THE PROLEPTIC DATIVE PRONOUN IN TANNAITIC LANGUAGE

Abstract: This paper describes the verbal construction that contains the proleptic dative pronoun, such as in the sentence: 'א אמר ל ו לב (lit. ‘A said to him to B’), in which the dative pronoun לו is co-referential with the prepositional phrase following it – ב. This construction comes in place of the standard construction 'א אמ ר לב (lit. ‘A said to B’). The paper examines all 262 occurrences of this pronoun in all the compositions of the Tannaitic literature. Chapter 2 examines several aspects of the use of the proleptic dative pronoun: a presentation of the inventory of the forms of the pronoun (2.1), a characterization of the linguistic components that accompany it (2.2), a clarification regarding its syntactic position (2.3), and an exploration of the role of the pronoun (2.4). The last section (2.5) presents the differences between the various traditions of the compositions as regards the use of the pronoun.

Keywords: proleptic dative pronoun; tannaitic language; types of verbs; types of contexts; the verb אמר; manuscripts of Mishna; traditions of the Tosefta

1. Introduction

1.1. The Definition of the Proleptic Dative Pronoun

The proleptic (anticipatory or cataphoric) pronoun is a pronoun that precedes the noun that it refers to (Rodrigue-Schwarzwald and Sokoloff 1992: 18). This pronoun appears in different languages in varied syntactic constructions.1 In Hebrew, two syntactic constructions that contain the proleptic pronoun are especially prominent. One is the noun phrase in the

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1 Numerous studies describe various syntactic structures with a proleptic pronoun in various languages. For example, Fraser 2001 discusses the structure in ancient Greek found in classical languages, in which a reporting verb appears followed by an object which is co-referential with the subject (or object) of the following subordinate clause, for example in the English of Shakespeare: ‘I… watch’d him how he singled Clifford forth.’ Qimron 1993: 68 presents a structure in Aramaic such as הבנו נב (Dan. 3:6 – ‘at once’); a parallel structure can be found in Mishnaic Hebrew, such as ביום ה (‘on that same day’ – see for example: Segal 1936: 196). For further structures that have been described by Smith 2004 and Filik and Sanford 2008, see p. 105 below.
double compound construction, such as בֵּיתוֹ של המלך ("the house of the king"; lit. 'his house of the king') which contains a possessive pronoun that is suffixed to the first noun, and the pronoun refers to the second noun following it. The second construction is at the focus of this paper: the verb phrase, such as in the sentence: אז 'אמר לו ל...ל' (lit. 'A said to him to B') or when the predicate precedes the subject: אז 'אמר לו א...ל' (lit. 'A said to him to B'), which comes in place of the standard construction אז 'אמר לו ל' (lit. 'A said to B').

In this construction, the verb is followed by a preposition, to which a third-person pronoun is suffixed3 (ל – 'to him' – in this example), the pronoun refers to a noun that follows it (ב – ב), which is preceded by a preposition that is identical to the preposition to which the pronoun is suffixed (ל – 'to').4 The proleptic pronoun is in a dative position. The proleptic dative pronoun and the prepositional phrase in this construction are co-referential, i.e. they refer to the same referent, and the connection between them is one of identifying apposition (according to Azar 1995: 223–24; see also Bendavid 1971: 458–60; Kogut 1981; Sharvit 2006: 150–51; and Gluska 1999: 300–2). Because of the identity between the pronoun and the prepositional phrase that follows, the use of the pronoun is redundant (Gluska Ibid.), because the prepositional phrase appears to be enough, and the pronoun preceding it is not necessary, and consequently, the pronoun is perceived as being redundant.5

The proleptic pronoun represents a state of cataphora, which is a situation in which the pronoun creates an anticipatory reference (forward reference) of an element that appears in the string that follows; this state is

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2 On the noun construction in Mishnaic Hebrew, see Segal 1936: 200–1 and Sarfatti 1987; on the construction in Modern Hebrew see, for example, Shlesinger and Ravid 1998. On the parallel construction in Aramaic, such as בֵּיתוֹ דָּוִד הַסְּלֹכָּה – ('the king's house'), see Qimron 1993: 68; Kutscher 1972: 106–9.

3 This is not the situation in which the proleptic pronoun is an object pronoun suffixed to a verb followed by prepositional phrase, the type shown by Bendavid 1971: 458–60, such as וַיָּנָּהוּ יְהוָה לְצִלָּהוֹ ב... שָׁלֹחַ לִמְדִידֵם (b.San. 19b) – ‘Now where do we find that Jacob freed Abraham?’. Bendavid notes that this phenomenon is common in Aramaic and illustrates it from the Peshitta, the translation of the Bible into Syriac, as in: וַיְדַבֵּר הַמֶּלֶךְ לְחַבֵּרָיו (Isa. 40:1) – ‘Comfort, oh comfort My people’. The translation of the excerpts from the Talmud in this paper is based on Talmud Bavli 1990–2005.

4 Bendavid 1971: 460 presents examples of the pronoun with these prepositions: ג (as in הלל – b.Men. 109b – ‘Chonyo regretted his decision and plotted to have Shimi killed’), מ (as in והגו ג וַיִּלְכָּה לְאַבֶּא לְאַבֶּא – т.Git. 1:8 – ‘for they do not acquire an advantage for a deceased person once death has taken place’), ו (as in והגו ג וַיִּלְכָּה לְאַבֶּא לְאַבֶּא – b.Pes. 115a– His ‘colleagues disagree with Hillel!’).

5 Kogut 1981: 9 presents a definition for the redundant pronoun (a pronoun that serves as an apposition for another noun phrase that also appears in the sentence), as well as three different circumstances in which it can be distinguished.
different from the opposite and much more common state of anaphora, which is created when a pronoun refers to an element that precedes it in the string. In linguistic research, the cataphora is discussed in different constructions. For example, Smith 2004 uses the cognitive linguistic approach to language when he discusses a construction in English (which can be found in German and Russian too) in which a verb evoking negative feelings appears followed by a cataphoric pronoun that precedes a clause, such as in the sentence: I despise it that John voted for the governor; and he shows that the function of pronoun is to accentuate the conceptual distance between the matrix subject and the subordinate clause. The cataphoric process is also discussed in psychological research, for example Gernsbacher and Jescheniak 1995 found ways through which the cataphoric elements receive a special status in the cognitive representations of addressees. Filik and Sanford 2008 used the research tool of eye tracking in order to examine the process that is created when the addressee encounters a pronoun that has no antecedent that appears before a subordinate clause in which the pronoun is explained, as in the sentence: Before she began to sing, Susan stood up.

The proleptic dative pronoun is proclitic (Rodrique-Schwarzwald and Sokoloff 1992: 181). Fried 1999: 43 presents typical features of the clisis state of the lexical element raised in the linguistic research: Prosodic dependence of the element on another element, its membership in function word class, its morphological simplicity, and its tendency toward monosyllabicity. These features are also typical of the proleptic dative pronoun in the construction which is at the focus of this paper: א אמר לו לב (<A said to him to B>.

1.2. The Proleptic Dative Pronoun in Classic Hebrew

In Biblical Hebrew the proleptic dative pronoun is not common, as can be seen from a perusal of the research literature of this stage. Bendavid 1971: 458–60 maintains that this construction can be found almost exclusively in mishnaic Hebrew and is extremely rare in the Bible (he compares: The Lord said to Moses: Say to the Israelite people] in the Bible and בקשתי שאמר כל הקדושי יתברך תחתיו] in mishnaic Hebrew). Kogut 1981 explains the tendency not to

6 Smith 2004: 61–63 discusses the difference between the cataphora and the anaphora and describes the limited discussion of the cataphora.
7 Sokoloff 2002: 612 defines this use in Babylonian Aramaic as the dative use of the prepositionGV with a proleptic pronoun. And see the examples in note 13 below.
8 The translation of the biblical passages in this paper is based on the JPS Hebrew–English Tanakh 2000.
associate the phenomenon that can be found in mishnaic Hebrew with the one in the Bible: ‘The frequency of the proleptic pronoun in mishnaic Hebrew caused it to be considered one of its syntactic features, so much so that it should seemingly not be sought or found before it’ (p. 16; originally in Hebrew). He notes that there was a generally accepted consensus that this type of pronoun was very rare in the Bible, and consequently very few examples of it could be found in the grammar of biblical language; the commentators did not note many of its occurrences and some were perceived as errors and were corrected in various ways. In his article, Kogut offers a series of examples, which he analyzes with an eye to creating recognition that the use of the proleptic pronoun was fairly common in biblical language too. Nevertheless, the examples from the Bible that Kogut (ibid. 17–26, 97–104) presents are mainly examples of the object pronoun attach to a verb\(^9\) (such as: ‘When she opened it she saw that it was a child’), and he notes that in this construction the object pronoun serves mostly in the accusative case, and that it is rare in the Bible in the dative case, as in ‘for you have given me away as Negev-land’ (Josh. 15:19). On the other hand, Segal 1936: 200–1 presents also examples from the Bible of this construction as discussed in this paper: ‘A said to him to B’, as in ‘into the land that I am giving to the Israelites’; ‘Uzziah provided them – the whole army – with shields and spears…’.

In the research literature on mishnaic Hebrew, the phenomenon of the use of the proleptic dative pronoun did not warrant much attention, as can be seen from the comments by Gluska 1999: 300–2 and Sharvit 2006: 150–51.

Regarding the frequency of the phenomenon in Mishnaic Hebrew and its distribution, Kutscher 1971–1972: 1601 characterizes the phenomenon as being quite frequent in Mishnaic Hebrew, as does Sharvit 2004: 70, who presents the following examples:

\[\text{Sages concurred with the opinion of Ben Zoma},\]

\[\text{They said concerning R. Haninah b. Dosa},\]

\[\text{they get friendly with a person only for their own convenience}\]

(see examples also in Azar 1995: 223–24 and elsewhere\(^10\)). Sharvit 2006:

\[\text{ coupling of prolapsis}], which can be found in various constructions (e.g. \text{on that very day}', \text{The great gate had two doors}', \text{Woe unto people'), as noted in section 1.1 and in notes 2 and 3 above.}\]

\(^9\) For more on this structure in the Bible, see also Segal 1936: 200–1. For the construction in Mishnaic Hebrew, see Bendavid 1971: 460.

