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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 – 'בל'. 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: ʹI… watchʹd **him** how he singled Clifford forth.ʹ Qimron 1993: 68 presents a structure in Aramaic such as בָּהּ שַׁעתא (Dan. 3:6 – ʹat onceʹ); a parallel structure can be found in Mishnaic Hebrew, such as בו ביום (ʹon that same dayʹ – 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 ביתו 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.[2] The second construction is at the focus of this paper: the verb phrase, such as in the sentence: א׳ אמר לו לב׳ (lit. 'A said **to him to** B') or when the predicate precedes the subject: אמר לו א׳ לב׳ (lit. 'Said A **to him to** B'), which comes in place of the standard construction א׳ אמר לב׳ (lit. 'A said **to** B').

In this construction, the verb is followed by a preposition, to which a third-person pronoun is suffixed[3] (לו – 'to him' – in this example), the pronoun refers to a noun that follows it (ב׳ – B), 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 בֵּיתֵהּ דִי מלכא – ('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 וכי היכן מצינו ב... שפדאו **לאברהם?** (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: נחמו**הו** נחמו**הו** **לעמי** (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: ב (as in נתקנא **בו** חוניו בשמעי אחיו – b.Men. 109b – ′Chonyo regretted his decision and plotted to have Shimi killed′), ל (as in שאין זכין **לו לאדם** לאחר מיתה – t.Giṭ. 1:8 – ′for they do not acquire an advantage for a deceased person once death has taken place′), and על (as in חולקין **עליו** חבריו של הלל – 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.[6] 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** (Rodrigue-Schwarzwald and Sokoloff 1992: 181).[7] 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: ויאמר ה′ אל משה אמר אל בני ישראל [Exod. 33:5 – ′The Lord said to Moses: Say to the Israelite people′] in the Bible and בשעה שאמר לו הקב״ה ליחזקאל לך אמור להם לישראל [b.San. 44b – ′At the time Holy One Blessed is He said go Ezekiel: Go say to Israel′][8] in mishnaic Hebrew). Kogut 1981 explains the tendency not to

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[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 preposition ל 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: ʹThe 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 itʹ (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: *ותפתח ותראהו את הילד* – Exod. 2:6 – ʹWhen she opened it she saw that it was a childʹ), 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 ארץ הנגב נתתני (Josh. 15:19 – ʹfor you have given me away as Negev-landʹ). On the other hand, Segal 1936: 200–1 presents also examples from the Bible of this construction as discussed in this paper: *א׳ אמר לו לב׳* (ʹA said to him to Bʹ), as in אל הארץ אשר אנכי נתן **להם לבני ישראל** (Josh. 1:2 – ʹinto the land that I am giving to the Israelitesʹ); ויכן **להם** עזיהו לכל הצבא מגנים ורמחים... (2 Chron. 26:14 – ʹUzziah provided them – the whole army – with shields and spears…ʹ).

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 Mishanic Hebrew and its distribution, Kutscher 1971–1972: 1601 characterizes the phenomenon as being quite frequent in Mishaic Hebrew, as does Sharvit 2004: 70, who presents the following examples: הודו **לו** חכמים לבן זומה (m.Naz. 8:1 – ʹSages concurred with the opinion of Ben Zomaʹ), אמרו **עליו על** ר׳ חנינה בן דוסה (m.Ber. 5:5 – ʹThey said concerning R. Haninah b. Dosaʹ), אין מקרבין **לו לאדם** אלא לצורך עצמן (m.Avot 2:3 – ʹthey get friendly with a person only for their own convenienceʹ) (and see examples also in Azar 1995: 223–24 and elsewhere[10]). Sharvit 2006:

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[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 צימוד של הקדם [ʹcoupling of prolapsisʹ]), which can be found in various constructions (e.g. בו ביום – ʹon that very dayʹ, פשפשין היו לו לשער הגדול – ʹThe great gate had two doorsʹ, אוי להם לבריות – ʹWoe unto peopleʹ), 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. Gluska1999: 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 – **עשה להם** לישראל נסים על ידי שרי זבולון ונפתלי (Mek. Beshallah 2:5 – 'so also miracles were performed for Israel through the tribes of Zebulun and Naphtali'), משה תקן **להם לישראל**... (Sifre Numbers 17:4 – 'Moses ordained the rule for Israel…'); proposition of speech – שאמר **לו משה לאהרן** (Sifra Semini 3:3 – 'That Moses said to Aaron'), אמר **להם הקב"ה לישראל** (Sifre Deuteronomy 15 – 'The Holy One blessed be He said to Israel'); and expressions of sorrow in a one-term sentence – אוי **לו לאדם שנשכו ערוד** (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

