

**A COGNITIVE LINGUISTIC STUDY OF A BIBLICAL HEBREW LEXICAL SET
FOR 'TO TEACH'**

by

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Declaration

I, Wendy Lynn Widder (student number 2010076723), declare that the thesis hereby handed in for the qualification Doctor of Philosophy in Classical and Near Eastern Studies at the University of the Free State, is my own independent work and that I have not previously submitted the same for qualification at/in another University/faculty.

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When I somewhat naively launched my graduate school “career” in 2000, I (thankfully) could not have anticipated the journey that lay ahead. What I expected to last two years stretched into four and then into seven and then into a solid ten and finally into a not-for-the-faint-of-heart twelve. Such a journey is only made successfully with good companions, solid support systems, and professorial patience and assistance. I have been richly blessed in all areas.

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Abbreviations

Akk.	Akkadian
ANE	ancient Near East
Aram.	Aramaic
ASV	Authorized Standard Version
BDB	Brown-Driver-Briggs <i>Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament</i>
BH	Biblical Hebrew
ESV	English Standard Version
GKC	Gesenius, Kautzsch, Cowley
<i>HALOT</i>	<i>Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament</i>
JPS	The Jewish Publication Society 1917 translation of the Hebrew Bible
KJV	King James Version
LXX	Septuagint
MT	Masoretic Text
NASB	New American Standard Bible
NIV	New International Version
NLT	New Living Translation
NRSV	New Revised Standard Version
RSV	Revised Standard Version
Sir	Ben Sira
Syr	Syriac Peshitta
<i>TDOT</i>	<i>Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament</i>
Tg	Targum
TNK	The Jewish Publication Society 1985 translation of the Hebrew
Ug.	Ugaritic

Grammatical and Technical Terms

A	Agent
adj	adjective
adv	adverb
cp	common plural
cs	common singular
D	Piel

DDO	definite direct object
Dp	Pual
fp	feminine plural
fs	feminine singular
G	Qal
Gp	Qal passive
H	Hiphil
Hp	Hophal
HtD	Hithpael
IA	infinitive absolute
IC	infinitive construct
impf	imperfect
imv	imperative
inf compl	infinitive complement
inf	infinitive
juss	jussive
mp	masculine plural
ms	masculine singular
MS(S)	manuscript(s)
N	Niphal
NP	noun phrase
NtD	Nithpael
P	Patient
pf	perfect
PP	prepositional phrase
ptc	participle
R	Recipient
voc	vocative
wayy	wayyiqtol

Sigla

*	hypothetical or reconstructed form
=	equals; i.e., the same as or virtually the same as
≈	similar to
//	parallel to

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Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1. Introduction

This study examines how the ancient Israelites understood the concept of teaching.¹ Discerning the thoughts of such a distant civilisation may seem a daunting – or even impossible – task, but its feasibility is based on three facts.

First, *teaching* appears to be a universal cognition, that is, a universal knowledge and activity (Strauss et al. 2002: 1475). Thus, while particular cultural concepts of teaching will show variation from the universal understanding, we at the very least have a place to start.

Second, current studies of human cognition indicate that the workings of the human mind have remained fundamentally unchanged throughout the history of humanity (Carasik 2006: 8; see 8n27 for additional reference).² So while the ancient Israelites may have had very different thoughts *about* teaching, the way their minds worked should be understandable to us.

The third fact that makes this study possible is that we have a sizeable written corpus from ancient Israel, a corpus that provides both direct and indirect evidence of the Israelites' thoughts on many topics, including teaching. Cognitive Linguistics, developed from twentieth-century research on human cognition, provides a principled way in which

¹ “Concept” is, of course, difficult to define. While I am aware of the discussion and variety of definitions offered by linguists (and the criticisms and cautions of J. Barr; see, especially, *The Semantics of Biblical Language* [1983]), my use of the term refers to a person’s (or, in this case, a group’s) mental representation of something in their experience. I do not mean “concept” as a synonym for “word”; rather, a concept entails the richness of thought and experience that lies behind a word or lexical set. Cf., e.g., R. Jackendoff (2004: 325), “a mental representation that can serve as the meaning of a linguistic expression”; J. Taylor (2002: 43), “a principle of categorization”; L. Barsalou (1992: 31), “the descriptive information that people represent cognitively for a category, including definitional information, prototypical information, functionally important information, and probably other types of information as well”; R. Langacker (2003: 180), “any aspect of mental experience”; R. Dirven and M. Verspoor (2004: 13), “a person’s idea of what something in the world is like.”

² Similarly, anthropologist Donald E. Brown asserts, “The human mind . . . is fundamentally the same in all human populations” (1991: 2). See also R. Wright, *The Moral Animal: The New Science of Evolutionary Psychology* (1994).

to analyse a given language, reach reasonable conclusions about the meaning of words, and discern the conceptual world behind them.

Thus, in this study I will analyse the biblical corpus with respect to the lexical set “to teach,”³ reach reasonable conclusions about the meanings of words, and suggest the conceptual world behind the words. This will allow me to answer, in part, the question “What was the ancient Israelites’ concept of teaching?”

1.2. The Position of the Research

Two broad areas of research are relevant to my work. The first is education in ancient Israel.⁴ Education in ancient Israel is a much researched topic. The studies fall loosely into three categories: those that deal with education by humans, those that deal with divine education, and those that deal with a combination of education by humans and divine beings.

The second area of research relevant to my work is lexical studies of Biblical Hebrew. Recent strides in linguistics, particularly Cognitive Linguistics, provide new points of semantic access for biblical scholars.

1.2.1. Human Education

A great deal of research has focused on the nature of human education, with the most interest in so-called “formal education” and the extent of literacy in ancient Israel. These studies are based on the biblical text, archaeological evidence, and comparative studies of ancient Near Eastern education.⁵ Comparative studies make use of the extensive material

³ While Cognitive Linguistics is a useful tool for analysis of a language, the linguistic limitations of my study may seem to negate the tool’s usefulness: Biblical Hebrew is a dead language for which we have only a limited corpus and no native speakers. One should not, however, make too much of these facts. C. Miller warns, “It is important not to overstate the difficulties of lexicographic analysis of ancient texts, nor the poverty of the lexicographical remains” (2004: 286). Against E. Ullendorff’s assessment that BH is a “no more than a linguistic fragment” (1971: 255), Miller discusses the work of computational linguists who have judged the Bible to be “adequate as a computer corpus, both in terms of size and of vocabulary coverage” (Miller 2004: 286–87). See further Resnik, Olsen, and Diab (1999).

⁴ I am using the term *education* to refer to the teaching/learning process in general; it does not, in my usage, necessitate the existence of a formal system of instruction.

⁵ G. I. Davies provides a nice overview of the issues and research involving “formal education” in ancient Israel (Davies 1995). Two representations of contrasting views are those of A. Lemaire, who argues for the existence of a widespread formal educational system in monarchic Israel and a resultant high rate of literacy (1981; 1984; 1990; 2001), and D. Jamieson-Drake, who concludes from his sociological and anthropological study that scribal schools would have been located “primarily if not exclusively” in Jerusalem only as early as the eighth–seventh centuries B.C.E. and that widespread literacy is not supported by evidence (1991). Mediating views include M. Haran (1988), E. Puech (1988), and G. Davies (1995). One of the classic works with respect to ancient Israelite education is J. Crenshaw’s *Education in Ancient Israel: Across the Deadening Silence* (1998), but his study is primarily developed from wisdom texts of the

we have from the scribal schools of Mesopotamia and Egypt⁶ and the expansive corpus of Wisdom literature extant from the ANE.⁷ With respect to formal education, it is clear that ANE scribes were the ones responsible for passing on skills of literacy as well as a civilisation's cultural tradition.⁸ It is most logical to assume that this was the case in Israel as well. However, the archaeological evidence for formal education in Israel is limited. Our greatest resource is the biblical text, and with the exception of a few books (e.g., Deuteronomy and Proverbs), its interest is not education *per se*. Even the books that are explicitly interested in education are unique among their ANE counterparts.⁹ Studies of Proverbs and Wisdom literature, specifically, are of great interest for what they contribute to the concept of a teacher or teaching in any setting, not just a "formal" setting.¹⁰ It is

Hebrew Bible and is limited in its scope. More recently, C. Rollston argues convincingly for "formal, standardized education." His assessment, based on the "depth, sophistication, and consistency" of the Old Hebrew epigraphic record, leads to the conclusion that the epigraphic record is "most consistent with the presence of a mechanism for the formal, standardized education of scribal elites in ancient Israel" (2010: 92). See also S. Sanders (2009), who is less interested in the debate over "schools" than in the significance of how and why vernacular Hebrew developed into a written system.

⁶ For Sumerian education see the standard works by S. Kramer (1963) and J. J. A. van Dijk (1953). For Babylonian/Assyrian education, see, e.g., B. Landsberger (1954; 1960); Å. W. Sjöberg (1975); E. Robson (2001); D. M. Carr (2005); and especially N. Veldhuis (1996; 1997; 1999; 2000; 2003). The standard work with respect to Egyptian education is H. Brunner (1957). See also M. Lichtheim (1997); A. Gardiner (1938); A. McDowell (2000); R. Williams (1972; 1990); and D. M. Carr (2005).

⁷ The research is voluminous. R. Whybray's *The Intellectual Tradition in Israel* is standard in the literature (1974), as is W. McKane's *Prophets and Wise Men* (1965). See also J. Blenkinsopp (1990; 1995); G. von Rad (1970); J. P. J. Olivier (1975); M. Fox (1996; 2000; 2009); J. Gammie and L. Perdue (Gammie and Perdue 1990; Perdue 2008a; 2008b). Note also that by my reference to a "corpus of Wisdom literature," I am thinking in the terms of M. Fox: "We should not think of Wisdom literature as a field that can be marked out and fenced in. Wisdom literature is a *family* of texts. There are clusters of features that characterize it. The more of them a work had, the more clearly it belongs to the family" (2000: 17).

⁸ This cultural tradition was part and parcel with a civilisation's religious tradition. It is not appropriate to make a modern distinction between secular scribal activity (e.g., administrative correspondence, royal annals) and scribal roles in the cult; the two are inseparable in ANE culture. See, particularly, D. Carr on the role of scribal education in Mesopotamia and Egypt (2005:17–62). Nonetheless, the Bible is not a "secular" book, thus its greater interests lie in the arena of religious education.

⁹ Of Proverbs, M. Fox notes that "the feature that distinguishes the book of Proverbs from non-Israelite Wisdom is its concern for wisdom as such. Foreign Wisdom offers wise teachings, but says little *about* wisdom" (2009: 934). Cf. also Fox (2000: 3). Of Deuteronomy, K. Sparks comments on the differences between Deuteronomy and other ANE treaties, i.e., the form Deuteronomy appears to follow: "[a] distinctive feature of Deuteronomy in comparison with Near Eastern treaties is the breadth of its thematic concern. Its stipulations include not only a wide range of legal traditions . . . but also religious, ceremonial, and ritual statutes" (2005: 446).

¹⁰ In this regard, see, especially M. Fox, "The Pedagogy of Proverbs 2" (1994), for a thoughtful response to traditional views of education in ancient Israel as "harsh and mindless" (1994: 233). Cf. the views of C. Westermann (1990: 38–40) and L. Dürr (1932: 114–15).

impossible to discuss teachers without also discussing learners, but I will focus on the teaching side of the educational dynamic; the learning side will remain in the periphery but come into closer focus as necessary.

The interest of studies about Israelite education lies primarily in what education *was* (i.e., what was taught and how it was taught), not what the Israelites *thought* about the process or the people involved; the focus is largely on education as a practice not a concept.¹¹ Obviously the two are related, and discussing a *concept* necessitates a discussion of the practice: we can suggest what was thought based on what was said and done. The reverse is not true, however: discussing the practice of education does not require consideration of the concept(s) behind it.

1.2.2. Divine Education

The second category of research is that of divine education. A number of studies deal with the topic in a very broad way. These may provide overviews of the topic, but they do not contribute much beyond that to this study. Others provide helpful perspectives, and one study, in particular, will be of great interest.

In his article “*Paedagogia Dei* als theologischer Geschichtsbegriff” (1949), H.-J. Kraus traces the concept of divine instruction in the Old Testament in an attempt to identify a theme that can account for the unity and diversity between the Old Testament and the New. His study lacks exegetical rigor and is primarily limited to theological reflection; thus, its usefulness is minimal here.

B. Colless has written three articles on the concept of divine education: “The divine teacher figure in biblical theology” (1967), in which he lists biblical texts where he thinks education is occurring; “Divine education” (1970), in which he looks at the broader concept of divine education in the ANE; and “The divine education concept in Christian theology” (1972), in which he discusses the relationship between *revelation* and *education*. On the whole, his contribution is also minimal: his studies are not lexically grounded; his terms and constraints are not carefully defined; and he does not consider the variety of genres in the Hebrew Bible.

¹¹ I might have chosen the word *philosophy* here, but I do not mean to imply that the Israelites had the kind of systematic organisation of thought about education that the term suggests to us today. They certainly had thoughts about education, and the goal here is to discover what those thoughts were and how they shaped the concept of teaching.

E. Zenger, in his contribution to *Religioses Lernen in der biblischen, frühjüdischen und frühchristlichen Überlieferung*, “JHWH als Lehrer des Volkes und der Einzelnen im Psalter” (2005), examines five psalms (50, 111, 112, 119, 147) with respect to their portrayal of YHWH as a teacher. His selection of these psalms is not semantically constrained, and it is, in fact, unclear how he chose them as the basis of his study. His contribution to the topic of teaching generally (or even to that of YHWH specifically) is thus limited.

More helpful is F. Diedrich’s article, “Lehre mich, Jahwe!” – an examination of the three psalms (25, 119, 143) in which the plea “למדני יהוה” (*lammēdēnî YHWH*, “Teach me, YHWH”) occurs. His greatest interest lies in the *Sitz im Leben* that motivated the prayers for instruction; he concludes that these psalms reflect the personal piety of the wisdom tradition and the scribal school (1990: 59–73). Some of his conclusions are useful in conjunction with my analysis of למד-D (*lmd-D*) specifically.

In his published dissertation, *Divine Instruction in Early Christianity* (2008), S. Witmer traces the concept of divine instruction from the Hebrew Bible through early Jewish literature (e.g., the Dead Sea Scrolls, Philo, Josephus, the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha) and into the New Testament. He argues that the early followers of Jesus believed they had been, and were being, taught by God; furthermore, this belief represented the fulfilment of Old Testament prophetic promises (2008: 1). His chapter on divine instruction in the Old Testament particularly is useful for its exploration of the eschatological features of divine education.

K. Reynolds explores the unique contribution that Psalm 119 makes to the idea of divine pedagogy in *Torah as Teacher: The Exemplary Torah Student in Psalm 119*: “Psalm 119 contains a new vision of pedagogy; the new vision includes the contemplation of Torah as a facet of ethical and religious instruction” (2010: 126). His insights provide a helpful window into the development of the concept of divine education and the role of Torah in Second Temple Judaism, though they have less applicability to the broader concept of “teaching.”

In a study of significance to mine, K. Finsterbusch provides an analysis of the concept of YHWH as a teacher in the Hebrew Bible. In her book, *JHWH als Lehrer der Menschen: ein Beitrag zur Gottesvorstellung der Hebräischen Bibel* (2007), she approaches the topic diachronically and semantically, and she isolates texts where God is

the subject of the most common Hebrew verbs for “to teach”: לָמַד-D (*lmd-D*), יָרָה-H (*yrh-H*), יָדַע-H (*yd^c-H*), יָסַר-G/N/D (*ysr-G/N/D*). She also includes several passages where significant nominative forms appear (e.g., מוֹסֵר, *mûsār*) or where God is the subject of another verb in the domain of teaching (e.g., בִּין, *byn*; יַעַץ, *y^cץ*; אָלַף, *‘lp*; שָׁלַח, *škl*). Finsterbusch’s meticulous and thoughtful work contributes much to the study here insofar as her analysis specifically addresses the concept of YHWH as a teacher.

1.2.3. Human and Divine Education

The third category of research includes studies that deal with a combination of human and divine teaching. My study fits into this third category because the MT clearly references human and divine instruction, and determining the Israelites’ concept of teaching requires analysis of all the teachers associated with the lexemes considered here.

Because the concern of the biblical text, as noted above, is not education *per se*, studying the concept of education in ancient Israel involves examining the biblical books that do address the topic directly (i.e., Proverbs and Deuteronomy), as well as books that indirectly contribute to the topic by portraying teachers and teaching in the course of the text. Schawe’s dissertation, *Gott als Lehrer im Alten Testament* (1979), is such a study. He examines all occurrences of יָרָה-H (*yrh-H*), לָמַד-D (*lmd-D*), and מוֹסֵר-D/*mûsār*) in the Hebrew Bible, including those with God as a grammatical subject and also those with humans as subjects. However, because his study includes little consideration of the contexts of the occurrences and exhibits little engagement with secondary literature, his conclusions are not as helpful as they might have otherwise been.

H. Delkurt, in “Erziehung nach dem Alten Testament” (2002), examines the education of the young (primarily by parents) according to Proverbs and the education of Israel by YHWH according to the prophets. He concludes that a primary goal of ancient Israelite education was that the learner align himself with the will of YHWH, and with respect to Israel, he concludes that YHWH used historical circumstances to teach Israel (with the hope that they would repent). Delkurt’s study is most useful for his comparisons of the divine teacher to human teachers.

Deuteronomy demonstrates a keen interest in education – both divine and human. Two major studies on the nature of education in Deuteronomy take different approaches: one is diachronic and the other is synchronic. The diachronic study is G. Braulik’s “Das Deuteronomium und die Gedächtniskultur Israels. Redaktionsgeschichtliche Beobach-

tungen zur Verwendung von לַמַּד (1997), in which Braulik examines every use of לַמַּד (*lmd*) in Deuteronomy, assigns each to one of four literary strata, and hypothesizes about the sociological contexts of each stratum. The synchronic study is K. Finsterbusch's *Weisung für Israel: Studien zu religiösem Lehren und Lernen im Deuteronomium und in seinem Umfeld* (2005), in which she examines the book with respect to the religious teaching/learning programme it advocates. She includes as well examinations of the nature of religious teaching/learning in Isaiah and Jeremiah, where “teach” vocabulary is common, and Proverbs because of its obvious connection with education. Her careful study compares the concept of teaching/learning as promulgated in Deuteronomy with that of Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Proverbs, and will be of particular interest to the study here.

A final work of special interest to my project is M. Carasik's *Theologies of the Mind in Biblical Israel* (2006). This book is most relevant for its contribution to the meanings of several “teach” lexemes in BH, particularly לַמַּד (*lmd*) and יָדַע-H (*yd^c-H*). From his study Carasik formulates an assessment of what education was in ancient Israel, and his conclusions will provide several points of contact and conversation in the chapters to follow.

1.2.4. Semantic Analyses

The treatment of lexical items in traditional BH dictionaries is based primarily on comparative philology and etymology.¹² While these methods have their value, they do not adequately convey the concept that a given word or lexical set entails. For example, consider some of the glosses in *HALOT* for the following “teach” roots: לַמַּד-D (*lmd-D*)

¹² The lexicography of traditional BH dictionaries grew out of medieval work in the grammar and lexicon of Arabic, and thus focused heavily on the tri-radical root system and etymological developments from roots. The shared feature of roots in the Semitic languages led quite naturally to the use of comparative philology in BH lexicography, beginning with Arabic, Aramaic, and Mishnaic Hebrew, and then extending to Akkadian, Phoenician, Moabite, and Ugaritic in more recent centuries. The lexicon of Egyptian (a non-Semitic Afro-Asiatic language) is often included in comparative philological studies as well. For the development of Hebrew lexicography in relationship to Arabic, particularly, but also other languages, see M. O'Connor (2002), W. van Wyk (1985), J. C. Lübbe (1990), and J. Barr (1968: 60–75).

The most influential dictionary project was that of Gesenius (1786–1842), who is generally regarded as the father of modern Hebrew lexicography (van Wyk 1985: 83); his legacy lives on in the Brown-Driver-Briggs lexicon (Brown et al. 1952) and *HALOT* (Koehler et al. 2001). The goal of the editors of BDB, the direct descendant of Gesenius's dictionary, was to examine words in their contexts, compare them to related languages, and “thus fix their proper meanings in Hebrew” (BDB, vi). These “proper meanings” come in the form of glosses, and while helpful for basic translations, glosses are inadequate to portray the full semantic range and contextual nuance of a word. In the words of J. Barr, glosses “are not themselves meanings nor do they tell us the meanings; the meanings reside in the actual Hebrew usage, and for real semantic analysis the glosses have no greater value than that of indicators or labels for a meaning which resides in the Hebrew itself” (Barr 1973: 120). Glosses are translation equivalents, not definitions.

‘to teach, formal instruction or a particular skill’; ירה-H (*yrh*-H) ‘to instruct teach; to teach someone something’; יסר-G (*ysr*-G) ‘to instruct’, יסר-D (*ysr*-D) ‘to chastise, rebuke; to teach, bring up; to teach’. Some helpful differences of meaning and usage are evident in these glosses: ‘to teach someone something’ of ירה-H (*yrh*-H) suggests that the form has a higher valency than the others, as expected in the Hiphil; only יסר-D (*ysr*-D) includes the notion of chastisement; and the specification that למד (*lmd*) can be the teaching of a particular skill (e.g., warfare) is useful information. But in what sense is the notion “to teach” fundamentally different for each root? Are the terms interchangeable? In the introduction to their innovative semantic domain dictionary of New Testament Greek, J. Louw and E. Nida set forth the principles of their semantic analyses, the first of which is that there is no such thing as synonyms – at least in the sense that words have identical meanings. Even words that are similar differ with respect to connotative or associative meaning and they have a different range of referents (Louw and Nida 1988, 1989: xvi).

An additional limitation of traditional BH dictionaries is that they largely overlook the role of syntax in semantics. C. van der Merwe notes the dictionaries’ “haphazard treatment of syntactic information” and the fact that it is impossible to tell from the entries whether or not particular syntagms have semantic significance: “This reflects the absence of any clear border between syntax and semantics that is typical of most so-called traditional approaches to language description” (2004: 123). This lack is particularly evident with respect to valency and the use of prepositions.

What is needed is a fuller semantic analysis than BH dictionaries have heretofore been able to provide on account of their methodologies. This fuller analysis is what Cognitive Linguistics offers by providing a principled way to determine the conceptual world that surrounds a given word or lexical set.

Several BH studies have productively incorporated Cognitive Linguistics into semantic analyses of lexical items. P. Van Hecke has published extensively, including analyses of the verbal root רעה (*r^h*, ‘to shepherd’) (2003c) and the metaphor of God as a shepherd (2001); prepositional collocations with the verbal root הלך (*hlk*, ‘to walk’) (1999); the verbal root חקר (*ḥqr*, ‘to search out’) (2003b)¹³; the pastoral metaphors in Mic 7:14, Hos 4:16, and the Hebrew Bible generally (2003a; 2005; 2007); the verbal roots ראה

¹³ S. Shead also does a Cognitive Linguistic study of חקר in his book, *Radical Frame Semantics: Exploring Lexical Semantics* (2011).

(*rʾh*, ‘to see’) and *שמע* (*šmʿ*, ‘to hear’) (2007). His studies are useful for their modeling of Cognitive Linguistics methodology, but his primary interest is isolated words rather than comparison of words in a BH lexical set. H. Rechenmacher’s study on a BH lexical set “lion” (2004) and C. van der Merwe’s analysis of a BH lexical set “strength” (2006) both involve an aspect of Cognitive Linguistics that I will use, namely, the *basic level item* and *folk taxonomy* (see 2.2.2).

E. van Wolde’s work with Cognitive Linguistics and BH is also extensive.¹⁴ Her 2008 article, “Sentiments as culturally conditioned emotions: anger and love in the Hebrew Bible,” is similar to my study in that she is analysing concepts (i.e., anger and love) as expressed by lexical items; her points of comparison are the same concepts in English and Japanese. She applies G. Fauconnier’s concept of mental spaces (1985; see also Fauconnier and Turner [1998]) in an analysis of the narrative of Jacob’s ladder in Gen 28:10–22 (2005). Of particular importance to the field is her 2009 book,¹⁵ *Reframing Biblical Studies: When Language and Text Meet Culture, Cognition, and Context*, in which she details an integrated approach¹⁶ to biblical studies: “The cognitive biblical studies I am proposing will focus on the integrative structures that emerge out of the interconnectivity of the parts, and it is based on detailed studies of specific relationships between data of diverse origins, while it takes language as the essential linking and expressive device.” Her method of analysis includes three main stages: (1) determination of cultural categories, based primarily on secondary literature; (2) cognitive analysis of primary texts, particularly the usage of relevant word(s) in context; (3) analysis of a single biblical text or “usage event” (201–3). My study is primarily concerned with the

¹⁴ Some of van Wolde’s semantic studies (e.g., 1994, 2002) do not fall properly within Cognitive Linguistic studies, but her analyses nonetheless are careful to consider both paradigmatic and syntagmatic meaning, an important aspect of cognitive semantics. See 2.3 below.

¹⁵ Van Wolde’s 2003 article, “Wisdom, who can find it? A non-cognitive and cognitive study of Job 28: 1–11,” is an illustration of what her 2009 book proposes. In the article she demonstrates how archaeology and texts intersect with human cognition. Another useful aspect of the article is its side-by-side comparison of a traditional lexicographical study and a Cognitive Linguistic study of the same text. In a 2007 article, she extends this analysis to include Job 38 and its relationship to Job 28.

¹⁶ She calls her method a “cognitive relational approach,” by which she means an approach that considers the *relationships* between archaeology, historiography, literary studies, social-scientific studies, etc., and the cognition, or the human brain. See, especially, pp. 362–64.

second stage of van Wolde's method; stages 1 and 3 are evident to a much lesser degree.¹⁷

I will further discuss Cognitive Linguistics, as well as how I am specifically incorporating its methodologies, in 1.4.4 below.

1.3. Thesis

Unlike the studies of education in ancient Israel to date, the approach taken here is grounded in current Cognitive Linguistic theory, a fruitful means by which to analyse the semantics of a language.

From my incorporation of modern linguistic theory with a BH lexical set of verbs related to teaching, I will demonstrate that the ancient Israelites' concept of teaching is grounded in the notion that the fundamental task of a teacher is to create the conditions in which learning can occur – and this learning will be most effective as it involves “hands-on” engagement. This was certainly not the goal or method of *all* teaching, but it defines the most basic notion of “teaching” as described by the BH lexical set “teach” analysed here.

1.4. Methodology

1.4.1. Corpus

In the following chapter I detail the methodology I am incorporating into my study; here I overview the preliminary matters that inform its framework. These include the corpus I am using, the textual constraints I am imposing on my study, and an overview of cognitive semantics, the field from which my methodology comes.

The corpus selected for the study here is the MT and Ben Sira. I have chosen to include the entire Hebrew Bible because while the topic of teaching is largely located in a few key books (e.g., Deuteronomy, Proverbs, Psalms), it is a significant topic in a number of others (e.g., Isaiah, Jeremiah). In other books, such as the Former Prophets, where the terminology rarely arises, I am nonetheless interested in how these texts contribute to the

¹⁷ Other noteworthy BH studies that incorporate Cognitive Linguistics but are not directly applicable to my study include K. Yri (1998), R. de Blois (2000, 2002, 2004), and L. de Regt (1997), whose studies focus on semantic domains; J. N. Pohlig (2003) and S. L. Shead (2011), whose studies emphasise theory and methodology more heavily than application; A. Kamp (2004) on the book of Jonah; J. Aitken on the BH root חקק (2003); P. Kruger on the expression כבד משאה in Isa 30:27 (2000); D. Gray on the BH root גלה (2007). Also noteworthy are at least two online BH dictionary projects that draw upon Cognitive Linguistic research in their methodology: the United Bible Societies' Semantic Dictionary of Biblical Hebrew (<http://www.sdbh.org>), edited by R. de Blois, and SIL's KTBH (Key Terms in Biblical Hebrew, <http://ktbh-team.org/static/about.html>). Finally, I. G. P. Gous incorporates into his BH studies the cognitive sciences more broadly (including cognitive archaeology [2001] and cognitive poetics [1996]).

overall concept. I have included Ben Sira in the corpus because of its importance in the genre of Israelite Wisdom literature as the “earliest interpreter of Proverbs” (Fox 2000: 25). Additionally, Sira’s equation of Wisdom with Torah represents a shift in perspective that will come to dominate rabbinic thought, and thus the book serves as a suitable anchor for the study of an ancient Israelite concept.

My study is largely a synchronic analysis. While the potential ways the concept may have evolved over the compositional phase of the MT is not the primary interest here, I will keep the diachronic nature of the language in view with respect to widely accepted dating of books, insofar as possible.

1.4.2. Textual Constraints of Study

The word *teach* is frustratingly difficult to define. Whenever people speak, their words could be instructional in nature even though they may not be intended as such; what marks the difference between teaching and general communication? S. Witmer suggests that teaching has a “continuous, sustained nature,” but he also notes that this distinction is a matter of degree and thus is imprecise (2008: 4). The problem is further complicated when we consider divine teaching. One could argue, for example, that any time YHWH speaks to people, he is instructing them, but then how does one distinguish between *instruction* and *revelation*? It could also be argued that the entire biblical corpus comprises YHWH’s instruction. The concept of education can be generalized to the point of uselessness.

Given this difficulty and to avoid the imprecision of several prior studies, my study is lexically grounded; that is, it is based on didactic terminology.¹⁸ This approach will omit some passages that a given reader might consider important to the concept, but the breadth of terms studied should adequately – though not exhaustively – convey the foundations of the ancient Israelites’ concept of teaching.

The MT and Ben Sira use a number of lexemes to express the idea of teaching, but I have limited my analysis to four prominent “teach” lexemes: ירה-H (*yrh*-H), למד-G/D (*lmd*-G/D), ידע-H (*yd^c*-H), and יסר-D (*ysr*-D). I further explain my selection of these lexemes – and exclusion of others – in section 2.2.2. From the data and my conclusions

¹⁸ The method is akin to that of S. Witmer in his study of divine education in early Christianity (2008). Witmer identifies as an exemplar of this method E. Birnbaum’s work on Philo, in which she studies a complex corpus to determine Philo’s concept of “seeing God” (Birnbaum 1995).

about these four lexemes, I will formulate the foundations for the ancient Israelites' concept of teaching.

1.4.3. Cognitive Semantics

The semantics work in this study will be carried out in accordance with recent linguistic research in cognitive semantics. Cognitive semantics falls within the larger discipline of Cognitive Linguistics and is concerned with identifying meaning by investigating the relationship between experience, conceptual systems, and semantic structure.

The Cognitive Linguistics movement¹⁹ emerged out of growing dissatisfaction with formal language approaches (e.g., Saussure, Chomsky) and out of scientific advances in the study of human cognitive function;²⁰ these scientific advances provided an empirically-based approach to the study of language as a cognitive process that is continually affected by one's environment. The cognitive approach to semantics posits that conceptual categories – that is, the sorting, processing, and understanding of ideas – correspond to the experiences, beliefs, and practices of particular people groups (Taylor 1995: 14).²¹ For example, in W. Labov's study of the linguistic categorisation of household containers, he asked participants to name the objects depicted in line drawings (Labov 1973). The participants were to identify each item as either a cup or bowl. The results demonstrated a spectrum of perception, based on sizes and shapes, depth and width, and even contents of the containers. People determined categories based on their perceptions of how the object might be used and what cluster of attributes they saw.²²

Determining the “cluster of attributes” that a given object has is essential to understanding the concept behind it. In this study, I am interested in the “cluster of

¹⁹ Cognitive Linguistics is not properly considered a theory because it is not a monolithic approach to language study. Rather, it is called an “enterprise” or a “movement” that shares a set of principles, assumptions, and perspectives resulting in a diversity of theories (Evans and Green 2006: 3).

²⁰ Specifically, these advances were part of modern cognitive science of the 1960s and 1970s and late nineteenth-century studies of *Gestalt* psychology, the move from the atomistic outlook in perception research to the idea that the whole is more than the sum of its parts. *Gestalt* psychology provided empirical evidence that experiences are influenced by unconscious mental processes (Evans and Green 2006: 1; Evans 2007: 90–91).

²¹ This is in contrast to structuralism which views language an autonomous system, a “self-contained, self-regulating system, whose elements are defined by their relationship to other elements” (Matthews 2007: 385). Cognitive linguists argue instead that the meaning of a word is determined strictly by its place in the larger language system: “the world out there and how people interact with it, how they perceive and conceptualize it, are . . . extra-linguistic factors which do not impinge on the language system itself” (Taylor 2004: 14).

²² See Labov, “The boundaries of words and their meanings” (1973: 340–73).

attributes” of four BH/Sira lexemes associated with the act of teaching. I will compile data related to these lexemes (see 1.4.2 above), and then analyse the data for what they can tell us about the linguistics of the lexemes’ usage, the conceptual categories the lexemes entail, and ultimately, the meaning(s) of each lexeme. The results of the analyses will enable me to formulate a foundation for the ancient Israelites’ concept of teaching.

1.5. Conclusion

Every person – and thus every culture – appears to have a basic understanding of what it means to “teach.” However, each culture will manifest this basic understanding in different ways. For example, modern education in the West often focuses on the acquisition of information, the cultivation of self-esteem, and “the fulfillment of the learner’s full potential as a human being” (Carasik 2006: 49), notions foreign to many other times and places.

What did the ancient Israelites think about “teaching,” and how does their language communicate their concept? Cognitive linguistics and semantics provide a principled way for approaching these questions.

Chapter 2

Methodology

2.1. Introduction

The goal of this chapter is to lay out the methodology I will be using to determine the ancient Israelites' concept of teaching. My methodology draws upon the field of Cognitive Linguistics, which asserts that language “offers a window into cognitive function, providing insights into the nature, structure and organisation of thoughts and ideas” (Evans and Green 2006: 5). In other words, language expresses the way humans conceptualize (Lee 2001: 1). Thus, we can understand a concept by analysing the language that expresses it.

The analyses in the chapters to follow will include a macro-level analysis and a micro-level analysis. At the macro-level, I will be concerned with how a BH lexical set “teach” intersects with the universal understanding of teaching. Analysis of the lexical set will include the notions of a *basic level item* and a *folk taxonomy*, which are discussed below (see 2.2.2). At the micro-level, I will be concerned with the lexemes that comprise a significant part of the BH lexical set “teach;” specifically, I will be determining the *meaning potential*, *prototype*, and *profile* of each lexeme. Of necessity, my analysis begins with the lexemes themselves (chs. 3–6) since the results of the micro-level analysis inform the macro-level analysis. Finally, I will synthesise the material in my macro-analysis and draw conclusions about the ancient Israelites' concept of teaching in chapter 7 before I assess the value of the study.

2.2. Macro-Level Analysis

2.2.1. A Starting Place: The Universal Concept of Teaching

Since the macro-level analysis creates the framework for the study as a whole, I begin here with a discussion of its relevant concepts and terminology, as well as an explanation of the universal understanding of teaching.

Precisely defining the word *teach* is notoriously difficult, yet it would be even more difficult to find someone who does not seem to know what it means to teach. That is, everyone appears to have a concept of *teaching*. In fact, cognitive studies have found that this is indeed the case: from all indications, teaching is a “universal cognition that appears early in

life and does not in itself require intentional teaching for it to be learned” (Strauss et al. 2002: 1475).¹ Children as young as three and a half teach without being taught *how* to teach.²

Opinions about what this cognition entails differ by discipline, as each has its own emphases.³ However, a “lowest common denominator” concept for human teaching can serve as a useful starting place for the analysis of a particular culture’s concept. At the very least, the universal concept involves *one person A recognising that another person B lacks knowledge, belief, skills, and the like (or has incomplete or distorted knowledge, etc.), and person A attempts to bring about a changed state of knowledge, belief, or skill in person B.*⁴

Based on this description, the universal concept is inherently a three-participant event, that is, it involves three entities: the teacher, the student, and the content being transferred (in some sense) from the teacher to the learner. In an ideal instantiation of this concept⁵ we would expect to find all three entities – though the nature of each entity and the process of transfer may vary from culture to culture. The figure below illustrates the basic structure of the universal understanding of teaching. Each participant in the teaching event is represented by a circle: Teacher, Content, and Student. The Content is represented by a dashed-line circle to indicate the non-material nature of what is transferred from the teacher to the student. A dashed-line circle remains in the Teacher circle to represent that the teacher still possesses the Content even though s/he has, in some sense, given it away as well. Furthermore, the

¹ “It is (almost) incontrovertible that teaching is ubiquitous among human beings, which means that, with few exceptions, every person in every society has taught and has been taught by others (Kruger and Tomasello, 1996; Tomasello, Kruger, and Ratner, 1993). There are universal activities that take place in everyday life in the home, the streets, the workplace, and the fields” (Strauss et al. 2002: 1475-76).

² Children have certainly had teaching modelled for them by parents and others, but in the literature, modelling is not considered *teaching* presumably because it lacks the intention evident in the lowest-common-denominator concept. The possibility of (unintentional) modelling being part of a concept of teaching will be considered at greater length when we consider the lexemes in BH. See Strauss, Ziv, and Stein (2002) for studies on children’s teaching ability.

³ For example, biologists are interested in the evolution of the cognitive ability and are likely to define certain animal activities as teaching. Researchers debate whether primates can be said to teach; see, e.g., Premack and Premack (1996) and Visalberghi and Fragaszy (1996). Psychologists are interested in the human activity and are less inclined to characterize animal activity as teaching. Regardless of these differing emphases on the nature of teaching, there is general agreement that “human beings are the only species that teaches by using a theory of mind.” See Strauss, Ziv, and Stein (2002: 1474–76). A theory of mind is an understanding of what another person “*sees, knows, wants, and is trying to achieve*” (Premack and Premack 1996: 308, italics original). The way one teaches is dependent on his ideas about the nature of the learner’s mind; these ideas are called the teacher’s “folk pedagogy” or “folk psychology” (Olson and Bruner 1996: 10–11).

⁴ See Strauss, Ziv, and Stein (2002: 1476–77); Premack and Premack (1996: 308); Olson and Bruner (1996: 11).

⁵ An “ideal instantiation” is a prototypical occurrence. See 2.3.1.1 below.

illustration does not have a dashed-line Content circle in the possession of the Student because *teaching* does not require a successful transfer – it only requires the attempt to transfer. The straight arrow from the Teacher to the Student represents the movement of Content from one to another, and the curved arrows from the Teacher and the Student represent their active involvement in the process.

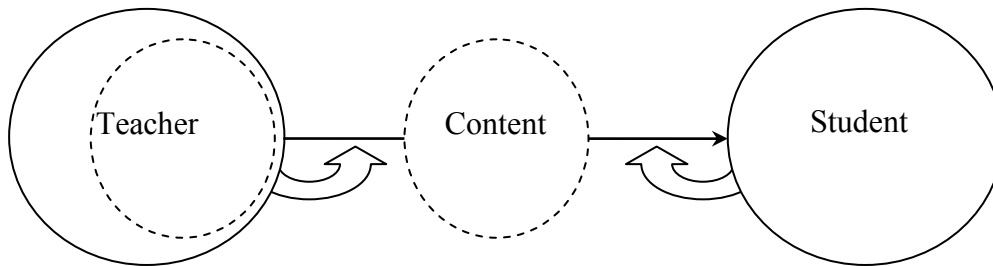


Figure 2.1. The Universal Concept of Teaching⁶

The ancient Israelites' concept of teaching will be cast in terms of the basic framework of this universal cognition; it will, however, demonstrate its own unique combination of emphases, each expressed through specific words in the lexical set “teach.” The relationships exhibited among the words of the lexical set (i.e., similarities and differences in usage and foci) will be important for understanding the concept as a whole.

2.2.2. The Lexical Set: Constraints, Folk Taxonomies, and Basic Level Items

An exhaustive study of the ancient Israelites' concept of teaching would require more than the limits of this study allow, including analysis of the entire BH lexical set “teach” (at least nine lexemes: ירה-H [*yrah*-H; ‘to instruct’], למד-D [*lmd*-D; ‘to teach’], ידע-H [*ydc*-H; ‘to cause to know’], יסר-D [*ysr*-D; ‘to instruct’], בין-H [*byn*-H; ‘to understand’], אלף-D [*ʔlp*-D; ‘to teach’], שן-D [*šnn*-D; ‘to repeat’], שכל-H [*škl*-H; ‘to understand’], חכם-H [*hkm*-H; ‘to make wise’]), analysis of several more lexemes for communication that can occur with the nuance of instruction (e.g., אמר [*mr*; ‘to say’], דבר [*dbr*; ‘to speak’], ספר-D [*spr*-D; ‘to recount’]), detailed consideration of lexemes translated “to learn” (e.g., למד-G [*lmd*-G], אלף-G [*ʔp*-G], and ידע-G [*ydc*-G] in some contexts), and a study of nouns commonly associated with education (e.g., מוסר [*mūsār*; ‘discipline’], לקה [*leqeh*; ‘teaching’], תורה [*tôrâ*; ‘instruction’]).

⁶ This figure is adapted from figures by J. Newman in his Cognitive Linguistic study of the verb *give* (1996: see, especially, pp 49–50). Cognitive linguists represent predications in a variety of ways, but I have chosen Newman's because the ditransitive nature of *give* is similar in many respects to the ditransitive nature of the teaching event.

For the sake of feasibility, I have limited my corpus in the following ways. First, since the universal concept of teaching involves a predication, I am only dealing with verbs (although I will briefly address certain nouns during the course of analysis⁷); I will also only deal with the active *binyanim*⁸ of these verbs since the passives would introduce another level of complexity in my methodology.⁹ Second, I am considering the concept of *teaching*, not *learning*. Obviously the two processes are related, but my focus is on the teaching element of the educational enterprise. Finally, I limited the “teach” verbs to four, based on the number of occurrences of each verb combined with its relevance to the activity of the teaching agent. This final criterion immediately eliminated אָלַף-D (*ʾlp*-D; ‘to teach’), שָׁנַן-D (*šnn*-D; ‘to repeat’), and חָכַם-D/H (*ḥkm*-D/H; ‘to make wise’), which do not occur often enough for effective analysis with my method.¹⁰

Further consideration of the data led to the elimination of שָׂכַל-H (*škl*-H; ‘to understand’) and בִּין-H (*byn*-H; ‘to understand’) as well. Although שָׂכַל-H (*škl*-H; ‘to understand’) occurs fifty-nine times in the MT, it has fewer than ten occurrences that are understood with the nuance of “teach.”¹¹ Similarly, בִּין-H (*byn*-H; ‘to understand’) occurs sixty-three times in the MT, but its most common meaning is “to understand, to discern” or “to be skilful, wise.” While eighteen occurrences – a fair number of texts – do include a grammatical agent who attempts to help another understand, the majority of these are in Psalm 119 (7x; six are a plea to YHWH, “הַבִּינֵנִי” [*hăbînēnî*], “make me understand”)¹² and

⁷ Of obvious relevance to the topic of teaching in the MT is the notion of תּוֹרָה (*tôrâ*). See my brief discussion in 3.5.2, and see Fabry’s article on תּוֹרָה (*tôrâ*) in *TDOT* for an overview of the term and its usage (2006).

⁸ The Hebrew verbal system consists of seven major stems, traditionally called *binyanim* (sg. *binyan*, Heb. בִּנְיָן ‘building’). The active stems are the Qal (G), Piel (D), and Hiphil (H); the middle/passive stems are the Niphal (N), Pual (Dp), and Hophal (Hp); the reflexive stems are the Niphal (N) and Hithpael (HtD).

⁹ Although passives and reflexives (Gp, Dp, Hp, HtD, N) are not formally part of my corpus, I will refer to particular instantiations of them when they provide information that can be helpful for understanding the active *binyanim*.

¹⁰ אָלַף-D (*ʾlp*-D) occurs three times, always in the book of Job (Job 15:5; 33:33; 35:11); שָׁנַן-D (*šnn*-D) only occurs in Deut 6:7; חָכַם (*ḥkm*) occurs twenty-eight times altogether, but only four times in the D- or H-stems, texts in which an instructional agent could be in view (Pss 19:8; 105:22; 119:98; Job 35:11).

¹¹ Gen 3:6; Ps 32:8; Prov 16:23; 21:11; Dan 9:22; Neh 8:13; 9:20; 1 Chr 28:19. The remaining occurrences mean “to prosper”; “to understand, to have insight”; “to regard, consider” (with no instructional agent in view).

¹² Ps 119:27, 34, 73, 125, 130, 144, 169.

Daniel (4x).¹³ Psalm 119 constitutes a special case in the MT with respect to education, and the book of Daniel has a special interest in the root *בין* (*byn*) (i.e., it occurs 26x in the book). This constellation of lopsided data for *בין*-H (*byn*-H; ‘to understand’) prompted me to omit the lexeme from my study since fair treatment would require more than I can do with Daniel and Psalm 119 here.¹⁴

Thus, this study involves the four verbal roots most commonly translated “teach,” “instruct,” or “discipline”: *ירה*-H (*yrh*-H); *למד*-D (*lmd*-D); *ידע*-H (*yd^c*-H);¹⁵ and *יסר*-D (*ysr*-D). Because the meaning of “teach” expressed by *למד*-D (*lmd*-D) is closely paired with the meaning of its counterpart in the Qal, I will analyse *למד*-G (*lmd*-G; ‘to learn’) as well. Additionally, two of these verbal roots have nominal forms used extensively in BH with respect to the educational process, so I will also consider them briefly (i.e., *תורה* [*tôrâ*; ‘instruction’], *מוסר* [*mûsâr*; ‘discipline’]).

Cognitive linguistics provides a helpful way to describe the relationships among words in a lexical set through its related notions of categorisation and folk taxonomies. Categorisation is an integral function of the human mind;¹⁶ it is, most basically, the way we think. All categories, however, are not equal. Rather, people arrange clusters of related categories into levels according to a variety of values and perceptions of saliency; such an arrangement is called a folk taxonomy. Van der Merwe provides the following example of one such taxonomy: animals > fish > freshwater fish > black bass > large-mouthed bass¹⁷ (van der Merwe 2006: 87). Each folk taxonomy has a core, a “basic level.” “Fish” is at the core of the “animal” taxonomy given here, but the basic level for “animals” includes other

¹³ Dan 8:16; 9:22; 10:14; 11:33. The remaining examples are in Isa 28:9; 40:14; Job 6:24; 32:8; Neh 8:7, 9; 2 Chr 35:3.

¹⁴ Two of the “teach” lexemes in this study do occur in Psalm 119 (*ירה*-H [*yrh*-H] and *למד*-D [*lmd*-D]), and, in fact, *למד*-D (*lmd*-D) occurs ten times in the Psalm. However, these two lexemes exhibit two features that *בין*-H (*byn*-H) does not: (1) each has a narrower semantic range and (2) each exhibits a more even distribution across the BH corpus. For these two reasons, I can deal fairly with them both in general and in the unique context of Psalm 119. As for the educational emphasis of Psalm 119, I will address it generally in the chapters on *ירה* (*yrh*) and *למד* (*lmd*) and more specifically in ch. 7.

¹⁵ The semantic range of *ידע* (*yd^c*) in the Qal is extensive and goes beyond “teaching;” the study here references the Qal but does not analyse its occurrences. See ch. 5.

¹⁶ Taylor notes that all living creatures have a measure of this ability: an animal “has to be able, at the very least, to distinguish what is edible from what is inedible, what is benign from what is harmful. And in order to mate and reproduce, a creature must be able to recognize its own kind” (Taylor 2003: xi).

¹⁷ Such taxonomies do not usually align with scientific taxonomies since the “folk” have different processes of categorising and different perceptions of saliency.

such things as dog, cat, bird, etc. (van der Merwe 2006: 88). The basic level category has several distinguishing characteristics, but only two are relevant for my purposes: (1) the basic level is “the most inclusive level for which a clear visual image can be formed” (Croft and Cruse 2004: 83); and (2) it is “the level used for everyday neutral reference” (Croft and Cruse 2004: 83).¹⁸ Since the study here involves a concept of predication (i.e., “to teach”), consider another folk taxonomy, one that involves verbs instead of nouns: communicate > speak > instruct > command. The core level – that is, the basic level item – is “speak” because it is the most inclusive level that we can visualize (i.e., “communicate” is too general) and it is a neutral reference (whereas, e.g., “instruct” or “command” are more specific terms). Other members of this basic level category would include “sign” and “write,” as they are neutral references to different means of communicating. While it may not actually be possible to construct a proper folk taxonomy of the “teach” verbs, I will be interested in describing the relationships among the lexemes – the substance of a folk taxonomy. I will also be interested in identifying the basic level unit of the lexical set “teach” based on frequency of use and distribution, important criteria in the absence of native speakers (van der Merwe 2006: 90). These relationships and the basic level will inform my understanding of the concept “teach” by indicating how the lexemes interact.

2.3. Micro-Level Analysis

Understanding the relationships among words¹⁹ in a lexical set is not possible without a clear understanding of each word in the set. Thus, my study begins with a micro-level analysis of the semantics of four BH verbal roots that comprise a lexical set “to teach”: ירה-H (*yrh*-H); למד-D/G (*lmd*-D/G); ידע-H (*yd^c*-H); and יסר-D (*ysr*-D).

A persistent challenge of semantic analyses is adequately accounting for what Evans calls the “protean nature” of words: “that is, [words] can shift meanings in different contexts of use” (Evans 2009: xi). In general, linguistic theories have postulated a “context-independent” meaning (i.e., meaning inherent in the word itself) and a “context-dependent” meaning (i.e., meaning derived from contextual usage); this distinction is sometimes referred

¹⁸ See D. Geeraerts for a fuller description of the basic level category (2002: 312).

¹⁹ I am using the word *word* for the sake of simplicity and correlation with the language used in Cognitive Linguistics writings; in reality I am analysing BH *roots*, not individual word forms.

to as the *semantics* and *pragmatics* of word use.²⁰ How one distinguishes between these two “meanings” of a word varies from theory to theory, and in fact, the distinctions are often blurred.²¹

The clear sense in semantics research that there are two “kinds” of meaning but the lack of clarity about how to characterise them finds a heuristic solution in Evans’s 2009 book *How Words Mean: Lexical Concepts, Cognitive Models, and Meaning Construction*. In one of the most current analyses of semantic theories, Evans provides a critique and synthesis of several theories of Cognitive Linguistics research. In his resulting theory, he attempts both to respect the form(s) of words and to account for the conceptual world behind a word by positing “a principled separation between the linguistic system – the linguistic knowledge that words [and phrases] encode – and the conceptual system – the non-linguistic knowledge that words facilitate access to” (Evans 2009: xi).²²

The details of Evans’s theory and its consequent requirements for a workable methodology are not entirely applicable to BH studies on account of linguistic limitations (i.e., no native speakers and a highly selective corpus); however, his emphasis on accounting for both “systems” that contribute to word meaning is important. The distinction he makes between the conceptual system and the linguistic system provides a principled way in which to deal with the data. In what follows, I describe each system and explain relevant concepts and terminology.

²⁰ Another way of expressing this distinction is “encyclopaedic” and “linguistic (or syntactic)” information. Technically, these have slightly different referents than the terms *semantics* and *pragmatics*, but the underlying issue is the same: dealing with the two kinds of meaning. In a similar vein, R. de Blois distinguishes between the *lexical* meaning and the *contextual* meaning. See de Blois 2000 and 2002.

²¹ See, for example, Langacker, who appears to equate semantic structure with conceptual structure (1987: 63, 76, 98). See also Croft and Cruse (2004: 15).

²² Evans delineates the similarities and differences between his synthesis and the theories, specifically, of Langacker (Cognitive Grammar) and Goldberg (Cognitive Construction Grammar). See Evans 2009: 60-63.

2.3.1. Conceptual System

2.3.1.1. Meaning Potential

What Evans calls the “conceptual system”²³ is more commonly called “meaning potential” or “semantic potential” – that is, the entire conceptual content that a given word entails.²⁴ Within the range of meaning of a given word is also a prototypical definition of the word.

Each instantiation of a word activates a particular aspect of the meaning potential: “When a word is used, one or more aspect of its meaning potential are activated and the activation takes place ‘in a context which creates certain conditions for its activation, with these conditions determining the way in which the potential is activated’” (van der Merwe 2006: 89; Allwood 2003: 43). Van der Merwe illustrates with BH אמר (*ʾmr*) ‘to say’: “In contexts where the content of saying is a question, its potential as a word of asking is activated” (van der Merwe 2006: 89; cf. also Gen 3:11; 33:5; Exod 3:13). So, a given word encompasses a wide range of meanings, but each instantiation only activates a part of the meaning potential.

Another way to illustrate this activation process is by means of Langacker’s “profile/base” relationship.²⁵ Each instantiation draws attention to – or *profiles* – a particular element (or elements) in one or more cognitive domains – the *base*.²⁶ For example, RADIUS profiles one element (e.g., a particular line segment) of the base CIRCLE. The profile itself (RADIUS) is not sufficient to define the concept because it cannot be understood apart from the base CIRCLE. However, even the base CIRCLE “is a complex conceptual structure that includes a wide range of concept profiles, such as RADIUS, ARC, CENTER, DIAMETER,

²³ He also calls this the “cognitive model” (2009: xi).

²⁴ Evans equates “conceptual system” with “meaning/semantic potential”; that is, it constitutes one of the two kinds of word meaning (linguistic and conceptual). Others use “meaning/semantic potential” without formally distinguishing between so called “conceptual” meaning and “linguistic” meaning; see, e.g., J. Allwood (2003) and van der Merwe (2006: 89).

²⁵ Allwood and van der Merwe do not use the term “profile,” but the idea is the same. See note 27 in van der Merwe 2006: “Cruse and Croft describe . . . an instance of activation (i.e., word meaning) as a ‘perspective of our knowledge of the world, as seen through the concept profiled by the word’.” Cf. Cruse and Croft (2004: 30). For other BH studies that incorporate the profile/base structure, see, e.g., Van Hecke on חקר (*ḥāqar*, ‘to search’) (2003), van Wolde on טמא (*ṭimmē*, ‘unclean’) (2009: 251–59) and on terms throughout Genesis 34 (2009: 269–353).

²⁶ Langacker also calls the *base* a *domain* (2006: 34), and still others call it a *frame*. Like many linguistic terms, *frame* is used by different scholars in different ways. Croft and Cruse (who follow C. Fillmore; see, e.g., Fillmore 2006) define it in a way that would be appropriate here: “a coherent region of human knowledge, or as a coherent region of conceptual space” (2004: 14).

CHORD and so on. Hence the base alone is insufficient to define a linguistic concept either” (Croft and Cruse 2004: 15). The meaning of a concept has to include both the base and the profile.²⁷

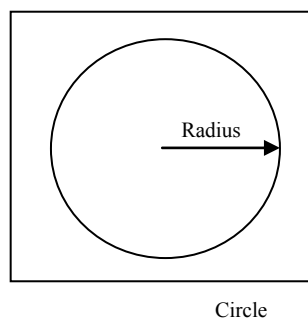


Figure 2.2. The Profile of “Radius”

2.3.1.2. Prototypes

Within the wide range of meanings a given word may encompass is a prototype, that is, an exemplar that best depicts the relevant attributes of a given category.²⁸ A category also has good and bad members, that is, typical and atypical members. Some members may even be marginal, arguably not included in the category at all (e.g., *penguin* in the *bird* category). The prototype serves as a “reference [point] for the categorization of not-so-clear instances” (Taylor 2003: 45).²⁹ A prototype is determined by careful analysis of its spectrum of usage.

²⁷ What is more, the base CIRCLE could also be situated in an even larger domain GEOMETRY, or the like. This process could go on like a set of Russian dolls, a fact that Cognitive Linguists recognise: “In fact, no concept exists autonomously: all are understood to fit into our general knowledge of the world in one way or another. What matters for semantic analysis is the profile-base relation, and the relation between bases and domains” (Croft and Cruse 2004: 16).

²⁸ Categories have attributes, features that a speaker considers to be relevant (but not essential) information. This contrasts with the *essential features* required by the semantic theory of componential analysis: e.g., if [+feathers] is an essential feature of birds in componential analysis, penguins do not qualify; prototype categorisation, however, would say *feathers* are relevant, but not essential, to whether an entity belongs in a category. This leaves room for the penguin in the *bird* category.

Categories have fuzzy boundaries, so a given entity may be a typical member of one category and an atypical member of another category at the same time. De Blois (2004: 100–1) summarizes the basic tenets shared by Cognitive Linguists as detailed in Ungerer and Schmid’s introduction to Cognitive Linguistics (1996).

²⁹ In addition to a 1973 landmark study by Labov (see 1.4.3), research behind prototype theory involved cross-linguistic studies of colour terms (e.g., Berlin and Kay’s 1969 study, *Basic Color Terms*, followed by that of cognitive psychologist Eleanor Heider [Rosch] in 1972, “Universals in color naming and memory,” in the *Journal of Experimental Psychology*). The magnitude of colours and hues perceptible to the mind (7.5 million!) makes colours a good study for categorisation: what determines how a person identifies/perceives a colour? The studies found that a particular colour derives its value from its place in the larger sub-system of a language’s colour vocabulary. For example, English possesses the colour terms *red* along with *orange*, *pink*, and *purple*,

Specifically in this study, I made a complete list of every occurrence of the verbal roots; examined each context, noting the *binyan*, clausal constructions, subject, object(s), parallel words, and collocations; noted uncertain readings and text-critical issues; examined the data to determine a prototypical meaning; and noted how other meanings might develop from the prototype as well as how metaphorical extensions might arise. Determining a prototypical meaning is, nonetheless, easier said than done (2006: 90).

Determining the prototypical meanings of similar BH lexemes can help us distinguish significant nuances of meaning that might otherwise go unnoticed. For example, in his study of three Hebrew words glossed ‘to kill’ (הרג [*hārag*], רצה [*rāṣaḥ*], קטל [*qāṭal*]), E. Tully determined that the prototypical meaning of קטל (*qāṭal*) “carries the special emphasis of focusing on the *end* of a person’s life”; the core meaning of רצה (*rāṣaḥ*) “can refer to a *technically* neutral act (such as accidentally killing someone), but it is . . . negative” in its connotation; and the prototypical meaning of הרג (*hārag*) “is not inherently positive or negative” (Tully 2005: 24–25).³⁰ Additionally, identifying prototypical definitions helps indicate where meanings are marginal and where metaphor extends the meaning.

In summary, the conceptual system that contributes to a word’s meaning includes that word’s meaning potential (i.e., the entire range of its usage) in which a particular aspect is activated (or profiled) by context.³¹ Each word also has a prototypical definition, that is, the best description of the word’s meaning. These elements of the conceptual system of a word are illustrated below:

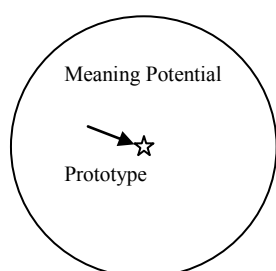


Figure 2.3. The Conceptual System of a Word

whereas the Tsonga language uses only one word to describe the spectrum of red-pink-purple colours (Taylor 2003: 2–5).

³⁰ See the *Semantic Dictionary of Biblical Hebrew* (SDBH) for Tully’s published results for רצה (*rāṣaḥ*) (<http://www.sdbh.org/vocabula/index.html>; accessed Dec 3, 2010).

³¹ Meaning is also activated, as will be in section 2.3.2, by the linguistic content of a word/phrase.

2.3.2. Linguistic System

Activation of an aspect of the meaning potential happens through context, as seen above in van der Merwe's אָמַר (*ʾmr*) illustration (see 2.3.1.1), but it also happens through the linguistic system, “the linguistic knowledge that words encode” (Evans 2009: xi).³² Each word/phrase (or “lexical representation”) includes two elements: the *vehicle* (the word/phrase itself) and what Evans calls the *lexical concept* (the “bundle” of encoded linguistic data that each word/phrase contains) (2009: xi, 75). Encoded linguistic data includes such information as gender, number, tense, and aspect, as well as clausal structure and collocations.

In terms of my study, the encoded linguistic data of greatest interest include the clausal structures, the collocations, and the *Aktionsart* expressed through BH *binyanim* (i.e., the type of “action” – causative, stative, etc.).

2.3.2.1. Clausal Constructions

Because I am examining the occurrences of verbal roots, the basic unit of semantic analysis is the clause. Clausal constructions can have a number of constituents (called *slots* by some; see, e.g., Taylor 2003: 225). Necessarily included in a clausal construction is (1) a verb, “symbolizing a type of interaction (a type of event) and locating this event relative to the ground, i.e., the speech situation (through the categories of tense, modality, etc.)” (García-Miguel 2007: 754); and (2) one or more nominal forms, the primary participants in the event.³³ These *participants* (animate and inanimate) fulfil certain roles in the clause. The roles of relevance for the study at hand are Agent (A), Patient (P), and Recipient (R).³⁴ The Agent is the initiator of an action, one who is capable of acting with volition, while the Patient (P) is the entity (often an inanimate object) that undergoes the effect of an action. The Recipient (R) is the entity (usually a person) at the endpoint of the action; that is, it receives

³² Evans does not deny that activation occurs through context, but his theory for how that happens requires more data than the BH corpus can provide. See his section “Semantic Compositionality” (pp. 215–78) for details.

³³ In BH these nominal “forms” may be encoded in the verbal form as the subject or the object.

³⁴ Participants receive different names in the literature: thematic roles, semantic roles, participant roles, deep semantic cases, and thematic relations. See Saeed 2003: 148. I am using Saeed’s categories of thematic roles (2003: 148–54), but I have adopted Newman’s term *Recipient* for the student participant (Newman 1998). This participant is otherwise variously called the “causee,” the “beneficiary,” or the “goal” in the literature, depending on the exact nature of the verb involved. For the sake of simplicity and familiarity of terms, I will use Agent, Patient, and Recipient throughout.

the Patient being transferred by the Agent³⁵ (in case languages, the Recipient would be in the dative). In the teaching event, the Agent is the teacher, the Recipient is the student, and the Patient is the content being communicated. A third category of clausal constituents is that of optional elements, such as prepositional phrases and adverbial adjuncts, “symbolizing secondary participants or some aspects of the setting” (García-Miguel 2007: 754).

A basic assertion of Cognitive Linguistics is that the clausal construction itself contributes to the meaning of the expression: the *form* of the expression encodes meaning. So, for example, consider the English word *teach* and how different clausal constructions affect the meaning of the clause: *I teach* (Agent-Verb); *I teach Sam* (Agent-Verb-Recipient); *I teach math* (Agent-Verb-Patient); *I teach Sam math* (Agent-Verb-Recipient-Patient); *I teach math to Sam* (Agent-Verb-Patient-PP/Recipient). The participants are unchanged throughout (except for presence or absence), and yet each clause communicates a different nuance of meaning. While there are many possible constructions for a clause, the constructions of interest to this study are those related to grammatical transitivity (i.e., intransitive clauses, transitive clauses, and ditransitive clauses) because the universal concept of teaching involves notional transitivity, marginal though it may be (see 2.3.2.1.1 below). It is important to keep in mind that transitivity is both a grammatical category and a notional category; an event like *teaching* conceptually (i.e., notionally) involves the transfer of something from a person A to a person B, but does not require a grammatically transitive construction. I address these issues further below (sections 2.3.2.1.1; 2.3.2.1.2; 2.3.2.1.3).

2.3.2.1.1. Transitive Clausal Constructions

A transitive construction is a grammatical structure in which the verb governs an object. Prototypically, in a transitive construction in any language, “an Agent carries out an action affecting a concrete, individuate Patient and [modifies] it” (García-Miguel 2007: 764). Transitivity is not necessarily associated with the lexical value of a word; that is, a transitive construction may include a verb that can also be used in intransitive and ditransitive constructions (e.g., the English word *teach* illustrated above). Although the universal concept of *teach* notionally involves someone (A) causing someone else (R) to learn something (P), the necessity of a grammatical Recipient and Patient may vary from language to language (and from word to word; cf. *instruct* and *teach* in English). The construction chosen for a

³⁵ This applies in a transitive sentence. In an intransitive sentence, the object is the entity whose location is described; e.g., *The paper is on my desk*. (Saeed 2003: 149). Note also that Saeed uses the word *theme* instead of *object*.

given verb, particularly a verb that can be used in a variety of transitive constructions, affects the meaning of the clause.

While the prototypical instantiations of transitive constructions may designate concrete and perceptible actions, there are many less prototypical instantiations and many marginal ones as well. Because transitivity itself is also a conceptual category, its members show varying degrees of “transitiveness.” P. Hopper and S. Thompson (1980) demonstrated that transitivity entails the effectiveness or intensity with which an action is transferred from the Agent to the Patient. They identified ten different components of transitivity that are assessed in terms of “high” or “low.” Based on these assessments, transitive clauses can be characterised as more or less transitive than other clauses. The components of transitivity identified by Hopper and Thompson are detailed in the table below:

	COMPONENT	HIGH	LOW
A.	PARTICIPANTS	2 or more participants, A and P	1 participant
B.	KINESIS	Action	Non-action
C.	ASPECT	Telic	Atelic
D.	PUNCTUALITY	Punctual	Non-punctual
E.	VOLITIONALITY	Volitional	Non-volitional
F.	AFFIRMATION	Affirmative	Negative
G.	MODE	Realis	Irrealis
H.	AGENCY (OF A)	A is high in potency	A is low in potency
I.	AFFECTEDNESS (OF P)	P is totally affected	P is not affected
J.	INDIVIDUATION (OF P)	P is highly individuated	P is non-individuated

Table 2.1. Parameters of Transitivity (from Hopper and Thompson 1980: 252)

Linguists generally agree that prototypical transitivity is an event involving “a volitionally acting ‘agent’ participant performing a concrete, dynamic action which has a perceptible and lasting effect on a specific ‘patient’” (Næss 2007: 15).³⁶ Furthermore, the event “should be presented as **real** and **concluded**; that is, the clause should show perfective rather than

³⁶ The discussion of transitivity with respect to Hopper and Thompson, as well as Næss, involves constructions that are properly *transitive* and not *ditransitive* – i.e., the verb governs only one object instead of two; thus the use of only an Agent and a Patient in their table.

imperfective aspect, realis rather than irrealis mood, be positive rather than negated, etc.” (Næss 2007: 15).

Prototypically transitive verbs include things like *kill*, *move*, and *kick* (Garcia-Miguel 2007: 764).³⁷ The English word *teach* is not prototypically transitive since it does not involve an Agent “performing a concrete, dynamic action which has a perceptible and lasting effect on a specific ‘patient’” (Næss 2007: 15). Like verbs of perception and mental activity (e.g., *see*, *watch*), the act of teaching generally does not denote a physical causation event: “we have no reason to posit any kind of energy transfer from the experiencer to the other participant . . . [but nonetheless] the experiencer’s role is energetic to the extent that we think of energy as being required for mental activity” (Langacker 1990: 222). Furthermore, the perceptibility and longevity of the effect on the other human participant in a teach event – the Recipient – is often unknown or even nonexistent.³⁸ So although *teach* falls in the margins of transitivity, transitivity is nonetheless a helpful lens through which to view the concept because the universal concept of teaching inherently involves the transfer of a non-tangible something between people.

2.3.2.1.2. Ditransitive Clausal Constructions

Ditransitive clauses are an extension of transitive clauses; they feature three-participant events that include an Agent, Patient, and Recipient. Their construction is more complex and varied than that of transitive clauses. While this variance has made it difficult for linguists to agree upon a prototypical construction for ditransitive clauses, the central meaning of a ditransitive clause is generally agreed upon: [THING X CAUSES THING Y TO RECEIVE THING Z].³⁹

For the purposes of my study, there are two constructions used most commonly to express three-participant events. The first is the double object construction, as in “I taught Sam math.” The second is an “extended transitive construction” (Dixon 1994: 123) in which the verb governs a direct object and a dative/indirect object construction, as in “I taught math

³⁷ Even these verbs, however, can be used intransitively under certain constraints; e.g., “The tiger kills at night.” See Goldberg (2001). The lexical value of a word does not dictate transitivity; that is, a transitive construction may include a verb that can also be used in intransitive and ditransitive constructions.

³⁸ Despite the somewhat philosophical question of whether teaching takes place if learning does not, the actual usage of *teach* in English does not require learning. It is entirely grammatical to say, “I taught Sam math, but he did not learn it.” Similarly in BH, “teaching” does not require learning; in fact, all four verbal roots analysed in this project allow “teaching” without contingent “learning.”

³⁹ See, e.g., Evans (2009: 135), who calls this construction an “open lexical concept”; cf. also Goldberg (2006: 407) and Newman (1998).

to Sam” (García-Miguel 2007: 773). While there are different nuances to the meaning expressed by these two constructions,⁴⁰ the purposes of this study only require that we say both are ditransitive constructions and both appear in BH. A third ditransitive construction common in BH involves the Patient as the head of a relative clause, as in (to keep the same illustration) “X should ___ the math which I taught Sam.”⁴¹

2.3.2.1.3. Intransitive Clausal Constructions

In an intransitive clausal construction, the verb takes only one argument, namely, the subject of the verb.⁴² When a verb that elsewhere allows multiple arguments takes only one, the interest of the sentence is the subject of the verb and the action undertaken.

For example, the intransitive English construction “I teach” is only interested in *me* and what I do. The construction shows no expressed interest in what or whom I teach, although contextually both may be known. When the verb is used in a transitive construction, other areas of interest enter the picture.⁴³

2.3.2.2. Collocations

Additional contributors to the meaning of a clause are words that are used in collocation with the verb. Some of these collocations may include the Agents, Patients, and Recipients, but others fall within the third category of clausal constituents, the optional elements, such as prepositional phrases and adverbial adjuncts.

In the analyses of the BH lexemes to follow (chs. 3–6), I will note the occurrence and possible significance of collocations associated with each lexeme.

2.3.2.3. Linguistic System: Summary

In summary, it is the interaction of a particular verb with a particular construction that construes the meaning of a clause. A given verb selects certain participants: the verb *teach* requires an Agent who is a teacher; if it takes an object, it will select a Recipient who is a student or a Patient that represents something that the student lacks but the teacher can provide. These participants are slotted in a clausal construction that has meaning of its own.

⁴⁰ See, e.g., A. Goldberg (2006) and R. Langacker (1987).

⁴¹ See, e.g., Deut 17:10 ושמרת לעשות ככל אשר יורוך (wěšāmartā la’āsôt kēkōl ūšer yōrūkā) “You shall do according to all which they teach you.”

⁴² In the terms here, this would be the Agent.

⁴³ In written linguistic data it is not always easy to determine which participants, if any, are receiving special interest. Analyses of word order and markedness can contribute to such determinations.

The combination of the selected participants and the clausal construction contributes to the meaning of the expression. Sometimes particular collocations can also contribute significant meaning to the expression. Sorting out all the variables can be messy, but García-Miguel nicely summarizes the process: “At any rate, it seems clear that verb and construction interact semantically selecting and elaborating each other’s meaning and that new uses are based both on an abstract schema that provides a template and on concrete uses that serve as a model” (García-Miguel 2007: 760).

2.3.3. Profiling Prototype Definitions

The final step in the micro-level analysis is profiling the prototype definition of each BH lexeme against the base of the universal concept “teach.” By this point in the analysis, I will have determined the meaning potential of each BH “teach” lexeme and identified which aspects of the meaning potential each instantiation activates. I will also have determined the prototypical meanings of the lexemes. The further step I will take is to profile each prototype meaning against the universal concept to see which aspects each lexeme highlights.

This step represents an adaptation of the Cognitive Linguistics tool of profiling because I am profiling *prototype definitions or meanings* and not *instantiations*. I am using the universal concept “teach” as a base that contains the meaning potential of all the cognitive domains associated with a teacher, a student, and content, rather than drawing upon the available conceptual data of a specific language only. Of course, I cannot identify all the cognitive domains that the “teach” concept includes, but that is not necessary for my purposes since I am only concerned with the most basic concept: *one person A recognises that another person B lacks knowledge, belief, skills, and the like (or has incomplete or distorted knowledge, etc.), and person A attempts to bring about a changed state of knowledge, belief, or skill in person B*. While there will be limitations to this approach, it nonetheless provides an avenue for describing the overall concept of “teach” for the ancient Israelites.

2.4. Synthesis

Considering the prototypical meanings of various BH “teach” words against the universal concept of teaching will provide the transition to the macro-level analysis. First I will synthesise the data and determine the relationships between the lexemes, and I will identify the base level item(s) of the lexical set “teach.” Then I will collate and compare the various

profiles of the lexemes on the universal base in order to present an overall description of the Israelites' concept of teaching.

In summary, the methodology employed in this study is as follows: (1) micro-analysis of the BH "teach" lexemes in which I (a) analyse the linguistic data, (b) determine the meaning potential, (c) identify which aspects of the meaning potential the linguistic and contextual data activate, (d) determine the prototype meaning for each lexeme, and (e) profile the prototype against the universal "teach" concept; (2) macro-analysis of the lexical set, in which I (a) determine the relationships between lexemes in the BH lexical set "teach;" (b) identify the basic level lexeme; (c) collate and compare the prototype meanings profiled against the universal concept in order to describe the ancient Israelite concept of teaching. Once these goals have been accomplished, I will use my conclusions to briefly discuss the concept of YHWH as a teacher (7.4).

2.5. Conclusion

The writing of the ancient Israelites gives witness to their culture's concept of teaching. The study undertaken here is an attempt to identify their foundational concept of teaching by analysing words from their language, since language is our avenue to thoughts.

While a variety of semantic methodologies have been used in the study of BH, the study here incorporates a methodology that attempts to account for both "systems" that contribute to word meaning – the linguistic system and the conceptual data.

