This volume presents a collection of articles centring on the language of the Mishnah and the Talmud — the most important Jewish texts (after the Bible), which were compiled in Palestine and Babylonia in the later centuries of Late Antiquity. Despite the fact that Rabbinic Hebrew has been the subject of growing academic interest across the past century, very little scholarship has been written on it in English. Studies in Rabbinic Hebrew addresses this lacuna, with eight lucid but technically rigorous articles written in English by a range of experienced scholars, focusing on various aspects of Rabbinic Hebrew: its phonology, morphology, syntax, pragmatics and lexicon. This volume is essential reading for students and scholars of Rabbinic studies alike, and appears in a new series, Studies in Semitic Languages and Cultures, in collaboration with the Faculty of Asian and Middle Eastern Studies at the University of Cambridge.

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Shai Heijmans (ed.)

Studies in Rabbinic Hebrew

EDITED BY SHAI HEIJMANS
5. RABBINIC ENTRIES IN
R. JUDAH IBN-TIBBON’S TRANSLATION
OF DUTIES OF THE HEARTS

Barak Avirbach

1. Introduction

Rabbi Bahye Ibn-Paquda wrote his Al-Hidāya ilā Farā’id al-Qulūb (‘Guide to the Duties of the Heart’) in Judaeo-Arabic at the end of the eleventh century. For centuries, it was the most widely known work of Jewish ethics in the Jewish world. This is possible that this is the main reason for the fact that we know so little about Ibn-Paquda himself: the focus was on his writings, while the author was forgotten.

1 This article is based on some of the findings presented in my PhD dissertation, supervised by Matthew Morgenstern and Tamar Zewi: Barak Avirbach, “The Translation Method of R. Judah Ibn-Tibbon: Issues of Version and Lexicon in His Translation of ‘The Duties of the Hearts’ by R. Bahye Ibn-Paquda” (Haifa University, 2015). These findings were also presented at the 2016 International Workshop on Rabbinic Hebrew, University of Cambridge.


3 Zinberg, A History. It is possible that this is the main reason for the fact that we know so little about Ibn-Paquda himself: the focus was on his writings, while the author was forgotten.
was due mainly to the early Hebrew translation of the book only seventy years after it had been written.\textsuperscript{4} Originally, there were two separate translations of the book. One was Judah Ibn-Tibbon’s translation, under the title \textit{Sefer Hovot ha-Levavot}, which was more widely known and consequently is available today in many manuscripts and printed editions. The other was by Joseph Qimhi. His translation was not as popular as Ibn-Tibbon’s, and perhaps that is why we have only a small remnant of it today.\textsuperscript{5}

Judah Ibn-Tibbon was born in Granada, probably in 1120.\textsuperscript{6} He was a physician, a translator, a merchant, and a book collector.\textsuperscript{7} Around 1150 he moved to southern France and became a prominent figure in the Jewish community of Lunel. Ibn-Tibbon was a fountain of knowledge; people consulted with him and he would lend books from his private library. Bahye Ibn-Paquda’s \textit{Hovot ha-Levavot} was the first book Ibn-Tibbon translated. After that he translated Solomon Ibn-Gabirol’s \textit{Tikkun Middot ha-Nefesh} (‘Improvement of Moral Qualities’) and \textit{Mivḥar Peninim} (‘Choice of Pearls’), Yonah Ibn-Janaḥ’s \textit{Sefer ha-Shorashim} (‘Book of Roots’) and \textit{Sefer ha-Riqmah} (‘Book of the Multicoloured Flower Beds’),


\textsuperscript{5} Eliezer Schweid, \textit{Our Great Philosophers} (in Hebrew; Tel-Aviv: Yediot Ahronot, 1999), p. 60. I am currently working on a new publication of this remnant, which has already been published in three different editions by Adolph Jellinek (Leipzig, 1846), David Sluzki (Moscow, 1871), and Avraham Tsifroni (Jerusalem, 1928). I am comparing these editions of the text with the original manuscript (Leipzig UBL B.H. 39), in order to focus on some major inaccuracies in the printed editions.


\textsuperscript{7} Ibid., p. 200.
Judah Halevi’s *Ha-Kuzari* (‘The Kuzari’), and Saadia Gaon’s *Sefer Emunot ve-Deot* (‘Book of Beliefs and Opinions’). 8

Like many medieval authors and translators, 9 Ibn-Tibbon complained that Hebrew was inadequate in comparison with other languages (especially Arabic); some called this deficiency קצרה הלשון ‘language insufficiency’. 10 It was clear to these authors and translators that the Hebrew of previous ages had been sufficient for all the needs of the people at the time. Since the ancient texts (the Bible, rabbinic literature, and early liturgy) dealt with limited subjects, the Hebrew reflected in them was limited as well. As they knew Hebrew mostly from these sources, it was insufficient for composing original works and for translating works from different languages that dealt with different and wider issues that did not appear in earlier Hebrew writings.

None of the previous periods of Hebrew was sufficient on its own to be used as a source for structures and lexicon to create a whole translation. Therefore, Ibn-Tibbon decided to combine Biblical Hebrew, Rabbinic Hebrew, liturgy, and previous medieval Hebrew works — both syntactically and lexically. 11 On different occasions, he derived new lexemes from roots and other lexical stems taken from classical literature, and occasionally he shifted the meanings of biblical and rabbinic lexemes. In the prefaces to two of his translations, Ibn-Tibbon reveals to the reader the changes he had to make in the lexicon, and he is apologetic for these actions.

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8 Ibid., p. 201.
9 See, for example, the opinions of Saadia Gaon in *Ha-Egron* (ed. Allony, p. 151), of Ibn-Janaḥ in *Sefer ha-Riqmah* (ed. Vilenski, p. 11), and of Judah Halevi in *Ha-Kuzari*, for which see Yosef Qafiḥ (ed.), *Sefer ha-kuzari* (Kiryat Ono: Makhon Mishnat ha-Rambam, 1977), pp. 80–82.
10 Towards the end of the Translator’s Preface to the *Hovot ha-Levavot*, p. 5, in the Moscow edition (*Torat Hovot ha-Levavot*, Moscow: Goldman, 1875).
11 See his apologetic remark, ibid.
Considering the arguments and efforts of these authors and translators, one might expect that the lion’s share of the lexicon in their writings would consist of neologisms of different kinds (both morphological and semantic neologisms). The analysis of the nominal lexicon used by Ibn-Tibbon in his translation of *Duties of the Hearts* serves as a useful source of confirmation or refutation. I believe that the analysis presented below indeed refutes this assumption, or at least suggests a different perspective on this impression.

