

AN INTRODUCTORY GRAMMAR OF RABBINIC HEBREW

BY

MIGUEL PÉREZ FERNÁNDEZ

TRANSLATED BY
JOHN ELWOLDE



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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. Zuckerman 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 Judaísmo Clásico*, sponsored by the Ministerio de Educación y Ciencia (PB93/1161).

Miguel Pérez Fernández
Granada, March 1997

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Unit 17 Perfect

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1. Naz 3.6: *ma'asiyyot* in the Mishnah. **2.** RH differences from BH in the perfect: קָטְלוּ for קָטְלוּהָ, קָטְלוּהָ for קָטְלוּהָ, קָטְלוּהָ for קָטְלוּהָם. **3.** *Qal* perfect forms קָטַל, קָטַל, קָטַל absent; יָכוֹל. **4.** *Ayin-waw* and *-yod* verbs. **A.** *Qal*: קָם, קָם, בּוֹשׁ; *Nif'al*: נִידוּ/נִדוּן. **B.** *Pi'el* (etc.): קָיִים; נִתְגַּיֵר, קָיִים; כִּינָן, טָיִיל, נִתְגַּיֵר, קָיִים. **C.** *Po'lel*: עוֹרֵר; *Pilpel*: וְגִיג. **5.** *Lamed-alef* and *-he* verbs. **A.** *Lamed-alef* verbs inflected like *lamed-he*: קָרִינוּ, קָרִינוּ, קָרִינוּ. **B.** Third person feminine singular *Qal* in תָּ-: הָיָה, הָיָה, הָיָה. **C.** Third person feminine singular *Nif'al*: נִמְצְאוּ, נִמְצְאוּ. **D.** Suffixed forms of *lamed-he* verbs inflected like *lamed-alef*: עָשְׂאוּ, עָשְׂאוּ. **6-7.** Perfect expresses action that took place at specific point in past; distinguished from general or atemporal statements; effect of disappearance of וַיִּקְטַל construction; use of perfect to begin *meshalim*. **8.** Perfect with pluperfect significance; in combination with הָיָה + participle/noun. **9.** Perfect with present reference. **A.** In dialogues and colloquial speech: אָמַרְתָּ, בָּאתָם לְשָׁלוֹם, לֹא זָכִיתִי מִן הַדִּין, אָמַרְתָּ. **B.** Expressing a state or condition that arose in past but persists in present: הִכְשַׁרְתִּי אֶת נֹזֵק. **10.** Perfect in declarations of general validity: נִכְנַס יַיִן, יָצָא סוּד. **11-12.** Perfect in protasis of conditional/temporal sentence, in halakhic formulations and narrative; distinguished from liturgical atemporal present. **13.** Future perfect, expressing future event regarded as already having taken place. **14.** מִה־שָּׁעֲשָׂה עָשָׂה, אִם-עָשִׂיתִי עָשִׂיתִי, מִה־שָּׁעֲשָׂה עָשָׂה, אִם-עָשִׂיתִי עָשִׂיתִי, מִה־שָּׁעֲשָׂה עָשָׂה, אִם-עָשִׂיתִי עָשִׂיתִי, מִה־שָּׁעֲשָׂה עָשָׂה, אִם-עָשִׂיתִי עָשִׂיתִי, מִה־שָּׁעֲשָׂה עָשָׂה, אִם-עָשִׂיתִי עָשִׂיתִי, מִה־שָּׁעֲשָׂה עָשָׂה, אִם-עָשִׂיתִי עָשִׂיתִי. **15.** לֹא זָכִיתִי מִן הַדִּין. **16.** אָמַרְתָּ. **17.** [לֹא] יָצָא.

Unit 18 Imperfect

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1. SDt 41: the motives for studying Torah. 2. יִקְטֹלוּ, תִּקְטְלוּ for BH תִּקְטְלוּ and for BH תִּקְטְלוּ (sometimes used). 3–4. Absence of BH cohortatives (תִּקְטְלוּ) and jussives (תִּקְטְלוּ). 5. Biblical and Aramaizing conjugations of הָיָה. 6. Confusion of *lamed-alef* and *lamed-he* verbs: יִקְרָא, יִקְרָא, יִקְרָא. 7. הָיָה like *pe-alef* in imperfect: יִהְיֶה, יִהְיֶה. 8. Stylistic, etc., aspects of the use of the different conjugations of הָיָה and of the lengthened and shortened forms. 9. Imperfect expressing (possible) future. 10. Imperfect with modal aspect: cohortative, optative, jussive. 11. 'Persuasive' mood of imperfect replacing imperative; אַל + imperfect in prohibitions; אַל יַעֲשֶׂה in impersonal prohibitions. 12. Imperfect expressing durative action. 13. Use of imperfect contrasted with that of participle in *halakhah* and *midrash*. 14. -שׁ + imperfect in temporal, final, consecutive, etc., clauses. 15. אִם + imperfect expressing possible but unfulfilled condition. -שׁ + imperfect expressing event only possible in future. 17. שָׂמַח חֲמֹד/חֲמֹדֵי.

Unit 19 Participle

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1. SDt 329: the responsibility of the individual before God. 2. RH use of ת- in feminine and ח-ף- in plural participle. 3. *Qal*. A. Active קָטַל, intransitive/stative קָטַל; feminine קָטַל and קָטַל; morphological and semantic relationship of stative participle and adjective; replacement of statives by actives; יָכוֹל, יָכוֹל. B. Suffixed forms of participle: שׁוֹמְעֵי, פּוֹרְטֵי, גּוֹזְרֵי. C. Feminine singular passive participle in ה-; אֲמוֹרָה, אֲמוֹרָה; as nominalized adjective: גְּרוּשָׁה. D. Feminine singular participle in ה- in *ayin-waw* and *lamed-he* verbs: רָצָה, בָּאָה. E. Active participle in קָטַל. F. Passive participle in קָטַל. 4. *Nif'al*: נִקְטְלוּ preferred over BH נִקְטְלוּ; נִקְטְלוּ, נִקְטְלוּ; נִדְוֹן/נִדְוֹן, נִעֲשָׂה and נִעֲשָׂה. 5A. *Pi'el*: BH paradigm retained; מְהִיָּה/מְהִיָּה. 5B. *Pu'al*: BH paradigm retained; feminine participle of *lamed-he* verbs in ה-; מְהִיָּה/מְהִיָּה; omission of preformative *mem*: מְהִיָּה for מְהִיָּה. 6. *Hiipa'el* and *Nitpa'al*: assimilation of ת- of preformative more common than in BH. 7A. *Hif'il*: feminine participle in מְהִיָּה (as LBH) for BH מְהִיָּה; מְהִיָּה (for מְהִיָּה). 7B. *Hof'al*: with *u* for BH *o* (מְהִיָּה, מְהִיָּה); feminine participle in ה- in *lamed-he* verbs: מְהִיָּה. 8. Nominal character of participle, especially in 'construct'. 9. Tempo-

ral and modal aspects of participle. **10.** Participle in atemporal statements; relationship of stative participles and adjectives; relationship of *Qal* passive and *Nif'al* participles. **11.** Plural participle, without subject, in impersonal, indefinite, general statements or those that imply God as agent. **12.** Participle expressing habitual actions in past and future (liturgical atemporality) or adding vividness to account. **13.** Participle as adverbial modifier of main verb: עֹמֵד, יֹשֵׁב, etc., especially in *meshalim*. **14.** הוֹלֵךְ, etc., with participle, expressing continuous or progressive action. **15.** Participle as complement of הִתְחִיל 'begin' and הַדָּרֶךְ בְּנֵי אָדָם 'the way of human beings'. **16.** הָיָה + participle. **A.** Expressing continuous action in past. **B.** Expressing continuous action in future. **C.** Expressing continuous action in imperative mood. **D.** Expressing continuous action in infinitive mood. **E.** Expressing pluperfect. **17.** Participle with future reference. **A.** In idiomatic speech, indicating immediate future or an event about to happen. **B.** In exegetical writing. **C.** In expressions employing imperfect in BH. **D.** סוֹף שֶׁ-/סוֹף + participle expressing eschatological or inevitable future. עָתִיד + participle expressing eschatological future. **18.** Imperative connotation of participle in expressions of immediate or inevitable future and in halakhic formulations or statements of principles; permissive significance in positive contexts. **19.** Participle in halakhic suppositions. **20.** Passive participle as a gerundive or expressing destiny. **21.** Passive participle with active meaning. **22.** Participle negated with אֵין, לֹא, but not אַל. **23.** הָיָה יוֹשֵׁב וְדוֹרֵשׁ. **24.** (בד"א) בְּמַה דְּבָרִים אֲמֹרִים. **25.** נִמְצְאוּ לַמִּדֵּי.

Unit 20 *Infinitive*

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1. SDt 355: development of oral law sanctioned by Moses. **2.** Disappearance of infinitive absolute in RH; infinitive construct with לִּ-, מִלִּ-, negated by שֶׁלֹּא; development of negative form of infinitive in BH, LBH, etc. **3.** *Qal* infinitive based on imperfect; table of forms; occasional retention of BH structures. **4.** Assimilation of *lamed-alef* to *lamed-he* forms of infinitive: לְקַרְוֹת, לְמַלְאוֹת. **5–6.** Elision of preformative ה־ in *Nif'al* and *Hif'il* infinitive: לִיכָנֵס, לִיבָטֵל, לִיבָרֵךְ, לִיעֲשׂוֹת, לִיִּשֵׂא, לִרְבוֹת. **7.** RH infinitive with ל־ only accepts object suffixes. **8.** Abandonment of BH בְּצִאָתוֹ, בְּצִאָתוֹ constructions. **9.** Functions of infinitive: as subject or object (complement) of verb; expressing purpose; used attributively, modifying noun; used modally, as

gerund. 10. לומר introducing direct speech or quotation. 11. Infinitive + על with imperative significance; -הרין עלי ל- as cohortative. 12. -עתיד ל-, סוף ל- + infinitive expressing inevitable; -עומד ל- 'be about to'. 13. מזה אני. 14. הא אין עליך לומר/לדון פלשון האחרון אלא. 15. אין עליך לדון אלא כדון הראשון, כלשון הראשון לעשות. 16. להביא, להוציא; ... פ-.

Unit 21 Imperative

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1. SDt 49: 'Be gracious and merciful just as God is gracious and merciful'; the *al tigre* rule. 2-3. Differences between RH and BH imperative: loss of feminine and lengthened forms (קטלנה, קטלנה); paradigm of RH imperative; use of *scriptio plena* for 'o' vowel. 4A. Reappearance of *waw* in *pe-yod* verbs: התורה. 4B. Loss of *nun* in *pe-nun* verbs: טול, פן. 5. Imperative of הנה as though from הנה; Aramaic influence. 6-7. Restricted use of imperative even in positive commands. 8. הנה imperative + participle/adjective emphasizing continuity or repetition. 9. הרין אומר. 10. הגראה ש-.

Part III Particles

Unit 22 Prepositions and conjunctions

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1. Sot 9.15: human virtues and divine gifts. 2. Prepositions and conjunctions as particles of relation. 3. Prepositions as nouns in construct state. 4. Conjunctions as prepositions determined by -ש clause. 5. Disappearance of BH particles in RH. 6. Inseparable and other prepositions in RH; new forms: אבית, כמות-, אבית-. 7. Accumulation of particles in creation of new RH prepositions. 8. List of conjunctions. A. Copulative and disjunctive. B. Interrogative. C. Comparative. D. Temporal. E. Conditional. F. Causal. G. Final. H. Consecutive. I. Concessive. J. Adversative. 9. Difficulty of categorizing prepositional meanings. 10. -ב: local, instrumental, adjectival (*beth essentiae*), 'in relation to'; בלא, זכה ב-. 11. -כ: כנגד, כנגד, כנגד. 12. -ל: introducing indirect complement (e.g. אומר לו), final clause, expressing 'ethic dative', 'possession', replacing -ב, על, אה, אה. A. -ל: אה למדתי ל-. B. -ל: אה למדתי ל-. C. -ל: אה למדתי ל-. D. -ל: אה למדתי ל-. 13. Uses of object-marker. A. Participle מן expressing origin, provenance, separation. B. מן in place of an indefinite pronoun. C. מן. 15. על: comparative, causal, conveying obligation. 16. על דתעל יד.

*Part IV Clauses**Unit 24 Types of clause*

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1. Mek 13.2: the second liberation will be superior to the first; argument in form of *kelal*. 2. Nominal and verbal clauses: traditional classification; Arabic-based classification; problems of analysing emphasis based on word-order; clauses of identification, clauses of classification; simple and complex nominal clauses; importance of wider context for interpretation; emphasis in verbal clauses. 3. Co-ordination and subordination at syntactic and logical levels. 4. Two-element syntactic construction (protasis and apodosis). 5. Expression of subordination through co-ordinate structures in RH. 6. Two-element conditional constructions in *halakhot*. 7. Asyndetic juxtaposition of main verb and auxiliary. 8. Negation of verbal clauses. 9. Anticipation of element in subordinate clause as object of main clause, especially with *מַעֲשֵׂה, גִּזְר*. 10. Modal nominal clauses (circumstantial clauses); negation of nominal clauses; atemporal nature of nominal clauses. 11. Nominative absolute (*casus pendens*): as version of two-element syntactic construction; types found in RH: extraposed element referred to by pronoun in main clause; commencing with *-ש* or noun + *-ש*; resumptive use of *הָרִי* + pronoun referring to extraposed element; in halakhic disputes; in *meshalim*; in statements of comparison; determination of *casus pendens* by *אֵל*. 12. Adjectival (relative) clauses. 13. Disjunctive clauses: *אוֹ, אוֹ... אוֹ, -ו, אוֹ*. 14. *וְאִין אַחַם, וְאִין אָנוּ, אַם... אַם, אַם... וְאִין*, etc.

Unit 25 Interrogative clauses

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1. SNm 87.1: grace and law. 2–3. Interrogative particles of BH and RH. 4. The rhetorical question *-ש* *אֵינּוּ דִין*. 5. *-ה, כְּלוּם*. 6. *וְכִי מִפְּנֵי מָה, וְכִי אֵיזוֹ, וְכִי מָה, וְכִי הֵיאָךְ*; *וְכִי*. 7. Direct disjunctive questions with *אוֹ*. 8. Indirect questions; disjunctive indirect questions with *אֵם, אוֹ-ש*. 9. *אֵינּוּ דִין*. 10. *מָה אָנוּ ל-, מָה אַתָּה ל-, מָה אָנִי ל-*. 11. *הָרִי כִבֵּר נְאֻמָּר*. 12.

Unit 26 Comparative clauses

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1. SDt 8: a rabbinic 'parable of the talents'. 2. RH comparative particles *-כ, כְּמוֹת, כְּמוֹ*. 3. Compounds of *-כ*: *כְּגַדְךָ, כְּדִי, כְּיִצְאָךְ, כְּיִצְאָךְ*. 4. RH comparative conjunctions: *כְּשֵׁם ש-, כְּשֵׁם ש-, כְּשֵׁם ש-, כְּשֵׁם ש-*; with

modal adverbs כֵּן, כִּי, אֵף. 5. Adjectives and comparisons of superiority, inferiority; כְּדִי. 6. Compound prepositions. A. כַּנְגַד. B. כַּדָּרֶךְ. C. כִּיּוֹצֵא ב-. 7. כִּשְׁמֶשׁ-שׁ, כַּדָּרֶךְ-שׁ, כִּשְׁמֶשׁ-שׁ. 8. Formulas expressing analogy: מָה as comparative particle. A. *Gezerah shawah*: מָה ... אֵף. B. *Heqqesh*: מָה ... אֵף. C. *Qal wa-homer*: מָה אִם + קַל וְחֹמֶר-שׁ. על אַחַת כְּמֵה וְכַמָּה, אִינוּ דִין-שׁ. 9. אִם לְמִדְתִּי ... אֵף/כֵּף. D. Equalizing comparisons: לְעֵשׂוֹת ... כִּי-, עֲשֵׂה זֶה כְּזֶה. 10. Inclusive formulas of comparison: לִי, ... בְּ-, ... וְשֵׁלֵא ב-. בֵּין ... וְאֶחָד/בֵּין, בֵּין-שׁ ... וּבֵין-שׁ. וְשֵׁלֵא לִי-וְאֶחָד. 11. בֵּין כֵּף וּבֵין כֵּף. 12. כְּמוֹ כֵּן. 13. כְּמוֹת שֶׁהוּא/הִיא.

Unit 27 Temporal clauses

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1. SNm 58.1: the thirteenth rule of Rabbi Ishmael; the harmonization of Scripture. 2–3. Lists of temporal conjunctions in BH and RH. 4. Subordination conveyed through parataxis. 5. Simultaneous action expressed through juxtaposed nominal clause. 6. Perfect, participle with temporal/conditional significance. 7. New conjunctions in RH due to loss of consecutive tenses. 8. כִּשְׁ-שׁ. 9. מִשְׁ-שׁ. A. With imperfect. B–C. With perfect (and עַד שֵׁלֵא). 10. עַד-שׁ. A. With imperfect. B. עַד שֵׁלֵא. C. Used modally: with רְצָה. D. Used exegetically. 11. עַד פְּדִי-שׁ. 12. קוֹדֵם-שׁ. אַחֲרֵי-שׁ, קוֹדֵם-שׁ. 13. לְאַחֲרֵי-שׁ. 14. כִּיּוֹן-שׁ. 15. Compounds with עֲשֵׂה and זָמַן. A. כָּל זָמַן-שׁ, כָּל שְׁעָה-שׁ, distributive, conditional/modal, comparative uses. B. Temporal aspect not always central. 16. עַד שֵׁלֵא יִאֲמַר יֵשׁ לִי בְדִין.

Unit 28 Conditional clauses

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1. Ned 3.11: circumcision. 2. Conditional particles of BH and LBH. 3. RH conditional particles: אִם; לֹא, לֹא־לִי replaced by אִלּוּ, אִלּוּלָא, אִלְמָלָא, כְּאִלּוּ (comparative); אִפְּשָׁלוּ (concessive); וּבִלְבָד-שׁ. 4. Formulation of conditions without conditional particle. A. With perfect, participle in protasis. B. רְצוּנָה לְ-, רְצוּנָה לְ-שׁ. 5. Two-member halakhic conditional statements: הוּאִיל וְ-, מִי שְׁ-, etc. 6. הוּאִיל וְ-שׁ introducing condition. 7. Uses of אִם. A. In real conditions; apodosis with הָרִי; with perfect, especially indicating future perfect; with participle; with imperfect, especially of רְצָה. B. With הָרִי + participle, expressing pluperfect. C. וְאִם לֹא expressing alternative negative condition. D. In indirect questions. E. In oath formulas. F. In *qal wa-homer* arguments. 8. Irreal particles. A. אִלּוּ. B. אִפְּשָׁלוּ/אִפְּשָׁלוּ. C. כְּאִלּוּ. D. אִלְמָלָא. E. אִלְמָלָא מִכְּרָא כְּחֹב. 9. אִם לְמִדְתִּי, אִם לְמִדְתִּי. 10. אִם לְמִדְתִּי, אִם לְמִדְתִּי.

Unit 29 Causal clauses

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1. Pes 10:5: relieving the first passover. 2. Table of causal conjunctions in BH and RH. 3. Disappearance of **כִּי** and **וְאֵשׁ** with causal force in RH. 4. **בְּשִׁבִיל שְׁ** as evidence of natural development of RH. 5. **הוֹאִיל וְ**. 6. Causal uses of **שְׁ**: explicative **שְׁ**; **שְׁ**; **שְׁ** compounded for greater expressivity. 7. **מִפְּנֵי שְׁ**. 8. **מִשּׁוּם שְׁ/מִשּׁוּם שְׁ**. 9. **עַל שׁוּם שְׁ** / **עַל שׁוּם שְׁ**. 10. **לְפִי שְׁ**. 11. **בְּשִׁבִיל שְׁ**. A. With imperfect, expressing purpose. B. With participle or noun, expressing cause. 12. **מֵאַחֵר שְׁ**. 13. **עַל שְׁ**. 14. **הוֹאִיל וְ**. A. As fulfilled real condition. B. Marking protasis in comparison, with apodosis in **הֲרִי**, **כֵךְ**, **אֵף**. C. Introducing consideration in rabbinic argument. 15. **הוֹאִיל וְאַמְרָה תוֹרָה**.

Unit 30 Final and consecutive clauses

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1. Sanh 4:5: uniqueness and interdependence of human beings. 2. Final/consecutive **שְׁ** in LBH; table of final conjunctions in BH and RH; origin of **שְׁמָא**. 3. Table of consecutive conjunctions in BH and RH. 4. Expression of finality through coordination with **וְ** in BH and RH. 5A. **לְ** + infinitive. 5B. **שְׁלֵא לְ**. 5C. **לְ** introducing exegetical infinitive. 6. Final and exegetical **שְׁ**. 7. **בְּשִׁבִיל שְׁ**. 8. **כְּדִי שְׁ**, **כְּדִי לְ**. A. Distinguishing uses of **שְׁ** and **לְ** forms as final conjunctions. B. **כְּדִי לְ** in statements of quantity. 9. **עַל מְנַח שְׁ** / **עַל מְנַח לְ**. 10. **עַל הַנְּאִי שְׁ**: as adverbial modifier and as conjunction. 11. **שְׁמָא/שְׁמָא**: with adverbial and conjunctive values; expressing fear or insecurity; replacing BH **פֶּן**. A. As negative final conjunction. B. As adverb. C. As preventive final conjunction. 12. Consecutive clauses. A. Expression of consecutive value through coordination with **וְ** in BH and RH. B. **כְּדִי שְׁ** with consecutive value. C. **שְׁלֵא** following exclamation or emphatic adjective. 13. **חֲבִיבִין יִשְׂרָאֵל שְׁ**.

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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
Beş	Beşah	Orl	'Orlah
Bekh	Bekhorot	Par	Parah
Bik	Bikkurim	Pea	Pe'ah
BM	Baba Meši'a	Pes	Pesaḥim
BQ	Baba Qama	Qid	Qiddushin
Dem	Dema'i	Qin	Qinnim
Eduy	'Eduyyot	RS	Rosh ha-Shanah
Erub	'Erubin	Sanh	Sanhedrin
Giṭ	Gittin	Shab	Shabbat
Ḥag	Ḥagigah	Shebi	Shebi'it
Ḥal	Ḥallah	Shebu	Shebu'ot
Hor	Horayot	Sheq	Sheqalim
Ḥul	Ḥullin	Soṭ	Soṭah
Kel	Kelim	Suk	Sukkah
Ker	Keritot	Taa	Ta'anit
Ket	Ketubot	Tam	Tamid
Kil	Kil'aim	Ṭeb	Ṭebul Yom
Ma'aśrot	Ma'aśrot	Tem	Temurah
Mak	Makkot	Ter	Terumot
Makhsh	Makhshirin	Ṭoh	Ṭohorot
Meg	Megillah	Uqs	'Uqşin
Mei	Me'illah	Yad	Yadaim
Men	Menahot	Yeb	Yebamot
Mid	Middot	Yom	Yoma
Miqw	Miqwa'ot	Zab	Zabim
MQ	Mo'ed Qaṭan	Zeb	Zebaḥim
MS	Ma'aśer Sheni		

Other rabbinic texts

ARN	Abot de Rabbi Nathan, 'A' text, numbered according to the 1987 translation of M ^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	Pirke 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 MI 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 P 1 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 <i>tannaim</i> ('Mishnaic Hebrew')
RH2	Rabbinic Hebrew of the <i>amoraim</i>

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 *nun*;

Relative particle -*sh* instead of *shen*;

Genitive particle *sh* 'of', partially replacing the construct chain of classical Biblical Hebrew;

Very frequent use of *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 (RH1) 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 Yoḥai, 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 Johanan given earlier occurs in connection with the claim of a Babylonian *amora* that the plural form רְחִלִּים ‘sheep’, attested in the Bible, was more correct than רְחִלֹּתָּ. 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 הַקֵּלֵל, first person singular imperfect with initial *nun* (reflecting Aramaic influence), and the expression מְשֻׁדָּר ‘something’ used in the sense of כֵּל־שֻׁדָּר ‘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. RH1, 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'asiiyot*), 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 (עברִי לְדַבֵּר), along with Greek, Latin, and Aramaic (see Mishor 1989), its linguistic isolation and the transfer of Judaeans intellectuals to Galilee caused RH to lose its literary character and the ability to develop. In Aramaic-speaking Galilee, the descendants of Judaeans 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, 57ff.).

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-biblical—Hebrew words. Among those recognized as falling into this category are הָזַר 'return', סָמָךְ 'harvest olives', עָצַר 'uproot', צָרִיךְ 'necessary', and טָחוּל 'spleen'.

For some words, early forms, not found in BH, have been preserved, for example, the singular לַיַּל 'night' (Nid 4.4) as against BH לַיַּלְה, לַיַּל and לַיַּל; whereas לַיַּל and לַיַּל are secondary forms resulting from the *loss* of the second diphthong, לַיַּלְה results from the *reduction* of this diphthong (**laylay* > *laylā*, 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 מַעֲדָה 'grain' > 'money', מְזוּזָה 'doorpost' > 'mezuzah (attached to doorpost)', עוֹלָם 'eternity' > 'world', גָּזַר 'cut' > 'decree', לָקַח 'take' > 'buy', and מַעֲשֵׂה '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, אֹכֵלָה 'food', הֹלֵכָה 'walk', כְּבוֹד 'honour', הֹלֵךְ *Qal* 'go', *Pi'el* 'walk about'.

4.2 The influence 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 ךְּ or ךְּ- (see Unit 4.4).

2. The imperatives הֲוֵי 'be' (singular) and הֲוֵי 'be' (plural), alongside the corresponding Hebrew forms הֲוֵי and הֲוֵי (see Unit 21.5).

3. The second person singular masculine pronoun אַתָּה, 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.

5. Common words like אָבִי 'father', אִמָּא 'mother', שָׂעָה 'hour', and מְמוֹן 'mammon, wealth' are Aramaic loanwords.

6. New nouns are frequently patterned according to the Aramaic morphological patterns הַקְטִילָה and קְטִילָה (see Unit 9.5–6). Aramaic vocalization can also displace what would be expected in Hebrew, for example כְּלִיל 'general rule, generalization' for כְּלוּל.

7. Aramaic influence is also visible in the addition to קְטִילָה-type nouns of the suffix תָּה-, expressing verbal action (see Unit 9.10), for example גְּמִילָתָה 'fulfilment, act of fulfilling', תְּשִׂיָּתָה 'elevation, act of raising up'.

8. Aramaic has been instrumental in changes of gender in certain words—for example, כּוּס ‘cup’ is feminine in BH, with the feminine plural כּוּסוֹת attested in RH (Pes 10.1), but in the singular it is treated as masculine for the purpose of agreement with adjectives: כּוּס רִאשׁוֹן ‘first cup’ (Pes 10.2).

9. Numerous Aramaic particles have entered RH1, for example לֹא ‘not’, generally used in disjunctives or as an alternative—negative—condition (‘and if not’; see Units 23.11B; 28.7C). The adversative אֲלָא ‘but rather’ is simply a contracted form of Aramaic אֲלָאֵן—the BH equivalent is אֲלָא.

10. Although the relative particle לָשֶׁׁ 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 פִּיה אִמְרָתְךָ ‘you have spoken well (literally, ‘beautifully’)’ (καλῶς εἶπας) and מִכָּל־מְקוֹם ‘in every case (literally, ‘from every place’)’ (ἐκ παντός τρόπου).

2. Greek words ending in -η usually have a Hebrew plural in -a’ot, which recalls to some degree the plurals -αι and -ae of Greek and Latin (see Units 10.6; 12.5C). Some native Hebrew words have also adopted this feature in their plurals, for example מִקְוֹת from מִקְוֶה ‘ritual bath’.

3. Various Greek words compounded with ἀρχί- (‘chief’) have passed into RH, for example אֲרִכִּי־יֹדֵק ‘chief judge’ (ἀρχιῦdex) (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 אֲרִכִּי־דִינִים, found in Codex Kaufmann and later rather clumsily erased in order to Hebraize ἀρχί- as עֲרִכִּי ‘arrangers 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 בַּסֵּׁ ‘base’ (from βάσις ‘base’), יָׁן ‘join’ (from ἄγος/ζεύγος ‘yoke’), לִסְטֵם ‘assault’ (from ληστῆς ‘robber’).

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 תַּרְגוּמֵי 'cock', טָבֵי 'document (of divorce)', תַּרְגוּמֵי 'targum, translation'. The Persian administration of Palestine also left its mark in a few words like רוֹז 'rose'.

5. BH and RH1—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 אָרַי 'fear', as reflexives or intensives, thus: אָרַיִתִּי.

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, אֲנִי 'we', has been constructed by analogy with אֲנִי 'I' and with the first person plural object suffix, exemplified in שָׁמְרָנוּ 'he has kept us'. Similarly, the demonstrative אֵלֵינוּ 'these' has supplanted biblical אֵלֵיהֶם in an attempt to express more clearly the demonstrative's plural reference, employing the ה- 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. אֲנִי 'I', widespread in BH and reflected in Ugaritic *'an*, is used in RH to the exclusion of the alternative BH form, אֲנִי.

2. While Aramaic influence might be responsible for the widespread use of אַתָּה 'you' as a masculine pronoun, it is also found in the Bible at Nm 11.15.

3. The feminine demonstrative הַזֶּה/זוֹ 'this', which replaces BH הַזֶּה, 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 -שֶׁ 'that, which' (not a development from שֶׁנֶּשֶׁן) is 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 דֶּרֶךְ בְּנֵי אָדָם 'the way of the sons of humankind', although in the printed editions the form דֶּרֶךְ has been systematically 'corrected' to BH דֶּרֶךְ.

6. The RH1 second person singular masculine perfect ending in הָיָה-, alongside standard BH הָיָה-, is also found in early BH, for example Ps 8.4,7; 68.10; see Unit 16.4A).

7. The archaic third person singular feminine perfect termination in הָיָה; instead of הָיָה; reappears in *lamed-he* (*lamed-alef*) and *lamed-yod* verbs in RH. The form is also attested in the Siloam tunnel inscription (הָיָה 'it was') and sporadically in the Bible (see Units 16.4B; 17.5B).

8. The plural יָמִים 'days' for יָמִים may be due to the influence of Aramaic יָמִים, 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 עַל קֵן צִפּוֹר יָגִיעַ רַחֲמֶיךָ 'even unto the nest of a bird your mercy reaches' (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, 57ff.), 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. RH1, 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 **מְקַטִּיל** (masculine), **מְקַטִּילָה** (feminine). RH, as ever seeking greater expressivity, adds the feminine marker **ת-** to the second form, hence, **מְקַטִּילָת**, on the analogy of the *Qal* participle, for example, **הָאִשָּׁה אֵין מְדַרְת אַחַד בְּנָהּ** 'the woman cannot impose a vow on her son' (Sot 3.8). But the same pattern is already found in Esther: **אֵין אֶסְתֵר מְגִדֶת** 'Esther did not tell' (Est 2.20; see Unit 19.7A).

2. **בְּזִיזִין** '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 **שֶׁל** 'of' appears in Ca 3.7 (along with the characteristically RH phenomenon of proleptic possessive suffix on the preceding noun): **הִנֵּה מַטְיוֹן שֶׁל־שְׁלֹמֹה** 'behold the couch (literally, 'his couch') of Solomon'. **שֶׁל** 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 **בְּשֶׁלְמִי** 'on whose account?', followed by an attempt to recast this expression in a more classical mould: **בְּאִשְׁר לְמִי**.

7. *The influence of BH on RH1*

RH1 should not be regarded as a homogenous body of literature. Some tannaitic literature displays a relatively high level of influence—much of it inevitable—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 *תְּחִילָה* ‘beginning’), found throughout RH1, gives way to the standard BH *Hif'il* form *הִחֵל* (root *חלל*) in Tam 2.2–3; the verb *לָקַח*, which in RH1 gradually develops the meaning of ‘buy’ (Meg 3.1), 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 *לָלֶכֶת* ‘to go’, *לָתַת* ‘to give’, and *לֶאֱכַל* ‘to eat’, which were used alongside their rabbinic counterparts *לִיִּלֵךְ*, *לִיִּתֵן*, and *לִיִּאֲכַל* (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.

1. In Abot 4.20, Albeck reads *אֵלִישֶׁע בֶּן אֲבוּיָה* ‘Elisha ben Abuiah’ and *רַבִּי יוֹסֵי* ‘Rabbi Jose’, while K has *אֵלִישֶׁע בֶּן אַבְיָיָה* ‘Elisha ben Abijah’ and *רַי יוֹסֵה* ‘R. Joseh’. Which of the two better reflects the original orthography and pronunciation?

In the same text, Albeck reads four times *הַלּוֹמֵד* ‘the one who learns’, while K has *הִלְמֵד* 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 *לְאֹכְלֵי עֵגֵבִים* ‘for him who eats grapes’ and K reads *לְאֹכְלֵי עֵגְבִים*, 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?

2. In Abot 5.2, Albeck reads *הָיוּ מְכַעֲסִין וּבָאִין* 'they were *continually* provoking'. *וּבָאִין* (literally, 'and coming') is a characteristic participial usage of RH, indicating modality—of movement, progression, etc. (similarly, *וְהוֹלֵךְ* 'and going', *וְיֹרֵד* 'and going down', etc.; see Unit 19.14). Yet it is precisely *וּבָאִין* that is lacking in K and in other good manuscripts.

3. In Sheq 2.5, Albeck reads *כָּל שֶׁהוּא בָא לְשֵׁם חַטָּאת וְלְשֵׁם אֲשָׁמָה* 'whatever he might offer *in the name of* a sin offering or *in the name of* a guilt offering'. K reads *מִשָּׁם* instead of *לְשָׁם* and other manuscripts have *מִשָּׁם*. Is *לְשָׁם* the earlier form, or *מִשָּׁם*, and if it is the latter, does *מִשָּׁם* or *מִשָּׁם* better reflect Palestinian pronunciation (see Unit 22.19–20)?

4. In Naz 2.7, Albeck reads *הָרִינִי נְזִיר לְכַשְׁיָהּ לִי בֶן* 'I shall be a Nazirite (*for*) when I have a son'. K has *כַּשְׁ-* 'when' instead of *לְכַשְׁ-*. The same phenomenon is frequently found in respect of other texts, leading us to ask whether the longer form *לְכַשְׁ-* is a later development (see Unit 27.8). A similar question arises in connection with the conjunction *כְּדִי לְ-* 'in order to' followed by the infinitive, and *כְּדִי שֶׁ-* 'in order that' followed by the 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 *עֹרְכִי* to *אֹרְכִי* 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, *עָבַר עֵינָהּ* 'he made a circle' instead of the expected *הָגַח עֵינָהּ* (we find a similar phenomenon at Ben Sira 37.29, where two mediaeval manuscripts have

the form אַל־תִּתְחַנֵּג, apparently for BH אַל־תִּתְעַנֵּג 'do not enjoy yourself'). Elision of intervocalic *he* in *Hif'il* and *Nif'al* infinitives is attested in numerous verbs, for example לְהִכְנִס > לִיְכַנֵּס 'to enter' > לְהִכְרֹת, לִיְכַרֵּס 'to be cut off' > לְיִפְרַע, לְהִפְרֵעַ 'to uncover oneself' > לִיְפְרַע, and לְהִרְבוֹת 'to multiply' > לְרִבּוֹת (see Units 9.5C; 15.4A, E). A few instances of the same phenomenon are already attested in BH, for example לְבִיא 'to bring' < לְהִבִּיא (Jr 39.7; 2 C 31.10) and בְּכַשְׁלוֹ 'in his stumbling' < בְּהִכְשְׁלוֹ (Pr 24.17).

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 שָׁאַר 'remain' has given rise in RH to a *Pi'el* form שָׁיַר 'he abandoned', which uses the same pattern that is found in the *Pi'el* of קָוַם 'arise', namely, קָיַם 'he established'. Continuing the analogy with קָוַם, we may surmise that the *Qal* form of שָׁאַר was pronounced not שָׁאַר 'he left', but without the *alef*, as שָׁר, just like קָם 'he arose' (see Units 15.4B; 17.4B).

We also find that original *lamed-alef* verbs can be treated as though they were *lamed-he*—giving rise to such forms as קָרְאֵנוּ and קָרְאֵנוּ 'we called' and מָצִינוּ and מָצִינוּ 'we found' (see Unit 17.5A)—and vice-versa—thus, some *lamed-he* verbs take an *alef* when suffixes are attached, for example עָשְׂאָן 'he prepared them' (Par 3.5) and עָשְׂאָהוּ 'they prepared him' (Toh 1.5).

Similarly, at the beginning of a word *alef* can alternate with *he*, and we cannot be sure whether the written forms אֵיכָן and הֵיכָן 'where?' or אֲנִידָה and הֲנִידָה '*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 κλεψύδρα 'bowl' was transcribed as חֲלֵף סַדְרָא (Genesis Rabbah 49), and in Miqw 9.4 *het* is confused with fricative *kaf*: חֲלֵחוּי < לְחֵלוּי 'soilings of'.

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 הַפְּרִכְיָא 'prefecture' (ἐπαρχία) and פּוֹלִימְרִכּוֹס 'general' (πολέμαρχος) in SNm 131.1 (H 170). But the interchange of *bet* and *pe* in, for example, קִפְחָא for BH גִּבְחָא 'bald' (Bekh 7.6) or לְהִפְקִיעַ for לְהִבְקִיעַ 'to break up' (Taa 2.9), 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 וְהִבְקִידֵם for BH וְהִפְקִידֵם 'and appoint them'). Spirantization of *bet* is evident in its interchange with *waw* or *waw-waw*, as in the case of יוֹנָה and יוֹנָה 'Jabneh, Jamnia' or אַבְיָר and אַבְיָר 'air'.

6. To judge from the Greek transcriptions, there were just two sibilants, with *zeta* representing *zayin* and *sigma* representing *samekh*, *šade*, *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 BH שרף, RH סרף ‘burn’, BH פשע, RH פסע ‘step’—and *zayin* and *samekh*—for example BH מסך, RH מזג ‘mix’—indicates that in pronunciation they 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 10.5A), 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 מרגלית ‘pearl’ (μαργαρίτης) at Kel 26.2 and פלטרין ‘praetorium’ (πραιτώριον) at SNm 134.5 (H 180). Metathesis of consonants is also found, as in the case of Greek λιμήν ‘port’, transcribed in the Babylonian tradition as נמיל—compare the *textus receptus* of Erub 4.2, פעם אחת לא נכנסו לנקל, with the version in K, פעם אחת לא נכנסו ללמן.

9. Prosthetic *alef* is frequent in the transcription of Greek words beginning with a double consonant, for example אומל < σμίλη ‘razor, scalpel’, אכסניא < ξένος ‘foreigner’, אצטלית < στολή ‘garment’ (see Unit 12.4). Prosthetic *alef* can also be found in native Semitic words, such as אגודל ‘thumb’ (Yom 2.1) and אביח ‘in, within, where’ (see Unit 22.6A).

The reverse phenomenon, loss of initial *alef*, especially in proper names, for example לעזר < אלעזר ‘Eleazar’ or לעיזר < אליעזר ‘Eliezer’, is another 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 (הלל) in the printed editions but rendered as הלל in K and other western manuscripts, reflecting Ἑλλάγλ in the Septuagint, and demonstrating the existence of different dialects in Palestine.

Other examples from K include לבלר (Latin *libellarius, librarius*) ‘scribe’, for לבלר, לפסל (Latin *subsellium*) ‘bench’ for לפסל, חוצפה ‘arrogance’ for חוצפה, and שמה ‘in case’ for שמה. In the first two instances, K has retained the original Latin vowel, while חוצפה exemplifies a tendency to replace original short *u* by an *o*-vowel.

11. The shift of *-em* to *-um* in, for example, שם > שום ‘name’ probably results from labial assimilation. Assimilation also occurs with *r*, as in קרדום > קורדום ‘spade’ ירדן > יורדן ‘Jordan’.

12. Vowel dissimilation occurs in the vocalization נמוס for Greek νόμος ‘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 י' or י" (e.g. שַׁמַּי 'Shammai', יַנַּי 'Yannai'), Babylonian א'א (שַׁמַּא, יַנַּא); final syllable *-a*: Palestinian ה- (e.g. עַקִּיבָה 'Akiba'), Babylonian א- (עַקִּיבָא); interconsonantal *-a-*: not represented in Palestinian (e.g. כֵּן 'here'), Babylonian א-א (כֵּאן); final *-e*: Palestinian ה- (e.g. יוֹסֵה 'Jose'), Babylonian י' (יוֹסֵי).

2. Pronunciation. Palestinian בַּשֵּׁם 'because of, in the name of', הוֹרָיָה 'instruction', חוֹזֵר 'pig'; Babylonian בַּשֵּׁמ, הוֹרָאָה, חוֹזֵר.

3. Morphology. Plural of nouns in ית- (see Unit 10.6B): Palestinian יוֹת (e.g. מַלְכוּת 'kingdoms'), Babylonian יוֹת (מַלְכוּתוֹת); preposition מִן 'from' with third person singular suffixes (see Unit 22.6C; 22.14): Palestinian מִמֶּנּוּ 'from him' and מִמֶּנָּה 'from her', Babylonian מִמֶּנּוּ and מִמֶּנָּה; *Pu'al* participle (see Units 15.4C; 19.5B): Palestinian מְרַעֵט 'reduced', Babylonian מְרַעֵט.

4. Syntax. Palestinian: relative *-שׁ* followed by pronoun and participle (e.g. K Abot 5.2: שֶׁהֵן מַאֲבֵדִין 'which they destroy', שֶׁהֵן מְקַיְמִין 'which they establish'), Babylonian: relative *-שׁ* followed by participle (printed editions: שֶׁמְקַיְמִין, שֶׁמַּאֲבֵדִין).

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 הוֹרָיָה and הוֹרָאָה, מַלְכוּתוֹת, מְרַעֵט and מְרַעֵט in the Dead Sea Scrolls; Babylonian *-שׁ* followed by participle (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 קַטְלָן (e.g. גֹּזֵל 'robber') is read in the east as קַטְלָן (גֹּזֵלָן). Again it has to be said that 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)

משה קבל תורה מסני ומסרה ליהושע ויהושע לזקנים וזקנים לנביאים
ונביאים מסרוהו לאנשי כנסת הגדולה. הם אמרו שלשה דברים.

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 קבל-מסר (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 (παράδομι, παραλαμβάνω) 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 (תורה שבעל פה). 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). מִקְרָא 'Scripture, reading' and מִשְׁנָה '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
1cs	אָנִי	אֲנִי, אֲנֹכִי
2ms	אַתָּה, אַתָּה	אַתָּה
2fs	אַתְּ	אַתְּ
3ms	הוּא	הוּא
3fs	הִיא	הִיא
1cpl	אֲנֵנוּ	אֲנַחְנוּ, אֲנַחְנוּ
2mpl	אַתֶּם/ן	אַתֶּם
2fpl	אַתְּנָם	אַתְּנָה, אַתְּנָה
3mpl	הֵם/ן	הֵם, הֵמָּה
3fpl	הֵנָּה	הֵנָּה, הֵנָּה

4. Observations.

A. The form אֲנֹכִי 'I' has disappeared in RH except in solemn liturgy and, of course, in citations of biblical texts, being replaced by אֲנִי, a popular form already found in BH that has almost entirely supplanted אֲנֹכִי in the literary idiom of LBH—Chronicles systematically replaces אֲנֹכִי in Samuel and Kings by אֲנִי; at Jon 1.9 both are found together (in Ugaritic the form *'an* is attested).

B. אַתָּה 'you', undeniably influenced by Aramaic, is frequently used for the masculine, for example אַתָּה מְכַרֵּית זֶרַע עַמְלֵק 'you will destroy the descendants of Amalek' (SDt 67 [F 132]) and אַתָּה אֵין אֵתָּ בָּא '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 *qere*—אַתָּה. Such 'corrections' are commonplace in printed editions and manuscripts of the Mishnah. But bearing in mind that the reading אַתָּה 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 אֲנֵנוּ 'we' has completely replaced the BH forms אֲנַחְנוּ and אֲנַחְנוּ, the result of internal development in Hebrew, whereby the first person plural suffix in forms like שָׁמְרָנוּ 'he has kept us' is used to form a plural pronoun corresponding to that of the singular, אֲנִי. אֲנֵנוּ is attested at Qumran and as a *ketiv* at Jr 42.6. When occasionally אֲנַחְנוּ re-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 BH forms (a similar phenomenon is the suppression of forms like אַתְּכֶם), 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 אַתָּה, לְ-, בְ-, אֵל, עַל, etc. or directly to finite and infinitive forms of the verb. It is only the plural

active participle that always takes the object-marker **ל** before an object pronoun.

6. The negative particle **אין** 'there is not' takes personal suffixes without epenthetic *nun*, thus **איןני** 'I am not' (for **איןני**), **איןך** 'you are not', **אינו** 'he is not' (for **אינו**), **אינה** 'she is not' (for **אינה**), **אינן** 'they are not', etc.

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, **אף** 'also, indeed', **גם** 'also', **עצמו** 'himself', **עצמי** 'myself', etc.

8. Just as in BH, the third person pronoun, singular or plural, can be used as a copula in noun clauses, as in **לא המדרש הוא העקר** 'study is not the most important thing' (Abot 1.17) or **אם אני הוא הטמא/הטהור** 'if I am impure/pure' (Naz 8.1). For greater emphasis, the pronoun may come at the end of a phrase, as in **הקדוש ברוך הוא** '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 **עומד הטהור** 'the one who is purified may stand up' is made more emphatic in Par 5.5: **עומד הוא הטהור** '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 **ביום זה** '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, **זה** 'this' (masculine), **זו** 'this' (feminine), **אלו** 'these'.

11. A characteristic feature of RH is the placing of the pronoun proleptically before an object, as in **מה בהנה להם לישראל** 'What use was it to them—to 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 **אין עומדין 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 **לו** is omitted both times and at Abot 1.17 K reads **היו לרבן** 'they were to our rabbi' as against **היו לו לרבן** in printed editions.

IV Phraseology

12. **הוא היה אומר** 'he used to say' is a common formula used to introduce a saying of an authority who has just been cited. The construction **היה** plus

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. וְכֵן הוּא אוֹמֵר ‘and in the same sense it says’ is frequent in the tannaitic *midrashim*, with הוּא always having reference to a biblical text, and is employed to introduce new texts intended to confirm a particular exegesis.

14. הִרְי אִתְּהוּן ‘behold, you can argue the case yourself’ is used in the tannaitic *midrashim* to introduce an analogical, or *gezerah shawah*, argument.

V Vocabulary

אֲלָא ‘but rather’ (adversative particle)

אֵלֵּי ‘these’ (demonstrative)

אֹהֶב ‘friend’

אָסַר (נָתַר from the root אָסַר) ‘bind–loose, prohibit–permit’ (cf. Mt 16.19; 19.18)

בָּזוּז ‘robber’

בִּזְזָא ‘pillage, robbery’

דִּין ‘judge, deduce logically’

הִרְי ‘behold’ (contrast BH הִנֵּה)

חֲבִיב ‘beloved’

חֲזַן ‘(synagogue) cantor’

טַבְּלָה (Latin *tabula, tabella*) ‘(writing) tablet’

מְדַרְשׁ ‘study, investigation, exegetical or homiletic commentary’

סוֹטְהָא ‘(suspected) adulteress’

עֵקֶר ‘root, principle, essence’

פָּנֹס (φανός) ‘torch, lantern’

פְּרָשָׁה ‘pericope, section (of the Bible)’ (e.g. פְּרָשָׁת סוֹטְהָא ‘the section concerning the suspected adulteress’ [Nm 5.12–31])

קָפַח ‘withdraw’

שֵׁ- ‘that, which’ (relative pronoun corresponding to BH אֲשֶׁר)

שָׂכַר ‘prize, recompense’

VI Exercises

1. אַנְטִיגֵנוֹס אִישׁ סוֹכֵו קָבַל מִשְׁמַעוֹן הַצַּדִּיק. הוּא הֵיָה אוֹמֵר, אֵל תְּהִיזוּ כְּעִבְדִים.
2. לֹא הַמְדַרְשׁ הוּא הָעֵקֶר אֲלָא הַמַּעֲשֶׂה.
3. חֲמִשָּׁה תִלְמִידִים הָיוּ לוֹ לְרַבִּין יוֹחָנָן בֶּן זְכַאִי וְאֵלֵּי הֵן.
4. וַיֵּאמֶן הוּא בַעַל מַלְאכְתָּךְ שִׁישְׁלֵם לְךָ שְׂכָר פְּעוּלָתְךָ.
5. לְפָנַי מִלְךְ מַלְכֵי הַמַּלְכִים הַקְדוֹשׁ בְּרוּךְ הוּא.

6. הוא אל הוא היוצר הוא הבורא הוא המבין, הוא הדיין הוא עד.
7. ואמר לו, מכור לי חמורך זה ... [מכור לי] חמורך הוא.
8. הִפֵּה שְׂאֵסֵר הוּא הִפֵּה שֶׁהִתִּיר.
9. שָׁלְנוּ הוּא הִפֵּסָח.
10. הִחָזֵן רוּאָה ... אֲכַל הוּא לֹא יִקְרָא.
11. וְאִף הִיא עֲשָׂהָ טְבֵלָה שֶׁל זָהָב שֶׁפָּרֶשֶׁת סוּטָה כְּחֻבָּה עֲלֶיהָ.
12. גְּדוּלֵי מַלְכוּת קְרוּבִין אֲצִלוּ וְאוֹמְרִים לוֹ, אֲנִי נוֹטְלִין אֶת הַפֶּנֶס וְנֹאִיר לְפָנַי בְּנִיךְ. וְהוּא אָמַר לָהֶן, לֹא.
13. מִפְּנֵי מָה אֵתָּה בּוֹרַח? אָמַר לוֹ, לֹא מִפְּנִיךְ אֲנִי בּוֹרַח אֲלֵא מִפְּנֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ.
14. אֲבִיָּהֵן אָמַר ... אִיף אֲנִי לֹא אֶקְפַח שְׂכָרְכֶם.
15. חֲבִיבִים הֵם יִשְׂרָאֵל.
16. הִרִי אֵתָּה דִן.
17. אֵין גְּזִירָה בְּכֹל מְקוֹם אֲלֵא פְרִישָׁה, וְכֵן הוּא אוֹמֵר, וַיִּנְזְרוּ מִקְדָּשִׁי בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל [וַיִּקְרָא כִּב' ב'].
18. וְהֵלֶךְ לוֹ הַבֵּן הַהוּא אֲצֵל אוֹהֲבוֹ שֶׁל מֶלֶךְ.
19. אִם אֵתָּה מִבְּקֵשׁ אֲנִי נוֹתְנִים לָךְ כֹּל מָה שֶׁתִּבְקֵשׁ ... וְהוּא לֹא הִיָּה מִבְּקֵשׁ.
20. אֵתָּה הוּא הֵלֵל.

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' ל"ה], וכתוב אחד אומר, על פי ה' יחנו ועל פי ה' יסעו [במדבר ט' כ"ג]. כיצד יתקיימו 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 **קָבַע** 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 **אֵלֶּיךָ**, result from developments within RH itself, while others, like **זֶה** or **זֹה**, appear to derive from an early dialect of BH.

Meaning	RH form	BH form
‘this’ (masc.)	זֶה	זֶה
‘this’ (fem.)	זֹה	זֹה, זֹאת
‘these’ (common)	אֵלֶּיךָ	אֵלֶּיהָ

זֹאת tends to be replaced in RH by **זֹה** or, less often, **זֶה**, apparently a northern dialect form (see 2 K 6.19; Ezk 40.45; Ho 7.16; Ps 132.12), which reappeared in LBH. **זֶה** and **זֹה** are probably older forms, cognate with Aramaic **זֶה**, while **זֹאת** is a secondary form, with **ת**- suffixed to emphasize its grammatically feminine character. The replacement of **אֵלֶּיהָ** by **אֵלֶּיךָ** 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 **אֵלֶּיהָ** with the **י**- 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	RH form	BH form
‘this’ (common)	הַלְּזֶה	הַלְּזֶה, הַלְּזֹה
‘this’ (common)	הַלְּזֹה	—
‘this’ (fem.)	הַלְּזֹהַּ	הַלְּזֹהַּ, הַלְּזֹה
‘these’ (common)	הַלְּזֵיךְ	—

הַלְּזֶה is an abbreviated form (**הַלְּזֵיךְ** > **הַלְּזֹה** > **הַלְּזֶה**), while **הַלְּזֹה** is a contraction of **הַלְּזֶה** and **אֵלֶּיךָ**, and a form typical of the Palestinian *amoraim*, although already common in both SNm and SDt. In our introductory text, **הַלְּזֹה** is lacking in MS Vatican 32.

III Grammar and usage

5. Apart from הַזֶּה, which is only employed as a pronoun, the demonstratives are used both as pronouns, for example זֶה אֹמֵר 'this one says' or זֶה בָּא 'this one comes', and as adjectives, for example בְּעוֹלָם הַזֶּה 'in this world', כְּתוּבִים הֵלְלוּ 'these writings', and כֹּל הַנִּסִּין הָאֵלֶּיךָ 'all these miracles'. As adjectives, they usually follow the noun, for example פֶּרֶשֶׁה זֶה 'this passage', but sometimes precede it, for example זֶה מִדְּרָשׁ 'this interpretation' (Ket 4.6) or זֶה עֵדוּת 'this testimony' (Naz 3.2), perhaps due to the stylistic influence of Aramaic. The BH noun clause construction, exemplified by זֶה פִּתְרוֹנוֹ 'this is its interpretation' (Gn 29.12), is also found in RH, for example

זו עֵדוּת סְתִירָה ... זו עֵדוּת טוֹמְאָה

It is the testimony concerning concealment ... it is the testimony concerning impurity (TosSoṭ 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: זֶה בָּא וְזֶה רֹחֵשׁ וְזֶה שָׁב 'one after another, they were coming, ploughing, and resting' (SLv 26.13 [W 111b]), וְשָׂרִי אֵלָיו וְאֵלָיו 'these and the others [i.e. the followers of Hillel and Shammai] agree' (Shab 1.9); וְזוֹ לְמַעַל לְזוֹ 'one on top of the other' (SDt 10 [F 18]).

7. The particle אֵת strengthens its originally determinative or deictic force.

A. With third person suffix attached, it has a demonstrative and sometimes emphatic function, as in אֵתְּ הַיּוֹם 'this very day' or

וַתִּכְנַס אֵתְּ הַפּוֹעֵל עִמָּהֶם. אָמַר לוֹ לַמֶּלֶךְ לְאִתּוֹ הַפּוֹעֵל

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 אֵתֶּךָ, a clause functioning as subject, for example אֵתֶּךָ שֶׁהוּא נִרְאֶה עִמּוֹ אָסוּר 'the one that appears alongside it is forbidden' (AZ 4.1). The subject of a passive sentence may also be introduced by אֵת (as also, for example, at Gn 27.42).

C. אֵת 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 עִצָּם, literally 'bone', in the sense of 'the same' is attested, in phrases like בְּעִצָּם הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה 'on this very day' (Gn 7.13, etc.). This usage is continued and developed in RH, so that (a) עִצָּם can also apply to persons and (b) עִצָּם with suffix is used as a demonstrative particle with intensive or reflexive value (see also Unit 7.4), as in

הָאִשָּׁה עִצְמָהּ מְבִיאָה אֶת־דִּינָהּ

The woman herself is to bring her document of divorce (Git 2.7).

9. The locution כָּל עִצָּם means 'absolutely, totally', for example:

כל עצמן של שני כתרם הללו

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

11. לְעוֹלָם הַבָּא–בְּעוֹלָם הַזֶּה ‘in this world–in the world to come’; עוֹלָם is 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. כָּל עֲצָם ‘all of it, absolutely, without exception’ (see above, §9; for other examples, see Soṭ 2.3, SNm 70.2 [H 67], and SDt 1 [F 343]).

V Vocabulary

הַיָּאֵךְ ‘how?’

טַעַם ‘sense, cause, reason’

יַבְנֵה ‘Yavneh, Jamnia’ (near to modern-day Jaffa)

לֵיץ ‘cynical, wicked’

מִדָּה ‘rule, norm, quality’

פָּטַר ‘permit, exempt’

מָעָה ‘(Tyrian) coin’, plural מַעוֹת ‘money’

מִשׁוֹם ‘in the name of, in the capacity of, in virtue of’

עָסַק ‘occupy oneself with’

פְּרוּזְדוּר (πρόσθρον) ‘vestibule’

תַּלְמוּד ‘study’

תַּלְמִיד ‘pupil, disciple’

VI Exercises

1. שְׁנַיִם שֵׁיִשְׁבִּים וְאֵין בִּינֵיהֶן דְּבָרֵי תוֹרָה הָרִי זֶה מוֹשֵׁב לְצִים.
2. הָעוֹלָם הַזֶּה דוֹמֶה לְפְרוּזְדוּר בְּפְנֵי הָעוֹלָם הַבָּא.
3. יָפָה שְׁעָה אַחַת בְּחִשּׁוֹבָה וּמַעֲשִׂים טוֹבִים בְּעוֹלָם הַזֶּה מִכָּל חַיֵּי הָעוֹלָם הַבָּא.
4. כָּל מִי שֵׁשׁ בִּידוֹ שְׁלֹשָׁה דְּבָרִים הִלְלוּ, מִתַּלְמִידֵי שְׁלֹאֲבָרָהֶם אָבִינוּ.
5. וְכָל מִי שֶׁעוֹסֵק בְּתַלְמוּד תוֹרָה הָרִי זֶה מִתְעַלֶּה.
6. אֶת שְׁלֹפְנֵי הַמָּטָה וְאֶת שְׁלֹאֲחֵר הַמָּטָה ... פְּטוּרִין ... אֵלֹו וְאֵלֹו פְּטוּרִין

- מן התפילה.
 7. את שהעדים נקריין עמו כשר.
 8. זה מדרש דרש רבי אלעזר בן עזריה לפני הכמים בכרם ביבנה.
 9. נמצא זה אוכל פירותיו בטורה והלה עשה צרכו במעותיו.
 10. ונצא הליו משום אחות אשה.
 11. גדולה מדה זו.
 12. זה אחת משלשה דברים.
 13. זו מדה בתורה.
 14. והיה לאותו האיש עשרה בנים, זה בא וחרש וישב לו וזה בא וחרש וישב לו.
 15. נכנסו כל הפרות ואוחה הפרה לא נכנסה.
 16. למה משה דומה באותה שעה?
 17. הכרת חכרת הנפש ההיא במדבר טו' לאין, הכרת, בעולם הזה, חכרת, בעולם הבא. דברי ר' עקיבא.
 18. אלו מביאים טעם לדבריהם ואלו מביאים טעם לדבריהם.
 19. מה עשה אותו הרשע? אומר לגוי אחד חבירו, בא וראה היאך אני משחק ביהודים הללו.
 20. אותו הפה שאמר, אני משחק בהם, התחיל אומר, ברוך שבוחר 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)

לא המדרש הוא העקר, אלא המעשה.

The important thing is action, not words.

1. In rabbinic usage, מדרש (from the root דרש 'seek') refers to the investigation and study of Scripture, and is in this sense broadly synonymous with תלמוד 'study'. מדרש can also denote the exposition and clarification of Scripture, with one of its two plurals, מדרשות, meaning 'interpretations' and the other, מדרשים, 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 (תּוֹרָה) 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 (מַעֲשֵׂה).

II Morphology

2. In Abot 1.17, each of the three nouns is preceded by the article: הַמְּעַשֶׂה, הַמְּדַבֵּר, הַמְּדַבֵּר. The definite article as prefixed *ha-* (accompanied by 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 הַמֶּלֶךְ 'O king', and this usage has given rise to certain expressions that have survived as interjections, for example הָאֱלֹהִים 'by God', הַשָּׁמַיִם 'by heaven', הָעֲבוֹדָה 'by the service (of the temple)', and הַמָּעוֹן הַזֶּה 'by this abode' (i.e. the temple).

5. Adjectives and participles used as nouns can also take the article: הַיָּבֵשׁ 'that which is dry', הַיֹּרְדִים 'those who go down', הַקּוֹרְאִים 'the readers'.

6. As a general rule, the article is repeated before an attributive adjective accompanying a definite noun, as in BH, for example הָאִישׁ הַזֶּה 'this man', הַיָּם הַגָּדוֹל '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

צָרוֹת הָאֲחֵרוֹנוֹת מַשְׁכַּחוֹת הָרִאשׁוֹנוֹת

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

אֵי זוֹ הִיא עֲדוֹת הָרִאשׁוֹנָה

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 attached to the adjective alone. Such expressions include *כְּנֶסֶת הַגְּדוּלָה* 'the great synagogue', *אָדָם הָרִאשׁוֹן* 'the first human being', *נָחָשׁ הָרָשָׁע* 'the wicked serpent', *שׂוֹר הַנֶּסֶקֶל* 'the ox to be stoned', and *שַׁעַר הָעֶלְיוֹן* 'the upper gate'. The construction is also occasionally evidenced in BH, at least according to the Masoretic pointing, for example *לְאִישׁ הַעֲשִׂיר* '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:

נֶאֱמָנִים עַל הַיָּרֵק חַי וְאֵין נֶאֱמָנִים עַל הַמְּבֻשָּׁל

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, *הַיָּרֵק חַי* functions at a certain level of grammatical analysis 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 *תַּלְמוּד תּוֹרָה* 'the study of the law', *עַל תּוֹרָה* 'the yoke of the law', *כִּתֹּר תּוֹרָה* 'the crown of the law', *כֹּהֵן גָּדוֹל* 'the high priest', *בַּעַל מוּם* 'person/beast with defect', *חֻכְמִים אָמְרוּ* 'the sages have said', *דֶּרֶךְ אֲרָץ* 'courtesy, work', and *גְּמִלוֹת חֶסֶדִים* 'deeds of mercy'. Probably in the alternation of *יֵצֵר טוֹב* 'the impulse of goodness' and *יֵצֵר רָע* 'the impulse of wickedness' with *יֵצֵר הַטּוֹב* and *יֵצֵר הָרָע* the article has a euphonic purpose, avoiding 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

מֵרַבָּה תּוֹרָה מֵרַבָּה חַיִּים

One who increases Torah, increases life (Abot 2.7),

with which we might compare

יִרְאָתָא יִרְאֵשִׁית דְּעֵת

The fear of Y. is the beginning of wisdom (Pr 1.7),

עוֹר וּפְסוֹחַ לֹא יָבוֹא אֶל־הַבַּיִת

The blind and the lame will not enter the temple (2 S 5.8),

and

בְּרַב־חֻכְמָה רַב־כְּעֵס

With great wisdom comes great vexation (Ec 1.18).

Here again, though, there is little consistency, and N.M. Waldman (1989, 132) rightly contrasts Mak 2.3 *הָאָב גּוֹלָה עַל יְדֵי הַבָּנִים* 'the parents are exiled because of the children', with MI 1.6 *בְּנֵי כְבוֹד אָב וְעַבְדֵי אֲדֹנָיו* 'sons honour fathers 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 *שֶׁל* 'of' if the noun is referred to proleptically by a suffix attached to the preceding noun (see Unit 4.14), for example *יָדוֹ שֶׁל עֲנִי* 'the hand of the poor' (Shab 1.1) and *שְׁלוּחֹוֹ שֶׁל אָדָם כְּמוֹתוֹ* 'a person's agent is like the person himself' (Mek 12.3, 6 [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. *בְּאֵת הַכְּתוּב וְלִמַּד עָלָיו* '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 *כְּתוּב*, literally 'written', as '(scriptural) passage, text', thus, 'this text', 'the verse in question', etc.