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[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 *Ma'agarim* program (see note 15 below) based on the manuscript in a different formulation that does not contain an occurrence of the pronoun (כך נעשו נסים לישראל על ידי שבט זבולון ונפתלי בימי דבורה וברק – 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 (יש' להיות שואלים בעניין ודורשין בעניינן – 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'agarim* in the Tosefta, with the pronoun suffixed to the interjection אי (אילו לאדם שנשכו ערוד – 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: שלחו **עלוהי על** ארתחששתא – Ezra 4:11 – ʹThey sent to him to king Artaxeresʹ) and in western and eastern dialects – in Babylonian Aramaic (אמר **ליה רבי יצחק לרב** נחמן – b.Ber. 7b – ʹR. Yitzchak said to Rav Nachmanʹ), in Syriac, in Aramaic of the Targumim, and in Galilean Aramaic.[13] 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: לפי שכבדו המקום תחלה **לאהרן** (Sifra Shemini 2:2 – ʹSince the Omnipresent had at the outset paid respect to Aaronʹ). 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 Gluskaʹs; 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 pronounʹs frequency in tannaitic language and the circumstances of its use. The description of the pronoun in the following

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[13] Sokoloff 2002: 612 presents this use in Babylonian Aramaic, such as: אמ׳ **ליה** חד **לחבריה** – ʹOne person said to his friendʹ, and defines it as the dative use of ל with the proclitic pronoun.

sections of this chapter will include a presentation of the inventory of the forms of the proleptic dative pronoun[14] 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.[15] 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 את 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, לה, להם, and להן – were examined, and that it was necessary to make sure that the proleptic dative pronoun and the prepositional phrase following it (e.g. לו... ל) 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 תינהוג **בו בביזיון** (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 דרש ר׳ פפייס: ׳לסוסתי ברכבי פרעה׳ – רכב פרעה על סוס זכר כביכול נגלה **עליו על** סוס זכר... <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; עשה – 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 לו לב׳ (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 קל (as in citation 9 below) and with קשה

(as in 27), and once with יפה (17) and with מוטב (21), and in Sifre Deuteronomy, once with חביב.

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 אמר (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 נתן and ירד, 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 נתן it has 13 occurrences in six compositions, and with ירד 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 נתן, 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. <נתן05> ״בכור שורו הדר לו״; מלמד שנתן +<הוד למשה והדר ליהושע, שאלו נתן
לו הוד ליהושע אין כל העולם יכול לעמוד בו – ״וקרני ראם קרניו״... נותן לו ליהושע
ראם של וקרניו שור של וכוחו קרנו (Sifre Deuteronomy 353 <414> 03 – x2) ¹⁶–
ʹLike firstling bull in his majestyʹ: 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 – ʹ… he has horns like the horns of the wild-oxʹ: … 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. ״והתורות״ – מלמ׳ ששתי תורות ניתן להם ליש׳: אחת בכתב ואחת בפה.
אמ׳ ר׳ עקיבה: וכי שתי תורות ניתנו להם ליש׳? הלא תורות הרבה ניתן להם, שנ׳ ״זאת
תורת העולה״... (Sifra Behuqotai 2:7 <112:3> 01 – x2; and Sifre Deuteronomy
351 <408> 03 – x2) – ʹ…and Torahsʹ – 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: ʹThis is the Torah of burnt-offeringʹ…

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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 (נתן) is attributed to the *nifal* pattern and the second (נותן) is attributed to an extraordinary pattern or to a doubtful verb (this is a *nufal* pattern).

Regarding the verb ירד, in all 10 occurrences with this verb in the three compositions, the same expression can be found: ירד להן לישראל / (ה)מן היה יורד ('The manna would come down / came down to Israel'), as in:

3. כל זמן שהיה משה קיים היה מן **יורד להן לישראל** (t.Soṭ. 11:2) – As long as Moses was alive the manna came down to Israel

From here, we can see that the verb אמר 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 עשה [as in citation 8 below]; five occurrences with נעשה; four occurrences with נם and עמד [as in the occurrence in note 17 below]; 3 occurrences with נאמר and נתן). Some of the occurrences are close or similar to one another,[17] as was found for most of the occurrences of the verbs נתן and ירד.

With the other verbs, the pronoun has only one or two occurrences: two with each of the verbs גרם (in citation 10 below), הגיד (in the occurrence in note 18 below), השתנה (note 18), התקין (note 18), חל, and נכרת – some are close or similar to one another;[18] and once with each of these verbs: : הודה (12), הועיל, נשתייר, נלחם, נאסר (7), משל, מחל, התנבא, התיר, העיד (20), הינה (4), החזיק (19), נשתעבד, נתן רשות, נתעבד, עירב, פרע (11), צרך (18) (in the occurrence in note 25 below), קרא, שינה (16), שלט, שנה, and תלה (14).