2. **THE NOMINAL LEXICON IN IBN-TIBBON’S TRANSLATION OF DUTIES OF THE HEARTS**

In Ibn-Tibbon’s translation of *Duties of the Hearts*, I have found 2,102 nominal entries (1,878 lexemes and 224 phrases). As is shown in Table 1, almost 50 percent of the entries are taken from the Bible, approximately 26 percent from rabbinic literature, a small portion from the liturgy, and around 8 percent from medieval writings composed prior to the era during which Ibn-Tibbon engaged in his translation work. Just under 15 percent are neologisms coined by Ibn-Tibbon.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period / Neological type</th>
<th>Entries</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bible</td>
<td>1,035</td>
<td>49.23 percent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apocrypha</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0.33 percent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rabbinic literature</td>
<td>558</td>
<td>26.57 percent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liturgy</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>1.00 percent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medieval writings</td>
<td>171</td>
<td>8.14 percent</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

12 For all entries see my PhD dissertation, Avirbach, “The Translation Method of R. Judah Ibn-Tibbon”.
5. Rabbinic Entries in Ibn-Tibbon’s Translation of Duties of the Hearts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period / Neological type</th>
<th>Entries</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Semantic neologisms(^{13})</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>5.57 percent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morphologic neologisms(^{14})</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>3.76 percent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New phrases(^{15})</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>5.38 percent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2,102</td>
<td>100 percent</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although not all entries were taken ‘as is’ from classical Hebrew writings, these findings shed a different light on the perception of medieval Hebrew as presented by authors and translators of that era. In other words, if Hebrew could not provide sufficient words and phrases to express deep ideas and nuances, neologisms should have constituted the main portion of the lexicon and classical Hebrew entries should have been in the minority. The fact that most of the vocabulary in Ibn-Tibbon’s translation was taken from classical Hebrew suggests that reservations and complaints regarding the state of Medieval Hebrew might be due less to the actual state of Hebrew and more to a perceived need to defend against claims of medieval authors and philosophers (e.g., Abraham Ibn-Ezra) critical of the way other authors tried to make changes in the Hebrew language.

The following is a description of representative entries used by Ibn-Tibbon to translate *Duties of the Hearts*.\(^{16}\) The aim of this description is to present and examine the nature of the Rabbinic Hebrew lexicon in the nominal lexicon of Ibn-Tibbon. It will hopefully shed light on the rich semantic and morphological variety of Medieval Hebrew, both from the perspective of Rabbinic

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13 New meanings for lexemes which occur in Classical Hebrew.
14 New lexemes which were created by using existing morphological elements.
15 Compound noun which did not occur in Classical Hebrew but were based on Classical Hebrew lexemes.
16 In this paper I will not discuss phrases of any kind.
Hebrew and from the perspective of Hebrew morphological and semantic mechanisms.

In each example the Hebrew entry, as it appears in Ibn-Tibbon’s translation, will be followed by the Arabic equivalents in Ibn-Paquda’s original. For each equivalent I will cite one example, which will include the Arabic original,17 the Hebrew translation of Ibn-Tibbon, and the English translation of Hyamson.18 In a footnote I will present the treatise and the chapter the example is cited from. Overall, Duties of the Hearts consists of an introduction and ten treatises: (a) The unity of God; (b) Examination of creation; (c) The service of God; (d) Trust in God; (e) Wholehearted devotion; (f) Humility; (g) Repentance; (h) Spiritual accounting; (i) Abstinence; (j) The love of God.

3. RABBINIC ENTRIES IN IBN-TIBBON’S TRANSLATION OF DUTIES OF THE HEARTS

The rabbinic nominal entries can be divided into six categories:

1. Biblical lexemes with rabbinic meanings
2. Rabbinic lexemes with rabbinic meanings
3. Rabbinic lexemes with both rabbinic and new meanings
4. Rabbinic lexemes with new meanings
5. Root and stem combination: rabbinic roots
6. Linear word-formation: rabbinic stems

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17 As it appears in Qafiḥ, Torat Hovot ha-Levavot. Words in angle brackets refer to portions of the Arabic original which were not translated by Ibn-Tibbon.

3.1 Biblical lexemes with rabbinic meanings

In total, 33 lexemes from this category were found in Ibn-Tibbon’s translation. Although not all the examples presented here reflect new or unknown meanings, they certainly comprise the largest part of Rabbinic Hebrew in Ibn-Tibbon’s nominal lexicon.

(1) אֵבֶר

The biblical meaning of this lexeme is ‘pinion (i.e., wing)’, while its rabbinic meaning is ‘limb, organ’. These original and later meanings reflect a simple metonymy, in which the original meaning represents a specific example and the later meaning a more simplified and general meaning that is based on the biblical meaning. This lexeme is used by Ibn-Tibbon to translate four different Arabic equivalents:

(a) אֶלֶּה (אֶלֶּה): Ibn-Paquda: בַּאֲלַלְתָּא אִלְּלָה בִּהְיָה; Ibn-Tibbon: מִפְּנֵי שְׁמַעְקֶשׁ בְּבַלְעֶדָי אַמְבּוֹר אָשָׁר בְּהַמִּיר יָשׁוּר; Hyamson: ‘because he seeks them by means of organs other than those with which they can be apprehended’. 20

(b) גָּרֶחֶת (גָּרֶחֶת): Ibn-Paquda: אֱלָה וָפָּקָד וָמן אֵעָצ מִקָּטַע אֵעָצ וָגָּרֶח; Ibn-Tibbon: לְכַרְוֹת נַחַה אָחָד מְנַחֵהוּ לְפָּקָד; נַאֲרָה נַחַה מְנַנַּחֲהוּ אָבַר אָחָד מְנַנַּחֲהוּ; Hyamson: ‘to the amputation of one of his limbs and to its loss’. 21


20 The unity of God, chapter 10.

21 The service of God, chapter 5.
As is clearly evident in these citations, equivalents (a) to (c) correspond to the rabbinic meanings. Apparently, equivalent (d) is the result of a mistake in the translation, probably made by Ibn-Tibbon himself, who mistakenly translated with this lexeme the word אצחאבה which in Hebrew means חֲבֵרִים ‘friends’.  