V Vocabulary

- גָּרַם* 'cause, be the cause of, bring about'
הוֹכִיחַ (hi. of *יָכַח*) 'respond, admonish, argue against'
הִרְבָּה (hi. of *רָבַה*) 'increase, multiply'
יְשִׁיבָה 'class, school, rest'
מִכָּאן 'from here'
נִתְקַיַּם (ntp. of *קָם*) 'be fulfilled, continue, endure'
סִיג 'fence, hedge, protection'
שִׁיחָה 'conversation'
שִׁרֵד (BH *שָׁאָר*) 'survivor, remnant'
שְׁכִינָה 'abode, divine presence' (used as a substitute for the divine name)

VI Exercises

1. שמעון הצדיק היה מְשִׁירֵי כִנְסַת הַמִּדְּוָלָה. הוא היה אומר, על שלשה דברים העולם עומד, על התורה, ועל העבודה, ועל גְּמִילוּת חַסְדִּים.
2. מִכָּאן אָמַר חֲכָמִים, כָּל זְמַן שֶׁאָדָם מְרַבֵּה שִׁיחָה עִם הָאִשָּׁה, גּוֹרֵם רָעָה לְעַצְמוֹ.
3. וַתִּגְלוּ לְמַקְוֵם מִיַּם הַרְעִים, וַיִּשְׁחוּ הַתְּלַמִּידִים הַבָּאִים אַחֲרֵיכֶם וְיָמוּתוּ.
4. יָפָה תִלְמוּד תּוֹרָה עִם דֶּרֶךְ אֲרָץ.
5. מְרַבֵּה תּוֹרָה, מְרַבֵּה חַיִּים, מְרַבֵּה יְשִׁיבָה, מְרַבֵּה חֲכָמָה.
6. קָנָה לוֹ דְּבָרֵי תּוֹרָה, קָנָה לוֹ חַיֵּי הָעוֹלָם הַבָּא.
7. שָׂנִים שִׁישְׁבִים וַיִּשְׁכְּנוּ בֵּינֵיהֶם דְּבָרֵי תּוֹרָה, שְׁכִינָה בֵּינֵיהֶם.
8. כָּל הַמִּקְבֵּל עָלָיו עַל תּוֹרָה, מַעֲבִירֵן מִמֶּנּוּ עַל מַלְכוּת וְעַל דֶּרֶךְ אֲרָץ.

9. אם אין קמת, אין תורה, אם אין תורה, אין קמת.
 10. אין לך אדם שאין לו שעה ואין לך דבר שאין לו מקום.
 11. אמר רבן שמעון בן גמליאל, המעון הזה, לא אילין היליה.
 12. אדם הראשון עשה סייג לדבריו.
 13. באותה שעה היה נחש הרשע נוטל עצה בלבו.
 14. אמר לו, השמים אם עשיתי כן.
 15. בא הכתוב ללמדך.
 16. צרות האחרונות משכחות הראשונות.
 17. ולא יקרא עוד את שמך אברם, וגו' [בראשית ז' ה'], עבר שם הראשון ונחקים שם השני.
 18. ושרף את הפרה לעניו [במדבר יט' ה'], לא פרים הנשרפים.
 19. והשורף אותה יכבס בגדיו [במדבר יט' ה'], ולא השורף בגדים המנוגעים.
 20. אמר ר' טרפון, העבודה אם יש בדור הזה מי שיכול להוכיח.

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])

אם לבן ביתו של בשר ודם משיבים לו
 קל וחומר לבן ביתו של מי שאמר והיה 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-world-was'), 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. קָל וְחֹמֶר (also written קוֹל וְחֹמֶר 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 קָל וְחֹמֶר 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 (ךְ-) and feminine (ךְ-), 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 ם- is frequently replaced by ךְ- and vice-versa.

Person	RH form	BH form
1cs	דְּבָרִי	דְּבָרִי
2ms	דְּבָרְךָ	דְּבָרְךָ
2fs	דְּבָרֶיךָ	דְּבָרְךָ
3ms	דְּבָרוֹ	דְּבָרוֹ
3fs	דְּבָרָהּ	דְּבָרָהּ
1cpl	דְּבָרֵנוּ	דְּבָרֵנוּ
2mpl	דְּבָרְכֶם	דְּבָרְכֶם
2fpl	דְּבָרְכֶיךָ	דְּבָרְכֶיךָ
3mpl	דְּבָרָם	דְּבָרָם
3fpl	דְּבָרָן	דְּבָרָם

(It should also be noted that as well as the endings ם- and ךְ- there is another possessive suffix, ם׳-, 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 שֶׁ followed by pronominal suffix (with strengthening of the connecting ל, thus שְׁלִי, etc., as seen in the table at §7, below).

6. שֶׁ is made up of the relative שֶׁ ‘that, which, who’ (see Unit 8) and the preposition ל- ‘to, of’, and corresponds to the BH formula of possession לְ-אִשֶׁר לְ (1 S 21.8; 1 K 4.2, etc.), literally ‘which is to’, that is, ‘belonging to, of’.

Although printed editions normally write שֶׁ as a separate word, good

manuscripts show that it was originally prefixed to the following noun, with assimilation of the ה- of the article if necessary), for example שְׁלִי־בָחִים 'of the sacrifices' and שְׁלִי־מֶלֶךְ 'of the king'. The structure is already found in LBH at Ca 3.7 הִנֵּה מִטָּה שֶׁל־שֹׁלֹמֹה 'behold, the couch of Solomon') and also in the Temple Scroll from Qumran (6.1: שֶׁל־נְחוֹשֶׁת 'of bronze'); the construction 'של־רַב' '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 של as 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 (5/6HevEp 5: שְׁהִיוּ שֶׁל־הַגּוֹיִם '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.

7. Corresponding to the BH structures אֲשֶׁר לִי, אֲשֶׁר לְךָ, אֲשֶׁר לְהָ, etc. we have, then, the following series of forms based on של.

Person	With <i>shel</i>	Meaning
1cs	שְׁלִי	my, mine
2ms	שְׁלֶךְךָ	your(s)
2fs	שְׁלֶיךָ	your(s)
3ms	שְׁלוֹ	his
3fs	שְׁלָהּ	her(s)
1cpl	שְׁלֵנוּ	our(s)
2mpl	שְׁלֵכֶם	your(s)
2fpl	שְׁלֵכֶן	your(s)
3mpl	שְׁלֵהֶם	their(s)
3fpl	שְׁלֵהֶן	their(s)

8. M.H. Segal (1927, §385) rightly notes that the genitive construction with של is a genuinely Hebrew development, not an adaptation of Aramaic 'ל or 'ל.

III Grammar and usage

9. As we can see from the translations in §7, the independent possessive pronoun (i.e. שְׁלִי + suffix) may be used like a noun (e.g. שְׁלֶיךָ שְׁלִי 'what's yours is mine') or simply as a replacement for a pronominal suffix (e.g. 'לִּי דְבַר שְׁלִי in place of 'לִּי דְבַר־י '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

majority of cases, שְׁל, like BH אֲשֶׁר לְ-, is used instead of the construct relationship 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 שְׁל 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, שְׁל may more accurately be rendered by 'made from', 'consisting of', etc., for example טַבְּלָהּ שֶׁל זָהָב 'tablet of gold' (Yom 3.10) and שִׁבְעַת כְּתוּבֹת שֶׁל צְדִיקִים 'seven classes of just ones' (SDt 10 [F 18]).

12. As a general rule, שְׁל 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 שְׁל 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 שְׁל by means of a suffix attached to a *nomen regens*, as in שְׁלִיחוֹ שֶׁל אָדָם כַּמֹּתוֹ 'a person's agent is like the person himself' (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 שְׁל is a personal name.

IV Phraseology

15. מִשְׁלִי, מִשְׁלְךָ 'of mine, of yours': the forms שְׁלִי, שְׁלְךָ, etc., which 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

God: 'Give him of (that which is) yours, for you and yours are his'.

V Vocabulary

- בימה (βήμα) 'platform'
 בינוני 'central, halfway, average, common'
 הפרטוס (ὑπαρχος) 'governor'
 חבית 'jug, flask'
 חיצון 'outer'
 מלכות 'kingdom' (especially in reference to the Roman empire)
 מקום 'place' (also in metonymic reference to God as omnipresent)
 מוצאי שבח/הג; מוצאי 'exit'; 'the outgoings of (i.e. evening after) the sabbath/a festival'
 פלטרין (πραιτώριον) 'palace'

VI Exercises

1. הלל אומר, הרי מתלמידיו שלא הורו, אוהב שלום ורוחף שלום.
2. אין אחזה יודע מתן שכרן של מצות.
3. רבן גמליאל בנו של רבי יהודה הנשי.
4. רבי אליעזר אומר, יהי כבוד חברך חביב עליך כשלך.
5. רבי חנניה סגן הכהנים אומר, הרי מתפלל בשלומה של מלכות.
6. רבי דוסא בן הרבנים אומר, שנה של שחרית, ויין של צהרים, ושיחת הילדים, ושיבת פתי כנסיות של עמי הארץ, מוציאים את האדם מן העולם.
7. ארבע מדות באדם, האומר, שלי שלי ושליך שליך, זו מדה בינונית ... שלי שליך ושליך שלי, עם הארץ, שלי שליך ושליך שליך, חסיד. שלי שלי ושליך שלי, רשע.
8. ושירי הדם היה שופך על יסוד מערבי של מצבת החצון.
9. חבית של זהב.
10. במוצאי יום טוב הראשון של חג.
11. כל אחד ואחד מכיר את שלו.
12. לא היתה שמחה לפניו במרום על אברן של רשעים.
13. כשישראל עושין רצונו של מקום.
14. אף חולדה הנביאה היתה מבני בניה של רחב הזונה.
15. לפתח פלטרין שלו.
16. ר' אליעזר אומר, נתן כח בעיניו של משה וראה מסוף העולם ועד סופו.
17. אמר להם הפרטוס שלו.
18. מלך בשר ודם יושב על בימה שלו.
19. שבע כחות של צדיקים בנן ערן.
20. לשבע שמחות פניהם של צדיקים רומים.

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 והיה ר' יהושע הולך אחריו וראה בית המקדש חרב. אמר ר' יהושע, אוי לנו על זה שהוא חרב מקום שמכפרים בו עונותיהם של ישראל. א"ל, בני אל ידע לך, יש לנו כפרה אחת שהיא כמותה. ואיזה, זה גמילות חסדים, שנאמר, כי חסד חפצתי ולא זבח [הושע ר'].

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.

גמילות חסדים, literally 'fulfilment of mercies', is the technical term for acts of kindness. Lists of such acts are to be found in *Soṭ* 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 newly-weds and to burying the dead and consoling the bereaved as acts of kindness (see PRE 16–17).

II Morphology

2. RH shares with BH the interrogative pronouns **מַה** 'who?' and **מַה** 'what?'. **מַה** is used with both masculine and feminine nouns, generally in reference to persons, rarely, to things, whereas **מַה** usually refers to things rather than persons. As in BH, the vocalization of **מַה** varies, although it usually behaves like the article in that it strengthens the first consonant of the word that follows. In this respect, the pointing **מַה רָאִיתָהּ** 'what did you see?', instead of **מַה רָאִיתָהּ**, at K Eduy 6.3 is noteworthy, as here K treats *resh* as a non-guttural 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	RH form
which (one)? (masc.)	מַה זֶה, מַה זֵה
which (one)? (fem.)	מַה זֵה, מַה זֵה
which ones? (common)	מַה זֵה

The forms **מַה זֶה**, **מַה זֵה**, and **מַה זֵה** are composed of the old interrogative particle **מַה** and the demonstrative pronouns **זֶה**, **זֵה**, and **זֵה**. In both manuscripts and printed editions, **מַה זֵה**, the proper form of the plural interrogative, is often written like the demonstrative **זֵה**.

The form **מַה זֵה**, in the sense 'whither?, where is?, which?', is found seventeen times in the Bible. In RH, the singular **מַה זֵה** sometimes, as in our introductory text, has feminine reference and is to be pointed not **מַה זֵה** but **מַה זֵה**.

In LBH, at least as represented by Ecclesiastes, the feminine demonstrative **זֵה** came to prominence as a phonetic variant of **זֵה**, although it is also found, always in the company of **זֵה**, in earlier texts (Jg 18.4; 2 S 11.25; 1 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 **זֵה** form became lexicalized as **זֵה** (which also appears twice in the Bible, at Ho 7.16 and Ps 132.12).

מַה זֵה and **מַה זֵה** 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: **מַה זֵה זֵה** and **מַה זֵה זֵה**.

4. M.H. Segal (1927, §82) claimed that the semantic development of the RH interrogative can be traced clearly within BH. Thus, at 1 S 9.18, **מַה זֵה בֵּית הַרְאָה**, the **זֵה** does little more than emphasize **מַה** as an independent interrogative, 'where?' (hence, 'where is the house of the seer?'), whereas at 2 K 3.8, **מַה זֵה הַדֶּרֶךְ נֵעַלָה**, the emphasis has passed to the demonstrative particle, 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, **אִי יִהְיֶה יִכְשֹׁר הַזֶּה אִוְרָה** '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 **אִיזָה** is also seen in the early post-biblical book of Ben Sira (30.40), according to Segal's own reconstruction: **בְּאִיזָה דַּן רַךְ תִּבְקַשְׁנוּ** 'by which way will you seek him?'

III Grammar and usage

5. **מִי** is only used as a pronoun, whereas **מָה** can function as a pronoun or as an adjective. Both forms may be preceded by a preposition, for example, **אִתְּמַי** 'with whom?', **לְמִי** 'to whom?', **לְמָה** 'to what?', **בְּמִי** 'by whom?', **בְּמָה** 'by what?', etc.

6. In exegetical literature, the contraction **מָהוּ** is commonly used for **מָה הוּא** 'what is he?, what is it?' when asking about the meaning of a biblical text. Thus, at Mek 17.8 (L 2.138), **רַפְיִדִים מָהוּ**, literally, '*Refidim*, what is it?', means 'How is one to interpret *refidim*?' In the Tosefta and various *midrashim*, particularly Sifre to Deuteronomy, the expression **מָהוּ אוֹמֵר**, 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 **וְכֵן הוּא אוֹמֵר** 'and in the same sense it says', already encountered at Unit 1.13, **הוּא** always refers to a biblical text).

7. Although the combinations **מִי שֶׁ** and **מָה שֶׁ** 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' **מִי שֶׁאָמַר וְהִיא עוֹלָם** 'the-one-that-spoke-and-the-world-was' (see the introductory text of Unit 4) and in the saying recorded at Abot 2.14:

דַּע מָה שֶׁחָשִׁיב לְאִפְיָקוּרוֹס

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 (**שֶׁ**) is omitted, for example **אֵין לּוֹ מִי יַחֲזִירָנִי** 'it has no-one to make it permissible' (Men 4.3) and **אֵין לִי מָה אֶשִׁיב** 'I have nothing to reply' (Kel 13.7).

8. **מָה** can also be used to introduce the first term in a comparison: **כִּי מָה ... אֵין** 'like this ... also that', **אֵינוּ דִימִין הוּא ... מָה אִם** 'if this is so ... is it not correct?/it is correct', **כִּלְחֻמָּר, מָה אִם ... קָל לְחֻמָּר** 'if it is true for this ... it is even 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 **מָה** 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. **מָה** in particular is also found as part of numerous adverbial expressions, for example **כַּמָּה** 'how much?', **בְּכַמָּה** 'for how much?', **עַד כַּמָּה** 'how

far?', למה 'why?', מפני מה 'for what reason?', and בשביל מה 'on account of what?'.
 Frequently, a preposition is attached to an interrogative, as in

משלמי היו הבהמות
 Whose were the cattle? (Mek 14.7 [L 1.201]).

Compare Jon 1.7:

בשלמי הרעה הזאת לנו
 On whose account has this misfortune come to us?

10. Although איהו and איהי only function as pronouns, איזה, איזו, and אילו may be used as pronouns or as adjectives, for example

ורואים אלו האבנים הראויות להשתבר
 And they examine which stones are likely to break (BM 10.1)

and

ואין ידוע אלו שהפכו ואלו שקדמו
 And it is not known who have changed and who have progressed
 (TosNeg 2.7).

11. איזה, איזו, and אילו imply a choice, as in

על אלו הטמאות הנזיר מגלה
 For which contaminations does the Nazirite have to shave? (Naz 7.1)

and

ואיני יודע איזה מכם
 And I do not know which of you two (Naz 8.1).

Followed by the relative -ש, they are employed demonstratively to specify one of a group of items, for example יביא איזו שרצה 'he will bring that which he wishes (from among the offerings promised)' (Men 13.7).

IV Phraseology

12. למה נהדר דומה 'what is this like?'—parables (or narrative *meshalim*) are usually constructed around a series of rigidly defined formulas:

- A. משל 'a parable' or משלו 'they recounted a parable';
- B. למה נהדר דומה 'what is this like?, to what might it be compared?';
- C. ל- '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 generally introduced by וכך, כך, לְכַךְ, etc., 'therefore, in the same way'.

These narrative formulas are found not only in the rabbinic *meshalim* but also in the parables of the New Testament.

13. מה ראית, מה ראו, מה ראיה '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:

אָמרוּ לוֹ לְרַבִּי נְחֻנְיָא, מָה רְאִיתָ לְחַלּוֹק מִדּוֹתֶיךָ

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 לומר 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

אֵילָן 'tree'

בְּקִשָּׁה 'request'

הַכְשִׁיר 'permit, make suitable or *kosher*'

הִנָּה 'make use of, benefit from'

הִנְיָה 'advantage'

הִלְיָן 'take off sandal (etc.), perform the ritual of *halisah* (Dt 25.5–10)'

חַמִּים 'thermal waters'

טִבֵּרְיָה 'Tiberias'

בָּם 'fulfil the law of levirate marriage, marry the widow of a deceased childless brother' (Dt 25.5–10)

כַּפָּרָה 'expiation, atonement'

כַּשְׁ- 'when' (contrast BH כִּשְׁ-)

מִתְּרַן 'permitted' (from the root נָתַר)

נָאֵה 'beautiful'

עֲבֵרָה 'transgression, sin'

עָשִׂיר 'rich'

VI Exercises

1. אַם אֵין אֲנִי לִי מִי לִי, וְכִשְׁאֲנִי לְעַצְמִי מָה אֲנִי?
2. דַּע מָה לְמַעַלָּה מִמֶּךָ.
3. צֵאוּ וּרְאוּ אִי זוֹ הוּא דֶרֶךְ טוֹבָה.
4. דַּע מָה שֶׁחָשִׁיב לְאַפִּיקוֹרוֹס וְדַע לִפְנֵי מִי אֲתָה עֹמֵל.
5. מָה נָאֵה אֵילָן זֶה, וּמָה נָאֵה נִיר זֶה.
6. בֵּין זֹמָא אוֹמֵר אִי זֶה הוּא חֲכָם? הֲלָמָד מִכָּל אָדָם ... אֵיזָה הוּא גְבוּרָה? הַכּוֹבֵשׁ אֲתֵר-צֵרוּ ... אֵיזָהוּ עָשִׂיר? הַשְּׂמֵחַ בְּחֻלְקוֹ.
7. הַלּוֹמֵד [הֲלָמָד K] יֵלֵד לָמָה הוּא דוֹמָה? ... הַלּוֹמֵד [הֲלָמָד K] יִקַּן לָמָה הוּא דוֹמָה? ... הַלּוֹמֵד [הֲלָמָד K] מִן הַקְּטָנִים לָמָה הוּא דוֹמָה? ... הַלּוֹמֵד [הֲלָמָד K] מִן הַזְּקֵנִים לָמָה הוּא דוֹמָה?
8. חֲכָמִים אוֹמְרִים, מְבָרֵךְ עַל אֵיזָה מִהֶן שִׁירְצָה.
9. רַבִּי שְׁמַעוֹן אוֹמֵר, מִיבָם לְאִיזוֹ מִהֶן שִׁירְצָה אוֹ חוּלְץֵן לְאִיזוֹ מִהֶן שִׁירְצָה.

10. מה ראו ישראל לפדות פטרי מחמורים ולא פטרי סוסים וגמלים?
11. מה הדם מהנה למלאך או מה מהנה להם לישראל?
12. מה ראיית להשחית שער נאה?
13. מפני מה המן משתנה להם לכל דבר שהיו רוצים?
14. מפני מה לא ברא המקום חמים בירושלים כחמי טבריה?
15. ראה משה בעיניו מה שלא הלך יהושע ברגליו.
16. ראו איזו עבירה עברתי וכמה בקשות בקשתי.
17. נאמר כאן שמחה ונאמר להלן שמחה מה שמחה האמורה להלן שלמים
אף שמחה האמורה כאן שלמים.
18. שלש מצוות ... איני יודע איזה יקדום.
19. במה הכתוב מדבר?
20. מה מים מותרים בהניה אף דם מותר בהניה, מה 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)

רבי חנינה בן דוסא אומר, כל שיראת חטאו קודמת לחכמתו, חכמתו
מתקיימת, וכל שחכמתו קודמת ליראת חטאו, אין חכמתו מתקיימת.
הוא היה אומר, כל שמעשיו מרביין מחכמתו, חכמתו מתקיימת,
וכל שחכמתו מרבה ממעשיו, אין חכמתו מתקיימת.

Rabbi Ḥaninah 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. Ḥaninah ben Dosa was a charismatic miracle-worker from Galilee. Some authors have compared him to another Galilaean, Jesus of Nazareth. Ḥaninah'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 Ḥaninah 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 כְּלָמָּה (not) anything, nothing', which, according to M.H. Segal (1927, §437) probably has its origins in כְּלָמָּהּ (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 מִי 'who?' and מָה 'what?';
- B. various nouns of generalized reference, such as אָדָם and אִישׁ 'person', פְּלוֹנִי 'someone', כֹּל 'all', and דָּבָר 'thing';
- C. a number of grammatical constructions.

III Grammar and usage

4. The indefinite function of אָדָם 'person, (some)one', כָּל־אָדָם 'everyone, anyone', and אִין אָדָם 'no-one', of דָּבָר '(some)thing', כָּל־דָּבָר 'everything, anything', and אִין דָּבָר 'nothing' can be seen at Abot 4.3:

אַל תִּהְיֶה בּוֹ לְכֹל אָדָם וְאַל תִּהְיֶה מִפְּלִיגֵי לְכֹל דָּבָר, שְׂאִין לְךָ אָדָם
שְׂאִין לּוֹ שְׁעָה וְאִין לְךָ דָּבָר שְׂאִין לּוֹ מְקוֹם

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:

וְאָדָם לֹא זָכַר אֶת־הָאִישׁ הַמְּסַכֵּן הַהוּא

And nobody had mentioned that poor man.

כָּל־ may be used as an adjective with any noun, giving that noun a general or indefinite sense, as in

כָּל תּוֹרָה שְׂאִין עִמָּהּ מְלָאכָה

Any (study of the) Torah that is not accompanied by work (Abot 2.2),

כָּל כְּנִסְיָהּ שֶׁהִיא לְשֵׁם שָׁמַיִם

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

and

כָּל כְּתָבֵי הַתְּפִלָּה ... וְאִף עַל פִּי שְׂכַחוּבִים בְּכָל לְשׁוֹן

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

In addition, the formula **מְכַלֵּמְקוֹם** 'in every case, whatever the circumstance' is used to confirm the overall validity of a conclusion.

5. The expressions **כָּל־שֶׁהוּא**, **כָּל־שֶׁהוּא**, and **כָּל־שֶׁהוּן** are employed as adjectives or pronouns and convey the sense of 'whatever it (e.g. quantity, character, etc.) might be', for example **בְּפִתְחֵי כָּל שְׂהוּא** 'with coals in whatever quantity' (Shab 1.11), **אֵלֶּי אֲסוּרִין וְאֲסוּרִין בְּכָל שֶׁהוּן** 'these things, whatever their quantity, are prohibited and cause prohibition' (AZ 5.9).

6. Statements of universal validity usually begin with **כָּל־** followed by participle (see the exercises at the end of the unit), as in several *mishnayot* from Abot, for example **כָּל הַמְחַלֵּל אֶת שְׁמֵי שָׁמַיִם** 'anyone who profanes the heavenly name' (4.4).

כָּל־שֶׁאֵינוֹ יָכוֹל 'whoever' is used in the same way, for example **כָּל־שֶׁ** 'whoever is not able' (Hag 1.1).

7. The interrogatives **מִי** and **מָה** can also have indefinite significance, particularly in the sequence **מִי מִמָּה שֶׁ-** 'whoever, whatever' (see Unit 5.7) and especially when preceded and reinforced by **כָּל־**, as in **כָּל־מִי שֶׁיִּרְצֶה** 'feeding whomsoever' (BB 8.7). In the earliest stages of Hebrew, **מִן** appears to have had a similar function, as at Dt 33.11: **מִן־יִקְמוּן** 'whoever rises up'.

8. The terms **מִשְׁהוּן**, **מִשְׁהוּא**, and **מִשְׁהוּן** have the sense of 'something, any amount, the smallest quantity' and are usually employed with adverbial force, for example **אָדָם טוֹעָה מִשְׁהוּא** 'whoever is wrong in the smallest matter' (Pes 11b), **הַבְּרוֹזֶל מְמַיֵּת בְּמִשְׁהוּא** 'iron kills, whatever its size' (SNm 160.5 [H 217]). In AZ 5.8, **מִשְׁהוּא** is found alongside **כָּל־שֶׁהוּא** in the same sense; M. Bar-Asher (1990a, 208) claims that in Babylonian amoraic literature the first form eventually replaced the second.

9. **לֹא עָשָׂה כְּלוּם** is usually found in negative sentences of the type **לֹא עָשָׂה כְּלוּם** 'he didn't do anything', for example **הַשְּׁלִישִׁת וְהָרְבִיעִית אֵין לָהֶם כְּלוּם** 'the 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 **כְּלוּם יֵשׁ לָנוּ עֲלֵינוּ אֵלָּא גְשָׁמִים** 'he has nothing for us except rain' (MS Erfurt TosSo₁ 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').

10. **מִן קֶצֶת** '(a) part (of), some (of)' (derived from **מִן קֶצֶת** 'from the end of') has a partitive function and usually governs a genitive, for example

מִקְצָתָן רְעִיבִים וּמִקְצָתָן שָׂבִיעִים

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 **מִן** 'some (of)', as at Mek 15.18 (L 2.80): **חָפַשׂ מִזֶּה, הִרְגַּ מִזֶּה, צָלַב מִזֶּה** 'some he seized, others he slaughtered, others he crucified' (see also Unit 22.14).

12. **כֵּן וְכֵן, כֵּן וְכֵן** 'so-and-so, such-and-such' can be used pronominally or adjectivally with reference to both persons and things, as at Yeb 16.6:

אִישׁ פְּלוֹנִי בֶן אִישׁ פְּלוֹנִי מִמְּקוֹם פְּלוֹנֵי מַח

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

אִם לְמַדְתָּ תוֹרַת הַרְבֵּה נִוְחַנִּים לְךָ שְׂכָר הַרְבֵּה

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), for example קָרָא וְלֹא דִקְדַק בְּאוֹתֵי יוֹתֵיהּ ... אֲצָא 'if one reads, albeit without clearly enunciating the letters, one has fulfilled one's obligation' (Ber 2.3) and הִכּוֹתֵב נִכְסָיו לְבָנָיו צָרִיךְ שִׁכְחֵב 'if a person assigns their property to their children, that person must write it down' (BB 8.7).

IV Phraseology

14. וְיֵשׁ אוֹמְרִים 'there are those who say', a formula employed to introduce divergent opinions.

15. מִכָּל־מְקוֹם 'in every case, whatever the circumstance' (see above, §4). This appears to be a loan-translation from Greek ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου:

תלמוד לומר, קדוש יהיה [במדבר ו'ה'], מכל מקום

The text says, It will be holy [Nm 6.5]—whatever the circumstance! (SNm 25.5 [H 31]).

V Vocabulary

בָּזָה 'despise'

בְּצָרָה 'drought'

בָּרַר 'clarify, select, choose'

גּוּף 'body, essence' (as in שִׁבְעָה גּוּפֵי עֲבָרֵיהּ 'the seven basic transgressions, the seven capital sins')

הִבִּיא 'bring' (hi. of בּוֹא); in liturgical language, 'offer'; in exegetical texts, 'include, cite, expound'

טָעַן 'load, carry, demand, require', טָעֲנִין גְּבִיָּה 'requiring safekeeping'

יָצָא 'go out'; in legal parlance, 'fulfil an obligation'

לְסָטָם (plural לִסְטָם; ληστής) 'robber'

מוֹעֲדוֹת (plural of מוֹעֵד 'appointed time') 'days on which festivals are held, holidays'

קָמוֹן 'money, wealth'

מחכת 'metal'

סבר פנים 'cordiality'

עשר 'give/take tithe'

פלפל 'pepper'

פונדענדיגות (plural) 'punishment, retribution'

קעט-רבה (מ)מועט-מרוצה, 'increase-decrease' (pu. participles employed as adjectives) 'much-little'

שוואכה 'drawing of water', בית השואכה, '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)

שחרית 'dawn, morning, morning prayer (in synagogue)'

VI Exercises

1. והוי מקבל את כל האדם בסבר פנים יפות.
2. כל המרבה דברים מביא חטא.
3. איזהו דרך ישרה שיבר לו האדם? כל שהיא חפארת לעושה וחפארת לו מן האדם.
4. מרבה צדקה, מרבה שלום. קנה שם טוב, קנה לעצמו.
5. כל הפורק מפתו על תורה, נותנין עליו על מלכות ועל דרך ארץ.
6. המחלל את הקדשים והמבזה את המועדות ... אין לו חלק לעולם הבא.
7. איזהו חכם? הלומד מכל אדם.
8. והוי שפל רוח בפני כל אדם.
9. שבעה מיני פונדענדיגות באין לעולם על שבעה גופי עברה, מקצתן מעשרין ומקצתן אינן מעשרין, רעב של בצרת בא, מקצתן רעבים ומקצתן שבעים.
10. הקורא את שמע ולא השמיע לאזנו, יצא.
11. איזהו קטן? כל שאינו יכול לרכוב על כתפיו של אביו.
12. מי שיש לו אוכלים מרובים ונכסים מועטים [ממועטים K], מביא שלמים מרובים ועולות מועטות [ממועטות K].
13. פלפלת כל שהיא ... מיני בשמים ומיני מחכות כל שהן.
14. כל מי שלא ראה שמחת בית השואכה לא ראה שמחה מקומו.
15. אף אדם הראשון לא טעם כלום עד שעה מלאכה.
16. שמעו לסטים ובאו ... נטלו ממנו כל ממנו, לשחרית אין לו כלום.
17. משביע אני עליך, לא ראית לפלוני יוצא מתוך ביתי טעון כלים?
18. למה הדבר דומה? למי שאמר לו רבו.
19. למה נאמר, כי פליא [במדרב ר' ב']? להביא את מי שירדע להפלות.
20. גלוי היה לפני הקב"ה שהברזל ממית במשהוא.

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)

אלו דברים שאדם אוכל פירותיהם בעולם הזה והקרן קיימת לו לעולם הבא,
 כבוד אב ואם וגמילות חסדים והבאת שלום בין אדם לחברו, ותלמוד תורה
 כנגד כלם.

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 כנגד 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'. תלמוד תורה '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 מותקיימת 'is raised' for קיימת 'stands (i.e. 'remains')', employing the *Hitpa'el* in its 'middle' sense (see Unit 15.10D).

II *Morphology*

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

- A. -ל followed by a suffixed pronominal object (לו, לך, לי, etc.);
- B. the *Nif'al* and *Hitpa'el/Nitpa'al* conjugations of the verb;

C. various expressions based on nouns such as נֶפֶשׁ 'soul', תַּיִם 'life', גּוּף 'body', לֵב 'heart', and, most importantly, עֵצָם 'bone'.

III Grammar and usage

3. -ל followed by pronominal suffix.

A. The construction is commonly used to express the reflexive, as in BH, for example וַיִּקַּח לוֹ לְמֶדֶד שְׁתֵּי נָשִׁים 'and Lamech took two wives for himself' (Gn 4.19), with which Abot 2.7 might be compared:

קָנָה לוֹ דַּבְרֵי תוֹרָה קָנָה לוֹ חַיֵּי עוֹלָם

If one acquires for oneself the words of the Torah, one acquires for oneself the life of the world to come.

However, K omits לוֹ 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, הִלְךְ לוֹ 'he betook himself, he went away', Mek 12.1 (L 1.7–8), אֶבְרַח לִי ... אֵלַי, 'I shall run away ... I shall go away', or Hor 1.2, יָשַׁב לוֹ בְּתוֹךְ בֵּיתוֹ ... הִלְךְ לוֹ לְמַדִּינַת הַיָּם, '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, אָמַר לוֹ means 'he said to another' or 'he said to himself, he thought'.

4. עֵצָם.

A. With pronominal suffixes attached, עֵצָם 'bone, essence' forms not only an emphatic demonstrative ('this very'; see Unit 2.8–9) but also an authentic reflexive pronoun, as in קָנָה שֵׁם טוֹב קָנָה לְעַצְמוֹ 'whoever gains repute, gains it for himself' (Abot 2.7).

B. Apart from לְעַצְמוֹ, the forms בְּעַצְמוֹ and מֵעַצְמוֹ also occur. Their precise 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, יִתְחַן זֶה בְּעַצְמוֹ וְזֶה בְּעַצְמוֹ, the sense is 'each one is applied separately'; similarly, AZ 58b, לְשׁוֹן תּוֹרָה לְעַצְמָהּ וּלְשׁוֹן חֻכְמִים לְעַצְמָהּ, appears to mean that BH and RH are autonomous languages (see Introduction); at Ber 1.3, וּסְכַנְתִּי בְּעַצְמִי מִפְּנֵי הַלֶּסְטִים, the sense is 'I myself was in danger because 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 הִרְאֵשׁ לְעַצְמוֹ וְהַגּוּף לְעַצְמוֹ 'the head by itself and the body by itself'. A variant of מֵעַצְמוֹ is מֵאֵלָיו 'of itself', as at BM 7.9: בְּזִמְנָן שֶׁבָּאוּ מֵאֵלֵיהֶן 'when they come of their own accord'.

C. בֵּינָן לְבֵין עַצְמָן, 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 (בֵּינָן לְבֵין עַצְמָן) is dis-

tinguished from that of the synagogue:

וְכִשְׁהוּא מַחְפֵּלֵל בֵּינוּ לְבֵין עַצְמוֹ, אֹמֵר ... וְכִשְׁהוּא בְּבֵית הַכְּנֶסֶת, אֹמֵר

And when he prays on his own, he says ... and when he is in the synagogue, he says.

5. Expressions using **נִפְשׁ**, **נַפְשׁ**, and **גּוּף**.

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 **נִפְשׁ**:

כָּל הַיְהוּדָה מוֹדְבֵרֵי תוֹרָה נוֹטְלֵי חַיֵּיו מִן הָעוֹלָם

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. **נִפְשׁ** is commonly used with reflexive significance in BH, for example Jos 23.11: וְנִשְׁמַרְתֶּם מְאֹד לְנַפְשׁוֹתֵיכֶם 'and watch yourselves closely'. The same usage continues, although less frequently, in RH, as, for example, at SNm 131.1 (H 169): אֲבֵדְתָ אֶת נַפְשְׁךָ וְאֲבֵדְתָ אֶת מִמּוֹנְךָ, literally, 'you have lost your soul and you have lost your money'.

C. **גּוּף** only rarely occurs in reflexive structures, for example:

וְלֹא מָצָאתִי לְגוּפִי טוֹב אֶלֶּא שְׁתִּיקָה

And I have found nothing better for myself than silence (Abot 1.17);

כָּל הַמְּכַבֵּד אֶת הַתּוֹרָה, גּוֹפּוֹ מְכַבֵּד עַל הַבְּרִיּוֹת

Everyone that honours the Torah is honoured themselves (literally, 'his body') by humankind (Abot 4.6);

עֲדוֹת שְׁבִנוּפָה

Testimony concerning oneself (TosKet 1.6).

6. The common formula **עַל קָבַל** followed by a suffixed pronoun referring to the subject has the reflexive value of 'take upon oneself, accept, commit oneself', as in **הַמְּקַבֵּל עָלָיו לְהִיְיוֹת חֵבֵר** '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:

שְׁחִרְרוּ זֶה אֶת זֶה

They freed one another (Yeb 11.5);

בְּזִמְנֵן שֶׁזֶן מַעֲדוֹת זֶה אֶת זֶה

When each testifies concerning the other (Ket 2.6).

B. The BH collocation **אִישׁ ... אִישׁ רָע** 'one ... one's companion' (e.g. Gn 11.3), as in **כְּדִי שֶׁלֹּא יַכּוּ אִישׁ אֶת־דֵּרְעוֹ** 'so that they do not injure one another' (Pea 4.4);

C. **חֵבֵר** 'colleague, companion' followed by a suffix that refers to the accompanying noun, especially in the construction **בֵּין ... לְחֵבְרוֹ**, literally, 'between (a person/thing) ... and their colleague', that is, 'some with others', 'between these and those', 'reciprocally', etc.; examples include:

הִבָּאת שְׁלוֹם בֵּין אָדָם לְחֵבְרוֹ

Making peace between one person and another (Pea 1.1, quoted in the introductory text);

אם אין בין קנה לחברו שלשה טפחים

If from one reed to another there is not a gap of three palms (Kil 4.4, illustrating how קָבַר 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. מתחייב בנפשו 'being responsible for one's (loss of) life, condemning oneself, placing oneself under sentence of death', for example

כָּל הַמִּתְחַיֵּב בְּנַפְשׁוֹ אִינוֹ מְשַׁלֵּם מָמוֹן

No-one sentenced to death pays a fine (Ket 3.2; see also BQ 3.10; Abot 3.4, 7–8; Hül 1.1).

9. בינו לבין עצמו 'privately, on one's own' (see above, §4C).

10. קבל עליו 'take upon oneself, commit oneself' (see above, §6).

11. לא יאמר אדם לחברו 'let no-one say to their neighbour, let nobody say to anyone'; for example

וְלֹא יֹאמֵר אָדָם לְחִבְרוֹ בִּירוּשָׁלַיִם, הִילֵךְ יֵין וְחֵן לִי שֶׁמֶן

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

בְּטֻלָה 'vanity, emptiness, annulment, uselessness'

בְּדַחֲרֵין 'free (person)'

בְּרִיָּה 'creature, human being' (plural בְּרִיּוֹת 'humankind')

הַבָּאָה 'bringing, taking'

הִילֵךְ (i.e. 'behold' and לָךְ 'to you') 'here you are'

זָהִיר 'cautious, prudent'

חָיִב 'guilty, condemned', הִתְחַיֵּב 'be guilty, condemned', חָיִב-פְּטוּר 'exempt-under obligation'

מִטְבַּע 'mint'

יִתְרוֹ 'Jethro' (Moses' father-in-law)

כְּדִי-שׁ 'in order that, so that'

כְּנֻגָּד 'corresponding to, opposite'

לַח וְיָבֵשׁ 'wet and dry, liquid and dry food' (expressing totality)

מִטְבַּע 'coin'

פְּרִי (פְּרִיּוֹת plural) 'fruit'

צָעַר 'deprive oneself, abstain'

צָרֵךְ 'necessity'

ק"ז abbreviation of קל וחומר 'light and heavy'. in the sense of 'how much more!', 'ק"ז ל-, ... ק"ז אם ... if this is so ... how much more the other!'

קָרָן 'horn, principal, initial investment'

יַיִן מִצְוָה ... יַיִן רְשׁוּת, 'power, authority, government, liberty, permission', 'wine that it is prescribed to drink ... wine that one is free to drink'

שְׁתִּיקָה 'silence'

VI Exercises

1. וכשאני לעצמי, מה אני?
2. כל ימי גדלתי בין החכמים, ולא מצאתי לגוף טוב אלא שתיקה.
3. אל תאמן בעצמך עד יום מותך.
4. הווי זהירין ברשות, שאין מקרבין לו לאדם אלא לצורך עצמן.
5. המפנה לבו לבטלה, הרי זה מתחייב בנפשו.
6. יש חייב על מעשה שורו ופטור על מעשה עצמו.
7. המקבל עליו להיזח חבר אינו מוכר לעם הארץ לח ויבש.
8. מי שחציו עבד וחציו בן חרין עובד את רבו יום אחד ואת עצמו יום אחד.
9. אם נטמאו ידיו, נטמא גופו.
10. אם אין בין שורה לחברתה שש עשרה אמה, לא יביא זרע לשם.
11. לא ישכור אדם פועלים בשבת, ולא יאמר אדם לחברו לשכור לו פועלים.
12. אדם טובע כמה מטבעות בחותם אחד, וכלן דומין זה את זה, ומלך מלכי המלכים הקדוש ברוך הוא טבע כל האדם בחותמו של אדם הראשון, ואין אחד מהן דומה לחברו.
13. לא יניח אדם עמדה מעצמו בראשו, אבל אחרים יניחו לו.
14. ומה אם המצער נפשו מן היין צריך כפרה, ק"ז למצער נפשו על כל דבר.
15. ישמור את נפשך בשעת המיתה.
16. אם יתרו חותנו של מלך לא קיבל עליו, ק"ז לשאר בני אדם.
17. כדי שלא יאמר אדם לחבירו, נלך ונעלה לירושלים.
18. וישמע "ובמדבר יב' ב", מלמד שלא היתה שם בריה, אלא בין לבין עצמן דברו בו.
19. אבדת את נפשך ואבדת את ממונך ... אבדת את עצמך ואבדת את כבודך.
20. אמר להם, לא מעצמי אני אומר לכם, אלא מפי הקדש 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)

כָּל שֶׁחֲכָמָהּ מְרַבָּה מִמַּעֲשָׂיו, לְמָה הוּא דוֹמֶה? לְאֵילָן שֶׁעֲנָפָיו מְרַבִּין
 וְשָׂרְשָׁיו מוּעָטִין, וְהָרוּחַ בָּאָה וְעוֹקְרָתוֹ וְהוֹפְכָתוֹ עַל פְּנָיו, שֶׁנֶּאֱמַר, וְהָיָה
 כְּעֵרְעֵר בְּעֵרְבָה וְלֹא יֵרָאֶה כִּי יָבֹא טוֹב וְשָׂכֵן חֲרָדִים בְּמִדְבַר אֶרֶץ
 מִלְחָה וְלֹא תִשָּׁב נִירְמִיָּה יוֹרֵן. אֲבָל כָּל שֶׁמַּעֲשָׂיו מְרַבִּין מִחֲכָמָהּ,
 לְמָה הוּא דוֹמֶה? לְאֵילָן שֶׁעֲנָפָיו מוּעָטִין וְשָׂרְשָׁיו מְרַבִּין, שֶׁנֶּאֱמַר כָּל
 הָרוּחוֹת שֶׁבְּעוֹלָם בָּאוֹת וְנֹשְׁבוֹת בּוֹ אֵין מְזִיזוֹת אוֹתוֹ מִמְקוֹמוֹ, שֶׁנֶּאֱמַר,
 וְהָיָה כְּעֵץ שֶׁחֹזֵל עַל-מִים וְעַל-יָבֵל יִשְׁלַח שָׂרְשָׁיו וְלֹא יֵרָאֶה כִּי יָבֹא חֹם
 וְהָיָה עֲלָיו רֵעָן וּבִשְׁנַת בְּצֻרָת לֹא יִדָּאָג וְלֹא יִמַּשׁ מַעֲשׂוֹת פְּרִי נִירְמִיָּה יוֹרֵן.

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 **אשר** is almost completely replaced in RH by **-ש**, with **אשר** reserved only for biblical quotations and liturgical texts. Where possible, **-ש** 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: **שָׂרְאוּ שָׂרְאוּ** (see Unit 5.2).

3. **-ש** cannot be regarded as a shortened form of **אשר** that has developed over time, as it is also present at the earliest stage of Semitic in the form of Akkadian *ša*, as well as in Phoenician *š* (with prosthetic *alef*) and Punic *š-*. In the Bible, it is attested in passages like Jg 6.17 (**אִתּוֹ שָׁאָהָה מִדְּבַר עִמִּי** ‘the sign of which you spoke to me’), four more times in Jg 5–8, as well as in other early texts.

4. Probably because it was regarded as a northern colloquialism, **-ש** disappeared from the literary idiom of BH but re-emerged in the LBH period (in Ca, Ec, Ps, Jon, and Lm), where it alternates with **אשר**. **-ש**, then, appears to be a dialect form that was conserved in the vernacular language. E. Qimron (1986, 82–83) claims that while **-ש** was rejected at Qumran as inappropriate for literary composition, the many instances in the Scrolls of **אשר ל-** ‘which is to’ (or simply **ל-** ‘of, to’ on its own) echo RH usage of **-ש** (and more specifically **של**). In the Copper Scroll and 4QMMT, **של** is used extensively.

III Grammar and usage

5. **-ש**'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

בְּרוּךְ י' שֶׁלֹא נִתְּנָנוּ טְרֵף לְשִׁנֵיהֶם

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, **-ש** has a purely demonstrative rôle, for example **אִם שָׁטַח ... וְנָחַן ... פָּשַׁט** ‘(if) he stretched out ... and placed ..., or (even if) he took away’ (Shab 1.1).

6. **-ש** as relative.

A. Like BH **אשר**, **-ש** 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

כָּל תּוֹרָה שֶׁאֵין עִמָּה מְלֵאכָה

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

שָׂדֵה שֶׁקָּצְרוּהָ גֵוִיִּים

A field that gentiles harvested (literally, ‘that harvested her’) (Pea 2.7),

and

זו שעה שנלכדה בה ירושלים

That is the hour at which Jerusalem was captured (literally, 'which was captured at her') (SLv 26.33 [W 112b]).

B. -ש can also be retrospectively determined by an adverb of place (שם 'there', משם 'from there', and לשם 'to there', equivalent to בו, מכאן/מהנה, and (ל)ה/לה) when the antecedent is מקום 'place' or has spatial reference, for example לשם המקום שהלך ל'שם 'the place to which he went' (Pea 4.1). The same usage is common in BH (e.g. 2 K 6.2).

C. Retrospective determination may be omitted when there is no question of ambiguity, as in וּבַמְּקוֹם שֶׁאֵין אָנָשִׁים הַשְׁתַּדֵּל לִהְיוֹת אִישׁ 'and in the place that (i.e. 'where') there are no men, make the effort to be a man' (Abot 2.5).

D. -ש's originally demonstrative function is especially clear when it has as antecedent מי 'who?', מה 'what?', or כֹּל- 'all', in structures like מי-ש 'who(m)ever', מה-ש or מהוּא-ש 'whatever', and כֹּל-שְׁהוּא 'all/anyone who(m)' (see Unit 6.5–8).

E. For the particle של (i.e. -ש followed by ל- 'to, of') and the independent possessive pronoun, see Unit 4.

F. Relative -ש is sometimes preceded by אֵת with no clear antecedent. The resulting construction, אֵת-ש '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 אֵת-ש as 'with regard to that which'. In BH, a similar formulation, אֵת אֲשֶׁר, occurs in structures incorrectly classified as independent relative clauses, which are in reality clauses introduced by determinative אֲשֶׁר (see Meyer 1992, §115.5B–C, where Gn 49.1 is cited; for the demonstrative function of אֵת, see Unit 2.7). Examples of אֵת-ש include:

אֵת שְׂצָרִיךְ כַּפְרָה, יֵצֵא מִתּוֹ שְׂכִיפְרָה לּוֹ נֶפֶשׁ

With regard to that which requires expiation, the dead are excluded as their soul atones for them (SNm 4.5 [H 7]);

אֵת שְׂדֵרְכּוֹ לְהַטְבִּיל, מִטְבִּיל

That which it is customary to immerse, let it be immersed (AZ 5.12);

אֵת שְׂאִסוֹר מִשֹּׁמֵם וּבִלְהָ, אִסוֹר לִבְשֵׁל בַּחֲלֵב

That which is prohibited because it is carrion, it is prohibited to cook in milk (Hul 8.4).

7. -ש as conjunction.

A. With the meaning 'that', -ש introduces an 'object clause' where BH would employ כִּי or אֲשֶׁר. In this sense it is also commonly used to introduce indirect speech, for example אַל תֹּאמַר שֶׁהִיא תְּבוּאָה אַחֲרַיִךְ 'do not say that it will come after you' (Abot 4.14). (In Ec 5.4 [LBH], we find אֲשֶׁר and -ש together: טוֹב אֲשֶׁר לֹא יִדְוֶר מִשְׁפָּדוֹר וְלֹא תִשְׁלַם 'better is one who does not vow than one who vows and then does not fulfil the vow'.

B. Rarely, -ש also introduces direct speech, as in:

אמר לו בגזירה שחאכל את הדג

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

העיד רבי פפיס ... שאם גלח את הראשונה יום שלשים

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 kind -ש , -אמן , -שבועה , -קרבן , or -קונם , all of which mean 'most truly', 'I swear', etc. The following example comes from SNm 15.2 (H 20):

ואמרה האשה אמן אמן [במדבר ה' כב'], אמן שלא נטמיתי, 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 -ש 'swear that' with personal subject is also used in this context, for example

נשבע אני בשמך הגדול שאיני זו מכאן עד שתרחם על בניך

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, -ש can have explanatory or exegetical value, 'meaning/teaching/showing that', 'that is to say', etc., for example

ונורעה זרע [במדבר ה' כח], שאם הייתה עקרה, נפקדה

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]).

A fuller version of the formula, -ש מלמד 'teaching that' or -ש מגיד 'declaring that', is often found.

Frequently, though, 'exegetical' -ש has a final sense, 'in order that, so that', as in the common formula -ש 'לא יאמר' '(this is written) so that one might not say' (see also Unit 30.6).

D. Alone or in combination with a preposition, for example -ש עד 'until, before', -ש מפני 'because', -ש כש 'when', or -ש מ' 'after', -ש introduces causal, temporal, final, and consecutive clauses. Of special note is the use of causal -ש in the meaning of 'if', as in -ש -אני -אז 'I shall become a Nazirite because/if this is so-and-so' (Naz 5.5) or

אקפח את בני שזו הלכה מקפוח

May I bury my children if this is not a corrupt *halakhah* (Ohol 16.1).

8. The demonstrative function of -ש is especially striking in the adverbial construction -ש -אם introducing a circumstantial clause, for example -ש -אם -אין -אדם -אשר -אין -עמו 'whoever kills without witnesses' (Sanh 9.5). A similar construction, -ש -אם -אין -אדם , is found at Abot 1.3:

הַמְשַׁמְשִׁים אֶת־הָרֵב שְׂלֵא עַל־מִנְתָּ לְקַבֵּל פְּרִים

Who serve the master, not for the sake of receiving remuneration.

The structure *אֲשֶׁר לֹא ב-* is found only once in the Bible (Dt 8.9), but is well-attested in the Manual of Discipline from Qumran.

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

אוֹכְלִין פְּרוֹת שְׁבִיעִית בְּטוֹבָה שְׂלֵא בְּטוֹבָה

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

With *ל-* for *ב-*, the construction is found at, for example, Makhsh 6.8:

לְרָצוֹן ... שְׂלֵא לְרָצוֹן

Whether deliberately or not.

The following text exemplifies a structure often found in tannaitic exegetical literature:

כֹּה חִבְּרֵנוּ אֶת בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל [בְּמִדְבַּר ר' כַּנְיָן], בְּעִמְדָה, אִזְהָה אוֹמֵר
בְּעִמְדָה, אוֹ אֵינוּ אֵלֵא בְּעִמְדָה וְשֵׁלֵא בְּעִמְדָה?

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 *אִם* (see above, §5) gives an adversative character to the proposition that follows. The Mekhilta text already quoted (§7b) continues

אוֹ שֶׁחֵלְקָה מֵאֵה מְכוּת אוֹ שֶׁחֵתַן מֵאֵה מִנָּה

(Eat the fish) or you will suffer a hundred strokes or you will pay a hundred minas (Mek 14.5 [L 195]).

Similar are *גִּלַּח אוֹ שֶׁגִּלְחָהוּ לִסְתִּים* 'whether he shaved himself or robbers shaved him' (Naz 6.3) and *אִם אֶכְלָתוּ חַיָּה אוֹ שֶׁיִּרְדּוּ עֲלָיו גְּשָׁמִים* '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 *אִם* 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 *אִם* (see Pes 9.9, quoted at Unit 25.9). In other structures expressing alternatives, the *אִם* may be omitted, for example

שֶׁחָחַ שְׂלֵא לְאוֹכְלָיו וְשֵׁלֵא לְמִנְיָיו

If one slaughters (the lamb), but not for those who might eat it or are numbered (among those who might eat it) (Pes 6.6).

When expressing a contrast, the verb of the antithesis is often introduced by the formula *וְהוּא שְׁנִשְׁבֵּר* 'but, nonetheless, he', for example

הֵיכָן שׁוֹרִי. אָמַר לוֹ, מֵת, וְהוּא שְׁנִשְׁבֵּר

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

IV *Phraseology*

10. אחד שדרכו ל- 'that which is the custom of', where דרך 'way' refers to something that occurs habitually; the formula as a whole is continued by an infinitive, for example

אחד שדרכו לישוף ישוף ומה שדרכו ליקבר יקבר

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).

11. שנאמר, literally 'which was said', a frequent way of introducing a quotation from Scripture to back up or exemplify a statement, usually rendered by 'as it is said'.

12. -ב... ושלא ב- 'with ... and without'. See above, §8, and Unit 26.10. A related expression is -בין ש-... ובין ש- 'whether ... or'. for example

בין שקורין בהן ... ובין שאין קורין בהן

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

V *Vocabulary*

או אינו אלא 'is it not rather?' (introducing an alternative interpretation)

אגד 'bind, unite, make a sheaf'

אף אילו (אף אילו) 'even if'

אע"פ (אע"פ) 'although'

בית 'house', often with special reference to the temple: בפני הַבַּיִת 'in the presence of the temple' (i.e. before its destruction)

בית דין 'tribunal'

גזירה 'decree, law'

הריני (i.e. הרי אֲנִי) 'here I am' (BH הֲנִי)

זז 'move, depart'

כָּלֵל 'totality, general rule, principle, or formula, generalization'

לָקַח 'receive strokes, be whipped'

מִשָּׂא 'transport', מִגַּע 'contact'; כָּלֵל מִגַּע/מִשָּׂא 'the general principle applying to contact/transport' (case-law terms relating to the transmission of impurity)

מֵאֵין (i.e. מֵאֵין) 'from where?' (often used in exegetical literature to find out the biblical source-text of a particular conclusion)

נָהַג 'guide, be in use, be applicable, be practised'

נשִׁיכָה 'bite'

נְשִׂיאוֹת כַּפַּיִם 'raising of hands' (in blessing)

קָבַע 'fix, establish, determine'

שוק 'market, town square'

תִּקַּן 'prepare, correct'

VI Exercises

1. צאו וראו איזוהי דרך ישנה שידבק בה האדם... צאו וראו איזוהי דרך רעה שיתרחק ממנה האדם.
2. רואה אני את דברי אלעזר בן ערף, שבכלל דבריו דבריכם.
3. והרי זהיר בגחלתן שלא תפודה, שנשיכתן נשיכת שועל.
4. ותחקן עצמך ללמוד תורה, שאינה ירושה לך.
5. מנין שאפילו אחד שישב ועוסק בתורה, שהקדוש ברוך הוא קובע לו שכר?
6. המגלה פנים בתורה שלא כהלכה, אף על פי שיש בידו תורה ומעשים טובים, אין לו חלק בעולם הבא.
7. אל תהי דן יחידי, שאין דן יחידי אלא אחד.
8. את שנודג בו משום (משם K) אלוה אסור, ואת שאינו נודג בו משום (משם K) אלוה מותר.
9. את שבא לכלל מגע בא לכלל משא, לא בא לכלל מגע לא בא לכלל משא.
10. בית הלל אומרים, את שדרךכו לאגוד בבית, אונדוין אותו בשוק.
11. שבועה שלא אכל, ואכל כל שהוא חיב.
12. אמרו לו לחוני המעגל, התפלל שירדו נשמים.
13. בית שמאי אומרים, בפניו, ובית הלל אומרים, בפניו ושלא בפניו. בית שמאי אומרים, בבית דין, ובית הלל אומרים, בבית דין ושלא בבית דין.
14. שתי יבמות, זו אומרת, מת בעלי, זו אומרת, מת בעלי, זו אסורה מפני בעלה של זו, זו אסורה מפני בעלה של זו. לזו עדים ולזו אין עדים, את שיש לה עדים אסורה, ואת שאין לה עדים מותרת. לזו בנינים ולזו אין בנינים, את שיש לה בנינים מותרת, ואת שאין לה בנינים אסורה.
15. כה תברך את בני ישראל (במדבר ו' כג), בנשיאות כפים. אתה אומר, בנשיאות כפים, או אינו אלא בנשיאות כפים ושלא בנשיאות כפים?
16. והזר הקרב יזמת (במדבר יח' ז), לעבודה. אתה אומר, לעבודה, או לעבודה ושלא לעבודה?
17. מה נחלה נודגת בפני הבית ושלא בפני הבית, אף מעשר ראשון נודג בפני הבית ושלא בפני הבית.
18. משלו משל, לעבד שהיה לכהן. אומר, אברח לי לבית הקברות, מקום שאין רבי יכול לבא אחרי. אומר לו רבו, יש לי עבדים כנענים כמותך. אומר יונה, אלך לי לחוצה לארץ, מקום שאין השכינה נגלית.
19. משל, למה הדבר דומה? לאחד שאמר לעבדו, צא והבא לי דג מן השוק. יצא והביא לו דג מן השוק מביאש. אומר לו בניורה, שתאכל את הדג או שתלקה מאה מכות או שתתן מאה מנה. אומר, הריני אוכל.
20. כשעלה האחרון שבישראל מן הים, ירד האחרון שבמצרים לחוכו.

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)

מזכירין יציאת מצרים בלילות. אומר רבי אלעזר בן עזריה, הרי אני כבן
 שבעים שנה ולא זכיתי שהאמר יציאת מצרים בלילות, עד שדרשה בן
 זומא שנאמר, למען תזכור את יום צאתך מארץ מצרים כל ימי חייך ודברים
 טו' ג'. ימי חייך, הימים, כל ימי חייך, הלילות. ונחכמים אומרים, ימי חייך,
 העולם הזה, כל ימי חייך, להביא לימות המשיח.

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’ (ר׳יבוי), 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, §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 קטילה, קטילה/קטיל, קטילה/קטיל, which express the verbal action of, respectively, the *Qal*, *Pi'el*, and *Hif'il* conjugations, and קטל, which is used to designate persons who work in particular fields or hold particular offices.

4. Nouns of type קטילה.

A. Nouns of this pattern are created with ease by RH and greatly outnumber instances of the same model found in the Bible—שריקות '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 גבירה in the sense of 'lordship' at 1 K 15.13.). However, in the Mishnah alone, the קטילה pattern has given rise to 130 nouns, such as אכילה 'eating', נשיקה 'bite', and שתיקה 'silence'. In the following example, נזירה and פרישה have been created by RH from the verbs נזר and פרש:

אין נזירה בכל מקום אלא פרישה

Abstinence always implies separation (SNm 23.3 [H 28]).

B. The קטילה pattern can be realized in a variety of ways, so that we find, for example, most commonly עבירה, then עבירה, and then עברה 'transgression', but גזירה, then גזירה, and then גזירה 'law, decree'.

C. In *lamed-yod* and *lamed-alef* verbs, קטילה takes the form exemplified by ברירה (plural בריות) 'creation, creature' (from the root ברא). The form קירייה 'reading, recitation', found at Abot 2.13 in K, is often modified to קראיה/קרייה (root קרא), perhaps to distinguish it clearly from קרייה 'village'. In *ayin-yod* and *ayin-waw* verbs, the קטילה pattern is illustrated by ביאה 'entrance' (root בא), קימה 'establishing' (root קום), בינה 'understanding' (root בין), and מיתה 'death' (root מו), which generally replaces its BH counterpart מות.

5. Nouns of type קטילה/קטיל.

A. Again, there are numerous examples of new nouns generated according to the קטילה pattern, expressing the verbal action of the *Pi'el*, or intensive, conjugation, as in כבוד אב ואם 'honouring father and mother' (Pea 1.1), חילול השם 'profaning the (divine) name' (Abot 4.4), מיעוט-ריבוי 'multiplication-diminution', דבור 'speaking', etc. Often, new formations replace older words, for example מצוה, which is used instead of מצוה 'commandment', as in ציווי זה אינו אלא לנו 'this commandment is only for us' (SDt 345 [F 402]), 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, §10).

B. The frequency of the קטילה variant, also found in BH, is clearly due to Aramaic influence. Examples include קבלה 'reception', בטילה 'annulment,

emptiness', and כְּתִיבָה 'intention'.

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 noun of the *Hitpa'el* הִתְוַדָּה 'confess' is the קַטְוֵל form וִידוּי 'confession'. On the other hand, the noun פָּרַח 'extermination', commonly found in the Mishnah, is simply a form of the *Nif'al* infinitive הִפְרַח (where the form with introductory ל- 'to', i.e. לְהִפְרַח 'to be exterminated', has undergone elision of *he*, giving לִפְרַח; after removal of the לִי-, now regarded as nothing more than the *lamed* of the infinitive, the nominal form פָּרַח is the result; see Segal 1927, §§116–17).

6. Nouns of type הַקְטֵלָה/הַקְטַל/הַקְטֵל.

A. Whereas the הַקְטֵלָה pattern, exemplified by הַבְדִּילָה 'separation' and הַפְסִיקָה 'interruption', is typical of Aramaic, הַקְטַל and הַקְטֵל, as in הַפְסֵד 'loss', הַיְקָשׁ 'comparison' (root קָשׁ), and הַיְכָר 'recognition' (root כָּר), are nominalized forms of the *Hif'il* infinitive.

B. From *lamed-yod* verbs are derived nouns exemplified by the word for 'instruction' (from the verb יָרָה: הוֹרָאָה in the Babylonian tradition, הוֹרָיָה in the Palestinian tradition). From *pe-yod* verbs come nouns like הוֹצָאָה 'extraction' (from יָצָא) and הוֹרְדָה 'descent' (from יָרַד). An example of a noun derived from an *ayin-waw* verb is הַבָּאָה 'bringing' (from בָּא).

7. Nouns of type קְטָל.

Many names of offices, professions, and verbal actions conform to this model, for example בָּקֵר 'cowhand', סָפֵן 'sailor', סַפֵּר 'barber', דִּין 'judge', חַיִּיב 'debtor', הַרְג 'murderer', and חַיֵּט 'tailor'. There is a striking concentration of such terms in Qid 4.14:

לֹא יִלְמַד אָדָם אֶת בְּנוֹ חֹמֶר, נֶמֶל, סֵפֶר, סָפֵן, רוּעָה וְחַנּוּנִי,
שְׂאֵמֻנְתָּן אֲמֻנַת לֹסְטִים

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 קְטֵל/קוּטֵל/קוּטֵלָה.

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

III Grammar and usage

9. The extraordinarily widespread use of the patterns קְטֵלָה, קְטֵל, and קְטֵלָה 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 בְּהִיוֹתָם בְּמִצְרַיִם '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 כִּשְׁ- 'when' followed by finite verb and eventually to the use of a noun as such. Using the verb יָצָא 'go out', the process may be schematically represented thus: וַיְהִי בִצְאוֹ 'and it was in his going out' > בִּצְאוֹ 'in his going out' > כִּשְׁיָצָא 'when he went out' > בְּיִצְאוֹ 'in his exit'. In this chain of events, Qumran occupies an intermediate 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, גְּזָרָה, '(action of) decreeing' came to mean the decree itself or the law decreed by it and, similarly, צִוּוּי '(action of) commanding' ended up by denoting the 'commandment' itself, יְשִׁבָּה '(act of) sitting' came to mean 'session', 'settlement', or the place or type of meeting, and חֲתִיכָה '(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 חֲתִיכָה a vestige of RH's attempt to form a special pattern, קְטִילָה, to express the result of an action.)

