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PAUL JOÜON, S.J.

A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew

Translated and Revised
by
T. MURAOKA

Volume I

Part One: Orthography and Phonetics
Part Two: Morphology

Reprint of First Edition, with Corrections



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This is a translation and revision of *Grammaire de l'Hébreu biblique* by Paul Joüon, S.J., originally published by the Pontifical Biblical Institute in 1923 and subsequently and frequently reprinted with no substantial change.

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Iura editionis et versionis reservantur

To Professor James Barr, FBA
Regius Professor of Hebrew, Oxford University
1978 — 89
in recognition of his outstanding scholarship
and warmth of friendship

PREFACE TO THE ORIGINAL FRENCH EDITION

The progress in biblical studies in our time has led to the general recognition, particularly among Catholics, of the need of deeper understanding of the "sacred language." The advancement in Semitic philology, on the other hand, makes it necessary to study Hebrew in a more scientific manner as has been the case for a long time with other dead languages such as Greek and Latin. It is with a view to meeting the need of a sufficiently complete grammar of scientific character, a need often expressed by our students, initially of the Oriental Faculty of the University of St Joseph in Beirut, and subsequently of the Pontifical Biblical Institute in Rome, that we have decided to undertake such a task. What was required was an intermediate grammar bridging the gap between the best of elementary grammars and the monumental works such as *Lehrgebäude* by E. König.

With regard to both the scope of the present work and the mode of presentation, we have had in mind the ever-growing group of students who feel it necessary to go beyond the stage of purely factual⁽¹⁾ knowledge and wish to develop their ability to resolve the numerous grammatical difficulties of the massoretic text instead of merely bypassing them. They will find here not only all the fundamental concepts, but also most of the details of minor importance. As for the many minute details and anomalies which can make the study of Hebrew such a discouraging undertaking, we have had to set a limit. Besides, what is important for the student is not so much to know a great number of details as to be able to identify an unusual form and to decide whether it is explicable or, having no comparable form, it is anomalous or incorrect. But where it was found that a detail, even the most trivial, could throw some light on some obscure matter, we did not hesitate to note it. One will find here many a point of detail not dealt with by E. Kautzsch; on the other hand, some details given by this grammarian have been deliberately left out.

(1) Of course, the factual knowledge of the forms and the words is the essential basis for any advanced study. One must ensure that one has a precise knowledge of the basics: writing system, pronunciation, paradigms, basic vocabulary. Although this grammar, we believe, is easily usable by any mature student with an average philological grounding, some may find it useful to make a quick survey of the elementary notions of philology. It is for this reason that J.P. Touzard has

prefaced his *Grammaire hébraïque abrégée* (Paris, 1911) with an accelerated introduction to "Premiers éléments" designed as a quick guide for beginners.

By avoiding an excess of details, we have been able to allot more space to explanation. Even those who are only marginally inclined towards a scientific approach would find that a form well explained and understood remains longer in their memory. A solid introduction to phonetics enables one to recover a forgotten form more easily and accurately and provides a safeguard against erroneous vocalisations. Logical explanation is an especially indispensable aid to memory for those who take up the study of Hebrew at a mature age.

A Semitic language like Hebrew creates the impression of a totally new world. The phonetic inventory has entities strange to our languages; the morphology and syntax have features which are completely different from ours. In order truly to appreciate the system and nature of Hebrew one needs to lay aside one's own phonetic⁽¹⁾ and grammatical habits as well as certain notions peculiar to our languages. Right from the start, the nature of the Hebrew vowels, their quality⁽²⁾ and quantity are described in a way which is considerably different from the teaching method found in most grammars. On very many points, for instance, in the very important matter of *tenses*, we have departed from certain widely accepted views, because a serious examination has shown us that they were not accurate enough. In any case one would hardly expect a book of this kind to be a mere collection of factual details and contain very little that is new⁽³⁾. Only rarely have we been able to mention dissenting opinions about controversial issues. Even less frequently, due to the nature of the book, have we been able to engage in a discussion. As for the bibliography, apart from the general reference works mentioned in the *Introduction*, we could provide references only for the more important matters, and even then only to works which are really useful⁽⁴⁾.

(1) And this not just in theory, but also in practice. The student must, right from the beginning, discipline himself to aim at the exact pronunciation of consonants and vowels with their correct timbre, length and tone, and watch for syllable boundaries, etc. He must also, from the beginning, accord distinct prominence to the *mil'el* tone, which is systematically marked in this book despite the typographical difficulty.

(2) The vital importance of the quality of the Hebrew vowels necessitated the use of phonetic symbols for their transliteration.

(3) Some of these new points have been treated by us in *Mélanges de la Faculté Orientale de Beyrouth* and *Biblica*; reference to these publications will be made on occasion for the benefit of the reader who might wish to know more about an explanation proposed by us.

(4) The bibliography given by Kautzsch, which was quite full, is recorded in an almost exhaustive fashion in the grammar as revised by Bergsträsser (I. Theil, 1918).

Faced with an enormous number of grammatical explanations, we quite often had to be content, if we were to be honest, with probabilities and not much more. The reader will no doubt be surprised to see words such as *probable*, *probably* (*prob.*), *perhaps* (*perh.*) recurring so often, words which are not usually found in a grammarian's vocabulary. But, without trying to sound pedantic, we did not wish to leave the reader with the impression that all explanations are equally certain.

Although we have no blind faith in the vocalisation of the massoretic text, we have become convinced that, all in all, it faithfully reflects the linguistic reality and therefore provides a solid grammatical basis to work on. This conservative attitude however has not prevented us from indicating what has appeared to us to be arbitrary, suspect or incorrect. The reader will soon see that the study of the massoretic text can only be undertaken critically; it is not meant for immature minds.

Despite our efforts not to drown the reader in a sea of endless details, the very nature of the language and of the massoretic text compelled us to mention a considerable number of minute details⁽¹⁾. The student need not be alarmed by this. He would be well advised to read quickly the entire grammar once in order to gain a general overview of the language. Then he can come back for in-depth study with attention to details. In the longer paragraphs, those on irregular verbs, for example, the most important aspects are grouped towards the beginning, and the details and anomalies are relegated to the end. Obviously not all details should be memorised, especially in the preliminary study. The student will no doubt encounter them in his reading of the biblical text, when he can examine them in accordance with his progress, and with greater interest.

(1) Needless to say, all lexicological details must be sought in good dictionaries.

Phonetics, which is a necessary introduction to Morphology, presents a practical difficulty for the beginner, who is supposed to be not yet acquainted with the forms. The author, on the other hand, is likely to say, under Phonetics, things which he will have to repeat under Morphology. Consequently we have dealt with phonetics as briefly as possible.

For pedagogical reasons many examples cited in Phonetics and Morphology are taken from the paradigms; some forms, even when not marked with an

asterisk (*), may therefore not be found in the biblical text. The same is true of some nouns cited in the absolute state, verbs cited for the third person sg. m. etc.

In Phonetics and Morphology we have not translated all the words cited there, particularly those which occur frequently⁽¹⁾. In certain cases we have resorted to Latin in order to bring out a nuance more accurately.

(1) The study of vocabulary must naturally go hand in hand with that of grammar. The student can, for instance, learn words grouped according to various criteria (meaning or form). As soon as he can read an easy text, he would be well advised to learn a few verses which may be of some special interest to him on account of the words used or the syntax involved.

Sometimes we have quoted, for the sake of comparison, Arabic, Aramaic and Syriac, for we believe that students will appreciate the necessity of at least an elementary acquaintance with these languages if they want to understand Hebrew fully.

The Syntax, a section often rather neglected in Hebrew grammars, has been given the attention to which it is entitled⁽¹⁾. We have endeavoured to facilitate its study by giving plenty of examples *in extenso* and with translation⁽²⁾ instead of merely multiplying biblical references. Only rarely have we aimed at giving an exhaustive list of passages in which a phenomenon is attested; but we have indicated the relative degree of frequency⁽³⁾.

(1) Some observations on *style*, which is closely bound up with syntax, have been proffered occasionally.

(2) It is hardly necessary to state that the translations offered are of strictly grammatical character, aiming at literalness. Towards the end of the Syntax, we have, as a pedagogical device, left out the vocalisation of a small number of words which occur so frequently that the student can be assumed to be familiar with them.

(3) A good number of examples are not found in any Syntax. For certain texts, e.g. the book of Ruth, the abundance of quoted examples amounts almost to a philological commentary.

In general we have avoided adducing examples which are textcritically problematic⁽¹⁾: discussion of them would have exceeded the bounds of this grammar, and it is really best left to philological commentaries.

(1) Indicated by the reverse question mark ?.

With regard to the terminology, we have generally retained the traditional terms, except where these could give rise to a wrong notion. The terms which make part of the current vocabulary of Hebrew grammar, e.g. *Qal*, *Nifal*, *Piel*, *Hifil* are written in the simplest manner, like English words. The same

applies to the traditional terms we use in Syntax to indicate the tenses, for example, *qatal* for the perfect, *yiqtol* for the future (cf. § 111 *b*).

In the Paradigms, which, for the benefit of the student, form a separate fascicule together with Indices, one will find some innovations of a pedagogical nature. Under the verbs, immediately after the Perfect we have placed the Future, this second tense being necessary and sufficient for the purpose of characterising a conjugation. Then follows the Imperative, the characteristic vowel of which is the same as that of the future. At the end one will find the nominal-verbal forms: infinitives and participles.

As the two infinitives often present difficulties for the beginner, we have prefixed the infinitive construct with the preposition ל, which will never be found before the infinitive absolute.

In a synoptic paradigm of the verbs (Paradigm 16), one will find, under the four forms of Qal, Nifal, Hifil, and Hofal, the irregular verbs which can easily give rise to confusion.

I wish to express here my sincere thanks to Rev. Fr. Joseph Neyrand, S.J., a professor at the Pontifical Biblical Institute, who has kindly read the proofs of this grammar and whose very keen observations have been a great benefit to me.

PREFACE TO THE ENGLISH EDITION

Since its publication in 1923 Paul Joüon's *Grammaire de l'hébreu biblique* has been generally recognised as one of the finest grammars of Biblical Hebrew. Two of its obvious strengths are the clarity and lucidity of exposition, characteristic of many a work in French, and the splendid section, allocated nearly half the pages of the book, on syntax, a compartment of grammar often sadly relegated to ancillary status in Hebrew grammars. This latter aspect is important also in view of the dominant position syntax has come to occupy in contemporary general linguistics. In spite of this widely acclaimed position, Joüon's grammar, which, apart from those of Gesenius—Kautzsch and König, is the only modern and comprehensive Biblical Hebrew grammar of substantial size⁽¹⁾, has sometimes been unduly neglected. Even scholars who one would have thought would be better read have failed to do justice to Joüon by putting forward a particular idea on one or another aspect of Hebrew grammar as if they were the first to do so. At the other extreme, there are those whose discussion of some point of Hebrew grammar have telltale signs of their acquaintance with the position held by Joüon, but no acknowledgment of their indebtedness to this Jesuit scholar. One possible reason for this may be the fact that the grammar is in French.

(1) The size of the French edition is pp. xii + 542 + 79* (paradigms and indices).

In the preface to the original edition the author refers to progress in Semitic philology. The need he felt over sixty years ago to write a Hebrew grammar in the light of fruit of the science of Semitic philology is equally shared by us today. Since 1923 Semitic philology in general and Hebrew philology in particular have progressed significantly, and new directions of inquiry have been opened up. These advances are results of the discovery of previously unknown languages such as Ugaritic and Eblaite, the discovery of further written remains of languages which were known in Joüon's days, investigations undertaken in totally new areas and subjects, and the impact of new directions taken in the constantly evolving field of general linguistics. Whilst no Hebrew grammar comparable in scope to Joüon's has yet appeared, even the comparatively narrow discipline of Hebrew philology has hardly been dormant: a good number of important monographs and a rich crop of valuable,

original articles and reviews have appeared. Thus it seems amply justified to attempt to bring this splendid grammar up to date and also to make it available in a language more widely read and understood at the present time. Such an updating must be considered essential as well as desirable, even though Joüon's grammar has honourably stood the test of time. Indeed, as the judicious reader will observe, many important features which Joüon could only reconstruct for proto-Hebrew on the basis of chronologically later Classical Arabic have now been borne out by El Amarna glosses and Ugaritic. In quite a few matters he was ahead of his time⁽¹⁾.

(1) On this last point, see, for example, his application of what has become known in modern linguistics as the transformational-generative approach in his discussion in § 125 *v*, *w*, and again the fundamental distinction he makes between historical and descriptive approaches in his assessment of Bauer and Leander's grammar. I further suppose that Joüon was one of the first, if indeed not the very first Hebraist, to quote Saussure in a meaningful way (§ 122 *b*).

The edition presented here is thus an English translation and revision of the French original⁽¹⁾. With the exception of the Preface to the original French edition, which is presented intact in English garb, there is hardly a paragraph which has been left unrevised. A revision may take the form of a new footnote, a rewriting of the body of the text to some degree, an occasional deletion of a whole paragraph or insertion of a whole new paragraph⁽²⁾. In the interests of clarity of presentation and ease of comprehension from the point of view of the reader it has been decided not to mark the revisions externally or typographically.

(1) In fact the translation is based on what was published in 1947 and is styled on the title page as "Deuxième édition anastatique corrigée."

(2) Sometimes an inserted new paragraph can be recognised by double letters such as § 2 *fa* indicating a subparagraph, but not always. Deletions of whole paragraphs are extremely rare.

For the purpose of revision and updating we like to believe that we have read as extensively as possible in monographs and articles published in periodicals and Festschriften which have appeared since about 1920, including what has been published in Modern Hebrew. These days serious Hebraists or Semitists can ignore works written in that language only to their own detriment. The only genre of secondary literature that has not been covered is the huge and ever-increasing number of Old Testament commentaries.

In the Preface Joüon sets out some of the more important principles which guided him as he wrote his grammar. Without necessarily going over the same

ground, we deem it necessary to restate some general lines we have pursued in our task of updating and revision.

a. The grammar is essentially descriptive in its approach and conception, or to put it differently, its approach is synchronic, and not diachronic or historical. Unlike Bauer and Leander's incomplete grammar, we do not aim to recover and reconstruct a grammar and structure of Hebrew as it may have been in the earliest recoverable phase, which is by definition decidedly pre-massoretic. We present the structure of the Hebrew that can be recovered from the Hebrew text of the Old Testament as fixed by the Tiberian scholars in the latter half of the first millennium A.D.⁽¹⁾ Whilst we are fully aware of the difficulties and the measure of artificiality necessarily entailed by the adoption of such an approach, we also believe that the Tiberian form of Hebrew provides the most comprehensive and solid basis to work from. This descriptive approach, however, does not prevent us from taking into account data other than what is available in the Tiberian tradition. On the contrary, there is no doubt that data available not only in non-biblical Hebrew documents such as early epigraphic materials, Dead Sea documents, the so-called "Mishnaic" Hebrew or even some later phases of the language, traditions distinct from the Tiberian, but also cognate languages and dialects, both ancient and modern, can often shed valuable light on various questions besetting Biblical Hebrew philology.

In making occasional references to pre-massoretic data in our description, we are aware that there lies a long history behind the Tiberian massoretic tradition on which we can speak only hesitantly. Such qualifying terms as 'primitive,' 'original,' and 'etymological(ly),' which will be encountered rather frequently, especially in the sections on phonology and morphology, must be taken rather loosely: to attempt to do full justice to the complexity of the task of historical reconstruction would take us too far afield.

(1) As a result, our transliteration of Hebrew (and Biblical Aramaic) forms does not distinguish between a historically long *i* and a short *i*, hence חִסְרִי *histir*, not *histîr* or *histir*.

b. Joüon does not say which text or edition of the Hebrew Bible he chose for his grammar. In the present English edition occasional reference is made to the Codex Leningradensis B 19^a as printed in K.Elliger and W. Rudolph (eds), *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia* (Stuttgart, 1967-77), and the "Adi" edition of the same manuscript as prepared by A. Dotan (Tel Aviv, 1973) has

also been consulted, but no systematic checking of all quotations in these two editions has been undertaken. As a consequence, there will be found not a few discrepancies between this grammar and BHS in respect of, for instance, Qre/Ktiv. We have occasionally consulted a photographic reproduction (Makor: Jerusalem) of the Leningrad Codex and the Cairo Codex of the Prophets as well as the Aleppo Codex.

c. In the provision of bibliographical information, especially in footnotes, we tend to be somewhat more liberal than Joüon was, though exhaustiveness is not aimed at. We believe this is justified in the absence of a truly comprehensive, up-to-date and advanced grammar of Biblical Hebrew⁽¹⁾.

(1) In the meantime the reader may also consult a rather extensive, classified but not exhaustive (for instance, not a single work in Modern Hebrew listed), bibliography appended to Waltke—O'Connor, *BH Syntax*, pp. 695-716. A recent work by N.M. Waldman [for details, see below, § 2 e, n.] is in a way more comprehensive, but even the bibliography appended at the end of the volume appears to be rather selective and less comprehensive, especially when it comes to works in European languages on Biblical Hebrew.

d. The number of examples, both from within the Old Testament and from outside of it, has been increased to no small measure.

e. Partly for a technical reason, the use of *metheg* or *ga'ya* has been considerably curtailed, restricted to a small number of categories where it serves a useful purpose such as שֶׁהָיָה *she is wise* as distinct from חָכְמָה *wisdom* (see § 14).

f. The vocalisation has been reduced a little further than in the original edition.

g. For biblical references, Joüon followed Stier and Theile Polyglot (reproduced in Vigouroux Polyglot) but the inaccessibility to us of either polyglot meant that we have not been able to quote from them passages which we have added, for we have followed *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia* in this matter. It is hoped that this inconsistency will not cause the user of this grammar too great an inconvenience.

h. Joüon had a valid reason for using Latin in trying to bring out subtleties of Hebrew which he apparently felt could be better reproduced in it than in French. However, as it can no longer be assumed that Hebrew students

are conversant in Latin, we have decided to discontinue that practice in most cases.

Finally, it is a most pleasant duty to put on record my sentiments of gratitude to various organisations and individuals who have contributed to the completion of this volume: a) the Faculty of Arts of the University of Melbourne through its Research and Graduate Studies Committee which made considerable grants of funds towards the acquisition of necessary computer equipment and research materials and the employment of research assistants and relief teachers, b) the former Department of Middle Eastern Studies of the same university, and its successor, Department of Classical and Near Eastern Studies, for its generous provision of secretarial and other material resources, c) the Institute for Advanced Studies of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, which allowed and enabled me to spend on this project a fair portion of the time whilst I was there as Research Fellow during the academic year 1987-88, d) various libraries, notably the Baillieu Library of this university, the National and Hebrew University Library, the library of the W.F. Albright Institute for Archaeological Research in Jerusalem, the library of the École Biblique in the same city, the Joint Theological Library at Ormond College, Melbourne University, e) Mr Patrick Delsocorro for his draft translation of a substantial portion of the French original and his revision of my draft translation of the remainder, as well as some bibliographical research, f) Dr R.G. Jenkins, a colleague in the Department, for his most valuable assistance in computerising the printing of the volume, g) Fr J. Swetnam, S.J., of the Pontifical Biblical Institute for his unflinching support and encouragement since I first approached the Institute's Press, h) Fr A. Gianto of the same Institute for his careful reading of a manuscript of this grammar, i) the Gregorian University Press for the excellent technical execution of this publication, j) Messrs. Bryan Hewson and Nigel Statham, both postgraduate students of this Department, for execution of some tedious wordprocessing, especially the latter for his careful attention to the English of this grammar, k) Ms J. Aarts, Senior Secretary of the Department for performing an enormous amount of clerical work with uncommon patience, and last, but not least, l) my family who have had to put up with their husband and father being absent from home countless evenings.

It is our fervent hope that this grammar will help maintain and foster interest in the grammar of Classical Hebrew amongst Hebraists, Semitists,

and Bible scholars, and also contribute towards a better understanding of the Hebrew Bible.

Takamitsu Muraoka

October, 1990.

Department of Classical and Near Eastern Studies,
The University of Melbourne,
Parkville, Victoria 3052, AUSTRALIA.

Preface to the corrected second printing

It is gratifying that after less than two years we should be preparing a second printing of our grammar. Partly for technical reasons and partly for the fact that the time following the publication of the original edition in mid-1991 has been barely sufficient for reviewers to assess it, the present edition is primarily concerned with corrections of typographical errors - alas no longer the human printer's fault, but our own mechanical printer's - and minor alterations and improvements which we have been able to undertake without drastically altering the general appearance. This task has been considerably facilitated by the preprint reviews very kindly made available to us by Prof. F.I. Andersen, Prof. J. Blau, and Dr M.S. Smith as well as four(!) sets of corrections and suggestions sent by Fr. R. Althann of the Pontifical Biblical Institute, to each of whom we are sincerely indebted for their kindness and care with which they have read the grammar. Last but not least we owe a great debt of thanks to Dr R.G. Jenkins of Melbourne University for generously giving of his precious time to print the pages concerned.

Takamitsu Muraoka

December, 1992

Vakgroep Hebreeuwse, Aramese, en Ugaritische Talen en Culturen,
Fakulteit der Letteren,
Rijksuniversiteit te Leiden,
Leiden, HOLLAND.

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ABBREVIATIONS

A) Biblical books

Gn	Genesis	Na	Nahum
Ex	Exodus	Hab	Habakkuk
Lv	Leviticus	Zeph	Zephaniah
Nu	Numbers	Hg	Haggai
Dt	Deuteronomy	Zech	Zechariah
Josh	Joshua	Mal	Malachi
Jdg	Judges	Ps	Psalms
1Sm	1Samuel	Pr	Proverbs
2Sm	2Samuel	Job	Job
1Kg	1Kings	Ct	Canticle of Canticles
2Kg	2Kings	Ru	Ruth
Is	Isaiah	Lam	Lamentations
Jer	Jeremiah	Ec	Ecclesiastes
Ez	Ezekiel	Esth	Esther
Ho	Hosea	Dn	Daniel
Jl	Joel	Ezr	Ezra
Am	Amos	Ne	Nehemiah
Ob	Obadiah	1Ch	1Chronicles
Jon	Jonah	2Ch	2Chronicles
Mi	Micah		

B) General, and works often quoted

abs.: absolute

AC: Ancient Canaanite

acc.: accusative

adj.: adjective

adv.: adverb

AF: F.I. Andersen and A.D. Forbes, *Spelling in the Hebrew Bible* (Rome, 1986).

- AJSL:** *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*
- Akk.:** Akkadian
- Andersen, Verbless:** F.I. Andersen, *The Hebrew Verbless Clause in the Pentateuch* (Nashville/New York, 1970).
- , **Sentence:** F.I. Andersen, *The Sentence in Biblical Hebrew* (The Hague/Paris, 1974).
- apoc.:** apocopated
- Arb.:** Arabic
- Arm.:** Aramaic
- BA:** Biblical Aramaic
- Barr, Spellings:** J. Barr, *The Variable Spellings of the Hebrew Bible* (Oxford, 1989).
- Barth, Nominalbildung:** J. Barth, *Die Nominalbildung in den semitischen Sprachen* (Leipzig, 2¹⁸⁹⁴).
- BASOR:** *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*
- Baumgartner, Lexikon:** W. Baumgartner, B. Hartmann, and E. Y. Kutscher, *Hebräisches und aramäisches Lexikon zum Alten Testament* (Leiden, 3¹⁹⁶⁷⁻).
- BDB:** F. Brown, S.R. Driver, Ch.A. Briggs, *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament etc.* (Oxford, 1907).
- Bendavid:** A. Bendavid, *Biblical Hebrew and Mishnaic Hebrew*, 2 vols. [Heb] (Tel Aviv, 2¹⁹⁶⁷⁻⁷¹).
- Ben-Hayyim, LOT:** *The Literary and Oral Tradition of Hebrew and Aramaic amongst the Samaritans*, 5 vols. [Heb] (Jerusalem, 1957-77).
- Berg.:** G. Bergsträsser, *Hebräische Grammatik*, I (Leipzig, 1918); II (Leipzig, 1929).
- BH:** Biblical Hebrew
- BHK:** R. Kittel and P. Kahle (eds), *Biblia Hebraica* (Stuttgart, 3¹⁹³⁷).
- BHS:** K. Elliger and W. Rudolph (eds), *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia* (Stuttgart, 1967-77).
- Bib:** *Biblica*
- BL:** H. Bauer and P. Leander, *Historische Grammatik der hebräischen Sprache des alten Testaments* (Halle, 1922; repr. Hildesheim, 1962).
- Blau, Heb. Phonology and Morphology:** J. Blau, *Hebrew Phonology and Morphology* [Heb] (Tel Aviv, 1972).
- , **Grammar:** *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew* (Wiesbaden, 1976).
- BO:** *Bibliotheca Orientalis*

- Böttcher: F. Böttcher, *Ausführliches Lehrbuch der hebräischen Sprache*, ed. F. Mühlau, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1866-68).
- Brock., GvG: C. Brockelmann, *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen*, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1908-13; repr. Hildesheim, 1961).
- , *Syntax: Hebräische Syntax* (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1956).
- Brønno, *Studien*: E. Brønno, *Studien über hebräische Morphologie und Vokalismus auf Grundlage der mercatischen Fragmente der zweiten Kolumne der Hexapla des Origenes* (Leipzig, 1943).
- BSL: *Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris*
- BSOAS: *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London University*
- C: consonant
- Codex C: Codex Cairo of the Prophets (Makor facsimile ed., Jerusalem, 1971).
- Codex L: Codex Leningradensis B19^a.
- cohort.: cohortative
- com.: common (gender)
- comp.: compare
- contr.: contrast
- cp.: compare
- ct.: construct
- dat.: dative
- Davidson, *Syntax*: A.B. Davidson, *Hebrew Syntax* (Edinburgh, ³1912).
- Driver, *Notes*: S.R. Driver, *Notes on the Hebrew Text and the Topography of the Books of Samuel* (Oxford, ²1913).
- , *Tenses*: S.R. Driver, *A Treatise on the Use of the Tenses in Hebrew and some other Syntactical Questions* (Oxford, ³1892).
- DSS: Dead Sea Scrolls
- EA: J.A. Knudtzon, *Die El-Amarna-Tafeln* (Leipzig, 1907-15).
- EB: E.L. Sukenik et al. (eds.), *Encyclopaedia Biblica. Thesaurus rerum biblicarum alphabetico ordine digestus*, 3rd impression [Heb] (Jerusalem, 1965-82).
- EBH: Early Biblical Hebrew
- ed., eds: editor, editors
- Ehrlich, *Randglossen*: A.B. Ehrlich, *Randglossen zur hebräischen Bibel. Text-kritisches, sprachliches und sachliches*, 7 vols. (Leipzig, 1908).
- EJ: *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, 16 vols. (Jerusalem, 1971-72).

Engl.: English

ESA: Epigraphic South Arabian

Eth.: Ethiopic, i.e. Ge'ez

exx.: examples

f.: future, feminine

fem.: feminine

Fr.: French

Friedrich—Röllig: J. Friedrich and W. Röllig, *Phönizisch-punische Grammatik* (Rome, 21970).

Fschr.: Festschrift

Germ.: German

GK: *Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar as Edited and Enlarged by the Late E. Kautzsch*. Second English ed. revised by A.E. Cowley (Oxford, 1910).

GLECS: *Comptes rendus des séances du groupe linguistique d'études chamito-sémitiques*

Gordon, *UT*: C.H. Gordon, *Ugaritic Textbook* (Rome, 1965).

HAR: *Hebrew Annual Review*

Harris, *Development*: Z.S. Harris, *Development of the Canaanite Dialects. An Investigation in Linguistic History* (New Haven, 1939).

Heb: Hebrew [in a reference to a work written in Modern Hebrew]

HUCA: *Hebrew Union College Annual*

Huehnergard, *Ugr. Vocabulary*: J. Huehnergard, *Ugaritic Vocabulary in Syllabic Transcription* (Atlanta, 1987).

Ibn Janah, *Riqmah*: M. Wilensky and D. Tené (eds), *ספר הרקמה לר' יונה*, אבן ג'נאח, 2 vols. (Jerusalem, 1964).

IEJ: *Israel Exploration Journal*

impv.: imperative

IOS: *Israel Oriental Studies*

Ital.: Italian

JA: *Journal Asiatique*

JANESCU: *The Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society of Columbia University*

JAOS: *Journal of the American Oriental Society*

JBL: *Journal of Biblical Literature*

JNES: *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*

JNWSL: *Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages*

JPOS: The Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society

JQR: Jewish Quarterly Review

JSS: Journal of Semitic Studies

JThSt: Journal of Theological Studies

juss.: jussive

K: Ktiv (as in Gn 3.23K)

KB³: L. Koehler, W. Baumgartner et al., *Hebräisches und aramäisches Lexikon zum alten Testament* (Leiden, 1967-).

Khan, *Syntax*: G.A. Khan, *Studies in Semitic Syntax* (Oxford, 1988).

König: E. König, *Historisch-kritisches Lehrgebäude der hebräischen Sprache*, 3 vols. [vol. 3, *Syntax*] (Leipzig, 1881-97). [2.345 = vol. 2, p. 345.]

Kropat, *Syntax*: A. Kropat, *Die Syntax des Autors der Chronik verglichen mit der seiner Quellen* (Giessen, 1909).

Kutscher, *Isaiah*: E.Y. Kutscher, *The Language and Linguistic Background of the Isaiah Scroll (IQ Isa^a)* (Leiden, 1974), tr. from the Heb. ed. (Jerusalem, 1959).

—, *History*: *A History of the Hebrew Language* (Jerusalem/Leiden, 1982).

L: Codex L., i.e. Codex Leningradensis B19^a

Lambert: M. Lambert, *Traité de la grammaire hébraïque* (Paris, 1931-38) [reprinted with corrections and some additional materials prepared by G.E. Weil (Hildesheim, 1972)].

LBH: Late Biblical Hebrew

Leš: *Lešonenu*

Levi, *Inkongruenz*: J. Levi, *Die Inkongruenz im biblischen Hebräisch* (Wiesbaden, 1987).

LXX: Septuagint

m.: masculine

Macuch, *Gram.*: R. Macuch, *Grammatik des samaritanischen Hebräisch* (Berlin, 1969).

MedH: Mediaeval Hebrew

Meyer: R. Meyer, *Hebräische Grammatik*, 4 vols. (Berlin, 1966-72).

MH: Mishnaic Hebrew

ModH: Modern Hebrew

Morag, *Vocalization*: Morag, Sh., *The Vocalization Systems of Arabic, Hebrew, and Aramaic* ('s-Gravenhage, 1962).

—, *Yemenite*: *The Hebrew Language Tradition of the Yemenite Jews* [Heb]

(Jerusalem, 1963).

Moscatti: S. Moscati (ed.), A. Spitaler, E. Ullendorff, and W. von Soden, *An Introduction to the Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages. Phonology and Morphology* (Wiesbaden, 1964).

Muraoka, *Emphatic*: T. Muraoka, *Emphatic Words and Structures in Biblical Hebrew* (Jerusalem/Leiden, 1985).

MUSJ: *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph de Beyrouth* (also known as *M. de la Faculté orientale de Beyrouth*)

n.: footnote. In Indexes, spelled N in upper case.

Nid: indeterminate noun

Nöldeke, *Neue Beiträge*: Th. Nöldeke, *Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft* (Strassburg, 1910).

Obs.: Observation

OLZ: *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*

Or: *Orientalia*

Or Suec: *Orientalia Suecana*

OT: Old Testament

OudSt: *Oudtestamentische Studiën*

P: Pause, pausal

parall.: parallel

partic.: participle

PEQ: *Palestine Exploration Quarterly*

perf.: perfect

perh.: perhaps

pers.: person

Pesh.: Peshitta

pf.: perfect

Phoen.: Phoenician

pl.: plural

plur.: plural

poet.: poetic

Polzin: R. Polzin, *Late Biblical Hebrew: Toward an Historical Typology of Biblical Hebrew Prose* (Missoula, 1976).

pred.: predicative

prob.: probably

Proceedings: *Proceedings of the International Conference on Semitic Studies*

Held in Jerusalem, 19-23 July 1965 (Jerusalem, 1969).

pron.: pronoun

PS: Proto-Semitic

ptc.: participle

Q: Qre (as in Gn 3.23Q)

QH: Qumran Hebrew

Qimron, *Hebrew of DSS*: E. Qimron, *The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Atlanta, 1986).

R: radical, root letter as in R1 = first radical.

Rabin, *Syntax*: Rabin, C. (as edited by S. Shkolnikov), *A Syntax of Biblical Hebrew* (= תחביר לשון המקרא א) [Heb] (Jerusalem, 1964).

RB: *Revue Biblique*

REJ: *Revue des Études Juives*

Samar.: Samaritan (Pentateuch)

sbd: somebody

Schramm, *Graphemes*: G.M. Schramm, *The Graphemes of Tiberian Hebrew* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1964).

Sec.: Secunda, i.e. the second column in the Hexapla compiled by Origen, quoted in the main from G. Mercati, *Psalterii Hexapli Reliquiae. I. Codex rescriptus Bybliothecae Ambrosianae 0.39 Supp. phototypice expressus et transcriptus* (Rome, 1958).

Segert, *Gram. of Phoen. and Pun.*: S. Segert, *A Grammar of Phoenician and Punic* (München, 1976).

sg.: singular

SH: Samaritan Hebrew

sing.: singular

Sivan: D. Sivan, *Grammatical Analysis and Glossary of the Northwest Semitic Vocables in Akkadian Texts of the 15th-13th C.B.C. from Canaan and Syria* (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1984).

Sperber, *Hist. Gram.*: A. Sperber, *A Historical Grammar of Biblical Hebrew* (Leiden, 1966).

sq.: sequens, sequentes (= "following")

st.: status

sth: something

subj.: subject

subst.: substantive, substantival

suf.: suffix, suffixed

s.v.: sub voce

Syr.: Syriac

UF: *Ugarit-Forschungen*

Ugr.: Ugaritic

usu.: usually

V: vowel

var.: variant reading

vs.: versus or verse

VT: *Vetus Testamentum*

Vulg.: Vulgate

Waltke—O'Connor, *BH Syntax*: B.K. Waltke and M. O'Connor, *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax* (Winona Lake, 1990).

Wright, *Arabic Grammar*: W. Wright—W. Robertson Smith—M.J. de Goeje, *A Grammar of the Arabic Language*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1896-98).

Y.: Yahweh

Yeivin, *Babylonian*: I. Yeivin, *The Hebrew Language Tradition as Reflected in the Babylonian Vocalization* [Heb] (Jerusalem, 1985).

ZA: *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und verwandte Gebiete*

ZAH: *Zeitschrift für Althebraistik*

ZAW: *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*

ZDMG: *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*

CONVENTIONAL SYMBOLS

An inverted question mark ? indicates that the form or the text is doubtful.

An asterisk * signifies that the form is not attested⁽¹⁾.

The symbol > signifies that a form *changes* to another form, for example, § 17 b; or that it is *more frequent*, for example, Paradigm 2: *Hofal*.

The symbol < signifies that a form has *evolved* from another form.

The double slash // signifies a parallel passage.

The cross † signifies that the list is complete.

The x indicates the frequency of a particular form.

The stress position is marked in transliterations either as in /bay'tá/ with a single quotation mark after the stressed syllable or as in /báy'tá/; in Hebrew with [˘] as in בַּיִתְּךָ.

(1) In Paradigm 4, the asterisk has a different function (see the note there).

INTRODUCTION

§ 1. Hebrew grammar defined

Hebrew grammar as it is generally understood and as it is envisaged in this book is the grammar of the language of the traditional biblical text in the form in which it was established by the Jewish scholars of the Tiberian schools around the seventh century A.D. The Tiberian scholars are believed, presumably indirectly through their Babylonian counterparts, to have come under the influence of Syriac grammarians in their concern about the preservation and transmission of the reading tradition of the sacred texts⁽¹⁾. a

(1) See Sh. Morag, *Leš* 38 (1974) 52f., and on the work of native Syriac scholars, see J.B. Segal, *The Diacritical Point and the Accents in Syriac* (London, 1953).

It might make some sense to distinguish Naqḏanim who invented or were directly involved in the forging of the pointing system from "Massoretic scholars" who studied and wrote on questions arising from the text thus pointed: see below, § 16 *a*. The distinction is a useful one, even though actual biblical (and related) manuscripts do attest to diversity of linguistic realities and traditions even amongst manuscripts using the Simple Tiberian pointing system. See the way a chain of massoretic scholars are named and characterised by an anonymous early mediaeval scholar: K. Levy, *Zur masoretischen Grammatik: Texte und Untersuchungen* (Stuttgart, 1936), p. 10.

At this period the consonantal text was provided with numerous symbols indicating first and foremost the vocalisation⁽¹⁾, but also some modifications in the pronunciation of the consonants, syllable division, stress, the link between the words themselves, pauses, and modulation. These symbols, especially the vowel signs, consist mainly of *points* (נקודות), and therefore one often speaks of *pointing* or *punctuation* of the consonantal text, and the inventors of the system are called *Naqḏanim* (*punctatores*). The pronunciation thus determined by the Naqḏanim with extremely meticulous care is the carefully executed, solemn, musical pronunciation in use in the religious services in the synagogues of their time. This pronunciation, which is accompanied by a certain measure of elegance and deliberate affectation, no doubt has b

some features which are somewhat artificial, but there is no good reason to cast doubt on its authenticity as a whole. The Naqdanim wished faithfully to record the contemporary pronunciation, when the tradition was endangered, and one may believe that they were successful in their task. The internal coherence of the system and comparison of it with the cognate languages testify in favour of the vocalisers.

The details of Hebrew grammar, and particularly of the morphology, are based on the vocalisation recorded by the Naqdanim, and its reliability is presumed⁽²⁾.

(1) Beside the Tiberian system of punctuation or vocalisation there also existed others such as the Palestinian, Babylonian, and Samaritan, each possessing its own set of signs of different shapes and representing a distinct phonological system. Furthermore, there are biblical manuscripts which are furnished with the Tiberian punctuation signs, the phonological system of which is, however, Palestinian. See BL, §§ 6-9; Morag, *Vocalization Systems*, pp. xx-xxx; idem, "Niqqud," *EB*, vol. 5 (Jerusalem, 1968), cols. 837-57; Yeivin, *Babylonian Tradition*. Of the three, the Tiberian system is the best-known, the latest, and the most meticulous one, and, more importantly, there does not exist any manuscript preserving the entire Old Testament in any of the other three systems (the Samaritan for obvious reasons: on this system, see Z. Ben-Hayyim, *LOT*, vol. 5, pp. 29-37).

(2) On the desirability and feasibility or otherwise of writing a complete BH grammar solely on the basis of the consonantal text, see J. Barr, *Comparative Philology and the Text of the OT* (Oxford, 1968), pp. 188-222, esp. 194-207; Ben-Hayyim, *LOT*, vol. 5, pp. 3f.

§ 2. Hebrew: its place among the Semitic languages⁽¹⁾

a Hebrew belongs to the language family which since 1781⁽²⁾ has been called Semitic (cf. Gn 10.21-31). These languages can be divided, according to their geographical distribution as outlined in § *b - i* below:

(1) T. Nöldeke, *Die semitischen Sprachen. Eine Skizze* (Leipzig, ²1899); Brock., *GvG*, I, pp. 1-34; M. Lidzbarski, *Handbuch der nordsemitischen Epigraphik nebst ausgewählten Inschriften* (Weimar, 1898); G.A. Cooke, *A Textbook of North-Semitic Inscriptions* (Oxford, 1903); G. Bergsträsser (tr. P.T. Daniels), *Introduction to the Semitic Languages. Text Specimens and Grammatical Sketches* (Winona Lake, 1983); B. Spuler (ed.), *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, III. Semitistik (Leiden, 1953-54); H.J. Polotsky, "Semitics," pp. 99-111 in E.A. Speiser (ed.), *The World History of the Jewish People*, first series, vol. 1 (New Brunswick, 1964); E.A. Speiser, "Amorites and Canaanites," *ib.*, pp. 162-69; H.L. Ginsberg, "The North-West Semitic languages," B. Mazar (ed.), *ib.*, first series, vol. 2 (Tel Aviv, 1970), pp. 102-24; G. Garbini, *Le lingue semiti-*

che. Studi di storia linguistica (Napoli, 21984). W.R. Garr's book, *Dialect Geography of Syria-Palestine, 1000-586 B.C.E.* (Philadelphia, 1985), is an attempt to classify Northwest Semitic dialects of the period specified by applying the method of dialect geography, on which see also C. Rabin, "The origin of the subdivisions of Semitic," D.W. Thomas and W.D. McHardy (eds), *Hebrew and Semitic Studies* [Fschr. G.R. Driver] (Oxford, 1963), pp. 104-15.

The following survey is almost exclusively concerned with ancient Semitic languages, whilst this century has witnessed considerable attention directed to modern idioms, those of Arabic, Aramaic, and Ethiopic. They are all capable of shedding light on Biblical Hebrew to varying degrees. Modern Hebrew is *sui generis* because of the special circumstances under which it evolved as a modern idiom.

(2) Following A.S. Schlözer in J.G. Eichhorn, *Repertorium für biblische und morgenländische Literatur* VIII (Leipzig, 1781), p. 161.

In addition to geographical classification, there is also a typological one based on isoglosses, namely shared linguistic features, such as consonantism, internal passive, broken plural, tense system, case system, etc. This mode of classification, however, is extremely complicated, and has ever been a hotly debated issue. The addition of newly discovered languages to the Semitic family, such as Ugaritic and Eblaite, not to speak of Amorite and Ammonite⁽¹⁾, has further complicated the matter. Whilst a warning is justly and frequently sounded against drawing too sharp a line between Northeast and Northwest Semitic language-groups, such a division seems to have been a tangible reality at least from about the beginning of the first millennium B.C. aa

(1) See J.C. Greenfield, "Amurrite, Ugaritic and Canaanite," in *Proceedings*, pp. 92-101. On Eblaite, see I.J. Gelb, "Thoughts about Ibla," *Syro-Mesopotamian Studies* 1/1 (Malibu, 1977); L. Cagni (ed.), *La lingua di Ebla. Atti del Convegno internazionale* (Napoli, 1981) and P. Fronzaroli (ed.), *Studies on the Language of Ebla* (Firenze, 1984); B.W.W. Dombrowski, "'Eblaitic' = The earliest known dialect of Akkadian," *ZDMG* 138 (1988) 211-36.

On Ammonite, which is now, contrary to its earlier North Arabic classification, generally regarded as Canaanite, see K.P. Jackson, *The Ammonite Language of the Iron Age* (Chico, 1983), a work which is, however, severely criticised by E. Lipiński, who also provides important additional bibliography: *BO* 43 (1986) 448-50. See also W.E. Aufrecht, "The Ammonite Language of the Iron Age," *BASOR* 266 (1987) 85-95. Essential is W.E. Aufrecht, *A Corpus of Ammonite Inscriptions* (Lewiston/Queenston/Lampeter, 1989).

North-East group (Babylonia, Assyria): *Akkadian* (a modern generic term, as opposed to *Sumerian*, a non-Semitic language also spoken in b

Babylonia). *Akkadian* comprises two dialects, *Babylonian* and *Assyrian*. We have cuneiform documents in Akkadian from the second half of the third millennium B.C. down to the beginning of the Christian era⁽¹⁾.

(1) There is an earlier stage, Old Akkadian, though it is not certain that Babylonian and Assyrian are direct linear descendants of it. The standard grammar is W. von Soden, *Grundriss der akkadischen Grammatik* (Rome, 1952) with *Ergänzungsheft* (Rome, 1969); for a dictionary one has idem, *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch* (Wiesbaden, 1965-81) and the on-going *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago* (Chicago, 1956-).

c North-West group⁽¹⁾ (Mesopotamia, Syria): Aramaic, Hebrew, Phoenician.

(1) On the concept of Northwest Semitic and Hebrew as its major representative, see Harris, *Development*, esp. pp. 8-10, and Garr, op. cit. [§ 2 a]. For a dictionary (currently under revision) covering epigraphic materials in Northwest Semitic languages, see Ch.-F. Jean and J. Hoftijzer, *Dictionnaire des inscriptions sémitiques de l'ouest* (Leiden, 1965).

d Aramaic⁽¹⁾, initially spoken, as it seems, by the tribes of the Syrian desert, gradually spread into the adjacent regions to the east and to the west. In the Persian period, it replaced Hebrew in Palestine. The oldest⁽²⁾ Aramaic document known to date is the bilingual (Assyrian-Aramaic) inscription from Tell Fekheriye, which probably dates from the ninth century B.C.⁽³⁾.

The Aramaic dialects of the subsequent periods can be divided into Eastern (in some post-Christian representatives of which the preformative of the third person in the Future is *n*) and Western (which have *y* like all other Semitic languages). The principal Eastern Aramaic dialects are Syriac, originally a dialect of Edessa (which can be further subdivided into Eastern or Nestorian Syriac, and Western or Jacobite Syriac), the Jewish dialect of the Babylonian Talmud, and *Mandaean*. To Western Aramaic belong the later dialects of the Palestinian Targum and the Jerusalem Talmud, and also *Samaritan*, *Palmyrene* (inscriptions of the first to third centuries A.D.), *Nabataean* (inscriptions of the first century A.D.), Christian Palestinian Aramaic, and a modern dialect of Ma'lula in the Anti-Lebanon⁽⁴⁾.

In the Persian period there developed a standard literary form of Aramaic which was in use throughout the Persian Empire, hence its name 'Reichsaramäisch' or 'Imperial Aramaic'⁽⁵⁾. There are however indica-

tions that already during this period there existed dialectal variations. This standard literary idiom attested as the language of the papyri of the Jewish colony of Elephantine (5th cent.), that of some chapters of Ezra (4.8—6.18; 7.12-26) and Daniel (2.4—7.28), lived on down to the turn of the Christian era, for it is basically this form of Aramaic that we find in some literary writings from the Judaeen Desert and the Targum Onkelos.

(1) Cf. J.-B. Chabot, *Les langues et les littératures araméennes* (Paris, 1910), and F. Rosenthal, *Die aramaisische Forschung seit Theodor Nöldeke's Veröffentlichungen* (Leiden, 1939); idem, "Aramaic studies during the past thirty years," *JNES* (1978) 81-91.

(2) With the possible exception of the extremely short Tell Halaf inscription, which may date to the 10th cent. B.C.

(3) For an edition of Old Aramaic inscriptions, see H. Donner and W. Röllig, *Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften*, 3 vols. (Wiesbaden, ²1966-69); F. Rosenthal (ed.), *An Aramaic Handbook*, in two parts (Wiesbaden, 1967); J.C.L. Gibson, *Textbook of Syrian Semitic Inscriptions*, vol. 2: *Aramaic Inscriptions Including Inscriptions in the Dialect of Zenjirli* (Oxford, 1975). For a grammar, S. Segert, *Altaramäische Grammatik mit Bibliographie, Chrestomathie und Glossar* (Leipzig, 1975, ³1986).

(4) As additional reference works published since the major survey by Rosenthal (1939) [n. 1 above], note F. Rosenthal, *A Grammar of Bibl. Aram.* (Wiesbaden, 1961); R. Degen, *Altaramäische Grammatik der Inschriften des 10.-8. Jh. v. Chr.* (Wiesbaden, 1969); E.S. Drower & R. Macuch, *A Mandaic Dictionary* (Oxford, 1963); J.N. Epstein, *A Grammar of Babylonian Aramaic* [Heb.] (Jerusalem, 1960); R. Macuch, *Grammatik des samaritanischen Aramäisch* (Berlin, 1982); idem, *Handbook of Classical and Modern Madaic* (Berlin, 1965); T. Muraoka, *Classical Syriac for Hebraists* (Wiesbaden, 1987); M. Sokoloff, *A Dict. of Jewish Palestinian Aram. of the Byzantine Period* (Ramat-Gan, 1990).

(5) See J.C. Greenfield, "Standard Literary Aramaic," in A. Caquot and D. Cohen (eds), *Actes du premier congrès international de linguistique sémitique et chamito-sémitique. Paris 16-19 juillet 1969* (The Hague/Paris, 1974), pp. 280-89.

Hebrew⁽¹⁾ is a development of the language spoken in Canaan before the arrival of the Israelites⁽²⁾. The ancient language of Canaan⁽³⁾ is known, among other things, through glosses of the Babylonian letters found at Tell el Amarna (Upper Egypt). These letters, which date from around 1400, are written in the diplomatic language of the time, Babylonian, and addressed to the Egyptian government, by scribes of the land of Canaan who sometimes use words or forms of their native language. Other important sources of information include Ugaritic, Ugaritic words transcribed in the Akkadian cuneiform script with indication of vowels, Amorite personal names, and a small number of transcriptions of Canaan-

nite names in hieroglyphic Egyptian⁽⁴⁾. Outside the biblical texts, Old Hebrew is represented by a considerable body of epigraphical materials such as the famous Gezer agricultural calendar (10th cent.), Samaria ostraca (early 8th cent.), the Siloam inscription (ca. 700), over one hundred ostraca from Arad in the Negev (mostly from the end of the 6th cent. B.C.), and 22 Lachish ostraca (from about the same period as the Arad ostraca). The inscription of Mesha, King of Moab (cf. 2Kg 3. 4) (ca. 850), is in a language which does not differ from Hebrew except in minor details⁽⁵⁾.

(1) An excellent survey of recent studies of Hebrew may be found in C. Rabin, "Hebrew" in T.A. Sebeok (ed.), *Current Trends in Linguistics*, vol. 6 (The Hague/Paris, 1970), pp. 304-46. See also N.M. Waldman, *The Recent Study of Hebrew: A Survey of the Literature with Selected Bibliography* (Cincinnati/Winona Lake, 1989), which covers wider ground than strictly Hebrew and its grammar.

(2) For a rebuttal of H. Bauer's thesis that Biblical Hebrew is a mixed language composed of East Semitic Canaanite and West Semitic Aramaic (*Zur Frage der Sprachmischung im Hebräischen: Eine Erwiderung* [Halle, 1924] and endorsed by G.R. Driver in his *Problems of the Hebrew Verbal System* (Edinburgh, 1936), see G. Bergsträsser in *OLZ* 26 (1923) 253-60, 477-81, B. Landsberger, *OLZ* 29 (1926) 967-76, Z.S. Harris, *Development*, p. 11, and Kutscher, *History*, p. 24.

(3) This phase of the language, which may be called Old Canaanite or Ancient Canaanite (AC) has been the subject of a series of recent studies by scholars such as W.L. Moran, A.F. Rainey, D. Sivan, S. Izre'el, and J. Huehnergard. However, there was probably not total overlap between AC and what might be called proto-Hebrew. The danger of equating the two is illustrated by the generally postulated Qal passive in the latter, i.e. *qutla* or *qut(t)ala*, vs. the AC (El-Amarna) *qatil(a)*, on which latter see Sivan, pp. 169f.

(4) See W.L. Moran, "The Hebrew language in its Northwest Semitic background" in G.E. Wright (ed.), *The Bible and the Ancient Near East. Essays in Honor of W.F. Albright* (Garden City, NY, 1961), pp. 54-72.

(5) For recent editions of these inscripational materials, see Donner and Röllig, op. cit. [§ d above, n. 3]; Gibson, op. cit. [ib.], vol. 1, *Hebrew and Moabite Inscriptions* (Oxford, 1971); A. Lemaire, *Inscriptions hébraïques. Tome I: Les ostraca* (Paris, 1977); D. Pardee, *Handbook of Ancient Hebrew Letters: A Study Edition* (Chico, 1982). On the Moabite language, see S. Segert, "Die Sprache der moabitischen Königsinschrift." *Archiv Orientalní* 29 (1961) 197-267; F.I. Andersen, "Moabite Syntax." *Or* 35 (1966) 81-120.

f *Phoenician*, which is represented by the inscription of King Kilamuwa (9th cent.) and by fairly numerous inscriptions later than the fifth cent., is closely related to Hebrew. The *Punic* dialect of Carthage and her colonies is related to Phoenician⁽¹⁾.

guage (New Haven, 1936); Friedrich-Röllig (1970); A. van den Branden, *Grammaire phénicienne* (Beyrouth, 1969); Segert, *A Gram. of Phoen. and Pun.* (München, 1976), with an extensive bibliography and a chrestomathy.

Ugaritic, mentioned above (§ *fe*), which is a language documented from the middle of the 14th to the end of the 13th cent. B.C., is best considered a separate North West Semitic language alongside Hebrew, Phoenician and Aramaic⁽¹⁾. Historically speaking, Ugarit was outside the area known as Canaan. The language used in the ancient city of Ugarit (Ras Shamra today) on the North Western coast of Syria and recorded on clay tablets in a cuneiform alphabet is of fundamental importance for the understanding of the prehistory of Hebrew and Biblical literature and culture in general. f a

(1) This is a newly discovered Semitic language. The attempt to classify it along the traditional lines has run into serious difficulties, because it shares bundles of significant isoglosses with diverse Semitic languages. See A. Goetze, "Is Ugaritic a Canaanite language?", *Language* 17 (1941) 127-38; Harris, *Development*, pp. 10f; Friedrich—Röllig, p. 1; J. Cantineau, "La langue de Ras-Shamra," *Semitica* 3 (1950) 21-34, esp. p. 34. For a similar and cautiously worded formulation by C.H. Gordon, see his *UT*, pp. 144-46. Greenfield (along with H.L. Ginsberg) emphasises the affinity between Ugr. and Can.: *Proceedings*, esp. 97-100.

Southern group (Arabia, Ethiopia): Arabic, Ethiopic. g

In Northern Arabic we have an inscription of King Mar'ulqais (A.D. 328). As a consequence of the Islamic conquests, Arabic spread to Syria, Babylonia, and Mesopotamia, where it gradually supplanted the Aramaic dialects, and to Egypt, Northern Africa, and finally even to Spain. h

The chief dialects of Southern Arabic are Minaean (or: Minaic), Qatabanic, Hadrami, and Sabaean (or: Sabaic)⁽¹⁾.

(1) M. Höfner, *Altsüdarabische Grammatik* (Leipzig, 1943); A.F.L. Beeston, *Sabaic Grammar* (Manchester, 1984).

Ethiopic or *Ge'ez* is the language of a people who emigrated from South Arabia to Ethiopia. The oldest monument in this language is the inscription of King 'Ezana of Aksum (4th cent. A.D.)⁽¹⁾. i

(1) A.J. Drewes, *Inscriptions de l'Éthiopie antique* (Leiden, 1962); idem, *Le Recueil des inscriptions d'Éthiopie des périodes pré-aksoumite et aksoumite* (Paris, 1991-).

Characteristics of the Semitic languages. The Semitic languages have j

certain characteristic features which set them apart from other language families. Among those characteristics, which are found specifically in Hebrew, one may mention the following: 1) the existence of certain guttural sounds, *ħ* *ʔ* and *ʕ* in Hebrew; 2) the existence of emphatic consonants, *ṭ* *Ṣ*, *ṣ* *Ṣ*, and *q* *ṗ* in Hebrew; 3) the roots are mostly purely consonantal and trilateral; the consonantal skeleton of the word expresses the general notion, whereas the vowels express the various modalities which determine this notion⁽¹⁾.

(1) For a discussion of the question of the extent to which speakers of Semitic languages were or are aware of consonantal roots as an entity morphologically distinct from discontinuous vowel morphemes (infixes and suffixes), see J.H. Greenberg, "The patterning of root morphemes in Semitic," *Word* 6 (1950) 162-81, where it was demonstrated that, in Semitic languages, two consecutive consonants cannot be homorganic, a constraint which holds for all 1-2 and 2-3 positions in the Semitic root, except for identical consonants in the 2-3 position. See also J. Kuryłowicz, *Studies in Semitic Grammar and Metrics* (Warszawa, 1972), pp. 17-24. (On an application of the method to Hebrew, see K. Koskinen, "Kompatibilität in den dreikonsonantigen hebräischen Wurzeln," *ZDMG* 114 [1964] 16-58.) The fact that such a constraint operates irrespective of the presence of vowels superimposed on the root is proof of the reality of root. (A similar idea, though not fully developed, had already been hinted at by Lambert in his *Traité*, § 161.) See also M. Cohen in A. Meillet and M. Cohen, *Les langues du monde* (Paris 1952), pp. 85-98; E. Ullendorff, "What is a Semitic language," *Or* 28 (1958) 66-75, and D. Cohen, "Qu'est-ce qu'une langue sémitique?," *GLECS* 23 (1973-79) 431-61; G. Bergsträsser, *Einführung in die semitischen Sprachen* (München, 1928), pp. 3-19 [= *Introduction to the Sem. Languages*, tr. P.T. Daniels [Winona Lake, 1983], pp. 2-24]; B. Spuler, "Der semitische Sprachtypus," *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, 3.1 (Leiden, 1953-54), pp. 3-25.

k Affinity of the Semitic group with other languages⁽¹⁾

Ancient Egyptian, from which Coptic is descended, shares certain features with the Semitic languages. It is assumed that the former has the same origin as the latter, but that, having diverged from them at a very early time and having been subjected to foreign influences, it has undergone an evolution entirely its own, resulting in a fundamental change of its character.

Even less close is the relationship of the Semitic languages with the modern Hamitic languages such as Berber and the Cushitic languages (Bischari, Saho, 'Afar, Somali).

The suggestion of a remote relationship between the Semitic languages and the Indo-European languages is extremely problematic. Even

the best recent works on the subject, particularly those by H. Möller⁽²⁾, have not adduced convincing proof of an affinity⁽³⁾.

(1) For a general, typological description of the Hamito-Semitic language group, see I.M. Diakonoff in, "Hamito-Semitic languages," *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (151974), vol. 8, pp. 589-98. See also S.J. Lieberman, "The Afro-Asiatic background of the Semitic N-stem: Towards the origins of the stem-afformatives of the Semitic and Afro-Asiatic verb," *BO* 43 (1986), 577-628, which illustrates how Hebrew could be placed in a wider linguistic context; and D. Cohen; *Les Langues chamito-sémitiques* (Paris, 1988). On some methodological questions, see W. von Soden, "Zum Methode der semitisch-hamitischen Sprachvergleichung," *JSS* 10 (1965) 159-77. See also I.M. Diakonoff, *Afrasian Languages* (Moscow, 1988), and H.J. Polotsky, in E.A. Speiser (ed.), *The World History of the Jewish People*, First series, vol. 1 (New Brunswick, 1964), pp. 121-23.

(2) *Semitisch und Indogermanisch*, I Teil: Konsonanten (Kopenhagen, 1907); *Vergleichendes indogerm.-sem. Wörterbuch* (Göttingen, 1911).

(3) See esp. A. Meillet in *Revue critique* 1 (1910) 313. More recently, see L. Brunner, *Die gemeinsamen Wurzeln des semitischen und indogermanischen Wortschatzes* (Bern/München, 1979); S. Levin, *The Indo-European and Semitic Languages* (Albany, 1971).

§ 3. History of Biblical Hebrew⁽¹⁾

Although our biblical texts span a good many centuries, the language in which they are written presents an astonishing degree of uniformity. But this uniformity is not manifested to the same degree in all aspects of the language: morphology, syntax, vocabulary, and phraseology. The variations in vocabulary and phraseology between one period and another, and one writer and another are the most significant. The variations in syntax are in general the least significant. Nevertheless, the differences appear quite noticeable when one compares texts separated by a long period of time. Thus the syntax of the post-exilic historical books such as Ezra, Nehemiah, and Chronicles differs appreciably from that of Samuel and Kings⁽²⁾.

It is in the area of morphology that the uniformity of the biblical text is most apparent. It is also necessary to distinguish here between the consonantal element and the vocalic element. Given the very nature of Semitic morphology in which the consonants are comparable to a frame constituting a stable element, whilst the vowels are a variable element, the vowels must have changed more rapidly over the centuries than the consonants. Since the text which has come down to us enables us to

establish only a few consonantal changes and very few vocalic changes, it is quite likely that the consonantal text was more or less standardised in the course of the centuries, and it is certain that the various parts of the consonantal text, whichever century they date from, were given a uniform vocalisation. The Naqdanim of the seventh century have imposed the synagogue pronunciation of their time on the oldest texts as well as on those for which alone it was, for the most part, valid, namely the latest texts.

In addition to the uniform consonantal text and the vocalisation imposed by the scribes and the Naqdanim respectively, there is an element of uniformity which derives from the desire of the authors themselves. In as much as the language of the late biblical books resembles very much that of the earliest, yet differs to the same extent from that of the Mishnah (2nd cent. A.D.), one must conclude that the Hebrew of the Mishnah⁽³⁾ reflects the language spoken in rabbinic schools and among some sections of the Palestinian Jewish population at the time of its composition, whilst the late biblical writers generally tried to imitate, to a certain extent, the model sacred and classical alike of the early books. The imitation, however imperfect, prevents us somewhat from regarding Biblical Hebrew of the later stage as reflecting the contemporary spoken idiom.

All this goes to show how difficult it is to trace the development of Biblical Hebrew. The difficulty becomes greater still when one remembers that we do not know the even approximate date of composition or redaction of some writings⁽⁴⁾.

(1) Cf. W. Chomsky, *Hebrew: the Eternal Language* (Philadelphia, 1964); C. Rabin, *A Short History of the Hebrew Language* (Jerusalem, n.d.); M. Hadas-Lebel, *Histoire de la langue hébraïque des origines à l'époque de la Mishna* (Paris, 1981); Kutscher, *History*.

(2) See Kropat, *Syntax*; Polzin (1976); A. Hurvitz, *A Linguistic Study of the Relationship between the Priestly Source and the Book of Ezekiel* (Paris, 1982).

Contrary to the prevailing view that the priestly source reflects the exilic and post-exilic period, recent studies tend to underline the archaic nature of the Hebrew used in the source: e.g., M. Paran, *Forms of the Priestly Style in the Pentateuch. Patterns, Linguistic Usages, Syntactic Structures* [Heb] (Jerusalem, 1989); J. Milgrom, *Numbers במדבר* [The JPS Torah Commentary] (Philadelphia/New York, 1990), pp. xxxii-xxxv.

(3) The language of the Mishnah in a broad sense is also that of other related rabbinic literature, Tosefta, Midrashim, and more importantly, recently found writings from Qumran and the Wilderness of Judaea. On Mishnaic Hebrew in general, see E.Y. Kutscher, in *EJ*, vol. 16, cols. 1590-1607.

(4) It would also be extremely interesting to know what language was spoken by the Israelites at the time of the exodus after staying several centuries in Egypt, and what languages they spoke on entering Canaan. On this last point, one may refer to Bauer and Leander (pp. 23f.), who opt for Aramaic, which was, according to them, nothing but a dialect of Arabic. But the arguments put forward by them are not convincing. See § 2 e, n. 2.

Therefore we shall be content with distinguishing two main periods b in the history of the Hebrew language: the pre-exilic and post-exilic periods⁽¹⁾. The pre-exilic period is the golden age of the language; it is, so to speak, the period of *Classical* Hebrew. During the post-exilic period the language changes, partly under the influence of Aramaic, which becomes more and more the everyday idiom of Jews. The most advanced stage of post-exilic Hebrew is represented by the language of Ecclesiastes, Esther, Ezra, Nehemiah, and Chronicles⁽²⁾.

(1) On the evolution of "Classical BH," see C. Rabin, "The emergence of Classical Hebrew," in A. Malamat (ed.), *The Age of Monarchies: Culture and Society. The World History of the Jewish People*, vol. 4.2 (Jerusalem, 1979), pp. 71-78.

(2) The student ought to study these books only after having acquired a sufficient knowledge of good classical prose. However, for those whose first encounter with Hebrew was through Modern Hebrew, these late books would look more familiar and thus serve as a useful bridge to Classical Biblical Hebrew. Such students may consult H.B. Rosén, *A Textbook of Israeli Hebrew* (Chicago, 1962), pp. 307ff.

In addition to the differences between forms of Hebrew of different c periods due to the evolution of the language over the centuries, the language must have presented dialectal peculiarities within the various regions in which it was spoken⁽¹⁾. Differences in language must have existed, for instance, between the northern kingdom and the southern kingdom. But the data at our disposal hardly enable us to pinpoint those differences sufficiently to speak of a northern dialect and a southern dialect.

(1) From the account in Jdg 12.6 it emerges that the Ephraimites pronounced the sibilant of תִּלְוִשׁ differently from the people of Gilead.

A difference of another order and of paramount importance in grammar d is that between the language of poetry and that of prose. In Hebrew poetry a good number of words occur which are typical of it, and of those words, a remarkably large number are found in Aramaic, e.g., אִישׁ "man" for אָדָם, דָּרָב "road" for דֶּרֶךְ, הָבֵא "come" for בֹּא, מִלָּה "word" for

רָבָר, הִזָּה "see" for הִזָּר. Poetry, whether for effect or on metrical grounds, often uses rare, anomalous or archaic forms. Thus one finds in poetry the archaic long forms of the prepositions יִלְאָ = לָא; יִעָרִי = עָרִי; יִעָרִי = עָרִי (§ 103 m); the endings יִרְ, יִרְ of the noun (§ 93 l, r); the pronominal suffixes מוֹ, מוֹרְ, מוֹרְ (§ 61 i). Poetry exercises a great deal of freedom in the area of syntax, and particularly the use of tenses. One could indeed be in dire straits if one attempted to deal with certain questions of syntax solely on the basis of poetic texts⁽¹⁾. It is, no doubt, for reasons of aesthetics or brevity that poetry makes far less use than prose of the definite article, the relative particle וְשֵׁנָה, and the particle of the accusative וְשֵׁנָה.

(1) The grammar, especially the syntax, is based mainly on classical prose texts, and good narrative texts in particular. For attempts to tackle the grammar of poetic Hebrew, see D. Michel, *Tempora und Satzstellung in den Psalmen* (Bonn, 1960); M. O'Connor, *Hebrew Verse Structure* (Winona Lake, ID, 1980), and R. Sappan, *The Typical Features of the Syntax of Biblical Poetry in its Classical Period* [Heb] (Jerusalem, 1981).

§ 4. History of Hebrew grammar⁽¹⁾

- a The earliest works on Hebrew grammar appeared in the tenth century, under the influence of Arabic grammar, with Saadia Gaon of Fayyum (d. 942). The principal Jewish grammarians whose works we possess are Ḥayyuj (ca. 1000), Abu'l Walid Merwan Ibn Janaḥ (ca. 1030), Abraham Ibn Ezra (d. 1167), David Qimḥi [= Radaq] (d. ca. 1235), his father Joseph and brother Moshe. These Jewish scholars were aided in their task by their knowledge of Aramaic and Arabic.

(1) W. Bacher, *Hebräische Sprachwissenschaft vom 10. bis zum 16. Jahrhundert* (Trier, 1892); idem, "Die Anfänge der hebräischen Grammatik." *ZDMG* 49 (1895) 1-62, 335-92 [also as a monograph: Leipzig, 1895]; D. Tené and J. Barr, "Hebrew linguistic literature." *EJ*, vol. 16, cols. 1352-1401.

- b The first grammar published by a Christian is that of John Reuchlin, *De rudimentis hebraicis* (Pforzheim, 1506). A good number of technical terms used in Hebrew grammar have their origin in his writings. A Jewish scholar by the name of Elias Levita (d. 1549) made notable contributions to the dissemination of the knowledge of Hebrew amongst Christian scholars through his writings and instruction. John Buxtorf

(d. 1629) and his successors still follow closely the grammatical theory developed by the Jews. In the eighteenth century, A. Schultens (d. 1750) put to good use his knowledge of Arabic in order to explain, and deepen the understanding of, Hebrew. But it was in the nineteenth century that Hebrew grammar was transformed, taking an increasingly scientific approach.

W. Gesenius (d. 1842) was the forerunner of this movement. His grammar went through many editions. After numerous and thoroughgoing revisions, it became a veritable *vade mecum* for Old Testament commentators, most of whom made constant reference to it. E. Rödiger (14th-21st ed) and E. Kautzsch (22nd-28th eds) constantly improved Gesenius' work. The last editions produced by Kautzsch contain a vast amount of data in a rather compact volume. The grammatical theory is rather conservative; the presentation is generally clear and accurate; and the bibliography is almost complete up to the date of the last edition. After the death of Kautzsch in 1910 the 29th edition was published by G. Bergsträsser, who has radically altered the work of his predecessor. This is in fact an entirely new work in which even the order of the matters dealt with differs considerably from its predecessor; it is a work of much greater erudition, far more critical, and gives much more attention to the historical development of the language⁽¹⁾.

H. Ewald (d. 1875) attempted to establish laws which could provide rational explanation for grammatical facts. His grammar (*Ausführliches Lehrbuch der hebr. Sprache*, 8th [and last] ed., Göttingen, 1870) is still useful, especially in the area of syntax.

J. Olshausen (d. 1882), in his *Lehrbuch der hebr. Sprache* (Braunschweig, 1861), which only deals with phonetics and morphology, seeks to explain the forms of Hebrew by means of primitive Semitic, generally represented by Arabic.

F. Böttcher (d. 1863) in his *Ausführliches Lehrbuch der hebräischen Sprache*, edited by F. Mühlau, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1866-68), was also able to handle only phonetics and morphology (the latter incomplete; cf. vol. 2, p. VI). However, this work is the most complete inventory of forms, and therefore highly useful.

B. Stade (d. 1906) also published only in the areas of phonetics and morphology (*Lehrbuch der hebr. Grammatik* [Leipzig, 1879]). His morphology of the verb contains a well-nigh complete inventory of the forms

of the perfect, future and imperative, classified according to person. This mode of presentation is convenient for research and comparison of forms.

E. König wrote a comprehensive grammar *Lehrgebäude der hebr. Sprache* in three volumes: vol. 1 (Leipzig, 1881), on the pronoun and the verb; vol. 2 (Leipzig, 1895), on the noun, the particles, morphology in general and phonetics; and vol. 3 (Leipzig, 1897), on syntax. His work is often more complete than his predecessors'; on many a point he cites and discusses divergent opinions. It is a valuable storehouse of data.

H. Bauer and P. Leander have brought out their *Historische Grammatik der hebräischen Sprache* (Halle, 1922). This work is not only a historical grammar, as is indicated by the title, but also a descriptive one. In the historical part, hypothesis plays a significant role; the descriptive part, e.g., the section on noun formation, is rich and very meticulous. The authors, availing themselves of many works of detail and the important synthesis of comparative Semitic grammar by Brockelmann, have attempted to raise Hebrew grammar to the plane of scientific perfection attained by the Indo-European linguistics. The grammar remains incomplete, lacking syntax.

M. Lambert's *Traité de la grammaire hébraïque* (Paris, 1931-38), recently reprinted with some supplementary materials⁽²⁾, is a comprehensive grammar. In contrast to Joüon's grammar in the original French edition, the originality of Lambert's is apparent more in morphology than in syntax. The author has published numerous articles on aspects of Hebrew grammar in *Revue d'études juives* and *Journal Asiatique*.

Useful and original is C. Brockelmann's *Hebräische Syntax* (Neukirchen, 1956), which is based largely on vol. 2 of the same author's monumental *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen* (Berlin, 1908-13).

Another recent comprehensive grammar is R. Meyer's *Hebräische Grammatik*, 4 vols. (Berlin, 1966-72), in Sammlung Göschen, in which he attempts to take into account recent advances in the study of Ugaritic, Qumran Hebrew, non-Massoretic traditions of Hebrew pronunciation and the like.

(1) Cf. P. Joüon in *Bib* 1 (1920) 111.

(2) Edited by G.E. Weil and published by Dr H.A. Gerstenberg: Hildesheim, 1972.

d Apart from these comprehensive works of major importance, one must

also mention as particularly useful *Hebrew Syntax* by A.B. Davidson (Edinburgh, ³1912) and the excellent book by S.R. Driver, *A Treatise on the Use of the Tenses in Hebrew and some other Syntactical Questions* (Oxford, ³1892). One should also mention the stylistics of König (*Stilistik, Rhetorik, Poetik* [Leipzig, 1900]), which is a useful supplement to his grammar. In addition, the past two decades have witnessed the publication of a number of important monographs dealing with specific questions of Hebrew syntax such as F.I. Andersen's *The Hebrew Verbless Clause in the Pentateuch* (1970); idem, *The Sentence* (1974); T. Muraoka, *Emphatic Words and Structures in Biblical Hebrew* (1985); B. Waltke and M. O'Connor, *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax* (1989).

Lexicography made significant progress during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, but much remains to be done. The *Thesaurus linguae hebraicae* of W. Gesenius (published between 1829 and 1858), though many parts of it are outdated, still remains a storehouse where one can find many valuable things some of which have been wrongly discarded. The German editions of Gesenius' dictionary have been gradually and thoroughly revised by successive editors. The last (16th) edition, prepared by F. Buhl, dates from 1915: *W. Gesenius' hebr. und aram. Handwörterbuch*⁽¹⁾. This dictionary is particularly useful for the abundance of literature cited, its etymological section, and its suggested textual emendations. On these matters the *Oxford Lexicon* of Brown, Driver and Briggs (*A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament*, 1906) is inferior. On the other hand, the latter is often more exhaustive and careful. Its specifically grammatical sections treated by S.R. Driver, notably the particles, are excellent. One inconvenient deficiency is its lack of an English-Hebrew index⁽²⁾. The arrangement of words by roots, which are in fact sometimes disputable (cf. § 34 b) or arbitrary, is also less practical than the purely alphabetical arrangement of Gesenius-Buhl. The dictionary by König (*Hebr. und aram. Wörterbuch* [Leipzig, ²1910]), though far less comprehensive than the last mentioned works, is helpful in its many cross-references to the grammar by the same author. L. Koehler and W. Baumgartner's *Lexicon in veteris testamenti libros* (Leiden, 1958) is a useful, modern tool, highly acclaimed for its Aramaic section compiled by Baumgartner, but in terms of general lexicography is inferior to Brown-Driver-Briggs, commonly referred to as 'BDB'⁽³⁾. Finally, mention may be made of E. Ben-

Yehudah, *Thesaurus totius hebraicitatis et veteris et recentioris* (1908-58)⁽⁴⁾; F. Zorell, *Lexicon hebraicum et aramaicum veteris testamenti* [in Latin] (Rome, 1968)⁽⁵⁾ and a still incomplete אוצר לשון המקרא (Jerusalem, 1957ff.) by S.E. Loewenstamm, J. Blau, and M.Z. Kaddari, which also serves as a concordance.

(1) 17th ed. (photomechanical reproduction of the 16th), 1920. The first fascicule of a thoroughly revised 18th edition (by H. Donner and R. Meyer) made its appearance in 1987.

(2) The dictionaries of Gesenius and Köhler-Baumgartner mentioned above both contain a German-Hebrew index. There is also available a useful index: *Index to Brown, Driver & Briggs' Hebrew Lexicon*, compiled by B. Einspahr (Moody Press: Chicago, 1976).

(3) A revised edition entitled *Hebräisches und aramäisches Lexikon zum alten Testament* to which various people have made contributions is currently in progress, four fascicules having appeared so far (Leiden, 1967-). Unlike its predecessor, which has entries in English and German throughout, the revised edition is entirely in German. Despite some notable advances beyond its immediate predecessor and BDB, the last-mentioned can still claim many strengths by comparison.

(4) As the title indicates, the dictionary covers the whole gamut of the history of Hebrew, enabling even those primarily interested in Biblical Hebrew to see BH words in historical perspective. Following the death of the author the work was brought to completion by N.H. Tur-Sinai (Torczyner), who added innumerable footnotes.

(5) The Aramaic part was published by E. Vogt as *Lexicon linguae aramaicae veteris testamenti documentis antiquis illustratum* [in Latin] (Rome, 1971).

f The classical and comprehensive Hebrew concordance is that of S. Mandelkern, *Veteris Testamenti Concordantiae hebraicae atque chaldaicae* (Leipzig, 1896)⁽¹⁾. Two more recent additions are: G. Lisowsky, *Konkordanz zum hebräischen alten Testament* etc. [based on *Biblia Hebraica* as edited by P. Kahle - R. Kittel and printed from the compiler's handwritten copy] (Stuttgart, 1958) and A. Even-Shoshan, *A New Concordance of the Bible* [available in various formats] (Jerusalem, 1981). Both are extremely useful, the latter in particular in that it provides a wealth of information presented in ways which greatly facilitate semantic and lexical studies of the Old Testament languages⁽²⁾. However, neither has rendered Mandelkern's concordance redundant, since Lisowsky's does not include the so-called function words such as prepositions, pronouns, and neither gives the actual text for all occurrences of common words and forms, merely giving references, albeit exhaustively⁽³⁾.

(1) Reprinted with additions and corrections by F. Margolin and M.H. Goshen-Gottstein

(Shoken: Tel Aviv/Jerusalem, 1962).

(2) Lisowsky's work excludes the Aramaic portions of the OT.

(3) In addition there are available computer-generated databases and concordances based on them, e.g. F.I. Andersen and A. Dean Forbes, *A Linguistic Concordance of Ruth and Jonah: Hebrew Vocabulary and Idiom. The Computer Bible*, vol. IX (1976).

Comparative table of alphabets				
1	2	3	4	5
Mēša' (ca.850)	Samaritan	Egyptian papyri (5-3 cent)	Square: Petersburg (916-7)	Rabbinic
Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ
Ⲃ	Ⲃ	Ⲃ	Ⲃ	Ⲃ
Ⲅ	Ⲅ	Ⲅ	Ⲅ	Ⲅ
Ⲇ	Ⲇ	Ⲇ	Ⲇ	Ⲇ
Ⲉ	Ⲉ	Ⲉ	Ⲉ	Ⲉ
Ⲋ	Ⲋ	Ⲋ	Ⲋ	Ⲋ
Ⲍ	Ⲍ	Ⲍ	Ⲍ	Ⲍ
Ⲏ	Ⲏ	Ⲏ	Ⲏ	Ⲏ
Ⲑ	Ⲑ	Ⲑ	Ⲑ	Ⲑ
Ⲓ	Ⲓ	Ⲓ	Ⲓ	Ⲓ
Ⲕ	Ⲕ	Ⲕ	Ⲕ	Ⲕ
Ⲗ	Ⲗ	Ⲗ	Ⲗ	Ⲗ
Ⲙ	Ⲙ	Ⲙ	Ⲙ	Ⲙ
Ⲛ	Ⲛ	Ⲛ	Ⲛ	Ⲛ
Ⲝ	Ⲝ	Ⲝ	Ⲝ	Ⲝ
Ⲟ	Ⲟ	Ⲟ	Ⲟ	Ⲟ
Ⲡ	Ⲡ	Ⲡ	Ⲡ	Ⲡ
Ⲣ	Ⲣ	Ⲣ	Ⲣ	Ⲣ
Ⲥ	Ⲥ	Ⲥ	Ⲥ	Ⲥ
ⲧ	ⲧ	ⲧ	ⲧ	ⲧ
ⲩ	ⲩ	ⲩ	ⲩ	ⲩ
ⲫ	ⲫ	ⲫ	ⲫ	ⲫ
ⲭ	ⲭ	ⲭ	ⲭ	ⲭ
ⲯ	ⲯ	ⲯ	ⲯ	ⲯ
ⲱ	ⲱ	ⲱ	ⲱ	ⲱ
ⲳ	ⲳ	ⲳ	ⲳ	ⲳ
ⲵ	ⲵ	ⲵ	ⲵ	ⲵ
ⲷ	ⲷ	ⲷ	ⲷ	ⲷ
ⲹ	ⲹ	ⲹ	ⲹ	ⲹ
ⲻ	ⲻ	ⲻ	ⲻ	ⲻ
ⲽ	ⲽ	ⲽ	ⲽ	ⲽ
ⲿ	ⲿ	ⲿ	ⲿ	ⲿ
ⲱ	ⲱ	ⲱ	ⲱ	ⲱ
ⲳ	ⲳ	ⲳ	ⲳ	ⲳ
ⲵ	ⲵ	ⲵ	ⲵ	ⲵ
ⲷ	ⲷ	ⲷ	ⲷ	ⲷ
ⲹ	ⲹ	ⲹ	ⲹ	ⲹ
ⲻ	ⲻ	ⲻ	ⲻ	ⲻ
ⲽ	ⲽ	ⲽ	ⲽ	ⲽ
ⲿ	ⲿ	ⲿ	ⲿ	ⲿ

PART ONE

ORTHOGRAPHY AND PHONETICS

§ 5. Consonants: script and pronunciation

- a The phonemes⁽¹⁾ can be divided into consonants and vowels. But it needs to be noted that this division is not adequate; certain vowels (*i* and *u* in Hebrew) can become consonantal (*y* ^ʔ, *w* ¹)(²), and certain consonants can become vocalic (no example in Hebrew).

(1) On a definition of 'phoneme,' see below, § *gb*.

(2) See also § 21 *c* (furtive patah).

- b The Hebrew **alphabet**, like the majority of Semitic alphabets⁽¹⁾, consists of consonant letters only⁽²⁾. The characters of our printed Bibles as well as those of all known manuscripts⁽³⁾ have a shape similar to a square, hence the name *square script* עִבְרִית כְּבִיבָה. This script, which emerged in about the third century B.C., is a development of the *Aramaic* script, and was adopted gradually by Jews together with the Aramaic language (§ 3 *b*) after the return of the Babylonian exiles. This new script, sometimes called Jewish script, replaced the ancient script called *Hebrew script* (עִבְרִית קְדוּמָה), which is used, for instance, in the Gezer calendar, the Siloam inscription and the stele of Mesha (§ 2 *e*)(⁴). The old script, called Paleo-Hebrew, was kept alive to a limited extent in some Dead Sea writings such as Pentateuch fragments and on Jewish coins of the Hellenistic-Roman era, and continued to be used, but appreciably modified, by the Samaritans after their separation from the Jews, whenever it took place. The *rabbinic* script or *Rashi* script⁽⁵⁾ is a modification of the square script. It is used especially in rabbinic bibles for the commentaries printed in the margins.

(1) On the development of the Hebrew alphabet and its ancestors, and the Aramaic and Samaritan scripts, see respectively, J. Naveh, *Early History of the Alphabet* (Jerusalem and Leiden, ²1987), idem, *The Development of the Aramaic Script* (Jerusalem, 1970), and J.D. Purvis, *The Samaritan Pentateuch and the Origin of the Samaritan Sect* (Cambridge,

MA, 1968). See also S. Birnbaum, *The Hebrew Scripts*, 2 vols. (Leiden, 1971-72); G.R. Driver, *Semitic Writing: From Pictograph to Alphabet* (London, 1976), and B. Sass *The Genesis of the Alphabet and its Development in the Second Millennium B.C.* (Wiesbaden, 1988).

(2) On the supposedly originally syllabic character of Semitic alphabets, see M. Lambert, "L'origine de l'alphabet," *JA*, 11ème série, 11 (1918) 563-65; I.J. Gelb, *A History of Writing* (Chicago, 1952), pp. 147-53.

(3) Except a small number of fragmentary Qumran biblical manuscripts. The oldest dated complete manuscript is the Cairo codex of the Prophets (895). The Wilderness of Judaea, including Qumran caves, has produced a vast number of biblical manuscripts, mostly fragmentary, dating probably from the late 3rd cent. B.C. onwards. The Nash papyrus found in 1902, which contains Ex 20.2ff. (Decalogue) and Dt 5.6ff., 6.4 probably dates from around A.D. 100.

(4) The letters in the modern script which resemble one another and are thus likely to cause confusion are not the same as those which resembled one another in the ancient script. In order to understand some emendations of the text we need to take this into account. See the comparative table of the alphabets on p. 18.

(5) So called not because Rashi invented this script, but because right from the beginning of Jewish printing (1475) his commentaries on the Bible and the Talmud were printed in this script.

c The letters of the Hebrew alphabet are 22 in number, or 23, if one takes into account the diacritical point of ψ ⁽¹⁾.

(1) The names of the letters are based on the system of acrophony, i.e. the first sound of the name of a given letter of the alphabet is that indicated by the letter, e.g. the seventh letter י [za'yin]. For details, see Driver, *Semitic Writing* [§ n. 1 above], pp. 152-71. The order of the letters of the alphabet is ancient, as attested by the so-called acrostic poems such as Ps 119, Lam 1-4, Ben Sira 51; indeed as the Ugaritic materials show, it goes back as far as the 14th century B.C. Lamb (p. 10) thinks that the actual sequence of the letters was, at least partly, determined by visual similarities of letter shape (Alef, Bet, Gimel, Dalet in Paleo-Hebrew) and partly by semantic similarities of letter names, e.g., Yod and Kaf.

Numerical value	Name		Transliteration	Pronunciation	Phonetic description
1	Alef	א	'	hamza ^ء of Arabic (ʔ j)	voiceless guttural
2	Bet	ב	b	English b (ʔ o)	voiced labial plosive
		בֿ	v	English v (ʔ o)	voiced labial fricative
3	Gimel	ג	g	English hard g (ʔ o)	voiced palatal plosive
		גֿ	ġ	Mod. Gk γ (ʔ o)	voiced palatal fricative
4	Dalet	ד	d	English d (ʔ o)	voiced dental plosive
		דֿ	ḏ	Engl. soft th as in <i>this</i> (ʔ o)	voiced dental fricative
5	He	ה	h	English h (ʔ j)	voiceless guttural
6	Waw	ו	w	English w (ʔ 7 d)	vocalic bilabial glide
7	Zayin	ז	z	English z	voiced dental sibilant
8	Ḥet	ח	ḥ	כ (ʔ k)	voiceless guttural
9	Ṭet	ט	ṭ	כּ (ʔ i)	voiceless dental plosive
10	Yod	י	y	English y (ʔ 7 d)	velar vocalic palatal glide
20	Kaf	כ	k	English k (ʔ o)	voiceless palatal plosive
		כֿ	ḥ	Mod. Gk χ (ʔ o), χ̣	voiceless palatal fricative
30	Lamed	ל	l	Engl. "clear" l (ʔ 5gb)	voiced lingual
40	Mem	מ	m	English m	voiced bilabial nasal
50	Nun	נ	n	English n	voiced dental nasal

60	Samekh	ס	s	English s (ð m)	voiceless sibilant
70	'Ayin	ע	'	ع (ð k)	voiced guttural
80	Pe	פ	p	French p (ð o, n. 5)	voiceless bilabial plosive
		פ	f	English f (ð o)	voiceless bilabial fricative
90	Tzadé	צ	ʒ	ص (ð m)	voiceless velar sibilant
100	Qof	ק	q	ق (ð i)	voiceless velar plosive
200	Resh	ר	r	Italian, Arabic r (ð n)	voiced lingual
	Sin	ש	ś	(?) (ð m)	voiceless sibilant
300	Shin	ש	š	English sh (ð m)	voiceless sibilant
400	Taw	ת	t	French t (ð o, n. 5)	voiceless dental plosive
		ת	t̥	Engl. th as in thin, Mod. Gk θ (ð o)	voiceless dental fricative

d **Final letters.** Five letters have a special form at the end of a word⁽¹⁾. These five letters are contained in the mnemonic word קמנפע *kamnappes* "like the one who shatters." The non-final and final pairs are: כ and ך; נ and ן; ן and ם; פ and ף; צ and ץ. When the word-final form of the letter Mem is written, the end of the stroke on the top left is written so as to join its beginning, thus forming a closed shape. When writing the word-final form of the remaining four letters, the end of the stroke is extended downwards, instead of being turned towards the left.

(1) All word-final forms, except that for Mem, are historically older than their corresponding non-word-final shapes.

e **Extendible letters.** Hebrew is written from right to left. At the end of a line, a word is not split⁽¹⁾. To avoid blanks, some letters, namely, כ, ה, ל, ך, ן are widened.

(1) In inscriptions, words are often broken up at the end of a line.

f **Numerical values⁽¹⁾.** 1-9 = א-ט; 10-90 = י-צ; 100-400 = ק-ת; 500 is

expressed by 400 + 100 = קת; similarly for 600-800; 900 is expressed by 400 + 400 + 100 = קתת. (For 500-900 one also makes use of the word-final letters: 500 ך, 600 ך, 700 ך, 800 ך, 900 ך). For the thousands one uses the letters used for the units with two dots written above, e.g. כ̣̣ = 1000. The number 15 logically is ה׳, but since this combination of letters represents the abbreviated divine name יהוה׳, 15 is expressed by 9 + 6 = טו. Likewise 16 logically is ו׳, but since this sequence of letters represents the divine name as it appears in proper nouns (e.g., יוֹאָזָבָב "Yahweh <is> father"), 16 is expressed by 9 + 7 = טז.

(1) See the Table of the Alphabet on p. 18. The use of letters as numbers dates back at least to the second century B.C. See Driver, *Semitic Writing* [§ b, n. 1 above], p. 270.

Abbreviations⁽¹⁾. As an indication of abbreviation one uses a symbol similar to an "apostrophe" at the end or a double quotation mark between two letters, e.g., 'פ = פֶּלֶגֶי "so and so," וְגו' = וְגוֹמֵר "and one who completes = et cetera," רַשִׁי Rashi (Rabbi Shlomo Yitzhaqi), תַּנְ"ךְ (pronounced *tanach* = כְּתוּבֵי־אִים, נְבִיאִים, תּוֹרָה "Law - Prophets - Writings" (= the Hebrew Bible). One writes, for example, פֶּ' verbs, namely verbs the first radical of which (represented by פ, the first radical of the verb פָּעַל) is Nun⁽²⁾; cf. § 40 c.

(1) See esp. the dictionary of abbreviations of Händler in G. Dalman, *Aramäisch-neuhebräisches Wörterbuch* (Leipzig, 1905). Abraham Even-Shoshan's dictionary, מְלִוֵן וְהִתְרַךְ (Jerusalem, 1976), lists all common abbreviations incorporated in the dictionary in alphabetical order. On the question of abbreviation, see Driver, op. cit. [§ b above, n. 1], pp. 270f.

(2) Pronounce as *oo* (as in *book*) the Semitic vowel transliterated by *u*.

Naturally we only have indirect sources of information about the pronunciation of Classical Hebrew. Among the more important of them are:

1. The Jewish traditions: Ashkenazi, Sephardi, and Yemenite⁽¹⁾.
2. The pronunciation of living Semitic languages, esp. Arabic, Ethiopic and Aramaic.
3. Internal considerations.
4. Transliteration and transcription of Hebrew words and names, esp. in Greek and Latin, e.g. the second column of the Hexapla, Je-

rome, and the Septuagint; there are some inherent difficulties arising from the nature of the phonemic inventories of these classical, non-Semitic languages.

5. Transliterations in Akkadian, Ugaritic, and Egyptian, though here again similar problems arise.

(1) Contributions by Israeli scholars are prominent in this field, e.g. H. Yalon, Sh. Morag, I. Yeivin, and I. Eldar. Note also the ongoing series ןוּשָׁלֵךְ הַלֵּל under the editorship of Morag.

gb Modern linguistics insists on an important distinction between phone and phoneme. A phone is a sound heard or articulated in actual speech, and as such it is a physical entity which can be measured and recorded by mechanical devices. A classification of consonants as labial, dental, etc. and of vowels as front, back, mid, high, etc. accords with such an approach. By contrast, a phoneme is what is *perceived* to be a particular phonetic entity, and thus by definition it is an abstraction, something like the common denominator of countless phones, namely actual sounds which share certain essential features. Even one and the same speaker—and of course, different speakers of a given language—pronounces a given phoneme in numerous variations, which however are normally perceived as one phoneme, without creating any serious problem of communication. For instance, standard English has two distinct kinds of /l/ phoneme, sometimes called 'dark l' as in *keel* and 'clear l' as in *leek*. They are so different in sound that if a native French or German speaker, for example, pronounced *keel* with the 'clear l,' he or she would give away his or her non-English origin, but the native English speaker would still discern without difficulty the meaning of the word. The choice between these two kinds of l, technically called 'allophone,' is conditioned by their respective positions within a word: clear l occurs before a vowel, whilst dark l occurs before a consonant or at the end of a word. In other words they are positional variants. Moreover, phonemes distinguish meanings. To take two examples from Hebrew, the semantic difference between תָּשַׁח *he was ruined, corrupted* and טָשַׁח *he was slaughtered* is expressed solely by means of a phonemic contrast between ת and ט. Although the phonetic difference between them may sound to us rather marginal, they are nonetheless two distinct phonemes. By contrast, the presence or absence of dagesh in the Tav in

הַשְׁעָתָה and הַשְׁעָתָה-אֵל has no bearing on the meaning of the verb form, so that they are two allophones of the /t/ phoneme. In dealing with ancient languages, it is naturally easier to deal with phonemes than phones.

Classification of the consonants(¹). The consonantal phonemes may conveniently be classified as follows: h

Labials: כּ וּ מּ פּ (mnemonic word: בּוּמַפּ *bumaf*)

Dentals: דּ תּ טּ (velar)

Palatals: גּ כּ ךּ

Velars: טּ (dental), צּ (sibilant), קּ

Gutturals: אּ הּ חּ עּ

Sibilants: זּ סּ צּ (velar), שׁ שׂ

Linguals: לּ רּ

Nasals: מּ נּ

(1) For a description of the traditional pronunciations of the Hebrew consonants, see Schramm, *Graphemics*, pp. 15-24.

Velars or emphatics. The three consonants *t̥* טּ, *s̥* צּ, *q* קּ(¹) are called *emphatic* in relation to the three corresponding consonants *t* תּ, *s* סּ, *k* כּ. The former are articulated in the region farther back in the mouth called the soft palate, and with greater tension of the articulatory organs than is the case for the latter. Their values, which have no equivalents in our languages, are precisely those of the corresponding emphatic sounds in Arabic *ḥ*, *ṣ*, *q*. For *s̥* see § *m*. i

(1) קּ is transliterated by the character *q*, which is graphically similar, or by *ḳ* (with a point below as with the other velars).

The precise nature of the so-called "emphatic" consonants in Ancient Hebrew, and all the dead Semitic language for that matter, is an unresolved question: for a well-balanced exposé of the question, see J. Cantineau in *Semitica* 4 (1951-52) 91-93, where he inclines towards the modern Ethiopic type of articulation which is characterised by glottal stoppage followed by forceful emission of air like a piston. See also I. Garbell in *BSL* 50 (1954) 234. Laufer, an experimental phonetician, notes that, in Modern Hebrew and Arabic, the articulation of all these consonants is characterised by the secondary feature of pharyngealisation: A. Laufer, "Descriptions of the emphatic sounds in Hebrew and in Arabic" [in Heb], M. Bar-Asher (ed.), *Language Studies* II-III (Jerusalem, 1987), pp. 423-38. On other varieties, see I.M. Diakonoff in *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (151974), vol. 8, p. 591a, and Berg., § 6, n.

Gutturals. The gutturals are sometimes further classified into laryngals (ʾ and *h*) and pharyngals (*ħ* and ʿ). Alef אּ (when it is pronounced)(¹) is a voiceless guttural stop. In order to produce this j

sound one must abruptly stop the emission of the vowel by sudden closure of the glottis(2). This is the sound one sometimes hears in the German word *ja'* pronounced with some emotion (in place of *jā*) or after the prefix *ge* as in *geatmet*. One may also hear it in the pronunciation of the *tt* in a word like *better* in the north of England. For example: $\square\psi\aleph?$ *he will make himself guilty*. \aleph is conventionally transliterated by the symbol /' / (the smooth breathing of Greek).

He \aleph is the voiceless guttural fricative, which one has in English and German *Hand*. This sound does not exist in French.

(1) In practice, in Hebrew as we know it, \aleph is not pronounced except under certain conditions in the middle of a word as detailed in § 24 *b*. In Contemporary Israeli Hebrew it is hardly audible at the beginning of a word.

(2) The glottis is the slit which separates the vocal cords. W. Vycichl suggests that Alef may originally have been a voiced fricative laryngal: *GLECS* 18-23 (1973-79) 495-97.

k *Het* is a voiceless guttural which does not exist in our languages. It exactly corresponds to \aleph τ in Arabic as in *Muḥammad*. In comparison with \aleph , one can say that this is a \aleph produced with forcible constriction of the larynx. It has been rather fittingly described as a *guttural hiss* (Gismondi).

Comparison of various Semitic languages shows that the symbol \aleph corresponds to two distinct sounds represented in Arabic by τ \aleph and τ \aleph (1). \aleph is the voiceless velar spirant, which one hears in the Swiss pronunciation of, e.g. German *nach* or Scottish *loch*. It is highly probable that formerly \aleph had in some words the value of \aleph , and in others that of \aleph . But at the time of the Naqdanim \aleph represented the single sound \aleph . If the symbol \aleph had had two values, the Naqdanim, who were so careful to note the minutest nuances, such as the twofold pronunciation of *begadkefat* (§ 0), would not have failed to indicate them. The existence of the value \aleph for \aleph at the time when the Kaf rafé \aleph \aleph (= \aleph) existed is most unlikely, because the two sounds are too close to each other. \aleph is, in effect, the voiceless palatal spirant, which one hears, e.g., in Modern Greek $\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\varsigma$ or in German *nach* in the standard pronunciation (as against the Swiss variety). Certain details of the vocalisation indicate the sound \aleph , and preclude the value \aleph ; thus *pataḥ furtive*, e.g., in $\aleph\aleph\aleph$ (cf. Arb. *ṭ-b-ḥ*) *slaughtered*; likewise *auxiliary pataḥ*, e.g. in the type $\aleph\aleph\aleph$ "you (f.sg.) have sent" (§ 70 *f*), for in order to

pronounce *šālāht there would be no need of an auxiliary vowel any more than there would be to pronounce אֲשַׁלְחֵם לֹא 'al tešt "don't drink." Furthermore, a doubling of the sound \underline{k} ($\bar{\text{v}}$) is totally foreign to Hebrew; it would be the same for its analogue \underline{h} . But, $\bar{\text{v}}$, whilst rejecting, as do all the gutturals, genuine gemination, does permit virtual gemination (or weak gemination); it sometimes even permits spontaneous gemination (§§ 20 a,c)(2). Hence $\bar{\text{v}}$ presupposes the value \underline{h} (3).

(1) Cf. J.W. Wevers, "Heth in Classical Heb." in J.W. Wevers and D.B. Redford (eds), *Essays on the Ancient Semitic World* (Toronto, 1970), pp. 101-12. The distinction between the two consonants in question is observed in transcriptions in Egyptian of Canaanite names and loan words in the middle of the second millennium B.C. The same applies to the distinction between /' / and /g̃ /; see below § 1.

(2) Even in cases where $\bar{\text{v}}$ corresponds to an original \underline{h} , e.g. in אֲחָיו brothers (cf. Arb. 'ah).

(3) For a recent discussion on a possible date for the merging of \underline{h} with \underline{h} on the one hand, and \bar{g} with ' on the other, see a summary by Z. Zevit in his *Matres Lectionis in Ancient Hebrew Epigraphs* (Cambridge, MA, 1980), p. 5, n. 22.

'ayin א is a voiced guttural which does not exist in our languages. It is exactly the sound of ع ' in Arabic as in 'Ayn "eye." This sound has been compared with "the guttural noise made by a camel being loaded with its pack saddle" (C. Huart, *Littérature arabe* [Paris, 1902], p. 139)(1). Comparison with other languages reveals that the symbol א corresponds to two appreciably distinct Semitic sounds represented in Arabic by ع ' and ع̣ ḡh(2). This last consonant is a voiced velar fricative; it is a fricative corresponding to velar ḡ (this ḡ itself being the voiced counterpart of the voiceless q ḡ). It is highly probable that א once had the value of ع ' in some words, and the value of ع̣ ḡh in others. But at the time of the Naqdanim, א represented the single sound ' . If the symbol א had had two values, the Naqdanim, so careful to record even the minutest phonetic details, would not have failed to indicate them. The existence of the sound ع̣ ḡh at the time when the Gimel rafé (ג ḡ) existed is rather unlikely. The two sounds are too close to each other. ḡ is in effect the voiced palatal fricative, which one hears, for example, in Modern Greek γάλα. Certain details of vocalisation indicate the sound ' , and preclude the sound ḡh: thus the furtive pataḥ, for example, in אָשַׁלְחֵם "heard"; likewise the auxiliary pataḥ in the type אַשַׁלְחֵם "you (f.sg.) have heard" (§ 70 f). The conventional transliteration of א is /' / (the rough breathing in Greek).

(1) The onomatopoeia $\text{ע}^{\text{א}} \text{ע}^{\text{א}}$ *u' u'* imitates the sound of vomiting; cf. Wright, *Arabic Grammar*, I, p. 295.

(2) In spite of a long series of writings by R. Růžička the existence of Ghain in Proto-Semitic as a genuine Semitic phoneme is universally accepted. See a summary of the debate in Moscati, § 8.45. Transliterations of names in the Septuagint such as Γαζα for גזז attests to \bar{g} , although the Septuagint evidence is not consistent: cf. G. Lisowsky, *Die Transkription der hebraeischen Eigennamen des Pentateuch in der Septuaginta*, diss. Basel, 1940, pp. 122f, and A. Murtonen, *Hebrew in its West Semitic Setting*, Part 1, Section A (Leiden, 1986), p. 5, n. 6; p. 171 on item 1185; p. 177, on item 1258; and p. 179 on item 1274. See also § *k*, n. 1 above.

la Whilst there are signs of a gradual weakening of the gutturals—note, e.g. $\text{א} \text{ב} \text{ג}$ for $\text{א} \text{ב} \text{ג}$? (§ 54 *b*), and ת for תא (nota accusativi) in the Bar Kokhba letters—there is no question of a general confusion of the gutturals like that observable in the SH tradition⁽¹⁾.

(1) See Kutscher, *History*, pp. 18-21, and on the SH pronunciation, Ben-Hayyim, *LOT*, vol. 5, pp. 25-29, and Macuch, *Gram.*, pp. 132-36.

m **Sibilants.** צ *ṣ* is a voiced velar sibilant, and the emphatic counterpart of ס *s* (§ *m*). It is commonly pronounced as /ts/, an affricate stop, though the practice is sometimes condemned as wrong. In any event, this /ts/ pronounced as in Engl. *cats* or Germ. *Zeit* must be considered a single phoneme, that is to say, not /t/ + /s/⁽¹⁾.

ש is currently pronounced *s* like ס ⁽²⁾ by all Jews and has been so from time immemorial⁽³⁾. ש is the alveolar, which is heard in Engl. *shoe* and Germ. *Schuh*. Between *s* and ש there is an intermediate sound (e.g. Polish \acute{s} , Spanish *s*, and the final *s* in Portugese). It is possible that some intermediate sound existed in Hebrew. However Sin may have sounded in Early Hebrew, it is clear that, for Hebrew, Sin and Shin were two distinct phonemes, as evidenced by a neat and consistent correspondence between those sounds and their equivalents in other Semitic languages, e.g. Arabic. See below § *q*. The reason why ש and \acute{s} are expressed by the same character ש is that the language or languages for which the Phoenician alphabet had been invented had ceased to make such a distinction by the time the Hebrews had borrowed it. In Early Hebrew and Aramaic, it appears, \acute{s} did not sound sufficiently distinct from ש to prompt the addition of a separate written symbol, but later the former approximated to *s* as is evidenced by the occurrence side by side of words such as $\text{ש} \text{ב} \text{ש}$ *thicket* and $\text{ה} \text{ב} \text{ש}$ *network*. Hebrew and South Arabian,

both Ancient Epigraphic and Modern, are the only two Semitic languages which seem to have this phoneme⁽⁴⁾. On the other hand, it is rather doubtful that the symbol \aleph with the diacritical point was intended to indicate this sound. At the time of its introduction the symbol \aleph probably indicated *s*. This would be an etymological spelling used for cases where an earlier \dot{s} (or \acute{s}) had become *s*. Many biblical words are found spelled now with \aleph , and now with \aleph : for example, one finds $\aleph\aleph$ *retreat* nearly always, but $\aleph\aleph$ once only; one ordinarily finds $\aleph\aleph$ *irritation*, but also $\aleph\aleph$ three times (cf. Gesenius, *Thesaurus*, sub \aleph). Whilst in Post-biblical Hebrew \aleph is often replaced by \aleph ⁽⁵⁾, in Early Hebrew the two sounds were clearly kept apart: $\sqrt{\aleph\aleph}$ *to be foolish* vs. $\sqrt{\aleph\aleph}$ *to be intelligent*.

(1) See R.C. Steiner, *Affricated šade in the Semitic Languages* (New York, 1982), which makes a plausible case for the affricate pronunciation (= /ts/) for early Semitic. But J. Cantineau refers to Codex Vaticanus of Lamentations (LXX), where this letter is transcribed with Σ and T one on top of the other: *BSL* 46 (1950) 88, and see also M. Cohen, *Nouvelles études d'éthiopien méridional* (Paris, 1939), pp. 26f.

(2) Thus $\aleph\aleph$ *he acted prudently* and $\aleph\aleph$ *he acted foolishly* (§ 54 *d*) are pronounced in the same way: *hiskil*. As to whether the pronunciation of \aleph as /s/ is due to Aramaic influence or not, see W. Diem, *ZDMG* 124 (1974) 221-52 as against J. Blau, *HAR* 1 (1977) 100-8.

(3) The Samaritans have only one symbol \aleph , which they pronounce \dot{s} : see Ben-Hayyim, *LOT*, vol. 5, p. 24; Macuch, *Gram.*, pp. 84f.

(4) This is widely believed to have been a lateralised sibilant, as it is in Mod. South Arabian dialects. See J. Cantineau in *Semitica*, 4 (1951-52) 86f., R.C. Steiner, *The Case for Fricative-laterals in Proto-Semitic* (New Haven, 1977), and A.F.L. Beeston, *Sabaic Grammar* (Manchester, 1984), p. 9. There is some evidence to suggest that Old Akkadian also had a similar phoneme. For a summary of the discussion of the problem, see Moscati, § 8.29.

(5) See J. Blau, *On Pseudo-corrections in some Semitic Languages* (Jerusalem, 1970), pp. 114-25. Occasional substitution of \aleph for \aleph may result in possible *double entendre*: see Ibn Ezra on Ho 8.4 $\aleph\aleph$ "they appointed someone king" as well as "they deposed him."

Linguals. \aleph is a lingual like \aleph . It consists of one or more vibrations of the tongue as in the Arabic *r*, the Italian and Spanish *r*⁽¹⁾. One must be very careful not to pronounce \aleph like the fricative guttural of the contemporary German and French which one hears in many parts of France, especially in the cities⁽²⁾. The fact that \aleph is to some extent treated like a guttural does not allow us to consider it to be

guttural (cf. § 23).

(1) Cf. *MUSJ* 5 (1911) 383-88.

(2) But cf. M.H. Goshen-Gottstein, in *Leš* 16 (1949) 209-11, and I. Eldar, *ib.* 48-49 (1983-85) 22-34.

- o **Begadkefat.** The six consonants contained in the mnemonic word -**בְּגַדְכֶּפֶת** **בְּגַדְכֶּפֶת** have a twofold pronunciation: *plosive* and *fricative* or *spirant*(¹). The plosives have the value of the corresponding consonants in English, i.e. *b*, *g* (hard as in *get*), *d*, *k*, *p*, *t*. In order to indicate the plosive sound, one places inside the letter a point called a *dagesh*(²). The fricatives have the corresponding *spirantised* or *continuous* sounds resulting from partial regressive assimilation to the preceding vowel. In order to indicate the fricative sound, a horizontal stroke called *rafé*(³) is written over the letter concerned; that, at any rate, is how it is marked in the manuscripts. But in the printed editions of the Bible, the absence of *dagesh* is a sufficient indication that the consonant is *rafé*. The following are the spirantised sounds:

בְּ *b*, *bh* like β in Mod. Gk., almost like the Engl. *v*(⁴)

גְּ *g*, *gh* like γ in Mod. Gk. in γάλα (cf. § 1)

דְּ *d*, *dh* like δ in Mod. Gk. (*th* in Engl. *this*)

כְּ *k*, *kh* like χ in Mod. Gk. χάρις (cf. § *k*)

פְּ *p*, *ph* like φ in Mod. Gk. = Engl. *f*(⁵)

תְּ *t*, *th* like θ in Mod. Gk. = *th* in Engl. *thing*(⁶)

The correct reading of Hebrew requires the accurate pronunciation of these six fricatives(⁷).

(1) Berg. I, § 6 m postulates the 4th cent. B.C. as the earliest date for the onset of this twofold pronunciation. Cf. also N.H. Torczyner (Tur-Sinai) in *Leš* 8 (1937) 297-306.

Kahle once hypothesised that this double pronunciation was an academic invention of the Massoretic scholars, since only the fricative sounds were known, for example, to Origen and Jerome: P.E. Kahle, *The Cairo Geniza* (Oxford, 1959), pp. 179-84. For a convincing rebuttal of the theory, see Z. Ben-Hayyim, *Studies in the Traditions of the Hebrew Language* (Barcelona/Madrid, 1954), pp. 15ff. and also E. Brønno, in *JSS* 13 (1968) 195-99. How these spirants were pronounced amongst a Karaite group is shown by the use of َ for בְּ, ֶ for גְּ, and ִ for דְּ in certain early mediaeval Hebrew texts transcribed with the Arabic alphabet: see G. Khan, *JSS* 32 (1987) 33f., 44.

On a tradition which recognises a twofold pronunciation of Resh as well, see E.J. Revell, "The nature of Resh in Tiberian Heb.," *Association for Jewish Studies Review*

6 (1981) 125-36. and I. Eldar. "The twofold pronunciation of Tiberian Resh." *Lcš* 48-49 (1985) 21-34.

(2) שׁוֹרֵךְ . Aramaic participle. "piercing." according to Kahle. in *BL*. p. 119. The plosive or instantaneous consonant is also called by the ancients *dagesh* or שׁוֹרֵךְ "hard."

(3) הַרְפוּךְ . Aramaic participle. "relaxed." The spirant consonant is also called by the ancients רַךְ "soft."

(4) Pronounced in some communities as a voiced bilabial fricative [β]: see Schramm, *Graphemes*, p. 15, and Sh. Morag in *EJ*, vol. 13, col. 1131.

(5) Lambert (§ 25) notes the possibility of the existence of an aspirated *p* with a puff like the English syllable-initial *p* as in *poɪ* as against *spoɪ*, since Ps 25 and 34, both acrostic psalms, have an extra verse beginning with Peh added at the end, as is also mentioned by Jerome and Saadia. Cf. Berg., I. § 6 i. This was most likely true of /k/ and /t/ as well; see J. Cantineau. *Semitica* 4 (1951-52) 90. and *BL*, § 10 q. Thus one is probably dealing with three phonetic triads: /p/ (plosive)-/p'/-/f/ (spirant or fricative); /k/-/h/-/q/(emphatic); /t/-/t'/-/t̃/.

(6) A well-known variety is /s/ in the Ashkenazi tradition.

(7) Currently only the Yemenite community and the Aramaic speaking community of Zakho in Iraqi Kurdistan have preserved this distinction in full: Sh. Morag, in *EJ*, vol. 13, col. 1131.

Whilst the use of a stroke above or below the letters of the alphabet or the addition of an *h* makes for neat and transparent representation, our transliteration system (see the table on pp. 21f.) differs for a number of reasons.

On the *dagesh*, cf. § 10. On the rules pertaining to the spirantisation of the *begadkefat*, cf. § 19; let us be content here with giving the following general rule: Every vocalic element, even a minimal one (e.g. a "so-called" vocalic shewa) turns the following *begadkefat* into a fricative.

Phonologically speaking, the six sets of phones discussed above (§ 0) are allophones, i.e. sets of two phonetically conditioned variations of what can be conceived of as a single phoneme⁽¹⁾. This means that, counting Sin and Shin as two separate phonemes, Ancient Hebrew possessed 23 consonantal phonemes, and that the Hebrew alphabet was phonemic in principle, whilst in the Tiberian tradition it possessed 29 consonantal phones. Of the postulated 27 Proto-Semitic consonantal phonemes (excluding *w* and *y*), 21 (or 20 if שׁ and שׂ were pronounced in identical manner) have been preserved in Hebrew (77 or 74%), whilst four of the lost phonemes have survived as allophones in the Tiberian tradition.

(1) There are however some signs of incipient phonematisation of the fricatives, e.g. תִּקַּח as infinitive *to take* as against תִּקַּחְךָ *you (f.sg.) took*: despite the preceding

/a/ vowel, the plosive א in אַתָּה can be explained as due to the analogy of 2m.sg. אַתָּה, 2pl. אַתְּמוֹתָי, and 1sg. אֲנִי. Similarly אָס vs. אָסָא (§ 39a, n. 4). A word-final long consonant has got simplified where there is no such influence of analogy: so אָמַת (< *amitt < *amint), אָמַת (< *hatt < *ahadt). Note also אָרְבֵּי as against אָרְבֵּי: the dagesh of the Tav in the latter is most likely lene; and /alfē/, pl. cst. of /'elef/ vs. the somewhat doubtful /*alpē/, du. cst. of the same word as reconstructed by Z.S. Harris. This last contrast was unsuccessfully rebutted by H.B. Rosén in *JNES* 20 (1961) 124-26, where another pair [qirbi] *my inside* and [qirvi] *approach* (impv. f.sg.) is mentioned, though rejected by Rosén. See also Schramm, *Graphemes*, pp. 56-58, and our observation below (§ 18 m, n.). On the other hand, a full discussion of the question must take into account pairs of forms called by Cantineau "variantes facultatives," namely non-obligatory variants such as אָרְבֵּי / אָרְבֵּי: J. Cantineau, *BSL* 46 (1950) 101f.

r The following table showing the normal correspondence of consonants between Hebrew, Aramaic⁽¹⁾, Syriac, Arabic, and Proto-Semitic (PS) may be found of some interest:⁽²⁾

	Syr	Arm	Heb	Arb	PS	
a)	א	—	ד	د	/d/	(a)
b)			ז	ذ	/d/	(b)
c)	א	ה	ה	ח	/h/	(c)
d)				כ	/h/	(d)
e)	ב	ב	ט	ط	/t/	(e)
f)			צ	ظ	/t/	(f)
g)	ס	ס	ס	س	/s/	(g)
h)		ש	ش	/s/	(h)	
i)	א	ע	ע	ع	/ʿ/	(i)
j)		(פ)	פ	ض	/d/	(j)
k)		ק	ق	غ	/g/	(k)
l)	ס	צ	צ	ص	/s/	(l)

m)	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	/š/	_____	(m)
n)	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	/t/	_____	(n)
o)	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	/t̥/	_____	(o)

Examples:

a) <i>debbā</i>	דָּבָר	דְּבָרָא	דָּב	דִּבְ	"bear"
b) <i>drā'ā</i>	זְרָעָא	זְרָעָא	זָרַע	זִרְאֻעַ	"arm"
c) <i>ḥakkim</i>	חַכְמֵי	חַכְמֵי	חַכְמ	חַכְמֵי	"wise"
d) <i>ḥamrā</i>	חַמְרָא	חַמְרָא	חַמְר	חַמְר	"wine"
e) <i>tabbāḥā</i>	טַבְחָא	טַבְחָא	טַבְח	טַבְח	"cook"
f) <i>tellālā</i>	טַלְלָא	טַלְלָא	טַלְל	טַלְל	"shade"
g) (<i>s-g-d</i>)	שָׁגַד	סַגְדָא	סַגְד	סַגְד	"prostrate"
h) 'sar	עָשָׂר	עָשָׂר	עָשָׂר	עָשָׂר	"ten"
i) 'aynā	עֵינָא	עֵינָא	עֵינָא	עֵינָא	"eye"
j) 'ar'ā	אַרְצָא	אַרְצָא/אַרְעָא	אַרְצָא	אַרְצָא	"earth"
k) <i>tar'ā</i>	תַּרְעָא	תַּרְעָא	תַּרְעָא	תַּרְעָא	"gate"; Arb. "opening"
l) <i>šev'ā</i>	אֶצְבָּעָא	אֶצְבָּעָא	אֶצְבָּע	אֶצְבָּע	"finger"
m) <i>šmayyā</i>	שָׁמַיָא	שָׁמַיָא	שָׁמַיָא	שָׁמַיָא	"sky"
n) <i>ktāvā</i>	כְּתָבָא	כְּתָבָא	כְּתָב	כְּתָב	"document"
o) <i>tlāt</i>	שְׁלָלָא	שְׁלָלָא	שְׁלָל	שְׁלָל	"three"

(1) Biblical Aramaic is meant here.

(2) Most cases of straight one-to-one correspondence such as /l/, /m/, /n/ are not given here. For a complete table, see Moscati, pp. 43-45. (Note that the line for /k/ is missing from the second table in § 8.60.)

In present-day Israeli Hebrew the twofold articulation of Begadkefat is maintained only for ב, כ, and פ: ב = [b], כ = [v]; כּ = [k], כּ = [h] (as in German *doch*); פ = [p], פּ = [f]. ג, ד, and ת are pronounced [g, d, t] irrespective of the presence or absence of the dagesh point. Furthermore, Ayin and Het are not universally articulated as described above, the former being treated like Alef, and the latter like Kaf rafé, i.e. *h*. ט, צ, and ק are pronounced like *t, ts* (as in *cats*), and *k* respectively. Finally, consonantal Waw is pronounced [v]: so מְוֵת [mávet].

§ 6. The vowels: their symbols and pronunciation

- a* Essentially the Hebrew vowels differ from one another in *timbre* (or *quality*). Two vowels having the same timbre can, however, differ in respect of *quantity*, namely in respect of the time required for their articulation. The timbre and the *quantity* of vowels must be rigorously kept apart. In the Tiberian Hebrew, the latter has no phonemic status. Let us first examine the *timbre* of the Hebrew vowels.
- b* The natural scale of the principal timbres is as follows:

i *ì* *ē* *ĕ* *ā* *ā* *o* *o* *ù* *ú*

It will be noted that there are, for each vowel, a *close* and an *open* variety(1).

The vowels *i* and *u* are the most close (*i* being a close back variety, and *u*(2) a close front vowel), and the vowel *a* is the most open(3).

The generally recognised Proto-Semitic vowel-scale contains only the three vowels *i*, *a*, *u*. These are still the only three vowels notated in the Arabic vocalisation.

The scale of the Hebrew vowels notated by the Naqdanim of Tiberias consisted of seven timbres indicated by the following signs(4):

<i>i</i>	<i>ē</i>	<i>ĕ</i>	<i>ā</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>u</i>
·	·	·	=	·	·	·

hireq *šeré* *seghol* *pataḥ* *qameš* *holem*(5) *qibbuš*(6)

In this scale *ā* is a central vowel.

These seven timbres can be grouped, in accordance with their genetic relationship with the three primitive vowels of Proto-Semitic, as follows:

1st Group *a*: *ā*

2nd Group *i*: *i*, *ē*, *ĕ*

3rd Group *u*: *u*, *o*, *o*(7)

(1) In the articulation of a close vowel the aperture between the most raised part of

the tongue and the roof of the mouth is narrow, whereas in the articulation of an open vowel this aperture is wider.

(2) The transliteration *u* represents the vowel *oo* of *book*.

(3) For typographical reasons, we use here *í, ú* for the closed varieties and *i, ù* for the open varieties. The difference between the two varieties of *i* and *u* is much less discernible than is the case with the other vowels, *a, e,* and *o*.

On the Hebrew names of the vowel signs and their origins, see Kahle in BL, § 7i-m, A. Dotan, *EJ*, vol. 16, cols. 1448f., and Lambert, § 34 including n. 3. The latter makes an interesting observation that the fact that seghol alone refers to its shape, the shape of a cluster of grapes, points to the secondary origin of the sign, and indeed the foreign origin of the names of all the Tiberian vowel signs. This is interesting in view of the fact that the Babylonian system has a single sign, pataḥ (called *piḥa'* in the Babylonian massorah), representing both the Tiberian pataḥ and seghol.

(4) For a modern linguistic attempt to interpret the various vocalisation systems of Hebrew, see Morag, *Vocalization Systems*, pp. 22-29.

(5) The ḥolem, the only vowel written above the letter, can be omitted, for economy's sake, when it comes too close to the diacritical point of *š* and *ṣ*. Thus we write *מֹשֶׁה* *mōšē* "Moses" (or *מֹשֶׁה*), *לָקַח* *lāqāḥ* "to carry" (or *לָקַח*). A quiescent, i.e. unpronounced *ḥ* takes the ḥolem of the preceding consonant on its top right-hand side: *רֹאשׁ* *rōš* "head," *חַטָּאִים* or *חַטָּאִים* "sins of" (but this usage is not always observed).

(6) The vowel *u*, when historically or etymologically long, is often written *ū* (*shureq*), e.g. *כִּבְיֹוֹת* written. Saadia knows of seven vowels only, and makes no distinction between *shureq* and *qibbuṣ*, as stressed by Ben-Ḥayyim, *Leš* 18 (1953) 92, n. 1. If the Naqdanim had been aware of any phonetic difference between the two, they could have pointed the striking *כִּבְיֹוֹת* "all of them" Jer 31.34 with *qibbuṣ* instead of *shureq* and have given *כִּבְיֹוֹת* as *Qre* instead of merely noting that this is the only case in the Bible of this particular form spelled plene. Nor is one justified in interpreting a not uncommon defective spelling such as *כִּבְיֹוֹת* Gn 27.31 as evidence that the Naqdanim pronounced the form any differently from the standard *כִּבְיֹוֹת*. In this case they could only note in the margin that this is the only case in the Bible in which this particular form is spelled defectively.

(7) The presence of a bewilderingly large number of transliteration methods needs to be briefly mentioned. The maximalist extreme attempts to reproduce, with the Latin alphabet and a range of diacritics, every graphic symbol used in written Hebrew. Thus *כִּתָּב* can be rendered, for instance, *kātab*. Variations between *scriptio plena* and *scr. defectiva* can also be reproduced: e.g., *לֹוֹ* vs. *lō'*. The minimalist extreme, currently used, for instance, in the *Journal of Jewish Studies*, roughly approximates the current Israeli pronunciation. Sometimes one and the same graphic symbol in a fully vocalised Hebrew text is transliterated in different ways. Quite a few systems falling between the two extremes are also in use. Each system has its own reasons, merits and demerits. A reasonable compromise for use by those who are familiar with the contemporary Israeli pronunciation is suggested in Muraoka, *Emphatic*, p. x: we would substitute *h* for *x*. Cf. W. Weinberg, "Towards a world standard in the trans-

literation of Hebrew," *Proceedings of the Fifth World Congress of Jewish Studies*, 4. 137-51.

c These seven timbres are known to us through the tradition, the ancient descriptions, and comparison with cognate languages. They have their precise counterparts in many languages, e.g. Italian, which has, like Hebrew, only one *a* (open), but two *e*'s and *o*'s, and Contemporary French, which has taken to the extreme the distinction between the open and close vowels.

The graphic notation of seven timbres is an indication of the finely tuned ear of the Naqdanim and the perfection of their system⁽¹⁾. One may assume that this system contains all the vowels that existed around the seventh century in Tiberias.

This system expresses only the *timbres*; it ignores quantity and the etymological prehistory of the vowels⁽²⁾, although it is generally agreed that at an earlier stage of Hebrew the vowel length had phonemic status and even as late as the time of Origen and Jerome it was perceived to be a significant feature of Hebrew vowels (see below § e [3]). Thus $\dot{\text{—}}$ (often written $\dot{\text{ı}}$) very often represents $\dot{\text{a}}$ primitive long *a*, e.g. גוֹט *good* (from the original tāb). Thus ֿ often represents an original short *a*, e.g. שָׁלוֹם $\text{שְׁלֹמֹ$ *peace* (from *šalām). Likewise ֿ fairly frequently represents an original short *a*, e.g. ׳עֶחָד אֶחָד *one* (for *ʾaḥad), הָעָרִים עָרִים *the cities* (for *haʿarim), יְדְךָ יָדְךָ *your hand* (for *yadkəm).

(1) The Tiberian system probably imitates that of the East Syrians, which also comprises seven vowels, whilst that of the West Syrians has only five. Cf. Berg., I. § 9 c. In addition to the Tiberian system, there were also in use two others: the Palestinian and the Babylonian, both characterised by the position of the vowel signs above the letters, hence called the supralinear system as against the sublinear Tiberian system. Each system represents a phonetic / phonological system of its own. See Morag, *Vocalization Systems*. On the Babylonian system, see Yeivin, *Babylonian Tradition*, and on the Palestinian system, E.J. Revell, "Studies in the Palestinian Vocalization of Heb.," in J.W. Wevers & D.B. Redford, *Essays on the Ancient Semitic World* (Toronto, 1970), pp. 51-100; idem, *Hebrew Texts with Palestinian Vocalization* (Toronto, 1970); idem, *Biblical Texts with Palest. Pointing and their Accents* (Missions, 1977); Y. Yahalom in *Leš* 34 (1969-70) 25-60. The Samaritan system is rather poorly developed: see Z.B. Ḥayyim, "The Samaritan vowel system and its graphic representation," *Archiv Orientalní* 22 (1954) 513-30, and idem, *LOT*, vol. 5. pp. 4-7.

(2) This however does not mean that the vowel system represented by the Tiberian symbols is completely phonemic; seghol, for instance, can at times be interpreted as

an allophone of pataḥ; see Sh. Morag, *Yemenite*, p. 119. See also idem, *Vocalization Systems*, p. 22, n. 17.

The only quantitative vowel distinction one can legitimately postulate for the Tiberian pronunciation is that between three of the seven ordinary full vowels and the corresponding three short vowels called ḥatefs: ֿֿ ḥatef pataḥ, ֿֿֿ ḥatef seghol, and ֿֿֿֿ ḥatef qameṣ (§ 9). However, they are allophones of *shewa*, the zero vowel⁽¹⁾.

As far as Tiberian Hebrew is concerned, there is no phonetic difference between יָדְךָ (pausal, singular) *your hand* and יָדְיָךְ (dual) *your hands*, or between יָדְנוּ *our hand* (sg.) and יָדְינוּ *our hands* (du.). Both vowels are found in identical phonetic environment: an open, stressed penultimate syllable⁽²⁾. It is wrong to assume that a semantic distinction must necessarily be expressed by a phonetic one. Ambiguity is a common feature of any language⁽³⁾.

The absence of long *i* or *u* is demonstrated by the fact that the so-called compensatory lengthening produces ֿֿ and ֿֿֿ from *i* and *u* respectively. Thus מְבַרְךָ (vs. לְבַרְךָ), but בְּרַךְ (vs. לְבַרְךָ) and מְבַרְךָ (vs. לְבַרְךָ): the qameṣ in מְבַרְךָ is agreed to go back to an earlier long vowel, /ā/. See also above under § b, n. 6.

(1) In some cases, however, the opposition between two ḥatefs is significant: e.g. אִנִּי "I" but אִנִּיֿֿ "ships"; עֲנֵי "Answer!" (imperative, f.sg.) but עֲנֵיֿֿ "poverty." Likewise BA אָמַר "Say!" (imper.) as against אָמַרְךָ "he said" (perf.), but both גִּלְיָהוּ and גִּלְיָהוּֿֿ mean "it was revealed."

(2) The change $\text{ֿֿ} > \text{ֿֿֿ}$ is possibly assimilatory, under the influence of the following open or mid vowel ֿֿ .

(3) The variant reading יָדְיָךְ at Josh 2.24 furnishes indirect evidence for the phonetic identity between יָדְנוּ and יָדְינוּ , since the correctness of the singular form in this idiom יָדְךָ is assured, for instance, by a case such as Josh 21.42 יָדְךָ יְהוָה . Another case of glaring ambiguity in the Tiberian vocalisation system is the absence of number distinction in certain forms of BA noun declension as in /'elāhāḥ/, which can signify either *your god* or *your gods*. Note also an analogous picture emerging from the Secunda: e.g., σῆμαχ יְיָ Ps 31.4 and ηναχ יְיָ 31.23; for a discussion, see Brønno, *Morphologie*, pp. 199f.

OBSERVATIONS. 1. The distinction of five long vowels, \bar{a} , \bar{e} , \bar{i} , \bar{o} , \bar{u} , and five short vowels *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u*, which was first⁽¹⁾ introduced in its classic form by Joseph Qimḥi (12th cent.) and generally accepted down to our times, is a radical alteration of the Tiberian vowel system. He was probably influenced in this by the Romance dialect he spoke

himself or by Latin, or even by Arabic (which distinguishes three long \bar{a} , \bar{i} , \bar{u} , on the one hand, and three short a , i , u on the other).

2. The questions concerning the timbre and quantity of the Tiberian vowels had hardly been addressed before the end of the nineteenth century. See in particular H. Grimme, *Grundzüge der hebräischen Akzent- und Vokallehre* (Freiburg, 1896), pp. 32ff.; C. Sarauw, *Über Akzent und Silbenbildung in den älteren semitischen Sprachen* (København, 1939); H. Birkeland, "Akzent und Vokalismus im Althebräischen," *Skrifter utgitt av det Norske Videnskaps-Akademi i Oslo*, II, Hist.-Fils. Klasse, no. 3 (Oslo, 1940); J. Blau, *Grammar*, §§ 3.3 - 3.7.1.

3. In addition to phonetic length, i.e. length which can be measured by some mechanical device, one can also speak of phonological length. For instance, one can regard ִּ of the adjective בָּרַךְ as long, since it is not subject to the vowel deletion rule as in, say, the m.pl. בָּרַכְוּ , whereas the vowel notated by the same sign would be phonologically short in the verb בָּרַךְ , as is evident from, say, the Qal pf. 3pl. בָּרַכְוּ .

Analogously, if pataḥ is to be regarded as phonologically short, paradigmatic analogy requires that šeré and ḥolem are to be so considered: שֶׁ֔רֵי as against שָׁמַר־ and יָתֵן־ ; שָׁמַר־ as against קָטַן־ and בָּרַךְ ; שָׁעַר־ as against שָׁקַד־ and שָׁפַר־ (²). And indeed the second column of the Hexapla tends to use ω and ϵ in these cases. On the other hand, it does sometimes use ω and η for ḥolem (e.g. Qal participle $\nu\omega\sigma\eta\eta$ for נוֹצֵר at Ps 31.24) and šeré respectively (e.g. $\psi\omega$ עָשָׂו , η קָהָן), suggesting that *phonetically* they were, in the tradition underlying the transcription, pronounced as long vowels in these particular forms(³).

(1) According to Ben-Hayyim (*Leš* 18 [1953] 95) Qimhi had predecessors in this notion.

(2) That Joüon had a similar insight can be seen in § 28 *d-e* of the French original of this grammar, although his position there runs counter to his view of four-scale vowel length (§ 6 *f* in the original French edition).

(3) Brønno, *Studien*, pp. 250f., 258, 453f. and J. Blau, *IOS* 8 (1978) 94. The loss of distinctive vowel-length in Greek, incidentally, may be placed most probably in about the 2-3 cent. A.D.: S. Allen, *Vox Graeca. The Pronunciation of Classical Greek* (Cambridge, ³1987), p. 94. We are assuming that by the time of Origen a whole series of vowels such as ι , η , $\epsilon\iota$, υ had not yet quite converged into a single phoneme. There is no suggestion here that every ḥolem and šeré is notated by Origen with ω and η respectively. The picture is more complicated: see Brønno, *Morphologie*, pp. 248-62, 360-64.

f Whilst this is not a historical grammar, it can be helpful to have

some understanding of how the Tiberian Hebrew vowel system relates to its hypothetical Proto-Hebrew or Proto-Semitic. Thus the variation between the absolute form אָ and its construct form אֲ can be said to reflect a pre-Tiberian contrast in vowel length /ā/ and /a/. Likewise the qameṣ of אָ can be explained as reflecting a pre-Tiberian pre-stress lengthening of an earlier short /a/. Again, the ḥolem in אִ and אֵ can be traced back to an earlier long /ā/ (as preserved in Arm. אֵ, and Arm. אֵ or Arb. /'ilāh/(1)). It is for this reason that we shall have occasion below to speak about short or long vowels in hypothetical "primitive" or "original" forms. One can also observe that a long vowel causes an original *i* to drop out: *širār > אִרָר *bag*; on the other hand, *inab > אִנָב *grapes*. Likewise *ruhāb > אִרָב *square* (Brock., *GvG*, I, p. 351), but *šuar > אִשׁ *horrible* (cf. § 30). The forms appearing in this grammar with an asterisk are such reconstructed primitive or original forms. It is widely believed that Proto-Hebrew / Semitic had three short vowels (*a*, *i*, *u*), their long counterparts (*ā*, *ī*, *ū*), and two diphthongs (*ay*, *aw*). The relationship between these eight primitive vowels and the seven Tiberian vowels may be shown as in the chart below (§ i).

Furthermore, the transition from quantitative to qualitative distinction in the Hebrew vowels appears to have taken place relatively late. Transliteration of Hebrew in the Septuagint and the second column of Origen's Hexapla as well as explicit statements by St Jerome (4th cent.) all point to quantitative distinction(2). Cf. § e above towards the end.

(1) On a plausible reconstruction of the history of stress shifts in Hebrew, see Blau, *Grammar*, § 9.

(2) There is no telling when such a shift took place: the 9th cent. is argued for by T. Harviainen, *On the Vocalism of the Closed Unstressed Syllables in Hebrew: A Study Based on the Evidence Provided by the Transcriptions of St. Jerome and Palestinian Punctuations* (Helsinki, 1977), pp. 104-9.

The pronunciation of the two vowels = *i* and = *u*(1), which are diametrically opposed in terms of the position of tongue in their articulation, presents no difficulty.

The vowel = *e* is a close *e*, as in Fr. *pré*, *blé*, *désir*, Ital. *nero*. This sound is close to *i*, representing the first degree of alteration

of the latter in respect of openness. Thus the original **inab* becomes 'enâv ענאװ *grapes*(²).

The vowel פֿ *e* is an open *e* as in Fr. *près, règle, terrain, miel*, Ital. *mięle*. This sound lies between פֿ and פֿ; phonetically it belongs to the *i* group. From the point of view of pronunciation there is no difference between the פֿ originating from *a*, e.g. in עֲהָד 'ähäd = 'eḥäd and the פֿ originating from *i* or *e*, e.g. in בֶּן יֶזֶק *son of* (from יֶזֶק, יֶזֶק). Where it originates from *a*, the פֿ may be transliterated ä.

The vowel פֿ = is an open *a*, akin to the vowel פֿ *e*, with which it frequently alternates(³).

The vowel פֿ (*o*) is an open *o*, as in Fr. *sort, pomme, bonne*, Ital. *buona*, Engl. *doll* (comp., e.g., *all* spelled with a like-sounding ä). The vowel פֿ originates from either an original short *u* or an original short *a*. Where it originates from an *a* one may indicate it (conventionally) as פֿ with a *metheg* (§ 14) and transliterate it etymologically with ä. But phonetically, in terms of timbre, ä has merged with *o* in the Tiberian tradition(⁴). (For details, see § *j*).

The vowel פֿ *o* is a close *o* like in Fr. *dos, rose*, Ital. *croce*. This sound is close to *u*, of which it is the first degree of modification in terms of openness. Thus the original **kul* becomes קול לֵךְ *all*(⁵).

One sees that in the Tiberian vowel system the most close vowels *i* and *u* are symmetrical, and likewise the close vowels *e* and *o*, and the open vowels *e* and *o*(⁶).

(1) According to Saadia, this vowel was accompanied by lip-rounding: see *JQR* NS 42 (1951-52) 303 in S.L. Skoss's translation of Saadia's *Kutub al-Lughah*.

(2) Compare the Italian *e* stemming from the Latin *i*, e.g. in *vergine, vendico, seno, capello* (*capillus*; contrast *cappello* derived from *cappa*).

(3) In the Babylonian pronunciation *q* has become ä (= *e*); cf. BL, p. 100. The Babylonian vocalisation system has a single vowel sign corresponding to both the Tiberian pataḥ and seghol. We shall see (§ *i*) that in the Tiberian pronunciation the alteration has, in contrast, affected the close *q*, which has become ä (= *o*). The symmetry of the two phenomena is remarkable.

(4) If we wish to adhere to the Tiberian tradition we should pronounce all פֿ's with the same timbre *o*. Many Jews pronounce פֿ derived from an original *a* as *a* (and in practice like = *q*). The origin of this pronunciation can hardly be an etymological consideration or a pedagogical concern. It is an aspect of a non-Tiberian, probably Babylonian, pronunciation within the Tiberian tradition. The differentiation of פֿ into two timbres *o* and *a*, contrary to the Tiberian system, is considered by many modern grammarians to be wrong. Ibn Ezra († 1167) was already aware that the pronun-

ciation of פָּ as *a* is suspect. (Cf. W. Bacher, *Abraham Ibn Ezra als Grammatiker* [Budapest, 1881], p. 37). See on this question J. Derenbourg in *JA*, 6th series, 13 (1869) 513ff.; Bergsträsser, I, § 10 *a*; BL, p. 100. Can we expect that the *scientific* pronunciation may ultimately prevail over the erroneous pronunciation which has become traditional? This is doubtful, especially because the double pronunciation of פָּ has the pedagogical advantage of compelling the beginner to recognise immediately whether פָּ derives from *u* or *a*. In this grammar we shall transliterate פָּ phonetically by *q̄*, etymologically by *q̄* or *â*, as the necessary case may be. When not transliterating, we will simply write *a* for *â* in accordance with the accepted practice, e.g., *qameš*, *ḥaṭef* in the grammatical terms instead of *qâmeš*, *ḥâṭef*.

How that sign in the Babylonian vocalisation system which corresponds to the Tiberian *qameš* was pronounced is a moot point. E.Y. Kutscher (*JSS* 11 [1966] 224) inclines to the opinion that it was [ā], but Sh. Morag, *Yemenite*, pp. 102-5 believes it was [â]. Ben-Hayyim deduces from Saadia's treatise on the vowels that in the Babylonian tradition as well the *qameš* was pronounced [â]: see *Leš* 18 (1953) 91.

(5) Compare the Italian *q̄* derived from Lat. *u*, e.g. in *molti*, *moglie*, *sopra*, *volto* (from *vultus*; contrast *volto* from *volgere*), *colto* (from *cultus*; contrast *colto* from *cogliere*).

(6) On the traditional pronunciation of Hebrew vowels in various communities, see G.M. Schramm, *Graphemes*, pp. 24-29, and Sh. Morag in *EJ*, vol. 13, cols. 1135-43.

Contemporary Israeli pronunciation has a vowel system in which length is not phonemically significant, and it consists of the five vowels /a, i, u, e, o/. Thus

פָּ (*qameš*), פַּ (*pataḥ*), and פֶּ (*ḥaṭef pataḥ*) = /a/ (central, open as in Engl. *cup*)

פִּי (*ḥireq*) with Yod or not = /i/ (front, close as in Engl. *hit*)

פֻּ (*shureq*) and פֹּ (*qibbuš*) = /u/ (back, close as in Engl. *put*)

פֶּ (*šeré*), פֵּ (*seghol*), and פִּי (*ḥaṭef seghol*) = /e/ (front, mid as in Engl. *pen*)

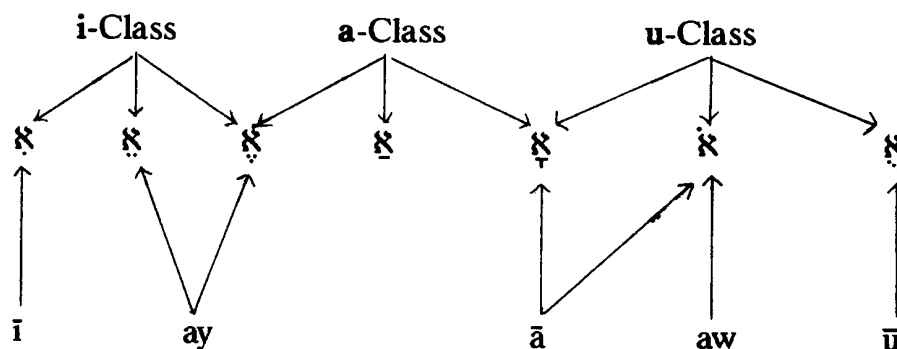
פֹּ (*holem*), פָּ (*qameš qatan*), and פֶּ (*ḥaṭef qameš*) = /o/ (back, mid as in Engl. *law*, but more open and shorter)(1).

(1) On the shewa, see below § 8.

Hebrew vowels in relation to the original vowels.

It is recognised that Proto-Semitic had three long vowels, *ā*, *ī*, *ū*, three short vowels *a*, *i*, *u*, and two diphthongs *ay*, and *aw*. When one examines their evolution in Hebrew, it appears that the long vowels had a close sound in comparison to the corresponding short vowels.

The table below shows the usual principal changes(1) of the Proto-Semitic vowels into Hebrew vowels.



The following are examples illustrating the evolution of the Proto-Semitic vowels to the corresponding Hebrew vowels with the indication enclosed within the square brackets as to in which type of syllable—open or close, stressed or unstressed—they may be found:

/ā/ > אָ (rare): כְּתָב "a writing" (Aramaising) < /*kitāb/ [closed and stressed]

> יָ : טוֹב (in BA still טוב); כָּתַב Qal ptc., cf. Arb. /kātib/(²) [open; closed and stressed]

/ī/ > יָ : יַדִּין "he will judge" < /*yadīn/; דִּינִי /di'ni/ imperative, f.sg. "Judge!" [open; closed and stressed]

/ū/ > אוּ : יָקוּם "he will arise" < /*yaqūm/—this is a standard spelling, not יָקֻם; קוּמוּ /qu'mu/ "Arise!," impv. m.pl. [open; closed and stressed].

/a/ > אָ : מֶלֶךְ "a king" < /*malk/ ; הָעָרִים "the cities"; וַיָּאמֶר /wāyyo'mer/ [open; closed and unstressed]

אָ : כָּתַב "he wrote" < /*kataba/; מִלְכִּי "my king"; נַעַל "a shoe" [closed; open and stressed]

אָ : דָּבָר "a word" < /*dabar/; קָמָה /qā'mā/ "she arose"; [open; closed and stressed]

/i/ > אָ : מִן "from" [closed and unstressed]

אָ : יָקֻם "May he raise!" < /*yaqim/; סִפֵּר /se'fer/ < /*sifr/; לֵבָב /levāv/ "a heart" [open; closed and stressed]

אָ : קֶבֶר "a grave" < /*qibr/; חֵלְקִי "my portion" [closed and unstressed; open and stressed]

/u/ > אָ : כָּל־ "all of," cst. of כָּל < /*kull/; וַיָּאֲרָם /wāyyā'qom/ "and he arose" < /*wayya'qum/ [closed and unstressed]

אָ : כָּל "all"; יָקֻם "May he arise!" < /*ya'qum/; שְׁקִדְתּוֹ /qo'deš/ "sanctity" < /*qudš/; קָרְבָּה "near" f.sg. < /*qaruba/

[open; closed and stressed]

אָ : אָלְלָם "all of them" [closed and unstressed]

/ay/ > אָ : אֶתְּבֵן "the house of" < /*bayt/; אֲנוּסֵנוּ /susə'nu/ "our horses"

אָ : אֲנוּסֵנוּ "your (m.sg.) horses" [open and stressed]

/aw/ אָ : אֶתְּמוּת "the death of" < /*mawt/

In sum, as regards **timbre**, the originally long \bar{i} and \bar{u} are preserved in Hebrew as i and u respectively. But \bar{a} has generally become \varnothing , rarely \hat{a} . The originally short vowels a , i , u are often preserved⁽³⁾ in an unstressed closed syllable, and ordinarily in an unstressed sharp syllable⁽⁴⁾. But in a stressed closed syllable (often) and in an open syllable, their timbre is changed; they become \hat{a} (= \varnothing), e , \varnothing respectively⁽⁵⁾.

One may note that the change from \bar{a} to \varnothing and that from \hat{a} to \varnothing (\hat{a}) are parallel: each of the two original vowels becomes closer by two degrees. On the other hand, the two original symmetrical vowels, i and u , become open by one degree, when they change to open e and \varnothing respectively, but by two degrees when they become e and \varnothing respectively⁽⁶⁾.

(1) The table, which is an only slightly modified version of that which is given by Lambert (§ 129), is meant to give only a general idea. Details are complicated in the extreme: see also § 29.

(2) The change is as early as the 14th cent. B.C.: see EA *a-nu-ki* = Heb. אֲנוּכִי (§ 39 a). See also Harris, *Development*, pp. 43-5.

(3) u much less frequently than a or i ; thus in the nominal pattern **quṭl* we usually have אֲנוּכִי, e.g. אֲנוּכִי; in the verbal pattern *yuqal* we have אֲנוּכִי rather than אֲנוּכִי. According to E.Y. Kutscher, *Palestinian substandard Hebrew*, i.e. excluding the reading tradition of BH, often attests, between the period of the LXX and Jerome, to the change PS /i/ > /e/ and /u/ > /o/: E.Z. Melammed (ed.), *Studies in Memory of B. de Vriez* (Jerusalem, 1969), p. 226.

(4) A syllable is called sharp when it closes with a double identical consonant as in אֲנוּכִי /kullām/.

(5) The secondary character of / \varnothing / derived from either /* \bar{a} / or /* u / appears to be reflected in the fact that "the plene spelling of / \bar{u} / has taken hold more extensively (about 80 %) than the plene spelling of / \bar{o} / (46.5 %)" (AF, p. 311).

(6) On the behaviour of vowels in closed unstressed syllables in the Palestinian (as distinct from the Tiberian) tradition, cf. T. Harviainen, op. cit. [§ f above, n.].

On the vowel אָ in particular. This vowel, which because of its two-fold origin presents special difficulties, warrants some further com-

ments (cf. *g*). The sign ֿ is a transformation of the original sign = composed of the stroke of pataḥ and the point of ḥolem⁽¹⁾. This sign is a rather felicitous one for the sound ϱ , which lies between ḳ and o ⁽²⁾.

As for its origin, the vowel ֿ derives from a primitive vowel u ⁽³⁾ (the so-called *qameš qatan* or *ḥaṭuf*) as well as from a primitive vowel a as in בַּת־גֹּדֹל (the so-called *qameš gadol* or *raḥav*)⁽⁴⁾. In the latter case one conventionally writes it as ֿ as is sometimes done in biblical manuscripts, and transliterates it with â to indicate that it derives from an original a . The symbol ֿ expresses a single timbre ϱ despite its twofold origin, exactly as the symbol ֿ , despite its twofold origin, expresses the single timbre ε . It is inconceivable that the Tiberian graphic system, which is so precise as to distinguish two nuances of the vowel e and two nuances of the vowel o , could have indicated by a single symbol two vowels so mutually different as o and a . It seems to be temerarious to accuse the Naqdanim of an error in such an important matter. A number of phonetic phenomena suggest that â really sounded like ϱ in the pronunciation of the Naqdanim. Thus, in the case of the euphonic dagesh (§ 18 *i*), e.g. לְיָנֵי־הַיָּמִים *lhânnâ*, the first â in this position, a sharp unaccented syllable, must have had the nuance of open ϱ . A close variety such as ḳ is rather unnatural in this position just like the close vowels ε and o . If one says לְיָנֵי־הַיָּמִים , as one says $\text{בְּיָנֵי־הַיָּמִים}$ and $\text{הַיָּמִים־הַיָּמִים}$, it is because ֿ is a variety of open vowel (ϱ) such as ֿ ε and = ḳ (cf. § 18 *i*). See further the law of harmonisation as exemplified by חֹדֶם־בְּחֹדֶם (§ 29 *f*). More details pointing to the same direction will be adduced in the section on phonetics and morphology (§§ 6 *l* 1; 7 *b* n.; 9 *d* 2; 32 *c*; 88 B *g*; C *f*).

(1) Already Abraham Ibn Ezra made the same observation: *Sefer ṣaḥot* (ed. C. del Valle Rodriguez [Salamanca, 1977]), p. 115, and this is confirmed by some good biblical manuscripts such as Codex Leningradensis B 19^a, the Aleppo Codex, and the Cairo Codex of the Prophets.

(2) Compare the three vowels ֿ , ֿ , and ֿ of the i class with one, two or three dots.

(3) In the Babylonian tradition, /u/ is the usual equivalent of this type of *qameš*: see Yeivin, *Babylonian Tradition*, p. 375.

(4) Thus כָּל־לֵב "the totality of" from **kul*, כָּל־לֵב (root כָּל־לֵב) = kql , cf. כָּל־לֵב ; but כָּל־לֵב "he has measured" (Is 40.12†) = kâl (root כָּל־לֵב or כָּל־לֵב).

k The change from original a to ϱ has a parallel in Western Aramaic, i.e., in the very region where Hebrew was spoken. In Western Aramaic,

original \bar{a} has become \bar{o} (written $\overline{\text{𐤀}}$ in BA, - <originally o μικρόν> in Western Syriac)⁽¹⁾. The change from a to o , whether o or \bar{o} , is a phenomenon found in many languages and dialects; comp. e.g. Engl. *what* = [wɒt], with an o in *not* [nɒt], and also note how the two words are pronounced in the standard American English.

The transition from primitive a to Heb. o must have passed through the intermediate stage of a ⁽²⁾.

On the variety of realisations of the $\overline{\text{𐤀}}$ originating from a , see A. Idelsohn, "Die gegenwärtige Aussprache des Hebräischen bei Juden und Samaritanern," *Monatschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums*, 75 (1913) 527-45, 697-721, and Sh. Morag, *Yemenite*, pp. 100-6, and idem, in *EJ*, vol. 13, cols. 1135f.

(1) Thus the primitive * $\bar{l}a$ "no" becomes $\bar{l}ā$ (= $l\bar{o}$): BA 𐤈𐤁, Syr. (in contrast, b 𐤈𐤂 in Hebrew).

(2) The o derived from a could originally have been velar. Velar o is the vowel which is homogeneous with the velar p , i.e. that vowel which is perceived when we try to pronounce p without any definite vowel.

Practical observations on the two kinds of $\overline{\text{𐤀}}$. The sound $\overline{\text{𐤀}}$, which originates from u , is called 𐤆𐤇𐤈𐤉 𐤆𐤇𐤈𐤉 *shortened* (literally, *snatched*) *gameš*. The $\overline{\text{𐤀}}$, which originates from a , is called 𐤂𐤆𐤇𐤈 𐤆𐤇𐤈𐤉 *broad gameš*.

The vowel o , therefore, is not usually found except in an unstressed closed syllable; \bar{a} is found in the other types of syllable, namely in stressed closed syllables and in open syllables, whether stressed or unstressed. E.g. 𐤈𐤂𐤂𐤅𐤁 $'o$ h-lā "food," 𐤍𐤏𐤙𐤁 wayyā'qom, 𐤎𐤏𐤔𐤆 ḥonne'ni "have pity on me."

The exceptions are not numerous; the more important are the following:

1) Alongside the form 𐤍𐤏𐤙𐤁⁽¹⁾ one also has 𐤍𐤏𐤙𐤁, both pronounced traditionally [qodašim](the latter as [qa-] by Sephardis) with o in an open syllable. This unusual spelling suggests that the symbol $\overline{\text{𐤀}}$ represents the sound o alone. Likewise one has 𐤍𐤏𐤙𐤁⁽²⁾ for 𐤍𐤏𐤙𐤁^{*}; cf. § 96 Ag⁽³⁾.

2) The plural of 𐤎𐤏𐤔𐤆 "house" is 𐤎𐤏𐤔𐤆 *bāt-tim* (§ 98 f) with \bar{a} in an unstressed closed syllable⁽⁴⁾.

3) The pausal form of 𐤏𐤇𐤈𐤉𐤌𐤍 *šāḥol'ti* "I have lost children" is 𐤏𐤇𐤈𐤉𐤌𐤍 *šāḥol'ti*, i.e. with an o for \bar{o} (see more examples in § 32 c).

Another way of identifying *gameš qaṭan* is to try and see whether a given *gameš* can be considered an inflectional variant of either u or o

(holem). If the base form has either of these two vowels, the qameṣ appearing in a form modified in the course of inflection would normally be qameṣ qatan. Thus קָטַן related to קָטַן or קָטַן ; כָּל related to כָּל ; שָׁו related to שָׁו ; לְקַח as against לְקַח .

(1) Plural of קָדְשׁ $qā'deš$ "sanctity." קָ occurs with the article and in קָדְשׁוֹ (except in 2Ch 15.18). (2) Plural of שָׁרֵשׁ $šə'rēš$ "root."

(3) The word קָדְשׁוֹ "goad" is read $də-rəṣ$. But BL. p. 500, presuppose $dā$ -. Unfortunately the etymology is obscure. It is one of those very rare cases where the origin of the qameṣ escapes us.

(4) The Codex L. does not seem to have a case of the form with metheg.

m In one type of form, the qameṣ intended is indirectly indicated by the pointing. The third person feminine Perfect is קָטַלְתָּ $qā-tlā$ "she has killed," derived from the primitive * $qatālat$. The *metheg* of the qameṣ indicates here the syllable boundary: $qā$. In contrast, the type קָטַלְתְּ without a metheg is $qot-lā$ "kill," i.e. the imperative קָטַלְתְּ with a paragogic תְּ (§ 48 d) (the vowel o has been shifted on to the q , becoming o), e.g. אֲכַלְתָּ "Eat!"

n נִ before ḥatef qameṣ (נִ) is an o despite the metheg, except in cases where נִ represents the vowel $ā$ of the article (נִ), e.g. עָלַי $ʔʕli$ "my deed" from עָלַי , נִמִּי $Nəʕmi$ (female name) from נִמִּי "sweetness." But the form בַּאֲנִי is equivocal: it represents either $bəʕniyyā$ "in a boat" without the article or $bā-ʕniyyā$ "in the boat" with the article (§ 35 e).

§ 7. Consonants (matres lectionis) indicating the timbre or the quantity of vowels

a Some consonant letters indicate, albeit imperfectly, certain vowels. They are א , י , ה and occasionally כ . They are called *matres lectionis* (sg. *mater lectionis*), which is a mediaeval Latin translation of מַתְּרֵי אֲרָיָה ; they are also termed *quiescentes*, i.e. not pronounced (as against *mobiles*, i.e. pronounced)(1).

(1) Andersen and Forbes (1986), and Barr, *Spellings* (1988) are interesting and important studies of the whole question of the use of *matres lectionis*. This traditional term conceivably meant "helping letters" added to an unpointed text comparable to a mother helping her child.

See also W. Weinberg, "The history of Hebrew plene spelling," *HUCA* 46 (1975) 457-87;

47 (1976) 237-80; 48 (1977) 301-33; 49 (1978) 311-38; 50 (1979) 289-337 [now published as a monograph of the same title (Cincinnati, 1985)].

The *matres lectionis* as indicators of timbre. The reasons for which a certain vowel is indicated by a certain consonant letter may be phonetic, etymological or practical in nature, according to individual cases. b

The vowels *u* and *i* (generally as historically long vowels) are naturally indicated by the letters representing the corresponding vocalic consonants, ו, י, e.g. קוּם = קוּם, דִּין = דִּין.

The vowels *o*, *e*, *ɛ* are also often indicated by ו and י; first, in cases of contraction (*aw* > *ō*; *ay* > *ē*, *ē̄*, e.g. יוּם = יוּם (from /*yawm/), בֵּית = בֵּית (cst. st. from בֵּית), and subsequently in some other cases as well.

Word-final vowel *o* is sometimes indicated by ה. This orthography came into existence where *o* derives from *ahu*; thus כֹּלֵה = כֹּלֵה (as frequent as כֹּלוּ; cf. § 94 h)(1). Some cases of word-final *ā* may represent subsequent analogical extension of this orthographic principle: e.g. פֹּה, פֹּה, פֹּה, שִׁילָה, שִׁילָה; יְרִיחָה 1Kg 16.34, פִּרְעָה; שׁוֹכָה Josh 15.35 (2Ch 11.7 שׁוֹכוּ)(2).

Word-final vowel *ā* is indicated by ה. This orthography must have come into existence in the abs. st. of nouns ending in *at*, the old pausal form of which was probably *ah* (with *h* pronounced as in Classical Arabic), e.g. מִלְכָה = מִלְכָה(3).

Word-final vowel *e* (*e*, *ɛ*) is indicated by ה. This orthography can have come about under the influence of future forms with the third person suffix such as יִגְלֶהוּ, יִגְלֶהוּ, and nominal forms such as שִׁרְהוּ, שִׁרְהוּ. Examples: יִגְלֶה, יִגְלֶה; שִׁרְהוּ, שִׁרְהוּ.

The historically short *u* is also spelled with Waw rather frequently when followed by gemination: e.g. עֲרוּמִים. Examples may be found in AF, pp. 96-98.

In sum, ו can indicate the vowels *u*, *o*(4);

י can indicate the vowels *i*, *e*, *ɛ*;

word-final ה can indicate the vowels *ā*, *e*, *ɛ*; or also somewhat rarely *o*.

א can be quiescent when combined with any vowel; but in fact it often represents an etymological orthography, e.g. ראש "head" (cf. Arb.

ra's with a pronounced Alef). On the negative אָל or אִל, see § 102 j.

Non-etymological א is occasionally found in forms with the vowel אָ, e.g. אָקָ (Ho 10.14 for אִקָ, § 80 k), אָנָשׁ "sleep" (Ps 127.2, an Aramaic orthography for אִנָּשׁ); 1Ch 6.65 אָמוֹת (// Josh 21.38 אִמוֹת)⁽⁵⁾.

The addition of otiose Alef after a final vowel as in אָקִיִּן Jon 1.14; אָבוֹר Ezr 2.64; אָפוֹס was eventually to become a characteristic feature of both Qumran Hebrew and Aramaic orthography. It is also common in Arabic.

The particle אָנִי (§ 105 c) is written with א, perhaps in order better to distinguish it from the ending אָנִי of the f.pl. of the future and the imperative.

(1) This orthographical practice is now amply attested in early Hebrew epigraphical materials: e.g. Lachish 3.12 אָתָּא it (m.sg.); Yavneh-Yam line 2 אָבְרָהּ his servant. Indeed, it is more archaic than the spelling with Waw.

(2) On א in another sense than "his," e.g. אָלְעָה, cf. AF, pp. 184-86.

(3) Final vowel *ā* is sometimes not represented by א. E.g., Ktiv אָס for אִסָּ you occurs five times. We often find אָ for אָנִי, the fem. pl. ending of the future, e.g. אָנִי לְעָלְמָה (§ 44 d); the 2nd m.sg. perfect ending is regularly אָ, e.g. אָלְעָה (but in the verb אָנִי to give the spelling אָתָּא is more common, § 42 f). Cf. Blau, *Heb. Phonology and Morphology*, pp. 54f., and Z. Zevit, *Matres Lectionis in Ancient Hebrew Epigraphs* (Cambridge, MA, 1980), p. 33, n.

(4) In some rather rare cases א seems to be *mater lectionis* of the sound *o*: אָקוֹטָא Is 18.4; אָלְעָה לְעָלְמָה 1Ch 18.10. In the Mishnah and Talmud, we sometimes find א as an indication of אָ (whether *ā* or *o*, which presupposes the common vowel sound *o*). Cf. S. Krauss, *ZDMG*, 67 (1913) 738, line 30, and Sh. Morag, *Yemenite*, p. 102.

(5) More examples may be found in AF, pp. 82-84.

c **The *matres lectionis* as indicators of historical vowel quantity.** The *matres lectionis* not only indicate certain timbres, albeit imperfectly, but they also indicate etymologically long vowels, again imperfectly. Unlike the Arabic script, the Hebrew script does not use quiescent letters exclusively to indicate all such long vowels. Certain long vowels often are not represented by any *mater lectionis* (*scriptio defectiva* אָתָּא בְּתִיבָה), and conversely, historically short vowels sometimes are indicated by a *mater lectionis*, although the *scriptio plena* (אָלְעָה בְּתִיבָה) is uncalled for. א is used in order to indicate the etymologically long vowels אָ and אִ, whereas אָ is employed to indicate the etymologically long vowels אָ and אָ (1). The absence of a *mater lectionis* for the vowel *ā* can probably be explained by the fact that *ā* is only rarely long (e.g.

in כִּתְבָב from **kitāb*, § 96 D d), since primitive *ā* usually became *ō* in Hebrew.

Certain common forms are often written defectively; thus one generally writes שְׁלֹשׁ *šālōš* "three" despite the undoubtedly historically long *ō*; likewise the active Qal participle, e.g. קֹטֵל (from **qāṭil*)(²). Often, as a measure of economy, the *mater lectionis* is omitted when a *l* or *y* occurs in the same word. Thus גוֹיִם "peoples" is almost always written for גוֹיִיִם, מִצְוֹת *mišwōt* "commandments" for מִצְוֹתַי, and לְוִיִּם for לְוִיִּיִם, but אֱלֹהֵי "God" is the regular spelling for the singular, but always אֱלֹהֵיִם for the plural. מְחַסֵּר "lack" is always spelled plene except in two cases where there is a *l* in the form: מְחַסְרוֹ Dt 15.8 and וּמְחַסְרֶיהָ Pr 6.11.

By contrast, certain etymologically short vowels occasionally have a *mater lectionis*; thus the future of the type יִקְטֹל, where the *ō* was originally short (derived from a *u*), is quite often written with *l* (cf. BL, p. 302); likewise, but rarely, the form קֹטֵל (imperative and infinitive construct).

Short *o* or *u* is fairly frequently indicated by means of *l* before a geminated consonant: e.g. הִזְכֵּל Ps 102.5; יִזְכֵּל Job 5.7; כּוֹלֵם Jer 31.33(³).

The *scriptio plena* tends to become more frequent in the later books. The Dead Sea Scrolls are an eloquent testimony to this trend(⁴). It is highly developed in postbiblical writings and thus makes up for the absence of vowel signs. It is often said that the *matres lectionis* were first used in word-final positions, and subsequently spread to word-medial positions. But a recently discovered Assyrian-Aramaic bilingual inscription which probably dates to the 9th cent. B.C. and so is the earliest Aramaic writing yet known provides ample instances of word-medial Yods and Waws(⁵), and not always for long vowels. But how arbitrary BH orthography can be in this regard may be illustrated by 1Sm 12.17 יִתְּן קִלּוֹת וּמָטָר // vs. 18 יִתְּן יְהוָה קִלְת וּמָטָר, cf. 1Q M 6.12 קוֹלוֹת.

(1) The seghol in such forms as יְיָיִ can only be said to have been long at a pre-Tiberian stage once the original plural noun ending /-ay/ had systematically changed to /-ē/.

(2) קוֹטֵל 1040 x as against קֹטֵל 4269 x according to AF, p. 129.

(3) Berg., I, § 7 e. For a full listing, see AF, pp. 95-98. The last instance cited above (כוֹלֵם), however, is the only case of the word spelled plene when a pronoun is attached to it.