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[17] Thus two of the seven occurrences of עשה are similar occurrences from the same context: **עשה לו** המקום לאהרן במיתתו יתר מחיו... אילא כבוד גדול **עשה לו** המקום לאהרן... (Sifra Milu'im 1:1 <41:1> – x2 – '… But as a matter of fact there was a miracle so that the Holy one blessed be He did in his death something greater than he had done for him while he was alive… But the Omnipresent paid him enormous respect…'); and two of the four occurrences of עמד are similar occurrences from different compositions, the first of which has two occurrences in the same context: שני פרנסין טובים **עמדו להן ליש׳**: מש׳ ודוד מלך יש׳ (Sifre Deuteronomy 26 <36> 01 / ibid. <38> 01 – 'Israel had two truly excellent leaders: Moses and David king of Israel'), שלשה פרנסים טובים **עמדו להן לישראל**: משה אהרן ומרים (Seder 'Olam Rabbah 10 – 'Israel had three truly excellent leaders: Moses, Aaron, and Miriam').

[18] Two occurrences of the verbs גרם and התקין are from the same context: גרם in citation 10 below and התקין in the following context: מה, אנונה **התקנת להן לאילו**, מה אומ׳ לו: בן עמרם, פרנסה **התקנת להן לאילו?** (Sifre Deuteronomy 1 <4> 01 – x2 – 'and say to him: Son of Amram, what ration have you prepared for these? What living have you prepared for these?'); two occurrences of the verb הגיד are similar occurrences from different compositions: כשם שהנביא **מגיד להם/ן לישראל** חדרין וסתרין, היה המן **מגיד להם/ן ל**ישראל חדרין וסתרין (Mek. Vayassa' 5 <171> / *Mek. de-Rabbi Shimon ben Yohay* 16:31 <115> 11 – 'Just as the prophet would tell Israel of what was in their rooms and secret places, so the manna would tell Israel of what was in their rooms and secret places'); and two occurrences of the verb השתנה are from nearby contexts in the same composition: מן היה **משתנה להן ליש׳** לכל דבר שהיו רוצין... (Sifre Numbers 97 <87> / ibid. 99 <89> – 'The manna would turn for the Israelites into anything they might desire').

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[19] – **verbs of saying** and **verbs of activity**.[20] 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 אמר, הגיד, הודה, העיד, התיר, התנבא, התקין, נאמר, נאסר, נם, נתן רשות, קרא, and שנה; and the group of verbs of activity includes the verbs: נכרת, ניתן, ירד, החזיק, שלט, פרע, עשה (in four of seven occurrences), עירב, נתעבד, נתן, נשתעבד, נלחם, and תלה. 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[21] shows that these verbs describe many speech acts such as directing (in the verbs אמר, התקין, נאמר נתן רשות, and קרא); 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): משל, מחל, חל, הינה, הועיל, גרם, and שינה. Three verbs belong to the group of ingressive verbs: השתנה, נעשה, and נשתייר. The verb עמד is an existential verb. There is some doubt as to what group the verb צרך (see the occurrence in note 25 below) and three out of the occurrences of the verb עשה 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 ʹproposition of performanceʹ he includes verbs of action – עשה and תיקן, and in the context that he calls ʹproposition of speechʹ 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 (...נתן לו הוד ליהושע... נותן לו ליהושע קרנו וכוחו של שור – ʹmajesty was given to Joshua… To Joshua were given the strength of the ox and the horn of the wild oxʹ), also preceded by the title Rabbi (in 53 of the occurrences = 20 per cent), as in citations 6 (...אמרו עליו על ר׳ חנינא בן דוסא – ʹThey said concerning R. Haninah b. Dosa…ʹ) and 12 (ולא הודו לו חכמים לר׳ שמעון – ʹbut sages did not concur with R. Simeonʹ) below. The person could also be individual that is not a particular person, as in citations 5 (אמרו לו לכהן – ʹThey said to the high priestʹ) and 11 (אין מערבין לו לאדם אלא לדעתו גדול – ʹfor they prepare an *erub* for a man only with his knowledge and consentʹ) below.

Rather than just an individual, the referent could also be a group of people, as in citations 9 (קל היה להם לבית הלל בדבר זה – ʹIn this matter the house of Hillel took the lenient positionʹ), 10 (שגרמו להן לצדיקים – ʹthat caused the righteous oneʹ), 13 (אילו כ׳ד מתנות שניתנו להן לכהנים – ʹThis refers to the twenty-four priestly gifts that were given to the priestsʹ), 20 (התירו להם לבית רבן גמליאל – ʹThey permitted the household of Rabban Gamalielʹ), and 21 (מוטב להן לצבור – ʹIt is better for the communityʹ) below. Among the names which refer to a group, the name ישראל – Israel – is most outstanding, in reference to the

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[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.