(2) חֲנֻפָּה

While the biblical meaning of this entry is ‘profaneness, pollution’, the rabbinic meaning is ‘fawning and praising in order to please someone’.  

22 Spiritual accounting, chapter 3.
23 Introduction.
24 This is also the opinion expressed in Qafih, Sefer ha-Kuzari, and in Hyamson.
The biblical meaning of this word is ‘bag, purse’, and its rabbinic meaning is ‘skin pocket in which glands are placed’. This entry has two Arabic equivalents in Ibn-Tibbon’s translation:

(a) כיס: Ibn-Paquda: ממא כל למ נמס אלמורדה רגל; Ibn-Tibbon: מה שנמה כל המרה והאもらה; Hol: כל כיס במורה; Hyamson: ‘what belongs to the green gall goes to the gall-bladder’. 

(b) ועא: Ibn-Paquda: והכבד להבלד ולגלות את האומרה; Ibn-Tibbon: והכבד להבלד ולגלות את האומרה; Hol: עזא העץ להבלד; Hyamson: ‘the liver for purifying the food; the tubes for removing superfluities; the bowels for retention’.

The semantic shift from the original biblical meaning to the rabbinic meaning is expressed by a metaphor based on the resemblance of shape and designation between the two.

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26 The service of God, chapter 3.
27 Brown-Driver-Briggs, Lexicon, p. 476
28 Ben-Yehuda, Milon ha-Lashon ha-Ivrit, pp. 2346–2347.
29 Examination of creation, chapter 5.
30 Ibid.
Biblical meaning: ‘returning, coming back’; rabbinic meaning: ‘penitent’. Mishnaic Hebrew reflects a meaning that is more metaphorical in comparison with the biblical meaning. This metaphorical shift represents the movement of meaning from the physical field to the spiritual-cognitive field. In Ibn-Tibbon’s translation, this entry has one Arabic equivalent:

ולא כל תאיב קד נס צאלחא קבל אן ידב (Ibn-Paquda): ‘why all penitents, previously to sinning, has been righteous, while every righteous man has not necessarily been a penitent’. Ibn-Tibbon: ‘the reason being that every penitent, previously to sinning, has been righteous, while every righteous man has not necessarily been a penitent’.  

3.2 Rabbinic lexemes with rabbinic meanings

In total, there are approximately 450 entries in this category. I will present here two examples, each of which comprises two lexemes, and both of which reflect characteristic phenomena of Rabbinic Hebrew. The first example represents the double form of the verbal noun pattern of the Hifil stem:
5. Rabbinic Entries in Ibn-Tibbon’s Translation of Duties of the Hearts

(5) אַזְהָרָה

This form of the verbal noun has three equivalents in Ibn-Tibbon’s translation:

(a) Ibn-Paquda: אַזְהָרָה פָּרֹיא נָגָה אֲלָמוֹנָה עַנָּה; Ibn-Tibbon: אַזְהָרָה שֶׁבַּבְּחוֹת; הלֶבַּבְּחָזְקָה עַל הָבוֹרָא בְּסָחֶר; Hyamson: ‘prohibitions in the category of duties of the heart are, for example, associating in the worship of God any other being with Him … secretly’.

(b) Ibn-Paquda: מַהְיָה נַעֲנָה מַעַּשָּׂה וְיָרִית; Ibn-Tibbon: מַהְיָה נַעֲנָה מַעַּשָּׂה וְלְהוֹדוֹנָה; Hyamson: ‘of these, 365 are prohibitions’.

(c) Ibn-Paquda: מַהְיָה מִכְּלַל לְאָמֶרֶת נַעֲנָה בְּעָבָר לָלֶד; קָרָא מִפְּ נָפֶס; Ibn-Tibbon: מַהְיָה לְמַעַּשָּׂה וְלְוֹדוֹנָה; מַעַּלַב בְּלֶבֶךְ; Hyamson: ‘the more will you respect his commandments and prohibitions’.

(6) הַזְהָרָה

As opposed to אַזְהָרָה, this form of verbal noun has only two Arabic equivalents in Ibn-Tibbon’s translation, only one of which is shared with the previous verbal noun:

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34 The service of God, chapter 4.
35 The love of God, chapter 7.
36 Examination of creation, chapter 6.
In the dictionaries of Even-Shoshan and Ben-Yehuda the lexeme הַזְהָרָה is claimed to be a neologism of Medieval Hebrew. As revealed by the Historical Dictionary Project of the Academy of the Hebrew Language, it is found already in the Babylonian Talmud, Shebuoth 47b (MS Vatican 140). This lexeme also appears in the liturgy of Yannai and Ha-Kalir, in different manuscripts and in Genizah segments. However, it is doubtful whether Ibn-Tibbon was familiar with these specific writings and witnesses, and it is possible, even probable, that he created this neologism on his own.

The following examples (7 and 8) reflect another phenomenon that is characteristic of Rabbinic Hebrew; the assimilation of

37 Abstinence, chapter 5.
38 Spiritual accounting, chapter 3.
39 For references see the Maagarim on-line database of the Academy of the Hebrew Language.
III-alef roots to III-yod roots. In Ibn-Tibbon’s translation of *Duties of the Hearts*, both forms are found:

(7) ברי (כ)

(a) Ibn-Paquda: политик (לקה) על כל הISTS נא שער; Ibn-Tibbon: הובסו ב; כיון ואין עניין בוויקו ו戬ו בנמצא ב; Hyamson: ‘but he who trusts in the Lord will gain the esteem of his fellow-men, when his trust will become generally known’.

