

**A Biblical Hebrew
Reference Grammar**

**Van der Meer,
Mouddé, Kroeze**

BLH

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Christo H.J. van der Merwe
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3

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3



Dedicated to Eric Samson.
Without his generous sponsorship of the
Eric Samson Chair for Hebrew Grammar
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CONTENTS

Foreword	9
Abbreviations	13
Chapter 1	
INTRODUCTION	15
§1. Biblical Hebrew as a Semitic Language	15
§2. The Historical Unity and Development of Hebrew	16
§3. A Short Review of the Grammatical Treatment of Biblical Hebrew	18
Chapter 2	
THE HEBREW ALPHABET AND MASORETIC SIGNS	22
§4. The Alphabet—Consonants	22
§4.1. The Form of the Hebrew Consonants	22
§4.2. Special Features of the Hebrew Consonants	24
§5. The Alphabet—Vowels	28
§5.1. The Form of the Hebrew Vowels	28
§5.2. The Classification of Vowels and their Characteristics	29
§6. Diphthongs	32
§6.1. With ʾ after a Vowel	32
§6.2. The Transitional Pataḥ or <i>Pataḥ Furtivum</i>	33
§7. Syllables and Accents	34
§7.1. Types of Syllables	34
§7.2. Accentuation	35
§7.3. The Distribution of Vowels in Syllables	36
§8. Masoretic Signs with a Double Function	36
§8.1. The Š ^c wâ	36
§8.2. The Dagesh	38
§8.3. The Qāmeṣ	40
§8.4. The ʾ Sign	42
§9. Additional Masoretic Signs	42
§9.1. The Meteg	42
§9.2. The Mappîq	43
§9.3. The Maqqēf	43

§9.4. The Sôf Pāsûq	43
§9.5. The Accent Signs	44
§9.6. The Pausal Forms	46
§9.7. Kethib and Qere Readings	47
§9.8. Other Masoretic Markers	48
Chapter 3	
WORD, CLAUSE AND TEXT IN BIBLICAL HEBREW: A SURVEY	51
§10. The Levels of Language Structure	51
§11. The Word Categories/Classes in Biblical Hebrew	53
§11.1. Verbs	53
§11.2. Nouns	55
§11.3. Adjectives	57
§11.4. Prepositions	57
§11.5. Conjunctions	57
§11.6. Adverbs	58
§11.7. Predicators of Existence	58
§11.8. Interrogatives	59
§11.9. Discourse Markers	59
§11.10. Interjections	59
§12. The Clause in Biblical Hebrew	59
§12.1. The Clause: A Definition	59
§12.2. The Syntactical Units of the Clause	59
§12.3. The Relationships between the Syntactical Units of the Clause	60
§12.4. Typical Characteristics of BH Clauses	62
§12.5. Types of Sentences	63
§13. The Text in Biblical Hebrew	65
Chapter 4	
THE VERB	67
§14. Review	67
§15. The Morphology of the Basic Paradigm	68
§15.1. The Perfect Form	68
§15.2. The Imperfect Form	70
§15.3. The Imperative Form	71
§15.4. The Cohortative Form	71
§15.5. The Jussive Form	71
§15.6. The Infinitive Construct	72
§15.7. The Infinitive Absolute	72
§15.8. The Participle	72
§16. The Stem Formations	73
§16.1. The Names of the Stem Formations	73

§16.2. Morphology and Semantics of the Qal	74
§16.3. Morphology and Semantics of the Niphal	77
§16.4. Morphology and Semantics of the Piel	79
§16.5. Morphology and Semantics of the Pual	81
§16.6. Morphology and Semantics of the Hithpael	82
§16.7. Morphology and Semantics of the Hiphil	84
§16.8. Morphology and Semantics of the Hophal	87
§16.9. Table 8. The Stem Formations: the Complete Paradigm	88
§17. Pronominal Suffixes Added to Verbs	90
§17.1. Introduction	90
§17.2. Suffixes Added to Perfect Forms	91
§17.3. Suffixes Added to Imperfect Forms	93
§17.4. Suffixes Added to Imperative Forms	94
§17.5. Suffixes Added to Infinitives	95
§18. The Morphology of the Irregular (or Weak) Verbs	95
§18.1. The Notation of Irregular Verbs	95
§18.2. The Gutturals	97
§18.3. The I Aleph That Is Not Pronounced	105
§18.4. The III Aleph That Is Not Pronounced	106
§18.5. The III He Verbs	109
§18.6. The I Nun Verbs	113
§18.7. The I Yod and I Waw Verbs	116
§18.8. The II Waw and II Yod Verbs	121
§18.9. The Geminate Verbs	128
§18.10. Verbs with More than One Irregular Consonant	133
§18.11. Others: היה, חיה, חרה, נתן, לקח and הלך	137
§19. The Syntax and Semantics of the Finite Verb Forms	141
§19.1. The Problematics of the BH Verbal System	141
§19.2. The Perfect Form (Suffix Conjugation, Qatal)	144
§19.3. The Imperfect form (Prefix Conjugation, Yiqtol)	146
§19.4. The Imperative, Cohortative and Jussive Forms	150
§20. The Syntax and Semantics of the Non-finite Verb Forms	153
§20.1. The Infinitive Construct (Ordinary Infinitive)	153
§20.2. The Infinitive Absolute	157
§20.3. The Participle	162
§21. Verb Chains and Sequences	163
§21.1. Introduction	163
§21.2. Waw Consecutive + Imperfect (Short Form)	165
§21.3. Waw Consecutive + Perfect	168
§21.4. Waw Copulative + Imperfect (Long Form)	171
§21.5. Waw Copulative + Directives	171
§22. The Valency of Verbs	172

Chapter 5

THE NOUN	174
§23. Introduction	174
§24. The Congruency Features of Nouns	175
§24.1. Morphology of Congruency Features	175
§24.2. Gender	175
§24.3. Number	181
§24.4. Definiteness (<i>Status Determinatus</i>)	187
§25. The Declension of the Noun	191
§25.1. Cases in BH. The Construct State	191
§25.2. Morphology of the <i>Status Absolutus</i> , <i>Postconstructus</i> and <i>Status Constructus</i>	193
§25.3. The Noun in Construct Relationships	194
§25.4. Syntactic-Semantic Relationships in Construct Relationships	197
§26. The Noun with Pronominal Suffixes	200
§26.1. Morphology of Nouns with Pronominal Suffixes	200
§26.2. Syntactic and Semantic Functions of the Pronominal Suffixes	203
§27. Noun Patterns and Suffixes	203
§27.1. The Declension of Nouns with Unchangeable Vowels	204
§27.2. The Declension of Nouns with Changeable Long Vowels ֿ and ֿֿ	205
§27.3. The Declension of Segholate Nouns	212
§27.4. The Declension of Monosyllabic Nouns with Double Final Consonants	220
§27.5. The Declension of Nouns That End in ֿֿֿ	223
§27.6. The Declension of Irregular Nouns	225
§28. The He <i>Locale</i> and Enclitic Mem	227
§29. Nouns in Appositional Relationships	228
§29.1. Types of Appositional Constructions	228
§29.2. Syntactic Functions of Nouns in Apposition	229
§29.3. Semantic Functions of Nouns in Apposition	229
§30. Qualification of the Noun by the Adjective	230
§30.1. Morphology of the Adjective	230
§30.2. Attributive Qualification	232
§30.3. Predicative Qualification	233
§30.4. Adjectives Used as Substantives	234
§30.5. Degrees of Comparison	235
§31. Co-ordination of the Noun	237
§31.1. Forms of Co-ordination	237
§31.2. Syntactic Functions of Co-ordinating Nouns	239

§32. The Noun as Complement of Prepositions	239
§32.1. Syntactic Characteristics of Prepositions	239
§32.2. Syntactic Functions of Prepositional Phrases	240
§33. The Noun as Complement/Adjunct of Verbs	241
§33.1. Introduction: A Terminological Orientation	241
§33.2. Complements	242
§33.3. Adjuncts	244
§33.4. The 'Object Marker' תַּן/תָּן	245
§34. The Noun as Subject, Predicate, Vocative and Dislocated Constituent	247
§34.1. The Noun as Subject of Verbal Clauses	247
§34.2. The Noun as Subject of Nominal Clauses	248
§34.3. The Noun as Predicate of Nominal Clauses	248
§34.4. The Noun as Vocative (Form of Address)	249
§34.5. The Noun as Dislocated (Pendensed) Constituent	249
§35. Congruence between the Subject and Predicate in BH Clauses	249
§36. Pronouns	251
§36.1. Personal Pronouns	251
§36.2. Demonstrative Pronouns	257
§36.3. Relative Pronouns	259
§36.4. Interrogative Pronouns	262
§36.5. Indefinite Pronouns	262
§37. Numerals	263
§37.1. Introduction	263
§37.2. Cardinals	263
§37.3. Ordinals	270
 Chapter 6	
THE OTHER WORD CLASSES	271
§38. Introduction	271
§39. Prepositions	272
§39.1. Introduction	272
§39.2. אַחַר and אַחֲרַי	277
§39.3. אֶל	277
§39.4. אֶצֶל	279
§39.5. אֵת	279
§39.6. בְּ	279
§39.7. בֵּין	282
§39.8. בְּעֵד	283
§39.9. בְּעִבּוּר	283
§39.10. כִּ	283
§39.11. לְ	284

§39.12.	למען	287
§39.13.	לפני	287
§39.14.	מן	287
§39.15.	מפני	290
§39.16.	נגד	290
§39.17.	סביב	290
§39.18.	עד	291
§39.19.	על	291
§39.20.	עם	293
§39.21.	תחת	293
§40.	Conjunctions	294
§40.1.	Introduction	294
§40.2.	אבל	294
§40.3.	אז	295
§40.4.	אז/אם	295
§40.5.	אם	295
§40.6.	אשר	296
§40.7.	בעבור	297
§40.8.	ו	298
§40.9.	כי	300
§40.10.	ל	303
§40.11.	לולי	304
§40.12.	לכן	304
§40.13.	למען	304
§40.14.	פן	305
§40.15.	על-כן	305
§41.	Adverbs	305
§41.1.	Introduction	305
§41.2.	Ordinary Adverbs	306
§41.3.	Modal Words	309
§41.4.	Focus Particles	311
§41.5.	Negatives	318
§42.	Predicators of Existence	320
§42.1.	Introduction	320
§42.2.	אין	320
§42.3.	יש	321
§43.	Interrogatives	321
§43.1.	Introduction	321
§43.2.	Yes/No Questions	321
§43.3.	Factual (or WH-) Questions	322
§44.	Discourse Markers	328
§44.1.	Introduction	328
§44.2.	הן	328
§44.3.	הנה	328

§44.4. וְהִיא	331
§44.5. וְהִיא	331
§44.6. וְעַתָּה	333
§45. Interjections	334
§45.1 Introduction	334
§45.2. Expression of Emotion	334
§45.3. Expression of an Attitude	334
§45.4. Expression of the Experience of a Threat	335
§45.5. Interjections Used in an Address	335
 Chapter 7	
WORD ORDER	336
§46. The Syntax of Word Order	336
§46.1. Verbal Clauses	336
§46.2. Nominal Clauses	343
§47. The Semantic-Pragmatic Functions of Word Order	344
 GLOSSARY	351
BIBLIOGRAPHY	370
 Index of Biblical Hebrew Words	374
Index of Old Testament Texts	379
Index of Subjects	386
Index of Authors	404

Foreword

The contents of most modern introductory Biblical Hebrew (= BH) grammars are arranged according to didactic principles. For example, in these grammars the simple forms of the verb are often introduced at the very outset, followed by the simpler forms of the noun. The irregular stems of nouns and verbs are then dealt with bit by bit in the rest of the grammar. Although didactic principles should play a decisive role in structuring an introductory grammar, it often happens that such introductory grammars become the only source of information for second language readers of BH. Apart from the limited data available in these works, tracing in them information on a particular theme can be a very time-consuming process.

The aim of this grammar is to serve as *a reference work at an intermediate level* for exegetes and translators of the Hebrew Bible who have a basic knowledge of BH, but would like to *use and broaden* the knowledge they have acquired in an introductory course. It therefore strives, on the one hand, to systematize as briefly as possible the BH linguistic knowledge that is normally presented in introductory courses. On the other hand, it offers BH information beyond that of introductory courses in areas that are deemed relevant for exegetes and translators. For this reason, unlike an introductory grammar, it is not intended as a manual to be learned systematically. The intention is rather to present information concerning BH systematically for easy reference. It attempts neither to present information in terms of a single linguistic theory nor to be absolutely comprehensive. It also avoids discussing problems regarding the description of BH. It is a grammar trying to offer solutions to users who are not interested in the problems of describing BH. Although most of the examples come from the prose sections of the Bible, this volume represents, to the opinion of the authors, a major part of the BH linguistic information required by an exegete of the *Biblia He-*

braica Stuttgartensia. Footnotes and bibliographical references have been kept to a minimum.

This grammar is a team effort in the true sense of the word. Apart from the three authors, there have also been contributions by the Reverend Wouter van Wyk of the Rand Afrikaans University, Professor Cynthia Miller of the North Carolina State University (USA) and Ms Jackie du Toit of the University of the North provided valuable criticisms of the beta version. In editing the English edition (which was translated by Dr Edwin Hees of the Department of English at the University of Stellenbosch) Ms Helen Efthimiadis of the University of the North made numerous brilliant suggestions which we incorporated.

Although reference grammars are rarely compiled consistently in terms of a single linguistic framework or theory, the process of compiling such a grammar does not occur in a vacuum. In this grammar the following principles were consciously adopted:

1. This grammar is intended for a very specific audience, namely *translators and exegetes of BH texts* who wish to engage critically with existing translations and interpretations of the *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*.

2. The linguistic information has been structured and presented in such a way as to be accessible to an ordinary interpreter of a BH passage. For this reason (as far as possible) linguistic terms have been used that (1) may be familiar to users and/or (2) they will come across regularly in the type of literature they are going to consult. Thus, for example, the terms perfect, imperfect and waw consecutive imperfect are used (in place of linguistically more accurate terms) because they are used in Holladay's popular dictionary. In 'explaining' the phonological processes that occur in the conjugation of some weak verbal stems, didactic considerations carried more weight than the accurate representation of the diachronic development of a particular form. In this regard our use of the concept 'compensatory lengthening' may be called into question too.

3. More modern and possibly less familiar terms are used only in cases where they make a significant contribution towards a clearer understanding of the BH constructions in the authors' view, e.g. the terms *postconstructus*, fronting, focus particle, discourse marker, adjunct and complement.

4. In Chapter 3 the metalinguistic frame of reference that is relevant to this volume is explained. Although the linguistic structure of English and BH is by no means the same, English examples are used for didactic purposes.

5. The type of information presented must be useful to the above-mentioned audience in their exegesis of the BH text. For this reason a very wide definition of what constitutes the knowledge of a language has been adopted. On the one hand, knowledge of BH includes the ability to understand the organization (grammar) and meaning (semantics) of the language at the level of pronunciation, forms, phrases, clauses, sentences and texts. On the other hand, it also includes the ability to understand the use of the above-mentioned linguistic constructions (pragmatics and sociolinguistics). This volume is fairly traditional in its use (for didactic reasons) of *The Verbs* (Chapter 4), *The Nouns* (Chapter 5) and *The Other Word Classes* (Chapter 6) as three of its major categories at a macro level. At the lower levels, however, where relevant and where possible, the semantics and pragmatics of some constructions are dealt with. In a contemplated next volume most of the categories at the macro level, e.g. inter-sentence relationships, text types, speech acts and sociolinguistic conventions, will not be word-based.

6. Unnecessary detail has been avoided. If constructions with a low frequency have been mentioned for the sake of completeness, they are indicated as seldom or rare. A *glossary* of linguistic terms used here and/or which users of this grammar may encounter in other exegetical works may be found at the back of the grammar.

7. No attempt has been made to be linguistically innovative. Existing knowledge of BH has been incorporated. The grammars of Gesenius–Kautzsch–Cowley (1909), Richter (1978, 1979 and 1980), Waltke and O’Connor (1990) and Joüon–Muraoka (1991) have been used extensively. Nevertheless an attempt has been made throughout to utilize where relevant the findings of recent research in BH for the purposes of this grammar. The sections on construct relationships, pronouns, focus particles, some conjunctions and word order are examples in this regard. Furthermore, the linguistic interests of the authors (interests that range from the works of Noam Chomsky to Simqn Dik and Deirdre Wilson) must certainly have played an unconscious role in the writing of this grammar. Even so, a deliberate

attempt has been made to subordinate these interests to the primary purpose of this grammar.

8. English translations of the Hebrew text come mainly from the RSV. In cases where the RSV translation fails to illustrate a grammatical construction under discussion or was too archaic the RSV's translation was modified.

9. The authors want to acknowledge their indebtedness to the tradition of BH grammatical teaching in South Africa. Without it this grammar would not have been possible. Until the beginning of the 1970s B. Gemser's *Hebreeuse Spraakkuns* was used by most institutions where BH was taught. Since then scholars at the different institutions experimented with grammars that they had compiled themselves and distributed in the form of photocopied notes. Such grammars were compiled at the University of the Free State, Potchefstroom University of Christian Higher Education, University of Pretoria, University of South Africa and University of Stellenbosch. These grammars are important forerunners of this reference work and influenced the thoughts of the authors in more than one way.

10. The authors also want to express their appreciation to their mentors and/or other scholars who played a significant role in their careers as Hebrew linguists. *Christo van der Merwe*: Professors F.C. Fensham, W.T. Claassen, W. Richter, W. Gross, F.E. Deist, E. Talstra, Dr. A. Michel and Dr. A. Disse; *Jackie Naudé*: Professors F. du T. Laubscher, P. Nel, H. Borer and J. Oosthuizen; and *Jan Kroeze*: Professors E.J. Smit, H.F. van Rooy, J. Hoftijzer and Dr. P.J.J. van Huyssteen.

11. Steve Barganski of Sheffield Academic Press should be thanked for his contribution to (and patience in) the final editing of this book.

ABBREVIATIONS

A	Adjective
ADV	Adverb
ADVP	Adverbial phrase
AP	Adjective phrase
BH	Biblical Hebrew
BHS	<i>Biblica Hebraica Stuttgartensia</i>
c.	common
coh.	cohortative
cop.	copulative
du.	dual
f.	feminine
Hi.	Hiphil
Ho.	Hophal
imp.	imperative
impf.	imperfect
inf. abs.	infinitive absolute
inf. cs.	infinitive construct
juss.	jussive
lit.	literal
m.	masculine
<i>Mp</i>	<i>Masora parva</i>
N	Noun
Ni.	Niphal
NP	Noun phrase
P	Preposition

part. act.	participle active
part. pass.	participle passive
part.	participle
<i>pcs.</i>	<i>postconstructus</i>
perf.	perfect
Pi.	Piel
pl.	plural
PP	Prepositional phrase
Pu.	Pual
S	Clause
sing.	singular
<i>st. abs.</i>	<i>status absolutus</i>
<i>st. cs.</i>	<i>status constructus</i>
SVO	Subject–Verb–Object
V	Verb
VP	Verb phrase
VSO	Verb–Subject–Object
wc.+impf.	waw consecutive + imperfect
wc.+perf.	waw consecutive + perfect
WH-interrogative	factual interrogative

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

§1. Biblical Hebrew as a Semitic Language

BH is the language of the Tanach/Old Testament. It was spoken in Israel from about 1200 BCE to about 400 BCE. Then, under the influence of the Persian empire, Aramaic became the language of Israel. Even so, Hebrew survived as a spoken and written religious language.

The languages that display the same common features as BH (e.g. morphology, syntax and lexicon) are known as the Semitic languages. These languages were spoken by the inhabitants of the Arabian peninsula (central zone) and the fertile region (peripheral zone) which stretched in the form of a crescent from Mesopotamia in the north-east, across Syria and Palestine in the north-west to Ethiopia in the south-west. The Semitic languages also bear similarities to certain language groups in North Africa, for example, Egyptian and Berber. This larger grouping of languages which includes the Semitic languages is currently classified as Afro-Asiatic.

The Semitic languages can be subdivided according to the zones in which they were spoken as follows (the dates next to the languages indicate the earliest writings found in those languages).

1. *East Semitic*

This zone covers the area traditionally known as Mesopotamia. It is possible to distinguish the following languages:

- Old Akkadian (from about 2400 BCE)
- Babylonian in all its stages (from about 1700 BCE)
- Assyrian in all its stages (from about 2000–600 BCE)

2. North-West Semitic

This zone covers the area traditionally known as Syro-Palestine. The earliest languages in this region are:

- Amorite (from about 2000 BCE)
- Ugaritic (from about 1450–1200 BCE)

By 1200 BCE the languages of this group formed Canaanite and Aramaic branches:

- The Canaanite branch included, among others
 - Hebrew (from about 1200 BCE)
 - Phoenician (from about 1100 BCE)
 - Moabite (from about 850 BCE)

- The Aramaic Branch

Aramaic was spoken in Syria (Aram) from about 800 BCE. Under the Persians it later became the official language of correspondence and common usage in the ancient Near East. The later dialects are usually divided into West Aramaic and East Aramaic. The best known dialect of the West Aramaic group is Jewish-Palestinian Aramaic, in which certain of the Qumran texts, the Targumim (Aramaic paraphrases of the Hebrew Bible), and parts of the Palestinian Talmud were written.

In the Eastern Aramaic group one finds, *inter alia*, Syriac in which a great deal of Christian literature from 200 to 1200 CE was written.

3. South-West Semitic

The most important languages here are:

- North Arabic (the most important example of which is the language of the Qur'an, from about 600 CE).
- Ethiopian

§2. The Historical Unity and Development of Hebrew

The Hebrew language has remained in many ways the same. The changes that occurred affected mainly the vocabulary and syntax, but

not the essential morphological and phonological structure of the language. Hebrew is usually divided into four periods.

1. *Biblical Hebrew (= BH)*

Although BH is regarded by many as a language with its own characteristic features, it is not uniform. It was used over a period of about 1000 years. Any language undergoes changes over such a long period of time. Furthermore, archaization techniques (= application of archaic forms) or modernization techniques (= replacement of older forms by contemporary forms) were sometimes adopted in the writing.

For the sake of convenience BH has been subdivided into smaller categories:

- Classical BH is mainly the language of the prose sections of the pre-exilic periods.
- Late BH is the language of the sections from the postexilic period. Late BH shows similarities to the language of the Qumran texts and the latter is therefore also classified as such by some.

Originally BH text consisted of consonants only. In order to prevent the eventual complete loss of the correct pronunciation, a group of Jewish scholars began to devise a system of signs (from about 600 CE) to record and standardize the received pronunciation (inasmuch as it was known). They were known as the ‘Masoretes’ (from the Hebrew word ‘masora’ which means ‘what was handed down’).

The work of the Masoretes was continued for many centuries by a large number of scholars. Several systems of vocalization were developed. The system used in printed texts today is known as the Tiberian system and is the product of the work of the Ben Asher family (about 900 CE) in Tiberias. The BH as found in BHS and described in this grammar is, strictly speaking, the Masoretic BH of the Ben Asher family.

2. *Rabbinic Hebrew (Mishnaic Hebrew)*

Although the Jews spoke mainly Aramaic from about 400 BCE onwards, a form of Hebrew survived as a spoken and written language, primarily in the synagogues. This form of Hebrew had its own characteristic features which distinguished it from Biblical Hebrew. It was the language of the Mishnah.

3. Mediaeval Hebrew

This was the language used by Jewish scholars and writers in the Arab countries and Europe during the Middle Ages. The fact that this form of the language borrowed heavily from Arabic during this period distinguishes it from Rabbinic Hebrew.

4. Modern Hebrew (Ivrit/Israeli Hebrew)

This is the language that was revived from the beginning of this century, especially in the State of Israel. It is a further development of the earlier forms of Hebrew. In 1948 it became one of the official languages of the new State of Israel.

§3. A Short Review of the Grammatical Treatment of Biblical Hebrew

1. The early Jewish grammarians (1000–1500 CE)

The earliest signs of the grammatical description of Hebrew may be found in the marginal notes of rabbis in midrashic studies dating from the eighth century CE. Furthermore, the Masoretes, whose work culminated in the tenth century CE, conducted their vocalization of BH texts in terms of a particular oral grammatical tradition.

The first written BH grammars appeared in Spain—a centre of Jewish intellectual activity between 1000 and 1200 CE. They were written in the scientific language of the day, namely Arabic. The Jewish grammarians based their description of Jewish grammar on the model used for the description of Arabic. The fruit of their labours culminated in the works of grammarians such as Abraham ibn Ezra and David Qimhi. At a later stage these works became influential in other European centres as well. For example, Martin Luther would probably have learned BH from David Qimhi's grammar.

2. Christian BH grammarians since the reformation (1500–1750 CE)

During the Reformation Christians dominated the study of BH grammar. The linguistic model used then for the description of BH was no longer Arabic but Latin. The study of grammar and the study of rhetoric, formerly seen as one, became two separate disciplines. As the emphasis fell on BH grammar, a wealth of BH rhetorical conventions was lost.

The study of BH grammar flourished in the sixteenth century, especially in humanist circles. Johannes Reuchlin's *Rudimenta linguae hebraicae* (1506) is regarded as one of the influential works of this period. In the seventeenth century, however, humanist interest in BH waned, so that BH was confined to being the handmaiden of theology.

3. *The comparative and historical-comparative BH grammars (1750–1960)*

The most significant BH grammar after Reuchlin's is that of Albert Schultens, entitled *Institutiones* (1737). This work laid the basis for the study of BH as a Semitic language. The main purpose of this BH grammar was to ascertain what light the other Semitic languages could cast on the understanding of BH.

One of the most highly esteemed and most authoritative BH grammars—that of Wilhelm Gesenius—appeared for the first time in 1807. There have been 28 subsequent editions. The last seven were produced by Emile Kautzsch and in 1910 Arthur Cowley produced an English version. *Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar* by Gesenius–Kautzsch–Cowley remains a standard BH reference work to this day.

In the nineteenth century linguists not only devoted much attention to the comparison of languages, but also tried to explain the various degrees of similarity between languages. By paying particular attention to the sequence of sound changes within languages that belong to the same family, sound rules were identified which could then be used to draw up a family tree of a language group. This approach to the study of language is known as historical-comparative linguistics. Carl Brockelmann's *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen* of 1908–1913 is regarded as a benchmark of Semitic historical-comparative grammar.

As far as BH is concerned, the historical-comparative approach led to the following BH grammars: Friedrich König's comprehensive grammar, *Historisch-kritisches Lehrgebäude der hebräischen Sprache*, which appeared in three volumes between 1881 and 1897, drew on the work of the older Jewish grammars. This work is still highly regarded today. Bauer–Leander's *Historische Grammatik der hebräischen Sprache* (1922) and Bergsträsser's 29th edition of Gesenius were the crowning glory of the attempts at utilizing the principles of the historical-comparative method to describe BH.

Historical-comparative linguistics was particularly useful in providing a framework for studying the phonology and morphology of language. This is one of the reasons the works of Bauer–Leander and Bergsträsser have hardly any description of BH syntax. Syntactic constructions were mostly explained in terms of psychological considerations, as in Brockelmann's *Hebräische Syntax* (1956).

4. *Modern BH grammarians since 1960*

Since the 1920s the historical-comparative method has been superseded by a structuralist approach. According to this approach language is a structural system. It is the relationship between its various components at a particular period in history—the so-called synchronic level—that must be studied separately from the historical development of the language—the so-called diachronic level. Although the structuralist approach to the description of language revolutionized linguistics and led to a host of new theories on language, it did not have an immediate influence on BH grammar. Works such as those by Francis Andersen, *The Sentence in Biblical Hebrew* (1974), and Wolfgang Richter, *Grundlagen einer althebräischen Grammatik* (1978–1980), only relatively recently paved the way in this regard.

The recent grammar by Bruce Waltke and Murphy O'Connor, *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax* (1990), describes a large variety of BH syntactic constructions. They use not only broad structural principles for this purpose, but also draw on the more traditional descriptions of BH. In the process of doing so, this work also provides a useful taxonomy of BH constructions, as well as a sound review of current BH grammatical research.

A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew (1991) by Takamitsu Muraoka is a revision of a grammar published in 1923 by Paul Joüon. It is cast in the form of a traditional grammar and explains some BH syntactic constructions psychologically. However, Muraoka specifically attempts to incorporate the insights of grammarians who had published their research results in Modern Hebrew. Some of the categories that he uses, as well as some of the arguments he presents in his grammar, indicate that aspects of the structuralist approach have been adopted in Joüon–Muraoka.

The works of Waltke and O'Connor, and of Joüon–Muraoka are regarded as the standard reference works for the 1990s. This refer-

ence grammar draws on both these studies. It must be borne in mind, however, that neither of these grammars utilizes the insights of one of the major trends in structuralist linguistics, the so-called generative approach. Furthermore, both grammars deal with the sentence as the largest unit of linguistic description. This implies a narrow view of the knowledge of a language. Since the 1980s the following have also been regarded as part of the knowledge of a language: the way in which sentences are used to create texts (text linguistic conventions), the conventions relating to the ways people use utterances to execute matters (pragmatic conventions) and the conventions that determine *which* linguistic constructions are adopted by *which* role-playing members of a particular society and *when* they are adopted (sociolinguistic conventions).

Chapter 2

THE HEBREW ALPHABET AND MASORETIC SIGNS

§4. The Alphabet—Consonants

§4.1. *The Form of the Hebrew Consonants*

The Hebrew alphabet consists of 23 characters (some with alternative graphic signs) which represent consonants only. The table below gives the name, form, transliteration and approximate pronunciation of each consonant.

No	Name	Form		Transliteration	Pronunciation
			Final		
1	aleph	א		/ʾ/	A very light glottal stop corresponding to the Greek <i>spiritus lenis</i> . Even before a vowel it is lost to the ear, like the <i>h</i> in <i>hour</i> .
2	beth	ב		/b/	bank
		בּ		/b/	never
3	gimel	ג		/g/	go
		גּ		/g/	go
4	daleth	ד		/d/	door
		דּ		/d/	door
5	he	ה		/h/	hand
6	waw	ו		/w/	vote
7	zayin	ז		/z/	zone
8	heth	ח		/h/	loch (velar as in Scots)

No	Name	Form		Transliteration	Pronunciation
9	lath	ט		/t/	time
10	yod	י		/y/	year
11	kaph	כ		/k/	keep
		כ	ך	/k/	Bach (palatal as in German)
12	lamedh	ל		/l/	line
13	mem	מ	ם	/m/	main
14	nun	נ	ן	/n/	noon
15	samekh	ס		/s/	silver
16	ayin	ע		/ʿ/	A hard glottal stop formed at the back of the throat. It may be heard in certain pronunciations of words like <i>bottle</i> and <i>battle</i> in which the glottal stop replaces the normal <i>t</i> .
17	pe	פ		/p/	pay
		פ	ף	/p/	face
18	şade	צ	ץ	/ş/	cats
19	qoph	ק		/q/	keep
20	resh	ר		/r/	rope
21	sin	ש		/s/	silver
22	shin	ש		/š/	shoe
23	taw	ת		/t/	time
		ת		/t/	time

Note the following:

- (1) Hebrew is written from right to left and from the top to the bottom of the page.
- (2) Transliteration means that a language that has its own distinctive characters is rewritten in the equivalent characters of the Latin or Roman alphabet. In cases where no equivalents exist, special transliteration symbols have been devised with the help of certain diacritical signs, for example, a dot under an h, /h/ (letter 8), an inverted circumflex on an s, /š/ (letter 22).

§4.2. Special Features of the Hebrew Consonants

1. Letters with two forms (the final letters or end consonants)

Five Hebrew consonants have alternative forms when they appear at the end of a word.

Beginning or middle of the word:

כ/כ (11), מ (13), נ (14), פ/פ (17), צ (18)

End of the word: ך- ם- ן- ף- ץ-

2. Letters with two alternative pronunciations

Six of the Hebrew consonants, namely ב (2), ג (3), ד (4), כ (11), פ (17) and ת (23) are allophones. In other words the same letter is used to indicate either a plosive or a fricative pronunciation.

There is, however, no possibility of confusion as the plosives are marked by a diacritical point, the dagesh. (Cf. §8.2/1.)

ב	ג	ד	כ	פ	ת
b	g	d	k	p	t

The fricatives are written without the dagesh:

ב	ג	ד	כ/ך	פ/ף	ת
w	g	d	Bach	f	t

The fricative pronunciation of ג, ד and ת has fallen out of **current** use, and they are pronounced like their plosive counterparts.

The distinction between the plosives and the fricatives is clear:

<i>plosives</i>	always contain a dagesh, always appear after a consonant, usually occur at the beginning of a word;
<i>fricatives</i>	always written without the dagesh and always occur after a vowel.

Because it is sometimes necessary to refer to these consonants as a group, they are arranged alphabetically and furnished with vowels to form a catchword, namely: *begadkefat*.

3. Letters with homogeneous pronunciation

In the following examples various groups of letters are pronounced more or less similarly:

ג (3)	and	ז	like	g	in	go
ד (4)	and	ט	like	d	in	door
ת (23)	and	ת	like	t	in	time
א (1)	and	א (16)				glottal stop
כ (2)	and	כ (6)	like	v	in	never and vote
ח (8)	and	ח/ח (11)	like	ch	in	Loch and Bach
ט (9)	and	ט/ט (23)	like	t	in	time
ק (11)	and	ק (19)	like	k	in	keep
ס (15)	and	ס (21)	like	s	in	silver

Although these groups of signs have more or less the same pronunciation now, their sound values originally differed (that is, distinctive pronunciations originally existed for all the signs of the alphabet). These differences are reflected in the orthography.

4. Letters with the same place of articulation

(i) Gutturals

A group of consonants is articulated at the back of the throat, namely: א (1), ה (5), ח (8) and א (16).

- א must not be confused with the English 'a' or Greek alpha (α). The latter two are vowels, while א is a consonant.
- א and א are not pronounced at the beginning or at the end of a word.
- In the middle of a word א and א are pronounced as a glottal stop, made by the complete stoppage of breath in the throat, almost like the 'stop' between the two e's in re-enact.

The consonant ח (20) bears certain similarities to the four gutturals and is usually grouped with them.

Should certain vowel changes become necessary in a word as, for example, when a plural is formed, the deviation from the normal is predictable within this group of consonants, namely:

- When a sound rule requires a vowel to be reduced, the vowel attached to a guttural will be reduced to a half vowel (also referred to as a composite š^ewâ or hâṭēp vowel). (Cf. §5.2/2(iii).)
- When a sound rule requires the doubling of a consonant, this doubling will occur neither with the gutturals nor with resh. (Cf. §8.2/2.)

(ii) *Dentals/Alveolars*

A group of consonants is articulated when the tongue obstructs the air flow against the upper teeth or alveolar ridge:

ד / ד (4), ט (9) and ט / ט (23)
 ל (12), ז (14) and נ (20)

- When a word begins with a dental, the deviation from any customary change in this group is predictable, for example, assimilation.¹
- When a conjugation results in two dentals occurring in immediate succession, the first dental becomes assimilated by the second dental.

5. Letters articulated in a similar fashion

(i) *Sibilants*

A group of consonants is formed when the speech canal is narrowed and the air stream is forced through with a hissing sound, namely

ש (22), ז (7), צ (15) and ש (21)

When a word begins with a hissing sound, the deviation from the customary change in this group is predictable, e.g:

- When a conjugation results in a sibilant occurring immediately after a dental, *metathesis*² of the sibilant and the dental occurs.

1. Assimilation is a phonological process which usually takes place when one consonant which closes a syllable passes over into another beginning the next syllable, so forming with it a strengthened letter. In this process the sounds of the two consonants are equalized. Note, for example, the case of nasal assimilation in which **ten mice** is pronounced as **tem mice**. Assimilation is not restricted to dentals only.

2. *Metathesis* is a phonological process in which two sounds are reversed, e.g. the use of **aks** instead of **ask**.

(ii) *Glides*

A group of consonants is formed when the air flow is obstructed to a limited extent, namely

𐤀 (5), 𐤁 (6) and 𐤂 (10)

The obstruction is so limited that these consonants have more in common with vowels than with consonants. The result is that a vowel and the glide immediately following it sometimes become fused, so that the glide becomes associated with specific vowel sounds. (Cf. §5.1.)

𐤀	e	as in	there
	ey	as in	café
	o	as in	more
	a	as in	father
𐤁	o	as in	more
	oo	as in	book
𐤂	i	as in	machine
	ey	as in	café
	e	as in	there

In certain cases the 𐤃 (1) has lost its consonantal character. In such cases 𐤃 is also associated with specific vocalic sound values:

𐤃	o	as in	more
	a	as in	father
	ey	as in	café

BH was originally written with consonants only. This could easily lead to misinterpretations; for example,

𐤂𐤀 could be interpreted as /yām/ (day) or /yôm/ (sea).

In order to ensure that the reader would distinguish between the forms, one of the above-mentioned glides was used with the latter form — namely 𐤁 — to indicate the presence of a [ô] vowel between the two consonants: 𐤂𐤁. This ensured the reading of the latter form as /yôm/. The form without the glide was read as /yām/.

When the glides (𐤀, 𐤁 and 𐤂) and 𐤃 represent vowels and not consonants, they are called vowel indicators (*matres lectionis*, ‘mothers of reading’). (Cf. §5.2/2(i).)

§5. The Alphabet—Vowels

A group of Jewish scholars, the Masoretes, did important work between 600 and 1000 CE in preserving and transmitting the text of the Hebrew Bible. Three groups of Masoretes were active, namely in Babylon, Palestine and Tiberias. Their most important task was transmitting the consonantal text with the utmost accuracy. To ensure that the oral tradition did not weaken further and to combat uncertainty, they devised vowel signs (or points) and added them to the consonantal text. The tradition from Tiberias, the so-called Tiberian vocalization, is used in the BHS.

When the Masoretes introduced the system of vowel signs, BH had already been committed to writing in consonants. The vowel indicators were then added to these. (Cf. §4.2/5(ii).) The text was left unchanged and the vowel signs were simply added to the existing letters. In most cases a vowel sign was placed under a consonant, in one case above the consonant and in others next to the consonant. In BH the consonant is normally read first followed by the vowel accompanying it. (Cf. also §6.2.)

§5.1. *The Form of the Hebrew Vowels*

The signs that represent vowels are given in the table below (always after the letter ׀ or ׀). The combination of vowel signs and vowel indicators is also given.

No	Name	Form	Trans- literation	Sound value (Modern Hebrew)
1	qāmeṣ	ֶ ֵ, ׀ֶ, ׀ֵ	/ā/ /â/	cup
2	pataḥ	ַ	/a/	cup
3	hātēp pataḥ	ִ	/ʰ/	cup
4	hōlem	ֹ ׀ֹ, ׀ֺ, ׀ֻ	/ō/ /ô/	more
5	qāmeṣ hātūp	ֻ	/o/	hot

2. Characteristics of vowels

(i) Vowel indicators (*matres lectionis*)

It was stated in §4.2.5(ii) that the glides (׀, ׀ and ׀) and ׀ could represent consonants as well as specific vowels, i.e. they could be used as vowel indicators; for example:

- ׀ for /ô/, /â/ and /ê/
- ׀ for /ô/ and /û/
- ׀ for /î/, /ê/ and /é/

Therefore, in the text vocalized by the Masoretes, the ׀, ׀, ׀ and ׀ could sometimes represent a consonant and sometimes a vowel. The Masoretes resolved this ambiguity through their vowel system as follows:

- In BH every consonant within a word must be accompanied by a vowel sign except for the final consonant of a word, which does not necessarily have to be accompanied by a vowel sign. When one of these glides represented a consonant, the Masoretes simply placed a vowel sign beneath it.
- Where a glide represented a vowel indicator the Masoretes combined their own vowel sign with the vowel indicator. In other words, when one of these four letters follows another consonant and only one vowel sign accompanies the two characters, the second character is functioning as a vowel indicator.
- ׀, ׀, ׀ and ׀ are used as vowel indicators solely in combination with specific vowel signs as indicated in §5.1.

Examples:

- (1) In the word ׀׀׀׀ the ׀ is not a consonant. If it were a consonant, then ׀ and ׀, two consonants, would stand next to each other without being separated by a vowel. This would be unacceptable in BH. (Cf. §7.1/2.) The ׀ must therefore be regarded as a vowel indicator in this case.
- (2) The ׀ at the end of a word such as ׀׀׀׀ may be regarded as a vowel indicator. In ׀׀׀׀ the ׀ must be understood as a full consonant. Should it be regarded as a vowel indicator, it would mean that two vowels would stand next to each other, which is unacceptable in BH. (Cf. §7.1/2.)

- (3) The ם is used as a vowel indicator only at the end of the word, for example, םִדָּוָה. (Cf. also §9.2.)
- (4) In the word םִדָּוָה a vowel follows the ם within a word and thus ם cannot be regarded as a vowel indicator.
- (5) There can be no confusion with the ם as a new sign is always created when the vowel and the vowel indicator are joined, namely ם and ם.

The unchangeable long vowels are formed in combination with the vowel indicators. (Cf. §5.2/1(iii).)

(ii) *Full and defective mode of writing*

In some instances a vowel may be represented by two different forms simultaneously. This is due to the fact that vowel signs were added to the text only after it had been fixed in consonants and vowel indicators.

- In some words a vowel indicator was used to refer to a particular vowel even before the Masoretic vocalization. During the vocalization another vowel sign referring to the same vowel was added to the vowel indicator. When a vowel sign is combined with a vowel indicator in this way, one speaks of the ‘full mode of writing’ or *scriptio plena*.
- If the vowel is written without a vowel indicator, one speaks of the defective mode of writing or *scriptio defectiva*. There is no difference in the pronunciation of the two modes of writing.

The same word can sometimes be written in the full and sometimes in the defective mode of writing, e.g.:

קדוש	or	קדש
טוב	or	טב

(iii) *The distribution of the half vowels*

The first vowel of some words is a half vowel, namely an audible š^cwâ, e.g.:

לבוש

It was stated in §4.2/4(i) that a deviation from the customary change is predictable with the gutturals (א, ה, ח and ע). One of the characteristics of the gutturals is that they may not be vocalized with the audible š^cwâ. Instead of the audible š^cwa the gutturals are vocalized with hāṭēp vowels.

The ḥāṭēp vowels are also half vowels. The Masoretic signs for the ḥāṭēp vowels are a combination of the š^cwa sign with the pataḥ, the s^cgōl or the qāmeṣ. This produces the ḥāṭēp vowels, namely:

ḥāṭēp pataḥ (3)	חָמֹר*	>	חֹמֶר
ḥāṭēp qāmeṣ (6)	חָלִי*	>	חֹלִי
ḥāṭēp s ^c gōl (9)	חָמֹת*	>	חֹמֹת

The question may arise as to which one of the ḥāṭēp vowels **takes** the place of the š^cwâ:

- In the case of the examples above the ḥāṭēp vowel is part of the actual composition of each word and must be learned as such.
- In other cases a sound rule may require the pronunciation of an audible š^cwâ immediately after a guttural. A ḥāṭēp pataḥ usually replaces the š^cwâ in such a case.

§6. Diphthongs

Diphthongs are sounds formed when two different vowels are combined **into one** syllable. In BH diphthongs may be formed in two ways:

§6.1. *With ’ after a Vowel*

When ’ follow certain vowels, they are pronounced as diphthongs. In the following table the diphthong is written after the consonant ׀ as an example:

<i>Consonant</i>	<i>Combination</i>	<i>Pronunciation</i>
׀	׀י	tie
׀	׀י	sky
׀	׀י	boy
׀	׀י	gluey

Note the following:

- When ׀י is followed by a waw as in ׀יׁ, the construction is pronounced as tâv.

§6.2. The Transitional Pataḥ or Pataḥ Furtivum

1. Characteristics

The consonants ך, ן and ף are articulated by moving the base of the tongue in the direction of the wall of the throat. This unusual articulation at the end of a closed syllable (cf. §7.1/1) is strenuous. The vowel that produces the least stress on the speech organs in pronouncing ך or ף at the end of a closed syllable is the 'a' (/ā/ or /a/), e.g.

עַךְ and ןֶף

When one of the other long vowels appears before ך, ן and ף in the last syllable, a transitional vowel or glide element becomes necessary to facilitate pronunciation. In these cases the pataḥ is utilized as the transitional vowel.

Not /rûḥ/ but /ruâḥ/

Not /kōḥ/ but /kōāḥ/

It is important to note that this pataḥ does not begin a new syllable, but only denotes a transition in the current syllable. The combination of the preceding vowel with the pataḥ creates a diphthong before the final consonant.

The *pataḥ furtivum* is written as follows:

ךֶּ and ןֶּף

Although the pataḥ is written after the final consonant, it is pronounced between this consonant and vowel preceding it. This pataḥ is called the transitional pataḥ or *pataḥ furtivum* (the pataḥ that slides in).

2. The distribution of the pataḥ furtivum

The *pataḥ furtivum* is a pataḥ that occurs at the end of a word when:

- The final consonant of a word is ך, ן and ף and
- the preceding long vowel is not a pataḥ or a qāmeṣ, e.g.:

רֶעַךְ and רֶעֶן
but רֶעַךְּ וְרֶעֶןּ

Because ף and ן in רֶעַךְ and רֶעֶן were not originally furnished with a pataḥ, the insertion of the *pataḥ furtivum* became necessary. In רֶעַךְּ, however, the ן is preceded by a pataḥ and the insertion of the pataḥ furtivum is thus unnecessary.

§7. Syllables and Accents

§7.1. Types of Syllables

1. Open and closed syllables

The word *syllable* denotes a combination of consonants and vowels that produces a word or a segment of a word in a single effort of articulation, i.e. the smallest grouping of sounds in a word that can be pronounced as a unit. The following distinctions are usually made with regard to syllables:

- *Open syllables* An open syllable consists of a consonant and a vowel.
- *Closed syllables* A closed syllable consists of a consonant-vowel-consonant.

<i>Open syllable</i>	<i>Closed syllable</i>
go	got
<i>CV</i>	<i>CVC</i>
spa	spank
<i>CCV</i>	<i>CCVCC</i>
mi-ni	mind-ful
<i>CV-CV</i>	<i>CVCC-CVC</i>

2. Hebrew syllables

Every language has its own rules according to which vowels and consonants are combined into syllables. In English, for example, a cluster of two consonants commonly occurs at the beginning or end of a syllable, as in **blank** or **art**. The following rules apply to syllables in Hebrew:

- (a) A syllable always begins with a consonant. (Cf. §31.1/1 for an exception.)
- (b) A syllable may be open or closed.
- (c) There are usually no consonant clusters within a syllable, i.e. a syllable begins with only one consonant and a closed syllable ends with only one consonant.

3. Examples of syllables:

- (1) One open syllable

- | | |
|--|-------------------|
| (2) One closed syllable | בֵּת |
| (3) Two open syllables | סוֹ-סָה < סוֹסָה |
| (4) Two syllables, one open and one closed | בֵּת-בֶּ < בֵּתֶב |

§7.2. Accentuation

1. Rules

The following rules may serve as broad guidelines for accentuation in BH:

- In a *word* the accent usually falls on the *final* (ultimate) syllable.
- In words with the vowel pattern / - ִ - ִ /, / - ִ - ִ /, / - ִ - ִ / or / - ִ - ִ / the accent falls on the second-last (penultimate) syllable.
- In a *clause* the accent usually falls on the stressed syllable of the last word.

The stressed syllable is referred to as the tone syllable and the two preceding it as the pretonic and the propretonic syllables respectively.

2. Examples

The Masoretes designed a system for noting the accentuation of all the words in BH. This complex system is dealt with in §9.5. Where it becomes essential to indicate the accentuation of a particular word, this grammar will use the sign [˘] to mark the accented syllable, e.g.:

- שֵׁ-מוֹ
- לֵ-לֵךְ
- רָ-לֵ-שֵׁת
- אֵ-מֶר
- הוּ-צִי-אֵם

3. Additional or secondary accentuation

In BH certain words have a secondary accent. Words consisting of three syllables, with the primary accent on the final syllable, often receive a secondary accent on the third or last syllable. The Masoretic sign that indicates secondary accent is a vertical line to the left of the first vowel. This sign is called the meteg (cf. §9.1) and de-

notes that the word concerned receives a secondary or additional accent, e.g.:

כְּתוּבָה = כְּ-תוּ-בָה

§7.3. The Distribution of Vowels in Syllables

There is a clear correlation between the classification of the Masoretic vowel signs and their use in syllables:

- (a) Half vowels always occur in open, unaccented syllables, e.g.

שְׁמוֹ his name

- (b) Short vowels usually occur in closed, unaccented syllables, e.g.

מִדְבָּר desert

- (c) Short vowels can also occur in open, accented syllables, e.g.

קַיִן Cain

- (d) Long vowels usually occur in open syllables regardless of whether the syllable is accented or not, e.g.

בָּנָה he built

- (e) Long vowels can also occur in closed, accented syllables, e.g.

מִדְבָּר desert

§8. Masoretic Signs with a Double Function

§8.1. The Š^ewâ

1. The audible š^ewâ

The š^ewâ has already been encountered as the sign of the half vowel (§5.2/2(iii)) as in

לְבוּשׁ garment

This š^ewâ is called the audible š^ewâ or *š^ewâ mobile*. It acts as the ‘vowel’ of an open syllable.

CV = ʃ

The distribution of the audible š^ewâ can be determined as follows:

- (a) The š^ewâ is audible in the first syllable of a word, as in

בְּרִית = בְּ-רִית

(b) The š^cwâ is audible after a syllable with a long vowel, as in:

סוֹכְכִים = סוּ-כְ-כִים

(c) The š^cwâ is audible after an accented syllable, as in:

כְּתוּבָה = כְּ-תוּ-בָה

Note the following:

(1) Should two audible š^cwâs be found in two consecutive open syllables, they fuse into one (half-) closed syllable with the vowel / - /, e.g.

כְּשִׁמוּאֵל * becomes כְּשִׁמוּאֵל

(2) If the second open syllable begins with the consonant ך, the ך loses its consonantal value and becomes a vowel indicator, e.g.

בִּיהוּדָה * becomes בִּיהוּדָה

(3) If a guttural with a ḥāṭēp vowel is preceded by an open syllable with an audible š^cwâ as vowel, this open syllable takes the full vowel corresponding to the ḥāṭēp vowel, e.g.

בְּחֻלּוֹם * becomes בְּחֻלּוֹם

2. The silent š^cwâ

The š^cwâ is also used for another purpose, namely to **note the end of** a closed syllable in a word, such as

מִשְׁפָּט = מִשְׁ-פָּט
מִדְּבָר = מִדְּ-בָר

This š^cwâ is called the silent š^cwâ or *š^cwâ quiescens*. It is an orthographical aid used to indicate a closed syllable and the absence of a vowel in that position.

CVC = XX

The distribution of the silent š^cwâ can be determined as follows:

(a) The š^cwâ is usually silent after a short vowel, e.g.

מִדְּבָר = מִדְּ-בָר
כְּתוּבָה = כְּ-תוּ-בָה

When a word ends on a closed syllable, the final consonant is usually not accompanied by a Masoretic sign, e.g. **כֹּף**. In the following cases, however, a deviation from the norm occurs:

- (b) A silent $\text{š}^{\text{c}}\text{wâ}$ is usually placed in a final kaph in order to distinguish the latter from a final nun, e.g. **כֹּף**.
- (c) A silent $\text{š}^{\text{c}}\text{wâ}$ is also placed under a double final taw e.g. **תָּת**. (The doubling of the final taw is simply orthographic. It is not articulated. Words ending with a double consonant are usually written with a single consonant, e.g. **אֵם** ‘am< ‘amm).
- (d) What appears to be a consonant cluster may sometimes be found at the end of a word. The cluster originated from the combination of a closed and an open syllable, with the vowel of the latter syllable having lost its sound. In this case a silent $\text{š}^{\text{c}}\text{wâ}$ occurs underneath each of the consonants, e.g. **כֹּכָבִים**.
- (e) Furthermore, a sound rule may lead to a silent $\text{š}^{\text{c}}\text{wâ}$ appearing after a guttural. In such cases a hâtêp vowel may appear in the place of the silent $\text{š}^{\text{c}}\text{wâ}$, e.g. **פִּתְּחָלִים**. (Cf. §5.2/2(iii).)

3. The medial $\text{š}^{\text{c}}\text{wâ}$

The medial $\text{š}^{\text{c}}\text{wâ}$ is used in syllables in which the vowel is no longer pronounced but in which its effect remains so that the subsequent begadkefat letters do not have a plosive dagesh, e.g.

מַלְכֵי /malkê/ instead of /mal^ckê/

Historically the word **מַלְכֵי** derives from **מֶלֶךְ** in which the kaph is preceded by a vowel. In the historical development of this word the vowel became silent and the kaph was pronounced directly after the lamedh. To indicate the original presence of a vowel before the kaph, the Masoretes did not place a plosive dagesh in the begadkefat letter.

The $\text{š}^{\text{c}}\text{wâ}$ sign that replaces the original vowel is known as the medial $\text{š}^{\text{c}}\text{wâ}$ or the $\text{š}^{\text{c}}\text{wâ}$ *medium*. For pronunciation purposes the medial $\text{š}^{\text{c}}\text{wâ}$ is a silent $\text{š}^{\text{c}}\text{wâ}$ and the begadkefat letter following it a fricative.

§8.2. The Dagesh

1. The plosive dagesh or dagesh lene

The dagesh has already been encountered as the diacritical point that occurs only in the begadkefat letters and which distinguishes the

plosives from the fricatives. (Cf. §4.2/2.) This form of the dagesh is called the plosive dagesh or *dagesh lene* (weak dagesh).

The distribution of the plosive dagesh may be determined as follows:

(a) It usually occurs at the beginning of a word, as in:

בְּרִית = בִּרְיִת

(b) It occurs after a closed syllable, as in:

מִן־קָר = מִן־קָר
קָתַבְתָּ = קָתַבְתָּ

2. The doubling dagesh or *dagesh forte*

The dagesh is also used for another purpose, namely to **indicate the doubling** of a consonant:

הַסּוּס	instead of	הַס-סוּס	Two closed syllables
עַמּוּד	instead of	עַמ-מוּד	Two closed syllables
צַדִּיק	instead of	צַד-דִּיק	Two closed syllables

This form of the dagesh is called the doubling dagesh or the *dagesh forte* (strong dagesh). The consonant which is doubled is written once only and then punctuated with the doubling dagesh. The doubled consonant thus simultaneously ends one syllable and begins the next one.

The distribution of the strong dagesh may be determined as follows:

- The dagesh found in consonants that follow a vowel is a doubling dagesh. This vowel is usually short.

צַדִּיק = צַד־דִּיק
עַמּוּד = עַמ־מוּד

The gutturals and ך normally do not double. (Cf. §4.2/4(i).) Under certain conditions which would normally require doubling, the gutturals and ך are therefore not doubled and thus either no changes are made (e.g. נִחַת) or the preceding vowel is changed, for example, בִּרְךָ instead of בִּרְךְ*. The latter process is called virtual doubling. Since in most cases a so-called short vowel is replaced with a long vowel, the process is also referred to as ‘compensatory lengthening’.

3. The conjunctive dagesh

When a word ends on an unaccented /ā, â/ or /ê/ and the first syllable of the next word is accented, the first consonant of the second word is written with a conjunctive dagesh as in:

שְׁבִיתָ שְׁבִי
שִׁמְהָ לָנוּ

This dagesh is called the conjunctive dagesh or the *dagesh conjunctivum*. It is generally understood that this dagesh does not indicate the doubling of the consonant, but it has not been possible to ascertain its precise function as yet.

4. The disjunctive dagesh

This dagesh does not indicate the doubling of the consonant, to distinguish the audible š^ewâ from the silent š^ewâ as in:

עֲקָבִי / 'ik^ebê/ instead of / 'ikbê/

The distribution of the disjunctive dagesh can be determined as follows: short vowels usually occur in closed, unaccented syllables. (Cf. §7.3.) In some cases a short vowel may appear in an open syllable as in the word עֲקָבִי. In such cases, when the short vowel is followed by an audible š^ewâ, confusion could arise concerning the pronunciation of that particular word. A disjunctive dagesh is placed in the consonant between the short vowel and the š^ewâ sign.

5. The qenemlui letters

It sometimes happens that the doubling of the consonant is dropped, as in the ך of

וַיְהִי /way^ehî/< וַיְהִי /wayy^ehî/

This is due to the fact that the doubling of certain consonants is dropped when they are followed by an audible š^ewâ. This occurs with ך, ך, ל, ם, ן and ף, the so-called qenemlui letters, and the sibilants. (Cf. §4.2/5(i).)

§8.3. The Qāmeṣ

1. Different phonetic values (different pronunciations)

The qāmeṣ sign indicates two possible sound values.

a as in the English word **f**ather

o as in the English word **h**ot

The latter is called the qāmeṣ ḥāṭûp.

2. *Distribution*

The distribution of the qāmeṣ and the qāmeṣ ḥāṭûp can be determined as follows:

- (a) The ׀ occurring in open or closed accented syllables is the qāmeṣ.
- (b) The ׀ occurring in closed, unaccented syllable is the qāmeṣ ḥāṭûp.
- (c) Wherever uncertainty may arise concerning the correct interpretation of the ׀, the meteg (cf. §9.1) is used whenever the syllable concerned has a secondary accent and is vocalized with a qāmeṣ.
- (d) A ׀ followed by a ׀ is read as a qāmeṣ ḥāṭûp, in spite of the fact that it occurs in an open syllable, e.g. פֹּעֵלִי /po‘ôli/.

3. *Examples of distribution*

- (1) The first syllable is open and unaccented; the vowel is a qāmeṣ, e.g.

בְּחַבֵּב בְּחַבֵּב־

- (2) The last syllable is closed but accented; the vowel is a qāmeṣ, e.g.

מְדַבֵּר מְדַבֵּר־

- (3) The syllable is closed but accented; the vowel is a qāmeṣ, e.g.

בֹּבֵב בֹּבֵב־

- (4) The first syllable is open and accented; the vowel is a qāmeṣ, e.g.

בְּחַבֵּבָה בְּחַבֵּבָה־

- (5) The first syllable is closed and unaccented; the vowel is a qāmeṣ ḥāṭûp, e.g.

בְּחַבֵּבָה בְּחַבֵּבָה־

- (6) The penultimate syllable is open and accented; the vowel is a qāmeṣ. The last syllable is closed and unaccented; the vowel is a qāmeṣ ḥāṭûp, e.g.

בְּחַבֵּבָה בְּחַבֵּבָה־

§8.4. The ׀ Sign

The ׀ sign can function either as a šûreq or as a double waw. If it appears after a consonant, it is a šûreq (e.g. ׀׀׀׀); if it appears after a short vowel, it is a double waw (׀׀׀). (Cf. §5.2/2(i).)

§9. Additional Masoretic Signs

§9.1 The Meteg

The meteg () is a small vertical line that is written underneath the consonant and to the left of the vowel (in BHS sometimes to the right of the vowel) with the purpose of indicating a secondary or additional accent in a word. (Cf. §7.2/3.)

The meteg should not be confused with the sillûq, which only appears under the last word of the verse. (Cf. §9.5/2(i).)

One of the orthographic functions of the meteg is to distinguish between the qāmeš and qāmeš ḥāṭûp. (Cf. §8.3.) The qāmeš ḥāṭûp is a short vowel in a closed, unaccented syllable. (Cf. §7.3(iii).) The qāmeš, on the other hand, usually appears as a long vowel in an accented syllable. The meteg is used with the qāmeš in any position where doubt may arise in order to ensure that it will not be interpreted as a qāmeš ḥāṭûp.

אָכַלָּה can be interpreted as /`āk^elâ / (she ate) or as /`oklâ / (food). In order to eliminate confusion the meteg is used in the first instance, namely, אָכַלָּהּ to indicate that אֶ is stressed and cannot be interpreted as a qāmeš ḥāṭûp. In the latter case אֶ occurs in a closed, unaccented syllable. The meteg is absent and it must therefore be interpreted as a qāmeš ḥāṭûp.

In this grammar the meteg is used only when a distinction has to be made between qāmeš and qāmeš ḥāṭûp.

In BHS the meteg is not used consistently.

- (a) The qāmeš and šērē are regularly replaced by half vowels in open pretonic or proretonic syllables. Because the occurrence of the qāmeš and šērē in these positions would be anomalous, they are usually marked with a meteg, e.g.

אָכַלָּהּ
בָּרַכְתָּהּ

- (b) Although the principle is not applied consistently, any pretonic or proretonic vowel may be marked with the meteg, e.g.

הוֹשִׁיעֵנִי

- (c) Short vowels usually occur in closed syllables before the primary accent. Should this not be the case, the vowel is marked with a meteg, e.g.

תֵּעֲבֹד

- (d) A short vowel with a meteg in what appears to be a closed syllable is an indication that the normal doubling of the following consonant has been dropped:

הַמְרַגְלִים instead of הַמְרַגְלִים

§9.2. *The Mappîq*

In §5.2/2(i) it was stated that the ם could act as a vowel indicator. To ensure that a consonant ם at the end of a word is not accidentally interpreted as a ם used as a vowel indicator, the Masoretes placed a point inside the ם to distinguish it from the ם vowel indicator.

ם consonant:	סוּסָה	her horse
	גָּבֵהּ	He is high.

This diacritical point is called the mappîq. It must not be confused with the dagesh.

§9.3. *The Maqqēf*

The maqqēf is a hyphen that joins a short word to the word that follows it. The maqqēf is written as follow:

לֹא־תִרְשָׁה She did not seek.

The two words joined in this way form a single tone unit. The accent then falls on the last part of the unit—usually on the last syllable of that part.

§9.4. *The Sôf Pāsûq*

The sôf pāsûq, which looks like a boldly printed colon [:], is the sign that indicates the end of a verse. It may be compared to a full stop.

§9.5. *The Accent Signs*

1. *Introduction*

In addition to their vowel system, the Masoretes also developed a system of accents.

(i) *Functions*

The accent system indicates:

- the stressed syllable of a word,
- the place where long or short pauses occur in a clause and
- which words belong together.

(ii) *Accents for prose and for poetry*

There are *two* accent systems:

- one for the prose sections and
- one for the poetic books, namely Psalms, Job and Proverbs.

The most important accent signs are, however, more or less the same for both.

(iii) *Conjunctive and disjunctive accents*

Two groups of accent signs may be distinguished, namely *conjunctive* (joining) and *disjunctive* (separating) accents. They are used as follows:

- The accent sign indicates the position of the stressed syllable in a word. In BH the final syllable (and in certain cases also the penultimate) is usually accented. The accent sign is normally placed above or below the first consonant of the accented syllable. In some cases accent signs are placed at the beginning or end of the word — the so-called prepositional and postpositional accents.
- The conjunctive and disjunctive accents often follow each other in a fixed order. The resultant sequence of accents was used to group together the words of the BH text. This grouping of words facilitated the recitation of the Hebrew Bible in the synagogues and was thus similar to punctuation in modern-day publications.

2. *The most important conjunctive and disjunctive accents*

A list of the most important conjunctive and disjunctive accents is given below.

d. Less strong *conjunctive* accents

Name	Form	Remarks
t [◌] lišā' q [◌] ṭannā	כַּסֵּב	Postpositional
'azlā'	סִסֵּב	

(ii) *Poetry system*Main *disjunctive* accents

Name	Form	Remarks
'ōleh w [◌] yōrēd	סִסֵּב	Placed on the accented syllable and on the preceding syllable of the word preceding the pause.

3. *Examples of the most common combinations of accent signs*

(1) 'atnāḥ and sillūq

וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהִים יְהִי אֹר
וַיְהִי אֹר

And God said: Let there be light!
And there was light (Gen. 1.3).

(2) mēr[◌]kā', ṭifhā', mūnaḥ, 'atnāḥ

וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהִים יְהִי אֹר
(Gen. 1.3).

And God said: Let there be light!
(Gen. 1.3).

(3) m[◌]huppāk, paštā', zāqēf qāṭōn

וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה אֶל־קַיִן ...
4.9).

And the Lord **said to Cain** ... (Gen.
4.9).

(4) mūnaḥ, zarqā', mūnaḥ, s[◌]gōltā'

וַיְרַח יְהוָה אֶת־רִיחַ הַנְּחִיחַ
And the Lord smelled a soothing
aroma (Gen. 8.21).

(5) mūnaḥ, rebī[◌]

וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהִים ...
And God **said** (Gen. 1.24) ...

(6) t[◌]lišā' q[◌]ṭannā, 'azlā', gereš

וַיִּצְרֵף יְהוָה אֱלֹהִים ...
2.19).

And the Lord God formed ... (Gen.
2.19).

§9.6. *The Pausal Forms*

A word that occurs at the end of a verse or section of a verse is pronounced with particular emphasis on the accented syllable. Consequently short vowels in this syllable may lengthen and long vowels

that have been reduced may return to their original form. (Cf. §7.3.) These forms are known as pausal forms and occur particularly with the *zāqēf qātôn*, *ʿatnāḥ* and *sillûq*.

In the following example, the *pataḥ* in מַיִם has changed to a *qāmeṣ* (מֵיִם), at the end of each verse section due to the influence of the accents *ʿatnāḥ* and *sillûq*.

וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהִים יְהִי רָקִיעַ בְּתוֹךְ
 הַמַּיִם וְיִהְיֶה מַבְדִּיל בֵּין מַיִם
 לַמַּיִם

And then God said: Let there be a firmament in the midst of the waters and let it divide the waters from the waters (Gen. 1.6).

§9.7. *Kethib and Qere Readings*

The Masoretes sometimes believed that a word should be pronounced differently to its textual rendering. As they did not wish to alter the text itself, they recorded variant readings in the margin.

Variant readings of certain written textual forms thus appear in the margins of the BHS. The variant form in the margin is called the *qere* reading (from *קָרָא*—to be read) and the corresponding written form in the text is referred to as the *kethib* reading (from *כָּתוּב* written). The *qere* reading was normally preferred to the *kethib* reading. The vocalization of the *qere* reading in the margin was placed below the *kethib* form in the text. A small circle above the relevant word in the text refers to the *qere* reading in the margin.

For example:

- (1) In Ps. 54.7 the form יְשׁוּב is found. According to the Masoretes one should rather read יְשִׁיב at this point, because they vocalize יְשׁוּב in the text as יְשׁוּב. The consonants יְשִׁיב are written in the margin and the assumption is that they should be read with the vowels under יְשׁוּב in the text as יְשִׁיב.
- (2) Some words are so frequently pronounced differently to the written text that they are not explained in the margin. The most important of these is the name of God. In BH God's name is written as יהוה and is probably pronounced 'Yahweh'. The word אֲדֹנָי 'my lord' was always read in the place of the name יהוה. The Masoretes retained the consonants of the name יהוה—out of respect for the text, but always appended to them the vowels of the word אֲדֹנָי as an indication of how the word should be read. This produced the form יהוה, which the Jews always pronounced as /^adōnāy/ and never as /y^hōwâ./

§9.8. Other Masoretic Markers

1. Paragraph markers

Paragraphs were originally indicated by spaces in the text. Two types of paragraphs may be found:

The ‘open’ paragraph or *petûḥâ* that begins on a new line and the ‘closed’ paragraph or *setûmâ* that begins later on on the same line which the previous paragraph ended.

<i>Petûḥâ</i>	<i>Setûmâ</i>	
פ	פ	פ

In BHS (and other printed editions) the letter פ has been inserted in the space to mark a *petûḥâ* and the letter פ to mark a *setûmâ*.

2. Liturgical chapter markers

The Pentateuch was divided in two different ways for liturgical readings:

(i) *Sēder* (פ in the margin)

According to *Palestinian tradition* the Pentateuch is recited in a cycle of three years. For this purpose it was divided into 154 or 167 segments. Each segment is called a *sēder* and is marked by a פ in the margin. Different manuscripts, however, vary in the number of *sedārîm*. There are a total of 452 *sedārîm*.

(ii) *Pārāšāḥ* (פָּרָשָׁה in the margin)

According to *Babylonian tradition* the Pentateuch is recited in an annual cycle and is thus divided into 54 *parts*. Each part is called a *pārāšāḥ* and indicated by the letters פָּרָשָׁה in the margin.

In BHS the symbols for *sēder* and *pārāšāḥ* always appear in the inner margin (i.e. in the middle of the bound book).

3. Critical signs in the text

The Masoretes made use of certain critical signs in the text

- to focus attention on the text itself,
- to indicate instances of uncertainty in the correctness of the text,
- to indicate where the text had been improved.

These critical signs could take the following forms:

(i) *Large letters (litterae majusculae)*

Some letters were deliberately enlarged when a passage deserved special attention.

<p>שמע ישראל יהוה אחד</p>	<p>Hear, O Israel: The Lord our God is one Lord (Deut. 6.4).</p>
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(ii) *Small letters (litterae minusculae)*

Some letters were deliberately decreased in size when the form of the word was not standard. This technique was not adopted by BHS.

(iii) *Dangling letters (litterae suspensae)*

Some letters were deliberately written above the line either when there was uncertainty about that particular section or when that section had been improved.

<p>יהונתן בן גרשם בן מנשה</p>	<p>and Jonathan, the son of Gershom, the son of Moses or the son of Menassah (Judg. 18.30).</p>
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(iv) *The inverted nun (nun inversum)*

An inverted nun was added to a section that did not fit into the context and had to be placed in brackets, as it were.

<p>בנסעם מן המחנה: ם 35 ויהי בנסע הארון ויאמר משה ... 36 רבבות אלפי ישראל: ם</p>	<p>Whenever they set forth from the camp 35. And whenever the ark set out, Moses said ... 36. ... the ten thousand thousands of Israel ... (Num. 10.34-36).</p>
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(v) *Extraordinary points (puncta extraordinaria)*

Points were placed above doubtful letters.

<p>ויאמרו אליו ...</p>	<p>And they said to him ... (Gen. 18.9).</p>
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4. *Critical comments that supplement the text*

(i) *Masoretic endnotes or Masora finalis*

Lists were added at the end of every book in the Hebrew Bible (with the exception of 1 Samuel, 1 Kings, Ezra, and 1 Chronicles which originally were paired with 2 Samuel, 2 Kings, Nehemiah and 2 Chronicles respectively). These lists contained information about the number of verses in a book, but could also contain information such as the following:

- The note at the end of Deuteronomy mentions, for example, that the book has 955 verses;

- that the middle-point of the book is על-פי in 17.10;
- and that there are 31 sedārîm in the book.
- It also states that the Pentateuch consists of 5,845 verses, 158 sedārîm, 79,856 words and 400,945 letters.

These Masoretic comments were a form of quality control against which a new manuscript could be checked.

(ii) *Masoretic marginal notes* or *Masora marginalis*

a. *Masora parva* (*Mp*)

These marginal notes are also called the *Masora parva* (*Mp*) (or little Masora). Apart from the qere reading (cf. §9.7), the notes contain commentary on the text, non-textual traditions, rare words and the centre of whole books or larger sections. They also contain other statistical information such as the following:

- Words that appear only once in the Hebrew Bible are marked by the letter ל, which is the abbreviation for the Aramaic לֹא לִית / לִית לֹא ('There is no other').
- Words/phrases used twice are marked by כ (the Hebrew notation for the numeral two) and those used three times by ג, etc.

The commentary of the *Masora parva* (*Mp*) is placed in the outer margin of BHS (i.e. on the right-hand side of even-numbered pages and on the left-hand side of odd-numbered pages). It is written mostly in Aramaic.

Small circles written above words in the text identify those portions of the text on which commentary is provided in the *Mp* on the adjacent line. Should more than one word in the same line be marked by such a circle, points are used to distinguish the marginal notes to the various words. The small numbers in the *Mp* refer to the *Masora magna*.

b. *Masora magna*

The *Masora magna* is not found in the same volume as the BHS text, but is found in a separate volume, the *Massorah gedolah*. The *Masora magna* of a particular text may be accessed by means of the *Masora parva*. A circle above a word refers to the *Masora parva*. A small number in the *Masora parva* refers to the note at the bottom of the page (just above the critical apparatus). This note refers to a particular entry in the *Massorah gedolah*.

Chapter 3

WORD, CLAUSE AND TEXT IN BIBLICAL HEBREW: A SURVEY

§10. The Levels of Language Structure

In order to study Biblical Hebrew grammar it is necessary to know the metalanguage (linguistic categories) that provides the means of discussing its language structure. Additionally, some insight is necessary into the various relationships between the elements of language structure. This chapter provides a basic grammatical orientation to these matters. Please note that using English examples does not imply that the structure of English and BH is the same.

Language structure can be described at different levels, namely the phonetic and phonological, morphological, syntactic, semantic and pragmatic, and textual levels.

1. *The phonetic and phonological level*

Speech sounds, used in languages to convey *meaning*, are described on the *phonetic level*. In order to convey meaning, each language must have a system whereby speech sounds are combined. This system of sound-combination is studied at the *phonological level*. §4-9 addressed certain features of the sound aspect of Biblical Hebrew language structure in addition to its form of writing or orthography. Speech sounds were described, classified and transcribed on the phonetic level, while on the phonological level reference was made to certain phonological processes such as assimilation (§4.2/4(ii)) and *metathesis* (§4.2/5(i)).

2. *The morphological level*

A morpheme is the smallest linguistic unit that bears grammatical meaning. Morphemes may be affixes, clitics or words. The structure or form of words is described on the morphological level. Words belong to different classes, called word categories/classes or parts of speech. §11 provides a basic morphological orientation with regard

to the different categories of words. Some of these word categories may be inflected. Words are inflected through the addition of affixes (that is, prefixes, infixes and/or suffixes). For example, in BH there are suffixes that indicate that certain nouns are masculine while others are feminine. Furthermore, the possessive pronoun is not independent of the noun to which it relates but is added to the noun in the form of a suffix.

3. *The syntactic level*

The syntactic level describes how words are combined to form phrases, clauses and sentences. In view of the general grammatical orientation, §12 presents a review of the clause and its structure.

4. *The semantic and pragmatic level*

The semantic contribution of a word or construction refers to the minimum contribution that it makes towards an understanding of the context. The following construction indicates *possession*:

The palace *of* the king.

Pragmatics refers to the conventions according to which speakers belonging to a particular culture *do* various things in particular ways with language. Thus speakers can perform an action with the words that they utter, e.g.

Look, I *appoint* you to rule over the whole of Egypt.

The role of non-linguistic information such as background information and personal prejudices in the interpretation of sentences is in this way included in the grammatical description of language.

In this grammar a semantic and/or pragmatic level is distinguished only when possible and when relevant for the purposes of this work.

5. *The textual level*

In a written document sentences are usually organized to form larger units or texts. The communicative purpose of a text determines its form and content. A narrative, for example, looks very different from a piece of legislation. For this reason a distinction is made between different *types of texts* (or *discourse types*). The way in which sentences are organized to form coherent texts is also determined by the conventions of a particular society in this respect.

§11. The Word Categories/Classes in Biblical Hebrew

Words are divided into the following categories in this grammar:

- Verbs (V)
- Nouns (N)
- Adjectives (A)
- Prepositions (P)
- Conjunctions
- Adverbs (Adv)
- Predicators of **existence (existential words)**
- Interrogatives
- Discourse markers
- Interjections

§11.1. *Verbs*

Verbs express the action, condition or existence of a person or thing. Verbs may be divided into two syntactic groups, namely transitive (i.e. verbs that take a direct object, e.g. kill) and intransitive (i.e. verbs that do not take a direct object, e.g. sleep). Verbs have the following characteristics:

1. *Modality*

Modality refers to (the orientation of a speaker concerning) the actuality of a process. The following types of modality are important here:

- **Indicative**

The indicative refers to a fact in the form of a statement or question. This is regarded as the unmarked form, e.g.

David plays the harp.

- **Subjunctive**

The subjunctive refers to a wish, expectation, **possibility or uncertainty** about the actuality of a matter, e.g.

David *should* play the harp.

David *can* play the harp now.

Languages sometimes either make use of auxiliary verbs (e.g. should, can) or of specific conjugations to express the subjunctive. BH does not have either auxiliary verbs or specific conjugations to express the subjunctive, but uses the same conjugation forms as the indicative. (Cf. 19.3.)

- Directive

The directive refers to a command, instruction, order, commission, prompting or request, e.g.

Play the harp.

2. Time

Time indicates the temporal **aspect** of an action, for **example**, present, future or past, e.g.

David *plays* the harp.

David *will play* the harp.

David *played* the harp.

3. Aspect

Aspect indicates whether the action is complete or incomplete. The terms perfect or imperfect (respectively) are sometimes used to denote the aspect of a verb, e.g.

God *made* the earth.

God (continually) *sustains* creation.

4. Voice

Voice indicates the way in which the action of the verb is related to the subject. In the *active* voice the subject performs the action, e.g.

David *plays* the harp.

In the *passive* voice the action is orientated towards the subject, e.g.

The harp *is played* by David.

5. Conjugations

Among the most important conjugations in BH are the following:

- *Perfect form* כָּתַב he wrote
- *Imperfect form* יִכְתֹּב he will write
- *Imperative form* כָּתֹב write!

- *Infinitive construct* כָּתֹב to write
- *Infinitive absolute* כְּתוּב
- *Participle* כְּתוּבָה (she is) writing

6. Congruency features (or agreement markers)

Congruency features indicate gender (masculine or feminine), number (singular and plural), person (1st, 2nd and 3rd). All the verbal conjugations in BH except the infinitive (which has no congruency features) and participles (with no indication of person) display all these congruency features. Nouns and adjectives do not display person, but determination (definite and indefinite).

7. Finite/Non-Finite

A finite verb can be marked for person and may stand on its own in an independent sentence. It indicates formal contrasts in time and mood. Non-finite verbs, contrary to finite verbs, occur only in dependent clauses and lack contrasts in person, time and mood. All BH verb conjugations except the infinitive and participles are finite.

§11.2. Nouns

Nouns (*nomen–nomina*) may be divided into the following main classes:

1. Substantive nouns

Substantive nouns indicate the names of people, places, things, ideas, conditions, qualities or feelings. The following subcategories are distinguished in BH:

- *Proper nouns* denote the names of a specific person, place or thing, e.g. David, Jerusalem, Passover, etc.
- *Common nouns* are the words used to designate any object, e.g. table, tree, altar, etc.
- *Collective nouns* denote classes or groups made up of many individual members, e.g. herd, cattle, forest, etc.
- *Abstract nouns* are words that refer to qualities, traits or ideas, e.g. love, illness, work, etc.

In BH nouns are qualified in terms of gender (masculine and feminine) and number (singular, plural or dual). A substantive noun may

be definite or indefinite. Proper names, pronouns and nouns with the article are regarded as definite nouns.

2. Pronouns

A pronoun (*pronomen-pronomina*) is used as a substitute for a noun or noun phrase. A pronoun is not a specific name for an object. Its identification with a particular noun is determined by its position in a sentence or paragraph. Its signification may, however, remain undefined. Pronouns may be classified as follows:

- *Personal* pronouns (subject): I, you, etc.
- *Personal* pronouns (object): me, you, etc.
- *Possessive* pronoun: my, your, his, her [horse], etc.
- *Demonstrative* pronouns: this, that, etc.
- *Interrogative* pronouns: who, what, etc.
- *Relative* pronouns: whose, which, etc.
- *Indefinite* pronouns: everyone, all, etc.
- *Reflexive* pronouns: myself, yourself, etc.⁴
- *Reciprocal* pronouns: each other, one another, etc.

A personal pronoun usually refers to a person or thing that has already been mentioned. Such a person or thing is called the *antecedent* of the pronoun. BH has a set of independent personal pronouns used as the subject of a clause. Personal pronouns as objects and possessive pronouns do not occur as separate words but are to be found in the form of pronominal suffixes affixed to verbs, nouns and other types of words. Reflexive and reciprocal pronouns are *anaphora*, which implies that they must have a fixed antecedent in the same clause (as opposed to the case of personal pronouns), e.g.

David saves himself from the hand of Saul, but not

*David saves *herself* from the hand of Saul.⁵

3. Numerals

There are two kinds of numerals:

4. BH does not have direct equivalents for the English reciprocal (one another) and reflexive (myself) pronouns. BH uses *other* means to express them, e.g. the Niphal and Hithpael stem formations. (Cf. §16.3/2(ii) and 16.6/2(i).)

5. The asterisk indicates that this is an ungrammatical sentence. 'Herself' requires a female antecedent in the above-mentioned sentence.

- *Cardinal* numbers indicate a specific amount or quantity, e.g.
three women
- *Ordinal* numbers indicate sequence or order, e.g.
in the tenth year on the seventieth day

§11.3. *Adjectives*

An adjective is a word that qualifies a substantive noun, pronoun or substantive (a substantive is any word or group of words that is used grammatically as a substantive noun). In BH the adjective usually agrees with the word it qualifies according to most of its congruency features.

The qualification can be attributive, e.g.

The *good* king

or predicative, e.g.

The king is *good*.

In BH the adjective has no degrees of comparison. The semantic effect normally obtained by means of degrees of comparison is expressed through other constructions.

Although adjectives may be classified as an independent word class, in this grammar they are dealt with as a subcategory of nouns due to their morphological similarities with nouns.

§11.4. *Prepositions*

A preposition is used to join a succeeding noun or a pronoun to another word or group of words. It does it in such a way that the preposition and the subsequent noun or pronoun become directly associated with the remaining words of the clause, e.g.

He places the firewood *on* Isaac's shoulders.

They wandered *around* the city.

Prepositions express position in time or space or any similar abstract relationship.

§11.5. *Conjunctions*

A conjunction joins words, phrases, clauses or sentences in such a way that they form a unit. There are two types of conjunctions.

1. *Co-ordinating conjunctions*

A co-ordinating conjunction joins grammatically equivalent items such as nouns or independent clauses, e.g.

John walks *and* Mary rides.

2. *Subordinating conjunction*

A subordinating conjunction joins a subordinate clause (i.e. a clause that cannot stand independently) to the main clause.

You are cursed, *because of* what you did.

§11.6. *Adverbs*

An adverb (*adverbium*) is used to qualify an adjective, a verb or another adverb with respect to time, manner, place, e.g.

You are *still* speaking to the king.

You speak *little*.

You speak *outside*.

These adverbs are called *ordinary adverbs in this grammar*. Adverbs can also qualify clauses, e.g.

Truly, Sarah will bear a son.

Such adverbs will be called *modal words* here. Some adverbs place the focus on the item or clause that follows them. The referent for these adverbs is a qualification or limitation of another referent, e.g.

Let me speak *just* this once.

This class is called *focus particles*. Words expressing the *negative* are also regarded as adverbs in this grammar.

§11.7. *Predicators of Existence*

BH has predicators of existence that express the existence or non-existence of (mostly) an impersonal object; they can be translated as *there is/there is not*, e.g.

There is wheat in Egypt.

There are no people to cultivate the land.

§11.8. *Interrogatives*

Apart from the interrogative pronouns that mark factual questions, BH has an interrogative that marks clauses requiring a yes-no answer. This interrogative has no lexical equivalent in English.

§11.9. *Discourse Markers*

BH speakers use discourse markers to comment on the content of a sentence (or sentences) from the perspective of a meta-level. In this way the sentence or sentences are anchored in the discourse. These discourse markers always precede the sentence(s) to which they refer. It often draws attention to the contents of the succeeding sentence(s), affording that sentence(s) greater prominence within its larger context, e.g.

Look, I am going to do something.

§11.10. *Interjections*

An interjection is an expression inserted between the other words of a sentence but which has no grammatical link to them. Often it indicates some sudden emotional reaction, e.g. *Ah, Oh, Alas*.

§12. The Clause in Biblical Hebrew

§12.1. *The Clause: A Definition*

A clause is a meaningful series of words that has at least a subject and a predicate. Since a clause is built up from words and a formal relationship/coherence hold between these words, a clause is a unit that can be analysed structurally.

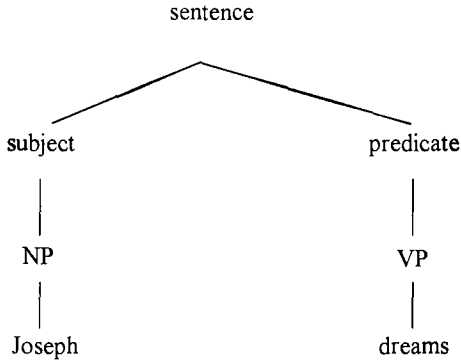
§12.2. *The Syntactical Units of the Clause*

Words may be grouped together into larger units known as phrases. The following kinds of phrases are important here:

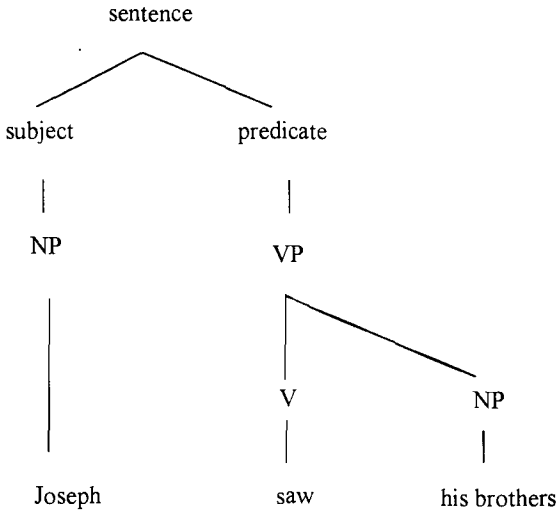
- *Noun phrase* (NP) the boys
- *Verb phrase* (VP) ate the bread
- *Adverbial phrase* (AP) when they walked
- *Prepositional phrase* (PP) to the fields

§12.3. *The Relationships between the Syntactical Units of the Clause*

All clauses are built up of phrases that have a particular relationship with one another. The simplest clause or sentence (S)⁶ can be divided into a noun phrase (NP) and a verb phrase (VP).

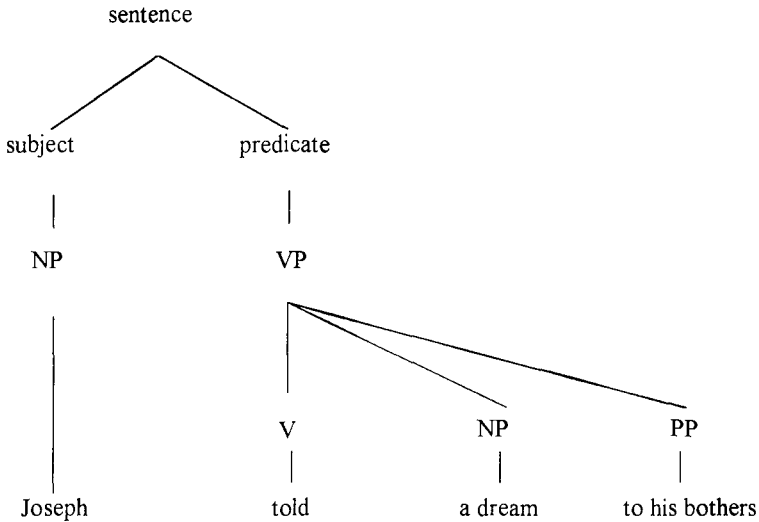


This diagram represents the most basic relationship. It corresponds to the traditional division of the clause and/or sentence into subject and predicate. The predicate may be used with a direct object, for example,



or an indirect object, for example,

6. The convention to refer to the highest node in a tree diagram as 'sentence' is retained here.



The type and number of phrases selected by a verb (V) are determined by the nature of the verb. Intransitive verbs do not select any phrases.

[Jacob] sleeps \emptyset (\emptyset = nothing).

Transitive verbs may take a noun phrase (NP), a prepositional phrase (PP) or a clause (S), respectively.

[Joseph] relates *a dream* (NP).

[Jacob] lives *in Canaan* (PP).

[Joseph] knows that the Lord will help him (S).

Ditransitive (doubly transitive) verbs take a noun phrase (NP) and a prepositional phrase (PP) or two noun phrases (NPs), respectively.

[Jacob] gives bread (NP) to his sons (PP).

[Jacob] gives his sons (NP) bread (NP).

Should any of these phrases be omitted, the clause would be incomplete. These phrases are obligatory parts of the clause and are known as *complements*. In contrast to complements, there are other, optional phrases in a clause, which may be omitted, as in the case of the prepositional phrase in the following sentence:

Jacob sleeps *in Bethel* (PP).

These phrases are known as *adjuncts*.

The subject in the first sentence above may also be expanded. A noun phrase (NP) may be extended by an article or a prepositional phrase.

The man dreams.

The man *in the tent* dreams.

In principle, the noun phrase (NP) may be extended infinitely through recursive processes, i.e. processes that can be applied infinitely in number. The following are examples of such processes.

- Co-ordination

Joseph *and* Rebecca dream.

- Adjectival qualification

The *handsome* man dreams.

- Apposition

Jacob, *the traitor*, dreams.

- Qualification by means of a relative pronoun

Jacob, *who lived in Canaan*, dreams.

- Qualification by means of a construct relationship

The son *of Jacob* dreams.

A noun phrase (NP) **can** thus be extended. Similarly, prepositional phrases (PP) and adjective phrases (AP) can be extended.

Jacob gives bread to his hungry sons *who are watching over his sheep*.

The charming, *handsome* man dreams.

§12.4. Typical Characteristics of BH Clauses

Typical features of BH syntax are the following:

1. *Absent subject*

The pronominal subject may be absent in certain cases. In such cases a trace of the subject has remained and must be assumed. The following form is thus a complete clause even though no visible subject exists:

קָתַב
 wrote-[he]
 he wrote

2. Free inversion of the subject, or any other constituent

BH is often regarded as a so-called VSO (= **V**erb, **S**ubject, **O**bject) language, i.e. the verb normally precedes the subject and object of a clause. However, free inversion means that the subject (or any other constituent) can be placed either before or after the verb phrase, e.g.

- (1) קָתַב אָב
 wrote--[he] father
 a father wrote
- (2) אָב קָתַב
 a father wrote--[he]
 a father wrote

Although the sequence in (2) is not predicate (verb) followed by subject, it still forms a clause. This process can, however, have semantic implications. (Cf. §46-47.)

3. Nominal clause (or verbless clause)

These are clauses in BH that do not contain a finite form of the verb. The English copulative verb 'is' must be added to them to facilitate translation.

Jacob [is] old.
 Jacob [is] a farmer.
 Jacob [is] in the tent.

In such clauses the non-verbal complement forms the predicate. A nominal clause therefore consists of: Subject + Predicate and thus does form a clause.

§12.5. Types of Sentences

The following types of sentences may be identified in BH:

1. Simple sentence

- Nominal sentence (Cf. §12.4.)
- Verbal sentence, e.g.

Statements

He gave bread to the boy.

*Interrogative sentence*⁷

Factual (also referred to as WH-questions)

Who buys wheat?

Questions expecting a yes/no answer (also referred to as polar questions)

Did you buy wheat?

Commands

Pick it up!/You may not pick it up.

You must pick it up/You must not pick it up.

Let us pick it up/Let us not pick it up.

2. Extended sentence

The extension forms part of the main clause and expands a part of the clause, for example, the subject or the object of the clause. In the next clause the subordinate clause is an extension of the subject, the NP, Jacob.

Jacob, *who lives in Canaan*, loved Joseph.

3. Complex sentence

Complex sentences consist of one or more clauses **related to the so-called main clause**.

- Co-ordinating clause

At first Joseph was strict with his brothers, *then he treated them well*.

- Subordinate clause

When Joseph saw his brothers, he immediately recognized them.

A basic difference between subordinate and co-ordinate clauses is that speakers normally do not carry out speech acts in subordinate clauses. In other words, a speaker does not make a statement, pose a

7. Questions are not necessarily posed by means of interrogative sentences, e.g. in the case of rhetorical questions. In such cases a question like 'Were you not the one who bought the wheat?' can be used to say, 'You were, indeed, the one who bought the wheat'.

question or make an appeal in a subordinate clause. Examples of sub-ordinate clauses in BH are:

- *Conditional clauses* (syntactical composition: *Protasis* + *Apodosis*)

If you believe, you will receive mercy.

- *Circumstantial clause*

When he was old, he returned.

The subordinate clauses above, also called *supplement* clauses, are distinguished from subordinate clauses that can act as complements in a clause, for example, as its subject or object. These so-called *complement* clauses are more integrally linked to their main clauses than the supplement clauses, e.g.

God sees *that you love him* (object).

To give (subject) is your duty.

§13. The Text in Biblical Hebrew

Clause and sentences are used to create texts. This usually occurs by means of utilizing conventions regarding cohesion and rhetorical organization.

1. *Cohesion*

Every language community has its own conventions that determine the form that their texts should take in order to be understood as coherent texts. This includes conventions regarding the manner in which semantic links are made between the relevant people and things in a text, e.g.

- *Reference* to people and things. In English a text initially refers to persons by mentioning their names and positions, e.g. Elijah, man of God. Subsequently only their names will often be used, i.e. Elijah. In BH, however, the person's name and position will often be repeated regularly.
- *The use of pronouns*. In BH texts the name of a person will be used explicitly much more often than it would in English. The direct translation of Gen. 41.15-16 reads 'And Pharaoh said to Jôseph ... and Joseph answered *Pharaoh*'. In English, the se-

cond explicit reference to Pharaoh would be replaced with a pronoun: ‘... and Joseph answered *him*’.

2. *Rhetorical organization*

Sentences are organized to form texts. The rhetorical organization of texts is not always the same, however. That is why different types of texts may be distinguished:

- Narrative texts
- Descriptive texts
- Argumentative/discursive texts
- Prescriptive or instructional texts.

Naturally, a mixture of the different kinds of texts may also occur.

Language communities have various conventions that govern the way different types of texts are begun, the way they proceed, and the way they are concluded. This is why these conventions are regarded as part of the ‘organizational’ structure of a language. For example, narrative texts in BH often concludes with a summary of the narrative, namely ‘And so this (or that) happened’.

Chapter 4

THE VERB

§14. Review

BH verbs can be derived from a stem or root consisting of three consonants. These roots never occur on their own in BH texts but are always provided with affixes (that is, prefixes, infixes and/or suffixes) which indicate that they belong to:

- A specific *stem formation* (also referred to as a *verbal stem*). For example, in the *Qal* the root כָּתַב is vocalized with the vowel pattern / - ַ - /, also known as an infix. The verb is then read as כָּתַבְתִּי. If the same root begins with a הָ prefix and has the infix / יָ - /, i.e. הִכְתִּיב, one knows that is a *Hiphil* stem formation. There are seven main stem formations in BH:

Qal, Niphal, Piel, Pual, Hithpael, Hiphil and Hophal.

- A particular *conjugation* of a stem formation. For example, the יָתִי- suffix of the word כָּתַבְתִּי indicates the perfect form of a verb; while the -י prefix of the word יִכְתֹּב indicates the imperfect form. The following conjugations are found in BH:

Perfect, Imperfect, Imperative, Jussive, Cohortative, Infinitive Construct, Infinitive Absolute and Participle.

- A specific feature or mark of congruency (*person, gender, number*, where applicable) in the conjugation. For example, in the perfect and the imperfect the suffixes and prefixes are used to indicate a difference in person (subject of the verb). The congruency features distinguished in BH are the following:

	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
<i>3rd person</i>	he, she	they (m. and f.)
<i>2nd person</i>	you (m. and f.)	you (m. and f.)
<i>1st person</i>	I	we

These sets of affixes are usually clearly discernible in the regular stems. In other words it is usually easy to recognize the stem (or root), stem formation and conjugation of a particular verb form. In the so-called irregular stems, however, a whole range of phonological processes must be considered, which makes it more difficult to recognize the stem and/or stem formation. These processes are related to the phonetic features of the *irregular stems*.

In English a graphic unit never comprises more than one lexical item or word. This is not the case in BH. Not only is the subject part of the verb, but a verb can also contain a pronominal suffix that refers to the object of the verb. This suffix is a separate lexical item and has nothing to do with the verbal system as such. Yet the suffix influences the vocalization of the verb—a factor that has to be taken into account in order to understand the vocalization of a verb.

In BH there are also certain *verb chains and sequences* associated with the perfect, imperfect and imperative forms. In describing the meaning of these sequences the context or discourse must be taken into account more systematically than with the other conjugations.

Each of the above features of the BH verb will be discussed in the ensuing sections.

§15. The Morphology of the Basic Paradigm

Seeing that, morphologically speaking, the Qal paradigm has the simplest form and is normally the first to be learnt, it will be used to describe the basic morphology of the BH verb.