Chapter 3

ירה (*yrh*) in the Hiphil

3.1. Introduction

The verbal root ירה (*yrh*) carries several meanings in the Bible, and linguists and lexicographers have not reached a consensus on how many different roots these various meanings may actually represent.¹ *HALOT* (2001: 1.436) distinguishes three roots, meaning (I) ‘to throw, shoot’; (II) ‘to water’²; and (III) ‘to teach’. Even-Shoshan (2000: 494) and *TDOT* (Wagner 1990? Or a larger entry? see VI: 330–47) likewise recognise three roots. BDB notes the possibility of three different roots but concludes that the “evidence for this distinction [is] hardly sufficient” (1952: 434–35); the sense of “teach” only occurs in the Hiphil, so Gesenius³ conjectured that ‘to teach’ in the Hiphil is related to the Qal of ירה (*yrh*) ‘to throw’. A recent article by D. Cohen-Zemach (2010) coheres with this idea; he argues that a singular root ירה (*yrh*) evolved into several meanings.⁴ While I can appreciate the possibility of a developmental link between ירה-G (*yrh*-G) ‘to throw’ and ירה-H (*yrh*-H) ‘to teach’, such a development would have happened in an irretrievable past. A semantic relationship between the two is not obvious in the MT, as one would generally expect between a Qal and Hiphil of the same root. Given this and the evidence of the lexica, such as it is, that identify three ירה (*yrh*) roots, I am choosing to deal with ירה-H (*yrh*-H) ‘to teach’ as an “isolated *Hiphil*” (Waltke and O’Connor 1990: 443, italics original).

¹ A related question is the etymology of the word תורה (*tôrâ*). The classic work on this question is that of G. Östborn (1945). See 3.5.2 below for a brief discussion of *t*/Torah.

² *HALOT* identifies this root as an alternate form of I-רה (*rwh*) (2001: 1.436).

³ BDB is the direct descendent of Gesenius’s dictionary. See Östborn (1945: 6–7) for the discussion of Gesenius’s view on ירה (*yrh*).

⁴ Cohen-Zemach argues, in part, on the basis of ירה’s (*yrh*) association with military concepts in the MT – i.e., shooting arrows (e.g., 1 Sam 20:20, 36, 37; Isa 37:33) or stones (Exod 19:13). The typical weapon of war, the arrow, also functioned as an instrument for “predicting the future, revealing secrets, and seeking advice about proper behaviour” (e.g., 1 Sam 20:18–42; Ezek 21:26): ואולם בניגוד לכלי המלחמה האחרים נועד לחץ בעידן העתיק גם תפקיד של גילוי עתידות, חשיפת סודות ובקשת עצה להתנהגות נכונה (Cohen-Zemach 2010: 234). It was a mantic tool, and Cohen-Zemach argues that ירה (*yrh*) ‘teach’ describes the activity of priests who used Torah in the place of mantic tools. Torah was “a spiritual-intellectual substitute for the use of various mantic tools, including arrows. . . . The Torah is a substitute for the work of all kinds of magicians and sorcerers”: מכאן שהתורה משמשת בידי הכהנים תחליף רוחני – אינטלקטואלי לשימוש המאגטי בכלים שונים כולל בחצים (Cohen-Zemach 2010: 235). The connection, however plausible, does not affect my understanding of how BH uses the verb.

In the MT the occurrences of ירה (*yrh*) that relate to teaching are found across the genres of the corpus: legal material, narrative, poetry, wisdom, prophetic material.⁵ The agentive participants include priests, prophets, sages, YHWH himself, fathers, artisans, and even non-human entities (idols, earth, and beasts). The Recipients of the action expressed by ירה (*yrh*) represent a wide array of individuals and groups, including the nation of Israel, the people of Samaria, children, the psalmist, and a hypothetical farmer.⁶ The nature of the instruction being passed on – that is, the semantic Patients – includes torah, errors, knowledge, the status of skin diseases, what to do or say, and the way one should go. Wagner notes that the use of ירה (*yrh*) with respect to teaching “presupposes a relationship between two personal (or personally conceived) entities: the instructor possesses or claims authority over the other; the recipient of instruction has or should have certain expectations of the teacher” (Wagner 1990: 339).

In this chapter, I will analyse all the occurrences of ירה-H (*yrh*-H) that relate to instruction in the MT. I begin with detailing the linguistic data and then the conceptual data separately before considering how the two sets of data interact to create meaning. I will also determine the prototype definition and profile of ירה-H (*yrh*-H) and briefly examine substantives associated with the root ירה (*yrh*).

⁵ Even-Shoshan identifies 48 forms under his verbal entry and 7 (with some overlap) under his מורה (*mwrh*) nominal/participle entry: Gen 46:28; Exod 4:12, 15; 15:25; 24:12; 35:34; Lev 10:11; 14:57; Deut 17:10–11; 24:8; 33:10; Judg 13:8; 1 Sam 12:23; 1 Kgs 8:36; 2 Kgs 12:3; 17:27–28; Isa 2:3; 9:14; 28:9; 28:26; Ezek 44:23; Hos 10:12; Mic 3:11; 4:2; Hab 2:18–19; Pss 25:8, 12; 27:11; 32:8; 45:5; 86:11; 119:33, 102; Job 6:24; 8:10; 12:7–8; 27:11; 34:32; 36:22; Prov 4:4, 11; 6:13; 2 Chr 6:27; 15:3 (Even-Shoshan 2000: 494c). Participles/nominals include Isa 9:14; 30:20 (2x); Hab 2:18; Job 36:22; Prov 5:13; 2 Chr 15:3 (Even-Shoshan 2000: 633b). Included in his list of verbal occurrences is Hos 10:12: עדייבוא וירה צדק לכם (*ʿad-yābôʿ wəyōreh ṣedeq lākem*, “until he comes and rains righteousness on you”), which I have omitted from my corpus. The lexica and most English translations understand this verse to refer to what *HALOT* lists as ירה-II (*yrh*-II), an alternate form of ירה-I (*yrh*-I) meaning ‘to water’. Contextually this traditional understanding makes good sense (see also Hos 6:3). The LXX likewise keeps the agricultural metaphor: ἐκζητήσατε τὸν κύριον ἕως τοῦ ἐλθεῖν γενηματα δικαιουσῦνης ὑμῶν.

Also omitted from my corpus is Gen 46:28: ואת-יהודה שלה לפניו אל-יוסף להורת לפניו גשנה (*wəʿet-yēhūdā sālah lēpānāyw ʿel-yōsēp lēhōrōt lēpānāyw gōšēnāh*; “and he sent Judah before him to Joseph to point before him to Goshen”). The MT is somewhat difficult (though English versions most commonly try to follow it; e.g., NASB, ESV, JPS, NRSV, NIV, TNK). The SP has להראות (*lēhērāʾōwt*) ‘to present himself’, suggesting a Hebrew variant of ראה (*rāʾ*), while Greek συναντήσαι ‘to meet’ suggests להקרות (*lēhiqqārōt*). The presence of ראה (*rāʾ*) in the near context (46:29, 30), as well as the Joseph story’s interest in “seeing” Joseph (Gen 43:3, 5; 44:23, 26; 46:30; 48:11), makes the SP’s variant contextually favourable. It is also easier to explain the development of the MT’s form from the SP than it is to explain how the SP could have developed from the MT.

The root is not extant in the writings of Ben Sira, but its participial form *mōreh* occurs frequently in the Dead Sea Scrolls where the Teacher of Righteousness (מורה הצדק, *mōreh haṣṣedeq*) plays a prominent role in the Qumran community. See below under Substantives of the Root ירה (*yrh*) (section 3.5).

⁶ This list and the one that follows are not exhaustive.

3.2. Linguistic Data of ירה-H (*yrh*-H)

As an isolated Hiphil, ירה-H (*yrh*-H) ‘to teach’ is difficult to describe and classify with certainty since its role in the larger context of the BH verbal system cannot be analysed. However, this does not preclude meaningful discussion of the lexeme; as Waltke and O’Connor note, “the basic semantic value of the stem is usually evident, and one can often discern whether the form functions as a transitive or inwardly transitive, etc.” (1990: 444). Thus mindful of the limitations of this analysis, I will present the linguistic data and heuristically evaluate their significance.

The linguistic data of greatest interest to my study are the clausal constructions and the collocations used with ירה (*yrh*). As a fientive lexeme, ירה (*yrh*) takes a subject (Agent) that is actively involved in doing something. It can be used in ditransitive clausal constructions (i.e., selecting two objects) and in transitive clausal constructions (i.e., selecting one object). However, as with the English verb *teach*, it can also be intransitive. The lexeme is also used in collocation with a variety of prepositions as well as verbs in parallel structure.

In what follows, I analyse the occurrences of ירה-H (*yrh*-H) according to their clausal constructions: ditransitive, transitive, and intransitive. Prepositions that occur in collocation with ירה-H (*yrh*-H) are considered in conjunction with the transitive and ditransitive constructions. Then I consider other collocations that appear with ירה-H (*yrh*-H) before turning to the conceptual data of ירה-H (*yrh*-H).⁷

3.2.1. Ditransitive Clausal Constructions with ירה-H (*yrh*-H)

The verbal root ירה (*yrh*) commonly occurs in a ditransitive clausal construction; fifteen of the lexeme’s thirty-six finite verbal forms feature an Agent, a Patient, and a Recipient. Additionally, two non-finite forms of ירה (*yrh*) include three arguments: Lev 10:11 includes a logical Agent (Aaron and his sons) and a grammatical Patient and Recipient; 2 Kgs 17:28 has a participial agentive form of ירה (*yrh*) with a grammatical Patient and Recipient. As noted in chapter 2 (section 2.3.2.1.2), there are at least three ways that BH syntactically indicates the objects of ditransitive verbs: the double object construction, the object-plus-dative / indirect object construction, and the relative clause construction.⁸ The ירה (*yrh*) lexeme occurs in all three of these types, in both poetic and narrative texts. The Recipient is frequently definite, usually indicated by את (²*et*) or a pronominal suffix.

⁷ Participles that clearly function as nouns are included with other nominal forms in section 3.5.

⁸ Respectively, “I taught Sam math”; “I taught math to Sam”; “X should ___ the math which I taught Sam.”

Text	Verb	Agent ⁹	R – NP ¹⁰	Recipient	P - NP ¹¹	Patient
Exod 4:12	w+pf	(YHWH)		2ms X (Moses)	אשר (<i>ʾāšer</i>)	you should say
Exod 4:15	w+pf	(YHWH)	את (<i>ʾet</i>)	2mp X (Moses & Aaron)	את אשר (<i>ʾet ʾāšer</i>)	you should do
Exod 15:25	way	YHWH		3ms X (Moses)		piece of wood
Lev 10:11	l+ IC	(Aaron/sons)	את (<i>ʾet</i>)	sons of Israel	את (<i>ʾet</i>)	all the statutes
Deut 17:10	impf	(priest)		2ms X (Israelites)	[<i>head</i>] ¹²	everything
Deut 17:11	impf	(priest)		2ms X (Israelites)	[<i>head</i>]	the torah
Deut 24:8	impf	Levitical priests	את (<i>ʾet</i>)	2mp X (Israel)	[<i>head</i>]	everything
Deut 33:10	impf	(priests)	ל (<i>l-</i>)	Jacob / Israel		your statutes / your torah
Judg 13:8	w+impf (juss)	(angel of Y)		1cp X (Manoah & wife)	מה (<i>mah</i>)	we should do for the child
1Kgs 8:36 ¹³	impf	(YHWH)		3mp X (Israel)	את (<i>ʾet</i>)	the good way
2Kgs 17:27	w+impf	(priest)		3mp X (Samaritans ¹⁴)	את (<i>ʾet</i>)	customs of God of the land
2Kgs 17:28	ptc (verbal)	(priest)	את (<i>ʾet</i>)	3mp X (Samaritans)	אִךְ (<i>ʾek</i>)	they should fear YHWH
Isa 28:9	impf	(YHWH)	את (<i>ʾet</i>)	Whom?		knowledge
Ps 27:11	imv	YHWH (voc)		1cs X (psalmist)		your way
Ps 45:5	w+impf (juss)	your (king) right hand		2ms X (king)		mighty military acts
Ps 86:11	imv	YHWH (voc)		1cs X (psalmist)		your way
Ps 119:33	imv	YHWH (voc)		1cs X (psalmist)		the way of your statutes

Table 3.1. Ditransitive Clausal Constructions with *yrh*-H (ירח-H)

⁹ Logical (non-grammatical) Agents are in parentheses.

¹⁰ R-NP = Recipient Noun Phrase, referring to anything that precedes the Recipient in the Noun Phrase.

¹¹ P-NP = Patient Noun Phrase, referring to anything that precedes the Patient in the Noun Phrase.

¹² By (*head*) I mean “head of a relative clause”; i.e., the Patient in the next column is the head of a relative clause.

¹³ // 2 Chr 6:27. See table 3.3 below.

¹⁴ “Samaritan” technically means the descendents of Israelites and non-Israelite settlers in Samaria; I use the term for the sake of simplicity here, though the text refers to the first-generation of non-Israelites resettled in Samaria by Assyria.

The most basic meaning of a three-argument construction is that [THING X CAUSES THING Y TO RECEIVE THING Z].¹⁵ A ditransitive clausal construction assigns saliency to all three participants in the event (García-Miguel 2007: 776), and it also best represents the nature of a teaching event as understood universally (i.e., a three-participant event). In its prototypical instantiations, a ditransitive construction involves the “successful transfer of an object to a recipient” (Goldberg 2006: 414); further, the Agent is volitional and the Recipient is willing (Goldberg 2006: 433).¹⁶ As Goldberg notes, however, “it is widely recognized that many ditransitive expressions do not strictly imply that the second object [i.e., the Patient] is successfully transferred to the first object [i.e., the Recipient]” (2006: 413). Certainly this is the case with the concept of teaching, in which the teacher can take the appropriate action to transfer a certain knowledge, attitude, or skill to a student; yet the student does not learn.

In the ditransitive constructions with ירה (*yrh*), the Agent is causing the Recipient to receive, in some sense, the Patient. The marginal nature of transitivity with respect to the concept *teach*, addressed in chapter 2 (see also 4.2.1.1), affects the way we understand the transfer of the Patient, or the Recipient’s acquisition of the Patient. In every ditransitive occurrence of ירה (*yrh*), the Patient is a non-material entity; any “transfer” of it occurs visually or mentally and the completion of the “transfer” is not necessarily measurable or even observable.

The Agents in the ditransitive constructions are most commonly YHWH (8x) and the priests (7x); once a prophet (איש האלהים [*š hā’ēlōhîm*], “man of God”) is thought to be the Agent.¹⁷ In Ps 45:5 the Agent is the king’s right hand, which is metaphoric for the fighting forces of the king – his military strength. The Recipients of priestly instruction are the Israelites and the resettled residents of Samaria, while the Recipients of YHWH’s instruction are Moses, Aaron, Israel, and the psalmist. Every Agent in the ditransitive constructions, with the exception of the king’s right hand, is a superior of the corresponding Recipient; generally,

¹⁵ See, e.g., Evans (2009: 135), who calls this construction an “open lexical concept”; Goldberg (2006: 407); Newman (1998).

¹⁶ Goldberg (2006: 414–15) provides several reasons why this is the prototypical sense of a ditransitive construction: (1) it involves concrete transfer, not metaphorical or abstract (or even potential); (2) concrete meanings have been shown to be more basic diachronically and synchronically; (3) the concrete “class” of meanings is the class most metaphorical extensions are based on; and (4) the other (non-concrete) classes can be represented most economically as extensions from the concrete sense.

¹⁷ The text identifies this “man of God” as the Angel of YHWH, a fact that Manoah and his wife do not recognise until the angel has left and they acknowledge that they had seen God (Judg 13:16, 21–22).

then, Wagner’s statement about the relationship between the Agents and the Recipients holds true: “the instructor possesses or claims authority over the other; the recipient of instruction has or should have certain expectations of the teacher” (Wagner 1990: 339). The content said to be transferred (Patient) in the ditransitive constructions encompasses a variety of things (e.g., torah, customs, how to fear YHWH, what to say).

3.2.2. Transitive Clausal Constructions with ירה-H (*yrh*-H)

Eight occurrences of ירה-H (*yrh*-H) verbal forms have only two clear arguments,¹⁸ but the verb occurs eleven additional times with an Agent, a Recipient, and a third constituent that is either a “prepositional object” (Waltke and O’Connor 1990: 165) – what I am calling the Patient, in which case the construction would be ditransitive – or an adjunct adverbial prepositional phrase in a transitive clausal construction. I will take up this issue in section 3.2.3 below, but here I will only deal with the eight clearly transitive (not potentially ditransitive) occurrences.

Text	Verb	Agent ¹⁹	Recipient
2Kgs 12:3	pf	Jehoiada	3ms X (Joash)
Isa 28:26	impf	his God	3ms X (farmer)
Ps 119:102	Pf	you (YHWH)	1cs X (psalmist)
Prov 4:4	wayy	(father)	1cs X (son)
Job 6:24	imv	(Job’s friends)	1cs X (Job)
Job 8:10	impf	they (former generations)	2ms X (Job)
Job 12:7	w+impf	(beasts)	2ms X (Job’s friends)
Job 12:8	w+impf	(earth)	2ms X (Job’s friends)

Table 3.2. Transitive Clausal Constructions with ירה-H (*yrh*-H)

When ירה-H (*yrh*-H) occurs as a finite verb in a transitive clausal construction, it always selects an Agent and a Recipient (e.g., I teach Sam) and never an Agent and a Patient (e.g., I teach math).²⁰ Although the content of instruction (the Patient) can be found in or inferred from the contexts, the fact that it is not included in the grammatical structure affects the

¹⁸ By “clear arguments,” I mean an Agent and an object without a preposition. See 3.2.3.

¹⁹ Logical Agents are in parentheses.

²⁰ When ירה (*yrh*) is construed as a participle that functions verbally and governs one object, however, the object it governs is a Patient – i.e., what is taught. The two times it occurs in this way, interestingly, the Patient is the same: נִשְׁקֶר (*šeqer*) ‘falseness’, said of prophets in Israel (Isa 9:14) and idols (Hab 2:18). See 3.4.2 and 3.2.4.

meaning of the clause. Consider in English the difference in meaning between the following sentences: *I teach Sam math* and *I teach Sam*. The ditransitive construction highlights, as noted above (sections 2.3.2.1 and 2.3.2.1.2), the saliency of all three participants in the teaching event; *what* is taught is an integral part of the meaning. However, when ירה (*yrh*) is in a transitive construction, *what* is taught is not an integral part of the meaning. The sentence *I teach Sam* is not interested in what I teach Sam; the relationship between the Agent and Recipient is highlighted instead. If ירה (*yrh*) in a transitive construction selected an Agent and a Patient (e.g., *I teach math*), the construction would highlight the connection between the Agent and the content, with no interest in the potential Recipient. The fact that finite ירה-H (*yrh-H*) does not select an Agent and Patient in a transitive construction makes it similar to the English word *instruct* (as ירה [*yrh*] is, probably not coincidentally, often translated): an Agent can instruct a Recipient, but not a Patient. An Agent in BH can ירה (*yrh*) ‘teach’ a Recipient, but never a Patient (e.g., English *I teach math*).

The Agents in transitive constructions of ירה (*yrh*) are YHWH/Elohim, Jehoiada the priest, a father, and groups of people (Job’s friends and former generations). ירה (*yrh*) can also take non-human Agents – namely, beasts and the earth – though, these Agents are undoubtedly (used) for rhetorical effect (see below). The Recipients include the child king Joash, a hypothetical farmer, the psalmist, the son of Proverbs, Job, and Job’s friends. In the majority of cases, the Agent clearly “possesses or claims authority over the other” (Wagner 1990: 339), and in the passages where such a relationship is absent (Agent/Job’s friends – Recipient/Job; Agent/beasts and earth – Recipient/Job’s friends), the sarcasm is particularly biting if such a relationship is indeed implied by ירה (*yrh*). Since a transitive clause construction with ירה (*yrh*) highlights the relationship between the teacher and student, the participant pairs (Agent-Recipient) in the transitive constructions are of interest and will be discussed further when I discuss how the linguistic data and the conceptual data converge (see 3.4 below).

The degree of transitivity exhibited by ירה (*yrh*) in transitive constructions varies, the most prototypically transitive “events” being found in 2 Kgs 12:3 and Ps 119:102. Both of these depict an event in which the Agent successfully transferred the Patient to the Recipient; that is, the teaching actually resulted in the students’ learning. That Jehoiada effectively taught Joash is clear from the statement that Joash did what was good and upright in the eyes of YHWH all the days that Jehoiada taught him (2 Kgs 12:3). That YHWH effectively taught

the psalmist is evident from the statement that he did not turn from YHWH's statutes on account of being taught (Ps 119:102).²¹ Also high in transitivity is Isa 28:26, in which YHWH's instruction of the hypothetical farmer results in his mastery of agricultural techniques.²²

3.2.3. Transitive or Ditransitive? Prepositions with ירה-H (*yrh*-H)

As noted above (3.2.2), ירה (*yrh*) 'to teach' also occurs eleven times with an Agent, a Recipient, and a third constituent that is either a "prepositional object" (Waltke and O'Connor 1990: 165) or an adverbial prepositional phrase. Since some verbs in BH allow an object that is governed by a preposition, part of the discussion below is whether occurrences of ירה (*yrh*) with certain prepositions are of this nature (and thus really of a three-argument structure) or whether they constitute adverbial clauses instead.

Of the phenomenon where a single verb can govern direct-object accusatives or "prepositional objects," Waltke and O'Connor simply note that there is "no appreciable difference in meaning" (1990: 165). This may indeed be the case, but it is nonetheless worth asking if a difference is suggested by the presence of the preposition, namely that it marks the object in a significant way or that the object should be understood adverbially instead of as an accusative. Muraoka notes the difficulty of drawing a line between the two possibilities (Muraoka 1978).²³ Without entering the larger debate, I will argue with respect to ירה (*yrh*) that whether the phrases are objects or adverbial phrases, the presence of the preposition signifies an important component of the "bundle of linguistic data" that a given instantiation brings to the meaning of a clause.

²¹ In Hopper and Thompson's ten categories, both of these transitive events rank low in only one category – "Punctuality," because the transfers were extended over time.

²² In Hopper and Thompson's ten categories, this transitive event ranks low in "Punctuality" as well as "Mode" because, as a hypothetical event, it is unreal and thus less transitive.

²³ "But the truth of the matter is that the nature of verb complementation is one of the major topics still vigorously debated. This is the case regarding Hebrew grammar, but also in general linguistics. It is widely admitted however that a verb can be complemented basically in two ways, either by an object or by an adverbial, although it is often notoriously difficult to draw a line between the two" (Muraoka 1978: 429–30).

Text	Verb	Agent ²⁴	R – NP	Recipient	Prep	Object of Prep
Job 34:32	imv	you (God)		1cs X (Job)	בלעדי (<i>bil ʕādē</i>)	I see
Ezek 44:23	impf	(priests)	את (<i>ʕet</i>)	my people	בין...ל (<i>byn ... l</i>)	holy and profane
Isa 2:3 = Mic 4:2	w+impf	(YHWH)		1cp X (nations)	מן (<i>min</i>)	his ways
2Chr 6:27 ²⁵	impf	(YHWH)		3mp X (Israel)	אל (<i>ʕel</i>)	the good way
1Sam 12:23	w+pf	(Samuel)	את (<i>ʕet</i>)	2mp X (Israel)	ב (<i>b-</i>)	the good and upright way
Ps 25:8	impf	(YHWH)		sinners	ב (<i>b-</i>)	the way
Ps 25:12	impf	(YHWH)		3ms X (YHWH- fearer)	ב (<i>b-</i>)	way he should choose
Ps 32:8	w+impf	(YHWH)		2ms X (psalmist)	ב (<i>b-</i>)	way which you should go
Prov 4:11	pf	(father)		2ms X (son)	ב (<i>b-</i>)	way of wisdom
Job 27:11	impf	(Job)	את (<i>ʕet</i>)	2mp X (friends)	ב (<i>b-</i>)	the hand of God

Table 3.3. Transitive Clausal Constructions of ירה-H (*yrh*-H) with Prepositions

In the eleven occurrences of ירה (*yrh*) with an Agent, Patient, and prepositional constituent, the prepositions used are ל...בין (*byn ... l-*) (בין קדש לחל, *bēn qōdeš ləḥōl*; Ezek 44:23), אל (*ʕel*) (אל-הדרך הטובה, *ʕel hadderek haṭṭōbā*; 2 Chr 6:27), מן (*min*) (מדרך, *midderek*; Isa 2:3 = Mic 4:2), בלעדי (*bil ʕādē*) (בלעדי אחזה, *bil ʕādē ʕəḥēzeh*; Job 34:32), and six with ב (*b-*) (בדרך, *bēderek*, in Prov 4:11; 1 Sam 12:23; Pss 25:8, 12; 32:8; ביד אל, [*bēyad ʕl*], in Job 27:11). Of these, two are clearly adverbial: Ezek 44:23 (יורו בין קדש לחל, *yōrū bēn qōdeš ləḥōl*), “instruct them [to distinguish] between the holy and profane”; and Job 34:32 (בלעדי אחזה אתה הרני, *bil ʕādē ʕəḥēzeh ʕattā hōrēnī*), “Apart from what I see . . .”

The nine prepositional collocations with ירה (*yrh*) that are not clearly adverbial are of greater interest since all either relate to the noun דרך (*derek*) ‘way’ (8x) or the preposition ב- (*b-*, *bet*) (6x). The notion of a “way” and how it functions as a metaphor will be addressed in greater detail in section 3.3.1.3; of interest here are its collocations as the object of prepositions in clauses with the verb ירה (*yrh*) ‘to teach’. The use of three different prepositions with דרך (*derek*) and ירה (*yrh*) (ב, *b-*; מן, *min-*; אל, *ʕel*) and the fact that ירה (*yrh*)

²⁴ Logical Agents are in parentheses.

²⁵ // 1 Kgs 8:36. See table 3.1.

can also take דרך (*derek*, ‘way’) as an object (the Patient) without any prepositions²⁶ suggests that the prepositions are not just signifying the objects, but rather that they express spatial relationships.

3.2.3.1. Preposition אל (*ʿel*)

A single occurrence of דרך (*derek*, ‘way’) with ירה (*yrh*, ‘to teach’) includes the preposition אל (*ʿel*) (2 Chr 6:27), a text that is parallel to 1 Kgs 8:36 where the preposition אל (*ʿel*) is lacking and the direct object marker, את (*ʿet*), precedes the object instead.

2 Chr 6:27

ואתה תשמע השמים וסלחת לחטאת עבדיך ועמך ישראל כי תורם אל-הדרך הטובה
אשר ילכרבה ונתתה מטר על-ארצך אשר-נתתה לעמך לנחלה
Wəʿattâ tišmaʿ haššāmayim wəsālaḥtā ləḥaṭṭa ʾġ ʿābādēkā wəʿammūkā yiśrā ʿel kī
tôrēm ʿel-hadderek hattóbâ ʾāšer yələkū-bâ wənātātā māṭār ʿal-ʾarṣekā ʾāšer nātātā
ləʿammēkā lənaḥlā

“Then hear in heaven and forgive the sin of your servants and your people, Israel, when you teach them the good way, which they should walk in it; and give rain upon your land, which you gave to your people for an inheritance.”

1 Kgs 8:36

ואתה תשמע השמים וסלחת לחטאת עבדיך ועמך ישראל כי תורם את-הדרך הטובה
אשר ילכרבה ונתתה מטר על-ארצך אשר-נתתה לעמך לנחלה
Wəʿattâ tišmaʿ haššāmayim wəsālaḥtā ləḥaṭṭa ʾġ ʿābādēkā wəʿammūkā yiśrā ʿel kī
tôrēm ʿet-hadderek hattóbâ ʾāšer yələkū-bâ wənātātā māṭār ʿal-ʾarṣekā ʾāšer nātātā
ləʿammēkā lənaḥlā

“Then hear in heaven and forgive the sin of your servants and your people, Israel, when you teach them the good way, which they should walk in it; and give rain upon your land, which you gave to your people for an inheritance.”

It is difficult to determine why the difference exists between the parallel passages – that is, whether the אל (*ʿel*) in 2 Chr 6:27 represents historical development, a variant in sources, or

²⁶ See, e.g., Pss 27:11, 86:11; 119:33 in section 3.2.1 above. Compare the Psalms texts under consideration here (Pss 25:8, 12, 32:8).

something else altogether (Muraoka 1978: 429). English translations generally translate the verse as if the preposition merely marks the object (e.g., NASB, NRSV, TNK, RSV, ESV), in agreement with the parallel passage. However, it is at least possible that אל (*ʿl*) reflects the directionality that can be associated with דרך (*derek*) – a way, a path, to which you point someone (e.g., Judg 20:42; 1 Sam 13:17; Prov 7:25). Without a comprehensive study of BH prepositions, one hesitates to say more.

3.2.3.2. Preposition מן (*min*)

The two occurrences of ירה (*yrh*) ‘to teach’ with מן (*min*) prepositional constituents are in parallel texts (Isa 2:3 and Mic 4:2), in which the nations desire to go to Zion so that YHWH can ירה (*yrh*) them מדרכיו (*middērākāyw*) and they subsequently will walk in his paths (בארהתיו, *bēʾōrḥōtāyw*).²⁷

Isa 2:3

והלכו עמים רבים ואמרו לכו ונעלה אל־הר־יהוה אל־בית אלהי יעקב וירנו מדרכיו
ונלכה בארהתיו כי מציון תצא תורה ודברי־יהוה מירושלם

*Wēhālēkū ʿammîm rabbîm wēʾāmērû lēkû wēna ʿāleh ʿel-har-YHWH ʿel-bêt ʿēlōhē
ya ʿāqōb wēyōrēnû middērākāyw wēnēlēkâ bēʾōrḥōtāyw kî miṣṣîyôn tēṣēʾ tōrâ
ûdēbar-YHWH mîrûšālāim*

“Many peoples will come and say, ‘Let us go up to the mountain of YHWH, to the house of the God of Jacob, that he may teach us from his ways and that we may walk in his paths,’ because from Zion T/torah will go out, and the word of YHWH from Jerusalem.”

Many English translations of these verses blur the distinction between מן (*min*) and other prepositions such as ב (b-) or על (*ʿal*): “concerning his ways” (NASB; cf. also KJV, ASV, JPS “of his ways”); “in his ways” (TNK). Other English translations indicate that it merely marks the object, so, “he will teach us his ways” (see, e.g., ESV, NRSV). A better understanding, in my view, is that the מן (*min*) retains some of its lexical value (i.e., origin, source, out of,

²⁷ The preposition מן (*min*) is used with דרך (*derek*, ‘way’) frequently in the MT, and it is most commonly associated with someone turning *from* an evil way, that is, from behaviour that displeases YHWH. In addition to the texts of interest here, the collocation only occurs one other time with respect to YHWH’s ways (as opposed to the negative ways of people); in a prayer of penitence Israel laments that God has caused them to stray from his ways (Isa 63:17).

from²⁸) and has either a partitive sense here or represents the source of the instruction.²⁹ They want YHWH to teach them some of his ways or from his ways.³⁰

3.2.3.3. Preposition ב (b-)

The preposition that occurs with the greatest frequency with ירה (*yrh*) is the preposition ב- (*b-*). Five ב- (*b-*, *bet*) prepositional phrases with an object דרך (*derek*) ‘way’ appear in collocation with the verb ירה (*yrh*): a way of wisdom, the good and upright way, the way, a way he should choose, and a way you should go.³¹ HALOT identifies the ב- (*b-*) as marking the “something” (thus, the Patient) being taught (2001: 1.436b). This is possible; however, the fact that דרך (*derek*) occurs as the Patient of ירה (*yrh*) ‘to teach’ four other places without the preposition ב- (*b-*)³² and that דרך (*derek*) occurs in collocation with ירה (*yrh*) and other prepositions, suggests that the preposition ב- (*b-*) is not merely identifying the object of the verb.³³

1 Sam 12:23

גם אנכי חלילה לי מחטא ליהוה מחדל להתפלל בעדכם והוריתי אתכם בדרך הטובה והישרה

²⁸ See Waltke and O’Connor (1990: 212–14), and GKC §119v.

²⁹ See below (3.3.1.2.1) for how the partitive fits within the conceptual data of the verse.

³⁰ The preposition could also express the speaker’s relationship to YHWH’s ways: namely, the nations are apart from YHWH’s ways but desire that he teach them. What YHWH would tell them to do, they would do. Understood this way, the desire of the nations stands in great rhetorical contrast to YHWH’s own people, whom the Deuteronomist claimed possessed YHWH’s instructions and commandments in their very mouths and hearts – and yet would not obey them: כִּי־קָרוֹב אֵלַיךְ הַדְּבָר מֵאֵד בְּפִיךָ וּבִלְבָבְךָ לַעֲשׂוֹתוֹ (*kî-qārôb ʾēlākā haddābār mēʾōd bēpikā ūbilbābēkā la ʾāšōtô*), “For very near to you is the word, in your mouth and in your heart so that you may do it” (Deut 30:14). It is difficult to parse out the differences in the senses of the preposition, and perhaps they are not mutually exclusive. See Waltke and O’Connor (1990: 191); see also D. Pardee (1976: 282–85) on “seeming prepositional ambiguity” in Ugaritic and how the perspective of the speaker can clarify “idiomatic verb/preposition usages” (282).

³¹ Respectively, Prov 4:11; 1 Sam 12:23; Pss 25:8, 12; 32:8.

³² Pss 27:11; 86:11; 119:33; 1 Kgs 8:36. 2 Chr 6:27 is parallel to 1 Kgs 8:36, which includes the DDO את (*ʾet*) with the Patient; in 2 Chronicles, however, the preposition אל (*ʾel*) precedes the Patient.

³³ In all of the texts under consideration here, E. Jenni (1992) broadly classifies the preposition ב- (*b-*) as designating proximity of place (Lokalisation), in which an object is juxtaposed with a place. More specifically, these texts involve mental proximity (or contact; Geistiger Kontakt) instead of literal physical contact; that is, they involve perception, thinking, and feeling. He does not specifically address how the idea of a material place might affect the concept behind non-material usage, though he does note the difficulty of classifying definitively the “mental contact” occurrences of the preposition ב- (*b-*) because of its “sporadische, heterogene Gebrauchsweisen.” (In addition to ירה-H [*yrh-H*], Jenni includes בין [*byn*], פנה [*pnh*], שכל [*škl*], שמר [*šmr*], שים לב [*šym lēb*], זכר [*zkr*], ידע [*yd*], למד [*lmd*], and מָהִיר [*māhîr*]) (1992: 252–53).

*Gam ʾānōkī ḥālīlā lī mēḥăṭṭō³ la-YHWH mēḥădōl lēhitpallēl baʿadkem wēḥôrētī
ʾetkem bēderek hattōbâ wēḥayšārâ*

“As for me, far be it from me that I should sin against YHWH by ceasing to pray for you, but I will instruct you in the good and upright way.”

Ps 25:8

טוב־וישר יהוה על־כן יורה חטאים בדרך

Tōb-wēyāšār YHWH ʿal-kēn yôreh hattā ʾim baddārek

“Good and upright is YHWH; therefore, he instructs sinners in the way.”

Ps 25:12

מי־זה האי־ש ירא יהוה יורנו בדרך יבחר

Mi-zeh hā ʾiš yērē³ YHWH yôrennū bēderek yibḥār

“Who is the one that fears YHWH? He will instruct him in the way he should choose.”)

Ps 32:8

אשכילך ואורך בדרך־זו תלך איעצה עליך עיני

ʾaškīlākā wēʾôrēkā bēderek-zû tēlāk ʾi ʿāšâ ʿālākā ʿenī

“I will instruct you and I will teach you in the way which you should go; I will counsel you, my eye upon you.”

Prov 4:11

בדרך חכמה הרתיך הדרכתך במעגלי־ישר

Bēderek ḥōkmâ ḥōrētīkâ hidraktīkâ bēma ʿgēlē-yōšer

“In the way of wisdom I have instructed you; I have led you in upright paths.”

English translations show variation for all five texts under consideration, with the preposition ב- (*b-*) most commonly translated “in” – thus, an adverbial prepositional phrase. However, several translations indicate the debate by their inconsistent rendering of the preposition ב-

(*b-*).³⁴ The use of the preposition *ב-* (*b-*) in the *ירָה* (*yrh*) + *דֶּרֶךְ* (*derek*) collocation is suggestive of a spatial relationship. By using the preposition *ב-* (*b-*) + *דֶּרֶךְ* (*derek*), the writer puts the instructor and learner on a path together. The teacher is accompanying the student in the way and offering guidance about the rightness of a given path.³⁵

The preposition *ב-* (*b-*) is used one other time in conjunction with a *ירָה* (*yrh*) Agent-Patient construction: Job 27:11, where Job tells his friends *אֹרְרָה אֶתְכֶם בְּיַד־אֱלֹהִים עַם־שָׂדֵי לֹא אֶכְחָד* (*ōreh ʾetkem bēyad-ʾēl ʾāšer ʿim-šadday lōʾ ākaḥēd*) “I will ‘teach’ you *ב-* (*b-*) the hand of God; what is with Shaddai I will not conceal.” English translations reflect the difficulty of translating the preposition *ב-* (*b-*) here: Some render it as “concerning” or “about” (see, e.g., NIV, JPS, ASV, NRSV), though one might expect a different preposition for this nuance (e.g., *עַל* [*ʿal*]). The KJV translates it as instrumental – “by the hand of God”; and NASB’s “in the power of God” is ambiguous (i.e., does it reflect the content of instruction or the instrument of it?). At this point, I want only to note the difficulty of this passage with respect to understanding the *ירָה* (*yrh*) + *ב-* (*b-*) collocation. I will return to Job 27:11 below when I specifically deal with the conceptual data of *ירָה* (*yrh*) (see 3.3.1.2.1).

In summary, the occurrences of *ירָה* (*yrh*) with prepositional constituents are best understood as two argument constructions with adverbial adjuncts. In none of the texts with prepositional constituents is the preposition clearly marking the object.³⁶ Rather, the prepositions contribute meaningful data to the lexical concept.

3.2.4. Intransitive Clausal Constructions with *ירָה*-H (*yrh*-H)

An intransitive clausal construction with *ירָה* (*yrh*) is infrequent: two finite verbal forms (Hab 2:19; Mic 3:11), one infinitive (Exod 35:34), and one participle (Prov 6:13) have only one argument. As with the transitive clauses above, other participants in the teaching event can be inferred from the contexts, but the fact that they are not grammatically present in the clause is meaningful. The only participant grammatically present in the teaching event is the Agent. The intransitive constructions here thus highlight the Agent and his action, without expressing interest in the Recipient or the Patient.

³⁴ Cf., e.g., the internal inconsistencies in the NIV, NRSV, TNK, and KJV.

³⁵ For further discussion, see 3.3.1.3 where I analyse the *דֶּרֶךְ* (*derek*) ‘way’ metaphor.

³⁶ The possible exception is Job 27:11. See 3.3.1.2.1 below.

Text	Verb	Agent ³⁷	Adverbial phrase
Exod 35:34	l+ IC	(Bezalel/Oholiab)	
Lev 14:57	l+ IC	(priest)	b + day of uncleanness
Mic 3:11	impf	her priests	b + a bribe
Hab 2:19	impf	it (idol)	
Prov 6:13	ptc	(worthless man)	b + his fingers

Table 3.4. Intransitive Clausal Constructions with ירה-H (*yrh*-H)

The Agents in the intransitive constructions of ירה (*yrh*) are both animate and inanimate: the artisans Bezalel and Oholiab are the logical Agents of the infinitive construct of Exod 35:34, where YHWH is said to have “put in [their] hearts to teach” (ולוהרת נתן בלבו הוא, *ûlēhōrōt nātan bēlibbô hū*) the skills needed for tabernacle craftsmanship;³⁸ the priests instruct; an idol made by an idol-maker teaches; and the worthless man of Prov 6 directs with his fingers. The respective contexts will be addressed in greater detail in the conceptual data for ירה-H (*yrh*-H) (section 3.3); at this point it is sufficient to note that the intransitive constructions highlight the Agents and their instructional activity.

3.2.5. Collocations with ירה-H (*yrh*-H): Parallel Verbs

I have already examined prepositions that occur in collocation with ירה (*yrh*). In what follows, I will consider verbs that occur in parallel with ירה (*yrh*) and what their presence contributes to our understanding of the lexeme. The nature of parallelism and distinguishing between poetry and narrative in BH are much discussed issues in biblical scholarship; for the purposes of my study, I have restricted “parallelism” to lines with similar surface structure since they are readily perceived as parallel, although the relationship between the lines may not be as apparent.³⁹ I have footnoted verses that do not exhibit a similar surface structure between lines but are nonetheless interesting with respect to collocations.

Twelve verbs occur in parallel with ירה (*yrh*), most commonly in poetic texts but in narrative and wisdom material as well:⁴⁰ ידע-H (*yd^c-H*) (Ezek 44:23); נחה-H (*nḥh-H*) (Ps

³⁷ Logical Agents are in parentheses.

³⁸ The role of YHWH in this process will be discussed in ch. 7.

³⁹ See A. Berlin (1992), ch. 6 “Parallelism and the Text,” where she discusses the variety of parallelisms found in BH. Her comments on perceptibility and interestingness in particular inform my decision here (130–35).

⁴⁰ As Berlin notes, “Not all poetry is parallelisms and not all parallelisms are poetry” (1992: 4).

27:11); שִׁכַּל-H (*škl*-H) (Ps 32:8); יַעֲזֹב-G (*yʿz-G*) (Ps 32:8); דַּרְךְ-H (*drk*-H) (Prov 4:11); בִּיַּן-H (*byn*-H) (Isa 28:9; Job 6:24); יִצָּא-H (*yṣ²-H*) (Job 8:10); נִגַּד-H (*ngd*-H) (Deut 17:10; Job 12:7); סִפֵּר-D (*spr*-D) (Job 12:8); אָמַר (*ʾmr*) (Deut 17:11; Job 8:10⁴¹); יִסֵּר-D (*ysr*-D) (Isa 28:26); כָּהַד-D (*kḥd*-D) (Job 27:11). The number and variety of words that occur in parallel suggest that none qualifies as a stock word pair.

Text	Agent ⁴²	Recipient	Patient/Adjunct	Parallel verb ⁴³	Parallel Patient/Adjunct
Deut 17:10	(priests)	2ms X (Israelites)	everything which they...	נִגַּד (1) (<i>ngd</i>)	the word
Deut 17:11	(priests)	2ms X (Israelites)	the torah which they...	אָמַר (2) (<i>ʾmr</i>)	judgments
Isa 28:9	(YHWH ⁴⁴)	whom?	knowledge	בִּיַּן-H (2) (<i>byn</i> -H)	report
Isa 28:26	his God	3ms X (farmer)	--	יִסֵּר-D (1) (<i>ysr</i> -D)	--
Ezek 44:23	(priests)	my people (Israel)	between holy and profane	יָדַע-H (2) (<i>yd^c-H</i>)	between clean and unclean
Ps 27:11	YHWH (voc)	1cs X (psalmist)	your way	נָהַג-H (2) (<i>nḥh</i> -H)	on a level path
Ps 32:8	(YHWH)	2ms X (psalmist)	in the way you should go	שִׁכַּל-H (1); יַעֲזֹב-G (3) (<i>škl</i> -H; <i>yʿz</i> -G)	-- / with my eye on you
Prov 4:11	(father)	2ms X (son)	in the way of wisdom	דָּרַךְ-H (2) (<i>drk</i> -H)	in the paths of uprightness
Job 6:24	(Job's friends)	1cs X (Job)	--	בִּיַּן-H (2) (<i>byn</i> -H)	how I have erred
Job 8:10	they (former generations)	2ms X (Job)	--	אָמַר (2); יִצָּא-H (3) (<i>ʾmr</i> ; <i>yṣ²-H</i>)	-- / words
Job 12:7	(beasts)	2ms X (Job's friends)	--	נִגַּד-H (2) (<i>ngd</i> -H)	--
Job 12:8	(earth)	2ms X (Job's friends)	--	סִפֵּר-D (2) (<i>spr</i> -D)	--
Job 27:11	(Job)	2ms X (Job's friends)	בֵּיד אֵל (<i>bēyad ʾēl</i>)	כָּהַד-D (neg) (2) (<i>kḥd</i> -D)	what is with Shaddai

Table 3.5. Verbal Roots That Occur in Parallel with יַרְהִי-H (*yrh*-H)

⁴¹ Compare also Prov 4:4, where the father “instructs and says” (וִירַנִי וַיֹּאמֶר, *wayyōrēnī wayyōʾmer*).

⁴² Logical Agents are in parentheses.

⁴³ The number in parentheses after each form represents in which clause of the parallel structure the form occurs – the first or the second, or even the third.

⁴⁴ Translations vary in their understanding of who the teacher is in Isa 28:9, namely, the prophets or YHWH. I am following the sense of the unit (28:9–13) and understanding YHWH as the speaker in vv. 11, 12, 13; coherency of the passage then dictates that he also be the speaker in vv. 9–10 (Smith 2007).

Consideration of the data above indicates that ירה (*yrh*) demonstrates a clear preference for the initial clause in a parallel structure: in all but three passages, ירה (*yrh*) appears first.⁴⁵ Kugel’s foundational idea of “seconding” in BH parallelism – “*A* is so, and what’s more, *B*” (1981: 1–58) – prompts us to ask what the second clause contributes to our understanding of the first. More specifically, what do the verbs of the second clauses contribute to our understanding of ירה (*yrh*)? Adele Berlin’s notion of disambiguation can be helpful in this regard. She asserts that when the first line of a couplet is ambiguous, one function of the second line is to disambiguate – to clarify the meaning of the first line. In Berlin’s words, the second line “directs the interpretation” of the first line (Berlin 1992: 96–99). With respect to ירה (*yrh*) as the first of two parallel terms, many of the second verbs help disambiguate the nature of the instruction. The second verb can specify *how* the instruction takes place. It is instruction by simply saying (נגד [*ngd*]; אמר [*mr*]; ספר (*spr*); יאץ [*yʿ*]); it is instruction by explaining (בין [*byn*]); it is instruction by guiding (נהה [*nhh*]; דרך [*drk*]). While disambiguation does not explain all the parallel occurrences of ירה (*yrh*), the extent to which it does apply implies that the kind of teaching suggested by ירה (*yrh*) is ambiguous enough to invite clarification.

3.2.6. Summary of Linguistic Data for ירה-H (*yrh*-H)

Semantic analysis should include two primary components: the linguistic data encoded in each instantiation of a given word and the conceptual world behind the word. In this section, I have analysed the linguistic data of ירה-H (*yrh*-H), with particular interest in the nature of its clausal constructions and its collocations.

I have determined that it can occur in a ditransitive, transitive, or intransitive construction. When it is a finite verb in a transitive clause, it selects an Agent and a Recipient, never an Agent and a Patient. The Agent can be human, divine, or a beast (or even the earth), but the Recipient is always human (individual or group). The Patients include such things as torah, the good way, knowledge, and how to fear YHWH. The prepositions and their objects that are collocated with ירה (*yrh*) should be understood as adverbial adjuncts and

⁴⁵ In Deut 17:10–11, the structure of lines is *a-b-b-a*, with the verbs נגד – ירה – ירה – אמר (*ngd – yrh – yrh – mr*). This structure offers a plausible explanation for the placement of ירה (*yrh*) in the second of the two parallel lines of v. 10 (instead of in the first). In Ps 32:8, ירה (*yrh*) is the second in a series of three. This leaves Isa 28:26 as the only parallel structure in which ירה (*yrh*) stands in the second clause instead of the first. See 6.4.2 for further discussion of the parallel verbs in Isa 28:26.

not objects. The lexeme occurs in collocation with a variety of other verbs, and the parallel structures indicate that ירה (*yrh*) can refer to a somewhat ambiguous kind of instruction.

3.3. Conceptual Data for ירה-H (*yrh*-H)

The second aspect of the semantic analyses in this study is the conceptual data that a word encompasses, that is, its meaning potential. Within this meaning potential of a given word is a prototypical definition of the word.

In what follows, I describe the meaning potential of ירה-H (*yrh*-H) ‘to teach’. I determined the meaning potential by analysing each occurrence of ירה-H (*yrh*-H) in context, grouping occurrences according to similar meanings, and then assessing the relationships among the differing nuances of meaning. I then derived the prototype meaning by considering the frequency and distribution of meanings.

3.3.1. Meaning Potential of ירה-H (*yrh*-H)

The meaning potential, or semantic potential, is the entire conceptual content that a given word entails. Each instantiation of a word activates a particular aspect of the meaning potential. Recall van der Merwe’s illustration of activation using BH אמר (*ʾmr*) ‘to say’: “In contexts where the content of saying is a question, its potential as a word of asking is activated” (van der Merwe 2006: 89; cf. also Gen 3:11; 33:5 and Exod 3:13). So, a given word may have a wide range of meanings, but each instantiation only activates a part of the meaning potential.

The meaning potential of ירה (*yrh*) divides into two broad definitions. The first meaning is visual in nature – directing a person’s eyes to a specific object/location. The second meaning is cognitive – instructing someone in an area of mental deficiency. This second definition subdivides into more specific categories as described below.

3.3.1.1. ירה-H (*yrh*-H) Definition 1: Visual – *To direct someone’s eyes to a specific something previously unseen; to show someone something*

The meaning of directing someone’s attention to a previously unseen object, location, or event is evident in at least three texts: Exod 15:25, Prov 6:13, and Ps 45:5. In Exodus, YHWH directs the beleaguered Moses to the piece of wood that will make the bitter waters of Marah sweet: ויורהו יהוה עץ (*wayyôrēhû YHWH ʿēṣ*) “and YHWH showed him a piece of

wood.”⁴⁶ In Proverbs the worthless lad points toward nothing good: מרה באצבעתיו (*môreh bēʿēšbē ʕōtāyw*) “the one who points with his fingers.” Of this text M. Fox says, “the miscreant does not seem to be enticing others to join him in his misdeeds so much as entangling them in conflicts with others” by pointing them in a particular direction (2000: 221). Finally, in Ps 45:5 the fighting forces of the king (i.e., his “right hand”) will show him awesome victories such as he has never seen before: ותורך נוראות ימינך (*wētôrēkā nōrāʕōt yēmînekā*), “Let your right hand show you awesome things.”

The idea of directing someone’s eyes to a particular thing could also be in Ps 27:11 and Ps 86:11, where the psalmists plead with YHWH to ירה (*yrh*) them “[his] way” so they can escape from their enemies.⁴⁷ Both psalms are set against backdrops of imminent danger, and the psalmists ask YHWH to point them in the right direction, as it were, so they can get away from the danger. Whether the psalms express real situations memorialized for the worshipping community or whether they were penned about imagined situations is impossible to know. Regardless of the nature of the original circumstances, the meaning ultimately went beyond the need to find a literal path.⁴⁸

The meaning potential of ירה (*yrh*) activated in these contexts is nicely captured by glossing ירה (*yrh*) as “X made Y see . . .” or “X showed Y . . .” This captures the visual sense behind directing someone’s attention – their eyes – to something that had gone unnoticed before.

3.3.1.2. ירה-H (*yrh*-H) Definition 2: Cognitive – *A person of authority or expertise informs someone who lacks particular knowledge*

While the meaning potential described in definition 1 is visual in nature, the meaning potential here is cognitive in nature; it involves instructing someone in an area of mental

⁴⁶ There could be more to this instruction, namely, that God also told Moses what to do with the stick. S. R. Driver (1911: 143) suggests there was a kind of wood that sweetened bitter water. If this was the case, Moses may have known what to do when he saw the stick.

⁴⁷ The collocations of ירה (*yrh*) ‘to teach’ + דרך (*derek*) ‘way’ discussed above (3.2.3.3) only include instantiations where דרך (*derek*) is the object of the -ב preposition. In the two occurrences here (Pss 27:11 and 86:11), דרך (*derek*) stands alone, and this affects the interpretation. I will consider this more extensively below when I synthesise the linguistic and conceptual data of ירה-H (*yrh*-H) (see 3.4.3).

⁴⁸ Cf. K. Finsterbusch who says that the plea for direction in the path should be understood as a request for inspiration concerning correct life decisions: “Die Bitte um Weisung des Wegs in V. 11aα ist als Bitte um Inspiration bezüglich der rechten Lebensentscheidungen zu verstehen. . . .” (2007: 45). While she is undoubtedly correct with respect to the application of the text, her interpretation jumps to the application without due consideration of the psalmist’s real or imagined circumstances – he needs an escape route.

deficiency. Obviously the two meanings are not mutually exclusive: to see something *is* to become cognitively aware of it. The meaning here, however, goes beyond awareness to understanding.

As in English, BH demonstrates a close relationship between *seeing* and *understanding*. Michael Carasik, in his analysis of ראה (*rāh*) ‘to see’ and שמע (*šm^c*) ‘to hear’, provides good evidence for “the existence of a general Israelite description of understanding in terms of sight and vision”; *seeing* in ancient Israel “was so basic that it was used as a metaphor . . . for thought” (2006: 32–43). This aspect of ירה’s (*yrh*) meaning potential occurs in two related senses as detailed below (3.3.1.2.1 and 3.3.1.2.2).

3.3.1.2.1. ירה-H (*yrh*-H) Definition 2a: *To give specific, situational instruction*

The meaning of a person of authority or expertise giving another person specific, situational instruction is the most commonly activated meaning, occurring in twenty texts: Exod 4:12, 15; 35:34; Lev 14:57; Deut 17:10–11; 24:8; Judg 13:8; Isa 2:3 = Mic 4:2; Isa 9:14; Mic 3:11; Hab 2:18–19; Job 6:24; 8:10; 12:7–8; 27:11; 34:32. The Agent can be human or divine, and the Recipient is always human. The Patient, when present, refers to information that applies to specific situations, such as ritual purity and child-rearing.

A common Agent of ירה (*yrh*) ‘to teach’ is the priest. Priests instructed the people about purity in instances of skin disease (Lev 14:57; Deut 24:8), and along with judges, they also made decisions in specific legal matters that required a careful parsing and application of the law (Deut 17:10–11). Each of these texts represents the need for specific and specialized knowledge that the priest were responsible to communicate to the people as certain situations arose. In Mic 3:11, the prophet condemns the corrupt priests for “teaching” for a bribe (כהניה) במהיר יורו [*kōhănēhā bimḥîr yôrû*], “her priests teach for a bribe”). The corruption could have involved taking bribes for otherwise unacceptable sacrifices or for rulings that favoured guilty parties in difficult legal matters (e.g., Deut 17:10–11).⁴⁹ That the instruction here is

⁴⁹ Micah’s indictment of Judah’s leadership also includes its “heads” (ראשיה, *rāšēhā*) who judged (שפט, *špṭ*) for bribes, so the priests’ role in difficult legal decisions may be less in view in his indictment. Centuries later, Malachi indicts a corrupt priesthood as well, and although he does not use the verbal form of ירה (*yrh*) ‘to teach’, he does use the nominal *torah* three times in his condemnation: Levi (metonymy for the priesthood) had “true instruction” in his mouth (תורת אמת) [*tōrat ʿemet*], Mal 2:6; because Levi was the messenger of YHWH, people should have been able to “seek instruction” from him (תורה יבקשו מפיהו) [*tōrā yēbaqqēšū mippîhû*], “torah he will seek from his mouth,” 2:7). The priests of Malachi’s day, however, had instead “caused many to stumble on account of their instruction” (הכשלתם רבים בתורה) [*hikšaltem rabbîm battōrā*], 2:8) and had “shown favour in their instruction” (נשאים פנים בתורה) [*nōšē ʿim pānîm battōrā*], 2:9).

situational is evidenced by the fact that the priests’ “instruction” became a commodity, something to be bought and sold with a bribe.

Prophets were also thought to provide the situational instruction suggested by *ירה* (*yrh*). In Judges, after the annunciation of Samson’s birth, Manoah and his wife request that a prophet (*איש האלהים* [*ʾiš hā-ʾēlōhīm*], “man of God”) be sent to them so they would know how to rear the child (Judg 13:8). While the text identifies this “man of God” as the Angel of YHWH, Manoah and his wife do not recognise this fact until the angel has left (Judg 13:16, 21–22); they were seeking information from a prophet. The couple is not requesting information about how to rear *a* child; they recognise that Samson will be unique and the situation requires special knowledge.

The prophets who were teaching lies are behind Isaiah’s indictment in 9:14,⁵⁰ and their instruction is arguably situational as well. Although the content of their teaching is not explicitly given, Isaiah’s charge against Samaria in chapter 9 relates to its pride and self-sufficiency in the face of Rezin’s threat. The people have been confused and led astray by their leaders (9:14–15); one can speculate they have been told that all will be well – perhaps that they just needed to pull themselves up by their bootstraps, so to speak. Regardless of the exact deception of these prophets, the role of prophets in general fits well with the situational nature of *ירה* (*yrh*) ‘to teach’: the prophet claims to transmit a message from the divine realm with respect to a particular situation in time.⁵¹ In Habakkuk crafted idols are also said to “teach” lies (2:18–19). This instruction was presumably carried out through their mouth-pieces (i.e., prophets).⁵²

YHWH/El as the divine Agent is present in Exodus 4 and Job 34. In Exod 4:12, 15, YHWH confronts Moses’ insecurity by saying he will *ירה-H* (*yrh-H*) ‘teach’ Moses (and Aaron) what they should say and do when they stand before Pharaoh. In Job 34:32, Elihu scoffs at the idea that a man would plead with God to show him what he does not see (i.e., his iniquity), because the man must already know his sin and does not need God to point it out to

⁵⁰ See note 20 above for discussion of the participial forms of *ירה-H* (*yrh-H*).

⁵¹ While the exact nature of ANE prophecy is much discussed, it is at least clear that the prophets profess to be and are regarded as intermediaries between the divine realm and the human realm. For a nice summary of views on the nature of prophecy and prophetic literature, see D. L. Petersen (2000).

⁵² Hab 2:18–19 arguably activates the next aspect of *ירה-H*’s (*yrh-H*) meaning potential – i.e., giving instruction in a general sense. I have included it here because of the situational nature of prophecy.

him. In each of these texts, YHWH/El is providing knowledge that the Recipients lacked in specific situations: standing before Pharaoh and identifying a particular sin.⁵³

YHWH is also the Agent in Isa 2:3 = Mic 4:2, though the nature of the instruction in these texts is less clear. The nations anticipate that YHWH will ירה (*yrh*) them some of his ways (ויורנו מדרכיו) [*wěyôrēnû middērākāyw*], “he will teach us some of his ways”) so they can walk in them. B. Schwartz argues persuasively that Isaiah’s vision of torah from Zion for the nations is a stylistic and thematic parallel with Deut 17:8–11 and its system for settling Israelite disputes; thus, the instruction of YHWH here is situational in that he is giving the nations rulings for specific situations, just as the priests did for Israel in Deuteronomy 17. This understanding also helps explain the use of the partitive מן (*min*): YHWH is instructing them in some of his ways, namely, those that would apply to their particular situations. While Schwartz’s argument hinges on repointing the MT’s עַמִּים רַבִּים (*ʿammîm rabbîm*) ‘many peoples’ as עַמִּים רַבִּים (*ʿammîm rābîm*) ‘disputing peoples’ (1998),⁵⁴ the larger contexts of Isaiah 2 and Micah 4 support that judicial activity is in view.

Others who instruct in specific situations are the artisans of Exodus 35, Bezalel and Oholiab. Of them Exod 35:34 says YHWH “put in his [Bezalel] and Oholiab’s heart to teach” (וליהוררת נתן בלבם הוא ואהליאב) [*ûlēhôrôt nātan bělibbô hûʔ wěʔohōlīʿāb*]. Contextually this is not teaching the skills of craftsmanship to those who will construct the tabernacle. All the workers, Bezalel and Oholiab included, are described with similar language: they are skilled workers (חכם לב) [*ḥākam lēb*] with the necessary ability (תבונה) [*těbûnā*]; they know how to do all sorts of craftsmanship (ובדעת ובכל־מלאכה) [*ûbēdaʿat ûbēkol-mēlāʿkā*] “and with all knowledge and with all workmanship”; לדעת לעשות את־כל־מלאכת [לָדַעַת לַעֲשׂוֹת אֶת־כָּל־מְלֶאכֶת] [*lādaʿat laʿšōt ʿet-kol-mēleʿket*], “to know to do all the work”) (cf. Exod 31:3, 6; 35:31, 34; 36:1). The only thing said differently of Bezalel and Oholiab is that they are the ones who will “teach” the others.⁵⁵ What is the nature of this “teaching” if all the craftsmen are skilled artisans? ירה (*yrh*) is best

⁵³ Elihu is alluding to the sin he thinks Job is denying.

⁵⁴ It is also possible that the sense of ירה (*yrh*) in Isa 2:3 and Mic 4:2 reflects the giving of instruction in a more general sense (as in definition 2b below, section 3.3.1.2.2).

⁵⁵ Of Bezalel alone it is also said that YHWH filled him with the *rūah* of God: ואמלא אתו רוח אלהים בחכמה ובתבונה: (וַאֲמָלַא ʾֶתְוֹ רוּחַ אֱלֹהִים בְּחֹכְמָה וּבְתֻבּוּנָה) [*wā ʾāmallēʔ ʾet-ô rûah ʿēlōhîm běḥokmā ûbitbûnā ûbēdaʿat ûbēkol-mēlāʿkā*], “I have filled him with the *rūah* of God, with wisdom and with skill and with knowledge and with all workmanship” (Exod 31:3; cf. also Exod 35:31).

understood here as describing the role of project foremen; Bezalel and Oholiab are appointed to direct the affairs of the construction and provide specific instructions about what needs to be done as the project moves along.

Finally, situational instruction is found in several Job texts. Job challenges his friends to point out and make him understand what he has done wrong (6:24), since they are apparently so wise. In 8:10 Bildad urges Job to consider what earlier generations (אבותם, *ʾăbôtām*; v. 8) can teach him; in context, the sages of old could teach Job about what happens when people forget God. In 12:7–8 Job suggests that animals and even the earth can “teach” his friends “that the hand of YHWH has done this” (כי יד־יהוה עשתה זאת) [*kī yad-YHWH ʿāsētā zōʾ*]; 12:9). The rhetorical force of the text is less about the ability of the animals or the earth than about his friends’ inability to see that YHWH lies behind what has happened to Job – for “in his hand is the life of every living thing and the breath of all flesh” (12:10). Even dumb animals and shrubbery have more wisdom than Job’s friends; they could “teach” the men that YHWH is behind Job’s situation.

Situational instruction could also be present in the difficult Job 27:11, where ירה (*yrh*) is collocated with the preposition ב- (*b-*): אורה אתכם בידיאל אשר עם־שדי לא אכחד (ʾōreh ʾetkem bēyad-ʾēl ʾāšer ʿim-šadday lōʾ ʾākhaḥēd) “I (Job) will ‘teach’ you ב- (*b-*) the hand of God; what is with Shaddai [i.e., on Shaddai’s mind] I will not conceal.” The chapter itself is Job’s last speech to his friends, and it includes an affirmation of his innocence followed by a two-part description of what happens to the godless.⁵⁶ Between the two parts that describe the fate of the wicked, Job makes his declaration about God’s hand. As discussed above, the sense of the preposition ב- (*b-*) here is difficult to translate, in part because it is in an anomalous expression in a notoriously difficult book. In general, translations differ about whether the preposition ב- (*b-*) indicates the content or the instrument of instruction. There are at least three ways the verse is interpreted. First, the preposition ב- (*b-*) indicates the content being communicated: “I will teach you concerning (or about) the hand of God.” If this is the case and given my understanding of how the preposition ב- (*b-*) functions in other ירה (*yrh*) collocations,⁵⁷ it would be the only time this sense occurs with ירה (*yrh*). It is unclear to me what Job would mean, given his statement that his friends have all seen for themselves

⁵⁶ I am reading the MT’s ch. 27, in which the entire chapter is Job’s speech; there is however discussion among commentators about the composition of the chapter. See Dhorme, ad loc. (1967).

⁵⁷ See 3.2.3.3 above and 3.4.3 below.

(presumably what has happened to him) (27:12); possibly he intended to “teach them” that what has happened to him is the work of God’s hand. Second and similarly, the preposition ב- (*b-*) could be functioning as the indicator of the object (Waltke and O’Connor’s “prepositional object”) and thus go untranslated: “I will show you the hand of God.” Again, it is unclear what Job could mean by this; how would *he* show God’s hand or power? While the second clause of the verse provides a possible understanding – namely, that making God’s thoughts known is akin to showing his power – I do not know how Job would show God’s power instead of God showing his power.⁵⁸ Also given my analysis of prepositional collocations with ירה (*yrh*), this would be the only occurrence of a “prepositional object” with ירה (*yrh*). A third interpretation of the preposition ב- (*b-*) is that it is instrumental: “I will teach you by the power of God.” Again, given the context, I do not know what Job would mean by this and why he would make the claim.

A fourth possible interpretation draws from the larger context of the book of Job and employs linguistic data compiled earlier in the chapter.⁵⁹ First, with respect to the larger context of Job, variations of the phrase “hand of God” are incorporated into several of Job’s speeches: In 6:9, Job asks that God crush him, let loose his hand and cut him off, and in 10:7 he laments that there is no deliverance from God’s hand; in fact, the very hands that made him destroyed him (10:8). In a sarcastic speech, Job taunts his friends by suggesting that animals and even the earth can teach them “that the hand of YHWH has done this” (כי יד־יהוה עשתה זאת [*kî yad-YHWH ʿāsētâ zōt*]; 12:9) – namely, brought about his circumstances – since every living thing is in his hand (12:10). It is the “hand of Eloah” in 19:21 that has struck Job, and in 30:21, Job complains that God persecutes him with the might of his hand. *Hand* (יד, *yad*), obviously, is a common word in BH, so it is important not to overread these texts, but the significance of God’s hand in the book is suggested by the author of the prologue, who twice sets up Job’s suffering with YHWH’s statement to the *satan* that he puts Job and all he has in the *satan*’s hand (בידך [*bēyadēkā*], 1:12; 2:6). That the book is framed as the ex-

⁵⁸ Dhorme translates, “I teach you the ways of God, what is in the mind of Shaddai I do not conceal,” and says that since “Job understands very well the ways and dealings of God, and it is precisely in explaining the divine attitude towards the godless that he has shown the worthlessness of the exhortations with which he is pursued The hand is the instrument of action” (1967: 384–85). It is unclear to me what Dhorme thinks Job is revealing to (or not concealing from) his friends.

⁵⁹ Rather than delaying full discussion of this verse to section 3.4, where I consider linguistic data and conceptual data together for ירה (*yrh*), I am incorporating linguistic data here that is essential to my interpretation of Job 27:11.

periences of Job in the hand of the *satan* and that it includes so many references by its protagonist to the hand of God suggests a possible theme.

Job believes that all life, including his, is in God's hand, that God's hands both made him and struck him down to destruction, and that there is no escape from God's hand. Twice he refers to God's hand by using ירה (*yrh*): first, it is the beasts and earth who instruct Job's friends (that every living thing is in God's hand; בידו [*běyādō*]; 12:7–10), and then it is Job who says he will instruct his friends ביד-אל (*běyad-ʿēl*) and not conceal from them the mind of God (לא אכחד [*lōʿ ʾākaḥēd*]; 27:11).

In section 3.2.5 I argued that the almost exclusive use of ירה (*yrh*) in the first clause of a parallel structure implies that the kind of teaching suggested by ירה (*yrh*) is general or ambiguous enough to invite clarification. If that is the case in Job 27:11, how does כחד (*kḥd*) clarify what ירה (*yrh*) means, and how can the interpreter read back into ירה (*yrh*) what כחד (*kḥd*) contributes? Job's statement that he will not conceal what Shaddai is thinking introduces the notion of hiddenness, something that perhaps has gone unseen in the past but Job will not shy away from revealing it. Job is telling his friends something that has not been clear to them before. Returning to the first clause with this thought, Job's assertion that he will teach his friends ביד-אל (*běyad-ʿēl*) hints that he is going to make clear to them something previously unclear or even out of view. Since the other instances of the preposition ב- (*b-*) with ירה (*yrh*) are suggestive of location (i.e., the position of the subject with respect to the object⁶⁰), perhaps the same applies in this anomalous representation of ירה (*yrh*) 'to teach' + ב- (*b-*) + object: Job is saying that he has something to teach about being *in* the hand of God. (Cf. Bildad's statement in 8:4 that if Job's children had sinned, then God had delivered them "into the hand of their transgression" [ביד פשעם; *běyad pišʿām*].) That Job could be in the hand of God *and* be suffering was incomprehensible to his friends. Their theologies obscured their view of what God would do. They thought they knew how God thought (and thus acted). Job, however, refuses to let what is really "with Shaddai" be hidden from them; he will tell them what it can mean to be in the hand of God after all.⁶¹

⁶⁰ It is true that these are all occurrences of the preposition ב- (*b-*) and דרך (*derek*) 'way', so my argument is certainly open to debate.

⁶¹ In light of this interpretation, consider the irony of the prologue; in the book Job believes he is in God's hand but the prologue sets him up as being in the *satan*'s hand. Also, whether my interpretation is best described as situational instruction, because Job is "instructing" his friends about a particular situation (i.e., being in God's

In each instantiation of ירה (*yrh*) ‘to teach’ detailed above, the rhetoric of Job 12:7–8 notwithstanding, the teaching event involves an authoritative figure passing on information unique to specific situations, not imparting general knowledge for all time and circumstances.

3.3.1.2.2. ירה-H (*yrh-H*) Definition 2b: *To give instruction or information in a general sense*

This aspect of ירה’s (*yrh*) meaning potential is abstracted from the definition above, that of an authoritative figure providing situational instruction. In the texts to follow, however, the teaching does not refer to specific instances that required instruction; rather it refers to the composite instruction of a person of authority. An apt comparison might be that of a wide-angle lens, through which one can see the totality of instruction provided by a given authority figure, in contrast to the up-close view of particular situations as above. The texts where this meaning is activated are Exod 24:12; Lev 10:11; Deut 33:10; 2 Kgs 12:3; 17:27–28; Isa 28:9, 26; Ezek 44:23; Ps 119:102; Prov 4:4; 2 Chr 15:3. The Agents are most commonly priests, but YHWH and parents are also instructive agents.⁶²

In the Pentateuch two passages fit this “wide-angle lens” perspective of ירה (*yrh*) ‘to teach’: Lev 10:11 and Deut 33:10. In the aftermath of the Nadab and Abihu debacle, YHWH prohibits Aaron and his sons from drunkenness so that they will be equipped to teach the people all the statutes which he had given them through Moses. Similarly in Moses’ final words in Deut 33:10, he charges the tribe of Levi to teach the people YHWH’s judgements and torah. As experts in the law of YHWH, the priests were the ones responsible for the perpetual instruction of the people in all matters of the cult and law. Ezekiel picks up the same theme in 44:23, where YHWH outlines the tasks of the Levitical priests, namely to instruct (ירה, *yrh*) the people in matters of the holy and profane and the clean and the unclean. All three of these passages are commands or exhortations from YHWH or Moses to the priests about their task to instruct the people in the law of YHWH. The fact that the instruction here is not in response to a particular situation makes perfect sense contextually: the job description assigned to the priests was to instruct (ירה-H, *yrh-H*) the people, whatever circumstances arose. The emphasis is on the ongoing task of the priests, not instructions specific to a given set of circumstances.

hand), or whether it fits more appropriately in the section (3.3.1.2.2) to follow (i.e., more general instruction) is debatable.

⁶² Compare also the nominative participles in Prov 5:13 and Job 36:22.

Priests are also the instructors in three additional narrative texts: 2 Kgs 12:3; 17:27–28; 2 Chr 15:3. In contrast to the texts above in which priestly instruction is framed as a divine mandate, the texts here describe the ongoing activity of certain priests over arguably long periods of time. In 2 Kgs 12:3, Jehoiada the priest is said to have instructed King Jehoash. Since Jehoiada and his wife had hidden and reared the child from infancy, acting as foster parents, it is not entirely clear whether Jehoiada’s teaching reflects priestly instruction or that of a father. Perhaps it was both (2 Kgs 12:3; cf. 2 Chr 22:10–24:15). Jehoash did what pleased YHWH for as long as Jehoiada was alive (and instructing him). The priests’ expertise in cultic matters lies behind the “teaching” in 2 Kgs 17:27–28, the strange account of lions attacking the resettled people of Samaria because of their ignorance about the משפט אלהי הארץ (*mišpaṭ ʾēlōhē hāʾāreṣ*) “custom of the god(s) of the land”; the king of Assyria sent an exiled priest back to Bethel to instruct (ירה, *yrh*) the people accordingly. The priest lived among the people and “taught” them how to fear YHWH (ויהי מורה אתם איך יראו את־יהוה; *wayēhî mōreh ʾōtām ʾēk yrēʾū ʾet-YHWH*); the context that follows affirms that the people then “feared YHWH” (along with serving their other gods), suggesting that “fearing YHWH” here refers to cultic performance.⁶³ The priest made the people aware of how to appease, as it were, the “G/god of the land.”⁶⁴ The reference in 2 Chr 15:3 to the lack of a “teaching priest” in Israel at the same time it lacked the “true God” (אלהי אמת; *ʾēlōhē ʾemet*) and torah similarly suggests the ongoing activity of a priest among a group of people. While the nature of instruction given by this “teaching priest” is unspecified, it is reasonable to assume his role involved cultic and legal instruction.