(4) See Qimron, *Hebrew of DSS*, pp. 17f.

(5) See T. Muraoka, in *Abr-Nahrain* 22 (1983-84) 83-87. Another recently discovered Aramaic inscription, also datable to the 9th cent. B.C., has 'r, the relative pronoun, as the only instance of a vowel letter, which is not surprising: see I. Ephal and J. Naveh, "Hazeal's booty inscriptions," *IEJ* 39 (1989) 192-200. See also G. Sarfatti, *Maarav* 3 (1982) 58-65.

d N.B. When a l and a ' are not used as *mater lectionis*, they are pronounced. This is true in the following cases where the preceding vowel is heterogeneous: l=, l=, l=, l=; '=, '=, 'i, 'i. In these combinations the l and ' probably(1) have a consonantal value, e.g. '= = ay, and not ai, l= = aw and not au. In the sequence l'= suffix for the 3rd pers. m.sg. of a plural noun the ' is quiescent, e.g. 'r'w'w "his horses," pronounced susaw.

(1) In favour of this view, see § 19 *d*.

§ 8. Shewa

a The sign = shewa(1) indicates the absence of a vowel, comparable to the Arabic *sukūn*. One cannot fail to notice its graphic resemblance to the symbol marking the end of a verse, *sof pasuq*: the latter signifies the absence of a sound at the end of a verse, whilst the former marks the absence of a vowel after a consonant as in 'r'w'w. Whereas it is common practice to speak of two kinds of shewa, namely vocalic (*mobile*) shewa(2) and silent (*quiescens*) shewa(3), we believe that the shewa is essentially an indication for zero vowel. The vocalic shewa is said to indicate a hurried, murmuring vowel, usually transliterated with either e or ə, something like *a* in Engl. *about*(4). From the diachronic, historical point of view, the vocal shewa appears where there once occurred a vowel which was subsequently deleted in the wake of stress shift. In some cases one can easily recover the original vowel, but in other cases it is only through comparison with cognate languages that a plausible, original vowel can be postulated: e.g. 'r'w'w from 'r'w, but 'r'w a document, with which one can compare Arb. *kitāb*. Whilst one is fully aware that this apparent ambiguity of the shewa symbol has been recognised as a major issue of Hebrew grammar since one of the earliest scientific treatises on Hebrew grammar(5), namely *Diqduqé haṭṭē'amim*, it is intrinsically inconceivable and highly unlikely that scholars who

manifest such a high degree of sensitivity to subtle phonetic nuances as the Naqdanim could have allowed such a margin of ambiguity⁽⁶⁾.

(1) שְׁוָא *šwā*, according to BH שְׁוָא "nothing." The shewa indicates either *nothing* in the strict sense of the word or *nothing* in the figurative sense, i.e. *almost nothing*. This etymology, if correct, masks the ironic complexity of the phenomenon: shewa is the central issue, for instance, of the reputed Massoretic treatise מִנְחֵלֶּךָּ מִן־הַשְּׁוָא usually ascribed to Aharon Ben Asher: A. Dotan, *The Diqduqé haṭṭē'anim of Ahāron ben Mošē ben Ašēr* etc. (Jerusalem, 1967), pp. 30f. For an alternative etymology linking the Hebrew term to Syr. *šwayyā*, see A. Dotan in *Leš*, 19 (1954) 13-30, esp. 15-17, and also Lambert, § 38, n. 2: according to this view, the Hebrew symbol was called shewa, because its important function is to mark syllable divisions, just as the Syriac sign called *šwayyā*, which means "sameness" (with reference to its form consisting of two identical dots), marks logical divisions within a sentence. Note again that *sof pasuq* stands where there occurs larger sense division of an utterance. Interestingly enough, Saadia's Arabic term for 'shewa' is /jazm/, "cutting off, apocoptation," a technical term used also for the Arabic jussive. He then goes on to discuss /ḥaraka sākina/ "resting vowel" on the one hand and /ḥaraka mutaharrika/ "moving vowel" on the other. See S.L. Skoss, *Saadia Gaon: The Earliest Hebrew Grammarian* (Philadelphia, 1955), p. 30.

(2) This is a Latin equivalent of the Heb. שְׁוָא, which is a translation, in turn, of Arb. /mutaharrik/, "moving, i.e. vocalic."

(3) Heb. שְׁוָא = Arb. /sākin/ "resting."

(4) This is of Sephardic origin, and does not belong to the genuine Tiberian tradition: A. Dotan, *Diqduqé haṭṭē'anim* [n. 1 above], p. 35. The rules laid down by Massoretic grammarians for the pronunciation of vocalic shewa are: a) a full vowel, before gutturals, similar to that of the gutturals concerned, e.g. בְּאֵר roughly = /be'ər/. b) /i/ before Yod, and c) /a/ elsewhere. It is difficult to accept this traditional view (so explicitly Kimhi, ספר מכלול, p. 137a and reflected precisely in the Yemenite pronunciation of BH, see Morag, *EJ*, vol. 13, col. 1138) that shewa mobile before a consonant other than a guttural or Yod had the quality of /a/, presumably short /ā/. thus equivalent to שְׁוָא, for surely, if this were so, the inventors of the vowel signs would have used שְׁוָא in such cases. There are indeed occasional examples of שְׁוָא for shewa mobile, albeit with considerable variation and fluctuation between manuscripts: e.g. בְּהַרְגֵם Gn 2.12 (more examples in § 9 c). Also according to BHK, it occurs in 22 out of about 1,000 cases of identical consonants, e.g. וְנִשְׁבַּח Ps 140.4; וְנִשְׁבַּח Ne 12.36: Dotan, op. cit., p. 36. Such a ḥatef, however, was not really necessary if a ga'ya (metheg) was present, but it was added nonetheless as an extra help for the less knowledgeable reader: Dotan, op. cit., p. 231. In sum, on a synchronic level, shewa was intended by the Naqdanim as a sign for zero vowel phoneme, whereas the composite shewas were its allophones. Equally allophonic were the various phonetic realisations of shewa mobile as laid down in early grammatical treatises as outlined above.

Mediaeval grammatical treatises vacillate between full plain pataḥ and ḥatef pataḥ as the basic phonetic realisation of shewa mobile; according to some this depends on the presence or absence of ga'ya with the shewa. See Morag, *Yemenite*, pp. 160-65.

On a 10th(?) century anonymous exposition of the nature of the Tiberian shewa, see K. Levy, op. cit. [§ 1 a, n.].

(5) For the phonetic interpretation of shewa by Massoretic scholars and mediaeval grammarians, see N. Allony, "Shewa mobile and quiescent in the Middle Ages," *Leš* 12 (1943-44) 61-74, 13 (1944-45) 28-45, and Morag, *Yemenite*, pp. 160-66.

(6) Cf. also BL, p. 168, n. 3: "... Bei der geradezu minutiösen Sorgfalt, mit der die für den gottesdienstlichen Vortrag bestimmte Aussprache hier bezeichnet wird, ist es schwer glaubhaft, dass zwei so verschiedene Dinge wie Murmelvokal und gänzliche Vokallosgigkeit nicht auseinander gehalten worden wären." A similar sentiment is expressed by A. Jepsen: see his "Zur Aussprache der tiberiensischen Punktation," *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Universität Greifswald*, I (1951/52), Gesellschafts- und sprachwissenschaftliche Reihe, Nr. 1, pp. 1-5, esp. pp. 2f. Harviainen thinks that the use of shewa may have been a compromise designed to allow for a range of phonetic realisations: T. Harviainen, op. cit. [§ 6 f, n.], pp. 227f. In one of the earliest expositions of the Tiberian pronunciation, *Kitāb al-muṣawwitāt*, attributed by some to Moshe Ben Asher, the shewa is considered as a set of mere allophones of the seven vowels: see Sh. Morag, in M. Bar-Asher (ed.), *Massorot: Studies in Language Traditions I* [Heb] (Jerusalem, 1984), pp. 47f.

Also in the old Babylonian tradition the distinction between the two kinds of shewa is somewhat doubtful; see Yeivin, *Babylonian Tradition*, pp. 398, 404. Rabin concedes that shewa mobile is to be regarded as allophonic, and admits that in the Tiberian scholars' pronunciation the phonetic value of shewa, whether mobile or quiescens, was most likely zero, i.e. = quiescens: C. Rabin, *The Phonetics of Biblical Hebrew* [Heb] (Jerusalem, 1970), pp. 24-26. See also A. Jepsen, art. cit., pp. 1-5, esp. 2-4; I. Garbell, "On the phonological status of shewa and hataphs," *Proceedings of the Second World Congress of Jewish Studies* (1957), Section: Hebrew Language [Heb], p. 12; idem, in *Leš* 23 (1959) 152-55; M.L. Margolis, *ASL* 26 (1910) 62-70, and W. Chomsky, *D. Kimhi's Heb. Gram.* (New York, 1952), pp. 34f., n. 19. Saadia, loc. cit. [§ 6 b, n.], recognises seven vowels, which do not include shewa, although he does discuss the traditional distinction between shewa mobile and shewa quiescens (see Skoss, op. cit. [n. 1 above], pp. 30-34). Note further that, in the *Secunda*, in 184 out of 270 cases of shewa mobile, the Greek transcription has no corresponding vowel indication: Brønno, *Studien*, pp. 322-41.

b Five rules formulated by Elias Levitas (15th cent.) for identifying a shewa mobile are:

- 1) At the beginning of a word, e.g. כֶּתִבְהֶם
- 2) Second of two adjacent shewas, e.g. יִכְתְּבוּ
- 3) After a "large" vowel, e.g. כֶּתְבִים

4) Under a dageshed consonant, e.g., **הַבְּרָה**

5) Under the first of two identical consonants, e.g. **רַמְמוֹ**.

That these are not absolute rules is apparent from the fact that even in the 15th cent. (Almoli) there was a dispute about whether shewa preceded by a "long" vowel as in **רַמְמוֹ** is quiescent or mobile, though it was generally considered quiescent⁽¹⁾.

(1) For a discussion see Sh. Morag in J.A. Emerton and S.C. Reif (eds), *Interpreting the Hebrew Bible: Essays in Honour of E.I.R. Rosenthal* (Cambridge, 1982), pp. 184f. According to G. Khan, the shewa was generally quiescent even after a "long" vowel, as can be seen from massoretico-grammatical treatises, and analysis of the so-called "accents" and Karaite manuscripts: *JSS* 32 (1987) 54-56. See also Yeivin, *op. cit.* [§ 14 a, n.], §§ 377-86.

One must beware of the rather common circular argument that, since a simple shewa followed by a plosive must be quiescent, therefore the Bet in **בְּרִי** must be preceded by a vocal shewa⁽¹⁾.

(1) A similar questionable circular argument is sometimes employed in interpreting the dagesh in forms such as **בְּרִי**. We suggest that this should be analysed as /wəṭṭəbbəd/, and not /wəṭṭəbbəd/: see § 5 q, n.

The shewa attached to a final consonant as in the 2nd person f.sg. **הָלַטְתְּ**/qāṭalt/ (where the shewa represents an old short *i*); **וַיִּשְׁבְּ**/wəyyəšb/ and *he gave water* (apocopated future Hifil of **שָׁבַע**); **וַיִּשְׁבְּ**/wəyyišb/ and *he took captive* (apoc. fut. Qal of **שָׁבַע**); **אַל תִּשְׁתֶּה** *Don't drink!* (apoc. fut. Qal of **שָׁתָה**); **אַתְּ** /'ətt/ (possibly /'ət/) *you fem.* (for *'atti) should not be considered exceptions to the above rule, but rather special cases of § b (2). Cf. also the type **הָלַחְתְּ** /šāləḥət/ *you (f.sg.) have sent*⁽¹⁾.

(1) In the Samaritan tradition of Hebrew pronunciation the word-final consonantal clusters of the three types mentioned add a short /i/ at the end, which may not be secondary but primitive; see R. Macuch, *Gram.*, §§ 43c (p. 196), 62a, 64c. On the other hand, segholate nouns show a syllable structure similar to the Tiberian one with an anaptyctic vowel between the last two radicals. Does this short /i/ go back to an original long /i/, as is assumed by some (e.g. P.-E. Dion, *La langue de Ya'udi* [Waterloo, 1974], pp. 187f.) for Old Aramaic jussives of Lamed-Yod verbs? Cf. the proper nouns **יְהוֹדִיאַל** and **יְעִשְׂיַל** (Berg., II, § 30 r [p. 169]).

As indicated in § c above, a fricative Begadkefat sometimes occurs in the middle of a word following a simple shewa and a historically short vowel, chiefly pataḥ, seghol, and qameṣ qatan: e.g. **מְלִכֵי** pl.cst. *kings of* as against **מְלִכִי** *my king*. As a Begadkefat in such a position is

normally pronounced as plosive, receiving a dagesh point (dagesh lene), such a shewa as in מְלִכִּי has often been wrongly interpreted as vocalic, being accorded a special term, shewa medium. However, even if we allowed the conventional distinction between silent and vocal shewa, it is scarcely possible to conceive of yet another variety of short vowel. The simplest explanation for this kind of shewa must be that a vowel which originally followed such a stop⁽¹⁾ must have been deleted when the law regulating the automatic alternation between the plosive and fricative articulations of the stops had ceased to operate: cf. § 96 A b⁽²⁾.

(1) For an attempt to explain cases of "shewa medium" which do not stand for a historical short vowel such as מְלִכִּי, see Meyer, I, pp. 62f.

(2) For a most detailed and balanced exposé of the nature of shewa medium, see Berg., I, § 21 q-t,v. See also Z. Ben Hayyim in *Leš* 11 (1941) 83-93. Lambert, § 39, n. 1, is in favour of the vocalic nature of the shewa medium. See further literature in Morag, art. cit. [§ b above, n. 1], p. 168, n. 45.

f In the contemporary Israeli pronunciation there is no phonemic distinction between silent shewa and vocal shewa pronounced *e*, the latter of which is a positional and non-obligatory allophone. Thus [gdolim] is perfectly normal and acceptable alongside [gedolim] for מְגִדִּים⁽¹⁾. So is יִשְׁמְרוּ [yišmru] alongside [yišmeru]. Moreover, *e* is heard as a rule at morpheme boundaries, e.g. מְדַבֵּר [medaber]; יְדַבֵּר [yedaber]; בְּסֵפֶר [beséfer] *in a book*; וְגַדֹּל [vegadol] *and large*.

(1) The phonetic environments in which vocal shewa may be heard are specified in H.B. Rosén, *A Textbook of Israeli Hebrew* (Chicago, 1962), p. 4. On a whole range of phonetic phenomena whereby the contemporary Israeli pronunciation deviates from the classical rules, see W. Weinberg, "Spoken Israeli Hebrew: Trends in the departures from classical phonology," *JSS* 11 (1966) 40-68.

§ 9. Nuanced or hatef shewas

a The three signs ְ, ֶ, and ֵ (§ 6 e) are called *hatef* (Arm. ִּטְִּּן *snatching, carrying off, abbreviating*^[1]), or also *compound shewas*⁽²⁾. We call them here *nuanced shewas* as against unnuanced, i.e. simple shewa. These are extremely short vowels; therefore one may call them *semi-vowels* as against full vowels. The three nuanced shewas⁽³⁾ often occur with gutturals; the relevant rules will be given later when we discuss the gutturals (§ 21 f-i).

(1) Since the name is most probably derived from אֶטְפָּן of the Babylonian massoretic terminology, the original pronunciation was more likely אֶטְפָּן: see A. Dotan in *Leš* 19 (1954) 21.

(2) See I. Yeivin, "Quantitative modifications of hatef vowels," *Leš* 44 (1980) 163-84.

(3) On a unique hatef hireq occurring occasionally in the Aleppo Codex of the OT, see I. Yeivin, *The Aleppo Codex of the Bible. A Study of its Vocalization and Accentuation* (Jerusalem, 1968), p. 21.

It is not uncommon for a nuanced shewa rather than a plain shewa to appear with a non-guttural. One cannot give precise rules for this phenomenon, as manuscripts often fluctuate in this regard⁽¹⁾.

b

With non-gutturals, if it is necessary to have a vowel slightly stronger than a simple shewa, the vowel chosen is hardly ever ְּ, no doubt because it is felt too weak, but generally ְּ, unless there is a special reason, such as etymology or vowel harmony, for choosing ְּ. It follows, therefore, that this ְּ or ְּ does not necessarily represent a primitive vowel *a* or *u*; e.g. one finds אֶסּוּ בְּבָהּ from סוּ בָּבָהּ, אֶשְׁקָהּ from אֶשְׁקָ (2).

(1) It is remarkable that the Hebrew usage on this point should show a very marked analogy with that of Biblical Aramaic (cf. E. Kautzsch, *Grammatik des Biblisch-Aramäischen* [Leipzig, 1884], p. 36). It is quite possible that we have here Aramaic influencing Hebrew vocalisation.

(2) Cf. F.R. Blake, "The Heb. hatefs" in C. Adler and A. Ember (eds), *Oriental Studies* [Fachr. P. Haupt] (Baltimore/Leipzig, 1926), pp. 329-43. Incidentally, the cohortative form mentioned above, which occurs only at 1Kg 19.20, is pointed in Cod. L and A as אֶשְׁקָהּ; Cod. C seems to have אֶשְׁקָהּ.

Principal cases where one finds ְּ (hatef pataḥ):

c

1) Generally under a consonant which is then repeated, e.g. in the conjugation of ע"ע verbs: סוּ בְּבוּ, גִּלְלוּ. But note, e.g., בְּרַכְךָּ? *he will bless you* Gn 27.10, and הִנְנִי, הִנְנִי (but הִנְנִי, הִנְנִי in pause)⁽¹⁾.

2) Usually with an **internal** consonant which has lost its gemination, e.g. אֶתְאַלְצֶהּ and *she pressed him* Jud 16.16 (Piel).

3) With כ, ג, in certain forms, after an etymologically long vowel, before the stress, e.g. תְּאַכְלֶנָּה Gn 3.17; בְּרַכְכִּי Ps 103.1.

4) With a sibilant after ו and, e.g. וַיִּזְהַב and *the gold of ...* Gn 2.12; וַיִּשְׁמַע and *listen* Nu 23.18; וַיִּשְׁבּוּ and *take captives* Jdg 5.12.

5) Miscellaneous: וַיִּתְּהַלֵּךְ Ex 9.23; כַּנְרוֹת Josh 11.2; וַיִּלְהַבְדִּיל Gn 1.18; וַיִּטְפֹּשׁ Job 33.25; הַצְּפִירֵהֶעִים Ex 8.5 (usually 'הֶצֵּץ); אֶכְתֹּבְנָה Jer 31.32; וַאֲשַׁקְלֶהּ Ezr 8.26.

(1) According to *Diqduqé hatté'amim*, para. 5 (ed. Dotan [§ 8 a, n.], pp. 115f., 190-

92), when there is no ga'ya (or metheg) before the first identical consonant, the two consonants are pronounced without any breakage in between, that is to say, as a purely geminated consonant: e.g., קָנָנָן Jer 3.22, even with כּ rafé as in רַבְּבוֹת אֶפְרַיִם Dt 33.17 (as against אֶלְפֵי רַבְּבוֹת Nu 10.36).

d Principal cases where one finds ׀ (ḥaṭef qameṣ)(¹):

1) For some etymological reason, e.g. קִרְקָרָה *the crown of his head* from *qudqud > קִרְקָרָה; קִרְקָרָה from *qudš > קִרְקָרָה (alongside קִרְקָרָה *qq-dāšim*, § 6 I).

2) For the sake of harmony: occasionally before a guttural or a velar with ā, e.g. וְנִקְרָאָהּ *and she will be called* Esth 2.14 (not in Codex L.); אֶרְצֶנָּהּ *I would like to kiss* 1Kg 19.20 (not in Codex L., but apparently so in Codex C.). This ׀ can probably be explained by the fact that ׀ was pronounced φ.

(1) Mediaeval grammarians knew of no distinction between qameṣ ḥaṭef and the so-called qameṣ qatan. Both were called qameṣ ḥaṭef. See W. Chomsky, *David Kimhi's Hebrew Grammar* (New York, 1952), p. 34, and also I. Yeivin in *Leš* 44 (1980) 175.

§ 10. Dagesh

a Dagesh with a *begadkefat* (§ 5 o), e.g. in פּ, is an equivocal sign(¹). It may indicate either that the *begadkefat* is a plosive, e.g. in יִשְׁפֹּט *yiš-pot* "he will judge" or it may indicate that it is long, i.e. geminated or doubled, as well as plosive, e.g. in יִפֹּל *yippol* "he will fall" (for יִנְפֹּל*, from נִפֹּל). In all other consonants, dagesh is not ambiguous: it signifies that the consonant concerned is geminated, e.g. in קִטְּלֵל *qittēl*. The dagesh which indicates the gemination of the consonant is called *dagesh forte*(²); from the point of view of its function, one can call it the dagesh of *doubling*. The dagesh which, in the *begadkefat*, indicates the plosive or instantaneous sound is called *dagesh lene*(³); from the point of view of its function, one may call it the dagesh of *simple plosion*. With the *begadkefat* the dagesh forte is one of *prolonged plosion*. In the Hebrew vocalised by the Naqdanim, it is often claimed, there is no doubled fricative, e.g. *ff*: thus אֶפֶס *his nose* is necessarily 'appo (root: אָפַס), but there is no absolute reason why a form such as לְרַבְּבוֹת should not have been meant to be pronounced with geminated /v/, whilst the orthography presumably represents an

earlier stage in which the first /b/ was followed by a vowel of some sort or other⁽⁴⁾.

(1) Early Massoretic scholars made no distinction between dagesh forte and lene: I. Yeivin in M. Bar-Asher et al. (eds), *Hebrew Language Studies Presented to Prof. Z. Ben-Hayyim* [Heb] (Jerusalem, 1983), p. 305.

(2) $\text{פֿוֹפּ} \text{שׁוֹשׁ}$ *strong dagesh*, also called $\text{פֿוֹפּ} \text{שׁוֹשׁ}$ 'ה *heavy dagesh*.

(3) *Soft dagesh*, a free translation of $\text{פֿוֹפּ} \text{שׁוֹשׁ}$, also called *light dagesh* (לֶקַח 'ה).

(4) See above, § 9 c, n.

On the quantity of consonants, cf. § 18 a; on the spirantisation of the *begadkefat*, cf. § 19. b

Contemporary Israeli Hebrew does not recognise dagesh forte: הַדַּבַּר the word is therefore pronounced [hadavar]. c

§ 11. Mappiq

In printed bibles the point called *mappiq* is found only in word-final ה to indicate that it is not quiescent, but must be pronounced, e.g. הָאֶרֶץ 'arṣāh' her land (as opposed to הָאֶרֶץ 'ar'ṣā to the land); הָרֶסֶס her horse (as opposed to הָרֶסֶס a mare); הָרַחֵק to kill her and *Kill her* (as opposed to הָרַחֵק Kill, Imperative with a paragogic ה, § 48 d). a

The ה occurs in the following roots: הָרַב to be high, הָמַחְמַח (הָמַחְמַחְה) to hesitate, הָנִיח to shine, הָמַת to be surprised.

The word הַפְּיֵי , from Arm. הַפְּיֵי to go out, signifies to make go out, i.e. to make pronounce the consonant; cf. the Syr. *mhaggyānā'* sign. b

§ 12. Rafé

Rafé is a horizontal stroke over a consonant letter⁽¹⁾. This stroke expresses the opposite of a *point*, namely of dagesh (forte or lene) [§ 10], and of mappiq [§ 11]. Therefore, it has, according to the circumstances, three values: 1) in contrast to dagesh forte, it indicates that the consonant is not doubled, e.g. one finds in manuscripts such forms as עִוְרִים blind people in order to avoid the pronunciation 'iw-wrīm (cf. § 18 m 4); 2) in contrast to dagesh lene, it expressly indicates that the *begadkefat* is fricative, e.g. מְלִכֵי (cf. § 5 o); 3) in contrast to mappiq, it indicates that a final ה is not pronounced, e.g. a

לֹא־ *lâ*, not *lâh* (§ 25 a).

(1) Most current editions of the Hebrew OT omit the sign for technical reasons.

b On the meaning of the word *rafé*, cf. § 5 o.

§ 13. Maqqef

a The *maqqef*⁽¹⁾ is a small stroke, similar to our dash, indicating that two words form an extremely closely knit group. The two words linked by a maqqef form a phonetic unit: the first word has lost its main stress and can now have only a secondary stress, in other words, it becomes proclitic⁽²⁾. The unity indicated by maqqef is generally closer than that indicated by a conjunctive accent.

Maqqef can link two, three or even four words, e.g. אֶת-כָּל-אֲשֶׁר-לוֹ Gn 25.5.

(1) אֶתְּ, from Arm. אֶתְּ, means, strictly speaking, *encircling*; here one usually understands it as meaning *linking*. The first word is described as זָרִיר *rapid, hurrying* in the language of the Massorah (*RB* 13 [1904] 536).

(2) Compare the proclitics in Greek, which lose their own accent when closely dependent on the following word: ὁ, ἡ etc.; ἐν, εἰς, οὐ etc.

b The use of maqqef does not have hard and fast rules.

It is used especially after monosyllabic words⁽¹⁾. Thus, among nouns the following are used with a maqqef: בֶּן- son (almost always) and בַּת- daughter (usually). In contrast, one rarely has a maqqef with אִמֹּת, אִמִּי and אִמִּי name, and never with אָבִי (st. cst. אָבִי) father. In the st. cst. בֶּן- is more frequent than כָּל all.

The following particles are nearly always provided with a maqqef: אֶל- not, אֶל- towards, אִם- if, מִן- from, מִן- lest, עַד- until, עַל- on, עִם- with. The two particles spelled both אִם, one of which is a preposition meaning "with" and the other the accusative-marker, occur quite often with a maqqef (אִם-)⁽²⁾.

The particle אֶת- please (§ 105 c) is nearly always preceded by a maqqef, thus rendering the preceding word proclitic.

(1) Cf. I. Yeivin, "Syntactical and musical influence on the use of maqqef with short words," *Leš* 23 (1959) 35-48.

(2) אִם-: three exceptions אִם-—Ps 47.5, 60.2, Pr 3.12, on which see Dotan, op. cit. [§ 8 a, n.], p. 118.

c The word that precedes a maqqef, becoming proclitic, tends to have

a rather shorter vowel. Thus ׁשׁ (st.abs. and cst.), כֹּל (st. abs. and cst.) become ׁשֿׁ, ׁלֿ⁽¹⁾; the infinitive קָטַל becomes ׁקָטַלֿ; יָד *hand* ׁיָדֿ; מָה *what?* ׁמָהֿ.

The word יָם *sea* (root: יָמַם, cf. מָהֿ [§ 93 d], pl. יָמִים) has a remarkable peculiarity. The games is retained⁽²⁾ in ׁיָם, e.g. יָםֿ־כַּנְזֵרֶת *the Sea of Genesareth*, except in יָםֿ־סוּף *the sea of reeds, the Red Sea*.

Observation. A noun in st. abs. can be followed by a maqqef, e.g. *d* יָדֿ־קָטַלֿ *as an ordinance for you* Ex 12.24 (without maqqef, חָק); יָתוֹם־וְאַלְמָנָה *the foreigner, the orphan and the widow* Dt 27.19. Similarly, one may have the infinitive absolute, e.g. הִכְרֵ־פָנֶיךָ *to recognise the face* Pr 28.21 (cf. § 123 b).

(1) לֿ without maqqef and with games: Ps 35.10, 87.7, Is 40.12, Pr 19.7: see Dotan, op. cit. [§ 8 a], p. 119.

(2) Under the influence of ׁ; cf. the adjective תָּמַם (root תָּמַם), always with games.

§ 14. Metheg

Metheg (מֶתֶגַּם *bridle*) has, as indicated by the name, the function of *a* restraining the pronunciation⁽¹⁾. It is a small perpendicular stroke usually placed to the left of a vowel in order to ensure its precise pronunciation, or, to put it negatively, to prevent a rapid or accelerated pronunciation. But just as the accents often indicate the place of the principal or secondary stress (§ 15 d), although this is not their primary function, so the metheg often indicates the secondary stress⁽²⁾. In some cases it will be found indicating syllabic division as well. The fact that metheg forms part of the accent system, and is generally used only in manuscripts in which the accent signs are used, but not in those which show only vowel signs⁽³⁾ seems to suggest that it was not primarily designed to indicate the nature of the vowel *per se* to which it is attached. Thus it is rather doubtful that the metheg in a star example such as מֶתֶגַּם־חָכְמָה (pf. 3f.s.) Zech 9.2 was meant to indicate that the first games is to be pronounced differently from that under the same consonant in מֶתֶגַּם־חָכְמָה as a substantive meaning *wisdom*⁽⁴⁾, nor is it certain that the metheg was invested, by design, with the added function of marking the conventional differentiation between shewa mobile

and shewa quiescens.

As neither manuscripts nor grammarians are in accord regarding the use of metheg, it will suffice to give here some concrete examples and indicate the most common uses⁽⁵⁾.

(1) Cf. I. Yeivin (tr. and ed. E.J. Revell), *Introduction to the Tiberian Massorah* (Missoula, 1980), pp. 240-64, and "Meteg," *EB*, vol. 5 (Jerusalem, 1968), cols. 641-43. Manuscripts differ considerably in the placement or non-placement of metheg: one of the more notable differences between the massoretic schools of Ben Asher and Ben Naphtali consists therein, as has been shown in L. Lipschütz (ed.), *Kitāb al-khūlaf: Mishael Ben Uzziel's Treatise on the Differences between Ben Asher and Ben Naphtali* (Jerusalem, 1965).

(2) It is probably because of this fact that metheg is called by some grammarians *ga'ya* גַּא'יָ "lowing, lifting of voice." Actually, *ga'ya* is the older of the two names: Yeivin, op. cit., p. 241.

(3) Yeivin, op. cit., p. 242.

(4) Cf. Ps 86.2 שְׁמֹרֵנִי, *Preserve*, a long imperative, and 16.1 שְׁמֹרֵנִי *Preserve me*.

(5) Outside of the biblical text, the metheg is often left unprinted, except in those cases where it is useful in distinguishing a form. We should particularly note it in cases where it serves to distinguish *וְ*, e.g. לְיִשְׁכְּבֶנָּה? *he will dress you*, in contrast to, say, לְיִשְׁכְּלֶנָּה? *he will kill you*, which is without metheg.

b **Examples:** In קָטְלָהּ /qā-tlā/ *she killed* (§ c 1) the metheg here is found marking the syllable boundary. It further indicates a secondary stress: qā-tlā'. – In וְקָטְלָתִי (§ 43 a), the metheg signals that the *qameṣ* should be pronounced accurately; it further indicates the position of the secondary stress: w-qā-tālti' (§ c 2). Likewise in אֲנֹכִי (§ 39 a).

c **Principal uses:** The metheg is placed⁽¹⁾

1) with a historically long vowel followed by a shewa and a stressed syllable, e.g. יִירָאוּ וְקָטְלָהּ or (defectively) יִירָאוּ *they will fear* (in contrast to יִירָאוּ /yir-'u/ *they will see*); Pr 4.16 יִשְׁנוּ *they sleep*, but Ne 13.21 וְעָשְׂתָּ *you do again*. As has become obvious, this metheg can be diacritical.

2) With the vowel of the second open syllable before the stress, e.g. אֲרָהֵם, הֶעֱמִי, וְקָטְלָתִי, אֲרָהֵם (with the vowel of the third open syllable before the stress if the second syllable is closed, e.g. אֲרָהֵם בְּעֵינַי)(2). Likewise with the vowel of the second open syllable before a vowel having a metheg, e.g. וְשָׁבְעוּתֵיכֶם šāvu'otēhem'(3). Exception: וְ *and* does not take a metheg, e.g. וְבָנִים; probably because this

u is originally short⁽⁴⁾. In this use, metheg, apart from protecting the vowel as usual, also marks the secondary stress.

3) With the vowel which precedes a ḥaṭef, e.g. יַעֲמֹד; likewise in cases where a ḥaṭef becomes a full vowel, e.g. יַעֲמֹדוּ (§ 22 c).

4) With the vowel of the first closed syllable of the verbs הָיָה *to be* and יָשָׁב *to live* in order to ensure accurate pronunciation, e.g. יִהְיֶה *yih-yē he will be*; in the forms יִהְיֶה, יָשָׁב only before a maqṣef or when they have the accent *pashta*.

5) In the particle הֲיָאֵל, אֲיָאֵל: *Ah! For goodness' sake* (§ 105 c).

6) With the pataḥ of the article before a consonant with virtual gemination and a shewa, e.g. הַמְכַסֶּה *ham(m)ḥasseṣ the one who conceals* Lv 3.3; except before י, e.g. לִיָּהּ. Likewise with the pataḥ of the interrogative adverb הֲ, e.g. אֲנִי הַמְכַסֶּה Gn 18.17.

7) With an etymologically long vowel before a maqṣef in order to prevent it from being shortened, e.g. שֶׁת־לִי Gn 4.25 *šât-li*; כֹּל־ Ps 138.2 (not כֹּל־, but so in Cod. L and A); אֶת־ Job 41.26 (not אֶת־).

(1) On two kinds of metheg, see further literature in Berg., I, p. 71, which in the main follows S. Baer, "Die Metheg-Setzung," *Archiv für wissenschaftliche Erforschung des Alten Testaments*, I (1867-69) 56-67, 194-207: Baer's study needs to be used critically and cautiously.

(2) So in Nu 33.38; 1Ch 26.31. We may formulate one general practical rule (encompassing both 1 and 2): metheg is added to the vowel of the first open syllable (or so considered here) removed from the stress at least by a mobile shewa, e.g. מְאֹד־יָרָב, אֲרָח־יָרָב.

(3) Not according to Codex L. in the sole occurrence of the form in Nu 28.26.

(4) With the mediaeval poets *ı* is short; cf. S.D. Luzzatto, *Grammatica della lingua ebraica* (Padova, 1853), p. 584. Likewise we write, e.g. יָרָב without metheg, contrary to 1; but with metheg, e.g. יָרָב־, § 9 c 4.

§ 15. Accents⁽¹⁾

Every Hebrew word, when it is not proclitic, namely not closely dependent on the following word, has a tonic or stressed vowel which is pronounced more loudly and emphatically relative to the other vowels of the word. When a word is somewhat long, it can also have a secondary stress, and even two if it is very long as in, e.g. שֶׁבַע־עָתִיכֶם (cf. § 14 c 2) where the secondary stress is indicated by the metheg. The position of the stress, primary or secondary, is generally indicated

by signs called **accents** (טַעֲמִים, literally *tastes* or נְגִינֹת *melo-*
dies).

(1) In order to avoid confusion, the term *accent* is reserved here for graphic symbols (and neumes expressed by these symbols), which usually indicate the place of the stress; the term *stress* is applied to the phonetic elevation of the voice, although, strictly speaking, the Hebrew stress, unlike that in ancient Greek and Latin, refers rather to more forceful articulation than higher musical pitch, the latter being a secondary element as in Modern Greek, Vulgar Latin, Greek, English, Italian etc. That the Hebrew stress is essentially a prominence of intensity or force of articulation is manifest in its effects on the vocalisation. In contrast, the contemporary Israeli pronunciation of Hebrew is characterised by a musical pitch accent. For the same reason we prefer the term "stress" to "tone," likewise "pre-stress" to "pretonic" and so on.

b In the state of Hebrew as recorded by the Naqdanim, the primary stress occurs only on the ultima, i.e. the last syllable most commonly by far, or on the penultima, i.e. the second last syllable. The Hebrew stress, in its evolution, tends towards the end of the word⁽¹⁾. The penultimate stress is called מְלֵעִיל *mil'el* (from Aramaic מְלָ + לְ + עִיל = *desuper*, "from above," i.e. towards the beginning of the word); the stress on the ultima is called מְלֵרַע *mil'ra* (from Arm. מְלָ + לְ + רַע = "on the earth," *deorsum*, "from below," i.e. towards the end of the word)⁽²⁾.

In this grammar the stress is marked by the conventional sign ˘ (in major pause by athnah ֿ), e.g. מְלֵעִיל וַיָּאֶרְבּוּ וַיָּאֶרְבּוּ *wāyyā'el-qom* (mil'el), מְלֵרַע וַיָּאֶרְבּוּ וַיָּאֶרְבּוּ *wāyyāqom'* (mil'ra, in major pause)⁽³⁾.

On the rules relative to the position of the stress, cf. § 31.

(1) For an attempt to show how the stress system as we have it in the Tiberian tradition may be understood *vis-à-vis* a reconstructed prehistory of it, see Blau, *Grammar*, §§ 9.1 - 9.3.5, with a slight modification in idem, *JOS* 9 (1979) 49-54. The most important element in this reconstruction is the postulated general penultimate stress as originally canvassed by M. Lambert as early as 1890 in his article, "L'accent tonique en hébreu," *RÉJ* 20 (1890) 73-77. See also J. Cantineau, "De la place de l'accent de mot en hébreu et en araméen biblique," *Bulletin de l'Institut Oriental Français, Damas*, I (1931) 81-98.

(2) On the various uses of the two terms at an early stage, especially as a diacritical device distinguishing pairs of homographs and homonyms as exemplified in *Ochla we-Ochla*, see A. Dotan, "The beginnings of Masoretic vowel notation," H.M. Orlinsky (ed.), *Masoretic Studies I* (Missoula, 1974), pp. 21-34, esp. 23-25. Dotan justly stresses that there is so far no evidence among Hebrew manuscripts attesting to the sometimes alleged use of dots above and below words comparable to their diacritical use in Syriac manuscripts.

(3) As the *mil'ra* accent is decidedly more common, it is generally left unmarked for economy's sake, e.g. בָּנוּ is considered to represent בָּנוּ .

The position of the stress is extremely important; it is sometimes phonemic, i.e. distinguishes meaning. Compare, e.g., בָּנוּ *they built* from בָּנוּ and בָּנוּ *in us*, קָמָה *she arose* and קָמָה *arising* (f. participle, § 80 j), וְקָטַלְתִּי *and I have killed* and וְקָטַלְתִּי *and I shall kill* (with the inversive Waw), קוּמִי *Arise! fem.* and קוּמִי *my arising* (infinitive), קָמָה *she is perfect* and קָמָה *perfect* (f. adj.).

Our Hebrew Bible has two systems of accents: 1) the ordinary or prose system used in 21 books; 2) the system used in the three poetic books אִיּוֹב Job, מִשְׁלֵי Proverbs, and תְּהִלֵּי דָוִד Psalms (mnemonic word אֵמֶת *truth*).

The accentuation presupposes that the biblical text had previously been divided into verses (פְּסוּקִים). Although an attempt was apparently made to achieve verses of approximately equal length, some have turned out rather short (but never less than three words). The division into verses does not always accord with logic; thus the apodosis is sometimes separated from its protasis in order to avoid too long a verse (Dt 19.16-17; 1Kg 3.11-12; 21.20-21; Ru 1.12-13).

The origin of the accents is obscure⁽¹⁾. Their main purpose is to regulate the musical modulation or recitation of the Bible. The accents are principally *neumes* or groups of notes. As some of these *neumes* possess a *pausal* character (§ 32), it sometimes happens that the signs marking them indicate the *caesuras* or the divisions of the sentence into units. Finally, the neume signs (pausal or not) are in general placed on the stressed syllable of the word, so that the accents usually mark the position of the stress.

The accents that mark the caesuras (major, intermediate, or minor pauses) are called *disjunctive*, for in effect they separate a word from the following word, as do our punctuation marks (. ; ,). The other accents, in contrast, unite a word with the following and are called *conjunctive*.

(1) The invention of the accent signs is believed to have preceded that of the vowel signs; see Sh. Morag, *Leš* 38 (1974) 50, 52f.

The few accents, disjunctive or conjunctive, which are not placed on a stressed syllable are either *prepositive*, i.e. always positioned at

the beginning of the word, or *postpositive*, i.e. always positioned at the end of the word. In contrast to the *prepositive* or *postpositive* accents, those which are placed on a stressed syllable can be called *impositive*. Some manuscripts repeat a prepositive or postpositive accent on the stressed syllable; in the standard editions this does not happen except for the postpositive accent called *pashta* (disjunctive, cf. § g: A 8 a), which is repeated if the stress is *mil'el*, e.g. [ִ]הַמַּיִם *the water* Gn 1.7: the accent, being postpositive, is written on the last letter of the word; here the *pashta* has been repeated on the stressed syllable *ma*, *ḥammā'yim*⁽¹⁾. The stress position in words having a prepositive or postpositive accent other than *pashta* cannot be determined except through a knowledge of grammar.

(1) When a *mil'ra* word has *pashta*, the sign [ִ], which is positioned at the far left of the word (e.g. [ִ]לְאֹרֶךְ Gn 1.5), has no chance of being confused with the graphically similar impositive conjunctive accent *azla* (e.g. [ִ]וְרִיבֵי 1Kg 18.12, § g: A 18).

g A. Accents of the standard system (of the twenty-one books)

Disjunctive accents

- 1 — *silluq* (opposed to *metheg*, § 14) on the last word of the verse before (:) *sof pāsuq* "end of the verse," Gn 1.1 [ִ]וְהָאָרֶץ.
- 2 — *atnah* in the middle of the verse, Gn 1.1 [ִ]וְהָאָרֶץ.
- 3a **postp.** — *sgolta* at the fourth or fifth caesura before the *atnah*, Gn 1.7 [ִ]וְהָאָרֶץ.
- 3b — major *shalsholet* (with a vertical stroke on the left), very rare (7 times) for *segolta*, at the beginning of a sentence, Gn 19.16 [ִ]וַיִּתְמַהֲמַהּ.
- 4a — *zāqef qāṭon* Gn 1.14 [ִ]וְהָאָרֶץ.
- 4b — *zāqef gādol*, instead of *zāqef qāṭon* if the preceding accent is not conjunctive, Gn 1.14 [ִ]וְהָאָרֶץ.
- 5 — *ṭif ḥā* (or *ṭar ḥā*) Gn 1.1 [ִ]וְהָאָרֶץ; sometimes in place of the *atnah*, especially in short verses, Gn 3.21 [ִ]וְהָאָרֶץ (compare with *m'ayyelā*, a conjunctive accent, no. 21).
- 6 — *rviā*, Gn 1.2 [ִ]וְהָאָרֶץ.
- 7 **postp.** — *zarqā*, Gn 1.7 [ִ]וְהָאָרֶץ.
- 8a **postp.** — *pashta*, Gn 1.5 [ִ]וְהָאָרֶץ (cf. § f) (to be contrasted with the conjunctive *azlā*, no. 18).
- 8b **prep.** — *ytiṿ* (comp. with the conjunctive *mhuppāḥ*, no. 15, which is

not prepositive) in place of *pashtâ*, in monosyllabic words or in words having the stress on the first syllable if the preceding accent is not conjunctive, Gn 1.11 עֲשׂוּבָה.

9 — *tvir*, Gn 1.8 אֶלְהִים.

10a — *gērēsh*, Gn 1.9 הַמַּיִם.

10b — *grāshayim* (or *gērshayim*), double *gērēsh*, rare (16 x) for *gērēsh* if the stress is on the ultima and if the conjunctive accent *azlâ* (no. 18) does not precede, Gn 1.11 פְּרִי.

11a — *pāzer*, Gn 1.21 הַרְמֵשׁוֹת.

11b — *pāzer gādōl* or *qarṇē fārâ* "horns of a cow," rare (16 x), Esth 7.9 הַמִּזְוֵן.

12 prep. — *tlishâ gdōlâ*, Zech 4.5 וְיִצַּן (contrast with the conjunctive *tlishâ qṭannâ*, no. 19).

13 | — *lgarme* "for itself": this is the conjunctive accent *munaḥ*, no. 14 with a vertical stroke on the left, Is 39.2 | וְאֵת.

Conjunctive accents

14 — *munaḥ* (contrast with the disjunctive *lgarme*, no. 13), Gn 1. אֶתְּךָ.

15 — *mhuppâḥ* (contrast with the disjunctive prep. *yṭiv*, no. 8 b), Gn 1.7 בְּיָן.

16a — *mērḥâ*, Gn 1.1 אֵת.

16b — *mērḥâ kfulâ*, double *mērḥâ*, Gn 27.25 לָּ.

17 — *dargâ*, Gn 1.4 אֶתְּךָ.

18 — *azlâ*, 1Kg 18.12 וְרִיבֵנִי; also called *qadmâ* when it is associated with the disjunctive *gērēsh*, Gn 1.9 הַמַּיִם וְקָוִי (contrast with the disjunctive, postpositive *pashtâ*, no. 8a).

19 postp. — *tlishâ qṭannâ*, Gn 1.29 הַנְּהָה (contrast with the disjunctive prepositive *tlishâ gdōlâ*, no. 12).

20 — *galgal* "wheel" or *yērah* "moon," rare (16 x) like *pāzer gādōl* (no. 11 b to which it is related), Esth 7.9 עֲשׂוּבָה.

21 — *m'ayylâ*: this is the *ṭifḥâ* (no. 5) used to mark the secondary stress in words or groups which have *silluq* (no. 1) or *atnaḥ* (no. 2), Nu 28.26 וְשִׁבְעַת־יָמִים, Gn 8.18 וְיִצְאֵ-נֶגְבִּי.

B. Accents of the poetic system (of the three תְּמִתָּא books, § d)

h

Disjunctive accents

- 1 $\overline{\text{—}}$ *silluq* (cf. A 1 in the table of the accents of the standard system).
- 2 $\overleftarrow{\text{—}}$ 'olēh wyōred "ascending and descending," stronger than *atnaḥ*.
- 3 $\overline{\text{—}}$ *atnaḥ* (cf. A 2), less strong than 'olēh wyōred.
- 4 $\overset{\cdot}{\text{—}}$ *rvia' gādōl* (cf. A 6).
- 5 $\overset{\circ}{\text{—}}$ *rvia' mugrāsh*, i.e. *rvia'* with *gērēsh* (cf. A 10 a).
- 6 $\overset{\text{z}}{\text{—}}$ major *shalshélet* (comp. 19 and cf. A 3 b).
- 7 postp. $\overset{\sim}{\text{—}}$ *šinnōr* (*zarqā*, cf. A 7). (The *šinnōrit* [no. 20], which has the same form $\overset{\sim}{\text{—}}$, is placed on an open syllable before *mērḥā* [no. 12] or *mhuppāḥ* [no. 17]).
- 8 $\overset{\circ}{\text{—}}$ *rvia' qāṭōn* before 'olēh wyōred.
- 9 prep. $\overleftarrow{\text{—}}$ *dḥi* or *ṭifḥā* (prepositive) (cf. A 5) (comp. the conjunctive accent, no. 15).
- 10 $\overset{\text{p}}{\text{—}}$ *pāzer* (cf. A 11 a).
- 11a $\overset{\text{v}}{\text{—}}$ *mhuppāḥ lgarme*, i.e. *mhuppāḥ* (no. 17) with a vertical stroke on the left.
- 11b $\overset{\text{v}}{\text{—}}$ *azlā lgarme*, i.e. *azlā* (no. 18) with a vertical stroke to the left.

Conjunctive accents

- 12 $\overline{\text{—}}$ *mērḥā* (cf. A 16 a).
- 13 $\overline{\text{—}}$ *munah* (cf. A 14).
- 14 $\overleftarrow{\text{—}}$ 'illuy or upper *munah*.
- 15 $\overleftarrow{\text{—}}$ *ṭarḥā* (comp. the prepositive, disjunctive *dḥi*, no. 9).
- 16 $\overleftarrow{\text{—}}$ *galgal* or *yērah* (cf. A 20).
- 17 $\overleftarrow{\text{—}}$ *mhuppāḥ* (comp. no. 11 a and cf. A 15).
- 18 $\overset{\text{z}}{\text{—}}$ *azlā* (comp. no. 11 b and cf. A 18).
- 19 $\overset{\text{z}}{\text{—}}$ minor *shalshélet* (comp. no. 6).
- [20 $\overset{\sim}{\text{—}}$ *šinnōrit* comp. no. 7].

i The ordinary use of the standard system of accents. A verse ends with *silluq*, followed by *sof pāsuq*; this constitutes the major break. The verse is divided by *atnaḥ* into two halves, which can be of unequal length. Each half, depending on its length, is then further divided, each part being subdivided (dichotomy) by the following accents: *segol-tā* $\overset{\cdot}{\text{—}}$, *zaqef* $\overset{\cdot}{\text{—}}$, and *rvia'* $\overset{\circ}{\text{—}}$, whose descending value is graphically apparent. Moreover, the two major accents, namely *silluq* and *atnaḥ*, and the

three sub-dividers (*sgoltâ*, *zaqef*, *rvia'*) are each preceded, if need be, by a weak disjunctive accent, which is, so to speak, its precursor:

1 <i>silluq</i> —	and 2 <i>atnaḥ</i> —	have as their precursor 5 — <i>ṭif ḥâ</i>
3 <i>segoltâ</i> — (and <i>shalshélet</i> —)	=	= 7 — <i>zarqâ</i> (rather rare)
4 <i>zâqef</i> — —	=	= 8 — <i>pašṭâ</i> [— <i>ytiṿ</i>]
5 <i>ṭif ḥâ</i> —	=	= 9 — <i>tvir</i>
		10 — <i>gêrêš</i> [— <i>grâshayim</i>]
6 <i>rvia'</i> —	=	= 11 — <i>pâzer</i> [— <i>pâzer gâdol</i>]
		12 — <i>tlishâ gdolâ</i>

Example: Is 39.2. In this long verse, it was necessary to use all the disjunctive accents, even *segoltâ*. Below we indicate the relative importance of the disjunctive accents by an appropriate number of vertical strokes |||| for *silluq* and *atnaḥ*, which is practically equivalent to the former, ||| for *segoltâ*, || for *zaqef*, | for *rvia'*; the accent *ṭif ḥâ*, precursor of *silluq* and *atnaḥ*, is indicated by //, and all the other precursor accents, practically of equal value, are indicated by /.

וַיִּשְׁמַח עֲלֵיהֶם / חִזְקִיהוּ ||| וַיִּרְאֵם אֶת-בַּיִת נְכוֹתָהּ / אֶת-הַכֹּסֶף / וְאֶת-
הַזָּהָב וְאֶת-הַבְּשָׂמִים / וְאֶת | הַשֶּׁמֶן הַטּוֹב | וְאֶת / כָּל-בַּיִת כִּלְיוֹ ||
וְאֶת / כָּל-אֲשֶׁר נִמְצָא // בְּאוֹצְרוֹתָיו |||| לֹא-הָיָה דָבָר | אֲשֶׁר לֹא-הָרְאֵם
חִזְקִיהוּ / בְּבֵיתוֹ // בְּכָל-מְשָׁלֹתָיו: ||||

As one can see, the verse is divided into two halves of rather disproportionate length, separated by *atnaḥ* — . The first half is subdivided by *sgoltâ* — : the first part, which precedes the *segoltâ*, is not divided any further, for it is short; however, the second part, from the *sgoltâ* to the *atnaḥ*, is subdivided by *zâqef* — into two portions the first of which is subdivided in turn by *rvia'*. The second half of the verse from the *atnaḥ* to the *silluq*, being rather short, is not sub-

divided except once by *rvia'* —. Furthermore, before the *atnah* and *sil-luq* one has a *ṭifḥâ* as precursor which itself has a precursor, *tvir* —. Likewise *sgolta* has its precursor in *zarqâ* ~, the *zâqef* has its precursor in *pashtâ* ~; the first *rvia'* has *pâzer* ~, *tlishâ gdolâ* ~, and *gērēsh* — for precursors. The choice of these various disjunctive accents as well as that of the conjunctive accents which precede them is governed by rules of logic and syntax; many anomalies have something to do with music.

k A knowledge of the accents is sometimes important for grammar and also for interpretation. Thus in the verse cited above the ׀ of בְּאִזְרְתָיו has no *rafé*, because the preceding vowel is separated from it by a disjunctive accent. In Ru 2.14 the accentuation suggests the following breakdown of the verse: "and Boaz said to her at meal-time, 'Come here...,'" and not "and Boaz said to her, 'At meal-time, come here...'."

In Is 40.3 קוֹל קוֹרֵא בְּמִדְבָּר the accentuation suggests the following break in the verse: *The voice of one who cries: In the desert ...*, which is in accordance with the rule that of two similar accents the first is always the stronger (cf. Delitzsch *ad loc.*)(¹). This rule also clearly appears in Ru 3.9, where the first *zâqef* has led to the pausal vocalisation אֲמַלְאֵ, but not the second *zâqef* (אֲמַלְאֵ)(²).

(1) This differs from the usual understanding of the LXX version φωνὴ βοῶντος ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ Ἐτοιμάσατε . . . , and cf. Jn 1.23 ἐγὼ φωνὴ βοῶντος ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ.

(2) Important implications of the Massoretic accentuation for the interpretation of the Biblical text are illustrated in Yeivin, *op. cit.* [§ 14 *a*, n.], pp. 218-28. Cf. also M. Aronoff, "Orthography and linguistic theory: the syntactic basis of Masoretic Hebrew punctuation," *Language* 61 (1985) 28-72.

l The accents are most useful in determining where the stress lies, because all the accents which are neither prepositive nor postpositive indicate the stress position directly, and the postpositive *pashtâ* indicates it indirectly (§ *f*). The reader of the sacred text therefore should, right from the beginning, always place the stress where the accents indicate. In actual pronunciation it would be convenient to indicate the *mil'el* stress clearly and the *mil'ra* stress less clearly.

m *Pâseq* (קִסְקִי, an Aramaic participle meaning "separating") is a vertical stroke placed on the left of a word. This sign is graphically similar to the vertical stroke of some accents such as *lgarme*, major *shal-*

shelet. Paseq was introduced at a late period and in a manner less coherent than other accents, as a result of which its use is not very clear. In most of about 480 examples found in our editions⁽¹⁾, this sign serves as a bumper which prevents two words being brought into too close a relation under certain circumstances, e.g. when the same consonant appears both at the beginning and at the end of a word as in Jer 51.37 מְעוֹן | לְגִלְיָם | כְּבֹל. But quite a few instances of it do not seem to fit this definition, and several hypotheses of varying degrees of likelihood have been put forward to account for these: e.g., that paseq is a diacritical symbol, or that it indicates an ancient abbreviation, or the insertion of a short gloss.

(1) The list is found in Wickes, *Accentuation of Prose Books* (cf. § n), pp. 120ff.

On accents there are two fundamental works: W. Wickes, *A Treatise on the Accentuation of the Three so-called Poetical Books of the Old Testament* (Oxford, 1881) and *A Treatise on the Accentuation of the Twenty-one so-called Prose Books of the Old Testament* (Oxford, 1887). Also consult the entry 'Accents' by Max L. Margolis in *Jewish Encyclopedia*; J. Derenbourg, "Quelques observations sur l'accentuation," *JA* 2 (1870) 519-28; P. Kahle, "Zur Geschichte der hebr. Accente," *ZDMG* 55 (1901) 167-94; I. Yeivin, op. cit. [§ 14 a, n.]; A. Dotan, "Masorah," in *EJ*, vol. 16, cols. 1433-68.

Although nothing is known of intonation, two considerations strongly suggest that the declarative and interrogative utterances must have had different intonation patterns: 1) the two are not differentiated in word-order, and 2) not all Yes/No questions are marked by the special interrogative particle /ha/ (§ 161 b).

§ 16. The massoretic text and the massorah⁽¹⁾

The Hebrew text in our Bible editions, with all of its details, is commonly called the *massoretic* text⁽²⁾. In reality certain particulars of our text antedate the massorettes, whilst some others postdate them. The work of the massorettes is later than that of the *Naqdanim* and presupposes it. The massorettes completed their work over the period of the 8th to the 10th centuries; the textus receptus is generally that of Ben Asher (10th cent.), which has been preferred to that of his rival Ben

Naftali.

(1) For a brief introduction on the OT text and the work of massorettes, see E. Würthwein, *Der Text des Alten Testaments: Eine Einführung in die Biblia Hebraica* (Stuttgart, 1988), a useful handbook for the user of *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*. An English translation by E.F. Rhodes, *The Text of the Old Testament. An Introduction to the Biblia Hebraica* (London, 1980) is based on the fourth German edition of 1972.

(2) *Massorah* represents the late form *מסורה* or *מסורה* for *מסורת* *tradition* derived from MH *מסר* to *transmit*. The word has nothing in common with *מסרת* of Ez 20.37† *chain* for *מאסרת*.

- b** **Divisions of the text.** From the grammatical point of view, the most important division is that into *verses* (פסוקים, § 15 e). The division into *chapters*, introduced by the Christians into the Vulgate in the 13th century, has been accepted by the Jews (פרקים or קפיטוליי). It was Rabbi Nathan who has used it for the first time, for his Concordance, towards 1440.
- c** The Pentateuch, in view of its recitation in the synagogue service, is divided into 54 *sections* (פרשיה). A section is said to be *open* (פתוחה) when the following section must begin at the start of the following line, thus leaving some space at the end of the open section; it is said to be *closed* (סגורה) when the following section need not begin at the very start of the following line. These *major sections* are indicated by פפפ (e.g. Ex 30.11) or ססס (e.g. Ex 38.21). They are subdivided into *minor sections* by פ or ס (e.g. Gn 1.6; 3.16).
- d** Observations of various kinds compiled by the massorettes may be found either in the margin of every page (*Masora marginalis*) or at the end of each book or of the entire Bible (*Masora finalis*). The standard editions provide only part of these notes. (See H. Hyvernat, "Petite introduction à l'étude de la Massore," *RB* 9 [1902] 551-61; 10 [1903] 529-49; 11 [1904] 521-46; 12 [1905] 203-34)⁽¹⁾. The words of this technical terminology are Post-Biblical Hebrew or Aramaic; they are often written as abbreviations.

אות *letter*; אלא *except, if not*; אמצע *middle*; אס'ף = אסוף סוף פסוק = *atnah or sof pasuq* e.g., Ez 17.15 אס'ף בלא קמץ i.e. "one has a *qames* here although there is no *atnah* or *sof pasuq*."

'ב (as a numerical sign) *two*, e.g. טעמים 'ב *two accents*; באתר *after*; רגיש, f. רגישושה *which has a dagesh (or a mappiq)*; רגיש *leaf, page*;

זַּעִיר, f. זַּעִירָא *small*;
 חוּל *profane*; חוּץ *outside of*; חֲסֵר *deficiens, defectivus* (cf. § 7 c);
 טַעַם *accent*; יַתִּיר *abundans, excessive*;
 פֶּאֶן *here*; פְּתִיב (§ e); ל' = לִית (from לֹא אִית) *there is not, non est*;
 מְלֵא *full; plene scriptus* (§ 7 c); מִקְרָא *the Bible*; מִקְצָת *part*;
 נִיא = נִיא אַחֲרֵינָא *another version*; pl. נִיא אַחֲרֵינָן *other versions*;
 נָח, f. נְחָה *quiescent* (i.e. not pronounced); נִקְוֵד *point*; נִקְוֵדָה *pointed*;
 ס'א = ס'א אַחֲרֵימֵן *other books or copies*; סְבִיר *conjecture*;
 סִמְנָן (σημαῖον) *symbol, mnemonic word*; סְכּוּמָן *counted, number*;
 פְּסוּקָה *end of verse*;
 פְּסֻקָה *separation, interval* (in many cases it indicates a lacuna);
 ק' = קָרִי (§ e); קוּדָם or better קִדְמָה *before*; קְמוּצָה, f. קְמוּצָה *which has a qames*; קְמוּצָה בְּזַקָה (§ 32 f); רַבְּתִי, רַבְּתָא *large*;
 רַבְּתִי *word* (as consisting of letters); רְקִינָה *correction*; רַבְּתִי *two*.

(1) The following are essential tools for a study of the Massorah: C.D. Ginsburg, *The Massorah Compiled from Manuscripts, Alphabetically and Lexically Arranged*, 4 vols. (London, 1880-1905; repr. New York, 1975); G.E. Weil, *Massorah Gedolah juxta codicem Leningradensem B 19^a*, vol. I (Rome, 1971).

Qre-ktiv. The most important massoretic notes are those which relate to Qre and Ktiv. The קָרִי (Aramaic passive participle: *lectum*, or here *legendum*) is the reading which, according to the massorettes, must be read; the פְּתִיב (Arm. passive ptc.: *scriptum*) is the reading which emerges from the consonantal text. The Qre is indicated by a small circle above the word, referring to a marginal note where the consonants to be read are indicated; the vowels of the Qre are those of the text. The Ktiv is represented only by the consonants of the text, whereas the vowels are not indicated, and need to be reconstructed from the form of the word and the context. Thus in Ru 3.3 one finds וְשָׁמְתִי and in the margin וְשָׁמַתְּ ק', i.e. the Qre is וְשָׁמְתִי, the normal form of the second pers. f., whilst the Ktiv is וְשָׁמְתִי, an archaic form. Where a word of the text must not be read, its vocalisation is left out and a note is appended, saying כְּתִיב וְלֹא קָרִי *written, but not read*, e.g. Ru 3.12 אִם. Conversely, if a word must be added in the reading, the vowels of that word are found written in the text, the consonants being indicated in a note, e.g. in Ru 3.17 one finds אֶמְרָה .. and the note אֶלִי קָרִי *must be read, though it is not written.*

The *Qre-Ktiv* is always concerned with the consonantal text; it represents two variants of the consonantal text. Very often the *Qre* gives a reading preferable to that of the *Ktiv*, but there are cases where the *Ktiv* is as good as or even better than the *Qre*. The fact is that the *Qre* does not always pretend to give the best reading in itself, but the best among the manuscripts⁽¹⁾. Frequently the *Ktiv* preserves archaic forms⁽²⁾.

(1) Indeed the manuscripts vary considerably; the total number of *Qre/ktiv* pairs moves between 800 and 1,500.

(2) The LXX sometimes agrees with K, sometimes with Q; no clear picture emerges from Dead Sea MSS, either. On the whole question of *Qre/ktiv*, see I. Yeivin, *Introduction* [op. cit., § 14 a, n.], pp. 56-61; idem, entry "Qre uktiv," *EB*, vol. 7 (Jerusalem, 1976), cols. 262-65; R. Gordis, *The Biblical Text in the Making: A Study of the Kethib-Qere* (Philadelphia, 1937).

f **Qre perpetuum.** For some common words which must be read differently than indicated by the consonantal text, one finds that, for the sake of economy, the marginal note indicating the consonants of the *Qre* is omitted. This applies to the following words:

1) the divine name יהוה: the *Qre* is יהוה *the Lord*, whilst the *Ktiv* is probably⁽¹⁾ יהוה (according to ancient witnesses). [One may note that in the word יהוה one has an unusual simple shewa instead of *ḥatef pataḥ* of יהוה]. If the name יהוה is already preceded by the word יהוה, יהוה is written⁽²⁾: the *Qre* is יהוה. Of course the vocalisation of particles etc. before יהוה presupposes the pronunciation of the *Qre* יהוה: thus the preposition מן becomes 'מ before the guttural, e.g. מיהוה = מיהוה (§ 103 d). Likewise, for instance, instead of יהוה one spells יהוה יהוה, namely יהוה יהוה (§ 37 d).

2) The pronoun of the 3rd pers. sg.f. הוא in the Pentateuch: the *Qre* is היא, the *Ktiv* הוא (§ 39 c).

3) The feminine substantive נערה *girl* in the Pentateuch (instead of the normal נערה, which one finds only in Dt 22.19). This is probably an orthographical oddity (like הוא): it is not found in the Samaritan Pentateuch. It seems rather unlikely that נערה was ever used in the sense of *girl*, for one would expect נערות in the plural; yet one finds in fact נערות (cf. Gn 24.61; Ex 2.5).

4) For יהוה יהוה the *Qre* is probably יהוה יהוה, the *Ktiv* probably יהוה יהוה

Jerusalem⁽³⁾.

5) The proper noun *Yiśśâḥâr* is written יְשׁוּשָׁכָר to ensure the pronunciation יְשׁוּכָר (Gn 30.18 etc.), whilst Ben Naphtali read the first sibilant as שׁ with shewa and the second as שׁ with qames.

6) For שְׁנַיִם , שְׁנַיִם two, cf. § 100 c and g.

(1) In our translations, we have used *Yahweh*, a form widely accepted by scholars, instead of the traditional *Jehovah*.

In Codex L. the usual form is יְהוָה , based on the Aramaic ܝܗܘܘܐ *the name*, i.e. the Divine Name, but rarely יְהוֹה (e.g. Ex 3.2).

(2) There are considerable variations between manuscripts in this regard: אֲדֹנָיִהוּ (e.g. Ez 5.5 in Cod. L and A, but אֲדֹנָיִהוּ in Cod. C); אֲדֹנָיִהוּ (e.g. Gn 15.2,8 in Cod. L), though they all agree in adding hireq under the Waw.

(3) In five cases the name of the city is spelled plene with Yod: Jer 26.18; Esth 2.6; 1Ch 3.5; 2Ch 25.1, 32.9.

Lectiones mixtae. Some forms have a strange vocalisation which suggests that the vocalisers wanted to indicate thereby two possible vocalisations⁽¹⁾. Thus the vocalisation of יְרֵהֶיךָ Ps 7.6 indicates that one can read it either as Qal יְרֵהֶיךָ or Piel יְרֵהֶיךָ . This hypothesis of *lectiones mixtae* allows us to explain in a plausible manner some forms the vocalisation of which is otherwise unjustifiable⁽²⁾.

(1) Cf. E. Kautzsch, *Hebr. Gram.*²⁷ (p. V; this important observation has disappeared from the 28th ed.); König, I, p. 160; Berg., I, § 4 b.

(2) Cf. § 75 g יְהוָה , § 89 j יְהוָה , § 91 b יְהוָה .

It remains to point out certain minor peculiarities of our massoretic text, the significance of which is not always apparent, and which for that reason are partly neglected by the editors.

1) *external points* placed over some consonants, e.g. Gn 16.5 over the second yod of יְהוָה , or over entire words, e.g. Gn 33.4. These points all seem to require deletion of the letter or letters so marked, as is the case with Dead Sea manuscripts⁽¹⁾.

2) The *majuscule letters*, e.g. Gn 1.1, Ct 1.1, Lv 11.42 (1 indicating the middle point of the Pentateuch), and *minuscule letters*, e.g. Gn 2.4.

3) The *suspended letters*, e.g. Jdg 18.30, Ps 80.14 (V indicating the middle point of the Psalms).

4) Finally some letters written in an unusual manner for some obscure reason.

(1) See M. Martin, *The Scribal Character of the Dead Sea Manuscripts* (Louvain, 1958),

vol. 1, pp. 154-60.

[PHONETICS]

§ 17. Changes occurring to consonants

- a** **Consonant added at the beginning of a word: prosthetic Alef.** An initial Alef (not pronounced in reality) with its vowel is sometimes added in order to facilitate the pronunciation: e.g. אֶתְמוֹל *yesterday* (five times) alongside תְּמוֹל (23 x), זְרוֹעַ *arm* (2 x) alongside the usual זְרוּעַ(1). The same phonetic phenomenon is observable in our own languages, e.g. in Vulgar Latin *iscientia, istare, estatio, Estephanus*; Engl. *especially, esquire, estate*; Fr. *esprit, espérer*. Very rarely one has an Alef forming an open half-syllable, e.g. אֶבֶטְחִים *melons* (Ar. *biṭṭiḥ*); cf. § 88 L a.

(1) The initial vowel ϵ was probably adopted because ϵ was felt to be the weakest vowel in this position; cf. § 9 c on אֶ as a very weak *ḥatef*; § 21 i on אֶ as weaker than אֶ, and § 68 a, n. Then one could perhaps explain the ḥatef pataḥ of אֶמְרָם, אֶכָּלְנוּ, אֶכָּלְנוּ with a maqqef as due to the secondary stress which comes on it (see also the pair אֶלֵּי *towards* and אֶלֵּיְכֶם *towards you*), but there are exceptions such as Ex 18.12 אֶלֵּיְכֶם etc. On the likelihood that the initial Alef was not actually pronounced, see K. Levy [§ 1 a, n.], p. 10 (p. 24*).

- b** **Metathesis.** In the *Hitpael* conjugation, the /t/ is interchanged with an immediately following sibilant, e.g. /*hit-šammer/ > הִשְׁתַּמֵּר *to guard oneself*. Thus one avoids the clusters *ts, tš,* and *tš,* which already were not allowable in Proto-Semitic (cf. § 53 e).

However, in view of the existence of infixed *t* conjugations in various Semitic languages, even in an idiom as close to Hebrew as Moabite, it is not impossible that what happens in Hitpael is not genuine metathesis, namely a universal phonetic phenomenon, but a conditioned residue of an earlier *t*-infixing conjugation. Note also the absence of such metathesis outside of the verb conjugation in general, its confinement to the Hitpael in particular, and the existence of roots such as נִתְשַׁע, תִּשְׁעָ *nine*, Arm. *שֵׁבֶת*.

From a lexicographical point of view one can sometimes observe metathesis. For example, alongside the usual אֶבֶטְחִים *lamb* (107 x) and אֶבֶטְחִים

(female) lamb (8 x) one encounters כֶּשֶׁב (13 x) and כֶּשֶׁבָה (1 x); and alongside שִׁמְלֵה dress (30 x) one finds שִׁמְלָה (16 x).

Consonant dropped. The phenomenon is frequent in Hebrew, whether at the beginning (*aphaeresis*), in the middle (*syncope*), or at the end of a word (*apocope*). The consonants which can be dropped are notably the two vocalic consonants, /w/ and /y/, the two weak gutturals, /ʾ/ and /h/, as well as /n/ (which in Hebrew tends to assimilate), and rarely /l/.

Aphaeresis. An initial consonant w, y, n, l, or ' without a full vowel can drop out: e.g. in the פ"ו verbs, Impv. כֹּשֵׁ; in the פ"נ verbs, Impv. שֹׁ; in the verb לָקַח to take, Impv. קַח; in place of the usual אֲנִינָה we we have אִנָּה six times.

Syncope. h (usually intervocalic, diachronically at least) is ordinarily syncopated in the causative conjugations in the future and the participle, e.g. יִקְטִיל for יִהְיֶה־קָטֵל* (§ 54 a). Likewise in the reflexive (Hitpael), in the third person suffix pronouns (*hu*, *hem*, *hen*, thus בָּנוּ, בָּפָּ for בָּהֶם, יִקְטְלוּ, קֹבְצִין, and in the theophoric element -יָהּ as in יִוָּנְתָן for יִהְיוּנָתָן. The ה of the definite article is syncopated after the prepositions ב, כ, and ל, e.g. לְמִלְלָהּ for לְהִמְלִילָהּ* (§ 35 e).

' is quite often syncopated, but is generally retained in the spelling in certain forms, e.g. לְקִרְבָּתָא towards for לְקִרְבָּתָא*; מוֹם defect for מוֹמָא* (2 x מוֹמָא)(¹).

(1) Cf. Kutscher, *Isaiah*, pp. 498-500.

Apocope. Apocope is frequent in the verbal and nominal forms of the ל"ה roots, e.g. אָנַחַתְּ and he answered (Root: אָנַח) for אָנַחְתָּ (1 x); אֲחַיְתָּ on account of for אֲחַיְתָּהּ*.

Diachronically speaking, the feminine singular suffix /t/ or /at/ also belongs here, though it is still retained in the construct and related forms: e.g. מְלִכָּתָא queen of and שְׁמֵרְתָהּ (< שְׁמֵרְתָהּ) she kept him.

Assimilation. The consonant n without a vowel tends to assimilate to the following consonant, which is then doubled, e.g. the n of the preposition מִן; thus מִן + שָׁ > מִשָּׁ from there, מִן + הֵ > מִהֵ from this, from here. The phenomenon is regularly observed in verbal and nominal forms of פ"נ roots, e.g. שֹׁ for שֹׁנֵן* from שָׁן (for details, cf. § 72)(¹).

Assimilation does not take place in verbs with an n as the third radical, e.g. שְׁכַנְתָּ you have inhabited; תִּשְׁכַּנְתָּ for תִּשְׁכַּנְתָּהּ; תִּשְׁכַּנְתָּהּ for

הַעֲנִיתָ; הַתַּתָּךְ *you have given* is an exception (no doubt due to the initial ה).

The ת of the preformative תְּ assimilates to a following dental, e.g. /*mitdabber/ > מְדַבֵּר; /*hittammâ'/ > מְטַמֵּה. It also partially assimilates to the emphatic ש, i.e. it becomes an emphatic ט, e.g., /*hitsuḏdeq/ becomes (with possible metathesis, § b) מְטַחֵד (cf. § 53 e).

l is assimilated in the verb חָקַלְתָּ, e.g. חָקַלְתָּ (§ 72 j).

d is assimilated in תָּחַד *one* (f.), from /*'aḥadt/ (§ 100 b).

h is assimilated to the preceding t or n: e.g. וְשִׁלְחָתָהּ* > וְשִׁלְחָהּ *she sent him* (§ 62 d) and וְאִינְהוּ* > וְאִינְהוּ (§ 61 f).

(1) For אֵז *goat*, the root אָנַע, which does not appear in Hebrew, can be inferred only on the basis of comparison with cognate languages, e.g. Arab. 'anz; cf. § 96 A o.

§ 18. Doubling of consonants

- a **Doubling or prolongation of consonants.** Although the differences in the time required to articulate a consonant are much less perceptible than in the case of vowels, one can easily distinguish at least two quantities of a consonant. When a consonant is prolonged, the implosion and explosion are separated by a noticeable interval, creating the impression of a double consonant⁽¹⁾. A long or doubled consonant is usually transcribed by repeating the letter concerned⁽²⁾, e.g. אַפּוֹ /'ap-pō/, but this has the disadvantage that it can give rise to the mistaken belief that the consonant is repeated, when in fact one is dealing with a single consonant. It would be logical to indicate a long consonant in the same way as a long vowel, namely by means of a macron, i.e. a horizontal stroke over the letter concerned, e.g. 'āpō or the use of a colon as in 'āp:ō. But in fact we do not know what the precise meaning of dagesh forte was. In conclusion we may say that phonetically we are not dealing with full repetition of a consonant, whereas morphophonemically the phenomenon is equivalent to a cluster of consonants in the middle of a word with no vowel intervening, as can be shown by comparison of a Piel form, say, חָקַלְתָּ *he chastised* with a related Pilpel form such as חָקַלְתָּ *he hurled*.

(1) P.J. Rousselot, *Principes de phonétique expérimentale* (Paris, 1902). p. 993; P.E. Passy, *Petite phonétique comparée des principales langues européennes* (Leipzig, 1912).

§ 144ff. See also J. Cantineau in *BSL* 46 (1950) 105f. This widely practised mode of pronouncing dageshed consonants is analogous to the articulation of Italian *Boccaccio* or Japanese *Hokkaido*. Plosives or stops cannot be doubled or lengthened in the same way as, say, sibilants, liquids or nasals can.

(2) The English double-letter as in *sitting* is an orthographic device to indicate the shortness of the preceding vowel in contrast to, e.g. *siting*. So Germ. *Haffen* "lakes" (the pl.dat. of *Haff*) vs. *Hafen* "harbour," and Dutch *bomen* "trees" vs. *bommen* "bombs."

The gemination is phonemic as can be shown by such contrasting minimal pairs as הָלָמְ *word* vs. הָלָמִּי *circumcision*, יָנִי *from* (poetic) vs. יָנִי *my kind*, הָלָמְ *her yoke* vs. הָלָמִּי *her sucking child*. aa

In addition to this genuine gemination indicated by dagesh forte, Hebrew also has virtual gemination, which may be better called *semi-gemination* or *weak gemination*⁽¹⁾, e.g. in תָּשַׁח *he has corrupted* (Piel of תָּשַׁח), $\text{בָּנֵי$ *the children*. In these examples the morphological rule would require doubling: /*ših-ḥet/, /*ḥay-ylâdim/. In fact, gemination in the ordinary sense of the term has not taken place, but the vowel is what one would expect if it did take place, namely the occurrence of a vowel which is characteristic of a sharp syllable. It is generally supposed that gemination did exist at an earlier stage, and that this gave rise to the vowels characteristic of sharp syllables, but that subsequently the gemination was suspended, without change to those vowels, and in spite even of the fact that the syllable now appears to be open. According to this explanation, gemination is now non-existent, though its force is still there. But if gemination is now non-existent, one must now have a vowel characteristic of open syllables, e.g. תָּשַׁח ⁽²⁾. If the vowel typical of sharp syllables has been retained, there must indeed be a certain gemination, some kind of lengthening of the consonant⁽³⁾. This seems to have been much more frequently the case in cases of spontaneous virtual gemination of a guttural (e.g. בָּנֵי , § 20 c), where one can hardly postulate an earlier genuine gemination⁽⁴⁾. The consonant only slightly lengthened is not really long, since then one should have a dagesh in the guttural; it could not be short either, for then the syllable would be open and the vowel would be one appropriate for open syllables; therefore the consonant concerned must be intermediate in length. In order graphically to indi- b

cate this phenomenon one could transcribe, e.g. /ḥaylād̄im/ or /ḥayye-lād̄im/.

(1) Cf. E. Gismondi, *Linguae hebraicae grammatica*², § 16 "mitior reduplicatio."

(2) This argument presupposes that there is a close relationship between vowel and syllable (cf. § 28 a).

(3) For the case of a final consonant, cf. § 1.

(4) But cf. § 98 b 2.

From Biblical Aramaic, in which there is virtual gemination as in Hebrew, it emerges that this gemination was not null, but a semi-gemination, a length of intermediate degree. As a matter of fact, this virtual gemination, like the strong gemination, can be resolved into *n* + consonant. Just as נְדַע* and מְדַע* are resolved into נְדַע? and מְדַע? respectively, a form such as הִלְעָלְהָ? *to make enter* (Hafel inf. of עלל) can be resolved into הִלְעָלְהָ? (Dn 4.3).

c **Strong gemination** (indicated by dagesh forte) can be *essential* or *euphonic* (§ h)(1). Essential gemination occurs in the following cases:

1) when a consonant is followed *immediately* by the same consonant, e.g. /nāṭaṅ/ + /nu/ = נָטַנְּנָ (between the two *n*'s there is no vocalic element); /kārət/ + /ti/ = כָּרְתִּי (§ 42 e).

2) when there is assimilation as in יִינְתֵן? for /yintəṅ/.

3) when gemination is required by the very nature of the form: thus in Piel verb forms such as קִטַּל, קִטְּל, קִטְּלָה; in associated noun forms like קִטְּל, קִטְּוֹל, קִטְּיֹל etc.

4) in the case of *spontaneous* gemination of a (non-guttural) consonant (§ d).

(1) These ancient terms (*dagesh necessarium*, *d. euphonicum*), which are retained here, are rather unsatisfactory: *necessary* here is in no way an antonym of *optional*, and among the *necessary* dageshs, all (except the third, which is organic), are due to *euphony*. In some manuscripts one finds still further kinds of dagesh of later invention which one can call *emphatic* (cf. S.D. Luzzatto, *Prolegomeni ad una grammatica ragionata della lingua ebraica* [Padova, 1836], pp. 197f.).

d **Spontaneous gemination** of a (non-guttural) consonant. This gemination is called *spontaneous* because it appears not to have any extrinsic cause, unlike doubling due to assimilation, or any intrinsic cause as in the case of the doubling in the intensive forms(1).

(1) D. Sivan, "Problematic lengthening in North West Semitic spellings of the middle of the second millennium B.C.E.," *UF* 18 (1986) 301-12 discusses consonant lengthening which is not grammatically conditioned in Akkadian of Syria-Palestine. However, the factors occasioning such a lengthening appear to be different in BH.

Spontaneous gemination regularly takes place with the non-final consonant (with the exception of the gutturals and ך), which follows a primitive short vowel /u/. Thus an adjective of the primitive pattern /*'agul/ (Heb. לַעֲגֹל) *round* becomes in the fem. הַעֲגֹלָה (and not הַעֲגֹלָה*)(1), in the pl. הַעֲגֹלִים; likewise אֶדְמָה *red*, אֶדְמָה; עֵמֶק *deep*, עֵמֶק. So it is that the passive form of the Qal, which originally was /*qutal/, became in Hebrew קִטַּל, a form which has the same shape as the passive Piel form קִטַּל (§ 58 a).

e

If the non-final consonant is a guttural or ך, which cannot be doubled, the short /u/ becomes /o/ in an open syllable as in /*gabuh/ (Heb. גַּבְּהוּ) *high* changing in the fem. to גַּבְּהוּהָ.

It can be seen that /o/ cannot be maintained in an open syllable except before a guttural or ך. (But a secondarily restored /o/ is attested, e.g. in יִקְטִילֵי in pause, and even in יִקְטִילֵי in pause, § 32 d)(2). It follows from this that a – in an open syllable before a non-guttural consonant was historically long, e.g. קָטִיל (*qātil* form); מַחְלֵה *dance* from the root חוּל.

(1) The Phoenician name of the Etruscan city of Caere (today Cerveteri located to the south of Lake Bracciano about 50km to the NW of Rome) is transliterated 'Αγυλλα, Lat. Agylla (= *the round-shaped*). Gemination, therefore, must have also existed in Phoenician.

(2) Certain adjectives of the pattern לַטוּל, e.g. לַדוּל *large* were originally of the pattern *qatul*; the o was secondarily lengthened for particular reasons (cf. § 88 D c).

Spontaneous gemination occurs quite frequently after the vowel a as in לַמְּלָה *camel*, pl. הַמְּלָהִים(1); עֵקְרָה *scorpion*, pl. הַעֵקְרָהִים; יֵרְבֹּעַ *jerboa*, pl. הַיֵּרְבֹּעִים; many nouns of the pattern לַטַּלְמֵה, e.g. עֵמֶק *deep places*, § 96 C b. Note the adjective קָטַן *small*, קָטַן, קָטַן; the parallel form קָטַן has no feminine or plural (§ 99 d). One can also observe spontaneous gemination in monosyllabic nouns with a final vowel such as עֵרְבָה *myrtle*, pl. הַעֵרְבָהִים; זְמַן *time*, pl. הַזְּמַנִּים; אֶרְבָּה *marshland*, pl. הַאֶרְבָּהִים.

f

(1) *Camēlus* (κάμηλος) is sometimes written, in a post-classical period, *camellus* (cf. Ital. *cammello* with two spontaneous geminations!).

Spontaneous gemination is attested rather infrequently after the vowel i, e.g. in אֶבְרָה *obligation* (of the *qitāl* pattern); with suf.

g

הַרְרָא(1). It also occurs after a secondary *i* (stemming from *a*) in the formation קִטְלוֹן (from *qatalān*), e.g. זְכוֹרֹן *remembrance*, cst. זְכוֹרֹן (§ 88 M b).

On the virtual spontaneous gemination of the guttural ר, see § 20 c.

(1) Here also belong forms such as Jdg 5.7 הַרְרָא and the demonstrative pron. pl. הַרְרָא. Most cases of spontaneous doubling can, it seems, be accounted for by assuming that originally a stress preceded the consonant now doubled: so Lambert, § 74.

h Amongst the **euphonic** geminations, one may distinguish especially the **conjunctive** gemination (or conjunctive dagesh) and the **dirimens** or **separating** gemination (or dagesh)(§ k). The conjunctive dagesh is caused by the close or very close juncture of two words(1). One must distinguish two cases, that of *dḥiq* and that of *mərḥiq* (§ j).

(1) This is a sandhi phenomenon, unique in that Dagesh occurs word-initially, whilst the normal dagesh forte appears after a vowel.

There is some doubt whether this is a genuine gemination or not: see Berg., I, § 10 o, p. and N.H. Tur-Sinai, *The Language and the Book*, the *Language* vol. [Heb] (Jerusalem, 1954), p. 173. The former, however, seems to go too far in saying that the begadkefat with such a dagesh is not meant to be pronounced hard. Cf. Ps 30.10 – מַה עָצְבִּי transcribed μεββεσε in the Secunda of the Hexapla.

i *Dḥiq* (Aram. דְּחִיק), i.e. *compressed* (the vowel is, so to speak, *compressed* between the two words). The necessary conditions for a *dḥiq* to occur are as follows:

1) The final vowel of the first word must be either ִ (in fact always with the *mater lectionis* ה) or ֵ /ā/ following a shewa "mobile" (in fact always with ה).

2) The stress of the first word must be mil'ra, but it disappears on account of the very close juncture with the following word, which is marked by maqqef or, more rarely, by a conjunctive accent.

3) The stress of the second word must be on the first syllable. Examples: אָנֹכִי-לְךָ /hān-nā' / *come then*; בּוֹ-נֶכְחֶהְךָ /nəkḥēb-bō' / *we shall strike him* (Nu 22.6).

In words lacking primary stress such as לְךָ, נֶכְחֶהְךָ the gameṣ in this position must have an open variety, /q/, like the /ḡ/, which receives the same treatment (cf. § 6 j). The phenomenon does not take place with the close vowels /ḡ/(1) and /q/, and would not do so with a close variety of *a*, i.e. /a/.

Observations. 1) With הָּ gemination takes place irrespective of the stress, e.g. הַפְּרִי־הָּזֶה "and behold its fruit" Nu 13.27 (the stress is on the second syllable). Therefore this case does not strictly belong here.

2) The case of מְהָּ (with pataḥ) does not belong here; cf. § 37 c.

3) The details of the rules and exceptions are complicated; cf. S. Baer, *De primarum vocabulorum literarum dagessatione*, in his edition of *Liber Proverbiorum* (Leipzig, 1880), pp. vii-xv. Likewise for the *meṣāḥiq*.

(1) Thus one always finds אָּהָּ (e.g. Gn 19.8), with one exception, in אָּהָּ Gn 19.2 (var.: a conjunctive accent instead of maqqef). This example shows clearly the disinclination towards the euphonic gemination following the close vowel *e*.

Meṣāḥiq (abbreviated from Aram. מְרַחֵק *coming from afar*), i.e. j
the stress coming from afar (for the stress of the first word is mil'el). The conditions required for *meṣāḥiq* to occur are as follows:

1) The final vowel of the first word must be either \ddot{a} (in fact always with the *mater lectionis* ה) or \ddot{a} / \dot{a} / (here with or without ה)(1).

2) The stress of the first word must be mil'el, whether by nature or by accident, namely because of the receding stress by virtue of the law of *nsiga*(2). The link with the following word must be close, but not too close; and also there is usually no maqqef, but merely a conjunctive accent.

3) The stress in the second word must be on the first syllable. Examples: הַבָּּהֶּן /hābāḥ'štāb-bāh'/ *you like it* Dt 21.14; הִיאָּהָּ *she was his* 1Kg 2.15 (*nsiga*); פְּרִי־עֲשָׂהָּ *fruit-bearing* Gn 1.11 (*nsiga*); וְשָׁבְתָּ *you captured prisoners* Ps 68.19 (שָׁבְתָּ, a pausal form of שָׁבְתָּ); הֲלָּמָּהָּ *why then?* (17 times without maqqef, 7 x with one). Qameṣ in this position must be an open variety, like *seghol* (cf. § i).

Observations 1) The principal difference between these two cases of euphonic dagesh is found in the stress of the first word. In the case of *dḥiq* the stress ought to be mil'ra, but it disappears; in the case of *meṣāḥiq* it *is* or *becomes* mil'el.

2) The fact that qameṣ, though shortened, retains its affinity with /q/ instead of becoming /a/ (as in, e.g. עָּ, עָּ, עָּ; מְהָּ, מְהָּ), shows that the phenomenon is of secondary origin(3).

(1) Exceptionally after /u/, e.g. Gn 19.14 אָּ; for more examples, see Lambert, § 78, n. 4, though not all the cases mentioned there are attested to in BHS.

(2) Cf. § 31 c. According to this law, the first recedes in order to avoid the coming

together of two stresses.

(3) A phenomenon analogous to the euphonic gemination of Hebrew can be adduced from a number of languages, e.g. the vernacular Arabic of Syria-Palestine: *qultu'llo* (for *qult[u] + lo*) "I said to him"; in contemporary French *tu l'as* is often pronounced *tu ll'as* (on the analogy of *il l'a*) cf. § 35 b n.

k **Dagesh dirimens** (or **separating dagesh**). Consonants within a word sometimes occur with this euphonic dagesh.

The gemination, together with the resultant shewa, produces something like a *separation* between the syllables. Thus, instead of **יַעֲנֵבִי***, which would be the expected form for the pl. cst. of **עֲנַבִּי** *grapes*, one finds **יַעֲנֵבִי**, Lv 25.5; Dt 32.32. Likewise one has **יַעֲקֹבִי** Gn 49.17, pl. cst. of **עֲקָבִי** *a heel*. Cf. also 1Sm 1.6 **הִרְעַמְתָּ**.

Dagesh dirimens occurs especially with the liquid consonants *l*, *m*, *n*, with the sibilants, with the velar *q*, and especially before *b*, *p*, *r*. In contrast, one very often omits dagesh with these consonants; cf. § *m* 3. It is rare with the begadkefat where its purpose *can* be to avoid the fricative pronunciation, which would otherwise ensue, e.g. **סִבְכוּ** (var. **סִבְכוּ**) Jer 4.7.

l **Omission of dagesh forte.**

A) A dagesh forte which would be required by a consonant is omitted, if this consonant is word-final. Thus in the future Qal of the verb **סָבַב** *to encircle*, we find **יִסְבְּבוּ**, but in the singular, **יִסְבֵּב**; in the fut. Hif-il **יִסְבְּבוּ**, but **יִסְבֵּב**; in the fut. Qal of the verb **קָלַל** *to be light* (from the root **קָלַל**) we find **יִקְלְלוּ**, but, in the singular, **יִקְלֵל**; in the case of the substantive derived from the root **עַמַּם** we find **עַמִּי** *my people*, but **עַמִּי**, and, with a disjunctive accent, **עַמִּי**(1).

The vowels = and ◌◌ (esp. =), which often occur in this position, indicate at least a tendency of the consonant towards gemination or slight lengthening (cf. § *b*). This would account for the fact that the vowels = and ◌◌ are retained in place of ◌◌ and ◌◌, which one would expect, e.g. in **עַמִּי** alongside **עַמִּי** (with a disjunctive accent) and **עַמִּי**; **צִוּ** apocopated Impv. from **צִוּוּ** (as against, e.g. **צִוּוּ**, **צִוּוּ**); the words such as **מְעַטִּים** (pl. **מְעַטִּים**); **בֵּית** from **bint*, § 98 *d* (as against, e.g. **בֵּית**); **אֲמִי** from **amint*; **בְּרַמְלוֹ**, with suf. **בְּרַמְלוֹ**.

(1) On the dagesh forte in **אֲרָא** 'at (§ 8 *d*, n.) and **נָתַתְּ** *nātat*, see § 39 *a*, n. 4.

m B) A dagesh forte which would have been demanded by a consonant fol-

lowed by shewa "mobile" is often omitted, no doubt because in some cases there was a disinclination to make a long consonant depend on such a weak vowel. This is therefore a case of semi-gemination or weak gemination (§ b).

The suspension of strong gemination, in other words, the shortening of the long consonant into an intermediate one before a shewa, occurs especially in the following cases:

1) Mainly in an initial י: a) always in the Future after the strong Waw (1), e.g. וַיִּקְטֹל (§ 47 a), וַיִּהְיֶה; b) in the nouns after the definite article, e.g. הַיְלֵדִים, so long as the second consonant is not ה or ע, e.g. הַיְהוּדִים, הַיְעָרִים (§ 35 c).

2) Regularly with an initial מ of the Piel and Pual participle after the definite article, e.g. הַמְּבַקֵּשׁ (perhaps in order to avoid two dagesh's) (§ 35 c).

3) Often in the liquids ל, מ, and נ, the sibilants, and the velar ק. (However, in these same consonants one often finds *dagesh dirimens*, cf. § k). Examples: הַנְּגִי (in pause הַנְּגִי); הַלְּלוּ (for the ḥaṭef pataḥ, cf. § 9 c); מִלְמַעְלָה from above (but מִלְמַטָּה from below); בְּקִשָּׁה etc. (often with this verb בָּקַשׁ; even after an initial omission of the dagesh in הַמְּבַקֵּשׁ, Ex 4.19; Jer 11.21); יִשְׂאוּ (Fut. of שָׂא to carry); כִּסֵּאֵי from כִּסֵּא throne; הַצִּפְרִיָּה־עֵים Ex 7.29; הַשֹּׁפְרָתִים Ez 40.43.

4) In the Waw, e.g. עוֹרֵי (sg. עוֹר blind)(1).

(1) Thus only י and the Begadkefat sounds do not allow of the omission of gemination under any circumstances. This is further possible evidence for the case that the apparent dagesh forte with these plosives may in reality be dagesh lene, at least under the phonetic conditions in which the remaining sounds may give up dagesh, and that this points to the first stage of phonematisation of the six fricatives. See above § 5 q, n.

§ 19. Spirantisation of the consonants begadkefat

The twofold pronunciation of the *begadkefat* has been mentioned in § 5 o; we have spoken about the *soft dagesh*, a sign of the plosive pronunciation, § 10, and about the *rafé*, a sign of the spirantised or fricative pronunciation, § 12(1).

(1) On this complex issue, cf. W. von Soden, "Die Spirantisierung von Verschlusslauten im Akkadischen: Ein Vorbericht," *JNES* 27 (1968) 214-20.

b The law of the begadkefat. A *begadkefat* consonant retains its primary plosive value if it is not preceded by any vocalic element; it becomes spirantised or fricative (1) if it is preceded by a vowel, whether full or ḥaṭef, (2) if the initial consonant of a word has a simple shewa (e.g. כָּתֹב *Write!*), (3) if it follows a word-medial consonant with a shewa which has resulted from the deletion of a vowel in the course of inflection (e.g. כָּתְבוּ < כָּתַב; יִכְתְּבוּ < יִכְתֹּב)(¹).

In addition, there are some important categories of spirantisation, which may be explained in terms of morphological pressure or inflectional influence. These are cases where a *begadkefat* consonant is spirantised despite an immediately preceding simple shewa. Thus the cst. of נִדְרָה is נִדְרַת with [v]; 2m.pl. Imperative כָּתְבוּ with [v], derivable from כָּתַב; the inf. cst. with a proclitic בּ, בְּנַפְלִי with [f]; the 2nd person pronominal suffix always with [h] as in בְּרַכְּךָ *your word*, probably influenced by a form such as אָבִיךָ *your father* or אֲבֹתֶיךָ *your fathers* (pl. noun), or with a verb, יִשְׁמְרֶךָ [yišmqrhã] *he will keep you*; the plural of so-called segholate nouns as in מְלָכִי *kings of* (§ 96 *A b*), possibly influenced by מְלָכִים(²).

This law is based on the natural tendency towards inertia. The plosive emission of a begadkefat requires at its onset the closure of the organs of speech, whilst the spirant emission carries with it a measure of aperture. On the other hand, the emission of any vowel leads to an appreciable opening up of the organs of speech. After a vowel, the organs which have the open position necessarily have less effort to make in order to take the position of less opening required by a spirant than the position of closure required by a plosive(³).

(1) The shewa in the last two categories is the so-called "shewa mobile." On a seeming exception to (1), see § 100 *c*.

(2) This is a synchronic description. A diachronic approach might lead to a different interpretation.

(3) Cf. E. Sievers, *Metrische Studien* (Leipzig, 1901), vol. I, p. 15, n. 1.

c At the beginning of a word a begadkefat is plosive if the word is at the very beginning of an utterance or if the preceding word ends in a consonant. If the preceding word ends in a vowel it becomes spirant if there is a juncture, but it is plosive if there is a separation (a disjunctive accent). Compare, e.g. וַיְהִי־כֵן Gn 1.7 and וַיְהִי כֵּן אֲשֶׁר Jdg 11.5

(*zâqef gâdof*).

The quiescent א, ה, ו, and י do not, of course, prevent spirantisation. But ל and י, when pronounced (cf. § 7 d), generally do prevent spirantisation, which proves their consonantal character, e.g. יָדָיו לְבִיאֵינָה Lv 7.30; עָלַי פִּיהֶם Ps 22.14. Similarly within a word, e.g. שְׁלֹוֹתַי Job 3.26.

Exception. Spirantisation does not take place in the initial begadkefat of the groups בּ, פּ, כּ after a vowel, e.g. וַיְהִי בְבוֹאָהּ Jdg 1.14. Two similar or analogous spirants are thus avoided.

In certain cases the plosive realisation of the begadkefat consonants is built into a morphological or lexical pattern. Thus a begadkefat as R2 (= second root letter) in the Qal future is always plosive if preceded by a simple shewa: e.g. יִכָּהֵל. Likewise in singular segholate nouns with a pronominal suffix: e.g. מַלְכִי *my king* (but מַלְכֵיהֶם *their kings*).

At the end of a word-form, unlike הִבְרַחְתָּ mentioned above (§ b), the *Taw* of the second person Past ending is always pronounced hard if preceded by a shewa: e.g. תִּבְרַחְתָּ(1).

(1) On seeming exceptions such as שְׁלַחְתָּ, see § 5 q, n.

§ 20. The guttural consonants (and ג) and gemination

The gutturals א, ה, ח, and ע (§ 5 j-l) were no doubt capable of gemination, namely doubled, at some stage, in Hebrew as in Semitic in general and as is still the case in Arabic. But at the stage of the history of Hebrew which concerns us the gutturals are never geminated(1). But like the non-guttural consonants they are capable of a weak gemination or *virtual* doubling (§ 18 b). This weak gemination is the vestige of an earlier full gemination, except in the case of the spontaneous gemination of ח (§ c). The lingual consonant ג can have neither full gemination (except in a very small number of cases, § 23 a) nor weak gemination(2).

A form with original full gemination of the guttural can, in Hebrew as we know it, either retain weak gemination, e.g. in the future Pi. יִבְעַר *it will consume*, or not retain any gemination at all, as in the Pi. infinitive בְּעַר. The reason why virtual gemination is found at

times, but no gemination at all at other times, as illustrated by the above-given two examples, is not clear. In the type נִפְעַל (Nif. future of first guttural verbs) one never finds virtual gemination (§ 68 c).

The tendency of the gutturals to virtual gemination is rather uneven. It is strong for א , fairly so for ה , weak for ע , very weak for כ , and nil for ג . The order of aptitude for gemination is then $\text{א} > \text{ה} > \text{ע} > \text{כ} > \text{ג}$.

(1) The dot in Alef in אֵלֶיךָ in Gn 43.26; Ezr 8.18; אֵלֶיךָ in Lv 23.17, and אֵלֶיךָ in Job 33.21 does not indicate doubling, but informs the reader that it is not a vowel letter, a practice known in biblical manuscripts with the Palestinian pointing system: cf. I. Yeivin, "Alef with a dagesh in the Bible" [in Heb.] in Y. Avishur & J. Blau (eds), *Studies in Bible and the Ancient Near East* [Fshr S.E. Loewenstamm] (Jerusalem, 1978), pp. 223-27.

(2) The Yemenite and Babylonian traditions did know of the gemination of ג ; see Yeivin, *Babylonian Tradition*, pp. 351-55, and for the literature, *ib.*, p. 355.

b When there is virtual gemination, the syllable is deemed closed, and its vowels are those typical of closed sharp syllables, e.g. in עָבַד as in קָטַל . When there is no virtual gemination, the syllable is open, and its vowels are those typical of open syllables⁽¹⁾, namely ֶ , ֵ , and ִ . Examples with ג : in the Piel conjugation of the verb *to bless* one has, e.g. בָּרַךְ , בָּרַךְ (pausal בָּרַךְ), בָּרַךְ (cf. § 18 e).

(1) Therefore there is no place for talking of a *compensatory* lengthening of the vowel. Cf. § 6 d. In purely phonetic terms, however, the tradition preserved in the Secunda attests to long vowels in these forms, e.g. νῆραθ ἡἄργη Ps 89.40; νῆραθ ἡἄργη 89.52. For a discussion, see Brønno, *Morphologie*, pp. 68-70.

c **Spontaneous gemination of א .** Like the non-guttural consonants (§ 18 d), the guttural א occasionally receives spontaneous, virtual gemination. This property can hardly be explained in terms of weakening of full gemination, because it takes place in words in which the guttural does not require gemination. It is a secondary phenomenon, and is explicable in terms of the nature of the sound h (§ 5 k). This gemination occurs:

1) in the plural of אָח *brother* (Arb. 'ah) in st. abs. אָחַי 'ahhim and with the light suffixes, e.g. אָחַי (P. אָחַי), אָחַי (for the ֵ , cf. § 29 f); cf. § 98 b.

2) in the singular of the numeral adjective אֶחָד *one*, f. אֶחָד , which is of the pattern *qatal* (but pl. אֶחָדִים). Comp. Arb. 'ahad. Cf. § 100 b.

3) in the singular of the adjective אַחֵר *other*, which is of the pattern *qatil* (√ אחר), f. אַחֵרֶת (but pl. אַחֵרִים, אַחֵרוֹת).

4) in the preposition אַחֵר *after* (§ 103 n), properly speaking st. cst. of a substantive of a pattern the st.abs. of which does not exist: אַחֵר (but the preposition with the form of the st.cst.pl. is אַחֵרִים).

5) in the noun מִצְבֵּחַ *confidence* with suffixes, e.g. מִצְבֵּחַי ; cf. § 96 C b.

§ 21. Influence of the guttural consonants on the vowels

The influence of the gutturals on vowels is considerable. The gutturals favour the vowel =, which is *homogeneous* to them; they tend to select it or approximate other vowels to the sound *a*. The degree of attraction by the gutturals of the vowel = is, in descending order, $\aleph > \aleph > \aleph > \aleph > \aleph$.

The vowel = often supplants a primitive vowel *i* or *u* before a guttural closing a stressed syllable. Thus the future of the action verb שְׁלַח *to send* is, in context, שְׁלַחִי (instead of /*yišluḥ/); the Piel future is, in context, שְׁלַחִי (instead of /*yešallih/, P. שְׁלַחִי). The st. cst. of /*mizbiḥ/ is מִצְבֵּחַ (abs. מִצְבֵּחַ *altar*).

The vowel = slips in furtively before a guttural closing a stressed final syllable, after the vowels /o, i, u/, which are heterogeneous to gutturals and can never be supplanted, and also after the vowel /e/, which, in certain circumstances, cannot be supplanted⁽¹⁾. This =, picturesquely called *furtive pataḥ*⁽²⁾, is an extremely short /a/; it is used, in the context just described, as a consonant, i.e. it forms a centering diphthong with the preceding vowel, e.g. רוּחַ *spirit*⁽³⁾; inf. cst. שְׁלַחִי; שְׁלַחִי.

(1) There is no trace of this secondary vowel in the Secunda. Furthermore, \aleph , which has become silent at the end of a word, never takes furtive pataḥ.

(2) In good ancient manuscripts this sign is written between the vowel and the final guttural or slightly to the left of the guttural.

(3) Brock., *GvG*, I, p. 198; BL, p. 169. In Spoken Arabic this same phenomenon exists, e.g. in the very same word /rūḥ/ *spirit*, and in *Go away!* in the vernacular, which is pronounced /rūḥa/.

Before a guttural which closes an unstressed syllable (or considered closed), the primitive vowels *i* and *u* become in Hebrew ϵ and φ , i.e.

they approach the sound *ḡ* (partial assimilation), e.g. /*yi'-šam/ > שָׂאֵי he will render himself guilty, /*yih-zaq/ > יִחַזֵּק he will be strong, /*mu'-mad/ > מַמְצַמֵּם positioned⁽¹⁾; also חַנְּנִי for either חַנְּנִי* (Qal) or חַנְּנִי* (Hifil) (§ 80 k); נִחַמְּךָ Nifal (§ 68 c).

Observation. Of course, a guttural has no influence on the vocalisation of a preceding syllable; thus a preceding shewa is not modified, e.g., שָׁחַט, שָׁחַטָה, פְּעָלִים (plural of פָּעַל), וְהִרְאָהוּ.

(1) Hofal participle. Contrast מְקַטֵּל, which is more frequent than מְקַטֵּל (§ 57 a).

e After a guttural the influence of the guttural is much less.

In stressed closed syllables one often finds = for primitive *i* and *u*, e.g. שָׁחַט he will slaughter for /*yišḥuṭ/, שָׁחַטָה; נִחַמְּךָ for נִחַמְּךָ* (inverted Hif. future of נָחַם) and he testified.

In unstressed closed syllables = is quite often found for =, e.g. in Hif. perfect of ה"ל verbs הִגִּיל occurs alongside הִגִּיל; in nouns, e.g. הִלְקִי (from הִלַּק part), עֲזָרִי (from עָזַר help, variant feminine form עֲזָרָה); in verbs, e.g. שָׁרַף strip in Is 47.2 (with an anomalous dagesh); הִגִּיּוֹן, cst. הִגִּיּוֹן.

f After a guttural one has a ḥaṭef in those cases where a non-guttural consonant would have shewa, e.g. שָׁחַטָה; עֲמַד; קָטַל.

Within a word the ḥaṭef is ordinarily =.

The simple shewa is retained after a guttural in a stressed syllable, e.g. שָׁחַטָה, whilst in an unstressed syllable, it changes to a ḥaṭef, so נִחַמְּךָ for /*na'ri/, אֶסְפֹּף for /ye'sof/, but שָׁחַטָה (§ 68 e).

g At the beginning of a word, after ה, ח, or ע, one finds = for a primitive *a* and *i*, occasionally = for a primitive *i*, and = for a primitive *u*. Examples: חֲמֹר donkey (from *himār, so still in Arb.); חֲקִימָה alongside חֵ from חִקִּים; חֲלִי disease, עֲנִי poverty (pattern qutl).

h At the beginning of a word, after א one has = for a primitive *a*; = for a primitive *i*; = for a primitive *u*. Examples: אָבִי, st.cst. of אָב father; אֵלֹהִים, pl. אֱלֹהִים (Arb. /'ilāh/); אֵנִי vessel (pattern qutl). Note also א in אֲנֹשׁ man (from /*'unāš/ > /*'unōš/, whence, through dissimilation, /*'inōš/ > אֲנֹשׁ, § 29 h).

However, in the primitive patterns qitāl (Heb. אֵטוּל) and qitūl (Heb. אֵטוּל) א is generally found in place of א, even in the st. cst., e.g. אֵזוּר girdle, אֵבֵר manger (cf. § 30 d).

i When, in the course of inflection, = moves away from the stress, it

generally becomes =, e.g. אָדוֹם, אָדוּמִי; the preposition אֶל, in poetry אֶלֶיכֶם, אֶלֶי. Likewise the sequence = ֿ generally becomes = =, e.g. הֶעֱבַרְתִּי Zech 3.4, but וְהֶעֱבַרְתִּי Jer 15.14⁽¹⁾.

The phenomenon must be considered as a case of reinforcement: the hatef is slightly reinforced in order to counterbalance the stress (cf. P. Joüon in *MUSJ* 5 [1911] 374).

(1) Examples such as the last two should not be considered in isolation; the /ha-/, therefore, is a rather unlikely vestige of the widely assumed, primitive form of Hifil, i.e. **haqal* (§ 54 a).

On the change from = to ֿ before a guttural followed by a qameṣ, cf. § 29 f. j

On the preference of pataḥ to seghol as the second vowel of mil'el nouns, see § 88C c, d, h, j. k

§ 22. Auxiliary hatef after a guttural

A guttural can be followed by a simple shewa, exactly like a non-guttural; e.g. in Qal future we find קִיֵּן as one has יִכְבֹּד. But very often, in place of a shewa, one finds an extremely short auxiliary vowel, normally a hatef, of the same timbre as the full vowel; thus, instead of the very rare קִיֵּן, one ordinarily has קִיֶּן. The aim of this auxiliary hatef is to facilitate the transition from the guttural to the following consonant. This very short vowel is spread over the two contiguous syllables, as a result of which syllable division becomes impossible (cf. § 27 a); thus יַעֲמֹד may graphically be represented as /yāʔamod/(¹). a

(1) These hatefs are not, as Kahle thought, an artificial invention of Tiberian scholars' born out of their desire to revive the proper consonantal pronunciation of the gutturals: Sh. Morag in *Tarbiz* 26 (1957) 11f.

The use of the hatef is not governed by strict rules; there are plenty of variations and inconsistencies. One might note the following points: b

- 1) The auxiliary hatef occurs only after an unstressed vowel.
- 2) The auxiliary hatef is more frequent than the simple shewa.
- 3) ׀ and ׃ readily take the hatef; ׁ and ׂ readily go without it.

4) The following consonant may or may not favour the use of the ḥaṭef; indeed the difficulty of transition from the guttural to a following consonant depends on the nature of the latter.

Practical examples are found in the conjugation of first-guttural verbs (§ 68) and second-guttural segholate nouns, e.g. נַעֲרוּ *his youth*, but לֶחֶמִי *my bread* (§ 96 A i), פְּעָלוֹ *his work* (§ 96 A j).

c Change from ḥaṭef to full vowel. When, in the course of the inflection and concomitant lengthening of a word, the vowel which comes after a ḥaṭef must become shewa, the ḥaṭef becomes a full vowel, e.g. יַעֲמֹד, but יַעֲמֹדוּ. More examples: נַעֲרוּ but נַעֲרָה; פְּעָלוֹ but פְּעָלָה (cp. § 65 c and 96 A j; auxiliary ׀ without a guttural). For the metheg cf. § 14 c 3.

As the auxiliary ḥaṭef is not always used, this auxiliary vowel is not always used either; thus alongside the usual יִחְזֹקוּ one finds יִחְזֹקוּ in Is 28.22.

d There occurs a secondary suppression of ḥaṭef occasionally after the preposition ל, e.g. לִלְחַפֵּר in place of לִלְחַפֵּר* (§ 68 e); very rarely after ב: בַּעֲזָר 1Ch 15.26 (var. ע), very rarely after ו: וַעֲצַר Job 4.2. See also, with the verbs הִזְהִי and הִזְהִי, forms like לְהִיזֹת (§ 79 s).

§ 23. The consonant ׀ compared with the gutturals

a The lingual consonant ׀ is treated in part like the gutturals, though it is not guttural in articulation (§ 5 n).

Like the gutturals, ׀ does not lend itself to gemination. It never has virtual gemination⁽¹⁾. As for the full gemination indicated by the dagesh, ׀ does allow it very rarely, though never after the definite article. One always (3 times in fact) finds הִזְהִיִּי⁽²⁾ *have you seen?* 1Sm 10.24; 17.25; 2Kg 6.32†; מַרְרַת /morrāt/ *bitterness of* Pr 14.10; לֹא־שָׁרַףְךָ *your umbilical cord was not cut* Ez 16.4; שֵׁרֵאִשִּׁי *that my head* Ct 5.2; sometimes after a euphonic dagesh (*dḥiq* or *merḥiq*), in some editions.

(1) Cf. Σαππα = שָׁרַף; Γομορρα = עֲמַרְרָה.

(2) Cf. SH forms such as /ar'rā/ *he showed*; Ben-Hayyim, *LOT*, vol. 5, p. 119. ׀ following the interrogative ה is not treated like the gutturals; thus one says הִזְהִיִּי *did you see?* (§ 102 n).

b Like the gutturals, final ׀ favours the vowel =⁽¹⁾. Examples: נִיָּטַר from טַר *to turn* for Qal נִיָּטַר* and for Hif. נִיָּטַר* (§ 80 k); וַיָּרָא from

הִאָּרָא to see (Qal future הִאָּרָא), which can be easily confused with Hif. (apoc. fut. of הִאָּרָא); אָּרָא and he besieged from אָּרָא, for אָּרָא*, a form which can be easily confused with אָּרָא and he pressed hard, Hif. of אָּרָא, root אָּרָא, Hif. אָּרָא, אָּרָא. But with אָּ one finds אָּרָא and it was narrow, § 82 b; אָּרָא, § 73 d. In nouns we find אָּ, e.g. אָּרָא, אָּרָא etc. (1) In Syriac final *r* and even final *l* sometimes attract the vowel *a*.

§ 24. The guttural א

Alef is the weakest of the gutturals. In the period of the history of Hebrew we are concerned with, it is very often no longer pronounced; sometimes it is not even written. (On the pronunciation of א, see § 5 j; on א as *mater lectionis*, § 7 b).

Alef is actually pronounced in a syllable that is closed in one way or other, namely: 1) in a properly closed syllable, e.g. אָּרָא /yē'-šam/ he will make himself guilty (the syllable is closed as in אָּרָא); 2) in semi-closed syllables, e.g. אָּרָא, אָּרָא (§ 22 a); 3) in virtually closed syllables, i.e. after virtual gemination (§ 20 a), e.g. אָּרָא he has committed adultery.

Alef, when it is a word-medial or final radical, is pronounced when followed by a vowel: e.g. אָּרָא = [kisse] chair, but אָּרָא = [kis'i] my chair, and אָּרָא [šā'al] he asked. Morphophonemically it makes some sense to analyse a form such as אָּרָא he found as /māšā'/, resulting in a neat picture of the paradigm vis-à-vis, say, אָּרָא /māš'u/ they found.

Everywhere else Alef is not pronounced. Silent Alef occurs either after the vowel of a syllable which it once closed, e.g. אָּרָא from /*maša'/ (Alef *quiescens*), or before the vowel of a syllable of which it was once the first constituent⁽¹⁾, e.g. אָּרָא from /*'amar/, now pronounced /'amar/, as if the vowel were the first sound of the sequence.

(1) In this case the א has become a mere prop for a vowel, like the Arabic Alif without hamza. It would be rather strange if, in the stage of the language when Alef was no longer pronounced at the end of a word, where it is easy to pronounce, it should have been pronounced at the beginning of a word or a syllable where it is more difficult to pronounce. But many authors give to Alef at the beginning of a word or a syllable a consonantal value, even at the latest stage of the language.

The /a/ preceding a vowelless /' / has undergone two different deve-

lopments. On the one hand, it has developed into /ā/, subsequently /o/, which is common Semitic phenomenon, as is the case in *שׂאֵר* *head* from /ra's/ > /rāš/ > *שׂאֵר* (§ 98 f) and in *שׂאֵר* *small cattle* from /ša'n/ (cf. Arb. /ra's/ and /da'n/). One also finds *מֵאֵזֶן* *scales* (in Arb. with the root /wazana/), *מֵוֹסֵר* *link* from /ma'sir/ (א omitted in writing)(1); cf. § 88 L h. One must note further the /o/ of *אֵכֵל* (Fut. 1st pers.): the primitive sequence /'a'/ has become in Common Semitic /'ā/, whence Heb. /'o/ (cf. § 73 b).

On the other hand, after this typically Canaanite phonetic change had ceased to operate, /a/ became /ā/, then /ǎ/, as in /maša'/ > /māšā'/ > /mǎšǎ'/.

(1) For a classification and a listing of graphically omitted etymological Alef's, see AF, pp. 85-88.

e Contractions. Through its quiescence א occasions contractions, e.g. *לְאָמַר** > *לְאָמַר*, *לְאָלְהִים** > *לְאָלְהִים* (§ 103 b). In view of *אֵצְלֵהֶי* Nu 11.17 and no unmistakable example of a Hifil of this verb, *אֵצְלֵהֶי* ib. 11.25Q must be considered an *i* impf. (pace Berg., II, §§ 14 h, 31 h). In certain forms of the word *אָרוֹן* after א, ב, ל, and ו the vowel = is retained in open syllables, e.g. *לְאָרְוֵי*, *לְאָרְוֵי* (§ 103 b). Note also *אֵעֲנֶה* 1Kg 11.39; *אֵיִת* Is 41.25; *אֵשׂוֹת* Dt 24.10. *אֵאֲבֹדְךָ* Ez 28.16 for *אֵאֲבֹדְךָ* is slightly different.

f Transposition of vowels. Through its quiescence א sometimes occasions a transposition of vowels, e.g. *מֵאֲתִים* 200 for *מֵאֲתִים** (from *מֵאֲתִים*); *הָרְאוּבֵנִי* *the Reubenite* from *רְאוּבֵן*; *מְלָאכָה* *work* for *מְלָאכָה**; *שׂוֹמְאֵל* (*שׂוֹמְאֵל*) from /*šim-'āl/.

On the vocalisation of the initial א, cf. § 21 h.

fa The syncope of /' / after a vowelless consonant, which is standard in Late Aramaic, is not as common as in Qumran orthography, on which see Qimron, *Hebrew of DSS*, p. 25. A case such as Ez 28.16 *מָלְאוּ* *they filled* is most likely a different phenomenon, namely the merging of א"ל with ה"ל verbs; see Kutscher, *Isaiah*, p. 343. See also § 17 e.

Note also *רְאֵשִׁים* for /*r'āšim/. An Alef such as this can be elided graphically as well: *תּוֹמֵם* Gn 25.24; *אֵחָשׁוּבָה* ib. 31.39; *לְהֵשׂוֹת* 2Kg 19.25 (// *לְהֵשׂוֹת* Is 37.26, but *לְשׂוֹת* in 1Q Is^a).

§ 25. The guttural ה

ה is a rather weak guttural; often it is not pronounced. a

ה within a word is always pronounced. Word-final ה is generally quiescent. Therefore, when it is irregularly pronounced, it is marked by a mappiq (§ 11 a), e.g. גַּבְּהַ /gāvō^{ah}/ *high*, הֵלֶךְ /lāh/ *to her*. The masorah demands that the ה of this last word in Nu 32.42; Zech 5.11, and Ru 2.14 (§ 103 f) not be pronounced; in these verses הֵלֶךְ is spelled with a rafé for the sake of greater clarity (§ 12 a). Other examples of the fem. suffix הַ without a mappiq: with the verb, § 61 i; with the noun, § 94 h. Note the theophoric element הַ as in הַשְׁמַיִם for הַשְׁמַיִם and הַמַּיִם for הַמַּיִם.

On the syncope of ה, cf. § 17 e. b

With the perf. 3f. one has הִתְהַלְּכָה and, by syncope of ה and gemination of ת, הִתְהַלְּכָה and הִתְהַלְּכָה (cf. § 62 d). c

The ה of the pronominal suffix 3m. disappears in many forms, e.g. /*lahu/ > /law/ > לוֹ; /pīhu/ > פִּיו (/piw/).

§ 26. Semi-vocalic consonants ו and י

The semi-vocalic consonants ו and י often lose their consonantal character, frequently coalescing with a preceding vowel, and sometimes dropping out completely. a

The sequence /uw/ becomes /u/, e.g. /*huwšab/ > הַשָּׁב. The group /iy/ becomes /i/, e.g. /*yiyraš/ > יִירָשׁ; with the prepositions וּ, וְ, לְ, and וְ, and the conjunction וְ one finds, e.g., with יָמֵי *days of*: וְיָמֵי, וְיָמֵי, וְיָמֵי, וְיָמֵי, and וְיָמֵי (cf. § 103 b). b

The word-final cluster /iy/ may become הַי, e.g. /šmōniy/ > שְׁמוֹנֶה (cf. Arb. /tamānⁱⁿ/) *eight*; הַיִּיִּי *proud* (*qittil* pattern); cf. Barth, *Nominalbildung*, pp. XXXff.

The groups /aw/ and /ay/ may be either retained or simplified⁽¹⁾ respectively into /o/ and /e/ (less frequently /e/). c

In the st.abs. occurs מוֹת, but יוֹט, שוֹט, צוֹט (according to the st. cst., § 96 A f); in the st.cst. מוֹת, יוֹט, etc.⁽²⁾.

In the st.abs. we find תֵּיבֵּי with a paragogic ה, הַתֵּיבֵּי; in the st.cst. תֵּיבֵּי⁽³⁾.

The negative particle ׀יֹם becomes ׀יֹם when closely linked to the following word (§ 160 h).

The substantive /śaday/, poet. ׀יֹם, becomes abs. ׀יֹם, cst. ׀יֹם. Before the suffixes, the form of the pl. noun /susay/ becomes ׀יֹם in ׀יֹם etc., but ׀יֹם in ׀יֹם, ׀יֹם, § 94 d.

On the pronunciation of the sequences /aw/, /ay/ etc., cf. § 7 d.

(1) In contrast to the contraction observable in the northern dialect (Samaria ostraca ׀י for ׀יֹם) and Ammonite (same word).

(2) One should note the absence of contraction in ׀יֹם *injustice* (no doubt in order to avoid confusion with ׀יֹם *burnt-offering*) and in ׀יֹם *a cry for help* (for ׀יֹם* from ׀יֹם *to cry for help*); cf. also § 79 a ׀יֹם.

(3) Note the absence of contraction in ׀יֹם *night*, § 93 g, n.

d At the end of a word, for example, /w/ and /y/ after a consonant become /u/ and /i/ respectively; e.g. /wəyyištə'hw/, an apocopated form of ׀יֹם *he will worship* becomes ׀יֹם /wəyyištə'hu/ (§ 79 t); /ša'hw/ *swimming* becomes ׀יֹם (Ez 47.5); /pa'ty/ *simple, unsophisticated* becomes ׀יֹם.

Note that this short *u* and this short *i* are necessarily written *plene*.

e The conjunction ׀ before a labial and any consonant other than /y/ with a plain shewa becomes ׀, i.e. the simple vowel *u* (cf. § 14 c 2), e.g. ׀יֹם (cf. § 104 c)(1).

Word-initial ׀, properly *yi*, seems to have been pronounced simply as *i*, at least in certain schools, and so in Contemporary Israeli Hebrew. Thus the proper noun ׀יֹם is written ׀יֹם in 1Ch 2.13. According to Qimḥi ׀יֹם is pronounced [iqṭol](2).

(1) Not *ū* or *'u*, according to a 10th (?) century massoretic scholar: K. Levy, op. cit. [§ 1 a, n.], p. 24*.

(2) For examples of a word-initial /i/ > /y/, see C.D. Isbell, "Initial 'Alef-Yod interchange and selected biblical passages," *JNES* 37 (1978) 227-36.

f A word-initial primitive *w* is replaced by *y*(1), e.g. **walad* > ׀יֹם *to give birth* (§ 75 a), as a result of which one does not find words beginning with a ׀, except for the conjunction ׀, the common ׀יֹם *hook*, two isolated and suspect words, ׀יֹם and ׀יֹם, as well as several proper nouns. Moreover, the original Waw can still be recognised in some verb forms (§ 75 a).

The verbs with a primitive *w* as the third radical have been absorbed by those with a primitive *y* as their third radical (§ 79 a).

Alongside the normal but very rare form קִּילָה (from קִּילָה) one has the rare form קִּילָה (§ 80 h).

(1) This had already occurred in Ugaritic.

Within a word the doubling of /w/ or /y/ is sometimes avoided by substituting the adjacent consonant for it: /znunim/ for /*znuwwim/; /plili/ for /*pliyyi/; /*'ariri/ for /*'ariyyi/ ; see also § 80 h(1).

(1) See Lambert, § 111.

§ 27. On the syllable

In Hebrew, as in some other languages, the division into syllables is not always possible(1). When it is possible, the syllables are normal, but when it is not, one can only speak of improper or abnormal syllables.

(1) On this important phenomenon of phonetics, see especially O. Jespersen, *Elementarbuch der Phonetik* (Leipzig/Berlin, 1912), p. 153, and *Lehrbuch der Phonetik* (Leipzig/Berlin, 21913), pp. 201-3, where he adduces useful examples from German, some of which have their analogue in Hebrew.

A normal syllable is either *open* or *closed*.

The *open* syllable ends with a vowel: in קִּילָה /qâ-!lâ/ *she killed*, /qâ/ and /!lâ/ are open syllables.

The *closed* syllable ends with a consonant or consonants: in קִּילָה /'oḥ-lâ/ *food*, מַלְכִּי /mâl-ki/ *my king*, the syllables /'oḥ/ and /mâl/ are closed.

When the consonant which closes the syllable is doubled, the syllable is said to be *sharp*, e.g. עַמִּי /'am-mi/, אֲמִי, קִּילָה; מִלְכִּי, יִבְבִּי, יִבְבִּי.

The *abnormal* syllables in Hebrew are syllables *incompletely closed*. One can distinguish:

1) the *semi-closed* syllable(1). This may be found in the case of auxiliary ḥaṭef (§ 22 a), e.g. מְדַבֵּר /yâ'āmod/; in the case of a full auxiliary vowel replacing an auxiliary ḥaṭef (§ 22 c), e.g. דַּבְּרִי /yâ'āmdu/; and finally in the case of the auxiliary vowel of segholated forms, e.g. פְּרָעָה /se'fēr/ (properly speaking, /se'fēr/, § 96 A b), וַיַּיְיָ /wāyyi'gēl/ (an apocopated form of וַיַּיְיָ, § 79 i)(2).

2) the *virtually closed* syllable. This is a simple variant of the semi-closed syllable similar to what we have in cases of virtual gemination, e.g. בַּעַר (§ 20 a), אַחִים (spontaneous gemination, § 20 c).

(1) This term is preferable to *half-open*, for the vowels are those of closed syllables.

(2) In these forms the last vowel was originally very short; however, the final vowel marked with the same vowel sign must have been slightly longer in forms like וַיִּשָׁב (from the future וַיִּשָׁב) where the ־ is not auxiliary (syllabification: *way-ye'-šev*).

d **Observations** 1) In the laws of rhythm, one takes into account full syllables only; thus in יִוְרְדֵי בֹר Ps 28.1 the first word is counted as disyllabic (cf. § 31 c). Likewise, one ignores the auxiliary vowels; e.g. in נִצְמְרָה יְהוָה Is 50.8 the first word is counted as disyllabic (cf. § 22 c).

2) A syllable is considered always to begin with a consonant (or consonants), and this is reflected in the Hebrew writing system. But phonetically the syllable occasionally begins with a vowel; this is often the case with א, e.g. in words such as אַמַּר , where the Alef is not pronounced (§ 24 c), in the case of initial Waw (§ 26 e), and perhaps of initial Yod (§ 26 e).

da 3) A syllable may begin with a cluster of two consonants, the first bearing a shewa, whether simple or compound: e.g. סְפָרִים /sfâ-rim/; אַרְצוֹת /'arâšot/(1).

(1) To early Mediaeval Hebrew grammarians shewa as in יְרֵכִים or *ḥatef's* did not have the same syllabic status as full vowels: thus the Hebrew word mentioned was segmented into יְרֵ and כִּים , though this does not necessarily mean that such a shewa was considered "quiescent." (Y.P. Gumpertz, *The Pronunciations of our Language: Studies in Phonetics* [Heb] (Jerusalem, 1953), pp. 131-41, and D. Kimḥi, *מכּלוּל*, [ed. I. Rittenberg] (Lyck, 1862), p. 136b.

db 4) A syllable may close with two different consonants, the last being more often than not a plosive: וַיִּשָׁב and *he drank*; יִלְדֵת [partic.] (*she will*) *bear*; וַיִּבְכֶּה and *he wept*; וַיִּשָׁב and *he took captive*; נָרַד *nard*; טְשֻׁבָה *truth*. On תָּא and forms such as תָּבַת (pf. 2f.s.), cf. § 18 l, n. 1. Where an identical consonant was originally doubled at the end of a word, it is simplified: so בֵּל but לְבִי , חַק but חֻקִּי . This also suggests that תָּא = /'at/ rather than /'att/, and that תָּאֵת = /nâṭat/ rather than /nâṭatt/, let alone /nâṭa'ttə/.

§ 28. Vowels in relation to various types of syllable

There are rules governing relationships between vowel type and syllable type⁽¹⁾. Certain vowels are impossible or exceptional in certain positions. We shall give a practical table of the most common relationships, which should enable the student to avoid certain glaring errors in vocalisation. The vowels י־, י, ׀ (i.e. /i/ spelled without Yod as *mater lectionis*), and ׀ cause no difficulty: the last two occur only in unstressed closed syllables, e.g. יִקְטֹל, יִקְטֹל.

a

(1) Cf. contemporary French in which, for example, *e* in a closed syllable is always an open ϵ . The academic orthography *événement* presupposes the pronunciation of the silent *e* and the syllabification *é-vé-ne-ment*; in fact, since the silent *e* is no longer pronounced, the word becomes phonetically *é-vèn-ment*.

A. 1) In an **open unstressed** syllable one can have the following vowels:

b

Historically long י, י־, and ׀: e.g. תִּקְוֵינָה, תִּקְוֵינָה, קֹטֵל (from /*qātil/), אֱלֹהִים (from /*ilāhīm/).

׀, ׀, and ׀: שְׁלוֹם, עֲנֹב, גְּבוּהָ (but ׀ only before a guttural; § 18 d).

=, ׀, and ׀: only in special cases, e.g. with the interrogative ה (§ 102 n): הֲאֵלֵךְ *shall I go?*, הֲחָכֵם *is he wise?*; very rarely ׀, e.g. קִרְבָּנִים (§ 6 l).

ḥatef: אֲנִי, אֲנוֹשׁ, אֲנִי *ships*.

2) In an **open stressed** syllable one can have the following vowels:

Historically long י, י־, and י: יִקְרָמוּ, יִקְרָמוּ, יִקְרָמוּ.

׀, and ׀: אֶתָּה, וְקִטְלֵנִי, קִטְלֵנִי; לֵנוּ, יִקְטֹלֵהוּ; סוֹטֵנוּ.

= and ׀: only in special cases, e.g. יִקְטֹלֵנִי, יִקְטֹלֵנִי; never ׀ (nor ׀ or ׀).

B. 1) In a **closed unstressed** syllable one can have the following vowels:

c

=, ׀, and ׀ (only): מִלְכֵי, חֲלָקֵי, קִרְבָּנֵי, וְחֲזָנֵי.

2) In a non-final **closed stressed** syllable one can have the following vowels:

׀, ׀, and ׀: מִתְּקַלְלֵנִי, מִתְּקַלְלֵנִי, מִתְּקַלְלֵנִי, מִתְּקַלְלֵנִי.

normally ׀: מִתְּקַלְלֵנִי; rarely ׀ and only in a sharp syllable, e.g. in the suffixes מִתְּקַלְלֵנִי, מִתְּקַלְלֵנִי etc.; never ׀ (nor ׀ or ׀).

3) In a final **stressed closed** syllable one can have the following

vowels:

Historically long ו, י, and יו: יְקוּם, יִקְוּם, יִקְוּל.

וּ, ו, and וּ: קָטַן, קָטַן, קָטַן.

often =: קָטַל, קָטַל (form of liaison); rather infrequently =: קָטַל, קָטַל, קָטַל, קָטַל; suffixes כָּם, כָּן; תָּן, תָּן; never = (or = or =).

§ 29. Vowel changes

a Vowel changes, whether from primitive vowels (§ 6 i) or within Hebrew, are a prominent characteristic of Hebrew (and Aramaic). This fluidity is, moreover, rather uneven, conditioned by vowel quantity and syllable type. Vowel changes and deletions are often due to stress shift (§ 30).

aa Two important laws capable of accounting for alternation between /a/ and /i/ at either a diachronic or synchronic level are often mentioned. The first, Philippi's law⁽¹⁾, states that /i/ in a closed stressed syllable changes to /a/: e.g. /*bint/ (as in Classical Arabic) > בִּת (but with the original vowel retained when suffixed, בִּתִּי etc.). The second, the law of attenuation, purports to account for the opposite phenomenon: /a/ in a closed, but *unstressed* syllable changes to /i/: e.g. /*haqtal/ > /*hiqtal/ > (on the analogy of the future) /hiqtal/, which is the standard and basic Hifil pattern. Neither law is free from exceptions or difficulties⁽²⁾.

(1) So named after F.W.M. Philippi, *ZDMG* 32 (1878) 42. On a reconstructed chronology of Philippi's law, see J. Blau in *Proceedings of the Ninth World Congress of Jewish Studies*, Division D, vol. 1 (Jerusalem, 1986), pp. 1-4, and Blau, *Grammar*, § 9. Cf. also T.O. Lambdin, "Philippi's law reconsidered," A. Kort and S. Morshcauser (eds), *Biblical and Related Studies* [Fschr. S. Iwry] (Winona Lake, 1985), pp. 135-45.

(2) See the succinct survey in Harviainen, *op. cit.* [§ 6 f, n.], pp. 16-21.

b The originally long vowels /o/ (derived from /ā/ or /aw/), /u/, and /i/ are generally quite stable⁽¹⁾, but /o/ in a syllable which has become unstressed, often weakens to /u/. The latter phenomenon is a regular one in the conjugation of the Nifal נִקְוּם of ו"ע verbs in the Perf.: the /o/ becomes /u/ when it has lost the principal or secondary stress: נִקְוּמָה, נִקְוּמָה, but נִקְוּמָה (§ 80 l)(2). One may occasionally observe the same alternation in certain doublets: מְנוּחַ rest and מְנוּחָה a place where one spends a night and מְנוּחָה flight (with suf. מְנוּחָה)

and מְנוּסָה⁽³⁾.

(1) See § 89 *i* for an exception in the case of *o*, and § 89 *f* for an exception in the case of *i*.

(2) This could have been influenced by the same change which is frequent in cases such as יִטְבוּ, תִּסְבְּינָה; חֶק, חָקִי.

(3) In certain words for which there is no similar doublet, e.g. תְּבוּנָה *understanding*, the *u* seems to derive from an *o* (and therefore from a primitive *ā*); cf. P. Joüon in *Bib* 1 (1920) 369. See also words like מְדַבֵּר, § 88 L *e*.

The vowel \bar{a} , on losing stress, normally becomes \bar{a} : דָּבַר, cst.st. דָּבַר; c
 דָּבַר *blood*, cst.st. דָּבַר.

The vowel \bar{e} , on losing stress, normally becomes \bar{e} or (particularly in a sharp syllable) \bar{e} : כָּל, כָּל־, כָּלֶם, יִטְבוּ, וְיִטְבוּ, יִטְבוּ, תִּסְבְּינָה, חֶק, חָקִי.

The vowel \bar{e} , on losing stress, normally becomes \bar{e} or (especially in a sharp syllable) \bar{e} : אֵת, אֵת־, יִטְבוּ, וְיִטְבוּ, יִטְבוּ, תִּסְבְּינָה, אָמִי, אָמִי.

The weakening of \bar{e} to \bar{e} has occasionally been felt excessive; then \bar{e} d
 simply becomes \bar{e} . Thus, in Piel, קָטַל is the normal and pausal form, whereas קָטַל is a secondary form of liaison (§ 52 *c*). In the quiescent פ"א verbs, יִאָכַל is the pausal form, and יִאָכַל the contextual form (§ 73 *d*). In the inflection of the type יִקְוֹ the st.cst. is יִקְוֹ (§ 96 B *d*)(¹), a change in which one can observe Philippi's law (§ *aa*) at work. Similarly, in a stressed closed penultimate syllable, one often finds \bar{e} for \bar{e} : קָבַד, קָבַדְתָּ; קָטַל, קָטַלְתָּ, and in Hifil תִּקְטַלְתָּ (for **hiqtilta*, תִּקְטַלְתָּ*). The behaviour of the f.pl. future ending *elnâ*, however, is problematic: *elnâ* remains in the Hifil תִּקְטַלְתָּ (in order to preserve somehow the characteristic *i*); *elnâ* generally remains in Piel, whereas in Hitpael one generally finds *alnâ*; *alnâ* is always found in the Nifal, even in pause (i.e. as in the passive conjugations Pual and Hofal, and perhaps on the analogy of these conjugations); in the Qal of פ"ו verbs one always has *alnâ*: תִּשְׁבְּנָה. In the imperative one finds only תִּשְׁבְּנָה† (in spite of תִּשְׁבְּנָה) and Pi. לְמַדְנָה (Stade, § 612). The abnormal form *elnâ* occurs once in וַתִּקְטַלְתָּ Ez 13.19.

(1) However \bar{e} can become \bar{e} , e.g. הִפְרָה, הִפְרָה (§ 32 *c*).

The vowel \bar{e} can be weakened to either \bar{e} or \bar{e} (§ *g*). e

The first degree of attenuation of \bar{e} to \bar{e} is frequent(¹). It occurs:

1) in the segholate nouns of מְלִכָּה type (cf. מְלִכָּה) and verb יִגְלֶה (apocopated from יִגְלֶה) where the stressed ם for = is due to the influence of the auxiliary ם, § 96 A b,

2) probably in the majority of forms /meqtał/ and /meqtlå/ before a non-guttural, e.g. מְרִכָּב chariot, מְשֻׁלָּה rule(2),

3) in certain isolated cases the most notable of which is יְדָכְךָ your (m.pl.) hand from יָד, est. יָד. (Likewise in BA one has יְדֵיהֶם their hand Ezr 5.8).

(1) In the Babylonian pronunciation *q* became *ä* (= *ɛ*), § 6 g, n.

(2) Before a guttural ם probably derives from the partial assimilation of an original *i* to the guttural (§ 21 d), e.g. in מַחְזָז window (contrast מַחְזֵז vision).

f Furthermore, = regularly becomes ם before a guttural followed by a qameš or by haṭeṣ qameš. Examples: אִחִים but אִחָיו, אִחִים but אִחָיו (§ 20 c); בְּחָרָב but בְּחָרָב; יִתְנַחֵם* but יִתְנַחֵם he will repent; חָכָם the sage and Is he wise?; חָכָם but חָכָם (§ 34 d).

If the qameš is "short" (i.e. in unstressed closed syllables), the = will remain, e.g. חָכָם wisdom. The reason for this exception is not clear.

The change from = to ם can hardly be considered here as attenuation. The two timbres /ɛ/ and /q/ are two symmetrical open vowels in the vowel scale of Hebrew (§ 6 b): indeed they are separated by one degree from the central vowel /a/. The law in question therefore can be explained in terms of a tendency to vowel harmony.

This vowel sequence /ɛ — q/(1) is very much favoured and is found outside of the bounds of the law cited here. Thus:

A) Before gutturals: 1) יִקְטֹלֶה but יִקְטֹלֶה; 2) one has יִקְטֹלֶה he will bind, יִקְטֹלֶה, but יִקְטֹלֶה Job 5.18† (where one has /q/, stemming from /u/ in pause, § 32 c); in two closely linked words, e.g. מָה עֲשִׂיתִי (for מָה [§ 37 c]), דַּעַת חָכָם (for דַּעַת; before a short qameš!) Pr 24.14 Know wisdom!.

B) Before non-gutturals: 1) סוֹטֵינוּ, but סוֹטֵינוּ; 2) סוֹטֵינוּ, סוֹטֵינוּ but סוֹטֵינוּ; 3) פָּרִי, פָּרִי, but פָּרִי; 4) פְּדָן (a proper noun) but פְּדָן(2).

(1) In discussing this vowel sequence, we transcribe the qameš derived from *a*, namely *ä*, in a purely phonetic manner: *q*, for the reason that we wish to draw attention to a phonetic phenomenon.

(2) See also §§ 68 e, 79 q, 88 L g, 93 c, 94 c,d,h, 96 A q, B f.

g The second degree of attenuation from = to ם (the law of attenua-

tion; § aa) is likewise very frequent.

A primitive /a/ has become \bar{a} in the perfects הִקְטִיל , הִקְטִיל (but fut. יִקְטִיל), קָטַל (in a sharp syllable, but fut. יִקְטִיל); in the Qal future of action verbs יִקְטִל (§ 41 e), in the cst.pl. of the type הִבְרִי (from הִבְרָה) for /davre/ (§ 96 B b)(1).

The attenuation from = to \bar{a} occurs frequently in declension of nouns: 1) in the types צִדְקִי alongside מְלָכִי , בְּגָדִי alongside מְלָכִי , נֹסְפִי alongside פְּבִשָׁה , פְּבִשָׁה alongside פְּבִשָׁה (thus one finds the fem. infinitive קִטְלָה alongside קִטְלָה , § 49 d)(2); in the declension of the type מְרִבֵּץ , cst. מְרִבֵּץ (dissimilation; cf. § 96 C c); 3) in the form דְּמָמְכֶם your (m.pl.) blood. (Likewise in Targumic Aramaic one has דְּמִמְכוֹן ; cf. G. Dalman, *Grammatik des jüdisch-palästinischen Aramäisch* etc. [Leipzig, 21905], p. 202); 4) in some nouns of *qall* pattern, e.g. מָס - פְּתִים - פֶּת , מְסִים , but not in שִׁקִּים - שִׁק nor in adjectives as in רְבִים - רֵב - רֵלִים .

(1) An alternative (widely accepted) explanation for this last example and its likes is to say that the /i/ is a helping vowel designed to resolve word-initial consonantal clusters, namely /*dvre/ > /divre/, including clusters of which the initial consonant is a proclitic as in /*ldvârim/ > /lidvârim/. But see § 96 B b, and the relevant footnote. The notion of "helping vowel" is mediaeval, being known already to Lambert (§§ 39, 3; 118), and is fully expounded and applied to various grammatical categories by J. Cantineau in his "La voyelle de secours *i* dans les langues sémitiques," *Semiotica* 2 (1949) 51-67, which is a penetrating critique of M. Bravmann, "Über *i* als Hilfsvokal im Wortinnern: eine Untersuchung zum Verhältnis von Akzent und Vokal im Semitischen," *Monde Oriental* 32 (1938) 1-102. Cantineau rejects Bravmann's account of phonetic processes involved, but agrees that helping vowels of various kinds, chiefly /i/, arose to resolve word-initial consonantal clusters which resulted from the loss of vowels in word-initial open syllables.

(2) There is no absolute certainty, however, that the underlying vowel in these forms is really /a/: evidence from cognate languages is often contradictory (e.g. Syr. /kspâ/) and there are internal fluctuations as well (e.g. הִבְרִי as well as הִבְרִי). Cf. § 88C a*.

Dissimilation. Certain vowels cannot be explained except in terms of a tendency to avoid a sequence of two vowels of identical or similar timbre. h

The first vowel in רְאִשׁוֹן (from רִאשׁוֹן) is due to dissimilation; analogously חִיצוֹן from חִיצוֹן , תִּיכוֹן from cst. תִּיכוֹן , אֲנוֹשׁ (§ 21 h), יִשְׁוֹעַ for יִשְׁוֹעַ from יְהוֹשְׁוֹעַ (proper noun).

The second vowel is dissimilated in לִּלְאֵל (4 times; לִּלְאֵי 10 times) *if* . . . *not* from לִּלְ + לְאֵ; and in the type לִּלְאֵל of the future of quiescent א"פ verbs, for /'oħol/ (§ 73 c).

§ 30. Loss of vowels

- a Vowels, whether primitive or Hebrew, often disappear by virtue of the energetic character or shift of the stress. The elided vowel leaves a slight trace in the form of a shewa or one of its substitutes, namely the ḥaṭefs. Thus the word דָּבַר becomes דְּבַר in the construct state in which the principal stress disappears, and דְּבָרִים in the pl.abs. in which the stress shifts on to /im/.
- b Originally long vowels and contracted vowels are not lost; for example, in the type מַיְטִיב for /maytib/, the two vowels concerned remain throughout the inflection: cst. מַיְטִיב, pl. מַיְטִיבִים, cst. מַיְטִיבֵי.
- In the alternations of the fut. indicative יִקְוֶה, fut. jussive יִקְוֶה, inverted fut. יִקְוֶה, one has to do with different forms in that the primitive form of the indicative had a long vowel and the primitive form of the jussive a short vowel.
- c The primitive short vowels in closed syllables are protected by the very nature of the syllable; they can change their timbre, but are not lost, e.g. /*qudši/ > קִדְּשִׁי.
- d The primitive short vowels in open syllables are liable to be lost. The following principal facts may be observed:
- A) In the mil'ra disyllabic words:
- 1) the initial vowel remains if the second is a primitive short one, e.g. /*qatal/ > קָטַל; /*dabar/ > דָּבַר; /*'inab/ > עֲנַב; /*'ilay/ > אֵלַי towards me.
- 2) If the second vowel was originally long, the initial primitive vowel /a/ remains⁽¹⁾, the primitive /i/ and /u/ are lost, e.g. with initial /a/: /*qaṭāl/ > קָטַל (inf. abs.), /*šalām/ > שָׁלוֹם, /*qaṭūl/ > קָטַל (pass. ptc.); with initial /i/: /*zirā'/ (Arb. /dirā'/) > זִרְוֹעַ; /širār/ > שִׁרְוֹר (§ 6 f), /*ḥimār/ (still so in Arb.) > חִמְוֹר (with ḥaṭef pataḥ under the guttural, § 21 g) [but in the primitive forms /qīṭāl/ and /qīṭūl/ which have א as the first radical, the /i/ does not fall, but becomes =, e.g. אֵזוֹר, אֵבוֹם (§ 21 h)]; with initial /u/: /*lubūš/ >

שׁבוּיָ *clothes* (opposed to passive participle שׁבוּיָ *clothed*); /*gubūl/ > גְּבוּל *frontier*.

(1) Qameš is especially stable before the stress (*prestress qameš*).

B) In mil'ra words of more than two syllables:

e

Generally the prestress vowel remains unaffected and the ante-prestress vowel, namely the one removed two places from the stress, drops out, e.g. /*šadaqat/ > שָׁדָקָה; /*ḥakamat/ > חָכְמָה *a wise woman*; /*zaqinat/ > זָקִינָה *an old woman*; /*qaṭaltəm/ > קָטַלְתְּ.

But in the perfect (without suffixes) the ante-prestress vowel remains and the prestress vowel drops out, e.g. /qaṭalat/ > קָטַלְתְּ; /*qaṭalū/ > קָטְלוּ; /*ḥakamat/ > חָכְמָה *she is wise*; /zaqinat/ > זָקִינָה *she is old*. The difference in treatment of a primitive form such as /ḥakamat/ depending upon whether it is verbal or nominal form is probably explicable in terms of a difference in the placement of the stress at an earlier stage of the language. The verbal form חָכְמָה would reflect a stage /ḥa'kamat/ anterior to a stage /ḥaka'mat/ represented by the pausal form חָכְמָה* (cf. § 95 c).

The prestress vowel /a/ remains in certain forms, e.g. פָּרָשִׁים as plural of פָּרָשׁ *horse*, § 96 B b; שָׁבֻעוֹת, sg. שָׁבוּעַ *week*, § 96 D b; גְּלוּתִי *my exile*, § 88 M j; מְעוּזִי *my refuge*, § 88 L e; מְגִנִּי *my shield*, § 88 L h. Special mention must be made of the pronoun אֲנִי (§ 39 a) and the forms of the perfect with the inversive Waw וְקָטַלְתָּ, וְקָטַלְתִּי (§ 43 a)(1).

(1) Generally speaking, the abnormal stability of the vowels פָּ, שָׁ, and אֲ is not an infallible indication of their primitive length.

C) In mil'el words of more than two syllables, one may note the following points of practical value:

f

In the perfect with suffixes prestress /a/ is retained, e.g.: /qaṭala'-ni/ > קָטַלְתָּנִי; /i/ drops out in the Piel, e.g. קָטַלְתִּי, but is retained in the Qal, e.g. שָׁכַחְתִּי *he forgot me* (§ 61 e).

In the future with suffixes, prestress /a/ is retained, but /i/ and /u/ are dropped, e.g. יִלְבַּשְׁנִי (from /yilbaš/ > יִלְבַּשׁ), but יִתְּנִי (from /yittin/ > יִתֵּן), יִקְטַלְנִי (from /yiqṭul/ > יִקְטַל).

Observation. In the future, prestress /a/ is dropped as are the vowels /i/ and /u/, e.g. יִלְבַּשׁוּ, יִמְצְאוּ; יִתְּנוּ, יִמְצְאוּ; יִקְטְלוּ.

D) The treatment of the vowel אֲ in inflections calls for separate consideration.

g

In the absolute state = is generally retained, but in the construct state it is generally dropped. Thus /*mi'at/ > מֵאָה *hundred*, cst. מֵאָת, pl. abs. מְאוֹת (the cst.st. would be מְאוֹת*); שֵׁם, שְׁמוֹת, cst. שְׁמוֹת. = is retained in the cst.st. in certain words: in words such as אֶזוֹר (§ 21 h); in זַעַת *sweat of*, נִכְר *the foreignness (abstract) of*, מְהַפְכֵת *catastrophe of*, חֲרֵדֵמַת *deep sleep of*, בְּרֵכַת *a pool of*, עֲרֵמַת *a heap of*, etc.

In the verb conjugation we find the imperative of the type יִשָּׁב: שֵׁב, שְׁבִי, שְׁבוּ. In the participle of the type קִטֵּל one finds קֹטֵל or קֹטְלָה or (mostly) קֹטְלָת; pl. קֹטְלִים (§ 50 g).

In the participle of the type מְקִים one finds, e.g., cst. מְשִׁיב (Ru 4.15); מְשִׁיבָה*, pl. מְשִׁיבִים.

In the participle of the type מְסִיב one finds, e.g. מְרַע *acting wrongly*; pl. מְרַעִים (contrast the participle מִיטִיב with a stable /e/, § b).

In the adjective of the type קִטֵּל we find, e.g., אֵלֵם *dumb*, pl. אֵלֵמִים.

§ 31. Stress: its position and shift

a The fundamental points concerning the stress have been presented in the section on accents (§ 15 a-c). The position of the stress, we have seen, can, in the majority of cases, be determined from the accents. The morphology may also provide a clue. Generally speaking, the position of the stress depends on the nature of the syllables. One can formulate the following two *negative* rules concerning closed syllables:

1) A closed penultimate syllable cannot have the stress unless the last syllable is open: e.g. one has קֹטְלָתְךָ, but קֹטְלָתְךָם.

2) Conversely a final closed syllable cannot lack a stress unless the penultimate syllable is open; e.g. one finds מְרַעֲךָם, מְרַעֲךָ, but מְרַעֲךָלְךָ.

b The different forms taken by a word when inflected as well as some other considerations can cause a shift of stress either backwards (*receding* stress) or forwards (*advancing* stress); cf. § 15 b.

Often, when a word is lengthened, the new syllable receives the stress, e.g. נִכְרָךְ, pl. נִכְרָרִים: the stress *advances*, i.e. is shifted forwards on to /im/. In pause it is also thrown forwards in the case of the inverted future: מְרַעֲךָם, but מְרַעֲךָם (§ 32 e).

In the perfect the stress is *mil'el* in קָטַלְתָּ, מִלְּעַלְתָּ, but it *advances* in the forms with the inversive Waw וְקָטַלְתָּ, וְמִלְּעַלְתָּ; in pause it *recedes* וְקָטַלְתָּ (§ 32 e).

On the other hand, in the inverted future the stress *recedes* as much as possible (cf. § a): for example, we find אֵלַי, but אֵלַיִ. In the pause the stress *advances* in certain cases (§ 32 e).

Furthermore, the stress can *recede* for a rhythmical reason, that is to say, in order to avoid a coming together of two stressed syllables, which happens when two words are joined by a conjunctive accent, the first with the stress on its final syllable and the second with the stress on its first syllable(1).

The *receding* of the stress for a rhythmic reason is called נִסְיָנָה *retreat* or נִסְיוֹן אָחֳרוֹ (2), namely, stress *moving away backwards*.

In order for the *nsiga* to occur, it is necessary, in addition to the two negative rules given in § a being satisfied, that, if the last syllable is closed, it should not have an originally long vowel. E.g.: קָרָא לִילָה Gn 1.5; מִשְׁפָּיִמי קוֹם Ps 127.2; תֵּאבְּלֵךְ Gn 3.19; but לִמְשִׁיב לְפָנָי Ru 4.15 (with an originally long *i*).

Furthermore, the heavy suffixes -כֵּן, -כֵּן; -הָ, -הָ; always retain the stress. But the verbal affirmatives -תָּ and -תָּ may give it up, e.g. (לֹא Q=) לֹא הִיָּיתָ Job 6.21.

In the application of the *nsiga*, as in the case of the other rhythmical laws, it needs to be borne in mind that only full vowels count (§ 27 d). Thus one finds בֹּרַי בֹּרַי Ps 28.1 (/yo/ is regarded as a penultimate syllable). Likewise, one says, for example, בִּצַע בִּצַע Pr 1.19 (the furtive pataḥ does not count).

(1) Therefore there is no clash when the accent is disjunctive, e.g. וַיִּשְׁבְּתָּ שָׁם 1Kg 2.36; nor when there is a maqef, for then the first word becomes proclitic.

(2) נִסְיוֹן Nifal ptc. of נָסָה.

Anomalous cases. One finds a *nsiga* in cases like אָחֳרָי 1Sm 10.5, בֹּרַי בֹּרַי Job 8.18, in a virtually closed syllable; וַיִּחַזְקֵנוּ Ex 4.4 in a semi-closed syllable.

In contrast, the *nsiga* is not found in some cases where it is expected, e.g. הִיָּיתָה Gn 1.2.

§ 32. Pause

a The pause is a halt, a noticeable break after a word in the course of recitation, and especially at the end of a verse. This break involves a certain amount of preliminary or preparatory protraction, which one can compare to the slowing down of a runner who prepares to stop. The pronunciation of a word in pause is slow, full, and emphatic.

As a result of this protraction, 1) the stressed vowel, whatever its timbre may be, can be assumed to have been originally longer than it would have been in context, and 2) some deleted vowels resurface, as a result of which the pausal forms are often forms which are primitive or closer to the primitive state, and generally the vowel thus restored carries the stress⁽¹⁾.

Moreover, it is likely that, in pause, apart from the quantitative difference, there often took place a change of vowel timbre, often involving a change of quantity. Finally, in certain cases, there occurred a shift of stress.

(1) For an attempt to reinterpret Hebrew phonology and morphology, starting from pausal forms and formulating a series of sandhi rules, see H.B. Rosén, "La position descriptive et comparative des formes contextuelles en hébreu," in A. Caquot and D. Cohen (eds), *Actes du premier congrès international de linguistique sémitique et chamito-sémitique. Paris 16-19 juillet 1969* (The Hague/Paris, 1974), pp. 246-55.

b **Purely quantitative change.** It cannot be determined with certainty whether the vowel /o/ in pausal שְׁלוֹם or קִטְלִי is any longer than its contextual, i.e. non-pausal counterpart. In any case, the Naqdanim did not invent any separate vowel sign. If they were aware of some quantitative difference, they did not consider it significant enough for special marking.

It needs to be noted that = often remains unchanged in pause, especially in monosyllabic words: thus one always has אֶרְבַּע , בַּת ; in the future, before the affirmative הִנֵּה -, e.g. הִנֵּה בְּרִנָּה .

◌ remains in pause as in אֲמַת (§ 18 I), פְּרִמָּל ; it remains unchanged notably in certain nouns of the segholate type מְלִקָּה , e.g. in the noun מְלִקָּה itself (§ 96 A c).

Change of vowels.

= very often becomes ֿ e.g. קֹטֵל, קֹטֵלָה; קֹטֵלָה, קֹטֵלָה; יִכְבֹּד, יִכְבֹּד; מֵיִם, מֵיִם; נִעַר, נִעַר.

ֿ becomes ֿ in the majority of the nouns of the type מְלֶכֶךְ, e.g. קֹשֶׁר, קֹשֶׁר (§ 96 A c); but also קֹתֵר from קֹתֵר, and נִנְעָה from נִנְעָה with its נִנְעָה (§ 96 A e). The Pf. יִכְבֹּד becomes יִכְבֹּד.

= sometimes becomes =, e.g. יִלְךְ, וַיִּלְךְ; הִפְרָה, הִפְרָה; יִנְמַל, יִנְמַל.

The Hitpael with = takes = in an intermediate pause, and ֿ in a major pause, e.g. יִתְיַצֵּב, יִתְיַצֵּב, יִתְיַצֵּב (§ 53 c); יִתְנַחֵם (§ 29 f).

- becomes ֿ (here /q/) in certain words, e.g. שְׂכַלְתִּי, שְׂכַלְתִּי Gn 43.14 (§ 6 l); יִחַבֵּשׁ, יִחַבֵּשׁ Job 5.18 (§ 29 f); יִטְרֶף, יִטְרֶף Gn 49.27; יִשְׁאֵף, יִשְׁאֵף Dt 23.20; Pr 23.32; עָזָה Gn 49.3 (actually with silluq). In Is 7.11, instead of the normal pausal form שְׂאֵלָה Gn 42.38, one finds, in an intermediate pause, שְׂאֵלָה /š'q'la/, probably for the sake of assonance with לְמַעַן /lmā'la/ (phonetically /mq/)(1).

= becomes ֿ in the formula וְעַד וְעַד לְעוֹלָם וָעוֹלָם for ever and ever (for עַד).

(1) This phenomenon, like many others, presupposes for the symbol ֿ a single timbre /q/.

Restoration of vowels. Normal cases: Pf.: קֹטֵלָה, קֹטֵלָה; מְלֶכֶךְ, מְלֶכֶךְ; קֹטֵנָה, קֹטֵנָה; Fut.: יִכְבֹּדוּ, יִכְבֹּדוּ; יִתְנַחוּ, יִתְנַחוּ; יִקְטֹלוּ, יִקְטֹלוּ; יִקְטֹלוּ, יִקְטֹלוּ (/o/ before a pause is retained).

יִנְחִי, יִנְחִי; פָּרִי, פָּרִי; חֲצִי, חֲצִי (the primitive form is /hisy/); יִבְרַךְ, יִבְרַךְ; יִבְרַךְ, יִבְרַךְ; יִבְרַךְ, יִבְרַךְ; אֲתָהּ, אֲתָהּ (in the last three examples, however, with the concomitant loss of the original, final vowel).

Stress shift. The stress recedes in, e.g. אֲנֹכִי, אֲנֹכִי; in the inverted Pf.: וְקֹטֵלָתִי, וְקֹטֵלָתִי.

The stress advances in the inverted Fut. in cases like: וַיִּקְרָם, וַיִּקְרָם; וַיִּלְךְ, וַיִּלְךְ; וַיִּלְךְ, וַיִּלְךְ; וַיִּלְךְ, וַיִּלְךְ.

The pauses(1) that produce the above-mentioned effects are the major pauses, namely the pause at the end of a verse marked by the accent silluq and the pause in the middle of a verse marked by the accent athnah. However, some accents indicating an intermediate pause can have some of the effects produced by the major ones. Such is the case especially with the accent zaqef, with which = often becomes ֿ (hence the frequent massoretic note בְּזָקֶף, e.g. Gn 11.3 ; § 16 d). On a special

c

d

e

f

case of אָנִי, see § 39 a.

One and the same word may have three different forms: a contextual form, a form in intermediate pause, and a form in major pause, e.g. הָרָא you with /a/, הָרָא with mil'ra stress and /a/, הָרָא with /ã/ (§ 39 a). Likewise one has הָרָע, הָרָע, הָרָע now. See also the triple form of בְּרִיָּךְ (§ c).

(1) There are phenomena which are explicable in terms of *prepause*: a syllable preceding a pausal syllable (§ d) or a word preceding a pausal word (e.g., § 104 d).

The retention of the vowel in יִקְטֹלוּ or further secondary lengthening in יִקְטֹלוּ in forms with the paragodic Nun (§ 44 e) is different from the restoration or modification of vowels in pausal forms in that the vowels restored or modified are stressed, which is not the case with the extended future forms.

g The slowing-down which precedes the pause accounts for the fact that in certain cases longer forms are preferred in pause. Thus in the יָ"ב verbs in pause, the assimilation of the ך is often omitted, e.g. יִנְצְרוּ (§ 72 b). The Future endings יָ and יָ- with a paragodic ך are found especially in pause (§ 44 e-f). See also § 62 c, e.

§ 33. Hiatus

a We shall mention here this rhythmic phenomenon which displays some analogy with the pause⁽¹⁾. When a mil'el word ending with a vowel is followed by a word beginning with one of the gutturals א, ה, and ע, the stress becomes mil'ra. The phenomenon is attested especially with הָרָא, which becomes הָרָא (without gemination), e.g. אָמַרְתָּ 2Sm 19.11 (§ 37 d). הָרָא becomes in Gn 29.21† אָמַרְתָּ אֶת-אִשְׁתִּי; likewise the imperatives אָמַרְתָּ, אָמַרְתָּ, e.g. אָמַרְתָּ לַיהוָה Jdg 4.18; אָמַרְתָּ לַיהוָה Nu 10.35 (where יהוה = אָמַרְתָּ). Contrary to the normal accentuation one also finds, for instance, אָמַרְתָּ Gn 26.22; אָמַרְתָּ Gn 40.15; אָמַרְתָּ Ex 18.11; אָמַרְתָּ Ps 90.8; אָמַרְתָּ Zech 6.10 (cf. § 43 b); אָמַרְתָּ Ex 26.33; אָמַרְתָּ Lv 15.29.

Before a guttural, a longer form seems to be preferred; cf. § 78 i, 79 m.

(1) For want of a better term, we call this phenomenon *hiatus*: there is a link between the stressed final vowel and the initial guttural (except ן, no doubt due to the particular nature of this guttural, cf. § 5 k, 20 c).

PART TWO

MORPHOLOGY

§ 34. General Observations

- a The *root* is the simplest element of a word. It can be obtained by eliminating all derivational and inflectional elements, that is to say, not only all the vowels, but also certain consonants, chiefly the seven consonants א ב ג ד ה ו ז known as "he'emantic" (from the mnemonic word[1] אהבה). Thus in the word וְשִׁבְּחוּ אֱלֹהֵיהֶם *they sanctified themselves* the root is composed of the consonantal group שׁבַח which expresses the notion of sanctity; not included in the root therefore are the vowels, the gemination of ה (which indicates that the action is factitive, § 52 d), the sequence הוּ (which indicates the reflexive, § 53 a), the final ו (which marks the third person plural)(2). Thus the great majority of Hebrew words and word-forms consist of two elements, namely root consonants and pattern, the latter consisting in turn of vowels or consonantal affixes, or both, both of which are discontinuous morphemes(3).

For the sake of convenience one usually cites the root in the form of the third person sg.m. of the perfect, e.g. הָרַג *he killed*, which, in the regular verb and in part of the irregular verbs, represents the consonants of the root, only two vowels being added.

The majority of the currently known Hebrew roots are trilateral. Trilaterality is such an integral part of the language that, in certain cases where it did not exist or no longer exist, it has been reinstated(4).

Hebrew has some quadrilateral roots, though many of them are of secondary origin (cf. § 60 and 88 K).

On the other hand, some roots are biliteral, at least in a sense (cf. א"ל and ו"ל verbs).

