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## Some More Delocutives in Hebrew

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In 1967, D. R. Hillers called attention to the phenomenon of delocutive verbs in Biblical Hebrew.<sup>1</sup> Delocutives are similar to denominatives but, instead of being derived from nouns, they are derived from locutions or formulas used in discourse. Thus English "to hail" and "to welcome" are derived from the greetings "Hail!" and "Welcome!" Similarly, Latin *salutare* is derived not from the vocable *salus* 'well' but from the wish *salus/salutem* 'Hail!' with which one greets another; and Arabic has such verbs as *kabbara* 'to say 'allah 'akbar'; *sallama* 'to say 'as-salam 'alaykum'; and *basmala* 'to utter the invocation *bismillahi 'ar-rahman 'ar-rahim* ('In the name of God, the Beneficent, the Merciful').<sup>2</sup>

*Author's note:* I am grateful to W. Randall Garr and Michael Sokoloff, who helped me clarify the issues discussed here, though they are not responsible for my formulation or conclusions.

1. D. R. Hillers, "Delocutive Verbs in Biblical Hebrew," *JBL* 86 (1967) 320-24. Hillers borrowed the term from the linguist E. Benveniste. Medieval Hebrew grammarians were aware of the possibility of delocutive verbs; several of them consider וַתִּהְיֶינָה in Deut 1:41 to be derived from הִנְנוּ in Num 14:40 or from הֵן 'yes!'; see Rashi, Rashbam, Ibn Ezra, and Bekhor Shor at Deut 1:41; Radaq, ספר השורשים (*Rabbi Davidis Kimchi Radicum Liber*) (ed. J. H. R. Biesenthal and F. Lebrecht; Berlin, 1847) 79, s.v. הֵן; and H. Filipowski, מחברת מנחם (*Antiquissimum Linguae Hebraicae et Chaldaicae Lexicon . . . a Menahem Ben Saruck Hispaniensi*) (London and Edinburgh: self-published, 1854) 72, s.v. הֵן; cf. Aquila, cited by M. Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy 1-11* (AB 5; New York: Doubleday, 1991) at Deut 1:41. In modern times, it has been suggested that the Christian Palestinian Aramaic verb שַׁעֲנֵן is derived from הוֹשַׁע-נָא 'O deliver!' though this derivation is debated (F. Schwally, *Idioticon des christlich palästinischen Aramäisch* [Giessen: Ricker, 1893] 97; F. Schulthess, *Grammatik des christlich-palästinischen Aramäisch* [Tübingen: Mohr, Siebeck, 1924] 146).

2. Hillers, "Delocutive Verbs." Cf. also Latin *benedicere* 'bless', which according to E. Partridge means 'say bene, well': *Origins: A Short Etymological Dictionary of Modern English* (New York: Macmillan, 1959) 153.

Hillers argued that several *Hiphil* and *Piel* verbs in Biblical Hebrew are best explained as delocutives and not simply declaratives. The most impressive example, in my opinion, is אָשַׁר (*Piel*) 'to say אָשַׁר ("how fortunate") to/ of someone'.<sup>3</sup> Hillers' list can be supplemented by the Talmudic Hebrew verb קָלַם (*Piel*) 'praise', which Saul Lieberman explained as meaning literally 'say *kalos* ("beautiful!")', a Greek loanword.<sup>4</sup>

Some verbs that are not derived in the first place from locutions have specific nuances that are. For example, the *Piels* of חָזַק and אָמַץ, which both normally mean 'strengthen' (Isa 35:3, Job 4:4), also have a delocutive sense, 'say the formula חָזַק or חָזַק וְאָמַץ "be strong" or "be strong and resolute" to someone'.<sup>5</sup> In English, we could translate the idiom as 'to *hazaq* (or *hazaq ve'emas*) someone'. This sense is found in such passages as Deut 1:38 and 3:28, where God commands Moses, with reference to Joshua, אֹרְחוֹ חָזַק, and חֻזְקוֹ וְאָמְצוֹהוּ. That these commands mean 'say (וְאָמַץ) חָזַק ("be strong [and resolute]!") to him', not 'imbue him with strength (and courage)' (נְנַסְוּ), is clear from Deut 31:7, where Moses carries out this instruction by saying to Joshua, חָזַק וְאָמַץ (cf. 31:23 and Josh 1:6–9, 18).