YHWH/El is also the Agent of ירה (*yrh*) in passages where the instruction is not specific to a particular situation but seems to be instruction in a more general sense. The prophet in Isaiah 28:9 asks a rhetorical question about YHWH:⁶⁵ “To whom would he teach

⁶³ This is consistent with the Deuteronomic idea of fearing YHWH. Cohen-Zemach observes that, practically speaking, “the fear of YHWH” in Deuteronomy is the keeping of the statutes and ordinances commanded by YHWH (Deut 4:10; 14:23; 17:19; 31:12–13): מהי משמעותה המעשית של "יראת ה'?" והתשובה על כך נמסרת במפורש בס"ד. שמירת ההוקים והמשפטים שציווה ה' ("What is the practical meaning of ‘the fear of the Lord’? And the answer to this is given explicitly in Deuteronomy: the keeping of the statutes and ordinances that the Lord commanded”) (2010: 227).

⁶⁴ This text is arguably situational (thus definition 2a), but the fact that the priest lived among the people and taught them “how to fear YHWH” – not just the “customs of the god of the land” – suggests his ongoing involvement with the people over time.

⁶⁵ See note 44 above for YHWH as the referent in Isa 28:9.

knowledge (דעת, *da'at*)?”⁶⁶ Later in the same chapter, the prophet describes a farmer who knows his trade because YHWH has instructed him (28:26). In Psalm 119, the psalmist proclaims his faithfulness to YHWH’s judgements, because YHWH himself has instructed him (v. 102). That the psalmist is referring to YHWH’s instructions in a general sense rather than to situation-specific directions seems likely given the theme of Psalm 119 – namely, the wholesale exaltation of Torah and Torah study.⁶⁷

The book of Proverbs also uses ירה (*yrh*) in this abstracted sense of instruction, though given the dominance of the educational theme in Proverbs, it is striking that the lexeme is only found three times in the book.⁶⁸ Proverbs 4 is one of several lectures from a father to his son, and in v. 4 the son prefaces his father’s words with this introduction: “He taught me and said to me” (וירני ויאמר לי; *wayyōrēnī wayyōmer lī*). What follows is most certainly a summary of fatherly instruction taught over and over in a variety of circumstances.⁶⁹

In each text detailed above, the teaching activity is viewed through a wide-angle lens. The interest is in the collective instruction of an authoritative figure such as a priest, a parent, or YHWH himself.

3.3.1.3. ירה-H (*yrh*-H) Definition 3: *A person of authority offers ongoing advice and guidance about right behaviour to a learner*

The third meaning of ירה (*yrh*) involves a metaphor that extends elements of the meaning potential already discussed. The metaphor in play here is evident in passages that include both ירה (*yrh*) and דרך (*derek*) (1 Sam 12:23; 1 Kgs 8:36 = 2 Chr 6:27; Pss 25:8, 12; 32:8; 119:33; Prov 4:11⁷⁰). I will refer to this as the ירה-‘way’ (*yrh*) metaphor.

⁶⁶ Teaching in a general sense is also implied in the nominative usage of the participle in Job 36:22, where Elihu exalts El for his power, wisdom, and ways; he asks rhetorically, “Who is a teacher (מורה; *mōreh*) like El?”

⁶⁷ Similarly, in Exod 24:12, YHWH tells Moses he will write the Ten Words for the instruction of the people (להורתם [*lēhōrōtām*]); the Agent of the instruction is ambiguous and could be understood as YHWH or as Moses, who would instruct the people with the words YHWH gave him. The line between YHWH and Moses as instructor is often blurred). The Ten Words are instructional in a general sense because they encompass the entirety of law; they obviously need to be developed for and applied to individual situations.

⁶⁸ Prov 4:4, 11; 6:13.

⁶⁹ Fox notes the typicality of the father-to-son setting for Wisdom literature, and also that this setting can have in view the transmission of wisdom over more than one generation (2000: 172–73).

⁷⁰ Excepted from this list – though potentially part of it – are Pss 27:11; 86:11. See their discussion above (3.3.1.1).

In their groundbreaking book *Metaphors We Live By* (1980), G. Lakoff and M. Johnson posited that metaphors are much more than a matter of words or “figurative language”; instead, they involve conceptual categories. In a metaphor certain elements from one conceptual category or domain (i.e., the source) are mapped onto another conceptual category (i.e., the target), creating new meaning. In the case of the ירה-‘way’ (*yrh*) metaphor, the source domain is a spatial domain – a path – and the target domain is an ethical domain, namely, one’s behaviour. As in English, BH often expresses behaviour in terms of choosing a path (often BH דֶּרֶךְ, *derek*). This notion is rooted in a conceptual metaphor that M. Fox calls BEHAVIOR IS A PATH (2000: 128–31), a metaphor directly related to Lakoff and Turner’s ground metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY (1989: 3–4, 9–10).⁷¹ Within the complex of this metaphor, the ‘way’ (דֶּרֶךְ, *derek*) or the ‘path’ correspond to one’s behaviour, namely the choices they make and how they live.

Before discussing which components of the “path” source domain map onto the target domain, it is necessary to consider the source domain more fully. Within the spatial domain of a traveller along a path is the need to make decisions about which route to take at certain points along the way. On a path he has not travelled before, the traveller needs guidance from someone who has knowledge of or experience with the path.⁷² When he encounters uncertainty, he can consult his guide, and once advised, the traveller is free to make his own decision. A guide advises and points the way but does not force the traveller. Implicit in the image of a traveller drawing on the expertise of a guide is the presence of the guide; a traveller cannot be assisted by a guide who is not accompanying him along the way. While the guide is with the traveller in an ongoing capacity, he does not advise every step of a traveller; he provides assistance when the need arises.

Many concepts from the source domain map quite clearly in the target domain. During the course of life, a person often encounters uncertainty about behavioural choices and needs the guidance of one more experienced or knowledgeable than he. Once advised, a person is free to make his own decisions.

At least two additional elements from the source domain map onto the target domain. First, the continual presence of the guide extends to the target domain; the Agents of

⁷¹ Lakoff and Johnson (1980) established the convention of capitalizing conceptual (or ground) metaphors in their study of how metaphors shape our thoughts. The ground metaphor BEHAVIOR IS A PATH from Fox is central to his discussion of a unifying theme of Proverbs 1–9.

⁷² Guidance can be had from a map, of course; but every map is made by “someone.”

instruction (Samuel, YHWH, the father persona of Prov 1–9) are present with the learners (Israel, psalmists, sinners, son) along their way; they are not uninvolved outside sources. Second, the situational aspect of instruction that is common with ירה (*yrh*) also maps. This assertion may not be self-evident; after all, could not an Agent direct a student toward a life of proper behaviour and be done with it? Perhaps in theory, but in reality choosing the right path is not a one-time decision – like choosing one interstate over another can be. Even though the proper path is, as Fox describes, “easy to use” in that it is “straight, flat, and well-lit [so that] no one stumbles in it” (2000: 130), it is still a path that requires continual steps. If the choice of the right path were a one-time decision, Wisdom literature would have no audience and parenting would be simple. In reality, choosing a path – that is, choosing *behaviour* – is a step-by-step process in which the need for guidance habitually arises. Regular decision-making is par for the course, and the use of ירה (*yrh*) – so commonly associated with situational instruction – highlights the need for careful guidance when a decision needs to be made.

Consider the texts below in light of the metaphor just described and the components that map from the source domain onto the target domain:

1 Sam 12:23⁷³

גם אנכי חלילה לי מחטא ליהוה מחדל להתפלל בעדכם והוריתי אתכם בדרך הטובה והישרה
Gam ʾānōkī ḥālîlâ lî mēḥăṭōʾ la-YHWH mēḥădōl lēhitpallēl baḥadkem wēḥôrêṭî
ʾetkem bēderek haṭṭōbâ wēḥayšārâ.

“Moreover, as for me, far be it from me that I [Samuel] should sin against the LORD by ceasing to pray for you; but I will instruct you in the good and right way.” (NASB)

1 Kgs 8:36⁷⁴

ואתה תשמע השמים וסלחת לחטאת עבדיך ועמך ישראל כי תורם את-הדרך הטובה
 אשר ילכרבה ונתתה מטר על-ארצך אשר-נתתה לעמך לנחלה

⁷³ (Östborn 1945: 35): “To show the ‘way’ of Yahweh thus becomes the same as to give instruction in the ‘statutes’ of Yahweh.” See also Schawe (1979).

⁷⁴ I have not included here the parallel 2 Chr 6:27. See 3.2.3.1 for discussion of the relationship between these two passages.

Wēʿattâ tišmaʿ haššāmayim wēsālaḥtā lēḥaṭṭa ʾġ ʿābādēkā wēʿammūkā yiśrāʿēl kī tōrēm ʿet-hadderek hattōbâ ʾāšer yēlēkū-bâ wēnātātā māṭār ʿal-ʾarṣēkā ʾāšer nātātā lēʿammēkā lēnaḥlā.

“[T]hen hear in heaven and forgive the sin of Your servants and of Your people Israel, indeed, teach them the good way in which they should walk.” (NASB)

Ps 25:8, 12⁷⁵

טוב וישר יהוה על-כן יורה חטאים בדרך

מי-זה האיש ירא יהוה יורנו בדרך יבחר

Tōb-wēyāšār YHWH ʿal-kēn yôreh ḥaṭṭā ʾġm baddārek

Mî-zeh hā ʾġš yērēʾ YHWH yôrennū bēderek yibḥār

“Good and upright is the LORD; Therefore He instructs sinners in the way⁷⁶. . . . Who is the man who fears the LORD? He will instruct him in the way he should choose.” (NASB)

Ps 32:8

אשכילך ואורך בדרך-זו תלך איעצה עליך עיני

ʾāskilēkā wēʾōrēkā bēderek-zû tēlēk ʾġ ʿāšā ʿalēkā ʿēnī.

“I will instruct you and teach you in the way which you should go; I will counsel you with My eye upon you.” (NASB)

Prov 4:11

בדרך חכמה הרתיך הדרכתך במעגלי-ישר

Bēderek ḥōkmâ hōrētīkā hidraktīkā bēma ʿgēlē-yōšer.

“I have directed you in the way of wisdom; I have led you in upright paths” (NASB)

Each text includes an Agent who is “travelling” the path with the Recipient and is available to provide instruction when the need arises: Samuel with the people, YHWH with Israel, YHWH with those who fear him, YHWH with pious psalmists, and a father with his son.

⁷⁵ Psalm 25, as well as Psalm 119, is very interested in teaching and learning. I will mention the relevant texts throughout the analyses in chs. 3–6, but I will address the chapters themselves more specifically in ch. 7.

⁷⁶ Contextually, “sinners” are also humble before God. It is not a referent to unrepentant people, but rather those who are “walking” along with YHWH but do not always take his instruction.

That the Agent accompanies the Recipient along the path is expressed clearly in Isa 30:20–21 where דרך (*derek*) occurs with the participial form מוריד (*môrékâ*):⁷⁷

ונתן לכם אדני לחם צר ומים לחץ ולא יכנף עוד מוריד והיו עיניך ראות את-מוריד
ואזניך תשמענה דבר מאחריך לאמר זה הדרך לכו בו
כי תאמינו וכי תשמאלו

*Wēnātan lākem ʾădōnāy leḥem šār ūmayim lāḥaṣ wēlō²-yikkānēp ʿōd môrékâ
wēhāyû ʿēnēkâ rōʾôt ʾet- môrékâ wēʾoznēkâ tišmaʿnâ dābār mēʾaḥărēkâ lēʾmôr zeh
hadderek lēkû bô kî taʾmînu wēkî tašmēʾlû.*

“Although the Lord has given you bread of privation and water of oppression, He, your Teacher will no longer hide Himself, but your eyes will behold your Teacher. Your ears will hear a word behind you, “This is the way, walk in it,” whenever you turn to the right or to the left.” (NASB)

YHWH the teacher is with Israel in the way and when she needs guidance in the way, he is there to say, “This is the way. Walk here.”

The image communicated by the ירה-‘way’ (*yrh*) metaphor is that of a teacher offering guidance as needed for the student as they journey along the way together. The teacher is not teaching mastery of a path – that is, a corpus of knowledge – though knowledge and mastery of a corpus may be part of the larger educational process.⁷⁸ Reading the texts in light of the metaphor provides a clearer understanding of what ירה (*yrh*) instruction entails – the situational provision of clarity with respect to behavioural choices.⁷⁹

⁷⁷ I have excluded Isa 30:20 from my corpus since it is a participial form that functions as a substantive. I include it here, however, because of what it contributes to the discussion of ירה (*yrh*) and דרך (*derek*). The two forms in Isa 30:20 are מוריד (*môrékâ*), but it is unclear textually whether this is a “plural of majesty” that refers to God (see GKC §93ss), or whether it refers to a plurality of human teachers. LXX has a plural (τοὺς πλανῶντας σε; “those that cause you to err”). With Witmer (and others) I am reading it as a reference to YHWH because of the mention of YHWH in the first clause; it seems most likely that the second clause is referring to him as well. See Witmer (2008: 18).

⁷⁸ Like the priests who parsed the law to make specific applications, the teacher may be parsing a corpus of knowledge to make specific applications.

⁷⁹ Compare K. Finsterbusch’s explanation for ירה (*yrh*) in 1 Kgs 8:36, “Die Weisung des guten Weges ist hier nicht im Sinn der Bekanntgabe von Gebotstext zu verstehen – Israel muss die Gebote Gottes bereits kennen, sonst würden die Aussagen über Sünde und Umkehr im Kontext keinen Sinn machen. Weisung des Weges meint hier wohl eine – vielleicht bezogen auf bekannte göttliche Weisung – vertiefende Erklärung hinsichtlich des Verhaltens, das von dem Volk nach seinem »Sündenfall« erwartet wird” (2007: 17). (“The showing of the good way to Israel is not to be understood here in the sense of an announcement of the text of the law – Israel has to know the law of God by now, otherwise the statements about sin and repentance do not make contextual

The ירה-‘way’ (*yrh*) metaphor also occurs in Ps 119:33, which is not included in the examples above because of the unique rhetoric of the psalm.⁸⁰ Psalm 119 – a psalm clearly interested teaching, learning, and YHWH’s instructions – used the metaphor in v. 33: הֲרִנִי יְהוָה דֶּרֶךְ חֻקֶיךָ וְאֶצְרְנָה עִקְבֵי (hôrēnî YHWH derek ḥuqqêkā wě’ēṣṣērennâ ʿēqeb) “Teach me, O Lord, the way of Your statutes, And I shall observe it to the end” (NASB).⁸¹ In his study of Torah in Psalm 119, K. Reynolds discusses the pervasiveness of the ‘way’ metaphor in the psalm: the psalm “begins with the metaphor of the path, concludes with it, and utilizes it in many verses in between” (2010: 54). Reynolds argues that the author of the psalm “juxtaposes the metaphor of the path with other terms for Torah throughout the chapter,” communicating that “there is only one correct path – namely Torah” (2010: 140). What the psalmist implored YHWH to do for him in this and other requests for YHWH to teach him will be further addressed in chapter 7.⁸²

3.3.2. Prototype Meaning of ירה-H (*yrh*-H)

The prototypical definition of ירה-H (*yrh*-H) is the definition that describes the most relevant attributes of the word’s meaning. By considering the frequency and distribution of meanings, I determined the prototypical meaning to be the second definition of the meaning potential above: *A person of authority or expertise gives specific, situational instruction to someone who lacks knowledge about what to do.*

The Agents most commonly associated with the verb are priests, and the Recipients of their instruction are Israelites, while the Patients are most often associated with YHWH’s instructions.

3.3.3. Summary of Conceptual Data for ירה-H (*yrh*-H)

The conceptual data of ירה-H (*yrh*-H) include its meaning potential as well as its prototypical definition. The meaning potential, as described above, consists of three main definitions.

The first two definitions involve the related notions of directing someone visually or cognitively, and the third is a metaphor that extends the meaning of the first two. ירה (*yrh*) in

sense. Showing the path probably has the meaning here – perhaps based on a known divine instruction – of deeper explanation in light of the behaviour which is expected of the people [falling into sin.]” While “deeper explanation” may be suggestive of providing situational guidance as I describe above, it is vague.

⁸⁰ See 3.5.2 below where I deal with the word תורה (*tôrâ*).

⁸¹ Reynolds includes a discussion of the word עִקְבֵי (*ʿēqeb*) in this verse and v. 112 (2010: 172–76).

⁸² Vocabulary in Psalm 119 that relates to instruction includes ירה (*yrh*), לַמַּד (*lmd*), and בִּין (*byn*). See Reynolds’s discussion of pedagogy in the psalm (2010: 127–28).

its prototypical instantiations expresses providing someone with specific, situational instruction or advice. The Agent of instruction can be YHWH himself, an angel or an idol, a human, or even an animal, but the Recipient of the action is always human.⁸³

3.4. Putting It All Together: Linguistic and Conceptual Data for ירה-H (*yrh*-H)

Determining meaning in context requires accounting for the fact that words have what Evans calls a “protean nature”: that is, they “shift meanings in different contexts of use” (2009: xi). By separating the linguistic data and the conceptual data of a word as I have done above, I have attempted to respect both the form of words, phrases, and clauses, as well as the conceptual world behind a word. Only when we have analysed both components can we determine how given instantiations of a word activate particular parts of a word’s meaning potential.

In what follows I will not detail how the convergence of linguistic and conceptual data in each instantiation of ירה (*yrh*) creates meaning; rather, I have selected some of the more interesting texts to illustrate the process below.

3.4.1. Priests and Prototypicality

Priests are one of the Agents most commonly associated with the verb ירה (*yrh*) ‘to teach’. Given the nature of the prototype for ירה (*yrh*) – an expert or authority provides situational instruction –this is no surprise. As experts in the law, the priests were the ones responsible for applying YHWH’s instructions to everyday life in Israel. The priests’ dual association to the law and responsibility to the people form a plausible reason for the fact that priestly instruction is construed almost exclusively in ditransitive constructions: all three participants in the teaching event are salient to the meaning of the clauses. Priests parse the law for the people as needed.

Since ירה (*yrh*) with agentive priests prototypically occurs in ditransitive clausal constructions, the use of a transitive or intransitive clausal construction constitutes notable linguistic data. Consider an example of each below.

2 Kings 12:3 is one of only two ירה (*yrh*) transitive clausal constructions with an agentive priest.⁸⁴ Finite verbs of ירה (*yrh*) in transitive clausal constructions always select an

⁸³ This stands in contrast to למד (*lmd*), which can apply to animals.

⁸⁴ Ezek 44:23 is the other. Agentive priests are to instruct the people בין קדש לחל (*bēn qōdeš lēḥōl*) ‘between the holy and profane’. Occurring in the context of priestly responsibility, this verse has a unique combination of common locutions, as well as the verbs ירה (*yrh*) and ידע (*yd^c*). M. Lyons discusses Ezekiel’s conflation of material from the Holiness Code in his dissertation, *From Law to Prophecy: Ezekiel’s Use of the Holiness Code*

Agent and a Recipient – not a Patient – signifying that the most salient aspect of the meaning is the relationship between the instructor and the instructed. In 2 Kings 12, Jehoiada the priest instructs Joash the king. The construal of this instructional event in a transitive clause instead of a ditransitive clause is consistent with what is known of Jehoiada and Joash – that Jehoiada was a surrogate parent of Joash, rearing him from childhood. That Jehoiada was also a priest and that he undoubtedly instructed Joash in matters of the cult is secondary. By using a transitive clausal construction, the author frames the activity of Jehoiada in terms of his relationship with Joash.

Priestly teaching expressed by ירה (*yrh*) also occurs twice in an intransitive clausal construction, a grammatical construction that focuses on the Agent and the activity of the Agent. Both the Patient and the Recipient in the teaching event are non-salient to the meaning of an intransitive clause. In Mic 3:11, the prophet indicts the priests, who are “teaching” for a bribe (כהניה במחיר יורו, *kōhănēhā bimḥîr yôrû*). Who and what they were teaching is irrelevant. What matters is that the priests – the gatekeepers for Israel’s access to YHWH – were allowing themselves to be paid off. Micah’s audience should have been appalled and terrified; if the gatekeepers to YHWH showed such flagrant disregard for their task, what hope was there for the people? The motivation of the priesthood had nothing to do with the people’s wellbeing and everything to do with their own profit – at the people’s expense.

3.4.2. Transitivity and Teaching

When instructional events which logically include three participants and can be construed in ditransitive clauses occur in clausal constructions that select only two participants, the meanings are affected. A finite verbal form of ירה (*yrh*) in a two-participant construction (i.e., a transitive clause) always selects an Agent and a Recipient, never an Agent and a Patient.⁸⁵ The grammatical construction contributes to the meaning of the clause by indicating the saliency of the teacher and the student, to the exclusion of the content. Several of the transitive clausal constructions of ירה (*yrh*) are in the book of Job (6:24; 8:10; 12:7–8; 27:11);

(2005). Ezek 44:23 represents a conflation of Lev 10:10 (P) and Lev 20:25 (H); the author conflates the locution of P (קדש . . . חל [*qōdeš . . . ḥāl*], ‘holy . . . profane’) and the syntax of H (לבדיל בין . . . ל- [*hibdîl bēn . . . l-*], ‘separate between . . .’), while also including a locution common to both – “טמא לטהור” (*tāmē’ laṭṭāhōr*, ‘the unclean and the clean’) (Lyons 2005: 121, 217; private communication with Michael). The potential significance of this to my study is undetermined, and I am also undecided about how the transitive clausal constructions affect the meaning in Ezek 44:23.

⁸⁵Whether this is a grammatically constrained phenomenon or the result of a limited corpus is impossible to know, but the answer does not invalidate my argument that ירה (*yrh*) transitive clausal constructions in BH are interested in the relationships between the Agents and the Recipients, the teacher and the student.

in each Job or one of his friends is the Agent or the Recipient in the clause. While it is possible that the use of transitive structures is due to the poetic nature of the book (i.e., a transitive clause is more concise and terse than a ditransitive clause), it is equally possible that it is a grammatical device intended to highlight one of the key features of the book – namely, the dynamic between Job and his friends.⁸⁶

Only twice in the BH corpus does a ירה (*yrh*) transitive clause select an Agent and a Patient, instead of an Agent and a Recipient. The texts are so similar that they invite comparison. They are the only two texts with a ירה (*yrh*) participle that functions verbally and governs only one object – a Patient instead of a Recipient. The Patient of each is the same – שקר (*šeqer*) ‘falseness’. The Agent of each is likewise similar – prophets in Israel (Isa 9:14) and idols, which spoke through prophets (Hab 2:18). Both are said to be a מורה שקר (*môreh šeqer*) ‘teacher of falsehood’. A clausal construction with an Agent and a Patient and without a Recipient assigns saliency to the Agent’s relationship to the Patient; here, the teacher to the material. I suggest that by portraying the prophet and idol as “teaching falsehood” – without identifying grammatically who is being taught – both Isaiah and Habakkuk invite the thought that their respective Agents are proficient in deception, just as the statement *I teach math* without further context assumes that I am proficient in math and thus capable of teaching it.

3.4.3. Prepositions: “In the Way” Again

In my earlier discussion of the linguistic data contributed by prepositions in collocation with ירה (*yrh*), I argued that prepositions do not signify the object of the verb (i.e., the Patient in the clause). I gave particular attention to the preposition ב- (*b-*) and determined that when used with דרך (*derek*) ‘way’ it functions adverbially indicating location: “in the way.” I concluded that instantiations of ירה (*yrh*) with בדרך (*bēderek*) are transitive clauses with an Agent, a Recipient, and an adverbial adjunct. When I discussed the conceptual data associated with בדרך (*bēderek*), I detailed the ירה-‘way’ (*yrh*) metaphor and how it influences interpretation. I concluded that by using the metaphor, authors imply that an Agent accompanied the learning Recipient along the “path” and offered guidance and advice as needed.

⁸⁶ If one were to argue that the use of the transitive clause in Job is due to the poetic nature of the book, s/he would also have to argue that the phenomenon is due more to the poetry of Job than to poetry in general; the ירה (*yrh*) ditransitive clausal construction occurs four times in Psalms as well as in other texts that are arguably poetic.

Both the linguistic data and the conceptual data independently suggested similar meanings. If the preposition ב- (*b-*) refers adverbially to a location, then its use implies a more sustained instructive process, inasmuch as an instructor can only instruct “in the way” if s/he is “in the way” with the instructed. The meaning suggested by this linguistic data is substantiated by the conceptual data – namely, the ירה-‘way’ (*yrh*) metaphor.

While the respective data indicate similar meanings independently, the convergence of the two also creates meaning. The instantiations of ירה (*yrh*) with בדרך (*bēderek*) are construed in transitive clauses with an Agent and a Recipient. As discussed in detail above, such a construction indicates the saliency of the relationship between the teacher and the student. The pairs that occur in these constructions are Samuel and Israel (1 Sam 12:23), YHWH and humble sinners (Ps 25:8), YHWH and those who fear him (Ps 25:12), YHWH with the pious psalmist (Ps 32:8), and a father with his son (Prov 4:11). In light of my study, interpretation of these passages should include the significance of these relationships in the teaching events.

3.5. Substantives of the Root ירה (*yrh*)

3.5.1. Participle מורה (*môreh*)

While the focus of this thesis is verbal roots, two nominative forms of the root ירה (*yrh*) require some attention. The first of these is the participle מורה (*môreh*).

The BH root ירה (*yrh*) occurs as a substantival participle three times and a participial adjective once.⁸⁷ The three substantives function as *nomen agentis*: Isa 30:20 (2x); Job 26:22; Prov 5:13. Adjectivally in 2 Chr 15:3, the participle describes the priest, “a teaching priest.” In each text the form clearly refers to a person who is considered a teacher: sages, YHWH/El, and priests. The participle is not extant in Sira, but מורה (*môreh*) is well known from the sectarian documents of the Qumran community, where it is most often used in reference to the Teacher of Righteousness (מורה הצדק, *môreh haššedeq*),⁸⁸ an anonymous priest who served as spiritual leader of the community.

⁸⁷ Seven occurrences of ירה-H (*yrh*-H) are participial, but three of them function verbally. Two of these three (Isa 9:14; Hab 2:18) govern objects and are discussed above with transitive clausal constructions; the third (Prov 6:13) is included with intransitive clauses above. The forms are variously classified as participles and substantives in the lexica.

⁸⁸ Also מורה צדק (*môreh šedeq*) ‘a teacher of righteousness’.

3.5.2. תורה (*tôrâ*)

A second nominative form of the root ירה that requires attention is the noun תורה (*tôrâ*), a word that occurs more than two hundred times in the MT. In the MT and Ben Sira, תורה (*tôrâ*) exhibits a variety of meanings, from the instruction of a parent (e.g., Proverbs) to priestly determinations (e.g., Deut 24:8) to a “body of divine instructions for the people at large” (Greenberg 1995: 12) to “the verbal expression of God’s desires – both for humanity and the universe” (Reynolds 2010: 105) to Wisdom itself (e.g., Sira; cf. Deut 4:6). Most simply, תורה (*tôrâ*) can refer to the divine law (Torah) or it can refer to human teaching or some other instruction from God (torah). Generally in BH, when Torah (the divine law) is in view, it is either clear from context or further definition, such as “the torah of YHWH,” “the torah of Moses,” “the torah,” or “this torah.”⁸⁹ Each instantiation of the noun requires attention to the full form of the expression and its broader context.

The concept of תורה (*tôrâ*) is perhaps nowhere more attested than in Psalm 119, a psalm keenly interested in teaching and learning. Its concept of תורה (*tôrâ*), however, is unique to the MT. Reynolds describes this concept as “greater than the sum of the parts. . . . [where] the ‘parts’ are the instantiations of Torah, that is, the individual commandments, stipulations, and promises. Torah comprises all of the commandments and stipulations, but there is more” (2010: 136). Reynolds argues that the repetitious nature of the psalm is central to the psalmist’s construction of “meaningful patterns” and “a network of interrelated ideas” (2010: 137). He summarizes:

The conception of Torah in Ps 119 is a composite of ideas about God’s word that can be found in various passages throughout the Hebrew Bible, passages that portray YHWH as a God who communicates with humanity. Psalm 119 promotes the benefits that God’s communication, in any and all of its modes, provides. Systematically working out the various implications of the belief that God verbally expresses desires in Torah would likely lead to the claim that Torah is eternal, unchanging, and the blueprint of the universe. But Ps 119 does not work out the

⁸⁹ M. Fox notes that, lacking further context, *torah* in BH “require[s] definition as ‘the *torah* of the Lord’ or ‘the *torah* of Moses,’ or at least ‘*the Torah*,’ to distinguish it from the human *torah* ‘teaching’ or another instruction from God,” although “a few verses speak of *torah* (undetermined) from God, meaning an instruction from God, usually via the priests, and not specifically the *Torah* of Moses (Isa 2:3; 42:21; 51:4). This is true even in Deut 33:4, where *torah šiwvah lanu mošeh* means ‘Moses commanded us an instruction,’ not *the Torah*. In 2 Chr 15:3 and 19:10 *torah* refers to a type of law, not *the Torah*, which would not be distinguished from *mišwah* ‘commandment’” (2009: 821; 21n375; italics original).

Unless otherwise noted, my use of Torah (capitalized) refers to Greenberg’s first conception of the Torah in the Hebrew Scriptures, namely, the “body of divine instructions for the people at large” (Greenberg 1995: 12), while torah (lower-cased) refers to an instruction that is not explicitly divine law.

implications in a systematic fashion as later rabbis did. Although it is on the way, Torah in Ps 119 is not yet *the* Torah of Rabbinic Judaism (Reynolds 2010: 146).

In the chapters that follow, I will deal with the nature of T/torah when it becomes particularly relevant in occurrences of the verbs under consideration.⁹⁰

3.6. Profiling the Prototype Meaning

In light of the preceding analysis of all occurrences of the verbal root ירה-H (*yrh*-H) and determination of its prototypical meaning, I am ready to identify its profile against the universal base of “teaching.” The universal cognition of teaching (fig. 3.1 below), in review, is as follows: *person A (teacher) recognises that another person B (student) lacks knowledge, belief, skills, or the like (or has incomplete or distorted knowledge, etc.), and person A attempts to bring about a changed state of knowledge, belief, or skill for person B.*

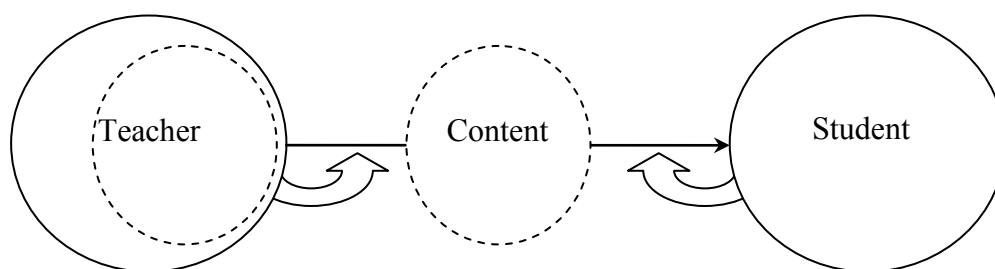


Figure 3.1. The Base – the Universal Concept of Teaching

I have demonstrated generally how ירה (*yrh*) fits against this universal cognition. In its prototypical usage, it refers to an authoritative person providing situational instruction to another. While all aspects of the base are included in the meaning of the word, however, ירה (*yrh*) particularly profiles the activity of the Agent/Teacher with respect to a particular situation in which instructional Patient/Content is needed. In the figure below I have indicated this by making the Teacher and the Content bolder face, as well as the straight arrow between the two to indicate the Teacher’s particular relationship with the Content in a given situation. The curved arrow is shaded to indicate that the Teacher is active in the transmission, while the

⁹⁰ Introductory sources about the nature and usage of תורה (*tôrâ*) in the MT include Greenberg’s “Three conceptions of the *Torah* in Hebrew scriptures,” in which he discusses three notions of the divine law (*Torah*) in the MT (Greenberg 1995); Fabry’s article in *TDOT*, which deals with the word by book and genre in the Hebrew Bible (Fabry 2006); and Östborn’s study of *Tôrâ*, which shows particular interest in the etymology of the word and its relationship to ירה (*yrh*) (Östborn 1945). See especially the bibliography in Fabry.

Recipient/Student is highlighted in no way, indicating the passive nature of the Recipient in the prototypical ירה-H (*yrh*-H) instantiation.⁹¹

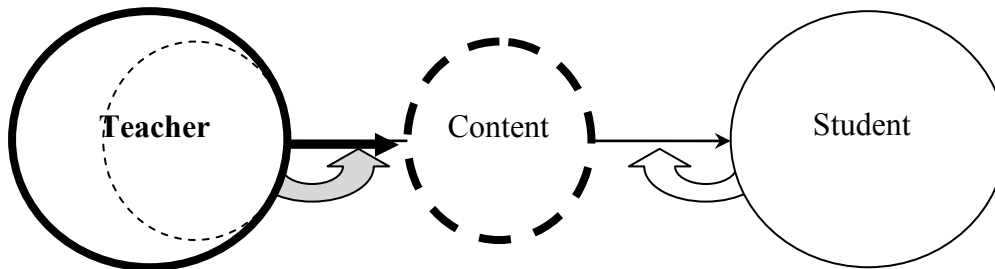


Figure 3.2. The Profile of the Prototypical Meaning of ירה-H (*yrh*-H)

3.7. Conclusion

In this chapter I have analysed all the occurrences of the verb ירה (*yrh*) in the Hiphil to determine its linguistic and conceptual data, as well as how the two interact to create meaning. The prototype definition of ירה (*yrh*) describes the core meaning of the verb, and allows us to identify marginal ways in which the word is used.

I have demonstrated that ירה-H (*yrh*-H) in BH describes the teaching event in terms of all three participants (Agent, Patient, Recipient), as well as in terms of only two participants (Agent, Recipient). The Agent is understood in the text to be a person of expertise, and thus either qualified and/or commissioned to provide a Recipient with information needed in a particular set of circumstances. Most often the Recipient is minimally involved in the educative process; all s/he has to do to receive the information is be able to see or hear.

⁹¹ “Passive” refers to the lack of active involvement in the learning process; all the learner has to do is be able to see or hear. I am not using the term grammatically here.

Chapter 4

למד (*lmd*)

4.1. Introduction

The verbal root typically associated with “teaching” in BH and Sira is למד (*lmd*).¹ It occurs in both the Qal and the Piel, and the root also occurs as a substantive. The greatest concentrations are in Deuteronomy (17x), Jeremiah (13x), and Psalms – particularly Psalm 119 (27x in Psalms; 13x in Ps 119). Ten occurrences are in Ben Sira. *HALOT*’s gloss ‘to teach’ for the Piel falls into two categories: ‘formal instruction’ and ‘to teach a particular skill’; the Qal is glossed as ‘to learn (to)’ (2001: 1.531). BDB includes the notion of training in the gloss ‘exercise in’ (1952: 540).

The verb in the D-stem is attested in Ugaritic texts, where it means ‘to teach, train’ and possibly ‘to give an instruction’; more common is a nominal form, meaning ‘pupil’ or ‘apprentice’ (Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 2003: 2.499-500).² The root is also known from Akkadian (*lamādu*),³ as well as other Semitic languages, including Arabic and Ethiopic.⁴ The verb is present at Qumran, where it occurs with meanings similar to those found in the MT: training for battle (the War Scroll), instruction in the covenant and laws (Rule of the Congregation; War Scroll), and learning wisdom (Thanksgiving Hymn) (Kapelrud 1997: 8-9).

HALOT identifies the basic meaning of the root as ‘to prick, spur on’, the sense that lies behind its use in the noun מַלְמָד (*malmād*) ‘ox-goad’ (Judg 3:31).⁵ The connection

¹ למד (*lmd*) occurs less frequently than ידע (*yd^c*), but its semantic range is more narrowly confined to teaching/learning than ידע (*yd^c*).

² Goshen-Gottstein suggests that Ugaritic also provides an explanation for several BH texts in which למד (*lmd*) refers to animals. He hypothesizes that Ugaritic *MLD* (‘to bridle’ or ‘to tie, attach’), associated with preparing a riding animal (e.g., in the Baal and Aqhat cycles), became confused in BH with למד (*lmd*). See Goshen-Gottstein (1960).

³ The Akkadian verb has a wider semantic range than that of the Hebrew or extant Ugaritic; Kapelrud notes that the Akkadian form has “approximately the same meaning as *yd^c* in Hebrew: ‘experience, acquire, learn, understand, comprehend, know (a woman),’ D ‘instruct, teach’” (Kapelrud 1997: 4).

⁴ See *HALOT* (2001: 1.531) and Kapelrud (1997).

⁵ *HALOT* likewise suggests that “relics of this meaning” are in Ps 51:15 אֶלְמָדָה פִּשְׁעֵי דַרְכֵיךָ (ʾālmāḏā pōšʿīm dērākēkā) “I will teach transgressors your ways” and Sir 51:17, which has variant readings: עלה היה לי לכבוד (ʿullāh hāyā lī lēkābōd wēlimlammēday ʿettēn hōdʿā) (MS B) “Her [Wisdom] yoke was my burden, and to my teachers I give praise,” and ועלה היתה לי למלמדי אתן הודי (wa ʿālā hāyētā lī limlammēday ʿettēn

between למד (*lmd*) and animal training (seen also in Jer 31:18 and Hos 10:11) has suggested to scholars that the educational process described by the verb למד (*lmd*) implies a degree of harshness.⁶ As Cohen-Zemach points out (and Weinfeld [1991: 442] before him), the letter *lamed* in ancient Hebrew script looks like a staff or cattle prod, or, he conjectures, like the shape of a rod a teacher may have used for the purpose of instruction or harsh discipline (2010: 228). Carasik takes the association even further and asserts that part of the Hebrew concept of education was “the restraint of animal-like behavior, the training or, not to put too fine a point on it, the domestication of the one who learns to follow a certain path” (2006: 49–50).⁷

The connections between *lamed*, למד (*lmd*), animal training, and human education are suggestive, to be sure. However, when and how the concept evolved into the kind of education evident in the biblical text is impossible to assess. My question in this study is what concept or concepts *does* the Hebrew text portray? Do the contexts indeed reflect the potentially harsh restraint of the cattle prod and animal training?

In this chapter, I will analyse all the BH and Ben Sira occurrences of למד (*lmd*) in both the Qal and the Piel, respectively, detailing the linguistic and conceptual data for each before determining their prototypes and profiles. I will also briefly examine substantives associated with the root למד (*lmd*). The linguistic data of greatest interest will be the clausal constructions and collocations used with למד (*lmd*), as well as the relationship between the Qal and the Piel. While some studies of למד (*lmd*) do not address the relationship between the two *binyanim*,⁸ the *binyanim* are significant aspects of linguistic data and thus contribute to the meaning of each instantiation.

hōdî) “The profit was mine; to my teachers I give (my) praise” (11QPs^a, a Psalms MS that also includes the Wisdom poem of Sir 51.) Cf. also Gk. προκοπή ἐγένετό μοι ἐν αὐτῇ τῷ διδόντι μοι σοφίαν δώσω δόξαν. Skehan and Di Lella identify ועלה (*w^clh*) as being from the root יעל (*y^cl*) ‘to profit’; they explain the form as Aramaic influence on late Hebrew (1987: 574–75).

⁶ Cohen-Zemach reads one step beyond the word itself in Judges 3 – noting the usage to which Shamgar puts the ox-goad, i.e., warfare. From this he suggests the “militant potential” of the root: הסבת תפקיד זו מלמדת אל נכון על: הפוטנציאל המיליטנטי שהיו טמון בכלי זה ועל דרכי השימוש בו (2010: 229).

⁷ “One trains an animal to behave as we humans think an animal ought to behave, and particularly to refrain from the instinctive, ‘animal-like’ behaviors which conflict with human purposes for the animal” (Carasik 2006: 48–49).

⁸ E.g., Cohen-Zemach 2010; Finsterbusch 2005.

4.2. למד-G (*lmd-G*)

The Qal of למד (*lmd*) is most commonly translated “learn,” and although it does not properly fit in the BH lexical set “teach,” its relationship to the concept of teaching is obvious. Since it occurs a good number of times in BH and provides a helpful counterpoint for understanding למד-D (*lmd-D*) ‘to teach’, I am including it in my analysis. By portraying the educational process from the other end, as it were, it contributes to the concept of teaching in a meaningful way.

4.2.1. Linguistic Data of למד-G (*lmd-G*)

The Qal stem of למד (*lmd*) occurs twenty-three times in the MT⁹ and four times in Ben Sira.¹⁰ It is a fientive verb that is most commonly used in transitive clausal constructions (26x), though it occurs in an intransitive construction once as well. The Agents are usually human, both individuals and groups, and the Patients (i.e., the things being learned) include YHWH’s statutes, hunting prey, the ways of others, wisdom, war, and fearing YHWH.

4.2.1.1. Transitive Clausal Constructions with למד-G (*lmd-G*)

While למד-G (*lmd-G*) is almost exclusively construed in transitive clausal constructions, the nature of its transitivity is marginal. As previously discussed, prototypical transitivity involves two participants (Agent and Patient) that are “**maximally semantically distinct** in terms of their roles in the event” (emphasis original); that is, the Agent and Patient should themselves be considered prototype categories (Næss 2007: 29-30). Næss describes the role of each event participant in terms of volitionality, instigation, and affectedness.¹¹ As a maximally distinct category, the Agent must be [+ Volitional], [+ Instigating], and [- Affectedness], while the Patient is [+ Affected], [- Volition], and [- Instigating] (Næss 2007: 44).

Consider the prototypically transitive English verb *kill*: in *Sam killed the chicken*, the chicken and Sam are maximally distinct because the Agent (Sam) is the instigator of his

⁹ Deut 4:10; 5:1; 14:23; 17:19; 18:9; 31:12–13; Isa 1:17; 2:4 = Mic 4:3; Isa 26:9–10; 29:24; Jer 10:2; 12:16 (2x, IA + impf.); Ezek 19:3, 6; Pss 106:35; 119:7, 71, 73; Prov 30:3. The Gp is found once in 1 Chr 5:18.

¹⁰ Sir 8:8[A]; 9:1[A]; 13:1[A]; 51:15[B]. The use of למד (*lmd*) in Sir 9:1 is ambiguous; it could be read as G or D: אל תקנא את אשה חיקך פן תלמד עליך רעה (‘*al tiqnā’ ʔet ʔššā ḥēqēkā pen tilmad/tēlammēd ‘ālēkā rā‘ā*). (Capital letters in brackets denote Hebrew MSS as indicated in the text edition by P. C. Beentjes [1997]. The occurrences of relevant Hebrew lexemes in Ben Sira have been determined by cross-checking the references in Barthélemy and Rickenbacher’s *Konkordanz* (1973) with Beentjes.)

¹¹ Since Næss is describing transitivity and not *ditransitivity*, the participants involved are only the Agent and the Patient. There is no Recipient.

volitional action, an action by which he was not affected; the Patient (the chicken), however, is absolutely affected by the action, which it did not instigate and in which it had no volition. Consider also the transitive English verb *produce*: in *The tree produces apples*, the tree and the apples are not maximally semantically distinct according to Næss’s definition because the Agent (the tree) is not volitional.¹² Now consider the English verb *eat*: in *Sam ate the chicken*, the Agent and the Patient are not maximally distinct because, although the Agent Sam instigated the action and acted with volition, he cannot be said to be unaffected by the action. The Agent here is what Næss calls an *affected agent*, a common type of Agent in a cross-linguistic category of verbs known as *ingestive verbs* (Næss 2007: 51–84). Ingestive verbs have the semantic feature of “taking something into the body or mind (literally or figuratively),” resulting in an “agentive participant [which] is further characterized by the main defining property of Patients, namely affectedness” (Næss 2007: 52; see also Masica 1976: 52). Like *eat*, *learn* is an ingestive verb because the agentive participant takes something into himself (i.e., his mind) and is affected by it. That there may be an instructional agent behind the learning activity of לִמַּד-G (*lmd-G*) (i.e., a teacher) is linguistically inconsequential: the interest of the verb is the learner, the affected agent.

Consider the transitive clausal constructions of לִמַּד-G (*lmd-G*) below.

Text	Verb	Affected Agent ¹³	P - NP	Patient/Object
Deut 4:10	impf	(the people)	[<i>head</i>] תָּא ¹⁴ (<i>ʔet</i>)	my words
Deut 5:1	w+pf	(Israel)	תָּא (<i>ʔet</i>)	3ms X (statutes and judgements)
Deut 14:23	impf	(Israel)		to fear YHWH your God (inf compl.)
Deut 17:19	impf	(king)		to fear YHWH his God (inf compl)
Deut 18:9	impf	(Israel)		to do . . . (inf compl)
Deut 31:13	w+pf	(their sons)		to fear YHWH your God (inf compl)
Isa 1:17	imv	(Israel)		to do good (inf compl)

¹² Other features are questionable as well; e.g., isn’t the tree affected to some degree by the presence of the apples, and how does “affectedness” apply when referring to something that did not exist prior to the action?

¹³ Logical Agents are in parentheses.

¹⁴ By *head* I mean “head of a relative clause”; i.e., the Patient in the next column is the head of a relative clause.

Isa 2:4 =Mic 4:3	impf	(nations)		war
Isa 26:9	pf	earth's inhabitants		righteousness
Isa 26:10	pf	wicked		righteousness
Isa 29:24	impf	grumblers		teaching (תקל, <i>leqeh</i>)
Jer 10:2	impf (juss)	(Israel)	תא ¹⁵ (ʔet)	the ways of the nations
Jer 12:16 (2x)	IA + impf	(nations)	תא (ʔet)	the ways of my people
Ezek 19:3, 6 (2x)	wayy	(lion cub)		to tear prey (inf compl)
Ps 106:35	wayy	(Israel)		their (nations) deeds
Ps 119:7	IC	(psalmist)		your (YHWH's) righteous judgements
Ps 119:71	impf	(psalmist)		your statutes
Ps 119:73	w+impf	(psalmist)		your commandments
Prov 30:3	pf	(Agur)		wisdom
Sir 8:8	impf	(you)		teaching (תקל, <i>leqeh</i>)
Sir 9:1 ¹⁶	impf	(wife)		evil (רע, <i>rāʿ</i>)
Sir 13:1	impf	associate of a scorner		his way (scorner)
Sir 51:15	pf	(Sira)		wisdom

Table 4.1. Transitive Clausal Constructions with למד-G (*lmd*-G)

In the transitive clausal constructions of למד-G (*lmd*-G), the Patient can be expressed as an object suffix (X) on a verb, a noun phrase (NP) or as an infinitive complement (inf. compl). This suggests, at the very least, that the kind of learning למד (*lmd*) expresses can involve *doing* or perhaps *being* something. I will consider the objects of learning later in this chapter; here it is enough to note that learning described by למד-G (*lmd*-G) can be “cognitive plus” – that is, it can be cognitive **and/or** something else. Kapelrud gives expression to this idea in his statement: “The underlying meaning appears to be ‘have experiences,’ perhaps also ‘accustom oneself to something, become familiar with something’” (Kapelrud 1997: 5). Kapelrud’s “underlying meaning” does not seem to allow for learning that may be primarily cognitive, but the assessment is helpful nonetheless.

¹⁵ I am emending from אל (*ʔel*) with most commentators. See *HALOT* (2001: 1.531) and Thompson (1980: 327n16). Since למד (*lmd*) in the G and D do not occur often with prepositional phrase objects/adjuncts, the data is insufficient to speculate what a preposition אל (*ʔel*) would mean here if the MT is correct. Compare also Jer 12:16.

¹⁶ As mentioned above (see note 10), the use of למד (*lmd*) in Sir 9:1 is ambiguous, capable of being understood as G or D: אל תקנא את אשה חיקך פן תלמד עליך רעה: (*ʔal tiqnā ʔet ʔiššā hēqēkā pen tilmad/ʔēlamməd ʿālēkā rāʿ ā*). The Syr understood the G-stem: “Do not be jealous of the wife of your bosom, lest *she learn* evil against you”; the LXX understood the D-stem: “Do not be jealous of the wife of your bosom, lest you *teach* (her to do) evil against you.”

4.2.1.2. Intransitive Clausal Constructions with למד-G (*lmd-G*)

Only one occurrence of למד-G (*lmd-G*) in BH and Sira is intransitive: Deut 31:12.

Text	Verb	Affected Agent
Deut 31:12	impf	(the people)

Table 4.2. Intransitive Clausal Constructions with למד-G (*lmd-G*)

The significant participant in an intransitive clause is, obviously, the Agent. In Deut 31:12, the people of Israel are the Agents, the learners; and although the larger context makes clear what was to be learned and who would be teaching it, the fact that the grammatical construction here does not include such information is meaningful. The learners are the interest of the clause.

4.2.1.3. Collocations with למד-G (*lmd-G*)

Two words that occur in collocation with למד-G (*lmd-G*) are particularly significant, evidenced by the number of times they occur: שמע (*šm^c*) ‘to listen’ and ירא (*yr²*) ‘to fear’. למד-G (*lmd-G*) ‘to learn’ occurs in collocation with the verb שמע (*šm^c*) four times in Deuteronomy: 4:10; 5:1; 31:12–13.¹⁷ למד-G (*lmd-G*) is always the second verb: so, “listen and learn.”¹⁸ Similarly in Deuteronomy, למד-G (*lmd-G*) is collocated with the verbal root ירא (*yr²*) ‘to fear’ five times: with the infinitive complement ליראה (*lěyir²ā*) (14:23; 17:19; 31:13); with an infinitive construct dependent clause (4:10); and once with a modal *waw*-plus-perfect form following it (“so they will fear YHWH your God”; 31:12). In each of these five texts, למד-G (*lmd-G*) is the main verb: so, “learns to/and fear/s YHWH.”

These two collocations dominate the usage of למד-G (*lmd-G*) in Deuteronomy: one or both of them are found in all but two occurrences of למד-G (*lmd-G*).¹⁹ Given the order of the lexemes described above, we could describe the learning of Deuteronomy in terms of שמע (*šm^c*), למד (*lmd*), and ירא (*yr²*): Listen to learn and then fear YHWH. This idea, as well as how Deuteronomy uses the notion of teaching, will be further developed below (see

¹⁷ שמע (*šm^c*) is commonly collocated with למד-D (*lmd-D*) also: Deut 4:1; Jer 32:33; Ps 34:12; Prov 5:13. See section 4.3.1.4.3.

¹⁸ Finsterbusch discusses the relationship between *hearing* and *learning* in Deuteronomy, concluding that although related, they express two different processes. Hearing is a condition of learning, which must entail memorizing in order to do. See Finsterbusch (2005: 159–61).

¹⁹ The exceptions are 5:1 and 18:9.

4.2.2.1.2.1; 4.2.3.3; 4.3.2.1.2.1). At this stage, I simply want to note the presence and prominence of the two words.

4.2.1.4. Summary of Linguistic Data for לָמַד-G (*lmd-G*)

In each of the above לָמַד-G (*lmd-G*) passages, the learning event has a logical teacher who may or may not be obvious in the context. For example, it is clear in Deuteronomy that the teachers of the people include Moses, the Torah, and even the nations. In Psalms, YHWH is often the logical Agent of instruction. In Jeremiah, nations are the instructors behind Israel's "learning of [their] ways."

While these instructors are part of the larger contexts and thus meaning of the passages, the selection of the G-stem verbal forms places the particular focus on the learner as an Agent; the Qal may highlight how the learner absorbs instruction, or it may draw attention to the responsibility of the learner in the educative process.

4.2.2. Conceptual Data for לָמַד-G (*lmd-G*)

The second component of semantic analysis is the conceptual data that a word encompasses. Each instantiation activates only part of the lexeme's meaning potential.

In what follows, I describe the meaning potential, or the semantic potential, of לָמַד-G (*lmd-G*), as well as its prototype meaning. I determined the meaning potential by analysing each occurrence in context, grouping occurrences according to meanings, and then assessing the relationships among the differing nuances of meaning. I then derived the prototype meaning by considering the frequency and distribution of meanings.

4.2.2.1. Meaning Potential of לָמַד-G (*lmd-G*)

The meaning potential of לָמַד-G (*lmd-G*) consists of two broadly related definitions. The primary difference between them is the relationship between learning and doing. The first and more common definition expresses learning that occurs *by* doing. It involves training oneself through repeated activity, although the "training" may not be undertaken intentionally.

The second definition expresses learning that occurs *so that* doing will follow. It involves cognitive learning that should affect behaviour or values. Thus, the basic difference between the two definitions is that in the first, doing is the means of learning; in the second, doing results from learning.

4.2.2.1.1. למד-G (*lmd*-G) Definition 1: *To acquire a skill or habit through active engagement*

4.2.2.1.1.1. למד-G (*lmd*-G) Definition 1a: *To acquire expertise through experience and practice*

Four times למד-G (*lmd*-G) is activated to refer to a skill or particular expertise born of experience: Isa 2:4 = Mic 4:3; Ezek 19:3, 6. BH uses למד-G (*lmd*-G) in this way to express expertise in warfare and hunting.

In Isa 2:4 = Mic 4:3 the nations do not “learn” war any longer. These uses of למד-G (*lmd*-G) do not refer to formal military training, but rather to actual battle experience which results in expertise. The situation of the nations of Isaiah (and Micah) in an eschatological future is presented in paired clauses:

וכתתו חרבותם לאתים	וחניתותיהם למזמרות
<i>Wēkittētū ḥarbôtām lēʾittîm</i>	<i>Waḥănîûtôthem lēmazmērôt</i>
They will beat their swords to ploughshares	and (elided verb) their spears into pruning hooks.
לא ישא גוי אל גוי חרב	ולא ילמדו עוד מלחמה
<i>Lōʾ yiśśāʾ gôy ʾel-gôy ḥereb</i>	<i>Wēlōʾ-yilmēdû ʿôd milḥāmâ</i>
Nation will not lift a sword against nation,	and they will not learn war anymore.

The “*A*, what’s more *B*” relationship²⁰ between the first pair of clauses here is one of sequentiality. The use of ploughshares precedes that of pruning hooks in the agricultural year. The relationship between the second pair of clauses also makes the best sense if understood as one of sequentiality: the lifting up the sword against another nation is either the initiation of battle or active battle itself, while “learning war” describes nations that are experienced in battle – that is, they have lived through a good deal of “nations lifting up swords against nations.”²¹ It is their experience with war that makes them “learned.” BH uses the D-stem of

²⁰ See Kugel (1981: 1–58).

²¹ B. Schwartz notes that when YHWH judges disputes between nations (the first two clauses of the verse), it puts the nations “in a position to reverse the normal process required when international disputes must be settled. When the population of the countryside is called to arms, as evidenced in Joel 4:10, the villagers are told ‘Beat your plowshares into swords, and your pruning hooks into spears’. In Isaiah’s vision, the belligerent peoples will reverse the process, turning implements of warfare back into implements of agriculture, which is what they were originally” (Schwartz 1998: 17).

למד (*lmd*) to refer to formal military training and למד-G (*lmd-G*) to express the Agents' on-the-job learning – and resultant expertise.²²

Similarly, Ezekiel 19 describes a lion cub that “learned to tear its prey” (vv. 3, 6). Obviously, this is not formal training. Rather a cub “learning” to tear its prey can only mean that the cub *is* tearing prey; it is mastering the art of tearing prey by actually tearing prey.

4.2.2.1.1.2. למד-G (*lmd-G*) Definition 1b: *To acquire a habit by engaging in a particular behaviour*

Several usages of למד-G (*lmd-G*) express the learning of a habit by making certain behavioural choices (Deut 18:9; Isa 1:17; 26:9–10; Jer 10:2; 12:16; Ps 106:35; Sir 9:1;²³ 13:1).

Chapter 1 of Isaiah includes YHWH's indictment of Judah for its offences, along with a plea for the people to accept his instructions (vv. 10–17). He tells them to “stop doing evil; learn to do good” (הִדְלוּ הָרַע לַמְדוּ הַטֹּב (*hidlû hārēa^c limdû hêṭēb*; 1:16b–17a²⁴), and then provides a litany of “good” they should be doing. The implication is that one learns to do good by doing good. YHWH's issue with the Israelites was not that they did not know what was good to do; the problem was that they did not do it.²⁵ למד-G (*lmd-G*) here expresses the activity of training oneself to do good by doing good. Isaiah also includes two references to the learning of righteousness by the earth's inhabitants and the wicked (26:9–10). When

²² See, e.g., Song 3:8 (Dp). With respect to Isaiah 2 and Micah 4, I am not suggesting that formal training did not occur at some point. I am only arguing that למד-G (*lmd-G*) does not express it. This view is substantiated by the adjectival use of the למד-G (*lmd-G*) passive participle in 1 Chronicles 5, where the men of Gad, Reuben, and the half-tribe of Manasseh are described as valiant men (הַיֵּל אֲנָשִׁים, *hayil ʾnāšīm*) who carry shield and sword (בְּשֹׂאֵי מִגֵּן וְחֶרֶב, *nōšēʾē māgēn wēḥereb*), draw the bow (דָּרְכֵי קֶשֶׁת, *dōrēkē qešet*), and are “learned of war” (לְמוֹדֵי, *lēmūdē milḥāmā*) (v. 18). Immediately following this description, the men's military experience is detailed: they fought the Hagrites, Jetur, Naphish, and Nodab (v. 19; see also vv. 20–22). While the men had likely undergone some kind of formal military training, as the men of the other tribes would likely have done, their distinction was their resume. They were “learned of war” because they had experienced it, not because they had been trained for military service.

²³ See notes 10 and 16 regarding Sir 9:1.

²⁴ The MT's versification is arguably awkward here, a situation that BHS remedies by setting what it perceives to be corresponding poetic lines on the same line. That these two clauses belong together is suggested by the structure of corresponding clauses in vv. 16–17. However, with the Masoretic accentuation, one could argue that “cease doing evil” summarizes the two clauses before it, while “learn to do good” introduces the following four clauses. My point is not affected by which reading one prefers.

²⁵ K. Finsterbusch makes the same point: “Was bedeutet nun, Gutes zu tun? Durch den Kontext wird nur angezeigt, dass dies mit Rechtssuche und mit sozialem Verhalten verbunden ist. Es ist aber anzunehmen, dass die Angeredeten wissen, was in JHWHs Augen als «gut» gilt. Sie brauchen diesbezüglich keine «Lehrenden». Sie müssen nur beginnen, ihr vorhandenes Wissen in die gute Tat umzusetzen” (2005: 18).

YHWH's judgements (משפטים, *mišpāṭîm*) are in the earth, its inhabitants will “learn righteousness” (צדק למדו, *ṣedeq lāmēdû*); surrounded by YHWH's משפטים (*mišpāṭîm*), they will develop the habit of acting rightly. The wicked one, however, will not “learn righteousness” even then; he will still act corruptly (יעול, *yəʿawwēl*). This description of the wicked one makes clear that “learning righteousness” means doing righteously; that is, habitually acting in just and upright ways.

The most common learned behaviour that BH expresses with למד-G (*lmd-G*) is “learning the ways” of others (most often the nations). In Deuteronomy, Moses warns the people about the danger of learning the nations' ways (18:9; cf. 20:18 where he mandates the ban in warfare so the nations do not “teach” [למד-D, *lmd-D*] Israel their detestable ways). The psalmist's confession of Israel's sin includes its failure to destroy the nations, which resulted in mingling with them and “learning” their ways (106:35). Jeremiah's oracle in chapter 10 warns Israel against learning the idolatrous ways of the nations (10:2). In chapter 12 Jeremiah complains about YHWH's treatment of the wicked (i.e., they prosper and are not destroyed), and YHWH responds that after he does eventually judge the nations, if they “learn” the ways of Israel (as they once “taught” Israel), he will establish them among his people (12:16). Learning the ways of other nations occurred as the people of one nation engaged in the practices of another. As they associated with the people, they chose their behaviours and ultimately acquired their habits.

Sira also uses למד-G (*lmd-G*) to describe negative learning that occurs through association: נוגע בזפת תדחק ידו וחרב אל לץ ילמד דרכו (*nôgēa^c bēzepet tēdaḥēq yādô wəḥōrēb ʿel lēṣ yilmad darkô*) “The one who touches pitch dirties his hand, and the one who accompanies a scoundrel will learn his way” (Sir 13:1[A]). Sira 9:1 refers to a woman who “learns” evil against her husband, and her behaviour is shaped by her husband's jealousy.

4.2.2.1.2. למד-G (*lmd-G*) Definition 2: *To actively acquire cognitive awareness that results in a particular action or attitude*

The second basic meaning of למד-G (*lmd-G*) involves the cognitive acquisition of a body of knowledge that should affect the learner's behaviour or values. The learning extends beyond the initial cognitive acquisition to include an affective or dispositional outcome as well.²⁶

²⁶ *Dispositional* is Issler and Habermas's term, although they are developing and adapting a similar concept from Wolterstorff, who argues that religious instruction involves the “formation of right tendencies” (1980: 15). Issler and Habermas contend that religious learning and teaching include more than the three standard types of

While the above discussion of למד-G (*lmd-G*) involves acquiring a skill or habit *by* doing, למד-G (*lmd-G*) in the sense described here involves acquiring knowledge *for* doing. Above, the mode of learning is clear: doing is learning. Here the modes of learning are less clear, although the desired results are clear.

4.2.2.1.2.1. למד-G (*lmd-G*) Definition 2a: *Words, statutes, judgements, and commandments; to fear YHWH*

The root למד-G (*lmd-G*) frequently occurs in the context of learning YHWH's words, statutes, commandments, and judgements (דברים [dēbārīm], חקים [ḥuqqîm], משפטים [mišpāṭîm], and מצוות [mišwōt]), or learning “to fear” him. This sense of למד-G (*lmd-G*) only occurs in Deuteronomy and Ps 119 (Deut 4:10; 5:1; 14:23; 17:19; 31:12–13, Ps 119:7, 71, 73).²⁷ The learning process, according to Deuteronomy's telling, began at Horeb where YHWH commanded Moses to assemble the people so “I can cause them to hear my words which they must learn so they fear me . . . and teach their children” (אשמעם את־דברי אשר יִלְמְדוּן לִירֵאָה אֹתִי) (אֲשַׁמְעֵם אֶת־דְּבָרַי אֲשֶׁר יִלְמְדוּן לִירֵאָה אֹתִי . . . וְאֶת־בְּנֵיהֶם יִלְמְדוּן yēlammēdūn]; 4:10).²⁸ In Deut 5:1, Moses summons Israel to hear the statutes and judgements so they would learn them and be careful to do them (וְלִמְדֵתֶם אֹתָם וְשָׁמַרְתֶּם לַעֲשׂוֹתָם) (וְלִמְדֵתֶם אֹתָם וְשָׁמַרְתֶּם לַעֲשׂוֹתָם) [ūlēmādem ʾōtām ūšēmartem la ʿāsōtām]). These two passages indicate that there was a body

learning in educational literature (cognitive, psychomotor, and affective) and involves forming the will. See Issler and Habermas (1994).

²⁷ Cohen-Zemach observes that, practically speaking, “the fear of YHWH” in Deuteronomy is the keeping of the statutes and ordinances commanded by YHWH (Deut 4:10; 14:23; 17:19; 31:12–13): מהי משמעותה המעשית של “יראת ה'”? והתשובה על כך נמסרת במפורש בס"ד. שמירת החוקים והמשפטים שציווה ה'. Reynolds, discussing the use of ירא (yr²) in Psalm 119 by comparing it with the same in Deuteronomy, notes that Deut 6:2 (“You shall fear YHWH your God, in order to keep his statutes and his commandments, which I am commanding you”) could also be translated, “You shall fear YHWH your God by keeping his statutes. . . .” He notes, “The function of the infinitive לשמר is open to at least two interpretations. Keeping the commandment can either be (1) a demonstration of one's fear for God, namely logically subsequent, or (2) a means by which one fears God, and perhaps the two options are not mutually exclusive but complementary” (2010: 39–40).

²⁸ Exodus's account of the event includes no didactic terminology as Deuteronomy does (cf. Exod 19:9, 17–25; 20:18–22). The earlier account is shaped differently for an expressed twofold reason. First, YHWH wanted to validate Moses' authority before the people. The people only heard YHWH's words from Moses because, after witnessing the theophanic event on the mountaintop, they were too terrified to hear YHWH himself and pleaded with Moses to speak to them instead. Secondly, YHWH wanted to scare the hell out of them – that is, he wanted them to be so terrified that they would not dare sin: ובעבור תהיה יראתו עלי־פניכם לבלתי תחטאו (ûba^cābûr tihyeh yir^cātô ʿal-pēnēkem lēbiltî teḥṣā² ū; Exod 20:20). In Deuteronomy's retelling, the people hear the words and learn them so they will fear YHWH. Finsterbusch notes that although YHWH's directions to the people do not make explicit how they were to teach their children the fear of YHWH, only one possibility is conceivable: the adults were to tell their children about this experience in such a way that the reaction of their children would be fear (Finsterbusch 2005: 154).

of knowledge to be learned and then obeyed. Three closely related passages later in the book identify the recipients of this command: everyone from the children (31:13) to the king (17:19; for “Israel” as learners see 14:23 and 31:12). The process began with hearing (שמע, *šm^c*) the words of Moses as he spoke (דבר, *dbr*) YHWH’s words to the people; they were responsible to listen, learn, and then teach their children.²⁹ The learning in Deuteronomy comes by listening and obeying. The learning is such that the content is ingrained upon the mind, “training” the mind to prompt behaviour that accords with the instruction.

Psalm 119 – a psalm clearly interested in teaching, learning, and YHWH’s instructions – includes three instantiations of למד-G (*lmd*-G) (vv. 7, 71, 73), in which the psalmist learns YHWH’s judgements (משפטים, *mišpāṭîm*), statutes (חקים, *ḥuqqîm*), and commandments (מצות, *mišwōt*). As objects of למד (*lmd*; in the G- and the D-stems), these words are elsewhere only found in Deuteronomy.³⁰ Borrowing of language is characteristic of Psalm 119, in which “traditional religious language” from elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible is employed for Psalm 119’s tour de force portrayal of a pious student of Torah.³¹

In v. 7, the learning is similar to what Deuteronomy portrays – namely, learning that results in doing: אודך בישר לבב בלמדי משפטי צדקך (*’ōdēkā bēyōšer lēbāb bēlomdî mišpāṭē sidqekā*) “I will praise you with an upright heart when I learn your righteous judgements.” Learning YHWH’s judgements results in the psalmist praising YHWH. Verse 71 appears in a stanza that contains a clustered usage of למד (*lmd*),³² as well as the theme of the psalmist’s affliction (vv. 67, 71). One thrust of the stanza is that affliction prompts the psalmist to learn YHWH’s word: טוב לי כי עניתי למען אלמד חקיך (*tōb lî kî ’unnētî lēma’an ’elmad ḥuqqēkā*) “It was good for me that I was afflicted, so that I would learn your statutes” (v. 71; cf. v. 67). The final occurrence of למד-G (*lmd*-G) includes acknowledgment that learning the

²⁹ The passages in Deuteronomy where Moses “speaks” (דבר, *dbr*) YHWH’s words/commands to the people instead of “teaching” (למד, *lmd*) them are almost all in the narrator’s voice (1:1, 3; 4:45; 31:1, 30; 32:44, 45). Once the people refer to Moses’ activity with דבר (*dbr*, 5:27). The voice of Moses favours למד-D (*lmd*-D) for his communication; only once does he use דבר (*dbr*) to refer to his speaking/teaching – in 5:1, he “speaks” to the people and they are to “learn” (למד-G; *lmd*-G). The narrator only refers to Moses’ communication as “teaching” once (31:22).

³⁰ Isa 29:13 uses the Dp ptc in reference to a “commandment learned of men” (מצות אנשים מלמדה, *mišwōt ’ānāšîm mēlummadā*). See note 88 below. See also Sira 45:17, which references Aaron teaching the חקים (*ḥuqqîm*) ‘statutes’ to Israel.

³¹ “Traditional religious language” is K. Reynolds’s expression (2010).

³² The *tef* stanza (vv. 65–72) has two G-stem and two D-stem usages of למד (*lmd*).

commandments requires more than human effort: ידִיךְ עָשׂוּנִי וַיְכַוְנֵנִי חֲבִינֵנִי וְאֶלְמְדָה מִצְוֹתֶיךָ (yādēkā ʿāsūnī waykōnēnūnī hābīnēnī wēʿelmēdā mišwōtēkā) “Your hands made me and fashioned me; make me understand that I may learn your commandments” (v. 73). Reynolds summarizes Psalm 119’s view of learning:

Torah study is not a formula that will automatically produce the correct results. The exemplary student gains knowledge and access to God through Torah but only when God grants him knowledge and access. The speaker may keep all the laws, but he still needs God’s intervention. Obedience has some positive effect, but it does not produce the desired results by a mechanistic chain of cause and effect. Insight into God’s word is a benefit granted personally by God that leads to obedience, and obedience is an activity supported and made possible by God that yields the benefit of greater insight. This is not faulty logic on the part of the author, since Torah observance and Torah study are mutually reinforcing activities. The relationship between the speaker’s obedience of Torah and his understanding of Torah is an example that demonstrates the author is portraying a process of spiritual formation (Reynolds 2010: 88).

As in Deuteronomy, learning and doing go hand in hand in Psalm 119. However, Psalm 119 also includes a role for YHWH in the learning process. Finsterbusch describes the role of YHWH as the one who needs to create the proper conditions for learning because his statutes are required for life and preservation from ruin.³³

4.2.2.1.2.2. למד-G (*lmd-G*) Definition 2b: *Other teachings and wisdom*

The meaning of למד-G (*lmd-G*) here is similar to the one just discussed, in that it involves the acquisition of cognitive knowledge that should – if properly acquired – affect the learner’s behaviour or beliefs. I have distinguished these from the occurrences above because of the specialized significance the lexeme has in Deuteronomy and Psalm 119 with respect to Israel’s religion, specifically, YHWH’s words and ways. The usages here represent a broader range in more neutral contexts: Isa 29:24; Prov 30:3; Sir 8:8; 51:15.

Isaiah’s vision of the future in chapter 29 includes “grumblers” who will learn teaching (וְרוֹגְנִים יִלְמְדוּ-לְקַח, wērōgēnīm yilmēdū-leqah), while those who stray in spirit come to understanding (וַיִּדְעוּ תַעֲרִירוֹהָ בִּינָה [wēyādēʿû tōʿê-rúah bīnā]; v.24). The context does not

³³ “Auch die Beschäftigung mit den Geboten JHWHs hat existentielle Dimensionen: Nach V. 80 bedeutet die ungeteilte Beschäftigung mit den *chūqqim* beispielsweise die Bewahrung vor dem »Zuschanden-Werden« – dies sollen nach dem betenden Ich die gottlosen frevlerischen Menschen (V. 78a). Da JHWH als Schöpfer naturgemäß Interesse am Leben seiner Geschöpfe hat, muss er sozusagen auch – als Lehrer – lebenslang die Voraussetzung für das entsprechende religiöse Lernen seiner Geschöpfe (er)schaffen, denn dies ist die Bedingung für ein Leben in seinem Sinn” (Finsterbusch 2007: 142).

explicitly indicate what this teaching entails or what results from learning it, but the specification that the learners are grumblers suggests, at the very least, that perhaps the grumbling disappears. Fox notes that לקח (*leqeh*) often includes a connotation of “attractive, persuasive speech” (2000: 63); its usage to describe what grumblers learn evokes a bit of irony.

Agur, in Prov 30:3, laments that he has not “learned” wisdom, nor does he have knowledge of the Holy One (ולא־למדתי חכמה ודעת קדשים אדע) *wēlō²-lāmadtī ḥokmā wēdaʿat qēdōšīm ʿēdā^c*). While Agur likely means a “(learned) ‘wisdom’” here (Fox 2009: 856) – that is, a body of tradition passed down – wisdom is integrally connected to behaviour; it is not simply cognitive mastery of teachings. In a similar usage, Sira boasts that he has learned wisdom: אדני מנעורי חכמה למדתי (*ʿādōday minnē ʿūray ḥokmā lāmadtī*) “Lord, from my youth I learned wisdom” (51:15[B]). In Sir 8:8[A], Sira urges his reader to learn from the sages what is necessary to stand before princes: אל יטש שיחת חכמים ובהידתיהם התרטש כי ממנו תלמ[.]ד לקח (*ʿal yiṭṭōš śīḥat ḥākāmīm ūbēḥīdōtēhem hitraṭṭēš kī mimmennū tilmad leqeh lēhittaṣṣēb lipnē śārīm*) “Do not abandon the discourse of the wise; in their riddles you will be taught, for from them you will learn instruction to stand before princes.” The learning of the tradition (cf. Sir 8:9) involves cognitive acquisition that, properly applied, shapes character and ability. In each of these learning situations, the knowledge truly acquired affects behaviour or values.³⁴

4.2.2.2. Prototype Meaning of למד-G (*lmd-G*)

The prototypical definition of למד-G (*lmd-G*) is the definition that describes the most relevant attributes of the word’s meaning. By considering the frequency and distribution of meanings, I determined the prototypical meaning to be the first definition above in למד-G’s (*lmd-G*) meaning potential: *to acquire a skill or habit through active engagement*. Although למד-G (*lmd-G*) occurs with the greatest frequency in Deuteronomy and Psalm 119, the narrowness with which it is used in those contexts suggests that the authors are applying a more broadly used word to a specific situation – namely, learning YHWH’s instructions. The wider distribution of the word in BH and Sira demonstrates the prototypical meaning. Elsewhere the verb appears in a variety of contexts where it selects a number of different objects (doing good, hunting, nations’ behaviour, wisdom, war). The prototypical meaning of למד-G (*lmd-G*)

³⁴ It is also possible that some later usages of למד (*lmd*) reflect a more theoretical learning or knowing. Diedrich raises this possibility, and I will discuss it further with למד-D (*lmd-D*; see 4.3.2.1.2.2). See Diedrich (1990: 61).

contributes to the significance of its usage in Deuteronomy and Psalm 119. By using למד-G (*lmd-G*) to describe the process of acquiring YHWH's instructions, the authors infuse the notion of *action* into the process: YHWH's instructions are learned *so* they can be done. Perhaps there is also a sense that YHWH's instructions are learned *as* they are done.