- (1) It would mean "I believed him," but יָאֱמַיִן is always construed with a preposition.
- (2) See the preformatives of the nominal forms in § 88 L, and the affirmatives in § 88 M.
- (3) For a lucid, theoretical, and general-Semitic exposition of the matter, see J. Cantineau, "La notion de 'schème' et son altération dans diverses langues sémitiques," *Semitica* 3 (1950) 73-83. This was of course the doctrine implicit among mediaeval Arab grammarians and, in their wake, Jewish grammarians. Whereas a root thus conceived is obviously an abstraction, it is nonetheless a linguistic and psychological reality, which can account for the essentially consonantal character of the early Phoenician and cognate alphabets and orthographies. See now also D. Cohen, "Remarques sur la dérivation nominale par affixes dans quelques langues sémitiques," in his *Études de linguistique sémitique et arabe* (The Hague/Paris, 1970), pp. 31-48 [originally in *Semitica* 14 (1964) 73-93]; whilst agreeing with Cantineau in principle, Cohen demonstrates that some words can best be conceived of as possessing another component, an added morpheme.
- (4) There also exist a considerable number of bi-consonantal words of common usage which must have formed part of the vocabulary since the very beginning of the history of the language such as כָּף , נָךְ , מָךְ , בֵּן as well as a series of monoconsonantal particles, e.g. ב , ל , כ , ו . For an earlier attempt to argue for original, universal biconsonantism, see S.T.H. Hurwitz, *Root-determinatives in Semitic Speech: A Contribution to Semitic Philology* (New York, 1913). It has also been pointed out that a number of seemingly triconsonantal roots share an identical sequence of two consonants with an identifiable semantic content, e.g. קצב , קצע , קצף , קצץ , קצר with -קצ meaning "to cut off" or פרר , פרש , פרס , פרש with -פר "to separate." Thus it appears that the predominance of triconsonantal roots most likely represents a historically late stage of development involving partial accommodation of originally biconsonantal roots. Nonetheless, it is wrong to say that all present triconsonantal roots can be ultimately reduced to biconsonantal roots. Nöldeke has shown how primitive mono- or biconsonantal roots underwent a process of conforming to the dominant triconsonantal pattern: e.g., $\text{יָם} > \text{יָוִם}$ and $\text{יָמָה} > \text{יָמִינִי}$; pl. cst. of יָמִים ; $\text{פָּה} > \text{פִּיפִיּוֹת}$. See Th. Nöldeke, "Zweiradikalige Substantive," in his *Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft* (Strassburg, 1910), pp. 109-78. See also Berg., II, § 1 d-g, Moscati, § 11.5-11.9, G.J. Botterweck, *Der Trilateralismus im Semitischen* (Bonn, 1952), and M. Lambert, "De la formation des racines trilitères fortes," in G.A. Kohut (ed.), *Semitic Studies in Memory of Alexander Kohut* (Berlin, 1897), pp. 354-62.

b One can determine the root of most words with confidence. However, there are a fair number the root of which is not so apparent. Thus lexicographers occasionally hesitate when they come to certain ע"ו or ע"י verbs; this is so, for instance, in the case of the word עֲדוּת *ordinance*, which could be derived from the root ע"ד or (more probably) from the root ע"ד .

The root of several words is unknown, e.g. מַקֵּל *staff*, עַל אֲדוֹת *concerning*.

The roots of some words can be rendered unrecognisable by the operation of the phonetic laws or analogy. In such cases there is an apparent root and a real root (according to other authorities, a secondary and a primary root). Thus Hitpacl הִתְיַצֵּי appears to belong to a root יֵצַי, whilst its true root is יֵצַי (§ 77 *b*). The substantive הַתְּקִיפָה *cycle* seems to belong to a root תְּקַף, but in truth this word relates to the Hifil הִתְקִיף *to encircle* of the root תְּקַף. Likewise הַתְּשׁוּבָה *victory* relates to the Hifil הִתְשׁוּבַע *to save* of the root תְּשׁוּבַע⁽¹⁾.

(1) These words were formed on the analogy of words of the pattern *taqtul* of ע"ו roots, § 88 L *s*.

The same root can have verbal and nominal forms. If a noun is derived from a verb, it is called *deverbal*, whilst a verb derived from a noun is called *denominative*. c

The parts of speech are the pronoun (with the definite article included), the verb, the noun (substantive and adjective), and the particles (adverb, preposition, conjunction, and interjection). d

CHAPTER I: THE DEFINITE ARTICLE
AND THE PRONOUN

§ 35. The Definite Article

- a** The Hebrew definite article is an old demonstrative⁽¹⁾ and still retains, in some cases, a weak demonstrative force (cf. § 137 *f*). We therefore have decided to treat it under the same heading as the demonstrative pronoun. In meaning, the Hebrew definite article corresponds almost to the definite article in English.

(1) Likewise the article of the Romance languages has its origin in a Latin demonstrative pronoun, e.g. French *le* from Lat. *illum*.

- b** The normal form of the article is **הַ**, i.e. the consonant **ה** followed by the vowel **a**, which adds some force to the following consonant, tending to produce gemination, e.g. **סוּסוֹהַ** *hassus* "the horse"⁽¹⁾.

The primitive form of the Hebrew pronoun is simply a forceful (short) *ha* like the **ה** of the inverted future **לְהִקְטִילְהַ**, § 47 *a*⁽²⁾.

The tendency of the vowel of the article to effect the gemination of the following consonant is not always observed.

(1) See E. Ullendorff, who also adopts the gemination hypothesis in his "The true form of the definite article in Arabic and other Semitic languages," in G. Makdisi (ed.), *Arabic and Semitic Studies in Honour of Hamilton A.R. Gibb* (Leiden, 1965), pp. 631-37 [= E. Ullendorff, *Is Biblical Hebrew a Language?* etc. (Wiesbaden, 1977), pp. 165-71], and Phoenician evidence like **אבנאבנא** *the sons*, **עממקא** *the place* (Friedrich-Röllig, § 117). The evidence in Origen's *Seçunda* is clear, e.g. 29.3 **αχχαβωδ ηηκβωδ**, 30.1 **αββαυθ ηηηη**: see Brønno, *Studien*, pp. 203-5. See further T.O. Lambdin, "The junctural origin of the West Semitic definite article," in H. Goedicke (ed.), *Near Eastern Studies in Honor of William Foxwell Albright* (Baltimore/London, 1971), pp. 315-33. Berg. (II, § 5 *e*) maintains that the original form cannot have been /hal-/.

(2) This phenomenon of adding force (cf. *dhūq*, § 18 *i*) exists especially in Italian: *a punto* becomes *appun'to*, *a lato* > *alla'to*, *a fine* > *affi'ne*; *a Roma* pronounced *arro'ma*; *da vero* > *davve'ro*; *da mi* > *dam'mi*; *va te ne* > *vatte'ne*; *si signore* > *sis-signo're*; in Tuscan dialect *a casa* > *accasa*; cf. § 18 *j*, n.

- c** A non-guttural consonant followed by shewa is often ungeminated (§ 18 *m*), e.g. **לְלֵוִיְהַ** *the Levites* (for the metheg, cf. § 14 *c* 6). One should take special note of the following two cases:

1) The dagesh is normally omitted from י, e.g. הַיְלָדִים *the children*, הַשִּׁעוּץ *the succour, the victory* (as opposed to הַשִּׁעוּץ of the same meaning); exceptions occur when the gutturals ה or ע follow, e.g. הַיְהוּדִים *the Jews*, הַיְעִיִּים *the weary*.

2) The dagesh is often⁽¹⁾ omitted from the preformative מ of the participle Piel and Pual, e.g. הַמְכַסֶּה LXX: τὸ κατακαλύπτων, *that which conceals* (Lv 3.3; the same form occurs in Gn 18.17, with the interrogative ה: *Surely I shall not hide?*, § 102 m). Before ה or ע, one ordinarily has the dagesh, e.g. הַמְצֵרֶת *the cave*, הַמְהוּמָה *the disturbance*.

(1) Cf. A. Dotan, *Diqduqé hattē'amim* [§ 8 a, n.], p. 364.

A guttural consonant (and ט) cannot have strong gemination, but it is, with the exception of כ and ט, capable of virtual or weak gemination. The capacity of the gutturals for receiving virtual gemination after the definite article is in descending order as follows: מ > ה > ע (cf. § 20 a). After the article, כ never suffers virtual gemination, nor does ט, of course (likewise after הַמְ). When virtual gemination takes place, the vowel is =; but this = is nuanced as =̣ if the guttural is followed by qameṣ, i.e. /ā/ or ḥaṭef qameṣ (§ 29 f).

מ almost always has virtual gemination, e.g. הַחֹדֶשׁ *the month*, הַחֳדָשִׁים *the months*; הַחֲכָמָה *the wisdom*, הַחֲכָמִים *the wise man*; הַחֶרֶב *the sword*, הַחַיִּים *the living* (always except in Gn 6.19 where הַחַיִּים occurs without any apparent reason!).

ה generally allows virtual gemination, e.g. הַהֵיכָל *the temple*; הַהַר *that* (the same form occurs in Nu 23.19† with the rhetorical interrogative ה: *num ipse?* [Did he really ... ?]), הַהַר *that* (f.); הַהָרִים *the mountains*.

Notable exception: accented הֶ can never have virtual gemination, e.g. הַהָר *the mountain*.

Other exceptions: e.g. הָהֵם *those*, and its less frequent variant הַהֶמָּה; f. הַהֶנָּה (1Sm 17.28†)⁽¹⁾.

ע generally does not allow virtual gemination, e.g. הָעָם *the people*, הָעַמִּים *the peoples*; הָעִיר *the city*; הָעֶרֶב *the evening*, הָעָרִים.

Noteworthy exception: unstressed עֲ requires virtual gemination, e.g. הָעָרִים *the cities* (perhaps on the analogy of הַהָרִים).

Other exceptions: e.g. הָעִוְרִים *the blind* (with a 1 rafé, § 18 m 4), הָעֹזְבִים *they who abandon* Pr 2.13, הָעֹזְבֹת Pr 2.17 etc.

Observation. Where the gutturals ה and ו have ׀, they are treated in an analogous manner: stressed ה and ו are not capable of virtual gemination, e.g. הָהָר, הָעֵץ, whilst unstressed ׀-ה and ׀-ו effect virtual gemination, e.g. הַהָרִים, הַעֲרִים. In brief, ה and ו cannot have both the stress and virtual gemination, but they have either one or the other.

(1) Note the asymmetry: sg. אֵהָרִי, אֵהָרִי, but pl. אֵהָרִים etc.

e The consonant ה of the definite article is syncopated following the prepositions בּ, בְּ, לְ, e.g. לְהַמְלֹךְ for לְהַמְלֹךְ* (cf. § 17 e); בְּיָמֵי הָהֵם *in those days*, בְּעֵת הָהִיא *at that time*; בְּחֶרֶב *with the sword*, בְּחַרְבּ.

In those cases where the first consonant of the noun has a ḥaṭef, one has forms such as כְּאַרְיֵה *like the lion* (as opposed to כְּאַרְיֵה [§ 103 b], without the definite article, *like a lion*). There are two situations where the spelling is materially identical both with and without the article:

1) when a ׀ follows a guttural which takes virtual gemination; e.g. בְּחִלּוֹם can signify either *in the dream* or *in a dream* (cf. בְּחִלּוֹמֵי).

2) with ׀, e.g. בְּאֵנִיַּא can be either for /bā'ʕniyyā/ *in the ship* or for /bq-'ʕniyyā/ *in a ship* (cf. § 6 n).

Observation. ה is sometimes not syncopated, e.g. לְהָעֵץ 2Ch 10.7; לְהַגְדוֹר 25.10; such examples are found especially in late biblical books. One distinguishes between בְּיָוֶה *in the first place*, e.g. Gn 25.3 and בְּהִיּוֹם *immediately* 1Sm 9.13, Ne 5.11†; alongside הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה *as (it still is) today* one sometimes finds הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה with the same meaning.

f Nouns the vowel of which is modified under the influence of the article. Under the influence of the ׀ of the article the following four words with a guttural as their first radical take ׀ under the guttural: הָר, עָם (עָם with a disjunctive accent), אָרוֹן *ark* (cf. Arb. 'irān), and אָרְץ become הָרָה, עָמָה, אָרוֹן, and אָרְץ respectively. The word חַג *festival* becomes חָג even in a minor pause. With the article one always finds חָגָה, in fact always in a minor pause. The word פָּר (rarely פָּר) *young bull* always becomes פָּרָה with the article.

g **Observation.** 1) Before the article, the form of the interrogative pronoun is מַה (§ 37 c).

2) Before the article, the form of the preposition מִן generally remains unaltered (§ 103 d).

§ 36. Demonstrative pronoun

Hebrew has, strictly speaking, only one demonstrative pronoun, and thus makes no distinction between the demonstrative for the near object (*hic, this*) and one for the remote object (*ille, that*). a

The ordinary forms of the demonstrative pronoun are: sg.m. הַזֶּה; f. הַזֹּאת; pl.com. הַלְּזֵהִים.

The plural form has no relation whatsoever with those for the singular. On the contrary, the singular forms seem to derive from a primitive form *zā* with *anceps* vowel. The short form *zā* could not be maintained in Hebrew except by being modified to *ze* (like הַזֶּה, § 37 b). The long form *zā* occurs in the rare feminine forms הַזֹּאת, הַזֹּאת and the standard fem. הַזֹּאת = *zā + t* of the feminine. The *κ* of הַזֹּאת may be etymological rather than a mere *mater lectionis*(1).

(1) See T. Muraoka, *Abr-Nahrain* 22 (1983-84) 93f.

Rare forms: sg.f. הַזֹּאת (8 x, out of which 6 x are in Ec); הַזֹּאת (2 x), which is a regular MH form; com.pl. הַלְּזֵהִים (8 x) in the Pentateuch, and always with the article, הַלְּזֵהִים(1), except once without the article in 1Ch 20.8. b

The poetic form הַזֹּאת, for both genders and both numbers, is used chiefly as a relative pronoun.

There is, furthermore, a *reinforced demonstrative*: m. הַזֶּה־הַזֶּה or הַזֶּה־הַזֶּה(2) (particularly with a strong disjunctive accent); f. הַזֹּאת־הַזֹּאת (Ez 36.35); e.g. הַזֶּה־הַזֶּה הַזֶּה־הַזֶּה *this person here* Gn 24.65.

(1) Comp. הַזֶּה־הַזֶּה, which is more frequent than הַזֶּה־הַזֶּה, § 35 d.

(2) Fem. in 2Kg 4.25.

The demonstrative pronoun הַזֶּה *this* etc. after a determined noun becomes demonstrative adjective, and as such takes the definite article, e.g. הַזֶּה־הַזֶּה הַזֶּה־הַזֶּה *this man* (§ 137 e). c

The pronouns of the third person, הֵוא, הִיא; הֵמָּה, הֵנָּה; הֵמָּה, הֵנָּה *he, she; they* (m.); *they* (f.) mean, strictly speaking, *the same*, but have virtually acquired a weak demonstrative sense, e.g. הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה *in the same days = in those days* (cf. § 35 e).

The article has sometimes preserved a weak demonstrative force (cf. § 137 f I).

§ 37. Interrogative pronoun

- a One form serves for people of both genders and both numbers: **מי** *who?*⁽¹⁾. **מי** is used as subject **מי** *who is coming?*, as predicate **מי** *who is this man?*, as accusative **מי** *whom?*, as genitive **מי** *whose daughter?*, with a preposition **מי** *to whom?*, **מי** *from whom?*.

(1) The Yod of **מי** was probably consonantal in origin as in AC *miya* (Sivan, pp. 129f.), Ugr. *my*, and Ph. **מי**.

- b For things⁽¹⁾ one uses **מה** (with varied vocalisations), also as subject, predicate, accusative, genitive, and with a preposition.

The primitive form is *mā* with an anceps vowel (comp. *zā*, § 36 a; in Arabic one has the long form in *mā* and the short one *ma* in *li'ma*). In Hebrew the long form *mā* has become **מה**, which occurs in the poetic form **מה** *like* and in the forms of **מה** with suffixes, e.g. **מה** *like*, § 103 g, also occasionally **מה** for **מה**, and **מה** for **מה**⁽²⁾. The short form *ma* has become in Hebrew **מה**, **מה**, **מה**.

Without stress, **מה** is the usual form.

In comparison with the vocalisation of the article (and that of the interrogative particle **מה**) the vocalisation of **מה** is rather complicated. The fact is that **מה** is not only proclitic (like the article), but also enclitic (or ex-enclitic), and even independent (non-clitic). Therefore there are three cases to be considered in accordance with the three-fold role of **מה**: I proclitic, II enclitic, III independent.

(1) This is the only instance in Semitic of personal - impersonal contrast expressed by vowel alternation. The *a* - *i* relationship is reversed in Akkadian: *mannu* "who?" - *minu* "what?." Cf. G. Garbini, *Lingue semitiche* (Napoli, 1972), p. 33.

(2) The addition of /-m/ is well attested in Ugr.: see Gordon, *UT*, § 10.2.

- c I **Proclitic מה** (generally with maqgef, occasionally with a conjunctive accent). The normal vocalisation is *i* **מה**, namely a short *a* with reduplication of the following consonant. The frequent gemination of the following consonant may be accounted for by postulating /mah/ as the original form as in Ugaritic *mh* with consonantal *h*, the gemination arising from the assimilation of /h/⁽¹⁾. This vowel adds some force, like the vowel of the article (§ 35 b) and that of **מה** in the inverted future **מה** (§ 47 a), e.g. **מה** *how beautiful you are!* Ct 7.7;

מִה־אֵי; מִה־הִי (מִהִי once in Ex 4.2K); מִה־לָּכֶם (מִלָּכֶם once in Is 3.15K).

Before a **guttural** the vocalisation is rather similar to that of the article (§ 35 d).

ה always shows virtual gemination, e.g. מַה הִיא אִתִּי *what is my sin?* Gn 31.36.

ה generally shows virtual gemination, e.g. מַה הִיא (comp. הִיא). Remarkable exception: the ה of the article shows no virtual gemination, e.g. מַה הִיא עֲשָׂה *What is the deed?* Gn 44.15 (a unique exception is Ec 2.12 מַה הִיא אֵי).

Other exceptions: e.g. מַה הִיא הִיא (comp. הִיא, הִיא).

ל generally does not display virtual gemination, e.g. מַה לִּי *what do I have?* Gn 31.32.

Remarkable exception: ל does show virtual gemination, e.g. מַה עָשִׂיתִי *what have I done?*

After ה, א never shows virtual gemination nor, of course, א (as is the case with the article).

Observation. In cases of virtual gemination, if the guttural has a qames, = becomes ם (cf. the law of vowel harmony, § 29 f), e.g. מַה אִתִּי *what sin have I committed?* 1Kg 18.9; ... מַה הִיא *what means the heat of... ?* Dt 29.23.

Moreover, one sometimes finds מַה even when the vowel which follows the guttural is not qames.

(1) Cf. J. Blau and S.E. Loewenstamm, *UF* 2 (1970) 31f. See also G. Khan, "The pronunciation of מַה before *dageš* in the medieval Tiberian Hebrew reading tradition," *JSS* 34 (1989) 433-41.

II **Enclitic** (or **ex-enclitic**) מַה occurs after a preposition (particularly אַ and אֶ). מַה is enclitic when it has no stress, ex-enclitic when it has resumed stress.

In general we find מַה in context: מַה אֶבְרָכָה⁽¹⁾, מַה אֶבְרָכָה, מַה עָלַי (with the accent *rvia'*, Hg 1.9). מַה is used before a guttural or in a major pause, e.g. מַה אֶבְרָכָה 1Kg 22.21; מַה אֶבְרָכָה *With what would I know?* Gn 15.8.

With ל we find: 1) מַה לִּי, three times only (1Sm 1.8). This isolated form, though well attested and the analogue of the Arabic *li'ma*, appears to be the first form (with *mil'el* accent) in which מַה remains

d

enclitic⁽²⁾.

2) הַמֶּלֶךְ , usually, but before the gutturals \aleph , η or ϑ the form הַמֶּלֶךְ is found (§ 33), e.g. $\text{מִלְּפָנֶיךָ הַמֶּלֶךְ}$ 2Sm 19.11; הַמֶּלֶךְ יְהוָה Jdg 21.3.

(1) Contrast the vocalisation of, e.g. הַמֶּלֶךְ , § 103 c.

(2) Cf. P. Joüon in *Bib* 1 (1920) 363.

e **III Independent הַמֶּלֶךְ (rather rare)**

1) before a word, ordinarily with a disjunctive accent, one generally has the intermediate form הַמֶּלֶךְ , e.g. לְקוֹל הַמֶּלֶךְ 1Sm 4.14 (accent: *tvir*).

2) after a word, actually always in pause, one has הַמֶּלֶךְ , e.g. $\text{וַיִּקְרָא הַמֶּלֶךְ}$ and as for us, what are we? Ex 16.7.

f In summary, one finds:

הַמֶּלֶךְ 1) as a proclitic before a guttural without virtual gemination;

2) after a preposition before a guttural or in major pause, and in הַמֶּלֶךְ , הַמֶּלֶךְ ;

3) independent, after a word (rather rare).

הַמֶּלֶךְ 1) as proclitic before a guttural with virtual gemination followed by a qameṣ;

2) after a preposition, in the usual fashion;

3) independent before a word (rather rare).

הַמֶּלֶךְ as proclitic before a non-guttural consonant, and before a guttural with virtual gemination (not followed by a qameṣ).

§ 38. Relative pronoun

The following two words, which do not seem to have had anything in common originally⁽¹⁾, are employed as relative pronouns: וְשֶׁלֶךְ ⁽²⁾ and וְשֶׁלֶךְ . The relative וְשֶׁלֶךְ , which is found mostly in late books of the OT, must have existed in Hebrew at all times in the vernacular⁽³⁾; its antiquity is assured by its Akk. counterpart *ša* and the occurrence of וְשֶׁלֶךְ in the Song of Deborah (Jdg 5.7). In the literary idiom וְשֶׁלֶךְ was supplanted almost completely by וְשֶׁלֶךְ prior to the exile. After the exile it appears fairly frequently⁽⁴⁾. In the post-biblical period (Mishna) it completely replaced the written וְשֶׁלֶךְ ⁽⁵⁾.

In place of וְשֶׁלֶךְ very rarely one finds וְשֶׁלֶךְ , and וְשֶׁלֶךְ (once, in Jdg 6.17 before \aleph)⁽⁶⁾. The short vowel, which requires gemination of the follow-

ing consonant⁽⁷⁾, is retained in all positions, e.g. $\text{יָאִשָּׁ, יָאִשָּׁ, לְשָׁ, יָאִשָּׁ}$ Ct 5.2 (§ 23 a).

We also find אִי ⁽⁸⁾, אִי and the article used as relative pronouns (cf. § 145 c-d).

(1) Cf. P. Joüon in *MUSJ* 6 (1913) 129.

(2) The etymology of the word is probably a noun meaning "place," cf. Akk. *ašru* (cst. *ašar*), Arb. *'itr*, Syr. *'atar*, Eth. *'ašar*. See D. Cohen, *Dictionnaire des racines sémitiques ou attestées dans les langues sémitiques* (Paris/The Hague, 1970-76), p. 37b.

(3) See G. Bergsträsser, *ZAW* 29 (1909) 40-56.

(4) See the detailed statistics in BDB, s.v. אִשָּׁ ; König, II, p. 322. It is not irrelevant to point out the error of BL, § 32 b, according to which אִשָּׁ is common in Ezra (in fact it occurs only once in this book) and in Chronicles (twice). For a full list of the occurrences (136 x) of אִשָּׁ , see Even-Shoshan, *A New Concordance* [§ 4 f], s.v., and Y. Peretz, *The Relative Clause* [Heb] (Tel Aviv, 1967), p. 127.

(5) N.H. Tur-Sinai (Torcyner) holds that אִשָּׁ was in common, not only literary, use in the Biblical period, as can be seen in the Lachish (and now in Arad letters, and Ammonite); see a note by Tur-Sinai in E. Ben-Yehudah, *Thesaurus* [§ 4 e], vol. 7, col. 6779, n. 2. Cf. also B.A. Levine in *Eretz Israel* 18 (1985) 147-52. J.R. Davila holds that אִשָּׁ is typical of Northern Hebrew: *Maarav* 5-6 (1990) 82f.

(6) The variant vocalisations of the shorter form are: אִשָּׁ Gn 6.3(?), Jdg 5.7bis, Job 19.29(?), Ct 1.7†; אִשָּׁ Ec 3.18 אִשָּׁ , and similarly at 2.22 (in some manuscripts including ed. Dotan, cf. Sh. Morag, *JAOS* 94 [1974] 308f.). No compensatory lengthening takes place except in Jdg 6.17 אִשָּׁ . The shewa with Shin is common in the Babylonian tradition: E. Porath, *Mishnaic Hebrew as Vocalised in the Early Manuscripts of the Babylonian Jews* [Heb] (Jerusalem, 1938), pp. 149f., and Yeivin, *Babylonian Tradition*, pp. 1158-62. See also Sh. Morag in *The Annual of the Schocken Institute for Jewish Studies*, The Jewish Theological Seminary of America, vol. 2, [in Heb] (Jerusalem, 1969-74), pp. 118f.

(7) The lengthening of the consonant following אִשָּׁ is also attested in Phoenician in Latin transcriptions (Segert, *Gram. of Phoen. and Pun.*, § 51.42), MH (M.H. Segal, *A Grammar of Mishnaic Hebrew* [Heb] [Tel Aviv, 1936], § 89), and SH (Ben-Hayyim, *LOT*, vol. 5, p. 243).

(8) Cf. Ugr. *d*, which, in syllabic transliteration, appears as *du-ù*.

§ 39. Personal pronoun (Paradigm 1).

A. Separate pronouns

First pers. *Singular* (of common gender). The primitive Hebrew form a

is *'anā'ki > אֲנִי (pausal form)(¹). In context the stress becomes mil'ra; but the vowel אֲ, now being found two syllables away from the stress, is retained (§ 30 e): אֲנִי.

Another form, which one finds especially in the later books and which, in post-biblical Hebrew(²), ousted אֲנִי, is אֲנִי, אֲנִי in pause (even minor), and sometimes even with a conjunctive accent, e.g. always in אֲנִי אֲנִי *I am alive!* (for emphasis).

First pers. *Plural* (common). The primary form אֲנִי is very rare (5 x; once in a Lachish letter [4.10]); otherwise the secondary form אֲנִי is used, the י of which is probably due to the analogy with the singular אֲנִי (cf. Brock., *GvG*, I, p. 299). In pause we find אֲנִי. The post-stress *u* was originally short (cp. Arb. *naḥ'nu*). Note אֲנִי once as Ktiv in Jer 42.6, which is the normal form in MH.

Second pers. *Sing. masc.* The primitive form 'an'ta remains mil'el in intermediate pause אַתָּא, e.g. Gn 3.19, and in major pause אַתָּא (§ 32 f). In context, according to the general tendency of Hebrew, the stress is mil'ra: אַתָּא(⁴).

Second pers. *Sing. fem.* The primitive mil'el form 'an'tī becomes אַתְּ with the deletion of the post-stress vowel; the pausal form is אַתְּ. The form אַתְּ* (⁵) is found only as Ktiv (7 times).

Second pers. *Pl. masc.* The primitive form *'antumū has not survived: the *u* has been replaced by the *i* of the feminine, giving the form *'antim, which has then become אַתְּ (with a seghol! [⁶]) (cf. Brock., *GvG*, I, p. 302)(⁷).

Second pers. *Pl. fem.* The primitive form *'antina, claimed to be still found in the unique (and suspect) form אַתְּ Ez 13.20, is not admitted in Cod. L, A, or C. Elsewhere one has אַתְּ (3 x), without dagesh in the א. Finally the post-stress vowel can drop out, giving אַתְּ Ez 34.31† (var. אַתְּ).

Third pers. *Sing. masc.*: Primitive form *hū'a; Heb. הוּא. Compare הוּא, which frequently occurs in some Qumran manuscripts.

Third pers. *Sing. fem.*: Primitive form *šī'a; Heb. הִיא. The š of the feminine is found in Akkadian, Eblaite, Minaean, and in Mehri (Brock., *GvG*, I, p. 303). In Hebrew the š has been replaced by the *h* of the masculine(⁸).

Third pers. *Pl. masc.*: Primitive form *humū; Heb. הֵם, הֵמָּה. The most frequent form is הֵמָּה (272 x as against הֵם 191 x)(⁹), but with the ar-

ticle it is usually $\square\eta\eta$, $\eta\eta\eta$ attested only 12 times. The two vowels of the primitive feminine *šinna have been transferred on to the Hebrew masculine $\eta\eta$.

Third pers. *Pl. fem.*: Primitive form *šinna; Heb. $\eta\eta$ ⁽¹⁰⁾. The η is due to the analogy of the masculine form. The curtailed form, $\eta\eta$, standard in MH, does not occur in BH except as a bound morpheme as in $\eta\eta$, $\eta\eta$.

Observation. One might note that the final η occurs in the plural in three forms: 3rd f. $\eta\eta$ (only form); 3rd m. $\eta\eta$ (the more frequent form); 2nd f. $\eta\eta$ (the more frequent form—4 x : 1 x). The longer forms are very much prominent in QH.⁽¹¹⁾

(1) Cf. Ugr. *a-na-ku*, and Amarna Canaanite, which also attests to *a-nu-ki* (EA 287.66,69).

(2) See Polzin, pp. 126f. For statistics showing the distribution pattern of the two forms among various OT books, see BDB, s.v. $\eta\eta$. For a discussion of some questions arising from the coexistence of the two forms, see K. Aartun, *UF* 3 (1971) 1-7; H.B. Rosén, "nky et 'ny: Essai de grammaire, interprétation et traduction," *Mélanges A. Neher* (Paris, 1975), pp. 253-72; and A. Schoors in *Hebrew Studies* 30 (1989) 71f.

(3) The ḥatef of $\eta\eta$ is abnormal; in a prestress syllable the full vowel η would be expected. Perhaps the ḥatef is due to the overuse of the form, or to the influence of the Aramaic $\eta\eta$ (BL, pp. 248f.), or to the influence of $\eta\eta$ (in which the η , in its turn, is due to the analogy of $\eta\eta$).

(4) The spelling $\eta\eta$ (Ktiv) occurs five times.

See Ps 89.39 $\eta\eta$ in Secunda $\alpha\theta$, cf. 18.41 $\eta\eta$ $\nu\alpha\theta\alpha\theta$, which is, incidentally, another indication of the nascent phonematisation of $\eta\eta$. Those who want to interpret $\eta\eta$ as /att/ or /atta/ would have to explain why Qal inf. cst. $\eta\eta$ has not come down to us as * $\eta\eta$ (< $\eta\eta$ < * $\eta\eta$), whereas $\eta\eta$ can be attributed to the analogy of the other second person forms. See also Ben-Hayyim, *LOT*, vol. 5, p. 168, n. 4.

According to AF (p. 135): "The normalization [= Ktiv] achieves consistency, but the survival of apparently fem. vocalization of clearly masc. forms (Nu 11.15; Dt 5.24; Ez 28.14) suggests that $\eta\eta$ was a variant masc. form."

(5) With regard to stress, $\eta\eta$ * must be treated like $\eta\eta$; compare the old 2nd f. form $\eta\eta$, § 42 f. However, the short form $\eta\eta$ [att] or [at] (see § 8 d, n. and § 27 db) is attested three times as masculine: Nu 11.15; Dt 5.27; Ez 28.14.

(6) The seghol may be a residue of the earlier penultimate stress: see A. Dotan in M. Bar-Asher et al. (eds), *Hebrew Language Studies* [Fachr. Z. Ben-Hayyim] [Heb] (Jerusalem, 1983), p. 160.

(7) QH $\eta\eta$; cf. SH /attimma/(reading tradition, not the written consonantal Samaritan Pentateuch with $\square\eta\eta$). See Ben-Hayyim, *LOT*, vol. 5, p. 167.

(8) The forms $\eta\eta$ and $\eta\eta$, which occur frequently in QH (and Aramaic) alongside $\eta\eta$, $\eta\eta$ on the one hand, and $\eta\eta$ on the other, probably attest to this Proto-Hebrew form and /hi'a/, or /huwa/ and /hiya/—ultimately traceable back to /huwat/ and

/hiyat/, Sh. Morag, *VT* 38 (1988) 157—respectively, which makes the Massoretic spellings אִיָּהּ and אִיָּהּ instances of defective spelling, the Alef representing a vestige of its ancient consonantal value, dissimilated from *w* and *y* respectively. AC *ù-wa* (= *huwa*; Sivan, p. 126), Ugr. *hw* (= /huwa/) and *hy* (= /hiya/) also point in the same direction. See a discussion by E.Y. Kutscher, *Isaiah*, pp. 433-40 and Qimron, *Hebrew of DSS*, pp. 57f. The former, however, considers it equally likely that the long forms are a secondary, analogical development based on *hemma* and *henna*. The ending /-t/ is preserved in Ugr. *hmt*, Phoen. 3ms תִּאֵהּ, pl. תִּמֵּהּ, and Ethiopic 3ms. *we'etu* and f. *ye'eti*. On Ugr. *hw*, see Huehnergard, *Ugr. Vocabulary*, pp. 86, 293.

(9) Note also the alternation of the two forms in two adjacent verses (Lv 11.27f.).

(10) To be distinguished from the adverb הִנֵּהְּ *hither, here* (with movement, Lat. *huc*).

(11) See Qimron, *Hebrew of DSS*, p. 58.

b On the pronouns of the third person preceded by the article אִיָּהּ, אִיָּהּ; אִיָּהּ, אִיָּהּ, אִיָּהּ, see § 36 *d*.

c **The feminine Ktiv אִיָּהּ in the Pentateuch.** In the consonantal text of the Pentateuch (but not in the Samaritan Pentateuch) we find the spelling אִיָּהּ not only for the masculine, but almost always (11 exceptions) for the feminine, for which the Naqdanim write אִיָּהּ (Qre perpetuum, § 16 *f* 2), e.g. אִיָּהּ אִיָּהּ Gn 2.12. This rather strange phenomenon, it seems, may be explained fairly plausibly as derived from a certain late recension of the Pentateuch. With many writers we may assume that the primitive spelling was אִיָּהּ both for the masculine, which probably was still *hū'a* and for the feminine, which probably was *hī'a*(¹). When these forms became *hū* and *hī* respectively in Hebrew, the spelling אִיָּהּ was found insufficiently clear. A scribe, one may suppose, could have wished to indicate the long vowels *ū* and *ī* by means of the *matres lectionis* in respect of both timbre and quantity. Now for several centuries, especially during the period of Hebrew inscriptions in square script from the first to the fourth centuries, the form of the letter ׀ was nearly identical with that of the letter י(²). A scribe, under such conditions, wanting to add a י or a ׀ in the sequence אִיָּהּ found himself actually adding a character which could, to all intents and purposes, pass for a י. Later, when the shape of י was unequivocally distinct from that of ׀, one would not dare, out of respect for this manuscript, modify the spelling of the אִיָּהּ sequence in cases where the sense indicated the feminine(³).

(1) We find אִיָּהּ in the Moabite inscription of Mesha (9th cent.) for the masculine, and for the feminine in Phoenician (except in late Vulgar Punic, which shows יָהּ).

- (2) However, in the manuscripts which were used by the LXX translators, ׀ and ׀ had an almost identical shape; cf. Driver, *Notes*, p. lxiv.
- (3) The Samaritan Pentateuch regularly has ׀׀ where the MT has ׀׀.

B. Suffix pronouns

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The pronouns can be suffixed to a verb, e.g. ׀׀׀׀׀׀ *he killed me* (a verbal suffix in the accusative, § 61) or to a noun, e.g. ׀׀׀׀, literally *the horse of me = my horse* (nominal suffix in the genitive, § 94). Moreover particles, especially prepositions, can take suffixes, e.g. ׀׀ *to me*, ׀׀׀׀ *here I am*. The forms of the suffix pronouns are mostly traceable to those of the separate pronouns.

CHAPTER II: VERB

§ 40. General observations and classification

a **Conjugations.** The Hebrew verb comprises a number of *conjugations*⁽¹⁾ (בְּנֵי־יָמִים *buildings*): a *simple* conjugation, called *Qal* (לָקַח = *light*) and a number of *derived* or *augmented* conjugations. The *simple* conjugation is well named because, in comparison with the others, its form is the simplest and the action which it expresses is equally simple, e.g. לָקַח *he killed*⁽²⁾. The *derived* or *augmented* conjugations have an expanded form in relation to the simple conjugation, and the action which they express has an added objective modality: an aspect of causality, e.g. הִקְטִיל *he made kill*.

Furthermore, the conjugation of the simple, intensive (?) or causative action can be in one of the three **voices**: active, passive, and reflexive, e.g. הִקְטִיל *he was made to kill*.

The table of the actual conjugations may be presented in the following fashion by using the traditional designations and by taking as examples the perfects of the uncommon verb לָקַח⁽³⁾ adopted as paradigm:

VOICE	ACTIVE	PASSIVE	REFLEXIVE
Simple action	Qal לָקַח <i>he killed</i>	Cf. § 58 a	Nif'āl הִקְטִיל <i>he killed himself;</i> <i>he was killed</i>
Intensive(?) action	Pi'el הִקְטִיל <i>he killed</i> <i>intensely(?)</i>	Pu'āl הִקְטִיל <i>he was killed</i> <i>intensely(?)</i>	Hitpa"el הִתְקַטֵּל <i>he killed himself</i> <i>intensely(?)</i>
Causative action	Hif'il הִקְטִיל <i>he made kill</i>	Hof'āl הִקְטִיל <i>one has caused</i> <i>him to kill</i> ⁽⁴⁾	

(1) This term, used here for want of a better one, is taken, as one can see, in a sense rather different from that which it has in English grammar. For a general and

structural discussion, cf. M.H. Goshen-Gottstein, "The system of verbal stems in the classical Semitic languages," *Proceedings*, pp. 70-91.

(2) When we simply want to designate a verb, we often translate the form of the perfect 3rd pers. by the infinitive, e.g. לַחַטֵּף *to kill*. It is common practice to designate a Hebrew verb by the 3rd pers. m.sg. of Qal, except ל"ו and ו"ו verbs which one designates by the infinitive construct (cf. § 80 c, n.).

(3) The verb לַחַטֵּף, common in Aramaic (and in Arabic *qatala*, with the original non-emphatic *t*), occurs only three times in Hebrew (in poetic texts, Ps 139.19; Job 13.15, 24.14). הִרְגַּח is the usual word for *to kill*, and הִצִּיחַ for *to commit a homicide*.

(4) Strictly speaking: *he has been caused to kill*.

Tenses and moods. Corresponding to what we call tenses Hebrew has two forms which we, for want of a better alternative (cf. § 111 b), shall call **perfect** and **future**, e.g. in the simple conjugation: perfect לַחַטֵּף *he killed, he has killed*; future יִחַטֵּף *he will kill*.

From the point of view of **moods**, the perfect לַחַטֵּף and future יִחַטֵּף are **indicative**. The future can have, in a great number of words, two variations corresponding to two volitive nuances, namely the **jussive mood**, for example, יִחַטֵּף *may he make (someone) kill!* and (in the first person) the **cohortative mood**, e.g. אֶחַטֵּף *I want to kill*. The **imperative** constitutes the volitive mood of the second person, e.g. חַטֵּף *Kill!*

Besides these temporal and modal forms there are two *atemporal* and *amodal* (and also impersonal) forms, which partake of the nature of both verb and noun: the **infinitive** and the **participle**. The infinitive is an action noun with the force of a verb; one distinguishes two forms of it, namely the **infinitive absolute** and the **infinitive construct**. The **participle** partakes of the nature of both verb and adjective; it designates the *agent*, the one who performs the action (active participle) or the *patient*, the one who suffers the action (passive participle).

In the simple conjugation, Qal, we have so far spoken of *action* only. But, in fact, apart from **verbs of action** or **active verbs**(¹) such as לַחַטֵּף *he killed*, there are **verbs of state** or **stative verbs** expressing a state or quality, e.g. כָּבֵד *he is heavy, he was heavy* (§ 41 b)(²).

(1) We use *active verb, active perfect, active future* in the sense of *action verb*, etc., and not in the sense of verb in the *active voice* (cf. § a).

(2) The *transitivity* and *intransitivity* are syntactic phenomena, which do not affect the vocalisation of verbs.

Verb classes. The majority of verbs are trilateral. According to the

b

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state of the root, verbs are said to be either **strong** or **weak**. **Strong** verbs have three unchangeable root consonants. The strong verb presents some peculiarities of vocalisation when one (or more) radical is guttural. **Weak** verbs present within their root a weak consonantal (or vocalic) element. In order to designate these verbs one uses the letters of the verb לַעֲלֹף (poetical) *to do* (an old paradigm^[1] originating in Arabic grammar). The נ represents the first element, the ע the second, and the ל the third element of the root. Thus a נעל verb is one whose first letter is Nun. The other weak verbs are similarly designated: נא , נפ , נל , נה , נעו , נעי (cf. § 71). The designation נענע verbs is given to the *geminate* verbs, the second radical of which is repeated, e.g. נענע *he encircled*.

(1) Hence the conventional terms for designating the conjugations, *Nif'al*, *Hif'il* etc.

d We shall first deal with the regular strong verb, beginning with the Qal conjugation. In order to avoid repetitions, we shall give *on the first occasion* what would apply to an entire category of forms (conjugations or verb classes)⁽¹⁾.

(1) The student therefore would do well first to go rapidly over the principal forms or the details which would not be repeated subsequently.

§ 41. Qal conjugation

a The Qal conjugation comprises **action verbs** and **stative verbs** (§ 40 *b*).

The **action verbs** are of the form **qatal* > לָקַטְךָ , לָקַטְךָ , e.g. נָתַן *to give*, יָשַׁב *to sit*, אָכַל *to eat*.

In the future the second vowel is generally **u* > ֹ in strong verbs. The vowel **i* > ֵ is found in נָתַן (§ 72 *i*), in the type יָשַׁב (§ 75 *c*), in the type יָאָכַל (here by dissimilation, cf. § 73 *c*)⁽¹⁾. As for the first vowel (the vowel of the preformative), cf. § *e*.

Action verbs express a transitive or intransitive action. Some verbs can also express a reflexive action, e.g. רָחַץ *to wash* and *to wash oneself*, *to take a bath* (likewise in Latin *lavare*), שָׁפַךְ *to pour*, *anoint* and *to anoint oneself*; מָשַׁח *to anoint* and *to anoint oneself* (Am 6.6); לָבַט *to dip* and *to dip oneself*. In certain cases the reflexive sense seems to derive from ellipsis, e.g. פָּרַח *to turn* and *to turn oneself*

(Jdg 20.39 etc.), *דָּעַד* to sustain and to sustain oneself (1Kg 13.7†, namely to sustain one's heart *בְּלֵב*).

Certain action verbs are denominative, e.g. *לָבַד* to manufacture bricks (*לְבִנָּה*), *מָלַח* (1 x) to season with salt (*מְלֵחָה*), *שָׁבַר* to purchase grain (*שָׁבָר*), *לָאָהַל* (2 x) to pitch a tent (*לְאָהֶל*)(2).

(1) According to J. Barth, = as stem vowel occurs in regular verbs as well: *ZDMG* 43 (1889) 177.

(2) For an attempt to classify Qal verbs in terms of the stem vowel mutation ('Ab-laut') in the perfect and future on the one hand, and semantic categories on the other, see Waltke—O'Connor, *BH Syntax*, pp. 367-71 (§ 22.3). See also J. Aro, *Die Vokalisierung des Grundstammes im semitischen Verbum* (Helsinki, 1964), pp. 108-38.

The stative verbs, which are "conjugated adjectives"(1), have two forms, a more frequent form **qatil* (cf. Akk. *paris*), e.g. *כָּבֵד* he is heavy, and a less frequent form **qatul* (cf. Akk. *maruṣ*), e.g. *קָטַן* he is small. To these two forms of the perfect correspond a single form of the future with a second vowel a: *יִכָּבֵד* he will be heavy, *יִקָּטַן* he will be small. As for the first vowel (that of the prefix), cf. § e.

At the earliest stage all stative verbs must have expressed what, from the point of view of the Semites, was conceived as a state or an attribute rather than as an action. But numerous stative verbs actually express what for us would really be an action, e.g. *שָׁמַע* to hear. Certain verbs, in addition to having purely stative meaning, e.g. *כָּבֵד* he is heavy (*כָּבֵד*), have nuances which come close to the notion of action, like *he becomes heavy, he grows heavy*. In general terms one could say that the stative verbs tend to become action verbs whether in terms of meaning or in terms of vocalisation(2). The encroachment of the active on the stative is due to evolution of meaning, to the fact that the action verbs are altogether the most numerous, and occasionally due to particular phonetic laws.

Some verbs whose perfect bears a vowel characteristic of stative verbs show, in the fut., a vowel typical of action verbs: *שָׁכַן*, fut. *יִשְׁכֹּן* to inhabit; *חָפַץ*, f. *יִחַפֵּץ* to like, desire; *נָבַל*, f. *יִבֹּל* to wither; *עָמַל**, f. *יִעֲמַל* to become weary; *מָת*, f. *יָמוּת* to die; *שָׁמַם**, f. *יִשְׁמַם* to be stupefied, desolate.

In the perfect the vowel = of stative verbs has often been replaced by the vowel = of action verbs: 1) especially in context, e.g. *שָׁכַן*, but *שָׁכַן*; 2) quite often even in pause, e.g. *קָטַן* to be strong(3); 3) in two

verbs the stem vowel can be \ddot{a} as in וְשָׁאַלְתָּם (1Sm 12.13) or \ddot{e} as in וַיִּרְשָׁתָם (Dt 4.1), esp. with object suffixes as in וַיִּרְשָׁתָם (Dt 17.14), וְשָׁאַלְתָּיו (1Sm 1.20), both before or after a sibilant, but יִלְדְּתֵיךָ Ps 2.7. Occasionally the vowel \ddot{e} has not been able to maintain itself except before a suffix, e.g. וְשָׁאַלְתָּ but לְשָׂאֵל , לְשָׂאֵל ; גִּדְּלֵנִי (Job 31.18 ?), but לְגִדְּלֵנִי (4).

(1) H. Bauer, *Die Tempora im Semitischen* (Leipzig, 1910), p. 33.

(2) Cf. P. Joüon, "Verbes actifs et verbes statifs," *MUSJ* 5 (1911) 356ff. For the view that stative verbs are equally "verbal," see K. Aartun, *UF* 7 (1975) 1-11. See also E. Rubinstein, "Adjectival verbs in Biblical Hebrew," *IOS* 9 (1979) 55-76, esp. 60-64 on the difficulty in choosing between the static and dynamic aspects. The only certain thing that can be said is that the use of the adjectival verb is obligatory for expression of dynamism.

(3) Here perhaps under the influence of \ddot{e} ; but the verbal adjective is רָחֹק . Comp. רָחֹק to be remote, despite the adjective רָחֹק ; verbal adj. רָחֹק (once).

(4) In these two verbs the a was probably suggested by the \ddot{a} of the closed syllable.

c A verb which is strictly stative cannot have a participle, but only a verbal adjective, e.g. רָחֹק , רָחֹק *fearful*. But in reality, as a consequence of the evolution of the stative towards the active, stative verbs often have participles, e.g. רַחֵם *loving*; שֹׂנֵא *hating*. Sometimes there exist both a participle and a verbal adjective, e.g. שֹׁכֵן *inhabiting* (Lat. *habitans*) vs. שֹׁכֵן *inhabitant* (Lat. *habitor*), *neighbour*.

d In practice, a stative verb can be identified most surely by the vowel a of the future (provided that this a is not due to any phonetic cause, e.g. a guttural); in certain verb classes, by the vowel i or e of the preformative (cf. § e); less frequently by the vowel e of the perfect (which has often been replaced by a).

There are some other secondary traits, e.g. the existence of a verbal adjective (types רַחֵם and רָחֹק), the existence of an infinitive with \ddot{e} (as a matter of fact, the infinitives קִטְּלָה , קִטְּלָה , קִטְּלָה hardly occur except in stative verbs, § 49 d).

e The vowel of the future preformative in action verbs and stative verbs. The view that the vowel of the future preformative was originally a in action verbs, and i in stative verbs is rather plausible⁽¹⁾. In Hebrew these vowels do appear when the syllable is open, i.e.: in ע"ע verbs: action $\text{בִּטְּ$, stative יִקְל (§ 82 b); in ע"ו verbs: action יִקְו , יִשְׁו , stative יִבוּ (for **yibāš*, § 80 b). In closed syllables, the primitive vowel a of action verbs has been attenuated to i in accord-

ance with a rather widespread tendency (§ 29 *g*); **yaqtul* has become יִקְטֹל, with *i* as in stative verbs, e.g. יִכְבֵּד. However, even in closed (and semi-closed) syllables, the primitive vowels may turn up: 1) in first-guttural verbs, e.g. action יַעֲמֹד, stative יִחַזֵּק, יִחַזֵּק (§ 21 *d*), and יַחַרֵּשׁ *he will plough* vs. יִחַרֵּשׁ *he will be silent*; 2) in פ"י verbs (in syllables originally closed), e.g. action יַשֵּׁב (for *yayšib*), stative יִישֵׁב (for *yiyrāš*), cf. § 75 *b, c*.

(1) First formulated by Barth (hence Barth's law) as *yaqtul, yaqtul, but yiqal*: J. Barth, *ZDMG* 48 (1894) 4-6. Subsequently, it was noted by Ginsberg that the law also applies to Ugaritic, and hence it is now usually called Barth-Ginsberg's law: H.L. Ginsberg, *Or* 8 (1939) 319-22. The law is applicable to Eblaite and El-Amarna Canaanite as well: H-P. Müller, *Bib* 65 (1984) 152 and A.F. Rainey, *Eretz Israel* 14 (1978) 8*-13*, but not to Amorite, which is about 700 years younger than Eblaite; see H.B. Huffmon, *Amorite Personal Names in the Mari Texts: A Structural and Lexical Study* (Baltimore, 1965), p. 64. The universal *ya-* in Arabic may be a result of levelling.

Note that, in the future, action verbs may show either *i* or *u* as stem vowel; cf. §44 *c*.

A list of the most common stative verbs grouped according to meaning⁽¹⁾: f

I Attributes

Pf. טוֹב, f. יִיטֵב (root יטב), inf.cst. טוֹב; defective verb, § 85 *a*,
to be good; adj. טוב.

רַע, f. יִרַע to be evil; adj. רַע.

גָּדוֹל*, גָּדַל (1 x), גָּדְלָנִי (Job 31.18 ?) to be great; adj. גָּדוֹל
(*qatul* form, § 88 D *c*).

קָטָן to be small; adj. קָטָן and קָטָן, § 18 *f*.

גָּבַהּ to be high; adj. גָּבַהּ.

שָׁפָל to be low; adj. שָׁפָל.

חָזָק, חָזַק to be strong; adj. חָזָק (verbal adj. חָזָק 2 x).

רַחַל, f. יִרַחַל to be weak; adj. רַחַל.

כָּבֵד*, כָּבַד (1 x) to be heavy; adj. כָּבֵד.

קָל, f. יִקָּל to be light; adj. קָל.

רָחֹק, רָחַק to be far; adj. רָחֹק (*qatul* form, § 88 D *c*).

קָרֵב*, קָרַב, קָרַבָּה to be near; adj. קָרֵב (*qatul* form, § 88 D *c*).

נִגַּשׁ*, f. יִנַּשׁ to approach (§ 72 *g*; defective verb, § 85 *b*).

דָּבַק, דָּבַק to cling.

טָהוֹר to be pure; adj. טָהוֹר (*qatul* form, § 88 D *c*).

טָמֵא *to be impure*; adj. טָמֵא.

מָלֵא *to be full*; adj. מָלֵא⁽²⁾.

II Mental states

אָהַב, אָהָב, f. יֵאָהֵב *to love*.

חָפֵץ, f. יִחַפֵּץ (§ b), *to love, desire*.

שָׂנֵא *to hate*.

יָרָא, f. יִירָא *to fear*.

יָגַר, f. יִגָּר (root גִּוַר), *to dread*⁽³⁾; defective verb, § 85 a.

חָרַד, f. יִחָרַד *to tremble*.

פָּחַד, *to tremble*.

שָׁכַח, שָׁכַח, שָׁכַחוּ *to forget*.

III Physical states

לָבַשׁ, לָבַשׁ *to be clothed*.

שָׂבַע, שָׂבַע, שָׂבַעוּ *to be sated*; adj. שָׂבַע.

רָעַב *to be hungry*; adj. רָעַב.

צָמָא *to be thirsty*; adj. צָמָא.

יָשַׁן, f. יִישַׁן *to sleep*.

שָׁכַב, שָׁכַב, שָׁכַבוּ *to be lying, to lie down*; inf. שָׁכַב, § 49 c.

שָׁכַל *to lose one's children, to be/become childless*.

IV Miscellaneous

יָכַל, f. יוּכַל (but probably fut. Hofal, § 75 i) *can, to be able to*.

לָמַד *to learn, to accustom oneself*.

מָת, f. יָמוּת (§ b) *to die*.

שָׁאַל, שָׁאַל, שָׁאַלוּ *to ask*⁽⁴⁾.

שָׁכַן, שָׁכַן, f. יִשְׁכֹּן (§ b) *to inhabit*.

שָׁמַע, שָׁמַע *to hear, listen*.

(1) The future is in *a* unless proof of the contrary can be given.

(2) The antonym *to be empty* does not occur; adj. רָק.

(3) The fut. *he fears* יָגַר is treated as an action verb (cf. Dt 32.27, Ho 10.5, Job 41.17); cf. § b.

(4) Comp. שָׁאַלְתִּי and שָׁאַלְתָּ *request*, § 97 B d.

§ 42. Inflection of the Qal Perfect

The inflection of the Qal Perfect (and other Perfects) occurs through the addition of affirmatives, in the majority of which one easily recognises the separate personal pronouns. In the third person, the pronoun is understood; the feminine is marked by *â* for *at (as in nouns): קָטַלְתָּ; the plural by *u*: קָטַלְתֶּם. The form of the perfect seems to have been initially used with stative verbs, e.g. קָבַרְתָּ = קָבַר + אָתָּה: *heavy-you = you are heavy*(¹). Similarly, in order to express an action we find, with a form such as *qatal, קָטַלְתָּ *killer-you*, whence the past meaning: "you are one who has killed," *you have killed*.

(1) The genesis of the perfect is clearly recognisable in the Akkadian stative and the Amarna Canaanite; on the latter, see F.M. Th. Böhl, *Die Sprache der Amarnabriefe* (Leipzig, 1909), pp. 42-48.

The perfect of action verbs is always of the type *qatal, which normally becomes קָטַל (pausal form) as in nouns, e.g. *dabar becomes דָּבַר *word* (in pause and context). In context the form is קָטַל with = (¹). This second vowel *a* of *qatal is dropped in open syllables: קָטַלְתָּ, but reappears in pause: קָטַלְתָּ. The first vowel *a* drops in open syllables two places away from the stress as in קָטַלְתֶּם, קָטַלְתֶּן, the heavy affirmatives of which carry the stress (§ 30 e).

(1) Compare the = of the construct state of nouns, e.g. דָּבַר (§ 95 d).

The stative perfect of the type קָבַרְתָּ equally loses its = in קָבַרְתָּ and קָבַרְתֶּם. In closed syllables = normally becomes = (§ 29 d), e.g. קָבַרְתָּ, קָבַרְתֶּם. (One also finds קָטַלְתָּ, קָטַלְתֶּם; קָטַלְתָּ, קָטַלְתֶּם.)

The stative perfect of the rare type קָטַנְתָּ equally loses its – in קָטַנְתָּ, קָטַנְתֶּם. In stressed closed syllables – is maintained, e.g. קָטַנְתָּ; it changes to ־ in unstressed syllables קָטַנְתֶּם, וְיִכְלֶתְּ and *you will be able to*, יִכְלֶתְּ יוֹ *I overpowered him*.

Instead of = one sometimes finds ־ (־ in one instance) in unstressed closed syllables. Thus from the stative verb יָרַשׁ *to inherit* (for יָרַשׁ*) one finds, e.g. וְיָרַשְׁתֶּם Dt 4.1 etc., where the *i* is perhaps due to the influence of the primitive vowel and of the sibilant; from the stative verb שָׁאַל *to ask* (for שָׁאַל*) וְשָׁאַלְתֶּם 1Sm 1.20 etc., וְשָׁאַלְתֶּם 1Sm 12.13; 25.5; Job 21.29. (Cf. the weakening of *a* to ־, § 29 e and to ־, § 29 g).

The coming-together of the affirmative ׀ with a ׀ as a radical pro-

duces a contraction (§ 18 c), e.g. **קָרַחְתִּי** *I have cut* Ex 34.27 (**קָרַחְתִּי**); **נָתַתְּנוּ** *we have given* Gn 34.16 (**נָתַתְּנוּ**) is a mere graphic shorthand.

f **Observations on individual endings**

3rd sg.m. The primitive form was *qatala* with *a* at the end as in Arabic and Ethiopic and as is still preserved in suffixed forms such as **קָטַלְנִי** *he killed me*.

3rd sg.f. The primitive form is *qatalat*. The **ת** is preserved before object suffixes (§ 62 a) and in **לִּיהִ** verbs (§ 79 d). One finds other forms with **ת**: **וְנִשְׁכַּחְתָּ צָר**(¹) *and Tyre will be forgotten* Is 23.15; **אָזְלַת יָד** *the strength is gone* Dt 32.36 (nsiga); **וְשָׁבַת לְנָשִׁיאַ** *and it will return to the prince* Ez 46.17 (verb **שׁוּב**; perhaps ?)(²).

2nd sg.m. The primitive form is *qatalta* with a short final *a*(³). In **קָטַלְתָּ** the post-stress *á* was originally short, which can have influenced the orthography without **ה** in contrast to **קָטַלְתָּה** (§ 39 a). The spelling with **ה** is common in **נָתַתְּהָ** (much more frequent than **נָתַתְּהָ**[⁴]; a sort of compensation for the graphic abbreviation arising from the contraction), and often in **לִּיהִ** verbs, e.g. **הָאֵיךְ**(⁵). One finds it also sporadically for no apparent reason, e.g. in Gn 21.23; 2Sm 2.26; 2Kg 9.3 (after four forms without **ה**). Likewise in Hifil, e.g. 2Kg 9.7.

On the form **קָטַלְתָּהּ**, cf. § 43.

2nd sg.f. The primitive form is *qatalti* with a short *i*. The ancient form **קָטַלְתִּי** occurs sporadically as Ktiv, for example, Ru 3.3,4 (in the middle of **קָטַלְתִּי** forms), especially and remarkably in Jeremiah and Ezekiel(⁶). In the Samaritan Pentateuch one finds **י ת** or **ת** (see the edition by von Gall, p. lxxviii, which prefers **י ת**). The post-stress short vowel has been weakened to shewa: **קָטַלְתִּי** *qātalt*, which is the usual form. But the *i* reappears before suffixes (§ 62 a)(⁷).

1st sg.com. The primitive Semitic form is *qatalku*; the *k* has become *t* under the influence of *t* of the second person; *u* has become *i* on the analogy of the separate pronoun and the suffix of the first person. One sometimes finds the spelling **קָטַלְתִּי** without **י**, ordinarily in Ktiv, e.g. Ps 140.13. Already El Amarna glosses attest to the ending *-ti* as in *ba-ni-ti* "I built."

On the form **קָטַלְתִּי**, cf. § 43.

3rd pl.com. The primitive form is *qatalū*. One finds **קָטַלְוּ** three times with a *paragogic Nun*, which is suspect or faulty: Dt 8.3,16; Is 26.16. On the *paragogic Nun* of the future, cf. § 44 e.

For the feminine, primitive Semitic had a form *qatalā*, which normally would have produced, in Hebrew, קָטַלְתָּ *. One finds in our text some קָטַלְתָּ forms, which have a plural feminine subject, e.g. $\text{בָּנוּתְךָ צָעַדְתָּ}$ Gn 49.22; $\text{וַיִּינֹבְשׁוּךָ שָׂפָכָה}$ Dt 21.7 (Qre-Ktiv). But these examples⁽⁸⁾, which occur mainly as Ktiv, are really 3rd sg.f. forms (so already Ibn Ezra ad Gn 49.22; cf. § 150 *h*). In some cases it could involve a misspelling of ת for ל , possibly under the influence of Aramaic⁽⁹⁾, which has preserved the form *qatalā* (which in turn has become קָטַלְתָּ)⁽¹⁰⁾.

2nd pl.m. The primitive form *qataltumu* has become *qataltim* > קָטַלְתִּימְךָ on the analogy of the feminine (as in the separate pronoun, § 39 *a*). The *u* is preserved before suffixes (§ 62 *a*). The unique $\text{וַיִּשְׁמַעְתִּימְךָ}$ (2m.pl.) Ez 33.26 also occurs very occasionally in MH.

2nd pl.f. The primitive form *qataltinna* has become קָטַלְתִּינְךָ , a form used very infrequently; comp. קָטַלְתִּינְךָ , § 39 *a*.

1st pl.com. The primitive form is *qatalna*. Hebrew has replaced *na* by *nu* on the analogy of the separate and suffix pronoun.

(1) There is nsiga; the form is segholised. In BA one finds also מָצְאוּתְךָ *was found* Dn 5.14 and (perhaps with nsiga) 5.11,12, 6.5,23. Kutscher (*Isaiah*, p. 191) thinks that this phenomenon may be an Aramaism.

(2) For an explanation of these examples, see E.Y. Kutscher, *History*, p. 39.

(3) In the Tel Amarna letters one always finds *ta*; cf. P. Dhorme, *RB* 22 (1913) 388ff. The *a* is long according to Brock., *GvG*, I, p. 572 and others.

(4) קָטַלְתָּ 27 x and קָטַלְתִּינְךָ 65 x: AF, p. 180. *Pace* AF, this is hardly a case of a Massoretic imposition of uniformity, for there is not a single case of the masculine קָטַלְתָּ , whereas we find three examples of masc. קָטַלְתָּ alongside Q קָטַלְתָּ (5 x)(see § 39 *a*). On the vowelless ending /-t/ alongside /-tā/ attested in abundance in the Greek and Latin transliterations, see Brønno, *Morphologie*, pp. 19-21, and Sperber, *Hist. Gram.*, p. 177.

(5) For a listing of examples of the spelling קָטַלְתָּ - and (קָטַלְתָּ -), see Barr, *Spellings*, pp. 125-27. Barr thinks that the long spelling is earlier.

(6) On the situation in 1QIs^a, cf. Kutscher, *Isaiah*, pp. 25, 188-90 (Aramaic influence), but *pace* Harris (*Development*, p. 75) it is hardly dialectal.

(7) Comp. the old form of the 2nd f. pronoun קָטַלְתִּינְךָ * alongside קָטַלְתִּינְךָ , § 39 *a*. SH has consistently preserved the archaic ending /-ti/ (Ben-Hayyim, *LOT*, vol. 5, p. 74, and Macuch, *Gram.*, p. 261).

(8) All possible examples are listed by Berg., II, § 4 b.

(9) As regards examples in 1QIs^a, see Kutscher, *Isaiah*, pp. 191f.

(10) On this question, see Mayer Lambert, *Une Série de qeré ketib* (Paris, 1891), in which he admits the existence in Hebrew of a 3rd pl. fem. with קָטַלְתָּ .

§ 43. Inverted perfect יִקְטֹלְתִי

a With Waw inversive of the perfect the mil'el stress tends to turn mil'ra; but in many cases this tendency is not realised. In the 1st pers.pl. in which the stress *could* advance, it never does, although the phonetic reason for this is not apparent⁽¹⁾.

In the 3rd pers.f. of ו"ע verbs (§ 82 g) and ו"ע verbs (§ 80 j) the stress can advance, e.g. וְרָבָה, וְרָבָה.

In the 1st pers.sg. and the 2nd pers.m.sg., the stress normally advances, e.g. יִקְטֹלְתִי, יִקְטֹלְתִי⁽²⁾. (In these forms the ante-prestress qameṣ is maintained, § 30 e).

Exceptions: 1) In pause the stress does not advance: יִקְטֹלְתִי, יִקְטֹלְתִי.

(1) All this possibly under the influence of the position of stress in the corresponding separate 1st and 2nd pers. personal pronouns. This may account for the irregular retention of the qameṣ in the contextual form וְנָא, though the influence of the shorter form וְנָא may also be responsible for the mil'ra form יִקְטֹלְתִי. This implies that the stress in these forms has not arisen as a result of the general shift to the ultima stress.

(2) The inversive Waw of the perfect has the weak vocalisation (in contrast to the inversive Waw of the future, § 47), namely shewa or its substitutes: i.e. ַ before a labial and ְ before ḥaṭef pataḥ, e.g. וְהִקְטַלְתִּי (cf. § 104 c). For the meaning of the inverted perfect, cf. § 119; here we can be content with the commonest translation, that of the future, e.g. *and I shall kill*.

b 2) In ו"ל and ו"ל verbs the stress often does not advance. In this matter one can hardly formulate hard and fast rules. One can nevertheless note that ו" and ו" tend to retain the stress more than ו" and ו" respectively. Moreover, it is necessary to distinguish between various conjugations, because the Qal conjugation deserves special treatment. Having said this, we can make the following observations⁽¹⁾:

ו"ל verbs: In Qal, the vowel ו" of action verbs and ו" of stative verbs retain the stress: וְיָצְאָה, וְיָצְאָה; וְיָצְאָה. In the other conjugations ו" loses its stress: וְיָצְאָה, וְיָצְאָה, וְיָצְאָה.

ו"ל verbs: In Qal, the vowel ו" retains its stress, e.g. וְעָשִׂיתִי (89 examples), וְעָשִׂיתִי (20 x); וְהָיִיתִי, וְהָיִיתִי. In the other conjugations, ו" generally retains the stress, but ו" loses it; thus one finds וְהָעֲלִיתִי in Dt 27.6; Jdg 6.26; Jer 38.10, but וְהָעֲלִיתִי in Ex 40.4.

Observation. Before the guttural ו" the form tends to be mil'ra. (cf.

§ 33). Thus instead of קָאָרָא one finds קָאָרָא before \aleph , e.g. Zech 6.10; instead of קָשְׁרָה Dt 11.10 one finds קָשְׁרָה Nu 20.8; Jer 35.2.

(1) When the penultimate is a closed syllable, the stress shifts to the ultima, and the same tendency exists where both the penultimate and the antepenultimate are naturally long. See C.H. Gordon, "The accentual shift in the perfect with a Waw consecutive," *JBL* 57 (1938) 319-25, and J. Blau, *IOS* 1 (1971) 15-18. F.R. Blake justly points to a major category of exceptions to Gordon's rule, namely קָשְׁרָה and קָשְׁרָה : *JBL* 63 (1944) 285, n. 29. Cf. also E.J. Revell, "Stress and the 'Waw consecutive' in BH," *JAOS* 104 (1984) 437-44.

§ 44. Inflection of Qal Future

The inflection of the Qal Future (and of other conjugations) consists of preformatives marking the person and (in five cases) by sufformatives marking the gender and the number. As the perfect can be morphologically described as the 'sufformative tense,' the future can be described as the 'preformative tense.' The preformatives \aleph and \beth of the first person, and \beth of the second person are also attested in the corresponding separate pronouns; in contrast, the preformatives \aleph and \beth of the third person are difficult to explain. The sufformative \aleph of the second and third person pl.m. is the same as in קָטַלְתֶּם . For the fem. sing. one has the sufformative \aleph - in the second person; for the fem. plural קָטַלְתֶּן , in the second and third persons.

In contrast to the perfect, which has a nominal base and looks like a 'conjugated' adjective or substantive, the future is formed on a verbal base (e.g. קָטַל) which generally recurs in the imperative. The future is therefore an essentially verbal form in origin like the imperative.

First vowel (that of the preformative). In the Qal conjugation of regular verbs as we have it now, the vowel is ־ in verbs of action and in stative verbs alike, e.g. קָטַלְתִּי , $\text{קָטַלְתְּ$; קָטַלְתֶּם . But, as we stated in § 41 e, the original vowel in action verbs was probably *a*. In the first person singular one has קָטַלְתִּי , קָטַלְתִּי with the vowel seghol⁽¹⁾.

(1) The explanation of this vowel is controversial. If \aleph , as we believe, was no longer pronounced, seghol would have been the initial vowel as in the case of the prosthetic Alef (§ 17 a). If קָטַלְתִּי was pronounced *iqʔol* (§ 26 e), the pronunciation *ʔqʔol* (with silent \aleph) would have been distinct from the former.

Second vowel. As we saw (§ 41 a), the second vowel of action verbs

is generally *u > ֿ, sometimes *i > ֿ; always = in stative verbs (§ 41 b).

These vowels can drop out in open syllables and in fact do so, e.g. יִקְטְלוּ, יִהְיוּ, יִכְבְּדוּ; but they are maintained in pause: יִקְטְלוּ, יִהְיוּ, יִכְבְּדוּ (§ 32 d). Since the o reflects here an originally short u, the fairly frequent⁽¹⁾ plene spelling יִקְטוּל with ו is striking, except in those cases where there may have been a secondary lengthening.

The following three cases with ו must be considered abnormal or faulty: יִשְׁפּוּטוּ Ex 18.26; לֹא תַעֲבֹדוּי מִזֶּה Ru 2.8; תִּשְׁמְרוּם Pr 14.3. If these forms are genuine, one can perhaps explain them as follows: in prepause and in pause a full vowel may have been preferred, and here, with a labial, u may have been preferred over o.

(1) יִקְטוּל : יִקְטוּל = 1356 : 125, and for ו"ב verbs, 192 : 44: AF, pp. 194f.

d Observations on certain persons.

In the f.pl., the third and second persons have the same form: תִּקְטְלֶנָּה. This form, as second person, is extremely rare (so is the 2nd pl.f. of the perfect קְטַלְתִּי). In תִּקְטְלֶנָּה the third person has a twofold indication of the feminine. The נ is here of secondary origin and originates with the 3rd sg.f. תִּקְטֹל. The original form must have been *תִּקְטְלֶנָּה (with י as in Arabic, Western Aramaic, etc.); this appears only three times: Gn 30.38; 1Sm 6.12; Dn 8.22. The /-nā/ form, including that of the imperative, has completely disappeared from MH, and already in BH the masculine /-u/ form often doubles for the feminine (§ 150 a,c).

Instead of the ordinary spelling תִּנָּה we often⁽¹⁾ find תִּנָּה, especially in the Pentateuch and notably after Waw inversive, e.g. Gn 19.33,36⁽²⁾.

(1) In 41 out of 342 cases: AF, p. 103, 180.

(2) Barr (*Spellings*, p. 130), on the basis of the spelling variation and the two striking cases, Gn 4.23 וְשָׁמַעַן and Ex 2.20 קָרְאָן, both f.pl. imperative, concludes that the short spelling possibly represents a variant pronunciation ending with /-n/ (so already Berg., II, § 5 a).

da Occasionally /tiqtlu/ occurs for 3f.pl., with /t/ indicating the f.sg. and /u/ the pl. morpheme respectively: Ez 37.7 תִּקְרְבוּ and Job 19.15 תִּחְשַׁבְנִי, both with a f.pl. subject.

e Added to the sufformative ו of the 3rd pers. pl.m. and 2nd pl.m. יִקְטְלוּ, יִקְטְלוּ we often find a ׀ called **paragogic Nun**, i.e. added Nun. In reality the ׀ belongs to primitive forms and is found in Ugaritic,

Arabic, Aramaic, etc. The total of 305 examples are pretty widely spread in the Old Testament; one finds them especially in Deuteronomy (56), Isaiah (37), Job (23), and Psalm 104 (15)⁽¹⁾. The reasons for the presence of a form with ךּ can be the antiquity of a text, a deliberate archaism, Aramaic influence, and metre. But the usual reason seems to be preference for a fuller and more emphatic form. This explains why one finds forms with ךּ especially in pause (in major and intermediate pauses). In pause, the preceding vowel is retained and occasionally given secondary lengthening, e.g. יִקְטֹלוּ (cf. § 32 d), יִלְקֹטוּ Ps 104. 28, יִתְּבַקְּרוּ Dt 13.5, יִלְמְדוּ Dt 4.10. But these forms are sometimes found in context as well, e.g. יִקְצְרוּ Ru 2.9 (pashṭa).

When the meaning demands the jussive, one very rarely finds the form with ךּ⁽²⁾, e.g. יִכְרַעוּ Job 31.10; בִּלְיִתְּוּוּ Is 26.11.

The fact that no long form occurs with the prohibitive לֹא and extremely rarely (only 9 times: Dt 1.22, 4.11 [2 x], 5.20, Jdg 8.1, Is 41.5, Ez 44.8, Am 6.3) with the inversive Waw accords with the general assumption that the short form represents the original jussive⁽³⁾.

These extended forms are stressed on the last syllable, and their stress position agrees with that of the assumed primitive form such as /yaqtulū'na/.

(1) Driver, *Notes* ad 1Sm 2.15 (p. 30). It is true, as Lambert notes (§ 703), that the long forms are more common in older books: they are absent from Lam, Ec, Esth, Dn, Ezr, Ne; the Chronicler has only two, due to the influence of his source (2Ch 6.26 // 1Kg 8.35; 2Ch 7.19 // 1Kg 9.6), and normally substitutes (under the Aramaic influence according to Kutscher, *Isaiah*, p. 193) the short form for the long one (2Ch 6.29,33 // 1Kg 8.38,43; 2Ch 11.4 // 1Kg 12.24). However, the antiquity alone cannot account for all the examples.

(2) In BA as in Early Aramaic generally, where we always find ךּ in the indicative, the ךּ is eliminated where the sense requires the jussive. The position of Ya'di (Samalian) (8th cent. B.C.) in North West Syria is unique, showing the /-ū/ ending in both the indicative and the jussive: see P.-E. Dion, *La Langue de Ya'udi* (Waterloo, 1974), pp. 184-86.

(3) Cf. J. Hoftijzer, *The Function and Use of the Imperfect Forms with Nun paragogicum in Classical Hebrew* (Assen/Maastricht, 1985), pp. 2-4.

Similarly, to the sufformative י- of the second pers. sg.f. one sometimes adds a **paragogic Nun**. There are not many examples, e.g. יִתְּעַשֶׂינָּה Ru 3.4; יִתְּעַיֶינָּה 3.18; יִתְּבַקְּיֶינָּה 2.21; יִתְּבַקְּיֶינָּה 2.8 (tifḥa). This י, which is equally primitive and occurs in Arabic and Aramaic, is used

under the same conditions as those described above, and must be interpreted in the same fashion.

§ 45. Cohortative הִקְטִילָה

- a The cohortative is the volitive mood of the first person⁽¹⁾: הִקְטִילָה, הִקְטִילָנִי. It is formed by adding a **paragogic** (= added) הִ, the origin of which will be explained in the syntax section, § 116 *b*, *n*. The sufformative הִ is treated like the sufformatives יִ- and וִ; hence it takes the stress in context, and the preceding, originally short vowel is dropped, e.g. הִקְטִילָנִי Ps 2.3 (from קִטֵּל), הִשְׁפָּךְ־בָּרָה Jer 3.25 (from שָׁפַךְ); in pause the preceding vowel reappears and takes the stress, e.g. אֲשַׁמְרֶנָּה Ps 59.10; הִחַזְקֵנִי Ec 7.23. A preceding, originally long vowel is naturally maintained and retains its stress, e.g. הִקְטִילָהּ, הִקְטִילָהּ, although the non-extended form without the energetic Nun is, as a rule, used if the suffixed verb is intended as jussive in force or joined to the inverse Waw: thus אַל תִּשְׁלַח־הִּוּוּ *Don't send him* or וַתִּשְׁלַח־הִּוּוּ *and she sent him*, and not אַל תִּשְׁלַח־הִּוּוּ or וַתִּשְׁלַח־הִּוּוּ (§ 61 *f*).

(1) Only rarely do we find in the 3rd person the הִ of the cohortative; the three examples in Is 5.19 הִחַזְקֵהּ *may he hasten!*, הִבְרִיחֵהּ *let it come!*, and Job 11.17 הִטְפֵּהּ (if not הִטְפֵּהּ) *may it fly away!*, all occur instead of the normal jussive. Cf. also Ez 23.16Q, 20 הִטְפֵּהּ.

- b As we shall see in Syntax (§ 114, 116), the cohortative has a *direct* use, e.g. *May I kill!*, *I wish to kill!*, and an *indirect* or subordinated use (with וִ), e.g. *in order that I may kill* (וַהִקְטִילָנִי). It is the same with the jussive.

The volitive nuance of the cohortative can be reinforced by the affective particle אֲנִי, e.g. אֲנִי־הִקְטִילָנִי Ex 3.3 (*dḥiq*, § 18 *i*) *I (therefore) wish to advance* (§ 105 *c*).

The imperative also can have the paragogic הִ, § 48 *d*.

§ 46. Jussive יִקְטִיל

- a The jussive is the volitive mood of the third person; it is also used in some cases as the volitive of the second person (§ 114 *g*, in place of the imperative, which is the volitive proper of the second person), and very rarely as the volitive of the first person (the voli-

tive proper of which is the cohortative). The jussive tends to take a form shorter than that of the indicative, but not always. Thus in the regular verb type, the Qal future לִטְּוֹי cannot be shortened; it is the same with many other futures except Hifil future לִטְּוִי, which has an originally long vowel. This long vowel *i* was shortened to *i* > *ı*; hence in practice one has לִטְּוֹי *may he cause* (somebody) *to kill!* and לִטְּוִי *may she cause* (somebody) *to kill!* One sees that the jussive form can appear only in certain futures, and within these futures only in certain forms, and furthermore, the jussive of these forms no longer appears if they are suffixed⁽¹⁾.

(1) This is a probable explanation of the tendency of the language to substitute the indicative for the jussive form where the latter could have been used, e.g. in הִלֵּל verbs. Cf. § 114 g, n.

The distinct jussive form is found particularly in certain weak verb classes, namely ל"ע and י"ע. In הִלֵּל verbs the shortening amounts to apocope (§ 17 f), e.g. the indicative הִלֵּלִי becoming in the jussive הִלֵּלִי.

Very rarely the jussive has the paragogic ך (§ 44 e).

§ 47. Inverted Future לִטְּוִי

The inverted future, e.g. לִטְּוִי *and he killed*, has a strong Waw, that is to say, a Waw which has vowel *a* that adds some force (like that of the definite article [§ 35 b] and that of the interrogative pronoun הַמָּה [§ 37 c]) to the following consonant, which, as a consequence, is doubled. The doubling is omitted in, e.g. לִטְּוִי (§ 18 m)⁽¹⁾.

With the Waw inversive the verb form undergoes two changes in accordance with the phonetic laws: 1) the final vowel reflects earlier shortening as in the jussive (§ 46 a); 2) the stress recedes, and as a consequence, the post-stress vowel becomes short. These changes may occur only if the first syllable is open, and the last closed, and the first vowel is *qames*, *şere* or *ħiriq*, although a notable exception is רָאָה *and she saw*. Sometimes one observes the first change, sometimes the second, and sometimes neither. Examples: לִטְּוִי (the vowel cannot be shortened here any more than in the jussive; the stress cannot recede, § 31 a); לִטְּוִי (the vowel of לִטְּוִי is shortened as in the jussive; the

stress cannot recede —/*yaqtīl'/ > /*yaqtīl'/ > /yaqtēl/); ׀קָ׀ (the vowel of ׀קָ׀ was shortened as in the jussive ׀קָ׀—/*yaqū'mu/ > /*ya'qum/ > /yā'qum/; but in pause the stress is mil'ra, and the ḥolem indicates earlier secondary lengthening of short *u*); ׀קָ׀ (the stress recedes); ׀קָ׀ Josh 24.12 (Piel); ׀קָ׀ (with the omission of gemination in ׀)(²).

(1) Despite the absence of the pataḥ following the Waw in the second column of Origen's Hexapla and the Samaritan pronunciation of Hebrew, it must be considered primitive, whilst the gemination of the following consonant may be regarded as a device to preserve this primitive vowel; see a discussion by Z. Ben-Hayyim, in Sh. Wares et al. (eds), *Sefer Dov Sadan* [Heb] (Tel Aviv, 1977), p. 81, and Blau, *Heb. Phonology and Morphology*, p. 217. Gordon's proposal (*UT*, § 12.9) to compare Ugr. *wn* (= /wan/?) founders in view of examples such as *wn. ymgy* "and now he arrives" and *wn* [ʔn] "and he answered."

(2) The prohibitive negative לָ׀ also tends to push the stress back, e.g. לָ׀־׀קָ׀ 1Kg 2.20 (compare ׀קָ׀־׀), לָ׀־׀קָ׀ Ex 23.1, but לָ׀־׀קָ׀ 2Kg 23.18 (guttural), § 80 *k*, *n*.

b In certain cases where the stress, in accordance with the general phonetic laws (§ 31 *a*), can recede, it does not. One may note the following cases:

- 1) In the Qal future of פ"ו and פ"י verbs with *a*: ׀יִ׀׀, ׀יִ׀׀.
- 2) In forms with final Alef: ׀יִ׀׀, ׀יִ׀׀; ׀יִ׀׀, ׀יִ׀׀; ׀יִ׀׀.
- 3) In the Nifal, the stress does not generally recede, e.g. ׀יִ׀׀.

But there are a good number of exceptions; thus one always has ׀יִ׀׀, and ׀יִ׀׀ seven times (twice mil'ra). Note the forms with stressed =, frequently even in pause, ׀יִ׀׀, ׀יִ׀׀, ׀יִ׀׀, ׀יִ׀׀. Alongside ׀יִ׀׀ Nu 11.30; Jdg 20.11 δ one always has the mil'el form in the formula ׀יִ׀׀־׀׀ and he was reunited with his kinsfolk (always at the end of a verse: Gn 25.8,17; 35.29; 49.33; Dt 32.50 δ).

For the Piel of second guttural verbs, cf. § 69 *d*.

c In ה"ל verbs the shortening results in apocope, as in the jussive (§ 46 *b*), e.g. ׀יִ׀׀, ׀יִ׀׀.

d In the 1st pers. sing. there are many peculiarities. Before the guttural Alef, which cannot be doubled, the *a* in open syllables following the Waw is ׀, e.g. ׀יִ׀׀. The stress does not recede (e.g. ׀יִ׀׀)(¹). In the Pentateuch and very often in the Prophets, cases of this kind are written without *mater lectionis*, e.g. ׀יִ׀׀, ׀יִ׀׀. The preponderance of full spelling in these forms in late books suggests that in early BH

the 1st person was no different from the other persons in this respect (Berg., II, § 5 d).

Apart from the normal form לִּטְּקֶם , there is a secondary form הִלְטְּקֶם with **paragogic** הִלְ (as in the cohortative, § 45) having precisely the same meaning as לִּטְּקֶם and *I have killed*, and in which, as a consequence, הִלְ has no semantic value. The form הִלְטְּקֶם occurs especially in certain late books, in particular Daniel, Ezra and Nehemiah⁽²⁾. The הִלְ of the inverted future $\text{הִלְטְּקֶם$ is no doubt due to the analogy of the הִלְ of the indirect cohortative הִלְטְּקֶם *in order that I may kill*; its existence is probably due to some consideration of rhythm.

(1) For הִלְ verbs, cf. § 79 m, n.

(2) For details, see Kropat, *Syntax*, p. 75. QH almost exclusively uses forms with the paragogic /-ā/; Qimron, *Hebrew of DSS*, p. 44. For a full list of הִלְטְּקֶם forms, see Berg., II, § 5 f.

In the 1st pers. plur. the ordinary form is the norm, e.g. וְנִקְטֹל , וְנִקְטֹלְנוּ . One also finds some rare forms with the paragogic הִלְ . Böttcher (vol. 2, p. 199) cites six examples: Gn 41.11; 43.21; Ps 90.10; Ezr 8.23 ($\text{וְנִצְּרֵמָה וְנִבְרְקֶשָׁה}$); 8.31. The הִלְ of הִלְטְּקֶם is probably due to the analogy of the indirect cohortative הִלְטְּקֶם *in order that we may kill*.

§ 48. Imperative

The imperative is the volitive mode of the second person. The inflection of the imperative consists of the sufformatives יֵ- , ו and הִלְ of the future. The theme of the imperative is that of the future, e.g. קִטֹּל Kill! as in לִּקְטֹלְךָ *you will kill*.

Generally speaking, when in a future the form of the jussive differs from that of the indicative, the imperative, being a volitive mood, takes the vowel of the jussive, also a volitive mood. For example, in the regular verb, Hifil, we find imperative לִּקְטֹלְךָ with the יֵ- of the jussive לִּקְטֹלְךָ ; likewise in ו"ע verbs we find קִטֹּלְךָ as in קִטֹּלְךָ . But in Qal of ו"ע verbs, alongside the jussive קִטֹּלְךָ we find (abnormally) the imperative קִטֹּלְךָ (§ 80 c). If one agrees, along with some modern philologists, that the imperative preceded the future, one must say that the jussive is an imperative in the second and third persons.

The vowel of the imperative is mostly identical with that of the future (jussive), e.g. קטל as in יקטל, קרב as in יקרב, יתן as in יתן. The exceptions seem to be very rare⁽¹⁾.

In the derived conjugations, the imperative also resembles the future as far as the vocalisation is concerned: Nifal הִקְטֵל as in יִקְטַל, Piel קִטַּל as in יִקְטֵל, Hifil הִקְטִיל as in jussive יִקְטֵל, Hitpael הִתְקַטַּל as in יִתְקַטַּל.

In the passive conjugations proper, i.e. Pual and Hofal, the imperative does not exist⁽²⁾. One may note two exceptions: הִשְׁכַּבְּהָ Ez 32.19 which probably means *Lie!, be in a lying position!* (cf. מִשְׁכַּבָּהּ whom they have laid; lying 2Kg 4.32 δ); הִפְנוּ (?) Jer 49.8, which could mean *Be turned around!*

(1) In strong verbs I can only find -סָעַד Jdg 19.8 (cf. vs. 5) despite the future יִסְעַד.

(2) So also in genuine passive Nifals. Thus an example such as Gn 42.16 הִאֶסְרָהּ is striking; cf. § 114 o.

b In קטל, כַּבַּד, and יתן the vowel, as in the corresponding futures (§ 44 c), drops out before the sufformatives י־, ו, and ה־ (§ d), e.g. קִטַּלְי; but is retained in pause, e.g. וְיִזְרֶה 1Kg 3.26; וְשִׁמְעֵהוּ; וְתִנֶּה Is 43.6. The σ being originally short, the orthography קטול, which one finds occasionally, must be considered unusual⁽¹⁾.

(1) קטל : קטול = 874 : 202, including inf. cst., but not לאמר (945 x) vs. לאמור (3 x; Gn 48.20; Jer 18.5, 33.19); AF, p. 195.

c **Observations on the inflection.**

In the type כַּבַּד, the primitive fem. form was *kabdī etc., whence כַּבְּדִי by attenuation of a to i⁽¹⁾. The a has not been preserved except in second-guttural verbs, e.g. שִׁחַטִּי.

In the type קטל the expected symmetrical form is קִטַּלְי with σ . We always find this form with σ before object suffixes, e.g. קִטַּלְיָנִי (§ 64 a) and most frequently with the paragogic ה־, e.g. קִטַּלְיָהּ (§ d). On the other hand, with the sufformatives י־ and ו, the form with σ is rather rare, e.g. מְלִכִי Jdg 9.10; מְשֻׁכּוּ Ez 32.20; indeed the ordinary forms are קִטַּלְי, קִטַּלוּ (similar to כַּבְּדִי, כַּבְּדוּ). The replacement of קִטַּלְי and קִטַּלוּ by קטלי and קטלו is difficult to explain; perhaps it is due to the analogy of the types כַּבְּדִי and כַּבְּדוּ respectively.

(1) The shewa is "medium," and consequently the begadkefat is rafé (§ 19 f). Like-

wise, of course, in the imperatives of the type קטל, e.g. מִלְבֵּי. The original form seems to be **qutl*, which became **qtul* > קטל. The shewa may be a vestige of the vowel shifted forward. Others admit a primitive form **qutul*, as in Akkadian. Cp. also AC (= EA 252.25) *nu-pu-ul-mi*, if it means "Fall!"

Imperative with paragogic הַֿ. In the sing. masc. we often find a form augmented by the paragogic הַֿ, which is emphatic in origin, but in practice does not often seem to add any particular nuance, though it often seems to carry an honorific one, being addressed to God (Ps 5.2), father (Gn 27.19), prophet (Nu 22.6), and priest (1Sm 14.18), and sometimes reinforced by אָנִּי (Gn 27.19)⁽¹⁾. With the type קטל the form is usually קטלְהָ (§ c), rarely קטלְהָ, e.g. מְבַרְךָ Gn 25.31 (with a guttural, e.g. עֲרַבְךָ Job 33.5; אֶסְפָּה Nu 11.16). In the type פֶּבֶד one naturally finds פֶּבֶדְךָ, e.g. וְשִׁבְךָ, וְשִׁמְעָה; exception קִרְךָ Ps 69.19 despite קִרְבִּי⁽²⁾.

This sufformative הַֿ is treated like the sufformatives י־ and ו (§§ b,c); thus the pausal forms are קטלְהָ, פֶּבֶדְךָ, לְכָה.

The preference for the form with הַֿ seems usually to be purely in the interests of euphony⁽³⁾. Furthermore, its usage is very inconsistent; thus one has הִנֵּה 23 times and הִנֵּן 16 times; הִלֵּל, however, is much more frequent than הִלְכָה (written 3 times הִלְלֵ). One always has הִזְדַּחֵס *hasten!* (8 x, out of which 7 are in Ps), הִגִּישָׁה *present!* (5 x), הִזְדַּחֵס *wake up!* (6 x, in Ps), הִשָּׁבְעָה *swear!* (5 x), הִשְׁמַעְךָ *lend an ear!, listen!* (9 x; הִשְׁמַעְךָ once in Job 33.31).

Since the nuance added by הַֿ is virtually non-discernible, the emotive particle אָנִּי (cf. § 45 b) is added, if greater emphasis is required, e.g. אָנִּי־הִלְכָה Gn 27.9; אָנִּי־לְכָה Nu 23.27 *go then!, please, go!* (cf. § 105 c).

(1) See Lambert, § 719, n. 1.

(2) Here again the shewa is "medium" (cf. § c, n.).

(3) For this reason perhaps it is frequent in poetry: see M. Tsevat, *A Study of the Language of the Biblical Psalms* (Philadelphia, 1955), p. 25, and n. 255.

§ 49. Infinitive

The infinitive (§ 40 b) is called *absolute* or *construct*⁽¹⁾ depending on its form and syntactic usage (§§ 123-24).

In the **Qal conjugation**, the two infinitives are rigorously distinguished: inf. abs. לִטְּוּ, inf. cst. לִטְּוּ(2). These two forms, which now have a certain resemblance, originally had no connection whatsoever. The inf. abs. is a nominal form **qatāl*, normally developed into לִטְּוּ (with an originally long *o*; very often^[3] spelled defectively as לִטְּוּ). The inf. cst. לִטְּוּ, like the imperative לִטְּוּ, comes from **qtul*(⁴) (the *o* is a deletable or variable vowel; the occasional spelling לִטְּוּ is therefore unusual)(⁵). Thus it happens that currently the two forms have, in final syllable, the same vowel *o*, originally long in לִטְּוּ and deletable in לִטְּוּ. Furthermore, considering the opposition between ך and ך, the two infinitives seem to have the same relation as that between, for example, abs. גְּוִלָּה *great* and cst. גְּוִלָּה. The old grammar, and perhaps even the linguistic consciousness, seems to have admitted this relation as real, hence the names *infinitive absolute* and *infinitive construct*(⁶).

(1) When we say (e.g. in this grammar) *infinitive*, without any qualification, the reference is to the infinitive construct, which is the usual infinitive, the infinitive absolute being used only in very special cases.

(2) In the paradigms, in order better to distinguish between the two infinitives, we prefix the preposition (ל) to the infinitive construct, e.g. לִטְּוּ(ל), ׁמִטְּוּ(ל).

(3) Usage is rather varied; thus we have ׁלִטְּוּ 34 times, ׁלִטְּוּ 12 times; in contrast, ׁלִטְּוּ twice and ׁלִטְּוּ 11 times. GK (§ 45 *a*) claims erroneously that the spelling לִטְּוּ occurs "sometimes" (likewise BL, p. 317). According to AF, p. 193, the frequencies of לִטְּוּ : לִטְּוּ are 245 : 179, inclusive apparently of relatively few non-Qal abs. inf.'s. See also Barr, *Spellings*, pp. 109-12.

(4) *Pace* Sivan, pp. 167f., the AC form could not have been *qatālu*. If a suffixed pattern such as לִטְּוּ is to be considered to have preserved the archaic shape, as is often the case, then the inf. cst. pattern must have resembled that of the imperative; otherwise one would be hard put to account for the difference between the inf. cst. לִטְּוּ and the inf. abs. לִטְּוּ.

(5) See § 48 *b*, n. 1.

(6) Strangely, the two infinitives have uses which correspond rather closely, syntactically speaking, to those of their names. The infinitive absolute is used in an *absolute* fashion, like a noun in the absolute state, whereas the infinitive construct can be *construed* with a noun or a pronoun, like a noun in the construct state.

b In the **derived conjugations** the infinitive absolute seems to be a secondary formation. Hence the distinction between the two infinitives is not as rigorously maintained as in Qal. Furthermore, the form of the infinitive construct can often be employed as infinitive absolute, e.g.

in Nifal לְקַטֵּל, Piel קָטַל. Sometimes the inf. abs. differs from the inf. cst. only by a secondary modification; thus in the Hifil of regular verbs one has cst. לְקַטֵּיל, abs. לְקַטֵּל; in the Piel of third guttural verbs: cst. חֲלֵשׁ (light form), abs. חָלֵשׁ (heavy form)(1).

The infinitives with *o* (with *o*, no doubt etymologically long, on the analogy of לְקַטֹּל) are hardly found except in Nifal: types נְקַטֵּל (לְקַטֹּל) and הִקְטֵל.

In the purely passive conjugations (Pual and Hofal) the two infinitives are rare. In Hofal the inf. abs. לְקַטֵּל is remarkable for its hybrid character: it is the inf. abs. of the Hifil לְקַטֵּל *passivised* by the shift of the first vowel = to פָּ.

The inf. abs. is relatively rare in LBH (Polzin, pp. 43f.), and in QH, and virtually extinct in MH.

(1) Just as we find, in the participle, e.g., abs. חָלֵשׁ, cst. חֲלֵשׁ.

The vowel of the infinitive construct. In general the infinitive cst. has the same vowel as the future. This is the case in all the derived conjugations, e.g. לְקַטֵּיל like יִקְטִיל. In Qal one has לְקַטֵּל like יִקְטֵל. But futures with *a* have, rather infrequently, an inf. with *a*, e.g. שָׁבַב (stative; this is the principal example)(1); ordinarily we find the inf. in *o*. Thus in second-guttural verbs one has שָׁחַט despite טִשַּׁח; in third-guttural verbs חָלַשׁ despite חֲלֵשׁ; in א"ל verbs one has אֶצַּח despite אֶצַּח. Almost all the stative verbs with *a* in the future, therefore, have an infinitive with *o*, e.g. שָׁנַא, שָׁאֵל, שָׁמַע, שָׁבַע; חָם, חָם, רָב. The vowel *o* is hardly a reflection of the inf. abs., but rather attests to the conformity to the dominant inf. cst. pattern.

Thus the form לְקַטֵּל is on the way to becoming *the* form of the infinitive construct(2).

(1) With the exception of שָׁבַב, the infinitives with *a* do not occur except with a suffix or in close juncture with the following word.

(2) Partly perhaps on account of the supposed relationship between לְקַטֵּל and לְקַטֹּל.

BH possesses a series of verbal nouns of various patterns which can also function as infinitives(1). These may be then called pseudo-infinitives. They are discussed in § d, e. It is not true to say that they are late or due to Aramaic influence. An interesting passage is Hb 3.13 יִצְאָתָּ לְיִשְׁעֵי עֲמֻנָּה לְיִשְׁעֵי אֶת-מְשִׁיחָהּ, where יִשְׁעֵי functions both times in

the manner of the inf. cst., though in its first occurrence it is more like a verbal noun because of the absence of תָּא.

(1) H.M. Orlinsky, "Notes on the Qal infinitive construct and the verbal noun in Biblical Hebrew," *JAOS* 67 (1947) 107-26.

d Qal infinitive constructs with feminine ending תָּ.

One sometimes also finds in the Qal of certain verbs (in fact, almost solely of stative verbs) an infinitive with a feminine ending תָּ of the types קִטְלָה (from which by attenuation) קִטְלָה, and קִטְלָה (or 'ק), alongside the ordinary infinitive.

The most common examples are: יִרְאָה to *fear* (also substantive: *fear*) alongside יָרָא (only twice); אָהַב to *love* (also substantive: *love*), and אָהַב once only in Ec 3.8. [By way of contrast, the inf. of the antonym to *hate* is ordinarily שָׂנֵא, e.g. 2Sm 19.7 (where it is put opposite אָהַב); the fem. (cst.) form occurs only twice, and that in two cases where the subject of the action is in the genitive (§ 124 g): שָׂנֵאתָ Dt 1.27; מְשַׂנְאָתוֹ אוֹתָם 9.28]. Note also מְשַׂחָה Ex 29.29; חָמְלָה Ez 16.5. The form לִקְרֹאת (always in cst. st.) to *meet*, hence with a prepositional value *before, in front of* (from the verb קָרָא = קָרָה to *meet*, § 78 k) is used like a substantive. On Piel fem. inf. see § 52 c.

e We also find some rare infinitives with a preformative מ (like the inf. מְקַטֵּל in Aramaic). These Aramaising infinitives appear to be of later origin. Examples: לְמִקְרָא הָעֵדָה Nu 10.2 to *convene the assembly* (everywhere else מְקַרָּא is a substantive: *assembly, convocation*); מִפְּעַ 10.2 (Dt 10.11†; the pataḥ as characteristic of the infinitive [cf. § 95 d]; the substantive would be מִפְּעָא*); מִשָּׂא Nu 4.24; 2Ch 20.25; 35.3. Sometimes the form מְקַטֵּל has a rather substantival sense, e.g. מִשָּׂא פְּנִים 2Ch 19.7 *partiality and taking of bribes*; מְשַׁלּוֹחַ מְנוֹחַ Esth 9.19 *sending of portions* (here *miqtāl* form).

f Infinitives קִטְלָה with the prepositions בְּ, לְ, וְ. When the second radical is a begadkefat, it usually remains rafe after בְּ and וְ, e.g. בְּנִפְלָ Job 4.13; בְּנִפְלָ 2Sm 3.34; there are some exceptions. However, after לְ it becomes plosive, e.g. לְנִפְלָ Ps 118.13; לְשִׁבְּבָ Gn 34.7; there are some exceptions. With לְ, which is far more frequent⁽¹⁾ before the infinitive than בְּ and וְ, and which often has a very weak meaning or even no meaning at all, the form may have been felt to constitute a closer unit⁽²⁾. Compare the לְחִפְּרָ type with a first-guttural verb, § 68 e; just as this

form with quiescent shewa could have been influenced by the future **יִחַפֵּר**, the inf. **לְקַטֵּל** with quiescent shewa (instead of shewa "medium") could have been influenced by the future **יִקְטֹל**. Note also the parallelism between **יִקְוֶה** and **לְקוֹה** as against **בְּקוֹה**, and forms such as **לִיִּיתָן**, **לְרַד**, **לְוַמַּר** typical of MH.

(1) Same relative frequency as **לְאָמַר** and **בְּאָמַר**, § 103 *b*.

(2) Note that with a substantive like *cst.* **דְּבַר** we always have **בְּדְבַר**, **בְּדָבָר**, **לְדְבַר**, § 103 *b*. In Late Aramaic dialects the Lamed has become an integral part of the infinitive, so that it hardly occurs without Lamed.

§ 50. Participle and verbal adjective

The participle is either active or passive (§ 40 *b*). The active participle is found in the active and reflexive conjugations. The passive participle occurs in the passive conjugations. Furthermore, in the conjugation Qal, stative verbs can have a verbal adjective (§ 41 *c*). a

Qal. The verbal adjective has the forms *qatil* and *qatul*, e.g. **בְּבָר**, **קִטְּוֹן**. It is these forms that produced the stative perfects, which are nothing but "conjugated adjectives." The nominal form *qatal*, from which the perfect of action **קִטְּוֹל** has developed, is not found used as a verbal adjective except in **ל"ע** verbs and in the Nifal, e.g. **קָמַרְתָּ** *arising*, where it has supplanted the genuine participle (§ 80 *d*), and **נְחֻמָּר** *desirable*. The verbal adjective of the **קִטְּוֹן** type is very rare; one finds **יִגְרַר** *afraid*, **בּוֹשֵׁ** *ashamed*, **אוֹר** *shining*, **יָכַל** *able*. The verbal adjective of **בְּבָר** type is however rather frequent, e.g. **יָשָׁן** *asleep*, **אִירָא** *afraid*. But it has often been replaced by the active participle, e.g. **בְּאֵהָב** *loving*, **שִׂנְא** *hating* (§ 41 *c*). Compare Ps 9.18 **אֲלֵהִים אֲלֵהִים** and 50.22 **אֲלוֹהֵי אֲלוֹהֵי**, both "forgetful of God"⁽¹⁾. b

(1) Note examples of alternation between MT *qāṭēl* and 1Q Is^a *qōṭēl*: Kutscher, *Isaiah*, pp. 340f.

The active participle has the primitive form *qātil*, a simple extension of the form *qatil* by lengthening of the first vowel, whence *qōṭēl*, often⁽¹⁾ written defectively **קִטְּוֹל** (§ 7 *c*). For the conjugation, cf. § *g*. c

The passive participle has the primitive form *qatūl*, a simple extension of the form *qatul* by lengthening of the second vowel, whence **קִטְּוֹל**⁽²⁾.

(1) קָטַל : קְטוּל = 4269 : 1040 (AF, p. 193).

(2) The form קְטוּל is the only surviving passive in Qal. There are vestiges of an ancient Qal passive participle *qatal* > קָטַל § 58 b. The defective spelling of the type קְטַל is rather common: 271/1089, i.e., 25%: AF, p. 202.

d Participium tantum. Quite often a verb otherwise not attested in Qal has a participle קָטַל, e.g. דִּבֵּר *speaking* (39 times, with the sense of מְדַבֵּר also 39 times); קָוָה *hoping* (the participle of Piel קָוָה does not exist); חָכָה once *hoping*, like מְחַכֶּה 3 x; כִּסָּה 1 x *covering* and passive פִּסְוִי 1 x *covered*, like מְכַסֶּה, מְכַסָּה; passive participle בְּרוּךְ *blessed* (Pual מְבֻרָךְ only 6 x) probably on the analogy of the antonym אָרוּר *cursed*.

e Some קְטוּל participles have an active sense or a sense close to that of the active: אָחַז in Ct 3.8 אָחַז חֶרֶב *holding a sword, armed with a sword*; זָכַר Ps 103.14† (*he*) *remembers*; 1Ch 5.18 מְלִמְדֵי מִלְחָמָה *well-versed in matters of war*⁽¹⁾. In Aramaic there are a good number of קָטַל passive participles used with the active sense, e.g. דִּבֵּר and אָחַז, which correspond to the above-quoted examples, which are probably Aramaisms. One has יָדוּעַ in Dt 1.13, 15 in the sense of *an expert, a connoisseur*.

(1) This probably has something to do with the fact that a genuine passive participle usually indicates a state arising from a previous action, rather than an ongoing action looked at in its passive aspect. Thus אָחַז = *having seized, caught hold of* > *holding*. The term 'perfect participle' may be suggested. See § 121 o.

f Derived conjugations. In the derived conjugations (except Nifal) the participle is formed with the preformative מ. The vowel of the מ is that of the preformative of the future, e.g. מְקַטֵּל like יִקְטֵל. There are two exceptions among the irregular verbs: in ע"ע verbs one has מְסַב despite יָסַב; in ע"וי verbs one has מְקַיֵּם despite יָקַם (in these two forms מ arose on the analogy of מִיִּטֵּב, § 76 c). For the other vowels, the participle is also modelled on the future, e.g. מְקַטֵּל like יִקְטֵל.

The old form of Nifal, which also had the preformative מ, has been replaced by the form מְקַטֵּל. This is the form of the Perfect יִקְטֵל, with מ due to the nominal character of the participle (comp., e.g., the nouns דִּבֵּר, מְדַבֵּר, מְדַבֵּר). In Nifal one therefore has essentially the same form in the participle and in the perfect as in the Qal of stative verbs, and perhaps on the analogy of these verbs.

Inflection of participles. Examples: קִטַּל, קִטְּלִים (§ 30 g); קִטְּלָה or קִטְּלָה and (mostly) קִטְּלָת (§ 97 C a); — נִקְטַל, נִקְטְלִים; נִקְטְלָה and (mostly) נִקְטְלָת; — מִקְטִיל, מִקְטִילִים; מִקְטִילָה and (mostly) מִקְטִילָת (cf. § 89 g)(1).

(1) The form with the distinctive morpheme /t/ is far more numerous than that with /-ā/; Böttcher, II, § 993. According to Lambert (§ 787), the segholate form is commoner for the genuine participle, and the other for participles used adjectivally or substantivally.

§ 51. Nifal conjugation

Nifal is the reflexive conjugation of simple action (§ 40 a). The characteristic of Nifal is a ׀ which expresses the notion of reflexivity. After a preformative, and hence in the future, imperative, and infinitive, the ׀ is assimilated to the following consonant; these forms are therefore characterised by the **doubling of the first radical**.

Perfect. The primitive form is *naqtal*(1). The first *a* is weakened to *i*, hence נִקְטַל (§ 29 g)(2). But this *a* is retained in the type **nawšab* > נוֹשַׁב (§ 75 a) and, in open syllables, in the types כּוֹטַב (§ 82 c) and כּוֹטַב (§ 80 f).

Future. The primitive form is *yanqatil*(3), whence *yinqatil* by attenuation of *a* to *i*, and then יִקְטַל׀.

Imperative. The preformative is ה: הִקְטַל׀. The same form is found in the **infinitive construct**. In the **infinitive absolute** the form of the inf. cst. הִקְטַל׀ is used, or this same form with the final vowel *o*, הִקְטַל׀, or the form הִקְטַל׀ fashioned after the perfect (§ 49 b).

The **participle** as we now have it, and which has supplanted a primitive form with preformative ׀, has the form of the perfect, but with ׀ due to the nominal character of the participle: נִקְטַל׀ (§ 50 f). Inflection, § 50 g.

(1) Note Ugr. /naptarū/: Huehnergard, *Ugr. Voc.*, p. 321.

(2) This weakening may have begun in forms such as **naqtaltem*', away from the stress.

(3) Note EA 250.33 *yi-in₄-na-pi-iš* "it shall be done."

Observations concerning various forms.

Future. In the 1st pers. sg., alongside יִקְטַל׀ we also find יִקְטַל׀ fre-

g

a

b

quently, with *i*, which is normal in sharp syllables, and הָקִטְּלָה always; the *i* is also the rule in פ"ו verbs of the type בִּשְׁמַרְתָּ (§ 75 a, n.).

The second vowel of the impf. sometimes turns up as /a/, esp. in pause (most likely as a result of Philippi's law): e.g. Gn 21.8 וַיִּנְמַלְוּ , Ex 31.17 וַיִּפְּשֻׁוּ , but in context in Ez 32.28 וַיִּשְׁבְּרֵהוּ (because of Resh?, cf. Yeivin, *Babylonian Tradition*, p. 504)⁽¹⁾. The Babylonian tradition, in fact, prefers /a/: Yeivin, *ib.*, and there are some traces of it in SH, see Ben-Hayyim, *LOT*, vol. 5, pp. 84f.

In the fem. pl. the ending is always הִלְנָסִי (§ 29 d).

For the inverted future, cf. § 47 b.

Imperative. הִשְׁמַרְתָּ always occurs with the mil'el stress, no doubt on the analogy of the common הִשְׁמַרְתָּהּ , in which there is a nsiga.

Infinitive construct⁽²⁾. There are some forms the ה of which is syn-copated after a preposition, e.g. לְהֵרָאוֹת in order to appear Is 1.12 (for לְהֵרָאוֹתָ), בְּעִצְטָהּ Lam 2.11. But in the two examples cited here, as also almost everywhere else, the vocalisation may be faulty. Thus in Is 1.12 one can read Qal לְהֵרָאוֹת , and in Lam 2.11 one is probably to read Qal בְּעִצְטָהּ *languishing* as in Ps 61.3 (a similar observation for Hifil, § 54 b).

Infinitive absolute. In the regular verb the most frequent form is הִקְטִיל (a form of the inf. cst.); it is employed for reason of assonance in cases like $\text{אִם הִפְקִיד הִפְקִיד יִפְקֶד}$ *if he should happen to be missing* 1Kg 20.39; cf. Nu 15.31; Dt 4.26; 1Sm 27.1. In contrast, the form נִקְטַל (§ 49 b) is affiliated to the perfect in 1Sm 20.6 $\text{לְנִשְׂאֵל נִשְׂאֵל}$ *he earnestly asked to be allowed* (comp. § 81 e and cf. § 123 p).

(1) More examples in Berg., II, § 16 g.

(2) See § 54 b, n.

c **Meaning**⁽¹⁾. The principal meaning, **reflexive**, is often preserved. Thus נִשְׁמַר almost always means *to guard oneself*, נִקַּם almost always *to revenge oneself*; נִשְׁעַן almost always *to support oneself*; נִנְהַן * *to strangle oneself* (once). Other Nifals also have at the same time the passive meaning, e.g. נִסְתַּר *to hide oneself* and *to be hidden*; נִגְאָל *to redeem oneself* and *to be redeemed*.

Nifal tolerativum. In some cases the meaning is that of *to allow something to happen* to oneself, generally with a notion of effective action, e.g. נִדְרַשׁ *to allow oneself to be asked*, and that effectively, hence practically = *to answer* (speaking of God); נִזְהַר *to allow oneself*

to be warned, and that effectively, hence practically = to take note of the warning; נִוֹסַר to allow oneself to be chastised, to chastise oneself; נִעֲתַר to allow oneself to be entreated (effectively), to grant an entreaty⁽²⁾.

Nifal can have the force of the Greek middle voice, e.g. נִשְׁאַל to ask for oneself; the reciprocal sense, e.g. נִוַּעַץ to consult each other, to deliberate; נִוַּעַד to meet each other (at an appointed time and place); נִלָּחַם to fight; נִדַּבַּר to converse with each other.

Very often Nifal assumes a purely passive sense, e.g. נִוּלְדָה to be born; נִקְבְּרָה to be buried. (For the passive of Qal, cf. § 58)⁽³⁾.

Although Nifal is, strictly speaking, the reflexive (and often the passive) of Qal, one also finds it as the reflexive (or passive) of the Hifil⁽⁴⁾ and also of the Piel (whose proper reflexive is Hitpael); thus. Nifal נִחַם in the sense of to console oneself is the reflexive of Piel חָמַם to console; נִזְהַר to allow oneself to be warned, the reflexive of זָהַר to warn.

The majority of the meanings of the Nifal are naturally shared by Hitpael, which is the reflexive conjugation of Piel.

(1) See M. Lambert, "L'emploi du *nifal* en hébreu," *REJ* 41 (1900) 196-214.

(2) Compare the Hifil of *consent*, e.g. לָוַיֶּשֶׁתְּ לֵי לֵד (§ 54 d).

(3) When Nifal has a passive sense, its participle overlaps with the passive participle of Qal, e.g. נִתְּנָה (3 x) and נִתְּנָה (3 x) given. But a differentiation in meaning is possible: at a grammatical level, נִתְּנָה usually indicates a process, נִתְּנָה a result, except at Dt 28.31,32, whereas at a lexical level, נִקְרָא = invited, called, elected, נִקְרָא = named (2 x), read (1 x).

(4) E.g. Ne 6.1 לָוַיִּשְׁמַע לֵי נִשְׁמַעָהּ it was made to be heard by = they reported to him (not: it was heard by). Alternatively this is a case of impersonal passive, § 152 fa.

§ 52. Piel conjugation

In terms of the identification of function, Piel is the most elusive of the Hebrew⁽¹⁾ conjugations. Whatever its precise function or functions may be, one can say at least that it is the active pattern corresponding to the passive Pual and reflexive Hitpael. The formal and prominent characteristic of Piel is the doubling of the second radical. Traditionally it has been considered intensive in meaning. It is to be

doubted whether there is a direct link between this assumed function and the doubling of the second radical.

It will be convenient to begin exposition of the forms with the future.

Future. The primitive form is *yaqattil*⁽²⁾, which has normally become לִּטְּלִי . (The ante-prestress vowel drops out, § 30 e).

Perfect. Unlike the primitive Semitic form *qattal*⁽³⁾, still preserved in Classical Arabic, the perfect appears to have changed in Early Hebrew to *qattil*⁽⁴⁾, the change of the second /a/ to /i/ deriving from the future⁽⁵⁾. Subsequently, the first /a/ has been attenuated to /i/ (§ 29 g)⁽⁶⁾. Thus the historical Hebrew Piel form לִּטְּלִי has not preserved either of the two earliest /a/ vowels, resulting however in a clear opposition between the perfect and the rest of the paradigm. (Compare the perfect of Hifil, § 54 a).

The **imperative** לִּטְּלִי has the vowels of the future. The same form occurs in the **inf. cst.**⁽⁷⁾ The **inf. abs.** mostly uses the form of the inf. cst. לִּטְּלִי , but rarely with the final vowel $\text{לִּטְּלִיֹּ$ (this ֹ was probably long, § 49 b).

The **participle** has the vowels of the future: לִּטְּלִיִּם ⁽⁸⁾.

(1) The same difficulty exists with the corresponding pattern in all other cognate Semitic languages, including modern living languages.

(2) As testified by Ugr. (Gordon, *UT*, § 9.35), and unlike *yuqattil*, which is preserved in Arabic and Akkadian and considered by many as the primitive form. It is quite conceivable that *yaqattil* had been preceded by *yuqattil*. The vowel of the 1st sg. /ā/ could be due to the influence of the following vowel, namely that of R1. But the participle was most likely *muqattil* (so in Ugr. and AC): the preservation of the /u/ can be attributed to the preceding labial.

(3) For the theory that Early Hebrew may have possessed an alternative pattern *qittil* (and *hiqtil* for Hifil), see J. Blau in *HUCA* 42 (1971) 152-58, though Blau discusses only the perfect tense, thus not allowing for the possibility of mutual influence between the pf. and impf. On the whole the evidence for the hypothesised vowel sequence /i-i/ appears to be weaker than that for /a-a/: in any event the hypothesis is claimed to have only partial application, for כִּי־שִׁיב , for instance, can only have developed from /hawšib/. Bergsträsser's account of the first /a/ to /i/ (Berg., II, § 17 i) is not convincing.

(4) Ugr. has /šallima/ "it paid/delivered" (as in Aramaic): Huehnergard, *Ugr. Vocabulary*, p. 321. SH has preserved the primitive first /a/: Ben-Hayyim, *LOT*, vol. 5, p. 81, and Macuch, *Gram.*, p. 283. On Ps 89.45 $\mu\alpha\gamma\alpha\rho\theta$ (MT הָרַחֵם) in the Secunda, see Brønno, *Studien*, pp. 65f.: the form is best interpreted as Qal.

(5) On ֹ as the second vowel of Proto-Heb. Piel, see E. Qimron in *Leš* 50 (1986) 80. Likewise in Hifil the second vowel of the perfect is due to the analogy of the future.

(6) Perhaps this weakening started in forms such as **qattaliem*', away from the stress. The pataḥ is preserved only in **יָשַׁח** *he made me forget*, for the sake of assonance with **הַשַּׁח**, in the folk-etymology of this name, Gn 41.51; it is probably an archaic form.

(7) EA attests to *hal-li-iq* "to destroy" (250.7,37,55) as the inf. cst.

(8) See n. 2 above.

A general observation. The genuine gemination is quite often reduced to virtual gemination when the consonant has shewa (§ 18 *m*), e.g. **הִשְׁקִיב** and often in the verb **שָׁקַב** (but always **שָׁקַב** in the impv.); it is always so reduced in **הִלְלֵה** *praise*.

b

Observations on various forms.

c

Perfect 3rd pers. m. sg. Although **ִּ** is secondary, **קִטַּל** is the proper form of Piel and also its pausal form⁽¹⁾. One very often finds the form **לִטַּל**⁽²⁾, the pataḥ of which is not the primitive *a*, but an attenuation of *ṣeré* (§ 29 *d*). The form **לִטַּל**, a lighter form, is used mostly with the conjunctive accent and when **ִּ** loses the stress (before maqqef), and only rarely with a disjunctive accent. Thus, with a conjunctive accent, we find **יָרַב** always; with a weak disjunctive accent we find **יָרַב** twice and **יָרַב** twice; the pausal form (which does not occur) would have been **יָרַב**. The fact that the vowel alternation in question is almost totally confined to the perfect⁽³⁾ may suggest, however, that one is not dealing here with a purely phonetic phenomenon; analogy of Qal or Nifal, or that of the first and second persons in the perfect may be responsible. The fairly common Hitpaal (§ 53 *b*) needs to be viewed separately.

In three verbs⁽⁴⁾ we find the vowel **ִּ**: **דַּבֵּר** *he spoke*, **בִּפֶּר** *he expiated*, **וַיִּבְרַח** *and he will wash* (11 times, but twice **וַיִּבְרַח**). These anomalies are difficult to explain. In pause one finds **דַּבֵּר** and **בִּפֶּר** (2Sm 19.25†).

In the conjugation one also finds **ִּ** (Philippi's law, § 29 *aa, d*), which is no more primitive than in **קִטַּל**, e.g. **קִטַּלְתָּ**⁽⁵⁾.

Future. In the 1st pers. sg. in place of **אֶ** we very occasionally find **אִ**, e.g. in **אֶזְרָא** *I will disperse* Lv 26.33; Ez 5.12; 12.14† (before *gemes*, cf. § 29 *f*); this **ִּ** becomes **ִּ** in **וְאֶסְעַרְםָּ** Zech 7.14 (cp. § 21 *h*)⁽⁶⁾.

In the fem. plur. the ending is usually **ִּ** (§ 29 *d*), e.g. **הִרְבִּינָה** (in context and in pause). **ִּ** is found in three pausal forms due to

various other considerations (Ho 4.13,14; Is 3.16; 13.18). The abnormal form הָלִלְכִי Ez 13.19 is found once.

Imperative. The = of לִטַּל is changed to = in לִפְלֹג Ps 55.10; בִּקְרַב Ez 37.17.

The inf. construct with a feminine ending הִלְכִי (cf. § 149 d) occurs in הִלְכִי Lv 26.18; הִלְכִי Ps 147.1; with a suf. in הִלְכִי Ez 16.52.

The inf. absolute לִטַּל is rare. The form of the inf. cst., לִטַּל , is most often used instead, e.g. 2Kg 2.11 $\text{הוֹלִכִים הָלוּךְ וְיָבֵר}$. In 2Sm 12.14 the a has been weakened to i for the sake of assonance: נִאֲנִי אֲצַחֵךְ .

Participle. The form לִטַּל (always in the phrase $\text{אֲצַחֵךְ אֲמַלְכֵךְ}$ Ex 7.27; 9.2; 10.4; Jer 38.21) is in origin a haplography for לִטַּל *. The vocalisation לִטַּל Jer 13.10 seems to be faulty (usually 'ט). Cf. Brock., *GvG*, I, pp. 264ff.(7) Zeph 1.14 מְהִלֵּךְ looks like a similar case, though it is not preceded by a word ending in Mem.

(1) Compare the form with a suffix הִלְכִי .

(2) Dictionaries often give Piels with the vowel = , which, in fact, they do not have in our texts. An important study on this question is C. Rabin's "The vocalization of the third singular perfect of *Piel* in Tiberian Hebrew," *Leš* 32 (1967) 12-26. In the Babylonian tradition the vowel in question is normally /a/ , not /e/ : Yeivin, *Babylonian Tradition*, p. 514. One of the rarer conjugations, Pa'lel (§ 59 b) may also belong here: so S. Har-Zahav, *Leš* 2 (1930) 161.

(3) The vowel /a/ is far more widespread in the Babylonian tradition: see Yeivin, *Babylonian Tradition*, pp. 519, 525-27, 535, 537-41.

(4) For an attempt to explain the three exceptions, see J. Blau in *HUCA* 42 (1971) 155f., though his explanation postulates /i/ as the second original vowel of Pi. pf. (§ a, n. 3 above). Note in this connection that the second column of the Hexapla regularly shows ε as the second vowel of Pi. and Hi. in the first and second persons as well: Brønno, *Studien*, pp. 88f.

(5) The tradition preserved in the Secunda, however, differs in this regard: κ.σ.σ.ε.ε.γ לִטַּל Ps 46.10, but ε.λ.λ.ε.λ.θ ib. 89.40. Likewise in Hifil: ε.σ.θ.ε.ρ.θ.α הִלְכִי Ps 30.8 vs. ε.ε.λ.ι.κ הִלְכִי 36.3. For a discussion see Brønno, *Morphologie*, pp. 66-68. The evidence of the Secunda regarding Hitpael is not unequivocal: for data, see Brønno, op. cit., pp. 107f.

(6) The vowel e with the prefix of Pi. impf. 1st sg. is standard in the Babylonian tradition: Yeivin, *Babylonian Tradition*, p. 522. Cf. also Secunda, Ps 18.30 ε.δ.α.λ.λ.ε.γ ; 89.36 β.γ.δ.ε.ζ.η ε.χ.α.ζ.ε.β .

(7) Whilst Ben-Hayyim (*LOT*, vol. 5, p. 14) argues that these are Qal participles, neither verb is used in Qal elsewhere.

d Meaning. As briefly indicated in § a above, the question how the function of Piel in relation to other conjugations, notably Qal, should

be defined still remains one of the major challenges facing Hebrew and Semitic linguistics⁽¹⁾. In the present state of our knowledge, we can only point to a number of fairly distinct meaning categories into which some verbs seem to fit. Others, an uncomfortably large number, still defy such categorisation⁽²⁾. Nor can we suggest, without doing violence to all the evidence available, a single notion or meaning category which can be said to underlie all those "nuances."

Factitive⁽³⁾. This type of Piel corresponds to Qal of intransitive action or state, and one can often postulate an underlying adjective or resultative participle: from בָּאָה to *perish, disappear*: בָּאָה to *make someone perish, disappear*; from שָׁרַף to *be holy*: שָׁרַף to *sanctify*; from גָּדַל to *be great*: גָּדַל to *make great, raise (a child)*; to *provoke*: *anger* כָּעַס (twice), *jealousy* אָנַן (once): to *leave*: נָקָה to *leave unpunished*, הִצִּיל to *leave to survive (= not to kill)*: to *keep* הִקְפִּי to *keep pure*, הִסְתִּיר * (once) to *keep hidden*. Pi. לָמַד to *teach* probably has to do with its Qal's original intransitive status (note its fut. יִלְמַד). בָּרַךְ to *bless* may belong here (cf. בָּרַךְ *blessed*), or alternatively under **declarative**, or even **denominative** (*to pronounce a blessing* [בָּרַךְ] upon).

Declarative-estimative force: to *declare innocent* הִקְדִּישׁ , to *decl. clean* הִטְהַר , to *decl. unclean* אִמְט . This may be subsumed under **factitive** in the sense that, whilst the **factitive** denotes the generation of a state or quality actually and physically, the **declarative-estimative** does so mentally or verbally.

Pluralising. The action denoted by some Piel verbs involves either multiple subjects or objects⁽⁴⁾. *Numerous subjects*, e.g. שָׁאַל * to *ask* 2Sm 20.18†; לָקַח * to *lick* Jdg 7.6; *numerous objects*, e.g. שָׁלַח to *dispatch* Jdg 20.6; קָבַר to *inter* 1Kg 11.15; צָצַק to *chop* Jdg 1.6. The so-called frequentative may belong here⁽⁵⁾: it has to do with the frequency of an action, e.g. צָחַק * to *mock at* (Qal: to *laugh*); שָׁאַל * to *beg* (once; Qal to *ask*); שָׁבַר to *break into pieces* (Qal: to *break*); סָפַר * to *recount* (Qal: to *count*); פָּתַח to *untie* (Qal: to *open*).

Denominative. The following examples are denominative in the sense that there lies behind each of them a related, and assuredly more primitive, noun: דַּבַּר to *speak* (vs. דָּבָר); עָשָׂה to *act as priest* (כֹּהֵן); אָלַף to *bind sheaves* (אֶלֶף). Unlike the **factitive** and the **declarative-estimative** this is not a grammatical, but lexical category. Somewhat

different are denominative Piel which have a *privative*, i.e. depriving or removing force, e.g. לְשׁוֹן to remove fat (i.e. the fatty ashes = לְשׁוֹן from the altar); לְשׁוֹרֵשׁ to uproot (from לְשׁוֹרֵשׁ ; in contrast, לְשׁוֹרֵשׁ is to strike root); לְשׁוֹרֵשׁ to remove sin (from לְשׁוֹרֵשׁ ; compare the privative Hitpael לְשׁוֹרֵשׁ to purify oneself from sin); in contrast, לְשׁוֹרֵשׁ is to make someone sin; לְשׁוֹרֵשׁ to lop off boughs; Jer 50.17 לְשׁוֹרֵשׁ to gnaw at bones; Josh 10.19 לְשׁוֹרֵשׁ to cut off the tail; and possibly Ct 4.9 לְשׁוֹרֵשׁ to capture the heart.

Adverbial Piel (as against Hifil) is rare, e.g. לְשׁוֹרֵשׁ to act wickedly, sin (probably by ellipsis of the object, like לְשׁוֹרֵשׁ , § 54 d); לְשׁוֹרֵשׁ * to act in an iniquitous manner (twice); לְשׁוֹרֵשׁ in the sense of to act quickly (whence the adverb לְשׁוֹרֵשׁ quickly, § 102 e). For Pual, the passive of Piel, see § 56.

(1) A fresh and fruitful approach to the question has been inaugurated in modern times by A. Goetze, "The so-called intensive of the Semitic languages," *JAOS* 62 (1942) 1-8, in which the author, drawing upon Akkadian evidence, challenged the traditional characterisation of the Piel as intensive. Some of his insights were subsequently applied with particular regard to BH by E. Jenni, *Das hebräische Piel: Syntaktisch-semasiologische Untersuchung einer Verbalform im Alten Testament* (Zurich, 1968); cf. also S.A. Ryder II, *The D-Stem in Western Semitic* (The Hague, 1974), F. Leemhuis, "Sibawaihi's treatment of the D stem," *JSS* 18 (1973) 238-56, and a review article by M.H. Goshen-Gottstein in *BO* 42 (1985) 279-83.

(2) For an attempt to see how some studies since Goetze's above-mentioned trail-blazing article can be made to apply to BH, see Waltke—O'Connor, *BH Syntax*, pp. 396-417.

(3) From Lat. *facere* "to make." This is to be distinguished from the notion of "causative": "to make him holy" as against "to make him walk."

One normally associates 'causative' with Hifil, and indeed some verbs, such as לְשׁוֹרֵשׁ and לְשׁוֹרֵשׁ , do occur in both Piel and Hifil with scarcely discernible difference in meaning or nuance. Despite their extended discussion, Waltke and O'Connor (*BH Syntax*, pp. 435-41), in our estimation, have not demonstrated any meaningful difference between the members of these and other pairs. It is only rarely possible to distinguish between Piel and Hifil thus used, e.g. Is 29.13 לְשׁוֹרֵשׁ as against 1Kg 12.10 לְשׁוֹרֵשׁ , but 1Sm 6.6 לְשׁוֹרֵשׁ and לְשׁוֹרֵשׁ , and לְשׁוֹרֵשׁ Pi. and Hi. are often interchangeable; see E. Rubinstein in *IOS* 9 (1979) 67f.

(4) Here some would see evidence of the often assumed essential or direct link between form (*signifiant*) and meaning (*signifié*), which of course flies in the face of the universally acknowledged, essentially arbitrary nature of linguistic signs.

(5) Lambert (§ 649) compares Ct 2.8 לְשׁוֹרֵשׁ with Zeph 1.9 Qal לְשׁוֹרֵשׁ . See also J. Zlotniq, "Piel," *Lš* 2 (1930) 22-34.

§ 53. Hitpael conjugation

Hitpael is the reflexive conjugation associated with Piel (§ 40 a). a
The two characteristics of Hitpael are the doubling of the second radical as in Piel (§ 52 a) and a ך which expresses the reflexive notion (like the ך of Nifal, § 51 a)(1).

It is convenient to begin the exposition of the forms with the future.

Future: The Hebrew form is *yitqattēl* יִתְקַטֵּל (like Piel יִקְטֹל).

Perfect: The group *it*, composed of the vowel of the preformative and the characteristic *t* goes over to the perfect, in which the vowel must necessarily be preceded by a consonant. This consonant is ה (instead of כ)(2) as in the imperative and the inf. cst. Nifal (§ 51 a), hence תה. The rest of the form is due to the analogy of the future, hence יִתְקַטֵּל. The sequence תה is also found in the imperative and the infinitive יִתְקַטֵּל. In the participle one finds יִתְקַטֵּל with the vowels of the future.

(1) The corresponding form in Arabic is *tafa'ala*, and not *'ifta'ala* (with an infixed *t*), as is justly noted by Abu'l Walid against his contemporary grammarians.

The infix *t* is an almost universal Semitic phenomenon, attested in Moabite, Ugr., Old Phoen., Amorite, and Old Aramaic; on Amorite, see H.B. Huffmon, *Amorite Personal Names* [§ 41 a, n.], pp. 81f. In Moabite and Phoen., however, there is no telling whether the second radical is geminated or not, whereas Ugr. appears to have had a genuine *t*-infix pattern corresponding to Qal, so-called Gt, on which see Huehnergard, *Ugr. Vocabulary*, pp. 320f. On a survey of the infixed *t*-conjugation in BH, see A.M.L. Boyle, *Infix-t Forms in BH*, Diss. Ph.D. [Boston] 1969. On possible vestiges of the *t*-infix Hifil, see J. Blau in *VT* 7 (1957) 385-88.

(2) We have כ in יִתְקַטֵּל 2Ch 20.35 (with exceptional final patah).

General observations. Apart from the ordinary type in e, which alone b
we have only spoken about so far, there exists a secondary and rare type which has the vowel *a* in the perfect, future and imperative. The form hitpaal occurs in 7 verbs, three of which are כ"ל verbs: הִתְאַבֵּן to get angry, הִתְאַפֵּן to restrain oneself, הִתְנַפֵּל to precipitate oneself, הִתְעַנֵּן to give oneself up to effeminacy, הִתְחַטֵּף to remove one's own sin, הִתְמַטֵּף (§ e) to render oneself impure, הִתְפַּלֵּא to show oneself as astonishing (?). The form Hitpaal is standard in the Babylonian tradition of BH(1) and Aramaic; in Hebrew, where it is rare, it is probably due to Aramaising(2).

(1) Yeivin, *Babylonian Tradition*, p. 550.

(2) In Aramaic the form *hitpaal* is probably a secondarily *passivised* reflexive form; cf. P. Joüon in *Bib* 1 (1920) 354ff.

c The **pausal forms of the type in ֵ** in the perfect, future, and imperative take the vowel *a*, namely = in intermediate pause, and ֶ in major pause (§ 32 c), e.g. בִּיֵּצֵי־הוּ he will station himself becomes בִּיֶּצֵי־הוּ 1Sm 3.10 (with zaqef), בִּיֶּצֵי־הוּ Job 41.2; likewise אֲשַׁנְּנֵי becomes אֲשַׁנְּנֵי Nu 23.24. This pausal vowel *a* is not primitive; it stems from the Hitpaal type, and replaces in pause the proper vowel ֵ by virtue of its greater sonority.

d **Comparison with Piel.** In the perfect of the Piel, the first primitive vowel *a* has been attenuated to *i*: קִטַּל; it has been preserved in Hitpael: הִתְקַטַּל. In the perfect of the Piel the vowel *a* of the form of juncture קִטַּל has evolved from =; in the type הִתְקַטַּל the *a* is pausal, and stems from the type הִתְקַטַּל.

e The ֵ is subject to *metathesis* before a *sibilant*, e.g. *hit-šamṣer* becomes הִשְׁמַסֵּר (§ 17 b).

The ֵ becomes **assimilated to a following dental**, e.g. **mit-dabber* becomes מִתְדַבֵּר, but מִתְדַבְּקִים Jdg 18.22; **hit-tamma'* becomes הִטְמַמְּהוּ. It becomes partially assimilated to the emphatic ֶ, namely becomes emphatic ֶ, e.g. **hit-šaddeq* becomes, with metathesis, הִצְטַדְּקוּ (§ 17 g). Sometimes the ֵ becomes assimilated to ֶ, e.g. הִתְנַבֵּא alongside הִתְנַבְּא; to ֶ, e.g. הִתְבַּטְּהוּ Pr 26.26; to ֶ Ec 7.16 הִשׁוּמְּהוּ.

f **Observations on various forms.**

In the inflection of the **perfect** we find = as in Piel, e.g. הִתְקַטַּלְתָּ like קִטַּלְתָּ (Philippi's law, § 29 aa). We find some forms such as יִהְיֶה־נִגְדָּלְתָּ Ez 38.23 with attenuation of *a* to *i* in an unstressed closed syllable.

Future. In the plur. fem. the ending is usually הִלְנֵי־נָה, e.g. הִתְהַלְּנֵי־נָה (§ 29 d). The inf. cst. has the Aramaic ending in Dn 11.23 הִתְחַבְּרוּת (§ 88 M j). The anomalous form Ex 2.4 בִּיֵּצֵי־הוּ is usually corrected in the light of בִּיֵּצֵי־הוּ in the Samaritan Pentateuch to בִּיֶּצֵי־הוּ; it may be a mixed form arising from בִּיֶּצֵי־הוּ and הִתְעַמְּדוּ (Nifal) of similar meaning.

g **Detailed observations.**

In the verb הִתְפַּקֵּד *to muster* etc. one has a form הִתְפַּקְּדוּ *to be mustered, to have a census taken of* without the doubling of the ֶ, e.g. Jdg 20.

15, 17; 21.9. According to some, this form could be a Hitpael where the gemination may have been omitted on account of the nature of the ק, but one may object that Piel of this root is very rare (only Is 13.4). According to others, one could be dealing with a reflexive of Qal here (e.g., Brock., GvG I, p. 529)⁽¹⁾. One thus finds four times הִתְקַדְּדוּ, which is the form הִתְקַדְּדוּ secondarily *passivised* through the change of the first vowel *i* to *u* (ֻ); but this strange form is all the more suspect especially as it has the same meaning *to be passed in review* (Nu 1.47; 2.33; 26.62; 1Kg 20.27). Finally, one may be dealing with a T-conjugation of Pā'ēl, which corresponds to the sixth conjugation in Arabic *tafā'ala*⁽²⁾.

(1) According to some the place-names שְׁטָאָל and שְׁטָאָל are, also of same pattern with metathesis.

(2) M.H. Goshen-Gottstein in *Proceedings*, p. 86, n. 75.

Rather rarely the Hitpael form is secondarily passivised into Hotpaal: inf. הִכְבַּדְּתָּ *to be washed* (without the reflexive nuance) Lv 13.55, 56; הִטְמַדְּתָּ Dt 24.4, properly *one made her defile herself*, but perhaps simply *she was defiled*; הִרְשַׁנְּתָּ for הִרְשַׁנְּתָּ Is 34.6 *it got fat*.

Meaning. The basic meaning is the reflexive of Piel⁽¹⁾, e.g. הִתְקַדְּדוּ *to sanctify oneself* (שְׁרַדְּתָּ *to sanctify*). Generally speaking, Hitpael can have the diverse meanings of the Nifal together with the nuances proper to Piel. Thus it can have the sense of the Greek *middle*, e.g. הִתְפָּרַקְתָּ *to tear something off oneself* Ex 32.3. It can develop into a pure passive, e.g. הִשְׁכַּחְתָּ *to be forgotten*. It sometimes has the nuance of *to disguise oneself as* or *to show oneself* (truly or falsely) *to be such and such*, e.g. הִתְחַלְּצָתָּ *to pretend illness* 2Sm 13.5,6; 14.2 הִתְאַבַּלְתָּ *feign to be a mourner*; 19.4 הִתְגַּבַּבְתָּ *to behave like a thief* (גַּבַּב); Pr 13.7 "there is one who pretends to be rich (מְתַעֲשֶׂר), yet has nothing, there is another who pretends to be poor (מְתַרְוֵשׁ), yet has great riches." See also Is 10.15; Pr 25.6.

In a few examples the conjugation seems to have the meaning of "to ask for": הִתְפַּלֵּלְתָּ *to ask for justice* (פָּלֵל or פָּלֵל); הִתְחַנֵּן *to ask for mercy* (חָנַן or חָנַן)⁽²⁾.

As a denominative, it can have the privative sense like the Piel (§ 52 d), e.g. הִתְחַטַּטְתָּ *to remove sin from oneself* (comp. חָטַט *to remove sin*).

(1) An 'iterative' or durative nuance has been claimed for a verb such as יִקְרָא : see E.A. Speiser, "The durative hithpa'el: A *tan* form," *JAOS* 75 (1955) 118-21.

(2) See S. Yeivin in *Lš* 2 (1929-30) 49, where he refers to the tenth form in Arabic: *'istasqā*/ to ask for drink, to pray for rain; *'istaḡfara*/ to ask for pardon.

§ 54. Hifil conjugation

a The Hifil is the active conjugation of causative action (§ 40 a). The characteristic of Hifil is a ה , which usually drops after a preformative, thus in the future and the participle (§ b).

It will be convenient to begin the exposition of the forms with the future.

Future. The primal Hebrew form is **yhaqtil* (with a short *i*), whence, by syncope of the ה (§ 17 e), **yaqtil*(¹).

This short *i* is preserved in the jussive and the imperative, where it usually becomes י . But in the indicative (except in יִקְרָא) the *i* became long (יִקְרֵי), probably on the analogy of the Hifil of ע"ל verbs, e.g. יִקְרֵי (§ 80 g). Exception: in the type יִשֵּׁב for **yasibb*, the *i* was not lengthened because of the tendency of the final consonant of ע"ל verbs to gemination (cf. § 18 l).

Perfect. The primitive form *haqtal* has not preserved in Hebrew either of the two *a*'s. (Consider the perfect of Piel, § 52 a).

The first *a* has weakened to *i* (§ 29 g)(²). But the *a* has been preserved in the types *hawšib*, *hayṭib*, which have become יִשֵּׁב (§ 75 a), יִשֵּׁב (§ 76 c); see, in Nifal, the type *nawšab* > יִשֵּׁב (§ 51 a)(³).

The second *a* became *i* on the analogy of the future, hence **hiqtil*. This *i* was lengthened (and retained the stress) in the third person יִקְרֵי , יִקְרֵי , יִקְרֵי , on the analogy of the future forms of יִקְרֵי , יִקְרֵי . Exception: in the type יִשֵּׁב for **hisibb*, the *i* was not lengthened. In the remaining persons the *i* (י) became *a* (Philippi's law, § 29 aa), e.g. יִקְרֵי .

The imperative יִקְרֵי has the vowel of the future jussive יִקְרֵי (§ 48 a).

The infinitive cst. יִקְרֵי has the vowel of the future (§ 49 c).

The infinitive abs. יִקְרֵי is a secondary modification of the infinitive construct (§ 49 b).

The participle **הִקְטִיל** has the vowels of the future (cf. § 50 f).

(1) The prefix vowel of the impf. was /a/ in Amorite: see Huffmon, *Amorite Personal Names* [§ 41 a, n.], pp. 66-69.

(2) Already in El Amarna we find /hi-/: 256.7 *hi-ih-bé-e* "he hid." Perhaps this weakening began in forms such as **haqaltem*', away from the stress. The pataḥ is found preserved in **הִקְטִילְנָה** Na 3.5, and also in SH (Ben-Hayyim, *LOT*, vol. 5, p. 80, though Macuch, *Gram.*, pp. 287f., indicates /-æ-/). For 'הִ, cf. § c.

(3) J. Blau postulates **hiqtîl* (ultimately < **huqtul*) as coexisting with *haqtal* (*HUCA* 42 [1971] 152-58).

General observations. The syncope of ה, as we have said, is usually observed in the future and participle. In the future, however, one finds some examples with ה, perhaps partly under the influence of Aramaic, e.g. **יְהוֹשִׁיעַ** 1Sm 17.47; Ps 116.6 (in pause), **יְהוֹדָה** Ne 11.17 etc.; **יְהִילְלֵךְ** Is 52.5. b

In the infinitive the ה after a preposition is maintained, e.g. **לְהִקְטִיל**. In several examples the ה is syncopated, e.g. **לְקַטֵּל**; but in the majority of cases the vocalisation is suspect, e.g. **לְסַתֵּר** Is 29.15 can be vocalised as Piel **לְסַתֵּר**; **לְצַבּוֹת** and **לְנַפֵּל** Nu 5.22 can be vocalised as Qal **לְצַבּוֹת** and **לְנַפֵּל**; **לְנַחַח** Ex 13.21 must be vocalised as Qal **לְנַחַח** (a similar note on the Nifal in § 51 b). The vocalisation, however, is assured in **לְאַדִּיב** 1Sm 2.33; **לְהַטִּיא** Ec 5.5; **לְעֵבִיר** 2Sm 19.19. See also **לְשַׁבֵּית** Am 8.4; **לְבִיא** 2Ch 31.10; **לְשַׁחֵית** 1QpHb 4.13(1).

(1) On the inf. cst., G. Rendsburg, "Laqtîl infinitives: Yiph'il or Hiph'il?", *Or* 51 (1982) 231-38, rejects Dahood's and Segert's suggestion that Yiph'il existed in BH as well as in Phoenician, but argues that the alleged Yiph'îls in BH and the Nif. imperatives without /h/ are cases of the syncope of the consonant aided by the analogy of the fut. as in MH. But since BH does not attest to such typically MH forms as **לְלַל**, they are merely cases of the syncope.

Observations on various forms. c

Perfect. Instead of 'הִ one has, e.g. **הִקְטִילְנָם** we *discomfited* them 1Sm 25.7, without any apparent reason. One finds 'הִ many times in ל"ה verbs, e.g. **הִגְלָה** (§ 79 q).

Future. In some rare examples the originally long *i* seems to drop out in the inflection, e.g. **וַיִּדְבֹקוּ** 1Sm 14.22; there is probably *lectio mixta* (§ 16 g) giving the choice between Hifil and Qal, or more likely a secondary development based on **וַיִּדְבֹקוּ**. Comp. § 63 c.

In the fem. pl. the ending is always הַלְנָה (§ 29 *d*).

Imperative. Instead of הַקְטִיל we find, rarely, the abnormal spelling הַקְטִיל, e.g. 2Kg 8.6; the rare vocalisation הַקְטִיל, e.g. הוֹפִיעַ Ps 94.1, is possibly an error for הַקְטִיל.

The *i* for *e* occurs in both the fut. and imprv. when a vowel ending is added: e.g. הַקְטִילָהּ; הַאֲכִילָהּ *Feed him!*; יַקְטִילָהּ, which therefore can be either future or jussive, הוֹשִׁיעָה with a paragogic *ā*. The *i* is almost always accented. Further, in some abnormal cases: וַיִּהְיוּ Ps 105.28; וַיַּעֲמִיד Ne 4.3, whilst *i* is almost the rule in 1st sg.⁽¹⁾, and in א"ל verbs⁽²⁾.

Inf. cst. Instead of הַקְטִיל one sometimes finds הַקְטִיל, e.g. Nu 21.35 הַשְׂאִיר; Dt 7.24 הַשְׂמֵדָה (cf. 28.48; Josh 11.14, and contrast Josh 23.15; 11.20 etc); but this *i* is suspect⁽³⁾.

The infinitive construct has the Aramaic ending in Ez 24.26 לְהַשְׁמָעוֹת (§ 88 M *j*).

Inf. abs. The spelling הַקְטִיל instead of הַקְטִיל occurs fairly frequently. This spelling suggests that the *e* was originally long or tended to become so.

Participle. On the inflection, cf. § 50 *g*.

(1) Berg., II, § 5 *d*, notes that these are often spelled defectively: e.g. אָכַלְתָּ Ex 19.4, אֲשַׁלְּחָךְ Dt 9.21.

(2) Lambert, § 819: e.g. אֲיוֹצֵא Dt 4.20.

(3) If this were authentic, it would have to be explained as a weakening of *a*. We always (7 *x*) find עַד-בְּלִתֵּי הַשְׂאִיר (with maqqef; the *a*, away from the stress, could easily have been weakened; the *i* could also have been triggered by the sibilant and by the adjacent *i*'s) Nu 21.35, Dt 3.3, Josh 8.22, 10.33, 11.8, 2Kg 10.11†. Some grammarians erroneously see in these forms perfects in the third person. Cf. König, 1, pp. 212, 276; *Syntax*, §§ 385 *l*, 401 *v*; Driver, ad Dt 3.3, 7.24 (*KCC*). However, the pf. is rather plausible in 2Sm 22.1 (// Ps 18.1) בְּיוֹם הַצִּיל יְהוָה on the day when *Y.* rescued with an asyndetic relative clause (§ 158 *a*).

Abul Walid (R. Ibn Janah), in his *Riqmah* (ed. Wilensky—Téné [Jerusalem, 1964], § 31 [30]), refers to הַתְּזַיְקִי Jer 31.32 and הַדְּרִיכָה 51.33, both as inf. (csts) and likewise הַצִּיל Is 31.5 (// וַיִּנְוֶן) and הַמְלִיט (// פָּסַח).

d Meaning. The basic meaning is that of causation, e.g. הוֹצִיא to make go out (אֲצִיֵּא to go out); הַאֲכִיל to make eat, give something to eat, to feed (אָכַל to eat); הַפִּיל to make fall (נָפַל to fall); הַרְאָה to make see, show (רָאָה to see); הַמֵּר to make bitter (מָר bitter and it is bitter). But to make do such and such action in the sense of to order something to

be done is not a meaning of the conjugation; הִקְטִיל must not therefore be translated *he ordered to kill*. To convey this idea הִקְטִיל⁽¹⁾ is used. Thus Qal בָּנָה *to build* is used for *to make build*, הָרַג *to kill* for *to make kill*, עָשָׂה *to do* for *make do* (all these verbs without a causative form); likewise Hifil הִכָּה *to hit* may also be employed for *to make to hit* Dt 25.2.

Quite often the meaning is **intransitive causative**, or **ingressive**, that is to say, the action remains with the subject itself, constituting an intransitive counterpart of the factitive Piel (§ 52 d), e.g. הִשְׁמִין *to become fat*; הִאָּרַם *to become red*; הִחְשִׁיךְ *to become dark*; הִאָּרַךְ *to become long*; הִחֲרִישׁ *to fall silent*; הִשְׁקִיט *to be quiet*; הִלְבִּין *to become (but also make) white*; הִקְיץ *to wake up* (always intransitive); הִזְקִין *to grow old*.

Sometimes what results is a **mode of action (adverbial Hifil)**, e.g. הִיטִיב *to act well*; הִשְׁחִית *to act badly* (likewise שָׁחַת, § 52 d); הִרַע *to act wickedly*; הִשְׁכִּיל *to act prudently*; הִסְכִּיל *to act foolishly* (cf. § 124 n); הִרְבָּה *to do much* (§ 141 h); הִמְעִיט *to do little*.

Associated with the causative meaning is that of the **declarative-estimative**, e.g. הִצְדִּיק *to pronounce just*; הִרְשִׁיעַ *to declare guilty*; הִקַּל *to despise (to consider someone insignificant)*; הִרְעִיץ* *to fear (to consider someone strong)*⁽²⁾.

A rather special meaning is that of **conceding** the thing expressed by the root, e.g. הִשְׁאַיל *to agree to a request, to grant something asked/requested*⁽³⁾, hence *to lend* (שָׁאַל *to ask / request, borrow*). Corresponding to the Qal *to borrow* לָוָה and עָבַט we find the Hifil *to lend* הִלְוָה*, הִקְעִיב*.

In many Hifil **denominatives** the noun from which the verbal form is derived is either the object or the effect of the action, e.g. הִשְׁרִישׁ *to put down roots* (from שָׁרַשׁ; but שָׁרַשׁ = *to pull up roots* § 52 d); הִרְקִיץ *to grow, have horns* (הִרְקַץ); הִפְרִישׁ *to have a cloven hoof* (הִפְרִישׁ); הִמְטִיר *to produce rain, to make rain* (מָטַר) and הִגִּישׁ 1 x (הִגִּישׁ). There are some Hifil denominatives of nouns of time or place, e.g. הִקְעִיב* *to do something in the evening* (עָרֵב); הִימִין *to go to right* (יָמִין *the right side*); הִשְׁמָאיל *to go left* (שְׂמָאל *the left side*; quadrilateral root, § 60).

(1) However, a case like Is 29.21 מִזְחָטִי אִי אָדָם *make a man an offender* does involve a forced action, possibly imposed against someone's will; perh. also הִבְרִיךְ *to make (a camel) kneel down*, and Am 2.12 וַתִּשְׁפָּךְ אֶת-הַנְּזִירִים יֵין (note צוֹיָתָם in the same verse: cf.

Ibn Ezra ad loc.).

(2) Cf. W.T. Classen, "The declarative-estimative Hiph'il," *JNWSL* 2 (1972) 5-16.

(3) Compare the *Nifal tolerativum*, § 51 c.

J. Margain seems to exaggerate slightly the notion of "tolerative" Hifil (and Piel): *GLECS* 18-23 (1973-79) 23-31. Thus Jdg 16.19 וַתִּשְׁיַן עָלָיו *elle le lascia s'endormir sur ses genoux* is too weak. "She got him to sleep on her knees" would rightly underline the active role (Margain's 'stratagème') that Delilah played. It is not as if she acceded to his request to sleep as he did, nor of course was she so tactless as to force him to put his head on her knees. In cases of the Hifil of genuine causative force, the primary notion is that the subject of such Hifil verbs is the leading character, the first cause in a figurative sense.

e The **intransitive** sense of certain Hifil verbs can appear strange. Sometimes this sense stems from the ellipsis of the object, e.g. הִקְשִׁיב *to listen*, i.e. *to incline (the ear)*; הִשָּׁבַע *to reply / answer*, i.e. *to make (the word בָּרַךְ) return*. The same explanation may hold for certain adverbial Hifils, e.g. הִטִּיב *to make (the action מְצַלֵּל) good = to act nicely*; הִשָּׁחִית *to make (the action צֹלֵל) bad = to act badly* (§ d).

f In some other cases where the sense is not that of Hifil but of Qal, there may be a secondary or **pseudo-Hifil**⁽¹⁾, for especially in the case of Qal future verbs with *i*, the form, which would resemble Hifil, could easily pass over to the Hifil form. There is probably pseudo-Hifil in the following verbs: קִיא *to vomit* (§ 81 c), קִיץ *to wake up* (§ 76 d), רִיב *to dispute*, שִׁים *to place*; בָּדַל and פָּרַד *to separate*; טָמַן *to hide*, יָסַף *to add* (§ 75f), יָרַח *to throw* (§ 75 f), יָשַׁע *to save*, כָּלַם *to abuse / insult*, נָרַח *to repel*, נָחַח *to lead*, נָצַב *to station*, סָתַר *to conceal*, קָהַל *to assemble*, רָנַן *to give out cries of joy*, שָׁקַח *to water*.

(1) The use of Hif. for Qal became more frequent in the late biblical books, QH, and MH (M. Moreshet in *Sefer Bar-Ilan* 13 [1976] 249-81; see also Qimron, *Hebrew of DSS*, p. 49). For earlier literature on this question, see J. Barth in *ZDMG* 43 (1889) 179ff. and H. Yalon, *Pirque lashon* [Heb] (Jerusalem, 1971), pp. 43-55.

§ 55. The Passive conjugations

a Hebrew has a passive conjugation for Piel קִטַּל and Hifil הִקְטַל. For Qal it once had a conjugation (**qatal*), which in the perfect was confused with Pual, and in the future was confused with Hofal, as will be explained in § 58 a.

b **Formation.** In the passive conjugations (including also the passive

of Qal) the first vowel in the perfect and the future is the primitive vowel *u*: **qutal*, **yuqtal* (§ 58 a); קִטַּל, יִקְטַל; קִטַּלְתָּ(ה), יִקְטַלְתָּ(י).

The second vowel in the future is the primitive vowel *a*, as in stative verbs, and probably on the analogy of these verbs.

The second vowel in the perfect was originally *i* (compare *qutila*, *quttila*, **uqtila* in Arabic), as in the stative verbs of the first group, and probably on the analogy of these verbs. In Hebrew, this vowel *i* has been supplanted by the vowel *a* on the analogy of the future, e.g. **quttil* has been replaced by קִטַּל on the analogy of יִקְטַל.

These passive conjugations, as we can see, are contrasted with their active counterparts by means of vowel change, unlike Nifal and Hitpael, both of which, in addition to their original reflexive force, serve also as passive conjugations. For this reason, the term 'internal passive' is sometimes applied to these purely passive conjugations.

Compared with some non-Semitic languages such as English, Hebrew makes a rather sparing use of passive constructions. About 40% of Puals and an even lower percentage of Hofals in BH are participles denoting a state rather than an action⁽¹⁾.

(1) E. Jenni in *Proceedings of the Fifth World Congress of Jewish Studies* (Jerusalem, 1973), p. 66.

§ 56. Pual conjugation

For its formation, cf. § 55.

a

The first vowel is almost always *u*, which is normal in a sharp syllable. Sometimes this *u* is nuanced as *o* under the influence of certain consonants, e.g. אָדָם *coloured red* (always, e.g. Ex 25.5); קָרַת (§ 23 a); קָלַת Ps 72.20.

The inf. cst., which is not attested⁽¹⁾, would be קִטַּל.

b

As inf. absolute we find only קָטַל in Gn 40.15.

Certain forms which have the appearance of a Pual perfect belong in reality to the Qal passive, e.g. קָטַלְתָּ (§ 58 a).

Likewise, some forms which resemble the Pual participle without מֻ belong in reality to the Qal passive, e.g. קָטַלְתָּ (§ 58 b).

c

The Pual is the passive of the Piel in meaning.

(1) In Lv 14.43 we should read the inf. cst. פָּלַח (Ehrlich, *Randglossen*, ad loc.).

§ 57. Hofal conjugation

a For its formation, cf. § 55.

The ה is syncopated as in the Hifil (§ 54 b).

The first vowel, originally *u*, is maintained in sharp syllables, hence in those verbs in which the second radical is doubled as in פ"ן verbs, e.g. שָׁנַח . It is quite often preserved in participles under the influence of the labial מ, hence מִקְטָל , which is more frequent than מִקְטֵל . Otherwise, in closed syllables we normally find *o*: קִטַּל , קִטְלָה , rather than קִטַּלְה , קִטְלָה . The choice of the vowel is rather arbitrary; thus in the perfect of the verb שָׁלַח we find שָׁלַח Dn 8.11; שָׁלַח Ez 19.12; שָׁלַח Jer 22.28; שָׁלַח Is 14.19; שָׁלַח Ps 22.11.

b The inf. cst. is of the type קִטַּל , but is not attested by any regular verb.

The inf. abs. קִטַּל has a hybrid character: it is the inf. abs. of Hifil קִטַּל , *passivised* by the change of the first vowel = to פ (§ 49 b), e.g. קִטַּל Ez 16.4; קִטַּל Josh 9.24.

On the imperative, cf. § 48 a.

c Certain forms, which resemble Hofal future, in fact belong to the Qal passive, e.g. קִטַּל (§ 58 a).

The Hofal is the passive of the Hifil in meaning: קִטַּל accordingly should normally mean *he was made to kill* = *one had him kill*.

§ 58. Passive Qal

a In Proto-Semitic, as in Arabic still, the passive of a simple action was of the type: pf. *qutil(a)*⁽¹⁾, fut. *yuqtal(u)*.

Future. In Hebrew the primitive form has remained קִטַּל (?). This form is formally similar to that which the future Hofal has taken with the syncope of its ה: קִטַּל for קִטַּלְה *⁽²⁾.

Perfect. In Hebrew the primitive form *qutil* has become *qutal* with *a* as the second vowel on the analogy of the future, as in the other passive conjugations (§ 55 b). Now a *u* in an open syllable is not maintained; the syllable therefore must become closed, which occurs through

secondary gemination of the (non-guttural) consonant, cf. § 18 *e*; *qatal* therefore must become *quttal*. This form is formally similar to the Pual perfect לִטַּלְתָּ.

Thus it happens that now, in the perfect, the passive in Qal is identical with Pual, and in the future, with Hofal. That is why the ancient grammarians consider all לִטַּלְתָּ forms as Pual and all לִטַּלְתָּ forms as Hofal. But these forms *per se* could just as well be Qal passive forms. Therefore, in each case, one must examine the particular reasons for which the form can, or cannot, be a passive of Qal. If a given לִטַּלְתָּ form does not have an active Piel, whilst it does have a Qal, and if the meaning of the form concerned is not that of passive Piel, then the form will have to be regarded as passive Qal. Likewise, if a given לִטַּלְתָּ form does not have an active Hifil, whilst it does have a Qal, and if the meaning of the form is not that of passive Hifil, then the form will have to be regarded as Qal passive.

Thus נִקַּחְתָּ *he was taken* and נִקַּחְתָּ *he will be taken* (§ 72 *j*) are most probably Qal passives, for the meaning is not that of the passive of Piel, but that of the passive of a simple action; this verb does not have Piel and Hifil forms, whilst it does have a Qal. Likewise the perfect נִלְמַדְתָּ *he was born* is passive Qal⁽³⁾: the meaning is that of the passive of Qal, not of Piel which signifies *to deliver* (as a midwife, § 52 *d*)(⁴). Similarly also the future יִנָּתֵן⁽⁵⁾ *he will be given* (§ 72 *i*): the meaning is that of the Qal passive, and the verb has no Hifil; likewise the perfect נִאָּכַלְתָּ *it was eaten*: it has no Piel. Also נִקַּחְתָּ has no known Hifil. There are a good number of more or less plausible examples of Qal passive which one would find indicated in modern dictionaries as Puals or Hofals.

(1) Cf. Brock., *GvG*, 1, p. 537.

(2) Likewise in Arabic the Qal future *yaqtul* and the future of the causative *yuqtil* have in the passive the same form *yuqtal*.

(3) Compare in Arabic the perfect *wulida* "he was born."

(4) Cf. P. Joüon in *Bib* 1 (1920) 539ff.

(5) In the Tell el Amarna letters one finds three times *yu-da-an* or its variations with suffixes "it be given." The passive Qal was already known to Ibn Jikatilla (10th c.) and Samuel ha-Nagid (11th c.): see W. Bacher, *Abraham Ibn Esra als Grammatiker* (Budapest, 1881), p. 99; W. Chomsky, *D. Kimhi's Heb. Grammar* (New York, 1952), p. 103, n. 146.

Corresponding to the perfect passive Qal לִטַּלְתָּ there is a participle *b*

לִּטְּל, just as there is a participle לִּטְּל corresponding to the perfect לִּטְּל. Thus one has אָכַל eaten, consumed, Ex 3.2, corresponding to the perfect אָכַל; יוֹלָד (for יָלַד) born, Jdg 13.8 corresponding to the perfect יָלַד; לָקַח taken 2Kg 2.10 corresponding to the perfect לָקַח (cf. § 56 c).

c Some infinitives also seem to belong to the passive Qal, thus הִלָּדְתָּ to be born, birth (cf. P. Joüon in *Bib* 1 [1920] 360), and possibly שִׁיבְתָּ to be put (*ib.* 362) 2Sm 14.7; Job 20.4.

d The passive Qal, some vestiges of which still remain⁽¹⁾, as we have seen, disappeared little by little from the linguistic consciousness of Hebrew for the phonetic reasons indicated and also because Nifal, having gradually assumed the passive meaning, had made it well-nigh redundant.

(1) The existence of passive Qal in Ugaritic is a distinct possibility: Gordon, *UT* (§ 9.31).

§ 59. Rare conjugations

a Apart from the ordinary conjugations enumerated above, Hebrew possesses a number of rather rare conjugations, most of which are associated with the Piel.

1) The most frequent is the conjugation *pəʔel*⁽¹⁾, which represents diverse forms. In strong verbs, *pəʔel* is properly *pəʔel*; passive *pəʔal*; reflexive *hitpəʔel*. The primitive forms of the active are pf. *qātal(a)*, fut. *yuqātil(u)*. In the future the form usually becomes לִּקְטֹל; the perfect לִּקְטֹל is due to the analogy of the future, as so often is the case in Hebrew. The form *qātala* with lengthening⁽²⁾ of the first vowel, like *qattala* with lengthening of the second consonant, is considered by many authorities to express a certain nuance of intensity⁽³⁾. Example: מְשַׁפֵּטֵי exercising judgement towards me Job 9.15(?); שָׁרַשׁ to take root Is 40.24; מְאַסְפֵי 62.9 (but 'אַ' in Cod. L and C); הִרְצַח Ps 62.4 (despite the dagesh in the צ); מְלֹוֹשְׁנֵי 101.5.

In ו"ע verbs, where it is common, the form *pəʔel* is properly *pəʔel*, e.g. קוּמְ to raise. The origin of this form is controversial (§ 80 h).

In ע"ע verbs, where it is seemingly infrequent (§82 e), the form *pəʔel* is properly *pəʔe'*, e.g. סוּבַח to encircle. The origin of this form is controversial (§ 82 e).

(1) We use this imprecise transliteration for the forms with *o* as the first vowel and *e* as the second.

(2) See H. Fleisch, *Les verbes à allongement vocalique interne sémitique* (Paris, 1944).

(3) On an attempt to apply to these cases some functions conventionally attributed to the third conjugation in Arabic (fā'ala), conative, for instance, see Sh. Morag, art. cit. [§ 38, n. 6], pp. 120-25.

2) The form *pā'lel*(¹) (or with attenuation of *a* to *i*: *pi'lel*) has the passive form *pu'lal*. Examples: *וְשָׁמְרָה* to be quiet (from the adj. *שָׁמֵר*), *וְרִעַנָה* to be verdant (from the adj. *רִעֵן*); passive *לְאָמַל* to fade. b

(1) On the old interpretation of *הִשְׁתַּחֲוָה* to worship, to prostrate oneself as hitpa'lel, see § 59 g.