\(^10\) Sharvit 2006: 150–51 collected examples of the pronoun in the Tannaitic literature in proximity to the word אדם, as in citation 11 below. Segal 1936: 200–1 illustrates the phenomenon within the general phenomenon of the use of the proleptic pronoun (which he calls \[\text{coupling of prolapsis}]) , which can be found in various constructions (e.g. \text{on that very day}', \text{The great gate had two doors}', \text{Woe unto people'), as noted in section 1.1 and in notes 2 and 3 above.}\]
150–51 notes that the phenomenon can be found in both Talmuds. Gluska 1999: 300–2 maintains that in the tannaitic language the phenomenon is not prevalent, and that it is more common in the Tosefta than in the Mishna. Gluska presents examples of the phenomenon in mishnaic language, and characterizes three types of contexts of the examples:11 proposition of performance – דָּאָה יַעֲשֵׂה לָהֶם לְיִשְׂרָאֵל נִסָּּי עַל יְיָ וַיִּשָּׁרֵי זְבָעֹלִיָּה וַנָּפָתָלִיָּה (Mek. Beshallah 2:5 – ‘so also miracles were performed for Israel through the tribes of Zebulun and Naphtali’), מָשַׁא תָּכָּה לָהֶם לְיִשְׂרָאֵל (Mek. Mekilta 17:4 – ‘Moses ordained the rule for Israel’); proposition of speech – וַיִּאמר לָהֶם לְמשֵׁה אֵלֹהִים (Sifre Deuteronomy 15 – ‘The Holy One blessed be He said to Israel’); and expressions of sorrow in a one-term sentence – וֹאָל לְאָדָם שַׁעֵּשֵׂךְ עֵרָד (m.Ber. 3:20 – ‘Woe to the man who is bitten by a lizard’).12 He says: ‘A considerable proportion of the occurrences comes either as an introduction to a statement made under important circumstances, whether from a halakhic-legal or moral perspective, or in emotionally subjects’ (p. 302; originally in Hebrew). Gluska notes that in Amoraic language, the phenomenon can be found both in the halakhic as well as aggadic parts.

Regarding the source of the phenomenon in mishnaic Hebrew, Segal 1936: 200–1 believes that the phenomenon in mishnaic Hebrew is influenced by Aramaic, but not that the use is Aramaic in the Mishna, because in his view, the phenomenon is common in all the Semitic languages and also because it can

11 It is notable that Gluska based his examples on the printed editions and not on the manuscripts, and consequently, there are differences between the formulations in these examples and the version in the manuscripts, both regarding the use of the proleptic dative pronoun: the example he brought from the Mekilta appears in Matagarim program (see note 15 below) based on the manuscript in a different formulation that does not contain an occurrence of the pronoun (כ כָּרִי עַל יַעֲשֵׂה לְיִשְׂרָאֵל – Mek. Beshallah 5 <105> – ‘so also miracles were performed for Israel through the tribes of Zebulun and Naphtali in the days of Deborah and Barak’), and also in the example from Sifre Numbers (וַיִּיקַח לָהֶם לְיִשְׂרָאֵל בְּיִשָּׁרִי וַיִּשָּׁרֵי זְבָעֹלִיָּה וַנָּפָתָלִיָּה – Sifre Numbers 66 <62> – ‘Moses ordained the rule for Israel to ask the questions governing a given matter when the matter came up and to expound the rules of a given matter at the proper time’), and the example from the Mishna appears in Ma’tagarim in the Tosefta, with the pronoun suffixed to the interjection וֹאָל לָהֶם לְיִשְׂרָאֵל (זָא לְאָדָם שַׁעֵּשֵׂךְ עֵרָד – t.Ber. 3:20 – ‘Woe to the man who is bitten by a lizard’).

12 Gluska does not define the three types of contexts that he presents. Apparently, in the proposition of performance, he includes activity verbs (עשה and תיקן), in the proposition of speech, he includes the verb אמר, and that in the third context he concludes an exclamatory sentence expressing sorrow. It is difficult to know from the categorization that he offers whether there are further contexts for the appearance of the pronoun.
be found in the Bible. Gluska 1999: 301–2 and note 1085 in p. 301, on the other hand, determines that the phenomenon of the use of the proleptic dative pronoun in mishnaic Hebrew is a syntactic feature borrowed from Aramaic, in many of whose dialects this phenomenon can be found: In Biblical Aramaic (as in: לשלחו עיוהו לע ארתשדאה – Ezra 4:11 – ‘They sent to him to king Artaxeres’) and in western and eastern dialects – in Babylonian Aramaic (אמר יהוה עבדרא – b.Ber. 7b – ‘R. Yitzchak said to Rav Nachman’), in Syriac, in Aramaic of the Targumim, and in Galilean Aramaic. Gluska bases his conclusion on two arguments: 1. The precise similarity of this phenomenon in both the tannaitic language and Aramaic; 2. The additional Aramaic feature of the object ל to denote the accusative that penetrated the construction of the identifying apposition, as in: ופי שכבד להמקום תחלה אהרן (Sifra Shemini 2:2 – ‘Since the Omnipresent had at the outset paid respect to Aaron’). According to Gluska, the background for this grammatical-syntactic borrowing was more a linguistic than social factor (the need of the speakers), and the construction served the speakers – in the context of the occurrences of the pronoun described above – for the purpose of emphasis in special circumstances of the addressee or the subject being discussed in the utterance.

There are further opinions regarding the circumstances of the use of the pronoun – in addition to Gluska’s; Bendavid 1971: 458–60, who believes that the pronoun serves for very definite nouns, and Kogut 1981: 16–17, who explains that the pronoun is the result of an afterthought that requires gender and number concord between the pronoun and the next prepositional phrase, and consequently the afterthought is different from other afterthoughts.

2. Description of the Proleptic Dative Pronoun in Tannaitic Language

The phenomenon of the use of the proleptic dative pronoun did not receive much attention in the research of mishnaic Hebrew, as noted in section 1.2 above, and this explains why it is important to complete the description of the phenomenon. This chapter will describe the proleptic dative pronoun in tannaitic language, with an analysis of all its occurrences in all the compositions included in this corpus, in order to make it possible to estimate the extent of the pronoun’s frequency in tannaitic language and the circumstances of its use. The description of the pronoun in the following.

13 Sokoloff 2002: 612 presents this use in Babylonian Aramaic, such as: ופי שכבד להrido – ‘One person said to his friend’, and defines it as the dative use of ר with the proclitic pronoun.
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sections of this chapter will include a presentation of the inventory of the forms of the proleptic dative pronoun in the various compositions of the tannaitic literature (2.1), a characterization of the linguistic components that accompany the pronoun (2.2), a clarification regarding the syntactic position of the pronoun in relation to the predicate that it complements (2.3), and an exploration of the role of the pronoun (2.4). The last section (2.5) will present the differences between the various traditions of the compositions as regards the use of the pronoun.

2.1. Inventory of the Forms of the Proleptic Dative Pronoun

In the analysis there were found 262 occurrences of the proleptic dative pronoun in tannaitic language. Of the ten compositions in the tannaitic literature, the proleptic dative pronoun is completely absent from two of them (in the Baraita of 32 Rules and the Baraita De-Melekhet Ha-Mishkan), and in

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14 During the search for the occurrences of the pronoun, the appearances of the pronoun suffixed to the prepositions ל, ב, על, מ, and ואת were explored (it was not found in this position alongside the latter preposition), since these prepositions were found in examples presented in the research literature of Mishnaic Hebrew, as shown in the introduction to section 1.2; and see also note 4 above. It should be noted that in the search, occurrences of the pronoun in the third-person form – לו, לוה, לוהם, and לוהן – were examined, and that it was necessary to make sure that the proleptic dative pronoun and the prepositional phrase following it (e.g., ...ל לו) were indeed co-referential in a connection of identifying apposition, in order not to include sentences that do not contain a connection of this kind between the pronoun and the prepositional phrase following it. For example, in the sentence ותינהוג בвизיון (Mek. Bahodesh 11 245 – ‘Treat him with disrespect’), the pronoun serves as the object, whereas the prepositional phrase following it serves as a manner adverbial, i.e. they are not in the same position; and in the sentence והשמית ברוכך – רכב פרעה על סוס זכר כביכול (Mek. Beshallah 6 <112> – x2 – ‘R. Pappias expounded: “To a steed in Pharaoh’s chariot” – When Pharaoh rode on a stallion, God, as it were, also appeared to him on a stallion…’), the pronoun relates to Pharaoh, whereas the prepositional phrase following it relates to the horse, as can also be seen from the translation; in other words, they are not co-referential. An analysis of these sentences and other similar ones led to their removal from the discussion of the proleptic dative pronoun.

15 The search for the occurrences of the pronoun in the Tannaitic language was carried out in the Ma’agarim program of the Hebrew Language Historical Dictionary Project (HDP), the Academy of the Hebrew Language, in particular the version located on the Academy’s website, with a limited use of the CD-ROM version. To facilitate the smooth reading of the quotes, punctuation marks have occasionally been added, and certain textual marks used by the Hebrew Historical Dictionary Project may have been omitted. The translation of Mishna excerpts into English is based on Neusner 1988; the translation of excerpts of the other compositions into English is based on the following translations: the Tosefta – on Neusner 1981; the Mekilta – on Lauterbach 1933–1935; Sifra, Sifre Deuteronomy, and Sifre Numbers – on Neusner 1997–1998. The original language of the translations from these published versions was frequently altered in order to introduce the translated passages in language consistent with modern English.
three it is very rare – the Mekilta Devarim (two occurrences), the Sifre Zuta and Seder Olam Rabbah (one occurrence in each composition). In each of the seven other compositions, the pronoun has 20–60 occurrences: In Tosefta and Sifre Deuteronomy – 56 occurrences in each composition, in Mekilta de-Rabbi Shimon ben Yohay – 49, in Sifra – 29, in Mekilta – 28, in Mishna – 22, and in Sifre Numbers – 18. The pronoun appears in these compositions alongside 9 different verbs or adjectives on the average for each composition – between 4–16 verbs or adjectives in the various compositions: in Tosefta – 16 verbs and adjectives, in Sifre Deuteronomy – 13, in Mekilta de-Rabbi Shimon ben Yohay – 11, in Sifre Numbers – 8, in Mekilta – 7, in Sifra – 6, and in Mishna – 4.