§15.1. *The Perfect Form (= Suffix Conjugation or Qatal)*⁸

Perfect forms⁹ refer, broadly speaking, to complete events or facts that often can be translated with the past tense. (Cf. §19.2.) The perfect has the following forms:

כָּתַב	3 m. sing.	he wrote
כָּתְבָה	3 f. sing.	she wrote
כָּתַבְתָּ	2 m. sing.	you (m.) wrote
כָּתַבְתְּ	2 f. sing.	you (f.) wrote

8. The reason for referring to the same form by three different terms is explained in §19.1.

9. Unless stated otherwise, in this study perfect refers only to the perfect forms of a BH verb.

כָּתַבְתִּי	1 sing.	I wrote
כָּתְבוּ	3 pl.	they wrote
כָּתַבְתָּם	2 m. pl.	you (m. pl.) wrote
כָּתַבְתֶּן	2 f. pl.	you (f. pl.) wrote
כָּתַבְנוּ	1 pl.	we wrote

Note the following characteristics:

- (1) Person is indicated by means of suffixes. Although there is no suffix in the 3 masculine singular, the infix sufficiently identifies it as a Qal perfect.
- (2) In the case of the 1 singular, 1 plural and 3 plural no distinction is made between the masculine and feminine forms.
- (3) The suffix of the perfect is either consonantal, e.g. כָּתַבְתִּי, or vocalic, e.g. כָּתְבוּ.
- (4) The vowel pattern of the Qal perfect is / ַ - ָ / . However, the following exceptions are to be found:
 - a. before vocalic suffixes the / ַ - / becomes an audible š^ewâ (/ ַ - /) due to the fact that vocalic suffixes are always accented. The / ַ - / changes in the syllable nearest to a changeable vowel due to the accent shift produced by the addition of the suffix, for example, כָּתַב plus הַ- becomes כָּתַבְהֶם and not כָּתַבְהָם. (Cf. §7.3/(i).)
 - b. The consonantal suffixes כָּתְבוּ- 2 masculine plural and כָּתַבְתֶּן — 2 feminine plural carry the emphasis and consequently the first syllable loses its accent. The / ַ - / in the first syllable is reduced to the audible š^ewâ. (Cf. §7.3/(i).)
- (5) In the 3 feminine singular and 3 plural forms the / ַ - / acquires a meteg which indicates that the syllable carries an additional accent and that / ַ - / must be read as /ā/. (Cf. §9.1.)
- (6) Whenever the perfect form is preceded by a waw it may be a waw consecutive or waw copulative. (Cf. §21.1 and 21.4.)

§15.2. The Imperfect Form (= Prefix Conjugation or Yiqtol Form)

Imperfect¹⁰ forms refer, broadly speaking, to incomplete events that often could be translated with the present or future tense. (Cf. §19.3.)

The imperfect has the following forms:

יִכְתֹּב	3 m. sing.	he will write
תִּכְתֹּב	3 f. sing.	she will write
תִּכְתֹּב	2 m. sing.	you (m.) will write
תִּכְתְּבִי	2 f. sing.	you (f.) will write
אֶכְתֹּב	1 sing.	I will write
יִכְתְּבוּ	3 m. pl.	they (m.) will write
תִּכְתְּבֶנָּה	3 f. pl.	they (f.) will write
תִּכְתְּבוּ	2 m. pl.	you (m. pl.) will write
תִּכְתְּבֶנָּה	2 f. pl.	you (f. pl.) will write
נִכְתֹּב	1 pl.	we will write

Note the following characteristics:

- (1) Person is indicated by means of prefixes as well as by *suffixes* in certain cases.
- (2) The prefix forms a closed syllable with the first stem consonant, and the vowel pattern of the Qal imperfect is usually /' - ɿ / .
 - a. Before consonantal suffixes the /' - / remains unchanged, e.g. תִּכְתְּבֶנָּה.
 - b. Before vocalic suffixes the /' - / becomes an audible š'wâ, e.g. תִּכְתְּבוּ.
- (3) On a morphological level, no distinction is made between masculine and feminine forms in the case of the 1 singular and the 1 plural.
- (4) The 2 masculine singular and the 3 feminine singular have the same morphological form. The context in which the words are used always provides clues towards making the necessary distinction. The same applies to the 2 feminine plural and 3 feminine plural forms.
- (5) A distinction is made between a masculine and a feminine form in the third person.

10. Unless stated otherwise, in this study 'imperfect' refers only to the imperfect forms of a BH verb.

- (6) Whenever the imperfect form is preceded by a waw it may be a waw consecutive or waw copulative. (Cf. §21.1 and 21.)

§15.3. The Imperative Form

The meaning of the imperative can broadly be described as a direct command to the 2nd person. (Cf. §19.4.) For indirect commands in the 1st person and the 3rd person the cohortative and jussive forms (respectively) are used. The following imperative forms can be distinguished:

כָּתֹב	2 m. sing.	(You) write!
כָּתֹבִי	2 f. sing.	(You) write!
כָּתוּבוּ	2 m. pl.	(You) write!
כָּתוּבֵינָה	2 f. pl.	(You) write!

Note the following characteristics:

- (1) The forms of the imperative are the same as the imperfect 2nd person without the prefix, for example, תִּכְתֹּב 'you will write' minus the prefix is כָּתֹב 'write!'
- (2) There is an / - / vowel in the imperative feminine singular and masculine plural. It results from the fusion of two audible $\text{š}^{\text{c}}\text{wás}$, e.g. כָּתֹבִי > תִּכְתֹּבִי > כָּתֹבִי

§15.4. The Cohortative Form

The meaning of the cohortative can broadly be described as an indirect command to the 1st person. (Cf. §19.4.) In the cohortative the suffix הִי־ is added to the imperfect of the 1st person. The final stem vowel which occurs before this vocalic suffix is reduced. This phenomenon is found in every stem formation with the exception of the Hiphil where the / - / occurring before the vowel suffix is retained. (Cf. §16.7.)

אֶכְתֹּבֶהּ	1 sing.	Let me write
נִכְתֹּבֶהּ	1 pl	Let us write

§15.5. The Jussive Form

The meaning of the jussive can broadly be described as an indirect command to the 3rd person. The jussive form is also used with לֹא in negative commands to the 2nd person. (Cf. §19.4.) The jussive often appears as a shortened form of the imperfect. However, this shortened form can only be found in certain cases as, for example, in the

Hiphil where the / ִ- / of the conjugation forms without suffixes is ‘shortened’ to / ַ- / . (Cf. §16.7/1.) The shortened form also occurs with II waw / II yod (cf. §18.8/3) and III he verbs. (Cf. §18.5/4 for these so-called apocopated forms.)

יִכְתֹּב	3 m. sing.	Let him/may he write
תִּכְתֹּב	3 f. sing.	Let her/may she write
יִכְתֹּבוּ	3 m. pl.	Let them/may they (m.) write
תִּכְתֹּבנה	3 f. pl.	Let them/may they (f.) write

§15.6. *The Infinitive Construct (= Declinable Infinitive)*

In BH a distinction is made between two infinitive forms, namely the infinitive construct or declinable infinitive and the infinitive absolute or undeclinable infinitive. The infinitive construct is a verbal noun that expresses action without referring to the time or person. (Cf. §20.1.)

כֹּתֵב	unmarked	to write
--------	----------	----------

Note the following characteristics:

- (1) The infinitive construct usually has the same form as the masculine singular imperative.
- (2) The infinitive construct is often used with a pronominal suffix or a preposition. (Cf. §17.5.)

§15.7. *The Infinitive Absolute (= Undeclinable Infinitive)*

The infinitive absolute has the following form:

כֹּתוֹב	unmarked	to write
---------	----------	----------

Note the following characteristics:

- (1) The infinitive absolute is usually characterized by a / ִ / in the final syllable. (Cf. §20.2.)
- (2) The infinitive absolute does not decline.

§15.8. *The Participle*

In BH the participle is a verbal adjective that functions as a verb, noun or adjective. (Cf. §20.3.) The participle has the following forms:

כֹּתֵב	m. sing.	writing
כֹּתֵבָה	f. sing.	writing

כְּתוּבִים	m. pl.	writing
כְּתוּבוֹת	f. pl.	writing

Note the following characteristics:

- (1) The nominal grammatical morphemes added to the participle correspond with those used for the adjective. (Cf. §30.1.)
- (2) כְּתוּבָה is also used for the feminine singular participle, but does not occur frequently.

§16. The Stem Formations

§16.1. *The Names of the Stem Formations*

The Qal stem formation is the simplest, requiring only the verb stem for its various forms / conjugations. The other stem formations are morphological extensions of this stem. These extended forms may express various semantic associations with the Qal such as passive, causative, etc. This semantic relationship with the Qal must not, however, be taken for granted. Each stem formation should rather be regarded as an independent form, the meaning of which must be learned separately. The 3rd masculine singular perfect of the stem פִּעַל has been used as a pattern to illustrate the so-called derived or extended stem formations. Hence the paradigm:

Qal	פִּעַל	Piel	פִּעַל	Hiphil	הִפְעִיל
Niphal	נִפְעַל	Pual	פִּעַל	Hophal	הִפְעַל
		Hithpael	הִתְפַּעֵל		

The idea that the more complex stem formations are derivations of the Qal led grammarians to assume that the Qal forms also reflect the most basic meaning of a verb and that the meanings of the other stem formations could thus be derived from it. Although this is often the case, recent research has clearly indicated that this assumption is untenable. This is one of the reasons why the above system is no longer used in some more recent BH grammars. Cf. also Richter (1978: 73).

The following system may also be used for denoting the stem formations:

G	= Qal
D	= Piel and Pual
Dt	= Hithpael

H = Hiphil and Hophal
N = Niphal

In this grammar the traditional categories will be used.

§16.2. Morphology and Semantics of the Qal

1. Morphology

The morphology of the Qal stem formation has already been dealt with in §15. Table 1 provides a summary of the complete paradigm of the Qal stem formation.

(i) Table 1. *The paradigm of the Qal stem formation*

		QAL		
		$\bar{a}-a$	$\bar{a}-e$	$\bar{a}-\bar{o}$
Perf. sing.	3 m.	קָחַב	קָבַד	קָטַן
	3 f.	קָחְבָּה	קָבַדְּהָ	קָטַנְּהָ
	2 m.	קָחְבָּתְךָ	קָבַדְּתְךָ	קָטַנְּתְךָ
	2 f.	קָחְבָּתְךָ	קָבַדְּתְךָ	קָטַנְּתְךָ
	1.	קָחְבָּתִי	קָבַדְּתִי	קָטַנְּתִי
Perf. pl.	3.	קָחְבוּ	קָבַדוּ	קָטַנוּ
	2 m.	קָחְבֻּחֶם	קָבַדְּחֶם	קָטַנְּחֶם
	2 f.	קָחְבֻּנָּה	קָבַדְּנָה	קָטַנְּנָה
	1.	קָחְבֵנוּ	קָבַדְנוּ	קָטַנְנוּ
Impf. sing.	3 m.	יִקְחַב	יִכְבַּד	יִקְטַן
	3 f.	תִּקְחַב	תִּכְבַּד	תִּקְטַן
	2 m.	תִּקְחַב	תִּכְבַּד	תִּקְטַן
	2 f.	תִּקְחַבִּי	תִּכְבַּדִּי	תִּקְטַנִּי
	1.	אִקְחַב	אִכְבַּד	אִקְטַן
Impf. pl.	3 m.	יִקְחְבוּ	יִכְבְּדוּ	יִקְטַנוּ
	3 f.	תִּקְחַבְנָה	תִּכְבַּדְנָה	תִּקְטַנְנָה
	2 m.	תִּקְחַבּוּ	תִּכְבְּדוּ	תִּקְטַנּוּ
	2 f.	תִּקְחַבְנָה	תִּכְבַּדְנָה	תִּקְטַנְנָה
	1.	נִקְחַב	נִכְבַּד	נִקְטַן
Imp. sing.	2 m.	כַּחַב	כַּבַּד	קָטַן
	2 f.	כַּחְבִּי	כַּבַּדִּי	קָטַנִּי

		QAL		
		$\bar{a}-a$	$\bar{a}-e$	$\bar{a}-\bar{o}$
<i>Imp. pl.</i>	2 m.	קְחֹבוּ	קְבֹדוּ	קִטְּנוּ
	2 f.	קְחַבְנָה	קְבַדְנָה	קִטְּנָה
<i>Coh. sing.</i>	1.	אֲחַבְּכָה	אֲכַבְּדָה	אֲקַטְּנָה
<i>Juss. sing.</i>	3 m.	יִכְתָּב	יִכְבֵּד	יִקְטֹן
<i>Inf. cs.</i>		כְּתֹב	כְּבֹד	קִטְּן
<i>Inf. abs.</i>		כְּתוֹב	כְּבוֹד	קִטְּוֹן
<i>Part. act.</i>		כּוֹתֵב	כוֹבֵד	קֹטֵן
<i>Part. pass.</i>		כוֹתֵב		

(ii) The most important *morphological features of the Qal* are:

- a. In the perfect the vowel pattern is / $\bar{a}-\bar{a}$ / (כְּחָבּוּ)¹¹
 or / $\bar{a}-\bar{e}$ / (כְּבֹדוּ)
 or / $\bar{a}-\bar{o}$ / (קִטְּנוּ).
 - Before the vocalic suffixes the / \bar{a} /, / \bar{e} /, / \bar{o} / in the second stem syllable are reduced to an audible $\check{s}^e w\bar{a}$. (Cf. §8.1/1.) (כְּחַבְּנָה, קִטְּנָה, כְּבֹדְנָה)
 - The consonantal suffixes כֹּתֵם- 2 masculine plural and כֹּתֵנָּה- 2 feminine plural draw the accent to themselves. The first syllable consequently loses its accent. The / \bar{a} / in the first syllable is reduced to an audible $\check{s}^e w\bar{a}$ (כְּחַבְּתֵם).
- b. In the imperfect the vowel pattern is / $\bar{a}-\bar{e}$ / (יִכְתָּב) or / $\bar{a}-\bar{o}$ / (יִלְמֹד).¹²
 - The / \bar{e} / becomes an audible $\check{s}^e w\bar{a}$ before vocalic suffixes (תִּכְתְּבוּ).
- c. In the imperative and infinitive construct the vowel pattern is / $\bar{a}-\bar{a}$ / (כְּתֹב).
- d. In the participle the vowel in the first syllable is / \bar{a} / (כּוֹתֵב).
- e. The cohortative form occurs in the singular and plural of the 1st person. It is formed by adding the הֵּ suffix to the imperfect 1 singular (אֲחַבְּכָה) and plural (נִכְתְּבָה).

11. The vowels / $\bar{a}-\bar{a}$ / used for the 3 masculine singular are known as the *stem vowels* of the perfect. In the imperfect only the vowel in the second syllable, e.g. the / \bar{e} / of the Qal imperfect, is regarded as a stem vowel.

12. The prefix, i.e. the consonant and the vowel added to the stem, is also called a *preformative*.

- f. The jussive form is a shortened version of the imperfect form. However, this shortened (apocopated) form is often not recognisable, e.g. the jussive and imperfect form of כָּתַב is the same, viz. יִכְתֹּב. In contrast, cf. §18.5/4.
- g. In a *waw* consecutive + imperfect construction (cf. §21.1) the ‘imperfect’ is in reality not an imperfect form, but this shortened (jussive) form. In some cases, however, this jussive form may change as well. This is due to a shift of accent caused by the addition of the \lrcorner . (Cf. §18.8/3(ii)h. and 18.8/3(v)f.)

Note the following:

- (1) The difference discernable in the vocalic form of the above verb stems is analogous to the division of verbs into two syntactic groups, namely transitive—the *qātal* and *yiqtōl* patterns, and intransitive—the *qātēl* (e.g. כָּבֵד he was heavy) and *qatōl* (e.g. קָטַן he was small) patterns with their corresponding *yiqtal* forms (e.g. יִכְבֵּד and יִקְטִין). In the *Qal* certain verbs have both a *qātēl* and a *qātal* form and are accordingly both transitive or intransitive respectively.

לְבַשׁ יְהוָה עוֹ The Lord is *robed* in majesty (Ps. 93.1).

אֲשֶׁר לְבַשׁ בְּבָאוֹ אֶל־הַקֹּדֶשׁ which he *put on* when he went into the holy sanctuary (Lev. 16.23).

- (2) Certain transitive *yiqtal* forms also exist, e.g. רָכַב (ride), לָמַד (learn) and שָׁכַב (lie).

There is considerable evidence that a *Qal* passive form also existed in a pre-Masoretic BH phase. However, the Masoretes only acknowledged the active *Qal*. The only *Qal* passive form that still occurs fairly regularly in BH is the *Qal* passive participle. Cf. Waltke and O’Connor §22.6 and Siebesma (1991) for a more complete discussion of the *Qal* passive hypothesis.

2. Semantics

The *Qal* stem formation has no specific meaning *per se*. Verbs occurring in this stem formation can, at most, be divided into the following semantic categories:

- (i) *Action* verbs in which the subject performs some or other action. These verbs are referred to as *fientive* verbs.

(ii) *Stative* verbs express the condition or state of the subject, e.g. 'he was heavy'; 'he was small'.

§16.3. Morphology and Semantics of the Niphal

1. Morphology

(i) Table 2. *The paradigm of the Niphal*

NIPHAL			
		Singular	Plural
<i>Perf.</i>	3 m.	נִקְחָב	נִקְחָבוּ
	3 f.	נִקְחָבָה	נִקְחָבוּ
	2 m.	נִקְחָבְתָּ	נִקְחָבְתֶּם
	2 f.	נִקְחָבְתְּ	נִקְחָבְתֵּן
	1	נִקְחָבְתִּי	נִקְחָבְנוּ
<i>Impf.</i>	3 m.	יִקְחָב	יִקְחָבוּ
	3 f.	תִּקְחָבִי	תִּקְחָבְנָה
	2 m.	תִּקְחָב	תִּקְחָבוּ
	2 f.	תִּקְחָבִי	תִּקְחָבְנָה
	1	אִקְחָב	נִקְחָב
<i>Imp.</i>	m.	הִקְחָב	הִקְחָבוּ
	f.	הִקְחָבִי	הִקְחָבְנָה
<i>Coh.</i>		אִקְחָבָה	
<i>Juss.</i>		יִקְחָב	
<i>Inf. cs.</i>		הִקְחָב	
<i>Inf. abs.</i>		נִקְחָב / הִקְחָב	
<i>Part.</i>		נִקְחָב	

(ii) The most important *morphological features of the Niphal* are:

- a. In the perfect -נִ is prefixed to the stem. This prefix forms a closed syllable with the first stem consonant. The vowel pattern is / - - / (נִקְחָב).
- With the vocalic suffixes the second stem vowel is reduced (נִקְחָבוּ).

- With the consonantal suffixes both stem vowels are retained (נִכְתַּבְתִּי).
- b. In the imperfect the vowel pattern is / ִ ְ ְ ְ / (יִכְתֹּב).
- The first consonant of the stem doubles. The doubling occurs as a result of the assimilation of the nun of the Niphal with the first stem consonant (יִכְתֹּב).
 - With vocalic suffixes the / ִ ְ / is reduced to / ִ ְ / (יִכְתֹּבֵי).
 - With consonantal suffixes the / ִ ְ / changes to / ִ ְ / (יִכְתֹּבְנָה).
- c. The prefix in the imperfect and infinitive construct is ה־ (הִכְתֹּב).
- d. The participle is similar in appearance to the perfect 3 masculine singular. However, the stem vowel of the participle is / ִ ְ / (יִכְתֹּב) and not / ִ ְ / (יִכְתֹּב).

2. Semantics

About 60% of the verb stems that have a Niphal form are semantically related to the Qal form of the verb stem. However, 10% are semantically related to stems in the Piel, and 10% to stems in the Hiphil; while 10% have no semantic relationship to any other active stem formation. (For more statistics, cf. Siebesma 1991: 92-96).

The semantic relationships most often realized are:

- (i) the *passive* (mostly of the Qal)

כֹּל־מְלֹאכָה לֹא־יַעֲשֶׂה בָהֶם	No work shall <i>be done</i> on them (Exod. 12.16).
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- (ii) the *reflexive* (mostly of the Qal)

Within this category, also called the *double status Niphal* because the subject of the verb is both the agent and the patient, it is possible to distinguish between

- a. *ordinary reflexive*

וְאִנְקָמָה מֵאֹיְבָי	And I will <i>avenge myself</i> on my foes (Isa. 1.24).
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- b. and *reciprocal*

וְכִי־יִצְוּ אֲנָשִׁים	When men <i>strive with one another</i> (Exod. 21.22).
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- c. Some verbs occur *in the Niphal, but not in the Qal, and then express an active meaning of the verb*, e.g. נִלָּחַם (he fought), נִסְתָּר (he crept away), נִמָּלַט (he slipped away).

§16.4. Morphology and Semantics of the Piel

1. Morphology

(i) Table 3. The paradigm of the Piel

PIEL			
		Singular	Plural
Perf.	3 m.	כָּתַב	כָּתְבוּ
	3 f.	כָּתְבָה	כָּתְבוּ
	2 m.	כָּתַבְתָּ	כָּתַבְתֶּם
	2 f.	כָּתַבְתְּ	כָּתַבְתֶּן
	1	כָּתַבְתִּי	כָּתַבְנוּ
Impf.	3 m.	יִכְתֹּב	יִכְתְּבוּ
	3 f.	תִּכְתֹּב	תִּכְתְּבוּנָה
	2 m.	תִּכְתֹּב	תִּכְתְּבוּ
	2 f.	תִּכְתְּבִי	תִּכְתְּבוּנָה
	1	אֶכְתֹּב	נִכְתֹּב
Imp.	m.	כָּתַב	כָּתְבוּ
	f.	כָּתְבִי	כָּתְבוּנָה
Coh.		אֶכְתְּבָה	
Juss.		יִכְתֹּב	
Inf. cs.		כָּתַב	
Inf. Abs.		כָּתַב / כָּתוּב	
Part.		מִכְתֹּב	

(ii) The most important *morphological features of the Piel* are:

- The doubling of the second stem consonant (יִכְתֹּב, כָּתַב).
- In the perfect the stem vowel of the first syllable is / - / (כָּתַב).
- In the perfect 3 masculine singular the second stem vowel is usually / - / (כָּתַב), but it may sometimes also be / - / (לִמַּד). In the rest of the perfect paradigm it is / - / (כָּתְבוּ).
 - Before vocalic suffixes the second stem vowel reduces to / - / (כָּתְבוּ).
 - Before consonantal suffixes the vowel pattern is / - - / (כָּתְבוּנָה).

- d. In the imperfect the preformative vowel is / ַ / (תִּכְתֹּב) and the vowel pattern is / ַ ַ ַ / (יִכְתֹּב).
- Before vocalic suffixes the second stem vowel reduces to / ַ / (תִּכְתְּבוּ).
 - Before consonantal suffixes the vowel pattern remains / ַ ַ ַ / (תִּכְתְּבוּהוּ).
- e. In the imperfect 1 common singular the preformative vowel is / ַ / (אֲכַתֵּב) and not / ַ /.
- f. In the imperative and the infinitive construct the vowel pattern is / ַ ַ ַ / (כְּתֹב).
- g. In the participle the preformative is / ַ / (מְכַתֵּב).

2. Semantics

All the verbs that occur in the Qal stem formation do not necessarily have conjugations in the Piel. Similarly all the verbs occurring in the Piel stem formation do not necessarily have conjugations in the Qal, e.g. דִּבֶּר (he spoke) and בִּקֶּשׂ (he sought). Should a verb occur both in the Qal and the Piel, there may be a correspondence of meaning. However, the nature of this correspondence differs from case to case.

(i) Factitive

In some cases the Piel is used to express the factitive/causative sense of verbs that occur in the Qal. The Piel indicates the cause that places an object in the condition to which the Qal form (with a stative meaning) of the same stem refers, e.g.

וְאִם־בְּנֵי־עַמּוֹן יִחַזְקוּ מִמֶּךָ	Qal: And if the Ammonites <i>are</i> too strong for you (2 Sam. 10.11).
אֲשֶׁר־חִזְקוּ אֶת־יָדָיו לְהַרְגֹתִי אֶת־אֶחָיו	Piel: who <i>strengthened</i> his hands to slay his brothers (Judg. 9.24)

Note that the Hiphil also has a causative function. However, it differs from that of the Piel. (Cf. §16.7/2.)

(ii) Resultative

The Qal may describe the verb as a process that occurs, while the Piel describes the result of that process.

אִם פָּרַשְׁתָּ אֵלָיו כַּפַּיךָ	Qal: If you <i>stretch out</i> your hands toward him (Job 11.13).
פָּרַשְׁתִּי יָדַי כָּל־הַיּוֹם	Piel: I <i>spread out</i> my hands all the day (Isa. 65.2).

The nature of this semantic difference between the Qal and Piel form of a verb is difficult to determine and is sometimes difficult to reflect in English.

(iii) *Denominative*

The Piel refers to the action of the official referred to in the noun with the same stem consonants, for example, the verb כָּהֵן (he was a priest) refers to the action of the official to which the noun כֹּהֵן (priest) refers. (Cf. also Waltke and O'Connor §24.4.)

וְכָהֵן לִי He may serve me as priest (Exod. 40.13).

The Piel must be regarded as an *independent stem formation*, the meaning of which must be determined independently. There may be a similarity with Qal, but this cannot be taken for granted.

§16.5. *Morphology and Semantics of the Pual*

1. *Morphology*

(i) Table 4. *The paradigm of the Pual*

PUAL			
		Singular	Plural
<i>Perf.</i>	3 m.	כָּתַב	כָּתְבוּ
	3 f.	כָּתְבָה	כָּתְבוּ
	2 m.	כָּתַבְתָּ	כָּתַבְתֶּם
	2 f.	כָּתַבְתְּ	כָּתַבְתֶּן
	1	כָּתַבְתִּי	כָּתַבְתֶּם
<i>Impf.</i>	3 m.	יִכְתֹּב	יִכְתְּבוּ
	3 f.	תִּכְתֹּב	תִּכְתְּבוּ
	2 m.	תִּכְתֹּב	תִּכְתְּבוּ
	2 f.	תִּכְתְּבִי	תִּכְתְּבוּ
	1	אִכְתֹּב	יִכְתְּבוּ
<i>Juss.</i>		יִכְתֹּב	
<i>Inf. cs.</i>			
<i>Inf. abs.</i>		כָּתַב	
<i>Part.</i>		מִכְתֵּב	

(ii) The most important *morphological features of the Pual* are:

- The doubling of the second stem consonant and the vowel / - / below the first consonant of the stem (כִּתְּבָה, כִּתְּבוּ).
 - In the perfect the vowel pattern is / - - / (כִּתְּבוּ).
 - In the imperfect the vowel pattern is / - - - / (יִכְתְּבוּ).
 - With consonantal suffixes the / - - - / pattern is retained (תִּכְתְּבוּנָה), but with vocalic suffixes the / - - / changes to / - / (תִּכְתְּבוּ).
 - No imperative forms occur in the Pual.
 - In the participle the prefix is כֹּתֵב and the vowel pattern / - - - / (מִכְתְּבוֹ).
- Note that 40% of all Pual forms in the Hebrew Bible are *participles*.

2. Semantics

(i) The Pual is in all respects the *passive of the Piel*.

וַיִּבְקְשׁוּ שְׁלֹשֶׁה יָמִים וְלֹא מָצְאוּהוּ	Piel: For three days they <i>sought</i> him, but did not find him (2 Kgs 2.17).
וַיִּבְקַשׁ הַדָּבָר	Pual: When the <i>affair</i> was <i>investigated</i> , ... (Est. 2.23).

(ii) In certain cases the *passive voice of the Piel* may be expressed by the Niphal.

כִּבְדָּהּ מְאֹד יַד הָאֱלֹהִים שָׁם	Qal: The hand of God <i>was</i> very <i>heavy</i> there (1 Sam. 5.11).
כִּי־אֶכְבְּדֶנּוּ אֲכַבְדְּךָ	Piel: For I <i>will honour</i> those who honour me (1 Sam. 2.30).
וְעַל־פָּנָי כָּל־הָעָם אֲכַבְדְּךָ	Niphal: And I <i>will be glorified</i> before all the people (Lev. 10.3).

§16.6. Morphology and Semantics of the Hithpael

1. Morphology

(i) Table 5. *The paradigm of the Hithpael*

HITHPAEL			
		Singular	Plural
Perf.	3 m.	הִתְחַבֵּב	הִתְחַבְּבוּ
	3 f.	הִתְחַבְּבָה	הִתְחַבְּבוּ
	2 m.	הִתְחַבַּבְתָּ	הִתְחַבַּבְתֶּם
	2 f.	הִתְחַבַּבְתְּ	הִתְחַבַּבְתֶּן
	1	הִתְחַבַּבְתִּי	הִתְחַבַּבְתֶּי

HITHPAEL			
		Singular	Plural
Impf.	3 m.	יִתְחַבֵּב	יִתְחַבְּבוּ
	3 f.	תִּתְחַבֵּב	תִּתְחַבְּבוּ
	2 m.	תִּתְחַבֵּב	תִּתְחַבְּבוּ
	2 f.	תִּתְחַבְּבִי	תִּתְחַבְּבוּ
	1	אֶתְחַבֵּב	נִתְחַבֵּב
Imp.	m.	הִתְחַבֵּב	הִתְחַבְּבוּ
	f.	הִתְחַבְּבִי	הִתְחַבְּבוּ
Coh.		אֶתְחַבְּבֶהָ	
Juss.		יִתְחַבֵּב	
Inf. cs.		הִתְחַבֵּב	
Inf. Abs.		הִתְחַבֵּב	
Part.		מִתְחַבֵּב	

(ii) The most important *morphological features of the Hithpael* are:

- The doubling of the middle stem consonant and the preformative -ת- throughout all its conjugations (הִתְחַבֵּב).
- In the perfect the preformative ה- (הִתְחַבֵּב).
- In the perfect the vowel pattern is / - / (הִתְחַבֵּב).
 - Before consonantal suffixes the / - / changes to / - / (הִתְחַבְּבוּ).
 - Before vocalic suffixes the / - / is reduced to / - / (הִתְחַבְּבִי).
- In the imperfect the preformative is -ת- (יִתְחַבֵּב), -ת- (תִּתְחַבֵּב) etc.
- In the imperative the preformative is ה- (הִתְחַבֵּב).
- In the participle the preformative is מ- (מִתְחַבֵּב).

Note the following:

- When a verb beginning with a sibilant is conjugated in the Hithpael, *metathesis* occurs between the sibilant and the ה prefix, for example, *הִתְשַׁמֵּר becomes הִשְׁמַר (guard yourself against or refrain from). (Cf. §4.2/5(i).)
- When the first stem consonant is צ, *metathesis* as well as assimilation takes place, for example, הִתְצַדֵּק becomes הִצְתַּדֵּק* as a result of *metathesis* and הִצְתַּדֵּק* becomes הִצְתַּדֵּק (justify yourself) as a result of assimilation. (Cf. §4.2/4(ii).)

- (3) When a verb beginning with a ה, ד or ט is conjugated in the Hithpael, the ה of the הַה prefix assimilates, i.e. הַתְּדַבֵּר* becomes תְּדַבֵּר.
- (4) Other patterns of the Hithpael also occur without another stem formation being constituted, e.g. Hithpoel, Hithpalel, Hithpolal, Hithpalpel. (Cf. Waltke and O'Connor §26.1.1.)

2. Semantics

- (i) The Hithpael usually indicates a *reflexive or reciprocal* action.

וְהִתְקַדְּשֶׁתֶם וְהִיִּיתֶם קְדוֹשִׁים Consecrate yourselves and be holy
(Lev. 11.44).

- (ii) The Hithpael also sometimes simply indicates an *active meaning* of the verb.

הִתְפַּלֵּל בְּעַד־עַבְדֶּיךָ Pray for your servants (1 Sam.
12.19).

The Hithpael must be regarded as an *independent stem formation*, the meaning of which must be learned separately. (Cf. Waltke and O'Connor §26.2-4 and Joüon–Muraoka §53i.)

§16.7. Morphology and Semantics of the Hiphil

1. Morphology

- (i) Table 6. *The paradigm of the Hiphil*

HIPHIL			
		Singular	Plural
Perf.	3 m.	הִכְתִּיב	הִכְתִּיבוּ
	3 f.	הִכְתִּיבָה	הִכְתִּיבוּ
	2 m.	הִכְתַּבְתָּ	הִכְתַּבְתֶּם
	2 f.	הִכְתַּבְתְּ	הִכְתַּבְתֶּן
	1	הִכְתַּבְתִּי	הִכְתַּבְנוּ
Impf.	3 m.	יִכְתִּיב	יִכְתִּיבוּ
	3 f.	תִּכְתִּיב	תִּכְתַּבְנָה
	2 m.	תִּכְתִּיב	תִּכְתִּיבוּ
	2 f.	תִּכְתִּיבִי	תִּכְתַּבְנָה
	1	אִכְתִּיב	נִכְתִּיב

HIPHIL			
		Singular	Plural
Imp.	m.	הִכְתִּיב	הִכְתִּיבוּ
	f.	הִכְתִּיבִי	הִכְתִּיבְנָה
Coh.		אֶכְתִּיבָה	
Juss.		יִכְתֹּב	
Inf. cs.		הִכְתִּיב	
Inf. abs.		הִכְתֹּב	
Part.		מִכְתִּיב	

(ii) The most important *morphological features of the Hiphil* are:

- a. In the perfect the prefix is ה־ (הִכְתִּיב). This prefix forms a closed syllable with the first stem consonant.
- b. In the perfect the vowel pattern is / ִיְ - ִ - ִ / (הִכְתִּיב).
 - With the vocalic suffixes the unchangeable long second vowel of the stem vowel, / יְ / (הִכְתִּיבָה), is retained.
 - With the consonantal suffixes, however, the second stem vowel is / ִ - / (הִכְתִּיבְתָּ).
- c. In the imperfect the vowel of the preformative is / ִ - / . The ה preformative, however, falls away completely (תִּכְתִּיב).
 - In the imperfect the vowel pattern is / יְ - ִ - ִ / (תִּכְתִּיב).
 - With consonantal suffixes the stem vowel / יְ / changes to / ִ - / (תִּכְתִּיבְנָה).
 - With vowel suffixes the vowel pattern remains unaltered (תִּכְתִּיבוּ).
- d. In the imperative feminine singular, masculine plural and feminine plural, and the infinitive construct the preformative is ה־ and the stem vowel / יְ / (הִכְתִּיבוּ, הִכְתִּיבִי).
- e. In the infinitive absolute and imperative masculine singular the stem vowel is / ִ - / (הִכְתֹּב).
- f. In the jussive form the stem vowel / יְ / changes to / ִ - / (תִּכְתֹּב). As opposed to the other stem formations, the shorter form of the jussive is thus always readily recognizable.
- g. In the participle the preformative is מ־ and the stem vowel / יְ / (מִכְתִּיב).

Note the following: the Hiphil is the only stem formation in which the forms of the imperative masculine singular and the infinitive construct differ.

2. Semantics

(i) Causative

- a. The Hiphil stem formation mostly indicates the *causative sense* of verbs occurring in the Qal. (Cf. Waltke and O'Connor §27 and Joüon–Muraoka §54.) In other words, the subject of the stem in the Hiphil causes the object of that verb to act as subject in the idea expressed by the stem.

וְאֵלֶּה אֲשֶׁר־נָחַל בְּנֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל

Qal: These are the inheritances which the people of Israel *received* (Josh. 14.1).

כִּי אַתָּה תַּנְחִיל אֶת־הָעָם הַזֶּה
אֶת־הָאָרֶץ

Hiphil: For you shall *cause* this people to *inherit* the land (Josh. 1.6).

In Josh. 1.6 ‘people’ is grammatically the object of the Hiphil form of נָחַל. Semantically, however, it is also the subject or doer of the verb, i.e. it is the ‘people’ who inherit.

- b. The Hiphil may also be used to express the causative of verbs that occur in the *Niphal*.

וְאֲשֶׁר נִשְׁבַּע־לִי

Niphal: And who *swore* to me (Gen. 24.7)

כַּאֲשֶׁר הִשְׁבִּיעַךְ

Hiphil: As he *made* you *swear* (Gen. 50.6).

(ii) A causative link between the Qal and the Hiphil *cannot always be deduced from the translation* of a verb, for example, Qal: פָּקַד (he visited) *versus* Hiphil: הִפְקִיד (he appointed).

(iii) Some verbs occur *in the Hiphil*, without any conjugations in the Qal, e.g. הִשְׁלִיךְ (he threw), הִשְׁכִּים (he rose early) and הִשְׁמִיד (he eradicated).

Note the following:

- (1) The factitive expressed by *the Piel* also has a *causative nuance*.

בְּנוֹ קִדְּשׁוּ

They consecrated his son [lit. *his son they caused to be holy*] (1 Sam. 7.1).

- (2) When a verb is used in the Piel, it indicates an action that leads to an object ending up in a certain condition. That object does not *do* the action referred to by the verb.

The Hiphil must be regarded as an independent stem formation, the meaning of which must be learned separately.

§16.8. Morphology and Semantics of the Hophal

1. Morphology

(i) Table 7. The paradigm of the Hophal

HOPHAL			
		Singular	Plural
<i>Perf.</i>	3 m.	הִקְתָּב	הִקְתְּבוּ
	3 f.	הִקְתְּבִי	הִקְתְּבוּ
	2 m.	הִקְתָּבְתָּ	הִקְתְּבֶתֶם
	2 f.	הִקְתְּבִיתְּ	הִקְתְּבִיתֶן
	1	הִקְתְּבִיתִי	הִקְתְּבוּ
<i>Impf.</i>	3 m.	יִקְתָּב	יִקְתְּבוּ
	3 f.	יִקְתְּבִי	יִקְתְּבוּ
	2 m.	יִקְתָּבְתָּ	יִקְתְּבֶתֶם
	2 f.	יִקְתְּבִיתְּ	יִקְתְּבִיתֶן
	1	אִקְתָּב	יִקְתָּב
<i>Imp.</i>	m.		
	f.		
<i>Coh.</i>			
<i>Juss.</i>		יִקְתָּב	
<i>Inf. cs.</i>			
<i>Inf. abs.</i>		הִקְתָּב	
<i>Part.</i>		מִקְתָּב	

(ii) The most important *morphological features of the Hophal* are:

- In the perfect the preformative is -הִ . This prefix forms a closed syllable with the first stem consonant (הִקְתָּב).
- In the perfect the vowel pattern is / = ַ / (הִקְתָּב).

- With vocalic suffixes the / ַ / changes to / ֶ / (הִקְטִיבוּ).
- c. In the imperfect the vowel of the preformative is / ַ / (a qāmes hātûp), but the preformative -וֹ falls away (תִּקְטֹב, יִקְטֹב).
- d. In the imperfect the vowel pattern is / ַ ַ / (יִקְטֹב).
 - With vocalic suffixes the / ַ / changes to / ֶ / (יִקְטִבוּ).
- e. In the participle the prefix is -מֶ and the stem vowel / ַ / (מִקְטֹב).

2. Semantics

(i) The primary function of the Hophal stem formation is to express *the passive sense of the Hiphil*.

וַתְּשִׁיבֶהּ בְּחִיקָה Hiphil: And *laid* him in her bosom
(1 Kgs 3.20).

וְהִשָּׁבַב בְּתוֹךְ עֲרֻלִים Hophal: And he shall *be laid* among
the uncircumcized (Ezek. 32.32).

(ii) In **certain** cases the passive sense of the Hiphil may be expressed by *the Niphal*.

אִם־לֹא תִשְׁמְדוּן מִתְּרֵם מִקִּרְבְּכֶם Hiphil: ... Unless you *destroy* the
devoted things from among you
(Josh. 7.12).

וְנִשְׁמַדְתִּי אֲנִי וּבֵיתִי Niphal: And I shall *be destroyed*,
both I and my household (Gen.
34.30).

§16.9. Table 8. The Stem Formations: the Complete Paradigm

	QAL	NI.	PI.	PU.	HTP.	HI.	HO.
Sing.	<i>Perfect form</i>						
3 m.	קָטַב	נִקְטַב	קָטַב	קָטַב	הִקְטִיב	הִקְטִיב	הִקְטִיב
3 f.	קָטְבָה	נִקְטְבָה	קָטְבָה	קָטְבָה	הִקְטִיבָה	הִקְטִיבָה	הִקְטִיבָה
2 m.	קָטַבְתָּ	נִקְטַבְתָּ	קָטַבְתָּ	קָטַבְתָּ	הִקְטִיבְתָּ	הִקְטִיבְתָּ	הִקְטִיבְתָּ
2 f.	קָטַבְתְּ	נִקְטַבְתְּ	קָטַבְתְּ	קָטַבְתְּ	הִקְטִיבְתְּ	הִקְטִיבְתְּ	הִקְטִיבְתְּ
1 c.	קָטַבְתִּי	נִקְטַבְתִּי	קָטַבְתִּי	קָטַבְתִּי	הִקְטִיבְתִּי	הִקְטִיבְתִּי	הִקְטִיבְתִּי
Pl.							
3 c.	קָטְבוּ	נִקְטְבוּ	קָטְבוּ	קָטְבוּ	הִקְטִיבוּ	הִקְטִיבוּ	הִקְטִיבוּ
2 m.	קָטַבְתֶּם	נִקְטַבְתֶּם	קָטַבְתֶּם	קָטַבְתֶּם	הִקְטִיבְתֶּם	הִקְטִיבְתֶּם	הִקְטִיבְתֶּם

	QAL	NI.	PI.	PU.	HTP.	HI.	HO.
Pl.	<i>Perfect form</i>						
2 f.	הִכְתַּבְתְּ	וְהִכְתַּבְתְּ	הִכְתַּבְתְּ	הִכְתַּבְתְּ	הִכְתַּבְתְּ	הִכְתַּבְתְּ	הִכְתַּבְתְּ
1 c.	הִכְתַּבְנוּ	וְהִכְתַּבְנוּ	הִכְתַּבְנוּ	הִכְתַּבְנוּ	הִכְתַּבְנוּ	הִכְתַּבְנוּ	הִכְתַּבְנוּ
Sing.	<i>Imperfect form</i>						
3 m.	יִכְתֹּב	יִכְתֹּב	יִכְתֹּב	יִכְתֹּב	יִכְתֹּב	יִכְתֹּב	יִכְתֹּב
3 f.	תִּכְתֹּב	תִּכְתֹּב	תִּכְתֹּב	תִּכְתֹּב	תִּכְתֹּב	תִּכְתֹּב	תִּכְתֹּב
2 m.	תִּכְתֹּב	תִּכְתֹּב	תִּכְתֹּב	תִּכְתֹּב	תִּכְתֹּב	תִּכְתֹּב	תִּכְתֹּב
2 f.	תִּכְתְּבִי	תִּכְתְּבִי	תִּכְתְּבִי	תִּכְתְּבִי	תִּכְתְּבִי	תִּכְתְּבִי	תִּכְתְּבִי
1 c.	אִכְתֹּב	אִכְתֹּב	אִכְתֹּב	אִכְתֹּב	אִכְתֹּב	אִכְתֹּב	אִכְתֹּב
Pl.							
3 c.	יִכְתְּבוּ	יִכְתְּבוּ	יִכְתְּבוּ	יִכְתְּבוּ	יִכְתְּבוּ	יִכְתְּבוּ	יִכְתְּבוּ
3 f.	תִּכְתְּבֶנָּה	תִּכְתְּבֶנָּה	תִּכְתְּבֶנָּה	תִּכְתְּבֶנָּה	תִּכְתְּבֶנָּה	תִּכְתְּבֶנָּה	תִּכְתְּבֶנָּה
2 m.	תִּכְתְּבוּ	תִּכְתְּבוּ	תִּכְתְּבוּ	תִּכְתְּבוּ	תִּכְתְּבוּ	תִּכְתְּבוּ	תִּכְתְּבוּ
2 f.	תִּכְתְּבֶנָּה	תִּכְתְּבֶנָּה	תִּכְתְּבֶנָּה	תִּכְתְּבֶנָּה	תִּכְתְּבֶנָּה	תִּכְתְּבֶנָּה	תִּכְתְּבֶנָּה
1.	יִכְתֹּב	יִכְתֹּב	יִכְתֹּב	יִכְתֹּב	יִכְתֹּב	יִכְתֹּב	יִכְתֹּב
Sing.	<i>Imperative form</i>						
2 m.	כָּתֹב	הִכְתֵּב	כָּתֹב		הִכְתֵּב	הִכְתֵּב	
2 f.	כָּתְבִי	הִכְתְּבִי	כָּתְבִי		הִכְתְּבִי	הִכְתְּבִי	
Pl.							
2 m.	כָּתְבוּ	הִכְתְּבוּ	כָּתְבוּ		הִכְתְּבוּ	הִכְתְּבוּ	
2 f.	כָּתְבֶנָּה	הִכְתְּבֶנָּה	כָּתְבֶנָּה		הִכְתְּבֶנָּה	הִכְתְּבֶנָּה	
Sing.	<i>Cohortative form</i>						
1.	אִכְתֵּבָה	אִכְתֵּבָה	אִכְתֵּבָה		אִכְתֵּבָה	אִכְתֵּבָה	
Sing.	<i>Jussive form</i>						
3 m.	יִכְתֹּב	יִכְתֹּב	יִכְתֹּב	יִכְתֹּב	יִכְתֹּב	יִכְתֹּב	יִכְתֹּב
	<i>Infinitive</i>						
cs.	כָּתֹב	הִכְתֵּב	כָּתֹב		הִכְתֵּב	הִכְתֵּב	
abs.	כָּתוּב	יִכְתֹּב	כָּתֹב	כָּתֹב	הִכְתֵּב	הִכְתֵּב	הִכְתֵּב

	QAL	NI.	PI.	PU.	HTP.	HI.	HO.
	<i>Participle</i>						
<i>act.</i>	מְכַתֵּב	מְכַתֵּב	מְכַתֵּב		מְכַתֵּב	מְכַתֵּב	
<i>pass.</i>	מְכַתֵּב			מְכַתֵּב			מְכַתֵּב

§17. Pronominal Suffixes Added to Verbs

§17.1. Introduction

In BH the definite object of a clause is usually preceded by the so-called accusative/object marker אֹת/אֹתָ . Should this object be pronominalized, i.e. should the noun be replaced with a pronoun, the pronoun may be added either to the אֹת or to the verb of the clause. These two forms are variants and there is no difference in meaning between them.

וְהִכְרַתִּי אֹתוֹ מִקִּרְבֵּי עַמּוֹ And I will cut *him* off from among
his people (Lev. 20.4).

וְהִכְרַתִּי מִתּוֹךְ עַמִּי And I will cut *him* off from the midst
of my people (Ezek. 14.8).

There is basically one set of suffixes that is added to the perfect, imperfect and imperative. This set of suffixes, which is used in all stem formations, appears in the table below:

<i>1 sing.</i>	-נִי	me	<i>1 pl.</i>	-נוּ	us
<i>2 m. sing.</i>	-ךָ	you	<i>2 m. pl.</i>	-כֶּם	you
<i>2 f. sing.</i>	-ךִי	you	<i>2 f. pl.</i>	-כֶּן	you
<i>3 m. sing.</i>	-וֹ \ -אֵ	him	<i>3 m. pl.</i>	-ם -הֶם	them
<i>3 f. sing.</i>	-ָּ \ -ָּ -ָּ	her	<i>3 f. pl.</i>	-ן -הֶן	them

The addition of the pronominal suffixes to verbs results in accent shifts and vowel changes within the verbs.

The following variables must be taken into account:

- Whether the verbs end in a consonant or a vowel.
- Verbs that end in consonants take a connecting vowel.
- Perfect forms take / ־ / or / ־ / and imperfect as well as

imperative forms take / ֿ / or / ֿ / as the connecting vowel. The suffixes כֿ-, נֿ- and יֿ-, however, do not take a connecting vowel.

- (d) Suffixes are light or heavy. The heavy consonantal suffixes כֿ-, נֿ-, מֿ- and יֿ- always attract the accent to themselves resulting in the reduction of the changeable long vowels in preceding syllables.
- (e) The so-called ‘energetic’ nun suffix sometimes occurs with imperfect forms and imperatives. It has no semantic value.

§17.2. Suffixes Added to Perfect Forms (Cf. §15.1.)

1. Perfect forms ending in vowels

(i) List of forms

a. The following perfect forms *usually* end in a vowel:

שמרתי, שמרו, שמרנו

b. The following perfect forms *are adapted* to end in a vowel:

- The ת ending of the 2 feminine singular becomes יתי, i.e. שמרתי instead of שמרת. This form thus has the same appearance as the 1 singular.
- The final nun and mem of the 2 feminine and masculine plural fall away and the / ֿ / is replaced with ו, for example, שמרתו instead of שמרתם and שמרתן.

c. The following perfect forms *usually* end in a vowel *but are adapted* to end in a consonant:

- The הֿ ending of the 3 feminine singular is replaced by תֿ. Normal vowel changes that accompany the addition of an element such as a suffix occur, for example, שמרתת instead of שמרה.
- The תֿ ending of the 2 masculine singular contracts to תֿ, for example, שמרתת instead of שמרת.

(ii) The most general vowel changes

a. When one of the pronominal suffixes is added to a perfect that ends in a vowel, the / ֿ / in the first open syllable is reduced to / - /, e.g.

שמרנו plus suffix is: שמרנו־

b. If the second syllable is open, the original stem vowel / ֶ / is **revived** and changes to / ֵ /, e.g.

שָׁמַר plus suffix is: שָׁמְרוּ

c. If the first syllable is closed, its vowel does not change, e.g.

בִּקְשׁוּנִי

d. If there is an unchangeable long vowel in the second open syllable, no vowel change occurs, e.g.

הִכְרִיתוּנִי

(iii) *Set of suffixes* that is added

The so-called basic set. (Cf. §17.1.)

2. Perfect forms ending in consonants

(i) *List of forms*

a. The following perfect forms *usually* end in a consonant:

שָׁמַר

b. The following perfect forms *are constructed* to end in a consonant:

- The ה־ ending of the 3 feminine singular is replaced by ת־. Normal vowel changes which accompany the addition of an element such as a suffix occur, for example, שָׁמְרֶתָּ instead of שָׁמְרָהּ.
- The ת־ ending of the 2 masculine singular contracts to ה־, for example, שָׁמְרֶתָּ instead of שָׁמְרַתָּ.

(ii) The most basic *vowel changes*

The vowel changes are similar to those of the forms ending in vowels, e.g.

שָׁמַר plus suffix is: שָׁמְרוּ

(iii) *Set of suffixes* added to perfect forms ending in consonants

1 <i>sing.</i>	אֲנִי	me	1 <i>pl.</i>	אֲנֵנוּ	us
2 <i>m. sing.</i>	אַתָּה	you	2 <i>m. pl.</i>	אַתְּכֶם	you
2 <i>f. sing.</i>	אַתְּ אַתְּ	you	2 <i>f. pl.</i>	אַתְּכֶן	you
3 <i>m. sing.</i>	הוּא / הִוא	him	3 <i>m. pl.</i>	הֵם	them
3 <i>f. sing.</i>	הִיא	her	3 <i>f. pl.</i>	הֵנָּה	them

3. Summary of all the perfect forms to which pronominal suffixes can be added

1 <i>sing.</i>	שמרת־י	1 <i>pl.</i>	שמרת־נו
2 <i>m. sing.</i>	שמרת־ת	2 <i>m. pl.</i>	שמרת־נו
2 <i>f. sing.</i>	שמרת־י	2 <i>f. pl.</i>	שמרת־נו
3 <i>m. sing.</i>	שמרת־ו	3 <i>m. pl.</i>	שמרת־ו
3 <i>f. sing.</i>	שמרת־ה	3 <i>f. pl.</i>	שמרת־ו

§17.3. Suffixes Added to Imperfect Forms (Cf. §15.2.)

1. Imperfect forms ending in vowels

(i) List of forms

Forms that normally end in a vowel:

תכתבנה, תכתבו, יכתבו, תכתבי

(ii) The most basic *vowel changes*

Since the forms to which the suffixes are added contain virtually no changeable vowels, relatively few changes occur when the pronominal suffixes are added. Sometimes ו is written as / ם /, e.g.

ויבקשהו instead of ויבקשהו

(iii) Set of suffixes that may be added

This set is the same as the basic set in §17.1.

2. Imperfect forms ending in consonants

(i) List of forms

Forms that *usually* end in a consonant:

נכתב, אכתב, תכתב, יכתב

(ii) The most general *vowel changes*

a. The changeable stem vowels, / ˈ - / or / ː - /, change to a š^wā in open syllables, e.g.

ישמרני instead of ישמרני

b. Before the suffixes ת־, כ־ and כֶּן- the / ˈ - / changes to / ַ - /, e.g.

ישמרְכֶם instead of ישמרְכֶם

(iii) Set of suffixes *added to imperfect forms ending in consonants*

This set looks virtually like the set given in §17.2/2(iii). The connecting vowels here, however, are / ְ / and / ֹ /. A partial set of variant suffixes also exists in which a nun is inserted between the basic set and the verb. The nun always assimilates with the suffix. The following two sets of suffixes may thus be added to imperfect forms ending in consonants:

1 sing.	ִנְּ	ִנְּ	1 pl.	ִנְּ	ִנְּ
2 m. sing.	ִנְּ	ִנְּ	2 m. pl.	ִנְּ	
2 f. sing.	ִנְּ		2 f. pl.	ִנְּ	
3 m. sing.	ִנְּ	ִנְּ	3 m. pl.	ִנְּ	
3 f. sing.	ִנְּ	ִנְּ	3 f. pl.	ִנְּ	

Note the following:

- (1) The unusual dagesh in the kaph of the 2 masculine singular, ִנְּ , reflects the nun that has assimilated with the 2 masculine singular suffix.
- (2) The 3 masculine singular and the 1 plural of the alternative suffixes with the assimilated nun look alike.
- (3) These suffixes are not added to imperfect forms prefixed with the waw consecutive.
- (4) In poetry the pronominal suffixes ִנְּ - and ִנְּ - are sometimes used for the 3 masculine plural.
- (5) A connecting syllable with a nun (the energetic nun) is sometimes placed before the singular suffixes, e.g. ִנְּ (Jer. 5.22).

§17.4. Suffixes Added to Imperative Forms (Cf. §15.3.)

Since the form of the imperative is derived from the imperfect, the imperative takes the same connecting vowels and undergoes the same vowel changes as the imperfect forms.

Note however that the masculine singular form to which the suffix is added is ִנְּ and not ִנְּ .

§17.5. *Suffixes Added to Infinitives (Cf. §15.5.)*

The infinitive construct takes the set of pronominal suffixes normally added to nouns, namely:

<i>1 sing.</i>	ִי-	me	<i>1 pl.</i>	ֵנוּ-	us
<i>2 m. sing.</i>	ְךָ-	you	<i>2 m. pl.</i>	ְכֶם-	you
<i>2 f. sing.</i>	ְךְ-	you	<i>2 f. pl.</i>	ְכֶיךָ-	you
<i>3 m. sing.</i>	ֵיוֹ-	him	<i>3 m. pl.</i>	ֵיהֶם-	them
<i>3 f. sing.</i>	ֵיהָ-	her	<i>3 f. pl.</i>	ֵיהֶן-	them

Note the following:

- (1) The *verbal* suffix is used only in the first person, e.g. קָטַלְתִּי (to kill me) and קָטַלְתִּי (my killing).
- (2) The form of the infinitive to which suffixes are added is קָטַל- and not קָטַלְתִּי.
- (3) Sometimes the form of the infinitive to which suffixes are added is קָטַלְתִּי, e.g. נִפְלֵי (2 Sam. 1.10). At other times the form is קָטַלְתִּי and not קָטַלְתִּי, e.g. אֶכְרֹתִי (Gen. 2.17).

§18. The Morphology of the Irregular (or Weak) Verbs

§18.1. *The Notation of Irregular Verbs*

Irregular or weak verbs are verbs that deviate in their conjugations from the pattern of the regular or strong verb which has been dealt with so far (§16). The deviations occur only in certain groups of verbs. Even so weak verbs do not conjugate erratically, but according to rules determined by the phonetic features of one or more of their stem consonants. The following system of notation has been introduced when referring to specific types of the weak verb:

The three consonants that comprise most of the verb roots in BH are numbered from right to left either with the consonants of the פִּעַל verb stem or with Roman numerals. The position of a weak consonant as the first, second or third consonant of a particular verb stem is indicated either by means of the consonants פִּעַל or by means of a Roman numeral, e.g.

TRADITIONAL VERB SYSTEM				MODERN ALTERNATIVE			
ל	ע	פ	<i>Verb stem</i>	III	II	I	<i>Numerical</i>
ה	מ	ע	pe guttural	ה	מ	ע	I guttural
ל	א	ש	ayin guttural	ל	א	ש	II guttural
ה	ל	ש	lamedh guttural	ה	ל	ש	III guttural
ל	כ	א	pe aleph	ל	כ	א	I aleph
א	צ	מ	lamedh aleph	א	צ	מ	III aleph
ה	נ	ב	lamedh he	ה	נ	ב	III he
ל	פ	נ	pe nun	ל	פ	נ	I nun
ב	ש	י	pe waw / pe yod	ב	ש	י	I waw / I yod
מ	ו	ק	ayin waw	מ	ו	ק	II waw
מ	י	ש	ayin yod	מ	י	ש	II yod
ב	ב	ס	ayin ayin	ב	ב	ס	Double II or geminate

Hes and alephs, which are not pronounced, behave differently from the other gutturals. (Cf. §4.2/5(ii) and 5.2/2.) He in position III is not usually pronounced while aleph is not pronounced in positions I and III. For this reason a distinction is made between aleph and he as gutturals and:

- I aleph -,
- III aleph -,
- III he verbs.

Resh, which is not a guttural, reacts like a guttural, whether in positions I, II or III. (Cf. §4.2/4.)

It often happens that a verb stem has two irregular consonants, e.g.

נָקַח (he hit)

There are also a few verbs that occur frequently and which are irregular in all respects. The way in which they conjugate cannot be determined solely by the phonetic features of their particular consonants.

הִיָּה (is), חָיָה (live), חָנָה (bend), נָתַן (give), לָקַח (take)
and הָלַךְ (go).

§18.2. *The Gutturals*¹³1. *General rules that apply to gutturals*

a. After gutturals audible š^ewâs are replaced by ḥāṭēp vowels. (Cf. §5.2/2(iii).)

עמד instead of עמד
שְׁחַטוּ instead of שְׁחַטוּ

b. A guttural may be followed by a silent š^ewâ which is often replaced by a ḥāṭēp vowel corresponding to the preceding full vowel. (Cf. §8.1/2.)

הַעֲמִיד instead of הַעֲמִיד
יַעֲמַד instead of יַעֲמַד

c. Gutturals and resh (normally) cannot be doubled. If a guttural is supposed to be doubled, ‘compensatory lengthening’ often occurs in the preceding syllable. (Cf. §8.2/2.)

בִּרְךְ instead of בִּרְךְ
יִבְרַךְ instead of יִבְרַךְ
בַּחַר instead of בַּחַר

2. *I Guttural*(i) Table 9. *I Guttural*

	<i>QAL</i>	<i>QAL</i>	<i>NI.</i>	<i>HI.</i>	<i>HO.</i>
<i>Gloss</i>	stand	become strong			
<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Perfect form</i>				
3 m.	עָמַד	הִחֲזַק	נִעְמַד	הִעְמִיד	הִעְמִיד
3 f.	עָמְדָה	הִחֲזִיקָה	נִעְמְדָה	הִעְמִידָה	הִעְמִידָה
2 m.	עָמַדְתָּ	normal	נִעְמַדְתָּ	הִעְמַדְתָּ	הִעְמַדְתָּ
2 f.	עָמַדְתְּ		נִעְמַדְתְּ	הִעְמַדְתְּ	הִעְמַדְתְּ
1 c.	עָמַדְתִּי		נִעְמַדְתִּי	הִעְמַדְתִּי	הִעְמַדְתִּי
<i>Pl.</i>					
3 c.	עָמְדוּ		נִעְמְדוּ	הִעְמִידוּ	הִעְמִידוּ
2 m.	עָמַדְתֶּם		נִעְמַדְתֶּם	הִעְמַדְתֶּם	הִעְמַדְתֶּם

13. For a more complete description of the morphology of the gutturals, cf. Joüon–Muraoka §67–70.

	<i>QAL</i>	<i>QAL</i>	<i>NI.</i>	<i>HI.</i>	<i>HO.</i>
<i>Pl.</i>	<i>Perfect form</i>				
<i>2 f.</i>	עָמַדְתָּן		נִעַמַדְתָּן	הִעַמַדְתָּן	הָעַמַדְתָּן
<i>1 c.</i>	עָמַדְתִּי		נִעַמַדְתִּי	הִעַמַדְתִּי	הָעַמַדְתִּי
<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Imperfect form</i>				
<i>3 m.</i>	יַעֲמַד	יִחַזֵּק	יַעֲמַד	יַעֲמִיד	יַעֲמֵד
<i>3 f.</i>	תַּעֲמַד	תִּחַזְּקֶיךָ	תַּעֲמַד	תַּעֲמִיד	תַּעֲמֵד
<i>2 m.</i>	תַּעֲמַד	תִּחַזְּקֶיךָ	תַּעֲמַד	תַּעֲמִיד	תַּעֲמֵד
<i>2 f.</i>	תַּעֲמַדִּי	תִּחַזְּקִי	תַּעֲמַדִּי	תַּעֲמִידִי	תַּעֲמֵדִי
<i>1 c.</i>	אֶעֱמַד	אֶחַזֵּק	אֶעֱמַד	אֶעֱמִיד	אֶעֱמֵד
<i>Pl.</i>					
<i>3 c.</i>	יַעֲמִדוּ	יִחַזְּקוּ	יַעֲמִדוּ	יַעֲמִידוּ	יַעֲמֵדוּ
<i>3 f.</i>	תַּעֲמִדְנָה	תִּחַזְּקֶינָה	תַּעֲמִדְנָה	תַּעֲמִידְנָה	תַּעֲמֵדְנָה
<i>2 m.</i>	תַּעֲמִדוּ	תִּחַזְּקוּ	תַּעֲמִדוּ	תַּעֲמִידוּ	תַּעֲמֵדוּ
<i>2 f.</i>	תַּעֲמִדְנָה	תִּחַזְּקֶינָה	תַּעֲמִדְנָה	תַּעֲמִידְנָה	תַּעֲמֵדְנָה
<i>1 c.</i>	נִעַמַד	נִחַזַּק	נִעַמַד	נִעַמִיד	נִעַמֵד
<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Imperative form</i>				
<i>2 m.</i>	עֲמַד	חַזֵּק	הֲעַמַד	הֲעַמֵד	
<i>2 f.</i>	עַמִּידִי	חַזְּקִי	הֲעַמִּידִי	הֲעַמִּידִי	
<i>Pl.</i>					
<i>2 m.</i>	עַמִּדוּ	חַזְּקוּ	הֲעַמִּדוּ	הֲעַמִּידוּ	
<i>2 f.</i>	עַמִּדְנָה	חַזְּקֶינָה	הֲעַמִּדְנָה	הֲעַמִּידְנָה	
<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Cohortative form</i>				
	אֶעֱמִידָה			אֶעֱמִידָה	
<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Jussive form</i>				
	יַעֲמַד	יִחַזֵּק		יַעֲמַד	
	<i>Infinitive</i>				
<i>cs.</i>	עֲמַד	חַזֵּק	הֲעַמַד	הֲעַמִּיד	הֲעַמֵד
<i>abs.</i>	עֲמִיד	חַזְּקֵךְ	נִעַמִיד	הֲעַמַד	הֲעַמֵד
	<i>Participle</i>				
<i>act.</i>	עֹמֵד	חֹזֵק	נֹעַמֵד	מַעֲמִיד	מִעֲמֵד
<i>pass.</i>	עֹמֵד				

(ii) *Qal*

- a. In the perfect most conjugations are like those of the strong verbs. The only difference is that the audible š^cwâ under the guttural becomes a ḥāṭēp vowel in the 2 masculine and feminine plural. (Cf. §5.2/2(iii).)

עָמַדְתָּ instead of עָמַדְתָּ

b. In the imperfect

- the preformative vowel of the imperfect, / ַ /, is replaced with / ֶ /

יַעֲמֵד instead of יָעֲמֵד

- and the silent š^cwâ after the I guttural is always replaced by a ḥāṭēp vowel.

יַעֲמֵד instead of יָעֲמֵד

- When a vocalic suffix is added, the final stem vowel is reduced. As a result, a hypothetical form arises in which the ḥāṭēp vowel is followed by an audible š^cwâ. The ḥāṭēp vowel and the audible š^cwâ then fuse (into one syllable with the full vowel corresponding to the ḥāṭēp).

יַעֲמֵדוּ instead of יָעֲמֵדוּ

- In the first person the / ַ / is retained. It is not replaced with / ֶ /.

אֶעֱמֵד instead of אָעֱמֵד

- c. In verbs beginning with א the vowel of the preformative is / ַ / and not / ֶ /. The ḥāṭēp, which replaces the silent š^cwâ after the guttural in some cases, is then a ḥāṭēp s^cgōl.

אֶעֱמֵד instead of אָעֱמֵד

- d. In some I aleph verbs, for example, אָדַב and אָסַף, the vowel of the preformative is / ַ / instead of / ֶ /.

אֶדַב instead of אָדַב

- If a vocalic suffix is added to these forms in the imperfect, the / ַ / becomes a / ֶ /. In the process the / ַ / vowel of the preformative is also assimilated into a / ֶ /. In other words, the following process occurs: אֶדַבְוּ > אֶדַבְוּ > אֶדַבְוּ.

אֶדַבְוּ instead of אָדַבְוּ

(iii) *Niphal*

- a. In the perfect the preformative is -נִ and not -וֹ . A *ḥāṭēp segōl* sometimes occurs in the place of the silent *š^ewā* after the guttural.

נִעְמַד instead of וֹעְמַד

- When a vocalic suffix is added the last stem vowel is reduced. A hypothetical form is then created in which the *ḥāṭēp* vowel is followed by an audible *š^ewā*. The *ḥāṭēp* vowel and the audible *š^ewā* then fuse (into a single syllable with the full vowel of the *ḥāṭēp*). Here it is a *segōl*.

נִעְמְדוּ instead of וֹעְמְדוּ

- b. In the imperfect and imperative the vowel of the preformative / -וֹ / changes to / -וְ / as a result of ‘compensatory lengthening’. (Cf. §8.2/2.) The vowel pattern is then / -וְ -וְ -וְ /.

וְעַמַּד instead of וֹעַמַּד

וְעַמְדוּ instead of וֹעַמְדוּ

(iv) *Piel, Pual and Hitpael*

I guttural verb stems in these stem formations are conjugated like regular verb stems.

(v) *Hiphil*

- a. In the perfect

- the vowel of the preformative is / -וֹ / and not / -וְ /.

וֹעַמַּד instead of וְעַמַּד

- A *ḥāṭēp segōl* occurs in the place of the silent *š^ewā* after the guttural.

וֹעַמְדוּ instead of וְעַמְדוּ

- b. In the imperfect

- the vowel of the preformative (/ -וְ /) is the same as that of the strong verbs (וְעַמַּד).
- A *ḥāṭēp pataḥ* sometimes occurs instead of the silent *š^ewā* after the guttural.

וְעַמַּד instead of וֹעַמַּד

(vi) *Hophal*

In the perfect and the imperfect the vowel of the preformative / -וְ / is the same as that of the strong verb verbs, but a *ḥāṭēp qāmeṣ* occurs instead of the silent *š^ewā* after the guttural.

הָעָמַד instead of הָעָמַד
 יָעַמַד instead of יָעַמַד

3. II Guttural

(i) Table 10. II Guttural

	QAL	NI.	PI.	PU.	HTP.
<i>Gloss</i>	slaughter		bless		
<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Perfect form</i>				
3 m.	שָׁחַט	נִשְׁחַט	בָּרַךְ	בָּרַךְ	הִתְבָּרַךְ
3 f.	שָׁחַטָה	נִשְׁחַטָה	בָּרַכָה	בָּרַכָה	הִתְבָּרַכָה
2 m.	שָׁחַטְתָּ	נִשְׁחַטְתָּ	בָּרַכְתָּ	בָּרַכְתָּ	הִתְבָּרַכְתָּ
2 f.	שָׁחַטְתְּ	נִשְׁחַטְתְּ	בָּרַכְתְּ	בָּרַכְתְּ	הִתְבָּרַכְתְּ
1 c.	שָׁחַטְתִּי	נִשְׁחַטְתִּי	בָּרַכְתִּי	בָּרַכְתִּי	הִתְבָּרַכְתִּי
<i>Pl.</i>	<i>Imperfect form</i>				
3 c.	שָׁחַטוּ	נִשְׁחַטוּ	בָּרְכוּ	בָּרְכוּ	הִתְבָּרְכוּ
2 m.	שָׁחַטְתֶּם	נִשְׁחַטְתֶּם	בָּרַכְתֶּם	בָּרַכְתֶּם	הִתְבָּרַכְתֶּם
2 f.	שָׁחַטְתֶּן	נִשְׁחַטְתֶּן	בָּרַכְתֶּן	בָּרַכְתֶּן	הִתְבָּרַכְתֶּן
1 c.	שָׁחַטְנוּ	נִשְׁחַטְנוּ	בָּרַכְנוּ	בָּרַכְנוּ	הִתְבָּרַכְנוּ
<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Imperfect form</i>				
3 m.	יִשְׁחַט	יִשְׁחַט	יְבָרַךְ	יְבָרַךְ	יִתְבָּרַךְ
3 f.	תִּשְׁחַט	תִּשְׁחַט	תְּבָרַךְ	תְּבָרַךְ	תִּתְבָּרַךְ
2 m.	תִּשְׁחַטְתָּ	תִּשְׁחַטְתָּ	תְּבָרַךְ	תְּבָרַךְ	תִּתְבָּרַךְ
2 f.	תִּשְׁחַטְתִּי	תִּשְׁחַטְתִּי	תְּבָרַכִּי	תְּבָרַכִּי	תִּתְבָּרַכִּי
1 c.	אֲשַׁחַט	אֲשַׁחַט	אֲבָרַךְ	אֲבָרַךְ	אֲתִבָּרַךְ
<i>Pl.</i>	<i>Imperfect form</i>				
3 c.	יִשְׁחַטוּ	יִשְׁחַטוּ	יְבָרְכוּ	יְבָרְכוּ	יִתְבָּרְכוּ
3 f.	תִּשְׁחַטְנָה	תִּשְׁחַטְנָה	תְּבָרַכְנָה	תְּבָרַכְנָה	תִּתְבָּרַכְנָה
2 m.	תִּשְׁחַטּוּ	תִּשְׁחַטּוּ	תְּבָרַכּוּ	תְּבָרַכּוּ	תִּתְבָּרַכּוּ
2 f.	תִּשְׁחַטְנָה	תִּשְׁחַטְנָה	תְּבָרַכְנָה	תְּבָרַכְנָה	תִּתְבָּרַכְנָה
1 c.	נִשְׁחַט	נִשְׁחַט	נִבָּרַךְ	נִבָּרַךְ	נִתְבָּרַךְ
<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Imperative form</i>				
2 m.	שַׁחַט	הִשְׁחַט	בָּרַךְ		הִתְבָּרַךְ
2 f.	שַׁחַטִּי	הִשְׁחַטִּי	בָּרַכִּי		הִתְבָּרַכִּי
<i>Pl.</i>	<i>Imperative form</i>				
2 m.	שַׁחַטוּ	הִשְׁחַטוּ	בָּרְכוּ		הִתְבָּרְכוּ
2 f.	שַׁחַטְנָה	הִשְׁחַטְנָה	בָּרַכְנָה		הִתְבָּרַכְנָה

	QAL	NI.	PI.	PU.	HTP.
Sing.	<i>Cohortative form</i>				
	אֲשַׁחֲטָה	אֲשַׁחֲטָה	אֲבָרְכָה		אֲחַבְרְכָה
Sing.	<i>Jussive form</i>				
	יִשַׁחֲט	יִשַׁחֲט	יִבְרַךְ		
	<i>Infinitive</i>				
cs.	שַׁחֲט	הַשַׁחֲט	בְּרַךְ		הַחְבְּרַךְ
abs.	שַׁחֲט	נִשַׁחֲט	בְּרַךְ בְּרַךְ		הַחְבְּרַךְ
	<i>Participle</i>				
	שַׁחֲט	נִשַׁחֲט	מְבָרֵךְ	מְבָרֵךְ	מְחַבְּרֵךְ
act.	שַׁחֲט				
pass.					

(ii) Qal

a. In the perfect most of the conjugations are like those of the strong verbs. The only difference is that the audible / - / under the guttural becomes a hāṭēp vowel with the vocalic suffixes.

שַׁחֲטוּ instead of שָׁחֲטוּ

b. In the imperfect the expected vowel after the guttural is replaced with a / - / in an accented closed syllable. The vowel pattern is then / - - - /.

יִשַׁחֲט instead of יִשָּׁחֲט

c. The / - / after the infinitive is, however, retained.

שַׁחֲט instead of שַׁחֲט

d. In the inflection of the Qal imperative the / - / shifts to a position after the first syllable.

שַׁחֲטוּ instead of שָׁחֲטוּ

(iii) Piel, Pual and Hitpael

In the II guttural and II resh verbs the middle consonant (normally) cannot double and ‘compensatory lengthening’ occurs.

• In the Piel perfect the / - / changes to a / - - / and the vowel pattern is / - - - /.

בִּרְכָה instead of בָּרַךְ

- In the Piel imperfect the / ַ / changes to a / ֿ / and the vowel pattern is / ַֿֿֿ /.

יִבְרֶךְ instead of יְבַרְךָ

- In the Pual perfect the / ַ / changes to a / ֿ / and the vowel pattern is / ַֿֿֿ /.

בִּרְךָ instead of בָּרַךְ

(iv) Hiphil and Hophal

The II guttural verbs conjugate like the strong verbs.

4. III Guttural

(i) Table 11. III Guttural

	QAL	NI.	PI.	PU.	HTP.	HI.	HO.
Gloss	send						
Sing.	<i>Perfect form</i>						
3 m.	שָׁלַח	נִשְׁלַח	שִׁלַּח	שִׁלַּח	הִתְשַׁלַּח	הִשְׁלִיחַ	הִשְׁלַח
3 f.	שָׁלְחָה	נִשְׁלְחָה	שִׁלְּחָה	שִׁלְּחָה	הִתְשַׁלְּחָה	הִשְׁלִיחָה	הִשְׁלַחָה
2 m.	שָׁלַחְתָּ	נִשְׁלַחְתָּ	שִׁלַּחְתָּ	שִׁלַּחְתָּ	הִתְשַׁלַּחְתָּ	הִשְׁלַחְתָּ	הִשְׁלַחְתָּ
2 f.	שָׁלַחְתְּ	נִשְׁלַחְתְּ	שִׁלַּחְתְּ	שִׁלַּחְתְּ	הִתְשַׁלַּחְתְּ	הִשְׁלַחְתְּ	הִשְׁלַחְתְּ
1 c.	שָׁלַחְתִּי	נִשְׁלַחְתִּי	שִׁלַּחְתִּי	שִׁלַּחְתִּי	הִתְשַׁלַּחְתִּי	הִשְׁלַחְתִּי	הִשְׁלַחְתִּי
Pl.							
3 c.	שָׁלְחוּ	נִשְׁלְחוּ	שִׁלְּחוּ	שִׁלְּחוּ	הִתְשַׁלְּחוּ	הִשְׁלִיחוּ	הִשְׁלְּחוּ
2 m.	שָׁלַחְתֶּם	נִשְׁלַחְתֶּם	שִׁלַּחְתֶּם	שִׁלַּחְתֶּם	הִתְשַׁלַּחְתֶּם	הִשְׁלַחְתֶּם	הִשְׁלַחְתֶּם
2 f.	שָׁלַחְתֶּן	נִשְׁלַחְתֶּן	שִׁלַּחְתֶּן	שִׁלַּחְתֶּן	הִתְשַׁלַּחְתֶּן	הִשְׁלַחְתֶּן	הִשְׁלַחְתֶּן
1 c.	שָׁלַחְנוּ	נִשְׁלַחְנוּ	שִׁלַּחְנוּ	שִׁלַּחְנוּ	הִתְשַׁלַּחְנוּ	הִשְׁלַחְנוּ	הִשְׁלַחְנוּ
Sing.	<i>Imperfect form</i>						
3 m.	יִשְׁלַח	יִשְׁלַח	יִשְׁלַח	יִשְׁלַח	יִתְשַׁלַּח	יִשְׁלִיחַ	יִשְׁלַח
3 f.	תִּשְׁלַח	תִּשְׁלַח	תִּשְׁלַח	תִּשְׁלַח	תִּתְשַׁלַּח	תִּשְׁלִיחַ	תִּשְׁלַח
2 m.	תִּשְׁלַח	תִּשְׁלַח	תִּשְׁלַח	תִּשְׁלַח	תִּתְשַׁלַּח	תִּשְׁלִיחַ	תִּשְׁלַח
2 f.	תִּשְׁלַחִי	תִּשְׁלַחִי	תִּשְׁלַחִי	תִּשְׁלַחִי	תִּתְשַׁלַּחִי	תִּשְׁלַחִי	תִּשְׁלַחִי
1 c.	אֲשַׁלַּח	אֲשַׁלַּח	אֲשַׁלַּח	אֲשַׁלַּח	אֲתְשַׁלַּח	אֲשַׁלַּח	אֲשַׁלַּח

	<i>QAL</i>	<i>NI.</i>	<i>PI.</i>	<i>PU.</i>	<i>HTP.</i>	<i>HI.</i>	<i>HO.</i>
<i>Pl.</i>	<i>Imperfect form</i>						
3 c.	יִשְׁלַח	יִשְׁלַח	יִשְׁלַח	יִשְׁלַח	יִתְפַּחֵח	יִשְׁלִיחוּ	יִשְׁלַחוּ
3 f.	תִּשְׁלַחְנָה	תִּשְׁלַחְנָה	תִּשְׁלַחְנָה	תִּשְׁלַחְנָה	תִּתְפַּחְנָה	תִּשְׁלַחְנָה	תִּשְׁלַחְנָה
2 m.	תִּשְׁלַחְוּ	תִּשְׁלַחְוּ	תִּשְׁלַחְוּ	תִּשְׁלַחְוּ	תִּתְפַּחְוּ	תִּשְׁלַחְוּ	תִּשְׁלַחְוּ
2 f.	תִּשְׁלַחְנָה	תִּשְׁלַחְנָה	תִּשְׁלַחְנָה	תִּשְׁלַחְנָה	תִּתְפַּחְנָה	תִּשְׁלַחְנָה	תִּשְׁלַחְנָה
1 c.	נִשְׁלַח	נִשְׁלַח	נִשְׁלַח	נִשְׁלַח	נִתְפַּחַח	נִשְׁלַיִח	נִשְׁלַח
<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Imperative form</i>						
2 m.	שְׁלַח	הִשְׁלַח	שְׁלַח		הִתְפַּחַח	הִשְׁלַח	
2 f.	שְׁלַחִי	הִשְׁלַחִי	שְׁלַחִי		הִתְפַּחְחִי	הִשְׁלַחִי	
<i>Pl.</i>							
2 m.	שְׁלַחוּ	הִשְׁלַחוּ	שְׁלַחוּ		הִתְפַּחְוּ	הִשְׁלַחוּ	
2 f.	שְׁלַחְנָה	הִשְׁלַחְנָה	שְׁלַחְנָה		הִתְפַּחְנָה	הִשְׁלַחְנָה	
<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Cohortative form</i>						
	אֲשַׁלַּח	אֲשַׁלַּח	אֲשַׁלַּח		אֲתַפַּחַח	אֲשַׁלַּיִח	
<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Jussive form</i>						
	יִשְׁלַח	יִשְׁלַח	יִשְׁלַח		יִתְפַּחַח	יִשְׁלַח	
	<i>Infinitive</i>						
<i>cs.</i>	שְׁלַחַ	הִשְׁלַחַ	שְׁלַחַ		הִתְפַּחַחַ	הִשְׁלַיִחַ	הִשְׁלַחַ
<i>abs.</i>	שְׁלֹיחַ	נִשְׁלֹיחַ	שְׁלַחַ		הִתְפַּחַחַ	הִשְׁלַחַ	הִשְׁלַחַ
	<i>Participle</i>						
<i>act.</i>	שֹׁלֵחַ		מְשַׁלַּח		מִתְפַּחַח	מְשַׁלַּיִח	
<i>pass.</i>	שְׁלֹיחַ	נִשְׁלַחַ		מְשַׁלַּח			מְשַׁלַּח

(ii) The following rules apply to all the stem formations:

- a. In a syllable that ends in a guttural the vowel is usually / ־ / . It replaces the expected vowel.

שְׁלַח instead of שְׁלַח

- The same process occurs if a consonantal suffix is added (שְׁלַחְנָה).

- b. With zero or vocalic suffixes, if the expected vowel in a syllable that ends in a guttural is a / ־ / , / ֿ / or / ֿ / (i.e. unchangeably long), or if

it is a /' - / or / - /, it is not replaced with a / - / . A transitional pataḥ is placed between the normal stem vowel and the guttural. (Cf. §6.2.)

שֶׁלַח instead of שֶׁלַח
יִשְׁלַח instead of יִשְׁלַח

- c. In the perfect 2 feminine singular the silent š^cwâ under the guttural is replaced with a / - / .

שֶׁלַחְתְּ instead of שֶׁלַחְתְּ

- d. In the imperfect the stem vowel before the consonantal suffixes is / - / .

תִּשְׁמַעְנָה instead of תִּשְׁמַעְנָה
תִּשְׁמַעְנָה instead of תִּשְׁמַעְנָה

- e. In the participle the feminine singular does **not** have the expected / - - / pattern. Its vowel pattern is / - - / .

שֹׁמַעַת instead of שֹׁמַעַת

§18.3. The I Aleph That is Not Pronounced

In BH the א has a very weak consonantal character. At the end of a closed syllable the א has become silent. (Cf. §4.2/5(ii).) The preceding short vowel changes to compensate for the loss of the א.

This phenomenon is limited to the Qal imperfect form of only five verbs, namely אָכַל (he ate), אָמַר (he said), אָבַד (he perished), אָבָה (he was willing), אָפַק (he baked).¹⁴ The verbs אָחַז (he held fast), אָהַב (he loved) and אָסַף (he collected) also have I aleph variants in addition to the usual forms for I guttural verbs (§18.1 and 18.2), for example, I gutturals such as אָהַב (Prov. 3.12) and I aleph such as אָהַב (Mal. 1.2).

- a. The usual vowel of the preformative / - / becomes /' - / .

אָמַר instead of אָמַר

- b. With the imperfect preformative of the 1 singular the א of the verb stem has fallen away in writing.

אָמַר instead of אָמַר

- c. In the second syllable the usual stem vowel /' - / is replaced with / - - / or / - / . The latter is usually the pausal form.

אָמַר instead of אָמַר

14. For a more complete discussion, cf. Joüon–Muraoka §73.

יֹאכַל instead of יֹאכֵל

d. All the other forms of the I aleph verbs are regular. The infinitive construct of the verb stem אָמַר with the preposition ל is, however, an exception.

לְאָמַר instead of לֵאמֹר

e. The waw consecutive + imperfect of אָמַר is also an exception. The / ₂ / in the second syllable changes to / ₁ /, due to the accent shift. With the pausal forms (cf. §9.6), the / ₂ / vowel returns.

וַיֹּאמֶר instead of וַיֵּאמֶר

§18.4. *The III Aleph That Is Not Pronounced*

1. *Introduction*

In BH the א has a very weak consonantal character. At the end of a closed syllable the א often becomes silent. (Cf. §4.2/5(ii) and 5.2/2(i).) To compensate for the loss of the א the preceding short vowels are changed. Although the א looks like a vowel indicator in this case, it is actually a silent consonant that appears with a changed vowel. At the beginning of a syllable, however, the א retains its consonantal character.

The above implies that the aleph is not pronounced when a verb ends on the aleph or when a III aleph appears before a consonantal suffix (namely the הַיְ-, הָ-, הִ-, נוּ- of a perfect, the הָ- and יְ- of an imperfect), for example, הִמְצִיאַ (but הִמְצִיאָ).

2. *Table 12. III aleph verbs*

	QAL	NI.	PI.	PU.	HTP.	HI.	HO.
Gloss.	find						
Sing.	<i>Perfect form</i>						
3 m.	מָצָא	נִמְצָא	מִצָּא	מָצָא	הִתְמַצָּא	הִמְצִיאַ	הִמְצִיאָ
3 f.	מָצְאָה	נִמְצְאָה	מִצָּאָה	מָצְאָה	הִתְמַצְאָה	הִמְצִיאָה	הִמְצִיאָה
2 m.	מָצְאתָ	נִמְצְאתָ	מִצָּאתָ	מָצְאתָ	הִתְמַצְאתָ	הִמְצִיאָתָ	הִמְצִיאָתָ
2 f.	מָצְאתְ	נִמְצְאתְ	מִצָּאתְ	מָצְאתְ	הִתְמַצְאתְ	הִמְצִיאָתְ	הִמְצִיאָתְ
1 c.	מָצְאתִי	נִמְצְאתִי	מִצָּאתִי	מָצְאתִי	הִתְמַצְאתִי	הִמְצִיאָתִי	הִמְצִיאָתִי
3 c.	מָצְאוּ	נִמְצְאוּ	מִצָּאוּ	מָצְאוּ	הִתְמַצְאוּ	הִמְצִיאָוּ	הִמְצִיאָוּ
2 m.	מָצְאתֶם	נִמְצְאתֶם	מִצָּאתֶם	מָצְאתֶם	הִתְמַצְאתֶם	הִמְצִיאָתֶם	הִמְצִיאָתֶם

	QAL	NI.	PI.	PU.	HTP.	HI.	HO.
<i>Pl.</i>	<i>Perfect form</i>						
2 f.	לְפָדָה	לְפָדְתָּ	לְפָדְתָּ	לְפָדְתָּ	לְפָדְתָּ	לְפָדְתָּ	לְפָדְתָּ
1 c.	לְפָדָה	לְפָדְתָּ	לְפָדְתָּ	לְפָדְתָּ	לְפָדְתָּ	לְפָדְתָּ	לְפָדְתָּ
<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Imperfect form</i>						
3 m.	יִפְדֶּה	יִפְדֶּה	יִפְדֶּה	יִפְדֶּה	יִפְדֶּה	יִפְדֶּה	יִפְדֶּה
3 f.	יִפְדֶּה	יִפְדֶּה	יִפְדֶּה	יִפְדֶּה	יִפְדֶּה	יִפְדֶּה	יִפְדֶּה
2 m.	יִפְדֶּה	יִפְדֶּה	יִפְדֶּה	יִפְדֶּה	יִפְדֶּה	יִפְדֶּה	יִפְדֶּה
2 f.	יִפְדֶּה	יִפְדֶּה	יִפְדֶּה	יִפְדֶּה	יִפְדֶּה	יִפְדֶּה	יִפְדֶּה
1 c.	יִפְדֶּה	יִפְדֶּה	יִפְדֶּה	יִפְדֶּה	יִפְדֶּה	יִפְדֶּה	יִפְדֶּה
<i>Pl.</i>	<i>Imperative form</i>						
3 c.	יִפְדֶּה	יִפְדֶּה	יִפְדֶּה	יִפְדֶּה	יִפְדֶּה	יִפְדֶּה	יִפְדֶּה
3 f.	יִפְדֶּה	יִפְדֶּה	יִפְדֶּה	יִפְדֶּה	יִפְדֶּה	יִפְדֶּה	יִפְדֶּה
2 m.	יִפְדֶּה	יִפְדֶּה	יִפְדֶּה	יִפְדֶּה	יִפְדֶּה	יִפְדֶּה	יִפְדֶּה
2 f.	יִפְדֶּה	יִפְדֶּה	יִפְדֶּה	יִפְדֶּה	יִפְדֶּה	יִפְדֶּה	יִפְדֶּה
1.	יִפְדֶּה	יִפְדֶּה	יִפְדֶּה	יִפְדֶּה	יִפְדֶּה	יִפְדֶּה	יִפְדֶּה
<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Imperative form</i>						
2 m.	יִפְדֶּה	יִפְדֶּה	יִפְדֶּה		יִפְדֶּה	יִפְדֶּה	
2 f.	יִפְדֶּה	יִפְדֶּה	יִפְדֶּה		יִפְדֶּה	יִפְדֶּה	
<i>Pl.</i>	<i>Imperative form</i>						
2 m.	יִפְדֶּה	יִפְדֶּה	יִפְדֶּה		יִפְדֶּה	יִפְדֶּה	
2 f.	יִפְדֶּה	יִפְדֶּה	יִפְדֶּה		יִפְדֶּה	יִפְדֶּה	
<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Cohortative form</i>						
1.	יִפְדֶּה	יִפְדֶּה				יִפְדֶּה	
<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Jussive form</i>						
3 m.	יִפְדֶּה	יִפְדֶּה				יִפְדֶּה	
	<i>Infinitive</i>						
<i>cs.</i>	יִפְדֶּה	יִפְדֶּה	יִפְדֶּה		יִפְדֶּה	יִפְדֶּה	יִפְדֶּה
<i>abs.</i>	יִפְדֶּה	יִפְדֶּה	יִפְדֶּה		יִפְדֶּה	יִפְדֶּה	יִפְדֶּה

	<i>QAL</i>	<i>NI.</i>	<i>PI.</i>	<i>PU.</i>	<i>HTP.</i>	<i>HI.</i>	<i>HO.</i>
	<i>Participle</i>						
<i>act.</i>	מַצֵּחַ	נִמְצֵחַ	פּוֹמֵצֵחַ		חֹמֵצֵחַ	הִמְצֵחַ	
<i>pass.</i>	מְצִיחַ			מְצִיחַ			מְצִיחַ

3. General characteristics

a. Where there are no suffixes the **ס** becomes silent. An / ֿ / before the **ס** changes to / ֿ /.

מְצִיחַ instead of מִצֵּחַ

b. Where there are vocalic suffixes, the **ס** functions as a consonant and the verb stem conjugates regularly (הַמְצִיחִי).

c. Where there are consonantal suffixes the **ס** becomes silent and the Qal perfect and imperfect take an / סֿ / (הִמְצִיחַ, הִמְצִיחָה),

- the perfect of *all the other* stem formations takes an / סֿ / (הִמְצִיחַ, הִמְצִיחָה), and

- the imperfect of *all the other* stem formations takes an / סֿ / (הִמְצִיחִי, הִמְצִיחִי) vowel.

In other words:

- In the Niphal / ֿ / is used where one would expect / ֿ /.

הִמְצִיחָה instead of הִמְצִיחָה

- In the Hiphil / ֿ / is used where one would expect / ֿ /.

הִמְצִיחִי instead of הִמְצִיחִי

- The Hiphil 3 singular masculine form is regular, however (e.g. הִמְצִיחִי).

d. The vowels of the Qal infinitive construct look just like those of a regular verb stem.

מִצֵּחַ instead of מְצִיחַ

e. In stative verbs with / ֿ / (cf. §16.2) the / ֿ / in the Qal perfect is retained (מִלֵּחַ, מִלֵּחָה).

f. The **ס** sometimes falls away.

מִלֵּחַ instead of מִלֵּחַ

g. As many of the conjugations of the III he and III aleph verbs sound identical, some III he verbs are vocalized as the III aleph and *vice versa*, e.g.

- the III he verb אָהָה (to come) sometimes looks like the verb stem אָהָה in the Qal perfect 3 masculine singular

אָהָה instead of אָהָה

- the III aleph verb אָכַל (to restrain) looks like the verb אָכַל (be finished) in the Qal perfect 1 singular

אָכַלתי as אָכַלתי
instead of אָכַלתי

§18.5. The III He Verbs

1. Introduction

The term III he refers specifically to verbs in the Qal perfect 3 masculine singular that end in a ה vowel indicator, for example, שָׁתָה 'to drink', etc. At an early stage of the language these verbs ended in a yod or waw. In other words they were originally III yod and III waw verbs. These consonants fell away either through elision or were retained as vowel indicators before consonantal suffixes. Verbs that originally ended in he and reflect the consonantal character of the he with a mappiq (e.g. גָּבַהּ 'be high') are not recognized as III he verbs.

2. Table 13. III he verbs

	QAL	NI.	PI.	PU.	HTP.	HI.	HO.
Gloss	reveal						
Sing.	<i>Perfect form</i>						
3 m.	גָּלָה	נִגְלָה	גָּלָה	גָּלָה	הִתְגַּלָּה	הִגְלָה	הִגְלָה
3 f.	גָּלְתָה	נִגְלְתָה	גָּלְתָה	גָּלְתָה	הִתְגַּלְתָּה	הִגְלְתָה	הִגְלְתָה
2 m.	גָּלִיתְ	נִגְלִיתְ	גָּלִיתְ	גָּלִיתְ	הִתְגַּלִּיתְ	הִגְלִיתְ	הִגְלִיתְ
2 f.	גָּלִיתְ	נִגְלִיתְ	גָּלִיתְ	גָּלִיתְ	הִתְגַּלִּיתְ	הִגְלִיתְ	הִגְלִיתְ
1 c.	גָּלִיתִי	נִגְלִיתִי	גָּלִיתִי	גָּלִיתִי	הִתְגַּלִּיתִי	הִגְלִיתִי	הִגְלִיתִי
Pl.							
3 c.	גָּלוּ	נִגְלוּ	גָּלוּ	גָּלוּ	הִתְגַּלוּ	הִגְלוּ	הִגְלוּ
2 m.	גָּלִיתֶם	נִגְלִיתֶם	גָּלִיתֶם	גָּלִיתֶם	הִתְגַּלִּיתֶם	הִגְלִיתֶם	הִגְלִיתֶם
2 f.	גָּלִיתֶן	נִגְלִיתֶן	גָּלִיתֶן	גָּלִיתֶן	הִתְגַּלִּיתֶן	הִגְלִיתֶן	הִגְלִיתֶן
1 c.	גָּלִינוּ	נִגְלִינוּ	גָּלִינוּ	גָּלִינוּ	הִתְגַּלִּינוּ	הִגְלִינוּ	הִגְלִינוּ

	<i>QAL</i>	<i>NI.</i>	<i>PI.</i>	<i>PU.</i>	<i>HTP.</i>	<i>HI.</i>	<i>HO.</i>
<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Imperfect form</i>						
3 m.	יִגְלוּ	יִגְלוּ	יִגְלוּ	יִגְלוּ	יִתְגַּלְלוּ	יִגְלוּ	יִגְלוּ
3 f.	תִּגְלוּ	תִּגְלוּ	תִּגְלוּ	תִּגְלוּ	תִּתְגַּלְלוּ	תִּגְלוּ	תִּגְלוּ
2 m.	תִּגְלוּ	תִּגְלוּ	תִּגְלוּ	תִּגְלוּ	תִּתְגַּלְלוּ	תִּגְלוּ	תִּגְלוּ
2 f.	תִּגְלִי	תִּגְלִי	תִּגְלִי	תִּגְלִי	תִּתְגַּלְלִי	תִּגְלִי	תִּגְלִי
1 c.	אֶגְלוּ	אֶגְלוּ	אֶגְלוּ	אֶגְלוּ	אֶתְגַּלְלוּ	אֶגְלוּ	אֶגְלוּ
<i>Pl.</i>							
3 c.	יִגְלוּ	יִגְלוּ	יִגְלוּ	יִגְלוּ	יִתְגַּלְלוּ	יִגְלוּ	יִגְלוּ
3 f.	תִּגְלִינָה	תִּגְלִינָה	תִּגְלִינָה	תִּגְלִינָה	תִּתְגַּלְלִינָה	תִּגְלִינָה	תִּגְלִינָה
2 m.	תִּגְלוּ	תִּגְלוּ	תִּגְלוּ	תִּגְלוּ	תִּתְגַּלְלוּ	תִּגְלוּ	תִּגְלוּ
2 f.	תִּגְלִינָה	תִּגְלִינָה	תִּגְלִינָה	תִּגְלִינָה	תִּתְגַּלְלִינָה	תִּגְלִינָה	תִּגְלִינָה
1.	נִגְלוּ	נִגְלוּ	נִגְלוּ	נִגְלוּ	נִתְגַּלְלוּ	נִגְלוּ	נִגְלוּ
<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Imperative form</i>						
2 m.	גְלוּ	הִגְלוּ	גְלוּ		הִתְגַּלְלוּ	הִגְלוּ	
2 f.	גְלִי	הִגְלִי	גְלִי		הִתְגַּלְלִי	הִגְלִי	
<i>Pl.</i>							
2 m.	גְלוּ	הִגְלוּ	גְלוּ		הִתְגַּלְלוּ	הִגְלוּ	
2 f.	גְלִינָה	הִגְלִינָה	גְלִינָה		הִתְגַּלְלִינָה	הִגְלִינָה	
<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Jussive form</i>						
	יִגַּל	יִגַּל	יִגַּל		יִתְגַּל	יִגַּל	
	<i>Infinitive</i>						
<i>cs.</i>	גְלוּתָ	הִגְלוּתָ	גְלוּתָ	גְלוּתָ	הִתְגַּלוּתָ	הִגְלוּתָ	הִגְלוּתָ
<i>abs.</i>	גְלוּ	הִגְלוּ	גְלוּ	גְלוּ	הִתְגַּלוּ	הִגְלוּ	הִגְלוּ
	<i>Participle</i>						
<i>act.</i>	גֹּלֵה	הִגְלוּהַ	מִגְלוּהַ		מִתְגַּלְּהַ	מִגְלוּהַ	
<i>pass.</i>	גְלוּיָ			מִגְלוּהַ			מִגְלוּהַ

3. General characteristics

A particular systemization is evident in all the conjugations of the III he verbs. This systematization can best be appreciated if all the conjugations are arranged according to their suffixes.

