמא הואלמת מצוה. 19. ובדבר הזהתאריכו ימיםנדבריםלב'מז', זה אחד מן הרברים שעושה אותם אוכלפירותיהם בעולם הההואריכות ימיםלעולם הבא. ומשורש כאן, בתלמוד תורה. בכבור אבואםמניך תלמוד לומר, כבד אז אביך ואת אמך ... [שמות כ׳יכז].
> 20. רבי אליפזר אומר, בת קל יוצאתמתוך המחנה שנים עשר מילעל שצים עשר מילוהיתה מכרזתואומרת, מתמשה.

Sources. 1. Abot 5.9. 2. Abot 6.2. 3. BB 6.5. 4. Ber 6.4. 5. K BM 4.10. 6. Ket 1.7. 7. MS 8.7. 8. Nid 2.4. 9. Pes 6.6. 10. Shab 16.1. 11. Yeb 16.6. 12. Mek 18.27 (L 2.187). 13. Mek 20.23 (L 2.283). 14. SLv 20.2 (W 91b). 15. SNm 23.1 (H 26). 16. SNm 25.3 (H 31). 17. SNm 26.2 (H 32). 18. SNm 26.2 (H 32). 19. SDt 336 (F 386). 20. SDt 357 (F 428).

## UNIT TWELVE

## GREEK AND LATIN WORDS

I Introductory text (Mek 19.4 [L 2.203])
משל, לאחד שהיה מהלך בדרך והיה מנהג את בנו לפגיו. ובאו לסטים לשבותו, נטלו מלפגיו ונחנו לאחוריו. בא זאב לטרפו, נטלו מאחריו ונתצו לפניו. ליסטים מלפניו וזאב מאחריו, נטלו ונתנו על כתפיו, שנאמר, ובמדבר אשר ראית אשר נשאך ״ אלהיך כאשר ישא אישאח בנו [דבריםא׳לא'].

A parable: It is like one who was going on a journey with his child in front of him. Bandits came to capture him; he took him from in front and put him behind. A wolf came to devour him; he took him from behind and put him in front. With robbers in front and the wolf behind, he took him and put him on his shoulders, as it is said, And in the desert, where you saw that Y. carried you like a man carries his child [Dt 1.31].

1. The parable attempts to explain Ex 19.4, I carried you on eagles'
wings, bringing in Dt 1.31, where Y. appears as a father who carries his child on high (נשׂא): as the eagle bears its young upon its wings to protect them from the arrows, so Y. carries Israel upon his shoulders to protect them from their enemies. The midrashic function of the parable is the explanation of Scripture.

## II Morphology

2. RH has a large stock of Greek and Latin words. In S. Krauss's dictionary (1898-1900), more than two thousand items are listed. Although over a third of them are doubtful and the timescale is large, the deep penetration of Greek into Hebrew cannot be denied.

Greek words started to enter vernacular Hebrew on a large scale after the conquests of Alexander the Great in the fourth century BCE, as part of the wider cultural phenomenon of Hellenization. Little by little, Palestine in the Hellenistic period became trilingual: Aramaic and Hebrew were spoken by the masses, with Greek as the language of administrators and the upper echelons of society (a situation somewhat analogous to the rôle of Hebrew, Arabic, and English in the State of Israel today; see Mussies 1976, 1051). However, almost everyone would have had a basic knowledge of Greek for day-to-day purposes.

Moreover, the Greek literary output of Palestine (deutero-canonical and apocryphal works, the New Testament, and so on) makes Jerusalem, and indeed all Palestine, of the intertestamental period a very important centre for the use and the study of Greek (see Introduction, §§3, 4.3).

Latin entered the arena with the Roman presence from the first century BCE onward. Its impact was less than that of Greek, although significant in military vocabulary.
3. The difficulties we face today in deciding whether to write 'midrashim' or 'midrashes', 'curricula' or 'curriculums', etc. help us to understand the inconsistencies in RH transcription and inflection of Greek and Latin words.
4. There is no uniform way of adapting these words.
A. Some are made to conform to genuine Hebrew or Aramaic noun pat-


B. Others are simply given a rough phonetic transcription, which dis-
 ( $\pi v \dot{\lambda} \alpha 1$ ) 'city gates', though there are some recurrent features, such as the use of prefixed alef when transcribing Greek or Latin words beginning with two consonants, for example ( $\sigma \mu i \lambda \eta$ ) 'knife', or the use of sade to represent sigma within a word, for example ( $\boldsymbol{\sim}$ ticeable that Palestinian and Babylonian sources differ in their transcriptions,
with the latter displaying less knowledge of Greek.
C. However, many words were not clearly understood and have suffered in the process of textual transmission to the extent that they are scarcely recognizable today.
5. Not surprisingly, the inflection of foreign words posed problems and was avoided wherever possible.
A. Genitive structures with $\underset{\sim}{\text { are }}$ preferred to construct chains. However, by the time of the amoraim, we have the striking case of oै $0 \lambda 0 \varsigma$ 'crowd' used in a construct plural form:

שמא כשהית יושב ודורש בהר הביחודיו כל אוכלוסי ישראל ישבין לפניך
Perhaps when you were sitting down to expound on the Temple Mount and all the multitudes of Israel were seated before you (ARN 38 [S 114]; cf. jBer 9.13c).
B. Plurals are formed regularly, with the suffixes $\square$ - and ni-, although if a word ends in $\aleph$ - or $\pi$ - the suffix is normally $n i k$; rather than $\pi i-$, for example טַבִלְא (Latin tabula) 'tablet, table', טַבִלָאוֹח (not).
C. This termination became a distinctive feature of foreign words and is commonly found in plurals of Greek words ending in $-\eta$ and transcribed as $\cdot=$,


This success of the $\boldsymbol{\pi}$;-; ending on foreign words was due in part to its similarity to the characteristic $-\alpha 1$ and -ae terminations of first declension Greek and Latin nouns. Under the influence of these items, other native He brew words sometimes formed their plurals in the same way (see Unit 10.6).

## III Grammar and usage

6. Greek and Latin vocabulary is found in every area of life, especially in administrative and legal spheres, commerce, industry, and military life. A short but illustrative list can be seen in Schürer 1979, 53ff.
7. However, so great was the impact of Greek and Latin words that they abound even in the most popular forms of literature. The following examples appear in the meshalim of Sifre to Numbers:

הפרכיא (èz $\rho x i \alpha$ ) 'prefecture' (131.1 [H 170]);
דינר (denarius) 'denarius' (131.1 [H 169]);
טריקלין (triclinium) 'refectory' (134.5 [H 180]);
( $\sigma \alpha v \delta \alpha ́ \lambda ı o v)$ 'sandal' (115.5 [H 127]);
ספפקּ (speculator) 'inspector, executioner' (91.2 [H 91]);


פולימרכוס ( $\pi$ פוֹर́
פלומפילון (primipilus) 'chief centurion' (131.1 [H 169]);

פלטרין ( $\pi \rho \alpha \iota \tau \omega ́ \rho l o v)$ 'praetorium, praetor's residence' (134.5 [H 180]), sometimes also mistakenly used instead of פלטין (palatium) 'palace';
קיטון (коитஸ́v) 'bedroom' (134.5 [H 180]);
קיטרון (centurio) 'centurion' (131.1 [ H 169]).
8. The extraordinary number of Greek and Latin loanwords in RH is well-illustrated in the following two narratives devised by E.Y. Kutscher (1982, 139):
 ting on the podium on a small platform
 charged the defendant by giving him דִימשי [dimissio] or convicted him by
 [speculator].

 be able to avoid the pirates' port קָרוֹן [ [carrus] of the highway אטטרָּ [strata] which was guarded by the watch-

 stranger was an important personality, e.g., the Caesar would greet him with shouts of square פְרוֹדוֹר


9. The general lack of RH verbs deriving from Greek and Latin is reflected in their absence from Kutscher's two stories. However, various denominative verbs were created from loaned nouns, notably

 'attack, assault' (from $\lambda \eta \sigma \pi \eta^{\prime} s$ 'bandit, highwayman').

Nevertheless, in spite of the vast size of the Greek and Latin vocabulary of RH , the structure of the language remained unaltered, as the loanwords had virtually no syntactic effect.

## IV Phraseology

10. turn of phrase; see Naz 7.4 (also Mek 12.31; 18.15; 19.24; SLv 13.3, etc.):

וכשבאתי והרציתי את הרברים לפני רבי יהשוע, אמר לי, יפה אמרח
When I came and explained these things before Rabbi Joshua, he
said to me, You have spoken very well.
 'high priest'; הֶדֶ is a Hebraized form of i $\delta \iota \omega ́ \tau \eta$, in the sense of a private


## V Vocabulary

 resentative'
אתִּירִיוֹן 'canopy'
אֲרוּס literally, 'betrothal', the name of a musical instrument used at weddings Tָׁטֶ 'take into consideration'
-שׁ)

[ip 'mix, pour wine'
מִכּאן וְאֵילָך 'from here onwards'
(ציצִר (צרר (hi. participle of (distressed, oppressed'
סִיגוֹר (סvvท่
Oניגוֹריג ( $\sigma v v \eta \gamma o \rho i ́ \alpha$ ) 'defence'

Oַּמְיְ (Latin familia) 'household'
永‘sustenance, provisions'
צָּלַב 'crucify'

קיטוֹן (кочто́v) 'bedroom'
VI Exercises

אֲמִּנוּת לְסִיםים.






הַקִּיחוֹן עַל פָּנִיוֹ


9. והיו מחזננין לספקלטור, זה אומר לו, אני כהן בןכהן גדול, הרגני תחלהואל אראה במיתח חבירי, וחה אומר לו, אינשיאבןנשיא, הרגני תחלה ואל אראה במיתח חבירי. 10. שדצדקהוגמילות חסדים שלום גדולופרקליטגדול בין ישראללאביהם שבשמים. 11. משל, למה הדבר דומחר ללסטים שאכנסו לפלטין שלמלך, בזונ נכסיו והרגו פמליא שלמלך והחזריבו פלטרין של מלך.לאחר זמן ישב עליהן המלך בדין, תפשמהם, הרגמהם, צלבמהםוישב בפלטין שלו. ואחר כך ניתודעה מלכותו בעולם.
12. וארון ברית׳׳נוסע לפניהםןבמדבר ^לגזן, ... משל, לאגםיקיסר שהיה מקדיםלפני חילוחיו מתקן לזהם מקים שישרו. כך היתה השכינה מקדמת לישראלומזקנת לדםמקום שישרו.
13. משל, למה הדבר דומה? למלך בשר ודם שגזר על בנו שלא יכנס לפתח פלטרין שלו. נכנסלשער רוהוא אחריו, לחצר והוא אחריו, לפרקלין והוהוא

אזרי, כיון שבא ליכנסלקיטון אמר לו, בני, מכאן ואילך אתה אסור 14. משל, למלך שהייולונכסים הרבהוהיהלו בן קשן, והיה צריך לצאת

למדינתהים. אמר, אם אני מניחנכסיביד בני הוא עומד ומבזבזם, אלא הריני ממנהלו אמיטרופסעד שיגדל. משתגדילהבן ההוא אמר לו

לאפיפרופס, חן ליכסף חודב שהניחלי אבא בידך. עמד ונתקלו משלו כדי פרנסחו. התזיל אותו הבן מיצר. אמר לו, הרי כלכסף וזהב

שהניחלי אבא בידך. אמרלו, כלמה שגתחי לך לאנתחילך אלא משלי, אבל מה שהניחלך אביך הריהו שמגר.
15. משל, למלך שמסר אתבנולפידגוג והיה מחזרוומראה אותו ואומר לו, כל הגפנים האלו שלך, כל הזיתים האלו שלך. משיגע להראותו אמר לו, כלמה שאתה רואה שלך הוא.
16. אמר יעקבלרחל, וכי אגטיקיסר שלהקדושברוך הוא אניץ 17. מיכאל וסמאל דומין לסיגור וקטיגור עומדיץבדין. זהמרברוזה מדבר. גמר זהדברין, ידע הסניגור שצצח, והתחיל משבח את הדיין שיוציא איפופסין. בקש אותו קטיגור להוסיף דבר. אמר לו הסניגור, החרשוינמעע מן הדי"ן.
18. משל, למלך שהיה דן אחבנו, והיה קטיגור עומד ומקפרג. מה עטה

הפדגוג שלבץ כיון שראה אותו מחייב, דחף את הקטגור ועמד לו במקומ, מלמד על הבן סניגוריא.
19. בשר ודם משמוציא אפופסין אינו יכול לחזור.
20. אמר הקב״הלישראל, בניי, אותם הקרבנות שהכתבתילכם בתורה, היו

זהיריןבהן, שאין פרקליט טובלירידח הגשמים יותר מן הקרבנות.
Sources. 1. Abot 4.11. 2. Abot 4.16. 3. Ḥul 8.2. 4. Qid 4.14. 5. Sanh 10.2. 6. Soṭ 9.14. 7. Suk 2.9. 8. Yom 7.1. 9. ARN 38 (S 114). 10. TosPea 4.21. 11. Mek 15.18 (L 2.78-79). 12. SNm 82.2 (H 78). 13. SNm 134.5 (H 179180). 14. SDt 11 (F 19). 15. SDt 19 (F 31). 16. Tanhuma (Buber) Wa-yeṣe' 19. 17. Exodus Rabbah 18.5. 18. Exodus Rabbah 43.1. 19. PesR 44. 20. Pesiqta de Rab Kahana 427.

## UNIT THIRTEEN

## ADJECTIVES

I Introductory text (SDt 277 [F 295])

> ואם איש עני הואןדברים כד׳ יבץן .אין לי אלא עני. עשיר מנין? תלמוד לומר, ואם איש. אם כן, למהנואמר, עני? ממהר אגי ליפרע על ידי עני יותר מן העשיר.

If he is a poor person [Dt 24.12].
In my opinion, here only the poor person is spoken about. From where can it be deduced that the rich person is spoken about too?

From the text that says, If he is a person.
If that is so, why make mention of 'poor'?
I hasten to see to the cause of the poor before that of the rich.

1. Here is another typical example of rabbinic argumentation. The biblical text says that something given in pledge by a poor person must be returned before sunset. The rabbis understand that the prescription extends to every person, rich or poor, because the Bible says 'person'. The specifying of this person as poor implies that God defends the cause of the poor before that of the rich.

The argument is dramatically developed in the form of a dialogue.

## II Morphology

2. RH adjectives adhere to the noun patterns used in BH. The most common are as follows:

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { Toperpe: }
\end{aligned}
$$

> קיקטּ-type: passive participles;
> -pיp-type: active participles;

> (20)-type:
> Suffixed with $\beta_{\text {, or }}$ 位:
> Suffixed with $\operatorname{\prime }$ : or $\Omega$ ?-: gentilics and ordinal numbers.

## III Grammar and usage

3. Used predicatively, an adjective agrees with its subject in number and gender.

Used attributively, in apposition to a noun, an adjective will agree with the noun in number and gender and will usually also share its determination, although RH is less consistent than BH in this matter (see Unit 3.6-9).

With collectives, adjective agreement is according to semantic sense, so that grammatically singular subjects can be accompanied by attributive or predicative adjectives in the plural. A regular example of this phenomenon is the name Israel, as in

Israel (i.e. the Israelites) are distinguished by (adherence to) the commandments (SNm 99.3 [H 99]).
4. Adjectives of the per type often replace verbs, as in

מִישטׁחָּבִיב קוֹדם אnּחִבִירוֹ
Whoever is loved has preference over the rest (SDt 37 [F 70]).
This process affects stative verbs in particular and has led to textual inconsistency due to confusion on the part of scribes between such adjectives

5. There are no special comparative or superlative forms of the adjective.
A. Comparison is usually effected through the preposition $\boldsymbol{\square}$, which follows the adjective and precedes the second term in a comparison, for example:
מִיוֹסֵך?

Joseph deserved to bury his father, for there was none among his brothers greater than he .... Whom do we have greater than Joseph? (Sot 1.9)
The widespread RH phenomenon of the accumulation of particles has also affected this construction, leading to such forms as $\boldsymbol{ע}$, for example מעשה עגל קשה על קן הכל
The matter of the golden calf was graver than everything else (SDt 1 [F6]).
B. רֹתִּ 'more than', used adverbially, can strengthen a comparison, as in a late text, Abot 6.5,
גְּדוֹלְה תוֹרָה יוֹתֵר מִן הַכְּתָּנּה וּמן הַמִּלְכוּת

Greater is the Torah than priesthood and royalty, but also in a tannaitic text like SNm 133.1 (H 176):
בשר ודם, רחמיו על הזכרים יוחר מן הנקבוח

Flesh and blood loves men more than women.

 conveyed is always comparative, 'in excess of, more than', for example:

The worker will not eat in excess of his wages (BM 7.5)
and

The empty spaces will be no greater than the built up areas (Erub 1.8).
D. The superlative is expressed through a characteristic construction of RH: adjective followed by -שִׁבִּ ('the greatest that there is in, the greatest of', etc.), for example:

Joseph ben Joezer was the most pious of the priests (Hag 2.7);
שוֹטים/שוֹטה שִבָּעוֹלִם
The world's greatest fool (SDt 309 [F 348]; Mek 15.14 [L 2.71]);

The weakest among you ... the most valiant among you (SLv 26.8 [W 111a]);

טוֹב שִׁבַּגּוּם
The best of the gentiles (Mek 14.7 [L 1.201]).
The construction is often specified as שִשבּשרְׂא 'of Israel', as in

Even the poorest Israelite will not eat unless he is sitting at table (Pes 10.1).
The same usage, albeit without relative pronoun, is found in LBH, at Ca


The most wretched of Manasseh.
E. For the absolute superlative, מאוֹ 'very' is not employed in the Mishnah with the exception of Abot 4.4,

מאֹד מאד הִוּ שפַּל רוּחִ
Be extremely humble,
and Ber 9.5. In the midrashim, it only appears in quotations from Scripture.
F. A different way of expressing the superlative is through the repetition of a noun in a construct chain, a formation already known to BH in such phrases as 'holy of holies', 'song of songs', and 'God of gods and Lord of lords' (Dt 10.17), and is seen even in archaic poetry, for example, at Ps 68.34:

To the one that rides through the remotest skies.
RH examples include the following:
Very hot waters (Ber 16a);
מֶלִד מַלִּכֵּ הַמְּלְכִים הקב״ה
The king of kings of kings, the holy one, blessed be he (Abot 3.1;
4.22; Sanh 4.5),

והקול יורד משמי שמים לבין שxי הכרובים
And the voice would descend from the highest heavens between the two cherubim (SNm 58.1 [H 56]);

משה חכם חכמים גדולגדולים
Moses, the wisest and the greatest ( SNm 134.5 [H 180]).
This form of expression is also used without semikhut but employing in a variety of constructions that are difficult to categorize, for example

אפילונ נכנס אדם חדר לפנים מן החדר
Even when one entered the most secret of chambers (SNm $83.2[\mathrm{H}$ 80]).

## IV Phraseology

 below this'; see examples of usage in the exercises and at Kil 4.4; 7.6; Ket 7.1; Kel 29.2.3.7, etc.

## V Vocabulary

Oivin (Bovicvińs) ‘senator, councillor'
בּיאָּ 'entrance, (sexual) penetration, consummation'
דרים 'price'


טִלטִל 'move, transfer'
施 'as if
(pu. participle of (bwain (different, distinct'
פָּ 'verse'
צָּהַב 'defy, insult’
קִקִעָא '(a) little’

שָׁבוּי (passive participle of (שבוה) 'captive'
שֶוֹטו 'foolish, stupid, crazed'


## VI Exercises




מִטלִטְּין בִּתוֹכָה.







 7 . 7. שַׁבַּתוֹת

 9. 9


10.





 14. זה הרבר אשר צוה ׳לקטעו ממנו ... [שמות טז' טז'ן. אמרו, עכשיו יצאנחשזן בן עמינדב וביתו ומלקם הרבה, יצא עני שבישראלוטלקטם
קימעא.
15. והכהן המשיחתחתחיו מבניו יעשה אחהנויקראו׳טוז, מלמר שיהאבן קודםלכל קבעולם.
16. והלא הלכה עמהם באר במדבר והיחה מעלת להם דגים שמנים יוחר מצרכם?
17. הלא כבני כושיים אחם לי בני ישראל? [עמוס ט'ד']. וכי כושים היו? אלא מה כושי משונה בעורו אף ישראל משונים במצוות יוחר מכל אומות העולם.
18. אל תוסף דבר אלי, עלהראש הפסגהנדברביםג׳ כז'ן. מיכן היה רבי אליעזר בן יעקב אומר, יפה חפלה אחח יחר ממאה מעשים טגבים, שבכל מעשיו של משה לא נאמר לו, עלה, ובדבר זה נאמר לו, עלה. 19. מנין אחה אומר שאם שמע אדם מבר מפי קטן שבישראל יהא בעיניו כשומע מפי חכם?
20. משלו משל, למה הדבר דומה? לאחד שהיה עומד וצוהב כנגד בוליוטוס בשוק. אמרו לו השומעים, שאטה שבעולם, כנגד בוליושום אחה עומר וצוהב.

Sources. 1. BQ 8.6. 2. Erub 2.5. 3. Git 4.6. 4. Kil 7.6. 5. Meg 4.4. 6. Men 11.9. 7. Nid 4.5. 8. Nid 5.4. 9. Qid 4.14. 10. Sanh 3.7. 11. Sot 1.9. 12.

Taa 3.4. 13. Yom 7.1. 14. Mek 16.16 (L 2.115). 15. SLv 6.15 (W 31d). 16. SNm 95.1 (H 95). 17. SNm 99.3 (H 99). 18. SDt 29 (F 47). 19. SDt 41 (F 86). 20. SDt 309 (F 348).

# UNIT FOURTEEN 

NUMERALS

I Introductory text (SDt 329 [F 379])

> ראו עתה כי אני אני הואואין אלהים עמרי. אני אמית ואחיהנדברים לב׳לם".
> זהאחד מארבט הבטחות שניחן להם רמז לתחית המחים, אגי אמיתואחיה [דבריםלב׳ל לם', חמות נפשי מאת ישרים [במדמר כג׳׳יז, יחיראובן ואל

> ימות [דברים לג׳ִ׳ז, יזינו מיומיםן
> שומע אני, מיתה באחד וחיים באחד.
> תלמוד לומר, מחצחי ואני ארפאן ודברים לב׳ לט'ן. כדרך שמכהורפואה באחד כך מיתה ודזיםבאחד.

See now that it is I, I myself, and there is no other God apart from me. I give death and life [Dt 32.39]. This is one of the four promises in which allusion is made to the resurrection of the dead:

I give death and life [Dt 32.39];
May I die the death of the just [ Nm 23.10];
May Reuben live and not die [Dt 33.6];
In two days he will give us life [and on the third he will resuscitate us and we shall be revived in his presence] [Ho 6.2].
I interpret [I give death and life] to mean that death refers to one and life to another.

But the text continues, I harm and I heal [Dt 32.39]. Just as injury and cure are in reference to the same person, so also death and life apply to the same person.

1. The resurrection of the dead is a basic tenet of Pharisaic Judaism, which was opposed in Sadducean circles, where only Scripture was admitted as authoritative, and by Hellenizers, who regarded the notion as absurd. Our text presents the four testimonies ('promises' or 'securities' [הבדָחוֹ]) of Scripture in support of resurrection. And the possible interpretation of 'I give life and death' as meaning simply that God allows death and birth is countered by reference to the parallel text: just as 'I harm and I heal' has to do with the same person who is injured and then cured, so 'I give life and death' must refer to one person who dies and is then resuscitated.

## II Morphology

2. The following table displays the cardinal numbers in RH.

| Number | Masculine nouns |  | Feminine nouns |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Absolute | Construct | Absolute | Construct |
| one | אחָּ | צֵּ | กTx | 515 |
| two | שטׁנִים | טגם | שׁׁתּתּם |  |
| three |  | שלֹשִח | טֶסטם | שֶׁלם |
| four | ֵֵרכָּעָ |  | ¢ \% | אַרִּעט |
| five | חַחִּטִּה |  | חָחִטֹ | דַמִטִט |
| six | שׁׁex |  | ¢ֶׁט | שִׁ |
| seven | שֶׁבְעָה | שבעִת | שֶׁבע | שִבַע |
| eight | שְִֶׁדּ |  | שִֶׁuֶ | ¢ |
| nine |  | תֹשׁׁתח |  | תֹטֶע |
| ten | עַטְּרֶה | עַטְרח | עֶשְ | עֶשִך |

3. The numbers one and two are treated as adjectives that agree in gender with the noun being counted.

The numbers three to ten are nouns the gender of which is the opposite of the nouns being counted.
4. Ordinal numbers agree in gender with the noun being itemized. The only difference from BH is that the feminine of ' e 'second' is not, as in BH,


The first and the second have nothing.

## III Grammar and usage

5. Cardinal numbers.
A. אִחָ knd generally follow a noun whereas the other cardinal numbers will usually precede it.
B. When preceding a noun, שִׁנַּים and usually appear in their con-
 construct, determined by the noun being counted (especially in measures, 'two of cors', 'four of logs', etc.), or, more normally, in the absolute state in apposition to the noun being counted:

Two feast days of the new year (Shab 19.5);


Whoever writes two letters, be it with the right hand or the left, one
name or two, or with two inks, in any language is guilty (Shab 12.3);

Three brothers married to three foreign women (Yeb 3.9);

Be it a space of five cors; be it a space of ten cors (Erub 2.3).
C. Thus, the noun being counted is to be understood either as determining a numeral in the construct state or as in apposition to a numeral in the absolute state. The noun being counted can also be viewed as an 'accusative of relation'. In this structure, the noun is in the singular if it follows the numeral and in the plural if it precedes the numeral, for example

The city that provides five hundred foot-soldiers (Taa 3.4).
The following rule of usage is broadly true: the noun being counted is in the plural with the numbers two to nineteen and in the singular with the series twenty, thirty, and so on, up to ninety, and with the series one hundred, two hundred, and so on, up to nine hundred; with compound numbers of the kind twenty-four or two hundred and four, the noun is plural.
D. At times, however, the noun being counted is singular, either because it denotes something that frequently appears in enumerations (month, year, portion, cubit, etc.) or because it is a generic term:


Regarding the space around the vineyard, the school of Shammai say that it is six cubits and the school of Hillel say that it is twelve (Kil 4.1);

שטׁחּי הַּלחם נלוֹשׁוֹת אחת אחת
The two (loaves [תַלּוֹת] of) bread are kneaded one by one (Men 11.1; contrast 11.9).
E. Cardinal numbers can also be used on their own, with the thing being counted understood from context, or can take a pronominal suffix, thus developing a usage known from BH :

ח״ל, וזכרחי את בריתי יעקב ואף בריתי יצחקואף את בריתי
אברהם, מגיד ששלשחן שקולין
The passage teaches, And I shall remember my covenant with Jacob and my covenant with Isaac and my covenant with Abraham, declaring that the three are equal (Mek 12.1 [L 1.3]).
F. In certain contexts, numbers can be used adverbially: How long is it necessary to proclaim [the discovery]? ... For seven days, so that he can go back home in three days, come back in three days, and proclaim it in one day (BM 2.6).
G. When one number is immediately followed by the next, an approxi-
mate figure is intended:
אילו היינו שם היינו משיבים לו ארבע וחמש פעמים על כל דבר ודבר If we had been there we should have responded four or five times to every issue (SDt 1 [F 3]);

> למד שנים שלשה דברים ביום, שנים עלשה פרקים בשבת... נמצא מעשיר לאחר זמן
If he studied two or three words a day, two or three chapters a week, in time he became rich (SDt 48 [F 108]).
6. Ordinal numbers.
A. From 'tenth' onwards, cardinal numbers are used, after the noun. The following example illustrates the difference between שְׁלשִׁים יוֹם 'thirty days' and יוֹשִׁלשִׁים 'thirtieth day':


Whoever says, I shall be a Nazirite, may cut his hair on the thirtyfirst day, but even if he cuts it on the thirtieth day, he has fulfilled his obligation. [If he says], I shall be a Nazirite for thirty days, if he cuts his hair on the thirtieth day, he has not fulfilled his obligation ( Naz 3.1 ).
B. When specifying days of the month in dates, occasionally in BH (see Meyer 1992, §61.4). Cardinal numbers are used with -3 , even for the first to ninth days of the month:

There were nine times for the wood offering of the priests and the people: the first of Nisan was for the descendants of Arah ben Judah, the twentieth of Tammuz was for the descendants of David ben Judah, and the fifth of Ab for the descendants of Parosh ben Judah (Taa 4.5).
 and רבִיעי 'fourth' and 'רבָע 'four-year old'.
7. Distributives.
A. 'One each', 'two each', etc. is expressed by repeating the numeral, usually without intervening -7 :

Six priestly watches would offer two lambs each and the rest one each (Suk 5.6).
B. A characteristic way of emphasizing distribution is by prefixing the
 three', etc., although in this construction כָּל can also convey the sense of 'each and every'. Both usages are illustrated by the the following example from RS 2.9:



 If we were going to test the tribunal of Rabban Gamaliel, we should have to test each and every one of the tribunals that have been established from the days of Moses until now .... And why were the names of the elders not made explicit? It is to teach that any three who established themselves as a tribunal in Israel were as if they had re-established the tribunal of Moses.
The formula exemplified by כְּל־יוֹם ויוֹם first appeared in LBH, in contrast to the classical BH structure of a י E in, and became common in the Dead Sea Scrolls. Aramaic, and RH (see Qimron 1986, 81).
8. Fractions.
A. As in BH , an ordinal number may be used, with the fractional sense provided by context: 'שִׁלישׁׁי '(a) third', fourth', etc.
B. RH has also developed a special series of terms for fractions, some already known in BH :

| Fraction | RH form |
| :---: | :---: |
| half |  |
| third | שֶׁלישׁ |
| quarter | רוֹבַ, רךִיע |
| fifth | חוֹמֶשׁ |
| sixth | ¢טד\% |
| - |  |
| eighth |  |
| ninth | ¢ |
| tenth | טים |

C. Fractions of less than a tenth are expressed by cardinal numbers preceded by מִן '(out) of', for example אחָד מֹשִׁלשׁים 'a thirtieth'.
9. To express repeated or multiple acts. RH employs the cardinal num-


Each one has to be scrubbed three times (Nid 9.7).


If he is polluted by a corpse the whole day, he is only guilty the first time (Naz 6.4).
10. RH also has Pi'el denominative verbs based on the numerals: שִׁבִּשׁ (in Hif'il and Hitpa 'el as well) 'divide by three, pass three times' (e.g. Mak 1.3); רבַּעַ 'square, do for the fourth time' (e.g. SDt 306); חִמִּשׁ 'divide into
 Shab 2.1).

## IV Phraseology

11. אֶחָּ .. 'be it like this ... or like that', an expression similar to


Whether they be ten or they be a hundred thousand (Ber 7.3);
 Be it a wild tree or a fruit tree, it is regarded as a fig tree (Shebi 1.3);

אחד עולה נדבה ואחד עולה חובה, זו וז טעונות סמיכה
The voluntary burnt offering and the obligatory burnt offering are the same: both require imposition of hands (SLv 1.4 [W 5d]).
12. כַאַחָת כִּאֶחָּ 'jointly, at the same time, equally':
 When three eat together, they are obliged to summon another (Ber 7.1);

אבל הקב״ה אמר עשרת הדברוח כאחד. מה שאי אפשר לבשר
ודם לעשׂת כן
The holy one, blessed be he, pronounced the ten commandments all at once (or, 'by means of only one utterance'), something impossible for flesh and blood (Mek 15.11); אין משקין שתי סוטוח כאחת
One should not force two adulteresses to drink [the bitter waters] at the same time (TosSot 1.6).
13. הָאֵרבְּעים 'the forty lashes', in reference to the punishment prescribed at Dt 25.1-3 (see Mak 1.1; 3.10; Shab 7.2):

And [a woman] drinking wine and polluting herself with corpses does not incur the punishment of the forty lashes ( Naz 4.3 ).

## V Vocabulary

אבב בִּית דין
רִּ 'removal, distancing'
(זיר (hi. of 'act deliberately, with premeditation', as against שִזיד 'do by mistake, inadvertently'

הֶשֶׁיר 'become rich’

, ', 'test, correction, (corrective) punishment, suffering that results from punishment'

גְּ 'patriarch'
Oִגְּ 'save, keep'

סָמַּ 'support, lay hands on' ( $\pi \rho \alpha \gamma \mu \alpha \tau \varepsilon i ́ \alpha)$ ) 'business' ロำำ 'specify, determine'
פִּרִנם ‘sustain, provide for' צרף 'join, transform, change for' שׂרָרָ 'power, authority, command'

## VI Exercises




















 ונוֹלוֹ.


 12. בראשית ברא אלהים אחת השמיםואחת הארץ [בראשית א'א']. שומע אני, כל הקודם במקרא קודם במעשה. ת״ל, ביום עשות י״ אלהים הרץץ ושמיםנבראשיז ב'ד׳ן, מגיד ששניהם שקולין כאחר. 13. ומקלל אביו ואמא ... [שמוח כא׳ יז' ... משמע, שגיהם כאחת, ומשמע, שניהם אחר אחד בפגי עצמע ער שיפרוט לך הכתוב יחדיו. 14. ומשין ליתן אח האמאר בכולם בכל אחד ואחד?
15. רבי שמעון אומר, מהת״"ל, גמל גמל, שני פעמים? אחד גמל שנולד מן הגמלה ואחד גמל שנולד מן הפרה.
16. שלשה כתרים הם, כתר חורהוכתר כהונה וכתר מלכות... ואם מאמר, מי

גדול משגיהםם, היה רבי שמעון בן אליעזר אומר, מי גדול, הממליך או המולך? הוי אומר, הממליך, העושה שרים או העושה שררה? הוי אומר הערשה שרים. כל עצמן של שני כתרים הללו אין באים אלא מכחה שלתורה.
17. חביבים יסורים שטלשמחנות נתנו להם לישראל שאומות העולם מתאוים להן ולא נתנו לדם הלא על ידי יסורים, ואלו הם, תורהוארץ ישראל והעולם הבא.
18. רבי שמעון בן יוחי אומר משל, לשני אחים שהיו מסגלים ממון אחר אבידהם. אחדר מצרף דינר ואוכלו, ואחד מצרף רינר ומניחו. זה שהיה מצרף דינר ואוכלו נמצא א אין ביד כלום, וזה שמצרף דינר ומניחו נמצא מעשיר לאחר זמן. כך תלמידי חכמים, למד שנים שלשה דבריםביום, שנים שלשה פרקים בשבת, שחים שגשפ פרשיות בחרש, נמצא מעשיר לאחר זמן.
19. ויקרא יעקב אל בניו ... [בראשטיח מט׳ א'ן, מאחר שדוכיחם כל אחד ואחד בפני עצמו, חזר וקראם כולם כאחד. 20. ומשה בן מאה ועטרים שנה [דברים לד'ד'ז]. זה אחד מארבעה שמאו בן מאה ועשרים שנה, ואלו הם, משה ודלל הזקן ורבן יוחנן בן זכיי ורביעקיבד. משה היה במצרים ארבעים שנה ובמדין ארבעים שנה, ופירנס אח ישראל ארבעים שנה. הילל הזקן עלה מבבל בן ארבעים שנה ושימש חכמים ארבעים שנה ופירנס את שראל ארבעים שנה רבן יוחנן בן זכי עסקבפרגמטיא ארבעים שנה ושימש חכמיםארבעים שנה ופירנס אח ישראל ארבעים שנה. רבי עקיבה למד תורה בן ארבעים שצה ושמש את חכמים ארבעים שנה ופירנס את ישראל ארבעים שנה. שם זוגוח שטצוחיהם מוות, רבקה וקההת, לוי ועמרם, יוסף ויהושע, שמואל רשלמה, משה והלל הזקן, ורבן יוחתן בן זכיי ורבי עקיבה.

Sources. 1. Abot 4.4. 2. Ber 6.6. 3. Heag 2.2. 4. Kil 2.1. 5. Par 3.5. 6. Qid 1.7. 7. Sanh 4.4. 8. Shebi 9.8. 9. Suk 3.13. 10. Suk 5.6. 11. Ter 6.1. 12. Mek 12.1. 13. Mek 21.17 (L 3.47). 14. SLv 3.5 (W 14c). 15. SLv 11.3. (W 48c). 16. SNm 119.3 (H 144). 17. SDt 32 (F 57). 18. SDt 48 (F 108). 19. SDt 31 (F 53). 20. SDt 357 (F 429).

PART II

VERBS

## UNIT FIFTEEN

## CONJUGATIONS (BINYANIM)

1 Introductory text (Hag 1.8)
מקִרָא מֻעָּטוַחִלָכוֹת מְרִבּוֹת.
The biblical text is short but the oral legisiation based on it is immense.

1. The text reflects a clear conviction that often the oral law goes well beyond what the Bible says-a freer rendering might be 'so much regulation from so little text'. From the same passage of the Mishnah comes the saying that various rules are 'like mountains hanging by a hair'. Thus, for some elements within rabbinic Judaism the legitimacy of a particular halakhah did not depend on its being explicitly mentioned in the Bible.

## II Morphology

2. The following table displays the major conjugations (or binyanim) of the BH verb (rarer forms are omitted).

| Simple | Qal/Pa'al | Passive | Nif ${ }^{\prime}$ al |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Causative | Hif ${ }^{\text {cil }}$ | Passive | Hof'al |
| Intensive | Piel | Passive | Pu'al |
|  |  | Reflexive | Hitpa'el |

Each of these structures has a prefix (imperfect) and suffix (perfect) form, as well as infinitive, participial. imperative, jussive, and cohortative moods, which will be examined in the following units.
3. In comparison, the RH verb exhibits the following features.
A. The $P u^{\prime} a l$ disappears in all but the participle.
B. In the perfect, the Hitpa'el is replaced by a Nitpa'al conjugation,
 'pray', where the Hitpa 'el is still found in the perfect. In some instances a Nittaf'al form is probably attested (see Mishor 1983a, 205).
C. In pe-nun verbs, the Nuf'al emerges as the passive of Qal, and is regarded by some (for example, M. Moreshet [1980b]) as a special binyan of RH. At Sot 9.12, some manuscripts read ונוטל שעם הפירוח 'the taste of the
fruits has disappeared', and in a liturgical text (the prayer ותוּפֶל כָּבוֹד מִבֵּית חַיִּנוּ 'the glory has been removed from the house of our life'. Possibly the same conjugation is also to be seen with other verbs, such as נוּנגאלוּ 'they were redeemed' and נוּלִדה 'she was born', and it may be that quite often a form pointed as Nif' ${ }^{\prime}$ l ought to be corrected to Nuf'al (see Waldman 1989, 121).
D. In certain verbs, the archaic causative conjugations in Saf'el and Shaf'el (see Meyer 1992, §72.1D) reappear, probably under Aramaic influence.
E. Also due to Aramaic influence is the development of intensive quadriliteral conjugations like Pi'lel, Pilpel, Pir'el, and Pi'les, for example ערבּב
 tain' (root 0 ).
4. Morphologically, the RH binyanim coincide with those of BH, with the following exceptions.
A. Nif $a l$. The loss of intervocalic $-\pi-$, as part of the gradual weakening of the gutturals, is seen in infinitives preceded by ל-, so that, for example,
 comes ליכָּנָּ:

אני״אלהיכם עחיד ליפרע
I am Y., your God, who will be avenged (SNm 115.5 [H 129]);
שאיזן כשריץ ליקרב

For they are not fit to be offered (SLv 1.3 [W 5d]).
The same trend is well-represented at Qumran (see Qimron 1986, 48) and also evidenced in LBH: : 'and when he stumbles' (Pr 24.17).
B. Pi'el. In ayin-waw and -yod verbs, we find new forms such as propr 'establish, maintain' (already seen in LBH; root בום), בִּיִשׁ 'shame, insult'
 assimilation to the triradical pattern (see Waldman 1989, 120). Similarly, the root שטשיר : שאר behaves as an ayin-waw verb in the formation of the Pi'e 'leave, reserve' (see Introduction, 9.3).
C. Pu'al. In the participle (the only mood RH retains in this binyan), loss of preformative mem is common, so that, for example, ממוּעִט 'reduced' becomes מוּטֶט. The first form is characteristic of the Palestinian branch of RH (K Hag 1.8), whereas the second is typical of Babylonian RH. However, the Palestinian origins of מוּעִט are clearly evidenced by the appearance of this form in the Dead Sea Scrolls.
D. Nitpa'al. This binyan is a fusion of the Nif'al and Hitpa'el. Its vocalization as Nitpa'el is an incorrect composite form of copyists and publish-ers-the Sefardi and Yemenite traditions have retained the original pronunciation in $a$. As in the BH Hitpa ${ }^{\circ} \mathrm{el}$, the taw of the $-\pi$ prefix undergoes metathesis or assimilation before sibilants and dentals. For example, at Ket 1.8 and 7.6, Jastrow reads מדִּבֶּרֶת 'becoming intimate with', that is, a

Hitpa'el participle (on the other hand, K [Yalon] has a simple Pi'el: מְדבּבֵרָת 'speaking'). Similarly, at Orl 3.3, manuscripts alternate between מקְַדִּשין 'sanctifying themselves' and מְקרדּשׁיץ 'making holy'. The switch from Nif'al to Nitpa 'al, and vice-versa, was that much easier, and more confusing for copyists, as it did not require alteration of the consonantal text, for example בנִ
E. Hif ${ }^{\prime}$ il. As in the Nif' $a l$ infinitive, so in the Hif $i l$, preformative $-\pi$ can
 לַרִבּוֹת, as in

או אםרצהלרבוח ירבה?
Can he increase the number if he prefers? (SNm 107.12 [H 111]) But this feature is not found as consistently in the Hif ${ }^{\prime}$ il as in the Nif ${ }^{\prime}$ al, and there are numerous instances of the retention of he, at least in the written form of the language, for example לדָקֵל to be rigorous, harden' and להָחמיר 'then 'to be tolerant, mitigate', as in
 עַל עָצִמִן
Rabbi Joshua and Rabbi Akiba did not move more than four cubits, because they wanted to be rigorous with themselves (Erub 4.1).
There is a striking contrast between the text of TosSot 3.2 as it appears in MS Vienna, להראוח קלונה 'to show her shame', and in MS Erfurt, , לַראחת אח קלנה ample is provided by Jr 39.7:

> ְלִביא אוֹתו בָּבֵלָה

To bring him to Babylonia.
F. Hof'al. It is a characteristic of RH that the BH Hof'al becomes Huf'al, with the $u$ vowel sometimes written plene ( $-\boldsymbol{- 1}$ ), doubtless because of the association of $u$ with the passive (in the BH Pu'al and the Qal passive participle in קטקוּל). Of particular importance are the frequentlyemployed and מִּתחּר and (it was) permitted', the Hof'al perfect and participle of
 Meat that is introduced into idolatrous worship is permitted (AZ 2.3).
G. The quadriliteral conjugations, usually intensive or causative in function (Saf'el, Shaf'el, Pi'lel, Pilpel, Pir'el, Pi'les) are inflected on the model of the Pi el :

Infinitive
Perfect
Imperfect
Participle Imperative

|  פִרגַם יַּרַנִּ חְמֶּרַנַּ -ַּרַּ |
| :---: |
|  |  |
|  |  |
|  |  |


| ? |
| :---: |
| לשׁחרדר |
| (שׁׁenco |
| ¢ |
|  |

Quadriliterals can also be patterned acording to other conjugations if necesנִגטַּחְחִר 'he was freed' (Nitpa'al perfect).