The Tosefta is then the composition that has the greatest number of proleptic dative pronoun, both as far as the number of occurrences of the pronoun, as well as the number of verbs with which the pronoun appears – it has 56 occurrences of the pronoun with 16 different verbs and adjectives; it is followed in the order of compositions by Sifre Deuteronomy, which has 56 occurrences of the pronoun with 13 different verbs. The Mishna is very different from the Tosefta as far as the number of occurrences of the pronoun in it – it has 22 occurrences of the pronoun alongside only four different verbs (אמר – 18 occurrences;毐 – 2 occurrences; נתן and עירב one occurrence with each verb); these data conform with the general claim made by Gluska 1999: 302, presented in section 1.2 above, regarding the difference between the Tosefta and the Mishna in the matter of the use of the proleptic dative pronoun.

2.2. The Linguistic Components with which the Proleptic Dative Pronoun Occurs

As defined in section 1.1 above, in this discussed construction – א אמר ל, ק (lit. ‘A said to him to B’) – the proleptic dative pronoun is suffixed to a preposition, followed by a prepositional phrase made up of a preposition (identical to that which precedes the pronoun) and of a noun that is co-referential with the pronoun, and the pronoun and the prepositional phrase are in the position of complementing the earlier predicate. In the subsections of this section, the three linguistic components that the pronoun occurs with will be discussed: the predicate that precedes it (2.2.1), the preposition to which it is suffixed (2.2.2), and the noun that is in the prepositional phrase that follows it (2.2.3).

2.2.1. The Predicate that Precedes the Proleptic Dative Pronoun

In the vast majority of occurrences in tannaitic language, the proleptic dative pronoun is a verb complement (in 255 occurrences = 97 per cent); and in only 7 occurrences does it serve as an adjective complement – with five adjectives: in the Tosefta – twice with ל (as in citation 9 below) and with ש.
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38 verbs were found with which the pronoun appears, of which only three are frequent with the pronoun. It is very prevalent with the verb אמר – in 67 per cent of the cases it appears alongside a verb (171 occurrences of the 255 occurrences alongside a verb) in all eight compositions of the tannaitic literature in which the pronoun can be found, when it is suffixed to two prepositions – ל, as in citations 5, 23, 24, 26, and 29 below, and על, as in citation 6 below. The pronoun also appears with the verbs יד and וה, but to a much smaller extent than with the verb אמר, both from the aspect of the number of occurrences as well as the aspect of the variety of contexts: with יד it has 13 occurrences in six compositions, and with וה it has 10 occurrences in three compositions. The extent of the use of these two verbs turns out to be even less prevalent when we go on to examine the contexts of their occurrences:

Of the 13 occurrences of the pronoun with the verb וה, in 10 occurrences there can be found occurrences that are close to one another and are similar in nature, as shown below:

Two occurrences from the same context from the same composition –

1. "becor shor hader "; 말מד שנותנ increasingly +واءד למשת וודה ילויושש, שיאל זנוקס הנד. (Sifre Deuteronomy 353 <414> 03 – x2) ‘Like firstling bull in his majesty`: This teaches that while splendor was assigned to Moses, majesty was given to Joshua. If splendor also had been assigned to Joshua, the world could not have been able to resist him – ‘... he has horns like the horns of the wild-ox`: ... To Joshua were given the strength of the ox and the horn of the wild ox

And four occurrences that contain a repeated expression (both from the same context) –

2. "ותורוהת" –말מד ששת התורה נצומת להם יыш: אוחת בכותב אוחת הפרה. (Sifra Behuqotai 2:7 <112:3> 01 – x2; and Sifre Deuteronomy 351 <408> 03 – x2) ‘...and Torahs` – this teaches that two Torahs were given to Israel: one in writing the other oral. Said R. Aqiba: Now did Israel have only two Torahs? And did they not have many Torahs given to them, as it is said: ‘This is the Torah of burnt-offering`...

16 These two occurrences have been attributed to the nifal pattern despite the infrequent form of the verb – in Ma’agarim (HDP) the first verb is attributed to the nifal pattern and the second is attributed to an extraordinary pattern or to a doubtful verb (this is a nufal pattern).
Regarding the verb יד, in all 10 occurrences with this verb in the three compositions, the same expression can be found: (‘The manna would come down / came down to Israel!’), as in:

3. As long as Moses was alive the manna came down to Israel

From here, we can see that the verb יד is in fact the only one of the 38 verbs with which the proleptic dative pronoun is prevalent in numerous occurrences and in varied contexts.

In addition to these three verbs, the pronoun has three to seven occurrences with six verbs (seven occurrences with the verb קרא as in citation 8 below; five occurrences with הנשה; four occurrences with המד and הנופר as in the occurrence in note 17 below); 3 occurrences with הנופר and הנופר. Some of the occurrences are close or similar to one another, as was found for most of the occurrences of the verbs יד and יד.

With the other verbs, the pronoun has only one or two occurrences: two with each of the verbs ביניך (in citation 10 below), הגידי (in the occurrence in note 18 below), ותתונך (note 18), והתתונך (note 18), והיתני, ויתני, והיתני, והיתני (4), והיתני, והיתני, והיתני (15), והיתני, והיתני, והיתני (19), והיתני, והיתני, והיתני (11), והיתני, והיתני, והיתני (18), (in the occurrence in note 25 below), והיתני, והיתני, והיתני (16), והיתני, והיתני, והיתני (14).

17 Thus two of the seven occurrences of קרא שינה are similar occurrences from the same context: ותתונך קריא כל דבר יהיו רוצים

18 Two occurrences of the verbs ביניך ויתני are from the same context: ותתונך קריא כל דבר יהיו רוצרים... ויתני,... קרא כל דבר יהיו רוצרים...
An analysis of the semantic groups of the verbs with which the proleptic dative pronoun appears shows that there were two main semantic groups to which most of the verbs belong – verbs of saying and verbs of activity. The status of the two groups is identical as far as the number of verbs that belong to each of them – 13 verbs, that is 34 per cent of the 38 verbs that appear with the pronoun: The group of verbs of saying includes the verbs קרא, נתן ורטה, נאמר, נאמר והוקן, התכין, התניב, אמר, אמר, הנחת, יד, הדמי, הדמי, הדמי, הדמי, הדמי, הדמי; and the group of verbs of activity includes the verbs: חזיק, ירד, ינדת, ינדת, ינדת, ינדת, ינדת, ינדת (in four of seven occurrences), שלט, פרע, פעמים, פעמים, פעמים, פעמים, פעמים, ו thú עלול, ו thú עלול, ו thú עלול, ו thú עלול. However, the status of the two groups is different in regard to the number of occurrences of verbs that belong to them: The group of verbs of saying includes 75 per cent of the verb occurrences (190 of 255 occurrences of the pronoun with verbs), especially because of the verb אמר, which as noted is the most prevalent verb that occurs with the proleptic dative pronoun (171 occurrences), whereas the group of verbs of activity includes 16 per cent of the occurrences (40 occurrences).

The thirteen verbs of saying with which the proleptic dative pronoun appears denote various speech acts. An analysis of the speech acts that are denoted by the verbs of saying shows that these verbs describe many speech acts such as directing (in the verbs אמר, אמר והוקן, אמר, אמר; the verb אמר can refer to various speech acts, in particular asking, directing, asserting, telling, and informing.

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19 Seven verbs belong to another group – that of causative or influence verbs (= 18 per cent), and they have nine occurrences (= 3.5 per cent): אמר, אמר, אמר, אמר, אמר, אמר, אמר, אמר, אמר. Three verbs belong to the group of ingressive verbs: אמר, אמר, אמר. The verb אמר is an existential verb. There is some doubt as to what group the verb אמר (see the occurrence in note 25 below) and three out of the occurrences of the verb אמר belong to.

20 As noted in section 1.2 and in note 12 above, Gluska 1999: 300–2 presents three types of contexts in which the verbs appear in Tannaitic language. He does not present categories of verb, but the first two types of the contexts appear to be related to the verbs with which the pronoun appears in the examples he presents: In the context that he calls a ‘proposition of performance’ he includes verbs of action – אמר, אמר, אמר, and in the context that he calls ‘proposition of speech’ he includes the verb אמר.

21 Of the 190 occurrences of the verbs of saying, 147 occurrences regarding which there was no doubt as to the type of speech act involved in them were analyzed – 14 occurrences of various verbs and another 133 occurrences of the verb אמר, i.e. 77 per cent of the occurrences of the verbs of saying were analyzed.
2.2.2. The Preposition to which the Proleptic Dative Pronoun is suffixed

As noted, the proleptic dative pronoun is a third-person pronoun suffixed to a preposition. In tannaitic language, four prepositions to which the pronoun was suffixed were found: 22 The most prevalent preposition is ל – it appears in 90 per cent of the occurrences of the pronoun (in 236 of 262 occurrences); על (16 occurrences = 6 per cent), ב (9 occurrences = 3.5 per cent), and מ (one occurrence = 0.5 per cent). 23

2.2.3. The Noun that Appears in the Prepositional Phrase Following the Proleptic Dative Pronoun

The proleptic dative pronoun and the noun that appears in the prepositional phrase that follows it, as noted, are co-referential, meaning that they refer to the same referent.

When exploring the nature of the referent shared by the pronoun and the noun, the analysis focused first on the semantic nature of the referent, and it was found that for the vast majority of occurrences of the pronoun in tannaitic language – in 97 per cent of them – the referent was a person (in 254 of the 262 occurrences). In about half of all the occurrences (120 occurrences = 46 per cent), the person is a particular individual who is named with a proper noun, as in citation 1 above (ו……ויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהויהזויי"ש

22 For the search for the prepositions, see note 14 above.
23 And see examples of the prepositions in section 2.3 below, which discusses the syntactic position of the pronoun, as well as notes 25–28 there.
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people as a whole, and can be found in about one-third of the occurrences of the pronoun (91 occurrences = 35 per cent), in all types of contexts, as will be discussed in section 2.4.2 below, as in citation 3 above (יחי מה יורד לַחַן לַישָּׁרָאֵל – ‘The manna came down to Israel’) and in citations 7 (ארבע מְלָכִים מָשָׁלְתָּן בִּית – ‘Four kingdoms ruled Israel’) and 17 (ככָּה היה להם לַישָּׁרָאֵל – ‘how good it was for the Israelites’) below.