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 (היה מן יורד **להן לישראל** – 'The manna came down to Israel') and in citations 7 (ארבע מלכיות **מושלות בהן** 'how – **ביש** (17 and ('Four kingdoms ruled Israel' – כמה היה יפה **להן לישראל** 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 (...באותה שעה **אמ' לו** הקב'ה למלאך המות – 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 (ואין קדושה **חלה עליהן על** בע' מום קבוע – x2 – Sifre Deuteronomy 71 <135> 02 – '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. "ויניקהו דבש מסלע" – אילו מציקין **שהחזיקו בה בארץ-ישראל** והם קשין להוציא מהן פרוטה כצור (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 ישראל (Israel) – כל זמן שהיה משה קיים היה מן יורד **להן לישראל** ('As long as Moses was alive the manna came down to Israel'), after previous laws contained references to the noun ישראל (Israel), in a repetitive format: כל זמן שהיה יוסף ושבטים קיימין היו *ישראל* מתנהגין בגדולה וכבוד... כל זמן שהיתה מרים קיימת היתה באר מספקת את *ישראל*... כל זמן שהיה אהרן קיים עמוד ענן מנהיג את *ישראל* (t.Soṭ. 10:10–11:1 – 'So 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 ארץ ישראל (Eretz Israel) – אילו מציקין שהחזיקו **בה בארץ-ישראל** ('This refers to the oppressors who seized the land of Israel'), after this phrase was mentioned in the previous context: ... זו *ארץ-ישראל* שהיא גבוה מכל הארצות... אילו פירות *ארע*- *ישראל* שקלין לאכל מכל פירות מכל הארצות (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 ניתן (when the pronoun is suffixed to the preposition ל, as in citation 2 above: שתי תורות ניתנו להם ליש′ [′Two Torahs were given to Israel′]) and פרע (with the preposition מ – in citation 18 below: פרעתי מהן מיש′ [′Did I collect from Israel′]) as well as with the verbs shown in

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[24] See note 1 above.

the following examples, אמר (with the preposition ל [as in 5[25]] or על [as in 6[26]] and משל (with the preposition ב – in citation 7[27]):

5. **אמרו לו לכהן** גדול: היגיע שעיר למדבר (m.Yoma 6:8) – They said to the high priest: The goat has reached the wilderness

6. המתפלל וטעה סימן רע לו... **אמרו עליו על** ר׳ חנינא בן דוסה שהיה מתפלל על החולין ואומ׳: זה חיי וזה מת... (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 **מושלות בהן ביש**׳ ואין בהן חכם ואין בהם נבון (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 adverbial** denoting the beneficiary of the action, when the pronoun is suffixed to the preposition ל, for example with the verb ירד (as in citation 3 above: היה מן יורד **להן לישראל** – ′the manna

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[25] The pronoun is suffixed to the preposition ל in position of object with the following verbs too: גרם (in citation 10 below), הגיד (in an occurrence in note 18 above), הודה (in citation 12 below), נתן רשות, נתן (as in 1 above), נס, נאסר, נאמר, מחל, התנבא (20), התיר (15), הינה, הועיל, עשה (8 below), and קרא. 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 תלה in citation 14 below and with the verb צרך in the following occurrence: ... בשמו הוא נלחם ואינו צריך לאחת מכל מידות הללו. ואם כן למה צריך לפרט כל אחד ואחד בפני עצמו? אלא שאם **צרכו להן ל**שר׳ המקום עושה להם מלחמה (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 על in the position of object with the verb חל ואין קדושה **חלה עליהן על** בע׳ מום קבוע) – Sifre Deuteronomy 71 <135> 02 – x2 – ′and which are not subject to consecration when bearing a permanent blemish′). It should be noted that the complement ′על...′ alongside the verb אמר is a raised complement, because sentences in which it appears have their source in sentences in which the verb אמר appears with a complementary content clause, for example: The sentence in citation 6 below **אמרו עליו על** ר׳ חנינא בן דוסה שהיה מתפלל על החולין (′They said concerning R. Haninah b. Dosa that he would pray for the sick′) has its source in the sentence אמרו שר׳ חנינא בן דוסא היה... (′They said that R. Haninah b. Dosa would…′); the latter sentence underwent raising which removed the subject of the clause and led it to function as a verb complement אמרו על ר׳ חנינא בן דוסא שהיה... (′They said concerning R. Haninah b. Dosa that he would…′). The raised complement is discussed in the context of generative semantics in its Hebrew development, first by Rubinstein 1971: 91–116, and then by Borochovsky-Bar Aba 2001: 172–75. In the discussion of the position of the pronoun in this section, the raised complement is considered to be obligatory by the verb.

[27] The pronoun is suffixed to the preposition ב in the position of object with the following verbs too: החזיק (in citation 4 above), העיד, נאמר, נלחם, נשתעבד, נשתעבד/נתעבד, and שלט.

came down to Israel')[28] and in the following citations with the verb עשה (8) and with the adjective קל (9):

8. (t.Yev. אמ׳ רבן שמעון בן גמליאל: מה **נעשה להם לצרות הראשונות?** 1:10) – Said Rabban Simeon b. Gamaliel: What shall we do with the former co-wives?

