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editions) and קורסל *qursēl* ‘ankle’ (קָרסוֹל *qarsōl* in the printed editions). An original construction it preserves is that of פועל אָנִי *pō‘el ’ānī* ‘I do’ using the independent pronoun, instead of פועלִנִי *pō‘lanī*, with a suffixed pronoun, as in קובל אָנִי *qōbēl ’ānī* ‘I complain’. The plural of nouns of the pattern פִּעְלָה *pu‘lā* is פִּעְלוֹת *pu‘lōt* and not פְּעֻלוֹת *pu‘lōt*, as in חֲלִיָּה *ḥulyā*—חֲלִיּוֹת *ḥālāyōt* ‘link’ (and not חֲלִיּוֹת *ḥulyōt*), טְמֵאָה *tum‘ā*—טְמֵאוֹת *təmā‘ōt* ‘uncleanness’ (not טְמֵאוֹת *tum‘ōt*).

MS Pb is a model representative of the eastern type of Mishnaic Hebrew. This manuscript, together with the Mishna manuscripts vocalized using the Babylonian vowel signs, the Mishna manuscripts of the Yemenite tradition (→ Manuscripts of the Mishna; Vocalization of Rabbinic Texts) and some reading traditions of Middle Eastern Jewish communities, reflect a more-or-less unified linguistic type. Thus all of the above read nouns whose final consonant is ע ‘ with *qameš* (and not with *pataḥ*: אֶצְבָּע *’ešbā* ‘finger’, אֶמְצָע *’emsā* ‘middle’). An element which MS Pb and Middle Eastern oral traditions have in common is gemination of the consonant ר *r*, as in עִרְרֵב *’irreb* ‘mix’, סִירֵק *sirreq* ‘comb’ (→ *Resh*: Pre-Modern Hebrew).

In some respects the language of MS Pb has similarities with the Tiberian tradition of Biblical Hebrew, as for example the vocalization of the name הִלֵּל *Hillēl*. There will be those who will claim that this vocalization, which differs from the vocalization in MS K (הֵלֵל *Hellēl*), shows biblical influence, while others would say that Tiberian Biblical Hebrew and MS Pb reflect the same linguistic tradition. I tend to the second opinion.

Many aspects of the grammar of the linguistic tradition reflected in this manuscript have been described in the scholarly literature.

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Paronomasia

Paronomasia combines a similarity of sound with a dissimilarity of meaning. The term originates in the world of Greek rhetoric, where it refers to the repetition of the first two consonants of a word (thus typically the word’s first syllable) in another word. Scholars of the Hebrew Bible, however, have long understood paronomasia more loosely and have applied it to the repetition of same or similar consonants a) regardless of where they appear in the relevant words, and b) irrespective of whether the words are etymologically related. This is in step with the view of early rabbis who referred to the device as נוֹפֵל עַל לְשׁוֹן *lāšōn nōpēl* ‘al *lāšōn* ‘language falling upon language’ (see *Bereshit Rabba* 18:6; 31:8; the Bible provides no native term). The term paronomasia also has been applied to words that sound alike, but have different derivations, e.g., when two words occur in tandem or one of the words suggests the other. However, if two etymologies are suggested by a single word and both can be legitimately understood in the context, it is more properly classified as polysemy (→ Polysemy). Paronomasia may be obtained through the repetition of consonants (and even vowels at times, especially in the Greek tradition) in unrelated words. The former is termed alliteration (also *parachesis*), whereas the latter is called assonance (Noegel 2010a; 2013) (→ Alliteration). Nevertheless, alliteration and assonance created by grammatical necessity or verbatim repetition do not qualify as paronomasia (Casanowicz 1893; contra Schäfer 1974; Eskhult 2000). Thus paronomasia excludes cognate accusative and infinitive absolute constructions, as well as the repetition of the same root with a different vocalization (metaphony).