In only a minority of the occurrences is the referent not a person, e.g. a nonhuman entity – the angel of death (Sifre Deuteronomy 305 <326> 02 – ‘At that moment the Holy One blessed be He said to the angel of death…’), a living being – someone who is deformed (יהיו דרשיה חולם על בני מעם כותב (Sifre Deuteronomy 71 <135> 02 – x2 – ‘and which are not subject to consecration when bearing a permanent blemish’), or an inanimate object – such as the Land of Israel in the following citation:

4. ווֹרגְקְהוּ בָּשָׁר מֶסְלֶלֶת – על זה מֶשְׂכִּים שַׁחַתְּקִים בֵּה בַּאָוֵרָיִן-שַׁאֲרַיִן הם כְּשִׁיו (Sifre Deuteronomy 317 <359> 03) – ‘He fed him honey from the crag’ – This refers to the oppressors who seized the land of Israel and it is hard to get a penny from them as from a rock.

When examining the nature of the referent shared by the pronoun and the noun, the contexts in which the occurrences of the pronoun in tannaitic language appeared were investigated, and it was found that in numerous contexts of all kinds (which will be specified in subsection 2.4.2 below), the noun that follows the pronoun had a previous occurrence in a context before the relevant sentence, and consequently the dative pronoun indeed precedes a noun that follows it, but in fact refers to the previous occurrence of the noun in that context. For example, in the narrative context of citation 3 above, the pronoun appears before the noun לַישָּׁרָאֵל (Israel) – כל צָהִי הוא בְּמֶשֶׁת (‘As long as Moses was alive the manna came down to Israel’), after previous laws contained references to the noun לַישָּׁרָאֵל (Israel), in a repetitive format: לַישָּׁרָאֵל (Eretz Israel) – כל צָהִי הוא בְּמֶשֶׁת (‘As long as Joseph and the tribes were alive, the Israelites enjoyed greatness and honor… So long as Miriam was alive, the well provided ample water for all Israel… So long as Aaron was alive a pillar of cloud led Israel’); And in the context of expounding the verse of citation 4 above, the pronoun appears before the noun לַישָּׁרָאֵל (Eretz Israel) – כל צָהִי הוא בְּמֶשֶׁת (‘This refers to the oppressors who seized the land of Israel’), after this phrase was mentioned in the previous context: לַישָּׁרָאֵל (Sifre Deuteronomy 316 <358>) – ‘This refers to the land of Israel which is higher than all other lands…This
refers to the produce of the land of Israel which is more pleasant to eat than the produce of all other lands).

From this section, we can see that in tannaitic language, the proleptic dative pronoun and the noun that appears in the following prepositional phrase have two striking features: a semantic feature – that the referent is a person, and a contextual feature – the appearance of the referent in a previous context, which leads to yet another semantic feature of the referent – definiteness. The feature of definiteness of the pronoun is noted by Bendavid 1971: 458–60, as mentioned in section 1.2 above. The human feature of the pronoun is also typical of the proleptic dative pronoun that appears in another construction in classical languages, and is described by Fraser 2001: 33–34,24 almost always as animate and also as human; Fraser explains that this feature is related to the topic function of the proleptic element, because, he explains, there seems to be a cross-linguistic tendency for a topical element to be animate. He argues: ‘Prolepsis is primarily a way of talking about people: an animate topic creates a particularly vivid narrative link’ (p. 34).

2.3. The Syntactic Position of the Proleptic Dative Pronoun

In tannaitic language the proleptic dative pronoun is a verb complement (with 38 verbs) or an adjective complement (with five adjectives), as noted in section 2.2.1 above. An analysis of the syntactic position of the pronoun in relation to the predicate found that the pronoun is prevalent in the position of the object of the predicate – both as far as the number of predicates as well as the number of occurrences of the pronoun. As far as the number of occurrences, the pronoun appears in the position of an object with 27 out of 38 verbs (= 71 per cent), and with the others – 11 verbs (= 29 per cent) – and with all five adjectives, it appears in a non-obligatory position. And regarding the number of occurrences of the pronoun, it was found that the pronoun appears in the position of an object in 85 per cent of the occurrences (219 out of 262 occurrences), and in the rest of the occurrences (43 = 16 per cent), it appears in a non-obligatory position.

Examples of the various syntactic positions of the pronoun:

In the position of an obligatory object of a verb – the pronoun appears, for example, with the verbs נתני (when the pronoun is suffixed to the preposition ל, as in citation 2 above: ‘there were given to Israel’) and לפרע (with the preposition מ – in citation 18 below: ‘Did I collect from Israel’) as well as with the verbs shown in

24 See note 1 above.
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the following examples, (with the preposition ל [as in 5\textsuperscript{25}] or עלי [as in 6\textsuperscript{26}] and (with the preposition ב – in citation 7\textsuperscript{27}):

5. "אמרו ללחן נдол: היהי שיעך למדבר" (m.Yoma 6:8) – They said to the high priest: The goat has reached the wilderness

6. המ法师职业 הטשא סמך יונ...אמרו עלי על, ר חנני ב שרת חתימהל (m.Ber. 5:5) – One who prays and errs – it is a bad sign for him…They said concerning R. Haninah b. Dosa that when he would pray for the sick he would say ‘This one shall live’ or ‘This one shall die’

7. ארבע מלכיות משולח בהן יבין, ווי בח חכם ולא בים בנן (Sifre Deuteronomy 304 <323> 02) – Four kingdoms ruled Israel, in which there was no sage nor leader of discernment

The pronoun appears only in one role in the position of a non-obligatory complement to the predicate – as a purpose adverbia denoting the beneficiary of the action, when the pronoun is suffixed to the preposition ל, (as in citation 3 above: הוי מ וידת לחשראל – ‘the manna

25 The pronoun is suffixed to the preposition ל in position of object with the following verbs too: עלי (in an occurrence in note 18 above), תלה (in citation 12 below), והוד (in citation 11 above), וית, וית ל, וית, וית (as in 1 above), וית, וית, וית (as in 1 above), וית, וית, וית, וית, וית (as in 1 above), ששת (8 below), and הם ששת השנית (8 below). With two of the verbs, the position of the pronoun is doubtful, because it is not clear if it is obligatory or not: with the verb ולא in citation 14 below and with the verb ולא in the following occurrence: בשמות און לפני אחד ענין ולא את מפותח בישראל (Mek. Shirah 4 <129> – ‘With His name does He fight and has no need of any of these measures. If so, why need Scripture specify every single one of them? Merely to tell that when Israel is in need of them, God fights their battle for them’).

26 The pronoun is suffixed to the preposition ל in position of object with the verb ולא (in an occurrence in note 18 above), והוד (in citation 11 above), והוד (in citation 12 below), והוד (in citation 11 above), והה (in citation 11 above), והה (in citation 11 above), והה (in citation 11 above), והה (in citation 11 above), והה (in citation 11 above), והה (in citation 11 above), והה (in citation 11 above), והה (in citation 11 above). With two of the verbs, the position of the pronoun is doubtful, because it is not clear if it is obligatory or not: with the verb ולא in citation 14 below and with the verb ולא in the following occurrence: בשמות און לפני אחד ענין ולא את מפותח בישראל (Mek. Shirah 4 <129> – ‘With His name does He fight and has no need of any of these measures. If so, why need Scripture specify every single one of them? Merely to tell that when Israel is in need of them, God fights their battle for them’).

27 The pronoun is suffixed to the preposition ב in the position of object with the following verbs too: בלשון (in citation 4 above), בלשון, בלשון, בלשון, בלשון, בלשון, בלשון, בלשון, בלשון, and בלשון.
came down to Israel(28) and in the following citations with the verb **עשה** (8) and with the adjective **קל** (9):

8. **אמה רבי שמואל בן גמאליאל: מה **עשה** **לתם** **לתרות** **הראשונות** (t.Yev. 1:10) – Said Rabban Simeon b. Gamaliel: What shall we do with the former co-wives?

9. **בית שמיי אומ: יוציאו: בית הלל אומ: יקיימו: **(t.Yev. 5:1) – The House of Shamai say: They may remain wed, and the House of Hillel say: They must put them away… Abba Saul says: In this matter the house of Hillel took the lenient position.

### 2.4. The Role of the Proleptic Dative Pronoun

After presenting the inventory of forms of the proleptic dative pronoun in tannaitic language, and after describing the linguistic components that accompany the pronoun, and explaining the syntactic position of the pronoun in regard to the predicate, the question arises as to the use of the pronoun in the contexts in which it appears: Is there a tendency to use it in contexts of a particular type, and what purpose does its use serve? The issues included in this question belong to the fields of discourse analysis and pragmatics. The subsections of this section will discuss the details from which the function of the pronoun can be inferred: the types of verbs and the different verbs with which the pronoun appears (2.4.1), the types of contexts of the occurrences of the pronoun (2.4.2), and the place and position of the pronoun in the context (2.4.3). Subsection 2.4.4 will explore the role of the pronoun in relation with the verb **אמר**.

#### 2.4.1. The Types of Verbs and the Different Verbs with which the Pronoun Appears

When investigating the use of the proleptic dative pronoun, the type of verbs with which the pronoun appears was examined first in order to see if it could provide some indication as to why it is used, i.e. whether the pronoun plays a particular role when appearing together with verbs that denote a particular meaning.

