

CLARIFYING
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CHAPTER NINETEEN

THE FEMALE ENAMORS
THE MALE
JEREMIAH 31:21-22

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THE FEMALE ENAMORS THE MALE

JEREMIAH 31:21-22

INTRODUCTION

The difficulties encountered in the interpretation of Jer 31: 21–22 led Holladay (1966: 239) to conclude that

the nation [of Israel was] personified as a virgin or daughter and therefore tender, innocent, and helpless . . . he [God] will reverse the sex roles so that the female has priority, initiative, dominance over the male . . . the female will surmount the warrior!

A number of years later (1989: 194–195) he argued that Jer 31:21–22 was a counterfoil to Jer 30:6, where the male was mocked “for acting like a female in the demoralization of battle.” For Holladay it was clear that נְקֵבָה תְּסוּבֵב נְפֹרָה “the female will surmount the warrior!” simply indicated a reversal of sexual roles: “The reassignment of sexual roles is innovative past all conventional belief, but it is not inconceivable to Yahweh.”

By contrast, Carroll (1986: 601–602) conjectured that the נְקֵבָה תְּסוּבֵב נְפֹרָה in Jer 31:22b could be a code for coitus: “the vagina envelops the penis.” But since there really was nothing new about that, he confessed in conclusion:

The wiser course of the exegete is to admit ignorance and acknowledge that ancient texts occasionally do baffle the modern hermeneut. 31:22b is one such baffling text. . . . I must admit that I do not know what v. 22b means.

This study will focus primarily on the Arabic cognates of the Hebrew lexemes found in Jer 31:21–22 which provide additional insight for interpreting the text. The Arabic cognates of twenty-eight of the thirty-three lexemes in these two verses have long been cited in the standard lexicons of Biblical Hebrew. An *Addendum* to this study lists these cognates, with endnotes giving lexical references and basic definitions. Relevant *nuances* of five of the twenty-eight Arabic cognates recognized in BDB and/or KBS have gone unnoticed. They will be presented in this study, along with two alternative cognates for אלה, and two cognates proposed for שבב/סבב.

For convenience, the text in Hebrew and Greek is presented, with my translation of each. The unusual readings in the Greek text are then examined, with Arabic cognates providing the requisite clues for relating the Greek translation to the Hebrew text. Following the study of the Greek variants, the difficulties in the Hebrew text are addressed. (Words in italics are those which receive attention in this study.)

Masoretic Text

הַצִּיבִי לָךְ צִיָּנִים שְׁמִי לָךְ תְּמַרְוֵרִים

Set up for yourself *stone-markers*,
make for yourself *stone-signs*;

שְׁתִּי לַבָּיִת לְמִסְלָה דְרֹךְ הַלְכָתְּ הַלְכָתִי (K/Q)
pay attention to the roadway — the road *you* traveled.

שׁוּבִי בְּתוֹלַת יִשְׂרָאֵל שְׁבִי אֶל-עָרֶיךָ אֵלֶּה:

Return, O *Virtuous* Israel, return to your *negligent* city.

עַד-מָתַי תִּתְחַמְּקִין הַבַּת הַשׁוֹבֵבָה

How long will you remain *stupid*, O faithless daughter?

כִּי־בָרָא יְהוָה חֲדָשָׁה בְּאָרֶץ

Yea, Yahweh created a new thing on the earth:

נִקְבָּה תְּסֻבֵּב גֹּבֵר

the female enamours the male.

Septuagint

ἦσον σεαυτήν Σιων ποίησον τιμωρίαν

Prepare yourself, O Zion; execute “*vengeance*”

δὸς καρδίαν σου εἰς τοὺς ὤμους

place your heart upon the *shoulders*

ὁδὸν ἣν ἐπορεύθης ἀποστράφητι παρθένος Ἰσραηλ
(using) the road by which you went, return, O virgin of Israel,

ἀποστράφητι εἰς τὰς πόλεις σου πενθοῦσα

return to your cities, *O Mourner*

ἕως πότε ἀποστρέψεις θυγάτηρ ἠτιμωμένη

How long, O *wayward* daughter, will you turn away?

ὅτι ἔκτισεν κύριος σωτηρίαν εἰς καταφύτευσιν καινήν
for the Lord has created *safety* for a new *plantation*:

ἐν σωτηρίᾳ περιελεύσονται ἄνθρωποι

in *safety* men shall go about.

SEPTUAGINTAL VARIANTS

The Septuagint has a number of interesting variations in 38:21–22 (= MT 31:21–22) requiring a number of different explanations. The Septuagint translators did not understand **נִקְבָּה** so they simply transliterated it as σιωνιμ, which was subsequently read as Σιων (Zion), requiring secondarily the deletion of the ιμ which transliterated the plural ending **ִים**.¹

The Septuagint τιμωρίαν “vengeance,” which does not fit the context, resulted from a misreading of the *transliteration* of תְּמַרְוֵי־יָם as τιμρωριμ, which was then *translated*. The *translation* of a *transliteration* is attested elsewhere, as in Jud 5:21, where the MT הִלְמוֹ was transliterated as ομαλιει in the Greek MSS identified as Mnamyb₂o’kk* and in the eight Lucianic MSS dgkntvw. (The *Vorlage* of the latter group had הַמְלוֹ instead of the הִלְמוֹ and in MSS k and k* it was transliterated as αμα λαω.) The Armenian text (= Latin *planabunt* “they will level”) has a *translation* of the *transliteration*, as though ομαλιει were from ὀμαλίζω “to make level.”

The Septuagint δὸς καρδίαν σου εἰς τοὺς ὄμους, “set your mind upon the shoulders,” reflects an obvious misreading of οἴμους “roads, paths” as ὄμους (suggested by Rudolph [1970] in BHS). The εἰς την τριβον “upon the beaten track” (= הַרְרֵי), found in Aquila and Symmachus (Ziegler 1957: 360), indicates that the problem was in the Greek text tradition, not in the Hebrew *Vorlage*.