In some cases, semantic development went even further. For example, שְׂכִינָה, literally 'habitation' (which, although frequent in the *midrashim* and *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:

חַבִּיבִים הֵם יִשְׂרָאֵל שְׂאֵעִיפֵם שֶׁהֵם טְמֵאִים שְׂכִינָה בְּנִיהֵם

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, for example חֲלוּל-כְבוֹד 'honouring–profaning' and הֲלִיכָה 'walking'.

11. Clearly under Aramaic influence, nouns of the type קְטִילָה can be made to re-express basic verbal action by addition of the old feminine abstract suffix -ה, for example גְּמִילוּת חֶסֶדִים 'performing deeds of love' and גְּשִׂיאוֹת כַּפַּיִם 'raising of hands'.

IV Phraseology

12. אִסוּרֵן אִסוּר הַנְּאֻה '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.

13. הַפְסֵד עֲבֵרָה 'loss that comes from fulfilling a precept', הַפְסֵד מְצוּהָ כְּגֵנֵד שְׂכָרָה 'loss that results from transgression'. The expression הַפְסֵד מְצוּהָ כְּגֵנֵד שְׂכָרָה (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. בדבור אֶחָד 'with just one word', a formula that concerns the miraculous 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 האלה [שמות כ' א'], מלמד שאמר
המקום עשרת דברים בדיבור אחד, מה שאי אפשר לבשר ודם
ליומר כן ... מלמד שאמר הקב"ה עשרת הדברות 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) and SDt 233 (F 265).

15. מפני תקון העולם 'for the maintenance of the world, for the good order of the world', for example Git 4.6:

אין פודין את השבויים יותר על כדי דמיהן, מפני תקון העולם. ואין
מבריחין את השבויין, מפני תקון העולם

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

אין/אין (BH אין/אין) 'no(t)', used in front of words beginning with *alef*, e.g.

אי אפשר 'impossible'

אסור 'prohibition'

בטלה 'empty, null' (participle/adjective from the stative verb בטל)

גרר 'push, lead'

הלכה 'walk'

הנאה 'advantage, use, enjoyment, usufruct'

הפסד 'loss, disadvantage'

חשד 'suspect', חשד, 'suspected (of)'

חסך/חשך 'set apart, hold back'

גיעה 'weariness, work, effort'

לחשה 'hiss'

קצף 'sting'

סקרוב 'scorpion'

פנדקא (πανδοχείον) 'tavern, inn'

פרשת 'separation, withdrawal'

רביעה 'bestiality'
שפיכת דמים 'bloodshed', as in שפיכה 'spilling'

VI Exercises

1. הוּי מַתְלַמְדֵיזוּ שְׁלֹא־הָרֹן ... אָהַב אֶת הַבְּרִיּוֹת וּמְקַרְבָן לַתּוֹרָה.
2. לֹא מְצֵאתִי לְנוֹף טוֹב אֵלָּא שְׂחִיקָה.
3. וְהוּי מַחֲשֵׁב הַפֶּסֶד מְצִנָּה כְּנֶגֶד שְׂכָרָה וּשְׂכָר עֲבָרָה כְּנֶגֶד הַפֶּסֶדָה, וְהַסְתַּכַּל בְּשִׁלְשָׁה דְבָרִים, וְאִי אִתָּהּ כָּא לִידֵי עֲבָרָה.
4. יִפֶּה תַלְמוּד תּוֹרָה עִם דְּרָךְ אֶרֶץ, שִׁינִיעַת שְׁנֵיהֶם מִשְׂכַּחַת עֵוֹן. וְכָל תּוֹרָה שְׂאִין עִמָּה מְלֹאכָה, סוֹפָה בְּטִלְיָה וְגוֹרְרַת עֵוֹן.
5. מְרַבָּה יְשִׁיבָה, מְרַבָּה חֻכְמָה.
6. שׁוֹב יוֹם אֶחָד לִפְנֵי מִיתָתָךְ.
7. וְהוּי מִתְחַפֵּס כְּנֶגֶד אֲוָרֵן שֶׁלְחֻכְמִים, וְהוּי זֹהִיר בְּגַחְלָתוֹן שֶׁלֹּא תִכּוֹה, שְׁנֵי־שִׂכְתוֹן נְשִׁיכַת שְׁעָל, וְעַקְצָתוֹן עַקְצַת עַקְרָב, וְלַחֲשִׁתָּן לַחֲשַׁת שָׂרָף, וְכָל דְבָרֵיהֶם כְּגַחְלֵי אֵשׁ.
8. שְׁנֵי שִׁיטְשִׁבִין וְיֵשׁ בֵּינֵיהֶם דְּבָרֵי תּוֹרָה, שְׂכִינָה בֵּינֵיהֶם.
9. גְּדָרִים סִיג לְפָרִישׁוֹת, סִיג לְחֻכְמָה שְׂחִיקָה.
10. אִם אִין בֵּינָה, אִין דַּעַת, אִם אִין דַּעַת, אִין בֵּינָה.
11. מְצִנָּה גּוֹרְרַת מְצִנָּה וְעֲבָרָה גּוֹרְרַת עֲבָרָה, שְׂשִׁכָר מְצִנָּה מְצִנָּה וּשְׂכָר עֲבָרָה עֲבָרָה.
12. הַחוֹשֵׁף עֲצָמוֹ מִן הַדִּין, פּוֹרֵק מִפְּנֵי אֵיבָה.
13. אַרְבַּע מִדּוֹת בְּתַלְמִידִים, מַהֵר לְשִׁמּוֹעַ וּמַהֵר לְאַבֵּד, יֵצֵא שְׂכָרוֹ בְּהַפְסְדוֹ, קָשָׁה לְשִׁמּוֹעַ וְקָשָׁה לְאַבֵּד, יֵצֵא הַפְסְדוֹ בְּשְׂכָרוֹ, מַהֵר לְשִׁמּוֹעַ וְקָשָׁה לְאַבֵּד, חֻכֵּם, קָשָׁה לְשִׁמּוֹעַ וּמַהֵר לְאַבֵּד, זֶה חֶלְקֵי רַע.
14. אַרְבַּע מִדּוֹת בְּהוֹלְכֵי לְבֵית הַמִּדְרָשׁ, הוֹלֵךְ וְאִינוֹ עוֹשֶׂה, שְׂכָר הַלִּיקָה בִּידוֹ, עוֹשֶׂה וְאִינוֹ הוֹלֵךְ, שְׂכָר מַעֲשֶׂה בִּידוֹ, הוֹלֵךְ וְעוֹשֶׂה, חֹסֵד, לֹא הוֹלֵךְ וְלֹא עוֹשֶׂה, רָשָׁע.
15. כָּל מִיתָה שִׁישׁ בָּהּ שׂרְפָה יֵשׁ בָּהּ עֲבוּדָה זָרָה.
16. אִין מַעֲמִידִין בְּהִמָּה בְּפִנְיָ קְאוֹת שְׁלִגוּיִם, מִפְּנֵי שְׁחֻשׁוֹדִין עַל הַרְבִּיעָה ... וְלֹא יִתְיַחַד אָדָם עִמָּהֶן, מִפְּנֵי שְׁחֻשׁוֹדִין עַל שְׂפִיכַת דָּמִים.
17. אֵלֵי דְבָרִים שְׁלִגוּיִם אֲסוּרִין, וְאֲסוּרֵן אֲסוּר הַנָּאָה.
18. חֻזֵן פְּטוּר מִקְרִיאַת שְׁמַע בְּלִילָה הַרְאוּשׁוֹן עַד מוֹצְאֵי שְׁבֵת, אִם לֹא עָשָׂה מַעֲשֶׂה.
19. כִּשְׁהִיָּה הַרְבוּר יוֹצֵא מִפִּי הַקְדוּשׁ בְּרוּךְ הוּא, הִיָּה יוֹצֵא דְרָךְ יִמִּינוֹ שֶׁל הַקְדוּשׁ בְּרוּךְ הוּא לְשִׁמְאֵל יִשְׂרָאֵל.
20. וְאִין יְשִׁיבָה אֵלָּא אֹכִילָה וְשְׂחִיָּה.

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])

הכרת תכרת הנפש ההיא [במדבר טו ל"א], הכרת בעוה"ז, תכרת לעוה"ב,
 דברי ר' עקיבא. אמר לו ר' ישמעאל, לפי שהוא אומר, ונכרתה הנפש ההיא
 [במדבר טו ל], שומע אני שלש כריתות בשלשה עולמות. מה ת"ל, תכרת
 תכרת הנפש ההיא. דברה תורה כלשון 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 well—words 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 עולמות 'worlds' is found only here and at Uqṣ 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 אָם-אָב 'father-mother'). As a rule, in RH, 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 הַ-, which will usually convert masculine adjectives and, less often, nouns into feminine, for example צָרִיכָה/צָרִיךְ 'obliged', גְּדוּלָה/גָּדוֹל 'great', נְבִיאָה/נְבִיא 'prophet/prophets'.

C. Because of the הַ- ending, therefore, all nouns of type קִטְלָה, קִטְלָה, and הַקְטְלָה (see Unit 9) are feminine.

D. The ancient Semitic feminine suffix *-(at)* is retained in RH much more often than in BH, for example כַּהֲנָנִית 'priestess' (i.e. a female member of a priestly family). The *Nif'al* participle feminine is generally of the form נִקְטְלָה, not, as in BH, נִקְטְלָה; for example, from the verb קָרָא comes the common form נִקְרְאוּת 'called'. See further Units 16.6 and 19.2.

E. The use of הַ- for הַ- 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 תִּ- in adjectives and nouns, especially diminutives, for example טְלִית ' (prayer) shawl, mantle', אֲרָמִית 'Aramaic', כַּדִּיחִית 'little jug', and also הַתִּ-, in abstracts and in nouns expressing the action of a verb (see Unit 9), for example עֲשִׂירוֹת 'wealth' and פְּרִישׁוֹת 'separation'.

5. Masculine plural.

A. The masculine plural marker םִ- alternates with ךִּ-, 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 example שְׁלִיחַ 'emissary' (of type קְטִיל), שְׁלִיחִים 'emissaries' (of type קְטִיל) — in this instance, the alternation is really between noun and participle, although the presence in good manuscripts of a *Qal* passive participle in קִטְלוּ, '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 צָד 'side', pluralized as צָדִים in BH but צְדָדִים in RH. (However the form שְׁוֹרִים as the plural of שׁוֹר '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 in the plural, for example חֲטָיִם 'wheat' (חֲטָיִם) and שְׂעָרָה 'barley' (שְׂעָרִים).

6. Feminine plural.

A. The standard marker of the feminine plural is -ות, as in BH.

B. However, nouns ending in -ות, which in BH would take a plural in -וֹת (e.g. מְלָכּוֹת 'kingdom', מְלָכּוֹת 'kingdoms'), take -וֹת in manuscripts reflecting the Palestinian tradition of RH (thus, מְלָכּוֹת). There is a considerable increase in nouns of this kind in RH, for example נְזִירָה (plural נְזִירוֹת) ' (vow of) Naziritehood' (Naz 3.2). Manuscripts belonging to the Babylonian tradition of RH conserve the equally Palestinian form of the plural in נְזִירוֹת- (see Introduction, §10.3).

C. Under the influence of the numerous Greek and Latin words that came into common usage, the ending -וֹת or -וֹת was introduced, not only for Hebraized loanwords but also, by analogy, for native words, for example מִקְוֵה (plural מִקְוֵאוֹת) 'ritual bath' (see Unit 12.5B–C).

D. For אִם 'mother', the plurals אִמּוֹת and אִמָּהוֹת are attested. As in BH, the plural of אחות 'sister' is אחיות.

E. Many masculine nouns take the feminine suffix in the plural, for example מִקְרָא 'reading' (plural מִקְרָאוֹת 'comments'), תִּינוֹק 'infant' (plural תִּינוֹקוֹת).

To this group belong the numerous nominalized infinitives of type הַקְטָל/הַקְטֵל (see Unit 9.3, 6), which form their plural in -וֹת, according to the feminine pattern הַקְטֵלָה, for example הַקְדָּשׁ 'consecrated property' (plural הַקְדָּשׁוֹת). The same is true of כְּרָת 'extermination', the nominalized *Nif'al* infinitive הַכְרָת (הַכְרָתוֹת), which in the plural becomes כְּרִיתוֹת, as though from a singular form כְּרִיתָה.

7. The dual retains the same morphological marker that it has in BH: ׀.

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:

כַּף feminine 'palm (of hand)', 'scale (for weights)', masculine 'spoon';

סֶלֶע feminine 'rock', masculine 'coin';

רַגְלִי feminine 'foot' (dual רַגְלַי 'feet'), masculine 'pilgrim festival' (plural רַגְלִים).

Sometimes, the gender change is due solely to Aramaic influence, as with כּוּס 'cup', which is feminine in BH (Lm 4.21) but masculine in RH (for example כּוּס ראשון 'first cup' at Pes 10.2 and כּוּסוֹת מְשׁוּבְחִין 'exquisite cups' at TosSot 3.4), despite maintaining the plural in -וֹת (see also Pes 10.1).

10. When a noun develops masculine and feminine forms, these usually mean something subtly different, for example:

גַּן 'garden', גִּנְיָה/גִּנְיָה 'vegetable garden';
 דִּיר 'shed (for animals or logs)'; דִּירָה 'dwelling place (of humans)';
 חוּב 'debt, offence'; חוּבָה 'obligation';
 חוּל 'sand'; חוּלָה 'sand dune';
 חֶרֶב 'sword'; חֶרֶבָה 'knife'.

11. The development of two plural forms, one masculine, the other feminine, implies the addition of a special extended meaning, for example:

יּוֹם 'day', יָמִים 'days', יְמוֹת, 'epoch' (always in the construct), a collective sense employed in such phrases as בְּיְמוֹת הַמָּשִׁיחַ 'in the messianic age' or יְמוֹת הַגְּשָׁמִים-יְמוֹת הַחֶזֶק 'dry season-rainy season' (here we have once again an archaic form that has reappeared in RH—it occurs at Dt 32.7 alongside שָׁנוֹת);

שָׁנָה 'year', שָׁנִים 'years', שָׁנוֹת, 'age, era' (collective);

קֶבֶר 'grave', קְבָרִים 'graves', קְבָרוֹת, 'graveyard';

רַב 'much', רַבִּים 'many', רַבּוֹת, 'teachers' (always with pronominal suffix);

תְּפִלָּה 'prayer', תְּפִלוֹת, 'prayers', תְּפִלָּוִת, 'phylacteries';

עוֹלָמִים/עוֹלָם 'world, eternity', עוֹלָמוֹת, 'hypothetical worlds', a difference analogous to that of אֱלֹהִים 'God', אֱלֹהוֹת, 'gods' (note also the tone of exaggeration conveyed by the use of the rare plural יְיִוֹת, from יַיִן 'wine', at TosSot 3.4:

הִיא הִשְׁקֵתוֹ יְיִוֹת מְשׁוּבְחִין בְּכוּסוֹת מְשׁוּבְחִין

She [the adulteress] gave him exquisite wines to drink from exquisite cups);

מִדְּרָשׁ 'midrash, study', מִדְּרָשִׁים, 'midrashic texts' (although this is a mediaeval formation), מִדְּרָשׁוֹת, '(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 anything found in pairs, for example קָבִים 'two kabs' or כּוֹרִים 'two cors'. RH also preserves dual forms, such as גְּבִים 'backs' (singular גֵּב) and קָרְבִים 'intestines' (singular קָרֵב), which are only attested in the Bible in construct or with suffixes.

IV *Phraseology*

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

לֹא רָאָה שְׂמֵחָה מִיָּמַי

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

אִיזוֹ הִיא בְּתוּלָה? כָּל־שָׁלֹא רָאָתָה דָם מִיָּמֶיךָ, אָף עַל פִּי שֶׁנִּשְׂוֵאתָ

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

מִיָּמֵיהֶם שֶׁלֹּכְהָנִים לֹא נִמְנְעוּ

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

רְאִיתָ מִיָּמֶיךָ חַיָּה וְעוֹף שֵׁשׁ לָהֶם אֲמֹנֹת

Have you ever seen an animal or a bird that had a profession? (Qid 4.14).

14. דֶּרֶךְ הַרְבִּים–דֶּרֶךְ 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. רַגְלִים לְדָבָר, 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

רַבִּי נְחֵמְיָה אָמַר, פָּטוּר, שֶׁרַגְלִים לְדָבָר

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*

בוֹר 'uncultivated land'

לְעוֹלָם הַבָּא 'in this world' and לְעוֹלָם הַהֵיכָל, abbreviations of לְעוֹלָם הַבָּא, לְעוֹלָם הַהֵיכָל, 'in the future world'

הַזִּיק (hi. of נִזַּק) 'cause harm'

זָכָה ב־ 'take possession of, acquire the right to'

זְכוּת 'benevolence'

כָּרְאוּי 'as' plus רָאָה 'see') 'aptly, as it should be'

כָּחַשׁ 'strike' (in htp. 'fight')

מְגִלָּה 'scroll'; used specifically as a designation for the book of Esther

מִיָּד 'from' plus יָד 'hand') 'immediately'

מַלְכוּת (plural of מַלְכוּת) 'kingdoms', also in reference to biblical verses on the kingdom of God recited on new year's day (see RS 4.5, where זְכוּרֹת and זְכוּרֹת refer to verses about, respectively, memorials and

sounding of the ram's horn)

-מִשֶׁ- 'which' plus -מִן 'from' מִשֶׁ-

עָנָה 'postpone, delay'

עֲצָרָה 'conclusion', as a term for the Festival of Weeks (Pentecost)

פֶּאֵה '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); להִפְסִיק לַפֶּאֵה 'to interrupt for the corner' refers to the demarcation of fields in order to achieve for the poor as many corners as there are fields (see Pea 2.1).

פְּסוּלָה 'refuse, unsellable stock, unfit item'

שְׁבִיל 'path'

שְׁלוּלִית 'channel, pool'

שְׁתִּיבָה 'foundation, basis'

תְּרַקַב (קַב תְּרֵי) 'two kabs', a dry measure

VI Exercises

1. יהושע בן פרחיה אומר, עשה לך רב, וקנה לך חבר, והיו דין את כל האדם לכף זכות.
2. אם יהיו כל חכמי ישראל בכף מאזנים, ואליעזר בן הרקנוס בכף שניה, מכריע את כלם.
3. כמה היא בעיר ויהא כאנשי העיר? שנים עשר חדש. קנה בה בית דירה, הרי הוא כאנשי העיר מיד.
4. וחכמים אומרים, ימי חייך ודברים טובים, העולם הזה, כל ימי חייך [שם], להביא לימות המשיח.
5. הכונס צאן לדיר תעל בפניה כראוי, ויצאה והזיקה, פטור.
6. אמר רבי תנחום סגן הכהנים, מימי לא ראיתי עור יוצא לבית השרפה.
7. העיד רבי יהושע על עצמות שנמצאו בדיר העצים.
8. מגלה נקראת באחד עשר ... פרכין המקפין חומה מימות יהושע בן נון, קורין בחמשה עשר.
9. רבי אליעזר אומר, משתרב בית המקדש, עצרת כשבת. רבן גמליאל אומר, ראש השנה ויום הכפורים כרגלים. וחכמים אומרים, לא כדברי זה ולא כדברי זה, אלא עצרת כרגלים, ראש השנה ויום הכפורים כשבת.
10. ואלו מפסיקין לפאה, הנחל, והשלוּלית, ודרך הנחיד, ודרך הרבים, ושביל הרבים, ושביל הנחיד הקבוע בימות החמה ובימות הגשמים, והבור, והנדר, ודרך אחר.
11. אם באים אנו לדון אחר בית דינו של רבן גמליאל צריכין אנו לדון אחר כל בית דין שבית דין שעמד מימות משה ועד עכשיו.
12. אין ממיתין אותו לא בבית דין שבעידו ולא בבית דין שביבנה, אלא מעלין אותו לבית דין הגדול שבירושלים, ומשפירין אותו עד הרגל ... אין מענין דינו של זה, אלא ממיתין אותו מיד, וכותבין ושולחים שלוחים בכל המקומות, איש פלוני בן פלוני נחתיב מיתה בבית דין.

13. מי שזָקָה בְּקִטְרֵת הָיָה נוֹשֵׁל אֶת הַכֶּפֶת, וְהַכֶּף דּוֹמָה לְחֶרֶב גְּדוֹל שְׁלֹזָב.
 14. עֵתִיד הַקְּדוֹשׁ בְּרִיךְ הוּא לְהַנְחִיל לְכָל צְדִיק וְצְדִיק שֶׁלֹּשׁ מֵאוֹת וְעֶשְׂרֵה עוֹלָמוֹת.
 15. מִשְׁנַטֵּל הָאָרוֹן, אָבֵן הָיְתָה שָׁם מִיָּמֹת הַנְּבִיאִים הָרִאשׁוֹנִים, וְשֵׁתִיָּה הָיְתָה נִקְרָאת.
 16. מֵה רָאוּ חֲכָמִים לומר, מַלְכוּת תְּחִילָה וְאַחַר כֵּךְ זְכוּרָנוֹת וְשׁוֹפְרוֹת?
 17. מִיָּמֵיהֶם לֹא עָשׂוּ שְׁלוֹם זֶה עִם זֶה... , וְכִשְׁבָּאוּ לְהִלָּחֵם עִם יִשְׂרָאֵל עָשׂוּ שְׁלוֹם זֶה עִם זֶה וְנִלְחָמוּ עִם יִשְׂרָאֵל.
 18. אִם פְּסוּלָת עֲרֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל אַרְבַּע מַלְכוּיֹת מִתְכַּתְּשׁוֹת עֲלֶיהָ, קָל וְחֹמֵר לִשְׁבַחָהּ שֶׁל אֶרֶץ יִשְׂרָאֵל.
 19. אַרְבַּע מַלְכוּיֹת מוֹשְׁלוֹת בָּהֶם בְּיִשְׂרָאֵל וְאִין בָּהֶם חֲכָם וְאִין בָּהֶם נְבוֹן.
 20. אֵלֹהֵי שְׁלֹשָׁה דְרוֹת שֶׁלִּפְנֵי יְמוֹת הַמְּשִׁיחַ.

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 (F 363).

UNIT ELEVEN

ABSOLUTE AND CONSTRUCT

I *Introductory text* (Abot 6.2)

וְהַלַּחַת מַעֲשֵׂה אֱלֹהִים הִמָּה וְהַמְּכַתֵּב מִכְּתַב אֱלֹהִים הוּא חֲרוּת עַל הַלַּחַת
 וְשִׁמוֹת לִב' טו'. אֵל תִּקְרָא חֲרוּת, אֵלָּא חֲרוּת, שְׂאִין לֶךְ בֵּן חֲרִין אֵלָּא מִי
 שְׁעוֹסֵק בְּתַלְמוּד תּוֹרָה. וְכָל מִי שְׁעוֹסֵק בְּתוֹרָה תְּדִיר, הָרִי זֶה מִתְעַלֶּה.

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 חֲרוּת 'engraved' but חֲרוּת 'liberty', for you can find no free person who does not occupy himself 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: יֵשׁ שִׁבְעִים פְּנִים לַמִּקְרָא 'there are seventy faces to Scripture' [Numbers Rabbah 13.15–16]), the exegetical schools turned to different procedures or 'rules' (מְדוּת), one of which was that of אֵל תִּקְרָא '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 well-attested 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 *תְּבִטָּה* 'supported' and the second *נִפְתָּר* '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 *סְמִיכּוּת* '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*, *נִפְתָּר*) the 'determinant' and the first element (construct, *regens*, *תְּבִטָּה*) 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 *־ים* to *־י*, and of the feminine singular marker *־ה* to *־ה־*. 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 *כְּבוֹד אָב וְאִם*, which refers to the honour due to parents (as against *כְּבוֹד אִם* 'honour of mother' and *כְּבוֹד אָב* '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:

מֵת מִצְוָה '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;

הֶפְסֵד מִצְוָה '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';

טָבֵל יוֹם is the person who on a given day has been purified through ritual immersion;

חַטָּאת הַיָּבִי חַטָּאות are those who are obliged to present an offering for sin;

בְּאֵי הָאָרֶץ are those who have come *to* the land of Israel and

עוֹלֵי בָבֶל are not those that went up to Babylonia but the immigrants who came to Israel *from* Babylonia (see SDt 8 [F 16]).

Compare יוֹרְדֵי כּוֹר 'those who go down to the grave' (Is 38.18) and יוֹרְדֵי עָפָר 'those who go down to the dust' (Ps 22.30).

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

נִשְׂאָ אָדָם אֶת־אִשׁוֹ וּמִפְתָּח אָבִיו, אֶת־אִשׁוֹ בְּנוֹ וּמִפְתָּח בְּנוֹ

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 בְּאֵי הָאָרֶץ and עוֹלֵי בָבֶל, mentioned above, as well as, for example, עוֹבְדֵי עֲבוֹדָה זָרָה 'adorers of idols' alongside עוֹבְדֵי אֱתָעָה עִ"ז 'adoring the idols'.

D. Determinative relationships with בֶּן 'son' and בֶּעַל 'lord' specify a type of subject (not necessarily a person), for example בעַל הַשׁוֹבֵב 'convert, penitent', בעַל מוֹם 'defective (one)', בעַל בָּשָׂר 'fleshy one' (Shab 19.6, in reference to an incorrectly performed circumcision), בעַל חוֹב 'creditor', בעַל קֵרִי 'one who has had an involuntary ejaculation', בֶּן־חֵרִין 'free (person)', and בֶּן עִיר 'citizen'.

בֶּן and בַּת are often used to form diminutives; for example, in BB 7.4 a distinction is made between a חֲרִיץ, a ditch of six handbreadths, and a בֶּן־חֲרִיץ, a ditch of half that size.

5. As in BH, the general rule is that with plurals only the determined noun takes the plural marker, as with בְּנֵי־אָדָם 'people', בְּעַלֵי תְּשׁוּבָה 'penitents', etc.

However, in RH it is also common that both nouns, determined and determinant, are made plural, for example בְּעַלֵי בָתִּים 'landlords, householders', בְּתֵי מִדְרָשׁוֹת 'houses of study', and בְּעַלֵי מוֹמִים '(priests) who have physical defects' (SLv 1.5 [W 6b]). This phenomenon is seen already in LBH: אֲנָשֵׁי שְׂמֹרֹת 'famous people' (1 C 12.31), עֲצֵי אֲרָזִים 'cedar planks' (1 C 14.1), and חֲרָשֵׁי עֲצִים 'carpenters' (1 C 14.1).

With בַּיִת '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:

הקמחים והסלתות שלבית השוקים טמאין

Every kind of meal and flour that are in the markets is impure (Makhsh 6.2).

6. For the use of של 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 של ('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: בִּינִי, בֵּינֵן, לפני, אחרי, תחת, לפני-ש, אחרי-ש, and עד-ש may be seen as no more than prepositions in the construct state determined by a clause beginning with -ש.

In RH, there are also new conjunctions, including כִּי-ש 'so that' (< 'as worthy to' < 'as sufficient for'; see Unit 30.8) and בְּהוֹקֵת-ש 'on the assumption that', in the sequences בְּהוֹקֵת שְׁהוּא קַיִם and בְּהוֹקֵת שֶׁהוּן קַיִמִין 'on the assumption that he is/they are alive' at Git 3.3, 7–8, which has developed out of the common non-conjunctive structure found in a phrase such as בְּהוֹקֵת טְהוּרָה 'with a presumption of purity' (Nid 2.4).

IV Phraseology

8. בֶּן-אָדָם 'son of humankind', בְּנֵי-אָדָם 'sons of humankind', the plural 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

דְּבַרָּה תוֹרָה בְּלִשׁוֹן בְּנֵי-אָדָם

The Torah spoke according to human language (SNm 112.4 [H 121]; see also SLv 20.2 in the exercises to this unit)

and

וְהָיוּ מַלְאכֵי הַשְּׂרָתָה תְּמַהִין לוֹמְרִי, בְּנֵי אָדָם עוֹבְדֵי עֲבוּדָה זָרָה מֵהַלְכִין בִּיבְשָׁה בְּתוֹךְ הַיָּם

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, בֶּן-אָדָם is hardly used at all: it never appears in 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 **בְּן־אָדָם** is employed. In those two texts, the meaning is generic or indefinite, ‘one, someone, people’:

לא תאמץ את לבבך [דברים טו' ו'], יש בן אדם שמצטער
אם יתן אם לא יתן

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]);

ולא תקפוצו את ידך [דברים טו' ו'], יש בן אדם שפוסט את ידו
וחוזר 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 אנו צריכין שיבא אדם אצלנו

(where the singular is expressed by **אָדָם** and not **בְּן־אָדָם**).

The contrast with the extensive use of $\text{ὁ ἄνθρωπος τοῦ αἵματος}$ 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, **דְּבַר**, of Y. and the prophets (see Pes 114a and BM 59b, and, in the exercises, Abot 6.2, Yeb 16.6, Mek 18.27, and SDt 357).

10. **דְּרֵךְ בְּנֵי־אָדָם** ‘the habitual behaviour of human beings’,
כְּדֵרֵךְ בְּנֵי־אָדָם ‘as is the custom’:

מי שיש לו גנה לפניו מנחתו של חברו, נכנס בשעה שדרך בני אדם
ונכנסים, ויוצא בשעה שדרך בני אדם יוצאים

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

אָרִיכוֹת ‘prolongation’, **אָרִיכוֹת יָמִים** ‘longevity’

גְּנִיָּה ‘safekeeping, store room’

דִּלְקָה ‘fire, conflagration’

דָּרַס ‘rape’

הוֹאִילֵן ‘because’

הַשְׁמָטָה ‘cancellation’

הַכְרִיז ‘announce, proclaim’

הרהר 'meditate, think'

השיא (hi. of נשא) 'give in marriage'

מפורש (pu. participle of פרש) 'explained, explicit'

נזף 'reprove, excommunicate', נזוף 'reprobate'

עלבון 'arrogance, insult, humiliation'

עשה ... כ- 'rank alongside, consider equal to'

קרי 'accident', as euphemism for involuntary ejaculation

ראיה 'proof, evidence'

VI Exercises

1. חיה רעה באה לעולם, על שבועת שוא ועל חלול השם. גלות בא לעולם, על עובדי עבודה זרה, ועל גלוי עריות, ועל שפיכת דמים, ועל השמטת הארץ.
2. אמר רבי יהושע בן לוי, בכל יום ויום בת קול יוצאת מהר חודב ומכרות ואומרת, אוי להם לבריות מעלבונה שלהורה. שכל מי שאינו עוסק בתורה נקרא נזוף.
3. מי שיש לו בור לפני מביתו שלחברו, נכנס בשעה שדרך בני אדם נכנסין, ויוצא בשעה שדרך בני אדם יוצאין.
4. בעל קרי מהרהר בלבו ואינו מברך.
5. אם היה בעל תשובה, לא יאמר לו, זכר מה היו מעשיך הראשונים. ואם היה בן גרים, לא יאמר לו, זכר מה היו מעשה אבותיך.
6. ורבי יהושע אומר, לא מפיה אנו חיינן. אלא הרי זו בחזקת דרוסת איש, עד שתביא ראיה לדבריה.
7. אמר רבי יהודה, בראשונה היו שולחין אצל בעלי בתים שבמדינות, מהרו והתקינו את פרותיהם.
8. כל הנשים בחזקת טהרה לבעליהן. הפאין מן הדרך, גשיהן להן בחזקת טהרה.
9. שחטו ונמצא בעל מום, חייב.
10. כל פתחי הקדש מצילין אותן מפני הדלקה, בין שקורין בהן ובין שאין קורין בהן. ואף על פי שפתחים בכל לשון, טענים גניזה. ומפני מה אין קורין בהם? מפני בטול בית המדרש.
11. מעידין לאור הנר ולאור הלבנה. ומשאין על פי בת קול. מעשה באחד שעמד על ראש ההר ואמר, איש פלוני בן פלוני מקום פלוני מת, הלכו ולא מצאו שם אדם, והשיאו את אשתו. ושוב מעשה בצלמון באחד שאמר, אני, איש פלוני בן איש פלוני, נשכני נחש, והרי אני מת והלכו ולא הכירוהו, והשיאו את אשתו.
12. מעשה באחד שאמר, קרבן מבני שותה מים היום. ויצאה בת קול מבית קדשי הקדשים ואמרה, מי שקיבל את קרבנותיהם במדבר, הוא יקבל את קרבנותיהם בשעה הזאת.
13. לא תעשו לכם (שמות כ' כג). שלא תאמר, הואיל ותנה תורה רשות לעשות (כרובים) בבית המקדש, הרי אני עושה בבתי כנסיות ובבתי מדרשות. ח"ל, לא תעשו לכם.
14. רבי יוסי אומר, דברה תורה כלשון בני אדם בלשונות הרבה וכולם

- צריכין להירדש.
15. מיין ושכר זייר חומץ יין וחומץ שכר לא ישחו [במדבר ו' ג'], לעשות יין מצוה כ"ין רשות.
16. קדוש יהיה [במדבר ו' ה'], זו קדושת שער, אהה אומר, זו קדושת שער, או אינו אלא קדושת הגוף?
17. על נפש מת לא יבוא [במדבר ו' ו'], שומע אני נפשות בהמה במשמע.
- ת"ל, לאביו ולאמו [במדבר ו' ז'], במה ענין מדבר? בנפשות אדם
18. לאביו ולאמו אינו מטמא, אלא מטמא הוא למת מצוה.
19. ובדבר הזה תאריכו ימים [דברים לב' מז'], זה אחד מן הדברים שעושה אותם אוכל פירותיהם בעולם הזה ואריכות ימים לעולם הבא. ומפורש כאן, בתלמוד תורה. בכבוד אב ואם מניין? תלמוד לומר, כבוד את אביך ואת אמך ... [שמות כ' יב].
20. רבי אליעזר אומר, בת קל יוצאת מתוך המחנה שנים עשר מיל על שנים עשר מיל והיתה מכרזת ואומרת, מת משה.

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 לפניו. ובאו לסטים לשבוחו, נטלו מלפניו ונתנו לאחוריו. בא זאב לטרפו, נטלו מאחוריו ונתנו לפניו. ליסטים מלפניו וזאב מאחוריו, נטלו ונתנו על כתפיו, שנאמר, ובמדבר אשר ראית אשר נשאך י' אלהיך כאשר ישא איש את בנו [דברים א' 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 (שׂוֹן): 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 'curriculum', 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 patterns, for example טוֹלָא (στολή) 'clothes', פֶּרְלָא (μαργαρίτης) 'pearl', and סְטָרָא (ξένος) 'stranger, hostel'.

B. Others are simply given a rough phonetic transcription, which displays little standardization, for example יַמֵּינָא (ώκεανός) 'ocean' or פְּלֵי (πόλεις) '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 קַנִּיף (σμίλη) 'knife', or the use of *sade* to represent *sigma* within a word, for example פְּרִצְוֵן (πρόσωπον) 'face, front'. It is noticeable 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 שָׁל are preferred to construct chains. However, by the time of the *amoraim*, we have the striking case of ὄχλος 'crowd' used in a construct plural form:

שְׂמַא כְּשֶׁהִיָּת יוֹשֵׁב וְדוֹרֵשׁ בְּהַר הַבַּיִת וְהָיוּ כָל אוֹכְלוֹסֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל
יוֹשְׁבֵינָא לְפָנֶיךָ

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 םִ- and תֵּ-, although if a word ends in םִ, or הֵ, the suffix is normally אֵוֹת, rather than תֵּ-, for example טַבְּלָא (Latin *tabula*) 'tablet, table', טַבְּלָאוֹת, (not טַבְּלוֹת).

C. This termination became a distinctive feature of foreign words and is commonly found in plurals of Greek words ending in -η and transcribed as ךֵּ-, for example דִּיִּתְקִי (διαθήκη) 'covenant', דִּיִּתְקִאוֹת.

This success of the אֵוֹת, ending on foreign words was due in part to its similarity to the characteristic -α and -ae terminations of first declension Greek and Latin nouns. Under the influence of these items, other native Hebrew 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:

אֲנִיִּקְסָר (ἀντίκαισαρ) 'pro-Caesar, pro-consul' (82.2 [H 78]);

הַפְּרִכְיָא (ἐπαρχία) 'prefecture' (131.1 [H 170]);

דִּנָּר (denarius) 'denarius' (131.1 [H 169]);

טְרִיקְלִין (triclinium) 'refectory' (134.5 [H 180]);

סַנְדָּל (σανδάλιον) 'sandal' (115.5 [H 127]);

סַפְּקִלָּטוֹר (speculator) 'inspector, executioner' (91.2 [H 91]);

עֲרִכְיָין (ἀρχεῖον) 'archives, register' (117.1 [H 135]);

פִּידּוּג (παιδαγωγός) 'tutor' (87.2 [H 87]; 105.1 [H 103]);

פּוֹלִימָרְכוֹס (πολύμαρχος) 'general' (131.1 [H 170]);

פְּרִימִפִּילוֹן (primipilus) 'chief centurion' (131.1 [H 169]);

פלטרין (πραιτώριον) 'praetorium, praetor's residence' (134.5 [H 180]), sometimes also mistakenly used instead of פלטין (palatium) 'palace';

קישון (κοιτών) 'bedroom' (134.5 [H 180]);

קישרון (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):

A. The judge יודיקי [iudex] or the chief judge ארכיודיקי [ἀρχיiudex], sitting on the podium בִּימָה [βῆμα], questioned the defendant who was standing on a small platform גִּרְדוֹן [gradus]. Having heard the prosecutor קטִּיגוֹר [κατήγορ] and the defense attorney פֶּרְקִלִּיט [παράκλητος], they either discharged the defendant by giving him דִּמִּסְיוֹ [dimissio] or convicted him by giving him אֲפֹפִסִּיס [ἀπόφασις] and turned him over to the executioner סְפִקְלָטוֹר [speculator].

B. A stranger אֲכֶסְרִי [ξένος] who travels the ocean אֲוִקֵּאָנוֹס [ὠκεανός] in a ship ליבּוּרְנִי [liburnius] trusted that his skipper קֶבֶרְנִיט [κυβερνήτης] would be able to avoid the pirates' פִּירָאטִין [πειρατής] ships and arrive safely in port לִמֵּן [λίμην]. From there he travelled sitting in the [carriage] קָרוֹן [carrus] of the highway אֲסֵרְטָרָה [strata] which was guarded by the watch-towers בּוּרְגִי [πύργος/burgi]. When he arrived at the metropolis מֵטְרוֹפּוֹלִין [μετρόπολις] he had to enter it through the city gates פִּילִי [πύλαι]. If the stranger was an important personality, e.g., the Caesar קֵיסָר, the inhabitants would greet him with shouts of קָלוֹס [καλῶς]. He might arrive at the city square פִּלַּטֵּיָה [πλατεία] and enter a building through the פֶּרוֹזִדוֹר [πρόθυρον] and sit down in the inner room טְרִיקְלִין [triclinium] on a ... chair קַתֶּרֶה [καθέδρα].

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 בַּסֵּס 'base' (from βάσις 'base'), וּגַג 'couple' (from וּגַג/ζεύγος 'yoke'), קָטִיגוֹר (κατηγορέω) 'accuse' (from קטִּיגוֹר [κατήγορος] 'prosecutor', with metathesis), and לִסְטֵס 'attack, assault' (from ληστής '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. פִּפֵּה אֵיטָרָה (καλῶς εἶπας) 'you have spoken well', a typically Greek turn of phrase; see Naz 7.4 (also Mek 12.31; 18.15; 19.24; SLv 13.3, etc.):

וכשבאתי והרציתי את הדברים לפני רבי יהושע, אמר לי, יפה אמרת

When I came and explained these things before Rabbi Joshua, he

said to me, You have spoken very well.

11. כֹּהֵן הַרְדוּל 'the normal, or regular, priest' as against the כֹּהֵן הַגָּדוֹל 'high priest'; הַרְדוּל is a Hebraized form of ἰδιώτης, in the sense of a private individual or ordinary citizen rather than one who is a נְשִׂיא or a נְבִיא, etc.

V Vocabulary

אֶפִּיטְרוֹפּוֹס (ἐπίτροπος) 'administrator, person responsible for something, representative'

אֶפִּירִיּוֹן 'canopy'

אָרוֹס literally, 'betrothal', the name of a musical instrument used at weddings

הִשָּׁש 'take into consideration'

כִּיֵּן שֵׁ 'as soon as'

לִסְטָס (ληστής; plural לִסְטִים) 'bandit, highwayman'

מִזְג 'mix, pour wine'

מִכָּאן וְאִילָךְ 'from here onwards'

מִצָּר (hi. participle of צָרַר) 'distressed, oppressed'

סְנִיגוֹר (συνήγορος) 'lawyer for the defence'

סְנִיגוֹרִיא (συνηγορία) 'defence'

פְּלֵמוֹס (πόλεμος) 'war'

פְּמִלִּיא (Latin familia) 'household'

פְּרִנְסָה 'sustenance, provisions'

צִלַּב 'crucify'

קִיטוֹן (κύαθος, κώθων) 'jug'

קִיטוֹן (κοιτών) 'bedroom'

VI Exercises

1. רבי אליעזר אומר, העושה מצנה אחת, קונה לו פרקליט אחד, והעובר עברה אחת, קונה לו קטיגור אחד.
2. רבי יעקב אומר, העולם הזה דומה לפרוזדור בפני העולם הבא. התקן עצמך בפרוזדור, כדי שתכנס לטרקלין [לישרי קלין K].
3. רבן שמעון בן גמליאל אומר, שני אכסניאין אוכלין על שלחן אחד, זה בשר, וזה גבינה, ואינן חוששין.
4. לא ילמד אדם את בנו חמר, גפן, ספר, ספן, רועה, וחנני, שאמנותן אמנות לסטים.
5. שלשה מלכים וארבעה הדייטות אין להם חלק לעולם הבא. שלשה מלכים ירבעם, אחאב ומנשה ... ארבעה הדייטות, בלעם, ודואג, ואחיהפל, וגחזי.
6. בפלמוס שלא ספסנוס גזרו על עטרות חתנים, ועל הארוס. בפלמוס שלטיטוס גזרו על עטרות כלות, ושלא ילמד אדם את בנו יניית. בפלמוס האחרון גזרו שלא תצא הפלה באפריון בתוך העיר.
7. משלו משל, למה הדבר דומה? לעבד שבא למזוג כוס לרבו ושפך לו הקיתון על פניו.
8. בא לו כהן גדול לקרות. אם רצה לקרות בבגדי בויג, קורא, ואם לא,

- קורא באַנטלית לבן משלו.
9. והיו מתחננין לספקלטור, זה אומר לו, אני כהן בן כהן גדול, הרגני תחלה ואל אראה במיתת חבירי, זה אומר לו, אני נשיא בן נשיא, הרגני תחלה ואל אראה במיתת חבירי.
10. שהצדקה וגמילות חסדים שלום גדול ופרקליט גדול בין ישראל לאביהם שבשמים.
11. משל, למה הדבר דומה? ללסטים שנכנסו לפלטיין של מלך, בזוז נכסיו והרגו פמליא של מלך והחריבו פלטרין של מלך. לאחר זמן ישב עליהן המלך בדין, חפש מהם, הרג מהם, צלב מהם וישב בפלטיין שלו. ואחר כך נזודעה מלכותו בעולם.
12. וארון ברית נוסע לפנייהם במדבר לגן, ... משל, לאנטיקיסר שהיה מקדים לפני חיילותיו מחקן להם מקום שישרו. כך היתה השכינה מקדמת לישראל ומתקנת להם מקום שישרו.
13. משל, למה הדבר דומה? למלך בשר ודם שגזר על בנו שלא יכנס לפתח פלטרין שלו. נכנס לשער והוא אחריו, לחצר והוא אחריו, לטרקלין והוא אחריו, כיון שבא ליכנס לקישון אמר לו, בני, מכאן ואילך אתה אסור.
14. משל, למלך שהיו לו נכסים הרבה והיה לו בן קטן, והיה צריך לצאת למדינת הים. אמר, אם אני מניח נכסי ביד בני הוא עומד ומבזבז, אלא הריני ממנה לו אפיטרופס עד שיגדל. משהגדיל הבן ההוא אמר לו לאפיטרופס, תן לי כסף וזהב שהניח לי אבא בידך. עמד ונתן לו משלו כדי פרנסתו. התחיל אותו הבן מיצר. אמר לו, הרי כל כסף וזהב שהניח לי אבא בידך. אמר לו, כל מה שנתתי לך לא נתתי לך אלא משלי, אבל מה שהניח לך אביך הריהו שמור.
15. משל, למלך שמסר את בנו לפידינוג והיה מחזרו ומראה אותו ואומר לו, כל הגפנים האלו שלך, כל הזיתים האלו שלך. משיגע להראותו אמר לו, כל מה שאתה רואה שלך הוא.
16. אמר יעקב לרחל, וכי אנטיקיסר של הקדוש ברוך הוא אני?
17. מיכאל וסמאל דומין לסניגור וקטיגור עומדין בדין. זה מדבר זה מדבר. גמר זה דבריו, ידע הסניגור שנצח, והתחיל משבח את הדיין שיציא איפופסין. בקש אותו קטיגור להוסיף דבר. אמר לו הסניגור, החרש ונשמע מן הדיין.
18. משל, למלך שהיה דן את בנו, והיה קטיגור עומד ומקטרג. מה עשה הפדנוג שלבן? כיון שראה אותו מחייב, דחף את הקטיגור ועמד לו במקומו, מלמד על הבן סניגוריא.
19. בשר דם משמוציא איפופסין אינו יכול לחזור.
20. אמר הקב"ה לישראל, בני, אותם הקרבנות שהכתבתי לכם בתורה, היו זהירין בהן, שאין פרקליט טוב לירידת הגשמים יותר מן הקרבנות.

Sources. 1. Abot 4.11. 2. Abot 4.16. 3. Hul 8.2. 4. Qid 4.14. 5. Sanh 10.2. 6. Sof 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 179–180). 14. SDt 11 (F 19). 15. SDt 19 (F 31). 16. Tanhuma (Buber) Wa-yeše' 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 הוא [דברים כד' יב']. אין לי אלא עני. עשיר מנין תלמוד
 לומר, ואם איש. אם כן, למה נאמר, עני? ממהר אני 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:

קטל-type: גדול 'great';

קטיל-type: זהיר 'cautious';

קטיל-type: passive participles;

קטיל-type: active participles;

קטיל-type: צדיק 'righteous';

קטיל-type: חנון 'compassionate';

Suffixed with ך- or ך-: גמלן 'mature', אחרון 'latter';

Suffixed with ך- or ך-: 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

יִשְׂרָאֵל מְשֻׁנָּים בְּמִצְוֹת

Israel (i.e. the Israelites) are distinguished by (adherence to) the commandments (SNm 99.3 [H 99]).

4. Adjectives of the קָטִיל type often replace verbs, as in

מִי־שֶׁחָבִיב קָדַם אֶת־חֲבִירוֹ

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 and participles as טָהוּר and טָהוֹר, קָדוֹשׁ, קָדַשׁ, and קָדַשׁ, קָדַם and קָדַמָּה, etc.

5. There are no special comparative or superlative forms of the adjective.

A. Comparison is usually effected through the preposition מִן, which follows the adjective and precedes the second term in a comparison, for example:

יֹסֵף זָכָה לְקַבֹּר אֶת אָבִיו, וְאֵין בְּאֶחָיו גָּדוֹל מִמֶּנּוּ ... מִי לֵנוּ גָדוֹל מִיֹּסֵף?

Joseph deserved to bury his father, for there was none among his brothers greater than he Whom do we have greater than Joseph? (Soṭ 1.9)

The widespread RH phenomenon of the accumulation of particles has also affected this construction, leading to such forms as עַל מִן, for example

מַעֲשֵׂה עַגְלֵה קָשָׁה עַל מִן הַכֹּל

The matter of the golden calf was graver than everything else (SDt 1 [F 6]).

B. יוֹתֵר 'more than', used adverbially, can strengthen a comparison, as in a late text, Abot 6.5,

גְּדוּלְהָ תוֹרָה יוֹתֵר מִן הַכְּהֻנָּה וּמִן הַמְּלָכוּת

Greater is the Torah than priesthood and royalty,

but also in a tannaitic text like SNm 133.1 (H 176):

בֶּשֶׂר וְדָם, רַחֲמֵיו עַל הַזְּכָרִים יוֹתֵר מִן הַנְּקִיבוֹת

Flesh and blood loves men more than women.

C. A variant of מִן יוֹתֵר is יוֹתֵר עַל, where יוֹתֵר functions as a genuine adjective, taking feminine and plural forms (יֹתֵרוֹת עַל and יֹתֵרוֹתָ עַל). The sense conveyed is always comparative, 'in excess of, more than', for example:

לא יאכל פועל יחר על שכרו

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

and

לא יהיו פרוצות יתרות על הבנין

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 **שֶׁבְּ-** ('the greatest that there is in, the greatest of', etc.), for example:

יוסף בן יועזר היה חסיד שבכהנה

Joseph ben Joezer was the most pious of the priests (Hag 2.7);

שוטים/שומה שבְּעולם

The world's greatest fool (SDt 309 [F 348]; Mek 15.14 [L 2.71]);

החלשים שבכם ... הגבורים שבכם

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

טוב שבגוים

The best of the gentiles (Mek 14.7 [L 1.201]).

The construction is often specified as **שְׁבִי־יִשְׂרָאֵל** 'of Israel', as in

ואפילו עני שְׁבִי־יִשְׂרָאֵל לא יאכל עד שישב

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 6.1. **הַיָּפֶה בְּנָשִׁים** 'the fairest of women', and, earlier, at Jg 6.15:

הדל במנשה

The most wretched of Manasseh.

E. For the absolute superlative, **מְאֹד** 'very' is not employed in the Mishnah with the exception of Abot 4.4,

מְאֹד מְאֹד הוּא שָׁפֵל רִחוּחַ

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:

לְרוֹכֵב בְּשָׁמַיִם יִשְׁמֵרְךָ

To the one that rides through the remotest skies.

RH examples include the following:

חֲמֵי חֲמֵים

Very hot waters (Ber 16a);

מֶלֶךְ מְלָכֵי הַמְּלָכִים הַקָּבִ"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 שני הכרובים

And the voice would descend from the highest heavens between the two cherubim (SNm 58.1 [H 56]);

משה חכם חכמים גדול גדולים

Moses, the wisest and the greatest (SNm 134.5 [H 180]).

This form of expression is also used without *semikhut* but employing מן in a variety of constructions that are difficult to categorize, for example

אפילו נכנס אדם חדר לפנים מן החדר

Even when one entered the most secret of chambers (SNm 83.2 [H 80]).

IV Phraseology

6. יותר מִכֵּן 'more than this, surpassing this', פחות מִכֵּן 'less than this, 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

בוליטוס (βουλευτής) 'senator, councillor'

ביאה 'entrance, (sexual) penetration, consummation'

דמים 'price'

קידושין 'betrothal', קידושין 'consecrate oneself, become betrothed'

טבח 'butcher'

טלטל 'move, transfer'

כאלו 'as if'

משונה (pu. participle of שנה) 'different, distinct'

פסוק 'verse'

צהב 'defy, insult'

קמעא '(a) little'

קשיי 'difficulty, problem' (e.g. in labour)

שבו (passive participle of שבה) 'captive'

שוטה 'foolish, stupid, crazed'

שותף 'participate in, associate with', שותף 'associate'

VI Exercises

1. אמר רבי עקיבא, אפילו עניים שבישראל, רואין אותם כאלו הם בני חרין שיירדו מן כסיהם, שהם בני אברהם צחקו ויעקב.
2. רבי אליעזר אומר, אם היה ארקה יתר על דחקה אפילו אפה אחת, אין מטלטלין בחוקה.

3. אין פודין את השבויין יותר על כדו דמיהן, מפני תקון העולם. ואין מבריחין את השבויין, מפני תקון העולם. רבן שמעון בן גמליאל אומר, מפני תקנת השבויין. ואין לוקחים ספרים תפלים ומזווח מן הגוים יותר על כדו דמיהן, מפני תקון העולם.
4. עד כמה הוא נותן לפועלים? עד שליש. יתר מכאן, קוצר כדרכו והולך, אפלו לאחר המועד.
5. הקורא בתורה לא יפחת משלשה פסוקים. לא יקרא למחרתן יותר מפסוק אחד, ובבבאי שלשה.
6. שתי הלחם נאכלות אין פחות משנים, ולא יתר על שלשה.
7. כמה הוא קשוי? ... רבי יוסי ורבי שמעון אומרים, אין קשוי יותר משתי שבתות.
8. בת שלש שנים ויום אחד מתקדשת בביתא, ואם בא עליה יבם, קנאה ... פחות מכן כנותן אצבע בעין.
9. טוב שברופאים לגינהם, והקשר שבפסחים שתפו שלעמלק. רבי נהוראי אומר, מציח אני כל אפניוהו שבועולם ואיני מלמד את בני אלא תורה, שאדם אוכל משכרה בעולם הזה, והקרן קיימת לעולם הבא.
10. הגדול שבדנינים אומר, איש פלוני, אהה זכאי, איש פלוני, אהה חייב.
11. משה זכה בעצמות יוסף, ואין בישראל גדול ממנו ... מי גדול ממושה שלא נחטק בו אלא המקום?
12. איזהו דבר? עיר המוציאה חמש מאות רגלי, ויצאו ממנה שלש מתים בשלשה ימים זה אחר זה, הרי זה דבר, פחות מכאן אין זה דבר.
13. ולהן גדול עומד ומקבל וקורא ... וגולל את התורה ומציחה בחיקו, ואומר, יותר ממה שקראתי לפניכם פתוב פאן.
14. זה הדבר אשר צוה ל לקטו ממנו ... [שמחת טז טז]. אמרו, עכשיו יצא נחשון בן עמינדב וביתו ומלקט הרבה, יצא עניי שבשראל ומלקט קימעה.
15. והכהן המשיח תחתיו מבניו יעשה אותה [ויקרא ר טו], מלמד שיהא בן קודם לכל שבעולם.
16. והלא הלכה עמהם באר במדבר והיתה מעלת להם דגים שמנים יותר מצרכם?
17. הלא כבני כושיים אחם לי בני ישראל? [עמוס ט ז]. וכי כושים היו? אלא מה כושי משונה בעורו אף ישראל משונים במצוות יותר מכל אומות העולם.
18. אל תוסף דבר אלי, עלה ראש הפסגה [דברים ג כז]. מיכן היה רבי אליעזר בן יעקב אומר, יפה תפלה אחת יתר ממאה מעשים טובים, שבכל מעשיו של משה לא נאמר לו, עלה, ובדבר זה נאמר לו, עלה.
19. מנין אהה אומר שאם שמע אדם דבר מפי קטן שבשראל יהא בעיניו כשומע מפי חכם?
20. משלו משל, למה הדבר דומה? לאחד שהיה עומד וצוהב כנגד בוליוטוס בשוק. אמרו לו השומעים, שוטה שבעולם, כנגד בוליוטוס אהה עומד 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. Soṭ 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 הוא ואין אלהים עמדי. אני אמית ואחיה [דברים לב' לט'].
 זה אחד מארבע הבטחות שניתן להם רמז לתחיית המתים, אני אמית ואחיה
 [דברים לב' לט'], תמות נפשי מות ישרים [במדבר כג' יז], יחי ראובן ואל
 ימות [דברים לג' ו'], יחינו מיזמים [הושע ר' ב].
 שומע אני, מיתה באחד וחיים באחד.
 תלמוד לומר, מחצתי ואני ארפא [דברים לב' לט']. כדרך שמכה ורפואה
 באחד כך מיתה וחיים באחד.

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' [הבטחות]) 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	אֶחָד	אֶחָד	אֶחָת	אֶחָת
two	שְׁנַיִם	שְׁנֵי	שְׁתַּיִם	שְׁתֵּי
three	שְׁלֹשָׁה	שְׁלֹשָׁת	שְׁלוֹשׁ	שְׁלוֹשׁ
four	אַרְבָּעָה	אַרְבַּעַת	אַרְבַּע	אַרְבַּע
five	חֲמִשָּׁה	חֲמִשָּׁת	חֲמִשׁ	חֲמִשׁ
six	שֵׁשׁה	שֵׁשׁת	שֵׁשׁ	שֵׁשׁ
seven	שִׁבְעָה	שִׁבְעַת	שִׁבְעַ	שִׁבְעַ
eight	שְׁמֹנֶה	שְׁמֹנַת	שְׁמוֹנֶה	שְׁמוֹנֶה
nine	תְּשֻׁעָה	תְּשֻׁעַת	תְּשֻׁעַ	תְּשֻׁעַ
ten	עֲשָׂרָה	עֲשָׂרַת	עֲשָׂר	עֲשָׂר

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 שְׁנֵי 'second' is not, as in BH, שְׁנֵית, but שְׁנֵיהָ (plural שְׁנֵיחַת), as at Qin 2.3:

הָרִאשׁוֹנָה וְהַשֵּׁנִיָּה אֵין לָהֶם כְּלוּם

The first and the second have nothing.

III *Grammar and usage*

5. Cardinal numbers.

A. אֶחָד and אֶחָת generally follow a noun whereas the other cardinal numbers will usually precede it.

B. When preceding a noun, שְׁנַיִם and שְׁתַּיִם usually appear in their construct state (שְׁנֵי and שְׁתֵּי), whereas other numerals can be used either in the 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:

שְׁנֵי יָמִים טוֹבִים שְׁלֹשָׁה יָמִים

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

הַכּוֹתֵב שְׁתֵּי אוֹתֵיחַת, בֵּין בֵּימֵינוּ בֵּין בְּשִׁמְאֵלֵנוּ,

בֵּין מִשָּׁם אֶחָד בֵּין מִשְׁנֵי שְׁמוֹת, בֵּין מִשְׁנֵי סְמָנֵיחַת בְּכָל לְשׁוֹן, חֵיב

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);

שְׁלֹשָׁה אֲחִין נִשְׂאוּ אִין שְׁלֹשׁ נְכָרִיז

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

אֶפְלוּ בֵּית חֲמֵשֶׁת כּוֹרִין, אֶפְלוּ בֵּית עֶשְׂרֵת כּוֹרִין

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

עִיר הַמּוֹצִיָּאָה חֲמֵשׁ מֵאוֹת רַגְלִי

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:

מְחֹל הַכָּרֶם, בֵּית שְׁמַאי אֹמְרִין, שֵׁשׁ עֶשְׂרֵה אַמָּה, וּבֵית הִלֵּל אֹמְרִים,
שְׁתַּיִם עֶשְׂרֵה אַמָּה

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);

שְׁתֵּי הַלֶּחֶם נִלְוֵשׁוֹת אַחַת אַחַת

The two (loaves [חֲלֹזֹת] 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:

ת"ל, וּזְכַרְתִּי אֶת בְּרִיתִי יַעֲקֹב וְאֵף בְּרִיתִי יִצְחָק וְאֵף אֶת בְּרִיתִי
אֲבֵרָהִם, מִגִּד שֶׁשֶׁלֶשְׁתָּן שְׁקוּלִין

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:

עַד מַתֵּי חַיִּב לְהַכְרִיז? ... שֶׁבַע יָמִים, כִּדֵּי שִׁלְךָ לְבֵיתוֹ שֶׁלְּשָׁה,
וְחָזַר שֶׁלְּשָׁה, וְיִכְרִיז יוֹם אֶחָד

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 שלשה 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 'thirty days' יום שלשים and 'thirtieth day' יום שלשים:

מי שאמר, הריני נזיר, מגלח יום שלשים ואחד. ואם גלח ליום שלשים, יצא. הריני נזיר שלשים יום, אם גלח ליום שלשים, לא יצא.

Whoever says, I shall be a Nazirite, may cut his hair on the thirty-first 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, יום is usually omitted, as occasionally in BH (see Meyer 1992, §61.4). Cardinal numbers are used with -ב, even for the first to ninth days of the month:

זמן עצי להגים והעם השעה, באחד בניסן, בני ארח בן יהודה, בעשרים בתמוז, בני דוד בן יהודה, בחמשה באב, בני פרעש בן יהודה

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).

C. Par 1.1 includes the forms 'third' שלישי and 'three-year old' רביעי and 'fourth' רביעי and 'four-year old' רביעי.

7. Distributives.

A. 'One each', 'two each', etc. is expressed by repeating the numeral, usually without intervening -1:

ששה [משמרות] מקריבין [כבשים] שנים שנים, והשאר אחד אחד

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 repeated numbers with 'each one', כל אחד ואחד 'every three', etc., although in this construction כל can also convey the sense of 'each and every'. Both usages are illustrated by the the following example from RS 2.9:

אם באין אנו לדין אחר בית דינו של רבן גמליאל, צריכין אנו לדין אחר כל בית דין ובית דין שעמד מימות משה ועד עכשיו ... ולמה לא

נחפרשו שמוחזן שלזקנים? אלא ללמד שכל שלשה ושלשה
 שעמדו בית דין על ישראל הרי הם כבית דינו שלמשה

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 כָּל-יוֹם וְיוֹם first appeared in LBH, in contrast to the classical BH structure of יוֹם יוֹם, 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: שלישי '(a) third', רביעי '(a) fourth', etc.

B. RH has also developed a special series of terms for fractions, some already known in BH:

Fraction	RH form
half	מחצה, חצי
third	שליש
quarter	רובע, רביעי
fifth	חומש
sixth	שחזת
—	—
eighth	שמין
ninth	תישבע
tenth	עשור

C. Fractions of less than a tenth are expressed by cardinal numbers preceded by מן '(out) of', for example אחד משלשים 'a thirtieth'.

9. To express repeated or multiple acts, RH employs the cardinal numbers followed by פעם 'time' or פעמים 'times', as in

וצריך לכבס שלשה פעמים לכל אחד ואחד

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

פעם and פעמים can sometimes be omitted but supplied from context, as in

היה מטמא למזחזים כל היום, אינו חייב אלא אחת

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: שלש (in *Hif'il* and *Hitpa'el* as well) 'divide by three, pass three times' (e.g. Mak 1.3); רבע 'square, do for the fourth time' (e.g. SDt 306); חמש 'divide into five parts'; תשע 'divide into nine parts'; and עשר 'tithe, take/give tithe' (e.g. Shab 2.1).

IV *Phraseology*

11. **אֶחָד ... וְאֶחָד** 'be it like this ... or like that', an expression similar to **בֵּין ש-... וּבֵין ש-** 'whether ... or' (see Unit 8.12):

אֶחָד עֶשְׂרֵה וְאֶחָד עֶשְׂרֵה רַבּוּא

Whether they be ten or they be a hundred thousand (Ber 7.3);

אֶחָד אֵילִן סָרְק וְאֶחָד אֵילִן מֵאֲכָל רוּאִין אוֹתָן כְּאֵלוֹ הֵם תְּאֵנִים

Be it a wild tree or a fruit tree, it is regarded as a fig tree (Shebi 1.3);

אֶחָד עוֹלָה נְדָבָה וְאֶחָד עוֹלָה חוּבָה, זֶוּזוֹ שְׁעֵתוֹת סְמִיכָה

The voluntary burnt offering and the obligatory burnt offering are the same: both require imposition of hands (SLv 1.4 [W 5d]).

12. **כְּאַחַת, כְּאַחַת** 'jointly, at the same time, equally':

שְׁלֹשָׁה שְׂאֲכְלוּ כְּאַחַד, הֵיבִין לְזָמַן

When three eat together, they are obliged to summon another (Ber 7.1);

אָבֵל הַקִּבְ"ה אָמַר עֶשְׂרַת הַדְּבָרוֹת כְּאַחַד, מִה שְׂאֵי אִפְשֵׁר לְבָשָׂר
וְדָם לַעֲשׂוֹת כֵּן

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);

אֵין מְשַׁקֵּין שְׁתֵּי סוֹטוֹת כְּאַחַת

One should not force two adulteresses to drink [the bitter waters] at the same time (TosSo₁ 1.6).