4.2.2.3. Summary of למד-G (*lmd-G*) Conceptual Data

The conceptual data of למד-G (*lmd-G*) include its meaning potential as well as its prototypical definition. The meaning potential consists of two main definitions, with the primary difference between them being the relationship between learning and doing.

למד-G (*lmd-G*), in its prototypical instantiations, expresses learning that occurs *by* doing. The less prototypical occurrences (i.e., in Deuteronomy and Psalm 119) express learning that occurs *so that* doing will follow.

4.2.3. Putting It All Together: Linguistic and Conceptual Data for למד-G (*lmd-G*)

The convergence of the linguistic and conceptual data creates meaning. In what follows, I detail some of the more interesting examples where this happens with למד-G (*lmd-G*).

Because למד-G (*lmd-G*) 'learn' is an ingestive verb, its Agents are affected by the action – a trait usually reserved for the Patient in a transitive clause. When למד-G (*lmd-G*) is used, the interest is the learners, not the instructors.

4.2.3.1. Communicating Culpability

The linguistic and conceptual data of למד-G (*lmd-G*) interact to communicate the culpability of the "student." While Deuteronomy's primary thrust is the teaching of Moses (למד-D [*lmd-D*]; see below), the book also emphasises the role of the learners, in part by using למד-G (*lmd-G*). By summoning the people to learn the instructions of YHWH, Moses shares the educational responsibility with them and makes them clearly culpable. He will teach, but the people have to learn . . . and do.

A similar culpability applies to the earth's inhabitants in Isa 26:9–10. When YHWH's judgements are in the earth, its inhabitants will – or will not – learn righteousness. Although the context makes clear that YHWH has created the conditions for learning,³⁵ the focus is not on YHWH as an Agent. Rather, the focus is on the learners, who are responsible to take advantage of the conditions for learning. The learner must be receptive. The use of למד-G

³⁵ Note the similarity to the later expression of the psalmist that unless YHWH gives him understanding, he cannot learn (119:73).

YHWH's statutes and such, but they do not learn his behaviour.³⁶ Second, the text invites comparison of Israel's learning and the nations' learning.

What does the author of Jeremiah accomplish by inviting us to compare 10:2 and 12:16? First, as the (affected) Agents of the למד-G (*lmd-G*) transitive clauses, both the nations and Israel bear responsibility for their learning.³⁷ They are culpable. Second, consideration of 10:2 in light of 12:16 suggests what Israel should be learning as well. If Israel does as told in 10:2 and does not learn the way of the nations, a gap is created – the object of Israel's learning. If Israel does not learn the way of the nations, what *should* it be learning? Comparison to 12:16 allows the inference that Israel should be learning the ways of ideal Israel, just as the nations should.

	(Affected) Agent	Object of Learning (Patient)
Jer 10:2	Israel	way of nations
Jer 12:16	Nations	ways of Israel

Figure 4.1. “Learning” in Jeremiah 10:2 and 12:16

4.2.3.3. Learning in Deuteronomy and Psalm 119

Another case in which the interaction of linguistic and conceptual data is evident is the use of למד-G (*lmd-G*) in Psalm 119. While Psalm 119 borrows from religious language throughout the Hebrew Bible, the fact that one of these borrowings is Deuteronomy's otherwise exclusive use of למד-G (*lmd-G*) with YHWH's judgements, statutes, and commandments is significant. Analysis of the objects selected by למד-G (*lmd-G*) in its clausal constructions as well as the context of the constructions shows a unique relationship between Deuteronomy and Psalm 119. What Deuteronomy projects as an ideal – learn so that you can do – Psalm 119 illustrates in its portrayal of one who loves and learns YHWH's instructions. In turn, the student is formed by them: “The goal of Torah study in Ps 119 is the internalization of Torah, which shapes the student's character” (Reynolds 2010: 85).

³⁶ Interestingly, YHWH and others can *teach* (למד-D, *lmd-D*) his ways; this is because דרך (*derek*) ‘way’ with reference to YHWH has different nuances of meaning: (1) his behaviour (e.g., Deut 32:4; Ezek 18:25, 29) and (2) his moral requirements (e.g., Gen 18:19; Ps 18:22).

³⁷ The culpability of the nations is given even further attention in 12:16, where the second half of the verse describes their role in Israel's idolatry by using למד-D (*lmd-D*). They taught Israel to swear by the Baals.

The examples above illustrate how the linguistic and conceptual data of למד-G (*lmd*-G) converge to create meaning. Not every text is fraught with significance when the two sets of data are considered together, but the process often does elicit meaning that may otherwise go unnoticed.

4.3. למד-D (*lmd*-D)

4.3.1. Linguistic Data of למד-D (*lmd*-D)

Having analysed the root למד (*lmd*) from the perspective of the one affected – namely, the student – I now turn to the D-stem, the verb that expresses the instructor’s action on behalf of the student. In the Piel, למד (*lmd*) is most commonly translated “teach” or “train,” and it is the BH word most often associated with the teaching event.

The D-stem of למד (*lmd*) appears in the MT fifty-seven times and five times in Ben Sira.³⁸ The word represents instruction given by individual people or groups, most often intentionally. The learners, the Recipients, are individual people, groups of people (including nations), God, and even animals. The word is used most extensively in Psalms, where it occurs twenty-two times, most often in Psalm 119 (10x), but the greatest concentration of the word is in Deuteronomy, where its usage pertains almost exclusively (9/10) to Moses’ teaching of YHWH’s words (הקים [*ḥuqqîm*], משפטים [*mišpāṭîm*], מצוה [*mišwōt*], שירה [*šīrā*]).³⁹ The book of Jeremiah, clearly written within the purview of Deuteronomy, also uses למד-D (*lmd*-D) frequently (9x).

The use of the Piel introduces the presence of an under-subject, absent in the Qal.⁴⁰ With respect to למד (*lmd*), the affected Agent of the Qal becomes the under-subject of the Piel (i.e., the learner or the student), and an instructive Agent becomes explicit. The voice of the

³⁸ למד-D (*lmd*-D) occurs in Deut 4:1, 5, 10, 14; 5:31; 6:1; 11:19; 20:18; 31:19, 22; Judg 3:2; 2 Sam 1:18; 22:35 = Ps 18:35; Isa 40:14 (2x); 48:17; Jer 2:33; 9:4, 13, 19; 12:16; 13:21; 31:34; 32:33 (2x); Pss 25:4, 5, 9; 34:12; 51:15; 60:1; 71:17; 94:10, 12; 119:12, 26, 64, 66, 68, 99, 108, 124, 135, 171; 132:12; 143:10; 144:1; Job 21:22; Prov 5:13; Qoh 12:9; Dan 1:4; Ezra 7:10; 2 Chr 17:7, 9 (2x). The MT of Song 8:2 has תִּלְמַדְנִי (*tēlammēdēnī*) ‘she teaches me’, but I emend with M. Fox (1985: 165–66) to וְאֶל הַדֶּר יִלְמְדֵי (*wē’el ḥeder yōladī*) ‘to the room of her who bore me’. The Sira texts are 4:11[A]; 15:10[A]; 45:5[B]; 45:17[B]; 51:17[B]. למד (*lmd*) is also extant in 15:20[B], but I have omitted it from my corpus on account of its textual uncertainty. MS A, referring to YHWH, has לא צוה אנוש לחטא ולא החלים / אנשי כזב (*lō’ šiwwā’ ʿənōš lēḥāṭō’ wēlō’ heḥlīm ʿanšē kāzāb*), ‘he (YHWH) has not commanded anyone to sin, nor will he make men of deceit weak.’ MS B has [...] לחטא ולא למד שקרים לאנשי כזב ([...] *laḥāṭō’ wēlō’ limmēd šəqārīm lēʿanšē kāzāb*), “[...] to sin, and he did not teach falseness to men of deceit.” The Greek does not clarify: οὐκ ἐνετείλατο οὐδενὶ ἀσεβεῖν καὶ οὐκ ἔδωκεν ἄνομιον.

³⁹ Psalms has more occurrences of למד-D (*lmd*-D), but the concentration is greater in Deuteronomy given the relative sizes of the books.

⁴⁰ See Waltke and O’Connor for the role of the under-subject in the system of *binyanim* (1990: 358).

under-subject is passive; that is, the under-subject is acted upon by the subject, who “effect[s] or caus[es] a state corresponding to the basic meaning of the root” (Waltke and O'Connor 1990: 398); in the language of the study here, the Agent brings about a changed state for the Recipient.⁴¹ The “state” caused by the Agent of a לַמַּד-D (*lmd*-D) clause is *learning*, but in what sense can one person bring about the state of learning for another? An Agent can, at the very least, bring about a state in which learning should or could occur, but ultimately the Agent cannot control whether the Recipient learns. This reflects the marginal transitivity of לַמַּד (*lmd*). Later in the chapter (section 4.6), I will return to the issue raised here and ask how the data affect the answer to the question, *In what sense can an Agent bring about a state of learning?*

In what follows I analyse the linguistic data of לַמַּד-D (*lmd*-D) according to clausal constructions: ditransitive, transitive, and intransitive. Then I consider several nouns that occur in collocation with לַמַּד-D (*lmd*-D) before examining verbs that occur in parallel structures with לַמַּד-D (*lmd*-D).⁴²

4.3.1.1. Ditransitive Clausal Constructions with לַמַּד-D (*lmd*-D)

The verbal forms of לַמַּד-D (*lmd*-D) occur most commonly in a ditransitive clausal constructions (39/61): each has a grammatical Agent, Patient, and Recipient. לַמַּד-D (*lmd*-D) occurs in all three types of ditransitive constructions: the double object construction, the object-plus-dative/indirect object construction, and the relative clause construction.⁴³

Text	Verb	Agent	R – NP	Recipient	P – NP	Patient
Deut 4:1	ptc	(Moses)	מֹשֶׁה לְעַת	2mp X (Israel)		to do (I+IC) statutes and judgements
Deut 4:5	pf	(Moses)	מֹשֶׁה לְעַת	2mp X (Israel)		statutes and judgements
Deut 4:14	I+IC	(Moses)	מֹשֶׁה לְעַת	2mp X (Israel)		statutes and judgements
Deut 5:31	impf	(Moses)		3mp X (Israel)	[<i>head</i>]	the statutes and judgements
Deut 6:1	I+IC	(Moses)	מֹשֶׁה לְעַת	2mp X (Israel)	[<i>head</i>]	the statutes and judgements
Deut 11:19	w+pf	(Israelites)	מִן לְעַת	your sons	מִן לְעַת	3mp (words)

⁴¹ Waltke and O'Connor reserve the term *causative* for the Hiphil, in which an agent causes an under-subject to act; the Piel is associated with causation in that it causes a state for a passive under-subject (1990: 400).

⁴² Participles that clearly function as nouns are included with other nominal forms in section 4.4.

⁴³ Respectively, “I taught Sam math”; “I taught math to Sam”; “X should ___ the math which I taught Sam.”

Deut 20:18	impf	(nations)	הא עֵת	2mp X (Israel)		to do (I+IC) according to all . . .
Deut 31:19	imv	(Moses)	הא עֵת	sons of Israel		3fs X (song)
Deut 31:22	wayy	(Moses)	הא עֵת	sons of Israel		3fs X (song)
Judg 3:2	I+IC	(YHWH/nations)		3mp X (Israel)		war
2 Sam 1:18	I+ IC	(David)		sons of Judah		⁴⁴ קִשֶׁת (<i>qāšēt</i> , ‘bow’)
Isa 40:14b	wayy	(who?)		3ms X (YHWH)		knowledge דַעַת (<i>daʿat</i>)
Isa 48:17	ptc	(YHWH)		2ms X (Israel)		to profit (I+ IC)
Jer 2:33	pf ⁴⁵	(Israel)	הא עֵת	the wicked women	הא עֵת	your ways
Jer 9:4	pf	(everyone)		their tongues		to speak (IC) lies
Jer 9:13	pf	their fathers		3mp X (Israel)	[<i>head -</i> Baals]	walk after stubbornness/after Baals
Jer 9:19	imv	(women of Israel)		your daughters		lamentation
Jer 12:16	pf	(nations)	הא עֵת	my people		to swear (I+IC) by Baal
Jer 31:34	impf	a man	הא עֵת	his neighbour / his brother	לְאִמֹר <i>lēʾmōr</i>	“know YHWH...”
Ps 25:4	imv	(YHWH)		1cs X (psalmist)		your paths
Ps 25:9	w+impf	(YHWH)		the humble		his way
Ps 34:12	impf	(psalmist)		2mp X (sons)		fear of YHWH
Ps 51:15	impf	(psalmist)		transgressors		your ways
Ps 94:10	ptc	(God)		man		knowledge (דַעַת, <i>daʿat</i>)
Ps 119:12	imv	(YHWH)		1cs X (psalmist)		your statutes
Ps 119:26	imv	(YHWH)		1cs X (psalmist)		your statutes
Ps 119:64	imv	(YHWH)		1cs X (psalmist)		your statutes
Ps 119:66	imv	(YHWH)		1cs X (psalmist)		good discernment and knowledge
Ps 119:68	imv	(YHWH)		1cs X (psalmist)		your statutes
Ps 119:108	imv	(YHWH)		1cs X (psalmist)		your judgements
Ps 119:124	imv	(YHWH)		1cs X (psalmist)		your statutes
Ps 119:135	w+imv	(YHWH)		1cs X (psalmist)	הא עֵת	your statutes
Ps 119:171	impf	(YHWH)		1cs X (psalmist)		your statutes
Ps 132:12	impf	(YHWH)		3mp X (your sons)	[<i>head</i>]	my covenant and my testimony (<i>zū</i>)
Ps 143:10	imv	(YHWH)		1cs X (psalmist)		to do (I+IC) your pleasure

⁴⁴ *Qāšēt*. “The bow” here is difficult and variously understood. Some translations delete the word (e.g., ESV, RSV; cf. P. K. McCarter, Jr. 1980); others read elliptically, meaning “the use of the bow” (e.g., KJV), while some translate the MT, simply “the bow” (e.g., JPS). Either of these latter two renderings would imply that a period of warfare began with the deaths of Saul and Jonathan and training was needed. The majority of English translations understand קִשֶׁת (*qāšēt*) to be the name of a song, “The Bow,” which is the lament that follows in the text (e.g., ASV, NASB, NRSV). This is my understanding here.

⁴⁵ I am reading the Qere.

Job 21:22	impf	(one)	ל l-	God (El)		knowledge (תעֵד, <i>da ʕat</i>)
Qoh 12:9	pf	(Qohelet)	תא ʕet	the people		knowledge (תעֵד, <i>da ʕat</i>)
Dan 1:4	l+ IC	(official)		3mp X (youths)		literature and language of Babylon
Sir 45:17	w+impf	(Aaron ⁴⁶)	תא ʕet	his people		statute

Table 4.3. Ditransitive Clausal Constructions with למד-D (*lmd-D*)

In terms of the most basic meaning of a three-argument construction,⁴⁷ למד-D (*lmd-D*) represents an event in which the Agent causes (or tries to cause) the Recipient to receive, in some sense, the Patient. In terms of the D-stem in BH, the Agent brings about a state of learning for the Recipient. Since למד-D (*lmd-D*) can also occur in two- and one-argument constructions, the selection of a ditransitive construction indicates the saliency of all three participants (García-Miguel 2007: 776).

The Agents in the ditransitive constructions are most commonly Moses and YHWH, but also include nations of people (both Israel and foreign), women of Israel, and Qohelet. The Recipients, most commonly expressed as suffixes on the verb (Psalms) or with the direct object marker (תא, *ʕet*; esp. Deuteronomy and Jeremiah), include groups of people (e.g., Israel, Israel's children, women, daughters, transgressors) and individuals (e.g., a psalmist, a neighbour), as well as metonymic representations of people (i.e., tongues). God is the Recipient once as well, likely construed for rhetorical effect (Job 21:22; see below). In the majority of situations, the Agents represent entities superior to the Recipients, but this is not required – particularly in Jeremiah.

The Patients occur in noun phrases, as infinitive complements, or as the head of a relative clause. This is consistent with the data for למד-G (*lmd-G*) and likewise suggests that the kind of teaching למד (*lmd*) expresses can involve teaching someone to *do* or perhaps *be* something, not only *know* something. The state of learning that is created determines how we identify the kind of teaching that is occurring: cognitive, psychomotor, affective, or dispositional.⁴⁸ I will consider *what* is taught later when I examine the conceptual data of למד-D (*lmd-D*), but here, as with למד-G (*lmd-G*) earlier, I simply want to note that the teaching

⁴⁶ The Agent in Sir 45:17 could be YHWH instead of Aaron.

⁴⁷ [THING X CAUSES THING Y TO RECEIVE THING Z.]

⁴⁸ See note 26 above for *dispositional*.

described by למד-D (*lmd-D*) can be “cognitive plus” – that is, it can be cognitive and/or something else.

4.3.1.2. Transitive Clausal Constructions with למד-D (*lmd-D*)

Fourteen occurrences of למד-D (*lmd-D*) have only two grammatical participants, the Agent and either a Patient or a Recipient. Several of its occurrences also include prepositional phrases that function as adverbial adjuncts, but these phrases are less ambiguous in function than those in collocation with ירה (*yrh*) as discussed in chapter 3 (section 3.2.3). Because of the relative clarity of the phrases’ functions in their respective clauses, I address them here rather than in a separate section.

Text	Verb	Agent	R-NP	Recipient	Patient	Prep	Object
Deut 4:10	impf	(the people)	הא ֶֿet	their sons			
2 Sam 22:35 = Ps 18:35	ptc	(YHWH)		my hands		ל l-	War
Isa 40:14a	wayy	(who - elided)		3ms X (YHWH)		ב b-	path of justice
Jer 13:21	pf	you (Israelites)	הא ֶֿot	3mp X (one over you)			
Jer 32:33 (2x)	w+IA	(YHWH)	הא ֶֿot	3mp (Israel)			
Ps 25:5	w+imv	(YHWH)		1cs X (psalmist)			
Ps 71:17	pf	(Elohim – voc.)		1cs X (psalmist)		מן min	my youth
Ps 94:12	impf	(Yah)		3ms X (man)		מן min	your torah
Ps 144:1	ptc	(YHWH)		my hands		ל l-	battle
Ezra 7:10	l+ IC	(Ezra)			statutes & judgements	ב b-	Israel
Sir 4:11	pf	Wisdom		her sons			
Sir 15:10	impf	master of praise			3fs X (praise)		
Sir 45:5	l+ IC	(Moses)			his statutes	ב ⁴⁹ b-	Jacob

Table 4.4. Transitive Clausal Constructions with למד-D (*lmd-D*)

When למד-D (*lmd-D*) occurs in transitive clausal constructions, it more commonly selects an Agent and a Recipient (e.g., *I teach Sam*), though in later texts it may select an Agent and a Patient instead (e.g., *I teach math*). Although the third participant in the teaching event can

⁴⁹ ביעקב (*bēya ʿāqōb*) in Sir 45:5[B] has a variant: ליעקב (*lēya ʿāqōb*). The second clause has a parallel NP, לישראל (*lēyisrā ʿēl*) (Beentjes 1997: 79).

usually be inferred from the context, the fact that the grammatical structure does not include it affects the meaning of the clause. As with ירה-H (*yrh-H*), the transitive construction with למד-D (*lmd-D*) is interested in the relationship between the Agent and the Recipient; in contrast with ירה (*yrh*), it can also express interest in the connection between the Agent and the Patient.

The Agents in transitive clausal constructions are almost exclusively persons of authority over the Recipients: YHWH/Elohim, Ezra, Israelite parents, Wisdom, the “master of praise,” and Moses. The Agents that do not have authority over the Recipients are the “who?” of Isa 40:14 (וילמדהו בארה משפט) [*ʿet-mī . . . wayēlammēdēhū bēʾōrah mišpāf*], “With whom [did he consult . . .], and who taught him (in?) the path of justice?”) and the Israelites of Jer 13:21. In Isa 40:14, the non-authoritative position of the Agent serves the rhetorical point of the verse: it is absurd to think that anyone could teach YHWH. The non-authoritative Agent of Jer 13:21 accords with Jeremiah’s use of למד (*lmd*) in various clausal constructions of both the G- and the D-stem, where no clear difference of position exists between Agents and Recipients.

Those receiving instruction in למד-D (*lmd-D*) transitive constructions are Israel, the psalmists, YHWH, neighbouring nations of Israel, children, metonymic hands, and “Wisdom’s sons.” These are expressed both through suffixes on verbs and NPs, with and without the object marker א (*ʿet*). When למד-D (*lmd-D*) selects a Patient rather than a Recipient, the Patients are YHWH’s statutes and judgements (הקים [*ḥuqqîm*], משפטים [*mišpāṭîm*]) and praise. The adverbial adjuncts, in the form of prepositional phrases, function as locative (in the path of justice; in Israel; in Jacob), temporal (from my youth), purpose (for war), and source clauses (from your torah).

4.3.1.3. Intransitive Clausal Constructions with למד-D (*lmd-D*)

The intransitive clausal construction with למד-D (*lmd-D*) is infrequent, occurring only three times in BH in the late book of Chronicles.

Text	Verb	Agent	Preposition	Object of Preposition
2 Chr 17:7	l+ IC	(officials)	ב, <i>b-</i>	the cities of Judah
2 Chr 17:9	wayy	(officials)	ב, <i>b-</i>	Judah
2 Chr 17:9	wayy	(officials)	ב, <i>b-</i>	the people

Table 4.5. Intransitive Clausal Constructions with למד-D (*lmd-D*)

While in 2 Chronicles 17, both the content of teaching and the audience can be inferred from the context, the fact that neither is included in the clausal construction is meaningful. The only participant grammatically present is the Agent, namely, the officials of Jehoshaphat. Each intransitive clause also has an adverbial adjunct with the preposition -ב (*b-*). Two of the three prepositional phrases are clearly locative, indicating where the officials taught: in the cities of Judah and in Judah. The third, בעם (*bā'ām*) is less clear: does the preposition -ב (*b-*) function as the previous two did (cf. NRSV, JPS, NASB, ESV), or does it indicate the object (Recipient) of instruction (cf. KJV, NIV, TNK, LXX)? Given the concentration of למד-D (*lmd-D*) clauses in this passage (three in just two verses), the clear intransitive structure of at least two of them, the lack of other evidence for prepositional phrases with intransitive למד (*lmd*) clauses, and the obvious interest of the Chronicler in the officials of Jehoshaphat's educational reform (e.g., all the officials are all named; vv. 7–8), I favour understanding the -ב (*b-*) phrase as an adverbial adjunct: “And they taught among the people” (וילמדו בעם, *wayēlammēdû bā'ām*). The adverbial adjunct indicates where they taught. Certainly they were teaching the people, and certainly they were teaching them Torah (cf. v. 9), but the fact that the clause structure does not make these participants explicit means that the greatest interest of the clause is the Agent.

4.3.1.4. Collocations with למד-D (*lmd-D*)

Several words occur repeatedly in collocation with למד-D (*lmd-D*). These include both nouns and verbs. The nouns function as objects of למד-D (*lmd-D*), specifically as the Patient in the clausal construction, while the verbs appear in close association with למד-D (*lmd-D*) or in parallel clauses.

4.3.1.4.1. Teaching War, a Way, and Knowledge (מלחמה [*milḥāmâ*], דרך [*derek*], דעת [*da'at*])

Others have noted the common collocation of למד-D (*lmd-D*) with מלחמה (*milḥāmâ*) ‘war’ (Judg 3:2; 2 Sam 22:35 = Ps 18:35;⁵⁰ Dp in Song 3:8). Carasik, in fact, suggests that “the combination of למד and מלחמה [*was*] . . . a common idiom” (2006: 45).

⁵⁰ Psalm 144:1 is similar. YHWH trains (מלמד, *mēlammēd*) the psalmist's hands for battle (לקרב, *laqrāb*), while the participle is elided in the second clause, “my fingers for war” (אצבעותי למלחמה, *ʿešbēʿōtay lammilḥāmâ*).

Another word commonly found as the object of instruction is דרך (*derek*) ‘way’, in reference to YHWH’s ways (Pss 25:9; 51:15; cf. also ארה (*‘ōreh*) ‘path’ in Ps 25:4) and Israel’s adulterous ways (Jer 2:33).

Knowledge (דעת, *da‘at*), a word commonly associated with wisdom writings, is what is taught in four texts (Isa 40:14; Pss 94:10; 119:66; Job 21:22; Qoh 12:9).

4.3.1.4.2. Teaching Statutes and Judgements (חקים ומשפטים, *ḥuqqîm wěmišpāṭîm*)

The objects that occur most frequently in collocation with למד-D (*lmd-D*) are YHWH’s statutes and judgements (חקים ומשפטים, *ḥuqqîm wěmišpāṭîm*). The association of these words with teaching and learning is characteristic of Deuteronomy and Psalm 119.

The combination of “statutes and judgements” with למד-D (*lmd-D*) occurs in Deut 4:1, 5, 14; 5:31; and 6:1. In the poetry of Psalm 119, however, the pair is separated; חקים (*ḥuqqîm*) ‘statutes’ is present in Ps 119:12, 26, 64, 68, 124, 135, 171, while משפטים (*mišpāṭîm*) ‘judgements’ is in v. 108. A final instantiation in BH of the combination with למד-D (*lmd-D*) is in Ezra 7:10, and twice in Sira חקים (*ḥuqqîm*) is the object of למד-D (*lmd-D*) (45:5, 17).

4.3.1.4.3. Teaching, Doing, and Hearing (עשה [‘śh], שמע [šm^ע])

Several verbs also occur in close collocation with למד-D (*lmd-D*). The verb most commonly used in close association with למד-D (*lmd-D*) is עשה (‘śh) ‘to do’. Nearly exclusive to Deuteronomy, this collocation occurs with למד (*lmd*) and עשה (‘śh) as an infinitive complement (4:1; 20:18), a dependent clause (4:5; 6:1), and an independent clause (5:31). The infinitive complement is also found in Ps 143:1 (“Teach me to do your pleasure”). A variation of this collocation, in which למד-D (*lmd-D*) follows עשה (‘śh), appears in Ezra 7:10. Ezra sets his mind to study the Torah of YHWH, to do it himself (ולעשת, *wěla ‘śōt*), and then to teach the statutes and judgements in Israel (וללמד בישראל חק ומשפט, *ûlēlammēd bēyisrā‘ēl ḥōq wěmišpāṭ*). The combination of למד-D (*lmd-D*) ‘to teach’, עשה (‘śh) ‘to do’, and חקים ומשפט (*ḥuqqîm wěmišpāṭîm*) ‘statutes and judgements’, so characteristic of Moses’ instruction to Israel, is surely intentional in Ezra. I will discuss this below (see 4.3.3.1).

A second important verb collocated with למד-D (*lmd-D*) is שמע (*šm^ע*) ‘to hear’. Hearing was closely related to למד-G (*lmd-G*) as well, so its association with למד-D (*lmd-D*) might be expected. The collocation occurs in Deut 4:1 and Jer 32:33. In Deuteronomy, Moses

summons the people to listen, while in the book of Jeremiah YHWH complains that the people did not listen.⁵¹

4.3.1.4.4. Teaching and Parallel Verbs

The collocations with עשה (*ʿšh*) and שמע (*šm^c*) above represent, more or less, narrative texts in which parallelism is not a feature. The collocations to follow are those that occur in poetic texts with a clear parallel structure. As noted previously (see 3.2.5), distinguishing between parallelism, poetry, and narrative in BH is a difficult task; for my purposes, I have restricted “parallelism” to lines with similar surface structure since they are readily perceived as parallel, although the relationship between the lines may not be as apparent. I have footnoted verses that do not exhibit a similar surface structure between lines but are nonetheless interesting with respect to collocations.

למד-D (*lmd-D*) occurs in parallel constructions with twelve different verbs: ידע-H (*yd^c-H*) (Isa 40:14b; Ps 25:4); נהה-H (*nḥh-H*) (Ps 143:10⁵²); יעץ-N (*y^ʿṣ-N*) (Isa 40:14a); דרך-H (*drk-H*) (Ps 25:5, 9⁵³); בין-H (*byn-H*) (Isa 40:14a⁵⁴); אמר (*ʾmr*) (Sir 15:10); יסר-D (*ysr-D*) (Ps 94:10, 12⁵⁵); שמע (*šm^c*) (Ps 34:12⁵⁶); עור-H (*ʿwd-H*) (Sir 4:11); יכה (*ykḥ*) (Ps 94:10); שׁוב (*šwb-G*) (Ps 51:15); נגד-H (*ngd-H*) (Ps 71:17).

Text	Agent	Recipient	Patient/Adjunct	Parallel verb ⁵⁷	Parallel Patient/Adjunct
Isa 40:14a	(who)	3ms X (YHWH)	in the way of justice	יעץ-N, בין-H (1,2) y ^ʿ ṣ-N, byn-H	--
Isa 40:14b	(who)	3msX (YHWH)	knowledge (דעת, <i>daʿat</i>)	ידע-H (2) yd ^c -H	way of insight
Ps 25:4	(YHWH - voc)	1cs X (psalmist)	your paths	ידע-H (1) yd ^c -H	your ways

⁵¹ In addition to these texts, שמע (*šm^c*) occurs with למד-D (*lmd-D*) in parallel structures in Ps 34:12 and Prov 5:13. See the following table and discussion.

⁵² Compare Ps 27:11 where נהה (*nḥh*) also occurs as the second term in parallel with ירה (*yrh*).

⁵³ See also Isa 48:17.

⁵⁴ See also Ps 119:73.

⁵⁵ See also Jer 31:18; see Jer 32:33 where למד-D (*lmd-D*) occurs with לקח מוסר (*leqeḥ mūsār*).

⁵⁶ שמע (*šm^c*) is also in Prov 5:13 where the substantive מלמדי (*mēlammēday*) ‘my teachers’ occurs. The chart here only includes verbal occurrences of למד-D (*lmd-D*). See also Jer 32:33.

⁵⁷ The number in parentheses after each form indicates in which clause of the parallel structure the form occurs – the first or the second.

Ps 25:5	(YHWH - voc)	1cs X (psalmist)	--	דרך-H (1) <i>drk</i> -H	in your truth
Ps 25:9	(YHWH)	humble	his way	דרך-H (1) <i>drk</i> -H	in justice
Ps 34:12	(psalmist)	2mp X (sons)	fear of YHWH	שמע-G (1) <i>šm^c</i> -G	to me
Ps 51:15	(psalmist)	transgressors	your ways	שוב-G (2) <i>šwb</i> -G	to you (YHWH)
Ps 71:17	God	1cs X (psalmist)	--	נגד-H (2) <i>ngd</i> -H	your wondrous deeds
Ps 94:10	(YHWH)	man	knowledge (דעת, <i>da^ʕat</i>)	יסר-G; יכה-H (1, 2) <i>ysr</i> -D, <i>ykḥ</i>	nations / --
Ps 94:12	(YHWH - voc)	(man-elided)	from your torah	יסר-D (1) <i>ysr</i> -D	--
Ps 143:10	(YHWH - voc)	1cs X (psalmist)	to do your pleasure	נהה-H (2) <i>nḥh</i> -H	on level ground
Sir 4:11	Wisdom	her sons		עוד-H (2) <i>ʕwd</i> -H	(those who understand her)
Sir 15:10	master		it (praise)	אמר (1) <i>ʕmr</i>	praise

Table 4.6. Verbal Roots That Occur in Parallel with למד-D (*lmd*-D)

The למד-D (*lmd*-D) lexeme does not exhibit a preference for where it appears in a parallel structure, as indicated by the numbers after each parallel root above. It occurs in the first clause as well as the second, and even the third (Isa 40:14). In contrast, ירה (*yrh*) shows a clear preference for the first clause of a parallel structure (see 3.2.5).

Without analysing the conceptual concept of each pair at this point, I would like to make a few observations about some patterns of relationship between the pairs. In at least three of the parallel structures in which למד-D (*lmd*-D) is in the second clause, an “if . . . then . . .” relationship exists: if X does Y, then Z (or X) can teach (i.e., create the state in which learning can take place) (Pss 34:12; 94:10, 12).⁵⁸ A fourth text has a similar structure, but למד-D (*lmd*-D) is in the first clause and represents the cause: “if X teaches, then Y will . . .” (Ps 51:15).

Two of the parallel structures occur in Isa 40:14, part of a strophe filled with rhetorical questions about the wisdom of God. The text of vv. 12–31 is reminiscent of Job 38:4–7 and “draw[s] overwhelmingly on the didactic-sapiential tradition” (Blenkinsopp 2002: 191); “wisdom words” throughout include ידע (*yd^c*) ‘to know’, בינה (*bīnā*) ‘understanding’, and דעת (*da^ʕat*) ‘knowledge’. While these words carry different nuances of meaning, the

⁵⁸ Psalm 119:73 has a similar “if . . . then . . .” structure with למד-D (*lmd*-D) in the second position. It is not included in the data here because the two clauses are arguably not parallel. Jer 32:33 also contains the “if . . . then . . .” idea, but its syntax is very different.

piling up of similar terms creates a rhetorical effect that the individual words cannot accomplish by themselves. Says Fox of “wisdom words” (specifically nouns) in Proverbs:

These words have their own nuances and syntactic constraints, and various scholars have drawn distinctions among them. . . . But in practice, especially in the Wisdom books, the wisdom-words are pragmatic synonyms, conveying basically the same ideas and labeling the same phenomenon. . . .

Though the terms have different focuses . . . their range is overlapping and the terms are never mutually exclusive. So far as I can determine, there is little that the sages would say about *ḥokmah* that they would not believe true of *daʿat*, *binah*, *śekel*, or *ʿbunah*. Moreover, when wisdom is personified, it has several names: *ḥokmot* (1:20), *ḥokmah* (8:1a), *ʿbunah* (8:1b), and *binah* (8:14). Thus the wisdom-words form a lexical group that as a whole conveys the concept of wisdom.

There is a motive to this heaping up of synonyms beyond just variety. As von Rad recognized, “Der Text scheint durch die Kumulierung vieler Begriffe etwas Umfassenderes, Grösseres anzuvisieren, das mit einem der verwendeten Begriffe unzureichend umschrieben wäre” (“By amassing a number of terms the text seems to aim at something greater and more comprehensive, something that would not be adequately expressed by just one of the terms”) (Fox 2009: 921-22; citing von Rad 1970: 26).

This same phenomenon is occurring in Isaiah 40. The relationship between parallel terms is not the issue; rather the heaping up of similar terms makes a powerful statement about YHWH’s surpassing wisdom and the inability of anyone to be his instructor. Similarly, Psalm 25 piles up synonymous words for educating to create a unique portrayal of teaching and learning.⁵⁹

4.3.1.5. Summary of Linguistic Data for למד-D (*lmd-D*)

The usage of למד-D (*lmd-D*) ‘to teach’ introduces a grammatical Agent of instruction, a teacher who creates a state of learning for an under-subject (the Recipient). The instantiations of למד-D (*lmd-D*) are most common in ditransitive clauses, indicating the saliency of all three event participants to the meaning.

The lexeme also occurs often in transitive clauses, in which it most often includes a Recipient and not a Patient. It can occur in intransitive clauses as well, although in BH it does so infrequently. Its use in Deuteronomy is unique with respect to collocations with עשה (*ʿsh*),

⁵⁹ I will specifically discuss Psalm 25 in ch. 7.

‘to do’, שמע (*šm*) ‘to hear’, and חקים ומשפטים (*ḥuqqîm wəmišpāṭîm*) ‘statutes and judgements’.

4.3.2. Conceptual Data for למד-D (*lmd-D*)

4.3.2.1. Meaning Potential of למד-D (*lmd-D*)

The meaning potential of למד-D (*lmd-D*) is similar to that of למד-G (*lmd-G*), but it exhibits the causation of the Piel *binyan*. Like the Qal, the meaning potential of the Piel falls into two primary and related definitions, and the major difference between them is the relationship between cognitive knowledge and knowledge born of experience.

The first aspect of the meaning potential involves teaching that occurs by causing another to do; the learner is meant to learn *through* doing. The second aspect of meaning involves transmitting cognitive knowledge that should, when properly applied, affect the actions of the learner; the learner is meant to learn *so that* doing will follow.

4.3.2.1.1. למד-D (*lmd-D*) Definition 1: *To put another in a state whereby s/he can acquire a skill or habit through active engagement*

This aspect of the meaning potential of למד-D (*lmd-D*) involves training a person through repeated engagement with a particular activity, though the training is not necessarily given intentionally. Through repetition of the activity, it becomes ingrained in the actions of the learner.

The distinction between definitions 1a and 1b is whether or not the Agent intentionally engaged in instructional activity. The first definition includes intention, while the second definition does not.

4.3.2.1.1.1. למד-D (*lmd-D*) Definition 1a: *To intentionally put another in a state in which s/he can acquire a skill or expertise through experience and practice*

Eight texts activate this part of למד-D’s (*lmd-D*) meaning potential. Four refer to teaching מלחמה (*milḥāmā*) ‘warfare’: Judg 3:2; Ps 18:35 = 2 Sam 22:35; Ps 144:1. Four refer to teaching music (Deut 31:19, 22; 2 Sam 1:18; Jer 9:19).⁶⁰

Of the texts related to warfare, YHWH is the instructor in all four. As a point of comparison, the Dp of למד (*lmd-D*) occurs in Song 3:8, which references the groom’s party of expert warriors: כלם אחזי חרב מלמדי מלחמה (*kullām ʾāḥuzê ḥereb mēlummedê milḥāmā*) “all of

⁶⁰ I loosely categorise Ps 25:4, 5, 9 here as well, although I do not deal specifically with Psalm 25 in this chapter. See 7.4.5 for explanation of what is going on in Psalm 25.

them sword-wielders and trained in war.”⁶¹ While the Song text does not explicitly state that this training was formal military training, it is widely understood in this manner. Carasik (whose analysis does not distinguish between לַמָּד-G [*lmd-G*] and לַמָּד-D [*lmd-D*]) considers the collocation of לַמָּד (*lmd*) and מִלְחָמָה (*milḥāmā*) to be a common idiom, and he suggests that the source of the idiom lay “in real-life situations of military training” (2006: 45). Surely Israel had a means of training its military, though, as Carasik notes, we do not have any descriptions of such training (2006: 45). Even less known, however, is what military training conducted by YHWH would look like. What does it mean for YHWH to train someone for war? Commentators deal with the expression in generalities or not at all.⁶²

The narrative of Judg 3:2 and consideration of the meaning of לַמָּד-G (*lmd-G*) with respect to war provide the framework for understanding how YHWH “teaches” war. Verse three identifies people groups that YHWH left unconquered during the conquest so that he could test נִשָּׁה (*nsh*) (vv. 1, 4) the Israelites who had not known (יָדַע, *yd^c*) war. These groups, according to v. 2, were the means by which YHWH⁶³ was going to teach war to the inexperienced (and/or untrained) Israelites. The instruction here is clearly not formal military training: it is learning on the job, an idea very closely associated with the meaning of לַמָּד-G (*lmd-G*). YHWH put the people in a state – that is, he left some enemy nations nearby – in which they could acquire warfare skills and expertise by experiencing it. In the context of psalms, then, when YHWH is said to train the psalmists’ hands for war (מִלְמַד יָדַי לְמִלְחָמָה [*mēlammēd yāday lēmilḥāmā*]; המִלְמַד יָדַי לְקָרֵב [*hammēlammēd yāday laqrāb*]), perhaps the best way to understand YHWH’s instruction is that the psalmist is acknowledging that YHWH is the one who gave him victories in past, who gave him the experience that trained his hands and made them strong, and he will continue to deliver the psalmist in the future by equipping him with the strength he needs to face battle. This idea is very much in line with

⁶¹ Another possible understanding of the expression is “weaponry” or “trained with weapons.” See Pope (1977: 434–35).

⁶² See, e.g., Craigie, “The psalmist then describes himself as the divinely equipped warrior, mighty in battle – yet only because of his God-given equipment” (1983: 175); Briggs, “As a warrior of Yahweh he has been trained by Yahweh Himself” (1906: 148); and Weiser, “God trains the king in the proper use of weapons” (1962: 195). Kapelrud does not address it at all (1997: 7).

⁶³ The subject is ambiguous, variously understood as YHWH teaching the people (ASV, JPS, NIV), the nations teaching the people (NASB), or even the people teaching subsequent generations (NRSV). Perhaps the ambiguity is intentional, allowing at the very least both the nations and YHWH to be instructors, expressing both the secondary and primary causes, respectively.

the biblical writers' view that YHWH is the one responsible for what happens in the world at large and in their lives individually.

This sense of the meaning is also used of teaching songs in four contexts.⁶⁴ In Deut 31:19, YHWH commands Moses to teach Israel a song that can serve as a witness against them in the future (see also v. 22⁶⁵). In 2 Sam 1:18, David orders that a lament for Saul and Jonathan be taught to the people, and in Jer 9:19, the women of Israel are admonished to teach their daughters a dirge since death is about to overtake the city. The purposes of teaching each song can be inferred from the respective contexts, and Deut 31:19 actually makes its purpose explicit: teach the people the song so they can sing it in the future as testimony against themselves. By teaching the people songs, the teachers could practically guarantee retention of the lyrical content; humans remember things set to music perhaps more easily than they remember anything else. Music ingrains content in the mind. That למד-D (*lmd-D*) expresses the teaching of a song, undoubtedly done through repetition, could almost be expected.

4.3.2.1.1.2. למד-D (*lmd-D*) Definition 1b: *To put another in a state whereby s/he can acquire a habit by engaging in a particular behaviour*

In contrast with (1a) above, where the instruction involves a degree of intentionality, teaching can occur even when instructive Agents do not consciously put others in a state of learning. Just as למד-G (*lmd-G*) can describe the acquisition of habits by engaging in particular behaviour, so למד-D (*lmd-D*) can describe those who provide the environment in which someone acquires a habit by association.

⁶⁴ See also the Piel IC in the superscription of Psalm 60, מִקְתָּם לְדָוִד לְלַמֵּד (*miktām lēdāvid lēlammēd*, “a *miktam* of David for teaching”). The word meant, in Mowinckel’s view, ‘to prod’ or ‘to goad on,’ with the meaning of encouraging the people, or to ‘goad on’ Yahweh to get him to intervene for his people” (Tate 1990: 101). See also Mowinckel (1962: 2.217) where he discusses this use of למד (*lmd*) in light of the MT *hapax* noun מִלְמָד (*malmād*) ‘ox goad’ (Judg 3:31; see also Sir 38:25[B]) and the infinitive construct in 2 Sam 1:18 (David’s order to teach the Judeans the lament over Saul and Jonathan), which he understands as something of a call to arms (1962: 2.217). 2 Sam 1:18 is difficult (ויאמר ללמד בני־יהודה קשת הנה כתובה על־ספר הישר) [*wayyōmer lēlammēd bēnī-yēhūdā qāšet hinnēh kētūbā ‘al-sēper hayyāšār*]; “And he said to teach the children of Judah *qāšet*; behold, it is written in the book of Yashar”), and while it is plausible that the teaching of the lament was intended to urge the people to arms, the text does not follow through on such a notion. J. Sawyer links the usage of the infinitive construct in the psalm superscription with its appearance in both the lament for Saul and Jonathan and the song in Deut 31:19 and 22, suggesting that their teaching may have accompanied teaching of the law (Sawyer 1967–1968: 34–35; Brueggemann 2008: 620). Why these particular songs might have had such a role is unclear.

⁶⁵ Deuteronomy 31:19, 22 could arguably be included with the instances of teaching למד-D (*lmd-D*) YHWH’s words (as everywhere else in Deuteronomy); I have included it here instead because the song is not properly statutes, judgements, commandments, and the like.

This sense of למד-D (*lmd-D*) is used almost exclusively of negative behaviour.⁶⁶ Twice it refers to the activity of the nations⁶⁷ teaching their practices to Israel (Deut 20:18; Jer 12:16). The nations' teaching is, obviously, not a formal affair. Rather as Israel associated and intermarried with them, the Israelites “picked up” the behaviour. Twice in Jeremiah, Israel is accused of teaching negative behaviour to other Israelites: they teach one another to speak lies (9:4), and Israel's ancestors taught their children to walk after the stubbornness of their hearts and after the Baals (9:13). Again, these are hardly references to formal teaching; rather, the “teachers” engage in the negative behaviour in the presence of others who pick it up. Israel is also indicted for teaching wicked women its ways (2:33). Finally, Jeremiah asks Israel what it will do when nations that it “taught” to be its allies rule over it (13:21).⁶⁸ Although Jer 13:21 is difficult, the sense is that “Jerusalem and Judah had cultivated those who were now to become their rulers, that is, the Chaldeans” (Thompson 1980: 373); that is, by their behaviour and associations with the Chaldeans, Judah had created the conditions under which the Chaldeans became allies. In each situation above, the Agent is said to teach a behaviour simply by being habitually involved in the behaviour and associating with the Recipient. למד-D (*lmd-D*) expresses the transmission of a habit by the one who creates the environment in which another can acquire it.

Several passages are more difficult, and, in fact, the meaning of למד-D (*lmd-D*) is a bit unclear. The aspect of למד-D's (*lmd-D*) meaning potential under discussion in this section may help us understand these passages better: Pss 71:17; 132:12; 143:10; Jer 32:33.

In Ps 143:10 the psalmist entreats YHWH to teach him to do what pleases YHWH: למדני לעשות רצונך כִּי־אַתָּה אֱלֹהִים (*lammēdēnī la ʿāsôt rēṣōnēkā kī-ʾattā ʿelôhay*), “Teach me to do your will, for you are my God.” What exactly is the psalmist asking YHWH to do for him? Deuteronomy 4:1, one of two other MT occurrences of the infinitive complement לעשות

⁶⁶ One positive occurrence of למד-D (*lmd-D*) that is not detailed here is Sir 15:10, in which the wise man “teaches” praise by speaking it himself.

⁶⁷ עַמִּים (*ammīm*, Deut 20:18); שְׁכַנֵי הָרַעִים (*šēkēnay hārāʿīm*, Jer 12:14–16).

⁶⁸ Jeremiah 13:21 is syntactically and semantically difficult: מַה־תֹּאמְרֵי כִּי־יִפְקֹד עָלֶיךָ וְאַתָּה לְמַדְתָּ אֹתָם עָלֶיךָ אֲלֵפִים לְרֹאשׁ (Mah-tō mēri kī-yipqōd ʿalayik wēʾatt limmadt ʾōtām ʿalayik ʾallupīm lērōʾš hālōʾ ḥābālīm yō ʾhēzūk kēmō ʿēšet lēdā.) “What will you say when he appoints over you – And you yourself had taught them – Former companions to be head over you? Will not pangs take hold of you like a woman in childbirth?” (NASB). The LXX does not clarify things: τί ἐρεῖς ὅταν ἐπισκέπτωμαι σε καὶ σὺ ἐδίδαξας αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ σὲ μαθήματα εἰς ἀρχήν.

(*la'āsôt*) 'to do' with the D-stem of למד (*lmd*), can be helpful here.⁶⁹ In Deut 4:1, Moses says he is teaching the people to do the statutes and judgements (ועתה ישראל שמע אליהם) . . . [*Wē'attā yiśrā'ēl šēma' haḥuqqîm wē'el-hammišpā'îm 'āšer 'ānōkî mēlammēd 'etkem la'āsôt lēma'an tiḥy*]; “And now, Israel, listen to the statutes and the judgements, which I am teaching you to do, so that you may live . . .”). Elsewhere in Deuteronomy where למד-D (*lmd-D*) 'to teach', עשה (*'śh*) 'to do', and הקים ומשפטים (*ḥuqqîm wēmišpā'îm*) 'statutes and judgements' appear together (4:5, 14; 5:31; 6:1), Moses teaches the statutes and judgements *so that* the people will do them. Finsterbusch argues that Moses' teaching in 4:1 differs from his teaching in the rest of the book.⁷⁰ His instruction in the statutes and judgements does not begin until 6:1, whereas in 4:1, she asserts that Moses means to motivate the people to do what he is going to teach them, in part by telling them what happens if they do not – no life and no land (Finsterbusch 2005: 130–31).

Returning now to Ps 143:10, what is the psalmist asking YHWH to do when he asks him to “teach me to do your will”? In some way, the psalmist wants YHWH to influence his volition so that he will do YHWH's will; he is not asking YHWH for cognitive knowledge of the way.⁷¹ He wants YHWH to motivate him to do what pleases him. He does not ask YHWH to change his will or to supernaturally infuse him with desire to obey. He asks

⁶⁹ The other occurrence is Deut 20:18, in which Moses warns Israel against the nations teaching them to do according to their detestable practices: . . . לא-יילמדו אתכם לעשות ככל . . . (*Lō'-yēlammēdū 'etkem la'āsôt kēkōl*, “[That] they may not teach you to do according to all . . .”). This teaching “to do” occurred through association: as the nations did, so Israel did. The nations were not involved in the deliberate education of Israel with respect to their cult. In both Deut 4:1 and Ps 143:10, however, the volition of the Agent is clearly expressed.

⁷⁰ Finsterbusch's argument involves the fact that all other occurrences of הקים ומשפטים (*ḥuqqîm wēmišpā'îm*) 'statutes and judgements', למד-D (*lmd-D*) 'to teach', and עשה (*'śh*) 'to do' include an explicit command by YHWH to Moses to teach and/or the לעשות (*la'āsôt*) includes an object or further adverbial determination. She takes this to be clear indication that the Mosaic instruction in 4:1 is different from the other four occurrences in Deuteronomy (Finsterbusch 2005: 130). I agree with her insofar as no command is mentioned and no further adverbial determination is present in 4:1. However, I identify הקים ומשפטים (*ḥuqqîm wēmišpā'îm*) as the objects of the infinitive לעשות (*la'āsôt*); Moses teaches them to do the statutes and judgements.

Translations reflect the debate over what Moses is teaching in 4:1. More commonly, English translations render 4:1 in essentially the same way as the other Deuteronomy texts with למד-D (*lmd-D*), עשה (*'śh*), and הקים ומשפטים (*ḥuqqîm wēmišpā'îm*): Moses is teaching the statutes and judgements *so that* the people will do them (see, e.g., RSV, NIV, ESV, NLT). Some translations agree with Finsterbusch: Moses is teaching the people *to do* the statutes and judgements (see, e.g., NRSV, TNK; cf. also von Rad [1970] and Weinfeld [1991]). Still others do not make a decision, though their translations are somewhat unclear on account of this (see, e.g., JPS, KJV).

⁷¹ Psalm 27:11 is a request for cognitive knowledge of the way to go: הורני יהוה דרכך (*hōrēnī YHWH darkekā*). See 3.3.1.1.

YHWH to *train* his will in such a way that he will be inclined to do his will. The only conceivable way that the will can be trained is through practice; discipline (i.e., a trained will) is acquired through habitually engaging in a particular practice. How did the psalmist think YHWH would accomplish such a thing?

The way that YHWH might affect his volition is found in the second line of the verse: רוחך טובה תנחני בארץ מישור (*rûḥākā tōbâ tanḥēnî bēʿereṣ mîšôr*) “May your good spirit lead me on level ground.” I suggest that the psalmist is asking YHWH to “teach him to do his will” by making the path level when he does do it. In other words, if YHWH will reinforce the psalmist’s decisions to do his will by leading him on level ground when he does, the psalmist will be more inclined to do YHWH’s will in the future. His will can be shaped as he repeatedly chooses to do YHWH’s will, and he will be motivated to choose YHWH’s will as he experiences the benefits of it. In this way, YHWH is teaching him: he is creating the conditions whereby the psalmist can acquire the habit of doing his will because as he engages in doing YHWH’s will, he sees the results of it (i.e., level ground).

A second difficult passage is found in Ps 71:17, in the middle of a prayer for deliverance. The psalmist entreats YHWH to rescue him (vv.1–4), and says that he has hope that YHWH will indeed rescue him because he has been the psalmist’s confidence from his youth: כִּי־אַתָּה תִּקְוַתִּי אֲדֹנָי יְהוִה מִבְּטְחִי מִנְעוּרַי (*kî-ʾattâ tiqwātî ʾădōnāy YHWH mibṭaḥî minnēʿūrāy*) “For you are my hope, Adonai YHWH – my hope from my youth” (v.5). YHWH’s sustenance of him from birth has been cause for the psalmist’s continual praise (v.6). In vv. 7–16, the psalmist alternates between praise for YHWH’s mighty deeds of salvation on his behalf and the threat of danger in the present. At this point in the psalm, the psalmist says God has taught him from youth, and he still declares God’s wondrous deeds: אֱלֹהִים לְמַדְתַּנִּי מִנְעוּרַי וְעַד־הַנְּנֵה אֲגִיד נִפְלְאוֹתֶיךָ (*ʾēlōhîm limmadtanî minnēʿūrāy wəʿad-hēnnâ ʾaggîd niplēʾôtēkā*) (71:17). What does the psalmist mean that God has taught him, and what does this “instruction” have to do with him declaring God’s deeds? I contend that the psalmist frames God’s mighty deeds of salvation on his behalf as God’s instruction to him.⁷² The first half of

⁷² Goldingay agrees that YHWH is teaching the psalmist his wonders, but he thinks these wonders are only deeds he has performed in Israel’s history: “The Tg implies that Yhwh ‘teaches’ by giving experiences of ‘wonders,’ but it is doubtful whether ‘teach’ (*lāmad* piel) can have that meaning. Rather the wonders are the great acts that Yhwh has done in Israel’s history, of which the suppliant has always been learning, and thus learning to live by, and also always proclaiming” (Goldingay 2007: 374). I am unsure what exactly the Targum (or Goldingay) means when it says YHWH “teaches” by giving experiences of wonders; *what* is YHWH teaching? However, based on my work with the verbal lexeme למד (*lmd*), I am comfortable saying that here the

the psalm makes it clear that the psalmist has repeatedly experienced God's wondrous works on his behalf, and through the experiences has learned that he can indeed hope in God.⁷³ In v. 17, then, the psalmist credits his learning to God; that is, God has instructed him by repeatedly putting him in a state whereby he could acquire the habit, if you will, of trusting God to deliver him.

Psalm 132:12 is also somewhat difficult. A Song of Ascent, Psalm 132 is a royal psalm that includes a "teach" reference in its mention of an oath YHWH swore to David (vv. 10–12): אַם־יִשְׁמְרוּ בְנֵיךָ בְרִיתִי וְעַדְתִּי זֹ אֶלְמַדֵּם גַּם־בְּנֵיהֶם עַד־יֶעֱד יִשְׁבוּ לְכִסֵּא־לְךָ (*ʾim-yišmērû bānēkā bēritī wēʿēdōtī zū ʾālammedēm gam-bēnēhem ʿādē-ʿad yēšēbū lēkissē²-lāk*), "If your sons will keep my covenant and my stipulations which I will teach them, their sons also will sit upon your throne forever" (v. 12).⁷⁴ What does it mean for YHWH to teach the Davidic descendants these things⁷⁵ and why is he the one instructing instead of parents? What is more, teaching statutes, commandments, and the like may be common in the Deuteronomic tradition, but no one in the MT "teaches" a/the covenant or stipulations.⁷⁶ While the relationship between Psalm 132 and the monarchical narrative of Samuel and Kings is much debated and exceeds the limits of my study, brief consideration of YHWH's words to David in 2 Samuel 7 may help clarify what is meant in Ps 132:12. Immediately following YHWH's promise that he would establish the throne of David's successor forever, YHWH says he will be a father to the king such that when the king commits iniquity, he will forcibly correct him:

psalmist credits God with teaching him to trust in his deliverance, and God accomplishes this by repeatedly putting the psalmist in situations where he experiences it.

⁷³ A verb for "learn" is not present; I am inferring that the psalmist has come to know something, to learn it, from his experiences.

⁷⁴ The MT's pointing of עֲדוֹתַי (*ʿēdōtī*) is unusual. The singular suffix suggests עֲדוּתַי (*ʿēdūtī*) 'my testimony', but the *holem* suggests plural עֲדוֹתַי (*ʿēdōtay*) 'my stipulations'. Elsewhere ברית (*bērit*) 'covenant' occurs with the plural in Ps 25:10 וְעֲדוֹתַי וְבְרִיתוֹ (*bēritō wēʿēdōtāyw*) (Cf. also 2 Kgs 23:3 // 2 Chr 34:31). See Reynolds for further discussion of עֲדָה (*ʿdh*) and עֲדוּת (*ʿdwt*) (2010: 111–12). Whether the form is understood as singular or plural does not affect my understanding of לִמַּד-D (*lmd-D*) above.

⁷⁵ The referent for YHWH's covenant and stipulations in Psalm 132 is much debated – namely, whether it is the Mosaic covenant or the Davidic covenant. See L. Allen for a bibliography and summary of the debate (1983: 207–9).

⁷⁶ "Teach" expressed with לִמַּד (*lmd*), יָרָה (*yrah*), or יָסַר (*yssr*) (i.e., the words in my study). YHWH does cause YHWH-fearers to know (עֲדָה-H, *ʿdh*-H) his covenant in Ps 25:14 (see 5.3.1.2.2 for discussion of what the phrase means there). A possible exception is Ps 78:5, in which fathers are told to teach (יָרָה-H, *yrah*-H) their sons YHWH's testimony (עֲדוּת, *ʿdwt*) and torah to their children; but see note 74 on עֲדוּת (*ʿdwt*).

אני אהיה־לו לאב והוא יהיה־לי לבן אשר בהעותו והכחתיו בשבט אנשים ובנגעי בני אדם (*ʾānī ʿehyeh-lō lēʾāb wəhūʾ yihyeh-lī lēbēn ʾāšer bēha ʿawōtō wəhōkahtīw bēšebet ʾānāšīm ūbēnigʿē bēnē ʾādām*; “As for me, I will be to him a father and he will be to me a son, who when he commits iniquity, I will reprove him with the rod of men and with the blows of the sons of men” 2 Sam 7:14). It is plausible that Ps 132:12 adopts the tradition of 2 Sam 7:14 and expresses YHWH’s correctional activity with לִמַּד-D (*lmd-D*); he teaches the Davidic descendants by making life miserable when they sin, so as to correct their behaviour. If this is the case, Ps 132:12 would represent an occurrence in the MT where the teaching of לִמַּד-D (*lmd-D*) expresses (albeit indirectly) the harshness scholars associate with the lexeme (e.g., Cohen-Zemach 2010; Weinfeld 1991; Carasik 2006).⁷⁷

A final difficult usage of לִמַּד-D (*lmd-D*) occurs in Jer 32:33, where YHWH tells Jeremiah that he is going to hand Israel over to the Babylonians on account of their offences against him. He is going to destroy the city that had provoked his wrath for generations, and he is going to send into exile the people who had turned their backs to YHWH, refusing to listen to receive *mûsār* when they were repeatedly taught⁷⁸ (לִמַּד-D, *lmd-D*): וְלִמַּד אֶת־הַשֹּׁכֵם (*Wəʾlammēd ʾōtām hašḵēm wəʾlammēd wəʿēnām šōmēʾīm lāqaḥat mûsār*; “and though [I/they] taught them, repeatedly teaching, yet none of them listened to take correction”). It is both unclear from the immediate context what the instruction was and who the instructor was, though most translations assume YHWH.⁷⁹ *Mûsār* is used elsewhere in Jeremiah to refer to YHWH’s harsh but ultimately futile actions to bring Israel to repentance: in 2:30, 5:3, and 30:14, YHWH strikes (הִנְכָה-H, *nkh-H*) them. The people’s refusal to take *mûsār* (לִקַּח מוֹסֵר, *lāqaḥ mûsār*) occurs in 7:28 and 17:23 (cf. also 35:13). The larger context of the book, then, suggests that *mûsār* here means punitive measures meant to

⁷⁷ This kind of harsh instruction is more commonly associated with יָסַר-D (*ysr-D*). See ch. 6.

⁷⁸ The Hiphil IA of שָׁכַם (*škm*) followed by the IA of the governing verb means earnestly or persistently (GKC §341k). It is common in Jeremiah; see with דָּבַר (*dbr*) in 7:13, 25:3, 35:14; שָׁלַח (*šlh*) in 7:25, 25:4–5, 29:19, 35:15, 44:4; עוֹד (*ʿwd*) in 11:7. The response to all of these is that Israel did not שמע (*šmʿ*) ‘listen’, though Jer 32:33 has a variation in that Israel did not listen to take *mûsār* לִקַּח מוֹסֵר (*lāqaḥat mûsār*).

⁷⁹ Every other occurrence of the הִשְׁכַּם (*hašḵēm*) idiom in Jeremiah has an explicit subject, almost always YHWH. YHWH spoke, warned, and sent the prophets repeatedly; once Jeremiah is said to have spoken persistently (25:3). The absence of an explicit subject with לִמַּד (*lmd*) in Jer 32:33 is meaningful, though I do not have the space to develop it here. לִמַּד (*lmd*) occurs with an explicit reference to YHWH as the teacher only once in the BH corpus outside Psalms (Isa 48:17). לִמַּד-D (*lmd-D*) is likewise never used of the prophets, with the significant exception of Moses.

motivate the people to change their behaviour. While לַמַּד (*lmd*) and *mûsār* would seem to be a likely pairing of words in educational contexts – that is, corrective action for the purpose of teaching – in fact, the two words occur nowhere else together in the MT. In what sense is teaching or training of the sort associated with לַמַּד-D (*lmd-D*) taking place here?

I think there are two possibilities. First, if *mûsār* here indeed means punitive action as it does elsewhere in Jeremiah, then the verse could be understood to mean that the people experienced punishment repeatedly, and these experiences constituted attempts to reshape their behaviour – that is, they created situations in which the people could acquire a particular behaviour. In this case, however, they would be *un-acquiring* particular behaviours so that they could presumably acquire acceptable behaviour. While this interpretation requires too much of the meaning potential of לַמַּד-D (*lmd-D*) described in this section, it is not impossible, since Jeremiah uses לַמַּד (*lmd*) for his own particular purposes (see 4.3.3.4 below).

Second, and more plausible, is that *mûsār* here represents verbal correction of YHWH as mediated through the prophets. Jeremiah and YHWH repeatedly rebuke the people for their rejection of the prophets YHWH sent again and again (see note 79), and in these rebukes the author of Jeremiah frequently incorporates the הַשְׁכֵּם (*haškēm*) idiom that also appears in 32:33. This is suggestive that indeed, the rejected *mûsār* came by way of the rejected prophets.⁸⁰ Such an interpretation would activate the meaning potential of לַמַּד-D (*lmd-D*) discussed under definition 2 below (4.3.2.1.2).

4.3.2.1.2. לַמַּד-D (*lmd-D*) Definition 2: *To put another in a state whereby s/he can acquire and master cognitive knowledge so that it can be enacted*

A succinct way of expressing this kind of teaching in English is with the verbs *instil* or *ingrain*. The goal of transmitting knowledge is that another’s behaviour will be affected; that is, the teacher is trying to bring about an affective or dispositional outcome. In the preceding usages of לַמַּד-D (*lmd-D*), the mode of instruction is fairly clear: cause another to learn by causing them to do. The *doing* is the *learning*. Here, however, the manner of instruction is less clear, though our own human experience indicates that mastery of cognitive material

⁸⁰ For this interpretation, see, e.g., Finsterbusch: “Das Lehren JHWHs ist im übertragenen Sinn zu verstehen. Gemeint ist sicherlich, dass JHWH *durch seine Propheten* sein Volk über Generationen hinweg lehrte. Dieses Verständnis wird durch die Formulierung in V.33ba mit dem betonten «immer wieder» (לַמַּד pi. + הַשְׁכֵּם hif. + לַמַּד pi.) nahegelegt” (Finsterbusch 2005: 77).

normally requires a degree of repetition or rote memorization (just as physical or behavioural training requires repetition).

4.3.2.1.2.1. למד-D (*lmd*-D) Definition 2a: *YHWH's words, statutes, judgements, and commandments*

As noted previously, the root למד (*lmd*) (both in G and D) frequently occurs in the context of teaching and learning YHWH's words, statutes, commandments, and judgements (דברים [dēbārīm], חקים [ḥuqqīm], משפטים [mišpāṭīm], and מצוות [mišwōt]). The greatest concentrations of these are in Deuteronomy (4:1, 5, 10, 14; 5:31; 6:1; 11:19; 31:19, 22) and Psalm 119 (vv. 12, 26, 64, 66, 68, 108, 124, 135, 171).⁸¹

With respect to the process of educating, Deuteronomy's usage of למד (*lmd*) is interesting. While the majority of occurrences of למד-D (*lmd*-D) in Deuteronomy pertains to Moses' teaching of YHWH's words (מצוות [mišwōt], חקים [ḥuqqīm], משפטים [mišpāṭīm]) and he clearly intends that the people master knowledge of his teaching so that they can act on it, it is difficult to see how Moses' actions qualify as the kind of teaching that would facilitate mastery. He is portrayed in Deuteronomy as giving one-time speeches to the people, hardly a teaching method that would enable the people to learn the commands as he said they should.⁸² K. Finsterbush raises the same question in her book *Weisung für Israel: Studien zu religiösem Lehren und Lernen im Deuteronomium und in seinem Umfeld*. Why is this communicative activity cast as teaching? When Exodus similarly describes Moses' transmission of YHWH's words from Sinai, Moses "recounts" (ספר-D [*spr*-D], Exod 24:3), "commands" (צוה-D [*šwh*-D], Exod 34:32), "speaks" (דבר-D [*dbr*-D], Exod 34:34), and "says" (אמר [*mr*], Exod 35:4). Rather than expanding the concept of "teach" to include all these lexemes, we must ask why Deuteronomy uses למד-D (*lmd*-D) instead. Finsterbusch suggests two reasons: (1) Moses' instruction at Moab represents the birth of Israel as a religious teaching and learning community, and Moses is cast as Israel's master teacher; (2) although identified as a prophet, Moses differs from other prophets, whose activity is never described with למד (*lmd*-D). In Deuteronomy, Moses does not just "pass along" God's words,

⁸¹ See also Isa 48:17; Jer 31:34; Pss 34:12; 94:12; Ezra 7:10; 2 Chr 17:7, 9; Sir 45:5, 17. I discuss Ps 94:10, 12 in 6.4.3 with יסר-D (*yśr*-D).

⁸² Though, one could perhaps make the case that Deuteronomy's repetitive (and even rambling) portrayal of Moses' "instruction" is meant to be an iconic portrayal of a sustained instructional process.

but he “teaches” Israel *why* to do, *how* to do, and he motivates them *to do* (Finsterbusch 2005: 307–8).⁸³

One of the clear emphases of Deuteronomy is the establishment of an “educational plan” for the people of Israel – the mandate and means for them to learn and pass on YHWH’s instructions. By using למד-D (*lmd-D*) as description for Moses’ activity, the narrator portrays Moses as the first teacher of Israel, teaching what YHWH himself commanded; all Israel is to continue what Moses has begun, namely, teaching their children what YHWH himself commanded through Moses. Carasik calls this the “self-perpetuating transmission of דעת – knowledge from and about God” (2006: 67). One listens, learns, and teaches another generation (2006: 187).⁸⁴

In Psalm 119 the psalmist asks YHWH repeatedly to teach him (למד-D [*lmd-D*]; vv. 12, 26, 64, 66, 68, 108, 124, 135, 171) his statutes.⁸⁵ A detailed study of Psalm 119’s employment of “teach” terminology in conjunction with its overall rhetorical purposes goes beyond the scope of my study.⁸⁶ However, the following relevant comments can be made. As noted earlier with respect to למד-G (*lmd-G*), learning YHWH’s statutes and observing them are mutually dependent activities in Psalm 119: “That is, a servant of God will, of course, observe God’s instruction, and such observance is only possible when one knows the instruction well. True study of Torah entails observance of Torah; true Torah observance

⁸³ “Insbesondere durch den ersten Teil der Lehre (Dtn 6–11), in dem eindringlich dargelegt wird, wie und aus welchen Gründen die Gebote unbedingt zu befolgen sind, wird ein wesentlicher Beitrag geleistet, Israel zum Tun der Gebote zu motivieren” (Finsterbusch 2005: 308).

⁸⁴ Sira also refers to the instruction of Moses in Deut (45:5), and he includes Aaron as one who taught YHWH’s precepts to Israel (45:17).

⁸⁵ למד-D (*lmd-D*) is the most commonly used “teach” word in Psalm 119, and חקים (*ḥuqqîm*) is the Patient it most frequently selects (7/9). Verse 66 has “good discernment and knowledge,” while v. 108 has “judgements” (משפטים, *mišpāṭîm*). All of the למד-D (*lmd-D*) occurrences in Psalm 119 are in ditransitive clauses in which YHWH is the Agent (more specifically, he is the *requested* Agent; the psalmist entreats YHWH to teach him eight times), the psalmist is the Recipient, and YHWH’s statutes, etc., are the Patient.

⁸⁶ See Reynolds (2010) for the purposes of Psalm 119 and the methods used to accomplish them.

entails Torah study” (Reynolds 2010: 67).⁸⁷ Learning YHWH’s statutes is an activity that is reinforced by doing them.⁸⁸

In light of this, what does it mean for someone to *teach* them? More specifically, what does it mean for YHWH to teach them to the individual of Psalm 119? The psalmist is cognitively well acquainted with YHWH’s statutes; furthermore, he demonstrates great fervour to do them. In my estimation, there appear to be at least two ways to make sense of the psalmist’s repeated requests that YHWH teach him. First, he could be asking that YHWH shape his will, similar to Ps 143:10 above.⁸⁹ Second, he could be requesting additional understanding of and insight into YHWH’s statutes. Although he does not explicitly say what it means for YHWH to teach (למד-D, *lmd-D*) in Psalm 119, Reynolds seems to think this is what the psalmist wants from YHWH:

Petitions for understanding imply that the study of God’s word is not a simple process and that Torah study is something more than exegesis. The speaker declares that he meditates on God’s word, has regard for it, thinks about it in the night, and so on. All of these activities are spiritual exercises or disciplines, not academic ones. And when the spiritual exercise is performed, the speaker depends on God to add insight and instruction as a supernatural gift (Reynolds 2010: 88).

Finsterbusch suggests something somewhat similar, asserting that the psalmist is echoing the usage of למד-D (*lmd-D*) in Deuteronomy where Moses “teaches” by explaining how and why the people have to do this or that; the psalmist wants YHWH to make clear how and why he

⁸⁷ תורה (*tôrâ*) in Psalm 119 is “a composite of ideas about God’s word that can be found in various passages throughout the Hebrew Bible, passages that portray YHWH as a God who communicates with humanity. . . . Although it is on the way, Torah in Ps 119 is not yet the Torah of Rabbinic Judaism” (Reynolds 2010: 146).

⁸⁸ A related usage of למד (*lmd*) with respect to YHWH’s commandments is the Dp ptc functioning adjectivally in Isa 29:13, מצות אנשים מלמדה (*mišwat ʾānāšim mēlumādā*). Blenkinsopp translates “a human commandment learnt by rote” (cf. NASB, JPS, RSV) (Blenkinsopp 2000: 403). His commentary suggests that the problem with this commandment was that it was part of the state religion, “driven by convention and routine, and not of a kind that might actually make a difference in the world of social and political realities” (405–6). However, the negative nature of the commandment seems to be that it is a *human* commandment rather than YHWH’s; the method of learning is not in view.

⁸⁹ If this is the case, the instantiations of למד-D (*lmd-D*) in Psalm 119 would be activating definition 1b above: *To put another in a state whereby s/he can acquire a habit by engaging in a particular behaviour.*

needs to do what the instructions detail.⁹⁰ While there is a connection between the usages of למד (*lmd*) in Deuteronomy and Psalm 119, it is unclear to me what Finsterbusch thinks YHWH would have made known to the psalmist that he did not already know.

The connection between teaching, Torah, and doing also appears in Ezra 7:10, Ezra sets his mind to study the Torah of YHWH and to do it (לדרוש את־תורת יהוה ולעשת) *lidrōš ʾet-tōrat YHWH wēla ʿāsôt*). Then he taught the people (וללמד בישראל חק ומשפט) *ûlʾlammēd bēyisrāʾēl ḥōq wēmišpāt*). In 2 Chr 17:7, 9, the officials commissioned by Jehoshaphat to teach (למד-D, *lmd-D*) the “Book of the Instruction of YHWH” travel throughout the cities of Judah to teach among the people; obviously the intent was that the people learn the instructions so they could do them.

The commandments are the content taught in Ps 34:12 and Isa 48:17 as well. In Psalm 34, the psalmist invites the children (בנים, *bānīm*) to listen so he can teach them the fear of YHWH; what follows is a summary of what it means to do good and avoid evil. In Isaiah 48, YHWH declares himself to be Israel’s redeemer, the Holy One of Israel, “who teaches you to profit, who leads you in the way you should go” (אני יהוה אלהיך מלמדך להועיל מדריךך בדרך תלך) *ʾānī YHWH ʾēlōhēkā mēlammedkā lēhōʿīl madrikākā bēderek tēlēk*). That teaching for their profit would have included YHWH’s commandments (מצות, *mišwōt*) is evident from the hypothetical situation in v. 18: “If only you had paid attention to my commandments, then your wellbeing would have been like a river and your righteousness like the waves of the sea.” The commandments are profitable for Israel because keeping them results in peace, justice, and descendents (v. 19). Obviously, Israel did not keep the commandments and suffered the “unprofitableness” of disobedience.