(b) חלוף (מלוכס): Ibn-Paquda: נוחתת והם אשת כל הISTS מקלות; Ibn-Tibbon: האלוהים והנהגו והנהגו והנהגו הבנויו; Hyamson: ‘of God’s good plan, of His government and the fulfilment of His decrees for His creatures’.

Equivalent (c) has a plural meaning, and is translated only by the Hebrew plural form בריות:

(c) חלוף (מלוכס): Ibn-Paquda: כל הISTS ארץ ארץ כלכה אלא מא שלאלה ערך; Ibn-Tibbon: את הISTS ואתה הISTS פילואינו; Hyamson: ‘that God only wished to point out to His creatures a way by which they would improve their condition in this world’.

40 *Trust in God*, opening.
41 *Spiritual accounting*, chapter 6.
42 *The service of God*, chapter 4.
(8) 

(a) Ibn-Paquda: בְּרִיאָה (خلافה) דְּלֵכָה 
Ibn-Tibbon: זְרֵא הָאָלֶלֶכָה אַלְנוּבָה; Ibn-Paquda: יִפְּצֵל אֵלֶלֶכָה אַלְנוּבָה 
Hyamson: ‘the demonstration through the senses was an addition to the intellectual stimulus which human beings naturally possess’. 43

(b) Ibn-Paquda: מְלַכָּה (خلافה) דְּלֵכָה 
Ibn-Tibbon: בְּרִיאָה (خلافה) דְּלֵכָה; Ibn-Paquda: בְּרִיאָה (خلافה) דְּלֵכָה; Ibn-Tibbon: בְּרִיאָה (خلافה) דְּלֵכָה; Hyamson: ‘concerning God’s work and its various products which He created for their improvement’. 44

(c) Ibn-Paquda: מְלַכָּה (خلافה) דְּלֵכָה 
Ibn-Tibbon: מְלַכָּה (خلافה) דְּלֵכָה 
Hyamson: ‘the second is observation of the world wherein one sees some of the wonders of God exhibited in His creatures’. 45

As in example (7), equivalent (d) has a plural meaning, and is translated only by the Hebrew plural form: 

(d) Ibn-Paquda: מְלַכָּה (خلافה) דְּלֵכָה 
Ibn-Tibbon: מְלַכָּה (خلافה) דְּלֵכָה 
Hyamson: ‘[a person should] investigate everything in the universe from the smallest creatures to the largest’. 46

43 The service of God, chapter 3.
44 Examination of creation, opening.
45 The love of God, chapter 3.
46 Spiritual accounting, chapter 3.
Regarding the Arabic equivalents of these two lexemes, it is interesting to note that as opposed to the case in Rabbinic Hebrew, in Ibn-Tibbon’s translation they do not function as free variants.

3.3 Rabbinic lexemes with both rabbinic and new meanings

All the entries presented in my glossary are marked etymologically according to the earliest relevant meaning used by Ibn-Tibbon in his translation, and not necessarily according to the first time the lexeme (or phrase) is documented in Hebrew literature. Therefore, I focus here only on the rabbinic entries whose usage and meaning Ibn-Tibbon widened.

(9) נוף

(a) Ibn-Paquad: גוף האדם ושאר המחוברים בתקונם והשלמות Ibn-Tibbon: ואבריו בנקהנא והcsrfה קטעם ואצף הבטוק טוחנמות Hyamson: ‘the limbs of the human body, or the parts of other things that are put together ... for their efficiency and completeness’.47

(b) גוף: Ibn-Paquad: קד מתנה ולבשת וצאר ובשא Ibn-Tibbon: המשנה לבשוהו זאלאס פאלאוון יותגרא עד ששב קטעם מ xbox חתמה אט קטעם בכף בוהים Hyamson: ‘so intimately mixed and fused, that each of them sustains the other, like body and soul in living creatures’.48

47 The unity of God, chapter 7.
48 Examination of creation, chapter 3.
Filamenta coelestium corporeis, describes Ibn-Paqua: אָלֵנָם אֲלָטָחִין בְּאָלָטָחִים >אָל–לָף אַל–לָף; Ibn-Tibbon: וּמִשְׁשָׁר הַשֵּׁם הַבָּרוֹא בְּנַפּוֹת הַשֵּׁם עַל שֶׁגוֹ בְּנַפּוֹתָו וּבֶן; Hyamson: ‘As the Creator, blessed be He, bound the soul to this gross, physical body, through which He was pleased to test it’. 49

Body (הָגוּפוֹת): Ibn-Paqua: אֲלָטָחִין לָף אַל–לָף; Ibn-Tibbon: אֲלָטָחִין נָפָתָו הַגָּלוּפָו; Hyamson: ‘after physical lust has been overcome and the intellect has obtained the victory over it’. 50

Gold (גּוּפָו): Ibn-Paqua: אֲלָטָחִין נָפָתָו; Ibn-Tibbon: אֲלָטָחִין נָפָתָו; Hyamson: ‘the stars in their array like lamps, all objects accumulated in it like treasures’. 51

Equivalents (a) to (c) reflect the rabbinic meanings of the lexeme גּוּפֵי. It appears that equivalent (d) was formed only due to a contextual translation (translation of an Arabic noun and an Arabic adjective into a Hebrew construct). Nevertheless, the general rabbinic meaning is appropriate here, too. Equivalent (e), which is a semantic neologism of Ibn-Tibbon’s, was created by using a metaphor that is based on the resemblance to the original meaning of the lexeme. It is interesting to see in this quotation the attraction of the Hebrew feminine suffix of the adjective צְבֻּרוֹת in comparison with the form of the Hebrew lexeme גּוּפֵי.

49 The love of God, chapter 1. For the words inside the angle brackets see note 16 above.
50 The service of God, chapter 3.
51 The unity of God, chapter 6.
In the Talmud (i.e., in Rabbinic Hebrew), the lexeme נְפָרָה has two meanings\(54\) (1) moving, transferring someone or something to another place, and (2) removal, distancing. Metaphorically, in equivalent (b), Ibn-Tibbon is using this lexeme with the meaning of ‘metaphor’ or a shift — namely, a semantic change from one semantic field to another.