(i) In forms where *no suffix* is added, the endings are as follows:

a. The perfect ends in ִּתְּ .

Qal	גָּלָה
Ni.	נִגְלָה
Pi.	גִּלָּה
Hi.	הִגְלָה

b. The imperfect ends in ִּתְּ .

Qal	יִגְלֶה
Ni.	יִנְגַּלֶּה
Hi.	יִהְיֶה

c. The imperative ends in ִּתְּ .

Qal	גַּלְהֵ
Ni.	הִגְלֵה
Hi.	הִגְלֵה

d. The infinitive ends in ִּתְּ .

Qal	גַּלּוֹת
Ni.	הִגְלוֹת
Pi.	גַּלוֹת
Hi.	הִגְלוֹת

e. The masculine singular participle ends in ִּתְּ . The construct form of the participle ends in ִּתְּ .

Qal	בָּנָה
Ni.	נִבְנָה
Hi.	מִבְנָה

(ii) Forms in which *a suffix beginning with a vowel* is added:

a. With all the stem formations the 3 feminine singular form of the perfect is formed by replacing the final ִּתְּ with an older feminine ִּתְּ ending and then adding the suffix ִּתְּ .

בִּנְתָּה instead of בָּנָה

- b. In all the other cases the III he and the preceding vowel or audible $\text{š}^{\circ}\text{wâ}$ fall away and the suffix is added immediately after the second stem consonant.

גָּלַי instead of גָּלְהוּ

- c. The object suffixes (cf. §17) are also added directly after the second stem consonant.

גָּלַיְתִי and גָּלְהוּ

(iii) In forms where a suffix beginning with a consonant is added, the original ʿ replaces the ה . The ה fuses with the preceding vowel resulting in the following connecting vowels:

- a. The Qal, Piel, Hiphil and Hithpael have / ִי / as connecting vowel.

Qal גָּלְיָהּ
Hi. הִגְלִיָּהּ

- b. The perfect of the Niphal, Pual and Hophal have / ִי / as connecting vowel.

Ni. נִגְבִּיָּהּ
Pu. בִּגְבִּיָּהּ
Ho. הִבְגִּיָּהּ

- c. In the imperfect and imperative of all the stem formations the connecting vowel is / ִי / (תִּבְגִּינָה , תִּבְגִּינִי).

4. The apocopated forms of the III he verbs

An accent shift normally takes place in the jussive and waw consecutive + imperfect forms. In the III he verbs this shift results in the he falling away, i.e. apocope takes place, for example, יִגְלֶה is shortened to יִגַּל . A list of the most common 'short' forms, i.e. jussives or waw consecutive + imperfect is given below. Note that the 3rd person short form of a particular verb can differ from that of its 2nd person.

- a. In the Qal there are four apocopated forms.

	Long	and	Short
3 m. sing.	יִשְׁבֶּה		יִשְׁבֵּב
3 m. sing.	יִבְכֶּה		יִבְכֵךְ
3 m. sing.	יִרְבֶּה		יִרְבֵּב
2 m. sing.	תִּפְגֶּה		תִּפְגֵן

b. III he verbs that have a guttural as the first or second stem consonant in the Qal, have their own apocopated forms.

	<i>Long</i>	and	<i>Short</i>
3 m. sing.	יַעֲלֶה		יַעֲלֵה
3 m. sing.	יַחֲרֶה		יַחֲרֵה
3 m. sing.	יַרְאֶה		יַרְאֵה
2 m. sing.	יַרְאֶה		יַרְאֵה

c. The Niphal stem formation has one apocopated form.

תִּגְלֶה	and	תִּגְלֵה
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d. The Piel stem formation has one apocopated form.

2 m. sing.	יִכְבֹּלֶה	and	יִכְבֹּלֵה
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e. The Hiphil stem formation has two apocopated forms.

3 m. sing.	יִשְׁקֶה		יִשְׁקֵה
3 m. sing.	יִרְבֶּה		יִרְבֵּה

f. III he verbs that have a guttural as first stem consonant in the Hiphil also have another apocopated form.

יַעֲלֶה	and	יַעֲלֵה
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§18.6. The I Nun Verbs

1. Introduction

When a nun appears at the end of a closed syllable, it often assimilates with the next consonant. (Cf. §4.2/4(ii).)

2. Table 14. I nun verbs

	QAL	QAL	NI.	PI.	HTP.	HI.	HO.
Gloss	fall	approach					
Sing.	Perfect form						
3 m.	נָפַל	נָנַשׁ	נָנַשׁ	regular	regular	הִנָּשׁ	הִנָּשׁ
3 f.	נָפְלָה	נָנְשָׁה	נָנְשָׁה			הִנָּשָׁה	הִנָּשָׁה
2 m.	נָפַלְתָּ	נָנַשְׁתָּ	נָנַשְׁתָּ			הִנָּשְׁתָּ	הִנָּשְׁתָּ
2 f.	נָפַלְתְּ	נָנַשְׁתְּ	נָנַשְׁתְּ			הִנָּשְׁתְּ	הִנָּשְׁתְּ
1 c.	נָפַלְתִּי	נָנַשְׁתִּי	נָנַשְׁתִּי			הִנָּשְׁתִּי	הִנָּשְׁתִּי

	<i>QAL</i>	<i>QAL</i>	<i>NI.</i>	<i>PI.</i>	<i>HTP.</i>	<i>HI.</i>	<i>HO.</i>
<i>Pl.</i>	<i>Perfect form</i>						
3 c.	נָפְלוּ	נָגְשׁוּ	נָגְשׁוּ			הִגִּישׁוּ	הִגִּישׁוּ
2 m.	נָפַלְתֶּם	נָגַשְׁתֶּם	נָגַשְׁתֶּם			הִגִּישְׁתֶּם	הִגִּישְׁתֶּם
2 f.	נָפַלְתֶּן	נָגַשְׁתֶּן	נָגַשְׁתֶּן			הִגִּישְׁתֶּן	הִגִּישְׁתֶּן
1 c.	נָפַלְתִּי	נָגַשְׁתִּי	נָגַשְׁתִּי			הִגִּישְׁתִּי	הִגִּישְׁתִּי
<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Imperfect form</i>						
3 m.	יִפֹּל	יִגַּשׁ	יִגַּשׁ			יִגִּישׁ	יִגִּישׁ
3 f.	תִּפֹּל	תִּגַּשׁ	תִּגַּשׁ			תִּגִּישׁ	תִּגִּישׁ
2 m.	תִּפֹּל	תִּגַּשׁ	תִּגַּשׁ			תִּגִּישׁ	תִּגִּישׁ
2 f.	תִּפְּלִי	תִּגַּשִׁי	תִּגַּשִׁי			תִּגִּישִׁי	תִּגִּישִׁי
1 c.	אֶפֶל	אֶגַּשׁ	אֶגַּשׁ			אֶגִּישׁ	אֶגִּישׁ
<i>Pl.</i>							
3 c.	יִפְּלוּ	יִגַּשׁוּ	יִגַּשׁוּ			יִגִּישׁוּ	יִגִּישׁוּ
3 f.	תִּפְּלֶינָה	תִּגַּשְׁנָה	תִּגַּשְׁנָה			תִּגִּישְׁנָה	תִּגִּישְׁנָה
2 m.	תִּפְּלוּ	תִּגַּשׁוּ	תִּגַּשׁוּ			תִּגִּישׁוּ	תִּגִּישׁוּ
2 f.	תִּפְּלֶינָה	תִּגַּשְׁנָה	תִּגַּשְׁנָה			תִּגִּישְׁנָה	תִּגִּישְׁנָה
1 c.	נִפֹּל	נִגַּשׁ	נִגַּשׁ			נִגִּישׁ	נִגִּישׁ
<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Imperative form</i>						
2 m.	נִפֹּל	גַּשׁ	הִגַּשׁ			הִגַּשׁ	
2 f.	נִפְּלִי	גַּשִׁי	הִגַּשִׁי			הִגַּשִׁי	
<i>Pl.</i>							
2 m.	נִפְּלוּ	גַּשׁוּ	הִגַּשׁוּ			הִגַּשׁוּ	
2 f.	נִפְּלֶינָה	גַּשְׁנָה	הִגַּשְׁנָה			הִגַּשְׁנָה	
<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Cohortative form</i>						
	אֶפְּלֶה	אֶגַּשֶׁה				אֶגִּישֶׁה	
<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Jussive form</i>						
	יִפֹּל	יִגַּשׁ				יִגִּישׁ	

	QAL	QAL	NI.	PI.	HTP.	HI.	HO.
	<i>Infinitive</i>						
cs.	נָפֵל	נָשָׂה	הִקְנֵשׁ			הִקְנִישׁ	הִקְנֵשׁ
abs.	נָפִיל	נָשׁוּשׁ	הִקְנֵשׁ			הִקְנֵשׁ	הִקְנֵשׁ
	<i>Participle</i>						
act.	נָפֵל	נֹשֵׂה	קֹנֵשׁ			קֹנִישׁ	
pass.		נֹשֵׂה					קֹנֵשׁ

3. General characteristics

- a. In stem formations and conjugations that have a preformative, the first nun often assimilates with the next consonant which then doubles as a result.

יָצַר instead of יִצְרֵר

- b. If the second consonant of the verb stem is a guttural, no assimilation occurs.

יָחַם instead of יִחְמֵם

- c. The distinction between the / ˈ - / and the / ˌ - / in the Qal imperfect has an important effect on the imperative and the infinitive construct.

- Verbs with / ˈ - / in the imperfect have a regular imperative and infinitive construct.

נָפֵל from יִנְפֹּל

- Verbs with / ˌ - / in the imperfect have an imperative without the nun.

נָשׁ from יִנְשֹׂשׁ

- Their infinitive construct forms also have no nun but they do take a ך suffix. The infinitive construct formed has a / ˌ - ˌ - / vowel pattern which is typical of segholates.

נָשָׂה instead of נֹשֵׂה

When a pronominal suffix is added to these infinitives, they usually manifest a / ˈ - / like segholates with an i-stem, e.g. נֹשֵׂהָּי. (Cf. §27.3/4.)

- d. In the Niphal, assimilation of the first nun occurs in the perfect, participle and infinitive construct in addition to the usual forms of assimilation, e.g. נָגַשׁ. (Cf. §4.2/4.)
- e. No assimilation occurs in any of the Piel, Pual and Hithpael conjugations. Here the I nun verb stem conjugates like a regular strong verb, e.g. נָבַל.
- f. Assimilation occurs in all the forms of the Hiphil, e.g. נָגַשׁ, הִגִּישׁ.
- g. Assimilation occurs in all the forms of the Hophal. Furthermore, the vowel of the preformative is / - / and not / ַ /.

הִגִּישׁ instead of הָגַשׁ

§18.7. The I Yod and I Waw Verbs

1. Introduction

These two classes must be considered together because of their historical development.

Old-Hebrew	יָשַׁב	*יָשַׁב
BH (Qal perfect)	יָשַׁב	יָשַׁב
BH (Hiphil perfect)	הִיִּיב	הִיִּיב

The Old Hebrew verb יָשַׁב* became יָשַׁב in the Qal perfect of BH, but the historical distinction between יָשַׁב and יָשַׁב can still be seen in the Hiphil. In the following discussion a distinction will be made between verbs that were original I yod verbs, such as יָשַׁב and verbs which were original I waw verbs, such as יָשַׁב.

2. Table 15. I waw and I yod verbs

	QAL	QAL	NI.	HI.	HO.	QAL	HI.
	I waw					I yod	
Gloss	sit	take possession				be good	
Sing.	Perfect form						
3 m.	יָשַׁב	יָרַשׁ	נָשַׁב	הִיִּיב	הוֹשַׁב	יָטַב	הִיִּיב
3 f.	יָשְׁבָה	יָרְשָׁה	נָשְׁבָה	הִיִּיבָה	הוֹשְׁבָה	יָטַבָה	הִיִּיבָה
2 m.	יָשַׁבְתָּ	יָרַשְׁתָּ	נָשַׁבְתָּ	הִיִּיבְתָּ	הוֹשַׁבְתָּ	יָטַבְתָּ	הִיִּיבְתָּ
2 f.	regular	regular	נָשַׁבְתְּ	הִיִּיבְתְּ	הוֹשַׁבְתְּ	regular	הִיִּיבְתְּ
1 c.			נָשַׁבְתִּי	הִיִּיבְתִּי	הוֹשַׁבְתִּי		הִיִּיבְתִּי

	QAL	QAL	NI.	HI.	HO.	QAL	HI.
	I waw					I yod	
<i>Pl.</i>	<i>Perfect form</i>						
<i>3 c.</i>			נִישְׁבוּ	הוֹשִׁיבוּ	הוֹשְׁבוּ		הִישְׁבוּ
<i>2 m.</i>			נִשְׁבַּחְתֶּם	הוֹשַׁבְתֶּם	הוֹשַׁבְתֶּם		הִשְׁבַּחְתֶּם
<i>2 f.</i>			נִשְׁבַּחְתֶּן	הוֹשַׁבְתֶּן	הוֹשַׁבְתֶּן		הִשְׁבַּחְתֶּן
<i>1 c.</i>			נִשְׁבַּנּוּ	הוֹשַׁבְנוּ	הוֹשַׁבְנוּ		הִשְׁבַּנּוּ
<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Imperfect form</i>						
<i>3 m.</i>	יֵשֵׁב	יִירָשׁ	יֵשֵׁב	יֹשִׁיב	יֹשֵׁב	יֵיטֵב	יִיטִיב
<i>3 f.</i>	תֵּשֵׁב	תִּירָשׁ	תֵּשֵׁב	תֹּשִׁיב	תֹּשֵׁב	תֵּיטֵב	תִּיטִיב
<i>2 m.</i>	תֵּשֵׁב	תִּירָשׁ	תֵּשֵׁב	תֹּשִׁיב	תֹּשֵׁב	תֵּיטֵב	תִּיטִיב
<i>2 f.</i>	תֵּשְׁבִי	תִּירְשִׁי	תֵּשְׁבִי	תֹּשִׁיבִי	תֹּשְׁבִי	תֵּיטְבִי	תִּיטִיבִי
<i>1 c.</i>	אֵשֵׁב	אִירָשׁ	אֵשֵׁב	אֹשִׁיב	אֹשֵׁב	אֵיטֵב	אִיטִיב
<i>Pl.</i>							
<i>3 c.</i>	יֵשְׁבוּ	יִירְשׁוּ	יֵשְׁבוּ	יֹשִׁיבוּ	יֹשְׁבוּ	יֵיטְבוּ	יִיטִיבוּ
<i>3 f.</i>	תֵּשְׁבֶנָּה	תִּירְשְׁנָה	תֵּשְׁבֶנָּה	תֹּשִׁיבֶנָּה	תֹּשְׁבֶנָּה	תֵּיטְבֶנָּה	תִּיטִיבֶנָּה
<i>2 m.</i>	תֵּשְׁבוּ	תִּירְשׁוּ	תֵּשְׁבוּ	תֹּשִׁיבוּ	תֹּשְׁבוּ	תֵּיטְבוּ	תִּיטִיבוּ
<i>2 f.</i>	תֵּשְׁבֶנָּה	תִּירְשְׁנָה	תֵּשְׁבֶנָּה	תֹּשִׁיבֶנָּה	תֹּשְׁבֶנָּה	תֵּיטְבֶנָּה	תִּיטִיבֶנָּה
<i>1 c.</i>	נֵשֵׁב	נִירָשׁ	נֵשֵׁב	נֹשִׁיב	נֹשֵׁב	נֵיטֵב	נִיטִיב
<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Imperative form</i>						
<i>2 m.</i>	שֵׁב	רֵשׁ	הֹשֵׁב	הֹשֵׁב			הִיטֵב
<i>2 f.</i>	שְׁבִי	רְשִׁי	הֹשְׁבִי	הֹשְׁבִי			הִיטְבִי
<i>Pl.</i>							
<i>2 m.</i>	שְׁבוּ	רְשׁוּ	הֹשְׁבוּ	הֹשְׁבוּ			הִיטְבוּ
<i>2 f.</i>	שְׁבֶנָּה	רְשְׁנָה	הֹשְׁבֶנָּה	הֹשְׁבֶנָּה			הִיטְבֶנָּה
<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Jussive form</i>						
	אֲשַׁבֵּה	אִירְשֶׁה					
<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Cohortative form</i>						
	יֵשֵׁב		יֹשֵׁב			יֵיטֵב	יִיטִיב

	QAL	QAL	NI.	HI.	HO.	QAL	HI.
	I waw					I yod	
	<i>Infinitive</i>						
<i>cs.</i>	שָׁבַח	רָשָׁח	הִקְשִׁיב	הִוְשִׁיב	הִוְשִׁיב	יָטַב	הִיטִיב
<i>abs.</i>	יָשׁוּב	יָרִישׁ	הִקְשִׁיב	הִוְשִׁיב		יָטוּב	הִיטִיב
	<i>Participle</i>						
<i>act.</i>	יֹשֵׁב	יֹרֵשׁ		מוֹשִׁיב		יֹטֵב	מוֹיטֵב
<i>pass.</i>	יֹשִׁיב	יֹרִישׁ	מוֹשֵׁב		מוֹשָׁב	יֹטִיב	

3. Original I yod verbs

Note that only seven verbs that belong to this category occur in the Bible, namely יָבַשׁ (dry up), יָנַק (suckle), יָשָׁר (be honest), יָטַב (be good), יָקַץ (be awake), יָלַל (scream), and יָמַן (go to the right).¹⁵ If the yod were to appear at the end of a closed syllable under normal circumstances, i.e. by analogy with the regular verb, it would function as a vowel indicator. (Cf. §5.2/2(i).)

- a. A characteristic of this verb stem is that the I yod is retained in all the conjugations; cf. the Qal imperfect 3 masculine singular.

יֹטֵב instead of יָטַב

- b. In the Hiphil perfect the vowel of the preformative / - / is replaced with / - /.

הִיטִיב instead of הִוְשִׁיב

- c. In the Hiphil imperfect and participle the usual vowel of the preformative / - / becomes / - /.

יֹטֵב instead of יָטַב
מוֹיטֵב instead of מוֹשָׁב

4. Original I waw

Original I waw verbs include יָטַב (sit), יָלַד (give birth), יָרַד (go down), יָדַע (know) and יָצָא (go out). In conjugating these verbs the original waw is sometimes retained, but each stem formation will be considered separately.

15. Cf. Jouon–Muraoka §76.

(i) *Qal (with an active meaning)*

- a. In the perfect the I waw is replaced by a yod. In other respects this verb stem conjugates regularly.

יָשַׁב instead of יָשָׁב

- b. Fusion of the imperfect preformative and the waw of the verb stem leads to the vowel of the preformative /- / changing to /- /.

יִשָּׁב instead of יִשָּׁב

- c. The stem vowel of the imperfect is /- / and not /- /.

יִשָּׁב instead of יִשָּׁב

- d. When the waw consecutive is added to the Qal imperfect, the /- / vowel in the last syllable changes to /- / due to the accent shift that accompanies the addition of the conjunction.

וַיִּשָּׁב instead of וַיִּשָּׁב

- e. In the imperative the η falls away.

שָׁב instead of שָׁב

- f. In the infinitive construct the η falls away, but a τ suffix is added to the remaining consonants. These consonants are vocalized as follows: /- /.

שָׁבֵת instead of שָׁב

The infinitive construct with a pronominal suffix behaves like a typical segholate with an i-stem, e.g. שָׁבֵתִי. (Cf. §27.3.)

(ii) *Qal (with a stative meaning)*

In the imperfect of these forms the ν of the verb stem, which has replaced the η , does not fuse with the preformative.

יִרְאֵה instead of יִרְאֵה

Note the following:

- (1) The imperfect and infinitive construct of the stative verb יָכַל (he is able), which occurs only in the Qal, are completely irregular. They conjugate as if they are Hophal imperfect forms, e.g.

Perfect	יָכַל
Imperfect	יִכַּל
Infinitive construct	יִכְלֵה

- (2) With the exception of the Qal perfect, the verb הָלַךְ conjugates in the Qal and the Hiphil stem formations like a typical original I waw verb. (Cf. Table 20.)
- (3) In some of the I yod verbs where the middle consonant is a צ , the yod assimilates when it appears at the end of a closed syllable, just like the I nun verbs. There are only six such verbs in the Hebrew Bible, namely צָב (take a position), צָק (cast), צָע (spread out), צָה (set alight), צָנַן (place), צָר (form, make). (Cf. Joüon–Muraoka §77.) Note that צָא (go out) is not regarded as part of this group. (Cf. Joüon–Muraoka §75g.)
- (4) The verb יָדַע (know) which has both an original I waw and a guttural as third stem consonant, has a / $\text{־} \text{־}$ / vowel pattern in the Qal imperfect. The / ־ / before the guttural is also observable in the imperative and infinitive construct, e.g.

Qal imperfect	יָדַע
Qal imperative	יָדַע
Qal infinitive construct	יָדַעַת

(iii) *Niphal*

The original waw is retained in all the conjugations of the Niphal stem formation.

- a. The waw of the verb stem is retained as a vowel indicator in the perfect and participle.

נִזְלַדְו instead of נִזְלַד

- b. The waw of the verb stem is retained as a consonant in the imperfect, imperative, infinitive construct and infinitive absolute, e.g. וַיִּשָׁב .

- c. The imperfect I singular, however, takes a / ־ / instead of a / $\text{־} \text{־}$ / vowel in the preformative.

אִישָׁב instead of אִישָׁבַב

(iv) *Piel, Pual and Hithpael*

In these stem formations the I waw verbs conjugate like the regular verbs.

- a. In the Piel and Pual a consonantal yod appears as first stem consonant, e.g. יָשַׁב , יָלַדְוּ .
- b. In the Hithpael the original waw is usually retained as a consonant, e.g. יִתְנַבֵּחַ .

(v) *Hiphil and Hophal*

The ‘original’ I waw is retained here. In the Hiphil the waw is retained as a ו vowel indicator and in the Hophal as a ו vowel indicator, e.g. הוֹשִׁיב, הוֹשֵׁב.

5. *Mixed forms*

A number of I yod verbs do not conjugate consistently either as original I yod or original I waw verbs. They have conjugation forms that correspond with both these groups. In the Qal stem formation these verbs usually follow the pattern of the original I yod verbs. In the remaining stem formations they usually follow the pattern of the original I waw, e.g.

Qal perfect	יָרַשׁ
Qal imperative	רַשׁ
Qal infinitive construct	רָשָׁת
Hiphil perfect	הוֹרִישׁ

§18.8. *The II Waw and II Yod Verbs*

1. *Introduction*

The weak consonantal character of the waw and the yod (cf. §4.2/5(ii) and §5.2/2(ii)) may also be observed in verbs with waw and yod as middle consonants. The waw and yod have fallen out of the written form in certain cases, while in other cases they function as vowel indicators.

2. Table 16. *II waw and II yod verbs*

	QAL	QAL	QAL	NI.	HI.	HO.	QAL
	II waw						II yod
<i>Gloss</i>	get up	die	be ashamed				put down
<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Perfect form</i>						
3 m.	קָם	מָת	בִּישׁ	נָקַם	הִקִּים	הִקְמָה	שָׁם
3 f.	קָמָה	מָתָה	בוּשָׁה	נָקְמָה	הִקִּמָה	הִקְמָה	שָׁמָה
2 m.	קָמַתְּ	מָתָה	בִּשְׁתְּ	נָקַמְתְּ	הִקִּימְתְּ	הִקְמַתְּ	שָׁמַתְּ
2 f.	קָמַתְּ	מָתְּ	בִּשְׁתְּ	נָקַמְתְּ	הִקִּימְתְּ	הִקְמַתְּ	שָׁמַתְּ
1 c.	קָמַתִּי	מָתִי	בִּשְׁתִּי	נָקַמְתִּי	הִקִּימְתִּי	הִקְמַתִּי	שָׁמַתִּי

	QAL	QAL	QAL	NI.	HI.	HO.	QAL
	II waw						II yod
<i>Pl.</i>	<i>Perfect form</i>						
3 c.	קָמוּ	מָתוּ	בָּשׂוּ	זָקְמוּ	הִקְמוּ	הוֹקְמוּ	שָׁמוּ
2 m.	קָמְתֶם	מָתֶם	בָּשְׁתֶּם	זָקַמְתֶּם	הִקְמוּתֶם	הוֹקְמַתֶם	שָׁמְתֶם
2 f.	קָמְתֵי	מָתֵי	בָּשְׁתֵי	זָקַמְתֵי	הִקְמוּתֵי	הוֹקְמַתֵי	שָׁמְתֵי
1 c.	קָמוּנִי	מָתֵנִי	בָּשֵׁנִי	זָקַמְנוּנִי	הִקְמוּנוּנִי	הוֹקְמוּנוּנִי	שָׁמוּנִי
<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Imperfect form</i>						
3 m.	יִקְוֶה	יִמְוֶה	יִבְשֶׁה	יִקְוֶה	יִקְוֶה	יִוְקְוֶה	יִשִׁי
3 f.	תִּקְוֶה	תִּמְוֶה	תִּבְשֶׁה	תִּקְוֶה	תִּקְוֶה	תִּוְקְוֶה	תִּשִׁי
2 m.	תִּקְוֶה	תִּמְוֶה	תִּבְשֶׁה	תִּקְוֶה	תִּקְוֶה	תִּוְקְוֶה	תִּשִׁי
2 f.	תִּקְוֶי	תִּמְוֶי	תִּבְשֶׁי	תִּקְוֶי	תִּקְוֶי	תִּוְקְוֶי	תִּשִׁי
1 c.	אִקְוֶה	אִמְוֶה	אִבְשֶׁה	אִקְוֶה	אִקְוֶה	אִוְקְוֶה	אִשִׁי
<i>Pl.</i>	<i>Imperfect form</i>						
3 c.	יִקְוֶוּ	יִמְוֶוּ	יִבְשֶׁוּ	יִקְוֶוּ	יִקְוֶוּ	יִוְקְוֶוּ	יִשִּׁי
3 f.	תִּקְוֶינָה	תִּמְוֶינָה	תִּבְשֶׁנָה		תִּקְוֶינָה תִּקְוֶינָה	תִּוְקְוֶינָה	תִּשִׁינָה
2 m.	תִּקְוֶוּ	תִּמְוֶוּ	תִּבְשֶׁוּ	תִּקְוֶוּ	תִּקְוֶוּ	תִּוְקְוֶוּ	תִּשִׁי
2 f.	תִּקְוֶינָה	תִּמְוֶינָה	תִּבְשֶׁנָה		תִּקְוֶינָה תִּקְוֶינָה	תִּוְקְוֶינָה	תִּשִׁינָה
1 c.	נִקְוֶה	נִמְוֶה	נִבְשֶׁה	נִקְוֶה	נִקְוֶה	נִוְקְוֶה	נִשִׁי
<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Imperative form</i>						
2 m.	קוּם	מוּת	בוּשׁ	הִקוּם	הִקוּם		שִׁי
2 f.	קוּמִי	מוּתִי	בוּשִׁי	הִקוּמִי	הִקוּמִי		שִׁימִי
<i>Pl.</i>	<i>Imperative form</i>						
2 m.	קוּמוּ	מוּתוּ	בוּשׁוּ	הִקוּמוּ	הִקוּמוּ		שִׁימוּ
2 f.	קַבְּלֵה	מוֹתְהָה	בוּשְׁהָה	הִקַּבְּלֵה	הִקַּבְּלֵה		
<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Cohortative form</i>						
	אִקְוֶה	אִמְוֶה	אִבְשֶׁה		אִקְוֶה		אִשִׁי

	QAL	QAL	QAL	NI.	HI.	HO.	QAL
	II waw						II yod
Sing.	<i>Jussive form</i>						
	קָם	מָת	בוּשׁ		קָם		שָׁם
	<i>Infinitive</i>						
cs.	קָם	מָת	בוּשׁ	הַקָּם	הַקָּם	הַקָּם	שָׁם
abs.	קָם	מָת	בוּשׁ	הַקָּם	הַקָּם	הַקָּם	שָׁם
	<i>Participle</i>						
act.	קָם	מָת	בוּשׁ	מְקָם	מְקָם	מְקָם	שָׁם
pass.	קָם						

3. General features

(i) General

- a. In the stem syllable (i.e. the syllable that begins with the first stem consonant) the waw or yod falls way or functions as a vowel indicator, e.g. קָם and מָת, תְּקָם and תְּמָת.

- b. A connecting vowel occurs before the consonantal suffixes.

- In the perfect it is / וְ /

תְּקִימוֹתַי instead of תְּקִימַתַּי

- and in the imperfect it is / וֹ /.

תְּקִימוֹנָה instead of תְּקִימָנָה

- c. The vowel of the prefix is long and is found in an open syllable. This long vowel reduces should a connecting vowel occur in the verb.

תְּקִימוֹתַי instead of תְּקִימַתַּי

תְּקִימוֹנָה instead of תְּקִימָנָה

- d. The II yod verbs are, with the exception of the Qal imperfect, imperative and infinitive construct, identical to the II waw verbs in all respects, e.g. קָם and שָׁם.

In these exceptions the yod, instead of the waw, functions as a vowel indicator (as the only distinguishing feature of II yod verbs), e.g. קָם and תְּקָם, but שָׁם and תְּשָׁם.

Note the following:

- (1) The II yod verbs are considerably fewer in number than the II waw verbs. The II yod verbs that occur most frequently are דין (judge), בין (understand), גיל (shudder), ריב (strive), שיר (sing) and שית (put down).
- (2) Certain II waw verbs retain the characteristics of verbs having three stem consonants, namely גוע (dwindle away), צוה (command), קוה (hope), היה (be) and חיה (live).

(ii) *Qal*

- a. In the perfect 3 masculine singular and the 3 feminine singular forms the waw and yod have fallen away in the stem syllable, e.g. קם and קמה.
 - A long vowel occurs before vocalic suffixes and forms without suffixes, e.g. קם and קמה.
 - This long vowel changes before consonantal suffixes, e.g. קמה and שמת.
- b. The vowels of the stative perfect form correspond to the vowels in the second syllable of verbs with three stem consonants, e.g. מַת as ק-טון as ק-בוש, as ק-בד.
- c. When the normal suffixes of the perfect are added to verbs such as מַת, the / ַ / is replaced by / ֶ /, e.g. קמה as קמה. (The ת doubles because the verb stem ends on a ת and the suffix begins with a ת.) In stative verbs such as בוש, however, the / ַ / is retained (בשת).
- d. In the imperfect the vowel of the preformative is / ַ / instead of / ֶ /.

תקים	instead of	תקים
תשים	instead of	תשים

- e. In the imperative and infinitive construct
 - the II waw verbs take / ו / as stem vowel, e.g. קום and קומי and
 - the II yod verbs take / י / as stem vowel, e.g. שים and שימי.
- f. The stem vowel of the infinitive absolute is / ו / like that of the regular verbs, e.g. קום as קוּב.
- g. In the jussive
 - the long / ו / of the II waw changes to / ַ /.

תקים	instead of	תקים
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 - the / י / of the II yod changes to / ַ /.

עָשָׂה instead of עָשִׂה

h. In the waw consecutive + imperfect

- the /- / of the II waw changes to /ַ / (hātēp qāmeš).

עָשָׂה instead of עָשִׂה

- the /ַ / of the II yod changes to /ֶ /.

עָשָׂה instead of עָשִׂה

i. The masculine singular participle and the perfect 3 masculine singular are identical in form, viz. עָשָׂה. Although the corresponding feminine forms also seem to be identical, the accent in the perfect falls on the first syllable (עָשָׂה) while it falls on the final syllable in the participle (עֹשֶׂה).

(iii) *Niphal*

- a. Since the preformative in the perfect does not form a closed syllable with the first stem consonant, the preformative is -ַ and not -ֶ.

עָשָׂה instead of עָשִׂה

- b. The stem vowel of the perfect is / ִ / (עָשָׂה) or / ֶ / (עָשָׂה) and not /ַ / (עָשָׂה).

- With the consonantal suffixes the connecting vowel /ַ / is inserted between the suffix and the final stem consonant. As a result of the accompanying accent shift, the preformative /ַ / is reduced to /ַ /.

עָשָׂה* instead of עָשָׂה*

עָשָׂה instead of עָשָׂה*

- c. The imperfect is highly irregular. The vowel of the preformative is /ַ / . The next consonant doubles and the waw functions as the vowel indicator / ִ /, e.g. עָשָׂה as עָשָׂה.

(iv) *Piel, Pual and Hithpael and Polel, Polal and Hithpolel*

Instead of the Piel, Pual and Hithpael stem formations, the II waw and II yod verbs have a Polel, Polal and Hithpolel stem formation, respectively. It is clear from the names of these stem formations that the final stem consonant is repeated. The conjugation of verbs in these stem formations is otherwise regular.

Table 17. *Polel, Polal and Hithpolel*

	<i>POLEL</i>	<i>POLAL</i>	<i>HITHPOLEL</i>
<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Perfect form</i>		
3 m.	קָוַם	קָוַם	הִתְקַוַּם
3 f.	קָוַמָּה	(קָוַמָּה)	(הִתְקַוַּמָּה)
2 m.	קָוַמְתָּ	קָוַמְתָּ	הִתְקַוַּמְתָּ
2 f.	(קָוַמְתָּ)	(קָוַמְתָּ)	(הִתְקַוַּמְתָּ)
1 c.	קָוַמְתִּי	קָוַמְתִּי	הִתְקַוַּמְתִּי
<i>Pl.</i>			
3 c.	קָוַמוּ	קָוַמוּ	הִתְקַוַּמוּ
2 m.	(קָוַמְתֶּם)	(קָוַמְתֶּם)	(הִתְקַוַּמְתֶּם)
2 f.	קָוַמְתֶּן	קָוַמְתֶּן	הִתְקַוַּמְתֶּן
1 c.	(קָוַמְנוּ)	(קָוַמְנוּ)	(הִתְקַוַּמְנוּ)
<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Imperfect form</i>		
3 m.	יִקְוַם	יִקְוַם	יִתְקַוַּם
3 f.	תִּקְוַם	(תִּקְוַם)	תִּתְקַוַּם
2 m.	תִּקְוַם	תִּקְוַם	תִּתְקַוַּם
2 f.	(תִּקְוַמִּי)	תִּקְוַמִּי	תִּתְקַוַּמִּי
1 c.	אִקְוַם	אִקְוַם	אִתְקַוַּם
<i>Pl.</i>			
3 c.	יִקְוַמוּ	יִקְוַמוּ	יִתְקַוַּמוּ
3 f.	תִּקְוַמְנָה	תִּקְוַמְנָה	תִּתְקַוַּמְנָה
2 m.	תִּקְוַמוּ	(תִּקְוַמוּ)	תִּתְקַוַּמוּ
2 f.	תִּקְוַמְנָה	תִּקְוַמְנָה	תִּתְקַוַּמְנָה
1 c.	נִקְוַם	(נִקְוַם)	(נִתְקַוַּם)
<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Imperative form</i>		
2 m.	קְוַם		
2 f.	(קְוַמִּי)		
<i>Pl.</i>			
2 m.	קְוַמוּ		

	POLEL	POLAL	HITHPOLEL
<i>Pl.</i>	<i>Imperative form</i>		
<i>2 f.</i>	(קוּמְנִי)		
	<i>Infinitive</i>		
<i>cs.</i>	קוּם		
<i>abs.</i>			
	<i>Participle</i>		
<i>act.</i>	קוֹמֵם		
<i>pass.</i>		מְקוּמֵם	

General features of the Polel, Polal and Hithpolal and the similarities between them.

a. In the perfect

- only a -הָ is added before the forms of the Polel to form the Hithpolel.
- the Polal can be distinguished from the Polel only in the 2 masculine singular.
- before vocalic suffixes the two matching consonants are separated with a *hātēp* vowel rather than with an audible $\text{š}^{\text{c}}\text{wā}$.

b. In the imperfect the Polel conjugates regularly.

- In the imperfect of the Hithpolel a -תִּי prefix replaces the ׃ preformative of the Polel.
- In the imperfect of the Polal a / $\text{ִ} /$ occurs in the place of the Polel's / $\text{ֵ} /$.

c. The forms of the imperative, infinitive and participle are derived in the usual way.

(v) *Hiphil*

a. In the Hiphil perfect and imperfect the **waw falls away and a vowel indicator / ׳ / occurs in the stem syllable.**

קוּמְנִי instead of קוּמְנִי

b. In the perfect the vowel of the preformative is / $\text{ִ} /$ instead of / $\text{ֵ} /$.

קוּמְנִי instead of קוּמְנִי

- The preformative vowel is reduced when a connecting vowel is inserted later in the verb, e.g. הִקְיִמוּהָ .

c. In the imperfect the vowel of the preformative is / $\dot{\text{v}}$ / instead of / v /.

וְקָם instead of קָם

• The vowel of the preformative is reduced when a connecting vowel is used later in the verb, e.g. וְקָמוּהוּ.

d. The preformative vowel of the participle is / v / and not / $\dot{\text{v}}$ /.

קָם instead of וְקָם

e. In the jussive form the stem vowel in the second syllable / $\dot{\text{v}}$ / changes to / v /.

קָם instead of וְקָם

f. In the waw consecutive + imperfect the / v / mentioned above changes to / $\dot{\text{v}}$ / due to the accent shift that accompanies the waw consecutive + imperfect.

וְקָם instead of וְקָם

• Should the II waw verb end with a guttural or resh, the stem vowel / $\dot{\text{v}}$ / changes to / v /.

וְקָר instead of וְקָר

g. The preformative vowel of the imperative is also / $\dot{\text{v}}$ /. The imperative and infinitive construct may also be derived in the usual way, e.g. קָמוּ.

(vi) *Hophal*

In the perfect and imperfect / v / functions as the vowel for the preformative instead of / $\dot{\text{v}}$ /.

וְקָם instead of וְקָם
וְקָם instead of וְקָם

§18.9. *The Geminate Verbs*

1. *Introduction*

The term geminate verbs refers to verbs that have identical second and third stem consonants, e.g. סָבַב (surround), בָּזַז (capture). They bear certain similarities to the II waw verbs. The features of the geminate verbs in the Qal, Niphal, Hiphil and Hophal stem formations may be systematically described as follows:

(a) A connecting vowel occurs before the consonantal suffix. In the perfect it is / v / and in the imperfect it is / $\dot{\text{v}}$ /.

- (b) The preformative vowel in an open syllable is long.
- (c) The long vowel is reduced if a connecting vowel occurs in the verb.
- (d) In the conjugations that have no suffixes, the third stem consonant usually falls away, while the middle consonant usually doubles in forms which have either vocalic or consonantal suffixes. (The first two stem consonants constitute the stem syllable.)
- (e) The accent usually falls on the stem syllable. When a connecting vowel is added, the stem syllable is usually accented. In a closed unaccented syllable a vowel change occurs, for example, / - / becomes / - / and / ı̄ / becomes / - /.

2. Table 18. *Geminate verbs*

	QAL		QAL	NI.	HI.	HI.	HO.
Gloss	sur-	sur-	be				
	round	round	quick				
<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Perfect form</i>						
3 m.	סב	סבב	קל	נסב	הסב	הסב	היסב
3 f.	סבה	סבבה סבבה	קלה	נסבה	הסבה	הסבה	היסבה
2 m.	סבות		קלות	נסבות	הסבות		היסבות
2 f.	סבות		קלות	נסבות	הסבות		היסבות
1 c.	סבותי		קלותי	נסבותי	הסבותי		היסבותי
<i>Pl.</i>							
3 c.	סבי	סבבי סבבי	קלי	נסבי	הסבי		
2 m.	סבותם		קלותם	נסבותם	הסבותם		היסבותם
2 f.	סבותן		קלותן	נסבותן	הסבותן		היסבותן
1 c.	סבותי		קלותי	נסבותי	הסבותי		היסבותי
<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Imperfect form</i>						
3 m.	יסב	יסב	יקל	יסב	יסב	יסב	יִסב
3 f.	תסב	תסב	תקל	תסב	תסב		תיסב
2 m.	תסב	תסב	תקל	תסב	תסב		תיסב
2 f.	תסבי	תסבי	תקלי	תסבי	תסבי		תיסבי
1 c.	אסב	אסב	אקל	אסב	אסב		איסב

	<i>QAL</i>	<i>QAL</i>	<i>QAL</i>	<i>NI.</i>	<i>HI.</i>	<i>HI.</i>	<i>HO.</i>
<i>Pl.</i>	<i>Imperfect form</i>						
<i>3 c.</i>	יִסְבוּ	יִסְבוּ	יִקְלוּ	יִסְבוּ	יִסְבוּ	יִסְבוּ	יִסְבוּ
<i>3 f.</i>	תִּסְבֶּינָה	תִּסְבֶּינָה	תִּקְלֶינָה	תִּסְבֶּינָה	תִּסְבֶּינָה	תִּסְבֶּינָה	תִּסְבֶּינָה
<i>2 m.</i>	תִּסְבוּ	תִּסְבוּ	תִּקְלוּ	תִּסְבוּ	תִּסְבוּ	תִּסְבוּ	תִּסְבוּ
<i>2 f.</i>	תִּסְבִּינָה	תִּסְבִּינָה	תִּקְלִינָה	תִּסְבִּינָה	תִּסְבִּינָה	תִּסְבִּינָה	תִּסְבִּינָה
<i>1 c.</i>	יִסֵּב	יִסֵּב	יִקַּל	יִסֵּב	יִסֵּב	יִסֵּב	יִסֵּב
<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Imperative form</i>						
<i>2 m.</i>	סֵב			הִסֵּב	הִסֵּב		
<i>2 f.</i>	סִי			הִסִּי	הִסִּי		
<i>Pl.</i>	<i>Cohortative form</i>						
<i>2 m.</i>	סִיבוּ			הִסִּיבוּ	הִסִּיבוּ		
<i>2 f.</i>	סִיבֶינָה			הִסִּיבֶינָה	הִסִּיבֶינָה		
<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Jussive form</i>						
	אִסְבֵּה	אִסְבֵּה	אִקְלֵה				
<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Infinitive</i>						
	יִסֵּב	יִסֵּב	יִקַּל	יִסֵּב	יִסֵּב		
<i>cs.</i>	סֵב		קַל	הִסֵּב	הִסֵּב		
<i>abs.</i>	סִבּוּב		קִלּוּל	הִסִּיב	הִסִּיב		
	<i>Participle</i>						
<i>act.</i>	סֹבֵב	סֹבֵב	קֹלֵל	יֹסֵב	יֹסֵב	יֹסֵב	יֹסֵב
<i>pass.</i>		סִבּוּב					

3. General characteristics

(i) *Qal*

A clear distinction must be made between the forms of geminate verbs that have an active meaning and those that have a stative meaning. Here are some of the verbs that occur frequently.

<i>Statives</i>		<i>Actives</i>	
תָּהָה	to be destroyed	אָרַר	to curse
קָדַר	to be bitter	בָּלַל	to mix

Statives	Actives
קָלַל to be quick	גָּלַל to roll away
רָעַע to be bad	קָדַד to measure
שָׁמַם to be desolate	סָבַב to surround
	שָׁדַד to destroy

Qal with active meaning

a. In the Qal perfect 3 masculine singular, 3 feminine singular and 3 plural variants occur according to rule, viz. The identical second and third consonants may be visibly repeated (סָבַבְהוּ or סָבַבְהָ). However, the repetition may also be indicated by means of a dāgēš in the second consonant (סָבַבְהוּ).

- Sometimes the third consonant falls away and sometimes it is retained, e.g. סָבַב and סָבַבְהוּ.

b. The Qal imperfect the vowel of the preformative is / ַ / and / ִ / occurs in the stem syllable, e.g. וְהָסַב as וְהָסִיב. This conjugation corresponds with that of the II waw verbs.

- Variants that conjugate like I nun verbs also occur, e.g. וְהָסַב as וְהָסִיבְהוּ.

c. The accent shift that accompanies the waw consecutive + imperfect results in the / ַ / of the imperfect changing to / ִ /.

וְהָסִיב instead of וְהָסַב

d. The imperative, infinitive construct and participle may be derived regularly, e.g. סַב.

Qal with a stative meaning

a. The third consonant falls away in:

- the perfect 3 masculine singular, the masculine singular participle

הָסַב instead of הָסַבְהוּ

- the imperative

הָסַב instead of הָסַבְהוּ

- and the infinitive

הָסַב instead of הָסַבְהוּ

b. The preformative vowel of the imperfect is / ַ / and not / ִ /. An / ַ / also occurs in the stem syllable.

וְהָסַב instead of וְהָסִיב

(ii) *Niphal*

- a. In the Niphal the geminate root always occurs in its shortened form, e.g. נִסְבָּהּ not נִסְבְּבָהּ.
- b. The preformative vowel of the perfect and participle changes to / - /.

נִסְבָּהּ	instead of	נִסְבָּהּ
נִסְבָּהּ	instead of	נִסְבָּהּ

- c. The stem vowel of the imperfect, imperative and infinitive is / - /.

נִסְבֵּהּ	instead of	נִסְבֵּהּ
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(iii) *Piel, Pual and Hithpael / Poel, Poal and Hithpoel*

Geminate verbs have Poel, Poal and Hithpoel stem formations instead of the Piel, Pual, Hithpael respectively. The former stem formations are characterized by the vowel indicator / i / between the first and second stem consonants.

- a. The conjugation of verbs in these formations is identical in all respects to the Polel, Polal and Hithpoel stem formations of the II waw verbs. (Cf. §18.8.)
- Poel perfect 3 masculine singular, e.g. סוֹבֵב.
 - Poel imperfect 3 masculine singular, e.g. יִסְבֵּב.
- b. The following forms may also be derived regularly:
- Poel imperative masculine singular, e.g. סוֹבֵב.
 - Poel infinitive construct, e.g. סוֹבֵב.
 - Poel participle, e.g. מְסוֹבֵב.
- c. Some geminate verbs have either regular Piel forms or conjugations that duplicate the first two stem consonants instead of a Poel stem formation. The duplicated stem formations are called the Pilpel and Hithpalpel.
- Piel perfect 3 masculine singular, e.g. גָּלַל.
 - Pilpel perfect 1 singular, e.g. גָּלְגָּלְתִּי.
 - Hithpalpel perfect 3 masculine plural, e.g. הִתְגַּלְגְּלוּ.

(iv) *Hiphil*

- a. The stem vowel of all Hiphil conjugations is / - /.

יָסַב	instead of	יָסִיב
מָסַב	instead of	מָסִיב

b. The preformative vowel of the perfect changes to / ִ /.

הִסַּב instead of הֶסַּב

c. The preformative vowel of the imperfect, infinitive construct and imperative, / ִ /, changes to / ֵ /.

יִסַּב instead of יְסַּב
יִסַּב instead of יְסַּב

d. When a suffix that begins with a consonant is added, the stem vowel of the imperfect changes to / ֵ /.

יִסַּבְנִי instead of יְסַּבְנִי

e. The forms of the imperative and infinitive may be derived regularly, e.g. הִסַּבְנִי.

f. The preformative vowel of the participle is / ִ / and not / ֵ /.

מִסַּב instead of מְסַּב

g. The accent shift that accompanies the waw consecutive + imperfect leads to the / ִ / in the final syllable changing to / ֵ / in the Hiphil.

יִסַּד instead of יְסַּד

h. In verbs with a guttural as second and third stem consonants:

- the / ִ / before the final guttural in the 3 masculine singular is replaced by a / ֵ /.

הִרַע instead of הֶרַע

- ‘Compensatory lengthening’ occurs in conjugations where the guttural is meant to double. The / ִ / changes to / ֵ /.

הִרַעוּ instead of הֶרַעוּ

(v) Hophal

The Hophal is formed by analogy with the II waw verbs

- Perfect, e.g. הוֹסַּב as הוֹקַם.
- Imperfect, e.g. יוֹסַּב as יוֹקַם.
- Infinitive construct, e.g. הוֹסַּב as הוֹקַם.
- Participle, e.g. מוֹסַּב as מוֹקַם.

§18.10. Verbs with More than One Irregular Consonant

1. The following types occur fairly frequently:

- I aleph and III he, e.g. אָבָה willing (Cf. Table 19a.)
 I nun and III aleph, e.g. נָשָׂא raise up/carry (Cf. Table 19b.)
 I waw and III he, e.g. יָרָה shoot (Cf. Table 19c.)
 I waw and III aleph, e.g. יָצָא go out (Cf. Table 19d.)
 I yod and III aleph, e.g. יָרָא fear (Cf. Table 19e.)
 II guttural and III he, e.g. רָאָה see (Cf. Table 19f.)
 II waw and III aleph, e.g. בָּוא come (Cf. Table 19g.)
 I nun and III he, e.g. נָטָה stretch out (Cf. Table 19h.)

2. Table 19a. I aleph and III he

	QAL	NI.	PI.	PU.	HI.	HO.
Perf.	אָבָה					
Impf.	יֵאבֹה					
Juss.	יֵאבֹה					
Wc. + impf.	וַיֵּאבֹה					
Imp.						
Inf. cs.						
Inf. abs.						
Part.	אֹבֵים					

3. Table 19b. I nun and III aleph

	QAL	NI.	PI.	PU.	HI.	HO.
Perf.	נָשָׂא	נָשָׂא			נִשְׂאָה	
Impf.	יִשְׂאָה	As	III aleph	verb stem	יִשְׂאָה	
Juss.	יִשְׂאָה				יִשְׂאָה	
Wc. - impf.	וַיִּשְׂאָה				וַיִּשְׂאָה	
Imp.	שְׂאָה				שְׂאָה	
Inf. cs.	שְׂאָה				שְׂאָה	
Inf. abs.	שְׂאָה				שְׂאָה	
Part.	נִשְׂאָה				נִשְׂאָה	

4. Table 19c. *I waw and III he*

	QAL	NI.	PI.	PU.	HI.	HO.
Perf.	הָקַדְהוּ				הִקְדִּימוּ	
Impf.		יִקְדְּמוּ			יִקְדְּמוּ	
Juss.					יִקְדְּ	
Wc. · impf.					יִקְדְּ	
Imp.	קְדֹה					
Inf. cs.						
Inf. abs.	קְדֹה					
Part.	קֹדֵם				מִקְדָּמָה	

5. Table 19d. *I waw and III aleph*

	QAL	NI.	PI.	PU.	HI.	HO.
Perf.	הִקְדִּימוּ				הִקְדִּימוּ	הִקְדִּימוּ
Impf.	יִקְדְּמוּ				יִקְדְּמוּ	יִקְדְּמוּ
Juss.	יִקְדְּמוּ				יִקְדְּמוּ	
Wc. · impf.	יִקְדְּמוּ				יִקְדְּמוּ	יִקְדְּמוּ
Imp.	קְדֹמוּ				הִקְדִּימוּ	
Inf. cs.	קְדֹמוּ				הִקְדִּימוּ	קְדֹמוּ
Inf. abs.	קְדֹמוּ				הִקְדִּימוּ	
Part.	קְדֹמוּ				מִקְדָּמָה	מִקְדָּמָה

6. Table 19e. *I yod and III aleph*

	QAL	NI.	PI.	PU.	HI.	HO.
Perf.	הִקְדִּימוּ					
Impf.	יִקְדְּמוּ	יִקְדְּמוּ				
Juss.	יִקְדְּמוּ					
Wc. · impf.	יִקְדְּמוּ					
Imp.	קְדֹמוּ					
Part.	קְדֹמוּ					

7. Table 19f. II guttural and III he (הָאֵלֶּף vs. הָאֵלֶּף)

	QAL	NI.	PI.	PU.	HI.	HO.
<i>Perf.</i>	הָאֵלֶּף				הָאֵלֶּף	
<i>Impf.</i>	הָאֵלֶּף				הָאֵלֶּף	
<i>Juss.</i>	הָאֵלֶּף				הָאֵלֶּף	
<i>Wc. + impf.</i>	הָאֵלֶּף הָאֵלֶּף הָאֵלֶּף				הָאֵלֶּף הָאֵלֶּף	
<i>Imp.</i>	הָאֵלֶּף					
<i>Inf. cs.</i>	הָאֵלֶּף				הָאֵלֶּף	
<i>Inf. abs.</i>	הָאֵלֶּף					
<i>Part.</i>	הָאֵלֶּף				הָאֵלֶּף	

8. Table 19g. II waw and III aleph

	QAL	NI.	PI.	PU.	HI.	HO.
<i>Perf.</i>	הָאֵלֶּף				הָאֵלֶּף	הָאֵלֶּף
<i>Impf.</i>	הָאֵלֶּף				הָאֵלֶּף	הָאֵלֶּף
<i>Juss.</i>	הָאֵלֶּף				הָאֵלֶּף	
<i>Wc. + impf.</i>	הָאֵלֶּף				הָאֵלֶּף	הָאֵלֶּף
<i>Imp.</i>	הָאֵלֶּף				הָאֵלֶּף	
<i>Inf. cs.</i>	הָאֵלֶּף				הָאֵלֶּף	הָאֵלֶּף
<i>Inf. abs.</i>	הָאֵלֶּף				הָאֵלֶּף	
<i>Part.</i>	הָאֵלֶּף				הָאֵלֶּף	הָאֵלֶּף

9. Table 19h. I nun and III he

	QAL	NI.	PI.	PU.	HI.	HO.
<i>Perf.</i>	הָאֵלֶּף				הָאֵלֶּף	הָאֵלֶּף
<i>Impf.</i>	הָאֵלֶּף				הָאֵלֶּף	הָאֵלֶּף
<i>Juss.</i>	הָאֵלֶּף				הָאֵלֶּף	
<i>Wc. + impf.</i>	הָאֵלֶּף				הָאֵלֶּף	הָאֵלֶּף
<i>Imp.</i>	הָאֵלֶּף				הָאֵלֶּף	
<i>Inf. abs.</i>	הָאֵלֶּף				הָאֵלֶּף	הָאֵלֶּף

	<i>QAL</i>	<i>NI</i>	<i>PI</i>	<i>PU</i>	<i>HI</i>	<i>HO</i>
<i>Inf. cs.</i>	נָשׂוּת				הַשׂוּת	הַשׂוּת
<i>Part.</i>	נֹשֵׂה				נוֹשֵׂה	נוֹשֵׂה

§18.11. *Others*: הוּיָה, חוּיָה, חוּוָה, נָתַן, לָקַח and הִלָּךְ

1. Table 20. הוּיָה, חוּיָה, חוּוָה, נָתַן, לָקַח and הִלָּךְ

	<i>QAL</i>		<i>QAL</i>	<i>NI</i>	<i>QAL</i> <i>pass.</i>	<i>QAL</i>	<i>NI</i>	<i>QAL</i>
<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Perfect form</i>							
<i>3 m.</i>	הָיָה	הָיָה	נָתַן	נָתַן	נָתַן	לָקַח	נִלְקַח	הִלָּךְ
<i>3 f.</i>	הָיְתָה	as	נָתְנָה	נָתְנָה	-	לָקַחָהּ	נִלְקַחָהּ	regu-
<i>2 m.</i>	הָיִיתָ	הָיָה	נָתַתָּ	נָתַתָּ	-	לָקַחְתָּ	נִלְקַחְתָּ	lar
<i>2 f.</i>	הָיִיתְּ		נָתַתְּ	נָתַתְּ	-	regu-	נִלְקַחְתְּ	
<i>1 c.</i>	הָיִיתִי		נָתַתִּי	נָתַתִּי	-	lar	נִלְקַחְתִּי	
<i>Pl.</i>								
<i>3 c.</i>	הָיוּ		נָתְנוּ	נָתְנוּ	-		נִלְקַחוּ	
<i>2 m.</i>	הָיִיתֶם		נָתַתֶּם	נָתַתֶּם	-		נִלְקַחְתֶּם	
<i>2 f.</i>	הָיִיתְּנָה		נָתַתְּנָה	נָתַתְּנָה	-		-	
<i>1 c.</i>	הָיִיתִי		נָתַתִּי	נָתַתִּי	-		נִלְקַחְתִּי	
<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Imperfect form</i>							
<i>3 m.</i>	יִהְיֶה		יִתֵּן	יִתֵּן	יִתֵּן	יִלְקַח	יִלְקַח	יִלָּךְ
<i>3 f.</i>	תִּהְיֶה		תִּתֵּן	תִּתֵּן	תִּתֵּן	תִּלְקַח	תִּלְקַח	תִּלָּךְ
<i>2 m.</i>	תִּהְיֶה		תִּתֵּן	תִּתֵּן	תִּתֵּן	תִּלְקַח	תִּלְקַח	תִּלָּךְ
<i>2 f.</i>	תִּהְיִי		תִּתְּנִי	תִּתְּנִי	תִּתְּנִי	תִּלְקַחִי	תִּלְקַחִי	תִּלְכִי
<i>1 c.</i>	אֶהְיֶה		אֶתֵּן	אֶתֵּן	אֶתֵּן	אֶלְקַח	אֶלְקַח	אֶלָּךְ
<i>Pl.</i>								
<i>3 c.</i>	יִהְיוּ		יִתְּנוּ	יִתְּנוּ	יִתְּנוּ	יִלְקַחוּ	יִלְקַחוּ	יִלְכוּ
<i>3 f.</i>	תִּהְיֶינָה		תִּתְּנֶינָה		-	תִּלְקַחְנָה	-	תִּלְכְּנָה
<i>2 m.</i>	תִּהְיוּ		תִּתְּנוּ	תִּתְּנוּ	תִּתְּנוּ	תִּלְקַחוּ	תִּלְקַחוּ	תִּלְכוּ
<i>2 f.</i>	תִּהְיֶינָה		תִּתְּנֶינָה		-	תִּלְקַחְנָה	-	תִּלְכְּנָה
<i>1 c.</i>	נִהְיֶה		נִתֵּן	נִתְּנוּ	נִתֵּן	נִלְקַח	נִלְקַח	נִלָּךְ

	QAL		QAL	NI.	QAL pass.	QAL	NI.	QAL.
Sing.	<i>Imperative form</i>							
2 m.	הָנֵה		הָן	הָנֵן	absent	קַח	הִלַּקְחָ	לָךְ
2 f.	הָי		הָי	הָנֵי		קַחִי	הִלַּקְחִי	לְכִי
Pl.								
2 m.	הָיוּ		הָנוּ	הָנֵנוּ		קַחוּ	הִלַּקְחוּ	לְכוּ
2 f.			הָנֵה			קַחְנֵה	הִלַּקְנֵה	לְכֵנָה
Sing.	<i>Cohortative form</i>							
			אֶתְנֶה			אֶקַּח		אֶלְכָה
Sing.	<i>Jussive form</i>							
	הָי		הָן			הָקַח		
	<i>Infinitive</i>							
cs.	הָיִיתָ		הָיִיתָ	הָנִיתָ		קַחְתָּ	הִלַּקְתָּ	לָכַתָּ
abs.			הָנִיתָ	הָנִיתָ		לְקַחְתָּ	הִלַּקְתָּ	הִלְיִידָ
	<i>Participle</i>							
act.			נִתֵּן			לְקַחְתָּ		הוֹלֵךְ
pass.			נִתֵּן	נִתֵּן		לְקִיחָ	נִלְקָחָ	

2. חיה and היה (Table 20)

Apart from the conjugation patterns normally associated with I and III gutturals, this verb stem also has several unique features.

a. / - / is found with the I guttural where one would expect / - /.

הָיִיתָם instead of הָיִיתָם
הָיִיתָ instead of הָיִיתָ

b. In the imperfect the vowel of the preformative is not influenced by the I guttural.

יִהְיֶה instead of יִהְיֶה

c. The II yod never becomes a vowel indicator except in the case of (short) jussive forms.

יִהְיֶה instead of יִהְיֶה

3. חוה

For a very long time השתחוה was regarded as a Hithpael form of שחה in which *metathesis* had occurred. However, research into Ugaritic, a Semitic language closely related to BH, has clearly indicated that it is a relic from an earlier stage of the language. One is here dealing with a verb stem חוה that is used in a stem formation to which a /hišt-/ or /yišt/ syllable is added. Only one verb stem occurs in this stem formation, namely חוה. The most common meaning of this verb stem is 'to bow'. This stem formation is called the Hištafel.

The following Hištafel forms of חוה occur the most:

	<i>Perf.</i>	<i>Impf.</i>	<i>Imp.</i>	<i>Part.</i>	<i>Inf. cs.</i>
3 m. sing.	השתחוה	ישתחוה			
2 m. sing.	השתחית	תשתחוה			
1 sing.	השתחיתי	אשתחוה			
3 m. pl.	השתחוו	ישתחוו			
2 m. pl.	השתחיתם	תשתחוו	השתחוו		
1 pl.	השתחיינו	נשתחוה			
					השתחות
<i>m. sing.</i>				משתחוה	
<i>m. pl.</i>				משתחויים	

The waw consecutive + imperfect is formed by adding the conjunction -וּ to the imperfect forms, in which case the first consonant doubles. The following are the forms for the 3 masculine singular and 2 masculine singular:

וַיִּשְׁתַּחֲוֶה*	וַיִּשְׁתַּחוּ	'and he bowed'
וַתִּשְׁתַּחֲוֶה*	וַתִּשְׁתַּחוּ	'and you bowed'

4. נתן (Table 20)

a. The perfect conjugates regularly. Note that the final nun assimilates with the ת of the suffixes.

נָתַתְּ instead of נָתַתְּ

b. The stem vowel of the imperfect is / - / as though this were a I yod verb stem.

יִתֵּן instead of יִתֵּן

In addition to the assimilation of the first nun, the final nun also assimilates with the subsequent consonantal suffix, נָתַתָּם and נָתַתִּי .

- c. In the infinitive construct and imperative the I nun of the verb stem falls away (or it may be derived regularly from the imperfect).

נָתַת instead of נָתַן

- d. נָתַן also has conjugations in the Hophal imperfect. However, these forms are traditionally interpreted as passive imperfect forms of the Qal stem formation, e.g. נִתְּנָה . (Cf. Joüon–Muraoka §58a and 72i.) Table 20 reflects the traditional interpretation.

- e. The infinitive construct is formed with a ן suffix.

- The infinitive construct looks like a typical monosyllabic noun, e.g. נָתַן . (Cf. §27.4.) When the pronominal suffix is added to the infinitive it has an i-stem, e.g. נָתַתִּי .

5. לָקַח (Table 20)

לָקַח behaves as if it were a I nun verb:

- The perfect paradigm conjugates normally, e.g. לָקַחַת and לָקַחְתִּי .
- In the imperfect conjugation the ל assimilates, like the I nun, with the subsequent consonant, e.g. לִקַּח and לִקַּחְתָּ .
- The imperative is derived regularly from the imperfect.

לָקַח instead of לָקַחַת

- d. In the infinitive construct the ל of the verb stem falls away, and a suffix ן is added. לָקַחַת then looks like a typical segholate noun with a guttural as middle consonant. (Cf. §27.3.)

לָקַחַת instead of לָקַחַתִּי

- e. לָקַחַת also has conjugations in the Pual imperfect. However, these forms have been interpreted traditionally as Qal passive imperfect forms, e.g. לִקַּחְתָּ .

6. הִלָּךְ (Table 20)

- The perfect paradigm conjugates as expected, e.g. הִלָּךְ and הִלָּכְתָּ .
- With the exception of the Qal perfect הִלָּךְ conjugates in the Qal and Hiphil like a typical I waw verb.
 - The imperfect forms look like I waw verbs, e.g. יִלָּךְ as יִשָּׁב .
 - In the imperative the ה of the verb stem falls away, e.g. לָךְ and לָכִי .

- In the infinitive the ן of the verb stem falls away, and a suffix ף is added, e.g. לִלְכּוֹת. לִלְכּוֹף then has the appearance of a typical segholate noun. (Cf. §27.3.)

§19. The Syntax and Semantics of the Finite Verb Forms

§19.1. *The Problematics of the BH Verbal System*

1. *A tense or time system*

When a language possesses the *grammatical means* of referring to *moments in time*, we say that that language has a *tense system*. For example, in English we speak of a present, past and future tense of the verb.

- (1) She comes.
 She came.
 She will come.

The word ‘come’ conjugates in the *past tense* (‘came’), while the *future tense* makes use of an auxiliary (‘will’). Such a tense system can be very sophisticated: it may have a variety of different forms that refer to different moments in the past as is the case of English, for example, with its *simple past*, *present perfect* and *pluperfect*:

- (2) I saw him.
 I have seen him.
 I had seen him.

Each of the above sentences is indicative of a particular moment in the past. In contrast to English, the tense system of other languages may be much simpler, as is the case with Afrikaans that has no grammatical means of differentiating between the *simple past*, the *present perfect* and the *pluperfect*. In other words, the English sentences above will have no direct Afrikaans equivalent in translation. The particular moment in the past to which the translation of the Afrikaans, ‘Ek het hom gesien’, refers must therefore be determined from its greater context.

2. *Aspect system*

Not all languages possess a grammatically realized tense system. In some languages verbs conjugate primarily to indicate whether an action is complete or incomplete. Languages which have the *grammatical means* of indicating that an *action is complete or*

incomplete are described as having an *aspect system*. Consider the following example. In answer to the question:

(3) What did you do last night?

one could answer:

I finished reading my book; or
I was reading my book.

In Russian one would use in the equivalent of *I finished reading my book* the perfect form of the verb ‘read’ instead of the lexeme ‘finished’ to indicate that the action has been completed.

3. Time and aspect in BH

Various opinions exist as to whether BH has a tense or an aspect system. Older Jewish grammarians, like the more recent grammarians who adopt their point of view, are of the opinion that the BH verb system is primarily a tense system. The *perfect* (cf. §15.1) thus refers to *past time* and the *imperfect* (cf. §15.1) to the *present and future*.¹⁶

In the previous century the study of the BH verb was freed from its ‘time’ straightjacket. According to this new interpretation of the perfect and the imperfect forms, they did not refer primarily to moments in time, but to the *aspect* of the verbs. According to this interpretation the perfect and imperfect as semantic categories refer to two extremes in terms of which all actions can be described. By using the perfect speakers describe an action from their perspective as completed. By using the imperfect speakers represent an action as incomplete or being in the process of completion. This explains why BH speakers can use an imperfect, which should refer to future events in terms of the tense system, to refer to a habitual action in the past, e.g.

וְכֵן יַעֲשֶׂה שָׁנָה בְּשָׁנָה This is what *he used to do* year by year (1 Sam. 1.7).

The dilemma with the perfect and the imperfect aspectual categories is that, as with the temporal categories, they do not cover all the nuances that can be expressed by the perfect and the imperfect

16. Jouön–Muraoka §111a uses, ‘for want of better terms, the common and disparate terms *perfect* and *future*, which at least have the advantage of being short and of reflecting the reality in the majority of cases’.

forms. These terms, which were intended to refer to the aspectual functions of BH verbs, became so entrenched that they are still used today to refer to the forms themselves. Terms such as suffix conjugation and prefix conjugation as well as *qatal* and *yiqtol* were therefore introduced with the specific purpose of preventing possible misunderstandings in this regard. In this grammar the terms perfect and imperfect will be retained because they still occur in most of the popular dictionaries. Note, however, that perfect and imperfect refer here to *the forms* of verbs and *not* to their *functions*.

No attempt will be made to account for the BH verb in terms of any one specific theory. The following distinctions with regard to the perfect and imperfect will serve as the points of departure in this grammar:

- (a) Any semantic functions mentioned here have a bearing only on free-standing perfect and imperfect forms. (For the functions of verb sequences such as waw consecutive + imperfect and waw consecutive + perfect, cf. §21.)
- (b) The interwovenness of aspect and time is a feature of many languages (Lyons 1968: 317).¹⁷
- (c) The following distinction is made with respect to time (with a few exceptions):

Perfect	= past time
Imperfect	= non-past time

The conjugations in BH do not distinguish between different moments in past time (e.g. the ordinary past, the distant past and the perfect) or between the present time, the future and modality. These distinctions, which naturally appear in the translations of a BH text in tense languages such as English, are exclusively determined by the context and the lexical signification of the verb.

- (d) The aspectual distinctions with regard to complete and non-complete actions correlate more or less with the above

17. Buth (1992: 95) quotes Greenberg (1966) in this regard. According to Greenberg one of the phenomena found in all languages which have verbs that conjugate is that these verbs always have 'a tense-aspect-mood signification'.

distinction (with some exceptions), namely¹⁸

Perfect	= past time	= completed action ¹⁹
Imperfect	= non-past time	= non-complete action

- (e) The exceptions,²⁰ which do not correlate with the above scheme, constitute a clearly distinguishable class in connection with: verbs that express some or other condition, for example, stative and passive, expressions involving performative language acts,²¹ and certain conjunctions.
- (f) It is not clear whether in BH it is time that assumes aspect, or aspect that assumes time.
- (g) BH speakers and narrators had a choice of describing either the aspect or the time of an action. They apparently also had a choice with respect to the perspective from which they described an action. This could be done from the perspective of the narrator or the narrator could present the action from the perspective of his characters. In the latter case it is sometimes difficult to translate the perfect with the past tense and the imperfect with the present or future tense. (Cf. §19.2/1 and 19.3/1.)

§19.2. *The Perfect Form (Suffix Conjugation, Qatal)*

Perfect forms refer, broadly speaking, to **complete events or facts** that often can be translated with the past tense.

18. According to Buth (1992: 95) the perfect marks the ‘definite tense-aspect’ which normally refers to ‘*definite* events (that is, past or perfective or decisive or contrary to the fact)’ as opposed to the imperfect which marks the ‘indefinite tense-aspect’ and refers to ‘indefinite events (future or imperfective or potential or repetitive)’.

19. ‘Complete’ here refers to actions that have been completed or finalized and not to the totality of the action, as in Waltke and O’Conner §30 and 31.

20. It may be theoretically possible to explain these exceptions in terms of a sophisticated aspect theory, which attaches a great deal of importance to the speaker’s presentation of events as perfective versus non-perfective, or definitive versus non-definitive. These explanations are not presented here for didactic reasons.

21. A performative action occurs when speakers perform an action by virtue of what they say, e.g. רָאָה נָתַתִּי אֶתְּךָ עַל כָּל־אֶרֶץ מִצְרָיִם. ‘See, I appoint you over all the land of Egypt’ (Gen. 41.41).

1. *The perfect form indicates that actions, processes and events have already been completed in the past.*

(i) In most cases events are presented from the perspective of the narrator and can be translated with *the past tense*.

a. Simple past

וַלחֹשֶׁךְ קָרָא לַיְלָה	And the darkness he <i>called</i> Night (Gen. 1.5).
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b. Immediate past ('present perfect')

וַיֹּאמֶר מָה עָשִׂיתָ	And he said, 'What <i>have</i> you <i>done</i> ?' (Gen. 4.10).
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c. Distant past ('pluperfect')

לֹא יָדָע יַעֲקֹב כִּי רָחַל גָּנְבָתָם	Jacob did not know that Rachel <i>had</i> <i>stolen</i> them (Gen. 31.32).
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(ii) Events in the past and/or completed events *that are described from the (time or aspectual) perspective of the characters* can be translated with the past tense.

לֹא אֲכַל עַד אֲסַדְבַּרְתִּי דְבָרִי	I will not eat until I <i>have told</i> my message (Gen. 24.33).
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(iii) *Hypothetical conditions or unrealizable wishes* make no reference to actual past events. From the perspective of the characters or the hypothetical world, however, events in the past are involved.²²

לֹדְמוּתָנוּ בְּאֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם	Would that we <i>had died</i> in the land of Egypt (Num. 14.2).
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לֹא הִחַיְתָם אוֹתָם לֹא הִרְגַתִּי אֶתְכֶם:	If you <i>had saved them alive</i> , I would not slay you (Judg. 8.19).
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2. *The perfect form can express a state of affairs or a condition.*

A state of affairs or a condition is usually expressed through a stative or passive verb. A stative verb cannot express a 'once-off,' completed action. It always carries a certain element of duration. The translation is determined by the context. In *dialogue* it is usually

22. Sometimes a perfect is used in the *protasis* of a real condition, where one would have expected an imperfect. Cf. 2 Kgs 7.4 and Deut. 21.14. For an extensive discussion of the use of verb forms in conditional clauses, cf. Joüon-Muraoka §167g.

translated with the present tense. In *narrative* it is usually translated with the past tense.

וַיֹּאמֶר הִנְהִינָא זָקֵנִי And he said, 'Look, I *am old*' (Gen. 27.2).

וַתַּעַשׂ אִמּוֹ מִטְעָמִים כַּאֲשֶׁר
אָהַב אָבִיו: And his mother *prepared* savoury
food, such as his father loved. (Gen. 27.14).

3. The perfect form can indicate a performative action.

A performative action is an action that occurs by means of speaking.

נִסַּחְתָּ אֶתְּךָ עַל כָּל-אֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם I *appoint* you over all the land of
Egypt (Gen. 41.41).

4. The perfect can indicate actions, events and/or facts that are not time-bound.

Traditionally this was known as the *gnomic perfect* (rare).

וַחֲרֹ וְכֹס וְעֹגֹר שְׁמֵרוּ
אֶת־עֵת בֹּאֵיהֶן And the turtledove, swallow, and
crane *keep* the time of their coming
(Jer. 8.7).

5. Rare uses

(i) In prayers in which it is clear that a request is being made (the so-called *precative perfective*). The perfect is used in this way approximately 20 times in the Hebrew Bible, exclusively in the Psalms.

הוֹשִׁיעֵנִי מִפִּי אֲרִיָּה
וּמִקַּרְנֵי רַמִּים עֲנִיתָנִי: Rescue me from the mouth of the
lion, *save* me from the horns of the
wild oxen! (Ps. 22.22).

(ii) As a *rhetorical means* of presenting future events as if they have already happened. This use of the perfect is often called the *prophetic perfect*.

לְכִן יֵלֶךְ עַמִּי
מִבְּלִי-דַעַת Therefore my people *will go into exile*
for want of knowledge (Isa. 5.13).

§19.3. The Imperfect form (Prefix Conjugation, Yiqtol)

Imperfect forms refer, broadly speaking, to incomplete events that can often be translated with the present or future tense.

1. *The imperfect form usually indicates that events will occur in the future as definite events or as expectations.*

(i) In most cases the verb is translated with a *future tense*.

כִּי בַיּוֹם אֲכַלֶּךָ מִמֶּנִּי מוֹת תָּמוּת:	For in the day that you eat of it you <i>shall die</i> (Gen. 2.17).
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(ii) The events can be described as ‘*future*’ events from the character’s perspective.

וַיֵּלֶךְ הָאִישׁ ... לָגוּר בְּאֶשֶׁר יִמָּצֵא:	And the man departed ... to live where he <i>could find</i> (a place) (Judg. 17.8).
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2. *The imperfect form expresses actions and events in the past which continue for shorter or longer periods — usually after words such as:*

(i) טָרַם (-ב-) (Cf. §41.2/2.)

וַלְיוֹסֵף יָלַד שְׁנֵי בָנִים בְּטָרַם תְּבוּאָה שְׁנַת הָרָעָב	And Joseph had two sons— <i>before</i> the year of famine <i>came</i> (Gen. 41.50).
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(ii) עַד (Cf. §39.18.)

וַיָּדָם הַשָּׁמֶשׁ ... עַד־יָקָם גּוֹי אֹיְבָיו	And the sun stood still ... <i>until</i> the nation <i>took vengeance</i> on its enemies (Josh. 10.13).
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(iii) אָז (Cf. §40.4 and §41.2/1.)

אָז יַעֲלֶה הַזֹּאֵל מֶלֶךְ אַרְם	At <i>that time</i> Hazael, king of Syria, <i>went up</i> (2 Kgs 12.18).
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There are several instances where אָז is followed by a perfect, e.g. Judg. 8.3. (Cf. also Revell 1989: 11 in this regard.)

3. *The imperfect form expresses actions and events in the present.*

This aspect of an action is usually expressed by means of participles. The imperfect that refers to *present continuous* (‘present incomplete’) actions is usually used *where a question is being posed*.

וַיִּשְׁאַלְהוּ הָאִישׁ לְאָמָר מַה תִּבְקֹשׁ:	And the man asked him, ‘What <i>are</i> you <i>seeking</i> ?’ (Gen. 37.15).
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23. טָרַם is not necessarily a conjunction. It can also function as an adverb. It must then be translated as ‘not yet’ and can be followed by a perfect or imperfect. When טָרַם is a conjunction, it may be preceded by the preposition כִּי and translated with ‘before that’ In such cases it must be followed by an imperfect. (Cf. §41.2/2.)

This use of the imperfect occurs otherwise rarely in expressions that refer to actions in the past tense. One could also construe its as a stylistic method used to enliven a narrative. It may be compared to the phenomenon of suddenly switching from the past to the present tense in English.

וַהֲגִה תִּסְבְּיָהּ אֶלְמַתֶּיכֶם And behold, your sheaves gather
round (mine) (Gen. 37.7).

4. The imperfect form indicates habitual actions.

(i) Such habitual actions refer most often to *repeated and infinite actions*. In *narratives* they are usually embedded in the context of events that happened in the past.

וְכֵן יַעֲשֶׂה שָׁנָה בְּשָׁנָה And this is what *he used to do* year
by year (1 Sam. 1.7).

(ii) The imperfect can also refer to *a habit* that prevailed at the time of the narrator's statement and must thus be translated in the present tense.

עַל־כֵּן לֹא־יֹאכְלוּ בְּנֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל
אֶת־גִּיד הַיָּסָה Therefore the Israelites *do not eat* the
sinew of the hip (Gen. 32.33).

5. The imperfect form indicates certain modalities (or non-indicatives).

BH does not have modal auxiliary verbs such as *can/could, shall, would, will, may*, etc. The root of the concept 'modality' lies in the distinction made between the form of the indicative, subjunctive and optative 'moods' of Greek and Latin verbs. Each one of these modalities refers to a certain subjective judgement regarding the actuality of an event. The indicative refers to a certain reality (factual event) and is regarded as the unmarked form, for example, 'Peter sings well'. The subjunctive and optative, on the other hand, refer to fictitious events. An event is fictitious if a speaker is not certain about the actuality of the events referred to, for example, 'Peter should (be able to) sing well'. A speaker is sometimes uncertain about the relationship between a subject and its predicate, for example, the sentence 'Peter may sing now' indicates that the speaker does not know whether Peter is actually going to sing. For this reason all directive actions, i.e. commands, instructions, orders, etc., are also classified as expressions of modality.

The imperfect can be used to indicates one of the following modalities:

(i) The *possibility or potential* of events

כָּל־מָקוֹם אֲשֶׁר תִּדְרֹךְ כַּדְרֹגְלֶיכֶם בּוֹ	Every place that the sole of your foot <i>will tread</i> upon (Josh. 1.3).
אֵיכָה אֶשָׂא לְבַדִּי מִרְחֻמֶיךָ	How <i>can</i> I alone <i>bear</i> your burden? (Deut. 1.12).
כִּי יִפְגְּשֶׁךָ עֵשָׂו אָחִי ...	If Esau my brother <i>meets</i> you, ... (Gen. 32.18).

(ii) The *(un)desirability* of events

לָמָּה תֵּלַכְנָה עִמָּי	Why <i>do you want to go</i> with me? (Ruth 1.11).
מִפְּנֵי שִׁיבָה תִּקְוִים	You <i>ought to rise up</i> before the hoary head (Lev. 19.32).

(iii) *Direct directives*

A directive is a speech act by which speakers want to make their listeners do something, e.g. an order, request, summons. Direct directives also involve the desirability of events, but the speakers indicate explicitly that they wish their listeners to adjust their behaviour accordingly. Directives in BH are usually marked morphologically as cohortative, imperative or jussive. Note, however, that in BH the imperfect is used with לֹא to express an (absolute) prohibition (you *must* not...). As opposed to that אַל is used with the jussive to express the nuance of a temporally binding prohibition ('you should not...'). (Cf. §19.4/2.)

לֹא תִרְצָח You shall not kill (Exod. 20.13).

6. *Problem cases*

There are a number of instances, especially in the poetic sections, where the imperfect form is used where one would have expected a perfect form.

וַתִּקְרַע בְּשָׁמַיִם יְהוָה וַעֲלִיזוֹן יָתֵן קוֹלוֹ	And the Lord also thundered in the heavens, and the Most High <i>uttered</i> his voice (Ps. 18.14).
צָרָה וַיִּגֵּן אֶמְצָא:	I <i>found</i> distress and anguish (Ps. 116.3).

§19.4. *The Imperative, Cohortative and Jussive Forms*1. *The directive forms and the particle נָּ-*

The suffix נָּ- may be added to all the directive forms and usually follows them. *Inter alia*, it expresses a *polite request* and may be translated with ‘please’.²⁴ (Cf. 45.5/1(i).)

אָמַרְתִּינָּ אָחֹתִי אָתָּה Please say you are my sister (Gen. 12.13).

Sometimes it may even be left untranslated.

וַיֹּהֲרֶה אֱלֹהֵי אַבְרָם ... And the Lord said to Abram ... Lift
שָׂא נָּא עֵינֶיךָ up your eyes ... (Gen. 13.14).

In negative requests the particle נָּ- is usually placed after the negative.

אַל־נָּא תִקְבְּרֵנִי בְּמִצְרַיִם Please do not bury me in Egypt
(Gen. 42.29).

In courteous requests that are connected to some condition, the נָּ- may be placed directly after the particle ׀ in the *protasis*.

אִם־נָּא מָצָאתִי חֵן בְּעֵינֶיךָ If now I have found favor with you,
וְעָשִׂיתָ לִּי אֹתָּה then show me a sign (Judg. 6.17).

2. *The imperative form*

Imperative form refers predominantly to direct positive commands or instructions in the 2nd person. For the forms of the imperative, cf. §15.3. For a series of commands, cf. §21.5.

In all the stem formations an הָ- suffix may be added to the imperative masculine singular. Traditionally the resultant command forms are known as emphatic imperatives. The semantic function of this הָ- suffix is, however, unknown. As a result of the suffix the final stem vowel of the imperative is reduced. In the case of the Qal stem formation the two consecutive audible š^ewâs fuse, e.g.

מִכָּרָה בְּיָסֹם אֶת־בְּכֹרְתְּךָ לִּי First sell me your birthright (Gen. 25.31).

24. According to some grammarians נָּ- expresses the relationship of logical cause and effect between sentences. (Cf. Lambdin §102 and 136.)

(i) *Directives*

The following types of directives may be expressed by the imperative. Only the context can decide on the type of directive involved in each case.

a. Command

שִׁים נָא יָדְךָ תַּחַת יָרְכִי Put your hand under my thigh (Gen. 24.2).

b. Permission

וַיֹּאמֶר פָּרְעָה עֲלֵה
וּקְבֹר אֶת־אָבִיךָ ('Now therefore let me go up, so that I may bury my father: then I will return'.) And Pharaoh answered, 'Go up, and bury your father' (Gen. 50.6).

c. Request

תְּנֵה נָא לָהֶם כֶּכֶר־כֶּסֶף Please give them a talent of silver (2 Kgs 5.22).

d. Invitation

וַיֹּאמֶר לָהּ בְּעוֹ לַעֲת הָאֵכֶל
גְּשִׁי הֵלֶם And at mealtime Boaz said to her, 'Come over here' (Ruth 2.14).

(ii) *Wishes* (in the sense of blessings)

אֲחַתְּנוּ אִתְּ הֵי לְאַלְפֵי רִבְבָּהּ Our sister, may you multiply to thousands of ten thousands (Gen. 24.60).

Note the following:

- (1) The imperative form is never used in a negative command. In order to express a negative command in the 2nd person, the negative **אַל** is used with the jussive form of the 2nd person.

וַיֹּד אֶל־הַשְּׁלֹחַרְבוֹ But do not lay a hand upon him (Gen. 37.22).

- (2) To express an absolute prohibition in the 2nd person, the negative **לֹא** is used with the imperfect.

לֹא תִרְצַח You shall not kill (Exod. 20.13).

3. *The cohortative form*

The cohortative is primarily an indirect command to the 1st person. The negative used with the cohortative is **אַל**. (Cf. §15.4 for the forms of the cohortative.)

(i) *Directives*

a. Exhortation

וּלְכֶה אַחֲרַי אֱלֹהִים אֲחֵרִים *Let us go after other gods (Deut. 13.3).*

b. Request

אֵלְכֶהנָּא הַשָּׂדֶה *Let me go to the field (Ruth 2.2).*

(ii) *Wishes (rare)*

וְאָמַרְתָּ אֲכַלְהָ בָשָׂר *And you will say: 'I want to eat meat' (Deut. 12.20).*

(iii) *Declaration of intent (rare)*

אֵלְכֶה וְאִרְאֶהוּ *I will go and see him (Gen. 45.28).*

4. *The jussive form*

The jussive is an indirect command to the 3rd (and sometimes the 2nd) person. The negative used with the jussive is אַל.

(i) *Directives*

In classical BH the so-called neutral imperfects—i.e. those cases in which no formal distinction can be made between the *imperfect* and the *jussive*—may have a directive function and then often stand in first place in a clause. They may be preceded by אַל, and/or followed by נָּא.²⁵

תְּחַטְּאֵנִי בְּאִזּוֹב וְאִטְהַר *Purge me with hyssop, and I shall be clean (Ps. 51.9).*

יְלֵךְ־נָּא אֲדֹנָי בְּקִרְבֵּנוּ *Let the Lord go in our midst (Exod. 34:9)*

The following types of directives can be expressed by the jussive form. Only the context can give an indication as to which type of directive is involved in each case.

a. Command

יְהִי אֹרֶךְ *Let there be light (Gen. 1.3).*

b. Request

אֲחִי יַעֲבֹר כְּמִמֶּנִּי *Let Chimham go over with me (2 Sam. 19.39).*

25. Cf. also Revell (1989: 13-17) for a fuller discussion in this regard.

Semantically speaking the infinitive has no function in itself. The functions of an infinitive refer either to the syntactic function that it fulfils in a clause, or to the semantic relationship between itself and the finite verb. This relationship is often governed by means of a preposition.

2. *The infinitive is used in the place of a noun or as a noun (often as the subject of a clause).*

(i) *Without the preposition ל*

רַב־לְכֶם שָׁבַת בְּהַר הַזֶּה You have stayed long enough at this
mountain [lit. enough for you *to stay*
on this mountain] (Deut. 1.6).

טוֹב תְּתִי אֶתָּה לָךְ It is good that I give her to you [lit.
good is *my giving* her to you] (Gen.
29.19).

(ii) *With the preposition ל*

If the infinitive is part of a section of the clause that forms *the subject of a verbal clause*, it is usually preceded by the preposition ל. (Cf. Jouön–Muraoka §124b.)

וְאִם רָע בְּעֵינֵיכֶם לְעֹבֵד
אֲתֵי הַיְהוָה And if it is wrong in your eyes *to*
serve the Lord, ... (Josh. 24.15).

3. *The infinitive as part of the predicate*

(i) *After verbs of observation or cognition.* The infinitive construct refers to the content of a mental process.

לֹא אֲדַע צֵאתָ וְבֹא I do not know what *to do* [lit.
whether to go out or to come in]
(1 Kgs 3.7).

(ii) *After verbs that select an infinitive as complement (to complete the verb), e.g. חָלַל (Hiph: to begin), יָסַף (Hiph: to continue), חָדַל (to stop), יָכַל (to be capable of), אָבָה (to be willing).*

לֹא נִיכַל דַּבֵּר אֵלֶיךָ We are not able *to speak* to you
(Gen. 24.50).

(iii) After finite verbs (especially in the Hiphil and Piel stem formations) which, when they are translated into English, acquire an adverbial connotation. *The infinitive construct takes on the function of the main verb of the sentence in this case.*

וַתַּרַע לַעֲשׂוֹת	And you <i>have done</i> evil (1 Kgs 14.9).
מִדּוּעַ מֵהָרַתָּן בָּא הַיּוֹם	Why <i>have you come</i> so soon today? [lit. Why have you made haste to come today?] (Exod. 2.18).

(iv) The infinitive construct refers to the *purpose* of the action expressed by the finite verb. The finite verb is often a *verb of movement*.

וַיֵּרַד יְהוָה לִרְאוֹת אֶת־הָעִיר	And the Lord came down <i>to see</i> the city (Gen. 11.5).
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(v) The infinitive construct *specifies the manner or method* in which the finite verb is executed, or can / may be executed.

כִּי תִשְׁמַע בְּקוֹל יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ לְשׂוּמֵר אֶת־כָּל־מִצְוֹתָיו	If you obey the voice of the Lord your God, <i>keeping</i> all his commandments (Deut. 13.19).
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(vi) The infinitive construct expresses the *outcome or consequence* of the finite verb.

לַעֲשׂוֹת הָרַע בְּעֵינֵי יְהוָה לְהַכְעִיפוֹ	... doing what was evil in the LORD's sight <i>and so provoking him to anger</i> (Deut. 9.18).
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(vii) After the verb *היה* a ל followed by an infinitive construct functions as the predicate of the clause and bears the *connotation of imminence* (about to happen).

וַיְהִי הַשָּׁמֶשׁ לְבוֹא	And then, as the sun was <i>on the point of setting</i> (Gen. 15.12).
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4. The infinitive construct form *לֵאמֹר* usually acts as a complementizer marking reported speech.²⁶

Significant of the form of *לֵאמֹר* is that it is not according to what one would expect the infinitive construct of a I aleph root to be, namely *לְאָמַר*, in analogy to *לְאָכַל*. (Cf. §18.3.)

26. For an exhaustive discussion on the use of *לֵאמֹר* and other speech frames of reported speech in BH, cf. Miller (1996).

(i) In contrast to speech frames (or dialogue introducers) like the finite forms of **לֵאמֹר** that usually mark reported speech in dialogues, for example,

וַיֹּאמֶר אַבִּימֶלֶךְ אֶל־אַבְרָהָם
מָה רָאִיתָ כִּי עָשִׂיתָ אֶת־הַדְּבָר־הַזֶּה:
וַיֹּאמֶר אַבְרָהָם כִּי אָמַרְתִּי ...

And Abimelech *said* to Abraham, 'What were you thinking of, that you did this thing?' Abraham *said*, 'Because I thought ... (Gen. 20:10-11).

לֵאמֹר is predominantly used to *mark reported speech* in the following contexts:

a. *where no dialogue is involved,*

וַיַּגֵּד שַׁפְחָן הַסֵּפֶר לַמֶּלֶךְ לֵאמֹר
סֵפֶר נָתַן לִי הִלְקִיָּה הַכֹּהֵן

Shaphan the secretary informed the king, 'The priest Hilkiyah has given me a book' (2 Kgs 22:10).

וַיִּשְׁמַע הָעַם הַחַנּוּיִם לֵאמֹר
קָשַׁר זִמְרִי וְגַם הִכָּה אֶת־הַמֶּלֶךְ

And the troops who were encamped heard the following information (lit. heard saying), 'Zimri has conspired, and he has killed the king' (1 Kgs 16.16).

b. *or where the matrix verb is not a verb of speaking.*

וַיָּבֹאוּ כָּל־מִצְרַיִם אֶל־יוֹסֵף לֵאמֹר
הִבְהַלְנוּ לָחֶם

All the Egyptians came to Joseph, saying, 'Give us food!' (Gen. 47.15).

(ii) Although in the above-mentioned cases **לֵאמֹר** has lost its normal function as an infinitive, it does not mean that **לֵאמֹר** cannot be used as an infinitive at all. In other words, it may also have one of the uses listed in §20.1/3. However, such use of **לֵאמֹר** is, in comparison to its use as complementizer, relatively infrequent.

וַיֹּסֶף עוֹד אֲבִנֵר לֵאמֹר אֶל־עֲשָׂה־אֵל
סוּר לִךְ

Abner *said again* to Asahel, 'Turn away from following me' (2 Sam. 2.22).

5. *The infinitive construct forms part of an adverbial clause or phrase governed by a preposition. The construction reflects the moment in time at which the events indicated by the finite verb occur.*

The specific moment in time proposed here is indicated, *inter alia*, by the preposition used.

(i) When used with the preposition בְּ , the action implied by the infinitive construct is *simultaneous* with that of the main clause. Simultaneous in the sense that the action referred to by the בְּ + infinitive construction constitutes a stretch of time within which the action in the main clause takes place. This construction can be translated ‘as’, ‘when’ or ‘while’. (Cf. §39.6/2.)

וַיְהִי בְּנִסְעָם מִמִּזְרָח וַיִּמְצְאוּ בְּקֵדָה בְּאֶרֶץ שִׁנְאָר וַיֵּשְׁבוּ שָׁם	<i>And as they migrated from the East,</i> <i>they came about a plain in the land of</i> <i>Shinar and settled there (Gen. 11.2).</i>
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(ii) When used with the preposition כִּי , the action of the infinitive construct occurs *just before* the events described in the main clause. This construction can be translated with ‘the moment when’ or ‘as soon as’. (Cf. §39.10/3 and §44.5/1(i)b.)

וַיְהִי כַּמֶּלֶךְ הָיָה אֶתְדָּבֵל בֵּית יִרְבֵּעַם	<i>And as soon as he [Baasha] was</i> <i>king, he killed all the house of</i> <i>Jeroboam (1 Kgs 15.29).</i>
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(iii) When the preposition עַד is used, then the action of the main clause occurs *in the period extending to* the events described by the infinitive construct. The construction may be translated ‘until’. (Cf. §39.18/2.)

עַד-בְּאִיבֹכֶם עַד-הַמָּקוֹם הַזֶּה	<i>Until you came to this place (Deut.</i> <i>1.31).</i>
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(iv) When the preposition אַחֲרַי is used, then the action in the main clause occurs *after* the events in the infinitive construct. The construction may be translated ‘after’. (Cf. §39.2/2.)

אַחֲרַי הִכְתּוּ אֶת סִיחֹן ...	<i>After he had defeated Sihon, ...</i> <i>(Deut. 1.4).</i>
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(v) The preposition מִן is used when the action of the main clause occurs *from the inception of* the events implied by the infinitive construct. The construction may be translated with ‘from (the time) when’. (Cf. §39.14/2.)

מִהַחֵל חֲרַמַשׁ בְּקִמָּה תַּחֵל לִסְפֹּר שִׁבְעָה שָׁבְעוֹת:	<i>Begin to count the seven weeks from</i> <i>the time you first put the sickle to the</i> <i>standing grain (Deut. 16.9).</i>
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§20.2. The Infinitive Absolute

The infinitive absolute differs completely from the infinitive construct in terms of form and function. In contrast to the infinitive con-

struct, the infinitive absolute in BH cannot be combined with any other grammatical or lexical morpheme. In other words, the infinitive absolute cannot be governed by a preposition. It also cannot take a pronominal suffix.

The various semantic functions of the infinitive absolute are related to specific syntactic constructions. The semantic functions differentiated here are ordered according to the syntactic constructions in which the infinitive absolute occurs.