13. **הָאַרְבָּעִים** 'the forty lashes', in reference to the punishment prescribed at Dt 25.1-3 (see Mak 1.1; 3.10; Shab 7.2):

וְהִזְקָה שׁוֹתֶה בֵּין וּמְטַמֵּא לְמַתִּים, אִינָה סוֹפְגַת אֶת הָאַרְבָּעִים

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

V *Vocabulary*

אָב בֵּית דִּין 'president of the Sanhedrin'

בְּעוֹר 'removal, distancing'

הִזִּיד (hi. of זִיד) 'act deliberately, with premeditation', as against שָׁגַג 'do by mistake, inadvertently'

הִסָּב (participle of סָבַב; hi. of סָבַב 'surround') 'sit at (table)'

הִעֲשִׂיר 'become rich'

הִל (root חוּל) 'occur'

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

לִיתֵן (infinitive of נתן) 'to give' (BH לָתַת)

נְשִׂיא 'patriarch'

סָגַל 'save, keep'

גדול משניהם, היה רבי שמעון בן אליעזר אומר, מי גדול, הממליך או המולך? הרי אומר, הממליך, העושה שרים או העושה שררה? הרי אומר העושה שרים. כל עצמן של שני כתרים הללו אין באים אלא מכחה של תורה.

17. חביבים יסורים ששלש מתנות נתנו להם לישראל שאומות העולם מתארים להן ולא נתנו להם אלא על ידי יסורים, ואלו הם, תורה וארץ ישראל והעולם הבא.

18. רבי שמעון בן יוחי אומר משל, לשני אחים שהיו מסגלים ממון אחד אביהם. אחד מצרף דינר ואוכלו, ואחד מצרף דינר ומניחו. זה שהיה מצרף דינר ואוכלו נמצא אין ביד כלום, וזה שמצרף דינר ומניחו נמצא מעשיר לאחר זמן. כך תלמידי חכמים, למד שנים שלשה דברים ביום, שנים שלשה פרקים בשבת, שחים שלש פרשיות בחדש, נמצא מעשיר לאחר זמן.

19. ויקרא יעקב אל בניו ... [בראשית מט' א'], מאחר שהזכירים כל אחד ואחד בפני עצמו, חזר וקראם כולם כאחד.

20. ומשה בן מאה ועשרים שנה [דברים לד' ז']. זה אחד מארבעה שמחו בן מאה ועשרים שנה, ואלו הם, משה והלל הזקן ורבן יוחנן בן זכאי ורבי עקיבה. משה היה במצרים ארבעים שנה ובמדן ארבעים שנה, ופירנס את ישראל ארבעים שנה. הלל הזקן עלה מבבל בן ארבעים שנה ושימש חכמים ארבעים שנה ופירנס את ישראל ארבעים שנה רבן יוחנן בן זכאי עסק בפרגמטיא ארבעים שנה ושימש חכמים ארבעים שנה ופירנס את ישראל ארבעים שנה. רבי עקיבה למד תורה בן ארבעים שנה ושמם את חכמים ארבעים שנה ופירנס את ישראל ארבעים שנה. שש זוגות ששנותיהם שוות, רבקה וקדת, לוי ועמרם, יוסף ויהושע, שמואל ושלמה, משה והלל הזקן, ורבן יוחנן בן זכאי ורבי עקיבה.

Sources. 1. Abot 4.4. 2. Ber 6.6. 3. Hag 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*)

I *Introductory text* (Hag 1.8)

מקרא מעט והלכות מרבות.

The biblical text is short but the oral legislation 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	<i>Qal/Pa'al</i>	Passive	<i>Nif'al</i>
Causative	<i>Hif'il</i>	Passive	<i>Hof'al</i>
Intensive	<i>Pi'el</i>	Passive	<i>Pu'al</i>
		Reflexive	<i>Hitpa'el</i>

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 *Pu'al* disappears in all but the participle.

B. In the perfect, the *Hitpa'el* is replaced by a *Nitpa'al* conjugation, apart from with certain verbs, such as השתחווה ‘bow down’ and התפלל ‘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 *Soṭ* 9.12, some manuscripts read ונטל טעם הפירות ‘the taste of the

fruits has disappeared', and in a liturgical text (the prayer *אֲפֹה יִצְרָף*), we find *וְנוֹטַל כְּבוֹד מִבֵּית חַיֵּינוּ* '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 *וְנִגְאָלוּ* 'they were redeemed' and *נִילְדָה* 'she was born', and it may be that quite often a form pointed as *Nif'al* 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 *עָרַב עָרַב* 'mix, confuse' (root *עָרַב*), *דָּקַדַּק* 'crush, examine in detail, carefully enunciate' (root *דָּקַק*), *קָרַס* 'cut, prune' (root *קָסַס*), and *פָּרַגַּס* 'supply, sustain' (root *פָּרַס*).

4. Morphologically, the RH *binyanim* coincide with those of BH, with the following exceptions.

A. *Nif'al*. The loss of intervocalic *-ה-*, as part of the gradual weakening of the gutturals, is seen in infinitives preceded by *-ל-*, so that, for example, *לְהַכְרִית* 'to be cut off, exterminated' becomes *לִיְכַרֵּת* and *לְהִכְנס* 'to enter' becomes *לִיְכַנס*:

אֲנִי יי אֱלֹהֵיכֶם עֹתִיד לִיִּפְרַע

I am Y., your God, who will be avenged (SNm 115.5 [H 129]);

שְׂאִינָן כְּשֶׁרִין לִיִּקְרַב

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: *וּבִשְׁלֹוֹ* 'and when he stumbles' (Pr 24.17).

B. *Pi'el*. In *ayin-waw* and *-yod* verbs, we find new forms such as *קָיִים* 'establish, maintain' (already seen in LBH; root *קָוַם*), *בִּיִּשׁ* 'shame, insult' (root *בָּרַשׁ*), *טַיִיב* 'do good' (root *טָוַב*), etc., as part of a more general trend of assimilation to the triradical pattern (see Waldman 1989, 120). Similarly, the root *שָׂאֵר* behaves as an *ayin-waw* verb in the formation of the *Pi'el*: *שָׂיַר* '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, *מְרֻעָט* 'reduced' becomes *מְרֻעַט*. 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 *מְרֻעָט* 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 publishers—the Sefardi and Yemenite traditions have retained the original pronunciation in *a*. As in the BH *Hitpa'el*, the *taw* of the *-ת-* prefix undergoes metathesis or assimilation before sibilants and dentals. For example, at Ket 1.8 and 7.6, Jastrow reads *מִדְּרַבְּרָת* 'becoming intimate with', that is, a

Hitpa'el participle (on the other hand, K [Yalon] has a simple *Pi'el*: מְדַבֵּר 'speaking'). Similarly, at Orl 3.3, manuscripts alternate between מְקַדְּשִׁין 'sanctifying themselves' and מְקַדְּשֵׁן '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 נִמְלֵךְ and נִמְלֵךְ or נִטְמָא and נִטְמָא.

E. *Hif'il*. As in the *Nif'al* infinitive, so in the *Hif'il*, preformative ה- can disappear after -ל, so that, for example, לְהַרְבִּיחַ 'to increase' becomes לְרַבֵּחַ, as in

או אם רצה לרבות 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'il* as in the *Nif'al*, and there are numerous instances of the retention of *he*, at least in the written form of the language. for example לְהַחְמִיד 'to be rigorous, harden' and לְהַקְל 'to be tolerant, mitigate', as in

רבי יהושע ורבי עקיבא לא זזו מארבע אמות, שרצו להחמיר
על עצמן

Rabbi Joshua and Rabbi Akiba did not move more than four cubits, because they wanted to be rigorous with themselves (Eruv 4.1).

There is a striking contrast between the text of TosSo₁ 3.2 as it appears in MS Vienna, להראות קלונה 'to show her shame', and in MS Erfurt, לראות את קלנה, which appears to reflect the actual pronunciation. A BH example is provided by Jr 39.7:

לביא אתו בבבלה

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* (-הו-, -הו-), doubtless because of the association of *u* with the passive (in the BH *Pu'al* and the *Qal* passive participle in קטוּל). Of particular importance are the frequently-employed הִתַּר and הִתַּר 'it was permitted', the *Hof'al* perfect and participle of נָתַר, as in

בשר הנקנס לעבודתה זרה מותר

Meat that is introduced into idolatrous worship is permitted (AZ 2.3).

G. The quadrilateral 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	לְפָרַס	לְשַׁחַרַר
Perfect	פָּרַס	שַׁחַרַר
Imperfect	יִפְרַס	יִשַׁחַרַר
Participle	מִפְרָס	מִשַׁחַרַר
Imperative	פָּרַס	שַׁחַרַר.

Quadrilaterals can also be patterned according to other conjugations if necessary, for example *משחרר* and *משחררת* ‘freed’ (*Pu’al* participle) and *נשתחרר* ‘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 *גדלתה*, which could mean in BH either ‘you were great’ or ‘you 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 *גדול*:

כָּל יְמֵי גְדֻלְתִּי בֵּין הַחֲכָמִים

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

יָבֵם קָטָן שְׂבֵא עַל יְבָמָה קַטְנָה, יִגְדְּלוּ זֶה עִם זֶה

If a levir who is still a minor has sexual relations with his sister-in-law 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:

בֵּא הַכְּתוּב לְלַמֶּדךָ שְׂכַל צְדִיק שֶׁגָּדַל בְּחֵיק רָשָׁע וְלֹא עָשָׂה כְּמַעֲשָׂיו ...
לְהוֹדִיעַךָ כִּמְה צְדָקוֹ גָּדוֹל שֶׁגָּדַל בְּחֵיק רָשָׁע וְלֹא עָשָׂה כְּמַעֲשָׂיו

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’al*.

A. Passive, as in BH, for example in the common midrashic question *לְמָה נֶאֱמַר* ‘why was it said?’.

B. Reflexive, for example

בְּרֵאשׁוֹנָה הָיָה נִטְמָן יוֹם שְׁנַיִם עָשָׂר חֹדֶשׁ

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 *נמצא* in the sense of ‘turn out, end up’, for example

מָכַר לוֹ חֲטָיִם יְפוֹת וְנִמְצָאוּ רָעוֹת

If he sold him wheat as good, but it turned out (to be) bad (BB 5.6), a common exegetical idiom (see below, §12).

C. To this reflexive usage is added an element of reciprocity in the struc-

ture נחלקו 'they were divided, they disputed among one another', a form often found in the context of arguments or discrepancies among different schools, for example

ואם נחלקו לא נחלקו אלא על קהלה

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 appears in certain verbs, for instance נזכר 'remember', נפרע 'collect payment, take revenge', נכנס 'enter, get into, meet', and נשאל 'consult, ask about, or for, oneself'. The following texts illustrate how these verbs are used:

היה עומד בתפלה ונזכר שהוא בעל קרי

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

והנבאים ... נפרעים מן האדם מדעתו ושלא מדעתו

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

משעה שהכהנים נכנסים לאכול בתרומתן

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

מי שגדר בניזיר ונשאל לחכם

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 הליך 'go' and הלך 'walk about, go to and fro' is characteristic of RH (although, surprisingly, N.M. Waldman [1989, 120] claims there is no difference in meaning). הליך, 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 הילכה שכניה 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]);

רבן גמליאל ורבי אלעזר בן עזריה הלכו את כלה

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:

יורד אדם לחוד שדהו ורואה תאנה שבכרה, אשכול שבכר, רמון שבכר

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 *Pi'el* is employed as a denominative, for example, at Shebi 2.2, יָבַל 'prune', אָבַק 'spread earth', and עָשָׂן 'fumigate, burn incense'.

D. Although often difficult to distinguish in sense from the *Hif'il* used causatively, a typical rabbinic usage of the *Pi'el* is declarative, as in the word-pairs טָהַר and טָמֵא, usually 'declare pure' and 'declare impure' (rather than 'purify' and 'contaminate', the less frequent meanings) and חָיַב and זָכָה, 'declare innocent' and 'declare guilty'. Both pairs are found at Bekh 4.4:

זָכָה אֶת הַחַיִּב, וְחָיַב אֶת הַזָּכָי, טָמֵא אֶת הַטָּהוֹר, וְטָהַר אֶת הַטָּמֵא,
מִה שֶׁעָשָׂה עֲשִׂי

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 מִיַּעַם and רִיבָה, 'diminish' and 'increase'—the first element is found in the following text from Taa 4.6:

מִשְׁנַכְנֵס אָב מִמַּעֲטִין בְּשִׁמְחָה

As soon as the month of Ab comes in, joy is diminished.

9. *Hif'il*. Apart from conveying its usual causative function, the *Hif'il* sometimes also expresses an inchoative element, as in נָתַן סֶלַע, וְהָעֵשִׂיר 'he 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 יַחֲכִים '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,

הָיוּ מִתְאַבֵּק בְּעַפְרֵי רַגְלֵיהֶם

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:

וְאַל תִּתְנַדַּע לְרֵשׁוֹת

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

הָבֵא עַל ... הַשְּׂפִיחָה ... וְשִׁתְּנִיחֵרְרוּ וְשִׁנְשִׁתְּחַרְרוּ

Whoever has sexual relations with a slavegirl ..., whether of those who have become proselytes or who have obtained manumission (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:

פְּתָאוֹם נִתְיָרָא מִשָּׂה וּפְתָאוֹם נִדְבַר עִמּוֹ

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]);

לא נתכנו להקריב אלא מה שמקום שונא

They proposed only to offer what the omnipresent one hates (SDt 81 [F 147]);

גזל ועריות שנפשו שקלאדם מהאודה להן ומחפדתן

Robbery and fornication that a person craves and desires (Mak 3.15; K reads a *Nitpa'al*: ומחמדתן).

A middle sense is also found in other verbs that appear to us to be active or transitive, for example:

התקבלתי ממך מינה

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

אלמינה ... נתקבלה כתובתה

A widow ... who has received her dowry (Ket 11.4).

E. The *Hitpa'el/Nitpa'al* also expresses reciprocity, in verbs like נשתתף 'associate with', נתערב 'mix with', or reconciliation, as in

וכשהודה ראובן על המעשה נתרצו לו [אשר] אחיו

When Reuben confessed the deed, his brothers were reconciled with him (Asher)' (SDt 355 [F 420]).

11. *Saf'el, Shaf'el*. The few verbs that appear in these *binyanim* convey a causative meaning. The most commonly encountered are שעבד 'enslave' and שחרר 'free'. The other quadrilateral *binyanim* also usually function as intensive-causatives.

IV Phraseology

12. ונמצא, ונמצא 'it turned out', indicating that the conclusion of something was a particular change or result:

מכר לו חטים יפות ונמצאו רעות ... רעות ונמצאו יפות ...
יין ונמצא חמין, חמין ונמצא יין

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 ונמצאתם מקיים '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. מידת פורענות ממוקטת 'the measure of punishment is restrictive', מידת הרוב מרובה '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.

14. נכסים בני חורין 'free, unmortgaged property', as against נכסים משעבדים 'mortgaged property':

המילה את חברו בשטר, גובה מנכסים משעבדים. על ידי עדים,

גובה מנכסים בְּנֵי חָרִין

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

- גִּלְיוֹן (passive participle of גָּלָה) 'revealed'; בְּגִלְיוֹ-בְּסֵתֶר 'in secret—in public'
 מִמֶּנּוּ (= מִמֵּנּוּ) 'from him'
 הִסְתַּכֵּל (htp. of סָכַל) 'observe, consider'
 הֶעֱרִיָּה 'sexual contact'
 זִיבָה 'venereal disease'
 כַּלְפֵי 'towards, against'
 מֵאֱמָר 'word, command, order'
 מָקַק 'perish, decay'
 נָדַר 'vow', נָדַר מִן הָעִיר 'vow not to go to the city'
 סָבַר 'hope, think, imagine'
 עֲבוּר 'city boundary'
 'how much more in a similar situation!', an elliptical formula that replaces the conclusion of an *a fortiori* argument
 הֵעִלָּה עָלָיו 'impute to'; הַפְתּוּב כְּאֵלּוּ 'the passage treats him as though'
 פָּרַס 'divulge, make public, publish'
 צָעַר 'distress'
 רוֹנֵן 'single, unmarried'
 שָׁלַט 'rule'
 שָׁמַשׁ 'serve'
 תַּחוּם 'district, area'

VI Exercises

- הוא היה אומר, כל שפעשיו מרבין מחכמתו, חכמתו מחקימתו, וכל שחכמתו מרבה מפעשיו, אין חכמתו מחקימתו.
- בעשרה מאמרות נברא העולם. ומה תלמוד לומר [לומר K lacks]?! והלא במאמר אחד והיה [K +] יכול להבראות? אלא להפרע מן הרשעים, שמאבדין [שהן מאבדין K] את העולם שנברא בעשרה מאמרות, ולתן שכר טוב לצדיקים, שמקימין [שהן מקימין K] את העולם שנברא בעשרה מאמרות.
- אמר רבי יוסי בן קיסמא, פעם אחת הייתי מהלך בדרך, ופגע בי אדם אחר, ונתן לי שלום והחזרתי לו שלום.
- הקורא את שמע ולא השמיע לאתו, יצא ... קרא ולא רקדק באותיותיה,

ואביון יותר מכל אדם.
20. והסלים והבכורים ניתנים לכהנים בשביל לרבות מתנה לכהנים.

Sources. 1. Abot 3.9. 2. Abot 5.1. 3. Abot 6.9. 4. Ber 2.3. 5. BQ 8.4. 6. Giṭ 4.4. 7. Ḥag 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, בואו ונגמול חסד לאדם הראשון ולעזרו,
שעל מדת גמילות חסדים העולם עומד. אמר הקב"ה, חביבה גמילות חסדים
מזבחים ועולות שישראל עתידים להקריב לפני על גבי המזבח שנאמר,
כי חסד חפצתי ולא זבח [הושע ו'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 יקטל
(originally יקטל);
- Suffix conjugation (perfect), according to the model קטל;
- Cohortative, a lengthened form of the first person imperfect:
נקטלה, אקטלה;
- Jussive, an abbreviated form, where possible, of the second and third persons of the imperfect;
- Infinitive absolute, according to the underlying model קטול: קטול;
Imperative;
- Infinitive construct, which normally follows the underlying models
קטיל, קטיל or קטיל;
- Active participle, according to the underlying model קטיל: קטיל;
- Stative participle, according to the model קטיל: קטיל;
- Passive participle, according to the model קטיל: קטיל.

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.

A. Alongside קטלה, the *plene* variant קטלה is common, as in:

הא ותרה כל מה שעשית לי, זה קשה עלי יותר 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 -תה is standard at Qumran and is attested in archaic BH:

ירח וכוכבים אשר כוננתה

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

כל שפחה תחת רגליו

Everything you placed beneath his feet (Ps 8.7);

אפה כוננתה

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:

מה ראיתך לחלוק מידתך

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 ה-, thus הָיָה 'she was' (as well as הָיְתָה). The same phenomenon has sometimes escaped copyists' correction in related types of verbs, such as *lamed-alef*, for example

פָּרָה שְׁתָּחַת מִי חֲמָאָה

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 קטלתן 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 תִּקְטְלֶנָּה , which is replaced by the corresponding masculine forms תִּקְטְלוּ (second person) and יִקְטְלוּ (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 תִּקְטְלִי , have almost entirely disappeared from RH, although the second and third person masculine plural forms תִּקְטְלוּ and יִקְטְלוּ are occasionally employed in addition to the regular structures תִּקְטְלוּ and יִקְטְלוּ .

C. Although there is no linguistic reason for it, the יִקְטְלוּ conjugation is usually vocalized *plene*, thus אִיקְטְלוּ , 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 בְּוֹאָה from בּוֹא) and, sometimes, *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.

The archaic form קְטַלְנָה has disappeared from RH, leaving only קְטַלוּ for both the masculine and feminine plural. *Plene* orthography is normally employed, thus קְטַלוּ .

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 בִּן) is prefixed, for example $\text{אָסוּר מִלְהַכְנִים וּמִלְהוֹצִיאַי}$ ‘prohibited from putting in or taking out’ (Erub 2.6). Similarly, negation of an infinitive is expressed by placing אֵשׁלֹא in front of the *lamed*, as in

מִקּוֹם שֶׁנֶּהְגוּ שְׁלֹא לַעֲשׂוֹת [מִלְאֲכָה], אֵין עוֹשִׂים

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 אִיקְטַל , infinitive קְטַל (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
בָּחַן	יִבָּחַן	לִיבָחַן	לְחַחַן
יָדַע	יִדַּע	לִידַע	לְדַעַת
לָקַח	יִקַּח	לִיקַח	לְקַחַח
אָמַר	יִאמַר	לִיאמַר	לְאמַר

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

Perfect		Imperfect	
קָטַלְתִּי		אֶקְטֹל	(BH + אֶקְטֹלָה)
קָטַלְתָּ/הָ/קָטַלְתָּ		תִּקְטֹל	
קָטַלְתָּ		תִּקְטְלִי	
קָטַל		יִקְטֹל	
קָטַלְתָּ/קָטַלָה		תִּקְטֹל	
קָטַלְנוּ		נִקְטֹל	(BH + נִקְטֹלָה)
קָטַלְתֶּם (BH + קָטַלְתֶּם)		תִּקְטַלְוּ	(BH + תִּקְטַלְנָה)
קָטַלוּ		יִקְטַלְוּ	(BH + יִקְטַלְנָה)
Participle		Infinitive	Imperative
קוֹטֵל, קוֹטֵלָה	לִקְטֹל	קְטֹל	(BH + קְטֹלָה)
קוֹטֵלִים, קוֹטֵלוֹת		קְטְלִי	
		קְטֹל	(BH + קְטֹלָה)

RH can also employ pausal forms in the perfect, for example אָקַר and אָכַל, and the imperfect, for example 'קְטֹלוּ, תִּקְטֹלוּ (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 *aspect*—narrative, intensive, durative, jussive, energetic, 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] occurred 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. Ben-david (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 קָטַל as past ('*avar*), every קָטַל as present (*howeh*), and every יִקְטַל 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 יָדַעְתִּי can never have present significance in RH, for, in fact, we find in rabbinic literature certain idiomatic turns of phrase, such as אֵתְּהָ אִמְרָתָהּ, in which the present is clearly signified (see Unit 17.9).

B. The participle refers to the present and the future, as in:

עַל שְׁלֹשָׁה דְבָרִים הָעוֹלָם עוֹמֵד

On three things the world rests (Abot 1.2);

רוּחַ הַקֹּדֶשׁ מְבִיאָה לְיַדֵּי תַחֲיַיִת הַמֵּתִים וְתַחֲיַיִת הַמֵּתִים בָּאָה עַל יְדֵי אֱלִיהוּ זְכוֹר לְטוֹב

The holy spirit *brings about* the resurrection of the dead and the resurrection of the dead *will come* through Elijah, of blessed memory (Soṭ 9.15).

Often, the participle can have an imperative or facultative/jussive significance:

הָאִישׁ מְדִיד אֶת בְּנוֹ בְּנִזִּיר, וְאִין הָאִשָּׁה מְדִרַת אֶת בְּנָהּ בְּנִזִּיר

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

מְזַכְרִין יְצִיאַת מִצְרַיִם בְּלַיְלוֹת

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:

וְכֵן לֹא יֵאמְרוּ שְׁנֵיהֶם, הֲרֵי אֲנִי נֹזֵן אֹתָהּ כְּאָהָד

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

הֲרֵנִי מְמַנֵּה לּוֹ אֶפִּיטְרוֹפֶס עַד שִׁגְרַל

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 הָיָה (in the perfect, imperfect, imperative, or infinitive) followed by the participle of the corresponding verb, for example:

היו נוֹעֲלִין וּמַנְחִין אֶת הַמַּפְתָּח בְּחַלּוֹן שְׁעַל גְּבֵי הַפֶּתַח

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

מֹשֶׁה תָּקַן לָהֶם לְיִשְׂרָאֵל לֵהֵיוֹת שׂוֹאֲלִים בְּעִנְיַן וְדוֹרְשִׁים בְּעִנְיַן

Moses ordered the Israelites to keep on inquiring into and investigating the matter (SNm 66 [H 62]).

For the formula *הוּא הָיָה אוֹמֵר*, see Unit 1.12, and for the past conditional (*לוֹלֵא/לוֹלֵי* followed by *הָיָה* and participle), see Unit 28.8D.

B. A clear expression of the future as against the present is provided by the construction *עָתִיד ל־* followed by the infinitive. *עָתִיד* is an adjective, which can be inflected (*עָתִידִים, עָתִידוֹת, עָתִידוֹת*) so as to agree in gender and number with its subject, for example:

עֵדוֹת קֶרַח אֵינָהּ עָתִידָהּ לָעֵלוֹת ... עֲשָׂרַת הַשִּׁבְטִים אֵינָן עָתִידִין לְחַזֹּר

The generation of Korah will not be resurrected ... the ten tribes will not return (Sanh 10.3).

In BH, *עָתִיד* 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 *עָתִיד* still occasionally appears with its BH meaning ('ready'), and even when referring to the future can function as an ordinary adjective:

עֲתִידָהּ שְׁעָה שִׁיחַ אָדָם מִבְּקֶשׁ דָּבָר תּוֹרָה וְאֵינָנו מוֹצֵא

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 *עָתִיד* and the imperfect is that, although they are sometimes confused or used interchangeably, *עָתִיד* simply indicates the future whereas the imperfect conveys modal features of desire, prayerfulness, etc.

Perhaps the use of *עָתִיד* is better illustrated when contrasted with the participle, which indicates the present or near future, whereas *עָתִיד ל־* 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 *עָתִיד* are perfectly laid out:

יָדַע מֵאֵין בָּאָה וּלְאֵין אָהָה הוֹלֵךְ וּלְפָנָי מִי אָהָה עָתִיד לְתַן דִּין וְחֶשְׁבוֹן

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. Girón [1992], the distinctions are not so clear-cut.)

14. Constructions of the type *בְּצִיָּאוֹ* and *כְּצִיָּאוֹ*, in which the infinitive construct functions as a noun (taking prepositions and suffixes), are replaced in RH by structures of the type *כְּשִׁיָּצֵא* or by the verbal noun (see Unit 9.9), as at Ber 9.4:

הַנִּכְנס לְעִיר לְפָרֵךְ מִתְפַּלֵּל שְׁתַּיִם, אַחַת בְּכִיָּסְתּוֹ וְאַחַת בְּצִיָּאוֹ

Whoever enters the city should recite the prayer twice, once on entering and once on leaving.

Compare Ps 68.8, אֱלֹהִים בְּצֹאֲךָ לִפְנֵי עַמְּךָ 'O God, when you used to go out before your people', with SNm 95.1 (H 95),

הלא כבר נאמר ביציאתם ממצרים, וגם ערב רב עלה אִתָּם וצאן ובהק
[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 12.38]?,

and with AZ 3.4: וְכַשְׁצֵאתָ אָמַר לוֹ '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 ל- (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 וּ-, not only to introduce a subordinate clause but also as part of periphrastic imperatives, for example צָרִיךְ שֵׁיאָמַר 'it is necessary that he says'.

C. The verb התחיל '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, התחלתי מביא להם ראיות 'I began bringing them proofs' (Neg 7.4).

D. The participle of הולך, והולך (see Unit 19.14), is used with the participle of another verb to convey the modality of continuous or progressive action, as in

מִתָּר אָדָם לְהַשְׁכִּיר מִשְׁכּוֹנוֹ שֶׁלְעֵנִי לְהִיּוֹת פּוֹסֵק עָלָיו וְהוֹלֵךְ

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, והולך, which was usually placed after the main verb, lost the *waw* and, formally speaking, became the main verb, as in:

וְהָיָה הַיָּם וְסוּעַר עֲלֵיהֶם

And the sea continued to rage against them (PRE 10);

וְהוֹלֵךְ וּמְדַבֵּק בְּעַבְדוֹהָ זֹרָה

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:

וְיָלַךְ הַפְּלִשְׁתִּי וְהָלַךְ וְקָרַב אֶל־דָּוִד

Little by little, the Philistine drew nearer to David.

IV *Phraseology*

16. תִּלְמֹד לִזְמַר (ת"ל) is evidently an abbreviated expression of introduction to a biblical text. The meaning is the same as that conveyed by הִכְתוּב מִלְּמֹד 'the passage teaches', and perhaps the underlying formula was something like יֵשׁ תִּלְמֹד בְּכִתּוּב לִזְמַר 'there is a teaching in the text, which says'. יֵשׁ תִּלְמֹד לִזְמַר is usually intended to refute an erroneous interpretation by pointing out biblical teaching on the matter. Similarly, the formula מָה תִּלְמֹד לִזְמַר 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. לְעֵתִיד לְבוֹא, an expression referring to the future, as against the present (עַכְשָׁיו) and the past (לְשׁוֹבָר). An eschatological future is not necessarily intended, although at times the expression seems similar to לְעוֹלָם הַבָּא. The following two examples are from the end of SDt 333 [F 383]) and from Ber 9.4:

גְּדוּלַּהּ שִׁירָה זֶה, שֵׁשׁ בָּה עַכְשָׁיו וְיֵשׁ בָּה לְשׁוֹבָר וְיֵשׁ בָּה לְעֵתִיד
לְבוֹא וְיֵשׁ בָּה בְּעוֹלָם הַזֶּה וְיֵשׁ בָּה לְעוֹלָם הַבָּא

Great is this song, for it speaks of the present and the past and the future, of this world and the world to come;

וְנֹתֵן הַדּוֹאָה לְשׁוֹבָר, וְצוֹעֵק לְעֵתִיד לְבוֹא

And he gives thanks for the past, and asks for the future.

V *Vocabulary*

מֵאֵימָתָּה 'when?', מֵאֵימָתָּה 'from when?'

גִּלְגֵּל (eye)ball

לְדוֹן (Qal infinitive) לְדוֹן (ni. infinitive) 'judge'

הוֹשִׁיט (hi. of הוֹשִׁיט) 'extend', הוֹשִׁיט יָד 'stretch out the hand'

הַקָּב"ה, abbreviation of הַקָּדוֹשׁ בְּרוּךְ הוּא 'the holy one, blessed be he'

הִרְפָּה 'trembling', הִרְפָּה עֵין, 'blink of an eye, instant'

וְעֵד 'meeting, appointment'

חֶתֶם 'seal', לְחַתּוֹם (infinitive) 'to conclude, to quote a concluding formula'

(cf. לְהַאָּרִיךְ 'to lengthen a form of words, to recite a long prayer')

טִיל (pi. of טוֹל) 'go for a walk'

יָלוּד 'born, alive, living being'

מְדוּרָה 'dwelling place'

מְרֵד 'rebelliousness'

מְרָה 'poison'

סְעוּדָה 'banquet, feast'

עֶכָב 'detain'

רְשָׁא 'free, able, 'authorized', empowered', 'with the capacity for'

VI Exercises

1. יהי ביתך בית ועד לחכמים, והוי מתאבק בעפר רגליהם, והוי שותה בצמא את דברייהם.
2. רבי יהושע אומר, עין הרע ויצר הרע ושנאת הבריות מוציאין את האדם מן העולם.
3. הוא היה אומר, הילודים למות, והמתים להחיות, והחיים לדון, לידע להודיע ולהודיע שהוא אל, הוא היצר, הוא הבורא, הוא המבין, הוא הדן, הוא עד, הוא בעל דין, והוא עתיד לדון.
4. מאימתי קורין את שמע בשחרית? משיכיר בין תכלת ללבן.
5. מקום שאמר, להאריך, אינו רשאי לקצר, לקצר, אינו רשאי להאריך, לחתום, אינו רשאי שלא לחתום, שלא לחתום, אינו רשאי לחתום.
6. מאימתי מתר אדם לקח במוצאי שביעית? ... רבי הוהיר לקח ירק במוצאי שביעית מיד.
7. ליל שמורים הוא לי וגר (שמות יב מב). בו נגאלו ובו עתידין להנאל, דברי רבי יהושע ... רבי אליעזר אומר, בו נגאלו אבל לעתיד לבא אינם נגאלים אלא בחשרי, שנאמר, חקעו בחדש שופר וגו', מפני מה? כי חק לישראל הוא וגו' (תהלים פא ד-ה). ומה תלמוד לומר, הוא הלילה הזה לי (שמות יב מב)? אלא הוא הלילה שאמר המקום לאברהם אבינו, אברהם בלילה הזה אני גואל את בניך, וכשהגיע הקץ לא עיבן המקום אפילו כהרף עין.
8. ויש משה את ידו על הים (שמות יד כא). התחיל הים עומד כנגדו. אמר לו משה בשם הקב"ה שיבקע ולא קבל עליו.
9. עשה פלא (שמות טו יא), עשה פלא עם האבות ועתיד לעשות עם הבנים, שנאמר, כימי צאתך מארץ מצרים אראנו נפלאות (מכילת ז' טו). אראנו מה שלא הראיתו לאבות, שהרי נסים ונברות שאני עתיד לעשות עם הבנים יותר הם ממה שעשית לאבות.
10. כיון ששמעו אומות העולם שהמקום מגביה קרנם של ישראל ומכניסין לארץ התחילו מתרגזין.
11. נמצאת מרבה לו והולך לעולם.
12. (הכתוב) מלמד שזינוק מישראל עתיד להושיט את ידו לתוך גלגל עינו של צפעוני ומוציא מרה מחוך פיו.
13. כך עתיד הקב"ה מטיל עם הצדיקים בנן ערן לעתיד לבוא.
14. כמה גרים ועברים אתה עתיד להכניס תחת כנפי השכינה.
15. לא במקום אחד ולא בשנים המקום חולק כבוד לזקנים, ובכל מקום שאזהר מצא, זקנים, המקום חולק כבוד לזקנים ... רבי שמעון בן יוחי אומר, מנין שאף לעתיד לבא כן המקום חולק כבוד לזקנים?
16. אני יי אלהיכם אני עתיד לשלם שכר, אני יי אלהיכם עתיד ליפרע.
17. התחילו הם בוכים ורבי עקיבה מצחק. אמרו לו, עקיבה, מפני מה אנו בוכים ואיזה מצחק?
18. וכיון שמת משה היה יהושע בוכה ומצעק ומתאבל עליו במרד והיה אומר, אבי אבי, רבי רבי, אבי שגדלני, רבי שלמדני תורה. והיה מתאבל עליו ימים רבים עד שאמר לו הקב"ה יהושע, יהושע, עד כמה איזה מתאבל והולך? וכי לך לבדך מת משה?

19. נתקבצו כל ישראל אצל משה. אמרו לו, רבינו משה, אמור לנו מה טובה עתיד הקדוש ברוך הוא ליתן לנו לעתיד לבא.
 20. אמר יונה ללויתן, בשבילך ירדתי לראות מקום מדורך, שאני עתיד ליתן חבל בלשונך ולהעלותך ולזכות אותך לסעודה 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)

מי ששָׁנַר נזירות הרבה, והשלים את נזירותו, ואחר כך בא לארץ, בית שמאי אומרים, נזיר שלשים יום, ובית הלל אומרים, נזיר בתחלה. מעשה בהילני המלכה, שהלך בנה למלחמה, ואמרה, אם יבא בני מן המלחמה בשלום, יהא נזירה שבע שנים, ובא בנה מן המלחמה, היתה נזירה שבע שנים, ובסוף שבע שנים עלתה לארץ, והזרה בית הלל, שתהא נזירה עוד שבע שנים אחרות, ובסוף שבע שנים נטמאת, ונמצאת נזירה עשרים ואחת שנה.

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 fulfilled 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'asiyyot*), 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 (קָטַלְתָּ as well as קָטַלְתָּה), the third person feminine singular (קָטַלְתָּ as well as קָטַלְתָּה), and the second person masculine and feminine plural (קָטַלְתֶּם) have already been outlined in Unit 16.4.

3. In the *Qal* of the regular verb, the perfect follows two models known from BH, קָטַל and קָטַלְתָּ, with the choice between them depending in part on whether a given verb is active or stative/intransitive (for example, בָּטַל 'cease', כָּשַׁר 'be appropriate', and קָרַב 'be near'). The BH pattern קָטַל does not occur in RH in the perfect, with יָכוֹל found only as a participle: יָכוֹל, יְכוּלָה, יְכוּלִים, יְכוּלוֹת; the BH perfect structures יָכַלְתָּ and יָכַלְתָּה have been replaced by perfect forms of the verb הָיָה followed by the participle יָכוֹל.

4. Ayin-waw and -yod verbs.

A. In the perfect, all three patterns are known, with *a*, *e*, or *o* (for example, בָּשָׂה, בָּשְׂתָה, and בָּשְׂתֶם).

Note the *Nif'al* perfect form נִגְדִין or נִגְדִין.

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 such as כִּיִּים (קִים), נִגְדִין (גִּיר), טִיִּיל (טִיל), and כִּיִּין (כִּין).

The verb שָׂאָר also forms its *Pi'el* in a similar way: שָׂיַר 'leave', which 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* *qiyym* 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 עוֹרְרָה 'awaken, arouse', from עוֹר, or by repetition of the two 'strong' radicals (*Pilpel*), as in הִגְדִּיר 'make clear', from הִג.

5. Lamed-alef and -he verbs.

A. In RH, *lamed-alef* verbs tend to be inflected as though they were *lamed-he*: קָרְאֵי and קָרְאֵי, קָרְאֵי and קָרְאֵי, קָרְאֵי and קָרְאֵי, etc. This confusion 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 *-āt* in the third person feminine singular, as in הָיְתָה (alongside הָיְתָהּ) and שָׁפְטָה, for example at Par 9.5: פָּרָה שֶׁשָּׁפְטָה מִן חֲמָצוֹת 'the cow that has drunk the waters of purification'. Segal 1929, §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 (אֲזַלְתִּי) and in the *ketiv* of 2 K 9.37 (וְהָיְתָה גִבְלוֹת אִיזָבֵל) 'and the body of Jezebel will remain'); perhaps הָיְתָה 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 of the perfect *Nif'al*, with the BH forms נִגְלְתָה 'was revealed' and נִמְצְאָה 'was found' often being replaced by נִגְלִית and נִמְצְאת (forms that are easily confused with the feminine participle, which also prefers a *-t* ending; see Unit 19), for example

וְאִם מִשְׁנִשְׁמַת כָּאוֹ עֵדִים, הָרִי זוֹ לֹא תִצֵּא

If witnesses appear after she has married, she must not be dismissed (Ket 2.5)

and שְׁבוּיָהּ שֶׁנִּפְדִּיתָ '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

נִפְלוּ שְׁנֵיהֶן כְּאֶחָת, עֲשָׂאוּהָ שְׁנֵי

If both fall at the same time, they contaminate it with second-degree impurity (Toh 1.5).

Note also עֲשָׂאָן 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:

יָרַד עַל סִיחוֹן וְהָרְגוֹ, יָרַד עַל עֹג וְהָרְגוֹ

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):

נִתַּן כַּח בְּעֵינָיו שֶׁל מֹשֶׁה וְרָאָה מִסּוֹף הָעוֹלָם וְעַד סוֹפוֹ. וְכֵן אִתְּחָה מוֹצֵא
בְּצַד־יָקִים שְׂרוּאִים מִסּוֹף הָעוֹלָם וְעַד סוֹפוֹ

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 ויקטל construction, the perfect became the dominant narrative verb-form for expressing events that had occurred in the past:

משל, למה הדבר דומה? למלך בשר ודם שכעס על בנו, והלך לו הבן
הוא אצל אהבו 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 subordinate clauses (introduced by *ש*, *כש*, etc.):

כשירד משה מהר סיני נתקבצו 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 אשתו של אספסינוס, שנכנס לבית קדש הקדשים
וגדר שתי פרכות בסיף

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 *היה* followed by a participle or noun and linked by *-l* to a perfect indicates action prior to that expressed by the perfect:

למלך ששכר פועלין הרבה והיה שם פועל אחד שעשה עמו מלאכה
ימים הרבה

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 לטייל עם אריס בפרדס והיה אותו אריס מיטמר 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 *אמרתי* 'that's what you say' (in rabbinic arguments), or in such formulas as *לא זכיתי מן הדין* 'I do not arrive at this through deductive reasoning' (see below, §15). Particularly striking is the form of greeting recorded in Bik 3.3:

וְכָל בְּעָלֵי אֲמָנוּת שְׁבִירוּשָׁלַיִם עוֹמְדִין לְפָנֵיהֶם וְשׂוֹאֲלִין בְּשָׁלוֹמָם
אֲחֵינוּ אֲנֵשֵׁי מְקוֹם פְּלוּנֵי, בְּאַחֶם לְשָׁלוֹם

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

כָּל שֶׁחִבְתִּי בְשִׁמְיִרְתּוֹ, הִכְשַׁרְתִּי אֹתוֹ נֹקוּ

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 allow no exception, for example וְצֵא סוּד נִכְסֵי יַיִן, וְצֵא סוּד 'wine went in, the secret went out' (Erub 65a). In fact, such sentences amount to conditional clauses, 'if/when/whenever wine enters ...'; compare Pr 18.22:

מִצָּא אִשָּׁה מִצָּא טוֹב

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'):

מִזְנוּ לוֹ אֶת הַכּוֹס, וְאָמַר, הֲרִינִי נָזִיר כִּפְנֵי הָרִי זֶה נָזִיר

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

מִי שֶׁאָמַר, הֲרִינִי נָזִיר, מִגִּלְחַת יוֹם שְׁלֹשִׁים וְאֶחָד

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-judicial 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:

הַחֲלִיל מִכָּה לִפְנֵיהֶם, עַד שֶׁמִּגִּיעִים לַהַר הַבַּיִת. הִגִּיעוּ לַהַר הַבַּיִת,
אִפְּלוּ אַגְרִיפָס הַמֶּלֶךְ נוֹטֵל עַל כַּתְּפוֹ וְנִכְנֵס, עַד שֶׁהוּא מִגִּיעַ
לְעֹזְרָה. הִגִּיעוּ לְעֹזְרָה, וְדִבְרוּ הַלְוִיִּם בְּשִׁיר

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:

הַקְּוֹרָא אֶת שְׁמַע וְלֹא הִשְׁמִיעַ לְאָזְנוֹ, יֵצֵא

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 Sof 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:

פָּרְשַׁת הַמֶּלֶךְ כִּי צָדַד ... עוֹשִׂין לוֹ בִּימֵה שְׁלֵעִן בְּעֹזְרָה, וְהוּא יוֹשֵׁב
עָלֶיהָ ... חָזַן הַכְּנֶסֶת נוֹטֵל סֶפֶר תּוֹרָה וְנוֹחֵנָה לְרֹאשׁ הַכְּנֶסֶת ... וְכֹחֵן

גָּדוֹל נִוְתָנָה לְמֶלֶךְ, וְהִמְלִיךְ עֹמֵד וּמִקְבֵּל וּקְרָא יוֹשֵׁב. אֲגָרִיפּוֹס הִמְלִיךְ
עֹמֵד וּקְבֵל וְקָרָא עֹמֵד וְשָׂבַחְהוּ חֻכְמִים

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:

חֻכְמִים, הַיְהִירוּ בְּדַבְרֵיהֶם, שֶׁמָּא תַּחֲבוּבוּ חֻבַּת גְּלוּת וְתִגְלוּ לַמְּקוֹם מִיָּם
הַיְרָעִים, וַיִּשְׁחֲוּ הַתַּלְמִידִים הַבָּאִים אַחֲרֵיכֶם וַיְמַדְּוּ, וּנְמָצָא שֵׁם שָׁמַיִם
מִתְחַלָּל

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 נְמָצָא, see Unit 15.12.)

14. Expressions of the type *מִהַ שְׁעָשָׂה עָשָׂה* or *אִם עָשִׂיתִי עָשִׂיתִי* ‘what is done is done’, emphasizing the irreversibility of a particular deed (see Mishor 1983a, 69–71), are common: for example

מִהַ שְׁעָשִׂית עָשִׂיתָ, אֲבָל לֹא תִשְׁנֶה לַעֲשׂוֹת כֵּן

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

מִהַ שְׁעָשָׂה עָשִׂי

What he did is done (Ter 2.2).

IV Phraseology

15. *לֹא זָכִיתִי מִן הַדִּין* ‘I do not arrive at this through logical deduction’ is employed when a rabbinic debate is concluded by giving priority to the meaning of the biblical text over any logical argument (דִּין), as at SNm 153.6 (H 202):

לֹא זָכִיתִי מִן הַדִּין. תִּל, אֵלֶּה הַחֻקִּים אֲשֶׁר צִוָּה יְיָ אֶת מֹשֶׁה וְנִבְמַדְמַד
לִי צִי

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. אָמַרְתָּ, 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 (H 70):

על הצר הצרר [במדבר ~ ט]. במלחמת גוג ומגוג הכתוב מדבר. אתה אומר, במלחמת גוג ומגוג הכתוב מדבר, או אינו מדבר אלא בכל המלחמות שבתורה? ת"ל, ונשעתם מאויביכם [במדבר ~ ט]. אמרת. צא וראה איזו היא מלחמה שישראל נושעים ממנה ואין אחריה שעבוד. אין אתה מוצא אלא מלחמת גוג ומגוג. וכן הוא אומר, ויצא ~ ונלחם בגוים ההם [זכריה יד' ג].

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. אָצָא [לֹא] '(fail to) fulfil one's duty', a juridical expression often found in *halakhot*, for example Ber 6.2:

בְּרֵךְ עַל פְּרוֹת הָאֵילָן, בּוֹרֵא פְּרֵי הָאֲדָמָה, אָצָא, וְעַל פְּרוֹת הָאֲרִיזָן,
בוֹרֵא פְּרֵי הָעֵץ, לֹא אָצָא

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, אָצָא יְדֵי חֻבְרָה, is presented in Unit 22.26.

V Vocabulary

גִּדְּף 'scrape (clean)'

נֹזֵקֵר 'treasurer'

גְּבוּחַ 'blemish, fault, disgrace'

גְּרוֹגְרִיחַ 'dried fig'

דִּיחִיקָי (διαθήκη) 'pact, testament'

זוּן 'supply, feed'

חֶבְדָּה 'love'

לְמִפְרֵעַ 'irregularly, without order, back to front'

מְצֻפּוֹת (pu. participle plural of צָפָה) 'covered'

סִימָן 'sign'

סָגָן 'prefect, head'

עֵסָה 'dough'

עֲלִיהַ 'ascent' (especially the ascent to Jerusalem)

פָּתָה 'noble'

פָּסַק 'agree'

צִימוֹק 'raisin'

רַחֲצָה 'bath'

שָׁוֶה 'equal, equivalent'; בְּשָׂוֶה 'for what is right, for a fair price', 'for a lower price'

VI Exercises

1. מי שָׁמַח וּנְמַצָּאת דִּיתִיקִי קִשְׁרָה עַל יָדְכוּ, הָרִי זֶה אֵינָה כְּלוּם.
2. הִנִּיחַ בְּנוֹחַ גְּדוּלוֹת וּקְטָנוֹת, אֵין הַגְּדוּלוֹת מִתְּפַרְנְסוֹת עַל הַקְּטָנוֹת, וְלֹא קְטָנוֹת נֹאמָוֹת עַל הַגְּדוּלוֹת, אֵלֹא חוֹלְקוֹת בְּשָׂוֶה.
3. הַקְּוֹרָא אֵת שְׁמַע וְלֹא הַשְׁמִיעַ לְאֹזְנוֹ, יָצָא. רַבִּי יוֹסִי אוֹמֵר, לֹא יָצָא. קָרָא וְלֹא דִקְדַק בְּאוֹחֵיחֵיהִי, רַבִּי יוֹסִי אוֹמֵר, יָצָא. רַבִּי יְהוּדָה אוֹמֵר, לֹא יָצָא.
4. הַקְּרוֹבִים מִבֵּיָאִים תְּאֵנִים וְעַנְבִּים, וְהַרְחוּקִים מִבֵּיָאִים גְּרוֹגְרוֹת וְצַפּוּקִים. וְהַשּׁוֹר הוֹלֵךְ לְפָנֵיהֶם, וְקַרְנָיו מִצְפּוֹת זֶהָב וְעֵטְרָה שְׁלִישִׁית בְּרֵאשׁוֹ. הַחֲלִיל מִכָּה לְפָנֵיהֶם, עַד שְׁמִיעֵים קְרוֹב לִירוּשָׁלַיִם. הַגִּיעוּ קְרוֹב לִירוּשָׁלַיִם, שְׁלַחוּ לְפָנֵיהֶם, וְעִמְדוּ אֵת בְּכֹרֵיהֶם. הַפְּחוֹת, הַפְּגִינִים וְהַגְּזוּבִים יוֹצֵאִים לְקָרְאָתָם. לְפִי כְבוֹד הַנְּכֻסִים הָיוּ יוֹצֵאִים. וְכֹל בְּעֲלֵי אֲמִנִיּוֹת שְׁבִירוּשָׁלַיִם עוֹמְדִין לְפָנֵיהֶם וְשׂוֹאֲלִין בְּשִׁלּוּמָם, אַחֲזִינוּ אֲנָשִׁי מְקוֹם פְּלוֹנִי, בְּאֵתָם לְשִׁלוֹם.
5. גַּר שְׁתַּנְּצִיר, וְהִתְהַה לּוֹ עֵסָה, נַעֲשֶׂת עַד שְׁלֹא נִתְצִיר, פְּסוּר, וּמִשְׁתַּנְּצִיר, חֲבִיב.
6. הוֹרִו בֵּית דִּין, וְעִשׂוּ כָל הַקְּהָל אוֹ רֶבֶן עַל פִּיהֶן, מִבֵּיָאִין פֶּר, וּבְעֵבֻדָּה יָרָה, מִבֵּיָאִין פֶּר וְשִׁעִיר, דַּבְּרִי רַבִּי מֵאִיר.
7. הַקְּוֹרָא אֵת הַמְּגִלָּה לְמַפְרַע, לֹא יָצָא. קָרָאָה עַל פֹּה, קָרָאָה תְּרוּגָוָם, בְּכֹל לְשׁוֹן, לֹא יָצָא.
8. מִי שְׂאָמַר, הִרִינִי נְזִיר, וְשָׁמַע חֶבְרוֹ וְאָמַר, וְאֵנִי, נְאֻנִי, כָּלָם נְזִירִין.
9. מִי שְׂנָדַר בְּנְזִיר וְהִלֵּךְ לְהִבְיֵא אֵת בְּהֵמָתוֹ וּמִצָּאָה שְׁנַנְבָּה, אִם עַד שְׁלֹא נִנְבָּה בְּהֵמָתוֹ נְזִיר, הָרִי זֶה נְזִיר, וְאִם מִשְׁנַנְבָּה בְּהֵמָתוֹ נְזִיר, אֵינוֹ נְזִיר.
10. מִצִּינּוֹ שֶׁעָשָׂה אֲבָרָהָם אָבִינוּ אֵת כָּל הַחֹרֶה כְּלָה עַד שְׁלֹא נִתְנָה.
11. פְּעֻמִּים הַרְבֵּה קָרִיתִי לְפָנָיו בְּדִנְיָאֵל.
12. כִּיּוֹן שִׁמְעוּ כְּנַעֲנִיִּים שִׁישְׂרָאֵל נְכֻסִים לְאָרֶץ עַמְדוֹ וְשִׁרְפוּ אֵת הַזֹּרְעִים וְקִצְצוּ אֵת הָאֵילָנוֹת וְסִתְרוּ אֵת הַבְּנִינִים וְסִתְמוּ אֵת הַמַּעֲיִינֹת.
13. כִּיּוֹן שִׁמְעוּ אוֹמוֹת הָעוֹלָם שֶׁאֲבַד פְּרַעַה וְחִילוֹ בַּיָּם וּבַמְּלָחָה מַלְכוּת שֶׁל מִצְרַיִם וְשִׁפְטִים נַעֲשׂוּ בְּעֵבֻדָּה זֶרָה שְׁלָהֶן, הַתְּחִילוּ מִתְּרוּגִין.
14. וְיֹאמַר אִם שָׁמַעְתֶּם חֲשַׁמְעַן (שְׁמוֹת מִ' כו'). מִכָּאן אָמַרְוּ, שָׁמַע אָדָם מִצְוֶה אֶחָד, מִשְׁמִיעֵין אוֹתוֹ מִצְוֹת הַרְבֵּה, שְׁנֹאמַר, אִם שָׁמַעְתֶּם (שָׁם). שִׁכַח אָדָם מִצְוֶה אֶחָד, מִשְׁכַּחֲחִין לוֹ מִצְוֹת הַרְבֵּה, שְׁנֹאמַר, וְהִידָה אִם שִׁכַח תִּשְׁכַּח (דַּבְּרִים ח' יט').
15. מִשָּׁל, לְמַה הַדְּבַר דּוּמָה? לְבַח מַלְכִים שֶׁנִּשְׂאָח כְּשֶׁהִיא קִטְנָה, וּפְסִיקוֹ עִם אִמָּה שֶׁהָיָה מִשְׁמֵשֶׁת עַד שֶׁעָה שֶׁחֲלָמוֹד בָּתָה. אֵיךְ כִּךְ אֶהְרֵן תְּחִילָה הִיָּה

- לוי, שנאמר, הלא אהרן אחיך הלוי? [שמות ד' יד'], כשנבחר להיות כהן גדול אמר לו הקב"ה למשה, אחזה תשמעני עד שילמוד אהרן.
 16. עכשיו ישראל אומרים, לא נתגייר יחור מחיבה. כסבור היה יתרו שיש לגרים חלק בארץ ישראל, עכשיו שראה שאין להם חלק, הניחם והלך לו.
 17. מפני מה לא ברא המקום חמים בירושלים כחמי טבריה? כדי שלא יאמר אדם לחבירו, נלך ונעלה לירושלים. הא אם אין אנו עולים אלא בשביל רחיצה אחת, דיינו. ונמצאית עלייה שלא לשמה.
 18. נדפח את כל הקערה כולה ולא שיירתה ממנה כלום.
 19. רבי נתן אומר, סימן טוב הוא לאדם שנפרעים ממנו לאחר מיתחו. מת, לא נספד ולא נקבר, אכלתו חיה או שירדו עליו גשמים, הרי זה סימן טוב שנפרעים ממנו לאחר מיתחו.
 20. עבר ' (דברים לד' ה'). לא בגנותו של משה הכתוב מדבר, אלא בשבחו, שכך מצינו בנביאים הראשונים שנקראו עבדים.

Sources. 1. BB 8.6. 2. BB 8.8. 3. Ber 2.3. 4. Bik 3.3. 5. Ḥal 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 שמעו תשמעו אל מצותי אשר אנכי מצוה אתכם היום לאהבה את ' אלהיכם [דברים י' יג']. שמו תאמר, הריני למד תורה בשביל שאעשיר, בשביל שאקרא רבי, בשביל שאקבל שכר לעולם הבא, תלמוד לומר, לאהבה את ' אלהיכם. כל שאחם עושים לא תהו 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 take my seat in the academy [ישיבה], to prolong my days in the 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 *תקטלנה*, which is replaced by the corresponding masculine forms *תקטלו* (second person) and *יקטלו* (third person). In the Qumran texts studied by E. Qimron (1986, 45), *תקטלנה* is only found three times. Also (see Unit 16.5B), despite their similarity to Aramaic, BH forms ending in *nun*, such as the second person feminine singular *תקטלין*, disappear, with the archaizing (perhaps Aramaic-influenced) forms *תקטלין* and *יקטלין* sometimes being used instead of their regular counterparts *תקטלו* and *יקטלו*, apparently purely for stylistic reasons. At Qumran, the suffix *-un* is scarcely attested.

3. The lengthened, cohortative, forms of the first person singular, *אקטלה*, and plural, *נקטלה*, 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,

ואל תאמון בעצמך

Don't trust in yourself

(but K reads the non-jussive form *תאמין*), and in other common verbs, clearly under biblical influence, as at Abot 1.8:

אל תעש עצמך כעורכי הדינים

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 *תהיה* 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 *יהי* and *תהי*, which are employed particularly in proverbial and liturgical contexts, for example

יהי קמון חברך תביב עליך כשליך

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

This biblicalizing 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, יהי.

As well as the biblical forms אֶהְיֶה, אֶתְהַיֶּה, יִהְיֶה, etc., we also find the Aramaizing structures אֶהְיֶה, אֶתְהַיֶּה, יִהְיֶה, etc. (also with final *yod*: אֶהְיֶה, אֶתְהַיֶּה, יִהְיֶה), which gained ground in colloquial usage, for example אֶהְיֶה נַזִּירָה שֶׁבַע שָׁנִים 'I shall be a Nazirite for seven years' (Naz 3.6). The following table displays the two sets of forms.

Biblical		Aramaic	
אֶהְיֶה		אֶהְיֶה	אֶהְיֶה
אֶתְהַיֶּה	תְּהַיֶּה	אֶתְהַיֶּה	תְּהַיֶּה
יִהְיֶה	יְהִי	יִהְיֶה	יְהִי
נִהְיֶה		נִהְיֶה	נִהְיֶה
תְּהַיֶּה		תְּהַיֶּה	
יְהִי		יְהִי	יְהִי

The form תְּהַיֶּה only occurs in quotations from the Bible.

6. The confusion, already noted (Unit 17.5), between *lamed-alef* and *lamed-he* (or *lamed-yod*) verbs has led to such forms as יִקְרֵא for יִקְרֵא and תִּקְרֵא for תִּקְרֵא; contrast the late text at Abot 6.2,

אַל תִּקְרֵא חֲרֹת אֱלֵא חֲרֹת

Read not *harut* but *herut*.

with Mek 17.8 (L 2.138): אַל תִּקְרֵי שְׁפָטִים אֱלֵא שְׁפָטִים 'read not *shefatim* but *shpupitim*'.

7. The verb הִפֵּךְ '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 אָמַר and אָכַל. Thus, we find in the first and third persons אֶוֹפֵךְ and יֹפֵךְ (like אֶוֹמַר and יֹמַר), for example at Kil 2.3:

לֹא יֹאמַר, אֲזָרַע וְאַחַר כֵּךְ אֶוֹפֵךְ, אֱלֵא הֶוֹפֵךְ וְאַחַר כֵּךְ זֹרַע

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 הִיָּה, there is no appreciable difference in meaning between the biblical form יִהְיֶה and the standard rabbinic יִהְיֶה, although 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:

חֲכָמִים הִזְהָרוּ בְּדַבְרֵיהֶם, שֶׁפָּא תְּחֻבוּ חֻבַּת גְּלוּת וְתִגְלוּ לְמָקוֹם מַיִם
תְּדַעִים, וְיִשְׁתּוּ הַתַּלְמִידִים הַבָּאִים אַחֲרֵיכֶם וְיָמוּתוּ.

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:

אִם אֱלֹהֵי הוּא, יָבוֹא וַיִּמָּחַח

If he is God, let him come and destroy (SDt 328 [F 379]);

מָה אֶעֱשֶׂה

What can I do? (Sanh 3.7);

בְּשִׁלְשָׁה אוֹמֵר, נִבְרָךְ

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 *מִי* followed by the imperfect, as in BH. Compare

מִי יִגְלֶה עִפְרוֹ מֵעֵינַיךָ, רַבֵּן יוֹחָנָן בֶּן זַכַּאי

Who could wipe the dust from your eyes, Rabban Johanan ben Zakai! (Soṭ 5.2)

with

מִי יֵאָכְלֵנוּ בָּשָׂר

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 *אַל* followed by the imperfect, as in

אַל תִּרְבֶּה שִׁיחָה עִם הָאִשָּׁה

Don’t talk too much with women (Abot 1.5).

In halakhic idiom, the imperfect with *לֹא יַעֲשֶׂה* (*לֹא יַעֲשֶׂה*) is used alongside *אֵין* with participle (*אֵין עוֹשֶׂיךָ*) 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

עַל קַן צְפוֹד יִגִּיעוּ רַחֲמֶיךָ

Unto the nests of the birds your mercy reaches (Meg 4.9).

13. A. Bendavid (1967, §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, *כִּיצַד הוּא עוֹשֶׂה* ‘how must he act?’ (Men 5.6) with *כִּיצַד יַעֲשֶׂה* ‘how will he 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’ (מְקוֹם שֶׁנֶּהֱגוּ), 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.):

מְקוֹם שֶׁנֶּהֱגוּ לְחַלּוֹק אֶת הַיְלָדוֹת מִיָּד, חוֹלְקִין, מְקוֹם שֶׁנֶּהֱגוּ לַגְדֵּל, יַגְדִּיל

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*:

הוֹדִיעֵנִי אִם אֶכְנַס לְאֶרֶץ אִם לֹא ... הוֹדִיעֵנִי אִם מְנַה אֶחָה עֲלֵיהֶם
פְּרָנְסִים וְאִם לֹא

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]);

הוֹדִיעֵנִי אִם אֲנִי נֹכְנֵס לְאֶרֶץ וְאִם אֵינִי נֹכְנֵס

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 *שֶׁ*- or a compound of *שֶׁ*-: *שֶׁמָּא* ‘in case, so as not to’, *כִּי שֶׁ*- ‘so that’, *בְּשֶׁבִיל שֶׁ*- ‘in order to, so that, because’, *עַל מְנַת שֶׁ*- ‘on condition that’, *שֶׁ*- *לְאַחַר שֶׁ*- ‘after’, *לְכֶשֶׁ*- ‘(for) when’, *עַד שֶׁ*- ‘until’, etc.—or with the phrases *גִּזְרֵנִי שֶׁ*- ‘I order that’, *שְׁבִיעָה שֶׁ*- ‘I swear that’, *צָרִיךְ שֶׁ*- ‘it is necessary that’, and *וּבְלִבְד שֶׁ*- ‘provided that, only 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:

שְׂמַח הָאָמֵר, לְמִדְתֵי חִכְמַת יִשְׂרָאֵל, אֵלֶיךָ וְאֵלֶיךָ חִכְמַת הָאוּמוֹת

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]);

שְׂמַח הָאָמֵר, הֲרִינִי לְלַמַּד תּוֹרָה בְּשֶׁבִיל שְׂאֵשִׁיר

In case you say, I am going to study the Torah to make myself rich (SDt 41 [F 87]);

הרי זה גטך, על מנת שתתני לי מאתיים זוז

Here is your document, on condition that you give me two hundred zuz (Git 7.5);

ובלבד שיהא הכסף משלאחרים

Provided that the money comes from others (Qid 1.3).

15. The imperfect following אִם expresses a possible but unfulfilled condition, an infrequent construction (see Segal, 1927, §486) that is normally formulated with the temporal conjunctions עַד שֶׁ-, בְּזֶמַן שֶׁ-, כִּשְׁ-, לִכְשֶׁ-, etc.:

אִם יִהְיוּ כָּל חֲכָמֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל בְּכַף מֵאֲזָנִים

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 עָתִיד ל־ followed by the infinitive (see Units 16.3B and 20.12) is that of עָתִיד שֶׁ- with the imperfect, used to express 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 Zutta, 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):

עתידיה כנסת ישראל שתעמוד בדיון לפני המקום שאומרת

The assembly of Israel will arise before the omnipresent one and will say (SDt 306 [F 330]; see Girón 1992).

IV Phraseology

17. שְׂמָא תֵאמַר/תֵּאמְרוּ ‘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 תֵּלְמוּד לֵאמֹר ‘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 לא תקח [שמות כג' ח']. שְׂמָא תֵאמַר, הריני נוטל ממון ואיני מטה את הדין. ת"ל, כי השוחד יעור עיני חכמים [דברים טז' יט].

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]);

שְׂמָא תֵאמְרוּ, הרי מאכל הרי משחה, אִם אֵין שְׁלוֹם אֵין כְּלוּם, ת"ל, ונחתי שלום בארץ [ויקרא כו' ו].