In Biblical Hebrew, the lexeme תּוֹלָדָה occurs only in the plural, both in the construct state or with a possessive pronoun. In the absolute state, this lexeme occurs only in the Babylonian Talmud. Ibn-Tibbon used this word frequently, with its rabbinic meanings: see equivalents (a), (b), (d), (e), and (f), and with two new meanings, as in equivalents (c) ‘nature’ and (g) ‘result’:

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52 Spiritual accounting, chapter 3.
53 The unity of God, chapter 8.
Studies in Rabbinic Hebrew

(a) Ibn-Paquda: תן יתשענו אתל אול洮ל תנהל ותעלו אתל אול洮ל ותעלו אתל אול洮ל; Ibn-Tibbon: ותעלו אתל אול洮ל ותעלו אתל אול洮ל ותעלו אתל אול洮ל; Hyamson: ‘then he will make use of the third part — the historical portions of the Scriptures, in order that he may know the various types of men and their histories’.

(b) Ibn-Paquda: אתחדשה מרחב מי תפוקל מגרוס פי תמייז אלאנסאן פטיר עליה פי אצל כ; Ibn-Tibbon: אחד מהם תקוע בשכל נטוע בהכרת האדם נוצר עלי בשרש בריאתו ותולדתו; Hyamson: ‘one of them is inherent in the mind, implanted in the human faculty of cognition, innate from the beginning of his existence’.

(c) Ibn-Paquda: ואמא תאליף אלטביעה להא אבת אלי מדה מחדודה פמחכם ות; Ibn-Tibbon: את החבר אותו התולדה הוא חבור מתוקן וקיים עד עת קץ; Hyamson: ‘the synthesis, however, wrought by Nature, is complete and endures for an indefinite period’.

(d) Ibn-Paquda: עלעלש מרחב (ומכנון) פגירה; Ibn-Tibbon: החכמה תקועה בתולדת האדם.getAsע ובוכנ הכרות; Hyamson: ‘wisdom is innate in a man’s being, in his nature and faculties of perception, like water that is hidden in the bowels of the earth’.

55 Introduction.
56 The service of God, chapter 1.
57 The unity of God, chapter 6.
58 Introduction.
5. Rabbinic Entries in Ibn-Tibbon’s Translation of Duties of the Hearts

(e) Ibn-Paquda: פרע אינא אונארה בԺל; אלשואא מ פורע אלאובכאמ כל גירג מ עני קעזא אלחאמה
Ibn-Tibbon: כלו ימיהם בידועה הענינש העברא מתודת; רדימנ ו תורה הקשה מסקינ הדים; Hyamson: ‘they spend their days in the study of singular deductions from the legal principles and of what is strange and difficult in the final decisions’. 59

(f) המשנה פארכה במתואלדאת; מNotFoundError ותמכ פי קלובהו עלקה; Ibn-Tibbon: לטרוד לבותם בתולדות רהביו ולישב בלבם גלגוליו; Hyamson: ‘troubling their hearts, each one worried by the result of his arrogance and brooding on his vicissitudes’. 60

(g) והמה מאורז אלמהסבס; אלמחאסבה פי אלנתיג; Ibn-Tibbon: אך תועלת החשבון הנזכר היא התולדה; Hyamson: ‘the benefit of spiritual accounting here discussed, consists in the results’. 61

3.4 Rabbinic lexemes with new meanings

As is common in many developing languages, semantic shifts are an elementary method for enriching an existing vocabulary and for bringing back into use lexemes that were once part of the lexicon. Like many others before him, Ibn-Tibbon used metaphors and metonymies for this purpose. On rare occasions, he used ellipsis, folk etymology, and loan shifts. All these rare cases involve biblical lexemes or other medieval neologisms, and therefore I will not present them here. 62 Here are some examples

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59 The service of God, chapter 4.
60 Abstinence, chapter 2.
61 Spiritual accounting, chapter 4.
of the metonymies and metaphors Ibn-Tibbon used in the case of rabbinic lexemes.

The lexeme גני appears in the Palestinian Talmud with the meaning of ‘shame, disgrace, defamation’. Ibn-Tibbon used here the meaning of the process instead of its result, and the metonymy ‘to shame, to defame’ was created.

The root דב״ר occurs in Piel in Biblical Hebrew. The participle מדבר occurs as a noun in Rabbinic Hebrew. However, only in the translation of Ibn-Tibbon does this lexeme start to convey the meaning of a ‘human being’, as opposed to animals, which cannot talk. The metonymy here represents the main characteristic of the object, just as in the case of the biblical lexeme זוחל ‘crawl’

63 Humility, chapter 6.
64 Ben-Yehuda, Milon ha-Lashon ha-Ivrit, pp. 811.
65 Introduction.
66 E.g., Gen. 8.15.
(cf. 'רֹחֲבָי אָרִיך', 'snakes'), and in the case of 'דומֵם', 'inanimate', another neologism of Ibn-Tibbon.

In the Mishnah, the verbal noun בִּשּׁוּל means ‘preparing food for eating by heating with fire’, and, in the Talmud, the meaning was expanded to ‘ripening, becoming good for eating’. In Ibn-Tibbon’s translation, another metaphor is used, and hence the meaning ‘digestion’ was added in order to reflect the meaning of the Arabic equivalent מִשְׁלִים. It is important to note that this lexeme with such a meaning was rare in Ibn-Tibbon’s translation and that this meaning is omitted in various modern Hebrew diachronic dictionaries.

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(a) Ibn-Paquda: 'הא בבעץ והו אתחא ביעדAleph sucker אשתראך; Ibn-Tibbon: והוא התתחא ביעד Aleph sucker אשתראך; Hyamson: 'and its parts unite. The basic principle of Synthesis in Unity'.