As in the case of polysemy, one finds the terms ‘pun’ and ‘wordplay’ applied to paronomasia. Nevertheless, the former term cannot convey its varied forms, and the latter inaccurately suggests that paronomasia primarily seeks to amuse. Indeed, most cases of paronomasia in the Hebrew Bible bespeak a worldview on par with that of the literati of ancient Egypt and Mesopotamian, who deemed words inherently powerful and manipulated them for their cosmological charge. Indeed, paronomasia often served the needs of ritual and performance more than it did the arenas of rhetoric and

ornamentation (Hurowitz 2004; Noegel 2010a; 2010b; 2013).

Early treatments of paronomasia assumed the device to be more prevalent in Israelite poetry (Casanowicz 1893; Reckendorff 1909; Rankin 1930; Yellin 1933; First 1948–1949; Guillaume 1964; Glück 1970), but more recent work has uncovered many examples in prose (Segert 1984; Kalimi 1995; Noegel 2000; 2013). Within the poetic corpus, paronomasia has no generic restrictions. It is found in prophetic texts (Boadt 1983; Doron 1979–1980; Noegel 2007a; 2010b), psalms (Hugger 1972), and wisdom texts (Böstrom 1928; McCreesh 1991; Noegel 2005; 2006; 2007b). The writers of the Aramaic portions of the Bible also employed it (Arnold 2000).

All scholars agree that the pronounced repetition of the consonants of one word in another constitutes paronomasia. However, some scholars argue that paronomasia can be achieved between similar consonants, though which consonants are seen as alliterative can vary widely among scholars. For example, while the dentals /d/, /t/, and /t/ may serve in this capacity, it is unclear if /ʔ/ and /ʕ/ do. This entry leans conservatively with regard to which consonants serve paronomasia.

Given the differing definitions, treatments, and taxonomies of paronomasia found in the secondary literature (cf. Glück 1970; Sasson 1976; Watson 1984:222–250; Greenstein 1992), we do well to distinguish the paronomastic techniques that Israelite authors used from the functions that paronomasia can serve (Noegel 2011). The Hebrew Bible exhibits at least twelve different ways of creating paronomasia. These methods can and do occur in tandem, and are not necessarily mutually exclusive.

1. HOMOEOPHORON

Homoeophoron is the repetition of the initial sounds of words. It is akin to the original definition of paronomasia mentioned above. The prophet Isaiah declares that Yahweh will bring upon the people *פַּחַד וּפְחַת וּפְחַת* *paḥad wā-ḥaḥat wā-ḥāḥ* ‘terror, and a pit, and a snare’ (Isa. 24.17). Each of the words begins with the letters *pe* and *het* (and has an /a/ vowel).

2. HOMOIOTELEUTON

Homoioteleuton is the repetition of the final sounds of words. Such is the case in ‘Anxiety in a man’s heart brings him down (*יִשְׁחַנָּה* *yašḥennā*), but a kind word cheers him up (*יִשְׂמַחֲנָה* *yaśamməḥennā*)’ (Prov. 12.25). The verbs for ‘bring down’ and ‘cheer up’ share a *het* as their final consonant. The poet has used these verbs in conjunction with identical suffixes in order to repeat the sound *-hennā* at the end of each stich.

3. ANASTROPHE

Anastrophe is the use of non-normative syntax for paronomastic effect (also called *hyperbaton*). A well-known example occurs in Reuben’s statement after returning to the pit and finding Joseph gone (Rendsburg 1998–1999:6–8). In a panic he asks his brothers *הַיֵּלֵד אֵינֶנּוּ וְאֵנִי אֵנָּה* *ḥay-yeled ’ēnennū wa-’ānī ’ānā ’ānī-bā* ‘the child is not, and I, to where shall I come?’ (Gen. 37.30). The difficult syntax underscores Reuben’s anxiety and creates a paronomastic relationship between the consonants *’aleph*, *yod*, and *nun* in the words *אֵנִי ’ānī* ‘I’ (2x), *אֵינֶנּוּ ’ēnennū* ‘is not’, and *אֵנָּה ’ānā* ‘where’. The alliteration is strengthened by assonance in the repeated /a/ vowel.