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28 The pronoun is suffixed to the preposition **ל** in the position of object with the following verbs too: **השתנה** (in the occurrence in note 18 above for both these verbs), **התקין** (19), **נכרת** (11), **נעשה** (6), **נשתייר** (19), **עירב** (11), **עמד** (in the occurrence in note 17 above), and also with the adjectives **חביב** (17), **יפה** (17), **מוטב** (21), and **קשה** (27). The pronoun is suffixed to the preposition **ב** in a non-obligatory position only with one verb – **שתן** (16), but there is some doubt regarding its position.
Section 2.2.1 above described all the semantic groups of the verbs with which the proleptic dative pronoun appears in tannaitic language; as noted, most are verbs of saying and verbs of activity. The description there showed that the pronoun appears with verbs coming from different semantic groups, and with verbs of saying that indicate various speech acts, and consequently it is difficult to conclude that the proleptic dative pronoun is used because the verb accompanying it belongs to a particular semantic group or – when the verb is a verb of saying – that the pronoun is used because of the expression of a particular speech act by means of that verb of saying.

After the analysis of the classification of the verbs with which the pronoun appears did not provide a satisfactory explanation for the use of the pronoun, the different verbs in their contexts were analyzed comprehensively, unrelated to the classification of the verbs into semantic groups. The analysis of the verbs in their contexts produced the two following findings:

I. Some of the verbs that appear with the proleptic dative pronoun appear in similar occurrences without the pronoun, as shown in the following citations:

The verb ידærמ appears twice with the pronoun in a citation from Mekilta Devarim:

10. ...

שאמרו להילך לזריקים לזרו בני השפם והיה כל 이루ו: משה און כסין

שאני באך רעת שאמרו להילך לזריקים לזרו בני השפם און המוות שחיי בשריפה

(Mek. Devarim 13:16 <134:2> 10 – x2) – Because it caused the righteous men to live among the wicked people, then a fortiori: If property, which do not have knowledge caused the righteous to live among the wicked, is condemned by the Almighty to be burnt...

However, a parallel occurrence in the Tosefta does not contain the pronoun:

למי מפני שאמרו להילך לזריקים לזרו בני השפם...

(t.San. 14:4 – x2 – …Because it caused the righteous men to live among wicked people…).

Similarly, the verb עירב appears with the pronoun in the following citation from the Mishna:

11. ...דבך, ר’ אליעזר: הקבר, און... מודים בשאר כל האדםlek חכמים לספר ולמעון שאני:...

ומ munic לאלדיאי אל תלעת

(m.Eruv. 7: 11) – ...the words of R. Eliezer. And sages say…But they concur that with any others his coins do secure for him a share in the erub, for they prepare an erub for a man only with his knowledge and consent

However, in the context from the Tosefta, which quotes the source from the Mishna, the verb appears without the pronoun: ...אמר, ר’ מייר: חפב יא יא Alfey לא הקבר...

(t.Eruv. 6:8 – ‘Said R. Meir: On what account did they rule ‘They prepare an ‘erub for a man only with his knowledge and consent?’).

And similarly, the verb ההדה appears with the pronoun in the following citation:
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12. ר’ שמעון אומ: ‘למהרת מביא אשמו ולוגו וידוה... ולא חזר הל הכהמים ‘ר (t.Naz. 6:1) – R. Simeon says: On the morrow he brings his guilt-offering and its log of oil with it… but sages did not concur with R. Simeon for the man thus brings Holy Things to the house invalidly

in contrast with a similar occurrence without the pronoun: ר’ שמעון אומ: ‘ה ישבט לשבם מה שאה... ולא חזר הכהמים ‘ר שמעון, שמע אומי קדשים לבית המסול (t.Zev. 8:14 – R. Simeon says: This one is slaughtered for the sake of one thing… but sages did not agree with R. Simeon, because he thereby brings Holy Things to the house of invalidly).

And similarly, the verb ויתן appearing with the pronoun:

ויתן הל הלוריב אוחו בר ‘ה ינת עולם ‘.widget הויו הל הכהמים (Sifre Numbers 131 <173>) – ‘... and it shall be to him and to its descendants after him, the covenant of a perpetual priesthood’ – This refers to the twenty-four priestly gifts that were given to the priests

as compared to a similar occurrence without the pronoun: אנילקח ‘ה ישימר אתו מתנות מזון הל כהמים (Sifre Numbers 119 <142> – I am your portion and your inheritance” – Twenty-four priestly gifts were given to the priests, twelve in the sanctuary and twelve in the provinces’).

This finding regarding the existence of similar occurrences to those with the pronoun, with the exception that the pronoun is absent from them, makes it difficult to provide an answer to the question regarding the reason for the use of the proleptic dative pronoun, since it is not clear why the pronoun is used in certain occurrences of the verbs, while it is absent from other similar occurrences, and it is difficult to find a reason for its use only in the first occurrences.

II. Some of the verbs that appear with the proleptic dative pronoun also have occurrences without the pronoun – When analyzing the various verbs in their contexts, a careful search for the occurrences of the verbs was carried out in all the compositions of the tannaitic literature in order to see if the verbs that appear with the proleptic dative pronoun also have occurrences with a complementary prepositional phrase not preceded by the pronoun. For example, does the verb נתן appear only in the construction discussed in this paper ‘א נתן ‘לב (lit.: ‘A gave to him to B’) – or does it also appear in the standard construction without the pronoun – ‘א נתן ‘לב (‘A gave to B’)? A search of the occurrences of the various verbs was intended to see if the verbs have a tendency to appear in a construction together with the proleptic dative pronoun or in the standard construction, or whether they have no preference for a particular structure, and perhaps thus it would be possible to provide an answer
to the question regarding the use of the proleptic dative pronoun, which is the main issue of this section.

In order for the search to indeed bring up the standard construction, which does not contain the proleptic dative pronoun – despite the fact that in principle the pronoun could appear in it – the search included only the occurrences of the verbs in which the prepositional phrase (e.g. 'בל [= to B'] is made up of a preposition and a noun (e.g. 'לאיש [= ‘to the man’]) or of a preposition and a noun phrase (e.g. 'לאיש זה [= ‘to this man’]), but not occurrences in which the prepositional phrase is made up of a preposition and a suffixed pronoun (e.g. 'ל [= ‘to him’]). This is because it is only before a prepositional phrase of the first type, such as 'ואמר ל舟山 איש איש הזה (lit.: ‘A said to him to the man/this person’), that the proleptic dative pronoun can appear, whereas the proleptic dative pronoun cannot appear before a prepositional phrase of the second type, which is itself a suffixed pronoun, because it would create an impossible succession of two identical pronouns, as in 'ואמר ל舟山.

The search for the occurrences of the pronoun showed that of the three common verbs with the pronoun (having ten or more occurrences with it) – אמר,نتן, and דיד – the first two verbs are very common in the construction without the pronoun,29 for example in citations such as 2 (שמירת תורה מתנה להמן 'ליש – ‘Two Torahs were given to Israel’) and 5 (אמרו ללחם נ듐 – ‘They said to the high priest’) above, but they also appear in the construction without the pronoun, as in: אמרו ביהולא לברית חמידה את אלהים שלוחות משה לה תמורת חומץ (m.Ter. 5:4 – ‘Said the House of Hillel to the House of Shammai: Since clean [heave offering] is forbidden to non-priests…’).

Compared to the verbs אמר and נתן, the verb דיד does not have many occurrences in the construction without the pronoun,30 as for example in the following occurrence: דמיינו מה לא דידים מנין מליيش פיך אומות? פעם אחת (Sifre Numbers 89<90> – ‘On what account did the manna not come down for Israel on one day a year?’), in which there appears the expression that is found in all the occurrences of the verb in the construction with the pronoun – ( noen הימים הפוריים)

29 The verb אמר has about 100 occurrences without the pronoun in the Mishna (because of the large number of occurrences of this verb, only the occurrences in the Mishna were examined), and the verb נתן has about 80 occurrences without the pronoun, both in the compositions in which it appears with the pronoun as well as in other compositions (Mishna, Mekila Devarim, Sifre Zuta, and Seder Olam Rabbah).

30 The structure without the pronoun was not found in the three compositions in which the verb דיד appears in the construction with the pronoun, but has about ten occurrences without the pronoun in other compositions.
Of the six verbs that have 3–7 occurrences with the proleptic dative pronoun, for the verbsงע andאמר, no occurrences were found in the standard construction of the prepositional phrase not preceded by the proleptic dative pronoun. In contrast, the verbнести is prevalent in the standard construction, and the verbsעמד,נהוג, andעשית are very prevalent in the standard construction, for example in comparison to the occurrences of the verbsнести andלוכש in the construction with the pronoun (e.g.לוכש). 30F 31 In contrast, the verbעשה is prevalent in the standard construction, 31F 32 and the verbsאמר,נתן, andעשה are very prevalent in the standard construction, for example in comparison to the occurrences of the verbsעשה andנתן in the construction without the pronoun (e.g.לעשרה נסים). 30F 31

Of the 34 verbs and adjectives that have one or two occurrences with the proleptic dative pronoun, only the verbודה, which has one occurrence with the pronoun (citation 12 above – ולא חכמים לא חכמים lashem bliyotולא חכמים but sages did not concur with R. Simeon) is prevalent in the construction without the pronoun (about 45 occurrences in the Tosefta [in which the occurrence with the pronoun appears] and about 10 occurrences in other compositions, such asומיה חכמים (Sages concur with R. Meir in the case of blemishes which are congenital…”). 19 further verbs and adjectives

31 It should be noted that a number of individual occurrences of the verbעמד with the meaning ‘helped, assisted’ were found in the standard construction, as in: סלך או נון...שבעה והלך...ולפי שכל אומניות ובעולם אין אדם אלא בנערותו בזמן שכוחו עליו – t.Qid. 5:16 (‘…For every sort of trade which there is in the world serves a man only when he is young when he yet has his strength’), but this meaning is not identical to the meaning of the verb in its occurrences in the construction with the proleptic dative pronoun.

32 The construction without the pronoun can be found in the compositions in which the verbעשה appears in the construction with the pronoun – in about ten occurrences, and it also has about ten occurrences in the construction without the pronoun in other compositions ( Mishna and Mekilta Devarim).