67 Examination of creation, chapter 5.
68 Ben-Yehuda, Milon ha-Lashon ha-Ivrit, pp. 640.
70 The unity of God, chapter 9.
The rabbinic meaning that Ibn-Tibbon relied on in order to achieve the metaphor that is reflected in the equivalents (a) to (c) is ‘to participate, joining someone to work together on something’. This meaning is used in Rabbinic Hebrew in the Palestinian Talmud. The metaphor created by Ibn-Tibbon is the result of the resemblance between ‘shared work’ and ‘polytheism’, as some idols were alleged to work together to fulfil all of the people’s needs.

### 3.5 Root and stem combination: Rabbinic roots

The root and stem combination as applied to rabbinic roots is reflected in several verbal nouns of three different verbal stems. Here I will present briefly the verbal nouns that were created by Ibn-Tibbon from rabbinic roots, divided according to their

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71 The unity of God, chapter 2.
72 Repentance, chapter 9.
73 Ben-Yehuda, Milon ha-Lashon ha-Ivrit, pp. 7493–7494.
verbal stems. It is obvious that Ibn-Tibbon created these lexemes under direct influence of Arabic, either due to root resemblance (as in example 16) or due to the use of the Hebrew root as an equivalent of one or more Arabic roots.

**Hifil:** six separate verbal nouns of this stem were innovated by Ibn-Tibbon in his translation, using both the *haqṭala* and the *heqṭel* patterns (examples 16–21). Some of these lexemes are common in the translation and some are relatively rare.

(16) הַדְרָגָה \( \text{הדרגה} \)

והדרו וההפלגה مجال דריגה \( \text{והדרו וההפלגה مجال דריגה} \)

Ibn-Tibbon: והזהר מן הרבי וההפלגה שלא דריגה \( \text{והזהר מן הרבי וההפלגה שלא דריגה} \)

Hyamson: ‘beware of excess and exaggeration, of aught that does not proceed gradually lest you perish’.  

(17) הַסְדָּרָה \( \text{הסדרה} \)

והפרישות הכוללת היא הנהוג בה לתקנת גופינו \( \text{והפרישות הכוללת היא הנהוג בה לתקנת גופינו} \)

Hyamson: ‘general abstinence is that which is practiced to improve our physical condition and keep our secular affairs in order’.  

Psalms fifteen forty-five ד’LET\( \text{פסלmos פסליים ד’LET} \)

Ibn-Tibbon: להנהיג ובנהיג '\( \text{להנהיג ובנהיג} \)

Hyamson: ‘the value of these faculties in the care of our bodies and ordering of our activities is known to all’.  

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74 *The love of God*, chapter 7.
75 *Abstinence*, chapter 1.
76 *Examination of creation*, chapter 5.
The roots פָּלִיל , סְפָּק , סְפָּקְו , סְפָּקָה and are documented in Rabbinic Hebrew in the Hifil stem, but not as verbal nouns.

77 Spiritual accounting, chapter 3.
78 The love of God, chapter 7.
79 Repentance, chapter 7.
80 Examination of creation, chapter 5.
Like these roots, רַדוּ also occurs as a verb in Rabbinic Hebrew, but the meaning used by Ibn-Tibbon reflects a semantic shift in comparison with its original rabbinic meaning.

**Piel:** only one verbal noun is created by Ibn-Tibbon in the qittūl pattern (example 22). As with the previous examples, the root אֲצַר exists in the **Piel** stem in Rabbinic Hebrew, but not as a verbal noun.

(22)

ואלפמ וַאֲלוֹתאֵב (הָאֱלַמְּטֹנַר) (אֵחֶטְקָר) אהבתכאר
בַּעַתכאת אֱלַמְטֹנַר וּבֵרַא אָלַמְטֹנַרְא ומַאֲלוֹתאֵב מְפִלָאָתָה
אֲלוֹרִין; Ibn-Tibbon: אֲלוֹרִין וַאֲלַמְטֹנַר וַאֲלַמְטֹנַרְא אַמָּטָה
וַאֲלַמְטֹנַר וַאֲלַמְטֹנַר; Hyamson: ‘like … weaving, writing, warehousing; hiring gardeners, workmen and agricultural labourers’.  

**Hitpael:** six verbal nouns in hitqaṭṭelūt pattern are neologisms of Ibn-Tibbon (examples 23–28):

(23)

הִזְדַּמְּנוּת (א) אְמַכֵּא
(]: Ibn-Paquda: וַדַאָ ואַכַּת אַכַּת אָהַמַּא אַכַּת אַכַּת אַמָּטָה
(אֱמַכֵּא) אַמָּטָה
Ibn-Tibbon: הַתָּכָא וַאַכַּת אָהַמַּא אַכַּת אָהַמַּא אַמָּטָה
וַאַכַּת אָהַמַּא; Hyamson: ‘… is scarcer and harder to obtain’.  

(b) אֶסַנְוַא חָרִב לְמַלֹּטַי בַּעַר
(]: Ibn-Paquda: אַלָקְרַדְוַה עַלָקְרַדְוַה אוֹלָלַמְטַנָּה
(תֵּמֵכָא) אַלָקְרַדְוַה; Ibn-Tibbon: שָתַכָּה אַלָקְרַדְוַה עַלָקְרַדְוַה אוֹלָלַמְטַנָּה
וַאַלָקְרַדְוַה; Hyamson: ‘abandonment of transgressions while one has the capacity and opportunity to commit them’.  

81 *Trust in God*, chapter 3.
82 *Examination of creation*, chapter 5.
83 *Repentance*, chapter 5.
(24) הסתלקות

תְּמָה יִפְרֶה מִפְּסָחָה עַטֶּשׁ נַפּוּתָה; Ibn-Paquda: סָקֻוּת (سقوط);
Ibn-Tibbon: הִכְּסֵיָּה כִּבְּסֵי הָצָּלָה; Hyamson: ‘he should also consider
that … he is freed from the heavy burden of maintaining
relatives and fulfilling obligations to them’. 84

(25) והשתדלות

These two forms occur in different manuscripts containing
Ibn-Tibbon’s translation of Duties of the Hearts as free
variations.