[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]);

וידד מצררמה [דברים כו' ה']. שְׂמָא תֵאמַר שידד 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

אָבָה/אָבָה 'desire'

בָּטַל 'annul'

סָאָה 'space occupied by one seah'

גְּבוּל 'limit', specifically of that which is beyond Jerusalem and the temple

גָּזַר 'decree'

דַּפּוּס 'impression, tattoo'

חָגוּן 'worthy (of)'

הִמְחִיז (hi. of מָחַז), 'keep, leave, postpone, wait'

הִנָּזַר (ni. of נָזַר) 'abstain, deprive oneself'

הִחְלִיעַ (hi. of חָלַע) 'decay, ripen'

נִמְלַךְ (ni. of מָלַךְ) 'take advice, reconsider, change one's mind'

עָרַעַר 'protest'

פָּנָה 'turn', ni. נִפְנָה 'be free, have time'

פַּסְיָקָא (Latin *fascia*) 'girdle, brassiere'

קָבַע 'institution'. i.e. something fixed and established

רַבִּיעָה 'autumn rain'

שָׁנָה 'repeat', specifically 'study Mishnah, oral tradition'

חֲלֵם 'furrow'

VI Exercises

1. הוא הָיָה אומר, עָשָׂה רִצּוֹנוֹ כְּרִצּוֹנְךָ, כְּדִי [כְּדִי K lacks] שִׁיעֵשָׂה רִצּוֹנְךָ כְּרִצּוֹנוֹ. בָּטַל רִצּוֹנְךָ מִפְּנֵי רִצּוֹנוֹ, כְּדִי [כְּדִי K lacks] שִׁיבְטֵל רִצּוֹן אֲחֵרִים מִפְּנֵי רִצּוֹנְךָ. הִלֵּל אומר, אֵל תִּפְרוֹשׁ מִן הַצִּבּוּר, וְאֵל תֵּאֱמָן [תֵּאֱמָן K] בַּעֲצֻמְךָ עַד יוֹם מוֹתְךָ, וְאֵל תִּדְרִין אֶת חִבְרֶיךָ עַד שֶׁתִּגִּיעַ לְמִקְוָמוֹ. וְאֵל תֵּאֱמָר דְּבַר שְׂאֵי אִפְשָׁר לְשִׁמוֹעַ, שְׁסוּפוּ לְהִשְׁמַעַ. וְאֵל תֵּאֱמָר, לִכְשֶׁאֲפָנָה אֲשָׁנָה, שִׁמָּא לֹא תִפְנָה.
2. וְכִשְׁאֲחָה מִחֲפָלָל, אֵל תַּעַשׂ תִּפְלֹחֶיךָ קָבַע, אֱלֹא רַחֲמִים וְתַחֲנוּנִים לִפְנֵי הַמִּקְוָם בְּרוּךְ הוּא... וְאֵל תְּהִי רָשָׁע בְּפָנֵי עֲצֻמְךָ.
3. מִקּוֹם שֶׁנִּהְיָה לְהַטִּיל מַיִם בֵּינָן יִטִּילוּ.
4. הִיחָה שְׂדֵהוּ זָרִיעָה חֲסִים וְנִמְלַךְ לְזָרְעָה שְׁעוּרִים. יִמְחִין לָהּ עַד שֶׁתִּחְלִיעַ, וְיִפְּדֶה וְאַחֵר כֶּךָ זָרַע, אִם צִמְחָה. לֹא יֵאֱמָר, אֲזָרַע וְאַחֵר כֶּךָ אוֹפְדֶה, אֱלֹא הוֹפְדֶה וְאַחֵר כֶּךָ זָרַע. כִּמָּה יֵהָא חוֹרֵשׁ כִּתְלָמִי תְּרַבִּיעָה. אָבָא שְׂאוּל אומר, כְּדִי שְׂלֵא יִשִּׁיר רַבַּע לְבֵית סָאָה.
5. מִקּוֹם שֶׁנִּהְיָה לְבָרֶךְ, יִבָּרֶךְ, וְשִׁלָּא לְבָרֶךְ, לֹא יִבָּרֶךְ.

UNIT NINETEEN

PARTICIPLE

I *Introductory text* (SDt 329 [F 380])

ואין מידי מציל [דבדים לב' לט'], אין אבות מצילין את הבנים, לא אברהם מציל את ישמעאל ולא יצחק מציל את עשו. אין לי אלא אבות שאין מצילין את הבנים. אחים את אחים מנין? תלמוד לומר, את לא פדה יפדה איש [תהלים מט' ח']. לא יצחק מציל את ישמעאל ולא יעקב מציל את עשו, ואפילו נותן אדם לו כל ממון שבעולם, אין נותנין לו כפרו, שנאמר, ואת לא פדה יפדה איש... ויקר פדיון נפשם [תהלים מט' ח-טז]. יקרה היא נפש זו, שכשאתם חוטא ביה אין לה 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* alternate.

3. *Qal*.

A. RH retains all three BH models, the active קָטַל, and the intransitive or stative קָטַל and קָטַל, as in the following table.

שָׁמַר	שָׁמְרָת	שָׁמְרִין	שָׁמְרוֹת
בָּטַל	בָּטְלָה	בָּטְלִין	בָּטְלוֹת
יָכוֹל	יָכוֹלָה	יָכוֹלִין	יָכוֹלוֹת

As well as the feminine in קטלת, we occasionally find קטלה, as at SNm 131.1 (H 170):

וקטנה קראתה ואומרה לו מבפנים

A younger one was calling him and saying to him from inside.

(MS Vatican 32 has אומרת, but note that the structures in the version above could simply be forms of the perfect that have resulted from assimilation: קראתה > קראתה and אומרה > אומרה, i.e. ā > ō before a labial or *resh*.)

The stative participle קטל has the same semantic value as an adjective, and, like an adjective, forms its feminine in *-ah*, for example טמאה, טמאה 'impure'. Sometimes, such structures exist alongside active forms of the participle, for example למדה, למדה 'learned' and למדה, למדה 'student'. There is a tendency to replace the stative forms by the active, as at Abot 4.20, where the standard text reads

הלומד מן הקטנים, למה הוא דומה

A person who learns from little ones, who is such a person like?,

but K has הלומד מן הקטנים (note also SNm 131.1 [H 169]:

כל פרשה שהיא סמוכה לחברתה למידה הימנה

Any pericope found next to another is illuminated by it).

In these instances, there is a difference in aspect between לומד (more active) and למד (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

בוטל מדברי תורה

Neglecting the study of the law,

but K has בטל. Other examples relate to דולק and דולק and אובד and אובד. Possibly, the influence of the Aramaic participle in קטל 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 קטל model in RH is יכול—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 יכולה, for יכולה, accentuating its stative character.

B. The first person subject pronoun can be attached as a suffix to the participle, giving rise to the common forms גזרתי (from גזרתי 'I decree'), as at Taa 3.8, פורטתי (from פורטתי 'I specify'), as at SNm 1.2 (H 1), and שומעתי (from שומעתי 'I interpret'), as at SNm 1.4 (H 2).

C. The passive participle regularly forms the feminine with *-ah*, for example אמרה, אמרה 'said, mentioned', as at Soṭ 7.3:

מה ענייה האמורה להגין בלשון הקודש, אף כאן בלשון הקודש

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 גרושה 'divorcée'.

D. In *ayin-waw* and *lamed-he* verbs, the BH form of the feminine

singular participle, in *-ah*, is maintained, for example בָּאֵה 'coming' and רָצָה 'desiring'.

Participles of *lamed-alef* verbs can be inflected as though they were *lamed-he*, thus קָרִיִן and קָרְאִין 'calling'. In the feminine singular, the participle can take either *-ah* or *-t*: יֹצֵאתָ (K יֹצֵאת) and יֹצֵאת 'going out':

בְּמָה אֵשֶׁה יֹצֵאתָ וּבְמָה אֵינָה יֹצֵאתָ

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

בֵּית דִּין הַגָּדוֹל ... שֶׁמִּמֶּנּוּ יֹצֵאת תּוֹרָה לְכָל יִשְׂרָאֵל

The supreme court ... from which teaching extends to all Israel (Sanh 11.2).

Doubtless, יֹצֵאתָ is a biblicizing form—at Sanh 11.2 and Yeb 14.1, K reads יֹצֵאת for, respectively, יֹצֵאתָ and יֹצֵאתָ. Already in LBH, we find:

כַּשֶּׁגְּגָה שִׁיזָא מִלִּפְנֵי הַשָּׁלִיט

Like an error that proceeds from a ruler (Ec 10.5).

E. An active קָטוּל participle is well-attested in good manuscripts, even though it has been confused with the passive קָטוּל or corrected to the standard קוּטל model. Thus, whereas the standard text of Abot 4.20 reads

הַלְיֹמֵד מִן הַזְקֵנִים לָמָּה הוּא דוֹמֵה? לְאוֹכֵל עֵגְבִים

A person who learns from old people, who is such a person like? (Like) one who eats (ripe) grapes,

K has לְאוֹכֵל, pointed לְאוֹכֵל (Mishor 1983a provides a complete list of such participles).

F. The model קָטוּל for the *Qal* passive participle, alongside the usual קָטוּל, is attested in good manuscripts, but only very rarely, for example שְׁלוּחָה 'her emissary' (K Qid 2.1)—possibly it is this participle that underlies the wordplay with ἀπεσταλμένος at Jn 9.7.

4. *Nif'al*.

In the feminine singular participle, the suffix *-t* (נִקְטְלוּת) predominates, as against the BH model in *-ah* (נִקְטְלוּהָ), for example

וּמִנֵּין שֶׁהָאָרֶץ עֲתִידָה לִהְיוֹת נוֹרַעַת וְעוֹשֶׂה פִירוֹת בֵּן יוֹמָה

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 forms like נִקְרָאתָ, נִעֲשִׂיתָ, etc. An example with בָּנָה is seen at Sanh 10.6:

לְכֹמוֹ שֶׁהֵיְתָה אֵינָה נִבְנִית, אֲבָל נִעֲשִׂית הִיא גַּנּוֹת וּפְרָדִים

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 נִעֲשֶׂה and נִעֲשָׂה, instead of BH נִעֲשֶׂה, in K and other good manuscripts, result from assimilation of the verb עָשָׂה to the *lamed-alef* model (see Unit 17.5).

For the verb רָדַן, we find the *Nif'al* participles נִרְדָּן, functioning more as a noun, and נִרְדִּין, 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: מְדַבֵּר, מְדַבְּרָה, מְדַבְּרִין, מְדַבְּרוֹת. The *Pi'el* participle of הָיָה is attested twice in the Talmud, in two different forms מְהִיָּה (Ket 40b) and מְהִיָּה (Qid 18a), but not at all in the Mishnah or tannaitic *midrashim*.

B. Of the *Pu'al*, it is only the participle that survives in RH, and this, again, usually follows the BH model: מְדַבֵּר, מְדַבְּרָה, מְדַבְּרִין, מְדַבְּרוֹת. However, in *lamed-he* verbs, the feminine participles take *-h*, for example מְגוֹלָה/מְגוֹלָה. As already noted (Unit 15.4C), the preformative *mem* is often omitted in the Babylonian tradition; hence, מְמוּעַט becomes מוּעַט, as at Hag 1.8:

מִקְרָא מְעַט וְהִלְכוֹת מְרֵבוֹת

Many laws from little Scripture (K מְמוּעַט).

6. *Hitpa'el* and *Nitpa'al*.

As well as the *Hitpa'el* participle in -תָּה, there is also a *Nitpa'al* participle in -תָּה. It is often thought that the latter has been corrected by later copyists to the former, perhaps because of the orthographic similarity of נִי and נָ. In such participles, the assimilation of the -תָּ- 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 *Hif'il*, a more colloquial form, מְקַטְלָה, is found alongside the BH feminine מְקַטְלָה:

כִּךְ מְטִיבָה, כִּךְ מְרִיעָה

Doing good in this way, doing harm in this way (Sanh 7.10);

הָאִישׁ מְדִיר אֶת בְּנוֹ בְּנִזִיר, וְאִין הָאִשָּׁה מְדִירָה אֶת בְּנָהּ בְּנִזִיר

A man may impose a Nazirite vow on his son, but a woman may not impose a Nazirite vow on her son (Soṭ 3.8).

The form in *-t* is already encountered in LBH:

אִין אֶסְתֵּר מְגִידָה מוֹלְדָתָהּ

Esther did not declare her family background (Est 2.20).

In *lamed-he* verbs, the feminine participle מְעַלָּה is found instead of מְעַלָּה, for example, in the best manuscripts of SNm 95.1 (H 95):

וְהִלָּא הִלְכָה עִמָּהֶם בְּאֵר בְּמִדְבָּר וְהִזְחָה מֵעֵלָה לָהֶם דְּגָיִם שְׂמָנִים יוֹתֵר
מִצְרָכָם

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 conjugation. Thus, the participle follows the model מוּקְדָּמָה, מוּקְדָּמָה. In some *lamed-he* verbs, the feminine participle also ends in *-t*, as in the phrase מוּכַחַת עֵץ '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 פְּאֵי הָאָרֶץ ... עוֹלֵי כְּבֵל, ‘followers of idolatry’ (Mek 18.3 [L 2.168]), פְּאֵי הָאָרֶץ ... עוֹלֵי כְּבֵל, ‘those who entered the country ... those who went up from Babylonia’ (SDt 8 [F 16]), and שׁוֹפְכֵי דָם ‘spillers of blood’ (Soṭ 9.6)—the same usage is seen in BH, for example קָל-יֹרְדֵי עָפָר ‘all who go down into the dust’ (Ps 22.30).

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

אמר ר"ש, אימתי הוא שבחו של מקום? בזמן שאין מזיקים או בזמן שיש
מזיקים ואין מזיקים?

Rabbi Simeon argued, When should one praise a place? When there are no evil powers (מזיקים)? Or when there are evil powers but they do not cause harm (מזיקים)?

There are numerous other examples of this sort, intended to have a rhetorical effect, for example הַקּוֹרֵא קוֹרֵא ‘the reader reads’ (Mak 3.14) or אֵין הַתּוֹרֵם תּוֹרֵם ‘the one who collected *terumah* would not collect it (without saying ...)’ (Sheq 3.3), etc.

At Abot 5.14, בְּהוֹלְכֵי לְבֵית הַמְדֻרָּשׁ ‘among those who go to the house of 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), לְבֵית, 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, בַּחֲזָרֵי בִישְׂרָאֵל, corrected by the Masoretes).

9. See Unit 16.12B 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:

הַתּוֹכְהָה מְבִיאָה לִידֵי שְׁלוֹמִים

Correction leads to peace (SDt 2 [F 10]);

הַקּוֹרֵא אֶת הַמְּגִלָּה עוֹמֵד וְיוֹשֵׁב

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

שְׁלוֹשָׁה מִנִּים אֲסוּרִין בְּנֹזֵר

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 13.4), with the forms קוֹטֵל, קוֹטֵל, and נִקְטָל alternating among the different manuscripts, or appearing alongside one another in the same text without any apparent difference in meaning (see above, §3A). The virtual equivalence of

נזכר, זָכַר, and זֹכֵר is especially striking.

In practice, the participle of the *Qal* passive, קָטוּל, and that of the *Nif'al*, נִקְטַל, are not always distinguished, although analysis of a good number of texts suggests a certain regularity, namely, that קָטוּל signifies the present result of a past action whereas נִקְטַל indicates the activity itself in process, as seen clearly at SNm 61 (H 59), which says that God showed Moses מְנֹרֶה עֲשׂוּיָהּ וְנַעֲשִׂיתָ '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 למדת תורה הרבה נותנים לך שכר הרבה

If you have studied the Torah a lot, you will be given an abundant reward (Abot 2.16):

הלומד על מנת ללמד מספיקין בידו ללמוד וללמד

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 מודד, בה מודדין לו

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. Soṭ 1.7; Mt 7.2; Mk 4.24; Lk 6.38).

Parallel to the formula 'יש אומרים' 'there are those who say, it is said' (see Unit 6.14), are other impersonal constructions like 'יש קורין' 'there are those who read, it is read' or 'יש מביאים' '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 Soṭ 7.8:

פָּרַשְׁתָּ הַמֶּלֶךְ כִּי־צָדִי? מוֹצְאֵי יוֹם טוֹב הָרִאשׁוֹן שֶׁלְחַג, בְּשִׁמְנֵי בְּמוֹצְאֵי שְׁבִיעִית, עוֹשִׂין לוֹ בִּימֵה שְׁלֵעִין בַּעֲזָרָה, וְהוּא יוֹשֵׁב עֲלֶיהָ ... חֲזוֹן הַפְּנִסָּה נוֹטֵל סֵפֶר תּוֹרָה וְנוֹתְנָה לְרֹאשׁ הַפְּנִסָּה, וְרֹאשׁ הַפְּנִסָּה נוֹתְנָה לְסֵגָן, וְהַסֵּגָן נוֹתְנָה לְכֹהֵן גָּדוֹל, וְכֹהֵן גָּדוֹל נוֹתְנָה לְמֶלֶךְ, וְהַמֶּלֶךְ עוֹמֵד וּמִקְבֵּל וְקוֹרֵא יוֹשֵׁב. אֲגִרִיפּוֹס הַמֶּלֶךְ עוֹמֵד וּקְבֵל וְקָרָא עוֹמֵד וּשְׁבַחְוֵהוּ חֲכָמִים

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 TosSoṭ 2.1:

ממנה רואה וכותב, לא חסר ולא יחד, יוצא ועומד בצד סומה קורה
ודורש ומדקדק 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 לשייל בשוק ומבקש לישראל לו חפץ מן הזקינה
והיתה מוכרת לו בשוה, וקטנה קוראה ואומרת 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 Soṭ 7.8 quoted in the preceding section, note the phrases קורא יושב and קרא עומד, where יושב and עומד function as adverbial modifiers of the main verb, 'read standing', 'read sitting down'. Such participles, which act as additional complements to the subject or as verb modifiers, are widespread, with קורא and קרא especially common in this function:

היו שונים ואומרים, אנו ליה וליה עינינו

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

יכול משאומרים להם דברי נחומים חוזרים ואומרים להם דברי
תוכחה

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 יושב in stereotyped phrases of the kind 'he sat down and said' or עומד in the sense of 'be about to, will':

והוא יושב ומפקדו ואומר 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 ומצפה ואומר

He sat down, looked around, and said (SNm 89.5);

אם אני מניח נכסי 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 (*mesalim*), an indication of their status as literary clichés, a rôle that is especially clear at SNm 88.2 (H 88):

היה יצר הרע יושב ומצעתו כל הלילה ואומר לו

The evil inclination was tormenting him, all the night saying to him.

Another stereotyped formula is הָיָה יוֹשֵׁב וְדוֹרֵשׁ '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 והולך 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:

הוא מוציא והולך, עד שיציא את כל הכיס

He continued spending (literally, 'taking out'), until he had spent the entire purse (Mei 6.6);

תינוק יונק והולך כל עשרים וארבע חדש ... יונק תינוק והולך אפילו עד חמש שנים

The child continued suckling for twenty-four months ... The child continued suckling even up to five years (TosNid 2.3).

Other participles, such as וקבא, ויורד, ועולה, ועומד, and ויציא, can also be used like והולך:

כל זמן שהיה משה עומד על שפת הבר, היו המים צפין ועולין לקראתו

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

היה מצטער ובה עד 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 וואוכל for וקבא);

כל הדורות היו מכעיסין וקבאין עד שהביא עליהם את מי המבול

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 Parma read לקבאין for וקבאין).

מחלחל ויורד

It penetrates, corroding as it passes down (TosSoṭ 1.6).

15. A participle regularly functions as the complement of התחיל 'begin', as in

התחילו כל העם שורפין

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 Ḥoni the circle-drawer, where both constructions appear alongside one another:

התחילו הגשמים מנפין ... התחילו לירד בנעף

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

Some other verbs also take a participle as complement:

לא נמנעו עושין

They are not prevented (from) using (Yeb 1.4);

מה בכור אדם רש"י נותנו 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 *דַּרְךְ בְּנֵי אָדָם* 'the way of human beings', in reference to habitual behaviour, may be continued by an infinitive or by a participle:

עַד שְׁעָה שְׁדַרְךְ בְּנֵי אָדָם לֵאכּוֹל בֶּשֶׂר

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

מִי שֶׁיֵּשׁ לוֹ בּוֹר לְפָנַיִם מִבֵּיתוֹ שֶׁלַח־בְּרוֹ, וְכַסּוּ בִשְׁעָה שְׁדַרְךְ בְּנֵי אָדָם
וְכַסּוּ, וַיּוֹצֵא בִשְׁעָה שְׁדַרְךְ בְּנֵי אָדָם יוֹצֵאִין

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 *הָיָה* 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:

כְּשֶׁהָיָה מִתְפַּלֵּל עַל הַחֹלִים, הָיָה אוֹמֵר, זֶה חַי וְזֶה מֵת

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 *הוּא הָיָה אוֹמֵר*).

B. Continuous action in the future:

הֲרַנִּי נָזִיר עַל מְנַת שְׂאֵהָא שׁוֹתָה יַיִן וּמִטְמֵא לַמַּתִּים

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:

בְּכֹל מִדָּה וּמִדָּה שֶׁהוּא מוֹדֵד לְךָ הָיָה מוֹדֵד לוֹ בְּמֵאֵד מֵאֵד

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:

חֲזַר רַבִּי עֲקִיבָא לְהֵיחֹת שׁוֹנָה כְּבֵן עֲזַאי

Rabbi Akiba retracted so as to teach like Ben Azzai (Taa 4.4).

E. *הָיָה* (perfect) with participle, conjoined (by -) with a perfect, expresses 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 happening, as in *אֲנִי מָת* 'I'm just about to die' (Yeb 16.6) or *זֶה מָת* 'this one is going to die' (Ber 5.5), a usage also found in the Bible: *הֲגִי מְבִיא אֶת־הַמַּבּוּל*: '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 גאולין אלא בתשרי

But in the future, they will be redeemed in Tishri (Mek 12.42 [L 1.116]).

B. In exegetical writing, for example:

ושכבתם ואין מחריד (ויקרא כ"ו). 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 *אֲנִי נֹתֵן* at 2 S 21.6 with *אֲנִי נֹתֵן* at the beginning 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, §§224–43).

D. The eschatological or inevitable future can be expressed by the formula *סוף* with (*-שׁ*) and the participle (although the infinitive is more usual in this construction; see Unit 20.12):

אמר לו הקב"ה, אתה רצית לפרוש עצמך מ בני אדם, סוף בני אדם
נפרשים ממך

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]);

חבלת חבולה אחת, סוף 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 *עָתִיד* with the participle, a variant of the more usual formula with the infinitive, to express the eschatological future:

כך עתיד הקב"ה משייל עם הצדיקים בנן ערן לעתיד לבא

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:

משיב המלך על כסא יי אח מכרית זרע 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 *הוֹלֵךְ*,

נעול לי ... וטול ... והולך

Help me put on (my sandals), take (my things ahead of me), and go (to the bath-house),

although here *וְהוֹלֵךְ* might be interpreted as a modal participle (see above,

§14) or as elliptical for הָרִי הוֹלֵךְ (see Unit 21.8).

This imperative use of the participle is standard in halakhic formulations or in statements of principles couched impersonally:

אִין מַעֲמִידִין בְּהֵמָה בְּפִנְיָ קְאוּת שְׁלֵגִים, מִפְּנֵי שֶׁשׂוֹדִין עַל הָרְבִיעָה

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:

הַקּוֹרֵא אֶת הַמַּגִּילָה עוֹמֵד וְיֹשֵׁב

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:

הַאוֹמֵר, אֵדָא, הָרִי זֶה נָזִיר

If someone says, I shall be, then they've already become a Nazirite (Naz 1.1);

הַמוֹצֵא מֵת בַּתְּחִלָּה מִשְׁכָּב כְּדַרְכּוֹ, נוֹטְלוֹ וְאֶת הַבּוֹסָתוֹ

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 בְּדִבְרֵי הַנִּמְחָה '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 הַמוֹקְזִים 'those who are to be put to death' (Sanh 6.2) or those well-known because of their biblical allusion; for example, שׂוֹר הַנִּסְקָל 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 עֵרִיפָה 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 הַשְּׂעִיר הַמְּשֻׁלַּח does not refer to 'the goat that has been sent off' but to 'the 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 נָחֵד 'desirable' (Gn 3.6), לָעָם נוֹלָד 'to a people yet to be born' (Ps 22.32), and הַחַיָּה הַנֶּאֱכָלָה '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 *עסוק* 'occupied' is not occupied by others but by their own concerns, hence, 'busy', *זכור* can denote not someone who is 'remembered' by others but someone who has many memories, hence, 'mindful', *טעון* is something that is not 'demanded' but 'requiring', *מקבל* can designate not the thing 'received' but the 'recipient' of it, *סבור* is not what is 'thought', but the person who is 'thinking' it (as in *כסבור* 'as imagining, thinking, convinced that'), etc. Other participles of this type include *שקוד* 'watchful' and *תלוי* '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):

מקבל אני מרבי מיאשא, שקבל מאבא, שקבל מן הזוגות,
שקבלו מן הנביאים, הלכה למשה מסיני

I have received from Rabbi Measha, who received from Abba, who received from the *zugot*, who received from the prophets, a *halakhah* of Moses at Sinai (Pea 2.6)

(here, *מקבל* has a special force, as it indicates the final recipient, the repository of the tradition that had been handed down);

זכור הייתי בפלגית שיצתה בהינמא וראשה פרוע

I recall a woman going out in her veil with her hair let down (Ket 2.10)

(*זכור*, as against *זוכר*, emphasizes that the memory had persisted in the speaker's mind);

ידע אני שהנזיר אסור ביינן, אבל סבור הייתי, שחכמים מתירים לי

I knew that a Nazirite was forbidden wine, but I believed that the sages would permit me to have it (Naz 2.4);

כל המסיד את רגליו טעון טבילה, וכל המטיל מים טעון קדוש ידים
ורגלים

Anyone who defecates requires a ritual bath and anyone who urinates has to purify their hands and feet (Yom 3.2);

כל המנחות 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 *אין*, although *לא* is commonly employed too, and the reason for choosing the one or the other is not always clear. *אל* is never used with the participle. See Unit 23.11A.

IV Phraseology

23. *היה יושב ודורש* 'he was sitting down and interpreting, he sat down to interpret/teach', describes the activity of study or teaching (*דרש*) of a rabbi; in the formula, *יושב* alludes to the posture adopted while teaching or to the

position held by the rabbi in a *ישיבָה*, and, thus, implies instruction that is public or authorized (compare Mt 5.1–2). It is also possible to omit *יִשָּׁב* in translation, where it is clear that it has a purely clichéd or decorative function:

הא כיצד היה יושב ודורש ולא היה יודע מהיכן הוא אוכל ושוחה
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 שהיה 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. נמצינו למדים 'we find ourselves informed', introduces the specific point arising from an exegetical discussion of a biblical text; the formula is sometimes followed by *מן התורה*, 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 תחיית המתים 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 מצות עשה ועל מצות לא תעשה
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.

25. בְּמַה דְּבָרִים אָמוּרִים 'what are these things said about?, what 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; Soṭ 8.7, etc.).

V Vocabulary

מַעֲשֵׂה-אִמִּירָה 'saying-deed'

גִּלְחָה 'shave, cut one's hair, make the Nazirite hair offering'

הַשְּׁפִיל-הַגְּבוּיָה 'praise-humble'

יִיִּשׁוּב 'settled land, civilization', as against מְדִבְרָה 'unpopulated land'

קָאָס 'tire of, reject, despise'

גַּלְמַעְלָה-גַּלְמַתָּה 'below-above'

מִיתָה 'death', קָמוּץ לְמִיתָה 'close to death' (קָמוּץ 'support', קָמוּץ 'near, leaning on')

מַעֲשֵׂה בְרָאשִׁיָה 'the work of creation, creation, the order in which creation occurred'

פָּרַע וּפָרַם 'let down (one's hair) and tear (one's clothes)' in mourning (see Lv 10.6)

שָׁנָה 'change, alter, transform'

תְּחִיַּת הַמֵּתִים 'resurrection of the dead'

עֲלִיּוֹנִים–תַּחְתּוֹנִים 'inferiors–superiors, terrestrial beings–celestial beings', etc.

VI Exercises

1. רַבִּי נְחֻמְיָא בֶּן הַקָּנָה אָמַר, כָּל הַמְקַבֵּל עָלָיו עַל תּוֹרָה, מַעֲבִירִין מִמֶּנּוּ עַל מַלְכוּת וְעַל דְּרֶךְ אֲרָץ, וְכָל הַפּוֹרֵק מִמֶּנּוּ עַל תּוֹרָה, נוֹתְבִין עָלָיו עַל מַלְכוּת וְעַל דְּרֶךְ אֲרָץ.
2. רַבִּי יוֹחָנָן בֶּן בְּרוֹקָא אָמַר, כָּל הַמְחַלֵּל שֵׁם שָׁמַיִם בַּסֶּתֶר, נַפְרָעִין מִמֶּנּוּ בְּגִלּוּי. אַחַד שׁוֹגֵג וְאַחַד מְזִיד בַּחֲלוּל הַשֵּׁם.
3. מִי שֵׁשׁ לוֹ נֶגַה לַפָּנִים מִנְּעוּתוֹ שֶׁלֹּחַ בְּרוּךְ, נִכְנָס בְּשַׁעַת שְׁדֻרְךָ בְּנֵי אָדָם וְנִכְסִים, וְיוֹצֵא בְּשַׁעַת שְׁדֻרְךָ בְּנֵי אָדָם יוֹצֵאִין.
4. מְזַכְרִין יְצִיאַת מִצְרַיִם בְּלִילוֹת.
5. בְּמָה דְּבָרִים אָמְרִים? בְּעֵינֵי שְׂבִישְׂרָאֵל, אֲבָל בְּמַכְבֵּד, הַכֹּל לְפִי כְבוֹדוֹ.
6. שְׁלֹשָׁה בְּתֵי דִינִין הֵינּוּ שָׁם, אַחַד יוֹשֵׁב עַל פֶּתַח הַר הַבַּיִת וְאַחַד יוֹשֵׁב עַל פֶּתַח הָעֵדוּתָהּ וְאַחַד יוֹשֵׁב בְּלִשְׁכַת הַנְּזוּת. בָּאִים לָזֶה שְׁעַל פֶּתַח הַר הַבַּיִת וְאָמַר, כֶּךָ דְּרִשְׁתִּי וְכֶךָ דְּרִשׁוּ חֻבְרִי, כֶּךָ לְפִדְתִּי וְכֶךָ לְפִדּוּ חֻבְרִי. אִם שָׁמְעוּ, אֹמְרִים לָהֶם, וְאִם לֹא, בָּאִין לָהֶם לְאוֹתָן שְׁעַל פֶּתַח הָעֵדוּתָהּ וְאָמַר, כֶּךָ דְּרִשְׁתִּי וְכֶךָ דְּרִשׁוּ חֻבְרִי, כֶּךָ לְפִדְתִּי וְכֶךָ לְפִדּוּ חֻבְרִי. אִם שָׁמְעוּ, אֹמְרִים לָהֶם, וְאִם לֹא, אֵלּוּ וְאֵלּוּ בָּאִין לְבֵית דִּין הַגָּדוֹל שֶׁבְּלִשְׁכַת הַנְּזוּת, שֶׁמִּמֶּנּוּ יוֹצֵאת תּוֹרָה לְכָל יִשְׂרָאֵל, שֶׁנֶּאֱמַר, מִן הַמְּקוֹם הַזֶּה הוּא אֲשֶׁר יִבְתָּר יְיָ [דְּבָרִים י"ז]. תּוֹר לַעִירוֹ וְשָׁנָה וְלִמָּחָה כְּדֶרֶךְ שְׁתֵּי לַמָּד, פְּטוּר.
7. מַה בֵּין הָאִישׁ לְאִשָּׁה? הָאִישׁ פּוֹרֵעַ וּפּוֹרֵם, וְאִין הָאִשָּׁה פּוֹרֵעַת וּפּוֹרְמַת, הָאִישׁ מְדִיר אֶת בְּנוֹ בְּנֻזִיר, וְאִין הָאִשָּׁה מְדִירַת אֶת בְּתוּלָהּ בְּנֻזִיר, הָאִישׁ מְגַלַּח עַל נִזְרוֹת אָבִיו, וְאִין הָאִשָּׁה מְגַלַּחַת עַל נִזְרוֹת אָבִיהָ, הָאִישׁ מוֹכֵר אֶת בְּתוּלָהּ, וְאִין הָאִשָּׁה מוֹכֵרַת אֶת בְּתוּלָהּ, הָאִישׁ מְקַדֵּשׁ אֶת בְּתוּלָהּ, וְאִין הָאִשָּׁה מְקַדֵּשֶׁת אֶת בְּתוּלָהּ, הָאִישׁ נִסְקַל עִרְם, וְאִין הָאִשָּׁה נִסְקַלַת עִרְמָה, הָאִישׁ נִתְלָה, וְאִין הָאִשָּׁה נִתְלִית, הָאִישׁ נִמְכָּר בְּנִבְתּוֹ, וְאִין הָאִשָּׁה נִמְכָּרַת בְּנִבְתָּהּ.
8. רַבִּי יוֹסִי אָמַר, רַד מִטָּה לְמַעְלָה, וְלַמַּעְלָה לְמִטָּה. כָּל הַמְּגַבִּיהַ עֲצָמוֹ עַל דְּבָרֵי תּוֹרָה, סוֹף שֶׁמִּשְׁפִּילִין אוֹתוֹ. וְכָל הַמְּשִׁפִּיל עֲצָמוֹ עַל דְּבָרֵי תּוֹרָה, סוֹף שֶׁמְּגַבִּיהִין אוֹתוֹ.
9. רַבִּי אָמַר, אִין כְּתִיב כָּאן אֵלּא, אוֹ יִשִּׁיר מִשָּׁה [שְׁמוֹת ט"ז]. נִמְצִינוּ לְמִדֵּין תְּחִיַּת הַמֵּתִים מִן הַתּוֹרָה.
10. רַבִּין שְׁמַעוֹן בֶּן נְמַלְיָאֵל אָמַר, בֵּא וּרְאֵה כַּמָּה חֻבְיִין יִשְׂרָאֵל לְפָנֵי מִי שֶׁאָמַר וְהִיא הָעוֹלָם. וְלִפְנֵי שְׁהֶם חֻבְיִין עָלָיו שְׁנָה לָהֶם מַעֲשֵׂה בְּרָאשִׁית, עֲשֵׂה לָהֶם עֲלִיּוֹנִים תְּחִתּוֹנִים וְתְּחִתּוֹנִים עֲלִיּוֹנִים. לְשַׁעֲבַר הִיא הַלָּחֶם עוֹלָה מִן הָאָרֶץ וְהַטֵּל יוֹרֵד מִן הַשָּׁמַיִם ..., וְעַכְשֵׁי נִתְחַלְפוּ הַדְּבָרִים, הַתְּחִיל הַלָּחֶם יוֹרֵד מִן הַשָּׁמַיִם וְהַטֵּל עוֹלָה מִן הָאָרֶץ.
11. רַבִּי יְהוֹשֻׁעַ אָמַר, שׁוֹנֵה אָדָם שְׁתֵּי הַלְכוֹת בְּשַׁחֲרִית וּשְׁתֵּי הַלְכוֹת בְּעֶרְבִית וְעוֹשֶׂה בְּמַלְאכְתוֹ כָּל הַיּוֹם, מַעֲלִין עָלָיו כְּאֵלּוֹ קִיָּים כָּל הַתּוֹרָה כּוֹלָה.
12. נִמְצָאת מְרַבֵּה לוֹ וְהוֹלֵךְ עַד לְעוֹלָם.
13. וְחֵי אַחֲךָ עִמָּךְ וְיִקְרָא כֹה ל'ז. זוֹ דְרִשׁ בֶּן פְּטוּרִי, שְׁנִים שְׁהִיוּ הוֹלְכִים

- במדבר ואין ביד אחד אלא קיתון של מים, אם שותהו אחד מגיע ליישוב, ואם שותים אותו שנים שניהם מתים. דרש בן פמור, ישנו שזיהם וימותו, שנאמר, וחי אחיך עמך.
14. הא כל שאינו למד ואינו עושה, סוף שהוא מואס באחרים.
15. ויהי בחדש הראשון ... [שמחת מ' יז]. נמצינו למדים שבעשרים ושלשה באור החחילו אהרן ובניו המשכן וכל הכלים לימשח.
16. עכשיו ישראל אומרים, לא נתגייר יתרו מחיבה. כסבור היה יתרו שיש לגרים חלק בארץ ישראל, עכשיו שראה שאין להם חלק, הניחם והלך לו.
17. מפני ארבע דברים אין מוכיחים את האדם אלא סמוך למיתה, כדי שלא יהא מוכיחו וחתרו ומוכיחו, ושלא יהא חבירו רואהו ומתבייש ממנו, ושלא יהא בלבו עליו, וכדי שיפרש ממנו בשלום.
18. רבי שמעון בן יוחי אומר, משל, למה הדבר דומה? למלך בשר ודם שהיו לו בנים ועבדים הרבה, והיו מוונים ומתפרנסים מתחת ידו ומפתחות של אוצר בידו. כשהם עושים רצונו, הוא פותח את האוצר והם אוכלים ושבעים, וכשאין עושים רצונו, הוא נועל את האוצר והם מתים ברעב.
19. כך אמר להם משה לישראל, אם אי אתם זכורים נסים ונבורות שעשה לכם הקדוש ברוך הוא במצרים, הזכרו כמה טובות עתיד ליתן לכם לעולם הבא.
20. אם אמר ליתן ונתן, נותנים לו שכר אמירה כשכר מעשה.

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. Soṭ 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 [דברים לג' כא'] ... מלמד שעתיד משה ליכנס בראש כל חבורה וחבורה, בראש חבורה של בעלי מקרא ובראש חבורה של בעלי משנה ובראש חבורה של בעלי תלמוד, ונתחל שכר עם כל אחד ואחד, וכן הוא אומר, לכן אחלק לו ברבים, ואח עצומים יחלק שלל [ישעיה נג' יב].

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 ב- and ל- 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 ל- , which can be negated by a preceding שְׁלֹא , or prefixed by the preposition מִן (thus, מִן-ל- followed by infinitive construct). In practice, the infinitive construct simply does not occur except with prefixed ל- .

The development of the negative form of the infinitive may be traced as follows (see Qimron 1986, 78–79): BH לְבַלְתִּי with infinitive; LBH לֹאֲמַיִן with ל- and infinitive; Qumran Hebrew לֹאֲמַיִן with ל- and infinitive, אֲשֶׁר לֹא with ל- and infinitive; RH שְׁלֹא with ל- and infinitive (a construction already found in Biblical Aramaic, at Ezr 6.8: $\text{דִּירְלֵא לְבַטְלֵא}$ ‘so as not to stop’):

מְקוֹם שְׂמֵרוֹ, לְהֵאָרִיךְ, אֵינּוּ רִשְׁאֵי לְקַצֵּר, לְקַצֵּר, אֵינּוּ רִשְׁאֵי
לְהֵאָרִיךְ, לְחַתוּם, אֵינּוּ רִשְׁאֵי שְׁלֹא לְחַתוּם, שְׁלֹא לְחַתוּם, אֵינּוּ
רִשְׁאֵי לְחַתוּם

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);

אִנְשֵׁי חֲצֵר שֶׁשָּׂכַח אֶחָד מֵהֶם וְלֹא עָרַב, בֵּיתוֹ אֲסוּר מִלְּהַכְנִיִּים
וּמִלְּהוֹצִיא לּוֹ, אֲבָל לְהֵם מִתָּר

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 infinitive לְקַטֵּל corresponds to the imperfect קָטַל , so in RH לִיתֵן corre-

sponds to יָתַן. This popular standardizing of irregular forms extends to other verbs, like לָקַח and הִלָּךְ. The following is a list of those most commonly encountered.

Perfect	Imperfect	Infinitive		Meaning
		RH	BH	
אָכַל אָמַר	יֹאכַל יֹאמַר	לֹאכַל לֹאמַר	לְאָכַל לְאֹמַר	Eat Say
יָלַד יָרַד יָשַׁב יָדַע	יֵלַד יֵרַד יֵשֵׁב יָדַע	לִילָד לִירָד לִישֵׁב לִידַע	לְיָלֵד לְיָרֵד לְיָשֹׁב לְיָדַע	Give birth Go down Dwell Know
נָתַן נָשָׂא	יִתֵּן יִשֵּׂא	לִיתֵן לִישֵׂא	לְיָתֵן לְיָשֵׂא	Give Raise
לָקַח הִלָּךְ	יִקַּח יִלָּךְ	לִיקַח לִילָךְ	לְקַחַת לְלָכַת	Take Go

Nonetheless, the occasional verb resists such attempts at regularization, for example יָצָא, ‘go out’, which maintains the biblical form of the infinitive, לְיָצֵאת, throughout the Mishnah and tannaitic *midrashim*. The verb אָכַל is also very resistant to change, with the new form, לֹאכַל, 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* (לֹאכֹרֵל, לֹאמֹר), it is possible that לֹאכַל and לֹאמַר were read *lokal* and *lomar* (Girón 1992). In other verbs too, the biblical form has not completely disappeared, for example לְלָכַת (Nid 4.2), לְיָתֵן (Shab 17.2; Ned 11.1; AZ 2.6–7; Zeb 10.7); a set-phrase like לְשֵׂאת וּלְהֵת ‘to trade’ is obviously more stable, although this too is found in a non-biblical version, לִישֵׂא וּלְיָתֵן, at Sifra Ned-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:

מִפְּנֵי שֶׁיִּכְוֹל לִילָךְ לְחוּץ וּלְאָכֹל

Since it is possible to go outside and eat (Erub 3.1);

אֵל חֹהֵי קוֹרָא, אִישׁ שׁוֹבֵה [דְּבָרִים לִב' כה] אֵלָא, אִישׁ יֹשֵׁב, מִלְּמַד
שְׂכֻלִים רְאוּיִם לִישֵׁב בִּישֵׁבָה

Do not read, Man of grey hairs [שִׁיבָה; Dt 32.25] but, Man of session [שִׁיבָה], teaching that all of them are worthy to take a seat at the session (SDt 321 [F 370]);

אם תזכו לשמור את השבת, עתיד הקב"ה ליתן לכם שלושה מועדות,
פסח ועצרת וסוכות

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, §169) shrewdly observes that these forms might be at least as old as their biblical counterparts, with לוחן at 1 K 6.19 a hybrid of the popular ליתן and the literary לחת (see also 1 K 17.14).

4. The assimilation of *lamed-alef* to *lamed-he* verbs has led to לקרוח becoming the normal form of the infinitive of קרא instead of לקרא, and to the mixed form למלאח for למלא, as at Ket 1.10:

מעשה בחינוך שירדה למלאח מים מן העין

It happened that a little girl went down to take water from the fountain.

5. As already noted at Unit 15.4A, in the *Nif'al* preformative ה- tends to be elided after the ל- of the infinitive (a consequence of the general weakening of the gutturals and especially of intervocalic *he*), which gives rise to such forms as ליכנס (for להכנס), ליבטל (for להבטל), ליפרח (for להפרח), ליעשה (for להעשה), etc.

6. The same phenomenon occurs to a lesser extent with the *Hif'il* (see Unit 15.4E): לרבות (for להרבות), etc.

7. The RH infinitive with ל- can only take an object suffix (not one that functions as subject, as in BH בצאתי), for example:

המשכיר בית לחברו ... אינו יכול להוציאן מן החג ועד הפסח

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 בצאתו and כצאתו, see Units 9.9 and 16.14.

9. In its use, the RH infinitive coincides with that of the BH infinitive construct with ל- (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 להוציא 'in order to exclude' and להביא 'in order to include' (see Unit 30.5). The infinitive may also be used in an attributive function, modifying a noun, for example מה לעשות 'task' (literally, 'what to do'), תבואה

לקצור 'harvest to be gathered', חינוך למיל 'child to be circumcised', etc., or modally, as a gerund, for example לומר/לאמר 'saying'.

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

מוטב לי להקרא שוטה כל ימי

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

מוטב להן לציבור שיהו שוגגין

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 פורעניות

It was predestined (for) punishments to fall upon her,

at TosSot 2.3, has a variant with שיבואו.

10. The infinitive לומר is used to introduce direct speech or a quotation from a text (in BH, לאמר 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:

אפלו עבד, אפלו שפחה, נאמנין לומר, עד כאן תחום שבת

Even slaves, male and female, deserve credit when they say, The sabbath limit reaches to this point (Erub 5.5).

On the expression תלמוד לומר, see Unit 16.16.

11. With imperative significance, the infinitive is usually found with the preposition על, in reference to the person upon whom an obligation falls:

אמר רבי שמעאל, אלעזר בן עזריה, עליך ראיה ללמד, שאחיה מחמיר, שכל המחמיר עליו ראיה ללמד

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 [הרין] עלי ל- serves as a cohortative, as at Naz 2.5:

הריני נזיר ועלי לגלח נזיר

Now I am a Nazirite, I will make the Nazirite hair offering'.

12. עתיד ל- (see Unit 16.13B) and סוף 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:

עדת קרח אינה עתידה לעלות ... עשרת השבטים אינן עתידין לחזור

The company of Korah will never arise again ... the ten tribes will never return (Sanh 10.3);

רבי יונתן אומר, כל המקום את התורה מעני, סופו לקימה מעשר, וכל המבטל את התורה מעשר, סופו לבטלה מעני

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 עתיד ל- replaced by עתיד ש- with the imperfect (see Unit 18.16).

The formula עומד ל- 'be about to' is an amoraic idiom which began to be used in the same way as עתיד 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, פרה העומדת לילד, 'a cow about to give birth' might have been פרה מעוברת לילד 'a pregnant cow, for giving birth' and

רָחַל טְעוּנָה 'a ewe ready for shearing' might have been רָחַל הַעוֹמְדָת לְיָגוּז 'a ewe that needs to be sheared'.

For the formula לְעֵתִיד לְבוֹא, see Unit 16.17.

13. Another idiomatic RH construction is לֹא ... אֲנִי/אַתָּה/הוּא, meaning 'may I/you/he do so-and-so?', for example:

מָה אֲנִי לְהֵבִיא יוֹרֵעַ אֶל תַּחַת הַמוֹקֵר

May I plant a seed beneath what remains? (Kil 6.4);

מָה אֲנִי לְיָרֵד

May we go down (i.e. 'disembark')? (Erub 4.2).

IV Phraseology

14. *Thus, then, 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.). In SDt (217, 249, 397), there is a variant, *אֵין עֲלֶיךָ לְדוֹן אֶלֶּא כְּדִין הָרֵאשׁוֹן* 'you should only argue according to the first argument'.

15. *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 formula that, after the quotation of a biblical text, abruptly introduces an interpretation (see further, Unit 26.9)—an introductory expression along the lines of בָּא הַכְּתוּב 'this passage (is intended to make X ...)' is to be understood.

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

אִישׁ אוֹ אִשָּׁה [במדבר ו' ב'], לַעֲשׂוֹת נָשִׁים כְּאֲנָשִׁים

If a man or a woman [Nm 6.2]: (this is said) in order to rank women the same as men (SNm 22.2 [H 25]);

אִישׁ אוֹ אִשָּׁה [במדבר ו' ב'], לְהוֹצִיא אֶת הַקְּטָנִים

If a man or a woman [Nm 6.2]: (this is said) in order to exclude minors (SNm 22.3 [H 25]).

V Vocabulary

אֵילֻנָּה 'infertile'

חֲפִצִּין 'desirable object, trinket'

הָרֵב 'destroyed, in ruins'

כְּנֻסָּה 'assembly, meeting'

לְדוֹן (ni. infinitive of דוּן) 'to be judged'

לְקַח 'take', specifically in RH, 'buy'

לפתן דין וחשבון 'to settle an account'
 מחלוקת 'controversy'
 פקח 'intelligent'

VI Exercises

1. עקביא בן מהללאל אומר, הסתכל בשלשה דברים ואי אתה בא לידע עברה, דע מאין באת, ולאן אתה הולך, ולפני מי אתה עתיד לתן דין וחשבון.
2. ואם עמלת בחזרה יש לך שכר הרבה לתן לך.
3. רבי יוחנן הפגד לר אומר, כל כנסיה שהיא לשם שמים, סופה להתקים, ושאינה לשם שמים, אין סופה להתקים.
4. הוא היה אומר, הילודים למות, והמתים להחיות, והחיים לדון, לידע להודיע ולהודיע שהוא אל, הוא היוצר, הוא הבורא, הוא המבין, הוא הדן, הוא עד, הוא בעל דין, והוא עתיד לדון.
5. כל מחלוקת שהיא לשם שמים, סופה להתקים, ושאינה לשם שמים, אין סופה להתקים. איזו היא מחלוקת שהיא לשם שמים? זו מחלוקת הלל ושמואי. ושאינה לשם שמים? זו מחלוקת קרח וכל עדתו.
6. היה רוכב על החמור (בתפלה), ירד, ואם אינו יכול לירד, יחזיר את פגיו, ואם אינו יכול להחזיר את פגיו, יכון את לבו כנגד בית קדש הקדשים.
7. מקום שנחגו לאכול צלי בלילי פסחים, אוכלין, מקום שנחגו שלא לאכול, אין אוכלין, מקום שנחגו להדליק את הנר בלילי יום הכפורים, מדליקין, מקום שנחגו שלא להדליק, אין מדליקין.
8. אילונית וזקנה ושאינה ראויה לילד, לא שותות ולא נוטלות כתבה. רבי אליעזר אומר, יכול הוא לשא אשה אחרת ולפרות ולרבות הימנה. ושאר כל הנשים, או שותות, או לא נוטלות כתבה.
9. שהוא (הכלב) פקח, שאין דרכו להניח את הקוזון ולילך למים.
10. בו פיום בא יהודה גר עמוני ועמד לפניו בבית המדרש, אמר להם, מה אני לבא בקהל? אמר לו רבן גמליאל, אסור אהוה. אמר לו רבי יהושע, מרר אהוה.
11. אמרו ישראל למשה, רבינו משה, מה עלינו לעשות? אמר להם, אתם תהיו מרומים ומפארים ומשבחין ונותנין שיר ושבח וגדולה ותפארת למי שהמלחמות שלו.
12. וזה אחד משלשה דברים שעתיד אליהו להעמיד לישראל, צלוחית של מן וצלוחית של מים וצלוחית של שמן המשחה.
13. ועכשיו גלוי היה לפני מי שאמר והיה העולם שפורענות גדולה עתידה לבא בדורנו.
14. אני הוא שעשיתי לכם ניסים במצרים, אני הוא שעתיד לעשות לכם כל הניסים הללו.
15. והיתה ארצכם שממה ועריכם יהיו חרבה (ויקרא כו לג). זו מידה קשה לישראל, שבשעה שאדם גולה מתוך כרמו ומחזק ביתו וסופו לחזור, כאלו אין כרמו וביתו חריבים. אתם אין אתם כן, אלא, והיתה ארצכם שממה ועריכם יהיו חרבה. מפני מה? שאין סופכם לחזור.

16. באותה שעה אדם יוצא לטייל בשוק ומבקש ליקח לו חפץ מן הזקנה והיחה מוכרת לו בשווי, וקטנה קוראה לו ואומרה לו מבפנים, בוא וקח לך בפחות, והיה הוא לוקח הימנה ביום הראשון וביום השני.
17. והוא לא אויב לו ולא מבקש רעתו [במדבר לה' לג'], לפסול את השתאים מלישב בדין.
18. ואת הערים אשר נבוא אליהם [דברים א' כב'], לידע באיזו דרך אנו באים עליהם.
19. משל למלך שהווי לו שני עבדים וגזר על אחד מהם שלא לשחות יין שלשים יום. אמר, מה גזר עלי שלא לשחות יין שלשים יום? איני טועמו אפילו שנה אחת, אפילו שתי שנים.
20. עבר אדם על מצוה קלה, סופו לעבור על מצוה חמורה. עבר על, ואהבת לרעך כמוך [ויקרא יט' יח'], סופו לעבור על, ... לא חשנא את אחיך, [ויקרא יט' 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. Soṭ 4.3. 9. Ṭoh 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])

ללכת בכל דרכיו [דברים יא' כב']. אלו הן דרכי המקום, י' אל רחום וחנון (שמות לד' ו'), ואומר, והיה כל אשר יקרא בשם י' ימלט [ויאל ג' ה']. וכי היאך איפשר לו לאדם לקרא בשמו של מקום? אלא נקרא המקום רחום, אף אתה היה רחום, הקדוש ברוך הוא נקרא חנון, אף אתה היה חנון ... נקרא המקום צדיק ... אף אתה היה צדיק ... נקרא המקום חסיד ... אף אתה היה חסיד.

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 [Jl 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 (קָרָא) by the name of Y.' in place of the Masoretic Text, 'everyone who calls [קָרָא] upon the name of Y.', 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, קַטְלוּהָ, has disappeared in RH, as has the emphatic lengthened form of the masculine singular in *-ah* (קַטְלוּהָ), with a few exceptions in imitation of biblical idiom or for liturgical purposes, for example, הוֹשִׁיעָה נָא 'save'; imitation of biblical style is evident at Mek 18.3 (L 2.168):

תַּנְה לִי אֶת צִיפּוֹרָה בַּתְךָ לְאִשָּׁה

Give me your daughter Zipporah as a wife.

In the *Qal*, then, the paradigm of the imperative is as follows.

2ms	קַטּוּל	
2fs	קַטְלִי	
2pc	קַטְלוּ	
	קַטְלוּ	(pausal)

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 conjugations, we encounter imperatives like הִתְוַדֵּה 'confess' (from וָדָה), as, for example, at Sanh 6.2:

הָיָה רְחוּק מִבֵּית הַסֵּקִילָה כְּעֶשְׂרֵי אַמּוֹת, אוֹמְרִים לוֹ, הִתְוַדֵּה

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, תֵּן (from נָתַן) and טוּל (from נָטַל), etc.

5. The verb *הָיָה* forms its imperative as though from *הָיָה*: *הָיְהוּ* and *הָיִי*. Aramaic influence is also seen in the alternative vocalization: *הָיִי* and *הָיִי* (see Kutscher 1971, 1600). The following examples, with somewhat contrasting messages, are from Abot 2.3 and 3.2:

הָיְהוּ זְהִירִין בְּרִשׁוֹת

Be careful with power (K *הָיִין*);

הָיִי מְתַפְּלֵל בְּשִׁלּוּמָה שְׁלֵמִלְכוּת

Pray for the peace of the empire.

The forms *הָיָה* and *הָיִי* are also encountered:

נִקְרָא הַמְּקוֹם רַחוּם, אִף אִתָּהּ הִיָּה רַחוּם, הַקָּדוֹשׁ בְּרוּךְ הוּא נִקְרָא חֲנוּן, אִף אִתָּהּ הִיָּה חֲנוּן

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]);

אָמַר לָהֶם, הֵי יוֹדְעִים שֶׁסָּרְבִּין וְטָרְחָנִין הֵם

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: *אַל*, *אַיִן*, *לֹא*, *שֵׁלֵא* (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 *הָיְהוּ* with participle/adjective, for example Abot 1.9:

הָיִי מְרַבֵּה לַחֲקוֹר אֶת הָעֵדִים, וְהָיִי זְהִיר בְּדַבְּרֶיךָ, שֶׁמֵּא מִתּוֹכָם יִלְמְדוּ לִשְׁקֵר

Examine the witnesses at length and be careful of your words in case through them they learn to lie.

(K has *הָיִי* in both instances; see the exercises for further examples.)

IV *Phraseology*

9. **הָיָה אֹמֵר** '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 **מִי** or **אֵיזָה**:
אֵיזָה מִדָּה מְרוּבָה, מִדַּת טוֹבָה אוּ מִדַּת פּוֹרְעָנוּת? הֲיִי אֹמֵר,
מִדַּת הַטּוֹבָה

Which measure is the more generous, that of mercy or that of punishment? Evidently, the measure of mercy (SNm 8.8 [H 15]);

מִי גֵדוּל, הָאוֹהֲבִים אוּ הַמֵּאֲהִיבִים? הֲיִי אֹמֵר, הַמֵּאֲהִיבִים

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 **הָיָה אֹמֵר** had become a lexicalized expression is evident when the participle **אֹמֵר** drops out, leaving just **הָיָה**. In such instances, many understand **הָיָה** to have a similar sense to **הָרָ"י** (BH **הָרָ"י**), or they read instead the interjection 'alas'. However, **הָיָה** should be regarded as an elliptical form of **הָיָה אֹמֵר** as a whole:

אֵל מְקוֹם דַּם הָאֵשׁ (וַיִּקְרָא יֵד כַּחַן), הֲיִי אֵין הַדָּם גֹּרֵם אֵלֵּא
הַמְקוֹם גֹּרֵם

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

יִכּוֹל מִשְׁאוּמְרִים לְהֵם דְּבָרֵי נִיחּוּמִים חוֹזְרִים וְאוֹמְרִים לְהֵם דְּבָרֵי
תּוֹכּוּחַת

Perhaps after speaking words of consolation to them, they go back to speaking words of reproach to them?,
 the answer given is:

הֲיִי מִשְׁאוּמְרִים לְהֵם דְּבָרֵי נִיחּוּמִים אֵין אוֹמְרִים לְהֵם דְּבָרֵי תּוֹכּוּחַת

It is obvious that after words of consolation they do not speak words of reproach to them.

Occasionally, the imperative **אֹמֵר** is used:

אֵימְתִי הוּא שְׁבַחוּ שֶׁל מְקוֹם? בּוֹמֵן שְׁאֵין מְזִיקִים? אוּ בּוֹמֵן שֵׁשׁ מְזִיקִים
וְאֵין מְזִיקִים? אֹמֵר בּוֹמֵן שֵׁשׁ מְזִיקִים וְאֵין מְזִיקִים

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. **הִנְרָאָה** is used in the following three passages from SNm:

הִנְרָאָה שְׁתַּגִּיעַ עִמָּנוּ אֶצֶל מוֹשֶׁל עֵכָר

Do come with us to the governor of Akko (SNm 84.1 [H 80]);

הִנְרָאָה שְׁתַּעֲמִידֵנִי בְּשִׁבִיל שְׁאֵנִי הוֹלֵךְ לִיתֵן

Do make me get up, for I am going to give (an inheritance) (SNm 84.2 [H 80]);

הנראה שלא יאכל מאכל רע ואל ישזה משקה רע

Don't eat bad food or drink bad drink (SNm 87.2 [H 87]).

The contexts indicate that הנראה ש- introduces 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, הנראה, 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 הן and the imperative ראה, on the pattern of expressions such as צא וראה 'go out and see'. Whatever the exact interpretation, it is clear that הנראה ש- has already become a lexicalized formula.

V Vocabulary

אומן 'artisan'

איים 'warn'

בזיון 'scorn, shame'

דיני נפשות 'laws concerning financial disputes', דיני ממונות 'laws concerning crimes punishable by death'

זרעיה (זרעיות plural) 'family, descendants'

חתך 'cut'

מעלה 'height' (also a designation of God to avoid pronouncing the divine name)

להחיש כח של מעלה, (hi. participle of חשש) 'weaken', 'to weaken the power of (the) height, put God off' (the forms of this verb have been influenced by those of the more common נתחש)

עדי נפשות 'witnesses to crimes punishable by death'

שומרי שקר 'paid custodians', שומרי חנם 'unpaid custodians' (in reference to artisans, creditors, etc. who are entrusted with the property of others)

VI Exercises

1. הגלל אומר, הווי תלמידו שלא יהרון, אוהב שלום ורוחך שלום.
2. הווי זהיר בקיריית שמע.
3. רבי אלעזר אומר, הוי שקוד ללמוד תורה, ודע מה שתשיב לאפיקורוס, ודע לפני מי אתה עמל.
4. יהודה בן תימא אומר, הוי עז כנמר, וקל כנשר, ורץ כצבי, וגבור כארי לעשות רצון אביך שבשמים.
5. חזיב אדם לברך על הרעה כשם שהוא מברך על הטובה ... בכל מדה ומדה שהוא מודד לך הוי מודה לו במאד מאד.
6. כל האמנין שומרי שקר הן. וכלן שאמרו, טל את שלך והבא מעות, שומר חנם. שמר לי ואשמור לך, שומר שקר. שמר לי ואמר לו, הנח

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* (Soṭ 9.15)

רבי פנחס בן יאיר אומר, זריזות מביאה לידי נקיזת, ונקיזת מביאה לידי טהרה, וטהרה מביאה לידי פרישות, ופרישות מביאה לידי קדשה, וקדשה מביאה לידי ענוה, וענוה מביאה לידי יראת חטא, ויראת חטא מביאה לידי חסידות, וחסידות מביאה לידי רוח הקדש, ורוח הקדש מביאה לידי תחיית המתים, ותחיית המתים באה על ידי אליהו וכו' לטוב אמן.

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 primitive nouns in the construct state, for example *בין*, *ביני*, *תחת*, *לפני*, *אחרי* and *תוך* (*תוך* from the absolute *תוך*, *לתוך*, *מתוך*, *בתוך*).

4. Viewed carefully, conjunctions of the type *עד ש*-, *לפני ש*-, and *אחרי ש*- are simply prepositions determined by a clause introduced with *ש*-. In other

B. Interrogative:

- ה (25.3, 5);
- וכי (25.3, 6);
- כלום (25.3, 7);
- אם (25.9);
- או (25.8).

C. Comparative:

- ש (26.4, 12); כמוה ש-, כמו ש-
- כן (26.11); כמו כן
- ש (26.4, 7); כשם ש-
- ש (26.4, 7); כדרך ש-
- ש (26.4, 7); כענין ש-
- כאילו (26.4; 28.3, 8A);
- ומה אם/מה אם, מה (26.8);
- ש (8.12; 26.10); בין ש- ... בין ש-
- ל (8.12; 26.10); ... ושלא ל-ב- ... ושלא ב-

D. Temporal:

- ש (27.2-3, 8); לְכֵשׁ-, כֵשׁ-
- ש (27.2-3, 9); מֵשׁ-
- ש (27.2-3, 10, 16); עַד שׁ-
- ש (27.2-3, 11); עַד כְּדֵי שׁ-
- ש (27.3, 12); אַחֲרֵי שׁ-, קֹדֶם שׁ-
- ש (27.3, 13); בֵּינָן שׁ-
- ש (27.3, 14); אִימָתֵי שׁ-
- ש (27.3, 15); כָּל זֶמֶן שׁ-, בְּזֶמֶן שׁ-
- ש (27.3, 15); כָּל שְׁעָה שׁ-, בְּשַׁעָה שׁ-

E. Conditional:

- אם (28.3, 7, 9);
- אילו (28.2-3, 8A);
- אילוּ (28.2-3, 8B, D);
- אלמלי (28.3, 8B-C, 10);
- הואילו- (28.5; 29.5, 14).

F. Causal:

- ש (29.2-4, 6);
- ש (29.2-4, 7); מִפְּנֵי שׁ-
- ש (29.2-4, 8); מִשּׁוּם שׁ-
- ש (29.2-4, 9); עַל שׁוּם שׁ-/עַל שֵׁם שׁ-
- ש (29.2-4, 10); לְפִי שׁ-
- ש (29.2-4, 11); בְּשִׁבִיל שׁ-
- ש (29.2-4, 12); מֵאַחֲרֵי שׁ-
- ש (29.2-4, 13); עַל שׁ-
- ש (28.5; 29.2, 5, 14-15); הוּאִילֵן-

G. Final:

- ל with infinitive (30.2, 5);
- ש (30.2, 6);
- ש כְּדִי ל-, כְּדִי ש- (30.2, 8);
- עַל מִנְחָה ל-, עַל מִנְחָה ש- (30.2, 9);
- עַל חֲנֹאֵי (30.2, 10);
- בְּשִׁבִיל ש- (29.11; 30.2, 7);
- שָׂמָּה (30.2, 11).

H. Consecutive:

- ש (30.2-3, 12-13);
- ש כְּדִי ש- (30.2-3, 12).

I. Concessive:

- אִם (31.2-3);
- אֲפִלּוּ (31.2-3, 5);
- אֲף כֵּש- (31.6);
- אֲף עַל פִּי (31.2, 7-8).