3) The form *pilpel* with repetition of the first and last consonants occurs in *ל"ע* verbs in which it is properly a *pilpel*, and in *ע"ע* verbs in which it is properly *pi'pe'*. In many cases it is difficult to choose between these two classes of verbs. The passive is *pulpal* and the reflexive *hitpālpeḥ*. Examples: *לְגַלְגַּל* to roll (tr.); *לְהִתְגַּלְגַּל* to roll (intr.) (from *גָּלַל*); *לְטַלְטַל* to throw (from *טָוַל*); the frequent *לְכַלְכַּל* to sustain somebody, passive *כָּלְכַּל* (prob. from *כִּיל*); *לְהִתְמַמְמַה* to hesitate (root?)(¹). c

(1) Most verbs of this group as well as of the group in the following paragraph showing repetition of two consonants signify repetition of an action, often in quick succession. See I. Eitan, *JPOS* 1 (1920-21) 174-77 and I. Yannay, "Augmented verbs in Bib. Heb.," *HUCA* 45 (1974) 71-95.

4) The very rare form *p'al'al* occurs in *סִחַחְחַח* to palpitate Ps 38.11 (imitative harmony); passive *מְרַמְרַמֵּר* to be effervescent Lam 1.20; 2.11; to become red (a different root; Job 16.16). Likewise Ps 45.3 *יְפִי־יְפִי־יָיִךְ* you are more beautiful (than anybody); Ho 4.18 *אֵין בָּוִי הָבִיבִי* they did not care about anything but love; cf. Is 61.1 *פְּקֻח־קוֹחַ* great liberation.(¹) d

(1) See I. Eitan, *JPOS* 1 (1920-21) 176.

5) Furthermore one finds some isolated forms which are probably denominative, e.g. *תִּתְחַרְחַר* you become excited, argue Jer 12.5 is a denominative of *תִּחְרַחַר**, which appears in Ben Sira 31.29; 40.5; *אֲנִי הִלְתִּי* I led the way Ho 11.3. e

The form of MH *Nitpā'el* for the reflexive of Piel, a hybrid form f

with the נ of Nifal added to Hitpael, may be found in Ez 23.48 וְנִסְרוּ (for וְנִתְּנָסְרוּ?) and they will submit themselves to chastisement (but this can be vocalised as Nifal וְנִסְרוּ) and in Dt 21.8 וְנִכְפַּר (for וְנִתְּכַפַּר?) and it will be expiated (but probably faulty for וְיִכְפַּר)(1).

(1) Cf. SH forms such as /wniššāmmādti/; Ben-Hayyim, *LOT*, vol. 5, pp. 85f.

g In the light of Ugr. *tšthwy* "she prostrates herself," what used to be considered *hitpa'lel*, represented almost entirely by the frequent הִשְׁתַּחֲוּהָ to worship, to prostrate oneself, is most likely a Hištaf'el of √ חוו(1).

(1) In Ugr. the causative conjugation is characterised by /š/, not /h/ or /'/. But cf. J.A. Emerton, in *OudSt* 20 (1977) 41-55. On plausible vestiges of the ancient causative Shafel attested in some cognates such as Akkadian and Ugaritic, see J.A. Soggin, *Annali dell'Istituto Orientale di Napoli*, NS 15 (1965) 17-30; C. Rabin, *Eretz Israel* 9 (1969) 148-58; L. Wächter, *ZAW* 83 (1971) 380-89.

h נִדְרָהוּ 1Ch 3.5, 20.8 is an example of Nufal(1).

(1) First identified as such by H. Yalon, *Introduction to the Pointing of the Mishnah* [Heb] (Jerusalem, 1964), pp. 152-59. See also Sh. Morag, art. cit. [§ 38, n.], pp. 126-28, I. Shvitiel in *Quntresim l-'inyne halašon ha'ivrit*, 2 (1948) 212, and Yeivin, *Babylonian Tradition*, pp. 608f.

§ 60. Quadriliteral verbs

Quadriliteral verbs are very few in number. One finds, on the analogy of the Piel: the type תַּרְגַּם* to translate, יִתְּרַגַּם*, passive מִתְּרַגַּם. E.g. יִכְרַסְמָנָה it devours it Ps 80.14; מְכַרְבֵּל clothed 1Ch 15.27; —on the analogy of the Hifil: הִשְׁמָאֵל* to go left, יִשְׁמָאֵל and (with the syncope of א) inf. הִשְׁמָאֵל*, הִשְׁמִיל; מְשָׂמָאֵל (cf. § 54 d).

§ 61. Verb with object suffixes

(Paradigm 3).

a The personal pronoun object of a verb, which would be in the accusative in Latin, can be expressed in two ways. Either one may use the particle אֵת called the *exponent of the accusative* (*nota accusativi*) which receives personal suffixes (§ 103 k), e.g. הִקְטִיל אֹתוֹ he killed him; or, more frequently, the suffixes are attached to the verb form itself, e.g. הִקְטִילוֹ he killed him. Certain syntactic circumstances condition the

use of אָ (§ 125 e ff.). In the perfect, with the suffix of the second pers. pl. we almost always find אָ (קָטַלְנוּכֶם is the only example with the 1st pers. pl. suf.[¹]). Often the choice is arbitrary, for no apparent reason; thus we find יָיַבְתֶּם and *he hit them* 15 times and אָתָּם only three times (Jdg 15.8; 1Sm 5.6; 2Kg 25.21)(²).

(1) A combination attested only once in Ps 118.26 בְּרַכְנוּכֶם .

(2) On the choice between the synthetic and analytic constructions, in addition to the literature quoted in Muraoka, *Emphatic*, p. 152, see also Polzin, pp. 28-31, and E.Z. Melammed in *‘oz l-David* (Jerusalem, 1964), pp. 568-84 [now in idem, *Mehqarim bamiqra’ b-tirgumav uvimfaršav* (Jerusalem, 1984), pp. 200-216. Bendavid (1.71) believes that the synthesis, which is the rule in MH, is more typical of LBH. In Moabite, אָ occurs only with a substantive, whereas a pronominal object is always directly attached to the verb.

Whereas in French (and English) a reflexive action, e.g. *he sanctified himself*, is rendered by an object pronoun (§ 146 k), Hebrew uses reflexive forms of the verb: *Nifal*, *Hitpael*, e.g. here שָׁתַקְתָּךְ . Some verbs in Qal can have the reflexive meaning (§ 41 a); likewise, e.g. Piel הַצִּיבְךָ to clothe oneself Gn 38.14 (cf. Ehrlich, *Randglossen*, ad loc.). Note also the use of שָׁפַךְ with a suffix: § 146 k.

The form of the verbal suffixes varies according to whether the verb form ends in a vowel or a consonant (cf. Paradigms 1 and 3). From the point of view of the stress, the heavy suffixes כֶּם , כֶּךָ (יָכֶם , יָכֶךָ) always carry the stress; the suffixes נִי , נִיךָ , וּךָ and וּךָ never carry the stress; ךָ preceded by a vowel does not carry the stress, but if preceded by a shewa, it does carry the stress (exception: the type הִטְּלֶיךָ , § d).

A verb form ending in a consonant is joined by a linking vowel to a suffix beginning with a consonant. In the perfect this vowel is a (either ָ or ֶ), e.g. קָטַלְתָּנִי , קָטַלְתָּנִי , but קָטַלְתָּנִי . This a probably comes from הִלֵּל verbs, e.g. הִלַּלְתָּנִי (¹); according to others, this may be the final a which one finds in Arabic perfect *qatala*.

In the future and other tenses(²) the linking vowel is e (either ֶ or ֵ), e.g. יִקְטֹלְךָ , but יִקְטֹלְךָ (§ 29 f). This e originates from הִלֵּל verbs, e.g. יִגְלֹלְךָ , יִגְלֹלְךָ .

Exceptions: Before the suffixes כֶּם and ךָ there is no linking vowel, but only a shewa, and the כ , whether of the singular or plural suffix, is always rafé: e.g. יִקְטֹלְכֶם , יִקְטֹלְכֶם (³), יִלְבַּשְׁכֶם ; יִקְטֹלְךָ ; יִקְטֹלְךָ (⁴),

יְבַרְכֶּךָ; יְבַרְכֶּנּוּ, יְבַרְכֶּנּוּ; יְבַרְכֶּנּוּ; יְבַרְכֶּנּוּ.

Before ׀, in pause, there is a linking vowel, generally ׀, e.g. יְבַרְכֶּנּוּ, יְבַרְכֶּנּוּ (in the perfect the anticipated form יְבַרְכֶּנּוּ is rare). This ׀ probably originated in the future of ה"ל verbs: יְבַרְכֶּנּוּ (similarly in nouns one finds, e.g. יְבַרְכֶּנּוּ, § 94 c).

(1) In support of this view one can adduce the analogy of the future where the vowel of juncture is derived from the ה"ל verbs (cf. below), and not from an original final vowel. Other cases of vowels being derived from ה"ל verbs may be found in § f, and see the references in § 94 b, n.

(2) The vowel of juncture allows the proper form to be distinguished in the case of the imperative with a (before a guttural), e.g. יְבַרְכֶּנּוּ *send me* (opp. יְבַרְכֶּנּוּ *he sent me*).

(3)(4) Instead of ׀, in this position, we sometimes find ׀, e.g. in the future, יְבַרְכֶּנּוּ 1Sm 15.6 (cf. Driver, *Notes*, ad loc.), Is 25.1, Ps 30.2, 145.1; in the participle Ex 31.13; in the infinitive, Is 1.15. Comp. amongst the nouns, e.g. יְבַרְכֶּנּוּ Ps 145.1.

e **Deletion of a vowel before a suffix, in the future (and imperative), in open syllables.** The primitive vowels *u* and *i* drop out, e.g. יְבַרְכֶּנּוּ, יְבַרְכֶּנּוּ; יְבַרְכֶּנּוּ, יְבַרְכֶּנּוּ; יְבַרְכֶּנּוּ, יְבַרְכֶּנּוּ; however, the primitive vowel *a* is maintained, e.g. יְבַרְכֶּנּוּ, יְבַרְכֶּנּוּ. In the perfect the primitive vowel *i* is deleted in Piel, e.g. יְבַרְכֶּנּוּ, יְבַרְכֶּנּוּ; it is maintained in (stative) Qal, e.g. יְבַרְכֶּנּוּ (by necessity) (cf. § 30 f).

f **Suffixes with energetic ׀.** In the future (and imperative) we also find a series of suffixes with a ׀ called *energetic* or *epenthetic* (*inserted*) *Nun*. This ׀, originally, probably indicated a certain energetic meaning (as in Arabic)⁽¹⁾. But it now carries no semantic value; its energetic force is merely phonetic. The usual forms are יְבַרְכֶּנּוּ, יְבַרְכֶּנּוּ, יְבַרְכֶּנּוּ.

The origin of the seghol is disputed. It may have originated in the forms with ׀ by a tendency towards vowel harmony (cf. § 29 f); it may then have spread to other forms (cf. BL, p. 216), e.g. *innâ* may have become *ɛnnâ*⁽²⁾. But, in our opinion, this ׀ derives from ה"ל verbs, e.g. יְבַרְכֶּנּוּ, יְבַרְכֶּנּוּ, יְבַרְכֶּנּוּ (§ 79 k) on the model of יְבַרְכֶּנּוּ etc.

The use of the forms without *energetic* ׀ is typical of the future joined to the inversive Waw, and also the jussive, whether preceded by the prohibitive לֹא or not. Typically, therefore, one would have יְבַרְכֶּנּוּ but יְבַרְכֶּנּוּ⁽³⁾.

This rule does not seem to apply to the cohortative⁽⁴⁾. Even allowing for possibly erroneous pointing (e.g. 1Sm 9.26 יְבַרְכֶּנּוּ, in which one expects יְבַרְכֶּנּוּ), one cannot explain away cases such as 2Kg

6.28,29 וְנִאֲכַלְנוּ ... וְנִאֲכַלְנוּ and Jer 48.2 לָכֹוּ וְנִכְרִיתָנָה, though we do find instances such as Jer 18.18 וְאֵל־נִקְשִׁי בָהּ ... לָכֹוּ וְנִכְהוּ. In poetry the distinction may be reduced to stylistic variation, e.g. Is 26.5 יִשְׁפִּילָנָה יִשְׁפִּילָהּ. The conditioning factor appears to be the presence or absence of a vowel after the third radical⁽⁵⁾.

Only rarely do we encounter free-standing energetic forms: Ex 1.10 מִלְחָמָה מְלֻחָמָה כִּי־תִקְרָאנָה מְלֻחָמָה *should a war break out*; as a substitute for the preterital (short) yiqtol in poetry such as הִשְׁלַחְנָה Jdg 5.26.

(1) In Arabic the emphatic future ends with *anna* or *an*. In Hebrew the forms can be more easily explained by supposing a simple *n*: *ɛnhu* > *ɛnnu*, *ɛnhâ* > *ɛnnâ*, and *ɛnkâ* > *ɛkkâ*. Incidentally, the derivation of *ɛkkâ* from *ɛnkâ* rather than from *ankâ* accords with the tradition reflected in the Secunda of the Hexapla, e.g. Ps 30.10 הִיִּירָךְ αἰώσεχχα; Brønno, *Studien*, pp. 196f.

(2) In BA we have *inn*, e.g. הִתְנַנְּנָה *he will give it* (= Heb. הִתְנַנְּנָה).

(3) A fundamental study on this question is M. Lambert, "De l'emploi des suffixes pronominaux avec noun et sans noun au futur et à l'impératif," *REJ* 46 (1903) 178-93. See also T. Muraoka, "The Nun energeticum and the prefix conjugation in BH," *Annual of the Japanese Biblical Institute*, 1 (1975) 63-71; J. Blau, *Eretz Israel* 14 (1978) 125-31; E. Qimron, *JQR* 77 (1986-87) 159f. The pausal form הִיִּירָךְ occurs even with the perfect (Dt 24.13), the infinitive (Dt 4.36, 23.5, Job 33.32), and the participle (Dt 8.5; 12.14,28; Job 5.1).

(4) *Pace* H.L. Ginsberg, p. 113 of an article cited in § 2a.

(5) See R. Hetzron in *Orientalia Suecana* 18 (1969) 101-27, and Garr, *Dialect Geography* [§ 2 a, n.], p. 111.

Rare forms with ך. In the 1st pers. sg. one has the forms יִנְיִ and יִנְיִ, which are rare. In the 1st pers. pl. יִנְיִ is dubious. In the 2nd pers. one has, rarely, the spelling הִנְיִ, especially in הִנְיִ⁽¹⁾.

(1) See Barr, *Spellings*, pp. 116f.; for an explanation of the form, see above, § 42 f.

In elevated or poetic style, one finds, rarely (and almost always in pause), forms with ך (without assimilation), e.g. אֲרַמְמִנְהוּ Ex 15.2; Dt 32.10 (in context); Jer 5.22 (in pause); הִאֲתַקְנְהוּ Jer 22.24(?). The form יִבְבְּדְנְיִ (with ך) Ps 50.23 is unique.

Rare forms with suffixes⁽¹⁾. **Sing.** 2nd m.: הִנְיִ (rare spelling for הִנְיִ)⁽²⁾; הִ Is 55.5; 2nd f.: הִנְיִ (for הִנְיִ) rarely, mainly in pause, e.g. Is 60.9; 54.6; הִ Ps 103.4; הִ Ps 137.6; 3rd m.: הִ Ex 32.25; Nu 23.8; 3rd f.: הִנְיִ (without mappiq, § 25 a) Ex 2.3; Jer 44.19; Am 1.11 (nsi-ga). **Plur.** 3rd m.: the forms in מו are poetic; in Ex 15.5 one has מו in מוּ (perhaps for assonance or a dialectal form^[3]).

(1) Compare the rare forms of suffixes attached to nouns, § 94 *h*.

(2) See Barr, *Spellings*, p. 127. Barr thinks that the long spelling is earlier (*ib.*, p. 125).

(3) מוּ occurs thrice in the Secunda: 49.12 וְיָמֹ בְרִחָמוֹ; 28.8, 49.14 וְיָמוּ לָמוֹ; but 35.16 וְיָמוּ שֶׁנְּנִימוּ.

§ 62. Perfect with suffixes

(Paradigm 3).

- a For the linking vowel *a*, cf. § 61 *d*; on the loss of the vowel *i*(-), § 61 *e*.

Before the suffixes, certain persons in the perfect have a form more like the primitive form (§ 42 *f*). We find 3rd *f.sg.* קָטַלְתָּ (primitive form: *qatalat*); 2nd *f.sg.* קָטַלְתְּ(1) (primitive form: *qatalti*); 2nd *m.pl.*(2) קָטַלְתֶּם (primitive form: *qaltumu*).

(1) Thus the 2nd pers. *f.* was confused with the current form of the 1st pers., hence equivocal forms such as קָטַלְתָּהּ *you (f.) killed him, I killed him*; קָטַלְתְּהּ; קָטַלְתֶּם. On the continuation in post-BH phases of the syntagm *pf. 2m.pl. + obj. suf.*, see E. Qimron, *JQR* 78 (1987) 49-55.

(2) This form also serves for the feminine. In any case, the combination is extremely rare: Nu 20.5, 21.5 קָטַלְתְּנָהּ; Zech 7.5 צָמַתְּנִי. Normally the analytic construction is preferred: e.g. Josh 4.3 וְהַעֲבַרְתֶּם אוֹתָם עִמָּכֶם וְהַנְּחַתְתֶּם אוֹתָם.

- b Verb forms, with the addition of suffixes, are subject to modifications in the arrangement of vowels. Thus in the 3rd *pers. f.sg.*, קָטַלְתָּ becomes קָטַלְתְּ. The new arrangement of vowels is perhaps due to the analogy of nouns with suffixes; compare, e.g. קָטַלְתָּ *he killed you* and בְּרַרְתָּ *your word*. The vowels protected by their position or by their length naturally retain their position; consequently it happens that in Hifil, in all persons, the vowel arrangement remains unaltered.

- c Observations on some persons.

3rd *masc. sing.* In context, we find קָטַלְתָּ with = in open stressed syllables, against the general norm (§ 28 *b*), in pause קָטַלְתָּ (compare קָטַלְתָּ and קָטַלְתָּ). In Gn 30.6; Ps 118.18 we find קָטַלְתָּ (perhaps for emphasis before a divine name). With the 3rd *pers.m.sg.* suffix the earlier form קָטַלְתָּ is found only once in the strong verb, Jer 20.15 (in pause);

otherwise we always find the form קטלֹו with syncope and contraction of *ahu* to *o* (compare, in the 2nd pers. m. קטלֹוּהוּ and קטלֹוּתוֹ), § e.

3rd fem. sing. The verb form קטלֹוּתָא is treated in a very special fashion: 1) it always carries the stress; 2) before a suffix beginning with a consonant it does not receive the linking vowel; 3) before the other suffixes, we find קטלֹוּתָאָהוּ , קטלֹוּתָאָתָא : the final *a* of the verb form becomes *á* in open syllables, retaining the stress, and the post-stress vowel is shortened. Thus we have קטלֹוּתָאָנִי , קטלֹוּתָאָתָנִי ; קטלֹוּתָאָהוּ , קטלֹוּתָאָתָהוּ ; קטלֹוּתָאָהוּ and (with *tt* for *th*) קטלֹוּתָאָהוּ ; קטלֹוּתָאָהוּ , hence קטלֹוּתָאָהוּ ; קטלֹוּתָאָהוּ .

2nd masc. sing. In context we also find here קטלֹוּתָנִי , in pause קטלֹוּתָנִי . With the 3rd pers.m.sg. suffix the earlier form קטלֹוּתָהוּ occurs only once in the strong verb, Ez 43.20 (in pause); elsewhere we always find the form קטלֹוּתָו (comp. the 3rd pers.m.sg., § c).

2nd fem. sing. With the 3rd pers.m.sg. suffix we only find the non-syncoated form קטלֹוּתָיָהוּ (twice). We find in pause קטלֹוּתָיָהוּ Josh 2.17,20; Ct 5.9 with ־ , difficult to explain; likewise קטלֹוּתָיָהוּ Jer 2.27.

1st sing. The form, קטלֹוּתָיִו , with syncope of ה , is more common than קטלֹוּתָיָהוּ . The reason for the choice is not very clear; compare, e.g. 2Sm 7.10 and 1Ch 17.9 (parallels)(¹).

(1) In QH the fuller form is the rule, though ה may not have been pronounced: Qimron, *Hebrew of DSS*, p. 60.

The plural ending /-u/ attached to an object suffix is spelled both defectively (312 x), e.g. Lv 17.5 קטלֹוּתָיָהוּ and fully (511 x), e.g. Is 14.2 קטלֹוּתָיָהוּ : AF, p. 201.

§ 63. Future with suffixes

(Paradigm 3).

On the linking vowel *e*, cf. § 61 d; on the loss of the vowel, cf. § 61 e; on the suffixes with א , cf. § 61 f, and with נ , cf. § 61 h. Instead of the form קטלֹוּתָיָהוּ , קטלֹוּתָיָהוּ is used: Jer 2.19; Job 19.15; Ct 1.6. Instead of the linking vowel *e* we sometimes find *a* (as in the perfect); thus קטלֹוּתָיָהוּ occurs many times, e.g. Gn 19.19; 29.32; Ex 33.20, קטלֹוּתָיָהוּ sometimes, e.g. Gn 27.19 (§ 61 g). With other suffixes: קטלֹוּתָיָהוּ Gn 37.33;

יִלְבַּשׁוּ Ex 29.30.

- b One finds יִלְבַּשׁוּ in major pause in Ex 20.5 and Dt 5.9; and in intermediate pause (zaqef) in Ex 23.24; also יִלְבַּשׁוּ in major pause in Dt 13.3. It seems that the intention here was to avoid the form anticipated in pause יִלְבַּשׁוּ*. The *o* has shifted to the beginning of the word with the nuance of *o* (comp. imperative קִטְלוּ, קִטְלוּ)(¹).

Note also יִחַן־וּ Gn 43.29, Is 30.19; יִחַן־וּ Ps 94.20; יִחַן־וּ Job 20.26. Especially noteworthy are cases with *o* with the second radical: יִהְיֶה־וּ Nu 35.20; יִגְפְּנוּ 1Sm 26.10(²).

(1) *Pace* Berg., II, § 14 g, these are certainly no Hofals. In the Babylonian tradition, the /o/ of the impf. is also retained, e.g. יִחַן־וּ: for more examples, see P. Kahle, *Masoreten des Ostens* (Leipzig, 1913), p. 185.

(2) Eight more listed in Berg., II, § 14 g, though not all are attested in BHS, and most are found in major pause. Similar forms (such as יִדְרוּ־וּ and יִדְרוּ־וּ) are common in Dead Sea Hebrew documents; see Qimron, *Hebrew of DSS*, pp. 51-53 with full data in Qimron's dissertation *A Grammar of the Heb. Lang. of the Dead Sea Scrolls* [in Heb.] (Jerusalem, 1976), pp. 161-75 and further relevant data in I. Yeivin, "The forms יִקְטוּ־וּ and יִקְטוּ־וּ in the Dead Sea Scrolls in the light of the Babylonian tradition of punctuation" [in Heb.], in B. Uffenheimer (ed.), *Bible and Jewish History. Studies in Bible and Jewish History Dedicated to the Memory of Jacob Liver* (Tel Aviv, 1971), pp. 256-76, and idem, 469-72. Our examples quoted above (יִלְבַּשׁוּ etc.) have apparently escaped Qimron's notice. Whilst it is clear that the Hebrew of the DSS possessed an organic system of its own distinct from that of the Tiberian Hebrew, one can still maintain that some marginal features of the Tiberian system have been transformed into major components of the Qumran Hebrew system and that the vowel following the first radical did start as a helping vowel; Qimron offers no explanation for its origin. Qimron's description of the mode of suffixation with infinitives and imperatives is, as far as the Tiberian tradition is concerned, somewhat inaccurate: no instance of imperatival יִקְטוּ־וּ is attested; Qimron is not concerned with /a/ imperatives such as יִשְׁלַח־וּ. The question would be irrelevant for unpointed Qumran Hebrew anyway. It also upsets the "three-fold parallelism" between the impf., inf., and impv. which, for Qimron, is the major principle accounting for all the relevant data of Qumran Hebrew, including a case such as יִשְׁוּמְעוּ־וּ.

These Qumran forms in no way support the theory of the existence in BH of the Akkadian type present tense /yiparras/ argued for by O. Rössler, "Eine bisher unbekannte Tempusform im Althebräischen," *ZDMG* 111 (1961) 445-51; idem, "Die Präfixkonjugation Qal der Verba I^{ae} Nun im Althebräischen und das Problem der sogenannten Tempora," *ZAW* 74 (1962) 125-41; R. Meyer, "Spuren eines westsemitischen Präsens-Futur in den Texten von Chirbet Qumran," *Von Ugarit nach Qumran*, *BZAW* 77 (²1961), pp. 118-28; H.B. Rosén in *Proceedings*, pp. 214, 227f. For a refutation of the theory, see A. Bloch, "Zur Nachweisbarkeit einer hebräischen Entsprechung der akkadischen Verbalform *iparras*," *ZDMG* 113 (1963) 41-50; T.L. Fenton, "The absence of a verbal formation

**yaqattal* from Ugaritic and North-West Semitic," *JSS* 15 (1970) 31-41, and concerning the misinterpretation of Samaritan data, Ben-Hayyim, in Sh. Wares et al. (eds), *Sefer Dov Sadan* (Tel Aviv, 1977), pp. 84f.

In Hifil, the originally long *i* occasionally (though secondarily, c
§ 54 a) drops out before a suffix: יַעֲשֶׂהְנָהּ 1Sm 17.25; הַעֲשֶׂהְנָהּ Ps 65.10.
Comp. § 54 c.

The remark made in § 62 h equally applies to the future ending in d
/-u/: e.g. Josh 11.8 וַיִּכְּמוּ as against 10.39 וַיִּכְּמוּ.

The futures with the paragogic Nun can also take object suffixes: e.g. e
Ho 5.15 יִשְׁחַרְנֵנִי; Job 19.2 הִרְבֵּאֵנִי; Jer 5.22 יַעֲבֹרְנָהּ: more examples in
Berg., II, § 5 g.

§ 64. Imperative with suffixes

(Paradigm 3).

On the linking vowel *e*, as in the future, cf. § 61 d; on the loss of a
the vowel, cf. § 61 e; on suffixes with *ג*, cf. § 61 f. In place of the
form קִטְלוּנָהּ we find קִטְלוּ. The form of the *m.sg.* קִטְלוּ becomes קִטְלוּ, e.g.
קִטְלוּנִי; a begadkefat as the third radical is pronounced as a fricative
as in forms such as כָּתְבוּ Pr 3.3; 7.3.

The form with *a*, e.g. שִׁבְעוּ would probably have become, e.g. שִׁבְעוּנִי*
(comp. fut. יִשְׁבְּעוּנִי). But there are no examples, so it seems, except in
the 2nd- and 3rd-guttural verbs, e.g. אָהַבְנָהּ Pr 4.6; שִׁלְחָנִי Is 6.8; קָרְאָנָהּ
Jer 36.15; קָחְנִי 1Sm 16.11.

The forms קִטְלוּ and קִטְלוּ before suffixes are retained.

Rarely, as in the future (§ 63 a), the linking vowel is *a*, e.g. כָּתְבוּ Is 30.8. b

In Hifil in the 2nd *pers.sg.m.*, the verb form before suffixes is
הִקְטִיל, not הִקְטִיל (as, when inflected, we get הִקְטִילִי, הִקְטִילוּ), e.g.
הִקְרִיבָהּ Mal 1.8.

§ 65. Infinitive with suffixes

(Paradigm 3).

In the infinitive (construct), which is a verbal noun, the verbal or a
objectival (accusative) suffixes have almost entirely been replaced by

the nominal or subjectival (genitive) suffixes. It is solely in the 1st pers. that the verbal suffix has been preserved, e.g. **קָטַלְנִי** *to kill me* (in contrast to **קָטַלְתִּי** *my act of killing*). Moreover, even in the 1st pers. one finds the nominal suffix instead of the verbal one in **יִבְרַמֵּי** *to marry me* Dt 25.7; **יִתְּנֵנִי** *to allow me* Nu 22.13; **יִפְּצֵנִי** *to afflict me* 1Ch 4.10 (§ b). In the other persons we find the nominal suffix instead of the verbal one, e.g. **יִבְרַמְוּ** *to cleave them* 2Ch 32.1 as in Am 1.13 *their act of cleaving*; **יִכְּתֹבֵהוּ** 1Sm 20.33 *to strike him* (cf. § 124 i).

b The form of the inf. cst. **קָטַל** becomes **קָטַלְתִּי**; a begadkefat as the third radical is pronounced as a fricative, e.g. **קָטַלְתִּי** Jer 45.1; and rarely as a plosive, e.g. **יִפְּצֵנִי** 1Ch 4.10 (§ a). Sometimes the infinitive **קָטַל** becomes **קָטַלְתִּי** (comp. the inflection of the imperative **קָטַלְתִּי**, e.g. **בְּגִדְוֹ** (1) *his act of betraying* Ex 21.8; **מִכְרָם** Am 2.6 (alongside **מִכְרָה** Ex 21.8); **נִפְּלוּ** 2Sm 1.10 (alongside **נִפְּלוּ** 1Sm 29.3); always **שִׁבְרֵי** Lv 26.26; Ez 30.18; 34.27†; **שִׁטְנוֹ** Zech 3.1)(2).

The only suffixed example of the infinitive with a is found in **שִׁבְּבָה** Gn 19.33, 35 side by side with **שִׁבְּבָהּ** Dt 6.7; 11.19 and **שִׁבְּבוּ** Ru 3.4. Cf. also § 69 b, 70 d.

(1) We find forms from **בְּגָד**, **בְּגָדָה** *garment* with *i*: **בְּגָדִי**, **בְּגָדוֹ**, **בְּגָדֵי** etc. Indeed the *i* vowel of the suffixed inf. cst. is possibly due to the analogy of the related *i* segholate nouns such as **בְּגָדָה**, **מִכְרָה**: Lambert, p. 310, n. 1, and H.M. Orlinsky, in *JAOS* 67 (1947) 109,111, and note AC *pi-it-[ru]*, Sivan, p. 168.

(2) As regards a possible morphosyntactic distinction between the two forms, the statistics are: *qtol-* 22 x (suf. = subj., 13; = obj., 9) and *qotl-* 38 x (suf. = subj. 34, = obj., 4). So Bendavid's observation that *qtol-* is used in the main for the objectival suf., and *qotl-* for the subjectival suf. (2. 497f., so already Abul Walid, *Riqmah* [ed. Wilensky—Téné, p. 203]) is not entirely substantiated. See also §63 b, n. 2. The *qtol-* pattern is thus used optionally where the suffix begins with a consonant. Thus for the 2f.sg., and forms with the paragogic **הָ**, only the *qotl-* pattern appears. (One should not give too much weight to the unique **רַדְוֵי** Ps 38.21K.) This partial morphological distribution is phonetically conditioned, i.e. it depends on whether the suffix begins with a consonant or a vowel. A helping vowel is inserted in similar morphological environments in some Arabic dialects; see J. Cantineau in *Semitica* 2 (1949) 56.

c Before the suffixes **הָ** and **כֵּם**, one occasionally finds **קָטַל** with transposition of the vowel, instead of **קָטַלְתִּי**, no doubt in order to facilitate the pronunciation, e.g. **אֶכְרָהּ** Gn 2.17. Another way in which the pronunciation is facilitated is the addition of an auxiliary *q* to the second(1) consonant, e.g. **קָרַחְתֶּם** Dt 20.2; **מִאֲסַחְתֶּם** Is 30.12

(comp., e.g. קָלַעְתָּ *your action*, § 22 c; קָבַעְתָּ , § 96 A j). Cf. also מְצַדְּכֵם Gn 32.20.

(1) It is also possible to regard the first vowel as auxiliary; so also Yeivin, art. cit. [§ 63 b, n. 2], p. 265. From the data gathered by Yeivin one can see that all the examples with /o/ after a second radical are suffixed with a 2nd pers. pronoun.

Very rarely does one find the suffix of the infinitive with **energetic Nun**, in קָלַעְתָּ : Dt 4.36; 23.5; Job 33.32. d

§ 66. Participle with suffixes

The participle, which is a verbal noun, always takes, in the plural, a nominal suffix: קֹלְלֵי *those who kill me*. In the singular, we usually find a nominal suffix: קֹלְלִי *one who kills me*, rather rarely a verbal suffix: קֹלְלֵנִי , e.g. עָשֵׂנִי *he who made me* Job 31.15. With the article a verbal suffix necessarily occurs: הַמְצַדְּכֵנִי *the one who girdles me* Ps 18.33. Cf. § 121 k. a

In Is 47.10 one has the abnormal form קֹלְלֵנִי (compare § 63 a). b

Very rarely we find the suffix of the participle with **energetic Nun** in קָלַעְתָּ : Dt 8.5; 12.14,28; Job 5.1. Compare the inflection of קָבַעְתָּ , § 96 C c.

§ 67. Guttural verbs

The guttural verbs are those the root of which has a guttural in their first, second or third radical, namely א , ח , or a pronounced ק or ג . The lingual ר is treated to some extent like these gutturals (§ 23). The guttural verbs do not differ from the regular verbs, as far as the consonants are concerned, except in the inability of the guttural to allow genuine gemination. However, the vocalisation of the guttural verbs is extremely unique; it is regulated by the principles given in the section Phonetics on the gutturals (§§ 20ff.).

§ 68. First-guttural verbs (Paradigm 4: קָמַעְתָּ *to stand*)

The following phonetic laws are applicable here:

a

1) After an initial guttural, instead of shewa, we find ḥaṭef pataḥ, e.g. impv. עֲמַד. However א does not produce ḥaṭef pataḥ; rather it usually receives ḥaṭef seghol⁽¹⁾, e.g. impv. אָמַד (§ 73 c), אָזַד, but pf. 2m.pl. אָמַדְתָּ, and inf. cst. with a suf. אָמַדְתָּ.

2) Before a guttural: in open syllables *i* becomes =, e.g. Nif. fut. **yi-‘āmed* > אָמַדְי. In closed (or semi-closed) syllables, *i* > ֿ, e.g. **yih-zaq* > אָזַקְי; *u* > ֿ, e.g. **mu‘mad* > אָמַדְמ (comp. אָמַדְמְטֵל, which is less frequent than אָמַדְמְטֵל; cf. § 21 d).

3) Often one has auxiliary ḥaṭef (§ 22 b), which becomes a full vowel when the word is lengthened, e.g. אָמַדְי, אָמַדְי (§ 22 c).

(1) Since this is the weakest vowel, Alef is not pronounced; cf. § 17 a, n. Comp. below, § b (end) אָמַדְמְטֵל. וְנָגַדְתָּ *sing* (Nu 21.17, Ps 147.7†) is distinguished from וְנָגַדְתָּ *answer* (1Sm 12.3†).

b Qal. In the future, the distinction between active and stative verbs appears in both vowels, e.g. *yā‘mud* > אָמַדְי; *yihzaq* > אָזַקְי (§ 41 e)⁽¹⁾.

But in ה"ל verbs⁽²⁾ the vowel of the preformative mostly depends on the nature of the guttural. Before ה and ח it is ֿ; before ע it is =, e.g. אָמַדְי, אָזַקְי; exceptions: אָמַדְי, אָזַקְי (§ 79 s).

In active א"ב verbs, therefore, with ו as the second vowel, the vowel of the preformative is ֿ, e.g. אָזַדְי, אָסַדְי, אָרַבְי, perhaps on the analogy of the imperative, e.g. אָזַדְי⁽³⁾.

In the 1st pers.sg. we find אָ (not אָ): אָמַדְי, אָזַקְי, אָעָשָׂה.

(1) Other stative verbs: אָהַבְי (ה) *to love*, אָהַבְי; אָשַׁמְי (ש) *to become guilty*, אָשַׁמְי; אָחַסְי *to lack*, אָחַסְי.

(2) Occasionally also with a non-ה"ל verb: Ps 29.9 (BHS) אָחַשְׁתָּי.

(3) In the nominal forms we have, e.g. אָרַבְי *ambush*.

c Nifal. The perfect אָמַדְי is a development from the secondary form *ni‘maḏ* = אָמַדְי; but in the inf. absolute we find אָמַדְי. Otherwise, = is rare⁽¹⁾. In ה"ל verbs there are some perfects with =, e.g. אָזַקְי.

In the future, in fact, there is no example of virtual gemination: one always finds the type אָמַדְי.

(1) Cf. Ps 28.7 *Secunda ουναζεφθι* (MT אָמַדְי).

d Hifil. The perfect אָמַדְי has developed from the secondary form *hi‘mid* = אָמַדְי.

e Further observations.

In the **Qal imperative** the *i*, which follows the guttural in unstressed closed syllables, shows a slight tendency to become *ɛ*; e.g. one has אֶסְפוּ but אֶסְפָּה (perhaps under the influence of פָּ, cf. § 29 *f*); עֲרְכוּ but עֲרָכָה; יִשְׁפִי (cf. § 21 *e*). With a second-guttural we find, e.g. אֶהְבוּ, אֶהְבֵּוּ.

In the **Qal inf. cst.**, alongside the normal type לְעַמֵּד the type לְחַפֵּר (comp. לְנַפֵּל, § 49 *f*) occasionally occurs. Nearly all the examples are with ח: לְחַשֵּׁב (always, 4 times), לְחַצֵּב (always, twice), לְחַשֵּׂף Hg 2.16; לְחַתוֹת (from חתה) Is 30.14; לְחַסוֹת Is 30.2 (but לְחַסוֹת Ps 118.8, 9; Ru 2.12). Generally speaking, ח easily dispenses with *hataf*, § 22 *b*. Compare the corresponding futures יִחַפֵּר, יִחַשֵּׁב, and יִחַצֵּב, which could have influenced these forms⁽¹⁾. Cf. § 22 *d*.

(1) Similarly: יִאֲשֵׁם, יִאֲדִיר, יִאֲדָיִם; יִהְיֶה; יִהְיֶה; יִהְיֶה.

The alternation between $\text{= } \text{=}$ and $\text{= } \text{=}$ is frequent, as the sound *ɛ* *f* tends to become *ɶ* under the influence of the guttural. Thus we find in Qal, e.g. יִאֲסֶף, יִאֲסֶפֶּי; however, in Nifal we find, e.g. נִעְשָׂתָה, נִעְשָׂתָה, נִעְשָׂתָה. In Hifil perfect⁽¹⁾ $\text{= } \text{=}$ of the 1st and 2nd persons regularly become $\text{= } \text{=}$ after Waw inversive, even if the stress does not advance, e.g. הִאֲבִדְתָּ Job 14.19, but וְהִאֲבִדְתָּי Lv 23.30 and often; הִעֲבִדְתָּי Is 43.23, but וְהִעֲבִדְתָּי Jer 17.4. Cf. אֲרוֹם, from which the gentilic אֲרוֹמִי is derived⁽²⁾.

In Hifil, in some forms with *ל*, the 1st syllable is open, hence $\text{= } \text{=}$; the *ל* normally takes $\text{= } \text{=}$, e.g. הִעֲבִרְתָּ Josh 7.7 (in place of הִעֲבִרְתָּ). This weakening, which brings about an abnormal syllable division, probably has the aim of ensuring the exact pronunciation of *ל*. Likewise, in Hofal one has $\text{= } \text{=}$ for $\text{= } \text{=}$ in, e.g. הִעֲלָה Jdg 6.28; 2Ch 20.34 (for a similar phenomenon in nouns, see § 96 A *j*). Further examples showing the influence of the advancing stress are: וְתִאֲרָכְנָה // יִאֲרָכוּ // יִחַדְלוּ // וְיִחַדְלוּ; יִחַפְּרוּ // יִחַפְּרוּ; וְיִאֲסֶרוּ // וְיִאֲסֶרוּ (Berg., II, § 21 *c*).

On the vocalisation of the irregular verbs יִהְיֶה and יִהְיֶה, cf. § 79 *s*.

(1) Cf. Driver, *Notes* ad 1Sm 15.18.

(2) This seems to be part of a general phonetic pattern caused by the forward shift of stress, which also affects forms such as אֲסוֹר vs. אֲסָרִים; אֲמַת vs. אֲמָתוֹ; אֲבוֹס vs. אֲבוֹסִים; אֲבוֹסִי (but אֲמָנִים vs. אֲמָנִים); חֲדָרוֹ vs. חֲדָרִי; חֲבָלִי vs. חֲבָלִי. This alternation is more common in the Babylonian tradition: Yeivin, *Babylonian Tradition*, pp. 385f.

§ 69. Second-guttural verbs
(Paradigm 5: טַחַץ to slaughter)

a The following phonetic laws apply here:

1) In place of the shewa of the corresponding forms of the regular verb we find = (§ 21 f), e.g. טַחַץ (comp. טַחַץ), טַחַץ (comp. טַחַץ), טַחַץ (comp. טַחַץ).

2) After gutturals, in stressed closed syllables, the vowel *a* tends to replace the primitive or normal vowel (§ 21 e). Because of this tendency, the future and the imperative of action verbs usually take *a*, like those of stative verbs⁽¹⁾, e.g. טַחַץ, טַחַץ (for טַחַץ*, טַחַץ*). But the inf. cst. retains the vowel *o* (likewise in 3rd-guttural verbs such as טַחַץ and almost all stative verbs, § 49 c), e.g. טַחַץ, but with a suffix also with *a*, e.g. טַחַץ, טַחַץ, and טַחַץ.

3) In Piel, Pual and Hitpael, ט never⁽²⁾ receives virtual doubling, e.g. in the verb טַחַץ of Paradigm 5, we find Piel טַחַץ (טַחַץ, § 52 c), טַחַץ; Pual טַחַץ.

ט receives virtual doubling in a few verbs only: טַחַץ to commit adultery, טַחַץ to insult, despise, and טַחַץ to practise beggary⁽³⁾.

The gutturals ט, ט and even ע (§ 20 a) usually receive virtual doubling, e.g. טַחַץ to corrupt; טַחַץ⁽⁴⁾ to console; טַחַץ to lead; טַחַץ to consume, fut. טַחַץ, but inf. cst. טַחַץ.

(1) Stative verbs: טַחַץ (טַחַץ), to love, טַחַץ; טַחַץ to be far; טַחַץ to be pure; טַחַץ to be hungry; טַחַץ (טַחַץ) to ask, טַחַץ.

(2) In טַחַץ Ez 16.4 (§ 23 a) there is a genuine gemination.

(3) Some fluctuation is to be noted: e.g. טַחַץ vs. טַחַץ, טַחַץ vs. טַחַץ; טַחַץ vs. טַחַץ.

(4) This Piel with *a* is found to have the same vowels as Nifal טַחַץ, to change one's mind, to regret (§ 72 b).

b Detailed observations.

Qal. Examples of the future in *o*: טַחַץ it will roar, טַחַץ he will seize (rare; alongside טַחַץ, § 73 f). Imperatives in *o*: only טַחַץ Lock! 2Sm 13.17; טַחַץ Ex 4.4; 2Sm 2.21; fem. טַחַץ Ru 3.15 (with *o* shortened to very short *o*); plural טַחַץ Ne 7.3, טַחַץ Ct 2.15; טַחַץ Jdg 19.8, but טַחַץ. Note טַחַץ alongside טַחַץ.

The inf. with a suf. may have *a* after the first radical as in Jdg 13.25 לְפַעֲמוֹ; // Ez 25.6 טַחַץ... טַחַץ; 23.39 טַחַץ; Jdg 5.4 טַחַץ⁽¹⁾.

(1) The vowel is most likely due to that of the related segholate nouns: see H.M. Orlinsky, *JAOS* 67 (1947) 112.

In the inflection of the **imperative** in *a*, e.g. טַחֲשׁ becomes יִחַטְשׁ, *c*
 יִחַטְשׁ, the vowel *a* shifting to the beginning of the word (cf. § 48 *c*).
 These forms can be confused with the Piel imperative with virtual gemi-
 nation; e.g. Qal יִחַצֵּץ Gn 18.4 and יִחַצֵּץ Gn 18.5 could be Piel; Piel מִחַרֵּי
 Gn 18.6 could be Qal.

Piel. In the inverted future we find, where the guttural has no *d*
 virtual gemination, forms such as שִׁחַרְחֵי Josh 24.12 (§ 47 *a*), וַיִּחַרְחֵי. Cf.
 also קִחַצֵּץ Gn 39.14.

§ 70. Third-guttural verbs
 (Paradigm 6: חֲשַׁלְּךָ to send)

The following **phonetic law** applies here:

In syllables closed by a guttural, the vowel =, which is homogeneous *a*
 with gutturals, is introduced: 1) either forcibly replacing the primi-
 tive vowel (§ 21 *b*) or furtively slipping in between the vowel and the
 guttural (§ 21 *c*).

1) The primitive vowels *i* and *u* are supplanted by *a* in relatively *b*
lighter forms, namely forms of a finite verb (perfect, future, impv.)
 in context, the inf. cst., the participle in the construct state, e.g.
 חֲשַׁלְּךָ (contrast חֲקַטְלְךָ); חֲשַׁלְּךָ (cont. חֲקַטְלְךָ); the Hifil jussive חֲשַׁלְּךָ (cont.
 חֲקַטְלְךָ); the Hifil impv. חֲשַׁלְּךָ (cont. חֲקַטְלְךָ); Nif. fut. חֲשַׁלְּךָ (cont. חֲקַטְלְךָ);
 Piel inf. cst. generally חֲשַׁלְּךָ (cont. חֲקַטְלְךָ), participle in the cst. state
 חֲשַׁלְּךָ (cont. חֲקַטְלְךָ); cf. § *e*.

Exceptions: In the Qal inf. cst. we nearly always find *o*, e.g. חֲשַׁלְּךָ
 (likewise in second-guttural verbs like חֲחַטְשׁ, and cf. § 49 *c*); cf. § *d*
 below.

2) The primitive vowel *i*, which has usually become =, is retained,
 but undergoes the insertion of furtive pataḥ in relatively **heavier**
 forms, namely the forms of the finite verb in pause, the inf. abs., the
 participle in the absolute state, e.g. חֲשַׁלְּךָ; the inf. abs. חֲשַׁלְּךָ; the
 partic. in the abs. state חֲשַׁלְּךָ. The primitive vowel *u* is not retained
 except in the inf. cst. חֲשַׁלְּךָ⁽¹⁾.

A *fortiori* the originally long vowels \bar{i} , \bar{u} , and \bar{o} are retained, e.g. the Hifil indicative יִשְׁלַח ; the passive participle שְׁלֻח ; inf. abs. שְׁלוּח .

We can see that the distinctions between the light and the heavy forms are of two kinds: in the finite forms the distinction is made in terms of context vs. pause, but in the infinitive and the participle in terms of construct vs. absolute.

3) The syllable-final guttural does not take a *ḥaṭef* vowel, except when the verb is followed by an object suffix for 2m.sg. or 2pl. such as אֲשַׁלְּחֶךָ , or in a case such as Ps 35.25 בְּלִעְנֹהוּ .

(1) The primitive vowel u is therefore not treated as the symmetrical vowel i . Thus the pausal form of the future of an action verb is יִשְׁלַח , not יִשְׁלִי .*

c In the Qal future (and imperative) in context and in pause, action verbs fall into line with stative verbs⁽¹⁾: both have the vowel = or ָ .

(1) Stative verbs: נָבַח to be high; שָׁכַח *, שָׁכַח , שָׁכַח to forget; שָׂבַע *, שָׂבַע , שָׂבַע to be sated; שָׁמַע , שָׁמַע to hear, listen.

d Detailed observations.

The infinitive in a is very rare (§ 49 c) and occurs solely in close juncture with the following word: Nu 20.3 וַיִּנָּח ; Is 58.9 שְׁלַח .

With suffixes the inf. has the vowel ָ , e.g. יִשְׁלַחְךָ Nu 32.8, יִשְׁלַחְךָ Gn 38.17 or ָ , e.g. בְּיַחַדְךָ Jer 48.7, בְּיַחַדְךָ Ez 37.13; בְּיַחַדְךָ Am 1.13; or (rarely) =, e.g. יִשְׁלַחְךָ Ez 25.6.

e There are some exceptions to the general rules given in § b. Thus one finds as Piel inf. cst. (in context): לְשַׁלַּח Ex 10.4; לְשַׁלַּח 2Ch 2.6.

f In the 2nd pers.fem.sg. of perfects one has, e.g. שְׁלַחְתְּךָ (for שְׁלַחְתְּךָ *) with an auxiliary pataḥ, which does not lead to the spirantisation of the ח (§ 19 f). Thus לָקַחְתְּךָ you took is distinguished from לָקַחְתְּךָ in order to take (prep. לְ + inf. לָקַחְתְּךָ , § 72 j).

g Pausal vowels in inflected verbs: Examples: Piel: שְׁלַח , שְׁלַח , שְׁלַח Jdg 1.25. Qal: יִשְׁלַח , יִשְׁלַח , יִשְׁלַח 2Kg 2.16; impv. שְׁלַח , שְׁלַח *, שְׁלַח .

h Forms with suffixes: Examples: יִשְׁלַחְנִי , יִשְׁלַחְנִי (Send me!; but יִשְׁלַחְנִי he sent me); יִשְׁלַחְךָ , יִשְׁלַחְךָ .

§ 71. Weak verbs

a Those verbs which are distinct from the normal type לָקַח not only in

respect of their vocalisation, like the guttural verbs, but also in respect of consonants, are called **weak verbs**⁽¹⁾(§ 40 c). These verbs present within their root a *weak* consonantal element, or in the case of פ"ע and ע"פ verbs, a weak vocalic element.

The consonants פ, פ', כ, and נ are *weak*, but to different degrees. The פ is particularly weak. It cannot be maintained at the beginning of a word (§ 26 f): either it drops out, e.g. כּוּץ (from כּוּץ*) or it is replaced by פ', e.g. כּוּץ'. In the פ"ל verbs, the verbs with w as their primitive third radical have been absorbed by those with y in that position.

(1) One can see why they can be called *irregular*.

The effects of the *weakness* of a consonant are diverse:

b

1) The consonant (פ or נ) may drop out, e.g. כּוּץ (from כּוּץ*), כּוּץ' (from כּוּץ').

2) The consonant (פ or פ') may coalesce with the preceding vowel, e.g. כּוּץ' (for *hawšib*), כּוּץ' (for *haytib*).

3) The consonant נ may be assimilated to the following consonant, e.g. כּוּץ' (for *yingaš*).

4) The consonant כ may become quiescent, e.g. כּוּץ', כּוּץ'.

Classification of weak verbs:

c

1) Verbs with a weak first radical: כּוּץ', כּוּץ', כּוּץ'.

2) Verbs with a weak third radical: כּוּץ', כּוּץ'.

3) Verbs with two radical consonants between which, in the normal state of the root, there is an originally long vowel, \bar{u} or \bar{i} : כּוּץ', כּוּץ'.

4) Verbs with two radical consonants the second of which, in the normal state of the root (e.g. in the impv. pl. כּוּץ'), was originally long: כּוּץ'.

§ 72. פ"פ verbs

(Paradigm 7: כּוּץ' to approach)

The *weakness* of the initial נ of these verbs has two consequences, the one peculiar to נ, namely its assimilation, and the other accidental, namely aphaeresis.

a

Assimilation of נ without a vowel to the following consonant is extremely frequent and even standard (§ 17 g), e.g. *yinšor* > כּוּץ'.

b

Exceptions:

1) In pause, where the longer forms (§ 32 *g*) are favoured, the assimilation does not often take place, e.g. וַיִּצְרָרְוּ⁽¹⁾, וַיִּקְפּוּ.

2) Before a guttural there is generally no assimilation, e.g. וַיִּהְיוּ. There is assimilation in Nifal וַיִּחַן as in all Nifals (to avoid two נ's)⁽²⁾.

3) There is no assimilation in the usual form (§ 49 *f*) of the inf. cst. of the וַיִּפְּל type with ל, e.g. וַיִּפְּל.

4) The verb וַיִּקְחַל, which is treated as a פ"ע verb (§ *j*), appears as וַיִּקְחַל in Nifal without assimilation (contrast וַיִּקְחַל we shall take, Qal future).

(1) On Rössler's drawing a wrong conclusion from a form such as this, see § 62 *b*, n. 2 above.

(2) Nifal וַיִּחַן to change one's mind, to repent has the same vowels as Piel וַיִּחַן to console (§ 69 *a*).

c The aphaeresis of נ (§ 17 *d*) is an accidental phenomenon, which is secondary and analogical and occurs only in the imperative and the inf. cst. of certain verbs which in the future have the stem vowel *a*. Thus, in these verbs we find the imperative of וַיִּשׂ type⁽¹⁾ almost always, the inf. cst. of the וַיִּשְׂ type (§ *h*) quite often. The aphaeresis in the פ"ע verbs is probably on the analogy of פ"ע verbs, where it is usual. Furthermore, a form such as impv. וַיִּשׂ can easily have been influenced by the future וַיִּשׂ, in which the *n* disappears, then spread to the infinitive: *gaš*, hence וַיִּשְׂ⁽²⁾.

(1) Gn 19.9 וַיִּשְׂ-וַיִּשְׂ go over there with the vowel sequence *ε-ο* (cf. § 29 *f*); *e* may also have been triggered by the sibilant.

(2) The question may be asked as to why the aphaeresis does not occur in the verbs of *ο*-future. In the infinitive, the preponderance of the pattern וַיִּשְׂ (cf. § *h*) may account for וַיִּשְׂ; then, by analogy, the imperatival וַיִּשְׂ may have been retained.

d The aphaeretic infinitive וַיִּשְׂ is formed from *gaš* and the feminine *t*, the latter having been added to re-establish the triliteralism (Barth's law of compensation)⁽¹⁾; then **gašt* was *segholised* into וַיִּשְׂ (as in nouns such as **malk* changing to וַיִּלְכַּד, § 96 *A b*). With a guttural we find, e.g. וַיִּצְרָר (like, e.g. וַיִּצְרָר).

(1) Cf. *Nominalbildung*, pp. XIIff.

e In practice, according to what has just been said, in the presence

of an imperative or an aphaeretic inf., one would first think of a פ"ו verb (e.g. **עָל, בָּשׂ, שָׁבַע**), and only secondly of a פ"ו verb.

Detailed observations.

In פ"ו verbs the Nifal and the Piel can be identical, e.g. **הִלִּיף** (ל"ה verb) Nifal: *to be unpunished*, Piel: *to declare innocent*; **הִקִּיף** (§ b 2).

The stative verb **שָׁנַן***, **שָׁנַן**? is defective (§ 85 b). The Qal signifies, strictly speaking, *to be near*⁽¹⁾, *to approach*, the Nifal *to make oneself near, to approach*. In practice, in the perfect and in the participle the Nifal **שָׁנַן, שָׁנַן** is used, whilst in the other tenses (future, impv., inf. cst.) the Qal **שָׁנַן, שָׁנַן, שָׁנַן, שָׁנַן/שָׁנַן, שָׁנַן** is used. The forms with **נ** rafé are therefore avoided.

The stative perfect **נָבַל** *to wither, fall* (of flowers or leaves) is matched by the active future **יָבַל** (§ 41 b).

(1) This purely stative sense occurs in Job 41.8.

The type **קָטַל**, which is almost the standard form of the inf. cst., has sometimes been preserved in some verbs with a future, either solely or side by side with the aphaeretic infinitive; thus always **עָטַל** (5 x) *to decamp*; in action verbs, normally intransitive, **עָטַל** *to touch* **עָטַל** occurs six times and **עָטַל** twice; in the irregular verb **שָׂטַל** *to carry* (§ 78 l) **שָׂטַל** only occurs four times alongside the usual **שָׂטַל**.

Verbs which have a in the fut. and whose initial Nun assimilates lack the Nun in the impv. as well. Thus **שָׂטַל** and **הִטַּל** vs. **הִטַּל**.

Irregular verb **נָתַן** *to put, give*. This verb is remarkable for its future with **י** > **י**, which one hardly finds except in פ"ו verbs (**נָתַן** type): **נָתַן**, hence impv. **נָתַן**⁽¹⁾. Likewise the form of the inf. cst. is **נָתַן** from ***nint** (**tin** + **t**), hence **nitt** (which occurs before the suffixes, e.g. **נָתַנִּי** *my act of giving*), hence, by cancellation of the gemination, **nit** > **נָתַן**. The future **נָתַן** is matched by the passive **יִתְּנָה** *it will be given*, which is a Qal passive (§ 58 a).

In the perfect, the final **ן** assimilates to the following consonant: **נָתַנְתִּי** for **nātānti**, **הִתְּנַתִּי** (much more frequent than **הִתְּנַתִּי**, § 42 f) etc. (contrast, e.g. **הִתְּנַתִּי**, **הִתְּנַתִּי**).

The infinitive with **ו** occurs only in Nu 20.21 **וְנָתַן** and Gn 38.9 **וְנָתַן**.

(1) Cf. Akk. pret. *iddin* and pres. *inaddin* from *nadānu*.

Irregular verb **לָקַח** *to take*. This is the only פ"ו verb that is

treated like a פ"ע verb. This rather unique treatment is probably due to the following semantic analogy. In accordance with the future of the antonym *to give* יָתַן (with assimilation) one formed יִתֵּן⁽¹⁾; hence in the impv. יִתֵּן, in the inf. יִתֵּן, יִתֵּן (contrast perf. 2f. יָתַן, § 70 f).

In the Nifal יִתֵּן there is no assimilation (§ b 4).

The perfect יָתַן, the participle יִתֵּן, and the future יִתֵּן are passive Qals (§ 58 a,b).

(1) According to Ungnad, *Beiträge zur Assyriologie* 5 (1905) 278, followed by Brock., *GvG*, I, pp. 176, 293; cf. Berg., I, § 19 a, BL, § 52 p. There is perhaps an influence of יָשַׁן, יָשַׁן, which also means *to take*.

k Irregular verb יָשַׁן *to carry, to take* etc.; see § 78 l.

On פ"ע verbs which are simultaneously פ"ל, and which have apocopated forms reduced to a single radical, cf. § 79 i, j.

l Comparison with noun forms.

The assimilation takes place in noun forms as in verb forms, e.g. *עֲטָרָה* plantation, like *עֲטַר* he will plant; *הַמַּדְבָּר* a blow, plague, like *הִמְדַּבֵּר* he will strike; but, before a guttural, *הַמְדַּבֵּר* driving, like *הִמְדַּבֵּר* to drive (a chariot).

The fact that aphaeresis does not take place in these forms demonstrates the secondary nature of the aphaeretic impv. and inf. of verbs with a in the future.

§ 73. א"פ verbs

(No paradigm)

a א is quiescent in the future Qal of five verbs: *לֶאֱכַל* to eat, *לֶאמַר* to say, *לֶאֱסֹף* to stray, to perish, *לֶאֱרַב* to desire, *לֶאֱפֹךְ* to bake (bread)⁽¹⁾. The reason the א in these verbs is not treated like that of any other first-guttural verb (§ 68) but becomes quiescent is no doubt their high frequency. Generally speaking, the forms which are the most often used are also the most weakened.

(1) MH has added *לֶאֱנַח*, *לֶאֱסַר*, and *לֶאֱפַח* to this list: see G. Haneman, *A Morphology of Mish. Heb. acc. to the Tradition of the Parma MS (De-Rossi 138)* (Tel Aviv, 1980) [Heb.], pp. 225-27.

b Explanation of the future *לֶאֱכַל*.

First vowel. The first vowel *o* has its origin in the 1st pers.sg. in which originally two Alefs would have occurred. The primitive form is 'a'kul (with *a* as the first vowel of action verbs, § 41 e). Now, in Semitic, the sound sequence 'a' becomes 'ā; so 'ākul became, in Hebrew, *'ōkul > *'ōkōl > *'okōl. Finally, this *o* spread to the other persons. Cf. Brock., *GvG*, I, pp. 239, 591(1).

(1) In Arabic we have in the 1st person 'ākul, but, e.g., in the 2nd person ta'kul.

2nd vowel. In the verb אָכַל the second primitive vowel of the future is *u* (cf. BA אָכַל, Arb. ya'kul), as can be seen from the imperative אֲכַל (1) (comp. אָמַר). In the first person, at the stage of *'ōkōl the two vowels happened to have the same timbre; consequently the second *o* was dissimilated to *e*, hence אָכַל (which is the pausal form), § 29 h.

(1) For אֲכַל, cf. § 68 b. Likewise, in the infinitive we have אֲכַל rather than אָכַל.

Variations of the 2nd vowel. This new vowel *e*, which has replaced the primitive vowel *u* (> *o*) is the usual vowel in אָכַל, אָמַר, אָבַד. It can be weakened by two degrees: to = (minor weakening) and to ֶ (major weakening); cf. § 29 d.

The vowel = is not maintained except in major pause, and then not always. One has אָכַל, אָבַד, אָמַר (twice); but אָמַר, אָמַר (1).

The major weakening from = to ֶ does not happen except in אָמַר, probably on account of the extremely common usage of this form (2). Note, however, the form אָכַל (no example for the verb אָבַד).

The minor weakening from = to = occurs in the remaining cases: אָכַל, אָמַר, אָבַד.

The vowel = is therefore the usual vowel.

From all this it emerges that:

The stressed vowel in major pause is =; exception אָמַר, אָמַר.

The stressed vowel outside of major pause is =.

The post-stress vowel is = or ֶ.

(1) Except in the formulae introducing poetic discourses in the book of Job where we have אָמַר, 3.2 etc.

(2) Comp. אָצַר, אָצַר to be narrow (אָצַר, § 82 b).

The differences in treatment of the 2nd vowel between the two futures אָכַל and אָמַר can be summarised by distinguishing three degrees

of pronunciation (strong, medium, weak) as follows:

Strong degree	Medium degree	Weak degree
יֵאָכֵל	יֹאכֵל	יֵאָכֵל
יֵאָמַר	יֹאמַר	יֵאָמַר
יֵאָבֵד		יֵאָבֵד
fem. תֵּאָמַר (2 x)		
pl. יֵאָמְרוּ, תֵּאָמְרוּ		

f Outside of Qal, א is rarely quiescent, e.g. אֲבִי־יָרֵה Jer 46.8 *I will destroy*; Nifal נִאֲחֶזֶז Nu 32.30; Josh 22.9.

א is quiescent sporadically in some verbs other than those five listed in § a.

In the verb אָחַז *to seize*, א is often quiescent. In the 1st pers., where the *o* is more natural (cf. § b), we find אָחַז; but alongside יֵאָחַז we rarely find יֵאָחֶז⁽¹⁾. Altogether, in this verb, א is quiescent 18 times, and pronounced 3 times.

In the stative verb אָהַב, אָהַב, יֵאָהֵב *to love*, in the 1st pers. אָהַב is found (once אָהַב, § g).

In the verb אָסַף *to gather*, there are four examples in which א is quiescent and even omitted in the spelling, e.g. Ps 104.29 אָסַף for אָסַף. These forms, both of which are suspect, resemble forms of the root אָסַף.

(1) For the vowel \ddot{a} , cf. § 68 b.

g Detailed observations

1) The sequence $\ddot{a} \ddot{a}$ is contracted to \ddot{a} in יֵאָמַר (for יֵאָמַר) *in order to say, saying*, no doubt by virtue of the high frequency of this form (contrast, e.g. יֵאָכֵל); cf. § 103 b.

The same contraction occurs in אָהַב Pr 8.17†, אָהַב Mi 4.8; אָהַב Gn 32.5.

2) Since the two verbs אָבַד and אָפַד are also ל"ה verbs, their future is יֵאָבֵד, יֵאָפַד*.

Comparison with the **nominal** forms. In the nominal forms א is very rarely quiescent, e.g. מֵאָזַל *scales*, מוֹסֵר *bond*, from *ma'sir* (א omitted in the spelling); cf. § 88 L h.

§ 74. פ"י verbs in general

Verbs with פ as the first radical can be subdivided into three classes:

1) Verbs with primitive פ replaced by פ in certain forms (פ"י) (§ 75).

2) Verbs with primitive פ (פ"י). They are small in number in Hebrew as in Arabic (§ 76).

3) Finally there is a special category of פ"י verbs the פ in the second radical of which is geminated in certain forms. All these verbs (פ"י), not many, are probably verbs with primitive פ (§ 77).

An alternative synchronic classification which does not include פ"י verbs is 1) verbs which show פ in the stem of the fut., the initial radical of which is incorporated in the prefix vowel e.g. פ"י, and 2) those whose thematic vowel in the fut. is ē and whose R1 is lacking in the fut., impv., and inf. cst., e.g. פ"י. But verbs such as פ"י (etymologically of the פ"י type) sit astride the division: fut. פ"י, but inf.cst. פ"י. and impv. פ"י alongside פ"י.

§ 75. פ"י verbs, originally פ"י (= פ"י)

(Paradigm 8: פ"י to sit, remain)

In the originally פ"י verbs, the פ is retained in the derived conjugations, Nifal, Hifil and Hofal. In Qal, it is either replaced by פ or it drops out. In Piel and Pual it is replaced by פ.

1) **Forms with פ:** Nifal. The underlying form is *nawšab* with the primitive preformative *na* (§ 51 a), hence, through contraction, פ"י. In the future the פ is doubled: פ"י⁽¹⁾ (like פ"י).

Hifil. The primitive פ of the preformative (§ 54 a) is retained, hence *hawšib*, *yawšib* > פ"י, פ"י.

Hofal. The theoretical form *huwšab* becomes פ"י with originally long ū⁽²⁾.

Qal: in the futures פ"י, פ"י (§ f).

2) **Forms where the פ is replaced by פ.** In the Qal conjugation, at the beginning of a word, when there is a vowel: Perfect פ"י; partic. פ"י, פ"י. Moreover, in the future פ"י (which is probably for *yayšib*, § c).

In **Hitpael** one has *l* or *y*, e.g. **הִתְוַדַּח** to confess (rather frequent), **הִתְוַדַּח** to have oneself recorded in a genealogy (denominative of **הַוְדָה**) Nu 1.18. For **הִתְוַדַּח**, cf. § 77 b.

3) **Forms with aphaeresis of l**. In the conjugation **Qal**, at the beginning of a word, *l* drops when it should have shewa: **impv.** **וַיְשִׁב** (for **וַיְשִׁיב***) and **inf. cst.** *šib, hence with the feminine *t* (§ 72 d) *šibt. This form, when segholised, would give **תְּשִׁיב*** (§ 89 h). In fact one has **תְּשִׁיב**, perhaps on the analogy of the infinitive with *a*, e.g. **תְּשִׁיב** from *raš-t*(³).

(1) In the 1st pers. we have **š** (not **š**) type **וַיְשִׁיב** (§ 51 b): **וַיְשִׁיב**, **וַיְשִׁיב**, **וַיְשִׁיב** etc.

(2) This *ū* penetrated **וַיְשִׁיב** and **וַיְשִׁיב** verbs: **וַיְשִׁיב** (§ 80 h), **וַיְשִׁיב** (§ 82 d).

(3) Generally the final **וַיְשִׁיב** tends to become **וַיְשִׁיב**, e.g. **וַיְשִׁיב** (= **וַיְשִׁיב** + **וַיְשִׁיב**); cf. 89 h. Compare the contamination of the form *qil* by *qal*, § 96 A f.

b **Active and stative verbs. Stative perfects:** **וַיְשִׁיב** to fear, **וַיְשִׁיב** to dread. In the paradigm we have cited **וַיְשִׁיב** to inherit, the primitive form of which is **וַיְשִׁיב*** (comp. Arb. *warita*).

In the future, the action verbs and the stative verbs differ not only in the second, but also in the first vowel (§ 41 e). The future of an action verb is **yayšib* > **וַיְשִׁיב**; the stative future is **yiyrāš* > **וַיְשִׁיב**.

c **Active future וַיְשִׁיב**. The second vowel **וַיְשִׁיב** derives from the primitive vowel *i* of the action verb future (§ 41 a). Apart from **וַיְשִׁיב** verbs, the **וַיְשִׁיב** is very rare (e.g. **וַיְשִׁיב**).

The first vowel **וַיְשִׁיב**, according to many grammarians, could come from *i* on the analogy of the vowel of R2. According to this hypothesis **yišib* would be a syncopated form lacking the first radical, like the Arabic future of **וַיְשִׁיב** verb, *yalidu* (from *walada*)(¹). It seems much more likely that this **וַיְשִׁיב** comes from *ay* and was originally long for the following reasons:

1) In the stative future **וַיְשִׁיב** the first vowel *i* was originally long, since it originates from *iy*; by analogy, in the active future form, the first vowel *e* must also have been originally long, and hence have had its origin in *ay*.

2) In Hebrew, generally speaking, the active future and the stative future differ, where possible, not only in respect of the second, but also in respect of the first vowel (§ 41 e). It is therefore normal that in the stative future **yiyrāš* with the first vowel *i* is in opposition to an active future **yayšib* with the first vowel *a*(²).

3) In favour of *ay* one can invoke the parallelism of the forms יֹסֵף (for *yawsif*) and יֹרֵף (§ *f*), which are Qal futures in which the primitive *l* has been preserved.

4) The length of the = is rendered probable by the fact that it never drops out; we find, e.g. יָצַרְךָ *he shall know you*⁽³⁾ as against יָצַרְךָ (pf.) *he knew you* or *he knows you*.

5) Note Greek transliterations such as ιησηβ (Ps 9.8) and θηληηχ (ib. 32.8) in the Secunda of the Hexapla.

Observation. With the inversive Waw בִּשְׁׁי becomes בִּשְׁׁיִן (likewise in the Hifil one has בִּשְׁׁיִן).

(1) However, Ugr *a-ši-ib* "let me dwell" (Huehnergard, *Ugr. Vocabulary*, p. 320) as well as forms such as *abl* = /'abil/ "I shall bring" and *atn* = /'atin/ "I shall give" (Gordon, *UT*, § 9.48) suggest that at least in Ugr. the situation was probably similar to that in Classical Arabic, though once we have *id'* = /'ida'u/(?) (S. Segert, *A Basic Gram. of the Ugaritic Language* (Los Angeles/London, 1984), § 54.54. See also J. Blau in *Fschr. B. Krutzweil* (Jerusalem, 1975), p. 71.

(2) A mixed form is represented by יָצַרְךָ or יָצַרְךָ as against יָצַרְךָ . Likewise שָׁרְךָ impv. as against שָׁרְךָ in pause.

(3) It is remarkable that this long = is never written with *mater lectionis*, except, perhaps, in Ps 138.6 where we must read לַיְיָ for לַיְיָ .

Stative future שָׁרְךָ . As has been stated (§ *c*), the two vowels indicate the stative future. d

As for the stress, one may note that in שָׁרְךָ the stress does not recede (§ 47 *b*). It is the same in בִּשְׁׁיִן (§ 76 *b*); compare, e.g. יָחַרְךָ (from חָרַר , § 79 *i*).

The two Qal futures בִּשְׁׁי and שָׁרְךָ appear to be of secondary origin. e
After the preformative one would have expected a primitive *l* as in בִּשְׁׁי , הוֹשִׁיב , and הוֹשִׁיב . But a form like *yaws'ib* > בִּשְׁׁי * uncomfortably resembles the Hifil jussive and the Qal active participle. But the *l* has been preserved in יֹרֵף and יֹסֵף (§ *f*).

Qal future with primitive l of the verbs הָרַךְ to *throw* and הָרַץ to f
add.

1) The future יֹרֵף is in fact a Qal form. Since it bears complete resemblance to Hifil, it has secondarily been considered as such, hence the participle מֹרֵף , which is synonymous with יֹרֵף ⁽¹⁾.

2) The future יֹסֵף is in fact a Qal form which is preserved in Gn 4.12; Dt 13.1; Jl 2.2; Nu 22.19† (cf. § 114 *g*). The form is similar to that of a Hifil jussive, and almost identical with that of a Hifil in-

dicative יוֹסִי. On account of this resemblance יוֹסִי has been *hifilised* to יוֹסִי. Then, on the model of יוֹסִי, were formed the perfect (rare, 6 x) הוֹסִי, the inf. cst. הוֹסִי (4 x), and the participle מוֹסִי (1 x). The verb יוֹסִי is therefore quasi-defective (§ 85 b). The usual forms are: יוֹסִי in the perfect, יוֹסִי in the future, and הוֹסִי in the inf. cst.⁽²⁾

Forms such as מוֹרֵה, יוֹסִי, הוֹסִי are therefore secondary or pseudo-Hifils (§ 54 f; see other examples in ע"י verbs, § 81 c).

(1) Note 2Kg 13.17 יָרָה וַיֹּרֶךְ (he said,) "Shoot!" and he shot. The change from Qal to Hifil may have been triggered by the fact that other verbs meaning *to throw* are in Hifil: הִשָּׁלַךְ and הִטִּיל (both without Qal).

(2) Cf. M. Lambert in *RÉJ* 37 (1898) 142; 33 (1896) 154.

g Common verbs:

Action verbs of יָשַׁע type:

יָרַד to descend

יָלַד to give birth; יָלַד is Qal passive (§ 58 a).

יָדַע to know. Because of the third guttural one has fut. יָדַע⁽¹⁾, impv. יָדַע, and inf. יָדַע (with vowel =).

יָצָא to go out. This verb is neither treated as a פ"צ nor as a ל"א, but as a פ"ו: fut. יָצָא; impv. יָצָא; inf. יָצָא (for יָצָא*). For the forms of the inverted perfect, cf. § 43 b, and for those of the inverted future, see § 47 b (rare abnormal forms: יָצָא, impv. יָצָא, § 78 i).

יָהַר to go. This is the only פ"ה verb which is treated like a פ"ו, an analogical development based on פ"ו verbs⁽²⁾, though the conditions which led to this development are unknown. Fut. יָהַר, impv. יָהַר, and inf. יָהַר. In pause, one has יָהַר (§ 32 c). The Hitpael is regular: יָהַרְהוּ. One finds some strong forms, e.g. יָהַרְהוּ Ps 58.9 etc.⁽³⁾ The form יָהַרְהוּ Ex 9.23; Ps 73.9 is perhaps a *lectio mixta* (§ 16 g) giving a choice between יָהַרְהוּ and יָהַרְהוּ.

(1) Compare, in the ע"ע stative verbs, futures such as יָעַל (*yeqal*), יָעַל.

(2) See A. Ungnad, *Beiträge zur Assyriologie* 5 (1905) 278; M. Lambert, *RÉJ* 27 (1893), 137, n. An alternative explanation, first put forward by F. Prätorius, *ZAW* 2 (1882) 310, and followed by Brock., *GvG*, I, p. 585, Berg., I, § 16 and BL, p. 214, is inadmissible; apart from the fact that this would constitute a unique example of such a phonetic change (/hah-/ > /hā-/), one must note the evidence now available in Ugr, in which the causative morpheme is /š/ rather than /h/; see Harris, *Development*, p. 33. Gordon's suggestion (*UT*, p. 390) that the root יָהַר is a (late?) mixture of the original biconsonantal יָהַר and יָהַר (the latter attested in BA) is unlikely in view of

the Akkadian /alāku/.

(3) In the Moabite Mesha inscription one finds ךְּל alongside ךְּלִהָא (which is unlikely Piel).

Stative verbs in the manner of the שׁיַׁרְי*, שׁיַׁרְי type:

h

שׁיַׁרְי* *to sleep*; inf. לִישׁוֹן Ec 5.11†.

יַעַרְי* *to be tired*.

יַעַרְי, יַעַרְי to *counsel*, with a on account of the guttural.

יַרְי to *fear* (simultaneously יַרְי): fut. יַרְי, יַרְי; impv. יַרְי, יַרְי (= *yru*, not יַרְי*); inf. יַרְי (2 x alongside the ordinary יַרְי, § 49 d).

Stative verbs with the vowel u > -:

i

יַגְר to *dread*. The future and the imperative, יַגְר and יַגְר, stem from the related root יַגְר; the verb is thus defective, § 85 a.

שׁקְי to *set a trap*, a denominative of שׁקְי *fowler*; without future.

יַכְל to *be able*. The meaning of the root יַכְל seems to be that of *capacity*. Compare the related root כּוּל (or rather כּוּל) *to measure* (especially in terms of *capacity*); Hifil: *to contain*.

The verbal adjective יַכְל is not found in our massoretic text, but it must be read in Jer 38.5(1).

The inf. cst. יַכְל is of a very rare type which one does not find elsewhere except in יַבֶּשׁתּ *to be dry*, Gn 8.7 (cf. § 76 d).

The future יַכְל is explicable in various ways:

1) According to some, it could be a Qal passive. But a verb expressing a *state* can hardly have a passive form, since the passive is conceivable only of an *action* incurred.

2) According to others this could be a Qal future for *yohāl*, which would come from *yawkal*. But 1) if this were the case, the *o* would be maintained as it is in יַאֲכַל (§ 73 b), etc.; 2) in stative verbs the vowel of the preformative is *i* (§ 41 e).

3) The most likely view still seems to be the time-honoured and widely held one (Ewald, Olshausen, etc.) that יַכְל is a Hofal future. The form itself indicates a Hofal, and it is wise not to look for anything else, if the meaning *he could* can be reconciled with the causative passive form. One could envisage the following semantic process: the original meaning of Hofal, *he will be made capable*, could easily, and may have weakened to *he will become capable*, *he will be capable*, becoming finally *he will be able to*(2), the causative meaning may then

have gradually evaporated⁽³⁾. Likewise, the Hofal יִזְקַךְ , strictly speaking *to be set ablaze*, loses its causative sense, and comes to mean *to be in flames, to be ablaze* like Qal יִזְקַךְ^* , יִזְקַךְ ⁽⁴⁾.

The verb יִכַּל is therefore defective; the perfect is Qal, whereas the future is Hofal. The normal Qal future would be יִיכַל^* . We do not know why it has disappeared. In Biblical Aramaic in which the (stative) perfect is יִכַּל , the stative future has likewise disappeared; it has been replaced by an active form with *u*: יִכַּל (comp. § 41 b).

(1) Cf. Ehrlich, *Randglossen* ad loc. In MH יִכַּל is found in the sense of *possible*; cf. Dalman, *Aram. Neuhebr. Wörterbuch* [§ 5 g, n], s. v.

(2) This is how in German *befähigt* can assume a meaning close to that of *fähig* "capable"; likewise we have *Befähigung* in the sense of capability like *Fähigkeit*.

(3) In MH, Jewish Aramaic, and Syriac, many causative passive participles are used as pure adjectives without any causative nuance, e.g. MH רְבֹרֵךְ *clear, evident* (originally *rendered clear, explicated*).

(4) Another plausible explanation, suggested by Blau, is to see in these forms examples of a sound shift *iwC* > *ū*: /yiwkal/ > /yūhal/, but such a shift does not appear to be widespread. See J. Blau in *IOS* 1 (1971) 3f.

j Detailed observations.

Future יִשְׁׁנָה . The ending of the fem. plural is always *ālnā* (§ 29 d), but the corresponding imperative, due to the analogy of the m.sg., shows *ēlnā*, e.g. יִשְׁׁנָה but יִשְׁׁנָה .

Future יִירְאוּ . One often⁽¹⁾ finds the defective spelling יִירְאוּ , e.g. יִירְאוּ *they will fear* (with metheg indicating the syllable division *yi-r'u*; as opposed to יִירְאוּ *yir-'u* "they will see," § 14 c 1).

(1) In 46 out of 362 cases: AF, p. 167.

k Strong imperatives: יִירְאוּ *Fear!*, pl. יִירְאוּ ⁽¹⁾; יִצְּקוּ *Pour!* (from the highly irregular יִצְּקוּ , which is also treated as יִצְּקוּ , § 77 b) alongside יִצְּקוּ .

In the masc. sg. we often meet the paragogic יִצְּקוּ , e.g. יִצְּקוּ , יִצְּקוּ (cf. § 48 d).

Hebrew has only the imperative of the unused verb יִתְּנוּ *to give*. Especially in the singular we find the form יִתְּנוּ ⁽²⁾ (but before א , Gn 29.21 יִתְּנוּ , hiatus, § 33), once יִתְּנוּ , and in the plural יִתְּנוּ ; sg. f. יִתְּנִי . In these last two forms the *a* is maintained (contrast יִתְּנוּ , יִתְּנִי).

(1) Not יִירְאוּ like יִמְלִאוּ , because the א has become silent.

(2) One would have anticipated יִתְּנוּ . The stronger vocalisation of this imperative may

be derived from the fact that it is also used as an interjection, § 105 e; by analogy we also have הָרָבִי, הָרָבִי, but mil'ra.

Strong infinitives: לִּסֹּד׃ *to found* in לִּסֹּד׃ (also לִּסֹּד׃ 2Ch 31.7 with gemination [§ 77 a, n. 2]: the length passes from the vowel to the consonant); יָרָא׃ (2 x, alongside the usual יָרָא׃, § 49 d); יִכְלֹת׃, § i; וּבִשׁ׃ and יִבְשֹׁת׃.

Comparison with the **nominal forms** (cf. a).

1) **Forms with 1:** מוֹעֵד׃ *appointed meeting* (רָצַח׃ *to fix* [the time, the place]); מוֹשָׁב׃ *dwelling*; תְּהוֹרָה׃ *praise* (root: ירה, Hif. הוֹרָה׃ *to praise*). In all these forms, ם derives from aw.

2) **Forms in which the 1 is replaced by י.** At the beginning of a word, e.g. יָרָא׃ *fear* (also infinitive, § 49 d), יַחַד׃ *at the same time* (adverb).

3) **Form with aphaeresis of 1** (הִלָּח׃ type): הִלָּח׃ *birth* (also used as infinitive); הִקְזַח׃ *heat, fury* (from the extremely rare יחזק *to be in heat*, cf. Syr. *hemtā*); הִלָּח׃⁽¹⁾ *appointed meeting, assembly* (cf. Syr. *‘edtā*); הִלָּח׃ *counsel*; הִלָּח׃ *sleep* (cf. Syr. *šentā*); הִלָּח׃ *knowledge*; הִלָּח׃* *sweat*.

This form is that of the inf. of the type *šib + t > חִבַּח׃* (§ a 3), but with the feminine ending הִלָּח׃, e.g. *lid + ā = הִלָּח׃*. One meets הִלָּח׃ alongside חִבַּח׃; הִלָּח׃ alongside חִבַּח׃. The inf. חִבַּח׃ is used as a pure substantive, e.g. 1Kg 10.19 *seat* (of the throne of Solomon).

(1) Contrast חִבַּח׃, fem. of חִבַּח׃ *testimony* (root חוּר), § 80 s; 97 E b.

§ 76. Primitive פ"י verbs (פ"י)

(Paradigm 9: חַי׃ *to be good*)

The verbs with primitive י as the first radical number only seven. They are all stative⁽¹⁾(future with a). Examples are found only in Qal and Hifil.

In the paradigm we have cited חַי׃*, the perfect of which is non-existent (§ d).

The primitive י is maintained in all the forms.

(1) Is it a pure coincidence, or perhaps a deliberate attempt to avoid forming action verbs with פ"י root?

Qal. Future **yiytab* > חַי׃ (comp. חַי׃, § 75 b), with the first and

the second vowel of the stative future (§ 41 e).

As regards the stress, one should note that in וַיִּטֹּב it does not recede (cf. § 75 d).

c **Hifil. Future *yaytib > ייטיב.**

Perfect *haytib (with the primitive a) > הֵיטִיב. This vowel e has spread to perfects הֵקִיב (§ 80 g) and הֵטִיב (§ 82 d), but by losing its original length in the process.

Participle *maytib > מֵיטִיב. This vowel e has spread to the participles מֵקִיב and מֵטִיב, but again by losing its original length.

Remark. In the verb *to be good*, the forms without י after the preformative, e.g. הֵטִיב, מֵטִיב, in themselves, belong to the verb טוּב; in order to relate them to the root יטב it would be necessary to suppose a defective spelling. In fact, the Hifil forms are usually⁽¹⁾ written with י after the preformative; they therefore belong to the root יטב (§ d 4).

(1) In 106 out of 117 cases: AF, p. 173.

d **The seven primitive פ"י verbs.**

1) יָבַשׁ, fut. יִבֹּשׁ *to be dry* (cf. Arb. *yabisa*, fut. *yaybasu*). Inf. יָבַשׁ (1 x) and יִבֹּשׁ (1 x; this type also only in יִכְלֹת, § 75 i). The Hifil abnormally has w for y: הוֹבִישׁ *to dry*⁽¹⁾.

2) יָנַק* (cf. Syr. *yineq*, Akk. *enēqu*), fut. יִנֹּק *to suck*. Hifil הֵינִיק *to give a suck, to suckle*.

3) יָשָׁר, fut. יִשָּׁר *to be straight* (cf. Arb. *yasira*, fut. *yaysaru*).

4) יָטַב* *to be good*. There is no perfect: it would be יִטֹּב* or יֵטֹב*. It is replaced by the perfect טוּב, טוֹבוּ (§ 80 q). Future יִטֵּב. Hifil: הֵיטִיב, יֵיטִיב; less frequently הֵטִיב, יֵטִיב (§ c).

5) יָקָץ* *to wake up*. There is no perfect; it would be יִקֹּץ* (cf. Arb. *yaqiza*). It is replaced by the Hifil perfect הֵקִיץ (root: קִיץ), which is probably a pseudo-Hifil (cf. § 54 f). Future יִקֵּץ (rarely יִקֹּץ), וַיִּקָּץ, and once וַיִּקֶץ Gn 9.24.

The causative action *to wake up* is expressed by הֵעִיר (עוּר).

6) יָלַל* Hifil הֵלִיל *to groan*: fut. abnormally יֵלִיל⁽²⁾.

7) יָמַן* Hifil הֵמִין *to go to the right* (denominative of יָמֵן *the right-hand side*).

(1) The same form הוֹבִישׁ is the metaplastic Hifil of the verb בּוֹשׁ *to be ashamed* and

means (like its Qal) *to be ashamed* (§ 80 q).

(2) Perhaps for יִהְיֶה לִי , which does indeed occur once in Is 52.5.

Comparison with the **nominal forms**. The primitive **׳** is maintained as **e** in verbal forms, e.g. בְּטוֹב *the best part*, שׂוֹר *a plain*, יָמֵן *south*, יְבֵשֶׁת *dry land, firm ground*.

§ 77. צ"פ verbs⁽¹⁾

(No paradigm)

In six **׳פ** verbs the second radical of which is **צ**, the **צ** after a **a** vowel is doubled in certain forms. The emphatic sibilant **צ**, by its very nature, easily lends itself to doubling⁽²⁾. This takes place in those forms in which there occurred a long vowel before **צ**, e.g. in Qal fut. $*yīṣaṭ > yiṣṣaṭ$; in Hofal fut. $*yūṣa' > yuṣṣa'$; similarly in Hofal perfect⁽³⁾. This, therefore, is a case of metathesis of quantity: the length has been transferred from the vowel to the **צ**⁽⁴⁾. From these forms the gemination of the **צ** has spread to other forms, e.g. Nifal תַּצַּח , Hifil יַצִּיעַ and even the nominal form עַצָּח .

(1) In this convenient notation the **צ** represents the second radical. A mnemonic is $\text{גַּר בְּקֶעֶץ פִּי צַח}$ "the valley of sojourner": the verb roots concerned are צַח , קָצַח , יָצַח , יָצַח , יָצַח , and יָצַח .

(2) The sporadic attestation of similar gemination of other sibilants suggests that the phenomenon may have little to do with the emphatic feature of **צ**. Note אֶצְחָר Ho 10.10; יִסְרְחֵי Is 8.11 (if not wrongly pointed for Pi. pf. יִסְרְחֵי); יִשְׂרְחֵי 1Sm 6.12; לִיִּסְוֹר 2Ch 31.7 alongside לִיִּסֹר Is 51.16 (the former form reminds one of a MH form such as לִיִּסֹר), מִסְדָּר Is 28.16, מִסְדָּר *foundation* 1Kg 7.9.

(3) Cf. Brock., *GvG*, I, p. 601.

(4) Cf. BL, pp. 218, 379. Compare תִּסְחֵי etc., § 80 p.

The six צ"פ verbs. N.B. The attested forms are rather few in **b** number. The roots of two verbs, יָצַח and יָצַח , are not absolutely certain; the root of another verb, צַח , is secondary.

1) צַח , only in Hitpacl צַחֲתִי *to position oneself*. The true root is צַח , which has Nifal צַחַח ⁽¹⁾, Hifil יַצִּיעַ and Hofal צַחַח . As these forms resemble those from the root צַח , a Hitpacl צַחֲתִי has been created⁽²⁾.

2) קָצַח *to pour*. Qal fut. קָצַח ⁽³⁾; Hifil fut. $\text{קָצַעַ$. There are also

forms with unlengthened \aleph , thus all Hofal forms קָצַחַה , קָצַחַי , קָצַחַמ . In Qal there are anomalous forms such as קָצַחַי (4) 1Kg 22.35.

3) פָּצַחַי to spread. Hifil fut. פָּצַחַי ; Hofal fut. פָּצַחַי . Nominal form פָּצַחַי (1 x) bed.

4) פָּצַחַי to catch fire. The root is not absolutely certain; it could be פָּצַחַי . Qal fut. פָּצַחַי (5); Nif. pf. פָּצַחַי (§ 85 b); Hif. פָּצַחַי , פָּצַחַי , but abnormally פָּצַחַי Is 27.4.

5) פָּצַחַי to place. The root is not absolutely certain; it could be פָּצַחַי . Hifil פָּצַחַי , פָּצַחַי ; Hofal fut. פָּצַחַי .

6) פָּצַחַי to form. Qal fut. פָּצַחַי ; abnormal form פָּצַחַי , פָּצַחַי (6); Qal passive פָּצַחַי .

Remark. The verb פָּצַחַי is not treated as a פָּצַחַי , § 75 g.

(1) The Nifal of the verb occurs only in the perfect and participle as in פָּצַחַי , but unlike the latter no Qal is attested nor is it used in any other tense or mood for which Hitpacl פָּצַחַי is used.

(2) Cf. Brock., *GvG*, I, p. 601; BL, p. 379.

(3) Only thrice according to Codex L., whilst in the majority of cases the dagesh is wanting in \aleph .

(4)(6) Used intransitively: *the blood flowed*. The *i* was originally long; contrast פָּצַחַי , an apocopated Qal form of פָּצַחַי , § 79 *i*. Compare, פָּצַחַי from פָּצַחַי *it will be narrow* (root פָּצַחַי , § 82 *b*). According to Yeivin, the seghol here is a neutral variant of the original /u/: *Lš* 44 (1980) 184.

(5) פָּצַחַי (2 x) is as if from $\sqrt{\text{פָּצַחַי}}$.

§ 78. $\aleph^{\text{ל}}$ verbs

(Paradigm 10: פָּצַחַי to find)

a What we have said about the guttural \aleph in § 24 applies to the conjugation of $\aleph^{\text{ל}}$ verbs, which differ from other R3-guttural verbs(1). In the inflection of these verbs the Alef is no longer pronounced; in consequence, a syllable originally closed by \aleph becomes open and takes the vowels of open syllables. Most of the deviations of their conjugation from that of the regular verb can be explained in terms of the phonetic laws: $a' > \bar{a} > \acute{a}$, $i' > \bar{e} > e$, and $u' > \bar{o} > o$.

(1) פָּצַחַי and פָּצַחַי combine features characteristic of $\aleph^{\text{פ}}$ verbs as well; see § 75.

b **Qal.** In the perfect, apart from the active form, there is a stative form with -- . The perfect of action verbs: the primitive form **maša'* with

two short a's becomes **מָצַח** to find with two *â*'s, in open syllable. Stative perfect: the primitive form **mali*' becomes **מָלֵחַ** to be full (short *i* usually becomes *ː* in open syllables)⁽¹⁾, and this *šeré* is retained in the 1st/2nd pers. pf. (**מָלֵחְתָּ**; **מָלֵחְתְּ**) in contrast to **מָלַחְתָּ** from **מָלַח**.

Future. The stative future has *a*, as usual, e.g. **מָלֵחְתָּ**. The future of action verbs also has *a*, e.g. **מָצַחְתָּ** (instead of **מָצַחְתָּ***), perhaps on the analogy of the future **yiglay*, from which comes **מָלַחְתָּ**, § 79 e.

The pl.f. form with **מָלַחְתְּ** (also spelled often **מָלַחְתְּ**), which occurs in Qal and in the derived conjugations, is due to the analogy of **מָלַח** verbs, e.g. **מָצַחְתְּ** like **מָלַחְתְּ**.

The imperative has the vowel of the future: **מָצַח**.

But the infinitive has *o*: **מָצַח**, the form **מָצַח** having become like the proper form of the infinitive, § 49 c.

(1) Other stative verbs are: **מָרַח** to fear, fut. **מָרַחְתָּ** (simultaneously **מָרַחְתָּ**, § 75 h), **מָטַח** to be impure, **מָטַחְתָּ** to hate, **מָצַח** to be thirsty.

Nifal: **מָצַחְתָּ**. In inflection, instead of the expected forms **מָצַחְתָּ*** etc., one meets with **מָצַחְתָּ** etc., with *ː*, which comes from **מָלַח** verbs, e.g. **מָלַחְתָּ** or possibly from Qal forms such as **מָלַחְתָּ** (§ b).

Piel: **מָצַחְתָּ**⁽¹⁾. In inflection we naturally find *ː*, e.g. **מָצַחְתָּ**.

Hifil: **מָצַחְתָּ**. When inflected, it has *ː*, e.g. **מָצַחְתָּ** as in the other derived conjugations, and not *ː*.

Hitpael. As in the strong verb (§ 53 b), we find, in addition to the standard type with *ː*, also the rare type with *a* (here *ː*) in **מָטַחְתָּ** to remove one's sin, **מָטַחְתָּ** to render oneself impure, **מָצַחְתָּ** to show oneself as astonishing(?). As in the strong verb, the type with *ː* loses *a* in pause, e.g. **מָטַחְתָּ** becomes **מָטַחְתָּ** Nu 23.24.

(1) Examples: **מָלַח** to fill, **מָלַח** to be jealous, **מָטַח** to defile, **מָטַח** to remove sin, **מָצַח** to heal.

General observations

The *ḥ* is silent before a consonantal ending of the pf. (**מָלַחְתָּ**, **מָלַחְתְּ**, **מָלַחְתְּ**, **מָלַחְתְּ**) and impf. (**מָלַחְתְּ**, **מָלַחְתְּ**) and where it ends a verb form (e.g. **מָצַחְתָּ**, but **מָצַחְתָּ** /himší'u/). Elsewhere it is pronounced.

The fact that the *ḥ* is not pronounced has certain consequences: 1) *ḥ* is sometimes omitted in spelling; 2) *ḥ* verbs are quite often treated like **מָלַח** verbs, a process which, under quite likely Aramaic influence, is much farther advanced in MH:

c

d

e

f 1) א omitted in spelling. Examples: וַתִּשְׁנֶה Ru 1.14 (correctly spelled in vs. 9); אָבִי 1Kg 21.29 (correctly spelled אָבִי in the same verse); יִצְתִּי Job 1.21; מִלִּיתִי 32.18. Some may be cases of haplography: e.g., ... אָתִי 2Kg 13.6; ... אָלִי Jer 19.15.

g 2) א"ל verbs are quite often treated as ה"ל verbs, phonetically or graphically⁽¹⁾:

Forms which have the vocalisation of ה"ל: e.g. כָּלֹּאתִי *I held back* Ps 119.101; אָחַטְתָּ *sinning* Ec 2.26 etc.; חָטְאִים 1Sm 14.33; מָלֵא *he filled* Jer 51.34; רָפֵאתִי *I healed* 2Kg 2.21; נִפְלְאָתָה (anomalous pataḥ; comp. the pausal form נִגְלֵתָה, § 79 d) *it was great* 2Sm 1.26 (MUSJ 6 [1913] 177); אָפַעְתָּ *he made great* Dt 28.59.

Forms which have the ה typical of ה"ל verbs: e.g. אָרַפֵּה *I shall heal* Jer 3.22; רַפֵּה *Heal!* Ps 60.4; הִתְחַבֵּה *to hide* 1Kg 22.25; מִלֵּא *he will fill* Job 8.21.

It is difficult to say whether any of these anomalous forms really existed or if they are due to later scribal error.

(1) Sometimes, conversely, ה"ל verbs are treated as א"ל verbs, § 79 l.

h Remarks on certain forms.

On the form of the inverted perfect, cf. § 43 b; on that of the inverted future, § 46 b.

The cohortative (הִמְצַאֵם, הִמְצַאֵה) is avoided (§ 114 b, n.)⁽¹⁾.

The f. sg. participle is generally of מְצַאֵה type (for מְצַאֵה*); more rarely one has the type מְצַאֵה (comp. inf. מְצַאֵה alongside מְצַאֵה, § 1, and the type מְצַאֵה, § 88 C i). In the plural, instead of מְצַאֵה, we find, very occasionally, מְצַאֵה with quiescent א.

In the m. pl. participle of Nifal, instead of the normal type מְצַאֵה, we often meet the type מְצַאֵה; e.g. we almost always find מְצַאֵה and מְצַאֵה (cf. § 96 C b).

i In Hifil, in the imperative, jussive and inverted future, instead of the usual vowel =, we very occasionally meet originally long *i*. Examples: impv. אָבִי Jer 17.18 and אָבִי Is 43.8 (both before *v*); אָבִי Ne 8.2 (before *v*); אָבִי Ps 105.43 (before *v*); אָבִי 1Kg 16.2; 21.22 (before א); אָבִי Dt 4.20; 2Kg 11.12 (before א); אָבִי 2Kg 6.29 (before א). In these cases, the vowel *i* (which is also suspect when not accompanied by the mater lectionis *y*) could be explained in terms of the desire to have a longer vowel before the guttural⁽²⁾. But one also finds

i before a non-guttural: Is 36.14 jussive אִשְׁי (written אִשְׁי in the parallel passages 2Kg 18.29; 2Ch 32.15); אִשְׁתִּי 2Kg 21.11; אִשְׁתִּי Ps 78.16. In these cases the *i*, if authentic, is hard to explain.

- (1) A rare example is concealed in the Ktiv at 1Sm 28.15 אִשְׁתִּי.
- (2) Compare the phenomenon of hiatus, § 33, and cf. § 79 *m*.

Especially irregular verbs

The verb אִצַּץ to go out is not treated like a א"ל, but like a פ"י, § 75 *g*. On the verb אִבַּח to enter, come, cf. § 80 *r*.

The stative verb אִלַּח means *he is full* and also *he fills* in the quasi-stative sense, as in "the water fills the vase." For the action in the strict sense of the term, as in "the man fills the vase with water," one usually uses Piel אִלַּח. The form אִלַּח Esth 7.5 *he filled it* (supposing that the text is right) supposes a perfect of the action verb אִלַּח*, which may have existed (perh. under the influence of Aramaic). On the analogy of ה"ל verbs, the Qal inf. is אִלַּח; in Piel inf. one has אִלַּח (5 x) alongside אִלַּח (7 x).

Apart from the verb I אִרַּח to call, cry, there is a verb II אִרַּח to go to meet, which often takes the form אִרַּח. To the form אִרַּח is related the verbal noun אִרַּח to meet up with, to go towards (§ 49 *d*). The other nominal forms are related to אִרַּח, e.g. אִרַּח occurrence, fate, lot.

The verb אִשַּׁח to carry etc. is at the same time a פ"י verb: fut. אִשַּׁח; impv. (with aphaeresis) אִשַּׁח. The inf. is rarely (4 x) אִשַּׁח (§ 72 *h*); usually one has the aphaeretic form. The primitive form *śa' + t first became, by segholisation, אִשַּׁח*, which in turn became אִשַּׁח, a form which one finds in אִשַּׁח; without ל the form is אִשַּׁח, with the vowel at the end as in, for example, the substantive אִשַּׁח well, § 88 *C i* (compare the type אִשַּׁח alongside אִשַּׁח, § *h*)(1).

- (1) Note the three infinitives with :: אִשַּׁח, § 72 *i*, אִשַּׁח, § 75 *g*, אִשַּׁח.

§ 79. ה"ל verbs

(Paradigm 11: אִלַּח to reveal)

The ה"ל verbs are so called because they are spelled with a final (quiescent) ה in the perfect 3rd pers. sg. m., אִלַּח; in fact, these are verbs with ' as the third radical(1). Alongside ה"ל verbs there once existed in Hebrew, as in Arabic, some ו"ל verbs, but these have been

Compare in the nominal inflection forms with *e* (with latent *ʾ*) הָלַץ , cst. הָלַץ ; הָלַץ , הָלַץ (§ 96 B *f*), and syncopated forms, e.g. הָלַץ , הָלַץ (and compare these with the verbal forms with the suffix לַץ : הָלַץ , הָלַץ).

Qal conjugation

Perfect. Certain forms come from action verbs, and others from stative verbs.

1) Forms derived from *action verbs*: 3rd sg. m. הָלַץ for **galay*(¹); the *ʾ* is quiescent, like *Ṛ* in רָמַץ (comp. Arb. *rama*[*y*] *to throw*, pronounced *ramā*).

The 3rd f. is formed directly from the 3rd m.: **gala* + *t* > הָלַץ , a rare form in BH, but standard in MH and Aramaic(²). Generally an extra feminine ending הָלַץ is added, hence הָלַץ , which is the pausal form, and the contextual form הָלַץ (comp. הָלַץ and הָלַץ).

The rare 3rd plural form הָלַץ .

2) Forms derived from *stative verbs*: all forms with הָלַץ , for example, הָלַץ (comp. Arb. *radīta* from the stative *radīya* *to be content*).

Remark. In the 3rd pl. הָלַץ , the syncopated form does not enable us to recognise the primitive vowel (*a* and *i*).

(1) In Hebrew one would expect **gālē*; the *a* is perhaps due to analogy with other active perfects הָלַץ etc. Comp. the masc. substantive הָלַץ *nazor* from *mōray*, § 89 *b*.

(2) So Jer 13.19 הָלַץ . It is attested in the Siloam inscription (הָלַץ). This form with הָלַץ is obligatory before suffixes. The standard Arm. form is הָלַץ .

Future. The form הָלַץ probably comes from *yiglay*: הָלַץ is therefore originally a form of stative verb. The rare forms like הָלַץ are additional evidence of this.

Observations. 1) In syncopated forms such as הָלַץ and הָלַץ one cannot recognise the primitive vowel.

2) The הָלַץ , derived from *ay*, is originally long.

3) On the vowel of the preformative in הָלַץ verbs with a guttural as the first radical, cf. § 68 *b*.

4) In the jussive and the inverted future one fairly frequently finds the form of the indicative (§ *m*), but normally the apocopated form (§ *i*).

Imperative. Instead of open *ε* of the future, we meet closed *ε*: הָלַץ .

Inf. absolute: הָלַץ , by analogy with הָלַץ (cf. § *p*).

d

e

f

The inf. cst. is תִּלְגַּל , a form the origin of which is not clear. Perhaps the language, considering the inf. abs. as a sort of noun in the abs. state, and the inf. cst. as a sort of noun in the cst. state (§ 49 a), associated תִּלְגַּל with הִלְגַּל , like, e.g. תִּשְׁנַן with הִשְׁנַן (cf. § p).

Active participle $\text{הִלְגַּל}^{(1)}$, cst. הִלְגַּל , f. הִלְגַּלְת ; pl. הִלְגַּלְתִּם , f. תִּלְגַּלְתִּי (cf. § p).

Passive participle: יִלְגַּל , with pronounced י (§ c); cf. § p.

(1) From *gāliy* (= *qātil*) according to Barth (*Nominalbildung*, p. xxxi) and others. According to another explanation, it is from *gālay*.

g **Derived conjugations.** Generally, as has been stated (§ b), in the derived conjugations, in all tenses (except the inf. abs.), the final vowel is that of Qal. Thus the Nifal ptc. is הִלְגַּלְתָּ (f. הִלְגַּלְתְּ); comp. הִלְגַּלְתָּם (f. הִלְגַּלְתֶּם , cf. § p).

h **Alternation of the vowels e and i in the derived conjugations**⁽¹⁾. It is necessary to distinguish between the non-passive conjugations, Piel, Hifil, and Hitpacl, and the passive conjugations, Pual and Hofal. Nifal is treated like the passive conjugations.

In the passive conjugations we always find ē. In Nifal, an exception is הִלְגַּלְתָּ Gn 24.8; moreover, in the 1st pl. we only find i: e.g. הִלְגַּלְתִּי 1Sm 14.8; הִלְגַּלְתִּי Ex 33.16).

In the non-passive conjugations *i* can always occur; *in fact* *i* occurs more often than *e*. *i* occurs: 1) always before suffixes; 2) always in the 1st pl. הִלְגַּלְתִּי ; 3) always in the 2nd sg. Piel הִלְגַּלְתָּ , הִלְגַּלְתְּ ; 4) nearly always in the 2nd pl. הִלְגַּלְתֶּם .

In Hifil and Hitpacl, and in the 1st pers. sg. Piel, the variation is considerable. One can make the following observations: 1) in the 1st pers. sg. *e* is very frequent; thus in Piel the ordinary form is הִלְגַּלְתִּי . Notable exceptions are: הִלְגַּלְתִּי (30 x; *e* 5 x); הִלְגַּלְתִּי (6 x; *e* 2 x); 2) in the 2nd sg. *i* is very frequent (in Piel it is the rule, as we have just said).

Accordingly the inflection of Piel is: 2 sg. הִלְגַּלְתָּ , הִלְגַּלְתְּ ; 1 sg. הִלְגַּלְתִּי (usual form)⁽²⁾; 2 pl. הִלְגַּלְתֶּם ; 1 pl. הִלְגַּלְתִּי .

(1) Cf. Driver, *Notes*, p. 183 (ad 1Sm 23.2), and Berg., II, § 30 o.

(2) The preponderance of *šeré* in the 1sg. is most probably due to dissimilation /-iti/ > /-eti/; so A. Ungnad, *Beiträge zur Assyriologie* 5 (1905) 263.

i **Apocopated forms.** In the jussive and the inverted future as well as

in the imperative we often meet apocopated forms. It should be noted that, unlike in the jussive and the impf. after inersive Waw, the apocopation of ה"ל verbs occurs in the first person, both sg. and pl. as well.

Future: Qal. The form of the indicative יִגְלֶה, through the cutting off of ה־, first becomes יִגְלֵ (a rare form), then יִגְלִי (a rather rare form). Usually one has *segholised* forms: most frequently we find יִגְלֵ(1), occasionally יִגְלִי. Examples: וַיִּשְׁבּוּ; וַיִּשְׁתּוּ; וַיִּבְּרוּ; וַיִּרְדּוּ; וַיִּרְבּוּ; וַיִּבְּזוּ; וַיִּרְבּוּ; וַיִּמְחוּ (with a 3rd-guttural), וַיִּשְׁעוּ. The form יִגְלֵ is very rare in the 3rd m. (e.g. יִרְאֵ), but we find וַיִּתְּפֹן, וַיִּנְתְּפֹן, וַיִּתְּפֹן alongside וַיִּתְּפֹן; וַיִּרְבּוּ and וַיִּרְבּוּ alongside וַיִּתְּרְבּוּ; with a second-guttural עֲתִתְּ(2).

With a 1st-guttural verb one normally finds =־: e.g. וַיִּעַל, וַיִּעַשׂ, וַיִּתְּקַר, וַיִּתְּקַר, forms similar to those of Hifil, but the *i* is retained in וַיִּתְּקַר, וַיִּתְּקַר (comp. the ת of וַיִּתְּקַר, § 70 f).

Verbs which are ה"ל and פ"ן at the same time are וַיִּזּוּ; וַיִּטּוּ.

The verb הִאָּרַךְ has the apocopated forms יִרְאֵ, וַיִּתְּרְא, וַיִּתְּרְא, but וַיִּתְּרְא (also Hifil, 2Kg 11.4† and *he made to see* = *and he showed*).

Hifil. The form of the indicative יִגְלֶה, through the cutting off of ה־, becomes יִגְלֵ, which is sometimes *segholised* to יִגְלִי (like **malk* to וַיִּמְלֵךְ)(3). Examples: וַיִּרְדּוּ, וַיִּשְׁתּוּ, וַיִּרְאֵ 2Kg 11.4† (also Qal), וַיִּטּוּ (from וַיִּתְּפֹן); וַיִּתְּפֹן (from וַיִּתְּפֹן); וַיִּתְּפֹן, וַיִּתְּפֹן; with a 1st-guttural verb וַיִּעַל (also Qal).

Nifal. The form of the indicative יִגְלֶה, by the amputation of ה־, becomes יִגְלֵ, e.g. וַיִּתְּפֹן Is 47.3.

Piel. Likewise יִגְלֶה becomes יִגְלֵ, e.g. וַיִּצְּוּ.

(1) Contrast the nominal form מִיִּגְלֵ from **sifr*, § 96 A b. In יִגְלֵ the *i* has been preserved probably under the influence of the י. Contrast the forms of פ"י (with *i*) וַיִּתְּפֹן, § 76 d, וַיִּתְּפֹן, § 77 b.

(2) Note the *assymetry* of forms of a same tense.

(3) Note a significant distinction between Hif. יִגְלֵ (< *yagl*) and Qal יִגְלֵ or יִגְלֵ (< *yigl*). Thus in Ps 71.21 וַיִּתְּרְבּוּ גְדֵלְתִי the verb is a causative Hifil.

Imperative: Hifil. The form הִגְלֶה, by the amputation of ה־, becomes **hagl*, a form which is always *segholised* to הִגְלֵ, e.g. הִגְלֵ, הִגְלֵ; with a 1st-guttural הִגְלֵ. ה"ל verbs which are also פ"ן verbs include וַיִּתְּפֹן, וַיִּתְּפֹן.

Piel. The form הִגְלֶה, through the amputation of ה־, becomes הִגְלֵ, e.g. הִגְלֵ, הִגְלֵ. Likewise in Hitpacl, one has הִתְּפֹן 2Sm 13.5.

k Forms before suffixes (Paradigm 12):

Perfect. One has גַּלְנִי (like קִטְלֵנִי), but גַּלְנִי in pause, even minor; גַּלְנִי, a syncopated form like שָׁרָה, in pause גַּלְנִי and גַּלְנִי. Note also גַּלְנִי.

Future: יִגְלֵנִי comes from *yigle* + *ni* (this *e*, as a linking vowel, has spread to all the other verbs, § 61 *d*); יִגְלֵנִי, a syncopated form, in pause יִגְלֵנִי.

In the forms with the energetic נ one has, e.g. יִלְוֶנִי, יִרְאֶנֶה, אֶרְאֶנֶה with ׀ in accordance with יִלְוֶה etc. (cf. § 61 *f*).

In the future and the imperative one finds, very rarely, the erroneous spelling י׃, e.g. הִכֵּינִי *Hit me!* 1Kg 20.35,37.

Participle. Examples: מְפַרֵּךְ *makes you fruitful* Gn 48.4; עֹשֶׂה *made it* Jer 33.2; מְפַתֵּי (with erroneous י) *seduce her* Ho 2.16. (Compare the nominal forms in ה׀ with suffixes, § 96 B *f*).

l General observations

Although the conjugation of ה"ל verbs tends to encroach on the domain of א"ל verbs (§ 78 *g*), one finds, on the contrary, certain ה"ל forms treated like א"ל verbs, whether graphically or phonetically. Forms spelled with א: וַיִּחְלֵא 2Ch 16.12; נִקְרָא (followed by יִתִּי) 2Sm 1.6. Forms with the vocalisation of ל"א: אָתְּנוּ Jer 3.22; תִּכְלֶה 1Kg 17.14 (perh. for the sake of assonance with תִּחַסֵּר). Forms totally similar to א"ל are: לִירוּא 2Ch 26.15; יִפְרִיא Ho 13.15. Cf. § 78 *j* on קרה / קרא.

m Non-apocopated forms of the inverted future and the jussive. The phenomenon is so frequent, especially in the 1st pers. sg.(¹), that it can hardly be considered erroneous.

Sometimes the long form appears to have been preferred before a guttural(²), or with a disjunctive accent. We find וַיַּעֲשֶׂה 4 times 1Kg 16.25; 2Kg 3.2; 13.11; Ez 18.19 (all before a guttural): וַיַּעֲלֶה twice 1Kg 16.17; 18.42 (both before a guttural): וַיִּבְנֶה three times Josh 19.50; 1Kg 18.32; 2Ch 26.6 (all before a guttural): וַתַּעֲלֶה three times 1Kg 22.35; Jer 44.21 (before a guttural); 1Kg 10.29 with a disjunctive accent. Jussive: תִּרְאֶה Gn 1.9 (before a guttural); יַעֲשֶׂה Jer 28.6 (before a guttural); יַעֲשֶׂה פִּרְעֹה Gn 41.34. The long forms are particularly frequent in the books of Kings.

Note, however, that in some cases the non-apocopated form with inverse Waw actually represents an iterative, durative past (§ 113 *e, f*), e.g. 1Kg 10.29 וַתַּעֲלֶה וַתַּעֲלֶה ; 16.25 וַיַּעֲשֶׂה עֲמָרִי הָרַע בְּעֵינַי יְהוָה ; and possibly also 1Sm 1.7 בֵּן תִּכְעַסְנָה וַתִּבְכֶּה וְלֹא תֵאכְל, where the energetic Waw,

on the analogy of the normal syntax, serves to place the events in the past.

(1) In the 1st pers. sg. there is considerable variation, e.g. הָאָרָאָה 20 x, אָרָאָה 15 x; הָאָהָה 9 x, אָהָה 12 x; הָאָעָשָׂה 2 x, שָׁעָאָה 5 x; הָאָצָאָה 5 x, אָצָאָה 1 x.

In the OT there are a total of 56 cases of non-apocoped 1 sg. futures of Lamed-He verbs. Altogether there are 1,210 proper apocoped forms as against 110 non-apocoped ones none of which occurs in the Pentateuch. See H-J. Stipp, "Narrativ-Langformen 2. und 3. Person von zweiradikaligen Basen nach qalY im biblischen Hebräisch," *JNWSL* 13 (1987) 109-49.

(2) Compare the phenomenon of hiatus, § 33, and comp. § 78 *i*.

Anomalous forms with ה־ for ה־ .

n

We find a certain number of examples⁽¹⁾ where the vowel ה־ occurs, as in Aramaic and perh., in part, under its influence, e.g. $\text{הָעֲשֵׂה־מֵהַ$ Josh 7.9; הָעֲשֵׂה־לְאֵל 2Sm 13.12; Jer 40.16 (Qre); $\text{הָעֲשֵׂה־יְ$ Josh 9.24. In a group of texts in Leviticus we have הָגִלְתָּ in pause: 18.7a (7b הָגִלְתָּ), 12,13,14,15a (15b הָגִלְתָּ), 16,17; 20.19.

(1) In several cases the editions vary.

The ה־ of the cohortative is not used in ה־ל verbs; for that the indicative form is used, e.g. $\text{הָאָרָאָה־אָרָאָה־אֶרְכֹּךְ־אֶרְכֹּךְ}$ *I wish to go near and see* Ex 3.3; Gn 1.26; Dt 32.20; 2Kg 14.8. Only three cohortatives with ה־ occur, probably for the sake of assonance: Ps 77.4; 119.117; Is 41.23.

o

For the place of the stress in the inverted perfect, cf. § 43 *b*.

Detailed observations on various forms.

p

Qal: in the inf. abs., we frequently meet with the spelling גָּלוּ instead of הָלָה . The form גָּלוֹת (Is 22.13; 42.20; Hb 3.13) also occurs very occasionally.

In the inf. cst. הָלָה or גָּלוּ is sometimes found instead of גָּלוֹת ⁽¹⁾.

In the active ptc. הָלָה , גָּלְיָה is sometimes found in poetry alongside the syncopated fem. הָלָה , e.g. פָּרְיָה (always, 4 x); בְּכָיָה Lam 1.16; אֲתִיּוֹת Is 41.23.

The passive ptc. גָּלוּי has the regular inflection גָּלוּיָה , גָּלוּיִם , גָּלוּיוֹת .

Very occasionally the 3rd radical w is found for y, e.g. עָשׂוּ Job 41.25 (for 'ásuw), עָשׂוֹת (Ktiv) 1Sm 25.18.

(1) Cf. 2Kg 13.17,19 עָרַכְתָּ־לָהּ ; Ezr 9.14, 2Ch 24.10, 31.1 עָרַכְתָּ־לָהּ . Cf. N. Berggrun in *Ha-Tsofe* 18 (23.4.1943), printed now in M. Bar-Asher (ed.), *Qoveš ma'amarim bilšon hazal* I [Heb] (Jerusalem, 1972), p. 255.

q **Hifil: perfect.** Alongside the form הִגְלָה one fairly often meets with הִגְלָה (cf. § 54 c); thus alongside הִשְׁקָה , הִקְשָׁה , and הִפְנָה one finds הִרְאָה and הִגְלָה . We find ־ especially when the 2nd vowel is ־ (vowel sequence e-q , § 29 f), e.g. always הִגְלָה (excepting 2Kg 24.14 וְהִגְלָה), but הִגְלִיָּה etc.; always הִרְאָה , but הִרְאִיָּה etc.; we find הִרְאָנִי , but הִרְאִנִי ; הִרְאָנִי ; הִרְאָנִי , but also הִרְאִתִּי .

Inf. abs. The usual form is הִגְלִה (comp. הִקְטִל). Exception: in the verb הִרְבָּה to be numerous, much, the inf. abs. is הִרְבָּה (3 x), because the form הִרְבֵּה has assumed the specialised adverbial meaning of *much, very much* (more precisely, *by making much*) (§ 102 e)(1).

On the Hishtafel form of the root הוּו , cf. § t.

(1) We sometimes find the form of the inf. cst. הִגְלִיתִּי as inf. abs., § 123 q.

r **Comparison with the nominal forms** (cf. § c).

ל"ו forms in which ל appears: שְׁלוֹמָה tranquility, שְׁלוֹ tranquil (comp. שְׁלוֹמָה , § a); עֲרוּתָה nakedness (more frequent than עֲרִיָּה); עֲנָוָה humble, עֲנָוָה humility; כִּסּוּתָה a covering, § 88 M j.

ל"י forms in which י appears: אַרְיָה and אַרְיָה lion; שְׁבִיָּה and שְׁבִיָּה captivity; בְּלִיָּה naught (negation); חֲזִיוֹן , cst. חֲזִיוֹן vision, from **haz[alyān* (*qatalān* form with or without syncope of the second a: cf. § 88 M b); בְּכִיָּה mourning, § 88 M i.

Forms in which the י is latent: שְׂדֵה field, for שְׂרִיָּה (poet.); קִצְּה extremity (alongside קֵץ end from $\sqrt{\text{קצץ}}$).

Forms in which the י is dropped: syncopated forms— קִצְּה extremity; תּוֹרָה law from *tawrayat* ($\sqrt{\text{wry}}$, cf. Arm. אַוֶּרְיָה); חֲזִיוֹן vision, § 88 M b; עֲוֹן iniquity. Apocopated forms: עֲרֵב companion (alongside רֵעַ); מַעְלָה above (alongside מַעְלָה ascent); לְמַעַן for the sake of (alongside מַעְנֵה intention); בְּלִיָּה because; בְּלִיָּה poetic negative, לְבִלְתִּי negation of the inf. cst., § 93 q.

s **Irregular verbs** הִיָּה to be and הִיָּה to live.

These two verbs of analogous shape, which are 1st-guttural, ע"י and ה"ל verbs at the same time, are treated more or less identically.

They display numerous peculiarities:

1) The guttural has hardly ever any influence on the vowel of the preformative, e.g. יְהִיָּה , יְהִיָּה (contrast יְהִיָּה , יְהִיָּה , § 68 b); יְהִיָּה ; but

lised mechanically in the Aramaic fashion. One must read (in the 3rd pers.) הַשְׁתַּחֲוֹתוּ (¹).

(1) Another Aramaic infinitive, § 80 *n*.

§ 80. ו"ע verbs

(Paradigm 13: קָם to arise)

a The verbs generally called ו"ע (*Ayin Waw*) are those with two radical consonants between which, in the normal state of the root, there is a non-deletable vowel *u*, e.g. *qum* "to arise"(¹). The root of these verbs does not appear in a single state, but in three states, and this, as it seems, goes back to the earliest stage of the language(²). The element intervening between the two consonants can be non-deletable *u* or *w*.

In the *normal* state of the root, the intervening element is the originally long, non-deletable vowel *u*: **yaqūm* > קָם (indicative).

In the *reduced* state, the intervening element is the originally short, changeable vowel *u*: **yaqum* > קַם (jussive).

In a third state, which one may call *consonantal*, the intervening element is the consonant *w*, e.g. קַמ (§ *h*). In Hebrew, the consonantal state is rare in the verb; but it is frequent in nouns, e.g. עִוְר *blind*, מָוֵת *death*, יּוֹם (for **yawm*) *day* (§ *s*).

The state with the non-deletable *u* must be considered the *normal* state. In fact, it occurs, in the future, in the form of the indicative, which is the normal future, e.g. קָם . Note that **yaqūm* has almost the same quantity as the future of the regular verb **yaqtul*: *ū* has a quantity well-nigh equivalent to the consonant *t* + *u*. That the state with this kind of *u* is the normal one is apparent also from the tendency of the language to retain this intervening vowel as much as possible, even at the expense of an adventitious linking vowel, e.g. in הַשְׁתַּחֲוֹתוּ (§ *b*).

(1) Cf. Th. Nöldeke, *Syrische Grammatik* (Leipzig, 21898), § 177. Contrast the verbs with consonantal *w* as the second radical, such as רַחַב to be spacious; נָפַע to die; צַוּה , צַוּה to order; קַוּה , קַוּה to wait; רַוּה to soak, רַוּה , רַוּה in which the *ʔ* is treated as a strong consonant.

(2) Compare the analogous case of ע"ע verbs, § 82 *a*.

b **Qal.** The explanation of the forms will be given in the following

order: future, imperative, infinitive, verbal adjective, perfect.

Future. There are active and stative forms distinguished by two different vowels (cf. § 41 e).

The active future is **yaqūm* > קָמַךְ, with the *u* of the normal state⁽¹⁾.

The stative future is **yibāš*. The second vowel of the stative verbs was originally long, like the vowel *ū* of the action verbs. The form has normally become שָׁבַךְ with *o* (derived from *ā*)⁽²⁾.

The **jussive** originally had the short vowel *u* (reduced state), e.g. **yaqum*, which usually became קָמַךְ with *o*. In the inverted future this *o* becomes *o* in post-stress position, e.g. קָמַךְ; but in pause the vowel *o* is retained: קָמַךְ*.

In the fem.pl. we sometimes find a prolonged form קָמַךְ. In order to conserve the characteristic *u* of the normal state in this form when it has a consonantal affirmative, the language has resorted to a linking vowel *e*, under the influence of הִלְכַךְ verbs (§ 79 c). Otherwise, in this position (i.e. closed stressed syllable), *o* must occur: קָמַךְ. In this form the normal state is sacrificed, resulting in the reduced state. Statistically this is the normal form: e.g. Ex 16.55: twice קָמַךְ 3rd pl.(without ה, § 44 d), then the long form קָמַךְ 2nd pl. (cf. § i)⁽³⁾.

(1) The defective spelling of the type קָמַךְ is rather frequent (234 out of 927, i.e. 25%): AF, p. 203.

(2) שָׁבַךְ *he will be ashamed* is the sole certain example of stative future: וַיֵּאָרַךְ 2Sm 2.32 is rather a Qal than a Nifal; אָבַךְ is an active future (§ r).

(3) One is tempted to regard קָמַךְ Mi 2.12; קָמַךְ Is 54.10; קָמַךְ Ez 13.19; קָמַךְ 4.12, all spelled without Yod, as wrongly vocalised on the analogy of the הִלְכַךְ verbs, but among the latter one also occasionally finds קָמַךְ Ex. 2.16; קָמַךְ Dn 8.8, etc.

Imperative: קָמַךְ. The primitive form is **qum* with a short vowel (in Arabic *qum*; comp. Hifil impv. קָמַךְ); therefore one would have expected קָמַךְ* (cf. f.pl. קָמַךְ). In fact the *u* is lengthened, perh. on the analogy of the forms קָמַךְ and קָמַךְ where the *u*, in an open syllable, is etymologically long.

The **inf. cst.** is normally קָמַךְ⁽¹⁾ with the vowel of the future.

The **inf. abs.** is קָמַךְ with *o* on the analogy of קָטַל.

(1) It is according to the infinitive construct that many designate עִי and עִי verbs, e.g. קָמַךְ verb and קָמַךְ verb. This usage is regrettable, because the infinitive (which, moreover, is as much nominal as verbal) does not always show the characteris-

tic element of the root. Thus the verb of the root איש has the inf. אש (§ 81 *b*). It would be more appropriate to designate these verbs by the imperative, e.g. אף verb, אש verb.

- d* The verbal adjective is אף ; it is used as a participle. In stative verbs, verbal adjectives **mit*, **buš*, which have become מף and בוש (written with ו), have been created on the analogy of the verbal adjectives *qatil* and *qatul* respectively, by assuming the characteristic vowels *i* and *u*. On the analogy of **mit* and **buš* there emerged in action verbs a form **qam* > אף , corresponding to the adjective *qatal*, (e.g. אף wise). This form has replaced the genuine Semitic participle preserved, for instance, in Arabic and Aramaic⁽¹⁾. The vowel א is similar in nature to the vowels א and א of the symmetrical forms; they are retained, however, in the pl. cst.: אמי , אמי .

The passive participle is אף with *u* on the analogy of אש . It is very rare (e.g. אף circumcised), most אף (and אף) verbs possessing an intransitive meaning.

(1) Perhaps we are dealing with an ancient participle in אש Zech 10.5 with א coming from \bar{a} .

- e* Perfect. The stative perfects מף and בוש (spelled without ו) are "conjugated" verbal adjectives מף and בוש , as in the regular verb. Furthermore, the perfect אף is the "conjugated" verbal adjective אף . Like the verbal adjective אף , the perfect אף is secondary. Here again the vowel א cannot have been long in Proto-Hebrew. With a long \bar{a} one would expect אף *, a form which probably existed once, for it is contained in Nifal אף . If the א were long, one would have in the inflection, e.g. אף * with a linking vowel, as in Nifal and Hifil. Now one has אף with a short vowel, as one has אף from מף ⁽¹⁾, but אף /boštā/, cf. Ancient Canaanite *nu-uh-ti* "I was restful" (EA 147.56).

(1) The qameš in אף may originally have been short; on a wide range of proposed explanations, see Berg., II, § 28 v, n. 3.

- f* Nifal: Perfect אף . The primitive preformative **na* is preserved in open syllables (§ 51 *a*). The element אף (from **qām*), which occurs in Arb. *'inqām(a)*, is probably the old form of Qal perfect.

The future אף seems to be formed on the model of the perfect, on

the analogy of the Qal of פ"ן verbs, e.g. נָפַל, יָפַל, the perfect נָקַד resembling the Qal of פ"ן(1).

(1) Same explanation for ע"ע verbs, § 82 c.

Hifil: in the future the primitive form is **yaqīm* > יָקַם. The long *i* has spread to the strong verb: יָקַם* (§ 54 a). In the jussive, **yaqim*, with short *i*, becomes יָקַם; inverted future יָקַם. Likewise in the imperative we find יָקַם (contrast יָקַם with a long vowel, § c).

Perfect יָקַם. The *i* comes from the future (also in the strong verb). The vowel = may be due to the analogy of יָקַם where it is etymologically long (§ 76 c)(1).

Similarly the participle יָקַם is due to the analogy of יָקַם (cf. § 50 f).

The Hofal יָקַם has *u* on the analogy of יָקַם (§ 75 a).

(1) In the verb טוּב the Hifil יָקַם is similar to Hifil יָקַם of יָטַב except for the quantity of the vowel *e* (cf. § 76 c). As with many suggestions invoking the principle of analogy, one might be tempted to ask why a particular form or class of forms, יָקַם in this case, should trigger analogical changes or formations of the entire Hifil conjugation of ע"ע roots.

In the *geminated* conjugation we find consonantal *w* in עָוַן to *entwine* Ps 119.61; elsewhere one has *y* instead of *w* as in Aramaic. The examples, rather rare and late, appear to be loans from Aramaic: יָקַם to *establish, to enact* (Arm. יָקַם) Esth 9.21 etc., Ru 4.7; Ps 119.28,106; יָקַם to *make debtor* Dn 1.10(1).

But the normal geminated form is *pəḇel*, more precisely *pəḇel* in this case (§ 59 a), e.g. יָקַם to *raise*; מוֹתַת to *put to death, to finish off (a dying person)*; רוֹמַם to *lift*. Passive: רוֹמַם to *be lifted*. Reflexive: שָׁמַם to *feel shame*, הִתְעוֹרַר to *become agitated*(2).

(1) Several examples in Ben Sirah: 8.6, 30.12,23; cf. R. Smend, *Die Weisheit des Jesus Sirach* (Berlin, 1906), p. XLIV. This, יָקַם type, is the standard Piel/Pual/Hitpael formation in MH and Aramaic. On MH, see recently G. Haneman, *A Morphology of Mish. Heb.* [§ 73 a, n. 1], pp. 302f.

(2) Plene and defective spellings of these forms are evenly balanced (241: 206): AF, p. 196. See § 82 e.

Lambert's attempt to explain the origin of the long intensive conjugations on the basis of the phonetic law mentioned in § 26 g cannot be made to apply to the same conjugations common in geminate roots, unless one postulates mutual influence between the verb classes. Otherwise one would have to seek a separate explanation for geminate roots: see M. Lambert in *RÉJ* 24 (1892) 107, n. 2, cf. also J. Barth, "Die Pôlël-

Conjugation und die Pôlāl Participien," *Semitic Studies in Memory of A. Kohut* (Berlin, 1897), pp. 83-93; J. Blau, *HUCA* 42 (1971) 148, n. 72.

i **Linking vowel.** In the Hifil future, as in the Qal future (§ *b*), one has in the fem.pl. the linking vowel ϵ so that the *i*, which is characteristic of the form, can be preserved: הִקְיִמְיָנָה . Otherwise, in this position (stressed closed syllable), the vowel ϵ would have to occur: הִקְיִמְנָה , a form which is found, in fact, in Job 20.10 הִשְׁבַּחְנָה (¹).

In the perfect, in the Nifal and Hifil conjugations, one also finds a linking vowel, o in this instance(²), which also makes it possible to maintain the vowel in the forms with a consonantal affirmative. Unlike the ϵ of the future, this o is more likely to be traced to the early West-Semitic stative of the type *qatlāti*, which is akin to Akk. *parsāku*: *qatlāti* > *qatlōti*(³): e.g. הִקְיִמְוֹתִי , נִקְוֹמוֹתָם . In the Hifil, the vowel is sometimes given up and the form becomes, e.g. הִקְיִמְתִּי (comp. הִקְיִמְתִּי): הִקְיִמְתִּי Ex 20.25 (but הִנִּיחְתִּי Job 31.21)(cf. § *m*).

Compare the linking vowel in ע"ע verbs, § 82 *f*.

(1) Note also Lv 7.30 הִבְיִיחְנָה and Mi 2.12 הִתְיִמְנָה . Cf. *b* above.

(2) Spelled defectively more often than not (186: 92): AF, p. 192.

(3) Cf. P. Joüon, *MUSJ* 5 (1911) 356-62; Berg., II, 27 s; Blau, *Heb. Phonology and Morphology*, p. 191. For examples such as *al-ka-ti* "I went" in Amarna Canaanite, see A.F. Rainey, *UF* 5 (1973) 237, S. Izre'el, *IOS* 8 (1978) 31 and Sivan, p. 144. Influence from Lamed-Waw verbs is intrinsically improbable.

The short pattern without *o* seems to be the norm in MH: G. Haneman, op. cit. [§ 73a, n. 1], p. 290. So in ע"ע verbs: id., p. 322.

j **Stress.** The root syllable, on account of its importance, generally carries the stress, e.g. יִקְרָמוּ , יִקְרָמוּ . In the perfect we find הִקְרָמוּ (but הִקְרָמוּ in the fem. ptc.) and generally הִקְרָמוּ (contr. הִקְרָמוּ). Sometimes we find הִקְרָמוּ , e.g. Is 28.7 הִקְרָמוּ (following forms of the הִקְרָמוּ type); especially before a guttural ע or א , e.g. Ps 131.1 (hiatus, § 33)(¹). In the inverted perfect both הִקְרָמוּ and הִקְרָמוּ can occur.

In the inverted perfect we usually find הִקְרָמוּ , הִקְרָמוּ , הִקְרָמוּ .

The imperative הִקְרָמוּ becomes הִקְרָמוּ before a guttural (§ 33).

(1) For further details, see Berg., II, § 28 e.

k **Detailed observations on various conjugations**

Qal. Instead of הִקְרָמוּ one very occasionally finds the orthography הִקְרָמוּ , e.g. participle (verbal adjective) הִקְרָמוּ *hidden* Jdg 4.21; הִקְרָמוּ *poor* 2Sm

12.1,4. This \aleph of the participle may be due to Aramaic, but in the perfect \aleph Ho 10.14 (§ 7 *b*) it is inexplicable. In \aleph Ez 28.24,26, \aleph 16.57 the vocalisers no doubt saw participles of \aleph to *despise*, but it probably ought to be vocalised \aleph from \aleph to *attack*, *harass*.

In the future we find the vowel ϕ for u in the isolated form \aleph Gn 6.3†(1). In the verb \aleph to *be deeply moved*, to *have pity*, one does not find the vowel u except in Jer 21.7 \aleph and Is 13.18 \aleph (both with the force of the indicative). Elsewhere one always finds \aleph \aleph whether in a prohibition (where the meaning may have favoured the vowel ϕ of the jussive): Dt 7.16; 13.9; 19.13,21; 25.12, or even with a purely indicative force, Ez 5.11; 7.4,9; 8.18; 9.10†(2).

The jussive \aleph Gn 27.31, instead of \aleph , is odd or faulty; likewise \aleph Jdg 6.18; \aleph Pr 9.4,16. (Comp. \aleph , § 47 *d*).

The etymologically short unstressed ϕ of the inverted future becomes = before a guttural or \aleph , e.g. \aleph , \aleph (3); \aleph and *he turned aside* (a form identical with that of the Hifil, § *n*); \aleph *he laid siege* (cf. § 23 *b*). But one finds \aleph from I \aleph to *sojourn* and from II \aleph to *dread*. \aleph occurs 4 times (but always in a suspect context) Jdg 4.21; 1Sm 14.28,31; 2Sm 21.15; it is generally admitted that the intended form was \aleph for \aleph and *he was exhausted* (for another explanation, see König, *Wörterbuch*, s.v. \aleph).

In the 1st pers. the usual form is \aleph , i.e. without mater lectionis (§ 47 *d*).

In the imperative we find ϕ for u in \aleph Mi 4.13 (why?).

In the inf. cst. we sometimes find ϕ for u : \aleph Ps 38.17; 46.3 (in juncture); \aleph Nu 11.25; Josh 3.13 (in juncture), but \aleph 2Sm 21.10; \aleph Is 7.2 (in juncture) but \aleph (always so, 4 x); \aleph Is 30.2 (perh. assonance with \aleph); \aleph Ez 10.17 (perh. for euphony's sake); \aleph Josh 2.16 (in juncture).

In contrast, the inf. cst. with ϕ is normal in stative verbs (the future of which shows ϕ stemming from \bar{a}): \aleph , \aleph (§ *q*).

(1) Possibly "he will rule, wield power"; cf. Akk. *danānu* "to be / become strong."

(2) Alongside \aleph there may have existed a root \aleph corresponding to Arb. *hassa*, "to feel," etc., the future of which would be \aleph . This future may sometimes have replaced the future \aleph from \aleph . We have \aleph in Ps 72.13 *he will have mercy* (the

vocalisation with *o* is probably due to defective spelling).

(3) Contrast אָל־יָנַע 2Kg 23.18 (§ 47 a, n.).

l **Nifal: perfect.** The *o* of נָקוּם becomes *u* when it is deprived of the principal or secondary stress: thus we find נָקוּמוּם , נָקוּמוֹתַי (§ 29 b), e.g. נָסוּגְתִי *I have moved back, drawn back* Is 50.5.

The participle נֹבֵא * has the pl. נֹבְעִים Ex 14.3†, but נֹבְעִים .

m **Hifil: perfect.** The originally long *i* tends to be shortened to *e* in anteprestress position, namely: in the 2nd pers. pl., with certain suffixes, and in the inverted perfect; but there is no hard and fast rule.

In the 2nd pers. m.pl., one finds 5 forms with *i* and 2 forms with *e*, e.g. הִפְּיִצוּתְם (2 x), הִשְׁבּוּתְם (2 x); הִקְמַתוּ Ps 89.44; הִקְמַתְךָ Ex 26.30; Dt 27.2†, but הִקְמַתִּי always (22 x); הִשְׁבַּתְךָ Dt 4.39; 30.1†, but הִשְׁבַּתִּי always (10 x); הִרְמַתְךָ Nu 31.28†, but הִפְּיִצוּתִי always (4 x). One ought to note the difference in treatment between the 1st and 2nd persons (a case of asymmetry), but Ps 89.43 הִרְיַמֹּת (Sec. $\alpha\rho\eta\mu\omega\theta$) and 89.44 Sec. $\alpha\kappa\iota\mu\omega\theta\omega$ (הִקְמַתוֹ).

Vowel of ה. In anteprestress position the = is not retained; it sometimes becomes shortened to = , e.g. הִשְׁבַּחְךָ 1Kg 13.20,23,26†; הִשְׁבַּחְתָּ Ps 85.4; but most often we find = , e.g. הִרְיַמְתִּי , הִרְיַמְתָּ , הִקְמַתִּי . In the 3rd position before the stress we always find = , e.g. הִשְׁבַּחְתָּ (cf. above).

Before a guttural the = is lengthened to = (compare forms such as הֲאֵלַי *shall I go?* with the interrogative הֲ , § 102 n). The sole examples are הִעִירוּתִי *I have witnessed* Dt 4.26; 8.19; 30.19; Jer 11.7; 42.19; הִעִירוּתִי *I have stirred up* Is 41.25; הִעִירוּתְהוּ 45.13 (cf. the same phenomenon in ע"ע verbs, § 82 n).

Forms without a linking vowel (cf. § i). Without a linking vowel, the form is normally הִקְמַתִּי with = , e.g. הִטְלַתִּי Jer 16.13; הִכְיַנְנִי 2Ch 29.19 (here by haplography for הִכְיַנְנִי 1Ch 29.16), הִמְתָּה (haplography for הִמְתָּה *, cf. Brock., *GvG* I, p. 265). The א can be weakened to *i* when it loses the stress (§ 29 g), e.g. הִמְתָּה , הִמְתָּה etc., but הִמְתָּה , הִמְתָּה (1).

(1) הִטְתָּה *she has incited* 1Kg 21.25 is inadvertently vocalised as 2nd person; vocalise הִטְתָּה . This error can be explained in terms of the tendency of the Naqdanim to give the consonant groups the most obvious vocalisation.

n **Future.** The = of the inverted future הִקְמַתְךָ becomes = before a gut-

tural or ַ, e.g. ַרָּבַדְּ, ַרָּבַדְּ and *he removed, he took away*, a form identical with that of Qal, § k (cf. § 23 b); after a guttural, ַרָּבַדְּ.

With ַלְּ the stress recedes, e.g. ַלְּ-ַרָּבַדְּ 1Kg 2.20 (§ 47 a, n.).

In the 1st pers. the usual form is ַרָּבַדְּ, without mater lectionis (§ 47 d); one also finds, e.g. ַרָּבַדְּ Ne 2.20, and more rarely, e.g. ַרָּבַדְּ Josh 14.7.

In the infinitive cst. we find the Aramaic form ַרָּבַדְּ (cf. Dn 5.20 ַרָּבַדְּ *to become proud*) in ַרָּבַדְּ Is 30.28 (cf. § 88 L b)(1).

As inf. abs. one finds ַרָּבַדְּ Ez 7.14 (if the text is correct), and ַרָּבַדְּ Josh 3.17 (but // ַרָּבַדְּ ib. 4.3).

Contamination of ַ"ע by ע"ע. These two verb classes share, in the normal state of the root, a common feature, namely the length of an element. In ַ"ע there is an originally long vowel, whilst in ע"ע there is a long consonant (generally the 2nd, sometimes the 1st in Aramaising forms, § 82 h). The forms in the reduced state are often similar: e.g. Qal, jussive future ַקְּ and fut. ַבְּ; Hifil, jussive fut. ַקְּ and fut. ַבְּ; Hofal ַקְּ and ַבְּ. Because of these multiple resemblances, the two verb classes contaminate each other. Examples of contamination of ַ"ע verbs by ע"ע verbs: ַבְּ Zech 4.10 (for ַבְּ); ַבְּ Ez 6.9 (for ַבְּ)(2); all the forms of Nifal of ַרָּבַדְּ appear to stem from a root ַרָּבַדְּ, e.g. ַרָּבַדְּ Ez 10.17. (For the contamination of ע"ע by ַ"ע verbs, cf. § 82 o).

(1) Another Aramaic infinitive, § 79 t.

(2) Job 10.1 ַבְּ looks like a Qal of ַבְּ which has been built on a Nifal of ע"ע (ַבְּ*, ַבְּ*), displacing the normal Nifal ַבְּ from ַבְּ *to detest intensely*. A Qal ַבְּ may have actually existed; comp. Jewish Aramaic ַבְּ *to detest*.

Forms with geminated 1st radical. The existence of numerous forms of ַ"ע with a geminated first radical is probably due to the influence of the Aramaising forms of the ע"ע roots, although one finds this gemination in ַ"ע roots even in some tenses (Nifal perf., ptc.; Hifil pf., impv.) where it never exists in ע"ע roots. Therefore one can also call these forms *Aramaising*, though the influence is only indirect.

The most important group of these forms with the geminated 1st radical occurs in the Hifil of the verb ַרָּבַדְּ *to rest*. In this verb there are two Hifil's with different meanings. The 1st Hifil, ַרָּבַדְּ, which is regular, means: 1) *to set sth down*; 2) *to give rest to* (ַ). The 2nd, ַרָּבַדְּ, with gemination, means: 1) *to put, to place* (like ַרָּבַדְּ, with which

it shares most meanings); 2) *to leave there*; 3) *to leave sbd in peace, to give a free hand*. Forms of the 2nd Hifil are: pf. הִנִּיחַ; fut. יִנִּיחַ, חָנַח; impv. הִנַּח, הִנְיִחוּ; inf. הִנִּיחַ; ptc. מְנַיֵּחַ (with the 1st vowel of the future; contr. מְנַיֵּחַ). In the perfect there is no linking vowel, e.g., הִנְיִחוּתִי (comp. הִנְיִחוּתִי). Hofal: חָנַח, מָנַח.

In the Hifil the verb סוּחַ (or סִיחַ?) has forms with gemination side by side with standard forms: סוּחַ or סִיחַ *to incite, to provoke*; סִיחַ or סִיחַ; מְסִיחַ.

The verb סוּחַ in the Hifil only has forms with gemination: סִיחַ *to move sth back or push back*, מְסִיחַ; Hofal: סוּחַ.

In these last two verbs the sibilant may have contributed to the lengthening as in the פִּי"צ verbs (§ 77 a), e.g. הִצִּיחַ, יִצִּיחַ. In הִנִּיחַ the differentiation of the form is perh. due to the difference in meaning. In the future יִנִּיחַ the form may have been influenced by the analogous יִתֵּן *he will put, he will place*.

In Nifal one finds the form נִקְוָה (for נִקְוָה) with gemination (which perh. stems from the future יִקְוָה) in נִמְוָל *he was circumcised*; comp. נִעוֹר Zech 2.17 *to wake up* (with a guttural R1). This type of Nifal has developed in MH, e.g. נִדְוָה *he was judged*(¹).

(1) In SH the doubling of the first radical is not confined to this class of verbs: Ben-Hayyim, *LOT*, vol. 5, p. 84 and Macuch, *Gram.*, p. 289.

q **Stative verbs.** The only stative verb with -- is מוּת *to die*, which, furthermore, does not have the stative form except in the verbal adjective and the participle מוּת. In the future we find the action verb form (cf. § 41 b) יִמוּת, hence the impv. and inf. cst. מוּת. On הִמְלִיחַ etc., cf. § m. Some stative verbs with -- are:

Inf. בּוֹשׁ *to feel shame*, pf. בּוֹשׂ (for *buš*), verbal adjective בּוֹשׂ, fut. יִבּוֹשׂ (for *yibāš*). Alongside the regular Hifil הִבִּישׁ *to make feel shame*, there exists a metaplastic Hifil הוֹבִישׁ *to feel shame* (like Qal) similar to the Hifil הוֹבִישׁ *he dried* from יִבֵּשׁ, § 76 d.

Inf. אֹר* *to be light, to shine*, pf. אֹר; fut. יִאֹר (Qal rather than Nifal), but אֹרָה 1Sm 14.27; verbal adjective אֹר.

Inf. טוֹב *to be good*, pf. טוֹב (and only 3rd pl. טוֹבוּ); verbal adjective טוֹב in 1Sm 2.26 וְגִדְלָהּ וְטוֹב; inf. abs. טוֹב in Jdg 11.25 הִטוֹב אִם ... אִם-נִלְחָם נִלְחָם בָּם. The future יִטוֹב belongs to the associated root יטב (§ 76 d).

Irregular verb אָב, אָבוּ *to enter, to come*. This is an action verb, because 1) the perfect is אָבַר with the vowel typical of action verbs; if it were stative we would find אָב* (comp. אָלַם) or אָב*; 2) the future is אָבֵר (15 x אָבוּר)(¹), with the 1st vowel a of action verbs, § 41 e; the stative form would be אָבוּ* (comp. אָבוּ for *yibās*); 3) in Arabic the verb *bā'a* has the future with *u* of action verbs, and this despite the guttural that follows. Therefore in אָבֵר the *ā* does not derive from the primitive *a* of stative verbs, but from the *u* of action verbs(²). Impv. and inf. cst. also have *ā*: אָב, אָבוּ(³).

For the forms of the inverted perfect, cf. § 43 *b*, and for those of the inverted future, § 47 *b*.

Linking vowel. In the Qal future we find, very rarely, אָבוּרָאֵינָה; the usual form is אָבוּרָאֵינָה. In the Hifil future one finds only אָבוּרָאֵינָה. In the Hifil perfect the forms with a linking vowel are far less numerous than the others, e.g. אָבוּרָאֵינָה (1 x), and אָבוּרָאֵינָה (10 x); the forms אָבוּרָאֵינָה and אָבוּרָאֵינָה do not occur except before suffixes.

The vowel of the ה (cf. § *m*). In anteprestress positions the *ā* is maintained in the forms with no suffix, e.g. אָבוּרָאֵינָה; in the forms with a suffix in the 3rd pers. sg. it is shortened to *ā*, e.g. אָבוּרָאֵינָה; everywhere else to *ā*, e.g. אָבוּרָאֵינָה.

On the anomalous forms of the imperative אָבוּרָאֵינָה and of the inverted future אָבוּרָאֵינָה, cf. § 78 *i*.

One finds the inf. אָבוּרָאֵינָה with syncope of the ה (cf. § 54 *b*) in Jer 39.7; 2Ch 31.10.

(1) If one counts all forms (not just 3m.sg.), the proportion is: plene 315 x and defective 805 x: AF, p. 195.

(2) The vowel of אָבוּרָאֵינָה is perh. due to the analogy of the jussive-imperative with *o*: see Joüon, in *Bib* 1 (1920) 357-59.

(3) The plene and defective spellings are evenly balanced: 264 vs. 275. See AF, p. 196.

Comparison with the nominal forms (cf. §§ a-b)

Forms with ו: אָבוּרָאֵינָה *blind*, אָבוּרָאֵינָה *death*, אָבוּרָאֵינָה (for **yawm*) *day*; אָבוּרָאֵינָה and אָבוּרָאֵינָה (§ 29 *b*) *rest*; אָבוּרָאֵינָה *testimony* (from אָבוּרָאֵינָה *to testify*).

Forms without ו. Like אָבוּרָאֵינָה: אָבוּרָאֵינָה *foreigner*, אָבוּרָאֵינָה *prostitute*, אָבוּרָאֵינָה(¹) *cloud*.

Like אָבוּרָאֵינָה: אָבוּרָאֵינָה *foreigner, immigrant*, אָבוּרָאֵינָה (adj.) *honest*, אָבוּרָאֵינָה *lamp*, אָבוּרָאֵינָה *witness, f. אָבוּרָאֵינָה witness, testimony*(²).

Words of *qul* type, § 88 B f: **בַּט** *the good*, **צוֹר** *rock*.

(1) Cst. st. **בַּץ** rather than **בַּצ** (cf. König, 2, p. 75). No other example of **בַּץ** type in the cst. st.

(2) Contrast **הַצְבֵּר** *assembly* from **צָבַר**, § 75 m, 97 E b.

§ 81. י"ע verbs

(Paradigm 14: **דָּן** *to judge*)

a What has been said for the explanation of י"ע verbs holds for י"י verbs, the verbs with two radical consonants between which, in the normal state of the root, there is an originally long vowel *i*, e.g. *dān* "to judge"(1). There are far fewer י"י verbs than י"ע verbs. One can enumerate fifteen of them, which is, actually, more than generally admitted by lexicographers, who tend to list as י"ע those roots on which there is some doubt, or even complete ignorance, because of lack of sufficient indices. There are insufficient indices for the purpose of determining the root of, e.g. **נָצַח** *to urge*, **הִחָדֵּר** *to exchange*, **הִנְיָה** *to wave*, **הִסְיָה** *to incite*, **הִרְיָה** *to shout*. In view of the analogy of the Arabic, the root of **לָצַח** *to measure* should rather be **לָיַח**, but comparison with cognate languages is not always conclusive. Thus, the Hebrew and Syriac words for *to be narrow* (**צָרַח** and *'āq* respectively) have *w*, whereas Arabic *ḍāq* has *y*. In certain cases the root י"ע and the root י"י seem to have coexisted, e.g. **דָּוַשׁ** and **דָּרַשׁ** *to tread*, **רוּחַ** and **רָיַח** *to breathe*(2). It is especially in the strictly verbal forms of the future and the imperative that the root becomes manifest. Thus one must postulate the roots **שָׂם**(3), **לָיַן** and **שָׂישׁ**, despite the anomalous infinitives with *u* (§ b): **שָׂם** *to put*, **לָיַן** *to spend the night*, **שָׂישׁ** *to rejoice* (cf. § 80 c, n.), and despite some isolated and perh. faulty forms. It seems necessary to postulate the roots **רָיַק** *to be empty*, **שָׂרַיַח** *to be indigent*, and **רָיַח** *to be proud* (cf. adj. **רָיַח** = *zayd* + *ōn*).

(1) Contrast these with verbs with consonantal *y* such as **אֵיבַר** (pf. **אֵיבַרְתִּי** Ex 23.22, ptc. **אֵיבַר** *enemy*), **אֵיבַרְתִּי**(?) *to be tired*, **הִיבַרְתִּי**, and **הִיבַרְתִּי**, § 79 s.

(2) Moreover, since the two vocalic consonants *w* and *y* are analogous, the transition from the one to the other is easy: thus in the Piel of י"ע we have the **שָׂם** rather than the **שָׂם** type (§ 80 h).

(3) In Syriac this verb has *y* as its second radical: pf. *sām*, fut. *nsim*.

b Qal: future: **דָּן** with the normal state **dān*; jussive **דָּן** with the

reduced state **din*. These forms are similar to the Hifil of both ע"י and ו"ע roots.

The **imperative** יִיָּךְ has, anomalously, the etymologically long vowel (like וְיָךְ, § 80 c).

The **infinitive cst.** usually takes the vowel of the future, e.g. יִיָּךְ, תִּשָּׁן *to place*. In three verbs the infinitive has u⁽¹⁾: וְשָׁן *to put* (35 x); וְלָן *to spend the night* (6 x; 1 x יִיָּךְ in Gn 24.23 וְלָן לְלֵינִי, perh. in order to avoid a second vowel sequence â - u); וְשָׁן *to rejoice* (1 x).

The **passive participle** is extremely rare: וְשָׁן⁽²⁾, וְשָׁן (? cf. 2Sm 13.32).

The **verbal adjective**, with the value of a **participle**, is as in ו"ע verbs, e.g. יָךְ (like וְיָךְ); also לָךְ *spending the night*, Ne 13.21 is modelled on the תִּשָּׁן type (comp. the adjectives גָּדֵל *proud* and חָלֵל *insolent*).

The normal perfect יָךְ is formed from the verbal adjective as in ו"ע verbs (§ 80 e).

(1) Probably under the influence of some nominal form with *u*; cf. P. Joüon in *Bib* 1 (1920) 370.

(2) וְשָׁן as passive infinitive, § 58 c.

The **Nifal** is as in ו"ע verbs (§ 80 f), e.g. וְיָךְ, וְיָךְ.

The **Hifil** is as in ו"ע verbs (§ 80 g), e.g. וְיָךְ.

N.B. In these verbs the Hifil is sometimes secondary or only apparent (**pseudo-Hifil**, § 54 f), e.g. וְיָךְ *to vomit* (with the sense of Qal). Since the Qal future, e.g. וְיָךְ, has the appearance of, and considered to be a Hifil, a secondary perfect וְיָךְ has been formed from this future. Other probable examples: וְיָךְ (§ 76 d), וְיָךְ, וְיָךְ.

Irregular verb וְיָךְ. For the meaning *to comprehend* the usual and old form is וְיָךְ; hence the future וְיָךְ is a Hifil. From this future, which has the appearance of a Qal, a secondary perfect וְיָךְ *to comprehend* has been created, though examples of it are rather rare. Apart from this Qal perfect there is another even more secondary form וְיָךְ (only 2 x: Dn 9.2; 10.1). It is a hybrid form modelled on the perfect וְיָךְ, and inflected accordingly: Dn 9.2 וְיָךְ (cf. Job 33.13 וְיָךְ).

The Hifil וְיָךְ, in addition to the meaning *to comprehend* (originally *to make a distinction, to distinguish*), has the meaning *to make understand*. The creation of these secondary perfects, וְיָךְ and וְיָךְ, may be due

c

d

to the desire to distinguish the two meanings by reserving the sense *to make understand* for הָבִין (¹).

The forms בִּבְּנִין and הִתְבַּבְּנִין are as in ע"ל verbs, § 80 *h*.

(1) Cf. P. Jouion in *Bib* 1 (1920) 356f.

e Observations on certain forms. (Most of the peculiarities or anomalies occur also in ע"ל verbs).

Perfect. In הִנְחִיף for הִנְחִיף Zech 5.4 there is a nsiga: the פ has been changed to פ (comp. הִנְחִיף alongside הִנְחִיף , § 37 *d*).

Future. Jussive: e.g. וַיִּשְׁפֹּךְ , but וַיִּשְׁפֹּךְ before ך , Jdg 5.1; with אֶל : $\text{וַיִּשְׁפֹּךְ-אֶל-הַיָּם}$ Ex 23.1; $\text{וַיִּשְׁפֹּךְ-אֶל-הַיָּם}$ 1Sm 9.20 (§ 47 *a*, *n*). Both Gn 24.33Q וַיִּשְׁפֹּךְ and 50.26 וַיִּשְׁפֹּךְ can, from the context, be construed as passive Qal(¹).

Inf. absolute. Instead of the proper form with ו , e.g. וְיָבִין Jdg 11.25, one finds the inf. cst. functioning as inf. abs. וְיָבִין Jer 50.34; וְיָבִין Pr 23.1 for the sake of assonance (cp. § 51 *b* and § 123 *q*).

(1) Cf. Blau, *Heb. Phonology and Morphology*, p. 191.

f Comparison with nominal forms

Forms with י : יָדִין judgement, דִּיבֵן dispute, litigation, שִׁיר song; בִּינָה understanding, § 88 *B e*.

Forms without י : שָׂר singer; דָּבָר proud, פָּרַח insolent; מִדָּוָן quarrel ($\sqrt{\text{דִּין}}$); שִׂשׂוֹן joy (*sas* + affirmative **ān*; this form copies *qatalān* like the verbal adjectives קָטַל and קָטַל copying *qatal*); likewise דָּוָן pride, לְצִוָּן insolence (cf. § 88 *M b*).

§ 82. ע"ע verbs.

(Paradigm 15: בִּבְּבָב to surround).

a ע"ע verbs(¹) or **geminate** verbs are verbs with two root consonants the second of which, in the normal state of the root, e.g. in the pl. impv. בִּבְּבָב , is etymologically long. (See the similar definition of ע"ל and ע"י verbs, § 80 *a* and 81 *a* respectively). The root of these verbs does not present itself in a single state, but in three, and apparently from the earliest period at that(²). The second consonant of the root may be long, short or repeated.

In the *normal* state of the root, the second consonant is long: *s-bb*;

in the *reduced* state it is short: *s-b*; in a third state, which may be called *dissociated*⁽³⁾, it is repeated: *s-b-b*.

The *s-bb* type state, with a long second consonant, must be regarded as the *normal* state. Indeed this long consonant is characteristic of this class of verbs, as for instance, a long second consonant is characteristic of the Piel form קָטַל. That the *s-bb* type state is the normal one is also apparent from the fact that the language tends to retain it whenever possible, even adding a linking vowel, e.g. in קָטַלְתָּ, הִסְבִּיחַ (§ f).

On the whole the *normal* state is found whenever phonetically possible, i.e. when followed by a vowel, e.g. in impv. יִסְבֹּחַ, fut. יִסְבֹּחַ; 3rd pers. f. and pl. of stative pf. הִסְבִּיחַ, הִסְבִּיחוּ. Exception: in the 3rd pers. f. and pl. of the active pf. the dissociated state is used, e.g. הִסְבִּיחַ⁽⁴⁾, הִסְבִּיחוּ, probably to distinguish these from the stative verbs. In the 3rd pers. m. sg. the dissociated state סִבַּח is used with active verbs, but the reduced state סָח (< **tamma* < **tamima*; cf. § 88 B g, n.) is used with the stative verbs.

The *reduced* state is found when no vowel follows, e.g. סִבַּח, יִסְבַּח. The consonant, though in fact short, has a certain tendency towards lengthening (doubling).

The *dissociated* state is hardly ever found except for reasons of necessity or of usefulness. The repetition of the consonant is necessary, for instance, for forming the participles סִבֵּיב, סִבֵּיבָה and the inf. abs. סִבִּיב; it is useful in that it allows the active perfect סִבַּח to be distinguished from the stative perfect סָח. Otherwise the dissociated state is quite rare (§ k).

(1) The symbol ע"ע means that the 2nd radical is repeated, § 40 c.

(2) Compare the analogous case of ע"ע verbs § 80 a.

(3) *dissociated*: this metaphorical term indicates that the normal long consonant *bb* seems to be dissociated into two separate elements *b-b*. We could also use the, albeit less accurate, term, *dilated* or *extended*. Compare the dissociation, again in a somewhat different sense, of the long consonant in, for example, Arm. **yidda*' > יִדְדַע *he will know*: the phenomenon may be better called degemination.

(4) = instead of סָח because of the repetition of the consonant, § 9 c, though this does not actually occur in this particular verb in the Leningrad Codex. As far as the perfect 3rd f.sg. and pl. are concerned, the ḥaṭef pataḥ occurs mostly with linguals: וְלִלְלוּ, וְלִלְלוּ, וְלִלְלוּ, וְלִלְלוּ, but וְלִלְלוּ and וְלִלְלוּ. Cp. also וְלִלְלוּ Ps 64.4 and וְלִלְלוּ Ps 140.4.

Qal: Perfect. Generally speaking, verbs of action occur in the dis- b

sociated state בִּבְב (from **sabab[af]*) and stative verbs in the reduced state בִּב (from **tamim[af]*); for exceptions, see § k.

Future. Active verbs and stative verbs differ not only in their second vowel but also in the first (cf. § 41 e): בִּיֵס (¹), בִּיֵק (²). (Cf. בִּיֵר *he will break* and בִּיֵר *he will be bad*).

With Waw inversive we have, on the one hand, בִּיֵס , but, on the other hand, בִּיֵק (*mil'ra*; comp. בִּיֵר) and בִּיֵר and *it was narrow* (for the *šeré*, cp. $\text{בִּיֵר} < \text{בִּיֵר}$). In pause we have בִּיֵס .

The imperative בִּיֵס has the vowel of the future.

The inf. cst. is usually in the reduced state בִּיֵס , sometimes in the dissociated state בִּיֵס (§ k). The vowel *o*, as in the other classes of verbs (§ 49 c), has affected the stative verbs, e.g. בִּיֵס , בִּיֵס , בִּיֵס (cf. § l).

The inf. abs. is in the dissociated state בִּיֵס ; likewise the participles בִּיֵס and בִּיֵס .

The verbal adj. is found in בִּיֵס 1Sm 14.19; 2Sm 15.12; בִּיֵס * or בִּיֵס * 1Sm 2.4; Jer 46.5(³).

(1) A likely example of active future with *i* as 2nd vowel is בִּיֵס *he will cover* (cf. § 41 a). According to Barth, there are more, e.g. בִּיֵס .

(2) With the Aramaising doubling **yiqal* becomes בִּיֵס , e.g. בִּיֵס .

(3) These must not be confused with pausal forms such as בִּיֵס ; for details see E.J. Revell, *HAR* 5 (1981) 97-99.

c **Nifal: Perfect** בִּיֵס . The original preformative **na* is retained in an open syllable (§ 51 a). The future בִּיֵס seems to have been formed on the analogy of the Qal of בִּיֵס verbs (e.g. בִּיֵס *, בִּיֵס), the perfect בִּיֵס being similar to the Qal of a בִּיֵס verb(¹). Because of this similarity, the language has gone so far as to create Nifal perfects such as בִּיֵס *it melted*, which look like the stative Qal of בִּיֵס verbs; hence fut. בִּיֵס (similar to בִּיֵס) with the vowel *a* of the stative(²); cf. § m. The future in *o* בִּיֵס is, or could be, Nifal also, according to certain grammarians; cf. § h and m, n. Naturally in the participle the same form is found: בִּיֵס , בִּיֵס (fem. בִּיֵס).

Inf. cst. בִּיֵס , בִּיֵס (= on the analogy of בִּיֵס).

(1) Same explanation for בִּיֵס verbs, § 80 f.

(2) The בִּיֵס and בִּיֵס forms may also be Aramaising Qal futures (§ h); it is according to the meaning that a particular form may be said to be Qal or Nifal.