The *Piel* and *Hiphil* forms of קָדַשׁ seem to have delocutive nuances in Jewish liturgy. The Kedushah, the angelic declaration of Isa 6:3, is regularly introduced by passages declaring the worshipers' intent or the angels' preparations to recite it, expressed by נִקְדָּשׁ and נִקְדָּשׁ. The introduction to the קְדוּשַׁת יוֹצֵר, the Kedushah before the Shema in the morning service, describes the angels preparing "להקדישׁ their Creator" and then reciting the Kedushah. Similarly, in the Kedushah of the Shaḥarit 'Amidah, the worshipers' declaration "נִקְדָּשׁ Your name on earth . . ." is followed by their reciting the same passage. In these contexts, the verbs probably do not mean 'sanctify' or 'declare holy', but "recite מְלֵא כֹל הָאָרֶץ, מֵלֵא כֹל הָאָרֶץ, מֵלֵא כֹל הָאָרֶץ" 'Holy, holy, holy! The Lord of Hosts! His presence fills all the earth!'—in short, "to *qados* God."<sup>6</sup>

3. Gen 30:13; Mal 3:12; Ps 41:3, 72:17; Prov 31:28; Job 29:11; Cant 6:9.

4. S. Lieberman, *קלם קלוסין*, in *עלי עי"ן* (Salman Schocken Festschrift; Jerusalem, 1951–52) 75–81. The Talmudic verb should not be confused with biblical קָלַם 'scorn, mock'.

5. The formula is common; see, for example, 2 Sam 10:12, Isa 41:6, Hag 2:4, Ps 27:14, Ezra 10:4.

6. Note the paraphrases in the commentary of Y. Weingarten, *הסדר המפורש השלם*, Sephardic version (Jerusalem: Gefen, 5751/1991): לומר קדושה = להקדיש ליוצרים; נאמר לפניך (p. 128); נקדישך (in the Sephardic text of the Shaḥarit 'Amidah) = קדושה (p. 148). This meaning is confirmed for the Shaḥarit 'Amidah by the *Seder Rav Amram*, where the wording is: יחד כולם קדושה לך ישלשו. The introduction to the Kedushah in the Musaf service, בעריצך ונקדישך, based on *Sop.* 16:12 and the Siddur of Saadia Gaon, might suggest that נקדישך here has a declarative meaning, since בעריצך must mean something like 'declare Your awesomeness'. However, this wording is an

However, the picture is complicated. קָדַשׁ appears in a string of verbs in a specific formula. For example, that all the angels open their mouths and declare sovereign God's name in a string refers to a specific formula. קָדַשׁ קָדַשׁ קָדַשׁ קָדַשׁ would understand the verb to be a

Similar possibilities and problems exist for the *Piel*. Often, it seems possible to translate בָּרַךְ (or: יְבָרַךְ ה')—in other words—rather than 'to bless'. When the Lord frequently says בָּרַךְ פְּלוֹנִי לַה' 'may the Lord bless you . . .' or 'may the Lord bless you . . . לֵאלֵלֶיךָ עֲלִיךָ' 'he b̄rkd-ed him, High'" (Gen 14:19); and . . . בָּרַךְ ה' . . . בָּרַךְ ה' 21:5, לְבָרַךְ means 'recite the prayer that the Lord bless you and protect you'. In Hebrew, Phoenician, and Aramaic, one uses the *Piel* of בָּרַךְ and the formula that the *Piel* (with human subject) means 'may the name of the Lord be upon you'. In Ps 118:26, 'אֵלֵינוּ כַּשֵּׁם ה'' 'name of the Lord' is parallel to 'house of the Lord' (cf. Ps 122:1). In the blessing of the Lord be upon you, בָּרַכְתָּ ה' עֲלֵינוּ is yet another formula. In the pithoi from Kuntillet Ajrud, while votive inscriptions refer to the Lord', while votive inscriptions refer to the Lord' (בר(ו)ך פְּלוֹנִי לַה' 'may so-and-

allusion to Isa 29:23, and it probably is based on the biblical verse.