J. Adversative:

- אֲבָל (32.2-3, 5);
- אֲלֵא (32.2-3, 6, 9-10);
- וּבִלְבָד ש- (32.3, 7);
- חִוּץ מִן (32.3, 8).

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', ב- can also have an adjectival value, 'as, in the rôle of' (*beth essentiae*):

אִם רָצָה לְהַקְרִיב מִקְרִיב שִׁכְחָן גְּדוֹל מִקְרִיב חֶלֶק בְּרֹאשׁ וְנוטל
חֶלֶק בְּרֹאשׁ

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 I.2) (with effectively the same meaning, K reads מְרֹאשׁ 'in the first place').

B. ב- can also mean 'in relation to, with respect to', as in the well-known phrase בְּמַה דְּבָרִים אֲמֹרִים 'what does this apply to?' (BB 3.1,3; Soṭ 8.7, etc.); see Unit 19.25.

C. בְּלֹא 'without':

שָׁכַן מִצֵּינֵי כְּשֶׁהָיוּ יִשְׂרָאֵל בְּמִדְבָּר אַרְבָּעִים שָׁנָה קָרְבוּ כִבְשִׁים בְּלֹא
לֶחֶם, אֲף כָּאֵן יִקְרְבוּ כִבְשִׁים בְּלֹא לֶחֶם

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).

בלא is also employed to negate a participle (in a circumstantial noun clause):

נכנס רבי טרפון בלא מתכוין

Rabbi Tarfon entered (a town) without intending (to spend the Sabbath there) (Eruv 4.9)

D. The characteristic RH verb וָקַח 'acquire the right to, take possession of' governs its object through the preposition -בּ, as in BM 1.4:

רָאָה אֶת הַמְצִיָּאָה וְנָפַל עָלֶיהָ, וּבָא אַחֵר וְהִחְזִיק בָּהּ, וְזֶה שֶׁהִחְזִיק בָּהּ
וָקַח בָּהּ

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 -בּ is also found in connection with other verbs (הִחְזִיק בּ-, בָּחַר בּ-, etc.).

11. For כּ-, כָּנְגַד, כְּדָרַךְ, and כִּיּוֹצֵא בּ-, see Unit 26.6,9.

12. לּ-

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

סֵפֶר דְּבָרֵי הַיָּמִים לְמַלְכֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל

Chronicle of the kings of Israel),

לּ- also extends into the domain of -בּ, עַל, and אֵת, and to a great extent replaces אֵל.

A. The formulas אֵם לְמִדְתֵּי אֵם and אֵם לְמִדָּתָהּ (see Unit 28.9) regularly employ -לּ, or occasionally עַל, but never the expected -בּ, to specify an object:

אֵם לְמִדְתֵּי לְמִנְוֵרָה שֶׁעָשָׂה בֵּה אֵת הַבָּנִים כְּאָב, אִף הַקְטוֹרֶת נַעֲשֶׂה
בֵּה אֵת הַבָּנִים כְּאָב

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 כָּפַר 'expiate, forgive' are usually introduced by -לּ, not עַל, the regular BH choice:

אֲנִי הַשָּׁם, כָּפַר נָא לְעֹנוֹת וּלְפָשְׁעִים וּלְחַטָּאִים, שְׁעוֹתַי וְשִׁפְשָׁעוֹתַי
וּשְׁחַטָּאתַי לְפָנֶיךָ, אֲנִי וּבֵיתִי

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. קָנָא אִתְּ אִשְׁתּוֹ 'he is suspicious of his wife', at Nm 5.14, is reformulated at Sot 1.1: הַמְקַנָּא לְאִשְׁתּוֹ 'one who is suspicious of his wife'.

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

וַיִּמְאָקְלִין בְּכָל הָעִיר לְכָל 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. אֵל.

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

14. מִן.

מִן is used to express origin, provenance, or separation.

A. A striking usage is of partitive מִן in place of an indefinite pronoun (see Unit 6.11):

חפש מהם, הרג מהם, צלב מהם

Some he seized, others he slaughtered, others he crucified (Mek 15.18 [L 2.80]);

אפילו שמע מן הנשים אומרות ... אפילו שמע מן התינוקות אומרים

Even though he heard some women saying ... even though he heard some children saying (Yeb 16.5).

The same usage is found in BH: 'and some of the king's servants died' (2 S 11.24).

B. **הַיִּמְנָה** and **הַיִּמְנָה** are used exactly the same as the regular constructions **מִמֶּנּוּ** and **מִמֶּנָּה**; whereas at Men 8.5, we read

הָרֵאשׁוֹן שֶׁבְּרֵאשׁוֹן אֵין לַמַּעֲלָה מִמֶּנּוּ

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

כל פרשה שהיא סמוכה לחברתה למידה הימנה

Every passage that occurs alongside another is explained by the other (SNm 131.2 [H 169]).

15. עַל.

Although the usages attached to **עַל** in BH are maintained, it can also be used where BH would have **-ל**; in comparisons, **יְהוֹרֵר עַל** has the same function as **יְהוֹרֵר מִן** (see Unit 13.5C). **עַל** can also express cause:

עַל שְׁלֹשׁ עֲבֵרוֹת הַנָּשִׁים מְתוּחַ בְּשַׁעַת לִדְוֶן

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:

אֵין שְׁבִיתתו 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:

הניח בנות גדולות וקטנות, אין הגדולות מתפרנסות על הקטנות
ולא הקטנות נהונות על הגדולות

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. על יד/על יד.

A great variety of meanings is discernible, depending on context.

A. 'Along with': אִם אֵין מְקַדֵּשׁ, תִּקְבֵּר עַל יְדֵי עוֹרָה: 'if 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 קָטַעַת 'diminish, become less', expressing the relationship between two elements:

אֵלֹא מַעַת לַעַת מִמַּעַתָּה עַל יַד מִפְקִידָה לַפְקִידָה

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 גּוֹלָה עַל יְדֵי הַבָּנִים

The parents are exiled on account of the children (Mak 2.2);

עַל יְדֵי כָל הָעֲרִיזוֹת מִקְצֵי חוּץ מִן הַקָּטָן וּמִי שְׂאִינוֹ אִישׁ

They may become jealous on account of incestuous unions other than those with minors or with what is not human (Soṭ 4.4).

D. 'For, in favour of, on behalf of, in place of':

מְבִיא אָדָם עַל יְדֵי בְנוֹ, עַל יְדֵי בָתּוֹ, עַל יְדֵי עַבְדּוֹ וְשִׁפְחָתוֹ קָרְבָן עָנִי

One may present a poor person's offering on behalf of a son, daughter, servant, or maidservant (Neg 14.12);

מִמָּהֵר עָנִי לִיפְרַע עַל יְדֵי עָנִי יוֹחֵר מִן הָעֹשִׁיר

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]);

E. 'Through, by' (a sense also expressed by בִּידֵי/בִּידֵי):

וְעָלִיו הוּא מְפֹרֵשׁ עַל יְדֵי יְחֻזְקָל

And an express statement is made about it by Ezekiel (Tam 3.7; cf. Mid 4.2);

וְכֵן כְּתוּב בְּסֵפֶר תְּהִלִּים עַל יְדֵי דָוִד מֶלֶךְ יִשְׂרָאֵל

For thus it is written in the Book of Psalms by King David (Abot 6.9 [late]).

F. In certain contexts, על ידו has reflexive significance, 'by oneself, by one's own endeavours'. But note that in the exercise text 9, (Mek 17.14 [L 2.150]), the meaning of על יד and על ידי כָּלֶם is rather *pro*: '(annul a decree) in place of/overriding (the one who issued it)', that is, to cancel what another has prescribed.

17. בִּידֵי/לִידֵי.

Generally, לִידֵי/לִידֵי is used with verbs of motion, יָרַד, קָדַב, and especially נָא, extending into the territory of אֵל, לִי, and אֵצֶל:

וְרוּחַ הַקֹּדֶשׁ מְבִיאָה לְיְדֵי חֲחִית הַמַּחִים

And the spirit of holiness leads to the resurrection of the dead (Sot 9.15, the introductory text for this unit).

Like **אין בידו אלא רשותו** can be employed more literally:

אין בידו אלא רשותו

In his hand, means, (In) his possession (Mek 21.16 [L 3.45]);

או כשם שנחננים פדין למומתים בידי שמים כך יהו נחננים פדין למומתים בידי אדם

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 [H 221]).

18. על שם.

'With regard to, taking into account' (see Unit 29.9 on the conjunction **על שם ש**, the meaning of which casts light on the prepositional usage):

בן סורר ומורה נדון על שם סופו

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);

הבא במחתרת נדון על שם סופו

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, **על שם** is often found in statements of etymology and in wordplays:

נקראו מרים על שם סופן שממדרין 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]);

למה נקרא, לחם עוני (דרבים טו' ג)? אלא על שם עינוי שנענו 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. משום/משם.

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):

ואלו עוברין בלא חטשה ... עוברים משום, לא חתפן ויקרא כה' לו], ומשום, בל' חקח מאתו ויקרא כה' לו], ומשום, לא חתהיה לו כנשה [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:

רַבֵּן שִׁמְעוֹן בֶּן גַּמְלִיאֵל אוֹמֵר מִשֵּׁם רַבִּי יְהוֹשֻׁעַ

Rabban Simeon ben Gamaliel says in the name of Rabbi Joshua (Sot 9.12).

20. לְשֵׁם/לְשֵׁם.

A. 'For (the sake of)', signifying the motive or motivation of an action or attitude, as in the characteristic formula לְשֵׁם שָׁמַיִם, which expresses the purest form of motivation (similar to διὰ τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν 'for the kingdom of heaven' at Mt 19.12):

כָּל מַחְלָקֶת שֶׁהִיא לְשֵׁם שָׁמַיִם, סוֹפָה לְהַחֲקִים, וְשֶׁאִינָהּ לְשֵׁם שָׁמַיִם, אֵין סוֹפָה לְהַחֲקִים. אִיזוֹ הִיא מַחְלָקֶת שֶׁהִיא לְשֵׁם שָׁמַיִם? זוֹ מַחְלָקֶת הַלֵּל וְשַׁמַּי. וְשֶׁאִינָהּ לְשֵׁם שָׁמַיִם? זוֹ מַחְלָקֶת קִרְיָה וְכָל עֲדָתוֹ

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 שֵׁם, specifying the purpose of an action:

זֶה הַכָּלֵל, כָּל שֶׁהוּא בָּא לְשֵׁם חַטָּאת וְלְשֵׁם אֲשָׁמָה, מוֹחָרֵן נִדְבָה

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, מִשֵּׁם/מִשֵּׁם is found in the same sense.

21. בֵּין.

'Between, among', in the formula ... בֵּין ל- and ... וּל- בֵּין is also found in reflexive, reciprocal, and comparative formulas, for example בֵּינוּ לְבֵין עֲצָמוֹ 'on one's own', בֵּין ... לְחִבְרוֹ, and ... בֵּין ... בֵּין (see Units 7.4C,7C; 8.12; 26.10).

22. בְּשִׁבִיל.

A. Expressing cause, 'because of, on account of', as in Sifra Mekhilta de Millu'im (SLv 9.23 [W 44d]):

בְּשִׁבִילִי לֹא ירְדֶה שְׁכִינָה לְיִשְׂרָאֵל

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':

הַמְכַבֵּה אֶת הַנֵּר מִפְּנֵי שֶׁהוּא מוֹחָרֵא מִפְּנֵי גוֹיִם ... וְאֵם בְּשִׁבִיל הַחֹזֶה שִׁישָׁן, פְּטוֹר

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. כַּדִּי.

'Sufficient for, as much as is required for/appropriate to', in statements

of measures and quantities (for an extensive discussion, see Unit 30.8B):

לא יִרְבֶּה לוֹ סוּסִים וְדַבְרִים י' טוֹן, אֱלֵא כְדֵי מְרַכְבְּתוֹ

He is not to increase his horses [Dt 7.16]: only those required for his chariot (Sanh 2.4);

וכמה היא טומאה? כדי ביאה, וכמה כדי ביאה? 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. מַחֲמָה.

This construction has lost its etymological sense of 'out of anger' and has become a causal particle:

עָלוּ בוֹ צִמְחִים, אִם מַחֲמַת הַמַּכָּה, חֵיב, שֶׁלֹּא מַחֲמַת הַמַּכָּה, פְּטוּר

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. מֵעֵין.

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:

הַעוֹשֶׂה מְלֵאכֹת הַרְבֵּה מֵעֵין מְלֵאכָה אַחַת, אֵינוֹ חֵיב אֱלֵא
הַטָּאחַת אַחַת

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:

רַבִּין גַּמְלִיאֵל אוֹמֵר, בְּכָל יוֹם מַחֲפִלֵּל אֶתֶם שְׁמוֹנֵה עֶשְׂרֵה. רַבִּי יְהוֹשֻׁעַ
אוֹמֵר, מֵעֵין שְׁמוֹנֵה עֶשְׂרֵה. רַבִּי עֲקִיבָא אוֹמֵר, אִם שְׁנֵי תַפְלִחוֹ
בְּפִי, יַחֲפִלֵּל שְׁמוֹנֵה עֶשְׂרֵה, וְאִם לֹא, מֵעֵין שְׁמוֹנֵה עֶשְׂרֵה.

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. יָצָא יָדָיו חוּבְתוֹ, literally, 'he went out from (the power of) his obligation', i.e. he fulfilled his duty:

רַבִּין גַּמְלִיאֵל אוֹמֵר, כָּל שֶׁלֹּא אָמַר שְׁלֹשָׁה דְבָרִים לֹא יָצָא יָדָיו
חוּבְתוֹ, וְאֵלּוּ הֵן, פֶּסַח, מַצָּה, מְרוֹר

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 **לְצַדִּיק**.

This use of **לְ** as preposition is also found in other phrases, as, for example, at Sheq 3.2:

לְצַאת יְדֵי הַבְּרִיּוֹת ... לְצַאת יְדֵי הַמָּקוּם

To do what is required by mortals ... to do what is required by God.

V Vocabulary

סֵפֶטְרוֹס (ὑπατικός) 'consul' (i.e. the emperor's consular delegate)

אָרַע 'occur'

דִּיקוּרִיּוֹן (Latin *decurio*) 'decurio, commander'

דֶּשֶׁן (sacrificial) ashes'

הַחֲקִין (hi. of חָקַן) 'prepare, arrange'

כַּבֵּשׁ 'ramp, grade, bridge'

מָחַק 'crush, dissolve, destroy'

נֶפֶשׁ 'soul', על יְדֵי נֶפֶשׁוֹת, 'because of a capital offence'

סִיעַ 'accompany, attend, support'

סָפַן 'respect', סָפָן 'distinguished'

פָּסַק 'separate, distribute, assign'

צְבוּר 'community'

צְהִיבָה 'jealousy, envy, fever'

קָרִיבָה 'approach, coming near'

רַגְלִים (plural) 'pilgrim festival'

תְּבֵל (inhabited) world'

תְּבֵל 'spice, condiment'

VI Exercises

1. וְכָל הַעֲמֵלִים עִם הַצְּבוּר, יְהִיוּ עֲמֵלִים עִמָּהֶם לְשֵׁם שָׁמַיִם, שְׂזֻכּוֹת אֲבוֹתָם מִסִּיעָתָן וְצִדְקָתָן עוֹמְדֵת לְעַד.
2. רַבִּי יוֹסִי אוֹמֵר, יְהִי מִמּוֹן חֲבֵרֶד חֲבִיב עֲלֶיךָ כְּשֶׁלֶךְ, וְהַחֲקִין עֲצֻמְךָ לְלִמּוֹד חוֹרָה, שְׂאִינָה יְרוּשָׁה לָךְ, וְכָל מַעֲשֶׂיךָ יְהִיוּ לְשֵׁם שָׁמַיִם.
3. רַבִּי יוֹחָנָן הַסְּגֻלָּר אוֹמֵר, כָּל פְּסִיחָה שֶׁהִיא לְשֵׁם שָׁמַיִם, סוֹפָה לְהַחֲקִים, וְשְׂאִינָה לְשֵׁם שָׁמַיִם, אֵין סוֹפָה לְהַחֲקִים.
4. מַעֲשֶׂה בְּרַבִּי יוֹחָנָן בֶּן מַתִּיָּא שֶׁאָמַר לְבָנָיו, צֵא שָׂכַר לָנוּ פּוֹעֵלִים. הִלֵּךְ וּפָסַק לָהֶם מְזוֹנוֹת, וְכִשְׁבָּא אֶצֶל אָבִיו אָמַר לוֹ, בְּנִי, אֲפִלּוּ אִתָּה עוֹשֶׂה לָהֶם כְּסֻעֻדַת שְׁלֵמָה בְּשַׁעֲחֹ, לֹא יֵצְאוּ יְדֵי חוֹבְכֶיךָ עִמָּהֶן, שֶׁהֵן בְּנֵי אֲבֵרָהֶם, יִצְחָק וַיַּעֲקֹב.
5. הָאִשָּׁה שֶׁנִּחְבְּשָׁה בְּיַדֵּי גוֹיִם, עַל יְדֵי מִמּוֹן, מִתְּרַחַת לְבַעֲלָהּ, עַל יְדֵי נֶפֶשׁוֹת, אֲסוּרָה לְבַעֲלָהּ.
6. הָאָב גּוֹלָה עַל יְדֵי הַבֵּן, וְהַבֵּן גּוֹלָה עַל יְדֵי הָאָב. הַכֹּל גּוֹלֵין עַל יְדֵי

- ישראל, וישראל גולין על ידיהן, חרץ מעל ידי גר תושב. וגר תושב אינו גולה אלא על ידי גר תושב.
7. אין היחיד נאמן על ידי עצמו.
8. נכדי שהדליק את הנר, משתמש לאורו ישראל, ואם בשביל ישראל, אסור. מלא מים להשקות בהמתו, משקה אחריו ישראל, ואם בשביל ישראל, אסור. עשה גוי כבש לירד בו, יורד אחריו ישראל, ואם בשביל ישראל, אסור. מעשה ברצן גמליאל חקנים, שהיו באין בספינה, ועשה גוי כבש לירד בו, יורדו בו רצן גמליאל והחקנים.
9. אמר משה לפני הקב"ה, רבונו של עולם, שמא דרכיך כדרכי בשר ודם? אפטרופס נזור גזירה, כלירכוס מבטל על ידו, כלירכוס נזור גזירה, דיקוריון מבטל על ידו, דיקוריון נזור גזירה, היגמון מבטל על ידו, היגמון נזור גזירה, איפרכוס מבטל על ידו, איפרכוס נזור גזירה, איפיטיקוס מבטל על ידו, איפיטיקוס נזור גזירה, ובא המושל הגדול ומבטל על ידי כלם, מפני שהן ממונין זה למעלה מזה וזה למעלה מזה.
10. גם את אריו גם הדוב הכה עבדך [שמואל א' יז' לז], אלא אמר דוד, וכי מה אני ספון שהכתי חיות רעות הללו? אלא שמא דבר עתיד לארע את ישראל והם עתידין להינצל על ידי.
11. יחידי שיפול מהם, הרי הוא עלי ככלם. מלמד שאף אחד ממעט על ידי כלן. דבר אחר, יחידי שיוטל מהם, הרי הוא עלי כנגד כל מעשה בראשית, שנאמר, כי לי עין אדם וכל שבטי ישראל [זכריה ט' א'].
12. ולא ימות ונפל למשכב [שמות כא' יח]. מגיד שהצהיבה מביאה לידי מיתה.
13. אלעזר בן אחויו אומר, יכול היה מדבר עמו לצורך עצמו? תלמוד לומר, לאמר [ויקרא א' א'], לאמר לישראל. בשביל ישראל היה מדבר עמו ולא היה מדבר עמו לאורך עצמו.
14. מפני מה זכו הכנענים לישב בארצם ארבעים ושבע שנים, שנאמר, וחברון שבע שנים נבנתה לפני צוען מצרים [במדבר יג' כג]? אלא בשביל שכר, שכבדו את אברהם אבינו שאמרו לו, שמענו, אדוני, נשיא אלהים אתה בתוכינו [בראשית כג' ו']. בני אדם שכבדו את אברהם אבינו זכו לישב בארצם שבע וארבעים שנה.
15. וידבר י' אל משה ... ואל אהרן ... ואל בני ישראל [ויקרא כב' א-ב], הוהיר את אהרן על ידי הבנים ואת הבנים על ידי ישראל ואת הבנים זה על ידי זה.
16. נמחקה המגילה ואמרה [הסוטה], עמאה אני, המים נשפכים והמנחה מתפוררת אבית הדשן, ואין מגילחה כשרה להשקות בה סוטה אחרת.
17. משל, למה הדבר דומה? למלך שנשבה בן אוהבו, וכשפדאו לא פדאו לשום בן חורין אלא לשום עבד, שאם יגזור ולא יהיה מקבל עליו, יאמר לו, עבדי אחזה ... כך כשפדא הקב"ה את זרע אברהם אוהבו, לא פדאם לשום בנים אלא לשום עבדים, כשיגזור ולא יהיו מקבלים עליהם יאמר להם, עבדיי אחם.
18. נמצאת אחזה אומר שתי קריבות הם, אחת קריבה שהיא לשום שמים ואחת קריבה שאינה לשום שמים. וחקרבון ועמדון תחת ההר [נדברים ד' יא], זו קריבה לשום שמים, וחקרבון אלי כלכם [נדברים א' כב'], זו קריבה שאינו לשום שמים

19. עד לא עשה ארץ וחוצות וראש עפרות תבל [משלי ח' כו]. ארץ, אלו שאר ארצות, וחוצות, אלו מדברות, תבל, זו ארץ ישראל. למה נקרא שמה תבלי? על שם תבל שבתוכה. איזהו תבל שבתוכה? זו תורה, שנאמר, בגוים אין תורה [איכה ב' ט]. מכאן שהתורה בארץ ישראל.
 20. ובאת שמה והבאתם שמה [דברים יב' ו'], לקבעם חובה, שלא יבואו אלא ברגל הראשון שפגע בו. יכול אם עבר רגל אחד ולא הביא ידו עובר עליו משום, בל תאחר? תלמוד לומר, אלה תעשו לי' במועדיכם [במדבר כט' לט], הא אין עובר עליו משום, בל תאחר, עד 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 אתה מוצא, כל זמן שישראל משועבדים, כביכול, שכניה משתעבדת עמם, שנאמר, ויראו את אלהי ישראל ותחת רגליו כמעשה לבנת הספיר [שמות כד' י'], וכן הוא אומר, בכל צרתם לו צר [ישעיה סג' ט]

And thus you find that whenever Israel is enslaved, the Shekinah, 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: טָרַם, בְּלֹחֵי, בְּלִי, רַק, אַךְ, אִיפֹה, אִיזָה, אֵן, אִזְלִי (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: הֵן (occasionally written אֵן, easily confusable with the negative אֵין), כִּן, כִּךְ (from the root יָדָה 'confess'), כִּן, כִּךְ.

B. Negatives: אֵין (or אֵ before words beginning with *alef*), אֵל, לֵא, לֵאוּ, לֵא, בֵּל.

C. Interrogatives: הֵיאָ/הֵיאָ? 'how?', כִּיֶּצֶד, מָה, כִּמָּה and שָׁמָּה 'perhaps?', יָכוֹל '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 adverbs of manner: חֲלִילָה 'in turn, again', לִזְכּוֹסוֹן (λοξόν) 'diagonally, crosswise', כִּלְל 'generally, absolutely', סְתָם 'without comment, implicitly', סְרוּגִין 'alternately, crosswise', סָפֵק 'doubtfully', יָכוֹל 'possibly', etc.

6. Some frequently-used compound forms with adverbial value are listed below.

A. Compounds with כִּי-כִּי: כִּי־חַדְכִּי 'jointly, at the same time', כִּי־גוֹן 'for example', כִּי־רְכוּ 'according to usual practice, in its usual way' (see Units 8.10; 11.10; 26.6B), כִּי־צִבָּא-בִּי 'analogously to' (see Unit 26.6C), כִּי־לְזַמֵּר 'that is to say, i.e.'

B. Compounds with בִּי-: בִּי־בִלְבַד 'only', בִּי־עֵלִיל 'clearly', בִּי־בְטוֹבָה 'thankfully, gratefully, with permission', שְׁלֵא־בְטוֹבָה 'without authorization/permission', בִּי־פִירָדָשׁ 'distinctly, clearly'.

C. Other: עַל־כִּרְחַ 'by force, of necessity'.

7. Adverbs of place:

לְהֵאן, מִהֵאן, בְּהֵאן 'here';

לְהֵיכָן, מִהֵיכָן, אֵיכָן/הֵיכָן 'where?';

אֵילָךְ וְאֵילָךְ/הֵילָךְ וְהֵילָךְ 'over here and over there, on both sides' (see, e.g., Mak 3.12);

לְהֵלָן 'there', לְהֵלָן;

לְהֵאן, מִהֵאן, מֵאֵן, אֵן 'where?';

בֵּינְתַיִם 'meanwhile';

לְהֵדִין, מִבְּחוּץ, בְּחוּץ, חוּץ 'outside';

לְפָנִים 'inside';

לְמַטָּן, לְמַטָּה, מִטָּה 'below';

לְמַעַלָן, לְמַעַלָה, מִעַלָה 'above';

לְמַבְרַע 'backwards, the other way round, in a disorderly way';

לְשָׁם, לְשָׁמָּה (in place of BH שָׁמָּה).

8. Adverbs of time.

A. Sometimes, adverbs of place are employed in a temporal sense (or adverbs of time in a locational sense): לְאַחֵר, כֵּן/כֵּאֵן, בְּיָנֵתִים, אֵילָךְ/הֵילָךְ. Note the formula מִכֵּאֵן וְאֵילָךְ 'from now on, from here onwards' (SNm 134.5 [H 180]).

B. BH forms are: עוֹד 'still, again', לְמָחָר/מָחָר 'tomorrow', מִעוֹלָם/לְעוֹלָם '(from) for ever', כְּבָר 'already, then' (LBH).

C. Forms found for the first time in RH are: אִמְרוּ 'when?', מִיָּד 'immediately', עַל דֵּי 'gradually', מִכֵּאֵן 'from now on', עַדְיָן 'still', עַכְשָׁיו 'now', תָּדִיר 'continually, always'.

D. Aramaic influence is obvious in the use of שׁוּב (infinitive: 'to return'), a calque of Aramaic פּוּב in the sense of 'again' and אֲשַׁקֵּד 'last year', a shortened form of Aramaic קְדַמְיָא; שָׁהָה קְדַמְיָא; from Aramaic אַחַר 'place' has come the expression עַל אַחַר 'on the spot, immediately'. All the more surprising, then, is the use of אֲמָשׁ 'yesterday' in place of BH אֶחָמֹל, when Aramaic also uses this latter form.

E. Other forms employed as temporal adverbs include בְּרֵאשׁוֹנָה 'in the first place' and תְּחִילָה 'firstly'; for the meaning of מִיָּמִי, see Unit 10.13.

9. Interjections.

A. Those most commonly used for introducing a discourse are הִרֵי and הִיאֵהָאֵהָ, equivalent to BH הִנֵּה 'behold, look':

הֵילָךְ יֵין וְתַן לִי שֶׁמֶן

Here you have (literally, 'behold for you') wine, and give me oil (MS 1.1).

הִרֵי can carry the sense of 'suppose that' (see Unit 28.6), as at Bik 1.9:

הִרֵי שֶׁהֵבִיא מִמִּין אֶחָד וְהִזְכִּיר וְהֵבִיא מִמִּין אַחֵר, אֵינִי קוֹרֵא

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: אֵי לוֹ, אֹוִי לוֹ, הוֹי, אֵלְלִי.

C. אָנָּה is a liturgical interjection, directed to God:

אָנָּה הַשֵּׁם, עוֹר פִּשְׁעוֹ חֲטָאוֹ לְפָנֶיךָ עַמְּךָ בֵּית יִשְׂרָאֵל. אָנָּה הַשֵּׁם, כִּפְרָנָה לְעֹנֹת ...

O God, your people, the house of Israel, have transgressed, offended, and sinned before you. Forgive, O God, the transgressions ... (Yom 6.2)

D. אִלְוֵי expresses desire, 'if only'.

E. For the meaning of הִנְרֵאָה, 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 הִזְעוֹן הַזֶּה 'by this abode' (i.e. the temple), הָעֲבוּדָה 'by the service (of the temple)', הַשָּׁמַיִם 'by heaven', הַסּוֹשְׁלוֹם '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:

אין/אין, 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;

אל is used with the imperfect for prohibitions and negative commands.

This model may be further characterized as follows: in negative halakhic precepts, לא plus the imperfect (לא תעשה) and אין plus participle (אין עושין) have an impersonal character, whereas אל plus the imperfect (אל תעשה) conveys a more personalized and persuasive mood. This characterization is reflected in the rule, albeit not of universal application, that אין עושין and לא תעשה express a permanent prohibition, whereas אל תעשה states a prohibition applicable here and now.

To distinguish the use of אין and לא in halakhic prohibitions, S. Sharvit (1980) notes that the latter is used with the imperfect in the singular, as in

לא ישב אדם לפני הספר

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:

אין עומדין להתפלל

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. לאו 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:

אם אמר על לאו, לאו, ועל הן, הן, הרי אלו יכתבו ויתנו

If to 'no', he responds, 'no', and to 'yes', 'yes', they may write (the letter of divorce) and deliver it.

C. בל 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:

עוברים משום, לא תתן [ויקרא כה' לד], ומשום, בל תקח מאתו
[ויקרא כה' לד]

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 משום, see Unit 22.19.)

D. **שום** and **כלום** are used to reinforce a negation, emphasizing its absolute quality: ‘absolutely nothing, none whatsoever’:

ולבנו אחד לא נתן שום מתנה

But to a son of his, he gave no present whatsoever (SNm 119.2 [H 142]);

אין 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 **קִנָּם** (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 **וְהִלֵּנִי** is employed by the *amoraim*, but in the tannaitic *midrashim* **וְלֵא/לֵא/לֵא/לֵא** 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 בשלשת ימי אפלה במצרים

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 **רְצוֹן** ‘will, desire’, for example **יְהִי רְצוֹן שְׁ-** at SNm 89.5 (H 90):

יהי רצון מלפניך שירד ונמצאו דופכים את לבם לשמים

Let it be your will that it (manna) descends, and they found themselves turning their hearts towards heaven.

רְצוֹן can take on a cohortative function, as in **מִלִּפְנֵי מַלְכֵנוּ** ‘may we hear it from the very mouth of our king’ (Mek 19.9 [L 2.209]).

With second person suffix (**רְצוֹנְךָ**), **רְצוֹן** has jussive or desiderative value (see the exercises).

14. **יָכוֹל**, ‘possibly’ has an interrogative nuance:

יָכוֹל שֶׁכְּבוֹד הָאָב עוֹדֵף עַל כְּבוֹד הָאִם?

Is it possible that the dignity of the father is superior to that of the mother? (Ker 6.9).

In rabbinic arguments **יָכוֹל** can introduce an opinion that is rejected by reference to a biblical quotation (**יָכוֹל ... תִּל**):

שָׂמוּ הָעָם וּלְקַטְו (במדבר י"א). יָכוֹל מִפְּנֵי שֶׁמִּצְטַעְרִים עֲלֵינוּ בְּשַׁעַת לְקִישְׁתּוֹ הָיוּ מִתְרַעְמִים? תִּל, שָׂמוּ הָעָם, לִפְתָּח בֵּיתוֹ הָיָה יוֹצֵא וּמִלְקָט פִּרְנָסָתוֹ וּפְרָנְסָת בֵּיתוֹ

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 [H 88–89]).

IV Phraseology

15. '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 (פְּרָט) the general meaning that should be assigned to other passages in which the sense of the form is not specified (סָתָם):

אצבעו (במדמד י' ד') ימינית שבדיר... ת"ל, וטבל הכהן את אצבעו הימינית (ויקרא י' טז). הואיל ונאמרו אצבעות בחורה סתם, ופרט לך הכתוב באחת מהם שאינה אלא ביד הימינית, אף פורטני בכל אצבעות שבחורה, שלא יהו אלא ביד הימינית.

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).

16. כְּבִיכּוֹל (-כ + ב- + כ-), 'if such a thing were possible, as if', usually employed to mitigate anthropomorphic or anthropopathic 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 בהם

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

בָּלַע 'swallow, devour, absorb'

בִּישׁוּל 'cooking'

דָּחַף 'strike'

הִפְטִיר (hi. of פִּטְר) 'do a reading from the prophets, recite the *haftarah*'

לְיֹלֵב 'palm'

סָמְדוּ וּמוֹשְׁב 'standing up and sitting down'

סִקְלָה 'stoning'

רְגִיקָה 'stoning'

רִיבּוּא 'a hundred thousand'

17. כיצד יתקיימו שני כתובים הללו? [במדבר טו' לה; ויקרא כד' כג]. בית הסקילה היה גבוה שתי קומות, אחד מן העדים דוחפו על מתניו, נהפך על לבו הופכו על מתניו. אם מת בה, יצא, ואם לאו, הער השני נושל את האבן ונחתה על לבו. אם מת בה, יצא, ואם לאו, רגמחו בכל ישראל.
18. ויברך אותם משה [שמות לט' מג]. מה ברכה ברכם? אמר להם, יהי רצון שחטרה שכינה במעשה ידיכם.
19. כי הארץ אשר אשר אחזה בא שמה לרשתה לא כארץ מצרים היא [דברים יא' יז]. לרשתה אתם באים, לא להיות עליה מנין שנים 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 של מקום, הרי לכם ארץ מצרים. ארץ ישראל אינו כן, אם אתם עושים רצונו של מקום, הרי לכם ארץ כנען, ואם לאו, הרי אתם גולים מעליה.
20. עמד ומדד לו שמן במאה ריבוא. אמר לו, רצונך שוב? אמר לו, אין לי מעות. אמר לו, טול ואני אבוא עמך ואטול את מעותי. עמד ומדד לו שמן בשמונה עשרה ריבוא.

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).

PART IV
CLAUSES

UNIT TWENTY-FOUR

TYPES OF CLAUSE

I *Introductory text* (Mek 13.2 [L 1.133])

רבי שמעון בן יוחאי אומר, מושלו משל, למה הדבר דומה? לאחד שהיה מהלך בדרך ופגע בו זאב וניצל ממנו, והיה הולך ומספר מעשה הזאב. פגע בו ארי וניצל הימנו, שכח מעשה הזאב, והיה הולך ומספר מעשה ארי. פגע בו נחש וניצל ממנו, שכח מעשה שניהם והיה הולך ומספר מעשה נחש. כך ישראל, צרות האחרונות משכחות הראשונות.

Rabbi Simeon ben Yoḥai 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 *הָיָה* functions as copula (see Meyer

1992, §§90–91).

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 $\text{וַיֹּאמֶר א'} \text{א}$ is verbal, 'so-and-so said', and every clause of the type א' אַמֵּר is nominal, 'so-and-so is the one who said', e.g. 2 S 7.13: $\text{הוּא יִבְנֶה בַּיִת לְשִׁמִּי}$ '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 (אָנִי), and clauses of classification, in which a general or indeterminate predicate is usually placed before the subject ($\text{יִפְהַתְלַמֵּד תּוֹרָה}$).

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 אָמֵר א' 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'asīyyot*, the word order employed to introduce the words of a character is verb-subject (אָמֵר מִשָּׁה), but in exegetical or halakhic discussions, the order is subject-verb ($\text{רַבִּי טָרְפוֹן אָמַר}$). 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):

הביאו את אחיכם הקטן אלי ואדעה

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:

לא ידעתי אכנה

I do not know how to (literally, 'I do not know, I do not') flatter (Jb 32.22);

אשובה ארעה

I shall pasture once again (Gn 30.31);

מי יודע יחנני

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 conjunctions, often morphologically combined with other particles, which unambiguously express hypotaxis/subordination, as in the following illuminating example. Dt 17.17 states, using coordination,

לא ירבה לך נשים ולא יסור לך לבו

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 מסירות 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' (Jouïon-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*:

יען מאספת את דברי י' וימאסך ממלך

Because you rejected the word of Y., he has rejected you as king (1 S 15.23);

במותי וקברתם אתי

When I die, you are to bury me (1 K 13.31);

יָדִי בְּעַת הַהִיא וַיֹּאמֶר

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:

וְגַם אֶת־מַעֲכָה אִמּוֹ וַיִּסְרֶהָ מִגְּבִירָהּ

And he even removed his mother, Maacah, from the post of queen mother (1 K 15.13);

וְגַם־מַעֲכָה אִם אֲסָא הַמֶּלֶךְ הִסִּירָהּ מִגְּבִירָהּ

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:

וְכַנְסוּ כָל הַפָּרוֹת וְאוֹתָהּ הַפָּרָה לֹא נִכְנְסָה

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:

הִתְחִיל הֵבֵן הַהוּא מִנְחָק, הוֹצִיא עָלָיו שֹׁמֵר וַאֲמַר

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 ׀הַיִּ). 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:

מִזְנוֹ לֹא אֶת־הַכּוֹס, וְאָמַר, הֲרִינִי נָזִיר מִפְּנֵי, הֲרִי זֶה נָזִיר

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, אני אהיה אבין לפניך

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 לא, with אל 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:

והעדים מעידין אותו שנבבו

The witnesses testified (against him) that he had stolen it (Shebu 8.3);

לימד על בנות ישראל שהן 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 גזר 'decree':

גזר על בנו להיות מפרנסו

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 מעשה, for example at Ket 1.10:

מעשה בחינוקת שירדה

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:

ויראה אליו באלני ממרא והוא ישב פתח־האהל

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 מלפניו, הריני כיוצא בכם

When the righteous see it and tremble in its presence, (he will say to them) I am like you (SLv 26.12 [W 11 In]);

המוצא כלים ועליהם צורת החמה

One who finds an object with a figure of the sun engraved (AZ 3.3, a particularly clear example);

מורדין לפני התקה זקן ורגיל ויש לו בנים וביתו ריקם

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 \neg (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 עתיד 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:

הַתְּרוּמָה, מִהּ הִי עוֹשִׂין בָּהּ?

The oblation, what is to be done with it? (Sheq 4.1);

מוֹתֵר שְׂרָרֵי הַלְשָׁכָה, מִהּ הִי עוֹשִׂין בָּהֶן?

The remnants 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:

הָרִי אֱלוֹ תִיב לְהַכְרִיז

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 מִי שֶׁ, which raise in an emphatic manner a particular case to be decided:

מִי שֶׁהִלְכָה אִשְׁתּוֹ לְמִדְיַת הַיָּם, וּבָאוּ וְאָמְרוּ לוֹ, מָתָה אִשְׁתְּךָ, וְנָשְׂאָה אֶת
אָחוֹתָהּ, וְאַחֲרַיִךְ בָּאת אִשְׁתּוֹ, מִתְּרַת לְחֻזֹר לוֹ

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.).

(On the indefinite or general significance of מִי שֶׁ and מָה שֶׁ see Units 5.7 and 6.7.)

Within this group of clauses, a particular type comprises those that begin with הַאִשָּׁה שֶׁהִלְכָה ‘when the wife goes away’ (Yeb 15.1,6; 16.1, etc.), a 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 הָרִי followed by a pronoun corresponding to the shifted element:

הֲיָה עוֹשֶׂה בְּיָדָיו אֶכֶל לֹא בְּרַגְלָיו, בְּרַגְלָיו אֶכֶל לֹא בְּיָדָיו, אִפְּלוּ
בְּכַתְפוֹ, הָרִי זֶה אוֹכֵל

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:

הֲרֵנִי נָזִיר מִן הַנְּרוֹנוֹרוֹת וּמִן הַדְּבֵלָה, בֵּית שַׁמַּי אוֹמְרִים, נָזִיר,
וּבֵית הִלֵּל אוֹמְרִים, אֵינוֹ נָזִיר

(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:

כִּךְ יִשְׂרָאֵל, צָרוֹת הָאֲחֵרוֹנוֹת מִשְׁכַּחוּת הָרֵאשֹׁנוֹת

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—in the following example:

אִם לְמַדְתִּי לְפָרָה שֶׁעָשָׂה בַּהּ כָּל הַכֹּלִים כְּכֹלִי חֲרָשׁ, אֵיךְ סוֹטָה, אֵינוֹ דִּין

שנעשה 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])

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 אַתָּה (see Units 2.7 and 8.6F):

אַתָּה שְׂצָרִיךְ כְּפָרָה, יֵצֵא מִחַ שְׂכִיפָרָה לּוֹ נִפְשׁוֹ

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, אֲשֶׁר has disappeared in favour of -שׁ, concerning which, see in 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 אוֹ (signifying equivalence), -וּ, or simply by juxtaposition. For example, at Meg 4.1,

הַקּוֹרֵא אֶת הַמְּגִלָּה עוֹמֵד וְיֹשֵׁב

signifies that the reader may be standing or (-וּ) seated, without implying any real disjunction. When a clear disjunction is intended, the forms אוֹ ... אוֹ, -וּ ... אוֹ-שׁ, or אִם ... אִם are used:

אֲחֻזָּתָה כְּשֶׁהִיא יְבִמְתָּהּ, אוֹ חוֹלְצָתָה אוֹ מְתִיבְמָהּ

If her sister is also her sister-in-law, either she performs *ḥaliṣah* or she marries (Yeb 3.3);

אָמַר לוֹ בְּנֹדֶדָה, שֶׁתֹּאכַל אֶת הַדָּג אוֹ שֶׁתִּלְקַח מֵאֵה מְכוֹת אוֹ שֶׁתִּחַן מֵאֵה מְנָה

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]);

הוֹדִיעֵנִי אִם אֲחֵה מֵרַפָּא אוֹתָהּ וְאִם לֹא

Tell me if you are going to cure her or not (SDt 26 [F 41]).

IV *Phraseology*

14. **וְאִין אִין**, **וְאִין אִין**, etc., is a common way of beginning a nominal clause that expresses a circumstance with a concomitant, modal, or temporal relationship to the main activity conveyed by the sentence:

אַרְבַּע מַלְכוּתוֹת מִשְׁלָחוֹת בְּהֵם בִּישְׂרָאֵל, וְאִין בְּהֵם חָכָם וְאִין בְּהֵם נָבוֹן

Four empires have ruled over the Israelites, when there was no wise or intelligent person among them (the Israelites). (SDt 304 [F 323]);

וְעַדִּין הַדְּבַר תְּלִי בְּדִלָּא תְּלִי, וְאִין אִין יוֹדְעִים אִם הַקְּדוֹשׁ בְּרוּךְ הוּא

בְּחַר בִּיעֻקֹּב, אִם יַעֲקֹב בְּחַר בְּהַקְּדוֹשׁ בְּרוּךְ הוּא

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*

אַמָּה 'arm, cubit, channel'

אַרְבָּעָה עָשָׂר (אִזְרִין) 'the night of) the fourteenth (of Nisan)'

בְּטוֹבָה 'in the expectation of thanks', i.e. 'freely, voluntarily, gratefully'

בְּקִי וּמְיוֹשֵׁב 'experienced and serene'

דְּרָקוֹן (δράκων) 'dragon'

זָלַג 'shed (tears)'

חַמָּה 'sun'

טְמֵאָה 'impurity, contamination'; אָב טְמֵאָה 'father of impurity' refers to a primary source of impurity, which can be transmitted to a thing, which, or a person, who, thus becomes a יֶלֶד טְמֵאָה 'child of impurity', a derived or secondary source of impurity, which can only be transmitted to things.

טָרַד 'expel, throw out'

לְבָנָה 'moon'

יָבֵב 'be dry'

נָח 'comfortable, good, pleasant'

פִּיתָק 'chit, tablet'

צוּרָה 'shape, figure'

קַלְפִּי (κάλαμος) 'urn'

תְּקֵנָה 'ordinance, practical measure'

VI *Exercises*

1. שְׁנַיִם שִׁישְׁבִין וְאִין בְּיַדְהֶם דְּבִרֵי תוֹרָה, הֲרִי זֶה מוֹשֵׁב לְצִים ... אֲכָל שְׁנַיִם שִׁישְׁבִין וַיֵּשׁ בְּיַדְהֶם דְּבִרֵי תוֹרָה, שְׂכִינָה בְּיַדְהֶם.
2. כָּל הַמְּקַבֵּל עָלָיו עַל הַתּוֹרָה, מִעֲבִירִין מִמֶּנּוּ עַל מַלְכוּת וְעַל דְּרָךְ אֶרֶץ, וְכָל הַפּוֹרֵק מִמֶּנּוּ עַל הַתּוֹרָה, נוֹחָגִים עָלָיו עַל מַלְכוּת וְעַל דְּרָךְ אֶרֶץ.
3. הַמוֹצֵא כָּלִים וְעַלִּיהֶם צוּרַת הַחֲפָזָה, צוּרַת הַלְּבָנָה, צוּרַת הַדְּרָקוֹן, יוֹלִיכֶם לִים הַמֶּלֶךְ.
4. עֲבוּרָה זָרָה, שְׁתִּייה לָהּ גֵּנָה אוֹ מִרְחֹץ, נִהְנֵין מִתֵּן שְׂלָא בְּטוֹבָה, וְאִין

- נהנין מהן בטובה. הִיָּה שְׁלָה וְשִׁלְאֲחָרִים, נִהְנִין מֵהֶן בֵּין בְּטוֹבָה וּבֵין שְׁלָא בְּטוֹבָה.
5. בְּיָצָה שְׁנוּלְדָה בַּיּוֹם טוֹב, בֵּית שְׁמַאי אוֹמְרִים, תֹּאכֵל, וּבֵית הַלֵּל אוֹמְרִים, לֹא תֹאכֵל.
6. אַמַּת הַמַּיִם שְׁהִיא עוֹבְרַת בְּחֶצֶר, אֵין מִמְלֵאֵין הִימְנָה בַשֶּׁבֶת.
7. הִיז מִהֲלֵכִין בְּדֶרֶךְ וְאֶחָד בָּא כְּנֶגְדָן, אָמַר אֶחָד מֵהֶן, הֲרִינִי נְזִיר שְׁנָה פְּלוֹנִי, וְאֶחָד אָמַר, הֲרִינִי נְזִיר שְׁאֵין זֶה פְּלוֹנִי ... בֵּית שְׁמַאי אוֹמְרִים, כִּלְן נְזִירִים ... וְרַבֵּי טַרְפוֹן אוֹמַר, אֵין אֶחָד מֵהֶם נְזִיר.
8. מִי שְׁנוֹר הוּאָהּ בְּבֵית הַקְּבֻרוֹת, אִפְלוּ הִיָּה שָׁם שְׁלִשִׁים יוֹם, אֵין עוֹלֵין לוֹ מִן הַמִּנְיָן, וְאִינוּ מְבִיא קָרְבַן טְמֵאָה.
9. וְחֻכְמִים אוֹמְרִים, לֹא כֶּדֶק אֹר אַרְבַּעָה עָשָׂר, יְבַדֵּק בְּאַרְבַּעָה עָשָׂר, לֹא כֶּדֶק בְּאַרְבַּעָה עָשָׂר, יְבַדֵּק בְּחוּךְ הַמוֹעֵד, לֹא כֶּדֶק בְּחוּךְ הַמוֹעֵד, יְבַדֵּק לְאַחַר הַמוֹעֵד.
10. כִּךְ יִשְׂרָאֵל, צְרוּת הָאֲחֵרוֹנוֹת מִשְׁכַּחוֹת הָרֵאשׁוֹנוֹת.
11. מִשָּׁל, לְמַה הִרְבַּר דּוּמָה? לְאִדָם שְׁכַעַס עַל בְּנוֹ וְשִׂרְדוֹ מִבֵּיתוֹ. נִכְנַס אוֹהֲבוֹ לְבַקֵּשׁ הַיְמִינוֹ וְלִהְחִזִּירוֹ לְבֵיתוֹ. אָמַר לוֹ, כְּלוּם אֵתָהּ מִבְּקֵשׁ מִמֶּנִּי אֵלָא מִפְּנֵי בְנִי? כִּבְר נַחְרַצְתִּי לְבְנִי.
12. מִשָּׁל, לְמַה הִרְבַּר דּוּמָה? לְאֶחָד שְׁהִיָּה מִהֲלֵךְ בְּדֶרֶךְ הִיָּה מְנַהֵג אֶת בְּנוֹ לְפָנָיו. בָּאוּ לִסְטִים מִלְּפָנָיו לְשִׁבוּחוֹ, נִשְׁלוּ מִלְּפָנָיו וְנַחְנוּ לְאַחֲרָיו. בָּא זֹאֵב מֵאַחֲרָיו, נִשְׁלוּ מֵאַחֲרָיו וְנַחְנוּ לְפָנָיו. בָּאוּ לִסְטִים מִלְּפָנָיו וְזֹאֲבִים מֵאַחֲרָיו, נִשְׁלוּ וְנַחְנוּ עַל זְרוּעֵתָיו. הִתְחִיל הַבֵּן מִצְטַעַר מִפְּנֵי הַחֵמָה, פִּרַשׁ עֲלָיו אָבִיו בְּגָדוֹ. רַעַב, הָאֲכִילוֹ, צָמָא, הִשְׁקָהוּ. כִּךְ עָשָׂה הַקַּב"ה.
13. הַלְמַד שְׁלָא לַעֲשׂוֹת נוֹחַ לוֹ שְׁלָא נִבְרָא.
14. מַעֲשֵׂה בִימֵי הַזְּרוּדוֹס שְׁהִיוּ גַשְׁמִים יוֹרְדִים בְּלֵילוֹת, בַּשְּׁחִרִית זֹרְחָה חֲמָה וְנִשְׁבַּה הָרוּחַ וְנִתְנַגְּבָה הָאָרֶץ וְהַפּוֹעֵלִים יוֹצֵאִים לְמִלְאֲכָתָם וְיִידְעִים שְׁמַעֲשִׂיהֶם לְשֵׁם שְׁמַאִים.
15. הִיז בְּבֵיתוֹ שֶׁל אָדָם חֲמֵשׁ זְכוֹרִים אוֹ חֲמֵשׁ נִקְבוֹת. הִיָּה יוֹשֵׁב וּמִצְפָּה וְאוֹמַר, אֵי לִי, שְׁמַא לֹא יָדַד הֵמֵן לְמַחַר וְנִמְצִינוּ מַתִּים בְּרַעַב, יְהִי רִצּוֹן מִלְּפָנֶיךָ שִׂירָד.
16. אָמַר מֹשֶׁה, מַה אֲנִי אַעֲשֶׂה? עֲכַשְׂיוֹ כֹּל אֶחָד וְאֶחָד אוֹמַר, כִּבְר פְּרָאֲנִי לִי. עָשָׂה מֹשֶׁה חֲקִנָה, נִשְׁל פִּיתְקִים וְכָתַב עֲלֵיהֶם, לִי, וְנִשְׁל פִּיתְקִים וְכָתַב עֲלֵיהֶם, כִּסְף חֲמִשָּׁת שְׁקָלִים, וּבִלְלֵם הַטִּילֵם בְּקִלְפֵי. אָמַר לָהֶם, בָּאוּ וְנִשְׁלוּ פִּיתְקִיהֶם. כֹּל מִי שְׁנִשְׁל פִּיתְקוֹ וְכָתוּב הִיָּה עֲלָיו, בֵּן לִי, אוֹמַר לוֹ, כִּבְר אֵתָהּ פְּדוּי. וּמִי שְׁנִשְׁל פִּיתְקוֹ וְכָתוּב עֲלָיו, כִּסְף חֲמִשָּׁת שְׁקָלִים, הִיָּה מֹשֶׁה אוֹמַר לוֹ, צֵא וְתָן פְּדִינְךָ.
17. מִשָּׁל, לְמַה הִרְבַּר דּוּמָה? לְמַדִּינָה שְׁמֹרְדָה עַל הַמֶּלֶךְ. שִׁלַּח הַמֶּלֶךְ פּוֹלִימְרוֹכּוֹס אֶחָד לְהַחְרִיבָה. הִיָּה אוֹתוֹ פּוֹלִימְרוֹכּוֹס בְּקִי וּמְיוֹשֵׁב. אָמַר לָהֶם, טְלוּ לָכֶם יָמִים, וְאִם לֹא, הֲרִינִי עוֹשֶׂה לָכֶם כְּדֶרֶךְ שְׁעִשִׁיתִי לְמַדִּינָה פְּלוֹנִית וְלַחְבְּרוֹתֶיהָ וְלַהֲפָרְכִיא פְּלוֹנִית וְלַחְבְּרוֹתֶיהָ.
18. נִקְרָא הַמְּקוֹם רַחוּם, אִף אֵתָהּ הִיָּה רַחוּם, הַקְּדוֹשׁ בְּרוּךְ הוּאָהּ נִקְרָא חֲנוּן, אִף אֵתָהּ הִיָּה חֲנוּן.
19. מַעֲשֵׂה בְרַבֵּי אֱלֵעָזָר בֶּן שְׁמוּעַ וְרַבֵּי יוֹחָנָן הַסְּגוּלָר, שְׁהִיוּ הוֹלְכִים לְנִצְיָבִים אֲצֵל רַבֵּי יְהוּדָה בֶּן בְּתִירָה לְלַמֵּד מִמֶּנּוּ תוֹרָה, וְהִגִּיעוּ לְצִיִּידִן וְזָכְרוּ אֶת אֶרֶץ יִשְׂרָאֵל. זָקְפוּ עֵינֵיהֶם וְחִלְגוּ דְמַעוֹתֵיהֶם וְקִרְעוּ בְּגָדֵיהֶם וְקִרְאוּ אֶת הַמְּקָרָא הַזֶּה, וִירְשָׁתָם אוֹתָהּ וְיִשְׁבַּחֶם בָּהּ וְשִׁמְרַת לַעֲשׂוֹת אֶת

כל החוקים האלה ואת המשפטים [דברים י'א-לא-לב]. אמרו, ישיבת ארץ ישראל שקולה כנגד כל המצוות שבתורה. הורו ובאו להם לארץ ישראל.
 20. רק אם שמע תשמע בקול יי' אלהיך [דברים טו' ה']. מיכן אמרו, שמע אדם קימעה, משמיעים אותו הרבה, שמע אדם דברי תורה, משמיעים אותו דברי סופרים.

Sources. 1. Abot 3.2. 2. Abot 3.5. 3. AZ 3.3. 4. AZ 4.3. 5. Beṣ 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])

זכרנו את הדגה אשר נאכל במצרים חנם [במדבר י'א' ה']. וכי יש בענין שהיו המצריים נותנים להם דגים בחנם? הלא כבר נאמר, ועתה לכו עבדו ותבן לא ינתן לכם [שמות ה' יח']? אם תבן לא היו נותנים להם בחנם, ודגים היו נותנים להם בחנם? ומה אני אומר, חנם? מן המצוות.

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.

3. As well as the BH interrogative particles כִּי, הֲלֵא, הֲאִם, and -הֲ, RH employs כִּלְיָם (כָּל + מְאוּמָה; see Unit 6.2) and שְׂמָא 'perhaps'.

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 דִּין הוּא 'it is/concerns a deduction' or with a rhetorical question, אִינוּ דִּין שֶׁ- 'is it not a deduction that?', both forms alternating with no discernible 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 למדתי לפרה שעשה בה כל הכלים ככלי חרש, אף כוסטה, 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 אִינוּ דִּין שֶׁ- is continually employed as the conclusion in a *qal waḥomer*, or a *fortiori*, argument, following an initial supposition that begins with מָה אִם:

מָה אִם חֵלֶב הָאִשָּׁה, שֶׁאִינוּ מִיָּחָד אֵלֶּא לְקַטְנִים, מִטְּמֵא לְרִצּוֹן וְשֵׁלֵא
לְרִצּוֹן, חֵלֶב הַבַּיִת מָה שֶׁהוּא מִיָּחָד לְקַטְנִים וְלַגְּדוּלִים, אִינוּ דִּין שֶׁיִּטְמֵא
לְרִצּוֹן וְשֵׁלֵא לְרִצּוֹן?

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 -הֲ 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:

הֲכֹהֵן רָאִיתָ אוֹ כֹהֵן?

Did it look like this or like this?

More common is הֲלֵא (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:

וְהֲלֵא סִימָן גְּדוּל הֵיָה לְהֵם? ... וְהֲלֵא סִימָן אַחֵר הֵיָה לְהֵם?

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:

הֲלֹא שִׁמְעוֹן בֶּן שִׁטְחָה הָלִיךְ נָשִׁים בְּאַשְׁקְלוֹן?

Did not Simeon ben Shatah hang women in Ashkelon?

6. וכי is also frequently used: 'all the trees are fit for the fire?' (Tam 2.3). It is usually employed in the expectation of a negative response:

וְכִי עַל דְּעִתְגוּ עֲלֵהָ שׁוֹפְכֵי דָמִים הֵי?׃

Could it occur to us that the elders of the tribunal were shedders of blood? (Soṭ 9.6);

וְכִי כּוֹשִׁים הָיוּ?

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 וְכִי הֵיאָךְ, וְכִי מָה, וְכִי אֵיזוֹ, וְכִי מַפְנֵי מָה, וְכִי אֵיזוֹ. Among numerous examples of their use is the following:

וְכִי אֵיזוֹ מִדָּה מְרוּבָה, מִדָּת טוֹבָה אוֹ מִדָּת פּוֹרְעָנוּת?

Which measure is the more generous, that of mercy or that of punishment? (SNm 8 [H 15]).

7. כִּלְיָם 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:

כִּלְיָם אִמְרַת אֱלֹהִים מִפְּנֵי כְבוֹדִי? וְהוּא כְבוֹדִי׃

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*:

אָמַר מֹשֶׁה לִפְנֵי הַמָּקוֹם, אֲדוֹנָי, כִּלְיָם הַגּוֹן לָהֶם שְׂחַתֵּן לָהֶם וְתִהְיֶהגָם?

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 או, as at RS 3.8:

וְכִי יָדָיו שֶׁלֹּמֶשֶׁה עוֹשׂוֹת מִלְחָמָה אוֹ שׁוֹבְרוֹת מִלְחָמָה?

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, §114.4), which means that it is often uncertain which is intended—for example, at Sanh 3.6

אָמַר הֵיאָךְ אֵתָהּ יָדָע׃

could mean either 'say how you know' or 'say, How do you know?'

An indirect question may be introduced by מִן as well as by an interrogative adverb or pronoun, as in the previous example):

וְכֵן לְכָל אֻמָּה וְאֻמָּה שָׁאַל לָהֶם אִם מִקְבִּילִים אֹת הַתּוֹרָה

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 **אם**, as at BQ 10.7:

הַאֲזֹמֵר לְחֵבְרוּ ... אִינִי יוֹדֵעַ אִם הִחְזַרְתִּי לְךָ אִם לֹא הִחְזַרְתִּי לְךָ, חֵיב
לְשֵׁלֵם. אֲכַל אִם אָמַר לוֹ, אִינִי יוֹדֵעַ אִם גָּזַלְתִּיךָ, אִם הִלְוִיתִנִּי, אִם
הִפְקַדְתָּ אֵצְלִי, פְּטוּר מִלְשֵׁלֵם

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 **אוֹ שֶׁ-** (see Unit 8.9), for example:

וְאִם אִינּוֹ יוֹדֵעַ אִיזֶה מֵהֶם נִשְׁחַט רִאשׁוֹן, אוֹ שֶׁשְׁחַטוּ כְּאַחֵד, הוּא אוֹכֵל
מִשְׁלּוֹ

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. **אִינּוֹ דִין שֶׁ-** 'is it not a deduction that?'; see above, §4.

11. **מָה אָנִי ל־**, **מָה אֶפְהָ ל־**, **מָה אֲנִי ל־**, etc., followed by an infinitive, 'may I (etc.) do so-and-so?' (see Unit 20.13):

הַגֵּר] עָמַד לִפְנֵיהֶן בְּבֵית הַמִּדְרָשׁ, אָמַר לָהֶם, מָה אֲנִי לְבָא בְּקִהְלָא?

(The proselyte) presented himself to them in the academy and said to them, May I enter the congregation? (Yad 4.4);

מָה אֲנִי לְהִבְיֵא זֶרַע אֶל תַּחַת הַמּוֹתָר

May I plant a seed beneath what remains? (Kil 6.4);

אָמְרוּ לוֹ לְרַבֵּן גַּמְלִיאֵל, מָה אָנּוּ לִירֵד? אָמַר לָהֶן, מִתָּר

They asked Rabban Gamaliel, May we go down (i.e. 'disembark')?

He answered them, It is permitted (Erub 4.2).

12. **הֲלֹא כְּבָר נֶאֱמַר** '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: **הֲרִי כְּבָר נֶאֱמַר** 'note that it has already been said'. The following is a good example:

כִּי אִשָּׁה כּוֹשִׁית לָקַח [בַּמִּדְבָּר יב' א']. עוֹד לְמָה נֹאמְרִי? וְהֲלֹא כְּבָר
נֹאמַר, עַל אוֹרֶת הָאִשָּׁה הַכוֹשִׁית [בַּמִּדְבָּר יב' א']? אֲלֹא מֵה ת'ל, כִּי
אִשָּׁה כּוֹשִׁית לָקַח? יֵשׁ לְךָ אִשָּׁה נָאָה בִּיּוֹפֶיהָ וְלֹא בַמַּעֲשִׂיהָ,
בַּמַּעֲשִׂיהָ וְלֹא בִּיּוֹפֶיהָ ... וְהָאִתָּה נָאָה בְּנוֹיָה וְנָאָה בַּמַּעֲשִׂיהָ, לְכָךְ נֹאמַר,
כִּי אִשָּׁה כּוֹשִׁית לָקַח

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 12.1a]? 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

אֲכַפְתָּ (Aramaic) 'burden, preoccupation', - מַה אֲכַפְתָּ לִּי 'of what concern is it to?'

בֵּית הַבְּחִירָה 'the house of choice', i.e. the temple

בִּלְבַל 'mix'

דָּחָה הַשַּׁבָּת 'annul, abrogate, expel', דָּחָה הַשַּׁבָּת 'abrogate the sabbath commandment'

דִּלְעוּת (דִּלְעוּתִין plural) 'gourd'

הַזָּאָה 'sprinkling'

יָדָה 'pure'

חִלְוָה 'change, substitution'; used adverbially, 'the other way round'

עַכְבָּר 'mouse'

עַלִּיָּה 'pretext'

קָבַל עַל 'accuse, cry out, protest' (as against קָבַל 'receive')

קַמְנִית 'pulse' (beans, peas, etc.)