1. *Infinitive absolute of root X + verb of root X (e.g. כָּתוּב כָּתַב) or verb + infinitive absolute (e.g. כָּתַב כָּתוּב).*

This syntactic construction is occasioned by the collocation of an infinitive absolute and a verb of the same stem and stem formation. The stem formations of the infinitive absolute and the finite verb, however, may sometimes differ.

Cases in which the infinitive absolute precedes the finite verb (perfect or imperfect) are more common than those in which the infinitive absolute follows the finite verb. Note that when the infinitive absolute is used with a waw consecutive + imperfect, imperative or participle, the infinitive absolute is placed after the particular verb in question. The Hithpael of the infinitive absolute also appears only after the finite form of the verb.

This construction usually intensifies the verbal idea. In this way BH speakers/narrators *express their conviction of the verity of their statements regarding an action*. When a speaker has used this construction, a listener would not be able to claim at a later date that the speakers had not expressed themselves clearly enough.

(i) In *statements* speakers commit themselves to the *verity* of what they say, predict or promise what will happen. Sometimes the statements refer to what has already happened.

a. In many cases the infinitive absolute construction can be translated by the adverbs ‘surely’, ‘definitely’.

מוֹת תָּמוּת אַתָּה You shall *surely die* (Gen. 20.7).

b. In other cases the nature or scope of the verbal idea is defined more clearly. There are several options for translating this construction:

אָמַר אֶמְרָתִי בֵּיתְךָ וּבֵית	I <i>stated expressly</i> that your house and
אָבִיךָ יִשְׁתַּלְכּוּ לְפָנַי	
עַד־עוֹלָם	

כִּי־בָרַךְ אֲבָרְכֶךָ	I will <i>bless</i> you <i>richly</i> (Gen. 22.17).
מִכֹּל עֵץ־הַגֵּן אֲכַל הָאֵכֹל	You may <i>freely eat</i> of every tree of the garden (Gen. 2.16).

(ii) By uttering *instructions and requests* speakers commit themselves to the fact that they want to have an instruction, request or wish carried out.

סָקוּל יִסָּקַל הַשּׂוֹר	The ox <i>shall be stoned</i> (Exod. 21.28).
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(iii) In (*rhetorical*) *questions* speakers express their commitment to the *factual nature* of a state of affairs. Their listeners can only assent to the opinions/views expressed.

הָאֲכֹל אֲכַלְנוּ מִן־הַמֶּלֶךְ	Have we <i>eaten at all</i> at the king's expense? (2 Sam. 19.43).
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(iv) In the *protasis* of a condition a speaker sometimes uses the infinitive absolute to indicate that the events referred to in the *apodosis* shall/must/can occur *should the listener or speaker be convinced of the factual nature of the events in the protasis*.

אִם־תֵּתֶן הַסֵּן אֶת־הָעָם הַזֶּה בְּיָדִי וְהִסְרַמְתִּי אֶת־עָרֵיהֶם	If you will <i>indeed give</i> this people into my hand, then I will utterly destroy their cities (Num. 21.2).
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Sometimes the *protasis* expresses an unlikely possibility and thus requires considerable persuasion from the speaker.

אִם־הִפָּקֵד וְהִנְחִיה נַפְשְׁךָ תַּחַת נַפְשׁוֹ	If <i>by any means</i> he <i>be missing</i> , you will pay for it with your life [lit. your life shall be for his life] (1 Kgs 20.39).
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2. Verb + infinitive absolute + infinitive absolute

(i) Main verb X + infinitive absolute X + infinitive absolute Y

The stem X is often הִלֵּךְ or another verb of movement.

a. This construction usually expresses the *simultaneous nature* of two actions / deeds. The main verb refers to a motion to a certain place. The stem of this main verb is repeated in the infinitive absolute with the infinitive absolute form of the second action that occurs simultaneously with it.

וַיֵּלֶךְ הַלּוֹךְ וְאָכַל	And he went on, <i>eating as he went</i> (Judg. 14.9).
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וַיָּצֵא וַיָּשׁוּב And it went *to and fro* (Gen. 8.7).

- b. The stem הִלָּךְ often expresses a figurative movement, so that the expression indicates *progression in time* rather than physical movement.

וַיִּגְדַּל דָּוִד הַלֹּךְ וַיִּגְדַּל And David became *greater and greater* (2 Sam. 5.10).

- c. In certain cases the stem x is not a verb of motion, but the construction reflects the same kind of simultaneity as described in the cases above.

וַיִּכְהוּ הָאִישׁ הַכֹּהֵן וַפָּצַע And the man struck him, *striking and wounding* him (1 Kgs 20.37).

- (ii) *Main verb Y + infinitive absolute of הִלָּךְ + infinitive absolute Y* (rare)

- a. The infinitive absolute of הִלָּךְ *vividly* expresses the *gradual progression* of the main verb. The stem of the main verb is repeated in the infinitive absolute after the infinitive absolute הִלָּךְ.

וַיִּשְׁבוּ הַמַּיִם מֵעַל הָאָרֶץ And the waters *gradually* receded
הַלֹּךְ וַיִּשְׁבוּ from the earth (Gen. 8.3).

- b. In certain cases the stem of the main verb differs from that of the second infinitive absolute. In other words, *main verb X + infinitive absolute הִלָּךְ + infinitive absolute Y*.

וַהֲמִים הָיוּ הַלֹּךְ וַחֲסוּר And the waters *continued to abate*
עַד הַחֹדֶשׁ הָעֲשִׂירִי until the tenth month (Gen. 8.5).

3. *The infinitive absolute as adverbial modification of the verb where the nature of the adverbial modification is determined by the lexical value of the stem that is in the infinitive absolute.*

Two constructions are important here:

- (i) *Infinitive absolute of root X + infinitive absolute of root Y*

בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא אָקִים אֵלַי On that day I will fulfil against Eli all
אֵת כָּל-אֲשֶׁר דִּבַּרְתִּי אֵל-בֵּיתוֹ that I have spoken concerning his
הַחֵל וְכֵלָה house, *from beginning to end*
(1 Sam. 3.12).

- (ii) *The infinitive absolute used on its own as adverb to the main verb*

This infinitive absolute is usually in the Hiphil, e.g. הַיֵּטֵב (well, thoroughly), הַרְבֵּה (many), הַשֶּׁשֶׁם (early), הַרְחֵק (far).

וְדַרְשֶׁתָּ ... הַיָּטֵב And you shall *inquire* ... *diligently*
(Deut. 13.15).

4. The infinitive absolute used in the place of other verb forms

(i) The infinitive absolute is sometimes used in the place of a finite verb *without waw* (usually in utterances of direct speech).

It is *not clear* why the speaker has used the infinitive absolute in the instances below.

a. In the place of an imperative

הֵלֹךְ וְדַבַּרְתָּ אֶל-דָּוִד Go and say to David (2 Sam. 24.12).

b. In the place of an imperfect

כֹּה אָמַר יְהוָה אֲכַל וְהָיָה אֵכָל וְהוֹתֵר Thus says the Lord: They *shall eat*
and have some left (2 Kgs 4.43).

c. In the place of a perfect

עָשָׂה אֱלֹהִים לָךְ בְּגוֹתֵךְ (They) have *brought* this *upon* you,
because you played the harlot (Ezek.
23.30).

(ii) The infinitive absolute can be used in the place of a finite verb *with waw*. (Cf. §21.1.)

As in the case of §20.2/4(i)), it is not clear why the speaker/narrator has used an infinitive absolute form here. The fact that the texts below originate mostly from the later books of the Hebrew Bible may indicate a particular development in BH. According to Rubenstein (1952: 362-367) this is related to the disappearance of the waw consecutive in late BH as the infinitive absolute always occurs where one would expect a waw consecutive form.

a. After a perfect

כִּי-צַמְתֶּם וְסַפַּד When you *fast and mourn* (Zech.
7.5).

b. After an imperfect

שָׂדֵה בְּכֶסֶף יִקָּנוּ Fields shall be bought for money, and
וְכָתוּב בְּסֵפֶר deeds *shall be signed* (Jer. 32.44).

c. After a waw consecutive + imperfect

וַיֵּרָא פַרְעֹה ... וְהִקְבֵּד אֶת-לִבּוֹ When Pharaoh saw ... he *hardened*
his heart (Exod. 8.11).

(iii) The infinitive absolute is used *in the place of an infinitive construct* (rare)

וַיֵּשְׁבּוּ הָעָם לֵאכֹל וְשָׂתוּ And the people sat down to eat *and*
drink (Exod. 32.6).

§20.3. The Participle

The participle is by definition a verbal adjective. Syntactically the participle in BH functions as a verb, noun or adjective.

1. If the participle functions as a verb, it indicates the following types of action:

(i) Continuous action (in the past, present or future)

וַיִּשָּׂא עֵינָיו וַיִּרְאֵהֶם וַיִּהְיֶה שְׁלֹשָׁה
אָנָשִׁים נֹצְבִים עָלָיו And he lifted up his eyes and looked,
and behold, three men stood in front
of him [lit. *were standing* over him]
(Gen. 18.2).

וַיְהוֹנָתָן וְאַחִימֵעַץ עֹמְדִים
בְּעֵין־רֹגֵל וְהַלְקָה
הַשִּׁפְחָה וְהַגִּידָה לָהֶם Now Jonathan and Ahimaaz *were*
waiting at Enrogel; a maidservant used
to go and tell them (2 Sam. 17.17).

(ii) Imminent action (on the point of occurring)

הֲנֵה אֲנִי עֹשֶׂה דָבָר בְּיִשְׂרָאֵל I am *about* to do a thing in Israel
(1 Sam. 3.11).

Note the following:

(1) A participle is always negated by אֵין.

אֵינִי נָתַן לָכֶם סָבִין: I *will not* give you straw (Exod. 5.10).

(2) The participle agrees in gender and number with its subject. When it is used with a particular direct object, the latter is marked with an object marker.

אֲחַדְמִי אֲנִי מִבְּקֵשׁ I am seeking *my* brothers (Gen.
37.16).

(3) The syntactic ordering of a clause with a participle as verb is normally subject + verb + other phrases. Placing the object at the beginning of a clause, as in the above example from Gen. 37.16, may have semantic implications. (Cf. §46-47.)

2. If the participle functions as a noun, it *displays all the characteristics of a noun, namely:*

(i) The *status absolutus* form (Cf. §25.2.)

שִׁפְטִים וְשֹׁטְרִים תִּתְּנֶנּוּ לָךְ You shall appoint *judges and officers*
(Deut. 16.18).

(ii) The *status constructus* form (Cf. §25.1.)

כִּי עַתָּה יָדַעְתִּי For now I know that you fear God
כִּי יִירָא אֱלֹהִים אֶתָּה [It you are a *fearer of God*] (Gen.
22.12).

(iii) With a *suffix*

אַיִה אֱלֹהֵי עֹשֵׂי Where is God my *Maker*? (Job
35.10).

3. If the participle functions as an adjective, it agrees in number, gender and definiteness with the noun.

כִּי יִהְיֶה אֱלֹהֶיךָ אֵשׁ אֹכְלֵה הָאָרֶץ For the Lord your God is a *devouring fire*
(Deut. 4.24).

When used like this the participle is often translated in English as a relative clause.

וְהָיָה הַעַלְמָה הַיְצֵאתָ לְשֹׂאב And let it be the young woman *who comes out to draw*
(Gen. 24.43).

כִּי יִהְיֶה אֱלֹהֶיךָ מְבִיאֲךָ For the Lord your God is bringing
אֶל־אֶרֶץ טוֹבָה אֶרֶץ נַחֲלֵי מַיִם you into a good land, a land of
עֵינֹת וְתַחֲמוֹת יְצָאִים בְּבִקְעָה brooks of water, of fountains and
וּבְקֵדְר springs, *flowing forth in valleys and hills*
(Deut. 8.7).

§21. Verb Chains and Sequences

§21.1. Introduction

Verb chains are constituted by finite verbs that are preceded by a waw. It, however, applies only to cases in which the conjunction waw is joined directly to the verb in the perfect, imperfect, imperative, jussive or cohortative form. Two types of waws can be distinguished, viz. the ordinary or waw copulative and the waw consecutive. Vocalizing the waw in cases where the (short form of the) imperfect form is involved, requires -י with the doubling of the fol-

lowing consonant. The resulting *waw consecutive + imperfect* (wc.+impf.) construction has a particular semantic (and pragmatic) function. (Cf. §21.2.) Under specific conditions (often recognizable on account of its accentuation) a $\text{-}\dot{\text{w}}$ + perfect form may constitute a *waw consecutive + perfect construction* (wc.+perf.) that has a function similar to that of the *waw consecutive + imperfect*.²⁷ (Cf. §21.3.)

Some verb chains constitute what is called a *verb sequence*. Introductory grammars often distinguish between the following ‘sequences’:

perfect	+	wc. + impf.	Consecutive events in the past
imperfect	+	wc. + perf.	Consecutive events in the future
directive	+	wc. + perf.	Consecutive commands
imperfect	+	waw cop. + impf.	Purpose
directive	+	waw cop. + impf.	Purpose

Grammarians agree, however, that the above scheme can be refined. A variety of other factors and problems are involved in identifying verb sequences and their respective functions. This would require a far more nuanced scheme than the one given above.

In determining the *semantic function* of verb sequences (i.e. *waw consecutive + imperfect* and *waw consecutive + perfect*) the following inverted pairs are important, broadly speaking:

x perfect	+	wc. + impf.
imperfect	+	wc. + perf.

The x refers to the phrase that precedes the perfect, making the point that no *separate perfect* (i.e. *a perfect without some linguistic item preceding it*) + *waw consecutive + imperfect* occurs in BH narrations.

The following assumptions will be adopted in this grammar:

- (a) In interpreting verb chains a distinction must be made between narration (also referred to as discursive speech) and dialogue (also referred to as direct speech). One might expect narrations to be syntactically ‘impoverished’ and to concentrate on events in the past. They would thus have a relatively small variety of syntactic constructions. As opposed to that, dia-

27. Take note that *waw consecutive + imperfect* and *waw consecutive + perfect* refer to *the names* of two constructions. In more recent publications they are also referred to as *wayyiqtol* and *weqatalti* constructions.

logue, which often involves all the temporal spheres, is usually syntactically ‘rich’.

- (b) A distinction is also made between poetic and non-poetic texts. The syntax of poetic texts often reflects a certain correspondence with dialogue.
- (c) The waw consecutive + imperfect construction has a unique meaning which, while it often corresponds semantically to the perfect, differs syntactically and text grammatically from it.²⁸
- (d) On analogy to the waw consecutive + imperfect, the waw consecutive + perfect construction also acquired a distinctive syntactic and pragmatic (in particular, a text grammatical) meaning. This in turn differs from that of an imperfect with a long form.

§21.2. *Waw Consecutive + Imperfect (Short Form)*

A waw consecutive + imperfect does not necessarily succeed a clause with a perfect form of the verb. It may succeed a clause that has a participle or imperfect form as main verb. It may also follow a nominal clause or a clause with an infinitive absolute. It does not simply continue the meaning of the preceding verbs, but must be understood as follows:

1. *Waw consecutive + imperfect bears reference to the same temporal spheres and aspects as a perfect form but it is also characterized by ‘progression’.*

(i) The following *temporal spheres* may be distinguished:

a. *Events in the past and/or completed events*

וַיֵּדַע אָדָם אֶת־חַוָּה אִשְׁתּוֹ וַתַּהַר וַתֵּלֶד אֶת־קַיִן	Now Adam knew Eve his wife, and <i>she conceived and bore</i> Cain (Gen. 4.1).
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b. *A state of affairs or a condition* (usually expressed by a stative or a passive verb).

וַתִּמְלֵא אֶרֶצוֹ סוּסִים ... וַתִּמְלֵא אֶרֶצוֹ אֱלִילִים	And his land <i>is filled</i> with horses ... and his land <i>is filled</i> with idols (Isa. 2.7-8).
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28. For a hypothesis on how the wc. + impf. came to have a meaning similar to that of the perfect, cf. Buth 1992: 104.

(ii) The following types of *progression* may be distinguished in **narrations**:

a. Sequence in time (most common)

וְהָאָדָם יָדַע אֶת־חַוְּהָ אִשְׁתּוֹ
וַתַּהַר וַתֵּלֶד אֶת־קַיִן

Now Adam knew Eve his wife, and
she conceived and bore Cain (Gen.
4.1).

b. Logical sequence

Consequence

וַיְהִי יְהוָה אִת־יוֹסֵף וַיְהִי
אִישׁ מְצַלִּיחַ

And the Lord was with Joseph, and
he became a successful man (Gen.
39.2).

Contrast

וַיָּקָמוּ כָל־בָּנָיו לְנַחֲמוֹ
וַיִּסְאֵן לְהִתְנַחֵם

And all his sons ... rose up to comfort
him; *but he refused* to be comforted
(Gen. 37.35).

(iii) The waw consecutive + imperfect is used when *the consecution of two events is emphasized*.

קוֹלִי אֶל־יְהוָה אֶקְרָא וַיַּשְׁמַעֵנִי

I cry aloud to the Lord, and *he answers* me (Ps. 3.5).

2. *Waw consecutive + imperfect can introduce a new narrative or section of a narrative*

(i) When a waw consecutive + imperfect introduces a new narrative, it is usually accompanied by *an introduction of the characters of the new story and a change of location*. A change in time is hardly ever involved. *Verbs of motion and communication occur regularly*. (Cf. Schneider 1993: 66-67.)

וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה אֶל־אַבְרָם
לֵךְ־לְךָ מֵאֶרֶץ־ךָ

Now the Lord said to Abram: 'Go
from your country' (Gen. 12.1).

(ii) When a *temporal indication* is involved, it is usually preceded by **וַיְהִי**. However, this new section follows as a rule on preceding events. In other words, an entirely new narrative is seldom introduced like this. (Cf. also §44.5.)

a. The backbone of the narrative is then introduced *by a subsequent waw consecutive + imperfect form*.

וַיְהִי בְּעֵת הַהִוא
וַיֹּאמֶר אַבִּימֶלֶךְ

And at that time Abimelech *said*:
(Gen. 21.22).

- b. A nominal clause, a perfect or an *x* perfect may be inserted between the temporal indication and the waw consecutive + imperfect to give more background information.

<p>וַיְהִי אַחֲרֵי הַדְּבָרִים הָאֵלֶּה חָטְאוּ מִשְׁקֵה מֶלֶךְ־מִצְרַיִם וְהַאֲפִיחַ לְאַדְנֵיהֶם לְמֶלֶךְ מִצְרַיִם: וַיִּקְצַף פָּרַעֲוֹ</p>	<p>And some time after this, <i>the butler of the king of Egypt and his baker offended their lord the king of Egypt.</i> And Pharaoh was angry (Gen. 40.1-2).</p>
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- c. The waw consecutive + imperfect can also introduce the *backbone* of the narrative after a temporal indication that is not introduced by וַיְהִי (rare).

<p>בַּיּוֹם הַשְּׁלִישִׁי וַיִּשָּׂא אַבְרָהָם אֶת־עֵינָיו וַיִּרְא אֶת־הַמָּקוֹם מֵרָחֹק:</p>	<p>On the third day Abraham <i>lifted up his eyes</i> and <i>saw</i> the place afar off (Gen. 22.4).</p>
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Note the following:

The backbone of a narrative is not only indicated by waw consecutive + imperfect. The ‘interruption’ of a waw consecutive + imperfect series is sometimes necessitated by BH syntax, for example, where a conjunction, negative adverb, relative pronoun and words such as הַגֵּה and עָתָה(?) are used. These cases must therefore be distinguished from those in which a waw consecutive + imperfect sequence—and thus the flow of the narrative—is interrupted with a specific semantic-pragmatic purpose. (Cf. §47.)

3. *Speaker can use waw consecutive + imperfect to control the flow of their narratives. The backbone of the narrative thus does not have to correlate with the actual course of events in time.*

In the process the following semantic relationships are possible:

- (i) *Summary*

<p>וַיְכַלּוּ הַשָּׁמַיִם וְהָאָרֶץ</p>	<p><i>Thus</i> the heavens and the earth <i>were finished</i> (Gen. 2.1).</p>
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- (ii) *Closer definition*

<p>וַתִּקְרָא שְׁמוֹ מֹשֶׁה וַתֹּאמֶר כִּי מִן־הַמַּיִם מִשִּׁיתָהוּ</p>	<p>And she named him Moses, <i>for she said</i>: ‘Because I drew him out of the water’ (Exod. 2.10).</p>
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(iii) *Pluperfect* (rare)

וַיִּדְבֹר אֱלֹהִים אֲבוֹתָם
 אֵיךְ הֵלְכָה הַדָּרָךְ קִלְקַל
 וַיֵּרְאוּ בָנָיו אֶת־הַדָּרָךְ

And their father said to them, 'Which way did he go?' His sons *had seen* the way (1 Kgs 13.12).

(iv) *Simultaneous events* (relatively rare)

וַיִּתֵּן אֶת־קִלְקוֹל בְּבָכִי וַיִּשְׁמְעוּ
 מִצְרַיִם וַיִּשְׁמַע בַּיִת פַּרְעֹה:

And he wept aloud, so that the Egyptians heard it, *and the household of Pharaoh heard it* (Gen. 45.2).

§21.3. *Waw Consecutive + Perfect*

A distinction must be drawn between waw consecutive + perfect as analogous to waw consecutive + imperfect and cases where waw consecutive + perfect is simply a perfect with a conjunction, a waw copulative (waw cop.) with a perfect. The latter cases occur seldom. The so-called waw copulative + perfect can be distinguished from the waw consecutive + perfect by the fact that the final syllable of the latter construction carries the accent.

עֲבַדְךָ יֵלֶךְ וַיִּלְחֶם
 עִם־הַפְּלִשְׁתִּי הַזֶּה

Your servant will go *and fight* with this Philistine (1 Sam. 17.32).

Over and against this the accent in waw cop. + perfect falls on the penultimate syllable.

וְלֹא־שְׁאַלְתָּ לְךָ יָמִים רַבִּים
 וְשְׁאַלְתָּ לְךָ הַבֵּינָן לְשֹׁמֵעַ מִשְׁפָּט

And you did not ask for a long life, ... but *have asked* for yourself understanding to discern what is right (1 Kgs 3.11).

It is possible that at a very early stage of BH, that is before the waw consecutive + imperfect began to fulfil this function, the waw copulative + perfect was the usual form of referring to narratives in the past. However, in the later books waw consecutive + imperfect again loses this role and waw copulative + perfect occurs in places where one would have expected waw consecutive + imperfect. (Cf. Joüon–Muraoka §119z.)

Waw consecutive + perfect does not necessarily follow a clause with an imperfect as a main verb. It often follows commands too. Although this happens less frequently, waw consecutive + perfect can also follow a clause that has a perfect, a participle or infinitive

as a main verb. It may sometimes follow a nominal clause. The *waw* consecutive + perfect, however, does not simply continue the meaning of the preceding verb, but is to be understood as follows:

1. *Waw* consecutive – perfect refers to the same temporal spheres and aspects as imperfect forms. However, it also has ‘progression’ as a characteristic.

(i) The following *temporal spheres and aspects* may be distinguished:

a. Events in the future

עבדך ילך וילחם
עם־פְּלִשְׁתֵי הַיָּם

Your servant will go and *fight* with this Philistine (1 Sam. 17.32).

b. Habitual actions

יַמְעִיל קָטָן תַּעֲשֶׂה־לּוֹ אֹמֵן
וְתִשְׁלְתָה לּוֹ מִיָּמִים יְמִימָה

And his mother used to make for him a little robe and *take* it to him each year (1 Sam. 2.19).

c. Modality (or non-indicative)

Possibility

יִבְמָה נִכְלַל לוֹ וְאַסְרָנְהוּ
לְעַנְתּוֹ

And by what means we may over-power him, that we *may bind* him to subdue him (Judg. 16.5).

Direct directive

שׁוּב עִם־הַמֶּלֶךְ

Go back, and *stay* with the king (2 Sam. 15.19).

(ii) The following *types of progression* may be distinguished:

a. Sequence in time (most common)

וְהָרִית וְיִלְדֶתָ בֵן

And you shall conceive and *bear* a son (Judg. 13.3).

b. Logical sequence

אֲנִי יְהוָה וְהוֹצֵאתִי אֶתְכֶם ...
וְנִשְׁלַחְתִּי אֶתְכֶם ...

I am the Lord, and I *will bring you out* ... and I *will deliver you* ... (Exod. 6.6).

2. *Waw* consecutive + perfect can indicate the backbone of one or other discourse type

(i) *Waw* consecutive + perfect indicates the backbone of a predictive discourse. This applies especially in dialogue.

אֲנִי יְהוָה וְהוֹצֵאתִי אֶתְכֶם ...
וְנִשְׁלַחְתִּי אֶתְכֶם ...

I am the Lord, and I *will bring you out* ... and I *will deliver you* ... (Exod. 6.6).

(ii) Waw consecutive + perfect indicates the *backbone of a sequence of habitual actions in a descriptive section of a narrative*.

וַיַּעַשׂ-לּוֹ אִמּוֹ וַיִּתֵּן-לּוֹ מִיָּמִים יְמִימָה וַיְבָרֶךְ עָלָיו	And his mother <i>used to make</i> for him a little robe and <i>take</i> it to him each year... <i>Then</i> Eli <i>would bless</i> (1 Sam. 2.19-20).
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(iii) Waw consecutive + perfect is used to link a *series of directives* with one another in a prescriptive text. The waw consecutive + perfect is used only in cases where *the execution of one command is dependent on the execution of a prior one directed to the same person(s)* (usually an imperative and only sometimes a jussive or cohortative).

שׁוּב וְשָׁב עִם-הַמֶּלֶךְ	Go back, <i>and stay</i> with the king (2 Sam. 15.19).
עֲלֵה ... וְאָכַלְתָּם	Go up ... <i>and eat</i> (1 Sam. 9.19).
וַיִּקְרְבוּ בְּאַחַד הַמְּקוֹמוֹת הַלֵּלוּ	Let us draw near to one of these places, <i>and spend the night</i> (Judg. 19.13).

Note the following:

- (1) A waw consecutive + perfect can also sometimes be interrupted because the BH syntax necessitates this, for example, if a negative or a conjunction has to be used. The backbone of the future statement or habitual action concerned, however, is not interrupted in such cases.
- (2) According to Revell (1989: 24) waw copulative + perfect *is usually used after directives in contexts in which the speakers do not look down upon their listener(s). The directive is usually not very urgent*. In contrast to this, a string of directives (e.g. imperative + waw + imperative) is usually used when a command is urgent and the speakers are speaking to someone of a lower status.

3. *Waw consecutive + perfect can introduce the apodosis of a condition*

וְעָזַב אֶת-אָבִיו יָמָת	And if he should leave, <i>his father would die</i> (Gen. 44.22).
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4. *Waw consecutive + perfect refers to events/actions where no temporal sequence is involved*

(i) In *closer definition* (rare)

<p>וַיִּשְׁעַם מֶלֶךְ-מוֹאָב הָיָה נֹקֵד וַהֲשִׁיב לְמֶלֶךְ-יִשְׂרָאֵל כְּרִים אֶלְפֵי</p>	<p>Now King Mesha of Moab was a sheep breeder, who used to deliver to the king of Israel one hundred thousand lambs (2 Kgs 3.4).</p>
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<p>דַּבֵּר אֶל-בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל וְאָמַרְתָּ אֲלֵהֶם</p>	<p>Speak to the people of Israel, and say to them: (Lev. 1.2).</p>
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(ii) Introducing the *protasis of a condition*

<p>וְעָזַב אֶת-אָבִיו וְמָתָה</p>	<p>And if he should leave, his father would die (Gen. 44.22).</p>
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§21.4. *Waw Copulative + Imperfect (Long Form)*

Besides linking clauses, this construction has no semantic function in itself.

<p>תַּעֲתִיר אֵלָיו וְשָׁמַעַךְ</p>	<p>You will make your prayer to him, and he will hear you (Job 22.27).</p>
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§21.5. *Waw Copulative + Directives (Jussive-, Imperative- and Cohortative Forms)*

Waw + a jussive, imperative or cohortative can follow any other directive or question. The following combinations are thus possible:

cohortative	+	waw +	cohortative/imperative/jussive
imperative	+	waw +	cohortative/imperative/jussive
jussive	+	waw +	cohortative/imperative/jussive
question	+	waw +	cohortative/imperative/jussive

Note that directives without waw also occur. For the semantic functions of directives, cf. §19.4.

1. *Purpose (of preceding directive, mostly with a change in person)*

(i) After an *imperative*

<p>הַעֲתִירוּ אֶל-יְהוָה וְיִסַּר הַצְּפַרְדֵּים מִמֶּנִּי</p>	<p>Entreat the Lord so that he take the frogs away from me (Exod. 8.4).</p>
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(ii) After a *cohortative*

<p>אֶסְבֶּה-נָא וְאֶרְאֶה</p>	<p>I will turn aside so that I can see (Exod. 3.3).</p>
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(iii) After a *jussive*

... ותנול לי מקום ...
ואשקה שם

Let a place be given me ..., *that* I may dwell there (1 Sam. 27.5).

(iv) After an *imperfect* (in a question)

מהדנעשה לך וישתק הים

What shall we do to you, *that* the sea may quiet down? (Jon. 1.11).

2. Consequence (of the preceding directive)

(i) With *waw* + *jussive*

שאל את יועריו ונגידו לך

Ask your young men, *and* they will tell you (1 Sam. 25.8).

(ii) Where the *waw+imperative* is quite unambiguously not a directive (e.g. the addressees can by no means carry out the order they had received)

זאת עשו וחי

Do this *and* you will live (Gen. 42.18).

3. Listing of urgent commands

This occurs especially when imperatives are linked with *waw* and both imply *the same addressee*. The speakers are usually addressing someone of a lower status or someone they look down upon.

עלה אכל ושתה

Go up, *eat* and *drink* (1 Kgs 18.41).

4. After some verbs of movement (e.g. *הלך* and *קום*)

In such constructions the imperative forms of *קום* and *הלך* serve as *exhortations* to execute the following *waw* + directive (which is often a cohortative).

לכו ונמכרנו לישמעאלים

Come, let us *sell* him to the Ishmaelites (Gen. 37.27).

§22. The Valency of Verbs

The valency of a verb refers to the number of complements a verb may select. (Cf. §12.3 and §33.2.) A verb may select one or more complements, e.g.

1. One complement: *Verb* + *subject*

וימת שאול

And Saul died (Gen. 36.38).

2. *Two complements: Verb + subject + object*

... כי הרג שאול את כהני יהוה ... that Saul had killed the **priests of the LORD** (1 Sam. 22.21).

3. *Three complements: Verb + subject+ object + indirect object*

ניתן יהונתן את כליו אל הנער Jonathan gave his weapons to the **boy** (1 Sam. 20.40).

Chapter 5

THE NOUN

§23. Introduction

The noun class (*nomen* – *nomina*) includes the following main categories:

- Nouns (substantives)
- Pronouns (*pronomina*)
- Numerals

Although adjectives correspond morphologically to the other nouns, they are normally classified in a separate category from nouns on the basis of syntactic criteria. In this grammar, however, they will be dealt with as a sub-category of the nouns.

Nouns are words that indicate the names of people, places, things or feelings. The following sub-categories of nouns may be distinguished in BH:

- Proper names

These are the names of

Gods/gods	יהוה	Yahweh
people	דָּוִד	David
places	יְרוּשָׁלַיִם	Jerusalem
nations/groups	יִשְׂרָאֵל	Israel
happenings	פֶּסַח	Passover

- Common names/generic names

These are common names for types of

things	שֻׁלְחָן	table
plants	עֵץ	tree
animals	עֵז	goat
people	יָלֵד	child

nine words (e.g. actor and actress), but they do not affect the constructions of phrases or clauses. Compare for example:

The fine *actor* plays the role.

The fine *actress* plays the role.

In other words the forms of the adjective and verb have not changed, even though the gender of the subject has changed from masculine to feminine. Most words do not even have specific masculine or feminine endings, e.g. man/wife/boy/girl. In these languages one is inclined to look at real life to determine a word's gender. Son is masculine, daughter is feminine and tree is neuter. This background creates a problem for the BH student because BH allocates a 'grammatical gender' to each noun that does not necessarily correspond to its sex in real life. When the gender of a noun is described in BH, the level of description must be indicated, namely morphological, syntactic or semantic:

(i) On the *morphological* level gender is indicated by means of an ending. (Cf. §24.1.)

(ii) On the *syntactic* level gender is indicated by means of the congruency features of words (such as adjectives and verbs), e.g.

הָעִיר הַגְּדוֹלָה the big city (Gen. 10.12)

Indicating gender at morphological and syntactic level is also known as 'grammatical gender'.

(iii) On the *semantic* level gender refers to the actual sex (in real life). In BH two genders are identified on the morphological and syntactic level, namely masculine and feminine. The result is that things that are neuter in real life must be described in terms of these two categories. Thus עִיר (city) is grammatically feminine, but מָקוֹם (place) is normally grammatically masculine. There is no logical reason for allocating gender to inanimate objects. Hebrew does not have a neuter as Latin and Greek do. On the semantic level, however, a distinction is made between masculine, feminine and neuter.

(iv) *Different combinations of morphological, syntactic and semantic gender are possible in BH.*

a. *Gender agrees at all levels.* That is, if the form is masculine, it refers to a male animal. If the word were the subject of a verb, then the verb would also be masculine. Similarly, the feminine form refers to a female animal, etc.

סוס	stallion
סוסה	mare

- b. *On semantic level the gender is neuter* (i.e. it does not refer to a male or female living person or animal); *nevertheless it is masculine or feminine on the morphological and syntactic level*, e.g.

היכל	a palace (masculine)
תורה	a law (feminine)

Thus היכל has a masculine form and תורה a feminine form (morphological gender). If these words were to be qualified by an adjective, היכל would govern the masculine form of an adjective and תורה the feminine form, e.g.

היכל טוב	a good palace
תורה טובה	a good law

- c. Some words are *feminine on the semantic and syntactic level*, but *masculine on the morphological level*, for example, נשים (women) is a masculine form but refers to female persons. It also takes the feminine form of the adjective, e.g.

נשים טובות	good women
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- d. Some nouns are *morphologically masculine*, *syntactically feminine* and *semantically neuter*, e.g.

עיר	a city
עיר טובה	a good city

- e. The gender of a word remains unchanged on the syntactic level, even though the *morphological form sometimes varies*, for example, מקום which is masculine in the singular on the morphological and syntactic level, becomes feminine in the plural on the morphological level (מקומות), but remains masculine on the syntactic level.
- f. Some words may be syntactically masculine or feminine in the singular, for example, דרך. The plural of דרך, however, is always masculine.

The most important combinations are summarized in the following table:

Hebrew forms	Morphological gender	Syntactic gender	Semantic gender
אִישׁ / אַנְשִׁים	m.	m.	m.
מַלְכָּה / מַלְכוּת	f.	f.	f.
עִיר / עָרִים	m.	f.	neuter
אֶרֶץ / אֲרָצוֹת	sing. m. / pl. f.	f.	neuter
חַלּוּמָה / חֲלוּמוֹת	sing. m. / pl. f.	m.	neuter
אָב / אֲבוֹת	sing. m. / pl. f.	m.	m.
אִשָּׁה / נָשִׁים	sing. f. / pl. m.	f.	f.
דָּרֵךְ / דַּרְכִּים	m.	sing. m. or f. / pl. m.	neuter
יָד / יָדַי / יָדוֹת	sing. m. / du. m./ pl. f.	f.	neuter
יוֹם / יוֹמִים / יָמִים	m.	m.	neuter
רֶגֶל / רַגְלִים / רַגְלֵי	m.	f.	neuter
קֹהֵלֶת	f.	m.	m.

2. Gender features of inanimate objects

(i) Nouns with a *masculine form* (i.e. morphologically masculine nouns).

Most nouns that are morphologically masculine are also masculine on the syntactic level. There are, however, exceptions.

a. Nouns with a *spatial reference* are usually syntactically feminine, even though they lack feminine endings.

אֶרֶץ	earth
עוֹלָם	world
עִיר	city

b. Nouns that refer to *natural elements and forces* are usually syntactically feminine, even though they lack feminine endings.

אֶבֶן	stone
רוּחַ	wind
אֵשׁ	fire

- c. Nouns that refer to *implements* are usually syntactically feminine, even though they lack feminine endings.

חֶרֶב	sword
כּוּס	cup
נֶעַל	shoe

- d. Nouns that refer to *dual parts of the body* are usually syntactically feminine, even though they lack feminine endings.

אָזן	ear
עַיִן	eye
יָד	hand

An exception is שָׁד (breast) which is masculine on the syntactic level.

- e. With *place names* gender on the syntactic level is often not determined by the proper noun itself, but by the presumed generic term associated with it.

- בֵּית־לָחָם and בֵּית־אֵיל are morphologically and syntactically masculine because בֵּית is morphologically and syntactically masculine.
- מַמְלָכָה, בְּבֵל, יְהוּדָה, בָּבֶל and יְרוּשָׁלַיִם are syntactically feminine because מַמְלָכָה (kingdom), אֶרֶץ (country) and עִיר (city) are syntactically feminine.
- פְּרַת (the Euphrates river) is syntactically masculine even though פְּרַת is morphologically feminine. The reason for this is that the generic term נָהָר (river) is syntactically masculine.

- f. When words are used *figuratively* their gender may sometimes vary from that of their literal use on the syntactic level.

- עַיִן (literally 'eye', feminine, but figuratively 'engraving surface', masculine).

- (ii) Nouns that have a *feminine form* (i.e. morphologically feminine nouns)

- a. *Abstract nouns* are morphologically feminine.

גְּבוּרָה	power
יְשָׁרָה	sincerity
נְדִיבוּת	noble things (plural)

An exception is חַיִל (power), which is morphologically masculine.

b. *Collective* nouns are often also morphologically feminine.

אֲרָבָה	caravan
רֵקֵה	(the) poor
אֹיְבֵת	enemy

c. A single member of a *collective* is often also morphologically feminine.

אֲנִיָּה	ship
<i>as opposed to</i>	
אֲנִי	fleet

Compare, however, the following exception:

דָּגִים	fish (collective)
<i>as opposed to</i>	
דָּג	a fish

d. When an *infinitive* is used as a noun, it is often regarded as morphologically feminine.

דַּעַת	knowledge, to know
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e. A noun used *figuratively* is often morphologically feminine.

יֹנְקֵת	a young shoot, sapling
<i>as opposed to</i>	
יֹנֵק	suckling/child

Most nouns with feminine forms are also feminine on the level of syntax and semantics.

(iii) Gender doublets

Some nouns that refer to inanimate objects sometimes have masculine and feminine forms with the same meaning—this applies to abstract concepts as well as concrete things.

אִשָּׁה / אִשָּׁה	debt
מִתְּנָה / מִתְּנָה	gift

3. Characteristics of gender in animate objects

(i) Natural pairs

a. Sometimes there is no morphological indication of the gender of the elements in semantically marked opposite gender pairs.

אָב	father
אִמָּה	mother

- b. The gender of some semantically related pairs is marked morphologically by a *masculine and a feminine form* of the same word.

פָּר	bull, ox
פָּרָה	cow

(ii) *Epicene nouns*

- a. Some words bear semantic reference to a mixed gendered group, but are either morphologically masculine or feminine.

כֶּלֶב	dog (masculine form refers to both male and female)
יוֹנָה	dove (feminine form refers to both male and female)

- b. Some epicene nouns that have a masculine form are syntactically feminine.

גְּמֵלִים מְנִיקוֹת	nursing camels
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- c. The word for god(s)/goddess(es) אֱלֹהִים is also regarded as an **epicene noun**.

(iii) *Precedence of the masculine gender on syntactic level*

When masculine and feminine word forms are combined, the masculine gender is accorded precedence on the syntactic level. (Cf. §35/(viii).)

זָכָר וּנְקֵבָה בָּרָא אֱתָם	Male and female he created them (m.) (Gen. 1.27).
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This syntactic precedence is possibly due to the function of the masculine form as an unmarked gender, especially in the plural for mixed groups.

§24.3. *Number*²⁹

1. *Number as a grammatical and extra-linguistic concept*

Number is a *grammatical (morphological and syntactic) characteristic* of nouns, but also refers to the extra-linguistic reality (the semantic aspect of number). Morphologically, nouns in BH have singular, plural and dual forms. The dual forms in BH are mainly reserved for objects that occur in pairs (such as parts of the body) and for certain indications of time.

29. Cf. Waltke and O'Connor §7.

(i) *Morphological characteristics of number in general*

a. Some words have all three forms of number.

יָד, יָדַי, יָדַיִם hand, hands

b. Others have only a singular and dual form—the dual form is then used for the plural.

אָזְנוֹ, אָזְנוֹיִם ear, ears

c. Some words have only a dual form.

מִתְּחִילָיִם hips

(ii) *Syntactic characteristics of number in general*

a. Syntactically a singular noun in subject position takes a singular form of the verb. (Cf. §35.)

וַיִּשְׁכֶּם אַבִּימֶלֶךְ בַּבֹּקֶר And *Abimelech* rose early in the morning (Gen. 20.8).

b. A plural subject takes a plural verb.

וַיִּירָאוּ הָאֲנָשִׁים מְאֹד And the men were very much afraid (Gen. 20.8).

c. There are *exceptions*, for example, when a noun with a plural form has a singular meaning.

... וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהִים ... And *God* said ... (Gen. 1.3).

d. *Dual subjects take plural verbs* because BH verbs have no dual forms.

אַל-יָרַפוּ יָדַיִךְ Let not *your hands* (dual form) grow weak (Zeph. 3.16).

וַעֲיִן אֲדֹנָיִהּ-הַמֶּלֶךְ רֹאֶת While the eyes of my lord the king see it (2 Sam. 24.3).

(iii) *The semantics of number in general*

Number is a grammatical feature of nouns that does not always correspond to extra-linguistic reality. For example, collective nouns are singular nouns that refer to more than one object, e.g. עוֹף (birds) and הָעָם (the people). On the other hand, Hebrew also makes use of the plural noun פְּנִים to refer to the singular 'face'. In the case of the latter type, the morphological number *sometimes* corresponds to the syntactic number *and sometimes do not*.

פָּנַי יֵלְכוּ וְהִנַּחְתִּי לְךָ: My presence (lit. my face) will go with you, and I will give you rest (Exod. 33.14).

וְיָדְעוּ הָעָם כָּלֹו And all *the people* will know (Isa. 9.8).

Furthermore, the allocation of grammatical number to concepts differs from language to language.

2. Syntactic and semantic aspects of the singular form

(i) With nouns referring to countable objects, the singular refers to *one example of many* (the so-called numerical singular).

אִישׁ	a man
בַּיִת	a house

(ii) With collective nouns the singular is used to refer to *a group* (the so-called collective singular).

צֹאן	sheep
אָדָם	people, humanity
עוֹף	birds
דָּגָה	fish

Collective nouns in subject positions may govern the singular or plural form of the verb. Compare §35 for possible reasons.

יֵאָכְלוּ עוֹף הַשָּׁמַיִם The birds of heaven shall eat (1 Kgs 14.11).

עוֹף הַשָּׁמַיִם יוֹלִיךְ אֶת־הַקּוֹל The birds of heaven *will carry* your voice [lit. the voice] (Eccl. 10.20).

a. Some nouns are used *almost exclusively in the singular* as collective nouns.

פְּרִי	fruit
דֶּשֶׁא	grass
רִמָּשׁ	creeping things
בְּהֵמָה	animals
טַף	children
רֶכֶב	war-chariots

b. Nouns that often occur in the plural form can, however, also sometimes be used *in the singular collective*.

אִישׁ	men
אִשָּׁה	women
עֵץ	trees

(iii) The singular noun occurring after cardinal numbers, after כָּל and other words indicating quantity, *refers to a class or a group*. Gentile nouns (names of people or groups) are also often used in the singular.

וּשְׁלֹשִׁים וּשְׁנַיִם מְלָכִים	32 kings (1 Kgs 20.1)
כָּל־זְכוּרֶיךָ	all your <i>males</i> (Exod. 34.23)
וְלִרְעוּבֵנֵי ... אָמַר יְהוֹשֻׁעַ	And to the <i>Reubenites</i> ... Joshua said (Josh. 1.12)

(iv) When the same noun is repeated in the singular—with or without the conjunction וְ or with a preposition—it has a *distributive sense*. (Cf. §29.3/(viii).)

שָׁנָה שָׁנָה	<i>year by year</i> (Deut. 14.22)
דוֹר־דוֹר	<i>all generations / every generation</i> (Deut. 32.7)
שָׁנָה בְּשָׁנָה	<i>year by year</i> (Deut. 15.20)
בְּבֹקֶר בְּבֹקֶר	<i>morning by morning</i> (Exod. 16.21)

(v) When the same noun is repeated syndetically in the singular (i.e. with a conjunction), it expresses *diversity*.

בְּלֵב וְלֵב יְדַבְּרוּ	They speak with a <i>double heart</i> [= deceitfully] (Ps. 12.3).
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(vi) Repetition of the same noun can also indicate *exclusivity* or *intensity*. (Cf. §29.3/(ix).)

זָהָב זָהָב	<i>pure gold</i> (2 Kgs 25.15)
בְּדֶרֶךְ בְּדֶרֶךְ אֶלֶךְ	I will go <i>only</i> by the road (Deut. 2.27).

3. Syntactic and semantic aspects of the plural form

(i) With nouns referring to countable objects the plural indicates more than one or two specimens (the so-called *numerical plural*).

אֲנָשִׁים	men
מְלָכִים	kings

(ii) The repetition of the same noun in the plural indicates *intensification*.

עָשָׂה הַנְּחָל הַזֶּה גְּבִים גְּבִים I will make this wadi (dry river bed)
full of pools (2 Kgs 3.16).

(iii) The plural form of a singular collective noun indicates *a disruption or processing of the collective*. With nouns referring to crops it often indicates the processed state.

דָּם	blood
דָּמִים	bloodshed
שַׁעֲרָה	barley (in the fields)
שַׁעֲרִים	cooked barley

(iv) The plural forms of some nouns indicate that the referent of the noun is *large, complex or manifold* (the so-called plurals of extension).

מַיִם	water
אֹהֲלִים	camp, dwelling
<i>as opposed to</i>	
אֹהֶל	tent (often a religious use)

Some nouns that refer to *body parts* are used only in the plural as plurals of extension.

פְּנִים	face
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(v) The plural form of some nouns indicates *a repeated series of actions or a habit*. It can have an abstract meaning.

זְנוּנִים	prostitution
כּוֹס תְּנַחֲמוּמִים	cup of consolation (Jer. 16.7)

(vi) With abstract nouns the plural often refers to a *characteristic or condition*.

בִּינּוּת	understanding
בְּחָרִים	youth
זְקֵנִים	old age

(vii) The plural form of some nouns refers to a *special or exalted person*, or superior deity or person, the so-called *honorific plural* (*pluralis majestatis*).

הָאֱלֹהִים	gods/God
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- a. The plural forms of *participles* are also sometimes used as honorific plurals in reference to God or people.

עָשִׂי my Maker (Job 35.10)

- b. The plural form of some nouns that refer to animals is sometimes used as an honorific plural to designate *a whole species*.

וְעַל־עֵיִר בֶּן־אַתְנֹת and on a colt, the foal of an ass (Zech 9.9)

- c. The honorific plural is also used in reference to *people*.

בָּשָׂלִים boss, master
אֲדָנִים lord

The word אֲדָנִי (Lord, as the name of the God of Israel) must be distinguished from both אֲדָנִי (my master) and אֲדָנִי (my lord), which refer to people.

4. Syntactic and semantic aspects of the dual form

- (i) The dual occurs especially in nouns referring to *body parts* that occur in pairs.

אָזְנַיִם two ears
עֵינַיִם two eyes

- a. The dual is **also used for nouns** that refer to objects that usually occur in pairs.

נְעָלַיִם a pair of sandals

- b. The plural form of nouns that have dual forms referring to **body parts** is often used *metaphorically*.

יָדַיִם two hands
 but
יָדוֹת handles

- (ii) The dual form of nouns is also used for *measurable time and measuring units*.

אַמָּה	cubit	אַמָּתַיִם	2 cubits	אַמּוֹת	cubits
יוֹם	day	יוֹמַיִם	2 days	יָמִים	days

(iii) Although מים and שמים look like *dual forms*, they should be regarded as plural forms.

(iv) Some nouns have dual forms without there being any obvious reason for this.

צָהָרִים	midday (12 o'clock)
מִצְרַיִם	Egypt
יְרוּשָׁלַיִם	Jerusalem

§24.4. Definiteness (*Status Determinatus*)

Definiteness may be regarded as a congruency feature of nouns. In English a distinction is made between the definite article *the* and the indefinite article *a*. BH has an equivalent only for the definite article. When a common noun occurs without a definite article it is regarded as indefinite.

1. The way in which indefiniteness/definiteness is expressed in BH

The indefiniteness or definiteness of BH nominal forms is morphologically determined as follows:

(i) A noun is *indefinite* if:

- an article or pronominal suffix is not affixed to it and it is not followed by a definite noun in a construct relation. (Cf. §25.3.)
- אִישׁ or אִתָּהּ is used, however, to mark a certain or specific someone or something.

אִישׁ אֶחָד a certain man (Judg. 13.2)

(ii) A noun is *definite* if:

- it is definite in itself
a proper name

וַיִּבְקֹשׁ לְהַרְגֵּ אֶת־מֹשֶׁה And he sought to kill *Moses* (Exod. 2.15).

a pronoun

וַיֵּשֶׁב בְּמַעְרָה And he dwelt in a cave with his two
הוּא וּשְׁתֵּי בָנָתָיו daughters [lit. he dwelt in a cave, *he*
and *his* two daughters] (Gen. 19.30).

a title

וַיַּמְלִכוּ כָּל־יִשְׂרָאֵל And all Israel made Omri, *the com-*
אֶת־עֹמְרִי שַׂר־צְבָא mander of the army, king over Israel
עַל־יִשְׂרָאֵל (1 Kgs 16.16).

a common noun that has acquired the value of a proper noun

וַיִּשֶׁת׀ עֲלֵיהֶם חֶבֶל And on them he has set *the world*
(1 Sam. 2.8).

- b. it has the definite article הַ or
- c. a pronominal suffix affixed to it
- d. it is in *status constructus* and followed by a definite noun

הַיֵּשֶׁב אִשְׁת־הָאִישׁ Restore the man's wife [lit. *the wife*
of the man] (Gen. 20.7).

Note the following:

- (1) BH differs from English in its use of the definite article. The function of the article must thus be determined carefully, especially in translation.
- (2) The use of the article is a relatively recent phenomenon in Semitic languages and is therefore often omitted in poetic sections.

2. The form of the article

The basic form of the article is הַ. The article is directly attached to the front of the relevant noun resulting in the doubling of the first consonant of that word.

הַ + מֶלֶךְ the + word
הַמֶּלֶךְ the word

The following exceptions occur:³⁰

(i) The gutturals (א, ה, ח, ע) and ר (as a rule) cannot be doubled. (Cf. §4.2/4(i).) When a definite noun begins with one of these consonants, the / - / of the article changes or lengthens to compensate for the doubling that can no longer occur.

These changes may be presented systematically as follows:

The first vowel is not a qāmeš.			The first vowel is a qāmeš.		
אִישׁ	א	הַ	אָדָם	א	הַ
רֹאשׁ	ר		רֹשֶׁע	ר	
עִיר	ע	הַ	עֶפְרָיִם	ע	הַ
הַיְכָל	ה		הָרִים	ה	
חֶרֶב	ח		חֻכָּם	ח	

30. Cf. Waltke and O'Connor §13.3.

(ii) As well as with the gutturals, and usually with ך, the first consonant of the noun also *does not double* in the following instance:

a. In words beginning with ך or ך the doubling usually falls away. (Cf. §8.2/5.)

הילדים the children

b. If the ך is followed by a ה or ע the doubling does occur.

היהודים the Jews

c. If the ך is followed by a ה, ע or ר the doubling does occur.

המרעים the mischief-makers

(iii) The *vocalization of some nouns changes* when the article is added to them.

הארץ the land
הארון the ark

(iv) When *the bound prepositions* (ב, ל and כ) appear before the article, the prepositions and the article *combine* to form a single syllable, e.g. ב־ instead of בְּ-ה, ל־ instead of לְ-ה, כ־ instead of כְּ-ה.

בַּמֶּלֶךְ by the king
לַמֶּלֶךְ for the king
כַּמֶּלֶךְ like the king

3. Syntactic functions of the article³¹

(i) The article is sometimes used **in** the construction of the vocative to designate *a specific addressee*. (Cf. §34.4.)

חַי־נַפְשֶׁךָ הַמֶּלֶךְ As your soul lives, *O king* (1 Sam. 17.55).

It may be *omitted*.

לֵךְ-אֶל-נִמְלָה עֲצֹל Go to the ant, *O sluggard* (Prov. 6.6).

(ii) The article is used in the place of a relative pronoun to construct a *relative clause*.

a. With a *finite verb* (rare and usually in Late BH)

עַמְּךָ הַנִּמְצְאוֹתֶיךָ your people who *are present* here
(1 Chron. 29.17).

31. Cf. Waltke and O'Connor §13.5.2.

b. Apparently with a *participle* (Cf. §20.3/3.)

לִיהֵיָהּ הַגֵּרָאָה אֵלָיו to the Lord *who had appeared to him*
(Gen. 12.7).

(iii) The article is used to construct *the superlative*.

כִּי־אַתֶּם הַמְעַט מִכָּל־הָעַמִּים For you were the *fewest* of all peo-
ples (Deut. 7.7).

(iv) It *marks* an adjective or demonstrative pronoun as *grammatically congruent* with a noun.

וַנֵּלֶךְ אֶת כָּל־הַמִּדְבָּר הַגָּדוֹל ... And we went through all that *great*
desert ... (Deut. 1.19).

4. Semantic functions of the article³²

(i) The article makes a *demonstrative* semantic contribution when used with nouns referring to time.

הַיּוֹם today [lit. this day] (Gen. 4.14)

(ii) The definite noun focuses attention on the referent's *identity*. The following constructions are important here:

a. A common noun with an article can refer to a *unique referent* (i.e. there is only one of its kind).

הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ the sun

b. A common noun with an article can refer to a specific referent that has, for example, *been mentioned before*. This contributes towards creating a coherent text. To put this in another way, if there were no indication that a particular referent had already been mentioned, that text would seem awkward (or incoherent).

וַיִּקַּח בֶּן־בָּקָר ... And he took a calf ... then he took
וַיִּקַּח חֲמִצָּה וְחֵלֶב curds, and milk, and *the calf* (Gen.
וּבֶן־הַבָּקָר 18.7-8).

c. Things that are *implied by the context* take the article, even if they have not been mentioned before.

וַתַּעַר כַּדָּהּ אֶל־הַשֶּׁקֶת And she emptied her jar into *the*
trough (Gen. 24.20).

32. Cf. Waltke and O'Connor §13.5.1.

- d. The article is used *generically* to designate a class of persons or things that are definite in themselves.

אֲךְ אֵתֶּנָּה לֹא תֹאכְלוּ ... אֲתֵּי הַנֶּמֶל ... וְאֵתֵּי הַשֶּׁפֶן
But you shall not eat these ... the camel ... and the rock badger (Lev. 11.4-5).

הַכּוֹכָבִים *the stars* (Gen. 15.5)

הַכְּנַעֲנִי *the Canaanite(s)*

בְּאֵשׁ *with the fire* (Josh. 11.9)

בְּסַנּוּרִים *with (the) blindness* (Gen. 19.11)

This construction is used particularly in comparisons, e.g.

כְּלֵב הַאֲרִיָּה *like the heart of a (the) lion* (2 Sam. 17.10)

- e. The article is used to mark a common noun as a *proper noun*.

הַיָּאֵר *The River* = the Nile River

§25. The Declension of the Noun

§25.1. Cases in BH. The Construct State

1. General

Unlike most Semitic languages, BH no longer has noun cases. A BH noun thus does not ‘decline’ as a Greek or Latin noun; i.e. it does not have different endings for the nominative, vocative, accusative, genitive, dative and ablative cases.

The closest BH comes to having cases is in the personal pronoun.

	<i>Subject</i>	<i>Direct Object</i>	<i>Possessive</i>	<i>Indirect Object</i>
	<i>‘Nominative’</i>	<i>‘Accusative’</i>	<i>‘Genitive’</i>	<i>‘Dative’</i>
<i>1 sing.</i>	אֲנִי	אֹתִי	-י	לִי
	I	me	my	to me
<i>3 m. sing.</i>	הוא	אותו	-ו	לוֹ
	he	him	his	to him

2. Terminology: the *status absolutus* (*st. abs.*), *status constructus* (*st. cs.*) and *postconstructus* (*pcs.*)

BH has adopted other strategies to compensate for the loss of noun cases. There is, for example, a specific construction for the 'genitive' in BH. This construction which is, in a sense, the only morphological indicator of a 'case' in BH, is called a *construct relation*. It is a linguistic phenomenon in BH that involves two nouns that could be expressed in English as follows:

The horse of the king.

In its simplest form it consists of a *status constructus* form of the noun and a *status absolutus* form.

<i>St. cs.</i>	<i>St. abs. and pcs.</i>
the horse	of the king
the God	of the heavens

The *status absolutus* is the normal form of the word. It may occur in any syntactic position, e.g. subject, direct object, indirect object (with a preposition), etc. It is also called the *נִפְרָד*. The *status constructus* is a special form of the word that is used to indicate that that particular word and the word following it form a possessive construction (in the broadest sense of the word). This is called the *construct relationship* or *סְמִיכוּת* (support). The *status constructus* is also called the *נִסְמָךְ* (supported) and the word that follows it the *סִמָּךְ* (supporter). The *סִמָּךְ* is the equivalent of the genitive in Greek and Latin and other Semitic languages. The *סִמָּךְ* can also be called the *postconstructus*. The *postconstructus* has the normal form of the word (*status absolutus*), unless it is itself in the *status constructus* and followed by a *postconstructus*. A whole series of constructs can be thus formed. This is called a *construct chain*.

לֵב רֵאשֵׁי עַם הָאָרֶץ The *heart* of the *chiefs* of the *people*
of the earth (Job 12.24)

Note the following:

- (1) BH grammars do not normally distinguish between the *status absolutus* and what has been called the *postconstructus* in this grammar. This distinction is important for the following reason: even though the forms of the *status absolutus* and the *status constructus* are often identical, this is not the case in a construct chain (as in Job 12.24).

- (2) The *status constructus* has different endings from the *status absolutus* in all the numbers and genders, except the masculine singular (which has no endings) and the feminine plural where it is the same as the absolute. The masculine dual *status constructus* ending and masculine plural *status constructus* endings look the same. (Cf. the second table in §25.2.)
- (3) A *status constructus* form loses its main accent and this is why vowel reduction often occurs, for example, דָּבָר becomes דְּבַר. (Cf. §7.3.)
- (4) Sometimes the *status constructus* is joined to the *postconstructus* with the maqqēf, for example, בָּרַךְ. (Cf. §9.1.)
- (5) The Masoretic accents (cf. §9.5) can also indicate the distinction between the *status absolutus* and the *status constructus*. A conjunctive accent can indicate a construct relationship, but a disjunctive accent indicates that the word is in the *status absolutus*.

§25.2. Morphology of the Status Absolutus, Postconstructus and Status Constructus

BH nouns can have the following endings:

	Masculine		Feminine	
	<i>st. abs.</i>	<i>st. cs.</i>	<i>st. abs.</i>	<i>st. cs.</i>
<i>singular</i>	-	-	־ָה	־ָת
<i>plural</i>	־ִים	־ֵי	־וֹת	־וֹת
<i>dual</i>	־ִים	־ֵי	־וֹתַי	־וֹתַי

If endings are ‘added’ to unchangeable nouns, the results are:

	Masculine		Feminine	
	<i>st. abs.</i>	<i>st. cs.</i>	<i>st. abs.</i>	<i>st. cs.</i>
<i>singular</i>	סוּס stallion	סוּס stallion of	סוּסָה mare	סוּסָת mare of
<i>plural</i>	סוּסִים stallions	סוּסֵי stallions of	סוּסוֹת mares	סוּסוֹת mares of
<i>dual</i>	סוּסִים 2 stallions	סוּסֵי 2 stallions of	סוּסוֹתַי 2 mares	סוּסוֹתַי 2 mares of

Vowel reduction or other changes also occur in most nouns—the relevant rules and paradigms will be dealt with in §26 and 27. Not all the forms below occur, but they have been theoretically reconstructed in order to form a complete paradigm.

§25.3. *The Noun in Construct Relationships*

1. *Syntactic features*

- (i) A noun in the *postconstructus* state can be found with or without the article הַ and is accordingly definite or indefinite.
- (ii) A noun in the *status constructus* never takes the article הַ. The definiteness of the *postconstructus* also applies to the *status constructus* (with certain exceptions, especially in poetry). Where the definiteness of the elements does differ, a construction with the preposition לְ is used, e.g.

סִמְרוֹר לְדָוִד a psalm of David

- (iii) A construct relationship is *usually inseparable*. The only element that can normally stand between the *status constructus* and the *postconstructus* is the article.

Other parts of speech do sometimes come between the two elements. In such a case one speaks of a *broken* construct relationship. Such elements include (*inter alia*) the following:

a. the *he locale* (Cf. §28.)

וַיָּבֵא הָאִישׁ אֶת־הָאֲנָשִׁים
בֵּיתָהּ יוֹסֵף And the man brought the men to
Joseph's house (Gen. 43.17).

b. *prepositions*

אֶת־אֶחָד מֵהַנְּעָרִים one of the servants (1 Sam. 9.3).

c. אֵת

לְיִשַׁע אֶת־מְשִׁיחֶךָ for the salvation of your anointed
(Hab. 3.13)

d. *certain verb forms (rare)*

הָרַחֵרְךָ וַרְצַחֵהוּ שְׂכֵמָה They murder on the way to/of
Shechem (Hos. 6.9)

e. the so-called enclitic *mem*.³³

יהוה־אלהים־צבאות
(MT reads אלהים) Lord, God of hosts (Ps. 59.6)

(iv) *Additional syntactic features of the construct relationship*

a. *Usually two constructs cannot occur with one postconstructus.*

Where this does occur, the construction is broken up and the *post-constructus* is replaced by a pronominal suffix.

אל־תפלת עבדך
ואל־תחנונו to the prayer of your servant and to his supplication [= to the prayer and supplication of your servant] (1 Kgs 8.28)

There are, however, some *exceptions*.

מבחר וטוב־לבנון the choice and best of Lebanon (Ezek. 31.16)

b. *One status constructus cannot usually govern two postconstructa either.* Where this does occur, the *status constructus* is usually repeated.

אלהי השמים ואלהי הארץ the God of the heaven and the God of the earth [= the God of the heaven and the earth] (Gen. 24.3)

In some cases the *status constructus* is not repeated, especially if the two *postconstructa* are closely related.

בעיני אלהים ואדם in the sight of God and man (Prov. 3.4)

c. *A prepositional phrase or verb phrase sometimes follow a noun in the status constructus.*

ישבי בארץ צלמות those who dwelt in the land of deep darkness (Isa. 9.1)

כל־ימי התהלכנו אתם all the days that we went with them [lit. all the days of our going with them] (1 Sam. 25.15)

33. Cf. Waltke and O'Connor §9.8 and §28a.

- d. A pronominal suffix that belongs to the *status constructus* 'jumps' to the next possible position, i.e. the *postconstructus*. It must, however, be translated as a part of the *status constructus*. In order to determine the element to which the pronominal suffix belongs, the textual context needs to be taken into account.

הַר קְדֹשִׁי my mountain of holiness (= my holy mountain) (Isa. 11.9)

- e. The noun in the *status constructus* can fulfil any syntactic function, while the noun in the *postconstructus* can only be an adjectival qualification of the *status constructus*.

2. Possible combinations in construct relationship (and other 'possessive constructions' with the preposition ל')

(i) Instances where definiteness agrees

סוּסַת מַלְכָּה a mare of a queen
סוּסַת הַמַּלְכָּה the mare of the queen

- a. In a construct chain all the members of the chain are in the *status constructus* except the last. A word can thus be a *postconstructus* and at the same time stand in the *status constructus*. The last member, however, always stands in the ordinary form or the *status absolutus*. The definiteness or indefiniteness of the last part also applies to all the other parts.

יִרְאַת סוּסַת מַלְכָּה a fear of a mare of a queen
יִרְאַת סוּסַת הַמַּלְכָּה the fear of the mare of the queen

- b. The *status constructus* and/or the *postconstructus* can be singular or plural.

דְּבַר הַנְּבִיא the word of the prophet
דְּבַר הַנְּבִיאִים the word of the prophets
דְּבָרֵי הַנְּבִיא the words of the prophet
דְּבָרֵי הַנְּבִיאִים the words of the prophets

- c. The *status constructus* can be a participle.

שֹׁמֵר הַתּוֹרָה the guardian (participle) of the law

- d. The *status constructus* can be an adjective.

טוֹבַת הַנָּשִׁים the good (adjective) of the women

(ii) Should the *status constructus* and the *postconstructus* differ in definiteness, the construct relationship cannot be used, but the preposition לְ is used to express the ‘possessive construction’.

סוּסָה לַמַּלְכָּה	a mare of the queen
הַסוּסָה לַמַּלְכָּה	the mare of a queen
הַסוּסָה הַגְּדוּלָּה לַמַּלְכָּה	the large mare of a queen
סוּסָה גְּדוּלָּה לַמַּלְכָּה	a large mare of the queen

(iii) The preposition לְ can also be used in cases where there is *no difference in definiteness*. In such cases it can assist in determining which element is being qualified. The following constructions are thus possible:

סוּסַת הַמַּלְכָּה הַגְּדוּלָּה	<i>the large mare</i> of the queen
or	
הַסוּסָה הַגְּדוּלָּה לַמַּלְכָּה	
סוּסַת הַמַּלְכָּה הַגְּדוּלָּה	the mare of <i>the large queen</i>
or	
הַסוּסָה לַמַּלְכָּה הַגְּדוּלָּה	
סוּסַת מַלְכָּה גְּדוּלָּה	<i>a large mare</i> of a queen
or	
סוּסָה גְּדוּלָּה לַמַּלְכָּה	
סוּסַת מַלְכָּה גְּדוּלָּה	a mare of <i>a large queen</i>
or	
סוּסָה לַמַּלְכָּה גְּדוּלָּה	

§25.4. Syntactic-Semantic Relationships in Construct Relationships

The *status constructus* is used to express many other relationships beside that of possession-possessor.

The *status constructus* and *postconstructus* can occur in the following relationships:³⁴

34. Cf. Kroeze 1991: 129-143 for a discussion of the problems in analysing *status constructus* relationships. Cf. Kroeze 1993: 68-88 for a syntax-based classification of constructs and Kroeze 1994a: 231-314 for a purely semantic approach.

1. Relationships of Possession

(i) Possession (concrete object)–possessor

בית המלך the house of **the king**

(ii) Possession (body part)–possessor

שפתו המלך the lips of **the king**

(iii) Possession (characteristic)–possessor

הדרת המלך the majesty of **the king**

(iv) Kinship/relationship–possessor

בני המלך the sons of **the king**

(v) Possessor–possession

בעל הבית the owner of **the house***2. Subject and object relations*

(i) Verbal notion–subject

ברכת יהוה **the blessing of (or by) the Lord**

(ii) Verbal notion (passive)–agent

הרוגי האשה **the murdered (ones) of the woman**

(iii) Verbal notion–object

יראת יהוה **the fear of (for) Lord***3. Partitive relationships*

(i) Part–divided whole

בני הנביאים the members of (among) the
prophet guild

(ii) Superlative part–divided whole

טוב הבנים the best (good) of (among) **the sons**

(iii) Part–undivided whole

כל הבנים all of the sons (all the sons)

4. Equalizing relationships

(i) Entity–synonym

שמחת גיל joy of (viz.) happiness

(ii) Entity–class (genus)

כְּסִיל אָדָם a fool of (viz.) a person

(iii) Entity–type (species)

זִבְחֵי שְׁלָמִים sacrifices of (viz.) peace offerings

(iv) Entity–name

נָהָר פָּרָת the river of (viz.) the Euphrates

(v) Entity–characteristic (description, attribute, quality)

אִמְרֵי בִינָה words of (with) insight

5. *Adverbial relationships*

(i) Entity–aim, goal or result

אֲבִנֵי קֶלֶע stones of (meant for) a sling

(ii) Entity–manner

אוֹצְרוֹת רָשַׁע riches of (acquired through) injustice

(iii) Entity–cause or reason

מְזֵי רָעֵב exhausted (ones) of (due to) hunger

(iv) Entity–means (instrument)

חַלְלֵי הַחֶרֶב the wounded (ones) of (by means of) the sword

(v) Entity–duration of time

בֶּן־שָׁנָה a son of a year (a one year old)

(vi) Entity–direction

יֹרְדֵי בֹר the (ones) going down (into the) pit

(vii) Entity–origin

שָׁלַל הָעָרִים the loot of (from) the cities

6. *Other relationships*

(i) Product–material

כֵּלֵי כֶסֶף vessels of silver

(ii) Product–author, creator, source, origin

סֵפֶר הָאִישׁ the book of (by) the man

(iii) Characteristic—with regard / respect to (specification)

אֵיל שִׁפְתַיִם foolish of (with respect to) lips

(iv) Entity—interested (favoured/injured) party

מִקְשֵׁי הָאָדָם the trap of (for, to the detriment of)
a person

(v) Container—content

קַמָּת מַיִם a bag of (full of) water

§26. The Noun with Pronominal Suffixes

§26.1. Morphology of Nouns with Pronominal Suffixes

1. General

Suffixes are elements added to the end of a word. BH has different types of suffixes:

- Finite *verbs* have suffixes that designate the person, gender and number of the subject. (Cf. §15.) In addition, *object suffixes* may also be affixed to them. (Cf. §17.)
- With *nouns* the distinction between the singular, plural and dual, masculine and feminine, *status absolutus* and *status constructus* is also expressed by means of suffixes. (Cf. §24 and §25.) These suffixes are called *endings*. In contrast to the classical languages, however, *person suffixes* also occur with nouns. These *pronominal suffixes/enclitic personal pronouns* may be regarded as the possessive equivalent of the separate personal pronoun. One could even speak of *genitive* suffixes here as morphologically distinguishable endings do indeed occur. *Whenever further reference is made to 'suffixes' here the possessive pronominal suffixes are understood.*

The following distinctions must be maintained in the declension of nouns:

- Words with masculine forms and words with feminine forms
- Words in the singular, plural or dual

There are six unique sets of pronominal suffixes (cf. Table 21):

Set 1 is used with *masculine singular* nouns.

Set 2 is used with *feminine singular* nouns.

The complete declension is as follows:

2. Table 21. *The complete declension of the noun*

MASCULINE SINGULAR			FEMININE SINGULAR		
<i>st. abs.</i>			<i>st. abs.</i>		הַ
<i>st. cs.</i>			<i>st. cs.</i>		תַּ
<i>with sing. suffix</i>	1 c.	ִ	<i>with sing. suffix</i>	1 c.	ִי
	2 m.	ִיךָ		2 m.	ִיךָ
	2 f.	ִיךְ		2 f.	ִיךְ
	3 m.	ִי, הִי, הוּא		3 m.	ִיהָ
	3 f.	ִיהָ, הִיא		3 f.	ִיהָ
<i>with pl. suffix</i>	1 c.	ִים	<i>with pl. suffix</i>	1 c.	ִיהֶן
	2 m.	ִיכֶם		2 m.	ִיכֶם
	2 f.	ִיכֶן		2 f.	ִיכֶן
	3 m.	ִיהֶם, הֵם		3 m.	ִיהֶם
	3 f.	ִיהֶן, הֵן		3 f.	ִיהֶן
MASCULINE DUAL			FEMININE DUAL		
<i>st. abs.</i>		ִים	<i>st. abs.</i>		ִיהֵם
<i>st. cs.</i>		ִי	<i>st. cs.</i>		ִיהֵי
<i>with sing. suffix</i>	1 c.	ִי	<i>with sing. suffix</i>	1 c.	ִיהֵי
	2 m.	ִיךָ		2 m.	ִיהֵיךָ
	2 f.	ִיךְ		2 f.	ִיהֵיךְ
	3 m.	ִי, הִי, הוּא		3 m.	ִיהֵי
	3 f.	ִיהָ		3 f.	ִיהֵיהָ
<i>with pl. suffix</i>	1 c.	ִימָה	<i>with pl. suffix</i>	1 c.	ִיהֵימָה
	2 m.	ִיכֶם		2 m.	ִיהֵיכֶם
	2 f.	ִיכֶן		2 f.	ִיהֵיכֶן
	3 m.	ִיהֶם, הֵימָה		3 m.	ִיהֵיהֶם
	3 f.	ִיהֶן		3 f.	ִיהֵיהֶן

MASCULINE PLURAL			FEMININE PLURAL		
<i>st. abs.</i>		ים-	<i>st. abs.</i>		ות-
<i>st. cs.</i>		י-	<i>st. cs.</i>		ות-
<i>with sing. suffix</i>	1 c.	י-	<i>with sing. suffix</i>	1 c.	ותי-
	2 m.	יך-		2 m.	ותיך-
	2 f.	יך-		2 f.	ותיך-
	3 m.	י, ים, יה, ים,		3 m.	ותי
	3 f.	יך-		3 f.	ותיך-
<i>with pl. suffix</i>	1 c.	ינ-	<i>with pl. suffix</i>	1 c.	ותינ-
	2 m.	יכם-		2 m.	ותיכם-
	2 f.	יכן-		2 f.	ותיכן-
	3 m.	יהם-		3 m.	ותיהם-
	3 f.	יהן-		3 f.	ותיהן-

§26.2. Syntactic and Semantic Functions of the Pronominal Suffixes

The pronominal suffixes fulfil the syntactic function of an adjectival qualification occurring with a noun—in the same way as does the second element (the *postconstructus*) of a construct relationship. Like the *postconstructus*, pronominal suffixes are used to express many underlying syntactic and semantic relations. Because a pronominal suffix can replace any noun, almost all the distinctions made with the *status constructus* are possible here. (Cf. §25.4.)

§27. Noun Patterns and Suffixes

Nouns can be divided into various groups on the basis of the vowel changes that occur with declensions. The endings and suffixes given above lead to systematized vowel changes in each group. The general sound rules remain valid, namely the rule of š^cwâ (§8.1), the rules of gutturals (§4.2/4(i)) and the *begadkefat* rules (§8.2).

§27.1. *The Declension of Nouns with Unchangeable Vowels*³⁵1. Table 22. *Nouns with Unchangeable Vowels*

The endings and suffixes are added to the simplest form of the word with no further changes. *חֹרֶה* serves as the example for the feminine forms of this group.

MASCULINE SINGULAR			FEMININE SINGULAR		
<i>Gloss</i>		horse	<i>Gloss</i>		law
<i>st. abs.</i>		סוס	<i>st. abs.</i>		חֹרֶה
<i>st. cs.</i>		סוּס	<i>st. cs.</i>		חֹרֶת
<i>with sing. suffix</i>	1 c.	סוּסִי	<i>with sing. suffix</i>	1 c.	חֹרְתִי
	2 m.	סוּסֶיךָ		2 m.	חֹרְתֶיךָ
	2 f.	סוּסֶיךָ		2 f.	חֹרְתֶיךָ
	3 m.	סוּסָיו		3 m.	חֹרְתָיו
	3 f.	סוּסֶיהָ		3 f.	חֹרְתֶיהָ
<i>with pl. suffix</i>	1 c.	סוּסַי	<i>with pl. suffix</i>	1 c.	חֹרְתַי
	2 m.	סוּסֵיכֶם		2 m.	חֹרְתֵיכֶם
	2 f.	סוּסֵיכֶן		2 f.	חֹרְתֵיכֶן
	3 m.	סוּסֵיהֶם		3 m.	חֹרְתֵיהֶם
	3 f.	סוּסֵיהֶן		3 f.	חֹרְתֵיהֶן
MASCULINE DUAL			FEMININE DUAL		
<i>st. abs.</i>		סוּסַיִם	<i>st. abs.</i>		חֹרְתַיִם
<i>st. cs.</i>		סוּסֵי	<i>st. cs.</i>		חֹרְתֵי
<i>with sing. suffix</i>	1 c.	סוּסַיִ	<i>with sing. suffix</i>	1 c.	חֹרְתַיִ
	2 m.	סוּסַיְכֶם		2 m.	חֹרְתַיְכֶם
	2 f.	סוּסַיְכֶן		2 f.	חֹרְתַיְכֶן
	3 m.	סוּסַיְהֶם		3 m.	חֹרְתַיְהֶם
	3 f.	סוּסַיְהֶן		3 f.	חֹרְתַיְהֶן
<i>with pl. suffix</i>	1 c.	סוּסַיִנִי	<i>with pl. suffix</i>	1 c.	חֹרְתַיִנִי
	2 m.	סוּסַיְכֶם		2 m.	חֹרְתַיְכֶם

35. Cf. Lambdin, 1980: xvii.

MASCULINE DUAL			FEMININE DUAL		
<i>with pl. suffix</i>	2 f.	סוּסִיכֵן	<i>with pl. suffix</i>	2 f.	תּוֹרְתֵיכֵן
	3 m.	סוּסִיכֶם		3 m.	תּוֹרְתֵיכֶם
	3 f.	סוּסִיכֵיָן		3 f.	תּוֹרְתֵיכֵיָן
MASCULINE PLURAL			FEMININE PLURAL		
<i>st. abs.</i>		סוּסִים	<i>st. abs.</i>		תּוֹרוֹת
<i>st. cs.</i>		סוּסֵי	<i>st. cs.</i>		תּוֹרוֹת
<i>with sing. suffix</i>	1 c.	סוּסִי	<i>with sing. suffix</i>	1 c.	תּוֹרוֹתִי
	2 m.	סוּסִיד		2 m.	תּוֹרוֹתֵיךְ
	2 f.	סוּסִידָּךְ		2 f.	תּוֹרוֹתֵיךְ
	3 m.	סוּסִיו		3 m.	תּוֹרוֹתָיו
	3 f.	סוּסִיהֶן		3 f.	תּוֹרוֹתֵיהֶן
<i>with pl. suffix</i>	1 c.	סוּסֵינוּ	<i>with pl. suffix</i>	1 c.	תּוֹרוֹתֵינוּ
	2 m.	סוּסֵיכֶם		2 m.	תּוֹרוֹתֵיכֶם
	2 f.	סוּסֵיכֵן		2 f.	תּוֹרוֹתֵיכֵן
	3 m.	סוּסֵיהֶם		3 m.	תּוֹרוֹתֵיהֶם יָהֵם
	3 pl.	סוּסֵיהֶן		3 f.	תּוֹרוֹתֵיהֶן יָהֵן

§27.2. The Declension of Nouns with Changeable Long Vowels \ddot{a} and \ddot{e}

1. Form of the declensions

The rules regarding vowel changes in this group may be summarized by means of the following scheme. The first column indicates the position of the changeable long vowel in a word and the others indicate the changes that this vowel undergoes:

EXAMPLE	NOUN SING.	NOUN SING.	NOUN PL.	ALL OTHER
	<i>st. abs.</i>	<i>st. cs. or</i>	<i>st. cs. or</i>	<i>sing. or pl.</i>
		heavy suffix	heavy suffix	
פָּקִיד	a. \ddot{a} -	-	-	-
מְדַבֵּר	b. \ddot{e} -	-	-	-
שֹׁמֵר	c. \ddot{e} -	- / \ddot{e}	-	-
EXAMPLE	NOUN SING.	NOUN SING.	NOUN PL.	ALL OTHER

EXAMPLE	NOUN SING.		NOUN SING.	NOUN PL.	ALL OTHER
	<i>st. abs.</i>		<i>st. cs. or</i>	<i>st. cs. or</i>	<i>sing. or pl.</i>
			heavy suffix	heavy suffix	
	d. (ii)	(i)			
דָּבָר	ָ	ָ			
זָקֵן	ָ	ָ			
לֵבָב	ָ	ָ			
(i) Treated like the ָ of a.					
(ii) Treated like the ָ of b (where the ָ of b is retained, the ָ in d is also retained).					

2. Forms of nouns with changeable long vowels

(i) Nouns with ָ in the penultimate (second-last) syllable

Cf. Table 23a פָּקִיד

(ii) Nouns with ָ in the final syllable

Cf. Table 23b מְדַבֵּר

(iii) Nouns with ָ in the final syllable

Cf. Table 23c שָׁמֵר

(iv) Nouns with ָ in the last two syllables

Cf. Table 24a דָּבָר

(v) Nouns with ָ in the final and ָ in the penultimate syllable

Cf. Table 24b זָקֵן

(vi) Nouns with ָ in the final and ָ in the penultimate syllable

Cf. Table 24c לֵבָב

(vii) Feminine nouns with ָ in the last two syllables

Cf. Table 25 שָׂנְאָה

(viii) Trisyllabic feminine nouns with a $\text{š}^{\text{e}}\text{wā}$ in the first, ָ in the second and with the feminine ending הָ in the final syllable

Cf. Table 26 צְדָקָה

(ix) Nouns with gutturals in this group

Cf. Table 27

(x) Monosyllabic nouns with a changeable vowel

Cf. Table 28

3. Table 23. *Nouns with changeable long vowels*

		Table 23a	Table 23b	Table 23c
		<i>Nouns with - in the penultimate syllable</i>	<i>Nouns with - in the final syllable</i>	<i>Nouns with - in the final syllable</i>
		פְּקִיד	מִדְבָּר	שָׁמַר
<i>Gloss</i>		commissioner/ officer	desert	guardian/guard
<i>SINGULAR</i>				
<i>st. abs.</i>		פְּקִיד	מִדְבָּר	שָׁמַר
<i>st. cs.</i>		פְּקִיד	מִדְבָּר	שָׁמַר
<i>with sing. suffix</i>	1 c.	פְּקִידִי	מִדְבָּרִי	שָׁמַרִי
	2 m.	פְּקִידֶיךָ	מִדְבָּרֶיךָ	שָׁמַרְךָ
	2 f.	פְּקִידֶיךָ	מִדְבָּרֶיךָ	שָׁמַרְךָ
	3 m.	פְּקִירוֹ	מִדְבָּרוֹ	שָׁמְרוֹ
	3 f.	פְּקִירָהּ	מִדְבָּרָהּ	שָׁמְרָהּ
<i>with pl. suffix</i>	1 c.	פְּקִידֵנוּ	מִדְבָּרֵנוּ	שָׁמְרֵנוּ
	2 m.	פְּקִידְכֶם	מִדְבָּרְכֶם	שָׁמְרְכֶם
	2 f.	פְּקִידְכֶן	מִדְבָּרְכֶן	שָׁמְרְכֶן
	3 m.	פְּקִידֵם	מִדְבָּרֵם	שָׁמְרֵם
	3 f.	פְּקִידֵנָּה	מִדְבָּרֵנָּה	שָׁמְרֵנָּה
<i>PLURAL</i>				
<i>st. abs.</i>		פְּקִידִים	מִדְבָּרִים	שָׁמָרִים
<i>st. cs.</i>		פְּקִידִי	מִדְבָּרִי	שָׁמָרִי
<i>with sing. suffix</i>	1 c.	פְּקִידִי	מִדְבָּרִי	שָׁמָרִי
	2 m.	פְּקִידֶיךָ	מִדְבָּרֶיךָ	שָׁמָרְךָ
	2 f.	פְּקִידֶיךָ	מִדְבָּרֶיךָ	שָׁמָרְךָ
	3 m.	פְּקִידֵי	מִדְבָּרֵי	שָׁמָרֵי
	3 f.	פְּקִידֵיהֶן	מִדְבָּרֵיהֶן	שָׁמָרֵיהֶן
<i>with pl. suffix</i>	1 c.	פְּקִידֵינוּ	מִדְבָּרֵינוּ	שָׁמָרֵינוּ
	2 m.	פְּקִידֵיכֶם	מִדְבָּרֵיכֶם	שָׁמָרֵיכֶם

		Table 23a	Table 23b	Table 23c
		<i>Nouns with - in the penultimate syllable</i>	<i>Nouns with - in the final syllable</i>	<i>Nouns with - the final syllab</i>
<i>PLURAL</i>				
	2 f.	פְּקִידִין	מְדַבְּרִין	מְרִיבִין
	3 m.	פְּקִידֵיהֶם	מְדַבְּרֵיהֶם	מְרִיבֵיהֶם
	3 f.	פְּקִידֵיהֶן	מְדַבְּרֵיהֶן	מְרִיבֵיהֶן

4. Table 24. *Nouns with changeable long vowels (continued 1)*

		Table 24a	Table 24b	Table 24c
		<i>Nouns with - in the final and second last syllable</i>	<i>Nouns with - in the final and - in the second last syllable</i>	<i>Nouns with - in the final - in the penultima</i>
		דָּבָר	זָקֵן	לֵבָב
<i>Gloss</i>		thing, word	old man/elder	heart
<i>SINGULAR</i>				
<i>st. abs.</i>		דָּבָר	זָקֵן	לֵבָב
<i>st. cs.</i>		דְּבַר	זָקֵן	לֵבַב
<i>with sing. suffix</i>	1 c.	דְּבָרִי	זָקֵנִי	לֵבָבִי
	2 m.	דְּבָרְךָ	זָקֵנְךָ	לֵבָבְךָ
	2 f.	דְּבָרְךָ	זָקֵנְךָ	לֵבָבְךָ
	3 m.	דְּבָרוֹ	זָקֵנוֹ	לֵבָבוֹ
	3 f.	דְּבָרָהּ	זָקֵנָהּ	לֵבָבָהּ
<i>with pl. suffix</i>	1 c.	דְּבָרַי	זָקֵנַי	לֵבָבַי
	2 m.	דְּבָרְכֶם	זָקֵנְכֶם	לֵבָבְכֶם
	2 f.	דְּבָרְכֵן	זָקֵנְכֵן	לֵבָבְכֵן
	3 m.	דְּבָרָם	זָקֵנָם	לֵבָבָם
	3 f.	דְּבָרָן	זָקֵנָן	לֵבָבָן
<i>PLURAL</i>				
<i>st. abs.</i>		דְּבָרִים	זָקֵנִים	לֵבָבוֹת
<i>st. cs.</i>		דְּבָרֵי	זָקֵנֵי	
<i>with sing. suffix</i>	1 c.	דְּבָרַי	זָקֵנֵי	
	2 m.	דְּבָרֵיךָ	זָקֵנֵיךָ	

		Table 24a	Table 24b	Table 24c
		<i>Nouns with - in the final and second last syllable</i>	<i>Nouns with - in the final and - in the second last syllable</i>	<i>Nouns with - in the final and - in the penultimate</i>
<i>PLURAL</i>				
<i>with sing. suffix</i>	2 f.	דְּבָרָיִךְ	זְקָנָיִךְ	
	3 m.	דְּבָרָיו	זְקָנָיו	
	3 f.	דְּבָרֶיהָ	זְקָנֶיהָ	
<i>with pl. suffix</i>	1 c.	דְּבָרֵינוּ	זְקָנֵינוּ	
	2 m.	דְּבָרֵיכֶם	זְקָנֵיכֶם	
	2 f.	דְּבָרֵיכֶן	זְקָנֵיכֶן	
	3 m.	דְּבָרֵיהֶם	זְקָנֵיהֶם	
	3 f.	דְּבָרֵיהֶן	זְקָנֵיהֶן	לְבָבָהּ

5. Table 25 *Nouns with changeable long vowels (continued 2)*

<i>Feminine nouns with - in the final two syllables</i>				
	<i>St. abs.</i>	<i>St. cs.</i>	<i>Light suffix 1 sing.</i>	<i>Heavy suffix 2 m. pl.</i>
<i>Gloss</i>	year			
<i>Sing.</i>	שָׁנָה	שָׁנָה	שָׁנָתִי	שָׁנַתְכֶם
<i>Pl.</i>	שָׁנֹת/שָׁנִים	שָׁנֹת/שָׁנִי	שָׁנֹתַי	שָׁנֹתֵיכֶם

6. Table 26. *Nouns with changeable long vowels (continued 3)*

		<i>Trisyllabic feminine nouns with a šwâ in the first, a - in the second and with the feminine ending הַ in the final syllable</i>
		צְדָקָה
<i>Gloss</i>		righteousness/justice
<i>SINGULAR</i>		
<i>st. abs.</i>		צְדָקָהּ
<i>st. cs.</i>		צְדָקָתָהּ
<i>with sing. suffix</i>	1 c.	צְדָקָתִי
	2 m.	צְדָקָתֶיךָ

<i>Trisyllabic feminine nouns with a šwâ in the first, a ı̄ in the second and with the feminine ending הַ- in the final syllable</i>		
SINGULAR		
	2 f.	אֲדָמָה
	3 m.	אֲדָמָה
	3 f.	אֲדָמָה
<i>with pl. suffix</i>	1 c.	אֲדָמָהּ
	2 m.	אֲדָמָהֶם
	2 f.	אֲדָמָהֶן
	3 m.	אֲדָמָהֶם
	3 f.	אֲדָמָהֶן
PLURAL		
<i>st. abs.</i>		אֲדָמָה
<i>st. cs.</i>		אֲדָמָה
<i>with sing. suffix</i>	1 c.	אֲדָמָהּ
	2 m.	אֲדָמָהֶם
	2 f.	אֲדָמָהֶן
	3 m.	אֲדָמָהֶם
	3 f.	אֲדָמָהֶן
<i>with pl. suffix</i>	1 c.	אֲדָמָהֶן
	2 m.	אֲדָמָהֶם
	2 f.	אֲדָמָהֶן
	3 m.	אֲדָמָהֶם
	3 m.	אֲדָמָהֶם
	3 f.	אֲדָמָהֶן
	3 f.	אֲדָמָהֶן

7. Table 27. Nouns with changeable long vowels (continued 4)

<i>Nouns with gutturals</i>				
	<i>St. abs.</i>	<i>St. cs.</i>	Light suffix 1 sing.	Heavy suffix 2 m. pl.
<i>Gloss</i>	land, country			
<i>Sing.</i>	אֲדָמָה	אֲדָמָה	אֲדָמָהּ	
<i>Pl.</i>	אֲדָמָהֶן			

<i>Nouns with gutturals</i>				
	<i>St. abs.</i>	<i>St. cs.</i>	Light suffix 1 sing.	Heavy suffix 2 m. pl.
<i>Gloss</i>	wise (adjective)			
<i>Sing.</i>	חָכֵם	חָכֵם	חָכְמִי	חָכְמֵיכֶם
<i>Pl.</i>	חָכְמִים/חָכְמוֹת	חָכְמִי/חָכְמוֹת	חָכְמִי	חָכְמֵיכֶם
<i>Gloss</i>	village			
<i>Sing.</i>	חָצֵר	חָצֵר	חָצְרִי	
<i>Pl.</i>	חָצְרוֹת/חָצְרוֹת	חָצְרִי/חָצְרוֹת	חָצְרִי	חָצְרֵיכֶם
<i>Gloss</i>	meeting, meeting place			
<i>Sing.</i>	מוֹעֵד	מוֹעֵד	מוֹעֲדִי	
<i>Pl.</i>	מוֹעֲדִים	מוֹעֲדִי	מוֹעֲדִי	מוֹעֲדֵיכֶם
<i>Gloss</i>	messenger			
<i>Sing.</i>	מַלְאָךְ	מַלְאָךְ	מַלְאָכִי	
<i>Pl.</i>	מַלְאָכִים	מַלְאָכִי	מַלְאָכִי	
<i>Gloss</i>	river, stream			
<i>Sing.</i>	נָהָר	נָהָר	נָהָרִי	נָהָרֵיכֶם
<i>Pl.</i>	נָהָרִים/נָהָרוֹת	נָהָרִי/נָהָרוֹת	נָהָרִי	נָהָרֵיכֶם
<i>Gloss</i>	meeting, gathering			
<i>Sing.</i>	עֵדָה	עֵדָה	עֵדָתִי	
<i>Gloss</i>	grapes			
<i>Sing.</i>	עֵנָב			
<i>Pl.</i>	עֵנָבִים	עֵנָבִי		
<i>Gloss</i>	riches			
<i>Sing.</i>	עֲשִׂיר			
<i>Pl.</i>	עֲשִׂירִים	עֲשִׂירִי	עֲשִׂירִי	
<i>Gloss</i>	side			
<i>Sing.</i>	צֵלַע	צֵלַע/צֵלַע	צֵלַעִי	
<i>Pl.</i>	צֵלַעוֹת/צֵלַעִים	צֵלַעוֹת		
<i>Gloss</i>	hair			
<i>Sing.</i>	שֵׁעַר	שֵׁעַר/שֵׁעַר	שֵׁעַרִי	
<i>Pl.</i>	none	none	none	

8. Table 28. *Nouns with changeable long vowels (continued 5)*

<i>Monosyllabic nouns with changeable vowels</i>				
	<i>St. abs.</i>	<i>St. cs.</i>	Light suffix 1 sing.	Heavy suffix 2 m. pl.
<i>Gloss</i>	son			
<i>Sing.</i>	בֵּן	בֵּן/בִּן	בְּנִי	בְּנֵיכֶם
<i>Pl.</i>	בָּנִים	בָּנַי	בָּנַי	בְּנֵיכֶם
<i>Gloss</i>	blood			
<i>Sing.</i>	דָּם	דָּם	דְּמִי	דְּמֵיכֶם
<i>Pl.</i>	דָּמִים	דְּמִי	דְּמִי	דְּמֵיכֶם
<i>Gloss</i>	hand			
<i>Sing.</i>	יָד	יָד	יְדִי	יְדֵיכֶם
<i>Pl.</i>	יָדוֹת	יָדוֹת	יְדוֹתַי	
<i>Gloss</i>	tree			
<i>Sing.</i>	עֵץ	עֵץ	עֵצִי	
<i>Pl.</i>	עֵצִים	עֵצַי	עֵצַי	

§27.3. *The Declension of Segholate Nouns*1. *Introduction*

The segholates are nouns that have a characteristic *s°gōl* in their final syllable. Most segholates have two syllables in the singular *status absolutus*. The first syllable may have a ֶ , ֵ or ִ as vowel. Segholates originally had one syllable, which is called the stem form. The vowel of the stem is ֶ , ֵ or ִ / ֶ . The stem form recurs in large sections of the declension.

2. *Forming the declensions*(i) *Singular status constructus, masculine and feminine*

a. *masculine status absolutus* = *masculine status constructus* (Tables 29a-c).

מֶלֶךְ and מֶלֶךְ

b. *feminine status absolutus* = *feminine status constructus*,

- BUT the feminine ending ֶהָ becomes ֶת (Table 32).

מַלְכָּה to מַלְכַת

- With trisyllabic segholates the following changes occur: הַת־ becomes תַּת־ (Table 33).

מַמְלֵכָה to מַמְלֵכֹת

(ii) *Plural status absolutus, masculine and feminine*

- a. All three types (מְלֵךְ, סֶפֶר, בֶּקֶר) take on a stem form that has the same appearance, for example, מְלָכִים. (Tables 29a-c). The latter form corresponds with the plural of דְּבָר. (Cf. Table 24a.)

מְלֵךְ and מְלָכִים
 סֶפֶר and סִפְרִים
 בֶּקֶר and סִפְרִים

- b. The same stem form also occurs with the **feminine words where only** the ending differs.

מְלָכוֹת or מְלָכָה

- The feminine plural words such as מְלָכוֹת were probably formed by analogy with the masculine plural forms. (Cf. also Jouön-Muraoka §97Ab.)

מְלָכוֹת such as מְלָכִים

(iii) *Plural status constructus, masculine and feminine*

- a. Here the original stem form recurs before the ending and the first syllable is half closed. (Cf. also §8.1/3.)