What is meant by the statement in Isaiah 48 that YHWH teaches Israel? With the exception of Psalms, YHWH is elsewhere never the unambiguous Agent of teaching expressed by למד-D (*lmd-D*).⁹¹ Teaching the commandments was Moses’ task in the past, and

⁹⁰ “Es drängt sich geradezu der Gedanke an die feste Fügung למד + משפטים/חקים im Buch Deuteronomium als »Quelle« auf: Der dtn Mose erhält von JHWH am Horeb den Auftrag, die Satzungen und Rechtsvorschriften zu lehren (Dtn 4,5.14; 5,31; 6,1); Israel muss die Satzungen und Rechtsvorschriften lernen (Dtn 5,1). Mose erfüllt seinen Auftrag in Dtn 6–26: Er lehrt Israel die Satzungen und Rechtsvorschriften, indem er dem Volk erklärt, wie und warum sie diese tun müssen und indem er den Text dieser Gebote promulgiert. M.E. ist es mehr als wahrscheinlich, dass sich der Verfasser von Psalm 119 hinsichtlich seiner Aussagen über Lehren und Lernen am deuteronomischen Sprachgebrauch orientiert hat” (Finsterbusch 2007: 160).

⁹¹ See above (4.3.2.1.1.1; 4.3.2.1.1.2) on the ambiguity in Judg 3:2 and Jer 32:33. 2 Sam 22:35 is categorized as a psalm since it is parallel to Ps 18:35.

after Moses it was a task assigned to Israelite parents. Yet in the Isaianic context of Israel's restoration, YHWH proclaims himself to be the redeemer who teaches and directs Israel. The element of comfort in these words for an exiled people is evident – YHWH redeems, but he also continues to instruct and lead the people. While it is unclear *how* YHWH would do this, the rhetorical import is clear: In the first Exodus, Moses was the teacher of the people (למד-D, *lmd-D*) while YHWH's pillar led them in the way they were to go (בדרך אשר תלכו־בה) [*badderek ʾāšer tēlĕkū bāh*]; Deut 1:33); in the second Exodus, the people will also have a teacher (YHWH, למד-D, *lmd-D*) and one who leads in the way they should go (מדריךך בדרך) תלך, *madrīkākā bēderek tēlĕk*).

A final text in which YHWH's commandments appear to be part of the content taught is Jer 31:34. In chapter 31 YHWH introduces the new covenant with language that reflects Deuteronomy (Holladay 2004).⁹² Of particular interest here is the statement that follows YHWH's proclamation that he, on account of Israel's repeated failure to keep the original covenant (i.e., to obey Torah), will put (נתן, *ntn*) his Torah in the people and write it on their heart – he would be their God and they his people: “No longer will a man teach his friend or a man his brother, saying, ‘Know YHWH,’ because they will all know me” (ולא ילמדו עוד איש . . . את־רעהו ואיש את־אחיו לאמר דעו את־יהוה כי כולם ידעו אותי . . . [wĕlōʿ yĕlammĕdū, ʿōd ʾiš ʾet-rĕʿehū wĕʾš ʾet-āḥīw lēʾmōr dĕʿū ʾet-YHWH kī-kūllām yēdĕʿū ʾōtī]; Jer 31:34). Without doing a full analysis of ידע (*yd^c*), I can at least infer that “knowing YHWH” in the context here relates to obeying Torah – an important goal of Deuteronomy's educational plan. No longer will one need to teach another the Torah (with the Deuteronomic intent that it be ingrained on hearts and passed on in similar fashion to subsequent generations) because YHWH himself will write Torah on their hearts. Given Jeremiah's dim view of Israel's response to YHWH's instructions, one wonders if the author meant the statement here with a bit of tongue in cheek: “Not that you ever *did* teach each other Torah obedience, but now, gratefully, you will not need to. YHWH will circumvent your utter failure to instil his Torah in yourselves; he himself will ingrain it in you.” The people would no longer need to motivate one other to learn and obey Torah – if, indeed, they ever had in the first place.

⁹² Holladay's analysis also includes the ways in which the language of Jer 31:31–34 relates to earlier passages in Jeremiah (5:4–5; 9:3–5; 9:19), but the details of these relationships do not affect my argument here.

4.3.2.1.2.2. למד-D (*lmd*-D) Definition 2b: *Other teachings, wisdom*

The occurrences of למד-D (*lmd*-D) discussed here involve teaching cognitive content, as above, but the material is not directly associated with YHWH's instructions. Another distinction of these texts is that, for the most part, they do not show the same close association to changed behaviour as those in the preceding discussion, though the nuance could still be present in the meaning. This is particularly true of later texts where למד-D (*lmd*-D) appears to refer to the transmission of knowledge itself.⁹³ The texts here involve teaching language and literature, wisdom, and experience with YHWH's forgiveness (Isa 40:14; Ps 51:15; Job 21:22; Qoh 12:9; Dan 1:4; Sir 4:11).⁹⁴

In Dan 1:4, למד-D (*lmd*-D) refers to the transmission of a corpus of cultural learning. Nebuchadnezzar ordered that the Judean exiles in training for court service be taught the language and literature of Babylon (ספר ולשון כשדים, *sēper ûlēšōn kaśdīm*). This was nothing less than full enculturation into the Babylonian system by way of a Babylonian education. The education formed the mind, and thus ultimately the behaviour, of the youths.⁹⁵

In Isa 40:14, the prophets asks rhetorically who taught God the path of justice or who taught him knowledge (וילמדהו בארה משפט וילמדהו דעת, *wayēlammēdēhû bē'ōrah mišpāt wayēlammēdēhû da'at*). Obviously, the answer to the rhetorical question is “No one.” This kind of usage is similarly evident in Job 21:22: “Can one teach God knowledge . . .” (הלאל ילמד-דעת, *hal'el yēlammed-da'at*).⁹⁶ The point of both passages is the absurdity of thinking a person could teach God something he does not already know. In Qoh 12:9, the Teacher taught the people knowledge (למד-דעת את-העם, *lammad-da'at 'et-hā'ām*), and in Sir 4:11, “Wisdom teaches her sons and admonishes those who understand her” (חכמות למדה בניה ותעיד [חכמת לימד-דעת בניה ותעיד]). Since wisdom is integrally connected to behaviour, it is possible that the texts in Qohelet and Sira reflect the nuance of learning that affects ongoing behaviour. It is also possible, however, that these later

⁹³ Compare also the G-stem in Prov 30:3.

⁹⁴ Psalm 94:10 falls under this definition, but I do not discuss it in this chapter. See instead 6.4.3, where I address both למד (*lmd*) and יסר (*yśr*) in this psalm.

⁹⁵ For an excellent study of the “education-enculturation” processes in the ANE, see David M. Carr's *Writing on the Tablet of the Heart: Origins of Scripture and Literature* (2005).

⁹⁶ See Hartley (1988: 17–20) for a summary of the discussion on the difficulty of dating Job.

writings provide evidence for a semantic shift in which a more theoretical knowledge is taught.⁹⁷

An anomalous usage of למד-D (*lmd-D*) occurs in Ps 51:15. The psalmist says that he will teach transgressors YHWH's ways, and they will turn to him: אלמדה פשעים דרכיך וחטאים אליך (יְשׁוּבוּ) (*ʾālammedā pōšēʿim dērākēkā wəḥaṭṭāʾim ʾēlēkā yāšūbū*). The first of three petitions referring to the psalmist's speech about YHWH,⁹⁸ v. 15 raises the question of what exactly the psalmist intends to teach. "YHWH's ways" has two senses in BH: (1) his behaviour or action and (2) his moral requirements. The best understanding contextually is that the psalmist will teach others about his experience with YHWH's mercy – not YHWH's moral requirements. Goldingay summarizes the context well:

"God's ways" can be the ways God expects of people, but it would be rather presumptuous to speak of teaching these until they are better embodied in the suppliant's own life. Rather, the suppliant hopes soon to get some very real experience of the generous ways God acts toward people such as rebellious failures (cf. 103:7; 145:17) and thus to be in a position to "teach" about these in the way one does in a testimony (cf. 34:11 [12]). . . . That will then have the intended effect of such a testimony, that its hearers respond by taking the same stance in relation to God that the suppliant has taken (2007: 135–36).

We have seen that למד (*lmd*) in the Qal and Piel is used often for learning or teaching behaviour (דֶּרֶךְ, *derek*, 'way'), but it always involves a learner adopting another's behaviour. Obviously, this is not relevant to Ps 51:15, where the psalmist means to declare the merciful deeds of YHWH on his behalf – not compel his listeners to adopt YHWH's behaviour. Nowhere else in the MT or Sira is למד (*lmd*) used in this way. Rather than creating a new category of definition for this unique occurrence, the use of למד-D (*lmd-D*) in Ps 51:15 is better described as that it involves an intermingling of definitions: the psalmist has acquired

⁹⁷ Jastrow (1996: 712) includes an entry for a verb למד (*lmd*) (and a substantive למדה [*lmdh*], למידה [*lmydh*]; see discussion of BH substantive לִמּוּד [*limmūd*] below). The glosses for the verbal forms carry much the same sense as what is extant in BH and Sira, though also explicit is the sense of learning by experience, e.g., "because they (the Jews) have experience in afflictions" (Dp ptc in *Taʿanit 25a* and *Sukkah 29a*; see Jastrow 712). Unique to rabbinic usage is the gloss, "to lead, hint, throw a light on"; this suggests a focus on just the understanding and comprehension phase, not necessarily mastery.

On the possible semantic shift, Diedrich says, "Erst am Ende der alttestamentlichen Zeit verschiebt sich gelegentlich der Akzent auf ein mehr theoretisches Lernen bzw. Wissen hin: Kohelet «lehrt das Volk Wissen / Erkenntnis»" (1990: 61).

⁹⁸ "I will teach . . ." (v. 15); "my tongue will sing . . ." (v. 16); "my mouth will declare . . ." (v. 17).

experience with the merciful restoration of YHWH and desires to create an environment in which others can master the cognitive knowledge and see it enacted in their own lives.⁹⁹

4.3.2.2. Prototype Meaning of למד-D (*lmd-D*)

The prototypical definition of למד-D (*lmd-D*) is the definition that describes the most relevant attributes of the word's meaning. By consideration of the frequency and distribution of meanings, I determined the prototypical meaning to be the first definition described above in למד-D's (*lmd-D*) meaning potential: *to intentionally put another person in a state in which s/he can acquire a skill or expertise through experience and practice.*

As with למד-G (*lmd-G*), although the lexeme occurs most frequently in Deuteronomy and Psalm 119, the narrowness with which those texts use the word suggests that authors are employing a more broadly used word in a unique situation (i.e., teaching YHWH's instructions). It is in the wider distribution of the word that the prototypical meaning is evident. In the BH corpus and Sira, למד-D (*lmd-D*) appears in a variety of contexts and selects a number of different objects (war, music, wisdom, nations' behaviour, individual behaviour). As I suggested with למד-G (*lmd-G*), the prototypical meaning of למד-D (*lmd-D*) contributes to the significance of its usage in Deuteronomy and Psalm 119. I will further develop this assertion below.

4.3.2.3. Summary of Conceptual Data for למד-D (*lmd-D*)

The conceptual data of למד-D (*lmd-D*) include its meaning potential as well as its prototypical definition. The meaning potential of the D-stem consists of two broad definitions, with the primary distinction between them being the relationship between cognitive knowledge and knowledge born of experience.

Prototypically, למד-D (*lmd-D*) involves teaching that takes place as one person causes another person to participate in (i.e., to experience) a particular activity, while the less prototypical instantiations involve the transmission of cognitive knowledge that should, properly learned and applied, affect the learner's actions. In these less prototypical occurrences, teaching occurs so that doing will follow.

⁹⁹ Admittedly, this is messy. In fact, if I were given the text without the verb and asked to predict which verb would occur based on my study, I would say ערר-H (*yd^c-H*) (see next chapter). The usage of למד-D (*lmd-D*) in Ps 51:15 is best explained as a marginal usage – i.e., an occurrence that varies significantly from the prototype definition.

4.3.3. Putting It All Together: Linguistic Data and Conceptual Data for לַמַּד (lmd-D)

In order to determine meaning in a particular context, it is essential to account for the linguistic data and the conceptual data of a word. Only then can we see how a given instantiation of a word activates a particular part of a word's meaning potential.

I will not detail how the convergence of linguistic and conceptual data in every occurrence of לַמַּד (lmd-D) creates meaning; rather, I have selected several texts of particular interest to discuss below.

4.3.3.1. Ezra 7:10

Ezra 7:10 is particularly interesting when the conceptual data and linguistic data are considered together. This text is the only place in the Hebrew Bible outside of Deuteronomy where לַמַּד (lmd-D) occurs with the combination of statutes and judgements (חֻקִּים וּמִשְׁפָּטִים, *ḥuqqîm wəmišpāṭîm*) and a form of עָשָׂה ('*śh*) 'to do'. Ezra is said to study (דָּרַשׁ, *drš*) the statutes and judgements and then do them (עָשָׂה, '*śh*) and teach them (לַמַּד, lmd-D).

The combination of these terms so unique to Deuteronomy and the role of Moses in Israel must be intentional in Ezra, yet the variation in their order is suggestive of an important distinction. Moses teaches the statutes and judgements so the people can do them. Ezra studies the statutes and judgements so he can do them and then teach them. While Ezra is cast in a role that reflects Moses' earlier role in Israel, he is first portrayed as the ideal Deuteronomic learner – namely, one who knows and *does* the statutes and judgements. Before he is a teacher, he is the student Moses exhorted the Israelites to be. Ezra may be something of a “second Moses” in historical terms, but the structure of the text in Ezra 7:10 also makes him “second to Moses.”

4.3.3.2. Why the Piel?

With respect to the use of the Piel, I asked earlier why some situations are presented as instructional (לַמַּד, lmd-D) when learners are merely absorbing the behaviour of another person/group, and there is no apparent intent of another to instruct. Stated another way, why is the Piel used instead of the Qal? By selecting the Piel and thus explicitly identifying an instructor, the authors can introduce a culpable instructor. A comparison of the two sentences *Sam learned math* and *I taught Sam math* illustrates this. When the instructor is known, there is blame to be shared if Sam cannot do math. In examples closer to the BH texts, consider these two sentences: *The toddler learned to swear* and *The babysitter taught the toddler to swear*, when the babysitter only swore in the presence of the toddler but did not intentionally

teach her when or how to swear. In the second sentence, the babysitter is decidedly culpable for the toddler's behaviour.

The selection of the Piel למד (*lmd*) instead of the Qal can also, more positively, introduce an involved instructor. While culpability allows for shared blame, acknowledging an instructor allows for shared credit. This is particularly evident in the psalms where YHWH is instructor. The instinct of biblical writers to give credit to YHWH as the one who teaches them accords with their view that YHWH is the primary cause behind all of life's circumstances. By casting YHWH as the one teaching, the writers acknowledge YHWH's role in the learning process.

4.3.3.3. Deuteronomy, Psalm 119, and Prototypicality

As was the case with למד-G (*lmd-G*), the prototypical meaning of למד-D (*lmd-D*) also contributes to the significance of the lexeme's usage in Deuteronomy and Psalm 119. By using למד-D (*lmd-D*) to describe the transmission of YHWH's instructions – which are really just *spoken* in Deuteronomy – the authors of Deuteronomy incorporate into the educational process the idea of instilling through action that is so typical of למד (*lmd*): YHWH's instructions are taught *so* they can be done. Implicit in much of this kind of teaching is the need for repetition – both by the teacher and in the practice of the student.¹⁰⁰

When Psalm 119 draws on Deuteronomy's usage of למד (*lmd*) in connection with statutes and judgements, it presents the psalmist as ideal student of Deuteronomy – one who is taught the statutes, learns and loves them, and does them.

4.3.3.4. Deuteronomy, Jeremiah, and Ironic Commentary

Considering the linguistic data and conceptual data of למד-D (*lmd-D*) together sheds some light on the relationship between Jeremiah and Deuteronomy. Jeremiah, which has nearly as many instantiations of למד-D (*lmd-D*) as Deuteronomy, provides something of an ironic (or even sardonic) commentary on the educational plan of the earlier book. Whereas Deuteronomy uses למד-D (*lmd-D*) almost exclusively in reference to the plan for Israel's ongoing education, Jeremiah uses it as indication of the nation's *failure* to carry out this educational mandate. This is evident with respect to two educational elements of Deuteronomy.

First, Deuteronomy explicitly instructs fathers to teach their children the things that Moses is teaching them (4:10; 11:19; cf. other admonitions to parents, esp. Deut 6). Jeremiah

¹⁰⁰ Deuteronomy does make this kind of repetition explicit when it admonishes fathers to teach their children – on the road, in the house, etc. (see, e.g., 6:7–9).

provides a comment on this when he indicts the people for adhering to what their fathers *did* teach them, namely, to follow the stubbornness of their hearts and the Baals: ויאמר יהוה על-עזבם את-תורת־י אשר נתתי לפניהם ולא-שמעו בקולי ולא-הלכו בה וילכו אחרי שררות לבם ואחרי הבעלים (wayyō^ʿmer YHWH ʿal-ʿozbām ʿet-tôrātī ʾāšer nātātī lipnêhem wēlō^ʿ-šāmē ʿū bēqôlī wēlō^ʿ-hālēkū bāh wayyēlēkū ʾaḥārē šērîrūt libbām wēʾaḥārē habbēʿālîm ʾāšer limmēdûm ʾābôtām; 9:12–13), “And YHWH said, ‘Because they have abandoned my Torah which I gave them, and they have not listened to my voice, and they have not walked in it, but they have walked after the stubbornness of their hearts and after the Baals which their fathers taught them . . .’”

The second way in which Jeremiah incorporates למד-D (*lmd-D*) to reflect on Deuteronomy’s usage of the same lexeme relates to the sole occurrence of למד-D (*lmd-D*) in Deuteronomy that does not refer to teaching YHWH’s words or ways. In Deuteronomy 20:18 Moses warns the people that they must destroy the surrounding nations so that they do not *teach* Israel to do all their abominations (למען אשר לא-ילמדו אתכם לעשות ככל תועבותם, *lēmaʿan ʾāšer lō^ʿ-yēlammēdû ʿetkem laʿšôt kēkōl tô ʾābôtām*).¹⁰¹ In Jeremiah this very teaching that Moses warned about has come to pass: והיה אם-למד ילמדו את-דרכי עמי . . . כאשר למדו את-עמי . . . להשבע בבעל . . . (wēhāyā ʾim-lāmōd yilmēdû ʿet-darkē ʿammî . . . kaʾāšer limmēdû ʿet-ʿammî lēhiššābēa ʿabbāʿal . . . “and if you indeed learn the ways of my people . . . just as you taught my people to swear by Baal . . .”; 12:16). The Israelites had failed to teach their children as Moses instructed them, and they had allowed themselves to be taught by the nations, in spite of Moses’ warning.

But Jeremiah does not stop there. Not only did the people allow themselves to be taught corruption by the nations (Deut 20:18; Jer 12:16), they became their own teachers of wickedness (Jer 2:33; 9:4; 13:21). Israel “teaches” itself to speak lies (9:4; i.e., being so practiced at speaking lies that it is a habit) and it “teaches” wicked women its adulterous ways (2:33; i.e., Israel is so corrupt that it can set a bad example for even wicked women). Israel also “taught” nations to be its allies though such alliances would only lead to its ruin (13:21).

¹⁰¹ That Deuteronomy chooses to express this process with למד-D (*lmd-D*) is interesting, and at the very least, suggests a contrast to its almost exclusive usage of למד-D (*lmd-D*), namely, teaching the ways of YHWH. The point being made, perhaps, is that the Israelites will be taught by someone: Moses (for YHWH) or the nations.

By drawing on Deuteronomy's usage of למד-D (*lmd*-D) and adapting it for his purposes, Jeremiah is able to maximize Israel's culpability and rhetorically amplify Israel's dismal failure to carry out the task of learning and teaching given to them by Moses.

4.4. Substantives of the Root למד (*lmd*)

The root למד (*lmd*) also occurs in several substantive forms. Since the focus of the study here is verbal roots, I will make only brief mention of these forms.

Of the eight occurrences of למד-D (*lmd*-D) participles in BH and Sira, three function as *nomen agentis*: Ps 119:99; Prov 5:13; Sir 51:17.¹⁰² In each text, the form clearly refers to a person who is considered a teacher.

The lexeme למוד (*lmmûd*) occurs six times in the MT and once in Ben Sira. Used four times in Isaiah (8:16; 50:4 [2x]; 54:13), three of the references are to disciples or students of another human.¹⁰³ It also appears in Jeremiah 2:24¹⁰⁴ in reference to a wild donkey accustomed to the wilderness, and in 13:23, where people accustomed to doing evil are in view.¹⁰⁵ In all of these, the notion of sustained interaction that results in altered behaviour is evident. In Sir 51:28[B] the lexeme refers to an inanimate entity, Sira's teachings: רבים שמעו למודי (רבים שמעו למודי) *(rabbîm šāmē'û limmûday bina šrûti)* "Many listened to my teachings in my youth." Sira's usage is similar to that of rabbinic literature, where לימוד, למוד (*limmûd, lîmmûd*) (interchangeable with תלמוד, *talmûd*) refer to "a teaching, learning, study," particularly in

¹⁰² Participles that function verbally in clauses are included in clausal construction tables earlier in the chapter.

¹⁰³ Isa 54:13 refers to those taught of YHWH.

¹⁰⁴ For Jer 2:24 BHS suggests the reading פִּרְיָהּ לְמִדְבָּר (פִּרְיָהּ לְמִדְבָּר) *(pōrēšā lammidbār)* for MT's פִּרְיָהּ לְמִדְבָּר (*pereh limmud midbār*), conjecturing dittography of *mem - daleth* and continuing the metaphor of the she-camel (v. 23) instead of switching to the metaphor of a wild donkey. The LXX supports this (ἐπλάττειν ἐφ' ὕδατα ἐρήμου), though Symmachus reflects the MT. Syr likewise aligns with the MT: ܩܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܕܒܪܐ (ܩܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܕܒܪܐ) *(ykr qrd² dmtylp kmdb̄r)*. Elsewhere in the MT, למוד (*lmmûd*) is used only of humans, but the Dp of למד (*lmd*) is used of trained animals (see Jer 31:18; Hos 10:11). Thompson argues that the contrasting pictures of the she-camel and the wild ass contribute to the overall picture: "Young female camels are altogether unreliable, ungainly, and easily disturbed, so that they dash about in an apparently disorganized fashion. . . . a perfect illustration of the fickleness and unreliability of Israel. The female camel in heat is very mild and gives little evidence of the fact. By contrast the female *ass* in heat is almost violent. . . . [T]he males need not weary themselves chasing the she-ass, because she is bent on chasing them" (Thompson 1980: 178–79). I am reading with the MT.

¹⁰⁵ It seems likely that Jeremiah draws on the earlier sense of למוד (*lmmûd*) in this second passage: just as the donkey followed its natural bent for wildness, so the people followed their natural bent for doing evil. The context of Jer 13:23 supports this: the leopard's spots and the Ethiopian's skin colour are unchangeable, natural characteristics.

reference to verbal communication and oral study (Jastrow 1996: 708, 12, 1672).¹⁰⁶ The occurrence of לְמוֹד (*limmûd*) ‘instruction’ in Sira may indicate a semantic shift, especially given the rabbinic usage.

Additionally, two nominal forms appear once each in the MT: מַלְמֵד הַבָּקָר (*malmad habbāqār*, Judg 3:31) and תַּלְמִיד (*talmîd*, 1 Chr 25:8). Usually translated ‘oxgoad’, מַלְמֵד הַבָּקָר (*malmad habbāqār*) likely refers to a tool used to prod oxen although in Judges it becomes a weapon. The *hapax* תַּלְמִיד (*talmîd*, 1 Chr 25:8), contrasted with the teacher or expert (מְבִין, *mēbîn*), clearly refers to one of the students or beginners among the temple musicians.

4.5. Profiling the Prototype Meaning

In light of this chapter’s analyses of all occurrences of the verbal root לַמַּד (*lmd*), I am ready to identify its profile against the universal base of “teaching” (fig. 4.3). While לַמַּד-G (*lmd-G*) ‘to learn’ contributes much to our overall understanding of the teaching-learning process, I will only profile לַמַּד-D (*lmd-D*) ‘teach’ since it is the verb that expresses the act of teaching. The universal cognition of teaching is universal with respect to the concept of teaching, not learning.

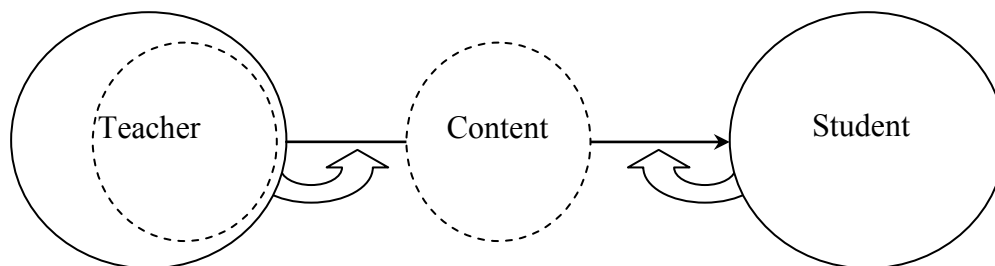


Figure 4.2. The Base – the Universal Concept of Teaching

I have demonstrated generally how לַמַּד-D (*lmd-D*) fits against this universal cognition. In its prototypical usage, it refers to teachers who intentionally engage their students in repeated practice of a particular skill or habit so that the student will master the skill. While all aspects of the base are included in the meaning of the word, לַמַּד (*lmd*) particularly profiles the *process* of acquiring the content since it involves doing what is being mastered; its focus is the student’s involvement with the material. A teacher teaches by engaging the student in repeated action that ultimately leads to mastery. In the figure below I have boldfaced the Student to indicate the integral role of the learner in the meaning of לַמַּד-D (*lmd-D*), and I

¹⁰⁶ לְמוֹד (*limmûd*, *lîmmûd*) also indicate something being “usual” (of wheat crops) or “used to” (of one accustomed to enjoyment). See Jastrow (1996: 712).

have represented the Content with circular arrows to show that the material is, essentially, enacted in order to be acquired. It is not static material, so to speak. The curved arrow between the Student and the Content indicates that the Student's involvement with the Content, not the Teacher's, is the profile of למד-D (*lmd-D*).

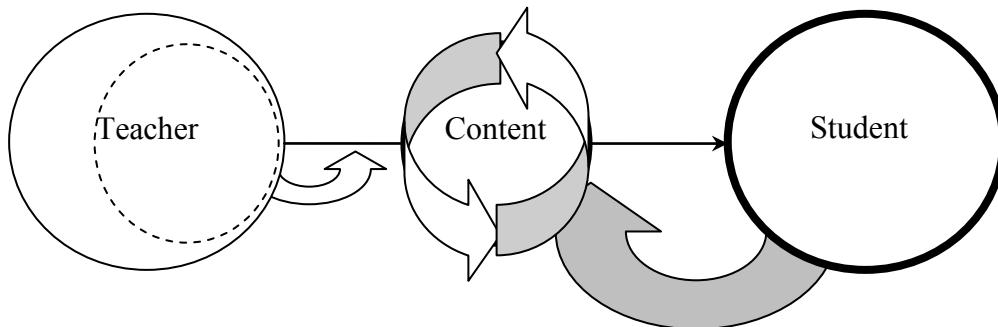


Figure 4.3. The Profile of the Prototypical Meaning of למד-D (*lmd-D*)

Because of the prominence and importance of למד-D (*lmd-D*) in Deuteronomy, I am profiling it as well. Deuteronomy further develops the profile of למד-D (*lmd-D*) by extending the universal base to include another generation of students. The Student acquires and masters the Content *and* is responsible to assume the role of Teacher for a new generation. The figure below illustrates this.

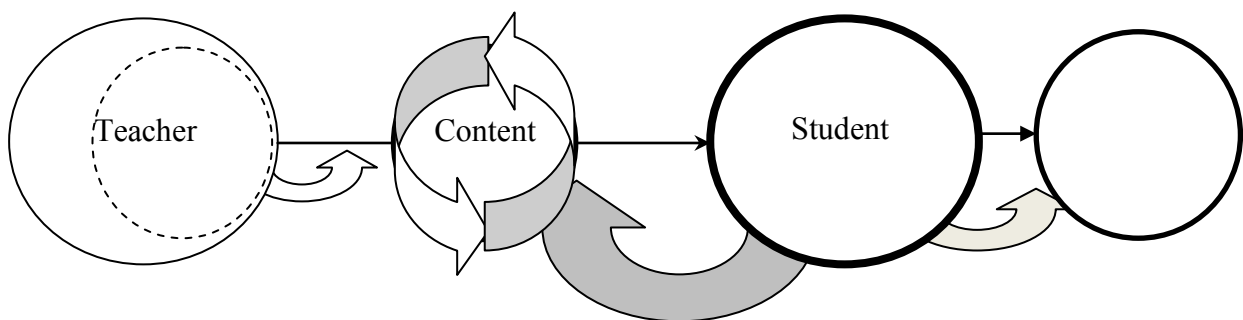


Figure 4.4. The Profile of למד-D (*lmd-D*) in Deuteronomy

4.6. Conclusion

In this chapter I have analysed all the occurrences of the verb למד (*lmd*) in the Qal and Piel to determine its linguistic and conceptual data, as well as how the two interact to create meaning. The prototype meaning of למד-D (*lmd-D*) describes the core meaning of the verb; this prototype definition allows us to identify the specialized way in which Deuteronomy uses the word, as well as the more marginal usages of the verb (e.g., Ps 51:15).

At this point, I return to two questions raised during the course of this chapter. First, I asked whether למד (*lmd*) in BH expresses the harshness that many scholars associate with it

on the basis of its apparent etymology (see 4.1 and 4.3.2.1.1.2). Carasik argues in his thorough study that central to the Israelite concept of education was the notion of restraint; more exactly, the “restraint of animal-like behavior . . . domestication” (2006: 49). Certainly restraint is a component of education, but the study here has not found this – or the related notion of harshness – to be a general characteristic of the most common word for “teach” in Hebrew. The prototype definition for למד-D (*lmd-D*) (*to intentionally put another person in a state in which s/he can acquire a skill or expertise through experience and practice*) allows space for restraint and harshness, as well as a variety of other methods; but the lexeme does not inherently carry such a negative sense in BH. Only in its more marginal instantiations (e.g., Ps 132:12) does a whiff of harsh restraint occur. Carasik overstates his case by drawing too much upon etymology and failing to take into full consideration the contexts of all usages of the respective lexemes.

A second question is *In what sense can an agent bring about a state of learning?* An Agent – even YHWH – cannot control whether learning occurs, although in situations of physical education (psychomotor skills), the success rate is more probable since more often than not a person can be physically compelled to do something. A man in military training will very probably acquire the skills as he is compelled to follow the regime. The transmission of cognitive knowledge can also carry a fairly high success rate if certain methods of teaching are employed. However, training in affective and dispositional realms comes with the fewest fool-proof methods. The best a teacher can do is to create the conditions in which learning can occur – whatever this may mean for a given lesson. The prototype meaning of למד-D (*lmd-D*) suggests that the most effective conditions are when the learner has direct contact with relevant, “on the job” experience.

Chapter 5

יָדַע (*yd^c*) in the Hiphil

5.1. Introduction

The verbal root יָדַע (*yd^c*) is well-attested in Sira and BH. It occurs in every *binyan*, but its predominant usages are in the Qal (more than 820x¹ in the MT), the Niphal (41x in the MT), and the Hiphil (71x in the MT; once in Sira).² The lexeme is also widely attested in most other Semitic languages, where its usage encompasses knowledge of magic and religion (e.g., Akk. *idû u la idû*, of gods which were ‘known and unknown’), sexual knowledge (e.g., Ug. *yd^c*), revelatory knowledge (e.g., Akk. *uddû* and *šūdû*, terms for revelation), and theophoric names.³

The nuances of meaning for the Qal, ‘to know’, in BH are extensive, as is also true of the verb *know* in English and other languages. *HALOT* categorises the semantic range of the Qal into ten groups of glosses, including ‘to notice’, ‘to hear of, learn’, ‘to take care of someone’, and ‘to know, have understanding’ (2001: 1.390–91).⁴ Botterweck observes that the Greek translators handle יָדַע (*yd^c*) with twenty-two different verbs, three nouns, and eight adjectives (1986: 453), a testimony to the semantic range of the word. At the very least, the lexeme suggests a change in one’s mental state, namely, knowing something that was not known before. T. Freitheim notes, “In the broadest sense, *yd^c* means to take various aspects of the world of one’s experience into the self, including the resultant relationship with that

¹ Even-Shoshan lists 821; Lisowsky identifies 822. See Carasik for a discussion of the discrepancy (2006: 21n20).

² It also occurs in the HtD (2x), the Hp (3x), the Dp (6–8x, depending on how one deals with two Qere / Kethib passages; Ruth 2:1 and Isa 12:5), and the D (2x, including the Kethib יָדַעְתָּהּ שָׁחַר [yidda^ctāha šaḥar]– Qere יָדַעְתָּהּ הַשָּׁחַר [yidda^ctā haššaḥar]). The Biblical Aramaic portions of the MT, not considered in this study, include a disproportionately high usage of יָדַע (*yd^c*), occurring forty-seven times as a verb (36x in Daniel and 11x in Ezra; 22 G-stem and 25 H-stem) and four times as the noun מַנְדָּע (*manda^c*) (Daniel). See Botterweck (1986: 453). In Sira the great majority of occurrences are Qal: the Niphal occurs 3x and the Hiphil once (38:5).

³ Botterweck notes that Arabic is a possible exception among Semitic languages that attest the root meaning ‘to know’ (1986: 449). However, there is debate whether an Arabic root *wd^c* is cognate to a second Hebrew root יָדַע (*yd^c*) ‘to become still, quiet, at rest’. See note 4 below.

⁴ There is debate over whether more than one יָדַע (*yd^c*) root exists in Hebrew; see note 49 below, and see further J. A. Emerton (1970) and J. Barr (1968: 19–23).

which is known” (1997: 410). Carasik calls $\text{y}d^{\text{c}}$ a “psychological term” because “its grammatical subject must by definition be sentient, and its grammatical object is always something in the mind of the knower. The acquisition of this ‘something’ which was not there before represents a change in mental state and thus a psychological process” (2006: 20).⁵ However, the extent to which a change in mental state occurs varies, as the spectrum of meaning in *HALOT*’s glosses indicates.

The Hiphil of $\text{y}d^{\text{c}}$ has a narrower semantic range, which might be expected given that it occurs far less frequently.⁶ *HALOT* provides four basic glosses for the H-stem: ‘to let someone know something’ (two accusatives); ‘to make known, inform’ (one accusative); ‘to inform someone . . .’ (one accusative or prepositional phrase); and ‘to teach’ (with *lamed* or one accusative) (2001: 1.392). Only three texts are glossed by *HALOT* with ‘to teach to’,⁷ but a quick survey of translations indicates that many more appear to have an instructional sense. In two formal equivalence translations (NASB, NRSV), the lexeme $\text{y}d^{\text{c}}$ -H ($\text{y}d^{\text{c}}$ -H) is rendered by at least one of the translations as ‘teach’ or ‘instruct’ in an additional ten texts.⁸ While in the majority of its occurrences $\text{y}d^{\text{c}}$ -H ($\text{y}d^{\text{c}}$ -H) seems to mean that X showed, told, or informed Y – ideas that do not necessitate the concept of teaching – the facts that the word clearly can carry the sense of teaching and that the lexeme involves a change of cognitive state make it worth examining how $\text{y}d^{\text{c}}$ -H ($\text{y}d^{\text{c}}$ -H) fits into the lexical set “teach” in BH.

With this in mind, I will analyse all the occurrences of $\text{y}d^{\text{c}}$ -H ($\text{y}d^{\text{c}}$ -H) in BH and Sira, beginning with the linguistic data. While a complete analysis of $\text{y}d^{\text{c}}$ ($\text{y}d^{\text{c}}$) in the Qal surpasses the scope of this study, I am interested in the G-stem to the extent that its *Aktionsart* –

⁵ Zimmerli concludes otherwise in his *I Am YHWH* study of the recognition formula in Ezekiel: “Knowledge of Yahweh is not the emergence of an image that has first become clear in the human interior; neither is it a process of speculative combination nor the result of an analysis of one’s own creaturely condition. Knowledge or recognition of Yahweh is rather an event occurring in the face of Yahweh’s acts, acts to which the prophet as proclaimer draws one’s attention” (1982: 35–36). While Ezekiel (and Exodus) gives special emphasis to the expression, the two foci represented by Carasik and Zimmerli are not mutually exclusive.

⁶ Furthermore, not every category of meaning in the Qal has a corresponding sense in BH’s instantiations of the Hiphil.

⁷ Ps 90:12; Ezek 22:26; 44:23.

⁸ I surveyed two “formal equivalence” translations (the NASB and NRSV) and found that in one or the other, $\text{y}d^{\text{c}}$ ($\text{y}d^{\text{c}}$) is rendered as “teach” or “instruct” in the three examples from *HALOT* (see previous note), as well as in Pss 51:8; 78:5; 143:8; Job 32:7; 37:10; 38:3; 40:7; 42:4; Prov 9:9; 22:19.

namely, its fientivity and transitivity – affects our understanding of ידע (yd^c) in the Hiphil. After detailing the linguistic data of ידע-H (yd^c -H), I will analyse the conceptual data before considering how the two sets of data interact to create meaning. I will also determine the prototype meaning and profile of ידע-H (yd^c -H) and briefly examine two substantives associated with the root.

5.2. Linguistic Data of ידע-H (yd^c -H)

The Hiphil of ידע (yd^c) spans the corpus of the MT with the exception of the *Megilloth*, though it is also nearly absent from the Twelve (only once each in both Hosea and Habakkuk).⁹ As a Hiphil, the lexeme functions in correspondence with the Qal, but unlike the relationship between the Qal and Piel of למד (lmd), the nature of the correspondence is not always clear, in part because ידע-G (yd^c -G) has such a wide range of meaning, and in part because it is difficult to classify with respect to its fientivity. It is neither a clear-cut stative verb, nor is it clearly fientive. The lexeme can be stative in the Qal, having no implicit or explicit object, but more commonly it is what Waltke and O'Connor call a “quasi-fientive” verb, a Qal verb that denotes a mental state *and* takes an object. It thus “exhibit[s] both stative and fientive characteristics at one and the same time” (1990: 366, 491). Because the verb takes an object it is grammatically transitive, but it is not conceptually transitive because the Agent is not acting on the Patient (or Recipient) in any way – an idea we are already familiar with in this study.¹⁰ With respect to ידע (yd^c), the Hiphil – which usually represents causing an event¹¹ – introduces the presence of an under-subject who is involved (by the Agent) in the process of knowing or coming to know.

⁹ Even-Shoshan identifies seventy-one occurrences of ידע-H (yd^c -H) in the MT, and it occurs once in Ben Sira: Gen 41:39; Exod 18:16, 20; 33:12, 13; Num 16:5; Deut 4:9; 8:3; Josh 4:22; Judg 8:16; 1 Sam 6:2; 10:8, 14:12; 16:3; 28:15; 2 Sam 7:21; 1 Kgs 1:27; Isa 5:5; 12:4; 38:19; 40:13, 14; 47:13; 64:1; Jer 11:18; 16:21 (2x); Ezek 16:2; 20:4, 11; 22:2, 26; 39:7; 43:11; 44:23; Hos 5:9; Hab 3:2; Pss 16:11; 25:4, 14; 32:5; 39:5; 51:8; 77:15; 78:5; 89:2; 90:12; 98:2; 103:7; 105:1; 106:8; 143:8; 145:12; Job 10:2; 13:23; 26:3; 32:7; 37:19; 38:3 = 40:7; 42:4; Prov 1:23; 9:9; 22:19; 22:21; Dan 8:19; 1 Chr 16:8; 17:19; 2 Chr 23:13; Neh 8:12; 9:14; Sir 38:5. There are three Hophal occurrences: Lev 4:23, 28; Isa 12:5. I have omitted Judg 8:16 from my corpus for reasons detailed below (see note 48).

¹⁰ Waltke and O'Connor do not use the phrase *conceptual transitive* in their discussion of quasi-fientive verbs; instead, they refer to the same phenomenon as *notional transitivity*.

¹¹ See Waltke and O'Connor's discussion (1990: 433–36).

5.2.1. Ditransitive Clausal Constructions with ידע-H (yd^c -H)

The clausal construction that ידע-H (yd^c -H) favours is the ditransitive construction. The lexeme occurs in a construction featuring an Agent, Patient, and Recipient forty times. As with ירה (yrh) and למד (lmd), ditransitive clauses with ידע (yd^c) are construed in all three ways common to BH: the double object construction, the object-plus-dative/indirect object construction, and the relative clause construction.¹² The construction is well attested in poetry and narrative alike. The Recipient is most often definite, and almost always indicated by a pronominal suffix on the verb or the DDO, אט ($ʔet$). The Patient is most often definite as well.

Text	Verb	Agent	R – NP	Recipient	P - NP	Patient/Theme
Gen 41:39	IC	God	אט ʔot	2ms X (Joseph)	אט ʔet	all these (things)
Exod 18:20	w+pf	(Moses)	ל, l-	3mp X (Israel)	אט ʔet	the way (they should walk in it ...)
Exod 33:12	pf	(YHWH)		1cs X (Moses)	אט ʔet	who (אשר, <i>ʔšer</i>) you will send with me
Exod 33:13	imv + נה (<i>nā</i>)	(YHWH)		1cs X (Moses)	אט ʔet	your ways
Deut 4:9	w+pf	(fathers)	ל, l-	your sons and grandsons		3mp X (things/words)
Deut 8:3	IC	(YHWH)		2ms X (Israel)		<i>ky</i> not on acct of bread alone...
1Sam 10:8	w+pf	(Samuel)	ל, l-	2ms X (Saul)	אט ʔet	what (אשר, <i>ʔšer</i>) you should do
1Sam 14:12	w+impf	(Philistines)	אט ʔot	2mp X (Jonathon & armour-bearer)		matter (דבר, <i>dābār</i>)
1Sam 16:3	impf	“I” (YHWH)		2ms X (Samuel)	אט ʔet	what (אשר, <i>ʔšer</i>) you should do
1Sam 28:15	l+IC	(Samuel)		1cs X (Saul)	מה <i>mah</i>	I [Saul] should do
1Kgs 1:27	pf	(David)	אט ʔet	your servant/s	מי <i>mī</i>	will sit on the throne
Isa 5:5	impf+ נה (<i>nā</i>)	(YHWH)	אט ʔet	2mp X (Israel)	אט ʔet	what (אשר, <i>ʔšer</i>) I am doing to my vineyard
Isa 40:13	impf	man		3ms X (YHWH)		his counsel ¹³
Isa 40:14	impf	(who?)		3ms X (YHWH)		way of insight
Isa 64:1	l+IC	??	ל, l-	your adversaries		your name

¹² Respectively, “I taught Sam math”; “I taught math to Sam”; “X should ___ the math which I taught Sam.”

¹³ Traditionally, English translations have rendered the עצתו (*ʔšātō*) of the second clause of Isa 40:13 (ואיש עצתו וידיענו *wē ʔš ʔšātō yōdīʔennū*) as “his counselor,” as the LXX does (τίς αὐτοῦ σύμβουλος ἐγένετο ὃς συμβιβῆ αὐτόν)(see, e.g., NASB, NRSV, JPS, NIV, ASV). More recent translations render it as the direct object, “his counsel” (see, e.g., ESV, TNK, NLT).

Jer 16:21 ¹⁴	impf	(YHWH)		3mp X (Israel)	חַס זַעַת	my power and my might
Ezek 16:2	imv	son of man	חַס זַעַת	Jerusalem	חַס זַעַת	its abominations
Ezek 20:4	imv	(son of man)		3mp X (Israel)	חַס זַעַת	abominations of their fathers
Ezek 20:11	pf	(YHWH)	חַס זַעַת	3mp X (Israel)	חַס זַעַת	my judgements
Ezek 22:2	w+pf	(son of man)		3fs X (Jerusalem)	חַס זַעַת	all its abominations
Ezek 43:11	Imv	(Ezekiel)	חַס זַעַת	3mp X (Israel)	חַס זַעַת	all its statutes and plans and instructions
Ps 16:11	impf	(YHWH)		1cs X (psalmist)		path of life
Ps 25:4	Imv	(YHWH - voc)		1cs X (psalmist)		your ways
Ps 25:14	I+IC	(YHWH)		3mp X (YHWH-fearers)		his covenant
Ps 32:5	impf	(psalmist)		2ms X (YHWH)		my sins
Ps 39:5	imv	(YHWH - voc)		1cs X (psalmist)		my end
Ps 51:8	impf	(YHWH)		1cs X (psalmist)		wisdom
Ps 78:5	I+IC	(our fathers)	בְּ, ל-	their sons		3mp X (torah/testimonies)
Ps 89:2	impf	(psalmist)	בְּ, ל-	generations		your faithfulness
Ps 103:7	Impf	(YHWH)	בְּ, ל-	Moses // Israelites ¹⁵		his ways // his acts עלילות (ʿālilôt)
Ps 143:8	imv	(YHWH)		1cs X (psalmist)		way which (וְ, זֵי) I should walk
Ps 145:12	I+IC	(YHWH's faithful ones)	בְּ, ל-	sons of man		his mighty acts
Job 13:23	imv	(God)		1cs X (Job)		my offence & my sin
Job 37:19	imv	(Job)		1cp X (friends)	מָה mah	we should say to him
Prov 1:23	impf	(Lady Wisdom)	חַס זַעַת	2mp X (simple ones)		my words
Prov 22:21	I+IC	(narrator)		2ms X (reader)		certainty of words of truth
Dan 8:19	ptc	(Gabriel) – הנביא (hinnēnî)		2ms X (Daniel)	חַס זַעַת	what (זְשֶׁר) will be...
Neh 8:12	pf	(impersonal “they”)	בְּ, ל-	3mp X (people/Israel)		words (head of relative)
Neh 9:14	pf	(YHWH)	בְּ, ל-	3mp X (Israel)	חַס זַעַת	holy Sabbaths
Sir 38:5	I+IC	(לְא, זַעַת)		all men		his power

Table 5.1. Ditransitive Clausal Constructions with ידע-H (ydc^c-H)

¹⁴ Jer 16:21 also includes a ידע-H (ydc^c-H) participial clause before the finite verb: הנני מודיעם (hinnēnî mōdīʿām) “Behold, I am making them know . . .”

¹⁵ The verb is elided in the second clause where the parallel Recipient and Patient are found.

In terms of the most basic meaning of a three-argument construction,¹⁶ $\text{y}d^c\text{-H}$ ($\text{y}d^c\text{-H}$) ‘to cause to know’ represents an event in which the Agent causes – or tries to cause – the Recipient to receive, in some sense, the Patient. *HALOT* glosses the ditransitive clausal constructions of $\text{y}d^c$ ($\text{y}d^c$) (what they call two accusatives) as to ‘let someone know something’. The Hiphil introduces the presence of an under-subject, the Recipient, whom the Agent is causing to undergo the process of knowing or coming to know something.

The Agent that occurs with overwhelming frequency in these ditransitive constructions is YHWH/El (18x). Only three other Agents are present in more than an isolated occurrence: Ezekiel (4x), Samuel (2x), and the fathers of Israel (2x).¹⁷ One Recipient occurs with frequency similar to that of agentive YHWH: a collective Israel is the Recipient fifteen times.¹⁸ Most of the remaining Recipients occur only once, including individuals (e.g., Joseph, Samuel, Job, and the reader of Proverbs) and groups (e.g., YHWH-fearers and adversaries).¹⁹ YHWH is the Recipient three times, but two of these verses are clearly intended for rhetorical effect (Isa 40:13–14; see below).

The Patients occur most commonly in a noun phrase or as the head of a relative clause, and one occurs in a ky (ky) clause (Deut 8:3). The knowledge “transferred” encompasses a variety of things, including YHWH’s name, what one should do, who will sit on the throne, and YHWH’s power and might. With respect to the knowledge (the Patients) in ditransitive as well as transitive clauses, Carasik argues that $\text{y}d^c\text{-H}$ ($\text{y}d^c\text{-H}$) indicates “the transmission of knowledge whose ultimate source is in the divine realm” (2006: 28),²⁰ an assertion I will engage further below.

¹⁶ [THING X CAUSES THING Y TO RECEIVE THING Z.]

¹⁷ The other Agents, each occurring only once, are individuals Moses, David, two psalmists, Job, Lady Wisdom, the narrator of Prov 22, the “who” of Isa 40:14, the man of Isaiah 40:13, and Gabriel; the collective Agents are the Philistines, YHWH’s faithful ones, and an impersonal “they” (Neh 8:12).

¹⁸ Collective Israel is represented by *Israel*, *Israel’s children*, *Jerusalem*, and *generations*.

¹⁹ Exceptions are the psalmists (5x), Moses (3x), and Saul (2x).

²⁰ Carasik argues that the word has been “disinfected,” so it can only be used to refer to God’s knowledge. The term *disinfected* comes from Sawyer (1972: 53). By way of contrast, Carasik suggests that נגד (*ngd*) is the more general BH word that covers transmission of non-specific knowledge. נגד (*ngd*) is, he says, “a general word that can refer either to the divine realm or to the human; הוּדֵיעַ has both a more theological and a more psychological cast, in that it conveys not the transfer of information in general, but the introduction into the human realm specifically of knowledge that originates, ultimately, with God. I believe this nuance further reflects the realization that coming to know something requires an internal transformation – that is, it is an interaction on the

5.2.2. Transitive Clausal Constructions with ידע-H (*yd^c-H*)

Twenty-six occurrences of ידע-H (*yd^c-H*) have only two grammatical participants, the Agent and either a Patient or a Recipient. While several of these occurrences also include prepositional phrases that function as adverbial adjuncts, these phrases are less ambiguous in function than those in collocation with ירה (*yrh*) as discussed in chapter 3. Because of the relative clarity of the phrases' functions in their respective clauses, I include them here rather than in a separate section.

Text	Verb	Agent	R-NP	Recipient	P – NP	Patient	Adv Adj.
Exod 18:16	w+pf	I (Moses)			תא על	God's statutes and his instructions	
Num 16:5	w+impf	YHWH			תא על	who (וְשֵׁר, <i>šer</i>) is his and (who is) holy	
Josh 4:22	w+pf	(fathers)	תא על	your sons			
1 Sam 6:2	imv	(diviners / priests)		1cp X (Philistines)			כ (b-) + what ('how')
2 Sam 7:21	l+IC	(YHWH)	תא על	your servant (David)			
Isa 12:4	imv	(you – Israel)				his deeds	כ (b-) + nations
Isa 38:19	impf	father	ל, l-	sons			ל (על, 'to') your faithfulness
Jer 11:18	pf	YHWH		1cs X (Jeremiah)			
Ezek 39:7	impf	(YHWH)			תא על	my holy name	כ (b-) + midst of ...
Ezek 44:23	impf	(priests)		3mp X (my people)			כ (byn) unclean/clean
Hos 5:9	pf	(YHWH / prophet)				a sure thing	כ (b-) + tribes of Israel
Ps 77:15	pf	(YHWH - voc)				your strength	כ (b-) + nations
Ps 90:12	imv	(YHWH)			l+IC "to number"	our days	
Ps 98:2	pf	YHWH				his salvation	elided? (in eye of nations)
Ps 105:1 = 1 Chr 16:8	imv	(you – Israel)				his deeds	כ (b-) + nations
Ps 106:8	l+IC	(YHWH)			תא על	his power	

mental, not the physical, level. Such a transformation could not be effected solely by human action, since any mind but our own is inaccessible to us. But it could be effected by God" (2006: 290).

Job 10:2	imv	(Eloah)		1cs X (Job)			on what acct you contend w/me
Job 26:3	pf	(Job's friends)				insight	
Job 32:7	impf	abundance of years				wisdom	
Job 38:3 = 40:7 ≈ 42:4	imv	(Job)		1cs X (YHWH)			
Prov 9:9	imv	(reader)	ל, l-	righteous one			
Prov 22:19	pf	(wise narrator)		2ms X (reader)			
1Chr 17:19	l+IC	(YHWH?)			אֵל ʾet	all the great things	

Table 5.2. Transitive Clausal Constructions with עִדְּ-ח (yd^c -H)

When עִדְּ-ח (yd^c -H) occurs in a transitive clausal construction, it selects an Agent and, fairly evenly, a Recipient (12x) or a Patient (14x). Although the third participant in the teaching event can usually be inferred from the context, the fact that the grammatical structure does not include it affects the meaning of the clause. As with לְמַד-D (lmd -D), the transitive construction with עִדְּ-ח (yd^c -H) can highlight the relationship between the Agent and the Recipient or the connection between the Agent and the Patient.

As seen with the ditransitive clauses above, the Agent that also occurs with overwhelming frequency in the transitive constructions of עִדְּ-ח (yd^c -H) is YHWH/Eloah (11x). Only three other Agents are present in more than an isolated occurrence: Job (3x) and Israel (5x).²¹ However, the Recipients of עִדְּ-ח (yd^c -H) instruction, expressed through suffixes on verbs, NPs with the object marker אֵל ($ʾet$), and prepositional phrases (dative constructions) with ל ($l-$), do not show a similar concentration. Israel is a three-time Recipient,²² while almost all the remaining Recipients occur only once, including individuals (e.g., David, Jeremiah, Job, YHWH, a righteous one, and the reader of Proverbs) and groups (e.g., Israelites and Philistines). YHWH is also the Recipient three times, but the usages are part of a larger rhetorical structure (Job 38:3 = Job 40:7; Job 42:4; see below). In most situations the

²¹ The referents include fathers to their sons (Josh 4:22; Isa 38:19) and the imperative plural “you” of parallel passages Isa 12:4; Ps 105:1; 1 Chr 16:8). The other Agents, each occurring only once, are individuals Moses, the reader of Prov 9:9, and the sagely narrator of Prov 22:19; the collective Agents are the Philistine diviners, the Israelite priests and Job’s friends.

²² The referents include “Israel,” “my people,” and “sons.”

Agents are persons of authority over the Recipients. A debatable exclusion to this pattern is that of Israel being an “authority” over the nations as its members declare YHWH’s deeds (Ps 105:1 = 1 Chr 16:8 ≈ Isa 12:4). When $\text{y}d^c\text{-H}$ selects a Patient rather than a Recipient, the Patients are almost exclusively something sourced in YHWH: his statutes and instructions, his deeds, his name, his strength, his salvation.²³ Patients are represented by NPs that are most often definitive; once the Patient is an infinitive complement (Ps 90:12).

Prepositional phrases functioning as adverbial adjuncts are used in conjunction with several of the transitive clausal construction of $\text{y}d^c$. Most of these adjuncts are locative (e.g., “among the nations”), temporal (e.g., “at that time”), or causal (e.g., “on account of what do you contend with me?”).

5.2.3. Intransitive Clausal Constructions with $\text{y}d^c\text{-H}$

The intransitive clausal construction with $\text{y}d^c\text{-H}$ is infrequent, occurring only twice in BH, once in the book of Ezekiel and once in Habakkuk.²⁴

Text	Verb	Agent	Adverbial phrase
Ezek 22:26	pf	(priests)	ל . . . בִּיָּן (byn...l-) (unclean/clean)
Hab 3:2	impf	(YHWH)	-ב (b-) + midst of years

Table 5.3. Intransitive Clausal Constructions with $\text{y}d^c\text{-H}$

Both texts include adverbial adjuncts that either define what is being taught, in the case of Ezek 22:26, or when it is being transmitted, in the case of Hab 3:2. The significant participant in an intransitive clause is obviously the Agent, the only participant in the clause. In Ezekiel, the priests are the Agents, and in Habakkuk, YHWH is the Agent. Although the context makes clear what was to be learned and who was to learn it, the fact that the grammatical construction here does not include such information is meaningful. The Agents are the interest of the clause.

²³ This fact forms part of Carasik’s argument that $\text{y}d^c\text{-H}$ refers to the transmission of knowledge that is ultimately sourced in the divine realm. See below for further discussion (5.3.1.1; 5.3.1.2).

²⁴ The Hp occurs three times as well, though this construal is typical with passive verbs.

5.2.4. Collocations with ידע-H (yd^c -H)

5.2.4.1. “Causing to Know” a Way (דֶּרֶךְ, *derek*)

One noun, דֶּרֶךְ (*derek*) ‘way’, occurs often in collocation with the verb ידע-H (yd^c -H). It is the object (Patient) of ידע-H (yd^c -H) in six texts: Exod 18:20; 33:13; Isa 40:14; Pss 25:4; 103:7; 143:8.

In four texts, the “way” being made known clearly refers to action to take or behaviour to inculcate: in Exod 18:20, Moses causes the people to know the way they should go; in Pss 25:4 and 143:8, the psalmists plead to know the way to life/way he should go; in Isa 40:14, the prophet asks who causes YHWH to know the way of good sense (תְּבוּנָה, *těbûnâ*).²⁵ Twice the referent is to “YHWH’s ways,” and it means his works. YHWH makes Moses know his “ways” in Exod 33:13 and Ps 103:7. The collocations of ידע-H (yd^c -H) with דֶּרֶךְ (*derek*), then, show two distinct referents for “ways” – the right behaviour for a person and the acts of YHWH.²⁶

5.2.4.2. Parallel Verbs

Eighteen different verbs occur in parallel structures with ידע-H (yd^c -H), most commonly in poetic texts but in narrative and wisdom material as well. As in earlier chapters, I have restricted “parallelism” to lines with similar surface structure since they are readily perceived as parallel. If a verse does not exhibit a similar surface structure but is nonetheless interesting with respect to collocations, I include it in a footnote.

The verbs in parallel structures with ידע-H (yd^c -H) are as follows: ירה-H (yrh -H) (Ezek 44:23); למד-D (lmd -D) (Isa 40:14; Ps 25:4); שיר ($\check{s}yr$) (Ps 89:2); יעץ-G ($y\check{c}t$ -G) (Isa 40:14; Job 26:3); זיהר-H (zhr -H) (Exod 18:20); זכר-H (zkr -H) (Isa 12:4); דבר-D (dbr -D) (Job 32:7²⁷); גלה-D (glh -D) (Ps 98:2); שיח ($\check{s}wh$) (Ps 105:1–2 = 1 Chr 16:8–9); שמע-H ($\check{s}m^c$ -H) (Ps 143:8); רשע-D ($r\check{s}^c$ -D) (with לֹא [$l\check{o}^c$], Job 10:2); נבע-H (nb^c -H) (Prov 1:23); תכן-D (tkn -D)

²⁵ Fox describes תְּבוּנָה (*těbûnâ*) as “the pragmatic, applied aspect of thought, operating in the realm of *action*; it aims at efficacy and accomplishment [It] is the competence to deal with the exigencies of life, and it generally implies a follow-up in action, or at least the expectation of one” (2000: 38).

²⁶ This contrasts with the ‘way’ metaphor collocated with ירה-H (yrh -H), where it always refers to behaviour (see 3.3.1.3). Cf., also, the anomalous use of למד-D (lmd -D) in Ps 51:15 (see 4.3.2.1.2.2.).

²⁷ See also Ps 145:11–12.

(Isa 40:13); נתן-H (*byn*-H) (Isa 40:14); נתן (*ntn*) (Ezek 20:11; Prov 9:9); צוה-D (*šwh*-D) (Neh 9:14); צוה-D (*šwh*-D) (Hab 3:2); כסה (*ksh*) (with לא [*lō*], Ps 32:5).

Text	Agent	Recipient	Patient/Adjunct	Parallel verb ²⁸	Parallel Patient/Adjunct
Exod 18:20	(Moses)	3mp X (Israelites)	the way	זָהַר-H (1) (<i>zhr</i> -H)	the statutes and torah
Isa 12:4	(Israel)		his deeds	זָכַר-H (2) (<i>zkr</i> -H)	that his name is exalted
Isa 40:13	(who?)	him (YHWH)	his counsel	תָּכַן-D (1) (<i>tkn</i> -D)	the <i>rūaḥ</i> of YHWH
Isa 40:14	(who?)	him (YHWH)	the way of insight	יַעַץ (1); בִּין-H (2); לָמַד-D (3, 4) (<i>yʿṣ</i> ; <i>byn</i> -H; <i>lmd</i> -D)	-- / -- / path of justice / knowledge
Ezek 20:11	I (YHWH)	3mp (Israel)	my ordinances	נָתַן-G (1) (<i>ntn</i>)	my statutes
Ezek 44:23	(priests)	them (my people)	between clean and unclean	יָרַח-H (1) (<i>yrh</i> -H)	my people between the holy and profane
Hab 3:2	(YHWH)		(your work [elided])	יָחַיָּה-D (1) (<i>hyh</i> -D)	your work
Ps 25:4	(YHWH – voc)	1cs X (psalmist)	your ways	לָמַד-D (2) (<i>lmd</i> -D)	me your paths
Ps 32:5	I (psalmist)	you (YHWH)	my sin	כָּסָה-D (neg) (2) (<i>ksh</i>)	my iniquity
Ps 89:2	I (psalmist)	to generations	your faithfulness	יָשַׁר-G (1) (<i>šyr</i>)	loving-kindness of YHWH
Ps 98:2	YHWH		his salvation	גִּלָּה-D (2) (<i>glh</i> -D)	his righteousness before the nations
Ps 105:1–2 = 1 Chr 16:8–9	(Israel)		his deeds	יָשַׁח-G (2) (<i>šyh</i>)	all his wonders
Ps 143:8	(YHWH)	me (psalmist)	the way which I should walk	שָׁמַע-H (1) (<i>šm^c</i> -H)	your (YHWH) loving-kindness
Job 10:2	(God)	1cs X (Job)	why you contend with me	רָשַׁע-H (neg) (1) (<i>rš^c</i> -H)	me (Job)
Job 26:3	you (friends)		insight	יַעַץ-G (1) (<i>yʿṣ</i>)	to one without wisdom
Job 32:7	aged		wisdom	דָּבַר-D (1) (<i>dbr</i> -D)	(wisdom [elided])
Prov 1:23	I (Wisdom)	you (simple)	my words	נָבַע-H (1) (<i>nb^c</i> -H)	my (Wisdom) <i>rūaḥ</i>
Prov 9:9	(reader)	righteous man		נָתַן (1) (<i>ntn</i>)	
Neh 9:14	(YHWH)	them (Israel)	holy Sabbaths	צָוָה-D (2) (<i>šwh</i> -H)	your commandment, statutes, and torah

Table 5.4. Verbal Roots That Occur in Parallel with יָדַע-H (*yd^c*-H)

²⁸ The number in parentheses after each form represents in which clause of the parallel structure the form occurs – the first or the second, or even the third or fourth.

The $\text{ydc}^c\text{-H}$ ($\text{ydc}^c\text{-H}$) lexeme appears more commonly in the second (or last) clause of a parallel structure (13x), but it is not uncommon in the first clause (7x; see the numbers after each parallel root above). This distribution stands in contrast to lexemes already analysed: yrh-H (yrh-H) shows a clear preference for the first clause of a parallel structure while lmd (lmd) exhibits fairly even distribution between the first and second clauses. The variety of lexemes that appear in parallel with $\text{ydc}^c\text{-H}$ ($\text{ydc}^c\text{-H}$) across the corpus and the variation in order of the parallel lexemes suggests that none qualifies as a stock word pair.

Two of the parallel structures occur in Isa 40:13–14, verses filled with rhetorical questions about the wisdom of God. As noted in earlier with respect to lmd-D (lmd-D), the text of Isa 40:12–31 “draw[s] overwhelmingly on the didactic-sapiential tradition” (Blenkinsopp 2002: 191), piling up similar “wisdom words” throughout to create a rhetorical effect that the individual words cannot accomplish by themselves: namely, YHWH’s wisdom is surpassing and no one is qualified to instruct him.²⁹

Aside from these general comments, I do not see patterns of particular interest in $\text{ydc}^c\text{-H}$ ($\text{ydc}^c\text{-H}$) collocations. However, a point of interest may be what verbs are *not* found in parallel structures with it. Arguments from silence are heuristic at best, but a comparison of the “teach” lexemes and verbs in parallel with them may be suggestive of the kind of teaching $\text{ydc}^c\text{-H}$ ($\text{ydc}^c\text{-H}$) encompasses or excludes. While $\text{ydc}^c\text{-H}$ ($\text{ydc}^c\text{-H}$) does occur in parallel structures with both lmd-D (lmd-D) and yrh-H (yrh-H), it never shares a structure with the following lexemes that all occur in parallel with both lmd-D (lmd-D) and yrh-H (yrh-H): drk-H (drk-H), ngd-H (ngd-H), ysr-G/D (ysr-G/D), nhh-H (nhh-H), and amr-G (amr-G). I will discuss this further in chapter 7 when I synthesise the data of the four lexemes of this study.

5.2.5. Summary of Linguistic Data for $\text{ydc}^c\text{-H}$ ($\text{ydc}^c\text{-H}$)

The usage of $\text{ydc}^c\text{-H}$ ($\text{ydc}^c\text{-H}$) in BH and Sira involves a grammatical Agent of instruction, usually a person of authority who causes an under-subject (Recipient) to know a particular something (Patient). The instantiations of $\text{ydc}^c\text{-H}$ ($\text{ydc}^c\text{-H}$) most commonly occur in ditransitive clauses, indicating the saliency of all three event participants to the meaning; the lexeme also occurs often in transitive clauses, in which it fairly even selects between a Recipient and a Patient. It can occur in intransitive clauses as well, although it does so infrequently in BH.

²⁹ As was also true with lmd (lmd), one of the parallel structures of $\text{ydc}^c\text{-H}$ ($\text{ydc}^c\text{-H}$) occurs in Psalm 25, which also demonstrates a “heaping up” of education language. See ch. 7 for fuller discussion of Psalm 25.

The collocations with $\text{עיד}-\text{H}$ (yd^c -H) in parallel structures show a good deal of variety and no patterns of immediate interest, though the absence of some words we might have expected to occur in parallel with $\text{עיד}-\text{H}$ (yd^c -H) may be noteworthy.

5.3. Conceptual Data for $\text{עיד}-\text{H}$ (yd^c -H)

5.3.1. Meaning Potential of $\text{עיד}-\text{H}$ (yd^c -H)

The second aspect of the semantic analyses in this study is the conceptual data that a word encompasses. In what follows, I describe the meaning potential of $\text{עיד}-\text{H}$ (yd^c -H), analysing each occurrence of $\text{עיד}-\text{H}$ (yd^c -H) in context and assessing the meanings to determine the prototype meaning.

The meaning potential of $\text{עיד}-\text{H}$ (yd^c -H) extends across three broad definitions, each showing an increased level of knowledge. Most basically, $\text{עיד}-\text{H}$ (yd^c -H) represents making someone aware of something. Beyond this, it can mean to cause someone to cognitively understand something. Finally, at the deepest level that $\text{עיד}-\text{H}$ (yd^c -H) represents, it can mean to cause someone to understand something experientially. Admittedly, the distinction between instantiations of these definitions is not always clear, and as was true with למד (*lmd*) and ירח (*yrh*), some of my assessments could be argued another way.

5.3.1.1. $\text{עיד}-\text{H}$ (yd^c -H) Definition 1: *To make another aware of something; to inform or direct a passive Recipient*

The first aspect of $\text{עיד}-\text{H}$'s (yd^c -H) meaning potential involves a person, usually of authority, who informs or directs another person who is passive in the transmission process. I am not using *passive* in a grammatical sense, but rather in a notional sense; the Recipient is not actively involved in the reception of the information.³⁰ The distinction between definitions 1a and 1b below is the source of the knowledge – namely, whether it is knowledge from the divine or non-divine realm.³¹ Carasik argues that $\text{עיד}-\text{H}$ (yd^c -H) “more than nine-tenths of the

³⁰ The ability to see or hear, which I am considering to be passive, is the only requirement of the Recipient to receive the knowledge being transmitted.

³¹ Botterweck roughly distinguishes between secular usage and religious usage of $\text{עיד}-\text{G}$ (yd^c -G), but overall he does not make careful distinctions between the *binyanim* – particularly the H and the N, which he groups together under the broad category of “Revelation” (1986: 470). He does not explicitly say that $\text{עיד}-\text{H}$ (yd^c -H) (or N) is exclusive to knowledge sourced in the divine realm, but the format of his article appears to agree with Carasik’s assessment. Neither Botterweck nor Carasik address the degree to which the learner’s mental state is changed – i.e., awareness, understanding, experiential knowledge.

time, is used to indicate the transmission of knowledge whose ultimate source is in the divine realm” (2006: 28), but I will argue that he overstates his case and forces the evidence to fit his hypothesis.³²

Many of the usages of ידע-H (yd^c -H) that activate this part of the meaning potential resemble the prototypical definition of ירה-H (yrh -H): *A person of authority or expertise gives specific, situational instruction to someone who lacks knowledge about what to do.* While ירה (yrh) prototypically relates to situational instruction, ידע-H (yd^c -H) will prototypically highlight another aspect of the teaching event (see 5.3.2 and 5.6 below).

5.3.1.1.1. ידע-H (yd^c -H) Definition 1a: *To inform or direct a passive Recipient with knowledge from the divine realm*

Knowledge from the divine realm is transmitted to passive Recipients via several Agents in the MT: YHWH/El himself and those with access to the divine realm, namely, priests and diviners, prophets, and angels. The Recipients involved are individuals (e.g., Saul and Samuel) and groups (e.g., the Philistines and the Israelites). The Patients include information to which only YHWH or the gods and their mediators would have access (e.g., the future or the next king to anoint) – what I characterise as knowledge from the divine realm.

Nine texts involve knowledge pertinent to specific situations (Exod 18:16, 20; 1 Sam 6:2; 10:8; 16:3; 28:15; Ezek 43:11; Job 10:2; 13:23). This set of ידע-H (yd^c -H) texts shows significant semantic overlap with ירה-H (yrh -H) texts which also involve the transfer of knowledge from the divine realm to the human realm (e.g., YHWH to Moses in Exod 4:12, 15; the angel of YHWH to Manoah and his wife in Judg 13:8; see 3.3.1.2.1).³³

³² To make this claim, Carasik has to nuance what he means by the “ultimate source” of knowledge, but I find his conclusion ultimately non-persuasive. Carasik and I disagree on what constitutes knowledge from the divine realm, as will be seen in sections 5.3.1.1.1 and 5.3.1.1.2. As my analysis of the meaning potential will show, the evidence does indicate that ידע-H (yd^c -H) functions uniquely with respect to knowledge sourced in the divine realm, but it certainly is used in conjunction with knowledge sourced in the non-divine realm as well.

³³ In his study of ancient Israelite views on education and mental processes, Carasik curiously omits a semantic analysis of ירה-H (yrh -H). It appears that he dismisses the lexeme because it does not fit his concept of education as a form of restraint: “The one remaining common word for ‘teach,’ הורה – slightly more frequent than יסר but just over half as frequent as למד – does not appear to share the connotation of animal training [that אלה, יסר, and אלה arguably have]. It does, however, often occur in conjunction with the wisdom motif of the path or way. Following a path is, of course, the self-imposed restraint which one who is wise imposes on his or her own actions. One-third of the occurrences of הורה meaning ‘teach’ or ‘instruct’ have some indication of this sense of restriction as part of the meaning of the verb” (2006: 50). Unfortunately, this is the extent of his dealing with ירה-H (yrh -H), and his view of Hebrew education suffers for lack of consideration of this important lexeme.

While the lexeme most commonly used to describe the instructional activity of priests is *yrh*-H (ירח-H), 1 Samuel 6 is among the texts that provide evidence for *yd*^c-H (ידע-H) usage to refer to their instructional role as well. In 1 Sam 6:2, the beleaguered Philistines implore their priests and diviners to tell them how to get rid of the ark of YHWH which they had captured as booty seven months earlier: “The Philistines summoned the priests and diviners, saying, ‘What shall we do about the ark of YHWH? Tell us how (lit. ‘with what’ *bammeh*, *bammeh*) we should return it to its place?’” (ויקראו פלשתים לכהנים ולקסמים לאמר מה-נעשה) (*wayyiqrēʾû pēlišṭîm lakkōhānîm wēlaqqōsēmîm lēʾmōr mah-naʿāseh laʾrōn YHWH hōdīʿūnū bammeh nēšallēḥennū limqômō*). As mediators between the divine and human realms, the priests and diviners were the ones who could find out how to appease the Israelite God in the dire situation facing the Philistines.

More frequently, *yd*^c-H (ידע-H) describes the role of the prophet, beginning with Moses. In Exodus 18 Jethro advises Moses to delegate legal matters to capable men but retain responsibility for particularly difficult matters in which he would “cause the people to know” YHWH’s statutes and torah (18:16, 20) – namely, what they should do in their particular sets of circumstances. A related text is in Deuteronomy 17, where *yrh*-H (ירח-H) is the verb describing what appear to be similar actions of the priests and judges. In the context of Exodus 18, Moses is not parsing the existing law to determine appropriate application of it; instead, he is going before YHWH with the particularly difficult matters and, it appears, receiving revelation about what the involved parties should do.