Hifil: Future בִּזְיִ, the originally short vowel *i* having become $\ddot{}$. d
 With Waw inversive: בִּזְיִו.

Perfect. The $\ddot{}$ of the future has spread to the perfect בִּזְיִל: *he began*, בִּזְיִר *he broke* (in pause בִּזְיִר, § 32 c). But with stative verbs = is usually found: בִּזְיִר(1), בִּזְיִר, בִּזְיִר, בִּזְיִר(2).

The vowel $\ddot{}$ of the ה was probably used on the analogy of בִּזְיִר, which itself emerged on the analogy of בִּזְיִר (where *e* from *ay* is long, § 80 g). The evolution of בִּזְיִר would then be symmetrical with that of the participle בִּזְיִר (with $\ddot{}$ as its first vowel, in spite of the future בִּזְיִר (§ 50 f), which emerged on the analogy of בִּזְיִר, which itself emerged on the analogy of בִּזְיִר(3).

In the **imperative**, in the **inf. cst.**, and in the **inf. abs.** we find בִּזְיִר.

Observation: we can see that in $\ddot{}$ verbs, because of the tendency of the final consonant towards doubling, the etymologically long vowel *i* is never found.

The **Hofal** בִּזְיִר has an etymologically long \bar{u} on the analogy of בִּזְיִר (§ 75 a).

(1) Alongside the stative verb pf. בִּזְיִר, unattested fut. בִּזְיִר*, there is an active unattested pf. בִּזְיִר*, fut. בִּזְיִר.

(2) The presence of this *a* in the Hifil of stative verbs can be explained thus. For the adjective (also serving as verbal adjective) we have בִּזְיִר, בִּזְיִר, etc. The same form is also that of the stative perfect. Finally in the stative future we again find the vowel *a*, e.g. בִּזְיִר. The *a* of Hifil could be due to the analogy of these forms in *a*. Thus, one must have said בִּזְיִר *he has caused to be bitter* on the analogy of בִּזְיִר *bitter*, *it is bitter*, and with בִּזְיִר *it will be bitter* (cf. P. Joüon in *Bib* 1 [1920] 354). In some cases the presence of *a* may have been influenced by the following consonant. In contrast, E.J. Revell understands the preceding consonant to condition the choice of the vowel: *JNES* 44 (1985) 322f.

(3) It is generally claimed that ה is due to the analogy of ה in בִּזְיִר. But, then, in Nifal we should find בִּזְיִר* on the analogy of בִּזְיִר.

In the **Piel** conjugation we find either the *qittel* form בִּזְיִר, or the *poel* form בִּזְיִר—here strictly speaking a *po'e'* form (§ 59 a). e
 Passive: בִּזְיִר. Reflexive: בִּזְיִר.

Examples of *sovev* and *histovev* types would be far more frequent than the *sibbev* type if one were to take into account the possibility of re-pointing (Berg., II, p. 140 [§ 27 r]). Note, in this connection, that in

ו"ע (§ 80 *h*) and י"ע (§ 81 *d*) roots the former predominates, and that contamination or interaction between these two root-patterns and the geminate pattern are well documented (§ 80 *o*, 82 *o*)(¹).

(1) For a recent discussion on the subject, see J. Blau in *HUCA* 42 (1971) 147-51. Note, however, that, in MH, acc. to Haneman, op. cit. [§ 73a, n. 1], pp. 302, 327, no single instance of the long Piel is found in the entire Mishnah in Codex Parma.

f **The linking vowel.** In the future and in the perfect, in order to preserve the normal state of the root in the forms with a consonantal affirmative, a linking vowel is used (likewise with ו"ע verbs, § 80 *b*, *i*).

In the future we find the vowel *e*, which comes from the ה"ל verbs (§ 79 *c*): הַסְבִּינָה, הַסְבִּינָה.

In the perfect we find the vowel *o* (on its origin, see § 80 *i*), e.g. הַסְבִּינָה.

Sometimes the normal state of the root is given up and there is no linking vowel; cf. § *j*.

g **Stress.** In forms with a linking vowel, that vowel carries the stress, e.g. הַסְבִּינָה, except, of course, when there is a heavy suffix, e.g., הַסְבִּינָה. In the inverted perfect one usually has הַסְבִּינָה, הַסְבִּינָה.

Otherwise, a sharp penultimate syllable generally carries the stress, e.g. fut. הַסְבִּינָה; pf. הַסְבִּינָה, הַסְבִּינָה (but often הַסְבִּינָה). In the inverted perfect the stress can advance, e.g. הַסְבִּינָה.

In the imperative, instead of normal forms such as הַסְבִּינָה and הַסְבִּינָה, mil'ra forms are sometimes found (for no apparent reason), and with the vowel *e* instead of the usual *o*, e.g. always הַסְבִּינָה (3 x), הַסְבִּינָה 3 x, but הַסְבִּינָה 2 x.

Observation. The vowels *e* and *o* of a stressed sharp syllable usually become *i* and *u* when that syllable no longer carries the stress: הַסְבִּינָה, הַסְבִּינָה; הַסְבִּינָה, הַסְבִּינָה. Exceptions: הַסְבִּינָה Pr 11.3K; הַסְבִּינָה Hb 2.8; הַסְבִּינָה Ex 12.14; הַסְבִּינָה Zeph 2.9; where all except the first case of which have *u* following the *o* vowel, suggesting the possibility of dissimilation.

h **Aramaising forms.** In addition to Hebrew forms proper whose second root-consonant is long (geminated), there are other forms, termed *Aramaising*, in which the first consonant is geminated. In Aramaising forms, the doubling of the second consonant is sometimes preserved and sometimes omitted. These forms are called *Aramaising* because they are

normal in Aramaic, e.g. in Biblical Aramaic קִרְתִּי *it shall break in pieces* Dn 2.40 (Hafel of the verb קִרַּךְ), in Syriac *nebboz he will plunder* (verb *bzz*). In Hebrew these forms are probably due to the influence of Aramaic; in some cases the analogy of פ"נ verbs may have encouraged their use. The Aramaising forms are found in the future Qal, Hifil, and Hofal, e.g. Qal יִטֹּב⁽¹⁾, יִטְבוּ; Hifil יִטְבוּ, יִטְבוּ, יִטְבוּ; Hofal יִטֹּב.

Examples⁽²⁾. In the case of the stative verb סָמַךְ *to be perfect, complete, finished, consumed* there is a future in a, סָמַךְ, and a future in o, סָמַךְ, which really seem to be synonymous. Since the verb is stative, the future in a is normal. The Aramaising gemination is found everywhere in this verb (except Ps 19.14, a doubtful form). In the 3rd person plural the form סָמַכְוּ with gemination of the second radical is found five times, the form סָמַכוּ only once⁽³⁾.

The verb סָבַב presents special difficulties. The Qal סָבַב has an active transitive sense, namely *to surround, to go around*, and a reflexive sense, namely *to turn (oneself), to turn about*, hence simply *to pass to, to go, to come*. Consequently there seems to be no need for a Nifal; and indeed the Nifal is rather rare and seems secondary. In every instance of the Nifal the Qal could be used, and one would even expect it in those cases where the meaning is *to surround*, e.g. Gn 19.4; Jdg 19.22 (comp. 20.5 יִסְבְּבוּ); Josh 7.9. The future סָבַב *to turn oneself, to turn round*, is only used in Ezekiel (who also uses the pf. סָבַב) and is Nifal. The frequent future form סָבַב, which is only used in a reflexive sense, is originally Qal (evident in 1Sm 22.18, after סָבַב). Since the future form סָבַב is only used in an active transitive sense (except in Jer 41.14), the future סָבַב could, at some stage, have easily been felt to be Nifal, and this could have brought about the creation of a corresponding perfect סָבַב; comp., in a similar context, סָבַב Nu 36.7 and סָבַב Jer 6.12.

The stative verb אָשַׁם* (f. אָשַׁם) *to be appalled, awestruck* (speaking of a person), *to be desolated* (of a land etc.) has a normal future אָשַׁם, which is rare (Gn 47.19; Ez 12.19; 19.7; cf. 6.6). The future אָשַׁם is Qal; it is perhaps from this future regarded as a Nifal that the perfect Nifal אָשַׁם* was created; this perfect lacks a corresponding future and has the same meaning as the perfect Qal.

Other Qal future forms in o: אָשַׁם *to become silent* (but אָשַׁם *to be made silent* i.e. *to be destroyed* is Nifal); אָשַׁם *to curse*, אָשַׁם *to bow*

down.

Other Qal future forms in *a*: יָדַל to be weak; probably יָשַׁח to bend.

(1) The Aramaising Qal futures of the types כָּסַח and כָּסַח are similar to Nifal, § c. Moreover, these forms are similar to the Qal of פ"פ verbs: יָפַל, יָנַשׁ.

(2) Every example can be found in E. Kautzsch, "Die sogenannten aramaisierenden Formen der Verba ע"ע im Hebräischen," in C. Bezold (ed.), *Orientalische Studien Th. Nöldeke ... gewidmet* (Giessen, 1906), vol. 2, pp. 771-80. Kautzsch has toned down the conclusions of that study in the last (28th) edition of his *Grammar*, § 67 g.

(3) On the lighter form (יָתַח), see also יָתַח Ex 15.16, Job 29.21; וַיִּכְתֹּם Nu 14.45; וַיִּכְתֹּו Dt 1.44.

i Instances of Hifil (and Hofal): Future: Besides the usual יָחַל to begin, we find יָחַל to violate Nu 30.3, אֶחְלֶה I will violate Ez 39.7 (but perhaps read Piel יִחְלֶל); יָכַח* to crush by beating Dt 1.44; Nu 14.45. Hofal (or passive of Qal) יָכַח Is 24.12 etc.; יָסַח, frequent form, e.g. Ex 13.18; Hofal (or passive of Qal) יָסַח to be turned.

Some Aramaising forms are found outside the future Qal and Hifil, e.g. perfect Nifal נִחַל to be defiled Ez 7.24; 22.16; 25.3; נִחַר to be burned, to be parched Ps 69.4; 102.4; נִאָּר to be cursed Mal 3.9; נִחַנַּח you were pitied (?) Jer 22.23. All these forms are confined to roots whose R1 is a guttural.

j Forms without a linking vowel (cf. § f). Sometimes there is no linking vowel; the normal state of the root, which had been preserved by the linking vowel, changed to the reduced state. Examples: Qal: תִּמְנַי (for תִּמְנוּי) Nu 17.28; Jer 44.18 (form similar to תִּמְנַי); Hifil: הִתְלַחַח Jdg 16.10 (for הִתְלַחַח); וְהִפְרַחַח 2Sm 15.34. The reduced state is also found in other cases. e.g. Qal: נִבְּחַח 1Sm 14.36 (for נִבְּחַח); נִבְּלַחַח Gn 11.7 (for נִבְּלַחַח); יִזְמַח 11.6 (for יִזְמַח). Nifal: נִסְבַּחַח Ez 41.7 for נִסְבַּחַח).

k Dissociated state and non-dissociated state⁽¹⁾

In the Inf. cst. (§ b), besides the normal form סַח (comp. future יָסַח), we sometimes find, especially with ל, the dissociated state סַחַח (like קַטַּח), e.g. סַח (attested once) Dt 2.3, לְסַחַח (attested once) Nu 21.4; לְשַׁדַּחַח Jer 47.4; בְּגַחַח 1 Sm 25.2, לְגַחַח Gn 31.19, but לְגַחַח 38.13; always (Is 10.6; Ez 38.12,13) לְשַׁלַּחַח, but (ibid.) בַּחַח וְלַבַּחַח (assonance).

In the perfect Qal of action verbs we usually find the dissociated state: סַחַח, סַחַח, סַחַח. With the suffixes, writers sometimes prefer to use the normal state, which is shorter, e.g. סַחַחַח (4 times; סַחַחַח 8

times). Besides the regular בָּיָאוֹנוֹ Dt 3.7 we find the dissociated state בָּיָאוֹנוֹ 2.35.

In the perfect Qal of stative verbs we usually find the following types: קָל , קָלָה , קָלָהּ ; but there are exceptions, e.g. הִלְלֵנוּ Is 19.6 besides הִלְלֵנוּ 38.14; Job 28.4; שָׁחַחְנוּ Job 9.13 as against שָׁחַח Hb 3.6. In the stative verb שָׁחַח we always find שָׁחַחְנוּ , שָׁחַחְתֶּם .

The stative future Qal in the dissociated state; יִחַן Am 5.15 *he will favour* stands for יִחַן * or יִחַן *, and is the only stative form of this verb the original meaning of which is *to be gracious*. The frequent sense of *to be gracious to somebody* has brought about transitivity (cf. Brock., GvG, II, p. 286) and the forms יִחַן , יִחַן which are typical of an action verb.

In the Hifil the dissociated state is found with the following: the inf. הִשְׁמַם Mi 6.13; the ptc. מְשַׁמֵּם Ez 3.15; all the forms of the verb רָנַן , e.g. הִרְנִינוּ , הִרְנִינוּ *to cause to ring out*.

(1) Comp. in Fr. *jaquerna* and the old *jaquérenai* (Corneille).

Further observations about various conjugations

Qal: Perfects in ֻ : אֲרִוּ Is 1,6 *they have been pressed* is a Qal passive; probably also רָמְנוּ Job 24.24 *they were exalted* (contrasts with the passive הִמְכַּחַו); but רָבוּ Gn 49.23 *they shot* (?) is difficult to explain (the active meaning rules out the possibility of a stative form).

Future forms in u (through contamination by the ל"ו verbs), e.g. יָרִיז Pr 29.6.

There is, likewise, an inf. cst. with u : בֹּוֹר Ec 9.1; בְּחֻקֹּוֹ Pr 8.27. The inf. cst. in a , which has been replaced by the inf. in ֻ in the stative verbs (§ b), is found, strangely enough, in some action verbs (perhaps incorrectly): לְבַרֵּךְ Ec 3.18 *to test them* (comp. בֹּוֹר 9.1); לְרַד Is 45.1 *to subdue*; כִּשְׁבֵּן Jer 5.26 *like a bending*.

The imperative לִגַּל Ps 119.22 (besides לִגַּל) is perhaps a shortened form of לִגַּל * (cf. § b, n., according to Barth).

In Nu 22.11,17, instead of קִבְּהָ-לִי * we find קִבְּהָ-לִי *qovâ-lli*⁽¹⁾, no doubt to avoid two instances of gemination one after another. Compare the games in an open syllable corresponding to the original short u in קִבְּהָ-לִי . Likewise in 22.6 and 23.7 we find אֶרְבָּה-לִי *'qrâ-lli* for *'ur(r)â-lli*. In Nu 23.13 the form קִבְּנוּ (for *quvno* or *qubbennu*) has an

epenthetic ך (comp. יִשְׁנוּ, § 102 *k*), as is highly frequent in Ugr. (Gordon, *UT*, § 6.16,17).

(1) Since the second qameṣ also has the quality *o* (§ 18 *i*) the form sounds like *qoṣo-lli* in the Tiberian pronunciation.

m **Nifal.** As we said in § *c*, the perfect Nifal כִּטַּב came to be regarded as the Qal of a פ"נ verb and stative perfects in *e* were created by analogy, e.g. טַמַּט to *melt*, fut. יִמַּט. There is also נִקַּל (4 times; used rather as a verbal adjective than as a perfect) besides נִקַּל. We have a stative perfect נִגַּל to *be rolled* or *to roll* (intransitive) in נִגַּלְוּ Is 34.4, because the future is in *a*: יִגַּל Am 5.24. On the other hand, there are perfects in *o* which correspond to futures in *o* and which therefore are of the נִקַּם, נִקַּם type (contamination by the ע"ו verbs), e.g. נִבְּיִו Am 3.11 (fut. תִּבְּוּ Is 24.3, with ו); נִרַץ Ec 12.6 (fut. תִּרְוֶץ Ez 29.7, for *tirroṣ*). Furthermore, from the future forms תִּבְּוּ Is 24.3 and יִרְוֶע Pr 11.15 and 13.20, we can reconstruct the corresponding perfect forms נִבְּו* and יִרְוֶע*(1).

In תִּחַל Lv 21.9 *she will defile herself*, we may have a unique case of a future Nifal with *e* as second vowel. This *e*, if authentic, could have arisen on the analogy of the *e* of יִקַּטַל (just as the *e* of the inf. *cst.* תִּחַל and תִּמַּס arose on the analogy of תִּקַּטַל); but here the *e* is very suspect, because elsewhere we find the vowel *a*: תִּחַל Ez 22.26; יִחַל Is 48.11.

A future in the dissociated state is found in Job 11.12 יִלְבַּב.

(1) In view of all this the existence of ע"ע Nifal futures with medium *o* seems doubtful.

n **Hifil.** There are some forms with *i* (contamination by the ע"ו verbs): תִּפְּיר Ez 17.19; Ps 33.10 (cf. 89.34); תִּשְׁפִיר Ho 8.4; Jer 49.20 (with Aramaising gemination).

The vowel of ה. In anteprestress position = is not maintained; it usually becomes =, e.g. תִּבְּוּ. Before a guttural = is lengthened to =; the only examples are תִּחַל and תִּחַל to *begin* in Dt 2.31; 3.24; 1Sm 22.15; Esth 6.13 (comp. inf. תִּחַל Gn 11.6) and תִּחַח in Is 9.3. (comp. same phenomenon in ע"ע verbs, § 80 *m*, e.g. תִּעִיר. Since, quite probably, there is no virtual doubling before this ע, there probably is none before ח either).

The vowel = following R1 changes to = when the stress recedes as in וְיִתְּנֶהּ and וְיִתְּנֶהּ (but וְיִתְּנֶהּ and וְיִתְּנֶהּ where R2/3 is a guttural or Resh, though וְיִתְּנֶהּ), and to = where the stress advances as in וְיִתְּנֶהּ and וְיִתְּנֶהּ, but we find וְיִתְּנֶהּ and וְיִתְּנֶהּ when R2/3 is a guttural or Resh; more examples in Berg., II, § 27 l.

Contamination of the ע"ע verbs by the ו"ע verbs. Just as there are, in the ו"ע verbs, many forms contaminated by the ע"ע verbs (80 o), so there are also many ע"ע forms contaminated by ו"ע forms. Several were quoted in §§ l, m, n; many more will be found in dictionaries or concordances. The Hebrew verb meaning *to murmur*, vocalised by the Naqdanim as if from a root לוּן, probably originated as a ע"ע verb, namely לָנַן (cf. the derived noun מְלַלְלוֹת *murmurings*), which was then entirely contaminated by the ו"ע verbs⁽¹⁾: i.e., Nifal נָלַן*, תִּלְלוֹנִי; Hifil הִלְלִינוּ, תִּלְלוֹנִי, וְיִתְּנֶהּ. Besides מַשֵּׁשׁ *to feel by touching, to grope*, which seems to be the original root, there is probably in Hebrew (and in Aramaic) a secondary root מַשֵּׁשׁ attested by a few forms, e.g. Gn 27.21; Jdg 16.26; Ps 115.7.

(1) Cf. P. Joüon, *Bib* 1 (1920) 361.

Comparison with the nominal forms (cf. § a)

Apart from the participles סָבַב, סָבַב and the inf. abs. סָבַב, the dissociated state is rather rare in the nominal forms, e.g. מְשֻׁמָּה *devastated*, הַרְרִים, a poetic form besides הַרְרִים *mountains*; instead of עַמִּים *peoples*, עַמְמִים (cf. BA אַמְמִים) is found, but very rarely.

The normal state and the reduced state are found under the same conditions as in the verb: the *qatl* type: עַם *people* (and עַם), עַמִּי; *qitl*: חַן *favour, grace*, חַנּוּן; *qutl*: חֹק *statute*, חֻקִּי; the *qatl* type with ר: שָׂר *prince*, plural שָׂרִים, שָׂרִי (for *sarre*; = in this position is maintained). Comp. קָם, קָמִים, קָמִי (§ 80 d), and contrast, for example, שָׁנָה *year*, pl. שָׁנִים, שָׁנִי. The *taqtila* type: תְּחִלָּה *beginning* (corresponds to the Hifil חָלַל *to begin*); the *maqtal* type: מְסָק *covering, protection*, מְשָׁק *action of penetration* ? (with Aramaising gemination).

§ 83. Comparison of the various verb classes

(Paradigm 16)

The student will find here a synopsis of the conjugations of various

types of verbs which will help him to determine the relevant roots. He may add to it as his knowledge increases.

b Preformative in open syllable.

Verb class	Examples
1) Qal ע"ו יקום, יבּוּשׁ;	Nif. נִקְוֹם; Hif. הִקְיִם, יִקְיִם; Hof. הוֹקֵם.
2) Qal ע"ע יסב, יקל;	Nif. נִסַּב; Hif. הִסִּב, יִסִּב; Hof. הוֹסִב.
3) Qal פ"י ישב, יירש;	Nif. נִוֶּשֶׁב; Hif. הוֹשִׁיב, יוֹשִׁיב; Hof. הוֹשֵׁב.

c Geminated consonant after preformative.

- 1) In the Nifal (future etc.) of all the verbs (except first-guttural verbs), e.g. יִקְטֹל, יִקְוֹם, יִסַּב.
- 2) Regularly in the פ"ן verbs, e.g. fut. יִגְיֵשׁ, יִגְיֵשׁ.
- 3) In the פ"יצ verbs, e.g. יִצִּיעַ.
- 4) In the Aramaising forms of the ע"ע verbs, e.g. fut. יִסַּב, יִרְלַ; יִסַּב.
- 5) In the Aramaising forms of the ע"ו verbs, e.g. יִגְיֵשׁ, יִגְיֵשׁ.

§ 80 p.

d Final vowel = in the future:

- 1) Generally in the Piel and Hitpael: יִקְטֹל, יִתְקַטֵּל.
- 2) In the Nifal: יִקְטֹל.
- 3) In the Qal of active פ"ו verbs: יִשָּׁב.
of some other verbs, e.g. יִתְּן.
of פ"א verbs in pause⁽¹⁾: יִאֲכַל, יִאֲבֹד, יִתְּאָמֵר.
- 4) In the jussive Hifil in general, e.g. יִקְטֹל, יִקְוֹם.
- 5) In the indicative Hifil of ע"ע verbs: יִסַּב, יִסַּב.

(1) But here *ε* is of secondary origin, § 73 e.

e First vowel = in the future:

- 1) In the Qal of active פ"ו verbs: יִשָּׁב.
of stative ע"ע verbs: יִקְלַ.
- 2) In the Hifil of פ"י verbs: יִיטִיב.

§ 84. Relation of the weak verbs to one another

- a** The mark of a weak verb is the presence in it of a weak element side by side with strong elements: the weak element can often vary and yet the idea expressed by the verb as a whole remains the same. Thus to express the verbal notion *to lay snares* Hebrew has augmented the stable

core שק with an initial weak element, either ׳ or ל , to give שק׳ and שקל . Likewise to express the verbal notion *to be alienated* Hebrew has produced both נקע and יקע . In the case of verbs whose forms are poorly attested in the Bible, it is sometimes difficult to tell whether or not we are actually dealing with two related roots: this applies in particular to certain ל״ע and ע״ע verbs. A phonetic accident in a given form can cause a metaplasm⁽¹⁾. An isolated form cannot be used to postulate the existence of a root; thus we cannot argue from the Hitpael form התיצב (§ 77 b) that there is in Hebrew a root יצב alongside נצב , nor can we argue, from the future ילך , that there is a root לך alongside הלך (§ 75 g).

(1) Thus, in Syrian Arabic *waqada* "to light" becomes *qād*, fut. *yaqid*, via the imperative *qid* pronounced *qīd* (cf. C. von Landberg, *Proverbes et dictons de la province de Syrie. Section de Saydâ* [Leiden, 1883], p. 290).

Examples of a core used with various weak elements: *to crush*: רכב , רוך , רכא ; *to be numerous*: רבב and רבה ; *to be silent*: דום , דמם , דמה ; *to despise*: בוז and בזה ; *to meet*: קרא and קרה . b

For other examples in the case of defective verbs see § 85.

§ 85. Defective verbs

Sometimes in order to express the same verbal notion, some of the forms (conjugations, tenses) are borrowed from one root and the rest from another. Each of the two verbs is said to be *defective*. Here are the most common defective verbs: a

to be ashamed: בוש * (§ 80 q) and יבש (§ 76 d).

to be good: טוב (§ 80 q) and יטב (§ 76 d).

to wake up (intransitive): יקץ (§ 76 d) and קיצ .

to dread: יגר (§ 75 i) and גור (cf. § 41 f, n.).

to drink: שׂתה ; *cause to drink water, give to drink* השקה (a remote etymological link between the two verbs is doubtful).

Other verbs are defective, or suppletive (as they are sometimes called), as far as the conjugations are concerned, some tenses being borrowed from one conjugation, the rest from another: b

יקטף *to add* is quasi-defective, § 75 f: Pf. (Qal) הקטף ; fut. (Hif.) הוסיף .

יָצַת to burn (intransitive): Pf. (Nif.) **נִצַּת**; fut. (Qal) **יִצַּת** (§ 77 b).

כָּשַׁל to stumble: Pf. (Qal) **כָּשַׁל** (rarely **נִכְשַׁל**); fut. (Nif.) **יִכְשַׁל**, ptc. (Nif.) **נִכְשָׁל**.

לָאָה to be weary: Pf. (Nif.) **נִלְאָה**; f. (Qal) **יִלְאָה**.

מָוַג to melt: Pf. ptc. (Nif.) **נִמְוַג**; f., inf.cst. (Qal) **מִמְוַג**.

נָגַשׁ to approach: Pf. (Nif.) **נִגַּשׁ**; fut. (Qal) **יִגַּשׁ**, impv. (Qal) **גַּשׁ** (§ 72 g).

נָחַה to lead: Pf. (Qal) **נִחַה**; fut. (Hif.) **יִנְחֶה**.

נָתַךְ to pour forth (intransitive): Pf. (Nif.) **נִתְךָ**; fut. (Qal) **יִתְךָ**.

פָּוַץ to be scattered: Pf. (Nif.) **נִפְוַץ**; fut. (Qal) **יִפְוַץ**.

Note that in several instances (**יָצַת**, **נָגַשׁ**, **נָתַךְ**) we have a perfect Nifal and a future Qal, and that the two forms resemble each other⁽¹⁾.

(1) Cf. M. Lambert, *RÉJ* 41 (1900) 212. There is also a certain resemblance in the case of **נִפְוַץ**, **יִפְוַץ**; **יָגַר**, **יִגַּר**, § a.

c For the *participium tantum*, in the Qal, cf. § 50 d.

CHAPTER III: THE NOUN

§ 86. General observations

The *noun* in Hebrew and Semitic grammar includes not only the substantive but also the adjective⁽¹⁾, for in its formation and inflection the adjective does not differ from the substantive⁽²⁾. Because the Hebrew noun has lost the final vowels which indicated *cases* (nominative, accusative, genitive, § 93 *b*), there is no declension properly speaking. The logical relations expressed by the nominative, the accusative, and the genitive are shown by the position of the noun in the sentence. For the genitive, however, the first noun (*nomen regens*), which governs the second noun (*nomen rectum*), often has a special form called the *construct state*, as opposed to the ordinary form which is called the *absolute state* (§ 92 *a*). The changes in the vocalisation of the noun in the construct state and those changes which occur when a noun is lengthened by the addition of the plural, dual, and feminine endings and of the suffixes are due to stress shift. All these changes in the vocalisation constitute the *inflection* of the noun, § 95 *a*. This inflection, which is very subtle and less regular than that of the verb, requires, in order to be understood, a knowledge not only of phonetic laws but also of the primitive forms of the various Hebrew nouns.

(1) In its broad sense, the noun also includes the verbal adjectives, namely the infinitives and the participles.

(2) But adjectives do not have all the forms of substantives (cf. § 87 *c*).

§ 87. Noun formation

Nouns are either *primitive*, like אב *father*, אִמָּה *mother*, ראש *head*, רֶגֶל *a foot*, or *derivative*. Nouns are derived either from another noun, e.g. pl. מְרִגְלוֹת *place of the feet* (from רֶגֶל), שׂוֹרֵר *porter* (from שַׁעַר *gate*) or from a verb. The latter are very numerous, but it is unfounded to suppose that every noun is derived from a verb. Actually many verbs are derived from a noun (*denominative verbs*). In the case of many roots it is impossible to determine which came first, the noun or the verb.

Certain noun forms are associated with certain verb forms, e.g. **אָהַרְתָּ** *insult* is associated with the Piel **אָהַרְתָּ** *to insult*, **הִתְהַלַּחְתָּ** *praise* with the Piel **הִתְהַלַּחְתָּ** *to praise*. On the other hand, the attempts which have been made to link the majority of nominal forms to the tenses (perfect and imperative according to de Lagarde⁽¹⁾, perfect and future according to Barth)⁽²⁾, are not conclusive.

(1) P. de Lagarde, *Übersicht über die im Aramäischen, Arabischen und Hebräischen übliche Bildung der Nomina* (Göttingen, 1891).

(2) *Nominalbildung*.

b Whereas verbal forms (*conjugations* § 40 *a*) are few in number, nominal forms are many and varied. Each verbal form expresses scarcely more than one notion (e.g. the Piel: on the various notions associated with Piel, see § 52 *d*). Many nominal forms, on the other hand, are linked with more than one particular notion. However, one may say that, generally speaking, Hebrew (like other Semitic languages) tends to cast in the same morphological mould nouns designating similar things. Thus the form **קָטָן** is commonly associated with adjectives denoting a physical or mental defect, e.g. **עִוְרָן** *blind* (§ 88 H *b*); the form **קָטָן** with *nomina opificum* [= nouns of occupations], e.g. **שֹׁפֵט** *judge* (§ 88 H *a*); the form **קָטָן** with names of limbs, e.g. **אֲתָרָן** *shoulder* (§ 88 D *b*); the form **קָטָן** with names of agricultural activities, e.g. **קָטָן** *harvest* (§ 88 E *b*).

c Concrete nouns as well as abstract nouns are used in certain forms only.

Adjectives are used in certain forms only⁽¹⁾. Generally speaking, (primitive) forms with one vowel and those with a preformative are not used for adjectives in Hebrew. The forms which we find used for adjectives are the simple forms with two primitive short vowels **קָטָן**, **קָטָן**, **קָטָן**, with an etymologically short first vowel and an etymologically long second vowel **קָטָן**, **קָטָן**, **קָטָן**; the forms with doubling of the second consonant **קָטָן**, **קָטָן**, **קָטָן**; the form with afformative **קָטָן**, and some rarer forms like **קָטָן**.

Compound nouns are frequently used as proper nouns, e.g. **אֱלֹהֵי יְהוָה** = *man of God* (§ 93 *m*); on the other hand they are very rarely used as common nouns: **בְּלֵי עַל** *good-for-nothing, base*, composed of the negation **בְּלֵי** and of an element whose meaning is still debated, and the noun is indeclinable; perhaps **צֶלְמָוֶת**, interpreted as **צֶל מוֹת** as far back as the

LXX σκιὰ θανάτου (but the vocalisation is suspect; it has been suggested that it be read תַּמְוֹץ or תַּמְוֹץ which would mean *darkness*).

(1) Cf. F. Werner, *Die Wortbildung der hebräischen Adjektiva* (Wiesbaden, 1983).

§ 88. Nominal forms

Because of its length this paragraph is subdivided into several shorter paragraphs (which are indicated by capital letters A, B, C, etc.) as follows:

§ 88 A) Forms with only one consonant; B) with two consonants; C-G) with three consonants; H-I) with three consonants the second of which is doubled; J) with repeated consonant; K) with four consonants; L) with preformative; M) with affirmative. The aim of the following lists is to give a selection of forms about whose classification there is universal agreement. The reader will find relatively complete lists in Bauer and Leander⁽¹⁾, often with the reasons justifying the attribution of such and such a noun to such and such a form. Brockelmann gives the Hebrew forms within the framework of noun formation in all Semitic languages, which greatly helps the reader to understand them. In spite of all the work done up till now, the primitive form of a large number of nouns remains unclear.

(1) § 61 (pp. 448-506). This section of the grammar of Bauer and Leander is excellent; we have benefitted much from its use.

§ 88 A. FORMS WITH ONLY ONE CONSONANT

Forms which have (on the surface at least) only one consonant are very rare: יָא, plural אִיָּא I *island*, II *jackal*; יָצ I pl. אִיָּצ and אִצָּ *ship*; יָצ* II pl. אִיָּצ *an unidentified desert animal*.

§ 88 B. FORMS WITH TWO CONSONANTS

Qal. With the primitive short vowel *a*, which has usually become *a*⁽¹⁾: יָד *hand* (§ 96 E *a*), דָּם *blood* (§ 96 E *a*), שֵׁן *female breast*, וָךְ *hook* (§ 26 *f*), דָּג *fish*, מָךְ *mark*. Nouns of kinship (§ 98 *b*): אָב *father*, אָבִי *brother*, אָבִי *husband's father*.

With feminine ending: **שָׁנָה** *year*, **לִפְּהָה** *lip*, **מַחְמָה** *handmaid* (§ 98 d); **דְּלָת** *door*, **קֶשֶׁת** *bow*. Compare the aphaeretic infinitives like **שָׁנָה** (§ 72 c) (from **שָׁנָה**), **תַּעֲרֶה** (§ 75 g) (from **עָרַח**).

(1) For several of these nouns, the primitive state of the root is the object of debate; likewise for Qil.

- b** Qil (Inflection, § 96 E b). With the primitive short vowel *i*, which has usually become *e*: **עֵץ** *wood*, **אֱלֹהִים** *god*; **בֵּן** *son* (§ 98 c), **שֵׁם** *name*, **תֵּבָה** *base*.

With feminine ending: **מֵאוֹת** *hundred*, **צֵדָה** *side, angle*. Compare the aphaeretic substantives of **וָה** verbs such as **הוֹדִיעַ** *the bringing forth of children* (also infinitive) listed in § 75 m, and the infinitives like **תִּבְרָא**, **תִּבְרָא** (§ 75 a).

- c** Qul. With the primitive short vowel *u*, which has usually become *o*: perhaps **תְּרוֹם** *turtle-dove* (the *plene* **ו** could be improper).

- d** Qāl. With the primitive long vowel *ā*, which has usually become *o*(¹): **דָּוִד** *beloved*, **רִיב** *shore*, **טוֹב** *good* (probably).

(1) Nouns of the **קוּל** type are sometimes of doubtful origin; *o* may come from the contraction of *aw*.

- e** Qil. With the primitive long vowel *ī*, which has been preserved in Hebrew(¹): **גִּיד** *sinew*, **טֵיט** *clay, mud*, **מִין** *kind*, **סִיג** *dross*, **סִיר** *pot*, **עִיר** *city*, **קִיר** *wall*, **רִיר** *spittle*, **שִׁיר** *shrub*.

The infinitive of **ע"י** verbs can be a substantive and it also has the form *qil*, e.g. **דִּין** *to judge and a judgment*, **רִיב** *to quarrel and a quarrel*, **שִׁיר** *to sing and a song*.

With feminine ending: **בִּינָה** *understanding*, **קִירָה** *dirge*, **טִירָה** *encampment*.

(1) See what was said about the root of **ע"ו** verbs (§ 80 a) and **ע"י** verbs (§ 81 a).

- f** Qūl. With the primitive long vowel *ū*, which has been preserved in Hebrew(¹): **דָּוִד** *basket*, **חֵט** *thread*, **חוּץ** *the outside, street*, **טוֹב** *goodness*, **לִיבָה** *table*, **צוּר** *rock*, **רֵוַח** *breath*, **שׁוּרָה** *street*, **שׁוּר** *wall*.

With feminine ending: **שׁוּרָה** *row*, **פְּרִיָּה** *wine-press*.

(1) See what was said about the root of **ע"ו** verbs (§ 80 a) and **ע"י** verbs (§ 81 a).

- g** Forms with long (doubled) 2nd consonant(¹)

Qall (Inflection, § 96 A, n). With the primitive short vowel *a*, which has usually become = because of the tendency towards doubling. Before the labial *m* the vowel is labialized to *ɔ* (â)⁽²⁾: םָּ, םָּ (usually with disjunctive accent; otherwise םַּ); adj. םָּ, םָּ.

Substantives⁽³⁾: םַּ and םָּ; pl. עַמִּים *people*; הָר, הָרָה *mountain*; פָּר, פָּרָה *young bull*, שָׁר, שָׁרָה *prince*, כַּף, כַּף *palm of the hand*; יָם, יָם *sea*.

With feminine ending: אַמָּה *cubit*, שָׂרָה *princess* (for *śarra*).

Adjectives⁽⁴⁾: הָל *weak*, דָּק *thin*, חַי *living*, מָר *bitter*, יָז *strong*, צָר *enemy*, קָל *light*, גָּדוֹל *great*, רַךְ *tender*, דָּק *thin*, רָע *bad*, חָם *hot*, מְאֹד *perfect*.

With feminine ending: חַמָּה (poetic) *sun*, צָרָה *female rival* (for *šarra*), חַיָּה *animal*.

(1) See what was said about the root of ע"ל verbs in § 82 a.

(2) This phenomenon presupposes that the ף has the sound *ɔ*. Comp. the מָּ type (§ C f). On this question, see also a study by E.J. Revell, *HAR* 5 (1981) 84-99.

(3) Substantives of the םַּ type correspond to the *qal* form of trilateral roots.

(4) Adjectives of the לָ type probably correspond to the *qatil* form of trilateral roots; it is likely that here *qall* is a reduction of *qalil* (cf. P. Joüon in *MUSJ* 5 [1911] 402). Cf. § D b.

Qill (Inflection, §96 A o). With the primitive vowel *i*, which has usually been retained, except in final position where it has become *ɛ*: h

אָם, suff. אִמָּה *mother*, שָׂרָה *fire*⁽¹⁾, לֵב, suf. לֵבָי *heart*, צֶלֶל *shadow*, קִנָּה, pl. קִנָּה *nest*, חֵן, suff. חֵן *grace*.

With feminine ending: זַנְיָה *angle*, שָׂרָה *shield*, חֲדָה *cud*.

(1) Diachronically שָׂרָה (with its אִשָּׁה) may go back to a biliteral form /*iš/; J. Blau, *IOS* 2 (1972) 62-65 and Baumgartner, *Lexikon*, s.v.

Qull (Inflection, §96 A p). With the primitive vowel *u*, which has been retained, except in final position where it has become *ɔ*: i

חָן, suff. חֲנָה *statute*, כֹּל *the whole, all*, חָר *free man, noble*. The *qull* form is often used to form abstract nouns which correspond to the adjectives of the type *qall* (§ g): חֶם *heat*, יָז *strength*, רַב *multitude*, רַךְ *tenderness*, רָע *wickedness*, מְאֹד *perfection*⁽¹⁾.

With feminine ending: חֲדָה *decree*, חֲדָה *booth* (properly *covering*)⁽²⁾.

(1) Analogously, many *qul* nouns are abstract nouns (§ 88 C j).

(2) Despite the pl. חֲדָה (once only in Ez 45.7), חֲדָה (usually with -ל) may not belong here, but rather the final *Taw* may be radical. Cf. Ben-Hayyim, *LOT*, vol. 5, p. 243.

[§§ 88 C-G. FORMS WITH THREE CONSONANTS]

§ 88 C. FORMS WITH ONLY ONE VOWEL

a* A substantial number of Hebrew nouns are derived from the primitive pattern CVCC and its derivative CCVC (relatively few) in which the vowel was short. However, since the Hebrew phonology in the Tiberian tradition does not normally allow word-final consonantal clusters (§§ 18 l, 27 db), the pattern CVCC is actualised as CVCVC in the basic form, namely the singular form without a pronominal suffix. The extra vowel, termed epenthetic or anaptyctic because added on, is seghol. Hence the designation of these nouns as segholates. This seghol changes to pataḥ when R2 or R3 is a guttural including pronounced ה (exceptions: םקֶץ and םקֶרֶץ, §§ c and 96 A i). It is important to note that all segholate nouns are stressed on the penultimate syllable⁽¹⁾, and this is the only group of polysyllabic nouns so stressed. The reason why these segholate nouns are classified as having only one vowel is twofold. (1) In their inflected forms the one-vowel pattern can still be observed: for instance, from לָגֵל *calf* we find לָגֵלְךָ *your c., pl. cst.* לָגֵלִי, and fem. לָגֵלָה *heifer*. (2) Their analogues in cognate languages attest to the same basic pattern: Syr. 'eḡlā, Arb. 'ijl, both meaning *calf*. It is for these reasons that one often discusses segholate nouns in terms of qatl, qitl, and qutl patterns. A number of factors, however, complicate the task of establishing the correlation between these three primitive segholate types and the forms actually attested in Hebrew.

1. Hebrew segholate nouns can have one of *four* vowels in their first syllable, namely pataḥ, seghol, šeré, and ḥolem.

2. Most segholates with pataḥ and ḥolem in the first syllable can be safely considered as reflecting, respectively, the primitive qatl and qutl patterns: e.g. לַעַל *shoe*, cf. Arb. *naʿl* and Syr. *na'lā*; שְׁקִי *sanctity*, cf. Arb. *quds* and Syr. *qudšā*.

3. The Hebrew data are sometimes equivocal. For example, the fem. form of שְׁבִיבָה *lamb* is either שְׁבִיבָה or שְׁבִיבָה. אִמְרָה *utterance* is inflected as אִמְרוּ *his u., and pl.cst.* אִמְרֵי, unless we postulate a variant singular form אִמְרָה or אִמְרָה, cf. אִמְרָתִי from the synonymous אִמְרָתִי*. Likewise שְׁמֵלָה vs. שְׁמֵלָה (with metathesis) *garment*. Note also slightly different

fluctuations: $\text{נִבֵּל} / \text{נִבְּל}$ *some sort of musical instrument*; $\text{נִדָּר} / \text{נִדְּר}$ *vow*; $\text{הִפְּךָ} / \text{הִפְּךָ}$ (the latter with silluq and both within a single verse, Ez 16.34). Cf. § 96 A f.

4. Non-Tiberian traditions also attest to fluctuation: מִלְכֵיךָ vs. *mel-chechem* your (pl.) king in Jerome ad Am 5.26 מִלְכֵיכֶם , and Bab. /*milkiy-yā*/ (MT מִלְכֵיכֶם)(²) alongside $\lambda\alpha\mu\alpha\lambda\alpha\chi\eta$ in the Secunda at Ps 89.28.

5. The evidence of cognate languages is sometimes equivocal. For instance, בִּרְכָּיִם , בִּרְכֵי *knee*, but Syr. *burkā*; מִלְכֵי , but Arb. *malik*; אֶזְזָן , but Syr. *'ednā*; כִּסְפוֹ , but BA כִּסְפָּא ; Syr. *kespā*.

6. The vowel following the first radical in the pausal form does not always clinch the matter. Whilst the pausal form בִּטְּןִי from בִּטְּןִי *belly* may help assign the word to the primitive qatl pattern despite its inflection בִּטְּנִי and the like, forms on the other hand such as שֹׁבֵט *staff* (alongside שֹׁבֵט from שֹׁבֵט), הִתְּרֵךְ *hiding-place* (alongside הִתְּרֵךְ from הִתְּרֵךְ), all with qameṣ in contrast to קִטְּרָה (a qitl segholate without a doubt), and אֶרְצָךְ (a qatl segholate) on the other, highlight the complexity of the problem.

The difficulty is felt most acutely with the קִטְּלֵךְ pattern (§ 96 A f). Obviously not every קִטְּלֵךְ segholate is derived from the primitive qatl pattern. For a synchronic classification of Hebrew segholates, it seems best to us to rely on their inflection pattern as the principal criterion, though the required data are not always available due to the accident of insufficient attestation(³). Accordingly, בַּטְּןִי would be classified as an *i*-segholate in spite of Arb. *batn*(⁴). Likewise שֹׁמְשֵׁךְ on account of שֹׁמְשֵׁךְ in spite of שֹׁמְשֵׁךְ and $\chi\alpha\sigma\sigma\alpha\mu\varsigma$ in the Hexapla at Ps 89.37 (MT שֹׁמְשֵׁךְ), and Akk. *šamšū* and Arb. *šams*.

(1) Except those derived from some weak roots, e.g. בִּכֵי alongside בִּכְּה *weeping*. In this respect the place-name מִלְרָא with *mil'ra* stress is striking.

(2) See Yeivin, *Babylonian Tradition*, p. 1092.

(3) Pedagogically speaking, it may be helpful to establish a fourth pattern, i.e. qetl segholate, which would comprise nouns such as נִגְדָּיִם *opposite* (cf. נִגְדָּיִם , נִגְדָּיִם etc.), חֵלְקֵי *portion* (cf. חֵלְקֵי), עֲזָרָה *aid* (cf. עֲזָרָה).

(4) So in the Babylonian tradition; see Yeivin, op. cit., p. 837.

Qatl. With the primitive vowel *a*. The form is usually segholised (§ 96 A b): קִטְּלֵךְ . Sometimes the form becomes קִטְּלֵךְ with the vowel *a* at the end (§ g). Some *qatl* nouns can be of secondary origin, e.g. **bint* > **bant* > בַּת *daughter* (Philippi's law, § 29 aa) or a reduction of the

qatil or *qatal* forms (compare מֶלֶךְ *king* with the Arabic *ma'lik* and יָלֵד *child* with the Arabic *wa'lad*). The nouns of the *qatl* form are by far the most numerous nouns.

- b Strong roots: מֶלֶךְ, suff. מֶלֶכִּי *king* (§ 96 A c), אֶבֶן *stone*, אֶרֶץ, אֲרָץ *earth*, כֶּלֶב *dog*, כַּרְמֵי *vineyard*, שֶׁמֶן *oil*.

With feminine ending (Inflection, § 97 A b): מַלְכָּה *queen*, צַעֲמָה *young woman*.

- c Roots with the guttural א as second radical: $ra's > rā(')s > rō's > rō(')s = ראש$ (with a purely graphic etymological א); likewise אֶצְט *small cattle* (comp. Arb. *da'n*); cf. § 24 d.

Roots with the gutturals ה, ח, ע as second radical. The guttural almost always brings about the vocalisation = ֶ: לֶהֱבֵב *flame*, נַחֲלַי *valley*, פֶּחַד *fear*, נַעֲלַל *sandal*, נַעַר *young man*, שַׁעַר *gate*. However we find with ח the two words חֶמֶץ *bread* and חֶמְצָה *womb, breast*; cf. § 96 A i.

- d Roots with א as third radical⁽¹⁾: אֶפְרוֹ *wild ass*, אֶבְיָן *pool*, אֶבְטָן *vase*.

Roots with the gutturals ה, ח, ע as third radical. The guttural brings about the vocalisation = ֶ: אֶרֶב *seed*, אֶרֶב *rock*.

(1) Since the Alef is not pronounced, it does not change the usual vocalisation of the מֶלֶךְ type. For similar forms derived from *qil*, see § h.

- e ל"י roots (Inflection, § 96 A q). The primitive form *qaty* has changed into the two forms הֶקֶט and קֶטֶט, קֶטֶט (for a detailed explanation cf. § 96 A q): צֶבִי *gazelle*, קֶדֶי *kid*.

With feminine ending: צֶבִיָּה *gazelle*.

ל"ו roots. שָׁחַח (Ez 47.5)⁽¹⁾ *swimming*. With feminine ending: שָׁחַח *tranquillity*.

(1) The ש for = is probably due to the zaqef accent; cf. P. Joüon in *Bib* 1 (1920) 367, n.

- f ל"ע roots. With consonantal ל. a has been labialised to ו (â) before the ל (cf. § B g): מוֹת, cst. מוֹת *death* (§ 96 A l), אֶוֹן *wickedness*, אֶוֹן *injustice*, אֶוֹן *middle*. Instead of אֶוֹן* we find the shortened form אֶוֹן *nothingness* and (once) even אֶוֹן (Job 15.31K). With contraction: יוֹם *day*, צוֹם *fast*, שׁוֹר *head of cattle*, שׁוֹט *whip*.

With feminine ending: אֶוֹןָה, pl. אֶוֹנוֹת *injustice*.

ל"י roots. With consonantal י. The י has brought about the auxiliary vowel i: בַּיִת, cst. בַּיִת *house*, עַיִן *eye*, חֵזֶק *strength*, אֵיִל *oil* (§ 96 A l), יַיִן *wine*, יַצֵּד *hunt*. With contraction⁽¹⁾: חֵיל *rampart*, חֵיק *breast*.

With feminine ending: **הַיָּמָה** *terror*, **הַיָּרְדָּה** *provision for journey*, **שֵׁי בֶּה** *hoary head*.

N.B. The form *qall* in the ע"ע roots corresponds to the form *qatl*, § B g.

(1) Whereas contracted forms are numerous in ע"ע verbs, they are rare in ע"י verbs. The two examples quoted could originally have been *qatil*, according to BL, p. 457.

Qtal(¹). In some nouns the vowel has shifted to the end of the word, as in Aramaic (several of these words are also found in Aramaic): **שֵׁי בֶּה**, suf. **הַיָּמָה** *honey* (Arm), **זְמַן***, suf. **זְמַנִּי** *time* (Arm), **בֶּה**, **בֶּה*** *thicket* (Arm) **אֲגָם**, pl. **אֲגָמִים** *marsh* (Arm), **הַרְטָה**, pl. **הַרְטָתִים** *myrtle* (Arm), **שֵׁי בֶּה** *chaff*, **תַּתָּה** *terror*, **חֹרֶף** *winter* (Arm).

The feminine form *qtalla*, with secondary doubling, is very rare and is found in the Jewish name of Esther **הַרְטָתִים** *myrtle*, and in **סַעֲפָה** *branch*.

(1) The vocalisation *qatl* is sometimes found in the cst. state, e.g. **נִטְעָה***, cst. **נִטְעָה** *plantation* (§ 96 A c).

Qitl. With the primitive vowel *i*. The form has usually been segholised to **קִטְלָה** (§96 A b), sometimes to **קִטְלָה** (it is then identical with *qatl*)(¹). In roots with **ק** as second radical, the vowel has shifted to the end of the word: **קִטְלָה** (§ i).

Strong roots: **סֵפֶר**, suff. **סֵפֶרִי** *book* (§ 96 A e), **לֶגֶל** *calf*, **סֵתֶר** *secret, shelter*, **יָרָה** *love, will*; with a guttural as third radical **שָׁמַע** *hearing*, **תִּשְׁעָה** *nine*. Some nouns with seghol after the first radical also belong here (see above under § a*): e.g. **בֶּטֶן** *belly*, **קֶבֶר** *grave*, **זֶבַח** *sacrifice*, **נִגַּע** *blow*. With feminine ending: **תִּשְׁעָה** *nine*, **סֵתֶרֶת** *protection*, **בְּקָעָה** *valley*; with **ע**: **עֹגֵלָה** *heifer*.

ק"ל roots: Instead of **קִטְלָה*** we have the shortened form **קִטְלָה** *sin* (comp. **שָׁוָה**, § f). The following words are probably *qitl* in origin: **שָׁוָה** *grass*, **אֲפִלָּה** *wonder*, **אֲפִלָּה** *prison*.

ק"י roots: *hiṣy* has become **חִצִּי** *half* in pause and **חִצִּי** in context; cf. § 96 A r. Also belong here **בִּכְוָה** *weeping*, **אֲפִלָּה** *end*; **בְּכִי** (other form of **בִּכְוָה**), **שְׁבִי** *captivity*, **פְּרִי** *fruit*. With feminine ending: **שְׁבִיָּה** *captivity*.

N.B. The form *qill* in the ע"ע roots corresponds to the form *qitl*, § B h.

(1) According to I. Ben-David there is a complementary distribution, the pattern with *seré* being the rule at the beginning of a phrase, and that with seghol at the end of

it: *Leš* 47 (1983) 232-47.

i **Qtıl.** In nouns with \aleph as second radical the vowel -- had shifted to the end of the word: בְּאַר *well*, בְּאַז , pl. בְּאַזִּים *wolf*, בְּאַב *pain*, בְּאַר *wild ox*, בְּאַר *flesh*; בְּאַנָה *fig*(1).

The form *qtilla* with secondary doubling is rare: בְּאַמְטָה *release*, בְּאַמָה *embarrassment*, בְּאַקָה *assembly*. This form seems to be the fem. of an infinitive *qtıl* > בְּאַטָל , corresponding to the future in *i*(2), just as the form *qtulla* is the fem. of the inf. *qtul* > בְּאַטָל , § *k*. Instead of the expected form בְּאַטָה we find בְּאַטָה with a secondary doubling, perhaps by analogy with בְּאַטָה where the doubling is phonetically necessary (§ *k*).

(1) For an attempt to reconstruct the evolution of forms such as בְּאַר , בְּאַז , see J. Blau, *IOS* 7 (1977) 17-23. From these nouns must be distinguished בְּאַיִר *a little* and בְּאַלִּיטָה *fugitives*, which are related to the diminutive pattern *qutayl* so common in Classical Arabic. Note that both words are almost always (three exceptions for the latter in BHS) spelled *plene*. Cf. Barr, *Spellings*, pp. 141, 147.

(2) Cf. Barth, *Nominalbildung*, § 96.

j **Outl.** With the primitive vowel *u*. The form has generally been sgholised to בְּאַטָל (§ 96 A *b*). In some rare instances the vowel -- has shifted to the end: בְּאַטָל (§ *k*).

Strong roots (Inflection, § 96 A *g*): בְּאַזֵּן *ear*, בְּאַרְךָ *back of neck*; with ה as second radical: בְּאַהָל *tent*, בְּאַהָן *thumb*; with ע as second radical: בְּאַעַל *work*; with a guttural as third guttural: בְּאַגָּה *height*. Many abstract nouns: בְּאַבָּה , בְּאַמָּק *depth*, בְּאַאָרְךָ *length*, בְּאַרְחָב *breadth*, בְּאַגָּדָל *greatness*, בְּאַצָּר *strength*, בְּאַעֲשָׂר *wealth*, בְּאַחֲשָׁךְ *darkness*.

With feminine ending: בְּאַקָרְקָה *bald spot*, בְּאַקָרְבָה *ruin*, בְּאַקָרְלָה *foreskin*, בְּאַחֲמָה *wisdom*, בְּאַקָרְמָה *cunning*, בְּאַקָרְטָה *purity*, בְּאַקָרְטָה *impurity* (with *u* retained before the labial *m*), בְּאַקָרְשָׁה *weed*.

ל"י roots (Inflection, § 96 A *s*): בְּאַנִּי *fleet*, fem. (name of unit) בְּאַנִּיָה *ship*; בְּאַנִּי , בְּאַנִּיָה *affliction*; בְּאַחֲלִי , בְּאַחֲלִיָה *sickness*; בְּאַיִפִּי , בְּאַיִפִּיָה *beauty*.

ל"ו roots: בְּאַהָו *emptiness*, בְּאַהָוָה *emptiness*.

N.B. The form *qull* in the ע"ע roots corresponds to the form *qutl*, § B *i*.

k **Qtul.** The vowel -- has shifted to the end of the word in some nouns, especially in those with \aleph as second radical, בְּאַשָׁב *stench*, בְּאַלָּה pl. בְּאַלָּהִים *people*, בְּאַשָׁבֶט (doubtful meaning), בְּאַבְּרָבֶט *thicket* (comp. בְּבְרָבֶט ,

§ g).

The form *qtulla* with secondary doubling is fairly frequent. In most cases this form seems to be the feminine of the inf. *qtul* > קטל. The spontaneous doubling of a non-final consonant after the vowel *u* is constant, § 18 e. E.g. הַחֲזָא possession, הַשְׁרָי possession, הַסְּגִלָּה property; הַפְּקִדָּה inspection etc., הַלְּאִיָּה liberation, הַחֲנֻכָּה consecration, הַלְּמָא sheaf, הַכְּהֵנָּה priesthood⁽¹⁾.

(1) On this formation, see T.N.D. Mettinger, "The nominal pattern *qatullā* in BH," *JSS* 16 (1971) 2-14. Most of these nouns, which are common in late books, are legal or technical terms.

§ 88 D. FORMS WITH TWO SHORT VOWELS

Qatal (Inflection, § 96 B b). With two primitive short *a* which have usually become *â*. This form is frequent both as substantive and adjective. a

Substantives: הַדְּבָר word, הַאָּדָם man, הַפָּרֵס horse, הַבְּקָר large cattle, הַשְּׂכָר wages, הַרָּעָב hunger, הַמְּצָא thirst.

Adjectives: הַחֲכָם wise, הַשְּׂרָי new, הַשְּׁרָי upright, הַרְּחֵב wide, הַקָּזָם strong, הַקְּטָנָה fem. הַקְּטָנָה small (with spontaneous doubling, § 18 f), הַחֲדָם one (from 'ahad, with spontaneous virtual doubling, § 20 c).

י"י roots (Inflection, § 96 B f): הַשְּׂדֵה field and (poetic) הַשְּׂרָי reed, הַמְּנָה mina. י"ו roots: הַצָּנוּ humble.

ע"ע roots: הַבְּרָד isolated, הַחֲלָל pierced, fatally wounded. With feminine ending (Inflection, § 97 B b): the form *qatalat* has usually become הַקְּטָלָה. This form is frequent with abstract nouns: הַצְּדִיקָה justice, הַבְּרָאָה infamy, and expressions for giving out a loud noise: הַצְּעָקָה, הַצְּעָקָה and הַצְּוֹהָה cry, הַשְּׂאֵהָ roaring, הַחֲנָה sigh. Does הַבְּרָכָה blessing also belong here?

Qatil (Inflection, § 96 B d). The primitive form has normally become קטל. This form is frequent with adjectives: it is the form which has supplied the stative perfect of the first group, § 41 b. It is fairly frequent with substantives, in particular with names of limbs (which are in part substantivised adjectives). b

Adjectives: הַבְּרָב heavy, הַזָּקֵן old, הַיָּבֵשׁ dry, הַמְּלֵא full, הַשֶּׁמֶן fat, הַצָּרֵל un-circumcised.

Substantives: רְחֵל *ewe*, גֵּר wall, חֵצֵר *court*. Limbs of the body: כְּבֵד *liver* (i.e. *the heavy one*), בְּתֵר *shoulder* (probably *flat* or *large*), יָרֵךְ *thigh*, עֲקֵב *heel*, כְּבֵשׁ* *belly*, probably חֵזֶה *breast* (perhaps *that which faces, that which is opposite*). With an abstract meaning there is only גְּזֵל *robbery* (associated with עֲשָׂק *gain of extortion, act of extortion*).

ל"י roots (Inflection, § 96 B f): חֵלָה *ill*, יָפֵה *beautiful*, קָשָׁה *hard*.

ל"ו roots: שָׁלוֹ *quiet*.

ע"ע roots: adjectives of the type קָל *light*; שָׁמֵם *desolate* (cf. § B g, n.).

With feminine ending (Inflection, § 97 B d): בְּרֵכָה *pool*, בְּהֵמָה *beast*, גֵּרָה *wall*, לְבֵנָה *brick*; rarely in abstract nouns: מְהֵרָה *haste*. In some words the meaning has a passive nuance: טֵרֵפָה *animal torn (by wild beasts)*, אֲבֵרָה *lost object*, גְּנֵבָה and גְּזֵלָה *stolen object*.

To this *qatilat* form also belong the aphaeretic forms of the פ"ו verbs, like לָרֵךְ *the bringing forth (of children)*, which are quoted in § 75 m.

- c **Qatul** (Inflection, § 96 B e). The primitive form has usually become קָטֵל. This form is frequent in adjectives: it is the form which has supplied the stative perfect of the second type, § 41 b. It is not used in Hebrew for substantives. The *u* reappears in the course of inflection, e.g. עֲגֵלָה (§ 18 e).

Adjectives of space: אָרֶךְ *long*, עֲמֵק *deep*, גְּבוּהָ *high*, קָטַן *small* (besides קָטַן); נֶכֶח *straight*, עָגֹל *round*.

Adjectives of colour: אָדָם, suf. אֲדָמָה *red*, יָרוֹק *green*, צָהָב *golden*, צָחֹר *brilliant white* (?), שָׁרֵק *red*, שָׁחֹר *black*, כָּרֹד and נֶקֶד *spotted*.

In the following adjectives, which also belong to the form *qatul* > קָטֵל, the *o* does not get deleted: גָּדוֹל *great*, טָהוֹר *pure*, קָדוֹשׁ *holy*, קָרוֹב *near*, רְחוֹק *far* (cf. § 18 e, n.)⁽¹⁾.

(1) Cf. P. Joüon in *MUSJ* 5 (1911) 397ff.; BL, p. 467.

- d **Qital**. (Inflection, § 96 B c). The primitive form has normally become קָטֵל. This rather rare form is found only with substantives, almost all of them concrete: עֲנַב *grapes*, שִׁכָּר *intoxicating drink*; צֵלֶב *rib*, לֵב *heart* (extended form of לֵב which is far more frequent), חֲמָר *bitumen*, שֵׁעָר *hair*, שֵׁגֶל *queen-consort*; מְעָה*, pl. מְעָיִם* *internal organs*; נֶכֶר *foreignness*. It seems that some of these nouns were originally *qitl* (cf. § 96 B c).

§ 88 E. FORMS WITH A SHORT FIRST VOWEL
AND A LONG SECOND VOWEL

Qatāl. The primitive form has usually become קטול.

Substantives: אַתּוֹן *female donkey*, עֵרֹד *wild ass*; שְׁלוֹם *peace*, כְּבוֹד *glory*, שְׁלֹשׁ *three*, אַחֲרֹר *back part*; אֲמוֹן *builder*, עֹשֶׂה *oppressor*(¹).

As an action noun, קטול is used in the infinitive absolute, § 49 a. Genuine adjectives of the קטול type are usually *qatul* > קטל, cf. § D c(²).

(1) In MH and Late Aramaic קטול is frequent for nouns for professions (*nomina opificum*), e.g. מְחַוֵּן *miller*, and for names of instruments, e.g. דְּקוֹר *perforator*. This tendency is already noticeable in LBH: Jer 22.3 עֹשֶׂה // 21.12 עוֹשֶׂה; Jer 3.7-11 בְּנֹדָה // בְּנִדָה. See M. Bar-Asher in *Leš* 41 (1977) 95-102.

(2) The spelling differentiation can hardly be a factor. If one includes words belonging to either category (*qatul* or *qatāl*), the statistics are: 2643 defectives vs. 4002 plenes. See AF, p. 198.

Qatīl (§ 96 D b). The primitive form has usually become קטיל. It is an extended form of *qatil*, § D b. With this form are found adjectives, sometimes substantivised, adjectives with a passive meaning(¹), action nouns, for agricultural activities in particular: צָעִיר *small, young*, נְעִים *pleasant*, קָדוֹשׁ *pious*, נָקִי *clean*, עֲנִי *afflicted* (§ 96 D c), כְּלִיל *entire and entirety*, אֲסִיר *prisoner*, מְשִׁיחַ *anointed (Messiah)*, נְשִׂיא *prince*, נִזְיָר *consecrated, Nazirite*, מְפָקִיד *overseer*, שֹׂכֵר *mercenary*; חֲלִיל *(pierced) flute*; יְמִין *right-hand side* (substantive), קְדִים *the East, the Orient* (substantive). Action nouns: agricultural operations: מְזַמֵּר *pruning of the vine*, קָצִיר *harvest*, בְּצִיר *vintage*, אִסְיָר *ingathering, harvest*, חֲרִישׁ *ploughing*(²); utterance of a sound: זְמִיר *song*, חֲשִׁיחַ *whisper*.

With feminine ending. Action nouns: חֲלִיכָה *march*, חֲלִיפָה *change*, סְלִיחָה *forgiveness*(³).

(1) In Ugaritic and Aramaic *qatīl* (> קטיל in the latter) is the passive participle of the Qal conjugation.

(2) Some of these words and a couple of others not attested in the Bible occur in the 10th century Gezer calendar.

(3) In MH קטילה can be used for the action noun of any verb.

Qatūl. The primitive form has usually become קטול. It is an extended form of *qatul* (§ D c), just as *qatīl* is an extended form of *qatil*. We find adjectives, participles, and action nouns of this form.

Adjectives: **עָצוּם** *mighty*, **עָרֹם** *shrewd*, **בְּצוּר** *fortified*. This **קָטוּל** form is the passive participle of the Qal conjugation (§ 50 c); sometimes the sense is virtually active, e.g. **זָחֹזֵז** *holding* (§ 50 e).

Action nouns (rarely): **שִׁבּוּר** *breaking* and **חֲרוּץ** *mutilation* (Lv 22.22). With feminine ending: Abstract nouns: **אֱמוּנָה** *fidelity*, **גְּבוּרָה** *strength*, **מְלוּכָה** *kingship*. Action nouns: **קְבוּרָה** *burial*, **שְׁבוּעָה** *oath*, **עֲשׂוּפָה** *effective help, victory*.

- d **Qitāl**. The primitive form has usually become **קָטוּל**: the primitive short vowel *i* is dropped, § 30 d: **זְרוּעַ** *arm*, **חֲמוֹר** *donkey* (§ 21 g), **אֱלֹהִים** *god*; nouns of instruments, bonds, and receptacles: **חֲגוּרָה** *belt*, f. **חֲגוּרָה**, **אֲזוּרָה** *belt* (א, § 21 h), **שְׁרוּדָה** *sandal-thong*, **צָרוּר** *bag*. For **אֲסָר** (with *ā*, § f), cf. § 18 g.

With feminine ending: **עֲבֻרָה** *work*, **בִּשְׂרָה** *good news (gospel)*.

- e **Qutāl**. The primitive form usually becomes **קָטוּל**: the primitive short vowel *u* is dropped, § 30 d: **רְחוּב** *broad place*, **אֲנוּשׁ** *man* (§ 21 h). In some words, as is often the case in Arabic, this form has a pejorative nuance, e.g. for waste products, rubbish: **נְעֻרָת** *tow*, **בְּלוּי** *rag*, probably **קְטָרָת** *smoke*⁽¹⁾.

(1) Alongside **קְטוּרָה** (1 x). The form *qutāl* is found in the Arabic *‘utān* "smoke." According to BL, p. 469 **קְטָרָת** is a *qutul*.

- f **קָטַל** (§ 96 D d). The Aramaic form **קָטַל** (*qtāl*) with originally long *ā*⁽¹⁾ (instead of Hebrew *o*) is found in some nouns. The lost first vowel may have been *a*, *i* or *u*: **כְּתָב** *something written, book* (hence Arb. *kitāb*), **קָרָב** *battle*, **סִפָּר** *numbering*, **יָקָר** *honour*, **שְׁאָר** *rest* (probably *qutāl*), **מְצָר** *stronghold*.

(1) This *ā* must have been originally long in Hebrew also, in spite of the tendency to shorten it in the construct state (§ 96 D d).

- g The Hebrew form **קָטַל** may come from a hypothetical primitive form *qitil*. In fact **קָטַל** seems to be a reduction of *qatil*, in which case the *a* would have been lost for abnormal and unknown causes, perhaps under Aramaic influence. Hardly anything but substantives are found in this form, and most of them seem to be of foreign origin: **גְּבִיר** *lord* (f. **גְּבִירָה** *lady*, absolute and cst. **גְּבִירָת**, § 97 F b), **אֲוִיל** *mad* (subst. and adj.), **בְּסִיל** *stupid, mad*, **אֲלִיל** *nothingness, idol*, **יָגִיעַ** *weariness*, **בְּרִיל** *lead*, **בְּרִיחַ** *bolt, bar*, **חֲבִיר** *hindmost chamber (of the temple)*, **בְּפִיר** *young lion*, **מְחִיר** *dowry* (Akkadian word); cf. BL, p. 471 and W.R. Garr, VT 37

(1987) 136.

The Hebrew form קטול is found in some substantives, several of which are collective nouns. Quite normally the lost first vowel may be *i* or *u* or, abnormally, it may be *a* as in Aramaic. h

Perhaps belonging to *qitūl*: כַּלְבֵי cage (Tell el Amarna: *kilubi*).

Probably belonging to *qutūl* are the following collective nouns: זְכוּר males, שְׂכוּר movable possessions, יְקִיּוֹם the living (for *qyūm*), all three without a plural; גְּבוּל border (collective and sg.), לְבוּשׁ garment (coll. and sg.).

Other nouns: גְּדוּד band (of plunderers), זְבֻל habitation, גְּמוּל deed (fem., גְּמוּלָה), יְבוּל produce.

With first א (§ 21 h): אַבּוּס crib, manger, אַטּוּן thread, אַמּוּן fidelity. Judging from its meaning, אַסּוּר bond, tie is probably *qitāl*, § d; אַסּוּר* seems to have become אַסּוּר by phonetic accident or analogy (cf. § 29 b).

§ 88 F. FORMS WITH LONG FIRST VOWEL AND SHORT SECOND VOWEL

Qātal > קוּטַל (Inflection, § 96 C b). The primitive form *qātal* is very rare: perhaps עוֹלָם aeon⁽¹⁾, חוּתָם seal (an Egyptian word), חוּתָמָת probably being its feminine form; כּוּתָרַת capital of a column (because of the pl. כּוּתָרוֹת), עֲפָרָת lead. a

The other words found in the קוּטַל form come from *qawtal*; cf. § K a. According to § 26 g, עוֹלָל probably does not belong here, but rather to the pattern Qattal (§ 88 H a).

(1) But *-ām* here may be the accusative ending (Brock., *GvG*, I, p. 474).

Qātil > קוּטֵל, קוּטַל (Inflection, § 96 C c). Like *qatil* (§ E b), it is an extended form of *qatil*. It is the form of the active participle of the Qal conjugation. b

Its use as a substantival participle is frequent: אוֹיֵב enemy, אֶהֱב friend (loving and also, e.g. 2Ch 20.7 loved), קִרְיָא partridge (which cries). Rather frequent as *nomen opificis*: רֹעֵה shepherd, צִרְיָה jeweller (properly speaking *smelter*), כּוּבֵס fuller (participium tantum), שֹׁפֵט judge, סוֹפֵר scribe; sometimes denominative: שַׁעֲרָה doorkeeper (from שַׁעַר gate), בּוֹקֵר herdsman (< בִּקְרָה), קְהָלָה man of assembly (קְהָל); § 89 b.

With feminine ending: חֹמָה (*protecting*) wall of a city, עוֹלָה *holocaust*, קוֹרָה *beam*. In two Aramaic-looking words \bar{a} has become \bar{a} (stable and probably long): נְדָלִית* *branch*, pl. נְדָלִיּוֹת; זַוּיָּת* *angle*, pl. זַוּיּוֹת (cf. BL, p. 505).

According to § 26 g, עוֹלָל probably does not belong here, but rather to the pattern Qattil (§ 88 H c). This pattern sometimes occurs side by side with the Qattal pattern (§ 88 H a): חֹרֶשׁ vs. חֶרֶשׁ, חֹבֵר vs. חֶבֶר.

(1) Some *qātil* forms have become mere verbal nouns: e.g. Nu 24.20 אֲבָר *destruction*; Jer 29.16 גּוֹלָה *exile*; 1Kg 10.5 עוֹלָתוֹ *his ascent* (// 2Ch 9.4 עֲלֵיתוֹ). Originally, they were most likely genuine participles. Cf. P. Wernberg-Møller in *ZAW* 30 (1959) 54-67.

c Qūtal. Very rare form: שׁוֹשַׁן *lily* (alongside שׁוֹשָׁן), סַגְוֵר *cage(?)*.

§ 88 G. FORMS WITH TWO LONG VOWELS

Hebrew form קִיטוֹל, rather rare: נִיחָה *pleasantness, satisfaction*, כִּידוֹד and נִיצוֹץ *spark*, מִירוֹשׁ *must*, קִיטוֹר *smoke*, צִינָק *pillory* (probably *qitāl* form with abnormal lengthening of the \bar{i}).

[§§ 88 H-I. FORMS WITH DOUBLED SECOND CONSONANT]

§ 88 H. FORMS WITH TWO SHORT VOWELS

a Qattal > קֶטַל. In Hebrew many nouns such as some *nomina opificum*, which in other Semitic languages are *qattāl*, have the form קֶטַל, e.g. חֶבֶר *butcher*. Nevertheless the \bar{a} here does not seem to be etymologically long⁽¹⁾. Examples: Adjectives: קַנָּא *jealous* (5 times; קַנּוּא twice), רַנִּי *sick*, חַטָּא *sinner*. Substantives: נַבֵּב *thief*, דִּינָן *judge*, רַבֵּב *charioteer*, שַׁרְפָּן *horseman* (for *parraš*), שַׁרְפָּן *workman* (for *ħarraš*).

With feminine ending: קֶטַלָּה or קֶטַלְתָּה. The form קֶטַלָּה is found in בְּהַלָּה *flame*, cstr. לְהַבָּה, חֶרֶבֶה *dryness*, יַבֵּשָׁה (also יַבֵּשָׁת, not cst.st.) same meaning. In some cases קֶטַלָּה corresponds to the Aramaic Pael infinitive, where the \bar{a} is etymologically long⁽²⁾: בְּקַרְחָה *care*, בְּקַשָּׁה *request*, בְּקַדָּה *suddenness*, בְּקַצָּה *outrage*, בְּקַמָּה *consolation*.

The form קֶטַלְתָּה is frequent in nouns corresponding to the קֶטַל adjectives of infirmities or of physical peculiarities, § b: עֵינָרְת *blindness* (עֵינָר *blind*), קַרְחָת and נַבֵּחָת *baldness* (קַרְחָ and נַבֵּחָ *bald*), דִּלְקָת and

תַּחֲרִיב *burning fever*; תְּאִלְוֶה *madness* (with attenuation of a to i). Some nouns of vessels: תַּחֲרִיב *deep vase*, צִפְחָה *jug*, קַדְחָה *kettle*.

(1) Same problem with the *ā* of the affirmative *ān*, § M a. In both cases we can hardly think in terms of borrowings from Aramaic, as for קִטְלָה (§ E f). The cst. state in – indicates that the *ā* is not etymologically long: קִטְלָה, שִׁחַרְשֵׁת, שִׁחַרְשֵׁת. The retention of qameṣ in the cst. pl. is no proof to the contrary: שִׁחַרְשֵׁת, שִׁחַרְשֵׁת (comp. שִׁחַרְשֵׁת, § 96 A e), מְלַחֲמֵיךָ. For a diachronic analysis, cf. O. Loretz, "Die hebräische Nominalform *qattāl*," *Bib* 41 (1960) 411-16. See also K. Aartun in *JNWSL* 4 (1975) 1-8.

(2) If these Hebrew nouns have been influenced by Aramaic, the פ can be regarded as long. See the Aramaic form of the causative הִקְטִילָה, § 88 L b.

The form קִטְלָה, a genuine Hebrew form, is found in adjectives of infirmities or of physical peculiarities: עִוְרָה *blind*, אִלְמוּת *dumb*, מַחְפָּח *lame*, גִּבְעָה *hunchback*, שִׁחַרְשֵׁת *crooked*, שִׁחַרְשֵׁת *deaf* (for *hirreš*), כִּהְהָה *darkened*, יָדָה *dry*. We also have גִּבְעָה *proud*, מַחְפָּח *seeing* (antonym of עִוְרָה), שִׁלְשִׁלִּי and רִבְעִי *of the third and forth generation* respectively; on the last two, see § 96 C c(1).

(1) Tur-Sinai argues that this pattern is related to the Piel passive participle: N.H. Tur-Sinai, *The Language and the Book*, the *Language* vol. [Heb] (Jerusalem, 1954), pp. 265-67.

Qattil > קִטְלָה is the infinitive construct of the Piel conjugation in the active voice, § 52 a. c

Quttal > קִטְלָה (rare): סִקְלָה *ladder*; כַּלְעֵת *chalice*. d

§ 88 I. FORMS WITH LONG SECOND VOWEL

Qattāl > קִטְלוּ (rare): קַנְוֹא *jealous* (twice; five times קַנְוֹא, § H a). a

Qattil > קִטְלִי. An intensive form of *qatil*: אֲבִיר *strong*, אֲדִיר *powerful*, אֲמִיץ *firm*, גִּבְרִי *great*, שִׁלְטָן *ruler*, צַדִּיק *righteous*, צִלְיוֹן *joyful*, עֲתִיק *ancient*; בָּרִיחַ *swift* (for *barrīh*), עֲרִיץ *violent*, פְּרִיעַן *burglar*, wall breaker. b

Qattūl > קִטְוִל. An intensive form of *qatūl*: חַנּוּן *gracious*, רַחוּם *merciful*, שִׁכְוִל *childless*, שִׁשְׁוִב *attentive*. Substantives: עַמּוּד *column*, אֲשֵׁר *step*. With feminine ending: מַחְבּוּת *bruise*, בְּטָחוּת *security*. c

קִטְוִל represents various primitive forms which are not always easy to distinguish. The – could be an attenuated *a*. The *o* comes from either *ā* or *u*. Examples: גִּבּוּר *hero* (probably from *gabbār*), שִׁכְוִר *drunkard* (*šakkār*) d

or *šikkār*), צפור *bird* (from *šuppur*; *i* for *u* by dissimilation, cf. § 29 *h*); רמון *pomegranate* (from *rummān* > *rummōn*; *i* by dissimilation).

- e קטול may come from *quttūl* (by dissimilation) or from *qattūl* (by attenuation of *a* to *i*). This form is mainly used, as in MH, in action nouns corresponding to the Piel conjugation: צפוי *coating*, שלם *retribution*, שקוי *horror*, שיקוי *drink*; with concrete meaning: למוד *disciple* (properly speaking *teaching*), צוי *strong* (strictly speaking, *strength*). Quite often in the masc. plural: גרופים *insult*, מלאים *filling*, consecration, גמלים *consolation*, compassion, שכלים *childlessness*, שלוחים *repudiation*(¹).

(1) Pace L. Gulkowitsch, *Die Bildung von Abstraktbegriffen in der hebr. Sprachgeschichte* (Leipzig, 1931), p. 22, n. 7, this pattern is a rather productive one in MH: see J. Elizur, "The *qittul* pattern in Mishnaic Hebrew," M. Bar-Asher (ed.), *Mehqarim balašon II-III* [Heb] (Jerusalem, 1987), pp. 67-93.

§ 88 J. FORMS WITH REPEATED CONSONANT

- a Repetition of the third consonant:

Qatlal. Adjective שָׁאֵן *quiet* (pl. שְׂאֵנִים) and רֵעֵן *green* (pl. רֵעֵנִים); see the corresponding perfects, § 59 *b*.

Qutlal: Adjective אֵמֵל* *feeble*; see the corresponding perfect, § 59 *b*.

Qatlil: סְגִיר *rain* (*continuous* or *intermittent*) Pr 27.15†; עֲבֵט *heavy debt*.

Qatlūl: נֶעְצוּן *thorn-bush*, נְאֻפִים *adulterers*, שְׁעֵרָה *horrible*(¹).

(1) Perh. also זְנוּנִים *prostitution* (*zanūn* for *zanwūw*); cf. P. Joüon in *Bib* 1 (1920) 366. Cf. also גְּהֵלִים *pasture*.

- b Repetition of the second and third consonants:

Qataltal: Two diminutive colour adjectives: אֶרְמֵר *reddish* (from אָרֵם) and יֶרְקֵר *greenish* (from יָרוֹק). Other adjectives: תְּפֵפֵף *tortuous*, שִׁלְשִׁל* *slippery*, עֶקְעֶק* *tortuous*.

Qataltul: One diminutive colour adjective: fem. שְׁחֶרְחֶרֶת *blackish* (from שָׁחַר). Another adjective: פְּתִלְתִּל *tortuous*.

Qataltūl: מִסְפָּסָּם *mixed multitude* Nu 11.4 † (from אָסַף *gathered*).

- c Repetition of the (biliteral) root, namely ע"ע or ע"וי:

Qalqal: גַּלְגַּל *wheel*, תְּרִדְרִד *thorns*, עַפְעָפִים *eyelids*. Also belonging to this form: כּוֹכָב *star* (*kabkab > *kawkab > *kohāv*), כֶּכֶר *disk, talent* (*karkar > *kirkar* > *kikkar*), and probably טוֹטְפוֹת *frontlet bands* (*taftaf).

Qulqul: קוֹרְקוֹר *top of the head*, גֻּלְגֻלָּת *skull*.

Qalqūl: בִּקְבֵק *jug*, חֲרָחַר *burning fever*; in the plural: שְׁשׁוּעִים *delights*, תְּצַחֲצִים *jokes*.

§ 88 K. QUADRILITERAL FORMS

Forms with four radicals are relatively few. In some, one of the consonants may be of secondary origin. We shall here conventionally designate the fourth radical by the fourth letter of the alphabet: ד = *d*.

Qatlad is the most frequent: עֲקָרָב *scorpion*, עֲכָבָר *mouse*, קַרְקַע *bottom*, *a* גַּזְזַמֵּל *electrum* (?), גוֹזָל *young bird* (from *gawzal) (cf. § F a), לוֹרֹל *lot* (from *gawral); זִלְעָפָה *violence* etc. (secondary ל). With א as first radical: אֶלְמָנָה *widow*, אֶמְתָּחַת *bag*, אֶרְנָבֶת *hare*. In שֶׁלֶהֶבֶת *flame* (alongside בֶּלֶהֶב) the ש is probably secondary (preformative ש of the causative in Aramaic)⁽¹⁾.

(1) For a possible pattern *qatyal* or *qityal*, see A. van Selms, "Pa'yal formations in Ugaritic and Hebrew nouns," *JNES* 26 (1967) 289-95.

Qatlud: כַּרְכָּב *margin*, כַּרְכָּם *saffron*, חֲרָגָל *species of locust*, פֶּרְעֵשׁ *b* *flea*, קַרְדֵּם *axe*, קַרְסָל *ankle*; חֲרָצְבוֹת *fetters*.

Qatlid: שֶׁרְבִיט *scepter* (secondary ר), זִרְזִיף *shower*. *c*

Qatlūd: גַּלְמוֹד *barren* (ל is perhaps secondary), עֲכָשׁוּב *viper*(?), *d* שְׁבַלְגָל *snail* (dagesh dirimens, § 18 k).

Forms with three vowels: סִמְרָר *blossoming*, עֲכָבִישׁ *spider*, חֲלָמִישׁ *gra-* *e* *nite*, cst. חֲלָמִישׁ, § 96 D b, n.

Quinqueliteral forms are very rare: צְפַרְדֵּי *frog*; שְׁעֵטָנִי *mixed stuff*. *f*

§ 88 L. FORMS WITH PREFORMATIVES

The preformatives א, ה and י are rather uncommon; מ and נ, on the other hand, are very frequent.

א is prosthetic (§ 17 a) in a few nouns: אֶזְרוּעַ *arm* (twice) alongside *a*

the usual זָרָע , אֶצְבָּע *finger* (Ar. 'iṣba'; Syr. ṣev'ā), $\text{אֶצְבָּעָה$ *bracelet*, אֶרְזָא *indigenous*, $\text{אֶשְׁמִירָה$, cst. אֶשְׁמִירָתָא *night-watch*. With א forming an open semi-syllable: אֶמְלִיכָא *melons*, אֶבְבַּעָא *pustules*, $\text{אֶגֶז$ *nut*.

Three words in the 'aqtal form seem to correspond to the Arabic 'aqtal form (used as relative, as adjective for colours and certain physical peculiarities): אֶדְבָּא *deceptive (torrent)*, אֶיְתָן ('aytan) *perennial (torrent)*, אֶזְרָא (poet.) *cruel, executioner*(¹). For אֶזְבָּרָה , cf. § b.

In other words the initial Alef seems to be a radical, § K a.

(1) The number אֶרְבַּע *four* (§ 100 d) also has this form. Note that in these forms we have א and not אֶ.

- b ה is only found in הֶקְטִילָהּ , which is the form of the Aramaic causative infinitive(¹). We only find the infinitive הֶנְפִּיָהּ in Is 30.28† *the act of winnowing* (from הָנִיף , probably for assonance with נִפְתָּה). We find substantives הֶנְקָה Esth 2.18† *unburdening* (from הָנִיחַ), הֶזְבָּרָה Is 3.9† *bias (for a person)*, הֶצִּילָהּ Esth 4.14† *deliverance*.

With א for ה: אֶזְבָּרָה *memorial*.

(1) Note הֶקְטִילָהּ as infinitive of the Aramaic Pael conjugation (§ 88 H a).

- c ' is found in some nouns which perhaps originally were futures in the 3 p.m.sg., as several proper nouns are, e.g., אֶצְחָק *he laughs*, אֶצְקִיב *he trips*(¹).

Examples: אֶצְהָר *exquisite oil* (perhaps *it is bright*); אֶצְקִיב *pocket* (perhaps *it collects*), אֶצְמִירָה *species of antelope*, אֶצְרִיב *adversary*; אֶצְקִיב *substance*; אֶצְשִׁירָה *owl*; also אֶהוּהָ ?

(1) Many cognate languages display similar "sentence-names." Cf. D. Cohen, *Études* [§ 34a, n. 2], p. 34. M. Noth, *Die israelitischen Personennamen im Rahmen der gemeinsemitischen Namengebung* (Stuttgart, 1928). For an attempted morphological classification, see L. Koehler, "Jod als hebräisches Nominalpräfix," *Die Welt des Orients*, 1 (1947-52) 404f.

- d נ is very frequently used as a preformative. The two primitive vowels of preformative נ are a and i, which normally become נֶ and נִ in an open syllable. In a closed syllable a can be maintained or it can be weakened to נֶ or נִ ; i is maintained except before a guttural where it becomes נֶ (§ 29 e, n.). As we can see, it is difficult to identify the primitive vowel of preformative נ . That is why the Hebrew forms will be given here(¹).

Nouns with preformative נ are mainly abstract nouns(²), nouns of

place and nouns of instrument. As nouns of place we mainly find the form מְקַטֵּל, then מְקַטֵּל; as nouns of instrument mainly מְקַטֵּל.

(1) In the tradition lying behind the Secunda and Jerome's transliterations, *ma-* predominates, *mi-* or *me-* being largely confined to cases where R1 is a sibilant: e.g. Ps 35.20 מְרַמֵּת μᾶρμωθ; 46.10 מְלַחֵמֵת μᾶλαμωθ, but 46.8 מְשַׁנֵּב μισγαβ. See Brønno, *Studien*, pp. 172-81, and Sperber, *Hist. Gram.*, pp. 206f. This tendency is observable in the Babylonian and Samaritan traditions of Hebrew pronunciation as well: see Yeivin, *Babylonian Tradition*, pp. 995f., and Ben-Hayyim, *LOT*, vol. 5, pp. 206f. For a recent, fresh study of the question, see Lambdin, art. cit. [§ 29 *aa*, n.], esp. p. 138.

(2) Compare the rare infinitive forms in מ, § 49 *e*.

מְקַטֵּל⁽¹⁾. Strong roots: מְלַאֵךְ *envoy, angel*⁽²⁾, מְאָכַל *food*, מְמַלְכָה *king-* e
dom, מְלַאכָה *business* (for מְלַאֲכָה*, § 24 *f*), מְאַרְבַּח *ambush*, מְעַרְבַּח *west*,
מְעַרְבָה *ford*, מְעַמְקָה* *deep place*.

מְתַּנְּן roots: מְתַּנֵּן *gift*, מְטַע *plantation* (and the plants themselves, Is 61.3), מְמַסֵּע* *decampment* (cf. § 49 *e*), מְשַׁא *weight, burden*, מְשַׁא *debt*. From יִרְע we have the Aramaising and late form מְרַע *knowledge*; from יִצַע we have מְצַע *couch* (§ 77 *b*).

מְשַׁב roots: מְשַׁב *dwelling-place* (from *mawšab*), מְשַׁא *exit*, מְשַׁא *fear*, מְרַע *relative*⁽³⁾, מְרַע *inheritance* (in the locative meaning), probably מְרַע *birth place* (but *maqtil* is possible). In some nouns the *o*, for some peculiar reason, has been weakened to *u* (cf. § 29 *b*); מְוַסֵּר *cor-*
rection (*maw* > *mō* > *mu*), מְוַצֵּק *fusion*, מְוַעֲרָה *convention*⁽⁴⁾.

מְשַׁב roots: מְטַב *good thing* (from *maytab*), מְתַר *cord*, מְשַׁר *recti-*
tude.

מְלִי roots⁽⁵⁾: מְרַא *aspect* (from *mar'ay*), מְעַשָּׂה *deed*, מְעַלָּה *ascent*, מְעַנָּה *intention*, מְטָה *stick*; feminine מְכָה *stroke*; with apocope: מְעַל *above*, מְעַל *because of*.

מְעַ and מְעִ roots: מְקוֹם *place* (from *maqām*), מְבוֹא *entrance*, מְרוֹן *quarrel* (root מְרִין); with consonantal י: מְעַיִן *source*; מְנוֹרָה *candlestick*. In nouns of the type מְנוֹחָה *rest* (alongside מְנוּחָה) the *u* is usually for *o* (§ 29 *b*); but in some nouns the *u* may be primitive. The noun מְעוֹז (with ו) *place of refuge*, is *maqtal* from מְעוֹז *to take refuge* (cf. Arb. *ma'ād*). The doubling of ו in the inflection (e.g. מְעוֹזִי, מְעוֹזִי) is due to the contamination of the root מְעוֹז *to be strong*, caused by closeness of meaning (*place of refuge, stronghold*). The sibilant has also contributed to the doubling. The intermediate מְ is stable; likewise in מְגַן

(§ h).

ע"ל roots: מָצַף *cover, protection*, מָשַׁק * *act of penetrating ?* (Aramaic doubling); in the dissociated state: מַעֲלָל *action*. The abnormal form מָמַר *bitterness, grief* (Pr 17.25†) is probably a *maqtal* recast as a *qatl* (**mamarr* > *mamar* > *mamr*); comp. מָרַךְ , § j, and מָמַר , § v.

N.B. In מָשַׁא אֵין *deceit* (root שֵׂא) the form *maqtal* has the affirmative *ān*, as in Aramaic (cf. Brock., *GvG*, I, p. 391).

(1) For the inflection of מַקְטֵל as well as of מַקְטֵל , מַקְטֵל cf. § 96 C b.

(2) The primary meaning is doubtless abstract: *sending, mission*. Comp. Arb. *mal'ak* "message" and "messenger"; likewise, in Latin, *nuntius*.

(3) The primary meaning is doubtless abstract: *knowledge*, hence the concrete meaning, *an acquaintance*, and, consequently, *relation (by marriage)*. Irregular pataḥ.

(4) These forms look like Hofal participles.

(5) Since הֵי can also come from *iy*, there may be some doubt about the primitive form.

f מַקְטֵל . Strong roots: מַגְדֵּל *tower*, מַבְטָח *trust*, מַשְׁפָּט *judgement*, מַלְחָמָה *war*, מַבְחָר * *excellence* (less frequent than מַבְחֹר), מַשְׁקָל *weight* (more frequent than מַשְׁקוּל). Cf. infinitive מַקְטֵל , § 49 e.

ה"ל roots: מַקְנָה *possession*, מַקְוָה *hope*; fem. מַרְמָה *deceit*, מַצְוָה *precept*.

ע"ל roots: מַרוֹץ *race* Ec 9.11†.

ע"ע roots: מַסָּב *that which surrounds*, מַצָּר *narrow spot, anxiety*.

g מַקְטֵל (¹): מַרְכָּבָה *chariot*: fem. מַרְכָּבָה , cst. מַרְכָּבָת , pl. מַרְכָּבוֹת ; מַרְחָב *large place*; מַרְחָק *distant place*; מַלְקָחַיִם *tongs*, suf. מַלְקָחַיָּה ; מַמְשָׁלָה *domination*, suf. מַמְשָׁלוֹתָיו . Before a guttural: מַחְזָה *window*, מַחְצָה *half*, מַחְזָר *secret place*.

(1) The use of the מַקְטֵל must have been influenced by a fondness for the vocalic sequence $\xi - \varphi$, § 29 f. For the primitive form cf. § 29 e 2.

h מַקְטֵל (cst. מַקְטֵל § 96 C c). Strong roots: מַרְבֵּץ *resting-place (of animals)*, מַשְׁעֵן *support*, מַרְזֵחַ *cries*, מַשְׁבֵּר *mouth of the womb (?)*, מַשְׁעֵנָה *support, staff*, מַהֲפָכָה *catastrophe*.

פ"ן roots: מַפְיָץ *war-club*; מַצְבָּה *stèle*, מַסְכָּה *fusion*, מַגְפָּה *blow, defeat*.

פ"י roots: מַוְעֵד (for *maw'id*) *appointed place*, מַוְקֵשׁ *snare*.

פ"א roots: likewise we find מַאזְנַיִם *pair of scales* (in Arabic root *wazana*), מַוְסֵר *bond*, from *ma'sir* (with א omitted in the spelling); cf. § 24 d.

ע"י roots: מַרְיָבָה *contestation*, מַלְיָצָה *riddle*, מַרְיָנָה *province*.

ע"ע roots: מַגְנֵן *shield* (with stable נ , § 96 C c: מַגְנִי , מַגְנִי); feminine

מְגֹלָה *roll*, מְזִמָּה *purpose*, מְסָלָה *highway*, מְאַרְרָה *malediction, misery* (for *m'ir-ra*), מְגִירָה *plane(?)*.

מְקִטֵּל (§ 96 C c) is a very rare form for *maqtīl*; it is only found in מְזִבְחָה *altar* and מְסַפֵּד *act of lamenting* (under the influence of the sibilant, Brock., *GvG*, I, p. 381).

מְקִטֵּל (from *maqtul*) cannot always be distinguished with certainty from מְקִטוּל (from *maqtāl*), § k. The feminine form מְקִטְלָה may come from *maqtulat* or from *maqtālat*; in fact every instance seems to be *maqtulat*.

Strong roots: מְחַשֵּׁף *peeling off*, מְצַרְמִים *nudity*. With feminine ending: מְאֻכְלָה *food*, מְשֻׁכְּרָה *reward*, מְחֻלְקָה *division*, מְחֻצְּנָה *exact measure*, מְחֻגְּרָה *act of girding*, מְלֻכְּדָה *snare*, מְרֻכְּלָה *market*.

ע"ו roots. In a מְקוּלָה form the *u* may be primitive or come from *o* (cf. § 29 b)(1). When there is a doublet, *u* is an attenuation of *o*, e.g., מְנוּחָה *rest*, alongside מְנוּחָה. Otherwise the primitive form is doubtful, e.g. מְהוּמָה *trouble, disorder*, מְשׁוּבָה *apostasy*.

ע"ע roots. The expected form *maqull* > מְקוּל is not attested. We only find the two abnormal forms מְתוּם *integrity* (**matumm* > *mutumm* > *mtumm*) and מְרֻךְ *fear* (**murukk* > *muruk* > *murk*), cf. Brock., *GvG*, I, p. 381(2).

(1) Likewise for the form מְקוּלָה (§ s).

(2) Compare the irregular form מְרֻךְ (§ v).

מְחֻסָּר (from *maqtāl*) [contrast מְקִטֵּל (from *maqtul*, § j)]: מְחֻסָּר *lack*(1), מְלֻקוּחַ *booty*, מְטֻמוּן *hidden treasure*, מְכֻאָב *pain*, מְלֻקוּשׁ *last rains*, מְשֻׁקוּף *upper beam of a door*, מְשׁוּר *saw* (from *נשור*).

There are no feminine endings (cf. § j).

(1) a *maqtul*, according to BL, p. 493.

מְקִטוּל: מְקִטוּל *excellence* (more frequent than מְבֻחָר*), מְשֻׁקוּל *weight* (less frequent than מְשֻׁקָל), מְזֻמּוּר *psalm*, מְכֻשׁוּל *stumbling*, מְקֻצוּץ *corner*, מְכֻלּוּל *perfection*, מְישׁוּר *plain* (from *ישר*). Feminine forms: מְשֻׁקְלָה *plummet*, מְכֻמְרָה *fillet*.

מְקִטֵּל, which is the form of the Hifil participle, is rarely used for substantives: מְשֻׁחָיִת *perdition, ruin*, מְכֻבֵּיר *abundance*.

מְקִטוּל. Whereas *maqtūl*, in Arabic, is the passive participle of the first conjugation, מְקִטוּל forms concrete nouns, e.g. nouns of instruments. Thus we can suspect that *u* sometimes stands for *o*. Examples: מְקֻטָּל *bellows* (Delmon: מְקֻטָּל) *actual מְקֻטָּל* *plummet* (?) (Delmon:

MH (מְקִצְוֹת), מְנַעֵל, lock, מְאָבֹס, cattle-shed (?), מְמַגְרָה, granary (dagesh dirimens, § 18 k); מְבוֹעַ, source (Syr. *mabbōʿā*); מְבוּל, deluge (cf. Syr. *māmola*). The following words perhaps had a participial sense, as in Arabic: מְלִבוּשׁ, garment (Arb. *malbūs*, i.e. *that which is donned*), מְסֻלָּד, road (perhaps *something heaped up*), מְצֻפְּנִים, hidden things, מְחֻלָּיִים, illnesses.

- o ת, though less often used than מ as a preformative, is nonetheless very common. The vowel of preformative ת is almost always a; *i* is only found in the form תְּקַטֵּל where it may not be primitive. Here too we shall give the Hebrew forms. Forms with a feminine ending are by far the more common⁽¹⁾. Thus there is only one instance of the form תְּקַטֵּל in the masculine, and none of תְּקַטֵּל and תְּקַטֵּל.

The majority of nouns with ת preformative are verbal substantives, e.g. תְּעוּדָה, testimony. These forms are found mainly in the ע"ל roots, but also in the ע"ו and ע"ע roots. According to their meaning, verbal substantives can be associated with any conjugation. In fact they are mainly associated with Hifil, less often with Piel, Hitpael and Qal, rarely with Nifal. The same verbal substantive can, depending on its meaning, be associated with several conjugations. Thus תְּשׁוּבָה (root שׁוּב) with the usual meaning of *return* is associated with the Qal, whilst with the rare meaning of *answer* it is associated with Hifil; תְּחִנָּה (root חִנַּן) in the sense of *prayer* is associated with Hitpael, in the rare sense of *grace* it is associated with Qal. Examples: Qal: תְּמוּתָה, death; Nifal: תְּרִדְמָה, deep sleep; Piel: תְּהִלָּה, praise, תְּנַחֲמִים, consolations; Hifil: תְּחִלָּה, beginning, תְּעוּדָה, testimony, תְּהוֹלָה, generation, תְּשׁוּעָה, effective help, victory, § s; Hitpael: תְּחַנְּנִים, supplications, תְּפִלָּה, prayer.

(1) Is this pure coincidence, or has ת, a letter associated with the feminine gender, influenced the use of the feminine ending?

- p תְּקַטֵּל: תְּיָמֵן, south, probably תְּוֹשֵׁב, resident alien (cst. תְּוֹשֵׁב, but pl. cst. תְּשׁוּבֵי, § 96 C b). Feminine forms: תְּצָאוֹת, issues, תְּעֻפּוֹת, masses(?).

The feminine forms of the ל"ה roots, e.g. תְּאַוָּה, desire, are ambiguous; they can come either from *taqtalat* or from *taqtilat*. The lack of sufficient data often makes it impossible to decide which. תְּהוֹרָה, praise seems to be *taqtilat* (Syr. *tawditâ*); תְּהוֹרָה, law seems to be *taqtalat* (comp. Arm. תְּהוֹרָה).

- q תְּקַטֵּל. Feminine forms: תְּפִאָּרָה (twice) and תְּפִאָּרָה, ornament, תְּפִלָּצָה.

fear(?). For the feminine forms of ה"ל roots, cf. § p: הַתְּקוּהָ *hope*.

תְּקוּטָה: תְּשׁוּבָה *cloth*. All the other nouns have the feminine ending: תְּרֵדָה *deep sleep*, תְּרַעְלָה *reeling*, תּוֹכַחָה and (more commonly) תּוֹכַחַת *correction*, תּוֹלְדָה *generation*. In the ע"ע roots the first vowel a is dropped: תְּחִלָּה *beginning*, תְּחִנָּה *prayer, grace*, § o, תְּפִלָּה *prayer*. In the ה"ל roots, with the ending הַתְּ-, the form *taqtilat* cannot be distinguished from the form *taqталat* (§ p). With the endings הַתְּ- and תְּ- the form is *taqtilat*: תְּאַנְיָה *sadness*, תְּשִׁיבָה *advice, purpose*⁽¹⁾ (with u for o); תְּרַבִּית *profit*, תְּרַמִּית *deceit*, תְּעַנִּית *fasting (humiliation)*, תְּבִנִית *form*, תְּכַלִּית *completion*.

(1) Cf. P. Joüon in *MUSJ* 3(190-09) 326.

תְּקוּטָה (from *taqtul*). No instance of masculine nouns.

In the ע"ע verbs the feminine form is תְּקוּלָה, in which u may either be primitive or come from o (cf. § 29 b)⁽¹⁾. Only rarely can the origin of this u be determined. Examples: תְּקוּמָה *resistance*, תְּמוּתָה *death*, תְּבוֹטָה *act of trampling underfoot*, תְּמוּרָה *exchange*, תְּשׁוּבָה *return, answer*, § o, תְּבוֹאָה *entrance, produce*, תְּעוּדָה *testimony*; תְּבוּנָה *intelligence* (from ב"ן).

The form תְּקוּלָה has spread beyond the ע"ע roots: תְּקוּפָה *circuit* (root פקף), תְּרִפָּה *remedy* (root פאפ), תְּשׁוּעָה *effective help, victory* (root שעש), perhaps under the influence of the synonym תְּשׁוּעָה.

(1) Likewise for the form תְּקוּלָה, § j. Cf. P. Joüon in *Bib* 1 (1920) 369. According to Brock., *GvG*, I, p. 359, the form would be a substitute for *quül*.

תְּקוּטָה. Very rare and of Aramaic origin: תְּלָמִיד *disciple*, תְּכַרְיָה *mantle*.

תְּקוּטָה: תְּגִמּוּלָה *kindness*, תְּעִנוּגָה *delights*, תְּחִנּוּנִים *supplications*, תְּמִרְוּרָה *bitterness*. Feminine forms: תְּלִוְכָה *procession*, תְּפִוּכָה *reversal*, תְּעִלְוּמָה *mystery*⁽¹⁾.

(1) Cf. W. von Soden, "Die Nomialform *taqtül* im Hebräischen und Aramäischen," *ZAH* 2 (1989) 77-85, where the author argues that this pattern comprises emotionally charged nouns.

Moreover a secondary ת, the origin of which is obscure, is found in certain forms: תְּמִיּוּת *liquefaction* probably comes from **tamass* > *tamas* > *tams* (comp. תְּמָר, § e); likewise probably תְּבִלָּה *pollution, infamy* (בלל). The word תְּעָרָה *razor* is associated with the root ערה, תְּעָלָה *healing* to

עֲלָה. The word אֲרָחַת *aspect* seems to come from אָרַח with metathesis (cp. אֲרָחַת, § j): it would then be a *taqtul* word reshaped into a *qutlat*.

§ 88 M. FORMS WITH AFFORMATIVES

- a The affirmative **ān* usually becomes *on* ןוּ. In a certain number of nouns which in other Semitic languages have *ān*, we find ןוּ in Hebrew, e.g. קָרְבָּן *offering*. However the *ā* does not seem to be etymologically long here⁽¹⁾. For the ending ןוּ in place names, cf. § 91 h.

(1) Same problem with the *ā* of the form *qattāl*, § H a. One might hesitate in the case of a noun which would be a pure borrowing from Aramaic. But even with עֲנִינִי *affair* (only in Ecclesiastes) the cst. state עֲנִינִי indicates that Hebrew has shortened the primitive long *ā*. The cst. state in = is also found with קָנִינִי, שְׁלִחָן, קָרְבָּן, אֲבָרָן.

- b **Qatalān** is made up of *qatal* + *ān*. This form of abstract noun, as expected, becomes קָטְלוֹן in Hebrew, which is only found in רָעָבוֹן *famine*(?). Elsewhere *qatalān* has a doubling of the second consonant. This secondary doubling was perhaps due to the need to preserve the three vowels which give the form a characteristic aspect. This doubling may also have originated in certain nouns for some phonetic reason and then spread to the others⁽¹⁾. The primitive first vowel *a* has only been preserved in אֲבַתּוֹן *abstention from work, rest*, probably under the influence of אֲבַתּוֹ (same meaning). (Compare the name of the city Ἀκκαρώων [Akk. *Amqarrūna*] with אֲבַתּוֹן). Everywhere else the *a* is weakened to *i* (*qittālōn*), probably because it is far from the stressed long syllable *ōn*⁽²⁾. In the cst. state or with a suffix, the form is קָטְלוֹן, without doubling (usually)⁽³⁾, but with seghol instead of hireq (but עֲזָבוֹנִי Ez 27.27) when the first radical is guttural הִגְיוֹן, cst. הִגְיוֹן *musings*, עֲשָׂרוֹן, pl. עֲשָׂרוֹנִים *tenth part*. Examples: זָכָרוֹן, cst. זָכָרוֹן, pl. זָכָרוֹנִים *remembrance*, שִׁבְרוֹן *breaking*, פְּקָדוֹן *deposit*, עֲצָבוֹן *hard work*, צְמָאוֹן *arid land*, חֲפָזוֹן *hasty flight*, בְּטָחוֹן *confidence*, שְׁמָמוֹן *desolation*; before ר, which cannot be doubled: עֲרָבוֹן *pledge*⁽⁴⁾, הִרְאָוֹן *horror*. In ל"ה verbs we find likewise הִזְיוֹן *vision* (9 times; but 36 times הִזָּוֹן, cf. below), הִגְיוֹן, הִגְיוֹן a kind of *song*, גְּלִיּוֹן *polished plate*, נְקִיּוֹן *purity*, כְּלִיּוֹן *annihilation*; before ר: הִרְיוֹן *pregnancy*. But alongside these forms in which ' is found there are some syncopated forms: הִזָּוֹן *vision*, עֲוֹן *iniquity*, רְצוֹן *good will*, גְּאוֹן *highness*, תְּמוּלָּוֹן *tumult*, רְזוּן *leanness*, חֲרוֹן *anger*.

In the ע"י verbs the form is very much the same as the preceding one, e.g. שׂוֹן joy (root שישׁ, inf. שׂוּן): *śas* + *ān*, on the analogy of *qatal* + *ān*, just as קָרַ and קָרַ are formed on the analogy of *qatal*; וְדוֹן pride, וְצוֹן insolence⁽⁵⁾.

Abnormal forms: in וְבִרְוֹן perdition, the third radical is doubled (cf. Revelation 9.11 'Αβραδδδωv). In Esth 9.5 we have the Aramaic form וְבִרְוֹן.

In Gn 3.16 וְהָרִיגְךָ the form seems to be incorrect (read וְהָרִיגְךָ); the (unattested) syncopated form would be וְהָרִיגְךָ*.

(1) Thus עֲרֹן blindness is perh. due to analogy with the adj. עֹר and with Piel (the only conjugation attested of the root); עֲשָׂרֹן a tenth part on the analogy of Piel to tithes.

(2) Compare **qat̄t̄alt̄em*, which has become *qit̄t̄alt̄em*, § 52 a, n.

(3) This form has merged with the form וְקָטְלוֹן (from *qitlān*), § c. Alongside the forms *qitlān* and *qutlān*, there is no form *qatlān*; but *qatalān* seems to be an extended form of *qatlān*. The cst. state וְקָטְלוֹן may come from this *qatlān*. According to A. Hurvitz, the pattern וְקָטְלוֹן began to be favoured in LBH: *Leš* 33 (1969) 18-24.

(4) Cf. F. Blass/A. Debrunner/F. Rehkopf, *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch* (Göttingen, 141976), § 40, and also the article by A. Hurvitz mentioned in the foregoing note.

(5) But in these forms the qameṣ is not stable; in the construct state we have e.g. שׂוֹן, doubtless on the analogy of the וְלִי forms, e.g. cst. וְצוֹן.

Form of abstract nouns *qitlān* > וְקָטְלוֹן and וְקָטְלָן.

The normal Hebrew form is וְקָטְלוֹן: וְשִׁירוֹן success, וְתִירוֹן advantage; וְחִסְרוֹן lack. The וְקָטְלוֹן forms, which are only found in the cst. state, could come from *qitlān* or from *qatalān*, § b; e.g. וְפְדִיוֹן redemption, וְפְתִירוֹן explanation, וְרַפְיוֹן slackness⁽¹⁾.

The abnormal Hebrew form is וְקָטְלָן: וְקָטְלָן acquisition (cst. =), וְבִנְיָן building (cst. state not attested), וְעִנְיָן business (cst. =), only in Ecclesiastes (Aramaism).

(1) The pattern וְקָטְלוֹן is esp. common in Ecclesiastes. See S.J. du Plessis, "Aspects of morphological peculiarities of the language of Qoheleth" in I.H. Eybers et al. (eds), *De fructu oris sui* [Fshr. A. van Selms] (Leiden, 1971), pp. 164-67.

The form *qutlān* has become וְקָטְלָן (cst. =) and not וְקָטְלוֹן*, probably to avoid the sequence of the two vowels u-o, which are too similar (cf. Brock., *GvG*, I, p. 255): וְשִׁלְתָן table (cst. =), וְקָרְבָן offering (cst. =), וְאֶבְרָן* loss (cst. =).

- e **Adjectival** affirmative *ān > ן. Hebrew forms adjectives by adding ן to certain nouns, especially monosyllables: קִדְמוֹן (1 x) *eastern* (from *qadm*, קִדְמָן), אַחֲרֵימֶן *last* (from אַחֲרֵי *behind*), רִאשׁוֹן *first* (dissimilation of רִאשׁוֹן*, § 29 h), whence by analogy קִיצוֹן *extreme* (from קִצַּן, root קִצַּץ), חִיצוֹן *outer* (from חוּץ), תְּיָכוֹן *middle* (from cst. תָּוֶן); תַּחְתּוֹן *lower, inferior*, עֲלִיוֹן *of above, superior, Most High*. The affirmative *ān is added to the feminine ending, as in Aramaic, in עֲקֻלְתוֹן *tortuous*, and (changed to ן־) in לְוִיָּתָן *serpent*, נְחָשׁוֹן *serpent*.
- f **Diminutive** affirmative ן (probably coming from ān): אִישׁוֹן *pupil of the eye (little man)*, שְׁהַרְנִים *little moons or crescents*; perhaps the names of serpents שְׁפִיפּוֹן *horned snake*, צְפֻלְעָנִי *basilisk*, § g (alongside צְפֻלְעָנִי; Dalman: MH צְפֻלְעוֹן).
- g **Adjectival** affirmative i⁽¹⁾. Hebrew forms some adjectives with the affirmative י־, in particular ordinal, gentilic and patronymic adjectives: שֵׁשִׁי *sixth* (from שֵׁשׁ, § 101 a), מוֹאָבִי *Moabite* (from מוֹאָב), עִבְרִי *Hebrew*, כְּנַעֲנִי *Canaanite*, צִידוֹנִי *Sidonian*, יִשְׂרָאֵלִי *Israelite* (very rare; only Lv 24.10-11, for a special reason, and 2Sm 17.25 in a proper noun); אֲכָזְרִי *cruel* (from אָכַזַר, § L a), נִכְרִי *foreign* (from an unattested form נִכְרָא), תַּחְתּוֹתִי *inferior* (from תַּחְתּוֹת), פְּנִימִי *interior* (from the plural פְּנִים *face*), רַגְלִי *pedestrian, foot-soldier* (from רַגַל), חֲפֻשִׁי *freed*; with modified vocalisation: שְׂמָאלִי *left* (from שְׂמָאל *left-hand side*), יְמִנִי *right* (from יְמִין *right-hand side*; on the analogy of שְׂמָאלִי).

Sometimes the affirmative *i* is added to the affirmative ם: קִדְמוֹנִי *oriental*, אֲדָמוֹנִי *reddish*, צְפֻלְעָנִי *basilisk* (§ f), יְדֻעָנִי *soothsayer* (from an unattested form יְדֻעוֹן* *science or high science*); with יְמִנִי: מְרַחֲמֵנִי* *merciful*.

Proper nouns ending in ן or ה־ have their corresponding adjectives ending in נִי: שֵׁלִי, שְׁלֵה: שְׁלֵנִי; גְּלֵה: גְּלֵנִי. Likewise we find שְׁלֵה: שְׁלֵנִי.

The feminine ending can either be preserved: פְּלִשְׁתִּי *Philistine* (from פְּלִשְׁתַּי), עֲזָתִי *of Gaza* (עֲזָה), or dropped: יְהוּדִי *Judaeen, Jew* (from יְהוּדָה), תִּמְנִי *of Timna* (תִּמְנָה).

The adjective of בְּנֵי־יְמִין is בְּנֵי־יְמִינִי (with the article בְּנֵי־יְמִינִי) or simply יְמִינִי; the adjective of בֵּית לָחֶם is (with the article) בֵּית הַלְחָמִי (cf. § 139 d).

The affirmative י־ becomes in the feminine ה־ (§ 89e) or י־ (§ 89

f): תַּחֲתִית (7 x), תַּחֲתִיָּה once; מוֹאֲבִית (6 x), מוֹאֲבִיָּה (1 x); עֲבִרִיָּה always (2 x), מִצְרִית always (2 x).

(1) The affirmative Yod was originally not a vowel letter; in Phoen. it is still consonantal, and so it is in Heb. f. הִי- (see below).

It is not always easy to distinguish between the affirmative *ay* and the radical *ay*. As affirmative, *ay* is found in the form of הַי־, in אַרְבֵּה *locust swarm*, לְבִנְיָה *poplar*; in the form of הַי־ in עֲשֵׂרָה *ten*, § 100 e.

Affirmative *it*. In the לִי roots the *t* of the feminine, when added to the *i* of the root, gave the ending *it*, e.g. *bki + t > בְּכִית weeping*. This *it* ending became an affirmative of the abstract in other roots: רֵאשִׁית *beginning*, אֲחֵרִית *end*, שְׁאֵרִית *rest*, חֲתִית *terror*, תְּכֵנִית *measure*. Concrete nouns are very rare: תְּנִיָּה *spear*, זְכוּכִית *glass*.

Affirmative *ut*. In the לוֹ roots the *t* of the feminine, when added to the *u* of the root, gave the ending *ut*, e.g. *ksu + t > כִּסוּת covering*. This ending became an affirmative of the abstract in other roots: מְלִכּוּת *kingship*, יְלּוּת *youth*, עֲבֻדוּת *servitude*; מְסֻכּוּת *poverty*, עֲרֻת *precept* (pl. עֲרֻת* 'edwot, § 97 G b), גְּאוּת *highness, pride*. The affirmative *ut* is even found in לִי roots: פְּדוּת *deliverance*; בְּכוּת *weeping*, alongside בְּכִית.

The affirmative *ut* of the Aramaic infinitive is found in לְהַשְׁמַעוּת Ez 24.26 (§ 54 c), הַתְּחַבְּרוּת Dn 11.23 (§ 53 f).

In words such as גְּלוּת *exile*, רְאוּת *vision*, בְּרוּת *food*, בְּכוּת *weeping*, the ף is stable and probably etymologically long. This *â* could be explained by the fact that these nouns were perhaps modelled on the Aramaic participle (e.g. *gālē*); thus רְמוּת *height* is modelled on the participle ׀ר(1).

(1) According to BL, p. 506. If these nouns are not directly formed on the participle, they could be due to the analogy of the parallel forms רְלִית, רְוִית, which are feminine participles (§ F b).

Abstract nouns with the affirmative תּ are extremely numerous in MH, probably due to Aramaic influence, and the subsequent phases of Hebrew, though it is not correct to say that such BH nouns mostly occur in late books. See L. Gulkowitsch, op. cit. [§ 88I e, n.], pp. 97ff., and A. Hurvitz, *The Transition Period in BH* [Heb] (Jerusalem, 1972), pp. 79-82.

An affirmative תּ, distinct from the plural ending, is doubtful. The word חֵכְמוּת *Wisdom*, treated as a singular in Pr 1.20, 9.1, seems to be some kind of plural of majesty (cf. § 136 d); instead of the normal

plural, which should be *הַקְּמֹת**, the word was vocalised *hqbh-* on the analogy of the singular *הַקְּמָה*⁽¹⁾. The word *הוֹלְלוֹת* *madness* (Ec 1.17; 2.12; 7.25; 9.3) alongside *הוֹלְלוֹת* (10.13) is suspect; if the vocalisation *תו* is authentic, it could have arisen on the analogy of *הַקְּמֹת*.

(1) Compare the rare plurals of the type *שִׁקְמִים*, *שִׁקְמָה* *sycamore*, § 96 A b.

l According to some grammarians, the *ק*, which is found in a few words could be an affirmative; according to others, it could be a residue of *mimation* in the old declension (cf. § 102 b).

On final *ק־* in place names, cf. § 91 h.

m The existence of *ל* as affirmative is doubtful: *כַּרְמֵל* *cultivated fields (for cereals)* (compare *כַּרְמֵי* *vineyard*); *גַּבְעֵל* *flower(?)* (compare *גַּבְיַע* *cup*). Also *עַרְפָּל* *cloud (?)*. Cf. Akk. *urpatu* "cloud."

§ 89. Noun gender: masculine and feminine endings

a A noun is either masculine or feminine; sometimes it has both genders. One must carefully distinguish between gender and **gender endings**. A masculine ending is an ending which is always found in masculine adjectives⁽¹⁾ and often in masculine substantives; a feminine ending is an ending which is always found in feminine adjectives and often in feminine substantives. Thus the singular ending *ה־* is a feminine ending because it is found only in feminine adjectives and in many feminine substantives. Likewise in the plural, *ק־* is a masculine ending, *תו* a feminine ending, § 90 b, d.

The gender of substantives is known to us mainly through their agreement with adjectives⁽²⁾. Also a feminine verb form can indicate that the subject noun is feminine, but nothing certain can be inferred from a masculine form (§ 150 b). Furthermore, the demonstrative pronoun used attributively can provide a reliable clue in this respect.

(1) Including the verbal adjective and the participle.

(2) Another fairly reliable way of telling the gender of substantives is the use of the cardinal numerals 3-10 (feminine with masculine nouns and masc. with feminine nouns!, § 100 d). Thus the plural *לַיְלֹת* *nights* is masculine like the pl. *יָמִים* *days*. for we have *וּשְׁלֹשָׁה לַיְלֹת* 1Sm 30.12.

b In the singular, **masculine** nouns usually have no ending. A very small number have a feminine ending, e.g. *קֹהֵלֵת* *man of an assembly, ec-*

clesiastes. Here the feminine ending has an intensive nuance, just as it has in such Arabic forms as *rāwiyat* "a (great) narrator," alongside the simple form *rāwī* "narrator"(1). Likewise in men's names סִפְרָת *Scribe*, פִּצְרֹת הַצְּבִיָּם *Catcher(?) of gazelles*. Alongside מוֹרֵץ *kinsman* (Ru 2.1) מוֹרֵצֵת (3.2) seems to mean *close relative* (probably masculine, speaking of a man). In a few masculine nouns הַ־ is not the feminine ending: מוֹרֵץ *razor* (for *mōra[y]*), מִשְׁתָּה *governor* (Akkadian word). In nouns from ל"י roots, the הַ־ is a radical, e.g. שָׂדֵה *field* (alongside שִׁדְיָה *poet*). In fact these nouns are masculine, e.g. מַעְלָה *ascent* (comp. fem. מַעְלָה *degree*)(2).

(1) Cf. Wright, *Arabic Grammar* I, § 233, Rem. c.

(2) מַחֲנֶה *camp, army* in Gn 32.9a and Ps 27.3† appears to be treated as feminine; but the Massoretic text is doubtful (prob. read הַאֲחֹרֶת and יַחֲנֶה). Cf. Phoen. רַבַּת מֵאָת *centurion*, if not a misspelling for רַב.

In the singular a fair number of feminine nouns have no feminine ending, e.g. nouns of female beings: אִמָּה *mother*, אֶתְוֹן *she-ass*, עִז *goat*, רֵחַל *ewe*; and other nouns: אֶבֶן *stone*, עִיר *city*, חֶרֶב *sword*, אֶרֶץ *land*, יָד *hand*. But most feminine nouns, in the singular, have a feminine ending(1). For details, cf. § 134.

(1) Since the feminine ending is very rare in masculine nouns (§ b), it may be said that in the singular the feminine ending almost always indicates a feminine noun.

The main (and perhaps only) feminine ending of the Hebrew noun is primitively *at*, which has been preserved in the construct state(1). In the absolute state the primitive form has become (stressed) הַ־, or the segholate forms תַּ־, תַּ־, תַּ־, or simple ת. The segholate forms, which are numerous in the construct state, probably arose in the cst. state and in some cases have spread to the absolute state.

(1) Gelb thinks that /t/ was originally a glide: I.J. Gelb, *Sequential Reconstruction of Proto-Akkadian* (Chicago, 1969), pp. 34f.

The ending הַ־ is by far the most common, and in some forms the only one possible, e.g. מִרְיָה *mare*. In certain nouns the segholate form is found alongside הַ־. In nouns ending in יַ־, e.g. מוֹאָבִי, alongside the form in הַ־ (מוֹאָבִי) the form in ת, מוֹאָבִית, can occur (§ 88 M g).

Simple ת is mainly found with nouns in יַ־, as we have just said, e.g. תַּתִּי *lower* (§ 88 M g); cf. בִּכְיִית *weeping* (§ 88 M i) and כִּסְוֹת *covering* (§ 88 M j)(1).

(1) See also the three infinitives with a simplified form תַּת (§ 72 *i*), צָאָת (§ 75 *g*), שָׁאָת (§ 78 *l*); the adjective אַחַת *one* (for 'ahadt, § 100 *b*, and in Ugr. *ahit*).

The fem. morpheme /-t/ (as against /-at/) is attested in Ugr. as in syllabically spelled words such as *mar-kab-te* "chariot." More examples in Huehnergard, *Ugr. Vocabulary*, pp. 295f. So also AC *mi-te kaspu* "200 pieces of silver" (Sivan, p. 130). Likewise תַּת (Arb. *binu*), Moabite and Northern Israelite שַׁת *year* on Samaria ostraca and fem. segholate nouns such as שָׁבַת, נִצַּת, hence w. suf., שָׁבַתוֹ etc. Cf. also Sivan, pp. 105-7.

g Of the *segholate endings*, the most common by far is ת־ָּ. First it is found in nouns with the vowel *a*: *niqtal* + *t* > *niqtalt* > ת־ָּ; then in nouns with the vowel *i*: *qātil* + *t* > *qātilt* > ת־ָּ; and finally, by extension, in nouns with the originally long vowel *i*: מִקְטִיל, מִקְטִילָה. (For these examples of participles, cf. § 50 *g*). Other examples: Nouns with the vowel *a*: יַבְשָׁת *dry land* (2 x, alongside יַבְשָׁה); cst. מִמְלָכָה (from מַמְלָכָה *kingdom*). Nouns with the vowel *i*: מִצְבָּה abs. and cst. (from מִצְבָּה *stele*), אַחֲרָת (m. אַחֵר *other*). Nouns with the originally long vowel *i*; cst. and abs. גְּבִירָתָה (from גְּבִירָה *lady*); שֹׁלְטָתָה (m. שֹׁלֵט *ruler*); cf. § 97 F *b*.

h The segholate ending ת־ָּ is very rare. It has usually been replaced by ת־ָּ, e.g. in the infinitives of the type לִדְרֹתָה (alongside לִדְרֹתָה, § 75 *a*). The ׀, which comes from *i*, has been preserved in the following constructs: חֲמִשָּׁתָה (from חֲמִשָּׁה *five*), שֵׁשֶׁתָה (from שֵׁשָׁה *six*), אִשָּׁתָה (from אִשָּׁה *woman*)(¹).

(1) Note that with these three nouns in the abs. state there is doubling: by assimilation in אִשָּׁה (§ 99 *c*) and שֵׁשָׁה (§ 100 *d*); in חֲמִשָּׁה on the analogy of שֵׁשָׁה (§ 100 *d*).

i The segholate ending ת־ָּ corresponds to the masculine form in ׀, which comes from either *u* or *ā*. Unfortunately it is often difficult to determine the origin of this ׀. In ת־ָּ the ׀ is always changeable, even when the ׀ of the masculine is definitely etymologically long; thus *šalāš > שָׁלֹשׁ *three*; fem. שְׁלֹשָׁה, cst. שְׁלֹשָׁתָה (with *o*; comp. שְׁלֹשָׁתָם). Likewise, קִטְרָתָה *smoke* (probably *qutāl*, § 88 E *e*) becomes קִטְרָתָהי(¹).

Nouns with the segholate ending ת־ָּ are rather frequent: In the form קִטְרָתָה: נְחֹשֶׁתָה *bronze*, cst. כְּתָבָתָה *writing*, cst. עֲמָלָתָה *work*, נְעִרָתָה *tow*; the two infinitives יִכְלֹתָה (§ 75 *i*), יִבְשָׁתָה (§ 76 *d*). In the form קִטְרָתָה: בְּצָרָתָה *dryness*, כְּפָרָתָה *propitiatory*, פְּרֻכָתָה *curtain* (of the temple). In the form קִטְרָתָה: שְׁבָלָתָה *ear (of corn)*, בְּקָרָתָה (of doubtful meaning). In

the form מִקְטָלַת: מִאֲכָלַת *food*, etc. (cf. § 88 L j). In the form מִקְטָלַת, § 88 L l. In other forms: שֹׁמֵת *shame* (root שׁוּשׁ), גִּלְגָּלַת *skull*, שְׁחָרְחָרַת *blackish*. For the inflection of segholate endings, cf. § 97 F.

(1) Compare the parallel reduction of גְּבִירָה, גְּבִירָת, גְּבִירָתִי (cf. § f).

A few more or less suspect participial forms lack the expected segholisation: Jer 22.23Q יִשְׁבְּתִי (K. יִשְׁבְּתִי with hireq compaginis, § 93 o); cf. 51.13. Three times (Gn 16.11, Jdg 13.5,7) we find הִנֵּה הָרָה וְיִלְדֵת בֵּן *behold you are pregnant and you will bear a son*. Here we may have a lectio mixta (§ 16 g) giving a choice between the participle וְיִלְדֵת (as in Is 7.14) and the inverted perfect וְיִלְדֵת, which would be more usual.

Rare feminine endings:

אָ, Aramaic spelling for הָ: אָשָׁן *sleep* Ps 127.2; אָשָׁן *prison* Lam 3.12; אָמָר *bitter* Ru 1.20.

The feminine ending ay is found in עֲשָׂרָה *ten*; probably also in אֲשֵׁרִי⁽¹⁾ *beatitude of*, the absolute state of which would be אֲשֵׁרִי*⁽²⁾; in the proper noun אֲשֵׁרִי (alongside אֲשֵׁרִי).

(1) There is also אֲשֵׁרִי without metheg, or with the metheg of the shewa only, which indicates that it should not be ignored in pronunciation.

(2) Prob. to be read in Gn 30.13: אֲשֵׁרִי* *with beatitude*; comp. vs. 11 אֲשֵׁרִי* *with happiness* (cf. Ehrlich *ad loc.*). For Ugaritic parallels illustrating the same morpheme, see Gordon, *UT*, § 8.54.

The primitive ending at⁽¹⁾ is found in a few words, either with the vowel אָ, which is normal in a final stressed closed syllable in nouns, or with the vowel אֵ.

(1) It is also found in the Mēša' inscription, in Phoenician and Ammonite inscriptions.

With אָ, only one common word is found, i.e. מִחְרָת (mḥrāt)⁽¹⁾ *tomorrow* (the formation of which is not clear). Other examples: אֲשֵׁרִי *pelican* (var. אֲשֵׁרִי); אֲשָׁן *sleep* Ps 132.4 (for אֲשָׁן); פְּרִי *fruitful plant* or *fruitful vine* (cf. Is 32.12; Ps 128.3) Gn 49.22 (poet.), substantivised participle (comp. פְּרִי); אֲשֵׁרִי *abundance* (var. אֵ) Jer 48.36 (עֲשָׂה); but Is 15.7 (עֲשָׂה); אֲשָׁן *help* Ps 60.13 (perhaps to be vocalised אֲשָׁן = אֲשָׁן Ps 44.27); אֲשָׁן *inheritance* Ps 16.6 (perhaps wrong); אֲשָׁן *Jehovah is my power and (my) strength*⁽²⁾. In some cases אָ can be an abbreviated form of אֵ, feminine ending with the old a of the accusative (§ 93 c); likewise in אֲשָׁן, אֲשָׁן.

ת־ is also found in some place-names: בַּעֲלֵקָה, and in some personal names: גְּלִיָּה, שְׂמֵעָה (female). Alongside the usual אֶפְרָתָה *Ephrata* we have אֶפְרָתָה in Gn 48.7†, where it is probably a mistake (haplography), § 93 f.

(1) Pace Brock., *GvG*, I, p. 409, who takes the form as *cst.* Note the Akkadian indeclinable *st. abs.* (as distinct from *st. rectus*) used adverbially; W. v. Soden, *Grundriss der akkadischen Grammatik* (Rome, 1969), § 62.3. So the word should, perhaps, belong to § 102 c.

(2) Cf. P. Joüon in *MUSJ* 3(1908-09) 335.

- o No sure example of common nouns with the ending ת־ can be found (two variants mentioned in § n). The word בְּרִקְתָּה (alongside בְּרִקְתָּה) a *precious stone* looks foreign. On the other hand ת־ is found in several place-names: צַרְפַּת *Sarepta*, גְּבֻעָה, אֵילָה (alongside אֵילֹת), and in several personal names: אֲחִיָּה, בְּכוֹרָה, גִּיָּה.

N.B. The ת of the feminine is sometimes regarded as being part of the root: דֶּלֶת *door*, pl. דְּלָתוֹת, du. דְּלָתַי; קֶשֶׁת *bow*, pl. קֶשֶׁתוֹת; שֶׁקֶת *watering-trough*, *cst.* pl. שֶׁקֶתוֹת Gn 30.38 (for the *i*, cf. § 96 A g); שֶׁפָּה *lip*, *cst.* pl. שֶׁפָּתוֹת; הַנֵּיָה *spear*, pl. הַנֵּיָתוֹת and הַנֵּיָתִים.

§ 90. Plural

- a In the plural, as in the singular (§ 89 a), one must carefully distinguish between gender and gender endings. The gender of a noun is usually the same in the singular and in the plural (or dual)⁽¹⁾.

(1) According to A. Cohen, "The plural endings in Biblical Hebrew," *Læ* 2 (1929-30) 282-86, BH has 490 masc. nouns with the plural ending *im*, 80 with α , and 312 fem. nouns with the pl. ending α and 40 with *im*. Nouns of hollow roots (ע"ו") as well as those with the *-on* suffix tend to show the α ending, whilst nouns of *Qittul* and *Qattul* types form their plurals solely with *im*. Furthermore, nouns for a wide range of flora and fauna display the α pl. ending (cf. § 136 b).

- b The usual masculine ending is י־; it is found in all masculine adjectives, in many masculine substantives, and in a certain number of feminine substantives. Examples of feminine substantives with י־: שָׁנָה *year*, usual plural שָׁנִים (a rare and poetic plural שָׁנוֹת* is attested only in the *cst.* and with suff.); רְחֵל *ewe*, pl. רְחֵלִים; אֶבֶן *stone*, pl. אֶבְנִים⁽¹⁾; פִּילְגָּם *concubine*, pl. פִּילְגָּמִים; שֶׁבֶלֶת *ear of corn*, pl. שֶׁבֶלֶתִים;

חֻטָּה *wheat* (as a species), pl. חֻטִּים *grains of wheat* (grains or stalks) in the collective sense; and likewise שְׁעוֹרָה *barley*, pl. שְׁעוֹרִים.

In nouns in י- the masculine plural is יִים-, e.g. נְקִיִּים *pure* (sing. נְקִי) or, more often, by contraction, ים-, e.g. עִבְרִים *Hebrews* (once: עִבְרִיִּים Ex 3.18).

(1) Thus with an adjective we say, e.g. אֶבְנִים גְּדוֹלוֹת, as one says in the sing. אֶבֶן גְּדוֹלָה.

Occasionally we have the Aramaic ending ין- (very frequent in MH, and the rule in Moabite): מְלָכִין *kings* (or *counsellors* as in Aramaic; cf. Dn 4.24) Pr 31.3; צִדְוֹנִין *Sidonians* 1Kg 11.33; רָצִין *runners* 2Kg 11.13; חֻטָּין *wheat* Ez 4.9; אִיִּין *islands* Ez 26.18; יָמִין *days* Dn 12.13; מְדִין *carpet(?)* Jdg 5.10 (poet.); עֵיִין *hills of ruins* Mi 3.12; in Job, מְלִין *words* (Aramaic word) is found 13 times alongside מְלִים (10 x).

The feminine ending is ות; it is found in all feminine adjectives, in many feminine substantives, and in a fair number of masculine substantives⁽¹⁾.

Examples of masculine substantives with ות: אָב *father*, pl. אָבוֹת; אֹב* *skin-bottle*, pl. אָבוֹת חֲדָשִׁים *new skin-bottles* Job 32.19; דּוֹר *generation*, pl. דְּרוֹת (ים- only in the phrase דּוֹר דְּוֹרִים *generation of generations* [3 x]); שָׁבֻעַ *week*, pl. שָׁבָעוֹת, § 96 D b; לַיְלָה *night*, § 93 g (3 x לַיְלִ), pl. לַיְלוֹת. Several nouns in ה- have ות in the plural: מִטָּה *rod, tribe*, pl. מִחֻנָּה *camp, army*, שָׂדֶה *field* (and ים-, § e).

In nouns with י- the feminine plural is יוֹת- (cf. the sing. יָה-, § 89 e): עִבְרִיָּה, עִבְרִיּוֹת, מְצָרִי, מְצָרִית, מְצָרִיּוֹת.

(1) In well-nigh 30% of cases the f.pl. is spelled defectively: AF, p. 197.

The ancient pl. ending /ān/ can be identified in Jdg 5.7 חָדְלוּ פָּרְזוֹן (פָּרְזוֹן < *פָּרְזָן); with the otiose /im/ added after the primitive ending it had become unidentifiable as such—נֶצְנִים, עֲזָבִים, and קַמְשָׁנִים; cf. Brock., GvG, I, p. 451, and H. Bauer, who includes here אֶילוֹן and שְׁמֵרוֹן in שְׁמֵרוֹן *the mount of watchers* (ZAW NF 7 [1930] 76f.).

Some nouns have both plural endings; but often only one is used frequently, the other being reserved for special or poetic usages, e.g. עָב *cloud*, normal pl. עָבִים, pl. עָבוֹת only twice, in texts of high poetry: 2Sm 23.4; Ps 77.18; עֲבֹת *rope, bond*, normal pl. עֲבֹתִים, but עֲבוֹת for the *bonds of love* Ho 11.4 and for artistic cords, *cordage-work* Ex 28.14, etc. See also שְׁנָה, § b, דּוֹר, § d.

The noun שָׂדֵה *field* has two plurals: שָׂדֵי* *fields, countryside, individual fields, individual farms*(¹). From אֶלְמָה* *sheaf* we have the plural אֶלְמִים for *sheaves* in general Gn 37.7a, and אֶלְמוֹת for *individual sheaves* 7b and Ps 126.6(²). From כַּבֵּךְ *disk, round* we have כַּבְּרֵי כֶסֶף *disks (coins) of silver*, and כַּבְּרוֹת לֶחֶם *loaves of bread* (the feminine form for the object of lesser value; comp. נַעֲלִים, נַעֲלָה *sandals*, but נַעֲלוֹת Josh 9.5† in the case of *old shoes*). From צֶלַע *rib* we have צֶלְעִים (masc.; 1Kg 6.34†) *leaves of a door* and צֶלְעוֹת (fem.) *side-chambers*.

(1) Cf. P. Joüon in *MUSJ* 6 (1913) 140.

(2) *Ibid.*, 141.

- f **Plurale tantum.** Some words are only used in the plural. Most of these are abstract and singular in meaning, e.g. סְנוּרִים *blindness, false vision* (cf. § 136). There are a few concrete nouns: מַיִם *water, waters*, שָׁמַיִם *sky, skies*, מַעֲעִים* *entrails*, פָּנִים *face (and faces Ez 1.6)*, מְתִים *men* (the sing. is found in the form of מֵתוֹ [§ 93 s] in a few proper nouns, cf. Ugr. *mt* and Akk. *mutu* "man").

§ 91. Dual⁽¹⁾

- a In the case of things which go in pairs, such as the eyes and the ears, the dual is used instead of the plural. In Biblical Hebrew the use of the dual is rather restricted(²); it is found only with a few substantives (§ c), never with adjectives, verbs or pronouns.

(1) See C. Fontinoy. *Le duel dans les langues sémitiques* (Paris, 1969).

(2) In Archaic Hebrew the use of the dual appears to have been less restricted, as in Ugaritic and Classical Arabic: see Jdg 5.30 רִחְמֹתַיִם *two wenchies*; ib. רִקְמֹתַיִם *two pieces of embroidery*. Cf. F.M. Cross and D.N. Freedman, *Studies in Ancient Yahwistic Poetry* (Missoula, 1975), p. 19.

- b The dual ending is יָם. In words without a feminine ending, the form of the word is that of the singular, modified, if needs be, according to the phonetic laws: יָד *hand*, יָדַיִם; רֶגֶל *foot*, רֶגְלַיִם (from primitive *ragl); עַיִן *eye*, עַיִנַיִם (comp. זַיִת *olive*, plural זַיִתִּים); שֵׁן *tooth*, שְׁנַיִם (from primitive *šinn); כַּנָּף *wing*, כַּנְּפַיִם; יָרֵךְ *thigh* יָרְכַיִם⁽¹⁾.

In nouns with the singular feminine ending הַּ the ת is maintained before the dual ending: שִׁפְתָּהּ *lip*, שִׁפְתָּיִם. In a noun with a segholate ending נְחֹשֶׁת *bronze*, the dual is נְחֹשֶׁתַיִם *fetters* (compare Engl. *irons*). In

the word חוֹמָה *wall* the dual ending is added to the plural ending in בֵּין הַחֹמֹתַיִם *between two walls* (4 x). Likewise we have גְּדֵרֵתַיִם *Double-Wall* (name of a city, Josh 15.36†), and לִיחַתַּיִם from לִיחַ *tablet*.

Alongside the regular קַרְנָיִם *horns* we have (in Daniel) קַרְנָיִם, with the prestress ַ of the plural of segholate nouns (comp. pl. קַרְנֹת), probably on the analogy of the plural. Likewise we have לְחַיִּים *jaws* (instead of לְחַיִּים*, from לַחַי, לַחַי), דְּלָתַיִם *double door*, דְּרָכַיִם *double way*.

In 1Kg 16.24; 2Kg 5.23 כִּכָּרַיִם כְּסֵף *two silver kikkar* there is probably a *lectio mixta* (§ 16 g) giving the choice between כִּכָּרַיִם (genitive construction) and כִּכָּרַיִם (with apposition or accusative)(2).

(1) Names of double members are generally feminine, § 134 j.

(2) Alternatively this may be a sandhi effect, the two words being felt to be a close semantic and phonetic unit; see W.R. Garr, *VT* 37 (1987) 135.

The dual is found in numerals: 2 שְׁנָיִם, 200 מְאֵתַיִם, 2000 אֲלֶפַיִם; c
 in nouns of two countables, when they are regarded as forming a unit: יוֹמַיִם *two consecutive days* (Lat. *biduum*), שְׁנַתַּיִם *two consecutive years*, שְׁבַעַיִם (once) *two consecutive weeks*, פְּעַמַיִם *twice*, perh. רַבּוֹתַיִם *two myriads*, אַמָּתַיִם *two cubits*, כִּכָּרַיִם *two kikkar*. The dual is also found with things that go in pairs, either in nature or in art: יָדַיִם *hands, arms* (cf. § b), אָזְנוֹתַיִם *ears*, בְּרָכַיִם *knees*, כַּפַּיִם *palms* (of hands), כַּתְפַיִם *shoulders*, מִתְנַיִם *loins*, אֶצְבָּרַיִם* *finger-nails*, שְׁדַיִם *breasts*, שׁוֹקַיִם *thighs*, מֵאזְנוֹתַיִם *scales*. זְרוּעַ *arm* usually has the plural form זְרוּעוֹת (e.g. Jdg 15.14 the [two] *arms* of Samson); we probably have the dual in 2Kg 9.24 בֵּין זְרָעָיו *between his shoulders*, and perhaps in Gn 49.24 and Is 51.5 where its interpretation is not certain. From נַעֲלַיִם we have the plural form נַעֲלָיִם, except in Am 2.6 and 8.6 where, as a matter of fact, a *pair of sandals* is referred to: נַעֲלָיִם. Note that in כִּלְיֹתַיִם *kidneys* (sg. כִּלְיָה*) the plural is used, not the dual.

Nouns which in their proper sense are found in the dual are put in d
 the plural when used in a figurative sense; this is particularly so in the case of manufactured objects: עֵינֹת *sources*, כַּפּוֹת *fistfuls, palms, cups*, כַּנְפּוֹת *corners, extremities*, קַרְנֹת *horns (of the altar)*, יָדוֹת *tenons, axles* and even with the sense of *arm-rests* (of Samuel's throne 1K 10.19), רְגָלַיִם (fem.) *times*. Note that most of these feminine plurals

are in תי (cf. § 134 q).

e Several nouns used in the dual have no plural form, whether used figuratively or not; then the dual is used for the plural: אַרְבַּע רַגְלִים 4 feet Lv 11.23; שֵׁשׁ כְּנָפַיִם 6 wings Is.6.2; Ez 1.6; שִׁבְעָה עֵינָיִם 7 eyes (of a stone, Zech 3.9; לַיִן is masc. here, § 134 a, n.); שְׁלֹשׁ שִׁנָּיִם 3 prongs (of a fork, 1Sm 2.13); כָּל-בְּרָכָיִם all the knees Ez 7.17; כָּל-יָדָיִם all the hands 21.12; מְצַלְתִּים (several) cymbals Ne 12.27; שְׁפָתַיִם (several) double hooks Ez 40.43.

ea One may classify Hebrew nouns into three groups:

1) Those which have three distinct forms, the sg. for one of the entities denoted, the du. for two of them, and the pl. for three or more of them. These are comprised mostly by numerals and nouns indicating varying lengths of time or measures: מֵאָה one hundred - מֵאָתַיִם two hundred - שְׁלֹשׁ מֵאוֹת three hundred; יוֹם one day - יוֹמַיִם two days - אַרְבָּעָה יָמִים four days; אַמְּזָה (אַחַת) one cubit - אַמְּזַיִם two cubits - חֲמֵשׁ אַמּוֹת five cubits⁽¹⁾.

2) Those which have two distinct forms, the sg. and the du., the latter doubling for 'three or more': e.g. רַגְלַיִם one leg - רַגְלֵי both legs, but also Lv 11.23 אַרְבַּע רַגְלִים four legs. The group is comprised mostly of nouns indicating parts of the body⁽²⁾.

3) Those which are used only in the dual, indicating tools consisting of two parts: e.g. מֵאֲזֵנַיִם scales; מְצַלְתִּים cymbals מְלַקְחִים tongs. The dual of these nouns can indicate either one object or more: sg. in Ben Sirah 45.8 מְכַנְסִים breeches parallel to מעיל.

(1) Only exceptionally is the numeral for 'two' used with a distinct plural noun: e.g. Ez 40.9 שְׁתַּיִם אַמּוֹת; 2Sm 1.1 שְׁנַיִם יָמִים; 1Sm 13.1 שְׁנַיִם עֵינַיִם.

(2) Some of these nouns do possess a distinct pl. form, but with a different sense: thus אַרְבָּע רַגְלִים four times (§ d above). Where the numeral for 'two' is used with a distinct dual noun, there is usually some emphasis on the notion of twoness: e.g. Jdg 16.28 "so that I may be avenged on the Philistines for one of my two eyes (עֵינַיִם)." (עֵינַיִם).

f **Apparent dual endings.** What we have in מַיִם water, waters and שָׁמַיִם sky, skies is not a dual, but an abnormal plural. In these two words the original plural ending *-im* has been reduced to *-im* under the influence of the stress. This may be compared with the Biblical Aram. plural participle of the type בְּנֵי building (for *bānāy + īn*) of ל"י verbs. Likewise in Arabic a noun like **muṣṭafa(y)* becomes in the (genitive-

accus.) plural *muṣṭafáyna* with shortening of the ending *ina*; the future *yarda(y)* becomes in the 2nd pers. f. sg. *tardáyna*, with shortening of the ending *ina*.

The word עַרְבַיִם in the phrase בַּיּוֹם הָעָרְבַיִם can only be a dual: *between the two evenings*⁽¹⁾. Reference is probably made here to the two extreme parts of the period called עֶרְבַּיִם⁽²⁾. In צֹהַר הַיּוֹם noon the dual could perhaps be explained as reflecting the convergence of two time lines at noon; but *-āym seems more likely to be the dissociation of an ending *-ām (the place or time^[3] of noon), but in view of Moabite צְהַרִים (Mesha 15) the Heb. form, if cognate, can scarcely be a genuine dual, for in Moabite both the plural and dual endings show /-n/. The ending of נְהַרְרִים *Mesopotamia*(?) is variously explained⁽⁴⁾, as is that of מִצְרַיִם *Egypt*.

(1) Cf. Nöldeke, *ZA* 30 (1916) 168, but see Brock., *Heb. Syn.*, § 18 b.

(2) Compare § 136 b.

(3) Comp. perh. יוֹמַיִם, § 102 b.

(4) See J.J. Finkelstein in *JNES* 21 (1962) 73-92.

The endings -a'yim, -ām; -a'yin, -ān of place-names can in some cases represent a dual. But in a case where the notion of duality is not justified the ending is a locative ending⁽¹⁾, ay being dissociated from ā. Examples יְהוּדֵיִם Gn 37.17 and דִּתְּזִים 2K 6.13; עֵינַיִם Gn 38.21 and הָעֵינַיִם Josh 15.34; יְרוּשָׁלַיִם (Qre, but in late books spelt fully with Yod)⁽²⁾. Comp. the adverbial ending of, for example, אַרְבַּעַתְּיָם *fourfold* (§ 100 o). For the dual in the construct state, cf. § 92 g.

(1) As the original form of יְרוּשָׁלַיִם is most likely to have ended with /em/ (cf. the cuneiform spelling *urusalim* and Syr. *'orišlem*, Gk. *Ἰερουσαλῆμ*), these /-ayim/ or /-ayin/ may go back to /-em/ or /-en/.

(2) See Brock., *GvG*, I, p. 393, and N.H. Torczyner, *Die Entstehung des semitischen Sprachtypus*, vol. 1 (Wien, 1916), pp. 67-72. Cf. also Ch. Fontinoy, "Les noms de lieux en -ayim dans la Bible." *UF* 3 (1971) 33-40, and Driver, *Notes* ad 1Sm 1.1.

§ 92. Construct state

A noun can be used in close conjunction with another noun to express a notion of possession, of belonging etc., as in the Latin construction with the genitive e.g. *equus Pharaonis* "the horse of Pharaoh." This relation is expressed in Hebrew by the simple close union of the two nouns: סוּס פַּרְעֹה. The two nouns form a phonetic unit resul-

ting from the logical unit. The first noun is called the *governing noun* (*nomen regens*), the second the *governed noun* (*nomen rectum*). The first noun is said to be in the *construct state* because it rests phonetically on the second as a building rests on its foundations. The opposite of the construct state is the *absolute state*; thus in אִישׁ רֹכֵב עַל־סוּס אָדָם a man riding on a red horse (Zech 1.8), אִישׁ and סוּס are in the absolute state (רכב and אדם are appositions, also in the absolute state).

b From a phonetic point of view the first noun, resting on the second, always loses something of its stress. The stress can become secondary when the union is made closer still by maqqef (§ 13), e.g. מְלֹכֵת־יְהוּדָה governor of Judah (Hg 2.21). It can even disappear altogether, e.g. בֶּן־אָדָם son of man (Ez 2.1).

c One of the effects of the weakening of the stress is vowel deletion: some vowels were dropped, others were shortened. The tendency towards deletion is even stronger in the case of maqqef (§ 13 c). A detailed description of the vocalisation of the construct state will be given in the study of nominal inflection. Here a few examples of construct states with deleted and non-deleted vocalisation will suffice:

Sing.: abs. דָּבָר, cst. דְּבַר word; זָקֵן, זָקֵן old man. But abs. and cst. אֵיבֹן enemy, אִמָּה mother, שֵׁם name, יָם sea (§13 c), אֶפֶד ephod, אִבּוּס crib (§ 21 h).

Plur.: דְּבָרִים, דְּבָרִי words; שָׁנִים, שָׁנֵי years; שְׁמוֹת, שְׁמוֹת nouns. But in the ע"ו roots we have קָמִים, קָמֵי § 80 d; מְתִים, מְתֵי; in the ע"ע roots: שָׂרִים, שָׂרֵי princes, § 82 p.

Dual: יָדַי, יָדֵי hands; בְּרָכָי, בְּרָכָי knees; כַּנְּפֵי, כַּנְּפֵי wings; שִׁפְתָי, שִׁפְתָי lips.

N.B. Sometimes in the plural (and dual) construct the vowel of the absolute is wrongly used, e.g. אֵיטָאִי (§ 96 A e), גְּדֵיִי (§ 96 A q), מְקָרָאִי (§ 96 C b), שְׂבָחָי (§ 96 B d).

d In nouns in ה־ the vowel becomes ה־: שָׂדֵה, שָׂדֵה field (cf. § 79 f, n).

e In nouns with the primitive feminine ending at, which has become ה־ in the absolute, both the primitive t and the short a are retained: abs. מַלְכָּה, cst. מַלְכָּת queen. The other feminine endings remain unchanged.

In the plural, the feminine ending תִּ with etymologically long o remains unchanged.

f Nouns with the masculine plural ending יִם have in the construct

state the ending י־: סוּסִים, סוּסִי. The origin of this ending, which has no relation whatsoever with the ending סוּסִי־, is still an unresolved question. Some see in it the י־ of the construct dual, others an abstract ending used as a plural ending. This *e* seems to us to be the contraction of the *ay* of nouns from the לִי roots. A noun like *śaday, יָדָי (poet.), שָׂדֵה becomes in the plural with suffixes, e.g. śadaynu > יָדָינוּ *our fields*, whence the cst. pl. שָׂדֵי. This י־, found originally in nouns of לִי roots, would then have spread to the nouns formed from the other roots⁽¹⁾.

(1) This explanation is supported by the fact that the vowel *e*, which is found in the types יָדָינוּ? § 61 *d*, יָדָיִם? § 80 *b*, סוּסִינוּ, סוּסִים? § 94 *b* and n. there, comes from the לִי roots.

The dual ending *-aym > -a'yim becomes -*e* in the construct, by the contraction of *ay* to *e* and the dropping of the final consonant: יָדָיִם, יָדָי *hands*. As we can see in the construct (and also with the suffixes) the form of the dual is not different from that of the plural. It is only in words with a *begadkefat* third radical that a dual form (without aspiration, e.g. יָרְכָי *knees*, יָרְכָיִם) can be distinguished from a plural form (with aspiration, e.g. יָרְכָיִם, יָרְכָיִם). (Here with a *heavy* suffix, but elsewhere with a *light* suffix, e.g. יָרְכָיִם, יָרְכָיִם).

In the cst. state we sometimes find the paragogic vowels י־ (§ 93 *h*) and י (§ 93 *r*).

See also the cst. forms יָרְכָי, יָרְכָי (§§ 93 *b*, 98 *b*).

§ 93. Paragogic vowels ה־, י־, י, ו in nouns

Certain **paragogic** (= *added*) vowels are found in nouns, especially unstressed ה־ (comp. the stressed paragogic ה־ of the cohortative, § 45), then the rather frequent vowel י־, and finally י and ו, both very rare. In order to explain the origin of these vowels (as well as that of some others [§ 94 *b*, *c*; 102 *b*]) it is necessary to know the old Semitic declension, as it still exists in Classical Arabic, and as it must have existed, at some stage, in Hebrew⁽¹⁾.

(1) The final vowels *u*, *i*, *a* are found in the Canaanite glosses of Tell El Amarna, Ugaritic, and Early Phoenician as in Akkadian. Cf. S.C. Layton, *Archaic Features of Canaanite Personal Names in the Hebrew Bible* (Atlanta, 1990), pp. 37-154.

The complete Semitic declension had three cases corresponding to the

Latin nominative, genitive and accusative. When the noun was indeterminate, *m* was added to the case vowel (mimation)⁽¹⁾. This *m* became *n* in Arabic (nunation). The declension of the word *yawm* > יוֹם *day* was as follows:

	Nominative	Genitive	Accusative
Determinate	yáwmu	yáwmi	yáwma
Indeterminate	yáwmum	yáwmim	yáwmam

In some biliteral nouns of kinship 'ab "father," 'ah "brother," ham "husband's father" (§ 98 *b*), the declension in the construct state (and before the suffixes) had a long vowel, e. g.:

Nom. 'abū	Gen. 'abī	Acc. 'abā
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(1) As the mimation (or nunation) is not evidenced in El Amarna glosses or Ugaritic, it probably did not exist in Early Hebrew.

- c **Paragogic vowel** הַֿ. This unstressed vowel, formerly thought to be a vestige of the old determinate accusative, is no longer so considered in the light of Ugaritic, which also attests to a form such as *arṣh* "to the ground," where the final letter is not a *mater lectionis*, but a consonant⁽¹⁾. It is mainly used to indicate direction towards, or destination to, a place (§ 125 *n*), hence the designation: הַֿ of *direction, local* הַֿ (He *locale*). A noun with paragogic הַֿ is usually determinate, either by itself or by virtue of the article attached to it. The vocalisation of the word remains unchanged, as far as possible. In nouns with the feminine ending הַֿ the primitive ת reappears, e.g. תִּירְשָׁה, תִּירְשָׁה to *Tir-ṣa*. Short vowels are maintained in open syllables, e.g. מִדְּבָרָה רַמְשֵׁק to *the desert of Damascus* 1Kg 19.15 (מִדְּבָרָה, cst. בּוּ, but מִדְּבָרָה if not cst.); פְּרִיזָה אֲרָם to פְּרִיזָה-אֲרָם Gn 28. 2 (vowel sequence ϵ — σ , § 29 *f*); הַרְהָה to *the mountain* Gn 14.10† (from הַר; instead of הַרְהָה*, vowel sequence ϵ — σ); בְּרִמְלָה 1Sm 25.5 (from בְּרִמְלָה); בְּבִלָה (from בְּבִלָה); גִּתָה 1Kg 2.40 (from גִּתָה); צִפְתָה 2Ch 14.9 (from צִפְתָה); צִרְפָה 1Kg 17.9 (from צִרְפָה); צִרְתָה 4.12 (from צִרְתָה).

Quite often in the segholate nouns, הַֿ is not added to the primitive form the way suffixes are, but to the Hebrew form which is modified only when necessary. Thus we have בֵּיתָה to *(in) the house* (with ת rafé) from בֵּיתָה; comp. cst. בֵּיתָה to *the house of*, בֵּיתָה *her house*, מִלְכָה *her*

king. Likewise אֶהְלֵךְ is formed from אֶהֱלֵךְ, and comp. הֶהָלַךְ *her tent*; גִּבְרָה from גִּבְרָן. From יָם is formed הַיָּמָה *towards the sea*; comp. הַיָּם *her sea*(²). From דָּבָר is formed דְּבָרָה *towards the south* (with "quiescent" shewa, but cf. דְּבָרָה Ps 116.14,18 *before*). But derived from the primitive form we find אֶרֶץ *to the earth* (אֶרֶץ); הַחֲדָרָה *(in)to the room* (חֲדָר).

The ה־ has, abnormally and for no apparent reason, become ׀ in נֹבָה *towards Nob* 1Sm 21.2; 22.9† (before אֶל-); הַדְּבָרָה *towards Dedan* Ez 25.13†; הַיָּמָה וְהַיָּבֵשֶׁת *anywhere* 1Kg 2.36,42; 2Kg 5.25†.

The ה־ is stressed in מִזְרְחַת שֶׁמֶשׁ *towards the rising of the sun* Dt 4.41 (instead of מִזְרָח, probably because of the pause) and in the two proper nouns הַחֲפָרָה and עֲתָרָה קָצִיין Josh 19.13. Comp. עֲתָרָה, § g.

(1) The originally consonantal character of *h* is assured in view of the corresponding Akkadian morpheme ḥ, a sound, which, when used as grammatical morpheme, often corresponds to *h* in Canaanite. However, the beginning of the loss of the consonantal value of *h* is already attested in Ugr.: Gordon, *UT*, § 5.39.

(2) Comp. שָׁמָּה with the qames of שָׁמָּה.

The ה־ is mainly used when there is a notion of direction, of motion d
towards or *to* something(¹): הַמִּזְרָח *towards the east* (but הַמִּזְרָח, § 96 A f); הַהָרָה *to the mountain* (13 times; once without the article הַהָרָה, § c[²] Gn 14.10); הַחוּצָה *towards the outside* (19 times; 8 times הַחוּצָה with the same meaning); הַיָּמָה *towards the sea*, but הַיָּבֵשֶׁת *towards the west*(³); הַבַּיְתָה *(in)to the house*, but הַבַּיְתָה *(in)to the inside*. In the construct state: הַבַּיְתָה יוֹסֵף *(in)to the house of Joseph* Gn 43.17,24; הַמִּצְרָיִם *towards the land of Egypt* Ex 4.20. With a plural: הַשָּׁמַיִם *towards the skies*, הַשְּׁוֹרֵי הַיָּמָה *towards the Chaldeans = towards Chaldea* Ez 11.24, 16.29, 23.16; הַיָּמִים מִיָּמִים *from year to year* (motion applied to time).

(1) The noun in the accusative without ה־ (§ 125 n) can also be found. Cf. J. Hoftijzer, *A Search for the Method. A Study in the Syntactic Use of the H-Locale in Classical Heb.* (Leiden, 1981).

(2) Like הַהָרָה we have הַהָרָה, an unexplained word (Hab 3.3,9,13; Ps 3.3 etc.).

(3) Likewise, usually הַיָּם *the sea*, הַיָּבֵשֶׁת *the west*. Cf. § 137 q.

The notion of direction or of motion *towards* (Latin: *ad, in* with e
acc.) can become weaker and, in some cases, it can even disappear. הַמִּזְבֵּחַ *properly at the altar* is quite frequently found in the ritual for sacrifices, mainly in conjunction with הִקְטִיר *to make (sacrifices) smoke* (Ex 29.13,25 etc.), also with הֶעֱלָה *cause to ascend* (Lv 14.20), הִרְקֵץ *toss or throw (in a volume), scatter abundantly* (2Ch 29.22). Yet

with all these verbs we also find עַל הַמְּצַבֵּי ; the two expressions are thus practically synonymous. In Jer 29.15 בְּבָבֶלֶת (if authentic) would mean *in Babylon* (without motion). Note also שָׁמָּה *there*, not *thither* 2Kg 23.8; Jer 18.2 etc.

It is probably due to the analogy of the use of הָ with nouns and without הָ that שָׁמָּה *thither* is used mainly when there is motion, and שָׁמָּה mainly when there is no motion, § 102 *h*.

f The הָ of direction is sometimes found, redundantly, after prepositions which already express the idea of motion *towards*: $\text{לְאַחַד הַצְּפוֹנִים}$ *towards the north* Ez 8.14† (like לְצָפוֹן 40.40), $\text{לְשֵׁאֵל הַלְּאֵלִים}$ *to Sheol* Ps 9.18† (like the usual לְשֵׁאֵל). The הָ can lose its primary meaning to such an extent that it is used with prepositions without any notion of movement: לְמַעַל(1) *above, upwards* (with or without movement), מִלְּמַעַל *from above, above* (without movement); לְמַטָּה *below* (with or without movement), מִלְּמַטָּה *from below, below* (without movement); בְּצָפוֹן *in the south* Josh 15.21 (probably because בְּצָפוֹן is quite common); מִצָּפוֹן *from the north* Josh 15.10; cf. Jdg 21.19† (prob. because מִצָּפוֹן is quite common). With names of cities הָ sometimes even becomes an integral part of the word. Thus alongside תִּמְנָת we have $\text{עַד-בְּרַמִּי תִמְנָת}$ *to the vineyards of Timna* Jdg 14.5, בְּתִמְנָת vs. 2; we always have אֶפְרָתָה (7 times; once אֶפְרָת Gn 48.7b, prob. incorrect: haplography, § 89 *n*); see also הַגִּדְרָה Dt 10.7b, קֵה־תָּה Nu 33.23; יִשְׁרָאֵל vs. 33. This phenomenon is probably best explained by the fact that names of cities lent themselves quite naturally to a frequent use of the accusative of direction, e.g. "I am going to Ephrata"(2).

(1) Note the absence of auxiliary *hataf* after the stressed vowel; contr. מִלְּמַעַל , מִלְּמַטָּה (cf. § 22 *b* 1).

(2) Thus *Stamboul* comes from $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ τὴν πόλιν, *Isnik* from $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ Νίκαια, *Stanco* from $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ τὴν Κῶ, etc.

g The *a* of the accusative(1) is probably found in the masc. substantive לַיְלָה *night*(2). The word has remained fossilised in the determinate accusative of time, probably because לַיְלָהֶּנָּה was often used for, e.g., "tonight": לַיְלָהֶּנָּה (cf. § 126 *i*).

The adverb עַתָּה , *mil'ra* in context but *mil'el* in pause (עַתָּה , עַתָּה § 32 *f*), is probably also the determinate accusative of עַתָּה *time*: "at this time" hence *now*; cf. Brock., *GvG*, I, p. 464(3).

(1) This ending appears to be distinct from the locative הָ (§ *f* above). So does עַתָּה ;

cf. AC *at-ta* "now" (Sivan, p. 131). Note the frequent and regular defective (?) spelling תע in the Arad inscriptions.

(2) 3 times only לַיְלַי , est. לַיְלִי ; pl. לַיְלִיּוֹת . The primitive form *laylay* has been, in Hebrew (and in Arabic), reduced to *layl*; cf. Brock., *GrG*, I, pp. 260, 464. In לַיְלַי the contraction of *ay* to *ε* does not take place (cf. § 26 c, n.; a tendency to alter vocalisation as little as possible, § 93 c); contr. לַיְלִיּוֹת . See also J. Blau in M. Bar-Asher et al. (eds), *Hebrew Language Studies* [Heb] [Fshr. Z. Ben-Hayyim] (Jerusalem, 1983), p. 79.