מֶלֶךְ in מְלָכִי
 סֶפֶר in סִפְרִי
 בֶּקֶר in בִּקְרִי

- b. The feminine plural *status constructus* forms were probably formed by analogy with the masculine plural

מְלָכוֹת as מְלָכִי

(iv) *Dual status absolutus and status constructus, masculine and feminine*

Here the original stem form returns before the ending, BUT the first syllable is fully closed, e.g. בְּרָכִים

(v) Segholate forms with pronominal suffixes

MASCULINE	FEMININE
<i>Singular</i>	<i>Singular</i>
stem (closed) + all suffixes	stem (closed) + all suffixes
<i>Dual</i>	<i>Dual</i>
stem (closed) + all suffixes	stem (closed) + all suffixes
<i>Plural</i>	<i>Plural</i>
<i>st. abs.</i> (lengthened form like יְהוָה) + light suffixes	<i>st. abs.</i> (lengthened form)
<i>st. cs.</i> (stem, half closed) + heavy suffixes	<i>st. cs.</i> (stem, half-closed) + all suffixes

PLUS application of sound rules (Cf. §4.2/4, 5.2 and Table 31.)

PLUS contraction of the fricatives ך and ך as *middle* consonant: with the singular *status constructus* and before all suffixes as well as with the plural *status constructus* and before heavy or all suffixes (Cf. §4.2/4, 5.1/2 and Table 34.)

Note also the following:

There are some exceptions:

- (1) With words that have ך as final consonant, the **lengthened** form occurs throughout in the plural (Cf. Table 34.)

יְהוָה and יְהוָהִים

- (2) as well as with words that have ך as final consonant, where the stem form occurs throughout in the plural (Cf. Table 34.).

שָׁלוֹם and שָׁלוֹמִים

3. Forms of the segholate nouns

- (i) Words with an original short ֿ (a-stem) that acquired a ֿ in both syllables

Cf. Table 29a מִלְכָּד

- (ii) Words with an original short ֿ (i-stem) that became ֿ and have a ֿ in the second syllable

Cf. Table 29b סִפְרָה

(iii) Segholates with an original short \ddot{u} (u-stem) or \ddot{o} (o-stem), and with a \ddot{a} in the second syllable

Cf. Table 29c בָּקָר

(iv) Segholates that look just like the a-stems in the singular *status absolutus* and *status constructus*, but nevertheless conjugate further like the i-stems

Cf. Table 30 קָבַר

(v) Segholate nouns with gutturals

Cf. Table 31 עָבַד

(vi) Feminine segholate nouns

Cf. Table 32 מַלְכָּה

(vii) Trisyllabic segholate nouns

Cf. Table 33 מְשֻׁמְרֵת

(viii) Nouns with a fricative \dot{y} or \dot{l} as middle or final consonant

Cf. Table 34 חַיִּל

4. Table 29. Segholate nouns

		Table 29a	Table 29b	Table 29c
		<i>Segholates with an original short \ddot{a}</i>	<i>Segholates with an original short \ddot{u}</i>	<i>Segholates with an original short \ddot{u} or \ddot{o} (o)</i>
		מֶלֶךְ	סֵפֶר	בֹּקֶר
<i>Gloss</i>		king	book (scroll)	morning
<i>SINGULAR</i>				
<i>st. abs.</i>		מֶלֶךְ	סֵפֶר	בֹּקֶר
<i>st. cs.</i>		מֶלֶךְ	סֵפֶר	בֹּקֶר
<i>with sing. suffix</i>	1 c.	מַלְכִּי	סֵפְרִי	בֹּקְרִי
	2 m.	מַלְכֶּךָ	סֵפְרְךָ	בֹּקְרֶךָ
	2 f.	מַלְכְּךָ	סֵפְרְךָ	בֹּקְרְךָ
	3 m.	מַלְכּוֹ	סֵפְרוֹ	בֹּקְרוֹ
	3 f.	מַלְכָּהּ	סֵפְרָהּ	בֹּקְרָהּ
<i>with pl. suffix</i>	1 c.	מַלְכֵּנוּ	סֵפְרֵנוּ	בֹּקְרֵנוּ
	2 m.	מַלְכֵיכֶם	סֵפְרֵיכֶם	בֹּקְרֵיכֶם

		Table 29a	Table 29b	Table 29c
		<i>Segholates with an original short</i> ֿ	<i>Segholates with an original short</i> ֿ	<i>Segholates with an original short</i> ֿ or ֿ (o)
<i>SINGULAR</i>				
	2 f.	מִלְכָן	סַפְרָן	קְרָן
	3 m.	מִלְכָם	סַפְרָם	קְרָם
	3 f.	מִלְכָן	סַפְרָן	קְרָן
<i>PLURAL</i>				
<i>st. abs.</i>		מִלְכִים	סַפְרִים	קְרִים
<i>st. cs.</i>		מִלְכִי	סַפְרִי	קְרִי
<i>with sing. suffix</i>	1 c.	מִלְכִי	סַפְרִי	קְרִי
	2 m.	מִלְכִיךָ	סַפְרִיךָ	קְרִיךָ
	2 f.	מִלְכִיךְ	סַפְרִיךְ	קְרִיךְ
	3 m.	מִלְכָיו	סַפְרָיו	קְרָיו
	3 f.	מִלְכֶיהָ	סַפְרֶיהָ	קְרֶיהָ
	<i>with pl. suffix</i>	1 c.	מִלְכֵינוּ	סַפְרֵינוּ
2 m.		מִלְכֵיכֶם	סַפְרֵיכֶם	קְרֵיכֶם
2 f.		מִלְכֵיכֶן	סַפְרֵיכֶן	קְרֵיכֶן
3 m.		מִלְכֵיהֶם	סַפְרֵיהֶם	קְרֵיהֶם
3 f.		מִלְכֵיהֶן	סַפְרֵיהֶן	קְרֵיהֶן

5. Table 30. *Segholate nouns (continued 1)*

<i>Segholates that look like the a-stems in the singular status absolutus and status constructus, but decline like the i-stems</i>				
	<i>St. abs.</i>	<i>St. cs.</i>	Light suffix 1 sing.	Heavy suffix 2 m. pl.
<i>Gloss</i>	grave			
<i>Sing.</i>	קָבֵר	קָבֵר	קָבְרִי	קָבְרֵיכֶם
<i>Pl.</i>	קָבְרִים	קָבְרִי	קָבְרִי	קָבְרֵיכֶם

6. Table 31. *Segholate nouns (continued 2)*

<i>Segholates with gutturals</i>				
	<i>St. abs.</i>	<i>St. cs.</i>	Light suffix 1 sing.	Heavy suffix 2 m. pl.
<i>Gloss</i>	seed, posterity			
<i>Sing.</i>	זָרַע	זָרַע	זָרַעִי	זָרַעְכֶם
<i>Pl.</i>	זָרַעִים	זָרַעִי	זָרַעִי	זָרַעִיכֶם
<i>Gloss</i>	month, new moon			
<i>Sing.</i>	חָדָשׁ	חָדָשׁ	חָדָשִׁי	חָדָשֶׁכֶם
<i>Pl.</i>	חָדָשִׁים	חָדָשִׁי	חָדָשִׁי	חָדָשִׁיכֶם
<i>Gloss</i>	young boy, servant			
<i>Sing.</i>	נֶעֱרַ	נֶעֱרַ	נֶעֱרִי	נֶעֱרַכֶם
<i>Pl.</i>	נֶעֱרִים	נֶעֱרִי	נֶעֱרִי	נֶעֱרִיכֶם
<i>Gloss</i>	eternity			
<i>Sing.</i>	נֶצַח	נֶצַח	נֶצַחִי	נֶצַחְכֶם
<i>Pl.</i>	נֶצַחִים	נֶצַחִי	נֶצַחִי	נֶצַחִיכֶם
<i>Gloss</i>	slave, servant			
<i>Sing.</i>	עֶבֶד	עֶבֶד	עֶבְדִי	עֶבְדְכֶם
<i>Pl.</i>	עֶבְדִים	עֶבְדִי	עֶבְדִי	עֶבְדִיכֶם
<i>Gloss</i>	valley, lowlands			
<i>Sing.</i>	עֵמֶק	עֵמֶק	עֵמְקִי	עֵמְקְכֶם
<i>Pl.</i>	עֵמְקִים	עֵמְקִי	עֵמְקִי	עֵמְקִיכֶם
<i>Gloss</i>	deed, (handi)work			
<i>Sing.</i>	פְעֹלָה	פְעֹלָה	פְעֹלָתִי	פְעֹלָתְכֶם
<i>Pl.</i>	פְעֹלֹתִים	פְעֹלָתִי	פְעֹלָתִי	פְעֹלָתִיכֶם
<i>Gloss</i>	spear			
<i>Sing.</i>	רֶמַח	רֶמַח	רֶמַחִי	רֶמַחְכֶם
<i>Pl.</i>	רֶמַחִים	רֶמַחִי	רֶמַחִי	רֶמַחִיכֶם

7. Table 32. *Segholate nouns (continued 3)*

<i>Feminine segholates</i>				
	<i>St. abs.</i>	<i>St. cs.</i>	Light suffix 1 sing.	Heavy suffix 2 m. pl.
<i>Gloss</i>	queen			
<i>Sing.</i>	מַלְכָּה	מַלְכַת	מַלְכָּתִי	מַלְכַתְכֶם
<i>Pl.</i>	מַלְכוֹת	מַלְכוֹת	מַלְכוֹתִי	מַלְכוֹתֵיכֶם
<i>Gloss</i>	baldness			
<i>Sing.</i>	קַרְחָה	קַרְחַת	קַרְחָתִי	קַרְחַתְכֶם
<i>Pl.</i>	קַרְחוֹת	קַרְחוֹת	קַרְחוֹתִי	קַרְחוֹתֵיכֶם
<i>Gloss</i>	joy, gladness			
<i>Sing.</i>	שִׂמְחָה	שִׂמְחַת	שִׂמְחָתִי	שִׂמְחַתְכֶם
<i>Pl.</i>	שִׂמְחוֹת	שִׂמְחוֹת	שִׂמְחוֹתִי	שִׂמְחוֹתֵיכֶם

8. Table 33. *Segholate nouns (continued 4)*

With trisyllabic segholate nouns the first syllable is unchangeable and the last two syllables decline like the other segholates.

<i>Trisyllabic segholate nouns</i>				
	<i>St. abs.</i>	<i>St. cs.</i>	Light suffix 1 sing.	Heavy suffix 2 m. pl.
<i>Gloss</i>	skull			
<i>Sing.</i>	גִּלְגֻּלַת	גִּלְגֻּלַת	גִּלְגֻּלַתִּי	גִּלְגֻּלַתְכֶם
<i>Pl.</i>	גִּלְגֻּלוֹת	גִּלְגֻּלוֹת	גִּלְגֻּלוֹתִי	גִּלְגֻּלוֹתֵיכֶם
<i>Gloss</i>	(wet-)nurse			
<i>Sing.</i>	מִינְקָה	מִינְקַת	מִינְקָתִי	מִינְקַתְכֶם
<i>Pl.</i>	מִינְקוֹת		מִינְקוֹתִי	
<i>Gloss</i>	kingdom			
<i>Sing.</i>	מַמְלָכָה	מַמְלַכַת	מַמְלָכָתִי	מַמְלַכַתְכֶם
<i>Pl.</i>	מַמְלְכוֹת	מַמְלְכוֹת	מַמְלְכוֹתִי	מַמְלְכוֹתֵיכֶם
<i>Gloss</i>	guard			
<i>Sing.</i>	מִשְׁמָרַח	מִשְׁמַרַחַת	מִשְׁמָרַחִי	מִשְׁמַרַחְכֶם
<i>Pl.</i>	מִשְׁמָרוֹת	מִשְׁמָרוֹת	מִשְׁמָרוֹתִי	מִשְׁמָרוֹתֵיכֶם

9. Table 34. *Segholate nouns (continued 5)*

Some nouns with a fricative ך or ך as middle or final consonant do not look like segholates in the singular *status absolutus* and *status constructus*, but in the rest of the declension it is clear that they decline in the same way.

<i>Nouns with a fricative ך or ך as middle or final consonant</i>				
	<i>St. abs.</i>	<i>St. cs.</i>	Light suffix 1 sing.	Heavy suffix 2 m. pl.
<i>Gloss</i>	lion			
<i>Sing.</i>	אַרִי	אַרִי	אַרְיִי	אַרְיִיכֶם
<i>Pl.</i>	אַרְיִים	אַרְיִי	אַרְיִי	אַרְיִיכֶם
<i>Gloss</i>	kid/goat			
<i>Sing.</i>	גְּדִי	גְּדִי	גְּדִיִּי	גְּדִיִּיכֶם
<i>Pl.</i>	גְּדִיִּים	גְּדִיִּי	גְּדִיִּי	גְּדִיִּיכֶם
<i>Gloss</i>	olive			
<i>Sing.</i>	זֵיתָה	זֵיתָה	זֵיתִי	זֵיתֵיכֶם
<i>Pl.</i>	זֵיתִים	זֵיתִי	זֵיתִי	זֵיתֵיכֶם
<i>Gloss</i>	power, strength			
<i>Sing.</i>	חֵיל	חֵיל	חֵילִי	חֵילֵיכֶם
<i>Pl.</i>	חֵילִים	חֵילִי	חֵילִי	חֵילֵיכֶם
<i>Gloss</i>	death			
<i>Sing.</i>	מָוֶת	מָוֶת	מָוֶתִי	מָוֶתֵיכֶם
<i>Pl.</i>	מָוֶתִים	מָוֶתִי	מָוֶתִי	מָוֶתֵיכֶם
<i>Gloss</i>	sickness			
<i>Sing.</i>	חֵלִי	חֵלִי	חֵלִיִּי	חֵלִיִּיכֶם
<i>Pl.</i>	חֵלִיִּים	חֵלִיִּי	חֵלִיִּי	חֵלִיִּיכֶם
<i>Gloss</i>	prosperity			
<i>Sing.</i>	שָׁלוֹ	שָׁלוֹ	שָׁלוֹיִי	שָׁלוֹיִיכֶם
<i>Pl.</i>	שָׁלוֹיִם	שָׁלוֹיִי	שָׁלוֹיִי	שָׁלוֹיִיכֶם

§27.4. *The Declension of Monosyllabic Nouns with Double Final Consonants*

1. *Formation of the declensions*

Some monosyllabic nouns originally had two identical final consonants. The double final consonants recur when a suffix is added to the noun.

(i) *Forming the singular status constructus (masculine)*

Status absolutus singular = *status constructus* singular

(ii) *Forming the plural status absolutus and status constructus and the form of the word (singular and plural) with all pronominal suffixes*

- a. The stem vowel has shortened where possible (ֵ becomes ִ, - becomes - and ַ becomes ִ)

חַץ	becomes	חַצִּי
עַז	becomes	עֲזִי

- b. The final consonant doubles when endings or pronominal suffixes are added.

חַץ	and	חַצִּי
-----	-----	--------

With stems ending in a guttural or resh no doubling occurs. Accordingly compensation occurs in the preceding syllable.

שַׁר	but	שָׁרִי
------	-----	--------

- c. With bisyllabic words that have the characteristics of mono-syllabic nouns, the changeable vowel changes in the first syllable if a suffix is added.

גַּמְלָה	but	גַּמְלָתִי
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2. *Forms of monosyllabic nouns with double final consonants*

- (i) Monosyllabic words with a ֵ (a-stems) and where the final consonant was originally double

Cf. Table 35a עַם

- (ii) Monosyllabic words with a ִ (i-stems) and where the final consonant was originally double

Cf. Table 35b חַץ

- (iii) Monosyllabic words with a ַ (u-stems) and where the final consonant was originally double

Cf. Table 35c עַז

(iv) Monosyllabic words that originally had their final consonants doubled and gutturals

Cf. Table 36 חזר

(v) Bisyllabic words with the characteristics of monosyllabic words (rare)

Cf. Table 37 נָמַל

(vi) Monosyllabic words with feminine endings in the plural

Cf. Table 38 נָם

3. Table 35. *Monosyllabic nouns*

		Table 35a	Table 35b	Table 35c
		<i>Monosyllabic words with a - (a-stems)</i>	<i>Monosyllabic words with a - (i-stems)</i>	<i>Monosyllabic words with a - (u-stems)</i>
		עַם	חֵץ	עֹז
		people/nation	arrow	strength, power
<i>SINGULAR</i>				
<i>st. abs.</i>		עַם	חֵץ	עֹז
<i>st. cs.</i>		עַם	חֵץ	עֹז/עֹזוּ
<i>with sing. suffix</i>	1 c.	עַמִּי	חֵצִי	עֹזִי
	2 m.	עַמִּיךָ	חֵצִיךָ	עֹזִיךָ
	2 f.	עַמִּיךְ	חֵצִיךְ	עֹזִיךְ
	3 m.	עַמּוֹ	חֵצּוֹ	עֹזּוֹ
	3 f.	עַמָּה	חֵצָה	עֹזָה
<i>with pl. suffix</i>	1 c.	עַמְנוּ	חֵצֵנוּ	עֹזְנוּ/עֹזֵנוּ
	2 m.	עַמְכֶם	חֵצֵכֶם	עֹזְכֶם
	2 f.	עַמְכֶן	חֵצֵכֶן	עֹזְכֶן
	3 m.	עַמָּם	חֵצָם	עֹזָם
	3 f.	עַמָּן	חֵצָן	עֹזָן
<i>PLURAL</i>				
<i>st. abs.</i>		עַמִּים	חֵצִים	עֹזִים
<i>st. cs.</i>		עַמִּי	חֵצִי	עֹזִי
<i>with sing. suffix</i>	1 c.	עַמִּי	חֵצִי	עֹזִי
	2 m.	עַמִּיךָ	חֵצִיךָ	עֹזִיךָ

		Monosyllabic words with a ־ (a-stems)	Monosyllabic words with a ֿ (i-stems)	Monosyllabic words with a ֹ (u-stems)
<i>PLURAL</i>				
<i>with sing. suffix</i>	2 f.	עֲמִיד	חֲצִיד	עֻיד
	3 m.	עֲמִיו	חֲצִיו	עֻיו
	3 f.	עֲמִיה	חֲצִיה	עֻיה
<i>with pl. suffix</i>	1 c.	עֲמִינוּ	חֲצִינוּ	עֻינוּ
	2 m.	עֲמִיכֶם	חֲצִיכֶם	עֻיכֶם
	2 f.	עֲמִיכֶן	חֲצִיכֶן	עֻיכֶן
	3 m.	עֲמִיהֶם	חֲצִיהֶם	עֻיהֶם
	3 f.	עֲמִיהֶן	חֲצִיהֶן	עֻיהֶן

4. Table 36. *Monosyllabic nouns (continued 1)*

<i>Monosyllabic words that originally had their final consonants doubled and gutturals</i>				
	<i>St. abs.</i>	<i>St. cs.</i>	Light suffix 1 sing.	Heavy suffix 2 m. pl.
<i>Gloss</i>	cave, hole			
<i>Sing.</i>	חַר	חֹר	חָרִי	חֲרָכֶם
<i>Pl.</i>	חָרִים	חֲרִי	חָרִי	חֲרָכֶם
<i>Gloss</i>	chief/leader			
<i>Sing.</i>	שַׁר	שׁוֹר	שָׁרִי	שֲׂרָכֶם
<i>Pl.</i>	שָׂרִים	שׁוֹרִי	שָׁרִי	שֲׂרָכֶם

5. Table 37. *Monosyllabic nouns (continued 2)*

<i>Bisyllabic words with the characteristics of monosyllabic words that have a double final consonant (rare)</i>				
	<i>St. abs.</i>	<i>St. cs.</i>	Light suffix 1 sing.	Heavy suffix 2 m. pl.
<i>Gloss</i>	camel			
<i>Sing.</i>	גַּמַּל	גַּמְלֹ	גַּמְלִי	גַּמְלָכֶם
<i>Pl.</i>	גַּמְלִים	גַּמְלִי	גַּמְלִי	גַּמְלָכֶם
<i>Gloss</i>	people, nation			
<i>Sing.</i>	לָאִם	לָאִם	לְאִמִּי	לְאִמְכֶם
<i>Pl.</i>	לְאִמִּים	לְאִמִּי	לְאִמִּי	לְאִמְכֶם

Bisyllabic words with the characteristics of monosyllabic words that have a double final consonant (rare)				
	St. abs.	St. cs.	Light suffix 1 sing.	Heavy suffix 2 m. pl.
Gloss	fortress			
Sing.	מַעֲזָז	מַעֲזָז	מַעֲזָזִי	מַעֲזָזִים
Pl.	מַעֲזָזִים	מַעֲזָזִי	מַעֲזָזִי	מַעֲזָזִים

6. Table 38. Monosyllabic nouns (continued 3)

Monosyllabic words with original double final consonant that have feminine endings in the plural				
	St. abs.	St. cs.	Light suffix 1 sing.	Heavy suffix 2 m. pl.
Gloss	mother			
Sing.	אִם	אִם	אִמִּי	אִמָּם
Pl.	אִמּוֹת	אִמּוֹת	אִמּוֹתַי	אִמּוֹתֵיכֶם

§27.5. The Declension of Nouns That End in הַ

1. Introduction

The characteristic feature of nouns in this group is that they end in הַ in the singular *status absolutus*. They are usually bisyllabic and the first syllable can have a changeable or unchangeable vowel.

2. Forming the declensions

a. Forming the singular *status constructus* (masculine).

- הַ becomes הֶ (מַקְנֶה) instead of הַ (מַקְנֶה). (Cf. Table 39.)

b. Forming the plural *status absolutus* and *status constructus* and the form of the word (singular and plural) with all pronominal suffixes.

- The ending הַ is dropped and the endings and pronominal suffixes are added to the stem, e.g. מַקְנֵי.
- The 3 masculine singular and 3 feminine singular suffixes in the singular noun differ from those of the other main groups.

מַקְנֵהוּ instead of מַקְנֵהוּ

מַקְנֵהוּ instead of מַקְנֵהוּ

c. With words in which the vowel of the first syllable is changeable (e.g. קִצָּה), vowel reduction occurs in the singular *status constructus*

(קצה) and plural *status constructus* and also before heavy suffixes with the plural noun (קציתם).

3. *Forms of nouns that end in הַ-*

(i) Bisyllabic nouns that end in הַ- and have a closed first syllable

Cf. Table 39a מקנה

(ii) Bisyllabic nouns that end in הַ- and have a ׀ in an open first syllable

Cf. Table 39b קצה

4. Table 39. *Nouns that end in הַ-*

		Table 39a	Table 39b
		<i>Bisyllabic nouns that end in הַ- which have a closed first syllable</i>	<i>Bisyllabic nouns that end in הַ- which have a ׀ in first syllable that is open</i>
		מקנה	קצה
<i>Gloss</i>		stock	end, border
<i>SINGULAR</i>			
<i>st. abs.</i>		מקנה	קצה
<i>st. cs.</i>		מקנה	קצה
<i>with sing. suffix</i>	1 c.	מקני	קצי
	2 m.	מקניד	קציד
	2 f.	מקניד	קציד
	3 m.	מקנהו	קצהו
	3 f.	מקנהו	קצהו
<i>with pl. suffix</i>	1 c.	מקננו	קצנו
	2 m.	מקנכם	קצכם
	2 f.	מקנכן	קצכן
	3 m.	מקנם	קצם
	3 f.	מקנן	קצן
<i>PLURAL</i>			
<i>st. abs.</i>		מקנים	קצים
<i>st. cs.</i>		מקני	קצי
<i>with sing. suffix</i>	1 c.	מקני	קצי
	2 m.	מקניד	קציד
	2 f.	מקניד	קציד

		Table 39a	Table 39b
		<i>Bisyllabic nouns that end in ־ת which have a closed first syllable</i>	<i>Bisyllabic nouns that end in ־ת which have a ־ in first syllable that is open</i>
<i>PLURAL</i>			
<i>with sing. suffix</i>	3 m.	מִקְנֵי	קִצְיֹו
	3 f.	מִקְנֵיהֶן	קִצְיֵיהֶן
<i>with pl. suffix</i>	1 c.	מִקְנֵינוּ	קִצְיֵנוּ
	2 m.	מִקְנֵיכֶם	קִצְיֵכֶם
	2 f.	מִקְנֵיכֶן	קִצְיֵכֶן
	3 m.	מִקְנֵיהֶם	קִצְיֵיהֶם
	3 f.	מִקְנֵיהֶן	קִצְיֵיהֶן

§27.6. The Declension of Irregular Nouns

Even though these nouns are classified as irregular, several repeated patterns occur. The greatest irregularity lies in the fact that these words cannot be classified in one specific group—precisely because they often have the characteristics of more than one group.

1. Table 40. Irregular nouns

<i>Irregular nouns</i>				
	<i>St. abs.</i>	<i>St. cs.</i>	Light suffix 1 sing.	Heavy suffix 2 m. pl.
<i>Gloss</i>	father			
<i>Sing.</i>	אָב	אָבִי	אָבִי	אָבוֹתֶיכֶם
<i>Pl.</i>	אָבוֹת	אָבוֹת	אָבוֹתַי	אָבוֹתֵיכֶם
<i>Gloss</i>	brother			
<i>Sing.</i>	אָח	אָחִי	אָחִי	אָחוֹתֶיכֶם
<i>Pl.</i>	אָחִים	אָחִי	אָחִי	אָחוֹתֶיכֶם
<i>Gloss</i>	sister			
<i>Sing.</i>	אָחוֹת	אָחוֹת	אָחוֹתַי	אָחוֹתֶיכֶם
<i>Pl.</i>	אָחוֹת	אָחוֹת	אָחוֹתַי	אָחוֹתֵיכֶם
<i>Gloss</i>	man			
<i>Sing.</i>	אִישׁ	אִישׁ	אִישִׁי	אִישֶׁיכֶם
<i>Pl.</i>	אֲנָשִׁים	אֲנָשִׁי	אֲנָשִׁי	אֲנָשֵׁיכֶם

<i>Irregular nouns</i>				
	<i>St. abs.</i>	<i>St. cs.</i>	Light suffix 1 sing.	Heavy suffix 2 m. pl.
<i>Gloss</i>	woman			
<i>Sing.</i>	אִשָּׁה	אִשָּׁת	אִשְׁתִּי	אִשְׁתֶּכֶם
<i>Pl.</i>	נָשִׁים	נָשִׁי	נָשִׁי	נָשִׁיכֶם
<i>Gloss</i>	beast			
<i>Sing.</i>	בְּהֵמָה	בְּהֵמָת	בְּהֵמָתִי	בְּהֵמָתֶכֶם
<i>Pl.</i>	בְּהֵמוֹת	בְּהֵמוֹת		
<i>Gloss</i>	house			
<i>Sing.</i>	בַּיִת	בַּיִת	בַּיִתִּי	בַּיִתְכֶם
<i>Pl.</i>	בָּתִּים	בָּתִּי	בָּתִּי	בָּתֵיכֶם
<i>Gloss</i>	son			
<i>Sing.</i>	בֵּן	בְּרִזְבֵּן	בְּנִי	בְּנֹכַחַם
<i>Pl.</i>	בָּנִים	בָּנִי	בָּנִי	בְּנֵיכֶם
<i>Gloss</i>	daughter			
<i>Sing.</i>	בַּת	בַּת	בַּתִּי	בַּתְּכֶם
<i>Pl.</i>	בָּנוֹת	בָּנוֹת	בָּנוֹתִי	בָּנוֹתֶיכֶם
<i>Gloss</i>	sin			
<i>Sing.</i>	חַטָּאת	חַטָּאת	חַטָּאתִי	חַטָּאתְכֶם
<i>Pl.</i>	חַטָּאוֹת	חַטָּאת	חַטָּאתִי	חַטָּאתֵיכֶם
<i>Gloss</i>	day			
<i>Sing.</i>	יוֹם	יוֹם	יוֹמִי	יוֹמְכֶם
<i>Pl.</i>	יָמִים	יָמִי	יָמִי	יָמֵיכֶם
<i>Gloss</i>	container, vessel, implement			
<i>Sing.</i>	כֵּלִי	כֵּלִי	כֵּלָיִי	כֵּלֵיכֶם
<i>Pl.</i>	כֵּלִים	כֵּלִי	כֵּלִי	כֵּלֵיכֶם
<i>Gloss</i>	tunic			
<i>Sing.</i>	כְּתָנִת	כְּתָנִת	כְּתָנִתִּי	כְּתָנִתְכֶם
<i>Pl.</i>	כְּתָנֹת	כְּתָנֹת	כְּתָנֹתִי	
<i>Gloss</i>	water			
<i>Pl.</i>	מַיִם	מַיְמוֹמִי	מַיְמִי	מַיְמֵיכֶם
<i>Gloss</i>	city			
<i>Sing.</i>	עִיר	עִיר	עִירִי	עִירְכֶם
<i>Pl.</i>	עָרִים	עָרִי	עָרִי	עָרֵיכֶם

<i>Irregular nouns</i>				
	<i>St. abs.</i>	<i>St. cs.</i>	Light suffix 1 sing.	Heavy suffix 2 m. pl.
<i>Gloss</i>	tree			
<i>Sing.</i>	עץ	עץ	עצי	עצבים
<i>Pl.</i>	עצים	עצי	עצי	עצבים
<i>Gloss</i>	mouth			
<i>Sing.</i>	פה	פי	פי	פיכם
<i>Pl.</i>	פיות ו פיות	פיפיות		
<i>Gloss</i>	head, chief			
<i>Sing.</i>	ראש	ראש	ראשי	ראשכם
<i>Pl.</i>	ראשים	ראשי	ראשי	ראשיכם
<i>Gloss</i>	ear of grain			
<i>Sing.</i>	שבלת			
<i>Pl.</i>	שבלים	שבלי		
<i>Gloss</i>	name			
<i>Sing.</i>	שם	שם / שם	שמי	שמכם
<i>Pl.</i>	שמות	שמות	שמותי	שמותיכם
<i>Gloss</i>	heaven			
<i>Pl.</i>	שמים	שמי	שמי	שמייכם

§28. The He *Locale* and Enclitic Mem

The enclitic mem is a suffix affixed to the end of a word. In the vocalization of the Hebrew Bible it was sometimes confused with the masculine plural ending ם־, the suffix 3 masculine plural ם־ or the preposition מן. It occurs with virtually all word types. The meaning of this mem is, however, unknown.

Some scholars believe that in the following case the enclitic mem has been confused with the plural ending. (Cf. §25.3/1(iii).)

(read יהוה־אלהים (אלהים) צבאות) Yahweh the God of hosts (Ps. 59.6)

The he *locale* (or locative he) is formed by adding the suffix ה־ to a place name and some common nouns to indicate the goal of a movement. It can occur with or without the article in the latter case.

It also occurs with directional adverbs. This ending is never accented and is thereby distinguished from the feminine ending הַּ, e.g.

אֶרֶץ	earth	אֶרֶץ	to the earth, to the ground
יְרוּשָׁלַיִם	Jerusalem	יְרוּשָׁלַיִם	to Jerusalem
שָׁם	there	שָׁמָּה	(to) there

§29. Nouns in Appositional Relationships³⁶

An appositional relationship means that two elements in a particular clause have the same referent. The second element qualifies the first in some way. Together the two elements form a construction that can function as a clause constituent (i.e. subject, object, etc.). They usually agree in number and gender, but not necessarily in person. The first element is the head of the construction. Apposition has a wider use in BH than in English. A word in apposition may often be better translated with an adjective or prepositional phrase.

§29.1. Types of Appositional Constructions

(i) A *proper name* can stand in apposition to *another noun*.

הָאָרֶץ כְּנָעַן the country *Canaan*

(ii) A noun with *pronominal suffix* can stand in apposition to *a proper name*.

שָׂרָה אִשְׁתּוֹ Sarah, *his wife* (Gen. 20.2)

(iii) *One noun* can stand in apposition to *another noun*.

אִשָּׁה אֶלְמָנָה a woman, *a widow* (1 Kgs 7.14)

(iv) A *lexicalized noun* can also stand in apposition to a *pronominal suffix*.

וַתִּרְאֶה אֶת־הַיָּלֵד And she saw him, the child (Exod. 2.6).

(v) The same element can be *repeated* in apposition. (Cf. 24.3/2(iv).)

a. *Two identical nouns* may occur directly after each other.

זָרַעְךָ הַיָּצֵא הַשָּׂדֶה
שָׁנָה שָׁנָה your seed which comes forth from
the field every year (*year by year*)
(Deut. 14.22)

36. Cf. Waltke and O'Connor §12.

b. In a similar construction a *preposition* can occur with the second noun.

לפני יהוה אל־סוד האכלנו שנה בשנה	You shall eat it before the Lord your God every year [lit. year <i>on year</i>] (Deut. 15.20).
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c. An *identical adverb* can also be repeated in apposition.

אל ... תִּדְבְּרוּ גְבוּהָהּ גְבוּהָהּ	Talk no more so <i>very proudly</i> (1 Sam. 2.3).
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(vi) A *prepositional phrase* can also stand in apposition to a noun or phrase that has a noun as its head.

וְאַרְבַּע־מֵאוֹת אִישׁ עִמּוֹ	and four hundred men <i>with him</i> (Gen. 32.7).
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§29.2. Syntactic Functions of Nouns in Apposition

Syntactically speaking such an appositional element is always an adjectival qualification. It thus functions on the same level as attributive adjectives (§30), *postconstructa* (§25) and relative clauses.

§29.3. Semantic Functions of Nouns in Apposition

The second member of the phrase *elucidates* the first in one of the following ways:

(i) The second member designates *the role/capacity* of the first member.

שָׂרָה אִשְׁתּוֹ	Sarah, <i>his wife</i> (Gen. 20.2)
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(ii) The second member specifies the *status* of the first member.

אִשָּׁה אֶלְמָנָה	a woman, <i>a widow</i> (1 Kgs 7.14)
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(iii) The second member reveals *a characteristic/quality* of the first member.

אִמְרֵי אֱמֶת	words, truth [true words] (Prov. 22.21)
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(iv) The second member specifies *the material* from which the first member is made.

הַבָּקָר הַנְּחֹשֶׁת	the cattle, <i>the bronze</i> [the cattle made of bronze] (2 Kgs 16.17)
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(v) The second member specifies *the substance, a measuring unit or number* of the first member.

סֵאֵה סֵלָה ... וְסֵאֵהִים שְׁעָרִים a measure of fine meal ... and *two measures of barley* (2 Kgs 7.1)

(vi) The second member specifies *the place* where the first member is to be found.

וְאַרְבַּע־מֵאוֹת אִישׁ עִמּוֹ and four hundred men *with him* (Gen. 32.7)

(vii) The second member specifies *the pronominal reference* of the first member.

וַתֵּרְאֶהוּ אֶת־הַיֶּלֶד She saw him, the child (Exod. 2.6).

(viii) When the same word is repeated, the construction indicates *distribution*. (Cf. also §24.3/2(iv).)

זֶרְעֶךָ הַיֵּצֵא הַשָּׂדֶה שָׁנָה שָׁנָה your seed which comes forth from the field *every year* (year by year) (Deut. 14.22)

(ix) When the same word is repeated, the construction implies the *high degree-positive or negative-of intensity* of a referent or a quality referred to. (Cf. also §24.3/2(vi).)

זָהָב זָהָב *pure gold* (2 Kgs 25.15)

(x) When the same word is repeated (with the waw copulative), the construction indicates *diversity*. (Cf. §24.3/2(v).)

אֶבֶן וְאֶבֶן two *kinds of weights* (Deut. 25.13)

§30. Qualification of the Noun by the Adjective

§30.1. Morphology of the Adjective

Like the construct and appositional constructions, the use of the adjective is but one of the ways in which nouns may be described. Adjectives describe or qualify nouns by qualifying their *state*. (Cf. 11.3.)

1. The declension of the adjective

The basic paradigm for the declension of adjectives is as follows:

	<i>Masculine</i>	<i>Feminine</i>
	<i>st. abs.</i>	<i>st. abs.</i>
<i>Singular</i>	טוב	טובה
<i>Plural</i>	טובים	טובות

Additional vowel reductions and consonantal changes can also occur in the stem.³⁷

	<i>Singular</i>		<i>Plural</i>	
	<i>masculine</i>	<i>feminine</i>	<i>masculine</i>	<i>feminine</i>
good	טוב	טובה	טובים	טובות
great	גדול	גדולה	גדולים	גדולות
wise	חכם	חכמה	חכמים	חכמות
many	רב	רבה	רבים	רבות
bitter	מר	מרה	מרים	מרות
bad	רע	רעה	רעים	רעות
beautiful	יפה	יפה	יפים	יפות
small	קטן	קטנה	קטנים	קטנות

Note the following:

- (1) Qualification by an adjective can be *attributive* (e.g. the good king, §30.2) or *predicative* (e.g. the king is good, §30.3).
- (2) Adjectives do not bear an indication of person. The same form is used in apposition or predicatively with subjects of the first, second or third person.
- (3) Adjectives are either masculine or feminine
- (4) Adjectives can only be singular or plural. The plural is used in the qualification of a dual noun.
- (5) An adjective agrees with its noun at least in number and gender.

2. Patterns of adjectives with personal suffixes

Since BH does not make a clear morphological distinction between nouns and adjectives, the patterns for the two groups correspond to a large extent. (Cf. §26-27.)

37. Cf. also Lambdin 1980:13.

§30.2. *Attributive Qualification*³⁸

An attributive adjective modifies a noun and has the following *syntactic* characteristics:

1. *Subordination*

The adjectival qualification is *subordinate* to its noun and can never be one of the main elements of a clause, e.g.

כָּתַב אִישׁ טוֹב A *good* man wrote.

אִישׁ טוֹב is the subject (constituent) with the verb כָּתַב. אִישׁ is the head of the subject phrase and טוֹב is an adjectival qualification of it.

2. *Congruency*

(i) An attributive adjective *agrees with its noun in number, gender and definiteness*.

(ii) The article of the adjective is sometimes omitted, possibly because adjectives are regarded as inherently definite, e.g. the numerals one and two, אֶחָד and רַבִּים.

הַגּוֹיִם רַבִּים *many* nations (Ezek. 39.27)

(iii) The attributive adjective does take the article *with a noun that has no article*, but which can nevertheless be regarded as inherently definite. This also occurs with numerals.

יּוֹם הַשְּׁבִיעִי the *seventh* day (Exod. 20.10)

שִׁבְעַת פָּרֹת הַטֹּבֹת the seven *good* cows (Gen. 41.26)

(iv) An adjective *often agrees ad sensum* with its noun—in this way a collective singular noun may take a plural adjective and an honorific plural may take a singular adjective. (Cf. §24.3.)

צֹאן רְבוּחַת *large* flocks (Gen. 30.43)

אֱלֹהִים צַדִּיק *righteous* God (Ps. 7.10)

(v) As far as gender is concerned, the adjective *agrees with the syntactic gender of the noun regardless of its morphological form*. (Cf. §24.2.)

הַשָּׁנִים הַטֹּבֹת הַבָּאֹת הָאֵלֶּה these *good* years that are coming
(Gen. 41.35)

38. Cf. also Waltke and O'Connor §14.1-14.3.

(vi) *The masculine is preferred syntactically.* In a series of nouns with different genders, the adjective qualifying them is masculine. When two adjectives follow a feminine noun, the second one may be masculine.

חֻקִּים וּמִצְוֹת טוֹבִים good statutes and commandments
(Neh. 9.13)

בְּאֶרֶץ צָרָה וְעָנִי in a dry and weary land (Ps. 63.2)

(vii) An adjective *cannot qualify a proper noun directly*, but must be preceded by an appropriate common noun.

נִינְוָה הַעִיר הַגְּדוֹלָה Nineveh, that great city (Jon. 1.2)

(viii) The adjective does not have a dual form. *Dual nouns usually take a plural* attributive adjective.

עֵינַיִם עִוְרוֹת blind eyes (Isa. 42.7)

3. Position in relation to the noun

(i) In BH an adjective usually *follows the noun*

מַלְכָּה טוֹבָה	a good queen
הַמַּלְכָּה הַטוֹבָה	The good queen
מַלְכוֹת טוֹבוֹת	good queens
הַמַּלְכוֹת הַטוֹבוֹת	The good queens

(ii) The adjective רַב sometimes *precedes the noun*.

רַבּוֹת בָּנוֹת many daughters (Prov. 31.29)

(iii) An attributive adjective that qualifies a word in the *status constructus* follows the *entire construct phrase*. (Cf. §25.3.)

סוּסַת מַלְכָּה גְּדוֹלָה a big mare of the queen

This sometimes means that the reader does not know whether the adjective qualifies the *status constructus* or *postconstructus* (if the gender and number of both are the same). In such cases the broader context usually makes the meaning clear.

§30.3. Predicative Qualification

A predicative adjective functions as a predicate **and has the following** syntactic characteristics:

1. Subordination

(i) As opposed to an attributive adjective a predicative adjective is syntactically speaking *the main element of a (nominal) clause*.

אֲדֹנָי חָכָם My lord *has wisdom* (2 Sam. 14.20).

(ii) It is also *the head of the copulative predicate (or complement) in a clause with a copulative verb*.

... יִדְבַר יְהוָה הַרְבֵּה יָקָר ... The word of the Lord *was rare* ...
(1 Sam. 3.1).

2. Congruence

A predicative adjective agrees with its noun in number and gender, but is *always indefinite*.

3. Position in relation to the noun

In BH it *usually follows* the subject, but *can also precede it*. In the first case it can—if the noun is indefinite—look like the attributive construction. Here are some examples:

מַלְכָּה טוֹבָה	A queen is good/good queen
טוֹבָה מַלְכָּה	Good is a queen.
הַמַּלְכָּה טוֹבָה	The queen is good.
טוֹבָה הַמַּלְכָּה	Good is the queen
מַלְכוֹת טוֹבוֹת	Queens are good/good queens.
טוֹבוֹת מַלְכוֹת	Good are queens.
הַמַּלְכוֹת טוֹבוֹת	The queens are good.
טוֹבוֹת הַמַּלְכוֹת	Good are the queens.

§30.4. Adjectives Used as Substantives³⁹

Adjectives can be substantivized. They then function as *nouns*, for example, זָקֵן old > old one (= old man). They consequently have the syntactic characteristics of nouns:

(i) They *can* be in the *status constructus*, act as *postconstructus* and take pronominal suffixes.

קָטָן בְּנָיו the *youngest* of his sons (2 Chron.
21.17)

יַיִן הַטוֹב the wine of the *good* [the best wine]
(Song 7.10)

39. Cf. Waltke and O'Connor §14.3.3.

(ii) When an adjective is being used as a noun, *the expected accompanying noun is omitted*. This phenomenon often occurs in poetry for the sake of metonymy (i.e. where a concept is indicated by means of something that is related to it).

על־קל יִרְכָּב We will ride upon *swift* (steeds) (Isa.
30.16).

(iii) An adjective being used as a noun can stand in apposition to another noun. In this case it *precedes the word that is being qualified* (seldom).

צַדִּיק עַבְדִּי a *righteous one*, my servant (Isa.
53.11)

(iv) A substantivized adjective can sometimes act as *an adverb* describing a noun (the so-called ‘accusative of specification’).

יֵאָכְלוּ בְנֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל לֶחֶמָם טָמֵא The people of Israel shall eat their
bread *unclean* (Ezek. 4.13).

§30.5. Degrees of Comparison⁴⁰

In addition to the positive degree, for example, ‘I am big’, languages usually also make provision for a comparative degree, for example, ‘I am bigger than you’ and a superlative degree, for example, ‘I am the biggest’. In BH the positive degree is expressed with a predicative adjective (cf. §30.3) or stative verb (cf. §16.2/2).

The adjective in BH has no forms to indicate the degrees of comparison. The semantic effect normally created by the degrees of comparison is effected by means of other constructions, namely:

1. The comparative degree

The preposition מִן is used to indicate *the standard* against which an object is being compared. (Cf. §39.14.)

חָכָם אַתָּה מִדָּנִיֵּאל You are wiser *than Daniel* (Ezek.
28.3).

40. Cf. Waltke and O'Connor §14.5.

2. The superlative degree

(i) The *absolute superlative*, which manifests the outstanding feature, condition or state of something or someone can be expressed by:

- a. A *singular noun in the status constructus preceding the indefinite plural form of the same word.*

הַבֵּל הַבָּלִים vanity of vanities = *utmost* vanities
(Eccl. 1.2)

- b. The same construction as above, for example, expressed *through synonyms.*

שִׂמְחַת גִּילִי my exceeding joy (Ps. 43.4)

- c. The *adverbial qualifications מְאֹד or עַד־מְאֹד* following the adjective.

וְהַנְּעִרָה יָפָה עַד־מְאֹד The maiden was *very beautiful*
(1 Kgs 1.4)

- d. The use of *divine or royal terms* in a construct relationship.

נָשִׂיא אֱלֹהִים a *mighty* prince [lit. a prince of gods]
(Gen. 23.6)

בֵּית זָבַל an *exalted* house [lit. a house of a
prince] (1 Kgs 8.13)

- e. The use of *מוֹת* (die), *מָוֶת* (death) and *שְׂאֵל* (underworld) (for absolute superlatives in a negative sense).

כִּי־עֲזָה כַּמָּוֶת אֲהַבָּה For love is strong as death
[*enormously strong*] (Song 8.6).

(ii) The *comparative superlative* refers to an individual or object that surpasses all the others in the group in some way. The group can sometimes be omitted or assumed. This is expressed by:

- a. A *definite article with the adjective*

הִנֵּה בְּתִי הַגְּדוֹלָה Here is my *eldest* [largest] daughter
(1 Sam. 18.17).

- b. An adjective made definite by a *suffix or construct relationship*

מִמֵּינִם וְעַד־גְּדוֹלָם from the *least* to the *greatest* [lit.
from their small to their large] (Jer.
6.13)

- c. A definite adjective preceding a *prepositional phrase with בְּ* (rare)

הַיְפָּה בְּנָשִׁים *the fairest* among women (Song 1.8)

d. A singular noun *in the status constructus* followed by a definite plural form of the same word

שִׁיר הַשִּׁירִים *the most beautiful* song (Song of Songs) [lit. the song of the songs] (Song 1.1)

e. A *status constructus* with מְכַל preceding the *postconstructus*

וְהַנְּחָשׁ הָיָה עָרוּם מְכַל חַיַּת הַשָּׂדֶה Now the serpent was *most subtle* of all the wild creatures (Gen. 3.1).

f. *Definite abstract terms* for features/qualities like מְבַחֵר, מְבֻחָר, מְבֻחָרִים

וּמְבַחֵר שְׁלֹשֵׁי and his *choice* officers [lit. *the chosen* of his officers] (Exod. 15.4)

§31. Co-ordination of the Noun

Co-ordination can be defined as the addition of a **second element** at the same level as the first element.

§31.1. Forms of Co-ordination

1. The conjunction (Cf. §40.8.)

(i) The morphology of ׀

The conjunction ׀ is the most common co-ordinating **conjunction**. ׀ takes the following forms before nouns:⁴¹

a. It is *affixed to the next word*.

אִישׁ וְסוֹס a man and a horse

b. Before ב, ג, ד, ה it becomes ׀.

סוֹס וְפָרֶשׁ a horse and a rider

c. Before a syllable with an audible š°wâ it also becomes ׀.

וְסוֹדֹם and Sodom

d. It combines with the syllable ׀ to form ׀.

וְיֵרִיחוֹ in Jericho (יְרִיחוֹ)

e. With concepts that *are closely related* (provided the **first syllable of the second word** is stressed), it becomes ׀.

יּוֹם וְלַיְלָה day and night

41. Cf. Gemser 1975: 23.

- f. Before a syllable with a *hāṭēp* vowel ו acquires the corresponding **full** vowel.

וְאֵרֶב and a lion

- (ii) The *syntax* of ו (Cf. also §40.8.)

ו has the following distribution:

- a. In a series of conjunctions ו can be repeated before each element.

וְהָיְלוּ צֹאֲנֵי־בָקָר וְחֲמֹרִים
וְעֲבָדִים וְשִׁפְחֹת וְאַחֲנָח
וְגַמְלִים: And he had sheep *and* oxen *and* he-
asses *and* menservants *and* maidser-
vants *and* she-asses *and* camels
(Gen. 12.16)

- b. In some cases ו may occur before the last element of a list only.

מִן־הָאֱמֹרִי וְהַחִיטִּי וְהַפְּרִזִּי
וְהַחִוִּי וְהַיְבוּסִי וְהַיְבוּסִי of the Amorites, the Hittites, the
Perizzites, the Hivites, *and* the
Jebusites (1 Kgs 9.20)

- c. In a series of pairs ו can also occur among the pairs.

נָתַנִּי לֶחֶם וְיַיִם וְצֹמֶה
וּפִשְׁתִּי שֶׁמֶן וְשִׁקְוִי who give me my bread *and* my water,
my wool *and* my flax, my oil *and* my
drink (Hos. 2.7)

- d. In a series of entities ו can also be omitted entirely (asyndetic).

בְּיָמֵי עֲזַיָּה וְיֹתָם אֲחָז
וְחֶזְקִיָּה in the days of Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz,
and Hezekiah (Hos. 1.1)

- e. In a word chain ו can sometimes be affixed to the first and second element (rare).

וּבִישְׂרָאֵל וּבְכָל־אָדָם both in Israel *and* among all mankind
(Jer. 32.20)

2. The conjunction או (or). (Cf. §40.3.)

או usually occurs between elements of a word chain. (Cf. ׀ on the other hand, §40.5.)

וְכִי־יִגַּח שׁוֹר אֶת־אִישׁ
אוֹ אֶת־אִשָּׁה וְנָמַח When an ox gores a man *or* a woman
to death (Exod. 21.28)

3. Double conjunctions

- (i) ו ... ו (Cf. §40.8.)

וּבִישְׂרָאֵל וּבְכָל־אָדָם both in Israel *and* among all mankind
(Jer. 32.20)

(ii) וְ (וְ) ... וְ (Cf. §40.3.)

כִּי־פָשָׁה הִנֵּנִעַ בְּבִגְדֹ אִרְבְּשָׁתָי
אִרְבְּעָרַב אִוּ בְּעוֹר

If the disease has spread in the garment *or* in the warp, *or* in the woof, *or* in the skin (Lev. 13.51).

(iii) וְ (וְ) ... וְ (Cf. §40.5.)

זִבְחֵי הַזֶּבֶחַ אֶשֶׁר אֶשֶׁר

those offering a sacrifice, *whether* it be ox *or* sheep (Deut. 18.3)

(iv) וְ (וְ) ... וְ (Cf. §41.4/5.)

גַּם־תָּבֵן גַּם־מִסְפּוֹא רַב עִמָּנוּ

We have *both* straw and provender enough (Gen. 24.25).

§31.2. Syntactic Functions of Co-ordinating Nouns

Syntactically a noun phrase with co-ordinating nouns forms a unit. It is also referred to as a *word chain*, because it chains together entities. As a whole it can (like apposition and attributive constructions) fulfil any syntactic function within a clause, e.g., subject, direct object, indirect object, adjunct, copulative predicate, etc. In the word chain itself the co-ordinating elements are placed on the same level. As opposed to construct, attributive and appositional constructions, it is impossible to single out one unit as the head of the word chain and identify the others as the qualifications.

For the *semantic functions* of co-ordinating conjunctions, cf. §40.

§32. The Noun as Complement of Prepositions

§32.1. Syntactic Characteristics of Prepositions

Prepositions are words that designate the relationships between verbs and nouns or between nouns themselves. *They precede the nouns they govern.* (For the morphological processes that can occur when prepositions are affixed to nouns, cf. §39.1.) The noun accompanying the preposition is the preposition's *complement*. The preposition and its complement together form a *prepositional phrase* (the abbreviation PP is commonly used to refer to this phrase).

Prepositions may *also take pronominal suffixes* in the place of nouns as complements. (Cf. §39.1.)

Should a preposition govern more than one complement, it is *normally repeated before each complement*. There are, however, cases where the preposition is written before the first complement only.

לְדִלְךָ מֵאַרְצְךָ וּמִמּוֹלַדְתְּךָ וּמִבֵּית אָבִיךָ	Go <i>from</i> your country and <i>from</i> your kindred and <i>from</i> your father's house (Gen. 12.1).
הֲסִפֵּץ לַיהוָה בְּעֹלוֹת וּזְבָחִים	Has the Lord as great delight <i>in burnt offerings and sacrifices</i> ? (1 Sam. 15.22).

For the *semantic functions* of prepositions, cf. §39.

§32.2. Syntactic Functions of Prepositional Phrases

Prepositional phrases are used in a variety of syntactic positions. (Cf. §39.1/3.)

1. *A prepositional phrase can function as predicate (as adverbial qualification that may not be omitted) of a nominal clause.*

אֲרִי בֵּין הַרְחֹבוֹת	A lion is <i>in (between) the streets</i> (Prov. 26.13).
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2. *A prepositional phrase can function as complement of a verb (cf. §32.1):*

(i) As *direct object* (prepositional object)

The prepositions לְ, אֶל־, and בְּ can mark the direct object.

וַיִּבְחַר בְּכֶם	He chose <i>you</i> (Deut. 7.7).
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(ii) As *indirect object*

The prepositions לְ, אֶל־, אֵת, עַל can mark the indirect object.

לְזַרְעֶךָ אֶתֵּן אֶת־הָאָרֶץ הַזֹּאת	<i>To your descendants</i> I will give this land (Gen. 12.7).
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(iii) As *complement of a prepositional verb*

וְהָיָא נִלְחַם בְּמֶלֶךְ מוֹאָב הַקֶּדְמוֹן	And he had fought <i>against the former king of Moab</i> (Num. 21.26).
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3. *A prepositional phrase can function as an adjunct. (Cf. §32.1.)*

(i) As *optional adverbial modifier*

וַיַּזְבֵּחַ יַעֲקֹב זֶבֶחַ בְּהָר	And Jacob offered a sacrifice <i>on the mountain</i> (Gen. 31.54).
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(ii) As the *agent* of a passive verb. It can be marked by בְּ, לְ, מִן .

שֹׁפֵךְ דָּם הָאָדָם בְּאָדָם	Whoever sheds the blood of man—by
דָּמוֹ יִשְׁפָּךְ	man shall his blood be shed (Gen. 9 6).

4. A *prepositional phrase* can function as an *adjectival qualification*.

אִישׁ מִבֵּית לְחָם יְהוּדָה	A man of Bethlehem in Judah (Ruth
	1.1)

§33. The Noun as Complement/Adjunct of Verbs

§33.1. Introduction: A Terminological Orientation

Verbs may govern nouns directly, i.e. without the help of prepositions. In other words, they are nominal elements of the verb phrase that can be complements or adjuncts. (Cf. §12.3.) *Complements* cannot be omitted without changing the meaning of the clause or without making the clause ungrammatical.⁴² Direct objects are examples of complements. *Adjuncts*, however, add information to the core of the clause and may be omitted without changing the basic meaning of the clause. Direct objects and adjuncts especially may also be expressed by prepositional phrases.

In some of the other Semitic languages complements and adjuncts are marked by the *accusative*.⁴³ The accusative expresses the direct object and the so-called adverbial accusative. By analogy some BH grammars speak of the accusative.

In contrast to the languages referred to above, BH does not have cases. (Cf. §25.1.) The reader is thus dependent on clause analysis to determine what the syntactic function of the ordinary form of the word is. Even though word order is not absolutely rigid in BH, it can sometimes help in determining these functions. The direct object and adjunct will usually follow the verb and subject. If the direct object is definite, it is usually preceded by the object marker אֵת/אֶת . Nominal adjuncts can also be marked by it, but this occurs more rarely.

42. The **complement** of a verb may be omitted, but then only when it can be inferred from the **context** of the sentence. This phenomenon is referred to as *ellipsis*.

43. Cf. also Waltke and O'Connor §10.1-2.

Nouns that are governed directly by verbs thus have two possible *syntactic functions*: complement (direct object and other complements) and adjunct.

§33.2. Complements

The number and type of complements in a clause is determined, or more technically speaking ‘selected’, by the verb of the clause. (Cf. §22.) The following types and combinations of nominal complements occur in BH.

1. *One object*

The direct object is the complement of a transitive verb. It is the receiver of the action of the transitive verb. It could have one of the following *semantic functions* (*inter alia*):

(i) The direct object is *the patient* of an action.

a. An *affected* patient exists before and apart from the action.

וּנְקַח יְהוָה אֱלֹהִים	And the Lord God took <i>the man</i>
אֶת־הָאָדָם	(Gen. 2.15).

b. The *effected* patient is the product or result of the action. It thus comes into being through the action concerned and did not exist before that action occurred. Upon completion of the action it exists as a concrete object apart from the action.

נִלְבְּנָה לְבָנִים	Let us make <i>bricks</i> (Gen. 11.3).
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c. Sometimes the noun, which apparently functions as object, has the same root as the verb (the so-called internal object). However, the related entity in most cases is an adjunct. (Cf. §33.3/(v).)

זְקֵנֵיכֶם חֲלֹמוֹת יִחְלְמוּ	Your old men shall dream <i>dreams</i> (Joel 3.1).
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שָׁם פָּחַדוּ פָּחַד	There they feared (<i>with</i>) a <i>fear</i> (Ps. 14.5).
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(ii) The direct object is *the interested party* with respect to the action.

וְאִי־בִי אֶת־אֹיְבֵיךָ וְצָרְתִי אֶת־צָרְרֶיךָ	And I will be an <i>enemy to your enemies</i> (interested party—put at disadvantage) and an adversary to <i>your adversaries</i> (Exod. 23.22).
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(iii) The direct object is *the person addressed* by the action.

וַיִּקְרָא אֶת־עֵשָׂו And he called *Esau* (Gen. 27.1).

(iv) The direct object is *the agent* of the action (rare).

לֹא תִשְׁכַּח
לֹא תִשְׁכַּחנִי You will not be forgotten *by me* (Isa.
44.21).

Note the following:

- (1) Verbs that are transitive in BH are not necessarily so in English, and *vice versa*.
- (2) Some verbs may govern their direct objects either directly or by a preposition. The latter are called prepositional objects. Both constructions sometimes occur with the same verb, sometimes with different nuances.

וַיִּבְחַר בְּזָרְעָם אַחֲרֵיהֶם And he chose *their descendants* after
them (Deut. 10.15).

וַיִּבְחַר־לּוֹ לֹשׁ אֶת כָּל־כַּבְּר
הַיַּרְדֵּן So Lot chose for himself *all the Jor-*
dan valley (Gen. 13.11).

2. Two objects

Where verbs govern two complements as objects, they may have the following semantic functions (*inter alia*):

(i) With verbs of address one direct object is the person addressed and the other *the patient*.

וַיִּצַו אֶת כָּל־אֲשֶׁר דִּבֶּר
יְהוָה אֵתוֹ And he gave (or commanded) *them* /
all that the Lord had spoken to him
(Exod. 34.32).

(ii) With verbs of giving or taking one of the direct objects is *the receiver* and the other is *the patient*.

וְנָתַתִּי אֶת־חֶן הַעֵם הַזֶּה And I will give *this people* / *favor*
(Exod. 3.21).

וְנָתַתִּי צְדִיקִים וְשִׁלְמוֹת He will reward *the righteous* / (with)
prosperity (Prov. 13.21).

(iii) With verbs where the status, role or name of someone is changed, one *object is the old and the other is the new status, role or name*.

וַיַּשֵּׂם אֶת־בְּנָיִי שֹׁפְטִים He made his *sons* / *judges* (1 Sam.
8.1).

וַיִּקְרְאוּ שְׁמוֹ עֵשָׂו So they called his *name* / *Esau* (Gen.
25.25).

(iv) *Causative and factitive* verbs also take two objects. *The one is the object of the causative idea (let), and the other is the object of the action.*

וְהִרְאִיתִי גוֹיִם מֵעֵרָד And I will let *nations* / look on *your nakedness* (Nah. 3.5).

3. Other nominal complements (non-objects)

Nouns that are non-objects may also act as complements with the following verbs:

(i) With verbs of abiding

וְהוּא יָשָׁב פֶּתַח הָאֹהֶל And he sat *at the door of his tent* (Gen. 18.1).

(ii) With verbs of movement

וַיָּבֹאוּ אֶרֶץ כְּנָעַן And they came *to the land of Canaan* (Gen. 45.25).

(iii) With stative verbs that refer to a condition of being full or covered

יָדֶיכֶם דָּמִים מְלֵאוּ Your hands are full of *blood* (Isa. 1.15).

§33.3. Adjuncts

Adjuncts are optional, non-verbal parts of the verb phrase. Nouns can act as adjuncts. Nominal adjuncts in BH take the ordinary form of the noun. They are sometimes (very rarely) marked with the object marker *לְ/לָ*. They can perform several semantic functions, such as indicating time, place, manner and specification. (In other Semitic languages with case endings these are referred to as the *adverbial accusative*.)

Nominal adjuncts can fulfil the following semantic functions (*inter alia*):

(i) Indicate time

a. Specific point(s) in time

הַשָּׁנָה הַזֹּאת מוֹת *This very year* you shall die (Jer. 28.16).

b. Duration

שֵׁשֶׁת יָמִים תַּעֲבֹד *Six days* (long) you shall labour (Exod. 20.9).

(ii) Indicate *means/method*

והכיתי אֶת־הָאָרֶץ חֶרֶם

I shall smite the land **with a curse**
(Mal. 3.24).(iii) Indicate *specification*

רַק לֵשֶׁת זָקְנָתוֹ חָלָה אֶת־רַגְלָיו

Except that in his old age he was **dis-**
eased in his feet (1 Kgs 15.23).(iv) Indicate *material*

עֲמֻדָיו עָשָׂה כֶּסֶף

He made its posts of **silver** (**Song**
3.10).(v) *Repeating the verbal idea*

This occurs with a noun that is directly governed by a verb and which has either the same root or approximately the same meaning as the verb. The so-called internal adjunct (often referred to as the internal object, *schema etymologicum* or *figura etymologica*) normally has *no semantic meaning*.

וַיְחַלֵּם יוֹסֵף חֲלוֹם

Joseph had a dream. (Gen. 37.5).

The internal adjunct is sometimes used to describe the *intensity* of the verbal idea by means of an adjective.

וַיִּצְעַק צְעָקָה גְדוֹלָה
וַיִּכְרַה עַד־מָוֶתHe cried out with an **exceedingly**
great and bitter cry (Gen. 27.34).

וַיִּקְרְאוּ בְּאָזְנֵי קוֹל גְּדוֹל

They cry in my ears **with a loud voice**
(Ezek. 8.18).§33.4. The 'Object Marker' אֶת־/את⁴⁴1. *Morphology of the marker*

The marker has the form אֶת when it is written apart from the subsequent word and את־ if it is affixed to the noun with a maqqēf. Pronominal suffixes may be added to the marker. (Cf. §36.1.) The paradigm is set out as follows:

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 m./f.	אֶתִּי	me	אֶתְּנוּ	us
2 m.	אֶתְּךָ	you	אֶתְּכֶם	you
2 f.	אֶתְּךָ	you	אֶתְּכֶן	you

44. For a fuller discussion of אֶת־/את, cf. Waltke and O'Connor §10.3.

3 m.	אֵתוֹ	him	אֹתָם	them
3 f.	אֵתָהּ	her	אֹתָן	them

2. The syntax (= distribution) of the marker

(i) It marks *the definite direct object* of *transitive verbs*. This is also why it is called the *object marker*.

וַיַּעַשׂ אֱלֹהִים אֶת־הַבְּהֵמָה הָאָרֶץ And God made *the beasts of the earth*
(Gen. 1.25).

(ii) *Indefinite objects are usually unmarked*.

וַיֹּדִיעָה אֲתֶכֶם דָּבָר And we will show you *a thing* (1 Sam.
14.12).

(iii) There are *exceptions*, however. Sometimes definite direct objects are not marked, while indefinite direct objects are marked.

וַתְּדַלֵּת סָגֵר אַחֲרָיו And he shut *the door* after him (Gen.
19.6).

אִם־יִשָּׁךְ הַנָּחָשׁ אֶת־אִישׁ If the serpent bit *any man* (Num.
21.9).

(iv) In a list of definite direct objects אֶת/אֹת is usually repeated before each one, but it can also *sometimes be affixed to the first one only* (when they are regarded as a group).

וַיִּכּוּ אֶת־הַכְּנַעֲנִי וְאֶת־הַפְּרִזִּי and defeated *the Canaanites and the*
Perizzites (Judg. 1.5)

וַיִּתֵּן יְהוָה אֶת־הַכְּנַעֲנִי
וְהַפְּרִזִּי בְיָדָם and the Lord gave *the Canaanites and*
the Perizzites into their hand (Judg.
1.4)

(v) אֶת/אֹת can also be used to distinguish a *group within a list*.

In such cases אֶת/אֹת can stand, for example, before the first two units of a word chain, but not before the third because the second and third units form a group. Compare 1 Sam. 8.14 as opposed to 1 Sam. 8.16.

וְאֶת־שְׂדוֹתֵיכֶם וְאֶת־כַּרְמֵיכֶם
וְיֵיתֵיכֶם הַטּוֹבִים יִקַּח And he will take your fields and *your*
best vineyards and olive orchards
(1 Sam. 8.14).

וְאֶת־עַבְדֵיכֶם וְאֶת־שִׁפְחוֹתֵיכֶם
וְאֶת־בְּחֹרֵיכֶם הַטּוֹבִים
וְאֶת־חֲמֹרֵיכֶם יִקַּח
וַיַּעַשׂ לְמַלְאכְתּוֹ: He will take your menservants and
maidservants, and *your best young*
men and your asses, and put them to
his work (1 Sam. 8.16).

(vi) With *other complements and adjuncts* אָתָּה/אֵת occurs less frequently, but it is used, for example, *after verbs of movement and of fullness as well as with an adjunct referring to a duration in time.*

הֵם יָצְאוּ אֶת־הָעִיר They left *the city* (Gen. 44.4).

וַיִּמְלֵא אֶת־הַחֶכְמָה And he was full of *wisdom* (1 Kgs
7.14).

מִצוֹת יֶאֱכַל אֶת שִׁבְעַת הַיָּמִים Unleavened bread shall be eaten *for seven days* (Exod. 13.7).

(vii) אָתָּה/אֵת is even used to mark *subjects* (rare).

a. In *clauses with a verb*

וְאֶת־הַבְּרֹזֶל נָפַל אֶל־הַמַּיִם *The iron* fell into the water (2 Kgs
6.5).

b. In *nominal clauses* (rare)

הֲמַעֲטָלְנוּ אֶת־עוֹן פְּעוֹר Have we not had enough *of the sin at*
Peor? (Josh. 22.17).

§34. The Noun as Subject, Predicate, Vocative and Dislocated Constituent⁴⁵

§34.1. The Noun as Subject of Verbal Clauses

A noun can act as the subject of a clause. If the clause has a verb, its person, number and gender are determined by the subject. Since finite verbs have affixes which indicate the person, number and gender of the subject, one could also say that an explicit subject is a repetition or more precise specification of the ‘built-in’ subject.

וְהֵאמָרָה רָחֵל And *she* said, *Rachel* said ... (Gen.
30:8).

The position of the subject in a verbal clause is as follows (cf. also §46):

(i) With *asyndetic verbal clauses and with consecutive clauses* the subject usually *follows the verb directly.*

דָּבְקָה נַפְשִׁי אַחֲרֶיךָ *My soul* clings to you (Ps. 63.9).

45. Cf. Waltke and O’Connor §8.3 for a more traditional discussion of the so-called nominative function.

(ii) If *the complement of the verb is a preposition plus a pronominal suffix*, it usually stands between the verb and the subject. (Cf. §46.1/2(ii).)

וַיִּבְחַר־לּוֹ לֹט אֶת כָּל־כְּבֶדֶד הַיַּרְדֵּן	So Lot chose <i>for himself</i> all the Jordan valley (Gen. 13.11).
--	---

(iii) With so-called *split subjects* the word chain that specifies the subject may stand at the *end of a clause*. (Cf. also §36.1/2(iii).)

וַיֵּלֶךְ אִישׁ מִבֵּית לָחֶם וְהוּדָה ... הוּא וְאִשְׁתּוֹ וּשְׁנֵי בָנָיו	And a certain man of Bethlehem in Judah went ..., <i>he and his wife and his two sons</i> (Ruth 1.1).
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(iv) If the subject precedes the verb, this construction may express specific semantic and pragmatic functions. (Cf. §47.)

§34.2. *The Noun as Subject of Nominal Clauses*

1. *The subject usually stands first in the clause.*

Nominal clauses may have the following structure:

(i) Noun + *adjective*

וַיְדַי מֹשֶׁה כָּבֵדִים	And Moses' hands grew weary (Exod. 17.12).
--------------------------	--

(ii) Noun + *prepositional phrase*

וְאֶדְמָה עַל־רֹאשׁוֹ	And earth is upon his head (2 Sam. 15.32).
-----------------------	--

(iii) Noun + *predicator of existence*

וּפְתָר אֵין אִתּוֹ	And there is no <i>one who can interpret</i> it (Gen. 41.15).
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2. *If the subject does not precede the predicate, specific semantic-pragmatic functions may be involved*

For the functions of word order in nominal clauses, cf. §47.3.

§34.3. *The Noun as Predicate of Nominal Clauses*

In such clauses, which consist of two noun phrases, the semantic functions *identification or classification* can be realized.

(i) In *an identifying clause* both the subject and the predicate are definite.

אֲנִכִּי עֵשָׂו	I am Esau (Gen. 27.19).
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(ii) In a *classifying clause* the subject is definite and the predicate indefinite.

גִּידַר אֲרִיָּה יְהוּדָה Judah is a *lion's whelp* (Gen. 49.9).

§34.4. The Noun as Vocative (Form of Address)

The addressee is usually designated by the ordinary form of the noun with the article. (Cf. §24.4/3(i).) The 'vocative' occurs **only** in direct speech. It often stands in apposition to a pronoun in the second person or with the built-in subject of an imperative. In other respects it is syntactically separate from the rest of the clause. Syntactically it can be regarded as an adjunct.

בְּרַמִּי אִתָּהּ הַנֶּעַר Whose son are you, *young man*?
(1 Sam. 17.58).

הִתְחַרְשִׁים שָׁמְעוּ Hear, *you deaf* (Isa. 42.18).

§34.5. The Noun as Dislocated (Pendensed) Constituent

A noun or noun phrase can be taken from its normal position in the clause and placed at the beginning of the clause. This dislocated constituent often refers to the matter which the clause is about. For more details about this construction, cf. §46.1/2(i).

§35. Congruence between the Subject and Predicate in BH Clauses

Congruence between the subject and predicate of clauses in BH has the following characteristics:

(i) *Normally* the subject determines the person, gender and number of the predicate. (In the example below the subjects are italicized.)

וַיִּבְחַרְדָּלוּ לוֹט אֶת כָּל-כַּבֶּד הַיַּרְדֵּן *Lot* chose for himself all the Jordan
valley (Gen. 13.11).

(ii) If the *subject is dual*, the *predicate* is in the plural.

אַל-יָרַפוּ יָדַיךָ Let not *your hands* (dual) grow weak
(Zeph. 3.16).

(iii) If the subject is a *collective* singular noun, the predicate can be either *singular or plural*.

וַיֵּדְעוּ הָעָם כָּלֹ And *all the people* will know (Isa. 9.8).
יֹאכְלוּ עוֹף הַשָּׁמַיִם *The birds* of heaven shall eat (1 Kgs
14.11).

עוֹף הַשָּׁמַיִם יוֹלִיד אֶת־הַקּוֹל
The birds of heaven will carry your
 [lit. the] voice (Eccl. 10.20).

(iv) Plural subjects that refer to people can take a singular predicate if the statement bears upon the individual members of the group. This is called the *distributive or individualizing* singular.

מְבָרְכִיד כָּרוּד
 Blessed be *every one who blesses you*
 (Num. 24.9).

(v) Plural nouns with a singular meaning, such as *royal plurals*, often govern the predicate in the singular.

וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהִים ...
 And *God* said: ... (Gen. 1.3).

(vi) If *the predicate precedes the subject* (usually in an asyndetic clause), the *simplest* form of the predicate is often used.

הַזָּק מִמֶּנִּי הַמְּלַחְמָה
The battle became too heavy for him
 [i.e. was going against him] (2 Kgs
 3.26).

(vii) If *the subject in the status constructus precedes a postconstructus*, the verb is sometimes congruent with the postconstructus if it is the actual topic of the clause (*constructio ad sensum*).

נָגַע צָרַעַת כִּי חָתְוָה בְּאָדָם
 When a man is afflicted with [the
 plague of] *leprosy* (Lev. 13.9).

(viii) If a subject consisting of more than one word precedes the predicate, the predicate is in the plural. *If one part of the subject is masculine and the other part feminine, the predicate will be masculine.*

וַאֲבָרָהֶם וְשָׂרָה זָקְנִים
Abraham and Sarah were old (Gen.
 18.11).

(ix) If a subject consisting of more than one word follows the predicate, the predicate *can be congruent with the first word of the compound subject*. If such a predicate is followed by *additional predicates*, they will be in the plural.

וַתַּעַן רָחֵל וְלֵאָה וַתֹּאמְרָה
 Then *Rachel* answered, as well as
 Leah, and *they* said: (Gen. 31.14).

If a preposition with pronominal suffix occurs between the predicate and the compound subject, the predicate often agrees with the compound subject, i.e. the predicate is in the plural.

וַיֵּרְדוּ אֵלָיו מֶלֶךְ יִשְׂרָאֵל
וַיְהוֹשָׁפָט וּמֶלֶךְ עֲדוֹם:
And the king of Israel, Jehoshaphat
and the king of Edom went down to
him (2 Kgs 3.12).

(x) If the compound subject consists of a pronoun and a noun, the *pronoun is often expressed separately*, even if the verb has the appropriate form.

וַיֵּרֶד הוּא וְנַעֲרָו
Then he and his servant went down
(Judg. 7.11).

§36. Pronouns

Pronouns are a closed class of words (lexemes) that can be used in the place of a noun or noun phrase within a certain context. (Cf. §11.2.) By using pronouns languages avoid the unnecessary repetition of nouns or noun phrases, for example, not ‘Jacob loved Joseph. Jacob made Joseph a cloak with long sleeves’, but ‘Jacob loved Joseph. He made him a cloak with long sleeves’. The person or object to which a pronoun refers can only be determined in the context in which the pronoun occurs. The sentence in which a pronoun appears is thus always part of a larger whole.

§36.1. Personal Pronouns

A personal pronoun usually refers to a person or thing that has already been mentioned. This person or thing is called the *antecedent* of the pronoun. In BH a distinction need to be made between independent personal pronouns and enclitic pronouns. The latter are not separate words, but in the form of pronominal suffixes affixed to verbs, nouns and other word types. (Cf. §17, 26 and 27.)

I. Independent Personal Pronouns

1. Forms

The following independent personal pronouns occur in BH:

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 m./f.	אֲנִי / אָנֹכִי	I	אֲנַחְנוּ	we
2 m.	אַתָּה	you	אַתֶּם	you
2 f.	אַתְּ	you	אַתֶּן	you
3 m.	הוּא	he	הֵם / הֵמָּה	they
3 f.	הִיא / הִיאָ	she	הֵנָּה	they

2. The syntax of independent personal pronouns⁴⁶

(i) Function as the *subject of a nominal clause* or a **clause in which the verb is not marked for person**

וַיֹּאמֶר אַבְרָהָם אֶל-שָׂרָה אִשְׁתּוֹ
אֲחֹתִי הִיא

And Abraham said of Sarah his wife:
She is my sister (Gen. 20.2).

הָמָּה עָלִים בַּמַּעֲלָה הָעִיר
(1 Sam. 9.11).

As *they* went up the hill to the city
(1 Sam. 9.11).

(ii) Precede a *finite verb* or follow a constituent that is *already marked for person*

אֲנִי נָתַתִּי שְׂפָחָתִי בְּחִיקְךָ

I *myself* gave my maid to your
embrace (Gen. 16.5).

בִּי-אֲנִי אֲדַנִּי הָעֶשֶׂן

Upon me alone, my lord, be the guilt
(1 Sam. 25.24).

The independent personal pronoun follows the verb only in cases where a waw consecutive + imperfect or waw consecutive + perfect makes it impossible for the independent pronoun to precede the verb.

וְנִכְרַתִּי אֲנִי אֶת-בְּרִיתִי אִיְיָךְ

And *I* will remember my covenant
with you (Ezek. 16.60).

(iii) The third person masculine singular independent personal pronoun is used *between the subject and predicate of a nominal clause* with three constituents.

הֲלֹא אַתָּה-הוּא יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ

Are you not the Lord our God? (Jer.
14.22).

(iv) Function as *part of the extension of a constituent*, for example, the subject

וַיַּעַל אַבְרָם מִמִּצְרַיִם
הוּא וְאִשְׁתּוֹ

So *Abram* went up from Egypt, *he*
and his wife (Gen. 13.1).

(v) Indicate *the syntactic domain of some focus particles* (Cf. §41.4/5.1.)

כִּי אָמַר פְּרִיזוֹת גַּם-הוּא כָּאֲחָיו

for he feared that *he too* would die
like his brothers.(Gen. 38.11).

וַתְּהִי עָלָיו רוּחַ אֱלֹהִים

And the Spirit of God came *upon him*
also (1 Sam. 19.23).

46. This section benefitted much from Naudé 1996.

3. The semantic-pragmatic functions of independent pronouns

The use of the independent personal pronoun is often syntactically motivated. However, apart from cases where they function as part of the extension of a constituent and *introduce or activate new characters that are anchored to one of the prominent characters in a narrative* (cf. §36.1/1.2(iv)), independent personal pronouns are predominately used to express semantic-pragmatic functions. This happens in particular in those cases where the pronouns appear to be used superfluously and correlate syntactically with those where fronting is involved. (Cf. §46.1/1-2.) Fronting by means of an apparently superfluous pronoun can be used as follows (Cf. §47.2.):

(i) It indicates the focus of an utterance *confirming the personal or exclusive role of the referent of the pronoun in an event*

אֲנִי נָתַתִּי שְׂפָתַי בְּחִיקָךְ I myself gave my maid to your
embrace (Gen. 16.5).

This use of the pronoun often occurs in contexts where speakers *boasts* about what *they* have done.

אֲנִי הַעֲשֵׂרְתִי אֶת־אַבְרָם I (and nobody else) have made
Abram rich (Gen. 14.23).

The construction is also used in cases where *pledges or promises* are made, or where someone is being *confronted* with what he or she has done.

וַיֹּאמֶר אֲנִי אֲשַׁלַּח גְּדִי־עֹיִם And he said: I will (personally) send
you a kid (Gen. 38.17).

When the third person masculine singular form of the pronoun is used between the subject and predicate of a nominal clause, it apparently also indicate the focus of the utterance. It confirms the identification of a referent as a particular somebody or something.

הֲלֹא אֱתֵּהּ־הוּא יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ Are you (and nobody else) not the
Lord our God? (Jer. 14.22).

(ii) It reactivates entities (e.g. characters) that are *compared* or *contrasted*. (Cf. §47/2(ii)e.)

הוּא יְשַׁפֵּךְ רֹאשׁ וְאַתָּה תְּשׁוּפְנוּ He (on the one hand) shall bruise
עַקְבֵּךְ your head, and you (on the other
hand) shall bite his heel (Gen. 3.15).

Both entities need not be explicitly mentioned.

וְאַתָּה תָּבוֹא אֶל־אֲבוֹתֶיךָ בְּשָׁלוֹם But *you* shall go to your fathers in peace (in contrast to the nations referred to in Gen. 15.14) (Gen. 15.15).

(iii) It signals that *an anterior construction* is involved. (Cf. §47/2(iii).) This construction has *a discourse active referent* as fronted subject and a proposition that has a pluperfect or preperfect relationship with the main line of the narration.

וַיְהִי כִּי־רָאוּ מַלְכֵי־הָעָם ... And when the king of Ai saw this ...
וַיֵּצְאוּ אֲנָשֵׁי־הָעִיר the men of the city went out early to
לִקְרַאת־יִשְׂרָאֵל לְמִלְחָמָה ... to meet Israel in battle ...; but *he* did
וְהוּא לֹא יָדַע כִּי־אָרֵב not know that there was an ambush
לֹא מֵאַחֲרֵי הָעִיר against him behind the city (Josh.
8.14).

(iv) It signals a *specific type of temporal construction*. This construction is used to refer to two *simultaneous* (or nearly simultaneous) *actions*.

הִנֵּה עוֹדֶיךָ מְדַבֵּרֵת שָׁם Then while you are still speaking with
עִם־הַמֶּלֶךְ וְאֲנִי אָבוֹא the king there, *I* also will come in
אַחֲרֶיךָ after you (1 Kgs 1.14).
הָמָּה בָּאוּ בְּאֶרֶץ צִוֶּן When *they* reached the district of
וְשָׂאוּל אָמַר לְנַעֲרוֹ Suph, Saul said to his servant:
(1 Sam. 9.5).

II. Pronominal Suffixes Added to Verbs⁴⁷

1. Morphology

Cf. §17.

2. The syntactic-semantic functions of pronominal suffixes affixed to verbs

Pronominal suffixes affixed to verbs function as:

(i) the *object* of the clause

וַיִּשְׁלַחְהוּ מֵעֵמֶק חֶבְרוֹן So he sent *him* from the valley of
Hebron (Gen. 37.14).

(ii) the *indirect object* of the clause

וְהִשְׁבֵּנִי דְבָר And bring *me* word again (Gen. 37.14).

47. Also called the 'object suffix.'

III. *Pronominal Suffixes Added to Nouns (including the infinitive construct*⁴⁸)

1. *Morphology*

Cf. §26 and §27.

2. *The syntactic-semantic functions of pronominal suffixes affixed to nouns (Cf. also §25.4.)*

Pronominal suffixes affixed to nouns function as:

(i) the *subject* of an infinitive clause

וְהָיָה בְּכֶזֶבִּיב בְּלִדְתָהּ אִתּוֹ And she was in **Chezib** when *she* bore him (Gen. 38.5).

(ii) the *object* in an infinitive clause

לְהַמִּיתוֹ to kill *him* (Gen. 37.18)

(iii) the *indirect object* in an infinitive clause

וְלֹא יָכְלוּ דַבְּרוּ לְשָׁלֵם And they could not speak peaceably *to him* (Gen. 37.4).

(iv) Pronominal suffixes indicate *possession*.

וַהֲנִיחַ קֶמֶחַ אֶלְמָתִי Suddenly *my* sheaf arose (Gen. 37.7).

IV. *Pronominal Suffixes Added to Prepositions*

1. *Morphology*

Cf. §39.1/1.

2. *Functions*

For the syntactic functions, cf. §39.1/3.

For the semantic functions, cf. §39.1/4 and 39.2-21.

V. *Personal Pronouns Suffixes Added to הָיָה*

1. *Morphology*

Cf. §44.3/2.

2. *Functions*

Cf. §44.3/4.

48. An *infinitive form* can also take the *suffixes added to verbs*, but then only if the suffixes fulfil a definite syntactic function, namely as the object of the infinitive sentence. (Cf. §17.5.)

VI. Personal Pronouns Suffixes Added to עוֹד

1. Morphology

Cf. §41.2/5.

2. Functions

Cf. §41.2/5.

VII. Personal Pronouns Suffixes Added to אֲנִי and שׁוּ

1. Morphology

Cf. §42.1.

2. Functions

Cf. §43.2-3.

VIII. Personal Pronouns Suffixes Added to הָאֵל and הָאֱלֹהִים

1. Morphology

Cf. §33.4/1.

2. Functions

Cf. §33.4/2.

Note the following:

- (1) The position of the syntactic antecedent of a pronominal suffix determines the nature of the pronominal suffix. If the syntactic antecedent occurs in the same clause as the pronominal suffix, the pronominal suffix has a reflexive (anaphoric) nature and is usually translated with *self* (*himself, herself, etc.*).

אֶת־בְּנֵיכֶם יִקַּח וְשָׂם לֹו

He will take your sons and *he* will appoint them for *himself* (1 Sam. 8.11).

- (2) If the syntactic antecedent does not function in the same clause as the pronominal suffix, the pronominal suffix has a pronominal nature and is usually translated with *him/her/them*.

וְהִמְלַכְתָּ לָהֶם מֶלֶךְ

And appoint a king *over them* (1 Sam. 8.22).

§36.2. *Demonstrative Pronouns*1. *Morphology*

Demonstrative pronouns are deictic or ‘showing’ words that can take the place of a noun or a noun phrase (NP), for example, ‘Here is the document; *this* is what you must read’. Like adjectives they can also qualify an NP, for example, ‘You must help *this* child’. A distinction is usually drawn between *near* and *distant* demonstrative pronouns. Distinctions are also drawn between masculine and feminine, and the singular and the plural of the demonstrative pronouns. In BH the following sets of pronouns are distinguished:

	<i>Near</i>	<i>Distant</i>
	this	that
m. sing.	זֶה, זֹה, זֵה	הַזֶּה
f. sing.	זֹאת	הַזֵּאת
m. pl.	אֵלֶּה	הֵם / הַהֵם
f. pl.	אֵלֶּה	הֵנָּה

The BH ‘distant’ demonstrative pronouns above are, however, called quasi-demonstrative pronouns because they cannot stand in every syntactic position, for example, הַזֶּה cannot be used as the object of a clause. Yet זֶה can be used as the object, for example, קְרֹא זֶה ‘Read *that*’ (Isa. 29.11).⁴⁹

2. *The syntactic and semantic functions of the ‘near’ demonstrative pronouns זֶה, זֹה, זֵה, זֹאת and אֵלֶּה*

(i) The demonstrative pronoun can stand *in the place of an NP*.

שְׁלַחְנָהּ אֶת־זֹאת מִעָלַי

Send *this* woman out of my presence
(2 Sam. 13.17).

49. For a more exhaustive discussion, cf. Waltke and O’Connor §17.3 and Joüon-Muraoka §143j.

(ii) A demonstrative pronoun can *qualify a noun*. It can be used *attributively or predicatively*.

- a. The demonstrative pronoun is used just like the adjective. In other words, it usually *follows* the noun and *agrees* with it in definiteness, gender and number. In such cases the demonstrative pronoun is used *attributively*.

כִּי־אֵחָדָה רָאִיתִי צְדִיק לְפָנַי בְּדוֹר הַזֶּה	For I have seen that you are right- eous before me in <i>this</i> generation (Gen. 7.1).
--	--

When an independent pronoun is defined by both an adjective and a demonstrative pronoun, the adjective *precedes* the demonstrative pronoun.

הַגּוֹי הַגָּדוֹל הַזֶּה	<i>this</i> great nation (Deut. 4.6)
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- b. Sometimes the demonstrative pronoun *precedes* the noun and does not agree with it in *definiteness*.

כִּי־זֶה מֹשֶׁה הָאִישׁ אֲשֶׁר הֵעֵלָנוּ	as for <i>this</i> Moses, the man who brought us up (Exod. 32.1)
---	---

- c. The predicative use of the demonstrative pronoun corresponds with the predicative use of the adjective; in other words it can be placed before the noun and it agrees with it in gender and number.

וְאֵלֶּה הַדּוֹלָדוֹת אֲהֵרָן	And <i>these</i> are the generations of Aaron (Num. 3.1).
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- d. Sometimes people are qualified in such a way that the nuance of *belonging to a group* is expressed.

כִּי־קָרָא יְהוָה לְשֵׁשֶׁת הַמְּלָכִים הָאֵלֶּה	For the Lord has called <i>these</i> three kings (2 Kgs 3.10).
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(iii) The demonstrative pronoun can function like a *relative pronoun*. (Cf. §36.3.)

הַר־צִיּוֹן זֶה שְׁכַנְתָּ בוֹ	Mount Zion, <i>where</i> you came to dwell (Ps. 74.2).
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(iv) Demonstrative pronouns (usually in pairs) function as *reciprocal pronouns*.

וְקָרָא זֶה אֶל־זֶה	And one called to <i>another</i> (Isa. 6.3).
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(v) The demonstrative pronoun is sometimes used *tautologically after* הַזֶּה.

וַהֲנִיחַ זֶה מַלְאָךְ נֹגַע בּוֹ And look, an angel touched him
(1 Kgs 19.5).

(vi) Demonstrative pronouns combined with interrogative pronouns sometimes express the *surprise or amazement of a speaker* about a state of affairs in the form of a rhetorical question. (Cf. also §43.3/2(i).)

מַה־זֹּאת עָשִׂיתָם *What is this you have done?!* (Judg.
2.2).

Sometimes זֶה is used to emphasize the frequency of an event or action.

וַיִּנְסוּ אֹתִי זֶה עֶשְׂרִי פַעַמִּים And yet they have put me to the
proof *these* ten times (Num. 14.22).

3. The syntactic and semantic functions of the 'distant' demonstrative pronoun הַהוּא⁵⁰

(i) The demonstrative pronoun can *qualify a noun*.

וַהֲבִיאֵתִי עַל־הָאָרֶץ הַהִיא And I will bring **upon that** land (Jer.
25.13).

It is used especially to refer to *a specific point in time* in the future or the past.

בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא יִסֵּר אֲדֹנָי In *that* day the Lord will take away
(Isa. 3.18).

בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא כָּרַת יְהוָה
אֶת־אֲבְרָם בְּרִית On *that* day the Lord made a cove-
nant with Abram (Gen. 15.18).

(ii) In contrast to the 'near' demonstrative pronouns, the 'distant' pronoun is only used attributively.

§36.3. Relative Pronouns

The following relative pronouns occur in BH: אֲשֶׁר and ׀. The latter is found especially in the later books of the Bible (e.g. Ezra and Ecclesiastes). It also occurs in early texts, e.g. Judges 5:7. In the intermediate period, however, ׀ is not used. Other syntactic units which are not primarily relative pronouns, but still function as such

50. The quasi-demonstrative pronoun occurs mainly in this form.

are: *זה*, *זו* and *זו* and the article *ה*. A feature of all the relative pronouns in BH is that they do not decline.

1. אשר

(i) אשר where the antecedent is *the subject* of the subordinate clause

העץ אשר בתוך הגן The tree *which* is in the midst of the garden (Gen. 3:3).

The so-called *independent* relative clauses suppress the antecedent. In such clauses this antecedent is always the subject or object (cf. Num. 22.6) of the subordinate clause.

ויאמר לאשר על־ביתו ... He said to *him* who was over his house: ... (Gen. 43.16).

(ii) אשר where the antecedent is *the object* of the subordinate clause

אלהים אחרים אשר לא ידעת other gods *which* you have not known (Deut. 13.7)

Sometimes the antecedent of אשר is also referred to by means of a pronominal suffix which occurs later in the subordinate clause.

הנביא אשר־שלחו יהוה the prophet *which* the Lord has sent (Jer. 28.9)

(iii) אשר where the antecedent is *the time* at which the events in the subordinate clause took place

ביום ההוא אשר תבאו on that day *when* you go (1 Kgs 22.25)

(iv) אשר where the antecedent is *the place where* the events in the subordinate clause took place.

הארץ אשר אתה שכב עליה the land *on which* you lie (Gen. 28.13)

(v) אשר where the antecedent is *the place to which, along which or from which* the subject in the subordinate clause moves.

את־האדמה אשר לקח משם the ground *from which* he was taken (Gen. 3.23)

2. שׁ

(i) שׁ where the antecedent is *the subject* of the subordinate clause

כחול שעל־שפת הים as the sand *which* is upon the sea-shore (Judg. 7.12)

ִשְׁ where a *hidden* antecedent is the subject in a subordinate clause

אֲשֶׁרִי שָׂאֵל יַעֲקֹב בְּעֶזְרוֹ Happy is he *whose* help is the God of
Jacob (Ps. 146.5).

(ii) שָׁ where the antecedent is *the place to which, along which or from which* the subject in the subordinate clause moves

שָׁשָׁם עָלוּ שְׁבֵטִים *to which* the tribes go up (Ps. 122.4)

3. וְ/וָ/וֶ/וֹ/וּ/וָה

(i) וְ where the antecedent is *the subject* of the subordinate clause

שָׁמַע לְאָבִיךָ זֶה יִלְדֶךָ Listen to your father *who* begot you
(Prov. 23.22).

(ii) וָ where the antecedent is *the object* of the subordinate clause

וְעֵדוּתִי זֹאת לְמַדְרֵם and my testimonies *which* I **shall**
teach them (Ps. 132.12)

וּ where a *hidden* antecedent is the object in a subordinate clause

וּוְהָאֲהַבְתִּי נְהַפְכֵם בִּי and those *whom* I loved have turned
against me (Job 19.19)

(iii) וּ where the antecedent is *the place in which* the events in the subordinate clause take place (with resumption by means of a pronominal suffix)

הַר־צִיּוֹן זֶה שָׁכַנְתָּ בוֹ Mount Zion, where you came to
dwell (Ps. 74.2)

4. הַ

The article הַ began to act as a relative pronoun before finite verbs and particularly perfect forms in the later books. Note that it can be argued that the הַ which sometimes precedes participles should not be understood as a relative pronoun, compare, for example, Gen. 12.7 where הַ occurs and Ezek. 1.4 where it is absent. The equivalent of *that* is thus due to the participial construction and not to הַ.

לַיהוָה הֵרְאָה אֵלָיו to the Lord, *who* had appeared to him
(Gen. 12.7)

סַעֲרָה בָאָה מִן־הַצָּפוֹן a stormy wind which came out of the
north (Ezek. 1.4)

(i) **הַ** before a perfect where the antecedent is *the subject* of a subordinate clause

וְכָל אֲשֶׁר בְּעָרֵינוּ הָחִיבוּ נָשִׁים
נִכְרִיּוֹת all those in our cities *who* have taken
foreign wives (Ezra 10.14)

(ii) **הַ** before a perfect where the antecedent is *the object* of a subordinate clause

וְכָל הַהִקְדִּישׁ שָׁמוּאֵל
(1 Chron. 26.28) and all *that* Samuel had dedicated

§36.4. Interrogative Pronouns

Cf. §43.3.

§36.5. Indefinite Pronouns

Indefinite pronouns can be expressed by means of the following elements or in the following ways:

1. **כֹּל** + *noun* (*without הַ*)

כָּל־הַרֵג קַיִן *anyone* who slays Cain (Gen. 4.15)

2. **מָה**

מַה־תֹּאמַר נַפְשִׁי וְאֶעֱשֶׂה לְךָ
Whatever you say, I will do for you
(1 Sam. 20.4).

3. **מִי**

מִי־יִרָא וְחָרַד יָשָׁב
Whoever is fearful and trembling, let
him return (Judg. 7.3).

Sometimes **מִי** is followed by **אֲשֶׁר** or even **הָאִישׁ אֲשֶׁר**.

מִי אֲשֶׁר חָטְאֵלַי אֶמְחֶנּוּ מִסֵּפֶרִי
Whoever has sinned against me, him
will I blot out of my book (Exod.
32.33).

מִי־הָאִישׁ אֲשֶׁר בָּנָה בַּיִת־חָדָשׁ
everyone that has built a new house
(Deut. 20.5)

4. **אִישׁ**

אִם־יִוָּכַל אִישׁ לִמְנוֹת ...
If *one* could count ... (Gen. 13.16).

לֵכוּ אִישׁ לְעִירוֹ
Go, *every man* to his city (1 Sam.
8.22).

5. אָדָם

אָדָם כִּי־תָקְרִיב מִנֶּחֱסֵי קָרְבָּן
לַיהוָה ...

When *any man* of you brings an offering to the Lord ... (Lev. 1.2).

6. נֶפֶשׁ

נֶפֶשׁ כִּי־תִחַטָּא ...

If *any one* sins, ... (Lev. 4.2).

7. The participle as subject of a finite verb with the same stem

כִּי־יִפֹּל הַנֶּפֶל מִמֶּנּוּ ...

If *any one* fall from it, ... (Deut. 22.8).

8. An unspecified third person verb ending

וַיְהִי אַחֲרַי הַדְּבָרִים הָאֵלֶּה
וַיֹּאמֶר לְיוֹסֵף ...

And then, after this *somebody* told Joseph: ... (Gen. 48.1).

9. דָּבָר

הֲיִשְׁלֵא מִיְהוָה דָּבָר

Is *anything* too hard for the Lord? (Gen. 18.14).

10. מְאוּמָה

וְאַל־תַּעַשׂ לוֹ מְאוּמָה

Do not do *anything* to him (Gen. 22.12).

§37. Numerals

§37.1. Introduction

Numerals express numbers and are dealt with as a separate word type on that basis. Numbers in the BH text are always written out in full.

On the basis of form and combination with other words, two kinds of numerals may be distinguished: cardinals and ordinals.

§37.2. Cardinals

1. Form of the cardinals

The numerals 1 to 19 have different forms when qualifying masculine and feminine words.

(i) The numerals 1 to 10

Status absolutus and *status constructus* forms may be differentiated with the numerals 1 to 10.