In 1 Samuel 10, the prophet Samuel anoints Saul as king and instructs him to go to Gilgal and wait seven days until he comes to “cause him to know” (ידע, *yd*^c) what to do: (והודעתני לך את אשר תעשה) (*wēhōdaʿtî lēkā ʾēt ʾāšer taʿāseh*; v. 8). The text does not specify what sort of information Samuel was going to provide to Saul; since he himself was going to offer the sacrifices, it seems unlikely that his instruction would have included this. In the preceding verse, Samuel charges Saul to “do what [his] hands found to do, because God is with [him]” (עשה לך אשר תמצא ירך כי האלהים עמך), (*ʿāšēh lēkā ʾāšer timṣāʾ yādekā kî hāʾēlōhîm ʿimmāk*). It is plausible that when the two met again at Gilgal, Samuel was going to give him new (divine) instructions about what to do. Samuel is also the mediator of divine knowledge in 1 Sam 28:15 when a desperate Saul has the prophet summoned from the dead to tell him what he should do (להידיעני מה אעשה), (*lēhōdīʿēnî mā ʿeʿšeh*) regarding the Philistines since

God no longer answered him by prophets or by dreams. In both of these texts, the prophet mediates divine knowledge that addresses specific situations.

In less situation-specific circumstances, Ezekiel the prophet is told to “cause Israel to know” the plans for and rules about the new temple, as given to him by YHWH in his vision of the temple (וּכְלִי-צִוְרוֹתָו וּלְכִתְרוֹתָו הוֹדַע אֹתָם [wəḵkol-šûrôtāw wəḵkol-tôrôtāw hōda^c ʔôtām]; 43:11).³⁴ Chapter 43:10–12 constitutes the second part of a speech by YHWH (the first part is in vv. 7–9; each part begins with “son of man”) that echoes the introductory speech of Ezekiel’s temple vision in chapter 40. In 40:4, YHWH charges Ezekiel to tell Israel everything he sees (הִגַּד אֶת-כָּל-אֲשֶׁר-רָאִיתָ לְבֵית יִשְׂרָאֵל [haggēd ʔet-kol-ʔāšer-ʔattā rōʔeh lēbēt-yiśrāʔel]); then 43:10 specifies that he should proclaim the temple to them (הִגַּד אֶת-בֵּית-יִשְׂרָאֵל (הִגַּד אֶת-הַבַּיִת [haggēd ʔet-bēt-yiśrāʔel ʔet-habbayit]). The purpose of this proclamation is so the people will be ashamed of their sins, a common Ezekielien theme (וַיִּכְלְמוּ מֵעוֹנוֹתֵיהֶם וּמִדָּדוֹ (וַיִּכְלְמוּ מֵעוֹנוֹתֵיהֶם וּמִדָּדוֹ [wəyikkālēmû mēʕwōnôtêhem ûmādēdû ʔet-tōknît]; v. 10).³⁵ Of the shame here and elsewhere in the book, W. Zimmerli says, “The shame results from the salvation to be proclaimed by the prophet. . . . At the sight of the temple painted for them by the prophet, the temple which is promised to his people by Yahweh, their eyes will be opened to the extent to which they had gone astray in their earlier dealings with the sacred. . . .” (1983: 419). Arguably, however, the shame does not result from a detailed picture of the temple as Zimmerli implies, but rather from the mere announcement of it. The simple fact that YHWH would even stoop to restore his temple among the people is meant to induce shame. *If* it indeed does, *then* Ezekiel is to cause them to know the details of the temple’s plan (וְאִם-נִכְלְמוּ וְאִם-נִכְלְמוּ [wəʔim-niklēmû mikkōl ʔāšer-ʕāsû šûrat habbayit . . . hōda^c ʔôtām ûkētōb lēʕênêhem]; v. 11). The situation at hand is the people’s repentance; in the event that they repent, Ezekiel should give them the plans for the temple.³⁶

YHWH/El is the Agent of ידע-H (ydc^c-H) in three passages that involve knowledge from the divine realm specific to particular circumstances. In 1 Samuel 16 the prophet fears

³⁴ Ezekiel was also a priest, so his behaviour sometimes blurs the line between the roles of prophet and priest. Although the information relayed from the divine realm here involves the temple, the fact that Ezekiel received it in a vision is more in line with his prophetic role.

³⁵ See also Ezek 16:54, 16:61, and 36:32 for the idea of shame.

³⁶ ידע-H (ydc^c-H) in Ezek 43:11 is not situation-specific in the sense of telling people what to do *for* a certain circumstance, but it is specific to a particular circumstance – i.e., the repentance of the people.

for his life if he goes to Jesse's house to anoint one of his sons as king, but YHWH assures Samuel that he will cause him to know what he should do when the time comes (ואנכי אודיעך) את אשר-תעשה [wěʿānōkī ʾōdīʿākā ʾēt ʾāšer-ta ʾāseh]; v. 3). Also situational are two texts in which Job entreats God to cause him to know on what account he contends with him (10:2) and what his offence is (13:23).

Several texts activate definition 1a, but the information transmitted is less specific to particular situations: Isa 5:5; Ezek 20:11; Hos 5:9; Dan 8:19; Neh 9:14. YHWH is the Agent in Nehemiah 9, where eight named Levites offer a national confession on behalf of people. They acknowledge that YHWH gave them righteous judgements and true torah, statutes and good commandments (ותתן להם משפטים ישרים ותורות אמת הקים ומצות טובים) [wattittēn lāhem mišpāṭīm yěšārīm wētōrōt ʾemet ḥuqqīm ūmišwōt ʾōbīm]), and he caused them to know his holy Sabbath . . . by the hand of Moses his servant. This “causing to know” entails the giving of the law from Sinai (Neh 9:13–14). Similarly, in Ezek 20:11, YHWH says he gave the people his statutes and caused them to know his judgements (ואתן להם את-חקותי ואת-משפטי) [wāʾettēn lāhem ʾet-ḥuqqōtay wěʾet- mišpāṭay hōda ʿī].

The texts in Isaiah 5, Hosea 5, and Daniel 8 refer to knowledge of the future communicated from the divine realm (Isa 5:5; Hos 5:9; Dan 8:19). YHWH is the Agent in Isaiah's song of the vineyard, where he tells the people he will cause them to know what he will do with his vineyard (ועתה אודיעה-נא אתכם את אשר-אני עשה לכרמי) [wěʿattā ʾōdīʿā-nā ʾetkem ʾēt ʾāšer-ʾānī ʾōseh lēkarmī]; 5:5) before he details its destruction (vv. 5–6). Similarly, in Hos 5:9, YHWH makes known among Judah's tribes the future destruction of Ephraim.

The angel Gabriel is the Agent who causes Daniel to know what will be in the future (הבני מודיעך את אשר-יהיה באחרית הזעם כי למועד קץ) [hinnēnī mōdīʿākā ʾēt ʾāšer-yihyeh bēʾaḥarīt hazzāʿam kī lēmōʿed qēš]; Dan 8:19). What he really does is explain the vision of the ram and the goat that Daniel just saw (8:2–14). However, the text is clear that in spite of Gabriel's explanation (H-ידע, H-ydʿ), Daniel does not understand (בין [byn]; 8:27). He is cognitively aware of what it means after Gabriel tells him, but he does not understand it. The word for *understanding* used at the beginning and the end of the passage is the Hiphil of בין (*byn*): in v. 16 a human voice tells Gabriel to make Daniel understand the vision (הבן להלז את-המראה) [hābēn lēhallāz ʾet-hammarʾeh]; Gabriel, in turn, tells Daniel to understand not the vision itself, but that the vision is of the end of wrath (הבן בן-אדם כי לעת-קץ החזון) [hābēn ben-ʾādām kī

lěʿet-qēš heḥāzôn]; v. 17); at the conclusion, a sick and exhausted Daniel proclaims that the vision is beyond understanding (ואשתומם על-המראה ואין מבין) [*wāʿeštômēm ʿal-hammarʿeh wěʿēn mēbîn*]; v. 27). Perhaps it is significant that בין (*byn*) is used of Gabriel’s explanation that the vision is of the end, and ידע-H (*yd^c-H*) is used of his detailing the vision itself.³⁷ He can pass along the information to Daniel (ידע, *yd^c*), but he cannot make him comprehend it (בין, *byn*).³⁸ Daniel can, at the very least, understand something of the timing of the vision, but he cannot comprehend the vision even when it has been explained to him.³⁹

Finally, ידע-H (*yd^c-H*) in several texts rhetorically reinforces the biblical idea that no one can instruct God – his knowledge encompasses the divine and non-divine realm: Isa 40:13, 14; Job 37:19.⁴⁰ Isaiah 40:13–14, already discussed above (see 4.3.1.4.4), exhibits a heaping up of “wisdom words” to make its resounding point that no one is qualified to instruct YHWH. Similarly, in the book of Job, Elihu challenges Job to cause his friends to know what they should say to God, suggesting that no one can inform God of anything (Job 37:19).⁴¹

³⁷ The juxtaposition of ידע-H (*yd^c-H*) and בין-H is also found in Neh 8:12, where the people rejoice because they understand (בין, *byn*) the words which were made known to them (ידע-H, *yd^c-H*). The distinction between ידע-H (*yd^c-H*) and בין-H (*byn-H*) in these two texts is *who* does what: the Agent “teaches” – passes on the information – and the Recipient “understands” (or, in the case of Daniel, does not understand).

³⁸ בין (*byn*) is common in the language of Daniel’s visions. Beyond ch. 8, Gabriel (9:22) instructed (בין-H, *byn-H*) Daniel, telling him that he had come to make him skilful in *bînā* (שכל-H, *skl-H*): להשכילך בינה (*lēhaškilēkā bînā*). In 10:14 Gabriel tells Daniel he has come to give him understanding (בין-H, *byn-H*) of what will happen to his people in the latter days – the vision pertains to the future: . . . ובאתי להבינך את . . . (*ūbāʾī lahābînēkā ʿet*). In his analysis of בין (*byn*), Carasik argues that in at least nineteen cases (and perhaps 24) it means “teach,” and “like הודיע, it is almost always concerned with instruction from or about God” (2006: 51). My analysis of “teach” terminology does not include בין (*byn*), but further study of the lexeme, particularly with respect to Carasik’s claim here, could be fruitful.

³⁹ Apparently even YHWH (or his angel) cannot *make* someone understand something. That YHWH is limited in what he can do instructionally speaking is interesting and will be further discussed in ch. 7.

⁴⁰ This theme has already been seen with למד (*lmd*) in Isa 40:12–31. The texts included in this section could also fit in definition 1b, since it is not easy to draw a line between divine-realm knowledge and non-divine-realm knowledge in the rhetoric of Isaiah 40.

⁴¹ Carasik includes this Job text (with others) in which he says the “standard usage of הודיע is rhetorically negated, with God the receiver, not the transmitter, of knowledge” (2006: 27). Of Job 37:19–20 he says, “The rhetorical question emphasizes the absurdity of the idea that a human being could cause God to know anything” (2006: 27). I agree with Carasik that the rhetorical emphasis of this text (and others in Job) is the inability of humans to instruct God. However, the use of ידע-H (*yd^c-H*) here does not support Carasik’s argument that ידע-H (*yd^c-H*) refers to divine knowledge since Elihu challenges Job to make them know (הודיענו, *hōdīʿēnū*) what they should say (באמר, *nōʿmar*) to God, not what they should ידע (*yd^c*) God.

5.3.1.1.2. ידע-H (ydc^c-H) Definition 1b: *To inform or direct a passive Recipient with knowledge from the non-divine realm*

Similar to the texts above, the texts discussed here activate the part of ידע-H's (ydc^c -H) meaning potential that involves a passive Recipient being informed or directed. The difference exhibited in these texts, however, is that the knowledge is not from the divine realm. The Agents who transmit the knowledge are individuals (Job, the psalmist, David, and YHWH) and groups (Philistines, priests, and sages); the Recipients as well are individuals (Jeremiah, individual Israelites, and YHWH) and groups (collective Israelites). The knowledge transmitted (Patients) includes the king's successor, legal decisions, a murder conspiracy, transgression, "wisdom," and the words of torah. Four texts involve knowledge specific to the circumstances of the Recipients (1 Kgs 1:27; Jer 11:18; Ezek 22:26; 44:23), while another four refer to knowledge more general in nature (1 Sam 14:12; Neh 8:12; Job 26:3; 32:7). In another four texts, a human Agent "makes known" (or is invited to make known) something to YHWH, the Recipient, that he most certainly already knows (Ps 32:5; Job 38:3 = 40:7 ≈ 42:4).

Two texts with situation-specific uses of ידע-H (ydc^c -H) occur in contexts of conspiracies. In the accession narrative of Solomon in 1 Kings, Nathan the prophet learns of Adonijah's preparations to take the throne of his father and he asks David, "Has this thing been done [an heir appointed] by my lord the king, and you have not caused your servants to know who should sit on the throne of my lord the king after him?" (אם מאת אדני המלך נהיה הדבר)⁴² [ʾim mē-ʾēt ʾādōnî hammelek nihyâ haddābār hazzeh wēlōʾ hōdaʿtā ʾet-ʿabdêkā mî yēšēb ʿal-kissēʾ ʾādōnî-hammelek ʾaḥrāyw],

Some may argue that YHWH himself makes the same point as Elihu in the whirlwind speeches, where he invites Job to "cause him to know" when he questions him (Job 38:3 = 40:7; cf. also 42:4). However, something else is arguably going on here. See 5.3.1.2.2 below.

⁴² 1 Kings 1:27 constitutes one of the "rare cases in which a *simple* question is introduced by אם" instead of the expected אם . . . ך; the *he*, expected in v. 24, is "suppressed" (cf. Isa 29:16; Job 6:12; 39:13) (GKC §475f).

although they are syntactically different (i.e., ידע-H [yd^c -H] in 1 Sam 14:12 is construed in a ditransitive clause, while in Judges it is transitive, taking a Recipient and not a Patient).⁴⁸ The Philistines meant to communicate something, but the nature of the communicative act is too unclear to say much beyond this; I have classified 1 Sam 14:12 under definition 1b because it is the most general aspect of the meaning potential of ידע-H (yd^c -H).

After Ezra's reading of the law in Neh 8:12, the people rejoice because they understand (בין, *byn*) the words which were made known to them (ידע-H [yd^c -H]; cf. Dan 8:19 and see note 38 above). ידע-H (yd^c -H) expresses the communication (and perhaps the explanation) of the words, that is, the action of the Agent.⁴⁹ The Patients are passive in the process expressed by ידע-H (yd^c -H); they hear the words. Their engagement with the material is found instead in בין (*byn*); they understood.

In Job 32:7 Elihu introduces himself (and his “inexperienced wisdom”) by saying he waited for the aged to make known wisdom, but they failed, so he will declare (הורה-D, *hwh-D*) his thoughts. The proclamation of Job's friends' wisdom is also in 26:3, where Job sarcastically praises his friends for supplying him with abundant insight – a reference to their pontificating throughout the preceding chapters.

A final group of texts are particularly interesting with respect to instruction. In each context, the Agent makes known (or is invited to make known) to YHWH the Recipient something which he (YHWH) most certainly already knows: Ps 32:5; Job 38:3 = 40:7 ≈ 42:4. In the penitential Psalm 32, the psalmist declares how miserable he has been because he has

⁴⁸Judg 8:16 is one of two texts with ידע-H (yd^c -H) that J. A. Emerton (1970) references with respect to the difficulty of translating ידע (yd^c) with a sense of ‘to know’. (The other is Ps 90:12; see further below at 5.3.1.2.2). Carasik succinctly states the problem in the 1 Samuel text: “The crux here is the difficulty posed by the following inferred development of meaning: ‘cause to know’ > ‘teach’ > ‘teach a lesson’ > ‘punish’ (NJPS) or ‘discipline’ (NEB)” (2006: 26n44). Making sense of a definition related to ידע (yd^c) ‘to know’ would require “a colloquialism something like the American ‘That’ll learn you!’” (2006: 26n44). Another possibility is positing a second root ידע (yd^c), as D. Winton Thomas has. Thomas was not the first to suggest an alternative root ידע (yd^c), but he did publish widely on the topic. See, e.g., Thomas (1955; 1957; 1964). See also Emerton (1970) for a fuller examination of Thomas's argument and the different meanings for ידע (yd^c) that he offers. Emerton also details many of the occurrences of ידע (yd^c) in the MT that beg a meaning other than ‘to know’, as well as evidence from the versions and rabbinic writings that support Thomas's claims. J. Barr, likewise, discusses the issue in his *Comparative Philology and the Text of the Old Testament* (1968: 19-23). I have omitted Judg 8:16 from my corpus because of its lack of clarity and the plausible argument that it represents a different root.

⁴⁹ The grammatical subject of ידע-H (yd^c -H) is an impersonal “they”: כי הבינו בדברים אשר הודיעו להם (*kī hēbīnū baddēbārīm ʾāšer hōdīʿū lāhem*) “because they understood the words which were made known to them (lit: “which they made known to them”).

been silent about his sin and YHWH's hand has been heavy upon him (כי יומם וליילה תכבד עלי) ידע [kî yômām wālaylâ tikbad ʿalay yādekā]; v. 4). Verse 5 contains the psalmist's confession: "I caused you to know my sin, and I did not hide my iniquity; I said, 'I will confess my transgressions to YHWH'" (חטאתי אודיעך ועוני לא־כסיתי אמרתי אודה עלי פשעי ליהוה) [ḥaṭṭā ʿî ṽōdî ʿākā wa ʿāwōnî lōʾkissîṭî ʾāmartî ʾōdeh ʿalē pēšā ʿay laYHWH]). YHWH knows the sin, so the psalmist is not making him aware of what he does not know. What he is doing is making YHWH aware that *he* recognises his sin; accordingly, many translations render ידע-H (yḏ^c-H) here as "acknowledge" (e.g., NASB, NRSV, JPS, KJV). The outcome of the psalmist's acknowledgement and confession is forgiveness and a return to the state of being blessed (cf. v. 1, "Happy is the one whose transgression is forgiven").

In a similar vein is Job 38:4 (= 40:7 ≈ 42:4), in which YHWH invites Job to "make him know" the answers to a series of questions. Obviously, YHWH knows the answers, and Job knows the answers as well.⁵⁰ Consider the questions YHWH asks: Who set the measures of the earth? Who enclosed the boundaries of the sea? Have you understood the expanse of the earth? Can you send forth lightening? Do you know when the mountain goats give birth? These are not difficult questions, and YHWH invites Job to tell him the answers – and in so doing, express his own awareness of the greater situation. Fox puts it well:

God is saying to Job, You know very well that I and I alone created order and maintain it in the world, and I know that you know, and you know that I know that you know. This is the meaning of God's opening challenge: "Who is this that obscures providence (ʿeṣa) by ignorant words?" God implies that the ʿeṣa, his plan for the world, is essentially manifest and known, and that Job is to be blamed for obscuring it, for obscuring a truth that he is really aware of (Fox 1981: 60).

The use of ידע-H (yḏ^c-H) in these Job texts functions as part of a larger didactic method in which a teacher brings a student to a point of awareness by inviting him to answer questions to which he knows (at least in part) the answers.⁵¹ By giving voice to latent knowledge in a new context, the student "learns" what he already knows. ידע-H (yḏ^c-H) does not encompass this entire process, of course; its role is the teacher's trigger: "Tell me what you know." Fox

⁵⁰ See M. Fox (1981) for a fuller treatment of the rhetoric of Job 38.

⁵¹ These thoughts grew out of a private conversation with Professor Fox about the didactic role of YHWH in the book of Job.

muses that YHWH “extracts Job from his own individual plight . . . and points to a greater whole”⁵²

In summary, definition 1a involves transmission of information to a passive Recipient to the extent that they are (or should be) cognitively aware of it. In many texts, $\text{y}d^c\text{-H}$ ($\text{y}d^c\text{-H}$) could be aptly translated “tell” as this is an English word that highlights the action of the speaker and essentially ignores the participation of the listener in a communicative act. The kind of “instruction” is often similar to the definition of $\text{y}r\text{h}\text{-H}$ ($\text{y}r\text{h}\text{-H}$) in which a person of authority or expertise gives another person specific, situational instruction. In some cases (Job 38, Psalm 32), the benefits of “making someone know something” are not for the Recipient, but rather for the Agent.

5.3.1.2. $\text{y}d^c\text{-H}$ ($\text{y}d^c\text{-H}$) Definition 2: *To make another understand something cognitively; to inform or direct so that a Recipient, often active, perceives, grasps, or understands; often involves a more sustained process of transmission*

The second major category of $\text{y}d^c\text{-H}$'s ($\text{y}d^c\text{-H}$) meaning potential involves a person, usually of authority, who informs or directs another person, who is often actively involved in receiving the knowledge being transmitted. The primary difference from definition 1 is that the information is, in some way, impressed upon the Recipients so that they comprehend it. They engage the material to the extent that they perceive its significance.

As was true in definition 1, the distinction between definitions 2a and 2b below is the source of the knowledge – namely, whether the knowledge is from the divine or non-divine realm. A third definition (2c) includes texts that refer to the attempt to transmit knowledge born of experience, specifically, experiences with YHWH's powerful acts.

5.3.1.2.1. $\text{y}d^c\text{-H}$ ($\text{y}d^c\text{-H}$) Definition 2a: *To inform or direct with knowledge from the divine realm so that a Recipient, often active, perceives, grasps, or understands; often involves a more sustained process of transmission*

The Agents of knowledge from the divine realm are YHWH/El and Ezekiel the prophet, who mediates divine knowledge. The Recipients involved are individuals (i.e., Pharaoh, the psalmists) and groups (i.e., the Israelites), and the Patients include knowledge sourced in YHWH (e.g., the meaning of Pharaoh's dreams, interpretations of Israel's history). This

⁵² I say Fox “muses” because this quotation is from a hand-written note on my copy of his 1981 article.

sense of $\text{H-H} (\text{y}d^c - \text{H})$ is found three times in the Pentateuch, three times in Ezekiel, and once in the Writings (Gen 41:39; Num 16:5; Deut 8:3; Ezek 16:2; 20:4; 22:2; Ps 78:5).

In Genesis 41 Joseph interprets Pharaoh's dreams of cows and corn, but he offers Pharaoh more than just the interpretation of his dreams; in vv. 33–36, he advises the king about what he should do given the impending events. In vv. 38–39, Pharaoh acknowledges the unique insight of Joseph (הנמצא כזה איש אשר רוח אלהים בו) [*hānimšā' kāzeh 'iš 'āšer rūaḥ 'ēlōhīm bō*]; “Can we find a man like this, in whom is the spirit of God?”) and says there is no one so discerning and wise as Joseph since God has caused him to know “all these things” (אחרי הודיע אלהים אותך את-כל-זאת אין-נבון וחכם כמוך) [*‘aḥārē hōdīa' 'ēlōhīm 'ōtēkā 'et-kol-zō 'ēn-nābôn wəḥākām kāmōkā*]). It is possible that by “all these things” Pharaoh means the interpretation of the dream that God made clear to Joseph, but it is also plausible that he is referring to the wise counsel Joseph gave him in light of the interpretation; Joseph had a full grasp of the situation and perceived what needed to be done in light of it. It appears that God did more than provide Joseph with the dream's interpretation, though these two senses may not be mutually exclusive.⁵³

YHWH is the Agent in Deut 8:3 where Moses reports to the people that YHWH used their hunger and his provision of manna to cause them to know that they did not live only by bread, but by his word.⁵⁴ The lesson passed on here is not informational – that is, YHWH did not simply tell the people that they depended on him for their existence. He impressed upon them the reality of the fact by letting them experience it. In this sense, they were active participants in the acquisition of the lesson. Of this teaching experience, Weinfeld says, “Man *lives on* food consumed by him but *exists* on whatever God decrees. It is not bread alone that ensures man's existence, but God's providence. This is the lesson gained by the phenomenon of the manna. God is able to guarantee the existence of man even when nature does not” (1991: 389, italics original).⁵⁵

⁵³ Genesis 41:39 could be considered situation-specific knowledge, as in definition 1. However, Pharaoh's promotion of Joseph seems due more to his overall God-given wisdom, evidenced by his broader application of situation-specific knowledge.

⁵⁴ ויענך וירעבך ויאכלך את-המנ אשר לא-ידעת ולא ידעון אבתוך למען הודיעך כי לא עלי-הלחם לבדו יחיה האדם כי על-כל-מוצא פיי-הוה (Wayē'annēkā wayyar'ibekā wayya'ākīlēkā 'et-hammān 'āšer lō-yāda'tā wēlō-yādē'ūn 'ābōtēkā lēma'an hōdī'ākā kī lō' 'al-halleḥem lēbaddō yiḥyeh hā'ādām kī 'al-kol-mōšā' pī-YHWH yiḥyeh hā'ādām.)

⁵⁵ Deuteronomy 8 has a number of other references to instruction, including יסר (*yśr*) in 8:5. See 6.3.1.1. While I have classified Deut 8:3 under definition 2a, it could arguably be included under 3 below instead. I have slotted

In the aftermath of the Korah incident, Moses declared to the rebels and all Israel that YHWH would make known who was his and who was not (Num 16:5): וידע יהוה את־אשר־לוֹ (wəyōda^c YHWH ʔet-ʔāšer-lō wəʔet-haqqādōš). YHWH did not, however, simply tell the people this information; he showed them in such a way as to guarantee that they understood. They were involved in the telling, as it were, and the significance of the knowledge was not lost on them.⁵⁶

Three times in Ezekiel, the prophet spins his descriptions of Israel's behaviour in such a way as to cause the people to know (עֵדֵי-H, yd^c-H)⁵⁷ their abominations (16:2; 20:4; 22:2).⁵⁸ While the people are not properly active in the telling and receiving, the speeches go beyond mere declaration to a passive Recipient. The Recipients are, in fact, characters in Ezekiel's speeches and he means to stun them into realisation of their abominations. That the people were utterly unaware of their sin stretches the imagination; that they did not fully grasp the significance of their sin to the extent that they would be ashamed is clearly a focus of the book of Ezekiel. So Ezekiel "makes known" to them their abominations in such a way as to bring them to shame.

Yet there is more to the message than the means; a fair reading of the lexeme עֵדֵי-H (yd^c-H) suggests that the prophet *is* telling them something they do not already know.⁵⁹ The information he is transmitting is not superfluous. Chapters 16, 20, 22, and 23 of Ezekiel contain judgement (*rīb*) oracles in which YHWH indicts the people for their abominations

it under 2a instead because of the mediating component of the knowledge; YHWH wants the people to know/understand the fact that they live by his word, so he uses manna as a means to accomplish this goal. Manna itself is not what the people are to know. In definition 3, the content transmitted *is* the knowledge being passed on as well. See 5.3.1.2.3 below.

⁵⁶ Again, as with Deut 8:3, the use of עֵדֵי-H (yd^c-H) in the context of Num 16:5 resembles definition 3 below, where YHWH transmits "knowledge" by performing deeds. See note 85.

⁵⁷ Ezekiel is the only prophetic book in which transmission of YHWH's oracles is described with the verb עֵדֵי-H (yd^c-H). This could be due, in part, to the dominance of the verb יָדַע (yd^c) in Ezekiel (99x; cf. 76x in Isaiah and 75x in Jeremiah); *knowing* and *coming to know* are important themes in Ezekiel. However, the particularity of עֵדֵי-H's (yd^c-H) placement in the book suggests that more than theme is at work.

⁵⁸ Zimmerli identifies "abominations" as "a comprehensive term for all sins of cultic impurity" (1979: 190).

⁵⁹ There are instances in BH when עֵדֵי-H (yd^c-H) refers to transmitting information that is already known by the Recipient, but these constitute a particular context – namely, an instructor urging an Agentive student to tell him (the Recipient) what he knows; the instructor obviously knows the information already but uses a Socratic-like method with his student. See Job 38: 3 = 40:7; 42:4 in 5.3.1.2.2.

(תועבות, *tô ʿēbôt*),⁶⁰ but each chapter gives the people something “new” to consider. D. Block describes three of the chapters:

In three chapters (16, 20, 23), Ezekiel paints a picture of Israel’s history that is shockingly revisionistic. According to common consensus, Israel’s security was firmly rooted in God’s irrevocable covenant promises. . . .

However, adopting the stance of an outside, a social critic, Ezekiel distances himself from his own people. With a devastating ironic inversion he argues that the sins of Israel’s present are simply a continuation of the sins of her past. In fact, in spite of divine grace, from her earliest beginnings in Egypt she has been characterized by uninterrupted immorality and faithlessness. She therefore deserves the fury of Yahweh’s wrath.

In these chapters the prophet derives his sermon material from history, but it is a history unlike anything found in the historiographic writings of the OT. At times he sounds like Hosea; at times like Jeremiah. But he forces his audience to wrestle with the reality of their past by driving their images to the extreme, and intentionally skewing and distorting their sacred traditions. His attribution of his reconstruction of Israel’s history to Yahweh himself renders his presentation all the more shocking. This is not merely the interpretation of a university lecturer or a traveling minstrel; it is the divine patron’s own evaluation of the nation’s past. When the prophet’s audience finally gets that picture, then the justice of God will be vindicated, and all the props on which their smug sense of security were based will be smashed (Block 1997: 1.462).

A fourth *rib* oracle is in chapter 22, where Ezekiel arraigns Jerusalem, “the bloody city,” placing the holy city in the same company as Nineveh (Nah 3:1; cf. Ezek 24:6, 9); Greenberg notes that “the primary reference here is to ‘judicial murder’ – killing as an exercise of administrative power” (cf. also vv. 6, 9, 27; 7:23; 9:9) (1997: 452).⁶¹ Block suggests that “by borrowing this expression [Ezekiel] invites a comparison of the crimes being perpetrated in the Judean capital with Assyria’s brutal treatment of conquered peoples” (1997: 1.703–4).

⁶⁰ In three of the oracles, the prophet is charged to “cause Israel to know” (הודע, *hōdaʿ*) its abominations (16:2; 20:4; 22:2; in 23:36, the lexeme is נגד-H [*ydʿ*-H]). Further investigation of נגד (*ngd*) and ידע (*ydʿ*) in these contexts could be interesting.

⁶¹ Certainly the reference to bloodshed, particularly prominent in ch. 22 (22:2–4, 6, 9, 12, 13, 27; see also 7:23 and 36:18), includes more than an allusion to Nineveh. See M. Lyons on Ezekiel’s use of the Holiness Code for the ways in which Ezekiel adapts and utilizes Leviticus material for his own purposes (Lyons 2005). Of ch. 22 Milgrom notes, “The prophet adroitly turns the theriocidal language and context of Leviticus into homicidal accusations against his people, enabling him to invoke the penalty – inexorable divine retribution” (2000: 1482).

Part of the “something new” proclaimed by Ezekiel here is the shocking comparison of YHWH’s chosen city and chosen people with the epitome of pagan violence.⁶²

Finally, a text in Psalms activates the aspect of $\text{y}d^c\text{-H}$ ’s ($\text{y}d^c\text{-H}$) meaning potential described in definition 2a. In Ps 78:5, parents were to make known ($\text{y}d^c\text{-H}$, $\text{y}d^c\text{-H}$) YHWH’s testimony and torah to their children so they would know and recount them to their children and so on. The knowledge in Ps 78:5 is indeed sourced in the divine realm (the testimony and the Torah), but its mediation from the divine realm happened at an earlier time – namely, when YHWH gave his testimony and Torah to Israel. Similar to the sense of lmd-D (lmd-D), this action of the Israelite fathers involved more than making their children cognitively aware of YHWH’s commands; they were to instil and ingrain them in their minds.

5.3.1.2.2. $\text{y}d^c\text{-H}$ ($\text{y}d^c\text{-H}$) Definition 2b: *To inform or direct with knowledge from the non-divine realm so that a Recipient, often active, perceives, grasps, or understands; often involves a more sustained process of transmission*

Ten texts are similar to those above but involve knowledge that is not from the divine realm. Four of the occurrences of $\text{y}d^c\text{-H}$ ($\text{y}d^c\text{-H}$) in this context are in the book of Proverbs and the knowledge being transmitted can be characterised as “wisdom” (Prov 1:23; 9:9; 22:19, 21); an additional six are in Psalms, where the knowledge transmitted also involves wisdom, although the texts themselves are not properly wisdom literature (Pss 16:11; 25:4; 39:5; 51:8; 90:12; 143:8).

Carasik argues that $\text{y}d^c\text{-H}$ ($\text{y}d^c\text{-H}$) texts where wisdom is the object of instruction qualify as divine knowledge: “Prov 8:22–31, in which Wisdom claims to be the first of God’s creations, proudly announcing that she was at his side when he made the universe itself, suggests that the occurrences of $\text{h}d^c\text{-H}$ in wisdom literature can be added to this category [i.e., divine knowledge]” (2006: 25). However, this is a drastic oversimplification of wisdom and wisdom literature, and fails, at the very least, to consider what is actually being communicated and how it could possibly be considered knowledge from the divine realm.⁶³ While “wisdom” in Proverbs is “founded on fear of God” (Fox 2000: 3), it is fundamentally human; Fox argues that wisdom is “the power of the human mind, both in its intellectual

⁶² On the probability of Ezekiel’s familiarity with literary works of his predecessors, see Greenberg (1986: 131–32).

⁶³ As a starting place for what “wisdom” means, see Fox’s “Wisdom in the Lectures” (2000: 347–51).

faculties and in the knowledge it can gain, hold, and transmit” (Fox 2000: 3). God himself possesses wisdom, but it is not “divine knowledge” inaccessible to human minds, as Carasik suggests.

In Prov 1:23, Lady Wisdom summons the simple, the scoffers, and the fools, promising them that if they will turn at her reproof, she will pour out her *rûah*; she will cause them to know her words. The reader of Prov 9:9 is exhorted to give (נתן, *ntn*) to a wise man (who will become wiser still) and instruct (עִיד־H, *yd^c-H*) a righteous man (who will increase his learning). What is most important in the processes of learning in both 1:23 and 9:9 is the receptivity of the learner; he is interested in and actively engaged in receiving what is being passed on to him. Furthermore, the transmission of wisdom arguably takes place over a period of time, not in one moment as is the case in definition 1 above. The same is true of the “instruction” in the last two עִיד־H (*yd^c-H*) verses in Proverbs (22:19, 21). These verses occur at the beginning of the Amenemope Collection (Prov 22:17–23:11) and comprise part of what Fox calls the exordium – an exhortation and praise of teaching.⁶⁴ In v. 19, the author tells his student, “The sole reason that – with you specifically in mind – I have taught you these things today is to teach you to place your trust in the Lord alone” (2009: 709).⁶⁵ While the teaching is said to happen “today,” the fact that the instructions are written implies their ongoing relevance; the student engages and masters the material over time.

A final text in which “wisdom” is the Patient/object of עִיד־H (*yd^c-H*) is Ps 51:7–8: הַיְבַעֲוֹן חוֹלְלֵתִי וּבַחֲטָא יִחַמְתַּנִּי אֲמִי הַיְאֵמַת חֲפֶצֶת בְּטַחֻת וּבִסְתֵם חֲכָמָה תוֹדִיעֵנִי (*hēn-bē^cāwōn ḥōlālētī ūbēḥēṭ² yeḥēmatnī ḥimmī hēn-²ēmet ḥāpaštā baṭṭuḥōt ūbēsātūm ḥokmā tōdī^cēnī*), “Indeed! I was brought forth in iniquity, in sin my mother conceived me; Indeed! You desire truth in the

⁶⁴ The material is comprised of thirty maxims that are adaptations of Amenemope. Most commentators accept the emendation from the MT Qere שלִישִׁים (*šālīšim*) of uncertain meaning (MT Kethib שלִשֹׁם [*šilšōm*] ‘the day before yesterday’ but without the תְּמוֹל [*tēmōl*] of the idiom) to שלִלוֹשִׁים (*šēlōšim*) ‘thirty’. For the similarities between Amenemope and Proverbs and a theory about the way Proverbs uses Amenemope, see Fox (2009: 706–31; 53–67).

⁶⁵ The translation is Fox’s, in which he represents the emphatic syntax of v. 19: לְהִיּוֹת בִּיהוָה מִבְּטַחְךָ הוֹדַעְתִּיךָ הַיּוֹם: אֲרֵאֲתָהּ (*lihyōt ba-YHWH mibṭaḥekā ḥōda^ctikā hayyōm ḥap-^cattā*), lit., “in order that your trust may be in YHWH.” Fox notes the three levels of emphasis: (1) the position of בִּיהוָה (*ba-YHWH*) before the subject of the infinitive (בְּטַח [*beṭaḥ*] ‘trust’), suggesting the contrast of “trust in Yahweh rather than in your own independent powers and faculties”; (2) the infinitival purpose clause located at the beginning of the sentence (the syntactic phenomenon of dependent infinitives preceding the main verb [הוֹדַעְתִּיךָ (*ḥōda^ctikā*) here] is rare, as Fox notes. Another occurs in Ps 90:12. See Fox 2009: 709 and 5.3.1.2.2 above for Ps 90:12); and (3) the “you” (אַתָּה, *attā*) at the end of the sentence (2009: 708–9).

inward parts, you make me know wisdom in the secret place.” The verses are structured as a pair by an introductory הֵן (*hēn*) at the beginning of each, and they contrast the psalmist’s deeply rooted sin with YHWH’s desire for wisdom and truth in his deeply rooted “parts.” The psalm continues with the psalmist’s plea that YHWH cleanse and restore him. As part of a penitential psalm, vv. 7–8 are similar to Ps 32:5 discussed above, but different in that they express YHWH’s role in the process of recognising and acknowledging sin. In Ps 32:5, the psalmist acknowledged to YHWH specific sin to (i.e., “made known” sin to YHWH, which he already knows); in Ps 51, the psalmist says YHWH is the one at work in him; in some undefined way, YHWH causes the psalmist to understand (not simply be aware of) the standards of truth and wisdom against which his sin stands out.

Three texts in Psalms incorporate the “way” metaphor discussed in chapter 3 (see 3.3.1.3) in their activation of definition 2b: Pss 16:11; 25:4; 143:8. While the metaphor is more commonly associated with ירה-H (*yrh-H*), it does show overlap with ידע (*yd^c*) in these three texts. I will not repeat the details of the metaphor here, but simply restate three of its basic components: (1) the “way” (דֶּרֶךְ, *derek*) or the “path” corresponds to one’s behaviour, namely the choices they make and how they live; (2) use of the metaphor suggests an on-going need for instruction, since choosing the right path is not a one-time decision but a step-by-step process in which the need for guidance habitually arises; (3) a guide accompanies the traveller and assists when the need arises.

In Ps 16:11 the psalmist says YHWH causes him to know the path of life (i.e., the path *to* life). The statement in v. 11 contrasts with that of v. 10, in which the psalmist expresses confidence that YHWH will not abandon him to Sheol.⁶⁶ Similarly, the psalmist of 25:4 looks for guidance and entreats YHWH to cause him to know his ways (// לַמַּד [lmd] ‘to teach’; cf. also v. 5, דֶּרֶךְ [drk] ‘way’ and לַמַּד [lmd] ‘to teach’).⁶⁷ Finally, in Ps 143:8, the

⁶⁶ This contrast between the two ways is common in Wisdom literature. See, e.g., Prov 2:19; 5:6; 12:28; 15:24; see also “Paths through Life,” pp. 128–31 in Fox 2000.

⁶⁷ I will deal more extensively with Psalm 25 in ch. 7.

psalmist asks YHWH to cause him to know the way that he should walk.⁶⁸ Each psalmist is looking for guidance and instruction as he attempts to live rightly.⁶⁹

Two additional Psalms texts activate the aspect of ידע-H's (yd^c -H) meaning potential described in definition 2b: Pss 39:5; 90:12.⁷⁰ The Psalms texts are similar in that the psalmists ask YHWH to “cause them to know” the brevity of life. In Ps 90:12, the psalmist wants YHWH to help him know how to number his days (למנות ימינו כן הודע ונבא לבב חכמה, *limnôt yāmênû kēn hôda^c wēnābī^ʔ lēbab ḥokmâ*), and in 39:5, the psalmist entreats YHWH to make him know his end (הודיעני יהוה קצתי, *hōdī^c ʿēnī YHWH qīṣṣī*). These are not requests for the date of one's death (in which case, the knowledge would be sourced in the divine realm), but rather for a continual awareness of the brevity of life so that time may be well spent and priorities rightly aligned. The psalmists want to grasp the significance of the ephemeral quality of life.⁷¹

5.3.1.2.3. ידע-H (yd^c -H) Definition 2c: *People cause other people to understand YHWH's power by recounting their (tradition of) experience with his deeds*

The texts included in this aspect of ידע-H's (yd^c -H) meaning potential involve the telling of YHWH's past deeds. The action itself involves recounting to successive generations YHWH's saving acts on behalf of his people. In one sense, this entails making others aware of his deeds (thus, definition 1); however, the contexts make clear that the “making them

⁶⁸ It could be argued that the three Psalms texts described here activate definition 1b – making another person aware instead of giving him/her *cognitive understanding*. However, the use of the “way” metaphor suggests a somewhat sustained and ongoing process of instruction.

⁶⁹ Carasik classifies the objects of ידע-H (yd^c -H) in these texts as divine knowledge as well (2006: 25). This is possible, but given the pervasiveness of the “way” metaphor in the Hebrew Bible and its association with wise living – not divine revelation – I think it more likely that the psalmists are asking for non-divine knowledge. *How* YHWH would cause them to know something or *what* they were expecting is more difficult to ascertain.

⁷⁰ Emerton cites two other scholars, however, who have suggested an alternative meaning for ידע-H (yd^c -H) in Ps 90:12. See Emerton (1970) for the works of E. Ben Yehuda (*Thesaurus Totius Hebraicitatis et Veteris et Recentioris*) and L. J. Liebreich (“Observations on ‘Some rabbinic evidence for a Hebrew root ידע = و د ع’”).

⁷¹ Finsterbusch makes a good case for Ps 39:5 indeed being the psalmist's request to know how long he will live since he is certainly aware of life's brevity. On account of his sin, he is feeling beaten by YHWH and is looking for reassurance that he will continue living. If she is correct, then Ps 39:5 would fit better under definition 1a. “Sie ist kaum so zu verstehen, dass JHWH das betende Ich die Befristung seines Lebens lehren soll, denn es weiß nur zu gut, wie aus V. 6 hervorgeht, dass jedes menschliche Leben befristet ist. Vielmehr soll JHWH das betende Ich, das sich zur Zeit seines Gebets von JHWH infolge von Schuld als schwer geschlagen erlebt, wissen lassen (ידע hif.), wie alt es werden wird. Hat es noch Lebenszeit? In V. 5b betont das betende Ich ausdrücklich seine Bereitschaft für solches Wissen (ידע q.) – das unmittelbar seine Existenz berühren wird” (Finsterbusch 2007: 55).

know” is an ongoing process, the intent of which is to cause others to cognitively understand something about YHWH (thus, definition 2). I have classified the texts here separately because they are specifically concerned with making known the actions of YHWH that Israel experienced – the attempt to transmit knowledge born of experienced (see definition 3 below, 5.3.1.3). The texts are Deut 4:9; Josh 4:22; Isa 12:4; 38:19; Pss 89:2; 105:1; 145:12; 1 Chr 16:8.

In both Deuteronomy and Joshua, fathers are exhorted to cause their children to know YHWH’s deeds. Moses reminds the Israelites in Deuteronomy 4 to remember the things they have seen and to make them known to their children (v. 9⁷²). Joshua also instructs the Israelites to cause their children to know YHWH’s deeds, this time with respect to the miraculous crossing of the Jordan (4:22⁷³).

In Hezekiah’s prayer of praise upon his healing, he, as one of the living, extols YHWH (חַי חַי הוּא יוֹדֵךְ כְּמוֹנֵי הַיּוֹם) [ḥay ḥay hū² yōdekā kāmōnī hayyôm]; Isa 38:19a); he explains his praise by saying, “A father tells his sons about your faithfulness” (אב לבנים יודיע) [āb lēbānīm yōdīa^c ʾel-ʾāmittekā]; Isa 38:19b). The faithfulness of YHWH in Hezekiah’s immediate experience is his deliverance from death – a mighty act of YHWH.

The psalmist of Psalm 89 likewise speaks of causing generations to know YHWH’s faithfulness (חסד // אמונה) [ʾēmūnā // ḥesed]; v. 2⁷⁴). The specific deeds of YHWH in view are creation and the establishment of his covenant with David’s seed: חסדי יהוה עולם אשירה לדר ודר (ḥasdē YHWH ʾōlām ʾāšīrā lēdōr wādōr ʾōdīa^c ʾēmūnātēkā bēpī kī-ʾāmartī ʾōlām ḥesed yibbāneh šāmayim tākīn ʾēmūnātēkā bāhem), “I will sing the loving-kindness of YHWH forever; with my mouth I will make known his faithfulness to all generations, for I have said, ‘Your loving-kindness will be built up forever; the heavens – you established your faithfulness in them’” (89:2–3). The notion of

⁷² רק השמר לך ושמר נפשך מאד פן־תשכח את־הדברים אשר־ראו עיניך ופן־יסורו מלבבך כל ימי חיידך והודעתם לבניך ולבני בניך (Raq hiššāmer lēkā ūšēmōr napšēkā mē²ōd pen-tiškaḥ ʾet-haddēbārīm ʾāšer-rāʾū ʿēnēkā ūpen-yāsūrū millēbābēkā kōl yēmē ḥayyēkā wēhōda^ctām lēbānēkā wēlibnē bānēkā. “Only give heed to yourself and guard yourself carefully, lest you forget the things which your eyes have seen and lest they depart from your heart all the days of your life; but make them known to your sons and your grandsons.”)

⁷³ והודעתם את־בניכם לאמר ביבשה עבר ישראל את־הירדן הזה (wēhōda^ctēm ʾet-bēnēkem lē²mōr bayyabbāšā ʾābar yišrāʾēl ʾet-hayyyardēn hazzeh. “And you shall cause your sons to know, saying, ‘On dry ground Israel crossed over this Jordan.’”)

⁷⁴ This word pair (or חסד // אמת) [ʾēmet // ḥesed) occurs six times in Psalm 89 (vv. 2, 3, 15, 25, 34, 50).

faithfulness is directly related to YHWH's deeds on behalf of the people – without them, it is difficult to define what his faithfulness would entail.

In Ps 145, the psalmist vows that YHWH's godly ones (חסידים [*ḥāsīdīm*]; v. 10) will bless him and speak of the glory of his kingdom (ברך [*brk*], אמר [*mr*]); they will speak of his might so that they can make it known to the children of men (וגבורתך ידברו להודיע לבני האדם) (וגבורתך ידברו להודיע לבני האדם) (*úgěbūrātēkā yědabbērú lěhódīa^c libnē hā'ādām gěbūrōtāy*), vv. 11–12). YHWH's faithful ones will cause sons of man to know YHWH's mighty acts. The combination of verbs is curious here, suggesting that *speaking* (דבר, *dbr*) and *making known* (ידע-H, *yd^c-H*) cannot simply be equated. The godly ones *speak* of YHWH's mighty acts *so that* others will come to know them.

Finally, ידע-H (*yd^c-H*) used of humans instructing others in the deeds of YHWH is found in three parallel (or similar) passages: Ps 105:1 = 1Chr 16:8 ≈ Isa 12:4. The verses show slight variation, but each includes the clause, הודיעו בעמים עלילותיו (*hōdī'ū bā'ammīm 'ālilōtāy*) “Make known his deeds among the nations.”⁷⁵

5.3.1.3. ידע-H (*yd^c-H*) Definition 3: *To make another understand experientially; used only of YHWH/El's deeds*

The third aspect of ידע-H's (*yd^c-H*) meaning potential is activated in at least fourteen texts that refer to YHWH performing great acts on behalf of his people, and it involves the deepest level of knowledge that ידע-H (*yd^c-H*) represents in BH. YHWH/El is always the Agent and people are always the Recipients, most commonly his people. The Patients are always his powerful works,⁷⁶ variously expressed in the MT and Sira (יד [*yad*], גבורה [*gěbūrā*], פעל [*pō'al*], עו [*ōz*], ישועה [*yěšū'ā*], דרכים [*děrkīm*], עלילות [*'ālilōt*], ברית [*bērīt*], כח [*kōah*], אמת [*'ēmet*], אמונה [*'ēmūnā*], דברי [*děbāray*]). The texts that exhibit this meaning of ידע-H (*yd^c-H*) are Exod 33:12–13; 2 Sam 7:21 = 1 Chr 17:19; Jer 16:21; Hab 3:2; Pss 25:14; 77:15; 98:2; 103:7; 106:8; Sir 38:5. Two additional texts activate this meaning in a slightly different way: Isa 64:1; Ezek 39:7.

⁷⁵ Carasik considers all these texts in which YHWH's deeds are recounted as being ultimately sourced in the divine realm. Again, I disagree, given that the people are recounting their own human experiences with YHWH.

⁷⁶ The exception is Exod 33:12–23 where Moses does not experience YHWH's works, but rather his *kabod*. However, what Moses asked for (to know YHWH's ways) vs. what he received (seeing YHWH's *kabod*) may explain this.

Two texts in the Latter Prophets activate definition 3a. First, in Jeremiah 16:21 YHWH says that in a future day when the nations renounce their gods and come to YHWH, he will cause them to know his power and might (לכן הנני מודיעם בפעם הזאת אודיעם את־ידי) [lākēn hinēnī mōdī‘ām bappa‘am hazzō‘ ʾôdī‘ēm ʾet-yādī wěʾet-gěbūrātī wěyādē‘û kî-šēmī YHWH], “Therefore, I am causing them to know, at this time I will cause them to know my power and my might so they will know that my name is YHWH”). Thompson suggests that this instruction takes place “no doubt through his servants, and ideally through his servant Israel (Isa. 42:4; 49:6),” and while this is possible, it seems more likely that YHWH himself is the Agent here as specified (Thompson 1980: 415), especially given the concluding statement that the nations will then know that his name is YHWH – an expression so commonly associated with a direct experience with YHWH’s mighty acts. Furthermore, the emphatic nature of ידע-H (*yd^c-H*) in v. 21 points to YHWH himself being the Agent: the participle מודיע (*mōdīa^c*) with an explicit 1cs subject *and* the 1cs finite verb אודיע (*ʾôdīa^c*). While YHWH’s people do make known (ידע, *yd^c*) his might (גבורה [gěbūrā]; e.g., Ps 145:12), they are not acting as mediators in this text.

The second text in the Latter Prophets that illustrates definition 3a is Hab 3:2, in which the prophet asks YHWH to make known his works (פעלך [po ‘ālēkā]) “in the midst of the years,” as he did in the past.⁷⁷ In the prayer of Habakkuk, the function of v. 2 is to petition YHWH to rescue the people in the middle of their time of distress – not to delay his rescue. For YHWH to “make known” his works clearly means for him to perform them on behalf of his people.

The expression of YHWH performing (ידע-H, *yd^c-H*) his mighty acts is found five times in the Psalms (25:14; 77:15; 98:2; 103:7; 106:8). In Ps 77:15, El is declared to be the God who does wonders and makes his strength known among the nations (אתה האל עשה פלא) [attā hā‘ēl ‘ôšēh pele‘ hōda‘ā bā‘ammīm ‘uzzekā]), and in 98:2 YHWH made his salvation known in the eyes of the nations (הודיע יהוה ישועתו לעיני הגוים גלה צדקתו) [hōdīa^c YHWH yěšū‘ātō lē‘ēnē haggōyim gillā ‘sidqātō]). Similarly, the psalmist of 103:7

⁷⁷ Finsterbusch does not include Hab 3:2 in her corpus, but she does not explain why.

praises YHWH who caused Moses to know his ways and Israel his acts (יודיע דרכיו למשה לבני) [yôdîa^c dĕrākāwy lĕmōšeh libnê yiśrā^ʿel ʿālilôtāyw]),⁷⁸ and the psalmist of 106:8–9 declares that YHWH saved the people so he could show his power at the Red Sea (ויושיעם למען שמו להודיע את-גבורתו ויגער בים-סוף ויחרב) [wayyôšî^c ʿem lĕma^can šĕmô lĕhōdîa^c ʿet-gĕbūrātô wayyig^car bĕyam-sûp wayyeḥĕrāb]).⁷⁹ In 25:14 the psalmist extols YHWH who makes those who fear him to know his covenant (סוד יהוה ליראיו ובריתו להודיעם) [sôd YHWH lîrē^ʿāyw ūbĕrîtô lĕhōdî^cām]). *Covenant* here functions as metonymy for YHWH’s deeds of covenant faithfulness. It would be tautologous if the psalmist meant YHWH simply told those who fear him what his covenant is; if they are fearers of YHWH, they know the covenant. What YHWH does for those who fear them is act mightily on their behalf.

The similar texts of 2 Sam 7:21 and 1 Chr 17:19 likewise refer to YHWH making known his actions to his servant, specifically, David. The context is David’s prayer after Nathan’s announcement of YHWH’s covenant with the house of David. David praises YHWH for doing “all this greatness” (את כל-הגדולה הזאת [ʿet kol-haggĕdūllā hazzō^ʿ]) and making him know it (ידע-H, yd^c-H). The texts show variation of syntax and word ordering – a potentially interesting study – but for the purposes here, what is being made known appears to be “all this greatness” which YHWH has done.⁸⁰

A final text in which ידע-H (yd^c-H) activates definition 3a is Exod 33:12–13, in which Moses asks YHWH to cause him to know (ידע-H, yd^c-H) whom he would send with him. At first blush, it appears that Moses is seeking information – namely, the identity of the one YHWH would send with him in the aftermath of the golden calf incident. However, YHWH had already given Moses this information (i.e., his messenger, the angel of YHWH; 32:34; 33:2; cf. 23:20, 23). Moses follows his initial request with a plea that YHWH cause him to

⁷⁸ Finsterbusch suggests that “ways” in Ps 103:7 is a metaphor for the laws Moses received (2007: 58–59). However, a better understanding of “ways” in this psalm is as a reference to the Exod 33 encounter between Moses and God, given (1) the parallel phrase of making Israel to know his deeds and (2) v. 8’s rehearsal of YHWH’s proclamation as he passed in front of Moses (Exod 34:6–7).

⁷⁹ Sira also uses ידע-H (yd^c-H) once with respect to the wilderness events. God caused all men to know his power when he sweetened the waters of Marah with the stick (הלא בעץ המתיקו מים בעטור להודיע כל אנוש כהו) [hālō^ʿ ba^c ʿeṣ hamtîqû mayim ba^c ʿābūr lĕhōdîa^c kōl ʿānāšîm kōhō; 38:5[B)].

⁸⁰ Arguably, this is not an *action* yet. The “greatness” seems to be the revelation of the Davidic covenant, not an enactment of it. Given this, 2 Sam 7:21 (and 1 Chr 17:19) could fit under definition 1a, making a person aware of knowledge from the divine realm.

know his ways so he will know YHWH (הודעני נא את־דרכך ואדעך) [*hōdīʿēnī nāʾ ʿet-dērākekā wěʿēdāʿākā*]; v. 13). Moses wants to experience something of the one YHWH will send – “his ways,” according to the text – so that he can know YHWH (v. 13). He is asking to know something in a way he does not already know. He is not satisfied when YHWH assures him that he will send his presence with him; he pushes for verification. By the time YHWH finally says he will do what Moses has asked, it is not immediately clear anymore what exactly Moses has asked. The text clarifies in v. 17 when YHWH repeats Moses’ initial statement from v. 12, from which his request to know YHWH’s ways came. Moses said, “You said, ‘I have known you by name, and you have also found favour in my eyes’” (ואתה ואתה) [*wěʿattā ʾāmartā yēdaʿtikā bēšēm wēgam-māšāʾtā ḥēn bēʿēnāy*]; v. 12), and in v. 17 YHWH says, “Also I will do this thing of which you have spoken, because you have found favour in my eyes and I know you by name” (גם את־הדבר הזה) [*gam ʿet-haddābār hazzeh ʾāšer dibbartā ʿeʿśeh kī-māšāʾtā ḥēn bēʿēnāy wěʿēdāʿākā bēšēm*]). His *kabod* passes by Moses, hiding in the rock, and Moses experiences – and thus knows – YHWH in a new way.⁸¹

In addition to the texts where ידע-H (*yd^c-H*) expresses YHWH’s performance of great deeds, two texts refer to YHWH’s causing people to know his name: Isa 64:1; Ezek 39:7. Given the great interest of the MT in knowledge of YHWH, it is surprising how rare the collocation of YHWH’s שם (*šēm*) ‘name’ and ידע (*yd^c*) in any *binyan* is; it occurs only eight times in the BH corpus.⁸² An analysis of what it means to know YHWH’s name, particularly with respect to similar statements about knowing that (כי, *kī*) he is YHWH or knowing YHWH, goes beyond the scope of this study.⁸³

However, the constraints of my study do not preclude a discussion of the two Hiphils in which YHWH is said to make known his name. In the first, YHWH causes his adversaries to know his name and tremble at his presence (Isa 64:1). Contextually, this “making known” is related to YHWH’s deeds; v. 2, Israel recounts the awesome deeds YHWH did and how

⁸¹ That Moses’ request to know YHWH’s ways was a request to see YHWH *do* something spectacular is supported by the parallel structure of the psalmist’s interpretation in 103:7, “He made known his ways to Moses, his deeds to the children of Israel.”

⁸² Qal in 1 Kgs 8:43 // 2 Chr 6:33; Isa 52:6; Pss 9:11; 91:14; Niphal in Exod 6:3; Hiphil in Isa 64:1; Ezek 39:7.

⁸³ I will say that I do not believe these to be interchangeable expressions.

knowledge. To what extent something is known depends, in large part, on the actual content: for example, to know YHWH's power is to experience it; to know the person to anoint is to be aware of it; to know the brevity of life is to comprehend it. Against the argument of Carasik, the findings here indicate that $\text{y}d^c\text{-H}$ is not limited to divine knowledge. The incorporation of prototype meanings in this study makes it possible to acknowledge a pattern without expecting all the data to fit the pattern.

5.3.3. Summary of Conceptual Data for $\text{y}d^c\text{-H}$

The conceptual data of $\text{y}d^c\text{-H}$ include its meaning potential as well as its prototypical definition. The meaning potential, as described above, consists of three main definitions, each demonstrating increased levels of knowledge.

The first definition involves merely making someone aware of something (i.e., telling or informing), while the second and third involve causing someone to understand something – whether cognitively or experientially. In its prototypical instantiations, $\text{y}d^c\text{-H}$ expresses putting a person in a state of knowing something from the divine realm.

5.4. Putting It All Together: Linguistic and Conceptual Data for $\text{y}d^c\text{-H}$

Determining meaning in particular contexts requires an accounting of the linguistic and conceptual data of a word. Only then can we see how a given instantiation of a word activates a particular part of a word's meaning potential. Obviously not every combination is fraught with significance, but in some cases, consideration of the linguistic data in conjunction with the conceptual data can bring to light meaning that might otherwise go unnoticed.

I discuss three examples with respect to $\text{y}d^c\text{-H}$ below (5.4.1). The first involves trying to teach experience; the second considers the usage of $\text{y}d^c\text{-H}$ to describe the role of priests as Agents. The final example considers the use of Hiphil instead of the Niphal.

5.4.1. Trying to Teach Experience

One of the unique aspects of $\text{y}d^c\text{-H}$'s meaning potential in the BH lexical set “teach” is its definition 3, *to make another understand experientially; used only of YHWH/El's deeds*. While lmd (*lmd*) can express teaching/learning that occurs through active engagement and experience, only $\text{y}d^c\text{-H}$ is used of YHWH himself performing his miraculous acts.⁸⁶ YHWH causes people to know his works or to know his might (through his works) by

⁸⁶ It is used once to describe YHWH's merciful restoration of the penitent psalmist in Ps 51:15 (see 4.3.2.1.2.2.), though this arguably different than YHWH's great deeds expressed with $\text{y}d^c\text{-H}$.

experiencing them. Learning through experience is the most effective way to learn – we come to know things best as we encounter and engage them.

Just as עִדָּה -H (yd^c -H) is unique among the BH lexical set “teach” for its use to describe encounters with YHWH’s might, so it is uniquely used to describe the retelling of people’s experiences with YHWH’s might to a new audience. The texts each involve the attempt to transmit knowledge gained through experience with YHWH’s power. As every parent and teacher knows, it is impossible to transmit knowledge gained experientially; all one can do is retell the experience – a far less effective means of teaching. Carasik addresses this impossibility in his discussion of Deuteronomy’s educational plan, where the lexeme of choice is למד (lmd). Although the lexeme of interest here is עִדָּה -H (yd^c -H), his thoughts are applicable to the discussion here. Experiences themselves have to be reduced to words because “a verbal experience, and only a verbal experience, is replicable” (Carasik 2006: 187). The best one can do with knowledge gained through experience is recount the experiences in such a way as to bring them to life.

Finsterbusch similarly discusses the challenge of transmitting experiential knowledge in the specific context of the Horeb event, where the people learned to fear YHWH. Exodus details the event itself, using no didactic terminology. The people directly experienced the theophanic event and were terrified – they “learned” to fear YHWH, and the result was supposed to be that they would not dare to sin ($\text{ובעבור תהיה יראתו עלי־פניכם לבלתי תחטאו}$ [$\acute{u}ba \acute{c}b\acute{u}r tihyeh yirat\acute{o}$ $\acute{c}al-p\acute{e}n\acute{e}kem l\acute{e}bilt\acute{i} te\acute{h}\acute{e}t\acute{a} \acute{u}$]; Exod 20:20). The retelling in Deuteronomy is shaped as a directive to the people to teach (למד , lmd) their children the fear of YHWH. Finsterbusch notes that although YHWH’s directions to the people do not make explicit how they were to teach their children the fear of YHWH (since they learned it experientially), only one possibility is conceivable: the adults were to tell their children about this experience in such a way that the reaction of their children would be fear (2005: 154).⁸⁷

It is meaningful, first, that עִדָּה -H (yd^c -H) can be used to describe the performance of YHWH’s deeds. A more intuitive verb selection would be the commonly found עָשָׂה ($\acute{c}h$) ‘to do’, or פָּעַל ($p\acute{c}l$) ‘to make’, or רָאָה (rah) ‘to see’, or even גָּדַל (gdl) ‘to reveal’; yet, by using a

⁸⁷ “Wie sollen die Israelitinnen und Israeliten ihre Kinder lehren, JHWH – als Gesetzgeber – zu fürchten? Dies wird in der Verfügung JHWHs nicht explizit gemacht. Da JHWH-Furcht am Horeb im Zusammenhang mit einem besonderen *Erleben* gelernt wurde, ist jedoch nur eine Möglichkeit vorstellbar: Die Erwachsenen müssen ihnen dieses Erleben erzählend so weitergeben bzw. nahebringen, dass auch in den Kindern JHWH-Furcht als Reaktion erzeugt wird” (Finsterbusch 2005: 154).

verb that includes the notion of an under-subject and a mental state, biblical authors include YHWH's actions in the fold of educative methods.⁸⁸ Second, it is meaningful that $\text{y}d^c\text{-H}$ ($\text{y}d^c\text{-H}$) is used to describe people's attempts to teach other people about the experience of YHWH's deeds. In practical terms, the "teaching" of YHWH's deeds to successive generations may amount to nothing more than "telling" of them. I cannot say that a real-life enactment of $\text{y}d^c\text{-H}$ ($\text{y}d^c\text{-H}$) in these contexts was distinctive in any way. However, the fact that the recorders of Israel's history selected the lexeme $\text{y}d^c\text{-H}$ ($\text{y}d^c\text{-H}$) to describe this teaching event suggests that they wanted to make a correlation between the original learning experiences and the "educational retelling" of them.

5.4.2. Prominent Priests

While the study here has emphasised the clausal construction component of linguistic data, many other linguistic details help comprise the "bundle of linguistic data" that contributes to meaning. Some of these are well known to biblical scholars – such as word order. For example, consider Ezek 22:26:

כהניח חמסו תורתי / ויחללו קדשי / בין־קדש לחל לא הבדילו / ובין־חטמא לטהור לא הודיעו /
ומשבחותי העלימו עיניהם / ואהל בתוכם

*kōhānēhā ḥāmēsū tōrātī / wayēḥallēlū qodošay / bēn-qōdeš lēḥ ol lōʾ hibdīlū /
ūbēn-haṭṭāmēʾ lēṭāhōr lōʾ hōdīʿū / ūmišabbētōtay (!) heʿlīmū ʿēnēhem / wāʿēḥal
bētōkām*

“Her priests have done violence to My law and have profaned My holy things; they have made no distinction between the holy and the profane, and they have not taught the difference between the unclean and the clean; and they hide their eyes from My Sabbaths, and I am profaned among them.” (NASB)

Three of the clauses detailing the offences of the priests begin with prepositional phrases (instead of verbs) that serve as the objects of the priests' actions: (1) between the holy and the profane they have made no distinction; (2) between the unclean and the clean they have not taught my people; (3) from my Sabbaths they hide their eyes. The word order draws attention to the priests' offences.

⁸⁸ I use the word *methods* in a general sense.

Consideration of the clausal construction used with יָדַע-H (yd^c -H) (underlined above) can contribute further to the meaning provided by the word order. An intransitive clausal construction with a prepositional adjunct is used. As discussed above (2.3.2.1.3), the interest of an intransitive clause is the Agent and the activity of the Agent. Both the Patient and the Recipient in the teaching event are non-salient to the meaning of an intransitive clause. In Ezek 22:26, no attention is paid to the people (the Recipients)⁸⁹ for whom the priests performed their duties and the even the object of their instruction (the Patient) is grammatically absent.⁹⁰ The word order draws attention to the priests and their offence, and the intransitive clausal construction reinforces the importance of the Agent (the priests) by excluding the Recipients and the Patients. Much like the text in Mic 3:11 (see 3.3.1.2.1.), this text hones in on the corruption of the priests – leaders among the people and gatekeepers for their access to YHWH.

5.4.3. What about the Niphal?

In my analysis of יָדַע (yd^c), I have focused on the H-stem, making reference to related issues in the G-stem, but I have paid no attention to the Niphal, which occurs forty-one times in the MT and three times in Ben Sira.

Although many usages of the N-stem appear interchangeable with or similar to usages of the H-stem – particularly those that carry the reflexive sense and refer to YHWH making himself known⁹¹ – I have excluded them for a simple reason that could be easily overlooked if semantic analysis does not give due consideration to linguistic data: the Niphal stem does not involve an under-subject, the “student” in a teaching event. YHWH can “make himself known” in the Niphal, but a knower is not part of the “bundle of linguistic data” contained in the *binyan*. The Hiphil, however, implicitly involves a knower – someone who is being

⁸⁹ Compare Ezek 44:23, where the priest are charged to teach (יָרִי, $yôru$) YHWH’s people (את־עַמִּי, $et-‘ammî$) “between the holy and the profane” and show them (יִדְעֵם, $yôdē‘um$) “between the unclean and the clean.” Prepositional adjuncts detail the content, but the Recipients are present.

⁹⁰ The “holy and profane” occurs in eight texts related to priestly responsibility (Lev 10:10–11; 21:6; 22:2; Ezek 22:26; 44:23), but only Lev 10:10–11, Ezek 22:26, and 44:23 involve their instructional role. Lev 10:10–11 has יָרַח-H (yrh -H), not יָדַע-H (yd^c -H); see above note for Ezek 44:23. “Clean and unclean” occurs in 8 texts related to priestly responsibility (Lev 10:10–11; 11:32; 11:47; 14:57; 20:25; 22:4; Ezek 22:26; 44:23), but only Lev 10:10–11; 14:57 and Ezek 22:26; 44:23 involve their instructional role. Both Leviticus texts have יָרַח-H (yrh -H), not יָדַע-H (yd^c -H). See note 89 above for Ezek 44:23.

⁹¹ See, e.g., Exod 6:3; 1 Kgs 18:36; Isa 66:14; Ezek 20:9.

caused to know. The Hiphil's linguistic data have a subject (Agent) and an under-subject (Recipient).

5.5. Substantives of the Root ידע (yd^c)

Since the study here is concerned with verbal roots and their clausal constructions, I will only briefly mention two substantives associated with the root ידע (yd^c): the Hiphil participle functioning as a substantive (מוֹדִיעִים, $môdî'îm$) and the noun דַּעַת ($da^c at$).

The Hiphil participle only occurs as a substantive twice. In Isa 47:13, it refers to a class of officials who read – and declared – omens in the new moons, and in 2 Chr 23:13, it refers to those leading the people in song and celebration. In contrast, the noun דַּעַת ($da^c at$) ‘knowledge’ is well known from Wisdom literature, but its usage extends to all other parts of the BH corpus as well.⁹² Fox describes it as “the broadest of wisdom words . . . broader even than English ‘knowledge,’ insofar as it includes minimal acts of awareness and innate intellectual capacities apart from learned information and skills” (2000: 31). The noun never functions as the object (Patient) of ידע-H (yd^c -H), but it does occur five times as the Patient of למד-D (lmd -D) (Isa 40:14; Job 21:22; Pss 94:10; 119:66; Qoh 12:9).

5.6. Profiling the Prototype Meaning

In light of this chapter's analysis of all occurrences of the verbal root ידע-H (yd^c -H), I am ready to identify its profile against the universal base of “teaching.” The universal cognition of teaching (fig. 5.x below), in review, is as follows: *person A (teacher) recognises that another person B (student) lacks knowledge, belief, skills, or the like (or has incomplete or distorted knowledge, etc.), and person A attempts to bring about a changed state of knowledge, belief, or skill for person B.*

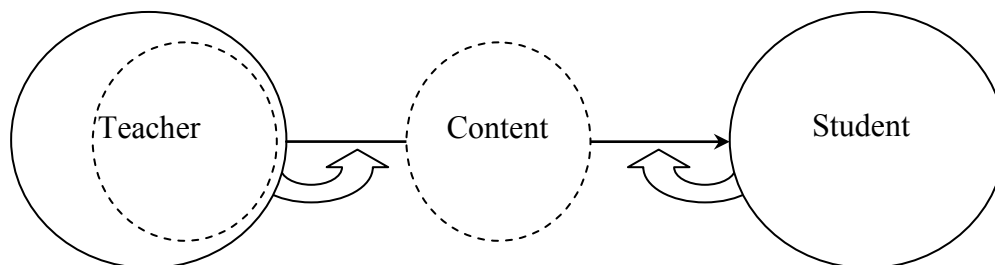


Figure 5.1. The Base – the Universal Concept of Teaching

⁹² See also the lexica for דַּעַת ($dēa^c$) and דַּעַת ($dē^c ā$), as well as מַדַּע ($maddā^c$; cf. also Aram. מַנְדַּע, $mindā^c$).

I have demonstrated generally how $\text{y}d^c\text{-H}$ ($\text{y}d^c\text{-H}$) fits against this universal cognition. In its prototypical usage, it represents the communication of knowledge from the divine realm. A student is caused to know something – that is, s/he is put in a state of knowing. While all aspects of the base are included in the meaning of the word, $\text{y}d^c\text{-H}$ ($\text{y}d^c\text{-H}$) particularly profiles the *nature of the content* – namely, it is from the divine realm or experiences with the divine realm – and the student’s state of knowing it.⁹³ In the figure below I have boldfaced the content to indicate that it is profiled and I have shaded it to represent the distinctness of the knowledge (divine). I have also represented the shaded, dashed-line circle of content in the student to represent the student’s state of knowing the content.

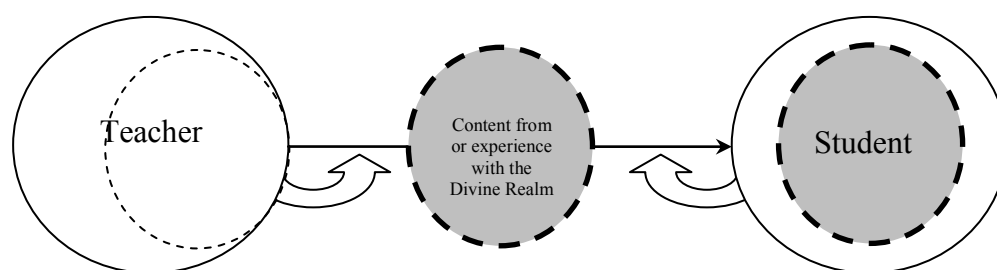


Figure 5.2. The Profile of the Prototypical Meaning of $\text{y}d^c\text{-H}$ ($\text{y}d^c\text{-H}$)

5.7. Conclusion

In this chapter I have analysed all the occurrences of the verb $\text{y}d^c$ ($\text{y}d^c$) in the Hiphil to determine its linguistic and conceptual data, as well as how the two interact to create meaning. The prototype definition describes $\text{y}d^c\text{-H}$'s ($\text{y}d^c\text{-H}$) core meaning and allows me to identify marginal meanings and their potential significance.