(3) An archaic(?) spelling תע occurs in Ez 23.43 and Ps 74.6 as in Lachish ostracon 4.2 and very often in the Arad ostraca, e.g. 1.2.

The *a* of the accusative is also found in some words with other nuances. In $\text{הִלְלִי הָאֱלֹהִים}$, which is generally translated as *ad profanum!*, *Heaven forbid!*, the accusative is rather one of wish, as in some corresponding Arabic phrases (cf. § 105 f). In מִן־אֲמֹנָה *something, anything*, the accusative can come from cases where the meaning is *as far as something is concerned*, as in 1Sm 21.3. בְּאֲמֹנָה *in truth* Gn 20.12, Josh 7.20†, synonymous with בְּאֲמֵנָה *verily* (§ 102 b), could be the accusative of אֲמֵן .

Sometimes the הֵי no longer has its original force; its use is purely rhythmic. In poetry sometimes it could have been used out of metrical necessity: $\text{הַחֶשֶׁם־הַמֶּלֶךְ}$ *electrum* Ez 8.2 (in pause, in a grand description), נַחֲלֵהָ *brook* Ps 124.4, הַמָּוֶתֶת ? *death* Ps 116.15(1), אֶרֶץ־צָרָה ? *the earth* Job 37.12.

(1) Starting from a discussion of this instance, P.C.H. Wernberg-Møller attempts to demonstrate occasional residues of the genuine accusative as distinct from the directional *He* as in Is 8.23 $\text{וּבְלִיַּן־הַקָּל־אֶרֶץ־צָרָה}$ and Ho 8.7 $\text{סוּפֹתֶתָ־יִקְצְרוּ}$; see *JSS* 33 (1988) 161.

This is rather frequent in the feminine, where we have the ending הֵיָ (for הֵיָ)(1). In some cases this form seems to have been chosen to avoid the contact of two stressed syllables: $\text{אֵין־יְשׁוּעָתָהּ־לּוֹ}$ *no salvation for him* Ps 3.3(2); $\text{קוּמָה־עֲזֹרָתָהּ־לָנוּ}$ *arise for our help* 44.27 (comp. לְעֹזְרָה ? לּוֹ 2Ch 28.21); $\text{בּוֹ־לֹא־עֲזָרָתָהּ־בּוֹ}$ Ps 92.16. Other examples: $\text{בְּעֹלְלֹתָהּ־יְדִיהֶם}$ 125.3; $\text{אֵימָתָהּ־וַפָּחַד}$ Ex 15.16; בְּצָרָתָהּ־לִי *when I was in distress* Ps 120.1; $\text{עִיפֹתָהּ־קָפְצָהּ־פִּיהָ}$ *iniquity stops her mouth* Job 5.16; אֶרֶץ־עִיפֹתָהּ *a land of gloom* 10.22. All these forms occur only in poetry(3).

(1) Hurvitz points out that, in the cases discussed here and also under the paragogic vowels, the definite article is significantly absent except in late books such as Ezekiel, another indication of the antiquity of the phenomenon, though not in every such case would the article be required in the first place: A. Hurvitz, in A. Kort

and S. Morschauer (eds), *Biblical and Related Studies* [Fachr. S. Iwry] (Winona Lake, 1985), pp. 116-19.

(2) Cf. Ch.A. and E.G. Briggs *ad loc.* (ICC).

(3) See M. Tsevat, *A Study of the Language of the Biblical Psalms* (Philadelphia, 1955), pp. 21f.

k Finally, unstressed הַ, which therefore cannot be the feminine ending, is found in some dubious or incorrect examples: הַרְחֵמָה ? *the carrion-vulture* Dt 14.17; הַבֵּינֹר ? *burning oven* Ho 7.4; הַשְּׁעֵר ? *the lower gate* Ez 40.19; הַלֵּלִי ? 2Kg 15.29 (read גִּלְלִי); הַחִיצוֹנָה ? 16.18 (dittographic הַ).

l The paragogic vowel יְ. This vowel is called *hireq compaginis* (linking *i*) because it is usually found in nouns in the cst. state, and therefore in close link with other nouns⁽¹⁾. Because of its ordinary use and of its origin this יְ can be called *i of the construct state*. It is the יְ which is found in the cst. state of the biliteral nouns of kinship אָבִי, אָחִי, אָחִי* (§ 98 b)⁽²⁾. This יְ was used in poetry in nouns, adjectives and especially participles, at first to express the construct state in the strict sense or in the loose sense, then as a purely rhythmic vowel. In some particles it has become an integral part of the word (§ q).

(1) Cf. C. Rabin in *Proceedings*, pp. 194f., and also M. Noth, *Die israelitischen Personennamen* [§ 88 L c, n.], pp. 33f.

(2) The *i* of the type אָבִי, unique to Hebrew, seems to be the old *i* of the genitive *'abi (§ b), to which a new function was assigned after the loss of the cases (cf. § 98 b). G.R. Driver mentions a similar *i* as a helping vowel in Old Babylonian attached to a word-final consonantal cluster (*JThSt* 26 [1925] 76f.). Only part of the Hebrew examples adduced lend themselves to such an explanation.

m In **Substantives**. In some compound proper nouns the first substantive of which is in the construct state in relation to the second: מֶלֶךְ-צֶדֶק *king of justice*, אֱלֹהֵי-יִשְׂרָאֵל *man of God*, עַבְדֵי-יְהוָה *servant of God*, חַנּוּן-יְהוָה *grace of God* (cp. Phoen. *Hannibal* = חַנְנִי-בַעַל). Also בְּנֵי-אֲתוֹנוֹ *his ass's colt* (the son of his she-ass) Gn 49.11; עַל-הַדְּבָרִים מִלְכֵי-צֶדֶק *after the manner of M.* Ps 110.4; before a preposition רַב־גּוֹיִם *the Great One among the nations* and שְׂרָרְתִי בְּמַדְיָנוֹת *the Princess among the provinces* Lam 1.1⁽¹⁾.

In **adjectives**: רַב־בְּתָרִים *populous* (numerous of people) Lam 1.1; מְלֵאֵי-מִשְׁפָּט *full of justice* Is 1.21.

(1) The mil'el stress in these two examples is perh. due to רַבְּתֵי עַם, which comes before (where there is nsiga).

In participles the י־ of the cst. state is rather frequent. This is because on the one hand a participle preceding a substantive is often put in the cst. (§ 121 l), on the other hand because a participle, for example, קָטַל, usually retains ׀ in the cst. state: a form such as קָטְלִי had thus the advantage of expressing the cst. state clearly.

In the genitive: עֲזָבֵנִי הַצֹּאֵן forsaking the flock (forsaker of the flock) Zech 11.17 (רֹעִי הָאֵלִילִי shepherd of nothingness for רֹעֵה is strange; perhaps for assonance); שֹׁכְנֵי סֹנֶה inhabitant of the bush Dt 33.16.

By extension, in a construction where there is a construct state (before a preposition): שֹׁכְנֵי בְּחַוְיֵי הַסֶּלֶע dwelling in the retreats of the rock Jer 49.16(1). Then by extension of this construction : חִצְבֵי מְרוֹם hewing out in a high place his sepulchre Is 22.16; שֹׁכְנֵי לְבַדְדֵי עֵר inhabiting solitarily a wood Mi 7.14; Ps 101.5; 113.7; Gn 49.11.

Finally there are cases with no notion, even remote, of cst. state. The vowel י־, as was the case for ה־ (§§ i-k), has now only a rhythmic value: אֹהֵבֵי לְדַוֵּשׁ loving to tread out (the corn) Ho 10.11; Ps 113.5,6; 114.8; 123.1.

(1) Comp. the construction of the type יֹשְׁבֵי בְּאֶרֶץ צִלְמוֹת Is 9.1 (§ 129 m).

The archaic form in י־ has, in some cases, been corrected by the Qre: Jer 10.17: K. יוֹשְׁבֵי, Q. יוֹשְׁבֹת; Lam 4.21, Ez 27.3. In Jer 22.23 the Qre strangely requires יוֹשְׁבֹת (§ 89 j) and likewise (*ibid.*) מְקַנְנֹת; 51.13 שֹׁכְנֹת. In all these examples the form in י־ is justified and may be regarded as authentic. On the contrary in 2Kg 4.23, K. הִלְכֵי is probably incorrect in this text which is written in a very simple prose; the י־ could be due to the analogy of אִתִּי.

There is a probable example of the passive participle⁽¹⁾ in Gn 31.39 יוֹם וּגְנֹבֵי לַיְלָה וּגְנֹבֵי לַיְלָה stolen by day and stolen by night: this probably is the only example of paragogic י־ in prose.

(1) However this form could be a qatāl > קָטַל with reduction of *ō* (comp. שָׁלַח, שָׁלַח); Brock., GvG, II, p. 251. translates *Diebstahl*.

The י־ is simply incorrect in Ps 113.8 לְהוֹשִׁיבֵי (י־ brought about by the preceding and following paragogic י־); it is suspect in Ps 116.1 קוֹלֵי תְּחִנּוֹתֵי, because elsewhere we always (5 times) find קוֹלֵי תְּ.

q Paragogic י־ is always found in the negative particle בְּלִיָּהּ (§ 160 *m*), לְבִלְיָהּ (160 *l*), which presupposes a form בְּלִיָּהּ* or לְבִלְיָהּ* (root בלה) wear (and tear), consumption, hence deficiency, non-existence; always (6 times) in זָלַתְיָ with the exception of (thus the only זָלַת in 2Kg 24.14 is suspect). We often find the poetic form מְנִי for מֵן, § 103 *d*. In the locution עוֹד וְאֲפֹסֵי אֲנִי I and I only י־ is the suffix of the first person rather than paragogic י־ (§ 160 *n*).

r Paragogic vowel *i*. This vowel is found only in a few nouns in the construct state, notably הַיָּנִי *animal*. Just as the י־ of the cst. state comes from the י־ of the type אֲבִי (which itself probably comes from the Semitic 'abī, § 1), the *i* probably comes from the ā of the accusative of the type 'abā § *b*. It is used in some cases in the cst. state instead of י־ for reasons unknown. Instead of בְּנֵי Gn 49.11 (§ *m*) we find בְּנוֹ צֶפֶר son of Z. Nu 23.18, בְּנוֹ בָּעַר son of B. 24.3,15 (poetic and archaic texts). Instead of לְמַעַיְנוֹ-מִים Ps 114.8 one should perhaps read the plural לְמַעַיְנֵי (cf. LXX, Pesh., Vulg.). Finally we find חֵיתוֹ 7 times (one of which occurs in a prose passage). In Gn 1.24 אֲרָץ-חֵיתוֹ *wild animals* (literally: *animals of the earth*) the poetic form may have been chosen to avoid אֲרָץ-חֵית* , which may have been thought too harsh (but vs. 25: חֵית הָאָרֶץ with the article); cf. Ps 79.2 חֵיתוֹ-אֲרָץ. Other examples: חֵיתוֹ שֹׁרֵי Is 56.9; Ps 104.11; חֵיתוֹ-יַעַר 50.10; 104.20; חֵיתוֹ-גֹּי Zeph 2.14.

s Paragogic vowel *u*. This vowel *u* is only found in a few compound proper nouns the first of which is built on the second. Thus it has the same function as the vowel י־ in proper nouns (§ *m*). Just as י־ and *i* ultimately come from the types 'abī, 'abā, this *u* probably comes from the nominative of the type 'abū (§ *b*)(¹). In the examples, which by the way are rare, one must not exclude the possibility of a radical *w* which could have become *u*(²). Moreover, according to Prätorius(³), there could be in some nouns a form of endearment *qatūl*. Examples: פְּנֵי אֵל face of God Gn 32.32 (vs. 31 פְּנֵי אֵל)(⁴), רֵעֵי אֵל friend of God(?) 36.4(⁵); שְׁמוֹ אֵל name of God(?); מְגִלַּת אֵל majesty of God(?) (perhaps from a form *ga'w). With מֵן *man*, the proper form of which is not known, מְתוֹשָׁא, מְתוֹשָׁא (cf. Phoenician *Metuastart* "man of Astarte" and Akk. *mutu* "man").

Apart from these compound nouns the *u* of the nominative may be found in some names: מְלִיכּוֹ, בְּכָרּוֹ Ne 12.14 Qre, גְּשָׁמוֹ 6.6 (name of an Arab; cf.

vs. 1 אָשׁוּׁ).

- (1) In Arabic dialects, where the cases of old Arabic have almost disappeared, 'abu is the normal form in the cst. st., and 'abū with suffixes: 'Abu Bekr, 'Abu Nāder; 'abūna "our father" (some people affectedly say 'abina).
- (2) Comp. Arabic ḡazw "foray" pronounced ḡazū; Hebrew *waiyyiśtaḥw, which has become אֲשִׁיׁ, § 79 *t*.
- (3) *ZDMG* 57 (1903) 777ff.
- (4) In view of the use of the word as plurale tantum, we may be dealing with vestiges of the archaic plural case endings: -ū (nominative case) and -i (oblique case).
- (5) Cf. M. Noth, op. cit. [§ 1, n. 1], p. 153, n. 2, and S.C. Layton, op. cit. [§ 93 a.n].

§ 94. Nouns with suffixes
(Paradigm 20)

Like a noun, a pronoun which depends on a noun is in the genitive, e.g. אָבִי, which properly speaking means ὁ πατήρ μου "the father of me." The suffixes are, in principle, added to the cst. form (the vocalisation of which is sometimes modified). The suffixes which are used with nouns will be found in Paradigm 1; the forms taken by nouns with suffixes in Paradigm 20. As was the case with the corresponding suffixes which were added to verbs, the suffixes אָבִי, אָבִי, אָבִי, אָבִי, which are added to nouns, are termed *heavy*: they modify the vocalisation of the word more strongly than the other (*light*) suffixes; cf. § 96 A *b*.

Suffixes beginning with a consonant are linked to nominal forms ending in a consonant by a **linking vowel**. As in the verbs (§ 61 *d*), the two linking vowels *a* and *e* are used. We find אָבִי in אָבִי, אָבִי, and also in *ahu > אָ. This *a* is probably the *a* of the old accusative (§ *b*). We find *e* in אָבִי, אָבִי; (אָבִי § *h*), אָבִי, אָבִי. This *e* probably comes from the nouns of the אָבִי root, e.g. אָבִי from אָבִי (1).

(1) For the present inflection of nouns in אָבִי, cf. § 96 B *f*. There is nothing surprising in the fact that אָבִי (and אָבִי) roots have so often supplied the linking vowel in verbs and in nouns, for indeed only those roots have forms with an originally long stressed vowel after the 2nd radical. Comp. the *ē* of אָבִי, אָבִי § 103, *n*. Cf. §§ 61 *d, f*; 78 *b, c*; 80 *b, i*; 82 *f*; 92 *f*.

Suffixes with singular nouns. [For the sake of clarity the suffixes will be given here joined to a noun. The noun אָבִי horse has been chosen

because it has an unchangeable vowel: thus the form of the cst. is the same as that of the absolute; see Paradigm 20].

Sing. 1st c. יָדוּס: primitive form: *sūsiya*; - (*my horse*).

2nd m. יָדוּס: contextual form, reduced from יָדוּס(1).

2nd f. יָדוּס: on the analogy of יָדוּס(2).

3rd m. יָדוּס: from *sūsahu*, with the *a* of the old accusative.

3rd f. יָדוּס: from *sūsaha*, with the *a* of the old accusative.

Plur. 1st c. יָדוּס: on the analogy of יָדוּס; - (*our horse*).

2nd m. יָדוּס: before the heavy suffix יָדוּס the primitive vowel, probably also *e*, was dropped(3).

2nd f. יָדוּס: (as above).

3rd m. יָדוּס: for *sūsahem*, with the *a* of the old accusative(4).

3rd f. יָדוּס: for *sūsahen*, with the *a* of the old accusative.

(1) The pausal form יָדוּס comes from the ה"ל nouns, e.g. יָדוּס, form preserved only in pause, § 96 B *f* (comp. יָדוּס, יָדוּס § 61 *d*); for the vowel sequence *ε-φ*, cf. § 29 *f*. These forms illustrate the principle whereby the 2m.sg. suffix יָדוּס is unstressed when attached to a form ending in a vowel, but stressed when it follows a consonant.

(2) According to Brock., *GvG*, I, p. 478, the יָדוּס would represent the old *i* of the genitive, § 93 *b*. The original ending *-ki* could also have influenced its emergence.

(3) Primitive forms of the 2 pl. suff.: m. **kumu*, f. **kinna*. The *ε* of the masc. is explained as in the independent pronoun יָדוּס, § 39 *a* (cf. Brock., *GvG*, I, p. 310). QH as well as SH attests to the long morpheme, הַמְּ-, הַמְּ-, *-kimma*, *-imma*, *-inna*: see Qimron, *Hebrew of DSS*, pp. 62f. and Ben-Hayyim, *LOT*, vol. 5, pp. 172f.

(4) Primitive forms of the 3 pl. suff.: m. **humu*, f. **šinna*, like the independent pronoun, § 39 *a* (cf. Brock., *GvG*, I, p. 312). See also the preceding note. Cf. AC *ta-ah-ta-mu* "under them."

d Suffixes with plural (and dual) nouns. The suffixes are added to the primitive ending *ay* of plural (and dual) nouns in the cst. state.

Sing. 1st c. יָדוּס, יָדוּס: primitive form: *sūsayya*; - (*my horses*)(1).

2nd m. יָדוּס: from *sūsayka*. For the vowel sequence *ε-φ*, cf. § 29 *f*.

2nd f. יָדוּס: from *sūsayki*.

3rd m. יָדוּס: from *sūsayhu*. Here the יָ is purely graphic(2).

3rd f. יָדוּס: from *sūsayha*. For the vowel sequence *ε-φ*, cf. § 29 *f*.

Plur. 1st c.	סוּסַיְנֵינוּ: from <i>sūsaynu</i> ; - (<i>our horses</i>).
2nd m.	סוּסַיְכֶם: from <i>sūsaykēm</i> .
2nd f.	סוּסַיְכֶנָּה: from <i>sūsaykēn</i> .
3rd m.	סוּסַיְהֶם: from <i>sūsayhēm</i> .
3rd f.	סוּסַיְהֶנָּה: from <i>sūsayhēn</i> .

(1) Cf. AC *ḥe-na-ya* "my eyes."

(2) It is quite often omitted by the Ktiv, thus bearing witness to the actual pronunciation *sūsāw*, but almost always required by the Qre, e.g. K. מְנוּחָם, Q. מְנוּחָם 2Sm 24.14. For יַחְדָּם *together*, cf. § 102 d.

The defective spelling without Yod is what one finds in early Hebrew inscriptions, e.g. *לְשָׂאֵם* *his men* (Lachish 3:18) and *לְאָלָם* *to him* (Yavneh-Yam, line 13), thus indicating its antiquity. Andersen and Forbes (AF, pp. 324-26) maintain that the standard spelling יַ resulted from a spelling reform artificially introduced in the interest of the graphic distinction between, say, *בְּנֵי* *his son* and *בְּנֵי* *his sons*. On the other hand, the well-nigh exclusive attestation of the prepositions אֵלַי, עָלַי, and עִמָּי in poetic sections of the OT as well as the comparative Semitic data (Arb. *'ilā(y)*; Arb. *'alā(y)*, Akk. *eli*; Ugr. *'ly*; Akk. *adi*) speak for the originality of the final Yod, whether these prepositions are to be considered originally plural nouns or not; but on Old South Arabic, see A.F.L. Beeston, *Sabaic Gram.* (Manchester, 1984), § 33:3. אֵלַי and עִמָּי are liable to analogical development (as against אֵלַי and עָלַי respectively; § 103 n), whereas the occasional pseudo-plural use of אֵלַי and עִמָּי is easily understandable in terms of their semantics. Thus there is no doubting that /y/ as part of the pl.cst. morpheme /ay/ was a reality at one stage of the evolution of this complex. Whatever explanation is to be sought for the development **ayhu* > *āw*, the spelling attested by inscriptions can be said to reflect this *phonetic* shape, and thus the form *לְשָׂאֵם* mentioned above, for instance, can represent basically the same phonetic reality as that of the Massoretic *לְשָׂאֵם*: for a different view of the phonetic development, see F.M. Cross and D.N. Freedman, *Early Hebrew Orthography: A Study of the Epigraphic Evidence* (New Haven, 1952), pp. 68f., where a case is put forward for /ēw/ as a dialectal form. See also H.M. Orlinsky, *HUCA* 17 (1942-43) 288-92, and Meyer, II, pp. 56f. It is not impossible that the /āw/ eventually goes back to /aw/, which is paralleled by the corresponding Aramaic form /awhi/ (> /ōhi/) and is explained by some as a result of vowel dissimilation, namely **ayhu* > **awhi*. The change /a/ to /ā/ would be rather late, due to the influence of the labial /w/, to which the vowel /ā/ is akin.

Nouns with the feminine ending הַ, e.g. סוּסַתְּ *mare*. The suffixes are added to the cst. form סוּסַתְּ, the הַ of which is retained in סוּסַתְּכֶם, סוּסַתְּכֶנָּה (shewa "medium"), but everywhere else becomes הַ, e.g. סוּסַתְּי, סוּסַתְּיָהּ.

Nouns with the feminine pl. ending תְּ, e.g. סוּסַתְּ *mares*. Here Hebrew presents a particular phenomenon: the suffixes are not added directly

to the cst. טוֹט, but come after a syllable *ay, which is none other than the plural (and dual) ending of masculine nouns in the cst. state, e.g. תְּיָתִי, with יָ (= *ay) of תְּיָתִי. These forms thus contain a double plural marker: feminine תִּי and masculine *ay.

g However, examples without *ay can be found. They are common only with the 3rd pers. pl. suffix: instead of the type טוֹטִיָּהּ we often find the type טוֹטִיָּהּ, which is older; the longer pattern is less economical in giving twofold expression to the category of plurality. Thus אֲבוֹתָם *their fathers* is more frequent than אֲבוֹתֵיהֶם⁽¹⁾, which is only found in the later books of Ezra, Nehemiah, and Chronicles; also in Jeremiah and 1Kg 14.15; note 2Sm 22.46 מְסֻגְרוֹתָם as against its parallel Ps 18.46 מְסֻגְרוֹתֵיהֶם⁽²⁾. We always have אֲמוֹתָם (twice) *their mothers*, שְׁמוֹתָם and שְׁמוֹתֵיהֶם *their names*, דְּוֵרוֹתָם *their generations*⁽³⁾. Euphony sometimes seems to have influenced the choice of a form in some nouns which can be found with both suffixes; thus, for מְצַחֹת comp. Dt 7.5 with 12.3 (מְצַ to avoid a triple repetition of מְצַ); for מְצַבֹּת Ex 34.13 with 23.24 (מְצַ in pause).

Apart from the suffix מְצַ and מְצַ, examples are rare and dubious: עֲדוֹתֵי Ps 132.12 (dubious form: the sing. would be עֲדוֹתֵי, the pl. עֲדוֹתֵי 'edwotay; the absence of ו is probably incorrect); מְכַתֵּב Dt 28.59 (the absence of י prob. incorrect); אֲחִיוֹתָם Ez 16.52 (the absence of י prob. incorrect; contr. vs. 51).

(1) 106 : 33. Compare the particle of the accusative אֵת: אֲתָם more common than אֲתָם (§ 103 k).

(2) Qimron (*Hebrew of DSS*, p. 63, n. 80) mentions occasional corrections in QH of מְסֻגְרוֹתָם to מְסֻגְרוֹתֵיהֶם. In *Leš* 51 (1987) 237f. he notes that the short form is the dominant one in BH, and that earlier books prefer it.

(3) Böttcher(2.42) quotes 56 nouns in תִּי which always have the suffix מְצַ. One finds another 35 nouns which show the extended form only, and many of these are confined to exilic or post-exilic books. On the other hand, 22 nouns are attested in both the long and the short form, the great majority of which tend to the short form, the notable exception being מְצַ (מְצַ only once in Gn 34.21, but מְצַ 20 x).

h **Rare suffix forms in singular nouns**⁽¹⁾.

Sing. 2nd m. Rare spelling מְצַ, e.g. Ps 139.5; Pr 24.10⁽²⁾.

2nd f. Rare (Aramaising)⁽³⁾ form מְצַ: Jer 11.15; Ps 103.3; 116.19; 135.9, all in poetry except 2Kg 4.2.

Rare form מְצַ (usual with particles): participle (§ 66) מְצַ Ez 23.28;

25.4. As for בִּלְ, we find בִּלְךָ 2 x (Is 22.1; Ct 4.7) and the (normal) form בִּלְךָ, 2 x in pause (Is 14.29,31) (cf. below, plural 1st c. בִּלְכֶם).

3rd m. The spelling הִ is fairly common and is normal in early Hebrew inscriptions; the ה represents the *h* of the primitive form *ahu* (cf. § 7 *b*, and above at § *d*, n. 2). Especially noteworthy is הִלְךָ, a spelling as common as לְךָ. The other examples are rather rare, and the Qre sometimes prescribes הִ, e.g. for הִלְךָּ Gn 9.21; 12.8; 13.3; 35.21. The suffix הִלְ of הִלְ nouns (שְׂוִיָּהוּ) was introduced in some nouns. Except in Jer 6.21 רַעֵו (cf. רַעו in the Siloam inscription) we always find רַעֵוהוּ, which comes from the usual form רַעַו *companion*, not from the rare רַעֵו (royal) *friend*. Other examples: הִלְמִיָּהוּ Gn 1.12,21,25 (but הִלְמִיָּנוּ vs. 11) (the fuller form הִלְמִיָּהוּ seems more common in pause); הִלְאוּ Job 25.3.

3rd f. הִ (without mappiq, § 25 *a*) is sometimes found, especially before certain consonants, mainly the *begadkefat*; before כּ: Nu 15.28, 31; Ez 16.44; 24.6; before פּ: Ps 48.14; before תּ: Ez 47.10; Job 31.22; before י: Na 3.9; before כּ: 2Kg 8.6; Pr 12.28; before הּ: Is 21.2; Jer 20.17; before שׁ: Lv 6.2. In pause: Lv 12.4,5; Is 23.17; 45.6; Pr 21.22. כִּ is found once Ez 36.5 (probably incorrect).

Plur. 1st c. Rare form הִלְכֶם (usual with the particles, § 103 *e*). We always find הִלְכֶם (cf. above, 2nd f. הִלְכֶם), perhaps on the analogy of הִלְכֶם, הִלְכֶם, הִלְכֶם. Apart from these cases only one example is found: הִלְכֶם מִדְּרַעֵו Ru 3.2 (perhaps because of *zaqef* and because the word is a predicate).

2nd f. הִלְכֶם Ez 23.48,49.

3rd m. הִלְכֶם Ps 17.10; הִלְכֶם Ps 17.10; 58.7; a form found only once הִלְכֶם 2Sm 23.6 (cf. Driver, *Notes ad loc.*).

3rd f. הִלְכֶם generally in great pause: Gn 21.29; 42.36; Jer 8.7; Pr 31.29; Job 39.2; in Ru 1.19 probably for assonance; הִלְכֶם Gn 41.21 (with *rvia'* and *zaqef*); הִלְכֶם 1Kg 7.37; Ez 16.53.

The suffix הִ (without linking vowel) is sometimes found after a noun ending in a consonant (instead of הִ): הִלְכֶם Lv 8.16,25 (but perhaps read the pl. הִלְכֶם *defective*; cf. Gn 4.4; comp. הִלְמִיָּהוּ 1.21 *defective*).

(1) Compare the rare forms of suffixes with verbs § 61 *i*.

(2) The plene spelling הִכּ־ is by far the more frequent one in Qumran Hebrew; see Qimron, *Hebrew of DSS*, pp. 58f. On a debate originating with E. Sievers, *Metrische Studien, I. Studien zur hebr. Metrik* (Leipzig, 1901-19) and P.E. Kahle's proposal to

see *-hâ* as an unauthentic ending artificially introduced by Naqdanim under Arabic influence, though later, confronted by literally hundreds of forms spelled plene in Dead Sea Hebrew documents, he conceded that such did exist historically (*The Cairo Genizah* [Oxford, 21959], p. 174), see Z. Ben-Hayyim, "The form of the suffixal pronouns ךְֿ, ךְֿ, ךְֿ in the traditions of the Hebrew language" [Heb] in *Sefer Simḥa Asaf* (Jerusalem, 1953), pp. 66-99; idem, *Studies in the Traditions of the Heb. Language*, (Madrid/Barcelona, 1954), pp. 22-39, 51-64; Kutscher, *Isaiah*, pp. 446-51; Qimron, op. cit., pp. 58f. Kahle also put forward a similar thesis regarding the pf. 2m.sg. ending. See also H. Yalon, *Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls. Philological Essays* [in Heb] (Jerusalem, 1967), pp. 16-21. On the other hand, nobody would deny that *-âh* is equally genuine and authentic, as is indicated by the pausal form, Mishnaic Hebrew, and transliterations in the Hexapla and Jerome. Cf. Kutscher, *History*, § 46. The form *-âh* is regular with some prepositions (e.g. ךְֿ, ךְֿ) and the 3 m.sg. pf. of ךְֿ verbs such as ךְֿ *he will answer you*).

(3) See Kutscher, *Isaiah*, pp. 210-13.

i Rare suffix forms in plural nouns

Sing. 2nd f. Rare (Aramaising) form ךְֿ, ךְֿ: 2Kg 4.3;7 (Ktiv), all in a passage evidencing some influence of the northern dialect, likewise 2Kg 4.2 ךְֿ, and 16,23 ךְֿ; Ps 103.3-5; 116.7, mostly in poetry.

3rd m. ךְֿ Hb 3.10; Job 24.23; and *defective* ךְֿ (which has the appearance of a sing.) 1Sm 14.48 (probably); 30.26; Ez 43.17; Na 2.4. The Aramaic suffix ךְֿ is (prob. incorrectly) found in Ps 116.12.

3rd f. ךְֿ Ez 41.15 (prob. incorrect).

Plur. 2nd f. ךְֿ Ez 13.20; 3rd m. ךְֿ Ez 40.16(1); ךְֿ 1.11.

3rd m. ךְֿ, very rarely with the sense of *his* as in Ps 11.7 and Job 27.23 (ךְֿ); cf. § 103 *m*.

(1) The ending ךְֿ is highly frequent in QH alongside the standard BH ךְֿ: see Qimron, *Hebrew of DSS*, pp. 62f.

j Resemblances and confusions in the suffixes of sing. and plural nouns.

Confusions easily arose both graphically and phonetically. In plural nouns the omission of ךְֿ, whether by design or by error, can produce an ambiguous consonantal group. Thus ךְֿ, vocalised as plural, *your ways* Ex 33.13; Josh 1.8; Ps 119.37, could be vocalised as singular ךְֿ, ךְֿ. In such cases one hesitates between the singular and the plural(1).

The suffixes of plural nouns, longer and more resonant, have sometimes been introduced in singular nouns, especially in nouns in ךְֿ(2):

םָּכָּם Nu 14.33; אֶלְמֹנֹתַי Is 54.4 (perhaps for assonance with עֲלֹמַי); תִּנְּוֹתַי Ez 16.15, 20 (Qre); תִּנְּוֹתַי 23.7; שְׁבוּתֵיכֶם Zeph 3.20; in some nouns in *at* (3): עֲצָתָי Is 47.13; Ez 35.11; Ps 9.15; Ezr 9.15.

(1) On the likelihood that no phonetic distinction was intended by the Naqdanim between pairs such as תִּנְּוֹתַי, תִּנְּוֹתַי; הַיָּהוּ, הַיָּהוּ; הַיָּהוּ, הַיָּהוּ; נִנְּוֹתַי, נִנְּוֹתַי, see above § 6 *d*, n. 2. A scribe writing from dictation could easily have added or omitted a ך. For the apparent plurals in nouns in תִּנְּוֹתַי, cf. § 96 C *e*. For a listing of probable defective spellings like תִּנְּוֹתַי Gn 4.4 (§ *h*), see AF, pp. 137f.

(2) According to König, *Syntax*, § 258 *f*., however, a true plural is not absolutely impossible.

(3) But we should perh. vocalise in the plural, e.g. עֲצָתָי.

§ 95. Noun inflection

When a noun passes from the *absolute state* to the *construct state*, when it takes the *plural* or the *dual* endings and when it takes the *suffixes*, it usually undergoes some changes in its vocalisation. The sum of such changes in a noun constitutes its *inflection*. These changes are caused by a shifting, weakening or suppression of the stress. They are subject to the laws set forth in the section of this book on phonetics; their application as well as the anomalies will be indicated when we discuss the various *paradigms*. a

We shall see that, in several types of inflection, the vocalisation with the *heavy* suffixes םָּכָּם, כָּן, הָּם, and תָּן is not the same with the *light* suffixes; nouns have one *stem* when used with the heavy suffixes and another when used with the light suffixes. The stem with the heavy suffixes is generally the *construct state*, and the stem with the light suffixes is the *absolute state*, e.g.: *cst.* מְלָכֵי, מְלָכֵי; *abs.* מְלָכִים, מְלָכִי (cf. § 96 A *b*, n.). The stem with the light suffixes is often less reduced than the *construct state* (so in the example given above); sometimes the stem with the heavy suffixes is actually less reduced than the *cst. state*, e.g. plural *abs.* מְצִבּוֹת *stelae*, *cst.* מְצִבּוֹת, מְצִבּוֹתָם (and מְצִבּוֹתָם). b

As for vowel distribution, note that there is a great difference between *nouns* without suffixes and the *perfect* without suffixes. Of two vowels which can be dropped, it is the first in nouns, the second in c

the perfect (§ 30 e), e.g.:

NOUNS: זָקַן, זָקְנִים, זָקְנָה, זָקְנָהּ, זָקְנָהוּ, זָקְנָהוּ.

PERFECT: זָקַן, זָקְנָה, זָקְנָהוּ, זָקְנָהוּ, זָקְנָהוּ, זָקְנָהוּ.

But in the perfect with suffixes, vowel distribution is the same as in nouns, e.g.:

NOUNS: זָקַן, זָקְנָה, זָקְנָהוּ.

PERFECT: זָקַן, זָקְנָה, זָקְנָהוּ.

- d There is a noteworthy difference between nouns and verbs in the treatment of stressed *a* in final closed syllables. In the verb = is a contextual vowel, ֶ a pausal vowel: זָקַן, זָקְנָה. In nouns ֶ is generally found in the absolute state (in context and in pause), and = in the construct state: זָקַן, זָקְנָה; cst. זָקְנָה. Thus in Nifal we have נִקְטַל in the perfect and נִקְטַל in the participle (nominal form). In the infinitive we have the vowel = (perhaps on the analogy of the future): שָׁכַב, § 49 c, שָׁכַבְתִּי⁽¹⁾. When used as a proper noun the future יִצְחַק *he will laugh* becomes יִצְחַק *Isaac*. In nouns, since = was essential for the cst. state, ֶ had to be used in the absolute state, not only in pause, but also in context. In verbs, on the contrary, the alternation of = and ֶ was used to distinguish the contextual form from the pausal form (§ 42 b).

(1) Cf. שָׁכַב, § 49 c.

§ 96. Inflection of masculine nouns

(Paradigm 17)

What is meant here by masculine nouns are nouns which in the singular have no feminine ending, and which in the plural have the masculine ending ם־ (§ 89 a).

Because of its length, this paragraph is subdivided into several shorter paragraphs (which are indicated by the capital letters A, B, C, D, and E) as follows: § 96 (A) Inflection of segholate nouns (with one primitive vowel); (B) nouns with two primitive short vowels; (C) nouns with an unchangeable first vowel and an etymologically short second vowel; (D) nouns with a primitive short first vowel and an etymologically long second vowel; (E) nouns with two consonants and a primitive short vowel.

Nouns which do not belong to any of these types of inflection present no difficulty: i.e. monosyllables with an etymologically long vowel like סִס (§ 94 c), dissyllables with two etymologically long vowels like קִיטוֹר *smoke*, or with an etymologically short first vowel in a closed syllable and an etymologically long second vowel like מְחֻמָּן *hidden treasure*.

§ 96 A. INFLECTION OF SEGHOLATE NOUNS

Included in this category of inflection are all the nouns with one primitive short vowel, namely the nouns from strong roots or weak roots which have taken an auxiliary vowel (usually seghol, hence the designation: *segholate nouns*) between R2 and R3, and also those which have no auxiliary vowel⁽¹⁾. The paradigms are set out in the following order: 1) segholate nouns from strong roots without guttural, § b: *qatl* מֶלֶךְ (§ c), *qitl* דָּבָר (§ e), *qutl* שָׁרֵף (§ g); 2) with a guttural: *qatl* עֵר (§ i), *qutl* פָּעַל (§ j); 3) from ע"ו roots: מָוֶת (§ l); from ע"י roots: מָיִם (§ m); 4) nouns from ע"ע roots: *qatl* עַל (§ n), *qitl* עַל (§ o), *qutl* קָח (§ p); 5) *qatl* from ל"ה roots: מָדָן (§ q).

(1) These primitive forms, which occur only sporadically in the MT, e.g. מָדָן , מָדָן , מָדָן , are those preserved in the tradition underlying the second column of the Hexapla: e.g. $\alpha\pi\varsigma = \text{מָדָן}$; $\gamma\alpha\beta\rho = \text{מָדָן}$. See Brønno, *Studien*, pp. 123-50. This does not mean, however, that the familiar segholate pattern came into being only after Origen (3rd century); see Kutscher, *Isaiah*, pp. 109-11, 502-4. The structure without an epenthetic vowel between R2 and R3 is still largely preserved in Phoen.; Friedrich—Röllig, §§ 193, 194.

Segholate noun from strong roots: מֶלֶךְ *king*, דָּבָר *book*, שָׁרֵף ⁽¹⁾ *holiness*. **General discussion.** Three questions arise in relation to these three types; 1) Why is ֶ uniformly found as auxiliary vowel? 2) Why is a prestress qameṣ uniformly found in the plural absolute? 3) Why is a *begadkefat* third radical fricative in the plural est.? Various explanations have been put forward. Here is the one which to us seems to be the most satisfactory⁽²⁾.

Singular. (The explanation must begin with the type **sifr*). The primitive form **sifr* first became **sefr*, then took the auxiliary vowel ֶ , which is close to ֶ : דָּבָר ⁽³⁾. This auxiliary seghol spread to the type

**malk* and to the type **qudš*.

Under the influence of the auxiliary vowel ϵ of the type מַלְכִּי , the primitive form **malk* became *mā^hk*, with the auxiliary vowel \bar{a} , which is very open (= ϵ). Then the main vowel \bar{a} became \bar{a} under the influence of the auxiliary vowel \bar{a} (⁴), hence *mā^hk* = מְלִי .

The primitive form **qudš* became **qodš*, and took the auxiliary vowel ϵ on the analogy of קֹדֶשׁ and מְלִי , hence שְׁקִדְשׁ (⁵).

Plural. There are in Hebrew two types of plural. The first, which is older and has become very rare, is formed on the primitive form of the singular: **rahm*, pl. רַחֲמִים *the bowels*; **šiqm* (שִׁקְמָה), pl. שִׁקְמִים *sycamore trees*; comp. חֵכְמוֹת *Wisdom*, a kind of plural of majesty formed on the singular חֵכְמָה (§ 136 d); probably also פְּשָׁתָה *, pl. פְּשָׁתִים *flax*. The second type is a new plural, no longer built on the old, but on the new singular, i.e. on the segholised form. Thus the auxiliary vowel \bar{a} , regarded as \bar{a} , first in *mālāk*, then in the two other types, has become \bar{a} in open syllables: *mālāḥīm*. The prestress qameṣ, which is found in the three plurals מְלָכִים , סְפָרִים , and קְרָשִׁים , comes from the auxiliary seghol of the three singulars(⁶).

However, a more plausible explanation of the origin of the qameṣ appears to be that it has resulted from later lengthening of the original short /a/ as is attested in Ugr., e.g. /ḥabalīma/, pl. oblique of /ḥablu/ "rope"(⁷). In other words, one postulates an alternative plural base, *qVtal* comparable with the "broken" plural of Arabic and Ethiopic, to which the regular pl. ending was further added: thus **malak* > **mala-kīm* > *malākīm* > מְלָכִים (⁸).

The construct state, e.g. מְלָכֵי , comes from the full form of the absolute state **mālāḥīm*. The shewa is a relic of the prestress qameṣ. Alternatively, if we are to adopt the alternative explanation of the qameṣ in the plural as outlined above, /malḥe/ can be easily derived from /malaḥe/, in which case the rule governing the spirantisation of Begadkefat must have ceased operating prior to the elision of the short /a/ between the last two radicals.

The light form of the construct state is used with the heavy suffixes, e.g. מְלָכֵיכֶם ; conversely the heavy stem מְלָכֵי of the absolute state מְלָכִים is used with the light suffixes, e.g. מְלָכֵיךָ (⁹).

The dual is formed on the primitive form of the singular, like the old plural: **ragl*, רַגְלַי *foot*, רַגְלֶיךָ ; **birk*, בְּרַכְיָי *knee*, בְּרַכְיֶיךָ (with-

out spirantisation, § 92 *g*). See § 91 *b* for some irregular dual forms with prestress qameṣ.

(1) The usual paradigm שָׁרָף has been retained, in spite of a small anomaly displayed by this noun in the absolute plural: שָׂרָפִים or שָׂרָפִי instead of שָׂרָפִים (contr. שָׂרָפִים *morning*, שָׂרָפִים).

(2) Cf. P. Joüon in *MUSJ* 5 (1911) 375ff.

(3) Compare, in the apocopated Qal future of הִלֵּל verbs, the forms יְהַלֵּל , יְהַלֵּל , יְהַלֵּל ; the most usual form יְהַלֵּל is not found in nouns, any more than יְהַלֵּל (cf. § 79 *i*).

(4) Cf. Brock., *GvG*, I, p. 184.

(5) There was probably an intermediate stage *qoḏoš*, judging from certain transcriptions of the LXX, e.g., Γοσσόν = שָׂרָפִים , Τοφολ = לְפָלִים , Βοός = בָּעֵבֶי , Βοόν = בָּעֵבֶי , and QH spellings such as $\text{פּוֹעוֹל} = \text{פְּעוֹל}$ or $\text{שׁוּחַר} = \text{שָׁחַר}$; cf. P. de Lagarde, *Übersicht über die im Aramäischen und Hebräischen übliche Bildung der Nomina* (Göttingen, 1889), pp. 52-7, and Kutscher, *Isaiah*, pp. 502-4.

Alternatively the sg. מְלָכִים etc. may also be explained as backformation of */malak/ derived from the postulated broken plural (n. below) and as a neutral realisation of pataḥ as seghol. Likewise */sefar/ > /sefer/, and */qoḏaš/ > /qoḏeš/. Cf. also I. Yeivin, *Leš* 44 (1980) 184, W.R. Garr, "The seghol and segholation in Heb.," *JNES* 48 (1989) 109-16, and R.L. Goerwitz, "Tiberian Heb. segol—a reappraisal," *ZAH* 3 (1990) 3-10.

(6) See § 97 A *b*, n.

(7) Huehnergard, *Ugr. Vocabulary*, pp. 304-307.

(8) Cf. Arb. /arḏun/ *earth*, but pl. /araḏūna/; Eth. /ḥelqat/ *ring*, but pl. /ḥelaqāt/. However, the general preponderance of the "broken" plural in these languages may suggest that, at least in these, the suffixal plural morpheme was not a secondary feature: cf. Blau, *Heb. Phonology and Morphology*, p. 208.

The pl. forms such as שָׂרָפִים , sg. שָׂרָפִים *idol* (§ 99 *f*), שָׂחִיתוֹת , sg. שָׂחִית *pit* (§ 99 *f*), and בָּהֶנּוֹת sg., בָּהֶנּוֹת *great toe or thumb* (cf. Arb. sg. *ibhām*; § 96 A *j*) can only be accounted for by either postulating a variant singular form or a pseudo-broken plural. Cf. N.H. Tur-Sinai, *The Language and the Book*, the *Language* vol. [Heb] (Jerusalem, 1954), pp. 247f.

(9) There is here a sort of a law of balance. The double stem is also found in the plurals of the masc. types with two primitive short vowels דָּבָר (§ B *b*) and זָקֵן (§ B *d*). Similarly we have בָּ with the heavy suffixes בָּבָב , בָּבָב , and בָּמוֹ with the light suffixes בָּמוֹנִי , בָּמוֹךְ (§ 103 *g*); אָ with heavy suffixes אָתָב , אָתָב ; and אָת with light suff. אָתִי , אָתִי (§ 103 *k*). Note that a form like מְלָכִים * would be quite abnormal: the qameṣ would then find itself in an ante-prestress syllable as in an equally anomalous שָׂבָעוֹת .

Inflection of 1. מֶלֶךְ *king*. The *a* of the primitive form *malk* reappears in the sing. with suffixes: מֶלֶכִּי , מֶלֶכְךָ . The *a* reappears also in pause as ־ , but not in every noun. Thus we find רֶבֶת *vineyard*, רֶבֶת (cf. רֶבֶת , § 35 *f*), but מֶלֶךְ . ־ is usually found in nouns which were origi-

nally *qatl* but passed to the type מְלֵךְ, e.g. probably צְדָקָה *righteousness*, מִזְרָח *the East*, אֶשְׁרָף *grass*, אֶפְלָא *wonder*, אֶפְרָסָה *prison*.

But primitive *a* is often weakened to *i* in inflected forms, and thus the form *qatl* merges with the form *qitl*(¹): בֶּטֶן *belly*, בִּטְנִי *garment* בְּגָדִי (with fricative *!*ד), בְּגִידִי; קֶבֶר *grave*, cst. קְבֵרִי (and קְבֵרוֹת). The vowel *ε* is occasionally found: בְּנֵי (prep.) *in front of*, בְּנֵי(2); נְכֵד *posterity*, נְכֵדִי(3); חַיֵּי *life*, חַיֵּי.

As a rule the construct does not differ from the absolute state: מְלֵךְ. Sometimes, however, the cst. state has the form קֶטֶל, e.g. חֶדֶר *room*, cst. חֶדֶר (חֶדֶר Ct 3.4+); שֶׁנֶּר *litter, young (of beasts)*, cst. שֶׁנֶּר (שֶׁנֶּר Ex 13.12+). Comp. the form קֶטֶל, § 88 C *g*.

(1) Cf. E.J. Revell, "The vowelism of 'i-type' segholates in Tiberian Hebrew," *JNES* 44 (1985) 319-28.

(2-3) Cf. Brock., *GvG*, I, p. 198: under the influence of the following palatal.

- d* **Plural.** The paradigm, like all the other paradigms of masculine nouns, only gives the plural with the masculine ending ים-; but the plural in ות can of course be found. Thus we have the plural in ות in the nouns of feminine gender אֶרֶץ, אֶרְצוֹת, אֶרְצוֹשׁ *soul*, נְפִשׁוֹת and in the masculine noun קֶבֶר *grave*, קְבֵרוֹת (alongside קְבֵרִים). For the type קְטֵלִים, cf. § *b*.

In the cst. state of the pattern מְלֵכִי, the spirantisation sometimes disappears. In several cases this is due to the influence of a sibilant(¹): כֶּסֶף־הֶם Gn 42.25,35; נֶסֶף־הֶם Is 41.29 etc.; רֶשֶׁף־י Ct 8.6 (but רֶשֶׁף־י Ps 76.4); אֶסְפִּי Mi 7.1; טֶרֶף־י Ez 17.9; צֶמֶד־י Is 5.10. For the weakening of *a* to *i*, cf. § *c*. **Dual:** cf. § *b* (end).

(1) See Th. Nöldeke in *ZA* 18 (1904-05) 72.

- e* **Inflection of 2.** סֵפֶר *book*. It is parallel to that of מְלֵךְ. The *i* of the primitive form *sifr* reappears in the singular with suffixes: סֵפֶרִי, and in the cst. plural סֵפֶרִי. But after a 1st guttural, *i* becomes *ε* (§ 21 *e*): חֵלֶק *part*, חֵלְקִי, חֵלְקֵי (comp. fem. doublet חֵלְקָה); עֲזָר *help*, עֲזָרִי (comp. fem. doublet עֲזָרָה); עֲגֹל *calf*, עֲגֹלִי, עֲגֹלָה (comp. f. עֲגֹלָה), but עֲמָקִי, עֲמָקֵי. In pause we normally find סֵפֶר; sometimes we find, e.g., שֵׁבֶט *stick*, סֵתֶר *hiding place*, נְצַח *eternity*, יִשַׁע *help*, חֶרֶם *anathema*, under the influence of the type *qatl*, which has often contaminated *qitl* (§ *f*). Generally speaking, the construct state does not differ from the

absolute state. The cst. *הַבְּל* *breath* (as well as *הַבְּלִי*) presupposes an abs. *הַבְּלִ** alongside (or supplanted by) *הַבְּלִ(1)*.

Plural. The old plural type (§ *b*) is found in *שִׁקְמִים* *sycamore-trees*, *פִּשְׁתִּים* *flax*, and the tens *עֶשְׂרִים*, *שְׁבַעִים*, *תְּשַׁעִים*. The sing. *סִין* (without auxiliary vowel) has *סִינִי* in the cst. pl., with the games of *סִינִי* (comp. *גְּדִי*, *גְּדִיִּי*, *גְּדִיִּי*, § *q*; *מְקַרְאִי*, § *C b*).

(1) The nature of the vowel following the first radical appears to be, to a large extent, a function of the latter; for details, see E.J. Revell, art. cit. [§ *c*, n. 2] 320-22.

Contamination of *qatl* and *qitl* forms. A considerable number of primitive *qitl* forms have become *qatl* in Hebrew as far as the first vowel is concerned; see § 88 *C a**. The transition from the one type to the other was facilitated by the similarity of forms in inflection: thus the forms *קִטְלִי*, *קִטְלִים(1)*, *קִטְלִי(2)* may come either from *qatl* or from *qitl*. The segholate form *קִטְלִי* tends to become *קִטְלִי*, a more resonant form (cf. infinitive *שָׁבַת*, § 75 *a*). In one and the same noun we may find some forms which presuppose a *qatl* and others which presuppose a *qitl*; consequently it is sometimes difficult or even impossible to tell whether a noun was originally a *qatl* or a *qitl*, or if both forms existed simultaneously. Example: the form *קִדְמָה* *eastward* (§ 93 *d*) presupposes a form *qidm*, whilst *קִדְמִי*, *קִדְמוֹן* presuppose a form *qadm*; but probably only the *qidm* form is primitive.

(1) The form *קִטְלִים* of the three segholate types is also the pl. of the type *דְּבָר*, § *B b*.

(2) The form *קִטְלִי* is one of the most ambiguous; besides being the constant plural of *קִטְלִי*, *קִטְלִי*, and the ordinary plural of *קִטְלִי*, *קִטְלִי*, it is sometimes found as the plural of *קִטְלִי*, and even of *קִטְלִי*.

Inflection of 3. *שְׁקִי* holiness. It is parallel to the inflection of *שְׁקִי* and of *שְׁקִי* (cf. § *b*). However, the primitive vowel *u* reappears in inflection only rarely: e.g. *שְׁקִי* Ps 150.2† (everywhere else *שְׁקִי* etc.). *q* is found almost everywhere; e.g. *שְׁקִי(1)*. The vowel *i* is found in *שְׁקִי* *verjuice*, *שְׁקִי*; *שְׁקִי* *word*, *שְׁקִי*, *שְׁקִי* etc.; *שְׁקִי* *canal*, cst. pl. *שְׁקִי* (§ 89 *p*) (its presence there is difficult to explain).

Plural. The ordinary plural has the same form *שְׁקִי* as the plural of the *שְׁקִי* and *שְׁקִי* types, e.g. *שְׁקִי* *mornings*. With a 1st-guttural we have *שְׁקִי* *months*, *שְׁקִי* *gazelles*. This same very short *q* is found in

הַגְרָנוֹת *the threshing floors* (1Sm 23.1; Jl 2.24), קְדוֹשִׁים *holy things*. It is lengthened to *o* in the doublet קְדוֹשִׁים *qo-dāšim* and in שְׁרָשָׁר *roots* (cf. § 6 l). In all these words *o* instead of shewa is due to the influence of the preceding consonant⁽²⁾. The old plural type (§ b) is found in כַּבְּשֵׁשֶׁת *pistachio nuts* (from שֵׁשֶׁת* or שֵׁשֶׁת*). Dual: e.g. מְטַחֵם *loins, hips* (from *mutn > מְטַחֵם*); cf. § b (end).

(1) Likewise in the feminine forms, e.g. מְטַחֵה, § 88 C j; 97 A a.

(2) For *l* and *ṣ*, compare the preservation of *ū* with the labialised consonants *g, q, k, ḥ* in Ethiopic.

h Segholate nouns with gutturals. A guttural R2 or R3 usually attracts = instead of ֿ. The characteristics of the gutturals as described in the section of this book on phonetics find their application here. With a guttural R3 we find the types עֲרֵב *seed*, עֲצֵר *eternity*, which present no difficulty, and the type מִצֵּל *lance*, which is identical with the type פִּעַל *work* with a guttural R2. With a guttural R2 we have the type פִּעַל for *qutl* and עֲרֵב *boy* for *qatl*. There is no *qitl* form with a guttural R2, or if there is, it probably also belongs to the עֲרֵב type, and therefore is indistinguishable from it (cf. עֲרֵב § B c).

i Inflection of 4. עֲרֵב *boy*. After the guttural we often find an auxiliary vowel, namely ֿ, or the full vowel = when the word is lengthened, e.g. עֲרֵבִי, עֲרֵבִי (§ 22 b-c). The vocalisation ֿֿ has become usual in two words ending in ח, a phenomenon which is difficult to explain⁽¹⁾: חֶמֶץ *bread*, חֶמֶץ *womb, breast* (but חֶמֶץ in the sense of *woman* or *young woman* in the archaic and poetic text of Jdg 5,30†); in pause חֶמֶץ, חֶמֶץ. For the plural of the old type חֶמֶץ, cf. § b.

(1) Perh. due to influence of the nasal; likewise עֲרֵבִי, § j.

j Inflection of 5. פִּעַל *work*. Here, too, an auxiliary vowel is often found after the guttural, namely ֿ, or, when the word is lengthened, the full vowel ֿ: פִּעַלִּי, פִּעַלִּי (§ 22 b-c). The same auxiliary vowel ֿ is found, without a guttural, in עֲרֵבִי (comp. עֲרֵבִי, § 65 c). Instead of the normal form פִּעַלִּי the following forms may be found: פִּעַלִּי in Is 1.31; Jer 22.13 (with *o* in an open syllable and ֿ normal under ע); עֲרֵבִי in Is 52.14 (but עֲרֵבִי 1Sm 28.14); compare with the similar phenomenon in verbs, § 68 f).

In אֶהָל *tent*, the initial *h* always has a full vowel, either *o* or *o*: אֶהָלִי, אֶהָלִי etc.; אֶהָלִי, אֶהָלִי etc.; for אֶהָלִי, cf. § 93 c. *o* is also

found in אַרְחוֹתֶיךָ *your ways*, אַרְחוֹתָיו, אַרְחוֹתָם (but אַרְחֹתֵי, אַרְחֹתֵיהֶם). The word בְּהֵן *thumb* has ֿ despite the guttural⁽¹⁾; the cst. pl. בְּהֵנוֹת with ֹ presupposes sing. בְּהֵן* (read thus everywhere in the Samaritan Pentateuch).

(1) See § *i*, n., and above at § *b*, n. 8.

Inflection of monosyllabic nouns with the vowel at the end: קֵטֵל, קֵטֵל, קֵטֵל (cf. § 88 C *g*, *i*, *k*). In קֵטֵל nouns there usually is spontaneous doubling before the affirmatives, e.g. טַמְעֵט *little*, טַמְעֵטִים⁽¹⁾. With suffixes: e.g. בְּשֵׁבֶטֶת *honey*, בְּשֵׁבֶטֶתֶם⁽²⁾ *back*, בְּשֵׁבֶטֶמוֹ. The instances of קֵטֵל which we have are א"ע, e.g. בְּיַאֲרֵל *well*, pl. בְּיַאֲרוֹת, cst. בְּיַאֲרוֹתִי; זֶאֵב *wolf*, pl. זֶאֵבִים. זֶאֵבִי, זֶאֵבִים. קֵטֵל words necessarily have virtual doubling (§ 18 *e*): אֲמֵל *people*, אֲמֵלִים. With a suffix we find בְּשֵׁבֶטֶתֶם *stench*, בְּשֵׁבֶטֶתֶם. For the infinitive form קֵטֵל with suffixes, cf. § 65 *b*. These CCVC forms most likely originated in the construct forms, with relatively weak stress, as in גְּבֵהָ 1Sm 16.7; בְּגֵדֶלְךָ Ex 15.16; קֵדֶשׁ Ps 46.5. Cf. also שְׁבַע and שְׁשָׁע used with tens and hundreds. This supposition is reinforced by Qumran Hebrew, in which forms of *qotol* type are almost entirely confined to the cst.⁽³⁾

(1) Comp. the plural מְלֵלִים of מְלֵל, § B *b*.

(2) Only form with ֿ. The primitive form probably was *šakm* (BL, p. 456, quote *ša-ak-mi* from the Tell el Amarna letters). But מְשֵׁבֶטֶת could also be a *qitl* or even the cst. state of some *qatil* form (fairly common for names of parts of the body, § 88 D *b*), which could have become an absolute state.

(3) See Qimron, *Hebrew of DSS*, pp. 36-8.

Inflection of 6. מוֹת *death*. *Qatl* forms from ע"ו roots (§ 88 C *f*) have consonantal 1. Primitive form *mawt*: the *a* was labialised to *â* (ֹ) before 1; the auxiliary vowel ֿ was introduced on the analogy of the segholates from strong roots. Only the word חַנְּךָ *space* is entirely similar to a segholate from a strong root, e.g. חַנְּךָ. For more examples, see § 88 C *f*. In the cst. state the form is contracted: *mawt* > *mōt* מוֹת; this form is kept throughout the inflection.

In some words the contraction takes place even in the absolute state: שוֹט *whip*, יוֹם *day*, צוֹם *fast*, etc.; or rather the cst. state is used instead of the absolute state.

Instead of a normal plural form like שוֹטִים, the form שוֹטֵי (from שוֹר *ox*) is found in Ho 12.12†. Comp. in the *qūl* form: שוֹקֵי *street*, שוֹקֵי;

הַדֹּדֵי, הַדֹּדֵי in the sense of *pots* 2Ch 35.13† (but הַדֹּדֵי in the sense of *baskets* 2Kg 10.7†).

m **Inflection of 7.** תֵּיִת *olive*. The *qatl* forms from ע"י roots have consonantal י. The primitive form *zayt* becomes תֵּיִת with auxiliary *i* due to the preceding *y*. In the cst. state the form is contracted: *zayt* > *zēt* תֵּיִת; this form is kept throughout the inflection.

In some rare words the contraction takes place even in the absolute state: קֶחֶץ *breast*, רָמֵל *rampart* (לַיְלַיַּי *night* Is 21.11†); or rather the construct state is used instead of the absolute state.

Instead of a normal plural form like תֵּיִתִּים, the plural of תֵּיִל *army* is תֵּיִלִּים; תֵּיִשׁ *he-goat*, תֵּיִשִּׁים; תֵּיִר *young ass*, תֵּיִרִים; תֵּיִן *spring (of water)*, תֵּיִנוֹת.

The word תֵּיִל *valley* presents several anomalies. In the singular the א, which is not pronounced, is sometimes omitted in writing: תֵּיִ, cst. תֵּיִ. In the plural, Q. is תֵּיִלֹת (irregular!) and K. תֵּיִלֹת or תֵּיִלֹת.

n **Inflection of 8.** עַם *people*. *Qatl* forms from ע"ע roots (cf. § 88 B g). Some words present peculiarities. With a disjunctive accent and the article, עַם is found instead of עַם. יָם *sea* is used even in the construct state (even with maqqef) except in יָם־סוּף *sea of reeds*, *Red Sea* (§ 13 c). Before a guttural, genuine doubling of which is impossible, there is only virtual doubling, e.g. מַחֲסֵי *traps*, or total absence of doubling, hence עַ in an open syllable, e.g. שָׁרִים *princes* (for *šarrim*). This עַ is a stable vowel: cst. שָׁרִי, מָרִי, רָעִי. Rarely does *a* weaken to *i* in inflection: בַּת *bit*, בַּתִּי (comp. בַּתִּי *daughter*, § 98 d); מַם — מַמִּים; צַד — צַדִּי; and cf. Ps 30.12 σεκκι in Origen's Hexapla for MT שָׁקִי; סָף *threshold*, סָפִים; סָף *cup* סָפֹת (and סָפֹת 2Sm 17.28). Forms in the dissociated state (cf. § 82 a) are very rare: עַמְמִים alongside the usual עַמִּים; עַמְרִי, cst. pl. עַמְרִי. The word אָף *nose*, from the root אָנַף, is inflected like a noun of the type עַפִּי: אָפִים, dual אָפִים *face*.

o **Inflection of 9.** עֵז *goat* (אֵם *mother*). [עֵז has been chosen for the paradigm because of its plural in עֵזִים, even though its root is עֵז and not עֵזִ]. *Qitl* forms from ע"ע roots (§ 88 B h). The primitive *i* is retained in acute syllables: עֵזִי, אֵמִי; dual עֵזִים *teeth*. Forms in the dissociated state: צֶלֶל *shadow*, צֶלֶלִים; חֵץ *arrow*, חֵצִים Ps 77.18 (alongside the usual חֵצִים). As with עֵז, the 2nd radical נ of חֵץ *palate* and חֵץ *chains* has been assimilated.

p **Inflection of 10.** חֵץ *statute*. *Qutl* forms from ע"ע roots (cf. § 88

B *i*). The primitive *u* is generally retained in acute syllables: $\text{קִי}, \text{עִי}$; ֿ is found only rarely: עִי . But ֿ is found if the doubling is omitted: $\text{קִי}, \text{קִי}$. In the cst. state the forms קִי and כִּל are found, but with maqqef they become ֿֿֿ and ֿֿֿ (cf. § 13 *b*). In the dissociated state, the form קִי Jdg 5.15 (poetic and archaic), Is 10.1† probably does not come from קִי (in spite of cases like $\text{אִמֵּר}, \text{אִמֵּר}$ § *g*), but from קִי .*

Inflection of 11. גִּדִּי *kid*. *Qatl* forms from ל"ה roots (cf. § 88 C *e*). q
The primitive form *qaty* usually becomes קִי , less often קִי ; thus the doublet בָּכִי and בָּכִי weeping Ezr 10.1† developed from **baky*. This double form can be explained thus: the primitive form **baky* became בָּכִי in the absolute state on the analogy of מָלֵךְ and כָּלָא ; in the cst. the vowel *a* was dropped and the *y* became vocalic: בָּכִי ; and this form was used in the absolute state as well. In pause ֿֿֿ is used in the form בָּכִי , probably by analogy with בָּכִי . Formed like בָּכִי are הִגִּיה *whisper* and אִצָּה *end*; like בָּכִי : פָּרִי : שָׁבִי *captivity*, צָבִי I *ornament*, II *gazelle*, גִּדִּי *kid*, לָחִי *cheek*. In the course of inflection the *a* of *pary* is usually weakened to *i*: פָּרִי ; but ֿֿֿ is sometimes found, e.g. פָּרִי (vowel sequence ֿֿֿ — ֿֿֿ , § 29 *f*), פָּרִי . Some forms are found with the stem פָּרִי , e.g., פָּרִי alongside פָּרִי . By analogy with מְלָכִים and כְּלָאִים the following forms are found in the plural: גִּדִּיִּים (cst. גִּדִּיִּים with ֿֿֿ retained; cp. טָאִים , § *e*), אִרְיִים , אִרְיִים *lions* once (from אִרְיִים ; אִרְיִים is the more usual doublet), חֲלָאִים *rings* (from חֲלָאִים ; ח for י). Instead of the expected forms אִצָּהִים * and אִתְּאִים * the massorah requires אִצָּהִים and אִתְּאִים (from צָבִי *gazelle* and פְּתִי *simple-minded* [only instance of a pausal form used as a contextual form]). Likewise in the dual לָחִיִּים , cst. לָחִיִּים . (Cp. cst. plurals with ֿֿֿ as penultimate vowel, § B *d*).

Inflection of חֲצִי *half*. *Qitl* form from ל"ה root (cf. § 88 C *h*). r
The primitive form *hiṣy* becomes חֲצִי in cst. and abs., in pause חֲצִי ; with suf. חֲצִי (ֿֿֿ after the guttural; cf. § *e*).

Inflection of חֲלִי *sickness*. *Qutl* forms from ל"ה root (cf. § 88 C *j*). s
The primitive form *huly* becomes חֲלִי in cst. and abs., in pause חֲלִי ; with suf. חֲלִי . As a remnant of the characteristic vowel of the form, ֿֿֿ is usually found instead of shewa (or, after a guttural, instead of ḥaṭef pataḥ). However ֿֿֿ is found occasionally: בְּדָמִי (cst., alongside בְּדָמִי) Is 38.10; יְפִי (cst.) Ez 28.7; וְצָרִי Gn 37.25.

§ 96 B. INFLECTION OF NOUNS WITH TWO
PRIMITIVE SHORT VOWELS

a Included in this category are the forms *qatal*, *qital*, *qatil*, and *qatul*. They will be dealt with in that order, except for the *qatal* form of ל"ה nouns, which will be treated last (§ f).

b **Inflection of 12.** דָּבָר word. *Qatal* form (cf. § 88 D a). The primitive form *dabar* usually becomes דָּבָר in the abs. state and דְּבַר in the cst. state. The heavy stem דָּבָר is used with the light suffixes: דְּבָרָה, דְּבָרִי etc., the light stem דְּבַר with the heavy suffixes: דְּבַרְכֶם. Plural: the primitive form *dabarim* usually becomes דְּבָרִים in the absolute state, *davrē*⁽¹⁾ in the cst. state, hence, in general, with weakening of *a* to *i* (§ 29 g): דְּבָרֵי. The shewa in דְּבָרֵי, having resulted from the deletion of a primitive short vowel, occasions the spirantisation of the following begadkefat; cf. כְּזַבְיָהֶם *their lies* (but עֲנַפְיָהֶם* *their branches*). The heavy stem דָּבָר of the absolute state דְּבָרִים is used with the light suffixes: דְּבָרִי, the light stem דְּבַר of the cst. state דְּבָרֵי with the heavy suffixes: דְּבַרְכֶם. The primitive form of the dual **kanafa'yim* usually becomes abs. כַּנְפָּיִם *wings*, cst. כְּנָפַי (with fricative /f/; comp. שִׁפְתָי *lips*, § 97 E b end); with suf.: כְּנָפֶיךָ, כְּנָפֵינוּ.

Spontaneous doubling occurs in a few plural forms (§ 18 f): גַּמְלִים *camels*, קְטַנִּים *small ones*⁽²⁾. In the pl. cst. the *a* of the primitive form *davrē* is preserved in a few words: זְנַבּוֹת *tails*, כְּנַפּוֹת *wings* and dual כְּנַפָּי (*supra*), mainly after a guttural: חֲכָמֵי *wise men*, עֲנֻנֵי *humble men*; of course before a guttural: נְהָרֵי *rivers*.

Irregular nouns: the plural of פָּרָשׁ *horse* is פָּרָשִׁים instead of פָּרָשִׁים*⁽³⁾. This form has the same vocalisation as פָּרָשִׁים from פָּרָשׁ *horseman* (*parraš* form). The two words being similar in the singular, the similarity (and therefore the ambiguity) was mechanically extended to the plural. The cst. state of לָבָן *white* is found as לְבָן־ Gn 49.12† in לְבָן־ שֵׁנַיִם *white of teeth*; *ē* is used here instead of *a* probably for the sake of euphony. The cst. of חֵלֶב *milk* is חֵלֶב, a form which is difficult to explain. As one would expect, the cst. of עָשָׁן *smoke* is עָשָׁן Josh 8.20, 21†; yet the form עָשָׁן Ex 19.18† is found in עָשָׁן הַכֹּבֵשֶׁת *the smoke of a furnace*; the vowel *a* of עָשָׁן has been thrown backwards to the beginning of the word, hence 'ašn, segholised to עָשָׁן. This shifting of *a*, rather common in the *qatil* form (§ d), is perhaps found in the *qatal* form

only in וְשֹׁשֶׁן and probably also in וְשֹׁכֵר wages Pr 11.18. For וְשֹׁאֵן one, cf. § 20 c and 100 b; for וְשֹׁאֵן , § 20 c.

- (1) It so happens that we have the transcription $\delta\alpha\beta\eta$ in the Hexapla Ps 34.20. Besides, the stage *davrē* is confirmed by examples such as וְנִבְוֵן (see below).
- (2) The plurals of the form וְשֹׁשֶׁן are identical (§ A k), e.g. וְשֹׁשֶׁן ; hence our ignorance of the singular of some plurals of this form, the singular of which is not found in the Bible: וְשֹׁשֶׁן idols, וְשֹׁשֶׁן rungs (?), וְשֹׁשֶׁן trellis.
- (3) Other examples of ante-prestress וְ in § 96 D b, 88 M j; 88 L e; forms of וְשֹׁשֶׁן , h וְשֹׁשֶׁן ; cf. § 30 e. The Secunda displays the pattern $\chi\alpha\theta\alpha\beta\mu$ and $\chi\alpha\theta\alpha\beta\omega\theta$: e.g. Ps 18.48 וְשֹׁשֶׁן $\nu\alpha\kappa\alpha\mu\omega\theta$; 46.8,12 וְשֹׁשֶׁן $\sigma\alpha\beta\alpha\omega\theta$, and cf. 35.20 וְשֹׁשֶׁן $\delta\alpha\beta\eta$; 18.43 וְשֹׁשֶׁן $\phi\alpha\nu\eta$. See Brønno, *Studien*, p. 151.

Inflection of the וְשֹׁשֶׁן form, primitively *qital* (cf. § 88 D d). The inflection is similar to that of וְשֹׁשֶׁן ; the וְ is dropped under the same conditions as the וְ . Most of these words, which incidentally are not very numerous, present some anomalies. From וְשֹׁשֶׁן hair some forms are found which presuppose the existence of a doublet וְשֹׁשֶׁן *: cst. וְשֹׁשֶׁן Is 7.20; וְשֹׁשֶׁן Ct 4.1; 6.5; fem. וְשֹׁשֶׁן . The primitive Hebrew form was probably *śir*, which on the one hand developed into *śa'r* > וְשֹׁשֶׁן and on the other hand, retaining the primitive vowel, into *śi'ar* with *a* as auxiliary vowel, hence *śe'ar*; then the auxiliary *a* must have become the main vowel and carried the stress: *śe'ar* > וְשֹׁשֶׁן (cf. § A h); the usual cst. state is וְשֹׁשֶׁן . וְשֹׁשֶׁן side only has וְשֹׁשֶׁן or וְשֹׁשֶׁן in the cst. state, with suf. וְשֹׁשֶׁן , pl. cst. וְשֹׁשֶׁן ; here too the primitive form is probably *šil'* (in Arabic *dil'* is found alongside the more common *dila'*). וְשֹׁשֶׁן stranger (in an abstract sense) becomes וְשֹׁשֶׁן Dt 31.16† in the cst. state. The primitive form may have been *nikr*; the *qital* form does not appear to be attested by any other abstract noun.

Inflection of 13. וְשֹׁשֶׁן old, old man (וְשֹׁשֶׁן shoulder). *Qatil* form (cf. § 88 D b). The primitive form *zaqin* usually becomes וְשֹׁשֶׁן . In the cst. state the וְ changes to וְ : וְשֹׁשֶׁן (Philippi's law, § 29 aa). This is the form of the cst. state in most words. But in some words the vowel of this וְשֹׁשֶׁן form passes to the 1st consonant, hence *qatl*, which, in turn, becomes וְשֹׁשֶׁן or וְשֹׁשֶׁן by segholisation. Thus cst. וְשֹׁשֶׁן shoulder, וְשֹׁשֶׁן thigh, וְשֹׁשֶׁן wall, וְשֹׁשֶׁן uncircumcised alongside וְשֹׁשֶׁן heavy 1 x alongside וְשֹׁשֶׁן 1 x; וְשֹׁשֶׁן robbery. (In the case of these doublets, harmony probably dictates which form is to be used)⁽¹⁾. Irregular forms: וְ is retained in וְשֹׁשֶׁן five (cf. fem. וְשֹׁשֶׁן , § 100 d), in וְשֹׁשֶׁן Gn 25.26†, and וְשֹׁשֶׁן ; on

the other hand it is reduced to ֿ in בְּאַבְל־אֵם Ps 35.14† (comp. the cst. forms לְבָנ־ and חֵלֵב , § b). With suffixes, forms normally found are, e.g. זְקַנִּי , כְּתַפִּי , with prestress ֿ .

Plural: abs. זְקַנִּים with prestress ֿ ; cst. זְקַנִּי (like דְּבָרִי), but with guttural R1: חֲבָרִי *companions*, חֲנֹפִי *profane*, חֲצָרִי *courts*, עֲרֵלִי *uncircumcised*. The heavy stem זְקַנִּי of the abs. form זְקַנִּים is used with the light suffixes: זְקַנִּי , the light stem זְקַנִּי of the cst. form זְקַנִּי with the heavy suffixes: זְקַנִּיכֶם .

ֿ is found as the penultimate vowel in the pl. cst. of the following verbal adjectives: שְׂכַחִי 1 x, שְׂמַחִי 1 x alongside שְׂמַחִי 1 x, אַבְלִי 1 x, יִשְׁנִי 1 x, חֲפִצִּי 1 x (comp. the added ֿ in, e.g. גְּדִיִּי , § A q). But יִרְאֵי *fearing* has a regular form: יִרְאֵי and יִרְאֵת . The ֿ of the pl. of יִתְדֵי *peg* with suff., יִתְדֵי־וֹ , etc. is irregular (cst. יִתְדֵת); cf. § 97 B e, n.

For אֲחָר , cf. 20 c.

(1) With this double form of cst. state compare the double form of cst. state of the aphaeretic forms of פִּי nouns (§ 75 m), e.g. $\text{*lidat} > \text{לִדָּת}$, abs. and cst. לִדָּת , $\text{šinat} > \text{שִׁנָּת}$, cst. שִׁנָּת .

e **Inflection of the קָטַל form, primitively *qatul* (cf. § 88 D c).** The cst. form of קָטַל is קָטַל (like that of קָטַל and of קָטַל): גְּבֵה *high*⁽¹⁾ (absolute גְּבֵה). As in the cst. state of זָקַן (§ d), the vowel passes to the 1st consonant, giving *qatl*, which becomes קָטַל by segholisation: אֲרָךְ *long*⁽²⁾ (abs. אֲרָךְ), e.g. in אֲרָךְ אֲפִים *longanimis* (*slow to anger*). With the addition of an inflectional ending, spontaneous doubling takes place⁽³⁾: עֲגֹלִים *round*, אֲדָמִים *red*; עֲמֻקָּה *deep*, except before a guttural: גְּבֵהִים ; cf. § 18 e; and elsewhere also, e.g. מְתוֹקָה *sweet*.

(1) The only and, because of the guttural, unconvincing example.

(2) Only example. Note that there is no form אֲרָךְ* , from which אֲרָךְ could come; cf. N. H. Torczyner, *ZDMG* 64 (1911) 273.

(3) Is גְּדֻלָּה *greatness* possibly a lexically specialised use of a variant of גְּדֻלָּה ?

f **Inflection of 14. שָׂדֶה *field*.** Most nouns from ה"ל roots with the vocalisation הֿֿֿ are *qatal* (cf. § 88 D a); a few are *qatil* (§ 88 D b), e.g. חֶזֶה *breast* (probably). Whatever the primitive form may have been, the inflection of the *qatil* forms is similar to that of the *qatal*. In the word שָׂדֶה the primitive form *šaday* is preserved in the rare and poetic form שָׂדֶה . The diphthong *ay* was contracted to ē , which appears in two different forms: as ē in the abs. state שָׂדֶה , as ē in the cst. state

הַיָּשׁוּ(1). Before certain suffixes (see Paradigm 20) the \bar{e} is retained, either as \bar{e} or (before \bar{e} , cf. § 29 f) as \bar{e} : הַיָּשׁוּ (pausal form, hence the pausal form in nouns from other roots: הַיָּשׁוּ § 94 c), הַיָּשׁוּ (hence הַיָּשׁוּ), הַיָּשׁוּ, הַיָּשׁוּ, הַיָּשׁוּ (hence הַיָּשׁוּ). Before the other suffixes the form is syncopated: הַיָּשׁוּ, הַיָּשׁוּ, הַיָּשׁוּ on the analogy of הַיָּשׁוּ, הַיָּשׁוּ, הַיָּשׁוּ; likewise the rare forms of the 3rd pers. הַיָּשׁוּ, הַיָּשׁוּ(2). (Comp. the verbal forms in הַיָּשׁוּ with suffixes, § 79 k). The form is also syncopated before the plural ending: הַיָּשׁוּ*, הַיָּשׁוּ; plurale tantum הַיָּשׁוּ face. For the apparent plurals, cf. § C e.

(1) Compare the differentiation of הַיָּשׁוּ from impv. הַיָּשׁוּ, § 79 e, f, and cf. the observation about the real quality of the vowel, § 79 e Obs. 2.

(2) It is obvious that there is a mutual influence of the הַיָּשׁוּ noun on the ordinary noun and of the ordinary noun on the הַיָּשׁוּ noun.

§ 96 C. INFLECTION OF NOUNS WITH A STABLE 1st VOWEL AND A 2nd SHORT PRIMITIVE VOWEL

This category contains nouns with a primitive long (in open syllables) or short (in closed syllables) 1st vowel and a primitive short 2nd vowel, e.g. the forms *qātal* and *maqtal*, *qātil* and *maqtil*(1). The peculiarities of the inflection are usually shown by the 2nd vowel only (one exception, § c). The paradigms include one *qātal*, one *qātil* and one *qātal* — *qātil* from a הַיָּשׁוּ root. a

(1) In the case of words of more than two syllables one should speak of penultimate vowel and last vowel rather than the 1st and 2nd.

Inflection of 15. הַיָּשׁוּ *eternity* (*qātal* form, § 88F a) and other nouns with an etymologically long 1st vowel in an open syllable or short 2nd vowel a in a closed syllable (e.g. הַיָּשׁוּ). The inflection of these nouns is very simple. The 1st vowel is stable; the 2nd vowel a is treated like the 2nd vowel of הַיָּשׁוּ, § B b. Abnormal constructs: הַיָּשׁוּ; הַיָּשׁוּ Ps 65.6, Pr 25.19; הַיָּשׁוּ Pr 18.16. b

In the Nifal participles of א"ל verbs (type הַיָּשׁוּ), instead of the usual type הַיָּשׁוּ (with prestress \bar{e} as in הַיָּשׁוּ, הַיָּשׁוּ) the type הַיָּשׁוּ is often found; for instance, we almost always find הַיָּשׁוּ and הַיָּשׁוּ (§ 78 h)(1). On the other hand the cst. state of הַיָּשׁוּ *convocations* has an irregular \bar{e} as penultimate vowel: הַיָּשׁוּ(2) (comp. הַיָּשׁוּ,

§ A e, גְּרִי, § A q).

Several nouns of the form מְקַטֵּל have spontaneous doubling in the plural (§ 18 f), e.g. מַעְמָקִים *deep places*, מְחֻמְרִים *beautiful things*, מַרְבֵּי *carpet*, מְטַעְמִים *stew*, מַעְדָּנִים *delights*; of the form מְקַטֵּל, e.g. מְשַׂמְנִים *succulent dishes*, מְכַמְנִים *treasures* (with virtual doubling we find, with suf., מְבַטְחִי etc., § 20 c). Nouns of other forms: עֲקָרִים *scorpions*, אֲשַׁמְנִים (meaning uncertain). נִכְבָּרִים (but נִכְבָּרִים) *honoured*. Apparently the fact that the 1st syllable is closed caused the 2nd syllable to become closed as well. The plural of מוֹרָג (var. ׀) Is 41.15† is מוֹרָגִים, with weakening of a to i⁽³⁾.

(1) In these two words the pronunciation is rapid and, as if neglected, perh. because they are frequently used. In most cases with shewa one finds a conjunctive accent, important exceptions being 1Sm 19.20, Ez 13.16, 38.17, 1Ch 25.1Q, esp. Ez 20.30 נְטַמְאִים with atnah; cf. W.R. Garr, *VT* 37 (1987) 134f.

(2) The odd תְּשֻׁבֵי *settlers* in 1Kg 17.1† is doubtful (cf. LXX).

(3) Many plurals with a doubled 3rd radical carry a certain strong emotional overtone, according to W. von Soden, *ZAH* 1 (1988) 38-41.

c **Inflection of 16.** אֵיב *enemy* (*qātil* form, § 88 F b) and other nouns with a 1st vowel etymologically long in an open syllable or short in a closed syllable and an etymologically short 2nd vowel *i* > ׀ (e.g. מְקַטֵּל, מְקַטֵּל). The 1st vowel is stable; the 2nd vowel ׀ is not treated like the 2nd vowel ׀ of יָקַן, § B d.

Whereas in יָקַן the ׀ is not retained in the cst. state but is retained in an open syllable (יָקַנִּים, יָקַנִּי), in אֵיב (and also in most other forms) the ׀ is generally retained in the cst. state, but not in an open syllable (אֵיבִים, אֵיבִי).

The cst. state usually has ׀: thus the participles קֹטֵל, מְקַטֵּל, מְתַקְטֵל, e.g. שֹׁפֵד Gn 9.6; חָלֵם Dt 13.6; subst., כֹּהֵן *priest*, חֹתֵן *wife's father* (the form קֹטֵל is rare: אֵבֶד Dt 32.28† [poetic], proper noun עֲבֹדָה; נֹטַע Ps 94.9; also, e.g., תֵּבֵל *orb*, מָגֵן *shield* (both these words with a stable 1st vowel), עֲקָשׁ *perverted*, מַקֵּל *rod* (1 x מַקֵּל). But the form מְקַטֵּל (§ 88 L g) has the cst. form מְקַטֵּל⁽¹⁾ (with ׀ for ׀ by dissimilation; cf. Brock., *GvG*, I, p. 147): מְרַבֵּץ *resting-place*, cst. מְרַבֵּץ; and likewise מְשַׁעֵן, מְשַׁעֵן *support*, מְשַׁבֵּר, מְשַׁבֵּר *mouth of womb* (?), מְרִזֵּן, מְרִזֵּן *cries*. Likewise the form מְקַטֵּל (for מְקַטֵּל, § 88 L i): מְסַפֵּד, מְסַפֵּד *act of wailing*, מְזַבֵּחַ, מְזַבֵּחַ *altar*.

The vowel \bar{a} in an open syllable is retained in a few words: thus in the form קטל (§ 88 H b) only שלשים of the 3rd generation and רביעים of the 4th generation; מקהלים, מקהלות assemblies, מחרשות ploughshares, מצבות pillars, מסכות molten images, מועצות counsels, מוסרות bands, סנוורים sudden blindness, false vision, פרחים gardens. In participial forms \bar{a} is very rarely retained, e.g. שוממין Lam 1.4; שוממים 1.16 (comp. for the feminine § 97 C a)(2).

In a semi-closed syllable, namely before ה, כ, we find \bar{a} or \bar{a} , but \bar{a} with a guttural R1: יצר, איב, אסף, גאל, אהב. With a guttural R3 both the type ברא and the type שלח are found. The word מגן shield (root גנן) has a stable \bar{a} : cst. מגן (see above), מגני, מגנים, מגני, § 88 L h.

(1) Therefore a מקטל form is ambiguous: it may come from מקטל, from מקטל or from מקטל (see below).

(2) See a discussion by W.R. Garr, VT 37 (1987) 147.

Inflection of noun with a stable 1st vowel and a 2nd vowel $u > \bar{a}$. d
The \bar{a} is treated like that of the type קטל (§ B e), e.g. עירם naked, עירמים; קרם axe, קרמות, קרמות. For מעוז, cf. § 88 L e.

Inflection of 17. חזה e
seer (*qātal* and *qātil* forms of ל"ה roots and of nouns with an etymologically short 1st vowel in a closed syllable, e.g. מעלה Hifil ptc. *cause to ascend* and subst. *ascent*)(1). The first vowel, which is long, etymologically speaking, in an open syllable and short in a closed syllable, is stable; the חז is treated as in חזה, § B f.

חז is found in the abs. state instead of חז in העשה Ez 17.15; conversely חז is found in the cst. state instead of חז in חזה 2Sm 24.11 (BHS \bar{a}); רעה 2Sm 15.37; 16.16; 1Kg 4.5†. All these anomalies are suspect.

Apparent plurals (cf. § 94 j) in nouns in חז (of every form). Some suffixes have forms which seem to be plural in pronunciation and, usually, even in the spelling, but which in fact are singular. In these forms the ending ay has been contracted to e, which has usually been written \bar{a} , with a \bar{a} as in the plural. Forms without \bar{a} ; נוהם *their pasture* Jer 49.20; Ez 34.14; אפם *their baker* Ho 7.6. Forms with \bar{a} ; מראים *their aspect* Dn 1.15, מראים Gn 41.21; Na 2.5; נוטהם *he who stretches*

them out Is 42.5 (cf. § 136 e, n.); מַחֲנֵיךָ *your camp* Dt 23.15 (after מַחֲנֵךְ), שְׂדֵיךָ *your field* 1Kg 2.26; מִקְנֵיךָ *your cattle* Is 30.23.

(1) The participle is prob. a *maqtīl* and the substantive prob. a *maqtāl*.

§ 96 D. INFLECTION OF NOUNS WITH A PRIMITIVE SHORT 1st VOWEL AND A PRIMITIVE LONG 2nd VOWEL

a The 2nd vowel of these nouns is etymologically long and is therefore retained; the 1st vowel, primitively short, is liable to deletion; in some forms such as כְּתָב and שָׂרָף the primitive vowel has even disappeared. The paradigm פְּקִיד gives an example of *qatīl* form of strong root, עָנִי from a ה"ל root; finally, כְּתָב an example of *qitāl* or *qutāl*.

b **Inflection of 18.** פְּקִיד *commissioner* and other nouns with a primitive short *a* as 1st vowel and with a primitive long 2nd vowel, e.g. קָטוּל, גָּדוּל (with non-deletable *o*, § 88 D c)⁽¹⁾, מָקוּם, שָׁלוֹם.

The primitive short *a* becomes *ā* in prestress position. It is usually dropped in ante-prestress position, as also in the cst. state. **Exceptions**⁽²⁾: שְׁלִישׁ *adjutant*, cst. unattested, שְׁלִישׁוֹ; pl. שְׁלִישִׁים, cst. unattested, שְׁלִישָׁיו. [In סָרִיס *eunuch* some forms presuppose a *qatīl*, others a *qattīl*: cst. סָרִיס; pl. סָרִיסִים, cst. סָרִיסִי (1 x 'ס'), סָרִיסִיו etc. Likewise for פָּרִיעַ *one who makes a breach in a wall*: cst. פָּרִיעַ; pl. פָּרִיעִים, cst. פָּרִיעֵי. שָׁבוּעַ *week* has the following plural forms: שָׁבוּעוֹת, שְׁבוּעִים, cst. שְׁבוּעוֹת (שְׁבוּעַתֵיכֶם, § 14 c 2); but dual שְׁבוּעַיִם Lv 12.5† (comp. the absolute שְׁבוּעוֹת *oaths* Ez 21.28, from שְׁבוּעָה).

For the inflection of the form *qatalān*, e.g. זְכָרוֹן, cst. זְכָרוֹן⁽³⁾, plural זְכָרוֹנִים, cf. § 88 M b.

(1) Cst. state -גָּדוּל and -גָּדֹל; and likewise -טָהוּר and -טָהֹר.

(2) Other examples of abnormally stable *ā*: פְּרָשִׁים (§ B b), מַגֵּן (§ C c), מַעוֹז (§ 88 L e); fem., § 97 D b, E b, G b.

(3) Same relation between the abs. state and the cst. statē in חֲלָמִישׁ, cst. חֲלָמִישׁ *granite*.

c **Inflection of 19.** עָנִי *afflicted* (*qatīl* form from ה"ל, § 88 E b). The 1st vowel *ā* is treated like that of פְּקִיד (§ b). In the plural, 'anīyīm becomes 'aniyyīm > עָנִיִּים (comp. the formation of the fem. עֲנִיָּה); with contraction: שָׁנִי *scarlet*, plural שְׁנָיִם (cf. § 90 b).

d **Inflection of 20.** כְּתָב *writing, book* (§ 88 E f). In this noun the

primitive 1st vowel is probably *i* (cf. Arb. *kitāb* "book"); in other words it may be *u* or even *a*. The ָ , here representing a primitive long \bar{a} , is retained throughout the inflection, but exceptionally ָ ָ ָ ָ ָ Am 6.2†. Compare the forms ָ ָ (§ 88 H a) and the forms in ָ (§ 88 M a), with cst. state in ֿ . Example of construct state pl.: ָ ָ ָ ָ ָ *stronghold* 1Sm 24.1; Is 33.16 (sing. ָ ; compare ָ ָ ָ , § 97 D b).

§ 96 E. INFLECTION OF NOUNS WITH TWO CONSONANTS
AND A PRIMITIVE SHORT VOWEL

Form qal > ָ (§ 88 B a). The ָ is treated like the final ָ of ָ ָ ָ ָ ָ *a* (§ 96 B b), except for some slight peculiarities, e.g. ָ *hand*, cst. ָ , ָ , but ָ (§ 29 e); pl. ָ , ָ ; dual ָ , ָ , ָ , ָ ; ָ *blood*, cst. ָ , ָ , but ָ (§ 29 g); pl. ָ , ָ . In the participle ָ the ָ is stable: pl. cst. ָ (§ 80 d).

For the irregular nouns ָ , ָ , ָ , cf. § 98 b.

Form qil > ָ (§ 88 B b). The ֿ is not treated like that of ָ ָ ָ ָ ָ *b* (§ 96 B d). It is usually maintained in the cst. state, e.g.: cst. ָ *god*, ָ *wood*, ָ (6 x only ָ), but ָ (almost always with maq-qef)⁽¹⁾. Examples of inflected forms: ָ , ָ ; ָ , ָ , ָ , ָ , ָ ; (likewise ָ , ָ , ָ); but ָ , ָ , ָ , ָ (and likewise ָ etc.); pl. ָ , cst. ָ . In the participle ָ the ֿ is stable: pl. cst. ָ (§ 80 d).

For the irregular noun ָ , cf. § 98 c. Nouns of the types *qall* ָ , *qill* ָ , *qull* ָ do not fall into this category; cf. § 96 A n, o, p.

(1) Compare the treatment of the ֿ of the ָ inflection (§96 C c).

§ 97. Inflection of feminine nouns
(Paradigm 18)

Feminine nouns are those nouns which, in the singular or in the plural, have a feminine ending (§ 89 a). A feminine noun is formed from the corresponding (real or hypothetical) masculine noun with the addition of one of the feminine endings ָ , ָ (ָ , ָ , ָ , ָ) (§ 89 d-j). The modifications which can affect the masculine form will be given when we deal with each particular inflection.

This paragraph is subdivided into several subparagraphs which are indicated by the capital letters A, B, C, D, E, F, and G; these correspond to the subdivisions of § 96: (A) Inflection of nouns with only one primitive vowel; (B) nouns with two primitive short vowels; (C) nouns with a stable first vowel and a primitive short second vowel; (D) nouns with a primitive short first vowel and an etymologically long second vowel; (E) nouns with two consonants and a primitive short vowel; and in addition, (F) inflection of segholate endings; (G) inflection of nouns in תִּי־, תי, and תִּי־.

§ 97 A. INFLECTION OF NOUNS WITH ONLY ONE
PRIMITIVE VOWEL

a This category includes the feminine nouns of the patterns *qatl*, *qitl*, and *qutl*, the corresponding masculines of which have for the most part been segholised. To form the feminine noun, *at* > *â* is added to the primitive form, hence *qatlat*, *qitlat*, and *qutlat*, e.g. מַלְכָּה *queen*, סְתָרָה *protection*, טְמֵאַה *impurity*. Sometimes the primitive vowel is altered, as it is in the masculine nouns with the suffixes. Thus **kabś* (שֶׁבֶבֶת *lamb*) has the feminine form שֶׁבֶבֶת *ewe-lamb*, alongside שֶׁבֶת (§ 88 C b); **raš'* (רָשָׁע *impiety*) has the (synonymous) fem. רִשְׁעָה with *i* as in רִשְׁעוֹ (comp. forms such as בְּטִנִּי alongside מְלִכִּי, § 96 A c)(¹). In the *qitl* form ם is used after a guttural R1 (§ 21 e), e.g. **hilq* (חֵלֶק *part*) חֵלְקָה as we have חֵלְקִי (§ 96 A e); likewise לְגַל *calf*, עֲגֻלָּה *heifer* as we have עֲגֻלָּה *help*, עֲזָרָה as we have עֲזָרִי. In the *qutl* form the *u* almost always becomes ם just as in the masculine inflection, e.g., קַרְחָה *bald spot*, as we have קַרְחָשִׁי § 96 A g (cf. § 88 C j). The primitive *u* has been preserved in טְמֵאַה *impurity* (before the labial), in the feminine proper noun חֵלְקָה (comp. חֵלְרָה *weasel*, or *mole*).

With guttural R2: נַעַר *boy*, fem. נַעֲרָה *young woman* (comp. נַעֲרִי); טְהֵרָה *purity* (comp. פְּעֻלִּי), שֶׁבֶת *weed* (comp. שֶׁבֶת from שֶׁבֶת *stench*, § 96 A k).

ע"ע roots: רַב *numerous*, fem. רַבָּה; (with guttural) רַע *bad*, רַעָה; חֶק *due, decree*, חֶקָה (comp. חֶקִּי).

ה"ל roots: אֵלֶּה *fat tail* (from **aly*, comp. פָּרִי from **pary*); שֶׁבֶת *captivity* (from *šaby*, hence שֶׁבֶת) with weakening of *a* to *i* (comp. שֶׁבֶתִּי).

From the secondary forms *גִּידִי kid*, *אֲנִי fleet* the following fem. nouns were formed: *גִּידִי young she-goat*, *אֲנִי ship*.

(1) *Qatlat* may also become *קִטְלָה*, but there is no sure example.

Inflection of 21. *מִלְכָּה queen* (*qatlat* pattern, § 88 C b). The *־* is treated like the final *־* of *מִלְכָּתִי*, *מִלְכָּתְךָ*, but with heavy suffix: *מִלְכָּתְכֶם*. Plural: abs. state *מִלְכוֹת* with prestress *qameṣ*, on the analogy of the prestress *qameṣ* of the masculine type *מְלָכִים*, § 96 A b (where the *qameṣ* possibly comes from the auxiliary vowel of the singular)⁽¹⁾. Cst. state: *מְלָכוֹת* (with fricative *כ*, like *מְלָכִי*). Note that the stem of the cst. state is used with all the suffixes. (Comp. the double stem of the plural in the masc. segholates and in the types *בָּרַךְ* and *זָקַן*). A form such as **מְלָכוֹתִי* would be quite abnormal, since the *qameṣ* would be in an ante-prestress syllable (comp. the impossibility of **מְלָכִיכֶם*, § 96 A c, n.).

For the dual, cf. § 91 b.

(1) So besides the category of the segholate nouns, there is no prestress *qameṣ*, e.g. *מְרֵמָה fraud*, pl. *מְרָמוֹת* (and not **מְרָמוֹת*); *מְצוּנָה*, pl. *מְצוֹת* (*מְקִטְלָה* forms, § 88 L f).

Inflection of the *qitlat* (§ 88 C h) and *qutlat* patterns (§ 88 C j). The inflection of these forms *קִטְלָה* (*קִטְלָה*) and *קִטְלָה* (*קִטְלָה*) and that of *קִטְלָה* are perfectly symmetrical. Thus from *שֹׁפְחָה maid-servant* are formed the following: pl. abs. *שֹׁפְחוֹת*, cst. *שֹׁפְחוֹת*; from *חָרָבָה ruin*, pl. abs. *חָרָבוֹת*, cst. *חָרָבוֹת* (comp. *חָרָשִׁים*, § 96 A g); but from *עֲרֵלָה foreskin* are formed *עֲרֵלוֹת* Josh 5.3†, cst. *עֲרֵלוֹת*⁽¹⁾.

In the inflection of *תְּאֵנָה fig* (*qtil* form, § 88 C i) the *־* is retained: *תְּאֵנִי*, *תְּאֵנִים*, *תְּאֵנִי* (comp. *בָּרַכָּה*, § 97 B b).

(1) About the form *חָכְמוֹת Wisdom*, cf. § 96 A b.

§ 97 B. INFLECTION OF NOUNS WITH TWO PRIMITIVE SHORT VOWELS

This category includes the feminine nouns with two primitive short vowels (§ 88 D), notably *qatal*, *qatil*, *qatul*.

Inflection of 22. *צְדָקָה justice* (*qatalat* pattern). The primitive form **šadaqat* becomes *צְדָקָה* in the abs. state; the 1st vowel in ante-prestress syllable is dropped. In the cst. state, **šadqat* becomes *צְדָקָה*,

with weakening of *a* to *i* (§ 29 g); the shewa is "medium," hence a begadkefat as R3 will become fricative. With suffixes: צִדְקָתִי, צִדְקָתְךָ, but צִדְקָתְכֶם. In the plural, **šadaqāt* becomes צִדְקוֹת in the absolute state, whilst in the cst. state **šadqāt* becomes צִדְקוֹת (with shewa "medium"). Note that the stem of the cst. state is used with all the suffixes (like מַלְכוֹת, § A b).

c In the cst. state צִדְקָתְךָ a begadkefat as R3 is pronounced as a fricative in, e.g. נְדָבָה *generosity*; it becomes a plosive in חֲרִידָה *terror* (from חָרַדְהָ), בְּרַכְוֹת, בְּרַכְוֹתִי *blessing* (but בְּרַכְוֹתִי). The *a* of the 1st syllable of **šadqat* is retained in אֶרֶץ *earth*. Otherwise, after a guttural, the secondary *i* becomes *ɛ*: חֲרִידָתוֹ (from חָרַדְהָ *cart*). From עֲטֹרֶת *crown* the cst. state is segholised: עֲטֹרֶת. From עֲצֻרָה (4 x) *abstention* is formed עֲצֻרָתְךָ, not only as the cst. state Jer 9.1, but also as the absolute state (4 x); in pause עֲצֻרָתְךָ 2Ch 7.9. The forms with suffixes בְּמִתְּךָ, בְּמִתְּךָ *sister-in-law* are derived from a segholate form בְּמִתְּךָ*; (the *i* has been weakened from *a*); the abs. state is not attested in the Bible (בְּמִתְּךָ in the Mishna).

d **Inflection of the pattern *qatilat* > קִטְלָה**⁽¹⁾. The inflection of nouns of the *qatilat* form shows a remarkable anomaly: the = tends to be retained, while the corresponding ַ of the קִטְלָה type is dropped. Most nouns of this category have some peculiarity or other. Nouns of the קִטְלָה form may be divided into two groups: some nouns keep the = when inflected (like הַאֲנָה, *qtil* form, § 97 A c), the others do not.

= is retained in the following nouns: בְּרִיכָה *pool*, cst. בְּרִיכָתְךָ⁽²⁾, plural בְּרִיכוֹת (abs. and cst.); גְּזֻלָּה, גְּזֻלָּתְךָ *rapine*; טְמֵאָה, טְמֵאוֹת *impure*, מְלֵאָה, מְלֵאוֹת *full of* (hīreq compaginis, § 93 m); שְׂאֵלָה, שְׂאֵלוֹת *request*, but שְׂאֵלוֹתְךָ Job 6.8, שְׂאֵלוֹתְךָ Ps 106.15.

On the other hand we find the following forms: נְבִילָה, נְבִילוֹת *corpse*⁽³⁾; בְּהֵמָה *beast*, בְּהֵמוֹת (ɛ for *i* before a guttural), pl. cst. בְּהֵמוֹת, but the sg. forms with suffixes, e.g. בְּהֵמָתְךָ, presuppose a segholate doublet בְּהֵמָתְךָ*; חֹשֶׁךְ *darkness*, חֹשְׁכוֹת (ɛ for *i* after a guttural).

The word יָרֵכָה* *side* has the forms יָרֵכְתְּךָ, יָרֵכְתְּךָ. The spirantisation of the כ presupposes a form יָרֵכָה* (fem. of יָרֵךְ *hip, thigh*). The origin of the vowel =, which would suggest a form יָרֵכָה*, is unknown.

(1) On the basis of its dominantly plene spelling, Barr (*Spellings*, p. 141) holds that פְּלִיטָה is of the diminutive *qutailat* pattern, although this pattern, contrary to

the case in Arabic, is extremely rare in Hebrew: cf. Barth, *Nominalbildung*, § 192d, and Brock., *G+G*, I, § 137 a.

(2) Contr. בְּרִבֵּת from בְּרִכָּה *blessing* (§ c).

(3) Contr. נְבִלָה *infamy*, with no construct state.

The *qatilt* form becomes קִטְלָת by segholisation (like *qatalt*, § c); thus גִּדְרָה *wall*, גִּדְרָה* (cf. Ps 62.4), גִּדְרָת(1); חֶבֶר *companion*, חֶבְרָת*. In אִמָּת (אִמָּת Ps 19.10, אִמָּתוֹ) the primitive form 'amint became 'ameṣ'net, 'ameṣ'tt, and by assimilation of the (very short and unstressed) 1st vowel to the stressed vowel: 'eṣ'mett, אִמָּת(2).

(1) Plural with suf. גִּדְרֹתָיו (cf. § d) despite cst. גִּדְרוֹת. Cp. יְתִרָיו despite cst. יְתִרָת (§ 96 B d); מְצַבֹּתָי despite cst. מְצַבֹּת (§ 97 C b).

(2) Alternatively one could postulate *'iminu as the primitive form; W.R. Garr, *VT* 37 (1987) 137.

The inflection of the pattern *qatulāt*, which in Hebrew becomes קִטְלָת (cf. § 18 d, § 96 B e), presents no difficulty, the vowel u being in a closed syllable.

§ 97 C. INFLECTION OF NOUNS WITH A STABLE 1st VOWEL AND A PRIMITIVE SHORT 2nd VOWEL

The forms קִטְלָה, מְקִטְלָה, מְקִטְלָה can have a triple form in the fem. sg., e.g., קִטְלָה, קִטְלָה, קִטְלָה and especially קִטְלָת. Before הַ, as also before the endings in וֹת (and יַם-, § 96 C c) of the plural, the = is sometimes retained, sometimes dropped, but not according to any clear rule. Generally speaking it may be said that the = tends to be dropped, and that in order for it to be retained a pause or the influence of certain consonants, or the repetition of a consonant must be present. It also seems that the = is more likely to be retained before הַ than before the syllables וֹת and יַם- with their primitive long vowels. Examples: אִכְלָה, but אִכְלָה Is 29.6; 30.30; 33.14; יוֹלְדָה even in context, but יוֹלְדוֹת (1 x); בְּגִדָה, but בְּגִדוֹת Zeph 3.4 (despite the pause); נֹטְרָה *guardian* Ct 1.6, but נֹטְרִים *guardians* 8.11,12; with repetition of a consonant: שׁוֹמְרָה.

For the inflection of the segholate ending, cf. § 97 F b.

For the feminine of the הִלָּה type, cf. § 79 p.

Apart from these forms the = is retained in the absolute state, b

e.g., *מַצְבָּה* *stela*, abs. and cst. *מַצְבָּת*, cst. *מַצְבַּת*; pl. *מַצְבוֹת*, *מַצְבוֹתָי*, despite cst. *מַצְבוֹת* (cf. § 97 B e, n.). In *מַהְפָּכָה** *catastrophe*, *תְּרֵדְמָה* *deep sleep*, the *־* is maintained in the cst. state: *מַהְפָּכַת*, *תְּרֵדְמַת* (cf. *זַעַת*, § E b).

§ 97 D. INFLECTION OF NOUNS WITH A PRIMITIVE SHORT 1st VOWEL AND A LONG 2nd VOWEL

- a With the addition of the ending *ה־*, the primitive short 1st vowel finds itself in an ante-prestress syllable and is therefore dropped, e.g. *קִטְלוּהָ*, *קִטְלוּהָ*. The inflection of these words presents no difficulty whatsoever. Likewise for forms like *מְגִלָּה* *scroll*, *תְּהִלָּה* *praise*, where the short vowel is in a closed syllable. (Comp. § B f, *קִטְלוּהָ* form).
- b In the word *תְּעָלָה* *canal* the gameš is stable (like that of *כְּתָב*, *מִצָּר*, § 96 D d): cst. *תְּעָלַת*; pl. with suff. *תְּעָלַתִּי*. Therefore this *־* is probably long, etymologically speaking. (Comp. e.g., *תְּעָרָה* *tempest*, cst. *תְּעָרַת*). Likewise, the gameš of *מְעָרָה* *cave* is stable; cst. *מְעָרַת*, pl. abs. and cst. *מְעָרוֹת*. But here the gameš (from the original form *ma'arrat*) was protected by the primitively doubled consonant (comp. *שְׁרִי* etc., § 96 A n).

§ 97 E. INFLECTION OF NOUNS WITH TWO CONSONANTS WITH A SHORT PRIMITIVE VOWEL

- a The short primitive vowel (*a, i*) is treated like the 1st vowel of the forms *לְקַטְלוּ* and *לְקִטְלוּ*, § 96 B b, c.
- b The inflection of 23. *שָׁנָה* *year* (root *שנה*) and of *שָׁנָה* *sleep* (root *ישן*) therefore presents no difficulty whatsoever. The forms of the two words coincide when the vowel is dropped, e.g. *שָׁנַת*, *שָׁנַתוֹ*; pl. cst. *שָׁנוֹת* (cf. § 90 b).

Nouns from *ע"ו* roots (*קָמָה* and *מָתָה* types) have a stable 1st vowel (§ 80 d). Thus *עֵדוּת* *testimony* (root *עוד*) would give *עֵדוּתִי**, whereas *עֵדוּת* *rendezvous, assembly* (root *יעד*, § 75 m) gives *עֵדוּתִי*. *רָמָה* *height* (root *רום*) gives *רָמַתִּי*, *רָמַתִּי*.

־ is retained in cst. *זַעַת* *sweat* (root *זיע*); comp. *מַהְפָּכַת* etc., § C b. So also *עָצָה* in the tradition represented by Secunda: Ps 1.1 $\beta\eta\sigma\alpha\theta$ for MT *בְּעֵצָה*.

In the word *בְּמָה* *height, high-place*, the origin⁽¹⁾ and the form of which are obscure, the qameṣ is stable (comp. *בְּמֹתֵיךְ* with qameṣ): cst. *בְּמֹתֵי*, *בְּמֹתֵי*. In *בְּמֹתֵי* *bāmōtē*, another cst. form found 6 times, the *o* of the plural has been, strangely enough, shortened to very short *o*: the cst. ending of the masc. pl. *ֵי* has been added to the ending of the cst. state of the fem. plural⁽²⁾, as if to compensate for the shortening of the *o*. This form is only found in the poetic books: *בְּמֹתֵי עֹב* Is 14.14; *בְּמֹתֵי ב' ים* Job 9.8; *בְּמֹתֵי אָרָץ* Am 4.13 and, as Qre (against Ktiv *בְּמֹתֵי*) Dt 32.13; Is 58.14; Mi 1.3; therefore always before a stressed syllable in major pause. (But cf. *בְּמֹתֵי יַעַר* Jer 26.18; Mi 3.12; *בְּמֹתֵי אֲנֹן* Ho 10.8.

In the word *אֶלֶּה* *imprecation, oath* (root *אלה*) the qameṣ is stable; *אֶלֶּתֵי*, pl. cst. (and abs.) *אֶלֶּוֹת*.

Dual: Example: *שִׁפְתֵי* *lip*: *שִׁפְתֵיִם*, *שִׁפְתֵי*; comp. *בְּנִפְיִי*, § 96 B b.

(1) A. Cuny, in "Les mots du fond préhellénique en grec, latin et sémitique occidental," (*Revue des Études anciennes* 12 [1910] 154-64), compares *βωμός platform, altar*.

(2) Comp. the *ֵי* placed before the plural suffixes in *תֹּת*, § 94 f.

§ 97 F. INFLECTION OF SEGHOLATE ENDINGS

That which pertains to the inflection of the segholate endings will be brought together here, regardless of the form of the nouns. a

It seems that the segholisation⁽¹⁾ of the feminine ending arose in the construct state (§ 89 d). Sometimes it is found only in the construct state, sometimes it has spread to the absolute state⁽²⁾.

Nouns with segholate ending in the cst. state: *עֲטָרָה*, cst. *עֲטָרַת* *crown*; *לֶהָבֵה*, cst. *לֶהָבֵת* *flame*; several nouns with the preformative *מ*, e.g. *מַמְלָכָה*, cst. *מַמְלָכַת* *kingdom*, *מִשְׁפָּחָה*, cst. *מִשְׁפָּחַת* *clan*; *מִרְכָּבָה*, cst. *מִרְכָּבַת*, *מִרְכָּבָתוֹ*; pl. *מִרְכָּבוֹת*, cst. *מִרְכָּבוֹת*.

Nouns with the segholate form, alongside the form in *הָ*, in the absolute state: *עֲצָרָה* and *עֲצָרַת*, *עֲצָרַת* *abstention*; *תְּפִאָּרָה* and more often *תְּפִאָּרַת*, *תְּפִאָּרַת* *ornament, glory*; *מִחְשָׁבָה* and *מִחְשָׁבַת*, *מִחְשָׁבַת* *design*⁽³⁾.

Some nouns only have the segholate form, e.g. *מִשְׁמֶרֶת* *observance*, *יוֹנָקַת* *young shoot, twig*, *כֹּתֶרֶת* *capital (of column)*.

(1) The process is extended to some numerals: *שְׁלֹשָׁת*, *אַרְבָּעַת*, *חֲמִשָּׁת*, *שֵׁשֶׁת*, *עֶשְׂרֹת*.

(2) We have seen examples of the cst. state of masc. nouns adopted as absolute state, e.g., § 96 A l, m, q; with fem. nouns, § 97 B c, C b.

(3) Note that in the case of a doublet the segholate form is used. Note too that in cases like עֲצָרָת there is no prestress qameṣ even when the word is used in the absolute state, and even in pause (עֲצָרָת). The absence of prestress qameṣ indeed seems to indicate that the form was originally a construct state (cf. § 89 d).

- b** **Inflection of the ending** לְתָֿ(1), § 89 g. When לְתָֿ comes from *alt*, = is normally used in the inflection, in a closed syllable, just as מְלָֿ (from **malk*) becomes מְלָֿכִי etc.; e.g. מְאֵלִיתִי from מְאֵלִית *madness (qittal for qattal, § 88 H a); מְחַשְׁבֹתוֹ, מְמַלְכֹתוֹ. Exception: יְבִמְתִּי, § B c. The infinitive גִּשְׁתָּ (§ 72 d) becomes גִּשְׁתָּו, like שְׁבַתוֹ. When the ending לְתָֿ comes from *ilt*, = is sometimes used, but sometimes also =. We get = in the שְׁבַת type of inf. cst.: שְׁבַתִּי, לְדַתִּי, רְדַתִּי (cf. § 75 m); in nouns with etymologically long *i* in the absolute: גְּבִירָה (§ 88 E g), *mistress, *gbirt, גְּבִירָתִי, גְּבִירָתִי; *מיניקה, nurse, /*mēniqt/, מִינִיקָתוֹ, מִינִיקָתוֹ. In forms such as חֲבֵרָתוֹ (masc. חֲבֵר companion) and בְּהֵמָתָנוּ (from בְּהֵמָה, § B d), = probably stands for =.**

On the other hand = is found in words of the קִטְלָה type (cf. Paradigm of 24 יוֹנְקָת young shoot, twig): יוֹנְקָתוֹ, יוֹלְדָתוֹ, יוֹלְדָתוֹ *mother, אֲמָנָתוֹ nurse, חֲתָנָתוֹ wife's mother, אִיבָתִי Mi 7.8,10 (cp. the = of אִיבָה, § 96 Cc).*

Observation. אֲתָֿ gets simplified to אַתְּ= in the inf. צֵאתָ (§ 75 g) and in the participles of the ל"א verbs: מַצְאָת, נִפְלְאָת (§ 78 h).

(1) The ל here designates the last consonant of the word.

- c** The inflection of the very rare ending לְתָֿ (§ 89 h), from *ilt*, has = in אִשָּׁה *woman, cst. אִשָּׁתִּי, אִשָּׁתִּי etc. (§ 99 c).*

- d** In the inflection of the ending לְתָֿ (§ 89 i) either = or = is found: the choice of the vowel seems to depend on the nature of the consonants (comp. the inflection of קָרַשׁ, § 96 A g). Forms with =: מְשַׁכְּרָתִי *reward, מחלקתו division, מתכנתו exact measure, מלכדתו trap, מרבלתו marketplace (all maqtul forms, § 88 L j). In נחשת bronze, = is almost always used⁽¹⁾(1 x =: נְחֹשֶׁתִי Lam 3.7). Forms with =: גִּלְגָּלָתוֹ *skull (qulqul pattern, § 88 J c), קִטְרָתִי smoke (prob. qutāl, § 88 E e), שְׁלֹשָׁתָם three (qatāl pattern, § 88 E a), בְּשֹׁתִי shame (perh. בְּשֹׁתִי was formed on בּוֹשָׁה), כַּתְּנָתִי tunic (from כַּתְּנָתִי; prob. quttāl pattern: comp. Arb. kattān "flax, linen cloth," Arm. kittānā, Syr. kettānā). This word is rather irregular: cst. כַּתְּנָתִי; pl. כַּתְּנָנוֹת, cst. כַּתְּנָנוֹת⁽²⁾.**

(1) The reason for the persistence of *u* is probably that נְחֹשֶׁתִי is formed on נְחֹשֶׁה, as גְּבִירָתִי on גְּבִירָה (§ b). Contr. (likewise before שׁ) שְׁלֹשָׁתִי, בְּשֹׁתִי.

(2) The absence of doubling in the cst. state forms perh. indicates that the doubling in *בְּתִנְתָּ* is secondary, as it is in the type *זְכָרוֹן*, cst. *זְכָרוֹן* (§ 88 M b); comp. *χίτων*.

Observation. In the absolute plural, nouns the last vowel of which was primitive *a* always have prestress *־*, e.g. *מִשְׁמֶרֶת* *observance*, *מִשְׁמֶרוֹת*. Therefore a plural abs. in *לֹוֹת־* can only come from a form in *ilt* or *ult*; e.g., *אֲגָרֹת*, pl. abs. *אֲגָרוֹת*, is from the form *'iggirt* (cf. Akk. *egirtu*). On the other hand, a plural like *בוֹתְרוֹת* indicates that *בוֹתְרוֹת* *capital (of a column)* comes from the form *kātart* and not *kātirt*.

The usual form *אֲטָאָת* *sin*, alongside the very rare *אֲטָאָת* (2 x in major pause), stands for *אֲטָאָת**; the cst. state *אֲטָאָת* is secondarily formed on the absolute *אֲטָאָת*. Plural abs. *אֲטָאָת*, cst. *אֲטָאָת*(1).

(1) Suffixed forms such as *שְׁבַתוֹ* and *שְׁבַתָּה* with *ת* (not *ת*) and *ב* (not *ב* as in *שְׁבַתוֹת* pl. cst.) led Ibn Ezra to believe that the basic form is *שְׁבַתָּת*: see his *ספר צחות* ed. C. del Valle Rodriguez (Salamanca, 1977), p. 92 (281), and also on Ho 2.13.

§ 97 G. INFLECTION OF NOUNS IN ת־, וּת AND ת־

Nouns in ת־. Adjectives of the type *מוֹאֲבִי* (alongside *מוֹאֲבִיָּה*; masc. *מוֹאֲבִי*) become, for example, *מוֹאֲבִיּוֹת* in the plural (cf. § 89 e). Substantives in ת־, most of them being abstract (§ 88 M i), are not found in the plural. For the plural of the concrete substantives *תְּנִינָה* *lance*, cf. § 89 p; *תְּלִיָּה* and *תְּלִיָּה* (§ 88 F b).

Nouns in וּת (cf. § 88 M j). Some nouns like *גְּלוּת* have a stable *־* (cf. *ibid.*). Forms found in the plural: *מְלִכּוֹת*(1) *royalty*, pl. *מְלִכּוֹת* Dn 8.22† for *malhuwwot* (comp. BA *מְלִכּוֹתָא*, pl. *מְלִכּוֹתָא*); *קַנּוֹת** *vault*, pl. *קַנּוֹת* Jer 37.16; abs. and cst. *עֲדוֹת* *ordinance* (with stable *־*, for root *עוד*), pl. *עֲדוֹת** *'edwot*, *עֲדוֹתָיָה*, etc. For the apparent plurals (with suffixes) of the type *זְנוּתֵיכֶם*, cf. § 94 j.

(1) With aspiration as in the cst. state types *מְלִכּוֹת* (§ 96 A b), *מְלִכּוֹת* (§ 97 A b).

Nouns in ת־. In the word *תְּנַת* *part* (root *מנה*), borrowed from Aramaic, the *־* is etymologically long, as it is in that language: cst. *תְּנַת*; pl. cst. *תְּנַתוֹת* and *תְּנַתוֹת*. Likewise in *תְּצָת*, Aramaising doublet of *תְּצוֹת* *extremity* (root *קצה*), the cst. is *תְּצָת*, the pl. *תְּצָתוֹת*; comp. *תְּנַתוֹת* Ezr 4.7 (from Arm. *תְּנַת* *companion*, pl. *תְּנַתוֹת*). With these cst. forms in ת־ comp., e.g., *תְּחַת* (§ 89 n), cst. *תְּחַת*; *אֲטָאָת* (§ 97 F f), cst. *אֲטָאָת*.

§ 98. Irregular nouns

(Paradigm 19)

- a** The nouns brought together here are particularly irregular and may, for the sake of convenience, be divided into three categories: I) Nouns with two strong consonants; II) nouns with one or two consonants from י"ל roots; III) nouns with a weak 2nd radical א, ל, or י.
- b** I) **Nouns with two strong consonants** (mostly nouns of kinship). The first three nouns, of קל form (§ 88 B a), have י- in the cst. state and before the suffixes (cf. § 93 l):
1. **בא** *father*, cst. אבי; with suffixes אבא etc. (prestress games). The plural אבות is in ות, perhaps on the analogy of אמות *mothers*; cst. אבות, with suf. אבותי etc.; with 3rd pl. suf. אבותם is more frequent than אבותיהם (§ 94 g). The cst. state בא is found in proper nouns like אבשלום (possibly a defective spelling for אבשלום, which also occurs once), אבדן (and in the etymology of this name, Gn 17.4,5 אבדן).
 2. **אח** *brother*, cst. אחי; with suf. אחא etc. (prestress games). In the plural there is virtual spontaneous doubling in the absolute state⁽¹⁾ and with the light suffixes: אחים, אחא etc. (§ 20 c); before פ: אחאי, אחאי (§ 29 f).
 3. **אבא** *husband's father*, cst. אבא*; with suff. אבאי, אבאי.
- (1) Cf. Akk. pl. *ahhū*.
- c** One noun of קל form (§ 96 E b):
4. **בן** *son*, cst. usually בן (almost always with maqqef), rarely בן (always in בן-בן, in the proper nouns בן-בן Pr 30.1, בן-בן but בן-בן), once בני (§ 93 m), once בנו (§ 93 r). The irregular plural בני is difficult to explain (according to Brock., *GvG*, I, p. 322, dissimilation of **binim*).
- d** Four feminine nouns:
5. **בת** *daughter*, for **bant* (from **bint*); with suf. בתי etc. (weakening of a to i (§ 29 g)⁽¹⁾); pl. בתות on the analogy of בני.
 6. **אמה** *handmaid*. In the plural אמהות, cst. אמהות, a ה appears as in the corresponding Aramaic word אמהות (and in אמהות *the fathers*, and MH אמהות *mothers*).
 7. **אחות** *sister*, from a form **'ahāt* (so in Akk.), which is variously explained; cst. אחות, with suf. אחותי etc, once אחותי Nu 6.7, with

virtual doubling as in **חָזַק**, but for no apparent reason (comp. **חָזַקְתוּ** Lv 21.3). The pl. **חָזְקוּ***, cst. **חָזְקוּ***, which is not found in the Bible, is difficult to explain; with suf., **חָזְקוּת** etc; the rare forms such as **חָזְקוּ** Josh 2.13K are abnormal or incorrect.

8. **חָמוֹת*** *husband's mother*; same form as **חָמוֹת** (comp. Arb. *ḥamāt*, pl. *ḥamawāt*); with suf. **חָמוֹתָא**, **חָמוֹתָא**.

(1) Synchronically, but diachronically the change *i* > *a* is an effect of Philippi's law (§ 29 aa).

II) Nouns with one or two consonants, from **ל"י** roots:

e

9. **הֶשֶׁךְ** *a head of small cattle* (noun of unit of **שֶׁכֶל** *small cattle*, § 135 b), from **śay*, cst. **הֶשֶׁךְ**; suff. **הֶשֶׁכִּי** Dt 22.1†, **הֶשֶׁכִּי** 1Sm 14.34†.

10. **הַפֶּה** *mouth*, probably from **piy*, cst. **פִּי**; with suf., **פִּי**, **פִּיָּה**, **פִּיָּהּ** (more common than **פִּיהָ**), **פִּיָּהֶם** etc. Pl. **פִּיָּהֶם** with the meaning of *cutting edges* Pr 5.4†, **פִּיָּהֶם** Jdg 3.16† (as if from **pay*)(1). Plural, with repetition of the root, **פִּיָּהֶם** Is 41.15; Ps 149.6 (comp. the forms with repetition **מִיָּמִי**, **מִיָּמִי** etc. from **מִיָּמִי** *infra*, 11).

11. **מַיִם** *water, waters*, irregular plural (cf. § 91 f) of sing. **may*; cst. **מַי**, rather rarely (13 x) **מַיִם**; but the form with repetition is always used with the suffixes: **מַיִמִּי** etc.

12. **שָׁמַיִם** *sky, skies*, irregular plural (cf. § 91 f) of singular **šamay*, construct **שָׁמַיִם**, with suf., **שָׁמַיִמִּי** etc.

13. **כֶּלִי** *vessel*, **כֶּלִי**, **כֶּלִיָּהּ**. These forms, which are similar to **פֶּרִי**, **פֶּרִיָּהּ** (§ 96 A q), allow us to postulate a primitive sing. form *kaly*. But the relation of the sing. to the pl. **כֶּלִי**, **כֶּלִיָּהּ** is obscure; here the **-** is deletable, whereas it is not in the forms of MH **פִּירוֹת** *fruit* (pl. of **פֶּרִי**) and of Aramaic **כֶּלִיָּהּ**, pl. **כֶּלִיָּהֶם**, with which it would be tempting to assume a close link.

(1) In 1Sm 13.21 **פִּיָּהֶם** (vocalisation ?) is not the plural of **הַפֶּה**, but probably the name of the *weight* **פִּיָּהֶם**, read on a weight by Macalister; cf. S. Moscati, *L'epigrafia ebraica antica* 1935-50 (Rome, 1951), pp. 99-101, 102f.

III) Nouns with a weak 2nd radical: R2 **א** - **שָׂאָר**; R2 **ו** - **וּמָה**; R2 **י** - **פֶּרִי**, **פֶּרִיָּהּ**. Plural in **פִּיָּהֶם**:

f

14. **שָׂאָר** *head*, pl. **שָׂאָרִים**, cst. **שָׂאָר**. In the monosyllabic noun **ra's*, the *a* became long because of the quiescence of the Alef: *rāš*, hence **שָׂאָר**, while in the plural **ra'sim* the *a* was also lengthened, but

unstressed: hence אֲשֵׁיִם⁽¹⁾. See also שְׂמאל left-hand side, adjective יְשָׁמאל left (cf. § 24 d).

15. יוֹם day, pl. יָמִים, cst. יָמִי. By contraction the primitive form *yawm* has become יוֹם; dual יוֹמִים. In the plural, instead of the expected forms יוֹמִים*, יוֹמִי* the forms יָמִים, יָמִי are used, probably on the analogy of שְׁנָיִם, שְׁנַיִם⁽²⁾. Poet. pl. cst. יָמוֹת Dt 32.7; Ps 90.15† (in both cases with שְׁנוֹת, poet. pl.cst., § 90 b).

16. עִיר city, pl. עָרִים, cst. עָרִי. The relation between singular and plural is obscure. The plural may have been formed from a singular form עָר*, which is still found e.g. in עָר־מוֹאָב. For the alternation *i* / *â*, comp. יָמִין right-hand side, adj. יָמִי right (where the *ı* is due to the analogy of יְשָׁמאל left).

17. בַּיִת house, cst. בַּיִת; pl. בָּתִּים, cst. בָּתִּי. The plural, which is very irregular, has not yet been explained in a fully satisfactory way. Some scholars go so far as to reject the pronunciation *bâttim* and they pronounce *bâtîm*, mistakenly in our opinion. The sound *â* is found in the same position in Biblical Aramaic לְתַלְתֵּיהוֹן the three of them (Dn 3.23) *tlâtteḥon*, Syr. *tlâttayhon*⁽³⁾. For the abnormal alternation *ay*, *â*, comp. אֵי and אַי where? and the endings of place names אֵי, אַי; אֵי, אַי (§ 91 h).

(1) Contr. אֲשֵׁיִם, אֲשֵׁיִם poor (root אֲשַׁר). These two plurals differ from each other in spelling only.

(2) Cf. J. Barth, "Formangleichung bei begrifflichen Korrespondenzen," in C. Bezold (ed.), *Orientalistische Studien Theodor Nöldeke zum 70. Geburtstag gewidmet* etc. (Giessen, 1906), vol. 2, p. 791. The pl. may indeed have been influenced by שְׁנָיִם, but the Siloam inscription, other early Hebrew epigraphic materials, Phoen. and Ugr. show that there existed a by-form אֵי (even in the singular). ESA attests to *ym* alongside *ywm*. Thus the two alternative forms may have existed side by side.

(3) On these forms, see T. Muraoka, *Classical Syriac for Hebraists* (Wiesbaden, 1987), p. 49, n. 98.

§ 99. Defective nouns

a In the preceding paragraphs (§§ 96-98), the reader's attention was drawn to certain nouns which, in the plural, have (or can have) a form different from the form they have in the singular, e.g. עִיר city, pl. עָרִים (§ 98 f 16). In this paragraph the reader will find a few defec-

tive nouns of particular interest, beginning with the nouns for *man* and *woman*, which have different roots in the singular and in the plural.

For *man* (Latin *vir*), as opposed to *woman*, *ישׂא* is used in the singular. This noun probably comes from a root *ישׂא* or *ישׂא* (perh. with the sense of *strength*). In the plur. the word used is *ישׂאִים*⁽¹⁾ the primary meaning of which does not seem to be *viri* "males," but *homines* "people" (as opposed to *animals*); the root is *ישׂא*, which is found in the poetic noun *ישׂאִים* (synonymous with *אִישׁ*) *homo*, *Man* (cf. Arb. 'unās "men"). Cf. Paradigm 19.18.

b

(1) Three times *ישׂאִים* Is 53.3; Ps 141.4; Pr 8.4.

For *woman* we find *אִשָּׁה* in the singular, cst. *אִשָּׁה* (§ 97 F c), *אִשָּׁה* etc.⁽¹⁾ (comp. *אִשָּׁה*, *אִשָּׁה*). The word is derived from another root *אִשָּׁה*, which corresponds to the Arabic root 'nt (cf. 'untā "female"). The primary meaning of *אִשָּׁה* therefore would be *female*. The plural *אִשָּׁהִים*, *אִשָּׁהִים*, the proper meaning of which is *women*, comes from a root *אִשָּׁה* or *אִשָּׁה* (cf. Arb. *niswat* "women"). The plural is perhaps due to the analogy of *אִשָּׁהִים* (cf. e.g., Jdg 9.51 *אִשָּׁהִים וְאִשָּׁהִים*). Cf. Paradigm 19.19.

c

(1) Instead of the normal and usual *אִשָּׁהִים* we have *אִשָּׁהִים* Ps 128.3† for no apparent reason.

For *small*, both *קָטָן* and *קָטַן* are used in the masculine singular; in the feminine and in the plural there is only *קָטָנוֹת*, *קָטָנוֹת*, *קָטָנוֹת* (§ 18 f).

d

For *water*, the form with repetition (cf. *מַיִם*, *מַיִם*) is not used in the abs. state, and the simple form is not used with the suffixes; cf. § 98 e.

e

For *idol* the sg. form *פִּסְלֵי* and the pl. form *פִּסְלֵיִם* (from unattested *פִּסְלֵי**) are used; for *pit*, sg. *חַיְתוֹת*, pl. *חַיְתוֹת* (2 x); and perh. *אִשָּׁהִים* for *אִשָּׁהִים* Ps 144.12⁽¹⁾; for *supplication* we always⁽²⁾ find in the sg. *אִשָּׁהִים*, in the pl. *אִשָּׁהִים*. Cf. also *אִשָּׁהִים* alongside *אִשָּׁהִים*, pl. of *אִשָּׁה* or *אִשָּׁה* *thorn*; MH *אִשָּׁהִים* (< *אִשָּׁהִים* *damage*); QH *אִשָּׁהִים*(?) (< *אִשָּׁהִים* *stroke*).

f

(1) See A. Hurvitz, op. cit. [§ 88 M j, n.], p. 167.

(2) The plural at 2Ch 6.39 is suspect; the parallel text at 1Kg 8.49 has the singular.

Some nouns have such different forms in the sing. and in the plural that one wonders whether these plural forms are simply irregular or

g

whether they come from singular doublet, e.g. תַּחֲלִיץ vase, pl. תַּחֲלִיצִים; הַצֵּנִי ostrich, pl. צִנִּים; הַצֵּלִי antelope, pl. צִלִּים⁽¹⁾.

(1) Cf. M. Lambert, *REJ* 43 (1901) 213.

§ 100. Number nouns: cardinal numerals

a The nouns of number are in origin either substantives or adjectives, but all of them, to different degrees, now possess a mixed character, partly substantival and partly adjectival.

The first two numerals 1 and 2, which have a more adjectival character than all the others, must be considered separately. The numerals 3 to 10 form a homogeneous group of collective substantives. The numerals 11 to 19, composed of two closely knit nouns, the first of which expresses the unit and the second the number 10, form a group in which 11 and 12 (like 1 and 2) present some peculiarities. The numerals expressing tens from 20 to 90 form a special group.

b Numeral 1: Masc.: abs. אֶחָד, cst. אֶחָדִים; fem. abs. and cst. אֶחָדָה. The primitive form is 'ahad (comp. Arb. 'ahad, Ugr. ahd). In the sing. there is spontaneous gemination of א, § 20 c. For the א of אֶחָד, cf. § 29 f. The primitive form of the feminine 'ahadt has, by assimilation of d to t, become 'ahatt > אֶחָדָה (§ 17 g), with final = preserved by the earlier gemination; in pause אֶחָדָה. Plural: אֶחָדִים several, etc., of which the feminine form is lacking in the Bible. The form of the cst. st. אֶחָד is also used for the abs. st. as a light form, e.g. in the numeral 11 אֶחָד עָשָׂר (cf. § 129 m)⁽¹⁾.

(1) The aphaeretic form אֶחָ of Ez 33.30† is suspect; it is the normal Aramaic form.

c Numeral 2: Masc.: abs. שְׁנַיִם (a light, contracted form שְׁנַיִם^[1] in the numeral 12 עָשָׂר שְׁנַיִם), cst. שְׁנַיִם; fem. שְׁנַיִם (a light form שְׁנַיִם in שְׁנַיִם הַשְּׁנַיִם), cst. שְׁנַיִם. The numeral 2 has the form of a dual, which is natural. The primitive form of the masc. is probably šinayim. The fem. שְׁנַיִם must be pronounced štayim with the plosive א, despite the preceding shewa (§ 19 f). The primitive form *šintayim has become *šittayim; then, by the analogy of שְׁנַיִם (with initial simple shewa) it came to be pronounced as שְׁנַיִם with shewa, but retaining the plosive articulation t, which must have been used in the form *šittayim. The anomalous form

אֶשֶׁרֶת is therefore a hybrid form: of *šittayim it has retained the plosive character of *t* (but without its length), and of אֶשֶׁרֶת it has received the shewa(2). Of course, the א remains plosive in combinations such as אֶשֶׁרֶתֶּי, אֶשֶׁרֶתֶּיךָ.

(1) Comp. אֶשֶׁרֶת and the light form אֶשֶׁרֶת, § 160 g. Syriac differentiates l'aynaw(hy) "to his eyes" and l'enaw(hy) "before him."

(2) If one should take Arb. m. 'iṭnāni / f. ṭintāni as affiliated to the Heb. forms rather than Akk. šina / šitta, then the m. form would have had an exceptional initial consonantal cluster. Hoberman also argues for štayim, i.e. without shewa mobile, as the genuine, original shape of the numeral: JNES 48 (1989) 25-29. Tiberian Massoretic scholars read the form as /ištayim/ etc.: Kimhi, מכלול, p. 140a, where the absence of dagesh in the Shin in Jon 4.11 אֶשֶׁרֶתֶּי אֶשֶׁרֶתֶּיךָ is noted; and K. Levy, op. cit. [§ 1 a, n.], pp. 8f. This prosthetic Alef is also attested occasionally in Phoen. The original f. form /ṭintay(m-)/ is preserved only in SH /šittam/: Ben-Hayyim, LOT, vol. 5, p. 231.

Numerals 3-10: The nouns for 3-10 are collective substantives. Each numeral has a double form, masculine and feminine, which one may compare with the French collectives, *un sixain, une dizaine*. A most remarkable peculiarity of the numerals 3-10, which goes back to Common Semitic, is that the feminine collective is used with masculine nouns and the masculine collective with feminine nouns(1).

3: masc.: abs. אֶשֶׁרֶת, cst. אֶשֶׁרֶת; fem. אֶשֶׁרֶת, cst. אֶשֶׁרֶת. Primitive Heb. form. šalāš: the *o*, though etymologically long, is usually written *defectively*, § 7 c. The primitive *ō* of אֶשֶׁרֶת becomes, via the segholised form אֶשֶׁרֶת(2), *o* in the inflection: אֶשֶׁרֶתֶּי, § 97 F d. With maqqef one finds אֶשֶׁרֶתֶּי and אֶשֶׁרֶתֶּי.

4: masc.: abs. and cst. אַרְבָּע; fem. אַרְבָּע, cst. אַרְבָּע. Primitive form 'arba' (cf. § 88 L a).

5: masc.: abs. אֶשֶׁרֶת, cst. אֶשֶׁרֶת; fem. אֶשֶׁרֶת, cst. אֶשֶׁרֶת. Primitive Heb. form hamiš. The form אֶשֶׁרֶת, with gemination of the *š*, instead of the expected form אֶשֶׁרֶת*, is probably due to the analogy of the following numeral אֶשֶׁרֶת. For the segholised ending אֶשֶׁרֶת, cf. § 89 h.

6: masc.: abs. and cst. אֶשֶׁרֶת; fem. אֶשֶׁרֶת, cst. אֶשֶׁרֶת. Primitive Heb. form šidš(3), hence, by assimilation, šišš > אֶשֶׁרֶת. For the segholised ending אֶשֶׁרֶת, cf. § 89 h.

7: masc.: abs. and cst. אֶשֶׁרֶת; fem. אֶשֶׁרֶת, cst. אֶשֶׁרֶת. Primitive form šab'. In, e.g., אֶשֶׁרֶת הַפָּרוֹת the seven cows Gn 41.20, אֶשֶׁרֶת can be in the cst. state; but it can also be in the abs. state. (Cf. אֶשֶׁרֶת הַשֶּׁבַע the

ten tribes, 1Kg 11.31). The form שָׁבַע occurs only before מֵאוֹת where it is probably cst. state (cf. שֶׁבַעַת אֲלֵפִים) and before עֶשְׂרֵה where it is prob. abs. st.⁽⁴⁾(cf. שֶׁבַעַת עֶשְׂרֵה). The same is true of the form תֵּשַׁע (alongside תֵּשַׁעַת), which occurs only in תֵּשַׁע מֵאוֹת and תֵּשַׁע עֶשְׂרֵה .

8: masc.: abs. and cst. שֶׁמֶנֶה ; fem. שֶׁמֶנֶה , cst. שֶׁמֶנֶת . Primitive Heb. form *šamāniy* (comp. Arb. *šamān^m*). One always has ֶּ , even when the word is prob. in the cst. state as in שֶׁמֶנֶה מֵאוֹת . Compare שֶׁמֶנֶת with the segholised form שֶׁלֶּשֶׁת .

9: masc.: abs. and cst. תֵּשַׁע , fem. תֵּשַׁעַת , cst. תֵּשַׁעַת . Primitive Heb. form *tiš'*. On the form תֵּשַׁע , see שָׁבַע (*supra*).

10: masc.: abs. and cst. עֶשְׂרֵה ; fem. עֶשְׂרֵה , cst. עֶשְׂרֵה . The form of the masc. is a *qatl* whilst that of the fem. is a *qatal* (of which the masc. עֶשְׂרֵה occurs in the numerals 11-19^[5]).

(1) French is said to copy the Semitic usage in expressions such as *une dizaine d'hommes* and *un dizain de femmes*. This peculiar usage has not yet been explained satisfactorily. The phenomenon seems to have something to do with linguistic psychology, and perhaps we should see here mainly an aesthetic tendency towards dissymmetry. This is in essence the reason suggested by Schultens long ago: "non injucunda connubia"! Another explanation of reflex kind is that the language may have wished thus to lay greater emphasis on the substantival character of these numerals (cf. P. Joüon in *MUSJ* 6 [1913] 134ff.). The rule in Hebrew is meticulously observed, so that from the masculine or feminine form of the numeral one can infer the feminine or masculine gender of the noun (cf. § 89 a) ! Exceptions are rare (e.g. $\text{שֶׁלֶּשֶׁת נְשִׁים}$ Gn 7.13; $\text{שֶׁלֶּשֶׁת כְּפָרוֹת לְהָם}$ 1Sm 10.3; $\text{שֶׁלֶּשֶׁת אֲחֵי תִיָּהָם}$ Job 1.4) and may be scribal errors. The principal form is the feminine form: it is this that is used, e.g. in Arabic—the reverse in Modern Hebrew—to express the number in an absolute fashion, e.g. in "3 is half of 6" (cf. § o); consequently the masculine form can be deduced from it. On the choice of the form in cases of the *neuter*, cf. § 152 g.

(2) Contrast this with the non-segholised form שֶׁמֶנֶת (*infra*, 8).

(3) Cf. Arb. ordinal "6th": *sādis*,

(4) This therefore would be a reduced form. Likewise in the other numerals for 11-19, the first noun with the form of the cst. st., e.g. in שֶׁלֶּשׁ עֶשְׂרֵה , would be a reduced form, and not a genuine cst. st. form.

(5) In all the other numerals the feminine form is modelled on the masculine.

e **Numerals 11-19.** These numerals are composed of two closely knit nouns, the first of which expresses the unit and the second the numeral 10. Thus 11 is expressed as *one-ten*. In this group there is no subordination (genitive), but co-ordination: *one (and) ten* exactly as in now obsolete English, e.g. *five and twenty*. The first noun closely linked

with the second takes a reduced form, which is often similar to the form of the cst. state. However in the nouns with הַף the reduced form (here similar to the cst. state) is extremely rare, e.g. חֲמִשָּׁת עָשָׂר Jdg 8.10; 2Sm 19.18; שְׁלֹשָׁת עָשָׂר Jdg 20.25. The numbers 3-9 used here as first component of 13-19 are treated in the usual manner: the masc. form is used with fem. nouns and the fem. form with masc. nouns. For the numeral 10 one has here two new forms, which are prob. adjectival: masc. עָשָׂר, fem. עֶשְׂרֶה (with -- stemming from *ay*⁽¹⁾); comp. שְׁלֹשָׁה always with -- , e.g. in בְּרִכּוֹת בְּרִכּוֹת עֶשְׂרֶה שְׁלֹשָׁה 18 *benedictions* [Talmud]). More details below.

(1) In view of some significant differences in morphology and syntax between the Hebrew and Ugaritic numerals, it is probably wrong to conclude that because of the spelling 'šh in the latter the He of עֶשְׂרֶה was originally consonantal. Cf. R. Hetzron in *JSS* 22 (1977) 183f.

Numeral 11: Masc.: עָשָׂר; fem. עֶשְׂרֶה. The adjectives אָחַד and אחת are here light forms, not genuine construct states (§ b). We also find the forms: masc.: עֶשְׂרִי, fem. עֶשְׂרֵי (comp. Akk. *ištēn ešret* or *ištenšeret*)⁽¹⁾. These forms, which are considered by most authorities to be derived from the Akkadian, could, according to Brockelmann (*GvG*, I, p. 490) and others, be early dialectal Hebrew forms. The form עֶשְׂרִי is an abbreviation of עֶשְׂרִינָא* (comp. עָשָׂר, שְׁנַיִם, עָשָׂר, שְׁנַיִם עָשָׂר).

(1) Cf. also Ugr. 'št 'šr, and ESA 'št and 'šnm.

Numeral 12: masc. שְׁנַיִם עָשָׂר; fem. עֶשְׂרִים. We also find, though rarely: masc. שְׁנַיִם עָשָׂר; fem. עֶשְׂרִים. The forms שְׁנַיִם and עֶשְׂרִים are light forms in the absolute state preferred here because of the close juncture. The rare forms שְׁנַיִם and עֶשְׂרִים (perh. influenced by עֶשְׂרִי) are still further reduced⁽¹⁾.

(1) Certain grammarians wrongly see in שְׁנַיִם and עֶשְׂרִים a Qre perpetuum: then one would have to read שְׁנַיִם and עֶשְׂרִים, whilst the Ktiv would have to be vocalised שְׁנַיִם and עֶשְׂרִים respectively (cf. § 16 f).

Numerals 13-19: In these numerals the first component (3-9), which is a substantive, has the opposite gender of the noun, whilst the second component (10), which is an adjective, has the same gender as the noun. One can say that the total number, e.g. 13, is masc. or fem., depending on whether the second component is masc. עָשָׂר or fem. עֶשְׂרֶה.

	Masculine numerals	Feminine numerals
13.	שְׁלֹשָׁה עָשָׂר	שְׁלוֹשׁ עָשָׂרָה
14.	אַרְבָּעָה עָשָׂר	אַרְבַּע עָשָׂרָה
15.	חֲמִשָּׁה עָשָׂר	חֲמֵשׁ עָשָׂרָה
16.	שֵׁשׁ עָשָׂר	שֵׁשׁ עָשָׂרָה
17.	שִׁבְעָה עָשָׂר	שִׁבַּע עָשָׂרָה
18.	שְׁמֹנֶה עָשָׂר	שְׁמוֹנֶה עָשָׂרָה
19.	תְּשַׁע עָשָׂר	תְּשַׁע עָשָׂרָה

Example: with the masc. noun בְּרַךְ one says $\text{שְׁמֹנֶה עָשָׂר בְּרָכִים}$ 18 words (comp. 18 benedictions, § e end).

i Numerals for the tens 20-90: 20 עָשָׂרִים , 30 שְׁלֹשִׁים , 40 אַרְבָּעִים , 50 חֲמִשִּׁים , 60 שֵׁשִׁים , 70 שִׁבְעִים , 80 שְׁמֹנִים , 90 תְּשַׁעִים . These numerals, even 20, have the ending of the plural. The numeral 20 was originally the dual of 10, Heb. עֶשְׂרֵי *⁽¹⁾; but the ending ים of the other numerals replaced ים . The other tens, 30 etc., are thought of as the plural of the corresponding unit 3, etc. Segholised forms שִׁבַּע and תְּשַׁע have not formed שִׁבְעִים * and תְּשַׁעִים *, but שִׁבְעִים and תְּשַׁעִים , probably on the analogy of עָשָׂרִים .

(1) So also in Akk. (e.g. *ešrā*), ESA, and Eth.; see R. Hetzron, *JSS* 22 (1977) 192-95.

j Intermediate numerals 21-99. These numerals are expressed by joining the two components by means of ו and. Most often it is the ten that precedes, e.g. עָשָׂרִים וְאַחַד ; less frequently אֶחָד וְעָשָׂרִים ⁽¹⁾.

(1) For details, see König, 2.215ff.

k Numeral 100: מֵאָה (fem.), cst. מֵאָת ; pl. abs. מֵאוֹת (the cst. state is not attested)⁽¹⁾.

(1) The Ktiv מאיות 2Kg 11.4,9,10,15† is usually read מֵאָאוֹת (comp. עֶשְׂרוֹת decades, groups of ten); one could equally read מֵאוֹת (comp. מֵאָתִים), König, vol. 2, p. 217 reads מאיות.

l Numeral 200: מֵאָתַיִם , dual of מֵאָה , for מֵאָתַיִם *.

Numerals for hundreds 300-900: the noun מֵאוֹת being feminine, the nouns for the units 3-9 have the masculine form; they are put in the cst. state, e.g. שְׁלֹשׁ מֵאוֹת . Note the forms שִׁבַּע מֵאוֹת , § d; שְׁמֹנֶה מֵאוֹת , § d; תְּשַׁע מֵאוֹת , § d.

Numeral 1,000: אֶלֶף (masc.); pl. אֶלְפִים, cst. אֶלְפֵי.

Numeral 2,000: אֶלְפַיִם, dual of אֶלֶף; the cst. state would be אֶלְפֵי* (with plosive פ).

Numerals for thousands 3,000-9,000: the noun אֶלְפִים being masculine, the nouns for the units 3-9 take the feminine ending; they are put in the cst. state, e.g. אֶלְפֵי שָׁשׁ.

Intermediate numerals 101-9,999. Examples: 120 is expressed by 100 *m* and 20, less frequently by 20 and 100; 324 is expressed by 300 and 20 and 4, less frequently by 4 and 20 and 300; 1222 is expressed by 1000, 200, 20 and 2 (Ezr 2.12). It appears that there is some historical evolution. In the Priestly code (P), Ez and Ch, thousands follow smaller numbers. The tens precede the units in the sources JED, Josh 1-12, Jdg, Sm and Is, whereas the reverse order is observed in Jer, P, Ez and Josh 13-24⁽¹⁾.

(1) See S. Herner, *Syntax der Zahlwörter im Alten Testament* (Lund, 1893), 73ff.

For 10,000, in addition to the usual אֶלְפֵי עֶשְׂרֵת, there are also *n* special words: רַבָּבָה, רַבּוֹ, רַבּוֹא⁽¹⁾. Likewise for 20,000 עֶשְׂרִים אֶלֶף or אֶלְפֵי רַבּוֹת or אֶלְפֵי רַבּוֹת Ne 7.71, אֶלְפֵי רַבּוֹא 7.72; 40,000 אַרְבַּע רַבּוֹא 7.66; 60,000 שֵׁשׁ־רַבּוֹת Ezr 2.69.

Intermediate numbers, e.g. 18,000 עֶשְׂרֵת אֶלֶף וְשָׁמֹנֶה 2Sm 8.13.

Numeral 100,000: אֶלְפֵי מֵאָה Nu 2.9 etc.; אֶלְפֵי מֵאָה 2Kg 3.4.

(1) A late form; note also the pleonastic final Alef characteristic of Qumran orthography. Cf. Kutscher, *Isaiah*, pp. 171-75; Qimron, *Hebrew of DSS*, pp. 21f.

Multiplicatives. We find the forms אַרְבַּע־פְּתָיִם *fourfold* 2Sm 12.6; שִׁבְעֵתָיִם *sevenfold* Gn 4.15,24; Is 30.26[?]; Ps 12.7; 79.12. This is the feminine form (which is the principal form, § d, n.) with an ending אֵי־, which looks like a dual, but is in fact an adverbial ending (probably dissociated from אֵי־, cf. § 91 g, 102 b); note also אֶבְרַיִם *double* Is 40.2, Job 11.6. These words correspond rather closely to our *fourfold* and *sevenfold*. The obscure אֶבְרַיִם Ps 68.18 is perh. formed in the same manner⁽¹⁾. For other modes of expressing the multiplicative idea, cf. § 142 q. For the numerals of frequency, cf. § 102 f.

(1) Cf. D.H. Müller, "Die numeralia multiplicativa in den Amarnatafeln und im Hebräischen," *Semitica*, I (1906), Sitzungsberichte der Kais. Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Philosophische-Historische Klasse, Band CLIII, III. Abhandl., pp. 13ff.).

§ 101. Ordinal numerals

a Ordinal adjectives exist only for the first ten numerals; for above *tenth* the cardinal numerals are used (cf. § 142 o). **First**⁽¹⁾ is expressed by the adjective ראשון (from ראש *head*, § 88 M e)⁽²⁾, **second** by שני (f. שנית, pl. שנים), which is formed directly from the cardinal numeral; similarly ששי 6th is formed directly from שש. The other numerals show the pattern *qatili* > קטילי, which is composed of the form *qatil* and the adjectival ending י-: 3rd שלישי, 4th רביעי (without the Alef of ארבע), 5th חמישי (the form חמישי with gemination on the analogy of חמש is suspect), 7th שביעי, 8th שמיני, 9th תשיעי, 10th עשירי.

(1) For vestiges of the archaic expression (as in Ugaritic) of the notion of 'first' without any specific word as in Ex 38.14 אל-הכתף vs. 15 לכתף השנית, see J. Blau in *JNWSL* 10 (1982) 5-7.

(2) This appears to be a comparatively late, secondary formation. In the creation account (Gn 1), the first day is called יום אחד, whereas the subsequent days are designated by the appropriate, regular ordinals such as שלישי, רביעי. See S.E. Loewenstamm, *Tarbiz* 24 (1954) 249-51.

b The feminine forms end in ית-, e.g. שלישית 3rd; we very rarely find the ending ית-: שלישית Is 19.24; 15.5 = Jer 48.34† and עשירית Is 6.13†. These same forms express **fractions**, e.g. שלישית *third part, one third*. For fractions there also exist certain special words: **half** חצי, rather rarely מחצית⁽¹⁾, **twice** מוחצת Nu 31.36,43†; **one third** שלישי; **a quarter** רביעי; **one fifth** חומש; **one tenth** עשירון, pl. עשירנים (*qatalān* pattern, § 88 M b); מעשר tenth part, *tithe*.

For **two thirds** one says שני שלישים Dt 21.17; 2Kg 2.9; Zech 13.8 (whereas שנים שלישים means *double* Ex 22.3,6,8).

For the notion of **how many times**, cf. § 102 f.

(1) Ugaritic fractions, except for those for 1/2 (!) and 2/3, show a prefix /m-/ and a suffix /-t/. Note מעשר.

(2) Though personal names of segholate pattern, שלש and ששה may also be noted.

CHAPTER IV: PARTICLES.

We call *particles* any part of speech which is not a noun, pronoun, or verb, namely the adverb, the preposition, the conjunction and the interjection. The demarcation between these diverse categories of particles is often imprecise; the same word can, for instance, be used as an adverb and as a preposition.

§ 102. Adverb.

Certain adverbs are primitive, e.g. אֵל *no, not*, אֵשׁ *there*, אָז *then*; others are *derived*, e.g. אֲמֵן *truly, in truth* (from אָמֵן, 1 x); finally numerous adverbs are simply other parts of speech (substantives, adjectives, infinitive absolutes) used in an adverbial role, e.g. הַרְבֵּה *much* (Hifil inf. abs. of הִרְבֵּה: *act of making much, in making much*, § 79 q). Often the adverbial idea is expressed by a group of two or more words, especially preposition and substantive, e.g. אֲמֵן *truly, really*, מַדּוּמָּה *why?* (ל and pronoun מַה), מַדּוּמָּה *for what reason?* (הַמָּה + מַדּוּמָּה, *scibile quid?* with weakened מַדּוּמָּה in the sense of *thing*⁽¹⁾: "what thing?" = *why?*).

(1) Comp. Jewish Arm. מַדּוּמָּה from *middā' + ma* "scibile quid," *something* (Syr. *meddem*). In the Arabic dialect described by A. Socin, *Diwan aus Centralarabien* (Leipzig, 1900-1), § 63 d, 'ilm "knowledge" has come to mean "thing," e.g. *weš 'ilm* "why?" P. Joüon argued for a distinction between מַדּוּמָּה and מַדּוּמָּה in *MUSJ* 10 (1925) 15f., whereas J. Barr holds that there is scarcely any distinction in meaning between the two: *JThSt* 36 (1985) 1-33.

The **derived adverbs** are few and far between. With the ending אֵשׁ: אֲמֵן *truly, in truth*, but after the interrogative הַ: אֲמֵן *(from אָמֵן, 1 x)*; אֲמֵן *silently*; אֲמֵן *in favour, for nothing, gratuitously, in vain, for no reason* (from אֵן *grace*; comp. *gratia* and *gratis*); אֲמֵן *empty, empty-handed, for no reason* (from אֵן *empty*); אֲמֵן *by day* (Lat. *diu, interdiu*). With the ending אֵשׁ- we have only אֲמֵן *suddenly* and אֲמֵן *(11 x; אֲמֵן 12 x) the day before yesterday*. These endings have been explained in diverse ways. Some writers see in אֵשׁ- the old ending of the indeterminate accusative (§ 93 b)⁽¹⁾, whilst others see in it a special ending⁽²⁾. For some nouns with אֵשׁ- one must first find out if the *o* is

etymologically long or not. פִּתְאִם may be derived from *pit'am* (from פִּתְעָ *instant*) > *pit'ām* by attenuation of the *ʕ* and compensatory lengthening of the *a*. As regards שְׁלֹשִׁים, this seems to be a loan from Akkadian *ina šalši ūme* "in three days," in which case the *o* would be long. The Akkadian adverbial ending *-u(m)* seems to indicate the derivation פִּתְ- < *um*(³). Here also belong הֵלֵךְ and עִירָם.

With the ending *annīt* composed of *ann* and the feminine ending *īt* (§ c) we find the two adverbs of manner אָחֳרָנִית *backwards*(⁴) and קָדְרָנִית *lugubriously*.

(1) For example, דָּנָה *gratis* can be compared with Arb. *majjānān* "gratis" in the indeterminate accusative, and Ugr. *špšm* "at sunset(?)" (Gordon, *UT*, § 11.4,5); also Greek μάτην *in vain*, acc. of μάτη.

(2) In יוֹמָם the radical מ may have been doubled; cf. Syr. 'imámá; or more likely *ám* could be an adverbial ending, here specifically indicating time: "daytime", hence Fr. *la journée*, Ital. *la giornata*. Comp. perhaps מִצְהָרָא *noon*, § 91 g. The latter explanation is more likely in the light of AC *ha-ya-ma* "alive" (Sivan, p. 131) and comp. also El Amarna 137.21 *ri-qa-mi* (= מִיָּקָם).

(3) See K. Deller in *Or* 34 (1965) 40.

(4) Different from אָחֳרָא used adverbially in the sense of "at the back." See P. Jouön in *MUSJ* 10 (1925) 4f.

c **Adverbs of suppletion.** This is the name given to diverse parts of speech which, functioning as adverbs, make up for the lack of adverbs.

Adjectives. Rarely a masculine adjective(¹), e.g. בָּר sometimes in the sense of *much, quite*; מַר *bitterly* Is 33.7; Zeph 1.14 (poetic); רָחוֹק *far* Ps 22.2; 119.155. Rather rarely a sing. feminine adjective: בְּרִאשׁוֹנָה *first, formerly* (9 x; but usually בְּרִאשׁוֹנוֹה 22 x; לְר' 2 x)(²); with final ת(³): רַבַּת *much* Ps 120.6; 123.4; 129.1; יְהוּדִית *in a Jewish fashion, in the Jewish language*, and likewise אֲרָמִית, אֲשֻׁרִית; cf. אָחֳרָנִית, קָדְרָנִית, § b (end).

(1) The adjectives טוֹב *good* and רַע *bad* do not appear to be used in the adverbial sense of *well* and *badly* respectively. For *well* we find the inf. abs. הֵיטֵב and for *badly* one could no doubt have used the inf. abs. הֵרַע, though it is not found in this sense.

(2) For the antonym we only find בְּאַחֲרָנָה 6 x and לְאַחֲרָי 2 x *then, finally*.

(3) A vestige of the old adverbial use of the status absolutus: see W. von Soden, *Grundriss der akkadischen Grammatik* (Rome, 1952), § 113 n, and T. Muraoka, op. cit. [§ 98 f, n.], § 60.

d **Substantives:** יַחְדָּם *together* [(in) *unison*, (as) *a group*, cf. 1Ch 12,17];

יַחְדָּו⁽¹⁾(very rarely יַחְדָּו) *together*; סָבִיב *around* (as substantive once in the singular, but rather frequently in the plural סְבִיבוֹת, סְבִיבִים *environs*; cf. § 103 n); מְהֵרָה *rapidly*, (with) *speed*; בְּהֶלֶה *suddenly* Lv 26.16†; אֱמֹת *truly* Jer 10.10; Ps 132.11† (usually בְּאֱמֹת); פְּתָע *suddenly* (poetic; also בְּפִתְעָע, בְּפִתְעָע); חֲטָפָה *safely* (more often חֲטָפָה); מִישָׁרִים (with) *righteousness, justly*. These substantives, from the syntactical point of view, must be considered as being in the adverbial accusative (cf. § 126 d). Several adverbs, whose substantival meaning is not apparent, are originally substantives.

Much more frequently the adverbial notion is expressed by a substantive preceded by a preposition, especially ב and ל (see several examples cited above). Examples: לְבַד *apart* [not necessarily *alone*⁽²⁾]; לְרַב *much*, לְשָׁלוֹם and בְּשָׁלוֹם *peacefully*, בְּמַרְמָה *fraudulently*, etc.

(1) Probably from *yahday* with a fem. ending *ay* as in אֲשָׁרִי (rather than pl. ending). The suffix has a vague value: (*in*) *unison with this*, (*in*) *its unity* (cf. § 146 j). An alternative proposal by Brockelmann (*ZA* 14 [1899] 344-46) to see here an archaic adverbial ending /ū/ as in Akkadian would make this a unique example of such.

(2) E.g. 1Kg 18.6 לְבַדָּו "Ahab went *on his own*," which does not exclude an escort.

Infinitive absolute: Hifil: הֵיטֵב *well*, הֵרַבָּה *much* (§ a), הֵרָחֵק *far*, e
 הַשְׁכֵּם *early in the morning*, הֵעֶרַב *in the evening* 1Sm 17.16†; Piel: מָהֵר *fast*. These words, strictly speaking, mean: *act of doing well, of doing much, of moving away, of doing something in the morning, the evening, of doing something fast*. The infinitive absolute used adverbially is an extension of the use of the inf. absolute as accusative of internal object after a verb (cf. § 123 r).

Cardinal numerals used adverbially for number of times: אֶחָד *once*, f
semel Lv 16.34; שְׁתַּיִם *twice, bis* Ne 13.20; שְׁלֹשׁ *thrice, ter* Job 33.29, etc. This use can be explained in terms of the ellipsis of the fem. word אֶחָד *time*.

Ordinal numerals used adverbially to express how many times: שְׁנִייתָ *for the second time, secundo, secundum* Gn 22.15; בְּשִׁבְעִיתָ *at the seventh time* 1Kg 18.44. The word אֶחָד here also is understood, cf. בְּפִתְעָע *בְּשִׁבְעִיתָ* Josh 6.16.

There are some other ways of expressing the adverbial notion. Thus, g
 an adverbial Hifil (§ 54 d) is equivalent to a verb with a general meaning such as *to do, to act*, accompanied by an adverb, e.g. הֵיטֵבָה לְרֵאוֹת Jer 1.12, literally "you have done well by looking," which is

equivalent to *you have seen well* (cf. § 124 n). The verbs יסר and שוב contain our adverbial notion of *still, once again* (§ 177 b). For the notion of *immediately* we find Piel מָהֵר used in the sense of *to act fast*: 1Kg 20.41 וַיִּמְהַר וַיִּסֹּר he immediately removed (probably also 1Sm 28.20: he fell at once). This same verb used transitively is equivalent to *to bring quickly* (Gn 18.6; 1Kg 22.9); likewise Hifil יָרַיַץ *to carry quickly (running)* (1Sm 17.17; 2Ch 35.13). A sentence such as קָרָא וְלִקְוֹל־גְּדוֹל 1Kg 18.27 "cry in a loud(er) voice" is equivalent to "cry more loudly." The adverbial notion of *very much* is rendered by an adverbial Hifil in, e.g. 2Sm 18.8 מִן לְאָכַל מְנַיֵּרְב et multum egit edendo prae = "he devoured more than ..."

h We shall list below some adverbs which are particularly common or are of particular interest.

Demonstrative adverbs: A) in the strict sense of the term (as the demonstrative proper הֵן, the primary meaning of which is *here*, § 143 a) and presupposing the object as present; and B) demonstrative adverbs in a broad sense:

A): הֵּן *here* (without movement, Lat. *hic*); more common than מִזֵּה; מִזֵּה *from here*; B): שָׁם *there*, more frequent for this sense than שָׁמָּה; מִשָּׁם *from there*.

A): הֵּנָּה⁽¹⁾ *hither* (Lat. *hūc*); more frequent than הֵלָּה; B): שָׁמָּה⁽²⁾ *thither*, more frequent for this sense than שָׁם, § 93 e; הֵלְלָה *yonder*.

A): עַתָּה *now*, § 32 f; B): אָז *then*.

A): כֵּן *thus (in this fashion)*, e.g. כֵּן אָמַר יְהוָה "thus says Jahweh" (in order to proclaim his words); B): כֵּן *thus (in this fashion)*, e.g. וַיְהִי כֵן "and it was thus"; similarly כִּכְּנָה is *retrospective*, but has an intensive force.

(1) To be distinguished from the pronoun הֵנָּה *they* (fem.).