7. For this translation, cf. S. Lieberman, "Biblical Prayer," *HUCA* 32 (1968) 10–11. *dresses* (Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 1968).

8. See also 2 Sam 6:18; 1 Chron 16:36. 24:13b presumably refers to a prayer. 2 Sam 2:5; Ruth 2:20, 3:10. 2 Sam 15:13a and Ruth 2:4b (but see also Ruth 2:4c).

9. See Arad letters 16:2–3, 16:4, 16:5, and elsewhere cited in S. Ahituv, *Arad Letters* (Encyclopaedia Library 7; Jerusalem: The Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1982).



However, the picture is complicated by passages in which the *Hiphil* of קדש appears in a string of verbs that refer to praising God, not to reciting a specific formula. For example, shortly before the קדושת יוצר, the text reads that all the angels open their mouths and מברכים ומשבחים ומפארים ומעריצים 'bless, praise, glorify, declare awesome, sanctify, and declare sovereign God's name'. Since none of the other verbs in this string refers to a specific formula, it is difficult to insist that here מקדישים means 'recite קדוש קדוש קדוש'. This leaves us uncertain that worshipers would understand the verb to have that meaning a few lines further on.

Similar possibilities and problems arise in connection with the use of ברך (*Piel*). Often, it seems possible to understand the verb as meaning 'to recite . . . ברוך (or: 'יברכך ה')—in other words 'to *baruk*, or to *yebarekka*, so-and-so—rather than 'to bless'. When a person blesses (מברך) another, the blessing frequently says ברוך פלוני לה or 'יברכך ה' 'may so-and-so be blessed by the Lord' or 'may the Lord bless you'. Two examples are: ויברכהו ויאמר ברוך אברם . . . לאל עליון 'he ברוך-ed him, saying: "May Abram be ברוך by God Most High"' (Gen 14:19); and . . . 'ואברך את ה' 'I ברוך-ed the Lord' (Gen 24:48), referring to v. 27, . . . ויאמר ברוך ה' 'he said, . . . 'ברוך ה'. In Deut 10:8 and 21:5, לברך means 'recite the priestly benediction, וישמרך . . . 'may the Lord bless you and protect you . . ."' (Num 6:23–26). The fact that Hebrew, Phoenician, and Aramaic employ two alternative blessing formulas, one using the *Piel* of ברך and the other its passive participle ברוך, also implies that the *Piel* (with human subject) is delocutive, based on the passive participle. In Ps 118:26, ברוך הכא בשם ה' 'may he who enters be blessed in the name of the Lord'<sup>7</sup> is paralleled by ברכנוכם מבית ה' 'we ברך you from the house of the Lord' (cf. Ps 129:8, ברכנו אתכם בשם ה' // ברכת ה' עליכם 'the blessing of the Lord be upon you // we bless you in the name of the Lord'; ברכת ה' עליכם is yet another blessing formula).<sup>8</sup> In the Arad letters and the pithoi from Kuntillet Ajrud, we find ברכתך/ברכת אתכם לה 'I ברך you to the Lord', while votive inscriptions from Ajrud and elsewhere use the formula ברוך פלוני לה 'may so-and-so be blessed by the Lord'.<sup>9</sup> These equivalences

allusion to Isa 29:23, and it probably represents a secondary expansion of נקדישך, based on the biblical verse.

7. For this translation, cf. Sheldon H. Blank, "Some Observations concerning Biblical Prayer," *HUCA* 32 (1961) 75–79; idem, *Prophetic Thought: Essays and Addresses* (Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 1977) 77–80.

8. See also 2 Sam 6:18; 1 Chr 23:13; 1 Kgs 8:14–15, 55–56; cf. Isa 19:25. Deut 24:13b presumably refers to a prayer or wish like those in 1 Sam 23:21, 25:32–33; 2 Sam 2:5; Ruth 2:20, 3:10. 2 Kgs 4:29 probably refers to greetings like those in 1 Sam 15:13a and Ruth 2:4b (but see also Ruth 2:4a).