A pervasive question with respect to the causative nature of $\text{y}d^c\text{-H}$ ($\text{y}d^c\text{-H}$) is *Can you make someone know something?* The analysis in chapter provides two ways of answering this question. First, because $\text{y}d^c\text{-H}$ ($\text{y}d^c\text{-H}$) expresses different levels of knowledge (awareness, understanding, experience) it allows for different levels of success: as long as Recipients can see or hear, an Agent can make them *aware*; making someone *understand*, however, requires an engaged Recipient; and while the divine Agent YHWH can make people *experience* his power, he cannot make them acknowledge him. They can experience his power but wrongly

⁹³ Finsterbusch also speaks of this aspect of $\text{y}d^c\text{-H}$'s ($\text{y}d^c\text{-H}$) profile, though she is not using the concept of profiling in the linguistic sense I am. “Besonders hervorzuheben ist in diesem Zusammenhang, dass die Belehrung sich auf JHWHs Wesen beziehen kann (insofern JHWH sich selbst zu erkennen gibt) – hier liegt zweifelsohne das besondere Profil von $\text{y}d^c$ hif. im Vergleich mit den anderen Verben für »lehren«” (2007: 33).

interpret it. Second, the marginal nature of transitivity in the teaching event – that is, the transfer is abstract not concrete, and it is not within the control of the Agent – paves the way for a more nuanced understanding of ידע-H (yd^c -H) ‘cause to know’. Just as I suggested with למד-D (lmd -D) that what an Agent really does is create the conditions in which learning can occur, I suggest that the Agent of ידע-H (yd^c -H) can make something *knowable*, but not necessarily *known*. To say something is *knowable* reminds us that another mind must be involved in the process before anything is *known*. ידע-H (yd^c -H) means taking a Recipient through the process by which s/he may know something – the result is not guaranteed.⁹⁴

⁹⁴ Finsterbusch’s discussion of YHWH’s educative actions in Psalm 106 concludes with a similar assessment: “JHWH’s »Belehrung« kann ins Leere laufen: Seine Taten müssen »erinnert« (זכר, V. 7aβ) und von Israel »begriffen« werden (היף, V. 7aα)” (2007: 60).

Chapter 6

יִסַּר (*ysr*) in the Piel

6.1. Introduction

While the root יִסַּר (*ysr*) is most commonly associated with the nominal form *mūsār*, which occurs more than fifty times in the MT (where it is concentrated in Proverbs, occurring 30 times) and nearly a dozen times in Sira, its occurrences in verbal forms are the subject of analysis in this chapter. The root יִסַּר (*ysr*) is used in a verbal form forty-three times in the MT and five times in Ben Sira.¹ Verbal cognates are known from Akkadian, Ugaritic, and Arabic, reflecting a basic meaning of the root – namely, ‘to instruct’ (Branson 1990: 128). The Dead Sea Scrolls also attest the root with the meaning ‘to instruct’ (6x), and later Hebrew has the D-stem as well as the HtD- and NtD-stems, glossed as ‘to chastise, chasten, try’ (D-stem) and ‘to be chastened’ (HtD/NtD-stems) (Jastrow 1996: 583).

In the MT יִסַּר (*ysr*) occurs predominantly in the D-stem (31/43). Its attestations in the Qal (5x) are too scant and difficult to adequately assess its meaning, much less contribute significantly to a discussion of the correlation between the Qal and the Piel.² Accordingly, my

¹ See note 2 below for list of occurrences in *binyanim* apart from the Piel, which is detailed in 6.2.

² This is the likely explanation for why Branson (1990) makes no distinction between the Qal and the Piel in his analysis. The glosses provided by *HALOT* seem to exhibit a difference, but it is not clear what the difference is; i.e., how does ‘to instruct’ (G) differ from some of the glosses for the Piel – ‘to teach, bring up’ and ‘to teach’ (2001: 1.418–19). BDB gives the root definition ‘discipline, chasten, admonish’, but the difference between the Qal (‘to admonish’, ‘to instruct’, ‘to discipline’) and the Piel (‘discipline, correct [the moral nature, with more or less severity acc. to circumstances]’, ‘more severely, chasten, chastise’) is fuzzy (1952: 415–16). Unfortunately the BH occurrences of the Qal are too minimal and problematic to answer this question, though it possible that if more data were available, Hopper and Thompson’s parameters of transitivity (see Table 6.2) could be helpful.

יִסַּר (*ysr*-G) is found in Isa 8:11; Hos 10:10; Ps 94:10; Prov 9:7; 1 Chr 15:22), but the form in Isa 8:11 (כִּי כֹה אָמַר יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ מִלְכָּת בְּדֶרֶךְ הָעַמִּים הוּא לְאֹמְרֵינוּ [כִּי כֹה אָמַר יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ מִלְכָּת בְּדֶרֶךְ הָעַמִּים הוּא לְאֹמְרֵינוּ] is better understood as a form of סוּר (*swr*) ‘to turn (from)’. 1QIsa^a has יִסַּרְנוּ (*ysyrnw*) (Parry and Qimron 1999: 17), and the LXX (ἀπειθοῦσθε) and Syr read forms of סוּר (*swr*) (along with Th, Aq, and Sym) (Waard 1997: 38–39). Hos 10:10 is difficult: באותי וְאֶסְרֶם וְאֶסְפּוּ עֲלֵיהֶם עֲמִים (בֶּזְ אַוְוָאִי וְעֶסְרֶם וְעֶסְפּוּ עַלֵּיהֶם עֲמִים [K; ḥōnōtām, Q]). If וְאֶסְרֶם (*wēʿessōrēm*) is a G imperfect of יִסַּר (*ysr*) (as I understand it), the *yod* must have assimilated (see Bauer-Leander 1991: 208r and 383). If, with BHS, the form is a D, one must explain both the absence of the *yod* (possible haplography due to a similar form in 10:10b) as well as anomalous vowels. Reading a form of אֶסַּר (*ʿsr*) does not solve the problem either. BHS’s suggested D-stem reading is based on the LXX: παλεῖσθαι αὐτοῦς, although the LXX elsewhere translates יִסַּר (*ysr*-G) with παλεῖσθαι (Ps 94:10; Prov 9:7). In 1 Chr 15:22 (וְכִנְיָהוּ שַׂר־הַלְוִיִּים בְּמִשְׁאֵי יִסַּר בְּמִשְׁאֵי כִּי מִבֵּין הוּא) [ukēnanyāhū šar-halwīyyim bēmaššāʿ yāsōr bammašāʿ kī mēbīn hūʿ] “Chenaniah, chief of the Levites, was in charge of the singing; he gave instruction in singing because he was skillful” [NASB, italics original], the MT’s יִסַּר (*yāsōr*) has been traditionally read as an infinitive absolute, which it formally is. *HALOT* considers it a substantive, ‘supervisor, instructor’ (2001: 1.419a), based on Bauer-Leander’s assessment that the form probably represents an old *nomen agentis* (1991:

analysis treats only the occurrences in the Piel, which appears throughout the MT, though its greatest concentrations are in Jeremiah (5x), Psalms (7x), and Deuteronomy (5x). First Kings attests four occurrences of the Piel, but all four forms are in the same pericope – namely, the repeated quotation of Rehoboam in his inaugural interaction with the disgruntled Israelites.

Branson asserts that “when *yāsār* and *mūsār* first appear [in BH], the word has already developed a range of meanings somewhat removed from the basic meaning” (1990: 128) – namely, ‘to instruct’ (1990: 128). He does not explain what he means by “somewhat removed,” though his later statement that “the primary purpose of instruction (*yāsār*) is to communicate knowledge in order to shape specific conduct” may suggest that the goal of shaping of conduct differs from the “basic meaning” (1990: 129).³ A question of my analysis is whether I can better nuance or correct Branson’s assessment about the meaning of יסר-D (*ysr*-D) in BH.

A further inquiry of my analysis engages the argument of M. Carasik with respect to the nature of education in ancient Israel, particularly its harshness. I have already discussed Carasik’s view of education in chapters 4 and 5, so the discussion here is an extension of what I determined there. In his analysis of יסר (*ysr*) and מוסר (*mūsār*), Carasik broadens the semantic field to include מסורת/מסרת (*māsōret/māsōret*; Ezek 20:37, ‘bond’?) and מוסר ‘bond’ (*mōsēr*) from אסר (ʿsr) ‘to bind, imprison’: “It seems clear that, whatever the ultimate etymology of the words for ‘bond,’ the ancient Israelites would have sensed – perhaps not consciously except when the opportunity for a rhetorical or paronomastic use arose – the

470j). BHS notes that a few manuscripts (Greek, Targumim, Vulgate) reflect יִשָּׂר (*yāsār*) from שָׂרר (*šrr*). It is, at the very least, an anomalous form. The remaining two Qals are substantival participles.

The MT also has one occurrence of a Hiphil in Hos 7:12, pointed defectively אִיִּסְרֵם (*ʾaysirēm*). As this is the only occurrence of the H-stem and it is difficult to see what the Hiphil would mean, I report the form as a D; BHS conjectures, for contextual reasons (?), that the form dissimilated from אִיִּסְרֵם (*ʾeʾysrēm*), although אסר (*ʿsr*) does not occur elsewhere in the Hiphil either (Andersen and Freedman 1980: 470–71).

The Niphal occurs five times in the MT (Lev 26:23; Jer 6:8; 31:18; Ps 2:10; Prov 29:19) and once in Sira (6:33b[A]). The Niphal carries the sense of allowing oneself to be instructed. M. Fox, in his discussion of Prov 29:19, describes the verb as “mean[ing] to take discipline (verbal or physical) to heart, to really be convinced” (2009: 843). Sometimes the Agent of the discipline or the means of discipline is in view (a master and words in Prov 29:19; YHWH’s punishments in Lev 26; the Exile in Jer 31:18), but other times the Agent or means is less obvious (Jer 6:8; Ps 2:10). Elsewhere in Ben Sira, Barthélemy and Rickenbacher’s *Konkordanz* (1973) identifies the lexeme (Qal) in Sir 10:1[A], but Beentjes indicates that the lexeme is יסד (*ysd*) instead. Additionally, Sir 40:29d[Bm] has a lacuna that probably included a form of יסר (*ysr*). The NtD also occurs once in the MT (Ezek 23:48).

³ Branson also acknowledges the difficulty of dating texts, and it is unclear which BH occurrences he considers to be the first.

closeness between מוסר (*mūsār*) and the two similar words meaning ‘bond’” (2006: 49).⁴ The severity of the educational process is well attested in the ancient Near East, so we can expect to find evidence for it in ancient Israel as well.⁵ My question is to what extent יסר (*ysr*) holds the evidence Carasik claims that it does.

With a view toward answering these questions, I will analyse all the occurrences of יסר-D (*ysr-D*) in the MT and Sira. As in the preceding three chapters, I begin with detailing the linguistic data and then I address conceptual data before considering how the two sets of data interact to create meaning. I will also determine the prototype definition and profile of יסר-D (*ysr-D*) and briefly examine the substantive so often associated with the root יסר (*ysr*), namely, מוסר (*mūsār*).

6.2. Linguistic Data of יסר-D (*ysr-D*)

The Piel of יסר (*ysr*) is the most widely attested by far of יסר’s (*ysr*) verbal forms, occurring thirty-one times in the MT and three times in Sira.⁶ It is a fientive verb that is exclusively construed in transitive clausal constructions.⁷

While all four verbs considered in this study can be grammatically transitive and three of the four are also conceptually transitive, at least marginally (ידע [*ydc*^c] excluded), יסר (*ysr*) is clearly transitive, both grammatically and conceptually. An Agent always acts on a Recipient, the grammatical object governed by the verb.⁸ In fact, יסר (*ysr*) will be seen to be the most prototypically transitive according to Hopper and Thompson’s parameters for transitivity and Næss’s definition of prototypical transitivity.

⁴ A second component of Carasik’s argument about the restraint element of מוסר/יסר (*ysr/mūsār*) is the MT’s collocation of יסר (*ysr*) with למד (*lmd*) in Jer 31:18 (i.e., breaking an animal) and Ps 94:10, 12, where he says the terms are “fully parallel” (2006: 49).

⁵ Proverbs, of course, includes evidence; see, e.g., 13:24; 19:25, 29; 22:15; 23:13–14; 26:3; 29:15.

⁶ Lev 26:18, 28; Deut 4:36; 8:5 (2x); 21:18; 22:18; 1 Kgs 12:11 (2x), 14 (2x); Isa 28:26; Jer 2:19; 10:24; 30:11; 31:18; 46:28; Hos 7:15; Pss 6:2; 16:7; 38:2; 39:12; 94:12; 118:18 (2x); Job 4:3; Prov 19:18; 29:17; 31:1; 2 Chr 10:11, 14. I also include Hos 7:12, where the MT has the Hiphil אִסְרֵם (*ʾysrēm*). As this is the only occurrence of the H-stem and it is difficult to see what the Hiphil would mean, I reprint the form as a D. See note 2 above. The clear D-stem occurrences in Sira are 7:23[C] and 30:13[B], in which יסר (*ysr*) is an imperative addressed to fathers. The consonantal text of 4:19[A] could be G or D (ויסרתיהו, *wysrtyhw*), though Barthélemy and Rickenbacher consider it a D (1973: 159).

⁷ See note 29 on Prov 31:1 below.

⁸ Technically, a transitive clause has an Agent and a Patient – the participant performing the action and the participant being acted upon. A Recipient appears in ditransitive constructions – the participant receiving the thing being acted upon. For the sake of conceptual consistency, I have elected in this chapter to retain the label *Recipient* since in this study it has always represented the student in the teaching event, while the Patient has always represented the content being communicated.

6.2.1. Transitive Clausal Constructions

As noted above, all occurrences of יסר-D (*yśr*-D) are construed in transitive clausal constructions; this also is unique among the “teach” lexemes of this study. Many of these instantiations also include adjuncts, which contribute to the meaning of the clauses. The object of יסר (*yśr*) is always the person being acted upon, namely, the “student” (Recipient). A distinctive feature of clauses with יסר (*yśr*) in comparison with the other verbal lexemes of this study is that they include, in the majority of occurrences, a prepositional or adverbial adjunct. Since no one suggests that these adjuncts are second objects of the verb (and thus ditransitive clauses, as some suggest with prepositional adjuncts with ירה [*yrah*]; see 3.2.3.) and their functions are clear in their contexts, I have not distinguished between the clausal constructions with adjuncts and those without in the chart below. I will, however, discuss many of these adjuncts below with respect to collocations (see 6.2.2).

Text	Verb	Agent	R-NP	Recipient	Prep/Adv	Adjunct/Object of Prep
Lev 26:18	l+IC	(YHWH)	אֲנִי ֶעַל	2mp X (Israel)		7x on acct of your sin
Lev 26:28	w+pf	(YHWH)	אֲנִי עַל	2mp X (Israel)		7x on acct of your sin
Deut 4:36	l+IC	(YHWH)		2ms X (Israel)		
Deut 8:5	impf	man	אֲנִי עַל	his son		
Deut 8:5	ptc – verbal	YHWH your God		2ms X (Israel)		
Deut 21:18	w+pf	(parents)	אֲנִי עַל	3ms (son)		
Deut 22:18	w+pf	(elders)	אֲנִי עַל	3ms (son)		
1Kgs 12:11	pf	my father (Solomon)	אֲנִי עַל	2mp X (Israel)	-ב b-	whips
1Kgs 12:11	impf	I (Rehoboam)	אֲנִי עַל	2mp X (Israel)	-ב b-	scorpions
1Kgs 12:14	pf	my father (Solomon)	אֲנִי עַל	2mp X (Israel)	-ב b-	whips
1Kgs 12:14	impf	I (Rehoboam)	אֲנִי עַל	2mp X (Israel)	-ב b-	scorpions
Isa 28:26	w+pf	(his God)		3ms X (farmer)	-לִ l-	correctly
Jer 2:19	impf	your wickedness		2ms X (Israel)		
Jer 10:24	imv	(YHWH - voc)		1cs X (Jeremiah)	אֲרִיב	justice
Jer 30:11 ≈ 46:28	w+pf	(YHWH)		2ms X (Israel)	-לִ l-	justly
Jer 31:18	pf	(YHWH)		1cs X (Ephraim)		
Hos 7:12	impf	(YHWH)		3mp X (Ephraim)	-כ k-	the report of their assembly

Hos 7:15	pf	I (YHWH)		(their arms)		
Ps 6:2 // 38:2 ⁹	impf	(YHWH - voc)		1cs X (psalmist)	-ב b-	wrath
Ps 16:7	pf	my kidneys		1cs X (psalmist)		even at night (אָפּ-לַיְלֹת, <i>ap-lélôt</i>)
Ps 39:12	pf	(YHWH)		a man	-ב b-	reproofs
Ps 94:12	impf	YH	· הַ <i>ha</i>	man (geber) whom...		
Ps 118: 18 (2)	IA/pf	YH		1cs X (psalmist)		
Prov 19:18	imv	(father)		your son		
Prov 29:17	imv	(father)		your son		
Prov 31:1 ¹⁰	pf	his mother		3ms X (Lemuel)		
Job 4:3	pf	(Job/you)		many		
2Chr 10:11	pf	my father (Solomon)	אָ <i>ʾet</i>	2mp X	-ב b-	whips
2Chr 10:14	pf	my father (Solomon)	אָ <i>ʾet</i>	2mp X (Israel)	-ב b-	whips
Sir 4:19	impf	I (Wisdom)		3ms X (him/son)	-ב b-	fetters
Sir 7:23	imv	(father)	אָ <i>ʾet</i>	3mp (sons)		
Sir 30:13	imv	(father)		your son		

Table 6.1. Transitive Clausal Constructions with יסר-D (*yśr*-D)

The Agents of יסר-D (*yśr*-D) are almost exclusively persons who have authority over the Recipients,¹¹ with the most common Agent being YHWH (16x). Other Agents include parents, kings, and elders. The Recipient of the action expressed by יסר (*yśr*) is almost always collective Israel; other Recipients are individuals (i.e., a son, a psalmist). These are expressed most often through suffixes on verbs or on the direct object marker, אָ (*ʾet* / *ʾōt*), though a few NPs represent Recipients as well (Pss 39:12; 94:12; Job 4:3; Prov 19:18; 29:17, Sir 30:13). The adjuncts include prepositional phrases with בַּ (b-), לַ (l-), כַּ (k-), and עַל (ʿal), as well as the adverbial phrase “seven times on account of your sin.” With only a handful of exceptions, every adjunct qualifies the nature or extent of the discipline.¹²

I asserted above (section 6.2) that יסר (*yśr*) is the most prototypically transitive verb of all the lexemes in this study. By way of review, prototypical transitivity involves “a

⁹ The first clause of each verse (with יכח, *ykh*) has a different “wrath” word: Ps 6:2 has באַפְךָ (*bēʾappēkā*); Ps 38:2 has בקִצְפְּךָ (*bēqespekā*).

¹⁰ See note 29 below for discussion of the textual issues in Prov 31:1.

¹¹ The exceptions are the ‘wickedness’ of Jer 2:19 and the ‘kidneys’ of Ps 16:7.

¹² Exceptions include the difficult Hos 7:12 and the temporal phrase אָפּ-לַיְלֹת (*ap-lélôt*) in Ps 16:7.

volitionally acting ‘agent’ participant performing a concrete, dynamic action which has a perceptible and lasting effect on a specific ‘patient’” (Næss 2007: 15). The event “should be presented as **real** and **concluded**; that is, the clause should show perfective rather than imperfective aspect, realis rather than irrealis mood, be positive rather than negated, etc.” (Næss 2007: 15). Næss describes the participants as being “**maximally semantically distinct** in terms of their roles in the event” (emphasis original) (Næss 2007: 29–30): the Agent is [+ Volitional], [+ Instigating], and [- Affectedness], while the Recipient is [+ Affected], [- Volition], and [- Instigating] (Næss 2007: 44). Consider Næss’s description against Hopper and Thompson’s parameters of transitivity below:

	COMPONENT	HIGH	LOW
A.	PARTICIPANTS	2 or more participants, A and P	1 participant
B.	KINESIS	Action	Non-action
C.	ASPECT	Telic	Atelic
D.	PUNCTUALITY	Punctual	Non-punctual
E.	VOLITIONALITY	Volitional	Non-volitional
F.	AFFIRMATION	Affirmative	Negative
G.	MODE	Realis	Irrealis
H.	AGENCY (OF A)	A is high in potency	A is low in potency
I.	AFFECTEDNESS (OF P)	P is totally affected	P is not affected
J.	INDIVIDUATION (OF P)	P is highly individuated	P is non-individuated

Table 6.2. Parameters of Transitivity (from Hopper and Thompson 1980: 252)

The other three lexemes in this study (יָרָה-H [*yrah*-H]; לָמַד-D [*lmd*-D]; יָדַע-H [*yd^c*-H]) exhibit marginal transitivity at best, in accordance with the marginal transitivity of teaching in general (see 2.3.2.1.1). However, at least three of Hopper and Thompson’s components of transitivity are clearly more evident in instantiations of יָסַר-D (*ysr*-D) than with any of the other three “teach” lexemes: kinesis (B), the agency of the Agent (H), and the affectedness of the Recipient (I). יָסַר-D (*ysr*-D) often involves *physical* action carried out on the Recipient, in contrast to the type of action exhibited by יָרָה (*yrah*), לָמַד (*lmd*), and יָדַע (*yd^c*). Also, the Agent of יָסַר-D (*ysr*-D) can exhibit very high potency; consider the elders of the city who יָסַר (*ysr*) a man by beating him (Deut 22:18). Such potency of agency is never seen with the other three lexemes. Finally, the affectedness of the Recipient of יָסַר-D (*ysr*-D) can involve total affectedness – namely, being destroyed completely (e.g., Jer 30:11); none of the other “teach” lexemes demonstrates anything near this degree of affectedness. However, it is largely the

context that determines the degree of יסר-D (*ysr-D*), as is true with the English verb *break*, which can be *more* or *less* transitive based on the event it represents:

1. I broke the lamp (when I tried to turn it on and the switch broke off).
2. I broke the lamp (when I dropped it and, although still in one piece, it no longer works).
3. I broke the lamp (when I dropped it and it cracked).
4. I broke the lamp (when I dropped it and it shattered).
5. I broke the lamp (when I intentionally smashed it against the wall).

Each represents a transitive event in which the Patient is acted upon by the Agent. But the degree of transitivity differs; in the first two instances, the lamp is “broken” because it does not work anymore, while in the last two instances, the lamp is “broken” because it only exists in shards. The degree of affectedness is drastically different between (1) and (4 and 5). The potency of the Agent and the kinesis also differ drastically from (1) to (5). In Næss’s terms, the last example (5) is the most prototypically transitive because it, more than the others, involves “a volitionally acting ‘agent’ participant performing a concrete, dynamic action which has a perceptible and lasting effect on a specific ‘patient’” (Næss 2007: 15).

A surface reading of all יסר-D (*ysr-D*) occurrences and their contexts suggests that the Hebrew lexeme functions in a similar way as English *break*. A question in this chapter, then, is if BH indicates the variance of degree in ways other than context. We will return to this question at the end of the chapter (see 6.7).

6.2.2. Collocations with יסר-D (*ysr-D*): Adjuncts

The majority of יסר-D (*ysr-D*) clausal constructions include adjunct phrases. Most often, these phrases are prepositional (18x), but two begin with adverbs (Jer 10:24; Ps 16:7) and two more are noun phrases (Lev 26:18, 28). The prepositions are ב- (*b-*) (10x; an eleventh follows one of the modifying adverbs, אַךְ-בּ- [*ak-b-*]), ל- (*l-*) (3x), and כ- (*k-*) (1x). The adverbs are אַךְ (*ak*) and אַךְ (*ak*), while the noun phrases are the same – namely, שֶׁבַע עַל-חַטָּאתֶיכֶם (*šebaʿ ʿal-ḥaṭṭāʾtēkem*) “seven times on account of your sins.”

What is striking about these adjuncts is their lexical and semantic similarity. Consider the following data:

- מִשְׁפָּט (*mišpāṭ*) ‘justice’ is the object of the preposition in four phrases (ל- [*l-*] in Isa 28:26; Jer 30:11 ≈ 46:28; ב- [*b-*] in Jer 10:24)
- חֵמָה (*hēmā*) ‘wrath’ is the object of the preposition in two phrases (ב- [*b-*] in Pss 6:2; 38:2)

- שוט (*šōṭ*) ‘whip’ is the object of the preposition in four (repeated) phrases (-ב [b-] in 1 Kgs 12:11 // 2 Chr 10:11; 1 Kgs 12:14)
- עקרב (*ʿaqrāb*) ‘scorpion’ is the object of the preposition in two (repeated) phrases (-ב [b-] in 1 Kgs 12:11, 14)
- תוכחת (*tōkaḥat*) ‘reproof’ is the object of the preposition in one phrase (-ב [b-] in Ps 39:12)
- אסור (*ʿēsūr*) ‘fetter’ is the object of the preposition in one phrase (-ב [b-] in Sir 4:19)

Except for Isa 28:26, all of the above adjuncts are in contexts where severe punishment is in view. This is particularly true in Jeremiah, where the contexts include pleas and promises that YHWH not destroy the people completely. Further, the noun phrases “seven times on account of your sin” in Leviticus 26 are in a similar setting; in 26:28, YHWH threatens to walk in “wrathful hostility” against Israel (בהמת-יקרי, *baḥāmat-qērī*). The only adjuncts not described above are Ps 16:7 and Hos 7:12, and only Ps 16:7 is clearly in a context that does not include the effects of intense anger.

Adjuncts associated with the other three “teach” lexemes were locative, temporal, purpose, source, or causal. The adjuncts of יסר-D (*yśr-D*) clauses, in contrast, describe *extent* or *means*. This could be related to the transitive nature of יסר-D (*yśr-D*); namely, the adjuncts help define the degree of transitivity exhibited by the verb in a given instantiation.

6.2.3. Collocations with יסר-D (*yśr-D*): Parallel Verbs

The collocations above describe adjuncts of יסר-D (*yśr-D*). In what follows, I will consider verbs that occur in parallel with יסר-D (*yśr-D*) and what their presence contributes to our understanding of the lexeme. The collocations to follow are those that occur in texts with a clear parallel structure. As previously, I have restricted “parallelism” to lines with similar surface structure since they are readily perceived as parallel, although the relationship between the lines may not be as apparent. I have footnoted verses that do not exhibit a similar surface structure between lines but are nonetheless interesting with respect to collocations.

יסר-D (*yśr-D*) occurs in parallel constructions with eight different verbs: הזק-D (*ḥzq-D*) (Job 4:3¹³); יכה-H (*ykh-H*) (Jer 2:19; Ps 6:2 = 38:2); יעץ-G (*yʿṣ-G*) (Ps 16:7); מטה-H (*msh-H*) (Ps 39:12); למד-D (*lmd-D*) (Ps 94:12¹⁴); נתן-G (*ntn-G*) (Ps 118:18); ירה-H (*yṛh-H*) (Isa 28:26); מעט-H (*mʿṭ-H*) (Jer 10:24).

¹³ See also Hos 7:15.

¹⁴ See also the Qal participle in Ps 94:10.

Text	Agent	Recipient	Adjunct	Parallel verb ¹⁵	Parallel Recipient / Adjunct
Isa 28:26	(his God)	3ms X (farmer)	rightly	יִרְה-H (2) (<i>yrh</i> -H)	him
Jer 2:19	wickedness	2ms X (Israel)	--	יִכַּח-H (2) (<i>ykḥ</i> -H)	you
Jer 10:24	(YHWH - voc)	1cs X (Jeremiah)	but with justice	מַעַט-H (2) (<i>m^cʿt</i> -H)	(not) in your anger
Ps 6:2 ≈ 38:2	(YHWH - voc)	1cs X (psalmist)	(not) in your wrath	יִכַּח-H (1) (<i>ykḥ</i> -H)	(not) in your anger
Ps 16:7	my kidneys	1cs X (psalmist)	at night	יַעֲרַץ-G (1) (<i>yʿs-r</i> -G)	--
Ps 39:12	(YHWH)	a man	with reproofs	מַסָּה-H (2) (<i>msh</i> -H)	his wealth ¹⁶ like a moth
Ps 94:12	(YH – voc)	a man	--	לְמַד-D (2) (<i>lmd</i> -D)	from your Torah
Ps 118:18	YH	1cs X (psalmist)	--	נִתַּן-G (neg) (2) (<i>ntn</i> -G)	to death
Job 4:3	(Job)	many	--	חַזְקָא-D (2) (<i>ḥzq</i> -D)	weak hands

Table 6.3. Verbal Roots That Occur in Parallel with יִסַּר-D (*ysr*-D)

The data above indicate that יִסַּר-D (*ysr*-D), like יִרְה-H (*yrh*-H), demonstrates a clear preference for the initial clause in a parallel structure: in seven passages, יִסַּר (*ysr*) appears first; it is in the second clause only three times (and two of these are parallel texts). Kugel’s “seconding” in BH parallelism – “*A* is so, and what’s more, *B*” (1981: 1–58) – prompts us to ask what the second clause contributes to our understanding of the first. Berlin argues for the notion of disambiguation – namely, the second line may serve to clarify the meaning of the first line (Berlin 1992: 96–99). Such clarification may be required in the case of יִסַּר (*ysr*), given that the lexeme appears to show varying degrees of intensity in BH. The second verb can clarify the nature of יִסַּר’s (*ysr*) intensity. Examples of יִסַּר-D (*ysr*-D) exercised with relatively mild force include teaching and encouraging (יִרְה [*yrh*], לְמַד [*lmd*], חֲזַק [*ḥzq*]), while more severe force is exhibited in instances of rebuke, giving to death, consuming, and bringing to nothing (יִכַּח [*ykḥ*], נִתַּן [*ntn*], מַסָּה [*msh*], מַעַט [*m^cʿt*]). While this does not explain all occurrences of parallel verbs, it provides a way to assess the degree of force expressed by יִסַּר-D (*ysr*-D).

6.2.4. Summary of Linguistic Data of יִסַּר-D (*ysr*-D)

Semantic analysis needs to include the two primary components of the linguistic data of a given instantiation and the conceptual world behind the word. In this section, I have analysed

¹⁵ The number in parentheses after each form represents in which clause of the parallel structure the form occurs – the first or the second.

¹⁶ חַמּוּדוֹ (*ḥāmūdō*) – G passive ptc.

the linguistic data of יסר-D (*ysr-D*), with particular interest in its clausal constructions and its collocations.

I have determined that it only occurs in transitive constructions in which the object selected is the Recipient of the teaching event. The Agent can be divine (i.e., YHWH) or human (most commonly parents), but the Recipient is always human (individual or group). The prepositional adjuncts collocated with יסר (*ysr*), as well as the parallel verbs, indicate that יסר (*ysr*) can represent a somewhat ambiguous kind of instruction.

6.3 Conceptual Data for יסר-D (*ysr-D*)

6.3.1. Meaning Potential of יסר-D (*ysr-D*)

In what follows, I analyse the conceptual data for יסר-D (*ysr-D*). As in earlier chapters, I will describe the various aspects of the meaning potential before determining the prototypical meaning by assessing the frequency and distribution of each aspect.

The meaning potential of יסר-D (*ysr-D*) extends across three definitions, each showing an increase in the intensity of the Agent's action. The distinction between instantiations of the first two definitions in particular is not always clear, and as was true with the other "teach" lexemes, some of my determinations could be argued another way.

6.3.1.1. יסר-D (*ysr-D*) Definition 1: *To instruct in order to shape another's behaviour; to (verbally) correct in order to modify another's behaviour*

The first aspect of יסר-D's (*ysr-D*) meaning potential involves instruction that typically carries some "punch," but it may be neither punitive nor particularly painful. The Agent intends to be persuasive and uses a variety of methods (some specified, but most not), but the relevant contexts do not necessitate harsh methods. Texts in which this meaning potential is activated are Deut 4:36; 8:5; Isa 28:26; Hos 7:15; Pss 16:7; 94:12; Job 4:3; Prov 19:18; 29:17; 31:1. The Agents are YHWH, parents, and Job; the Recipients are Israel, children, a hypothetical farmer, the psalmist, and Job's friends.

Deuteronomy 4:36 is part of the book's retelling of the Sinai event: "Out of heaven he let you hear his voice to 'teach' (יסר-D, *ysr-D*) you" (מִן־הַשָּׁמַיִם הִשְׁמִיעַךְ אֶת־קוֹלֹ לְיִסְרְךָ [min-haššāmayim hišmī'c ākā 'et-kōlō lēyassērekā]). In the larger context, there is nothing correctional about this usage of יסר (*ysr*). Rather, YHWH's action seems to be a preventative measure to shape the future behaviour of the people – namely, he wanted them to be so afraid that they would not dare to sin.¹⁷ YHWH attempted to shape (יסר, *ysr*) behaviour by terror.

¹⁷ See Exod 20:20, where the people directly experience the theophanic event and are terrified. The result was supposed to be that they would not dare to sin (ובעבור תהיה יראתו עלי־פניכם לבלתי תחטאו) *ûba'c'abûr tihyeh yir'c'atō 'al-pēnēkem lēbilti teḥēṭā'û*).

A second occurrence of יסר-D (*ysr*-D) in Deuteronomy is also non-corrective. In chapter 8, Moses calls the people to remember the forty wilderness years and YHWH's testing of them (v. 2). He continues by recalling the manna, the people's wear-ever clothing, and the health of their feet despite the harsh conditions (vv. 3–5). These things happened so the people would know that YHWH was “instructing” (יסר, *ysr*) them just as a man “instructs” his son (וידעת עם-לבבך כי כאשר יסר איש את-בנו יהוה אלהיך מיסרך) [*wěyāda^c tā^c im-lēbābekā kī ka-āšer yēyassēr ʾiš ʾet-bēnô YHWH ʾēlōhēkā mēyassērekā*]; v. 5). While this instruction involved the difficult circumstances of the wilderness, the Deuteronomistic does not cast it as corrective or punitive; yet, many English translations include a negative nuance by translating “discipline” (e.g., ESV, TNK, NSRV, NIV, NASB)¹⁸ or “chasten” (e.g., KJV, JPS, ASV). In agreement with my assessment of יסר-D (*ysr*-D) here, K. Finsterbusch summarizes the thrust of the chapter and argues that “educate” is the best translation of יסר (*ysr*):

JHWHs Handeln geschah, wie aus V.2 und V.3 weiter hervorgeht, in bestimmter pädagogischer Absicht: Durch die Erfahrung des langen Wüstenaufenthaltes wollte JHWH Israel prüfen, um zu erkennen, ob es in dieser schwierigen Situation die Gebote halten würde (V.2b). Durch die Speisung mit dem unbekanntem Manna wollte er Israel unter anderem zeigen, dass der Mensch nicht nur durch die ihm von JHWH zgedachte Nahrung, sondern auch durch JHWHs Weisungen und Gebote lebt (V.3). In V.4 wird zwar JHWH nicht erwähnt. Da es in den beiden vorausgehenden Versen um JHWHs Handeln an Israel in der Wüste geht, ist zu schließen, dass dies auch hier Thema ist: JHWH bewahrte während der 40jährigen Wüstenzeit die Kleidung der Israelitinnen und Israeliten und ließ die Füße »ungeschwollen«. Aus dem komplexen Befund in 8,2–4 (JHWH bescherte seinem Volk in der Wüste keineswegs *nur* Leiden und Mühsal) ist also zu schließen, dass die Wiedergabe von יסר pi. mit »züchtigen« in Dtn 8,5 zu einseitig ist. Die Wiedergabe mit »erziehen« ist dem Befund angemessener. Von Dtn 8,2–4 her ergibt sich also, dass »väterliche Erziehung« folgende »Elemente« beinhaltet: die Anwendung harter Erziehungsmaßnahmen in pädagogischer Absicht; zugleich aber auch fürsorgliche Hinwendung zu dem Sohn.¹⁹ (2005: 254–55)

¹⁸ While *discipline* in English is not necessarily negative, it more often than not connotes punishment.

¹⁹ “As in vv. 2–3 and following, YHWH acted with a certain educational intention: By the experience of the long wilderness stay, YHWH wanted to examine Israel in order to know whether it would keep the commandments in this difficult situation (v. 2b). By supplying the heretofore unknown manna, he wanted to show Israel – among other things – that people live not only by the food, but also by YHWH's instructions and requirements (v. 3). In v. 4 YHWH is not mentioned. Since the two preceding verses are about YHWH's action on behalf of Israel in the desert, it is to be assumed that this is topic also here: YHWH kept the clothes of the Israelites during the forty years in the wilderness and kept their feet from swelling. From the complex findings in 8:2–4 (YHWH did not by any means give only suffering and tribulation to his people in the desert), it is to be concluded thus that the translation of יסר-D [*ysr*-D] in Deut 8:5 with ‘punish’ is too one-sided. The translation with ‘educate’ is more appropriate for the findings. From Deut 8:2–4 it follows, then, that fatherly education contains the following elements: the application of hard educational measures with intention; at the same time, also, considerate attention to the son.” She discusses יסר (*ysr*) further in Deuteronomy by connecting 8:5 to 11:2, in which YHWH's *mūsār* refers to his greatness, his mighty hand, his outstretched arm, his signs and wonders in Egypt, and his care in the wilderness. See Finsterbusch 2005: 256.

A different kind of instruction occurs in Isa 28:26, where God instructs the hypothetical farmer in agricultural knowledge (ה-ירה [yrh-H] // ד-יטר [ysr-D]). The description of the farmer's activity in Isaiah 28 is one of learned experience, not special revelation from God. He has learned his craft – been taught by God, in the theological language of the author – by trial and error, either his own or that of his predecessors. Learning by trial and error is a corrective process – though not necessarily moral trial and error, which would constitute sin. Error prompts one to modify behaviour. So the farmer is said to be “taught” (יטר [ysr] and ירה [yrh]) by God in the amoral activity of learning and performing his trade.

Two psalms activate the sense of ד-יטר (ysr-D) described here: Psalms 16 and 94. In Psalm 16 the psalmist claims YHWH's deliverance from a crisis; specifically in vv. 5–11 he praises YHWH in what P. Craigie calls a “song of confidence” (1983: 156–57). In v. 7, the psalmist blesses YHWH, who has counselled him, a statement he follows with “indeed at night, my innermost parts ‘instruct’ me” (אברך את־יהוה אשר יעצני אף־לילות יסרוני כליותי) [ʾābārēk ʾet-YHWH ʾāšer yēʿā sānī ʾap-lélôt yissērūnī kilyôtāy]). Briggs suggests לילות (lélôt) is an intensive plural, “in the dark night” (1906: 121). Whether the psalmist means to communicate the depth of the darkness or a sustained season of sleeplessness (cf. v. 8) – or even both – is of less consequence than the parallelism of יטר (ysr) (7b) with יעץ (yʿš) ‘to counsel’ (7a) and the Agents of each. I contend that 7b tells us the means by which YHWH counselled him: in the sleeplessness of dark nights, the psalmist faces the hard facts of his life and makes decisions about courses of action. He credits YHWH for the counsel.²⁰ יטר (ysr) could carry a corrective sense here, given that self-reflection often generates regret and change.

Psalm 94 calls for vindication of the righteous and recompense for the wicked. One of the striking features of the psalm is its usage of יטר (ysr) and למד (lmd) in two similar structures (vv. 10, 12). Consider the section below (vv. 10–13):

Ps 94:10²¹

היטר גוים הלא יוכיח המלמד אדם דעת

²⁰ The qualification of v. 8 reins in the notion that all middle-of-the-night musings are YHWH's counsel; the psalmist has set YHWH continually before him, “indicating both God's protective presence and also the psalmist's obedience to the divine law (cf. Ps 119:30)” (Craigie 1983: 157).

²¹ In the first clause of v. 10, the LXX renders היטר (hysr) as ὁ παίδεύων, understanding the definite article rather than the interrogative of the MT (cf. KJV, RSV). Given the series of similarly structured rhetorical questions in the passage, I prefer to keep the MT. In the second clause, BHS (and modern commentators) emends to smooth the syntax and structure of vv. 9–10. Regardless, the rhetorical force is still present. See BHS and Tate (1990: 484) for the conjectured emendations.

Hăyōsēr gōyim hălō² yôkîaḥ hamēlammēd ʔādām dā^cat

“The one who instructs nations, will not he – the one who teaches man knowledge – rebuke?”

Ps 94:11

יהוה ידע מחשבות אדם כִּי־הֵמָּה הַבַּל

YHWH yōdēa^c maḥšebôt ʔādām kî-hēmmâ hābel

“YHWH knows the thoughts of man, that they are but a breath.”

Ps 94:12

אֲשֶׁר־יִגְבֹּר אֲשֶׁר־תִּסְרְנוּ יְהוָה וּמִתּוֹרַתְךָ תִּלְמַדְנוּ

ʔašrê haggeber ʔāšer-těyassěrennû yāh ûmittôrātēkâ tēlammēdennû

“Happy is the man whom you chasten, Yah, the one who teach from your Torah . . .”

Ps 94:13

לְהַשְׁקִיט לוֹ מִיָּמֵי רַע עַד יִכְרֶה לְרַשָּׁע שַׁחַת

Lēhašqîṭ lô mîmē rā^c ʕad yikkāreh lārāšā^c šāḥat

“to give him rest from days of trouble until a pit is dug for the wicked.”

Verse 10 continues a rhetorical point made in vv. 8–9, namely, since God is the one who made the ear and eye, he most certainly sees and hears the wickedness of the arrogant – and he most certainly will judge them. He is the one who “instructs” (יִסַּר-G ptc, *ysr*-G) the nations, so he most certainly will rebuke (יִכַּח, *ykḥ*) them. As the one who teaches man (אָדָם, *ʔādām*) knowledge, he of course knows the ephemeral quality of human thought. The import of these verses is that YHWH has taken note of the senseless among the nations, and he does and will punish. Given the larger context and the corresponding verb יִכַּח (*ykḥ*) ‘to rebuke’, יִסַּר (*ysr*) in v. 10 includes a corrective and even punitive sense.²² YHWH’s activity on the world stage is set in terms of his roles, expressed by *nomen agentis* participles: the one who planted the ear (נָטַע, *nt^c*), the one who formed the eye (יָצַר, *yצר*), the one who instructs the nations (יִסַּר-G, *ysr*-G), the one who teaches knowledge (לָמַד-D, *lmd*-D). In v. 12, the psalmist shifts focus from the world stage to the individual, from mankind (אָדָם [*ʔādām*]; vv. 10–11) to

²² The יִסַּר (*ysr*) in Ps 94:10 is a Qal and thus not technically part of the data in this chapter. I include it here for what it contributes to our understanding of יִסַּר-D (*ysr*-D) in v. 12.

the particular individual that YHWH blesses (הגבר [haggeber]; v. 12) by instructing (יטר-D, *ysr-D*) and teaching (למד-D, *lmd-D*) from his T/torah. There is no corrective or punitive sense in the context here; rather the purpose for this “instruction” and “teaching” is to provide rest and relief from troublesome times until recompense comes for the wicked. YHWH is, after all, the one who sees, hears, and chastens the nations; the righteous can leave the task to him in full confidence.

In Job 4:3, Eliphaz scoffs at Job, saying he has “instructed” (יטר-D, *ysr-D*) many and strengthened weak hands (הנה יסרת רבים וידיים רפות תחזק [hinnēh yissartā rabbîm wēyādayim rāpôt tēhazzēq]), yet now that it is his turn to suffer, he is impatient. English translations deal variously with יטר (*ysr*) in this text: “admonish” (NASB); “instruct” (NRSV, JPS, KJV); “encourage” (TNK).²³ Contextually, it is clear that whatever Job did for others, it resulted in their being able to withstand difficulty (v. 4). The fact that his friends have apparently come to do the same for him (vv. 2, 5) suggests that יטר (*ysr*) here involves verbal reproof; they have come to “instruct” him by correcting him – urging him to confess his sin so that his suffering will end. It is possible that Job’s theology prior to his own experiences was similar to that of his friends: suffering resulted from sin. Thus, it is also plausible that his “instruction” to the many included a similar kind of correction; weak hands are strengthened when sin is confessed and a person is restored to full strength.²⁴

Hosea 7:15 has language similar to Job 4:3, but it is unique among the occurrences of יטר-D (*ysr-D*). It features asyndetic verbs of the same form (D pf, 1cs): ואני יסרתי חקותי זרועתם (wa-ānī yissartī hizzaqtī zērô^c ôtam wē-ēlay yēḥaššēbû-rā^c) “But I [YHWH] *yissartī hizzaqtī* your arms, but you plotted evil against me.” In such a coordination (two coordinating verbs of same mood, etc., with no copula) the second verb usually represents the principle idea, while the first verb describes the action of the second (e.g., השכים [hiškîm]; הרבה [harbēh]; קום [qûm]) (GKC: §120gh). This is possible in Hos 7:15 – namely, “I strengthened your arms in a chastising/instructional way” – but this seems counterintuitive and an odd use of יטר (*ysr-D*). A second possibility is that “for special reasons the verb representing the principle idea may even come first” (GKC §120h) – namely, “I chastised/instructed your

²³ Clines translates, “Think back! You have instructed many in wisdom,” stating that יטר (*ysr*) is a “technical term for the teaching of the wise” (1989: 109). The paucity of verbal instantiations of יטר (*ysr*) in Wisdom literature, however, makes this assessment difficult to substantiate.

²⁴ The physical effect of sin (i.e., guilt) is a well-attested motif in the psalms; see, e.g., Pss 32, 38, 51.

arms by strengthening them (i.e., I trained your arms).²⁵ At least two reasons could drive the word order: (1) the sound correspondence and semantic contrast between וסרוּר (*wěsûrû*) ‘they turned’ of Israel’s action against YHWH (v. 14) and יסרתי (*yissartî*) of YHWH’s action on behalf of Israel highlights the offence of Israel in the face of YHWH’s provision;²⁶ (2) the earlier usage of יסר-D (*ysr-D*) to describe the purely punitive actions of YHWH against Israel for her persistent rebellion (v. 12) contrasts sharply with YHWH’s historically earlier action of יסר (*ysr*) on Israel’s behalf (v. 15). The context of 7:15 does not suggest corrective instruction, but rather the kind of instruction evident in the wilderness experiences described with יסר (*ysr*) in Deut 8:5. Andersen and Freedman call this instruction (associated with strengthening of hands) the “growth in moral strength that comes from exercise” (1980: 476).

Parents are the Agents of יסר (*ysr*) in Proverbs, where their responsibility to “instruct” (יסר, *ysr*) is framed in both positive and negative language. Proverbs 29:17 highlights the parental rewards for a well-disciplined child: יסר בנך ויניחך ויתן מעדנים לנפשך (*yassēr binkā wîniḥekā wēyittēn ma ʿādannîm lēnapšekā*) “Discipline your son and he will bring you rest; he will give you delight.”²⁷ The greatest interest of the verse is how a parent will benefit from a well-raised child. Obviously the child benefits as well, but Fox comments on the significance of the parent in this verse: “Just as an undisciplined son shames his parents (29:15), so does a disciplined one bring them joy. . . . The words suggest the image of a parent taking a deep breath and letting out a sigh of relief and pleasure at a child who has turned out well” (2009: 840). The rewards of יסר (*ysr*) are for both teacher and student. In negative language, the father in Prov 19:18 is exhorted to instruct (יסר, *ysr*) his son and not desire his death: יסר בנך כִּי־יֵשׁ תקוה ואִל־תִּשָּׂא נַפְשְׁךָ (*yassēr binkā kî-yēš tiqwā wēʿel-hāmîṭô ʿal-tiśśāʿ napšekā*) “Discipline your son because there is hope; do not desire his death.” Because the uncorrected tendencies of a child can only lead to ruin, a father should do whatever is necessary to reshape his child’s character in accordance with wise living.²⁸

²⁵ The difficulty of the syntax is removed by the versions. The LXX does not represent יסר (*ysr*): κάγω κατίσχυσα τοὺς βραχίονας αὐτῶν καὶ εἰς ἐμὲ ἐλογίσαντο ποιητὰ; and the Syr inserts a *waw* between the verbs: *wlʿ rdyt wʿšyt drʿhwn*.

²⁶ Andersen and Freedman suggest the correspondence may be intended as a pun (1980: 476).

²⁷ The translation is Fox’s (2009: 840).

²⁸ If a father fails to correct his son, says Fox, it is “as if [he] actively *desired* to kill him. . . . Failure as a moral [parental] teacher is tantamount to negligent homicide and incurs mortal guilt” (2009: 656; italics original).

The D-stem of יסר (*ysr*) is also in Prov 31:1, where the queen mother instructs her son Lemuel.²⁹ The text appears to be a royal instruction, part of a larger “instruction” genre³⁰ in the ancient Near East that M. Lichtheim calls the “main vehicle for teaching rules of conduct” (Lichtheim 1997: 23).³¹ The compositions generally appear in the framework of a father teaching a son – most likely a reflection of reality.³² While the teaching methods employed in Egypt included harsh discipline, copying models of writing, recitation, and group chanting,³³ we have no way of knowing what methods Lemuel’s mother used to teach her son about wine, women, and wise ruling. However, Fox notes the urgency of the instruction, evident in her repetition of “no” and “my son” (3x each in v. 2), and asserts that “the tone of urgency here gives the impression that Lemuel has already done wrong and his mother is imploring him to cease” (2009: 885).³⁴

²⁹ The MT of Prov 31:1 is דְּבַר־יְסָר־לְמֻעַל מֶֿמֶּֿשָׁא אֲשֶׁר־יְסָרְתָּו אֵינוֹ (Dibrê lēmû ʿēl meleḵ maśśā’ ʾāšer-yissērattū ʾimmō). Fox discusses its difficulties: “The MT, by placing the major disjunctive on ‘king,’ would have us translate, ‘The words of Lemuel, king. An oracle [maśśā’] which his mother taught him.’ The syntagm implied by the accents – *lmwʿ mlk* – runs counter to Hebrew usage. ‘Lemuel, king,’ i.e. ‘King Lemuel,’ would require either *lʾmû ʿēl hammelek* or *hammelek lʾmû ʿēl*. (Ugaritic does allow for “PN *mlk*”; e.g., *nqmd.mlk* “King Niqmaddu.” Aramaic would have *lmwʿ mlk*ʿ, which would be Hebraized as *lmwʿ hmlk*.) Also problematic is that the MT segmentation implies a Heb idiom *yissēr maśśā’* ‘to instruct an oracle,’ whereas elsewhere *yissēr* takes the recipient of the instruction as its dir. obj. The antecedent of *ʾāšer* must be Lemuel, not ‘words’ or ‘oracle’” (Fox 2009: 884). I accept Fox’s translation, “The words of Lemuel, king of Massa, whom his mother instructed” (2009: 882).

³⁰ “Instruction” genre is M. Lichtheim’s term. See note 35 below. This genre has its roots in the Old Kingdom texts of Egypt, and it is a genre that flourished during the Middle Kingdom. See Fox (2000: 19–21), Lichtheim (1996: 248–52), and Williams (1972: 217; 1981: 10).

³¹ Lichtheim prefers “instruction” genre to “wisdom” genre. In her 1997 monograph, *Moral Values in Ancient Egypt*, Lichtheim says if she were to revise her translations of Egyptian texts, she would “remove *all* renderings by ‘wise/wisdom’ and substitute more precise terms. Only for the ‘Instructions’ of the Late Period would [she] allow ‘wise/wisdom’ to stand” (1997: 6; italics original). She (develops) her view of the evolution of Egyptian moral development in this book, where she notes, as do others, that the expression “Wisdom Literature” has been taken over from biblical studies “because Egyptian didactic texts did not offer an inclusive term that would cover the four main branches of the genre: Instructions, Autobiographies, Laments and related discoursed on right and wrong (e.g. Eloquent Peasant, Lebensmuder)” (1997: 7). Prior to this, she parsed the genre slightly differently; see her 1973 *Ancient Egyptian Literature: Volume I* (Lichtheim 1973: 134) and her 1996 article “Didactic Literature” (Lichtheim 1996: 243).

³² Of this genre in Proverbs, Fox notes that while it may be a fictional setting for any given text, “the fiction would only make sense if it reflected a recognized reality” (2000: 80). So, too, in Egyptian “instructions”: a scribe, no doubt, instructed his own sons, though he may also have instructed “neighbourhood” hopefuls in his home as well (Mialaret and Vial 1981: 75).

³³ For details on educational methods of ancient Egypt, see Lichtheim (1976) and Williams (1972).

³⁴ Fox supports his statement with the occurrence of יסר (*ysr*) as well: “A reproachful note is heard also in the verb *yisser* ‘instruct’ (v 1), which connotes discipline, rebuke, and even punishment” (2009: 885). He is correct insofar as יסר (*ysr*) often connotes reproach; however, as seen in the Deuteronomy texts above, it does not *have* to include a corrective sense. The use of יסר-D (*ysr*-D) in conjunction with the urgency in Proverbs 31 makes his assessment more probable.

In summary, this first aspect of יסר-D's (*ysr-D*) meaning potential involves instruction that may be corrective. The contexts, however, do not give clear evidence for corrective instruction that included corporal punishment.

6.3.1.2. יסר-D (*ysr-D*) Definition 2: *To punish – sometimes severely – in order to correct another's undesired behaviour*

The majority of instantiations of יסר-D (*ysr-D*) fall under this second definition. The intent of the Agent's action is to correct behaviour the Agent finds undesirable, and while the means of correction are often unspecified, they appear to represent relatively severe forms of corporal punishment. The texts with this aspect of יסר-D's (*ysr-D*) meaning potential are Lev 26:18; Deut 21:18; 1 Kgs 12:11, 14 // 2 Chr 10:11, 14; Jer 2:19; 10:24; 30:11 ≈ 46:28; 31:18; Pss 6:2 ≈ 38:2; 39:12; 118:18; Sir 7:23; 30:13.

In Deut 21:18, parents of a rebellious son are told to chastise (יסר-D, *ysr-D*) him. If their action does not achieve its desired purpose (i.e., if he still does not listen; ולא ישמע אליהם [wəlō'yišma' ʔălêhem]), they should take him to the elders at the city gate who will stone him (21:20–21). What constitutes parental chastisement in this text is not specified, but the fact that it is the last stop, so to speak, before stoning suggests that it must be fairly heavy-handed. By refusing his parents' instruction, the “stubborn and rebellious” (סורר ומורה, *sôrēr ûmôreh*) child shows himself to be unteachable, and for the protection of the community, he must be put to death so as not to infect others with his recalcitrance (v. 21).³⁵

An example of corrective instruction taken to the extreme is that of Rehoboam. In the Kings and parallel Chronicles account of Rehoboam's early days of kingship (1 Kings 12; 2 Chronicles 10), the new king seeks advice about how to deal with the people of the north

³⁵ The notion that someone can be unteachable is not unique either here in the Hebrew Bible nor in the ancient Near East. The Wisdom literature of both provides evidence for a pedagogical perspective that some people were not open to learning and thus one should not bother to teach them. The Egyptian sages, in particular, thought that stubborn refusal to learn resulted from what Fox calls an “ingrained moral perversity” (2000: 310). See, e.g., in the conclusion of the Instruction of Ptahhotep: “He who hears is beloved of god, He whom god hates does not hear. The heart makes of its owner a hearer or non-hearer” (Lichtheim 1973: 74). Papyrus Beatty IV provides what Fox calls the clearest expression of this view in Egyptian Wisdom literature: “Beware of saying, ‘Every man is in accordance with his character, The ignorant and the wise are the same thing. Shay and Renenet [gods determining a person's destiny] are engraved on one's character with the writing of God himself. Every man is as he is made, and his lifetime is (run) within an hour’ (vso. 6.5ff.; cf. AW 216)” (Fox 2000: 310–11, translation by Fox). Similarly, the viewpoint that lies behind most of the teachings of Proverbs is that there are two kinds of people: “the teachable, who may not yet be wise but *can* progress in learning, and the foolish, who are incapable of learning. . . . The teachings are addressed to those who presumably can learn, and there is little hope for the others.” Fox discusses two additional perspectives on educability: (1) everyone can learn, and (2) teaching requires the right approach. See Fox (2000: 309–17).

who had requested that he lighten the “heavy yoke” and hard labour of his father, Solomon.³⁶ The people’s request is reasonable, but Rehoboam ignores the wise advice of his father’s counsellors and instead turns to his peers who advise him to tell the people that while his father *yisser*-ed them with “whips,” he would do so with scorpions (1 Kgs 12:11) – a reference to a situation of forced labourers being whipped by their taskmasters. The job of the taskmaster is to modify what he perceives to be unacceptable behaviour (e.g., slow slaves), and the whip is his tool of correction. The passage then records Rehoboam’s near verbatim repetition of his advisors’ words to the people (1 Kgs 12:14): אבי יסר אתכם בשוטים ואני איסר (ʿābī hikbīd ʾet-ʿullēkem waʾānī ʾōsīp ʿal-ʿullēkem ʾābī yissar ʾetkem baššōʿīm waʾānī ʾāyassēr ʾetkem bāʿaqrabbīm; 1 Kgs 12:11, 14).³⁷ The narrator utilizes repetition in part to emphasise the foolishness of Rehoboam’s action: instead of listening to wise counsel and formulating a careful response to the people, he mimics the unwise words of his peers and threatens the people with gratuitous harshness.

The book of Ben Sira includes two references in which parental correction appears to be corporal punishment: Sir 7:23; 30:13. In Sir 7:23, the father is advised: “If you have sons, discipline them”; the Greek text continues, καὶ κάμψον ἐκ νεότητος τὸν τράχηλον αὐτῶν (“And bend their necks from youth”), explaining the notion of harshness that יסר (*yssr*) connotes here.³⁸ The harshness of discipline is explicit in Sir 30:13[B], where the father is told, “Discipline your son and make his yoke heavy,”³⁹ a possible allusion to Rehoboam’s words in 1 Kings 12.

Severe punishment is commonly associated with יסר (*yssr*) when YHWH is the Agent. The psalmist of Psalm 39 is in angst over his sin and implores YHWH to remove his plague from him (נגערך [*nig ʿekā*]; v. 11). The psalmist says that YHWH “instructs” with reproofs for

³⁶ Though unspecified, their complaint likely refers to Solomon’s taxation and conscripted labour documented in earlier chapters. See, e.g., 1 Kgs 4:6; 5:13.

³⁷ In the parallel account, the Chronicler includes the advisers’ statement and Rehoboam’s address to the people like that Kings account, except the verb (יסר, *yssr*) and object (2mp) are elided in the second clause: אבי יסר אתכם בשוטים ואני בעקרבים (ʿābī yissar ʾetkem baššōʿīm waʾānī bāʿaqrabbīm; 2 Chr 10:11, 14).

³⁸ MS C בנים לך יסר אותם ושא להם בנעוריהם (*bānīm lēkā yassēr ʾōtām wəšāʾ lāhem bin ʿūrēhem*). MS A has a variant in 7:23b: ושא להם נשים בנעוריהם (*wəšāʾ lāhem nāšīm bin ʿūrēhem*) “Take wives for them in their youth.” Greek renders the verse: τέκνα σοί ἐστὶν παίδευσσον αὐτὰ καὶ κάμψον ἐκ νεότητος τὸν τράχηλον αὐτῶν “Do you have children? Discipline them and bend their necks from youth.” See Skehan and Di Lella (1987: 204) for further discussion.

³⁹ The second half of this verse in Hebrew is unintelligible. The Greek, however, says, παίδευσσον τὸν υἱόν σου καὶ ἔργασαι ἐν αὐτῷ ἵνα μὴ ἐν τῇ ἀσχημοσύνῃ αὐτοῦ προσκόψῃς “lest through his impudence you be thrown down headlong.” This notion of the father’s demise is similar to Prov 19:18.

sin (sin (בְּתוֹכָהוֹת עַל־עוֹן יִסְרֵת אִישׁ) [bētōkāḥōt ʿal-ʿāwōn yissartā ʾiš], v. 12a), but he does not have verbal reproof in mind: ותמס כעש חמודו אך הבל כל־אדם (wattemes kā ʿāš ḥāmūdō ʾak hebel kol-ʾādām) “Like a moth you slowly devour what is dear to him; surely all mankind is a breath!” (v. 12b). יסר (ysr) reflects a corrective punishment that causes suffering for the Recipient. In Ps 118:18, the punishment is severe, evident from the use of the infinitive absolute with the finite verb and the contrast in the second clause: יסר יסרני יה ולמות לא נתנני (yassōr yissērannî yāh wēlammāwet lōʾ nētānānî) “Yah has chastised me severely, but he has not given me over to death.” The psalmists of Psalms 6 and 38 plead with God not to chastise them in anger and burning wrath: יהוה אל־באפך תוכיחני ואל־בהמתך תיסרני (YHWH ʿal-bēʾappēkā tōkīḥēnî wēʾal-baḥmātēkā tēyassērēnî; 6:2 ≈ 38:2⁴⁰).

The threat of destruction at the correcting hands of YHWH is a recurring motif in Jeremiah. In Jer 10:24, Jeremiah asks God not to punish in anger but with justice (במשפט, bēmišpāt), otherwise it could lead to the destruction of the people. Similarly, God threatens to chastise the people justly (למשפט, lēmišpāt), but not to make a complete end of them (Jer 30:11≈ 46:28). In 31:18 the people bemoan YHWH’s severe treatment and plead for restoration.

A final occurrence of יסר-D (ysr-D) in Jeremiah refers to the people’s foolishness in turning to Egypt and Assyria (Jer 2:19). YHWH says their wickedness in seeking alliances with the foreign nations will יסר (ysr) them; that is, the consequence of trusting power(s) other than YHWH will be punishment of itself. YHWH is not named as the Agent of יסר (ysr) here, but he takes advantage of the “natural consequences” of the people’s apostasy to remind them how miserable things are when they forsake him.

A passage in Leviticus blurs the lines between the corrective sense of יסר (ysr) described here and the purely punitive sense described in definition 3 below. In the curses of the Holiness Code (Leviticus 26), the D-stem of יסר (ysr) occurs twice (and the N-stem once). After detailing the results of disobedience and consequent punishment (e.g., terror, consumption, fever, being struck down by enemies; vv. 14–17), YHWH says that if Israel still will not obey him after all these things, he will punish them sevenfold for their sins: ואם־עד־אלה לא תשמעו לי ויספתי ליסרה אתכם שבע על־חטאתיכם (wēʾim-ʿad-ʾēlleh lōʾ tišmēʿ ū lî wēyāsaptî lēyassērâ ʾetkem šebaʿ ʿal-ḥaṭṭōʾetkem; v. 18). That this sevenfold punishment is corrective in nature is evident in vv. 21, 23, 27, where YHWH assures the people that if they

⁴⁰ The first clause of Ps 38:2 has בקצפך (bēqespeḥkā) instead of באפך (bēʾappēkā).

continue to disobey him and act in hostility against him – that is, if they will not mend their ways – then he will shower more adverse events upon them. Only in v. 28 does YHWH threaten to punish the people with no hint of correction; utter destruction is the result of this final chastening (vv. 29–38).⁴¹ This use of יסר-D (*ysr*-D) typifies the third aspect of יסר-D's (*ysr*-D) meaning potential described below.

In summary, the second aspect of the meaning potential of יסר-D (*ysr*-D) involves the intent to correct undesirable behaviour. It does not describe positive instruction – namely, the transmission of previously unknown content; rather it describes negative instruction – the attempt to remove something undesirable in the Recipient. This second definition includes corporal punishment that is often severe in nature; it is also the most commonly activated of the three definitions for יסר-D (*ysr*-D).

6.3.1.3. יסר-D (*ysr*-D) Definition 3: *To punish another severely for undesirable behaviour with no intent (or need) to correct*

The third definition of יסר-D (*ysr*-D) differs from the previous two in that it does not include a corrective purpose. The purpose of the action is purely punitive for the Recipient, although admittedly there may be an instructional element for observers. This definition is activated only a handful of times in the MT and Sira: Lev 26:28 (see 6.3.1.2 above); Deut 22:18; Hos 7:12; Sir 4:19.

Deuteronomy 22:18–19 recounts how the elders of the city are to punish (יסר-D, *ysr*-D) a man who wrongly accuses his bride of not being a virgin when they married. Upon receiving the necessary evidence, the elders of the city punish the man, fine him one hundred shekels payable to his father-in-law, and return him to his wife – whom he cannot ever divorce. While the text does not explicitly state what it meant to יסר (*ysr*) the man, a reasonable inference is that the elders beat the man. As the response to a one-time, non-repeatable offence, it is difficult to see how the action of the elders could be corrective. The man's "slandering" is not described as a character trait that the elders are attempting to beat out of him. The man is punished because the harm he caused his wife and shame he brought on her family deserves retributive pain. The elders' action is purely punitive.

A similar sense is perhaps present in Hos 7:11–12.

⁴¹ The descendants of the punished people, however, are provided the opportunity to confess and return (vv. 39–40).

ויהי אפרים כיונה פותה אין לב מצרים קראו אשור הלכו
 כאשור ילכו אפרוש עליהם רשתי כעוף השמים אורידם אִי־סָרָם⁴² כשמע לעדתם
Wayēhî ʿeprayim këyônâ pôtâ ʿên lēb miṣrayim qārā ʾû ʾaššûr hālākû ka ʾāšer yēlēkû
ʿeprôš ʿālêhem rištî kēʿôp hašš āmayim ʾôridēm ʾaysîrēm kěšēma^c la ʿādātām

The NASB renders, “So Ephraim has become like a silly dove, without sense; They call to Egypt, they go to Assyria. When they go, I will spread My net over them; I will bring them down like the birds of the sky. I will chastise them in accordance with the proclamation to their assembly.” Andersen and Freedman compare the description of YHWH in this passage to that of a divine bird-catcher who flies through the air with his net (like Enlil): “The sequence of events in v 12 could be as follows: (1) I will bring them down like birds of the sky [by unspecified means]; (2) I will throw my net over them [not just to catch them, but to imprison them]; (3) then I will discipline them” (1980: 470). This combination of imprisoning for punishment does not have a corrective sense in the context. In fact, it follows a statement about Israel’s failure to turn to YHWH and appears to be payback for the people’s unfaithful and foolish behaviour.

Sira 4:19 falls in a section about the rewards of wisdom as well as the perils of ignoring it. In the Hebrew of 4:19, Wisdom instructs the one who fails to follow her; she punishes (יִסַּר-D, *ysr-D*) him with fetters and delivers him to ruin. There is no room for reform in ruin.

In summary, the third aspect of the meaning potential of יִסַּר-D (*ysr-D*) includes corporal punishment that has includes no desire to correct. It aims to destroy.

6.3.2. Prototype Meaning of יִסַּר-D (*ysr-D*)

The prototype definition of יִסַּר-D (*ysr-D*), derived from analysis of the frequency and distribution of יִסַּר-D’s (*ysr-D*) meanings, is the definition that best describes the most relevant features of a word’s meaning. I determined the prototypical definition to be a combination of definitions 1 and 2: *to attempt to bring about changed behaviour in another person through verbal or physical means, most often to the point of causing pain.*

יִסַּר-D (*ysr-D*) differs from the other “teach” lexemes analysed in that it does not prototypically refer to the transmission of content – that is, it is not positive instruction. Rather, it is negative instruction – it reflects the attempt to remove or modify existing

⁴² This form is a defectively pointed Hiphil in the MT. I reprint to Piel אִי־סָרָם (*ʾāyassērēm*). See note 2 above.

behaviour.⁴³ The prototypical definition does not include the degree of intensity associated with יסר-D (*ysr*-D), a determination that depends on the individual contexts.

6.3.3. Summary of Conceptual Data for יסר-D (*ysr*-D)

The conceptual data of יסר-D (*ysr*-D) include its meaning potential as well as its prototypical definition. The meaning potential, as described above, consists of three definitions that show an increased intensity from verbal instruction to destruction.

The first two definitions involve instruction that often includes correction – and even severe punishment. It is these definitions that contribute to the prototypical definition in which an Agent attempts to bring about a change of behaviour in the Recipient. The third aspect of the meaning potential, in contrast, demonstrates no desire to correct: it is strictly punitive, and can even entail total destruction. The Agents of instruction are most often YHWH and parents, while the Recipients are most often Israel and children.

6.4. Putting It All Together: Linguistic and Conceptual Data for יסר-D (*ysr*-D)

6.4.1. Quality and Quantity

At the beginning of this chapter I stated that a surface reading of all יסר-D (*ysr*-D) occurrences and their contexts suggests that the Hebrew lexeme functions in way similar to the English transitive verb *break*: that is, it demonstrates a variance in its degree of transitivity based on individual contexts. The analysis of the meaning potential of יסר-D (*ysr*-D) above makes it clear that יסר (*ysr*) does indeed vary in its intensity (i.e., its degree of transitivity). A related question is if BH indicates this variance in ways other than context. The answer to this question emerges when both the linguistic data and conceptual data converge. My study demonstrates that BH has at least two ways to indicate varying degrees of transitivity with respect to יסר-D (*ysr*-D): the usage of parallel verbs and the incorporation of adjunct clauses. The parallel verbs help clarify the *quality* of the verb יסר (*ysr*) – for example, whether it refers to instruction, counsel, correction, or punishment – and the adjuncts help clarify the *quantity* of the verb's transitivity – namely, the extent to which harsh measures are used to correct.

Consider the parallel verbs that occur in the texts of definition 1: ירה-H (*yrh*-H), למד-D (*lmd*-D), חזק-D (*hʒq*-D), יעץ-G (*yʕʕ*-G) (Isa 28:26; Pss 16:7; 94:12; Job 4:3). Each clarifies *what kind* of יסר-instruction (*ysr*) is in view – that is, they disambiguate which meaning of יסר (*ysr*) is being activated, which is particularly important given that each of these texts is less

⁴³ Again, the prototypical meaning does not describe *all* the features of a lexeme's definition – just those that are most relevant. Thus, יסר-D (*ysr*-D) can and does include positive instruction in some cases (e.g., some texts in definition 1), but the core meaning of the lexeme is negative in nature.

than prototypical of יסר (*ysr*).⁴⁴ In the texts of definition 2, which are prototypical in their usage of יסר-D (*ysr-D*), parallel verbs are מעט-H (*m'ṭ-H*), יכה (*ykḥ*) (Jer 10:24; Pss 6:2 ≈ 38:2) and parallel clauses are למות לא נתנני (*lammāwet lō' nētānānī*; Ps 118:18); ותמס כעש חמודו (*wattemes kā'āš ḥāmūdō*; Ps 39:12). What stands parallel to יסר-D (*ysr-D*) clarifies the kind of instruction taking place – namely, instruction that involves painful punishment.⁴⁵ The fact that many יסר-D (*ysr-D*) texts do not include parallel verbs does not negate the pattern evidenced by those that do.

While parallel verbs help clarify the kind of instruction that יסר (*ysr*) expresses, BH uses adjunct phrases to specify the *quantity* of the punishment expressed by יסר-D (*ysr-D*). Consider again the adjuncts that occur in collocation with יסר-D (*ysr-D*): “with whips,” “with scorpions,” “in wrath,” “with reproofs,” “with fetters,” and “sevenfold.” Jeremiah pleads that YHWH punish the people “justly” (במשפט [*bēmišpāṭ*], למשפט [*lēmišpāṭ*]), a request he contrasts with YHWH punishing the people in wrath – if YHWH punishes in wrath instead of justly, the people will be consumed (cf. Pss 6:2 ≈ 38:2; Lev 26:28). The reader has no trouble grasping the intensity of the correction that יסר-D (*ysr-D*) expresses in these texts; the adjunct phrases help create higher degrees of transitivity.⁴⁶

In summary, then, BH uses parallel verbs to clarify the kind of instruction taking place (the quality), and it uses adjunct phrases to express the intensity of the instruction (the quantity).⁴⁷

6.4.2. Fighting for First Place: ירה-H (*yrh-H*) and יסר-D (*ysr-D*)

I first discussed Isa 28:26 in chapter 3 because it includes ירה-H (*yrh-H*) (see 3.2.5 and 3.3.1.2.2): ויסרו למשפט אלהיו יורנו (*wēyissērō lammišpāt 'ēlōhāyw yōrennū*) “He [God] instructs him [the farmer] rightly; his God directs him.” At that time I noted that this parallel structure is the only instance that I could not explain ירה-H (*yrh-H*) in the second clause

⁴⁴ With the exception of Ps 16:7, each parallel verb occurs in the second clause. Why Ps 16:7 does not follow יסר's (*ysr*) preferred order of parallel verbs is not clear to me, though it may somehow involve the psalmist's desire to credit YHWH with the instruction he takes away from night musings (אברך את־יהוה אשר יעצני אף־לילות) יסרוני כליותי, *ābārēk 'et-YHWH 'āšer yi'āšānī 'ap-lēlōt yissērūnī kilyōtāy*).

⁴⁵ Again, in each text except Pss 6:2 ≈ 38:2, the parallel verb occurs in the second clause. It appears that יכה (*ykḥ*) can stand in either position; cf. Jer 2:19. Perhaps this is due to the common combination of forms of תוכח/יכה (*ykḥ/tōkaḥat*) and מוסר/יסר (*ysr/m'ūsār*) (e.g., Job 5:17; Prov 3:11; 5:12; Ezek 5:15).

⁴⁶ The exceptions to this pattern are Ps 16:7 (אף־לילות, *'ap-lēlōt*) and Isa 28:26 (למשפט, *lammišpāt*), the only texts with adjuncts that activate definition 1.

⁴⁷ Obviously, the kind of instruction taking place also contributes to the degree of intensity exhibited; texts that activate definition 3 clearly express a more intense kind of “instruction” than texts that activate definition 1.

instead of the first. In every other occurrence of ירה-H (*yrh*-H) in parallel structures, the verb occurs first or it is apparent why it does not.⁴⁸ At this point in my study, I can offer a motivation for this feature of Isa 28:26. Both ירה-H (*yrh*-H) and יסר-D (*ysr*-D) prefer the first clause when construed in a parallel structure. I can also say why יסר (*ysr*) trumps ירה (*yrh*) for placement in the first clause of Isa 28:26. The rationale for both יסר (*ysr*) and ירה (*yrh*) preferring the first clause in parallel structures is Berlin’s notion of disambiguation: that is, both lexemes can be ambiguous enough to invite further explication by a second verb. With respect to ירה-H (*yrh*-H), the disambiguation provided by the second verb was the *how* of the instruction – for example, YHWH instructed by leading the psalmist on a level path (Ps 27:11). With respect to יסר-D (*ysr*-D), the disambiguation of the second verb answers *what kind* of instruction – for example, YHWH instructed by consuming the psalmist’s wealth (Ps 39:12).