(2) On the gemination, cf. Arb. *tumma*, and Arm. *tammâ(n)*.

i **Interrogative adverbs:** הֲ *is it that? num?* (for the vocalisation, cf. § 1); אֵלֶּה *is it not that ...?, nonne?*; לָמָּה *why?* (and לָמָּה § 37 d), הֲ לָמָּה *why then?* (usually without maqqef); מַדּוּמָּה *for what reason?* (§ a; more precise than לָמָּה); אֵיכָּן *how?*, more frequent than אֵיכָּה; אֵיפֹה *where?* (without movement, Lat. *ubi?*), rarely אֵיפֹה⁽¹⁾; הֲנָא *whither?, where to?* (Lat. *quo?*), more frequent than אֵן; מֵאֵי *where from?, more frequent than אֵי מֵאֵי*. For "where?, through where?,"

we find $\text{נַעֲלֶהָּ הַדֶּרֶךְ הַזֶּה אֵי-יָזֶה}$ 2Kg 3.8 "by which way shall we go up?," literally "where is the way by which we are going to go up?"; מָתַי when?; עַד-מָתַי until when?, rarely עַד-נִגְזָר (compare Lat. *usquequo*, also in the temporal sense).

(1) A distinction must be maintained between אֵי-פֹה where? and אֵי-פֹה , which, in origin, is probably a demonstrative particle, but, in actual usage, a logical particle, then, therefore.

Negative adverbs: אֵל no, not (35 x^[1] אֵל according to the massorah); לֹא do not (for prohibition, like *ne* in Latin); אֵין , אֵין (²) (§ 160 g) there is not, it is not (adverb of non-existence, opposite of שֵׁי there is, it is, adverb of existence); לֹא-יִבְלָה (§ 93 q), special negative of the infinitive cst. Besides these four common negatives, the use of which will be explained in the Syntax section (§ 160) as well as that of the rare negatives לֹא-יִבְלָה , לֹא-יִבְלָה , there are also negatives with the special nuances עַד-מָתַי not yet, עַד-מָתַי no more.

(1) Not counting combinations with proclitic -ה, -ב, and -ל. If these are included, אֵל occurs 187 times (out of a total of 5184 x). On a problem of computation involved, see AF, pp. 186f.

The plene spelling is the most common in Jer, and also in books earlier than Jer. but not later: see also Barr, *Spellings*, pp. 154-58. In DSS it far outweighs the defective spelling. The historical evolution appears to have been la' > lā > lō (cf. § 98 f). Hence the final Alef differs in origin from that so typical of DSS. See Brock., *GvG*, I, § 253 A, a, and Qimron, *Hebrew of DSS*, pp. 21f. The Heb. negative, then, would be distinct from Ugr. l/ = most likely lā (Huehnergard, *Ugr. Vocabulary*, pp. 25, 255). In other words, the Alef of the Hebrew negative may originally not have been a vowel letter. Cf. § 7 b. If, on the other hand, אֵל be a rare example of early use of Alef as mater lectionis, it may have been introduced to keep this common word graphically distinct from another equally frequent הֵל , originally "to him" (§ 94 h) as well as "to her."

(2) אֵין in Job 22.30 ? and in the proper noun אֵין-קָבוֹד 1Sm 4.21: 14.3 is probably a negative form reduced from אֵין . Phoen. also has negative 'y.

Adverbs with suffixes (Paradigm 20). Some adverbs can take suffixes. This can be easily understood for an adverb whose substantival force is still apparent, e.g. לְבַד literally *separately, alone*, § d (לְבַדְךָ , לְבַדְהָ , לְבַדֵּי etc.); cf. also יַחְדָּו , § d. But some adverbs, which are either primitive or whose substantival force is no longer manifest also take suffixes: the pronoun, logically subject, and which, in consequence, ought to be separated, is attracted by adverbs, which turn it into a suf-

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fix⁽¹⁾. Thus with $\eta\eta$ *behold* side by side with $\aleph\eta\eta$ (e.g. Ru 3.2) one has $\eta\eta$ (3 x; the form $\eta\eta$, Ktiv of Jer 18.3 is ?)(²). The use of the suffixes with the form $\eta\eta$, $\eta\eta$, and $\eta\eta$ *still* is rather unique (see Paradigm 20). One should note the suffixes such as $\eta\eta$, $\eta\eta$ similar to those of the future. Their origin is not clear. Perhaps one said $\eta\eta$ *here I am*, $\eta\eta$ *here we are* on the analogy of the impv. $\eta\eta$ * and $\eta\eta$ *(³). Then $\eta\eta$ was perhaps extended to the adverb $\eta\eta$ (which is well-nigh antonymous) and to $\eta\eta$. One may note that $\eta\eta$, which is probably in origin a substantive (*repetition, continuation*), has the form $\eta\eta$ (4 x) alongside $\eta\eta$. One has $\eta\eta$, $\eta\eta$ with η as in the majority of the prepositions; the η of $\eta\eta$ is probably due to the influence of the preceding vowel η (comp. $\eta\eta$). Outside of the pause one has $\eta\eta$ with the omission of the gemination, § 18 m; twice only $\eta\eta$ Gn 22.7; 27.18. Besides $\eta\eta$ (3 x) we find $\eta\eta$ (4 x), although we cannot see the reason for the choice. As for $\eta\eta$ *where?* we only find $\eta\eta$ Gn 3.9†, $\eta\eta$, $\eta\eta$; from $\eta\eta$ *there is* ($\eta\eta$) only $\eta\eta$, $\eta\eta$ Gn 24.49†, $\eta\eta$ Dt 13.4, and the anomalous, though probably authentic, form $\eta\eta$ (⁴) Dt 29.14; 1Sm 14.39; 23.23; Esth 3.8†, with a η of analogous origin (comp. $\eta\eta$ Nu 23.13, § 82 l).

(1) Cf. Brock., *GvG*, II, pp. 264ff.

(2) < **hinnahu*, which can be postulated as an earlier stage of the form, and it agrees with SH /inna/ and is akin to Arb. /inna/ of similar function: see Ben-Hayyim, *LOT*, vol. 5, p. 242.

(3) The secondary form $\eta\eta$, alongside $\eta\eta$, is perhaps derived from $\eta\eta$ (the $\eta\eta$ of $\eta\eta$ perhaps has a similar origin). On the unique form $\aleph\eta\eta$, cf. § 18 i, n.

(4) Given the distribution of the form $\eta\eta$, one hesitates to accept the suggestion by J. Blau that the form is due to the analogy of MH $\eta\eta$ (*JOS* 2 [1972] 61f.).

l **Vocalisation of the interrogative η** (¹). The primitive Hebrew form is *ha*. Unlike the *a* of the article (§ 35 b), of the pronoun *ma* (§ 37 c), of *wa* of the type $\eta\eta$ (§ 47 a), this *a* does not exert any pressure on the following consonant, which as a consequence is not doubled. The primitive short *a* in open syllables is not maintained, but becomes extremely short *a*, e.g. $\aleph\eta$ *is it not that ...? nonne?* One nevertheless finds some examples of doubled consonant and numerous examples where the short vowel is maintained in an open syllable.

(1) Called by mediaeval Jewish grammarians $\eta\eta$ *He. of surprise*, on account of the fact that the sense of this η is sometimes exclamatory rather than interrogative;

cf. § 161 a.

Before **shewa** (simple or nuanced), as the ḥatef pataḥ cannot be retained, we have =, e.g. הַבְּרִכָּה *num benedictio?* (= [is there] a blessing?) Gn 27.38; הַמְכַסֶּה *num celans?* (= [shall I] hide?) Gn 18.17 (comp. the same form with the article Lv 3.3 LXX: τὸ κατακαλύπτου *that which conceals*, § 35 c). With the article there is virtual gemination; with the interrogative ה, which does not require gemination, there can, however be virtual gemination, judging from the cases where there is genuine gemination). In some cases the consonant (even ב) is geminated, e.g. הַלְבָּן *num filio?* (= to a son?) Gn 17.17; הַבְּרִיָּה *num in via?* (= in the way?) Ez 20.30; הַכְּתָנִית *num tunica?* (= the tunic?) Gn 37.32; always הַרְאִיתָ *num vidistis?* (= surely you saw?) 1Sm 10.24; 17.25; 2Kg 6.32† (cf. § 23 a).

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Before a **guttural** (but not ב) there takes place a slight slowing-down of the pronunciation, which prevents the short a from becoming very short: we therefore have = in open syllables (§ 28 b), e.g. הָאִבּוֹ *num ibo?* (= surely I should go?)(1). If the pataḥ is to be found before a guttural followed by qames, it becomes ֶ (§ 29 f), e.g., חָכֵם *num sapiens?* (= is he wise?) Ec 2.19 (comp. the same form with the article in 2.16b: *the wise man*. With the article, virtual gemination takes place; with the interrogative ה it is rather unlikely). The ב, which (is not a guttural at all, § 5 n) has here no reason to be treated like the gutturals; it is therefore treated as the other consonants, e.g. הָרְאִיתָ *num vidisti?* (= surely you saw?) (Comp. הַרְאִיתָ, § m). The divine name יהוה is pronounced יְהוָה, § 16 f, so that we have הַיְהוָה *num Dominus?* (= surely the Lord is ...?) Jer 8.19†.

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(1) Compare this with =, instead of ֶ, before a guttural as in הַעֲיִרֹתִי. § 80 m and הַחֲלִיתִי. § 82 n.

Comparison with the vocalisation of the article (cf. § 35). The ה of the article has a short a which exerts pressure on the following consonant and tends to trigger gemination. Before a guttural, if there is no gemination, the vowel is ֶ, which never occurs with the interrogative ה(1); if there is virtual gemination then we have = or ֶ. These same vowels also occur with the interrogative ה, but for another reason, namely the slowing-down of pronunciation.

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(1) Contrast, for instance, אָזְנֵי *the nose, the anger* and אֲזַי *num etiam?*

§ 103. Preposition.

a Apart from the monoconsonantal prepositions כּ, כֹּ, and לְ, and some other rather old prepositions of obscure origin, prepositions are old nouns used first as adverbs, which were subsequently used as prepositions, namely before a noun or its equivalent. Thus *'aḥar (Heb. אַחֲרָי*, cst. אַחֲרָי; cf. § n) was originally a substantive meaning *the back*, used afterwards as an adverb in the sense of *at the back, behind* (Gn 22. 13^c), and in the temporal sense of *then, afterwards* (Gn 18.5); and finally as a preposition *at the back of sth, behind sth* in the local (Gn 37.17) or temporal (15.1) sense. Likewise לַעֲלֵ originally meant *the high, the height*; it is still used in this sense in Ho 7.16; 11.7, and as an adverb *above* in 2Sm 23.1. A preposition, being originally a noun, is considered as *nomen regens* (§ 92 a) linked to the following noun.

b **Prefixed prepositions** כּ, כֹּ, and לְ. The three monoconsonantal prepositions כּ *in*, כֹּ *like*, and לְ *to* are always prefixed to a noun, hence sometimes called proclitics. Though the primitive form of כּ was probably *bi, whilst that of כֹּ and לְ was probably *ka and *la⁽¹⁾ respectively, כּ is treated in a manner similar to כֹּ and לְ⁽²⁾. The three prefixed prepositions are usually vocalised *weak* (that is to say, with shewa or its substitutes), though in certain cases special, *strong* (i.e. ֿ) vocalisation is applied.

I. Weak vocalisation. Usually, and excepting the special cases to be enumerated below, the preposition takes a simple shewa, a vestige of the primitive short vowel, e.g. אַחֲרָי (even in major pause: 1Kg 2.2). Before a shewa the preposition has the vowel *i*; thus with the cst. state אַחֲרָי we find אַחֲרָי, אַחֲרָי, and אַחֲרָי⁽³⁾. But if the consonant is י, this י becomes quiescent, § 26 b; e.g., with the cst. state pl. יָמֵי (from יוֹם *day*) one has יָמֵי, יָמֵי, יָמֵי (and similarly מֵימֵי, § d, וֵימֵי, § 104 c). Before a ḥaṭef (nuanced shewa) we have the short vowel with the nuance of ḥaṭef, e.g. אֶשֶׁר *as*, כֹּאֲרֵי *like a lion* (§ 35 e); לְאִנּוֹשׁ *to (the) man*, בְּאִנּוֹתַי* *in my ship*⁽⁴⁾. With the Qal inf. cst., we sometimes find, alongside the normal pattern לְעֵמֶד, the type לְחֹפֶר, § 68 e.

The inf. cst. לֵאמֹר with ל becomes לֵאמֹרְךָ in saying (for לֵאמֹרְךָ^* , § 24 e; 73 g), no doubt due to the frequency⁽⁵⁾ of this form, for we also find בִּלְאֵמֹר (and likewise imperative בִּלְאֵמֹרְךָ , § 104 c).

With אֱלֹהִים *god*, no doubt because of the frequency of this word, we find בְּאֱלֹהִים , בְּאֵלִים , בְּאֵלֵי (and בְּאֵלֵיךָ , § 104 c); however, with the sing. (rather rare and poetic) we find לְאֵלֹהִים (לְאֵלִים), once לְאֵלֵי הוּא Hb 1.11 (prob. because the word is longer; comp. BA לְאֵלֵיךָ , but לְאֵלֵיךָ , לְאֵלֵיךָ , לְאֵלֵיךָ etc.).

For the vocalisation before the infinitive of the verbs הִזְכִּיר and הִזְכִּירָה , cf. § 79 s, e.g. לְהִזְכִּיר , לְהִזְכִּירָה .

אֲדֹנָי *lord* with ב , כ , and ל (and ו , § 104 c) receives a highly unique treatment. In certain forms with א , this א becomes quiescent (no doubt, as in the preceding cases, because of the frequency of these forms); but the preceding = , though it is now found in open syllables, is maintained (comp. בְּאֲדֹנָי for בְּאֵי Jdg 9.41). The reason for this anomaly may have been a desire to avoid too great a difference with the forms with = =. In the singular, א is quiescent with the suffix of the 1st pers. sg. (incidentally, the only form that actually occurs) לְאֲדֹנָי (without suffix: cst. לְאֲדֹנִי Mi 4.13†). In the plural, א is not quiescent in the cst. state (e.g. לְאֲדֹנָי) nor in the forms containing the theme אֲדֹנָי of the cst. state, namely the forms with plural suffix, לְאֲדֹנָיְנִי , לְאֲדֹנָיְכֶם , לְאֲדֹנָיְהֶם ⁽⁶⁾. It is quiescent in the other forms, namely in the forms with a singular suffix: לְאֲדֹנִי , לְאֲדֹנֶיךָ , לְאֲדֹנָיו , לְאֲדֹנֶיהָ ⁽⁷⁾. The divine name יְהוָה is pronounced יְהוָה , so that a form like לְיְהוָה must be pronounced לְיְהוָה .

(1) /li/ in Ugr.: Huehnergard, *Ugr. Vocabulary*, p. 27, but *bi-i* (Sivan, p. 132, and Huehnergard, op. cit., pp. 27,53,112).

(2) The Greek and Latin transliterations make no distinction between these three prepositions, either: see Brønno, *Morphologie*, pp. 216-24; Sperber, *Hist. Gram.*, pp. 208f.

(3) Compare this with דְּבָרִי from *dabrē*, § 96 B b. But one could equally have said that לְדָבָר and לְדָבָר have *i* on the analogy of בְּדָבָר . The best synchronic explanation is the traditional one, according to which the first of two simple shewas, which both presuppose a primitive short vowel, changes to *i*.

(4) On the ambiguity of a form such as בְּאֲדֹנֶיךָ , cf. § 35 e.

(5) Same reason of frequency for לְנִפְלֵל alongside of בְּנִפְלֵל , בְּנִפְלֵל , § 49 f.

(6) It appears that in the form of the st. cst., which is shorter, the longer vocalisation of = and = may have been preferred by way of compensation.

(7) לְאֲדֹנִים^* would probably have been possible also.

c II. **Strong vocalisation**, namely הַ. In בְּ and לְ we have the primitive *a* (but see § *b*, n. 1); בְּ is due to the analogy of בֵּ and לֵ. This *a* does not exert any pressure on the following consonant, and consequently there is no gemination. (Contrast the *a* of the article **ha*, of the pronoun **ma*, and of the *wa* of the form לְוַקְטֵל.) The strong vocalisation does not occur except before certain categories of fully or specially stressed monosyllabic words (in the strict or loose sense of the term). The reason for the strong vocalisation is therefore of a rhythmic nature. The following is a list of the cases where this strong vocalisation occurs:

A) Cases common to the three prepositions בּ, כּ, and לְ: Before the demonstrative הַזֶּ and הַזֹּ, and even the dissyllabic הַלְּאֵלִים, e.g. הַבְּזֵה(1), הַבְּלֵלִים(2). But, when the stress is weak, we find the weak vocalisation, e.g. Gn 2.23 הַזֹּאֵלִים. Compare the vocalisation with הַ before the heavy suffixes בְּכֶם, כְּכֶם, לְכֶם, בְּהֶם, כְּהֶם, (šeré ![³]), לְהֶם as opposed to בְּךָ and לְךָ.

B) Special cases with לְ: 1) Before the monosyllabic infinitives (in the strict or broad sense): לְקוּם, לְשֹׁבֵת, לְקַחַת, לְתַת, לְצֹאֵת, לְשֹׁאֵת (from שֹׁאֵת, § 78 *l*). However, when the stress is weak, we find the weak vocalisation, e.g. Gn 16.3 לְשֹׁבֵת אֲבִרָה (in close juncture, as with the genitive, § 124 *g*: *mērḥa* with *tifḥa*); 2) before certain specially stressed monosyllables, namely in pause, e.g. לְנִפְשִׁי in intermediate pause, Lv 19.28; Nu 9.10; לְנִפְשִׁי Nu 5.2; לְטֹרַח Is 1.14; 3) when the group constitutes a locution, e.g. לְבִטָּח *safely*; לְרֹב *abundantly*; לְעַד *for eternity, for ever*; לְנִצְחֵת *for eternity, for ever* (but לְנִצְחֵת נִצְחֵת). 4) when there is a repetition of the noun, e.g. לְפֶה אֶחָד מִן הַפֵּה *from one end to the other* 2Kg 10.21; 21.16†; לְדוֹר מִדוֹר Is 34.10 (not in pause); לְמִים לְמִים Gn 1.6(4). Comp. the analogous case for לְ, § 104 *d*.

N.B. The special treatment of לְ is solely due to the fact that this preposition sometimes takes the strong stress, which is not the case with בּ and כּ. Thus בְּקוּם is, in fact, always found in close juncture (Ps 76.10; 124.2; Pr 28.12,28†).

On the forms of בּ, כּ, and לְ with the article, cf. § 35 *e*, with the interrogative pronoun מִן, § 37 *d*(⁵). On the inflection of בּ and לְ, see § *f*, and on that of כּ, § *g*.

(1) הַבְּזֵה is generally adverbial: *here*, § 102 *h*; in the sense of *in this* only four

times: 1Sm 16.8,9, Ec 7.18, Esth 2.13†.

(2) In a form like הַלְּאֵלֶּיךָ , the ־ cannot be that of the article. In fact, a demonstrative can take the article only when it is used as an adjective, namely after a determinate noun, e.g. in $\text{כְּמִלְכֵי הָאֱלֹהִים}$ *like these kings* (§ 137 e). A form compounded from a preposition and the demonstrative therefore cannot take the article. Thus a form such as הַיְּכָבֹד * is impossible.

(3) Once בְּהֵרָב 2Kg 17.15 (with silluq), and וְהֵרָב once only (Ez 18.14). Note also that וְהֵרָב (not וְהֵרָב־) is by far the commoner form.

(4) With וְעַל and וְעַל־ there are some peculiar features, e.g. בֵּין טוֹב לְרָע Lv 27.33 (in minor pause), but בֵּין טוֹב לְרָע־ 1Kg 3.9 (in major pause). It seems that ־ is avoided when it can be taken for that of the article; thus one always finds עַל־ , e.g. Jer 32.38.

(5) One ought to note the difference in vocalisation between, e.g., בְּמֵה , § 37 d and וְהֵרָב־ . Perhaps וְהֵרָב־ , for example, was avoided because this form would have seemed to have the article (cf. note 2). Compare the vocalisation of the ו in וַיִּקְטַל , § 104 c.

Occasionally prefixed preposition מִן . The preposition ־מִן *from* (Lat. *d* *de, ex, a*) shows a most peculiar treatment which can be summarised by the following two statements: A) generally the ן is assimilated to the following consonant; B) generally this following consonant is doubled.

Details: A) 1) Fairly frequently, irrespective of the nature of the consonant (guttural or not), the intact form ־מִן (always with maqef, save Ex 2.7 with a disjunctive accent!) is maintained (especially in the book of Chronicles)(1).

2) In particular, before the ה of the article, ־מִן is usually maintained, no doubt for the sake of euphony, e.g. מִן־הָאֲרָמָה Gn 2.7(2).

B) 1) Before a non-guttural, gemination usually takes place, e.g., מִמֵּי . However, before י gemination hardly ever occurs(3), and the י becomes quiescent; e.g., with the pl. cst. state יְמֵי one finds מִיְמֵי , as one has $\text{בְּיַמֵּי, בְּיַמֵּי, לְיַמֵּי}$ (§ b), and probably on the analogy of these forms; with יְהוֹנָדָה we find מִיְהוֹנָדָה .

2) With a guttural (even ח) virtual gemination hardly occurs; we therefore find ־ , in open syllables, e.g. מִן־חֹדֶשׁ *since (the) month*. We find virtual gemination with ח in מִחוּץ *outside* (comp. חָצֵה, חָצֵה), מִהֵוֶה (comp. לְהֵוֶה, בְּהֵוֶה , § 79 s), מִחוּט Gn 14.23† (comp. חֹט *the string*). N.B. The divine name יְהוָה is pronounced יְהוָה־ , so that we have $\text{מִיְהוָה} = \text{מִיְהוָה־}$; with יְהוָה־ * we should read מִיְהוָה־ * (§ 16 f).

N.B. We fairly often meet the poetic form מִנֵּי (§ 93 q), e.g., Jdg 5.14; Is 46.3; especially in Job (19 x) and Psalms (8 x); twice ־מִנֵּי Is

30.11 (why?). Comp. **מִיָּמִי** *from me* (with suffix of the 1st pers.), § *h*. On the inflection of **מִן**, see § *h*.

(1) See Polzin, p. 66, and Qimron, *Hebrew of DSS*, pp. 30f.

(2) For a (possibly full) list of exceptions to the rule that the full form of the preposition **מִן** is used when followed by the definite article, see A. Sperber in *JBL* 62 (1943) 141-43 [= *Hist. Gram.*, pp. 4f.].

(3) Cp. § 18 *m*: **לְמִשְׁפַּחַת**, **מִן־לְרִיבֵי**. With doubling: **מִיִּשְׁנֵי** Dn 12.2, **מִיִּרְשָׁתְךָ** 2Ch 20.11.

e **Inflection of the prepositions** (Paradigm 20). The prepositions, which are considered as nouns, take the suffixes in analogous fashion⁽¹⁾. The suffixes of the prepositions are generally those of the nouns; however there are a fair number of exceptions, especially with the primitive prepositions. With some of these prepositions, in the 2nd fem. sing. and the 1st pl., we have **־** instead of the **־** of the noun. In the 2nd feminine sg. we have **מִן־** (primitive form *la*, § *b*), which contrasts with **מִן־** and (prob. following **מִן־**) **מִן־**, **מִן־**, **מִן־** (cf. **מִן־** and **מִן־**, § 102 *k*); but we have **מִן־** and **מִן־** (**מִן־**, § 102 *k*). The pausal form of the 2nd m. takes **מִן־** (**מִן־**, **מִן־**, **מִן־**, **מִן־**, **מִן־**) whilst in the noun it takes **מִן־** (on the analogy of **מִן־** nouns, § 94 *c*). In the 1st pl., unlike **מִן־**, we find **מִן־** and (probably following **מִן־**) **מִן־**, **מִן־**, **מִן־**; but we also find **מִן־** (**מִן־**, **מִן־**, **מִן־**). In the 3rd pl. the prepositions generally have the suffix **מִן־** like the nouns (**מִן־**); but a number of prepositions take, some exclusively and some alternatively, the suffix **מִן־**. We find **מִן־**, **מִן־** (both in a single verse, Lv 11.43); **מִן־**; **מִן־** (*seré*, § *c*, n. 3); **מִן־**, **מִן־**; **מִן־** occurs less often than **מִן־**⁽²⁾.

Most prepositions take the suffixes in the manner of the singular noun, some (§ *l*) in the manner of the plural noun.

Among the prepositions which take the suffixes in the manner of the singular noun, those which have a more nominal character do not usually present any irregularity. Thus **מִן־** *opposite, against* takes suffixes exactly like **מִן־**: **מִן־**, **מִן־**, **מִן־**, **מִן־** etc., § 96 *A c*; likewise abs. **מִן־*** (in **מִן־**), **מִן־** *against, across, for*: **מִן־** (once **מִן־**), **מִן־** (compare **מִן־**, § 96 *A i*), **מִן־** etc.⁽³⁾

The primitive prepositions, however, present numerous peculiarities. We shall classify these prepositions in the following order: **ל** and **ב**, **כ**; **מִן**, **עִם**; **אִתְּךָ** *with*, **אִתְּךָ** as accusative particle.

(1) Rarely in the manner of a verb, e.g. **מִן־** 2Sm 22.37,40,48 (but in the parallel

Ps 18.37,40,48 (תַּחֲתַי תַּחֲתֵנָּה Gn 2.21; בְּעֵרְנִי Ps 139.11 here not only in pause as in the preceding examples, but also rhyming with יִשְׁפִּנֵנִי.

(2) אֶתְּהֵן, however, far outnumbers אֶתְּן — 13 : 1 (besides אֶתְּנָה twice). In addition, forms which are most likely due to analogy, such as אֶתְּכֶם, אֶתְּהֶם, and אֶתְּהֵן, occur once each. Andersen and Forbes (AF, p. 189) hold that more cases of defectively spelled אֶתְּכֶם etc. could conceal the analogical form אֶתְּכֶם etc. But given the fact that the force of paradigmatic analogy would have favoured אֶתְּכֶם etc., it is striking that the majority of cases are pointed as אֶתְּכֶם etc. The latter, therefore, is likely to have preserved an authentic form.

(3) The alternation in vowel pattern between בְּעֵרְ, -בְּעֵרְ, and -בְּעֵרְ (which is basically *־בְּעֵרְ) is analogous to that between תְּחַרְרְ, -תְּחַרְרְ, and -תְּחַרְרְ: Blau, *Heb. Phonology and Morphology*, p. 215.

Inflection of לְ and בְּ (Paradigm 20). Although the primitive form of בְּ was most likely *bi, this preposition almost has the same inflection as לְ, the primitive form of which is la (but cf. § b). The pausal forms לְךָ and בְּךָ of the masc. are similar to the contextual (and pausal) forms of the feminine. In the plural, the primitive form la appears: לְנֵי, לְכֶם, לְהֶם; and probably on the analogy of these forms, we have בְּנֵי, בְּכֶם, בְּהֶם alongside בְּם⁽¹⁾. The poetic form לְמוֹ⁽²⁾, which is frequent (about 50 times) for לְהֶם, is also used, but very rarely, as a pausal form, for לוֹ: Is 44.15; probably Gn 9.26,27; perh. Dt 33.2; Is 53.8. Rare spellings: לְכָה⁽³⁾, בְּכָה; we sometimes find לוֹ wrongly spelled לא (and vice versa); instead of לְהֶם the massorah prescribes לְהֶם (with ה rafé) in Nu 32.42; Zech 5.11; Ru 2.14 (before a mil'el word in all three cases); cf. § 25 a.

(1) בְּהֶם is appreciably more common in LBH than בְּם. In MH the former far outnumbers the latter.

(2) Compare עָלָיו on him, § m. n.

(3) Similar to לְכָה come (impv. לְךָ with paragogic ה).

Inflection of כְּ (Paradigm 20). The primitive form *ka (§ b) occurs in all the forms. With the heavy suffixes⁽¹⁾ we have the simple *ka: כְּכֶם, כְּהֶם (šeré), כְּהֵנָּה. With the light suffixes, *ka is augmented by the pronoun *mā (§ 37 b), hence כְּמוֹ, a form which is also often used, without suffixes, in poetry⁽²⁾. The form כְּמוֹ was no doubt created in order to avoid certain confusions: in the 1st pers. sg. כִּי* could be confused with the conjunction כִּי, in the 3rd pers. sg. כִּי* with the adverb כִּי thus. The כְּ of כְּמוֹ can probably be explained in terms of the need to

separate the two vowels in **kāmōn-ī*: recourse was taken to ך, which occurs in the verbal suffix ך.

(1) Compare the double theme with light suffixes and heavy suffixes in מְלִכִּים, מְלִכִּי, § 96 A b, n.

(2) It is no doubt due to the analogy of the frequent מְ (56 x) that the rare poetic forms מְ (9 x) and מְ (4 x) were created. With the poetic מְ, which has an extra syllable, compare the forms of French *avecque* and *avecques* used by poets. These מְ forms have sometimes been cited as cases of the so-called enclitic Mem, e.g. H.D. Hummel, *JBL* 76 (1957) 96; one serious problem with such a suggestion is the difficulty in identifying the nature of the vowel preceding or following the Mem.

h **Inflection of ך (Paradigm 20).** The simple form occurs with the heavy suffixes: מְ, מְ, מְ. With the light suffixes we have a form with repeated ך, e.g. מְ, מְ. These forms are variously explained. The most plausible explanation seems to be that the simple form *min* was reinforced by total repetition⁽¹⁾, hence *minmin* > *mimmin*. Before the suffix *hu*, *mimmin* + *hu* became מְ (2), hence in the 1st pers. מְ. Before the suffix *ka*, *mimmin* + *ka* became מְ, a pausal form from which the contextual form מְ was obtained (probably on the analogy of מְ, מְ; מְ, מְ). In the 1st pers. sg. one finds in poetry the rare form (4 x) מְ (3), in pause מְ (6 x).

(1) The examples of reinforcing through repetition are not rare in languages. In Fr. *dedans* the preposition *de* is found twice, for *dans* comes from *de* + *ans* (*ens*) = Lat. *de* + *intus*. In Old Italian one often finds, e.g., "*in nell'arca di Noè*." Compare the reduplicated form מְ waters of, § 98 e.

(2) The "Orientals" vocalise the form differently for "from us": מְ. This explanation of the doubled /n/ can apply to such forms as מְ, מְ and מְ.

(3) This is exactly the form of Arabic *minni* (with doubling of *n*). We also have the poetic form מְ for ך, § d (end).

i **Inflection of ך with (Paradigm 20).** There is always gemination of the ך before the suffixes. These suffixes are exactly those of ך. The vowel ך in מְ, מְ is probably due to the analogy of מְ and מְ (§ e); likewise for מְ and מְ. Alongside this last form, which occurs especially in the late books (Ezr, Ne, Ch)⁽¹⁾, we find the more usual form מְ. Besides מְ we find the equally frequent form מְ, variously explained⁽²⁾.

(1) מְ is extremely rare in MH, whereas the longer מְ is the usual form in LBH and MH. See Ec 10.9 where both מְ and מְ occur for the sake of stylistic variation.

(2) Cf. P. Joüon in *MUSJ* 5 (1911) 395: explained by מְ + מְ next to my side, near

me, with me.

Inflection of תְּאִי with (Paradigm 20). With maqqef: \neg תְּאִי, § 13 *b*. We always find gemination of the ת before the suffixes. The inflection of תְּאִי is very similar to that of the synonymous אִי(1); however, against אִי־נָא we find תְּאִי־נָא with shewa (perh. due to the influence of אִי־נָא). Instead of \neg , in the 2nd f.sg., we find \neg in תְּאִי־נָא Is 54.10 (perh. because of the preceding \neg or the conjunctive accent).

Instead of the forms of the preposition תְּאִי *with* we often find forms of the accusative particle תְּאִי (§ *k*). The confusion(2), which is due to the resemblance of the forms, is an ancient one. One finds forms with 'תְּאִי and 'תְּאִי especially in the books of Kings (1Kg 20 — 2Kg 8), Jeremiah and Ezekiel, e.g. 'תְּאִי *with me* Josh 14.12; תְּאִי *with them* 2Kg 6.16 (following the correct תְּאִי־נָא!); תְּאִי *from (with) him* 8.8; תְּאִי *with you* 1Kg 22.24 (following the correct תְּאִי־נָא!). This erroneous use may have originated with the forms of תְּאִי־נָא in those cases where the value of תְּאִי is weakened and where נָא alone would have sufficed.

The preposition תְּאִי *with* is extremely rare in late books such as Esth, Ezr, Dn, and Ch, occurring a mere 13 times in these books out of the over 900 instances in the OT. It has entirely gone out of use in MH. Aramaic influence is most likely, since Aramaic uses only אִי in the sense of *with* of association.

(1) For the synonymy of the two prepositions, see Jdg 7.4 הִלַּלְתָּ לֵאלֹהֵינוּ ... אִי־נָא אִי־נָא אִי־נָא; 1Sm 26.6 אִי־נָא אִי־נָא אִי־נָא ... אִי־נָא אִי־נָא אִי־נָא. More examples in Bendavid, 1.29.

(2) SH and Babylonian Heb. alone keep the two apart: SH—/at/ and /itt-/ *with*, but /it/ and /ūt-/ *nota accusativi* (Ben-Hayyim, *LOT*, vol. 5, p. 242); Bab.— /'itt/ or /'et/ and /itt-/ *with*, but /'et/ and /'ot-/ or /'ethem/ (Yeivin, *Babylonian Tradition*, pp. 1120-25).

The *nota accusativi* for the preposition occurs 61 times in all, only in late books (Kg 17x; Jer 17x; Ez 21x; 2nd Is 2x): Sh. Morag, art. cit. [§ 38, n. 6], p. 129. He further thinks (pp. 138-41) that the usages in Ez and 2nd Is are Akkadianisms, and those in Jer and Kg Aramaisms. Both, of course, can be put down to Aramaisms, if outside influence is to be sought, though the *nota acc.* is of rather infrequent occurrence in contemporary Aramaic documents.

Sperber (*Hist. Gram.*, pp. 63-65) presents a classification of a large number of plausible examples of confusion of the two prepositions according to verbs and some other phraseological criteria.

Inflection of תְּאִי, particle of the accusative (Paradigm 20). With maqqef: \neg תְּאִי, § 13 *b*. This particle תְּאִי, exponent of the accusative (§ 125 *e*), takes the same suffixes as the preposition תְּאִי. Undoubtedly

this was initially used with the pronouns in order to give them the value of the accusative (§ 61 a); subsequently it was used with the nouns. The primitive Hebrew form is **āt* with a long *ā*(¹), but it can be shortened(²).

With the long vowel *ā*, the form becomes *אִי־א*, written more often *אִי־א* (*defective*)(³). This long form occurs with the light suffixes(⁴): *אִי־א*, *אִי־א* etc.

Before the heavy suffixes **āt* is shortened to **at*, which, through another attenuating process becomes *ʿet*, e.g. *אֶת־א*(⁵). This same form occurs with maqgef, namely in very close juncture: *אֶת־א*. In less close juncture, the particle is stressed, and as a consequence *אֶת־א* becomes *אֶת־א*(⁶). The vowel *e* (ֶ, ֵ) may have been influenced by the preposition *אֶת־א*, *אֶת־א* with: here the vowel goes back to *e*, cf. Akk. *itti* "with."

In the 3rd pl. we have *אֶת־א* rather than *אֶת־א*(⁷), but *אֶת־א* is more frequent than *אֶת־א* (§ e, n. 2). The forms of the exponent of the accusative often occur with the sense of the preposition *אֶת־א* with (cf. § j). In contrast, Aquila, identifying the two particles, translates the exponent of the accusative with *σύν*!(⁸)

N.B. The origin and the meaning of the particle **āt* are controversial(⁹). It is probably an old substantive with vague meaning. One could postulate the sense of *thing*, and associate the word with the root *אִי־א* to *desire*. In Semitic languages many words for *will*, *desire* take on the meaning of *thing*, e.g. LBH and MH *אֶת־א*, Arb. *šay'*, Syr. *švutā*. The word **āt*, having lost its original sense(¹⁰), has been turned into a grammatical function word(¹¹).

(1) Compare the long *a* of the parallel form in BA *אֶת־א* (Dn 3.12 *אֶת־א* *them*†) and Targumic Aramaic.

(2) Compare the long form *אֶת־א* and the short forms *אֶת־א* and *אֶת־א* of the pronoun **ma*, § 37b.

(3) 1031 cases against 357: AF, pp. 189-91. See also Barr, *Spellings*, pp. 158-61.

(4) Law of equilibrium; cf. § 96 A b, n.

(5) Compare the weakening of *a* to *e* in *אֶת־א*, § 29 e.

(6) This *ֶ* is therefore found to be derived indirectly from *a*!

(7) Compare, e.g. *אֶת־א* rather than *אֶת־א*, § 94 g, n. 1.

(8) Since *σύν*, where Aquila uses it to render the nota accusativi, does not mean "together with," it cannot be defended by the supposition that it is akin to its adverbial use as in Homeric Greek.

(9) On the etymology of the particle, see Muraoka, *Emphatic*, p. 147, n. 116.

(10) The use of *אֶת־א* etc. with reflexive force (§ 146 k) indicates, however, that the original force had not entirely disappeared.

(11) One may compare the often pleonastic use of *šān* "thing" in Egyptian Arabic, e.g. *'alā šān kaḏā* "because of this, that is why" (comp. עַל־כֵּן), *'alā šān inno* "in order that it"

Inflection of the prepositions which take suffixes in the manner of the plural noun. Amongst such prepositions there are those which are genuine plurals like בְּיָנוֹת , בְּיָבוֹת , or merely appear to be plural like תַּחֲתַי , תַּחֲתֵי , or their ' belongs to the root (עַל , עַד , לְאֵ)(¹). Of these prepositions, which are seven in number, בְּיָ is not treated as a plural noun except when it takes the plural suffixes. Since the inflection of these prepositions presents no difficulty, the paradigm gives only the inflection of עַל , עַד (similar to עַל), לְאֵ (the vowel of which may vary), and בְּיָ .

(1) Note Arb. *'ilā* and *'alā* each spelled with a final Yod (Yā') on the one hand, and Akk. *eli* "upon" and *adi* "until" on the other.

A. Prepositions with "ל" root: עַל , עַד , לְאֵ (Paradigm 20).

עַל on (almost always with maqqef, § 13 b). The radical ' is preserved in the frequent poetic form עַלִּי . In prestress open syllables we find, e.g. עַלִּי , in ante-prestress syllables, e.g. עַלִּי־כֶם . The poetic form עַלִּי־מֹו Dt 32.23 etc. *on them* does seem to be used in the sense of *on him* in Job 20.23; 22.2; 27.23; comp. מֹו־לִי for לִי , § f.

עַד till (nearly always with maqqef, § 13 b)(¹). The radical ' is preserved in the rare poetic form עַדִּי . The inflection of עַד is similar to that of עַל (²).

לְאֵ towards, to (nearly always with maqqef, § 13 b). The radical ' is preserved in the extremely rare (4 x) poetic form לְאֵי . In prestress open syllables we find, e.g. לְאֵי , in ante-prestressed syllables, e.g. לְאֵי־כֶם (not לְאֵי , § 21 i)(³).

(1) The force of עַד is often pregnant, e.g. Jdg 19.26 "Then came the woman in the dawning of the day, and fell down at the door ... till it was light," namely "she remained there fallen till ..." or 1Ch 5.26 "he carried them away ... and brought them to Halah ... and the river Gozan to this day," i.e. they are still there.

(2) Two anomalous forms: עַדִּי־כֶם Job 32.12 (instead of עַדִּי), עַד־הֵם 2Kg 9.18.

(3) With the heavy suffixes of the 2nd and 3rd pers. pl., defective spellings such as לְאֵי־כֶם (but not לְאֵי־כֶם) are rather common: 136 out of 419 instances, though far less so in עַל (15/523): AF, pp. 171f., and see also Barr, *Spellings*, pp. 134-37, 179f. In the Pentateuch לְאֵי־כֶם etc. are more common (92: 52), also all 15 cases of עַלִּי־כֶם are confined

to the Pentateuch. This is striking in view of the extreme rarity (47/7305) of the comparable defective orthography in nouns, as in גוֹיִקָּה or יִדְּכָם .

The usual short form לָא is due to the process of backformation expressible by the following proportion:

$$\begin{array}{l} \text{גִּיָּה} : \text{גַּי} \\ \text{ergo } x = \text{לָא} \end{array} = \text{אֲלֵי} : x$$

The same is true of עַל and עָר .

B. Other prepositions: אַחֲרֵי, בֵּין, סָבִיב, תַּחַת.

אַחֲרֵי *after, behind*. The form אַחֲרֵי (§ 20 c) is not used with suffixes; one uses the form אַחֲרָי , which is probably a pseudo-plural (by analogy with the antonym לְפָנָי *before*), e.g. אַחֲרָי , אַחֲרֵיכֶם etc.

בֵּין *between, amongst* (Paradigm 20) is the cst. state of a non-existent בֵּינֵי *, the meaning of which is *distinction, interval*. With the suffixes for the singular we have the form בֵּינֵי : בֵּינֵי , בֵּינֵי , בֵּינֵי , בֵּינֵי (Gn 30.36; Lv 26.46†), instead of which the Qre of Josh 3.4; 8.11† prescribes בֵּינָיו , a form which along with בֵּינֵי Gn 16.5 (hapax) is almost certainly corrupt⁽¹⁾. With the suffixes for the plural we find the form בֵּינָי , which is probably a pseudo-plural [on the analogy of עַלֵּי etc.⁽²⁾] and בֵּינֹת , which is a genuine plural⁽³⁾. For בֵּין...לְ , cf. § 133 d.

סָבִיב *around*. The sing. סָבִיב is still employed as a substantive in 1Ch 11.8†, as well as the two plurals סָבִיבִים * Jer 32.44; 33.13† and סָבִיבוֹת (frequent). With the suffixes one finds only the two plurals, whether in the sense of the substantive *surroundings* or in the sense of the preposition *around*. Practically speaking, one may say: for *around* with a noun, סָבִיבוֹת (20 x) and סָבִיבֵל (12 x) are favoured, but סָבִיבֵי never occurs. For *around* with a pronoun סָבִיבוֹת is almost always used, very rarely סָבִיבֵי Ps 50.3; 97.2; Lam 1.17†; thrice סָבִיב לָהּ Na 3.8, Ps 125.2, and Ct 3.7.

תַּחַת *under*. With the suffixes the form is always⁽⁴⁾ תַּחְתָּי , which is a pseudo-plural; thus תַּחְתָּיִנו , for example, on the analogy of the antonym עַלְלֵינוּ ⁽⁵⁾. For the rare and anomalous forms with suffixes in the manner of the verb, cf. § e, n.

(1) See H.M. Orlinsky in *HUCA* 17 (1942-43) 278-81.

(2) Comp. the *e* of the suffixes of nouns deriving from לִי roots, § 94 b and the relevant note there.

(3) בֵּינֹת without suffixes in the absolute state in Ez 10.7 $\text{מִבֵּינֹת לְפָרוּבִים}$ *between the cherubim*.

For a critique of the commonly held view that $\text{בֵּינֵנוּ וּבֵינֵיהֶם}$ (e.g., Gn 26.28) is inclusive, namely "amongst us", whereas $\text{בֵּינֵינוּ וְבֵינֵיהֶם}$ is exclusive, anticipating another group such as "between us and them," see J. Barr, "Some notes on *ben* 'between' in Classic. Heb.," *JSS* 23 (1978) 1-22; and G. Haneman, *Leš* 40 (1975) 44f., where it is shown that $\text{בֵּינֵנוּ ... בֵּינֵיהֶם}$ is typical of Classical BH, and לֹ- ... בֵּינֵנוּ of LBH.

(4) The only exceptions occur with the 3m.pl. suf., מִתְּחִלָּה (Dt 2.12 and 10 more times) as against מִתְּחִלָּתָם (5 x), in relation to which note a common preference for the shorter ending (§ 94 g, 103 e, k with n. 7). On four cases of Ktiv תַּחְתּוֹ as cases of archaic defective spelling, see H.M. Orlinsky, *HUCA* 17 (1942-43) 269-77.

(5) Cf. בֵּינֵנוּ above, and the preceding note 2.

§ 104. Conjunction.

The simple conjunctions are few in number. The principal ones are: **Coordinating** (or: **juxtaposing**): וְ *and* (for the vocalisation, cf. § c; it is also used with a subordinating force, as we shall see in the section on the syntax of tenses, § 116); אֲוֹ *also*, אֲוֹ *also*; אִוֹ *or*.

Subordinating: אֲשֶׁר and שֶׁ , relative conjunctions in a broad sense of *that*, representing a stage before they became relative pronouns proper, §§ 38,145; כִּי *that* and various meanings: *when, if, because, but*; כִּי־עַל *in case, lest*; אִם *if*, לִי *if* (unreal), לֹא-לִי and לֹא-לִי אִם *if ... not*, Lat. *nisi*, § 29 h.

On the other hand, the subordinating conjunctions compounded with אֲשֶׁר and כִּי are quite numerous, e.g., אֲשֶׁר-לְעַן (32 x) *because* (also לְעַן only, 23 x); אֲשֶׁר-לְמַעַן *in order that* (frequent, and, as often, לְמַעַן only); אֲשֶׁר-כַּאֲשֶׁר *as, just as, when, because*; אֲשֶׁר-אַחֲרַי *after*, more frequent than אַחֲרַי אֲשֶׁר (very rarely just אַחֲרַי); אֲשֶׁר-עַד *until and before* (also just עַד); אֲשֶׁר-לְעִקְבֵי , לְעִקְבֵי כִּי (also just לְעִקְבֵי) *as a consequence of (recompense for), because* (cf. § 129 p-q).

It may be seen that a preposition, e.g., עַד , or a prepositional phrase such as לְמַעַן , can become a conjunction. The adverb עַד-בְּטוֹר *not yet* is also, though rarely, used as a conjunction *before*; but בְּטוֹר *before* is often used.

Vocalisation of וְ. The vocalisation of the conjunction וְ is largely similar to that of the prepositions בְּ , כִּי , and לְ (§ 103 b-c where similar cases with ו are mentioned); but the ו , a labial vocalic consonant, has some peculiarities. The primitive form is *wa*. There is a weak vocalisation (namely the shewa or its substitutes) and a vocalisation unique

to certain cases, which is *strong* (namely ֿ). Moreover, in the unique case of the inverted future *wayyiqtol*, there is a very forceful pronunciation (vowel *a* with doubling, whether real or virtual), which we discussed in § 47(1).

I. Weak vocalisation. Usually, and excepting the special cases enumerated below, the ו has a simple shewa, e.g. וְאֵי Gn 19.31; וְלֵא (always, except twice, § *d*, n. 1); with the verbal forms: וְקָטַלְתִּי and *I killed*, וְקָטַלְתִּי and *I shall kill*, וְקָמָה and *he will arise*, וְקָמָה and *may he arise*, so that he may arise, וְקָמָה and *I want to arise*, in order that I may arise, וְקָמָה and *arise!*. Before י , the ו takes the vowel *i* and the י becomes quiescent, e.g., with the cst. state pl. וְיָמֵי we find וְיָמֵי , with the jussive וְיָהִי we find וְיָהִי , § 79 s. Before a ḥaṭef (nuanced shewa) we find the short vowel of the nuance of ḥaṭef, e.g. וְצַבְדִּים , וְחֶלֶי and *a ring*, וְחֶלֶי and *an ailment*, וְאָכַל and *eat!*, וְאָמַר and *say!* (contr. וְאָמַר , § 103 b)(2). But with וְאֵלֵהֶם we find וְאֵלֵהֶם (like וְאֵלֵהֶם etc., § 103 b). With וְרָאָה the treatment of ו is similar to that of ב , ג , and ד , § 103 b. For the ו before the forms of the verbs וְהָיָה and וְהָיָה , cf. § 79 s, e.g. וְהָיָה , וְהָיָה . Before a consonant followed by shewa (except י) *w-* becomes *u*, e.g. וְדָבַר and *the word of ...*(3). Before the labial consonants (ב , ו [4], מ , and פ ; mnemonic word בּוּמָפּ) *w-* becomes *u*, e.g. *w-me'lēh > *w^ume'lēh > וְמֵלֶח . This rule, however, is overridden by the rule on the strong vocalisation of the conjunction (§ *d* below: e.g. וְמָת , and וְמָתֵם).

(1) Compare the vocalisation of the type וְבָמָה , § 37 *d*.

(2) In וְצַבְדִּים Job 4.2 there is secondary suppression of the ḥaṭef, cf. § 22 *d*.

(3) For the special case of the type וְהָיָה (instead of וְהָיָה *), cf. § 9 *c*.

(4) In fact, no example with ו , which is, moreover, extremely rare as an initial radical (cf. § 26 *f*).

d **II. Strong vocalisation**, namely ֿ . This *a*, which is the primitive vowel, does not exert any pressure on the following consonant, and consequently there is no gemination (as opposed to the *a* of the article *ha , the pronoun *ma and the form וְקָטַל). The strong vocalisation is used before the monosyllabic or disyllabic *mil'el* when they have an especially strong stress, namely in pause (major, and sometimes minor), sometimes in prepause. Examples: וְמָת Ex 21.12 (at the end of the protasis; here the accent ṭifḥa is a major disjunctive). But if the stress is weak, we find the weak vocalisation, e.g. vs. 20 וְמָת (in the middle

of the protasis; here the accent *ṭifḥa* is a minor disjunctive as usual). Example with a *mil'el* disyllable: וּמְתַנְּנִי 2Kg 7.4 (in the same verse we even find וּמְתַנְּנִי in minor prepause [zaqef], but at the end of an apodosis)(1). The strong vocalisation is particularly frequent when two analogous words are closely(2) associated and form a group, e.g. וְהָיָה וּבָהוּ Gn 1.2; always וּמֵימַי וְלִקְחֵם and וּמֵימַי וְלִקְחֵם; יוֹם וְלַיְלָה Gn 8.22; בְּזָקָב וְזָקָב Ex 25.3; כֹּה וְכֹה Ex 2.12; אִישׁ-וְאִישׁ Esth 1.8, but אִישׁ וְאִישׁ Ps 87.5 in minor pause; in a series of three words: חָפַח וְחָפַח וְחָפַח Is 24.17 (prepause and pause); Ez 2.10; in a sequence of four words: צָבָה וְנָבָה וְנָבָה וְנָבָה Gn 13.14 (here probably for the sake of emphasis). In Gn 8.22 eight nouns are grouped into four pairs, each consisting of two nouns, whilst each pair is linked to the next by ׀, and within each pair (except the first) the two constituent nouns are joined by ׀.

One can see that the strong vocalisation of ׀, like that of כּ. כּ. and לְ, § 103 c, is of rhythmic nature. Note that before the demonstratives, ׀ has the weak vocalisation (הַזֶּה, הַזֶּה, הַזֶּה) whilst the three prepositions have the strong vocalisation. One should also note that with a word such as קוּמ׃ we find וּקוּמ׃ and *arise!*, although לְקוּמ׃ occurs.

(1) We always find וּיְיָ, except once וּיְיָ 2Kg 10.15 forming a protasis: "if it is it." We always find אֲלֵי except twice אֲלֵי 2Sm 13.26; 2Kg 5.17 forming a protasis "since it is not" (§ 167 o).

(2) Not necessarily in a semantic sense; cf. E.R. Revell. *HAR* 5 (1981) 76-84. An amply illustrated and more detailed classification of the conjunction ׀ vocalised with *gameš* may be found in Sperber, *Hist. Gram.*, pp. 582-86.

§. 105. Interjection

The interjections are words of emotion. The simplest interjections are pure words of emotion, cries or onomatopoeic sounds. The others are words expressing a more or less precise notion with a nuance of emotion. Lastly, any word used with a special nuance of emotion can take on an interjectional value. An imperative can become pure interjection, like Fr. *tiens!* [= *Here (you) are, well!, Hello!*]; such is the case for הֵאָרָה, § d, הֵבֵרָה, § e, הֵלֵךְ, § e. Conversely, an interjection addressed to somebody can lose an affirmative like the imperative; such is the case for הֵיָ ssshhh!, *Silence!*; pl. הֵיָ Ne 8.11†, § b.

b Cry of joy: אָהֵ Ah! (9 x).

Cry of sorrow: אָהֵ Ah! (13 x)⁽¹⁾; אָהֵ Ez 30.2[?]; אָהֵ Ez 6.11; 21.20[†](2).

Cry of intimidation: וָהֵ vae! Woe (to the man who ...)(50 x); וָהֵ (22 x); וָהֵ Ps 120.5[†] (וָהֵ Ec 4.10; 10.16 is ?); וָהֵ Mi 7.1; Job 10.15[†]. Cf. § 162 d.

Cry for demanding silence שָׁהֵ, שָׁהֵ ssch!, Silence!; pl. שָׁהֵ Ne 8.11[†], § a end.

(1) We find the element אָהֵ in אָהֵ, § c. The interjection אָהֵ is generally followed by a vocative, ordinarily וָהֵ וָהֵ.

(2) אָהֵ is probably present in וָהֵ Ps 119.5 (a disjunctive accent) *would that!* and וָהֵ 2Kg 5.3 (a conjunctive accent) *Oh! if...* The second element is probably corrupted from the conjunction וָהֵ *if*. The word could then be an exclamatory conjunction (cf. § 163 c).

c Entreating interjection אָהֵ. This word, which occurs only after another word, is nearly always preceded by a maqqef, § 13 b. It is mostly used for the purpose of adding a usually weak entreating nuance, which is roughly equivalent to a stressed and lengthened *Please* in English⁽¹⁾. One can sometimes render אָהֵ by *I beg (you), For pity's sake!*⁽²⁾ (which corresponds more to אָהֵ), and sometimes by the emphatic *Do* prefixed to an imperative as in "Do come!"; in certain cases, and notably when it is used in a rather loose fashion, אָהֵ must not be translated. The entreating particle is highly frequent with the volitive moods (imperative, cohortative and jussive). In the cohortative, alongside cases where the entreating sense is evident (because the action willed by the speaker depends on the will of others, e.g. Nu 20.17 אָהֵ-הָרָבֵעַ "we wish to pass, *if you please*"), there are cases where the אָהֵ is used in a rather loose manner and hardly adds anything other than a forceful nuance, e.g. Ex 3.3 אָהֵ-הָרָבֵעַ *I wish to go forward*; Nu 16.26; 20.10⁽³⁾. In אָהֵ-אָהֵ of a conditional protasis, the entreating nuance, which logically affects the apodosis containing the request, is anticipated⁽⁴⁾, e.g., Gn 33.10 *"I beg you, if I found favour in your eyes, you may care to accept my offering."* In the frequent אָהֵ-הָרָבֵעַ *here, look! (I beg you)*, הָרָבֵעַ draws attention to what one is going to say, and אָהֵ begs the hearer to pay attention to the thing announced by הָרָבֵעַ and (through anticipation⁽⁵⁾) to look favourably upon the request that follows, which often contains a second אָהֵ: e.g., Gn 16.2 roughly means "Now, look here,

I beg you," and Gn 19.2 "*Listen, I beg you*" (here אָנ־הִנֵּה is immediately followed by the request).

The reinforced entreating אָנֵּן (7 x), אָנֵּן (6 x) *ah!*, *For pity's sake!* is composed of the element אָנֵּן*, which we have in אָנֵּן *ah!* § b, and אָנֵּן. Sometimes the word is *mil'ra*, but some other times it has two accents (probably because the two elements of the word were still felt as distinct components).

אָנֵּן is an entreating interjection in the special sense of *Pardon!*, *Excuse me!* The fact that we find אָנֵּן solely before אָנֵּן (7 x) and אָנֵּן (5 x) already indicates that this is mainly a term of politeness. It is used with the strong nuance in Nu 12.11 in order to beg forgiveness for an offence; elsewhere always in a weakened sense, like our *Pardon me!*: in order to excuse oneself for doing something as in Ex 4.10,13; Jdg 6.15; in order to excuse oneself for what one is going to say as in Josh 7.8; Jdg 6.13; 13.8; in order to excuse oneself for addressing a person of distinction as in Gn 43.20; 44.18; 1Sm 1.26; 1Kg 3.17.26+(6).

(1) But cf. M. Bar-Magen, "The word אָנֵּן in BH" [Heb], *Beth Mikra* 25 (1980) 163-71.

(2) But without characteristic nuance of *politeness*. Thus Eli says אָנֵּן-הִלֵּל to his servant 1Kg 18.43, and simply אָנֵּן to the king (v. 41). God uses אָנֵּן in speaking to Abraham Gn 13.14; to Moses Ex 4.6, 11.2; to Isaiah Is 7.3.

(3) Rabin holds that the particle was originally identical with the element /-na/ of the second energetic in Arabic, /yaqtulanna/: C. Rabin, *The Meanings of the Grammatical Forms in Biblical and Modern Hebrew* [Heb.] (Jerusalem, 1971), p. 28.

(4) Compare the anticipation of אָנֵּן Ex 32.31 and particularly Dn 9.4 (the request coming only in vs. 16).

(5) See the immediately preceding note.

(6) אָנֵּן therefore has a sense totally different from אָנֵּן. It does not mean: *for pity's sake I beg you*, as it is usually translated. The sense *Pardon!*, *excuse me!* is in favour of the explanation according to which אָנֵּן would be elliptical for "(the fault is) *upon me*," "I am to blame," which amounts to asking for forgiveness. Note that we never find in Hebrew an expression corresponding to the notion of *begging pardon*; for that one says "I have sinned" (cf. Ehrlich, *Randglossen* ad Ex 9.27).

In order to attract attention one uses the presentative adverb הִנֵּה *d* *Behold!*, *Look!*, often reinforced by the interjection אָנֵּן *I beg you*: אָנֵּן הִנֵּה אָנֵּן, § b. Frequent use is also made of the imperative אָנֵּן *look!*, e.g. Gn 27.27; 31.50; 41.41; Ex 7.1; 31.2; 33.12; 2Sm 15.3; even when addressing several people(1)(therefore = *here it is!*) Dt 1.8.

(1) Comp. Fr. *tiens!* even when addressing several people or a person addressed politely with *vous*.

e In order to **incite** and **encourage** one uses especially the imperative הָבֵרָה *Come!*, *Come on*, e.g. Gn 31.44; 37.13; even when speaking to a woman as in Gn 19.32; in the fem. הָבֵרָה 1Kg 1.12; in the plural הָבֵרוּ Gn 37.20; 1Sm 9.9 (cf. § 177 f). In Genesis and Exodus we find five times the imperative הָבֵרָה (from the unused verb בָּרַח * to *give*, § 75 k) in the interjectional sense of *Come on!* In four examples someone is addressing more than one person (Gn 11.3,4,7; Ex 1.10). In Gn 38.16 we have אֲנִי־הָבֵרָה in the sense of *Allow me, I beg you*, where a woman is being addressed.

f In order to express a **wish** one uses אֵי־חַוָּה , אֵי־חַוָּה *ah!*, *if*, La. *utinam* (= *would that!*) (§ b, n.), יִי־יְיָ (cf. § 163 d)(¹). For a **negative wish** or **rejection** (Lat. *absit*), we find הֲלֵי־יָקִי , § 93 h, the primary meaning of which is probably *profanation!* (cf. § 165 k).

אֵי־חַוָּה (2 x) seems to be a dialectal form having, like יִי־יְיָ , the sense of *ah!*, *if* Job 34.36 and of *if* (unreal) 2Kg 5.13.

(1) For the special wish *so be it* one has the verbal adjective יִי־יְיָ *Amen!*, *I wish that it were true!* This word is always used, in the Old Testament, to express wishes; likewise in the rabbinic literature (cf. Dalman, *Grammatik* [§ 29 g], p. 243), in the Apocalypse of John (except 3.14), but not in the Gospels.

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PAUL JOÜON, S.J.

A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew

Translated and Revised
by
T. MURAOKA

Volume II

Part Three: Syntax
Paradigms and Indices

Reprint of First Edition, with Corrections



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PART THREE

SYNTAX⁽¹⁾

CHAPTER I: TENSES AND MOODS

§ 111⁽²⁾. General observations

- a **Preliminary observation.** The question of tenses and moods, which is both the most important and the most difficult in Hebrew syntax, was neglected by ancient grammarians. Some exegetes and translators, mainly among the ancients, seem to have had only the faintest notions on the subject; they were guided in their translations more by a kind of intuition than by a precise knowledge of the value of the forms. A particularly bold suggestion has even been put forward that temporal forms, especially in poetry, are used in a rather haphazard fashion⁽³⁾. Whilst no doubt there are in our Massoretic text, and mainly in the poetic sections, many forms which are difficult and even impossible to explain satisfactorily, there are on the other hand, in the passages of good narrative prose in particular, a considerable number of instances where the proper value of temporal forms can be seen clearly enough. From these clear examples we shall endeavour to deduce the principles which can guide us in the explanation of more or less difficult cases. When one attempts to solve these difficulties, one ought to bear in mind the following points. The use of tenses is not subject to absolutely rigid rules; in Hebrew, as in any language, a writer enjoys a certain grammatical freedom. In poetry the choice of a particular form may not always be dictated by grammatical considerations, but, for instance, by some metrical necessity. A form which originally has a very precise meaning may come to lose this meaning as a result of too frequent or too wide a use; such a use may even become mechanical, as it were. Finally, here more than anywhere else, the possibility of slight

alterations in the Massoretic text must not be ruled out, for even the smallest graphic change can alter the nature of a form entirely.

(1) The order which has been adopted for the exposition of the Syntax is one which seems to reconcile fairly well logic with practical necessity. First comes the most important and difficult question, namely that of the **tenses** and **moods** of the verb (chap. I). Chap. II contains everything that concerns **cases**, beginning with the *verbal case*, the accusative. The sections on the accusative, on the genitive, and the apposition have been put together in the same chapter in order to make comparison easier. The **preposition** is connected on the one hand with the object of the verb (accusative), and on the other hand with the object of the noun (genitive). After the **noun** (chap. IV) and the **pronoun** (chap. V), chap. VI contains everything about **agreement**. Finally, after the long chapter on **clauses** (chap. VII), chap. VIII completes what has been said about the **conjunction** ו, that king-pin of the Hebrew sentence.

(2) The Syntax begins with § 111, a number which the reader, when using the Indices, will easily remember.

(3) Another point which ought to be borne in mind is that the typical BH tense system must be considered primarily a feature of a well-established literary idiom. The day-to-day prose form, let alone the spoken idiom, was most likely somewhat different, as evidenced by Arad inscriptions, e.g. Inscription no. 16 (from around 600 B.C.): lines 3f. כצאתי מביתך ושלחתי את הכסף as *I left your house, I sent the money*.

On the position of the Hebrew verbal system within the general Semitic(-Hamitic) group, see an instructive survey covering studies up to about 1972 by H. Fleisch, "Le verbe du sémitique commun. Les discussions à son sujet," *Semitica* 25 (1975) 5-18. On the Hebrew tense system in particular, a useful recent survey is *The Enigma of the Hebrew Verbal System: Solutions from Ewald to the Present Day* (Sheffield, 1982) by L. McFall; see also T.N.D. Mettinger, "The Heb. verb system," *Annual of the Swedish Theological Institute*, 9 (1973) 64-84. Waltke—O'Connor, who also have conducted an instructive survey, rightly complain that McFall's survey does not extend beyond 1954, thus ignoring some important works, particularly those on Ancient Canaanite: *BH Syntax*, p. 457.

b Terminology. No term in our languages can exactly and fully express the complex nature of the two finite **tenses** of Hebrew, the tense with affirmatives and the tense with both preformatives and affirmatives. Here, as in the section on Morphology, we shall use, 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 reality in the majority of cases. But as in syntax it is often necessary to avoid any ambiguity between a temporal form and the temporal notion which it expresses, we shall often designate temporal forms by proper nouns taken from the usual paradigm לָטוּל; we shall write *qatal* for perfect, *yiqtol* for future. As regards the forms with Waw, we shall in a similar

way speak of *wayyiqtol* instead of the inverted future, of *w-qatalti* instead of the inverted perfect; and likewise for the indirect volitive moods: *w-'eqtla* (cohortative), *uqtol* (imperative), *w-yiqtol* (jussive) or, more clearly, *w-yaqom*. For the sake of convenience it may also be possible to call the active participle *qotel*, the passive participle *qatul*; the infinitive absolute *qatol*, and the infinitive construct *qtol*.

Meaning of temporal forms. Hebrew temporal forms express at the same time tenses and moods of action. As in our languages, they mainly express tenses, namely the past⁽¹⁾, the future, and the present; but they often express them in a less complete way than in our languages because they also express certain moods of action, or aspects⁽²⁾. These aspects are 1) unity and plurality of action, according to whether the action is represented as unique and solitary, or repeated; 2) instantaneity and duration of action, according to whether the action is represented as being accomplished in one instant or over a more or less protracted period of time⁽³⁾. Obviously, these two aspects are analogous, and in fact they are generally expressed by the same forms⁽⁴⁾.

(1) It is noteworthy that Arabic grammarians call *māḍi* = *past* the *qatala* form, which corresponds to the Hebrew *qatal*. So indeed, for them, this temporal form expresses a tense.

(2) This term, which was borrowed from the grammar of Slavonic languages, where aspect plays an important part, has the advantage of being short. Cf. K. Brugmann, *Kurze vergleichende Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen* (Strassburg, 1904), pp. 493ff.; H.B. Rosén, "Aspects and tenses in BH," in *Fschr Biram* (eds H.Y. Gevaryahu, B. Luria, and Y. Mehlmann [Jerusalem, 1956]), pp. 205-18, and J. Kuryłowicz, "Verbal aspect in Semitic." *Or* 42 (1973) 114-20.

(3) This aspect is rather important in Greek: aorist for an instantaneous action, present for a continuous action.

(4) Compare the Fr. *encore*, which is used for the iteration and for the continuation of the action. A repeated action and a durative action may be compared with a sequence of dots (..... ..) and with an unbroken line (—————).

Some verbs have in themselves the instantaneous aspect or the durative aspect. Thus the action of *to find* אָצַף is instantaneous, while that of *to look for* שָׁקַף is durative. The verb דַּבֵּר *to speak* is durative, while אָמַר *to say* is instantaneous; thus in 2Sm 19.30 דַּבֵּר אֲנִי *you speak* and אָמַרְתִּי *I say (I order)* are used for the same tense (present). Some verbs can have one or the other aspect according to the nuances of their meaning and according to the circumstances. Thus the verb בִּוֵּן *to en-*

ter, to come, to arrive is sometimes treated according to the instantaneous aspect and sometimes according to the durative aspect. Examples with instantaneous aspect: כָּבַד Gn 27.30 (*to enter* a house), כָּבַד 1Sm 9.5 (*to enter* a country), הָשֶׁתַּח 2Sm 2.24 (*to set*, of the sun); examples with durative aspect: כָּבַד 1Sm 9.14 (*to enter* a city)⁽¹⁾. Likewise the antonym יָצָא *to go out, to depart* can have either aspect.

(1) Compare Jon 3.4 וַיֵּלֶךְ יוֹנָתָן לְנִינְוֶה "And Jonah began to go into (the huge city of Nineveh)."

e A repeated or continuous action can be represented in a global way, and then it is treated as if it were unique or instantaneous. Thus instead of הָשֶׁתַּח Job 1.5 "Job used to do so always," which represents the action as repeated (§ 113 *e*), הָשֶׁתַּח would mean *he did* (in a summarising and global way). Whereas the action of *to pay tribute* is represented as repeated in 2Kg 3.4 וַיִּשְׁלַם and *he used to pay*, it is represented in a global way in 17.3 וַיִּשְׁלַם and *he paid*. Other examples of repeated actions which are globally represented: 2Kg 16.4; 17.11; example of durative action represented as if it were instantaneous⁽¹⁾: Josh 10.9 הָלַךְ "he went up all night"; 1Kg 14.21 שָׁלַט "he reigned seventeen years"; cf. § 112 *d* end.

(1) Same phenomenon in Greek for the aorist; thus a sculptor can engrave on his work: ἐποίησεν ὁ δεινός.

f Attempts have been made to find in the choice of Hebrew tenses other kinds of aspects, especially that of *completed action* and of *incomplete action*. But this distinction, so important in Indo-European languages, does not explain the choice of tenses in Hebrew adequately⁽¹⁾.

(1) The fact that we do not appeal to this aspect in the explanation of the tenses (because it seems to us rather doubtful—and useless to one who accepts a true temporal value and the two aspects we have spoken of) does not mean however that we deny its existence in an earlier stage of the language. On the contrary, we believe that the past sense, which the *qatal* form has, probably comes from a perfect sense; cf. § 42 *a*. For a representative of an aspect theory as applied to BH, see F. Rundgren, *Das althebräische Verbum: Abriss der Aspektlehre* (Uppsala, 1961). An application of Rundgren's theory with integration of the dimension of discourse analysis may be found in M. Eskhult, *Studies in Verbal Aspect and Narrative Technique in Biblical Hebrew Prose* (Uppsala, 1990). See also P. Kustár, *Aspekt im Hebräischen* (Basel, 1972).

g Apart from aspects, certain temporal forms can slightly express some

moods which are usually expressed in our languages by semi-auxiliaries such as *can, must, will* (cf. § 113 l-n).

The distinction between **active** (of action) verbs and **stative** (of state) verbs (cf. § 41 a,b) is very important for the choice of tenses. On the other hand transitivity and intransitivity play no part in it. An action verb may be intransitive, e.g. *אָרָם* to arise; the verb *נָגַח* to touch is usually intransitive (it takes *בְּ, לְ, לְ*), seldom transitive. A stative verb may be transitive, e.g. *שָׁבַחְתָּ, שָׁבַחְתָּ* to be dressed, to don; *אָמַלְתָּ* to be full, to fill; *שָׁמַעְתָּ, שָׁמַעְתָּ* to hear is sometimes intransitive, sometimes transitive.

Sometimes an active verb is treated like a stative verb, i.e. when its meaning comes close to a stative meaning; thus *יָדַעְתָּ* is used for *I know* (§ 112 a); *עָמַדְתָּ לְפָנַי* for *I am in the service of* (§ 112 a). Some verbs have both an active meaning and a stative meaning, e.g. *מָלַךְ* to rule, to become king (to begin to be king) 2 Kg 15.1; to be king 2Kg 9.13; 1Sm 12.14; Ps 93.1. (There may originally have been a doublet with stative form, for the Babylonian vocalisation has the pf. *māloh*; cf. P. Kahle, op. cit. [§ 63 b, n.], p. 184.1).

Likewise, it is not enough that a verb be logically or morphologically stative for it to be treated as a stative verb; it must also be taken in a purely stative sense, and not in an active or semi-active sense (cf. § 41 b). Thus the verb *כָּבֵד*, when it means *to be heavy*, is treated as stative, but, when it means *he becomes heavy*, is treated as active (§ 113 a). The treatment of the verb *הִיָּדָה* is remarkable in that respect. Its primitive meaning, which is not found in our texts, very probably is *to fall, cadere*, hence, in Hebrew *accidere, happen, evenire, fieri*(¹); in this active meaning it is treated as an active verb. In the weakened meaning of *to be*, it is eminently stative, and is treated as such.

(1) For the semantic process *tomber > devenir*, note the idiomatic use of *יָפַח* as in Ru 3.18 *יָפַח דְּבָרָא יִפְלֵא* how things will turn out, and compare in the *Bas-Maine* dialect "il tombera bon" in the sense of "il deviendra bon"; cf. K. Nyrop, *Grammaire historique de la langue française* (Copenhagen, 1890-1930), vol. 4, p. 17.

Because of the importance of the verb *הִיָּדָה*, its various uses, as far as tenses are concerned, are outlined in the following table:

A) As verb of **action**: *הִיָּדָה* it happened, it came to pass (very frequent).

וַיְהִי *and it happened, and it came to pass* (very frequent); sometimes, misused as *and it used to happen*, e.g. 1Kg 14.28 (impersonal).

וַיִּהְיֶה 1) *it will happen, it will come to pass*, (very frequent).

2) *it used to happen, it used to come to pass*, e.g. Nu 9.16.

3) *it keeps happening* (frequentative present), e.g. Ec 1.9 (rare).

וַיִּהְיֶה וַיִּהְיֶה 1) *and it will happen, and it will come to pass* (very frequent).

2) *and it used to happen, and it used to come to pass*, e.g. Ex 33.8 (impersonal); Gn 2.10.

3) *and it keeps happening* (very rare), e.g. 2Ch 13.9; Is 29.15.

B) As verb of state: **הָיָה** *it was, it has been* (very frequent).
it is (rare), e.g. Gn 42.31.

וַיְהִי *and it was, and it came to pass* (frequent), e.g. Gn 2.25; 17.1; 39.6; Nu 15.32.

and it has been (very frequent)

and it is(?) (no example?)(¹)

וַיִּהְיֶה *it will be* (very frequent)

In summary: **הָיָה** active: *it happened, it came to pass*,
stative: *it was, it has been, it is*

וַיְהִי active: *and it happened, and it came to pass*

stative: *and it was, and it has been*

וַיִּהְיֶה active: *it will happen, it will come to pass*

it used to happen, it used to come to pass

it keeps happening

stative: *it will be*

וַיִּהְיֶה וַיִּהְיֶה active: *and it will happen, and it will come to pass*

and it used to happen, and it used to come to pass

and it keeps happening

stative: *and it will be*

(1) This meaning is possible; cp. **וַיִּשְׂנֵא** *and you hate* Ps 45.48 (§ 118 p).

§ 112. Qatal form (perfect)

The verbal form with affirmative having probably originated in the stative verbs, we shall first discuss the stative verbs. a

A) **Stative verbs.** In these verbs the primary meaning is that of the present, e.g. כָּבֵד *it is heavy*, אָהַבְתִּי *I love*, שָׂנֵאתָ *you hate*. Indeed, the qatal of stative verbs (כָּבֵד and קָטַן types) is originally a "conjugated adjective": cf. the Akkadian stative or permansive. Just as a nominal phrase consisting of an adjective and a pronoun is *per se* and naturally in the present, so is a verbal form consisting of an adjective and a suffixed pronoun. Thus a verbal phrase like יָדוֹ כָּבֵדָה *his hand is heavy* is, *per se*, in the present, just as the nominal phrase יָדוֹ כָּבֵדָה *his hand (is) heavy*⁽¹⁾. Examples: אָהַבְתִּי *I love* Gn 27.4 (and 15 x); אָהַבְתָּ *you love* Gn 22.2; אָהַב, אָהַבָה *he loves* Gn 27.9; 44.20; Dt 15.16; 23.6 etc.; שָׂנֵאתָ *I hate* Jer 44.4 etc.; שָׂנֵאתָנִי *you hate me* Jdg 14.16; חָפְצָתִי *I want* Ps 40.9; Is 1.11; גָּדֹלְתָּ *you are great* Ps 104.1; קָטַנְתִּי *I am small* Gn 32.11; גָּבְהוּ *they are high* Is 55.9; יְפֵאוֹת *they are beautiful* Nu 24.5; זָקַנְתִּי *I am old* Gn 18.13; שָׂבַעְתִּי *I am full* Is 1.11; Ex 14.13 רָאִיתָם *you see* (cf. 1Kg 20.13; Jer 7.11; Ps 35.22; 74.9; Lam 3.59); Ru 2.8 שָׁמַעְתָּ *you hear* (cf. Jer 4.31; Job 3.18); Jer 48.11 שָׁאַנַּן *he is at ease* (cf. Job 3.18).

Active verbs which have a stative or quasi-stative meaning are treated like stative verbs⁽²⁾. They are mainly verbs expressing a state of mind, e.g. *to hope*: קָוִיתִי *I hope, I wait for* Ps 130.5; הוֹחֵלְתִּי *I hope* Ps 130.5; חָפְצָה *it waits* Ps 33.20; בָּטַחְתִּי⁽³⁾ *I trust* Ps 52.10; 56.5,12 etc.; קִצַּחְתִּי *I abhor* Gn 27.46; מָאַסְתִּי *I despise, I reject with scorn* Am 5.21; בָּחַרְתִּי *I choose, I prefer* Ps 84.11; רַחַם *he has mercy* Ps 103.13 (cf. Zech 10.6); Job 3.26 (three perfects with similar meanings: *I have no quiet, no peace, no rest*). Note in particular that the verb יָדַע in the sense of *to know* is very often treated like a stative verb. In ordinary prose *I know* is יָדַעְתִּי, *you know* יָדַעְתָּ (often יָדַעְתָּה, *he knows* יָדַע (but more often יָדַעַ, which, incidentally, can sometimes be a less satisfactory vocalisation), and rather rarely יָדַע. Likewise the verb זָכַר is treated like a stative verb, e.g. זָכַרְנוּ *we remember*⁽⁴⁾ Nu 11.5.

The verb עָמַד *to take one's stand, to be in a standing position* is treated like a stative verb when its meaning is practically stative, e.g. in the formula עֲמַדְתִּי לְפָנָיו אֲשֶׁר-יְהוָה by *Yahweh the Living God*

whom I serve! 1Kg 17.1; 18.15; 2Kg 3.14; 5.16†. The perfect שׁוּבָה to sit down, be sitting has the meaning of present stative in Ez 28.2; Lam 1.1; perh. Ps 47.9. In Nifal we have e.g. Ez 26.19 $\text{לֹא-נִשְׁבְּבוּ$ they (no longer) are inhabited⁽⁵⁾.

Observation. On the other hand, the stative verb יָכַל (§ 75 i) is treated like an active verb⁽⁶⁾, perhaps because of semantic evolution (transition from the meaning of *being able* to that of *can* perceived as active). Thus *he can* is יֹכֵל , e.g. Gn 44.22.

(1) Cf. Ps 3.2 רַב־בָּנָי they are numerous followed by רַב־בָּנָי (they are) numerous. Or רַב־בָּנָי is the subject.

(2) This applies not only to the Qal form, but also to all the derived forms, even to the essentially active forms: Piel and Hifil.

(3) The verb נָפַח seems to be stative in origin; the Babylonian vocalisation has *bāṭoḥ*; P. Kahle, op. cit. [§ 63 b, n.], p. 184,2.

(4) Curiously enough, נָפַח and רָכַח correspond to the *resultative* perfects $\text{o}\acute{\iota}\delta\alpha$, *novi*, $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\mu\nu\epsilon\mu\alpha\iota$, *memini*; but the origin of the meaning of the present in Hebrew is different; cf. Brock., *GvG*, II, p. 149.

(5) The verb נָפַח to fall is also used with the stative meaning of *to have* (Fr. *se trouver*) *fallen, to be lying, jacēre*, not only in the participle (Jdg 3.25; 7.12 etc.), but sometimes even in the finite tenses: Nu 14.32 יָפְחוּ *jacebunt* (Vulg.); 1Sm 19.24 וַיִּפְחַח and he remained lying; Ez 29.5; notably with לָקַח *mortally wounded, victim*: Jer 51.47; Ez 6.7; 28.23 (read לָקַח); cf. § e, Gn 4.6.

(6) A case in point is Gn 48.10: יָכַל after the stative perfect יָכַח .

b Like the qatal of active verbs (§ c) (and perhaps on their analogy), the qatal of stative verbs can also be used for the past. In the past its primary meaning is that of the French imperfect (present of the perfect), e.g. רַב־בָּנָי he was heavy (Fr. *il était lourd*); then come all the meanings which the qatal active can have: *he became heavy, he was heavy* (Fr. *il fut lourd*) etc. Thus יָהֵב , besides meaning *he loves* Gn 27.9, means *he loved* (Fr. *il aimait*) vs. 14; *he loved* (Fr. *il aima*) 2Sm 12.24; גָּדַל it was great Job 2.13; *he became great* Gn 26.13; *he had grown* 38.14.

c **B) Active verbs.** The qatal of action verbs is mainly used for the past, in some special cases for the present, sometimes even for the future.

In the past the qatal is used for a unique or instantaneous action, which precedes by little (recent past) or by much (remote past) the present moment or a past moment.

Recent past: $\eta\psi\epsilon\eta\mu\eta$ *what have you done?* Gn 4.10; אֶל־צָחַקְתִּי *I did not laugh* Gn 18.15. This is a very common usage.

Remote past: אֶבְרָא *he created* Gn 1.1; אֶקְרָא *he called* vs. 5; and very often in the narration of past events (historic perfect).

Past preceding a moment in the past (= pluperfect): $\text{נִגַּחְתָּ יַעֲקֹב}$ "Jacob did not know that Rachel *had stolen them*" Gn 31.32; $\text{לָקְחָהּ$ *she had taken them* vs. 34; 1.31 "and God saw all that he had made ($\eta\psi\epsilon\eta$)"; often. Hebrew has only this rather imperfect means of expressing an action which preceded a past moment (cf. § 118 d).

As far as aspect is concerned, action is unique or instantaneous⁽¹⁾. d
The *unity* of the action can, and sometimes must, be emphasised in our languages. Thus $\text{לֹא־נַהֲיָה־כְּזֹאת}$ Jdg 19.30 means: "such a thing has not been done (*not even once*), has *never* been done" (Vulg. *nunquam*); $\text{מִי־שָׁמַע כְּזֹאת}$ Is 66.8 "who has *ever* heard?" (Vulg. *unquam*); $\text{אֶל־נֶשְׁוֹג אַחֲזֹר}$ 2Sm 1.22 "Jonathan's bow has *never* turned back" (E. Dhorme)⁽²⁾. Therein lies the explanation of the use of qatal to express a permanent truth: $\text{אֶל־עֲזַבְתָּ$ Ps 9.11 "you have *never* abandoned those who look for you, O Yahweh!," which is more or less equivalent to *you do not abandon*.

On the other hand all the actions of a series or of a category can be considered in a global way (cf. § 111 e)⁽³⁾; thus one can explain the use of qatal in certain cases, especially for truths of experience: וְשֹׁמְרֵי Jer 8.7 *they observe* (after $\text{יָדָעָהּ$ *it knows*); מֵצְאָהּ Ps 84.4 *it finds*; כִּי־לָהּ Job 7.9 (*the cloud*) *fades* (cf. § 113 c).

But some examples quoted by grammarians are better explained as due to the author having a typical case in mind, e.g., אָמַר Pr 26.13 "the slothful man *has said*: A lion in the way!," or a particular and representative case, e.g. Is 40.7,8.

(1) Otherwise the yiqtol is needed (§ 113 e).

(2) Note that, between the two sentences *nunquam fecit* and *non faciebat* (*non solebat facere*), the difference can be, in some contexts, of minor importance, so that they may be treated as virtually interchangeable. Thus it would be possible to translate: *did not (use to) turn back*, especially as the yiqtol is used in the following stich: $\text{בָּשָׁב־לֹא־תָשׁוּב}$ *did not (use to) come back*. The same alternation between qatal and yiqtol is found in Ez 18.6-9; Ps 1.1-2; Gn 31.39; Job 22.9 (Driver—Gray [ICC] *ad loc.*, the perfect for the sake of variety). The qatal has the advantage of placing the action in the past.

(3) Cf. Job 4.3 $\text{רַב־יָמִים הָיִיתָ מְרַבֵּם}$ *you have instructed many* (which implies multiple actions),

global perfect followed by a frequentative yiqtol: Ez 27.12 and ff. (in the description of Tyre's trade) נָתַנּוּ *they* (constantly) *gave you*.

- e Sometimes the action, put in the past, is assumed to continue in some way up to the present moment: עָזְבוּ *"they have forsaken Yahweh"* (and continue their forsaking) Is 1.4; נָפְלוּ *"why has your countenance fallen?"* (literally: *concidit facies tua*, Vulg. cf. a, n.) Gn 4.6; פָּרַשְׁתִּי *"I have stretched forth my hands towards you"* (and I continue to stretch them forth), so roughly: "I keep my hands stretched forth" Ps 143.6; 123.1⁽¹⁾. In some cases, e.g. in a question, the action is assumed to continue up to a certain moment in the future: עַד־מָתַי מֵאַנָּה *"until when have you refused"* (and will you continue to refuse?), so "will you refuse?" Ex 10.3; likewise מֵאַנָּה 16.28⁽²⁾.

(1) In some cases the yiqtol would be ambiguous: it could mean the future. In the last two examples the qatal can be translated by the present.

(2) Contrast Ex 10.7 יִהְיֶה יַעֲרֶמְתִּי.

- f **Present.** The qatal is used for an instantaneous action which, being performed at the very moment of the utterance, is assumed to belong to the past⁽¹⁾. Hence this use of the perfect is sometimes called 'performative': see also below, § g. It stands to reason that the performative perfect should not be used in negative clauses. Instances are especially common with verbs of saying (*verba dicendi*) and their equivalents: אָמַרְתִּי *I say, I order* 2Sm 19.30; הִגַּדְתִּי *I declare* Dt 26.3; יִעֲצָתִי *I advise* 2Sm 17.11; הִעֲרַתִּי *I solemnly declare* Dt 8.19; נִשְׁבַּעְתִּי *I swear* Gn 22.16 etc., and its practical equivalent יָרַם יָדִי *I raise my hand* (while swearing) Gn 14.22; הִשְׁבַּעְתִּי *I adjure* Ct 2.7 etc.; with other verbs: קָנִיתִי *I acquire* (here and now [*hic et nunc*], by my own words) Ru 4.9 (comp. vs. 4 אָגַל and not אָלַתִּי, which would be a firm and definite answer); הִשְׁתַּחֲוִיתִי *I prostrate myself* 2Sm 16.4; רָצַחְתִּי *I run* 2Kg 5.20⁽²⁾. 1Kg 15.19 לִּי אֲשַׁלְּחֶנּוּ *I am sending you ...*⁽³⁾

Almost every instance cited is in the 1st person; but naturally some may be found in the 2nd and 3rd pers. In 2Sm 24.23 Araunah speaks of himself in the 3rd pers.: נָתַן (cf. נָתַתִּי in the parallel 1Ch 21.23). In the 2nd pers.: Gn 4.14 גִּירְשֶׁתָּ *"You are driving (me) out today."*

(1) In this case the yiqtol and the qotel (participle) are impossible, since they express a durative action.

(2) The qatal indicates that Gehazi starts running immediately. Here the action, al-

beit durative, is considered in its first moment. According to some authors this would be a *perfectum confidentiae* (?). Contrast פִּינָא 2Sm 18.23.

(3) Called 'epistolary' by D. Pardee, *Biblische Notizen* 22 (1983) 34-40.

Future. By extension of the preceding use, qatal is sometimes used for an action which in fact belongs to the (usually near) future, but which is represented as being performed at the very moment of utterance⁽¹⁾. Thus אֶתֵּן *I give* is used not only in the case where the giving takes place immediately (Gn 23.11) or almost immediately (vs. 13, Vulg.: *dabo*), but also after a considerable time (Gn 15.18): *I give to your descendants*; Vulg.: *dabo*). Other examples: Jer 40.4 "I release you (אֶתֵּן הַיּוֹם) today from your chains"; Jdg 1.2 "Judah shall go up: behold I give (אֶתֵּן) him the land"; Ru 2.9 אֲלֹהֵי אֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם הֲלֹא צִוִּיתִי Boaz has not yet ordered, so: *behold, I order*); 1Sm 2.16 "otherwise I take it (אֶתֵּן) by force"; 2Ch 12.5: "You have abandoned me, now I abandon you (אֶתֵּן) to the hand of Shishak" (in a divine threat which is not carried out); with verbs *to perish*: אֲנִי נֹכְדִים אֲנִי נֹכְדִים *we are perishing!* Nu 17.27; אֲנִי אֲבֵדָה I am lost Is 6.5; אֲנִי אֲבֵדָה I am cut off = I am lost Lam 3.54. (Contr. Ex 12.33 אֲנִי נֹכְדִים אֲנִי נֹכְדִים *we are all going to die*).

Here too the examples quoted are all in the 1st person.

(1) The same use is known in Ugr.: see Fenton, pp. 36f. of the article cited at § 113 h.

In prophecies a future event is sometimes regarded as having already been accomplished, hence the use of qatal⁽¹⁾. This **prophetic perfect** is not a special grammatical perfect, but a rhetorical device. Examples: Is 9.1 "the people who walked in darkness see אֶת אֵשׁ אֲדָמָה a great light"; 9.5 "a child is born יָלֵדָה for us, a son is given אֶת בְּרִיבָנָה"; 10.28⁽²⁾.

(1) This notion is extended by Ibn Ezra even to cases of wayyiqtol as in Jl 2.18 אֲנִי נֹכְדִים: see his commentary ad loc.

(2) After Is 13, which prophesied the fall of Babylon, comes a *mašal* (14.4-21), in the past, about the fall of the king of Babylon into Sheol. After the prophecies against Tyre, in the future (Ez 26-28.10), comes a *qinah*, in the past, about the king of Tyre (28.12-19), in which Tyre is considered ruined.

Past future. The qatal is also used in the domain of the future for an action which precedes another action. In this use the qatal in itself expresses only the anteriority of the action; the domain of the future is indicated by the context, usually by a previous verb⁽¹⁾.

Examples: Dt 8.10 "you shall bless Yahweh your God for the good land which he *will have given* (יָתַן) you"(2); Am 9.15; Jer 8.3 "they will prefer death ... in all the places where I *will have driven* them (הִדְחִיתִים)" [likewise 29.14,18; 32.37; 46.28†(3)]; Gn 43.14 וְאֲנִי כִּאֲשֶׁר וְשָׂכַלְתִּי לְתִי "And as for me, when I *shall have been bereaved* of my children, I shall be bereaved of them!(4)"; 1Kg 8.47; Ez 29.13; Ps 127.1. Examples are rather common in conditional clauses, e.g. Gn 43.9; 2Kg 7.4; with עַד (mainly with the compounds אֲשֶׁר אֶעֱשֶׂה, עַד אֶעֱשֶׂה): 1) with a first verb in the future: Dn 11.36 "and he shall prosper till the wrath is (lit. *will have been*) accomplished (עַד-כִּפְּלֹה)" ; Ez 39.15 עַד קִבְּרוּ; Gn 24.33 "I will not eat *until I (shall) have told* my tale (עַד אֶמְדַּבֵּרְתִּי)"; again with אֶעֱשֶׂה vs. 19; Is 30.17; Ru 2.21; with אֲשֶׁר אֶעֱשֶׂה Gn 28.15; Nu 32.17; Is 6.11 (the first verb is understood); 2) with a first verb in the present: 2Kg 7.3 "why do we stay here *until we (shall have) die(d)?* (עַד-מָתַנּוּ)"(5).

(1) If, on the other hand, one wishes to express the domain of the future, the yiqtol must be used, and then the anteriority of the action is not indicated. In this conflict, the choice is usually left up to the writer (cf. § 113 b).

(2) Contr. אֶתְּנֶה Ex 25.16,21.

(3) But 24.9 yiqtol אֶעֱשֶׂה.

(4) The second qatal, probably chosen for paronomasia (cf. H. Reckendorf, *Über Paronomasie in den semitischen Sprachen* [Giessen, 1909], p. 172), represents the future as present.

(5) Contr. the yiqtol with עַד 1Sm 1.22; Is 22.14 etc.; אֲשֶׁר עַד Gn 27.44; Ex 23.30; Lv 22.4; Nu 11.20; 20.17; Ho 5.15.

j The various meanings of qatal listed above are enough to explain the most usual cases. But there remain a number of cases which are more or less difficult to explain. Some are listed below:

Qatal in **surprised question**. It seems that the instances of this, which are not many, can be explained as cases of future perfect: Gn 18.12 הֲיִתְּהָ-לִּי *shall I have (had)?* (is it possible that I have had?); Jdg 9.9,11,13 (will it be said that) *I have left?* (archaic passage); Nu 17.28 (will it be said that) *we all have perished?*; Gn 21.7 מִי מְלִל (?) *who would have said?* (can it be that someone *has said?*; this is the only prose text where the Aramaic root מלל can be found); Nu 23.10 מִי מְנַבֵּה (can it be that someone) *has counted?* (poetical passage); 1Sm 26.9 מִי שֶׁלַח (?) *can it be that someone has put forth his hand?* (but probably read שֶׁלַח).

In poetry (Psalms, Job) and in elevated prose qatal sometimes seems to have an optative nuance⁽¹⁾: 1Sm 24.15 "May the Lord be judge (הִיִּדְּוֶנִי ... and judge (טַפְּשֵׁנִי) between me and thee, and let him see (אֵרְוֶה), and plead (בְּרִי) my case ..."; 1Ch 17.27 הֲלוֹאֵלֶיךָ "therefore *may it please you to bless*" (end of David's speech; in the parallel 2Sm 7.29 imperative לֹאֵלֶיךָ)(²); Ps 57.7 וַיִּפְּלוּ *may they fall into it*; Job 22.18 הֲקִיֵּיךָ *procul sit a me* (Vulg.) "I wish it were far from me"⁽³⁾.

(1) Since a nominal clause can have an optative meaning (§ 163 b), a stative perfect (conjugated adjective) can also take on an optative nuance; then, by analogy, an active perfect. See also G.R. Driver, "Some uses of qatal in the Semitic languages," *Proceedings*, pp. 49-64. The optative use of the perfect is quite common in Arabic: Wright, *Arabic Grammar*, II, pp. 2f.

(2) Cf. Kropat, *Syntax*, p. 16; König, *Syntax*, § 173.

(3) The difficult וַיִּבְרַחֲנִי Gn 40.14 could be explained in a similar way, but the text does not seem to be in a good state.

In some poetic texts celebrating the greatness of God, the use of tenses, of qatal especially, is very peculiar. Examples: Am 5.8 אֵיךְ שִׁיחַ (despite the frequentative meaning of the present, and in the middle of participial *qotel* forms!); Ps 135.7 הִשְׁפַּח (same observation); Jer 10.12-13 הִטְּוּ, הִשְׁפַּח. These qatals have not been satisfactorily explained.

For qatal in conditional clauses (frequentative לֹאֵלֶיךָ) cf. § 167 g, in optative clauses, cf. § 163 c.

For the meanings of the perfect הִיִּדְּוֶנִי, see the table in § 111 i.

§ 113. Yiqtol form (future)

A) **Stative verbs.** Since the qatal in these verbs expresses the present and the past (§ 112 a, b), the yiqtol *per se* only expresses the future. But if the meaning becomes active, the yiqtol is then used as in the verbs of action⁽¹⁾. Thus a form like כִּבְדֵי usually and normally means *he will be heavy*. However כִּבְדֵי Ps 32.4 is found treated like a verb of action: "Day and night your hand was *heavy upon me*"; הִלְבַּשְׁנָה 2Sm 13.18 "for that is how the maiden daughters of the king *dressed* (used to dress)" (these two forms could mean in the present: *it is heavy, they dress*); אָהַבֵּי *he loves* Pr 3.12; 15.9,12; 16.13 (here *to love* is regarded as a repeated, constant action). Likewise the verb הִיִּדְּוֶנִי (§ 111 i)

can be treated like a verb of action: יְהִי־נִהְיֶה Nu 9.16 "it constantly *happened* in this way"; Ec 1.9 "what has happened is what *happens*."

Generally speaking stative verbs tend to become active; thus several verbs which have a stative qatal have an active yiqtol, § 41 b.

(1) Likewise the wayyiqtol form, § 118 b.

- b** B) **Active verbs.** The yiqtol is used in the domain of the future with a time value, in the sphere of the present with a time value and an aspect value, in the sphere of the past with an aspect value.

Future. The yiqtol is used mainly to express future time, whatever the aspect of the action may be; thus יָבֹא means *he will come, he will enter*, whether the action be unique or repeated, instantaneous or durative: e.g. in אִם-יֵעָלֶה if it (will) go up 1Kg 12.27 we are dealing with a repeated action. The yiqtol is also used for an action which is represented as future in respect of a past moment: Gn 43.7: "How were we to know that *he would say?* (*dicturus esset*, Vulg.) (יֹאמֵר)"; 2Kg 3.27 "he took his first-born son who was to reign (יִמְלֹךְ) in his stead" (*regnaturus erat*, Vulg.); 13.14: "now Elisha was ill with the illness of which *he was to die* (יָמוּת)." Such cases occur only in subordinate clauses.

For the **past future**, alongside the qatal, which only expresses the anteriority of the action (§ 112 i), use is also made of the yiqtol, which only expresses the future: Dt 7.12 לְקִבּוֹב תִּשְׁמָעוּן as a reward for the fact that you will have obeyed; Jdg 6.26 "with the wood of the Asherah which you will have cut down"; Job 40.14 "your right hand which will have given you victory." See also the examples listed in § 112 i.

- c** **Present.** The yiqtol is used with a time value and an aspect value: repeated action or durative action⁽¹⁾.

1) **Repeated action:** Dt 1.44 "they chased you as bees do (כַּאֲשֶׁר תִּעְשִׂינָה) (הִדְּהוּ בְרִימִים)"; Gn 32.33 "the Israelites do not eat (לֹא יֹאכְלוּ) the sciatic nerve"; Jdg 11.40 "they go (תֵּלְכְנָה) yearly"; 1Sm 2.8 יָרִים he lifts up (after a qotel of the frequentative present). The yiqtol is the usual form for truths of experience⁽²⁾ or general truths: Ex 23.8 "the gift blinds (יְעִוֶּר) the clear-sighted"; Pr 15.20 "a wise son makes his father glad (יִשְׂמַח)"; Is 32.6⁽³⁾; 2Sm 15.32 "when David was come to the top of the hill where he used to bow down (יִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה) to God ..."

(1) The participial qotel (§ 121 h) has roughly the same values; it expresses the present and the durative nuance more explicitly. But usage does not allow the two

forms to be used interchangeably. Note esp. cases where a yiqtol is parallel to a participle or a nominal clause: Mi 6.2 *וְעַם-יִשְׂרָאֵל יִתְנַכַּח* Ps 145.20 *רִיב לִיהוָה עִם-עַמּוֹ וְעַם-יִשְׂרָאֵל יִתְנַכַּח* Pr 10.1 *בֶּן חָכָם יִשְׁמַח-אָב* וְבֶן כְּסִיל תִּוְנֶת-אָמוֹ. Also Ps 33.16; 82.1.

(2) Qotel is rather rare in this use and so is qatal (§ 112 d).

(3) Biblical Hebrew has no verb which corresponds to Lat. *solere*, *to be in the habit of*. The yiqtol is sufficient to express this notion. The Vulgate often emphasises the frequentative notion by adding *solere*: Ex 33.11; Nu 11.12; Dt 1.31; 28.29. Contr. the reverse process which expresses unicity by *nunquam*, § 112 d.

2) **Durative action:** Gn 37.15 *מַה-תִּבְקֶשׁ* *what are you looking for?*(1); d
24.31 "why are you staying (*תִּעֲמֹד*) outside?"; 1Sm 1.8 "why are you weeping? (*תִּבְכִּי*)"; 11.5 "what ails the people, that they are weeping? (*יִבְכּוּ*)"; 2Sm 16.9 "why is this dead dog insulting (*יִקְלֹל*) my lord the king?"; also Ex 5.4,15. An action which in fact is over is assumed to continue up till the moment of the question: Gn 32.30 "why is it that you ask (*תִּשְׁאַל*) my name?"(2); 44.7. The yiqtol is particularly common in questions(3). Outside questions: Ps 121.1 *אֲשָׂא* *I lift up* (comp. 123.1 *נִשְׂאֵתִי* *I have lifted up* [and I keep lifted], § 112 e); 142.2 *אֲזַעַק* *I cry out*.

(1) The verb *to look for* is, by its very nature, durative, § 111 d. In the answer (vs. 16) the qotel is used with the same value: "It is my brothers that I am looking for." The addition of the pronoun, usual in answers, has brought about the use of the participle (cf. § 121 d).

(2) Compare, in the same situation, the participle *שֹׁאֵלֶת* 1Kg 2.22 and the perfect *תִּבְרַח* 1Sm 9.21.

(3) Cf. S.R. Driver, *Tenses*, § 39 (γ), and D. Cohen, *La Phrase nominale et l'évolution du système verbal en sémitique. Études de syntaxe historique* (Paris, 1984), pp. 306f. Perhaps the yiqtol in these cases serves to soften the tone of questioning: e.g., "Why is this dead dog insulting my lord the king, I wonder?"

Past. In the domain of the past the yiqtol expresses aspect only: e
repeated or durative action. The time value of the form is only derived from the context. Therefore this yiqtol can only be used in a context which has been situated in the past beforehand(1).

1) **Repeated action:** Job 1.5 "Job used to do so always (= every time) *יַעֲשֶׂה*"; Gn 29.2 *יִשְׁקוּ* *they were giving drink*; 31.39 "I did not (ever) bring back (qatal) to you an animal torn by wild beasts; I made good the loss myself (every time) *תִּקַּח*"; Ex 33.7 (At each stage) "Moses used to take the tent *יִקַּח*"; 40.36 "whenever the cloud rose, they would

set out יִסְעוּ" (2).

(1) Thus, at the very beginning of a narrative, a past durative action can only be expressed by הָיָה and the participle, § 121 f.

(2) In a context in the pluperfect: 1Sm 14.47 "Saul had taken possession of the kingdom and he had fought ... and wherever *he had turned* יִפְּנֶה, *he had saved* (read יוֹשִׁיעַ: Ehrlich, *Randglossen*).

f 2) **Durative action:** Gn 2.6 "a stream was (constantly) *rising* יַעֲלֶה from the earth"; 37.7 "your sheaves *were surrounding* my sheaf הִתְסַבְּינָה"; Ex 13.22 "the pillar of cloud was *not leaving* its place by day יִמְּוֹשׁ"; Nu 9.16,17; Is 1.21; 6.4; Jer 36.18.

g This yiqtol is sometimes used rather loosely in cases where the qatal would seem just as good or even better: Jdg 2.1 אֲעֲלֶה *I was making you go up* (odd, especially in an absolute beginning); Nu 23.7 יִבְרִיךְ *was bringing me* (same observation); 1Kg 21.6 אֲדַבֵּר *I was speaking* (abnormal)(1).

(1) These examples and others of the same kind are not satisfactorily explained. In some cases a studied refinement of style may be assumed. It is worth noting that the yiqtol does not correspond in every respect to the English past continuative. Thus the yiqtol is not used in the case of simultaneity if the action is instantaneous, e.g., "He *was crossing* the threshold when I arrived." For simultaneity in the past the qatal is used if the action is instantaneous, the participle if the action is durative (§ 166 c-i).

ga The use of preterital yiqtol is also frequent in logically, but not necessarily formally subordinate clauses, which tend to take on the character of a circumstantial clause with the concomitant notion of simultaneity or contemporaneity(1): e.g. 2Sm 17.17 "for they might not be (לֹא יוֹכִלוּ) seen to come into the city"; Gn 48.17 "Joseph saw that his father laid (יָשַׁת) his right hand ..."; ib. 48.10 "the eyes of Israel were dim from age, so that he could not (לֹא יוֹכִיל) see"; 1Sm 13.19 "now there was no smith to be found (וְהָרֶשֶׁת לֹא יִמָּצֵא)"; 2Sm 15.37 ... וַיָּבֵא חֲוִישֵׁי וַיָּבֵא חֲוִישֵׁי "and H. came into the city, just as A. was entering Jerusalem".

(1) For details, see Berg., II, § 7 b,c.

h Finally there are some yiqtols with no iterative or durative aspect, and thus having the value of qatal, which would be the expected form. Thus with the verb *to find* which *per se* conveys a sense of instantaneity-

ty (§ 111 d): Dt 32.10 ימצאָהוּ *he found him* (poetic); Ps 116.3 אִמְצָא. Other examples: Job 15.7 תִּנְלֶדְךָ *were you born?*; 3.3 אִנְלֶדְךָ *I was born* (contrast the qatal of Jer 20.14 יִלְדֶתִי); Job 3.11; Ps 8.6 וַתַּחַסְרֵהוּ מֵעַט *you have made him little less than God, and have crowned him with glory and honour*; Is 41.5 רָאוּ אַיִים וַיִּירָאוּ קִצּוֹת *the coastlands have seen and feared, the ends of the earth trembled*; Ex 15.5 יָרְדוּ בַמַּצּוֹלֹת כְּמוֹ-אֶבֶן *the floods covered them; they went down into the depths like a stone*; 15.12 נָטִיתָ יְמִינְךָ תִּבְלַעְמוּ אֲרָץ *thou didst stretch out thy right hand, the earth swallowed them*; Ex 15.14 שָׁמְעוּ עַמִּים יִרְגְּזוּן *The peoples have heard, they trembled*; Jdg 5.26 יָדָה לַיָּתֵד תִּשְׁלַחַנָּה ... וְהִלְמָה סִיסְרָא מִחֶקֶה רָאֵשׁוּ *she put her hand to the tent peg ..., struck Sisera a blow, crushed his head, she shattered and pierced his temple*; note the perfects with Waw with the value of the wayyiqtol. In some cases the wayyiqtol is parallel to the preterital yiqtol: Ps 18.14 בְּשָׁמַיִם יְהוָה וְעָלִיוֹן יִתֵּן קוֹלוֹ וַיִּרְעַם *the Lord thundered in the heavens, and the Most High uttered his voice*; Ps 18.40 וַתִּזְרַנֵּנִי חֵיל לְמַלְחָמָה תִּכְרִיעַ קַמִּי *thou didst gird me with strength for the battle; thou didst make my assailants sink under me*. Almost all instances belong to the elevated or poetic style (cf. § 10), though the use is attested as late as 2Ch 21. 10. Important to note is that these preterital yiqtols are punctiliar in force, not habitual, repetitive, etc.⁽¹⁾

(1) Brockelmann's view that the yiqtol in these cases has the effect of vividly visualising events may be acceptable synchronically, but not diachronically: see his *Syntax*, § 42 e. The yiqtol is also quite common in Ugaritic as a simple preterital tense: see T. Fenton, "The Hebrew 'tenses' in the light of Ugaritic," *Proceedings of the Fifth World Congress of Jewish Studies* (Jerusalem, 1973), 31-39, and Gordon, *UT*, § 13.32. Note also M. Held, "The yqtl-qtl (qtl-yqtl) sequence of identical verbs in Biblical Hebrew and in Ugaritic," in M. Ben-Horin et al. (eds), *Studies and Essays in Honor of Abraham Neuman* (Leiden, 1962), pp. 281-90 where one can see the poetic use of the preterital yiqtol in parallelism to qatal, e.g. Ps 38.12 יִעֲמְדוּ ... עֲמַדוּ.

With the adverb *אז* this use of yiqtol is common in prose, and it is even a little more common than that of qatal, e.g. 1Kg 3.16 *אז תבאנה* *Then they came*⁽¹⁾. The same verb can be found in the yiqtol and in the qatal: *to build*: qatal 1Kg 9.24; yiqtol Josh 8.30; 1Kg 11.7; *to go up*: qatal Josh 10.33; yiqtol 2Kg 12.18; 16.5; *to strike*: qatal 2Sm 21.18; yiqtol 2Kg 15.16. This latter circumstance probably suggests

that the preterital use of yiqtol is not conditioned by וְאֵ; the same applies to וְיָצֵא discussed in the following paragraph.

(1) Since the yiqtol does not have the meaning of the English imperfect of simultaneity, the yiqtol with וְאֵ is no easier to explain than the yiqtol without וְאֵ.

For the need to examine the tense system not in isolation, but in conjunction with particles and larger units, see J.A. Hughes, "Another look at the Hebrew tenses," *JNES* 29 (1970) 12-24; A. Niccacci, *Sintassi del verbo ebraico nella prosa biblica classica* (Jerusalem, 1986) [also a revised Engl. version, *The Syntax of the Verb in Classical Hebrew Prose* (tr. W.G.E. Watson) (Sheffield, 1990)]; and R.E. Longrace, *Joseph: A Story of Divine Providence. A Text Theoretical and Textlinguistic Analysis of Genesis 37 and 39-48* (Winona Lake, 1989).

j With the conjunction וְיָצֵא before, the yiqtol is always used for a past action: Josh 3.1 טָרַם יַעֲבֹרוּ *before they crossed over*; Ex 12.34; Ps 119.67; likewise with וְיָצֵא: Gn 27.33 בָּטַרְמָא *before you came*; 37.18 etc., except 2 x qatal: Ps 90.2; Pr 8.25. Likewise, with טָרַם used as an adverb, *not yet* (§ 160 *n*) the yiqtol is almost always found: Gn 24.45 טָרַם אֲכַלְהָ לְדַבֵּר *I have not yet finished to speak*; 2.5; 19.4 etc., except 2 x qatal: Gn 24.15 טָרַם כָּלְהָ לְדַבֵּר *he had not yet finished to speak* (if this is the correct reading); 1Sm 3.7 טָרַם יָדַע *he did not know yet* (doubtful vocalisation, because followed by טָרַם יִגְלֶה).

k With the conjunction עַד the yiqtol is very occasionally used for a past action: Jon 4.5 עַד אָשָׁר יִרְאֶה "and he sat *till he should see*" (with a virtual nuance of purpose: *so that*, in other words, it is not = "he sat and in the end he saw"); Ec 2.3 (probably also with a nuance of purpose); Josh 10.13 (poetic, and perhaps nuance of purpose).

l Yiqtol with modal nuance *can/may, must, and want* (§ 111 *g*). Hebrew expresses less often than our languages the notions of *can*⁽¹⁾ (יָכַל), *must* (יִשָּׁל, לֵהִיָּה לְ), *want* (חָפֵץ). The yiqtol is often used to express, albeit rather poorly, these nuances. The temporal domain of these yiqtols is mainly the future or the present, sometimes the past.

Modal nuance *can/may*⁽²⁾: Gn 42.37 "you may kill (תִּמְיֹת) my two sons, if ..."; 2Kg 5.12 *could I not wash* (הֲלֹא אֶרְחֹץ) in them?"; 9.37 אֲשֶׁר לֹא- *so that they may not say*; 2Ch 19.2 "should you love (תִּאָהָב) the enemies of Yahweh?" (*do you love would be* אָהָבְתָּ, cf. Gn 22.2); Gn 2.16 "from all the trees of the garden you may eat to your heart's content אֲכַלְתָּ" (the nuance being strengthened by the inf. abs., § 123 *h*); Dt 17.15 you may freely put שׂוֹם הַשִּׁיִּים (contr. לֹא תִכַּל); Gn 43.7 (here in

the domain of the past: *how could we know?*); Nu 35.17 "if he strikes him with a throwing-stone⁽³⁾, by which a man may die *הָיָה מוֹת*"; 35.28 *he may return* (at that time) *בָּשׁוּב*; Dt 1.12 *how can I bear?* *אֵשׂוּ אֶת־הָאֵלֹהִים* corresponds to vs. 9 *אֵשׂוּ אֶת־לֵב־אֱלֹהֵינוּ*; 15.3 "as for the foreigner, you may press him *שָׁגַף*" (contrasts with vs. 2, which forbids the pressing of an Israelite); 1Kg 12.26 "under those circumstances the kingdom may return to the house of David *בָּשׁוּב*"; Ru 2.15 *she may glean* *טָבְלָה*.

(1) Especially with the meaning of *licence* (Ger. *dürfen*). For this meaning, only about ten examples of *לֹא* can be found (all with negation).

(2) Comp. Lk 2.29 *νὺν ἀπολύεις τὸν δοῦλόν σου, δέσποτα*; Mk 14.58 *καταλύσω* (Mt *δύναμαι καταλύσαι*). Cf. J. Margain in *GLECS* 14 (1969-70) 52,57,60.

(3) For this meaning cf. P. Joüon in *MUSJ* 6 (1913) 166.

Modal nuance **must**⁽¹⁾: a virtual nuance *must* is found in every yiqtol of injunction or of prohibition: Lv 19.32 "*you shall stand up (= you must stand up) in the presence of the hoary head*"; *יָדוּעַ תֵּדָע* usual for *know for certain* (lit. *it is absolutely necessary that you should know*) Gn 15.13 etc. (the imperative is not used after the inf. abs., § 123 d); Ex 21.28 *יִשְׁקָל הַשּׂוֹר* *it is absolutely necessary that the ox be stoned*; Dt 12.2 (cf. § 123 h); Ex 20.13 *you shall not kill*, etc. *לֹא תִצְרַח*. This prohibitive formula is common in laws⁽²⁾; it seems to be more solemn than *לֹא* with the jussive (§ 114 i). It is also employed for a specific prohibition, e.g. Dt 1.42 *לֹא תֵעָלֶיךָ* *you will not go up*; but in this case *לֹא* is more common, e.g. Nu 14.42 (parall.) *לֹא תֵעָלֶיךָ* *do not go up*.

Other examples: Ex 4.15 "I will teach you *what you must do*"; Nu 35.28 "*he must remain* until the death of the high-priest"; Gn 20.9 "you have done things which *must not be done*"; 1Kg 22.6 "*Must I go to Ramoth-gilead?*"; vs. 15 (id.); Ez 34.2 "should it not be the flock that shepherds *must tend?*"; Jon 1.11 *what must we do?*; Ps 139.21 *must I not hate?* *אֵשׂוּ אֹתָם* (contr. vs. 22 *אֲשַׁנְאֵם* *I hate them*); Ru 3.1 *must I not seek?*; 3.4 "he will tell you *what you must do*"; Ec 5.5 *why will God have to become angry?*; Ne 8.14 "Yahweh has prescribed that the Israelites *must dwell* in booths"; in the domain of the past: Gn 34.31 "*did one have to treat* our sister like a prostitute?"; 2Sm 3.33 "*Did Abner have to die* like an ignoble man?"; Dt 1.18 "I prescribed to you at that same time all that which *you had to do*."

Quite often a yiqtol of prayer, of request, of command etc. is equivalent to an imperative, in particular after an imperative⁽³⁾: Ps 17.8 **יְשַׁמְרֵנִי** *you will protect me = protect me* (after the imperative **יְשַׁמְרֵנִי** *keep me*); 43.1; 54.3; 59.2; 64.2; 140.2; Nu 32.24; Ez 24.17; Pr 7.1; 22.17; Job 6.23; 40.10. In Ps 51 the yiqtol of vss. 9-10 practically have the same value as that of the imperatives of vss. 3-4. Before an imperative: Ps 71.2; Job 17.10. Finally isolated yiqtol: Is 18.3; Job 18.2? (all poetic texts; comp. Gn 43.12, § 119 *i n*).

(1) Comp. Acts 22.10 **τί ποιήσω**; (16.30 **τί με δεῖ ποιεῖν**).

(2) Thus compare Dt 23.22 **לֹא תִשָּׁחַד לְשִׁמְלוֹ** with Ec 5.3 **לֹא תִשָּׁחַד לְשִׁמְלוֹ**; Dt 19.14 **לֹא תִשָּׁחַד לְשִׁמְלוֹ** with Pr 22.28 **לֹא תִשָּׁחַד לְשִׁמְלוֹ**. Qimron argues that the distinction between the two negatives reflects a difference in social standing between the two interlocutors: thus 1Kg 3.26 "Then the woman whose son was alive said to the king ... 'Oh, my lord, give her the living child, and by no means slay it (**לֹא תִמָּיתָהּ**)' but vs. 27 "Then the king answered ... 'Give the child to the first woman, and by no means slay it (**לֹא תִמָּיתָהּ**)'": E. Qimron in M. Bar-Asher et al. (eds), *Hebrew Language Studies* [Fshr. Z. Ben-Hayyim] [Heb] (Jerusalem, 1983), pp. 473-82, esp. p. 476. But Bendavid (1.28) thinks that these are stylistic variations, a viewpoint which Qimron does not take into account.

In postbiblical Hebrew a prohibition of the Law is called a **לֹא תַעֲשֶׂה** (in contrast to a positive precept, which is a **עֲשֶׂה**).

(3) So in the Arad inscription 18.4, 6: ... **תַּתְּ ... תַּתְּ**. Compare the case of w-qatalī continuing an imperative, § 119 *l*.

n Nuance **want**⁽¹⁾: Gn 24.58 "*would you like to go with this man?*" **הֲתֵלֵךְ אִתִּי** — "*I would go*"; Dt 18.6 "*if he wants to come*"; Jdg 4.8 "*If you want to come with me, I'll go*"; 1Sm 21.10 "*if you want to take it, take it*"; 26.6 "*who wants to go down with me?*"; 30.15 "*do you want to lead me?*"; Ru 1.11 "*why do you want to come with me?*"; 3.13 "*if he wants to buy you back*" (in the second part explicitly **וְאִם לֹא יִפְחַדְךָ** *and if he does not want to*); 4.4 "*if you want to buy back*).

(1) Comp. Jn 10.32 **διὰ ποιὸν αὐτῶν ἔργον ἐμὲ λιθάζετε**; 33 **περὶ καλοῦ ἔργου οὐ λιθάζομέν σε**.

o **Conclusion.** From the survey of these various uses it emerges that the yiqtol has a less precise time value than the qatal. It is quite often found in places where the qatal would be expected. As a rule the context is enough to determine the time of a yiqtol used, as it were in an *atemporal* way. Thus in an alternance of qatal⁽¹⁾ and yiqtol (frequent in poetry), the qatal places in the past the action expressed by

the following yiqtol, e.g. Is 26.5 "he has bent *הִשְׁחַת* the inhabitants of the high city; the city in a high position, *הִשְׁפִּילָהּ*"; Job 4.15; 19.10,12; 32.11; 33.8; 38.17,22 (cf. § h)(2).

(1) Or of a wayyiqtol, equivalent to a qatal and continuing it.

(2) Not different from these cases are those where the yiqtol is separated from the Waw by a word, e.g. Dt 33.9 *וַיִּצְרְוּ יְנֻצְרוּ וַיִּבְרְיֻתְךָ וַיִּמְרְאוּ אִמְרֹתֶיךָ* they observed your commandment and kept your covenant. The Waw which is separated from the verb does not, as it were, exist for this verb (against König, § 368 h). Cf. Dt 32.14; 33.28; Jdg 5.17; Is 2.6; 40.19.

APPENDIX. Comparison between active verbs and stative verbs in the qatal and yiqtol forms:

<i>קָטַל</i> he has killed etc.	<i>כָּבֵד</i> he has been heavy
<i>הֵרַג</i> he kills (instantaneous action)	he was heavy
<i>יִקְטֹל</i> he will kill (rather rarely)	he is heavy
<i>יִקְטֹל</i> he will kill	<i>יִכָּבֵד</i> he will be, will become heavy
<i>הֵרַג</i> he kills, he is killing (frequency, duration)	[he becomes heavy]
<i>הֵרַג</i> he used to kill, he was killing (same as above)	[he was becoming heavy]

§ 114. Direct volitive moods (cohortative, jussive, imperative)

The volitive moods are the imperative and two forms which are modifications of the future indicative yiqtol⁽¹⁾. The volitive moods may be used without a Waw, or with a Waw which has the purely juxtaposing value of *and*. Thus in Gn 1.28 *פְּרוּ וּרְבוּ וּמְלֹאוּ אֶת-הָאָרֶץ וּכְבִשְׁוּהָ וּרְדוּ בָּהּ* Be fruitful and multiply, and fill the earth and subdue it, and have dominion over the fish of the sea ... the five imperatives are direct imperatives. In the indirect volitive the form is used with a Waw which logically has subordinating (final, i.e. indicating a purpose, or consecutive) value, e.g. *and (consequently)* (Latin: *ut*). Indirect or subordinate volitives will be dealt with separately (§ 116), after the general study of the use of Waw with verbs (§ 115).

(1) W.L. Moran, "Early Canaanite *yaqtula*," *Or* N.S. 29 (1960) 1-19, and J. Blau, "The

Hebrew cohortative and its Semitic correspondences," in *HUCA* 41 (1971) 133-44. Note, however, that the Arabic *yaqtula* is not functionally identical with Moran's Early Canaanite *yaqtula* and it may be an innovation within Classical Arabic, as emphasised by H. Fleisch in his "yaqtula cananéen et subjonctif arabe," *Studia orientalia in memoriam Caroli Brockelmann* (Halle, 1968), pp. 65-76; for a critique of Fleisch's view, see J. Blau in *HUCA* 42 (1971) 144-46.

- b A) The volitive mood⁽¹⁾ of the 1st person is the cohortative, e.g. הָרָצַחְתִּי *I want to kill*, הָרָצַחְתִּי and *I want to kill*; נִרְצַחְנוּ *we want to kill* and more often *let us kill*; נִרְצַחְנוּ and *we want to kill* and more often *and let us kill*. The נִ adds a volitive nuance to the form of the future; either a manifestation of the speaker's will, or an appeal to someone else's will. The volitive nuance is often very weak and does not always need to be translated⁽²⁾. The volitive nuance is sometimes optative: *May I kill!* When the speaker manifests his will in a way which is dependent on someone else's will: *I want to kill (if you allow it)*, the nuance is *I would like to kill, let me kill, allow me to kill*.

The *entreating* particle אֵן (§ 105 c) is very often found after the cohortative; it adds a nuance of prayer, sometimes of energy. The word *cohortative* is well applied only to the plural, and to one meaning (*let's kill!*, proposing or urging a joint action).

(1) Strictly speaking, a distinction must be made between the (syntactical) *cohortative mood* and the *cohortative form*. Sometimes, indeed, the syntax clearly indicates the cohortative mood even though the form is not cohortative. In אֵל verbs the forms of the type הִמְצַאֵנִי *, הִמְצַאֵנִי * are almost always avoided. Thus we always have הִמְצַאֵנִי *let me find favour!* Gn 34.11 etc.; הִמְצַאֵנִי Gn 47.25 etc.; Gn 24.57 הִמְצַאֵנִי *let us call!*; 1Sm 12.17 הִמְצַאֵנִי (prob. cohort.); Job 32.21 הִמְצַאֵנִי אֵלֵּי ; Jer 17.14 הִמְצַאֵנִי (followed by הִמְצַאֵנִי); Ps 139.9 הִמְצַאֵנִי (followed by הִמְצַאֵנִי); Job 23.4 הִמְצַאֵנִי . We even find הִמְצַאֵנִי used as cohort. Ct 7.12; הִמְצַאֵנִי 1Sm 20.11; 1Kg 20.31 (after הִמְצַאֵנִי); but 2Ch 1.10 הִמְצַאֵנִי before הִמְצַאֵנִי (cf. Ne 2.13 הִמְצַאֵנִי). But the verb אֵלֵּי has the cohortative: הִמְצַאֵנִי , הִמְצַאֵנִי . Other examples: 1Kg 20.23 הִמְצַאֵנִי *let us fight!* (contr. vs. 25 הִמְצַאֵנִי); 2Kg 4.10 הִמְצַאֵנִי ?; 2Sm 13.25 (§ f); 1Ch 21.13 הִמְצַאֵנִי אֵלֵּי (?; contr. parall. 2Sm 24.14 הִמְצַאֵנִי אֵלֵּי). Similar observation for the jussive, § g, n.

(2) The Septuagint and the Vulgate never translate by a verb meaning *to want*.

- c Examples of the singular and of the plural, with or without אֵן , will be given separately⁽¹⁾.

Type הָרָצַחְתִּי : הָרָצַחְתִּי *I want to go, I will go* Gn 45.28; Jer 5.5; Ho 2.7, 9; Mi 1.8⁽²⁾; Gn 32.21 הָרָצַחְתִּי *I will appease*; Ex 32.30 *perhaps I shall be able to expiate* (with optative nuance); Ps 31.8 *I will rejoice*; Dt

12.20 אֶכְלֶה *I would like to eat* some meat (understand: *if this is allowed*); 17.14 *I would like to put*; אָעֲבֹרָה always (5 x) means *let me pass through* Nu 20.19; 21.22; Dt 2.27,28; Jdg 12.5; Ps 17.15 אֲשֻׁבְצָה *may I be satisfied!*; 39.5 *may I know!*; 61.5 *may I lodge!* With אֶל: Jer 17.18 אֶל־אֲבִוִּישָׁה *may I not be confounded!* (likewise Ps 25.2; 31.2,18; 71.1); Ps 69.15 *may I not sink!* In a resolution: Gn 21.16 אֶל־אֶרְאֶה *I do not want to see*. In 2Sm 24.14 (1Ch 21.13) there is resolution rather than wish: "I want to fall by the hand of God ... rather than by the hand of men"⁽³⁾.

(1) All the examples of אֶלְכָה, נִלְכָה are quoted. Quoting forms with juxtaposing 1 as examples has been avoided; they naturally have the same nuances, e.g. נִסְעָה וְנִלְכָה Gn 33.12 "Let us go *and* let us walk."

(2) Is 38.10 is odd (contrast Gn 46.30 אֶמָּוֶתָה *I will gladly die*). Here a meaning of *must, have to* is admitted. Likewise in a few other examples which are hard to explain, e.g. Jer 4.21; 6.10; Ps 57.5. In some cases the form is perh. only due to emphasis, e.g. Jer 4.19; Ps 73.17. It appears that authors of late books of the OT were attracted to the cohortative as an eminently archaic feature, but often used it wrongly as it was no longer an integral part of their language; cf. E.Y. Kutscher, *Isaiah*, pp. 39f., 326f.

(3) For *I do not want to kill* no certain example of the type אֶקְטֹלֶה לֹא is found. A firm will can be expressed by the simple future as in our languages, e.g. 1Sm 28.23 לֹא אֶכְלֵה *I will not eat*; Jer 2.20 לֹא אֶעֱבֹדֶה *I will not serve*; 6.16 לֹא נִלְכֵם *we will not walk*.

Type אֶקְטֹלֶה־נָּא: אֶלְכָה־נָּא *allow me to go* (always: Ex 4.18; 2Sm 15.7; Jer 40.15; Ru 2.2); אָעֲבֹרָה־נָּא *allow me to pass* (always: Dt 3.25; Jdg 11.17; 2Sm 16.9); Gn 50.5 אֶעֱלֶה־נָּא *allow me to go up*; 1Kg 19.20 *allow me to kiss*; in a resolution: Gn 18.21 אֶרְדָּה־נָּא *I want to go down*; Ex 3.3 אֶסָּרֶה־נָּא *I want to step forward*; Ct 3.2 *I want to arise*; and in a looser way: Is 5.1 *I want to sing*, vs. 5 *I want to make known*. With אֶל: Job 32.21 אֶל־נָּא אֶשָּׂא *may I not take!* (cf. § b, n.).

Type נִלְכָה: נִקְטֹלֶה *we want to go* Ex 5.8,18 (cf. vs. 3; not: *let's go*); Zech 8.23 *we want to go* or *we will go* (opp. 21); Gn 43.4 נִרְדָּה *we would like to go down* or *we will go down* (in apodosis of conditional clause); Ps 65.5 *may we be filled!* But the most common meaning is that of the cohortative (1st pers. pl. of English imperative): נִלְכָה *let's go!* Gn 37.17; Dt 13.3,7,14; 1Sm 9.6,10; Zech 8.21 (contrast 23); Gn 1.26 נַעֲשֵׂה *let us make man* (plural of deliberation with oneself)⁽¹⁾; 11.7 הֵרָדָה נִרְדָּה *come! let us go down!* (God); 11.3 הֵרָבָה נִלְבְּנָה *come! let us make bricks*;

Ps 2.3 *let us break!* With אַל: Jer 18.18b אַל-נִקְשִׁי בָּהּ *let us pay attention!*

(1) The *we* of majesty does not exist in Hebrew. For the *plural of majesty* in nouns cf. § 136 d.

f Type אַל-נִקְשִׁי בָּהּ: אַל-נִקְשִׁי בָּהּ *allow us to go* (always: Ex 3.18; 5.3; 2Kg 6.2); אַל-נִעְבְּרָהּ *allow us to pass* (always: Nu 20.17; Jdg 11.19); 2Kg 4.10 אַל-נַעֲשֶׂהָ *let us make, if you want*. With אַל: 2Sm 13.25 אַל-נִלְךָ כָּל־נַפְשֵׁנוּ *let us not all go* (rather than: *allow that ...*); Jon 1.14 אַל-נָא נִאֲבָרָהּ *may we not perish* (= *do not make us perish*).

g B) The *jussive* is the volitive mood⁽¹⁾ of the 3rd person: יִקָּם *let him arise*; יִקָּם *and let him arise*: it indicates the speaker's wish or will, therefore יִקָּם does not mean "he wants to arise." Moreover it is normally used with the imperative negation אַל (instead of the imperative)⁽²⁾, e.g. אַל-תִּקָּם *do not arise; ne surgas*. Apart from this case the *jussive* of the 2nd pers. is rare: Ps 104.20 תִּשָּׂא אֶרֶץ מִצְרָיִם § 167 a; Ps 71.21 תִּרְבֵּן (not very clear); 1Sm 10.8 תִּוָּחַל ?; Ez 3.3 תִּאֲכַל ?.

In the 1st person the *jussive* is very rare and suspect: Is 42.6 וְאֶחָזֵק; 41.28 וְאֶרְאֶה. But אֶסְרָךְ Ez 5.16; אֶסְרָךְ Dt 18.16; Ho 9.15 are indicatives (§ 75 f).

(1) As in the case of the cohortative (§ b, n.), a distinction must be made between the (syntactical) *jussive mood* and the *jussive form*. In many cases the *jussive form* cannot be seen (§ 46 a); thus in the priestly blessing (Nu 6.24 - 26), out of six *jussives*, only two have an explicit *jussive form*. Moreover the *jussive form* is quite often neglected in cases where it could have been used, e.g. 1Sm 25.25 אַל-יָשִׁים *let us not* (but ?). In הִי־יָאֵל verbs the full form is often used instead of the apocopated form, e.g. Job 3.9b אַל-יִרְאֶה (contr. יִקָּן 9a), especially in pause, e.g. 2Kg 6.17 וְיִרְאֶה and in pre-pause, e.g. Gn 1.9 וְיִבְרָא אֶת הַיָּם וְיִבְרָא אֶת הַיָּבֵשׁ; Is 47.3; Ps 109.7. Likewise with Waw inversive full forms are often used, e.g. וְיִרְאֶה (§ 79 m).

(2) Contrast this use of the *jussive* of the 2nd pers. instead of the imperative with the use of the indirect imperative וְיִקָּם *ut surgas* instead of the *jussive* of the 2nd pers. וְתִקָּם (§ 116 f).

h The *jussive* is used to express all the nuances of will: from a superior to an inferior: command, exhortation, advice, invitation, permission; — from an inferior to a superior: wish, prayer, request for permission etc. The *jussive* is often followed by the entreating particle אַל, especially in the requests for permission. Examples: Gn 1.3 יְהִי אוֹר *let there be light!*; Dt 20.5 יֵלֶךְ וְיֵשֶׁב *let him go and re-*

turn; Gn 41.33 יֵרָא "let Pharaoh see..."; 2Sm 19.38 יַעְבֹּר *let him pass* (request for permission) and v. 39 *let him pass* (permission granted); Nu 6.24 ff. *May Yahweh bless you and keep you, etc.* (sacerdotal blessing). — With אָנָּה: Ex 34.9 אָנָּה-יֵלֶךְ *may my Lord be willing to walk* (polite form for אָנָּה-הֵלֵךְ); Gn 33.14 *may my Lord be willing to pass*; 2Sm 13.24 *may the king be willing to go*; Jdg 15.2 *you may have her*; 2Kg 2.16 אֵלֵיכֶם-יֵלְכוּ *allow them to go*; speaking of oneself in the 3rd pers.: Gn 44.33 אֶשְׁבֶּב-אֲנִי *allow your servant to stay*⁽¹⁾; 47.4.

(1) Practically equivalent to אֶשְׁבֶּב-אֲנִי (lit. *I want to stay, please, § d*).

With the negation אַל the jussive expresses the same nuances negatively: negative order (prohibition), negative wish, negative prayer. Examples: 1Kg 13.22 אַל-תֹּאכַל *do not eat* (vss. 9,17 לֹא תֹאכַל *you shall not eat*; cf. § 113 m); Ex 34.3 אַל-יֵרָא *let nobody be seen*; 2Kg 10.19 אִישׁ אַל-תִּשָּׁב *let nobody be absent*; in a prayer: 1Kg 2.20 אַל-תִּפְקֹד *do not refuse me*; Dt 9.26 אַל-תִּשְׁחַת *do not destroy*; often with אָנָּה: Gn 18.30 אַל-נִא-יִחַר-לִאֲדֹנָי *may my lord be willing not to grow angry*.

The jussive is used in a rather loose fashion, e.g. 1Sm 18.17 אַל-תִּהְיֶה *my hand must not strike him* (here the action depends on the speaker); Ru 3.17 *you must not come back empty-handed* (same observation); Josh 7.3 אַל-יֵצֵל-כָּל-הָעָם *it is not necessary for all the people to come up* (in giving a piece of advice).

Sometimes in poetry אַל is used in an even looser way, in cases where one would expect אֵל. Assuming the text is correct, אַל could be a stylistic refinement, or it could express an energetic nuance: Ps 41.3 *you will not give him over*; 50.3 *he will not remain quiet*; Pr 3.25 אַל-תִּירָא *you will not have to be afraid* (LXX A οὐ μὴ φοβηθήσῃ); Job 5.22 (id.); Ct 7.3 *it will not lack*; Jer 46.6 אַל-יָנוּס *he will not be able to flee* (יָנוּס ? or careless jussive form, § g, n.). Comp. imperative § p.

Some forms which are vocalised as jussives are difficult or impossible to explain⁽¹⁾: Dt 28.21 קִדְּבֶךָ (the context requires the indicative קִדְּבֶךָ *he will make cleave*); 28.36; 1Kg 8.1; Ps 11.6; Pr 15.25; Job 10.16; 15.33; 18.9; 27.22; 33.11; Ec 12.7; Dn 8.12. In these cases it is possible to conjecture that the jussive vocalisation was due to the *scriptio defectiva*. Likewise in the instances with אֵל: 1Kg 2.6 לֹא תוֹרֵד (read ָר); Gn 24.8; 1Sm 14.36; 2Sm 17.12; Ez 48.14.

In other cases the jussive form is implied by the consonants: Dt 28.8 יִצַּו (the meaning requires the indicative הִצַּוְהָ *he will order*); Job 10.17 הִרְבּוּ; 18.12 יְהִי; 33.21 יִכְבֹּל; with אֵל Job 23.11 וְלֹא-טִאָּר.

Likewise with a juxtaposing ו: Is 50.2 וְתַמְלֹחַ; Zeph 2.13 וְיִט; Job 34.37 וְיִרְבּוּ; Lam 3.50 וְיִרְאָה.

For a few examples of וְיְהִי for הִיְהִי, cf. § 119 z.

(1) According to GK, § 109 k, these jussives are due to consideration of rhythm (?). About the form יִוֹסֵר as indicative, cf. § 75 f.

m C) The imperative is the volitive mood of the 2nd person, in the positive⁽¹⁾: קוּמְ *get up*, וקוּמְ *and get up*. Like the jussive, it is used to express all the shades of will⁽²⁾. In the 2nd pers. m.sg. the form with paragogic הִּ has, in general, no appreciably different nuance from the usual form (cf. § 48 d). The particle אֵן is often added to the imperative: it usually has its entreating force, and it sometimes adds a nuance of energy (Nu 16.26; 20.10); cf. § 105 c⁽³⁾. The imperative is mainly used for an immediate action, e.g. Ru 2.14 *come near* (here and now); rather rarely for a more or less remote action (which is usually expressed by the future), e.g. Dn 1.13 וַעֲשֵׂה *you will do* (then). Examples: Gn 12.1 הֲלֹךְ-לְךָ *go*; 1Kg 2.22 וְשִׂאֲשֵׁרֵי *do ask* (§ 177 m); 2Kg 5.22 אֲנִי-הִנְנֶה *please give*.

(1) For the negative, the jussive אֲלֹא-תִקַּח is used § g.

(2) The term "imperative" should not mislead; thus even in addressing God: Ps 13.4 יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי הֶאֱרִיךָ עֵינָי *Look, and answer me, O Lord my God: lighten my eyes!*

(3) Thus there are 4 forms in the 2nd pers. m.sg.: הֲלֹךְ, הִלְכֵה; אֵן-הֲלֹךְ, אֵן-הִלְכֵה.

n Note the use of the imperative of permission: 2Sm 18.23 "Come what may! Shall I run? — *Run* רָצַח." After a jussive of permission requested 2Kg 2.17 *Send*. After a cohortative of permission requested (*I would like, allow me to*) Gn 50.6 *Go up*; Ex 4.18 *Go* הֲלֹךְ; 2Sm 15.9 הֲלֹךְ; 2Kg 6.2 *Go* (plural); Ru 2.2 *Go* (sing.).

o The imperative is sometimes found in cases where the execution of the order is not within the power of the person receiving the order: Gn 42.16 "Send one of you to fetch your brother; as for you, *you shall remain as prisoners* וְהָאֲסָרֶה" (comp. vs. 19 the jussive אֲסָרֶה)⁽¹⁾; Dt 32.50 "you must die תָּמוּת on the mountain upon which you will have gone, and you must be gathered unto your people הִתְאָסְפוּ" (after imperatives, vs.

49)(2). These cases become understandable when one remembers that the imperative, along with the jussive and cohortative, is essentially a form for expressing the speaker's will, wish or desire. Thus וְרָצוּן quoted above signifies: "I want you to be incarcerated."

(1) Or tolerative Nifal: "submit yourselves to imprisonment" (§ 51 c).

(2) Comp., with the same nuance, in the same situation, the jussive: Nu 20.24 וְרָצוּן he *must be gathered* ... ; the cohortative: Is 38.10 וְרָצוּן (cf. § c, n.).

In poetry the imperative is sometimes equivalent to a future with energetic nuance; 2Kg 19.29 (= Is 17.30) "This year one shall eat the self-grown produce of the fields ...; but in the third year *you shall sow* וְרָצוּן"; Ps 110.2 *you shall dominate* וְרָצוּן. Cp. jussive with וְרָצוּן, § k.

§ 115. Waw with finite verbal forms

A Waw preceding a finite verbal form (qatal, yiqtol, jussive, cohortative, imperative) may have various semantic values; consequently a group consisting of Waw and of a verbal form will have different values. While retaining the basic meaning of *et* "and," Waw can have certain concomitant nuances which our languages neglect or can only express with the addition of a word. Thus, whereas Latin uses the word *et* in exactly the same way in *comēdit et bibit* "he ate and drank" (where both actions are assumed to be simultaneous) and in *comēdit et ivit cubitum* "he ate and went to bed" (where the second action is subsequent to the first), Hebrew distinguishes between these two *et*'s, the second of which is equivalent to *et postea* "and thereafter." In a sentence like *divide et impera* "Divide and rule!" where the *et* is logically equivalent to *ita ut (sic) imperes* "so that you may rule" = *et sic imperabis* "you will thus rule" (consecution), and (*in consequence*) *you will rule* or to *ut imperes* (purpose), *so that you may rule*, Hebrew distinguishes a modal nuance of the Waw (consecutive or final)(1).

From a logical point of view one may therefore distinguish between an *et* of pure juxtaposition and an *et* shaded with succession, consecution and purpose. We shall call the first *et* "simple *et*" and the second one "energetic *et*."

(1) Compare the double value of *qui* in: *Vēnit vir qui (= et is) nuntiavit* "The man came, who delivered the message," and *Vēnit vir qui (= ut is) nuntiaret* "the man, who would deliver the message, came."

b The Arabic language can express these differences in a rather precise way, which helps to understand the processes of Hebrew. It has two forms to express *et*: *wa* and *fa*(¹). *Wa* is used for simple *et*, *fa* for energetic *et*; for *et* of succession *fa* (rarely *wa*) with the indicative is generally used; for final-consecutive *et*, *fa* with the subjunctive. Thus to the various logical distinctions correspond distinct forms.

(1) There was originally a single form, according to G.H.A. von Ewald, *Grammatica critica linguae arabicae* etc. (Leipzig, 1831-33), 1, § 478; 2, § 726f.; but Brockelmann justly allows two forms in *GvG*, I, p. 502.

c Hebrew is rather far from this perfection of Arabic. To start with, Hebrew has only \aleph to express *et*. In order to render the various distinctions only two methods can be used: either a modification of Waw or of the verbal form. Now these two methods are only imperfectly realised. Simple *et* is always expressed by a weak \aleph (i.e. without the necessity of doubling)(¹), but energetic \aleph is not always expressed by a strong \aleph (i.e. which requires doubling). Moreover strong \aleph is in fact only found in the case of the form of succession *wayyiqtol* "and he killed." In the same form, when the phonetic laws allow it, vocalisation and stress are equally discriminant. In *w-qatal* the difference in value of *et* can sometimes be expressed by the position of the stress, e.g. *w-qatálti*(²) "and I killed" (*et* of pure juxtaposition), *w-qataltí* "and then I shall kill" (form of succession). In all the other cases, namely in the cohortative, jussive, and imperative the difference between *et* of juxtaposition and *et* of purpose-consecution does not appear in the form. The only way to see whether the \aleph in that case is juxtaposing or final-consecutive is to use the context, syntax and also a comparison with Arabic(³). For instance, in Gn 11.3 נְלַבְנָה לְבִנָּיִם וְנִשְׂרָפָה לְשָׂרָפָה *let us make bricks and burn them thoroughly*, the context indicates a juxtaposing Waw.

We shall see that energetic *et* is found:

1) with the volitive moods; the \aleph has a meaning of purpose-consecution, like Lat. *ut* (*so that, and in consequence*). Here Arabic has *fa* and the subjunctive. Cf. § 116 a;

2) with the indicatives *qatal* and *yiqtol*, namely *w-qataltí* and *wayyiqtol*; in this case \aleph mainly expresses succession (*and then*). Here

Arabic has *fa* and the indicative. Cf. § 117.

See the practical summary of the main cases in § 120.

(1) Cf. § 104 *c-d*.

(2) The form *w-qatalti* (with Waw non-inversive) as well as the parallel form *w-yiqtol* are allowed by classical usage only in specific cases; cf. § 166 *a, n*.

(3) Likewise for a *l* before a noun or a particle. Thus *l* is energetic in Jdg 6.13 $\text{הַלֵּךְ}^{\text{ל}}$ "why then?" = Arb. *falima*; 1Kg 1.13 $\text{עַל־הָאָרֶץ}^{\text{ל}}$ "what on earth for?"; with nuance of purpose-consecution: Job 38.34 $\text{תִּשְׁמַע}^{\text{ל}}$ "Do you lift up your voice towards the clouds so that a mass of water may cover you?" (the *l* has the same value as that of $\text{כִּי}^{\text{ל}}$ at vs. 35); 21.3 (42.4) $\text{וְיָנֹכַח}^{\text{ל}}$ (comp. 13.13; Dt 32.1; Ps 50.7).

§ 116. Indirect volitive moods (cohortative, jussive, imperative)

The volitive moods used with a purely juxtaposing *l* are direct volitives (§ 114). When used with a *l* expressing the notion of purpose or consecution, they are indirect or logically subordinate volitives, e.g. $\text{וְאֶקְטַל}^{\text{ל}}$ *ut occidam* "so that I may [or: might] kill." Since the three indirect volitive moods are treated in the same way, they will be brought together in one and the same paragraph. Note that the indirect volitive can express purpose as well as consecution: the exact nuance can only be derived from the context⁽¹⁾.

(1) In "On the cohortative and jussive after an imperative or interjection in Biblical Hebrew," *JQR* NS 31 (1940-41) 371-82, ib. 32 (1941-42) 191-205, 273-77, H.M. Orlinsky attempts to demonstrate that an imperative is never followed by an indicative, but the 70 cases in his section II B are rather unconvincing and in many other cases he is compelled to resort to textual emendations and to adopt rare variant readings. Whilst he quotes Böttcher (p. 377, n. 7), who discusses the final force of the syntagm, Orlinsky's study is not concerned with its function, but only its morphology. See also F.T. Kelly, "The imperfect with simple Waw in Hebrew," *JBL* 39 (1920) 1-23. B. Johnson's study, *Hebräisches Perfekt und Imperfekt mit vorangehendem w* (Lund, 1979), is marred by the author's failure to distinguish between the different formal categories of the prefix conjugation on the one hand, and between the simple Waw and the energetic Waw on the other.

A) **Indirect cohortative (w-'*eqtla*: *ut occidam*).** It is mainly used after a (direct) volitive mood:

1) After an imperative: Gn 27.4 $\text{וְאֶכְלֶהָ}^{\text{ל}}$ *Bring it to me so that I may eat it* (here purpose rather than consecution)⁽¹⁾; Gn 12.2 "Go forth from your country ... and I will make of you $\text{וְאֶעֱשֶׂה}^{\text{ל}}$ a great

nation" (consequence rather than purpose); 23.4 "give me a grave so that I may bury my dead וְאֶקְבְּרָה"; 24.56; 27.9,25; 29.21; 30.25,26; 42.34; 49.1; Dt 32.1; 1Kg 13.7; Mal 3.7 וְאָשׁוּבָה אֵלַי כִּם come back to me and (consecution) I will come back to you (cf. Zech 1.3 where one should read וְאָשׁוּבָה with some manuscripts); Jer 33.3.

2) After a jussive: 1Sm 27.5 וְיָתְנוּ-לִי מְקוֹם וְאֶשְׁכְּבָה שָׁם let them give me a place so that I may live in it; Gn 18.30 "may my Lord be willing not to grow angry and I shall speak וְאֶדְבַּרְךָ" (consecution); Is 5.19 וְנִדְרְעָהּ so that we may know (parall. לְמַעַן נִרְאֶה so that we may see).

3) After a first cohortative (but here, it is not always clear whether the ו is juxtaposing or subordinating): Ex 3.3 אֲסַרְךָ-נָא וְאֶרְאֶה I want to step forward to see (the final meaning is confirmed by vs. 4 וְרָאָהּ he stepped forward to see); 1Kg 19.20 Osculer, oro, patrem meum et matrem meam et sic sequar te "Let me please kiss my father and my mother, and let me thus follow you" (Vulg.; consecution). More or less doubtful examples: Gn 24.57; 2Sm 16.9; Jer 40.15.

(1) In Arabic, *fa'ākula* (*fa* plus subjunctive) must be used. This parallelism gives much support to the idea that the Hebrew form *'eqila* is an old volitive, an idea which has now been corroborated by W. Moran, who has pointed out the morphosyntactic parallelism between the Hebrew cohortative and the Amarna (Byblos) yaqtula: see art. cit. [§ 114 a, n.]. Therefore the Heb. cohortative cannot be related to the Arabic energetic form. For an attempt to account for the preservation of the originally short final /a/, see J. Blau in *KOS* 7 (1977) 29f., and on a likely Old Akkadian form with similar force, see a discussion by J. Blau in *HUCA* 42 (1971) 141f. The use of the subjunctive in Arabic must be a derivative of the original volitive function of the form. See the study by Fleisch cited above, § 114 a, n.

The distinction between 'purpose' and 'consecution' (result) cannot always be sharply drawn, since one is dealing with an intended effect or result, and the syntagm under discussion is not used to express a thought such as "Noah drank excessively so that he could hardly find his way about." Furthermore, it is hardly possible to demonstrate that a sentence such as Gn 27.4 quoted above does not mean "Bring it to me, and let me eat it," in other words, with the second verb form retaining its original, genuine volitive force, and the Waw being merely juxtaposing. At least it can be stated that a case such as Is 41.26 (cited below in § c) וְנִדְרְעָהּ מִי-הֵגִיד מֵרֵאשִׁית וְנִדְרְעָהּ *Who has declared from the beginning so that we may know?* is extremely rare; see also Lam 1.19 (cited in § e). For pure expression of a purpose or result, one normally uses an alternative structure such as the infinitive construct with or without ל, or לְמַעַן, and the like. Examples in which the syntagm in question is *not* final-consecutive and the Waw is juxtaposing, are Josh 4.16 וַיַּעֲלוּ מִן-הַיַּרְדֵּן ... וְנִדְרְעָהּ וְנִדְרְעָהּ (followed by ... וְנִדְרְעָהּ ... לְאֹמֶר עָלוּ); 2Kg 18.23 וְנִדְרְעָהּ לְךָ ... וְנִדְרְעָהּ אֶת-אֲדָרְנִי ... וְנִדְרְעָהּ אֶת-אֲדָרְנִי

אֶלְפַיִם סוּסִים *Make a wager with my lord ... and I will deliver you two thousand horses;* Dn 1.12 מִן־הַזָּרְעִים קָנוּ מִן־הַזָּרְעִים וַיִּתְּנוּ־לָנוּ מִן־הַזָּרְעִים וַיִּתְּנוּ־לָנוּ מִן־הַזָּרְעִים *Test your servants ten days; let us be given vegetables.* In all the three cases the clause following the initial imperative specifies the contents of the proposition made at the beginning. In a case like 1Kg 22.6 ... וַיִּתֵּן אֱלֹהֵי יְהוָה *to read the Waw as final would be tantamount to forcing God's hand, cf. vs. 15 ... וַיִּתֵּן יְהוָה ...* a more detached prediction.

The indirect cohortative is also used after an indicative, mainly in interrogative and optative clauses. c

In an interrogative clause (§ 161 m): 1Kg 22.7 "Is there not here some prophet (so) that we may ask him?" וַיִּנְדָּבְרָהּ שָׁהָה"; Is 40.25 (consecution); 41.26 (purpose); Am 8.5 (id.); Lam 2.13 (id.).

In an optative clause: Jdg 9.29 "May I have this people in my hand and I will remove (וְאֶתְּרִיחָה) Abimelech!"; Jer 9.1. Outside these cases the indirect cohortative is rare: In a positive clause: Ne 5.3 "We pawn our fields in order to obtain grain וַיִּנְקְנוּהָ"; — negative: Is 53.2 "he has neither appearance nor lustre for us to remark him, nor beauty for us to love him" (in a nominal clause; the accent atnaḥ is incorrectly placed); — dubitative: Jer 20.10 b "perhaps he will let himself be caught, and thus we shall prevail against him לוֹ וַיִּנְוִכְלָהּ לוֹ."

For the cohortative in conditional clauses cf. § 167 a.

B) Indirect jussive (*w-yaqom: ut surgat*). It is mainly used after a (direct) volitive mood: d

1) After an imperative: 1Sm 25.8 וְיִגְדְּרוּ לָךְ וַיִּגְדְּרוּ לָךְ וַיִּגְדְּרוּ לָךְ "Ask your boys and they will tell you" (consecution); 1Kg 21.2 "give me your vine so that it may become (וַיְהִי) for me a vegetable garden"; 2Kg 6.17 "Open his eyes so that he may see"; 2Kg 25.24 "Serve the king of Babylon and you will be happy (וַיִּשְׂבַּח לְכַמֵּם)"; Ex 9.13 (purpose); 1Sm 7.3 (consecution); Pr 20.22 (consecution). Likewise after an infinitive absolute used in the sense of an imperative (§ 123 u): 2Kg 5.10 "Go and wash yourself seven times in the Jordan and your flesh will come back (וַיִּשְׁבַּח)" (consecution).

2) After a cohortative: there seem to be no sure examples. In Gn 19.20 the jussive may be direct.

3) After a first jussive (but here juxtaposing ו can hardly be distinguished from subordinating ו).

The jussive is rare after an indicative, but naturally it can be found in the same cases where the cohortative is found (§ c). In an in- e

terrogative clause (§ 161 m): Jon 1.11 "What must we do to you *so that* the sea *may be calm*? (וַיִּשְׁתַּקֵּץ)." After an injunctive future: Gn 42.20 "you will bring your youngest brother to me, *so that* your words *may be verified* (וַיִּאֱמָנוּ)"; after a future of prediction: Lv 26.43 "the land will be abandoned *so that it may pay off* (וַתִּרְצֵן) its sabbaths"; after a perfect: Lam 1.19 "they have looked for food *to revive themselves* (וַיִּשְׁכַּח אֶת-נַפְשָׁם)"; Lv 9.6 "here is what Yahweh has commanded you to do *so that* his glory *may appear* to you וַיִּרְאֵךָ⁽¹⁾. (In 1Kg 13.33 וַיִּהְיֶה, if it is correctly vocalised, *may* mean "so that he might become"). After a nominal clause: Nu 23.19 לֹא אִישׁ אֵל וַיִּכְזֹּב *God is not a man that he should lie*.

For the jussive in conditional clauses cf. § 167 a.

(1) Alternatively: "Here is what Y. has commanded you. Do it so that ..."; cf. Ibn Ezra ad loc.

f C) **Indirect imperative (uqtol: ut occidas "so that you may kill")**. In the 2nd person, the indirect volitive is not the jussive, as would have been expected (and as it is in Arabic), but rather the imperative⁽¹⁾. The indirect imperative is mainly used after a (direct) volitive mood:

1) After a cohortative: 1Kg 1.12 וְאֵינְךָ נֹא עֲצֵה וּמְלִטִי "I want to give you some advice *so that you may save* your life and the life of your son Solomon" (ὅπως σωσῆς); Job 38.3 *I want to question you and you will inform me* (purpose or consecution) (40.7).

2) After a jussive: Ps 128.5 "Yahweh bless you from Zion, *so that you may contemplate* the beauty of Jerusalem וַיִּרְאֵךָ; Jer 35.15 (after a jussive juxtaposed with an imperative).

3) Mainly after a first imperative (but the context alone indicates whether the 1 is juxtaposing or subordinating)⁽²⁾. Compare the saying *divide et impera* with the variant *divide ut imperes*. In most of the examples the meaning is consecutive: Gn 42.18 וְזאת עֲשׂוּ וַחֲיִי *do this and (thus) you will live*⁽³⁾; 2Kg 5.13 וַחֲוֹךְ וַיִּטְהַר *wash yourself and you will be purified*; 18.31 "Surrender to me *and you will eat* (וְאָכַלְוּ) every man of his own vine ..."; Is 45.22 *come back to me and you will be saved*; Jer 6.16 *walk there and you will find*; Am 5.4.6; Job 21.5; Ps 37.27 *Turn from evil and do good and you will forever inhabit* (after an imperative with juxtaposing Waw); Pr 3.3-4; 7.2 "keep my precepts

and you will live (וַיִּחֲיֶיךָ); Job 2.9; Esth 5.14 "*et sic ibis laetus* (אֲבִיבִי)" (Vulg.); sometimes rather far from the first imperative: Jer 25.5. In the final sense 1Kg 13.7 "Come home with me *to refresh yourself* (וַיִּסְעֲרֶךָ)." Likewise after an infinitive absolute used in the sense of an imperative (§ 123 u): 2Kg 5.10 וַיִּטְבַּח ... וַיִּלְוֶה "Go and wash yourself seven times ... *and you will be purified*" (cp. § d); Pr 13.20K: וַיִּחַדְּכֵם ... וַיִּלְוֶה "walk with the wise men *and you will become wise.*"

(1) Contrast this use of the indirect imperative instead of the indirect jussive with the use of the jussive of the 2nd pers. with לֹא instead of the imperative, § 114 g. There do not seem to be any examples of final-consecutive jussive in the 2nd pers.: in any case the imperative is normal. This has not been noticed by Driver, *Tenses*, § 65; Davidson, *Syntax*, § 65 d. In his Hebrew translation of the New Testament, Franz Delitzsch incorrectly uses the future of the 2nd pers. instead of the imperative, e.g. John 16.24; Acts 16.31.

(2) Other examples of doubtful cases: Ex 14.16 וַיִּקְצַעְתֶּם consecution (*and you shall divide it*) rather than juxtaposition (*and divide it*).

(3) Contr. Nu 4.19 (cf. § 119 m).

Rarely after an indicative. In an interrogative clause (§ 161 m): 2Sm 21.3 "What shall I do for you and how can I make atonement, *so that you may bless* וַיְבָרְכֶם the inheritance of Yahweh?" (comp. § e, Jon 1.11). g

General rule. It is apparent from this survey that the three indirect volitive moods of purpose-consecution are used in the same ways. The following general rule may therefore be formulated: To express purpose or consecution the cohortative is used for the 1st person, the imperative for the 2nd pers., and the jussive for the 3rd pers. Examples with various persons: 1Sm 28.22 "Listen to the voice of your servant *and* (consec.) *I will serve you* (coh.) a little food, *so that you may eat* (impv.) *and have strength* (jussive)"; Gn 12.2 "Go forth from your country ... *and I will make* of you (coh.) a great nation ... *and you will be* (impv.) a blessing"; 2Kg 5.10 (jussive, § d and imperative, § f); Job 6.9-10 (jussive, cohortative). Compare § 169 i. h

The indirect volitive moods are sometimes used without Waw; or else the Waw has been separated from the verbal form for some particular reason. i

Cohortative with ו separated: at Gn 22.5, instead of the indirect cohortative וְנִלְכָה *and we shall go*, we find וְנִלְכָה וְהָיִינוּ עִיר וְאָנִי 33.14 וְאָנִי וְהָיִינוּ עִיר וְנִלְכָה *and as for me, I shall proceed*; — without ו: 1Kg 21.2b וְהָיִינוּ עִיר; Ps

55.7 אֲלֹפִיכָא "Would that I had wings like a dove! I would fly away"; Is 27.4; Ps 119.17; Job 9.32,35; 23.4.

Jussive with ו separated: Ps 102.19 הִתְלַל־הִי ... so that he may praise Yāhweh; — without ו: Ex 7.9 יִהְיֶה he will become; Job 9.33 תִּשָּׂא so that he may put; 40.32 אֲלֹתֶיךָ אֵינִי עֹשֶׂה you will not do it again; Pr 3.8 תִּהְיֶה it will be.

Imperative without ו: Pr 20.13 שָׂבַע you will be satisfied.

j With a negation the volitive forms with לֹא are rarely used to express purpose-consecution; one usually employs לֹא and the indicative⁽¹⁾, e.g., in the 1st pers.: Gn 42.2 "buy us some corn so that we may live (jussive) and so that we may not die (וְלֹא נָמוּת); — in the 2nd pers.: Lv 10.9 "do not drink wine ... so that you may not die (וְלֹא תִמָּוֵת); — in the 3rd pers.: 1Kg 18.44 "Harness up and go down, so that the rain may not hold you back (וְלֹא יַעֲצָרְכֶּה); 14.2; Is 8.10 (consecution).

Examples with לֹא and volitive mood are rare (some are doubtful): Nu 11.15; 1Sm 12.19; Ps 69.15; 2Ch 35.21.

In the light of what has been said above it stands to reason that we should find לֹא וְ *ut non* "so that ... may not" after an indicative: Dt 17.17 "he will not have a large number of wives, so that his heart may not deviate וְלֹא יִסָּו"; Gn 14.23; Lv 10.6; Jer 10.4.

This use of לֹא וְ instead of לֹא may have originated in sentences where לֹא was used in the main clause, as in Lv 10.9; לֹא וְ was then very useful for indicating that there was no simple juxtaposition. And from there the use of לֹא וְ for *ut non* may have spread (contrast Lv 16.1 וְאֵל, § 177 *j*, n.).

(1) Mt 7.1 Μὴ κρίνετε, ἵνα μὴ κριθῆτε and Luke 6.37 μὴ κρίνετε, καὶ οὐ μὴ κριθῆτε would be translated in the same way אֲלֹתֶיךָ אֵינִי עֹשֶׂה וְלֹא תִשָּׂא אֲלֹתֶיךָ אֵינִי עֹשֶׂה.

§ 117. Inverted tenses

a The qatal and yiqtol forms preceded by a purely coordinative or juxtaposing Waw naturally have the same values of time and aspect as those without it, e.g., וְקָטַל and he killed etc.; וְיִקְטֹל and he will kill etc. On the other hand with an energetic Waw, which mainly expresses succession, these forms (modified, as far as possible, as to stress and voca-

lisation) have quite different values, so different in fact that way-yiqtol roughly has the values of qatal, and w-qatal the values of yiqtol. The designation of these forms as *converted* (and the Waw, *Waw conversive*) is based on empirical observations, but we have preferred the term *inverted forms* (and *Waw inversive*), which has the advantage of including both inversion of meaning and inversion (shifting) of stress as in w-qataltí. Because of its first and main use which is to express succession in time, Waw inversive can, a *potiori*, be called *Waw of succession*, in contrast to *modal Waw* or *final-consecutive Waw* of the indirect volitive moods⁽¹⁾.

(1) The term *Waw consecutive* is not felicitous, for: 1) the term *consecution* more aptly describes a logical sequence (consequence) than a temporal one, and is often even the reverse of the latter; 2) although Waw inversive may also express (logical) consecution, this is not its proper and primary function; 3) in the case of consecution with a modal verb in the 2nd pers. after a direct imperative it is not Waw inversive but indeed modal Waw that is used; thus *do this and (as a consequence) you shall live* must be translated יִתְּנֶהָ לְךָ אֱלֹהִים as in Gn 42.18 (and not אֱלֹהִים יִתְּנֶהָ), § 116 f.

The origin of the forms wayyiqtol *and he killed* etc., and w-qataltí *and I shall kill*, which constitute a characteristic (albeit not absolutely exclusive^[1]) feature of Hebrew is obscure. We may wonder whether the element *yiqtol* (*yáqom*), which is found in *wayyiqtol* (*wayyáqom*) is identical with free-standing form *yiqtol* (*yaqūm*); and likewise *w-qataltí*. Most grammarians, having no such doubts, explain all the meanings of wayyiqtol in terms of those of plain yiqtol, but not without truly remarkable feats of subtlety. Given the fact, however, that the values of wayyiqtol are opposed to those of yiqtol and that the position of the stress is different as well, it may be assumed that wayyiqtol is not identical with yiqtol. b

(1) The phenomenon is attested in Phoenician (see C.R. Krahmalkov, "The *Qatal* with future tense reference in Phoenician," *JSS* 31 [1986] 5-10 and A. Lemaire in *GLECS* 24-28 [1979-84] 141) as well as in Moabite and Old Aramaic, though the attestation in Phoenician and also in Ugaritic is rather limited in extent: see Friedrich—Röllig, § 266, and Gordon, *UT*, § 9.5.

The following **hypothesis** may be put forward⁽¹⁾. When the tense form with preformatives and affirmatives, sometimes called the prefix conjugation, existed alone (as is supposed by Bauer and others—and probably rightly so), this form possessed a set of at least four distinct c

varieties differentiated by the final vowel and the position of the stress⁽²⁾:

	Proto-Hebrew	BH equivalents
1. Indicative <i>and</i> Present-Future, and Habitual Past	yaqū'mu	יָקוּם
2. Jussive <i>and</i> Preterite ⁽³⁾	ya'qum	יָקוּם and יִקְוּם
3. Volitive	yaqū'ma	יָקוּמָה, יִקְוּמָה
4. Energetic	yaqūm'an('na)	יָבוֹאֲנָה ⁽⁴⁾

One must say, then, that the apocopated, mil'el form which is bound to the inversive Waw is a residue of the ancient jussive-preterite; its mil'el stress is not to be thought of as a result of secondary retraction or receding, but rather, as having preserved, tightly embedded in the syntagmatic juncture with the inversive Waw, the earlier state; the pataḥ of the Waw is also archaic. In poetry, however, this ancient preterite has survived outside of such a juncture, as exemplified by a good number of punctiliar preterital yiqtol, i.e. yiqtol indicating one-off past actions, not habitual or repeated actions or events, e.g. Dt 32.10 יָבֹאֲנָה? *he found him*; more examples in § 113 *h*. The first form above ending in /-u/ has survived in the free-standing יָקוּם, including its use as the durative, iterative or habitual past (§ 113 *f*). Then, by analogy, a form like *qatálti* "I killed" would have become *qataltí* "I shall kill" (by inversion of the stress)⁽⁵⁾, which may be preserved in *w-qataltí*.