## III Grammar and usage

5. According to E.Y. Kutscher (1971, 1597), 'The exact meanings of the different conjugations still remain to be clarified'. As a general rule, we may say that the regular conjugations maintained the values they possessed in BH, although certain usages specific to RH have to be borne in mind.
6. Qal. This is used as in BH, although Kutscher notes that an intransitive form like $\underset{T}{ }$ ?לְה, became great, you grew', in RH can only have the second meaning ('became great, grew'), with the stative sense of 'be great' expressed through the adjective גָּדוֹל:
כָּליִַיַּ גָּדַלְּי בִין הַחִכָמִים

All my life, I grew up among the wise (Abot 1.17);

If a levir who is still a minor has sexual relations with his sister-inlaw who is also a minor, they have to wait until both of them grow up (Yeb 13.12).
SNm 133.2 (H 176) is especially interesting as it clearly exhibits the contrasting meanings:

בא הכתוב ללמדך שכל צדיק שגדל בחיק רשע ולא עשה כמעשיו ... להודיעך כמה צדקו גדול שגדל בחיקרשע ולא עשה כמעשיו
This passage is intended to teach you that any righteous person who grows up among the wicked and does not behave according to their deeds ..., to show you how great is that person's righteousness, who, although having grown up among the wicked, does not behave according to their deeds.
7. Nif ${ }^{4}$ al.
A. Passive, as in BH, for example in the common midrashic question לִחִּנבְאֲמַר 'why was it said?'.
B. Reflexive, for example
 In former times, he (the buyer) would hide himself on the (last) day of the twelfth month (Arakh 9.4).
Note the striking use of נמצָא in the sense of 'turn out, end up', for example
טָכַר לוֹ חִחִּם יִּפוֹת וְנִמצִּאוּרָעוֹת

If he sold him wheat as good, but it turned out (to be) bad (BB 5.6), a common exegetical idiom (see below, $\S 12$ ).
C. To this reflexive usage is added an element of reciprocity in the struc-
ture often found in the context of arguments or discrepancies among different schools, for example

Although they used to disagree, they would only disagree in respect of Ecclesiastes (Yad 3.5; see also MS 3.6, Erub 1.2, Ket 13.1-2, etc.).
D. Closely related to the reflexive usage is a subtle middle sense that ap-
 take revenge', נִכנַנ 'enter, get into, meet', and נִשאׁל 'consult, ask about, or for, oneself'. The following texts illustrate how these verbs are used:

> ָָיָה עוֹמִד בִּתִּקְדה ונזְכִּר שֵׁהּוּא בַעַל קֵרי

If, when already standing for prayer, he remembers that he had had an involuntary ejaculation (Ber 3.5);

The tax collectors get their payment whether it is paid willingly or not (Abot 3.16);

From the moment the priests enter to eat their offerings (Ber 1.1);

Whoever had taken a Nazirite vow and consulted with a sage (Naz 5.3).
8. Pi'el.
A. The primarily intensive function of this binyan makes it appropriate for conveying repeated action. The distinction between הִּלִּ 'go' and 'walk about, go to and fro' is characteristic of RH (although, surprisingly, N.M. Waldman [1989, 120] claims there is no difference in meaning). הכלִ, which is occasionally found in the Bible, as well as in Ben Sira and the Dead Sea Scrolls, occurs, for example, in the following passages:

שבשבילם הילְכְה שכינה בו ביום שלשים וששה מילין כדי שנכנסו ישראל לארץ
For because of them, the Shekhinah had to travel thirty-six miles in a single day so that the Israelites might enter the land (SNm 84.1 [H 80]);

Rabban Gamaliel and Rabbi Eleazar ben Azariah went through (the boat) from top to bottom (Erub 4.1).
B. The Pi'el can also convey an inchoative sense, for example:
רמֹּן שֶּבֵּכּר

When someone goes down into his field and observes that the fig, the grape cluster, and the pomegranate have started to ripen (Bik 3.1).
C. Sometimes, however, the creation of a Pi'el form does not imply a
new meaning but simply replaces a corresponding Qal that has lost its expressive power. On other occasions, the $\mathrm{Pi} \cdot \mathrm{el}$ is employed as a denominative, for example, at Shebi 2.2, יִבּל 'prune', עִגם 'fumigate, burn incense'.
D. Although often difficult to distinguish in sense from the Hiffil used causatively, a typical rabbinic usage of the Pi'el is declarative, as in the word-pairs than 'purify' and 'contaminate'. the less frequent meanings) and $\pi$, $ח$ r, 'declare innocent' and 'declare guilty'. Both pairs are found at Bekh 4.4:


If he declares the guilty innocent and the innocent guilty or the pure impure and the impure pure, whatever he has done is done.
Another interesting word-pair is ריבִּה ביבּ and 'diminish' and 'increase'the first element is found in the following text from Taa 4.6:

As soon as the month of Ab comes in, joy is diminished.
9. Hif $^{\prime}$ il. Apart from conveying its usual causative function, the $H i f f^{\prime} i l$
 gave a coin and began to be rich' (Arakh 2.1). The Hif'il can also be used to express a change of state, for example יזכים, 'make oneself wise'.
10. Hitpa'el, Nitpa'al.
A. Their basic function is to provide a reflexive or passive version of the Pi'el. The Nitpa'al, a cross between the Hitpa'el and Nif'al, is a reflection of the language's need to find ever more expressive structures.
B. A reflexive value is found in, for example,

Cover yourself in the dust of their feet (Abot 1.4).
In this usage, there is a strong undertone of passivity, toleration, or giving permission ('let yourself be covered'), as at Abot 1.10 :

And don't let yourself know (or, 'become familiar with') power.
C. An inchoative sense, expressing entry into a new condition or situation, can be appreciated in

Whoever has sexual relations with a slavegirl ..., whether of those who have become proselytes or who have obtained mánumission (Ket 3.1).
D. Related to this inchoative usage is the expression of a middle value by the Hitpa' el/Nitpa'al, especially in verbs of thought or emotion such as 'fear', 'propose', 'desire', for example:

בתאום נתירא משה ופתאוםנדבר עמו
All of a sudden Moses was filled with terror and all of a sudden he was spoken to (by God) (SNm 102.1 [H 100]);

לאנותכונו להקריב אלא מה שמקום שאנא
They proposed only to offer what the omnipresent one hates (SDt 81 [F 147]);

Robbery and fornication that a person craves and desires (Mak 3.15;
K reads a Nitpa'al: ומתחמרחן).
A middle sense is also found in other verbs that appear to us to be active or transitive, for example:

I have received from you a mina (Ket 5.1);

A widow ... who has received her dowry (Ket 11.4).
E. The Hitpa 'el/Nitpa'al also expresses reciprocity, in verbs like 'associate with', נתשַרַב 'mix with', or reconciliation, as in

וכשהודהראובן על המעטה נתרצו לו [אשר] אחיו
When Reuben confessed the deed. his brothers were reconciled with him (Asher)' (SDt 355 [F 420]).
11. Saf' $e l$, Shaf'el. The few verbs that appear in these binyanim convey a causative meaning. The most commonly encountered are שִׁעִבּ 'enslave' and שטחרך 'free'. The other quadriliteral binyanim also usually function as inten-sive-causatives.

## IV Phraseology

 thing was a particular change or result:

If he sells him wheat as good, but it turns out to be bad ..., or bad and it turns out to be good .... or wine that turns out to be vinegar or vinegar that turns out to be wine (BB 5.6).
In exegesis, the formula וְנִמצאתְמקַיָם 'and so you find yourself fulfilling' usually concludes a successful attempt at harmonizing two apparently contradictory texts (see, for example, SNm 84.2 [H 80]).
13. מִדִּת פּוּרעַנוּת מִמוּעֶחֶת 'the measure of punishment is restrictive', (the measure of mercy is expansive' (see SNm 18.1, 115.5 [H 129], 156, 160.13, Mek 12.33 [L 1.103] etc.); these formulas, which allude to the divine attributes (middot), are employed in a fortiori arguments as an interpretative axiom-interpretative principles must accord with divine principles/attributes.
 unmortgaged property':

 A person who lends to another on the basis of a bond, that person may claim back the loan from mortgaged property. If it was done with witnesses, the lender may claim back the loan from unmortgaged goods (BB 10.8).

## V Vocabulary



(סכחל (htp. of (observe, consider'
הַעֲרָיִיהּ ‘sexual contact’
'יִיבָה 'venereal disease'
פּלְפִּי 'towards, against'
מַאּקָ 'word, command, order'
TֶPR 'perish, decay'

סְבַר 'hope, think, imagine'
עבּוּר 'city boundary'
על אַחַת כַּקְּה וכַמָּה 'how much more in a similar situation!', an elliptical formula that replaces the conclusion of an a fortiori argument
'impute to'; העֶלָה עַל 'the passage treats him as though'
[פִּרס ‘divulge, make public, publish'
צִער 'distress’
국 'single, unmarried'
שטְלִם 'rule’
שמש 'serve'
ותחוּם 'district, area'

VI Exercises
בַעֲשָׁרָה מַאמָּרוֹת.

רַבּי יוֹסֵי אוֹמִר, יצִּא.























 14. משה אמר, ומת כל בכור בארץ מצריםנשמות יא׳ה'], והיו סבוריןשכל מי שישלו ארבעה א חמישה בנים אין מת אלא הבכור שבהם. והם לא היו יודעין שצשיהם חששדות על העריות והיו כולן בכורות מרווקין אחרים. הן עשו בסחר והמקום פרסמן בגלוי. והרי הדברים קל וחפר, ומה אם מדת המורענוות מעוטה העושה בסתר המקום מפרסמו בגלוי, מרה טובה מרובה על אחת כמה וכמה.
15. שמעון בן יוחי אומר, משלו משל, למה הדבר דומהח? לאחד שהיה מהלך בדרך ופגע בו זאב, וניצל ממנו והיה הולך ומספר מעשה הזאב. פגע בו ארי וניצל הימגו, שכח מעטה זאב והיה הולך ומספר מעשה ארי. פגע בו נחשוניצל ממנו, שכח מעשה שניהם והיה הולך ומספר מעשה נחש. כך ישראל, צרוח האחרונות משכחוח הראשואנוח.
 17. למה הדבר דומה? למלך בשר ודם שהיה מהלך בדרך ונהג אוהבו עמו. כשדוא נוסע אוֹמר, איני נוסע ער שיבא אוהבי, וכשהוא חונה אומר, איני חונה ער שיבא אודכי. נמצאת מקיים, על פי משה יחנו, ונמצאת מקיים, עלפי ״ יחנו, ועל פי משלה יסעו, ועל פי ״ יסעו. 18. אני ״אלהיכם, אני עתיד לשלם שכר. אני י״ אלהיכם, עחיד ליפרע. 19. למה טאמר עני ואביון [דברים כד׳ידיז? ממהר אני ליפרע על ידי עני

Sources. 1. Abot 3.9. 2. Abot 5.1. 3. Abot 6.9. 4. Ber 2.3. 5. BQ 8.4. 6. Git 4.4. 7. Hag 1.5. 8. Ned 7.5. 9. Qid 4.14. 10. RS 3.8. 11. RS 3.8. 12. Sanh 4.5. 13. Zab 2.1. 14. Mek 12.33 (L 1.103). 15. Mek 13.2 (L 1.133). 16. Mek 14.5 (L 1.196). 17. SNm 84.2 (H 80). 18. SNm 115.5 (H 129). 19. SDt 278 (F 296). 20. SDt 300 (F 318).

## UNIT SIXTEEN

TENSES AND MOODS

## I Introductory text (PRE 12)

> אמר הקב״ה למלאכי השרת, בואג ונגמל חסד לאדם הראשאן ולעזרו, שעל מרת גמילות חסדים העולם עומד. אמר הקב״ה, חביבהגמילות חסדים מזבחיםועולות שישראל עתידים להקריב לפנ׳ על גבי המזבח שנאמר, כי חסד חפצתי ולא זבח [הושע ר'ר’].

The holy one, blessed be he, said to the ministering angels, Come, let us exercise mercy towards the first man and his spouse, for the world is founded on the attribute of deeds of mercy. The holy one, blessed be he, said, Deeds of mercy are more cherished than the sacrifices and burnt offerings that the Israelites have to present to me on the altar, as it is written, For I desire mercy and not sacrifice [Ho 6.6].

1. For the nature of 'deeds of mercy' or 'acts of kindness', see Unit 5.1 and the corresponding introductory text. ARN 4 (S 21). The PRE text above, which presents God as a model for humans to follow, officiating at, and helping to celebrate, a wedding, continues the prophetic and tannaitic emphasis on charity. It is significant that in the Gospel of John, Jesus begins his ministry by attending a wedding and assisting the newly-weds (Jn 2.1-11).

## II Morphology

2. Note that in this and the following units, we shall concentrate on the Qal of the regular, or 'strong', verb.

BH distinguishes the following tenses and moods:

Prefix conjugation (imperfect), according to the model לop,'

Suffix conjugation (perfect), according to the model לop;
Cohortative, a lengthened form of the first person imperfect:

Jussive, an abbreviated form, where possible, of the second and third persons of the imperfect;
Infinitive absolute, according to the underlying model קיקטוֹל:
Imperative;
Infinitive construct, which normally follows the underlying models

Active participle, according to the underlying model כּוֹחֵב :קָטיל;


3. In contrast, RH does not use special forms for the cohortative or jussive and does not employ the infinitive absolute.
4. In the morphology of the perfect. RH witnesses to the following changes.
 האוחרה כל מה שעשיחה לי, זה קטה עלי יוחר מן הכל
See that although there are many things you have done to me, this is much more serious for me than anything else (SDt 1 [F 6]).
The ending $\pi n$ - is standard at Qumran and is attested in archaic BH:

Moon and stars, which you established (Ps 8.4);

Everything you placed beneath his feet (Ps 8.7);

You established it (Ps 68.10).
We find the same form reading in K . although it has been replaced in printed versions, for example, K Eduy 6.3:

What is your basis for differentiating your norm (i.e. establishing a different norm)?
Contrast the text of Albeck, quoted at Unit 5.13.
B. In lamed-he and -yod verbs, the third person feminine singular retains the archaic ending in $\Gamma$-, thus $\boldsymbol{\pi}_{\boldsymbol{T}}$ 'she was' (as well as nomenon has sometimes escaped copyists' correction in related types of verbs, such as lamed-alef, for example

The cow that has drunk the waters of purification (Par 9.5).
The shift of final mem to nun (see Unit 10.5A) means that the difference between masculine and feminine versions of the second person plural has disappeared, with קִטְלִן as the common form. The use of final mem in
manuscripts and printed editions often represents correction or deliberate archaizing.
5. In the morphology of the imperfect, the following changes can be seen in RH.
A. Continuing a process already underway in BH , complete disappearance of the archaic second and third person feminine plural form which is replaced by the corresponding masculine forms (second person) and 'קיקִלי" (third person).
B. Even when their Aramaic counterpart has exactly the same form, BH forms of the verb with final nun, such as the second person feminine singular , have almost entirely disappeared from RH, although the second and third person masculine plural forms יקשְטלוּן ane occasionally employed in addition to the regular structures and anep
C. Although there is no linguistic reason for it, the 'ponjugation is usually vocalized plene, thus אֶק, a phenomenon also observed at Qumran.
6. Participle.
A. In the active participle, RH prefers the feminine ending -et, with the exception of ayin-waw verbs (for example בִּ בוּא lamed-yod and -alef verbs (see Part II of Unit 19 for more details).
B. In the masculine plural, endings in both mem and nun are found.
7. Imperative.
 for both the masculine and feminine plural. Plene orthography is normally employed, thus ppim.
8. Infinitive.
A. Of the two BH infinitives, only the construct is attested in RH, always with prefixed lamed, to which any other relevant preposition (normally $\mathrm{p}^{\mathrm{n}}$ ) is
 taking out' (Erub 2.6). Similarly, negation of an infinitive is expressed by placing שִלֹא in front of the lamed, as in

Where it is not usual to do (work), it is not done (Pes 4.1).
B. As a general rule, the infinitive construct (like the imperative) takes the form of the imperfect without prefix, thus imperfect siop, infinitive לivp (with plene spelling preferred). The systematic application of this principle has led to the emergence of popular forms considerably different from those of BH. Below are some examples (see Unit 20.3 for further details).

| Perfect | Imperfect | Infinitive |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | RH | BH |
| נְתַן | \% | ליתִן | לְתִת |
| VT | VTיW | ליִידע | לָדַטִת |
| ? | חיקי | ליקיקח | לקַחתח |
| אֵֵֶר | רが | לוֹתֵר | ל- לאר |

9. Summary paradigm of the Qal of the regular verb.


Participle קוֹטְּלחת, קוֹחל קוֹטלוֹת,קוֹטליןים

| Imperfect |  |
| :---: | :---: |
| sponte | (8H + (spore) |
| תִקיקוֹל |  |
| תיp\% |  |
| י. |  |
| תnpming |  |
| נקטִוֹל | (BH + |
|  |  |
| ? | (BH + |


| Infinitive | Impe |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| לקי⿴囗 | קרוֹל | (BH+ |
|  | קטלי |  |
|  | ? קטלוי | (BH + |

 and the imperfect, for example :הק:וֹלוֹ (see Bar-Asher 1990c).

## III Grammar and usage

10. Nowadays, scholars prefer to speak of the prefix (imperfect) and suffix (perfect) conjugations of classical BH, and avoid the term 'tenses', since in Hebrew and other Canaanite languages it appears to have been aspectnarrative, intensive, durative, jussive, energic, punctual-that predominated in the verbal system. In Hebrew the introduction of the suffix conjugation (in essence, an adjective plus personal pronoun) meant that this structure took on, for example, preterite and narrative aspects, previously expressed through the prefix conjugation. But the earlier system is still visible in structures that employ the so-called waw-conversive, a convenient but rather superficial term that disguises the consecutive or narrative function of such forms and the essentially modal and narrative basis of the two conjugations.
11. According to E.Y. Kutscher (1982, 130), '[t]he most revolutionary change between BH and MH [Mishnaic Hebrew] occured in the area of the tenses and moods'. Typical of RH is the culmination of a trend begun in LBH, namely, the disappearance of the waw-conversive forms. The narrative mood, as well as other modal aspects such as finality, command, etc., find other means of expression in RH.
12. In RH, we may indeed speak of a system of tenses, although it is an oversimplification to discount the modal aspects that remain. With A. Bendavid (1967, §222), we may say that the forms (surot) of the conjugational patterns (mishqalim) do not necessarily or exclusively refer to specifications
of time (mashma'im zemanim), in other words, that it is not possible, even in RH, simply to identify every past ('avar), every pas pas present (howeh), and every קטי' as future ('atid). However, the following general principles may be stated.
A. The perfect covers the area of past activity. However, M.H. Segal (1927. §306) overstates his claim that forms like יָדֶַּׁ can never have present significance in RH, for, in fact, we find in rabbinic literature certain idiomatic turns of phrase, such as signified (see Unit 17.9).
B. The participle refers to the present and the future, as in:

עַל שִׁלֹשָּה דָברים הֶעוֹלָם עוֹטִד
On three things the world rests (Abot 1.2);


The holy spirit brings about the resurrection of the dead and the resurrection of the dead will come through Elijah. of blessed memory (Sot 9.15).
Often, the participle can have an imperative or facultative/jussive significance:

A man may make his son take a Nazirite vow, a woman may not make her daughter take it ( Naz 4.6 );
מַזכּירין יצִיאחת מצרִים בַּלִילֹוֹת

During the nights, the exodus from Egypt should be remembered (Ber 1.5).
For further details about the participle in RH, see Unit 19.
C. The imperfect can refer to the future, especially in subordinate clauses that in other languages might employ a subjunctive form of the verb, and conveys command and intention as aspectual features as well as expressing the jussive mood (see Mishor 1983a and Sharvit 1980). Kutscher ( 1982,131 ) summarizes thus: 'The imperfect denoting the future tense is mainly restricted to the subordinate clause; in the main clause it is chiefly used to indicate desire or command'. Examples include:

And so neither of them will be able to say, We shall provide for her together (Ket 12.1);

> הריני ממנה לו אפיטרופס עד שיגדל

I am going to name him a tutor until he grows up (SDt 11 [F 19]).
A more detailed treatment can be found in Unit 18.
13. Periphrastic forms.
A. A continuous or repeated action in the past or future (or in the imperative or infinitive mood) can be expressed with the verb perfect, imperfect, imperative, or infinitive) followed by the participle of the corresponding verb, for example:

They used to lock up and leave the key in a window above the door (Erub 10.9);

משה התקן לדם לישראל להיוחשואלים בענין ודורשים בענין
Moses ordered the Israelites to keep on inquiring into and investigating the matter (SNm 66 [H 62]).
For the formula הוּא הָיָה הוֹמָר, see Unit 1.12, and for the past conditional

B. A clear expression of the future as against the present is provided by the construction עִתיד ל followed by the infinitive. עָּתי is an adjective, which can be inflected (עֵחידוֹה, עֵתחדים, עַתידְה) so as to agree in gender and number with its subject, for example:
 The generation of Korah will not be resurrected ... the ten tribes will not return (Sanh 10.3).
In BH, שָתיר has the sense of 'prepared, ready' (see Jb 15.24; Est 3.14; 8.13), and it was not difficult for this to shift in RH to 'disposed to, will'. In fact, in RH עָת still occasionally appears with its BH meaning ('ready'), and even when referring to the future can function as an ordinary adjective:

עתידהשעה טיהא אדבם מבקט דבר תורה ואיננו מוצא The time is coming when a person will seek the word of the law but will not find it (TosEduy 1.1).
For M. Mishor (1983a, 124), the difference between the periphrastic structure with עָחיר and the imperfect is that, although they are sometimes confused or used interchangeably, עָחתיT simply indicates the future whereas the imperfect conveys modal features of desire, prayerfulness, etc.

Perhaps the use of עֲתיד is better illustrated when contrasted with the participle, which indicates the present or near future, whereas - עָתיד usually points to a distant, often eschatological, future, as, for example, in this text from Abot (3.1), in which the past/present sense of the perfect, present/immediate future sense of the participle, and eschatological future sense of

Know where you have come from, where you are going to, and before whom you will have to settle up.
(A similar sequence appears in Abot 4.22; for L. Giron [1992], the distinctions are not so clear-cut.)
 construct functions as a noun (taking prepositions and suffixes), are replaced in RH by structures of the type כְׁשְָׁ or by the verbal noun (see Unit 9.9), as at Ber 9.4:

Whoever enters the city should recite the prayer twice, once on entering and once on leaving.
 before your people', with SNm 95.1 (H95),

הלא כבר נאמר ביציאתםם ממצרים, וגם ערב רב עלה אתם וצאן ובקר [שמות יב'לח']
Was it not already said that when they went out from Egypt, There also went up with them a great crowd and flocks and herds [Ex 12.381?,
and with AZ 3.4: וּכְשׁיצָּא אַמבּ לו 'and on going out, he said to him'.
15. Auxiliary verbs. There are numerous possible constructions employing auxiliary verbs (see Kutscher 1971, 1602-1603), of which we note here only the most common; others will become evident as the different 'tenses' are discussed.
A. Auxiliary verb followed by -? (of infinitive) and infinitive, as commonly found in BH but also employed to introduce a final clause ('in order to').
B. Auxiliary verb followed by $-\boldsymbol{v}$, not only to introduce a subordinate clause but also as part of periphrastic imperatives, for example צָריך שִׁיאמַּ 'it is necessary that he says'.
C. The verb החחיל 'begin' can be continued by a participle instead of the expected infinitive. M.H. Segal $(1929, \$ 328)$ believed that in such cases the infinitive להיות should be understood before the participle; whether or not this is correct, the construction became widespread and can be rendered with modal force, for example, התחִלִּיֶּ מִביא לָהם רָאיוֹת 'I began bringing them proofs' (Neg 7.4).
D. The participle of והולך ,הֻלַך (see Unit 19.14), is used with the participle of another verb to convey the modality of continuous or progressive action, as in

It is permitted to hire out an item given in pledge by a poor person so that one gradually reduces the debt (BM 6.7).
In later usage, והוֹל?, which was usually placed after the main verb, lost the waw and, formally speaking, became the main verb, as in:
וההיָּם הולך וסוֹצִר עֵליהם

And the sea continued to rage against them (PRE 10);
הולך ומדבק בעבודה זרה

Becoming ever more attached to idolatry (SDt 46 [F 96]).
The construction is a survival or restoration of the biblical idiom exemplified at $1 S$ 17.41:

Little by little, the Philistine drew nearer to David.

## IV Phraseology

16. (ת״״ל) תֵּלִמוּד לוֹמַר is evidently an abbreviated expression of introduction to a biblical text. The meaning is the same as that conveyed by

 says'. תַּלְמוּד לוֹמַר is usually intended to refute an erroneous interpretation by pointing out biblical teaching on the matter. Similarly, the formula asks for the relevant biblical teaching. It is usually raised when the literal or obvious sense of a biblical text appears either superfluous or inadmissible for some reason and its real significance needs to be ascertained: 'but in that case, what is this text meant to teach?' (see Pérez Fernández 1987b).
17. ילשָׁתיד לְבוֹא, an expression referring to the future, as against the pre-
 intended, although at times the expression seems similar to קרעוֹלִם NTM. The following two examples are from the end of SDt 333 [F 383]) and from Ber 9.4:

> לבואו ויש בהירה בעולם שיש בהו עכשישה לעולשבה לשעבר וישבה ולעתחיד Great is this song, for it speaks of the present and the past and the future, of this world and the world to come;

ונוֹתִן הוֹדָאָה לֹשִׁבַבר, וצוֹעִק לִשָּתיד לָבּא
And he gives thanks for the past, and asks for the future.

## V Vocabulary


'and




רַעַר 'meeting, appointment'
(infinitive) 'to conclude, to quote a concluding formula'

(mi. of (עול) 'go for a walk'

7 'ירֶ' 'born, alive, living being'
סטדוֹר 'dwelling place’
חִרְד 'rebelliousness'
กָּ 'poison'
סעעוּדְה 'banquet, feast’
עכּב 'detain’
' רַׁטִּ 'free, able, 'authorized', empowered', 'with the capacity for'


 דָהָהדםמן הָעוֹלְם.






 בּמוֹצָאי שִׁביעיח מִּיד.
7. ליל שמורים הואלי׳וגו’[שמוח יב‘מב׳ן. בו נגאלו ובו עחידין לדגאל, דברי רבי יהושע ... רב׳ אליעזר אומר, בו נואלו אבל אלעתיד לבא אינם נגאלים אלא בתשרי, שטאמר, תקעו בחדש שופר וגור, מפני מה? כי חק לישראל הוא וגר [תהלים פא׳ ד'-ה']. ומה התלמשד לומר, הוא הלילה הזה ל־ [שמות יב'מב׳י] אלא דוא הלילה שאמר

המקום לאברהם אבינו, אברהם בלילה הזה אני גואל אחת בניך, וכשהגיע הקץ לאעיכבן המקום אפילו כהרך עין. 8. ויט משד את ידו על הים [שמאת יד'כא']. החחיל הים עומר כנגדו. אמר לו משה בשם הקב״ה שיבקע ולא קבל עליז.
9. עשה פלאן שטמת שץ' 'א'ז, עשה פלא עם האבוח ועתיד לעשות עם הבנים, שנאמר, כימי צאתך מארץ מצרים אראנו נפלאות [מיכה ז' טוץ]. אראנו מה שלא הראיתי לאבות, שהרינסיםוגבורוח שאני עתיד לעשוח עם הבנים יחור הם ממה שעשיחי לאבוח. 10. כיץן שטמעו אומוח העולם שהמקום מנביה קרנם של ישראל ומכניסן לארץ החחילו מחרגזין. 11. 1מצאח מרבהלווהולך לעולם. 12. [הכתוב] מלמר שאינוקמישראל עתיד להושיט את ידו לתוך גלגל עינו של צפעוני ומרציא מרה מחוך פיו.
13. כך עתיד הקב״ה מטייל עם הצדיקים בגן ערן לעתיד לבוא. 14. כמהגרים ועבדים אחה עחיד להכניםחחת כנפי השכינה. 15. לא במקום אחד ולא בשנים המקום חולק כבוד לזקים, ובכלמקים שאחה טוצא, זקנים, המקום חולק כבוד לזקיםים... רבי שמעון בן יוחי

16. אני י״ אלהיכם אני עחיד לשלם שכר, אגי י״אלהיכם עתיד ליפרע. 17. התחילו הם בוכיםורבי עקיבה מצחק. אמרו לו, עקיבה, מבני מה אגו בוכיםואתה מצחק?
18. וכיון שמת משה היה יהושע בוכה ומצעק ומחאבל עליו במרד והיה

אומר, אבי אבי, רבי רבי, אבי שגדלני, רבי שלמרני תורה. והיה
מחאבל עלין ימים רבים ער שאמר לו הקב״״ה ליהושע, יהושט, עד כמה אתה מחאבל והולך? וכי לך לבדך מת משהו
19. נתקבצו כל ישראל אצל משה. אמרולו, רבינו משד, אמור לנו מה

טובה עתיד הקרוש ברוך הוא ליחן לנו לעתיד לבא.
20. אמר יונה ללויחן, בשבילך ירדתי לראוח מקום מדורך, שאני עתיד לתן חבל בלשונך ולהעלותך ולזבוח אותך לסעורה הגדולה של צדיקים.

Sources. 1. Abot 1.4. 2. Abot 2.11. 3. Abot 4.22. 4. Ber 1.2. 5. Ber 1.4. 6. Shebi 6.4. 7. Mek 12.42 (L 1.115-116). 8. Mek 14.21 (L 1.227-228). 9. Mek 15.11 (L 2.66). 10. Mek 15.14 (L 2.71). 11. SLv 14.2 (W 70a-b). 12. SLv 26.6. (W 111a). 13. SLv 26.12 (W 111b). 14. SNm 80.1 (H 76). 15. SNm 92.4 (H 92). 16. SNm 115.5 (H 129). 17. SDt 43 (F 94). 18. SDt 305 (F 327). 19. SDt 356 (F 424). 20. PRE 10.

## UNIT SEVENTEEN

## PERFECT

## I Introductory text (Naz 3.6)

If someone vows to be a Nazirite for a long period, fulfils the vow, and then enters the land (of Israel), the school of Shammai says. The person will still be a Nazirite for another thirty days, and the school of Hillel says, The person must fulfil their Nazirite vow (again) from the beginning. It happened that Queen Helena, when her son went away to war, said, If my son comes back from the war safely I shall become a Nazirite for seven years. Now her son returned from war and she fullilled her Nazirite vow for seven years. At the end of the seven years, she went up to the land (of Israel) and the school of Hillel told her that she would have to fulfil the Nazirite vow another seven years. When the seven years ended, she contracted an impurity, and so it turned out that she had to fulfil the Nazirite vow for twenty-one years.

1. The Nazirite vow is an ancient feature of Israelite life, which brought with it abstinence from wine and spirits, leaving the hair uncut, and avoidance of contamination through contact with a corpse. It was still practised at a late period, apparently despite some opposition from the rabbis.

The Mishnah, which is basically a corpus of halakhot, at times presents important historical material (ma'aśiyyot), such as we find in this text about Helena of Adiabene, a proselyte of the fifth decade CE. Through this account, we learn of the exceptional piety of Helena, who takes her place alongside other figures of legendary asceticism, as well as of the difference between the schools of Hillel and Shammai-here, contrary to expectation, it is not Shammai who is the stricter.

## II Morphology

2. Morphological differences between the BH and RH perfect are not especially striking. Those relating to the second person singular masculine
 as have already been outlined in Unit 16.4 .
3. In the Qal of the regular verb, the perfect follows two models known from BH, , per whether a given verb is active or stative/intransitive (for example, בָּטל 'cease', כָּשְׁר 'be appropriate', and near'). The BH pattern not occur in RH in the perfect, with כיכו; ; found only as a participle:
 replaced by perfect forms of the verb
4. Ayin-waw and -yod verbs.
A. In the perfect, all three patterns are known, with $a, e$, or $o$ (for example,

B. In the intensive conjugations (Pi'el, Pu'al, Hitpa'el, and Nitpa'al), these verbs tend to double the yod or waw of the root. giving rise to perfects


The verb seems to indicate the complete loss of consonantal value for alef, to the extent that RH could construct as parallel forms from qam a Pi'el qiyyem and from shar a Pi'el shiyyer.
C. Ayin-waw and -yod verbs also gave rise to secondary conjugations, either through reduplication of the final radical (Po'lel), as in עוֹרִר 'awaken, arouse', from עור, or by repetition of the two 'strong' radicals (Pilpel), as in זגוְ 'make clear', from x .

## 5. Lamed-alef and -he verbs.

A. In RH, lamed-alef verbs tend to be inflected as though they were
 fusion points to the progressive influence of Aramaic and also, perhaps, scribal negligence. Deterioration in the consonantal value of the gutturals has clearly been a decisive factor.
B. It is in these verbs that we often find the archaic termination $-\vec{a} t$ in the

 purification'. Segal 1929, $\S 205$ lists other instances of similar variant readings in manuscripts and printed editions.

The same inflection is found in Aramaic and appears at Dt 32.36 (אָּלָ) and in the ketiv of 2 K 9.37 (והית נבִלִח איזַבִל 'and the body of Jezebel will remain'); perhaps in the Siloam tunnel inscription should be understood in the same way (see Kutscher 1982, 67). Thus, we appear to have here a further example of an early form that has been preserved in a popular dialect (according to Kutscher 1982, 128, the fact that the feature is attested only in lamed-he verbs means that Aramaic influence on its own does not provide a sufficient explanation).
C. A similar phenomenon is found in the third person feminine singular
 'was found' often being replaced by נגלית and נמצאת (forms that are easily confused with the feminine participle, which also prefers a $-t$ ending; see Unit 19), for example

> ואם מטּשִּנִּשׁת בְּאוּ ערים, הַרי זָ לא תצא

If witnesses appear after she has married, she must not be dismissed (Ket 2.5)
and שעבוּיה שִׁנִּדית 'the captive who has been ransomed' (Ket 3.2).
D. Frequently, lamed-he verbs behave like lamed-alef ones when a suffix is attached, as in

If both fall at the same time. they contaminate it with second-degree impunty (Toh 1.5 ).
Note also עָשָׁ at Par 3.5.

## III Grammar and usage

6. In RH, the main function of the perfect is to express an action that took place at some specific point in the past, for example:

ירד על סיחון והרגו, ידד על עוג והרגו
He fell upon Sihon and killed him, he fell upon Og and killed him (SNm 101 [H 99]).
The perfect is not only to be distinguished from forms of the verb that relate to the present or future but also from general or atemporal statements construed with participles. M. Mishor (1983a, 27) cites SNm 136 (H 182): ניתן כח בעיניו של משה וראה מסוף העולםוער סופו. וכן אתה מוצא בצדיקים שרואים מסוף העולםוער סופו Power was given to the eyes of Moses and he saw from one end of the world to the other. Thus, you find that the righteous can see
from one end of the world to the other.
7. With the disappearance of the BH וַיp construction, the perfect became the dominant narrative verb-form for expressing events that had occurred in the past:

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מששל, למה הדבר דומה? למלך בשר ודם שכעס על בנו, והלך לו הבן
    ההוא אצל אוהבו של מלך. אמר לו 
```

A parable: to what may this be compared? To a king of flesh and blood who was annoyed with his son, and then that son went off to a friend of the king and said to him (SNm 86.1 [H 85]).
All meshalim begin their narratives in the perfect, according to the pattern 'it is like someone who did so-and-so'.
8. In certain contexts the perfect has pluperfect significance, generally in


כשירד משה מהר סיגי נחקבצו ישראל אצלו. אמרו לו
When Moses had gone down from Mount Sinai, the Israelites gathered and said to him (end of SDt 307 [F 346]);

זה טיטוס הרשע, בן אשטתו של אספסיינוס, שאכנס לבית קדש הקדשים וגדר שאי פרכות בסייף
This is Titus, the impious, the son of Vespasian's wife, the one who had entered the holy of holies and torn down the two curtains with a sword (SDt 328 [F 378-79]).
A sentence with a perfect indicates action prior to that expressed by the perfect:

למלך ששכר פועלין הרבה והיה שם פועל אחר שעשה עמו מלאכה ימיםהרבה
It is like a king who hired many workers when he already had a worker who had worked with him many days (SLv 26.9 [W 111a]);

למלך שיצא לפייל עם אריס בפרדסוהיה אותו אריסמיטמר מלפניו It is like a king who went out to walk in the orchard with his labourer and the labourer had concealed himself from him (SLv 26.12 [W 111b]).
9. In BH , the perfect is often employed with present reference, a function normally taken over in RH by the participle (see Bendavid 1967, §§244ff.). But in certain contexts the usage survived.
A. In dialogues and colloquial speech, notably in the common expression אָמַרִּ 'that's what you say' (in rabbinic arguments), or in such formulas as לא זְכִיתִי מִן הַדִין 'I do not arrive at this through deductive reasoning' (see below, §15). Particularly striking is the form of greeting recorded in Bik 3.3:

All the artisans of Jerusalem arose before them and greeted them, Our brothers of such-and-such a place, you are welcome.
B. When expressing a state or condition that arose in the past but persists
in the present, for example

For everything that I have taken it upon myself to look after, I take responsibility for any damage (BQ 1.2).
10. The perfect is also used in declarations of general validity, which al-
 out' (Erub 65a). In fact, such sentences amount to conditional clauses, 'if/when/whenever wine enters ...'; compare Pr 18.22:

If you have found a woman, you have found a treasure.
11. Because of that, the perfect is the form normally used when raising a supposition or condition ('in the case that', 'if', 'when'), generally followed by a declaration or command ('then', 'in that case', 'one must'):

If they prepare him a drink and he says, I have to abstain from it, then he is a Nazirite ( Naz 2.3 );

If someone says, I shall be a Nazirite, their hair is cut off on the thirty-first day ( Naz 3.1 ).
The perfect in the protasis here is equivalent to a real (as against irreal) condition (see Unit 28).
12. This structure is typical of the halakhic-juridical style, and numerous halakhot begin with a perfect. But the same perfect, with hypothetical or temporal function, can also be elegantly employed in a narrative sequence, inserting a sense of liveliness and realism into a series of participles, as at Bik 3.4:

The flute is played before them until they reach the Temple Mount. When they reached the Temple Mount even King Agrippa carries the basket on his shoulders and goes in as far as the courtyard. When he reached the courtyard, the Levites began to sing.
In a halakhic context, we find the same usage at, for example, Ber 2.3:

If someone recites the shema', even though it could not be heard, they fulfil their obligation.
M. Mishor (1983a, 27) contrasts narrative set in the past that uses the perfect with halakhic formulations that use the participle; at Sot 7.8, we find a description of what takes place in the liturgy of a royal ceremony, using participles (the liturgical atemporal present; see Unit 19.12), but with the specific historical actions of the king expressed in the perfect:



How did the royal liturgy use to unfold? ... They make him (the king) a platform of wood in the courtyard, and he sits down on it ... The minister of the synagogue takes the book of the law and passes it to the leader of the synagogue ... and the high priest passes it to the king and the king receives it standing up and reads it sitting down. But King Agrippa received it standing up and read it standing up, and the sages praised him for it.
(Here, the change of tense helps emphasize the contrast between the expected and the exceptional; see also Unit 32.4B.)
13. Within a narrative, the perfect can also be incorporated in a series of imperfects expressing the future (future perfect) to indicate an event that is regarded as already having taken place (or an inevitable, albeit future, consequence of that event), for example at Abot 1.11:

Sages, take care with your words in case you commit an error punishable by exile and are exiled to a place of harmful waters-the disciples who follow you might drink them and die and the name of heaven will have been (literally, 'has been found') profaned.
(On ונמצָּ, see Unit 15.12.)
14. Expressions of the type מַה what is done is done', emphasizing the irreversibility of a particular deed (see Mishor 1983a. 69-71), are common: for example

מה שעשית עשיתה, אבל לאתשגה לעשות כן What you have done you have done, but don't do it any more (TosTer 2.13).
The sequence perfect followed by participle is also possible, as in

What he did is done (Ter 2.2).

## IV Phraseology

15. 'I do not arrive at this through logical déduction' is employed when a rabbinic debate is concluded by giving priority to the meaning of the biblical text over any logical argument (דין), as at SNm 153.6 (H 202):
לא זכיתי מן הדין. ח״ל, אלה החקים אשר צוה ״ את משה ןבמדמד

ל'י" But I do not arrive at this through deduction. There is a text that says, Such are the statutes that Y. prescribed to Moses [ Nm 30.17].
16. אָמרְרֶ, literally, 'you said', is usually found in a concessive or adversative context, replying to a stated opinion, 'all right, but you said', 'that is what you say', 'you just said', with a touch of irony. Almost certainly, this usage underlies the words of Jesus at Mt 26.25,64; 27.11. The following rabbinic example is from SNm 76.2 (H70):

על הצר הצרר [במדבר י׳צ']. במלחמת גוג ומגוג הכתוב מדבר. אתה
אומר, במלחמח גוג ומגוגהכתוב מדבר, או אינו מדבר אלא בכל המלחמות שבתורה? מ״״ל, ונושעתם מאויביכםן מבמרבר ״ט״ן. אמרת. צאוראד איזו היא מלחמה שישראלנושעים ממנהואין אחריה שעבוד. א"ן אתה מוצא אלא מלחמחת גוג ומגוג. וכן הואא אומר, ויצא ^ ונלחם בגוים ההם[זכריד יד'ג׳ן.
Against the enemy that attacks you [ Nm 10.9 ]. This passage refers to the war of Gog and Magog. You argue that this passage refers to the war of Gog and Magog. But could it not refer to any of the wars that are in the Torah? The text teaches, You will be saved from your enemies [ Nm 10.9 ]. You said it! Go and see which is the war that Israel comes away from in safety and after which there is no return to servitude; you will find none apart from the war of Gog and Magog. And that is why it says, Then Y. will go out and fight against those peoples [ Zc 14.3 ].
17. (fail to) fulfil one's duty', a juridical expression often found in halakhot, for example Ber 6.2:

 If over the fruits of the tree someone recites the prayer, (Blessed are you, O Lord) creator of the fruits of the earth, they fulfil their duty, but if over the fruits of the earth someone recites. (Blessed are you, O Lord) creator of the fruits of the tree, they do not fulfil their duty. The longer form of the expression, יצָא ידי חוֹבָתו, is presented in Unit 22.26.

## V Vocabulary


ר
\% ${ }^{2}$ 'blemish, fault, disgrace'
גּרוֹגְרָ ‘dried fig'

זוּן 'supply, feed'
חבְּד 'love'
לִמַפִרַע 'iirregularly, without order, back to front' מְצפּוֹת (pu. participle plural of צפה ( 'covered'
סיטָן ‘sign’

Oַגְ 'prefect, head'
עיסָה 'dough'
פַלִיָּה 'ascent' (especially the ascent to Jerusalem)
פֶּחה ‘noble’
קפָּ 'agree’
'raisin’ צִּטוּק
רחיצָה 'bath'
 lower price'

VI Exercises




















 12. כיון ששמעו כנענייםשישראל נכנטים לארץ עמדו ושרפו את הזרעים וקצצצו את האילנוח וטתרו את הבנינים וסתמ אח המעיינות.
13. כיון ששמטעו אומוח העולם שאבר פרעה וחילו ביםובטלה מלכות של מצרים ושפטיםנעשא בעבורה זרה שלהן, התחילו מתרגוזין. 14. ויאמר אש שמוע חשטע [שאחת טר' כו׳]. מכאן אמרו, שמע אדם מצוה אחת, משמיעין אותו מצות הרבה, שאאמר, אם טמוע חשמע [שם]. שכח אדםמצוחה אחת, משכחין לו מצות הרבה, שנאמר, והיה אם שכח חשכה

15. משל, למה הדבר דומה? לבת מלכים שגישאח כמשהיא קטנה, ופסקו עם אמה שתדאו משמשת ער שעה מחלמוד בתה. אף כך אהרן לחחילה היה

לוי, שאאמר, הלא אהרן אחדיך הלוי? ושמות ד' יד'ו, כשנבחר להיוח כהן
גדול אמר לו הקב״ה למשה, אחההששמשני ער שילמשד אהרן. 16. עכשיו ישראל האמרים, לאנתגייר יזרו מחיבה. כסבור היה יתרו שיש לגרים חלקבארץ ששראל, עכשיו שראה שאין להם חלק, הניחםוהלך לוּ 17. מפני מה לא ברא המקום חמים בירושלים כחמי טברידח כדי שלא יאמר אדם לחבירו, נלך ונעלה לירושלים. דא אם אין אגו עולים אלא בשביל רחוצדה אחת, דיינו. ונמצאיח עלייה מלא לשטמה. 18. גדפח אח כל הקערה כולה ולאשי שירחה ממנה כלום.
19. רבינתן אאמר, סימן טוב הוא לארם שנפרעים ממנו לאחר מיתחו. מת, לא נספד ולאנקבר, אכלתו חיה או שירדו עליו גשמים, הרי זה סימן פוב שצפרעים ממנו לאחר מיתחו. 20. עבד ״״[דברים לד'ה׳ן. לא בגנוחו של משה הכחוב מדבר, אלא בשכחו, שכך מצינו בנביאים הראשונים שנקראו עבדים.

Sources. 1. BB 8.6. 2. BB 8.8. 3. Ber 2.3. 4. Bik 3.3. 5. Heal 3.6. 6. Hor 1.5. 7. Meg 2.1. 8. Naz 4.1. 9. Naz 5.4. 10. Qid 4.14. 11. Yom 1.6. 12. Mek 13.17 (L 1.172). 13. Mek 15.14 (L 2.71). 14. Mek 15.26 (L 2.95). 15. SLv 8.15 (W 41c). 16. SNm 80.1 (H 76). 17. SNm 89.5 (H 90). 18. SNm 112.3 (H 120). 19. SNm 112.4 (H 121-22). 20. SDt 357 (F 428 ).

## UNIT EIGHTEEN

## IMPERFECT

## I Introductory text (SDt 41 [F 87])

> והיה אם שמע חשמעו אל מצוחי אשר אנכי מצוה אתכבם היום לאהבה את יי אלהיכם [דברים יא׳יג'ן. שמאתאמר, הריני למר תורהבשביל שאמעשיר, בשביל שאקרארבי, בשביל שאקבל שכר לעולם הבא, תלמוד לומר, לאהבה אח ״אלהיכם. כל שאחם ערשים לאתהו עושים אלא

מאהבה.
If you obey the commandments that I command you today, loving Y. your God [Dt 11.13]. So that you cannot say, I'm going to study Torah to get rich, or to be named a rabbi, or to receive a reward in the next world, the passage teaches, Loving Y. your God. Everything you do you must do out of love!

1. Three possible motives for studying the law are listed: financial reward, obtaining the title or status of rabbi, ensuring a place in the next world. The three are perfectly gradated, from the most prosaic to the most spiritual. In a parallel text, a slightly different formulation is attested:

I am going to study Torah in order to be called wise, to be able to
 world to come (SDt 48).
Such texts are significant because of the way they reflect social aspects of Jewish life of the period-compare Mt 23.6-8. More important, though, is the theological message, which unambiguously states that the only valid reason for spending one's life in the study of the Torah is love for God, nothing else.

## II Morphology

2. As we have already observed (Unit 16.5A), RH sees the disappearance of the second and third person feminine plural form replaced by the corresponding masculine forms (second person) and יקטלוי' (third person). In the Qumran texts studied by E. Qimron ( 1986,45 ),
 larity to Aramaic, BH forms ending in nun, such as the second person feminine singular תקחִליץ, disappear, with the archaizing (perhaps Aramaic-influenced) forms התקטִלוּ and anometimes being used instead of their regu-
 Qumran, the suffix -un is scarcely attested.
3. The lengthened, cohortative, forms of the first person singular, אקטְלה, and plural. have also practically disappeared, except in attempts to imitate biblical style.
4. A similar fate has overtaken the shortened, jussive, forms, although in the Hif'il a few have survived (probably due to the influence of the Aramaic Af'el), for example, at Abot 2.4,

Don't trust in yourself
(but K reads the non-jussive form תהאמּין), and in other common verbs, clearly under biblical influence, as at Abot 1.8 :
אֵל חַּטַשׁ עַצִמָך כִּעוֹרכִּי הַדּיּנים

Don't turn yourself into an advocate.
The clustering of such jussives in manuscripts of Abot might suggest that Abot originates in an early stage of literary RH.
5. The verb $\boldsymbol{T}$ has been especially affected by Aramaic pressure on the one hand and by the persistence of biblical structures on the other, leading, in effect, to two conjugations, biblical and Aramaizing.

Among the biblical forms retained are the jussives ידֶּ and which are employed particularly in proverbial and liturgical contexts, for example

May the property of your neighbour be as dear to you as your own (Abot 2.12).

This biblicizing jussive is typical of Abot (see also 1.4.5; 2.10,12,13; $4.3,8,12,15 ; 5.20$ ), although there is always the possibility that the form יהי should be vocalized according to an Aramaizing pattern,

As well as the biblical forms יְיֶה , יתּיְה , אֶהִיָה, etc., we also find the

 shall be a Nazirite for seven years' (Naz 3.6). The following table displays the two sets of forms.

| Biblical |  | Aram |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| אהדיה |  | NTM | - |
| תהּ | תיחה | STm | ¢ |
| יהיה | ידי | NTי | ידי |
| ִִּדְיֶּה |  | \$Tִ | ִִֵֵי |
|  |  | 17979 |  |
| יהיוּ |  | Tה | NTT |


6. The confusion, already noted (Unit 17.5), between lamed-alef and



Read not harut but herut.
with Mek 17.8 (L 2.138): sאלחקרישפטים אלא שפוטים 'read not shefatim but shippuṭim'.
7. The verb הָפַּ 'turn, go back, change' behaves in the imperfect as though it were a pe-alef, evidently as a result of the confusion of he and alef and through analogy with frequent verbs like הָּכַל הַמַּ. Thus, we find in the first and third persons יוֹאַך Kil 2.3:

One should not say, I shall sow first and then I shall turn up [the ground]; instead, one should turn up [the ground] first and then sow.

## III Grammar and usage

8. With regard to the verb הָיָה, there is no appreciable difference in meaning between the biblical form יהִיָה though the biblical form tends to be employed in more literary contexts or when attempting to imitate biblical style (in prayers, proverbs, etc.); even here, though, choices vary with individual authors and schools of writing. Similar comments apply to the use or non-use of the lengthened and shortened forms of the imperfect.
9. As already said in Unit 16.12C, the imperfect can be used for expressing the future. Through it, an action that has not yet taken place can be represented or a series of future events narrated, as at Abot 1.11:

 Sages, take care with your words in case you are punished by exile and have to be deported to a place of harmful waters and the disciples who follow you have to drink them and die.
10. In a main, or independent, clause, the imperfect almost inevitably has a modal aspect, cohortative (expressing volition), optative (expressing a wish), jussive (expressing a command), for example:

אם אלוה הוא, יבואוימחה
If he is God, let him come and destroy (SDt 328 [F 379]);
ָָה אֵטֵפְּה
What can I do? (Sanh 3.7);
בּשִׁלֹשָּה אוֹמִר, נִבָּרך
If they are three, he says, Let us bless (Ber 7.3).
(Mishor 1983a and Sharvit 1980 include numerous further examples, classified by mood.)

A typical optative form is that of מי followed by the imperfect, as in BH. Compare

Who could wipe the dust from your eyes, Rabban Johanan ben Zakkai! (Sot 5.2)
with
מי יֵּבִלנִּ בִּשָּר
Who would give us meat to eat! ( Nm 11.4 ).
11. The 'persuasive' mood of the imperfect has effectively displaced the imperative in prayers, petitions, and so on (see Unit 21.7). A prohibition or negative command or wish is commonly expressed by followed by the imperfect, as in

Don't talk too much with women (Abot 1.5).
 with participle (w w wher to express a more impersonal form of prohibition. The first structure is found with singular forms of the verb, the second with plural forms (see Unit 23.11A).
12. In various proverbial and sapiential contexts, the imperfect has retained one of its earliest functions, namely, expressing durative action (see Meyer 1992, §100.2A-B), for example

Unto the nests of the birds your mercy reaches (Meg 4.9).
13. A. Bendavid ( $1967, \S 235$ ) notes that many sequences in which BH employs the imperfect appear in RH with participles, although the difference
in meaning conveyed is not always clear-compare, for example,
 have to act?' (Men 11.8). It may be true that the imperfect tends to express instruction or command, whereas the participle tends to convey information or news, or that the imperfect relates to the normative and the participle to the commonplace. But the carrying through of such distinctions, even though they might inform a writer's thinking, is subjective, and we can find in the same halakhah the simultaneous use of participle and imperfect, apparently in the same sense. For example, in halakhot of the type 'where it is the custom' (מִקוֹם שֶׁנְהּגוּ), both participle and imperfect are used to express the action to be realized, as at BM 5.5 (see also Shebi 2.5; Pes 4.1; Meg 4.1, etc.):
 Where it is the custom to share out the offspring immediately, then share them out [participle]; where it is the custom to rear them, then rear them [imperfect].
A striking example of the confusion of participle and imperfect is seen in the following texts from the same midrash:

> הודיעני אם אכנס לארץ אם לאו ... הודיעני אם ממנה אחה עליהם פרנסיםואם לאו

Tell me if I'm going to enter the land or not ...; tell me if you're going to assign them leaders or not (SNm 138 [H 185]);

הודיעני אם אגי נכנס לארץ ואם איני נכנס
Tell me if I'm going to enter the land or if I'm not going to enter (SNm 134.5 [H180]).
As a general rule. nonetheless, in halakhic compositions (Mishnah and Tosefta) the tendency is to formulate impersonally and, thus, to prefer the participle, whereas in midrashic writings, the tendency is towards a more personal and persuasive form of expression, which employs the imperfect.
14. The imperfect is regularly used in subordinate clauses-temporal, final, consecutive, etc.-usually in association with - $\boldsymbol{p}$ or a compound of $-\underset{\text { : }}{ }$ :

 II
 if'. However, it should be noted that it is also possible to employ the perfect with some of these forms, depending on exactly what meaning is intended (see Bendavid 1967, §233; Mishor 1983a. 125-27). The following examples can be supplemented by the exercises:

שמא חאמר, למדתי חכמת ישראל, אלך ואלמד חכמח האומאח In case you say, I have learned the wisdom of Israel, now I am going to learn the wisdom of the nations (SDt 34 [F 61-62]); שמא חאמר, הריני למד תורה בשביל שאושטיר In case you say, I am going to study the Torah to make myself rich (SDt 41 [F 87]);

Here is your document, on condition that you give me two hundred zuz (Git 7.5);
 Provided that the money comes from others (Qid 1.3).
15. The imperfect following a expresses a possible but unfulfilled condition, an infrequent construction (see Segal, 1927, §486) that is normally

 If all the sages of Israel were on one balance of a pair of scales (Abot 2.8).
See as well Unit 28 , on conditional clauses.
16. Alongside the construction עָתיד ל followed by the infinitive (see Units $16.3 B$ and 20.12) is that of $\begin{gathered}\text { עָחיך } \\ \text { with the imperfect, used to express }\end{gathered}$ an event that could only take place in the future. But it is rare in the tannaitic literature, occurring not at all in the Mishnah, Sifra, SNm, and Sifre Zutța, just once in the Tosefta (TosSot 12.1), three times in SDt 306 (F 329-30), and twice in Seder Olam Rabbah (3 and 15):

עתידה כנסת ישראל שתעמוד בדין לפני המקום שאומרת
The assembly of Israel will arise before the omnipresent one and will say (SDt 306 [F 330]; see Giron 1992).

## IV Phraseology

17. 'in case you interpret, lest you interpret, so that you do not say' comes after a biblical quotation to introduce an interpretation regarded as erroneous. To underline that the point of the biblical text is that such an interpretation be avoided, the text is sometimes reintroduced by תַּלִמוּד לוֹמַר 'because of that, the text says’ (see further, Unit 30.11C). The formula is widespread in SDt and Sifra, very rare in Mekhilta, and completely absent from SNm:

ושוחד לאת תקח [שמות כג' ח'). שמא תאמר, הריני נוטל ממון ואיני מטה את הדין.ת״״ל, כי השוחד יעור עיני חכמיםנדברים טז'יט'ן. Do not accept a bribe [Ex 23.8]. In case you say, I am going to receive money without it affecting my judgment, the text says, For a bribe blinds the eyes of the wise [Dt 16.19] (Mek 23.8 [L 3.172]);

שמא חאמרו, הרי מאכל והרי משתה, אם א׳ן שלום א׳ין כלום, ח״ל,
ונתחי שלום בארץ נויקרא כוּו'].
[And you will eat your bread to satiety and live securely in your land (Lv 26.5).] So that you might not say, We have food and drink but without peace there is nothing, the text says, I shall set peace in the land [Lv 26.6] (SLv 26.6 [W 111A]);

וירד מצררמה [דברים כו'ה']. שמא תאמר שירד ליטול כתר

מלכות, תלמוד לומר, ויגר שם (שם).
And he went down to Egypt [Dt 26.5]. So that you might not say that he went down for a royal crown the text says, And he settled there [ibid.].

## V Vocabulary


ไִּ 'annul'
בּית סאֲה 'space occupied by one seah'
:גּוּל 'limit', specifically of that which is beyond Jerusalem and the temple
7
דפוּס 'impression, tattoo'
חָגון 'worthy (of)'
המחין (hi. of מתן), 'keep, leave, postpone. wait'
הנְּר (ni. of (נז) 'abstain, deprive oneself'
התליע (hi. of (תלע) 'decay, ripen'

פרער 'protest'

(Latin fascia) 'girdle, brassiere'
קַבע 'institution'. i.e. something fixed and established
רביעִּ 'autumn rain’
שֶׁנה 'repeat', specifically ‘study Mishnah, oral tradition’
תִּ 'furrow'

VI Exercises

6 6




 11. ובני ישראל הלכו ביבשה בתוך היםןוהמים להם המָהן [שמתי יד'כט']. והיו מלאכי הערחתמההים לומר, בני אדם עובדי עבודה זרה מהלכין ביבשה בתוך הים. ומין שאף היםנתמלא עליהם חמה? טאאמר, והמים להם חמהןשםם. אלתקרי חוֹמִה אלא חִימֶה.

יהודה היה דורש, ״״סיני באןדבריםלג׳ב'ן. אלתקרא כאן אלא

מסני בא, לקבל את שראל, כחתן זה שדוא יוצא לקראת כלה. 13. אם חבולתחבולוגי'|שמוח כב'כה'ן. רבי ישמעאל אומר, בא הכתוב

ללמדך שתדה עושה מצוה ותזהא נוטל את שלך.
14. וביום השביעי יהיהלכם קדשוגריןשמוחל לה'ב'ז, שלא יהו ישראל

אומרים, הואילומותריםבעשיחתלאכה בבית המקדש, נהאמותרין לעשטתמלאכה בגבולין. ח׳ל, ובים השביעי יהיהלכם קרש, לכם קדש ולמקום חול.
15.נבוכדנצר היה דגון שיטשה נסעל ידו, אבל אזה מלך רשע אתהואן אזה הגוןשיעשהנס על דך.
16. אםבחוקחי תלכון וויקראכרי גן. מלמר שהמקום מתאוה שיהו ששראל עמילים בתורה. 17. משל, למה הדבר דומה? למלך בשר ודם שהיהלו בן ביחונתן לו שדה אחתת כמתנה ... בא אחד וערער כנגדו על השדה. אמר לו המלך,כלמי שירצה יבא יערער כנגדך על השדה ...
18. והיאמציצאה דפוס על פעור מזחח פסיקיאשלהואומרחלו, רבי, רצונך שאשמש לך, השתחוה לזהן...] רצונך שאשמע לך, הנזר מחורחו של משה.
19. כי אם שמור תשמרו את כל המצוה הזאת אשר אנכי מצוה אתכם לעשוחה לאהבה אתי האלהיכםןנדברים יא׳כב'ן. שמאתאמר, הריצי

למר חורה בשבילשאיקרא חכם, בשביל שאשב בישיבה, בשביל שטאیריד ימיםלעולםהבא.
 מרבה הואלו ובלבר שלא יהו מסירוחאתלבו.

Sources. 1. Abot 2.4. 2. Abot 2.13. 3. BM 4.11. 4. Kil 2.3. 5. Meg 4.1. 6. Naz 2.4. 7. RS 2.9. 8. RS 2.5. 9. Shebu 3.1. 10. Shebu 4.9. 11. Mek 14.29 (L 1.246). 12. Mek 19.17 (L 2.218-19). 13. Mek 22.25 (L 3.150). 14. Mek 35.2. (L 3.207). 15. SLv 22.32 (W 99d). 16. SLv 26.3 (W 110c). 17. SNm 117.1 (H 135). 18. SNm 131.1 (H 171). 19. SDt 48 (F 113). 20. SDt 159 (F 210).

## UNIT NINETEEN

## PARTICIPLE

I Introductory text (SDt 329 [F 380])

> ואין מידי מציל נדברים לב'לט", אין אבות מצילין אח הבנים, לא אברהם מציל את ישמעאל ולא יצחק מציל את עשא. אץן לי אלא אבות שאין מצילין את הבנים. אחים את אחים מניץ? חלמוד לומר, אח לא פדה יפדה איש [תהלים מטי ח']. לא יצחקמציל אחת ישמעאל ולא יעקב מציל אח עשו, ואפמילו נוחן אדםלו כל ממון שבעולם, אין נוחתנין לו כפרו, שגאמר,ואח
נפשזו, שכשאדם חוטא בה אץן לד תשלומים.

And there is no-one who frees from my hand [Dt 32.39]: fathers cannot rescue sons-Abraham does not free Ishmael nor Isaac Jacob. This only shows me that fathers cannot free their sons. From where is it deduced that brothers cannot free brothers either? From the text that teaches, Truly, no-one can redeem a brother [Ps 49.8]: Isaac cannot free Ishmael nor Jacob Esau-even if someone paid all the money in the world, it would not be sufficient for their ransom, for it is written, Truly, no-one can redeem a brother ... the redemption of their life is very costly [Ps 49.8-9]. This life is worth much, and when one sins against it no payment is possible.

1. With regard to the supreme gift of life, a person is completely in the hands of God-one's personal merits or those of one's parents or siblings count for nothing; it is entirely a matter of God's grace.

## II Morphology

2. A characteristic feature of RH is the use of $-t$ in the feminine participle (see Unit 16.6), a result of the search for greater expressivity in the spoken language. In the plural, the endings $-m$ and $-n$ altemate.
3. Qal.
A. RH retains all three BH models, the active 40 , and the intransitive or stative קטקט and as in the following table.

| טֶטֵר |  | שֶׁמִרִיִ |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| בָּטֶ |  | בִיֶ? |  |
| לios, |  | יבּיִין | יכוּלוֹחוּ |

 131.1 (H 170):

וקטנה קוראהואומרה לו מבפנים
A younger one was calling him and saying to him from inside.
(MS Vatican 32 has אומרח, but note that the structures in the version above could simply be forms of the perfect that have resulted from assimilation:


The stative participle קp pos the same semantic value as an adjective, and, like an adjective, forms its feminine in -ah, for example 'impure'. Sometimes, such structures exist alongside active forms of the par-
 tendency to replace the stative forms by the active, as at Abot 4.20, where the standard text reads

הַלּוֹמד מִן הַקִּנַּים, למְה הוּא דוֹמִה
A person who learns from little ones, who is such a person like?, but K has הַלְּמִר מן הַקְּטָנים (note also SNm 131.1 [H 169]: כל פרשה שהיא סמוכה לחברתה למִיְְה הימנה
Any pericope found next to another is illuminated by it).
In these instances, there is a difference in aspect between לוֹמִ7 (more active) and לְחִד (more stative), but in others the difference is more subtle, if there is one at all, giving rise to alternation and confusion of forms. A typical example is at Abot 1.5 , where the standard text reads

בּוֹטִל מדּברִי תוֹרָה
Neglecting the study of the law,
but $K$ has הָּ Possibly, the influence of the Aramaic participle in pop has had a bearing on this matter (as pointed out to me by Dr José Ribera Florit of the University of Barcelona).

The only remnant of the קיטְ model in RH is יכוֹל-as seen in Unit 17.3, the perfect and imperfect forms have disappeared. E.Y. Kutscher (1971, 1599) notes the vocalization of the feminine in יכוּלְ', for its stative character.
B. The first person subject pronoun can be attached as a suffix to the participle, giving rise to the common forms 'גוֹזרני (from 'וּזוֹר 'I decree'), as at Taa 3.8, פוֹרִט אֲנִי 'I specify'), as at SNm 1.2 (H 1), and

C. The passive participle regularly forms the feminine with -ah , for example sֻמוּרָה ,אָמוּר ‘said, mentioned', as at Sot 7.3:
 Just as the response mentioned there was given in the holy tongue, so also here it has to be given in the holy tongue.
Some passive participles have effectively become nominalized adjectives, for example
D. In ayin-waw and lamed-he verbs, the BH form of the feminine
singular participle, in -ah, is maintained, for example and רצָּ 'desiring'.
Participles of lamed-alef verbs can be inflected as though they were lamed-he, thus קר 'palling'. In the feminine singular, the partici-


What may a woman go out with and what may she not go out with? (Shab 6.1);

The supreme court ... from which teaching extends to all Israel (Sanh 11.2).
Doubtless, is a biblicizing form-at Sanh 11.2 and Yeb 14.1, K reads

Like an error that proceeds from a ruler ( Ec 10.5).
E. An active לivp participle is well-attested in good manuscripts, even though it has been confused with the passive ${ }^{2} p_{\text {p }}$ or corrected to the standard קוטגל model. Thus, whereas the standard text of Abot 4.20 reads

הַּלוֹמד מן הַּקנִים לחָה הוּא דומה? לאוכל עַנָבים
A person who learns from old people, who is such a person like? (Like) one who eats (ripe) grapes,
K has לאכול, pointed לאכול (Mishor 1983a provides a complete list of such participles).
F. The model hiop for the Qal passive participle, alongside the usual , is attested in good manuscripts, but only very rarely, for example (her emissary' (K Qid 2.1)—possibly it is this participle that underlies the wordplay with $\dot{\alpha} \pi \varepsilon \sigma \tau \alpha \lambda \mu \varepsilon ́ v o \varsigma$ at Jn 9.7.
4. Niffal.

In the feminine singular participle, the suffix - $t$ (נְקטִל) predominates, as against the BH model in -ah (1יקטיָה)), for example

ומגין שהארץ עתידה להיות מזרעת ועושה פירות בן יומה
From where is it deduced that in the future the land will be sown and yield fruit in a day? (SLv 26.4 [W 110d])
Even in ayin-waw, lamed-he, and lamed-alef verbs, we find participial
 10.6:
 It may not now be rebuilt in the form it used to be, but may be changed into gardens or orchards.
In the masculine singular participle, the forms BH נַעַעִחה, in K and other good manuscripts, result from assimilation of the verb

For the verb ${ }^{\top}$ T, we find the Nif'al participles $\boldsymbol{j}$, functioning more as a noun, and גיִידוֹן, which carries more verbal force (see Bar-Asher 1990d).

## 5. Pi‘el and Pu'al.

A. In the Pi'el, the BH paradigm is maintained: מִדְבִּרִין ,מְדַבֶּרֶת, מרַבֵּר, .מִדַּברוֹת
 Mishnah or tannaitic midrashim.
B. Of the Pu'al, it is only the participle that survives in RH, and this,
 ever, in lamed-he verbs, the feminine participles take -h, for example מְגנוּלִי מִגוּלָה. As already noted (Unit 15.4C), the preformative mem is often omitted in the Babylonian tradition; hence, מְמוּשָׁם becomes as at Hag 1.8:

Many laws from little Scripture (K (חמוּפָט).
6. Hitpa'el and Nitpa'al.

As well as the Hitpa 'el participle in -מחת, there is also a Nitpa'al participle in -נִ. It is often thought that the latter has been corrected by later copyists to the former, perhaps because of the orthographic similarity of $\mathbf{~}$ J and $\square$. In such participles, the assimilation of the $-\pi$ - of the preformative is more common than in BH, although in unvocalized texts it is not always possible to distinguish the resulting forms from participles of other conjugations, for example, the Pu'al.
7. Hif'il and Hof'al.
A. In the $\mathrm{Hif}^{\prime}$ il, a more colloquial form, מַקpדלת, is found alongside the BH feminine מַקטילָה:

כָּך חְם שבְה, כָּ מְרִיעִה
Doing good in this way, doing harm in this way (Sanh 7.10);
 A man may impose a Nazirite vow on his son, but a woman may not impose a Nazirite vow on her son (Sot 3.8).
The form in $-t$ is already encountered in LBH:

Esther did not declare her family background (Est 2.20).
In lamed-he verbs, the feminine participle מַעַלַח is found instead of מעעלָה, for example, in the best manuscripts of SNm 95.1 (H 95):

והלא הלכה עמהם באר במדמר ודיחה מעלח להם דגים שמנים יוחר
מצרכם
Did not there accompany them in the desert a well, which brought up for them enormous fishes, beyond their need?
B. The RH Hof'al is characterized by the vowel $u$ in the preformative, rather than $o$, which tends to highlight the passive character of the conjuga-
 he verbs, the feminine participle also ends in $-t$, as in the phrase מוּכַּת עַץ 'wounded by a piece of wood' (in reference to accidental loss of virginity) at Ket 1.3.

## III Grammar and usage

8. A participle may be viewed as both noun and verb (see Unit 11.4C), and, as a noun, it can be found in the 'construct' state, for example, in
 'those who entered the country ... those who went up from Babylonia' (SDt 8 [F 16]), and שׂוֹפִכי 'spillers of blood' (Sot 9.6)-the same usage is seen in BH, for example פָּליֹוֹרדי עָפָּ 'all who go down into the dust' (Ps 22.30).

Nominal and verbal uses can appear alongside each other, as in the wellknown wordplay of SLv 26.6 (W 111a):

אממר ר״״, אימתי דוא שבחו של מקום? בזמן שאין מזיקים או בזמן שיש מזיקיםואין מזיקים?
Rabbi Simeon argued, When should one praise a place? When there are no evil powers [מַזיקים]? Or when there are evil powers but they do not cause harm [
There are numerous other examples of this sort, intended to have a rhetorical effect, for example אּרֶּ 'k' 'k one who collected terumah would not collect it (without saying ...)' (Sheq 3.3), etc.
 study', there is a degree of grammatical incongruence, with the participle used as noun (governed by a preposition and in the construct state) but with a complement (also governed by a preposition), לבין, more appropriate to a verb. This oddity derives from the ambivalent nature of the participle and can be traced back to the earliest stages of the Hebrew language (see Meyer 1992. §97.3D; note the ketiv of 2 S 10.9. בחוּרי בישראל, corrected by the Masoretes).
9. See Unit 16.12 B and 13A for an indication of the way in which the participle relates to the area of the present and future and its imperative, facultative, and iterative moods. See Unit 24.10 for modal (circumstantial/extraposed) noun clauses.
10. An unfolding state or action expressed by a participle is either taking place in the present or has a timeless quality, for example:

הַתּוֹכִהָה מְבִיאָה לידַי שְׁלוֹם
Correction leads to peace (SDt 2 [F 10]);

One who reads the scroll can be standing or sitting (Meg 4.1);

Three sorts of things are forbidden to the Nazirite (Naz 6.1).
The atemporal nature of the participle is particularly striking in stative verbs, for which the participle can be replaced by an adjective (see Unit
 manuscripts, or appearing alongside one another in the same text without any apparent difference in meaning (see above, §3A). The virtual equivalence of
,זוֹרוּר, נזכָּר , and is especially striking.
In practice, the participle of the Qal passive, קp, and that of the Nif'al, נִקָָל, are not always distinguished, although analysis of a good number of texts suggests a certain regularity, namely, that pignifies the present result of a past action whereas נקִטְל indicates the activity itself in process, as seen clearly at SNm 61 (H59), which says that God showed Moses מנורה עמשיה ונעשית 'the lampstand made and being made', that is, not just the finished product but also the process whereby it was made.
11. The participle, especially the plural participle, employed without an explicit subject, is ideal for expressing the impersonal or indefinite nature of a proposition or its general applicability (see Unit 6.13), and for indicating, without actually naming, God as the author of an action, for example:

אם לָמַדתֻת תוֹרָה הַרִבִּה נוֹתנים לְּך שָּכָר הַרבַּה
If you have studied the Torah a lot, you will be given an abundant reward (Abot 2.16);
 One who studies with the intention of teaching will be enabled to study and to teach (Abot 4.5);

> היה ר'מאיר אומר, מנין שמידה שאדם מודר, בה מודרץןלו

Rabbi Meir used to say, From where is it deduced that people will be measured by the same measure that they themselves use? (TosSoṭ 3.1; cf. Sot 1.7; Mt 7.2; Mk 4.24; Lk 6.38).
Parallel to the formula 'שׁ אוֹמרי' 'there are those who say, it is said' (see Unit 6.14), are other impersonal constructions like יש קוֹרין 'there are those who read, it is read' or ישם מביאין 'there are those who offer, it is offered'.
12. The participle is employed with especially vivid results when used to describe the past as a story unfolding before our eyes, as in this lengthy account from Sot 7.8:






What used to happen in the royal liturgy? At the close of the first festive day of the feast (of Tabernacles), in the eighth year at the end of the sabbatical year, they make him [the king] a platform of wood in the courtyard, and he sits down there ... The minister of the synagogue takes the book of the law and passes it to the leader of the synagogue, the leader of the synagogue hands it to the prefect, the prefect hands it to the high priest, the high priest passes it to the king, and the king receives it standing up and reads it sitting down. But King Agrippa received it standing up and read it standing up, and the sages praised him for this.

In this narrative, it is obvious that the description of habitual actions exactly as they used to occur and as they should continue to occur (liturgical atemporality) is expressed through participles, whereas the punctual, specific historical, action of Agrippa is related in the perfect. Another example of liturgical atemporality is the following description from TosSot 2.1:

> ממנה רואה וכותב, לא חסר ולא יתר, יוצא ועומד בצר סוטה קורה ודורשומדקדק כל דקדוקי פרשה

He carries on looking and writing from it [tablet], without omitting or adding anything, he goes out and stands at the side of the suspected adulteress, reading, explaining, and enunciating all the letters of the passage.
Another vivid usage of the participle occurs in the story of the Ammonite and Moabite women who tempted Israel, at SNm 131.1 (H170):

> באותה שעה אדם יוצא לטייל בשוקומבקשליםל לו חפּץ מן הזקינה
> ודיתה מוכרת לו בשוה, וקסנה קוראה ואומרח לו מבפנים

Then someone went out to wander through the market and wanted to buy something from an old woman who was selling it at the right price, when a younger woman calls to him from inside and says to him.
13. In the text from Sot 7.8 quoted in the preceding section, note the
 modifiers of the main verb, 'read standing', 'read sitting down'. Such participles, which act as additional complements to the subject or as verb modifiers,


They continued repeating, We are Y.'s and our eyes are on Y. (Suk 5.4);

יכול משאומרים להם דבריניחומים חוזרים ואומריםלהם דברי תוכחות
Perhaps after speaking words of consolation to them, they will again speak words of reproof to them (SDt 342 [F 392]).
Other participles appear to have a purely decorative character, like יוֹשִׁ in stereotyped phrases of the kind 'he sat down and said' or עומד in the sense of 'be about to, will':

> והוא יושב ומפקדווואומר לו

He sat down, commanded him, and said to him (SNm 87.2; SDt 43);
והוא יושב ומשקלו ואומר
He sat down, pondered, and said (SLv 26.25 [W 112a]);
היה יושב ומצפדואומר
He sat down, looked around, and said (SNm 89.5);
אם אני מניחנכסי ביד בני הוא עומד ומבזבזם
If I leave my riches in the hands of my son, he is going to squander them (SDt 11 [F 19]).

All these examples are taken from parables (meshalim), an indication of their status as literary clichés, a rôle that is especially clear at SNm 88.2 (H 88):

היה יצר הרע יושב ומצעחו כל הלילהואומר לו
The evil inclination was tormenting him, all the night saying to him.
Another stereotyped formula is הָיָה יוֹשׁב ודוֹרֹשׁ he sat down and interpreted, he sat down to interpret' or simply 'he interpreted, he set about interpreting', presented in §23, below.
14. The participle וְהוֹלֵך can accompany another participle, this time having a significant semantic effect by conveying the continuous or progressive nature of the main activity. To the examples already provided in Unit 16.15D, may be added:

הוּא מוֹצִּא והוֹלךך, עִד שִׁיוֹציא אֶת פִּל הַכּים
He continued spending (literally, 'taking out'), until he had spent the entire purse (Mei 6.6);

תינוק יננק והולך כל עפריםוארבע חדש... יונקתינוקוהולך אפילו ער חמשמעים
The child continued suckling for twenty-four months ... The child continued suckling even up to five years (TosNid 2.3).
 used like 7

> לקל זמן שהוּה משה עומר על שפת הבאר, היו המים צפין ועולין

While Moses was waiting at the mouth of the well, the waters kept on coming up towards him (ARN 20 [S 72]);

היה מצטער ובא ער שהגיע לנמילה של יפו
He became sadder and sadder until he arrived at (or 'as he drew ever nearer to') the port of Jaffa (TosKippurim 2.4; MS Erfurt reads (ובא for);
 All the generations were provoking him one after the other until he brought upon them the waters of the flood (Abot 5.2; K and MS


מחלחלויורד
It penetrates, corroding as it passes down (TosSot 1.6).
15. A participle regularly functions as the complement of הִּחִחיל 'begin', as in

הִחחילוּ כָל הָשָם שוֹרְפִּן
All the people began burning them (Pes 1.5),
although an infinitive complement is still retained on some occasions, as in this example from the story of Honi the circle-drawer, where both constructions appear alongside one another:

The rains began dripping ... they began to fall with force (Taa 3.8).

Some other verbs also take a participle as complement:
לאֹנִמִּשְׂוּ עוֹשִּין
They are not prevented (from) using (Yeb 1.4);
מה בכור ארםרשיי נוחוו לכהן
Just as one is free to give it (redemption fee) to the priest for the firstborn of a human being ( SNm 118.2 [ H 138]).
The well-known formula erence to habitual behaviour, may be continued by an infinitive or by a participle:

Up to the time that people normally eat meat (Ned 8.6);


If someone owns a well behind a neighbour's house, that person may enter at the time people are accustomed to enter and leave at the time people are accustomed to leave (BB 6.5).
16. The use of the participle with ${ }^{3}$ is rare in BH , although it starts being employed with some regularity in LBH (see, for example, Ne 2.13, 15; 2 C $24.12 ; 30.10 ; 36.16$ ), and in his Qumran corpus, E. Qimron (1986, 70) finds no less than fifty examples of the construction. In RH. it is commonplace as a way of emphasizing the continuous or iterative nature of an action, and is used in reference to both the past and the future, and in the imperative and infinitive moods. The following examples illustrate the different contexts in which the construction is found.
A. Continuous action in the past:

When he prayed for the sick. he used to say, This one will live, this one will die (Ber 5.5 see Unit 1.12 for the formula הוא הָיָה אוֹמֵר).
B. Continuous action in the future:

I'll be a Nazirite so long as I can carry on drinking wine and polluting myself with dead bodies ( Naz 2.4 ).
C. Continuous action in the imperative mood:

Whatever the measure he measures out to you, you must continue to thank him without ceasing (Ber 9.5).
D. Continuous action in the infinitive mood:

Rabbi Akiba retracted so as to teach like Ben Azzai (Taa 4.4).
E. presses an action prior to another in the past (pluperfect); see Unit 17.8 for examples.
17. Participle with future reference.
A. In idiomatic speech, the participle can designate the immediate
future, or at least an event that seems to the speaker to be on the point of

 'behold, I am going to cause a flood' (Gn 6.17). In RH, a more distant future may sometimes also be expressed in the same way:

אבל לעתיד לבא אין נגאלין אלא בתשרי
But in the future, they will be redeemed in Tishri (Mek 12.42 [L 1.116]).
B. In exegetical writing, for example:

ושכבתםואין מחריד [ויקרא כו׳׳׳]. לא יראים מכל ברייה
You will lie down with none to disturb you [Lv 26.6]. You should not fear any creature (SLv 26.6 [W 111a]).
C. Often. expressions that employ the imperfect in BH are formulated with the participle in RH-compare wat 2 S 21.6 with ginning of SDt 3, both in the sense of 'I'm going to give' (see Unit 18.13 and the detailed comparison of BH and RH in Bendavid 1967, $\S \S 224-43$ ).
D. The eschatological or inevitable future can be expressed by the formula $\quad$ oith ( $-\underset{\eta}{\boldsymbol{p}}$ and) the participle (although the infinitive is more usual in this construction; see Unit 20.12):

אמר לו הקב״ה, אחה רצית לפרוש עצמך מבני אדם, סוף בני אדם נפרשיםממך The holy one. blessed be he, said to him (Nebuchadnezzar), You wanted to separate yourself from humanity, but it will be humanity that separates itself from you (Mek 15.7 [L 2.46]);

חבלח חבולה אחת, סוך שחובלין בך חבולות הרבה
If you give one loan, you will end up taking out many loans (Mek 15.26 [L 2.97]).
E. A not uncommon construction (especially in the RH of the amoraim; see Girón 1992) is שֶׁתיד with the participle, a variant of the more usual formula with the infinitive, to express the eschatological future:

כך עתיד הקב״ה מטייל עם הצריקים בגן ערן לעחיד לבی In the same way, the holy one, blessed be he, will be walking about in the garden of Eden with the righteous in the future to come (SLv 26.12 [W 111b]).
18. There tends to be an imperative connotation in expressions of the immediate or inevitable future:

מטישב המלך־על כסא״ ״תמכריתזרע עמלק After the king has sat down on the throne of Y., you will destroy the descendants of Amalek (SDt 67 [F 132]).
At SNm 115.5 (H 127), we find a series of imperatives followed by נעוללי.... ופול ... והולך
Help me put on (my sandals), take (my things ahead of me), and go (to the bath-house),
although here $\begin{aligned} & \text { וְוֹוֹלו might be interpreted as a modal participle (see above, }\end{aligned}$
§14) or as elliptical for דֶוּי הוֹלֶד (see Unit 21.8).
This imperative use of the participle is standard in halakhic formulations or in statements of principles couched impersonally:
 One must not leave livestock at inns of gentiles, because they are suspected of bestiality (AZ 2.1).
However, when the construction is employed in a positive context, it has to be borne in mind, for interpretative and translational purposes, that it can also have a permissive significance ('one may', not 'one must'), a usage clearly exhibited at Meg 4.1:

Whoever reads the scroll may be standing or seated (see also, for example, Ber 1.5 and Naz 4.7 ).
19. In halakhic formulas of the kind 'if/when/in case ... then', the supposition expressed in the first clause may employ the perfect (see Unit 17.11) or the participle, as in:

If someone says, I shall be, then they've already become a Nazirite (Naz 1.1);
 If someone finds a corpse for the first time, lying down in the normal way, they may remove it and the soil around it ( Naz 9.3 ).
20. The passive participle may also be used as a gerundive (see Segal 1927, §334), that is to say, it can express not only a quality or state already acquired ('amatus, beloved'), but also one yet to be acquired ('amandus, one that must be loved'), or one that has the potential to be acquired ('amabilis, lovable'), as, for example, in בדבר הנמחה 'with something that can be erased', not 'with something erased' (SNm 16 [H 21]; see also Qid 2.9 and Yom 6.1).

Thus, the passive participle can be used to indicate the 'destiny' of a subject in such well-established expressions as הַמוּטָחים 'those who are to be put to death' (Sanh 6.2) or those well-known because of their biblical allusion; for example, שׂוֹר הַּנְסקִל is not 'the ox that has been stoned' but 'the ox destined to be stoned', according to the rules prescribed at Ex 21.28; similarly, עֵגְלָה עַרוּפָה is not 'a calf that has had its neck broken' but 'a calf that is due to have its neck broken', as prescribed at Dt 21.1, and שֶׁעיר הַמִּשִׁתַּלִּח goat that has been chosen to be sent off' into the desert. in accordance with Lv 16.20-22.

This usage is also attested in the Bible (see Meyer 1992, §104.2A), for example נְחֲחָּ 'desirable' (Gn 3.6), לְטַם נוֹלָד 'to a people yet to be born' (Ps 22.32), and (an animal that may be eaten' (Lv 11.47).
21. When the passive participle expresses a state resulting from an action, such a state will sometimes have an active sense, and the passive par-
tiple will need to be translated accordingly. For example, someone who is טֶּקוֹ 'occupied' is not occupied by others but by their own concerns, hence, 'busy', זָּ can denote not someone who is 'remembered' by others but someone who has many memories, hence, 'mindful', is not 'demanded' but 'requiring', מְקִּקּל can designate not the thing 'received' but the 'recipient' of it, סָבוּר is not what is 'thought', but the person who is 'thinking' it (as in כְּסָבוּר 'as imagining, thinking, convinced
 'depending'. The following examples can be supplemented by the exercises at the end of this unit (see also Segal 1927, §§333, 336; Kutscher 1982, 131; Mishor 1983a, 209-11):



I have received from Rabbi Measha, who received from Abba, who received from the zugot, who received from the prophets, a halakh$a h$ of Moses at Sinai (Pea 2.6)
(here, מְקְבָּל has a special force. as it indicates the final recipient, the repository of the tradition that had been handed down);

I recall a woman going out in her veil with her hair let down (Ket 2.10)
(ר), as against speaker's mind);
 I knew that a Nazirite was forbidden wine, but I believed that the sages would permit me to have it (Naz 2.4); וִרִגְלִיִם
Anyone who defecates requires a ritual bath and anyone who urinates has to purify their hands and feet (Yom 3.2);

כל המנחוח שבתורה טעונות שמן ולבונה
All the cereal offerings mentioned in the Torah require oil and frankincense (TosSot 1.10).
22. The participle, given that it can also function as a noun, may be negated with $\boldsymbol{\psi}$, although ל is commonly employed too, and the reason for choosing the one or the other is not always clear. $\underset{\sim}{ }$ is never used with the participle. See Unit 23.11A.

## IV Phraseology

23. היָּה יוֹשָׁב וְדוֹרֵטשׁ he was sitting down and interpreting, he sat down to interpret/teach', describes the activity of study or teaching (שְדרַ) of a rabbi; in the formula, בשָׁ alludes to the posture adopted while teaching or to the
position held by the rabbi in a יֹשִיבָה, and, thus, implies instruction that is public or authorized (compare Mt 5.1-2). It is also possible to omit in translation, where it is clear that it has a purely clichéd or decorative function:

הא כיצד היה ישב דורורשולא היה יודע מהיכן הוא אוכלושוחה How could he sit down to interpret not knowing how he would eat or drink? (Mek 16.4 [L 2.104]);

זה אחד משלשה דברים טדיה רבי ישמעאל יושב ודורש כמין משל This is one of the three things that Rabbi Ishmael used to interpret allegorically (Mek 21.19 [L 3.53]).
See also SNm 112 (H 120), Mek 15.3 (L 2.69), etc.
24. ניגמִִינוּ לְמֵרים 'we find ourselves informed', introduces the specific point arising from an exegetical discussion of a biblical text; the formula is sometimes followed by מִן הַתוֹרָה, emphasizing that the point has been furnished by the Bible itself. For example, in Mek 15.1 (L 2.1), after quoting the biblical text, the author of the midrash concludes that the resurrection of the dead is attested in the Torah:

נמצינו למדים תחייח המחים מן תורה
We find ourselves informed about the resurrection of the dead from the Torah.
At SDt 222 (F 255), following the citation of Ex 23.5, the text concludes:
נמצינו למדים שהוא עובר על מצוח עטה ועל מצות לא חעשה
We find ourselves learning that this transgresses both the positive and the negative commandments.
See also SNm 116 (H 135), SNm 150 (H 196), etc.
 does this apply to?, when is this rule applied?', a formula characteristic of the halakhic idiom of the Mishnah, where it occurs no less than fifty times (see BB 3.1, 3; Sot 8.7, etc.).

## V Vocabulary

מעַשֶֶׁד-אֲמִירְה 'saying-deed'


יִשׁוּב


 leaning on')
 curred'
(let down (one's hair) and tear (one's clothes)' in mourning (see Lv 10.6)

חתחית המפּחים 'resurrection of the dead'
עִליוֹנים-תֵּחתוֹנים 'inferiors-superiors, terrestrial beings-celestial beings', etc.

## VI Exercises



 2


















 נִמֶּרֵת
 דברי תורה, סוף שמשפילין אוחו. וכל המשפיל עצמו על דברי תורה, סוף שמגבידין אוחו. 9. רבבי אומר, א׳ן כתיב כאן אלא, אז ישיר משה [שמות טר'א']. גמצינו למדין לחחיית המזים מן התורה. 10. רבן שמעון בן גמליאל אומר, באוראה כמה חביבין ישראל לפני מי שאממר והיה הצעולם. ולפי שהם חביבין עלי שנה לדם מעשה בראשית, עשה להםעליונים תחחונים ורחחתונים עליונים. לשעבר היה הלחם עולה מן הארץ והטל יורד מן השמים ..., ועכשיו נחחלפו הרברים, החחיל הלחם יורד מן השמים והפל עולה מן הארץ. 11. רבי יהושע אומר, שונה אדם שתי הלכוח בשחריזושאזי הלכוח בערבית ועושה במלאכתו כל היום, מעליןעליו כאלו קיים כל התורה כולה. 12. נמצאת מרבה לו והולך עד לעולם. 13. וחי אחיך עמך נויקרא כהּלוז]. זו דרשבן פטורי, שצים שהיו הולכים

במדבר ואין ביד אחר אלא קיתון של מים, אם שותהו אחד מגיע ליישוב, ואם שותים אוחו שנים שגיהם מחים. דרשבן פפטורי, ישחו שתיהם וימותו, שאאמר, וחי אחיך עמך.
14. הא כל טאינו למד ואינו עושה, סוף שהוא מואסבאחרים. 15. ויהי בחדשהראשאן ... [שמות מ' י'ז]. נמצינו למדים שבעשריםושלשה באדר החחילו אהרן ובניו המשכן וכל הכלים לימשח. 16. עכשיו ישראל אומרים, לאנתגייר יחרו מחיבה. כסבור היה יתרו שיש לגרים חלקבארץ ישראל, עכשיו שראה שאין לדם חלק, הניחםוהלך לו. 17. מפצי ארבע דברים אין מוכיחים את הארם אלא סמוך למיתה, כדי שלא יהא מוכיחו ודוזר ומוכיחו, ושלא יהא חבירו רואהו ומזביישממו, ושלא יהא בלבו עליי, וכדי שיפרש ממנו בשלום. 18. רבי שמשון בן יוחי אומר, משל, למה הדבר דומה? למלך בשר ודםשהיו לו בנים ועבדים הרבה, והיו נזונים ומתפרנסים מזחת ידו ומפתחחות של אוצר בידו. כשהם עושים רצונו, הוא פותח אח האוצר והם אוכלים ושבעים, וכשאין עושים רצונ, הוא נועל את האוצר והם מתים ברעב. 19. כך אמר להם משה לישראל, אם אי אתם זכורים נסים וגבורות שעשה לכם הקדוש ברוך הוא במצרים, הזכרו כמה שובות עחיד ליתן לכם לעולם הבא.
20. אם אמר ליזין ונתן, נותגים לו שכר אמירה כשכר מעשד.

Sources. 1. Abot 3.5. 2. Abot 4.4. 3. BB 6.6. 4. Ber 1.5. 5. Ket 5.9. 6. Sanh 11.2. 7. Sot 3.8. 8. ARN 11 (S 46). 9. Mek 15.1. (L 2.1). 10. Mek 16.4 (L 2.102-103). 11. Mek 16.4 (L 2.103-104). 12. SLv 14.2 (W 70b). 13. SLv 25.36 (W 109c). 14. SLv 26.14 (W 111b). 15. SNm 44.1 (H 49). 16. SNm 80.1 (H 76). 17. SDt 3 (F 10). 18. SDt 40 (F 83). 19. SDt 309 (F 349). 20. SDt 117 (F 176).

## UNIT TWENTY

## INFINITIVE

I Introductory text (SDt 355 [F 418])
ויתא ראשי עם נדברים לג׳ כא׳] ... מלמד שעתיד משה ליכנס בראש כל
חבורהוחבורה, בראש חבורה של בעלי מקראובראש חבורה מל בעלי
משנה ובראש חבורה טל בעלי תלמוד, ונותל שכר עם כל אחד ואחד, וכן
הואאומר, לכן אחלק לו ברבים, ואת עצומים יחלק שלל נישעיה גב׳יב'ן.

And he came with the heads of the people [Dt 33.21] ... This teaches that Moses will enter at the head of each group, at the head of the group of Bible scholars, at the head of the group of Mishnah scholars, at the head of the
group of Talmud scholars, and will receive the same reward as each of them. This is why it says. Therefore, I shall give him a portion with the many and with the powerful he will divide spoil [Is 53.12].

1. This representation of Moses receiving the reward with each group of scholars in the written and oral traditions demonstrates an understanding that the entire law, both the written Torah and its immense development in the oral tradition, stems from Moses at Sinai, and is, in some sense, contained in what Moses transmitted.

## II Morphology

2. RH witnesses the complete disappearance of the infinitive absolute. The infinitive construct prefixed with the prepositions -3 and $-\Im$ is restricted to a few liturgical usages that are imitations, or perhaps genuine remnants, of biblical idiom, at least when they are not the result of mistakes or of correction by copyists. Standard RH knows only the infinitive construct with prefixed $-\frac{?}{\text {, which }}$ wan be negated by a preceding $\kappa$ שֶׁל, or prefixed by the preposition מן (thus, - טִן followed by infinitive construct). In practice, the infinitive construct simply does not occur except with prefixed -?.

The development of the negative form of the infinitive may be traced as


 found in Biblical Aramaic, at Ezr 6.8: דִי־לָא לִבַּדָּז 'so as not to stop'):

Where it is established practice to recite the long formula, it is forbidden (here and elsewhere, literally, 'not authorized') to recite the short one, and where the short formula is established, it is forbidden to recite the long one; where it is established practice to recite the concluding formula, it is forbidden not to recite it, and where it is established practice not to recite the concluding formula, it is forbidden to recite it (Ber 1.4);


If one of the residents of a courtyard forgets to prepare the 'erub, that person is not allowed to take anything into or out of their house, but the others are (Erub 2.6).
3. In the Qal, even with pe-nun, pe-yod, and pe-alef verbs, the infinitive has the same form as the imperfect minus preformative. Thus, just as the BH

sponds to ${ }^{2}$. This popular standardizing of irregular forms extends to other verbs, like לְקָּ and and following is a list of those most commonly encountered.

| Perfect | Imperfect | Infinitive |  | Meaning |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | RH | BH |  |
| Nֵֵָּ | יאכֵל | לוֹכַל | ל ל | Eat |
|  | - | לוֹתַּר | לֵראר | Say |
| יִלד, | ִילד | לִילִד |  | Give birth |
| יִיָד | ירד | לירִד | לָרדֶּ | Go down |
| - | ? | לִיטֶב | לְלֶֶח | Dwell |
| TVT, | VT | ליִידע |  | Know |
| נְ | ! | ליחין | לחתח | Give |
| נָּדֶN | ינְּ | לישֶּ | \% | Raise |
| לָקח | יקִי | ליקח | לקִחת | Take |
| 7TT | יֵיל | ליִי? | ְיֶכִח | Go |

Nonetheless, the occasional verb resists such attempts at regularization, for example ,לָצִאת very resistant to change, with the new form, לוֹכַל, appearing in very few texts (for example Sifra W 59d; M.H. Segal [1927, §163] only mentions it as occurring in Palestinian texts). However, when they are not written plene (לאמור, לאכול), it is possible that לאכל and לאמר were read lokal and lomar (Girón 1992). In other verbs too, the biblical form has not completely disappeared, for example לְלֵת (Nid 4.2), לְחת (Shab 17.2; Ned 11.1; AZ 2.6-7; Zeb 10.7); a set-phrase like לְשָאת ולְתחת 'to trade' is obviously more stable.
 abah parashah 13.9 (MS Vatican 66). Of course, we also have to bear in mind the constant attempts of copyists to make rabbinic structures conform more closely to those of the Bible.

Examples of texts containing RH forms of the infinitive include the following:

Since it is possible to go outside and eat (Erub 3.1);
אהלתהי קורא, אישטיבהן שכולםראוים לישב בישיבה
Do not read, Man of grey hairs [שָּיבָּ; Dt 32.25] but, Man of session [ session (SDt 321 [F 370]);

If you succeed in observing the sabbath, the holy one, blessed be he, will allow you to hold three festivals, Passover, Pentecost, and Tabernacles (Mek 16.25 [L 2.119]).
M.H. Segal ( $1927, \S 169$ ) shrewdly observes that these forms might be at least as old as their biblical counterparts, with לחתחן at 1 K 6.19 a hybrid of the popular ליחן and the literary לְחֵ (see also 1 K 17.14).
4. The assimilation of lamed-alef to lamed-he verbs has led to לקיוֹת be-
 mixed form למַלֹאות for למֶות, as at Ket 1.10:

It happened that a little girl went down to take water from the fountain.
5. As already noted at Unit 15.4 A , in the $\mathrm{Nif}^{\prime} a l$ preformative $-\pi$ tends to be elided after the $\boldsymbol{-}$ of the infinitive (a consequence of the general weakening of the gutturals and especially of intervocalic $h e$ ), which gives rise to


6. The same phenomenon occurs to a lesser extent with the Hif'il (see Unit 15.4E): לַרְבּוֹ (for להתָרבוּ), etc.
7. The RH infinitive with ל- can only take an object suffix (not one that functions as subject, as in BH בּדצn), for example:

A person who lets a house to another ... may not turn them out from Tabernacles to Passover (BM 8.6).

## III Grammar and usage

8. On RH's abandonment of BH constructions of the type בּצֵאni and ins ins see Units 9.9 and 16.14 .
9. In its use, the RH infinitive coincides with that of the BH infinitive construct with (see Meyer 1992, §102.4): it is like a noun, it may be the subject or object of a verb, and it can express purpose, as in the exegetical formulas לְדוֹציא 'in order to exclude' and 'לְדִבִּא 'in order to include' (see Unit 30.5). The infinitive may also be used in an attributive function,
 תבּוּאה
 modally, as a gerund, for example לוֹמַרִלאמן 'saying'.

As the object or complement of a verb, the infinitive is equivalent to with the imperfect:

I should prefer to be called a fool all my life (Eduy 5.6);

מוטב להן לציבור שיהו שאגגין
It is better for the community that they be wrong (TosSot 15.10).
It can sometimes be difficult to decide among manuscript variants in this matter; for example,

> ראויה היתה לבוא עליה פורעניוח

It was predestined (for) punishments to fall upon her,
at TosSot 2.3, has a variant with שיבואו.
10. The infinitive לוֹמַר is used to introduce direct speech or a quotation from a text (in BH, לאמרר can serve the same function, for example, at Jr 7.4), a usage that is sometimes best omitted from translation or rendered as a gerund:

Even slaves, male and female, deserve credit when they say, The sabbath limit reaches to this point (Erub 5.5).
On the expression תַּלמוּד לוֹמַּ, see Unit 16.16.
11. With imperative significance, the infinitive is usually found with the preposition עַל, in reference to the person upon whom an obligation falls:

Rabbi Ishmael said. Eleazar ben Azariah, you have to provide evidence, for you are stricter in your ruling, and anyone who gives stricter rulings is obliged to furnish evidence (Yad 4.3).
Usually, the formula [הרֵי[ שָׁריל- serves as a cohortative, as at Naz 2.5: הַרַינִי נִזִיר וְעָלְלי לְגַלֵּחנִזיר
Now I am a Nazirite, I will make the Nazirite hair offering'.
12. עָתיד ל- (see Unit 16.13B) and סוֹף ל- (see Unit 19.17D) with the infinitive are characteristic RH constructions for expressing events that are regarded as having a secure or inevitable place in the future, especially the eschatological future:
 The company of Korah will never arise again ... the ten tribes will never return (Sanh 10.3);


Rabbi Jonathan says, Anyone who fulfils the Torah in poverty will surely fulfil it in wealth, and anyone who despises it in wealth will surely despise it in poverty (Abot 4.9).
Very occasionally in the tannaitic literature, we find עֶתיד ל- replaced by שעִתִּדשׁׁ with the imperfect (see Unit 18.16).

The formula - עוֹמד ל 'be about to' is an amoraic idiom which began to be used in the same way as -עִחתיד ל. Through the copyists, it has also entered some tannaitic texts, to which M. Mishor (1983a) has suggested corrections. Thus, for example, at BQ 9.1, דָּרָה הָעוֹטֶדֶת לֵילִד 'a cow about to give birth' might have been פָּרָה מִעוּבֶרח לִילֵד 'a pregnant cow, for giving birth' and
 'a ewe that needs to be sheared'.

For the formula לֵעִתיד לָבוֹא, see Unit 16.17.
13. Another idiomatic RH construction is ל- מָה אֵּיאחּחה/הוּא ... meaning 'may I/you/he do so-and-so?', for example:
 May I plant a seed beneath what remains? (Kil 6.4);

סֵה אֲנוּ לִירִד
May we go down (i.e. ‘disembark')? (Erub 4.2).

## IV Phraseology

 you should not interpret/argue according to the first form but according to the last' is a formula typical of the school of Ishmael and especially common in SNm and Mek. Following an exegetical discussion in which two positions are set out, a decision between them is made (see SNm 23.2; 49.2; 55, etc.).
 should only argue according to the first argument'.
15. - לַעַשֹׂת ... 'to make $X$ like $Y$, to rank one thing with another' is commonly used when grouping together women with men, or minors with adults. It is an exegetical fomula that, after the quotation of a biblical text, abruptly introduces an interpretation (see further, Unit 26.9)-an introductory expression along the lines of make $\mathbf{X} \ldots$ )' is to be understood.

Among other infinitives with exegetical rôles are להוציא 'to exclude' and לדָביא 'to include':

איש או אשה [במרבר ו'ב׳], לעשות נשים כאנשים If a man or a woman [ Nm 6.2 ]: (this is said) in order to rank women the same as men ( SNm 22.2 (H25]);

אישאו אשה ןבמדבר ר׳בן, לדוציאאחת הקפנים If a man or a woman ( Nm 6.2 ]: (this is said) in order to exclude minors ( SNm 22.3 [H25]).

## V Vocabulary

אַּלוֹנִית 'infertile’
గחָּ ‘desirable object, trinket'
חָּרב 'destroyed, in ruins'
פְנִיָּה 'assembly, meeting'
לידוֹן (ni. infinitive of (דוּן) 'to be judged'
'take', specifically in RH, 'buy'

לחתן דִין וחִשְׁבּוֹן

䍝 'intelligent'

## VI Exercises


 וְרָשְׁבּוֹן
 3. 3











 8






11. אמררן ישראל למשה, רבינו משד, מה עלינו לעשוח? אמר להם, אתםתהיו מרוממים ומפארים ומשבחין ונותנין שיר ושבח וגדולה וחפארת למי שהמלחמות שלו.
12. וזה אחד משלשה דברים שעחיד אליהו להעמיד לישראל, צלוחיח שלמן וצלווחיה מל מים וצלוחית של מפן המשחה.
13. ועכשיו גלוי היה לפני מי שאמר והיה העולם שפורענות גדולה עתידה לבא בדורנו.
14. אגי הואשטשיחי לכם ניסיםבמצרים, אני הוא שעתיד לעשוח לכם כל הניסים הללו.
15. והיתזה ארצכם שממה ועריכם יהיו חרבהן [ויקרא כו'לג']. זו מידה קשה לישראל, שבשעה שאדם גולה מתוך כרמו ומחוך ביתו וסופו לחוזר, כאלו א אין כרמ וביתו חריבים. אתם א"ן אחם כן, אלא, והיחה ארצכם שממה ועריכם יהיו חרבה. מפני מה? שאין סופכם לחזור.
 והיתה מוכרחלובשווי, וקטנה קוראהלוואומרהלו מבפנים, בואוקח לך בפחות, והיה הוא לוקחהימנה ביום הראשיון בוביום השגי 17. והואלא אויב לו ולאמבקשרעתי ובמדבר לה׳לג׳ז, לפסול את השואאיםמלישב בדין. 18. ואת הערים אשר נבוא אליהםןדבריםא׳כבץ, לידע באזו דרר אגו באים עליהם.
19. משל למלך שדוו לו שצי עבדים וגזר על אחד מהם שלא לשתוח יין שלשים יום. אמר, מהגזר עלי שלא לשחות ין שלשים יום? איני טועמו אפילו שנה אחת אפילו שחי שנים.
20. עבר אדם על מצוה קלה, סופו לעבור על מצוה חמרה. עבר על, ואהבת לרעך כמוך נויקרא ים’'חו', ספפו לעבור על, ... לאתשנא את אחדך, [ויקראים'יז'].

Sources. 1. Abot 3.1. 2. Abot 4.10. 3. Abot 4.11. 4. Abot 4.22. 5. Abot 5.17. 6. Ber 4.5. 7. Pes 4.4. 8. Sot 4.3. 9. Toh 3.8. 10. Yad 4.4. 11. Mek 14.14 (L 1.215). 12. Mek 16.33. (L 2.126). 13. Mek 22.22 (L 3.142). 14. SLv 26.13 (W 111b). 15. SLv 26.33 (W 112b). 16. SNm 131.1 (H 170). 17. SNm 160.11 (H 219). 18. SDt 20 (F 32). 19. SDt 28 (F 44). 20. SDt 186 (F 226).

## UNIT TWENTY-ONE

## IMPERATIVE

I Introductory text (SDt 49 [F 114])

 היאך איפשר לולאדם לקראבשמו של מקום? אלאנקרא המקום רחום, אףף אתה היה רחום, הקדוש ברוך הואנקרא חנון, אף אתה היה חנון ... נקרא המקום צדיק ... אף אתה הזה צדיק... נקראהמקום חסיר... אף אתה היהחסיד.

Walking in all his ways [Dt 11.22]. These are the ways of the omnipresent one: Y, compassionate and gracious God [Ex 34.6], and also, Everyone who is called by the name of Y. will be saved [JI 3.5]. How can a person be called by the name of the omnipresent one? Simply, if the omnipresent one is called compassionate, you too must be compassionate, if the omnipresent one is called gracious, you too must be gracious ..., if the omnipresent one is called righteous [Ps 11.7], you too must be righteous, if the omnipresent one is called kind [Jr 3.12] ..., you too must be kind.

1. This interpretation of Dt 11.22 understands 'ways' as 'conduct', so that to follow the ways of God is to imitate his conduct and to be like him: compassionate, gracious, righteous. kind. A similar formulation is found at Lk 6.36: be merciful, just as your father is merciful.

That a person may receive the names ascribed to God, and, therefore, become like him and be able to imitate him, is demonstrated by reading at Jl 3.5 'everyone who is called (איקָ 'י) by the name of Y.' in place of the Masoretic Text, 'everyone who calls [ $N$ 구‥] upon the name of $Y . \cap$, employing the interpretative rule of al tiqra (see Units 11.1; 18.6; 20.3 [the quotation of SDt 321]).

## II Morphology

2. 'The imperative survived apparently unchanged', according to E.Y. Kutscher (1971, 1601), a statement that is true, with certain modifications, in respect of both morphology and syntax.
3. The special feminine form of the plural, קטלֹנָ, has disappeared in RH, as has the emphatic lengthened form of the masculine singular in -ah (קִּלָה), with a few exceptions in imitation of biblical idiom or for liturgical purposes, for example, הוֹשיעָהנָא 'save'; imitation of biblical style is evident at Mek 18.3 (L 2.168):
תנה לי את ציפורה בתך לאתשה

Give me your daughter Zipporah as a wife.
In the Qal, then, the paradigm of the imperative is as follows.

| 2 ms | קְטול |
| :---: | :---: |
| 2 fs | קיקִיקי |
| 2 pc | קטלול |
|  | קp |

Note that as in the participle and infinitive, scriptio plena with waw for the ' $o$ ' vowel is normal.
4. In other conjugations and in weak or defective verbs, RH practice generally corresponds with that of BH.
A. In some pe-yod verbs, where an original waw reappears in certain
 for example, at Sanh 6.2:

When he was some ten cubits from the place of stoning, they would say to him, Confess.
B. As in BH , in pe-nun verbs, the nun is usually dropped; thus,

 Aramaic influence is also seen in the alternative vocalization: (see Kutscher 1971, 1600). The following examples, with somewhat contrasting messages, are from Abot 2.3 and 3.2:

Be careful with power ( K (הֶur);

Pray for the peace of the empire.
The forms and are also encountered:
נקרא המקוםרחום, אף המה היה רחום, הקדושברוך הואנקרא חנון, אף אתהה היה חנון If the omnipresent one is called compassionate, you too must be compassionate; if the omnipresent one is called gracious, you too must be gracious (SDt 49 [F114]);

אמר לדם, הִּיוּ יודעים שסרבנין וטרחנין הם
He said to them, You should know that they are vexatious and demanding (SNm 91.1 [H 91]).

## III Grammar and usage

6. As in BH , the imperative is used for positive commands in the second person (see Meyer 1992, §100.4D). Negative commands employ the imperfect, participle, or infinitive with the corresponding negative particle: אی, (see Unit 23.11A).
7. However, even in positive commands, the imperative is little used in RH, as in this function it has been taken over by constructions with the imperfect (see Unit 18.11), the participle (see Unit 19.18), or even the infinitive (see Unit 20.11). In fact, the imperative is practically restricted to positive orders directed to specific individuals, and is not normally used in halakhot, legal decrees, or even in prayers. Its presence in the sayings of Abot, then, provides a striking contrast with its absence from the halakhot of other tractates.
8. Typical of RH is the periphrastic construction of the imperative of הָיָה followed by participle (or adjective), the effect of which is to emphasize the continuous or repetitive nature of the verb (see Unit 16.13). Within the Mishnah, it is especially characteristic of Abot, which contains 28 of the 33 mishnaic usages of הֵוּ with participle/adjective, for example Abot 1.9:
 לשַׁקּרּר
Examine the witnesses at length and be careful of your words in case through them they learn to lie.
(K has in in both instances; see the exercises for further examples.)

## IV Phraseology

9. הְּ 'say, you ought to say, you should recognize', etc. is an expression not found in the Mishnah but occurs in the tannaitic midrashim to introduce a piece of evidence, in which context it may sometimes be appropriately rendered as 'evidently', 'obviously', or the like. Usually, it comes in response to alternative possibilities, introduced by either op or

איזה מדה מרובד, מדת טובה או מדח פורענות? הוי אומר,
מדת הטובה
Which measure is the more generous, that of mercy or that of punishment? Evidently, the measure of mercy ( SNm 8.8 [H 15]);

מיגדול, האוהבים או המאהיבים? הוי אומר, המאהיבים
Who are greater, those who love or those who cause others to love? Evidently, those who cause others to love (SDt 47 [F 106]).
That had become a lexicalized expression is evident when the participle ${ }^{2}$ drops out, leaving just ${ }^{\prime}$ In. In such instances, many understand דֶוּ to have a similar sense to (הנְה (BH ), or they read instead the interjection ‘in 'alas'. However, דָּ should be regarded as an elliptical form of דֶוי אוֹמר as a whole:

## אל מקום דם האשםנויקראא יד׳כח׳ן, הוּי א׳ן הדם גורם אלא <br> המקום גורם

Over the place of the blood of the guilt offering [Lv 14.28]: evidently, the place is the cause, not the blood (SLv 14.17 (W 72b).
SDt 342 (F 392) is especially instructive: to the question
יכולמשאומרים להם דבריניחומים חוזרים ואומרים להם רברי
תוכחות
Perhaps after speaking words of consolation to them, they go back to speaking words of reproach to them?,
the answer given is:
הוימשאומרים להם דברי ניחומים אץ אומרים להם רברי חוכחות
It is obvious that after words of consolation they do not speak words of reproach to them.
Occasionally, the imperative אֵמוֹר is used:
אימחי הוא שבדו של מקום? בזמן שאין מזיקים? או בזמן שישמזיקים ואין מזיקים? אמר בזמןשישמזיקיםואין מזיקים
When should one praise a place? When there are no evil powers? Or when there are evil powers but they cause no harm? Evidently, when there are evil powers but they cause no harm (SLv 26.6 [W 111a]).
10. - - הנראה $_{\text {is }}^{\text {is used in the following three passages from SNm: }}$

Do come with us to the governor of Akko (SNm 84.1 [H 80]);
הנראה שחשטידני בשביל שאגי הולך ליחן
Do make me get up, for I am going to give (an inheritance) (SNm 84.2 [H 80]);

הנראה שלא יאכל מאכל רע ואל ישתה משקהרע Don't eat bad food or drink bad drink (SNm 87.2 [H 87]).
The contexts indicate that -הנראה שintroduces an insistent request, corresponding to 'I beg you to', 'please', or even to an interjection, 'hey!'.

The structure is usually vocalized as a Nif'al with prefixed interrogative, ,הנִִראהת although it can also be regarded as the first person plural of the imperfect (as in K.G. Kuhn's rendering: 'werden wir es sehen?'). But it seems likely that the form is compounded of the deictic particle $\beta$ and the imperative רָאֶה, on the pattern of expressions such as צֵא וּרְאה 'go out and see'. Whatever the exact interpretation, it is clear that - הנראה ש has already become a lexicalized formula.

## V Vocabulary

אוּמֶן 'artisan'
["N 'warn'

 crimes punishable by death'

חก 'cut'
פמַטֵלּה 'height' (also a designation of God to avoid pronouncing the divine name)
 power of (the) height, put God off' (the forms of this verb have been influenced by those of the more common
שעׁדי נפְשוֹת 'witnesses to crimes punishable by death'
'unpaid custodians' (in reference to artisans, creditors. etc. who are entrusted with the property of others)

## VI Exercises

וַדַע לפִנִי מי אַזָּה עָמֵּל

## 






9. צאּוראה איזה דרך ששהיא מביאה את האדםלחיי העולם הבא. הוי אומר, יסוריץ. רבינחמיה אומר, חביבין יסוריןשכשם שהקרבנות מרצין כך היסורין מרצין.
10. אש עבד יגח השור ןשמות כא׳ לבז). בכנעני הכתבב מדבר, או אינו מדבר אלא בעברי? כשהוא אומר, כסף שלשים שקלים יתן לארוניו,
[שם], הוי בכנעני הכתוב מדבר.
11. רבי שמעון בן יוחי אומר, הרי הוא אומר, ואוהביו כצאת השמש בגבורתו [שפפטים ה' לא']. מי גדול, מי טהוא אוהב את המלך או מי שהמלך אוהבו? הוי אומר מי שהמלך אוהבו.
12. כ׳אני ״אלהיכם והתקדשתםוהייחם קדושים כי קדוש אני״, [ויקרא יא' מר'], כשם שאני קדושכ כך אחם קדושים, כשם שאני פרושכך אתם היו פרושים. 13. והייתם לי קדושים כי קדוש אני י׳ויקרא כ׳ כו׳ז, כשם שאני קדוש כך אחם היו קדושים, כשם שאנ׳ פרוש כך אחם הּיו פרושים. 14. אמר משה לפני המקום, אדוני, כלום הגון להם שחתן להם וחהרגם אומריםלחמור, טול כור של שעוריםונחתוך ראשך? אומרים לאדם, טול ככר זהב ורד לשאול?
15. רבי שמעון בן אלעזר אומר, מי גדול, הממליך או המולך? הוי אומר הממליך. העושה שרים או העושה שררה? הו׳ אומר העושה שרים. 16. משל, למה הדבר דומה? למלך שהיתה אשתו נפטרח מן העולם. היתה מפקדחתו על בניה. אמרה לו, בבקשה ממך, הזהר לו בבני. אמר לה, עד שאת מפקרתני על בני, פקדי את בני׳ עלי שלא ימרדו בי ושלא ינהגו בי מנהג בזיון.
17. רבי אליעזר בן ״עקב אומר, הרי הוא אומר, בי את אשר יאהב י" יוכיחוכאב את בן ירצה[משלי ג׳יב']. מי גרם לבן שירצה לאב? הוי אומר, אלו יסורים.... א׳ זה הוא דרך שמביאה האדם לעולם הבא הוי אומר, אלו יסורים. 18. כך אמר להם הקדוש ברוך הואלישראל, בני, בראתי לכם יצר הרע שא׳ין רע הימנו ... היו עסוקיםבדברי חורהואינינו שולטבכם, ואם פורשים אתם מדברי תורה הרי הוא שולט בכם. 19. בקטחי להיטיב לכם, חזרחם בכם ואמרחם לעגל, אלה אלהיך ישראל,
[שמות לב'ד']. הוי כל זמן שאגי מבקש להטיב לכם אתם מתישים כחשל מעלה.
20. ועדין הרבר חלוי, א׳ן אנו יודעים אם חפילה קודמח לברכה, אם ברכה

קודמת לתפילה. כשהוא אומר, וזאת הברכה [דברים לג׳ א'], הוי תפילה קודמת לברכה, ואין ברכה קודמת לתפילה.

Sources. 1. K Abot 1.12. 2. K Abot 2.13. 3. Abot 2.14. 4. Abot 5.20. 5. Ber 9.5. 6. BM 6.6. 7. Sanh 4.5. 8. Yom 1.3. 9 Mek 20.23 (L 2.280). 10. Mek 21.32 (L 3.89). 11. Mek 22.20 (L 3.138). 12. SLv 11.44 (W 57b). 13. SLv 20.26 (W 93d). 14. SNm 95.1 (H 95). 15. SNm 119.3 (H 144). 16. SNm 142.1 (H 187). 17. SDt 32 (F 56-57). 18. SDt 45 (F 103). 19. SDt 319 (F 365). 20. SDt 342 (F 393).

PART III

## PARTICLES

## UNIT TWENTY-TWO

## PREPOSITIONS AND CONJUNCTIONS

I Introductory text (Sot 9.15)


Rabbi Phinehas ben Jair used to say, Asiduous work leads to innocence, innocence leads to purity, purity leads to abstinence, abstinence leads to holiness, holiness leads to humility, humility leads to fear of $\sin$, fear of $\sin$ leads to the spirit of holiness, the spirit of holiness leads to the resurrection of the dead, and the resurrection of the dead will come through the mediation of Elijah, of blessed memory. Amen.

1. This long chain of human virtues and divine gifts begins with diligent work, on the part of human beings, and culminates with the gift of ultimate resurrection, on the part of God.

## II Morphology

2. Prepositions and conjunctions are both particles of relation, either modifying a noun, converting it into the complement of another noun (prepositions), or connecting clauses by coordination or subordination (conjunctions).
3. It seems that in Proto-Semitic there were no prepositions properly speaking but rather nouns in the adverbial accusative governing other nouns in the genitive (Meyer 1992, §87). Such nouns were eventually fossilized to the point of simply expressing relationship and lost their accent in the process. Thus, we may say, in general, that many prepositions are simply primi-


 are simply prepositions determined by a clause introduced with $-\underset{y}{ }$. In other
words, the determinant of the noun/preposition is not another noun but an entire clause (see Unit 11.2-3,7).
4. RH witnesses the disappearance of the biblical particles מוּל, בִּגְלַל, (in the sense of 'with').
5. The so-called 'inseparable prepositions', , בִּ, , ל- , are still used,
 א, אחִר , אֲחר , etc.
A. Alongside אבּבית, we also find אבית, in the sense of 'in, inside'. This does not represent a new preposition but rather the well-known phenomenon of prosthetic alef being added to a word-initial geminated consonant in order to make pronunciation easier ( בּביח >bbet > ab-bet; see Meyer 1992, §29.1). It is a typically Palestinian feature, found in one of the Bar-Kokhba letters (Mur 42.4) and at Qumran (1QpHab 11.6; see Qimron 1986. 39); in Sifra, it is commonly found in the expression אבית הבליעה 'in the stomach', and occurs as well, for example, at SNm 17.1 (H 21): אבית הדשן ‘among the ashes, where the ashes are'. The phenomenon is also widespread in the Samaritan tradition, although not always reflected orthographically.
B. - is attached to pronominal suffixes by means of the lengthened

C. Similarly, $\boldsymbol{j}$ is still used in the reduplicated form known from BH when attached to pronominal suffixes: מִמּמּוּוּ, etc. For the third person
 forms, unique to RH . were only known through the Babylonian tradition, although they reflected a typically Palestinian pronunciation or dialect, as now evidenced by their presence in the Bar-Kokhba archives from Murabba'at and Nahal Hever.
 struct of
6. In BH , there is already a tendency to accumulate particles in the cre-
 process is accelerated in RH. where there is an abundance of such combina-


 E example -em >-um, under Aramaic influence; see Introduction, §9.11).
7. Conjunctions.

The following is a list of conjunctions and clause-connecting particles, indicating where further details of form and use can be found in the following units.
A. Copulative and disjunctive:
$\rightarrow$ (passim);
is and - ֶix (24.13; 25.8-9);
EN (25.9).
B. Interrogative:
-T (25.3,5);
(25.3,6);
(25.3.7);

ם (25.9);
in (25.8).
C. Comparative:
(26.4, 12);

隹解 (26.11);
כּשׁׁם (26.4, 7);

- כּ כַרֶּ (26.4, 7);

(26.4; 28.3, 8A);
(26.8);
- 


D. Temporal:

(27.2-3, 9);
(27.2-3, 10, 16);
(27.2-3, 11);
(27.3, 12);

- כיּ (27.3, 13);
- $27.3,14$ );
-שֶ (27.3, 15);
(27.3, 15).
E. Conditional:
an (28.3, 7, 9);
(28.2-3, 8A);
(28.2-3, 8B, D);
(28.3.8B-C, 10);
(28.5; 29.5, 14).
F. Causal:
- 

(29.2-4, 7);
-

(29.2-4, 10);

- בִשׁביל (29.2-4, 11);
- 
- vi (29.2-4, 13);
- 

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G. Final:
    ל with infinitive (30.2, 5);
    - \(\boldsymbol{v}^{(30.2,6)}\);
    - 3 - 3 - \(30.2,8\) );
    (30.2, 9);
    (30.2, 10);
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    N שִׁ (30.2, 11).
H. Consecutive:
    \(-\underset{\sim}{2}(30.2-3,12-13)\);
    - כדּ (30.2-3, 12).
I. Concessive:
ם (31.2-3);
אֲפִּ (31.2-3.5);
-
(31.2, 7-8).
J. Adversative:
אֵברל (32.2-3.5);
人 (32.2-3, 6, 9-10);
וּבלכַד שֶׁק (32.3,7);
(32.3, 8). (3וּץ מן
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## III Grammar and usage

9. The following observations represent only a tentative presentation of some meanings and uses of certain prepositions, as often texts reveal senses and usages that are difficult to categorize.
10. ב.
A. Apart from its local and instrumental meanings, 'in' and 'by, with', - -7 can also have an adjectival value, 'as, in the rôle of' (beth essentiae):


If he desires to make an offering he makes it, for as head the high priest offers his portion and as head he takes his portion (Yom 1.2)

B. - - can also mean 'in relation to, with respect to', as in the wellknown phrase בַּמהּדבָרים־אמוּרִים 'what does this apply to?' (BB 3.1,3; Sot 8.7, etc.); see Unit 19.25.
C.


Just as we found that during the forty years Israel were in the desert they offered lambs without bread, so also now they may offer the
lambs without bread (Men 4.3).
is also employed to negate a participle (in a circumstantial noun clause):