	With a masculine noun		With a feminine noun	
	St. abs.	St. cs.	St. abs.	St. cs.
1	אֶחָד	אֶחָד	אֶחַת	אֶחַת
2	שְׁנַיִם	שְׁנֵי	שְׁתַּיִם	שְׁתֵּי
3	שְׁלוּשָׁה	שְׁלוֹשָׁת	שְׁלוֹשׁ	שְׁלוֹשׁ
4	אַרְבָּעָה	אַרְבַּעַת	אַרְבַּע	אַרְבַּע
5	חֲמִישָׁה	חֲמִשָּׁת	חֲמִשׁ	חֲמִשׁ
6	שֵׁשָׁה	שֵׁשַׁת	שֵׁשׁ	שֵׁשׁ
7	שִׁבְעָה	שִׁבְעַת	שִׁבַּע	שִׁבַּע
8	שְׁמוֹנָה	שְׁמוֹנַת	שְׁמוֹנָה	שְׁמוֹנָה
9	תְּשֻׁעָה	תְּשֻׁעַת	תְּשֻׁעַ	תְּשֻׁעַ
10	עֲשָׂרָה	עֲשָׂרַת	עֲשָׂר	עֲשָׂר

(ii) The numerals 11 to 19

- a. The numerals 11 to 19 are simply combinations of the unit (1-9) and a form for 10 (as in English, thirteen, seventeen, etc.).
- b. The first component of the combination, the unit, takes a shortened form which usually looks like the *status constructus*.

	With a masculine noun	With a feminine noun
11	אֶחָד עָשָׂר	אֶחַת עָשָׂרָה
11	עֲשָׂרֵי עָשָׂר	עֲשָׂרֵי עָשָׂרָה
12	שְׁנַיִם עָשָׂר	שְׁתַּיִם עָשָׂרָה
12	שְׁנֵי עָשָׂר	שְׁתֵּי עָשָׂרָה
13	שְׁלוּשָׁה עָשָׂר	שְׁלוֹשׁ עָשָׂרָה
14	אַרְבָּעָה עָשָׂר	אַרְבַּע עָשָׂרָה
15	חֲמִישָׁה עָשָׂר	חֲמִשׁ עָשָׂרָה
16	שֵׁשָׁה עָשָׂר	שֵׁשׁ עָשָׂרָה
17	שִׁבְעָה עָשָׂר	שִׁבַּע עָשָׂרָה
18	שְׁמוֹנָה עָשָׂר	שְׁמוֹנָה עָשָׂרָה
19	תְּשֻׁעָה עָשָׂר	תְּשֻׁעָה עָשָׂרָה

(iii) The tens

The tens look like (masculine) plural forms of singular numbers.

20	עֲשָׂרִים	60	שְׁשִׁים
30	שְׁלוֹשִׁים	70	שִׁבְעִים

40	אַרְבָּעִים	80	שְׁמֹנִים
50	חֲמִשִּׁים	90	תְּשַׁעִים

(iv) Larger units (100, 1000 and 10,000)

The numerals for larger units have distinct singular, dual and plural forms. In the case of the singular and plural forms for 100 and 1000 there is also a *status constructus* form in addition to the normal *status absolutus* form. The word for 10,000 is not used much and there is no distinction between a *status absolutus* and a *status constructus* form.

		<i>St. abs.</i>	<i>St. cs.</i>
100		מֵאָה	מֵאוֹת
200	dual	מֵאוֹתַיִם	
	plural	מֵאוֹת	מֵאוֹת
1000		אַלְפֵי	אַלְפֵי
2000	dual	אַלְפַיִם	
	plural	אַלְפִים	אַלְפֵי
10,000		רְבוּ or רְבוּא or רִבְבָה	
20,000	dual	רְבוּתַיִם	
	plural	רְבוּת or רְבוּאוֹת	

(v) Compound numbers

Compound numbers are expressed by combinations of the above-mentioned cardinals. When a numeral between 3 and 10 combines with מֵאָה or רִבְבָה, it takes the form it would take with a feminine noun, and when it combines with אַלְפֵי, it takes the form it would take with a masculine noun. There is no rigid sequence for the different elements within the compound number. The following numbers will serve as examples:

31	שְׁלֹשִׁים וְאַחַת	2 Kgs 22.1
33	שְׁלוֹשִׁים וְשְׁלֹשִׁים	Ezek. 41.6
150	מֵאָה וְחֲמִשִּׁים	1 Chron. 8.40
212	מֵאוֹתַיִם וְשָׁנַיִם עָשָׂר	1 Chron. 9.22
250	חֲמִשִּׁים וְמֵאוֹת	2 Chron. 8.10
675	שֵׁשׁ מֵאוֹת חֲמִשׁ וּשְׁבַעִים:	Num. 31.37
2700	אַלְפִים וְשֶׁבַע מֵאוֹת	1 Chron. 26.32

42,360	אַרְבַּע רְבוּא אֲלָפִים שְׁלֹשׁ־מֵאוֹת וְשָׁנַיִם	Neh. 7.66
44,760	אַרְבָּעִים וְאַרְבַּעָה אֲלָף וְשִׁבְעֵי־מֵאוֹת וְשָׁנַיִם	1 Chron. 5.18

2. Syntax of the cardinals⁵¹

The cardinals can combine with nouns in the following ways:

(i) One

- a. The number *one* acts syntactically as an adjective. The numeral follows the noun and agrees with it in gender, number and definiteness. This *attributive* construction occurs only with the cardinal אֶחָד.

מִנְהָ אֶחָד one part (1 Sam. 1.5)
הַטּוֹר הָאֶחָד the *first* row (Exod. 39.10)

- b. The numeral in the *status constructus* can also stand before a noun in the *status absolutus* (as *postconstructus*). Only in the case of the numeral אֶחָד does the noun that follows a numeral in the *status constructus* take the article.

אֶחָד הַהַרְיָם one of the mountains (Gen. 22.2)

- c. The numeral אֶחָד in the *status absolutus* can also follow a noun in the *status constructus*. This combination is, however, rare.

מִשְׁפַּט אֶחָד one judgement (Lev. 24.22)

(ii) Two

- a. The number two acts as a *noun* and can be placed before or after the plural noun.

- b. The gender of the numeral two agrees with the gender of the noun with which it stands. This construction has all the characteristics of an *appositional* relationship. (Cf. §29.)

יְמֵי שְׁנָיִם two days (2 Sam. 1.1)⁵²

51. For a more exhaustive explanation of the syntax of numerals, see Richter 1979: 26.

52. Joüon–Muraoka §142c remarks: ‘This number (i.e. two, Van der Merwe *et al.*) has a nature which is less adjectival than that of אֶחָד, but more so than that of the other numbers.’

- c. If the numeral two is placed before the noun, it can also occur in the *status constructus* form.

שְׁנֵי בָּנִים two sons

The numeral two can also combine with a pronominal suffix.

שְׁנֵיהֶם the *two* of them (Est. 2.23)

(iii) 3-10

The numbers 3-10 act as nouns and can be placed before or after the plural form of the noun.

- a. *Reversed gender*: The numerals for the numbers 3 to 10 take the characteristic feminine ending (הַ) if the noun is masculine.

שְׁלֹשָׁה בָּנִים three sons (Gen. 29.34)

If the noun is feminine, the numeral has no ending (as is normally the case with masculine nouns).

- b. *Appositional relationship*: The numeral and a noun—both in the *status absolutus*—stand next to each other and have the form of an *appositional relationship*. Although the numeral *usually* precedes the noun, it often *also follows* the noun.

שְׁלֹשָׁה בָּנִים three sons (Gen. 29.34)

עָרִים אַרְבַּע four cities (Josh. 21.18)

- c. *Construct relationship*: The cardinals 3-10 in the *status constructus* can also stand before a noun in the *status absolutus*. The rules for agreement in gender between the numeral and the noun (as set out above) still apply. The noun is usually in the plural.

וּשְׁנֵי לְאָמִים two nations (Gen. 25.23)

שְׁלֹשֶׁת יָמִים three days (Josh. 2.16)

(iv) 11-19

Reversed gender: With the numbers 11 to 19 the tens always have the same gender as the noun, but the unit (1-9) has the opposite gender.

עָרִים שִׁשְׁעֵשְׂרֵה sixteen cities (Josh. 15.41)

(v) *Tens*

- a. The tens (20, 30, 40, etc.) are used with masculine and feminine nouns *without changing the form of the numerals*.

שְׁלֹשִׁים וּשְׁנַיִם מְלָכִים *thirty-two* kings (1 Kgs 20.1)

עָרִים אַרְבָּעִים וּשְׁמֹנֶה *forty-eight* cities (Josh. 21.41)

- b. With double-figure numbers *the units (1-9) or the tens (20, 30, 40 etc.) can be written first*.

- c. The tens *look like masculine plural forms of the singular numbers* and are used with masculine and feminine nouns without distinction.

(vi) *100 and 1000*

- a. מֵאָה (100) acts as a *feminine noun* and אֶלֶף (1000) as a *masculine noun*. They do not change form according to the gender of the accompanying noun. *These numerals always precede the noun*.

מֵאָה פְּעָמִים *a hundred* times (2 Sam. 24.3)

וּמֵאָה צֹאן *a hundred* sheep (1 Kgs 5.3)

אֶלֶף פְּעָמִים *a thousand* times (Deut. 1.11)

אֶלֶף גִּפְנֵי *a thousand* vines (Isa. 7.23)

- b. The cardinal 100 *in the status constructus* can also stand before a noun *in the status absolutus*. The rules for congruency in gender between the numeral and the noun (as set out above) still apply.

בֶּן־מֵאָת שָׁנָה *a hundred* years old (Gen. 11.10)

Note the following:

- (1) With numerals having a semantic value greater than 1 the noun is usually in the plural. The collective use of nouns with numerals is, however, common—especially with words such as אִישׁ, גִּפְשׁ, שָׁנָה, חֹדֶשׁ, יוֹם, עִיר, בְּקָר, לֶחֶם, נֶהָב, שָׁקָל and אֶמָּה. There are thus several examples of nouns in the singular with numerals greater than 1. Compare also the following two cases:

שְׁלֹשֶׁ־עֶשְׂרֵה עָרִים *thirteen* cities (Josh. 21.19)

שְׁלֹשֶׁ־עֶשְׂרֵה עִיר *thirteen* cities (Josh. 21.33)

- (2) In constructions including numeral the noun is usually *indefinite*, although there are exceptions.

שְׁלֹש־מֵאוֹת הַשּׁוֹפְרוֹת the *three hundred* trumpets (Judg. 7.22)

וְחִמְשָׁת עֶשֶׂר בְּנָיו his *fifteen* sons (2 Sam. 19.18)

(3) With compound numbers the noun is often *repeated*.

שְׁתַּיִם וְשִׁשִּׁים שָׁנָה וּמֵאוֹת שָׁנָה *hundred and sixty-two* years (Gen. 5.18)

שְׁתַּיִם וְשִׁמוֹנִים שָׁנָה וְשֶׁבַע מֵאוֹת שָׁנָה *seven hundred and eight-two* years (Gen. 5.26)

3. Semantic function of the cardinals

Cardinals can fulfil various semantic functions.

(i) The most common use is indicating *a specific number or quantity*.

שֶׁבַעַת בְּנָיו his *seven* sons (1 Sam. 16.10)

אַרְבָּעָה מְלָכִים אֶת־הַחֲמִשָּׁה *four* kings against *five* (Gen. 14.9)

(ii) The numeral אֶחָד is often used to mark an indefinite noun as *a certain specific someone/something*. (Cf. §24.4.)

אִישׁ אֶחָד מִן־רָמָתַיִם *a certain* man of Ramathaim (1 Sam. 1.1)

(iii) Cardinals are often used to *express priority*.

In the case of numerals greater than 10 priority can only be expressed by means of the cardinals as BH does not have separate ordinals for these numbers. If cardinals are used to express priority, they precede the noun. The numeral אֶחָד is an exception to this rule as it can stand in an attributive relationship to the noun.

הַטּוֹר הָאֶחָד the *first* row (Exod. 39.10)

וַיְהִי בְּאַרְבָּעִים שָׁנָה
בְּעֶשְׂתֵּי־עֶשֶׂר חֹדֶשׁ
בְּאֶחָד לַחֹדֶשׁ in the *fortieth* year, on the *first* day of
the *eleventh* month [lit. in the *eleventh*
month on the *first* day] (Deut. 1.3)

(iv) Cardinals are often used to *express multiples*—whether with the ordinary form of the numeral, or through a form of the numeral that looks like a dual.

פַּעַם וּשְׁתַּיִם once or *twice* (Neh. 13.20)

וְאֶת־הַכֶּבֶּשֶׂה יִשְׁלַם אַרְבַּעַתַּיִם And he shall restore the lamb *four-*
fold (2 Sam. 12.6).

(v) Cardinals are also used to express *distribution* by means of the following constructions (Cf. §24.3/2(iv) and §29.3/(viii).):

a. *repetition* of the numeral (and the noun)

שְׁנַיִם שְׁנַיִם two by two (Gen. 7.9)

b. by joining two numerals *with the conjunction* ׀ (Cf. §24.3/2(iv).)

וְאֶצְבָּעַת יָדָיו וְאֶצְבָּעַת רַגְלָיו six fingers on each hand, and six toes
שֵׁשׁ וְשֵׁשׁ on each foot (2 Sam. 21.20)

c. or with the *preposition* לְ (Cf. §39.11/4.)

אַחַת לְשָׁלֹשׁ שָׁנִים once every three years (1 Kgs 10.22)

§37.3. Ordinals

1. Form of the ordinals

Only the first ten numbers have separate forms for ordinals. Except for the ordinal 'first' all the other ordinals end in characteristically masculine and feminine forms.

	<i>Masculine</i>	<i>Feminine</i>
first	רִאשׁוֹן	רִאשׁוֹנָה
second	שֵׁנִי	שֵׁנִית
third	שְׁלִישִׁי	שְׁלִישִׁית
fourth	רְבִיעִי	רְבִיעִית
fifth	חֲמִישִׁי	חֲמִישִׁית
sixth	שֵׁשִׁי	שֵׁשִׁית
seventh	שְׁבִיעִי	שְׁבִיעִית
eighth	שְׁמוֹנִי	שְׁמוֹנִית
ninth	תְּשִׁיעִי	תְּשִׁיעִית
tenth	עֲשִׂירִי	עֲשִׂרִית

2. Syntax of the ordinals

Ordinals act as attributive adjectives. They follow the noun and agree with it in gender and definiteness.

בַּשָּׁנָה הַתְּשִׁיעִית בַּחֹדֶשׁ הָעֲשִׂירִי In the *ninth* year, in the *tenth* month
(Ezek. 24.1)

3. Semantics of the ordinals

Ordinals always express sequence or priority.

Chapter 6

THE OTHER WORD CLASSES

§38. Introduction

Apart from nominals and verbs traditional grammars also distinguish a third main word class, namely particles. Particles represent a class of words with diverse features. Most *traditional grammars* distinguish the following particles:

- prepositions,
- conjunctions,
- adverbs and
- interjections.

Since prepositions form a clearly determined class and are considered as a distinct word class, this grammar would rather refer to ‘other word classes’ than to particles. The *other word classes* include the following:

- prepositions
- conjunctions
- adverbs
- **predicators of existence (existential words)**
- interrogatives
- discourse markers
- interjections

For the purposes of this grammar the application of semantic and pragmatic criteria in distinguishing the different classes is useful. The different classes then provide the reader with a clear indication of the type of function that can be fulfilled by lexemes that belong to a certain class. The term ‘function’ is used here in preference to ‘meaning’ because the latter term suggests a specific lexical mean-

ing. The lexical meaning of most particles is usually very generic (general) and can be used by speakers to fulfil a variety of semantic or pragmatic functions.

§39. Prepositions

§39.1. Introduction

1. Morphology: prepositions plus pronominal suffixes

When BH employs a pronoun in a prepositional phrase, e.g. to *you*, under *her*, then the pronoun is affixed to the preposition as a pronominal suffix. This may be accomplished by the addition of the suffixes that are normally attached either to singular or to plural nouns. The following classes are distinguished on the basis of the suffixes and the morphological patterns of the prepositions + suffixes:

(i) Prepositions with the pronominal suffixes of *singular* nouns:

a. The prepositions **ב**, **ל**, **כ**, **אֶת**, **עִם**, **אֲצֵל**, **בְּנֵי** and **בְּעַד** decline with the suffixes attached to singular nouns.

<i>Person</i>	<i>Singular</i>		<i>Plural</i>	
1 m./f.	לִי	to me	לָנוּ	to us
2 m.	לְךָ	to you	לְכֶם	to you
2 f.	לְךָ	to you	לְכֶן	to you
3 m.	לוֹ	to him	לָהֶם	to them
3 f.	לָהּ	to her	לָהֶן	to them

b. Before the suffixes the prepositions **כ**, **אֶת** and **עִם** become **-כְּמוֹ-**, **-אֶת-** and **-עִמ-** respectively.

c. In certain cases the linking vowel between the preposition and the suffixes is a qāmeṣ, e.g. **לְכֶם** as opposed to **אֶתְכֶם**.

d. The bisyllabic prepositions such as **אֲצֵל** and **בְּנֵי** do not decline exactly like segholate nouns with / - / as stem vowel, for example, **בְּנֵי**. (Cf. §27.3.) However, **בְּעַד** declines like a segholate noun with / - / as stem vowel (i.e. an a-stem) and a guttural as middle consonant. (Cf. §27.3/6, Table 31.)

(ii) Prepositions with the pronominal suffixes of *plural* nouns

The prepositions אֶל, עַל, עִד, תַּחַת, אַחֲרַי and כְּבִיב decline with the suffixes attached to plural nouns.

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 m./f.	אֵלַי	to me	אֵלַינָו	to us
2 m.	אֵלַיְךָ	to you	אֵלַיְכֶם	to you
2 f.	אֵלַיְךָ	to you	אֵלַיְכֶן	to you
3 m.	אֵלָיו	to him	אֵלֵיהֶם	to you
3 f.	אֵלֶיהָ	to her	אֵלֵיהֶן	to you

- Before the suffixes the above prepositions become -אֶל-, -עַל- and -עִד- respectively.
- Before the suffixes, תַּחַת and אַחֲרַי react like segholate words with a / _ / as stem vowel and a guttural as middle consonant, for example, אַחֲרַי. (Cf. §27.3/6, table 31.) In some cases the š°wâ under the guttural is not replaced by a hāṭēp vowel, e.g. תַּחַתַּי.
- כְּבִיב reacts like a noun with a variable vowel in the first syllable, e.g. כְּבִיבַי. (Cf. §27.2/3, Table 23a.)

(iii) The preposition בֵּין with pronominal suffixes

The preposition בֵּין has a variable declension pattern in that it utilizes the suffixes of both singular and the plural nouns, e.g. בֵּינַי and בֵּינָו.

(iv) The preposition מִן with pronominal suffixes

The preposition מִן declines with the suffixes affixed to singular nouns.

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 m./f.	מִמֶּנִּי	from me	מִמֶּנּוּ	from us
2 m.	מִמֶּךָ	from you	מִמֶּכֶם	from you
2 f.	מִמֶּךָ	from you	מִמֶּכֶן	from you
3 m.	מִמֶּנּוּ	from him	מִמֶּהֶם	from them
3 f.	מִמֶּנָּה	from her	מִמֶּהֶן	from them

2. Morphology: prepositions prefixed to other words

(i) The prepositions בְּ, לְ and בִּי are *joined directly to the subsequent word*.

a. If the word begins with יָ, the two audible š^ewâs combine to form בִּי, יֵי or לֵי. (Cf. §8.1/1.)

בִּיהִנְדָּה plus בְּ = בִּיהִנְדָּה

b. If the word begins with any consonant other than יָ which is followed by a š^ewâ, the two audible š^ewâs combine to form a single closed syllable. (Cf. §8.1/1.)

בְּשִׂמְאוֹל plus בְּ = בְּשִׂמְאוֹל

c. If the noun begins with a guttural, which is followed by a ḥātêp vowel, the preposition takes the corresponding full vowel. (Cf. §8.1/1.)

בְּחֵלֹם plus בְּ = בְּחֵלֹם

d. The prepositions לְ and בְּ are sometimes vocalized with a / - / . This happens especially with words in which the first syllable is accented:

לְתַת plus לְ = לְתַת
 בְּזָה plus בְּ = בְּזָה
 לְבַטַח plus לְ = לְבַטַח

(ii) If a *definite article* is prefixed to the noun, *the preposition and the article combine*. (Cf. §24.4/2.)

לְ plus הַ = לְהַ (not לְהַ)

(iii) *The preposition מִן* may be attached directly to or written apart from the subsequent word. If it is attached directly to the subsequent word, the following rules apply:

a. The nun assimilates with the first consonant of the subsequent word. (Cf. §4.2/4(ii).) This consonant then doubles accordingly:

מִמְלֶךְ plus מִן = מִמְלֶךְ

b. If מִן is attached to a word beginning with a guttural or resh, the guttural cannot double. Compensatory lengthening then occurs. The / - / of מִן changes to / - - / (cf. §8.2/2):

מִמְעִיר plus מִן = מִמְעִיר

- c. If מִן is attached to a word beginning with a ך, then מִן and ך combine to form מִי:

מִיְהוּדָה plus מִן = מִיהוּדָה

3. Syntax

Prepositional phrases may be used in several syntactic positions. (Cf. §32.2.)

- (i) Prepositional phrases may function as *predicates* of nominal clauses.

אֲדָרִי בֵּין הַרְחֻבוֹת There is a lion *in (between)* the
streets (Prov. 26.13).

- (ii) Prepositional phrases can function as *complements*. (Cf. §32.1.)

- a. As *direct objects* (prepositional objects).

The prepositions ל, אֶל, and בְּ can mark the direct object.

וַיִּבְחַר בְּכֶם He chose *you* (Deut. 7.7).

- b. As *indirect objects*

The prepositions ל, אֶל, אֵת, and עַל can mark the indirect object.

לְזֶרְעֶךָ אֶתֵּן אֶת־הָאָרֶץ To *your descendants* I will give *this*
הַזֹּאת land (Gen. 12.7).

- c. As *complements of prepositional verbs*

וְהוּא נִלְחַם בְּמֶלֶךְ And he fought against the former
מֹאָב הָרִאשׁוֹן king of Moab (Num. 21.26).

- (iii) Prepositional phrases can function as *adjuncts*. (Cf. §32.1.)

- a. As *optional adverbial modifier*

וַיִּזְבַּח יַעֲקֹב זֶבַח בְּהָר And Jacob offered a sacrifice *on the*
mountain (Gen. 31.54).

- b. As *agents of a passive verb*. This can be marked by מִן, ל, בְּ.

שֹׁפֵךְ דַּם הָאָדָם בְּאָדָם Whoever sheds the blood of man—by
דָּמוֹ יִשְׁפָּךְ *man* shall his blood be shed (Gen.
9.6).

- (iv) Prepositional phrases can function as *adjectival qualifications*.

אִישׁ מִבֵּית לָחֶם יְהוּדָה a certain man *of Bethlehem, Judah*
(Ruth 1.1)

4. Semantics

Not all languages have prepositions like BH. The semantic relationships that are expressed by prepositions in BH are expressed by

other means in other languages, e.g. Xhosa. In BH the semantic relationship indicated by לְ can also be expressed by the so-called *he locale*. (Cf. §28.)

השליכו אֵתוֹ אֶל־הַבּוֹר הַזֶּה	Cast him into <i>this</i> pit (Gen. 37.22).
וַיִּשְׁלְכוּ אֵתוֹ הַבְּרָה	And they cast him into <i>the</i> pit (Gen. 37.24).

BH prepositions have the following semantic features:

(i) The relationships expressed by BH prepositions are limited. They usually express *spatial* relationships. Most of these could also apply to *temporal* relationships.

(ii) Three *degrees of semantic specialization* can be distinguished (Jenni 1992: 18):

a. Very general, e.g.

בְּ, לְ and מִן.

b. Less general with (especially spatial) oppositional pairs. e.g.

עַל	on	תַּחַת	under
לְפָנַי	before	אֲחֵרַי	after/behind
מִן	from	אֶל	to

c. More specialized

עַד	until
אַצְלַ	next to

Compound prepositions consisting of more than one preposition are also usually more specialized, e.g.

מֵעַל לְ at the top of

Note the following:

- (1) The predominantly semantic description of the prepositions offered here is in no way complete. It should cover about 80% of the cases in the Hebrew Bible. A dictionary should be used in conjunction with this grammar.⁵³
- (2) Some semantic functions that are attributed to prepositions are largely due to the verbs that govern those prepositions.

53. The works by Jenni (1992 and 1994) are a very useful source of information on the less specialized prepositions such as בְּ, לְ and מִן.

This feature of some prepositions has not been dealt with systematically.

§39.2. אַחַר and אַחֲרָי

1. Indicate spatial positioning (= localization)

The translation of the spacial equivalent of the preposition אַחֲרָי is ‘behind or after x’. It usually stands in opposition to לְפָנַי (‘before x’).

a. Locative: *behind*

הַנְּהַרְזָה עֹמֵד אַחַר קְתָלָנוּ: Behold, there he stands *behind* our wall (Song 2.9).

b. Metaphoric locative: *after*

וַיִּלְךְ אַחַר חַטָּאת יִרְבְּעָם And followed (*after*) the sins of Jeroboam (2 Kgs 13.2).

c. Localize a specific direction: *western side* (rare)

BH speakers sometimes express direction by referring to persons’ left or right side, or back or front as reference to the four wind directions. The ‘persons’ concerned are facing east. Their backs thus face west and their left indicates north.

וַיְנַחֵם אֶת־הַצֹּאֵן אַחַר הַמִּדְבָּר And he led his flock *to the west side* of the wilderness (Exod. 3.1).

2. Indicate temporal positioning: *after*

אַחַר הַדְּבָרִים הָאֵלֶּה *After these things* the word of the Lord came to Abram (Gen. 15.1).

§39.3. אֶל

1. Localizes the goal of a movement or process (usually with reference to a specific person or place).⁵⁴

The translation of the spacial equivalent of the preposition אֶל is ‘to x’. It usually stands in opposition to מִן ‘from x’.

a. Goal of some type of movement: *to, within*

וַתָּשָׁב אֵלָיו אֶל־הַתֵּבָה And she returned *to him* to the ark (Gen. 8.9).

54. For a discussion of the difference between אֶל and לְ, cf. Jenni 1992: 21-24.

b. Goal of **movement** in a metaphorical sense

לְהִיחַ עֵינֶיךָ פְּתוּחוֹת
אֶל־הַבַּיִת הַזֶּה

that your eyes may be open *toward*
this house (1 Kgs 8.29).

c. Goal of a **giving process**: *for, to*

וְנָתַן אֵלֶיךָ אוֹת

and gives *to* you a sign (Deut. 13.2).

d. Goal of a **saying process**: *to*

וַרְבֵּקָה אָמְרָה אֶל־יַעֲקֹב בְּנֵהּ

Then Rebekah said *to* her son Jacob
(Gen. 27.6).

e. Goal of an emotional process: *against*

לְסַפּוֹת עוֹד עַל חֲרוֹן
אַף־יְהוָה אֶל־יִשְׂרָאֵל

to increase still more the fierce anger
of the Lord *against* Israel (Num.
32.14).

2. Indicates the *joining together of entities (comitative)* (rare)(i) Indicates *accompaniment: together with*

וְלֹא־תִחַטְּאוּ לַיהוָה לֶאֱכֹל
אֶל־הַדָּם

And do not sin against the Lord by
eating (it) *with* the blood. (1 Sam.
14.34).

(ii) Indicates *addition to: to, with*

הוֹסַפְתָּ חֲכָמָה וְטוֹב
אֶל־הַשְּׂמוּעָה אֲשֶׁר שָׁמַעְתִּי

Your wisdom and prosperity surpass
the report which I have heard [lit.
you have added wisdom and pros-
perity *to* the report which I have
heard] (1 Kgs 10.7).

3. Indicates *spatial positioning: at* (rare)

וַיִּשְׁחַטְהוּהוּ אֶל־מַעְבְּרוֹת הַיַּרְדֵּן

And slew him *at* the fords of the Jor-
dan (Judg. 12.6).

4. Gives the *ground (motivational reason) upon which a certain process is based (like על)*

כִּי־הִתְאָבַב שָׁמוּאֵל אֶל־שָׁאוּל

but Samuel grieved *over* Saul (1 Sam.
15.35).

§39.4. אצל

Indicates *spatial positioning: beside*

The translation of the spacial equivalent of the preposition אצל is 'beside x'.

ושמו אצל המזבח: And put them *beside* the altar (Lev. 6.3).

§39.5. את

1. Indicates *spatial positioning: proximity to something else*

The translation of the spacial equivalent of the preposition את is 'with' or 'together with x'.

(i) Indicates *accompaniment*

ואתה ובניך אתך And you and your sons *with* you (Num. 18.2)

The 'accompaniment' sometimes has the connotation of *besides* x or *alongside* x.

לא תעשון אתי אלהי כסף You shall not make *alongside* me gods of silver (Exod. 20.23).

(ii) Indicates *localization: proximity, nearness*

והוא שב מן־הפסילים אשר את־הגלגל And he himself turned back at the sculptured stones *near* Gilgal (Judg. 3.19).

(iii) Indicates *possession*

מה אתנו? What have we? [lit. What is *with* us?] (1 Sam. 9.7).

2. Occurs after verbs that refer to processes during which people are dealt with

ככל אשר עשה אתכם במצרים לפניכם Just as he did *for* you in Egypt before your eyes (Deut. 1.30).

דבר האיש ... אתנו קשות The man ... spoke roughly *to* us (Gen. 42.30).

§39.6. ב

Approximately 60% of the cases where this preposition is used in the Hebrew Bible have a locative connotation while 15% have a tempo-

ral connotation. The examples below, however, attest to the fact that **ב** in BH has a more general meaning than ‘in’ or ‘within’. It is a preposition that is not very specialized semantically. (Cf. Jenni 1992 for further details.)

1. *Indicates localization*

The translation of the spacial equivalent of the preposition **ב** is more or less ‘in x’.

(i) Indicates *spatial localization*—the so-called *beth locale*

a. *In or at a place*

ושמואל שכב בהיכל יהוה And Samuel was lying down *in* the temple of the Lord (1 Sam. 3.3).

b. *On a place*

ויעבד יעקב זבח בהר And Jacob offered a sacrifice *on* the mountain (Gen. 31.54).

c. *Within a spatial area*

ואכלתה בשר ... בכל־שעריך And you may eat flesh ... *in* any of your towns (Deut. 12.15).

d. Indicates the *route* of a verb of movement: *through*

ויעברו בארץ־שלשה ולא מצאו And they [uncommon singular] passed *through* the land of Shalishah, but they did not find them (1 Sam. 9.4).

(ii) Indicates *localization within a group*

אודך בעמים אדני I will praise you, O Lord, *among* the nations (Ps. 57.10).

(iii) Localizes through: *indicating contact with an x*

a. Material contact: *person or thing*

אל־תהי ידי בו ותהיבו יד־פְּלִשְׁתִּים Let not my hand be *upon* him, but let the hand of the Philistines be *upon* him (1 Sam. 18.17).

b. *Social contact (often with verbs of ‘ruling’)*

אם־משול תמשל בנו Or are you indeed to have dominion over us? (Gen. 37.8).

c. *Spiritual contact*

וְגַם־בְּךָ יֵאֱמִינוּ לְעוֹלָם
And may they also believe *in* you for
ever (Exod. 19.9).

d. Contact with *part of a whole*—*partitive* (rare)

וְנִשְׂאוּ אִתְּךָ בְּמִשְׁאֵל הָעָם
And they will help you to bear
[*some of*] the burden of the people
(Num. 11.17).

2. *Indicates a temporal frame*

Indicates a time frame in which an event or state of affairs needs to be positioned: *in*

וְדַבְרֵי־יְהוָה הָיָה יָקָר בַּיָּמִים הָהֵם
And the word of the Lord was rare
in those days (1 Sam. 3.1).

The preposition בְּ + infinitive construct often refers to events that provide the temporal frame of an event or events referred to in a subsequent sentence. (Compare in contrast the preposition עַד + infinitive construct in §39.10/2.)

... בְּלִכְתּוֹךָ הַיּוֹם מֵעַמּוּדֵי
וּמִצְאֹתָ שְׁנֵי אָנָשִׁים ...
When you depart from me today
you will meet two men ... (1 Sam.
10.2).

3. Realizes an action by indicating one of the following:

(i) *Instrument*—the so-called *beth instrumenti*a. *Non-human instrument*

בְּשֶׁבֶט יִכּוּ עַל־הַלְחִי
אֵת שֹׁפֵט יִשְׂרָאֵל:
With a rod they strike upon the *cheek*
the ruler of Israel (Mic. 4.14).

b. *Human instrument or agent*

שֹׁפֵךְ דַּם הָאָדָם
בְּאָדָם דָּמוֹ יִשָּׁפַךְ
Whoever sheds the blood of man,
by man shall his blood be shed
(Gen. 9.6).

(ii) *Price*—the so-called *beth pretii*

תְּנֵה־לִּי אֶת־כַּרְמְךָ בְּכֶסֶף
Give me your vineyard *for* money
(1 Kgs 21.6).

(iii) *Joining together (comitative)*—the so-called *beth comitantiae*

וַתָּבֵא יְרוּשָׁלַיִם
בְּחֵיל קָבֵד מְאֹד
And she came to Jerusalem *with* a
very great retinue (1 Kgs 10.2).

(iv) *Cause*—the so-called *beth causa*

וּשְׂמַחְתָּ בְּכֹל הַטּוֹב אֲשֶׁר נָתַן לְךָ
יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ

And you shall rejoice *in* (or: *because of*) all the good which the Lord your God has given to you (Deut. 26.11).

כִּי כַפְיֵכֶם נִגְאַלּוּ בְּדָם

For your hands are defiled *with* blood (Isa. 59.3).

(v) *Manner* (rare)

בַּכִּים בְּקוֹל גָּדוֹל

(They) wept aloud [lit. with a large voice] (Ezra 3.12).

§39.7. בין

I. בין

The translation of the spatial equivalent of the preposition *בֵּין* is 'between x'.

Indicates *localization in a space: between two or more points*

וַהֲגִהָה חֲנוּר עֵשֶׂן וְלִפִּיד אֵשׁ אֲשֶׁר
עָבַר בֵּין הַקְּזָרִים הָאֵלֶּה

And behold, a smoking fire pot and a flaming torch passed *between* these pieces (Gen. 15.17).

II. בין ... בין

1. *Indicates localization in a space: between two or more points*

בֵּין בֵּית־אֵל וּבֵין הָעִי *between* Bethel and Ai (Gen. 13.3)

2. *Distinguishes different parties that are each actively involved in a process*

בְּרִית בֵּינִי וּבֵינְךָ בֵּין אָבִי
וּבֵין אָבִיךָ

a covenant *between* me *and* you, as *between* my father *and* your father (1 Kgs 15.19)

III. בין...ל

Distinguishes different objects

וַהֲבַדְלָתֶם בֵּין הַטְּהוֹרָה
לְטִמְאָה

You shall therefore make a distinction *between* the clean beast *and* the unclean (Lev. 20.25).

§39.8. בעד

1. Indicates localization

(i) After verbs that refer to a *process of closure*

וַיִּסְגְּרוּ בַעֲדָם And shut themselves *in* (Judg. 9.51).

Sometimes the reference is metaphorical.

כִּי־סָגַר יְהוָה בְּעַד רַחֲמָהּ because the Lord had closed her
womb (1 Sam. 1.6).

(ii) After verbs that refer to *movement through an opening: through*

וַתוֹרֵדֵם בַּחֶבֶל בְּעַד הַחַלּוֹן And she let them down by a rope
through the window (Josh. 2.15).

2. Indicates benefit to: *for the sake of, for (after verbs of supplication).*

כִּי־נָבִיא הוּא וְיִתְפַּלֵּל בְּעַדְךָ For he is a prophet, and he will pray
for you (Gen. 20.7).

§39.9. בעבור

1. Indicates grounds (*motive*)

אָרוּרָה הָאָדָמָה בְּעִבּוּרָךְ Cursed is the **ground** *because of* you
(Gen. 3.17).

2. Indicates purpose: *in order to*(i) As a *preposition*

הֲלוֹא בְּעִבּוּר חֶקְרָה
אֶת־הָעִיר וְלַרְגֹּלָהּ וְלַהֲפֹכָהּ
שֶׁלַח דָּוִד אֶת־עֲבָדָיו אֵלָיָךְ Has not David sent his servants to
you *to* search the city, and to spy it
out, and to overthrow it? (2 Sam.
10.3).

(ii) Also functions as *conjunction* (Cf. §40.7.)

§39.10. בְּ

The preposition בְּ indicates agreement and has no spatial connotation.

1. Indicates general agreement with respect to the following categories:

(i) *Sort or type*

וְהָיִיתָם כְּאֱלֹהִים יָדְעֵי טוֹב וָרָע And you will be *like* God, knowing
good and evil (Gen. 3.5).

(ii) *Manner or norm*

חַנּוּנֵי אֱלֹהִים כְּחַסְדְּךָ Have mercy on me, O God, *according to* your steadfast love (Ps. 51.3).

(iii) *Quantity*

וַהֲמָה כְּשָׁלֹשִׁים אִישׁ They were *about* thirty persons (1 Sam. 9.22).

2. *Indicates corresponding or precise agreement.*

The preposition is often repeated before the corresponding entities in order to indicate precise agreement.

מוֹת יוֹמָת ... כְּגַר כְּאֹזְרָח He shall be put to death; the sojourner *as well* the citizen ... (Lev. 24.16).

3. *Indicates a precise point on the time-line (temporal use)*

כִּי + infinitive construct is used to indicate that an event referred to in the main clause following the temporal clause with the כִּי + infinitive construct, *immediately follows it in time*. This use of כִּי + infinitive construct can be compared with כִּי + infinitive construct that provides the temporal frame of a subsequent event. (Cf. 39.6/2.)

וַיְהִי כְּהִזְכִּירוֹ אֶת־אָרוֹן הָאֱלֹהִים
וַיִּפֹּל מֵעַל־הַכִּסֵּא *The moment that he mentioned the ark of God, Eli fell ... from his seat* (1 Sam. 4.18).

§39.11. ל

The preposition ל has a very unspecialized meaning. It is a preposition that indicates a very general relationship between two entities that can at best be described as 'x *as far as* y *is concerned*'.

Syntactically a distinction is drawn between ל plus nouns or pronouns and ל plus infinitive construct forms.

ל thus does not necessarily have a spatial function expressing 'to'. This function is used metaphorically so often that ל has virtually lost its original meaning. The wide variety of relations in which ל is used is evidence of this. It is also typical that a preposition with such unspecialized content is used to mark relationships that are indicated in other languages by case markers/indicators. In BH ל is used especially to characterize relationships that are marked by the dative form in Latin and Greek. It is only in Late BH, under the influence of

Aramaic, that **ל** was supplanted by **ל** and **על** as the spatial locative 'to'.

I. **ל** plus nouns or pronouns

1. Indicates the goal of a process

The following distinctions can be made on the basis of **the process** being referred to:

a. Indicates the goal of a process of *movement towards*: *to*

וַיָּשָׁב לְמִקְוֵמוֹ וְגַם בָּלָק	And he went back <i>to</i> his place; and
הִלְךָ לְדַרְכּוֹ	Balak also went his way (Num. 24.25).

b. Indicates the goal of a process where something has been *transferred to*

אֶת־הַמֶּנֶה אֲשֶׁר נָתַתִּי לָךְ	the portion I gave <i>to</i> you (1 Sam. 9.23)
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c. Indicates the goal of a process during which a *new role* has been given to an entity (The opposite of **מִן**.) (Cf. §39.14/3.)

וַיִּתֵּן לוֹ אֶת־רַחֵל בְּתוּ	Then he gave him his daughter
לוֹ לְאִשָּׁה	Rachel <i>as</i> wife (Gen. 29.28).

d. Indicates the destination of a process of *saying*

אִילֵי יִגִּיד לָנוּ	Perhaps he can tell [<i>for</i>] us (1 Sam. 9.6).
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e. Indicates the direction of an emotional process

כִּי־נִכְסַף נִכְסַפְתָּה לְבַיִת	because you longed greatly <i>for</i> your
אָבִיךָ	father's house (Gen. 31.30).

f. Indicates the terminal point in time of a process

וְלֹא־יִלֵּין מִן־הַבֶּשֶׂר	Nor shall any of the flesh be kept
... לְבַקֵּר	overnight ... <i>until</i> the morning (Deut. 16.4).

2. Indicates specification

The following things are specified:

(i) *Topic* of an expression

וְלֹא־תִנּוּת הָאֲבֹדוֹת לָךְ הַיּוֹם	<i>As for</i> your asses that were lost three
שְׁלֹשַׁת הַיָּמִים	days ago, do not set your mind on
אֲלֵהֶם	them (1 Sam. 9.20).

לאֲרֵאִיתִי כְּהִנֵּה בְּכָל־אֶרֶץ
מִצְרַיִם לְרַע

Such as I had never seen in all the land of Egypt, *concerning* their ugliness (Gen. 41.19).

אִמְרֵי־לִי אֵהְיִי הוּא

Say of me: He is **my** brother (Gen. 20.13).

(ii) Norm

וְעַתָּה הִתְיַצְבוּ לִפְנֵי יְהוָה
לְשִׁבְטֵיכֶם

Now therefore present yourselves before the Lord *according to* your tribes (1 Sam. 10.19).

(iii) Detail

עַל־כָּל־הָאָרֶץ לְמַלְכֵי יְהוּדָה
לְשָׂרֵיהָ לְכֹהֲנֵיהָ וְלַעַם הָאָרֶץ

against the whole land, *against* the kings of Judah, *against* its princes, *against* its priests, and *against* the people of the land (Jer. 1.18)

3. Indicates the possessor in a relationship of possession

a. In a phrase (Cf. §25.3.)

וְתֹאבְדֵנָה הָאֲחֻנֹּת לְקִישׁ
אָבִי שְׂאוּל ...

When the asses *of* Kish, Saul's father, were lost ... (1 Sam. 9.3).

b. In a clause

בְּסֶפֶךָ זָהָבְךָ לִי־הוּא

Your silver and your gold **are mine** [lit. *to me it is*] (1 Kgs 20.3).

4. Indicates the greater whole in terms of which a distribution occurs

אַחַת לְשָׁלֹשׁ שָׁנִים תָּבוֹא
אֲנִי תַרְשִׁישׁ

Once *every three years* the fleet of Tarshish used to come (1 Kgs 10.22).

אִישׁ אֶחָד לְמִטָּה אֲבֹתָיו תִּשְׁלַחוּ

From each tribe of their fathers shall you send a man (Num. 13.2).

5. Indicates the semantic roles of an expression

(i) The agent of a passive verb

הֲלוֹא נִכְרִיזָתָּ בְּהַשְׁבֵּנוּ לּוֹ

Are we not regarded *by* him as foreigners? (Gen. 31.15).

(ii) The patient of an active verb

לְשַׁחַח לְעִיר בְּעִבּוּרִי

to destroy *the city* on my account (1 Sam. 23.10).

(iii) The *reflexive element of an agent* (the so-called ethical dative or *dativus ethicus*)

פָּנוּ וּלְכוּ לָכֶם לְאֹהֲלֵיכֶם Turn and go (*yourselves*) to your
tents (Josh. 22.4).

II. לְ plus infinitive

Should לְ precede an infinitive, it often bears the connotation of *purpose*. (Cf. §20.1.)

§39.12. לְמַעַן

1. *Indicates purpose: for the sake of, so that*

(i) As preposition

וַאֲרוֹחֵנוּ הוֹצִיא מִשָּׁם
לְמַעַן הֵבִיא אִתָּנוּ לְחַת לְנוּ
אֶת־הָאָרֶץ אֲשֶׁר נִשְׁבַּע לְאַבְתָּרֵינוּ

He brought us out from there, *so that*
he might bring us in and give us the
land which he swore to give our
ancestors (Deut. 6.23).

(ii) Also as *conjunction* (Cf. §40.13.)

2. *Indicates consequence—usually as conjunction* (Cf. §40.13.)

§39.13. לְפָנַי

1. *Indicates spatial positioning*

The translation of the spacial equivalent of the preposition לְפָנַי is ‘before *x*’. It often stands in opposition to אַחֲרָי ‘after/behind *x*’. The preposition נֶגְדִי is sometimes used as an alternative for לְפָנַי.

וַיִּשְׁתַּחוּ אֲבֹרָהִם
לְפָנַי עַם־הָאָרֶץ

Then Abraham bowed down *before*
the people of the land (Gen. 23.12).

2. *Indicates temporal positioning*

וְאֵכְלָהּ וְאַבְרַכְכָּה לְפָנַי וְהָיָה
לְפָנַי מוֹתִי

that I may eat it, and bless you *before*
the Lord *before* I die (Gen. 27.7).

§39.14. מִן

1. *Indicates spatial positioning: source*

The basic spatial function of the preposition מִן is **movement** ‘away from *x*’. It usually stands in opposition to אֶל ‘to *x*’.

a. *Place from where an action is undertaken*

וַיֵּעָלוּ מִשָּׁם And they have gone up *from* there
(1 Kgs 1.45).

b. *Person from whom something has come*

כִּי מִיְהוָה הִיָּתָה לּוֹ For it came to him *from* the Lord [lit.
For *from* the Lord it was for him]
(1 Kgs 2.15).

c. Sometimes a fixed expression is formed with לְ which is translated as: *at the northern side of*. Literally it means ‘*from the north for*’.

וַיִּשְׂמוּ הָעָם אֶת־כָּל־הַמַּחֲנֶה
אֲשֶׁר מִצְפוֹן לְעִיר So they stationed the forces, the main
encampment which was north *of* the
city (Josh. 8.13).

2. *Indicates temporal positioning: a point in time since when something happened*

מִיּוֹם יָדַעְתִּי אֶחְכֶּם *From* the day that I knew you (Deut.
9.24).

3. *Indicates alienation—a so-called privative*

a. Alienation of a role (opposite of לְ) (Cf. 39.11/1.)

וַיִּמְאַסְךָ מִמֶּלֶךְ He has rejected you *from* being king
(1 Sam. 15.23).

b. Alienation of a process (usually a threat)

וְאֵין נִסְתָּר מִחֶמְתּוֹ And there is nothing hid *from* its heat
(Ps. 19.7).

c. Alienation of an object

After verbs of fear or awe (usually before objects that pose some form of threat)

וּמִמְשָׁפֵיךָ יִרְאֵתִי And I stand in awe *of* your decrees
(Ps. 119.120).

4. *Indicates material from which something is made*

וַיֵּצֵר יְהוָה אֱלֹהִים מִן־הָאָדָמָה
כָּל־חַי הַשָּׂדֶה So *out of* the ground the Lord God
formed every beast *of the field* (Gen.
2.19).

5. Indicates cause of a situation

לא מרבכם מכל־העמים חשק
והיה בכם

It was not *because* you were more in number than any other people that the Lord set his love upon you (Deut. 7.7).

6. Indicates instrument

a. Non-human instrument

ולא־זכרת כל־בשר עוד
ממי המבול

All flesh shall not be cut off *by* the waters of a flood (Gen. 9.11).

b. Human instrument or agent

ואשה גרושה מאישה
לא יקחו

Neither shall they marry a woman divorced *by* her husband (Lev. 21.7).

7. Indicates part of a greater whole (partitive)

יצאו מן־העם ללקט

Some of the people went out to gather (Exod. 16.27).

הטוב והישר מבני אדניכם

the best and fittest *of* your master's sons (2 Kgs 10 3)

8. Indicates a comparison

The adjective in BH does not have comparative and superlative forms. (Cf. §30.5.) The comparative degree is expressed by the preposition מן. Stative verbs are often used in the place of adjectival nouns.

The following distinctions can be made with respect to comparisons:

(i) Positive comparison (*more than, greater than*)

חכם אתה מדניאל

You are wiser *than* Daniel (Ezek. 28.3).

The *adjective* on which the comparative מן is logically dependent is *sometimes omitted* and must then be assumed from the context.

ישר ממסוכה

The best of them is worse *than* a briar (Mic. 7.4).

(ii) Comparison of abilities

היפלא מיהיה דבר

Is anything too *hard for* the Lord? (Gen. 18.14).

(iii) *Exclusive comparison*

צָדִיקָה מִמֶּנִּי She is more righteous *than* I (Gen. 38.26).

§39.15. מִפְּנֵי

1. *Indicates spatial positioning: away from someone's immediate presence*

The translation of the spacial equivalent of the compound preposition מִפְּנֵי is 'away from the immediate presence of x'.

וַיֵּסַע עַמּוּד הַעָנָן מִפְּנֵיהֶם The pillar of cloud moved *from before* them (Exod. 14.19).

2. *Indicates a cause*

כִּי־מְלֹאָה הָאָרֶץ הַחַמַּס מִפְּנֵיהֶם For the earth is filled with violence *through* them (Gen. 6.13).

3. *Indicates alienation*

After verbs of fear the object usually holds *an immediate threat* to the subject of the verb.

וַיִּירָאוּ מִפְּנֵי פְּלִשְׁתִּים They were afraid *of* the Philistines (1 Sam. 7.7).

§39.16. נֶגֶד

Indicates spatial positioning

The spatial translation equivalent of the preposition נֶגֶד is 'before or against x'.

וַיַּחֲנֹךְ־שָׁם יִשְׂרָאֵל נֶגֶד הַהָר And there Israel encamped *before* the mountain (Exod. 19.2).

§39.17. סָבִיב

Indicates spatial positioning

The translation of the spacial equivalent of the preposition סָבִיב is 'around x'.

וַתְּהִינָה הָעָרִים הָאֵלֶּה עִיר עִיר וּמִגְרָשֶׁיהָ סָבִיב־תִּיהָ These cities had each its pasture lands *round* it (Josh. 21.42).

§39.18. עַד

1. *Indicates spatial positioning: Marks a point up to which a movement occurs*

The translation of the spacial equivalent of the preposition עַד is 'up to x' (a so-called allative).

וַיָּבֹאוּ עַד־הָרַן They came *to* Haran (Gen. 11.31).

2. *Indicates temporal positioning: a point in time up to which events occur*

שֵׁם־הָעִיר בְּאֵר שֶׁבַע עַד הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה The name of the city is Beersheba *to* this day (Gen. 26.33).

3. *Indicates the degree to which is gone in an event*

לֹא נִשְׁאַר עַד־אֶחָד Not *even* a single man **was left** (Judg. 4.16).

4. *Indicates the goal of a process (rare)*

וְעָרִיכֶם אֶתְבוֹנֶן I gave *you* my attention (Job 32.12).

§39.19. עַל

1. *Indicates spatial positioning*

The translation of the spacial equivalent of the preposition עַל is 'on x' or 'above x'. It usually stands in opposition to תַּחַת 'under x'. The following distinctions may be drawn:

(i) *Singular locative: on, on top of*

שָׁכַב עַל־מִשְׁכְּבֶךָ Lie down *on* your bed (2 Sam. 13.5).

(ii) *Comprehensive locative: above*

תָּנָה הַדּוֹדָךְ עַל־הַשָּׁמַיִם You have set your glory *above* the heavens (Ps. 8.2).

(iii) *Contingent locative: at, next to (rare)*

וַשְׁנֵיהֶם עֹמְדֵי עַל־הַיַּרְדֵּן And they both were **standing by** the Jordan (2 Kgs 2.7).

(iv) *Metaphorical locative*

וַיּוֹאֵב בֶּן־זְרוּיָהּ עַל־הַצָּבָא And Joab the son of Zeruiah **was over** the army (2 Sam. 8.16).

וְעָלִי לָתֶת לְךָ עֲשָׂרָה כֶּסֶף

It was/would have been my responsibility [lit. *on me it would have been to give ...*] to give you ten pieces of silver (2 Sam. 18.11).

2. Indicates the goal of a process (rare)

עַל is in some of these cases a variant form of אֵל.

וַיִּקְצַף פַּרְעֹה עַל שְׁנֵי סָרִיסָיו

And Pharaoh was angry with his two officers (Gen. 40.2).

3. Indicates the joining together of entities

(i) Indicates accompaniment (rare)

וַיָּבֹאוּ הָאֲנָשִׁים עִלְ-הַנָּשִׁים

The men came *along with* the women (Exod. 35.22).

(ii) Indicates addition to (rare)

כִּי־יִסְפְּנוּ עַל־כָּל־חַטָּאתֵינוּ רָעָה

For we have added this evil *to* all our sins (1 Sam. 12.19).

4. Indicates specification

The following are specified:

(i) Topic

וְאֲנִי שָׁמַעְתִּי עֲלֶיךָ

And I myself have heard it said of you (Gen. 41.15).

וְעַל הַשְּׁנוֹת הַחֲלוֹם
אֶל־פַּרְעֹה שֶׁעָמְדוּ
כִּי־נִכּוֹן הַדְּבָר מֵעַם הָאֱלֹהִים

And *concerning* the fact that Pharaoh's dream was repeated twice; it is because the matter has been established by God (Gen. 41.32).

(ii) Norm (rare)

הַבְּרִית אֲשֶׁר כָּדַת יְהוָה עִמָּכֶם
עַל כָּל־הַדְּבָרִים הָאֵלֶּה

The covenant which the Lord has made with you *in accordance with* all these words (Exod. 24.8).

5. Indicates cause

הִנֵּה מֵת עַל־הָאִשָּׁה אֲשֶׁר־לָקַחְתָּ

Behold, you are a dead man, *because of* the woman whom you have taken (Gen. 20.3).

§39.20. עם

1. *Indicates the joining together of entities (comitative)*

The translation of the spacial equivalent of the preposition עם is 'with x'.

(i) *Indicates accompaniment*

וַיֹּאכְלוּ וַיִּשְׁתּוּ הוּא וְהָאָנָשִׁים
אֲשֶׁר־עִמּוֹ And he and the men who were *with*
him ate and drank (Gen. 24.54).

(ii) *Indicates addition to*

עִם־עָרֵיהֶם הִחָרִימָם יְהוֹשֻׁעַ Joshua utterly destroyed them *with*
their cities (Josh. 11.21).

2. *Indicates the direction of an action*

וַעֲשֵׂה־חֶסֶד עִם אֲבִרְהָם And show steadfast love *to* my mas-
ter Abraham (Gen. 24.12).

3. *Indicates spatial positioning*

The following distinctions can be made:

(i) *Proximity to*

וַיֵּשֶׁב יִצְחָק עִם־בְּאֵר לַחַי רֹאִי And Isaac dwelt *at* Beer-lahai-roi
(Gen. 25.11).

(ii) *Metaphorical use of the locative: in*

וַיִּדְעַתָּה עִם־לִבְבְּךָ Know then *in* your heart (Deut. 8.5).

§39.21. תַּחַת

1. *Indicates spatial positioning*

The spatial translation equivalent of the preposition תַּחַת is 'under x'. It usually stands in opposition to על 'on top of x'.

(i) *Under*

וַיִּכְסּוּ כָּל־הַהָרִים הַגְּבוּהִים
אֲשֶׁר־תַּחַת כָּל־הַשָּׁמַיִם So that all the high mountains *under*
the whole heaven were covered
(Gen. 7.19).

(ii) *Metaphorical use of the locative: under*

וַיִּצְבְּרוּ־בָרִךְ תַּחַת יַד־פַּרְעֹה And let them store up grain *under* the
authority of Pharaoh (Gen. 41.35).

(iii) *On the spot* (rare)

וְעַמַּדְנוּ תַּחְתֵּינוּ

Then we will stand still *in our place*
(1 Sam. 14.9).

2. Indicates substitution

וְנָתַתָּה חַיִּים תַּחַת חַיִּים

Then you shall give *life for life*
(Exod. 21.23).

§40. Conjunctions

§40.1. Introduction

There are two classes of conjunctions, namely, co-ordinating and subordinating conjunctions. (Cf. 11.5.)

- *Co-ordinating conjunctions* are conjunctions that link syntactically equal entities, whether they be clauses, or parts of a word chain. (Cf. §31.2.) In BH only וְ, וַ, וּ and אִם can be regarded as fully co-ordinating conjunctions. אֲשֶׁר and כִּי are only sometimes used in a co-ordinating way.
- *Subordinating conjunctions* are conjunctions that introduce clauses, which as a rule, cannot be used to carry out a speech act. A distinction can be made between (1) complementary conjunctions, which introduce clauses, for example, an object clause, and (2) supplementary conjunctions. In BH subordinate clauses often have the same syntactic structure as co-ordinating clauses. It is thus sometimes difficult to distinguish between co-ordinating conjunctions and subordinating conjunctions.

§40.2. אָבָל

1. Marks opposition (*adversative*)

Indicates the opposite of an expectation raised by an immediately preceding expression (co-ordinating conjunction)

הָאֲנָשִׁים אֲשֶׁר הָיוּ עִמִּי לֹא
רָאוּ אֶת-הַמְּרֹאָה אָבָל חִרְדָּה
גְּדֹלָה נִפְלְאָה עֲלֵיהֶם

The men who were with me did not
see the vision, *but* a great trembling
fell upon them (Dan 10.7).

2. Also functions sometimes as a modal word (Cf. §41.3/2.)

§40.3. וְ

1. Lists alternatives (co-ordinating conjunction)

The alternatives are usually *nominal entities*. When alternative *actions* are involved וְ is used more often. (Cf. §40.5/3.) The distribution of וְ is as follows:

(i) וְ precedes the second alternative only.

וְכִי יִגַּח שׁוֹר אֶת־אִישׁ אִוְ	When an ox gores a man <i>or</i> a woman
אֶת־אִשָּׁה וְנָתַח	to death (Exod. 21.28)

(ii) וְ precedes *all the alternatives*. It then functions as a double conjunction. (Cf. §31.1/3(ii).)

A speaker uses this double conjunction in order to specify that *all the alternatives* preceded by וְ are of particular importance in the context in which they occur. (Cf. §41.4/5.2(ii).)

כִּי־פָשַׁח הִנֵּנִי בַבְּגָד אֶרְבִּשְׁתִּי	If the disease has spread in the garment, or in warp, <i>or</i> in the wool, <i>or</i> in the skin, (Lev. 13.51)
אֶרְבִּעַרְבּ אִו בְּעוֹר	

§40.4. אֲשֶׁר/אֲשֶׁר

1. Introduce the apodosis of a condition (subordinating conjunctions) (rare)

אֲחֻלִּי אֲדַנִּי לְפָנַי הַנְּבִיא אֲשֶׁר	Would that my lord were with the prophet who is in Samaria! <i>Then</i> he would cure him of his leprosy (2 Kgs 5.3).
בְּשִׁמְרוֹן אֲזוּ יֵאָסֶף אֹתוֹ מִצְרַעְתּוֹ	

2. Introduce a clause that refers to events that are a logical implication of what was referred to in a preceding clause

יִשְׁנֶה אֲזוּ יִנּוּחַ לִי	I would be asleep; <i>then</i> I would be at rest (Job 3.13).
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3. Function usually as an ordinary adverb with a deictic character (Cf. §41.2/1.)

§40.5 אִם

1. Introduces a real condition (subordinating conjunction)

אִם־אֶמְצֵא בְּסוּדֹם חֲמִשִּׁים	If I find at Sodom fifty righteous in the city, I will spare the whole place for their sake (Gen. 18.26).
צְדִיקִים בְּתוֹךְ הָעִיר	
וְנִשְׂאתִי לְכָל־הַמָּקוֹם בְּעַבְדֵּם	

2. Introduces a concession (subordinating conjunction)

אִם־צָדִיקָתִי לֹא אֶעֱנֶה *Though* I am innocent, I **cannot**
answer him (Job 9.15).

3. Introduces an alternative (co-ordinating conjunction)

(i) *Only the second alternative is preceded by* אִם

הֲתָבוֹא לְךָ שָׁבַע שָׁנִים רָעָב
בְּאַרְצְךָ וְאִם־שְׁלֹשָׁה חֳדָשִׁים גָּסַד
לְפָנֶיךָ רִיד Shall three years of famine come to
you in your land? *Or* will you flee
three months before your foes while
they pursue you? (2 Sam. 24.13).

(ii) אִם precedes *both alternatives*. It then functions as a double conjunction. (Cf. §31.1/3(iii).)

A speaker uses this double conjunction to indicate that *both alternatives* preceded by אִם are of particular importance in the context in which they occur. (Cf. §41.4/5.2(ii).)

וּבְחֵי הַזֶּבֶחַ אִם־שׂוֹר אִם־שֶׁה Those offering a sacrifice, *whether* it
be ox *or* sheep (Deut. 18.3).

4. Also functions as a modal word (Cf. §41.3/6.)

(i) Marks a process *that will not occur* (primarily in a sworn oath)

כִּי־חַי וְכִי־נַפְשְׁךָ As you live, and as your soul lives, I
אִם־אֲעֲשֶׂה אֶת־הַדְּבָר הַזֶּה *will* not do this thing! (2 Sam.
11.11).

(ii) With לֹא marks a process *that will occur* (primarily in a sworn oath)

וַיִּשְׁבַּע מֹשֶׁה בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא
לֵאמֹר אִם־לֹא הָאָרֶץ אֲשֶׁר
דָּרְכָה רַגְלֶךָ בָּהּ לְךָ תִּהְיֶה
לְנַחֲלָה לְבָנֶיךָ עַד־עוֹלָם And Moses swore on that day, say-
ing, *Surely* the land on which your
foot has trodden shall be an inheri-
tance for you and your children for
ever (Josh. 14.9).

§40.6. אֲשֶׁר

1. Functions normally as a relative pronoun (Cf. §36.3.)

וּמִפְרֵי הָעֵץ אֲשֶׁר בְּתוֹךְ־הַגֶּן from the fruit of the tree *which* is in
the midst of the garden (Gen. 3.3)

2. Introduces an object clause, especially after verbs of observation and mental processes (rare) (subordinating conjunction)

וַיֵּרָא שָׂאוּל אֲשֶׁר־הוּא מְשֻׁבֵּל מָאד And when Saul saw *that* he had great
success (1 Sam. 18.15).

3. *Introduces a result (rare) (subordinating conjunction)*

הִנֵּה נָתַתִּי לְךָ לֵב חָכֵם וְגִבּוֹן
אֲשֶׁר כְּמוֹךָ לֹא־הָיָה לְפָנַיִךְ

Look, I give you a wise and discerning mind [lit. heart], *so that* there has been none like you before you (1 Kgs 3.12)

4. *Introduces a purpose (rare) (subordinating conjunction)*

וְשָׁמַרְתָּ אֶת־חֻקָּיו וְאֶת־מִצְוֹתָיו
אֲשֶׁר אֲנִי מְצַוֶּה הַיּוֹם אֲשֶׁר
יִשָּׁב לְךָ וּלְבָנֶיךָ אַחֲרָיִךְ

Therefore you shall keep his statutes and his commandments, which I command you this day, *that* it may go well with you, and with your children after you (Deut. 4.40).

5. *Indicates a cause (rare) (subordinating conjunction)*

נָתַן אֱלֹהִים שְׂכָרִי
אֲשֶׁר־נָתַתִּי שְׂפָחָתִי לְאִישִׁי

God has rewarded me *because* I gave my maid to my husband (Gen. 30.18).

6. *Introduces a motivation (rare) (subordinating conjunction)*

מֵעַמְלֵקֵי הַבְּיָאוֹם אֲשֶׁר חָמַל
הָעָם עַל־מִיּוֹשֵׁב הַצֹּאן וְהַבָּקָר

They have brought them from the Amalekites; *for* the people spared the best of the sheep and of the oxen (1 Sam. 15.15).

7. *Introduces a real condition (rare) (subordinating conjunction)*

אֲשֶׁר תִּשְׁמַעְנוּ אֶל־מִצְוֹת יְהוָה
אֱלֹהֵיכֶם אֲשֶׁר אֲנִי מְצַוֶּה
אִתְּכֶם הַיּוֹם

If you obey the commandments of the Lord your God, which I command you this day (Deut. 11.27)

8. *Introduces direct speech (rare) (subordinating conjunction)*

וַיֹּאמֶר שְׂאוּל אֶל־שָׁמּוּאֵל
אֲשֶׁר שָׁמַעְתִּי בְקוֹל יְהוָה

And Saul said to Samuel: I have obeyed the voice of the Lord (1 Sam. 15.20).

§40.7. בעבור

1. *Introduces a purpose*

As subordinating conjunction

בְּעֵבֹר תֵּדַע כִּי אֵין כְּמוֹנִי
בְּכָל־הָאָרֶץ

that you may know that there is none like me in all the earth (Exod. 9.14).

2. Also functions as a preposition (Cf. §39.9.)

§40.8. ׀

Only the so-called waw copulative will be dealt with here. Compare §21 for the waw consecutive. When ׀ is affixed to a word it sometimes takes on variant forms. (Cf. §31.1/1.)

1. Joins syntactic similar entities, that is, words, constituents or clauses (co-ordinating conjunction)

(i) Joins entities in a list: and

a. Every entity (or only the last entity in the list) may be preceded by ׀

כִּי אָנֹכִי נָתַתִּי לָהּ הַדָּגָן
וְהַתִּירֹשׁ וְהַיַּיִן וְהַשֶּׁמֶן

that I gave her the grain, the wine,
and the oil (Hos. 2.10)

כָּל־מְשׁוּשָׁה חֲגֵה חֲדָשָׁה
וְשַׁבָּתָהּ וְכָל מוֹעֵדָהּ

all her mirth, her feasts, her new
moons and her sabbaths, and all her
appointed feasts (Hos. 2.13)

b. Sometimes both the first and the second entity of a word chain are preceded by ׀. It is then regarded as a double conjunction. (Cf. §31.1/3.)

A speaker uses this double conjunction to indicate that both the entities preceded by ׀ are of particular importance in the context in which they occur. (Cf. §41.4/5.2.)

וּבִישְׂרָאֵל וּבְאָדָם

both in Israel and among humanity
(Jer. 32.20)

c. Sometimes two words form a type of fixed compound. (If the words that is preceded by ׀ is short then ׀ is used instead of ׀.)

טוֹב וָרָע

good and evil (Gen. 2.17)

(ii) Joins alternatives in a list: or

לֹא־תַעֲשֶׂה כָּל־מְלָאכָה אַתָּה
וּבְנֶךְךָ וּבַתֶּךָ עַבְדְּךָ וְאַמְתֶּךָ
וּבַהֲמָתֶךָ וּגְרֶךָ אֲשֶׁר בַּשְּׁעָרֶיךָ

You shall not do any work, you, or
your son, or your daughter, your
manservant, or your maidservant, or
your cattle, or the sojourner who is
within your gates (Exod. 20.10).

(iii) Joins clauses that refer to events that will occur one after the other, in other words it links sequential events. (rare)

וְכָל־הָעָם יִשְׁמְעוּ וְיִרְאוּ

And all the people shall hear, and
fear (Deut. 17.13).

(iv) Joins clauses in which the content of the clause with ׀ is *contrasted* with that of the other: *but*

נחמתי כי עשיתם ונח מצא חן בעיני יהוה	I am sorry that I have made them. <i>But</i> Noah found favour in the eyes of the Lord (Gen. 6.7-8).
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(v) Links two entities in a word chain that form *a hendiadys* (rare)

הברית והחסד	the covenant of <i>grace</i> (Deut. 7.9)
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2. Joins dissimilar clauses (subordinating conjunction)

(i) Joins clauses in which the content of the clause with ׀ refers to the *purpose* of the content of the preceding clause (Cf. also §21.5.)

אסרה נא ואראה את המראה הגדל הנה	I must go across <i>to see</i> this great sight (Exod. 3.3).
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(ii) Joins clauses in which the content of the clause with ׀ alludes to the *result* of the content of the preceding clause

זאת עשי וחי	Do this <i>and</i> you will live (Gen. 42.18).
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(iii) Joins clauses in which the content of the clause with ׀ refers to *circumstances* that prevailed at the same time as those described in the other clause

רבקה יצאת ... וברכה על-שכמה	Rebekah came out ... with her water jar upon her shoulder (Gen. 24.15).
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(iv) Joins clauses in which the content of the clause with ׀ refers to a *motivation* for the other

גדר לא תלחץ ואהם ידעום את-נפש הגר	You shall not oppress a stranger <i>for</i> you know the heart of a stranger (Exod. 23.9).
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(v) Joins clauses in which the content of the clause with ׀ refers to *background information* necessary for understanding the other one better

גאל-לך אתה את-גאולתי כי לא-אוכל לגאל: וזאת לפנים בישראל על-הגאולה	Take my right of redemption your- self, for I cannot redeem it. <i>Now</i> this was the custom in former times in Israel concerning redeeming (Ruth 4.6-7).
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(vi) Joins clauses in which the content of the clause with ׀ refers to a *comparison* with the other clause (rare)

הִדְלִיתָ תְּסוּבַּת עַל־צִירָהָּ	As a door turns on its hinges, so does
וְעַצֵּל עַל־מִטָּתוֹ	a sluggard on his bed (Prov. 26.14).

(vii) Joins clauses in which the content of the clause with ׀ *describes more fully* the content of the preceding one (the so-called epexegetical waw)

כִּי־גוֹי אֲבָד עֲצוֹת הָמָה	For they are a nation void of counsel,
וְאֵין בָּהֶם תְּבוּנָה	there is no understanding in them
	(Deut. 32.28).

3. The apparently superfluous use of ׀ (rare)

וַחֲשַׁב תָּמַר וְשִׁמְמָהּ	So Tamar dwelt, a desolate woman
	(2 Sam. 13.20).

§40.9. כִּי

I. כִּי + Main Clause

1. *Introduces the protasis of a condition and may then be translated if (subordinating conjunction)*

וְכִי־יִגַּח שׁוֹר אֶת־אִישׁ אִו	If an ox gores a man or a woman to
אֶת־אִשָּׁה וְמָת סָקוּל יִסְקַל הַשׁוֹר	death, the ox shall be stoned (Exod.
	21.28).

In legal texts כִּי often does not stand at the beginning of the clause.

אִשָּׁה כִּי תִזְרִיעַ וְיָלְדָה	If a woman conceives, and bears a
זָכָר וְשִׁמְמָהּ שִׁבְעַת יָמִים	male child, then she shall be unclean
	seven days (Lev. 12.2).

כִּי and אִם are sometimes apparently used as synonyms. However, כִּי normally precedes the *general conditions* and אִם *the details* of these general conditions.

2. *Introduces a temporal clause that refers to a process occurring simultaneously with the main clause (subordinating conjunction). In such cases כִּי may be translated when.*

The distinction between a temporal clause and a conditional clause is sometimes vague. A temporal clause is one that usually refers to a process that has a good chance of being realized.

כִּי יביאךָ יהוה אֱלֹהֶיךָ
אֶל־הָאָרֶץ ... וְהִבִּיתֶם
סָהַרְסָה תַּסְהִיבֵם אֹתָם

When the Lord your God brings you into the land ... and you defeat them, then you must utterly destroy them (Deut. 7.1-2).

3. Introduces the cause⁵⁵ of a condition or process (subordinating conjunction)

כִּי עָשִׂיתָ זֹאת אָרוּר אַתָּה

Because you have done this, cursed are you (Gen. 3.14).

The reason that the clause referring to the cause comes first in the clause is that the speaker/narrator wishes to remove any doubt about the specific cause of a situation.

II. Main clause + כִּי

1. Introduces an object clause after the following verbs: רָאָה, שָׁמַע, יָדַע, רָאָה, זָכַר, נָגַד, שָׁבַע, וְעוֹד. It may then be translated that (subordinating conjunction).

יָדַע כִּי־מוֹת תָּמוּת

Know that you shall surely die (Gen. 20.7).

2. Marks a clause that provides a reason (co-ordinating conjunction)

(i) Provides the reason for a state of affairs by marking the *actual reason* with כִּי. The causal relation is due to natural laws. כִּי may be translated *because*.

וְכָל־שִׁיחַ הַשָּׂדֶה טָרִם
יְהִיָה בְּאֶרֶץ וְכָל־עֵשֶׂב הַשָּׂדֶה
טָרִם יִצְמַח כִּי לֹא־הִמְטִיר
יְהוָה אֱלֹהִים עַל־הָאָרֶץ

When no plant of the field was yet in the earth and no herb of the field had yet sprung up, *for* the Lord God had not caused it to rain upon the earth (Gen. 2.5).

⁵⁵ In some contexts it is not clear whether a temporal or causal relation is involved, e.g. Judg. 2.18 and Ps. 32.3. Sometimes כִּי is preceded by יַעַן (1 Kgs 13.21), תַּחַת (Deut. 4.37) or עִקְבָּב (Amos 4.12) to confirm that a causal relation is indeed involved.

(ii) Provides the reason for a preceding expression or expressions by marking with כִּי the *motivation given by speakers* to explain something they have said. The causal relation is thus not due to natural laws but is due to the speaker's own reasoning. כִּי can usually also be translated *for*.

a. Speakers base their motivation for an *assertion* on their *interpretation* of events.

וַיֹּאמֶר נָתָן אֲדֹנָי הַמֶּלֶךְ
 אַתָּה אָמַרְתָּ אֲדֹנָיְהוּ יִמְלֹךְ
 אַחֲרָי וְהוּא יֹשֵׁב עַל־כִּסְאִי:
 כִּי יָרַד הַיּוֹם וַיִּזְבַּח שׁוֹר
 וַיִּמְרֵא וַיִּזְצֵא לְרֵב וַיִּקְרָא
 לְכָל־בְּנֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ וְלְשָׂרֵי
 הַצָּבָא וְלְאַבְיָתָר הַכֹּהֵן

And Nathan said, 'My lord the king, have you said, 'Adonijah shall reign after me, and he shall sit upon my throne'? For he has gone down this day, and has sacrificed oxen, fatlings, and sheep in abundance, and has invited all the king's sons, the commanders of the army, and Abiathar the priest' (1 Kgs 1.24-25).

b. Speakers base their motivation for a *directive action* (request, command, summons, exhortation, etc.) on *what they or someone else is doing, has done or will do*.

וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה אֶל־מֹשֶׁה
 אַל־תִּירָא אֹתוֹ
 כִּי בְרַדְדָּךְ נָתַתִּי אֹתוֹ

But the Lord said to Moses, 'Do not fear him, for I have given him into your hand' (Num. 21.34).

c. Speakers motivate a whole argument or series of statements by means of כִּי. In such cases translators are inclined to leave כִּי untranslated because it does not entirely make sense on a grammatical level. In Ps. 1 the psalmist gives the reason in verse 6 for what is said in verses 1-5. In this way the psalmist *provides evidence* for the assertions made in verses 1-5.

כִּי־יִדְעַשׂ יְהוָה דְרָךְ
 צְדִיקִים וְדֶרֶךְ רָשָׁעִים
 תִּאבֵד:

For the Lord knows the way of the righteous, but the way of the wicked will perish (Ps. 1.6).

In cases where it is clear that speakers consider the grounds on which they base their motivation are difficult to contest, thus suggesting *the force of their conviction*, one can translate כִּי 'in fact, the fact of the matter'.

וְעַתָּה הַשֵּׁב אִשְׁתֵּי־הָאִישׁ
 כִּי־נָבִיא הוּא וְיִתְפַּלֵּל בְּעַדְךָ

Now then restore the man's wife; *in fact*, he is a prophet, and he will pray for you (Gen. 20.7).

If speakers believe that their motivation contains information that is generally known, ׀ may be translated *after all*, for example, Jer 1.6, 'I cannot speak for, after all, I am too young'. In a secondary communication situation such as the one in which modern interpreters of the Hebrew Bible find themselves, however, it is very difficult to track down such pragmatic information.

3. Expresses a counter-statement after a negative statement. Then ׀ may be translated as *but* (co-ordinating conjunction)

שְׂרַי אִשְׁתְּךָ לֹא-תִקְרָא אֶת-שְׁמָהּ שְׂרַי כִּי שְׂרָה שְׁמָהּ	As for Sarai your wife, you shall not call her name Sarai, <i>but</i> Sarah shall be her name (Gen. 17.15).
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׀ is sometimes used instead of ׀. With ׀ the speakers make it very clear that not only is an alternative involved, but that it is the *only possible alternative*.

לֹא יִקְרָב יִצְחָק עוֹד שְׁמִי כִּי אִשְׂרָאֵל	Your name shall no more be called Jacob, <i>but</i> Israel (Gen. 32.29).
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4. Introduces a clause that follows a question that asks about the background to events referred to by the clause introduced by ׀ (subordinating conjunction)

וְכִי-חָטָאתִי לָךְ כִּי-הִבֵּאתָ עָלַי חַטָּאת גְּדוֹלָה ...	And how have I sinned against you, <i>that</i> you have brought upon me ... a great sin? (Gen. 20.9).
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5. Functions as a modal word (Cf. §41.3/9.)

׀ expresses confirmation (primarily in a context of swearing an oath). In these instances it may be translated *indeed, truly, surely*.

חַי פְּרַעֲהַ כִּי מְרִגְלִים אַתָּם	By the life of Pharaoh, <i>surely</i> you are spies (Gen. 42.16).
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§40.10. לו

Introduces an unreal condition (i.e. an unlikely situation) (subordinating conjunction)

לֹו חָפֵץ יְהוָה לְהַמִּיתֵנוּ לֹא-לָקַח מִזְבְּחֵנוּ עֲלֵהּ וּמִזְבְּחֵהּ	If the Lord had meant to kill us, he would not have accepted a burnt offering and a cereal offering at our hands (Judg. 13.23).
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§40.11. לולי

Introduces a negative unreal condition (subordinating conjunction)

כִּי לֹלֵי פָנַי יְהוֹשָׁפָט מֶלֶךְ יְהוּדָה אֲנִי נֹשֵׂא אִם־אֵבִישׁ אֶלְיָךְ	<i>If I did not have regard for Jehoshaphat the king of Judah, I would neither look at you, nor see you (2 Kgs 3.14).</i>
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§40.12. לכן

1. Introduces after a statement or statements of grounds, a declaration or command.

לְכֵן תִּשָּׁבַע אֲשֶׁר־עָלִיתָ שָׁמָּה לְאֲתֵרֶךְ מִמֶּנָּה	<i>Therefore you shall not come down from the bed to which you have gone (2 Kgs 1.6).</i>
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Whether *לכן* is indeed a conjunction, is not certain. Scholars agree that it is made up out of the preposition *ל* and the deictic adverb *כֵּן*. Furthermore, it can often be understood as a *discourse marker* because it relates two contents with one another which are not necessarily referred to only by means of two successive sentences, but also clusters of sentences, e.g. 1 Kgs 14.10. (Cf. §44.1.)

2. In a conversation, in response to an objection, לכן is used 'to state the ground upon which the answer is made' (Brown, Driver and Briggs 1907: 487)

וַתֹּאמֶר לָהּ הַמַּעַשׂ קַטָּנִים אֲתֵדָאִישׁ וְלִקְחַת גַּם אֶת־דַּרְדְּרָאֵי בְנֵי וַתֹּאמֶר רַחֵל לְכֵן וְשָׁכַב עִמָּךְ תַּחַת דַּרְדְּרָאֵי בְנֶךָ	<i>But she said to her, 'Is it a small matter that you have taken away my husband? Would you take away my son's mandrakes also?' Rachel said, 'That being so, he may lie with you tonight for your son's mandrakes' (Gen. 30.15).</i>
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§40.13. למען

למען often indicates the purpose or result of a sequence of utterances.

1. Indicates purpose: so that, for the sake of

(i) *As subordinating conjunction*

וְכָתַבְתָּ עֲלֵיהֶם אֶת־כָּל־דִּבְרֵי הַתּוֹרָה הַזֹּאת בְּעֵבֶרֶךָ לְמַעַן אֲשֶׁר תָּבֹא אֶל־הָאָרֶץ אֲשֶׁר־יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ נֹתֵן לְךָ	<i>And you shall write upon them all the words of this law, so that you can pass over to enter the land which the Lord your God gives you (Deut. 27.3).</i>
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(ii) Also functions as a *preposition* (Cf. §39.12.)

2. Indicates result (subordinating conjunction)

וְבֵאוּהוּ בַמִּצְדֹת לְמַעַן לֹא-יִשְׁמַע קוֹלוֹ עוֹד	They brought him into custody, <i>so that</i> his voice should no more be heard (Ezek. 19.9).
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§40.14. כִּי

Indicates negative purpose (subordinating conjunction)

On the basis of its meaning, כִּי could also be classified as a *negative particle*. (Cf. §41.5/9.)

וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהֵי אַבְרָהָם הַשְׂמֵר לְךָ פֶּן-תָּשִׁיב אֶת-בְּנֵי שָׂמָה	Abraham said to him, 'See to it <i>that</i> you do <i>not</i> take my son back there' (Gen. 24.6).
וְלֹא תִגַּע בּוֹ פֶּן-תָּמּוּתוּן	You shall not touch it, <i>lest</i> you die (Gen. 3.3).

§40.15. עַל-כֵּן

Introduces after the statement of grounds, a fact (co-ordinating conjunction)

עַל-כֵּן לֹא-נִתְחַיֵּךְ לִגְנוֹעַ אֶלֶיהָ:	<i>Therefore</i> I did not let you touch her (Gen. 20.6).
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Note that עַל-כֵּן apparently has the same semantic value as לְכֵן. However, the former tends to introduce declarations or commands, while עַל-כֵּן more often introduces facts. (Cf. §40.12.)

§41. Adverbs

§41.1. Introduction

Traditionally, the term 'adverb' has been accorded a very broad definition. The concept has included adverbs, modal words, negatives, questions, discourse markers and predicators of existence—which all are dealt with as distinct categories in this grammar. (Jouön–Muraoka §102 is a good example of the traditional approach.) In this grammar adverbs are also regarded as an inclusive word class that *can modify a word, a constituent or clause*. (Cf. §11.6.) Sub-classes are distinguished primarily according to the nature of the modification.

- *Ordinary adverbs*: adverbs that only modify a clause or a constituent
- *Modal words*: adverbs that modify a clause
- *Focus particles*: adverbs that can modify a word, a constituent and a clause

A semantic criterion has been adopted to distinguish a fourth class of adverbs, namely

- *Negatives*: adverbs that negate a constituent or a clause

§41.2. Ordinary Adverbs

(i) Ordinary adverbs *usually modify an adjective or the predicate of a clause*. BH has a few ordinary adverbs. Morphological distinctions may be drawn between the following types:

a. so-called *primitive adverbs*

כֵּן (so), פֹּה (here), כֵּן (so), שָׁם (there), and אָז (then)

b. *derived adverbs with adverbial suffixes*

with ׀-, e.g. יוֹמִים (daily), רֵיקָם (in vain), הֶקָם (without reason)

with ׀-, e.g. מִפְּתָאֵם (suddenly)

c. *derived adverbs without adverbial suffixes*

הַרְבֵּה (many), הַיָּטִב (good), הַרְחֵק (far), הַשְּׂבֵם (early) and מְהֵרָה (fast) which are primarily infinitive absolute forms used as adverbs

מְאֹד (many) and מְעַט (few) which were primarily nouns, but now function mostly as adverbs

מְרַר (bitterly) which is primarily an adjective, but can also be used as an adverb

d. *derived adverbs: nouns plus preposition*

לְרַב (many), לְשָׁלוֹם (peacefully), לְבִטְחוֹ (safely)

(ii) *Semantically* adverbs function as follows:

- a. Adverbs that modify verbs *describe the time, place or manner* of the action to which the verb refers.
- b. Adverbs that modify adjectives usually describe a *degree* of the attribute involved.

Most adverbs have a very specific lexical meaning. Only a few that occur relatively frequently are dealt with here.

1. אַחַרְכֵּי

(i) Indicate the *time* of the action to which the verb refers: *afterwards, then*

אַחַרְכֵּי יָבֵנָה יְהוֹשֻׁעַ מִזְבֵּחַ לַיהוָה	Then Joshua built an altar on Mount
אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל בְּהַר עֵיבָל	Ebal to the Lord, the God of Israel
	(Josh. 8.30).

(ii) Function also as a *conjunction* (Cf. §40.4.)

2. טַרְמָם

טַרְמָם could also be classified as a *negative* on the basis of semantic considerations. (Cf. §41.5/7.)

(i) Indicates the *time* of the action to which the verb refers: *not yet*
This adverb is usually followed by an imperfect form.

טַרְמָם יִשְׁכְּבוּ ... אֲנָשֵׁי	They had <i>not yet</i> lain down, ..., when
סֹדֶם נִסְבּוּ עַל־בֵּיתָהּ	the men of Sodom, gathered about
	the house (Gen. 19.4).

3. כֹּה

כֹּה usually functions as a *demonstrative adverb* and *precedes* the action that it modifies.

(i) *Refers back* to given information that *describes the nature of a process or events: so*

כֹּה יִהְיֶה זַרְעֲךָ	So shall your descendants be (Gen.
	15.5).

(ii) *Refers in advance* to the *content of direct speech which immediately follows: thus*

כֹּה אָמַר אֱלֹהֵי יְהוָה	Thus says the Lord God: It shall not
לֹא תִקְוֶם וְלֹא תִהְיֶה:	stand, and it shall not come to pass
	(Isa. 7.7).

(iii) *Indicates spatial positioning: here* (rare)

שִׁים כֹּה נֶגְדַי אֲחָי	Set it <i>here</i> before my kinsmen (Gen.
	31.37).

4. בֵּן

בֵּן usually *follows* the action that it modifies.

(i) Refers back to given information that describes the *nature (manner, quality, quantity or degree)* of a process or condition: *such*

לא בא־כֶּן עֵצי אֲלִמְנִים No *such* quantities of almug wood
 וְלֹא נִרְאָה עַד הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה have come or been seen, to this day
 (1 Kgs 10.12).

(ii) With the preposition כִּי it forms a type of fixed expression that emphasizes the similarities between processes or conditions (Cf. also §39.10/2.)

כְּכָל־הַמַּעֲשִׂים אֲשֶׁר־עָשׂוּ ... According to all the deeds which they
 כֵּן הַמַּעֲשִׂים גַּם־לִּי: have done (to me) ... so they are also
 doing to you (1 Sam. 8.8).

5. עוד

עוד differs from all the other ordinary adverbs in the sense that it can take a pronominal suffix. These suffixes are normally the subject of a clause.

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 m./f.	עוֹדִי / עוֹדָנִי	Yet, I		Yet, us
2 m.	עוֹדְךָ	Yet, you		Yet, you
2 f.	עוֹדְךָ	Yet, you		Yet, you
3 m.	עוֹדָנּוּ	Yet, he	עוֹדָם	Yet, them
3 f.	עוֹדָהָ / עוֹדָהּ	Yet, she	עוֹדֵינוּ	Yet, them

Indicates the *time* of the action to which the verb refers: *still* or *yet*

הִנֵּה עוֹדְךָ מְדַבֵּרֵת שָׁם Then while you are *still* speaking
 עִם־הַמֶּלֶךְ with the king (1 Kgs 1.14).

6. עַתָּה

(i) Indicates the *time* of the action to which the verb refers: *now*

In most cases in which עַתָּה and not יְעַתָּה is used, it is an adverb of time.

וְאַל־תַּעַשׂ לוֹ מְאוּמָה כִּי עַתָּה Do not do anything to him; for *now* I
 יִדְעֵתִי כִּי־יִרָא אֱלֹהִים אֶתָּה know that you fear God (Gen.
 22.12).

However, when יְעַתָּה fulfils an adverbial function it usually indicates a contrast between 'then' and 'now'.

בשבעים נפש ירדו אבותיך מצרימה
ועתה שמך יהיה אלהיך
ככוכבי השמים לרב

Your fathers went down to Egypt seventy persons; *but now* the Lord your God has made you as the stars of heaven for multitude (Deut. 10.22).

(ii) Functions mostly as a *discourse marker* (Cf. §44.6.)

§41.3. Modal Words

1. Introduction

As opposed to ordinary adverbs, modal adverbs usually relate to an entire clause. In fact, an outstanding feature of modal words is that they involve the speaker in the content of a clause. They refer to a speaker's understanding of the *probability (certainty to uncertainty)* of the state of affairs or events to which a clause refers.

2. אָבֵל

(i) Indicates *the denial of an expectation or view* that a speaker thinks a listener holds: *indeed, but*.

ויאמר אלהים אָבֵל שָׂרָה
אֲשֶׁתְּךָ יֵלְדֶת לְךָ בֵּן

God said: *No, but* (contrary to what you believe) Sarah your wife shall bear you a son (Gen. 17.19).

(ii) Functions mostly as a *conjunction*. (Cf. §40.2.)

3. אֵךְ

(i) Expresses *the conviction as to the correctness of an observation*: *certainly, surely*

וידי בבוֹאם נִרְא אֵת־אֱלִיָּאב
ויאמר אֵךְ נִגַּד יְהוָה מִשִּׁיחוֹ

When they came, he looked on Eliab and thought: *Surely* the Lord's anointed is before him. (1 Sam. 16.6).

(ii) Functions mostly as a *focus particle* (Cf. §41.4/2.)

4. אֲכֵן

Expresses a *strong conviction* that the content of a statement is true: *truly, undoubtedly*

ויאמר אֲכֵן יֵשׁ יְהוָה בְּמָקוֹם הַזֶּה
וְאֲנֹכִי לֹא יָדַעְתִּי

And he said: *Truly* the Lord is in this place; and I did not know it (Gen. 28.16).

Sometimes it is used to deny, with great conviction, the implications of an expression that directly precedes it. אֲכֵן can then be translated *nevertheless*.

וַאֲנִי אָמַרְתִּי לְרִיק וְגַעַתִּי לַתְּהוֹ
וְהִקְבַּל כַּחַי כְּלִיחֵי אֲכֵן מִשְׁפָּטִי
אֲחִי־יְהוָה וּפְעַלְתִּי אֲחִי־אֱלֹהֵי

But I said: I have laboured in vain, I have spent my strength for nothing and vanity! *Nevertheless* my justice is with the Lord, and my recompense with my God (Isa. 49.4).

5. אֲלִי

Expresses uncertainty: *maybe* or *perhaps*

אוּלַי יִקַּל אֲחִי־יְהוָה מִשְׁעִיכִם

Maybe he will lighten his hand from off you (1 Sam. 6.5).

6. אִם

(i) Functions in taking an *oath*

a. With אִם a speaker expresses **commitment that a process shall not take place**.

חַיֵּךְ וְחַי נַפְשֶׁךְ אִם־אֵשֶׁשָׁה
אֲחִי־הִדְבַר הַזֶּה

As you live, and as your soul lives, I will *surely not* do this thing! (2 Sam. 11.11).

b. With לֹא אִם a speaker expresses **commitment that a process will take place**.

וַיִּשָׁבַע מֹשֶׁה בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא לֵאמֹר
אִם־לֹא הָאָרֶץ אֲשֶׁר הָרַבְתָּ
רַגְלֶךָ בָּהּ לְךָ תִּתֵּנִי לְנַחֲלָה
וּלְבָנֶיךָ עַד־עוֹלָם

And Moses swore on that day, saying: *Surely* the land on which your foot has trodden shall be an inheritance for you and your children for ever (Josh. 14.9).

(ii) Functions mostly as a *conjunction* (Cf. §40.5.)

7. אֲמֵנָה

Expresses a speaker's *commitment to the truth of a statement: really, truly, indeed* (rare).

וְגַם־אֲמֵנָה אֲחִיתִי בְתוּלַתִּי הִיא

What is more, she is *indeed* my sister, the daughter of my father (Gen. 20.12).

8. אמנם

A speaker uses אמנם to enquire about how a state of affairs *correlates with the truth: truly* (rare).

כי האמנם ישב אלהים
על-הארץ But will God *indeed* dwell on the
earth? (1 Kgs 8.27).

9. כי

(i) Expresses *confirmation* of something the speaker has already said, an assumption or conviction (mostly in a sworn oath). In such instances it may be translated *indeed, truly* or *yes*.

חי פרעה כי מרגלים אתם By the life of Pharaoh, *surely* you are
spies (Gen. 42.16).

(ii) Functions mostly as a *conjunction* (Cf. §40.9.)

10. רק

(i) Expresses *conviction as to the correctness of an observation*

ויאמר אברהם כי אמרתי
רק איני ראתה אלהים במקום
הזה והרגוני על-דבר אשתי Abraham said: I did it because I
thought, there is *certainly* [lit. I
just/only thought there is] no fear of
God at all in this place, and they will
kill me because of my wife (Gen.
20.11).

(ii) Functions mostly as a *focus particle* (Cf. §41.4/7.)

§41.4. Focus Particles

1. Introduction

Focus particles are a group of adverbs that can modify a word (as part of a word chain or of a constituent), a constituent or a clause. They are called focus particles because they place a particular focus on the entity or clause that follows them. An outstanding feature of focus particles is that their meaning always indicates that the referent to which they refer *is an addition to or limitation of another referent*. This is why some people prefer to call these adverbs *quantifiers*.

2. אַךְ

(i) Indicates a *limitation*: *only, just*a. In the *limitation/exclusion* of *something or someone* in the preceding context

וְהַנֶּעֱרַר לֹא־יָדַע קְאוּמָה	But the lad knew nothing; <i>only</i>
אַךְ יְהוֹנָתָן וְדָוִד יָדְעוּ	Jonathan and David knew the matter
אֶת־הַדָּבָר:	(1 Sam. 20.39).

וְאִדְבַרְהָ אַךְ־הַפֶּעַם	Let me speak again <i>only</i> this once
	(Gen. 18.32).

b. In placing a *limiting condition* (the domain of אַךְ is the *protasis* of the condition)

אַךְ־בְּזֹאת נִאֲוֹת לְכֶם אִם	<i>Only</i> on this condition will we con-
תְּהִי קָמְנוּ לְהַמֵּל לְכֶם	sent to you: that you will become as
כָּל־זָכָר	we are and every male of you be cir-
	cumcized (Gen. 34.15).

c. In placing a *limitation* with respect to the *content of an expression directly preceding it*

וַיַּעַן אַכִּישׁ וַיֹּאמֶר אֶל־דָּוִד	And Achish answered David: I know
יָדַעְתִּי כִּי טוֹב אַתָּה בְּעֵינַי	that you are as blameless in my sight
כַּמַּלְאֲךָ אֱלֹהִים אַךְ שָׂרֵי	as an angel of God; <i>nevertheless</i> the
פְּלִשְׁתִּים אָמְרוּ לֹא־יֵעֲלֶה	commanders of the Philistines have
עִמָּנוּ בַּמִּלְחָמָה	said, He shall not go up with us to
	the battle (1 Sam. 29.9).

(ii) Also functions as a *modal word* (Cf. §40.3.)

3. הַאֲ

Indicates *addition*

This particle is used predominantly in poetic texts. As opposed to אַךְ, הַאֲ does not necessarily directly precede its syntactic domain.

a. A speaker/narrator uses הַאֲ to indicate very clearly that *an entity must be added to another*.

לְךָ יוֹם אַף־לְךָ לַיְלָה	Yours is the day, yours is <i>also</i> the
	night (Ps. 74.16).

וְאִף לְאִמְתְּךָ תַעֲשֶׂה־כֵּן	And <i>also</i> to your maidservant you
	shall do likewise (Deut. 15.17).

Sometimes the entity that is added or need to be added is *an extreme case*. It is an entity that one would not have expected to

be added to a particular group. In such cases **ףן** is usually translated as *even*.

אִף־עַל־זֶה פָּקַחְתָּ עֵינֶיךָ Even upon such a one do you open
your eyes (Job 14.3).

- b. A speaker/narrator uses **ףן** to indicate very clearly that the content of one clause must be added to that of another as *an additional confirmation of the preceding statement*.

חֲבָלִים נָפְלוּ־לִי בְנְעָמִים The lines have fallen to me in
אִף־נִחַלְתָּ שְׂפָרָה עָלַי pleasant places; *indeed*, my heritage
is beautiful to me. (Ps. 16.6).

- c. A speaker/narrator uses **ףן** to *introduce a rhetorical question* that must be joined to a preceding statement. By using **ףן כִּי** the speaker indicates that what has been suggested in the rhetorical question *can only be confirmed* in the light of a preceding situation. As with **גַּם** an argument that has been added to another is involved. The second argument is then the one bearing persuasive power.

וַיֹּאמְרוּ אַנְשֵׁי דָוִד אֵלָיו הֲנֵה
אֲנַחְנוּ פֹה בְיַהוּדָה וַיֹּאמֶר
וַיֹּאף כִּי־גַלְגָּל קַעֲלָה
אֱלֹהֵי־מִעְרֹכֹת פְּלִשְׁתִּים But David's men said to him: Behold,
we are afraid here in Judah; *how
much more* then if we go to Keilah
against the armies of the Philistines?
(1 Sam. 23.3).