9. See Arad letters 16:2–3, 21:2, 40:3, and the inscriptions from Kuntillet Ajrud and elsewhere cited in S. Ahituv, *Handbook of Ancient Hebrew Inscriptions* (The Biblical Encyclopaedia Library 7; Jerusalem: Bialik, 1992) 70, 76, 88, 111, 116, 153, 157, 202.

imply that the verb כָּרַךְ was understood as meaning 'to recite . . . בָּרוּךְ (or: 'יְבָרַךְ ה''). In rabbinic literature and liturgy, the finite verb often means to recite a specific blessing beginning with ה' בָּרוּךְ אַתָּה ה' 'may you be blessed, O Lord' (in the sense of 'may you be praised', 'thank you'),<sup>10</sup> such as the blessing over wine or the blessing after meals.

Here, too, however, the picture is complicated by the fact that there are also blessings introduced by the verb כָּרַךְ that do not include בָּרוּךְ or יְבָרַךְ. For example, in Gen 24:60, וַיְבָרְכוּ אֶת רֵבֶקָה וַיֹּאמְרוּ לָהּ אַחֹתֵנוּ אַתְּ הִי לֵאלֹפִי וַיְבָרְכוּ אֶת שַׁעַר שְׁנַיִם וַיֹּאמְרוּ לָהּ אַחֹתֵנוּ אַתְּ הִי לֵאלֹפִי וַיְבָרְכוּ אֶת שַׁעַר שְׁנַיִם וַיֹּאמְרוּ לָהּ אַחֹתֵנוּ אַתְּ הִי לֵאלֹפִי 'and they blessed Rebekah and said to her, "O sister! May you grow into thousands of myriads; may your offspring seize the gates of their foes"'.<sup>11</sup> There are also passages in which we find the cognate accusative phrase כָּרַךְ בְּרָכָה 'to recite (lit., "bless") a blessing'.<sup>12</sup> In such cases, the verb must mean simply 'bless', 'recite a blessing', and we therefore cannot rule out the possibility that it was understood that way in all cases.

Whatever the precise nuance of כָּרַךְ and קָדַשׁ in such cases, I am happy to join in this expression of blessing to בָּרוּךְ Levine, who has done so much to clarify the history and meaning of blessing and worship in the Bible.

10. See M. Greenberg, *Biblical Prose Prayer as a Window to the Popular Religion of Ancient Israel* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983) 34-36; A. B. Ehrlich, *Mikrā Ki-pheshutō* (reprinted New York: Ktav, 1969), at Deut 8:10.

11. See also Gen 27:27-30, 32:27, 35:9-12, 48:2-3; Deut 33:1; 1 Sam 2:20.

12. For example, Gen 27:41; m. *Pesah.* 10:9; m. *Tamid* 5:1. As Hillers notes, "the situation is complicated by the presence of the noun *berakhah*, which may have figured in the derivation, and by the state of affairs with respect to this verb in other Semitic languages, where it also exhibits peculiarities" (Hillers, "Delocutive Verbs," 324). B. A. Levine notes that "No satisfactory etymology for the verb *bērēk* has been proposed. It is possible that the verb and the participial forms . . . are all denominative of *berākāh*, 'gift, blessing'"; *Numbers 1-20* (AB 4A; New York: Doubleday, 1993) 227.

## Poetry and Prose

ROB

From the standpoint of literary criticism, some of the most frustrating problems in the Bible. On the one hand, the boundaries between poetry and prose in the book are relatively obvious. Scholars have long agreed that Jeremiah contains both poetic oracles and biographical prose narratives. On the other hand, there is additional material: first, there are poetic oracles that are biographical in character. Third, there is additional prose material that is biographical in character.<sup>1</sup> On the one hand, scholars have long agreed on the distinction to be made between poetic oracles and biographical prose. In the book, they have been used to distinguish between the two different types of material. The distinction between poetic oracles and biographical prose is not always clear, and the two types of material often overlap.

This scholarly debate has been particularly acute in the case of the biographical prose, and the status of the poetic component of Jeremiah. The problem is that this material can be isolated from the rest of the book, and it is often treated as poetry-prose. The problem in Jeremiah is that the poetic oracles and the biographical

1. This characterization of the problem has been taken up by scholars interested in reconstructing the history of the text, seeking to deal with the text solely in terms of its literary form. "Jeremiah and Ezekiel," *The Literary Criticism of the Bible* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1977) 100-101.