33 The construction without the pronoun can be found with these verbs both in the compositions in which the construction with the pronoun appears ( about 50 occurrences, about 110 occurrences, and about 80 occurrences), and in additional compositions (about 70 occurrences, about 200 occurrences, and about 15 occurrences – respectively).
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are not prevalent in the construction without the pronoun,\(^{34}\) that is, they have individual occurrences in this construction (up to about 15 occurrences); and 14 verbs and adjectives do not appear at all in the construction without the pronoun.

To sum up, of the 43 verbs and adjectives that appear with the pronoun, 16 verbs (= 37 per cent) do not appear in the construction without the pronoun (most have only one or two occurrences in the construction with the pronoun); the rest of the verbs and adjectives appear in the construction without the pronoun: 20 of them (= 47 per cent) are not common in the construction without the pronoun (and here too, most have only one or two occurrences in the construction with the pronoun), and seven of them (= 16 per cent) are prevalent or very prevalent in the construction without the pronoun – but all the latter ones have more than three occurrences in the construction with the pronoun. This finding, which is concluded from the analysis of the verbs in their contexts, may be indicative that certain verbs have a preference for one of the two constructions, but is not indicative of a clear tendency on the part of all the verbs to appear in one of the two constructions. In any case, the fact that the majority of the verbs – 63 per cent – appear both in the construction with the pronoun and in the construction without the pronoun makes it difficult to provide an answer to the question regarding the purpose of the use of the proleptic dative pronoun alongside these verbs in tannaitic language.

2.4.2. Types of Contexts of the Occurrences of the Pronoun

When examining the use of the proleptic dative pronoun, the question arose as to whether there is a tendency to use the pronoun in tannaitic language contexts of a particular type. To this end, all the contexts in which the pronoun occurs were classified into different types of contexts.\(^{35}\) The classification shows that the most prevalent context in which the pronoun occurs is the narrative one – about half of the occurrences appear in this context (54 per cent = 130 out of 241 of the classified occurrences,\(^{36}\) as in citation 3 above and

\(^{34}\) The 19 verbs and adjective are: קמש, ולשונב, חל, התבה, התייר, הוזיק, גרנ, קמ, רשת, חכב, חכם, וחמש, נלא, קריר, זר, ייבש, שנא, נטש, טפח, ערב, ושת.

\(^{35}\) For a categorization of the contexts in the Tannaitic literature, see, for example, my paper (Shemesh 2008). See section 1.2 above for the three types of contexts of the examples from Tannaitic language which are presented by Gluska 1999: 300–2: proposition of performance, proposition of speech, and an expression of sorrow in the one-term sentence. And see note 12 there regarding Gluska’s classification.

\(^{36}\) Out of the total number of occurrences of the proleptic dative pronoun in Tannaitic language – 262 – 21 occurrences were removed because there was some doubt as to their categorization into a particular type of context, and consequently, the overall number of
citations 27 and 28 below); the narrative context is prevalent in Mekilta de-Rabbi Shimon ben Yohay, Sifre Deuteronomy, Tosefta, and Mekilta. Two further types of contexts in which the pronoun appears to a large extent are the halakhic give-and-take (in 44 occurrences = 18 per cent, as in citations 9 and 12 above and 22 below), which is prevalent in the Tosefta and the Mishna, and the expounding of verses (in 36 occurrences = 15 per cent, as in citations 1, 4, and 7 above), which is prevalent in Sifre Deuteronomy, Mekilta de-Rabbi Shimon ben Yohay, and Sifra; both the halakhic give-and-take and the expounding of verses have a clear halakhic nature. The rest of the occurrences are found in additional types of contexts having either a halakhic or narrative nature: a parable (in 19 occurrences = 8 per cent, as in citation 17 below), the formulation of law (in 8 occurrences = 3.5 per cent, as in citation 14 below), wise saying (in 3 occurrences = 1 per cent), and the description of a ceremony (in one occurrence – citation 5 above = 0.5 per cent).

The classification of the contexts of the pronoun’s occurrences shows the appearance of the proleptic dative pronoun in tannaitic language in varied contexts – both narrative and halakhic – and a preference for narrative contexts. The conclusion regarding the diversity of contexts is consistent with the general impression of Gluska 1999: 302, as described in section 1.2 above, that the pronoun appears in tannaitic language in halakhic-legal contexts, in moral contexts, and in emotional subjects, and that in Amoraic language too, it appears in both halakhic and aggadic parts.

2.4.3. The Place and Position of the Pronoun in the Context

As part of the effort to explore the use of the proleptic dative pronoun, the contexts of the occurrences of the pronoun in tannaitic language were analyzed in order to see if they can show preferences for the use of the pronoun within the context, and whether it has a defined place or position in the context.

Three contexts that may help to understand this subject were found:

(a) Contexts including a number of occurrences of the same verb with the proleptic dative pronoun –

In some of the citations presented so far, there appear two occurrences of the same verb with the proleptic dative pronoun alongside it, as in:

Citation 2: מלתו של ותורן מוויתו ווויתו: מקום’ ר’ עקיבא: מלתו של ותורן מוויתו ווויתו...? – ‘this teaches that two Torahs were given to Israel… Said R. Aqiba: Now did Israel have only two Torahs?’

occurrences that were classified into contexts is 241, i.e. 92 per cent of the total number of occurrences.
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Citation 10: Because it caused the righteous men to live among the wicked people, then a fortiori: If property, which do not have knowledge caused the righteous to live among the wicked, is condemned by the Almighty to be burnt...

The occurrence in note 17 above: And the occurrence in note 18 above:

(b) Contexts including an occurrence of the verb with the proleptic dative pronoun alongside occurrence of the same verb without the pronoun –

In the coming citations, the verb (לַתֵּל and מְחָנה) appears with the complementary prepositional phrase alongside it, and afterwards, the verb appears once again with the proleptic dative pronoun before the prepositional phrase:

14. הם לא י الحقيقيו לַתֵּל הָרֶהמָא לַהֲרֹהוֹמָא לֵיהֶרֶם יָבִיבְהַת הָמָלָךׁ יָאִיתְהַוַּלְמָא (t.Ned. 2:2) – They attribute [produce subject to seizure] by assessors and tax-collectors to heave-offering, or to gentile ownership, or to the ownership of the government, but they do not attribute ownership to another Israelite

15. וַיָּקְבָּכֻהוֹ לָיוֹן הָדוֹד לֹא לַאֲנוֹשׁ קרָתָו (Mek. ‘Amaleq 1 <180>) – Similar to this: ‘And the blood shall be to you for a token’ etc.; Now, of what use could the blood be to the angel or how could it help the Israelites? It merely means this: When the Israelites did so and put some of the blood upon their doors, the Holy One, blessed be He, had pity upon them...

In contexts of this type, one may ask why the proleptic dative pronoun appears only after the second occurrence of the verb, whereas in the first occurrence, the verb appears with a prepositional phrase without the proleptic dative pronoun alongside it, for example: Why does it say מְחָנהוֹ לֶשֶׁר in citation 15, when it does not say מְחָנהוֹ לֶשֶׁר earlier?
An analysis of these contexts may offer some syntactic and contextual explanations for the appearance of the pronoun alongside one occurrence of the verb and its absence in another occurrence nearby. A possible syntactic explanation can be offered to clarify citation 14: In this context, the proleptic dative pronoun appears before the second regular prepositional phrase (לישראל), but the first prepositional phrase is multiple part (לחורין להרמו ולמכים), and consequently the proleptic dative pronoun should not be expected to precede it. Similarly, in citation 1 above, the first occurrence of the verb does not appear with the proleptic dative pronoun before the multiple prepositional phrase (שנתון – ‘that he has given splendor to Moses and majesty to Joshua’), and the pronoun appears in the second occurrence of the verb before the regular prepositional phrase (...לויווסע ונהיון קורני ויהיה של שלום). To this syntactic explanation, a semantic one can be added that provides a further explanation for the use of the pronoun in citation 14, and that also explains the use of the pronoun and its absence in citation 15: In both contexts, the occurrence of the verb with the pronoun comes before the noun ישראל, whereas the occurrence without the pronoun comes before a different noun or phrase: the noun ישראל is very prevalent among the nouns that the dative pronoun precedes (as noted in section 2.2.3 above) – it can be found in about a third of the occurrences of the pronoun and its appearance in these contexts may have influenced the appearance of the pronoun before it.

Unlike these contexts, in the following context, a verb (שינה) accompanied by the proleptic dative pronoun appears first, followed by a second appearance of the verb with the exact same prepositional phrase, but this time not preceded by the dative pronoun – that is, the occurrence with the pronoun precedes the occurrence without the pronoun:

16. העדה כנסת ישصطנמור בדני ממיה מקרא; ואו לפני המק יתחדש כנסת יש. נקילłu לפני מקום אם המק יאמיע; יודעת מי קילקל למי ומי שינה מי. ויורדת כי יכילקל בו מתי יצוה בזא; ואו יכילקל למיה מקרא ואמי מקרא; ישנא בזא; כי יאמר `אמי לא שינה` (Sifre Deuteronomy 306 <330> 02) – The Community of Israel is going to stand in judgment before the Omnipresent and say to him: Lord of the world, I do not know who did bad things against whom and who has proved deceitful to whom; whether Israel has treated the Omnipresent badly or whether the Omnipresent has deceitfully treated Israel. When Scripture says "And the Heavens declare his righteousness" one must conclude that it is Israel that has treated the Omnipresent badly, and not the Omnipresent who treated Israel deceitfully, And so Scripture states "For I the Lord do not change"

The appearance of the pronoun alongside one occurrence of the verb and the absence of the pronoun in a nearby occurrence in the same context can be
explained in principle with a contextual explanation: One appearance of the construction with the proleptic dative pronoun alongside the verb is preferred to a repetition of the same construction with the same verb such as אַמְּהַמְכָּא שִׁנָּאָה בַּחַּת בְּשׁׁי... אַמְּהַמְכָּא שִׁנָּאָה בַּחַּת בְּשׁׁי. Nevertheless, this explanation contradicts the opposite tendency that was indicated by the analysis of contexts of type (a) above – the tendency towards the repeated appearance of the proleptic dative pronoun with the same verb and with the same prepositional phrase (as in מַלֵּמֶּה שְׁשָׁתְיָתְוָהּ מָהָל לֵית... וְכִי שְׁשָׁתְיָתְוָהּ מָהָל...? לֵית...? – ‘this shows that two Torahs were given to Israel… Now did Israel have only two Torahs?…’).