Rabbi Țarfon entered (a town) without intending (to spend the sabbath there) (Erub 4.9)
D. The characteristic RH verb of' governs its object through the preposition - -9 , as in BM 1.4:

ְיָָה בָּה
If someone finds lost property and rushes towards it but someone else arrives and seizes it, the person who seizes it is entitled to keep the property.
In RH , as in BH , this use of $-\overline{\mathrm{y}}$ is also found in connection with other verbs


11. ל-

In RH, ל- extends its range of meanings, so that as well as introducing an indirect complement (אמֵר ל), or, with an infinitive, a final clause, and expressing the 'ethic dative' (הָלך לֹר 'he went away') or 'possessive' relationships of various kinds (for example

ספֶר דּבִרִי הַּיָמים למַלִכּי ישרָאל
Chronicle of the kings of Israel),
, עַל, , places אל.
 ploy לעל, לעל, or occasionall never the expected - to specify an object: אם למדחי למנורה שעשה בה אח הבנים כאב, אף הקטורת נעשה בה את הבנים כאב
Seeing that in connection with the lampstand sons are treated the same as their father, it follows that in the offering of incense sons are also treated the same as their father (SNm 60.2 [H 58]).
B. Objects of כִּפּ 'expiate, forgive' are usually introduced by -ל?, not עַל, the regular BH choice:


O God, forgive the offences, transgressions, and sins with which I have offended, transgressed, and sinned before you, I and my house (Yom 3.8).
C.

D. In passive sentences, -? introduces the agent (as also in BH, e.g. Lv 26.23):

רַנֵאכָלִין בְּכָל הָעיר לִכָל אָדָם

And they (the thanksgiving and Nazirite offerings) can be eaten throughout the city by any person (Zeb 5.6);

חביב בנימין שנקרא ידיד למקום
How beloved is Benjamin, who has been called favourite by the omnipresent one (SDt 352 (F 509]).

## 13. את.

See Unit 2.3. As distinct from BH, personal object pronouns are usually suffixed directly to personal and infinitive forms of the verb, with $n$ weing used much less frequently (a phenomenon already found at Qumran; see Qimron 1986, 75-77). However, the plural participle always employs $\boldsymbol{\pi}$ to introduce a pronominal object (see Cohen 1982-83).
14.

ן is used to express origin, provenance, or separation.
A. A striking usage is of partitive in place of an indefinite pronoun (see Unit 6.11):

הפשמהם, הרג מהם, צלב מהם
Some he seized, others he slaughtered. others he crucified (Mek 15.18 (L 2.80]);
 Even though he heard some women saying ... even though he heard some children saying (Yeb 16.5).
The same usage is found in BH: וָיָמוּחוּ מַעַבִּ הַמִּלך 'and some of the king's servants died' (2 S 11.24).
B. הימֵּר and are used exactly the same as the regular constructions מחמּוֹ and whereas at Men 8.5, we read

The very first (oil) is the best of all, in SLv 24.2 (W 103c), the same declaration employs הָיקֶּ the hermeneutical principle of contiguity in the following terms:

כלפרשה שהיא סמוכה לחברחה למידה הימנה
Every passage that occurs alongside another is explained by the other (SNm 131.2 [H 169]).
15.

Although the usages attached to עַל in BH are maintained, it can also be used where BH would have ל-יֶ; in comparisons, יָתר עַל has the same function as עוֹחִר מִן (see Unit 13.5C). עַל can also express cause:

For three transgressions, women die at childbirth (Shab 2.6).
Construed with an infinitive, עַל designates the one upon whom an obligation is laid (see Unit 20.11), similarly, with a verbal noun:

אין שביחתו עליהן
They are not obliged to uphold the sabbath rest (Shab 16.6).
With personal passive constructions as well, when the agent is introduced by עַל, an element of obligation is conveyed:

##  

If someone leaves older and younger daughters, the older ones do not have to be maintained by (at the cost of) the younger ones, nor do the younger ones have to be fed by (at the cost of) the older ones (BB 8.8).
16. עִל יִדיזעִל יַּד.

A great variety of meanings is discernible, depending on context.
A. 'Along with': sa sa sa the temple no longer exists, it (the animal) is to be buried along with its skin' (MS 1.6).
B. 'In relation to, as compared with, than', with the verb סָעַט 'diminish, become less', expressing the relationship between two elements:

Only if the interval of 24 hours is less than the interval between one inspection and another (Eduy 1.1; cf. Ohol 13.5-6).
C. 'Because of, on account of':

הָאָב גוֹלִד טַּל יִדי הַבּן
The parents are exiled on account of the children (Mak 2.2);

They may become jealous on account of incestuous unions other than those with minors or with what is not human (Sot 4.4).
D. 'For, in favour of, on behalf of, in place of':

One may present a poor person's offering on behalf of a son, daughter, servant, or maidservant (Neg 14.12);
ממהר עני ליפרע על ידי עני יותר מן העשיר

I make greater haste to take revenge on behalf of a poor person than (I do on behalf of) a rich one' (SDt 277 [F 295]);


And an express statement is made about it by Ezekiel (Tam 3.7; cf. Mid 4.2);

For thus it is written in the Book of Psalms by King David (Abot 6.9 [late]).
F. In certain contexts, עַל 'דּדוֹ has reflexive significance, 'by oneself, by one's own endeavours'. But note that in the exercise text 9. (Mek 17.14 [L
 in place of/overriding (the one who issued it)', that is, to cancel what another has prescribed.

 cially


And the spirit of holiness leads to the resurrection of the dead (Sot 9.15 , the introductory text for this unit).

Like בִּידזבּיַּד לִידִיאליִ can be employed more literally:
אין בידו אלארשותו
In his hand, means, (In) his possession (Mek 21.16 [L 3.45]);
למוטחים שצידי אדם פדיון למומזים בידי שמים כך יהו נותנים פדיון

In the same way that it is possible to pay a ransom for those whose death is in the hands of heaven (i.e. 'God'), so one can pay a ransom for those whose death is in the hands of human beings ( SNm 161.1 [H221]).
18. עِל שִׁם.
'With regard to, taking into account' (see Unit 29.9 on the conjunction על שַם שע- the meaning of which casts light on the prepositional usage):

בִּן סוֹרר וּמוֹרֶה גדּוֹן עַל שִם סוֹפוֹ
An obstinate and rebellious son is to be judged taking into account what would have been his end (i.e. the outcome of his behaviour) (Sanh 8.5);

דַבָּא בַּמַחתּתֵּת נִדּוֹן עֵּל שם סופוֹ
Someone (i.e. a thief) who enters surreptitiously will be judged with regard to what they would have done eventually (Sanh 8.6).
Like the related conjunction, עַל שִׁם is often found in statements of etymology and in wordplays:

נקראו מרים על שם סופן שממררץ את הגוף ומערערין את העון
They are called 'bitter' with regard to their end, since they will fill the body with bitterness and expose iniquity ( SNm 11.4 [ H 117]);

למהנקרא, לחם עוני [דרבים טז'ג׳ן? אלא על שם עינוי שנתענו במצרים
Why was it called, Bread of affliction [Dt 16.3]? Simply, because of the affliction with which they were afflicted in Egypt (SDt 130 [F 187]).
19.
A. Causal, 'on account of, with regard to', widely used when justifying a deed or statement with a text or precept from the Bible or oral tradition (a similar usage attaches to the related conjunction; see Unit 29.8 and Bacher 1899, 121):

[שמות כב׳כד']
These transgress the negative precept ...: they transgress it with regard to 'you are not to give' [Lv 25.37], with regard to 'you are not to take from him' [Lv 25.36], and with regard to 'you are not to be to him as a creditor' [Ex 22.24] (BM 5.11).
B. 'In the name of', introducing a scholar who has helped transmit a tra-
dition:

Rabban Simeon ben Gamaliel says in the name of Rabbi Joshua (Sot 9.12).

## 

A. 'For (the sake of)', signifying the motive or motivation of an action or attitude, as in the characteristic formula לְשֶׁם שָׁמַים, which expresses the
 the kingdom of heaven' at Mt 19.12):


 Every controversy undertaken for the sake of heaven (i.e. God) will end up successfully, but not if it is not for the sake of heaven. What controversy was for the sake of heaven? The one of Hillel and Shammai. What controversy was not for the sake of heaven? The one of Korah and all his followers (Abot 5.17; see also Abot 2.1,12; 4.11).
B. 'As, in the capacity of, by way of', like עַל שִׁם, specifying the purpose of an action:
 This is the general principle: everything that is offered by way of a $\sin$ offering or a guilt offering, the residue is for the freewill offering (Sheq 2.5).
In various manuscripts, משטום/משטם is found in the same sense.
21. בֵּי.
 found in reflexive, reciprocal, and comparative formulas, for example בּיגוֹ לבִין עַצמוֹ 7.4C,7C; 8.12; 26.10).
22. בּשׁבִיל.
A. Expressing cause, 'because of, on account of'. as in Sifra Mekhilta de Millu'im (SLv 9.23 [W 44d]):

בשבילילא ירדה שכינהלישראל
Because of me, the Shekhinah did not descend on Israel.
B. The dominant sense is, however, of purpose or benefit, 'for (the benefit of, the purpose of), so that': שִׁיִשׁׁן , פָּטוּר
One who puts out a candle for fear of the gentiles ..., or so that someone ill can sleep, is exempt (Shab 2.5).
See also Shab 16.8 (exercises text 8) and Unit 29.11.
23. פּדי.
'Sufficient for, as much as is required for/appropriate to', in statements
of measures and quantities (for an extensive discussion, see Unit 30.8B):
 He is not to increase his horses [Dt 7.16]: only those required for his chariot (Sanh 2.4);

וכמה היא שומאה? כדי ביאה, וכמה כדי ביאד? כדי העראה
How much (time is regarded as necessary) for impurity (to be contracted)? As much as is needed for (a completed act of) intercourse (to take place). And how much is needed for intercourse? As much as is needed for contact between genitals (to occur) (TosSot 1.2).
24.

This construction has lost its etymological sense of 'out of anger' and has become a causal particle:
 If ulcers appear on him because of the blow, he is liable, but if not because of the blow, he is exempt (BQ 8.1).
25. מעץ.

The underlying meaning, 'of the eye of', that is 'as a reflection of, of the same kind as', gives rise to distinct usages.
A. Indicating that one thing is 'of the same type/nature as' another:

חַטְאת אחֵחת
Someone who carries out many tasks (on the sabbath), but all of the same kind, is only liable to one $\sin$ offering (Shab 7.1).
B. Indicating that one thing is like a reflection or synthesis of, or an extract from, another:

Rabban Gamaliel used to say, Each day, one should recite the eighteen benedictions; Rabbi Joshua said, A summary of the eighteen benedictions; Rabbi Akiba said, If the prayer is fluent on his tongue, he is to recite the eighteen benedictions, if not, just a summary (Ber 4.3 ).

IV Phraseology
26. יִּיא יִּדי חוֹבדתו, literally, 'he went out from (the power of) his obligation', i.e. he fulfilled his duty:

|  <br>  |
| :---: |
|  |  |
|  |  |
|  |  |

Rabban Gamaliel used to say, Anyone who does not explain these three terms during the celebration of passover has not fulfilled their duty; and these are the three terms: passover, unleavened bread, and
bitter herbs (Pes 10.5).
See also Suk 2.1; 3.13, etc. As we have already noted at Unit 17.17, the formula is often reduced to just

This use of ידי as preposition is also found in other phrases, as, for example, at Sheq 3.2:

To do what is required by mortals ... to do what is required by God.

## V Vocabulary

(vinazıkós) 'consul' (i.e. the emperor's consular delegate)
אֶרַ 'occur'
דיקוריוּ (Latin decurio) 'decurio, commander'
דרשׁן '(sacrificial) ashes’
(hi. of (n) 'prepare, arrange'
כּבְׁ 'ramp, grade, bridge'
R
'soul', שַּשִׁס 'because of a capital offence'
YO 'accompany, attend, support'

Pַּ
צבוּר 'community'
'jealousy, envy, fever’
?
רגדגל (plural רִגְלים) 'pilgrim festival'
תבדל '(inhabited) world’
תֵבֵּ 'spice, condiment'

## VI Exercises

2

 7.





9 9. אמר משה לפי הקב״ה, רבונו שלעולם, שמא דרכיך כדרכיבשר ודם? אפופרופסגוזר גזירה, כלירכוסמבשל על דיו, כלירכוס גוזר גזירה, דיקוריון מבטל עלידו, דיקוריון גוזר גזירה, היגמן מבטל על ידו, היגמון גוזרג גירה, א'פרכוס מבטל על ידו, איפרכוס גוזר גזירה, איפיטיקוס מבטל על ידו, איפיטיקוסגוחרגזירה, ובא המשטל הגדול ומבטל על ידי כלם, מפני שדן ממונין זהלמעלה מזה וחה למעלה מזה.
10. גם את אריגם הדוב הכה עבדך ןשמואל א זּלוֹן, אלא אמש דוד, וכי מה אני ספון שהכתי חיוח רעות הללו? אלאשמא דבר עתיד לארע את ישראלוחם עתידיןלחינצל על ידי
11. יחידי שיפול מהם, הרי הוא עלי ככלם. מלמד שאף אחדממעט עלידי כלן. דבר אחר, זידילעיופל מהם, הרי הוא עלי בנגד כלמעשה בראשית, שאאמר, כיליעין אדםוכל שבטי ישראלוזוכריהט אזן. 12. ולאימת ונפל למשכב [שמות כא׳'ח']. מג'ד שהצהיבהמביאה לידי מיחה.
13. אלעזר אחןוי אומר, יכול היה מדבר עמו לצורך עצמו? תלמוד לומר. לאמר נויקרא א׳אן, לאמר לישראל. בשביל ישראלההיהמדבר עמו ולא היהמדבר עמו לאורך עצמו. 14. מפנימהזכו הכנענים לישב בארצם ארבעיםושבע שנים, שנאמר,

וחברון שבע שנים נבנתה לפי צוען מצריםןבמרבר יג׳כגזן? אלא בשביל שכר, שכבדו אז אברהם אבינו שאמרו לו, שמענו, אדוני, נשיא אלהים אזה בתוכינוןבראשית כג'וֹן. בני ארם שכבדו את אברדם

אביוו זכו לישב בארצם שבע וארבעים שגה.
 הזהיר את אהרון על ידי הבניםואת הבנים על די ישראל ואת הבנים זהשלידיזה.
16. נמחקה המגילהואמרהןחהסוטהן, טמאה אגי, המיםנשפכיםוהמנחה

מתפזרת אבית הדשן, ואין מגילחה כשרה להשקות בה טוטה אחרח. 17. משל, למה הדבר דומה? למלך שנשבה בן אוהבו, וכשפדא לא פדאו לשוםבן חורין אלאלשום עבד, שאם יזור ולא היה מקבל עליו, יאמר לו, עבדי אתה, ... כך בשפדא הקב״ה את זרע אברהם אוהבו, לא פדאם לשום בנים אלאלשאם עבדים, בשיגוזר ולא יהיו מקבלים עליהם יאמר להם, עבדיי אתם. 18. נמצאח אתה אומר שתי קריבות הם, אחת קריבה שהיאלשום שמים ואחת קריבה שאינה לשום שמים. ותקרבוןויעמדון תחח ההר נדברים ד’'א', זו קריבה לשום שמים, וחקרבון אלי כלכםןדברים א׳ כב', זו קריבה שאינו לשום שמים

> 19. עד לא עשה ארץוחוצותוראש עפרוה תבל [משל׳ ח׳ כוזן. ארץ, אהלו שאר ארצוח, וחוצות, אלו מדברות, חבל, זו ארץ ישראל לו למה נקרא שמה תבל? על שם חבל שבתוכה. איזהו תבל שבתוכה? זו חורה,
> ששאמר, בגוים אין חורההנאיכה ב'ט'ן. מכאן שהתורדה בארץ ישראל. 20. ובאת שמה והבאתם ממה [דברים יב'ר'ז, לקבעם חובה, שלא יבואו
> אלא ברגל הראשטון שפגע בו. יכול אם עבר רגל אחד ולא הביא יהא
> עובר עליו משום, בל תאחר? תלמוד לומר, אלה תעשו ליי
> במועריכםןבמרבר כט׳לטיז, האא׳ן עובר טליו משום, בל חאחר, ער
> שיעברו עליו רגלי שנה כולה.

Sources. 1. Abot 2.2. 2. Abot 2.12. 3. Abot 4.11. 4. BM 7.1. 5. Ket 2.9. 6. Mak 2.3. 7. RS 3.1. 8. Shab 16.8. 9. Mek 17.14 (L 2.150). 10. Mek 17.14 (L 2.157). 11. Mek 19.21 (L 2.225). 12. Mek 21.18 (L 3.53). 13. SLv 1.1 (W 4b). 14. SLv 18.3 (W 85c). 15. SLv 22.1 (W 96a). 16. SNm 17.1 (H 21). 17. SNm 115.5 (H 127). 18. SNm 136 (H 182). 19. SDt 37 (F 70-71). 20. SDt 63 (F 130).

## UNIT TWENTY-THREE

## ADVERBS AND INTERJECTIONS

I Introductory text (SNm 84.4)
וכן אחה מוצא, כל זמן שישראל משטעבדים, כביכול, שכינה משתעבדת עמהם, שנאמר, ויראו את אלהי ישראל ותחחת רגליו במעשה לבנת הספיר [שמות כד'י״, וכן הוא אומר, בכל צרתם לו צר ['ששטיה סג' ט']

And thus you find that whenever Israel is enslaved, the Shekhinah, if one may speak in such a way, is also enslaved with them, as it is said, And they saw the God of Israel and under his feet was a pavement of sapphire [Ex 24.10], and that is why it says, He suffers with them in all their suffering [Is 63.9].
1.This is a key text in which Israel expresses how close it feels to God. The sapphire pavement beneath the throne of glory is throughout Jewish tradition a perennial memorial before God of the people's suffering; the difficult Isaiah text is read in a way that exacts the greatest degree of commitment on the part of God.

## II Morphology

2. In RH, many BH adverbs have disappeared or are in obvious decline: , שֶורֶ, etc. (see Segal 1927, §294).
3. On the other hand, in RH we find new adverbs, some of them of Aramaic origin. For practical purposes, the following presentation employs a traditional, albeit rather simplistic, classification, with adverbs categorized as being of manner, place, or time, even though there are some that belong to two categories and others which are difficult to classify at all.
4. Adverbs of manner.
A. Affirmatives: (occasionally written ${ }^{\boldsymbol{\gamma}} \boldsymbol{\aleph}$, easily confusable with the negative ${ }^{[ } \mathbb{W}$ ),
 בַּ
 יָּלוֹל, 'is it possible?'.
5. Various words employed as adverbial accusatives, as well as adjectives and participles with modal value (see Unit 19.13-14), also function as

 'alternately, crosswise', סְָּק 'doubtfully', 'כוֹל, 'possibly', etc.
6. Some frequently-used compound forms with adverbial value are listed below.
 example', כִדרכֹוֹ 'according to usual practice, in its usual way' (see Units 8.10; 11.10; 26.6B), כְּ 'כְּוֹצִא ב-analogously to' (see Unit 26.6C), כִּלוֹמַר 'that is to say, i.e.'
B. Compounds with בִּלבַּ : בִּ 'only', בַּעַלִיל 'clearly', בִּטוֹבָּ 'thankfully, gratefully, with permission', בִּפִּרוּשׁ
C. Other: עַל כֹרַח 'by force, of necessity'.

## 7. Adverbs of place:



 (see, e.g., Mak 3.12);


ביִּנְתַים 'meanwhile';

לבְִִים 'inside’;


לִמַפְרַע 'backwards, the other way round, in a disorderly way';


## 8. Adverbs of time.

A. Sometimes, adverbs of place are employed in a temporal sense (or
 Note the formula מֶּאן וְאִילְ 'from now on, from here onwards' (SNm 134.5 [ H 180]).
B. BH forms are: עוֹד 'still, again', לְמָחָר/מָחָר 'tomorrow', מַוֹלְם/לעוֹלָם '(from) for ever', כִּבָר 'already, then' (LBH).
C. Forms found for the first time in RH are: 'when?', מיְּד 'when
 'now',
D. Aramaic influence is obvious in the use of (infinitive: 'to return'), a calque of Aramaic in the sense of 'again' and
 the expression עַל אֲתֵּ 'on the spot, immediately'. All the more surprising, then, is the use of אֵמְטׂ, 'yesterday' in place of BH when Aramaic also uses this latter form.
E. Other forms employed as temporal adverbs include

9. Interjections.
A. Those most commonly used for introducing a discourse are $\operatorname{TN}$ and


Here you have (literally, 'behold for you') wine, and give me oil (MS 1.1).
הַרִ שִׁ- can carry the sense of 'suppose that' (see Unit 28.6), as at Bik 1.9:
 Suppose that he brought the firstfruits of one kind and performed the recitation, and that he then brought those of another kind-he does not have to perform the recitation.
B. Exclamations of complaint, sadness, joy, or surprise: אי לו, אוֹי לו, הוֹי, אֵלִלי.
C.
....

O God, your people. the house of Israel, have transgressed, offended, and sinned before you. Forgive, O God, the transgressions ... (Yom 6.2)
D.
E. For the meaning of הנראה, see Unit 21.10.
10. Any word or phrase can be used in exclamation or converted into an interjection, as in the well-known examples of הַמִּעוֹן דַּנְ 'by this abode' (i.e. the temple), הָעֲבוֹדָה 'by the service (of the temple)', הַשְׁמִּים 'by heaven', ancing 'heaven forbid', etc. (see Unit 3.4).

## III Grammar and usage

11. Negative propositions.
A. According to a reasonably long-established classification, negative particles may be categorized in the following way:

לא is used in verbal clauses:
[א/ in keeping with its origins as an adverb of existence ('there is not, there does not exist'), is used in nominal clauses to negate nouns and participles;
sis used with the imperfect for prohibitions and negative commands.
This model may be further characterized as follows: in negative halakhic

 veys a more personalized and persuasive mood. This characterization is reflected in the rule, albeit not of universal application, that sín whe states a prohibition applicable here and now.

To distinguish the use of $\boldsymbol{j} \boldsymbol{\beta}$ and in halakhic prohibitions, S. Sharvit (1980) notes that the latter is used with the imperfect in the singular, as in

No-one should sit in front of the barber (Shab 1.2; cf. Shab 6.1; Ber 5.3-4, etc.),
whereas the former is used with the participle in the plural:

No-one must stand to pray (Ber 5.1; cf. Shab 23.3, etc.).
For further details and examples, see Units 18.11; 19.17-18,22; 21.6; 24.8,10.
B. לָאו is an Aramaic loanword, employed in disjunctive formulas of the kind 'if ... or if not', with the verb not repeated in the negative alternative (see Unit 28.7C). Traces of its colloquial usage can be seen in, for example, Git 7.1:

If to 'no', he responds, 'no', and to 'yes', 'yes', they may write (the letter of divorce) and deliver it.
C. בַּל is an early negative particle, found in biblical poetry. In RH, it is only found as part of biblical prohibitions: 'do not kill, do not swear', etc., for example:

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { [ויקרא כה׳לוֹן }
\end{aligned}
$$

They transgress (the precept) in respect of 'you are not to give' [Lv 25.37] and in respect of 'you are not to take from him' [Lv 25.36] (BM 5.11).
(For the preposition
D. כִלוּם and used to reinforce a negation, emphasizing its absolute quality: 'absolutely nothing, none whatsoever':

ולבנו אחד לא נמן שום מתנה
But to a son of his, he gave no present whatsoever (SNm 119.2 [H 142]);
א׳ן לו כלום

He has absolutely nothing (ARN 11 [S 47]).
12. Oaths and vows.

These are usually formulated as exclamations, and because of this sometimes include interjections and fossilized expressions like קוֹנָם (see Units 3.4; 8.7B; 28.7E).

## 13. Wishes.

A. RH has dispensed with the shortened and lengthened forms of imperfect (jussive and cohortative) with which BH formulated wishes and intentions (see Unit 18.3-4). But the imperfect has remained in RH as the mood by which hope, fear, and desire are expressed (see Unit 18.10-11).
B. The interjection ורהלוֹאי is employed by the amoraim, but in the tannaitic midrashim וּוֹאז/לואאזלוִוואי is only found occasionally:

לואי אחה כיוצא בי ולואי כל ישראל כיוצא בך
Would that you were like me and would that all the Israelites were like you (SNm 96.3 [H 96]);

ולואי מתנו בשלשח ימי אפלהבמצרים
Would that we had died during the three days of darkness in Egypt (Mek 16.3 [L 2.100]).
C. In tannaitic literature, we encounter various formulas with רָצוֹ 'will,


יהי רצון מלפניך שירד ונמצאו הופכים את לבם לשמים
Let it be your will that it (manna) descends, and they found themselves turning their hearts towards heaven.
רצוננו לשמוע מפי מלכנו can take on a cohortative function, as in רָצוֹן 'may we hear it from the very mouth of our king' (Mek 19.9 [L 2.209]).

With second person suffix (רצוֹנָך), רצוֹן has jussive or desiderative value (see the exercises).
14. 'יכוֹל, 'possibly' has an interrogative nuance:

> יָכוֹל טֵּכְּבוֹד דָאָּ עוֹדףף עַל כְּבוֹד הִאם?

Is it possible that the dignity of the father is superior to that of the mother? (Ker 6.9).
In rabbinic arguments, ence to a biblical quotation (יָכוֹל .. חת״י):

> שםו העם ולקטו [במדבר יא׳ ח’]. יכול מפני שמצטערים עליו בשעת
> לקיטתו היו מחרעמים? ת״ל, שטו העם, לפתח ביתו היה יוצא ומלקם פרנסחו ופרנסת ביתו

The people dispersed and gathered up (the manna) [Nm 11.8]. Perhaps they rebelled because of what they had to suffer at the time of
gathering it? The text says. The people dispersed: all that was needed was for a person to go to the door of the house to gather their own supply and that of their household ( SNm 89.1 [ $\mathrm{H} 88-89]$ ).

## IV Phraseology

15.     - הואיל ונאמר 'א׳בתורה סתם, ופרט לך הכחוב באחד מחן שי seeing that in the Torah, ' A ' is mentioned without any specification, but in a certain place the text specifies that ..., a formula associated with the school of Ishmael (SNm 1.2; 14.1-2; 15.2; 73.1; 107.1: 123.12; 142.5; 153.1) and used to deduce from an explicitly specified sense (פְ) the general meaning that should be assigned to other passages in which the sense of the form is not specified (סֵחם):

אצבעון בבמדמד יט״ ד'זימינית שבידו .. ת״״ל, וטבל הכהן את אצבעו הימינית [ויקרא ד'ד'טז'ן. הואיל ונאמרו אצבעות בתורה טתם, ופרט לך הכתוב באחת מהם שאינה אלא ביד הימינית, אף פורטגי בכל אצבעות שבתורה, שלא ידו אלא ביד הימיניח.
With his finger [ Nm 19.4]. It refers to the right finger of the right hand .... A text teaches. The priest will moisten the right finger [Lv 14.16]. Seeing that in the Torah, fingers are mentioned without further specification, but in one passage of Scripture, it specifies for you that the right hand is concerned. I can extend this specification to all the fingers mentioned in the Torah: they refer to the finger of the right hand (SNm 123.12).
 employed to mitigate anthropomorphic or anthropophatic expressions (as in the introductory text of this unit), although sometimes to be interpreted as a request to excuse an exaggerated statement:

ובזמן שאין עושים רצונו כביכול הוא נלחם בם
But when they do not carry out his will, he, if one may say so, fights against them (SNm 157.8 [ H 211 ).

## V Vocabulary

בּרַע ‘swallow, devour, absorb’
בּשׁׁוּל 'cooking'
\%Tּד 'strike'
(פמפר (hi. 'do a reading from the prophets, recite the haftarah'
לוּלְל 'palm'

סִקילִה ‘stoning'
'stoning'
אריבוֹ 'a hundred thousand'

## VI Exercises




 בּתוֹרְתֶּ











 10. אמר לדהם יוסך, אבי ירד כאן לרצונו ואני העלתיו. אני ירדחי על כורחי, משביע אגי אליכם שממקום שגנבחתני לשם וחחזירוני. וכן עשא. 11. רבי אומר, דבר אל בני ישראל ויסער [שמות יד׳ם טרן, יסיעו דברים שהיו דוברים מלבן, אמש היו אומרים, דמבלי אין קברים ... נשמות יד׳ 'א'], ועכשיו אחה עומד ומרבה בתפלה? 12. רבי אומר, וכי מה אמר המקום למשה לאמר לישראל? או מה אמרו ישראל למשה לאמר למקום? אלא אמרו, רצוננו לשמוע מפי מלכנ, לא רומה שומע מפּי פרגוד לשומע מפי המלך. אמר המקום, תן להם מה שבקשו ... אמרו, רצוננו לראות את מלכטו, לא דומה שומע לרואה. אמר המקום, תן לדהם מה שבקשם. 13. לא תבשל גדי בחלב אמון ששמוח כג׳יטון. א׳ן לי אלא שהוא אסור בבישאל. ומין שהוא אסור באכילדת אמרת, קל וחמר, ומה אם הפסח, שאין בי, בלתבשל, שי בו, בלתאכל, בשר בחלב, שישלו, בל תבשל, דין הואשיהיה בו, בלתאכל.
 לי אלא שלא יגלה. מצין שלא תקרב חל תלמו לומר, לאתקרב. אין לי אלאנידה בלתקרב בל חגלה. מנין לכל העריוח בל הקרבו ובל חנלו? תלמוד לומר, לאתקרבו לגלות. 15. מיכן אמרו, כל המוסר עצמו על מנח לעשות לונס, א׳ן ערשים לונם, ושלא לעשוח לונס, ערשים לונס. 16. [אליהו] אמר לו, בני, מאיזו משפחה אתה? אמר לו, ממשפחה פלוני. אמר לו, וכמה הייחה? אמר לו, מגלשת אלפים. וכמה נשחייר מכם? אמר לו, אני. אמר לו, רצונך לומר רבר אחר ולחיוחר אמר לו, אין [= הן]. אמר לו, אמור, שמע ישראל ״״אלה״ך ״ אחר. צעקמיד ואמר, חס כי לאלהזכיר בשם י, לאלימדני אבא כך.
17. כיצד יתקיימו שגי כתובים הללו? (במדבר שר'לה, ויקרא כד' כג'). בית הסקילה היה גבוה שתי קומות, אחד מן הערים דוחפו על מתזיו, נהפך על לבו הופכו על מתציו. אם מח בה, יצא, ואם לאו, הער השני יוטל את האבן ונותנה על לבו. אם מזבה, יצא, ואם לאו, רגימחו בכל ישראל.
18. ויברך אותם משה[שמות לט׳ מג׳ן. מה ברכה ברכם? אמר להם, יהי

רצון שתשרה שכינה במעשה ידיכם. 19. כי הארץ אשר אתה באשמה לרשחה לא כארץ מצרים היאנדברים יא' "יז. לרשחה אתם באים, לא להיוח עליה מנין שגים שמטים ויובלות, אלא הפרש בין ביאתה של זו לביאתה של זו. ביאת ארץ מצרים רשות, ביאת ארץ ישראל חובה. ארץ מצרים בין שעושים רצונו של מקום ובין שאין עושים רצונו טל מקום, הרי לכם ארץ מצרים. ארץ ישראל אזי כן, אם אתם עושים רצונו שלמקום, הרי לכם ארץץ כנען, ואם לאו, הרי אתםגוליםמעליה.
20. עמד ומדד לו שמן במאה ריבוא. אמר לו, רצונך שוב? אמר לו, אין לי

מעות. אמר לו, טול ואני אבוא עמך ואטול את מעותיי. עמד ומדד לו שמן בשמונה עשרהריבוא.

Sources. 1. Abot 2.1. 2 Abot 2.4. 3. Abot 5.20. 4. Ber 9.3. 5. Meg 4.3. 6. Sanh 5.5. 7. Sanh 6.6. 8. Suk 4.4. 9. Ter 8.10. 10. Mek 13.19 (L 1.181). 11. Mek 14.15 (L 1.219). 12. Mek 19.9 (L 2.209). 13. Mek 23.19 (L 3.190). 14. SLv 16.19 (W 85d). 15. SLv 22.32 (W 99d). 16. SLv 26.25 (W 112a). 17. SNm 114 (H 123; cf. Sanh 6.4). 18. SNm 143.2 (H 191). 19. SDt 38 (F 77). 20. SDt 355 (F 421).

PARTIV

CLAUSES

# UNIT TWENTY-FOUR 

## TYPES OF CLAUSE

## I Introductory text (Mek 13.2 [L 1.133])

רבי שמעון בן יוחי אממר, מוטלו משל, למה הדבר דומה? לאחר שהיד
מהלך בדרך ופגע בו זאב וניצל ממאו, והיה הולך ומספר מעשד הזאב.
פגע בו ארי וניצל הימגו, שכח מעשה הזאב, והיה הולך ומספר מעשה
ארי. פגע בו נחש וניצל ממזו, שכח מעשה טגיהם והיה הולך ומספר
מעטה נחש. כך ישראל, צרות האחרונות משכחות הראשונות.

Rabbi Simeon ben Yohai said, They used to recount a parable. To what may this be compared? To someone who on a journey was attacked by a wolf but was rescued from it and continued the journey relating the story of the wolf. Later, the person was attacked by a lion but was rescued from it and, forgetting the story of the wolf, continued the journey relating the story of the lion. Later. the person was attacked by a snake but was rescued from it and, forgetting both the earlier stories, continued the journey relating the story of the snake. So it is with Israel: their later tribulations make them forget earlier ones.

1. The parable is introduced to explain Jr 23.7-8, in which vows by Y. invoke the liberation not from Egypt but from the northern kingdoms. In this context, it fulfils a typically midrashic function, illuminating the biblical text by demonstrating an analogy between divine and human action. The argument takes the form of a kelal: something that happens later makes what has happened previously be forgotten. Given the biblical dynamic, there is the underlying idea not only that the latter replaces the former but also that it is better, that the second liberation will be superior to the first one.

## II Morphology

2. Nominal and verbal clauses.

The classification of clauses as nominal or verbal is a traditional first stage in their grammatical analysis. Grammarians usually understand a verbal clause as a clause in which the predicate includes a personal form of a verb, and a nominal clause as a clause in which the predicate is a noun, adjective, participle, pronoun, or adverbial expression, but never a personal form of a verb-a common type of nominal clause comprises three members, in which the third person pronoun or the verb $\begin{array}{r}\text { הָיָה functions as copula (see Meyer }\end{array}$

This classification is nowadays regarded as being of only limited value in respect of Hebrew. A more appropriate model would seem to be that of traditional Arabic grammar, which makes a distinction between a clause that begins with a verb and says what the subject does (verbal clause) and one that begins with a noun and says who the subject is (nominal clause). On this understanding, every clause of the type 'וַיאמִר או is verbal, 'so-and-so said', and every clause of the type said', e.g. 2 S 7.13: הוֹא יבִנֵה־בַּית לשםמי 'he is the one who will build a temple for my name'.

Such distinctions retain some validity in RH-a subject placed before a verb or at the start of a clause has extra emphasis. Indeed, traditional grammar had observed that in nominal clauses the order subject-predicate is the norm, whereas in verbal clauses, the order is reversed, verb-subject, with the different word-orders reflecting differences in emphasis. However, as a linguistic phenomenon. emphasis is extremely difficult to analyse or even to identify, especially when dealing with stylistic variation in a dead language.

In the light of all this, the following general remarks may be made.
Among nominal clauses, a distinction should be made between clauses of identification, in which the subject and the predicate are determined and which usually take the form subject-predicate ( ${ }^{(\cdots)}$ ' cation, in which a general or indeterminate predicate is usually placed before the subject (יפה חלמוד תורה).

A distinction should also be made between simple nominal clauses, with the verb 'to be' or a personal pronoun as copula, and complex nominal clauses, which contain a personal form of a finite verb but with the subject, or some other word, preceding it and, therefore, being emphasized. However, it should be noted that not every proposition of the type should be automatically interpreted as a complex nominal clause (see Niccacci 1990).

The significance of a nominal clause (who does?) or a verbal clause (what's being done?) should not be viewed solely in the context of an isolated clause, but within that of the various literary genres: narrative, discourse, halakhah, prayer, etc. For example, within a narrative framework, such as that provided by the meshalim or ma'aśiyyot, the word order employed to introduce the words of a character is verb-subject (אמר משה), but in exegetical or halakhic discussions, the order is subject-verb (רבי ערפון אומר). Thus, the identification of genre is indispensable when analysing clause types, as A. Niccacci has shown in respect of biblical prose.

In a so-called verbal clause, given that a personal form of a verb includes reference to a subject by means of affixes, any additional expression of the subject should be viewed as having emphatic value, if placed before the verb, or as in determinative apposition, if placed after. Having said that, the order also depends to a considerable extent on the rhythm of a clause and its accents.

## 3. Coordination and subordination.

Semitic clause structure frequently evidences the juxtaposing of clauses, with or without and (syndetic and asyndetic parataxis), which, nonetheless, conveys logical subordination (hypotaxis):

Bring me your younger brother that I might (literally, 'and I shall') know (Gn 42.34).
In BH , we also find more striking instances of logical subordination expressed through the juxtaposition of finite forms of verbs:

I do not know how to (literally, 'I do not know, I do not') flatter (Jb 32.22);

I shall pasture once again (Gn 30.31);
ָהשוֹבָּ אֶרעֶה
מי יוֹדַעַ יחַּנִַּּי
Who knows whether Y. will take pity on me ( 2 S 12.22).
This phenomenon continued into RH, even though, as we shall see in the following units, there was a considerable increase in the number of conjunctoons, often morphologically combined with other particles, which unambiguously express hypotaxis/subordination, as in the following illuminating example. Dt 17.17 states, using coordination,

He is not to acquire many wives and his heart will not (i.e. 'so that his heart will not') stray,
for which SDt 159 (F 210) places the following interpretation in the mouth of Rabbi Judah:

מרבה הוא לו ובלבד שלא יהו מסירוחא את לבו
He will be able to acquire more (wives) so long as they do not make his heart stray.
The change from coordination to subordination occurs both as part of language evolution and because of the need for exegetical precision.
4. The two-element syntactic construction.

This is the term that A. Niccacci (1990) employs for the characteristic Hebrew construction of protasis and apodosis, often but not necessarily joined by the so-called waw apodosis, which 'serves vividly to pick up the train of thought which has been held up or slowed down, and to link the two disjointed parts of the statement' (Joüon-Muraoka 1993, §176B). The structure is commonly found with a conditional, temporal, or causal proposition in the protasis, or following a nominal clause, adverbial expression, or casus pendens:

Because you rejected the word of Y., he has rejected you as king (1 S 15.23);

When I die, you are to bury me (1 K 13.31);

It happened at that time that he said (Gn 21.22).
A comparison of the classical BH text of 1 K 15.13 and its LBH counterpart is illuminating:

And he even removed his mother, Maacah, from the post of queen mother ( 1 K 15.13 );

And even Maacah, (his) mother, Asa the king removed (her) from the post of queen mother (2 C 15.16 ).
Whereas Kings retains the two-element construction of protasis and apodosis joined by waw, Chronicles removes the waw apodosis and converts the protasis into a casus pendens, which is emphasized because of its position at the beginning of the clause (see below, $\$ 11$ ). This process of change would reach its climax in RH, where the casus pendens construction abounds and waw apodosis is generally absent.

## III Grammar and usage

5. RH continues to formulate what are in effect subordinate structures through coordination, as in the following example, typically couched as a two-element construction:

## 

When all the other cows came in. that cow did not come in (SLv 26.13 [W 111b]).

In narrative works, it is common to find chains of clauses, sometimes not even linked by the conjunction waw, among which a logically subordinate structure is evident, as in the parable from the Mekhilta in the introductory text of this unit (Mek 13.2) or in the parable of the king who ordered that his son be given what he needed day by day, not all at once (SNm 89.5 [H 90]) or of the expert and prudent general ( SNm 131.1 [H 170], text 17 in the exercises). The following is a typical example of asyndetic coordination, once again as a two-element construction. expressing simultaneity of action:

התחיל הבן ההוא מנתק, הוציא עליו שמר ואמר
When that son started to protest, he brought the document out to him and said ( SNm 115.5 [H 127]).
6. These examples show that RH maintains the two-element syntactic construction, even though waw apodosis is generally omitted (sometimes replaced by emphatic $\boldsymbol{1}$ ). To this category belong the numerous two-element conditional constructions that appear in halakhot, and that are discussed and illustrated in Units 17.11-12, 19.11, and 28.5, for example:

If they prepare him a drink and he says, I shall abstain from it, that one is a Nazirite (Naz 2.3).
7. A striking construction that is maintained, albeit only as a literary affectation, has two finite verbs asyndetically juxtaposed, with one verb being in reality the main verb and the other an auxiliary:

אמר רבי עקיבה, אגי אהיה אביץ לפשיך
Rabbi Akiba said, I am going to make you understand (literally, 'I shall be, I shall cause to understand') (SDt 60 [F 126]).
More and more, though, logical subordination is achieved through formal subordination based on the use of conjunctions.
8. Negation of verbal clauses is usually effected through $\boldsymbol{k}$, with regularly used to negate the imperfect expressing a subjunctive sense of desire or exhortation (see Units 18.11; 23.11; Segal 1927, §471).
9. A characteristic feature of RH is the anticipation of an element in a subordinate clause as the object of the main clause:

The witnesses testified (against him) that he had stolen it (Shebu 8.3);

לימד על בנות שראל שדןן מכסות ראשיהן
Teach (concerning) the daughters of Israel that they are to cover their heads ( SNm 11.2 [H 17]).
This kind of anticipation regularly occurs with certain verbs, for example ר塄 'decree':

גזר על בנו להיות ספרנסו
He decreed concerning his son to provide for him (i.e. 'he gave a decree to provide for his son') (SNm 89.5 [H 90]).
The anticipated element can also function as a casus pendens (see below, §11), as in narratives with מַטֵֵּה, for example at Ket 1.10:

It happened that a little girl went down.
10. The modal nominal clause.

This is a common BH construction, in which a simple nominal clause (without a finite verb), syndetically or asyndetically juxtaposed to a main clause, conveys a concomitant circumstance. Such a 'circumstantial clause', as it has traditionally been labelled, is found, for example, at Gn 18.1:

Y. appeared to him among the terebinths of Mamre while he was sitting at the entrance of his tent.
The construction is continued in RH, especially in narrative style: וצדיקים רואים אותו ומזדעזעים מלפגיו, הריני כיצצא בכם
When the righteous see it and tremble in its presence, (he will say to them) I am like you (SLv 26.12 [W 111n]);

One who finds an object with a figure of the sun engraved (AZ 3.3, a particularly clear example);


They carried before the ark a skilled elder, with sons but with his house already empty (Taa 2.2).
Nominal clauses are usually negated with (see below, §14, and Unit 23.11).

It should be noted that nominal clauses, as such, are atemporal, with their location in time being given only by context.
11. Nominative absolute or casus pendens.

These terms are used to designate a noun, pronoun, or clause that, positioned emphatically at the beginning of a clause, lacks syntactic continuation ('what they're saying, forget it', etc.). As a typically spoken usage, it is especially common in RH, for example

אבל אתם חשבון רב אני עחיד לחשב עמכן
But you, in the future I'm going to agree a large reward for you (SLv 26.9 [W 111a]),
and occurs not only in narrative but also in legal contexts. The effect of this type of construction is to highlight whatever has been made into the first element of the grammatical sequence.

But what to our way of thinking appears to be a casus pendens or 'hanging' clause, when carefully considered, may be understood as an instance of asyndetic coordination of clauses, yielding a compound clause in which the nominal subject (which can even be an entire clause) always goes in front, and the predicate forms an independent clause of a verbal or nominal kind (Meyer 1992, §92.4).

The inclusion of casus pendens among subjects of nominal clauses is widely contested. with concepts expressed by terms like extraposition, segmentation, isolation, and compound sentence being preferred as more appropriate to the phenomenon concerned, namely, the advance presentation of an element. R. Contini ( 1982,56 ) writes:

The extraposed element is indeed the 'logical subject' of the sentence, but the latter does not thereby lose its grammatically verbal character, which derives from the morphological nature of the predicate: no-one would consider calling an example such as the ... French Ce problème, je n'arrive pas à le résoudre a compound (or 'complex') nominal sentence.
Nonetheless, it seems more correct to view the casus pendens structure as a version of the two-element syntactic construction. The following are some of the types found in RH.

Usually, the element brought forward on its own to the beginning of the clause is referred to by a pronoun in the main, or predicative, clause:
הַתִּרוּמָה, מִה הָּיוּ טוֹשין בְּדּי?

The oblation, what is to be done with it? (Sheq 4.1);

The remants of the chamber, what is to be done with them? (Sheq 4.3).

But formal reference may be omitted if there is no possibility of confusion:
הַרֵי אִלּוּ חַיָּב לְדַכְרִיז
Note that these are the things one must proclaim (BM 2.2).
This kind of construction is very common in halakhic formulations, especially those commencing with $-\underset{\sim}{\varphi} \uparrow$, which raise in an emphatic manner a particular case to be decided:

Someone whose wife left to go to a faraway town, if they come and tell him, Your wife has died, and he then marries her sister, but later it happens that his (first) wife reappears, she may return to him (Yeb 10.4; cf. Yeb 11.6: 13.8-9, etc.).
 6.7.)

Within this group of clauses, a particular type comprises those that begin
 further indication that the casus pendens is frequently a relative clause with antecedent.

A characteristic feature, especially when the shifted element turns out to be very long or is followed by an extensive digression, is the resumptive use of
 בכתפוֹ, הַרַי זְה הוֹכִל
If someone was working with their hands but not with their feet or with their feet but not with their hands, or even with their shoulder, note that this person may eat (BM 7.3).
Observe that in this example, the casus pendens is an extended nominal clause.

Another typical kind of casus pendens occurs when the topic of halakhic dispute is left hanging at the beginning of a clause while the competing opinions on the matter are stated-to give just one example:
(If someone says) I shall abstain from dried figs and from fig-cake, the school of Shammai declare that such a person is a Nazirite and the school of Hillel declare that such a person is not (Naz 2.1).
In meshalim, or parables, the subject to which the parable applies may appear as the first element, highlighted and syntactically isolated: כך ישראל, צרוח האחרונוח משכחות הראשונות So it is with Israel: their later tribulations make them forget the earlier ones (Mek 13.2 [L 1.133]).
Similarly, in statements of comparison, it is normal to emphasize, by isolation, the object of comparison-iט̣io in the following example:

אשלמדתי לפרה שעשה בה כל הכלים ככלי חרש, אף סוטה, אינו דין

## מנעשה בה כל הכליםככלי חרשק

Seeing that in the ritual of the red heifer any vessel is treated as an earthen vessel, so also in the ritual of a woman suspected of adultery may we not infer that any vessel is to be treated as an earthen vessel? (SNm 10.2 [H 16])
All the foregoing examples demonstrate that the phenomenon of the nominative absolute or casus pendens actually consists of an enunciation of the topic to be discussed, couched as a two-element syntactic construction. At a formal level, it may be regarded as an instance of parataxis; at a logical level there is in practice subordination or hypotaxis (which needs to be translated by means of conditional, temporal or circumstantial clauses: 'if one says', 'when it happens', etc.); at a stylistic or affective level, the structure is an efficient means of conveying emphasis.

The topic, or casus pendens. can be given even greater prominence by determining it with the deictic particle $\pi$ (see Units 2.7 and 8.6 F ):

את שצריך כפרה, צא מחת שכיפרה לו נפשו
With regard to one who requires expiation, a dead person is excluded as their soul has atoned for them ( SNm 4.5 [H 7]).

## 12. Adjectival clauses.

R. Meyer (1992, §115) perceptively observed that from a syntactic perspective, relative clauses are actually adjectival, as their function is to complete the nominal parts of a main clause.

In RH, אשׁטר has disappeared in favour of particular Unit 8.6.

## 13. Disjunctive clauses.

These are examined in the context of direct and indirect interrogative, comparative, and conditional clauses (see Units 25-26 and 28). At times a disjunctive structure (either in the Hebrew text or in its translation) is to be understood as merely representing alternative, but not disjunctive, possibilities. RH can indicate such alternative possibilities by means of (signifying equivalence), - l, or simply by juxtaposition. For example, at Meg 4.1, הַקוֹרִא אִת הַמִגִּלִּד עוֹמד וִיוֹשׁב signifies that the reader may be standing or $(-1)$ seated, without implying any real disjunction. When a clear disjunction is intended, the forms is ... $\boldsymbol{N}$, -
 If her sister is also her sister-in-law, either she performs halisah or she marries (Yeb 3.3);

אמר לו בגזירה, שתאכל אחת הדג אר שחלקה מאה מכות או שחתן מאה מנה
He told him sternly, Either you eat the fish, or you receive a hundred lashes, or you pay a hundred minas (Mek 14.5 [L 1.195]);

הודיעני אם אחה מרפא אותה ואם לאו
Tell me if you are going to cure her or not (SDt 26 [F 41]).

IV Phraseology
 clause that expresses a circumstance with a concomitant, modal, or temporal relationship to the main activity conveyed by the sentence:

ארבע מלכיוח מושלות בדם בישראל, ואין בהם חכםואין בהם נבון Four empires have ruled over the Israelites, when there was no wise or intelligent person among them (the Israelites). (SDt 304 [F 323]);

ועדין הדבר חלי בדלא תלי, וא׳ן אנו יודעים אם הקדוש ברוך הוא
בחר ביעקוב, אם יעקוב בחר בהקדושברוך הוא
But still the matter is not clear, so that we do not know whether it was the holy one, blessed be he, who chose Jacob or whether it was Jacob who chose the holy one. blessed be he (SDt 312 [F 353]).

## V Vocabulary

אֵapn 'arm, cubit, channel'

骨 in the expectation of thanks', i.e. 'freely, voluntarily, gratefully'



חַחִּ ‘sun’
 primary source of impurity, which can be transmitted to a thing, which, or a person, who, thus becomes a
derived or secondary source of impurity, which can only be transmitted to things.
שָּרַ 'expel, throw out'
לִבְּד 'moon'
'be dry'
Tit 'comfortable, good, pleasant'
פִיחָּ
צוּרָ 'shape, figure'

Tק

## VI Exercises

הפוֹרק
לִיְם הַּלְלח.


 לאחֵאִּל.







 לאחדר המשוֹער
10. כך ישראל, צרות האחרונות משכחות הראשנות. 11. משל, למה הדבר דומה? לאדם שכעס עלבנו וטרדו מביתו. נכנס אוהבו לבקשהימנו ולהחזירו לביתו. אמר לו, כלום אתה מבקשממי אלאמפני בניז כבר נחרצתי לבני 12. משל, למה הרבר דומה? לאחד שהיהמהלך בדרך והיה מגהיג אחבנו לפניו. באו לסטים מלפניו לשבוחו, נטלו מלפניו ונתו לאחריו.באזאב מאחריו, נטלו מאזריו ונתו לפניו. באו לסטים מלפניו וזבים מאחריו, נטלו ונתנו על זרועוחיו. התחיל הבן מצטער מפני החמה, פרש עליו אביו בגדו. רעב, האכילו, צמא, השקהו. כך עשה הקב״ד. 13. הלמד שלאלעשוחנוחלו שלאנברא. 14. מעםה בימי הורודוס טהיו גשמים יורדיםבלילות, בשחריתזרחה חמה ונשבה הרוחונתגנבה הארץ והפועליםיצאאים למלאכתםויודעים שמעשיהם לשם שמאים.
15. היו בביתו של אדם חמש זכרים או חמשנקבות. היד יושב ומצפה ואומר, אוילי, שמאלא ידר המן למחר ונמציבו מאזיםברעב, יהירצון מלפניך שירד. 16. אמר משה, מה אני אעשה? עכשיו כל אחד ואחד אומר, כבר פדאני

לוי. עשה משה תקנה, נמל פיזקיםוכתב עליהם, לוי, תנטלפיתקים וכתב עליהם, כסף חמשת שקלים, ובללם והטילם בקלפי. אמר להם,

באו בוטלופיתקיהם. כלמי שגטלפיחקוכוכתוב היה עליו, בןלוי, אומר לו, כבר אתה פדוי. ומי שxטל פיתק וכוכתוב עליי, כסף חמטת שקלים, היה משד אממר לו, צאותן פדיונך. 17. משל, למה הדבר דומחו למרינה שמרדה על המלך. שלח המלך פולימרכוס אחד להחריבה. היה אותו פולימרכוסבקי ימיושב. אמר להם, שלו לכם ימים, ואםלאו, הריני עושה לכם כדרך שעשיתי למדינה פלונית ולחברוחיהולהפרכיא פלוניתולחברותיה.
18. נקרא המקום רחום, אף אתה היה רחום, הקדושברוך הואנקרא חנון, אה אתה היה חנין 19. משטהברבי אלעזר בן שמוע ורבי יוחנן הסגדלר, שהיו הולכים לנציבים אצלרבי יהודהבן בתירהללמוד ממותורה, והגיעו לציידן וזכרו את ארץ ישראל. זקפו עינזהםוללגו דמעותיהםוקרעובנדיהם וקראו את המקרא הזה, וירשתם אותה וישבתם בה ושמרח לעשות את

#   20. שמע אדם קימעה, מטטיעים אוֹתו הרבד, שמע אדם דברי תורה, משמיעים אאחו דברי סופרים. 

Sources. 1. Abot 3.2. 2. Abot 3.5. 3. AZ 3.3. 4. AZ 4.3. 5. Bes 1.1. 6. Erub 8.7. 7. Naz 5.5. 8. Naz 3.5. 9. Pes 1.3. 10. Mek 13.2 (L 1.133). 11. Mek 14.15 (L 1.218). 12. Mek 14.19 (L 1.224-25). 13. SLv 26.3 (W 110c). 14. SLv 26.4 (W 110d). 15. SNm 89.5 (H 90). 16. SNm 95.2 (H 96). 17. SNm 131.1 (H 170). 18. SDt 49 (F 114). 19. SDt 80 (F 146). 20. SDt 115 (F 174).

## UNIT TWENTY-FIVE

## INTERROGATIVE CLAUSES

## I Introductory text (SNm 87.1 [H 86])


We remember the fish that we ate without charge in Egypt [ Nm 11.5 ]. Does it say in the context that the Egyptians had given them fishes without charge? Rather, is it not said. Now go and work, and you will not even be given straw [Ex 5.18]? If they didn't even give them straw for nothing, were they going to give them fishes without charge? In that case, how should I interpret, Without charge? Without the commandments!

1. Here we see a contrast between grace and commandments that Saint Paul himself could have put his name to. A detailed and ingenious exegesis reveals that the Egyptians did not provide fish for free, but rather this was something that came from God, with 'without charge' indicating that the gift was not in exchange for merit or for commandments fulfilled, as the Torah had not yet been promulgated.

## II Morphology

2. For a presentation of the forms and uses of interrogative pronouns and
adverbs, see Units 5 and 23.



## III Grammar and usage

4. An interrogative structure may have no formal representation in writing, being detectable only by tone of voice or context. Rhetorical questions of the type 'is it not right that?' are common and easily identified.

In midrashic exposition, a conclusion that is regarded as correct can be formulated with דין 'it is/concerns a deduction' or with a rhetorical question, -אינו רין 'is it not a deduction that?', both forms alternating with no discemible difference in meaning. Such constructions should usually be rendered with a verb rather than a noun 'one deduces, one may infer, it follows' or 'does not one deduce?. may not one infer?, does it not follow?':

## אם למדהי לפרה שעטה בד כל הכלים ככלי חרש, אף סוטה, אינו דין

 שעשה בה כל הכלים ככלי חרש?Seeing that in the ritual of the red heifer any vessel is treated as an earthen vessel, so also in the ritual of a woman suspected of adultery may we not infer that any vessel is to be treated as an earthen vessel? (SNm 10.2 [H 16]).
In the Mishnah, the formula - איףוֹ דין is continually employed as the conclusion in a qal wahomer, or a fortiori, argument, following an initial supposition that begins with מְה אם:



If a woman's milk, which is only for infants, contaminates whether it is released voluntarily or involuntarily, does not one deduce that the milk of a beast. which is used for infants and adults, will also cause contamination whether it is released voluntarily or involuntarily? (Makhsh 6.8).
5. The interrogative particle - 7 is little used in RH. An example is at RS 2.8, where Rabban Gamaliel shows various pictures of the moon to illiterate witnesses and asks them:

Did it look like this or like this?
More common is הֶלא (as in BH), when seeking a response in the affirmative, 'is it not true that', as in the following two examples. At Yom 6.8, in connection with the means of verifying that the scapegoat had reached the desert, R. Judah and R. Ishmael ask:

Didn't they have a better sign? ... Didn't they have a different sign?

At Sanh 6.4, a question, the answer to which was well-known, is raised:

Did not Simeon ben Shatah hang women in Ashkelon?
6. is also frequently used: וכי 'all the trees are fit for the fire?' (Tam 2.3). It is usually employed in the expectation of a negative response:

Could it occur to us that the elders of the tribunal were shedders of blood? (Sot 9.6);

> וכי כושים היי??

Were they (the Israelites) Ethiopians? (SNm 99.3 [H 99]).
Sometimes, וכי is employed pleonastically in support of other interrogative particles or expressions, giving rise to structures like וְכי סָה ,וְכי הִיאֵּ, .וכי מחִּני סָה ,וכי אִיזT Among numerous examples of their use is the following:

וכי איזה מדה מרובה, מדת טובה או מרח פורענות?
Which measure is the more generous, that of mercy or that of punishment? (SNm 8 [H 15]).
7. כִּלוּם is an indefinite particle employed in negative expressions. In later RH, it is also used to introduce questions, but there seems to be only one instance of this usage in the Mishnah, in an apparently colloquial context:

Didn't you say it to give me honour? This is my honour (Ned 8.7).
The usage is also rare in the tannaitic midrashim:
אממר משה לפני המקום, אדוני, כלום הגון להם שתתן להםותהרגם? Moses argued before the omnipresent one. My lord, are you giving them something only to kill them afterwards? (SNm 95.1 [H 95]; cf. Mek 20.2 [L 2.229]).
8. Direct disjunctive questions introduce the second part with is. as at RS 3.8:

Was it that Moses' hands were able to wage war or perhaps to hinder it? (see Unit 24.13).
9. Indirect questions.

These do not differ at all from direct questions (see Segal 1927, §465; Meyer 1992, $\S 114.4$ ), which means that it is often uncertain which is in-tended-for example, at Sanh 3.6

אֶמוֹר דִּאָּ אֵתָּד יוֹדֵע could mean either 'say how you know' or 'say, How do you know?'.

An indirect question may be introduced by ar (as well as by an interrogative adverb or pronoun, as in the previous example):

וכן לכל אומה ואומה שאל להם אם מקבילים את התורה
And in the same way each of the peoples was asked if they wished to receive the Torah (SDt 343 [F 396]).
A disjunctive indirect question (see Unit 24.13) will usually introduce
each part of the question with DN , as at BQ 10.7:

If a person says to their companion, But I don't know if I did return it to you or if I didn't, such a person is obliged to pay. But if they say, I don't know if I robbed you or if you made me a loan or if you deposited it with me, they are exempt from repayment.
However, there are other examples in which the alternative possibility is introduced by $-\underset{\sim}{0}$ is (see Unit 8.9), for example:


And if it is not known which of the two was slaughtered first, or if the two were slaughtered at the same time, he may start eating his one (Pes 9.9).

## IV Phraseology

10. אינוֹ דִין 'is it not a deduction that?'; see above, $\S 4$.
 (etc.) do so-and-so?' (see Unit 20.13):
 (The proselyte) presented himself to them in the academy and said to them, May I enter the congregation? (Yad 4.4);

May I plant a seed beneath what remains? (Kil 6.4);
 They asked Rabban Gamaliel, May we go down (i.e. 'disembark')? He answered them, It is permitted (Erub 4.2).
11. המשלא כבָר נְאֲמַּר 'has it not already been said?', introducing a scriptural passage regarded as a repetition of the text under discussion; the formula is used when attempting to establish an additional meaning for a 'repeated' text (there can be no throwaway comments in the Torah!), and alternates with a positive variant: הַרִ כבָר נֵאֵמַּר 'note that it has already been said'. The following is a good example:

כי אשה כושית לקחן בנמרבר יב׳א']. עוד למה גאמר? והלא כבר נאמר, על אודות האטה הכושיתןבמדבר יב׳ א׳]? אלא מהת״״ל, כי אטה כושותלקח? ישלך אשה נאה ביופיד ולא במעשיה, במעשיהולא ביופיה ..., ואת נאה בנויהונאה במעשיה, לכך נאמר, בי אשה כושיתלקח
For he had married an Ethiopian woman [ Nm 12.1b]. Why does it say this again? Was it not already said, On account of the Ethiopian woman [ Nm 12.1 a ]? So, what teaching is provided by the text, For
he had married an Ethiopian woman. You would have it that a woman can be beautiful because of her looks but not because of her deeds or because of her deeds but not because of her looks ... But this woman was beautiful because of her looks and because of her deeds, and that is why it says, For he had married an Ethiopian woman (SNm 99.4 [H 99]).

## V Vocabulary

 to?'
'the house of choice', i.e. the temple
'mix'
דְחָה 'annul, abrogate, expel', דְה 'abrogate the sabbath commandment'

ה הָּ 'sprinkling'
$7!$ 'pure'
Fחלּ 'change, substitution'; used adverbially, 'the other way round'
עַכבָּר 'mouse'
עַלִילִה 'pretext'
קַקבּ שַּל 'accuse, cry out, protest' (as against 'receive')
חקִּ Pe 'pulse' (beans, peas, etc.)
קִּלִס ‘acclaim, applaud'
'fraud, impostor'

VI Exercises






 שֵׁמֶן זוּת זָךָ?








 7







בּקִהּל ״
 כָּל הֶהמּוֹת.



10. אמר משה לפצי הקב״ה, רבונו מל עולם, שמא דרכיך פדרכי בשר ורם? ... רבונו של עולם, כלום נגזרהגזירה שלא אכנס לה?
11. מפני מה לאנאמרו עשרח הדברוח מחחלת החורה? משלו מסל, למה הדבר דומח? למלך שאכנם למדינה, אמר להם, אמלוך עליכם, אמרו לו, כלום עשית לנו טובה שתמלוך עלינו?
12. על מהנחלקו? על העושה בתוך היום, שא׳י יודע אם בשבת עשה אם ביום הכפוריםעשה.
13. וכי היאך היה משה יכול להפשיט אח בגדיוןשל אהרוןן כסידרך? ... וכי היאּך היה יכול משה להלביש את אלעזר בגדים כסדרן? 14. אמרו ישראל לפני משה, וכי היאך מקלסת מרינה את המלך ואינה רואה פני המלך?
15. ואם א׳ן לאישגואל [במדבר ה׳חזן. רבי ישמעאל אומר, וכ׳ישלך אדםבישראל שאין לוגואר?
16. ויקריבו הנשיאים את קרבנם לפני המזבחן במשרבר ז׳ין, ... וערין לא

היה יודע משה כיצד יקריבו אם למסעות אם לחולדות, ער שאאמר לו מפי הקב״ה... ועדיִ לאהיה יודע משה כיצד יקריבונשיאים אם כולן כאחד או כל אחד ואחד יומו, עד שנאמר מפי הקדש. 17. ויצוסו משאאיך [במדבר י׳לד']. וכי יש טאנאים לפגי מי שאמר והיה העולם? ... וברוב גאונך תהרוס קמיך [שמות טוז'זן. וכי יש קמים לפי מי שאמר ודיה העולם? 18. והלא הלכה עמהם באר במדבר והיתה מעלח להם דגים שמגים יותר מצרכם? אלא שמבבקשים עלילה היאך לפרוש מאחרי המקום. 19. זה אחד מן הדברים שאמר משדה לפני המקום, הוריעני אם אתחה עושה לי אם אי אתה עושה לי. אמר לו הקדושברוך הוא, אגי עושה.
20. רבי הודהה אומר, מלשמ מצוחת נצטוי ישראל בשעת כניסחם לארץ,

למנוחלהםמלך, לבנוח להם ביח הבחירה ולהכרית זרע עמלק. איני יורע איזה יקדום, אם למנוח להם מלך, אם לבנות להםביח הבחירה, אם להכרית זרע עמלק.

Sources. 1. BM 2.7. 2. BM 3.7. 3. Kel 17.6. 4. Men 8.5. 5. Ned 7.1. 6. Pes 6.2. 7. RS 3.8. 8. Yad 4.4. 9. Yad 4.6. 10. Mek 17.14 (L 2.150-52). 11. Mek 20.2 (L 2.229-30). 12. SLv 4.23 (W 20b). 13. SLv 8.7 (W 41a). 14. SLv 9.4 (W 43d). 15. SNm 4.1 (H 7). 16. SNm 47 (H 52). 17. SNm 84.4 (H 81). 18. SNm 95.1 (H 95). 19. SDt 26 (F 40). 20. SDt 67 (F 132).

## UNIT TWENTY-SIX

## COMPARATIVE CLAUSES

I Introductory text (SDt 8 [F 16])

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|  |  |
|  |  |
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What instruction is provided by the text, (Come and take possession of the land that I swore to your fathers) to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob [Dt 1.8]. How worthy was Abraham in his own right, how worthy was Isaac in his own right, and how worthy was Jacob in his own right! A parable-it is like a king who gave a field to his servant-it was given to him just as it was. That servant set about improving it, saying, What should I do? It has been given to me as it is. He came back and planted a vineyard, saying, What should I do? It was given to me just as it is. Thus, in the same way, when the holy one, blessed be he, gave Abraham the land, it was given to him just as it is, as it is said, Arise and go the length and breadth of the land, because I shall give it to you [Gn 13.17]. Abraham set about improving it, as it is said. And he planted a tamarisk at Beer-sheba [Gn 21.33]. Isaac set about improving it, as it is said, And Isaac sowed in that land and reaped a hundredfold that year [Gn 26.12]. Jacob set about improving it, as it is said, And he bought part of the countryside [Gn 33.19].

1. Why is the name of each patriarch expressly mentioned? Would not the generic 'our fathers' have sufficed? The exegesis provided finds the motive for this apparently superfluous form of expression-each one of the patriarchs was worthy in his own right to receive the oath promising the land. The point of the parable is to show that just as the servant was deserving of his lord's gift, so too was each of the patriarchs, for each of them did not rest content with merely maintaining the property in the state it had been given him (כִמוֹח שֶּיא) but took the risk of working to improve it. (Note the parallel with the parable of the talents in Mt 25.14-30 and Lk 19.12-27.) The midrashic function of the parable is to energize a series of texts describing the work of each patriarch.

The servant's words משָ בּיִד are to be interpreted as 'what possibilities are available to me?, what can I do?, as is clear from the parallel text in Midrash Tannaim.

## II Morphology

 is used with personal suffixes, but is also found in a plural or collective form, ,כמות, resulting in a specifically RH paradigm. The following strengthened forms with suffixes are attested in the Mishnah and tannaitic midrashim:

| 1st person | כָּמוֹתי |
| :---: | :---: |
| 2nd person |  |
| 3 rd person sing. |  |
| 3 rd person plur. | כִּמוֹתָ/ן |

3. In line with developments in the spoken language, $\boldsymbol{T}$ is often strengthened by other particles in RH to achieve greater expressivity or to make certain kinds of comparison more explicit:

פּנגַּ 'corresponding to':
'according to the custom of'; 'כִּ 'as much as is required for, sufficient for'; -כיוֹצא בanalogously to'.
 erally in association with $\lceil$ כֵ:

As he did, so let it be done to him ( Lv 24.19 ).
RH possesses a greater variety of conjunctions for subordinating one clause to another in a relationship of comparison:

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-שim;
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The second term of a comparison may be introduced by modal adverbs like , כּמ in is also found at Qumran.

## III Grammar and usage

5. Concerning adjectives and comparisons of superiority or inferiority, see Unit 13.5; on 3 as a comparative particle, see Unit 30.8B.
6. Some compound prepositions or prepositional phrases convey a meaning that is often difficult to determine precisely.
A. כִּנַגָּ (נְנִ proportion (see Unit 7.1), not opposition or confrontation, as well illustrated by the late text PRE 12, in which the עזר כנִגדּ of Gn 2.18 , that is the woman as help for the man, could be converted into the exact opposite, simply by reading ליגבדי:

> ר'יהודה אומר, אל הקרא, כנגדו, אלא, לנגדו. אם זכהתהיהלו עזר, ואם לאו, לנגדו לחלחלם R. Judah used to say, Do not read שִּנִנְדּו, but לִגַגִּ; if she were righteous, she would be of help to him, but if not, she would be against him, fighting him.
B. כּדרֶּ signifies that which is habitual (see Units 8.10 and 11.10). Hence, we encounter expressions like כְדרכּן of 'as customary, in the habitual manner', or, frequently, 'in his, her, its (etc.) own way':

## וּבית הּלל אוֹמרים, כָּל אָדָם קוֹרִא כּדַרכּוּו

The school of Hillel maintains, Each person may read in their own way (Ber 1.3);

Livestock has a warning attached to it for going along in its normal way, causing damage (BQ 2.1);

Liable, because he did not look after (the deposit) as guardians normally do, but if he looked after it as guardians normally do, then he is exempt (BM 3.10).
In the following comparison from Sheq 3.2, the point is not that people have to carry out their obligations both to mortals and to God but that they must carry out their obligations to mortals in the same way as they carry out their obligations to God (see below, §7):
 Note also TosSot 1.6:
כדרך שמאיימין עליה ביח דין שזחור בה, כך מאזיימין עליה
מלא חחזור בה

In the same way that the tribunal had warned her to repent, so they used to warn her not to repent.
C. כִּיוֹצֵּ ב- literally means 'as it goes out in'. The formula employed to introduce a list of biblical citations similar to a text just mentioned, conveying the sense of 'analogously, equally, with the same meaning', etc.

But the formula may also simply express identity or similarity, as in the following striking example from SLv 26.12 (W 11 lb ):


הריני כיוצא בכם
The king said to him (his employee) ..., I am like you ... and the holy one, blessed be he, says to the righteous, I am like you.
 meaning. In origin, they each appear to have had a slightly different sense, 'just as', 'in the same way that', 'corresponding to that which':

For a person must carry out their obligations to mortals in the same way that they must carry out their obligations to the omnipresent one (Sheq 3.2);

כעניןשאמרו ישראל ליחוקאל
In keeping with what the Israelites said to Ezekiel (SNm 115.5 [H 128]).
The following text from SNm 139.2 (H 185) shows to what extent and -כּדרִּ שִׁ ably:

That he might go out at their head and come back at their head [ Nm 27.17], not like others do, who send armies out in front while they come behind, but like Moses did.
8. Formulas expressing analogy.

In both Mishnah and midrashim, analogy is fundamental, as it permits, by means of comparison or contrast, a continual updating in the interpretation of biblical or halakhic texts. The following three types (middot) of comparison are among those to be found in both exegetical and halakhic texts: gezerah shawah, heqqesh, and qal wahomer. A striking grammatical feature is the use of $i p$ as a comparative particle (see Unit 5.8), frequently preceded by - ? (וְיְ), although without copulative value.
A. Gezerah shawah refers to verbal analogy, whereby two or more texts are elucidated through their use of a common word. The commonest formulation of a gezerah shawah analogy is:

> אאשר יצא לפניהם ואשר יבא לפניהםןבמדבר כז' ז'ן, לא כדרך
> שאחרים עושים, שהם משלחים חיילוחודם באים לבטוף, אלא כמם שעשה משה

Here it says $x$ and there it says $x$ : if $x$ is $y$ here, then $x$ is also $y$ there. Invariably, this kind of comparison employs the correlative terms:

נאמר כאן, עפר [במדבר ה' צ'ז, תאמר להלן, עפר [במדבר ים' צ'זין, מה עפר האמור כאן עפר על פקי המים, אך להללן עפר עלפני המים
Here [ Nm 5.17] it says, Ash, and there [ Nm 19.17] it says, Ash: as the ash mentioned here is (for scattering) over water, so too the ash mentioned there is (for scattering) over water (SNm 10.4 [H 16]).
B. Heqqesh 'comparison' is distinguished from gezerah shawah in that it is concerned more with what the words refer to than the words themselves (and is thus considered an irrefutable form of argument: צין מְשיבִין עַל הַדְקֶשׁ [BQ 106b]). It is not formulated in such a stereotyped way as gezerah shawah, although comparison is, once more, established by means of \% ....
מקיש הרמה לתצופה, מה תנופה מוליך ומביא, אף הרמה כן

You have to match the raising to the waving: as the waving moves to and fro, so too the raising (SNm $17.2[\mathrm{H} 22]$ ).
C. A qal wa-homer or a fortiori argument is, from a linguistic perspective, the expression of a relationship between two propositions by means of the following correlative terms:


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;
#
,
etc.
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The first proposition corresponds to a protasis and is regularly introduced by מָה אָּ (although sometimes by on its own or its own). It can normally be rendered as a conditional, 'if this is so'. The apodosis is introduced by the second part of the forms cited above, and signifies 'how much more!//ess!', 'with greater reason/lesser reason', etc., depending on the supposition expressed by the protasis. The following may be added to the numerous examples of qal wa-homer found in the exercises at the end of the unit:

If one who commits a transgression pays for it with their life, with greater reason will one who fulfils a precept have their life restored to them (Mak 3.15).
Often, the apodosis is understood but not overtly expressed:

> אם מדח פורענוח ממועטת אבר שדחחיל בעבירה ממנו החחילה הפורענות, קלוחמר למדת הפוב מרובד If in accordance with the measure of punishment, which has to be interpreted restrictively, it is through the member by which the sin began that punishment begins, with greater reason in accordance with the measure of mercy, which is interpreted generously (through
the same person who was the first to do good, rewards will begin to flow) (SNm 18.1 [H 22]; cf. SNm 115.5; 156; 160.3).
 that', see Unit 28.9.
9. Equalizing comparisons.

The verb עָשָׁה is employed with two objects connected by -כ, in the formula
 amples expressing equal treatment of men and women or children and adults. The following is a further example:

חומץ יין וחומץ שכר לא ישאחה [במרבר ר’ג׳ז, מגיד שעשה בו חומץ כיין
They are not to drink vinegar of wine or vinegar of liquor [ Nm 6.3 ], declaring thereby that vinegar is to be ranked with wine (SNm 23.4 [H28]).
10. Inclusive formulas of comparison.

These are comparative expressions that exclude any alternative by combining a statement with its exact opposite, as in, 'on foot or seated', 'whether you come or not', etc. RH has various devices of this kind, including the following common structures:


- וֹשְלאֹא ל- (see Unit 8.8);
(see Unit 8.12);
אחחְד/אחת (see Unit 14.11).
Examples include:
וחכמיםאומרים, בחבר עיר ושלא בחבר עיר
The sages say, Either in a congregation or without a congregation (one may recite the tefillah) (Ber 4.7);


There is no similarity between a man who divorces and a woman who is divorced, for a woman has to leave whether she wants to or not, but a man can only dismiss a woman with his own consent (Yeb 14.1).

Mek 23.19 (L 3.189) combines in one sentence constructions with


אחת בין בארץ בין בחוצה לארץ, ואחת בפני הבית ואחת שלא בפני הבית
In the land and outside the land, while the temple survived and when the temple no longer existed.

IV Phraseology
11. כּמוֹ כן 'equally, in the same way' is employed to lend emphasis to the second part of a comparison or to introduce a similar case, as in SLv 11.44 (W 57b):

> פרושם שאני קדוש, כך אתם קדושים, כשם שאני פרוש כך אתם כמו כן

Just as I am holy, so you must be holy; just as I am set apart, so you too must be set apart.
12. כמטוֹח שטׁהוּאהיא 'as it is ...', sometimes in the sense 'simply this, only this', as at BM 2.2:
 If one finds fruit in a fruit basket or simply a fruit basket, or coins inside a purse or simply a purse.
A similar sense is attested in the parable in the introductory text to this unit (SDt 8).
 whichever way':

In either case, it may be moved on the sabbath (Shab 17.3).
With a negative, the sense is 'in no case':

In neither case does he sell the bath-house (BB 4.4).

## V Vocabulary

Trריקָּ 'sprinkling'
כִּיס 'purse'

division, separation, dissension, discrepancy’
PT 'damage’



## VI Exercises













 9. ומה אם מדת הפורענוח מעוטה, העושה בסזר המקום משרסמו בגלוי, מדה טובה מרובה על אזח כמה וכמה. 10. מכה בהמה ישלמהדומכה אדם יומתןויקרא כד'כא׳ן. הקישהכזתובנקי אדם לנזקיבהמה ונזק בהמה לנזק אדם, ומדנזקיבדמה בתשלומין אף נמק אדםבתשלומין.
11. עין תחת עין ןויקרא כא׳ כד', שומע אגי בין מתכויץבין שאינו מתכוין אינו משלם אלאממון.
12. ומה אםמי שהוא שאום מפי הקב״הומרבר ברוח הקודש צריך להחבונן בין פרשה לפרשה ובץן ענין לענין, על אחת כמה וכמה הדיוטמן חדיוט. 13. ודין הוא, מה אם הראששׁאין שעון תופפה טעון סמיכה, החזה שהוא טעון תוופה אינ דיןשיטען סמיכהר 14. רבי אומר, גממר כאן, בבואכם, ונאמר להלן, בבואכם. מה בבואכם אל אהלמועד עמה את היציאה כביאה ואת המזבח כאוהלמעשד ואיו חיב אלא בשעת עבודה, אף בבואכב אל אהל מעער האמור כאן עשה יציאה כביאה ואת המזבח כאהלמועד ולא היה חיב אלא בשעת עבודה. 15. ח״ל, מזכר ועד נקבה חמלחון אחד גדוליםואחד קטניםבמשטע. אזה אמר, אחר גדוליםואחד קטגים במשמע, או אנינ אלא כענין שעשנש? מה מצינו במטמא מקרש שלאענש הלאגדולים..., אף כאן לאנזהיר אלאגדולים. 16. ואף יחרהה בעם ןבמרבר 'א'ג'ן. מלמר ששלח עליהם המקום מכה קקשה שלא היה כיצמא בזו מיום שיצאו ממצרים. 17. אמר לד, השםיעי לי. אמרהלו, אינינשמעת אלא לגדול שבכם שהוא כיצאגבמשהרבך. 18. ויקרא יעקבאל בניי... [בראשיתמט א'ן. מאחר שהוכיחםכל אחר ואחד בפני עצמו, חזרוקראם כולם כאחד. אמר להם, שםא ישבלבבכם מחלוקאחעלמי שאמר והיה העולםו אמרולו, שמע, ישראל אבינו, כשם שאیין בלבך מחלוקת, כך א׳ן בלבנו מחלוקאת עלם שאמר והיה העולם. 19. וכתבתםןדבריםו'ט"ן. שאמע אגי על גבי אבנים. הרי אתה דן, נאמר כאן, כתב, ונאמר להלן, כחבןדברים כז'כד'ן. מה כתב האמרר להלן על גבי אבנים, אף כתב האמור כאן עלגבי אבנים. 20. ועשיח עולותיך הבשר והדםןדברים יב'כו'ן. מקיש בשר לדם, מהדם בזריקהאף בשר בזריקה.

Sources. 1. Abot 2.1. 2. Ber 5.5. 3. Ber 9.5. 4. BM 2.2. 5. Sanh 7.3. 6. Sanh 7.5. 7. Sheq 8.2. 8. Sheq 8.7. 9. Mek 12.33 (L 1.103). 10. Mek 21.24 (L 3.67). 11. Mek 21.24 (L 3.68). 12. SLv 1.1 (W 3c). 13. SLv 3.2 (W 13c). 14. SLv 10.9 (W 46c). 15. SNm 1.6 (H 2-3). 16. SNm 98.3 (H 97). 17. SNm 131.2 (H 172). 18. SDt 31 (F 53). 19. SDt 36 (F 66). 20. SDt 78 (F 143).

## UNIT TWENTY-SEVEN

TEMPORAL CLAUSES

I Introductory text (SNm 58.1 [H 56])

> זה מרה בתורה, שגי כתובים, זה כנגר זהוהרי הם סותרים זה על ידי זה, יתקיימו במקומם ער שיבוא כתוב אחר ויכריע ביניהם

This is the rule that prevails in the Torah: two texts that contradict one another are fulfilled in their respective places until another text appears that can decide between them.

1. This is the thirteenth hermeneutical rule of Rabbi Ishmael. Other formulations are found in Baraita de R. Ishmael in Sifra W 3a-b, part of which may be found in exercise text 13. In the SNm example above, the formal opposition between Lv 1.1 (Y. spoke from the tent of meeting) and Ex 25.22 (Y. spoke from the mercy seat) is resolved in the harmonizing text of Nm 7.89 .

## II Morphology

2. Among the most characteristic temporal conjunctions of BH are followed by the imperfect,



3. Nearly every RH temporal conjunction is compounded with -
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- לכְשֶׁ-, כְּשְׁם 'when';
- מְּשִ 'after';
שַׁר 'until. before, while';
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- הּקָתִ שֶׁ 'when, in the event that';
בִּיְּן
- בּזמן
- כָּל זמַן שׁׁ 'whenever, all the time that'
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'whenever, all the time that';
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## III Grammar and usage

4. As already indicated (see Unit 24.3-5), RH continued using simple juxtaposition of clauses, or parataxis, to convey a relationship of subordination, as at SNm 115.5 (H 127):

התחחיל הבן ההוא מנתק, הוציא עליו שםר ואמר
When that son started to protest, he brought the document out to him and said.
5. Furthermore, a clause that is concomitant or simultaneous with the main clause may be elegantly expressed by means of a juxtaposed nominal clause (see Unit 24.10).
6. On the use of the perfect with temporal/conditional significance ('when, if, supposing that, in the event that'), see Unit 17.10-13. As stated there, this usage is not confined to juridical formulations but is also found in
 (Erub 65a) and in narrative.

The participle may also convey temporal value (see Units 19.19 and 28.5).
7. Nonetheless, because of the loss of the consecutive tense forms, RH is less able to formulate temporal relationships simply through parataxis. Because of this, it tends to employ conjunctions and, indeed, to create new conjunctions with an ever more transparently temporal significance (in line with
 in which' or -מנְּעָּ שֶׁׁ 'from the moment at which'.

Below are examples of some temporal conjunctions, with brief remarks on their usage.
8. - בִּשְ 'when, if'
 emphasizes the future or conditional character of the clause that follows (in the imperfect):

I shall become a Nazirite when (or, 'only if') I have a son (Naz 2.7). But one is left with the impression that as the language evolved לִכְׂp crept in only as a secondary form in response to the gradual loss of expressive power
 similarly, at Ket 12.1,

The first one may not say, When she comes to me, I shall feed her, $K$ and $P$ have

SNm 155.5 (H 127) provides an example of - $\underset{y}{ }$ with both past and future:

In the same way, when the holy one, blessed be he, freed the descendants of Abraham, his friend, he did not free them as friends but as servants, so that when he ordered something they did not want, he could say to them. You are my servants.
With a participle or introducing a nominal clause, $\boldsymbol{j}$ can indicate simultaneity or simply a modality or circumstance: איפשר שנתן משה את המורה כשהיא חסירה אפילו אות אחת? Is it possible that Moses would have delivered the Torah with even one letter missing? (SDt 357 [F 427])
9. - משט 'after'.
A.

מוֹכִר הוּא מִּשֶּׁקִּצִּר
He can sell (produce) after it has been cut (AZ 1.8).
B. But - משׁ is also commonly employed with the perfect, in the sense of 'since, once':


Since murderers began to multiply ... from the time that Eleazar ben
Dinai came ... after adulterers began to multiply ... once Jose ben Joezer had died ... (Sot 9.9)
C. עמשׁ 'before ... after':
 If an ox has gored a cow and her new-born calf is found beside her, but it is not known whether she gave birth before it gored her or after it gored her (BQ 5.1);

ער שלא פשטו ידיהם בעבירה לא היה בהם זביםומצורעים. ומשפשטו ידיהם בעבירה היו בהם זבים ומצורעים
Before they stretched out their hands to sin, there was among them
nobody affected by venereal or skin disease; after they stretched out their hands to $\mathrm{sin} \ldots$ (SNm $1.10[\mathrm{H} 4]$ ).
10. - עַ
A. $-\underset{\sim}{\text { vin }}$ is found with the imperfect, which may also be rendered as a verbal noun:

Until dawn arises/Until the arrival of dawn (Ber 1.1).
שֶׁר ing sequence from Yom 6.6, it refers to a moment in the past that follows another event, at which the narrator is situated, mentally:

He came and seated himself under the last booth until it became dark.
But the same sequence of events may be expressed with a perfect if the narrator decides to remain outside the actions described:

For all those generations were continually provoking him until he brought upon them the waters of the flood (Abot 5.2).
B. עַד שֶׁלא 'until not' conveys the sense of 'before', and may be construed with a perfect or imperfect, or, in the Mishnah (for example, Kil 9.9), a participle:

If they can begin and end (the shema') before reaching the row (Ber 3.2).

Occasionally, $-\underset{\sim}{\sim}$ ע. without the negative particle, bears the same sense, as at Tam 1.4 (see also Ned 9.1 and Makhsh 1.3):
 Take care, in case you touch the vessel before purifying your hands and feet.
C. The temporal value of $\begin{gathered}-\underset{\sim}{2} \\ \text { becomes modal in sentences where the }\end{gathered}$ conjunction is used in the extended sense of 'while, so long as, to the extent that', as at BM 7.2, where R. Jose bar Judah allows the labourers to eat from the field they are working in 'so long as they work with both their hands and their feet':

With the verb while it is permitted, only if permitted', for example, at Kel 1.7: עִר שִׁיִּדצוּ 'wherever they will'.
D. The same basic meaning is to be understood in those rabbinic comments on scriptural texts that begin with $-\underset{y}{\boldsymbol{v}} \boldsymbol{\eta}$ : the brief comment thus introduced is intended as a restatement of the biblical passage, with $\begin{gathered}\text { עַ } \\ \text { pro } \\ \text { thus }\end{gathered}$ conveying the sense of 'that is to say', 'i.e.', etc:

Rabbi Judah interprets, She will respond, saying thus [Dt 25.9], that is to say, she is to respond in this language (BM 2.7).
(Cf. Bik 1.2; Naz 2.7 ; 3.5, etc.)
11. - עַד כִּדִי

This innovation of RH coincides in usage with -עִ 4.3); 'to the extent that. while' (Ber 8.7: Meg 4.4). It always refers to a fixed portion (כִּדי), of time-for the meaning and use of $\boldsymbol{ְ}$, see Unit 30.8 .

These conjunctions are infrequent in tannaitic RH, where one more usu-
 (including a verbal noun), although there are exceptions, for example Sot 2.6:

Neither concerning the time before becoming engaged nor concerning the time after divorcing.
However, such instances are probably secondary, as indicated by the reading of $K$ and $P$ (cf. Git 8.4):
.קודם לשנתארסה ולא משנתגרשה
Occasionally, one also encounters an apparently emphatic variant, such




This calque from the Aramaic $-\boldsymbol{כ}$ is so common that it eventually loses its overtone of urgency and often simply means 'when':

כיןן שצכנס למדינה אמר לו
As soon as he (the king) entered the city, he (the servant) said to him (SNm 115.5 [H 127]).

This conjunction, too, has been developed under Aramaic influence:

Whenever you do accordingly, you atone for yourselves concerning blood (Sot 9.6).


A. The forms with $\underset{\text { have }}{\text { have a distributive character and should be under- }}$ stood as 'whenever, at any time that':

Whenever the Israelites looked above (RS 3.8).
When a conditional or modal usage is to be emphasized, these forms can better be rendered as 'provided that, so long as':

Rabbi Judah declared (the fruits of the sabbatical year) permissible provided that they were mature before summer (Shebi 9.4).