The MT בְּאַרְץ⁴¹ in 31:22b was translated in the Septuagint as εἰς καταφύτευσιν “for a planting/plantation” (Liddell and Scott 1966: 920, 1965), which is most unusual since γῆ is the translation of אֶרֶץ well over 600 times. However, there is no need to assume that the Septuagint had a different *Vorlage* here. Nuances of אֶרֶץ surviving in Arabic provide the explanation for this translation and support the integrity of the MT. Most Hebrew lexicons simply define אֶרֶץ as “earth, land, or countries”—often citing the Arabic أرض (*ʿard*). But Arabic has also the verb with its participle أريض (*ʿarîd*) meaning, “a land that is thriving, or productive . . . disposed by nature to yield good produce . . . and become luxuriant with herbage”

(Lane 1863: 47). Castell (1669: 479) defined it as “*terra proventu laeta & luxurians, luxurians gramen: amœna & conspectu grata*”). The verb appears with its cognate accusative: أرضت الأرض (*ʿarudat ʿal ʿardu*) meaning, “the land became thriving . . . and became luxuriant with herbage . . . or pasture.” The corresponding term was evidently available in Hebrew and would have appeared as אָרַד or אָרַדָּה (*scriptio defectiva*). The Greek translators were apparently aware of this אָרַדָּה “luxuriant land.”

In Jer 38:22 (MT 31:22) the Septuagint has σωτηρίαν . . . σωτηρία, the repetition of the noun meaning “deliverance, a way or means of safety, safe return, security, salvation” (Liddell and Scott 1966: 1751). Given the reference in 31:22 to the “planting” and “plantation” (καταφύτευσιν), the Septuagint translators probably intended σωτηρίαν to mean “security” (when planting in the fields or when those in exile traveling homeward would be at risk of attacks by robbers). Given the “roads” mentioned 31:21 (ὄμους = οἴμους = τριβόν) [see p.161, above], the translators may have intended σωτηρία to mean “safe and secure” along the trek back home to the cities in Israel and Judah.

While the Greek text of 38:22 [MT 31:22] fits the context, it does not match the Hebrew text. The σωτηρίαν . . . σωτηρία seemingly stand in lieu of a word for the MT נִקְבָּה “woman.” Two errors seem to have occurred: (1) the נִקְבָּה in the *Vorlage* was misread as נִקְדָּה “to save” or נִקְזָה “to save,” and (2) the uncertainty over נִקְדָּה or נִקְזָה resulted in a dittography in the *Vorlage*. The stem behind the Septuagint reading is the cognate of Arabic نَقَدَ (*naqida*) “he became

safe, in safety, saved, liberated” and the noun **נִקְדָּ** (*naqad*) “a thing that one has rescued or liberated” (Lane 1893: 2837). This cognate was noted by KBS (II: 719) and had been cited by Castell (1669: 2396) “*defensio, protectio, redemptor, liberatio.*” The **ד** (*d*) of the Arabic cognate **نَقْد** (*naqida*) would ordinarily become a **ד** in Hebrew and a **ד** in Aramaic. But Hebrew has the verbs **נִקַּד** and **נִקַּז** meaning “to puncture” (Jastrow 931), and by analogy one could anticipate either **נִקַּד** or **נִקַּז** for the cognate meaning “to be safe, to liberate, to save.”

THE MEANING OF **בְּתוּלָה**

The feminine imperatives in 31:21 are addressed to the **בְּתוּלַת יִשְׂרָאֵל** “Virgin Israel.” The noun **בְּתוּלָה** is a *Qal* passive participle (GKC 84^m) of **בָּתַל** “to separate, to cut off.” While popular interpretations assume the separation was *from* all sexual activity (*virgo intacta*), the separation was actually *for* devotion to God. This noun could be used for someone with a husband, like the **בְּתוּלָה** “virgin” who was in sackcloth for the **בַּעַל** “husband” of her youth (Joel 1:8).

The use of **בָּתַל** (= **בָּתַל**) in *Sura* 73:8 in the *Qurʾan* is relevant: **وَتَبْتَئِلْ إِلَيْهِ تَبْتِيلًا** (*watabattal ʾilayhi tabtilā*) “and devote yourself with complete devotion [to God].” Lane (1863: 150) cited this verse and provided the following definition for **بَتَلَ** (*batala*) form V: “He detached himself from worldly things, and devoted himself to God, or he devoted himself to God exclusively, and was sincere, or without hypocrisy, towards Him . . . or he abstained from sexual intercourse, and hence, [**بَتَلَ**] is metaphorically employed to denote exclusive devotion to God.” In short, **بَتَلَ** (*batala*) addressed primarily

one who was virtuous and devout, and only secondarily did it focus on celibacy and virginity.

If Hebrew בתל shared any of these Arabic nuances, the בתולת ישראל would be better translated “Virtuous Israel” rather than “Virgin Israel, recognizing that “virtuous” means “one with moral excellence,” as well as a “celibate woman.” The חרפת “disgrace/shame” of Ephraim’s youth (Jer 31:9) included the hypocrisy of being called “Virtuous Israel.”

When the definition of בתולה becomes focused on *virgo intacta*, the following statements of Tsevat (1977: 341–343) need to be taken seriously:

It is a mistake to look for a deep religious idea in *bethulah bath tsiyyon*, ‘virgin daughter of Zion,’ etc. . . . Neither the word nor the concept of “virgin” and “virginity” is of any importance in the religious thought of the OT and in the earliest history of the interpretation of this idea.

The definition of בתולה must be grounded in the recognition that בתל “to cut, to sever, to separate” is a by-form of בדל “to sever, to divide, to separate.” Israel was as much a מוּבְדָּלָה (a *Hoph^cal* participle) as she was a בְּתוּלָה (a *Qal* passive participle). The biblical tradition is quite explicit, as in Lev 20:24, “I am the LORD your God, who have separated (הִבְדַּלְתִּי) you from the peoples”; Lev 20:26, You shall be holy to me; for I the LORD am holy, and have separated (וְאַבְדַּל) you from the peoples, that you should be mine”; and also I Kings 8:53, “For thou didst separate them (הִבְדַּלְתָּם) from among all the peoples of the earth, to be thy heritage.” Similarly, Moses said to Korah, “the God of Israel has separated (הִבְדִּיל) you from the congregation of Israel, to bring

you near to himself, to do service in the tabernacle of the LORD” (Num 16:9).

Hebrew **בדל** has a semantic range similar to Arabic **بتل** (*batala*). So much so that by analogy Hebrew **בתל** and **בדל** could have been interchangeable, with one surviving as a noun and participle and the other primarily as a verb. These two stems are examples of the interchange of **ת** and **ד**, like (1) **בדק** “to cleave, to cut” and **בתק** “to cut, to cut off” and (2) **בט** (*batt*) “he separated, he severed” and **בד** (*badd*) “he separated, he withdrew.”