4. EPANASTROPHE

Epanastrophe occurs when the final syllable(s) of one word is repeated in the first syllable(s) of the next word. See, for example, Qoheleth’s contention that God tests humankind *וְלִרְאוֹת הֵמָּה לְהֵם בְּהֵמָה* *wā-lir’ōt šə-hem-bəhēmā hēmā lāhem* ‘so that they can see for themselves they are like animal(s)’ (Qoh. 3.18). The end of *בְּהֵמָה* *bəhēmā* ‘animal(s)’ produces the same sound (actually, nearly identical, since in one instance the /m/ is single and in the other the /m/ is doubled) as the beginning of the next word *הֵמָּה* *hēmā* ‘they’. Assisting the epanastrophe is additional alliteration of the final consonants *he* and *mem* in *שְׁהֵם* *šə-hem* ‘that they’ and *לְהֵם* *lāhem* ‘for themselves’ (Beitzel 1980:8). Visual epanastrophe appears in the words *לְרַגְלִי פָרַשׁ רֶשֶׁת* *pāraś rešet la-raglay* ‘he has spread a net for my feet’ (Lam. 1.8).

Though the letters *śin* and *šin* are distinguished in speech, they are visually identical in the pre-Masoretic consonantal text.

5. PARASONANCE

When Hebrew roots are employed that differ with respect to only one of the three radicals, scholars refer to it as parasonance (Sasson 1976; cf. Glück 1970). A classic case of parasonance occurs in the story of how Yahweh punished ‘Babel’ (בָּבֶל *bābel*) by ‘confusing’ (בָּלַל *bālal*) the language of its people (Gen. 11.9) (Noegel 2010b). The famous cry of Isaiah works similarly: וַיִּקְוֶה לְמִשְׁפָּט וְהִנֵּה מִשְׁפָּח לְצַדִּיקָה וְהִנֵּה צַעֲקָה *wa-yqaw la-mišpāt wə-hinnē mišpāḥ li-ṣdāqā wə-hinnē ṣā’āqā* ‘He (Yahweh) hoped for justice, but behold bloodshed; for righteousness, but behold a shout’ (Isa. 5.7).

6. HOMONYMIC PARONOMASIA

Homonymic paronomasia exploits words that sound alike, but have different derivations (Diez-Macho 1948a; 1948b). It differs from polysemy in that the device operates between words, not within a single word. It differs from *antanaclasis* (→ Polysemy), because the two words have different etymologies. For instance, consider כִּי בְקוֹל הַסִּירִים תַּחַת הַסִּיר בֶּן שְׁחַק הַכֶּסֶל *kī kə-qōl has-sīrīm taḥat has-sīr kēn šəḥōq hak-kasīl* ‘Like the crackling of the thorns under the cooking-pot, such is the laughter of the fool’ (Qoh. 7.6). Qohelet exploits the homonymy of סִיר *sīr*, both ‘thorn’ and ‘cooking-pot’. The connection between the thorns and the fool is then strengthened by both alliteration and assonance with כֶּסֶל *kasīl* ‘fool’: the sonorants /r/ and /l/, working in combination with the /s/ of both words, serve the former; while the long /ī/ vowel heard three times serves the latter (Noegel 2007b). Finally, one sound-play is further bolstered by the phrase שְׁחַק הַכֶּסֶל *šəḥōq hak-kasīl* ‘the laughter of the fool’, which imitates the sound of crackling thorns (see Onomatopoeia below).

7. BILINGUAL PARONOMASIA

Bilingual paronomasia is homonymic paronomasia that involves different languages. An excellent example of this appears in Jon. 3.7 where we read that the ‘decree (טַעַם *ṭa’am*)

of the king and his great ones’ is ‘let them not taste (יִטְעֲמוּ *yit’amū*) anything’. The verbal root טַעַם *ṭa’am* means ‘taste’ (used here) and also produces a noun טַעַם *ṭa’am* ‘taste’ (not present in this verse), though the latter does occur with the meaning ‘decree’, which it bears in Aramaic.