קָלַס 'acclaim, applaud'

רִמָּאִי 'fraud, impostor'

VI Exercises

1. לא יתן לו' ... עד שתדרש את אחיך, אם רפאי הוא אם אינו רפאי.
2. הכל לפי המדה, הכל לפי הזמן. אמר רבי יוחנן בן נורי, וכי מה אכפת להן לעכברים, והלא אוכלין בין מהרבה ובין מקמעה.
3. אמר רבי יוסי, וכי מי מודיעני איזוהי [ביצאן] גדולה ואיזוהי קטנה? אלא הכל לפי דעתו של רואה.
4. אף הפנחות היו בדין שיטענו שמן זית וך. מה אם הפנורה שאינה לאכילה, טעונה שמן זית וך, הפנחות שהן לאכילה, אינו דין שיטענו שמן זית וך?
5. הנודר מן הידק, מתיר בדלועין, ורבי עקיבא אוסר. אמרו לו לרבי עקיבא, והלא אומר אדם לשלוחו, קח לי ידק, והוא אומר, לא מצאתי אלא דלועין. אמר להם, כן הדבר. או שמא אומר הוא לו, לא מצאתי אלא קמניתי אלא שהדלועין בכלל ידק ואין הקמנית בכלל ידק.
6. אמר לו רבי אליעזר, ועליה אני דן. ומה אם שחיטה שהיא משום מלאכה דוחה את השבת, הזאה שהיא משום שבות, אינו דין שדוחה את השבת? אמר לו רבי עקיבא, או חלוקה. מה אם הזאה שהיא משום שבות אינה

- דוחה את השבת, שחיטה שהיא משום מלאכה, אינו דין שלא תדחה את השבת? אמר לו רבי אליעזר, עקיבא, עקרת מה שכחוב בתורה.
7. עשה לך שרף ושים אותו על גנס, ותהיה כל הנשרף וראה אתו נחי, [במדבר כא' ח']. וכי נחש ממית, או נחש מחיה? אלא בזמן שישראל מסתכלין כלפי מעלה ומשעבדין את לבם לאביהן שבשמים, היו מתרפאים, ואם לאו, היו נמוקים.
8. בו ביום בא יהודה גר עמוני ועמד לפניהן בבית המדרש, אמר להם, מה אני לבא בקהל? אמר לו רבן גמליאל, אסור אתה. אמר לו רבי יהושע, מתר אתה. אמר לו רבן גמליאל, הכחוב אומר, לא יבא עמוני ומואבי בקהל. גם דוד עשירי [דברים כג' ד.]. אמר לו רבי יהושע, וכי עמונים ומואבים במקומן הן? כבר עלה סנחריב מלך אשור ובלבל את כל האמות.
9. אומרים צדוקים, קובלין אנו עליכם פרושים, שאתם אומרים, כתבי הקדש מטמאין את הידים, וספרי המס אינם מטמאים את הידים. אמר רבן יוחנן בן זכאי, וכי אין לנו על הפרושים אלא זו בלבד?
10. אמר משה לפני הקב"ה, רבונו של עולם, שמא דרכיך כדרכי בשר ודם? ... רבונו של עולם, כלום נגזרה גזירה שלא אכנס לה?
11. מפני מה לא נאמרו עשרת הרברות מתחלת התורה? משלו משל, למה הדבר דומה? למלך שנכנס למדינה, אמר להם, אמלוך עליכם, אמרו לו, כלום עשית לנו טובה שתמלוך עלינו?
12. על מה נחלקו? על העושה בחוך היום, שאין יודע אם בשבת עשה אם ביום הכפורים עשה.
13. וכי היאך היה משה יכול להפשיט את בגדיו [של אהרון] כסידרו? ... וכי היאך היה יכול להלביש את אלעזר בגדים כסידרו?
14. אמרו ישראל לפני משה, וכי היאך מקלסת מדינה את המלך ואינה רואה פני המלך?
15. ואם אין לאיש גואל [במדבר ה' ח.]. רבי ישמעאל אומר, וכי יש לך אדם בישראל שאין לו גואל?
16. ויקריבו הנשיאים את קרבנם לפני המזבח [במדבר ז' י.], ... ועדין לא היה יודע משה כיצד יקריבו אם למסעות אם לחולדות, עד שנאמר לו מפי הקב"ה ... ועדיין לא היה יודע משה כיצד יקריבו נשיאים אם כולן כאחד או כל אחד ואחד יזמן, עד שנאמר מפי הקדש.
17. וינסו משנאיך [במדבר י' לה.]. וכי יש שונאים לפני מי שאמר והיה העולם? ... וברוב נאונך תהרוס קמין [שמות טו' ז.]. וכי יש קמים לפני מי שאמר והיה העולם?
18. והלא הלכה עמהם באר במדבר והיתה מעלת להם רנים שמנים יותר מצרכם? אלא שמבקשים עליה היאך לפרוש מאחרי המקום.
19. זה אחד מן הדברים שאמר משה לפני המקום, הודיעני אם אתה עושה לי אם אי אתה עושה לי. אמר לו הקדוש ברוך הוא, אני עושה.
20. רבי יהודה אומר, שלש מצוות נצטוו ישראל בשעת כניסתם לארץ, למנות להם מלך, לבנות להם בית הבחירה ולהכרית זרע עמלק. איני יודע איזה יקדום, אם למנות להם מלך, אם לבנות להם בית 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])

מה תלמד לומר, [באו ורשו את הארץ אשר נשבע י' לאבותיכם] לאברהם
 ליצחק וליעקב [דברים א' ח']? כד"י אברהם בעצמו, כד"י יצחק בעצמו,
 כד"י יעקב בעצמו. משל למלך שנתן לעבדו שדה אחת במתנה, לא
 נתנה לו אלא כמות שהיא. עמד העבד ההוא והשביחה ואמר, מה בידי?
 לא נתנה לי אלא כמות שהיא. חזר ונטעה כרם ואמר, מה בידי? לא
 נתנה לי אלא כמות שהיא. כך כשנתן הקדוש ברוך הוא לאברהם
 אבינו את הארץ לא נתנה לו אלא כמות שהיא, שנאמר, קום התהלך
 בארץ לארכה ולרחבה כי לך אתננה [בראשית יג' ז']. עמד אברהם
 והשביחה, שנאמר, וישע אשל בבאר שבע [בראשית כא' לג']. עמד
 יצחק והשביחה, שנאמר, וירע יצחק בארץ ההיא וימצא בשנה ההיא
 מאה שערים [בראשית כו' יב']. עמד יעקב והשביחה, שנאמר, ויקן
 את חלקת השדה [בראשית לג' יט'].

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 (כְּמוֹת שְׂדֵי־א) 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 מָה בְּיָדִי 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

2. RH employs the BH comparative particles כְּ- and כְּמוֹ. As in BH, כְּמוֹ is used with personal suffixes, but is also found in a plural or collective form, כְּמוֹת, resulting in a specifically RH paradigm. The following strengthened forms with suffixes are attested in the Mishnah and tannaitic *midrashim*:

1st person	כְּמוֹתִי
2nd person	כְּמוֹתְךָ, כְּמוֹכָה, כְּמוֹךָ
3rd person sing.	כְּמוֹתָהּ, כְּמוֹתוֹ, כְּמוֹהוּ
3rd person plur.	כְּמוֹתֵם/ן

3. In line with developments in the spoken language, כְּ- is often strengthened by other particles in RH to achieve greater expressivity or to make certain kinds of comparison more explicit:

- כְּנִגְדֵּךְ 'corresponding to';
- כְּדִרְדֵּךְ 'according to the custom of';
- כְּדֵי 'as much as is required for, sufficient for';
- כְּיִצְאָהּ 'analogously to'.

4. BH's comparative conjunction is כַּאֲשֶׁר (occasionally, just אֲשֶׁר), generally in association with כֵּן:

כַּאֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה כֵּן יַעֲשֶׂה לְךָ

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:

- כְּמוֹ שְׁ-
- כְּמוֹת שְׁ-

כַּשֵּׁם שֵׁ;
 כְּדָרֶךְ שֵׁ;
 כְּעֵנִין שֵׁ;
 כְּאֵילֵן.

The second term of a comparison may be introduced by modal adverbs like כְּךָ, כֵּן, or אֵף שֵׁ. כְּמוֹ שֵׁ is also found at Qumran.

III Grammar and usage

5. Concerning adjectives and comparisons of superiority or inferiority, see Unit 13.5; on כְּרִי 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. כִּנְגַד (כ־ and נִגַד) expresses the idea of corespondence, correlation, proportion (see Unit 7.1), not opposition or confrontation, as well illustrated by the late text PRE 12, in which the עוֹר כִּנְגַדוֹ of Gn 2.18, that is the woman as help for the man, could be converted into the exact opposite, simply by reading לִנְגַדוֹ:

ר' יהודה אומר, אל תקרא, כנגדו, אלא, לנגדו. אם זכה תהיה לו עור,
 ואם לאו, לנגדו להלחם

R. Judah used to say, Do not read כִּנְגַדוֹ, but לִנְגַדוֹ; if she were righteous, she would be of help to him, but if not, she would be against him, fighting him.

B. כְּדָרֶךְ signifies that which is habitual (see Units 8.10 and 11.10). Hence, we encounter expressions like כְּדָרֶכָּה, כְּדָרְכּוֹ, and כְּדָרְכֶּן in the sense of 'as customary, in the habitual manner', or, frequently, 'in his, her, its (etc.) own way':

ובית הלל אומרים, כל אדם קורא כדרכו

The school of Hillel maintains, Each person may read in their own way (Ber 1.3);

הבהמה מועדת להלך כדרכה לשפיר

Livestock has a warning attached to it for going along in its normal way, causing damage (BQ 2.1);

תיב, שלא שומר כדרך השומרים, ואם שומר כדרך השומרים, פטור

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):

לפי שאדם צריך לצאת ידי הבריות כדרך שצריך לצאת ידי המקום

Note also TosSot 1.6:

כדרך שמאיימין עליה בית דין שחזר בה, כך מאיימין עליה
שלא תחזור בה

In the same way that the tribunal had warned her to repent, so they used to warn her not to repent.

C. - כְּיוֹצֵא בּוֹ literally means 'as it goes out in'. The formula is 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 111b):

אמר לו המלך ... הרני כיוצא בך ... והקב"ה אומר להם לצדיקים,
הרני 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.

7. The new conjunctions כְּשֵׁם שֶׁ-, כְּדֶרֶךְ שֶׁ-, and כְּעֵינֵן שֶׁ-, have a similar meaning. In origin, they each appear to have had a slightly different sense, 'just as', 'in the same way that', 'corresponding to that which':

לְפִי שְׂאֵדָם צָרִיךְ לְצַאחַ יְדֵי הַבְּרִיּוֹת כְּדֶרֶךְ שֶׁצָּרִיךְ לְצַאחַ יְדֵי הַמָּקוֹם

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);

כַּעֲנִין שֶׁאָמְרוּ יִשְׂרָאֵל לְיְחִזְקִיאֵל

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 כְּדֶרֶךְ שֶׁ- and כְּשֵׁם שֶׁ- had become identical and could be used interchangeably:

אֲשֶׁר יֵצֵא לְפָנֵיהֶם וְאֲשֶׁר יָבֵא לְפָנֵיהֶם וּבַמִּדְבָּר כִּזְזוֹן, לֹא כְּדֶרֶךְ
שֶׁאֲחֵרִים עוֹשִׂים, שֶׁהֵם מְשַׁלְּחִים חַיִּילוֹת וְהֵם בָּאִים לְבִסּוּף, אֲלֵא
כַּשֵּׁם שֶׁעָשָׂה מֹשֶׁה

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: *gez-erah shawah*, *heqqesh*, and *qal wahomer*. A striking grammatical feature is the use of כִּי as a comparative particle (see Unit 5.8), frequently preceded by וְ- (וְכִי), 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:

נֶאֱמַר כָּאן ... נֶאֱמַר לְהֵלֵן, מִהֵאָמֹר כָּאן ... אֵף לְהֵלֵן

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: מִהֵאָמֹר ... אֵף:

נֶאֱמַר כָּאן, עֵפֶר [בַּמְדַּבֵּר ה' יז], תֵּאמַר לְהֵלֵן, עֵפֶר [בַּמְדַּבֵּר יט יז],
מִהֵאָמֹר כָּאן עֵפֶר עַל פְּנֵי הַמַּיִם, אֵף לְהֵלֵן עֵפֶר עַל פְּנֵי הַמַּיִם

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: אֵין מְשִׁיבִין עַל הַהֶקֶשׁ [BQ 106b]). It is not formulated in such a stereotyped way as *gezerah shawah*, although comparison is, once more, established by means of מִהֵאָמֹר ... אֵף:

מִקִּישׁ הַרְמָה לַתְּנוּפָה, מִהֵאָמֹר מוֹלֵךְ וּמִבִּיא, אֵף הַרְמָה כֵּן

You have to match the raising to the waving: as the waving moves to and fro, so too the raising (SNm 17.2 [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:

מִהֵאָמֹר אֵם ... קָל וְחֹמֶר שֶׁ-
מִהֵאָמֹר אֵם ... דִּין הוּא;
מִהֵאָמֹר אֵם ... אֵינוֹ דִּין שֶׁ-
מִהֵאָמֹר אֵם ... עַל אַחַת כְּפֹה וְכַפֹּה
etc.

The first proposition corresponds to a protasis and is regularly introduced by מִהֵאָמֹר (although sometimes by אֵם on its own or מִהֵאָמֹר on 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!/less!', '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:

מִהֵאָמֹר הַעוֹבֵר עַבְרָה אַחַת נוֹשֵׁל נַפְשׁוֹ עָלָיו, הַעוֹשֶׂה מִצְוֵה אַחַת עַל אַחַת כְּפֹה וְכַפֹּה שֶׁחַצְתָּן לוֹ נַפְשׁוֹ

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:

אֵם מִדַּת פּוֹרְעוֹת מִמְעוֹט אֵבֶר שֶׁחֲחִיל בְּעִבְרָה מִמֵּנו הַחֲחִילָה הַפּוֹרְעוֹת, קָל וְחֹמֶר לַמִּדַּת הַטּוֹב מְרֻבָּה

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).

D. For the formula, **אם לְמִדָּתוֹ ... אִתּוֹ/בְּךָ** 'considering that ... it follows that', see Unit 28.9.

9. Equalizing comparisons.

The verb **עָשָׂה** is employed with two objects connected by **-כְּ**, in the formula **עָשָׂה זֶה כְּזֶה** 'treat this the same as that'. The exegetical formula **לְעֵשׂוֹת ... כְּ-**, has already been presented in Unit 20.15, with some typical examples expressing equal treatment of men and women or children and adults. The following is a further example:

חֹמוֹץ יַיִן וְחֹמוֹץ שֶׁכֶר לֹא יִשְׁחָה [בַּמְדַּבֵּר רִגְז], מִגִּיד שֶׁעָשָׂה בּוֹ חֹמוֹץ
כֵּיין

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 [H 28]).

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:

- ב- ... וְשֶׁלֹא ב- (see Unit 8.8);
- ל- ... וְשֶׁלֹא ל- (see Unit 8.8);
- בֵּין ... בֵּין/בֵּין ש- ... וּבֵין ש- (see Unit 8.12);
- אֶחָד/וְאֶחָת ... וְאֶחָד/וְאֶחָת (see Unit 14.11).

Examples include:

וְחֹכְמִים אֹמְרִים, בַּחֲבֵר עֵיד וְשֶׁלֹא בַּחֲבֵר עֵיר

The sages say, Either in a congregation or without a congregation (one may recite the *tefillah*) (Ber 4.7);

אֵינוֹ דוֹמֵה הָאִישׁ הַמְּגֵרֵשׁ לְאִשָּׁה הַמְּתַגַּרֶשֶׁת, שֶׁהָאִשָּׁה יוֹצֵאת לְרִצּוֹנָה
וְשֶׁלֹא לְרִצּוֹנָה, וְהָאִישׁ אֵינוֹ מוֹרְצִיא אֶלֶּא לְרִצּוֹנוֹ

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 **בֵּין**, **אֶחָת**, and **שֶׁלֹא ב-**:

אֶחָת בֵּין בְּאֶרֶץ בֵּין בַּחוּצָה לְאֶרֶץ, וְאֶחָת בְּפְנֵי הַבַּיִת וְאֶחָת שֶׁלֹא בְּפְנֵי
הַבַּיִת

In the land and outside the land, while the temple survived and when the temple no longer existed.

IV *Phraseology*

11. כמו 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):

כשם שאני קדוש, כך אתם קדושים, כשם שאני פרוש כך אתם כמו כן פרושים

Just as I am holy, so you must be holy; just as I am set apart, so you too must be set apart.

12. כמות שהוא/היא 'as it is ...', sometimes in the sense 'simply this, only this', as at BM 2.2:

מצא פרוח בכלי, או כלי כמות שהוא, מעות בכיס, או כיס כמות שהוא

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).

13. בין כך ובין כך 'as much like this as like that, in either case, whichever way':

בין כך ובין כך, נטל בשבת

In either case, it may be moved on the sabbath (Shab 17.3).

With a negative, the sense is 'in no case':

בין כך ובין כך, לא מכר לו את המרחץ

In neither case does he sell the bath-house (BB 4.4).

V *Vocabulary*

זריקה 'sprinkling'

כיס 'purse'

קרוז 'proclaim, announce'

מחלוקה 'division, separation, dissension, discrepancy'

נזק 'damage'

החזיר ראש 'decapitate', hi. החזיר (pi. of החזיר) 'cut'

תשלום 'payment, indemnity'

VI *Exercises*

1. והוי זהיר במצוה קלה כבחמורה, שאין אתה יודע מתן שכרן של מצוות. והוי מחשב הפסד מצוה כנגד שכרה, ושכר עברה כנגד הפסדה.
2. המחפיל וטעה, סימן רע לו, ואם שליח צבור הוא, סימן רע לשולחיו, מפני ששלוחו של אדם כמותו.

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])

זוה מדה בתורה, שני כתובים, זה כנגד זה והרי הם סותרים זה על ידי זה,
יתקיימו במקומם עד 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 כִּי followed by the imperfect, כַּאֲשֶׁר, כְּשֶׁרָם, and בְּשֶׁרָם, as well as the compound forms עַד אֲשֶׁר, אַחֲרֵי אֲשֶׁר, עַד אִם, עַד בְּלִחַי, and so on.

In RH, כַּאֲשֶׁר, אֲשֶׁר, and compounds with אֲשֶׁר have been replaced by -שׁ, -כְּשׁ, and compounds with -שׁ.

3. Nearly every RH temporal conjunction is compounded with -שׁ:

- כֵּשׁ, לְכֵשׁ- 'when';
- מֵשׁ 'after';
- עַד עַד 'until, before, while';
- עַד כְּדֵי 'until, before, while';
- מֵאַחֵר שׁ-, לְאַחֵר שׁ-, אַחֲרֵי שׁ- 'after';
- לְקִדְמָה שׁ-, קִדְמָה שׁ- 'before';
- אִימְתָּי שׁ- 'when, in the event that';
- כִּי־עַתָּה שׁ- 'as soon as, immediately after';
- בְּזִמְנֵי שׁ- 'when';
- כָּל זֶמֶן שׁ- 'whenever, all the time that'
- בְּשַׁעֲהָ שׁ- 'when';
- כָּל שַׁעֲהָ שׁ- 'whenever, all the time that';
- מִשַּׁעֲהָ שׁ- 'from the time that, since'.

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):

הַתְּחִיל הַבֵּן הַהוּא מִנְתַק, הוֹצִיא עָלָיו שֵׁטֶר וְאָמַר

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 wisdom sayings such as וְכִּי־יֵין יֵצֵא סוֹד 'when wine goes in, secrets go out' (Eruv 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 the language's development as a popular idiom), such as בְּזִמְנֵי שׁ- 'at the time in which' or מִשַּׁעֲהָ שׁ- 'from the moment at which'.

Below are examples of some temporal conjunctions, with brief remarks on their usage.

8. כֵּשׁ- 'when, if'.

כֵּשׁ- is used with the perfect as well as the imperfect. The use of לְכֵשׁ- emphasizes the future or conditional character of the clause that follows (in the imperfect):

הָרִינִי נְזִיר לְכַשְׁיֶיהָ לִּי בֶן

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 -לְכַשְׁ- crept in only as a secondary form in response to the gradual loss of expressive power of the usual form -כַּשְׁ-: at Naz 2.7, just cited, K reads -כַּשְׁ- instead of -לְכַשְׁ-; similarly, at Ket 12.1,

לֹא יֹאמֵר הָרִאשׁוֹן, לְכַשְׁתָּבֵא אֶצְלִי אֲזוּנָה

The first one may not say, When she comes to me, I shall feed her,
K and P have כַּשְׁתָּבֵא.

SNm 155.5 (H 127) provides an example of כַּשְׁ- with both past and future:

כִּךְ כַּשְׁפָּדָא הַקְּבִ"ה אֶת זֶרַע אַבְרָהָם וְאֶהְבֵּוּ לֹא פְדָאָם לְשׁוֹם בְּנִים אֱלֹא
לְשׁוֹם עֲבָדִים, כַּשְׁיִנְזוֹר וְלֹא יִהְיוּ מְקַבְּלִים עֲלֵיהֶם יֹאמֵר לָהֶם, עֲבָדֵי
אֲחִים

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, כַּשְׁ- can indicate simultaneity or simply a modality or circumstance:

אִי־פֶשֶׁר שֶׁנִּתֵּן מֹשֶׁה אֶת הַתּוֹרָה כַּשֶּׁהִיא חֲסִירָה אִפִּילוֹ אוֹת אַחַת?

Is it possible that Moses would have delivered the Torah with even one letter missing? (SDt 357 [F 427])

9. מֵשׁ- 'after'.

A. -מֵשׁ is usually found with the imperfect in reference to a future action:
מוֹכֵר הוּא מְשִׁיקָצֵר

He can sell (produce) after it has been cut (AZ 1.8).

B. But -מֵשׁ is also commonly employed with the perfect, in the sense of 'since, once':

מְשַׁרְבּוּ הַרְצֻחָנִין ... מִשְׁבָּא אֱלֵעָזָר בֶּן דִּינָאִי ... מְשַׁרְבּוּ הַמְנַאֲפִים ...
מִשְׁמַח יוֹסֵי בֶן יוֹעֵזֶר ...

Since murderers began to multiply ... from the time that Eleazar ben Dinai came ... after adulterers began to multiply ... once Jose ben Joezer had died ... (Soṭ 9.9)

C. -מֵשׁ is normally followed by the perfect in combination with שְׁלֵא, 'before ... after':

שׁוֹר שֶׁנִּגְחָה אֶת הַפָּרָה וְנִמְצְאָה עִבְרָהּ בְּצִדָּהּ, וְאִין יָדוּעַ אִם עַד שְׁלֵא נִגְחָה
יְלָדָהּ, אִם מִשְׁנִנְחָה יְלָדָהּ

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);

עַד שְׁלֵא פִשְׁטוּ יְדֵיהֶם בַּעֲבִירָהּ לֹא הָיָה בָהֶם זְבִים וּמְצוֹרְעִים,
וּמִשְׁפִּשְׁטוּ יְדֵיהֶם בַּעֲבִירָהּ הָיוּ בָהֶם זְבִים וּמְצוֹרְעִים

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 sin ... (SNm 1.10 [H 4]).

10. עַד שֶׁ 'until'.

A. -עַד שֶׁ is found with the imperfect, which may also be rendered as a verbal noun:

עַד שֶׁיֵּעָלֶה עֲמוֹד הַשָּׁחַר

Until dawn arises/Until the arrival of dawn (Ber 1.1).

-עַד שֶׁ always signifies one point of time in relation to another—in the following sequence from Yom 6.6, it refers to a moment in the past that follows another event, at which the narrator is situated, mentally:

בָּא וְיָשֵׁב לוֹ תַּחַת סִכְּהַת הָאַחֲרֹנָה עַד שֶׁתַּחֲשֶׁךְ

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:

שָׁפַל הַדְּרוֹרוֹת הָיוּ מְכַעֲסִין וּבָאִין עַד שֶׁהֵבִיא עֲלֵיהֶם אֶת מִי הַמַּבּוּל

For all those generations were continually provoking him until he brought upon them the waters of the flood (Abot 5.2).

B. עַד שֶׁלֹּא '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:

אִם יִכּוֹלִין לְהַחֲחִיל וּלְגַמּוֹר עַד שֶׁלֹּא יִגִּיעוּ לְשֹׁרֵה

If they can begin and end (the *shema*) before reaching the row (Ber 3.2).

Occasionally, -עַד שֶׁ, without the negative particle, bears the same sense, as at Tam 1.4 (see also Ned 9.1 and Makhsh 1.3):

תְּהַדָּר, שֶׁמֵּאָה תִּגַּע בְּפִלִי עַד שֶׁתִּקְדַּשׁ יָדֶיךָ וְרַגְלֶיךָ

Take care, in case you touch the vessel before purifying your hands and feet.

C. The temporal value of -עַד שֶׁ becomes modal in sentences where the 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':

עַד שֶׁיַּעֲשֶׂה בְּיָדָיו וּבְרַגְלָיו

With the verb רָצָה, this usage is common, 'to the extent that they permit it, while it is permitted, only if permitted', for example, at Kel 1.7: עַד שֶׁיִּרְצוּ 'wherever they will'.

D. The same basic meaning is to be understood in those rabbinic comments on scriptural texts that begin with -עַד שֶׁ: the brief comment thus introduced is intended as a restatement of the biblical passage, with -עַד שֶׁ thus conveying the sense of 'that is to say', 'i.e.', etc:

רַבִּי יְהוּדָה אוֹמֵר, וְעַתָּה וְאִמְרָה כְּכֹה [וְדַבְּרִים כֹּה' עַן], עַד שֶׁתֵּאֱמַר
בְּלִשׁוֹן הַזֶּה

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 פְּרִי שְׁ-

This innovation of RH coincides in usage with עַד שְׁ: 'until' (BM 2.6; 4.3); 'to the extent that, while' (Ber 8.7; Meg 4.4). It always refers to a fixed portion (פְּרִי), of time—for the meaning and use of פְּרִי, see Unit 30.8.

12. אַחֲרֵי שְׁ-, קֹדֶם שְׁ-

These conjunctions are infrequent in tannaitic RH, where one more usually finds the preposition לְ- קֹדֶם or אַחֲרֵי/לְאַחֲרֵי/מְאַחֲרֵי preceding a noun (including a verbal noun), although there are exceptions, for example Soṭ 2.6:

לֹא עַל קֹדֶם שֶׁתִּתְאַרְסֶה וְלֹא עַל מְאַחֲרֵי שֶׁתִּתְגַּרְשֶׁה

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. Giṭ 8.4):

קֹדֶם לְשִׁנְתְּאֲרִסְהָ וְלֹא מִשְׁנִתְגַּרְשֶׁהּ

Occasionally, one also encounters an apparently emphatic variant, such as אַחֲרֵי שְׁ, for example, at Ter 5.4, לְאַחֲרֵי שֶׁהִוָּדוּ 'after they accepted', or Shab 11.6, לְאַחֲרֵי שֶׁצִּיָּתְזָה מִיָּדוֹ 'after it left his hand'.

On the causal value of מְאַחֲרֵי שְׁ-, see Unit 29.12.

13. כִּיִּן שְׁ- 'as soon as, immediately after'.

This calque from the Aramaic כִּיִּן-דְּ is so common that it eventually loses its overtone of urgency and often simply means 'when':

כִּיִּן שֶׁנִּכְבַּס לְמַדְיָנָה אָמַר לוֹ

As soon as he (the king) entered the city, he (the servant) said to him (SNm 115.5 [H 127]).

14. אִימְתִי שְׁ- 'when, in the event that, whenever'.

This conjunction, too, has been developed under Aramaic influence:

אִימְתִי שֶׁתַּעֲשׂוּ כְּכֹה הִדָּם מִזְכָּכֶפֶר לְכֶם

Whenever you do accordingly, you atone for yourselves concerning blood (Soṭ 9.6).

15. Compounds with שְׁעָה and זְמַן שְׁ-: בִּזְמַן שְׁ-, כָּל זְמַן שְׁ-, בְּשָׁעָה שְׁ-, כָּל שְׁעָה שְׁ-.

A. The forms with כָּל have a distributive character and should be understood as 'whenever, at any time that':

כָּל זְמַן שֶׁהָיוּ יִשְׂרָאֵל מִסְתַּכְּבְּלִים כָּל־פִּי מֵעֵלָה

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':

רַבִּי יְהוּדָה מַתִּיר כָּל זְמַן שֶׁבְּכִרְוֵי עֵד שֶׁלֹּא יִכְלֶה הַקָּרְיָן

Rabbi Judah declared (the fruits of the sabbatical year) permissible provided that they were mature before summer (Shebi 9.4).

Sometimes, the forms with כָּל have a predominantly comparative sense,

'to the extent that, so long as', as in:

כָּל זְמַן שִׁישׁ לוֹ תַּחְתּוּי, יֵשׁ לוֹ בְּרֵאשׁוֹ

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);

זְקֵנֵי עִם הָאָרֶץ כָּל זְמַן שִׁמְזַקְנִין, דַּעְתָּן מִטְּרַפְתָּ עֲלֵיהֶן ... אֲבָל זְקֵנֵי הַתּוֹרָה אֵינָן כֵּן, אֵלֵּא כָּל זְמַן שִׁמְזַקְנִין, דַּעְתָּן מִתִּישְׁבַּת עֲלֵיהֶן

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 בכָּל עַת אֲשֶׁר:

וְכֻלָּזָה אֵינְנָה שְׂוֵיהַ לִּי בְּכָל־עַת אֲשֶׁר אֲנִי רֹאֵה אֶת־מֶרְדֵּכַי הַיְהוּדִי יוֹשֵׁב בְּשַׁעַר הַמֶּלֶךְ

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 שְׁעָה 'hour' and זְמַן 'time' would appear to give more expression to the temporal character of a conjunction, as, for example, at Sanh 6.5:

בְּשַׁעָה שֶׁאָדָם מִצְטַעֵר, שְׂכִינָה מִהַ הַלְשׁוֹן אוֹמְרָתָּ?

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:

מִשְׁנַח מַלְחָמָה בְּשַׁעָה שֶׁהוּא מְדַבֵּר אֶל הָעָם בְּלִשׁוֹן הַקֹּדֶשׁ הָיָה מְדַבֵּר

When the one anointed for battle spoke to the people, he would do it in the holy tongue (Soṭ 8.1).

-בְּזֶמֶן is usually employed in response to the question אֵימָתַי, as at Dem 5.5:

אֵימָתַי? בְּזֶמֶן שֶׁמִּתְּנָה מְרֻבָּה

When? When the donation has been large.

Further removed from the temporal sphere, -בְּזֶמֶן is frequently employed in an extended sense of 'so long as, to the extent that':

שֶׁתִּגְלַחַת הַיַּגַּע דִּוְחָה תִּגְלַחַת הַנְּזִיר בְּזֶמֶן שֶׁהֵיא וְדָאֵי

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. 'before 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

- גָדַשׁ 'heap up, make a sheaf';
 גִּידוּל 'growth, that which grows, produce'
 דָּד 'breast, teat, udder'
 זָמַם 'plot evil, bear false witness, incite false witness'
 יָגַע 'suffer'; htp. 'tire oneself out'
 קָלַל 'stitch'
 מַלְקוּת 'flagellation, punishment of stripes'
 מְשִׁיחָה 'cord'
 קַנְיָן 'jug'
 רָשַׁל 'be weak'
 שָׁבַח 'improve, increase in value' (as also in hi.), pi. 'praise'

VI Exercises

1. מאיזה טעם אינו מביא? משום שנאמר, ראשית בכורי אדמתך נשמות כג' יט', עד שיהיו כל הגדולים מאדמתך.
2. היה עושה בידיו אכל לא ברנליו, ברנליו אכל לא בידיו, אפלו בכחפו, הרי זה אוכל. רבי יוסי בר יהודה אומר, עד שיעשה בידיו וברנליו.
3. עיסת הקלבים, בזמן שהרועים אוכלין ממנה, חייבת בחלה.
4. רבי יוסי אומר, משיחות שלא ארמון אסורות, מפני שהוא מולל עד שלא קושר.
5. מעדין אנו באיש פלוני, שהוא חייב מלקות ארבעים, ונמצאו זוממים, לזקים שמונים.
6. אנשי יריחו קוצרין ברצון חכמים, וגודשין שלא ברצון חכמים ... קוצר לשחת, ומאכיל לבהמה. אמר רבי יהודה, אימתי? בזמן שהתחיל עד שלא הביאה שלישי. רבי שמעון אומר, אף יקצר ואכל אף משהביאה שלישי.
7. מי שגזר והוא בבית הקברות, אפלו היה שם שלשים יום, אין עולין לו מן המזון, ואינו מביא קרבן טמאה. יצא ונקנס, עולין לו מן המזון, ומביא קרבן טמאה. רבי אליעזר אומר, לא בו ביום, שנאמר, והימים הראשונים יפלו [במדבר ו' יב], עד שיהיו לו ימים ראשונים.
8. רבי אליעזר אומר, פותחין לאדם בכבוד אביו ואמו, וחכמים אוסרין. אמר רבי צדוק, עד שפותחין לו בכבוד אביו ואמו, יפתחו לו בכבוד המקום.
9. עשה לך שרף ושים אותו על-גנס, והיה כל הגשןך ורואה אותו וחי, [במדבר כא' ח]. וכי נחש ממית, או נחש מחיה? אלא בזמן שישראל מסתכלין כלפי מעלה ומשעבדין את לבם לאביהם שבשמים, היו מתרפאים.
10. ועד שלא נבחרה ארץ ישראל, היו הארצות כשרות לדרבות. משנבחרה ארץ ישראל, יצאו כל הארצות. עד שלא נבחרה ירושלים, היתה כל ארץ ישראל כשרה למזבחות. משנבחרה ירושלים, יצאה כל ארץ ישראל ... עד שלא נבחר בית עולמים, היתה ירושלים ראויה לשכינה. משנבחר בית עולמים, יצאת ירושלים ... עד שלא נבחר אהרן, היו כל ישראל ראוים לכהונה. משנבחר אהרן, יצאו כל ישראל ... עד שלא נבחר דוד, היו כל ישראל ראוים למלוכה. משנבחר דוד, יצאו כל ישראל.
11. ומה חיל, דברו נשמות יב' ג' אלא כיון שהיה משה מדבר היה אהרן מימינו ואלעזר משמאלו ואיתמר מימינו של אהרן, והיה הדבור יוצא

- מביניהם כאילו שניהם מדברים.
12. וי' נתן את חן העם וגו' [שמות יב' לז], כמשמעו, לא הספיק לומר לו השאילני, עד שהוא מוציא ונותן לו.
13. כתוב אחד אומר, ובבא משה אל אהל מועד לדבר אתו [במדבר ז' פט], וכתוב אחד אומר, ולא יכול משה לבא אל אהל מועד [שמות מ' לה]. הכריע, כי שכן עליו הענין [שמות מ' לה]. אמר מעתה, כל זמן שהיה הענין שם, לא היה משה נכנס לשם. נסתלק הענין, היה נכנס ומדבר עמו.
14. משלו משל. למה הדבר דומה? לבני אדם שיוצאים למלחמה, בשעה שהם יוצאים הם שמחים וכל זמן שהם מתייגעים ידיהם מתרשלות. אבל ישראל אינו כן, אלא כל זמן שהם מתייגעים הם שמחים ואומרים, נלך ונירש את ארץ ישראל.
15. מה הדרד הזה תינוק מצטער בשעה שפורש ממנו, כך היו ישראל מצטערים בשעה שפירשו מן המן.
16. ויאמר י' אל משה, עלה אל הר העברים הזה, הר נבו [במדבר כו' יב', דברים לב' מט]. זו נחלת בני ראובן ובני גד. בשעה שנכנס משה לנחלת בני ראובן ובני גד, שמח ואמר, דומה אני שהתיר לי נדרי, התחיל שופך תחנונים לפני המקום. משל, למה הדבר דומה? למלך בשר ודם שגזר על בנו שלא יכנס לפתח פלטרין שלו, נכנס לשער והוא אחריו, לחצר והוא אחריו, לטרקלין והוא אחריו. כיון שבא ליכנס לקיטון אמר לו, בני, מיכן ואילך אתה אסור. כך בשעה שנכנס משה לנחלת בני גד ובני ראובן שמח ואמר, דומה אני שהתיר לי נדרי. התחיל שופך תחנונים לפני המקום ...
17. מה צבי זה קל ברגליו מכל בהמה וחיה, כך פירות ארץ ישראל קלים לבוא מכל פירות ארצות. דבר אחר, מה צביזה כשאתה מפשיטו אין עורו מחזיק את בשרו, כך ארץ ישראל אין מחזקת פירותיה בשעה שישראל עושים את התורה.
18. מה יין משמח את הלב, כך דברי תורה משמחים את הלב ... מה יין אי אתה טועם בו טעם מתחלתו וכל זמן שמתישן בקנקן סופו להשבית, כך דברי תורה כל זמן שמתישנים בנוף סופו להשבית.
19. למען ישוב י' מחרון אפון [דברים יג' יח]. כל זמן שעבודה זרה בעולם, חרון אף בעולם. נסתלקה עבודה זרה מן העולם, נסתלק חרון אף מן העולם. ונתן לך רחמים ורחמך [דברים יג' יח], לך רחמים ולא לאחרים רחמים. מיכן היה רבן גמליאל ברבי אומר, כל זמן שאתה מרחם על הבריות, מרחמים עליך מן השמים, אין אתה מרחם על הבריות, אין מרחמים עליך מן השמים.
20. זכור ימות עולם [דברים לב' ז]. אמר להם, כל זמן שהקדוש ברוך הוא מביא עליהם יסורים, הזכרו כמה טובות ונחמות עתיד ליתן להם לעולם הבא.

Sources. 1. Bik 1.2. 2. BM 7.3. 3. Hal 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)

גדולה מילה, שאילמלא היא לא ברא הקדוש ברוך הוא את עולמו,
 שנאמר, כה אמר י' אם לא בריתי יומם ולילה חקות שמים וארץ לא שמתי
 [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 כִּי, אִם, הִנֵּה, and הֵן, all of which may be rendered as 'if', 'in the case that', 'on the assumption that', etc., and in origin have a deictic force.

For impossible, or 'irreal', conditions, BH employs לוֹ 'if', לוֹלִי 'if not', and אִלּוּ (only twice, in LBH: Ec 6.6; Est 7.4).

3. In RH, the use of אִם is widely maintained, although the old forms לוֹ and לוֹלִי are replaced by the compounded structures אִילוֹ/אִלוּ (אִם and לוֹ), (לוֹ and לוֹלִי), and אִלְמֵלֵא/אִלְמֵלֵא (לֹא and אִם and לוֹ), and אִלּוּ/אִלּוּלִי (לוֹ and לוֹלִי).

Comparative force is conveyed by כְּאִלוֹ (-כִּי and אִלוֹ) 'as if' and concessive by אֲפִילוֹ/אֲפִלוּ (אֲףִי and אִלוֹ) 'even if', corresponding, respectively, to the BH forms כְּאִם and כִּי.

The restrictive particle וְכִלְכֵּד -שׁ '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).

B. רצונך ל- and רצונך ש- are elliptical formulas for expressing ‘if you would like’:

רצונך שאשמע לך, השתחוה לזה

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 relative clause of the kind מי שאמר, איש שאמר, or אשה שהלכה. The apodosis may be a declarative statement (sometimes introduced by הרי) 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:

האומר, אהא, הרי זה נזיר

If someone says, I will be a Nazirite. that person is a Nazirite (Naz 1.1);

נזרק עליה אהד מן תקמים, אינו יכול להפר

If the blood of one of the sacrifices has been spilt for her, he (the husband) may not annul the vow (Naz 4.5);

מי שאמר, הריני נזיר, מגלח יום שלשים ואהד

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 אם except when specifying particular cases. Analogously, in the biblical laws, a principal condition is formulated with כי while particular cases are introduced by אם, as at Ex 21.2–3 (see Meyer 1992, §122.3E). The following is a clear example of the phenomenon in RH:

האשה שנגררה בנזיר והפרישה את בהמותה ואחר כך הפר לה בעלה, אם שלו היתה בהמותה, תצא והרעה בעדר, ואם שקלה היתה בהמותה, תחטא את המות

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 (אם) the beast belongs to him, he is to let it loose to graze with the flock, but in the case that (אם) the beast belongs to her, it is to die as a sin offering (תמורת) (Naz 4.4).

ן-הואיל ‘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 by the formula **הִרִי שֵׁ**, equivalent to BH **הִנֵּה**. It may best be rendered as ‘let us suppose that’:

הִרִי שֵׁ יֵצֵאוּ עִמּוֹ עֶשְׂרֵה בָּנִים מִמִּצְרַיִם וּבְכִינִסְתָּן לְאָרֶץ נִמְצְאוּ חֲמֹשֶׁה

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 **אם**.

A. **אם** 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 **הִרִי**.

An example with the perfect is

חֲתָן פְּטוּר מִקְרִיאַת שְׁמַע בְּלֵילָה הָרִאשׁוֹן עַד מוֹצָאֵי שַׁבָּת
אם לא עָשָׂה מְעֻשָׁה

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).

אם 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:

אם אֶחְדָּרְתִּי, יֵצֵאוּ וְשָׁחֲטוּ עָלַי

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 יִקְטֹל**.

אם with the participle is exemplified by

אם אוֹכֵלֶת בְּתֵרוּמָה, לֹא תֹאכַל בְּמַעֲשֵׂר?

If she may eat of the *terumah*, may she not eat of the tithe? (SNm 122.2 [H 150])

In some contexts, **אם** has the concessive force of **אִפְלוּ** or **אִף עַל פִּי שֵׁ**, as in the late Abot 6.9,

אם אֶתְּנֶה נוֹתָן לִי כָּל כֶּסֶף וְזָהָב

Though you were to give me all the silver and gold,

but it is more usual to express concessive meaning through the imperfect:

אם יִהְיוּ כָּל חֲכָמֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל בְּכַף מֵאֻזְנַיִם

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 **רָצָה** ‘desire’ is commonly used with **אם**:

אם יִרְצָה הָעֵלְיוֹן לִקְחַת אֶת עֵפְרוֹ, אֵין כָּאֵין יֵרֶק

If (i.e. ‘whenever’) the one above wished to collect his earth, there would be no grass (BM 10.6);

אין מוכרין בית הכנסת, אלא על תנאי שאם ירצו יחזירוהו

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 as *עד ש-* (see Unit 27).

B. אם followed by הִיָּה and participle expresses a hypothetical condition prior to a past event (pluperfect):

אם משה לא היה יודע, אהרן היה יודע?

If Moses had not known, could Aaron have known? (SNm 68.2 [H 63])

C. An alternative negative condition, ‘and if not’, employs *ואם לאו*, 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. אם is also used in indirect questions (see Unit 25.9), with the particle repeated for disjunctive questions:

הודיעני אם אתה מרפא אותה 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 אם for negative vows (I swear that I shall not) or אם לא 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 interjection like קונם, although usually קונם introduces an oath with *ש-*:

קונם אם לא ראיתי בדרך הזה כיוצאי מצרים, אם לא ראיתי
נחש בקורת בית הבר

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 olive-press! (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 אם:

משביע אני עליכם אם לא תבואו ותעידוני

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.

F. אם, or *מה אם* or *מה אם*, is also found in *qal wa-homer* arguments (see Unit 26.8C).

8. Uses of אלו/אלו (כאלו, אפילו/אפילו), אלו/לו, and אלו/לו.

All these conjunctions are used to express an irreal condition or one that is impossible to fulfil.

A. **אִלּוּ** is by far the most widely used, always followed by the perfect:

רַבִּי טַרְפוֹן וְרַבִּי עֲקִיבָא אוֹמְרִים, אִלּוּ הָיִינוּ בְּסַנְהֶדְרִין,
 לֹא יִהְיֶה אָדָם מֵעוֹלָם

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).

B. The compound conjunction **אִפְּלוּ אִפְּלוּ** (אִפְּלוּ and אִלּוּ) has concessive value, 'including, even if, although' (see Unit 31.3), and corresponds to the BH construction **גַּם כִּי**:

אִפְּלוּ הַמֶּלֶךְ שׁוֹאֵל בְּשִׁלּוּמוֹ, לֹא יִשְׁבְּנוּ, וְאִפְּלוּ נָחַשׁ כָּרוּךְ עַל עַקְבוֹ
 לֹא יַפְסִיק

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).

C. **כְּאִלּוּ**, compounded of **כִּי** and **אִלּוּ** has lost any irreal conditional value, expressing instead a comparison of equality:

מֵגִיד הַכְּתוּב שְׁכָל מִי שִׁשׁוֹנָא אֶת יִשְׂרָאֵל כְּאִלּוּ שׁוֹנֵא אֶת מִי
 שְׁאֹמֵר וְהִיָּה הָעוֹלָם

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 **אִלְמָלָא**, **אִלּוּי** 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':

אִלְמָלָא חוֹנֵי אֶתְהוּ, גּוֹזְרֵי עֲלִיד נְדוּי

If you were not Honi, I would decree your excommunication (Taa 3.8);

צְרִיךְ הָיָה הַדָּבָר לְאָמְרוֹ, שְׁאִלְמָלָא כֵּן יֵשׁ בְּמִשְׁמַע שְׁאִפְּלוּ
 בְּאֶרֶץ כְּנָעַן לֹא יִנְחָלוּ

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);

אִילְמָלָא אֲנִי

Had it not been for me (SDt 346);

אִילְמָלָא שְׁבָטִים

If it had not been for the tribes (SDt 347).

E. **אִלּוּי** usually begins a clause with **שֶׁ**, as at Mek 22.19 (L 3.146):

אֲחֵרִים אוֹמְרִים, אִלּוּי שִׁשְׁתַּפּוּ יִשְׂרָאֵל שְׁמוֹ שֶׁל הַקְּדוֹשׁ בְּרוּךְ הוּא
 בְּעִבְרָה זָרָה, כְּלָיִם הָיוּ מִן הָעוֹלָם

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 **לֹא** is added pleonastically, as at SLv 10.19 (W 47c):

אֵילוּלֵי לֹא אֵילוּ בְּלִבְךָ קִבַּרְתִּי אֲלֵא אִפְּיִלוּ אֱלֹהִי קִבַּרְתִּי עִם אֵילוּ,
 לֹא כִךְ הֵייתִי מְבוּזָה קִדְוֵשֵׁי הַמִּקְדָּשׁ

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 אֵלְמָלָא can be seen at SLv 26.46 (W 112c):

וְאֵילוּלֵי סֵפֶר תּוֹרָה שֶׁנִּשְׁתַּיֵּיר לָהֶם, לֹא הָיוּ מִשְׁנִים מֵאוֹמוֹת הָעוֹלָם כֻּלָּם

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

9. אִם לְמַדְתִּי 'if I learned', אִם לְמַדְתָּ 'if you learned' are used in rabbinic 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 אָף or כִּךְ. The thing that has been learnt or is being considered is almost invariably introduced by עַל... שְׁ- or, on a few occasions, by עַל... שְׁ-:

אִם לְמַדְתָּ לְיִשְׂרָאֵל שֶׁמִּבִּיאִים עַל שִׁגְגַת עֵיז, אָף הַגּוֹיִם מִבִּיאִים
 עַל שִׁגְגַת עֵיז

Considering that the Israelites have to make an offering for inadvertent sins of idolatry, it is also the case that the gentiles have to make an offering for inadvertent sins of idolatry (SNm 123.11 [H 119]).

The conclusion of an אִם לְמַדְתִּי argument begins with אָף or, infrequently, כִּךְ; the structure as a whole constituting, in fact, a formula of comparison (see Unit 26.8).

10. אֵלְמָלָא מִקְרָא פְּתוּב '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 אֵלְמָלָא מִקְרָא שְׁפְתוּב. In each instance, the formula indicates that it would 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:

מִי לֹטוּ גִדְוֵל מִמְשָׁה שְׁלֵא נִתְעַסְקוּ בּוֹ אֲלֵא הַקִּבְיָה, שְׁנֹאמֵר, וְיִקְבֹּר
 אוֹתוֹ בְּנֵי אֶרֶץ נְבוֹ [דְּבָרִים ל' ד']? ר' יְהוּדָה אוֹמֵר, אֵלְמָלָא
 מִקְרָא שְׁפְתוּב, אִי אִפְשָׁר לְאִמְרוּ

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

אֶסְפִּינְיוֹס 'Vespasian'

וְסֵת 'conduct'

חֲזַק 'be strong', לְ- 'attribute merit to, praise, show gratitude to'

יוֹן 'Greece'

כֶּכֶר וּמַקְל 'bread and stick', i.e. 'carrot and stick, 'reward and punishment'

כָּרַךְ 'surround, wrap'

לִדְיָקִיא 'Laodicea'

לָהּ 'unite, connect', pi. 'accompany, escort'

עֲנִי נֶפֶשׁ, 'harm', עֲנִי נֶפֶשׁ 'mortification'

פְּדִיָּה 'rescue, redemption, liberation'

פְּרָק 'period, chapter', לְפָרָקִים 'periodically'

קָשַׁט 'walk in a straight line'. htp. 'adorn oneself, dress up'

VI Exercises

1. רבי חנניה סגן הכהנים אומר, הרי מתפלל בשלומה שלמלכות, שאלמלא מוראיה איש את רעהו חיים בלעו.
2. רבי אלעזר בן עזריה אומר, אם אין תורה אין דרך ארץ, אם אין דרך ארץ אין תורה. אם אין חכמה אין יראת, אם אין יראת אין חכמה. אם אין בינה אין דעת, אם אין דעת, אין בינה. אם אין קמח אין תורה, אם אין תורה אין קמח.
3. רבי אליעזר בן יעקב אומר, אשה בת גרים לא תנשא לפניה, עד שתהא אמה מישראל, אחד גרים ואחד עבדים משחררים, ואפלו עד עשרה דורות, עד שתהא אמן מישראל.
4. הרי שהביא ממין אחד וקרא, וזור והביא ממין אחר, אינו קורא.
5. האומר לבנו, קונם אי אהה נהנה משלי, אם מת, יירשנו.
6. רבי יוסי אומר, אם מתרין לאותה שבת, מתרין לעתיד לבא, ואם אסורין לעתיד לבא, אסורין לאותה שבת.
7. הפוען הזה, אלו היו מניחים לי, הייתי מביא.
8. פוחחים לאדם בכבוד עצמו ובכבוד בניו. אומרים לו, אלו היית יודע, שלמחר אומרין עליך, כך היא וסחו שלפלוני, מגרש את נשיו, ועל בנוחך אומרין, בנות גרושות הן, מה ראיתא אפן של אלו להתגרש? ואמר, אלו הייתי יודע שכן, לא הייתי נזדר, הרי זה מתור.
9. ואלו נדרים שהיו מפור, דברים שיש בהם עני נפש, אם ארץ ואם לא ארץ, אם אתקשט ואם לא אתקשט. אומר רבי יוסי, אין אלו נדרי עני נפש.
10. אם היה חכם, דורש, ואם לאו, תלמידי חכמים דורשין לפניו, ואם רגיל לקרות קורא, ואם לאו, קורין לפניו. ובמה קורין לפניו? באיוב ובעזרא ובדברי הימים.
11. הרי שהיו לפניו עבדים ערלים, מגין אותה אומר שאם רצה למולן ולהאכילן בפסח שהוא רשאי? תלמוד לומר, ומלחה אותו או יאכל בו [שמות יב' מד].

12. רבי יוסי הגלילי אומר, הואיל ואמרה תורה, פדה את בנך ולמד את בנך תורה, אם למדת על תלמוד תורה שאם לא למדו אביו מלמד הוא את עצמו, כך אם לא פדאו אביו הוא יפדה את עצמו. לא, אם אמרת בתלמוד תורה, שהוא שקול כנגד הכל, שאם לא למדו אביו מלמד הוא את עצמו, תאמר בפרייה, שאינה שקולה כנגד הכל, לפיכך אם לא פדאו אביו לא יפדה את עצמו.
13. וירדף אחרי בני ישראל ושמות יד' חן, להודיע שבחן של ישראל, שאלו היחה אומה אחרת לא היה פרעה רודף אחריה.
14. אבל לא היו יודעים באיזו מיתה ימות, שנאמר, כי לא פורש מה יעשה לו [במדבר טו' לד]. וכן הוא אומר, לפרוש להם על פי י' [ויקרא כד' יב], מלמד שלא היו יודעים אם חייב מיתה אם לאו.
15. לא מאסתים ולא געלתים לכלותם [ויקרא כו' מד]. וכי מה נשתייר להם שלא נגעלו ושלא נמאסו? והלא כל נתנות טובות שנתנו להם נשלו מהם? ואילו ספר תורה שנשתייר להם, לא היו משנים מאומות העולם כלום. אלא, לא מאסתים, בימי אספסיינוס, ולא געלתים, בימי זון.
16. רבי שמעון בן יוחי אומר, ככר ומקל ירדו כרוכים מן השמים. אמר להם, אם עשיתם את התורה, הרי ככר לאכול, ואם לאו, הרי מקל ללקות בו.
17. מעשה שבא רבינו מלדיקיא ונכנס רבי יוסי ברבי יהודה ורבי אלעזר בן יהודה וישבו לפניו. אמר להם, קרבו לכם, אני צריך להחזיק לכם טובה שתקיימו את התורה אחרי, אף אתם צריכים שתחזיקו טובה לבניכם שיקיימו את התורה אחריכם. אילו אין משה גדול ואילו לא אחרים קבלו תורה על ידו, לא היחה שיה, [אנן] על אחת כמה וכמה.
18. אש דת למון [דברים לג' ב], אלתא דת שנתנה עמה, אין אדם יכול לעמוד בה.
19. אליך נשאתי את עיני היושבי בשמים [תהלים קכ"א], אלמלא אני, כביכול לא היית יושב בשמים.
20. יחד שבטי ישראל. יחי ראובן ואל ימות [דברים לג' ה-ו]. וכי מה ענין זה לזה? משל למלך שבא אצל בניו לפרקים. כשהוא נפטר מבניו היו בניו וקרוביו מלומים אותו. אמר להם, בניי, שמא צורך יש לכם לומר, שמא דבר יש לכם. אמרו לי. אמרו לו, אבה, אין לנו צורך ואין לנו דבר, אלא שתתחצה לאחינו הגדול. כך אלמלא שבטים, לא נתחצה המקום לראובן. לכך נאמר, יחד 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)

רבן גמליאל היה אומר, כל שלא אמר שלשה דברים אלו בפסח לא
 יצא ידי חובתו. ואלו הן, פסח מצה ומרור. פסח, על שום שפסח
 הפקום על בתי אבותינו במצרים. מצה, על שום שנאילו אבותינו
 במצרים. מרור, על שום שמררו המצריים את חיי אבותינו במצרים.
 בכל דור ודור חייב אדם לראות את עצמו כאלו הוא יצא ממצרים.
 שאמר, והגדת לבנך ביום ההוא לאמר בעבור זה עשה י' לי בצאתי
 ממצרים [שמות יג ח']. לפיכך אנו חייבין להודות, להלל, לשבח,
 לפאר, לרוחם, להדר, לברך, לעלה ולקלס למי שעשה לאבותינו
 ולנו את כל הנסים האלו, הוציאנו מעבדות לחרות, מינין לשמחה,
 ומאבל ליום טוב, ומאפלה לאור גדול, ומשעבוד לנאולה. ונאמר
 לפניו, הללויה.

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 himself as though they themselves 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	
יען כי	Nm 11.20	
על כי	Jg 3.12	
החח כי	Pr 1.29	
כי על כן	Gn 18.5	
עקב כי	2 S 12.10	
אשר	Gn 30.18	-ש
על אשר	2 S 3.30	על ש-
מאשר	Is 43.4	מאחר ש-
באשר	Gn 39.9	מפני ש-
החח אשר	1 S 26.21	לפי ש-
על דבר אשר	Dt 23.5	על שום ש- / על שם ש-
על כל אדות אשר	Jr 3.8	משום ש-
יען אשר	Gn 22.16	בשביל ש-
עקב אשר	2 S 12.6	
יען	Nm 20.12	הואיל ו-
עקב	Nm 14.24	
על	Ps 119.136	
על בלי	Gn 31.20	
מבלי	Dt 28.55	

3. In RH, **כי** and other conjunctions compounded with **כי** no longer have causal force and **אשר** has been replaced by **-ש** (on the origins of which, see Unit 8.2–5). Although **על ש-** is a calque of BH **על אשר**, the rest of RH's compounds with **-ש** do not precisely mirror those of BH in **אשר**.

4. The table in §2 is a further indication that RH is the result neither simply of evolution from BH nor of rabbinic invention. A structure like **בשביל ש-** (**ב-** plus **שביל** plus **-ש**) 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. הוֹאִיל־וּ includes a form of the verb יָעַל 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 -שׁ.

On the use of -שׁ as a conjunction, see Unit 8.5,7.

Instances abound of causal or explicative -שׁ:

הָגַר מִבְּיַד וְאִתּוֹ קֹרְבָן, שְׂאִתּוֹ יִכּוֹל לֵאמֹר, אֲשֶׁר נִשְׁבַּע יי לְאַבְרָהָם
לָתֵת לָנוּ [דְּבָרִים כ"ג]

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);

מֵאֵד מְאֹד הָיָה שְׂפֵל רִוּחַ, שֶׁתִּקְוָה אֲנוֹשׁ רָמָה

You must be extremely humble, *for* the hope of humankind is the worm (Abot 4.4).

שָׂאֵם 'in the case that' introduces a condition as the reason for something:

שָׂאֵם יִרְאֶה בֵּית דִּין אֶת דְּבָרֵי הַיָּחִיד

In the case that the tribunal approves an individual's opinion (Eduy 1.5).

The common construction of שְׂאֵמֵר 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 -שׁ 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 -שׁ, מִפְּנֵי שׁ, and other forms are used without distinction), it is still possible to outline a number of regular features in their use.

7. מִפְּנֵי שׁ.

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:

הַמַּחֲפָלֵל וְטָעָה, סִמְּךָ רַע לּוֹ, וְאִם שְׁלַיַח צְבוּר הוּא, סִמְּךָ רַע לְשׂוֹלְחָיו,
מִפְּנֵי שֶׁשְׁלִיחוֹ שְׁלֹאֲדָם כְּמוֹחוֹ

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 himself (Ber 5.5);

מִפְּנֵי מָה זֶה הִלְוִי? מִפְּנֵי שֶׁבִרְדָּף אֶת הַשֵּׁם וְנִמְצָא שֵׁם שְׁמַיִם מִתְחַלְלֵל

Why was this person hanged? *Because* they blasphemed the name (of God) and the heavenly name ended up being profaned (Sanh 6.4).

8. מִשּׁוֹם ש- / מִשּׁוֹם ש-.

Concerning the different vocalizations, see Introduction, §§8.3; 9.11; 10.2.

Normally this conjunction is employed to confirm a statement with a biblical text, usually in the formula מִשּׁוֹם שֶׁנֶּאֱמַר, which leaves no room for doubt concerning the causal force of שֶׁנֶּאֱמַר. Thus, at Par 3.7, the saying of R. Jose,

לֹא מִשּׁוֹם זֶה, אֲלֵא מִשּׁוֹם שֶׁנֶּאֱמַר

It is not because of this, but *because it is said*

(K and MS Parma have מִשּׁוֹם), 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 מִן הַשֵּׁם to מִשּׁוֹם:

לֹא מִן הַשֵּׁם הוּא זֶה אֲלֵא מִשּׁוֹם שֶׁנֶּאֱמַר

It is not for that reason but because it is said.

9. עַל שֵׁם ש- / עַל שֵׁם ש-.

Meaning ‘inasmuch as’, the conjunction is always employed in (popular) etymologizing explanations, such as that found in the introductory text:

פֶּסַח, עַל שֵׁם שֶׁפֶּסַח הַמָּקוֹם עַל בְּתֵי אֲבוֹתֵינוּ בַּמִּצְרַיִם. מִצֵּדָה, עַל שֵׁם שֶׁנֶּאֱמַר אֱלֹהֵינוּ בַּמִּצְרַיִם. קָמָר, עַל שֵׁם שֶׁקָּמְרוּ הַמִּצְרַיִים אֶת חַיֵּי אֲבוֹתֵינוּ בַּמִּצְרַיִם

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' שִׁמְעוֹן בֶּן יוֹחָי אוֹמֵר, שְׁנֵי שְׁמוֹת הָיוּ לוֹ, חוֹבָב וַיְתֵרוֹ. יְתֵרוֹ, עַל שֵׁם שֶׁיִּתֵּר פֶּרְשָׁה אֶחָת בְּתוֹרָה ... חוֹבָב, עַל שֵׁם שֶׁחִיבָב אֶת הַתּוֹרָה שֶׁלֹּא מִצֵּינוּ בְּכָל הַגֵּרִים שֶׁחִיבָבוּ אֶת הַתּוֹרָה כִּיְתֵרוֹ

R. Simeon ben Yoḥai taught, He had two names, Hobab and Jethro—Jethro, inasmuch as he added (יְתֵר) a pericope to the Torah; Hobab, inasmuch as he loved (חָבַב) the Torah to the extent that we have never found any proselyte who loved it as much as Jethro did.

10. לְפִי ש-.

This has a basically explicative function, ‘since, given that’, although when introducing a biblical text it has a comparative force, ‘according to, conforming to’:

לְפִי שֶׁאֵדָם צָרִיד לְצִאת יְדֵי הַבְּרִיּוֹת כְּדָרְךָ שֶׁצָּרִיד לְצִאת יְדֵי הַמָּקוֹם

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 *לפי ש-* is never found introducing a biblical text, in the tannaitic *midrashim* of the school of R. Ishmael (SNm and Mek), the formula *לפי שהיה אומר* commonly introduces a biblical text, which is then followed by *שומע אני* or *יכול*, or *או* or *לי אלא*: 'given that/in accordance with what it (i.e. the biblical text) says ... I could understand':

ר' אישיה אומר, איש או אשה [במדבר ה' רן], למה נאמר? לפי שהוא אומר, וכי יפתח איש בור או כי יכרה איש בור [שמות כא' לג], אין לי אלא איש, אשה מניין?

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. בשביל ש-

A. Followed by an imperfect, *בשביל ש-* usually expresses final purpose, and is, therefore, most often to be rendered as a simple final conjunction, 'for, so that, in order that':

ואם מתחלה נטלן בשביל שלא יאבדו

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 *בשביל ש-* and the final conjunction *כדי ש-* is very clear:

לא שהיו צריכין להן, אלא כדי שלא יצאו בפחי נפש, בשביל שיהיו רגילים לבא

Not because they needed 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 *בשביל ש-* becomes apparent when followed by a participial or nominal construction:

בשביל שהמלך כשר ... עכשיו יאמרו עלי בשביל שאין בו כח להכניסנו לארץ

Because the king is very capable ... Now they will say of me, Because he lacks the force to get us into the land (SDt 3 [F 11]).

12. מאחר ש-

This conjunction has a primarily temporal sense (see Unit 27.12), 'after', and from this easily developed causal significance:

אמר רבי מאיר, מאחר ששניהן יכולין למחות זה על זה, רואין מהיכן ירק זה מי

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 *מאחר שלמדנו* 'since we already know' precedes *מה תלמוד לומר*, commonly used to ask what additional meaning a text might have (see SLv 15.11 [W 77a]).

על-ש. 13.

Not widely used in the Mishnah, על-ש also appears in combination with the preposition על, as at Shab 2.6:

על שלש עברות הנשים מתות בשעת לדהן, על שאינן זהירות בנדה
ובחלה ובהדלקת הנר

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.

על-ש always seems to relate to an act (מעשה) as the basis/cause of a particular consequence:

מעשה שירדו זקנים מירושלים לעריהם ונזרו תענית על שנראה
כמלא פי תנור שדפון באשקלון. ועוד נזרו תענית על שאכלו זאבים שני
חנקות בעבר הירדן. רבי יוסי אומר, לא על שאכלו אלא על שנראו

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 by על-ש also frequently appears with an object after the על, for example

על אלו מתריעים בשבת, על עיר שהקיפה גוים או נהר

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. הוואיל-ן. '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*':

הוואיל ואין הלכה אלא כדברי המרבין

B. Marking the protasis in a comparison, the apodosis usually having a correlative הרי, כך, הרי, or אף:

רבי מאיר אומר, הוואיל והוא נראה כתבנית הכרמים, הרי זה כרם

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:

היה ר' ישמעאל אומר, הוואיל ונאמרו צוואות בתורה סתם, ופרט לך
הכתוב באחת מהן שאינה אלא מיד בשעת מעשה ובדורות, אף פורטי
בכל הצוואות שבתורה, שלא 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. **הואיל ואמרה תורה** '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 תורה, תן תפילין בראש, תן תפילין ביד. מה בראש ארבע
טוטפות אף 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

אָרִיס 'tenant'

גֹּזֵל 'violent, robber, one who takes something by violence'

דְּבִילָה 'fig cake, fig bread'

זֶן 'feed'

חֲבוֹר/חֲכִיר 'labourer, sharecropper'

תְּרוֹב 'carob'

סִיקְרִיקוֹן (σικαρικόν) 'confiscated property' (confiscated by Rome),
'confiscator' or 'usurper' of such property

עַל אַחַת כְּמָה וְכְמָה) עַמְכִּיז 'how much more!'