Once **בתולה** is recognized as a synonym of **מובדלה**, and not restricted to the definitions of seclusion and *virgo intacta*, the term will have (contra Tsevat) profound religious significance, echoing Exo 19:5–6 “you shall be my own possession among all peoples; for all the earth is mine, but you shall be to me a kingdom of priests (**ממלכת כהנים**) and a holy nation” and Amos 3:2 “you only have I known of all the families of the earth.” It is unfortunate that **בתולת ישראל** became disassociated from the concept of **ממלכת כהנים**, i.e., a nation which detached itself from worldly things, and devoted itself to God,” as suggested by the cognate **بتل** (*batala*).² The interpretation of **בתולת ישראל** would be well served by terms like “devotee” or “separatist,” the latter of which would be analogous to **פרוש** “Pharisee,” a *Qal* passive participle like **בתולה**, both of which are from stems meaning “to separate.” Both **מבדלת ישראל** and **פרושת ישראל** would be synonymous with **בתולת ישראל**, and all three could have been used to indicate Israel’s being separated for devotion to God. The feminine form carries no *sexual* signi-

fiance. The **בְּתוּלָה** is feminine because the gentilic **יִשְׂרָאֵל** was feminine, like **בֵּית צִיּוֹן** and **בֵּית יְרוּשָׁלַם**.³

THE MEANING OF **עֵרִיךְ אֱלֹה**

A *double entendre* may be hidden in Jeremiah's command: **אֱלֹה**²⁹ **אֶל-עֵרִיךְ** **אֱלֹה**, which in the Septuagint became ἀποστράφητι εἰς τὰς πόλεις σου πενθοῦσα, "return to your cities, O Mourner." Holladay noted (1989: 193) that the MT **אֱלֹה** was interpreted in the Septuagint like the imperative in Joel 1: 8, **אֱלֵי כְּבָתוּלָה חִגְרַת-שֶׁקַע עַל-בַּעַל נְעוּרֶיהָ**, "Mourn [θρηνησοῦ] like a virgin girdled with sackcloth over the husband of her youth!" Holladay dismissed the MT **אֱלֹה** "these" as well as the Septuagint's πενθοῦσα "mourner," for not fitting a context of joy and triumph, suggested by Jer 31:7 "sing aloud with gladness for Jacob, and raise shouts for the chief of the nations; proclaim, give praise." He offered what he admitted was a very "bold" emendation by reading **בַּעֲלָה** "mastery" for the MT **אֱלֹה**, creating a clear association with the subject of the sentence, **בְּתוּלָה**, and providing poetic assonance by having **בַּעֲלָה** and **בְּתוּלָה** appearing in the same line.

But Jer 31:9 (**בְּבִכּוֹ יָבֹאוּ וּבְתַחֲנוּנִים**, "they will come with weeping and with agonizing pains") mitigates against creating a triumphal context for 31:21. Although many commentators prefer the Septuagint's παρακλήσει "consolation" (assuming the *Vorlage* had **נַחַם** rather than **חָנַן**), the MT fits the context fine once the proper nuance of **חָנַן** is recovered. The Arabic cognate **حَن** (*ḥann*) (BDB 335; Lane 1865: 653–654), often connotes intense emotional pain and violent

outbreaks of crying, particularly *مستحَن* (*mustahān*) “one who is affected with intense emotion by longing for his home,” and *حَنِين* (*ḥanīn*) “the expression of pain arising from yearning or longing or desire, [the] violence of weeping proceeding from grief.” Arabic *حَنَّان* (*ḥannān*) “grieving and moaning” is also relevant here. Consequently, the MT *תַּחֲנִינִים*, when coupled with *בִּכּוּי* “weeping,” (in Jer 3:21 and 31:9) probably connoted deep visceral pain and its accompanying moans, rather than rational “supplications” (which would be preferable when the parallel is *תפלה* “prayer”).

In lieu of Holladay’s bold emendation, an examination of the cognates of *אלה* leads to a very modest emendation. The demonstrative *אֵלֶּה* is the cognate of *أولى* (*ʿulay*). But as a noun or verb *אלה* could be the cognate of *أله* (*ʿaliha*), which Lane (1863: 82) defined as “. . . he became, confounded, or perplexed, and unable to see his right course . . . he was, or became, vehemently impatient, or affected with vehement grief, or he manifested vehement grief and agitation.” The verb *أله* (*ʿaliha*) was probably derived from *وَالِه* (*waliha*) meaning “he became bereft of his reason or intellect, in consequence of grief . . . or intense grief, or of the loss of the beloved” (Lane 1893: 3060). Given the interchange of *ע"ע* and *ל"ה* stems, Arabic *اليل* (*ʿalil* = *אלל* = *אלה*) “the state of a mother who has lost her children” (Hava 11) is relevant.

The *Vorlage* of MT *עָרֵיךְ אֵלֶּה* was probably *עריך אלת* or *עריך אלה*. The *אלת* (= *אֵלֹת*), like its cognate *أله* (*ʿlh*), would have meant “bereft” and *עָרֵיךְ אֵלֶּה* would have meant “your bereft cities.” The confusion of *ה* and *ת* is well attested (Delitzsch 1920: 107–109, §105^{a-b}), as in Jer 52:21 where

קוֹמַה הָעֶמֶד “the height of the pillar” appears incorrectly for the קוֹמַת הָעֶמֶד found in I Kings 7:15.

Jer 31:21–22 is a sub-unit of 31:15–22, with clear and definite unifying elements, like the use of תְּמֻרוֹרִים “mourning” in 31:15 and תְּמֻרוֹרִים (= תְּאֻמְרוֹרִים) “stone cairns”) in 31:21. The motif of a grief stricken town is the dominant theme of Jer 31:15–16

קוֹל בְּרָמָה נִשְׁמָע נְהִי בְּכִי תְּמֻרוֹרִים
 רָחֵל מִבְּכָה עַל-בָּנֶיהָ
 מֵאֲנָה לְהִנָּחֵם עַל-בָּנֶיהָ כִּי אֵינָנוּ . . .
 מִנְעִי קוֹלְךָ מִבְּכִי וְעֵינַיִךְ מִדְּמָעָה

A voice is heard in *Ramah*,
 lamentation and bitter weeping
Rachel is weeping for her children;
 she refuses to be comforted for her children
 because they are not . . .
 Keep your voice *from* weeping
 and your eyes from tears.