4. אָפֶס

- (i) Indicates *limitation: only, nevertheless*

- a. In limiting the *implications arising from the content* of an expression directly preceding it. *Usually in the form:* **אָפֶס כִּי**. As opposed to **אֵךְ** and **רַק** the domain of **אָפֶס כִּי** is *always* a clause. **אָפֶס** is used without **כִּי** in the few instances where its domain is a constituent.

אָפֶס כִּי לֹא יִהְיֶה־בְךָ אֶבְיוֹן However, there shall be no poor
among you (Deut. 15.4).

- b. In limiting/excluding *something or someone* in the (usually preceding) context (rare)

וַאֲפֹס אֲתָה־תְּדַבֵּר אֲשֶׁר־
אֲדַבֵּר אֵלֶיךָ אַחַר תְּדַבֵּר But *only* the word which I bid you,
that shall you speak (Num. 22.35).

- (ii) Also functions as a *common noun*

- a. *ends* (of the earth)

יְהוָה יִדְּן אֶפְסֵי־אָרֶץ The Lord will judge the *ends* of the
earth (1 Sam. 2.10)

b. *expressing non-existence: nothing*

וְכָל־שָׂרֵי־יְהוּדָה אֲפֹס

And all its princes shall be *as nothing*
(Isa. 34.12).

5. גַּם

5.1 *The syntax of גַּם*

A syntactic feature of גַּם is that it can modify a word, a constituent or a clause. גַּם (as opposed to אֲף) almost always directly precedes the constituent or clause to which it refers (its domain). A pronoun is sometimes directly repeated after גַּם (usually as an independent personal pronoun) to indicate that its antecedent lies in the domain of גַּם. (Cf. §36.1/1.2(v).)

פְּנִימוֹת גַּם־הוּא כָּאֶחָיו

Otherwise *he too* might die, like his
brothers! (Gen. 38.11).

בְּרַכְנֵי גַם־אָנִי אָבִי

Bless me, *me also*, O my father!
(Gen. 27.34).

The following syntactic configurations are found:

(i) גַּם + *entity*

a. גַּם + word in a word chain

וַיִּיטֵב בְּעֵינֵי כָל־הָעָם
וְגַם בְּעֵינֵי עֲבָדֵי שָׂאוּלAnd this was good in the sight of all
the people and *also in the sight of*
Saul's servants (1 Sam. 18.5).

b. גַּם + constituent

וַיִּקַּח גַּם־אֹתוֹ

And he slew *him also* (Gen. 38.10).

c. גַּם + clause

אָמַרְתִּי רַק אֵין־רָאִת אֱלֹהִים
בְּמִקְוֵם הַזֶּה וְהָרַגְוִנִי עַל־דְּבַר אִשְׁתִּי
וְגַם־אִמְנָה אֶחְתִּיI thought, there is certainly [lit. I
just/only thought there is] no fear of
God at all in this place, and they will
kill me because of my wife. *Moreover,*
she is indeed my sister (Gen. 20.11).(ii) גַּם + *entity* // גַּם + *entity*

When גַּם has this syntactic configuration, it is also regarded as a double conjunction. (Cf. §31.1/3(iv).)

a. גַּם + word // גַּם + word

וַיַּעַל עִמּוֹ
גַם־רֶכֶב גַם־פָּרָשִׁיםAnd there went up with him *both*
chariots *as well as* horsemen (Gen.
50.9).

b. ׁ + clause // ׁ + clause

<p>וַיֹּאמֶר אֲבִימֶלֶךְ לֹא יִדְעֹתִי מִי עָשָׂה אֶת־הַדָּבָר הַזֶּה וְגַם־אֲתָהּ לֹא־הִגַּדְתָּ לִּי וְגַם אֲנֹכִי לֹא שָׁמַעְתִּי בְּלִפְתֵי הַיּוֹם</p>	<p>And Abimelech said: I do not know who has done this thing. <i>Neither</i> did you tell me ... <i>Nor</i> have I not heard of it until today (Gen. 21.26).</p>
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5.2 The semantics and pragmatics of ׁ

(i) Speakers or writers give an explicit indication to their audience that a specific something or someone must be added to something or someone referred to in the preceding context: *also, even, moreover, even more so.*

a. If the reference to this entity occurs in a previous expression, an audience would find it strange if the speakers or writers did not indicate that the entity after ׁ has to be added to the entity in the preceding expression. In other words, the use of ׁ contributes toward *constituting a well formed text* or discourse.

<p>וַיְהִי עַר בְּכוֹר יְהוּדָה רָע בְּעֵינֵי יְהוָה וַיִּמְתְּהוּ יְהוָה: וַיַּרְע בְּעֵינֵי יְהוָה אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה וַיִּמָּת גַּם־אֹחָיו</p>	<p>But Er, Judah’s first-born, was wicked in the sight of the Lord; and the Lord slew him. And what he (Onan) did was displeasing in the sight of the Lord, and he slew him <i>also</i> (Gen. 38.7, 38.10).</p>
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b. By using ׁ speakers can also give their audience an indication that the expression with ׁ is *part of a larger discourse* that they assume the audience is familiar with.

<p>הִנֵּה יִלְדָה מִלְכָּה גַם־הוּא בָּנִים לְנָחוֹר אָחִיךָ</p>	<p>Behold, Milcah <i>also</i> has borne children to your brother Nahor (Gen. 22.20).</p>
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In order to make sense of Gen. 22.20 the audience must be familiar with Gen. 11.29.

c. If the entity that has to be added is something that is possible, but which one *would not expect*, i.e. an extreme case, ׁ is translated *even*.⁵⁶

56. BH thus does not distinguish lexically between *also* and *even* as in English. Compare Xhosa which does not have a lexical equivalent for *also* or *even*. The Xhosa conjunction *na* (= *and*) is used for both *also* and *even*.

גם בטרם יקטרון את־החלב
 ובא נער הכהן ואמר לאיש
 הִזְבַּח ...

Even before the fat was burned, the priest's servant would come and say to the man who was sacrificing: ... (1 Sam. 2.15).

- d. Speakers wish to indicate clearly that *an expression has to be supplemented* with the expression (sentence) after **גַּם** to support a specific argument. In this way the audience is left in no doubt about the connection between the two expressions. The expression after **גַּם** usually refers to *a more persuasive or compelling argument* than the preceding one.

כי אמרתי רק איך־ראת
 אלהים במקום הזה
 והרגוני על־דבר אשתי
 וגם־אמנה אחתי

I thought, there is certainly [lit. I just/only thought there is] no fear of God at all in this place, and they will kill me because of my wife. *Moreover*, she is indeed my sister (Gen. 20.11).

- e. The specific inclusion of the entity or entities after **גַּם** usually reflects *some special role* that the inclusion has played.

וישב בעיני כל־העם
 וגם בעיני עבדי שאול

And this was good in the sight of all the people and *also* in the sight of Saul's servants (1 Sam. 18.5).

- (ii) Speakers make it clear that the inclusion of *both* entities preceded by **גַּם** is of *special importance* in a particular context: *both, as well as*.

ויעל עמו גם־רכב גם־פָּרָשִׁים

And there went up with him *both* chariots *as well as* horsemen (Gen. 50.9).

Sometimes the entities are *two arguments* that both carry equal weight in support of a statement.

ויאמר אבימלך
 לא ידעתי מי עשה את־הדבר הזה
 וגם־אתה לא־הגדת לי
 וגם אנכי לא שמעתי
 בלתי היום

And Abimelech said: I do not know who has done this thing. *Neither* did you tell me ... *Nor* have I not heard of it until today (Gen. 21.26).

(iii) Speakers may ask their audience for a *corresponding reaction* to something someone has already done. They may also commit themselves to such a corresponding action. Narrators may describe the corresponding reaction of a referent in the syntactic domain of ׀.

וְעַתָּה הִשְׁבַּעְנָא לִי בַיהוָה כִּי עֲשִׂיתִי עִמָּכֶם חֶסֶד וְעֲשִׂיתֶם גַּם־אִתָּם עִם־בֵּית אָבִי חֶסֶד	Swear to me by the Lord that as I have dealt kindly with you, <i>you also</i> will deal kindly with my father's house (Josh. 2.12).
--	--

6. בְּלִתי

(i) Indicates *exclusion*: *only, unless*

The events or state of affairs referred to by the expression following בְּלִתי are exceptions to a generalization in the preceding expression.

אֵין כֹּל בְּלִתי אֶל־הַמָּן עֵינֵינוּ	There is nothing at all, <i>only</i> this manna to look at (Num. 11.6).
--	--

לֹא־תִרְאוּ פָנַי בְּלִתי אֲחִיכֶם אִתְּכֶם	You shall not see my face, <i>unless</i> your brother is with you (Gen. 43.3).
--	---

(ii) Functions mostly as a *negative* (Cf. §41.5/6.)

7. רַק

(i) Indicates *limitation*

a. In limiting/excluding *something or someone with respect to something* or someone in the preceding context

וְהַיְתָה הָעִיר חָרָם הִיא וְכָל־אֲשֶׁר־בָּהּ לַיהוָה רַק רַחֵב הַזְנוּנָה תִּחְיֶה	But the city and all that is within it shall be devoted to the Lord for destruction; <i>only</i> Rahab the harlot shall live (Josh. 6.17).
--	---

Sometimes the preceding context is not explicitly mentioned.

וַיֵּרָא יְהוָה כִּי רָבָה רָעַת הָאָדָם בָּאָרֶץ וְכָל־יִצְרָר מִחֲשַׁבְתּוֹ לִבּוֹ רַק רָע כָּל־הַיּוֹם	The Lord saw that the wickedness of man was great in the earth, and that every imagination of the thoughts of his heart was <i>only</i> evil continually (Gen. 6.5).
--	--

b. Sets a limit with *respect to the content* of a directly preceding expression

וַעֲשׂוּ לָהֶן כְּטוֹב בְּעֵינֵיכֶם רַק לְאֲנָשִׁים הָאֵלֶּה אֵל־תַּעֲשׂוּ דָבָר	Do to them as you please; <i>only</i> do nothing to these men (Gen. 19.8).
--	---

(ii) Also functions as a *modal word* (Cf. §41.3/10.)

§41.5. Negatives

1. Introduction

This class is based predominantly on semantic considerations. A feature of all the words belonging to this class is that they *negate* a word, constituent or clause.

2. אין

(i) Negates the events to which a *participle* refers

אִינְנִי שָׁמַע I will *not* listen (Isa. 1.15).

(ii) Also functions as a (negative) *predicator of existence*. It denies the existence of the referent of an undetermined subject in a nominal clause. (Cf. §42.2.)

וְאָדָם אֵין לְעַבֵּד אֶת־הָאָרֶץ there was *no* man to till the ground
(Gen. 2.5).

3. אל

(i) Negates a *directive*: usually applies only to a specific situation (Cf. §19.4/4.)

אֲל־תֹּאכַל לֶחֶם וְאֲל־תִּשְׁתֶּה מַיִם Eat *no* bread, and drink *no* water (1
Kgs 13.22).

(ii) Negates a *desire*

כִּי אָמְרָה אֲל־אֶרְאֶה בְּמוֹת הַיֶּלֶד For she said: Let me *not* look upon
the death of the child (Gen. 21.16).

(iii) Indicates the *refusal of a summons*

וַיֹּאמֶר לוֹ מֶלֶךְ יִשְׂרָאֵל אֵל
כִּי־קָרָא יְהוָה לְשְׁלֹשָׁת
הַמְּלָכִים הָאֵלֶּה But the king of Israel said to him: *No*,
for the LORD has called these three
kings (2 Kgs 3.13).

4. בל

Negates a *statement*. It usually occurs in poetry.

אָמַר בְּלִבּוֹ בַל־אֲמוּט He thinks in his heart: I *shall not* be
moved (Ps. 10:6).

וְלִבּוֹ בַל־עִמָּךְ But his heart is *not* with you (Prov.
23.7).

5. בלי

(i) Negates *a statement*. It usually occurs in poetry.

על־בלי הגיד לוֹ כי ברח הוא in that he did *not* tell him that he
intended to flee (Gen. 31.20).

בלי נשמע קולם Their voice is *not* heard (Ps. 19.4).

(ii) Negates *the referent of a noun*

אֲשֶׁר ירצח אֶת־רעהוֹ who kills his neighbor *unintention-*
בבלי־דעת ally (Deut. 4.42)

6. בלתי

(i) Negates part of the content of a *subordinate clause*

a. *Infinitive clause* where בלתי occurs with the preposition לְ. (In a few instances בלתי negates a finite verb, e.g. Exod. 20.20 and 2 Sam. 14.14.)

הֲמִן־הָעֵץ אֲשֶׁר צִוִּיתִיךָ Have you eaten of the tree of which I
לִבְלִיתִי אֲכַל־מִמֶּנּוּ אֲכַלְתָּ commanded you *not* to eat? (Gen.
3.11).

b. *Adverbial clause* usually with the preposition עַד

וַיִּכּוּ אֹתוֹ ... עַד־בְּלִיתִי So they slew him ... until there was
הַשְּׂאִיר־לוֹ שְׂרִיד *not one* survivor left to him (Num.
21.35).

(ii) Negates the referent of an *adjective* (rare)

כִּי אָמַר מִקְרָהּ הוּא בְּלִיתִי טָהוֹר For he thought: Something has be-
הוּא כִּי־לֹא טָהוֹר fallen him; he is *not* clean, surely he
is *not* clean (1 Sam. 20.26).

(iii) Functions also as a *focus particle* (Cf. §41.4/6.)

7. טָרַם

This ordinary adverb also functions as a negative. (Cf. §41.2/2.)

8. לא

(i) Negates *a statement*

כִּי לֹא הִמְטִיר יְהוָה אֱלֹהִים For the Lord God had *not* caused it
עַל־הָאָרֶץ to rain upon the earth (Gen. 2.5).

In a reply the other person's statement (or directive) is sometimes negated in a statement. The statement that is negated, however, is implied.

וַיֹּאמֶר אֲלֵהֶם לֹא כִי־עָרֹתָ
הָאָרֶץ בְּאֵתָם לְרֵאוֹת He said to them: *No*, but it is the
weakness of the land that you have
come to see (Gen. 42.12).

(ii) Negates *a command*. The command then acquires a generally valid character, i.e. a prohibition. (Cf. §19.3/5(iii).)

לֹא תֹאכַל מִמֶּנּוּ Of that you *shall not* eat (Gen. 2.17).

(iii) Negates *a nominal entity* (for example, an adjective).

עַל־דֶּרֶךְ לֹא־טוֹב on a way that is *not* good (Ps. 36.5)

פִּן. 9.

This conjunction also functions as a negative. (Cf. §40.14.)

§42. Predicators of Existence

§42.1. Introduction

There are only two words in this class, *ישׁ* and *אין*. An outstanding characteristic of these words is that they express existence or non-existence. Both of them can take a pronominal suffix.

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 m./f.	אֵינִי	not I	אֵינָנוּ	not us
2 m.	אֵינֶיךָ	not you	אֵינְכֶם	not you
2 f.	אֵינֶיךָ	not you		not you
3 m.	אֵינֵהוּ	not he	אֵינֵם	not them
3 f.	אֵינֶיהָ	not she		not them

§42.2. אין

1. Indicates that an undetermined entity does not exist

וְאָדָם אֵין לְעִבֵד אֶת־הָאָדָמָה There was *no* man to till the ground
(Gen. 2.5).

2. Functions also as a negative (Cf. §.41.5/2.)

Negates the events to which a *participle* refers

אִי־נִי שָׁמַע I will *not* listen (Isa. 1.15).

§42.3. וְ

Expresses existence(i) Expresses the existence of an *undetermined or impersonal subject*

יִשְׁשָׁבֵר בְּמִצְרַיִם There is grain in Egypt (Gen. 42.1).

(ii) *Confirms the existence or presence* of a particular person or thing

הֲיֵשׁ כְּהֵן הִלָּאָה: וַתַּעֲנֶנּוּ
אֹתָם וַתֹּאמְרֶנָּה יֵשׁ הֵנָּה לְפָנֶיךָ Is the seer here? They answered
them: He is; behold, he *is* just ahead
of you (1 Sam. 9.11-12).

§43. Interrogatives

§43.1. Introduction

BH has no question mark. In BH questions requiring a factual answer (who? or what?) and questions with a yes-no reply are marked with an interrogative. (Cf. §11.8.) Although factual questions are usually introduced with an interrogative pronoun and should have been dealt with in §36, they are discussed here for the sake of covering questions as a whole.

§43.2. Yes/no Questions

These questions are introduced as follows:

1. הֲ/וֹ/לֹא

(i) *Morphology*

a. The interrogative particle הֲ is attached to the most appropriate word.

הֲשָׁלוֹם לְעֶבֶר לְאַבְשָׁלוֹם Is it well with the young man
Absalom? (2 Sam. 18.32).

b. Before words that begin with a guttural, the interrogative particle is vocalized with a / - / .

הֲאֵלֶיךָ וְקָרָאתִי לְךָ ... ? Shall I go and call you ... ? (Exod.
2.7).

- c. Before words that begin with a guttural and in which the first vowel is a / ַ / or / ֶ / , the interrogative particle is vocalized with a / ַ / .

... כִּי־אֵל־אֵל הָאָמַר ... For has any one said to God ... ? (Job 34.31).

(ii) *Semantic and pragmatic functions*

a. Mark a *yes/no question*

הַשְּׁלוֹם לַנָּעַר לְאַבְשָׁלוֹם Is it well with the young man Absalom? (2 Sam. 18.32).

- b. Mark (אֵל in particular) a *rhetorical question*. In this way a statement is usually made which cannot easily be contested by the person addressed.

הֲלֹא הוּא אָמַרְתִּי לִי אֲחֹתִי הִיא Did he not himself say to me: She is my sister? (Gen. 20.5).

A double question is usually introduced with אִם (ו) ... הֲ .

הֲמִלְכָה תִּמְלֹךְ עָלֵינוּ אִם־מִשׁוֹל תִּמְשַׁל בָּנוּ Are you indeed to reign over us? Or are you indeed to have dominion over us? (Gen. 37.8).

c. Introduce an *indirect question*

לְדַעַת הַהֲצִלִּים יְהוָה דְּרָכּוֹ אִם־לֹא to learn whether the Lord had prospered his journey or not (Gen. 24.21).

2. *Intonation*

Marks a *yes/no question*

... וַיֹּאמֶר הַמֶּלֶךְ שְׁלוֹם לַנָּעַר ... And the king said: Is it well with the young man ... ? (2 Sam. 18.29).

§43.3. *Factual (or WH-) Questions*

These questions are introduced by the following interrogatives. In a verbal question the verb follows the interrogative. In a nominal clause the predicate follows the question:

1. מִי

(i) *Enquires about the identity of a person*

מִי־הָאִישׁ הַלֵּזָה Who is the man? (Gen. 24.65).

The question sometimes acquires some emotional weight by the addition of **וְהָאֵל** or **וְהָאֵלֹהִים**. One could also speak here of the speaker's *attitude* that emerges in relation to the content of the question.

בְּרִמְיָהוּ הַנַּעַר Whose son is this youth? (1 Sam. 17.55).

The question may sometimes be posed *indirectly*.

שֶׂאל אֵתָהּ בְּרִמְיָהוּ הַנַּעַלִם Inquire *whose* son the stripling is (1 Sam. 17.56).

(ii) Enquires about *the identity of a group of people or the name of a person*

כִּי מִיִּגְוִי גְדוֹל אֲשֶׁר־לוֹ אֱלֹהִים For *what* great nation is there that has gods? (Deut. 4.7).

מִי שְׁמֶךָ *What* is your name? (Judg. 13.17).

(iii) Introduces *a rhetorical question in which a speaker usually expresses a value judgment* about himself or someone else

וַיֹּאמֶר מִי דָוִד וּמִי בְּרִיִּשִׁי And he said: *Who* is David? *Who* is the son of Jesse? (1 Sam. 25.10).

(iv) Expresses a *wish* (rare)

וַיֹּאמֶר אֲבִישָׁלוֹם מִיִּשְׁמָנִי
שִׁפְט בְּאַרְצָךְ Absalom said moreover: *Oh* that I were judge in the land! (2 Sam. 15.4).

Sometimes a fixed expression **מִי יִתֵּן** is used. This construction, which acts syntactically as an interjection, expresses *a positive wish*. (Cf. §45.3.)

בַּבֶּקֶר תֹּאמַר מִיִּיתֵן עֶרֶב In the morning you shall say: Would it were evening! (Deut. 28.67).

(v) Functions in the fixed expression **מִי יוֹדֵעַ** which expresses *a wish the outcome of which is doubtful: maybe*.

אָמַרְתִּי מִי יוֹדֵעַ יִסְנַנִּי יְהוָה I said: *Who knows maybe* the Lord will be gracious to me (2 Sam. 12.22).

(vi) Functions as *an indefinite pronoun*

מִיִּירָא וְתַרְדַּד יָשָׁב *Whoever* is fearful and trembling, let him return home (Judg. 7.3).

Sometimes מי is followed by אשר or even הַאִישׁ אֲשֶׁר.

מי אשר חטא לי אמחנו מספרי Whoever has sinned against me, him
will I blot out of my book (Exod.
32.33).

מִי־הָאִישׁ אֲשֶׁר בָּנָה בַּיִת־חָדָשׁ Everyone that has built a new house
... (Deut. 20.5).

Sometimes מי is used absolutely, i.e. the relative clause is missing.

שְׁמַרְדָּמִי בִנְעַר בְּאַבְשָׁלוֹם Protect whoever (you might be) the
young man Absalom (2 Sam. 18.12).

Sometimes מי is used after אֵת as the object of a clause.

בַּחֲרוּ לָכֶם הַיּוֹם אֵת־מִי תַעֲבֹדוּן Choose this day whom you will serve
(Josh. 24.15).

2. מָה (Some dictionaries regard מָה as the basic form.)

Morphologically מָה changes to מַה if it precedes א, ה, or ר. מָה changes to מֵה if it precedes ח or ע. If מָה precedes any other consonant, no lengthening of the vowel occurs and the following consonant doubles, for example, מַה־זֹּאת. It resembles the patterns of the definite article, cf. §24.4/2.

(i) Enquires about the nature of a thing or event

מָה עָשִׂיתָ What have you done? (Gen. 4.10).

The question sometimes acquires emotional weight by the addition of וְהָ or זֹאת. Speakers may, for example, express a degree of irritation (Cf. also §36.2/2(vi).)

וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה אֱלֹהִים לְאִשָּׁה Then the Lord God said to the
מַה־זֹּאת עָשִׂיתָ woman: What is this that you have
done? (Gen. 3.13).

The event or state of affairs that is enquired about is sometimes to the benefit or disadvantage of someone. In such cases מָה is followed by the preposition לְ.

מַה־לָּךְ הָגֵר What troubles you, Hagar? (Gen.
21.17).

(ii) Enquires sometimes about the reason for a state of affairs or an event

מָה אָנֹכֶנּוּ יֹשְׁבִים פֹּה Why do we sit here? (2 Kgs 7.3).

The question sometimes acquires emotional weight by the addition of *מה* or *ואת*. Speakers may, for example, express a degree of irritation.

מה־זֶה הַיָּסֵד קָרָה Why is your spirit so vexed? (1 Kgs 21.5).

(iii) Functions as an introduction to a *rhetorical question* in which a speaker usually expresses a *value judgment* about something or someone. This value judgment is usually *negative*.

כִּי מָה עֲבַדְךָ הַכֶּלֶב כִּי יַעֲשֶׂה
תִּדְבֹר הַגְּדוֹל הַזֶּה For *what* is your servant, who is but a dog, that he should do this great thing? (2 Kgs 8.13).

Sometimes the rhetorical question indicates a *strong denial*.

מַה־לָּנוּ חֵלֶק בְּדָוִד What portion have we in David? (1 Kgs 12.16).

(iv) Functions as an introduction to an exclamation in which a speaker usually expresses a *value judgment* about something

מַה־אֲדִיר שְׁמֶךָ בְּכָל־הָאָרֶץ How majestic is your name in all the earth! (Ps. 8.2).

(v) Functions also as an *indefinite pronoun* (Cf. §36.5.)

מַה־תֹּאמַר נַפְשִׁי וְאֶעֱשֶׂה־לְךָ Whatever you say, I will do for you (1 Sam. 20.4).

3. *מה* + *prepositions*

(i) *לְמָה*

a. Enquires as to the *reason* for a state of affairs or an action: *why?*

לְמָה חָרָה לְךָ Why are you angry? (Gen. 4.6).

b. Functions sometimes as an introduction to an *alternative posed with a negative tenor*: *otherwise, or else*

שְׁלַחֲנִי לְמָה אֲמִיתֶךָ Let me go *or else* I shall kill you (1 Sam. 19.17).

(ii) *בְּמָה*

Enquires about the *manner* in which something is to be done: *how?*

בְּמָה אֲרַע How am I to know? (Gen. 15.8).

(iii) *עַד־מָה*

Enquires about the *duration* of a state of affairs or events: *how long?*

עַד־מָה וְהָיָה חֲמָנְךָ לְעַצֵּם How long, O Lord? Will you be angry for ever? (Ps. 79.5).

(iv) על־מָה

Enquires about the *reason* or *motivation* for a state of affairs or action: *why?*

עַל־מָה הַכִּיטְ אֶת־אֲחִיךָ *Why* have you struck your ass?
(Num. 22.32).

4. אֵי

(i) Enquires as to the *place where* someone or something is: *where?*

אֵי הַבֵּל אַחִיךָ *Where* is Abel your brother? (Gen. 4.9).

(ii) Enquires (with or without preposition) as to *the place from which* or *along which* movement has occurred: *from where? along which?*

אֵי־מִזֶּה בָּאתָ *Where* have you come *from*? (Gen. 16.8).

אֵי־זֶה הַדֶּרֶךְ הַלֵּךְ *Which* way did he go? (1 Kgs 13.12).

5. אֵינָה

Enquires about the place *in which* someone or something is: *where?*

אֵינָה is *never* used to enquire about the place in which *an event* took place.

אֵינָה שָׂרָה אִשְׁתְּךָ *Where* is Sarah your wife? (Gen. 18.9).

6. אֵיךָ and אֵיכָה (Strictly speaking these words are not interrogative pronouns but interrogative adverbs.)

(i) Enquire about *the manner* in which something occurred: *how?* (This apparently basic function is, however, seldom used to pose an ordinary question.)

אֵיכָה יַעֲבֹדוּ הַגּוֹיִם הָאֵלֶּה *How* did these nations serve their
אֱת־אֱלֹהֵיהֶם gods? (Deut. 12.30).

Sometimes אֵיךָ and אֵיכָה are used in indirect questions.

הַגִּידְנָא לָנוּ אֵיךְ כָּתַבְתָּ Tell us, *how* did you write all these
אֶת־כָּל־הַדְּבָרִים הָאֵלֶּה words? (Jer. 36.17).

(ii) Function primarily in *rhetorical questions* (almost half the occurrences in the Hebrew Bible). In these cases the rhetorical question is used to *make it clear to listeners that some happening or state of affairs is out of the question*. **איך** and **איכה** are then usually followed by an imperfect form.

איכה אשא לבדי טרחהכם *How can I bear alone the weight of you? (Deut. 1.12).*

**הן אני ערל שפתים
ואיך ישמע אלי פרעה** *Look, I am of uncircumcized lips;
how then shall Pharaoh listen to me?
(Exod. 6.30).*

Sometimes the rhetorical question can be used to *reproach* the person addressed.

ואיך אמרת אחתי היא *How then could you say: She is my
sister? (Gen. 26.9).*

(iii) Function as exclamations to introduce the nature of a particular state of affairs or events. Speakers often use such constructions to express *their disappointment, satisfaction or amazement* about a situation.

איך נפלו גבורים *How are the mighty fallen! (2 Sam.
1.19).*

איכה היתה לזונה *How the (faithful city) has become a
harlot! (Isa. 1.21).*

**איך חתה הילולי
איך הפנה ערף מואב בוש** *How it is broken! How they wail!
How Moab has turned his back in
shame! (Jer. 48.39).*

7. איפה

Enquires about the place *in which* someone or something is to be found or in which events occur: *where?*

איפה שמואל ודוד *Where are Samuel and David? (1
Sam. 19.22).*

איפה לקטת היום *Where did you glean today? (Ruth
2.19).*

8. אָן ⁵⁷ and אָנָה (i) Enquire about the place to which someone is going: *where to?* אָנָה תֵּלְכִי *Where* are you going? (Gen. 16.8). אָן הָלַכְתָּם *Where* did you go? (1 Sam. 10.14).(ii) In exceptional cases אָנָה is used to enquire about the place in which an event occurred: *where?* אָנָה עָשִׂיתָ *Where* have you worked? (Ruth 2.19).(iii) עַד־אָנָה is used to enquire about the duration of events: *until when? how long still?* $\text{עַד־אָנָה תִּסָּרְבֶנָה}$ *How long* do you refuse? (Exod. 16.28).

§44. Discourse Markers

§44.1. Introduction

BH speakers use discourse markers to comment on the content of a sentence *and/or* sentences from a meta-level. (Cf. §11.9.) In this way the sentence or sentences is/are anchored in the discourse in a particular way.

§44.2. הֵן

There is no essential difference between the syntactic and semantic functions of הֵן and הִנֵּה . Although it is claimed that הֵן indicates a conditional clause, the conditional function may be ascribed to the context rather than to הֵן itself.

§44.3. הִנֵּה

1. Introduction

The imperative form of the verb stem רָאָה is sometimes used as a variant of הֵן and הִנֵּה . The word class to which הִנֵּה belongs has always been a problem for grammarians. Some have described it as an interjection while others think it is an adverb. Yet it does not really fit in either of these classes. As opposed to interjections and

57. אָן occurs only twice in the Hebrew Bible.

most ordinary adverbs, it can take a pronominal suffix and, as opposed to ordinary adverbs, it refers to a whole clause. In fact, it always precedes the clause upon which it has a bearing. Semantically it also differs strongly from the class *modal words* that have been identified in this grammar. It does involve the speaker in the content of the clause, but it does not refer to his opinion on the degree of probability of the events or state of affairs. It *points* to the content of the clause that follows it (hence the term sentence deictic is sometimes applied to it). In this way that content acquires a particular prominence within a larger context. In this respect הִנֵּה has the same function as the focus particles. (Cf. §41.4.)

2. Morphology of הִנֵּה

Pronominal suffixes can be attached to הִנֵּה. These suffixes are usually the subject of a nominal clause. The paradigm may be set out as follows:

Person	Singular		Plural	
1 m./f.	הִנְנִי / הִנֵּנִי	Look, I	הִנְנוּ / הִנֵּנוּ	Look, us
2 m.	הִנְךָ	Look, you	הִנְכֶם	Look, you
2 f.	הִנְךָ	Look, you		Look, you
3 m.	הִנּוּ	Look, he	הִנָּם	Look, them
3 f.		Look, she		Look, them

3. Syntax of הִנֵּה

(i) הִנֵּה + verbal clause

וַיֹּאמֶר הִנֵּה נָתַתִּי
אֵלֶיךָ כֶּסֶף לְאַחִידֶךָ

And to Sarah he said: *Look*, I have given your brother a thousand pieces of silver (Gen. 20.16).

(ii) הִנֵּה within a clause after a verb of observation

וַיִּשָׂא עֵינָיו וַיִּהְיֶה שְׁלֹשָׁה
אָנָשִׁים נֹצְבִים עָלָיו

And he lifted up his eyes and looked, and *look*, three men stood in front of him! (Gen. 18.2).

(iii) הִנֵּה + nominal clause

a. הִנֵּה + nominal clause (with subject and predicate)

הִנֵּה אֶרְצִי לְפָנֶיךָ

Look, my land is before you (Gen. 20.15).

b. הנה + nominal clause (with *predicate*)

וַיֹּאמְרוּ אֵלָיו אַיֵּה שָׂרָה אִשְׁתְּךָ וַיֹּאמֶר הִנֵּה בְּאֶהֱלִי	And they said to him: Where is Sarah your wife? And he said: <i>There</i> in the tent (Gen. 18.9).
--	--

c. הנה + nominal clause (with *subject*)

וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלָיו אַבְרָהָם וַיֹּאמֶר הִנְנִי	And he said to him: Abraham! And he said: <i>Here am I</i> (Gen. 22.1).
---	---

4. The semantics and pragmatics of הנה

The semantic function of הנה is to *focus attention on the utterance* that follows it.

(i) *Attention is focused on events that are surprising or unexpected for the person addressed or the characters in a story.* It often introduces an important change of perspective in a story.

הִנֵּה אֲנֹכִי עֹשֶׂה דָבָר בְּיִשְׂרָאֵל	<i>Look</i> , I am about to do a thing in Israel (1 Sam. 3.11).
---	---

וְהִנֵּה עֹדֵנָה מְדַבֶּרֶת עִם־הַמֶּלֶךְ וְנָתַן הַנָּבִיא בָּא	And <i>look</i> , while she was still speaking with the king, Nathan the prophet came in (1 Kgs 1.22).
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וְהִנֵּה אִישׁ מִבְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל בָּא וַיִּקְרַב אֶל־אֶחָיו אֶת־הַמִּדְיָנִית	And <i>look</i> , one of the people of Israel came and brought a Midianite woman to his family (Num. 25.6).
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(ii) By using הנה speakers *present* themselves, someone else or something *as available at the moment of speaking*. In other words, the presentation is performed by means of the utterance.

הִנֵּה אֶרְצִי לְפָנֶיךָ	<i>Look</i> , my land is before you (Gen. 20.15).
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Speaker may also present themselves as *prepared for some event*.

טַעַם טַעַמְתִּי בְּקֶצֶה הַמִּזְבֵּה אֲשֶׁר־בְּיָדִי מֵעַט דָּבַשׁ הִנְנִי אֹמֵת	I tasted a little honey with the tip of the staff that was in my hand; <i>I am prepared to die</i> (1 Sam. 14.43).
--	--

Related to the above-mentioned use are instances where הנה (+ first person pronominal suffix) is used to refer to characters' positive reaction, their reply, after someone has called them. It may be translated *yes, here I am*.

וַיִּקְרָא יְהוָה אֶל־שְׁמוּאֵל וַיֹּאמֶר הִנְנִי	And the Lord called Samuel and he answered (lit. said): <i>Yes</i> (1 Sam. 3.4).
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§44.4. וְהָיָה

1. Precedes a sentence or an adverbial phrase (often with a temporal connotation) that *introduces a new paragraph or sub-paragraph*. By using וְהָיָה the speaker or narrator indicates that the events in the (sub) paragraph *are part of the mainstream* events belonging to the procedure being described or of the future events envisaged.

וְהָיָה כִּי יִרְאוּ אֲתָךְ
הַמִּצְרַיִם וְאָמְרוּ אֵשֶׁתוֹ זֹאת

And if the Egyptians see you, they will say: This is his wife (Gen. 12.12).

וְהָיָה בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא שְׂרֵשׁ יֵשׁוּ
אֲשֶׁר עֲמֹד לְנֶס עַמִּים אֵלָיו
גּוֹיִם יִדְרְשׁוּ וְהָיְתָה מְגֻלָּתוֹ
כְּבוֹד

In that day the root of Jesse shall stand as an ensign to the peoples; him shall the nations seek, and his dwellings shall be glorious (Isa. 11.10).

2. *Incorporates a state of affairs* (described by means of nominal clauses) into the mainstream of the procedure being described or the future events envisaged. This is a way of preventing that state of affairs from being understood as mere background information. Semantically speaking וְהָיָה has functions that correspond with the waw consecutive + perfect form. (Cf. §21.3.)

וְהָיָה צִדְקָתוֹ אֲזוֹר סָתְנָיו וְהֶאֱמוּנָתוֹ
אֲזוֹר חֻלְצָיו

And so righteousness shall be the girdle of his waist, and faithfulness the girdle of his loins (Isa. 11.5).

3. *Functions as an ordinary verb* in the future: will be. Prerequisites for וְהָיָה to fulfil this function are the following: the subject of וְהָיָה must agree with it in number and gender and the semantic notion ‘become.’ must be involved. (For the functions of the waw consecutive + perfect form, cf. §21.3.)

וְהָיָה לְאוֹת בְּרִית בֵּינִי וּבֵינֵיכֶם

It *shall become* a sign of the covenant between me and you (Gen. 17.11).

§44.5. וַיְהִי

1. וַיְהִי *anchors an event, state of affairs, scene, episode or narrative to the time line*.

וַיְהִי namely signals that the event, state of affairs, scene, episode or narrative follows in time on a particular preceding event, state of affairs, scene, episode or narrative. It is therefore part of the main-

stream of a greater narration. The function of וַיְהִי may be compared to the ‘and then’ that young children usually use to tell their stories in English. However, it is often difficult to find a suitable English equivalent of וַיְהִי. Semantically speaking וַיְהִי has functions that correspond with waw consecutive + imperfect form. (Cf. §21.2.)

The following syntactic distinctions can be made:

(i) וַיְהִי + *temporal construction*

- a. In cases where the *temporal frame* of a new scene or episode is specified, וַיְהִי signals that a *new* scene or episode is subsequent to a previously mentioned scene, and that this scene is part of the mainstream of a larger episode or narrative.

וַיְהִי כַעַתָּה הִהוּא ...	And then, at about that time
וַיֹּאמֶר אַבְיֵמֶלֶךְ	Abimelech said: ... (Gen. 21.22).

וַיְהִי may also signal that a scene *following some background information* is part of the mainstream of a larger episode.

וּמִפְּבוֹשֶׁת בֶּן־שָׂאוּל יָרַד	And Mephibosheth the son of Saul
לִקְרַאת הַמֶּלֶךְ וְלֹא־עָשָׂה	came down to meet the king; he had
רְגָלָיו וְלֹא־עָשָׂה שְׂפָמוֹ ...	neither dressed his feet, nor trimmed
וַיְהִי כִּי־בָא יְרוּשָׁלַם	his beard, ... <i>and then</i> , when he came
לִקְרַאת הַמֶּלֶךְ	from Jerusalem to meet the king, the
וַיֹּאמֶר לוֹ הַמֶּלֶךְ	king said to him: ... (2 Sam. 19.25-26).

- b. In cases where *the immediate temporal proximity of two events on the time line* is involved (usually expressed by means of the preposition כִּי + infinitive construct, cf. §39.10/3) וַיְהִי allows speakers to describe the immediate temporal proximity of two events, without breaking the mainstream of events *in a scene*. These constructions are often used at the climax of a scene in order to signal what triggered a climactic event.

וַיְהִי כְּהִזְכִּירוֹ אֶת־אָרוֹן הָאֱלֹהִים	And then, the moment that he
וַיִּפֹּל מֵעַל־הַכִּסֵּא	mentioned the ark of God, Eli fell ...
	from his seat (1 Sam. 4. 18).

(ii) וַיְהִי + *state of affairs* (referred to by means of a nominal clause)

- a. וַיְהִי introduces the *setting* of a new scene or episode. וַיְהִי signals that the new scene or episode needs to be link to a preceding one on which this new scene or episode follows in time.

וַיְהִי אִישׁ אֶחָד מִן־הַרְמָתַיִם ...	And there was a certain man of
	Ramathaim ... (1 Sam. 1.1).

- b. **יָהָי** occurs *in the setting* of a new episode (seldom). **יָהָי** precedes reference to a state of affairs that (apparently) plays a pivotal role in the subsequent episode.

יָהָי רָעָב גָּדוֹל בְּשִׁמְרוֹן And there was a great famine in
Samaria (2 Kgs 6.25).

- c. **יָהָי** occurs *in the course of a scene*. **יָהָי** signals that a state of affairs needs to be treated on par with the mainstream events of the narration, and that is not mere background information.

יָהָי יְהוָה אִתְּיֹסֵף And the Lord was with Joseph (Gen.
39.21).

- d. **יָהָי** occurs *at the conclusion of a scene*. **יָהָי** signals that a state of affairs is the outcome of a preceding series of events.

יָהָי לִפְנֵי כַּאֲחֵמִיל שְׁלֹשִׁים And *so* he was in his presence as
before (1 Sam. 19.7).

2. *Functions as an ordinary verb in the past tense*: became.

A prerequisite for **יָהָי** to fulfil this function is the following: the subject of **יָהָי** must agree with it in number and gender and the semantic notion 'to become' must be involved. (Cf. also §21.2.)

יָהָי אָבֶל רֹעֵה צֹאן Now Abel *became* a keeper of sheep,
וְקַיִן הָיָה עֹבֵד אֲדָמָה and Cain a tiller of the ground (Gen.
4.2).

§44.6. וַעֲתָה

1. *Indicates a logical conclusion: in the light of, therefore*

וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהֵי הַחֲלֹמִים בְּחֶלֶם Then God said to him in the dream:
גַּם אֲנֹכִי יָדַעְתִּי כִּי בְּתָם לַבְּבֶד Yes, I know that you have done this
עֲשִׂיתָ זֹאת וְאֶחְשֵׁךְ גַּם־אֲנֹכִי in the integrity of your heart, and it
אֶחְשֵׁךְ מִחַטֹּאתַי ... was I who kept you from sinning
וַעֲתָה הֲשִׁב אֶשְׁתְּךָ אֵישׁ against me; ... *Therefore* restore the
man's wife (Gen. 20.6-7).

Sometimes the grounds for a conclusion extend over several chapters of a biblical book. For example, the grounds for the conclusion reached in Deut. 4.1 are to be found in Deut. 1–3.

וַעֲתָה יִשְׂרָאֵל שִׁמַּע אֶל־הַחֻקִּים *Therefore*, O Israel, give heed to
וְאֶל־הַמִּשְׁפָּטִים the statutes and the ordinances
(Deut. 4.1).

2. *Functions also an adverb (Cf. §41.2/6(i).)*

§45. Interjections

§45.1 Introduction

Interjections do not form part of a constituent or a clause. (Cf. 11.10.) They are also not related to a constituent or clause. Semantically interjections could be classified as follows:

- Interjections that express emotion.
- Interjections that express an attitude.
- Interjections that express the experience of a **threat**.
- Interjections related to addressing someone.

§45.2. Expression of Emotion

(i) הָאָחַח

Expresses *joy or pleasure*

הָאָחַח חַמּוּתִי רָאִיתִי אֵשׁ

Aha, I am warm, I have seen the fire
(Isa. 44.16).

(ii) אָהָה

Expresses *sorrow*

אָהָה בָּתִּי הִכְרַעַתְנִי הַכְרַעַתְנִי

Oh, my daughter! You have brought
me very low (Judg. 11.35).

§45.3. Expression of an Attitude

(i) אֲחַלֵּי and אֲחַלֵּי

Express a positive wish

אֲחַלֵּי אֲדֹנָי לִפְנֵי הַנְּבִיא
אֲשֶׁר בְּשַׁמְרוֹן

Would that my lord were with the
prophet who is in Samaria! (2 Kgs
5.3).

(ii) מִי יִהְיֶה

Expresses a positive wish (Cf. §43.3/1(iv).)

מִי יִהְיֶה אֶתְהַקֵּם הָעָם בְּיָדִי

Would that this people were under
my hand! (Judg. 9.29).

(iii) קְלִילָה

a. Expresses a speaker's refusal to accept a state of affairs or course of events

וַיֹּאמֶר לוֹ קְלִילָה לֹא תָמוּת And he said to him: *Far from it!* You shall not die (1 Sam. 20.2).

b. A speaker uses the expression to distance himself from a situation or action. This expression is more commonly the predicate of a nominal clause, i.e. syntactically speaking it is not an interjection.

וַיֹּאמֶר קְלִילָה לִי But he said: *Far be it* from me that I
מַעֲשׂוֹת זֹאת should do so! (Gen. 44.17).

§45.4. *Expression of the Experience of a Threat*

(i) הוֹי (usually followed by a participle)

הוֹי אָמַר לְאָב מִהֲחֹלֶד Woe to him who says to a father:
What are you begetting? (Isa. 45.10).

22 of the 50 instances in which this interjection is used in the Hebrew Bible occur in the book of Isaiah.

(ii) אוֹי (usually followed by לְ plus suffix)

וַיֹּאמְרוּ אוֹי לָנוּ כִּי לֹא הָיְתָה And they said: *Woe* to us! For nothing
כְּזֹאת אֶחְמוּל שְׁלֶשֶׁם: like this has happened before (1 Sam.
4.7).

§45.5. *Interjections Used in an Address**Requests*

(i) נָא-

Expresses a polite request: *please*. (Cf. §19.4/4.)

נַעֲבְרָה־נָא בְּאֶרְצְךָ Now *please* let us *pass through* your
land (Num. 20.17).

(ii) אֲנִי/אֲנֵה

Expresses an urgent request: *I/we beg you*

אֲנִי שָׂא נָא פֶשַׁע אֶחָיִךְ Forgive, *I beg you*, the transgression
of your brothers (Gen. 50.17).

(iii) בִּי (always followed by אֲדַנִּי or אֲדַנִּי)

Expresses a request to be excused: *pardon/excuse me/us*

בִּי אֲדַנִּי מָה אֶמַּר *Excuse me* Lord, but what can I say
(Josh. 7.8).

Chapter 7

WORD ORDER

§46. The Syntax of Word Order

§46.1. *Verbal Clauses*

1. *Introduction*

Statistically speaking most clauses in the Hebrew Bible commence with a verb. The reasons for this are the following:

- In the perfect and imperfect forms of BH verbs person (first, second or third person) is not marked by means of an independent personal pronoun as it is in most European languages. In other words, BH has no direct equivalent for ‘I wrote the book’. The morpheme that marks person is part of the verbal conjugation, for example, **כָּתַבְתִּי אֶת־הַסֵּפֶר**. (Cf. also §15.)
- The waw consecutive + perfect and waw consecutive + imperfect constructions that are frequently used in BH do not allow a constituent (e.g. subject or object) to precede the verb.

It is therefore understandable that BH is often regarded as a so-called VSO (‘Verb-Subject-Object’) language. (Cf. §47.1/(d).) As their name suggests, the most common word order in VSO languages is one in which the verb takes the initial position and is followed by the subject and object. If the verb is, however, preceded by the subject or any other constituent, the word order of that clause is regarded as marked. In most BH grammars the semantic function of ‘emphasis’ is attributed to this so-called marked construction. No semantic function is normally attached to the order of the constituents following the verb, for example, when the indirect object precedes the direct object.

In this grammar it is assumed that a more nuanced view of BH word order is possible. For this reason the following considerations are deemed important:⁵⁸

- (a) A distinction must be made between the preverbal field ('Vorveld') and main field ('Hauptveld') of a BH verbal clause. The principles governing the order of constituents in the main field are relatively complex.
- (b) When the preverbal field is occupied by a constituent, this phenomenon is referred to as the *fronting* of a constituent. Note that fronting is not the function of a BH syntactic construction. It is the name of a phenomenon in which (a) constituent(s) (e.g. subject or object) precede(s) the verb of a BH clause. Fronting may have a variety of functions. (Cf. §47.2.)
- (c) In the main field of a clause, that is the section of the clause that is introduced by its verb, fronting is, of course, impossible.
- (d) In the main field a variety of constituents may occur. As a rule they appear in a specific order, also referred to as the unmarked order of the clause. *The movement of these constituents to the left* (under specific circumstances) is associated with only one function (in contrast to fronting). (Cf. §47.3.) In these instances one may regard the construction as a marker of that function. Hence the term marked word order.
- (e) A distinction must be made between instances where a particular order of constituents is obligatory (mostly due to syntactic considerations) and instances where speakers have a choice in their ordering of constituents.

2. *The preverbal field*

The preverbal field refers to that section of a BH clause that *precedes the verb*.

58. Many of the views put forward here are based on the results of a major research project on the function of BH word order conducted by Walter Gross at the University of Tübingen. Some of these findings have been published, cf. Gross (1987a, 1987b, 1988, 1991, 1993a, 1993b and 1996). However, this grammar is by no means an exhaustive representation of the views of Gross. It also does not represent an uncritical acceptance of his linguistic terms of reference and research findings, for example, the term 'fronting' is preferred to his term 'topicalization,' His more nuanced distinctions of constituents, referred to as syntagms, are also not used.

(i) *General features*

a. The preverbal field may be vacant.

וַיָּשׁוּבוּ הַמַּלְאָכִים	And the messengers returned to
אֶל־יַעֲקֹב לֵאמֹר	Jacob, saying, We came to your
בָּאנוּ אֶל־אֶחָיוֹךָ אֶל־עֵשָׂו	brother Esau (Gen. 32.7).

b. It may contain one member.

This constituent may be one word.

אֲתִי שְׁלַח יְהוָה לְמַשְׁחֹךְ לְמֶלֶךְ	The Lord sent <i>me</i> to anoint you king
	(1 Sam. 15.1).

The constituent may be a word chain.

בֵּיתְךָ וּבֵית אָבִיךָ	<i>Your house and the house of your</i>
יִתְהַלְכוּ לְפָנַי עַד־עוֹלָם	<i>father</i> should go in and out before
	<i>me</i> for ever (1 Sam. 2.30).

The constituent may be modified by one or more phrases.

כָּל־הָעָם הַיֵּצֵא מִמִּצְרַיִם	<i>All the people who came out of</i>
הַזְּכָרִים כָּל־אִנְשֵׁי הַמִּלְחָמָה	<i>Egypt, the males, all the men of war,</i>
מָתוּ בַּמִּדְבָּר בְּדַרְךְ	<i>had died on the way in the wilderness</i>
	<i>(Josh. 5.4).</i>

c. It may be occupied by more than one constituent.

It happens only seldom that both constituents are complements. In most cases one is an adjunct of time.

וְהַנִּשְׁאָרִים הָרָחוּ נֹסוּ	and <i>the rest</i> fled to <i>the mountain</i>
	(Gen. 14.10).

Note the following:

- (1) Subordinated conjunctions and discourse markers (in the following order: עַתָּה לְכֵן עַתָּה [וְ]) can occupy the right-hand margin of the preverbal field. They govern the entire sentence and for this reason stand at its right-hand margin. As a rule they do not influence the function of fronting.

עַתָּה לֹא־אַתָּם שְׁלַחְתֶּם	So it was not you who sent me here,
אֲתִי הֵנִיחַ ...	(Gen. 45.8).

- (2) Negatives and infinitive absolutes (in a verbal construction) are part of the verbal constituent of a clause. Also when they precede the verb of a clause, they are part of the verbal constituent, and not part of the preverbal field.

כִּי־בָרַךְ אֶבְרָחָם	I will bless you richly (Gen. 22.17).
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- (3) The so-called *dislocated construction* (*pendens construction*) should not be mistaken for fronting. In the case of the former a constituent stands at the beginning of a clause *and* is taken up again later in the clause by a constituent of the clause (called the resumptive), for example, 'That big house, I am still going to buy it for us.' A dislocated phrase is not part of the subsequent clause, but a construction occurring at the outer edge of a BH clause. It is usually followed by a complete sentence with or without a fronted constituent.

הַמִּטָּה אֲשֶׁר־עָלִיתָ	<i>The bed to which you have gone, you</i>
שָׁם לֹא־תֵרֵד מִמֶּנָּה	<i>shall not come down from it (2 Kgs</i>
	<i>1.4).</i>

שָׁכֵם בְּנִי	<i>Shechem my son, his soul longs for</i>
חֲשָׁקָה נַפְשׁוֹ בְּבַתְּכֶם	<i>your daughter (Gen. 34.8).</i>

The function of the above type of dislocated construction is usually to *(re-)activate an identifiable referent* that is talked about.

- (4) In BH an *adjunct of time* often precedes the waw consecutive + perfect or waw consecutive + imperfect form of the verb. This *type of dislocated construction* serves a purpose that differs from the above-mentioned. In most it is instances used to provide the temporal *point of orientation* of the subsequent event(s). This construction is often preceded by וַיְהִי. For the function of וַיְהִי, cf. §44.5/1.

This type of dislocated construction differs also syntactically from those mentioned above. It does not have a resumptive element. It is, however, regarded as a dislocated construction because the dislocated element is separated from the rest of the sentence by means of a waw.

וַיְהִי בַבֹּקֶר	<i>And on the morrow Balak took</i>
וַיִּקַּח בָּלָק אֶת־בִּלְעָם	<i>Balaam and brought him up to</i>
וַיַּעֲלֵהוּ בְּמוֹת בַּעַל	<i>Bamothbaal (Num. 22.41).</i>

- (5) In a clause where the verb is *a participle* the subject normally precedes the verb.

הִנֵּה אֲנִי עֹשֶׂה דָבָר	<i>Look, I am about to do a thing in</i>
בְּיִשְׂרָאֵל	<i>Israel (1 Sam. 3.11).</i>

- (6) In poetic texts fronting can fulfil the same functions as in non-poetic texts. Yet one must take into account the fact that poets can sometimes use the order of elements to create formal patterns, for example, a *chiasitic pattern* ABBA (verb + clause X + clause X + verb).

לא־יבוא עוד שֶׁמֶשׁךָ	Your sun shall no more go down, nor
וַיִּרְחֹק לֹא יֵאָסֶף	your moon withdraw itself (Isa. 60.20).

(ii) *Obligatory entities in the preverbal field*

- a. An *interrogative* (introducing a factual question) as a rule occurs in the preverbal position. The same applies to the constituent that provides the answer to the question.

מִי יַעֲלֶה־לָנוּ אֶל־הַכּוֹנְעֵי	<i>Who</i> shall go up first for us against the Canaanites, to fight against them?
בְּתַחֲלֵה לְהִלָּחֵם בּוֹ:	
וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה יְהוָה יַעֲלֶה	The Lord said, <i>Judah</i> shall go up (Judg. 1.1-2).

- b. The demonstrative (deictic) adverb in the *messenger formula*, ‘*Thus speak the Lord,*’ as a rule occurs in the preverbal position.

לְכֵן כֹּה אָמַר אֲדֹנָי יְהוִה	Therefore <i>thus</i> says the Lord God: (Ezek. 5.8).
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- c. When the subject of a clause is realized by means of an *independent personal pronoun*, as rule, it occupies the preverbal field, unless prohibited by other syntactic considerations. (Cf. 36.1/1.2(ii).)

וְלֹא תֹאמַר	Lest you should say, <i>I</i> have made Abram rich (Gen. 14.23).
אֲנִי הַעֲשִׂיתִי אֶת־אַבְרָם	

3. The main field

(i) General features

The main field is always introduced by a **verbal constituent**. The verbal constituent may be one of the following:

- a. Verb

אֲנִי שִׁלַּח יְהוָה לְמַשְׁחָךְ	Me the Lord <i>sent</i> to anoint you king (1 Sam. 15.1).
לְמֶלֶךְ	

- b. Negative + verb

הַמִּטָּה אֲשֶׁר־עָלִיתָ	The bed to which you have gone, you <i>shall not come down</i> from it (2 Kgs 1.4).
שָׁם לֹא־תֵרֵד מִמֶּנָּה	

c. Infinitive absolute + verb

אָמַרְתִּי בֵּיתְךָ וּבֵית אָבִיךָ יִתְהַלְכוּ לְפָנַי עַד-עוֹלָם	I <i>promised</i> that your house and the house of your father should go in and out before me for ever (1 Sam. 2.30).
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While the preverbal field as a rule is not occupied by more than two constituents, the main field is often occupied by more than two constituents.

אֲתִי (1) שְׁלַח	The Lord sent me to anoint you king
לְמִשְׁחָךְ (3) יְהוָה (2)	over his people Israel (1 Sam. 15.1)
לְמַלְךְ (4)	

(ii) *Obligatory order of constituents in the main field*

a. *Shorter constituents* with a deictic function stand close to the verb, e.g. constituents that are expressed by means of a *preposition + pronominal suffix* or *את + pronominal suffix* stand as close to the verb as possible.

וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהֵי הָאֱלֹהִים ...	Then God said to <i>him</i> : ... (Gen. 20.6).
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Exception: If the subject consists of a *status constructus* relationship and the pronominal suffix refers to the referent of the *post-constructus*, the preposition + pronominal suffix cannot precede the subject.

וַתֵּלֶד אִשְׁתּוֹ גִּלְעָד לֹוּ בָנִים	And <i>Gilead's</i> wife also bore <i>him</i> sons (Judg. 11.2).
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Constituents that are expressed by means of *deictic adverbs* also stand as close to the verb as possible. However, as a rule they follow the preposition + pronominal suffix (if it too occurs).

וַיִּכַּם שָׁם דָּוִד	And David defeated them <i>there</i> (2 Sam. 5.20).
הַמְּקוֹם אֲשֶׁר דִּבֶּר אֲתוֹ שָׁם אֱלֹהִים	the place <i>where</i> God had spoken with him (Gen. 35.15)

As a rule the *adverb* עוד stands as close to the verb as possible.

כִּי לֹא-יַעֲשֶׂה עוֹד עִבְדֶּךָ עֲלֶיהָ וְנִבַּח לְאֱלֹהִים אֲחֵרִים	For your servant will not offer never <i>again</i> make burnt offering or sacrifice to other gods (2 Kgs 5.17).
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- b. *Long constituents* tend to occur at the end of a BH clause, e.g. constituents expressed by means of a *preposition + infinitive construct*.

אֲשֶׁר הִכָּה מֹשֶׁה וּבְנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל
בְּצֵאתָם מִמִּצְרָיִם: whom Moses and the children of
Israel defeated *when they came out*
of Egypt (Deut. 4.46)

Constituents expressed by means of a relative pronoun + clause

כִּי־לָקַח מֶלֶךְ בָּבֶל
מִנְחָל מִצְרַיִם עַד־נְהַר־פָּרָת
כֹּל אֲשֶׁר הָיְתָה לְמֶלֶךְ מִצְרַיִם: for the king of Babylon had taken all
that belonged to the king of Egypt
from the Brook of Egypt to the river
Euphrates (2 Kgs 24.7).

Constituents expressed by means of a word chain

וְנָתַן לַכֹּהֵן
הַזֶּרַע וְהַלְחָיִים וְהַקֶּבֶה: And they shall give to the **priest** *the*
shoulder and the two cheeks and the
stomach (Deut. 18.3).

Exception: If the word chain is the subject (and in a few cases the object) of the clause, it tends not to stand at the end of the clause.

וַתִּשָּׂר דְּבוֹרָה וּבָרַק
בֵּן־אֲבִינוֹעַם בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא: Then sang *Deborah and Barak* the
son of Abinoam on that day: (Judg.
5.1).

(iii) *Unmarked and marked word order in the main field*

Lexicalized and pronominalized constituents are marked according to the same principles. Differences between clauses where these two types are used are due to the fact that pronominalized constituents occur as close to the verb as possible. (Cf. §46.1/2(ii)a.)

- a. The *unmarked order* when *all the constituents are lexicalized* is:

Subject + object + indirect object + prepositional object + other complement/adjunct + complement/adjunct (place) + adjunct (time)

- b. *Marked order* is indicated when:

A constituent stands further away from the verb than usual, e.g.

The lexicalized object stands in a marked position; it follows the indirect object.

יָדַעְתִּי אֵת אֲשֶׁר־תַּעֲשֶׂה
לְבְנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל רָעָה: I know what you will do to the
people of Israel is *evil* (2 Kgs 8.12).

The above-mentioned principle implies that *if a pronominalized constituent is involved*, the *marked order* would be indicated by the pronominalized constituent standing *not close to the verb*, but

later in the clause (i.e. where it would have stood as lexicalized constituent).⁵⁹

The pronominalized complement of place does not stand as close to the verb as possible, e.g.

וְאָשִׁיבָהּ כָּל־הָעָם אֵלַיךְ And I will bring all the people back *to you* (2 Sam. 17.3).

A marked position for the *adjunct of time*⁶⁰ and *complement/adjunct of time*, both of which normally occur at the end of the clause, is the following: When they are lexicalized they stand closer to the verb than usual. When they are pronominalized, or have a deictic character, they do not stand close to the verb, but at the end of the clause; in other words, the place that they would have occupied as lexicalized constituents, for example.

The lexicalized adjunct of time does not stand at the end of the clause, but closer to the verb (and before the complement of place).

וְאוֹלַךְ אַתְּכֶם
אַרְבָּעִים שָׁנָה בַּמִּדְבָּר And I have led you *forty years* in the wilderness (Deut. 29.4).

The deictic adjunct of time does not stand as close to the verb as possible, but at the end of the clause.

וְלֹא־יָדַע אִישׁ אֶת־קְבֻרָתוֹ
עַד הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה But no man knows the place of his burial *to this day* (Deut. 34.6).

§46.2. Nominal Clauses

1. In a nominal clause the unmarked word order is:

Subject + Predicate

הָאִישׁ מֹשֶׁה גָּדוֹל The man Moses **was very great**
(Exod. 11.3).

2. In a nominal clause the marked word order is:

Predicate + subject

מְרַגְלִים אַתָּה *Spies* are you (Gen. 42.9).

59. The indirect object does not always comply with this rule.

60. Temporal adjuncts of frequency, duration and point(s) in time are here treated as a syntactically homogenous group.

§47. The Semantic-Pragmatic Functions of Word Order

1. Introduction

The *semantic function* of word order refers to the contribution that the order of constituents makes to the interpretation of a *clause*. Often there is no one-to-one correlation between the order of constituents and the function that is expressed by means of it. Its function can only be determined if the communicative context in which the clause was uttered, is taken into consideration. For this reason we rather refer to the *semantic-pragmatic function of word order* than merely to its semantic function. In order to determine which particular semantic-pragmatic function is involved, the following general remarks need to be taken into consideration:

- (a) Participants in a communicative situation, i.e. the interlocutors, each have a cognitive world of their own. This world, among other things, consists of mental representations of *persons, things, places (entities) and states of affairs and events (propositions)*. These mental representations make up their *knowledge of the world*.
- (b) When two parties communicate they are normally not conscious of their entire knowledge of the world. At a particular point in a conversation, only a part of it is, or can be, activated. This is because the short-term memory of humans has a limited capacity. In the case of a narrative, characters, things, places, states of affairs and events may be introduced or activated in the course of the narrative. However, only those in the short-term memory of the interlocutors are active at a particular point of a narrative. They are referred to as being *discourse active*.
- (c) When one analyses the utterances of a narrative it is as a rule evident that most of the utterances are about somebody or something that is already discourse active. Now, the entity or entities about which an utterance says something is referred to as the *topic* of that utterance. A *discourse active* topic is normally referred to by means of a *pronoun* that is the subject of the sentence involved, e.g.

וַיִּשְׁכְּמוּ בַבֶּקֶר
וַיִּשְׁתַּחֲוּוּ לַפְּנֵי יְהוָה

*They rose early in the morning
and worshipped before the LORD
(1 Sam. 1.19).*

- (d) What is said about the discourse active topic of an utterance presents the most salient information conveyed by a particular utterance. This section of the utterance is referred to as the *focus of the utterance*. In the case of 1 Sam. 1.19 it is 'They *rose early in the morning* and (they) *worshipped before the LORD*'. In these utterances the predicates are the focus of the utterances. Across languages, utterances with *predicate focus* are those that are the *most unmarked* as far as the sequence of clause constituents is concerned, e.g. in English it is the sequence subject-verb-object (SVO) and in BH and Arabic it is verb-subject-object (VSO). (Cf. also §46.1/1.)
- (e) The *focus* of an utterance is considered to be that section of an utterance that carries the most salient information in that utterance, relative to all the information provided by that utterance in a given context. The focus of an utterance is also defined as that event (e.g. *They worshipped before the LORD*), that aspect of an event (e.g. *At exactly four o'clock*, we completed the race), that entity (e.g. *Peter* did it) or that attribute of an entity (e.g. *The old* dog did it, not the young one) that *represents a particular choice in a context where more than one alternative is possible*.
- (f) From the above-mentioned definition of focus it is obvious that not only its predicate may be the focus of an utterance. When an event or state of affairs is discourse active, the referent (or attribute of the referent) of one of a sentence's complements (i.e. subject, object, indirect object) or adjuncts (i.e. adverbial of time, place or manner) may also be the focus of that utterance. The most obvious instances of this type of focus are in the answers to questions. For example, the question 'What were you singing?' may be answered in English as follows: (1) 'OB-LA-DI-OB-LA-DA'; (2) 'We were singing OB-LA-DI-OB-LA-DA'; (3) 'What we were singing was, OB-LA-DI-OB-LA-DA' or (4) 'It was OB-LA-DI-OB-LA-DA that we were singing'. Significant is that in each case a special or marked construction is involved. In BH *fronting* is one of the constructions used to signal that an entity or an attribute of an entity is the focus of an utterance.

- (g) The focus of an utterance does not only convey the *identity* of an entity or event. It may also *confirm* it, e.g. ‘Did SHE tell you?’ ‘Yes, SHE HERSELF told me’.
- (h) An utterance cannot have more than one topic, but may have more than one focus. For example, in the utterance ‘*At this very moment tomorrow, I will send a Benjamamite to you*’ both the adjunct of time ‘*At this very moment tomorrow* and predicate ‘*will send a Benjamamite to you*’ are the *foci* of the utterance.⁶¹ The utterance has only one topic, viz. ‘I’.
- (i) When the topic of an utterance is discourse active, it is normally referred to by means of a pronoun or other unmarked construction (see (c) above). However, when the topic of an utterance is not discourse active, and needs to be newly introduced, or reactivated, a special construction may be involved again. In English, the phrase ‘as far as TOPIC is concerned...’ may be used. Left-dislocation may also be used, e.g. ‘That TOPIC, I love it’. In BH a dislocated construction may be used. (Cf. §46.1/2 note 3.) *Fronting*, however, is more frequently used to *introduce or (re-) activate the topic of an utterance* that is not discourse active.⁶²
- (j) One or two *already discourse active topics* are sometimes ‘apparently unnecessarily’ reactivated as topics. However, the reactivation is required in order to *compare or contrast two different topics*, e.g. ‘HE (topic a) STAYED in the hills, but SHE (topic b) LEFT for town’.

2. Semantic-pragmatic functions of fronting

- (i) The fronting signals that an entity, an aspect of an entity or an event is *the focus of an utterance*.
- a. Providing the *identity* of an entity (e.g. a character) of a discourse active event or state of affairs. Since the answer to a factual question (who? or what?) provides the identity of somebody or something, the reference to it is normally fronted. (Cf. §46.1/2(ii)a.)

61. In such cases the event involved is not necessarily discourse active as in the cases referred to in (f).

62. With the exception of those cases referred to in (j) where a discourse active event is negated (e.g. ‘THE CHILDREN may go, but THE MEN may not go’), the events involved are as a rule not discourse active.

מי יעלה לפני אל־הַכְּנַעֲנִי
 בַּתְּחִלָּה לְהִלָּחֵם בָּם:
 וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה יְהוּדָה יַעֲלֶה

Who shall go up first for us against
 the Canaanites, to fight against them?
 The Lord said, *Judah* shall go up
 (Judg. 1.1-2).

- b. Confirming *the personal or exclusive role* of a specific discourse active entity in an event

אֲתִי שָׁלַח יְהוָה לְמִשְׁחָךְ לְמֶלֶךְ

Me (and no-one else) has the Lord
 sent to anoint you as king (1 Sam.
 15.1).

- c. Confirming a *particular quality* of a discourse active event or state of affairs

בְּתָם־לִבִּי וּבְנִקְיוֹן כַּפִּי
 עָשִׂיתִי זֹאת

*In the integrity of my heart and the
 innocence of my hands* I have done this
 (Gen. 20.5).

- d. Confirming *the quantity of a referent* of a discourse active event or state of affairs

וְכָל־אֲנָשֵׁי בֵיתוֹ
 יְלִיד בַּיִת וּמִקְנֵת כֶּסֶף מֵאֶת
 בְּזָרָה נִמְלְאוּ אֹתוֹ

and *all* the men of his house, those born
 in the house and those bought with
 money from a foreigner, were circum-
 cized with him (Gen. 17.27).

Note the following:

- (1) Fronting is not the only way of marking the focus of an utterance (Cf. §47.3 below and focus particles, §41.4.)
 - (2) Clauses with a so-called obligatory order of constituents are not necessarily without a focused constituent. (Cf. §46.2/2(i)a.)
- (ii) The fronted complement or adjunct signals that an entity is *introduced, activated or reactivated* to function as the topic of an utterance. The event referred to by means of the predicate of that utterance is not discourse active.⁶³

- a. Introducing *a new character* to be the topic of an utterance:
 at the beginning of a new episode

63. The process involved is also referred to as the *focus of topicalization*. It is argued that focus is involved since a topic is either picked from a universe of possible topics, or delineated from other topics. In other words, the new or (re-)activated topic represents a particular choice in a context where more than one alternative was possible. Cf. Van der Merwe 1990: 41.

וּבִן־הַדָּד מֶלֶךְ־אֲרָם קָבַץ
אֶת־כָּל־חֵילוֹ

And Benhadad the king of Syria gathered all his army together (1 Kgs 20.1).

or at the beginning a subparagraph that refers to *background information*.

וַיָּמָת אֵלִישָׁע וַיִּקְבְּרוּהוּ
וַגְדוּדֵי מוֹאָב יָבֹאוּ
בְּאֶרֶץ בָּא שָׁנָה:
וְהָיָה ...

So Elisha died, and they buried him. Now bands of Moabites used to invade the land in the spring of the year. And as ... (2 Kgs 13.20-21).

b. Activating an *identifiable character or characters* to be the topic of an utterance at the *beginning of a new scene*.

מֹשֶׁה עַבְד־יְהוָה וּבְנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל
הִכּוּם

Moses, the servant of the Lord, and the Israelites defeated them (Josh. 12.6).

c. Reactivating entities to be the topics of utterances that are the *summary* of a paragraph, episode or narrative.

וַיִּשְׂמַח כָּל־עַם־הָאָרֶץ
וְהָעִיר שָׁקֵטָה
וְאֶת־עַתְלֵיהֶּוּ הִמִּיתוּ בַחֶרֶב

So all the people of the land rejoiced, and the city was quiet and Athaliah they had killed by the sword (2 Kgs 11.20).

d. Reactivating an identifiable entity in order to comment on different entities that are *involved in the same situation*.

וַתִּקַּח תָּמָר אֶפְרַיִם עַל־רֹאשָׁהּ
וַכְתַּנְתָּ הַפָּסִים אֲשֶׁר עָלֶיהָ קָרָעָה

Tamar put ashes on her head, and the long robe that she was wearing, she tore (2 Sam. 13.19).

Often the different utterances, each with a different topic, have the character of a *list*.

אֲנִי נָתַן אֶת־כָּל־לָמַם הַלְלִים
לְפָנַי יִשְׂרָאֵל אֶת־סוּסֵיהֶם
הַעֲקָר וְאֶת־מְרֻכְבֵּיהֶם
תִּשְׂרֹף בָּאֵשׁ

I will give over all of them, slain, to Israel; their horses you shall hamstring, and their chariots you shall burn with fire (Josh. 11.6).

e. Reactivating characters (or entities) that are *compared or contrasted*.

וַיַּעַל הָאִישׁ אֶלְקָנָה ...
וַחֲנָה לֹא עָלְתָה ...

The man, Elkana went up But, Hannah did not go up ... (1 Sam. 1.22).

וַאֲבִי אֶת־אַגַּג מֶלֶךְ עַמְלֵק
וְאֶת־עַמְלֵק הִחָרַמְתִּי

And I have brought Agag the king of Amalek, but the Amalekites I have utterly destroyed (1 Sam. 15:20).

(iii) The *fronted subject* signals that a so-called *anterior construction* is involved. This construction refers to events that happened, relative to a temporal sequence of events, ‘in the meanwhile’.

This construction will have a *discourse active referent as fronted subject* and a proposition that has a pluperfect or preperfect relationship with the main line of the narration.⁶⁴

... וַיֹּאמֶר לוֹ הֲנִיךָ מֵת עַל-הָאִשָּׁה	and said to him, You are about to die
וַאֲבִימֶלֶךְ לֹא קָרַב אֵלֶיהָ	... ⁴ Now Abimelech had not
וַיֹּאמֶר אֲדָנָי ...	approached her, so he said, Lord ...
	(Gen. 20.3-4).

(iv) The *fronted subject* signals a *special type of temporal construction* where *immediately simultaneous* or *nearly simultaneous* actions are involved.

In this type of construction, fronting of the subject may occur in both the temporal and the main clause. In some cases only the subject of the main clause occupies the preverbal field. (Cf. also §36.1/I.3(iv).)

הָמָּה בָּאוּ בְּאֶרֶץ צֹרֶף	When they came to the land of Zuph,
וְשָׁאוּל אָמַר לְנִעְרוֹ אֲשֶׁר-עִמּוֹ	Saul said to his servant who was with
לֵבָה וְנָשׁוּבָה	him, Come, let us go back ... (1 Sam.
	9.5).

Note the following:

- When an apparently superfluous independent personal pronoun occupies the preverbal field, it is also fronting that is involved. The semantic-pragmatic functions that can be expressed do not differ from those listed above. (Cf. also §36.1/I.3.)
- When a fronted constituent refers to God, sometimes not one of the above-mentioned functions can be attributed to the construction. It might be a BH sociolinguistic convention that we do not yet understand.

3. *Semantic-pragmatic functions of marked word order in nominal clauses*

To mark an entity as the *focus* of the utterance in which it occurs. It confirms *the nature or quality* of the predicate of the nominal clause.

מִרְגָּלִים אַתֶּם	You are nothing <i>but spies</i> [lit. <i>Spies</i>
	are you] (Gen. 42.9).

64. For an exhaustive discussion of the anterior construction, cf. Zevit 1998.

4. Semantic-pragmatic functions of marked word order in the *main field*

To mark an entity as a focus of the utterance in which it occurs.

a. Confirming *the quality or nature of an event*

יִדְעַתִּי אֵת אֲשֶׁר-תַּעֲשֶׂה
לְבָנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל רָעָה

I know what you will do to the people of Israel is *evil* (2 Kgs 8.12).

הִנֵּה יָמִים בָּאִים נְאֻם-יְהוָה
וְכָרַחְתִּי אֶת-בַּיִת יִשְׂרָאֵל
וְאֶת-בַּיִת יְהוּדָה בְּרִיחַ חֲדָשָׁה:

Look, the days are coming, says the Lord, when I will make a *new covenant* with the house of Israel and with the house of Judah (Jer. 31.31).

b. Confirming *the identity of the goal* of an action

וְאָשִׁיבָה כָּל-הָעָם אֵלַיךְ

And I will bring all the people back *to you* (2 Sam. 17.3).

c. Confirming *the extent of the duration* of an event/action

וְאוֹלַךְ אֶתְכֶם
אַרְבָּעִים שָׁנָה בַּמִּדְבָּר

And I have led you *forty years* in the wilderness (Deut. 29.4).

GLOSSARY

The glossary contains the metalanguage that has not already been explained in the text and that is mainly linguistic in character. Terms that are themselves explained somewhere else in the glossary are indicated by capital letters. If a term is only necessary for a certain explanation, a definition is given in the explanation.

ABLATIVE In languages that express grammatical relations explicitly by **DECLENSIONS** (inflexion) this term indicates the form of the word (normally a **NOUN** or pronoun). In Latin the ablative indicates the word form of the **CASE** that expresses the medium or instrument with which an action is carried out or which indicates a place or source. In BH the ablative is not indicated explicitly as in Latin, and similar functions are expressed by way of other constructions, especially with prepositions.

ACCUSATIVE In languages that express grammatical relations explicitly by **DECLENSIONS** (inflexion) this term indicates the form of the word (normally a **NOUN** or pronoun). In Latin the accusative indicates the word form of the **CASE** that expresses the (**DIRECT**) **OBJECT** of the **VERB**. In BH the accusative is not indicated explicitly as in Latin, and similar functions are expressed by way of other grammatical ways.

AD SENSUM See **CONSTRUCTIO AD SENSUM**.

ADJUNCT The term *adjunct* refers to an optional or secondary element in a construction. On the syntactic level adjuncts refer to optional, omissible, non-verbal elements in the **PREDICATE** or verb phrase (**VP**). It can be removed from the predicate without influencing the structural identity of the rest of the construction, for example, *yesterday* in *Yesterday John kicked the ball*. Adjuncts are adverbs and prepositional phrases (and sometimes also noun phrases) that are added to or combined with **VERBS**, although the verb itself does not require its presence. Adjuncts are in contrast to **COMPLEMENTS** which are obligatory elements in the verb phrase, for example, the **DIRECT OBJECT**.

ADVERBIAL ACCUSATIVE In languages with explicit **CASE** endings the adverbial **ACCUSATIVE** indicates adverbial modifiers consisting of a **NOUN** in the accusative. In BH this function is fulfilled by nominal **ADJUNCTS** which show the normal form of the noun and which can fulfil different **SEMANTIC**

functions, e.g. the indication of time, location, manner and regard.

AFFECTED The term *affected* refers to the entity (person or thing) that, although it does not cause the action or event indicated by the VERB, is somehow directly involved. In active CLAUSES the affected and the grammatical OBJECT normally refer to the same person or thing. The affected entity existed before the action, and it is only influenced by the action, for example, *the table in He broke the table*. See EFFECTED.

AFFIX An affix is a morpheme (= smallest unit of a language with independent meaning and/or grammatical function) that cannot act independently, but has to be combined with another morpheme to form one word. There are three kinds of affixes, i.e. PREFIXES, INFIXES and SUFFIXES.

AGENT The term *agent* refers to the acting person or thing that causes the action expressed by the VERB or PREDICATE. In active CLAUSES the agent and the grammatical SUBJECT normally refer to the same entity.

AGREEMENT Agreement, concord or congruency indicates the similarity of the formal element in two or more words with reference to number, gender and person (and sometimes definiteness), for example, that of the adjective with the NOUN, the demonstrative pronoun with the noun, or the VERB with the grammatical SUBJECT.

AKTIONSBART *Aktionsart* (literally: kind of action) which can usually be deduced from the VERB, indicates the manner in which the structure of a situation or event is understood in relation to durativity (= durative progress, e.g. *The sun shines*), iterativity (= interrupted, consecutive, repeated moments of progress, for example, *The watch ticks continuously*), causativity (e.g. *The alarm clock wakes us in the morning*), and other similar factors.

ALLATIVE In languages that express grammatical relations explicitly by DECLENSIONS (inflexion) this term indicates the form of the word (normally a NOUN or pronoun). In Finnish the allative indicates the word form of the CASE that expresses the meaning of motion towards a location (= direction). In BH the allative function is not indicated explicitly as in Finnish, but is replaced by the use of certain prepositions, the *he locale* and nouns used adverbially.

ALLOPHONE Allophones are phonetic variants of a phoneme (phonemes are linguistically distinctive speech sounds, i.e. speech sounds that are used to contrast meaning). In English the sounds [i] and [e], respectively in *compete* and *competition*, are allophones of the phoneme /i/. In BH the PLOSIVE- and FRI-CATIVE-pronunciation of the *begadkefat*-letters (§4.2.2) are phonetic variants or allophones. Phoneme is analogous to constants, while allophones indicate variables.

ANAPHORA An *anaphora* is a grammatical element without any independent reference. For its reference it depends on a previous element (the ANTECEDENT) in the same structural unit (normally a CLAUSE). *Anaphoras* include

REFLEXIVE pronouns (e.g. *myself*) and RECIPROCAL pronouns (e.g. *each other*). In contrast these other pronouns refer independently (i.e. without an antecedent in the same structural unit, for example. *he* in *He is ill.*)

ANTECEDENT An antecedent is an element in a CLAUSE to which another word that follows it, refers.

AP The smallest units with which a CLAUSE is built, are words. Words are distinguished in different classes, e.g. VERB (V), NOUN (N), adjective (A) and preposition (P). Words can be grouped into larger units known as PHRASES. Phrases can again be distinguished in different classes, named according to the class of the head word in the phrase. AP refers to an adjective phrase, a phrase with A as head. The phrase *incredibly clever* in the clause *The student is incredibly clever* is the AP with the A *clever* as head. Other phrases are, for example, noun phrase (NP), verb phrase (VP) and prepositional phrase (PP).

APOCOPE Apocope is the cutting off or disappearance of an unaccented vowel and/or consonant at the end of a word, for example, $\text{הַיְיָ} > \text{יְיָ}$. The shortening at the end of a form usually causes the syllable structure of the word to change. See also SHORT FORM.

APODOSIS The *apodosis* is the second (*then-*) part of a condition (*if-then*). The *apodosis* is the consecutive main clause that follows the conditional sub-ordinate clause or *PROTASIS* (the *if-part*) of this construction.

APPOSITION Apposition is the juxtaposition (placing next to or opposite to) of an element (usually a NOUN or noun PHRASE) as a descriptive and/or explanatory modifier to another element (usually a noun or noun phrase) (the head). Nouns in apposition have the same reference and SYNTACTIC function as the head. Usually they also agree in number and gender with the head. In the CLAUSE *He called Sarah, his wife* the PHRASE *his wife* is in apposition to *Sarah*.

ASSIMILATION Assimilation indicates a process where one segment (= a discrete sound unit) adopts the characteristics of an adjacent segment and by which the two sounds become more identical. A consonant may take up the characteristics of a vowel, and a vowel may take up the characteristics of a consonant. A consonant may influence another consonant, and a vowel may influence another vowel. The equalization may be total or partial. It usually happens at the border of two morphemes (= the smallest unit of a language with independent meaning and/or grammatical function) or words. In the word *cupboard* the [p]-sound takes over the characteristics of the adjacent [b]-sound. Usually the change occurs in both the spelling and pronunciation. In the following examples the final consonant of a PREFIX adopted the characteristics of the initial consonant of the root word: *in+legal* > *illegal*; *in+mortal* > *im-mortal* Progressive assimilation occurs when a sound adapts itself to a preceding one. Regressive assimilation occurs when a sound adapts itself to a following one.

ASYNDETIC Asyndetic indicates a connection of words, PHRASES or CLAUSES without the normal coordinate or subordinate conjunction, for example, *In the days of Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz ...* instead of *In the days of Uzziah and Jotham and Ahaz...*

ATTRIBUTIVE The term *attributive* refers to the manner in which adjectives qualify. In English the placing of an adjective or other adjectival modifier before the qualified NOUN indicates an attributive, for example, *red* in *He sits on the red chair*. In BH an attributive adjective agrees with its noun in number, gender and definiteness, and it follows the noun, for example, *הַכִּסֵּא הַקָּדוֹן*. **PREDICATIVE** is used in contrast to attributive.

AVERBAL CLAUSE See **NOMINAL CLAUSE**.

BASE VOWEL See **STEM VOWEL**.

BETH CAUSA If the BH preposition *בְּ* indicates the *cause* or *reason* of an action, it is called the *beth causa*.

BETH COMITANTIAE If the BH preposition *בְּ* indicates the person or entities that *accompany* the acting person, or that are joined to it, or associated with it, it is called the *beth comitantiae*. See **COMITATIVE**.

BETH INSTRUMENTI If the BH preposition *בְּ* indicates the *instrument* or *means* with which the action is realized, it is called the *beth instrumenti*.

BETH LOCALE If the BH preposition *בְּ* indicates the *place* where the action is realized, it is called the *beth locale*.

BETH PRETII If the BH preposition *בְּ* indicates the *price* for which the action is realized, it is called the *beth pretii*.

CASE Case indicates a grammatical category that is used to identify the SYNTACTIC relations between words in a CLAUSE. In languages that express grammatical relations explicitly by DECLENSIONS (inflexion), case indicates the different forms of a word (normally a NOUN or pronoun). In languages like BH with abstract case (not expressed explicitly as in Latin) other grammatical means are used to mark the SYNTACTIC relations between words.

CASE MARKER In languages with explicit CASE, case markers or endings indicate the DECLENSIONS (inflexion) of a word, thus marking the SYNTACTIC relations between words explicitly.

CASUS PENDENS See **DISLOCATION CONSTRUCTION**.

CATAPHOR A cataphor is a grammatical element that is dependent for its reference on another element occurring later in a structural unit, usually a CLAUSE. In *Here is the news* the word *here* is a cataphor for that which follows the UTTERANCE.

CAUSATIVE A causative indicates a grammatical construction or form (usually a

- VERB) that expresses cause or causality. Examples of causative verbs are *declare holy/consecrate, kindle, bring back* (= *cause to go back*).
- CLAUSE A clause is considered by some to be a grammatically organized unit, smaller than a sentence, but larger than a PHRASE, for example, *who lived in Canaan* in *Jacob who lived in Canaan, loved Joseph*. In this grammar a clause is regarded as a meaningful series of words that has a subject and a predicate.
- COHESION Cohesion refers to those qualities of a text that bind CLAUSES and sentences together, e.g. the cross references of pronouns and NOUNS when people and things are referred to.
- COMITATIVE Comitative indicates the combining of a person or thing with another person or thing by accompanying it or by associating with it, or by causing an action in its presence.
- COMPLEMENT In grammatical theory this term refers to an obligatory element in a construction. On the SYNTACTIC level complements refer to obligatory, non-omissible, non-verbal parts of the PREDICATE or verb phrase (VP). If a complement is removed from the predicate, the structural identity of the rest of the construction is affected, for example, *bread* and *sons* cannot be omitted in the sentence *John gives his sons bread*. Complements are NOUNS or prepositional phrases that are added to or combined with verbs because the VERB requires its presence. They differ from ADJUNCTS that are optional, secondary PHRASES in the verb phrase. The noun (or other element) that is obligatory after a preposition, is the complement of that preposition.
- COMPLEMENT CLAUSE A complement CLAUSE is subordinate, but non-omissible, e.g. a subject and an object clause.
- COMPLEX SENTENCE A complex sentence indicates the type of sentence where a clause stands in a co-ordinate relation to the so-called main clause (*John is ugly, but Mary is beautiful*), or in a subordinate relation (*When John saw Mary, he was infatuated*).
- CONCORD See AGREEMENT.
- CONGRUENCY See AGREEMENT.
- CONJUGATION A conjugation is the collection of the different forms of a VERB. In BH verbs do not show different forms for MOODS like the INDICATIVE, SUBJUNCTIVE and OPTATIVE. Tense and mood both are expressed by the PERFECT and IMPERFECT FORMS. FINITE verbs have a STEM FORMATION, conjugation (tense/mood), person, gender and number. Non-finite verbs like the participle do not have person; the infinitive has neither person nor gender and number. The following finite conjugations are found: PERFECT, IMPERFECT, JUSSIVE, cohortative, imperative; and the following non-finite (without person) conjugations: infinitive construct, infinitive absolute, participle.
- CONSONANTAL SUFFIX A consonantal SUFFIX indicates a pronominal suffix

starting with a consonant.

CONSTITUENT In contrast to PHRASES which refer to the SYNTACTIC composition of a word group, e.g. noun phrase, adjective phrase, verb phrase, adverbial phrase and prepositional phrase, constituents are the word groups that form the functional units of the CLAUSE, e.g. SUBJECT, OBJECT, INDIRECT OBJECT, etc.

CONSTRUCT PHRASE A construct phrase is a PHRASE consisting of a NOUN in the *STATUS CONSTRUCTUS*, followed by a noun (or its equivalent) which is called the *POSTCONSTRUCTUS* (or 'GENITIVE'). Usually the *postconstructus* is in the *STATUS CONSTRUCTUS*. However, it can also be in the *status constructus* followed by another *postconstructus* to form a *construct chain*. A great number of SEMANTIC relations can exist between the two elements of a construct phrase.

CONSTRUCTIO AD SENSUM *Constructio ad sensum* refers to the forming of a grammatical construction in accordance with the meaning rather than the SYNTAX of the grammatical form. Usually the grammatical form of the SUBJECT determines the person, gender and number of the PREDICATE. However, a plural predicate is often used with nouns that have a collective meaning, but a singular form (thus the predicate only agrees in meaning with the subject), for example, יָדְעוּ הָעָם (The people knows.).

COPULA A *copula* is that element in a NOMINAL CLAUSE which connects the SUBJECT and the COPULA-PREDICATE. Together the *copula* and *copula-predicate* form the PREDICATE of such a clause, e.g. הָיָה וּבָאֲרָץ־עוֹץ in אִישׁ הָיָה בְּאֲרָץ־עוֹץ. In BH the *copula* is often omitted, e.g. אִיזֵב שָׂמוּ.

COPULA-PREDICATE A *copula-predicate* is that element in a NOMINAL CLAUSE that is connected by the COPULA (if it occurs) to the SUBJECT. Together the *copula* and *copula-predicate* form the PREDICATE of such a clause, for example, אִישׁ הָיָה בְּאֲרָץ־עוֹץ in בְּאֲרָץ־עוֹץ.

DATIVE In languages that express grammatical relations explicitly by DE-CLENSIONS (inflexion) this term indicates the form of the word (normally a NOUN or pronoun). In Latin the dative indicates the word form of the CASE that usually expresses the INDIRECT OBJECT or the receiver of something or of an action. In BH the dative is not indicated explicitly as in Latin, and similar functions are expressed by other grammatical ways, for example by prepositions.

DECLENSION A declension is the collection of the different forms of a NOUN. In BH nouns do not show CASE endings, but they do have masculine and feminine forms in the singular, dual and plural; *STATUS ABSOLUTUS* and *STATUS CONSTRUCTUS*. Singular, plural and dual nouns all can be combined with pronominal SUFFIXES. Thus a word with masculine and feminine forms (like סוֹס and סוֹסָה) theoretically can have 72 forms. In the declension the noun can undergo different vowel and consonantal changes, on the basis of which five

main declension types are distinguished. Adjectives do not appear in the dual at all. Even with nouns the dual has a restricted use.

DEIXIS *Deixis* refers to a system of words that depends, with regard to its meaning or interpretation, on the concrete situation in which language is used (i.e. the speaker addressee, time and location), e.g. *he/she, this/that, now/then, here/there*. Thus, the meaning is relative to the situation in which it occurs.

DIRECT OBJECT A direct object refers to one of the two grammatical relations that functions as objective element in the **CLAUSE** structure. The other is the **INDIRECT OBJECT**. In English the difference between the direct object and the indirect object on the **SYNTACTIC** level is that the direct object cannot be marked by a preposition, for example, *I gave the book to John* and *I gave John the book*. **SEMANTICALLY** the direct object refers to the entity that is affected or effected by the action, for example, in the clause *John kicks the ball* the entity affected by the action is *the ball*.

DIRECTIVE A directive is a **SPEECH ACT** with which a person intends to cause people to do something, e.g. a command, hint or suggestion.

DISCOURSE LINGUISTICS See **TEXT LINGUISTICS**.

DISLOCATION CONSTRUCTION A dislocation construction consists of a grammatical element, isolated to the left or the right of the **CLAUSE** (the dislocated **CONSTITUENT**), and a main clause containing an element (the **RESUMPTIVE**) that refers to the dislocated constituent, e.g. *This food—I will eat it all*.

DISTRIBUTION Distribution refers to all the linguistic contexts or areas in which a grammatical element can occur.

EFFECTED The term *effected* refers to the entity (person or thing) that, although it does not cause the action or event indicated by the **VERB**, is somehow directly involved. In active **CLAUSES** the effected and the grammatical **OBJECT** normally refer to the same person or thing. The effected entity did not exist before the action, but is created by the action, for example, *the table* in *He made the table*. See **AFFECTED**.

ENERGIC NUN The energetic nun in BH refers to the **INFIX-nun** before (objective) pronominal **SUFFIXES** in certain verbal forms. The syllable in which the nun occurs, carries the accent. It has no **SEMANTIC** value. See **SUFFIX**.

EPEXEGETICAL Epexegetical refers to the function of explaining the directly preceding material.

EPICOENA *Epicoena* (**NOUNS** of common gender) is the phenomenon that some words which **MORPHOLOGICALLY** have either a masculine or feminine form, **SEMANTICALLY** refer to a mixed gender group. In BH the word **קָלָב** (dog) has a masculine form although it can refer to a bitch or a male dog. The word **יִבְנָה** (dove) has a feminine form even when it refers to a male dove.

ERGATIVE SYSTEM An ergative system refers to languages where the **DIRECT OBJECT** of a **TRANSITIVE** verb and the **SUBJECT** of an **INTRANSITIVE** verb show the same **CASE** and are treated the same for grammatical aims, while the subjects of transitive **VERBS** are treated differently. In such a system the role of subject in an intransitive **CLAUSE** like *The window broke* will be the same as the role of the direct object in the transitive clause *John broke the window*. The **AGENT** of the action is referred to as the ergative subject.

EXTENDED SENTENCE An extended sentence is a sentence of which one **CONSTITUENT** is extended, for example, by a relative clause.

FACTITIVE A factitive indicates a grammatical construction or form (normally a **VERB**) that refers to an action or event in which a cause produces a consequence or result, for example, *makes* in *He makes wine*.

FIENTIVE A **VERB** that describes movement or a change of state, is called a fientive verb. In these cases the **SUBJECT** performs an action.

FINITE Finite refers to the grammatical classification of **VERBS** and **CLAUSES**. A finite verb is limited by person, and it can occur independently in a main clause. It allows contrasts in tense and **MOOD**. Non-finite verbs, however, occur only in subordinate clauses. Contrasts in time and mood are lacking. All conjugated forms of the verb are finite except infinitives and participles. Clauses with finite verbs are finite clauses.

FOCUS The focussed entity in a **CLAUSE** represents the most salient information in terms of the total amount of information in that clause. Usually the focussed element is specifically selected in a context where there are more than one alternative available. In BH focus can be marked by word order, or by a focus particle.

FRICATIVE This term refers to the manner of articulation of consonants that are formed by narrowing the speech canal at a certain place, thereby obstructing the outgoing breath in such a way that a clearly audible friction develops. In BH the **פ, צ, ט, ד, ז** and **ך** are fricatives when they are pronounced with friction (the so-called *begadkefat*-letters).

FRONTING If the **PREVERBAL FIELD** (i.e. the part of the **CLAUSE** that precedes the **VERB**) is occupied by a **CONSTITUENT**, this phenomenon is referred to as fronting of that constituent.

GENITIVE In languages that express grammatical relations explicitly by **DECLENSIONS** (inflexion) this term indicates the form of the word (normally a **NOUN** or pronoun). In Latin the genitive indicates the word form of the **CASE** that often marks the possessor. In BH the genitive is not indicated explicitly as in Latin, and the same function is expressed by way of other grammatical means like the **CONSTRUCT PHRASE**.

GLIDE This term refers to the manner of articulation of certain consonants that

are formed when the air stream is obstructed only slightly. Glides have more in common with vowels than with consonants. Therefore, they are sometimes also called transitional sounds. In BH the consonants ה, ו and י are sometimes pronounced glidingly.

GNOMIC PERFECT When the PERFECT FORM expresses actions, events and/or facts that are timeless or usually and always true, it is called the gno-mic PERFECT. It is usually used for general experiential verdicts where the idea of time has been moved totally to the background. In BH the VERB *keeps* in the sentence *The swallow keeps the migration period* will be in the perfect form.

HAPAX LEGOMENON The term *hapax legomenon* (literally: read once) refers to a word or combination of words (an expression) that is known only from a single citation in a given piece of literature.

HENDIADYS *Hendiadys* refers to the presentation of a single idea by a coordinate combination of words, *inter alia* two NOUNS, two VERBS or two adjectives, for example, *nice* and *warm* for *nicely warm*.

IMMINENT CONNOTATION Imminent connotation has the quality: be on the point of happening, about to happen.

IMPERFECT Imperfect refers to the SEMANTIC function of a verbal form (e.g. the IMPERFECT FORM in BH), i.e. an incomplete action. It usually expresses non-facts and can be translated with the future tense. Imperfect is usually contrasted with PERFECT.

IMPERFECT FORM The imperfect form is one of the CONJUGATIONS in BH that indicates the VERB'S tense (presence/future) and/or aspect (incompleteness) and/or MOOD (non-factuality). It is also called the prefix conjugation because the Qal IMPERFECT conjugation takes PREFIXES in all its forms (SUFFIXES also appear in five of the ten forms). With reference to the imperfect 3 masculine singular of the pattern verb שָׁקַט it is also called the *yiqtol* form. The imperfect is a FINITE form having person, number and gender. It is found in all STEM FORMATIONS (*binyanim*) and is used especially for the main verb in a CLAUSE.

INDICATIVE The indicative is a MOOD of the VERB that expresses a fact in the form of a statement or question. However, it is not expressed in BH by a separate CONJUGATION, but the PERFECT FORM (and sometimes also the IMPERFECT FORM) is often used for this.