8. ANAGRAMIC PARONOMASIA

An anagram is a word that contains the same consonants as another word in proximity, but in a different sequence. Anagrams function on both visual and aural registers. Nevertheless, the inherent repetition of consonants across words qualifies them as forms of paronomasia. A clever example appears in Elihu’s statement about God: וַיִּגַּל בְּלִחַץ אֲזִנָּם וַיִּבְרָא בְּעֵינָיו וַיִּגַּל בְּלִחַץ אֲזִנָּם *yəḥallēš ’ānī bā’ānyō wə-yigēl bal-laḥaš ’āznām* ‘He delivers the afflicted from his affliction, and opens their ears through distress’ (Job 36.15). The verb חָלַץ *ḥallēš* ‘deliver’ is an anagram of the noun לַחַץ *laḥaš* ‘distress’.

A palindrome is a specific form of anagram in which the consonants of a one word a) read the same way forward or backwards, or b) appear in another word in reverse order. The former type appears in the incipit of the oracle of Agur: וְאֶם הַגִּבֹּר לְאִיתִי אֶל לְאִיתִי אֶל וְאֶל *nə’um bag-geber lə-’itī’el lə-’itī’el wə-’ūkāl* ‘thus says the hero to Ithiel, (even) to Ithiel and Ukal’ (Prov. 30.1). The expression לְאִיתִי אֶל *lə-’itī’el* reads the same way forwards and backwards. By repeating it twice verbatim, the oracle draws attention to the device. The latter type of palindrome appears in Job’s rhetorical query to his friends: הַיֵּאֲכַל תִּפְּל מִבְּלִי-מֶלַח אִם יִשְׁטַעַם בְּרִיר *ḥā-yē’ākēl tāḥēl mib-bəli-melaḥ ’im-yeš-ṭa’am bə-rīr ḥallāmūt* ‘is tasteless food eaten without salt, or is there flavor in the juice of a purslane-plant?’ (Job 6.6). The nouns מֶלַח *melaḥ* ‘salt’ and the stem portion of חֲלָמוֹת *ḥallāmūt* ‘purslane-plant’ are palindromes of one another.

9. HENDIADIC PARONOMASIA

A hendiadys is an expression that combines two words to convey a single idea or action. The Hebrew Bible contains a number of these, some of which were likely created for the paronomasia they produce. Such include אוֹיֵב וְאוֹרֵב *’ōyēb wə-’ōrēb* ‘enemy and ambusher’

(Ezra 8.31) הוד וְהִדָּר *hōd wə-hāḏār* ‘glory and splendor’ (Ps. 21.6), חֵל וְחֹמָה *hēl wə-hōmā* ‘wall and rampart’ (Lam. 2.8; cf. Isa. 26.1), and וַיִּכּוּם וַיִּבְתּוּם *way-yakkūm way-yakkātūm* ‘they smote and defeated them’ (Num. 14.45).

10. RHYME

Rhyme is rare in the Hebrew Bible, though it does appear in small portions. The lament of Jeremiah offers a profound example: מְבַלְגִיתִי *mablīgītī* ‘when in grief I would seek comfort, my heart is sick within me’ (Jer. 8.18). The root consonants of the first word (an abstruse *hapax legomenon*), בִּל־ג *b-l-g*, all repeat in the following four words; in addition, one notes the two words ending in /-ay/ and two words ending in /-ī/ (rhymes which are assisted by one word ending in the like-sounding /-ē/).

11. FARRAGO

Farrago is the use of an unclear or ungrammatical expression for the purpose of paronomasia (Glück 1970:70–72). Such is the expression מַהֵר שָׁלַל הַבַּז *mahēr šālāl hāš baz* ‘swift is the booty, speedy is the prey’ (Isa. 8.1). Each of the words makes sense alone, but the combined reading is grammatically awkward and lends the expression a helter-skelter feel. Some cases of farrago also rhyme, such as בְּשַׁעֲפֵי קֶצֶף *bə-šəšəp̄ qəšəp̄* ‘in a torrent of anger’ (Isa. 54.8), and תֵּהוּ וְתֵהוּ *tōhū wā-bōhū* ‘formless and void’ (Gen. 1.2). The latter is also an example of hendiadic paronomasia (see above).