Were the names רָמָה and רָחֵל and the preposition מִן removed from 31:15–16, the remaining words would provide a good definition of אֵלֶּה (³*aliha*) or אֵלֶּה or אֵלֶּל. A succinct paraphrase of 31:15 would be רָמָה אֵלֶּה or רָמָה אֵלֶּת “*Ramah* became grief-stricken” (following the vocalization noted in GKC 67^{bb} and 75¹). With the shift from the singular רָמָה to the plural עֲרִיף in 31:21, אֵלֶּה or אֵלֶּת would become plural modifiers: אֵלֶּת or אֵלֶּת (*scriptio defectiva*).

Because Jer 31:6 focused on Zion (צִיּוֹן וְנַעַלְהָ צִיּוֹן) קוּמוּ וְנַעַלְהָ צִיּוֹן “arise and let us go to Zion”), reading the MT עֲרִיף as עֲרִיף

“your city” (= Zion) remains a reasonable option. The MT אֵלֶּה could be then be repointed as אֶלֶּה or אֵלֶּה for “your grief-stricken city,” and Lam 1:1–4, which reads as follows, would support this meaning for אֶלֶּה or אֵלֶּה.

אֵיכָה יֹשְׁבַה בְּדָר הָעִיר רַבְתִּי עִם
הֵיְתָה כְּאַלְמָנָה
רַבְתִּי בְּגוֹיִם שָׂרְתִי בְּמַדְיָנוֹת
הֵיְתָה לְמַס:
בָּכוּ תִבְכֶּה בְּלַיְלָה
וְדַמְעָתָה עַל לַחְיֶיהָ
אֵין־לָהּ מְנַחֵם מִכָּל־אֶהְבִּיהָ

Oh, how the city
—the “Mistress of the people”—
sat alone/mourning!⁴
The “Mistress among the nations”
had become like a widow.
The “Princess among the provinces”
had become a vassal.
She weeps bitterly nightly,
her tears on her cheeks.

Among all here lovers no one to comfort her.

Consequently, the modest emendation proposed here is to change אֵלֶּה to אֶלֶּה or emend עֵרִיךְ to עִירֶיךְ in order to read “grief-stricken city” (a reference to Zion as in Jer 31:6) or “grief-stricken cities” (referring to Ramah [Jer 31:15] and the cities / towns of Ephraim [Jer 31: 18]).

Because many ע"ל stems were originally לו"ל stems, the Arabic *الو / الّا* (*°lw/°alâ*), “he fell short of doing what was

requisite, or what he ought to have done” (Lane 1863: 83), is another likely cognate of אלה in the context of Jer 31:15–22.

In Jer 31:19 Ephraim had confessed בַּשָּׂתִי וְגַם־נִכְלַמְתִּי “I was ashamed, and very⁵ humiliated, for I bore the disgrace of my youth.” Overtones of this confession may be hidden behind the MT עֵרִיךְ אֵלֶּה. In light of the Arabic cognate اَلَا (°alā) “negligent, derelict,” עֵרִיךְ אלת and עֵרִיךְ אלה could be translated “your negligent cities” and “your derelict city.”

THE MEANING נקבה, סבב, AND גבר

The Greek σωτηρία meaning “safety, security” for the MT נִקְבָּה “woman,” as noted above, resulted from a *Vorlage* being misread as נקדה or נקזה “to save,” and requires no further comment here.

The three words נקבה סבב גבר led Bright (1965: 282) to comment that the meaning of the final phrase of Jer 31:22 “is wholly obscure, and it might have been wiser to leave the colon blank.” Carroll (1986: 601) concurred, stating that this colon is “perhaps the most difficult half-line in the book of Jeremiah.” Similarly, Holladay (1989: 192) commented that “the whole passage is startling”; and Jones, (1992: 394) called Jer 31:21–22 as a whole a “tantalising [sic] oracle.”

A sampling of what Carroll called the “lapidary” results of exegetical endeavors include the following translations and Talmudic reference:

The Woman sets out to find her Husband again

JB

the woman must encompass the man with devotion

NAB

a woman turned into a man

NEB

A woman shall court a man

Torah

the woman shall embrace the man

Peshitta

[A female shall compass a man (?)]

Bright (1965: 282)

the female will surmount the warrior

Holladay (1966: 239)

die Verwünschte wandelt sich zur Herrin

the cursed one changes to a queen

Rudolph (1968: 199)

The woman must protect the soldier

Lundbom (1975: 33)

the vagina envelops the penis (?)

Carroll (1986: 602)

a female shall encompass a hero

Holladay (1989:154)

a good woman will be a protecting wall of wisdom

(Yebamoth 62b)

In the opinion of the author only the *Torah* translation (with “courtship”) and the NAB (with “devotion”) are somewhat on target, along with association of the *woman* with *wisdom* in *Yebamoth* 62b. The three reasons for this conclusion follow with a discussion on נקבה,⁴² סבב,⁴³ and גבר.⁴⁴

The anatomically descriptive Hebrew נקבה “female” is not attested in Arabic, though the stem meaning “to perforate”

is well attested. The Arabic نقاب (*naqâb*) refers to a woman's face veil "from out of which appears the circuit of the eyes." The feminine نقيبة (*naqîbat*) means "the mind, understanding, intellect, intelligence" and is a synonym of عقل (*‘aql*) "understanding, intellect."⁶ The masculine نقاب (*naqâb*) refers to "a man of great knowledge, very knowing . . . who is intelligent, and enters deeply into things." One can assume that the feminine نقابة (*naqâbat*) (= נְקִיבָה) would have meant "a woman of great knowledge or intellect." Therefore, the MT נְקִיבָה could be hiding this *double entendre*: the "female" and the "wise/smart woman," who was identified in Jer 31:22 as the personified "Virtuous Israel."

The antonym of נְקִיבָה "intelligent" in this context is the stem חמק which appears in Jer 31:22. In BDB (330) חמק is defined as "to turn away" and "to turn hither and thither." Bright (1965: 276) rendered it "dillydally." But חמק also means "stupid, foolish" and is the cognate of Arabic حمق (*ḥumaq*) "foolishness, or stupidity; i.e., unsoundness in the intellect or understanding" (Lane (1865: 645–646). Jeremiah frequently reminded the בְּתוּלַת יִשְׂרָאֵל that she had been stupid, as in Jer 4:22 (כִּי אֲוִיל עַמִּי, "for my people are foolish"); 5:4 (הֵם נוֹאֲלִים, "they have no sense"); 5:21 (עַם סָכָל), "O foolish and senseless people"); 10:8 (יִבְעֲרוּ וַיִּכְסְּלוּ, "they are stupid and foolish"); 17:11 (יִהְיֶה נֶבֶל, "he will become a fool"). The חמק of Jer 32:21 can be added to Jeremiah's synonyms for "foolish."