(a) הֶגְּדָּלָה: Ibn-Paquda: אֲנַחַהְוָה (אָנַחַהְוָה); Ibn-Tibbon: והשתדלות
ותחה בכלי חינה הלילה ולברך עִמּוֹ אִישׁ וּוֹהֵר;
Hyamson: ‘their endeavour was first to ascertain
and establish general principles, and make clear
what is permitted and what is forbidden’. 85

(b) תַּאֲכִיד: Ibn-Paquda: הֶגְּדָּלָה (הֶגְּדָּלָה);
ואלמה עֲלֵיהוּ יִדָּה; Ibn-Tibbon: והיתדה בִּין שְׁבִיוֹת הָמוֹת פָּתָאום
בְּזֵמֶן יִשָּׁק לַיְּשַׁתְּדָלָה וַיָּרֵו; Hyamson: ‘the fear that
death may suddenly overtake him increases his
effort and zeal’. 86

(c) גִּד: Ibn-Paquda: אֲנַחַהְוָה מַעֲשֶׂה מַעֲשֶׂה פְּסָחָה; Ibn-Tibbon: שֵׁעֲרֵו
בְּזֵמֶן וּפָתָאום; Hyamson: ‘he worked an hour …
industriously and zealously’. 87

84 Trust in God, chapter 4.
85 Introduction.
86 Trust in God, chapter 5.
87 Examination of creation, chapter 3.
5. Rabbinic Entries in Ibn-Tibbon’s Translation of Duties of the Hearts

(d) Ibn-Paqua: הד (جهاد) הוה
cל שקע שלם תנייה וב; Ibn-Tibbon:engan מתו גחה
לאشاشַּתוּך ים אוּרְחַתלוּך הוה
Hyamson: ‘you will not fulfil your wishes, however long you strive for them’. 88

(e) חזם (ขอบ): Ibn-Paqua: ונהא אלא כי בוהמה אנה
ומות שלמה יעלה במחשבותיו; Ibn-Tibbon: ישתדמשה בכותמה
שיחמותה במחשבתיה
Hyamson: ‘it should not enter his mind that he can secure its continuance by his striving’. 89

(f) סעי (معنى): Ibn-Paqua: פאן אנתפע בהא שכרהא ושכר
שמש פיהא וחזר עליה
Ibn-Tibbon: ואם הן מועילות אותו
ישבח אותן וישבח השתדלותו בהן ובחירתו אותן
Hyamson: ‘If they bring him a profit, he lauds them, and praises his own diligence in using and choosing them’. 90

(26) הִשְׁתַּתְּפוּת
אשתראך (אשתראך): Ibn-Paqua: אלתי לא תצא منه אלא
באתשרא נורה מעה פי אלמלוע ואלאמה
Ibn-Tibbon: אשר לא
ויוכל לשתות אלא באתשרפתו זולתו עמו ימא עמה ובאמלה
Hyamson: ‘that cannot be discharged, save with the cooperation of another person in mutual relationship, one of them active, the other passive’. 91

88 The service of God, chapter 5.
89 The service of God, chapter 7.
90 Trust in God, chapter 5.
91 Trust in God, chapter 4.
The roots  הִתְגַּבְּרוּת and  הִתְנָאוּת all exist in the Hitpael stem in Rabbinic Hebrew, but do not occur as verbal nouns. The roots לָאָמָר שֶׁדֶל and  נְחֹל also exist in Rabbinic Hebrew, but the relevant meanings of these roots are semantic neologisms coined by Ibn-Tibbon.

### 3.6 Linear word-formation: Rabbinic stems

Five of Ibn-Tibbon’s neologisms in this translation were created by deriving new lexemes from rabbinic stems. Four of them (examples 29–32) are adjectives that were derived with the suffix מ, while one of them (example 33) is an abstract noun that was created with the suffix מ.מ

**The suffix מ:** this suffix, יָד an-nisba, was originally used in Semitic languages for expressing relationships (mostly with

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92 Wholehearted devotion, chapter 5.  
93 The service of God, chapter 5.
regard to tribes, families, and places), and it appears in Hebrew already in Biblical Hebrew. In Medieval Hebrew, mostly due to the influence of Arabic, and Ibn-Tibbon’s contribution, the use of this suffix widened, creating a wide variety of semantic meanings.  

The lexeme אויר in rabbinic Hebrew means mainly ‘air, space, gap, weather’. With the suffix -ī, Ibn-Tibbon created a lexeme that means ‘a resemblance to air’. Judging from the Arabic original, it is reasonable to assume that Ibn-Paqua meant here ‘a resemblance to fire’ and this lexeme was in fact created due to a mistake on the part of Ibn-Tibbon.

Examples 30 and 31 represent two lexemes that were formed by using the same rabbinic stem (see example 9) and two different realisations of the suffix -ī. Apparently the realisation -ānī in גופאני was created under direct Arabic influence of the lexeme גוף נוראני. However, it is not clear why two separate and different forms were created by Ibn-Tibbon.

95 Qafiḥ, Torat Ḥovat ha-Levavot, p. 108.  
96 Examination of creation, chapter 5.
(a) Ibn-Paquda: גּוּפִי (גּוּפִי) נסמאני
Ibn-Tibbon: החשך בעב בוועיו וטיפיס בעת צורור והודותמכס וולות ראש
Hyamson: ‘occupying themselves in these concerns, with their physical senses, only when it is necessary and urgent, because they regard this world cheaply’.

(b) Ibn-Paquda: גּוּפִי (גּוּפִי) נסמי
Ibn-Tibbon: אחת מהן אהבת ההנאות הגופיות מן המאכל והמשתה והמשגל ושאר צרכי גופך
Hyamson: ‘one of them is love of physical pleasures — eating, drinking, excessive gratification of the sexual impulse and other bodily needs’.

According to Ben-Yehuda, the noun מִנְיָן is the verbal noun of the verb מָנָה ‘to count’ in the Qal stem. The rabbinic meanings of מִנְיָן are ‘number’ (a synonym for the Hebrew word מִסְפָּר).