(c) **Contexts including a number of occurrences of the proleptic dative pronoun with different predicates** –

Among the contexts of occurrences of the proleptic dative pronoun, some were found in which the pronoun appears alongside different verbs, for example:

In adjacent laws in the Tosefta, there appear citation 3 above with the verb ירֵד (לכל זָמַה יָרָד מָהָל יָרָד... מַלֵּמֶּה שְׁשָׁתְיָתְוָהּ מָהָל לֵית...? – t.Sot. 11:2 – ‘As long as Moses was alive the manna came down to Israel…’) and the following citation with the adjective פַּתְּחַת לֵיתָרלֹא, שֵׁאַלְּאַל נָדָר מָהָל לֵיתָרלֹא (בָּאדָר) אַל אֲחַל מַחָּבָה אוּרָן כָּנָן (t.Sot. 11:3) – R. Elazar b. ’Azariah says: To what is the matter likened?... This tells you how good it was for the Israelites, for if manna had come down for the Israelites in Adar, they would not have eaten the produce of the land of Canaan

The following occurrences of the verbs פרע and נשתיר appear close together before citation 2 above with the verb ניתֶּן (לשתֶּה תְוָהָה... וְכִי שְׁשָׁתְיָתְוָהּ מָהָל לֵית...? – t.Soṭ. 11:3 – ‘and Torahs’ – this teaches that two Torahs were given to Israel… Said R. Aqiba: Now did Israel have only two Torahs?…’):

- 18. יכִי ראִי בְּדַרְשָּׁהָהָה מַהְוָה מִשָּׁה, הָוָאֶל לא פרעִתָהָה מַהְוָה מִשָּׁה (Sifra Behuqotai 2:7 <112:3> 01) – Now did I collect item by item from Israel? And did I not exact punishment for them only for one out of a hundred sins that they committed before me?

- 19. אָלָנָא מֹאָסְתָהָא דִּלָּא נַעֲלֵה לְלִילַּהֲנָא: יכִי מַשָּׁתְיָהָהָה לֵיתָהֲלָא שֶׁלֶּא נַעֲלֵה (Sifra Behuqotai 2:7 <112:3> 01) – ‘I will not spurn them, neither will I abhor them so as to destroy them utterly’; Now what is left for them, but that they not be spurned nor abhorred? For is it not the fact that all the good gifts that had been given to them were taken away from them?
And the following occurrences of the verb התיר and the adjective للمטוב which appear separated by a halakhah that comes between them:

20. ...ешאל למד אדוה את בני לנאות. (t.Sot. 15:8) – In the war against Vespasian they decreed concerning the wearing of wreaths by brides… And that a man should not teach Greek to his son. They permitted the household of Rabban Gamaliel to teach Greek to their sons, because they are close to the government.

21. ...לעם מה שנאמר בם להו והות התיר לא ילמד אדם את בנו יונית... על עטרות כלות בפואס של טיטוס גזרוNASDAQ. Said R. Ishmael: From the day on which the temple was destroyed, it would have been reasonable not to eat meat and not to drink wine, but a court does not make a decree for the community concerning things which the community cannot bear… They said to him: It is better for the community to behave in error and not do so deliberately.

These contexts, in which a number of occurrences of the proleptic dative pronoun appear with various verbs, may show that the use of the pronoun is also affected by a contextual consideration – the appearance of the pronoun with one verb leads to a tendency to use it later in the same context with a different verb, just as in contexts of type (a) above, we saw a tendency towards a repeated appearance of the pronoun later in the context alongside the same verb.

2.4.4. The Place and Position of the Proleptic Dative Pronoun Coming with the Verb אמר

As noted in section 2.2.1 above, from among the verbs and adjectives that come with the proleptic dative pronoun, the verb אמר is the most prevalent – and is in fact the only verb that is prevalent with the pronoun: It appears in 67 per cent of the occurrences of the pronoun (171 out of 255 occurrences), in all eight compositions of the tannaitic literature in which the pronoun can be found, and it denotes various kinds of speech acts. Because of the prominent place occupied by the verb אמר among the verbs and adjectives that appear with the pronoun, the analysis of the role of the proleptic dative pronoun has included a further separate analysis of the position of the pronoun in relation to this verb. The analysis of the occurrences of the pronoun alongside the verb אמר elicited three findings:

(a) The type of contexts of the pronoun's occurrences alongside the verb אמר – The analysis showed that the verb אמר can be found in different types of contexts. The most prevalent one in which it appears is the narrative context, found in 61 per cent of the occurrences (in 102 of 167 categorized
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occurrences), such in citation 6 above. The other prevalent context is the halakhic give-and-take, which is found in 23 per cent of the occurrences (in 39 occurrences), as in citations 22, 24, and 26 below. These two types of contexts represent 84 per cent of the types of contexts – the narrative context is common in the Midrashei Halakhah and in the Tosefta, and the context of the halakhic give-and-take is prevalent both in the Mishna and the Tosefta. A further context is the parable, found in 11 per cent of the occurrences (in 18 occurrences, as in citation 23 below), mainly in Sifre Deuteronomy. The other types of contexts (expounding of verses, formulation of law, and description of a ceremony [as in citation 5 above]) are rare. When the types of contexts of the pronoun's occurrences alongside the verb אמר are compared to the types of contexts of all the occurrences of the pronoun, as detailed in section 2.4.2 above, there does not appear to be any fundamental difference between them as far as the variety of the types of contexts and the preference for the narrative contexts are concerned.

(b) The pattern אמרו על חכם (or אמרו על חכם) – The analysis of the occurrences of the proleptic dative pronoun alongside the verb אמר found a tendency to use the repeated pattern – the pattern אמרו על חכם or אמרו על חכם. This pattern appears in a quarter of the occurrences of the pronoun alongside the verb אמר (30 occurrences with לע and 12 with על, out of a total of 171 occurrences).

The pattern אמרו על חכם is used when a group (of scholars, of those present, or of unidentified people) addresses a sage (or some other halakhic figure). For example, the following citation contains five occurrences of the verb in this pattern in the same Mishna passage in the context of a halakhic give-and-take. At the beginning of the citation, the views of sages are expressed on two halakhic matters, followed by a sequence of four calls in the pattern אמרו על חכם, which are addressed by a group, which asks the sage about the opinion he expressed earlier, and in response the sage expounds his view:

22. נחוניה ׳יהושע ור׳ ר, אליעזר מטמא ׳ר –כזיית בשר הפורש מאבר מן החי
יהושע ׳אליעזר ור׳ נחוניה מטמא ור׳ ר –עצם כסעורה הפורש מאיבר מן החי . מטהרים לע. מטהרים
ל. מטהרים ו् לע זהה גוזי מטמא : אליעזר ׳ר
ל... מציאנו שאבר מן החי כמת שלם: להן ׳אמ ו् לע הזה גוזי מטמא : נחוניה ׳ר
ל... להן ׳אמ? בשניהן (m.Ed. 6:3 – x5) – An olive's bulk of flesh which separates from a limb from a living being – R. Eliezer declares unclean and R. Joshua and R. Nehunya declare it clean. They said to R. Eliezer: On what basis do you declare unclean an olive's bulk of flesh which separates from a limb from a living being? He said to them: We find that a limb from a living

37 On the classification, see note 36 above.
being is like a whole corpse... They said to R. Nehunya: Why do you declare unclean the bone a barely seed in bulk which separates from a limb from a living being? He said to them... They said to R. Joshua: On what basis did you declare clean in both cases? He said to them...

And similarly, the pattern appears in this use in citations 24 and 26 below.

The pattern אמרו על חכם appears following the formulation of a general law; the pattern introduces a story presented by an unidentified group of people; The story is about the sage and concerns the general law just presented. For example, in the context of citation 6 above, there appears the general law - ...המתפלל וטעה סימן רע לו ('One who prays and errs – it is a bad sign for him...'), followed by a story about the sage: אמרו על חכם עלו ר' חנינא בן דוסה ('They said concerning R. Haninah b. Dosa that when he would pray for the sick he would say "This one shall live" or "This one shall die")...)

In the Mishna, the pattern אמרו על חכם (or אמרו על חכם) is very prevalent – it is found in 89 per cent of the occurrences of the verb אמר with the pronoun (in 16 out of 18 occurrences), in most cases in the context of the halakhic give-and-take, but also in other contexts, such as in the narrative context in citation 6 above and the ceremonial context of citation 5 above. In the latter context, the pattern appears after a succession of actions carried out by the High Priest and introduces some of the actions related to the goat sent out into the wilderness as part of the Yom Kippur ritual in the temple, at the beginning of which an unidentified group addresses the priest: אמרו על חכם היגיע שעיר למדבר: גדול ('They said concerning R. Haninah b. Dosa that when he would pray for the sick he would say "This one shall live" or "This one shall die")...)

This pattern is prevalent in the Tosefta too – in 51 per cent of the occurrences (in 18 out of 35 occurrences), and in the other compositions, it is not prevalent (in Sifra – 3 occurrences with ל and 2 with על, in each of the compositions Mekilta de-Rabbi Shimon ben Yohay and in Sifre Numbers – one occurrence with על, and in Sifre Zuta – one occurrence with על) or is not found at all.

(c) The place of the occurrences of the pronoun within the discourse

- When examining the occurrences of the proleptic dative pronoun alongside the verb אמר, the place of the occurrence within the discourse was also examined, and it was found that in two types of contexts, the occurrences tend to appear in a typical place within the discourse – both in the context of the halakhic give-and-take and of the parable.

In the context of the halakhic give-and-take, the occurrences often appear in the transition between one section of the halakhic give-and-take and another, as can be seen from the description of the pattern אמרו על חכם in subsection (b) above – the occurrences of the pronoun appear after the presentation of the
opinion of the sage and introduce the part that contains the response of the group to it.