Sometimes, the forms with have a predominantly comparative sense,
'to the extent that, so long as', as in:

To the extent that (or, 'provided that') what is below it belongs to him, so too does what is on top of it (Pea 7.2);

The older the ignorant aged become, the more they lose their wits, but the older the elders (in the study) of the Torah become, the more established in them is knowledge (Qin 3.6).
In LBH, expressions of this type are already found, for example בּכָל עת אֵשׁר

But all this means nothing to me as long as I see Mordecai the Jew sitting in the king's gate (Est 5.13).
B. The semantic values of זקָן 'time' would appear to give more expression to the temporal character of a conjunction, as, for example, at Sanh 6.5:

בּשָׁעָה שִׁאָּם מִצִטָעֵר, שִכינָה מָּה הַּשְׁוֹן אגמִרת?
In the hour of a person's suffering, what words does the Shekhinah say?
But often they are employed without conveying any special extra sense:
 When the one anointed for battle spoke to the people, he would do it in the holy tongue (Sot 8.1).
 5.5:

אִימָתֵּי בּזְמַן שֵׁמַתָּנָה מְרוּבָּה
When? When the donation has been large.
Further removed from the temporal sphere, $-\boldsymbol{Z}$ ployed in an extended sense of 'so long as, to the extent that':

For shaving because of leprosy abrogates shaving because of a Nazirite vow so long as (or, 'provided that') it is certain (Naz 8.2).

## IV Phraseology

16. שefore it (Scripture) says, I obtain through deduction', in other words 'without Scripture needing to have said it, I could have deduced the same thing through logical argument': the underlying claim is that the biblical text is superfluous. Midrashic writers will sometimes justify such an apparently superfluous biblical text on the grounds that its presence avoids the need to impose a penalty merely on the basis of logical argument. Among numerous examples, see SNm 23.6 (H 28).

## V Vocabulary


גידוּל 'growth, that which grows, produce'
Tדַּ 'breast, teat, udder'
[ip 'plot evil, bear false witness, incite false witness'
יגע. 'suffer'; htp. 'tire oneself out'
'מָּלִל 'stitch'
的‘flagellation, punishment of stripes’
משְיחָה 'cord'
[ק] 'jug'
רְשְל 'be weak'
שָׁבָּ 'improve, increase in value' (as also in hi.), pi. 'praise'

## VI Exercises







 לוֹקים שְמוֹנים.











 10. וער שלא נבחֹרה ארץ ישראל, הּיו הארצוח כשרוֹת לדברוֹת. משנבחרה ארץ ישראל, יצאו כל הארצות. עד שלאנבוחרה ירושלים, היתה כל ארץ ישראל כשרה למזבחות. משגבחרה ירושלים, יצאה כל ארץ ישראל ... עד שלא נבחר בית עולמים, היתה ירושלים ראויה לשכינה. משצבחר בית עולמים, יצאח ירושלים ... עד שלא נבחר הדרן, היו כל ישראל ראוּים לכהונה. משנבחר אהרן, יצאו כל ישראל ... פר שלא נבחר דוד, היו כל ישראלראוים למלכות. משנבחר דוד, יצאו כל ישראל. 11. ומהת״״ל, דברו [שמות יב׳ג׳ן? אלא כיון שהיה משה מדבר היה אחרן מימינו ואלעזר משמאלו ואיתמר מימינו של אהרן, והיה הדבור יוצא

> מביניהם כאילו שניהם מדברים.
> 12. וי׳נתן את חן העם וגו׳[שמות יב' ליז, כמשמעו, לא הספיק לומר לו השאיללי, עד שהוא מוציא ונותן לו. 13. כתוב אחד אומר, ובבאמשה אל אדל מוער לדבר אחו [במדבר ז׳ פטזן, וכתוב אחד אומר, ולא יכול משה לבא אל אהל מועד [שמוח מ׳לה״]. הכריע, כי שכן עליו העקן [שמות מ׳לה׳ן. אמור מעתה, כל זמן שהיה הענן שם, לא היה משה בכנס לשם. נסחלק הענן, היה נכנס ומדבר עמו. 14. משלו משל. למה הדבר דומה? לבני ארם שיוצאים למלחמה, בשעה שהם יוצאים הם שמחים וכל זמן שהם מתייגעים ידיהם מתרשלוות. אבל ישראל אינו כן, אלא כל זמן שהם מתייגעים הם שמחים ואומרים, נלך ונירשאח ארץ ישראל.
15. מה הדד הזה תינוק מצטער בשעה שפורשממנו, כך היו ישראל מצטערים בשעה שפירשא מן המן. 16. ויאמר ״״אלמשד, עלה אלֹ הר העברים החה, הר נבו [במדבר כז' יבי, רברים לב' מטין. זו בחלת בניראובן ובני גד. בשעה טשכנס משה

לנחלת בני ראובן ובני גד, שמחואמר, דומה אגי שהחיר לינדרי, החחיל שופך חחנונים לפני המקום. משל, למה הרבר דומה? למלך בשר ודם שגזר על בנו שלא יכנס לפחח פלטריץשלו, נכנס לשער והוא אחריו, לחצר והוא אחריו, לטרקלין והי והוא אחריו. כיון שבא ליבנס לקיטון אמר לי, בני, מיכןואילך אתה אסור. כך בשעה שנכנס משה לנחלח בני גד ובני ראובןשמח ואמר, דומה אני שהתיר לינדרי. התחיל שופך החתנונים לפגי המקום... 17. מה צבי זה קל ברגליו מכל בהמהוחיה, כך פירות ארץ ישראל קלים לבוא מכל פירוחארצות. דבר אחר, מה צביזה כשאחה ממשיטו אין עורו מחזיק אחת בשרו, כך ארץ ישראל אין מחזקח פירותיה בשטה שישראל ערשים את התורה.
18. מה יץן משמח את הלב, כך דברי יחורה משמחים את הלב ... מה יץ אי

אחה טועם בו טעם מתחלחו וכל זמן שמזישן בקנקן סופו להשביח, כך דברי תורה כל זמן שמחישעים בגוף סופו להשביח.
19. למען ישוב י״ מחרון אפון בדברים יג׳יח'ן. כל זמן שעבודה זרה בעולם, חרון אף בעולם. נסתלקה עבודה זרה מן העולם, נסתלק חרון אף מן העולם. ונחן לך רחמים ורחמך ודברים יג׳ח׳י, לך רחמיםולא לאחרים רחמים. מיכן היה רבן גמליאל ברבי אומר, כל זמן שאחה מרחם על הבריות, מרחמים עליך מן השמים, א"ן אתה מרחם על הבריוח, אין מרחמים עליך מן השמים.
20. זכור ימוח עולםנדברים לב׳ ז']. אמר להם, כל זמן שדקדוש ברוך הואی מביא עלידם יסורים, הזכרו כמה טובוח ונחמוח עחיד ליחן להם לעולם הבא.

Sources. 1. Bik 1.2. 2. BM 7.3. 3. Heal 1.8. 4. Kil 9.9. 5. Mak 1.3. 6. Men 10.9. 7. Naz 3.5. 8. Ned 9.1. 9. RS 3.8. 10. Mek 12.1 (L 1.4-5). 11. Mek 12.3 (L 1.23). 12. Mek 12.36 (L 1.105). 13. Sifra, Baraita de R. Ishmael (W 3b). 14. SNm 82.1 (H 77-78). 15. SNm 89.4 (H 89). 16. SNm 134.5 (H 179-80). 17. SDt 37 (F 72-73). 18. SDt 48 (F 111). 19. SDt 96 (F 157). 20. SDt 310 (F 351).

## UNIT TWENTY-EIGHT

## CONDITIONAL CLAUSES

## I Introductory text (Ned 3.11)


 [ירמיה לג׳כה'].

Great is circumcision, for except for it the holy one, blessed be he, would not have created the world, as it is said, Thus says Y., If my covenant did not exist day and night, I should not have ordained the laws of heaven and earth [ Jr 33.25].

1. Circumcision is the outward sign of the pact or covenant of God with his people (Gn 17), a covenant as eternal as day and night and the reason why the world was created.

## II Morphology

2. Particles that generally express possible, or 'real', conditions in BH, are 'on the assumption that', etc., and in origin have a deictic force.

For impossible, or 'irreal', conditions, BH employs לו לוּלִי 'if 'if not', and 7 施 (only twice, in LBH: Ec 6.6; Est 7.4).
3. In RH, the use of is widely maintained, although the old forms לו לו



Comparative force is conveyed by (ה) (ה) 'as if' and conces-



The restrictive particle -וּבלִבֵּ שִׁר 'only when, on condition that' (see Unit 32.7) may also be regarded as having, in effect, conditional value.

## III Grammar and usage

4. A condition does not have to be formulated by means of a conditional particle as such.
A. The perfect and participle may be employed without any conjunction to express a supposition or condition (protasis) in legal and sapiential texts (see Units 17.10-11 and 19.19).
 would like':
רצונך שאשמע לך, השחחוהלזה

If you would like me to please you, you will have to prostrate yourself before this ( SNm 131.1 [H 171]);

רצונך להכיר את מי שאמר והיה העולם, למוד הגדה
If you would like to know the-one-that-spoke-and-the-world-was, study haggadah (SDt 49 [F 115]).
5. The two-member halakhic conditional statement.

This halakhic structure never introduces the supposition or condition with אם or another conditional particle but with the perfect, participle, or a
 may be a declarative statement (sometimes introduced by $\begin{aligned} & \text { הַ) }\end{aligned}$ or a command (generally formulated by means of a participle with jussive or facultative value; see Unit 19.18). The examples that follow are all taken from the Mishah tractate Nazir:

הָאוֹמר, אֲהא, הַרִי זָהנִּזיר
If someone says, I will be a Nazirite, that person is a Nazirite ( Naz 1.1);
 If the blood of one of the sacrifices has been spilt for her, he (the husband) may not annul the vow ( Naz 4.5 );

If someone says, I am a Nazirite, that person may cut their hair on (i.e. 'from') the thirty-first day (Naz 3.1).

Although the participle is more usual, the imperative formula in the apodosis may also be expressed by the imperfect. In the protasis, the supposition or condition is not expressed with $\begin{gathered}\text { אם except when specifying particular }\end{gathered}$ cases. Analogously, in the biblical laws, a principal condition is formulated with $\mathfrak{3}$ כ while particular cases are introduced by a , as at Ex 21.2-3 (see Meyer 1992, $\S 122.3 \mathrm{E}$ ). The following is a clear example of the phenomenon in RH:
הַחַּטּאח תָּמוּת

If a woman has taken a Nazirite vow and already set aside the sacrificial beast but afterwards her husband annuls the vow, in the case that $(\mathbb{L N})$ the beast belongs to him, he is to let it loose to graze with the flock, but in the case that ( $\mathbb{E}$ ) the beast belongs to her, it is to die as a sin offering ( $n: / \mathfrak{T}$

- וֹאשילוֹ 'given that, considering that', introduces suppositions or condi-
tions, particularly in rabbinic arguments, where considerations thus expressed correspond to fulfilled real conditions (see Unit 29.14-15).

6. In narrative style, a supposition or condition may also be introduced
 us suppose that':

הרישיצאו עמו עשרה בנים ממצרים ובכניסתן לארץ נמצאו חמשה
Let us suppose that one left Egypt with ten children but on entering the land (of Israel) there were only five ( SNm 132.2 [H 175]).
7. Uses of
A. a ( is employed in possible, real, conditions relating to the past or the future. The protasis uses the perfect when the condition is regarded as fulfilled and the participle or, less often, imperfect when the condition is regarded as possible, or real, in the future. Often, the apodosis is introduced with הַר.

An example with the perfect is
אם לֹא עָשָּה מַעַטֶּה

The husband is exempted from reciting the shema' on the first night (of his being married) until the end of the sabbath if he has not consummated the marriage (Ber 2.5).
E with the perfect is also used for indicating the future perfect (or futurum exactum) when a condition that might be fulfilled in the future is represented as having already been fulfilled:

If I am delayed, go out and sacrifice on my behalf (Pes 9.9).
This construction is usual at Qumran (see Qimron 1986, 84-85) as against BH usage: אם יִקטיל.
as with the participle is exemplified by אם אוכלת בתרומה, לא תאכל במעשר? If she may eat of the terumah. may she not eat of the tithe? (SNm 122.2 (H 150])
 the late Abot 6.9 .
אם אַזָּה נוֹחִן לי כָל כִּסֶךף וִָָהב

Though you were to give me all the silver and gold,
but it is more usual to express concessive meaning through the imperfect:

Even if all the sages of Israel were on one balance of a pair of scales (Abot 2.8).
(See Unit 31.13.)
In the imperfect, the verb רָצִּ 'desire' is commonly used with $\mathrm{CN}:$

If (i.e. 'whenever') the one above wished to collect his earth, there would be no grass (BM 10.6);
 A synagogue may not be sold except on condition that it can be recovered when this is desired (Meg 3.2; but K and MS Parma read (אמתי ירצו).
Normally, though, future real conditions employ such temporal conjunctions

B. prior to a past event (pluperfect):

אם משה לא היה יודע, אהרןהיה יודע?
If Moses had not known, could Aaron have known? (SNm 68.2 [H 63])
C. An alternative negative condition, 'and if not', employs וֹאם Tלאו, without the verb needing to be repeated (see Segal 1927, §489):

אם עובר לפניהם, עוברים, ואם לאו, אינם עוברים
If he passes before them, they will pass, but if not, they will not pass (SDt 29 [F 48]).
D. $\mathbb{N}^{*}$ is also used in indirect questions (see Unit 25.9), with the particle repeated for disjunctive questions:

## הודיעני אם אזה מרפא אוחה ואם לאו

Let me know if you are going to heal her or not (SDt 26 [F 41]).
E. A characteristic usage is represented by oath formulas introduced by א for negative vows (I swear that I shall not) or for positive vows (I swear that I shall). These formulas imply an apodosis containing a curse or imprecation, such that an affirmative condition is to be understood as representing a negative oath and vice-versa, a usage derived from the Bible (see 2 S 11.11; Jr 22.6. etc.). Such conditional oath formulas may also employ an



I swear it! Along this road I have seen as many people as in the exodus from Egypt! I have seen a serpent like the beam of an olivepress! (Ned 3.2).
(For other interjections and oath formulas, see Units 3.4 and 8.7B.)
Often, commands are expressed more forcefully as oaths introduced by ם:

I adjure you to come and testify for me without fail (Shebu 4.5).
This usage represents an evolution of the oath formula, which developed from (1) the expression of a vow that included a condition as part of a curse to (2) the statement of the condition alone, with the imprecation understood, and from there to (3) the use of the condition not as a vow but as a command.
 Unit 26.8C).


All these conjunctions are used to express an irreal condition or one that is impossible to fulfil.
A. 施 is by far the most widely used, always followed by the perfect:

Rabbi Tarfon and Rabbi Akiba used to say, If we had been in the Sanhedrin. no-one would ever have been executed (Mak 1.10).
 value, 'including, even if, although' (see Unit 31.3), and corresponds to the

 לא יַּפסיק
Even if the king greets someone (during prayer), they are not to respond, even if a snake is coiled around their feet, they are not to interrupt (their prayer) (Ber 5.1).
 expressing instead a comparison of equality:

מגיד הכתוב שכלמי שמזנא את שראל כאלו שונא את מי
שאמר ודיה העולם
This passage teaches that anyone who hates Israel is as though they hate the-one-that-spoke-and-the-world-was ( SNm 84.4 [H 81]).
D. Like אלמָלא, אלוּלי has negative force, 'if not', and is frequent in nominal clauses of the type 'if it were not for such-and-such', 'if not', 'had it not been':

If you were not Honi, I would decree your excommunication (Taa 3.8);

It was necessary to say it, for if not, the meaning would have been that they would not even have inherited the land of Canaan (Qid 3.4);

> אילמלאזאני

Had it not been for me (SDt 346);

> אילמלאשבטים

If it had not been for the tribes (SDt 347).

אחרים אומרים, אלולי ששחתפו ישראל שמו של הקדושברוך הוא בעבודה זרה, כלים היו מן העולם
Others said, If the Israelites had not mixed the name of the holy one, blessed be he, with the idols, they would have been extirpated from the world.
On occasions, the negative לז is added pleonastically, as at SLv 10.19 (W 47c): לאכך הייתי מבזה קודשי המקדש Even if these had not been the only ones I buried but (even if) I had buried these with others, I would never have treated the holiness of the sanctuary with disdain.
A usage very similar to that of אלמְלא can be seen at SLv 26.46 (W 112c):

ואלולי ספר תורה שנשחייר להם. לאהי משנים מאומות העולם כלום If it had not been for the book of the Torah, which was left for them, they would not have differed from other peoples in any way.

## IV Phraseology

 arguments to introduce an obvious and universally-accepted fact, which serves as the basis for the argument. Both formulas should be regarded as expressing a fulfilled or verified condition, 'seeing that you know, having learnt. considering that'. which is followed by a conclusion starting with or 7 . The thing that has been learnt or is being considered is almost invari-


על שגוח ע״״ לישראל שמביאים על שגגת ע״ז, אף הגוים מביאים
Considering that the Israelites have to make an offering for inadvertant sins of idolatry, it is also the case that the gentiles have to make an offering for inadvertant sins of idolatry (SNm 123.11 [H 119]).
The conclusion of an אם לָמַרתּ argument begins with $7 \times$ or, infrequently, $\rceil \underset{\sim}{\top}$; the structure as a whole constituting, in fact, a formula of comparison (see Unit 26.8).
10. אלמֶלא מקרָא קָּתוּב 'if it is not a written text' is found at Mek 12.41 ( L 1.114 ); at SNm 84.4 (H 82) and 106.2 (H 105), we find the variant אלטְלא מִקִרֶא שִכָּתוּב have been impossible to have accepted an anthropomorphism had it not actually occurred in the biblical text. An example relates to the statement that God buried Moses with his own hands:

> מי לנו גדול ממשה שלא נתעסקבבו אלא הקב״ה, שנאמר, ויקבור אותו בגיא בארץץ נבו ןדברים לד'וֹ? ר' יהורה אומר, אלמלא א מקרא שכתוב, אי אפשר לאמרו Whom can we find greater than Moses, for whose sepulchre none but the holy one, blessed be he, was responsible, as it is said, And he buried him in the valley, in the land of Nebo [Dt 34.6]? R. Judah remarked, Were it not for this passage, it would have been impossible to say it (SNm 106.2 [H 105]).

## V Vocabulary


וְסְת 'conduct'

[1; 'Greece'
כַּכּ וּמַּקִּ 'bread and stick', i.e. 'carrot and stick, 'reward and punishment'
כְּרַ 'surround, wrap'
לדיק׳א 'Laodicea'
קלָה 'unite, connect', pi. 'accompany, escort'

解 'rescue, redemption, liberation'

קשׁט 'walk in a straight line'. htp. 'adorn oneself, dress up'

## VI Exercises






















 וּבוּבְרִי הַּיָּטִם.
11. הרי שהּיו לפגיו עבדים ערלים, מאין אתה אומר שאם רצה למולן

ולהאכילן בפסח שהוא רשאי? חלמוד לומר, ומלתה אותו אז יאכלבו
[שמות יב'מר'].
12. רבי יוסי הגלילי אמר, הואיל ואמרהתחרה, פדה את בנך ולמד אח בנך תורה, אם למדת על תלמוד חורה שאם לאלמדו אביו מלמר הוא את עצמו, כך אם לא פדאו אבין הוא יפדה את עצמו. לא, אם אמרת בתלמוד תורה, שהוא שקול כנגד הכל, שאם לא למרו אביו פלמד הוא את עצמו, תאמר בפדייה, שאינה שקולה כנגד הכל, לפיכך אם לא פדאו אביץ לא יפרה אז עצמו.
13. וירדף אחרי בני ישראלן פשמחת יד' ח’ן, להודיע שבחן של ישראל, שאלו היתה אומה אחרחה לא היה פרעה רודף אחריה.
14. אבל לא היו יודעים באיזו מיתה ימוח, שנאמר, כי לא פורש מה יעשה לו [במדבר טו׳לד'ן. וכן הוא אמר, לפרושלתם על פי ׳ןויקרא כד' יב'], מלמד שלא היו יודעים אם חייב מיחה אם לאו. 15. לא מאסתים ולא געלתים לכלוחםנויקרא כו' מד'ן. וכי מה נשתייר לדהם שלא נגעלו ושלא נמאסו? והלא כל נתחות טובוח מנתנו להם טנלו מהם? ואילולי ספר חורה שנשחייר להם, לאהיו משנים מאומחת העולם כלום. אלא, לא מאסתים, בימי אספסיצוט, ולאגעלחים, בימי ין. 16. רבי שמעון בן יוח׳ אומר, ככר ומקל ירדו כרוכים מן השמים. אמר להם, אםם עשיתם אח החורה, הרי ככר לאכול, ואם לאו, הרי מקל ללקות בו. 17. מעשה שבארביצו מלדיקיאונכנס רבי יוסי ברבי יהודה ורבי אלעזר בן יהודהוישבו לפניו. אמר להם, קרבו לכם, אגי צריך להחזיק לכם טובה שתקימו אח התורה אחרי, אף אתם צריכים שתחזיקו שובה לבניכם שיקיימא את החורה אחריכם. אילו אیן משה גדול ואילולא אחרים קבלו תורהעל ידו, לא היתה שור, [אנון על אחח כמה וכמה.
18. אש דח למו ןדברים לג׳ב'ן, אלולא דת שאחבה עמה, אין אדם יכול לעמוד בה. 19. אליך נשאתי את עיני היושבי בשמיםותהלים קכג׳ א׳ן, אלמלא אני, כביכול לא הייח יושב בשמים.
 לזה? משל למלך שבא אצל בניו לפרקים. כשהוא נבטר מבניו הי בניו וקרוביץ מלוים אוחו. אמר להם, בניי, שמא צורך יש לכ לכם לומר, שמא דבר ישלכם. אמרו לי. אמרו לו, אבה, א"ן לנו צורך ואין לנו דבר, אלא שתחרצה לאחינו הגדול. כך אלמלא שבטים, לא נחרצחה המקום לראובן. לכך נאמר, יחר שבטי ישראל. יחי ראובן ואל ימות.

Sources. 1. Abot 3.2. 2. Abot 3.17. 3. Bik 1.5. 4. Bik 1.9. 5. BQ 9.10. 6. Erub 9.3. 7. Ker 6.3. 8. Ned 9.9. 9. Ned 11.1. 10. Yom 1.6. 11. Mek 12.44 (L 1.119). 12. Mek 13.13 (L 1.164-65). 13. Mek 14.8 (L 1.203). 14. SLv 24.12 (W 104c). 15. SLv 26.44 (W 112c). 16. SDt 40 (F 83). 17. SDt 335 (F 385). 18. SDt 343 (F 400). 19. SDt 346 (F 404). 20. SDt 347 (F 404).

## UNIT TWENTY-NINE

CAUSAL CLAUSES

I Introductory text (Pes 10.5)

 הַפָּקוֹם עַל בָּתֵּי אֲבוֹת






 לְפָנָיו, הַלִלוּיָּה.

Rabban Gamaliel used to say, Whoever has not explained these three terms during the celebration of Passover has not fulfilled their duty: passover, unleavened bread, and bitter herbs. Passover, because the omnipresent one passed high above the houses of our ancestors in Egypt; unleavened bread, because our ancestors were liberated in Egypt; bitter herbs, because the Egyptians embittered the life of our ancestors in Egypt. In each and every generation, a person is obliged to consider themself as though they themself had gone out from Egypt, as it is said, You are to explain to your son that day, saying, It is due to what Y. did for me when I was leaving Egypt [Ex 13.8]. Because of that, we are obliged to give thanks, to praise, to laud, to glorify, to exalt, to honour, to bless, to magnify, and to applaud the one who performed all these marvels for us and for our ancestors: he took us out of slavery into freedom, from sadness to joy, from mourning to festival, from darkness to shining light, and from oppression to redemption. Let us proclaim before him, Hallelujah.

1. Israel's formative experience of the exodus has to be realized anew by each generation. The paschal catachesis presented here has the objective of explaining, by means of popular etymology, how each element in the passover ritual (eating of the paschal lamb, unleavened bread, and bitter herbs) serves as a means of introduction to that essential event. Because of this, the praise of the God of liberation rises up from each new generation of
those who have been truly liberated.
Because of its frequent use and its interplay with liturgical texts, the text of Pesahim has tended to be constantly updated, resulting in differences among manuscripts and editions that are more striking than usual.

## II Morphology

2. Nearly all the causal conjunctions of BH listed by R. Meyer (1992, §120.2) have disappeared in RH, as seen in the table that follows (which also provides examples of passages employing the biblical conjunctions).

| BH | Example | RH |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| כי | Gn 3.14 |  |
| יעִן | Nm 11.20 |  |
|  | Jg 3.12 |  |
| - | Pr 1.29 |  |
| כי עַל | Gn 18.5 |  |
| עקבכּ | 2S 12.10 |  |
| אֵשׁר | Gn 30.18 | -0 |
| טַל | 2 S 3.30 | טַל |
| מצֵר | Is 43.4 |  |
| בַּאֵר | Gn 39.9 | מפנִ |
| תַחת צִׁר | 1 S 26.21 | לפי שֶ- |
| עַל | Dt 23.5 |  |
|  | Jr 3.8 |  |
| יֵׁן | Gn 22.16 | דִּשביל |
| עקב אֵטר | 2 S 12.6 |  |
| יִיַן | Nm 20.12 | הואילו- |
| עִקב | Nm 14.24 |  |
| טַל | Ps 119.136 |  |
| עַלבּלִי | Gn 31.20 |  |
| מִבִּל | Dt 28.55 |  |

3. In RH, $כ$ no longer have causal force and has been replaced by -
 pounds with -שְׂ do not precisely mirror those of BH in
4. The table in $\S 2$ is a further indication that RH is the result neither simply of evolution from BH nor of rabbinic invention. A structure like (שֶׁ) has no antecedent in BH but, on the other
hand, is too far removed from its etymological sense to be regarded as a recent innovation.
5. הוֹאיל includes a form of the verb in the Hif'il, 'help', in a fossilized expression that has the sense of 'given that'. On its possible origins, see Bacher 1899, 37-38.

## III Grammar and usage

6. Causal uses of -

On the use of $-\underline{w}$ as a conjunction, see Unit 8.5,7.
Instances abound of causal or explicative - pi:

Proselytes may perform the offering but not the reading because they cannot say, That Y. swore to our ancestors to give us [Dt 26.3] (Bik 1.4);

You must be extremely humble, for the hope of humankind is the worm (Abot 4.4).
שׁׁם 'in the case that' introduces a condition as the reason for something:
 In the case that the tribunal approves an individual's opinion (Eduy 1.5).

The common construction of שנואֵמַר introducing a biblical text has a wide and diffuse sense, being found introducing a text as the cause or basis of an affirmation, or merely as an illustration, perhaps as an a posteriori confirmation - hence the variety of renderings: 'as it is said', 'for it is said', etc.

Very often, compounds with $-\underset{W}{ }$ are used for greater expressivity and to indicate a certain nuance in the causal relationship being expressed. Although differences among the conjunctions relate more to style than to semantic content (in the exercises to this unit, it can be seen how - מחּpur , and other forms are used without distinction), it is still possible to outline a number of regular features in their use.
7. מפּנ

This combination, the most frequent compound of causal -שׁ, possesses an unequivocally causal sense. It can be followed by a participle or perfect verb but is also commonly found as part of a nominal clause:

If someone makes a mistake in reciting prayers, it is a bad sign for them; if they are sent by (i.e. reciting prayers on behalf of) the community, it is a bad sign for the ones commissioning, for the envoy of a person is like the person themself (Ber 5.5);
 Why was this person hanged? Because they blasphemed the name (of God) and the heavenly name ended up being profaned (Sanh 6.4).

Concerning the different vocalizations. see Introduction, §§8.3; 9.11; 10.2.

Normally this conjunction is employed to confirm a statement with a
 doubt concerning the causal force of שַׁקַּטֵ. Thus, at Par 3.7, the saying of R. Jose,

## 

It is not because of this, but because it is said
( K and MS Parma have $ִ$ ), it is obvious that here a biblical text is presented as the clear and immediate basis of a statement. It is not much used in the tannaitic midrashim (see SNm 123.9 [H 153]; SDt 112 [F 172]). At TosSot 1.6, we can see the development of the construction from מן משם

לאמן השם הואזה אלא משם שנאמר
It is not for that reason but because it is said.

Meaning 'inasmuch as', the conjunction is always employed in (popular) etymologizing explanations, such as that found in the introductory text:
אֲבוֹתינוּ במצִרִיִם

Passover, because the omnipresent one passed high above the houses of our ancestors in Egypt; unleavened bread, because our ancestors were liberated in Egypt; bitter herbs, because the Egyptians embittered the life of our ancestors in Egypt (Pes 10.5).
Another characteristic example is found at SNm 78.1 (H 72-73):
ר'שמעון בן יוחי אומר, שני שמאת היו לו, חובב ויתרו . יתרו, על שם שיתר פרשה אחחת בתורה ... חובב, על שם שחיבב אח התורה שלא מצינו בכל הגרים שחיבבו את התורה כיתרו R. Simeon ben Yohai taught, He had two names, Hobab and Jethro-Jethro, inasmuch as he added (יָחר) a pericope to the Torah; Hobab, inasmuch as he loved (חֵּ) the Torah to the extent that we have never found any proselyte who loved it as much as Jethro did.
10. -לְם.

This has a basically explicative function, 'since, given that', although when introducing a biblical text it has a comparative force, 'according to, conforming to':
 Seeing that people have to do what is required by mortals in the
same way as they do what is required by God (Sheq 3.2; see Unit 26.6B).

Although in the Mishnah -לִפִי שְׁ is never found introducing a biblical text, in the tannaitic midrashim of the school of R. Ishmael (SNm and Mek), the formula לִשִּ שֶׁהוּא אוֹמִּר commonly introduces a biblical text, which is then
 with what it (i.e. the biblical text) says ... I could understand':
 אומר, וכי יפחח איש בור או כי יכרה אישבור נשמוח כא׳ לג׳ן, אין לי אלא איש, אשדה מניך?
R. Josiah said, Why does it say, A man or a woman [ Nm 5.6 ]? (Because) in accordance with what it says (at Ex 21.33), When a man opens a pit or a man digs a pit, I might conclude that it only refers to the man. From where may it be deduced that it refers also to the woman?
11. בשׁבִיל שֶׁ.
A. Followed by an imperfect, and is, therefore, most often to be rendered as a simple final conjunction, 'for, so that, in order that':

And if from the beginning one took them (fruits) so that they would not go bad (Dem 3.3).
At RH 2.6, the correspondence between

 רִגִּלים לְבּא
Not because they neeeded them (witnesses) but so that they would not go away frustrated and so that they would get used to coming.
B. In contrast, the properly causal use of - שׁׂביל becomes apparent when followed by a participial or nominal construction:

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { בשביל שהמלך כשר ... עכשיו יאמרו עלי בשביל שאין בו כח } \\
& \text { להכניסנו לארץ } \\
& \text { Because the king is very capable ... Now they will say of me, Be- } \\
& \text { cause he lacks the force to get us into the land (SDt } 3 \text { [F 11]). }
\end{aligned}
$$

12. מאֵחַר שֶׁ•

This conjunction has a primarily temporal sense (see Unit 27.12), 'after', and from this easily developed causal significance:


Rabbi Meir said, Since each can impede the other, it has to be observed from which part the grass is able to grow (BM 10.6).
In Sifra, the formula מאַחַר שֶׁקְמַדִנו 'since we already know' precedes
 have (see SLv 15.11 [W 77a]).
13. עַל שַׁ•

Not widely used in the Mishnah, עַל שֶׁ also appears in combination with the preposition עַל, as at Shab 2.6:



For three transgressions women die when giving birth: for not being careful about (the laws concerning) menstruation, about the dough offering, and about the lighting of the (sabbath) lamp.
 ticular consequence:


 It happened that when the elders went down from Jerusalem to their towns they decreed a fast due to the fact that in Ashkelon there appeared a blight large enough to fill the mouth of an oven. They also decreed a fast due to the fact that across the Jordan wolves had devoured two children. Rabbi Jose explained. It was not due to the fact that they devoured them but simply due to the fact that they appeared (Taa 3.6).
In line with RH's tendency to turn the subject of a secondary clause into the object of a main clause (see Unit 24.9), a subordinate clause introduced


For these things the shophar is sounded on the sabbath: for a river's, or the gentiles', encircling of a town (literally, 'for a town that gentiles or a river have surrounded') (Taa 3.7).
14. - הוֹאיל ‘since, given that, it being the case that'.
A. Equivalent to a fulfilled real condition: at Eduy 1.5, it is asked why an isolated opinion should be mentioned 'it being the case that the halakhah is determined by the majority':

> הוֹאיל וְאֻין הַלִכְה אֶּאֹא כִדִברֵי הַמִּרִבּין
B. Marking the protasis in a comparison, the apodosis usually having a correlative אֲרֶ , אֲ

רַבּי מאיר אוֹמר, הוֹאִיל והוּאנִרִאֶה כִּתַבנית הַכְּרָמים, הַרִי זִה כֶרֵם
Rabbi Meir used to say, Since it has the appearance of a vineyard, it is regarded as a vineyard (Kil 5.1).
C. Very frequently in rabbinic arguments, introducing a consideration:

היהר ישמעאל אומר, הואיל ונאמרו צוואות בתורה סתם, ופרט לך
הכתוב באחת מהן שאינה אלא מיד בשעת מעשה ובדורות, אף פורטני בכל הצוואות שבתורה, טלא יהו אלא מיד בשעת מעשה ולדורות
R. Ishmael used to argue, Considering that the Torah contains commandments that are mentioned without any further specification but that in some of them Scripture specifies for you that they are
valid the moment they are decreed and for all time. I can specify concerning all the commandments that are in the Torah that they must be valid the moment they are decreed and for all time ( SNm 1.2 [H 1]).

## IV Phraseology

15. הוֹאיל וֹאָמרְהחמוֹרָה 'considering that the Torah says' is a formula with which Mekhilta introduces a biblical text that is cited not literally but with the contents freely expressed (see Bacher 1899, 38); in the following example, the biblical reference is to Dt 6.8 (see also Mek 13.3; 21.11,17,26, etc.):

הואיל ואמרה חורה, תן חפילין בראש, תן חפילין ביד. מה בראש ארבע טוטפוחת אך ביד ארבע טוטפות
Considering that the Torah says you are to place phylacteries on your head and you are to place phylacteries on your arm, since the four sections are on the head, the four sections are also to be on the arm (Mek 13.9 [L 1.150]).

## V Vocabulary

אֲרים 'tenant’
|
דבִילָה ‘fig cake, fig bread’
17 'feed'
יָּוּר/חָּיר 'labourer, sharecropper'
חחרוּב ‘carob’
סיקריקון ( $\sigma \iota \kappa \alpha \rho \iota x o ́ v$ ) 'confiscated property’ (confiscated by Rome), 'confiscator' or 'usurper' of such property

ערער 'strip’
"㺟 'twist, knot, tie'

קְקִיצָה 'fistful'
icall door to door, begging'
תַּרנגנוֹל 'cock'

VI Exercises








 4




















 10. ויאמר מושה, אכלהו היום כי טבת היוםלי., היום לאתמצאהו בשדה [שמות טז' כה'ן. רביזריקה אומר מכאן שלשט סעודות בשבת. לפי שהיו ישראלרוגילן לצאת בשחררית, אמרולו, רכינו משה, נצא בשחרית? אמר לתם, אינו היום. אמרולו, הואילולא יצאנו שחריתנצאבין הערבים? אמר לדזם, כישבת היום לים
11. ואשא אחכם על כנפינשריםושמוח יט ד'ז. מה נשתגה הגשר החהמכל העופות כלם? שכל העופות כלן נויתנין אז בניהם בין רגלידם ממפי שחן מחיראאין משוף אחר שהוא פורח עלגביהם, אבל הנשר הזה אינו מזירא אלאמאדםבלבד. טמא זירוקבו חץ, אומר מוטב שיכגס בוולא בבניו. 12. רבינתן אומר, הואילואמרהחורה, חן כסף, י, בלתחן כסף, מה, חן כסף, עד שלא באו בה סימין, אף, בל תחן כסף, משבאו בה סימגין. 13. הואילומצינו שאין כפרה אלאבדם, מהתלמוד לומר, וסמך ... ונרצה, וּיקרא\%
14. רבי אליעזר אומר, לא טתחויבו אלא על שהורו הלכה בפני משה רבן, וכל המרה הלכה בפנירבו, חיבמיחה.
 זורעים ששומשמטיםלי אחת, בשביל שזרעו שהארץ שלי היא, ואחם לא עשיתם
16. וביר הכהן זיוי מי המריםהמארריםנבמדבר ה'יח']... נקראומרים על שם סופן שמםרריץ אז הגוףומערערין אחהעון. 17. ומה אלון= הגרים] שקירבו את עצמן קך קירבם המקום, שראל שעושים את התורה עאכץו. 18. מטל. אומריםלאדם, מפי מה אתה אוכל פז שעורים? אמר להם. מפני שאאין ליפן חטים. מפני מה אתה אוכל חרוכיםז אמר להם, מפני שאׁן לי דבילה. כך הלו החתה בידן של ישראל מאותה קמיצה שקמצו ביום שמח בו משה, שאכלו ממו כל ארבעים יום, לארצול לאכולמתבואז ארץ בנען. 19. וכן אתה מוצאבדרכימקים, שכל מי שחביב קודם אח חכירו. תורה, לפי שחביבהמכל, נבראת קודםלכל ... ביחהמקרש, לפי פחביב מכל, נברא לפי כל ... ארץ שרראל, שחביבה מכל, נבראת לפני כל.
20. דבר אחר, האזינו השמיםואדברהןדבריםלב׳א"ן, עלשם שגיתהתחורה מן השמים, שאאמר, אתםראיתם כימן השמים דברחי עמכם (שמות כ׳כב').

Sources. 1. BB 9.1. 2. Bik 1.2. 3. BB 3.10. 4. BQ 4.7. 5. Eduy 1.5. 6. Eduy 6.1. 7. Ker 6.9. 8. RS 2.5. 9. Taa 1.1. 10. Mek 16.25 (L 2.119). 11. Mek 19.4 (L 2.202-203). 12. Mek 21.11 (L 3.31). 13. SLv 1.4 (W 6a). 14. Sifra, Mek of Millu'im (SLv 10.2 [W 45c]). 15. SLv 26.34 (W 112b). 16. SNm 11.4 (H 17). 17. SNm 78.1 (H 73). 18. SNm 89.4 (H 90). 19. SDt 37 (F 70). 20. SDt 306 (F 334).

## UNIT THIRTY

## FINAL AND CONSECUTIVE CLAUSES

I Introductory text (K Sanh 4.5)















Because of this, only a single person was created in the world.
-To teach that anyone who destroys a single life is regarded as having destroyed an entire world and anyone who saves a single life is regarded as having saved an entire world.
-With regard to social peace, so that no-one might say to another, My father is greater than yours.
-So that the heretics [erased in K] cannot say, There are many powers in heaven.
-To proclaim the greatness of the king of kings of kings, the holy one, blessed be he: for a person makes a hundred coins with the same seal and all look alike, but the king of kings of kings, the holy one, blessed be he, has coined every person with the seal of the first human being and nobody looks like another. Therefore, each and every one is obliged to say, The world has been created for me.
-So that you do not (or 'may you not') dare to say, What is such and such a problem to do with us, is it not already said. A witness who has seen or heard (but does not give evidence, incurs guilt) [Lv 5.1]? So that you do not (or 'may you not') dare to say, What is our responsibility for the blood of this person, is it not already said. When the wicked perish. there is joy (in the city) $[\operatorname{Pr} 11.10]$ ?

1. The text is important in the context of this unit, as it displays several ways of constructing a final clause. But above all, it is important from a theological perspective: all Israel and humankind are found in the unique (יחיחי) person of Adam, a uniqueness that causes a person to share in the uniqueness of God, the divine seal upon the first human being ('like one of us' [Gn 3.22]). This seal is the basis of a person's dignity, as a creature sealed by God, and of a person's solidarity with every other human being, which does not allow one to remain unaffected by another's pain or happiness.

A comparison of $K$ with standard printed versions of this text demonstrates striking and significant differences of both a linguistic and a theological nature.

## II Morphology

2. Virtually all the final conjunctions of BH have disappeared from, or been altered in, RH. As an example of the developments taking place, we may note the rare use of final/consecutive - $\underset{y}{ }$ in LBH-

And God acted so that they would fear him (Ec 3.14)-
which became commonplace in RH.
Similarly, at Ec 7.14, in a statement akin to the one just quoted, we find

 אׁחִרִיו מְאוּמָה
God made the one thing and the other so that no-one might find fault.
The following is a table of final conjunctions in BH and RH.

| BH | RH |
| :---: | :---: |
| $\begin{array}{r} \text { +infinitive } \\ + \text { לִבִלִתי infinitive } \end{array}$ | - + infinitive <br> + infinitive <br> - <br> - עַל מִּתִּל + infinitive |
| אֵטִר + imperfect |  |
| $-{ }_{-0}+$ imperfect (LBH) | -ji + imperfect |
| לִמַטַן |  |
| למַעַן |  |
| ַּעַבּוּר |  |
| בַַַּּבוּר צִׁר |  |
|  | כַּרִי |
|  |  |
|  | בִּשְׁבִיל |
|  | בִּשְׁבִיל שֶׁלֹא |
| טַל דִּרַחטם- |  |
|  |  |
|  | ט |
| הֵּשְׁר לא | + imperfect |

 termediate stage:

Why do I have to go about as a stray? (Ca 1.7)
The Aramaic equivalent case the $\kappa$ א; in in a clear sign of Aramaic influence. In K, the normal vocalization is
3. There are no specifically consecutive particles in BH or RH, with the following forms being used instead.

| BH | RH |
| :---: | :---: |
| $\bigcirc$ | - |
| צֵּׁר | כִּדַי |
| צֻשִר לאֹ |  |

## III Grammar and usage

4. BH usually expresses finality through the simple coordination of clauses with -i, especially common in the sequence imperative followed by
 use of the infinitive with ל- or of final conjunctions. Nonetheless, some examples remain:

Consider three things so as not to fall into the hands of $\sin$ (Abot 3.1).
5.     - ל + infinitive.
A. The use of this construction in final clauses is widespread:

They joined up, this one with that one, to take counsel (SNm 133.1 [H 176]).


 There were no happier days in Israel than the fifteenth of Ab and the day of atonement, when the girls of Jerusalem would go out in white clothes, borrowed, so as not to offend those who did not have any (Taa 4.8).
C. A so-called exegetical infinitive can begin the explanation of a biblical passage, '(this is said) in order' להוֹציא 'to exclude', לדָבִיא 'to include',



וכי יזיד איש על רעהו להרגו, [שמוח כא׳ ידן]... וכי יזיד, להוציא אחת השוגג, איש, לדוצ׳א את הקטן, אשש, להביא אח האחרים, רעהו, להוציא אמת האחרים
When a man becomes enraged enough against his companion to kill them [Ex 21.14] ... When a man becomes enraged: (this is said) in order to exclude someone acting unintentionally; a man: in order to exclude minors; a man: to include the others; against his companion:
to include minors; against his companion: to exclude the others. (Mek 21.14 [L 3.36-37]);

> ויעש כן אהרן, ובמרבר ח׳ג׳ן. להודיע שבחו של אהרן, שכשם שאמר לו משה כן עשה

And thus Aaron did [ Nm 8.3]. (This is said) to proclaim the praise of Aaron, who acted as Moses had ordered him (SNm 60.1 [H 57]).
6. Final and exegetical -vֶ.

Followed by the imperfect and with final value, this construction has the same function as an exegetical infinitive (see Units 8.7C and 20.9):

ונקה האישט מעון [במדבר ה׳לא']. שלא יאמר, אוי לי שהרגתי בת שראל He will be clear of $\sin [\mathrm{Nm} 5.31]$. (This is said) so that no-one has to
say, Woe is me, for I have killed a daughter of Israel (SNm 21.3 [ H 24]).
(Note how final and consecutive values might easily be confused.)

## 7. -ִּשְבִיל שׁׁ.

That the reason why and the reason for are near neighbours is clearly seen in this conjunction, which can refer to both cause and end. See Unit 29.11 for instances of $-\underline{p}$ witupur cause and of the same conjunction followed by a participle or noun to express merely cause. There is a further example at Taa 3.8:

Go and fetch the paschal ovens so that they don't fall apart.

## 

A. Any difference, beyond the purely stylistic, that exists between the use of the imperfect with more subjective, personal, and persuasive mood of the imperfect as against the more impersonal nature of the infinitive:

Why did the sages say, Up to midnight (one must recite the shema')? So as to distance people from $\sin$ (Ber 1.1);


Why does, Hear ( O Israel), precede, And it will be, if you listen? It is simply so that first one might take upon oneself the yoke of the kingdom of heaven and only afterwards the yoke of the commandments (Ber 2.2);

ומשמיע בכללשׁן ששומשת כדי שתהא יודעת על מה הימה משחה
It is said in any language she can understand, so that she will know why she is drinking (the bitter waters) (TosSot 2.1).
It should be noted that in the two examples from Berakhot, K reads
 in the exercises). It seems. then, that the use of to introduce a simple final clause did not become generalized in a uniform way and might represent a
 'quantity'.
B. But in virtue of its etymological force, 'as much as is sufficient', כִּדי can also introduce an attributive or adjectival clause in order to determine, quantitatively, a noun, expressing thereby not so much the final intention of the subject of the main clause as something of the end use or nature of the object referred to by the noun being thus determined. In Shab 8, there are
 example,