Two aspects of the “new thing” created are (1) the end of the chaos coming from the stupidity of the “negligent daughter of Israel” (= חֲנֹמֶק בֵּית יִשְׂרָאֵל), and (2) the emergence of an “intelligent, devoted Israel” (= בְּתוּלַת יִשְׂרָאֵל נְקִיבָה). *Yebamoth* 62b hints at נְקִיבָה “intelligence” with its statement that a good woman will be a protecting wall of wisdom. Failure to recognize the different meanings of the Hebrew נְקִיבָה precludes the recognition of Jeremiah’s *double entendre*. It was not just a *female* who was to be involved; it was to be the *people of Israel*, who were designated by two female personifications: נְקִיבָה נְקִיבָה “an intelligent woman” and בְּתוּלָה “a virtuous woman.”⁷

As for the verb סָבַב⁴³ in Jer 31:22 it is important to note initially that Kennicott MS 589 reads תְּשׁוּבָב for the MT תְּסוּבָב, and with a שׁ one would expect an Arabic cognate with a ش (š) rather than a س (s).⁸ Given the ס / שׁ variable and the close relationship of ע"ל and ע"ה stems,⁹ شبه (šabaha) / سبه (sabaha) or شب (šabba) / سب (sabba) are possible cognates. Two of these four options are contextually relevant; namely, شبه (šabaha) and شب (šabba) (Lane 1872: 1499 and 1493).

The Arabic شبه (šabaha) means “to make it to be like it, or to resemble it,” with the noun شبه (šabah) meaning “a likeness or resemblance.” This word is a synonym of مثل (maṭala) (Lane 1872: 1499–1500), which is the cognate of מַשַּׁל which appears, in the opinion of this author, in Gen 3:16, “your desire shall be for your husband, and *he will be like* (יִמְשַׁל) you.” Because the idea of the *female* being just

like the *male* was a part of the creation narratives in Genesis (“bone of my bone, flesh of my flesh,” etc.), it is difficult to view gender equality as the “new thing” which God had created for בְּתוּלַת יִשְׂרָאֵל in the post-exilic period.¹⁰

Keeping in mind that the *people of Israel* were designated by female personifications (בְּתוּלָה and נִקְבָּה) and that *God* was generally designated by the masculine nouns / names (אל, אלוה, אלהים), the Arabic شَب (šabba)—which deals with a particular male-female dynamic—is the most likely cognate of the שׁוֹבֵב / שׁוֹבֵב in Jer 31:22.

In Arabic شَب (šabba) in stems II and V means “to rhapsodize about a beloved woman and one’s relationship to her, to celebrate her in verse with amatory language, to compose love sonnets” (Lane 1872: 1493 and Wehr 527), with the phrase حسنة الشباب (ḥasanatu³ aššbâbi) meaning “beautiful in the mention of women.”

In Jer 31:3–4 Yahweh affirmed in masculine amatory language:

וְאֶהְבֶּתְךָ עוֹלָם אֶהְבֶּתִּיךָ
 עַל-כֵּן מְשַׁכְּתִיךָ חֶסֶד:
 עוֹד אֶבְנֶךָ וְנִבְנִית בְּתוּלַת יִשְׂרָאֵל
 עוֹד תַּעֲדִי תַפְיִיךָ
 וְיִצְאָת בְּמַחֹל מְשַׁחֲקִים:

I have loved thee with an everlasting love,
 therefore I have continued my faithfulness to you.

Again I will build you, and you shall be built,
 O Virgin \ Virtuous Israel!

Again you shall adorn yourself with timbrels,
 and shall go forth in the dance of the merry-makers.

In Jer 31:22b, a gender reversal was announced. Having a *feminine* subject for **שׁוֹבֵב / סוֹבֵב**, followed by a *masculine* object, would be analogous to saying “the *woman* impregnated the *man*,” which obviously does not fit the created order. Although commanded to love God with heart, soul, and strength, Israel became infatuated with other deities, despite Yahweh’s continuing affirmation of *His* love for *Her*. But Yahweh had “created a new thing”: *Virtuous Lady Israel* would **שׁוֹבֵב / סוֹבֵב** *Him*; i.e., Israel *herself*, personified as a **נִקְבָּה** and a **בְּתוּלָה**, would now lovingly rhapsodize with sincerity about *her* God and *her* relationship with *Him*. Although Ezekiel (33:31) had complained, “for with their lips they show much love (**עֲגָבִים בְּפִיהֶם**),¹¹ but their heart is set on their gain,” Jeremiah affirmed it would now be different. In the new order Israel would, as suggested by the cognates **بتل** (*batala*) and **نقابة** (*naqâbat*), intelligently (**כָּל-לֵבְבָהּ**) devote herself to Yahweh exclusively, with sincerity and without hypocrisy. The sweet amatory overtones suggested by **שׁוֹבֵב / סוֹבֵב** are at least hinted at in the *Torah* translation, “a woman shall court a man” and the NAB “with devotion.”

The noun **גִּבּוֹר**⁴⁴ in Jer 31:22 also requires some attention. The name **אֱלֹהֵי גִבּוֹר** “man of God” and the epithet **אֱלֹהֵי גִבּוֹר** “God almighty” set the basic parameters. Because **גִּבּוֹר** is coupled here with **נִקְבָּה**, it is more likely to mean “man” than “servant.” Just as **נִקְבָּה** here has multiple layers of meaning, including “female,” and “intelligent,” as well as a personification of Israel along with **בְּתוּלַת יִשְׂרָאֵל**, it seems likely that **גִּבּוֹר** could also have multiple layers of meaning.

The גבור could also be read as *scriptio defectiva* for גְבוּרַת and be an elliptical equivalent for אֵל גְבוּרַת, as it appears in (1) Isa 10:21 “The remnant of Jacob shall return and trust in Almighty God (אֵל גְבוּרַת)”; (2) Jer 32:18 “O great and almighty God (הָאֵל הַגָּדוֹל הַגְּבוּר) whose name is Yahweh of hosts”; and (3) Neh 9:1 “the great supreme and awesome God (הָאֵל הַגָּדוֹל הַגְּבוּר וְהַנּוֹרָא).