And in the context of the parable, which is prevalent in Sifre Deuteronomy (12 out of 19 occurrences of the pronoun with the verb אמר in this type of context), the occurrences of the pronoun appear in the transition between the parable and the moral of the tale, as in:

משל לאחד שעון עלי פורתא דרכומ ילוי לפנינו שלפיינו ... כ אמי. 23
(Sifre Deuteronomy 53:6, Mesʼilot 53:6 – The matter may be compared to someone sitting at a crossroads, and before him were two paths… So did Moses say to Israel: You see how the wicked flourish…)

The common aspect of the location of the occurrences in these two contexts is that the occurrences are situated at the transition stage between two parts of the discourse. Perhaps this analysis will strengthen the impression of Gluska 1999: 302, that some of the occurrences of the pronoun appear at introductions to a statement made in circumstances that are important from a halakhic-legal or moral standpoint.

2.5. Differences between Various Traditions in the Use of the Proleptic Dative Pronoun

As part of the analysis of the proleptic dative pronoun in tannaitic language, the question of whether there are any differences between the various traditions of the same composition in regard to the use of the pronoun was explored. Sharvit 2006: 150–51 presents occurrences of the pronoun in tractate Avot, in which in some of the sources the prepositional phrase appears preceded by the proleptic dative pronoun and in others the pronoun is missing (לן אין מקריביןכל אדם אלא לצורך עצמן – m.Avot 2:3 – ‘for they get friendly with a person only for their own convenience’) and לאין עומדין ... אדם בשעת דוחקו – ibid. ibid. (‘but they do not stand by a person when he is in need’38).

The analysis included all the occurrences of the dative pronoun in the Mishna – the occurrences were gathered from the Ma’agarim Database of the Historical Dictionary Project of the Academy of the Hebrew Language (HDP), which is based on Kaufmann manuscript, and compared to three manuscripts: Parma, Lowe and Paris. The analysis showed that of the 22 occurrences of the pronoun in the Mishna, in five, i.e. in about a quarter of the occurrences (= 23 per cent), differences were found between the manuscripts, and alongside three

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38 The occurrences that Sharvit cites are based on the printed editions, whereas Ma’agarim (HDP) is based on MS Kaufmann; a preposition without the proleptic dative pronoun appears alongside the two verbs: שםון מקריבין כל אדם אלמא לגורו עתמה... איכ שומדית כל עדות בונה העתק.
of the four verbs with which the pronoun appears in the Mishna, there were
differences among the manuscripts regarding the use of the pronoun. For
example, in citation 11 above in MS Kaufmann the version is
לן יב רעăm אלא כדעתו (‘for they prepare an erub for a man only with his
knowledge and consent’), but in the three other manuscripts the pronoun is missing:
לן יב רעăm אלא כדעתו (in MS Parma the word来てז appears after the word
 Alison, and it is redacted with lines above it, and in MS Paris it appears at the end
of the line and the following line begins with the word
בזז).

As far as the manuscripts are concerned, in MS Lowe, three occurrences
are missing – in citation 11 as presented above, and in two further occurrences:

24. היה浓缩 זפפזז... hybrids מיזז. והם׳ אופר: דר שいまז רכ איזולת.

25.Usuah בזרז רז מיויאר מזרב די ביזז... יזיא אופר פיתז גזרזת.

As far as the manuscripts are concerned, in MS Lowe, three occurrences
are missing – in citation 11 as presented above, and in two further occurrences:

This is the case in the Kaufmann, Parma and Paris manuscripts; but in
MS Lowe it says: אופר די.

In MS Paris the pronoun is missing from two occurrences – in citation 11
as presented above, and in another citation that corresponds to citation 25:

אמרוLv: המ[of] (=ד) המ[of] (=ד) המ[of] (=ד)

In MS Paris the pronoun is missing in one occurrence – in citation 11 as
presented above, and it has one occurrence of adding the pronoun between the
lines, whereas in the three other manuscripts that were examined the pronoun
appears (…אמרוLv: מה[of] (=ד) המ[of] (=ד) המ[of] (=ד)

In addition, also included in the analysis were 32 occurrences of the
pronoun from among the occurrences found in the Tosefta based on the
Ma’agarim (HDP), which is based on MS Vienna, and from among them, differences between the sources were found in nine occurrences, i.e. in about a quarter of the occurrences that were examined (= 28 per cent), similar to the proportion of differences found in the analysis of the occurrences in the Mishna. For example, in citation 8 above, in MS Vienna the version of the text is מה יעשה להם לברחת האישון? (‘What shall we do with the former co-wives?’), but the pronoun is missing in MS Erfurt, Cairo Genizah fragments and first printing.

As far as the sources are concerned, in MS Erfurt the pronoun is missing in four occurrences – in citation 8 as presented above and in three additional occurrences, as in:40

החלקה בכמה מעשה شيء שנעשה יפהו. ר. יהודה אומן; יקב. אמור על ה.’

These 32 occurrences appear up until tractate Bava Batra. These are the occurrences that could be examined in Lieberman 1992, who notes the alternative versions between the sources. These occurrences are 57 per cent of the 56 occurrences of the pronoun in the Tosefta.

As far as the sources are concerned, in MS Erfurt the pronoun is missing in four occurrences – in citation 8 as presented above and in three additional occurrences, as in:40

In addition, in one occurrence in MS Erfurt, the pronoun appears but the preposition following it is missing – in citation 9 above: קול היה לחם בנה שלא חמשה תılmואים כות (‘In this matter the house of Hillel took the lenient position’) – in MS Erfurt it appears as: ...כה הלה בית הילל.

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39 These 32 occurrences appear up until tractate Bava Batra. These are the occurrences that could be examined in Lieberman 1992, who notes the alternative versions between the sources. These occurrences are 57 per cent of the 56 occurrences of the pronoun in the Tosefta.

40 A further occurrence appears in Ma’agarim (HDP), and it is based on the version that appears in the first printing, which is determined by Lieberman 1992: 91 to be the correct one: An Israelite who is made a guardian for the estate of a gentile or a bailee is permitted to lend out money of his on interest, and a gentile who is made a guardian of the estate of an Israelite or a bailee is prohibited for lending out money of his on interest). Further versions are found in the other sources: In MS Vienna the pronoun can be found without the preposition following it: ...שם ויתר בשמאיל אפורדפורט, and the context is interpreted differently; and in MS Erfurt and MS Schocken the pronoun is missing: ...שם ויתר בשמאיל אפורדפורט.
And in another occurrence in MS Erfurt, the pronoun appears, but the preposition following it is missing:

(וּלָּמַדְךָ שֵׁם רָכָּנָה לַחֵמָה לֶאֱלֹהִים ... לַשְׁמוֹאֵל חָוֵר מְפִיכָת דְּמֵי) – And afterward the father of the youngster came to them saying... This teaches you that the uncleanness of the knife is more grievous to Israelites than murder –

In MS Erfurt it says: לְשָׁמַע רָכָּנָה without the word לֶאֱלֹהִים.

In the first printing the pronoun is missing in two occurrences – in citation 8 as presented above, and in the following citation:

(אֶמֶרְךָ לֶאֱלֹהִים אֹמְרָה לֶאֱלֹהִים אָמַרְךָ לְאִמָּךְ) – R. Eleazar Said: We stated to R. Meir: On what account do they act to the advantage of a slave not in his presence?

3. Conclusions

This paper describes the verbal construction that contains the proleptic dative pronoun (e.g. ‘א אמרְךָ לֶאֱלֹהִים [lit. ‘A said to him to B’]), examining all the occurrences of the pronoun in tannaitic language (262 occurrences).

In the tannaitic literature the use of the pronoun is prevalent in two compositions – in the Tosefta and in Sifre Deuteronomy. In most of the occurrences the pronoun is suffixed to the preposition ל (90 per cent) and is a verb complement (97 per cent); in most of these occurrences (91 per cent) the verb is a verb of saying or an activity verb, and the pronoun is prevalent in the syntactic position of an object which is obligatory to the verb (84 per cent). Out of the verbs and adjectives, the pronoun is prevalent only with the verb אמר. Semantically, the referent of the pronoun is almost always a person (97 per cent), and in many cases it is perceived as a definite due to a previous appearance of it before the sentence containing the dative pronoun.

Section 2.4 analyzes the goal of the use of the proleptic dative pronoun in the contexts in which it appears. It was found that some of the verbs that appear with the pronoun appear in similar occurrences without it, and that most (63 per cent) have occurrences in the construction without the pronoun too (e.g. ‘א אמרְךָ לְאִמָּךְ [lit. ‘A said to B’]). It was also found that the pronoun appears in a variety of contexts, of a narrative or a legal nature, the most prevalent of which is the narrative context (54 per cent). Consequently, these findings regarding the verbs and the types of contexts do not allow conclusions to be drawn regarding the role of the proleptic dative pronoun. A further analysis explored the position of the pronoun within the contexts, and it was found that on the one hand, in some contexts the pronoun appears twice with the same verb, as well as
contexts in which the pronoun appears with different predicates, while on the other hand, there are also contexts in which a verb appears once with the pronoun and once without it. From the two former contexts, it appears then that there is a contextual tendency towards repeat use of the proleptic dative pronoun within the succession.

The proleptic dative pronoun tends to appear with the verb אמר in the pattern אמר על חכם or אמר על חכם אומר על חכם, which is very prevalent with the verb in the Mishna and the Tosefta. In two types of contexts – the halakhic give-and-take and the parable – the occurrences of the pronoun alongside the verb אמר were found to have a typical location in the discourse – at the transition stage between the parts of the discourse.

Section 2.5 shows that there are differences between the various traditions of the same composition as far as the use of the proleptic dative pronoun is concerned – in about a quarter of the occurrences the pronoun is missing in some of the sources (23 per cent of the occurrences in the Mishna and 28 per cent of the occurrences examined in the Tosefta). A previous paper (Shemesh 2010) described another dative pronoun, which is also perceived as a redundant pronoun – the co-agentic dative pronoun, which is used in the construction 'verb + ל + pronoun', as in ושћלכו מי למדינת הים ('He who went overseas'). A lack of uniformity was found also between the various sources also for the use of the co-agentic dative pronoun, but on a smaller scale (5 per cent of the occurrences in the Mishna and 15 per cent of the occurrences examined in the Tosefta).

References

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