עֲרֵעֵר 'strip'

פֶּשֶׁל 'twist, knot, tie'

פָּרַח 'fly'

קַמִּיצָה 'fistful'

שָׁאֵל עַל פֶּתְחוֹת 'call door to door, begging'

תְּרַנְגוּל 'cock'

VI Exercises

1. מי שֶׁמַח וְהֵנִיחַ בָּנִים וּבָנוֹת, בְּזֶמַן שֶׁהִנְקִסִים מְרֵבִים, הַבָּנִים יִרְשׁוּ וְהַבָּנוֹת יִזְוּ. הַנְּקִסִים מֵעַתָּה, הַבָּנוֹת יִזְוּ וְהַבָּנִים יִשְׁאֲלוּ עַל הַפֶּתְחוֹת. אֲדַמּוֹן אֹמֵר, בְּשֶׁבִיל שְׂאֵלֵי זָכָר הַפְּסוּדִים אָמַר רַבֵּן גַּמְלִיאֵל, רֹאֵה אֲנִי אֵת

- דברי אדמון.
2. מאיזה טעם אינו מביא? משום שנאמר, ראשית בכורי אדמתך (שמות כג יט), עד שיהיו כל הגדולים מאדמתך. האריסין והחכורות והסקריקון והגולן אין מביאין מאותו הטעם, משום שנאמר, ראשית בכורי אדמתך.
3. המפקיד מעות אצל חברו, צָרָרָן והפּשֵׁלָן לאחוריו, או שמסרן לבנו ולבתו הקטנים, ונעל בפניהם שלא כראוי, חַיב, שלא שמר כְּדָרְךְ השומרים, ואם שמר כְּדָרְךְ השומרים, פטור.
4. רבי יהודה אומר, שור המדבר, שור ההקדש, שור הגר שמת, פטורים מן המיתה, לפי שאין להם בעלים.
5. ולמה מוכידין דברי היחיד בין הפרבין, הואיל ואין הלכה אלא כדברי המרבין? שאם יראה בית דין את דברי היחיד ויסמוך עליו, שאין בית דין יכול לבטל דברי בית דין חברו עד שיהיה גדול ממנו בחכמה ובמגן.
6. רבי יהודה בן בבא העיד חמשה דברים, שממאנים את הקטנות, ושמשאיין את האשה על פי עד אחד, ושנסקל תרגול בירושלים על שהרג את הנפש, על היין בן ארבעים יום, שנתנסף על גב המזבח, ועל תמיד שלשחר, שקרב בארבע שעות.
7. רבי שמעון אומר, כבשים קודמין לעזים בכל מקום. יכול מפני שהן מבחרין מהן? תלמוד לומר, ואם כבש יביא קרבנו לחטאת (ויקרא ד' לב), מלמד ששניהם שקולים... האב קודם לאם בכל מקום. יכול שכבוד האב עודף על כבוד האם? תלמוד לומר, איש אמו ואביו תיראו (שם ט' ג), מלמד ששניהם שקולים, אבל אמרו חכמים, האב קודם לאם בכל מקום מפני שהוא ואמו חביבין בכבוד אביו. וכן תלמוד תורה, אם זכה הבן לפני הרב, הרב קודם את האב בכל מקום, מפני שהוא ואביו חביבין בכבוד רבו.
8. חצר גדולה היתה בירושלים, ובית יעזק היתה נקראת, ולשם כל העדים מתכנסים, ובית דין בוד קין אותם שם. וסעודות גדולות עושין להם בשביל שיהו רגילין לבא.
9. מאימתי מוכידין גבורות גשמים? רבי אליעזר אומר, מיזם טוב הראשון שלחן. רבי יהושע אומר, מיזם טוב האחרון שלחן. אמר לו רבי יהושע, הואיל ואין הגשמים אלא סימן קללה בחג, למה הוא מוכיר?
10. ויאמר מושה, אכלהו היום כי שבת היום לי, היום לא תמצאהו בשדה (שמות טז כה). רבי זריקה אומר מכאן שלש סעודות בשבת. לפי שהיו ישראל רגילין לצאת בשחרית, אמרו לו, רבינו משה, נצא בשחרית? אמר להם, אינו היום. אמרו לו, הואיל ולא יצאנו שחרית נצא בין הערבים? אמר להם, כי שבת היום לי.
11. ואשא אתכם על כנפי נשרים (שמות יט ד), מה נשתנה הנשר הזה מכל העופות כלם? שכל העופות כלן נותנין את בניהם בין רגליהם מפני שהן מתיראין מעוף אחר שהוא פורח על גביהם, אבל הנשר הזה אינו מתירא אלא מאדם בלבד. שמה יזרוק בו חץ, אומר מושב שיכנס בו ולא בבניו.
12. רבי נתן אומר, הואיל ואמרה תורה, תן כסף, ו, בל תתן כסף, מה, תן כסף, עד שלא באו בה סימנין, אף, בל תתן כסף, משבאו בה סימנין.
13. הואיל ומצונו שאין כפרה אלא בדם, מה תלמוד לומר, ומסך... ונרצה, (ויקרא א' ד')?
14. רבי אליעזר אומר, לא נתחייבו אלא על שהורו הלכה בפני משה רבן, וכל המורה הלכה בפני רבו, חייב מיתה.

15. אז תרצה הארץ את שבתותיה; (ויקרא כו' לד'). אני אמרתי לכם שתהו זורעים שש ומשמטים לי אחת, בשביל שזרעו שהארץ שלי היא, ואחם לא עשיתם כן.
16. וביד הכהן יהיו מי המרים המאזרים [במדבר ה' יח'] ... נקראו מרים על שם סופן שממרדין את הגוף ומערערין את העון.
17. ומה אלו [= הגרים] שקירבו את עצמן כך קירבם המקום, ישראל שעושים את התורה עאכ"ו.
18. משל. אומרים לאדם, מפני מה אתה אוכל פת שעורים? אמר להם. מפני שאין לי פת חטים. מפני מה אתה אוכל חרובים? אמר להם, מפני שאין לי דבילה. כך אלו היתה בידן של ישראל מאוזה קמצה שקמצו ביום שמת בו משה, שאכלו ממנו כל ארבעים יום, לא רצו לאכול מתבואת ארץ כנען.
19. וכן אוזה מוצא בדרכי מקום, שכל מי שחביב קודם את חברו. תורה, לפי שחביבה מכל, נבראת קודם לכל ... בית המקדש, לפי שחביב מכל, נברא לפני כל ... ארץ ישראל, שחביבה מכל, נבראת לפני כל.
20. דבר אחר, האזינו השמים ואדברה [דברים לב' א'], על שם שניתנה תורה מן השמים, שנאמר, אתם ראיתם כי מן השמים דברתי 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)

- לפיכך נברא אדם יחיד בעולם.
 — ללמד שכל המאבד נפש אחת מעלין עליו כילו אבד עולם מלא וכל חמקים נפש אחת מעלין עליו כילו קים עולם מלא.
 — מפני שלום הבריות, שלא יאמר אדם לחברו, אבא גדול מאביך.
 — שלא יהו המינין אומרים, רשויות הרבה בשמים.
 — להגיד גדלותו של מלך המלכים הקדוש ברוך הוא, שאדם מוביע מאה מטבעות בחותם אחד וכילין דומין זה לזה, ומלך מלכי המלכים הקדוש ברוך הוא טבע את כל האדם בחותמו של אדם הראשון ואין אחד מהן דומה לחברו. לפיכך כל אחד ואחד חייב לומר, בשבילי נברא העולם.
 — שפא תאמר, מה לנו ולצרה הוא? תלא כבר נאמר, והוא עד או ראה או ידע [אם לוא יגיד] וגו' [ויקרא ה' א']? או שפא תאמר, מה לנו לחייב בך מו שלזה. תלא כבר נאמר, [ונאבד] רשעים רפה [משלי י"ו].

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) [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 (יָחִיד) 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 -שׁ in LBH—

וַהֲאֱלֹהִים עָשָׂה שִׂרְאוֹ מִלְפָּנָיו

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 -שׁ על דְּבַרְתָּ שׁ, an early version of RH’s -שׁ על מַתָּה שׁ:

גַּם אֶת־זֶה לַעֲמֹת־זֶה עָשָׂה הָאֱלֹהִים עַל־דְּבַר־תּוֹרַת שְׁלֹא יִמְצָא הָאָדָם
אֶת־רֵיב מֵאִמְרָה

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
-ל + infinitive	-ל + infinitive
לְבַלְתִּי + infinitive	שְׁלֹא + infinitive
	-כִּדִּי לְ + infinitive
	-עַל מְנַח לְ + infinitive
אֲשֶׁר + imperfect	
-ש + imperfect (LBH)	-ש + imperfect
לְמַעַן	
לְמַעַן אֲשֶׁר	
בְּעֵבֹר	
בְּעֵבֹר אֲשֶׁר	
	כִּדִּי שְׁ-
	כִּדִּי שְׁלֹא
	בְּשִׁבִיל שְׁ-
	בְּשִׁבִיל שְׁלֹא
עַל דְּבַר־תּוֹרַת שְׁ-	עַל מְנַח שְׁ-
	עַל תְּנָאִי שְׁ-
פֶּן	שְׁמַא + imperfect
אֲשֶׁר לֹא	שְׁלֹא + imperfect

שְׁמַא probably derives from שְׁ- and לְקַמָּה, with LBH representing an intermediate stage:

שְׁלֵמָה אֶתְהִי כְּעֵמֶיהָ

Why do I have to go about as a stray? (Ca 1.7)

The Aramaic equivalent דִּילְמָא is perhaps a calque from RH, but in any case the שְׁ- in שְׁמַא is a clear sign of Aramaic influence. In K, the normal vocalization is שְׁמַא.

3. There are no specifically consecutive particles in BH or RH, with the following forms being used instead.

BH	RH
כִּי	שְׁ-
אֲשֶׁר	כִּדִּי שְׁ-
אֲשֶׁר לֹא	כִּדִּי שְׁלֹא

III *Grammar and usage*

4. BH usually expresses finality through the simple coordination of clauses with **-ו**, especially common in the sequence imperative followed by **וְיִקְטַל** or **וְיִקְטֹלֶהָ**. In RH, such simple coordination tends to be replaced by the use of the infinitive with **-ל** or of final conjunctions. Nonetheless, some examples remain:

וְהִסְפֵּל בְּשִׁלְשָׁה דְבָרִים וְאִי אִתָּהּ כָּא לִידֵי עֵבֶרָה

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:

נחבקצו כולן זו על זו ליטול עצה

They joined up, this one with that one, to take counsel (SNm 133.1 [H 176]).

B. The negative form of the construction employs **שֶׁלֹא**:

לֹא הָיוּ יָמִים טוֹבִים לְיִשְׂרָאֵל כַּחֲמִשָּׁה עָשָׂר בְּאָב וּכְיוֹם הַכַּפּוּרִים, שֶׁבָּהֵן בְּנוֹת יְרוּשָׁלַם יֵצְאוֹת בְּכָלֵי לְבָן שְׂאוּלֵת, שֶׁלֹא לְבִישׁ אֶת מִי שְׂאִין לוֹ

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' **לְהוֹצִיא** 'to exclude', **לְהַבִּיא** 'to include', **לְהוֹדִיעַ** 'to proclaim', **לְלַמְּדֶךָ** 'to teach you', etc., and may be regarded as responding to an implied question of the kind **לְמָה נֶאמַר**:

וכי יזיד איש על רעהו להרגו, [שמוח כא' יד']. ... וכי יזיד, להוציא את השונן, איש, להוציא את הקטן, איש, להביא את האחרים, רעהו, להוציא את 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, [במדבר ח' ג']. 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 **-שֶׁ**.

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 האיש מעון [במדבר ה' לא']. שלא יאמר, אוי לי שהרגתי בת ישראל

He will be clear of sin [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. בְּשִׁבִיל שְׁ-

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 בְּשִׁבִיל שְׁ- with the imperfect expressing finality or final 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:

צֵאוּ וְהִכְנִיסוּ תַּנּוּרֵי פֶסַחִים, בְּשִׁבִיל שֶׁלֹּא יִפּוּקוּ

Go and fetch the paschal ovens so that they don't fall apart.

8. כְּדִי לְ- and כְּדִי שְׁ-

A. Any difference, beyond the purely stylistic, that exists between the use of the imperfect with כְּדִי שְׁ- and of the infinitive with כְּדִי לְ- lies in the more subjective, personal, and persuasive mood of the imperfect as against the more impersonal nature of the infinitive:

לְפִנֵּי אֲמָרוּ חֻכְמִים, עַל חֲצוֹתָי כְּדִי לְהִרְחִיק אֶת הָאָדָם מִן הַעֲבֵרָה

Why did the sages say, Up to midnight (one must recite the *shema*)? So as to distance people from sin (Ber 1.1);

לְפִנֵּי קְדָמָה, שָׁמַעַי, לְ, וְהָיָה אִם שָׁמַעַי אֱלֹהֵי שְׁיִקְבֵּל עָלָיו עַל

מַלְכוּת שָׁמַיִם תִּחְלָה, וְאַחֵר כְּדִי יִקְבֵּל עָלָיו עַל מִצְוֹת

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):

וּמִשְׁמִיעַ בְּכָל לָשׁוֹן שֶׁשּׁוֹמְעֶתָ, כְּדִי שֶׁתֵּדָעַת עַל מַה הִיָּתָה שׂוֹתָה

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 להרחיק and אלא יקבל, without כְּדִי (K also lacks כְּדִי at Abot 2.4: see text 3 in the exercises). It seems, then, that the use of כְּדִי to introduce a simple final clause did not become generalized in a uniform way and might represent a later stage of the language, when כְּדִי no longer carried the connotation of 'quantity'.

B. But in virtue of its etymological force, 'as much as is sufficient', כְּדִי 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 many examples of כְּדִי לְ- specifying the quantitative value of an object. For example,

הַמּוֹצֵיא ... דְּבִשׁ כְּדִי לָתֵן עַל הַכְּתִיחַ

(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,

שמן כדאי לסוך אבר קטן
 is 'oil enough to anoint the smallest member',
 חבל כדאי לעשות און
 is 'enough rope to make a handle' (Shab 8.2),
 ניר כדאי לכתוב עליו קשר מוכסין
 is 'enough paper for writing a taxcollector's note', and
 דיו כדאי לכתוב שתי אותיות
 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, כדאי functions as an indeclinable adjective ('sufficient, enough') that can introduce either an infinitive with ל- or the corresponding verbal noun. Thus, at Hül 11.2, we find that to the question

וכמה נותנים לו?

How much (wool) must one give him?

the answer given is כדאי לעשות ממנו בגד קטן 'enough for a small garment to be made from it' and כדאי מתנה '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.

9. על מנת ל- and על מנת ש-

על מנת ש- occurs with the imperfect, and, depending on vocalization, the participle. On the difference between imperfect and infinitive constructions, see above, §8A.

The use of על מנת 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:

אל תהיו כעבדים המשמשין את הרב על מנת לקבל פרס, אלא הווי כעבדים המשמשין את הרב שלא על מנת לקבל פרס

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'asrot 2.7, the labourer accepts his contract על מנת שאוכל האנים 'on condition that I may eat figs'. (In this instance, some prefer to read a participle, על מנת שאוכל.)

10. על תנאי ש-

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:

אף על פי שנתנו לה על תנאי ולא נעשה התנאי

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:

אין מוכרין בית הכנסת, אלא על תנאי שאם ירצו יחזירוהו

A synagogue may only be sold on the condition that, whenever it is so wished, it can be returned.

11. שְׁמָא/שָׂמָא.

This form has both adverbial and conjunctive value, 'perhaps, maybe' and 'in case, lest'; when compared with the conjunction שְׁלֵא, שָׂמָא can be seen to add a note of fear or insecurity, and is associated in RH with the verbs of fear (יָרָא) and caution (הִזְהִיר). It replaces BH פֶּן, as can be seen in the following exegetical text (SDt 43 [F 92] on Dt 11.16):

השמרו לכם פן יפתה לבבכם. אמר להם, תזהרו 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:

מאימין עליהו, שְׁמָא תאמרו מאמר ומשמועה

They warned them, So that you do not utter suppositions or hearsay.

B. Adverb:

שְׁמָא אי אתם יודעין שפופנו לבדוק אתכם?

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', שְׁמָא is usually found in justification of a biblical text. In the tannaitic *midrashim*, it appears in the standard formula 'שְׁמָא תאמר/תאמרו... ח'ל' 'lest you say (i.e. 'so that you do not argue' in such 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 Pr 11.10 are cited in order that no-one might argue (שְׁמָא תאמר) against solidarity.

The expression of preventive purpose is not found only in connection with biblical interpretation. שְׁמָא can also be used to prevent, or to express fear about, any event:

אף אשה אחרת מתקנין לו, שְׁמָא תמות אשתו

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 לו אשה אחרת על תנאי שאם יארע דבר באשתו

... 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 שְׁמָא 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 -!:

כַּפֹּה יְהֵא בַיִת וְלֹא יִקְצָצוּ

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 כִּדִּי־שֵׁ with consecutive value:

מִזְרִידִין לְפָנֵי הַתְּבָה זָקֵן וְרָגִיל וְיֵשׁ לוֹ בָּנִים וּבֵיתוֹ רֵיקָם, כִּדִּי שִׁיחָא
לְבוֹ שְׁלָם בַּתְּפִלָּה

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 שֵׁ or שְׁלֹא following an exclamation or emphatic adjective:

חָבִיב בְּנִימִין שֶׁנִּקְרָא יִדִּיד לְמָקוֹם

How beloved is Benjamin, such that he has been called, Favourite, by the omnipresent one! (SDt 352 [F 409]);

מָה כַּח עֵבִירָה קֶשֶׁה שְׁעַד שְׁלֹא פִשְׁטוּ יְדֵיהֶם בְּעֵבִירָה לֹא הָיָה
בְּהֶם זָבִים וּמְצוֹרְעִים

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]);

אֹי לִי שְׁאֵנִי עֵרוֹם מִן הַמִּצְוֹת

Woe is me, such that I have become stripped of precepts! (SDt 36 [F 68]).

גְּדוֹל שְׁלוֹם שֶׁאֵפִילוּ מֵתִים צְרִיכִים שְׁלוֹם

How great is peace, such that even the dead need peace! (SDt 199 [F 237]);

וְכִי מָה אֲנִי סָפוֹן, שֶׁהִכְתִּי חַיּוֹת רַעוּת הַלְלוּ?

Why have I been distinguished to the extent that I can kill these wild beasts? (Mek 17.14 [L 2.157]);

וְנֹאמֵן הוּא בְּעַל מְלֹאכְתָּךְ, שֶׁיִּשְׁלַם לְךָ שְׂכָר פְּעוּלְתְּךָ

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: לְשַׁלֵּם.)

IV Phraseology

13. חָבִיבִין יִשְׂרָאֵלִי־שֵׁ 'how beloved are the Israelites, such that ...'; the 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:

חָבִיבִין יִשְׂרָאֵל, שֶׁנִּקְרָאוּ בָּנִים לְמָקוֹם

How beloved are the Israelites, such that they have been called children of the omnipresent one (Abot 3.14);

חביבין ישראל, שסבבם הכתוב במצות, חפילין בראשיהם וחפילין בזרועותיהם, מוזהה בפחדיהם, ציצית 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

אָפּסני/אָפּסניאַ (ὀψώνιον) ‘soldier’s pay, rations’

הספיק (hi. of ספק) ‘grant, authorize, supply’

כף ‘ladle’

לִבֵּס (λέβης) ‘(cooking) pot’

ליפפון ‘condiment’

מחצה ‘brazier’

מתון ‘careful, considered’

פרס ‘piece (of bread)’

פרוטה ‘*perutah*’ (a small coin), in plural, ‘small change, coppers’

קמקום ‘cauldron’

השזקע (htp. of שקע) ‘sink down, be submerged’, i.e. ‘live permanently’, as against גיר ‘pass through, wander’

VI Exercises

- שמעון בן שטח אומר, הוי מרבה לחקוד את העדים, ונהוי זהיר בדבריה, שקא מתוכם ילמוד לשקר.
- אבטליון אומר, חקמים הנהרו בדבריהם, שקא תחובו חובת גלות ותגלו למקום מים הרעים, וישתו התלמידים הבאים אחריהם וימותו, ונמצא שם שמים מתחליל.
- הוא [רפן גמליאל] היה אומר, עשה רצונו פרצונך, כדי [כדי K lacks] שיעשה רצונך כרצונו. בטל רצונך מפני רצונו, כדי [כדי K lacks] שיבטל רצון אחרים מפני רצונך. הלל אומר, אל תפרש מן הצבור, ואל תאמן בעצמך עד יום מותך, ואל תדין את חברך עד שתגיע למקומו. ואל תאמר דבר שאי אפשר לשמוע, שסופו להשמע. ואל תאמר, לכשאפנה אשנה, שקא לא חפנה.
- רבי ישמעאל בנו אומר, הלומד על מנת ללמד, מספיקין בידו ללמוד וללמד, והלומד על מנת לעשות, מספיקין בידו ללמוד וללמד, לשמור ולעשות. רבי צדוק אומר, אל תעשם עטרה להתגדל בהם, ולא קרדם לחפור בהם.

5. הוא היה אומר, הגלודים למות, והמתים להחיות, והחיים לדון, לידע, להודיע ולהודיע שהוא אל, הוא היצור, הוא הבורא, הוא המבין, הוא הדין, הוא ער, הוא בעל דין, והוא עתיד לדון.
6. עשרה דורות מאדם עד נח, להודיע כפה ארץ אפים לפניו, שכל הדורות היו מכעיסין ובאין עד שהביא עליהם את מי המבול. עשרה דורות מנח עד אברהם, להודיע כפה ארץ אפים לפניו, שכל הדורות היו מכעיסין ובאין עד שבא אברהם וקבל עליו שכר כלם.
7. כלי מתכות כפה הוא שעוץ? הדלי, כדי למלאות בו. קמקום, כדי לחם בו. מחם, כדי לקבל סלעים. הלבס, כדי לקבל קיחונות. קיחונות, כדי לקבל פרוטות. מדות יין, ביין, מדות שמן, בשמן.
8. לא ירבה לו סוסים ודברים י' ז', אלא כדי מרכבתו. וכסף וזהב לא ירבה לו מאד ודברים י' ז', אלא כדי לתן אספניא.
9. ולמה אמרו חכמים, עד חצות? להרחיק מן העבירה ולעשות סייג לתורה ולקיים דברי אנשי כנסת הגדולה, שהיו אומרים שלשה דברים, הו מתזנין בדין והעמידו תלמידים הרבה ועשו סייג לתורה.
10. ושלישים על כלו [שמות י' ז'], על מנת לכלות. לשעבר, כל הבן הילוד וגו' [שמות א' כב'], אבל כאן, ושלישים על כלו, על מנת לכלות, שנאמר, אריק חרבי חורשימו די [שמות ט' ט].
11. שאל אנשנינוס את רבינו הקדוש, אני מבקש לילך לאלכסנדריא, שמה תעמיד עלי מלך וינצחני? אמר לו, איני יודע. מכל מקום כתוב לנו שאין ארץ מצרים יכולה להעמיד לא משל ולא שר. שנאמר, ונשיא מארץ מצרים לא יהיה עוד ויחזקאל ל' יג'.
12. אם סופינו לרבות את כל האוכל אע"פ שאינו שוכב, מה תלמוד לומר, האוכל ... והשוכב [ויקרא י' מז]? אלא כדי ליתן שיעור לשוכב כדי שיאכל. וכמה היא שיעור אכילה? כדי אכילה פרס פת חישים ולא פת שעורים מיסב ואוכלו בליפתן.
13. ובא אהרן אל אהל מועד [ויקרא טו' כג]. כל הפרשה כולה אמרה על הסדר חוץ מן הפסוק הזה, ובא אהרן אל אהל מועד. ולמה בא? כדי להוציא את הכף ואת המחזה.
14. כמראה אשר הראה י' את משה כן עשה [במדבר ח' ד], להודיע שבחו של משה, שכשם שאמר לו המקום כן עשה.
15. ככל אשר צוה י' את משה כן עשו בני ישראל [במדבר ט' ה], להודיע שבחן של ישראל, שכשם שאמר להם משה, כן עשו.
16. ותקרבה בנות צלפחד [במדבר כו' א]. כיון ששמעו בנות צלפחד שהארץ מתחזקת לשבטים לזכרים ולא לנקבות, נתקבצו כולן זו על זו ליטול עצה. אמרו, לא כרחמי בשר ודם רחמי המקום. בשר ודם רחמיז על הזכרים יזרח מן הנקבות, אבל מי שאמר והיה העולם אינו כן, אלא רחמיז על הזכרים ועל הנקבות, רחמיז על הכל, שנאמר, נוהן לחם לכל בשר ... [תהלים קל"ו כה].
17. אשר אני שוכן בתוכם [במדבר ה' ג]. חביבים הם ישראל, שאע"פ שהם טמאים, שכניה בנייהם, וכן הוא אומר, השוכן אתם בתוך טומאתם [ויקרא טו' מז] ... ר' יוסי הגלילי אומר, בוא וראה מה כח עבירה קשה שעד שלא פשטו ידיהם בעבירה לא היה בהם זבים ומצורעים, ומשפשטו ידיהם בעבירה היו בהם זבים ומצורעים.

18. ואכלת ושבעת. השמרו לכם [דברים י"א טו-טז]. אמר להם, הזהירו שמא ישעה אתכם יצר הרע ותפרשו מן התורה, שכיון שאדם פורש מן התורה הולך ומדבק בעבודה זרה.
19. ואמרת, אוכלה בשר כי תאווה נפשך לאכול בשר [דברים יב' כז], ... רבי אלעזר בן עזריה אומר, לא בא הכתוב אלא ללמדך דרך ארץ, שלא יאכל אדם בשר אלא לתיאבון.
20. ואמרת לפני יי' אלהיך ארמי אובד אבי [דברים כו' הן], מלמד שלא ירד אבינו יעקב לארם אלא על מנת לאבד, ומעלה על לבן הארמי כאילו איבדו. וירד מצרימה [דברים כו' הן], מלמד שלא ירד להשתקע אלא לגור שם. שמא תאמר שירד לישראל כחור מלכות, תלמוד לומר, יגור 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 יי' אל אהרן ... אני חלקך ונחלתך [במדבר יח' כז]. על שולחני אתה אוכל ועל שולחני אתה שותה. משל, למה הדבר דומה? למלך בשר ודם שנתן לבניו מתנות ולבנו אחד לא נתן שום מתנה. אמר לו, בני, אע"פ שלא נתתי לך מתנה, על שולחני אתה אוכל ועל שולחני אתה שותה. וכך הוא אומר, חלקם נתתי אתה מאשי [ויקרא ו' יז], אשי יי' ונחלתו יאכלון [דברים יח' א'].

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: כִּי (Is 54.10), אִם (Nm 22.18; Jb 9.15), גַּם (Is 49.15), גַּם כִּי (Is 1.15), and עַל with noun (Jb 16.17) and with infinitive (Jr 2.35).

In RH, various combinations with the particle אִם are employed, אִם־אֵילָנוּ (אִם־אֵילָנוּ and אִם־אֵילָנוּ), אִם־עַל־פִּי, אִם־עַל־פִּי, as well as אִם.

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 אִם and כִּי in BH, and the same is found in RH (see also Unit 28.7A):

אִם לְמִדַּתְּ הַתּוֹרָה הַרְבֵּה ... אִם יִהְיוּ כָל חֲכָמֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל בְּכַף מֵאֻנָּים

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);

אִם אֶתֶּה נוֹתֵן לִי כָּל כֶּסֶף ... אֵינִי דֹר אֶלָּא בְּמִקוֹם הַתּוֹרָה

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 אִם־אֵילָנוּ can be used to indicate a simple condition:

אִפְלוּ מִצָּא חֶבֶת, וְהָיָה מִלֵּאָה פְרוֹת, וְכָתוּב עָלֶיהָ, וְתִרְמָקָה, הֲרִי אֵילָנוּ חֶלֶן

If one finds a vessel full of fruit, with *terumah* written on it, they are regarded as profane (MS 4.11).

Here, the unreal value of אֵילָנוּ (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 וְ- joining two clauses, usually according to the pattern (concessive) verbal clause followed by וְ- and a nominal clause:

שְׂפִי נָשִׁים שֶׁנִּשְׁבְּבוּ, זֹאת אוֹמְרָת, נִשְׁבִּיתִי וְטַהֲרָה אֲנִי

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 וְ-:

הָא וְתָרָה כָּל מַה שֶׁעָשִׂיתָ, מַעֲשֵׂה עֵגֶל קִשָּׁה עָלַי מִן הַכֹּל

Although there are many things you have done to me, the incident of the golden calf takes precedence over all (SDt 1 [F 6]).

It should be noted that in this example, the concessive clause is in reality a nominal clause emphasized with the particle **הא**.

5. **אפילו**.

Although, as we have just seen, **אפילו** can have purely conditional value, in its concessive function it signals an exceptional circumstance. It is quite normal for **אפילו** to introduce a nominal or participial clause; between the main clause and the concessive clause, a real and formal subordination can be seen:

אפילו הן בשתי עירות, מעלות זו את זו

Even though they are in two different towns, the one (grain) neutralizes the other (Ter 4.12);

אפילו המלך שואל בשלזמו, לא ישיבנו, ואפילו נחש כרוך על עקבו לא יפסיק

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 **אפילו** with personal forms of the verb suggests that it is the unusualness of a condition or circumstance that predominates rather than its concessive aspect:

אפילו הניח את ביתו והלך לשבות אצל בתו באותה העיר, אינו אוסר

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.

6. **אף כש**.

There are three examples in the Mishnah, followed by participle, perfect, and imperfect, respectively:

קדשתן אף כשתון שוממין

Their holiness (remains) even though they are in ruins (Meg 3.3);

אף כשאמרו בית שמאי

Although the school of Shammai said (Naz 2.1-2);

אף כשיאמר, רגלה שלזו תחת זו

Even if one were to say, This one's leg for that one's (Tem 1.3).

7. **אף על פי**.

A. **אף על פי ש**:

המחלל את הקדשים והמבזה את המועדות והמלבין פני חברו ברבים והמפר בריתו שלאברדם אבינו, עליו השלום, והמגלה פנים בתורה שלא כהלכה, אף על פי שיש בידו תורה ומעשים טובים, אין לו חלק לעולם הבא

A person who profanes the holy things, who despises the festival days, who humiliates another in public, who breaks the covenant of Abraham our father (peace be upon him), who discovers in the Torah meanings that are not in agreement with the *halakhah*, even if such a person has (learning in) Torah and good deeds, they will have no part in the world to come (Abot 3.11).

Before a participle, the *-w* can be omitted:

אָף עַל פִּי כְּפוּפִין, אָף עַל פִּי מִקְבָּלִין

Even if they (earthenware vessels) are bent, even if they are receptacles (Kel 2.3).

B. אָף עַל פִּי כֵן, which constitutes a clause in its own right, 'though it be 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 אָף עַל פִּי variants are present:

וּבְכֵלָם, אָף עַל פִּי שְׂאֵמְרָה, בְּלִבִּי הָיָה לְהִתְקַדֵּשׁ לוֹ, אָף עַל פִּי כֵן,
אֵינָהּ מְקַדְּשֶׁת

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

8. אָף עַל פִּי שְׂאֵין רְאִיָּה לְדָבָר, זְכָר לְדָבָר שְׂנֵאֵמָר 'although there is no evidence in its favour, there is an allusion to it in the text that says ...' contrasts strict proof (רְאִיָּה) with an indication or an allusion (זְכָר) and is used to introduce 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

הִסִּיעַ אֶת לִבּוֹ מִן 'distance the heart from, decide against'

יִיחַד (pi.) 'unite, confer an honour or a name'

כִּבְדַּר רֹאשׁ 'inclination of the head', indicating respect or honour

כָּדָא/כְּדִי 'worthy, appropriate, sufficient'

מָנַע 'hold back, refuse'

מִצְוִין (ptc. of צִוָּן [pi.]) 'noted, distinguished'

מָנַע עֲצֻמוֹ מִן הַרְחָמִים 'refuse mercy', i.e. despair of mercy, cease praying

שָׁהָה 'be slow, delay'

VI Exercises

1. אֵין עוֹמְדִין לְהִתְפַּלֵּל אִלָּא מֵחוּץ כְּבַד רֹאשׁ. חֲסִידִים הָרֵאשׁוֹנִים הָיוּ שׁוֹהִים שָׁעָה אַחַת וּמֵתְפַלְלִים, כְּדִי שִׂיכּוּנוֹ אֶת לִבָּם לְמָקוֹם. אֲפִלּוֹ הִפְלִיךְ שׁוֹאֵל בְּשִׁלּוּמוֹ, לֹא יִשְׁבְּנוּ, וְאֲפִלּוֹ נָחַשׁ כְּרוּךְ עַל עֵקְבוֹ, לֹא יִפְסִיק.
2. חֵיב אָדָם לְכַרֵּךְ עַל הַרְעָה כְּשֶׁם שֶׁהוּא מְכַרֵּךְ עַל הַטּוֹבָה, שְׂנֵאֵמָר, וְאֵהֲבָהּ.

- את "אלהיך בכל לבבך ובכל נפשך ובכל מאדך (דברים ו' ה'). בכל לבבך, בשני יצריך, ביצר טוב וביצר רע. ובכל נפשך, אפילו הוא נוטל את נפשך. ובכל מאדך, בכל ממונך.
3. איזו היא בתולה? כל שלא ראתה דם מימיה, אף על פי שגטואה.
4. אין שוחטין את הפסח על היחיד, דברי רבי יהודה. ורבי יוסי מתייר. אפילו חבורה שלמאה שאין יכולין לאכול פניה, אין שוחטין עליהן. ואין עושין חבורת נשים ועבדים וקטנים.
5. היי ידיו שהורות, והסיע את לבו מלאכול, אף על פי שאמר, יודע אני שלא נטמאו ידי, ידיו טמאות, שהידיים עסקניות.
6. אפילו שמע מן הנשים אומרות, מת איש פלוני, דיי.
7. ועד שלא נבחרה ארץ ישראל היו כל הארצות כשרות לדברות, משנבחרה ארץ ישראל יצאו כל הארצות ... ואם תאמר, הן אני את הנביאים שנדבר עמהם בחוצא לארץ, אפ על פי שנדבר עמהם בחוצה לארץ, לא נדבר עמהם אלא בזכות אבות.
8. ומפני מה שרחה שכניה בחלקו של בנימין? שכל השבטים היו שותפים במכירתו של יוסף ובנימין לא היה שותף עמהם, וכל השבטים נולדו בחוץ לארץ ובנימין נולד בארץ ישראל. אף על פי כן, ההרן (סנין) חמד אלהים לשבתו (תהלים סח' ז').
9. אלהים אני לכל באי עולם. אף על פי כן לא ייחדתי שמי אלא על עמי ישראל.
10. ויאמר אל אהרן, קח לך עגל בן בקר לחטאת ויקרא ט' ב', מלמד שאמר לו משה לאהרן, אהרן אחי, אף על פי שנתרצה המקום לכפר על עונותיך, צריך אחה ליתן לתוך פי של שטן.
11. ונתתי גשמיכם בעתם ויקרא כה' ד', ברביעיות. אחה אומר, ברביעיות, או אינו אלא בערבי שבתות? אמרו, אפילו שנים כשני אלהו וגשמים יורדים בערבי שבתות, אינו אלא סימן קללה. הא מה אני מקיים, ונתתי גשמיכם בעתם? ברביעיות.
12. ר' יוסי בן דורמסקיה אומר משל, ביד אדם איסר ופרוטה והוא יושב ומשקלו. ואומר. אקח בו פת, אוכל אני ולא שבע, אקח בו תמרים, שמא אוכל אני ושבע. אף על פי כן, אוכל ולא שבע, שנאמר, ואכלתם ולא תשבעו ויקרא כו' כז'.
13. גדל פרע שער ראשו (במדבר ו' ה'), למה נאמר? לפי שהוא אומר, והיה ביום השביעי יגלח את כל שערו, את ראשו את זקנו ואת גבות עיניו, ויקרא יד' ט', אף הנזיר במשמע, ומה אני מקיים, גדל פרע שער ראשו? בשאר כל המזירים חרץ מן המנוגע? או אף על פי מנוגע? ומה אני מקיים, יגלח את כל שערו? בשאר כל המנוגעים חרץ מן הנזיר? או אף הנזיר? תל, יגלח, אע"פ הנזיר.
14. ר' אלעזר בנו של רבי אלעזר הקפר אומר, גדול השלום, שאפילו ישראל עובדין עבודה זרה ושלום ביניהם, כביכול אמר המקום, אין השטן נוגע בהם, שנאמר, חבור עצבים אפראים הנח לו (הושע ד' ז'), אבל משנחלקו מה נאמר בהם? חלק לכם עתה יאשמו (הושע י' ב'). הא גדול השלום ושנאה מחלוקת.
15. וידבר י' אל משה לאמר, עשה לך שתי חצוצרות כסף (במדבר י' א-ב'). למה נאמרה פרשה זו? לפי שהוא אומר, על פי י' יחנו ועל פי י' יסעו (במדבר ט' כג'), שומע אני, הואיל ותוסעים על פי הדיבר וחנונים על

- פי הדיבר, לא יהיו צריכים חצוצרות. ת"ל, עשה לך שתי חצוצרות כסף.
מגיד הכתוב שאף על פי שנוסעים על פי י' וחונים על פי י', צריכים
היו חצוצרות.
16. מכאן אמר רבי אלעזר המודעי, המחלל את הקדשים והמבזה את
המועדות והמפר בריתו של אברהם אבינו, אע"פ שיש בידו מצות הרבה
כדיי הוא לדחותו מן העולם.
17. ומה אם משה, חכם חכמים, גדול גדולים, אבי דנביאים, אע"פ שידע
שנגזרה עליו גזירה לא מנע עצמו מן הרחמים, קל וחומר לשאר בני אדם.
18. ואבודתם מהרה. ושמתם את דברי אלה ... [דברים י' יז]. אף על פי
שאני מגלה אתכם מן הארץ לחוצה לארץ, ה' מצויינים במצות
שכשחזרו לא יהו עליכם חרשים.
19. המוציא אתכם מארץ מצרים [דברים י' ז]. אפילו אין לו עליך אלא
שהוציאך מארץ מצרים, די.
20. וקראת אליה לשלום [דברים כ' ז]. גדול שלום, שאפילו מתים צריכים
שלום. גדול שלום, שאפילו במלחמתם של ישראל צריכים שלום. גדול
שלום, שדרי רום צריכים שלום, שנאמר. עוש שלום במרומיו [איוב כה א].
גדול שלום, שחותמים בו ברכת כהנים. ואף משה היה אוהב שלום, ואשלח
מלאכים ממדבר קדמות אל סיחון מלך חשבון דברי שלום [דברים ב' כז].

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])

יצרנהו כאישון עינו [דברים לב' ז]. אפילו בקש הקדוש ברוך הוא
מאברהם אבינו גלגל עינו היה נותן לו, ולא גלגל עינו בלבד אלא אף
נפשו שחביבה עליו מן הכל, שנאמר, קח נא את בנך את יחידך ... את
יצחק [בראשית כב' ב]. והלא ידוע שהוא בנו יחיד? אלא זו נפש
שנקראת יחידה, שנאמר, 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 רִחִי' 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 אִלֵּם (Gn 28.19), although -וּ, אִם, and כִּי אִם (in antithetic relationship to a preceding negative) can also be used adversatively; as a restrictive, BH employs אֲשֶׁר and in earlier texts also אֲבָל (Gn 17.19). In LBH, אֲבָל reappears as an adversative conjunction, 'but' (Ezr 10.13).

3. In RH, אֲבָל has become a full adversative and a new particle has developed under the influence of Aramaic: אִלֵּא (אִלֵּא and אִלֵּא). אִלֵּם has disappeared.

New restrictive or exceptive compounds are בְּלִבְדָּשׁ and חוּץ מִשֵּׁשׁ.

III Grammar and usage

4. RH, like BH (see Lv 2.12), evidences widespread use of copulative -וּ with adversative value:

נתן לבניו מתנות ולבנו אחד לא נתן שום מתנה

He gave presents to his sons but to one he gave nothing (SNm 119.2 [H 142]).

A. The value of -וּ is made clear by the flow of thought, when it joins two opposing terms or concepts:

זָקֵן וְרַגִּיל וַיֵּשׁ לוֹ בָּנִים וּבֵיתוֹ רֵיקָם

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:

אָדָם טוֹבֵעַ כְּפֹה מִמְּבַעוֹת בְּחוּתָם אֶחָד וְכֵלָן דּוֹמִין זֶה לָזֶה, וּמְלִךְ מִלְכֵי

המלכים הקדושים ברודף הוא טבע כל האדם בחותמו של אדם הראשון
ואין אחר מהן דומה לחבירו

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 *ו*, the resulting form, for example והוא, usually implies a contrast:

המזמין את חברו שיאכל אצלו והוא אינו מאמינו על המעשרות

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 והוא *ש* introducing a verb that contradicts a preceding claim, as amply demonstrated by the following example:

היכן שוריי? אמר לו, מת, והוא שנשבר, ... נשבר, והוא שמת, ... נשבה,
והוא שמת, ... נגנב, והוא שמת, ... אבד והוא שמת

(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. אָבֵל.

'אָבֵל 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 אָבֵל:

שנים שיושבין ואין ביניהם דברי תורה, הרי זה מושב לצים ...
אָבֵל שנים שיושבין ויש ביניהם דברי תורה, שכניה ביניהם

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 אָבֵל לֹא:

ירדו לצמחין אָבֵל לֹא ירדו לאילין

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 אָבֵל לֹא ... אָלֵא should be carefully distinguished from that of אָלֵא ... אָבֵל (see below, §6). Whereas the former coordinates two clauses ('he didn't do that, but [אָבֵל] he did this') the latter restricts the meaning of a single sentence ('he only did/he did nothing but [אָלֵא] that); see Sanh 1.5, etc.

אָבֵל אִם and אָבֵל בִּ- introduce new hypothetical statements ('but if, but in such a case'):

בְּנֵי הָעִיר שֶׁמָכְרוּ רְחוּבָה שְׁלֵעִיר, לְדַקְחִין בְּדָמָיו בַּיִת הַכֹּנֶסֶת ...
אָבָל אִם מָכְרוּ תּוֹרָה, לֹא יִקְחוּ סִפְרִים

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. אֲלֵא.

This particle has a basically restrictive or exceptive value.

A. **לֹא ... כִּי אֵם ... אֲלֵא** ('not ... but rather') corresponds to BH **לֹא כִּי אֵם** 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 **בְּלֻבָד** 'only' at the end of a clause:

כָּל מָה שֶׁבְּרָא הַקָּדוֹשׁ בְּרוּךְ הוּא בְּעוֹלָמוֹ לֹא בְּרָא אֱלֹהִים לְכַבוֹד

All that the holy one, blessed be he, created in his world, he created exclusively for his glory (Abot 6.11);

שָׁכַן מִצִּיּוֹ בְּדוֹד מֶלֶךְ יִשְׂרָאֵל, שֶׁלֹּא לִמַּד מֵאַחִיתָפֵל אֱלֹהִים שְׁנֵי דְבָרִים
בְּלֻבָד, וּקְרָאוֹ רַבּוֹ

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 **אֲלֵא** following **כִּלְמִים**, in which the latter has an interrogative negative force (see Unit 25.7).

B. **לֹא כִּי אֲלֵא** 'it is not so, but rather; that is not true, instead' is a colloquial formula that mixes BH and Aramaic:

זֶה אוֹמֵר, שׁוֹרֵף הַיֶּקֶב, זֶה אוֹמֵר, לֹא כִּי אֱלֵא בְּסַלַע לְקָה

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);

הַלֶּחֶם מַעֲכָב אֶת הַכֶּבֶשִׂים ... אָמַר שְׁמַעוֹן בֶּן נָנַס, לֹא כִּי אֱלֵא
הַכֶּבֶשִׂין מַעֲכָבִין אֶת הַלֶּחֶם

The bread invalidates the lambs ... R. Simeon ben Nannas said, It is not so, rather, the lambs invalidate the bread (Men 4.3).

C. **אֲלֵא ... אֵין** 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 order to prove that **כְּבוֹד** is to be identified with **תּוֹרָה**, Pr 3.35 and 28.10 are cited; from these it is deduced that **כְּבוֹד** is identified with **טוֹב**; then, Pr 4.2 is adduced to show that **טוֹב** is identified with **תּוֹרָה**; hence, if **כְּבוֹד** is the same as **טוֹב** and **טוֹב** is the same as **תּוֹרָה**, it follows that **כְּבוֹד** and **תּוֹרָה** must also be the same:

וְאֵין כְּבוֹד אֱלֵא תּוֹרָה, שְׁנֵאמַר, כְּבוֹד חֲכָמִים יִנְחַלּוּ [מִשְׁלֵי ג' ל"ה],
וְחֲכָמִים יִנְחַלּוּ טוֹב [מִשְׁלֵי כ"ח י"ז], וְאֵין טוֹב אֱלֵא תּוֹרָה, שְׁנֵאמַר,
כִּי לְקַח טוֹב נִתְּתִי לְכֶם תּוֹרָתִי אֵל תַּעֲזֹבוּ [מִשְׁלֵי ד' ב']

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 [Pr 4.2].

Examples of such reasoning are widespread in the tannaitic *midrashim*:

אין מעילה בכל מקום אלא שיקור

Offence always means Infidelity (SNm 7.5 [H 11]);

ואין ברית אלא תורה

Covenant means Torah (SNm 111.1 [H 116]);

אין פלילים אלא דינים

Pelilim [Dt 32.31] are the judges (Mek 21.22 [L 3.66]);

אין נזירה אלא הפרשה

Abstinence implies separation (SLv 15.31 [W 79b]).

אין ת"ל ... אין תלמוד לומר ... אלא, a common formula associated with the school of Rabbi Ishmael, has to be understood in the same way. It does not reject the text introduced by ת"ל, but assigns it a new meaning; generally speaking, the formula may be rendered as 'this text only signifies that', 'it only teaches that', etc.:

אין ת"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 *מה ת"ל* between *אין ת"ל* and *אלא*, resulting in the somewhat overloaded sequence *מה ת"ל? אין ת"ל, א' מה ת"ל, א? אלא*, the point being to emphasize that the 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 הוא that is the object of interpretation:

טמא הוא [במדבר י"ט ט"ז]. אין ת"ל, טמא הוא. מה ת"ל, טמא הוא?
אלא הוא שיציל על עצמו צמיד פחיל באהל המת, יציל על עצמו צמיד
פחיל 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:

בו ביום דרש רבי עקיבא, אז ישיר משה ובני ישראל את הדת השריה

הזאת לר' יאמר לומר [שמות טו א']. שאין תלמוד לומר, לאמר.
ומה תלמוד לומר, לאמר? מלמד שהיו ישראל עונים אחריו
ש'למשה על כל דבר ודבר

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).

D. אֲלֵאָּ does not always have to follow a negative. Thus, אֲלֵאָּ, or אֲלֵאָּ־שׁ, even without a preceding negative, still has an obviously restrictive function, 'except that, in contrast, however, in fact', attested in both Mishnah and *midrashim*:

אמר רבי אליעזר, שמעתי כשהיו בונים בהיכל עושים קלעים להיכל
וקלעים לעזרות, אלא שבבהיכל בונים מבחוץ ובקורה בונים מבפנים
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);

וידשתם גוים גדולים ועצומים מכם [דברים י"א כג]. אף אתם
גדולים ועצומים, אלא שהם גדולים 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, מן היה משתנה להם לישראל לכל דבר שרוצים,
אלא שלא היו רואים בעיניהם אלא מן
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.

In the tannaitic *midrashim*, אֲלֵאָּ and אֲלֵאָּ־שׁ may begin an interpretation immediately after a text has been cited, as at SDt 159 (F 210):

ולא ירבה לו נשים [דברים י"ז ד], אלא שמנה 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 אֲלֵאָּ is used in response to the explicitly-presented question למה נאמר or מה תלמוד לומר:

ומה תלמוד לומר, במועדו [במדבר כח ב']? אלא מופנה להקיש ולרדן
ממנו גזירה שדה

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 אֵלָא at the beginning of an answer to a question always marks a contrast that is more or less amenable to translation:

מָה בֵּין נִדְרִים לְנִדְבוֹת? אֵלָא שְׁנֵי נִדְרִים, מִתּוֹ אוֹ נִגְנְבוּ, חִיבִים בְּאַחֲרֵיהֶם, וְנִדְבוֹת, מִתּוֹ אוֹ נִגְנְבוּ, אֵין חִיבִים בְּאַחֲרֵיהֶן

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. וּבִלְבָד ש-

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:

הָרִי הַמְּעוֹת הָאֵלֶּי נַחֲתִים לְךָ בְּמַתְנֶה וּבִלְבָד שְׁלֹא יִהְיֶה לְבַעֲלֶיךָ רֵשׁוֹת בְּהֵן

Look, this money is given to you as a gift provided that your husband cannot use it (Ned 11.8);

רַבִּי יְהוּדָה אוֹמֵר, מֵרַבָּה הוּא לוֹ (נָשִׁים) וּבִלְבָד שְׁלֹא יְהוּ מְסִירוֹת אֶת לְבוֹ

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. חוץ מן.

This expression introduces an exception:

מִפְּנֵי מַה הַמָּן מִשְׁתַּנֶּה לָהֶם לְכָל דָּבָר שֶׁהָיוּ רוֹצִים חוּץ מִחֲמִשְׁת מִיָּנִים הַלָּלוּ

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 אֵלָא:

אֵין מְבִיאִין בְּכוֹרִים חוּץ מִשְׁבַּעַת הַמִּגִּים

One may only bring firstfruits from the seven kinds (Bik 1.3).

In general, חוץ מן comes before a noun and is not, therefore, strictly speaking, a conjunction (which joins clauses together). However, occasionally we find חוץ מן-ש- introducing an adjectival or relative clause:

הַכֹּל יִפְדָּה וַיֹּאכַל בְּפָנִים חוּץ מִשְׁנַטְמָא בְּאֵב הַטְּמֵאָה בְּחוּץ

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

9. אֵין לִי אֵלָא is a formula from rabbinic dialectic, with the לִי signalling a personal view, 'for me, in my opinion', which goes against the tone of the biblical text. The most frequently found context is

אֵין לִי אֵלָא א. ב' מִנִּין? תִּלְמוּד לֹמֵר ...

where א and ב are the two possible interpretations:

וְאִם בְּאֵבן יָד אֲשֶׁר יָמוּת בָּהּ הַכְהוֹ וַיָּמוּת רֹצֵחַ הוּא מוֹת יוֹמָת הַרֹצֵחַ

[במדבר לה' יז] ... אין לי אלא שהרגו באבן שיהא חייב. גלגל עליו
 סלעים ועמודים מנין? ת"ל, רוצח הוא מות ימת 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 con-
 demned 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 cir-
 cumstance (SNm 160.6 [H 217]);

לא יתיצב איש בפניכם [דברים י' כה]. אין לי אלא איש. אומה
 ומשפחה אשה בכשפיה מנין? תלמוד לומר, לא יתיצב איש, מכל
 מקום. אם כן, למה נאמר, איש? 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 opportu-
 nity is offered to look for a further meaning, which transcends the merely lit-
 eral.

10. ... אלא? ... איפשר ש- 'but is it possible that...? In fact, ...', ex-
 presses a reaction to a biblical text that is, if taken literally, absurd or scan-
 dalous (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
 own death), with אלא introducing a more appropriate interpretation:

בשנאת יי אחנו [דברים א' כז]. איפשר שהמקום שנא את ישראל?
 והלא כבר נאמר, אהבתי אתכם אמר יי [מלאכי א' ב]? אלא הם
 ששנאים 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. [Ml
 1.2]? It is they who are the ones that hate Y.!(SDt 24 [F 34]).

(Further examples, including SDt 359, can be found in the exercise texts.)

V Vocabulary

אוֹכֵדֵן 'destruction'

הִגִּיז (hi. of גִּזַּז [BH גִּזַּז]) 'bring, drag'

מֵדִי 'Media'

מִמֶּשׁ 'reality'; used adverbially, 'in reality'

מִשְׁנֵה הַתּוֹרָה 'copy of the law'; in rabbinic idiom, מִשְׁנֵה הַתּוֹרָה means

'Deuteronomy' (the 'second law')

פְּטִירָה 'exit, farewell, death'

רַבִּי עֲקִיבָא 'Rabbi Akiba', abbreviation of רַבִּי עֲקִיבָא

שְׁבִיטָה 'sabbath rest'

שָׁמַע 'listen, obey'; in halakhic idiom, also 'interpret, permit'

VI Exercises

1. רַבִּי שְׁמַעוֹן אוֹמֵר, שְׁלֹשָׁה שָׂאֵלוּ עַל שְׁלֶחֶן אֶחָד וְלֹא אָמְרוּ עֲלָיו דְּבָרֵי תוֹרָה, כִּי לֹא אָכְלוּ מִזֶּבְחֵי מִזְבֵּי, שְׁנֵאמַר, כִּי כָּל-שְׁלֶחֶנוֹת מְלֹאוֹ קִיא צֹאָה בְּלִי מְקוֹם [שְׂעִיָּה כ"ח ח.], אֲבָל שְׁלֹשָׁה שָׂאֵלוּ עַל שְׁלֶחֶן אֶחָד וְאָמְרוּ עֲלָיו דְּבָרֵי תוֹרָה, כִּי לֹא אָכְלוּ מִשְׁלַחֲנוֹ שְׁלֶמְקוֹם בְּרוּךְ הוּא, שְׁנֵאמַר, וַיְדַבֵּר אֵלַי זֶה הַשְּׁלֶחֶן אֲשֶׁר לִפְנֵי "יַחֲזַקְאֵל מֵא' כ"ז].
2. אָמַר רַבִּי יוֹסֵי בֶן קִיסְמָא, פְּעַם אַחַת הָיִיתִי מֵהַלֵּךְ בְּדַרְךָ, וּפְנַע בִּי אָדָם אֶחָד וְנָתַן לִי שְׁלוֹם וְהִחֲזַרְתִּי לוֹ שְׁלוֹם. אָמַר לִי, רַבִּי, מֵאִיזָה מְקוֹם אָתָּה? אָמַרְתִּי לוֹ, מַעִיר גְּדוּלָּה שְׁלַחְכֵּמִים וְשְׁלִסְפָּרִים אָנִי. אָמַר לִי, רַבִּי, רְצוֹנְךָ שְׁתַּדוּר עֲפָנִי בְּמִקְוֵמוֹ, וְאֲנִי אֲתֵן לְךָ אֶלֶף אֶלְפִים דִּינָרֵי זָהָב וְאֲבָנִים טוֹבוֹת וּמְרַגְלִיּוֹת. אָמַרְתִּי לוֹ, בְּנִי, אִם אָתָּה נֹתֵן לִי כָּל כֶּסֶף וְזָהָב וְאֲבָנִים טוֹבוֹת וּמְרַגְלִיּוֹת שְׁבַע עוֹלָם, אֵינִי דָר אֶלָּא בְּמִקְוֵם תוֹרָה, לִפִּי שְׁבַשְׁעַת פְּטִירְתוֹ שְׁלֵאֲדָם אֵין מְלוּיִן לוֹ לְאָדָם לֹא כֶּסֶף וְלֹא זָהָב וְלֹא אֲבָנִים טוֹבוֹת וּמְרַגְלִיּוֹת, אֶלָּא תוֹרָה וּמַעֲשִׂים טוֹבִים בְּלִבְךָ.
3. רַבִּי אֱלִיעֶזֶר בֶּן יַעֲקֹב אוֹמֵר, מוֹשְׁכִים אַתְּ הַמֵּים מֵאִילָן לְאִילָן, וְכַלְבֵּד שְׁלֵא יִשְׁקָה אַתְּ כָּל הַשָּׂדֶה.
4. הַפֶּל מִטְּמֵאִין בְּנִגְעִים, חוּץ מִן הַגּוֹיִם וְגַר תּוֹשֵׁב. הַפֶּל כְּשֵׁרִים לְרֵאוֹת אַתְּ הַנִּגְעִים, אֶלָּא שֶׁהַטְּמֵאָה וְהַפְּתִירָה בִּידֵי כָהֵן.
5. נִכְרֵי שְׂבָא לִכְבוֹת, אֵין אוֹמְרִים לוֹ, כְּבֹדִי, וְ, אֵל הַכְּבוֹד, מִפְּנֵי שְׂאִין שְׁבִיתָתוֹ עֲלֵיהֶן, אֲבָל קָטָן שְׂבָא לִכְבוֹת, אֵין שׁוֹמְעִין לוֹ, מִפְּנֵי שְׁשִׁבִיתָתוֹ עֲלֵיהֶן.
6. אָמַר לְאֶחָד בְּשׁוּק, הֵיכָן שׁוֹרֵי שְׁנִיבָתָ? וְהוּא אוֹמֵר, לֹא נִגְבַּחְתִּי, וְהַעֲדִים מַעֲדִין אוֹחוֹ שְׁנִיבָו, מִשְׁלֵם תְּשִׁלוּמֵי כֶּסֶף.
7. שְׁלַח לוֹ שְׁמַעוֹן בֶּן שִׁטָּח, אֵל מְלֹא חוֹנֵי אִתָּה, גְּזוּרְנֵי עֲלִידָה גְדוּי. אֲבָל מָה אַעֲשֶׂה לְךָ, שְׂאִתָּה מִחֲחִטָּא לִפְנֵי הַמְּקוֹם וְעוֹשֶׂה לְךָ רְצוֹנְךָ כִּבְּן שְׂהוּא מִחֲחִטָּא עַל אֲבִיו וְעוֹשֶׂה לוֹ רְצוֹנוֹ.
8. וַיִּרְדּוּ כָל עַבְדֵיךָ אֱלֹהִים ... [שְׁמוֹת י"א ח.], שְׂאִין תִּלְמוּד לּוֹמַר, אֱלֹהִים, אֶלָּא שְׁטוּפֵךְ עֲתִיד לִירֵד בְּרֵאשֵׁם. אֶלָּא שְׁמֵשָׁה חֵלֶק כְּבוֹד לְמַלְכוּת.
9. הַיּוֹם אַתֶּם יוֹצֵאִים בְּחֹדֶשׁ הָאָבִיב [שְׁמוֹת י"ג ד.], שְׂאִין תִּלְמוּד לּוֹמַר, חֹדֶשׁ הָאָבִיב, אֶלָּא, חֹדֶשׁ שְׁהוּא כֶּשֶׁר לָכֶם, לֹא חֹמָה קִשָּׁה וְלֹא גִשְׁמִים, וְכֵן הוּא אוֹמֵר, אֱלֹהִים מוֹשִׁיב יַחֲדִים בֵּיתָה, מוֹצֵיא אֲסִירִים בְּכּוֹשֵׁרוֹת, [תְּהִלִּים ס"ז ז.], שְׂאִין תִּלְמוּד לּוֹמַר, בְּכּוֹשֵׁרוֹת, אֶלָּא, חֹדֶשׁ שְׁהוּא כֶּשֶׁר לָכֶם, לֹא חֹמָה קִשָּׁה וְלֹא גִשְׁמִים.
10. בִּידוֹ [שְׁמוֹת כ"א טז.], אֵין בִּידוֹ אֶלָּא רְשׁוֹתוֹ, וְאִפֵּי עַל פִּי שְׂאִין רֵאוּיָה לְדַבֵּר, זָכַר לְדַבֵּר, וַיִּקַּח כָּל אֲרָצוֹ מִיָּדוֹ [בְּמַדְבַּר כ"א כו.], וְאוֹמַר, וַיִּקַּח הָעֶבֶד עֲשֶׂה גַמְלִים מִגַּמְלֵי אֲדוֹנָיו וַיִּלְךְ וְכָל טוֹב אֲדוֹנָיו בִּידוֹ [בְּרֵאשִׁית כ"ד ז.], הֵא אֵין יָדוֹ בְּכָל מְקוֹם אֶלָּא רְשׁוֹתוֹ.

11. רבי דוסא אומר, הרי הוא אומר, כי לא יראני האדם וחי [שמות לג' כ'], בחייהו אינן רואים, אבל רואין במיתהו.
12. בני ישראל מניפין ואין בנות ישראל מניפות. ואין לי אלא בני ישראל. מנין לרבות הגרים, העברים, המשחררים? תלמוד לומר, המקריב [ויקרא ז' כט].
13. ואבדתם בגוים [ויקרא כו' לח]. ר"ע אומר, אילו י" שבטים שגלו למדי אחרים אומרים, ואבדתם בגוים, אין אובדן אלא גולה. יכול אובדן ממש? כשזוהא אומר, ואכלה אתכם ארץ איביכם [ויקרא כו' לח], הרי אובדן ממש אמור. הא מה אני מקיים, ואבדתם בגוים? אין אובדן אלא גולה.
14. ואין שופר אלא של חירות, שנאמר, והיה ביום ההוא יתקע בשופר גדול... [ישעיה כז' ג]. אבל איני יודע מי תוקעו. ת"ל, וי' אלהים בשופר יתקע [זכריה ט' ד].
15. ויהי העם [במדבר י"א א]. אין העם אלא הרשעים, שנאמר, מה אעשה לעם הזה? [שמות יז' ד]. עד אנא ינאצוני העם הזה [במדבר יד' יא]... וכשקוראן, עמי, אין עמי אלא כשרים, שנאמר, שלח עמי ועבדני [שמות ז' טז]...
16. ומדוע לא יראתם לדבר בעבדי במשה? [במדבר יב' ח]. אין ת"ל, בעבדי במשה, אלא שתחת שדברתם בי דברתם בעבדי משה. משל, למה הדבר דומה? למלך בשר ודם שהיה לו אפוטרופוס במדינה והיו בני המדינה מדברים בפניו. אמר להם המלך, לא בעבדי דברתם אלא בי דברתם, ואם תאמרו, איני מכיר במעשיו, זו קשה מן הראשונה.
17. לא אוכל לבדי שאח אתכם [דברים א' ט]. איפשר שלא היה משה יכול לדון את ישראל, אדם שהוציאם ממצרים וקרע להם את הים והוריד להם את המן והגזיז להם את השליו ועשה להם נסים ונבורות, ולא היה יכול לדונם? אלא כך אמר להם, י' אלהיכם הרבה אתכם על גבי דיניכם.
18. וכתב לו את משנה התורה [דברים יז' ח]. אין לי אלא משנה תורה, שאר דברי תורה מנין? תלמוד לומר, לשמור את כל דברי התורה הזאת ואת החקים האלה לעשתם [דברים יז' יט]. אם כן, למה נאמר, משנה התורה? שעתידה להשתנות. אחרים אומרים, אין קוראים ביום הקהל אלא משנה תורה בלבד.
19. ואם איש עני הוא [דברים כד' יב]. אין לי אלא עני, עשיר מנין? תלמוד לומר, ואם איש. אם כן, למה נאמר, עני? ממהר אני ליפרע על ידי עני יחזר מן העשיר.
20. וימת שם משה [דברים לד' ה], איפשר שמת משה וכתב, וימת שם משה? אלא עד כאן כתב משה, מיכן ואילך כתב יהושע. רבי מאיר אומר, הרי הוא אומר, ויכתוב משה את התורה הזאת [דברים לא' ט]. איפשר שנתן משה את התורה כשהיא חסירה אפילו אות אחת? אלא מלמד שהיה משה כותב מה שאמר לו הקדוש 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; Ramat-Gan, 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. Šarfatti, 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^éš.*= *L^éšon-énu*; *LS1, LS2-3, LS4, LSS-6*=M. Bar-Asher (ed.), *Language studies [Meḥ-qarim 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. Šarfatti, 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 für 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

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