With these patterns in mind, consider alternate versions of Isa 28:26:

(1) ויורנו למשפט אלהיו יסרו (**wěyōrennû lammišpāt ʔlōhāyw yissērō*)

*“He (God) instructs him (the farmer) justly; his God *yisser*-s him.”

Given the pattern of ירה-H (*yrh*-H) in parallel structures, this verse would mean God instructs the farmer rightly by *yisser*-ing him. Would this mean by punishing him? By correcting him? It is possible; God instructed him by means of the farmer’s agricultural trials and errors.

(2) ויסרו למשפט אלהיו יורנו (*wěyissērō lammišpāt ʔlōhāyw yōrennû*)

“He (God) *yisser*-s him (the farmer) justly; his God instructs him.”

Given the pattern of יסר-D (*ysr*-D) in parallel structures, this verse means that God *yissers* the farmer with the kind of instructing typified by ירה (*yrh*) – namely, giving instruction for specific situations or in a general abstracted sense (see 3.3.1.2.2).

Evaluating Isa 28:26 in light of how both “teach” lexemes typically function in parallel structures can explain why each lexeme occurs in the clause it does, as well as how the two words interact to create the meaning of the text.

6.4.3. The Same, Yet Different: Psalm 94 and למד-D (*lmd*-D) and יסר-D (*ysr*-D)

As discussed above (6.3.1.1), Psalm 94 includes יסר (*ysr*) and למד (*lmd*) in two similar structures (vv. 10, 12), an unusual feature that invites comparison. In light of what I have determined about the meaning of יסר (*ysr*) and how it is used with other verbs, I would like to take another look at the psalm here.

⁴⁸ See ch.3n52.

The psalmist incorporates both יסר (*ysr*) and למד (*lmd*) into his portrayal of YHWH's interaction with two audiences: the nations and the individual among his people (cf. vv. 5, 14). The first audience can expect that YHWH – the one who *yāsar*-s (G) nations – will most certainly rebuke them (יכה, *ykh*). While יסר-G (*ysr*-G) is not part of my formal analysis, the logical relationship between יסר (*ysr*) and יכה (*ykh*) here makes the meaning fairly transparent: YHWH punishes the nations. This is the culmination of the argument in the preceding verses. What follows this statement is a proclamation that YHWH is also the one who positively instructs mankind. YHWH teaches people knowledge (דעת, *da'at*), a broad term that can refer to anything from simple awareness to sagacity.⁴⁹ Contextually, it is difficult to know what kind of knowledge the psalmist intends here; however, that may be irrelevant – *whatever* degree of knowledge a person has, YHWH is the one who gets the credit for it. The psalmist summarizes this section about the wicked getting their due with the statement that YHWH knows mankind's thoughts; in context, these “thoughts” (מהשבות, *mahšābôt*) are best understood as the plots and plans of the wicked – the very things that are troubling the psalmist. The psalmist's comfort, then, is two-fold: (1) YHWH will punish; (2) the evil intentions of the wicked will not last long.

The psalmist then shifts to the individuals among YHWH's people, using similar language (יסר [*ysr*], למד [*lmd*]) both to stress the continuity of YHWH's involvement among people and to highlight its differences. YHWH *yisser*-s a man and *limmed*-s him from his T/torah. Unlike יסר (*ysr*) and למד (*lmd*) in v. 10, the two lexemes are parallel in v. 12.⁵⁰ Assuming that יסר-D (*ysr*-D) follows its typical pattern in parallel structures, we can look to למד-D (*lmd*-D) to disambiguate the quality of “instruction” expressed by יסר (*ysr*) in the first clause. YHWH is creating the conditions in which an individual can learn his T/torah – a significant contrast to the דעת (*da'at*) he teaches the nations.⁵¹ A further contrast is seen in the summation statement of each section: The conclusion of the matter with respect to the nations is the transitory nature of their plans; the conclusion of the matter for those learning YHWH's T/torah is the rest and respite afforded by quiet confidence.

⁴⁹ See Fox (2000: 31–32) for a fuller treatment of דעת (*da'at*).

⁵⁰ Carasik calls למד (*lmd*) and יסר (*ysr*) “fully parallel” in Psalm 94, but the syntax of the fuller discourse does not support this.

⁵¹ See ch. 4 for the use of למד-D (*lmd*-D) in conjunction with YHWH's words and commandments (4.3.2.1.2).

This interpretation of Psalm 94 and the nuances of the “teach” lexemes in it draws from the linguistic and conceptual data for each lexeme, as well as the nature of how they interact with each other.

6.5. The Substantive of the Root יסר (*ysr*): מוסר (*mûsār*)

Occurring fifty times in the MT, מוסר (*mûsār*) is an important word in the Hebrew Bible, and particularly in the Wisdom literature of Proverbs, where it is found thirty times. While it is certainly relevant to the notion of “teaching” in ancient Israel, a full analysis of the noun goes beyond the scope of this study of verbs.

Most simply, מוסר (*mûsār*) is instruction which may be accompanied by physical punishment and which is given as a result of or to prevent misbehaviour. It is most commonly administered by parents and by YHWH himself. Branson identifies three distinct meanings of the noun: (1) a body of knowledge (e.g., Prov 1:8, 4:1); (2) a specific lesson to be learned in a particular situation (e.g., Prov 24:32; Ezek 5:15); and (3) discipline or punishment (e.g., Prov 22:15; Hos 5:2) (1990: 132–33).

Fox identifies the “core notion” of מוסר (*mûsār*) as “the teaching of the avoidance of faults”: “. . . *musar* is originally, and usually, a lesson intended to correct a moral fault. The goal of *musar* is always (except for the ironic use in Prov 16:22b) a moral insight or a quality of moral character” (2000: 34), although in Sira the meaning extends beyond morality to include “decorum or good manners” (2000: 34). It can even be a lesson given pre-emptively, and thus more like חכמה (*ḥokmâ*) ‘wisdom’ than correction (2000: 35); however, Fox notes that outside Proverbs and Sira, מוסר (*mûsār*) always has a corrective sense (2000: 34).

מוסר (*mûsār*) is a favourite word of Jeremiah; it occurs eight times and most often refers to the מוסר (*mûsār*) of YHWH (Jer 2:30; 5:3; 7:28; 17:23; 30:14; 32:33; 35:13). Further study that considers Jeremiah’s interest in education, particularly with respect to YHWH, is merited.⁵²

6.6. Profiling the Prototype Meaning

In light of this analysis of all occurrences of יסר-D (*ysr*-D) and the determination of its prototypical meaning, I am ready to profile its prototype against the universal base of “teaching.” The universal cognition of teaching (fig. 6.XX below), in review, is as follows: *person A (teacher) recognises that another person B (student) lacks knowledge, belief, skills,*

⁵² See also 4.3.3.4.

or the like (or has incomplete or distorted knowledge, etc.), and person A attempts to bring about a changed state of knowledge, belief, or skill for person B.

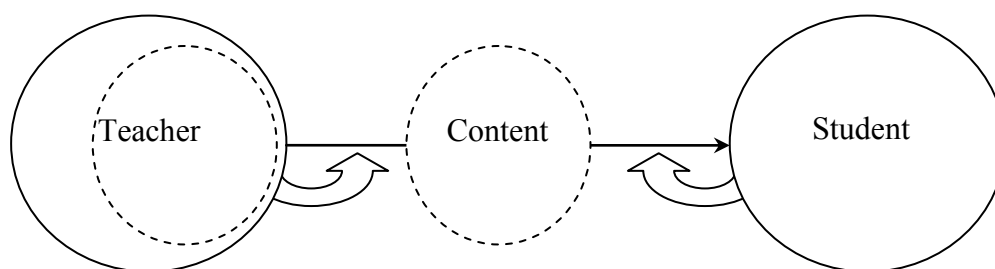


Figure 6.1. The Base – the Universal Concept of Teaching

I have demonstrated generally how יסר-D ($y\text{sr-D}$) fits against this universal cognition. In its prototypical usage, it refers to an authoritative person attempting to bring about changed behaviour in another person through verbal or physical means. Unlike the other “teach” lexemes analysed, יסר-D ($y\text{sr-D}$) is only transitive and never ditransitive; that is, it does not involve the transfer of knowledge (Content on the universal base). Rather, it refers to an attempt to *remove* something that the Student already has (i.e., a particular behaviour). Thus, the lexeme particularly profiles the corrective activity of the Agent/Teacher on the Recipient/Student. In the figure below I have indicated this by marking the Teacher with a bolder face, as well as extending the arrow of the Teacher’s activity directly to the Student instead of to the line indicating the transfer of the Content. I have nearly muted the Content, the line indicating the transfer, and the arrow representing the Student’s involvement in the process. Finally, I have indicated the undesirable behaviour of the Student with a dark box; this is what the Teacher tries to remove.

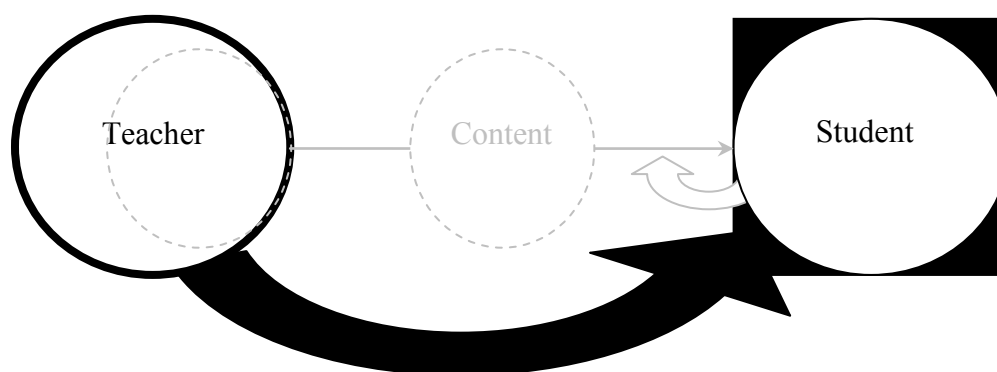


Figure 6.2. The Profile of the Prototypical Meaning of יסר-D ($y\text{sr-D}$)

6.7. Conclusion

In this chapter I have analysed all the occurrences of the verb יסר ($y\text{sr}$) in the Piel to determine its linguistic and conceptual data, as well as how the two interact to create

meaning. The prototype of יסר-D (*yśr*-D) describes the core meaning of the verb and allows us to understand more marginal instantiations of the lexeme.

At this point, I return to two questions raised in the introduction to this chapter. First, I asked whether it is possible to better nuance or correct Branson's assertion that "when *yāsar* and *mūsār* first appear [in BH], the word has already developed a range of meanings somewhat removed from the basic meaning" (1990: 128) – namely, 'to instruct' (1990: 128). I cannot speak directly to the range of meaning for מוסר (*mūsār*) based on my study here, but a few comments can be made about יסר-D (*yśr*-D). First, יסר-D (*yśr*-D) does exhibit a range of meanings that extends beyond the gloss 'to instruct', so if Branson's assessment of the cognate languages is accurate, then BH does represent a development in meaning. However, Branson's assessment that that "the primary purpose of instruction (*yāsar*) is to communicate knowledge in order to shape specific conduct" (1990: 129) does not accord with my findings insofar as יסר-D (*yśr*-D) prototypically represents *negative* instruction, not a positive transfer of knowledge as his statement asserts.

Secondly, I asked whether my analysis would substantiate Carasik's argument that מוסר/יסר (*yśr/mūsār*) provides evidence for the severity of the educational process in ancient Israel. As with Branson's conclusions, I cannot adequately engage Carasik's assertions about מוסר (*mūsār*), but with respect to יסר-D (*yśr*-D), Carasik is correct that יסר-D (*yśr*-D) does entail a good deal of severity. However, as was true with his analysis of למד (*lmd*), Carasik overstates his case by not taking into full consideration the contexts of all usages of the lexeme.⁵³ His analysis does not consider the more marginal uses of יסר (*yśr*) (e.g., Deut 4:36; 8:5; Isa 28:26; Job 4:3). Further, his understanding of יסר (*yśr*) draws heavily on his problematic analysis of למד (*lmd*), in part because he sees the two lexemes as "fully parallel" (i.e., in Ps 94:10, 12). Because of meaning potential and prototype theory, my conclusions here provide a way to understand the non-punitive and even non-corrective senses of יסר-D (*yśr*-D), a feature lacking in Carasik's analysis.

⁵³ See 4.6 for my discussion of his analysis of למד (*lmd*).

Chapter 7

Synthesis and Summary

7.1. Introduction

In this study I have examined a BH lexical set “teach” in order to determine the ancient Israelites’ concept of teaching – or at least a significant part of it. Achieving this goal has been based on three facts: (1) *teaching* is a universal concept; (2) human cognition has remained fundamentally unchanged throughout humanity’s history; (3) the ancient Israelites produced a sizeable written corpus, a witness to their culture’s concept of teaching (see 1.1). Thus, against the backdrop of the universal understanding of teaching, I have analysed aspects of the ancient Israelites’ language usage in order to formulate some of the particulars of their culture’s concept of teaching. In this chapter, I will draw these particulars together and describe their concept of teaching, particularly with respect to YHWH as a teacher.

I will begin with a synthesis of the lexical and semantic data for the four BH lexemes of this study (יִרְהּ-H [*yrh*-H], לָמַד-D [*lmd*-D], יָדַע-H [*yd^c*-H], יָסַר-D [*ysr*-D]) and a determination of the basic level item in the lexical set before describing the relationships among the four words. Then I will draw some general conclusions about the Israelite concept of teaching and assess what the data tell us about their concept of YHWH as a teacher. In the context of YHWH’s instructional activity, I will return to Psalm 25 and Psalm 119, two texts saturated with educational significance, and briefly consider them in light of the conclusions I have made here. Finally, I will assess the value of this study and make suggestions for future scholarship.

7.2. Synthesis of Semantic Data

The preceding four chapters have contained the micro-level analysis of my study: I have examined four lexemes (יִרְהּ-H [*yrh*-H], לָמַד-D [*lmd*-D], יָדַע-H [*yd^c*-H], יָסַר-D [*ysr*-D]) that comprise a significant part of the BH lexical set “teach”: I determined the meaning potential, prototype meaning, and profile of each prototype meaning. In the following paragraphs I will be concerned with a macro-level analysis based on this data: determining the basic level item of the lexical set and the relationships between the lexemes.

The concepts of *basic level items* and *folk taxonomy*, discussed in chapter 2 (see 2.2.2), underlie my analysis here. A basic level item is the lexical item that is the most prototypical for the concept being studied (Geeraerts 2002: 312), and it is also the lexeme that

is “pivotal for understanding the relationship between a set of semantically related lexical items” (van der Merwe 2006: 90). Thus I will identify the basic level item, including the reasons why it is the basic level item for “teach” in BH and the others are not. These reasons will contribute to the discussion of the relationships among the words in the lexical set, a process that lies at the heart of a folk taxonomy.¹

7.2.1. The Basic Level Item: לַמַּד (lmd-D)

My analysis indicates that לַמַּד-D (*lmd*-D) is the basic level item of the BH lexical set “teach” studied here. Determination of a basic level item is made, in part, by considering a word’s frequency of use and its distribution.² Another factor in identifying a basic level item is assessing its similarity to the concept as understood elsewhere; for example, in his study of the BH lexical set “strong/strength,” van der Merwe notes the similarity between כָּח (*kōah*) and חֹזֶק (*hāzāq*) and their English counterparts, “strong, to be strong” and “strength” (2006: 91). In my study, I am interested in the similarity between the lexical item לַמַּד (*lmd*) and the universal concept “teach.”

The first step in my determination was asking if any of the four prototype definitions and profiles³ eliminated lexemes from consideration because of their variance from the universal concept. I concluded that both יָסַר (*ysr*) and יָדַע-H (*yd^c-H*) could be excluded based on their prototype definitions. In its prototypical instantiations יָסַר (*ysr*) does not include the transfer of any content – that is, one of the three participants in the universal concept “teach” is absent. Prototypical יָדַע-H (*yd^c-H*) also varies significantly with respect to the universal concept because of its specialized focus on content related to the divine realm.

My second step was to compare and contrast the data for the remaining two lexemes, יָרָה (*yrh*) and לַמַּד (*lmd*). When I considered three factors together, לַמַּד-D (*lmd*-D) proved to be a better basic level item: (1) frequency; (2) distribution; and (3) “generic quality” (see note 2 above).

With respect to frequency, לַמַּד-D (*lmd*-D) occurs fifty-seven times to יָרָה-H’s (*yrh*-H) forty-five times. While texts with the Qal counterpart of לַמַּד-D (*lmd*-D) are not properly part

¹ E.g., animals > fish > freshwater fish > black bass > large-mouthed bass (van der Merwe 2006: 87).

² Obviously, native speakers would be the most helpful in selecting a basic level item. Geeraerts observes that basic level items are often “short morphologically simple items (2002: 312), but this criterion less helpful in the assessment of BH verbs (van der Merwe 2006: 90). With respect to distribution, I am looking for “the widest possible combinational properties that may be an indication of [a lexeme’s] generic quality” (van der Merwe 2006: 90).

³ See appendix A for the prototype definitions and profiles of the four lexemes.

of my corpus, the twenty-four occurrences of למד-G (*lmd*-G) substantiate the fundamental role of the lexeme in the Israelites' concept of teaching (cf. also the absence of a counterpart for ירה-H [*yrh*-H] in the BH system of *binyanim*).

A comparison of the respective distributions of ירה-H (*yrh*-H) and למד-D (*lmd*-D) indicates broad distribution for both lexemes. Both occur in the Deuteronomistic History, Psalms, Job, and Isaiah. ירה (*yrh*) is in Ezekiel, Micah, and Habakkuk, while למד (*lmd*) is in Jeremiah. The primary differences in distribution are absences of one lexeme in books where the other occurs: למד (*lmd*) is not found in the Tetrateuch or Proverbs, and ירה (*yrh*) is largely absent in Late Biblical Hebrew (Ezra, Qohelet, Daniel, and Sira; it does appear in a Late Biblical Hebrew passage (2 Chronicles) that is parallel to a passage in 1 Kings, and it appears as a substantival participle [*môreh*]).

When consideration of distribution also includes combinational properties (e.g., who the Agents and Recipients are; what the Patient is), למד (*lmd*) emerges as the lexeme with wider application of usage. The Agents of למד (*lmd*) include Israel, the ancestors, the psalmist, sages, officials, nations, YHWH, and Moses – with no one usage dominating, apart from the specialized usage in Deuteronomy (Moses) and Psalm 119 (YHWH). The Agents of ירה (*yrh*), however, are predominantly priests. The Recipients of each lexeme are equally varied, but the content being transferred shows considerable difference. ירה (*yrh*) frequently occurs in clauses where the content is not explicit (23/40 texts do not have a grammatical Patient), and content that is explicit is frequently cultic in nature. By contrast, למד (*lmd*) shows a greater spectrum of content across the corpus; it includes songs, language and literature, military skill, wisdom, in addition to YHWH's statutes and commandments.

The interplay of these three factors – frequency, distribution, and generic quality – indicates that למד-D (*lmd*-D) is the BH lexeme that better describes the basic meaning of 'to teach'. Finally, consideration of למד-D (*lmd*-D) against the universal concept supports this conclusion. It is the better match to the universal concept for at least three reasons. First, its prototypical occurrences clearly include the three participants of the teaching event. Second, because it involves the engagement of both the teacher and the student, it better typifies the teaching/learning process. Finally, the breadth of content represented by למד-D (*lmd*-D) better reflects the expansive nature of the universal concept – that is, teaching can encompass any area of life.

7.2.2. Relationships among the Four Lexemes

The lexemes of this study cannot be construed in a taxonomy – that is, although the words are related, they are not necessarily related in a hierarchical way like the example I provided

earlier: communicate > speak > instruct > command. None of the lexemes in the BH set “teach” encompasses all the features of the rest. This fact, however, does not preclude a discussion of the relationships among the lexemes.

The lexeme with the most restricted meaning is יסר (*ysr*), which only occurs in parallel structures with eight different verbs, three of which are unique to יסר (*ysr*) (מעט [m^ʕt], מסה [msh], הזק [h^zq]). The lexeme with the broadest spectrum of meaning is ידע-H (*yd^c-H*), a fact that is evident both in the breadth of its meaning potential and in the number of verbs that appear in parallel structures with it. ידע-H (*yd^c-H*) occurs in parallel with eighteen different verbs, and twelve of them are unique to it. ירה-H (*yrh-H*) and למד-D (*lmd-D*) occur with twelve and ten parallel verbs, respectively. Four of the verbs parallel to ירה-H (*yrh-H*) are unique to it (שכל [škl]; יצא [y^ʕʕ]; ספר [spr]; and negated כחד [k^hhd]), while only one is unique to למד (*lmd*) (i.e., עוד, ʕwd). An arrangement of the lexemes in a spectrum representing the breadth of meaning potential is as follows, beginning with the most restricted: יסר (*ysr*), ירה (*yrh*), למד (*lmd*), ידע (*yd^c*), with ירה (*yrh*) being more restricted than למד (*lmd*) because of its dominant usage in association with the priestly class.

Consideration of verbs that occur in parallel structures with more than one of the lexemes in the lexical set “teach” helps confirm semantic overlap in the lexical set. Only one root is found in parallel with all four BH “teach” lexemes: יעץ (*y^ʕʕ*) (Qal in Pss 16:7; 32:8; Job 26:3; Niphal in Isa 40:14). This fact suggests that further study considering how יעץ (*y^ʕʕ*) contributes to the Israelites’ concept of teaching is merited. Another verbal lexeme occurs in parallel with three of the four “teach” words (יסר [*ysr*] excluded) – בין (*byn*). Likewise, consideration of בין (*byn*) would further develop the concept. The lexemes of the lexical set also occur in parallel with each other: יסר // ידע // ירה (*ysr // yd^c // yrh*); למד // ירה // ידע (*lmd // yrh // yd^c*); יסר // ידע // למד (*ysr // yd^c // lmd*). The only verbs that are never in parallel are ירה (*yrh*) and למד (*lmd*),⁴ and יסר (*ysr*) and ידע (*yd^c*). The facts in this last statement could be accidents of the corpus or there could be linguistic reasons for the phenomena. I note them not because I can suggest linguistic reasons, but because they might provide a starting point for further study.

With respect to the *kind* of teaching each lexeme represents, differences emerge that are particularly evident among the prototypes. By “kind” of teaching, I refer to the three

⁴ Substantial participles of ירה-H (*yrh-H*) and למד-D (*lmd-D*) occur in parallel in Prov 5:13, but these are excluded from my corpus.

standard types of teaching/learning in educational literature: cognitive, psychomotor, and affective. With Woltersdorff (1980) and Issler and Habermas (1994), I add a fourth category that is of great significance in religious instruction: dispositional, or the training of the will. yrh-H (yrh-H) and $\text{yd}^{\text{c}}\text{-H}$ ($\text{yd}^{\text{c}}\text{-H}$) are primarily focused on cognitive instruction to a more or less passive recipient. $\text{yd}^{\text{c}}\text{-H}$ ($\text{yd}^{\text{c}}\text{-H}$) can also include affective instruction; this is true of the second definition of its meaning potential (see 5.3.1.2.1), where the instructor intends the student to perceive, grasp, or understand something (e.g., Ezekiel's lectures about Israel's history should have filled the people with remorse). By contrast, ysr (ysr) is almost entirely concerned with affective and dispositional instruction; the teacher *yisser*-s so that the student's beliefs, values, and especially behaviour will change. The basic level item, lmd (lmd), displays all four kinds of instruction: psychomotor instruction occurs in learning music or learning war; affective instruction occurs alongside the dispositional instruction of learning another's values and behaviours (e.g., worship of idols, swearing by Baal). Cognitive learning is less associated with the prototype, but it clearly factors into the prevalent usage of lmd (lmd) in Deuteronomy and Psalms.

The four "teach" lexemes demonstrate significant semantic overlap, yet they also have distinctive features represented in their meaning potentials. Each variously favours different kinds of teaching (i.e., cognitive, psycho-motor, affective, dispositional), but lmd-D (lmd-D) can involve all four kinds.

7.2.3. The Lexemes in Ben Sira

The corpus selected for the study included Ben Sira because of its importance in the genre of Israelite Wisdom literature as the "earliest interpreter of Proverbs" (Fox 2000: 25). Additionally, Sira's equation of Wisdom with Torah represents a shift in perspective that will come to dominate rabbinic thought, and thus the book serves as a suitable anchor for the study of an ancient Israelite concept.

While my study was primarily a synchronic analysis, I nonetheless considered if the usage of the lexemes in Ben Sira reflects a conceptual shift. With respect to two of the four lexemes, the data are insufficient to make any determination: yrh-H (yrh-H) does not appear in Sira and $\text{yd}^{\text{c}}\text{-H}$ ($\text{yd}^{\text{c}}\text{-H}$) is extant only once in a usage consistent with what is evident in the MT (Sir 38:5). The third lexeme, ysr-D (ysr-D), occurs three times, and all three usages fall within the more extreme aspects of the lexeme's meaning potential, namely, inflicting a harsh corrective punishment (Sir 7:23; 30:13) or just a punishment, with no intent to correct (Sir 4:19).

The final lexeme, לַמַּד-D (*lmd-D*), is found six times in Sira, and its usage is largely consistent with what is found in BH. However, a single instantiation (4:11) may reflect a semantic shift that begins in Late Biblical Hebrew (Qoh 12:9; Dan 1:4), in which teaching involves the transmission of a more theoretical knowledge (such as language, literature, and a body of wisdom) without the close association to changed behaviour that לַמַּד-D prototypically entails. It is difficult to be dogmatic in this assertion since biblical wisdom is integrally connected to behaviour; thus it is possible that the text in Sira (and Qohelet) does in fact reflect learning that affects ongoing behaviour.

7.3. The Ancient Israelite Concept of Teaching

All the data compiled in this study help me formulate the ancient Israelites' concept of teaching. A culture's concept of teaching begins with the universal concept: *one person recognises that another person has a deficiency or distortion of knowledge or skill, belief or value, behaviour or tendency – and then acts on that recognition to correct the perceived deficiency*. What the universal concept does not tell us is specific information about the teachers or the students, or what is taught and what methods are used. These specifics can be gleaned from a culture's practice and are also encoded in their language. In the case of the Israelites, archaeological evidence of their educational practice is minimal, so we are dependent on the written corpus they left behind.

The Israelites' concept of teaching centres around the fundamental idea expressed by לַמַּד-D (*lmd-D*), the basic level item in the BH lexical set “teach”: namely, the task of a teacher was to create the conditions in which learning could occur – and those conditions would be most effective when the learner had direct contact with relevant “on the job” experience. Teachers included clear authoritative figures, but teachers were also those who just had the experience or knowledge that another lacked. Sometimes the task of a teacher was as simple as making another person aware of something, but sometimes it was as involved as accompanying and guiding another through an extended period of life. The things teachers taught were as varied as one would expect in a people group. Students were children and adults, individuals and groups, human beings and divine beings. Although students were the ones with the deficiency or distortion of knowledge or skill, they were also the ones who controlled the success of the teaching endeavour by their willingness or refusal to learn. The success of a teacher was never a sure thing – no matter what methods were employed.

Consider how each lexeme contributes to the overall concept:

In addition to being the basic level unit, לַמַּד-D (*lmd-D*) is the lexeme that primarily gives us teachers who were both authoritative figures (e.g., YHWH, Moses, parents) and

those who just had the experience or knowledge that another lacked: a man taught his neighbour, nations taught war, the psalmist taught other sinners about YHWH's forgiveness, one culture taught its religion to another. It is also the lexeme that most highlights the *process* of teaching and learning – namely, engagement of the student is the means by which genuine change occurs.

Teachers associated with H-yrh (yrh-H) were most often authority figures and experts – and very often priests. Priestly authority, however, was a derived authority since they were the appointed handlers of YHWH's statutes and commandments. Their primary task as “teachers” was to tell the people what they needed to know in ritual contexts. Other teachers who “*yôreh*” were most often concerned with identifying for passive recipients what behavioural choices they should make.

The most significant contribution of H-yd^c ($\text{yd}^c\text{-H}$) to the concept of teaching is its association with content from the divine realm. The teachers of knowledge from the divine realm were the prophets, Moses, YHWH himself, and the angel Gabriel, and their teaching task was to make otherwise inaccessible information knowable. Apart from creating mere awareness, the teacher could not control whether the student actually understood the content or correctly interpreted it (e.g., Dan 8:19). Because bringing about anything more than awareness requires the engagement of another mind, the results of teaching are never certain.

The lexeme yr (ysr) differs from the others because it involves negative instruction. Its major contribution to the concept of teaching is that it gives us, in broadest terms, methods of instruction – namely, rebuke, correction, and even punishment to the point of great pain. While a teacher cannot control the outcome of instructional endeavours, h/she can exercise a degree of control over the student's body – and thus hope to control the mind and disposition.⁵

7.4. YHWH as Teacher

What I have described above applies to the Israelites' concept of human teachers and, in general terms, YHWH as a teacher. At this point I would like to specifically address the question *How did the ancient Israelites think of YHWH as a teacher?* Since the biblical authors frequently cast YHWH in the role of a teacher, our starting place for understanding his teaching is that he attempted to create the conditions in which learning could occur (see 7.3). But what was the learning he wanted to occur? And what were the conditions he created to effect the learning?

⁵ D-ysr (ysr-D) is certainly not the only method of instruction evident in the MT. See, e.g., M. Fox, on the pedagogy of Prov 2 (1994).

My approach to answering these questions will begin with a summary of how the BH lexical set “teach” is used when YHWH is the teacher. Then I will identify his students before asking what he teaches and how he teaches it. After these discussions, I will return to Pss 25 and 119, two psalms keenly interested in divine education. Finally, I will summarize the portrayal of YHWH as a teacher and assess its ramifications for understanding the dynamic between YHWH as a teacher and his people as students.

7.4.1. YHWH and the BH Lexical Set “Teach”

All four lexemes of this study are used with YHWH as the instructive Agent. He is the Agent of ירה-H (*yrh*-H), למד-D (*lmd*-D), and ידע-H (*yd^c*-H) in approximately 40 percent of their occurrences, but he is the Agent of יטר-D (*ysr*-D) in a full 50 percent of its occurrences.

When YHWH is the Agent of יטר-D (*ysr*-D), the lexeme activates its mildest definition six times.⁶ Ten times the lexeme activates definition 2, which includes punishment – sometimes severe – in order to correct undesirable behaviour.⁷ Finally, the most severe punishment, with no intent to correct, is found twice with YHWH as the Agent.⁸ With only one exception, all aspects of each lexeme’s meaning potential are activated in texts where YHWH is the Agent.⁹

7.4.2. YHWH’s Students

The most frequent Recipient of YHWH’s instruction is collective Israel and individual YHWH-fearers, both those with great significance in the biblical text (e.g., Moses, Jeremiah, Joseph, David, and Samuel) and those without (e.g., the psalmists of six different psalms, a hypothetical farmer, sinners, and the humble).

While YHWH does “teach” (יטר-G [*ysr*-G], ‘punish’?) the nations in Ps 94:10, he only teaches (ירה, *yrh*) them in a positive way at some point in the eschatological future – and then, only when they stream to Zion for the purpose of receiving his instruction (Isa 2:3 = Mic 4:2).¹⁰ It is true that YHWH’s deeds are performed and declared among the nations (ידע-

⁶ Definition 1: To instruct in order to shape another’s behaviour; to correct in order to modify another’s behaviour. The other Agents of texts in definition 1 are parents (3x) and Job (1x).

⁷ The other Agents of definition 2 are Rehoboam and Solomon, parents (3x), and wickedness (1x).

⁸ The other Agents are the elders (1x) and Wisdom (1x).

⁹ The exception, by definition, is 2c of the meaning potential of ידע-H (*yd^c*-H): *To inform or direct so that a Recipient perceives, grasps, or understands experience with YHWH’s deeds.*

¹⁰ E. Schawe identifies three occurrences of YHWH’s instruction to the nations: ירה-H (*yrh*-H) in Isa 2:3 = Mic 4:2; and מוסר (*mūsār*) in Ezek 5:15 (1979: 63-65; 235-36; 66). S. Witmer (2008) also notes LXX 2 Sam 22:48, which has παιδευω ‘the one who teaches/chastens’, where the MT has מוריד (*mōrīd*) ‘the one who brought down X’.

H, *yd^c*-H), but the nations are not the direct recipients of this instructive activity.¹¹ YHWH's instruction is reserved for collective Israel and individuals¹² until such a time as the mountain of the house of the YHWH is established as the highest of the mountains.¹³

7.4.3. “. . . For Learning to Occur”: What YHWH Taught

Some of the learning that YHWH wanted to occur (i.e., the learning which the biblical writers attribute to his instruction) is similar to the teaching of humans in the biblical text and some is different. Similar to humans, YHWH teaches obedience like a father; he teaches physical skills; he teaches wisdom like the sages; and he guides students in the right ways. Unlike human teachers, he teaches about future events;¹⁴ he teaches knowledge (*דעת*, *da^cat*);¹⁵ and he causes his people to experience his power and deliverance. I specifically address some aspects of YHWH's teaching content below.

The Deuteronomist compares YHWH's instruction (*יָסַר*, *ysr*) of his people in the wilderness to that of a father's instruction of his son. The purpose of the instruction was formative in that YHWH wanted the people to learn obedience to his laws and dependence on his care. Like a father, YHWH is portrayed as wanting what he knows to be best for his children and then shaping their circumstances so as to help them realise that he indeed knows best; the father hopes that when his children come to such an understanding, they will trust him and act on his instructions, which they know to be for their benefit. A similar notion of YHWH the father teaching Israel his children for their benefit appears in Isa 48:17, where YHWH teaches the people (*למד*-D *ptc*, *lmd*-D) to profit – and the teaching is directly related to the people's obedience of his commandments (see 4.3.2.1.2.1).

¹¹ Sir 38:5 says El sweetened the waters of Marah with a twig that “all people may know his power” (הלא בעץ) (*hālō^ʿ ba^cēš hamīqū mayim ba^cābūr lēhōdā^c kōl ʾānāšīm kōhō*); 38:5[B]), but “all people” at Marah would have been Israelites or YHWH-fearers.

¹² Individuals among his people and individuals among the nations – YHWH teaches (*למד*, *lmd*) “man” knowledge, and he teaches agriculture to a farmer of unspecified descent. Finsterbusch notes: “Die Aussagen im Gleichnis sind naturgemäß allgemein gehalten, beachtenswert ist hier allerdings: Die göttliche Erziehung beschränkt sich im Horizont des Gleichnisses nicht auf Israel. Der Verfasser des Gleichnisses teilt vielmehr die »Gott als Ursprung aller kulturellen Errungenschaften gilt und die Menschen gelehrt hat, diese zu nutzen«” (Finsterbusch 2007: 26, with reference to *TDOT* 6.345).

¹³ See 4.2.2.1.1.1 for a fuller discussion of this eschatological instruction. How this instruction takes place is not specified – i.e., whether it is mediated or direct. Witmer notes, “Some assume that human intermediaries like priests and prophets will be involved [e.g., Wildberger]. In fact, the text itself makes no mention of human agency in the Temple. . . . [This fact] opens up at least the possibility that the instruction of the Lord is direct” (2008: 18).

¹⁴ Gabriel does this on his behalf in Daniel.

¹⁵ Strangely, *דעת* (*da^cat*) is never the Patient of a non-rhetorical clause in which a human is the Agent.

YHWH teaches the skills of warfare and the expertise of agriculture – skills acquired through human experience. Why the biblical writers attribute these to YHWH’s instruction is likely due to their perspective that YHWH is the primary cause behind all of life’s circumstances. By casting YHWH as the one teaching, the writers acknowledge his role in the learning process (see also 4.3.3.2). When YHWH is the instructive Agent, the authors can also assign culpability to him when things do not go well (cf. Josh 7:7–9).

Unlike human teachers,¹⁶ YHWH teaches future events and other subject matter from the divine realm. The Deuteronomist frames the event at Horeb as divine instruction (יִסֵּר). YHWH gives Moses the words to say before Pharaoh. He alerts Samuel whom he should anoint king. He tells Israel through Isaiah what he will do with his “vineyard.” Additionally, YHWH is the source behind much mediated instruction in the MT: Moses teaches the statutes and commandments because YHWH commanded him; Ezekiel teaches the people what YHWH has said to him; Samuel tells Saul what the news is from YHWH; Bezalel and Oholiab oversee the manufacturing of tabernacle accessories because YHWH put it in their heart to teach (יִרְה, *yrh*).¹⁷

Like the sages, YHWH is also said to teach wisdom (cf. Job 8:10; 32:7; Ps 51:8). And like the wise father of Prov 4:11 who guides his son in the way of wisdom, YHWH directs individuals in good and upright ways. The biblical authors both credit YHWH with this kind of instruction (e.g., Pss 25:9; 32:8) and implore him to provide it (e.g., 1 Kgs 8:36; Pss 25:4; 143:8). The biblical writers recognise their need for assistance in living well and, notes Diedrich, no one was better to help them in this regard than YHWH himself:

Vielleicht hat auch die Erfahrung, daß Menschen unzuverlässig sind – ein Thema auch des individuellen Klageliedes (vgl. Ps 116,11: Ich sprach in neuer Angst: „Alle Menschen lügen“) – und das Erleben des ungewollten Irrtums der Menschen dazu geführt, sich bei der Suche nach Belehrung auf Jahwe auszurichten und von ihm zuverlässige Belehrung zu erwarten (1990: 72).¹⁸

¹⁶ The exceptions, of course, are his human mouthpieces, Moses and the prophets.

¹⁷ The men (and their guild of workers) already had the necessary skills to do that task. YHWH is not credited with “teaching” them in that respect. What does appear to fit the context is that the two men became overseers of the project, directing it to its completion. Perhaps what YHWH “put in their hearts” was the self-confidence and skill the artisans needed to manage a group of workers. See 3.3.1.2.1.

¹⁸ “Perhaps also the experience that humans are unreliable – also a topic of the individual lament (see Ps 116:11, “I spoke in new fear: All humans lie) – and experiencing the inadvertent mistake of humans led them/him to align them/himself with the search to YHWH for instruction and to expect reliable instruction from him.”

YHWH was perceived to be a superior teacher and one who would not let them down. In some of their entreaties for instruction, the psalmists ask YHWH to teach them precisely because they need to be rescued (Pss 25:4–5; 143:8–11).

7.4.4. “Creating the Conditions . . .”: How YHWH Taught

Many of the methods YHWH used to teach are unspecified, but others are fairly transparent. He speaks through his mouthpieces, the prophets; he “counsels” the insomniac psalmist who reflects on his life; he tailor-makes experiences to teach particular lessons (e.g., manna in the wilderness); he uses the trial and error experiences of the farmer to teach agriculture; he takes his people into war to teach them how to fight; he speaks audibly at Sinai; he performs salvific acts so people will learn his power; he opens up the earth to display who belongs to him.

Less clear is how YHWH taught individuals his ways or paths; how did he guide the faithful into the application of his commandments as they requested? Or, stated another way, what did the psalmists (in particular) expect when they pleaded with YHWH to teach them? How would they know their prayers had been answered? If their prayers involved deliverance from peril or enjoyment of a prosperous life, they would know whether YHWH had answered, but how did they experience his instruction? Only one possibility comes to mind: YHWH granted them insight that fit their situations. However, this granted insight began with the attitude and even the actions of the learner; that is, YHWH did not just infuse the psalmists with knowledge – he provides them with insight as they engage with the knowledge they already had from YHWH (i.e., his commandments).

Frequently, YHWH’s instructional methods involve great hardship and even severe punishment for individuals and for groups – with the goal of persuading the people to change their courses of action (e.g., Pss 38, 39, 118; Lev 26; Jer 10, 30). In different contexts (*mûsār* in Job 5:17; Prov 3:11) but also appropriate to the discussion here, Finsterbusch refers to a “divine pedagogy of suffering” (göttliche Leidenspädagogi) (2007: 33). While the specific suffering is not always clearly described, in Leviticus YHWH threatens to punish Israel severely with famine, plague, and wild beasts to compel repentance and obedience. Many יסר-D (*ysr*-D) texts also include a plea that YHWH hold back when he *yisser*-s the people; if he punishes in anger or without justice, the people will perish.¹⁹ Annihilation of the people is exactly what Leviticus 26 seems to point toward (vv. 38–39), but immediately following the threat of utter destruction, YHWH says if the people rotting away in enemy land will confess

¹⁹ The fear that YHWH could or would punish *without* justice is intriguing and merits further study.

their sin, then he will remember his covenant, his land, and his people (vv. 40–45).

Finsterbusch sees divine grace in this turn of events; she summarizes:

Der Verlust der Eigenstaatlichkeit Judas 586 v. Chr. ging zwar auf JHWH zurück, der aber aus gutem Grund handelte und sein Volk nicht vernichten, sondern bestrafen und erziehen wollte – und weiter erziehen will. Auch in Lev 26 werden die Ereignisse um 586 v. Chr. als Züchtigung JHWHs, mit dem ausdrücklichen Ziel, das Volk zur Umkehr zu bewegen, gedeutet. Dabei wird auch das Misslingen dieser Erziehungsmaßnahmen thematisiert und festgehalten, dass trotz möglichen Misslingens JHWH – quasi unerklärlich – an dem Bund mit seinem Volk festhalten wird: Die Weiterexistenz Israel wird damit als reiner göttlicher Gnadenakt verstanden.²⁰ (2007: 34)

YHWH uses a variety of means by which he tries to create the conditions for learning to occur. Interestingly, however, he meets with limited success when corporate Israel is the student. Jeremiah, particularly, focuses on the failure of even YHWH's most severe forms of instruction, and concludes that the only possibility left is for YHWH to permanently change the one thing his educative measures cannot change: the heart (Jeremiah 31; cf. Ezekiel 11 and 36).

7.4.5. Special Cases of YHWH as a Teacher: Psalm 25 and Psalm 119

Throughout my analysis I have referred to Psalm 25 and Psalm 119, two psalms keenly interested in divine education. Having completed the semantic analysis of the “teach” lexemes and having also discussed the idea of YHWH as a teacher, I am ready to return to these two psalms with a better sense of how to understand the usage of “teach” terminology in them.

Psalm 25 is an acrostic poem in which the psalmist surveys the adversities that afflict him in his life – both external and internal – and affirms that the only way for him to survive and succeed is if YHWH teaches him. YHWH is the Agent of instruction in v. 4 (למד-D [*lmd-D*]; ידע-H [*yd^c-H*]), v. 5 (למד-D [*lmd-D*]; cf. also דרך-H [*drk-H*]), v. 8 (ירה-H, *yrh-H*); v. 9 (למד-D [*lmd-D*]; cf. also דרך-H [*drk-H*]), v. 12 (ירה-H, *yrh-H*), and v. 14 (ידע-H, *yd^c-H*). The view of YHWH that dominates the psalm is that he teaches; nowhere else in the Hebrew

²⁰ “The loss of the state of Judah can be traced to YHWH who responded for good reasons and did not want to destroy his people, but wanted to punish and educate them – and wants to continue educating them; also Leviticus 26 – events of exile are punishment of YHWH with the expressed goal of moving the people to return; moreover, failure of these educational measures – a possible failure of YHWH, somewhat unexplainable – he will hold firm to the covenant with his people. The continued existence of Israel is, thereby, understood as a pure act of divine grace.”

Bible is YHWH associated with so many “teach” verbs in such a concentration of verses.²¹ Striking also are the objects or prepositional phrases associated with the “teach” verbs: דרך (*derek*) ‘way’ (vv. 4, 9); ארה (‘*ōrah*) ‘path’ (v. 4); בדרך (*bēderek*; v. 8) ‘in the way’; בדרך יבחר (*bēderek yibhār*; v. 12) ‘in the way he should choose’; and ברית (*bērīt*; v. 14) ‘covenant’. This psalmist is focused on his need for YHWH’s guidance at every step of his lifelong journey, not just help for a specific circumstance of difficulty.²² He does need deliverance from external assailants, but he also needs forgiveness from internal assailants as well as insight about how to stay on the right path.

I have elected not to deal with the nuances of meaning of each “teach” lexeme in Psalm 25, because the significance of their usage is less about the individual instantiations and more about the preponderance of their combined occurrences.²³ Similar to the way Isaiah 40 piles up “teach” and wisdom words to make a powerful statement about YHWH’s surpassing wisdom, Psalm 25 heaps up “teach” words to make a powerful statement about the place of YHWH’s instruction in the life of a YHWH-fearer – namely, without YHWH’s teaching, a person will not come upon the right path and stay on it.²⁴

If Psalm 25 indicates the way for a YHWH-fearer to get along throughout his lifetime, Psalm 119 celebrates the working out of that model. In one breath, the psalmist entreats YHWH to teach him, most commonly his חקים (*ḥuqqîm*) ‘statutes’, and in the next, he delights in them (cf. vv. 12, 16, 33, 35, 66, 70);²⁵ he does not lack cognitive knowledge of

²¹ Psalm 119 has eleven instantiations of the BH lexical set “teach” in 176 verses. Psalm 25 has seven in twenty-two verses.

²² This is one area in which I disagree with Finsterbusch’s assessment of the psalm. She understands the first verses of the psalm to describe a specific, life-threatening situation in which the psalmist needs deliverance from his adversaries (2007: 68, 70). Rather, the psalmist appears to be speaking in general terms about one of life’s main sources of adversity: external threat. He then addresses the other source of life’s adversity: the internal threat of his own sin.

²³ I have loosely categorised them in the preceding chapters, but I have not factored them into my determinations of the categories. And I do not read the psalm with the precision of meaning described in their categorical definitions. Finsterbusch convincingly uses the “teach” lexemes to identify the psalmist’s perspective of himself with respect to sinners (חטאים, *ḥaṭṭā’îm*), the humble/poor (עניים, *‘ānāwîm*), and the keepers of his covenant (בצרי בריתו, *nōšērē bēritō*). See 2007: 73–78.

²⁴ Compare Finsterbusch’s synthesis of YHWH’s teaching in Psalm 25: “Die Reflexion über die Motive zeigt, dass die Vorstellung des lehrenden Gottes in Psalm 25 ganz im Zeichen der Zuwendung JHWHs zu den Menschen steht: Die Belehrung hat zum Zweck, dass Menschen auf den rechten Weg kommen und auf ihm bleiben” (2007: 85).

²⁵ “Teach” lexemes incorporated into the psalm are למד-D (*lmd-D*; vv. 12, 26, 33, 64, 66, 68, 124, 135, 171; למד-G [*lmd-G*] is also in vv. 7, 71, 73) and ירה-H (*yrh-H*; vv. 33, 102), but the notion of YHWH guiding the psalmist is pervasive apart from the lexemes proper (see Reynolds 2010: 88).

YHWH's commandments, but he nonetheless needs YHWH to teach him. Reynolds typifies the psalm as the portrayal of an exemplary student of Torah (2010), but, significantly, this exemplary student only gains knowledge and insight as YHWH allows it – that is, as YHWH teaches him (vv. 26–27; 33–34; 124–25):

Torah study is not a formula that will automatically produce the correct results. The exemplary student gains knowledge and access to God through Torah but only when God grants him knowledge and access. The speaker may keep all the laws, but he still needs God's intervention. Obedience has some positive effect, but it does not produce the desired results by a mechanistic chain of cause and effect. Insight into God's word is a benefit granted personally by God that leads to obedience, and obedience is an activity supported and made possible by God that yields the benefit of greater insight. This is not faulty logic on the part of the author, since Torah observance and Torah study are mutually reinforcing activities. The relationship between the speaker's obedience of Torah and his understanding of Torah is an example that demonstrates the author is portraying a process of spiritual formation. (Reynolds 2010: 88)

What Reynolds calls the process of spiritual formation I call the dynamic between YHWH the teacher and his willing learner. Throughout the MT, YHWH appears as a teacher whose students are often less than receptive. He can create the conditions for learning to take place, but he cannot force the learning; learning requires the willingness of the student. Neither teacher nor student is in total control of the teaching/learning event; it demands the synergistic interaction between them. The psalmist learns the commandments; he obeys them; YHWH teaches him (i.e., the psalmist better understands the commandments); he obeys more; and so on for the entirety of his life – a life typified by the delight that accompanies obedience to YHWH. The student shines in Psalm 119, but only because the teacher shines as well.

7.4.6. Summary of YHWH as a Teacher

That YHWH reveals himself to his people is foundational to the text. The idea of revelation is focused on an Agent, one who speaks or acts for the purpose of being heard or seen. A corollary concept that is developed in BH is that YHWH also *teaches* his people. The concept of teaching is focused on the interaction between an Agent and a Recipient. The biblical authors present different components of YHWH's instruction. Interpreters of the Exodus tradition cast as instructive (יִדַע, *idac*) YHWH's redemptive acts on Israel's behalf. The Deuteronomist recounts the Sinai event as a teaching event (יָסַר, *ysr*). YHWH's statutes and commandments, given to Moses, were taught (לָמַד, *lmd*) to the people so they could do them and teach them to successive generations, ad infinitum. The priests instructed (יָרַח, *yrh*) the people how to apply YHWH's statutes and commandments in the cult. As the life of the

young nation progressed and the people struggled (or refused) to obey, the biblical authors record at least two courses of actions YHWH took to compel them to conform: (1) he punished them (יָסַר, *yśr*) and (2) he sent prophets to bear new messages, some of which were designed to impress upon the people the significance of their sin (e.g., יָדַעְתִּי -H [*yd^c -H*] in Ezekiel). Yet YHWH fails repeatedly as a teacher – at least, as a teacher of national Israel. It is in the Psalms that we find the most willing learners – and thus, we also find a successful teacher.

Of necessity, I have painted this portrait of YHWH as a teacher in broad strokes – but the strokes have been based on my analysis of the BH lexical set “teach.” In the most general terms, YHWH creates the conditions in which learning can take place – including severe punishment. But learning requires a responsive learner, something even YHWH does not force on people outside the writings of Ezekiel and Jeremiah.

7.5. Conclusion

In this Cognitive Linguistic study of a BH lexical set, I have determined the foundational aspects of the ancient Israelites’ concept of teaching by analysing prominent lexemes they used to refer to teaching. The contributions of this study to biblical scholarship lie in two areas: semantic method and the concept of teaching. In each of these areas my study has both provided something new and paved the way for future scholarship.

With respect to semantic methodology, I have incorporated recent advances in Cognitive Linguistics research into BH lexical studies and modelled a repeatable method that accounts for the “protean nature” of words: “that is, [words] can shift meanings in different contexts of use” (Evans 2009: xi). Explaining how and why words shift in meaning is a task of semanticists, but Evans argues that in the process of explaining the phenomenon, the scholar must respect the form(s) of words (linguistic data) and account for the conceptual world behind a word (conceptual data). I have followed his “principled separation” between these data in my analyses and then allowed them to converge to create meaning (Evans 2009: xi). While the full rigor of Evans’s methodology exceeds the available BH data, his insights can be adapted and applied to the BH lexicon as I have done here.

Of specific significance is the use of prototype definitions and profiling lexemes. I analysed four BH lexemes in order to determine the meaning potential of each and then identify which aspect of the meaning potential each instantiation activates. I was then able to identify the prototypical meaning of each lexeme and then profile each prototype definition against the universal concept “teach” to see which aspects each lexeme highlights. This final

step of profiling in my study represents an adaptation of the Cognitive Linguistics tool of profiling because I profiled *prototype definitions or meanings* and not *instantiations*. I used the universal concept “teach” as a base that contains the meaning potential of all the cognitive domains associated with a teacher, a student, and content, rather than drawing upon the available conceptual data of a specific language only. This approach provided an avenue for describing the overall concept of “teach” for the ancient Israelites.

The second contribution of my study relates to the concept of teaching, an important idea in the biblical text as well as in the later writings of Judaism and Christianity. My analysis has laid a cognitive and semantic foundation for understanding the concept in its earliest instantiations. Future studies can develop the concept more fully by considering additional verbal lexemes associated with the notion of teaching (e.g., בין [*byn*], שכל [*škl*], יעץ [*yʿṣ*]); obviously, consideration of nominal forms would be fruitful as well (e.g., מוסר [*mūsār*], לקח [*leqeh*]). The biblical text’s portrayal of YHWH as a teacher is integrally tied to its overall concept of teaching, and my synchronic study considered in conjunction with K. Finsterbusch’s diachronic study of YHWH as a teacher (2007) could also provide additional avenues of research in this important concept – particularly with respect to the broader cultural milieu and educational values of the ancient Near East, an arena neither of us was able to explore extensively in our respective studies.

The concept of teaching in ancient Israel may differ in ways from other culture’s teaching concepts,²⁶ but in its most basic form, it captures the greatest challenge of teaching in any culture. Teaching means creating the conditions in which learning can occur, but whether learning actually takes place depends on a willing student. For all the effort a teacher can put forth to create the right conditions, s/he cannot control the outcome. The student must be willing, and how does a teacher – even YHWH himself – teach willingness?²⁷

²⁶ For example, modern education in the West focuses on the acquisition of information or “the fulfillment of the learner’s full potential as a human being” (Carasik 2006: 49).

²⁷ In this final statement, I adapt and paraphrase Fox’s assessment about teaching moral character: “Moral character comes down to desiring the right things, and how can we teach desire?” (Fox 2000: 348).

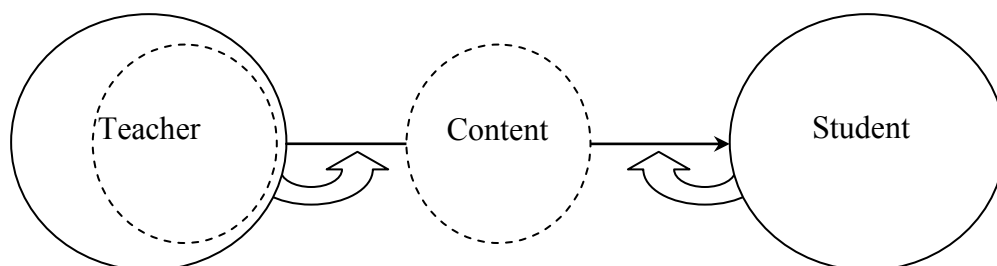
Appendix A

Prototype Meanings and Their Profiles:

יירה-H ($yrh-H$), למד-D ($lmd-D$), ידע-H (yd^c-H), יסר-D ($ysr-D$)

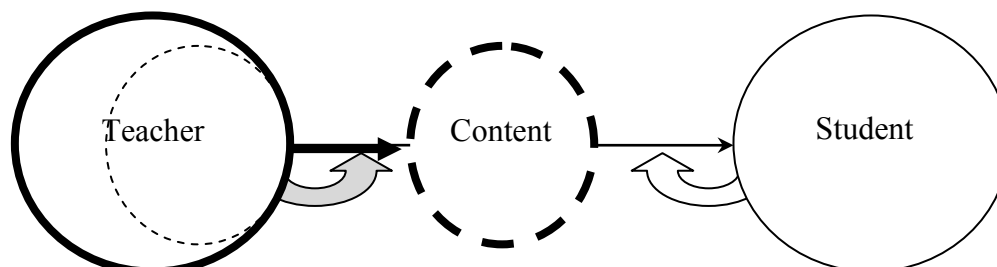
The Universal Concept of Teaching

Person A (teacher) recognises that another person B (student) lacks knowledge, belief, skills, or the like (or has incomplete or distorted knowledge, etc.), and person A attempts to bring about a changed state of knowledge, belief, or skill for person B.



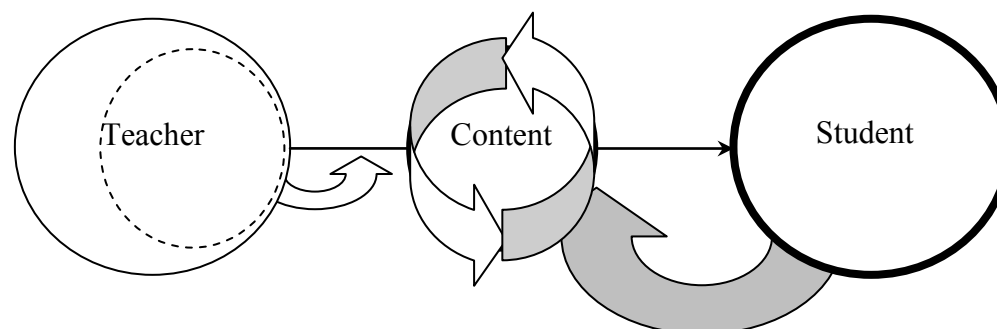
יירה-H ($yrh-H$)

Prototype Meaning: A person of authority or expertise gives specific, situational instruction to someone who lacks knowledge about what to do.



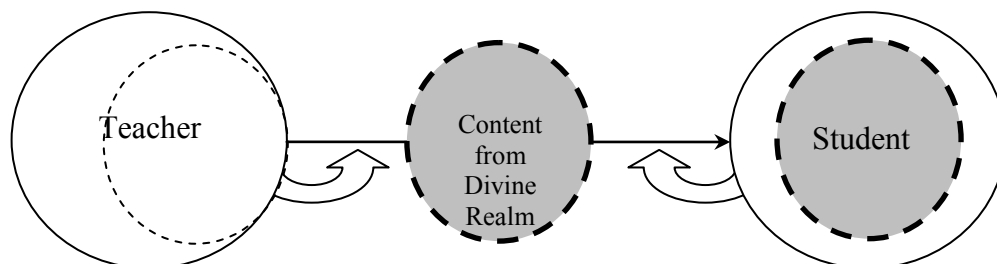
למד-D ($lmd-D$)

Prototype Meaning: To intentionally put another person in a state in which s/he can acquire a skill or expertise through experience and practice.

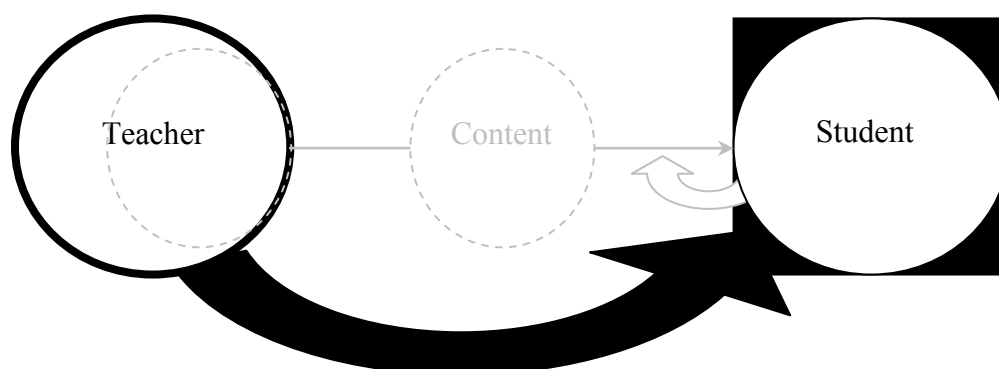


עֲדִי-ח (y^c-H)

Prototype Meaning: *a person of authority causes another person to be in a state of knowing something from the divine realm or related to experiences with the divine realm.*

יִסֵּר-D (y^sr-D)

Prototype Meaning: *To attempt to bring about changed behaviour in another person through verbal or physical means, often to the point of causing pain*



Appendix B
Meaning Potentials of BH Lexical Set “Teach”

יִרְה-H (yrh-H)

1. Visual – To direct someone’s eyes to a specific something previously unseen; to show someone something (Exod 15:25; Pss 27:11; 45:5; 86:11; Prov 6:13)
2. Cognitive – A person of authority or expertise informs someone who lacks particular knowledge
 - a. To give specific, situational instruction (Exod 4:12, 15; 35:34; Lev 14:57; Deut 17:10–11; 24:8; Judg 13:8; Isa 2:3 = Mic 4:2; Isa 9:14; Mic 3:11; Hab 2:18–19; Job 6:24; 8:10; 12:7–8; 27:11; 34:32)
 - b. To give instruction or information in a general sense (Exod 24:12; Lev 10:11; Deut 33:10; 2 Kgs 12:3; 17:27-28; Isa 28:9, 26; Ezek 44:23; Ps 119:102; Prov 4:4; 2 Chr 15:3)
3. A person of authority offers ongoing advice and guidance about right behaviour to a learner (1 Sam 12:23; 1 Kgs 8:36 // 2 Chr 6:27; Pss 25:8, 12; 32:8; 119:33; Prov 4:11)

לָמַד-G¹ (lmd-G)

1. To acquire a skill or habit through active engagement
 - a. To acquire expertise through experience and practice (Isa 2:4 = Mic 4:3; Ezek 19:3, 6)²
 - b. To acquire a habit by engaging in a particular behaviour (Deut 18:9; Isa 1:17; 26:9-10; Jer 10:2; 12:16; Ps 106:35; Sir 9:1; 13:1)
2. To actively acquire cognitive awareness that results in a particular action or attitude
 - a. Words, statutes, judgements, and commandments; to fear YHWH (Deut 4:10; 5:1; 14:23; 17:19; 31:12–13; Ps 119:7, 71, 73)
 - b. Other teachings and wisdom (Isa 29:24; Prov 30:3; Sir 8:8; 51:15)

¹ The prototype meaning of לָמַד-G (lmd-G) is *to acquire a skill or habit through active engagement*.

² This definition is also evident in 1 Chr 5:18, where a Gp of לָמַד (lmd) occurs.

למד-D (lmd-D)

1. To put another in a state whereby s/he can acquire a skill or habit through active engagement
 - a. To intentionally put another in a state in which s/he can acquire a skill or expertise through experience and practice (Deut 31:19, 22; Judg 3:2; 2 Sam 1:18; Jer 9:19; Ps 18:35 = 2 Sam 22:35; Pss 25:4, 5, 9; 144:1)
 - b. To put another in a state whereby s/he can acquire a habit by engaging in a particular behaviour (Deut 20:18; Jer 2:33; 9:4, 13; 12:16; 13:21; 32:33; Pss 71:17; 132:12; 143:10; Sir 15:10)
2. To put another in a state whereby s/he can acquire and master cognitive knowledge so that it can be enacted
 - a. YHWH's words, statutes, judgements, and commandments (Deut 4:1, 5, 10, 14; 5:31; 6:1; 11:19; 31:19, 22; Ps 119:12, 26, 64, 66, 68, 108, 124, 135, 171; Pss 34:12; 94:12; Ezra 7:10; 2 Chr 17:7, 9; Sir 45:5, 17; Isa 48:17; Jer 31:34)
 - b. Other teachings, wisdom (Isa 40:14; Pss 51:15; 94:10; Job 21:22; Qoh 12:9; Dan 1:4; Sir 4:11)

ידע-H (ydc-H)

1. To make another aware of something; to inform or direct a passive Recipient
 - a. With knowledge from the divine realm (Exod 18:16, 20; 1 Sam 6:2; 10:8; 16:3; 28:15; Isa 5:5; 40:13, 14; Ezek 20:11; 43:11; Hos 5:9; Job 10:2; 13:23; 37:19; Dan 8:19; Neh 9:14)
 - b. With knowledge from the non-divine realm (1 Sam 14:12; 1 Kgs 1:27; Jer 11:18; Ezek 22:26; 44:23; Ps 32:5; Job 26:3; 32:7; 38:3; 40:7; 42:4; Neh 8:12)
2. To make another understand something cognitively; to inform or direct so that a Recipient, often active, perceives, grasps, or understands; often involves a more sustained process of transmission
 - a. With knowledge from the divine realm (Gen 41:39; Num 16:5; Deut 8:3; Ezek 16:2; 20:4; 22:2; Ps 78:5)
 - b. With knowledge from the non-divine realm (Pss 16:11; 25:4; 39:5; 51:8; 90:12; 143:8; Prov 1:23; 9:9; 22:19, 21)
 - c. With knowledge from experience with YHWH's deeds (Deut 4:9; Josh 4:22; Isa 12:4; 38:19; Pss 89:2; 105:1; 145:12; 1 Chr 16:8)

3. To make another understand experientially; used only of YHWH/El's deeds (Exod 33:12-13; 2 Sam 7:21; Isa 64:1; Jer 16:21; Ezek 39:7; Hab 3:2; Pss 25:14; 77:15; 98:2; 103:7; 106:8; 1 Chr 17:19; Sir 38:5)

יִסַּר-D (ysr-D)

1. To instruct in order to shape another's behaviour; to (verbally) correct in order to modify another's behaviour (Deut 4:36; 8:5; Isa. 28:26; Hos 7:15; Pss 16:7; 94:12; Job 4:3; Prov 19:18; 29:17; 31:1)
2. To punish – sometimes severely – in order to correct another's undesired behaviour (Lev 26:18; Deut 21:18; 1 Kgs 12:11,14 // 2 Chr 10:11,14; Jer 2:19; 10:24; 30:11; 31:18; 46:28; Pss 6:2 ≈ 38:2; 39:12; 118:18; Sir 7:23; 30:13)
3. To punish another severely for undesirable behaviour with no intent (or need) to correct (Lev 26:28; Deut 22:18; Hos 7:12; Sir 4:19)

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Summary

This study employs Cognitive Linguistics to determine the foundational elements of the ancient Israelites' concept of teaching as reflected in the text of the Hebrew Bible (Old Testament) and Ben Sira, a significant post-biblical Hebrew book interested in teaching and wisdom. It analyses four prominent lexemes that comprise a lexical set referring to the act of teaching: *yrh*-H (ירָה-H), *lmd*-D (לָמַד-D), *yd^c*-H (יָדַע-H), and *ysr*-D (יָסַר-D). The thesis concludes that, in its most basic form, the concept of teaching in ancient Israel was that a teacher creates the conditions in which learning can occur.

The methodology employed in this project is built on a premise of cognitive studies, namely, that because teaching is a universal human activity, there is a universal concept of teaching: *one person A recognises that another person B lacks knowledge, belief, skills, and the like (or has incomplete or distorted knowledge, etc.), and person A attempts to bring about a changed state of knowledge, belief, or skill in person B.* This universal concept provides the starting place for understanding the concept of teaching that Biblical Hebrew reflects, and it also forms the conceptual base against which the individual lexemes are profiled.

The study incorporates a micro-level analysis and a macro-level analysis. At the micro-level, each lexeme is examined with respect to its linguistic forms (the linguistic analysis) and the contexts in which the lexeme occurs (the conceptual analysis). The linguistic analysis considers the clausal constructions of each instantiation and determines what transitivity, ditransitivity, or intransitivity contributes to the meaning. Collocations of the lexeme, including prepositional phrases, adverbial adjuncts, and parallel verbs, are evaluated for their contribution to meaning. The conceptual analysis of each lexeme identifies the meaning potential of each word, as well as what aspect of the meaning potential each instantiation activates. The study then determines the lexeme's prototypical meaning, which is profiled on the base of the universal concept of teaching. This step of profiling represents an important adaptation of the Cognitive Linguistics tool of profiling to meet the special requirements of working with ancient texts in that it profiles prototype meanings, not instantiations.

In the macro-analysis, the data of all four lexemes in the lexical set are synthesised. The relationships among the lexemes are assessed in order to identify the basic level lexeme

and consider whether the lexemes form a folk taxonomy. Finally, the profiles of the four prototype meanings are collated and compared in order to describe the ancient Israelite concept of teaching.

The study finds that the basic level item of the lexical set is למד-D (*lmd-D*) based on frequency of use and distribution. In its prototypical definition, למד-D (*lmd-D*) means *to intentionally put another person in a state in which s/he can acquire a skill or expertise through experience and practice*. In contrast to this sustained kind of teaching, the prototypical meaning of ירה-H (*yrd-H*) is situational in nature: *a person of authority or expertise gives specific, situational instruction to someone who lacks knowledge about what to do*. The lexemes יסר-D (*ysr-D*) and ידע-H (*yd^c-H*) represent the most restricted and the most expansive lexemes, respectively: the prototypical meaning of יסר-D (*ysr-D*) is *to attempt to bring about changed behavior in another person through verbal or physical means, often to the point of causing pain*; the prototypical meaning of ידע-H (*yd^c-H*) is that *a person of authority causes another person to be in a state of knowing something from the divine realm or related to experiences with the divine realm*. The study determines that while the four lexemes of the Biblical Hebrew lexical set “to teach” have significant semantic overlap, they cannot be construed in a folk taxonomy because the words are not related in a hierarchical way.

Keywords

Cognitive linguistics

Biblical Hebrew

Old Testament

Teaching

Lexical studies

Semantic analysis

Education

Prototype theory

Ben Sira

'n Kognitiewe Linguistiese Onderzoek van 'n Bybelhebreuse Leksikale Reeks “Om te Onderrig”

Hierdie studie wend kognitiewe linguistiek aan om die fundamentele elemente van die Israelitiese konsep van onderrig, soos gereflekteer in die teks van die Hebreuse Bybel (Ou Testament) en Ben Sira, 'n betekenisvolle na-Bybelse boek van belang vir wysheidsonderrig is, te bepaal. Vier prominente lekseme, wat deel uitmaak van 'n leksikale reeks wat na die onderrighandeling verwys, word ontleed: yrh -H (in die Hif'il-stamformasie), lmd -D (in die Pi'el-stamformasie), yd -H (in die Hif'il-stamformasie), en ysr -D (in die Pi'el-stamformasie). Die gevolgtrekking van die proefskrif is dat die konsep van onderrig in antieke Israel in sy mees basiese vorm inhou dat die onderwyser die voorwaardes waarbinne onderrig plaasvind, bepaal.

Die metodologie aangewend in hierdie projek is geskoei op 'n premis van kognitiewe studie, naamlik dat daar 'n universele konsep van onderrig bestaan omdat onderrig 'n universele menslike handeling is: *'n persoon A ontdek 'n gebrek aan kennis, oortuiging, vaardigheid en so meer (of 'n gebrekkige of verwronge kennis, ens.) in 'n ander persoon B. Die gevolg hiervan is dat persoon A poog om die toestand van persoon B se kennis, oortuiging en vaardigheid te verander.* Hierdie universele konsep dien as 'n vertrekpunt vir die verstaan van die konsep van onderrig soos wat dit in Bybelhebreus gereflekteer word. Dit dien ook as 'n konseptuele basis waarteen die individuele lekseme tipeer word.

Die studie inkorporeer beide 'n analise op mikro- en makrovlak. Op mikrovlak word elke lekseem in terme van die linguistiese vorme (die linguistiese analise daarvan) ondersoek, asook die kontekste waarin die lekseme voorkom (die konseptuele analise). In die linguistiese analise word die konstruksie van die sinsdele in elke geval oorweeg en die bydrae van transitiwiteit, ditransitiwiteit, of intransitiwiteit tot die betekenis bepaal. Die kollokasie van die lekseme, insluitend voorsetselfrases, adverbiale adjunkte en parallelle werkwoorde, word evalueer in terme van die bydrae wat dit lewer tot betekenis. Die konseptuele analise van elke lekseem identifiseer die betekenismoontlikheid van elke woord, asook die aspek van die betekenismoontlikheid wat deur elke geval geaktiveer word. In die studie word die prototipiese betekenis van die lekseme bepaal, wat geprofileer is op die universele konsep van onderrig as vertrekpunt. Hierdie stap van profilering verteenwoordig 'n belangrike wysiging van die kognitiewe linguistiese apparaat van profilering om die vereistes na te kom

wat deur die ondersoek van antieke tekste gestel word waar prototiperende betekenis, eerder as gebruiksgevalle, geprofileer word.

In die makro-analise word die data vir al vier van die lekseme in die leksikale reeks saamgevat. Die verwantskap tussen die lekseme word vasgestel om die basiese lekseemvlak te identifiseer en te oorweeg of hierdie lekseme deel vorm van 'n volkstaksonomie. Ten slotte word die profiel van die vier betekenisprototipes saamgevat en vergelyk om die antieke Israelitiese konsep van onderrig te beskryf.

In die studie is bevind dat die basisvlak item van die leksikale reeks לַמַּד-D (*lmd-D*) is. Dit is gebaseer op die frekwensie en distribusie daarvan. Die prototipiese definisie van לַמַּד-D (*lmd-D*) is *om 'n ander persoon doelbewustelik in 'n posisie te plaas waarin hy/sy vaardighede of kundigheid kan bekom deur middel van ervaring en oefening*. In kontras tot hierdie volhoubare tipe van onderrig, is die prototipiese betekenis van יָרָה-H (*yr-d-H*) situasioneel van aard: *'n gesaghebbende of ekspert bied spesifieke situasionele instruksies aan 'n persoon wat 'n gebrek aan kennis het oor wat om te doen*. Die lekseme יָסַר-D (*ysr-D*) en יָדַע-H (*yd^c-H*) verteenwoordig onderskeidelik die mees beperkte en mees omvattende lekseme: die prototipiese betekenis van יָסַר-D (*ysr-D*) is *om te poog om 'n verandering teweeg te bring in die gedrag van 'n ander persoon, deur middel van verbale of fisiese middele, selfs tot op die punt waar pyn veroorsaak word*; die prototipiese betekenis van יָדַע-H (*yd^c-H*) is dat *'n gesaghebbende veroorsaak dat 'n ander persoon in 'n posisie kom om kennis te verkry van die goddelike ryk of in verband daarmee gebring word om sodoende die goddelike ryk te ervaar*. In die studie is bepaal dat alhoewel die vier lekseme, verteenwoordigend van die Bybelse Hebreeuse leksikale reeks “om onderrig te gee” semantiese oorvleuelings toon, kan dit nie gekonstrueer word binne 'n volkstaksonomie nie, omdat die woorde nie verwant is op hiërargiese vlak tot mekaar nie.

Sleutelwoorde

Kognitiewe linguistiek

Bybelhebreus

Ou Testament

Onderrig

Leksikale studie

Semantiese analise

Opvoeding

Prototipe teorie