(Shab 8.1) does not refer to the person carrying honey to put it on a wound but to 'whoever carries enough honey to put on a wound'; similarly,
is 'oil enough to anoint the smallest member',

> שׁׁקִן כּדי לִסוּד אבִר קִטְן
is 'enough rope to make a handle' (Shab 8.2),
גָיר כְּדָּי לכְּתוֹב עָלָּיו קֵשִר מוֹכְסין
is 'enough paper for writing a taxcollector's note', and

is 'ink in sufficient quantity to write two letters' (Shab 8.3). The adjectival value of final clauses like these is decisive in preventing them from being understood as clauses expressing the final intention of the subject of the main clause.

In fact, in every example I have been able to check, כִּ functions as an indeclinable adjective ('sufficient, enough') that can introduce either an infinitive with - or the corresponding verbal noun. Thus, at Hul 11.2, we find that to the question

> וכַמָּה בוֹתִּים לוֹ?

How much (wool) must one give him?
 made from it' and כִּדי מַקָּנָה 'enough for a present'. In both cases, what is expressed is not the intention of the person who wants the wool but the quantity of wool that is needed.

על מנתח שט- occurs with the imperfect, and, depending on vocalization, the participle. On the difference between imperfect and infinitive constructions, see above, §8A.

The use of עַל מנֵת underlines the interest or intention of the subject; in line with its original sense of '(laying a bet) on the (corresponding) portion', it is usually rendered as 'on condition that', as in the well-known statement of Antigonus of Socoh:

Do not be like servants who work for their master on condition that they receive a salary, but like servants who work for their master without the intention of receiving remuneration (Abot 1.3).
At Ma'aśrot 2.7, the labourer accepts his contract עַל מִנַח שֶׁאוֹכַל תּאֵנים 'on condition that I may eat figs'. (In this instance, some prefer to read a partici-


This has a similar function, but because it is not of itself a conjunction, it can still be employed independently of any following clause, as an adverbial modifier of the clause that precedes:
 Even though he gave it to her conditionally, but the condition was not fulfilled (Git 8.8).

Its use as a conjunction is exemplified by Meg 3.2:
 A synagogue may only be sold on the condition that, whenever it is so wished, it can be returned.

## 

This form has both adverbial and conjunctional value, 'perhaps, maybe'
 seen to add a note of fear or insecurity, and is associated in RH with the verbs
 following exegetical text (SDt 43 [F 92] on Dt 11.16):

השמרו לכם פן יפתה לבבכם. אמר להם, חזהרו שמא תמרדו במקום Be careful that your heart is not beguiled. It was trying to say to them, Take care not to rebel against the omnipresent one.
At Sanh 4.5, a wide variety of senses is attested.
A. Negative final conjunction:

They wamed them, So that you do not utter suppositions or hearsay.
B. Adverb:

Perhaps you do not know that in the last resort we shall have to investigate you.
C. Preventive final conjunction.

In the meaning 'lest, in case', $\boldsymbol{ש}$ שִׁקא is usually found in justification of a biblical text. In the tannaitic midrashim, it appears in the standard formula
 and such a way) ... the biblical text says' (see Unit 18.17). A similar usage is to be seen in the final part of the introductory text to this unit (Sanh 4.5), where Lv 5.1 and $\operatorname{Pr} 11.10$ are cited in order that no-one might argue (שם M ) against solidarity.

The expression of preventive purpose is not found only in connection with biblical interpretation. שטׁקפּ can also be used to prevent, or to express fear about, any event:

Another woman had to be assigned to him in case his wife were to die (Yom 1.1).
Compare the version of this halakhah in SLv 16.32 (W 83b):
כך מקדישים למ אשה אחרח על תגאי שמא יארע דבר באשחתו
... in case something were to happen to his wife.
Note that in these two examples it is especially clear that the negative final ('so that not') and preventive final ('in case') values of שֶׁסָּ cannot be used interchangeably.
12. Consecutive clauses.
A. As in BH (see Meyer 1992, §118), a consecutive clause can be connected to its main clause by -?:

How much must there be in an olive tree so that it may not be pruned? (Shebi 4.10)
B. The similarity of consecutive and final constructions enables the use of conjunctions like - כְּדי with consecutive value:

They placed before the ark a well-versed elder, with children but with his house already empty, so that he might pray with all his heart (Taa 2.2).
C. Typical are consecutive clauses introduced by $-\underset{\sim}{-j}$ or following an exclamation or emphatic adjective:

> חביב בנימין מנקרא ידיד למקום

How beloved is Benjamin, such that he has been called, Favourite, by the omnipresent one! (SDt 352 [F 409]);

מה כח עבירה קשה שער שלא פשטו ידיהם בעבירה לא היה בהםזבים ומצורעים
How terrible is the power of sin, such that before they stretched out their hands to sin none of them had been affected by venereal or skin disease! (SNm 1.10 [H 4]);

> אוי לי שאני ערום מן המצות

Woe is me, such that I have become stripped of precepts! (SDt $36[F$ 68]).

גדולשלום שאפילו מתים צריכיםשלום
How great is peace, such that even the dead need peace! (SDt 199 [F 237]);

וכי מה אני ספון, שדהתי חיוח רעוח הללו?
Why have I been distinguished to the extent that I can kill these wild beasts? (Mek 17.14 [L 2.157]);

Your employer is faithful. such as to pay you for your work (Abot 2.16).
(Note that K replaces the relative/consecutive clause here with a simple final infinitive structure: לטגם.)

## IV Phraseology

 clause dependent on the exclamation should be understood as a consequence rather than a cause (although it is indeed possible for a causal relationship to be formulated in the same exclamatory fashion). Numerous examples include:

How beloved are the Israelites, such that they have been called children of the omnipresent one (Abot 3.14);

חביבין ישראל, שסבבש הכתוב במצות, תפיליץ בראשיהם ותפילין בזרועותיהם, מזוזה בפחחיהם, ציציח בבגדיהם How beloved are the Israelites, such that Scripture surrounds them with precepts: phylacteries on their heads and phylacteries on their arms, a mezuzah on their doors. and a tassel on their garments (SDt 36 [F 67-68]).
See also Mek 21.30 (L 3.87-88); SNm 1.10 (H 4); 161.3 (H 222), etc.

## V Vocabulary



$\eta$ כַּ 'ladle’


מחחתָּ 'brazier'
范 "careful, considered'
פּרֶ 'piece (of bread)'
פּר 'perutah' (a small coin), in plural, 'small change, coppers'
קרמקוּ 'cauldron'
 against גּוּר 'pass through, wander'

## VI Exercises

לַחְּוֹר בָּדֶם.











 9. ולמה אמרו חכמים, עד חצוח? להרחיקמן העבירה ולעששת סיג לתורה ולקים דברי אנשי כנסת הגדולה, שהזיו אומרים שלשה דברים, הוו מזתנץ בדין ןוהעמידו תלמידים הרבה ועשו סיג לתורה.
10. ושלישים על כלוןשמוחי יד׳'ז', על מנת לכלות. לשעבר, כלהבן הילוד וגויןשמזת א'כב'ז, אבלכאן, ושלישים עלכלו, עלמנח לכלות,
 11. שאל אנטונינום אתרבינו הקדוש, אני מבקשלילך לאלכסנדריא, שמא תעמיד עלימלך וינצחני? אמר לו, איני יודע. מכלמקום כתוב לנו שאیן ארץ מצרים יכולה להעמיד לא משל ולא שר, שנאמר, ונשיא מארץמצריםלא יהיה פודוּיחזקאלל׳יג׳ן] 12. אם סופינו לרבות אז כל האוכל אע״פ שאינו שוכב, מה תלמוד לומר, האוכל ... והשוכבןויקרא ד'ד'מזיז? אלא כדיליתן שיעור לשוכב בדי שיאכל. וכמה היאשיעור אכילה? כדי אכילחפרספת חיטיםולאפח שעוריםמיסבואוכלובליפתן. 13. ובא אהרן אל־אהלמוער וויקרא טז'כג׳ן. כל הפרשה כולה אמורה על הסדר חוץ מן הפסוק הזה, ובא אהרן אל־אהלמועד. ולמה באא כדי לדוציא את הכף ואת המחתה.
14. כמראה אשר הראה ׳אתמסה כן עשהןבמדבר ח׳רז, להודיע שבזו שלמשה, שבשם שאמרלו המקום כן עשה. 15. ככל אשר צוה ״ אתמשה כן עשו בני ישראלן פמדבר טּ ה'ז, להודיע שבחן של ישראל, שכשם שאמר להם משה, כן עשו. 16. ותקרבנה בנות צלפחרן במפרבר כז' א'. כיון ששמעו בנוח צלפחד שהארץ מתחלקתלשבטים לזכריםולאלנקבות, נתקבצו כולן זועלזו ליטול עצה. אמרו, לא כרחמי בשר ודם רחמי המקים. בשר ודשרחמיו על

הזכרים יוחר מן הנקבות, אבלמי שאמר והיה העולם אינו כן, אלא רחמיו על הזכריםועל הנקבות, רחמיו על הכל, שנאמר, נותן לחם לכל בשר ... נחהלים קלו׳כהזן. 17. אשר אגישוכן בתוכם נבמדבר ה׳ג׳ן. חביבים הם ישראל, שאע״פשהם טמאים, שכינהביניהם, וכן הוא אמרר, השוכן אתם בתוך טומאתם נויקרא טז'טז'ן ... ר'יוסי הגלילי אממר, בוא וראה מה כחעבירה קשה שעד שלא פשטו ידיהם בעבירה לא היה בהם זכיםומצורעים, ומשפשטו דיזם בעבירה היו בהם זביםומצורעים.
18. ואכלת ושבעת. השמרו לכם נדברים יא'טר'-טד'ן. אמר להםם הזהרו שמא יטעה אתכם יצר הרע ותפרשו מן התורה, שכיון שאדםפורש מן התורה הולך ומדבק בעבודה זרה. 19. ואממרת, אוכלה בשר כי חאוה נפשך לאכול בשר [דברים יב׳כ'ן, .. . רבי אלעזר בן עזריה אומר, לא בא הכתוב אלא ללמרך דרך ארץ, טלא יאכל אדםבשר אלא לתיאבון. 20. ואמרח לפני י׳אלהיך ארמי אובד אביןדברים כו'ה'ן, מלמד שלא

ירד אבינו יעקב לארם אלא על מנת לאבד, ומעלה על לבן הארמי כאילו איבדו. וירד מצרימה [דברים כוֹ הזן, מלמר שלא ירד להשמאקע אאלא לנור שם. שמא תאמר שירד לימול כתר מלכות, תלמוד לומר, ויגור שם[שם].

Sources. 1. Abot 1.9. 2. Abot 1.11. 3. Abot 2.4. 4. Abot 4.5. 5. Abot 4.22. 6. Abot 5.2. 7. Kel 14.1. 8. Sanh 2.4. 9. Mek 12.8 (L 1.46). 10. Mek 14.7 (L 1.203). 11. Mek 15.7 (L 2.50). 12. SLv 14.47 (W 74c). 13. SLv 16.23 (W 82b). 14. SNm 61 (H 59). 15. SNm 67.2 (H 63). 16. SNm 133.1 (H 176). 17. SNm 1.10 (H 4). 18. SDt 43 (F 96). 19. SDt 75 (F 139-40). 20. SDt 301 (F 319).

## UNIT THIRTY-ONE

## CONCESSIVE CLAUSES

I Introductory text (SNm 119.2 [H 142])

> ויאמר י׳אל אהרן... אנ׳ חלקך ונחלתך נבמדבר יח' כ']. על שולחתי אתה אוכל ועל שדלחני אחה שוחה. מטל, למה הדבר דומהז למלך בשר ורם שנחן לבניו מתנות ולבנו אחד לאננתן שום מתנה. אמר לו, בני, אע״פ טלא נתתי לך מתנה, על שאלחתי אחה אוכל ועל שולחני אחה שותה. וכך הוא אומר, חלקם נתחתי אותה מאשי [ניקראו' יז, אשי יונחלתתו ׳אכלון [דברים 'ח' א'ן.

And Y. said to Aaron ..., I am your portion and your inheritance [ Nm 18.20]. You eat at my table and drink at my table. A parable: to what may this be compared? To a king of flesh and blood who gave presents to his sons and to only one son gave no present but said to him, My son, although I have not given you a present, you eat at my table and drink at my table. That is why it says, It is the portion that I give them of my offerings by fire [Lv 6.10], They are to eat of Y.'s offerings by fire and of his patrimony [Dt 18.1].

1. The parable restates the traditional explanation of why, remarkably,
the tribe of Levi was allotted no territory. This model of a praiseworthy tribe, sustained from outside so as to be free of the normal duties of life, has passed into other religions.

## II Morphology

2. In BH, the following particles are used with concessive value:
 noun ( Jb 16.17 ) and with infinitive ( Jr 2.35).

In RH, various combinations with the particle are employed, אֲפִילּ


## III Grammar and usage

3. Concession is a type of conditional relationship, and it can be seen that many formally conditional clauses may be understood concessively. This is particularly common with $\begin{gathered}\text { © } \\ \text { אי } \\ \text { in BH, and the same is found in RH }\end{gathered}$ (see also Unit 28.7A): Even though you had studied Torah a lot ... even if all the sages of Israel were on one balance of a pair of scales (Abot 2.8);
 Although you were to give me all the silver (in the world) ..., I would not live except in a place where there was Torah (Abot 6.9).
The reverse is also true, so that can be used to indicate a simple condition:
 If one finds a vessel full of fruit, with terumah written on it, they are regarded as profane (MS 4.11).
Here, the irreal value of איל א (see Unit 28.8A) has been lost and it expresses instead a straightforward hypothesis concerning something that, while exceptional, is quite possible.
4. A concessive aspect can even be signalled by i joining two clauses, usually according to the pattern (concessive) verbal clause followed by - $\}$ and a nominal clause:

Let us imagine two women who have been taken captive, one of whom says, Although I was taken captive, I remain pure (Ket 2.6).
Concession may also be expressed in RH by simple parataxis, without - 7 : הא ותורה כל מה שעשיתם, מעשה עגל קמה עלי מן הכל Although there are many things you have done to me, the incident of the golden calf takes precedence over all (SDt I [F 6]).

It should be noted that in this example, the concessive clause is in reality a nominal clause emphasized with the particle N .
5.

Although, as we have just seen, אیמשל can have purely conditional value, in its concessive function it signals an exceptional circumstance. It is quite normal for sor to introduce a nominal or participial clause; between the main clause and the concessive clause, a real and formal subordination can be seen:

Even though they are in two different towns, the one (grain) neutralizes the other (Ter 4.12);


Even if the king greets someone (during prayer), they are not to respond, even if a snake is coiled around their feet, they are not to interrupt (their prayer) (Ber 5.1).
But the fact that there are also instances of with personal forms of the verb suggests that it is the unusualness of a condition or circumstance that predominates rather than its concessive aspect:

Even if he leaves his house and goes to spend the sabbath with his daughter in the same city, it does not create a prohibition (Erub 8.5). See also Yeb 16.5, etc.

There are three examples in the Mishnah, followed by participle, perfect, and imperfect, respectively:

קדּשִׁתן
Their holiness (remains) even though they are in ruins (Meg 3.3);

Although the school of Shammai said (Naz 2.1-2);

Even if one were to say, This one's leg for that one's (Tem 1.3).
7.


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Before a participle, the $-ש$ can be omitted:

Even if they (earthenware vessels) are bent, even if they are receptacles (Kel 2.3).
 so, despite that, nonetheless', following a concessive clause serves to contrast with the main clause that follows. In the following text from Qid 2.3, both אֶף עַל פּ variants are present:


Even though she said, It was in my heart to become engaged to him, in spite of everything, she has not become engaged.

## IV Phraseology

 dence in its favour, there is an allusion to it in the text that says ...' contrasts strict proof (זָ troduce texts that have only an indirect bearing on a matter of dispute. In the Mishnah, the formula appears at Shab 8.7 and 9.4 and Sanh 8.2 (Bacher 1899,51-55 has a list of biblical texts adduced with this formula in the tannaitic literature).

## V Vocabulary

(distance the heart from, decide against'
7 T" (pi.) 'unite, confer an honour or a name'
'כבדּ ראֹאׁ 'inclination of the head', indicating respect or honour
"worthy, appropriate, sufficient'
פַּע 'hold back, refuse’
מצוּיָ
 of mercy, cease praying
שֶׁהָה 'be slow, delay’

VI Exercises










 ארץ ישראל יצאו כל הארצות ... ואם תאמר, דן אני את הגביאים שגדבר עמהם בחוצא לארץ, אפ על פי שנדבר עמהם בחוצה לארץ, לאנדבר עמהם אלאבזכות אבות. 8. ומפני מה שרחה שכינה בחלקו של בנימין? שכל השבטים היו שותפים במכירתו מל יוסך ובנימין לא היה שותף עמהם, וכל השבטיםנולדו בחוץ לארץ ובנימין נולד בארץ ששראל. אף עלפ׳ כן, ההר וסיני] חמד אלהים לשבחו (נתהלים סח׳'יז']. 9. אלהים אגי לכל באי עולם. אף על פי בן לא ייחדתי שמי אלא על עמי ישראל. 10. ויאמר אל אהרן, קחלך ענלבן בקר לחשאחת וויקרא ט״ ביז, מלמר שאמר לו משה לאזורן, אהרן אחי, אף על פי שנתרצה המקום לכמר על עונותיך, צריך אחה ליתן לחוך פי של שםן. 11. תנתחי גשמיכם בעתםןויקרא כה'ד׳ן, ברביעיוח. אתה אומר, ברביעיוח, אוּ אוּ אלא בערבי שבתות? אמרו, אפילו שנים כשני אליהו וגשמים יוררים בערבי שבתות, אינו אלא סימן קללה. דאמה אני מקיםם, ונתתי גשמיכם בעתם? ברביעיות. 12. ר' יוסי בן דורמסקית אומר משל, ביד אדם איסר ופרוטה והוא יושב ומשקלו. ואומר, אקחבו פת, אוכל אני ולא שבע, אקח בו חמרים, שמא אוכל אני ושבע. אף על פי כן, אוכל ולא שבע, שנאמר, ואכלחםולא תשבער [ויקרא כו' כוּז. 13. גדל פרע שער ראשו [במרבר ו׳ה'], למה נאמר? לפי שהוא אומר, והיה ביום השביעי יגלח את כל שערו, את ראשא את זקנו ואת גבוח עיניו, וויקרא יד־י ט'ן, אף הנזיר במשמע, ומה אני מקי״ם, גדל פרע שער ראשור בשאר כל דנזירים חוץ מן המנוגע? או אף על פי מנוגע? ומה אני מקיים, יגלח את כל שערו? בשאר כל המנוגעים חוץ מן הנזיר? או אך הנזיר? ת״ל, יגלח, אע״פ הנזיר.
14. ר’אלעזר בנו של רבי אלעזר הקפר אומר, גדול השלום, שאפילו ישראל עובדין עבודה זרהושלום בינידם, כביכול אמר המקום, אין השטן נוגע בהםם, שנאמר, חבור עצבים אפראים הנח לון הושע ד'יז'ז, אבל משאחלקו מה נאמר בהם? חלק לבם עתה יאשמו [הושע ״׳ב׳]. הא גדול הטלום ושנואה מחלוקת.
 ב׳ן. למהנאמרה פרשה זח? לפי שהוא אומר, עלפי י יחנו ועל פי י י יסעו [במדבר ט כג׳ז, שאמע אני, הואאיל תוסעים על פי הדיבר וחונים על

פי הדיבר, לא יהיו צריכים חצוצרות. ח״ל, עשה לך שחי חצוצרות כסף. מגיד הכחוב שאך על פי שxוסעים עלפי״וחונים עלפי ״, צריכים היו חצוצרות.
16. מכאן אמר רבי אלעזר המודעי, המחלל את הקדשים והמבזה את המוערות ודמפר בריתו של אברהם אבינו, אע״פשיש בידו מצות הרבה כדיי הוא לדחוחו מן העולם.
17. ומה אם משה, חכם חכמים, גדולגדולים, אבי דנביאים, אט״״שידע שעגזרה עלי גזירה לא מנע עצמו מן הרחמים, קל וחומר לשאר בני אדם. 18. ואבדתם מהרה. ושמחם את דברי אלה ... [דברים יא׳ ׳יז']. אף על פי שאני מגלד אתכם מן הארץ לחוצה לארץ, דֵּי מצויינים במצות שכשחחחזרו לא ידו עליכם חרשים.
19. המוציא אתכם מארץ מצרים [דברים יג'רן. אפילו א׳ן לו עליך אלא שדוציאך מארץ מצרים, די. 20. וקראת אליה לשלוםןדברים כ'יז]. גדול שלום, שאפילו מחים צריכים

שלום. גדול שלום, שאפילו במלחמחם של ישראל צריכים שלום. גדול שלום, שדרי רום צריכים שלום, שאאמר, עוששלום במרומיון [איוב כה' א']. גדול שלום, שחותמים בו ברכת כהנים. ואף משה היה אוהב שלום, ואשלח מלאכים ממרבר קדמות אל סיחון מלך חשבון דברי שלום ןדבריםב׳ כו'].

Sources. 1. Ber 5.1. 2. Ber 9.5. 3. Nid 1.4. 4. Pes 8.7. 5.Toh 7.8. 6. Yeb 16.5. 7. Mek 12.1 (L 1.4-5). 8. Mek 19.16 (L 2.222). 9. Mek 23.17 (L 3.185). 10. SLv 9.2 (W 43c). 11. SLv 26.4 (W 110b). 12. SLv 26.26 (W 112a). 13. SNm 25.6 (H 31). 14. SNm 42.2 (H 46). 15. SNm 72.1 (H 67). 16. SNm 112.4 (H 121). 17. SNm 134.5 (H 180). 18. SDt 43 (F 102). 19. SDt 86 (F 150-51). 20. SDt 199 (F 237).

## UNIT THIRTY-TWO

## ADVERSATIVE CLAUSES

I Introductory text (SDt 313 [F 355])
יצרנדו כאישאן עינו [דברים לב׳^]. אפילו בקש הקדוש ברוך הואא מאברהם אבינו גלגל עינו היהנוחן לו, ולא גלגל עינו בלבד אלא אך נפשט שחביבה עליו מן הכל, טאאמר, קחנא את בנך את יחידך ... אח יצחקן[בראשיח כב'ב׳ן. והלא ידוע שהוא בנו יחידו? אלאזו נפם שגקראת יחידה, מנאמר, הצילה מחרב נפשי מיד כלב יחידתי [תהילים כב'כא'].

He cares for him like the pupil of his eye [Dt 32.10]. Even if the holy one,
blessed be he, had asked our father Abraham for his eyeball, he would have given it to him, and not only the eyeball but his very soul, which was dearer to him than anything, as it is said, Take your son, your beloved ..., Isaac [Gn 22.2]. Is it not known that this refers to his beloved son? No, rather it refers to the soul, which is called, Beloved, as it is said, Free my soul from the sword, my beloved from the claws of the dog [Ps 22.21].

1. To God's loving care, Abraham responds with a love so great that not only does he hand over to God his son but his very soul, according to an interpretation that, in the light of Ps 22.21, equates 7 ', with 'soul'.

Note that in this interpretation, the meaning of a highly anthropomorphic expression has been reversed, so that it is no longer God who holds Israel as dear as the pupils of his eyes, but Abraham who is prepared to deliver even more than the pupils of his eyes.

## II Morphology

2. The only exclusively adversative particle in BH is אוּלָ (Gn 28.19), although - , אי אם (in antithetic relationship to a preceding negative) can also be used adversatively; as a restrictive, BH employs and in earlier texts also אֲבְל (Gn 17.19). In LBH, אַבָּ reappears as an adversative conjunction, 'but' (Ezr 10.13).
3. In RH, אַבָל has become a full adversative and a new particle has de-
 peared.


## III Grammar and usage

4. RH, like BH (see Lv 2.12), evidences widespread use of copulative - ? with adversative value:
נתן לבניו מחנוח ולבנו אחד לא נחן שום מתגה

He gave presents to his sons but to one he gave nothing (SNm 119.2 [H 142]).
A. The value of -7 is made clear by the flow of thought, when it joins two opposing terms or concepts:

A well-versed elder, with children but with his house already empty (Taa 2.2).
B. Sometimes, a difference in tense between coordinated clauses (see Unit 17.12 with its quotation of Sot 7.8 ) underlines the adversative context:


A person makes various coins with the same seal and all look alike, but the king of kings of kings, the holy one, blessed be he, has coined every person with the seal of the first human being and nobody looks like another (Sanh 4.5).
C. Given that in RH the personal pronoun already has a particularly emphatic rôle (see Unit 1.7), when it is also introduced by -1 , the resulting form, for example $\mathbb{N}$, usually implies a contrast:

If someone invites another for a meal, but the latter is not sure that the former can be trusted with regard to tithes (Dem 7.1).
Such a contrast is even more patent with the vernacular construction והוֹא introducing a verb that contradicts a preceding claim. as amply demonstrated by the following example:

 (If he asked) Where is my ox?, and he answered, It's dead, when in fact it was only lame ..., or, It's lame, when in fact it was dead ..., or, It's been captured, when in fact it was dead ..., or, It's lost, when in fact it was dead (Shebu 8.2).

## 5. אַבָּ.

אֵבִל' introduces a co-ordinated sentence which contains a new case in opposition to the foregoing' (Segal 1927, §503). In Abot, there is a rich display of parallel but opposing sentences coordinated with אֲבְּ:

When two people sit together and do not exchange words of Torah, then this is a meeting of cynics ... but when two people sit together and exchange words of Torah, the Shekhinah stays between them (Abot 3.2).
(See Abot 3.3.17; 5.17 for the same structure.)
Frequently, contrasting positive and negative statements are coordinated with אֵבָל לא:
יָירדוּ לַצִּמָחין אֲבְל לֹא יִרדוּ לָאילָן

If (enough rain) came down for the plants but not enough came down for the trees (Taa 3.2).
When the order is negative followed by positive, the meaning of
 below, §6). Whereas the former coordinates two clauses ('he didn't do that, but [אַבָל] he did this') the latter restricts the meaning of a single sentence ('he only did/he did nothing but [ $\left[\begin{array}{c}\mathrm{K}\end{array}\right.$ ] that); see Sanh 1.5 , etc.
 such a case'):

## 


If the people living in a city sell a square, with the proceeds they may buy a synagogue ... but if they sell a Torah scroll, they will not be able to buy books (Meg 3.1).
(See as well Ket 5.9.)
6. אּ

This particle has a basically restrictive or exceptive value.
 and usually expresses the lack of alternative actions available to a subject: 'he did not do anything but', that is to say, 'he only did', such and such. This exclusive/restrictive force can be made yet stronger by adding בּבַּ 'only' at the end of a clause:

All that the holy one, blessed be he, created in his world, he created exclusively for his glory (Abot 6.11);
 בִּלְבַד, וּקְרָאוֹרַּוֹ
For thus we found it with David, king of Israel, that he learned no more than two things from Ahithophel, and then he called him his teacher (Abot 6.3).
There is also an isolated example of $\underset{\sim}{\aleph}$ אִּלוּ latter has an interrogative negative force (see Unit 25.7).
B. לֹא כי אֶקִא 'it is not so, but rather; that is not true, instead' is a colloquial formula that mixes BH and Aramaic:

One said, Your ox has injured (another ox), and the other said, It's not true; rather, it hurt itself on a stone (BQ 3.11);


The bread invalidates the lambs ... R. Simeon ben Nannas said, It is not so, rather, the lambs invalidate the bread (Men 4.3).
C. אیאין in exegetical idiom expresses the equivalence of two terms: A is B, A means B, A is understood as B, etc. Abot 6.3, though late, is a superb example of its use and the rabbinic thinking that it embodies-in or-
 cited; from these it is deduced that כָּ כָּוֹד is identified with then, $\operatorname{Pr} 4.2$ is adduced to show that $\boldsymbol{T}$; as and in the same as it in follows that כוֹרָה must also be the same:

Honour is Torah, as it is said, The wise will inherit honour [Pr 3.35],

And the blameless will inherit good [Pr 28.10], and 'good' is Torah, as it is said, I give you teaching of good, do not abandon my Torah [ $\operatorname{Pr} 4.2$ ].
Examples of such reasoning are widespread in the tannaitic midrashim:

> אין מעילה בכל מקום אלאשיקור

Offence always means Infidelity (SNm 7.5 [H 11]);
ואין ברית אלאתורה

Covenant means Torah (SNm 111.1 [H 116]);
אין פלילים אלאדיינים
Pelilim [Dt 32.31] are the judges (Mek 21.22 [L 3.66]);
איןנזירה אלא הפרשה
Abstinence implies separation (SLv 15.31 [W 79b]).
 Rabbi Ishmael, has to be understood in the same way. It does not reject the text introduced by $\pi$, but assigns it a new meaning; generally speaking, the formula may be rendered as 'this text only signifies that', 'it only teaches that', etc.:

איןח״ל, לאמר. אלא שאמר לו, השיבני אם אתה גואלם אם לאו
Saying only means that he said to him, Tell me if you are going to free them or not (SNm 105.5 [H 104]).
(Other examples from SNm are 103.6 [H 102]; 118.12 [H 141]; 125.3 [ H 160]; 138 [H 185].)

A contrast can be made even more striking by interposing the question

 meaning of a particular biblical text is not apparent: $a$ makes no sense; what, then, is the meaning of $a$ ?; $a$ can only mean that. This formula is applied when $a$ is a term regarded as superfluous, for example, according to the text quoted in the last paragraph (SNm 105.5), לאמר; in another version of this passage, at SNm 138 (H 184-85), the longer form of the formula is employed. In the following example, it is a superfluous wit that is the object of interpretation:

טמא הואן אלא הוא שיציל על עצמו צמיד פתיל באהל המח, יציל על עצמו צמיד פתיל באהל השרץ
He will be impure [ Nm 19.15]. 'He will be impure' makes no sense, so what is it that 'He will be impure' teaches? That he who can by himself prevent contamination in a hermetically-sealed tent containing a corpse is the same as he who can by himself prevent contamination in a hermetically-sealed tent containing a (dead) insect (SNm 126.10 [H 164]).

The same terminology is also to be found in the Mishnah, as in the following passage:



That same day, Rabbi Akiba explained, Then Moses and the people of Israel sang this song to Y., saying [Ex 15.1]. 'Saying' offers no teaching. What meaning, then, could 'Saying' have? It teaches that the Israelites were responding to each of the words that Moses said (Soṭ 5.4).
 even without a preceding negative, still has an obviously restrictive function, 'except that, in contrast, however, in fact', attested in both Mishnah and midrashim:

 Rabbi Eliezer said. I heard that when they were building the temple they made curtains for the temple and curtains for the courtyards, except that for the temple they built outside and for the courtyards they built inside (Eduy 8.6);

וירשאם גויםגדוליםועצומים מבםןדברים יא' כג'ן. אך אחם גדוליםועצומים אלאשדהםגדולים ועצומים מכם
You will dispossess peoples greater and stronger than you [Dt 11.23]. You too are great and strong, but, nonetheless, they are greater and stronger than you (SDt 50 [F 115]);

וחכמים אומרים, מַן היה משתנה לדם לישראל לכלדבר שרוצים, אלאשלא היורואים בעיניהם אלאמֵן
The sages interpreted thus: manna transformed itself into anything the Israelites desired, except that what they saw with their eyes was only manna ( SNm 87.2 [H 87]),
a striking example of this construction.
 immediately after a text has been cited, as at SDt 159 (F210):

ולא ירבהלו נשים [דברים יץ׳ין', אלא שמונה עשרה
He is not to obtain for himself many wives [Dt 17.17], only eighteen. Here, an ellipsis of the complete formula ('not ... but rather') should be understood or perhaps an undertone of polemic against another, more predictable, interpretation, present in some form in the mind of the midrashic writer-this is clear when $\mathbb{N}$


ומה תלמוד לומר, במאערו ןבמדבר כח׳ ב׳ץ? אלא מופנה להקישוֹלדון ממנו גזירה שוה
What teaching is provided by 'At its appointed time' [ Nm 28.2 ]? In fact, this is a redundant term used so that a comparison can be established and an argument from analogy can be made (SNm 65.1 [ H 61]).

In any case, the use of at the beginning of an answer to a question always marks a contrast that is more or less amenable to translation: What difference is there between vows and voluntary offerings. It is that in vows, if they (the birds) die or are stolen, the obligation (to replace them) remains, and in voluntary offerings, if they die or are stolen, then there is no such obligation (Qin 1.1).
7. - וּבלְבַד

Always with restrictive force, 'only if, in the case that, provided that', the waw has lost all conjunctive value. The construction is, in effect, equivalent to a conditional particle, and is generally employed with the imperfect:
 Look, this money is given to you as a gift provided that your husband cannot use it (Ned 11.8);

רבי יהודה אומר, מרבה הוא לו נבשים] ובלבד שלא יהו מסירוח אח לבו Rabbi Judah interpreted thus: He will be able to obtain more (wives) for himself so long as they do not lead his heart astray (SDt 159 [F 210]).
8. חוּץ

This expression introduces an exception:
מפני מה המן משתגה להם לכל דבר שהיו רוצים חוץ מחמשת מינים הללו? Why did the manna use to transform itself into whatever they desired apart from those five things? (SNm 87.2 [H 86-87])
Following a negative statement, it can have the same sense as אלקא:

One may only bring firstfruits from the seven kinds (Bik 1.3).
In general, חוּץ מן comes before a noun and is not, therefore, strictly speaking, a conjunction (which joins clauses together). However, occasionally we find - חוּץ מִשֶׁz introducing an adjectival or relative clause:

Everything can be redeemed and consumed within (the city walls) except whatever has been contaminated outside by a primary source of impurity (MS 3.9).

## IV Phraseology

 personal view, 'for me, in my opinion', which goes against the tone of the biblical text. The most frequently found context is
where $\aleph$ and $\beth$ are the two possible interpretations:
ואם באבן יד אששר ימוח בה הכהו וימוח רוצח הוא מוח יומת הרוצח

נבמדבר לה׳ יז'ן ... אין לי אלא שהרגו באבן שיהא חייב. גלגל עליו
סלעים ועמארים מניך? ח״ל, רוצח הוא מות יומת הרוצח, מכל מקום If he injured him with a stone in his hand so badly that he could die, and he did die, he is a murderer, he must be put to death [ Nm 35.17] ... In my opinion, only if he kills him with a stone is he to be condemned to death; from where may it be deduced that this is also true if he kills him by rolling boulders or pillars over him? From the text that says. He is a murderer, he must be put to death, in whatever circumstance ( SNm 160.6 [H 217]);

לא יחיצב אישבפניכםןדברים יא׳ כה'ן. אין לי אלא איש. אומה ומשפחה אשה בכשפיה מניץך חלמוד לומר, לא יתיצב איש, מכל מקום. אם כן, למה נאמר, אישׁ אפילו כעוג מלך הבשן ... No man will be able to stand against you [Dt 11.25]. In my opinion, it only refers to a man: from where may it be deduced that it also applies to a people or a family or a woman with her enchantments? From the text that says, No man (i.e. 'no-one') will be able to stand against you. And if so, why does it say, Man? Because, even if he were like Og , king of Bashan ... (SDt 52 [F 118]).
The second text here is developed in a manner that is frequently at-tested-if the first interpretation, which is literal and more restrictive, is not correct, why does the text say what it does say literally? A perfect opportunity is offered to look for a further meaning, which transcends the merely literal.
10. ...איפשׁׁר ש- . . presses a reaction to a biblical text that is, if taken literally, absurd or scandalous (for example, the text referred to at SDt 359 [F 427] that might be taken to imply that Moses wrote all the Torah, including the account of his

 ששונאים את המקום
Because Y. hates us [Dt 1.27]. But is it possible that the omnipresent one hates Israel? For is it not said, I have loved you, says Y. [M1 1.2]? It is they who are are the ones that hate Y.! (SDt 24 [F 34]). (Further examples, including SDt 359, can be found in the exercise texts.)

## V Vocabulary

אוֹבִדָן 'destruction'
(hi. of
'סָד 'Media'
מַמְּס 'reality'; used adverbially, 'in reality’
משטׁנֵה הַתּוֹרָה
'Deuteronomy' (the 'second law')
국누ㄴㅜㅜㄴ 'exit, farewell, death'
 שׁביתִּ 'sabbath rest'
שֶָׁע 'listen, obey'; in halakhic idiom, also 'interpret, permit'

## VI Exercises


 בִּלי מָקוֹםן




















 8. וירדו כל עבדיך אלה ... [שמוח יא' ח׳ן, שאיןחלמוד לומר, אלה, אלא שסופך עחיד לירד בראשם. אלא שמשה חלק כבוד למלכות. 9. היום אתם יוצאים בחדשם האביב נשמוח יג׳ר'ן. שאין תלמוד לומר, חדש האביב, אלא, חרשטהוא כשר לכם, לא חמה קשה ולא גשמים, וכן הוא אומר, אלהיםמושיב יחידים ביתה, מוציא אסירים בכושרות, נתהלים סח׳ ז']. שאין חלמוד לומר, בכרשרות, אלא, חרש שדוא כשר לכם, לא חמה קשד ולאגשמים. 10. בידו [שמוח כא׳ טז'ן. אין בידו אלא רשוחו, ואף על פי שאין ראיה לדבר, זכר לדבר, ויקח כל ארצו מידו [במדבר כא׳ כוזי, ואומר, ויקח העבד עשרה גמלים מגמלי הדוניו וילך וכל טוב אדוניו בידו ובראשית כד'י״ן, הא אין ידו בכל מקום אלארשוחו.
11. רבי דוסא אומר, הרי הוא אומר, כי לא יראני האדםוחי [שמות לג׳כז, בחייהן אין רואים, אבל רואין במימחן. 12. בני ישראל מניפין ואין בנוה ישראל מניפוח. ואין לי אלא בני ישראל. מנין לרבוח הגרים, העבדים, המשוחררים? תלמוד לומר. המקריבנויקראז׳כט'ז].
13. ואבדתם בגוים נויקרא כו׳לח״ן. ר׳ע אומר, אילו ״ שבטים שגלו למדי. אחרים אמפרים, ואבדתם בגוים, א׳ן אובדן אלא גולה. יכול אובדן ממשר כמהוא אומר, ואכלה החכם ארץ א איביכם נויקרא כר׳ לחיז, הרי אובדן ממש אמור. הא מה אני מקיים, ואברחם בגוים? א׳ין אובדן אלא גולה. 14. ואין שופר אלא של חירוח, שנאמר, והיה ביום ההוא יהקע בשופר גדול [ישעיה כז' יג']. אבל איני יודע מי תוקעו. ת״ל, וי׳אלהים בשזפר יתקע

15. ויהי העםןבמדבר יא׳א"ן. א׳ין העם אלא דרשעים, שצאמר, מה אעשה לעם הזה? [שמות יז'ד'ז, עד אנא ינאצוני העם הזה באבמדבר יד'יאן' ... וכשקוראן,
 16. ומדוע לא יראחם לדבר בעבדי במשה? (במרבר ״ב'חדן]. א׳ן ת״ל, בעבדי במשה, אלא מאחת שדברתם בי דברתם בעבדי משד. משל, למה הדבר רומה? למלך בשר ודם שהיה לו אפוטרופוס במרינה והיו בני המדינה מדברים בפניו. אמר להם המלך, לא בעבדי דברחם אלא בי דברחם, ואםחאמרו, איזי מכיר במעשיו, זו קשה מן הראשונה. 17. לא אוכל לבדי שאת אתכםנדבריםא' טזן. איפשר שלא היה משה יכול לדון אח ישראל, אדם שהוציאם ממצריםוקרע להם אח הים והוריר להם

את המן והגיז להם את השליז ועשה להםנסים וגבורות, ולא היה יבול לדונם? אלא כך אמר להם, ״״אלהיכם הרבה אתכם על גבי דייניכם. 18. וכתב לו את משנה התורהנרברים יז' 'ח׳ז. אין לי אלא טשנה תורה, שאר דברי יתורה מניץ תלמוד לומר, לשמור את כל דברי התורה הזאתואת החקים האלה לעשתם [נדברים יז'יטז]. אם כן, למה טאמר, משנה החורה? שעתידה להשתנות. אחרים אומרים, אין קוראים ביום הקהל אלא משגה תורהבלבד.
 לומר, ואם איש. אם כן, למה נאמר, עניץ ממהר אני ליפרע על ידי עני יותר מן העשיר. 20. וימת שם משה [רברים לד׳ ה'ן, איפשר שמז משה וכואב, וימת שם משה? אלא ער כאן כתב משד, מיכן ואילך כחב יהושע. רבי מאיר אומר, הרי הוא אומר, ויכתוב משה את התורה הזאת [דברים לא׳ טזן, איפשר שנתן משה את החתרה כשהיא חסירה אמילו אות אחח? אלא מלמד שהיה משד כוחב מה שאמר לו הקרוש ברוך הוא כתוב.

Sources. 1. Abot 3.3. 2. Abot 6.9. 3. MQ 1.3. 4. Neg 3.1. 5. Shab 16.6. 6. Shebu 8.4. 7. Taa 3.8. 8. Mek 12.31 (L 1.101). 9. Mek 13.4 (L 1.140). 10. Mek 21.16 (L 3.45). 11. SLv 1.1 (W 4a). 12. SLv 7.29-30 (W 39b). 13. SLv 26.38 (W 112b). 14. SNm 77.4 (H 72). 15. SNm 85.2 (H 84). 16. SNm 103.6 (H 102). 17. SDt 9 (F 17). 18. SDt 160 (F 211). 19. SDt 277 (F 295). 20. SDt 357 (F 427).

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Abbreviations

ANDRL1, ANDRL2=Archive of the new dictionary of rabbinical literature, 1 (ed. by E.Y. Kutscher; Ramat-Gan, 1972), 2 (ed. by M.Z. Kaddari; RamatGan, 1974); BI=Bar-Ilan; CBQ=The Catholic Biblical Quarterly; ET=The Expository Times; HDSSBS=T. Muraoka and J.F. Elwolde (eds.), The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Ben Sira: proceedings of a symposium held at Leiden University, 11-14 December 1995 (Leiden, 1997); HLSZBH=M. Bar-Asher, A. Dotan, G.B. Ṣarfatti, and D. Téné (eds.), Hebrew language studies presented to Professor Zeev Ben-Hayyim (Jerusalem, 1983); HUCA =Hebrew Union College Annual; HYMV=E.Y. Kutscher, S. Lieberman, and M.Z. Kaddari (eds.), Henoch Yalon memorial volume (Bar-Ilan Departmental Researches, 2; Ramat-Gan, 1974); JBL=Journal of Biblical Literature; JQR=Jewish Quarterly Review; JSS=Journal of Semitic Studies; $L^{e s 5} .=L^{e}$ šonénu; LS1, LS2-3, LS4, LS5-6=M. Bar-Asher (ed.), Language studies [Mehqarim ba-lashon], 1, 2-3, 4, 5-6 (Jerusalem, 1985, 1987, 1990, 1992); MEAH =Miscelánea de Estudios Arabes y Hebraicos: P9WCJS=Proceedings of the Ninth World Congress of Jewish Studies. Jerusalem, August 4-12, 1985 (Jerusalem, 1986, 1988); RB=Revue Biblique; REJ=Revue des Etudes Juives; SHJLSM=M. Bar-Asher (ed.), Studies in Hebrew and Jewish languages presented to Shelomo Morag (Jerusalem, 1996); SHSLEYK=G.B. Sarfatti, P. Artzi, J.C. Greenfield, and M.Z. Kaddari (eds.), Studies in Hebrew and Semitic languages dedicated to the memory of Prof. E.Y. Kutscher (Ramat-Gan, 1980); SYHA=S. Lieberman (ed.), Sefer ha-yovel le-Rabbi Hanokh Albeck (Jerusalem, 1963); ZNW=Zeitschrift fuir die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft.

Doct. diss. = Doctoral dissertation; $H$. (at the end of a reference $)=($ written in) Hebrew; repr. = reprinted; * indicates pages within a separately paginated Hebrew section.

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## INDICES

## Texts

(Bible, Ben Sira, Inscriptions, Dead Sea Scrolls, Mishnah, Tosephta, Talmud, ARN, Pesiqta de Rab Kahana, PesR, Mek, SLv, SNm, SDt, Seder Olam Rabbah, Tanḥuma, PRE, Midrash Rabbah, Targums)

| $G n$ | 20.160 | $N m$ | 23.1085 |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 2.18199 | $21.2-3214$ | 5.6225 | 27.17200 |
| 3.6139 | 21.14232 | $5.12-3120$ | 28.2249 |
| 3.14222 | 21.28139 | 5.14163 | 30.17118 |
| 3.22230 | 21.33225 | 5.17201 | 35.17251 |
| 4.1945 | 22.24166 | 5.2252 |  |
| 6.17138 | 23.5141 | 5.2852 | $D t$ |
| 7.1323 | 23.8126 | 5.31232 | 1.8197 |
| 11.346 | 24.10171 | 6.2148 | 1.27251 |
| 13.17197 | 25.22205 | 6.3202 | $1.3174,75$ |
| 17213 | 33.1668 | 6.542 | 6.8227 |
| 17.19245 | 34.6150 | 6.2353 | 7.16168 |
| 18.1185 |  | 7.89205 | 8.953 |
| 18.5222 | $L v$ | 8.3232 | 10.1782 |
| 21.22184 | 1.1205 | $9.20-2321$ | 11.13121 |
| 21.33197 | 2.12245 | 9.2321 | 11.16235 |
| 22.2245 | $5.1230,235$ | 10.9119 | 11.22150, |
| 22.16222 | 6.10239 | 10.2929 | 151 |
| 26.12197 | 10.6142 | 10.3521 | 11.23249 |
| 27.4223 | 11.47139 | 11.4124 | 11.25251 |
| 28.19245 | 14.16176 | 11.5191 | 15.672 |
| 29.1223 | 14.28153 | 11.8176 | $16.356,166$ |
| 30.18222 | $16.20-22139$ | $11.155 .8,18$ | 16.19126 |
| 30.31183 | 19.967 | 11.20222 | 17.17183, |
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| 39.9222 | 24.19198 | 14.24222 | 18.1239 |
| 42.34183 | 25.36166, | 15.3062 | 21.1139 |
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| $E x$ | 25.37166, | $15.37-4156$ | 24.1280 |
| 5.18191 | 174 | 18.20239 | $24.19-2267$ |
| 12.38110 | 26.5126 | 19.4176 | $25.1-390$ |
| $13.811,221$ | $26.6127,138$ | 19.15248 | $25.5-1038$ |
| 15.1249 | 26.23163 | 19.17201 | 25.9209 |
| 19.475 |  | 20.12222 | 26.3223 |
|  |  | 22.18240 | 26.5127 |
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| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $32.78,65$ | 4.230 | 35 |  |
| 32.10245 | 6.19146 | 44.572 | Pr |
| 32.25146 | 13.31183 |  | 1.727 |
| 32.31248 | 14.535 | Ho | 1.29222 |
| 32.36115 | 15.13 57. 184 | 6.285 | 3.35 247, 248 |
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| 5.1657 | 53.12144 | 14.3119 | Ec |
| 6.1582 | 54.10240 |  | 1.1827 |
| 6.1750 | 56.272 | Ml | 3.14230 |
| 18.435 | 63.9171 | 1.2251 | 5.451 |
| 20.4623 |  | 1.627 | 6.6213 |
|  | Jr |  | 7.14231 |
| 1 S | 2.35240 | Ps | 7.2218 |
| 2.2759 | 3.8222 | $8.48,105$ | 9.1214 |
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| 12.10222 | 28.272 | 1.1018 | 6.8144 |
| 12.22183 | 33.772 | 9.15240 |  |
| 21.6138 | 33.2472 | 15.24109 | Ne |
|  | 39.1772 | 16.17240 | 2.13137 |


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In Greek and Roman Palestine we find a Hebrew dialect that had existed alongside the literary language of Biblical Hebrew but had followed its own pattern of development. After the destruction of the Temple, the rabbis elevated this dialect to the status of a literary language, 'Rabbinic Hebrew', and employed it in the composition of the Mishnah, Tosefta, and halakhic midmashin.
This volume is a practical grammar of Rabbinic Hebrew that brings M.H. Segal's 1927 grammar up to date by incorporating the results of recent investigations in this field. It also adds a clearly pedagogic perspective, with vocabulary and exercises in every unit, and introduces readers to the thinking of the Sages of lsrael (each unit commences with a text that bears on a theological, historical, literary, or methodological topic).