INDIRECT OBJECT An indirect object refers to one of the two grammatical relations that functions as objective element in the CLAUSE structure. The other is the DIRECT OBJECT. In English the difference between the indirect object and the direct object on the SYNTACTIC level is that the indirect object can be marked by a preposition, for example, *I gave the book to John* and *I gave John the book*. SEMANTICALLY the indirect object refers to the entity that receives the indirect effect of an action (cf. *(to) John* above).

INFIX An infix is an AFFIX that is inserted in the ROOT of a word itself, in contrast to other affixes which are inserted before the root (PREFIX) or after the root (SUFFIX).

INGRESSIVE The ingressive refers to the function of a verbal form that emphasizes the beginning or transitional stadium of the event indicated by the VERB.

INTERROGATIVE An interrogative is a PARTICLE that introduces a question. Questions with yes/no answers are marked with the interrogative $\text{אִם־וְ/וְ}^{\text{א}}$. Questions with factual answers are marked by interrogative pronouns and adverbs (the so-called WH-interrogatives). There is no question mark in BH. Interrogatives can also introduce indirect questions.

INTRANSITIVE This term indicates VERBS that do not take a DIRECT OBJECT, for example, *John walks*. See TRANSITIVE.

JUSSIVE Jussive refers to an indirect command to the third or second person.

JUSSIVE FORM The jussive form refers to the grammatical form that expresses the indirect command to the third or second person. In BH the SHORT FORM of the IMPERFECT FORM is often used as the jussive form.

LEXEME Lexeme refers to the smallest, distinguishable meaningful unit in the SEMANTIC system of language. The words *wrote* and *written* are manifestations of the lexeme *write*.

LEXICAL ENTRY Lexical entry refers to any entry of a word in a lexicon or a dictionary article. Such an entry contains distinguishable information (e.g. PHONOLOGICAL, MORPHOLOGICAL, SYNTACTIC and SEMANTIC information) of the word.

MAIN FIELD The main field of a BH CLAUSE is that part of the clause that is introduced by the VERB. The part of the clause that precedes the verb is the PREVERBAL FIELD.

METATHESIS *Metathesis* indicates a process where the sequence of two segments (discrete sound units) is switched. A consonant may be interchanged with a vowel, a vowel with a consonant, a consonant with another consonant, or a vowel with another vowel. It usually occurs at the border of two morphemes (smallest unit of language with independent meaning and/or grammatical function) or words, e.g. *prevent* is pronounced as *pervent*. In BH the change usually occurs in the pronunciation, as well as in the spelling, for example, $\text{תִּשְׁפָּרַן}^{\text{א}}$ is written and pronounced as $\text{תִּשְׁפָּרַן}^{\text{א}}$.

MODALITY Modality as a SEMANTIC category refers to the speaker's subjective judgement concerning the factuality of the events, for example, the possibility, potentiality, (un)desirability of events. In English modal auxiliary VERBS like *can/could*, *will/would*, *should*, *may*, *must*, etc. are used to express the subjective judgement of a speaker concerning the factuality of the events, for example, *John would have sung now*. In BH the IMPERFECT FORM is used

especially to express modalities: usually the relevant events are non-factual.

MOOD The term *mood* refers to certain CONJUGATIONS of the VERB in languages that express mood explicitly, e.g. the INDICATIVE, SUBJUNCTIVE and OPTATIVE in Greek.

MORPHOLOGY Morphology as a component of grammar is the study of the forms of words in a language. The distinction of WORD CLASSES is part of the morphology.

NOMINAL CLAUSE Nominal CLAUSES refer to clauses in BH that do not contain a FINITE form of the VERB and where the COPULA *is* has to be inserted in English, for example, *Jacob (is) old*.

NOMINATIVE In languages that express grammatical relationships explicitly by DECLENSIONS (inflection) this term indicates the form of the word (normally a NOUN or pronoun). In Latin the nominative indicates the word form of the CASE that usually expresses the SUBJECT of the VERB. In BH the nominative is not indicated explicitly as in Latin, and similar functions are expressed by way of other grammatical ways (or is simply unmarked).

NOUN Noun is a term in the grammatical classification of words that traditionally refers to a class of words indicating persons or things. The noun includes the following main classes: SUBSTANTIVES, pronouns and numerals.

NP The smallest units with which a CLAUSE is built, are words. Words are distinguished in different classes, e.g. VERB (V), NOUN (N), adjective (A) and preposition (P). Words can be grouped into larger units known as PHRASES. Phrases can again be distinguished in different classes, named according to the class of the head word in the phrase. NP refers to a noun phrase, a phrase with N as head. The phrase *the student* in the clause *The student is incredibly clever* is the NP with the N *student* as head. Other phrases are, for example, adjective phrase (AP), verb phrase (VP) and prepositional phrase (PP).

OBJECT See DIRECT OBJECT.

OPTATIVE The optative is a MOOD of the VERB that expresses non-factualities or UNREAL events and states. BH does not distinguish between the optative and SUBJUNCTIVE. See INDICATIVE.

PART OF SPEECH Part of speech is a synonym for WORD CLASS.

PARTICLE Particle is an umbrella term that is sometimes used for a number of parts of speech: the article, prepositions, conjunctions, adverbs, existential words, INTERROGATIVES, discourse markers and interjections.

PARTITIVE Partitive is a SEMANTIC term that indicates part-whole relations.

PAST PERFECT Past perfect, pluperfect or *plusquamperfectum* refers to the SEMANTIC use of the PERFECT FORM to express distant past tense, i.e. an event or state that had been completed before another in the past.

PATIENT The SEMANTIC function of the AFFECTED or EFFECTED is called patient.

PENDENS See DISLOCATION CONSTRUCTION.

PERFECT Perfect refers to the SEMANTIC function of a VERB form (the PERFECT FORM in BH), viz. a completed action, that normally expresses factuality and which can be translated with the past tense. Perfect is normally contrasted with IMPERFECT.

PERFECT FORM The perfect form is one of the CONJUGATIONS in BH that indicates the VERB'S tense (past) and/or aspect (completeness) and/or MOOD (factuality). It is also called the suffix conjugation because the Qal PERFECT conjugation only takes SUFFIXES. With reference to the perfect 3 masculine singular of the pattern verb לָמַד , it is also called the *qatal* form. The perfect is a FINITE form having person, number and gender. It is found in all STEM FORMATIONS (*binyanim*) and is used especially for the main verb in a CLAUSE.

PERFORMATIVE Performative is a term that indicates that a certain action is carried out by a linguistic UTTERANCE, for example, *He declares you holy*. The PERFECT FORM is used especially for this because it expresses factuality. See SPEECH ACT.

PERSON SUFFIX Synonym for pronominal suffix—see SUFFIX.

PHONETICS Phonetics is the study that describes the sounds of a language as they are really pronounced. It describes the acoustic and articulatory characteristics of these sounds.

PHONOLOGY Phonology is the study that explains the underlying sound structure of a language, for example, how the different forms of a language are related (like לָמַד and לָמַדְתָּ) and how sound indicates distinctive meanings (like the difference between לָמַד and לָמַדְתָּ) with the accent either on the first (PERFECT) or the last syllable (PARTICIPLE).

PHRASE The smallest units with that a CLAUSE is built, are words. Words are distinguished in different classes, e.g. VERB (V), NOUN (N), adjective (A) and preposition (P). Words can be grouped into larger units known as phrases. Phrases can again be distinguished in different classes, named according to the class of the head word in the phrase, e.g. noun phrase (NP), verb phrase (VP), prepositional phrase (PP) and adjective phrase (AP).

PLEONASM A pleonasm is something that is said unnecessarily, i.e. a redundancy of words, for example, tautology (to say something twice).

PLOSIVE This term refers to the manner of articulation of consonants that are formed by completely blocking the breath stream somewhere in the speech canal for an important moment, followed by the sudden release of the suppressed breath so that a light explosion is heard. In BH the sounds פ , ב , ט , ד , ק and ג are

plosives or stops when they are pronounced with an occlusive sound (the so-called *begadkefat*-letters).

PLURALIS MAJESTATIS If the plural form does not express a normal numerical plural, but indicates that something or someone is mighty, big, terrible or respectable, it is called the *pluralis majestatis* or royal plural.

PLUSQUAMPERFECTUM See PAST PERFECT.

POSTCONSTRUCTUS The *postconstructus* is the second element (פְּנִינִי) of a CONSTRUCT PHRASE (פְּנִינִי מִנִּי). It follows a NOUN in the STATUS CONSTRUCTUS (פְּנִינִי). Following the example of other Semitic languages and the classical languages it is also called the 'GENITIVE', although CASE endings do not occur in BH. SYNTACTICALLY speaking the *postconstructus* is an attribute to the first element of the PHRASE.

PP See PHRASES.

PRECATIVE PERFECTIVE The precative perfective refers to a rare SEMANTIC use of the PERFECT FORM to make a request in prayers.

PREDICATE The predicate is that CONSTITUENT of a CLAUSE—normally a verb phrase (VP)—that combines with the SUBJECT to form a (complete) clause. The predicate of NOMINAL CLAUSES in BH is not formed by a verb phrase, but by a noun phrase (e.g. *Abraham (is) a prophet*), prepositional phrase (e.g. *Sarah (is) in the tent*) or adjective phrase (e.g. *Sarah (is) beautiful*).

PREDICATIVE The term *predicative* refers to the manner in which adjectives qualify. In English the position of an adjective or other attribute after the qualified NOUN or pronoun (and connected with it by the copulative VERB *is*) indicates the predicative, for example, *red* in *The chair is red*. In BH a predicative noun agrees with the SUBJECT in number and gender, and it is always indefinite. Usually it follows the subject (and COPULA), but it can precede it. ATTRIBUTIVE is used in contrast to predicative.

PREFIX A prefix is an AFFIX attached to the beginning of a ROOT, for example, the endings of the IMPERFECT FORMS that appear before the STEM CONSONANTS, in contrast to affixes which are inserted in the root itself (INFIX) or after the root (SUFFIX).

PREFIX CONJUGATION See IMPERFECT FORM.

PREFORMATIVE A preformative is a prefixed syllable or letter. In BH it occurs especially in the verbal system, for example, in the Niphal, Hithpael, Hiphil and Hophal PERFECT, as well as in the IMPERFECT of all the STEM FORMATIONS. The preformative is inserted before the ROOT or STEM of the VERB.

PRETERITE Preterite is a simple past tense form that is not marked for aspect, e.g. *saw, loved*.

PREVERBAL FIELD The preverbal field is that part of a BH CLAUSE that

precedes the VERB. The part of the clause that is introduced by the verb, is called the MAIN FIELD.

PRIVATIVE Privative is a SEMANTIC distinction that indicates separation, loss or absence of a matter or quality.

PROCLITIC Proclitic refers to the phenomenon that, in pronunciation, a syllable is combined so closely with the following word that it loses its own accent. In BH proclisis is indicated by the maqqēf (raised hyphen between letters). Two words that are combined like this, form one accent unit, the accent being on the last part (normally on the last syllable of that part.) *Proclisis* occurs especially after monosyllabic words, for example, $\text{בְּ} \text{בְּ}$ instead of $\text{בְּ} \text{בְּ}$ in $\text{בְּ} \text{בְּ} \text{בְּ}$. Words that have undergone *proclisis*, are called clitics.

PROPHETIC PERFECT The prophetic perfect is a use of the PERFECT FORM to present future events as if they have already happened. Here the use of the perfect form to express completeness and factuality is so prominent that it is even used for a future event.

PROTASIS The *protasis* is the first (*if*-) part of a condition—a subordinate, conditional clause. See *APODOSIS*.

QATAL FORM See PERFECT FORM.

REAL CONDITION A subordinate, conditional CLAUSE is real if it indicates a fact in the past, present or future, for example, *If it rains, the streets are wet.*

RECIPROCAL A construction is reciprocal if an action or relation applies mutually. The members of a plural SUBJECT carry out the action on one another, for example, *they wash each other.* In BH the Niphal STEM FORMATION is sometimes used reciprocally.

REFERENT A referent is that entity in the real or conceptual (conversational) world which is associated with a noun phrase in a specific sentence or UTTERANCE.

REFLEXIVE A construction is called reflexive when two noun PHRASES in the construction have the same REFERENT, for example, *Liza washes herself* in which *Liza* and *herself* refers to the same person.

RESUMPTIVE The resumptive is the element in a CLAUSE that repeats the concord features (number and gender) of a previous element (the ANTECEDENT of a relative clause or a dislocated element of a DISLOCATION CONSTRUCTION), e.g. *The man, I saw him.*

ROOT See STEM.

ROYAL PLURAL See PLURALIS MAJESTATIS.

SECONDARY ACCENT In BH certain words receive a secondary accent. Words consisting of three syllables with the primary accent on the last syllable very of-

ten get secondary accentuation on the third last syllable.

SELECT Select refers to the restriction that a VERB'S lexical meaning has on the CONSTITUENTS which can or must be used with it, for example, the verb *to die* selects only a SUBJECT (*He died*). In contrast to this the verb *to give* selects a subject, DIRECT OBJECT and INDIRECT OBJECT (*He gives [the man] [bread]*). See VALENCY.

SEMANTICS Semantics is the study of meaning in a language. This does not only cover the meaning of words, but also the meaning of relationships expressed in CLAUSES and SENTENCES, as well as the meaning of CLAUSES and SENTENCES.

SENTENCE A sentence is regarded as the largest structural unit in terms of which the grammar of language is organized.

SHORT FORM When APOCOPE occurs at the end of a verb in the IMPERFECT FORM, that form is referred to as the short form. See also JUSSIVE FORM.

SIBILANT The term *sibilant* refers to the manner of articulation of consonants that are formed when the speech canal is narrowed and, as a result, the air stream passes through with an audible hiss. In BH the sounds ʃ, ʒ, ʒ̄, ʒ̄̄ and ʒ̄̄̄ are sibilants.

SPEECH ACT A speech act is an act performed by a speaker's UTTERANCE: making an assertion, asking a question, giving a command, expressing encouragement or wish, etc. See PERFORMATIVE.

SPLIT PHRASE (split SUBJECT, OBJECT, etc.) In BH a split PHRASE indicates the grammatical pattern where other CLAUSE elements are inserted between the first and other parts of a constituent. For example, *moved away* is inserted between the parts of the split subject in the clause *A man moved away, he and his wife and his sons*.

STATIVE Stative indicates a form or construction expressing a state or quality rather than an event. In the case of VERBS in BH there is a MORPHOLOGICAL distinction between the conjugation of statives and events/actions. Stative verbs are usually used INTRANSITIVELY, and events/actions are usually TRANSITIVE.

STATUS ABSOLUTUS The *status absolutus* is the normal form of the NOUN—singular, plural or dual; masculine or feminine. It is also called the ʔʔʔ. A noun in the *status absolutus* can fulfil any SYNTACTIC function. The last element of a CONSTRUCT PHRASE or chain is also in the *status absolutus*. However, the *status absolutus* should not be confused with the *POSTCONSTRUCTUS* or 'GENITIVE', because the *postconstructus* itself can again be in the *STATUS CONSTRUCTUS*, if it is followed by another *postconstructus*.

STATUS CONSTRUCTUS The form of the first element of a CONSTRUCT PHRASE is shortened where possible. This form is the *status constructus* or פְּתוּחַ . The *status constructus* is sometimes also used as a binding form before other elements like prepositions. A word in the *status constructus* often loses its own accent (see PROCLITIC). Compare CONSTRUCT PHRASE and POSTCONSTRUCTUS.

STEM The stem or root of a word is a theoretical abstraction containing only the basic consonants of a word, without all PREFIXES, INFIXES, SUFFIXES and STEM VOWELS. The root of the VERB in BH usually consists of three consonants.

STEM CONSONANT A stem consonant is one of the three consonants forming the abstracted STEM or root of the VERB.

STEM FORMATION Stem formation is a conjugational type of the VERB. BH distinguishes seven basic stem formations: Qal, Niphal, Piel, Pual, Hithpael, Hiphil and Hophal. Sometimes stem formations are used to express VOICE, for example, the Niphal which can be the passive or REFLEXIVE of the Qal. However, the stem formations are not in an absolutely fixed SEMANTIC relation to each other.

STEM SYLLABLE The stem syllable is that syllable of a VERB that starts with the first STEM CONSONANT. (Cf. II waw and II yod verbs.)

STEM VOWEL A stem vowel is one of the characteristic vowels of a certain CONJUGATION, for example, the vowels ִ and ֵ are the stem vowels of the Qal PERFECT (קָטַבַּת , קָטַבְתִּי , קָטַבְתָּ , etc.). With reference to NOUNS the stem vowel is one of the basic vowels of the word, for example, the stem vowel of מֶלֶךְ is ֶ / ֵ (מֶלֶךְ).

STOP See PLOSIVE.

SUBJECT The subject refers to the grammatical relation that functions as subjective element in the CLAUSE structure. On the SYNTACTIC level the subject is that part of the clause that agrees with the PREDICATE in number and gender (and person—if the verb is FINITE). SEMANTICALLY the subject refers to the one who carries out the action or who experiences the state, for example, in the clauses *John kicks the ball* and *John sleeps* the word *John* is the entity that carries out the action or experiences the state.

SUBJUNCTIVE The subjunctive is a MOOD of the VERB expressing non-factualities like a wish, expectation or possibility. However, these are not expressed in BH by a separate CONJUGATION. The IMPERFECT FORM is used to express modal functions like *can/could*, *want(ed) to*, and *may or have to*. See OPTATIVE.

SUBSTANTIVE Substantive is a synonym for NOUN. If other PARTS OF SPEECH, for example, adjectives, are used as nouns, the phenomenon is referred to as substantivation, for example, *The poor will receive financial aid.*

SUFFIX A suffix is an AFFIX attached to the end of a STEM/ROOT, for example, the endings of the PERFECT and the nominal endings for the singular, plural and dual; masculine and feminine; *STATUS ABSOLUTUS* and *STATUS CONSTRUCTUS*. Suffixes are in contrast to affixes which are inserted in the root itself (INFIX) or before the root (PREFIX). The possessive pronouns that are suffixed to NOUNS are called pronominal suffixes. A pronominal DIRECT OBJECT can also be expressed by a pronominal suffix to the VERB.

SUFFIX CONJUGATION See PERFECT FORM.

SUPPLEMENT CLAUSE A supplement CLAUSE is a subordinate clause that acts as an ADJUNCT. It can be omitted without changing the meaning of the main clause. It is also called an adverbial, subordinate clause, e.g. conditional clause, circumstantial clause, temporal clause. A speaker cannot perform a SPEECH ACT with a supplementary clause. See also COMPLEMENT CLAUSE.

SYNDEITICAL When a CLAUSE, PHRASE or word is connected by a conjunction to another, it is connected syndetically to the first.

SYNTACTIC DOMAIN Syntactic domain refer to the collection of objects (word, PHRASE or CLAUSE) that are modified or related by a word (e.g. focus particle or quantifier). This is called the scope of the word. For example, in BH FOCUS particles have a syntactic domain, which is sometimes indicated by an independent personal pronoun.

SYNTAGM Syntagm is a synonym for CONSTITUENT.

SYNTAX Syntax is the study of the structure of CLAUSES and sentences in a language, i.e. the formal connections and relations between the elements of clauses and sentences.

TEXT LINGUISTICS Text linguistics (also referred to as discourse analysis and/or text grammar) refers to the scientific study of the conventions in a specific language with regard to the way in which semantic relations between people and matters are brought about in a text so that it can be understood as a coherent text. It also refers to the way in which sentences in this language are organized (and depends on one another linguistically) to form texts.

TOPIC The topic is the matter about which the sentence tells something. Usually but not necessarily, it coincides with the SUBJECT.

TRANSITIVE This term indicates VERBS that take a DIRECT OBJECT, for example, *write a book.*

UNREAL Unreal refers to an event or situation that is not real, or which does not

really exist, or which is hypothetical or impracticable.

UTTERANCE An utterance is anything that is said in language, including anything from a single sound to a word, exclamation or a whole sentence.

VALENCY The valency of a **VERB** refers to the number and nature of the obligatory **CONSTITUENTS** required **SYNTACTICALLY** or **SEMANTICALLY** by the verb, for example, *give* has a valency of three: it **SELECTS** a **SUBJECT**, **DIRECT OBJECT** and **INDIRECT OBJECT** (semantically: **AGENT**, **PATIENT**, receiver).

VERB Verb is a term in the grammatical classification of words that traditionally refers to a class of words which expresses actions, positions, processes and states. The following subclasses are found: **INTRANSITIVE**, **TRANSITIVE**, **prepositional** and **copulative verbs**. The **STEM** of a BH verb normally has three consonants, and this is the dictionary form. **FINITE** verbs in BH have the following characteristics: **STEM FORMATION**, **CONJUGATION** (tense/**MOOD**), person, gender, number. Non-finite verbs do not have person: the participle do have gender and number, and, strictly speaking, it is a verbal adjective. The infinitive has neither person nor gender and number, and, strictly speaking, it is verbal **NOUN**.

VERB CHAIN Verb chain refers to a sequence of finite **VERBS** that are each directly preceded by a **WAW COPULATIVE**.

VERB SEQUENCE Verb sequence refers to a specific combination of **VERBS** (in the **PERFECT** or **IMPERFECT FORM**) that are directly preceded by a **WAW CONSECUTIVE**.

VERBLESS CLAUSE See **NOMINAL CLAUSE**.

VOCALIC SUFFIX A **SUFFIX** (e.g. a verbal ending or pronominal **SUFFIX**) that begins with a vowel, is a **vocalic suffix**, for example ך- in ״כִּי״.

VOCATIVE Vocative is the name of a **CASE** that occurs in certain languages like Greek and Latin. It is used to mark the addressee **MORPHOLOGICALLY**. In BH the addressed person is either marked by the article ׀ or not at all.

VOICE Voice is the group of conjugated forms of a **VERB** that determines if the **AGENT** or the **PATIENT** will be the **SUBJECT** of the verb. Active, passive and **REFLEXIVE** forms are distinguished. In BH **STEM FORMATIONS** are often used to express voice.

VP (VERB PHRASE) The smallest units with which a **CLAUSE** is built, are words. Words are distinguished in different classes, e.g. **VERB (V)**, **NOUN (N)**, adjective (A) and preposition (P). Words can be grouped into larger units known as **PHRASES**. Phrases can again be distinguished in different classes, named according to the class of the head word in the phrase. VP refers to a verb phrase, a phrase with V as head. The phrase *gave me his paper yesterday* in the clause *The student gave me his paper yesterday* is the VP with the V *gave* as head.

WAW CONSECUTIVE The waw consecutive is a special use of the conjunction w (and) before PERFECT and IMPERFECT FORMS. Before imperfect forms the waw consecutive has the form w with doubling of the following consonant or compensational lengthening of the a-vowel of the w . Before perfect forms the waw consecutive has the normal form of the conjunction w . The waw consecutive is also called the waw conversive because it usually changes the tense of an imperfect form to past tense, and the tense of a perfect form to future. However, the waw consecutive is used more widely, mainly to express progression like temporal and logical sequence, as well as to introduce new stories and to determine the flow of a story. Normally the consecutive IMPERFECT follows a PERFECT or other consecutive imperfect, and the consecutive perfect follows an imperfect or other consecutive perfect, but there are other possibilities as well.

WAW COPULATIVE + IMPERFECT. If the normal conjunction w is followed by the IMPERFECT FORM, the w is used simply to combine the CLAUSES coordinately. On its own this construction has no further specific SEMANTIC value. However, following a command it often expresses an underlying relation of purpose.

WAW COPULATIVE The waw copulative is the normal conjunction w (and) that can be prefixed to any word to connect words, PHRASES or CLAUSES coordinately. Due to the form or meaning of the word to which it is prefixed, the form can differ: w , w , w , w , w , w , w , w . With the PERFECT FORM or IMPERFECT FORM the waw copulative has no SEMANTIC value of its own except that of 'and'. However, different underlying semantic relations between clauses can be expressed by the waw copulative on the surface.

WAYYIQTOL *Wayyiqtol* is a synonym for WAW CONSECUTIVE + IMPERFECT FORM.

WEQATAL *Weqatal* is a synonym for WAW CONSECUTIVE + PERFECT FORM.

WH-QUESTION A WH-question is an interrogative sentence with a factual answer. See INTERROGATIVE.

WORD CLASS A word class (or part of speech) is one of the categories in which words are divided, mainly on formal grounds as well as their distribution. The following word classes are distinguished in BH: i.e. VERB, NOUN, adjective, preposition, conjunction, adverb, predicator of existence, interrogative, discourse marker, interjection.

YIQTOL FORM See IMPERFECT FORM.

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INDEXES

INDEX OF BIBLICAL HEBREW WORDS

Page numbers in *italics* refer to those sections in the grammar where the Biblical Hebrew word involved is the topic of a paragraph or subparagraph.

אב	180, 225	אכב	309
אבד	105	אל	149, 151-52, 318
אבה	105, 134, 154	אל	240, 275-76, 277-78, 285, 287, 292
אכל	294, 309	אלה	257-59
אכז	178	אלהים	181-82, 185
אדם	183, 188, 263	אלי	310
אדמה	210	אלף	265-68
אדני	47, 186, 335	אם	180, 221, 223
אהב	105-106	אם	238, 239, 294-96, 300, 310
אהיה	334	אם לא	310
או	238-39, 294, 295	אבן	301
אוי	335	אבנה	310
אז/אז	147, 295, 306, 307	אבנם	311
אזן	179, 182	אמר	105-106
אח	225	אן	328
אחד	187, 266, 269	אנא	335
אחו	105	אנה	335
אחלי	334	אנה	328
אחר	273, 277	אנהו	251
אחרי	157, 276, 277, 287	אני	251
אחת	187	אני	251
אי	326	אסף	105
איה	326	אף	312-13, 314
איך	326-27	אפה	105
איכה	326-27	אף כי	313
אין	162, 256, 318, 320-21	אפס	313-14
איפה	327	אפס כי	313
איש	183-84, 187, 225, 262, 268	אצל	272, 276, 279
אך	309, 312, 313	ארכן	178, 189
אכל	105-106	אש	178

אֲשֶׁר	259-60, 262, 296-97, 324	דַּעַת	180
אֵת	251	דִּבְרֵךְ	177
אֵת	240, 272, 275, 279	הַ	321-22
אֵת/אֵת	90, 240-41, 242-43, 255, 324, 341	הָ	187-91, 261-62
אֵתָא	109	הָאֵח	334
אֵתָה	251	הַהוּא	259
אֵתָם	251	הוּא	251-59
אֵתָן	251	הוּי	335
בְּ	189, 147, 157, 236-37, 240, 272, 274-75	הוּיָא	251-59
בּוֹא	134, 136	הוּיָה	96, 124, 137-38, 155
בוֹשׁ	121-25	הַיִּשָּׁב	160-61, 306
בוֹז	128	הַיִּכָּל	177, 188
בִּי	335	הַלֵּא	321-22
בֵּין	124	הַלֵּךְ	96, 120, 137-38, 140-41, 159, 172
בֵּין	273, 275, 282	הֵם	251, 257-59
בֵּין לְ	282	הֵמָּה	251, 257-59
בֵּית	179, 183, 226	הֵן	328-29
בַּכָּה	112	הֵנָּה	251, 257-59
בַּל	318	הֵנָּה	167, 255, 259, 328-30, 338
בְּלִי	319	הֵנָּם	306
בְּלִתִּי	317, 319	הַפְּקִיד	86
בְּמָה	325	הַצַּטְרַק	83
בֶּן	199, 212, 226	הַרְבֵּה	160, 306
בְּנָה	111-12	הַרְחַק	160, 306
בְּעַד	272, 283	הָרִים	188
בְּעֵבֹר	283, 297	הַשְּׂכֵם	160, 306
בְּקָר	215-16	הַשְּׂכִים	86
בְּקִשׁ	80	הַשְּׁלִיד	86
בְּרֵךְ	102-103	הַשְּׁמִיד	86
בַּת	226	הַשְּׁחֹמֵר	83
גְּבָה	109	ן	238-39, 270, 294, 298-300, 338
גִּיעַ	124	וְהָיָה	331
גִּיל	124	וְיָהִי	166-67, 331-33, 339
גָּלַל	131	וַעֲתָה	167, 308-309, 333
גַּם	239, 312, 314-17	זֹאת	257-59, 323-25
גָּמַל	221-22	זֶה	257-61, 323-25
דָּבָר	206, 208, 263	זֶה	257-61
דָּבָר	80	זוֹ	257-61
דָּג	180, 183	זָכַר	301
דִּין	124	זָכָן	206, 208-209, 234
דָּם	185, 212		

חכם	211	יִשְׂרָאֵל	118
חדל	154	כֹּהֵן	157, 189, 272, 274, 276, 283-84, 308, 332
חזה	96, 137, 139	כָּבֵד	75-76
חֲשָׂאָה	226	כֹּהֵן	306, 307
חיה	96, 124, 137-38	כְּהֵן	81
חיל	215, 219	כּוֹס	179
חוק	97-98	כִּי	294, 300-303, 311
חֲלִילָה	335	כִּי אִם	303
חלל	154	כֵּל	262
חץ	220-22	כֵּלָא	109
חצור	211	כֵּלָה	109, 113
חר	221-22	כֵּן	304, 306, 307-308
חרב	179, 188	כְּתָב	75-76
חרה	113	לֵךְ	154-55, 189, 194, 196, 240, 270, 272, 274-76, 282, 285- 87, 288, 304, 319, 324, 335
טוב	231	לֹא	149, 296, 319-20
טָרָם	147, 307, 319	לָבֵב	206, 208-209
יבש	118	לְבַשָּׁה	306
יָד	179, 182	לוֹ	303
ידע	118, 120, 301	לוֹלֵי	304
יהוה	46	לָכֵן	304, 338
יום	226, 268	לָמַד	76
יוֹמָם	306	לָמָּה	325
ישוב	116-18	לָמַעַן	287, 304-305
יכל	119, 154	לָפָנַי	276, 287
ילד	118	לָקַח	96, 137-38, 140
ילל	118	לָרֵב	306
ימן	118	לְשָׁלוֹם	306
ינק	118	מָאֵד	236, 306
יִסַּף	154	מָאָה	265, 268
יָעַן	301	מְאוֹמָה	263
יצא	118, 120, 134-35	מְדַבֵּר	205, 207-208
יצב	120	מֵה	262, 324-25
יצג	120	מֵה לֵךְ	324
יצע	120	מֵהָר	306
יצק	120	מוֹעֵד	211
יצר	120	מוֹת	121-23
יצה	120	מוֹת	236
יקץ	118	מִוֹת	236
ירא	119, 134-35	מִי	262, 322-24
ירד	118		
ירה	134-35		
ירש	116-21		
יש	256, 320, 321		
ישב	116-21		

מִי יִתֵּן	323, 334	עַד־מָה	325
מִים	185, 226	עַד־מָאֹד	236
מֵלֶאֱ	108	עוֹד	301
מֵלֶאֱדָד	211	עוֹד	308, 341
מֵלֶךְ	212-16	עוֹף	182-83
מֵלֶכָה	215, 218	עוֹ	220-22
מִן	157, 235, 241, 273- 76, 287-90	עֵין	179
מַעֲשֵׂ	306	עִיר	177, 179, 188, 226, 268
מַפְנֵי	290	עַל	240, 273, 275-76, 278, 285, 291-92, 293
מִצָּא	106-108	עֲלֶיהָ	113
מְקוֹם	176-77	עַל־כֵּן	305
מִקְנֵה	223-25	עַל־קוֹה	326
מֵר	306	עַם	182, 220-22
מִשְׁמֶרֶת	215, 218	עַם	272, 293
נָא	150, 152, 335	עַמּוּד	97-101
נָגַד	301	עֲנֹב	211
נָגַד	272, 287, 290	עֵץ	184, 212
נָגַשׁ	113-16	עָקַב	301
נִהַר	211	עָשִׂיר	211
נִחַל	86	עֲתָה	167, 308, 338
נִחַם	115	פָּה	227
נִשָּׂה	134, 136-37	פָּה	306
נִכְה	96	פֶּן	305, 320
נִלְחַם	78	פִּנְהָ	112
נִמְלֵשׁ	78	פָּנִים	182, 185
נִעַל	179	פִּקֵּד	86
נִסְתַּר	78	פִּקִּיד	205-208
נִפַל	113-15	פִּתְאֹם	306
נִפְשׁ	263, 268	פִּתַח	103-104
נִצַּר	115	צָאן	183
נִשָּׂא	134	צָדִיקָה	206, 209-10
נִשִּׂים	177	צוּה	124
נִתֵּן	96, 137-38	צָלַע	211
נִסְבִּים	273, 290	קָבַר	215-16
נִסְבַּב	128-33	קוּה	124
נִסוּס	177, 193, 204-205	קוּם	121-28, 172
נִסְכָּךְ	133	קָטַן	74-75
נִסְפַר	213-16	קָלַל	129-31
נִסְרַר	128	קָמַם	126-28
נִעֲבַד	215, 217	קָצָה	223-25
נִעַד	147, 276, 291, 319	רָאה	113, 134, 136, 301, 328
נִעֲדָה	211		
נִעַד־אֵינָהּ	328		

ראש	188	שים	123-25
רב	233	שית	124
רבה	113	שכב	76
רבים	232	שלח	103-105
רנח	33, 178	שם	306
ריב	124	שם	227
ריקם	306	שמים	227
רכב	76	שמע	105, 301
רעע	133	שמר	205-206, 208
רק	311, 313, 317	שנה	206, 209, 268
שער	211	שקה	113
שׁ	259-61	שתה	109
שאל	236	תבל	178
שבה	112	תדבר	84
שבע	301	תחת	273, 276, 291, 293, 301
שד	179	תורה	177, 204-205
שחט	101-102		
שיר	124		

INDEX OF OLD TESTAMENT TEXTS

<i>Genesis</i>		6.13	290	15.8	325
1.3	46, 152, 182, 250	7.1	258	15.12	155
		7.9	270	15.14	254
1.5	145	7.19	293	15.15	254
1.6	47	8.3	160	15.17	282
1.24	46	8.5	160	15.18	259
1.25	246	8.7	160	16.5	252-53
1.27	181	8.9	277	16.8	326, 328
2.1	167	8.21	46	17.11	331
2.5	301, 318- 20	9.6	241, 275, 281	17.15	303
				17.19	309
2.15	242	9.11	289	17.27	347
2.16	159	10.12	176	18.1	244
2.17	95, 147, 298, 320	11.2	157	18.2	162, 329
		11.3	242	18.7-8	190
2.19	46, 288	11.5	155	18.9	49, 326, 330
3.1	237	11.10	268		
3.3	260, 296, 305	11.29	315	18.11	250
		11.31	291	18.14	263, 289
3.5	283	12.1	166, 240, 261	18.26	295
3.11	153, 319			18.32	312
3.13	324	12.7	190, 240, 261, 275	19.4	307
3.14	301			19.6	246
3.15	253	12.12	331	19.8	317
3.17	283	12.13	150	19.11	191
3.23	260	12.16	238	19.30	187
4.1	165-66	13.1	252	20.2	228-29, 252
4.2	333	13.3	282		
4.6	325	13.11	243, 248- 49	20.3-4	349
4.9	46, 326			20.3	292, 349
4.10	145, 324	13.14	150	20.5	322, 347
4.14	190	13.16	262	20.6-7	333
4.15	262	14.9	269	20.6	305, 341
5.18	269	14.10	338	20.7	158, 188, 283, 301- 302
5.26	269	14.23	253, 340		
6.5	317	15.1	277		
6.7-8	299	15.5	191, 307	20.8	182

<i>Genesis (cont.)</i>		27.2	146	37.27	172
20.9	303	27.6	278	37.35	166
20.10-11	156	27.7	287	38.5	255
20.11	311, 314,	27.14	146	38.7	315
	316	27.19	248	38.10	314-15
20.12	310	27.34	245, 314	38.11	252, 314
20.13	286	28.13	260	38.17	253
20.15	329-30	28.16	309	38.26	290
20.16	329	29.19	154	39.2	166
21.16	318	29.28	285	39.21	333
21.17	324	29.34	267	40.1-2	167
21.22	166, 332	30.8	247	40.2	292
21.26	315-16	30.15	304	41.15-16	65
22.1	330	30.18	297	41.15	248, 292
22.2	266	30.43	232	41.19	286
22.4	167	31.14	250	41.26	232
22.12	163, 263,	31.15	286	41.32	292
	308	31.20	319	41.35	232, 293
22.17	159, 338	31.30	285	41.41	144, 146
22.20	315	31.32	145	41.50	147
23.6	236	31.37	307	42.1	321
23.12	287	31.54	240, 275,	42.9	343, 349
24.2	151		280	42.12	320
24.3	195	32.7	229-30,	42.16	303, 311
24.6	305		338	42.18	172, 299
24.7	86	32.18	149	42.29	150
24.12	293	32.29	303	42.30	279
24.15	299	32.33	148	43.3	317
24.20	190	33.14	153	43.16	260
24.21	322	34.8	339	43.17	194
24.25	239	34.15	312	44.4	247
24.33	145	34.30	88	44.17	335
24.43	163	35.15	341	44.22	170
24.50	154	36.38	172	45.2	168
24.54	293	37.4	255	45.8	338
24.60	151	37.5	245	45.25	244
24.65	322	37.7	148, 255	45.28	152
25.11	293	37.8	280, 322	47.15	156
25.23	267	37.14	254	48.1	263
25.25	243	37.15	147	49.9	249
25.31	150	37.16	162	50.6	86, 151
26.9	327	37.18	255	50.9	314, 316
26.33	291	37.22	151, 276	50.17	335
27.1	243	37.24	276		

<i>Exodus</i>		34.32	243	31.37	265
2.7	321	35.22	292	32.14	278
2.10	167	39.10	266, 269		
2.15	187	40.13	81	<i>Deuteronomy</i>	
2.18	155			1.3	269
2.6	228, 230	<i>Leviticus</i>		1.4	157
3.1	277	1.2	171, 263	1.6	154
3.3	171, 299	4.2	263	1.11	268
3.21	243	6.3	279	1.12	149, 327
5.10	162	10.3	82	1.19	190
6.6	169	11.4-5	191	1.30	279
6.30	327	11.44	84	1.31	157
8.4	171	12.2	300	2.27	184
8.11	161	13.9	250	4.1	333
9.14	297	13.51	239, 295	4.6	258
11.3	343	16.23	76	4.7	323
12.16	78	19.32	149	4.24	163
13.7	247	20.4	90	4.37	301
14.19	290	20.25	282	4.40	297
15.4	237	21.7	289	4.42	319
16.21	184	24.16	284	4.46	342
16.27	289	24.22	266	6.4	49
16.28	328			6.23	287
17.12	248	<i>Numbers</i>		7.1-2	301
19.2	290	3.1	258	7.7	190, 240,
19.9	281	10.34-36	49		275, 289
20.9	244	11.6	317	7.9	299
20.10	232, 298	11.17	281	8.5	293
20.13	149, 151	13.2	286	8.7	163
20.20	319	14.2	145	9.18	155
20.23	279	14.22	259	9.24	288
21.22	78	18.2	279	10.15	243
21.23	294	20.17	335	10.22	309
21.28	159, 238,	21.2	159	11.27	297
	295, 300	21.9	246	12.15	280
23.9	299	21.26	240, 275	12.20	152
23.22	242	21.34	302	12.30	326
24.8	292	21.35	319	13.2	278
32.1	258	22.32	326	13.3	152
32.6	162	22.35	313	13.7	260
32.33	262, 324	22.41	339	13.15	161
33.14	183	24.9	250	13.19	155
34.9	152	24.25	285	14.22	184, 228,
34.23	184	25.6	330		230

15.4	313	15.41	267	<i>1 Samuel</i>	
15.17	312	21.18	267	1.1	269, 332
15.20	184, 229	21.19	268	1.5	266
16.4	285	21.33	268	1.6	283
16.9	157	21.41	268	1.7	142, 148
16.18	163	21.42	290	1.19	344-45
17.10	50	22.4	287	1.22	348
17.13	298	22.17	247	2.3	229
18.3	239, 296, 342	24.15	154, 324	2.8	188
20.5	262, 324	<i>Judges</i>		2.10	313
20.7	158	1.1-2	340, 347	2.15	316
21.14	145	1.4	246	2.19-20	170
22.8	263	1.5	246	2.19	169
25.13	230	2.2	259	2.30	82, 158, 338, 341
26.11	282	2.18	301	3.1	234, 281
27.3	304	3.19	279	3.3	280
28.67	323	4.16	291	3.4	330
29.4	343, 350	5.i	342	3.11	162, 330, 339
32.7	184	5.7	259		
32.28	300	6.17	150	3.12	160
34.6	343	7.3	262, 323	4.7	335
		7.11	251	4.18	284, 332
<i>Joshua</i>		7.12	260	5.11	82
1.3	149	7.22	269	6.5	310
1.6	86	8.3	147	7.1	86
1.12	184	8.19	145	7.7	290
2.12	317	9.24	80	8.1	243
2.15	283	9.29	334	8.8	308
2.16	267	9.51	283	8.11	256
5.4	338	11.2	341	8.14	246
6.17	317	11.35	334	8.16	246
7.8	335	12.6	278	8.22	256, 262
7.12	88	13.2	187	9.3	194, 286
8.13	288	13.3	169	9.4	280
8.14	254	13.17	323	9.5	254, 349
8.30	307	13.23	303	9.6	285
10.13	147	14.9	159	9.7	279
11.6	348	16.5	169	9.11-12	321
11.9	191	17.8	147	9.11	252
11.21	293	18.30	49	9.19	170
12.6	348	19.13	170	9.20	285
14.1	86			9.22	284
14.9	296, 310			9.23	285

10.2	281	29.9	312	1.45	288
10.9	286			2.15	288
10.14	328	<i>2 Samuel</i>		3.7	154
10.19	286	1.1	266	3.11	168
10.24	153	1.19	327	3.12	297
12.19	84, 292	2.22	156	3.20	88
14.9	294	5.10	160	5.3	268
14.12	246	5.20	341	7.14	228-29,
14.34	278	8.16	291		247
14.43	330	10.3	283	8.13	236
15.1	338, 340-	10.11	80	8.27	311
	41, 347	11.11	296, 310	8.28	195
15.15	297	12.6	269	8.29	278
15.20	297, 348	12.22	323	9.20	238
15.22	240	13.5	291	10.2	281
15.23	288	13.17	257	10.7	278
15.35	278	13.19	348	10.12	308
16.6	309	13.20	300	10.22	270, 286
16.10	269	14.14	319	12.16	325
17.32	168-69	14.20	234	13.12	168, 326
17.55	189, 323	15.4	323	13.21	301
17.56	323	15.19	169-70	13.22	318
17.58	249	15.32	248	14.9	155
18.5	314, 316	17.3	343, 350	14.10	304
18.15	296	17.10	191	14.11	183, 249
18.17	236, 280	17.17	162	15.19	282
19.7	333	18.11	292	15.23	245
19.17	325	18.12	324	15.29	153, 157
19.22	327	18.29	322	16.16	156, 187
19.23	252	18.32	321, 322	18.41	172
20.2	335	19.18	269	19.5	259
20.4	262, 325	19.25-26	332	20.1	184, 268,
20.26	319	19.39	152		348
20.39	312	19.43	159	20.3	286
20.40	173	21.20	270	20.37	160
22.21	173	24.3	182, 268	20.39	159
23.3	313	24.12	161	21.5	325
25.4	252	24.13	296	21.6	281
23.10	286			22.25	260
25.8	172	<i>1 Kings</i>			
25.10	323	1.4	236	<i>2 Kings</i>	
25.15	195	1.14	254, 308	1.4	339-40
25.24	252	1.22	330	1.6	304
27.5	172	1.24-25	302	2.17	82

2.7	291	11.9	196	31.16	195
3.4	171	11.10	331	32.32	88
3.10	258	29.11	257	39.27	232
3.12	251	30.16	235	41.6	265
3.13	318	34.12	314		
3.14	304	42.7	233	<i>Hosea</i>	
3.16	185	42.18	249	1.1	238
3.26	250	44.16	334	2.7	238
4.43	161	44.17	335	2.10	298
5.3	295, 334	44.21	243	2.13	298
5.17	341	45.10	335	6.9	194
5.22	151	49.4	310		
6.5	247	53.11	235	<i>Joel</i>	
6.25	333	59.3	282	3.1	242
7.1	230	60.20	340		
7.3	324	65.2	80	<i>Amos</i>	
7.4	145			4.12	301
8.12	342, 350	<i>Jeremiah</i>			
8.13	325	1.18	286	<i>Jonah</i>	
10.3	289	5.22	94	1.2	233
11.20	348	6.13	236	1.11	172
12.18	147	8.7	146		
13.2	277	14.22	252-53	<i>Micah</i>	
13.20-21	348	16.7	185	4.14	281
16.17	229	25.13	259	7.4	289
22.1	265	28.16	244		
22.10	156	28.9	260	<i>Nahum</i>	
24.7	342	31.31	350	3.5	244
25.15	184, 230	32.20	238, 298		
		32.44	161	<i>Habbakuk</i>	
<i>Isaiah</i>		36.17	326	3.13	194
1.15	244, 318, 321	48.39	327		
				<i>Zephaniah</i>	
1.21	327	<i>Ezekiel</i>		3.16	182, 249
1.24	78	1.4	261		
2.7-8	165	4.13	235	<i>Zechariah</i>	
3.18	259	5.8	340	7.5	161
5.13	146	8.18	245	9.9	186
6.3	258	14.8	90		
7.7	307	16.60	252	<i>Malachi</i>	
7.23	268	19.9	281, 305	1.2	105
9.1	195	23.30	161	3.24	245
9.8	183, 249	24.1	270		
11.5	331	28.3	235, 289		

<i>Psalms</i>		11.13	80	8.6	236
1.6	302	12.24	192		
3.5	166	14.3	313	<i>Ecclesiastes</i>	
7.10	232	19.19	261	1.2	236
8.2	291, 325	22.27	171	10.20	183, 250
10.6	318	32.12	291		
12.3	184	34.31	322	<i>Esther</i>	
14.5	242	35.10	163, 186	2.23	82, 267
16.6	313				
18.14	149	<i>Proverbs</i>		<i>Ezra</i>	
19.4	319	3.4	195	3.12	282
19.7	288	3.12	105	10.14	262
22.22	146	6.6	189		
32.3	301	13.21	243	<i>Nehemiah</i>	
36.5	320	22.21	229	7.66	266
43.4	236	23.7	318	9.13	233
51.3	284	23.22	261	13.20	269
51.9	152	26.13	240, 275		
54.7	47	26.14	300	<i>1 Chronicles</i>	
57.10	280	31.29	233	5.18	266
59.6	195, 227			8.40	265
63.2	233	<i>Ruth</i>		9.22	265
63.9	247	1.1	241, 248,	26.28	262
74.2	258, 261		275	26.32	266
74.16	312	1.11	149	29.17	189
79.5	325	2.2	152		
93.1	76	2.14	151	<i>2 Chronicles</i>	
116.3	149	2.19	327-28	8.10	265
119.120	288	4.6-7	299	21.1	234
122.4	261				
132.12	261	<i>Song of Songs</i>			
146.5	261	1.1	237		
		1.8	236		
<i>Job</i>		2.9	277		
3.13	295	3.10	245		
9.15	296	7.10	234		

INDEX OF SUBJECTS

Page numbers in *italics* refer to sections in the grammar where the subject referred to is the topic of a paragraph or subparagraph. The numbers in **bold** refer to subjects that are entries in the glossary.

- ablative 191, **351**. *See also* cases
- absolute superlative 236
- abstract nouns, *see* nouns, word classes
- accent, *see* accentuation of syllables.
See also emphasis
- accent signs 44, 46
 - conjunctive accents 44, 46, 193
 - disjunctive accents 44-46, 193
- accentuation of syllables
 - accents 35, 41, 43-45, 69, 75, 91, 125, 129, 168, 193, 362
 - accent shift 69, 106, 119, 125, 131, 133
 - accent systems 44
 - accented syllables 37, 42, 46
 - accentuation 35, 164
 - additional accents 42, 69
 - pretonic syllables 35, 42
 - propretonic syllables 35, 42
 - primary accents 35, 365
 - secondary accents 35, 41, **364**
 - stressed syllables 35, 44
 - tone syllables 35
 - unaccented syllables 40, 42
- accompaniment 278-79, 292-93
- accusative 90, 191, 241, **351**. *See also* cases
 - accusative of specification 235
- action verbs, *see* fientives
- active
 - active verbs, 286. *See also* voice
 - active voice 54. *See also* voice
 - active meaning 78, 84, 119, 130-31
 - active Qal, *see* Qal
 - active clauses 352, 357
- actual reason 301
- ad sensum*, *see constructio ad sensum*
- addition 235, 237, 278, 292-93, 311-13
- additional accents, *see* accentuation of syllables
- addressee 172, 189, 249, 368
- adjectives 53, 57-58, 73, 163, 176-77, 190, 196, 211, 228, 230-36, 245, 248, 258, 266, 289, 306, 319-20, 352-54, 369
 - adjective phrases 62, 353, 356, 361-63
 - adjectival qualification 62, 196, 203, 229, 232, 241
 - verbal adjectives 162, 368
- adjuncts 10, 62, 239, 241-44, 247, 249, 275, 338, 342-43, 345, **351**, 352, 355, 367
 - adjuncts of time 338-39, 343, 346
 - internal adjuncts 245
 - internal objects 242, 245
- adverbia* = adverbs
- adverbials
 - adverbial accusative 241, 244, **351**
 - adverbial modifiers 160, 351
 - adverbial of manner 345
 - adverbial of place 345
 - adverbial of time 345
 - option adverbial modifiers 240, 275
 - adverbial phrase 59, 331, 356

- adverbial qualifications 236, 240
 adverbial relations 199
 adverbial clauses, *see* sentence and
 clause types
adverbium = adverb
 adverbs 53, 58, 147, 158, 160, 167,
 235, 304, 305-20, 328, 333, 340-
 41
 adverbs of time 308
 demonstrative adverbs 307
 derived adverbs 306
 focus particles 10-11, 58, 252,
 306, 309, 311-18, 329, 347,
 358, 367
 modal words 58, 294, 296, 303,
 305-306, 309-11, 312, 318,
 329
 negatives 58, 150-52, 167, 170,
 305-307, 317, 318-20, 321,
 340
 ordinary adverbs 58, 295, 306-
 309, 319, 329
 primitive adverbs 306
 adversative 294
 affected 242, **352**, 357-58
 affixes 52, 67, **352**, 360, 363, 368.
See also infixes, prefixes and
 suffixes
 agents 78, 198, 241, 243, 281, 286-
 87, 289, **352**
 agree 57, 162-63, 228, 258, 270, 331,
 333, 353. *See also* agreement
and congruency features
 agreement 55, 267, 283, **352**. *See*
also agree and congruency
 features
Aktionsart **352**
 I aleph 96, 99, 105-106, 134
 III aleph 96, 106-109, 134-36
 alienation 288, 290
 allative 291, **352**
 allophones, *see* consonant types
 alternative 295-96, 298, 303, 325
 alveolars = dentals, *see* consonant
 types
 amazement 259, 327
 Amorite 16
 anaphors, *see* pronouns
 answer to a factual question 346
 antecedents 56, 256, 260-62, 314,
353, 364
 anterior construction 254, 349
 AP, *see* syntactic units
 apocope 112, **353**, 365
 apocopated form, 72, 75, 112,
 113. *See also* III he.
apodosis, *see* conditions
 apparently superfluous independent
 personal pronoun 349. *See also*
 pronouns
 apposition 65, 159, 170, 295, **353**
 appositional relationship 228, 267
 Arabic 18
 Aramaic 16, 285
 argumentative texts, *see* types of texts
 article = definite article
 aspect 54, 142-45, 147, 165, 169,
 359, 363
 aspect system 141-42
 assertion 365
 assimilation, *see* phonological
 processes
 Assyrian 15
 a-stems 214, 216, 220, 272. *See also*
 noun patterns
 asyndetic 238, 247, 250, **354**
 'atnāh, *see* masoretic signs
 attitude, *see* expression of an attitude
 attributive 57, 229, 231-34, 239, 266,
 269-70, **354**, 363
 audible š^ewā, *see* vowel types
 author 199
 averbal clause = nominal clause, *see*
 sentence and clause types
 Babylonian 15
 Babylonian tradition 48
 backbone 166-67, 169-70
 background information 167, 299,
 331-33, 348
 base vowel = stem vowel
 basic paradigm of

- adjectives 230
- nouns with pronominal suffixes
 - 201
 - verbs 68
- begadkefat, *see* consonant types
- Ben Asher family 17
- beth causa* 282, **354**
- beth comitantiae* 281, **354**
- beth instrumenti* 281, **354**
- beth locale* 280 **354**
- beth pretii* 281 **354**
- Biblical Hebrew 17
- binyanim* = stem formations 359, 362
- bisyllabic prepositions 272
- bisyllabic nouns, *see* nouns, noun
 - patterns
- body parts, *see* nouns, semantic
 - classes
- bound prepositions 189
- broken construct relation, *see*
 - construct relationships
- Canaanite 16
- cardinals, *see* numerals
- case 191-92, 241, 351-52, **354**, 356-58, 361, 363, 368
 - case markers **354**
- casus pendens* = dislocation
 - constructions
- cataphors, *see* pronouns
- causatives 73, 80, 86, 244, **355**
- cause 80, 199, 282, 289-90, 292, 297, 301, 354-55
- changeable long vowels, *see* vowel
 - types
- characteristic 185, 199-200, 229
- characters of the new story 166
- chiastic pattern 340
- circumstantial clauses, *see* sentence
 - and clause types
- class 199
- Classical BH 17
- classification 248
- classifying clauses, *see* sentence and
 - clause types
- clauses 59-62, 352-54, **355**, 356
 - clauses that provide a reason, *See*
 - sentence and clause types
 - climactic events 332
 - closed class 251
 - closed syllables, *see* syllables
 - closer definition 167, 171
 - cohesion 65, **355**
 - coherent text 65, 190, 367
 - cohortative forms, *see* verb
 - conjugations
 - collective nouns, *see* nouns, word
 - classes
 - collective singular 183, 232, 249
 - comitative 278, 281, 293, **355**
 - commands, *see* sentence and clause
 - types. *See also* direct and indirect
 - commands and speech acts
 - commitment to the truth 310
 - common nouns, *see* nouns, word
 - classes
 - comparisons 191, 235, 289-90, 300
 - comparative degree 235, 289
 - comparative superlative 236
 - comparison of abilities 289
 - degrees of comparison 57, 235-237
 - superlative degree 235-36
 - compensatory lengthening, *see*
 - phonological processes
 - complement clauses, *see* sentence and
 - clause types
 - complements 10, 61, 154, 172, 234, 239, 241, 247, 275, 338, 342, 345, **355**
 - complements of place 343
 - complements of prepositions 239
 - complementary conjunctions, *see*
 - conjunctions
 - completed
 - actions 54, 141, 144-45, 362
 - events 145, 165
 - complex sentences, *see* sentence and
 - clause types
 - complementizers 155

- composite š^cwās = hātēp vowels =
 half vowels
 comprehensive locatives, *see* locative
 compound numbers 265
 compound prepositions 276, 290
 concession 296
 conclusion of a scene, 333
 concord = agreement
 conditional clauses, *see* sentence and
 clause types
 conditions 150, 159, 170-71, 295,
 300, 303, 312, 353, 365
 apodosis 65, 159, 170, 295, **353**,
 364
 protasis 65, 145, 150, 159, 171,
 300, 312, 353, **364**
 real conditions 145, **364**
 unreal conditions 145, 303-304,
 367
 confirmation 303, 311
 congruency 232
 congruence 234, 249
 congruency features 55, 67, 157,
 176, 187. *See also* agreement
 congruent 250
 conjugations = verb conjugations
 conjunctions 11, 53-54, 57, 144, 238-
 39, 271, 283, 287, 294-305, 361,
 369
 co-ordinating conjunctions 58,
 237, 239, 294-96, 298, 301,
 303, 305
 complementary conjunctions 294
 double conjunctions 238, 295-96
 subordinating conjunctions, 58,
 294-97, 299-301, 303-305,
 338
 supplementary conjunctions 294
 conjunctive accents, *see* Masoretic
 signs
 conjunctive dāgēš, *see* Masoretic
 vocalization
 connecting vowels 91, 129
 connotation of imminence 155
 consequence 155, 166, 172, 287
 consonantal suffixes, *see* suffixes
 consonant types
 allophones 24, 352
 begadkefat letters 25, 38, 201,
 352, 358, 363
 dentals 26
 double waw 42
 final letters (= end consonants) 24
 fricatives 24, 39, 214-15, 219,
 352, **358**
 glides 27, 30, 33, **359**
 gutturals 25, 31-32, 37-9, 96-113,
 120, 128, 133-34, 140, 188,
 215, 220, 273, 274, 321-22
 plosives 24, 38-39, 352, **362**
 sibilants 26, 40, 83, **365**
 construct relations 62, 187, 192-97,
 203, 236, 267. *See also* *status*
 constructus
 broken construction relations 194
 construct chains 192
 construct phrases 359, 363, 366.
 See also phrases
 constituents 228, 232, 252-53, 298,
 305-306, 310-11, 313-14, 318,
 333, 336-44, **356**
constructio ad sensum 232, 250, 351,
 356
 container 200
 content 52, 154, 200, 299-300, 304,
 307, 309, 312-13, 317, 319, 323,
 328-29
 contingent locative, *see* locatives
 continuous actions 162
 contrast 166, 253, 299, 308, 337, 348
 contrast two different topics 346
 conviction as to the correctness of an
 observation 309, 311
 co-ordinating clauses, *see* sentence
 and clause types, syntactic
 co-ordinating conjunctions, *see*
 conjunctions
 co-ordination 63, 237
copula **356**
 copulative predicates 234, 239, **356**
 corresponding full vowel 274. *See*
 also vowels

- corresponding reaction 317
 dāgēš, *see* Masoretic vocalization
 dāgēš conjectivum = conjunctive
 dāgēš
 dāgēš forte = doubling dāgēš
 dāgēš lene = plosive dāgēš
 dangling letters, *see* Masoretic signs
 dative 191, 287, 257. *See also* case
dativus ethicus = ethical dative
 declaration of intent 152
 declensions 351-52, 354-55, **356**,
 358, 361
 declension of the adjective 230
 declension of nouns 191-200, 205
 declinable infinitive = infinitive
 construct
 defective mode of writing, *see*
 Masoretic conventions
 definite articles 187-88, 236, 274,
 324
 definiteness 163, 187-91, 194, 196-
 97, 232, 258, 266, 270, 352, 354
 definite events, 144, 147
 definite nouns, 56
 degrees of comparison, *see*
 comparison
deixis **357**
 deictic 257, 295, 304, 340-41,
 343
 demonstrative adverbs, *see* adverbs
 demonstrative pronouns, *see*
 pronouns
 denial of an expectation 309
 denominatives 81
 dentals, *see* consonant types
 descriptive texts, *see* types of texts
 desirability of events 149, 361
 detail 286
 diachronic level 20
 dialogue 145, 156, 164-65, 169. *See*
 also direct speech and type of
 texts
 diphthongs, *see* Masoretic
 vocalization
 direct commands 71, 150-52
 direct objects, *see* objects and
 constituents
 direct speech 161, 164, 297
 direction 199, 277, 285, 293, 352
 directive acts, *see* speech acts
 directives 54, 150-52, 169-72, 318,
 320, **357**
 directive + waw copulative +
 imperfect 164. *See also* verb
 chains
 disadvantage 324
 disappointment 327
 discourse
 discourse active 254, 344-46
 discourse analysis 367
 discourse linguistics 357
 discourse markers 10, 53, 59,
 271, 304-305, 309, 328-40,
 361, 369.
 discourse types = types of texts
 discourse linguistics = text
 linguistics
 discursive speech (= narration) 164.
 See also types of text
 discursive texts = argumentative texts
 disjunctive accents, *see* Masoretic
 signs
 disjunctive dāgēš, *see* Masoretic
 vocalization
 dislocation constructions 339, **357**,
 365
 dislocated constituents 247, 249
 dislocated phrases 339
 pendens constructions 339
 resumptive elements 339, 357,
 365
 distant past (= pluperfect and
 plusquamperfectum) 143, 145,
 362. *See also* pluperfect
 distribution 31, 33, 36, 39-41, 230,
 238, 246, 270, 286, **357**
 distributive 184
 ditransitive verbs 61. *See also* valency
 and verbs, syntactic classes
 diversity 184, 230
 divided whole 198

- double conjunctions, *see* conjunctions
- double final consonants 220
- double questions 322
- double II, *see* geminate verbs
- double status Niphal, *see* Niphal
- double waw, *see* consonant types
- doubling dāgēš, *see* Masoretic vocalization
- dual 55, 175, 179, 181, 202-204. *See also* congruency features and number
- dual forms = gender doublets
- duration 145, 199, 244, 247, 285, 325, 328, 350
- e-stem 272. *See also* noun patterns
- East Aramaic 16
- East Semitic 15
- effected 235, 242, 352, **357**
- ellipsis 241
- emotional process, *see* verbs, semantic classes
- emotions, *see* expression of emotion
- emphasis 46, 69, 336
- emphatic imperatives 150
- enclitic mem 195, 227
- enclitic pronouns, *see* pronouns
- end consonants (= final letters), *see* consonant types
- energetic nun 91, 94, 358
- epexegetical **357**
- epexegetical waw 300
- epicene nouns 181, **357**
- episode 331-33, 348
- epicoena* = epicene nouns
- ergative system **358**
- ethical datives 287
- Ethiopian 16
- exclamations 325
- exclusion 312, 317
- exclusive comparisons 290
- exclusivity 184
- exhortations 152, 170, 302
- existential words = predicators of existence
- experience of a threat, *see* expression of experience of a threat
- expression of
- attitude 334
- emotion 334
- joy 218, 236, 334
- sorrow 334
- surprise 259
- the experience of a threat 334
- extended sentences, *see* sentence and clause types
- extra short vowels, *see* vowel types
- extraordinary points, *see* Masoretic signs
- factitives 80, 86, 244, **358**
- factual interrogatives = interrogative pronouns. *See* pronouns
- factual questions = WH-questions, *see* sentence and clause types
- feminine 52, 55, 69, 175, 179-180
- fientives **358**
- figura etymologica* = internal adjunct. *See* adjuncts
- figurative use 160, 179-80
- final letters (= end consonants), *see* consonant types
- final syllables, *see* syllables
- finite verbs, *see* verbs
- focus 10, 58, 253, 330, 345-47, 349-50, **358**
- focus particles, *see* adverbs
- free inversion 63
- fricatives, *see* consonants types
- fronting 253, 337-49, **358**
- fronted subject 254
- full mode of writing, *see* Masoretic conventions
- future 54, 70, 141-44, 146-47, 162, 169-70, 259, 331, 359, 364
- geminate verbs 96, 128-33
- gender 55, 67, 175-81
- gender doublets 180
- generative approach 21
- generic term 179

- genitive 191-92, 200, 356, **358**, 363, 366. *See also* case and status constructus.
- gentilic nouns, *see* nouns, word classes
- gentilica* = gentilic nouns
- glides, *see* consonant types
- giving process, *see* verbs, semantic classes 278
- glottal stops 23, 25
- gnomic perfect 146, **359**
- goal 199, 227, 278, 285, 291-92, 350
- god/gods/goddesses, *see* nouns, semantic classes
- gradual progression 160
- grammatical gender 176. *See also* gender
- grammatical subject 352
- grammatically congruent 190. *See also* congruency and agreement
- grounds 283, 302, 304-305, 333
- gutturals, *see* consonants types
- I gutturals 105, 138
- II gutturals 96, 101-103, 134, 136
- III gutturals 96, 103, 138
- habitual action 142, 148, 169-70
- half vowels, *see* vowel types
- half closed 201
- hapax legomenon* **359**
- hāṭēp vowels = half vowels, *see* vowel types
- III he 72, 96, 109, 111-13, 134-36
See also apocope
- he *locale* 194, 227, 276, 352
- heavy suffixes, *see* suffixes
- hendiadys* **359** + *וְדָבָר וְדָבָר*
- Hiphil 67, 73-74, 84-87, 366
- Hištaf'el 139
- historical-comparative grammar 19
- Hithpael 56, 67, 73, 82-84, 366
- Hithpalel 84
- Hithpapel 84, 132
- Hithpoel 84, 132
- Hithpolal 84
- Hithpolel 125-26
- honorific plurals 185-86, 232, 363
- Hophal 67, 73-74, 87-88, 366
- hypothetical conditions = unreal conditions, *see* conditions
- identifiable
- character 348
- entity 348
- referent 339
- identifying clauses, *see* sentence and clause types
- identity 190, 323, 346, 350
- individualizing singular 250
- immediate past 141, 145
- imminent 162, **359**
- imperative forms, *see* verb conjugations
- imperfect forms, *see* verb conjugations
- imperfect + waw copulative + imperfect, *see* verb chains
- imperfect + waw consecutive perfect, *see* verb sequences
- impersonal subject 321
- implements 178
- inanimate objects 178
- incomplete 54, 141
- indefinite events 144
- indefinite pronouns, *see* pronouns
- indefiniteness 187
- indefinite article 187
- independent personal pronouns, *see* pronouns
- independent relative clauses 260
- indicative, *see* moods
- indirect commands 71, 151-52, 360
- indirect objects, *see* objects
- indirect questions 322, 326, 360
- infinitive absolute, *see* verb conjugations
- infinitive clauses, *see* sentence and clause types
- infinitive construct, *see* verb conjugations
- infixes 69, 76, 352, **360**, 367. *See also* affixes

- ingressive **360**
 instructional texts = prescriptive
 texts, *see* types of texts
 instrument 199, 281, 289, 354
 intensification, 184
 intensifies 158
 intensity 184, 230, 245
 interjections 53, 59, 271, 323, **328**,
 334-35, 361, 369
 interlocutors 344
 internal adjuncts, *see* adjuncts
 internal objects, *see* adjuncts
 interrogative pronouns, *see* pronouns
 and *see* interrogatives
 interrogative sentences, *see* sentence
 and clause types
 interrogatives 59, 321-28, 340, **360**,
 361
 intransitive verbs, *see* verbs, syntactic
 classes
 invitations 151, 153
 irregular nouns 225
 irregular verb stems = irregular verbs
 irregular verbs 68, 95-140
 i-stem 214, 216, 220. *See also* noun
 patterns
 Jewish-Palestinian Aramaic 16
 joining together 278, 281, 191, 193
 joy, *see* expression of joy
 jussive forms, *see* verb conjugations
kethib, *see* Masoretic conventions
 kinship 198
 large letters, *see* Masoretic signs
 Late BH 17, 284
 Latin 18, 24
 lexemes 142, **360**
 lexical entries **360**
 lexicalized
 constituents 342-43
 lexicalized objects 342
 light suffixes, *see* suffixes
 limitation 58, 312-13, 317
 listing 172, 298, 348
litterae majusculae = large letters, *see*
 Masoretic signs
litterae minusculae = small letters, *see*
 Masoretic signs
litterae suspensae = dangling letters,
 see Masoretic signs
 liturgical chapter markers, *see*
 Masoretic signs
 localization 277, 279-80, 282-83
 locatives 227, 279, 291
 comprehensive locative 291
 contingent locative 291
 metaphorical locative 277, 291,
 293
 logical
 conclusion 333
 implications 295
 sequence 166, 169, 369
 long constituents 342
 long vowels, *see* vowels types
 lower status 172
 main clause, *see* sentence and clause
 types
 main field 337, 340-42, 350, **360**, 364
 main verbs 153, 155, 159-60, 165,
 168, 359, 362
 mainstream 331-33. *See also*
 backbone
 manner 58, 155, 199, 244, 326
 mappiq, *see* Masoretic signs
 maqqef, *see* Masoretic signs
 marked word order, *see* word order
 masculine 52, 55, 69, 175, 179-80
Masora finalis = Masoretic endnotes,
 see Masoretic notes
Masora magna, *see* Masoretic notes
Masora marginalis = Masoretic
 marginal notes, *see* Masoretic
 notes
Masora parva, *see* Masoretic notes
Masorah gedolah, *see* Masoretic
 notes
 Masoretes 17, 18, 28, 30, 38, 47, 76
 Masoretic accents, *see* Masoretic
 signs
 Masoretic conventions
 defective mode of writing 31

- full mode of writing 31
 kethib 47
 qere 47, 50
 Masoretic endnotes, *see* Masoretic notes
 Masoretic marginal notes, *see* Masoretic notes
 Masoretic notes
 Masora magna 50
 Masora parva 50
 Masoretic endnotes 49
 Masoretic marginal notes 50
 Massorah gedolah 50
 Masoretic signs 32, 36
 'atnah 45-47
 conjunctive accents 44, 46, 193
 dangling letters 49
 disjunctive accents 44-46, 193
 extraordinary points 49
 large letters 49
 liturgical chapter markers 48
 pārāšāh 48
 sēder 48
 mappîq 43, 109
 maqṣef 43, 245, 364
 Masoretic accents 193
 meteg 41-43, 69, 193
 paragraph markers 48
 petûḥâ 48
 setûmâ 48
 reversed nun
 sillûq 42, 45-47
 small letters 49
 sôf pāsûq 45
 zāqēf qāṭôn 45-47
 Masoretic vocalization 31
 conjunctive dāgēš 40
 dāgēš 131
 diphthongs 32-33
 disjunctive dāgēš 40
 doubling dāgēš 39
 pausal forms 46-47, 106
 plosive dāgēš 38
 plosives 24, 38, 39, 352, **363**
 transitional pataḥ 33
 vowel indicators 27-31, 37, 43,
 106, 109, 118, 120-21, 125,
 127, 132
 material 199, 229, 245, 288
 matres lectionis = vowel indicators,
 see Masoretic vocalization
 means 199, 245, 354
 Mediaeval Hebrew 18
 medial š^cwâ, *see* vowel types
 mental processes, *see* verbs, semantic
 classes
 metaphorical locative, *see* locatives
 277, 293
 metathesis, *see* phonological
 processes
 meteg, *see* Masoretic signs
 metonymy 235
 mixed forms 121. *See also* irregular
 verb stems
 Moabite 16
 mobile š^cwâ, *see* vowel types
 modal words, *see* adverbs
 modalities 143 148, 169, **360**
 Modern Hebrew 20
 modus = mood
 monosyllabic words 365
 monosyllabic nouns, *see* noun
 patterns
 moods 55, 143, 356, 358, 360, **361**,
 362, 368.
 indicative 53-54, 148, 355, **359**,
 optative 148, 355, 360, **361**, 366
 subjunctive 53-54, 148, 355, 360-
 61, **366**
 morphemes 51, 153, 352
 morphology 68, 95, 175, 193, 200,
 230, **361**
 morphological gender 176-78. *See*
 also grammatical gender
 morphological level 51, 70, 176-
 77
 mothers of reading = vowel
 indicators, *see* Masoretic
 vocalization
 motivation 283, 297, 299, 302-303,
 326
 multiples 269

- narrated material = narrative texts,
see type of texts
- narration = discursive speech, *see* text types
- narrative texts, *see* type of texts
- narratives = narrative texts
- natural elements, *see* nouns, semantic classes
- natural pairs, *see* nouns, semantic classes
- negatives, *see* adverbs
- negative commands 151
- negative purpose 305
- negative requests 150
- neutral imperfects 152
- new characters 347
- new paragraphs 331
- new scenes 332
- nifrad = *status absolutus*
- Niphal 56, 67, 73-74, 77-78
 double status Niphal 78
- nomen* = noun
- nomina* = nouns
- nominal clauses, *see* sentence and clause types
- nominal complements 244. *See also* complements
- nominative 191, 247, **361**. *See also* case
- non-completed action 144
- non-finite verbs, *see* verbs
- non-indicatives = modalities
- non-living matter, *see* nouns, semantic classes
- norm 286, 292
- North Arabic 16
- North-West Semitic 16
- noun phrase = NP
- nouns 53, 55, 174, **361**
word classes
 abstract nouns 55, 175, 179, 185
 collective nouns 55, 175, 180, 182-83, 185
 common nouns 55, 187, 190, 191, 227, 233, 313
 gentilic nouns 184
 proper nouns 55, 174-75, 179, 187, 191, 228, 233
 substantives 55, 57, 174, 234, 361, **367**
- noun patterns*
 bisyllabic nouns 224
 monosyllabic nouns 140, 207, 212, 220-223
 segholate nouns 115, 119, 140-41, 214-19, 272
 trisyllabic feminine nouns 206
 trisyllabic segholate nouns 213, 218
- semantic classes*
 body parts 185-86, 198
 natural elements 178
 natural pairs 180
- NP, *see* syntactic units
- number 55, 61-62, 67, 181-87, 228, 230-33, 352-55, 356, 363, 368.
See also congruency and agreement
- numerals 50, 56, 174, 232, 263-70
 cardinals 57, 184, 263, 266-68
 ordinals 57, 270
- numerical plural 184
- numerical singular 183
- I nun 96, 113, 116, 120, 131, 134, 136, 140.
- nun inversum* = reversed nun
- oath 296, 303, 310-11
- objects 53, 55-56, 63-65, 68, 241-46, 251, 33-37, 342, 345, **361**
 direct objects 53, 60, 162, 192, 239-43, 246, 275, **357**, 359
 indirect objects 60, 173, 192, 239, 240, 254, 255, 275, 342-43, 345-46, 357, **359**
 object markers 90, 162, 244-46
 object relations 198
- obligatory order of constituents 341, 347
- Old Akkadian 15
- open syllables, *see* syllables

- open accented syllables, *see* syllables
- optative, *see* moods
- option adverbial modifiers, *see*
adverbial modifiers
- ordinals, *see* numerals
- ordinary adverbs, *see* adverbs
- ordinary infinitive = infinitive
construct, *see* verb conjugations
- ordinary past = simple past
- o-stem 215. *See also* noun patterns
- outcome 155, 323, 333
- Palestinian Talmud 16
- Palestinian tradition 48
- paragraph markers, *see* Masoretic signs
- pārāšāh, *see* Masoretic signs
- particles, *see* verb conjugations
- particles 10, 150, 305, 312, 321, **361**
- partitive 198, 281, 289, **362**
- partitive relations 198
- parts of speech (= word classes) 53,
194, **361**, 369
- passive
meaning 73, 78, 82, 88
participle 76
Qal passive, 76, 40
verb 145, 165, 241, 275, 286
voice 54, 82, 368. *See also* voice
- past perfect = distant past **362**
- past tense 68, 141
- pataḥ furtivum* = transitional pataḥ
- patient 78, 242, 243, 286, **362**
- pausal forms, *see* Masoretic vocalization
- pendens constructions, *see* dislocation constructions
- penultimate syllables, *see* syllables
- perfect forms, *see* verb conjugations
- perfective 144
- performative acts, *see* speech acts
- permission 151
- personal suffix = pronominal suffix
- personal pronouns, *see* pronouns
- petûḥâ, *see* Masoretic signs
- Phoenician 16
- phonetics **362**
phoneme 352
phonetic features 68
phonetic levels 51
phonetic variants 352
- phonology 19, **362**
phonological levels 51
phonological processes 10, 26,
51, 68
assimilation 26, 51, 78, 83,
99, 115-16, 120, 140,
274, **353**
assimilated nun 94
compensatory lengthening 10,
39, 97, 100, 102, 133,
274, 369
metathesis 26, 51, 83, 139,
360
- phrases, *see* syntactic units
- Piel 67, 79-81, 82, 86-87, 367
- Pilpel 132
- place 58, 230, 244, 260-61, 280, 288,
326-27, 328, 354
- pleonasm **362**
- plosive dāgēš, *see* Masoretic vocalization
- plosives, *see* consonant types
- pluperfect (= distant past and
plusquamperfectum) 141, 168,
254, 349
- plural 55, 69, 77, 181-86. *See also*
number and congruency features
plurals of extension 185
- pluralis majestatis* = honorific plural
- plusquamperfectum* = distant past
- Poal 132
- Poel 132
- poetic texts 165
- Polal 125-26
- Polel 125-26
- polite request 150, 335
- positive wish 323, 334
- possession 52, 197-98, 255, 297, 286
- possessor 198, 286, 358
- possessive construction 196-97

- possibility 53, 149, 159, 169, 361, 366
- postconstructus* 10, 192-97, 203, 233, 234, 237, 250, 266, 356, **363**, 366. *See also status constructus*
- postpositional 45-46
- postpositional accents 44. *See also* accentuation of syllables
- PP, *see* syntactic units
- pragmatics 11, 52, 315, 330
- pragmatic conventions 21
- pragmatic functions 248, 253, 272, 322, 350
- pragmatic information 303
- pragmatic level 52
- precative perfective 146, **363**
- precise point on the time-line 284
- predicates 59-60, 63, 148, 154-55, 240, 247-50, 252-53, 306, 330, 335, 343, 345-46, 351-52, 355-57, **363**
- predicate focus 345
- predicative relationship 57, 231, 233, 234, 258
- predicators of existence 53, 58, 248, 271, 305, 318, 320-21, 361, 369
- predictive discourse, *see* type of texts
- prefix 67, 70-71, 75, 77-78, 82-85, 87-88, 123, 127, 146, 352, **363**, 367. *See also* affixes.
- prefix conjugations = imperfect forms
- preformative 80, 118-20, **363**
- preperfect 254
- preperfect relationship 349
- prepositional phrases = PP
- prepositions 57, 239-41, 243, 248, 250, 270, 271-294
- preposition + pronominal suffix 272-73, 341
- preposition's complement 239
- prepositional objects 342-43
- prepositional phrases, *see* syntactic units
- prepositions prefixed to other words 274
- prescriptive texts, *see* types of texts
- present 54, 162
- present continuous 147
- present incomplete 147
- present perfect (= immediate past) 141, 145
- present time 143
- preterite **363**
- pretonic syllable, *see* accentuation of syllables
- preverbal field 337-38, 340-41, 349, 358, 360, **363**
- price 281, 354
- primary accents, *see* accentuation of syllables
- primitive adverbs, *see* adverbs
- priority 269-70
- privative 288
- processes of closure, *see* verbs, semantic classes
- processes of saying, *see* verbs, semantic classes
- processes of movement, *see* verbs, semantic classes
- proclitic **364**
- product 17, 199, 242
- progression 160, 165-66, 169, 369
- prohibition 149, 151, 320
- pronomem* = pronoun
- pronomina* = pronouns
- pronominal suffixes, *see* suffixes
- pronominalized constituents 342
- pronouns. *See also* suffixes,
- pronominal suffixes
- anaphora* 56, **353**
- cataphors **354**
- demonstrative pronouns 190, 257-59, 352
- enclitic pronouns 200, 251
- indefinite pronouns 56, 262-63, 323, 325
- independent personal pronouns 56, 251-54, 340
- interrogative pronouns 56, 259, 262, 322-28, 360
- personal pronouns 56, 191, 200, 251, 336

- reciprocal pronouns 56, 353
 reflexive pronouns 56, 78, 353
 relative pronouns 56, 62, 167,
 189, 258-61, 296, 342
 proper nouns, *see* nouns
 prophetic perfect 146, **364**
 proretonic syllables, *see*
 accentuation of syllables
protasis, *see* conditions
 proximity 293
 Pual 67, 73, 81-82, 100, 102-103,
 112, 116, 120, 125, 132, 140,
 367
puncta extraordinaria =
 extraordinary points
 purpose 164, 171, 283, 287, 297,
 304, 369
 Qal 67, 68, 69, 73, 74-77, 78, 80-82,
 86, 99, 102, 105, 108-109, 112-
 13, 115-16, 118-21, 124, 128,
 130-31, 140, 150, 366
 Qal active 76
 Qal passive 76, 140
qatal = perfect form
 qātal 76
 qātēl 76
 qatōl 76
 qenemlū letters 40
 qere, *see* Masoretic conventions
 qualify 57-58, 228, 230, 233, 257-59,
 354, 363
 quantifiers = focus particles
 Qumran 16
 Qur'an 16
 Rabbinic Hebrew 17
 real conditions, *see* conditions
 reality 142, 148
 reason 199, 278, 301-302, 324-26,
 354
 reciprocal 78, 353, **364**
 reciprocal action 84
 reciprocal pronouns, *see* pronouns
 referents 58, 185, 228, 230, 253, 254,
 319, 349, **364**
 reflexive 78, 84, 353, **364**, 366, 368
 reflexive element of an agent 287
 reflexive pronouns, *see* pronouns
 refusal of a summons 318
 relative clause, *see* sentence and
 clause types, syntactic
 relative pronouns, *see* pronouns
 reported speech 156. *See also*
 dialogue
 request 54, 146, 149-52, 302, 335,
 363
 request to be excused 335
 result 297, 299, 305. *See also*
 outcome
 resumptive, *see* dislocation
 constructions
 reversed gender 267. *See also* gender
 reversed nun, *see* Masoretic signs
 rhetorical questions 64, 313, 322-23,
 325, 327
 rhetorical organization 65-66
 role/capacity 229, 243
 roots 67-68, 148, 160, 242, 245, 360,
 365, 366-68
 royal plural = *pluralis majestatis*
 S, *see* syntactic units
 š^cwâ, *see* vowel types
 š^cwâ, mobile = audible š^cwâ
 š^cwâ, quiescens = mobile š^cwâ
 scene 331
schema etymologicum = internal
 adjunct, *see* adjuncts
scriptio defectiva = defective mode of
 writing, *see* Masoretic
 conventions
scriptio plena = full mode of writing,
 see Masoretic conventions
 secondary accents, *see* accentuation
 of syllables
 sēder, *see* Masoretic signs
 segholate nouns, *see* nouns, noun
 patterns
 select 61, 154, 172, 242, **365**
 semantics 11, 74-88, 141, 153, 180,
 182, 270, 315, 330, **365**

- semantic functions 164, 242, 244, 248, 259, 269, 272, 322, 344, 352, 359
- semantic gender, *see* congruency features
- semantic level 52, 175-76
- semantic relationships 276, 356
- semantic roles 286
- semantic-pragmatic 167, 253, 344, 346, 349
- Semitic languages 15, 139, 188, 191, 244
- sentence 60, 52, **365**
- sentence and clause types 63
 - semantic ²⁹⁹
 - circumstantial clauses 65, 367
 - classifying clauses 249
 - clauses that provide a reason 301
 - conditional clauses 65, 300, 328, 353, 364, 367
 - identifying clauses 248
 - temporal clauses 284, 300, 367
 - syntactic
 - adverbial clauses 156, 319, 367
 - commands 64, 320
 - complement clauses 65, **355**
 - complex sentences 64, **355**
 - co-ordinating clauses 64
 - extended sentences 64, **358**
 - infinitive clauses 255, 319
 - interrogative sentences 64, 369
 - main clauses 300
 - nominal clauses 63, 167-68, 252, 329, 335, 247-48, 275, 331, 343, 356, **361**, 363
 - relative clause 163
 - simple sentences 63
 - statements 53, 170, 250, 319-20, 359
 - subordinate clauses 58, 64-65, 260-61, 294, 319, 353, 367
 - supplementary clauses 65, **367**
 - verbal sentences 63
 - WH-questions 59, 64, 321-22, 340, **369**
 - yes/no questions 321-22
- sequence in time 166, 169. *See also* verb sequences
- series of directives 170
- setting of
 - a new episode 333
 - a new scene 332
- setûmâ, *see* Masoretic signs
- short forms, *see* verb conjugations, imperfect forms. *See also* apocope and jussive forms
- short mode of writing = defective mode of writing, *see* Masoretic conventions
- short vowels, *see* vowel types
- sibilants, *see* consonants, types
- silent š'wâ, *see* vowel types
- sillûq, *see* Masoretic signs
- simple locatives, *see* locatives
- simple past 141, 145, 364
- simple sentences, *see* sentence and clause types
- simultaneous 157, 254
 - simultaneous actions 349
 - simultaneous events 168
 - simultaneous nature 159
- singular 55, 69, 77, 181-86. *See also* number and congruency features
- singular collective 183
- syntagmeme = constituent
- small letters, *see* Masoretic signs
- sôf päsûq, *see* Masoretic signs
- sorrow, *see* expression of sorrow
- sociolinguistics 11
 - sociolinguistic conventions 21, 349
- South-West Semitic 16
- spatial
 - locative 280, 285. *See also* locatives
 - positioning 277-79, 287, 290-91, 293, 307
 - relationships 276

- speaker's attitude 323
 specification 200, 244-45, 247, 285, 292
 specific point(s) in time 244
 specific someone/something 269
 speech acts 11, 149, 294, 357, 362, **365**, 367
 directive acts 148, 301
 performative act 144, 146, **362**
 speech frames 155
 split phrase **365**
 split objects 365
 split subjects 248, 365
 state of affairs 145, 165, 281, 309, 325, 331-33
 statements, *see* sentence and clause types
 statives 108, 119, 124, 130-31, 144-45, 165, 235, 244, 289, **365**
 stative verbs 76
status absolutus 193, **365**
status constructus 192-200, **365**
 stems 9-10, 68, 76, 78, 100, 215, 220-22, **366**
 stem consonants 77-79, 81-83, 85, 87, 95, 112-13, 120, 123-25, 128-29, 132-33, **366**
 stem syllables 75, 123-24, 127, 129, 131, **366**
 stem vowels 71, 75, 77-80, 85, 88, 92-93, 99-100, 105, 119, 124-25, 128, 132-33, 139, 150, 220, 273, **366**
 stem consonants, *see* stems
 stem formations 73-88, **366**
 stem syllables, *see* stems
 stem vowels, *see* stems
 stop = plosive, *see* Masoretic vocalization
 stressed syllables, *see* accentuation of syllables
 strong conviction 309
 strong verbs 102
 structuralist approach 20
 subjects 59-60, 247-51, **366**
 subjunctive, *see* moods
 subordination 232, 234
 subordinate clauses, *see* sentence and clause types
 subordinating conjunctions, *see* conjunctions
 substance 230
 substantives, *see* nouns, word classes
 suffix conjugations = perfect forms
 suffixes **367**
 consonantal suffixes 69-70, **356**
 heavy suffixes 210, 205, 216-19, 225
 light suffixes 201, 216-19, 225
 pronominal suffixes 56, 254-56.
 See also pronouns
 added to adverbs 308
 added to discourse markers 329
 added to nouns 200-27
 added to object marker 245
 added to predicates of existence 320
 added to prepositions 272-73
 added to verbs 90-95
 vocalic suffixes 69-71, 75, 77-80, 82-83, 85, 88, 99-100, 102, 108, 124, 127, **368**
 summary 167
 superfluous use of waw 300
 superlative degree, *see* comparisons
 supplementary clauses, *see* sentence and clause types
 supplementary conjunctions, *see* conjunctions
 surprise, *see* expression of surprise
 SVO 345
 syllables 34
 closed syllables 33, 34, 35, 37-39, 43, 70, 77, 85, 87, 102, 105, 106, 113, 118, 201, 274
 final syllables 35, 44-45, 72, 125, 133, 168, 306, 207-10, 212
 open syllables 34-38, 40-41, 92-93, 123, 129, 201
 penultimate syllables 35, 41, 168, 206-208

- synchronic level 20
 syndetic **367**
 synonyms 236, 300
 syntax 15, 20, 62, 141, 153, 165,
 167, 170, 180, 238, 246, 266,
 270, 275, **367**
 syntactic configurations 314
 syntactic considerations 340
 syntactic constructions 158, 164,
 337
 syntactic distinctions 332
 syntactic domain 252, 312, 368
 syntactic features 194
 syntactic functions 154, 189, 196,
 203, 239-42, 255, 353, 359,
 365
 syntactic gender 176, 178
 syntactic level 52, 176-79, 181,
 351
 syntactic ordering 162
 syntactic positions 192, 275
 syntactic relations 354-55
 syntactic-semantic functions 254
 syntactic-semantic relationships
 197
 syntax-based classification 197
 syntactic units
 AP 62, **353**, 361-62
 clauses
 NP 59-62, 64, 251, 257, 353,
 361, 362
 phrases 52, 56, 59-63, 156, 286,
 338 353, **362**, 368
 PP 61, 59, 61-62, 195, 228-29,
 239-41, 248, 272, 275
 S 60-61, 130, 290
 VP 59-60, 63, 195, 241, 244,
 351, 353, 355, 361-63, **368**
 word groups 356
 syntagms = constituents
 Targumim 16
 temporal
 temporal adjuncts = adjuncts of
 time 339, 343, 346. *See also*
 adjuncts
 temporal adjuncts of duration 343
 temporal adjuncts of frequency
 343
 temporal adjuncts of points in
 time 343
 temporal clauses, *see* sentence
 and clause types
 temporal constructions 254, 332,
 349
 temporal frames 281, 284, 332
 temporal indications 166
 temporal point of orientation 339
 temporal positioning 277, 287-88,
 291
 temporal proximity 332
 temporal relationships 276
 temporal spheres 165, 169
 temporally binding prohibitions
 149
 tense system = time system
 text grammar = text linguistics
 text linguistics 21, 165, **367**
 textual level 51, 52
 Tiberian vowel system 29
 Tiberian vocalization 28
 time line 331-32
 time system 141-42
 tone syllable, *see* accentuation of
 syllables
 topics 250, 285, 292, 344, 346-48,
 367
 topicalization 10, 337, 347
 traditional grammar 20
 transitional vowel 33
 transitional pataḥ, *see* Masoretic
 vocalization
 transitive verbs, *see* verbs, syntactic
 classes
 transliteration 22, 24
 trisyllabic, *see* nouns, noun patterns
 types of sentences = sentence types
 types of texts 52, 66
 argumentative texts 66
 descriptive texts 66
 discursive speech 66

- narrative texts 52, 66, 145, 148,
166-68, 170, 331-32, 344,
348
predictive discourse 169
prescriptive texts 66, 170
Ugaritic 16, 139
unaccentuated syllables, *see*
 accentuation of syllables
uncertainty 309-10
unchangeable long vowels, *see* vowel
 types
undivided whole 198
unique referent 190
unmarked
 construction 346
 forms 53, 148, 175
 word order, *see* word order
unreal conditions, *see* conditions
urgent commands 172
urgent requests 335
u-stem 215, 220. *See also* noun
 patterns
utterances 253, 330, **368**
valency 172, **368**
value-judgements 325
verb chains 68, 163-64, **368**
 waw copulatives 69, 71, 163,
 298, **369**
 waw copulative + directives 171
 waw copulative + imperatives 172
 waw copulative + imperfect forms
 171, **369**
 waw copulative + perfect forms
 168
verb conjugations 55
 cohortative forms 67, 71, 150-51,
 355
 imperative forms 54, 68, 71, 94,
 150-51, 328
 imperfect forms 54, 68, 70, 71,
 93-94, 146-50, **359**, 364-66,
 369
 short forms 71, 112, 132, 360,
 365, *see also* jussive
 forms and *see* apocope
infinitive absolute 67, 72, 157-61,
306, 338, 341, 355
infinitive construct 67, 72, 95,
153-57, 332, 342, 355
jussive forms 71, 150-52, **360**.
 See also short forms
participle forms 55, 67, 72-73, 75,
78, 80, 82-83, 88, 90, 162-63,
165, 190, 196, 263, 318, 321,
335, 339, 355
perfect forms 68-69, 76, 90-93,
113, 126, 144-46, 261, **362**
verb phrases = VP
verb sequences 68, 143, 163, 164,
368
 waw consecutives 69, 71, 161,
 163, 298, **369**
 waw consecutive + imperfect
 forms 10, 76, 106, 112, 125,
 128, 139, 143, 158, 164, 166-
 68, 252, 332, 336, 339, 369
 waw consecutive + perfect forms
 143, 164, 168-71, 252, 331,
 336, 369
verb stems = stems
verb system 142
verba = verbs
verbal
 verbal adjectives = participle, *see*
 adjectives
 verbal clause, 154, 247, 329, 336
 verbal notion 247, 336
 verbal nouns 368
 verbal sentences, *see* sentence and
 clause types, syntactic
verbless clauses = nominal clauses
verbs 53, **368**
 semantic classes
 emotional processes 278, 285
 giving processes 278
 mental processes 154, 296
 processes of closure 283
 processes of saying 278, 285
 verbs of abiding 244
 verbs of entrance 283
 verbs of movement 159, 172,
 244, 247, 285
 verbs of observation 154, 296,
 329

- verbs of speaking 156
- verbs of supplication 283
- verbs (cont.)
 - syntactic classes
 - finite verbs 55, 153-56, 158, 161, 163, 189, 200, 247, 252, 261, 263, 319, 355, **358**
 - intransitive verbs 53, 61, 76, 358, **360**, 365, 368
 - non-finite verbs 55, 153, 355, 358, 368
 - transitive verbs 53, 61, 76, 242-43, 246, 358, 365, 368
 - verbum* = verb
 - virtual doubling 39
 - vocalic suffixes, *see* suffixes
 - vocatives 189, 191, 247, 249, **368**
 - voice 54, 82, 183, 245, 250, 282, 297, 305, 319, **368**
 - active voice 54
 - vowel changes 91-93
 - vowel indicators, *see* Masoretic vocalization
 - vowel types
 - audible šewâ 29, 32, 36-37, 40, 69-71, 75, 97, 99-100, 112, 127, 150, 237, 274
 - changeable long vowels 29, 91, 205-12
 - extra short vowels 29
 - half vowels 26, 31-32, 36, 38, 99
 - long vowels 36-37
 - medial šewâ 38
 - mobile šewâ 37
 - šewâ 29, 32, 36-38, 40, 69, 93, 97, 99-100, 210, 273-74
 - short vowels 29, 36, 39-40, 42-43, 105-106
 - silent šewâ 37, 40, 97, 100, 105
 - unchangeable long vowels 29, 31, 92
 - VP, *see* syntactic units
 - VSO, *see* word order
 - I waw 96, 116-21, 134-35
 - II waw 72, 96, 121-28, 131-36, 366
 - waw consecutive + imperfect forms, *see* verb sequences
 - waw consecutive + perfect forms, *see* verb sequences
 - waw consecutives, *see* verb sequences
 - waw copulative + imperatives, *see* verb chains
 - waw copulative + imperfect forms, *see* verb chains
 - waw + imperatives 172
 - wayyiqtol* = waw consecutive + imperfect form
 - weak verb stems = irregular verbs
 - well formed text 315
 - weqatal* = waw consecutive + perfect form
 - weqatalti* = waw consecutive + perfect form
 - WH-interrogatives = interrogative pronouns
 - WH-questions, *see* sentence and clause types. *See also* factual questions
 - wishes 47, 53, 149, 151-53, 323, 365-66
 - word categories = word classes
 - word chains 238-39, 246, 248, 294, 298-99, 311, 338, 342
 - word classes (= parts of speech) 11, 51-53, 57, 271, 305, 328, **369**.
 - word groups, *see* syntactic units
 - word order 11, 241, 248, 336-50, 359
 - marked word order 337, 342, 349-50
 - unmarked word order 342-43
 - yes/no questions, *see* sentence and clause types
 - yiqtal 76
 - yiqtōl 76
 - yiqtol* = imperfect form
 - I yod, 116-21, 134-35
 - II yod 72, 96, 121-28, 138, 366
 - zāqēf qāṭōn, *see* Masoretic signs

INDEX OF AUTHORS

- Buth, R. 143, 144, 165
Gemser, B. 12, 236
Greenberg, J. 143
Gross, W. 337
Jenni, E. 276, 277, 281
Jöön, P. 11, 29, 118, 120, 140, 142,
145, 154, 168, 213, 257, 266,
305
Kroeze, J.H. 197
Lambdin, T.O. 150, 204, 231
Lyons, J. 143
Miller, C.L. 9, 155
Murako, T. 11, 29, 118, 120, 140,
142, 145, 154, 168, 213, 257,
266, 305
Naudé, J.A. 252
O'Connor, M. 10, 76, 81, 84, 86,
144, 181, 188-89, 190, 195, 228,
232, 234-35, 241, 245, 247, 257
Revell, E.J. 147, 152, 170
Richter, W. 266
Rubenstein, E. 161
Schneider, W. 166
Siebesma, P.A. 76, 78
Van der Merwe, C.H.J. 347
Waltke, B. 10, 76, 81, 84, 86, 144,
181, 188-89, 190, 195, 228,
232, 234-35, 241, 245, 247,
257
Zevit, Z. 348,