9. בית שמיי אומ׳: ... יקיימו, בית הלל אומ׳: יוציאו... אבא שאול אומ׳: **קל היה להם לבית הלל בדבר זה** (t.Yev. 5:1) – The House of Shammai 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: נעשה, נכרת, התקין, השתנה (in the occurrence in note 18 above for both these verbs), נשתייר (19), עירב (11), עמד (in the occurrence in note 17 above), and שנה; and also with the adjectives חביב, יפה (17), מוטב (21), and קשה (27). The pronoun is suffixed to the preposition ב in a non-obligatory position only with one verb – שינה (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 גרם appears twice with the pronoun in a citation from Mekilta Devarim:

10. ...**שגרמו להן** לצדיקים לדור ביני רשעים, והרי קל וחומר: ומה אם נכסין שאין בהן דעת **שגרמו להן** לצדיקין לדור ביני רשעים אמ׳ המקו׳ שיהיו 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:...מפני **שגרמו לצדיקים** לדור בין הרשעים (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. ...דבר׳ ר׳ אליעז׳. וחכמ׳ או׳... מודים בשאר כל האדם שזכו לו מעותיו שאין **מערבין לו** לאדם אלא לדעתו (m.ʹEruv. 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: אמ׳ ר׳ מאיר: מפני מה אמרו אין **מערבין לאדם** אלא לדעתו (t.ʹEruv. 6:8 – ʹSaid R. Meir: On what account did they rule ʹThey prepare an *ʹerub* for a man only with his knowledge and consentʹ?ʹ).

And similarly, the verb הודה appears with the pronoun in the following citation:

12. ר׳ שמעון אומ׳: למחרת מביא אשמו ולוגו בידו... ולא **הודו לו חכמים לר׳**
שמעון, שמביא קדשים לבית הפסול (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׳:
זה ישחט לשום מה שהוא... ולא **הודו** חכמים **לר׳** שמעון, שמביא קדשים לבית הפסול
(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 ניתן appearing with the pronoun:

13. ״והיתה לו ולזרע׳ אחר׳ בר׳ כהנת עולם״ – אילו כ׳ד מתנות שניתנו להן
לכהנים (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: ״אני חלקך
ונחלתך״ – עשרים וארבע מתנות **ניתנו** לכהנים, שתים-עשרה במקדש ושתים-עשרה
בגבולין (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 לו 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. ′לב [= ′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. לו [= ′to him′]). This is because it is only before a prepositional phrase of the first type, such as א′ אמר **לו לאיש** / **לאיש זה** (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 ‏*.א′ אמר **לו לו**.

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, ניתן, and ירד – the first two verbs are very common in the construction without the pronoun,[29] for example in citations such as 2 (שתי תורות **ניתנו להם** ליש′ – ′Two Torahs were given to Israel′) and 5 (**אמרו לו לכהן גדול** – ′They said to the high priest′) above, but they also appear in the construction without the pronoun, as in: הא לא **נתנו** מצות לישראל אלא לחיות בהן (t.Shab. 15:17 – ′Lo, the religious requirements were given over to Israel only so that they may live by them′) and ...אמרו בית הלל **לבית** שמי: הואיל וטהורה אסורה לזרים (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 ניתן, the verb ירד does not have many occurrences in the construction without the pronoun,[30] as for example in the following occurrence: ?מפני מה לא **יורד** מן ליש′ 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 – (ה)מן היה יורד /

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[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 ניתן 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, Mekilta Devarim, Sifre Zuta, and Seder Olam Rabbah).

[30] The structure without the pronoun was not found in the three compositions in which the verb ירד appears in the construction with the pronoun, but has about ten occurrences without the pronoun in other compositions.

ירד להן לישראל ('the manna would come down for Israel') (as noted in section 2.2.1 above).

Of the six verbs that have 3–7 occurrences with the proleptic dative pronoun, for the verbs נם and עמד, no occurrences were found in the standard construction of the prepositional phrase not preceded by the proleptic dative pronoun.[31] In contrast, the verb נעשה is prevalent in the standard construction,[32] and the verbs נאמר, נתן, and עשה are very prevalent in the standard construction,[33] for example in comparison to the occurrences of the verbs נעשה and נתן in the construction with the pronoun (e.g. עשרה נסים נעשו להן ליש׳ על הים... – Mek. de-Rabbi Shimon ben Yohay 14:16 <59> 11 – 'Ten miracles were performed for Israel on the sea'; וכשנתנו לו לר׳ צדוק אוכל פחות מכביצה... – m.Suk. 2:5 – 'And when they gave to R. Sadoq food less than an egg's bulk…'), these two verbs have other occurrences in the construction without the pronoun מגיד הכת׳ שכשם שנעשו נסים ליש׳ על ידי שבט יהודה ובנימן על הים ... .Mek (e.g. de-Rabbi Shimon ben Yohay 14:22 <63> 11 – x2 – 'The Torah says that just as miracles were performed at the sea for Israel through the tribes of Judah and Benjamin'; נותן אדם לפונדקית תבשיל לבשל לו – t.Dem. 4:32 – 'A man gives to the mistress of the inn a dish [of food] to cook for him').