12. GEMINATE PARALLELISM AND CLUSTERING

Geminate clusters have as their primary characteristic the clustering of geminate forms in close proximity, often, but not always in parallelism. ‘Geminate’ here is not restricted to the geminate verbs (i.e., those derived from roots whose second and third radicals are identical), but includes any verb form or noun form that presents the same consonant twice. The aim of a geminate cluster is a general sense of balance, and, unlike word pairs, which bards employed as parallels of sense or meaning, geminate clusters generally belong to the realm of sound devices, and serve to balance one stich’s use of

gemination with gemination in another (Noegel 2004). Thus, geminate clusters draw connections not between particular consonants or vowels, but between geminating forms, creating an aural equilibrium, as it were. A parade example occurs in Ps. 74.13–14:

אַתָּה פִּרַרְתָּ בְעֹזֶךָ יָם שִׁבְרַתְּ רִאשֵׁי תַנִּינִים עַל־הַמַּיִם:
אַתָּה רִצַּצְתָּ רִאשֵׁי לְוִיָּתָן תִּתְנַנְנוּ מֵאֶכֶל לְעַם לְצִיִּים:

’attā pōrartā bə-’āzzakā yām šibbartā rāšē tanninim
’al-ham-māyim

’attā riššaštā rāšē liwyātān tittənnennū ma’ākāl
lə-’ām lə-šiyyim

You parted the sea by your strength; you broke the heads of the Tannin in the waters.

You crushed the heads of Leviathan, and you gave him for food to the people of the wilderness.

The passage includes four geminate forms, one in each stich. Two are geminate verbs: פָּרַר *pārār* ‘break’ and רִצַּץ *rāšāš* ‘crush’; the third is the noun תַּנִּינִים *tanninim* ‘Tannin, sea-monster(s)’; while the fourth form תִּתְנַנְנוּ *tittənnennū* ‘you gave him’ juxtaposes two sets of identical consonants. Regarding the last item, observe how the poet utilizes specifically this verbal form + direct object suffix, in order to create the necessary (two-fold) gemination; hence we may wish to call this technique ‘imitation geminate’. The form תִּתְנַנְנוּ *tittənnennū* ‘you gave him’, moreover, allows for further paronomasia with תַּנִּינִים *tanninim* ‘Tannin, sea-monster(s)’ and לְוִיָּתָן *liwyātān* ‘Leviathan’. As these stichs demonstrate, the use of one geminate form inspired the use of others in the same passage.

An example in prose can be found in וַתִּרְאֵהוּ *u-tir’āhū* ‘when she (Michal) saw king David leaping and dancing before Yahweh, she despised him in her heart’ (2 Sam. 6.16). Two geminates appear side by side in this passage; the verb מְפַזֵּז *məpazzēz* ‘leaping’ (from the root פִּזַּז *p-z-z*) and מְכַרְכֵּר *məkarkēr* ‘dancing’ (from the root כִּרַּר *k-r-r*). In addition, one notes the alliteration between the *pe-zayin* combination in מְפַזֵּז *məpazzēz* ‘leaping’ and the *zayin-bet* combination in וַתִּבְזֶה *wat-tibez* ‘she despised’.

The aforementioned types of paronomasia can possess different functions, depending on how they are used and in what contexts they appear (Noegel 2013). Just a few of the many functions that have been proposed for cases of

paronomasia include: aesthetic, onomatopoeic, emphatic, rhetorical, referential, allusive, humorous/satirical, hermeneutic, and performative.