The citation of אֵל גְבוּרַת “God Almighty” in BDB (150) referenced الجبار (*aljabbar*) “the Supreme Being,” which Lane (1865: 375) defined as “[A name of] God; so called because of his magnifying Himself [above every other being]”; and Wehr (1979: 133) defined as “almighty, omnipotent (God), . . . mighty, powerful.”¹² It has long been recognized that جبر (*jabar*) is related to Arabic كبر (*kabar*), used in the epithet الله أكبر (*allāh akbar*) “God is great.”¹³ The epithet appears in Job 35:6, אֵל פְּבִיר . . . פְּבִיר כַּח לֵב, “God is almighty . . . almighty in strength of understanding,” which comes as close as one can get to the ideas of “omnipotence” and “omniscience.” Virtuous (בתולה), intelligent (נקבה), Israel, in a reversal of roles, will rhapsodize lovingly (שׁבב) about the Almighty (גבור).

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The Septuagintal variants have been accounted for by recognizing that (1) תְּמָרוֹת and צִיִּנִים “signs/markers” were transliterated as τμρτμ and στωτμ, and then modified to τμωρτμ “vengeance” and Στωτ “Zion”; (2) once an ωι was misread as an ω, the οἴμους “road” became ὄμους

“shoulder”; (3) the Hebrew נקבה was misread as נקדה / נקזה and was then translated twice as σωτηρία and σωτηρία “salvation”; (4) the καταφύτευσεν “plantation” retains a nuance of ארץ which dropped out of usage in post-Biblical Hebrew but its cognate has survived in Arabic; and (5) there is no need to emend אלה to אבלה to accommodate the Greek πενθοῦσα “grief” which reflects a definition of אהל that also dropped out of usage in post-Biblical Hebrew although its cognate has also survived in Arabic.

Of the thirty-three lexemes in Jer 31:21–22, only five lack an Arabic cognate: הוה/היה,³⁸ סבב,⁴³ עיר,²⁹ שים,¹⁷ and שית.¹⁹ Of the twenty-eight lexemes with Arabic cognates already cited in Hebrew lexicons, seven have *nuances* well attested in Arabic which—aside from Castell’s lexicon of 1669—have gone unnoticed. These include (1) בתולה “unequivocal devotion” or “virtuous” (which may or may not connote virginity); (2) חנן “grief-stricken”; (3) אלה “vehement grief” and “negligent, derelict”; (4) חזק “foolish, stupid”; (5) נקבה “intelligence, intellect”; (6) שבב “to rhapsodize in amatory language”; and (7) גבר “the Almighty.”

As is now evident, some of the difficulties in Jer 31:21–22 are not with the consonantal text but with standard Hebrew lexicons which have edited away much of the cognate information available in Castell’s 1669 lexicon. In the endnotes several other cognates are cited, including (1) صهي (ṣuḥay) “a tower on the top of a mountain,” the etymon of צִיּוֹן “Zion”; (2) جم (jam) “very, many, abundant” for the גם in Jer 31:19; and (3) ولى (walaqa) “trace, footstep” (= ילך) being possibly the imperfect stem of הלך “to walk.”

The consonantal MT of Jer 31:21–22 has two problems, requiring only *minor* rather than *bold* emendations. First, **תְּסוּבָב** should be read as **תְּשׁוּבָב**, following the reading of one manuscript cited by Kennicott. Secondly, the **עִירֵיךְ אֱלֹהֵי** “these your cities” should be read as **עִירֵיךְ אֱלֹהֵי** “your grief-stricken/negligent city” or as the plural (*scriptio defectiva*) **עִירֵיךְ אֱלֹהֵי** “your grief-stricken/negligent cities.”

The enigmatic phrase **נְקֻבָּה תְּסוּבָב נְקָרָה** simply means “the female enamors the male.” But sensitivity to Jeremiah’s use of *double entendre* and personification, suggests that the “Virgin/Virtuous” Israel will be the “*intelligent female*” (**נְקֻבָּה/נְקִיבָה**) who will lovingly and eloquently wax poetic (**תְּשׁוּבָב**) in praise of the Almighty (**נְבוֹרָה**). Jeremiah’s expectation was that Lady Israel—who was loved by her God with an everlasting love—would rapturously reciprocate vocally and unequivocally with paeans of love, thereby creating the role reversal between the male *Lover* and the female *Beloved*.

ADDENDUM

ARABIC COGNATES OF HEBREW WORDS IN JER 31:21–22 MT

MT	ARABIC	
הַצִּיבִי	نصب	<i>naṣaba</i> ¹⁴
לָךְ	ل	<i>la</i> ¹⁵
צִינִים	صوان	<i>ṣawwān</i> ¹⁶
שָׁמִי	شام	<i>šām</i> ¹⁷
תְּמַרְרִים	تؤمور	<i>tu'mûr</i> ¹⁸

שְׁתִּי	_____	_____	19
לִבְךָ	לב	<i>lubba</i>	20
מִסְלָה	مسيل	<i>masîl</i>	21
דֶּרֶךְ	درك	<i>daraka</i>	22
הַלְכֹתַי	ولق	<i>walaqa</i>	23
שׁוּבִי	ثاب	<i>tâba</i>	24
בְּתוּלֹת	بتولة	<i>batûlat</i>	25
יִשְׂרָאֵל	شرى	<i>šaraya</i>	26
"	الاه	<i>ilâh</i>	27
שְׁבִי	ثاب	<i>tâba</i>	24
אֶל	الى	<i>ilay</i>	28
עֲרֹךְ	_____	_____	29
אֵלֶּה	اولى	<i>ulay</i>	30
עַד	عدا	<i>adâ</i>	31
מִתִּי	متى	<i>matay</i>	32
חֲחֻמִּין	حمق	<i>hamuqa</i>	33
הַ(ל)	ال	<i>al</i>	34
בֵּת	بنت	<i>bint</i>	35
שׁוֹבְבָה	ثاب	<i>tâba</i>	24
כִּי	كى	<i>kai</i>	36
בָּרָא	برأ	<i>bara</i>	37
יְהוָה	_____	_____	38
חֲדָשָׁה	حدث	<i>hadaṭa</i>	39

בִּי	ب	<i>bi</i> ⁴⁰
אֶרֶץ	أَرْض	<i>ʿard</i> ⁴¹
נִקְבָּה	نَقَب	<i>naqb</i> ⁴²
תְּסוּבֵב	جَبْر	<i>jabr</i> ⁴⁴
נִבְרָ		⁴³

NOTES

1. The Hebrew צִיּוֹן “road sign” and צִיּוֹן “Zion” are etymologically unrelated, as is clear from their cognates. The noun צִיּוֹן is the cognate of the Arabic صَوَان (*ṣawwân*) “stones” and Syriac ܫܘܘܢ (*šewāyāʿ*) “stones.” But the name צִיּוֹן, which appears with a medial ה in Syriac (ܫܘܘܢܗ [*šehyûn*]) and in Arabic (صهيون [*šahyûn*]), is the cognate of Arabic: (1) صَاهِي (*šâhây*) “to ascend to the top of (a mountain)”; (2) صِهَوَات (*šahawât*) “the upper most part of a mountain”; (3) صَحْلِي (*šuhay*) “a tower on the top of a mountain”; and (4) الصُّهَى (*ʿaššuhâ*) “the places in which water wells forth” (Lane 1872: 1739^b; Hava 408). The third Arabic cognate is a perfect match for the מִצְדַּת צִיּוֹן “the mountain-top fortress” mentioned in I Chron 11:5; and the fourth cognate fits the “waters of Gihon” (II Chron 32:30) and “the waters of Zion”(Ezek 47).