Of the 34 verbs and adjectives that have one or two occurrences with the proleptic dative pronoun, only the verb הודה, which has one occurrence with the pronoun (citation 12 above – ולא הודו לו חכמים לר׳ שמעון – '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 as מודי׳ חכמים לר׳ מאיר במומין שדרכן לולד עמה... – t.Ket. 7:10 – 'Sages concur with R. Meir in the case of blemishes which are congenital…'). 19 further verbs and adjectives

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[31] It should be noted that a number of individual occurrences of the verb עמד with the meaning 'helped, assisted' were found in the standard construction, as in: ...לפי שכל אומניות שבעולם אין עומדין לאדם 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 verb נעשה 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 (נאמר – about 50 occurrences, נתן – about 110 occurrences, and עשה – about 80 occurrences), and in additional compositions (about 70 occurrences, about 200 occurrences, and about 15 occurrences – respectively).

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

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[34] The 19 verbs and adjective are: גרם, הגיד, החזיק, התיר, התנבא, חל, נלחם, נשתעבד, נתן. The 14 verbs and adjectives are: קשה, יפה, חביב; שנה, שינה, שלט, שנה, קרא, צרך, פרע, עירב, רשות. קל, מוטב; תלה, נתעבד, נשתייר, נכרת, נאסד, משל, מחל, התקין, השתנה, העיד, הינה, הועיל.

[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: מלמ׳ ששתי תורות **ניתן להם ליש׳**... אמ׳ ר׳ עקיבה: וכי שתי תורות **ניתנו להם ליש׳**?... – 'this teaches that two Torahs were given to Israel… Said R. Aqiba: Now did Israel have only two Torahs?...'

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occurrences that were classified into contexts is 241, i.e. 92 per cent of the total number of occurrences.

Citation 10: **שגרמו להן לצדיקים** לדור ביני רשעים, והרי קל וחומר: ומה אם ...
– נכסין שאין בהן דעת **שגרמו להן לצדיקין** לדור ביני רשעים אמ׳ המק׳ שיהיו בשריפה...
ʹBecause 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…ʹ

... אלא מעשה ניסין **עשה לו** המקום לאהרן :The occurrence in note 17 above
ʹBut as a matter of – ...במיתתו יתיר מחיו... אילא כבוד גדול **עשה לו** המקום לאהרן...
fact there was a miracle so that the Holy one blessed be He did in his death something greater than he had done for him while he was alive… But the Omnipresent paid him enormous respect…ʹ

ואומ׳ לו: בן עמרם, מה אנונה **התקנת** :And the occurrence in note 18 above
ʹand say to him: Son of Amram, what – **להן** לאילו, מה פרנסה **התקנת להן** לאילו?
ration have you prepared for these? What living have you prepared for these?ʹ

These contexts may show that following the use of the proleptic dative pronoun with a particular verb, the pronoun tends to appear again alongside the same verb later in the same context. However the contexts of the following types show that this tendency is not exclusive.

(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 (תלה and הינה) 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. תולין לחרגין לחרמין למוכסי׳ לתרומה ולגוי ולבית המלך ואין **תולין להן** לישראל (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. כיוצ׳ בו ״והיה הדם לכם לאות״ וג׳; וכי מה הדם **מהנה** למלאך או מה **מהנה להם לישר׳**, אלא כל זמן שהיו ישר׳ נותנין מן הדם על פיתחהן המק׳ נגלה וחס עליהם...
(Mek. ʹAmaleq 1 <180>) – Similar to this: ʹAnd 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 מהנה להם לישר׳, in citation 15, when it does not say מהנה לו למלאך 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 (**לחרגין לחרמין למוכסי׳**), 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 (**נתן** הוד למשה והדר ליהושע – ʹthat he has given splendor to Moses and majesty to Joshuaʹ), and the pronoun appears in the second occurrence of the verb before the regular prepositional phrase (...**נותן לו** ליהושע קרנו וכוחו של שור – ʹhe gives to Joshua the strength of the ox…ʹ). 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. עתידה כנסת יש׳ שתעמוד בדין לפני המק׳ ואו׳ לפניו: רב׳ שלעו׳, איני יודעת מי קילקל במי ומי שינא במי; אם יש׳ קילקלו לפני מקום אם המק׳ **שינא בהן ביש׳**, כש׳ או׳ ״ויגידו שמים צדקו״ הווי יש׳ קיל׳ לפני מק׳ ואין המקו׳ **שינא ביש׳**, שנ׳ ״כי אני ה׳ לא שניתי״ (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 ʺAnd the Heavens declare his righteousnessʺ 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 ʺFor I the Lord do not changeʺ