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Paronomastic Infinitive

The occurrence of a given verb's infinitive absolute in connection with a finite form of the same verb is a feature typical of Biblical Hebrew. Combined with the finite verb this infinitive is tautologic, as appears from, e.g., **שׁוּב אָשׁוּב** *šōb 'āšūb* literally 'returning, I shall return' (Gen. 18.10). In the light of Arabic, the infinitive might be considered an internal object; but less likely so, since Ugaritic and Akkadian have no accusative in the corresponding construction (more similar to the Arabic usage are cases such as **וַיִּירָאוּ הָאֲנָשִׁים יְרָאָה גְדוֹלָה אֶת־יְהוָה** *way-yir'ū hā-'ānāšim yir'ā gədōlā 'et-Yhwh* literally 'and the men feared Yhwh a great fear' [Jon. 1.16]). In some cases, argues Goldenberg (1998), the tautologic infinitive stands in a sort of stressed extraposition, and may thus be interpreted thematically, i.e., as a new topic or, conversely, rhematically, i.e., as marked new information, e.g., 'they put the Canaanites to tribute, **וְהוֹרִישׁ לָא הוֹרִישׁוּ** *wə-hōrēš lō hōrīšō* but dispossess them, they did not' (Judg. 1.28) and **לֹא כִי־קָנֹה אֶקְנֶה מֵאוֹתָךְ בְּמַחִיר** *lō ki-qānō 'eqne mē-'ōtkā bi-mhīr* 'No, but it is by buying that I will obtain it from you, at a price' (2 Sam. 24.24), respectively; but generally, the infinitive is juxtaposed to the finite form in such a way that the two constitute a single syntagm, the rhetorical effect of which is to strengthen an

utterance—a function which may generally be termed 'emphatic' and which often involves the idea of intensification and repetition: **רָאָה רָאִיתִי אֶת־עַנְי עַמִּי** *rā'ō rā'ītī 'et-'ānī 'ammī* 'I have [certainly] seen the misery of my people' (Exod. 3.7).

In a majority of cases the infinitive precedes the finite verb and adds a certain insistence to the utterance thus made, whether something is asserted, required, questioned, or supposed. In some fifteen per cent of the cases the infinitive follows the finite verb. In several passages this position is due to formal syntactic considerations, e.g., the use *inter alia* of a consecutive form or an imperative, both of which exhibit rather rigid tendencies to come at the head of their respective clauses, e.g., 'this one came here as an alien **וַיִּשְׁפֹּט שְׁפֹט** *way-yišpōt šāpōt* and he has dared to pass judgement' (Gen. 19.9) and **שְׁמַעוּ שְׁמַעוּ** *šim'ū šāmōd* 'listen carefully' (Isa. 55.2). Some grammarians maintain that postposition signals continuance, but recent research has shown that both the preposed and postposed infinitives have a strengthening effect, without any discernible difference in meaning (see, among others, Muraoka 1985).

Furthermore, as already Rieder (1872) points out, the preposed infinitive predominates in direct discourse, where it is used for rhetorical purposes; third person narration makes very little use of the strengthening preposed infinitive. Accordingly, the corresponding paronomasia in narrative sections is generally a coordinate construction with the typical pattern, e.g., **וַיֵּצֵא יוֹצֵא וָשׁוּב** *way-yēšē yāšō wā-šōb* literally 'it went out, going out and turning back' (Gen. 8.7). Formerly, this construction was viewed as a variant of the simple type discussed above, under the assumption that a postposed infinitive indicates continuance. Goldenberg (1998), followed by Joosten (2009), proposes that the former infinitive in the coordinated construction serves mainly as a syntactic prop for the latter, e.g., **וַיֵּלֶךְ הָלֹךְ וְאָכַל** *way-yēlek hālōk wə-'ākol* 'he went on, eating as he went' (Judg. 14.9). Reasonably, Waltke–O'Connor think that the coordinated construction is a combination of an intensifying infinitive and an adverbial complement that expounds on the action by giving the concomitant circumstances, e.g., **וַיַּכְּהוּ הָאִישׁ הַכָּה וּפָצַע** *way-yakkēhū hā-'īš hakkē ū-fāšōd* 'the man struck him in such a way as to wound him' (1 Kgs 20.37).