For the loss of the medial ה in צִיּוֹן compare (1) דוּר and Arabic دَهْر (*dahr*) “longtime, age”; (2) לְהַט / לוֹט “secrecy” (Exo 7:11); (3) מִזֶּהַל / מוּל “to circumcise”; (4) מוּדַר / מוּדַר “to exchange”; (5) נִהַר / נִהַר “a light” and “to shine”; (6) רָהַט / רוּץ “run” (Aramaic, Syriac); and (7) בְּהַת / בּוּש “shame” (Aramaic). On the affirmative ון of צִיּוֹן, see GKC §85^u.

2. On Exo 19:1ff., see Schrenk 1976: 249.

3. Note I Sam 17:21 and II Sam 24:9 for **יִשְׂרָאֵל** as a feminine noun.
4. See McDaniel 1968: 29, 42. It seems apparent to me now that **בָּרַד**, was a *double entendre*: “alone/mourning.” Compare Jacob’s being called **רֹאשׁ הַגּוֹיִם** “the chief of the nations” in Jer 31:7.
5. Reading **גַּם** as a cognate of Arabic **جَم** (*jam*) “many, abundant,” used adverbially (Lane 1865: 449).
6. This cognate goes unnoticed in BDB and KBS although it was noted by Castell (1669: 2394) and defined as “intellect” (*mens, ejusque acumen & perspicacia*.)”
7. On the collective personification of a nation, see GKC §122¹ and 122². Brown-Guttoff (1991: 186) suggested that **נִקְבָּה** referred to the “female side of God” (compassion, love and mercy), as opposed to **גִּבּוֹר** which was associated with male military qualities.
8. Note, however, that **סִתְיִו** “winter” is a cognate of Arabic **سِتَاءٌ** (*šitāʾ*), as noted in BDB (711) and in Lane (1867: 1504). See also Moscati 1964: 36–37. Jud 12:6 (**אִמְרֵי-נָא שִׁבְלֵת וַיֹּאמְרוּ סִבְלֵת**) “please say ‘shibboleth’ and he said ‘sibboleth’ . . .”) well illustrates the *š* to *s* shift in a non-Arabic dialect.
9. See GKC §77^e. Note the following verbs: **אָנַן** / **אָנָּן** “to sigh”; **דָּמָה** / **דָּמָם** “to be quiet”; **חָנָה** / **חָנַן** “to incline”; **כָּלַל** / **כָּלָה** “to end”; **שָׁגָה** / **שָׁגַג** “to err”; **קָלַל** / **קָלָה** “to despise”; **שָׁחָה** / **שָׁחַח** “to bend down”; and **שָׁסָה** / **שָׁסַח** “to plunder.”
10. It is even more difficult to take seriously the varied interpretations that these three words spoke of coital positions or the physiology of sex.

11. The root **عجب** (BDB 721) “inordinate affection, lust, paramour” has as cognate the Arabic **عجب** (*‘ajiba*) “he wondered at it, . . . he loved, or he liked.” (Lane 1874: 1956). The noun **عجب** (*‘ujb*) signifies “self-admiration, self-conceitedness resulting from stupidity or folly.”

12. Arabic **جبر** (*jabr*) may cover a number of homographs, otherwise one must give the stem a broad semantic range, including “a king, a servant or slave, and a young, or a courageous, man.” The noun **جبار** (*jabbâr*) also means “one who magnifies himself, or behaves proudly . . . or insolently disdains the service of God.”

13. In the opinion of Lane this is an elliptical phrase meaning “God is the greatest great [being] : God is greater than every [other] great [being].” If not an elliptical phrase, **أكبر** (*‘akbar*) “should have the article **أل** (*‘al*), or be followed by a noun in the gen. case [or by the preposition **من** (*min*)” (Lane 1885: 2587a).

14. The verb “to set up, to erect” (BDB 662; Lane 1893: 2799).

15. The preposition “to” with suffix (BDB 510; Lane 1893: 3006).

16. The noun “road sign made of stones” and “flint-stone” (BDB 846; Lane 1872: 1739 for **صوة** [*ṣuwwat*] and 4: 1751 for **صوان** [*ṣawwân*]).

17. The verb “to put, place, set” and “to insert, sheathe.” See BDB 962 and Lane 1872: 1634 **شام / شيم** (*ṣayama/ ṣâma*). The Sabeian and Ethiopic cognates cited in BDB match the Hebrew meanings, whereas this Arabic cognate, “to hide, to conceal, to insert or to sheathe,” is quite remote.

18. “A sign consisting of a pile of stones” (BDB 1071; Lane 1863: 98^c and 97^b **أمره** [*‘amarat*] “stones” or “a heap of stones.”) (On the frequent elision of an **א** in Hebrew, see GKC 23^f.) Ziegler (1957: 360) noted that Aquila translated **תַּמְרוֹרֵיִם** as **πικραμμους**, as if

the root were מַרַר “bitter.” Carroll (1986: 601) and Holladay (1989: 194) followed Giesebrecht (1907, cited in BDB: 1071) and Rudolph (1970 in BHS) in deriving this word from תַּמַּר “palm tree,” a cognate of Arabic *تمر* (*tamr*) “fruit of the palm tree.”

19. BDB 1011. There is no known Arabic cognate for שִׁית.

20. The noun “heart, understanding, intelligence” (BDB 523; Lane 1885: 2643). The Arabic verb لَبَّ (*labba*) means “he was, or became possessed of لُبَّ (*lubb*), i.e., understanding, intellect, or intelligence. The feminine لُبِّ (*labbat*) is the middle of the breast, used for the external area rather than the internal organ.