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 **שינא אם המק׳** **בהן ביש׳** ... **ואין המקו׳ שינא בהן ביש׳**. 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 מלמ׳ ששתי תורות **ניתן להם ליש׳**... וכי שתי תורות **ניתנו** לישראל in citation 2 above: **להם ליש׳**...? – ʹthis shows that two Torahs were given to Israel… Now did Israel have only two Torahs?...ʹ).

(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 ירד (...כל זמן שהיה משה קיים היה מן **יורד להן לישראל**... – t.Soṭ. 11:2 – ʹAs long as Moses was alive the manna came down to Israel…ʹ) and the following citation with the adjective יפה:

17. ר׳ לעזר בן עזריה אומ׳: משלו משל למה הדבר דומה... להודיעך כמה היה **יפה להן לישראל**, שאילו ירד מן לישראל {באדר} לא אכלו מתבואת ארץ כנען (t.Soṭ. 11:3) – R. Elazar b. ʹAzariah 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 נשתייר appear close together before citation 2 above with the verb ניתן (והתורות״ – מלמ׳ ששתי תורות **ניתן להם ליש׳**... אמ׳ ר׳ עקיבה: וכי שתי תורות **ניתנו להם ליש׳**? ... ״ – and Torahsʺ... – this teaches that two Torahs were given to Israel… Said R. Aqiba: Now did Israel have only two Torahs?...ʹ):

18. וכי ראש בראש פרעתי **מהן מיש׳**, והלא לא פרעתי מהן אחד ממאה שחטאו **לפני**... (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. ״לא מאסתים ולא געלת׳ לכלתם״: וכי מה **נשתייר להם ליש׳** שלא נמאסו ולא נגעלו? והלא כל מתנות טובות שניתנו להם ניטלו מהם! (Sifra Behuqotai 2:7 <112:3> 01) – ״I will not spurn them, neither will I abhor them so as to destroy them utterlyʺ: 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 מוטב which appear separated by a halakhah that comes between them:

20. בפולמוס של טיטוס גזרו על עטרות כלות... ושלא ילמד אדם את בנו יונית. **התירו להם לבית רבן גמליאל** ללמד את בניהם יונית מפני שהן קרובין למלכות (t.Soṭ. 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. אמ׳ ר׳ ישמעאל: מיום שחרב בית המקדש דין הוא שלא לאכל בשר ושלא לשתות יין, אלא שאין בית דין גוזרין על הצבור דברים שאין יכולין לעמוד בהן... אמרו לו: **מוטב להן לצבור** שיהו שוגגין ואל יהו מזידין (t.Soṭ. 15:10) – 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

occurrences),[37] 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 לו לחכם (or אמרו עליו 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 לו לחכם** or **אמרו עליו על חכם**. This pattern appears in a quarter of the occurrences of the pronoun alongside the verb אמר (30 occurrences with ל and 12 with על, out of a total of 171 occurrences).

The pattern אמרו לו לחכם 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 לו לחכם**, 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. כזיית בשר הפורש מאבר מן החי – ר′ אליעזר מטמא, ר′ יהושע ור′ נחוניה מטהרים. עצם כסעורה הפורש מאיבר מן החי – ר′ נחוניה מטמא ור′ אליעזר ור′ יהושע מטהרים. **אמרו לו לר′** אליעזר: מה ראיתה לטמא כזיית בשר הפורש מאבר מן החי? אמ′ להן: מציאנו שאבר מן החי כמת שלם... **אמרו לו לר′** נחוניה: מה ראיתה לטמא עצם כשעורה הפורש מאבר מן החי? אמ′ להן... **אמרו לו לר′** יהושע: מה ראית לטהר בשניהן? אמ′ להן... (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

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[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 עליו 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 עליו על ר' חנינא בן דוסה שהיה** ‏מתפלל על החולין ואומ': זה חיי וזה מת ('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 לו לחכם (or אמרו עליו 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 לו לכהן** ‏גדול: היגיע שעיר למדבר ('They said to the high priest: The goat has reached the wilderness'). 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 ל, 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 לו לחכם 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:

23. כך אמ׳ משל לאחד שהיה יושב על פרשת דרכים והיו לפניו שני שבילין... כך אמ׳ **להם מש׳ ליש׳**: אתם רואין את הרשעים שהן מצליחין... (Sifre Deuteronomy 53 <120> 02) – 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 (שאין מקרבין **לו לאדם** אלא לצורך עצמן – m.Avot 2:3 – 'for they get friendly with a person only for their own convenience') and אין עומדין **לו לאדם** בשעת דוחקן – 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: שאין מקריבין **לאדם** אלא לצורך עצמן... אין עומדין **לאדם** בשעת דוחקו.