97 Repentance, chapter 10.
98 The service of God, chapter 5.
99 Abstinence, chapter 2.
100 Ben-Yehuda, Milon ha-Lashon ha-Ivrit, pp. 3096–3097.
and ‘counting’ (a synonym to the Hebrew word מְנִיָּה). Only in medieval Hebrew does the lexeme מְנִיָּנִי acquire the meaning of a group of ten men. In his creation of the word מְנִיָּנִי, Ibn-Tibbon uses the original rabbinic meaning.

It is interesting to note that in Ibn-Tibbon’s translation method, which is at times literal and at times contextual, the adjective מְנִיָּנִי in the following examples correlates alternatively with the Arabic maṣdar — equivalent (a) — and with an Arabic adjective — equivalent (b):

מְנִיָּנִי (32)

(a) Ibn-Paquda: עבר ( عبر) עבר; Ibn-Tibbon: קרבו אל העיון המחשבי והמניני והמועצות; Hyamson: ‘they approached subjects belonging to abstract thought, mathematics and applied sciences; they rent the curtain that kept them from seeing ways that are hidden’. 102

(b) Ibn-Paquda: עדדי ( עדדי) עדדי; Ibn-Tibbon: כי האחדות่อน שהאחד המניני לשאר המנינים; Hyamson: ‘that unity preceded it, just as the numeral one precedes the remaining numbers’. 103

The suffix -ūt: this suffix, which expresses abstract ideas, has its origin in III-waw nouns to which the feminine suffix -t was


102 Repentance, chapter 9.

103 The unity of God, chapter 7.
added, e.g., דמות, כמות. Its use was later expanded to non-III-waw roots, consequently forming part of new nominal patterns, e.g., qaṭlūt, qaṭlūt, hiqqat-ṭūlt, and hitqaṭṭ-ṭūlt — probably due to Aramaic influence, where this suffix is used to form the verbal noun.  

 פחיתות

This lexeme was created by the suffixation of תָּו- to the lexeme פחית. All four equivalents below have the meanings ‘unimportance’ and ‘vice’:

(a) פְּחִיתוּת (نفسאות): Ibn-Paquda: פְּחִיתוּת אלתחים ואלאנתהרא פָּחוּת נסמאַל פָּחוּת והדלאה Ibn-Tibbon: ואם אתה נוהג בחריצות ההשדלות והאחת בתכון גוף עפ פחיתות וגותו; Hyamson: ‘if you use so much diligence and effort to further the well-being of your body, despite its pettiness and unworthiness’.

(b) סַקְוָט (ספווט): Ibn-Paquda: סַקְוָט אֲפַלְּא תָּרָה וכנאַנְךָ וסָפוֹט Ibn-Tibbon: ההא תראה חסרונך ופחיתותך פַּר הָדוֹל אלמעני; ימֶנֶא הָדוֹל; Hyamson: ‘do you realize how faulty and mean your behaviour in this regard has been?’.


105 Spiritual accounting, chapter 3.

106 Ibid.
4. CONCLUSION

From the examples presented above, it is obvious that rabbinic Hebrew was a significant part of the nominal lexicon used by Judah Ibn-Tibbon to translate *Duties of the Hearts*, whether he included rabbinic lexemes that were used with no morphological or semantic changes, biblical lexemes with semantic shifts that occurred in rabbinic Hebrew, rabbinic lexemes that were given new meanings by Ibn-Tibbon, or morphological neologisms that were created by Ibn-Tibbon himself.

As previously noted, this small demonstration serves to indicate the state of the lexicon in Ibn-Tibbon’s translations. Aside from several semantic shifts, which are relatively rare in all periods of Hebrew (i.e., ellipsis and folk etymology), it seems that Ibn-Tibbon used a systematic method for expanding the lexicon according to his needs and the Arabic original. The demonstration

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107 Ibid.

108 *Wholehearted devotion*, chapter 5.
here presents this method and its basic components. Nevertheless, we should take into consideration the fact that this method was not employed exclusively with Rabbinic Hebrew by Ibn-Tibbon, for he used the same approach and principles when enriching the lexicon with lexemes from all periods of Hebrew. It seems that methodologically, Ibn-Tibbon was familiar with semantic processes and with the grammatical characteristics of Hebrew and Arabic and that he unquestionably knew how to use them in order to enrich the Hebrew lexicon.

As can be seen in the above examples, the same Hebrew lexeme is frequently used to translate several Arabic equivalents. This obviously reflects the condition of medieval Hebrew, and especially the richness of, and variety in, the Arabic lexicon, in comparison with the insufficiency of Hebrew. Although this is the case with most of the Hebrew entries, one should take into consideration that, at times, the opposite occurred, when the same Arabic lexeme had several Hebrew equivalents. Frequently Ibn-Tibbon created neologisms by adding suffixes to an existing Hebrew lexeme (a lexeme from an earlier stage of Hebrew or a neologism of his own). This suggests a moderately automatic way for creating neologisms and enriching the Hebrew lexicon. Similarly, for Ibn-Tibbon the creation of verbal nouns and nouns from existing Hebrew roots has become a productive method for new lexemes.

Semantically, the lexicon of Rabbinic Hebrew in this translation is varied. An analysis of all the rabbinic entries suggests that the semantic fields from which they were taken were rich and broad, and they correlate with all the subjects Ibn-Paquda deals with in his book: Halakhah (Jewish law), nature, proficiency, economics, time, the human body, faith, knowledge, society, and culture.

In light of all that has been stated above, I have some reservations regarding the declarations of Jewish authors and
translators about the state of Hebrew in their era. Although classical Hebrew did not provide all the vocabulary needed in medieval times, it did provide the linguistic and lexical bases on which the lexicon could be evolved. Therefore, as I mentioned above, I believe that these statements regarding the ‘insufficiency of Hebrew’ reflect the approach of these authors and translators to the purity of Hebrew (צחות הלשון), and not only to the state of the language: Classical Hebrew supplied all their lexical and morphological needs, and enabled them to create neologisms. Because they needed the neologisms to translate and compose different works, they had to ‘violate’ the principle of preserving Hebrew as an ancient and holy language.