21. The noun “highway” and “a stream bed” (BDB 700; Lane 1872: 1486). The Arabic سَيْل (*sayl*) is a “torrent” or “flow of water” and the مَسِيل (*masīl*) is the channel in which a torrent flows, a synonym of وَادٍ (*wadi*) “valley, torrent-bed, any space between mountains or hills” (Lane 1874: 1893: 3051). In the Song of Deborah (Jud 5:19–21) reference was made to the Wady Kishon serving as a highway for Sisera’s chariots, which became a death-trap when the torrents flowed unexpectedly. Dry wadis and torrent-beds are still used for military activity and sightseeing.

22. The noun “road” and verb “to march, to overtake” (BDB 202; Lane 1867: 874).

23. The verb “to walk” and “to walk quickly” (BDB 229, 410; Hava 894). On the interchange of ך and ק compare (1) רַקַּק and רַכַּךְ “to crush” (2) רַקַּק and רַכַּךְ “to be tender, weak” and “to be thin, weak” (see Tregelles 1875: 378). The imperfect stem of הִלַּךְ was probably יִלַּךְ (see GKC §69^x). Gesenius followed Praetorius [ZAW ii 310 ff.] in disagreement with the usual explanation of a פ"ו stem—which is reinforced by the וִלַּךְ = וִלַּק as suggested by

cognate **ولق** (*walaqa*). The Arabic verb **هلك** (*halaka*) means “he perished, became non-existent or annihilated.” The noun **هلاك** (*halâka*) means “perdition” (Lane 1893: 3044). Lane did not cite **ولق** (*walaqa*), but it must be remembered that the final volume of Lane’s lexicon is incomplete, having been published posthumously from his notes. Dozy (1927:842) cited **ولق** (*walaqa*) “*piste, trace, vestige*,” a synonym of **أثر** (*ʿatara*) “trace, footstep, footprint,” which is the cognate of Hebrew **אָשַׁר** “to march forth” and Ugaritic **ʿatr** “to march” (Gordon 1965: 369, #424).

24. The verb “to return” (BDB 996; Lane 1863: 361 [ثوب/*twb*]).

25. The noun “virgin” (BDB 143; Lane 1863: 150).

26. The verb “to contend or persist” (BDB 975; Lane 1872: 1545), noting especially form 3, **هو يشاريه** (*huwa yušârîhi*) “he persisted in contention with him,” which fits perfectly with the narrative about the change of Jacob’s name in Gen 32:28, **שָׁרִיתָ עִם-אֱלֹהִים** “you persisted-in-contending with God.”

27. The noun or name “god, God” (BDB 41–42; Lane 1863: 82–83). In Arabic **الله** (Allah) is reserved for the only true God.

28. The preposition “to, unto, as far as” (BDB 39; Lane 1863: 85).

29. The noun “city” (BDB 746, noting the Sabean cognate, “a fortified height,” but there is no Arabic cognate of **עִיר**).

30. The demonstrative pronoun “these” (BDB 41; Lane 1863: 86). Rudolph, in a note in BHS (1970), associated the Septuagint’s **πενθοῦσα** “mourner” with **אבלה** for the MT **אלה**.

31. The noun “perpetuity, distance, remoteness” (BDB 723; Lane 1874: 1978–1979), noting especially form 6, **تعدى** (*taʿâdaya*) “he, or it, was, or became, distant, remote, far off, or aloof” and the noun **عدى** (*ʿiday*) “distance or remoteness.”

32. The interrogative adverb “when, until when” (BDB 607; Lane 1893: 3017).

33. The verb “to turn here and there” (BDB 330), noting that BDB has no cognate for חָמַק. KBS (330) cited the Arabic *حَمَق* (*ḥamiqa*) “to be foolish” and the Tigre (*ḥomaqa*) “to be weak.” Arabic *حَمَق* (*ḥumaq*) would be the antithesis of *لُب* (*lubb*), i.e., *understanding, intellect, or intelligence,*” the cognate of *לֵב* “heart.”

34. The definite article and/or the vocative “O” (BDB 208 [I]; Lane 1863: 74). The original Hebrew definite article was probably הַלְּ, the ל of which was assimilated to the initial consonant of the noun with compensatory lengthening of the noun’s initial consonant, except when the initial consonant was an א, ה, ח, ע, or ק. In Arabic the *l* of *ال*, though always written, assimilates to a following dental, sibilant or liquid, with compensatory lengthening of the initial consonant. The exceptions in Hebrew include הַלִּי (= הַל + י), הַלִּזָּה (= הַל + זָה) and הַלִּזּוּ (= הַל + זּוּ), cited in BDB (229). The Masoretes failed to recognize הַל as the definite article and treated the ה as the initial letter of the stem. (Compare BDB, where the ל of הַל is identified as a separate demonstrative element which was inserted between the ה and the י or זּוּ.) For the presence of *ال* (*ʿal* = אַל “the”) in Hebrew, see BDB 38.

35. The noun “daughter” (BDB 123; Lane 1863: 261).

36. The conjunction “in order that” (BDB 471; Wehr 995).

37. The verb “to create, to form, to fashion” (BDB 135; Lane 1863: 197, both *برى* and *برو*).

38. The tetragrammaton (BDB 330). For the many varied etymologies proposed for the holy name, see G. H. Parke-Taylor, *Yahweh: The Divine Name in the Bible*. Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier

University Press, 1975. Whereas the Hebrew הָיָה / הָיְיָה means “to become, to be,” with the *Hiph^{il}* meaning “to cause to be,” the Arabic verb هَوِيَ (*haway*) means “to fall, to drop,” but the noun هَوِي (*haway*) signifies “love” and “beloved” (Lane 1893: 3046; Wehr 1219), suggesting two separate lexemes.

39. The adjective “new” and the noun “novelty, innovation” (BDB 294; Lane 1865: 527).

40. The preposition “in” (BDB 88; Lane 1863: 141).

41. The noun “earth” (BDB 75; Lane 1863: 47–49).

42. The verb “to perforate” and the nouns “hole, female, mind” (BDB 666; Lane 1893: 2834–2835).

43. The verb “to surround” (BDB 685). The Arabic words cited in BDB under סָבַב which begin with a س (*s*), meaning “rope, lock of hair” are not cognates. KBS has no Arabic cognates for סָבַב.

44. The nouns “man, a young man” and “king, slave, servant” (BDB 149; Lane 1865: 374–375; Castell 479). For the Akkadian cognate *gubburu* “to overpower,” see *CAD*, Volume G, 118 and KBS 176.