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 שאין מערבין לו לאדם אלא לדעתו (ʹfor they prepare an *erub* for a man only with his knowledge and consentʹ), but in the three other manuscripts the pronoun is missing: שאין מערבין לאדם אלא לדעתו (in MS Parma the word לאדם appears after the word אלא, and it is redacted with lines above it, and in MS Paris ל appears at the end of the line and the following line begins with the word אדם).

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 עומד בפנים... ר׳ יהודה מטמא מיד. וחכמ׳ אומ׳: עד שישהא כדי אכילת פרס. **אמרו לו לר׳** יהודה: מה אם... (m.Neg. 13:10) – He was standing inside [an unclean house]… R. Judah declares [them] unclean forthwith. And sages say: [They are clean] until he will remain for a time sufficient for eating a piece of bread. They said to R. Judah: If… –

This is the case in the Kaufmann, Parma and Paris manuscripts; but in MS Lowe it says: אמרו לר׳.

25. שלשה דברין רבן גמליאל מחמיר כדברי בית שמי... ואין אופין פיתן גריצות אלא רקיקים. אמ׳ רבן גמליאל: מימיהם שלבית אבא לא היו אופין את פיתן גריצות אלא רקיקים. אמרו לו: מה **נעשה להם לבית** אביך שהיו מחמירין על עצמן ומקלים על כל ישרא׳ להיות אופין פיתן גריצות וחרי (m.ʹEd. 3:10) – In three rulings does Rabban Gamaliel impose the stringent ruling in accord with the opinion of the House of Shammai: …And they do not bake bread into large loaves but into only small ones. Said Rabban Gamaliel: Never in my fatherʹs house did they bake large loaves, but only small ones. They said to him: What shall we make of your fatherʹs house? For they imposed on themselves a strict rule while imposing a lenient rule for all the Israelites so that [Israelites] make bake large loaves and stick cakes –

This is the case in the Kaufmann, Parma and Paris manuscripts; but in MS Lowe it says: מה נעשה לבית אביך.

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: אמרו לו: מה **נעשה להם לבית** אביך שהיו מחמירים על עצמן... (m.Beis. 2:6) – This is the case in Kaufmann, Parma and Lowe manuscripts, but in MS Paris it says: מה נעשה לבית אביך.

In MS Parma 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 (...נחונייה **אמרו לו לר׳** – m. Ed. 6:3 – ʹThey said to R. Nehunya…ʹ).

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,[39] 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 **נעשה להם** לצרות הראשונות? ('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]

26. **אמרו לו לר׳** הלוקח בכסף מעשר שני שנטמא יפדה. ר׳ יהודה אומ׳: יקבר. יהודה: תחמיר בטפילה יתר מן העקר? אמ׳ להם: מצינו שהחמירו בטפיל יתר מן העקר... (t.Maas. Sh. 2:17) – [Produce] purchased with coins [in the status] of second tithe which became unclean – let it be redeemed. R. Judah says: Let it be buried. They said to R. Judah: Should you rule more strictly (in regard to) what is secondary than [in regard to] what is primary? He said to them: We find [cases in which] they rule more strictly in regard to what is secondary than [in regard to] what is primary…

27. שמונה-עשר דבר גזרו בו ביום והיה אותו היום **קשה להם לישראל** כיום שנעשה בו העגל (t.Shab. 1:16) – Eighteen rules did they decree on that very day, and that day was as harsh for Israel as the day on which the golden calf was made

In addition, in one occurrence in MS Erfurt, the pronoun appears but the preposition following it is missing – in citation 9 above: **קל היה להם לבית הלל** בדבר זה ('In this matter the house of Hillel took the lenient position') – in MS Erfurt it appears as: קול היה **להן** בית הילל...

And in another occurrence in MS Erfurt, the pronoun appears, but the preposition following it is missing:

28. ... ואחר כך בא אביו של תינוק אמ׳ להם... ללמדך שטומאת סכין **קשה להן** לישראל יותר משפיכות דמים (t.Yoma 1:12) – 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: קשה **להן** without the word לישראל.

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

29. אמ׳ ר׳ לעזר: **אמרנו לו לר׳** מאיר: מפני מה זכין לעבד שלא בפניו? (t.Git. 1:5) – 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 אמר **לו לב**׳ [lit. ׳A said **to him to** B׳], as in **אמרנו לו לר׳** מאיר [׳We said to R. Meir׳]), 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 אמר **לב**׳ [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 אמרו עליו על חכם or אמרו לו לחכם, 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 מי שהלך לו 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).

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