(1) For a good review of the *status quaestionis*, see A.F. Rainey in his "The Ancient Hebrew prefix conjugation in the light of Amarnah Canaanite," *Hebrew Studies* 27 (1986) 4-19, and a series of studies responding to it published in *Hebrew Studies* 29 (1988) 7-42. It is remarkable that Joüon's position as presented in the original edition of the present grammar, in its essential outline, is not in need of revision. This includes his brilliant suggestion that the genesis of *qataltí* with mil'ra accent as in *w-qataltí* may be explicable in terms of the analogy of /yaqū'mu/ as against /ya'qum/, an idea also canvassed subsequently by F.R. Blake (*JBL* 63 [1944] 284f.) and A.Sh. Hartom (*Lš* 17 [1951] 88f.), neither of whom, however, mentions Joüon.

(2) Whilst the postulated stress pattern provides a neat explanation of the BH forms of יָוִי verbs and two other conjugation classes, it is a moot point whether a comparable stress pattern existed in the regular verb as well.

Pace A. Goetze, *JAOS* 58 (1938) 266-309 and R. Meyer, "Spuren eines westsemitischen Präsens-Futur in den Texten vom Chirbet Qumran," *Fschr. O. Eissfeldt, Von Ugarit nach Qumran* (Berlin, 1958), 118-28, no *iparras* is plausible in North-west Semitic; see

C.H. Gordon, *UT*, § 9.2, and T.L. Fenton, "The absence of a verbal formation *yaqattal from Ugaritic and North-West Semitic," *JSS* 15 (1970) 31-41.

(3) On the question how a jussive form can also serve as a past tense form, as is still the case in Classical Arabic—*lā taqum* "Don't get up!" as against *lam taqum* "You did not get up"—see T. Muraoka in *The Annual of the Japanese Biblical Institute*, 1 (1975) 66-68. This /yaqum/ is generally identified with /iprus/ *he separated* in Akkadian.

(4) The root נכז *to despise* has been chosen, because נכז , being intransitive in Qal, does not allow it to take an object suffix; יִרְאֶהָ *he will raise her* (Hifil) would illustrate the point just as well.

(5) Cf. P. Joüon in *MUSJ* 5 (1911) 403.

The Waw of the wayyiqtol and w-qataltí forms expresses a slight idea of **succession**; it is an exaggeration to translate it always by *and then*. Usually it is enough to translate it by *and*, but in some cases it may be useful or even necessary to add a word which emphasises the idea of succession. Thus the Vulgate is sometimes right in translating *et postea* "and afterwards": Dt 22.13 "if any man takes a wife ... and thereafter (*et postea*) comes to hate her $\text{וַיִּשְׂאֵף$ "; Lv 4.14 (cf. vs. 23); 1Kg 14.28 "they bore them ... and thereafter (*et postea*) they brought them back." In Lv 16.4 וַיִּשְׂאֵף means *and (only) then will he put them on*.

Waw inversive has rather varied **secondary meanings**, the most common of which is that of logical consequence. This meaning is a natural development from the meaning of succession: *after that*. This semantic process is frequent in all languages⁽¹⁾.

(1) Comp. Fr. *puis, puisque; par la suite, par suite*.

§ 118. Wayyiqtol form (inverted future)

The wayyiqtol (wayyáqom) form consists of energetic Waw (with strong vocalisation $\cdot\text{}$], obligatory doubling [§ 47 a], and the pataḥ)⁽¹⁾ and of yiqtol (yáqom) with mil'el stress as far as possible. By comparing it with the free-standing yiqtol form *he will kill* etc., with respect to stress position and meaning, we could say that it is an inverted yiqtol. However, it has roughly the same values as the qatal form, to which it mainly adds the idea of succession: it is like a substitute for qatal.

(1) The special vocalisation of the Waw is unknown to the Secunda and SH: Brønno,

Studien, pp. 236f., and Ben-Hayyim, *LOT*, vol. 5, p. 127.

b **Stative** verbs present no particular difficulty; thus *וַיְהִי*, used in the stative sense, is equivalent to *הָיָה* and means *et erat* ("it was"), *et fuit* ("it has been"). Used in the active sense, it is equivalent to *הָיָה* of action and usually means *et evēnit* ("it happened"), *et factum est* ("it came to pass"); sometimes, by misuse, both *eveniebat* ("it would happen") and *fiebat* ("it would come to pass"): 1Kg 14.28; 2Kg 4.8b; 2Ch 24.11; Nu 10.35 (§ *n*); cf. § 111 *i*; 1Kg 7.14 *וַיִּמָּלֵא* and *he was filled* (Nifal with active sense). See also Gn 25.28 *וַיֵּאָהֵב יצחק את עשו* and *Isaac was fond of* (Vulg.: *amabat*) *Esau*, followed by *וַיִּבְרָךְ אֱהָבָת אֶת* *whilst R. was fond of Jacob*; Jdg 16.4 *וַיְהִי אַחֲרֵי־כֵן וַיֵּאָהֵב בְּנֹחַל שָׂרָק* and *after that he fell in love with a woman in Wadi S.*

c A) The wayyiqtol form, like the qatal form of action verbs, is mainly used in the **sphere of the past** for a **single and instantaneous action**: Waw mainly adds the idea of **succession**(¹). This form is very common in narratives. Usually a narrative begins with a qatal (historic perfect) and continues with a wayyiqtol, which is followed, if need be, by other wayyiqtol, the series of which is never broken without some particular reason (§ *d-g*). But the wayyiqtol form became so strongly associated with its past tense function that it was even used at the beginning, or at least at the relative beginning(²) of some narratives. Examples: Gn 14.5ff. "And in the 14th year Chedorlaomer came (*וַיָּבֹא*) ... and they beat (*וַיַּכּוּ*) the Rephaim ..., (7) and they returned (*וַיָּשׁוּבוּ*) ... etc."; Gn 4.1ff. After a stative qatal Gn 3.1 "Now the serpent was (*הָיָה*) cunning ...; and he said (*וַיֹּאמֶר*)" (thus, properly speaking, without succession: loose use).

(1) Cf. S.D. Luzzatto, *Grammatica della lingua ebraica* (Padova, 1853), § 1271: "La forma colla ו is la forma piú usitata pel passato storico, la quale sembra essenzialmente destinata ad esprimere la successione degli avvenimenti, p. es. Gen 1,3."

(2) And even at the beginning of a book; Josh, Jdg, 1Sm, 2Sm, Ru, Esth, Ne begin with *וַיְהִי*. The following also begin with a wayyiqtol: Lv, Nu, 2Kg, Ez, 2Ch. See Radak ad Josh 1.1. This inertia or *Systemzwang* would also account for the abnormal, frequentative use of wayyiqtol (§ *n* below).

d This feature of succession characteristic of the wayyiqtol construction becomes particularly evident when biblical writers deliberately avoid wayyiqtol and replace it with *w- ... qatal* when they do not want

to express succession.

1) Thus when the 2nd action comes before the 1st: 1Kg 22.23 "Yahweh has put (יָנַח) a lying spirit in the mouth of all your prophets and (= for) Yahweh has decreed your ruin" (the repetition of יהוה is due to the grammatical necessity that ו be separated from יָנַח, cf. § 166 a).

This case is especially common in narratives, and then w- ... qatal corresponds to our pluperfect or past perfect (cf. § 112 c): Gn 31.33b-34 "and he went out (יָצָא) of Leah's tent, and he went into (יָבֵא) Rachel's tent. (34) Now Rachel had taken (לָקְחָהּ) the Terafim and had put them (שָׂמָה) in the pack-saddle of the camel ..." (as this last action occurs after the preceding one, the writer goes back to the wayyiqtol form)(1); 1Sm 28.3 "Now Samuel was dead (יָמָה) and all Israel had mourned him (יָסְפְדוּ) and had buried him (יָקַבְרוּ) in Ramah, his city. Meanwhile Saul had removed (יָסֵר) from the land the necromancers and the soothsayers"; 2Sm 18.18; 1Kg 22.31; 2Kg 4.31; 25.5. Hebrew has no other way of expressing our pluperfect than by avoiding the wayyiqtol in this way(2); cf. § 166 j.

(1) After a qatal with pluperfect meaning the form normally found is wayyiqtol, which only expresses the posteriority of the action in relation to the qatal, e.g. Gn 26.18 "the wells which they had dug (יָחַדוּ) in the time of Abraham and which the Philistines had filled in (מָלְאוּ)." (2) It would thus be grammatically very irregular if a wayyiqtol had the value of our pluperfect. Cf. König, § 142; Driver, *Tenses*, § 76 Obs., where the main examples which could present some difficulties are discussed, e.g. Gn 2.19.

2) Wayyiqtol is also avoided if the action, although really subsequent, is not represented as such: 1Kg 2.8: "He insulted me terribly on the day of my departure for Mahanaim; but he came down (יָרַד) to meet me at the Jordan ..." (David does not represent the 2nd action as subsequent, but as opposed to the 1st). Opposition of two subjects: Ex 9.23; 10.13; 2Sm 10.14; 1Kg 19.4; 2Kg 5.25; 9.11.

3) Wayyiqtol is also avoided if the 2nd action is simultaneous or represented as such: Gn 1.5 "And God called (יָקָרָה) the light 'day,' and the darkness he called (it) 'night' (יָקָרָה)." This phenomenon is especially common in the case of an opposition, as here. Inversion in word-order, or *chiasmus*, very common in Hebrew, naturally brings about w- ... qatal, as in the example just quoted. Other examples are: Gn 11.3b; Jdg 6.40b; 7.3b; 1Sm 15.34 "And Samuel went to Ramah and Saul

went up ... (הָלַךְ לְאַחַד)" (always thus when two people part company); 1Kg 13.5 *the altar was also cut apart*; 1Kg 22.41 (וַיִּמְלֹךְ could indicate that Jehoshaphat reigned after Ahaziah); Ru 1.14; 1Ch 14.17; 2Ch 20.18 (cf. § 166 c).

- g* 4) In the case of a repetition the action cannot be represented as subsequent, and therefore wayyiqtol is not used: 2Sm 3.23 "So Joab and the whole army ... *arrived* (בָּרָחַץ ... בָּרָחַץ)" (repetition of vs. 22); 1Kg 20.19 *so they went out* (repetition of vs. 17); Ez 3.41 (repetition of vs. 12).

To sum up, after a wayyiqtol another wayyiqtol is avoided when the action is not successive or is not represented as such. Thus the wayyiqtol is first and foremost a form of succession. Compare the avoided w-qatalí, § 119 d.

- h* Apart from this main use as form of temporal succession, wayyiqtol sometimes expresses (logical) **consecution**: Gn 12.19 "Why did you say that she was your sister, with the result that I took her (וַיִּקַּח) for my wife?" Again in an interrogative clause: Gn 31.27 *so that (= with the result that) I would have escorted you back*(¹). In non-interrogative cases: Jer 20.17; prob. Gn 39.2; Job 2.3.

(1) In non-past tense clauses: Is 51.12; Ps 144.3; Job 11.3; but the vocalisation is doubtful.

- i* The wayyiqtol is also used for a **conclusion** or a **summing up**: Gn 23.20 "Thus it is that the field was assured to Abraham (וַיִּשְׁפָּט)" 2.1; Josh 10.40; 1Sm 17.50; 30.3; 31.6; 2Sm 24.8; Ru 1.22. In these examples one can hardly speak of succession.

- j* There is even less sense of succession when the Waw has an **explanatory** value, e.g. in the explanation of a name: Ex 2.10: "And she called him Moses, saying (וַיִּקְרָא): Because I drew him out of the water"; 1Sm 7.12. (In the same situation we find וַיִּקְרָא Gn 16.13; Ex 2.22, or וַיִּקְרָא *dicendo* [= "saying"] 1Sm 4.21).

In other cases the explanation consists of a simple development (*namely, nempe*), e.g. the development of the verb with general meaning וַיִּשְׁפָּט: 1Kg 18.13 "Has not anyone told my lord what I did ... *how I hid* (וַיִּסְתֵּר) one hundred prophets?"; Gn 31.26; 1Sm 8.8; 1Kg 2.5. Quite often וַיִּקְרָא introduces a development, exactly like וַיִּקְרָא: Jdg 11.30 "And he made a vow, *namely* ..."; 1Kg 21.4: "about the word which Naboth had

said, *namely*"

The very frequent occurrence of wayyiqtol in narration brought about an ever-broadening use and misuse of this form. It is found rather often where there is no idea of succession, due to the fact that the sequence is not interrupted without a fairly strong reason. So, although the actions of *eating* and *drinking* are considered to be simultaneous (cf. Jer 22.15 וְשָׁתָה וְאָכַל with simple juxtaposition), we find in 1Kg 19.6: וַיֵּאָכַל וַיִּשְׁכַּב וַיֵּשֶׁתּוּ וַיִּשְׁכַּב *and he ate, and he drank, and he lay down (again)* (not וַיֵּשֶׁתּוּ וַיִּשְׁכַּב). In Ru 2.3 וַיִּקְרַח, *now it happened that*, conveys no idea of succession: it is a concomitant circumstance; likewise וַיֵּאמֶר 1Sm 25.5; 2Kg 1.2. וַיֵּאמֶר is even used for a logically anterior circumstance in Jdg 16.23; 1Sm 18.11. (In all these cases לֵאמֹר could have been used). Only in this way can we resolve two apparent contradictions in Josh 4.11f. וַיְהִי כַּאֲשֶׁר-תָּם כָּל-הָעָם לַעֲבוֹר וַיַּעֲבֹר אֲרוֹן-יְהוָה וְהַכֹּהֲנִים לִפְנֵי הָעָם: ... וַיַּעֲבֹרוּ בְּנֵי-רְאוּבֵן (12)(1).

(1) Otherwise, with Rashi, לִפְנֵי הָעָם must be taken to mean "in full view of the people."

Since Hebrew customarily **continues a non-finite tense** (infinitive, § 124 q; participle, § 121 j) with a finite tense with energetic Waw, a wayyiqtol in that case implies no idea of succession, e.g. Gn 39.18 וַיִּקְרָא וַיִּשְׁמַע *when I raised my voice and called out*; 1Kg 8.7 "the cherubim were spreading (פָּרְשִׁים) their wings ... *and were covering* (וַיִּסְכְּבוּ)" (with the force of the French imparfait, § n); cf. § 119 g.

Since Hebrew customarily uses Waw energeticum in an **apodosis**, a wayyiqtol in that case implies no idea of succession (§ 176 b).

Wayyiqtol with the force of the French imparfait, i.e. frequentative action in the past, is rather rare. This use is irregular and improper: the normal form is *w-qatalti* (with energetic Waw; with a purely juxtaposing Waw we find of course *w-yiqtol*, § 113 e): Ho 2.15 וַתִּקְטֹרֶט לָהֶם וַתִּתְעַד *she used to burn incense for them and to deck herself* (after a past frequentative yiqtol); Gn 37.7 "And behold your sheaves were surrounding (תִּסְבְּינָה) and were bowing down (וַתִּשְׁתַּחֲוֶינִי) before my sheaf" (same observation); 1Sm 14.52 "Should Saul see (וַיִּרְאֶה) a valiant man, he would take him into his service (וַיִּאֶסְפֵהוּ)" (after a frequentative *w-qatalti*; one would expect a second *w-qatalti* וַיִּאֶסְפוּ); 2Sm 15.2 וַיִּקְרָא *he used to call* (same observation; but here the writer has perhaps moved to a

particular case); Jer 6.17 (if the text is correct; but read הִקִּימְתִי without ו , with LXX); Jdg 12.5 וַיֹּאמְרוּ (perhaps the writer has moved to a particular case); Jer 18.4 "should the vessel turn out badly, he would do it again ($\text{וַיִּשָּׁב וַיַּעֲשֶׂה}$)." In 1Sm 2.16 וַיֹּאמֶר between two instances of וַיֹּאמֶר is strange⁽¹⁾. This improper use is mainly found with וַיִּהְיֶה , § *b* (cf. § 111 *i*): Nu 10.35 (contr. וַיִּהְיֶה Ex 33.8); 2Sm 15.2 (contr. וַיִּהְיֶה vs. 5). It may be said that in all these cases the frequentative nuance is not formally expressed: it is derived from the context.

(1) But comp. 1Sm 17.35 וַיִּקַּם in the middle of *w-qaltati* forms (cf. Driver, *Notes*, ad loc.); perh. for the sake of variety (change of subject).

- o* Although wayyiqtol, like qatal, is mainly used for the sphere of the past (§§ *c-n*), it is sometimes used, also like qatal, for the present or even for the future, but always⁽¹⁾ after a verbal form which has previously placed the action in the present or in the future.

B) Present. With the meaning of a present of instantaneous action, like qatal (§ 112 *f*): Nu 31.50 וַיִּקְרָב *in consequence, we offer* (without *Waw* we would have וַיִּקְרָבְנוּ). Cases of this kind are of course very rare, because *Waw* is not likely to occur often in such a context. The wayyiqtol of the present is often found in cases where without *Waw*, not qatal, but yiqtol (with juxtaposing *Waw*, *w-yiqtol*)⁽²⁾ would be used, namely:

(1) An exception: Ps 119.90 after a past: $\text{כִּי בִּנְנָתָא אֲרָץ וַתַּעֲמֶד$ *you have established the earth and it remains*.

(2) Thus one may sometimes wonder if the *Waw* is correctly vocalised. Cf. W. Gross. *Verbform und Funktion. Wayyiqtol für Gegenwart? Ein Beitrag zur Syntax poetischer althebräischer Texte* (St Ottilien, 1976).

- p* After a stative qatal with present meaning (§ 112 *a*): Is 3.16 "The daughters of Zion are haughty וַיִּהְיֶה and walk וַתֵּלְכֶינָהן with stretched forth necks" (followed by וַתֵּלְכֶינָהן *they walk*; both forms have the same frequentative present value); Ps 16.9 (if here וַיִּשָּׂא , as is very likely, has a present meaning); Ps 45.8 $\text{וַיִּשְׂנֵא וַיִּשְׂנֵא וַיִּשְׂנֵא וַיִּשְׂנֵא}$ *you love justice and you hate iniquity* (wayyiqtol of stative with present meaning like the qatal). After a qatal of action: Ps 41.13 $\text{וַיִּתְמַךְ בִּי וַיִּתְּנֵנִי בְּפָנֶיךָ בְּעַדְךָ$ "you sustain me and place me before your face for ever" (for the qatal cf. § 112 *e*); Job 11.11 וַיִּרְא וַיִּרְע ... *he knows ... and he sees* (for the qatal cf. § 112 *a*).

- q* After a yiqtol with present meaning (§ 113 *c*). This use is rare and

the vocalisation of the Waw sometimes suspect: Ps 42.6 וַיִּהְיֶה מִי (cf. vs. 12 וַיִּמְהַר-וַיִּהְיֶה מִי); Hab 1.9-10 (in the present rather than in the future); Job 7.18; 14.10; 34.24(1); 1Sm 2.29 וַיִּהְיֶה כִּבְדֹּר (in the present rather than in the past). Compare w-qatalí, § 119 q.

(1) Contr. Job 5.18 וַיִּחַבֵּשׁ (it is he who wounds and who) binds up (Since there is succession, one would expect 'l, all the more).

After a participle with present meaning (cf. § 121 j): 2Sm 19.2 הִנֵּה רֹאשׁ הַמַּלְכִּים בֹּכֵה בְּכֹהֵל וַיִּתְאַבֵּל "behold the king weeps and mourns for Absalom" (the same meaning could be expressed by 'וַיִּתְאַבֵּל(1) or 'וַיִּמְתָּ); 1Sm 2.6 (poetic) וַיַּעֲלֵה הֵאָחֵז he raises up again (comp., in parall., the participle הֵאָחֵז); Is 51.15; Am 5.8 (for the qatal cf. § 112-1); 9.5-6; Na 1.4; Ps 18.33; 34.8; Pr 20.26; Job 12.22-24; Is 29.15 (after participle and w-qatalí with present meaning, § 119 r). Likewise after a nominal clause: Pr 30.25; 50.16. Comp. w-qatalí § 119 r.

(1) But after a participle the usage requires a Waw conversive; וַיִּתְאַבֵּל could also mean and he mourns, § 119 r.

C) In the sphere of the future, wayyiqtol (like qatal, § 112 g-h) is rare. After a prophetic perfect: (§ 112 h): Is 9.5; Jl 2.23.

CONCLUSION. As we can see, wayyiqtol usually agrees with qatal: both forms have mainly a past value and an aspect of single and instantaneous action(1). On the other hand wayyiqtol differs radically from yiqtol: 1) yiqtol does not by itself have a past temporal value; 2) the main temporal meaning of yiqtol, namely the future, is very rare in wayyiqtol; 3) the frequentative aspect of yiqtol is relatively rare in wayyiqtol and improper.

(1) E.g. and he has killed, and he killed is expressed in this way: without notion of succession: after qatal: וַיִּקְטֹל; after wayyiqtol: וַיִּקְטֹל ... ; — with the notion of succession: after qatal or wayyiqtol: וַיִּקְטֹל.

The use by Hebrew writers of the wayyiqtol form, and thus of the energetic Waw, was so broad that the original force of the form was gradually lost and decreasingly felt. This misuse has worn the form out and, together with the influence of Aramaic, has doubtless contributed to its demise; see § 119 za. Wayyiqtol and the parallel form with energetic Waw, w-qatalí, are not found in Mishnaic Hebrew(1).

For cases of irregular omission of wayyiqtol see § 119 z.

(1) Likewise, in the spoken dialects of Arabic the energetic *and* (*fa*) has generally disappeared.

- v הָלַטְּוּקְאָו is sometimes, mainly in late books, used with the same force as לְטָוּקְאָו : Gn 41.11 $\text{וַיִּנְדְּמָוּ$ and we had a dream; Ezr 7.28 $\text{וַיִּצְבְּרוּקְאָו}$ and I gathered; more examples in Berg., II, p. 23, and see above at § 47 d.

§ 119. w-qataltí form (inverted perfect)

- a The explanation of the inverted form w-qataltí is analogous to that of the inverted form wayyiqtol.

This form consists of energetic Waw (with weak vocalisation ו etc., § 43 a, n.) and of qatal, with mil'ra stress (e.g. qataltí) whenever possible. When compared with the free-standing form qatal (qatálti) *he killed* etc., it can be described as an inverted qatal as far as stress position and meaning are concerned. On the other hand it has roughly the same values as the yiqtol form, to which it mainly adds the idea of succession.

- b **Stative** verbs present no particular difficulty; thus $\text{וַיְהִי־וְ$, when used in the stative sense, is equivalent to וְיִהְיֶה־וְ and means *et erit* ("and it will be"). Used in the active sense וַיְהִי־וְ is equivalent to וְיִהְיֶה־וְ of action and means 1) *et eveniet* ("and it will happen"), *et fiet* ("and it will come to pass"); 2) *et eveniebat* ("and it used to happen"), *et fiebat* ("and it used to come to pass"); 3) *et evenit* ("it keeps happening"), *et fit* ("and it keeps coming to pass") (cf. § 111 i).

- c A) The w-qataltí form is mainly used for **future action subsequent** to another action. Thus indication of future events usually begins with a yiqtol and is continued by one or several w-qataltí's: Am 9.3 $\text{וַיִּשְׁפֹּט־וְ$ $\text{וְלִקְחֵם־וְ$ *I will look (for them) and (then) I will take them away*; Jl 4.18 $\text{וַיִּשְׁקַף־וְ$ $\text{וַיֵּצֵא־וְ$ $\text{וַיִּמְצֵא־וְ$ *and a spring will come out and will water* (contr. Gn 2.6; § u). The w-qataltí form is so adapted to express the future that it is even used in a relative or absolute beginning: Is 11.1 $\text{וַיֵּצֵא־וְ$ *And it shall come out* (at the beginning of a prophecy); the introductory formula וְיִהְיֶה־וְ *and it shall come to pass* is very common, e.g. Is 2.2; Ho 2.1 (in an absolute beginning). And, what is more, it can be used after a verb in the present or in the past: Jdg 13.3 "Behold, you

are barren and you have not had a child: *well! you will conceive and bear a son* (וְיִלְדָהּ בֵּן); 1Kg 18.14 "But he will kill me!"

This feature of succession is particularly evident where w-qataltí **d** is avoided and replaced by w- ... *yiqtol* when an expression of succession is not desired: Gn 12.12b וְהָרְגוּ אֹתִי וְאַתָּה יַחְיֶה *and they will kill me, and you, they will let you live* (chiasmus due to the opposition of the two pronouns *me* and *you*); Am 9.13: "... and the mountains will drip (וְהִטְיִפוּ) wine and all the hills will be soaked (וְ... תִתְמוֹגְגוּן) in it" (synonymy); Dt 8.12 וְשָׂבַעְתָּ וְשָׂבַעְתָּ וְשָׂבַעְתָּ וְשָׂבַעְתָּ וְשָׂבַעְתָּ *you will eat and (then) be satisfied, and you will build fine houses and (then) dwell there* (two groups without the idea of succession, each made up of two actions the second of which is subsequent to the first); Ho 2.25 "And I will say (וְאָמַרְתִּי) ... and he will say (וְהוּא יֹאמֵר) (opposition of two subjects). Comp. the avoided wayyiqtol, § 118 d-g.

Like wayyiqtol (§ 118 h) w-qataltí sometimes expresses a (logical) **e** consecution: Gn 20.11 "There is surely no fear of God here, and (so) they will kill me (וְהָרְגוּנִי); Is 6.7 "Behold, this touches (נִגַּע) (instantaneous present rather than past) your lips, and (therefore) your iniquity will vanish (וְנָסָה); Ex 6.6 "I am Yahweh! and (therefore) I will bring you out ... (וְהוֹצֵאתִי); Ps 80.13 "Why have you broken down its wall, so that every passer-by plucks it (וְאֵרֶוְהָ)?": (frequentative w-qataltí of the present, § t); 2Sm 3.21 "I want to go and gather unto my lord the king of all Israel, that they may make (וְיִכְרְתוּ) a treaty with you, and (thus) you will reign (וְיִמְלֹכְתָּ)⁽¹⁾"; 1Kg 2.31 וְהִסִּירְתָּ *thus you will remove* (nsiga); Jdg 6.16; Dt 2.6,28; 10.19 *therefore you will love*.

(1) After the final jussive וְיִכְרְתוּ, the w-qataltí by contrast expresses consecution more clearly than the indirect imperative וְיִמְלֹךְ (§ 116 f) would.

Loose or improper use of w-qataltí, like that of wayyiqtol (§ 118 **f** k-m), in cases where there is no idea of succession, is fairly common, e.g. Gn 12.13; 1Sm 1.11 וְיִכְרְתֵנִי (despite practical synonymy); Am 8.8 וְאָבַל (id.). A sequence of w-qataltí is not usually interrupted without a fairly strong reason; thus Is 28.13 we find וְנִלְכְּדוּ despite synonymy with וְנוֹקְשׁוּ; Am 9.14 (the parallel groups *they will build and dwell, they will plant and drink, they will make and eat* have their first verbs, as well as their second, in the w-qataltí; contr. Dt 8.12 quoted

in § *d*.

g The observations made about wayyiqtol in § 118 *l-m* naturally apply to w-qatalí also: e.g. after an infinitive Gn 27.45 (without succession).

h In the sphere of the future, the w-qatalí can *continue*⁽¹⁾ a future indicative (yiqtol), a future volitive (§ *i*) (cohortative [§ *j*], jussive [§ *k*]), an imperative (§ *l*), a participle (§ *n*), or an infinitive (§ *o-p*).

After a yiqtol the examples are extremely numerous (cf. § *c* ff.). Note the case of the injunctive future (§ 113 *m*): Lv 19.32 "You shall stand up (אָנָּח) before the hoary head and you shall honour (תִּכְבֹּד) the presence of the old man"; Dt 2.6; 23.24 תִּשְׁמְרוּ וַעֲשׂוּ אֲשֶׁר יִצְוֶהְכֶּם you shall keep and do (= you shall be careful to fulfill).

(1) There is true *continuation* here, and not just a more or less loose connection.

i W-qatalí continuing a volitive mood (cohortative, jussive, imperative). After a volitive mood a verb may be simply juxtaposed, with Waw or without Waw. If the Waw has an energetic meaning with a notion of purpose-consecution, we find the indirect volitive (§ 116). Finally, if there is an idea of succession, the second verb has the w-qatalí form. Thus, after a volitive mood, w-qatalí has its usual value, i.e. the one which it has, for instance, after an injunctive future (§ *h*): and (then) I shall kill. The use of w-qatalí after a volitive probably originated in cases where writers wanted to express the idea of succession. To express this idea it was necessary to give up the volitive form in the second verb and to resort to the indicative form. But here, too, w-qatalí can be used rather freely or even improperly. One is sometimes even led to believe that the writer resorted to w-qatalí just for the sake of variety. But the fact that in some cases either a volitive or a w-qatalí could be used does not justify the claim of certain writers that w-qatalí has in itself the meaning of purpose⁽¹⁾. To express purpose the indirect volitive is usually needed⁽²⁾.

(1) Just as an indicative without Waw, continuing a volitive, only derives its volitive value from the context, e.g. Gn 43.12 וְשִׁבְרָהּ אָנָּח you shall bring back (= bring back (injunctive future preceded and followed by three imperatives); 1Kg 18.23; 20.8.

(2) Besides, cases where the context clearly indicates the final meaning are very rare: 1Sm 15.30; 2Sm 24.2 (in both cases 1st pers. after imprv., § *m*); 1Ch 22.1 (probably; 2nd pers. after jussive, § *k*); Ru 1.11 (וְיָבִיאוּ probably so that they may be in a question). We have not found any examples in the 2nd pers. after an imperative.

j W-qatalí continuing a cohortative: Ru 2.7 וְאֵלֶּיךָ אָנָּח I sha.

glean, if you please, and (then) I shall gather. (The notion of succession is brought out only slightly; on the other hand in vs. 2 where it should be clearer, we nevertheless have *אֶלְכָה-נָא הַשָּׂדֶה וְאֶלְקַטָּה* *I shall go to the field, if you please, and I shall glean*); Mi 4.6-7: *אֶקְבֹּץָהּ* juxtaposed with the synonym *אֶסְפָּהּ*, then *וְשִׂמְתִּי* *and (then) I shall place*; Gn 31.44 *וְהָיָה ... וְנִכְרְתָה בְרִית* *let us make a treaty ... and it (He?) will be ...*; Jdg 19.13 *וְלָנוּ ... וְנִקְרָה* *let us reach ... and we shall spend the night* (contr. vs. 11). Examples seem to be rare. A second cohortative, simply juxtaposed, is fairly often used, even when there is an idea of succession: Gn 11.3; 2Sm 17.1-3 (but vs. 2 w-qataltí).

W-qataltí continuing a **jussive** is a little more common, although indisputable examples are still few⁽¹⁾: 1Kg 1.2 *וְעָמְדָה ... וְבִקְשׁוּ* *let them seek ...and she shall stand*; *וְשָׁכְבָה ... וְתָהִי* *and let her be ... and she will sleep* (odd alternation of jussives and w-qataltí; also 1Kg 22.13; Ps 109.10. The virtually volitive meaning, here and elsewhere, can only be derived from the context); 2Sm 13.5; Ps 64.11 (this last verse seems to be in the optative, for if *יִשְׁמַח* were indicative we would find a second w-qataltí *וְהִתְהַלְלֵנוּ*; the word-order makes the optative more likely, as does the parallelism with the final verse [11] of Ps 32 in the imperative); 1Ch 22.11 (probably final meaning).

(1) König does not discuss it (cf. *Syntax*, § 367 q-r).

W-qataltí continuing an **imperative** is, on the contrary, very common⁽¹⁾. The full sense of succession clearly appears in several cases: 1Kg 2.31 *עֲשֵׂה כַּאֲשֶׁר דִּבֶּר וּפְנֹע־בוּ וְקַבְּרֵתוּ וְהִסִּירְתָּ דְמֵי חָנָם* *Do as he has said, kill him, then you will bury him; and thus you will remove the innocent blood* (*פְּנֹעַ* juxtaposed without succession; *וְקַבְּרֵתוּ* with succession; *וְהִסִּירְתָּ* with consecution). If the second action does not belong to the present moment, but to a more or less distant time, it is logical since the imprv. is properly used for an immediate action (§ 114 m), that it should be expressed by the future with the nuance of succession: w-qataltí. Thus also 1Kg 2.36 "*Build yourself (בְּנֶה-לָךְ) a house in Jerusalem: you will live there (וְיָשְׁבָתָּ) and you will not go out from there ...*"; Jer 11.6 "*listen (שְׁמַעוּ) to the words of this treaty and (then) do them (וְעֲשִׂיתֶם)*" (literally: and [then] you will do them). The writer is fairly often free to express the nuance of succession or not; thus we find Jer 36.2 "*Take a scroll, you shall write on it (וְכָתַבְתָּ),*"

but vs. 28 וּכְתֹב *and write*; Nu 16.17 "Every one, take your censer *and you shall put* (וַיִּנְתְּנוּ) incense in it," but vss. 6-7 וַיִּתְּנוּ *and put*. The examples where the nuance of succession is quite apparent are numerous: Gn 19.2; Nu 20.26; 1Sm 23.23; 1Kg 17.13; after the frequent תִּקַּח *take* etc.: Gn 6.21; 45.19; Ex 12.32; Nu 8.6; Jdg 6.25; 1Sm 6.7; 1Kg 1.33; Jer 25.15; Ez 4.1,2,3,9; after the frequent הֵלֵךְ *go* etc.: Job 42.8 "go to my servant Job; and (once arrived) *you shall offer a holocaust*"; Ex 3.16 הֵלֵךְ וְאַסַּפְתָּ: *go and (once arrived) you shall gather*(²). But, here as elsewhere, the meaning of succession is fairly often weak or non-existent(³): 1Sm 12.24 יִרְאוּ אֶת־יְהוָה וְעָבְדוּ אֹתוֹ *fear Yáhwah and serve him* (but Josh 24.14 more according to the rule וְעָבְדוּ אֹתוֹ ...); Ex 19.23; Nu 3.6; after the frequent תִּקַּח *take* etc.: Ex 17.5. Sometimes the w-qatalí is purely explanatory: Lv 10.12-13 וְאָכַלְתֶּם ... וְאָכַלְתֶּם; Lv 1.2 ... דַּבֵּר "speak to the children of Israel: *you shall tell them*" (fairly common formula where וְאָמַרְתָּ is equivalent to a simple וְאָמַר); 21.1 וְאָמַרְתָּ... אָמַר.

(1) See the examples gathered by M. Lambert in his "Sur la syntaxe de l'impératif en hébreu," *REJ* 35 (1898) 106-9.

(2) The fact that the verb of motion *to go* implies a goal or a purpose has led some to believe that an expression of this kind, e.g. וְהֵלַכְתָּ וְאָמַרְתָּ 2Sm 7.5 had the final meaning of *go to tell* (cf. GK, § 112 r: *that thou mayest tell*). But the final nuance is only virtual; it is due to the very meaning of the verb *to go*, and not to the w-qatalí form. To translate *go in order to tell* one would need וְהֵלַכְתָּ וְאָמַרְתָּ (§ 116 f 3), which could also mean *go and tell* (with purely juxtaposing Waw). The literal meaning of וְהֵלַכְתָּ וְאָמַרְתָּ is *go and you shall tell*, which may be freely translated as *go and tell*. The w-qatalí is common after the imperative of verbs of motion: Gn 27.43-44 בָּרַח; 44.4 בָּרַח; 45.9 עָלוּ; Ex 7.26 בֹּא; Josh 10.19 דַּבְּרוּ; Jdg 7.10-11 דַּבְּרוּ; Ez 9.4 עֲבֹר; Ru 2.14 וְעָלִי.

(3) Compare the case of the yiqtol with imperative meaning after an imperative, § 113 m.

m All the examples of w-qatalí of § 1 are in the same person as the imperative, i.e. in the 2nd pers. Examples in the 1st pers. and 3rd pers. are rather rare. In the 1st pers.: Ex 34.1; Nu 22.8 (clearly succession); 1Sm 15.30 וְהִשְׁתַּחֲוִיתִי the context seems to require the final meaning *so that I may worship*, as in vs. 25 where we have, according to the rule, (וְאָשַׁתַּחֲוִה); 2Sm 24.2 וַיִּדְעֶתִי (same observation; in the parallel passage 1Ch 21.2 we have, according to the rule, וְאָדַעַה). In the 3rd pers.: Ex 8.12; 9.8 (but 9.22; 10.12 the indirect jussive is found in

the same situation); Nu 4.19 וְזָאת עֲשׂוּ לָהֶם וְחָיוּ *do this to them and they will live* (contr. Gn 42.18, § 116 f 3); 1Kg 22.12,15; Ez 37.17.

W-qatalí continuing a **participle** with future meaning. Since, generally speaking, a participle does not continue another participle, a participle with future meaning is usually continued by a w-qatalí also with future meaning. More often than not there is an idea of succession. The future expressed by the participle is usually a near future. The nuance of proximity is often emphasised by הִנֵּה: Gn 6.17-18 *Behold I am about to bring (הִנְנִי מְבִיא) the flood ... and I will establish (וְהִקְמִיתִי) my covenant with you ...* (without succession); 7.4 *"I will make it rain (וְהִמְטִיר) ... and I will destroy (וְהִחֲרִיתִי)"* (succession); 1Kg 20.36 *"You are going to leave me (הֵלֵךְ) and a lion will kill you (וְהָרַחַק)"*; 2Kg 20.17 (= Is 39.6) *"Behold days are coming and all ... shall be carried off (always w-qatalí after הִנֵּה יָמֵי בָּאִים, e.g. Jer 31.27,31,38); Is 7.14; 8.7; Am 6.14.*

W-qatalí continuing an **infinitive construct** with future meaning. Since an inf. cst. does not continue another inf. cst., an inf. cst. with future meaning is usually continued by a w-qatalí, also with future meaning: 1Kg 2.37 וְצָאתָּ וְעָבַרְתָּ *on the day you go out and pass over*; 2.42; Gn 27.45; Jdg 6.18; Ez 30.25 וְנָטַח ... וְנָתַתִּי *when I shall give ... and he shall stretch out* (not: *so that he may stretch out*); 26.19; 30.8,18; 32.15 (read וְנָשַׁמָּה).

W-qatalí can also continue an **infinitive absolute** which has the meaning of an imperative (cp. § l) or of a future (cp. § h): 2Kg 5.10 וְרָחַץְךָ וְרָחַץְךָ *"go and you shall wash seven times in the Jordan"*; Dt 1.16 וְשָׁמַעְתָּ *"You shall hear (שָׁמַעְתָּ) your brothers impartially and you shall judge (שָׁמַעְתָּ) equitably"*; Lv 2.6 וְשָׁמַעְתָּ *"you shall divide it (שָׁמַעְתָּ) into pieces and you shall pour (שָׁמַעְתָּ)"*; Ez 33.46-47 (cf. § 123 u-v); Is 5.5.

B) For the present w-qatalí is much less common than for the future. That is because Waw is obviously not likely to be found often with a frequentative or durative present with *and*. (Without *and*, the form used is yiqtol, § 113 c-d). This w-qatalí mainly continues a yiqtol with present meaning (§ 113 c-d): Am 5.19: *"As when a man flees (וְיָנַס) from a lion and meets (וְיִפְגַּע) a bear, and goes into (וְיָבֵא) his house, and rests (וְיָרַחַק) his hand against the wall, and a snake bites him (וְיִנְשָׁךְ)"* (successive actions); Is 29.11 *"one gives (וְיִתֵּן) ... and he says (וְיִמְאָר)"*; Ho 7.7; Ps 90.6. Comp. wayyiqtol, § 118 q.

r W-qatalí sometimes also continues a **participle** with present meaning: Ex 21.12 מִכָּה אִישׁ וְמָת "Whoever kills a man *and* (this man) *dies* ..." (literally: the killing one, the killer of a man; Waw with nuance of consecution); 21.16; Hb 2.12 הוֹי בִּנְה עִיר בְּדָמִים וְכוּנֵן קִרְיָהּ בְּעוֹלָה *woe to him who builds a city in blood, and founds a city in crime*; likewise again after a הוֹי Is 29.15 וְהָיָה *and it is* (cf. § 118 *r*); Am 6.1 וָאֵלֵינוּ *and they come*. Comp. wayyiqtol, § 118 *r*.

s W-qatalí continuing an **infinitive absolute** with present meaning in Jer 7.9-10 וְגָנַבְתָּ "you steal, you kill, etc. וְאַתָּה *and then you come and stand before me*"; 23.14.

t Apart from cases where it continues verbal forms with present meaning, w-qatalí with present meaning is rather rare: Ps 80.13 (§ *e*); Nu 16.10 "And he has brought you near ...: *and you seek* וְאַתָּה *the priesthood!*"

u C) In the sphere of the **past** w-qatalí is very common. In this case, like yiqtol (§ 113 *e*) it only expresses aspect: repeated or durative action. The temporal value of the form is brought out by the context only. This w-qatalí can therefore only be used in a context which has previously been situated in the past. Most of the time this w-qatalí continues verbal forms which have a frequentative or durative meaning:

W-qatalí continuing a yiqtol with the force of Fr. imparfait (§ 113 *e-f*) is very common: Gn 2.6 "And a stream was (constantly) rising וַיֵּצְלֵי (durative action) ... *and was watering* (וְהָשְׁקָהּ) all the surface of the ground" (contr. Jl 4.18; § *c*); Gn 2.10 "and it divided itself *and became* (וְהָיָה)"; 29.2-3; Ex 34.34; Nu 9.21; Jdg 2.19; 1Sm 2.19; 1Kg 14.28 "the guard would carry them ... *and then they would carry them back* וַיָּשִׁיבוּ" (cf. § 117 *d*); 2Kg 3.25; 12.15.

v W-qatalí can also be found with the meaning of frequentative or durative 'imparfait' after any verbal form or nominal clause which has previously situated the action in the past. The w-qatalí is then more or less loosely connected with the preceding verbal form.

Thus, after a qatal (expressing a single action): 1Sm 16.14 "Now the Spirit of Yahweh *had moved away* (וַיִּסָּרֶחַ) (here pluperfect, § 112 *c*) from Saul and an evil spirit *troubled him* (וַיַּעֲרֹבֵהוּ)."

After a wayyiqtol (expressing a single action): Ex 18. 25-26 "*and he set them* (וַיִּתֵּן) as heads over the people ... *and they judged* (וַיִּשְׁפֹּטוּ) the people at all time; hard cases they would bring (וַיָּבִיאוּ) to Moses,

but any small matter they would decide (יִשְׁפֹּטוּ) themselves"; 40.30b-31 "and he put some water there for the ablutions and *they washed themselves there* (וַיִּרְחֹצוּ); 1Sm 7.15-16; 2Sm 15.1-2; 2Kg 6.10; 12.10,11-12.

After a **participle** (expressing a durative action in the past): Is 6.2-3 "Seraphim *were standing* (עֹמְדִים) ... *and one was crying* (אֹרְרָא) to the other"; 2Sm 17.17 "*and they were standing* (עֹמְדִים) *and a maidservant was going* (וַהֲלֹכָה)."

After an **infinitive construct**: perhaps Am 1.11 (but according to the context וְשָׁחַת rather seems to be a w-qatalí, with non-inversive Waw contrary to usage; cf. § 124 q).

After an **infinitive absolute**: no unequivocal example; in Josh 6.13a; 2Sm 13.19 a second inf. abs. is probably to be read (§ 123 n).

After a past **nominal clause**: 1Sm 2.22 וְשָׁמַע וְזָקַן מְאֹד וְעָלִי "Now Eli (was) *very old* (adjective or verbal adjective) *and he heard repeatedly* ..."; Gn 47.22 וַאֲכָלוּ *and they used to eat*; 1Kg 4.7.

Finally after a **verbal clause** setting forth a situation in the past: 2Kg 3.4 "Now Mesha, king of Moab, *was* (הָיָה) a shepherd; *and he used to pay* (וַהֲשִׁיב); 1Sm 1.3 וְעָלָה *and he used to go up*; Job 1.4.

W-qatalí, like yiqtol (§ 113 l-n), can have the modal nuances of *can / may, must, and will* (§ 111 g): 2Sm 14.32 "if I am guilty, *he may* (he will have a right to) *make me die* (וַהֲמִיתָנִי)" (not: *let him make me die!*); 1Sm 10.4 (prediction) "they will greet you and give you two loaves of bread *and you must accept them* (וְלָקַחְתָּ); Ru 3.9 "*and you must spread* (וּפָרַשְׁתָּ)" (Ruth is stating to Boaz his obligation as a *go'el*; cf. vs. 12); Ex 12.48 "if a stranger sojourns with you *and wants to celebrate* (וְעָשָׂה) the Passover" (very clearly).

CONCLUSION. As we can see, w-qatalí usually agrees with yiqtol. Like yiqtol it mainly expresses the future⁽¹⁾, less often the present; in the present and in the past it expresses a frequentative or durative nuance. W-qatalí, on the contrary, is radically different from qatal: 1) qatal, in action verbs, mainly expresses the past, whereas w-qatalí does not in itself express the past; 2) w-qatalí mainly expresses the future, whereas qatal does not properly express the future; 3) the aspect of qatal is that of a single and instantaneous action, the aspect of w-qatalí is that of a repeated or durative action.

(1) E.g. *and he will kill* is expressed thus: without notion of succession: after

yiqtol: יִקְטַל; after w-qataltí: יִקְטַל ... י; with notion of succession: after yiqtol or w-qataltí: יִקְטַלְיָ.

y **Anomalies.** All the normal uses of the w-qataltí form are listed in the preceding discussion. Like the wayyiqtol form (§ 118 u), it is very broadly used, and fairly often in an abusive fashion. On the other hand in some rather rare cases⁽¹⁾ we have the w-yiqtol (w-yaqum: weak Waw and future) instead of w-qataltí: Ps 2.12 וְתִבְרַח אַתָּה אֲנִי אֲנִי אֲנִי *lest he become angry and you perish* (the idea of consecution would require energetic Waw, and thus וְתִבְרַחְךָ); Ho 6.1 וְיָרַף אֲנִי אֲנִי אֲנִי *he has torn, but he will bandage us*; 6.2⁽²⁾.

(1) Ex 12.3 וְיָקָחוּ in the sense of *and they will take* would not be classical, but the form is jussive: *let them take* (LXX λαβέτωσαν; Vulg. *tollat*); against Driver, *Tenses*, § 125; contr. at vs. 4 the indicative יִקְחוּ (LXX συλλήψεται; Vulg. *assumet*).

(2) In sentences expressing a request for help in the first member and a granting of the request in the second, we have yiqtol ... w-yiqtol: Ps 91.15 וְיִקְרָא אֱלֹהֵי וְיִקְרָא אֱלֹהֵי; Is 19.20; 58.9; Job 22.27 (cf. Ps 91.14; Zech 10.16). Contr., in the past, Ps 120.1 וְיַעֲנֵנִי וְיַעֲנֵנִי (Jon 2.3); Ps 119.26 (but Ps 34.5 וְיַעֲנֵנִי).

z In the opposite case of omission of energetic Waw, the w-qatalti *and I killed* form is used instead of the expected wayyiqtol form, required by classical usage⁽¹⁾. Even if we make generous allowance for possible alterations of the consonantal text, there still remain: a rather large number of abnormal (i.e. contrary to usage) w-qatalti *and I killed* forms. Some instances may come from later scribes under the influence of Aramaic or post-biblical Hebrew usage. We shall give here only some typical examples. In Ez 37.7 and 10 וְנִבְּרַאתִי and וְנִבְּרַאתִי, *and I prophesied*—and note that the forms are accented as mil'el!—are very probably genuine (it is difficult to assume a spelling alteration here; on the other hand, in a third example, vs. 2 וְהֵעִבֵּרְנִי *and he caused me to pass*, ה is perhaps a mistake for י; read וְיַעֲבִירְנִי). In 2Kg 23 there are as many as 5 examples of abnormal w-qatalti: vs. 4b וְנָשָׂא *and he carried* (even if we assume a secondary addition, the form is abnormal), vs. 5 וְהִשְׁבִּית *and he suppressed*, vs. 10 וְטִמְא *and he defiled*, vs. 12 וְהָשָׁךְ *and he threw*, vs. 15 וְשָׂרַף *and he burned*. Other examples: Gn 15.6 וְהִיאָמִין; 21.25 וְהוֹכַח; 34.5 וְהִחֲרִישׁ; Jdg 3.23 וְנָעַל (and 2Sm 13.18); 1Kg 12.32 וְהִעֲמִיד; 2Kg 14.14 וְלָקַח. In cases like 1Sm 5.7 וְאָמַר a י could easily have dropped out. In cases like Is 40.6 וְאָמַר the w-qatalti form is due only to bad vocalisation⁽²⁾; read וְאָמַר *and I said* (LXX, Vulg.). The

graphic resemblance between וְהָיָה and וַיְהִי may partly account for some abnormal instances of וְהָיָה: 1Sm 1.12 (cf. Driver and Ehrlich ad loc.); 10.9; 13.22; 17.48; 25.20; 2Sm 6.16 (but parall. 1Ch 15.29 correctly וַיְהִי); 2Kg 3.15; Jer 37.11; Am 7.2⁽³⁾. On the other hand וַיְהִי for וְהָיָה was vocalised as וַיְהִי "and it may be" (to obtain a meaning which would not be as bad as וַיְהִי) in 2Sm 5.24; Ru 3.4 (there is injunction in both examples); 1Sm 10.5; 1Kg 14.5 (there is no injunction in either example)⁽⁴⁾.

(1) One must allow for the likelihood that, before the classical usage became the standard for literary Hebrew, w-qatalí (most probably with mil'el accent) was used as a simple past tense, as attested in what is universally considered one of the oldest pieces of BH poetry: Jdg 5.26 וְהָלַמָּה סִיסְרָא מְחַקָּה רָאשׁוּ ... וְהָשִׁלְחָנָה יָדָהּ לִיְתֵד תְּשִׁלְחָנָה ... *she put out her hand to the tent peg ... struck Sisera a blow, crushed his head, shattered and pierced his temple*. Note also what appears to be an archaic, free-standing energetic form: תְּשִׁלְחָנָה.

(2) Some of the above examples of the 3m.sg. can be repointed to be read as inf. abs. (§ 123 x), as suggested by M. Lambert as early as 1893 in *REJ* 26 (1893) 57 and more recently by J. Huesman, *Bib* 37 (1956) 414-34.

(3) See some examples in adversative clauses, § 172 a.

(4) About these four cases of וַיְהִי cf. Driver, *Tenses*, § 121, Obs. 3, who endeavours to justify them.

The later books show clear signs of a gradual collapse or deterioration of the classical tense system. No textual emendation can improve Ne 9.7f. ... בָּחַרְתָּ בְּאַבְרָם וְהוֹצֵאתוֹ ... וְשָׂמְתָּ שְׁמוֹ אַבְרָהָם: וּמְצָאתָ אֶת-לֵבָבוֹ ... *you chose Abram and took him out ... and made his name Abraham; you found his heart ... and you made the covenant with him ... and you honoured what you had said ...*; 1Ch 17.10 וְהִכְנַעְתִּי ... וְהִגִּיד (mil'el accent, but וְהִגִּיד in its source 2Sm 7.11) *I appointed ... I will subdue ... and I will declare ...*; 1Ch 17.17 "and you spoke (וַתִּרְבֵּר) ... and you saw me (וַיִּרְאֵינִי)"; 2Ch 12.10 "and he made (וַיַּעַשׂ) ... and committed (וְהִפְקִיד)"; so in its source, 1Kg 14.27). This tendency is typified by Ecclesiastes, in which there are found only three wayyiqtol's and not a single w-qatalí, and where the classical usage would have required these forms, the author uses w-qatalí (21 x, all 1st pers. sg.!) and w-yiqtol instead⁽¹⁾. Moreover, all the three of these exceptional wayyiqtol's are in the 1st person sg., and one of them has paragogic a: 1.17 וַאֲתַנְּה, 4.1,7 וַאֲרָאָה (cf. § 47 d). It is instructive that a rare example in Ct of the classical wayyiqtol

should appear to be modelled on a passage elsewhere: Ct 6.9 רָאִוּהָ בָנוֹת וַיִּשְׂרְרוּהָ וַיִּשְׂרְרוּהָ וַיִּשְׂרְרוּהָ וַיִּשְׂרְרוּהָ *the maidens saw her and declared her happy; the queens and concubines praised her*, cp. Pr 31.28 קָמוּ בְנוֹת וַיִּשְׂרְרוּהָ בְעֵלָהּ וַיִּשְׂרְרוּהָ. See above at § 118 u.

(1) See B. Isaksson, *Studies in the Language of Qoheleth with Special Emphasis on the Verbal System* (Uppsala, 1987), pp. 43, 93-105. Among the examples collected by Isaksson there is not a single case of the mil'ra w-qatalí nor do those w-qatal's with non-preterital meaning appear to be examples of the classical canon.

zb Examples of *וַיִּהְיֶה* for the standard *וַיְהִי* must also be seen as evidence of the gradual collapse of the classical tense system mentioned above in § za. The phenomenon is not confined to the verb *וַיְהִי*: see, e.g., Dn 11.14ff. "In those times many shall rise (*וַיִּצְמְדוּ*) ... shall lift themselves up (*וַיִּנְשְׂאוּ*) ... but they shall fail (*וַיִּנְכָּשְׁלוּ*). Then the king of the north shall come (*וַיָּבֵא*) ... and throw up (*וַיִּשְׂפֹּךְ*) siege-works, and take (*וַיִּלְכֹּד*) a well-fortified city ... But he who comes against him shall do (*וַיַּעַשׂ*) according to his own will ... and he shall stand (*וַיִּעַמֵּד*) in the glorious land ... He shall set (*וַיִּשֶׁם*) his face ..." It appears that the prefix conjugation began increasingly to be felt as a future, or at least non-preterital, tense form, whilst the apocopated form (and the cohortative; see § 47 d) had impressed itself on the minds of most late BH writers as closely associated with the conjunction Waw⁽¹⁾.

(1) See E. Qimron, "Consecutive and conjunctive imperfect: the form of the impf. with Waw in BH," *JQR* 77 (1986-87) 149-61.

§ 120. Practical summary about Waw with finite verbal forms

The choice of a form after *and* depends on the meaning of this *and*. Is the *and* simple or energetic? (cf. § 115 a). It is energetic when it conveys an idea of succession or an idea of consecution or of purpose. Otherwise it is simple and must be rendered by the weak Waw. If the *and* is energetic, the main cases are the following: 1) For the idea of succession the indicative forms with Waw inversive are used: wayyiqtol,

w-qataltí; 2) For the idea of consecution: generally after an indicative the indicative is used, and after a volitive mood a volitive mood is used (with modal Waw); 3) For the idea of purpose the volitive mood is used (with modal Waw).

In the following table we shall give theoretical examples of finite verbal forms after the same first verb *to eat*⁽¹⁾. In the first row of examples, the second verb *to drink*⁽²⁾ expresses an action which is regarded as simultaneous: the Waw is therefore purely juxtaposing. In the second row, the second verb *to lie down, to sleep* expresses an action which obviously is subsequent: energetic Waw of succession. In the third row, we have a verb (*to live*) expressing an action which may be the consequence or the purpose of the action of *eating*: modal Waw.

(1) Note that the jussive לֹא־יֵשֶׁב is not distinguishable from the indicative.

(2) Note that the cohortative הִנֵּנִי־שֹׁמֵר is not distinguishable from the indicative.

th	Qatal	Yiqtol	Jussive (Yaqom)	Cohortative	Imperative
st m					
Waw of juxtaposition	<p>אָכַל וְשָׁתָה he ate and drank (Jer 22.15)</p>	<p>יֹאכַל וְיִשְׁתֶּה he will eat and drink he eats and drinks he used to eat and drink</p>	<p>יֵאָכַל וְיִשְׁתֶּה May he eat and drink</p>	<p>אֲכַלְהָ וְאַשְׁתֶּה I wish to eat and drink</p>	<p>אֲכַל וְשָׁתָה Eat and drink! (1Kg 18.41)</p>
Waw of subordination	<p>אָכַל וַיִּשְׁכַּב he ate and (then) lay down</p>	<p>יֹאכַל וְיִשְׁכַּב he will eat and (then) lie down he eats and (then)... he used to eat and (then) ...</p>	<p>יֵאָכַל וְיִשְׁכַּב May he eat and (then) lie down! (lit.: and [then] he will lie down)</p>	<p>אֲכַלְהָ וְיִשְׁכַּבְתִּי I wish to eat and (then) lie down (lit.: and [then] I will lie down)</p>	<p>אֲכַל וְשָׁכַבְתָּ Eat and (then) lie down! (lit.: and [then] you will lie down)</p>
Modal Waw purpose/cult	<p>אָכַל וְיָחִי he ate in order to live (rare) (purpose)</p>	<p>יֹאכַל וְיָחִי he will eat in order to live he eats ... he used to eat... (rather rare)(purpose)</p>	<p>יֵאָכַל וְיָחִי May he eat in order to live May he eat and (then) live!</p>	<p>אֲכַלְהָ וְיָחִי I wish to eat in order to live I wish to eat and (then) live</p>	<p>אֲכַל וְיָחִי Eat in order to live Eat and (then) you will live</p>

§ 121. The participle.

In Hebrew, as originally in Semitic, the participle is an atemporal form, i.e. one that can be used indifferently in the three temporal spheres: present, future, and past. However, the participle used predicatively has become, in Hebrew, a temporal form: it is like a substitute for the *yiqtol*. On the other hand, when used attributively⁽¹⁾, i.e. in a quasi-adjectival function, the participle is atemporal (§ 1).

(1) Here *attribute* is used in the sense of any *determinative* of the noun (e.g. another noun, an adjective, a participle), and not in its usual *French* meaning, in which *attribute* means precisely what we shall here call *predicate* (that which is *said*, asserted or denied, about the subject).

This applies to both the active and passive participles (§ 50 a). Active and passive participles have the same temporal value and aspect. The only difference is that instances of passive participles are of course fewer than those of active participles.

A) Participle used as predicate and its temporal value.

The participle shares something of the nature of the adjective. It represents an action as a state, i.e. as *durative in aspect*⁽¹⁾. The temporal value of the participle is mainly and, as it were, naturally that of the present. It is by extension of its use as present that the participle is fairly often used for the near future, or even for the future in general. Finally, the participle, like the *yiqtol* (§ 113 e), can express the past in a past context.

(1) The frequentative aspect, analogous to the durative aspect (§ 111 c), is less common in the participle.

Participle in the sphere of the present. This is the first and, as it were, the natural use of the participle: Zech 2.6 $\text{אַתָּה הֵלֵךְ} \text{ אַתָּה הֵלֵךְ}$ 'where are you going? To the question in Gn 37.15 מַה אַתָּה בֹקֵשׁ what are you looking for? (*yiqtol* of the present, § 113 d), Joseph replies vs. 16 $\text{אֲנִי אֶת־אֶחָיו אֲנִי בֹקֵשׁ}$ it is my brothers that I am looking for. (The addition of the pronoun, usual in answers, has caused the participle to be used. As far as time and aspect are concerned, בֹקֵשׁ would have the same value here). With $\text{הֵנָּה יֹרֵד עַם הַנְּהַלְמָה}$ Jdg 9.36 look, here are some people coming down. Instances with the frequentative aspect are less common: Ex 13.15 "That is why I sacrifice (אני זֹבֵחַ) to Yahweh every first-born

male, and every first-born of my sons I *redeem* him (אֶפְדֶּהוּ) (yiqtol with the same value; chiasmus motivated by the opposition of the two objects); Ec 1.4 הָיָה הַדּוֹר הַזֶּה וְהַדּוֹר הַבָּא "one generation goes and one generation arrives."

- e Participle in the sphere of the future. The use of the participle to express the near future and the future in general is an extension of the use of the participle as present. A future action, mainly an approaching action, is represented as being already in progress. Like the yiqtol of the future (§ 113 b), the participle of the future does not express the aspect of the action, which may be instantaneous as well as durative: Gn 19.13 כִּי־מִשְׁחָתִים אֲנַחְנוּ because we are about to destroy (instantaneous action, or action of short duration; the כִּי brings about the word-order predicate—subject, § 154 f); often with נָתַן, e.g. 1Kg 20.13 I am going to give; Dt 1.20 (and often in Dt) "Yahweh will give you or is going to give you"; Gn 20.3 (with הִנֵּה which shows the action as present) מָת הַנֶּהָרְךָ you are about to die; with a passive participle 2Sm 20.21b הֵאֱלָיָהּ מִשְׁלָךְ אֵלָיָהּ his head is going to be thrown to you. Durative action: Gn 7.4 "another seven days and I will make it rain (מִמְטֵר) for forty days ..."; 1Kg 1.14 מִן־בְּרַת עוֹדָךְ הִנֵּה עוֹדָךְ you will still be speaking (contr. vs. 22 in the past); 2Kg 4.16; with passive participle: Dt 28.31 "your ox will be slaughtered (טָבַח) before your eyes and you will not eat of it"(1).

To emphasise the durative aspect in the future, a form of the verb הִיָּה with future meaning is added to the participle (§ 154 m): 1Kg 2.45 (Is 2.2; Mi 4.1) יִהְיֶה נָכוֹן will be (will stay) established; with passive participle: Jer 36.30 מִשְׁלָכְתָּ תִּהְיֶה מְשַׁלְּכָתָּ his corpse shall be cast out (= will remain lying); Dt 28.29b. Likewise in the jussive Gn 1.6 יְהִי מִבְּדִיל let it be separating (= let it keep ... apart). Comp. with the infinitive: Esth 9.21,27 לַהֲיוֹת לְעֹשִׂים to do (i.e. to celebrate) (frequentative). No example with the imperative(2).

(1) Therefore it is not correct to say (GK, § 116 e) that the passive participle of Qal always has a past meaning. See also Ps 111.2 הַדְּרוֹשִׁים which are to be sought, § i.

(2) In Ps 30.11 עֹרֵךְ is, as always, used substantivally; cf. § f, n. In MH the periphrastic imperative is usual for a command of general import: *be doing* for *do* (constantly), e.g. Pirque 'Abot 1.9 אֶת־הָעֵדִים לְחַקֹּר מְרַבֵּה הָיוּ מְרַבֵּה לְחַקֹּר אֶת־הָעֵדִים examine the witnesses a lot.

See J.C. Greenfield, *IEJ* 19 (1969) 209f.; Ex 34.2 וְהָיָה נָכוֹן and ib. 19.15 הָיָה נָכוֹן probably do not belong here, the participles there being very much like pure adjectives. See also M. Mishor, "The tense system in Tannaitic Hebrew" [in Heb.], Ph.D. diss. (Jerusalem, 1983), pp. 351-93.

Examples of the resultative aspect are: Jdg 19.27 "there she was, the woman, his concubine fallen (נִפְּלָה; LXX πεπτωκυῖα) at the entrance"; Am 9.11 "the tent of David which is fallen (נִפְּלָה) (πεπτωκυῖαν)"; 1Sm 31.8 (//1Ch 10.8) "they found Saul and his (three) sons fallen (נִפְּלָה; πεπτωκότας) on Mount Gilboa."

Participle in the sphere of the past. Like yiqtol when used in the sphere of the past (§ 113 e), the participle is in this case rarely atemporal; its temporal value can only be deduced from the context: 1Kg 17.6 "Ravens would bring (מְבִיאִים) him bread and meat in the morning, bread and meat in the evening, and he would drink (יִשְׁתֶּה) water from the torrent" (frequentative meaning; participle continued by a yiqtol with the same value; cf. 1Sm 1.13); 1Kg 1.5 "now Adonijah was exalting himself (מְשַׁבֵּחַ)" (durative aspect). In the past the frequentative aspect is fairly common: Gn 39.3,6,22; 1Kg 3.2; 22.44; Esth 2.11,13,14; 3.2 (participle continued by yiqtol with the same value). But the durative aspect is usual: Gn 19.1; 25.26; Ex 20.18; Jdg 13.9; 2Ch 22.9; with הנה indicating the object of a vision: Gn 37.7; 41.17. Example of passive participle Gn 38.25 וְהָיָה שְׁלֵמָה מוֹצֵאתָּהּ וְהָיָה שְׁלֵמָה מוֹצֵאתָּהּ *while she was being brought out [educabatur] she sent* (simultaneity: first action durative, second action instantaneous, § 166 f).

The participle in the sphere of the past being atemporal, a form of the verb היה with past meaning (§ 154 m) is added in order clearly to express time past: In absolute beginning: Job 1.14 הַבָּקָר הָיוּ חֹרְשׁוֹת *the cows were (in the process of) ploughing*; Jer 26.18 "Micah used to prophesy (אֲנִי הָיִיתִי נְבִיא) in the days of Hezekiah"; Gn 37.2; Ex 3.1; Jdg 1.7. In a past context: 1Sm 2.11; 2Sm 3.6; 1Kg 18.3 (2Kg 4.1) הָיָה אִישׁ יָרָא *was a man who feared Yāhweh.*" After a wayyiqtol, if the action is considered durative, וַיְהִי with the participle is used instead of a simple wayyiqtol: Gn 4.17 "and she bore Enoch; now he was building (וַיְהִי בִּנְיָה) a city and ..."; Jdg 16.21 "and they bound him with fetters of bronze, and he used to grind at the mill (וַיְהִי טוֹחֵן)"; 1Sm 18.9; Ne 1.4 "... and I fasted and I prayed (וַיְהִי צוֹם וּמִתְפַּלֵּל)" (after global wayyiqtol)⁽¹⁾.

(1) There is no periphrastic form, of course, if the qotel or the qatul used with the verb היה is used as a substantive or as an adjective. Thus qotel: Ps 10.14 הָיָה עֵזְרָא (cf. 30.11, § e, n.); Gn 4.12,14 (cf. Nu 14.33 where read וַיְהִי); Gn 21.20; qatul: Josh 5.5; 2Kg 15.5; Zech 3.3. In the expression in Deut. (9.7,24; 31.27) מִמָּרִים הָיִיתָם עִם-יְהוָה *you have been rebellious against Yāhweh*, the qotel has a quasi-adjectival

meaning (לע only here: irregular word-order); in 9.22 מְקַצְפִּים הָיִיתָם אֶת־יְהוָה *you constantly provoked* there is emphasis or broad use.

g On occasion the periphrastic construction appears superfluous, particularly in the later books, but a close look suggests that the real force of the construction is akin to that of the inchoative imperfect of Greek or the graphic historic present⁽¹⁾. E.g. Ne 2.13 וְאָהִי שָׁבַר בְּחֹמַת יְרוּשָׁלַם *and I began to inspect the walls of J. or and there I was, inspecting ...*; Ez 43.6 "I heard someone speaking to me out of the temple, but in fact there was a man standing next to me (וְאִישׁ הָיָה עִמָּד)"; 2Ch 24.12 "and the king and Jehoiada gave it to those who had charge of the work of the house of the Lord, and they set about hiring masons and carpenters (וַיְהִי וַיִּשְׁכְּרוּ חֹצְבִים וְקַרְשִׁים)." Likewise 2Kg 17.25, 28,29,32,33,41; Ne 2.15; 2Ch 30.10; 36.16.

(1) *Pace* König, *Syntax*, § 239 c.

h **CONCLUSION.** The participle used as predicate therefore roughly coincides with the yiqtol. In many cases the participle or the yiqtol may be used indiscriminately⁽¹⁾. Sometimes, as we have seen, the yiqtol continues a participle. Generally speaking, the participle expresses the durative aspect more strongly than the yiqtol does. It is perhaps for this reason that, for a simultaneous durative action, in temporal clauses (§ 166 c) and in circumstantial clauses (§ 159 d), the participle is used, and not the yiqtol⁽²⁾. In contexts where either a participle or a yiqtol could occur, preference is given to the participle when the subject is expressed, and to the yiqtol when it is not, e.g. Gn 37.15,16 (§ d), 1Kg 17.6 (§ f). From the temporal point of view, the participle more properly expresses the present or the near future, while the yiqtol more properly expresses the future.

Finally, as we have already said (§ e-f), the participle with the verb הָיָה must be used in certain cases.

(1) E.g., Gn 2.10 וַיֵּצֵא מֵעֵדֶן לְהַשְׁקוֹת אֶת־הַגֶּן וּמִשָּׁם יָפְרָד *and a river went out of Eden to water the garden, and from thence it was parted*; Gn 16.8; 1Sm 2.6-8; 2Kg 6.22; Ps 145.20;146.9; see D. Cohen, *Phrase nominale* [op. cit., § 113 d], pp. 300f.,304. *Pace* Cohen, op. cit., p. 307, the participle in Zech 2.6 אֵתְּהָה הֲלֵךְ אֲנִי *where are you going to go?* is prob. different from the fut. in Gn 16.8, because in the former the angel had not yet set off.

(2) Often the durative aspect is only in the background, and the participle underlines, rather, the actual present, i.e. some action is taking place at the moment of

speech, which, incidentally, is most likely another reason for the frequent use of the participle in circumstantial clauses; e.g., Gn 13.15 "for all the land which you see (הָאֲרָץ אֲשֶׁר רָאִיתָ)", to you will I give it (אֲנִי נֹתֵן לָךְ); Dt 26.16 "this day the Lord your God commands you (מְצַוְךָ) to do these statutes and judgements." See Cohen, op. cit., pp. 301-3, 305f.

B) Participle used as attribute⁽¹⁾ and its temporal value.

i

The attributive participle, contrary to the predicative participle, in itself expresses neither time nor aspect: the time and the aspect can only be deduced from the context; thus אֲבֹרָךְ can mean, according to the context, *the man who is coming, who comes, who will come, who came, who has come* and this *once or often, in an instantaneous or durative manner*. Thus מֵת usually means *who is dead* or substantively a *dead man*, but it can also mean *who will die, moriturus* (Zech 11.9); Ex 11.5 "the first-born of Pharaoh *who is to sit* (הַיֹּשֵׁב) on his throne" (comp. 2Kg 3.27 יִמְלֹךְ אֲשֶׁר יָמַלְךָ *who was to reign*, § 113b), Am 9.11 "David's hut *which will have fallen* (הַנִּפְלֵת; LXX πεπτωκυῖαν)"⁽²⁾; Gn 27.33 הֶצְדָּדִים-צִיד *who has captured some game*; 35.3 "the God *who answered* (הַעֲנֶנִּי) me"; 43.18 "the money *which came back* (הַשֹּׁב); Ezr 6.21 "the Israelites *who had come back* (הַשֹּׁבִים)." However, when the reference is to the past, the definite article is idiomatically added, though the reverse is not necessarily true: more examples may be found in Berg., II, § 13 c.

With the nuance *can/may*: 1Kg 12.21 מִלְחָמָה לַעֲשׂוֹת *able to make war, fit for fighting* (*kriegsfähig*) (the partic. in the cst. state, § m); Jdg 8.10 חָרַב שֶׁלֶף חָרַב *able to draw a sword*; 2Kg 3.21 חָגַר חֲגָרָה *able to gird on the shoulder-belt*. In Nifal: Lv 11.47 "the animal *which may be eaten* (הַנֶּאֱכָלֹת) and the animal *which may not be eaten* (לֹא תֵאָכְלֶנָּה)," cf. § 113 l.

With the nuance *must*: in Qal passive participle: Ps 111.2 הִרְוֵשִׁים *to be sought* (Jerome: *exquirenda*); in Nifal: Ps 76.8 etc. נֹרָא *who must be feared* (*metuendus*), *formidable*; 89.8 נִצְרָךְ *formidable*; in Pual: Ps 18.4 etc. מְהֻלָּל *laudandus, praiseworthy*.

(1) Or in a more general way, *non-predicate* (because of the case where the participle is used as an independent substantive, e.g. Zech 11.9 הִמָּתָה *she who must die*; 1Sm 4.20 הַנִּצְבּוֹת *those that stood by*; Nu 15.33 הַמֵּצְאִים *those who had found*). For the sake of simplicity we only use the term *attributive participle*.

(2) Note that the sense is not "falling hut," but the participle emphasises a result arising from what has or will have happened. More examples of the same verb with resultative may be found above (§ e, n.).

j A participle, predicative or non-predicative, is rather rarely continued by another participle; it is usually continued by a finite tense⁽¹⁾. In a case where the finite tense is immediately preceded by Waw, this Waw is almost always energetic Waw: thus wayyiqtol or w-qatalti are used, even when there is no idea of succession. Examples: 1Sm 2.6a (poetic) יהוה מִמִּית וּמְחַיֶּה *Yahweh gives death and gives life* (series of participles; again vs. 7), but 6b מוֹרִיד וְשׂוֹלֵל וְיֹעֵל he causes to go down to Sheol and to come up again (from there) (§ 118 r); Gn 27.33 הֶצֵד-צֵיד וַיָּבֵא who has captured some game and has brought (it) back; 35.3; Ps 136.10-11 וַיֹּצֵא ... מִמֶּה מִצְרַיִם *who smote Egypt ... and who brought out*; with w-qatalti: cf. § 119 n, r, v. With non-inversive Waw: Ps 136.14 וְהַעֲבִיר and made ... to pass through (irregular; in the middle of wayyiqtol). With w- ... yiqtol: Is 5.23; with yiqtol: 1Sm 2.8; with w- ... qatal: Pr 2.17.

For the verbal adjective continuing the infinitive absolute הָלֹךְ, cf. § 123 s.

(1) Likewise for the infinitive construct, § 124 q. See also Driver, *Tenses*, § 80.

k **Construction of the participle.** Since the participle is a verbal noun, it can be used either as a verb or as a noun. Generally speaking, when the meaning is rather verbal, it is used as a verb, i.e. it governs a following noun in the accusative⁽¹⁾; when, on the other hand, the meaning is rather nominal, then it is used as a noun, i.e. a following noun is in the genitive. However there is a fairly strong tendency to treat the participle as a noun.

With the suffixes (§ 66) the participle is usually treated as a noun, i.e. it takes nominal suffixes, even when the meaning is verbal. Thus, with verbal meaning, alongside רֹאֲנִי (§ 66 b, for רֹאֲנִי) Is 47.10 we find רֹאֵי Job 7.8; likewise: כָּל-מַצְאֵי Gn 4.14; מַצְדֵּיקֵי Is 50.8; שֹׁלְמֵי Ps 7.5; מְשֹׁנְאֵי 55.13 (on the other hand we have לֹעֲשֵׂנִי Job 32.22 in the sense of *my creator*); מְאֹכְלֵי Jer 9.14; יֹדְעֵי לְפָנָי Job 42.11 *they who knew him before*; שֹׂנְאֵי חֵנָם Ps 35.19 *they who hate me without reason*. If the participle has the article, the suffix can only be in the accusative; thus we have, quite normally, הַמְּאֹזֵרֵנִי Ps 18.33; הַמְּכַהֵנִי Is 9.12 (but הַעֲשֹׂה Job 40.19) *one who made him* [Vulg. *qui fecit eum*]; הַיֹּלְדָהְהָ Dt 11.6⁽²⁾. Comp. the treatment of the inf. cst. with suffixes,

§ 124 *g, i.*

(1) This is of course not apparent in Hebrew, which has lost all case endings. In the following examples, parallelism points to the syntactically verbal nature of the participle used: Jer 30.10 מֵאַרְצָן שְׁבִיִּים וְאֶת-יִרְעֵף מֵאַרְצָן שְׁבִיִּים *Behold, I deliver you from afar and your posterity from the land of their captivity*; 33.2 יהוה עושה יהוה יהוה *Yahweh makes it and Y. fashions it*. Furthermore, if a following nominal complement is separated from the participle, the latter functions verbally: Pr 29.14 מֶלֶךְ שׁוֹפֵט בְּאֵמֶת דְּלִים *A king judges the poor with equity*.

(2) If מְשַׁרְתִּי אֵת at Jer 33.22 (for מְשַׁרְתִּי vs. 21) is authentic, a comparison could be made with those frequent instances of the participle which are in the cst. state before a preposition (§ 129 *m*); Jeremiah often confuses the two particles אֵת (§ 103 *j*). Or could אֵת be used here with its primitive substantive meaning? (cf. § 103 *k*, N.B.).

With substantives: The participle in the *absolute state*: Ex 20.6a בֹּלֵגִים *being merciful* (but *b* שְׂמֵרֵי מִצְוֹתַי); 1Sm 2.13 בֹּלֵגִים *being merciful* (but Nu 35.30 מְבַרְכֵם); Jer 22.13 הוֹי בֹנֵה בֵיתוֹ; Hb 2.12 הוֹי בֹנֵה עִיר (but Ps 147.2 יהוה ירושלם יהוה despite the clearly verbal meaning); Jer 17.26a מְבַרְכֵם *being merciful* (but *b* מְבַרְכֵם, if the text is correct); 1Kg 5.1 מְבַרְכֵם *being merciful* (but 2Sm 8.2,6 מְבַרְכֵם *tributaries*). The verbal adjective יָרָא in the sense of *respecting, fearing* is constructed with the accusative: Gn 42.18 יָרָא אֲנִי אֱלֹהִים; 2Kg 4.1; Jon 1.9 (but in the nominal sense of *respectful of*, we have יָרָא: Gn 22.12 יָרָא אֱלֹהִים Is 50.10; Ps 25.12 etc.; יָרָא: Ex 18.21 יָרָא אֱלֹהִים Mal 3.20; Ps 15.4 etc.); verbal adjective חָפֵץ: Ps 5.5 חָפֵץ רָשָׁע (but Ps 35.27 חָפֵץ צְדָקָה; cf. 40.15; 70.3).

The participle in the *construct state*: apart from the examples quoted in § 1, note that the plural is always used in אֱלֹהִים (11 x), e.g. Ps 5.12 אֱלֹהִים שֹׁמֵרֵי, except 1 x Dt 13.4 אֱלֹהִים (with ישׁ, § 154 *k*) [in the sing. אֱלֹהִים the form does not change in the cst. state]; likewise the plural is always used in שֹׁמֵרֵי (6 x), e.g. Ex 18.21 שֹׁמֵרֵי *being merciful* [in the sing. שֹׁמֵר the form does not change in the cst. state]. Other examples: Ex 21.12 מְבַרְכֵם *being merciful* (cf. Gn 9.6 הַמְבַרְכֵם); Ex 25.20 וְהָיָה מְבַרְכֵם *being merciful* in spite of the verbal meaning, and with הָיָה; abnormal); Lv 11.4 מְבַרְכֵם *being merciful*; Nu 31.30 הוֹי בֹנֵה בֵיתוֹ *being merciful*; Jer 12.1 בֹנֵה בֵיתוֹ *being merciful*; Dt 13.4 הוֹי בֹנֵה בֵיתוֹ *being merciful*; Josh 24.18 הוֹי בֹנֵה בֵיתוֹ *being merciful* (always thus; contr., e.g. Nu 13.28 הוֹי בֹנֵה בֵיתוֹ); Ex 3.8 אֶרֶץ זָבַח חֵלֶב וְדָבַשׁ *a land flowing with milk and honey* (*fluens lac et mel*);

and even with an infinitive: Ps 127.2 מְשַׁכְּמִי קוּם *manicantes surgere* (= *who get up early*) (instead of מְשַׁכְּמִים לְקוּם; cf. § 124 n; comp., with adjective, Jer 13.23b הָרַע לְמַרְי הָרַע *accustomed to do evil*).

- n The participle in the construct state is also used with a following genitive instead of an accusative of motion, especially with the verbs בּוֹא and יָצָא⁽¹⁾: Gn 23.10,18 בָּאֵי שַׁעַר *ingredientes portam* (= "those who enter the gate"); Lam 1.4 בָּאֵי מוֹעֵד *coming to the feast*; Gn 9.10 יָצְאֵי הַתְּבֵרָה *going out of the ark*; 46.26 יָצְאֵי יָרְכוּ *those who come out of his thigh*; 1Ch 5.18 יָצְאֵי צָבָא *able* (cf. § i) *to go forth to the army, fit for military service* (sing. יָצָא צָבָא Nu 1.3 etc.)⁽²⁾; יֹרְדֵי בּוֹר *going down into the pit* Is 38.18 etc. (comp., with preposition⁽³⁾, Is 14.19 יוֹרְדֵי אֶל-אֲבֵנֵי-בוֹר).

This same construction is found instead of a preposition: Ps 88.6 אֹכְלֵי שֶׁלֶחַן אֵיזֶבֶל *eating at Jezebel's table, Jezebel's commensals*; Is 41.7 מְחַלֵּיק פִּטְשֵׁשׁ *he that polishes with the hammer* (cf. A. Dillmann *ad loc.*); 2Ch 23.4 בָּאֵי הַשַּׁבָּת *who enter (upon their duties on) the sabbath*; instead of מִן: Is 59.20 שׁוֹבֵי פְּשָׁע *coming back from sin, the penitent*; Mi 2.8. Likewise with the nominal suffixes: Pr 2.19 כָּל-בָּאֵי הָאֵהָרָה *all they who come to her*; Ps 18.40 etc. קוֹמֵי עָלַי *they who rise against me* (for קוֹמֵי עָלַי Ps 3.2).

(1) Cf. § 125 n.

(2) Contr. בָּצָבָא vs. 36 (cf. Dt 24.5).

(3) For the participle in the cst. state before a preposition, cf. § 129 m.

- o The double construction of the active participle (§§ k-n) is also found with the passive participle. But here the opportunity to have a direct object is rather rare: it is mainly found with the *verba induendi* and *exuendi* (= verbs of putting on and putting off clothes) (§ 128 c). Both constructions seem to be used without difference in meaning. Thus with *girded* we have הִמְלִחָמָה כְּלֵי הַחֲגוּרָה Jdg 18.17; חֲגוּרָה followed by the acc. (the abs. state recognisable only because of the vocalisation): Jdg 18.11; 1Sm 2.18; 2Sm 6.14; 20.8; 21.16; מְלִחָמָה חֲגוּרִים כְּלֵי מְלִחָמָה Jdg 18.16 (contr. Dn 10.5 with ב); in the cst. state: only חֲגֵרֶת-שָׁק JI 1.8. With *dressed* we have הִלְבוּשׁ הַבְּדִים Ez 9.3; לְבוּשׁ preceded by the acc.: 1Sm 17.5; לְבוּשׁ followed by the acc. (the abs. state recognisable only through the vocalisation): Ez 9.2 לְבוּשׁ בְּדִים; Zech 3.3; Pr 31.21; Dn 10.5; in the cst. state לְבוּשׁ הַבְּדִים Ez 9.11 (10.2,6,7; Dn 12.

6,7); *לְבִישֵׁי* Ez 23.6,12; 38.4. With the *verbum exuendi* *חָלַץ*: Dt 25.10 *חָלַץ* *קרוע* *הַנְּעָל* *bare-footed (stripped of sandals)*. With other verbs: 2Sm 15.32 *קרוע* *בְּתִנְתּוֹ* (abs. state according to the vocalisation) *torn as to his tunic = whose tunic is torn* (acc. of limitation, § 127 b), but *קרועי בגדים*(2) 2Sm 13.31; 2Kg 18.37 (Is 36.22); Jer 41.5; Ne 4.12 *וְהַבּוֹנִים אִישׁ חֶרְבוֹ* *they who were building each having his sword tied to his waist*; Jdg 1.7 *שִׁבְעִים מְלָכִים בְּהִנּוֹת יָדֵיהֶם וְרַגְלֵיהֶם מִקְצָצִים* *70 kings with their thumbs and toes cut off*(3), but Jer 41.5 *מִגְלַחֵי זָקָן* *with the beard shaved*; 2Kg 5.1 etc. *נְשׂוּא פָּנִים* literally *acceptus faciei*, *whose face is (well) received = for whom one has respect = respected*; Is 33.24 *נְשׂוּא עוֹן* *whose iniquity has been forgiven* (cf. Ps 32.1). In all these cases the logical subject of the passive participle is in reality the noun which follows it, the noun preceding it being the mere surface subject, and the participle indicates a state which has resulted from a process rather than the process itself(4). Thus, in 2Sm 15.32 *קרוע בְּתִנְתּוֹ* is equivalent to *קרועה בְּתִנְתּוֹ אִישׁ*(5). Another example quoted above Jdg 1.7 is illuminated by vs. 6 *וַיִּקְצָצוּ אֶת-בְּהִנּוֹת יָדָיו וְרַגְלָיו*.

(1) *לְבִישׁ* is not a real passive participle according to Barth, *Nominalbildung*, p. 47; Brock., *GvG*, I, p. 358; see also J. Blau, "The passive participle with active force," *Leš* 18 (1953) 67-81; T. Muraoka, "Biblical Hebrew philological notes 2" (forthcoming). The participle *לְבִישׁ* is only found in Zeph 1.8.

(2) Genitive of limitation; cf. § 129 i.

(3) *בְּהִנּוֹת*, a noun for a pair of limbs, is feminine; thus *בְּהִנּוֹת* is not subject of *מִקְצָצִים*, so there is no relative clause (*contra* Brock., *GvG*, II, pp. 555f.).

(4) Also resultative are the following passive participles: Ps 103.14 *זָכוֹר כִּי-עָפָר* *he remembers that we are dust* (*זָכוֹר* in this sense is common in MH); Ct 3.8 *חָזַזֵי חֶרֶב* *holding a sword* (after having grasped it).

(5) See further § 129 i.

The construction with the genitive is used to indicate *cause*(1): Gn 41.27 *הַשְּׂבָלִים שְׂרָפוֹת הַקָּדִים* *the ears burnt by the east wind* (cf. vs. 6); Ex 28.11; Dt 32.24; Is 1.7 *שְׂרָפוֹת אֵשׁ* *burnt by fire*; to indicate the *author* of the action: Gn 24.31; 26.29† *בְּרוּךְ יְהוָה* *blessed of Yahweh*, equivalent to *לְיְהוָה* Jdg 17.2 etc. (so-called *ל auctoris*, § 130 b; see also § 132 f with n. 1); Is 53.4 *מִיָּה אֱלֹהִים* *smitten by God*.

For the omission of the subject in a participial clause, cf. § 154 c.

(1) Genitive of cause, § 129 i.

The Qal passive participle mostly denotes a completed action or

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q

state, whereas the Nifal participle underscores an action in process. Thus Jdg 6.28 הַמִּזְבֵּחַ הַבָּנוּי *the altar which remained intact*, i.e. *not destroyed* vs. 1Ch 22.19 לְבֵית הַנְּבֻנָה *the house to be built*; 1Sm 25.18 חֲמֵשׁ צֹאן עֲשׂוּיִת *five cooked sheep* vs. Ez 9.4 הַתּוֹעֲבוֹת הַנֶּעֱשׂוֹת בְּתוֹכָהּ *the abominations which are being perpetrated within it*; Esth 5.12 גַּם לְמָחָר *also tomorrow* vs. 6.1 וַיִּהְיוּ נִקְרָאִים *they were read*; Ps 147.3 לֵב שֶׁבֻרֵי *the brokenhearted* vs. Jer 2.13 בְּאֵרֹת נִשְׁבָּרִים *cisterns which tend to develop cracks*, not (already) *broken cisterns*. But cf. Ec 9.12 בְּפִי שְׂנֵאָתָיִם בְּמִצּוֹדָה רָצָה וּכְצִפְרִים הָאֲחֻזּוֹת בַּפֶּה *in the mouth of two scorpions in a ditch, as in the case of the scorpions which are in the mouth*; Dt 28.31.

- r* An attributive participle can qualify a pronoun suffix of an immediately preceding noun or preposition as in Zech 8.9 יְדֵיכֶם הַשְּׁמָעִים *the hands of you who hear ...*, though the participle may be taken as introducing a vocative phrase; Ps 103.2f. אֱלֹהֵי שָׁמַיִם כֹּל-גִּמְלוֹתָיו: הַסֹּלֶחַ לְכָל-... *Forget not all rewards of his who forgives all your iniquity ...*; Job 22.16f. ... הָאֹמְרִים: הָאֲסוּדָה יוֹצֵק יִסּוּדָה נָהָר *their foundation poured out like a river, those who said ...*; possibly also Ps 86.2 הוֹשַׁע עַבְדְּךָ אֱלֹהֵי אֶלְהֵי הַבּוֹטֵחַ אֵלַיךָ *Save your servant, you are the God of me who trusts in you*.

§ 122. Review of temporal verbal forms

- a* With the participle (*qotel*, *qatul*) (§ 121), we have exhausted the series of verbal forms which express the time and aspect of an action. From the point of view of tenses, the main uses may be summarised as in the following table. (The part of a word in bold type indicates the main use).

PAST		PRESENT		FUTURE
	<i>qat</i> | <i>al</i>		<i>yiq</i> | <i>tol</i>	
			<i>qōt</i> | <i>el</i>	
	<i>wayyiq</i> | <i>tol</i>		<i>w-qa</i> | <i>taltí</i>	

The table shows that to express (without Waw) the present, Hebrew has three forms available: *qatal* for state and instantaneous action, *yiqtol* for repeated or durative action, *qotel* for durative or (secondarily) repeated action.

The value of each verbal form (qatal, yiqtol, qotel) is multiple and relative. In each of the two verb categories (active verbs and stative verbs), and, what is more, in each particular verb, the value of a verbal form is brought out by its contrast with the other two forms. In Hebrew, as in any other language, verbal forms "limit each other reciprocally"⁽¹⁾. Thus in order to be fully aware of the value of a qatal in a given context, we must ask ourselves what a yiqtol or a qotel would mean. b

(1) Cf. F. de Saussure, *Cours de linguistique générale* (Paris, 1916), p. 168.

The system of Hebrew temporal forms, simplistic and even primitive in certain features, is in other respects complex and subtle. If Hebrew neglects the expression of some modalities which our languages habitually express, it expresses, on the other hand, nuances which we usually neglect. c

By way of conclusion some deficiencies of the Hebrew temporal forms will now be noted:

1) They express both time and aspect, but only imperfectly. Thus, in the yiqtol used for a future action the aspect of the action is not shown. There is no single form for each of the three temporal spheres. Thus the forms express time not as perfectly as our languages do. After an initial form which situates the action in a temporal sphere, there is fairly often a certain freedom as to what form must be taken by the following verb, which sometimes seems to be used in an atemporal way and to take the value of the preceding form.

2) The nuance of succession and the volitive cannot be expressed at the same time. Thus it is not possible to render the following literally: "I want to go and I (then) want to glean"; either the expression of succession or that of will must be sacrificed, to give either: "I want to go and to glean" (Ru 2.2) or "I want to go and (then) I shall glean" (cf. Ru 2.7).

3) When a second action is negative, neither succession nor purpose-consecution can be expressed, seeing that the negation is usually לֹא (for purpose sometimes לְמַעַן ; cf. § 116 j).

4) Volitive forms with $\text{וַ$ are ambiguous. The Waw may be purely juxtaposing (direct volitive) or modal (indirect volitive: purpose/consecution).

5) Finally, morphological deficiency must be mentioned. In many cases the form is ambiguous. Thus אֲנַלְה can be used as cohortative as well as indicative, יִשְׂבוּ, יִקְטֹל, as jussive as well as indicative. And likewise the forms with suffixes. Finally, the form marked specifically as cohortative (§ 114 b, n.) and jussive (§ 114 g, n.) is sometimes non-existent.

§ 123. The infinitive absolute⁽¹⁾

a The infinitive absolute is a verbal noun of action (in active verbs) or of state (in stative verbs). That is why some of its uses are similar to those of a noun, and why some others are similar to those of the verb. Thus an inf. abs. such as רָפוּא corresponds both to Lat. *sanatio* "act of healing" and *sanare* "to heal"⁽²⁾. A distinction will be made between A) nominal uses and B) verbal uses (§ t).

(1) See J.M. Solá-Solé, *L'Infinitif sémitique* (Paris, 1961), and Muraoka, *Emphatic*, pp. 83-92 with further literature, to which N.H. Tur-Sinai, "The inf. abs. in Hebrew," *Leš* 9 (1938-39) 170-94 is to be added.

(2) Originally rather to *sanatio*. This would be a substantive *sanatio* capable of governing an accusative. Comp. *curatio* with the acc. in Plautus (*Amph.*, 519): *Quid tibi hanc curatio est rem?* (= *Quid curas hanc rem?*); *Quid tibi hanc digito tactio est?* (*Poen.*, 5.5.29).

b A) **Nominal uses.** Some of these uses are rather rare for the inf. abs. while they are usual for the inf. cst. On the other hand, the ordinary use of the inf. abs. as accusative of internal object (cf. § d) is peculiar to this infinitive.

B) **Rather rare uses:** 1) As **subject**: Pr 25.27 אֲכַלְה בְּשֶׁהַרְבוֹת לֹא טוֹב *eating too much* (liter.: *much*) *honey is not good*; Pr 28.21 הַכֹּרֵם פְּנִימִים לֹא טוֹב *to be a respecter of persons* (liter. *cognoscere faciem*) *is not good* (cf. 24.23); Is 58.6-7 פָּרַס, הִתְרַחַק, פִּתְחֵה *(but שִׁלַּח is oddly enough vocalised as inf. cst.; moreover, all the forms could be vocalised as inf. cst.);* 1Sm 15.23; Jer 10.5; Job 25.2? (Comp. the inf. cst., § 124 b).

2) As **predicate**: Is 32.17 הַשְׁקֵט *quietness (to be quiet)*.

3) As **object**: Is 1.17 לֹא-אָבֹו לְמַדּוּ הַיָּטִב *learn to do good*; 42.24 לֹא-אָבֹו בְּדַרְכָּיו הֵלֹךְ *they did not want to walk in his ways*; Dt 28.56 לֹא נִסְתָּה *she never dared put the sole of her foot on the ground* (the object inf. has itself an object which precedes it); Is

7.15 (inf. abs. object of an inf. cst.); 7.16; 57.20 **לֹא יִנְכָּח** *it cannot grow quiet* (before the verb); Job 9.18; 13.3. Comp. the inf. cst., § 124 c)(1).

(1) There seems to be a preference for the inf. absolute when there is inversion: Dt 28.56; Is 42.24; 57.20; Jer 9.4 (§ 124 c).

Very rare, doubtful or incorrect are cases where the inf. abs. is supposedly governed by a substantive: Is 14.23; Pr 1.3; 21.16. c

It is equally abnormal for an inf. abs. to be governed by a preposition. However there is 1Sm 1.9 **אֶתְּרִי שְׁתֹּה** ? In **לְהִרְאֶה** Jdg 13.21; 1Sm 3.21† there is rather an abnormal form of the inf. cst. (comp. form **גְּלֶה** for **גְּלוֹת**, § 79 p). In **עַד־כְּלֵה** 2Kg 13.17 *until completion = completely*, **כְּלֵה** has become an adverb; likewise **עַד־לְכֵלֵה** 2Ch 24.10; 31.1(1).

The infinitive absolute cannot take a nominal suffix, nor can it be *nomen regens*(2).

(1) On the inf. absolute continuing an inf. cst. preceded by a prep., cf. § 124 r.

(2) This possibility exists in Old Phoen. and Ugr.: see J. Blau in *Leš* 48-49 (1985) 295.

The usual nominal use of the inf. absolute, and which is peculiar to it, is that of **accusative of internal object** (§ 125 q)(1) either before or after the verb. This linguistic process allows Hebrew to express certain emphatic nuances in a subtle way. Placed before the verb, the inf. abs. generally has a stronger nuance than when it follows it, and it is easy to see why, since putting an accusative before a verb reinforces the emphasis. Placed after the verb, the infinitive can have similar values. The *postpositive* infinitive is much less common than the *prepositive* infinitive(2). Note that the inf. is always placed after an imperative and a participle (§ 1); moreover the infinitive Hitpael is always placed after the verb (Böttcher, II, p. 223). Generally speaking, the nuances of the postpositive infinitive are less clearly brought out. Fairly often the nuance added by the inf. is too light to be rendered without exaggeration in a literal translation. In the grammatical translation of the following examples it has sometimes been necessary to over-elaborate the nuance so that it can be more readily grasped. d

It is only from the context that the nuance added by the infinitive can be deduced in each case. Usually the emphasis does not bear on the

verbal action itself, but on a modality, which is thus strengthened. Thus in an affirmative clause the affirmation becomes stronger; in an interrogative or conditional clause, the dubitative modality becomes stronger; the same phrase therefore may, according to the context, express the nuance *certainly* or the opposite nuance *perhaps*⁽³⁾. Likewise for the opposite modalities *can/may*, *must*.

(1) An expression of the type *קָטַל יִקְטַל* literally means: *he slaughters a slaughter = he commits a slaughter*, which is in itself more emphatic than the simple *he slaughters*. Our languages have no process exactly similar to that of Hebrew, e.g. *by a slaughter he slaughters, slaughtering he slaughters, by slaughtering he slaughters*. We could imitate this Hebraism by repeating the finite verb, e.g. *I have seen, I have seen*. This is a nuance of feeling which corresponds exactly to another Hebrew expression, e.g. Is 40.1.

It should be noted that a parallel construction in Ugaritic shows the inf. abs. in the nominative: Gordon, *UT*, § 9.27, and Segert, *Basic Gram.* [§ 75 c], § 54.25, whereas Arabic shows the accusative as in *tafarraqa n-nāsu tafarruqan* "the people scattered in all directions" (see H. Reckendorf, *Arabische Syntax* [Heidelberg, 1921], § 48.3). Cf. a discussion by Blau, *Heb. Phonology and Morphology*, p. 125.

(2) On differences between some Semitic languages in this matter, see Muraoka, *Emphatic*, p. 89, ns. 19 and 20. Goldenberg is right in emphasising that the position of the paronomastic inf. in relation to the finite verb is largely a matter of formal conditioning: G. Goldenberg, "Tautological infinitive," *IOS* 1 (1971) 36-85, esp. 64ff.

(3) Both nuances in the same verse: Dt 8.19; Ex 22.22.

e I) The main cases of **prepositive inf. abs.** are the following:

1) **Affirmation**⁽¹⁾: Gn 2.17 *מִוֹת תָּמוּת* *you shall surely die*; 18.10 *indeed I will return*; 18.18 *Abraham shall surely become a great nation*; 22.17; 28.22; 1Sm 9.6; 24.21; Ez 18.9; Am 5.5, 7.17; Hb 2.3. After *אֵל* with the sense of *surely* the nuance of certitude is again increased: Gn 44.28 *אֵל טָרַף טָרַף* *he has without any doubt been torn to pieces*; Jdg 20.39. This construction is common after a negative statement: 2Sm 24.24 *לֹא בִי-קִנּוּ אֶקְנֶה מֵאוֹתָהּ בְּמַחֲזִיר*; Ez 18.17 *הֲיִהּ ... לֹא יָמוּת*; Gn 3.4; Dt 13.10, 21.23.

(1) 'Asseveration' is a term preferred by some scholars.

f 2) **Doubt**: a) in a question, mostly rhetorical: Gn 37.8 *הֲמִלֵּךְ תִּמְלֹךְ* *will you by any chance reign over us?* (= *would you reign?* with nuance of improbability); 37.10; 2Sm 19.43; with a stative verb Is 50.2 *הֲקִצּוֹר קִצְרָה יָדִי* *would my arm be too short?*; with a negation Jer 13.12 *הֲיָדוּעַ לֹא נִדְעַ* *do we not by chance know?* (for the position of the nega-

tion cf. § o).

b) in a **condition** or **supposition** presented as not very likely: Nu 12.14 וְאִבִּיהָ יֵרָק יֵרָק בְּפָנֶיהָ *if her* (i.e. Miriam's) *father should happen to spit in her face ...* (cf. § 167 b); 1Kg 20.39 אִם הִפְקֹד יִפְקֹד *if he should happen to be missing*; 1Sm 20.6 אִם פִּקֹּד יִפְקֹדְנִי *if he should become aware of my absence*; 20.9 אִם יָדַעְתִּי אֲדַע *if I knew*; with a weaker nuance: Ex 22.22 *if you humiliated him*.

But the infinitive absolute is often found in a conditional clause with other nuances, e.g. the nuance of 'but' or 'on the other hand' in an **opposition** (cf. § i): 1Sm 20.7b *but if he becomes angry* (second member of the dilemma); 20.21 *if I say on the one hand* (first member of the dilemma); 12.25 *But if you do evil* (virtual opposition to the preceding exhortation). The nuance of opposition is weaker in cases where a new hypothesis is introduced: Ex 21.5 *but if the slave says*; 22.3, 11,12,16.

In other cases there is no nuance of opposition, but only a slight emphasis (comp. Lat. *quidem*), e.g. in a vow: Nu 21.2 *if you give us*; 1Sm 1.11 *if you look*; in a promise: Ex 15.26 אִם תִּשְׁמָעוּ הַשְׁמָעָה אִם *if you listen (to the voice of Yāhweh; and 19.5; 23.22; Dt 11.13; 15.5; 28.1; Jer 17.24; Zech 6.15)*.

With לֵל in the conditional sense 1Sm 14.30 the nuance seems to be *if only he had eaten* (comp. optative לֵל Job 6.2: *if only my sorrow were weighed!*).

3) With the nuance of *can/may*: Gn 2.16 אָכַל מִכָּל פְּרִי הַגָּן *you may eat as you please*; Dt 17.15; Gn 43.7 (cf. § 113 l).

4) With the nuance of *must*: Ex 21.28 *the ox will absolutely have to be stoned*; Dt 12.2; Gn 15.13 etc. יָדוּעַ תִּדְרֹעַ *you will absolutely have to know = know well* (cf. § 113 m); Dt 6.17 תִּשְׁמְרוּן (1).

(1) Note that no sentence would begin with the yiqtol; the inf. abs. here seems to be due to a grammatical necessity; likewise Dt 7.18.

5) The inf. absolute is frequently used to emphasise an **opposition** (comp. Greek μέν ... δέ). Since any opposition is enough to justify the use of an inf. abs. there is no need to look further for another nuance: 2Sm 24.24 *not so, but I will buy it*; Jdg 15.13 *we will tie you up ... but not kill you*; 2Sm 17.16 *do not spend the night at the fords of the wilderness, but cross (the river)* וְגַם עָבֹר תַּעְבֹּר; Josh 17.13 (= Jdg

1.28; no need to assume the nuance of *entirely*); 1Kg 3.26 (in a prayer); Ps 126.6b. Examples in conditional clauses, § g.

6) Opposition is related to concession: Jdg 4.9 *I will go with you, but ...*; Ps 126.6a *He is going, albeit weeping* (cf. § m); 118.13,18 *Yes, Yahweh has chastised me, but he has not delivered me to death.*

j 7) Cases where the inf. expresses perfection or intensity of action seem to be rare⁽¹⁾: Pr 27.23 *get to know well the face of your ewes* (everywhere else = *know well* Gn 15.13 etc., § h); perhaps Gn 43.3 *he expressly declared to us*; 1Sm 20.6b (= 28 Vulg. *rogavit me obnixe*, "he pleaded with me earnestly"); J1 1.7 *he has completely laid bare*; Job 13.5 *I wish to God that you would be completely quiet!*

(1) Davidson, *Syntax* (§ 86, Rem. 1) seems to doubt the existence of this nuance. The nuance of duration is one of the most doubtful.

ja 8) *Pressing request*⁽¹⁾: Nu 11.15 *Do kill me*; Jdg 5.23 *Do curse its inhabitants*; 1Kg 3.26 *Don't you kill him.*

(1) This can be considered an aspect of what Goldenberg (art. cit., § d, n.) calls the 'insisting' function of the paronomastic structure under discussion.

k 9) *Other nuances*: After *אֵל* in the sense of *just*: Gn 27.30 *he had just gone out and ...*; Jdg 7.19.

With a weak emphatic nuance: Jdg 9.8 (in absolute beginning) roughly: *One day the trees went away ...*; 1Sm 10.16; 2Sm 18.2.

It is quite often difficult to grasp the nuance added by the infinitive, e.g. Gn 43.7a, 20; 44.5 (= 15); Is 48.8; 59.11; Lam 1.2 *כָּבוֹת בָּכְוּ* (the verse required an initial *כ*!; contr. Jer 22.10, § l). Possibly the inf. underscores the repetitive nature of an action, though this force is sometimes attributed to the postpositive inf. abs.⁽¹⁾

This Hebraism is particularly frequent in some texts, e.g. Ex 22.3, 11,12,16,22; 1Sm 20.6a,b,7,9,21⁽²⁾.

(1) So Davidson, *Syntax*, § 86 (c); see L. Finkelstein (ed.), *Sifre ad Deuteronomium* (Berlin, 1939) ad Dt 15.8.

(2) More examples may be found in Muraoka, *Emphatic*, pp. 88f.

l II) The postpositive infinitive abs. is much less common than the prepositive inf., since it must come after an imperative or a participle, § d. Both types have the same values.

1) **Perfection or intensity of action:** Jer 22.10 בָּכּוּ בָּכּוּ *weep much or bitterly*; Job 13.17 שָׁמְעוּ שָׁמְעוּ *listen well, listen closely* (21.2; 37.2; Is 6.9; cf. 55.2 with reference to [4] below).

2) **In a contrast:** Nu 23.11 (= 24.10) "It is to curse my enemies that I made you come here, *and behold you have blessed them* (וְהִנֵּה בִּרְכַתְּךָ (בִּרְכַתְּךָ)" (cf. Josh 24.10); Is 6.9 שָׁמְעוּ שָׁמְעוּ "listen, but without understanding"; Nu 11.15 *kill me rather* (implied contrast); Gn 46.4 "I will go down to Egypt with you and *I will also bring you up* (הָאֶרֶץ-עַלְיָהּ) (*from there*)."

3) Contrast is related to **gradation** which is made explicit by the addition of גַּם: Gn 31.15 וַיֹּאכַל גַּם-אֶת-כֹּסֶפְנוֹ "and moreover he has eaten up our money"; Nu 16.13 *moreover, you set yourself up as master over us!*

4) Other examples: Is 55.2 שָׁמְעוּ שָׁמְעוּ (the sentence is virtually conditional: *If you listen to me, you shall eat ...*). The nuance is quite often unclear, e.g. Nu 11.32 (perhaps *they spread them out wide*); 2Kg 5.11 (certainty?); Dn 11.10 (= 13). The nuance of duration is very doubtful.

The **postpositive inf. abs. followed by a second inf. abs.** expresses the simultaneousness or quasi-simultaneousness of a second action: 1Sm 6.12 וַיֵּלְכוּ וַיִּלְכְּדוּ "and they lowed as they went along one highway" (they [simultaneously] did the actions of going and lowing); Josh 6.13b Q; Jdg 14.9 *he ate as he walked*; 2Kg 2.11; Gn 8.7 וַיֵּצֵא וַיָּשׁוּב *and he went out just to come back again (soon)*; Is 19.22 *Yahweh shall smite the Egyptians just to heal them (soon)*; the second action determining the first: 1Kg 20.37 וַיִּכֶּהוּ הָאִישׁ הַכְּהֵה וַיִּפְצַע *and the man struck him in such a way as to injure him*; Jer 12.17 *I will tear out this nation so as to destroy it.*

In Is 3.16b (poetic) both infinitives precede the verb; in Ps 126.6 the first inf. precedes (§ i).

For the inf. abs. belonging to the same root as the verb after a first disparate infinitive absolute, cf. § s.

Instead of a second inf. abs. a finite tense is found in Josh 6.13a; 1Sm 19.23; 2Sm 13.19; 16.13; Is 31.5. But all these forms are doubtful; the inf. absolute is probably to be read.

Instead of a second infinitive absolute a participle is found in 2Sm 16.5 וַיִּצָּא וַיֵּצֵא וַיִּמְקַלְלֵם (after a main verb in the participle); likewise Jer 41.6 (comp. § s end).

Observations. 1) The place of the negation is usually before a

finite verb, e.g. Jdg 15.13 וְהָמַתְּ לָא נִמְיִתָּהּ *but we shall not kill you* (lit. *the action of dying we shall not do it to you*); Ex 8.24; 34.7; Dt 21.14; Jdg 1.28; 1Kg 3.27; with לָא: 1Kg 3.26; Mi 1.10. Exceptions: Gn 3.4 לֹא מוֹת תִּמָּוֵת *you will not die at all!* (an allusion to the very words of the threat in 2.17 is not very likely). Am 9.8; Ps 49.8. Cf. § 160 o.

p 2) **The form of the inf. abs.** is usually that of the conjugation of the main verb, e.g. Qal Gn 2.16; Nifal⁽¹⁾ Ex 22.3; Piel Gn 22.17; Pual 40.15; Hifil 3.16; Hofal Ez 16.4; Hitpael Nu 16.13. But the inf. abs. of Qal can be found with all the derived conjugations, e.g. with Hofal in the common phrase מוֹת יִמָּת *he shall be put to death* Ex 19.12 etc.; apart from this common phrase examples are rather rare: with Piel 2Sm 20.18; with Hifil Gn 46.4; 1Sm 23.22; Is 31.5⁽²⁾; with Hitpoel Is 24.19; with Nifal (fairly often) Ex 19.13; 21.20,22; 22.11,12; 2Sm 23.7; Is 40.30; Jer 10.5; 34.3; 49.12 (contr. 25.29); Mi 2.4; Na 3.13; Zech 12.3; Job 6.2 (cf. Driver, *Notes*, ad 2Sm 20.18). Apart from the inf. abs. Qal, an inf. from a conjugation other than that of the main verb is only found in very rare and doubtful cases: inf. Hofal with Nifal: Lv 19.20; 2Kg 3.23 (vocalise as Nifal); inf. Piel with Hifil: 1Sm 2.16 (but read יִקְטָרוּן); inf. Hofal with Pual: Ez 16.4 (one of the two forms is probably incorrect).

(1) For the choice of the form of the Nifal inf. abs. cf. § 51 *b*.

(2) יִגְוֹן ... יִגְוֹן, where one probably has a Qal; see § 82*b*, n. 1.

q 3) **The form of the inf. construct** is sometimes found instead of the inf. abs. Qal: In ע"ע verbs: קָב for קָבוּב* Nu 23.25; שָׁל for שָׁלוּל* Ru 2.16 (but text probably altered; comp. inf. cst. שָׁלֵל, § 82 *k*); in ע"י verbs: יָרִיב for יָרִיב for the sake of assonance instead of רִוּב Jer 50.34; בִּין בִּין Pr 23.1 (cf. § 81 *e*): in ל"ה verbs we sometimes find the type הַגְּלוּת: 2Kg 3.24 הַכּוּת; Esth 1.7 הַשְּׁקוּת; 1Ch 21.24 הַעֲלוּת; 2Ch 7.3 הַהוּדוּת; comp. Qal הָיוּת־ Ps 50.21. In some cases the vocalisation is doubtful, e.g. Josh 7.7; Ne 1.7.

r **Inf. abs. from another root continuing a verb.** This construction is an extension of the case of the postpositive inf. from the same root as the main verb (§ 1)(¹). Thus the inf. abs. continues the preceding verb, as a finite form would; it mainly expresses a circumstance relative to the action of the preceding verb or a determination of adverbially

al nature⁽²⁾. Examples with a **circumstance**: Jer 22.19 קְבוֹרַת חֲמוֹר יִקָּבֵר *he shall be given the burial of a donkey, he shall be dragged and cast out beyond the gates of Jerusalem* (lit. *sepultura[m] asini sepelietur (nempe) tractione[m] et projectione[m] ultra portas Ierusalem*; for the acc. קְבוֹרַת, cf. § 125 q); 1Sm 3.12 הִנֵּה אֲשֶׁר הִבְרַתִּי הַחֵל וְכֵלָה *I shall perform everything I said, beginning and finishing* (= from beginning to end = completely; lit. *inceptione[m] et complectione[m]*); Gn 30.32 אֶעְבֹּר הַסָּר ... *let me pass through... removing*; Nu 15.35 מוֹת יוֹמַת הָאִישׁ רָגַם אֹתוֹ בְּאֲבָנִים כֹּל־הָעֵדָה *this man shall be put to death, all the community stoning him* (lit. *morte[m] occidetur ille vir cumulando eum (cumulatione[m]) lapidibus ...*); 2Sm 8.2 *he measured them with a line making them lie down on the ground.* — Examples with **adverbial meaning**: Is 7.11 "Ask a sign of the Lord ... *making it as deep as Sheol or as high as above*"; Gn 21.16 "and she sat opposite *keeping herself distant*" (cf. Ex 33.7; Josh 3.16; הִרְחַק has become a pure adverb: *far*, § 102 e); Ex 30.36 *and you shall grind fine* (lit. *comminutione[m] = minutatim*, having become a pure adverb); Josh 3.17 הִכּוּן ... *and they stood firm* (*firmatione[m] = firmiter*) (pure adverb); 2.5 רָדְפוּ מְהֵרָה *Chase quickly* (*festinatione[m] = festinanter*) (pure adverb); Dt 13.15 וְשָׂאֵלְתָּ הֵיטֵב *you shall ask well* (pure adverb); 1Sm 17.16 וַיִּגְשׁ הַפְּלִשְׁתִּי הַשֶּׁכֶּם וְהָעֶרֶב *and the Philistine advanced morning and evening* (lit. *acting in the morning, acting in the evening*; הַשֶּׁכֶּם as adverb: *early*, Pr 27.14)⁽³⁾.

(1) The use of the inf. abs. in place of a finite verb is widespread in cognate Northwest Semitic idioms: see J. Huesman, *Bib* 37 (1956) 271-95, 410-34.

In Dt 3.6 a verb is continued by an inf. from the same root, in order to add a more precise piece of information: "*And we destroyed them as we had done to Sihon, king of Heshbon, destroying every city ...*" (lit. *by an act of destruction aimed at ...*). In some cases, the inf. is synonymous with the verb: Josh 6.3 "*And you shall go round (וְסִבְתֶּם) the city, all you warriors, surrounding (הִקִּיר) the city seven times*" (cf. vs. 11); cf. Ex 30.36 cited above.

(2) Both kinds are used together in Dt 9.21 וְאַבַּת אֹתוֹ טָחוֹן הֵיטֵב *and I broke it into pieces, crushing it well.*

(3) In Jeremiah's expression of the type וַאֲזַבֵּר הַשֶּׁכֶּם וְרַבֵּר *and I spoke early and unceasingly*, the second inf., from the same root as the main verb, expresses the repetition or the continuation of the action (lit.: *et locutus sum manicatione[m] et locutione[m]*). The subject is always God, except in Jer 25.3. With הִבֵּר 7.13; 25.3; 35.14; שָׁלַח 7.25; 25.4; 26.5 (?); 29.19; 35.15; 44.4; 2Ch 36.15; הָעִיר Jer 11.7; לָמַד 32.33.

The inf. abs. הָלַךְ⁽¹⁾ *to go* (figuratively) expressing continuity.

Expressions such as 1Sm 6.12 $\text{וַיִּנְעֻמוּ הַלְלֵי הַלְלֵי}$ (§ *m*), where הַלְלֵי is naturally taken in its proper meaning, are the origin of expressions where the inf. הַלְלֵי is used with the figurative meaning of motion in time, and thus of continuity⁽²⁾. A second inf. is found after הַלְלֵי in Gn 8.3 $\text{וַיִּשָּׁבוּ וַיִּשְׁבוּ הַמַּיִם הַלְלֵי וַיִּשְׁבוּ בְּשֹׁבוֹתָם}$ and *the waters receded in a continuous fashion* (the second infinitive strengthens the idea of continuity expressed by הַלְלֵי)⁽³⁾; 12.9 $\text{וַיִּסְעֶ אַבְרָם הַלְלֵי וַיִּנְסוּעַ הַגְּנָבָה}$ and *Abram advanced always southward*; with a stative verb 2Sm 5.10 $\text{וַיֵּלֶךְ הַלְלֵי וַיִּגְדֹּל}$ and *he went on always increasing* (the main verb meaning *to go* figuratively; וַיִּגְדֹּל inf. abs., not adj.). But usually with stative verbs the verbal adjective is used instead of the inf. abs., e.g. Gn 26.13 $\text{וַיֵּלֶךְ הַלְלֵי וַיִּגְדֹּל}$ (contr. 2Sm 5.10; this is a hybrid construction: *et ivit eundo et crescens*; following a noun of action in the accusative of internal object is a verbal adj. in the accusative of state, § 126 a); Jdg 4.24 $\text{וַיֵּלֶךְ הַלְלֵי וַיִּקְשָׁה}$ "and the hand of the Israelites went on becoming always heavier" (וַיִּקְשָׁה as verbal adj.: *becoming hard*); 1Sm 14.19 $\text{וַיֵּלֶךְ הַלְלֵי וַיִּרָב}$ "and the tumult went on always increasing" (וַיִּרָב as verbal adj.; comp. 2Sm 15.12 with participle $\text{וַיִּרָב הוֹלֵךְ וַיִּקְרַב הוֹלֵךְ}$ and *the people went on increasing*); 2Sm 18.25 $\text{וַיֵּלֶךְ הַלְלֵי וַיִּקְרַב}$ and *he went always approaching* (in 1Sm 17.41 $\text{וַיֵּלֶךְ וַיִּקְרַב הַלְלֵי}$ the vocalisation וַיִּקְרַב is suspect; it is perhaps due to the scriptio defectiva).

Likewise a verbal adjective is found after the participle הוֹלֵךְ (in the figurative sense): Ex 19.19; 2Sm 3.1 $\text{וַיֵּלֶךְ הוֹלֵךְ וַיִּחַזַּק}$ and *he went on getting stronger*; 2Sm 15.12 וַיִּרָב ; 1Sm 2.26; 2Ch 17.12 וַיִּגְדֹּל (but inf. abs. וַיִּגְדֹּל Esth 9.4); Pr 4.18 אִוֹר .

Likewise the participle of an action verb is found after the participle הוֹלֵךְ : Jon 1.11 $\text{וַיֵּלֶךְ הוֹלֵךְ וַיִּסְעַר}$ went on growing agitated (cp. § *n* end).

(1) For the defective spelling הַלְלֵי , cf. § 49 a, n.

(2) In French one says, in the literal sense, of motion in space: *le voyageur allait chantant, la rivière va serpentant*; and, until the 17th century one used to say in the figurative sense: *son mal l'allait tourmentant, le malheur me va poursuivant* (A. Darmesteter, *Traité de la formation de la langue française* [Paris, 1895], § 682).

(3) In Gn 8.5, where $\text{וַיִּיָּדָוּ$ could give a pluperfect meaning, read a participle, prob. וַיִּיָּדָוּ .

t B) Verbal uses. I. The infinitive absolute, like the inf. cst. (§ 124 f), can govern a noun in the accusative, e.g. Pr 25.27 אֲכַלְךָ בֵּשֶׁשׁ to eat honey (§ *b*). When the accusative is a pronoun, the particle אַת

is used, but never the pronominal suffixes (comp. § c end), e.g. יָדוּעַ אֶתְּ Jer 9.23 (§ 125 e). Naturally the inf. abs. can also govern a noun by means of a preposition, like any other verbal form, e.g. Is 7.15 בָּטוּב וּבָחֹר בְּרָע וּבָרָע וּבָרָע *to reject evil and to choose good*.

II) The inf. abs. is used as the equivalent of a finite form at the beginning of a sentence. u

1) As equivalent of the imperative. The inf. abs. in itself expresses the simple idea of verbal action; the intonation or the circumstances indicate that the listener must do this action⁽¹⁾. Examples are: 2Sm 24.12 הָלֹךְ וְדַבַּרְתָּ *go (to go) and you shall say*, equivalent to הָלֹךְ וְדַבַּרְתָּ, which is found in the parallel text of 1Ch 21.10⁽²⁾; 2Kg 5.10 הָלֹךְ וְרָחַצְתָּ *go and you shall wash ...* (the inf. abs. followed by an indirect jussive [§ 116 d], then by an indirect imprv. [§ 116 f], has the same effects as an imperative); Josh 1.13 זָכוֹר *remember* (Joshua orders). The inf. abs. is especially found in commands given by God or a military commander⁽³⁾; Nu 4.2 *take the census*; 25.17 *Attack the Midianites*; 2Kg 3.16 *Make*; 19.29 (followed by four juxtaposed imperatives); Jer 32.14 *take the papers of the purchase*; Zech 6.10. The inf. abs. is preceded by two imperatives in Is 14.31; followed by two imperatives in Na 2.2.

(1) In Arabic the form /qatāli/ (= קָטוּל) is used in some words to express a command, e.g. /nazāli/ *get down!* (act of getting down! ["from a horse" understood]; it is mainly used when two warriors or two bands challenge each other to a fight); /samā'i/ *listen!* (lit. *audition!* = שָׁמוּעַ). In Mediaeval Latin, *non negare*, with the meaning of *do not deny*, is used to express a prohibition, and this usage has been preserved in Italian (cf. E. Bourciez, *Éléments de linguistique romane* [Paris, 1910], § 248). Likewise in Old French, e.g. *n'en douter* = *n'en doute pas* (cf. F. Brunot, *Histoire de la langue française* I [Paris, 1905], pp. 248,471).

Whilst GK (§ 113 bb) hold that the inf. abs. is used as an emphatic imperative and speak of "emphatic promises" (ib., § 113 ee), it seems to us that the use is stylistically conditioned, the great majority of paronomastic infs. abs. occurring in legal texts and lively conversations, and that the inf. abs. *per se* is not emphatic. Whatever emphatic force there may be stems from the paronomastic construction in which the same verb is repeated in two different grammatical forms. See Muraoka, *Emphatic*, pp. 84-86, 90 with n. 23. An example such as Am 5.5 הֲלֹךְ וְהִלַּחְתָּ suggests that the Biblical writers and poets may also be aiming at assonance.

(2) In Chr. the inf. absolute of command is not found (cf. Kropat, *Syntax*, p. 23). Perhaps it was felt as being archaic. Comp. Is 38.5 הָלֹךְ and the parall. 2Kg 20.5 שָׁב.

(3) As in the Arad letters, e.g., in 1.2 וְתָן is to be vocalised וְתָן.

v 2) As equivalent of the **injunctive future**. The inf. abs. is fairly common in laws, where it is equivalent to an injunctive future rather than to an imperative: *you shall do* (*you must do*) rather than *do*. Examples: Dt 5.12 "You shall *keep* שָׁמֹר the sabbath day" (rather than *keep*; in the middle of injunctive futures^[1]) (likewise זָכוֹר^[2] Ex 20.8^[3]); Dt 1.16 שָׁמַע *you shall listen* (followed by injunctive futures); Lv 2.6 *you shall divide* (legislative detail). In Nu 6.23 the inf. abs. שָׁמַר explains the injunctive future הִבְרַחְכֵּה "Here is how you shall bless the children of Israel; *you shall tell them*" (the inf. abs. is not governed by 'ה). After the announcement of a law: Lv 6.7 "This is the law of oblation: the sons of Aaron *shall offer it* (הִקְרִיב)"; Gn 17.10 "Here is my covenant which you shall keep ...: all males among you *shall be circumcised* (הִמּוֹל)"; (comp. in a conditional clause Ex 12.48 "All his males *will have to be circumcised*"); Dt 15.2 "Every creditor *shall release* (שָׁמוֹט)."

(1) It seems that a sentence could not begin with שָׁמַר.

(2) Contrast the imperative זָכַר, e.g. Dt 9.7, in an exhortation.

(3) Likewise Ex 20.12 כָּפַד, in the middle of injunctive futures, is an inf. absolute, not an imperative.

w 3) As equivalent of a **future**, i.e. indicative yiqtol⁽¹⁾: 2Kg 4.43 "for here is what Yahweh says: *they shall eat and leave some* (אָכְלוּ וְהוֹתִיר)"; Is 5.5 פָּרַץ ... הִסֵּר *I will take away ... I will break down* (continued in the 1st pers., vs. 6, and *I will put*); Jer 7.9 (exclamation [§ 161 b] and followed by a w-qatalí) הִגְנֹב "What! *steal, kill* etc. (= *you steal, you kill* etc.) ... ¹⁰ and then you come ..." Ez 23.30 (continuing vs. 28 הִגְנִי נִתְנָה). In a question Jer 3.1b (continuing וְשָׁגַב).

4) As equivalent of a **present**: Is 59.4 "One trusts (בְּטוֹן) in emptiness"; Job 15.35 (followed by a gnomic yiqtol); Pr 12.7; 15.22 (foll. by a gnomic yiqtol); 25.4.

5) As equivalent of a **past**: Hg 1.9 *you expected*; Jer 8.15; 2Ch 31.10.

(1) There do not seem to be any examples of an inf. abs. being equivalent to a jussive or to a cohortative.

x III. The inf. abs. as the **equivalent of a preceding form**⁽¹⁾. The inf. abs. quite often (especially in the later books) continues a pre-

ceding form. The Waw, which usually precedes the inf. abs., sometimes has the value of a simple *and*, and sometimes that of an *and (then)* of succession. The reasons which have motivated the choice of the inf. abs. are not clearly understood: sometimes there is probably a desire for variety or a stylistic affectation; sometimes the author wished to use a form with a vague subject like *one* or *they* (cf. § 155 *i*). The inf. abs. virtually has the same temporal or modal value as the preceding verb(2).

After a **qatal**: Hg 1.6 ... וְרַעַתֶּם הַרְבֵּה וְהָבֵא מְעַט אֲכֹל "You have sown much and *harvested little*; *one has eaten*, but there was not enough to satisfy; *one has drunk* etc. ..." (וְהָבֵא is equivalent to a wayyiqtol); Dn 9.5 ... וְעָוִינוּ וְרָשָׁנוּ וְמָרְדְּנוּ וְסוּר "We have sinned and committed iniquity, we have given ourselves up to evil and rebellion, and we have strayed from your precepts ..." (inf. abs. probably for variety's sake after four coordinated qatals); 1Sm 2.28; Is 37.19 (cf. 2Kg 19.18); Zech 7.5; Ec 8.9; 9.11; Esth 3.13; 9.6 (= 12),16; Ne 9.8,13; 1Ch 5.20; 2Ch 28.19; — after a **w-qatalti**: 1Kg 9.25 (?); Zech 12.10 (?); after a **yiqtol**: Lv 25.14 (with אִו); Nu 30.3 (id.); Dt 14.21; Jer 32.44 (3 inf.); 36.23 (?); — after a **wayyiqtol**: Gn 41.43; Ex 8.11; Jdg 7.19*b*; Ne 8.8; 1Ch 16.36; 2Ch 7.3; — after a **jussive**: Esth 2.3; 6.9; — after an **imperative**: 2Kg 19.29*b*Q וְאֲכֹל ? (= Is 37.30*b*); Am 4.5 (?); — after a **participle**: Jer 7.18; — after an **inf. cst.**: 1Sm 22.13; 25.26 (= 33); Jer 44.17; Ez 36.3.

(1) J. Huesman, in his article mentioned above (§ *r*, *n.*), wishes to extend considerably the list of cases discussed here by adducing examples from cognate languages, but we are concerned here with the usage whereby the inf. abs. immediately follows the conjunction Waw; we also wish to stress that its usage is common in LBH. For possible explanations of the origin of the construction, see N.H. Tur-Sinai, *The Language and the Book*, the *Language* vol. [Heb] (Jerusalem, 1954), pp. 323*f.* and A. Rubinstein, *VT* 2 (1952) 362-67. C.H. Gordon (*UT*, § 9.29) explains this feature common to Ugr. and LBH by assuming "the reunion of far-northern Jews with their Judean coreligionists during the Restoration." The use of the inf. abs. in lieu of a verbum finitum, whether preceded by Waw or not, is known in the El Amarna letters, e.g. *ša-bat-mi ni-nu-u* (EA 362.25*f.*, [an example supplied by Fr. Gianto]) "if we take," and also Phoenician. See Friedrich—Röllig, § 267 and the literature cited there. In Phoen. all examples are followed by the first person separate pronoun, e.g. בִּנְנִי אֲנִי *I built* as in Ec 4.2 וְשִׁבַּחְתִּי אֲנִי *and I praised*.

(2) Therefore וְנָתַן Jer 37.21 must prob. be vocalised וְנִתְּנָה *et dabatur* "and it kept being given." The frequentative meaning is required by the context. The inf. abs.

would mean *et dederunt* "and they gave." With this Hebraism, comp. e.g. in Latin: "Catilina *surgere, minari, exsilire* furibundus"; "Si quando ad eam accesserat confabulatum, *fugere* e conspectu illico."

- y **Observation.** Because of the very nature of its uses, the subject of the action marked by the inf. abs. rarely gets expressed. When the subject is expressed, it can only be in the nominative: Lv 6.7; Nu 15.35b; Dt 15.2; Esth 3.13; 9.1. When the subject is not expressed, it can be deduced from the context, or sometimes the vague pronoun *one* (cf. § 155 i) will be sufficient. Comp. the subject of the inf. cst., § 124 g; the vague subject *one*, § 124 s.

For the continuation of the inf. abs. by a finite tense, cf. § 124 q, n.

§ 124. The infinitive construct

- a Like the infinitive absolute (§ 123 a), the infinitive construct (§ 49 a) is a verbal noun of action (in the active verbs) or of state (in the stative verbs). Thus some of its uses are similar to those of the noun and some to those of the verb. It corresponds rather well to the infinitive of many modern European languages. We shall make a distinction, as for the infinitive absolute, between A) the nominal uses and B) the verbal uses (§ f).

- b A) Nominal uses.

1) As **subject** of a nominal clause: Gn 2.18 לֹא טוֹב הָיִיתָ הָאָדָם לְבַדּוֹ *it is not good that the man should be alone*; Gn 29.19 טוֹב תִּתֵּנִי אֵתָהּ לָךְ *it is good that I should give her to you*; Pr 25.24 טוֹב שָׁבַת עַל־פְּנֵת־גֹּגֶג *it is good to dwell in a corner of a terrace*; 1Sm 18.23 הֲנִקְלָהּ בְּעֵינֵיכֶם הִתְחַתֵּן בְּמִלְךָ *is to become the son-in-law of the king a trivial thing in your eyes?*; Gn 30.15; Jdg 9.2; 1Sm 23.20; Is 7.13; Pr 17.26; 25.7. With introductory ל (§ m): Josh 24.15 וְאִם רָע בְּעֵינֵיכֶם לְעַבְדָּאֵת־יְהוָה *and if it displeases you to serve Yahweh*; 2Sm 18.11 עָלַי לָתֶת לָךְ *it is incumbent on me to give you*; Gn 31.29; Esth 4.2. With and without ל within a single sentence: 1Sm 15.22 הִנֵּה שְׂמֹעַ מִן־בַּח טוֹב לְהִקְשִׁיב מִחֶלֶב אֵילִים *Behold, to obey is better than sacrifice, and to hearken than the fat of rams*. In most of these cases we can see that the inf. is treated as masculine.

As **subject** of a verbal clause: always with introductory ל: Gn 4.26 אָז הוֹחֵל לְקַרְאֵ בְשֵׁם יְהוָה at that time men began to call upon the name of Yahweh⁽¹⁾.

(1) The infinitive construct without ל never seems to be used as the subject of a verb; cf. Davidson, *Syntax*, § 90, Rem. 1.

2) As **object**: Jer 18.20 זָכֹר עֲמָדִי לְפָנָיִךָ remember that I stood before you; 1Kg 3.7 לֹא אֲדַע צֵאת וְבֹא I do not know how to go out and how to come in (= to behave)⁽¹⁾; 3.11 הִבִּינִי (with quasi-substantival value); Is 1.14 נִלְאִיתִי נִשָּׂא I am tired of bearing (comp. with the prepositive inf. abs. Jer 9.4 הִעֲוָה נִלְאוּ they tired themselves out doing evil); Gn 21.6; 31.28; Is 37.28; with הֵחֵל to begin Dt 2.25,31; Josh 3.7 (but usu. with ל § m); with יָסַף to continue Gn 4.12; 37.5 (usu. with ל); with חָדַל to cease Is 1.16 (usu. with ל); with יָכַל can Gn 37.4 (27 x, BDB, s.v., 1 a; usu. with ל); with אָבַח to wish Dt 2.30 (9 x; 30 x with ל); with מָאָן to refuse Nu 20.21 (more often with ל).

(1) Cf. 1Sm 16.16 יָדַע מִנְגִן, i.e. ptc. (// vs. 18 יָדַע נֶגֶן).

3) As **genitive**: Gn 2.17 בְּיוֹם אֲכָלְךָ on the day when you eat⁽¹⁾; 29.7; Ho 2.11 (see Ibn Ezra ad loc.); Ec 3.4; Ne 12.46; 2Ch 24.14.

For the infinitive governed by a preposition, cf. § k.

For the infinitive as *nomen regens*, cf. § g.

But, unlike substantives, the inf. cst. as such does not take the article⁽²⁾. It is not found with the demonstrative הַז, nor with adjectives.

(1) In this example the inf. is *nomen rectum* of יוֹם and *nomen regens* of the pronoun.

(2) It can take it in Greek, in Italian etc. We have a substantivised infinitive in הִדְרִיעַת followed by the acc., Gn 2.9 (17); Jer 22.16.

The **negation** used with the inf. cst. is לְבִלְתִּי, literally *in deficiency of, in non-existence of, in nothingness of* (§ 93 q). This negation, which is nominal in origin, has been preferred for the inf. cst. because of the nominal character of the inf. cst. The ל can have various values according to the context, sometimes a very weak value. Examples: Gn 3.11 לְבִלְתִּי אֲכָל-מִמֶּנּוּ I commanded you not to eat of it (cf. § 160 I).

B) **Verbal uses**. Like the finite forms, the inf. cst. can govern a noun or a pronoun in the accusative, e.g. Dt 10.15 לְאַהֲבָה אֲתֶם to love

them (cf. § 49 d); it can govern two accusatives, e.g. Gn 41.39; Dt 26.19; Josh 10.20. For the object of the action, cf. § i.

For the inf. with ל continuing another form, cf. § p.

The verbal character of the inf. cst. can also be seen in the fact that the subject of the action is usually in the nominative (§ g).

g The subject of the action expressed by the inf. cst. may be in the nominative (in which case the infinitive shows its verbal character) or in the genitive (in which case the infinitive shows its nominal character). In many cases it is impossible to determine whether the inf. cst. is in the nominative or the genitive⁽¹⁾. As a rule the subject of the action must be considered as being in the nominative: it is the construction of primitive Semitic, and in some cases the vocalisation indicates the nominative.

The subject of the action is obviously in the **nominative** when the infinitive is separated from the substantive: Nu 35.6 לָנֶס לְשָׂמָה הָרֹצֵחַ so that the murderer may take refuge there; Gn 4.15 לְבִלְתִּי הַכּוֹת-אֹתוֹ so that no one meeting him should kill him; Ps 56.1.

The **nominative** is indicated by the vocalisation in cases like Dt 25.19 בְּהִנִּיחַ יְהוּהָ (not בְּהִנִּיחַ; cf. הִנִּיחַ Ez 24.13). As a matter of fact the type of the inf. Hifil הִקִּים is never modified before a substantive. Likewise the strong vocalisation לְ (cf. § 103 c) indicates the nominative 2Sm 19.20 לְשׁוֹם הַמֶּלֶךְ אֶל-לְבוֹ. Note also Nu 20.4 לְמוֹת שָׁם אֲנַחְנוּ that we and our cattle should die there. On the other hand the exceptional vocalisation לְ presupposes the **genitive** in לְצֵאת בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל מֵאֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם at the coming out of the children of Israel from the land of Egypt (Ex 19.1; Nu 33.38, 1Kg 6.1); לְשֵׁבֶת אַבְרָם בְּאֶרֶץ כְּנַעַן at Abram's stay in the land of Canaan (Gn 16.3).

The **genitive** is found in the case of the pronominal suffixes, e.g. בְּמִלְכוֹ (1Sm 13.1 and often); in the infinitives in הִ- in the cst. state, e.g. Dt 1.27 בְּשִׁנְאָת יְהוּהָ אֲתָנוּ (§ 49 d).

(1) One cannot conclude merely on the strength of two examples (Lv 26.18 לְיִסְרָה אֶתְכֶם to chastise you and Dt 4.10 לְיִרְאָה אֹתִי to fear me) that "the shape of the feminine endings reinforces the Masoretic conviction that such forms are not construct" (Waltke—O'Connor, *BH Syntax*, p. 611, n. 38).

h Apart from these cases, there is room for doubt particularly with the infinitives with final ת like לְשֵׁבֶת, גְּלוֹת, which obviously have the

same form whether they are nomen regens or not. Thus in Gn 2.18 לֹא-טוֹב לְבַדּוֹ הָיְיֹתָ הָאָדָם לְבַדּוֹ, the inf. is not necessarily nomen regens.

In the case where a verb has two infinitive forms, it is possible that one was used as nomen regens in preference over the other. Thus in Gn 8.7 יִבְשֹׁת הַמַּיִם עַד there probably is a genitive, and in Is 27.11 שָׁבַע בְּיַד קִצְיָרָה probably a nominative. The other infinitive in תִּכְרַם (§ 75 i) is probably also nomen regens in Dt 9.28 מִבְּלִי יִכְלֹת יְהוָה לְהַבְיֵאֵם (followed by מְשַׁנְּאֹתוֹ); Nu 14.16†.

The object of the action expressed by the inf. cst. is usually in the accusative⁽¹⁾. The object is obviously in the accusative when it is preceded by the particle אֵת, e.g. 1Sm 19.1 לְהַמִּית אֶת-דָּוִד *in order to kill David*. By analogy it should very probably be regarded as being in the accusative even when there is no אֵת, e.g. Pr 21.15 מְצַדִּיק עֲשׂוֹת מְשֻׁפָּט *it is a joy for a righteous man to practise justice*.

The accusative is presupposed by the vocalisation in cases like Gn 18.25 לְהַמִּית צְדִיק (not לְהַמִּית; cf. § g). Likewise the strong vocalisation לְ (§ 103 c) indicates the accusative: Is 3.13 לְדִין עֲמִים (not לְדִין).

With the suffixes, no matter what their form is (§ 65 a), the object must be also regarded as being in the accusative. Consequently, if the suffix of an inf. cst. refers to the object of the action, it is assumed to be in the accusative; if it refers to the subject of the action, it is in the genitive (§ g)⁽²⁾.

(1) Surely a genitive in Mi 6.8 וְעֲשׂוֹת מְשֻׁפָּט וְאַהֲבַת חֶסֶד *to do justice and love mercy*; 1Sm 20.17 אָהָב וְנָפְשׁוֹ אָהָבוּ *he loved him as he loved himself*.

(2) In 2Sm 16.7 בִּקְלָלוֹ one cannot say whether the suffix refers to the subject of the action (*his action of cursing*) or to the object of the action (*the action of cursing him*); but for *his action of cursing* one would prob. find בִּקְלָלְתוֹ, cf. vs. 12.

The object of the action is also in the accusative with some verbal substantives, e.g. Is 11.9 הַיְדָעָה אֶת-יְהוָה *the knowledge of Yahweh* (but ?); Jer 50.40 כְּמַהֲפַכַת אֱלֹהִים אֶת-סֹדֹם *like God's overthrow of Sodom*; with the article: Gn 2.9 עֵץ הַיְדָעַת טוֹב וְרָע *the tree of the knowledge of good and evil* (here הַיְדָעַת is a substantivised infinitive; cf. § d, n.).

Inf. cst. with prepositions. We often find an inf. cst. governed by a preposition: it is equivalent to a finite tense preceded by a conjunction. Thus a construction like עַד-שׁוֹב (Gn 27.45) is equivalent to עַד-יָשׁוּב or to עַד אֲשֶׁר יָשׁוּב (these three constructions are common);

אֲחֲרַי with the inf. is much more common than אֲשֶׁר אֲחֲרַי (without אֲשֶׁר only 2x); לְפָנַי is used with the inf. cst., but not as a conjunction; יַעַן with the inf., יַעַן אֲשֶׁר (and without אֲשֶׁר) are three common constructions; likewise the three constructions with לְמַעַן. To the כֹּ with the infinitive correspond the conjunctions כֹּ אֲשֶׁר and כִּי; but כֹּ with the inf. has no corresponding conjunction (כֹּ אֲשֶׁר is very rare); likewise no conjunction corresponds exactly to לְ with the inf.; עַל with the inf. is quite common; תַּחַת is not found with the inf., but תַּחַת אֲשֶׁר *instead of, because* is used; אֲלֵּ is not found with the inf. (nor is it used as conjunction); וְ is common with the inf., but is not used as a conjunction.

1 It is with the preposition לְ that the inf. cst. is mainly used⁽¹⁾. The לְ can have various nuances: strong, weak, or even almost nil⁽²⁾; thus לְעִשׂוֹת may have the following nuances: *in order to do, in doing, by doing, and simply to do*.

לְ is used with a strong value for the direction, the aim, the purpose of an action: Gn 31.19 *now Laban had gone to shear his ewes*; 42.9 *it is to see the vulnerable points of the land that you have come*; Dt 10.13.

To the notion of purpose is connected that of consecution⁽³⁾: 1Kg 2.27 *Thus Solomon expelled Abiathar from the priesthood of Yahweh, as a result of which the word of Yahweh was fulfilled*⁽⁴⁾; Ru 2.10 *why have I found favour in your eyes, as a result of which you have been interested in me?* (לְהַכְיִרְנִי is equivalent to וַתְּכַיִּרְנִי with Waw with consecutive meaning, § 118 h); Jdg 9.24; 2Sm 14.25; 15.2; often לְהַכְעִיס *so as to irritate (God)*⁽⁵⁾, e.g. Dt 4.25; 30.12-14; 1Kg 16.13; Jer 44.3.

To the notion of purpose is connected that of **must / have to** with various nuances⁽⁶⁾: necessity, obligation etc.: Dn 1.5 וְלִגְדֵּם *and one had to raise them*; particularly after a negation: Esth 4.2 אֵין לְבוֹא *one must not enter (one had no right to enter)*. With the verb הִיָּה the nuance is *to be about to*: Gn 15.12 וַיְהִי הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ לְבוֹא *and the sun was about to set* (Ital. "il sole era per tramontare"); Josh 2.5 וַיְהִי הַשַּׁעַר לְסִגּוֹר *the gate was about to be shut*†.

(1) In LBH and MH the Lamed is almost an integral part of the inf. cst. as in contemporary Aramaic.

(2) Comp. Engl. *to* and Ger. *zu*.

(3) Generally speaking these two notions are expressed in the same way in Hebrew: cf. § 115 a ff.; 169 i.

- (4) Comp. ἵνα πληρωθῆ τὸ ῥηθὲν ὑπὸ κυρίου Mt 1.22 etc.
 (5) Likewise לְמַעַן הַכְּעִיס, e.g. 2Kg 22.17; cf. § 169 g.
 (6) Typical of LBH and QH: see Qimron, *Hebrew of DSS*, pp. 70-72.

The ל has almost no value when it introduces a **subject** infinitive (§ b) or an **object** infinitive (§ c). Note the fluctuation in 1Sm 15.22 *To obey is better than sacrifice, and to hearken than the fat of rams.* m

Some verbs have ל before an **object** infinitive even though they take another preposition when the object is a noun or a pronoun. Thus before a noun, לְהַרְדּוּ *to cease* has מִן, לְהִפְיֵץ *to take pleasure, love, want* has ב.

The object of a Hifil expressing an **adverbial idea** (§ 54 d) is almost always⁽¹⁾ introduced by ל: Jer 1.12 לְרֵאֹתָ לְרֵאֹתָ lit. *you have done well to see = you have seen well*; 1Kg 14.9 וְתָרַע לְעֲשׂוֹתָ *you have acted badly*. The **adverbial idea** is expressed in this way (§ 102 g). Examples with Hifil: לְהִיטִיב *to act well*, לְהַרְע *to act badly*, לְהִגְדִיל *to act greatly*, לְהִגְבִיחַ *to act highly*, לְהִשְׁפִיל *to act lowly*, לְהַעֲמִיק *to act deeply*, לְהַשְׁכִּיחַ *to do early*, לְהַרְבֶּה *to do much*; etc.⁽²⁾. Apart from Hifil the adverbial idea is found in the Piel מְהֵרָה לְמַצָּאָה Gn 27.20 *you have found quickly*; and even, by extension⁽³⁾, in a Nifal in 31.27 נִחַבְתָּ לְבָרַח *you fled away secretly* (λάθρα). n

(1) Without ל: Gn 31.28 עָשׂוּ לְהִסְבֵּחַ *you have done the acting foolishly = you have acted foolishly*; Ps 33.3 נִגְן הִיטִיבוּ *do the playing (of the instruments) well = play well* (contr. 1Sm 16.17 with ל). Comp. Ps 127.2 מְשַׁכְּמִי *quoted in § 121 m* (end).

(2) In 2Kg 2.10 לְשִׂאוֹל הִקְשִׁיתָ the expression cannot be extended to the adverbial meaning; the meaning is: *you have made a difficult request* (and not: *you have requested with difficulty*).

(3) Or else accept here for ל the meaning of *in respect of, as for*: "you hid *in respect of* the flight." Cf. BDB, p. 517b, which explains the ל of the preceding examples in this way.

The infinitive with ל is very often used **after a verb** to express an action which gives more details about or explains the preceding action; it is then equivalent to the Latin gerund in -do, e.g. *faciendo* = Eng. *by doing*⁽¹⁾. Thus לְעֲשׂוֹתָ is quite often found after the verb שָׁמַר: Ex 31.16 וְשָׁמְרוּ אֶת-הַשַּׁבָּת לְעֲשׂוֹתָ "and they shall keep the sabbath by doing the sabbath in all their generation" (cf. Gn 18.19; Dt 13.19); likewise לְלָכְתָּ after שָׁמַר 1Kg 2.3,4; לְעֲשׂוֹתָ after הִלָּךְ 1Kg 14.8; לְשָׁמַר after שָׁמַר Dt 13.19; 15.5; 28.13,15; 30.10. (This process is very frequent in rheto- o

rical phraseology, especially deuteronomic). 1Sm 14.33 "behold the people are sinning *by eating* (לְאָכְלִי) with the blood"; 12.17; 19.5; Jer 44.3 "the evil which they have done *resulting in my being angry* (§ 1) *by going, by burning incense, by serving other gods*"; 44.7ff. (another accumulation of infinitives); Ez 30.21 (five infinitives with לְ with various meanings)(2). The infinitive לְאמַר, *dicendo, by saying, saying* is an extremely common and very widely used phrase (even after אָמַר e.g. Ex 15.1) which introduces direct speech and serves a useful device in the absence of punctuation marks.

(1) The לְ here has the meaning of *in respect of, as for*.

(2) Gn 2.3 (ע) מְלָאכְתּוֹ אֲשֶׁר בָּרָא אֱלֹהִים לַעֲשׂוֹת would then mean *He ceases all his work which God had created by doing* (and not *which he had done by creating*).

p In some cases the infinitive with לְ preceded by ו continues a preceding verb (or nominal clause) and virtually has the value of a finite form(1). After a participle: Jer 44.19 "for we burn incense (מְקַטְרִים) to the queen of heaven *and we pour out libations* וַיִּלְהֹטֵם ... "; 17.10; Am 8.4; 1Ch 6.34; 12.33; after a nominal clause: Ho 12.3; 2Ch 2.8; after a yiqtol: Jer 19.12; after a qatal: Dt 12.11 (qatal rather than infinitive)

(1) Comp. the use of the inf. absolute, § 121 x.

q An infinitive construct is usually continued by a finite tense; if the ו immediately precedes this finite tense, it is almost always energetic, hence the forms wayyiqtol, w-qatalí(1). Examples: with wayyiqto (§ 118 l): Gn 39.18 וַיִּקְרָא וַיִּשָׁעַל וַיִּשְׁמַע אֶת קוֹלִי וַיִּשָׁעַל אֶת קוֹלִי as *I lifted up my voice and cried* ... " (both actions are simultaneous); 1Kg 18.18; Is 38.9 (succession) with w-qatalí (§ 119 o): Gn 27.45; Jdg 6.18; 1Sm 12.23 (usually poorly translated); 1Kg 2.37,42 (for Am 1.11, cf. § 119 v). With the ו separated from the verbal form: w- ... qatal: 1Sm 24.12; Jer 9.12; Am 1.9 w- ... yiqtol(2), e.g. after a לְ with final meaning(3): Pr 5.2 "i order to observe circumspection *and that your lips may keep the knowledge*"; 1Sm 2.8; Is 13.9; 45.1 (note אֲלֵי in spite of the meaning of purpose); after a לְ with weak or no meaning: Is 10.2 (three liqtol's followed by one w- ... yiqtol); 14.25; Pr 8.21(4).

(1) Likewise for the participle, § 121 j.

(2) Particularly in poetry where it is often due to chiasmus.

(3) The yiqtol naturally takes on the modal nuance of the liqtol, which it continues.

(4) In Is 58.6 w-... yiqtol continues an inf. cst. which itself continues two inf

abs. (cf. § 123 *b*; in vs. 7 it continues an inf. abs.). Examples of inf. abs. continued in this way by a finite tense are very rare: Is 42.22; Jer 23.14.

The inf. cst. preceded by a preposition is continued by the inf. abs. if the preposition is not repeated (rare): 1Sm 22.13 בְּתַתָּהּ לּוֹ לֶחֶם וְשָׁאוֹל לוֹ בְּאֵלֵהֶם ... *by giving him bread ... and by enquiring of God for him*; 1Sm 25.26 (= 33); Jer 44.17; Ez 36.3 (cf. Ex 32.6 ?).

Observation. The infinitive being atemporal, the time and the aspect of the action can only be ascertained from the context. Likewise, the infinitive being apersonal, the subject is only indicated by the context. Note that the inf. cst. is often used instead of a finite tense in spite of the ambiguity concerning the subject⁽¹⁾: Ru 2.10 לְהַכִּירַנִי as *a result of which you have been interested in me* (§ 1); Ex 5.21 לָתֵת-חֶרֶב בְּיַדָם לְהַרְגֵנוּ "in that you have given a sword in their hand in order that they might kill us" (variation of the subject); Dt 24.4 (variation of the subject); 1Sm 2.36 *in order that I may eat*; 2Sm 13.11 *in order that he might eat*; 1Kg 1.20; 2.15; 8.59; 18.9; 22.8.

Quite often the subject is a vague *they* = *one* (cf. § 155 *i*): 2Sm 1.18 וַיֹּאמֶר לְלִמֹּד and *he ordered that they (= one) should teach*; Gn 33.10; Ex 9.16; Lv 14.57; Jdg 14.6; 1Sm 18.19; Is 10.14; 28.20; Ps 42.4; Ezr 9.1 וַיְכַבְּלוּ (= 2Ch 29.29; 31.1).

The inf. cst. is also neutral in respect of voice, namely the active form can be passive in force: e.g. Gn 4.13 גְּדוֹל עוֹנִי מִנְשׂוּאָה *my penalty is too great to be borne*; 6.20 שְׁנַיִם מִכָּל יְבָאוּ אֵלַיךָ לְהַחְיֹת *two of every kind shall come to you to be kept alive*; Josh 2.5 וַיִּהְיֶה הַשַּׁעַר לְסָגוֹר *the gate was about to be closed*; Jer 25.34 מֵלֵאיוּ יְמֵיכֶם לְטָבוֹחַ *the days for you to be slaughtered have come*; 11.19; Esth 7.4 נִמְכַּרְנוּ ... לְהַשְׁמִיד *we have been sold to be destroyed*⁽²⁾.

(1) On the other hand we sometimes find the suffix indicating the subject where it seems to be quite superfluous: Gn 29.19; 1Kg 21.3.

(2) Cp. BA at Dn 2.13 וַיִּבְעוּ דָנִיֵּאל וְחִבְרֹנְהִי לְהַתְּקַטֵּלָהּ lit. *and they sought Daniel and his associates to be killed*.

CHAPTER II: THE CASES

Grouped under this title the reader will find that which is relevant to the accusative, the genitive and (over against these two cases) the apposition, in order better to bring out, by way of contrast, the use of these three constructions. We shall employ the usual terms *accusative*, *genitive*, and *nominative* by analogy with Latin, although case endings have almost entirely disappeared from Hebrew (cf. § 93 b ff.), all these originally morphological categories being now largely syntactic ones.

§ 125. The direct accusative

- a The accusative is, properly speaking, the verbal case: it is subordinated to the verb, either directly (accusative of *object*), or indirectly (accusative of determination relative to the verb, *ad-verbial* accusative, § 126). It is true that the accusative is sometimes found subordinated to a noun (§ 127), but this is a secondary usage based on the analogy of the accusative indirectly subordinated to the verb.

The **direct accusative** indicates the *object* of the verb. The object may be *effected*, i.e. brought about by the verbal action, e.g. **יִקְלְמוּת** J1 3.1 *somnia somniabunt* (*they will have dreams*); or simply *affected*, (directly) reached by the verbal action, e.g. **וַיִּסְפָּר אֵתוֹ** Gn 37.9 *and he told (the dream)*. Therefore a distinction will be made between the two kinds of direct object, i.e. between the **affected object** and the **effected object**⁽¹⁾ (§ p).

(1) Cf. Brock., *GvG*, II, pp. 291ff.

- b 1) **Accusative of the affected object.** With some verbs the verbal action passes directly to the object (*transitive* verbs), with others it passes to the object through a preposition⁽¹⁾ (*intransitive* verbs or, more precisely, *transitive through preposition*). But some verbs can be both transitive and intransitive. Thus **וַיַּגֵּשׁ** *to touch* is generally intransitive (transitive through preposition): it usually takes **בְּ** of contact), sometimes **לְ** (*to skim, graze, reach*), only rarely is it transi-

tive (noun object: Is 52.11; suffix object: Gn 26.29; Ru 2.9). So *צַר* usually with ל, but rarely with את as in Josh 1.14 *עֲזַרְתֶּם אוֹתָם*; *to save, give victory*: 1Ch 18.6 *לְדָוִד*, but vs. 13 *את־הַדָּוִד*; 2Ch 16.12 *לֹא־* לְרַשׁ את־יהוה פי בְּרַפְּאִים Pi. with את, ב, or ל with subtle differences in meaning (see lexica). Cp. Ps 77.18 *קוֹל נְתַנּוּ שְׁחֻקִים* and 68.34 *יִתֵּן זְכָרָה לִי אֱלֹהֵי עַל* and 13.14 *גַּם זֹאת זְכָרָה־לִּי אֱלֹהֵי* בְּקוֹלוֹ; Ne 13.22 *זֹאת הָעֵזָה פְּנִיָּהּ* and 21.29 *הָעֵזָה אִישׁ* רָשָׁע בְּפָנָיו. Various circumstances may influence transitivity and intransitivity(2).

The transitive use of a verb may occur when the **object** is a **pronoun**: thus for the verb *נָגַע* (quoted above): Gn 26.29 *נִגְעֶנְנוּ*; Ru 2.9 *לְבִלְתִּי* לְנִגְעֶנְךָ. *To get the better of* is usually ל *יְכַלֵּל*, but once *יְכַלְתִּי* Ps 13.5. The verb *דָּבַק* *to cling to* is generally intransitive (especially ב of contact; also עם, אל, ל), but there is the form *דָּבַקְנִי* Gn 19.19 (§ 63 a). The verb *נָשַׁק* *to kiss* generally takes ל; however it is sometimes used transitively with the pronoun: Gn 33.4; 1Sm 10.1; Ct 1.2; 8.1. In 1Kg 21.10,13 *הָעֵיד* with suff. has the meaning of *to testify against* (ב); Job 29.11 *to testify in favour of* (ל).

To indicate the construction of every verb is the dictionary's function. Note that e.g. *צָוָה* *to give orders to* is usually transitive, e.g. Gn 26.11 *אֶת־כָּל־הָעַם* (sometimes with ל, אל, על); *עָנָה* *to reply to* is always transitive, e.g. Gn 23.10 *אֶת־אֲבִירָהּ* (likewise *דָּבַר* *reply to*, e.g. 2Sm 3.11 *אֶת־אֲבִירָהּ דָּבַר*).

In Job 19.7 (cf. Hab 1.2) *אֶצְעַק חָמָס* *I cry out about injustice*, חָמָס originally was probably an exclamation: *I cry out: "Injustice!"* (cf. 2Kg 11.14 *קִשְׁרָה* "*Conspiracy!*"), then חָמָס was felt to be like the direct object of *אֶצְעַק*.

(1) It is important to remember that, in this context, the direct object marker את (but not את of association and company) does not count as a preposition.

(2) The distinction between transitivity and intransitivity is manifested in the fact that intransitive verbs lack the internal passive (§ 55 b): see Is 33.1 *לֹא שָׁדוּדוּ אַתָּה לָא וּבִגְדוּ וְלֹא־בְגָדוּ בּוּ ... יְבַגְדוּ־בְךָ* *you yourself have not been destroyed ... you treacherous one, they have not dealt with you treacherously ... you will be destroyed ... they will deal with you treacherously.*

One must avoid the error of assuming that every pronoun suffix directly attached to a verb is accusative and that therefore the syntagm can be rewritten analytically with את: thus *נִגְעֶנְנוּ* = *נִגְעֶנְנוּ אֶתְךָ*. Either

as a kind of shorthand or on the analogy of genuine transitive verbs, many Hebrew verbs take a suffix pronoun where such a pronoun has "datival" force and therefore is normally capable of being rewritten by means of a preposition other than *ל* (1). Some examples are cited in the immediately preceding paragraph. To them one can add (2): *ל* in Is 28.15; Ez 32.11; Ps 36.12; 44.18; 119.41; Pr 10.24; 28.22; Job 15.21; 20.22 (poetic texts); *ל* in Josh 15.19 *ל* you gave to me (= Jdg 1.15); Is 27.4; Jer 9.1 (3).

(1) Brockelmann (*GvG*, II, p. 322) denies the existence of the suffix in the datival meaning in Hebrew. König (§ 21), on the other hand, accepts it quite readily, e.g. Ez 29.3 *ל* I made (it) for myself. N. Kinberg, in "Notes on the shift from accusative constructions to prepositional phrases in Hebrew and Arabic," *BSOAS* 44 (1981) 8-14, refuses to admit datival force of conjunctive verbal suffixes, but instead attempts to explain all, including rare cases of *ל* plus nouns, as genuine acc. as in Arabic. But the antiquity of datival suffixes is in no doubt. Akkadian, which is now joined by Eblaite, had a separate series of datival pronouns, both independent and suffixal. It is totally unacceptable to regard *ל* + suff. as acc. when the verb is predominantly governed by *ל*. On textcritical implications of the recognition of the datival force of the suffixes under discussion here, see Sperber, *Hist. Gram.*, I, 94 (§ 91).

(2) For more examples and a general discussion, see M. Bogaert, "Les suffixes verbaux non-accusatifs dans le sémitique nord-occidental et particulièrement en hébreu," *Bib* 45 (1964) 220-47, and T. Muraoka, "On verb complementation in Biblical Hebrew," *VTS* 29 (1979) 425-35. In the light of what has been said above and also in the light of an example such as Is 42.16 *ל* these are the things which I have done to them (so Pesh. and Vulg., and note the immediately following *ל* and I have not forsaken them), even Zech 7.5 *ל* which would mean "did you fast for me?," is no longer so troublesome. See also Is 65.5 (on which Ibn Ezra cites Jer 10.20 *ל* they are gone out of me); Jer 31.2; Job 31.18.

(3) This construction may have been influenced by the fact that *ל*, with the meaning of *to allow*, takes the acc. of the pers. and the inf. est. (in the acc.), e.g. Nu 21.23 *ל*.

bb The use of conjunctive verbal suffixes of datival force seems to have spread by false analogy to nominal complements: Ez 21.25 *ל* for a sword to reach Rabbah of the Ammonites. Also 1Sm 9.18 *ל* ... *ל*; 30.21 *ל* ... *ל*, and Nu 4.19 Jdg 19.18 (1).

(1) Examples mentioned by S. Izre'el in *Shaton* 3 (1978) 209.

bc In some verbs, different prepositions can lead to subtle differences

in meaning. For instance, Nu 5.14 וַיִּקְנָא אֶת־אִשְׁתּוֹ and *he becomes jealous of his wife*; Gn 30.1 וַתִּקְנָא רָחֵל בְּאֶחָתָהּ and *Rachel became envious of her sister*; Zech 1.14 קִנְיָאֲתִי לִירוּשָׁלַם וּלְצִיּוֹן I *am zealous for Jerusalem and Zion*. The fact that an indirect pronominal object can be directly attached to the verb can result in some ambiguity: does Jdg 16.21 וַיִּאֱחָזוּהוּ mean *and they captured him* (= אֹתוֹ) or *and they held him down* (= בּוֹ)?

Habitual usage can lead to occasional omission of a direct object, creating the impression that some verbs are, at least formally, intransitive. Thus 1Sm 20.16 וַיִּכְרוֹת יְהוֹנָתָן עִם־בֵּית הַדּוֹד in lieu of וַיִּכְרוֹת בְּרִית. So also וַשָּׁמַר אֶף for וַשָּׁמַר אֶף *to bear a grudge*; וַנָּשָׂא קוֹל for וַנָּשָׂא קוֹל *to lift up voice*(1).

bd

(1) For more possible examples, see Brock., *Syntax*, § 127 b.

Reflexive forms can be transitive, e.g. נִבָּא (Nifal) *to prophesy* is usually transitive when the object is vague: thus, with לְשָׁקֵר (e.g. Jer 23.25 etc.; once לְשָׁקֵר 27.15 for a specific thing), with דְּבָרִים Jer 20.1 etc.; likewise הִתְנַבֵּא *to prophesy*: with vague object לְשָׁקֵר Jer 14.14; 1Kg 22.8,18; but with a precise object נִבָּא is found: לְמַלְחָמָה Jer 28.8; לְשָׁלוֹם 28.9; other examples: הִתְפָּרַק Ex 32.3; הִתְנַצַּל 33.6; הִצְטִיֵּד Josh 9.12; נָסַב Jdg 19.22; נִמְלָא (cf. § d); הִתְחַתֵּן Gn 34.9; הִתְנַלַּח Nu 6.19; הִתְנַחַל Is 14.2(1).

c

(1) About the accusative with passive forms, cf. § 128.

Some semantic categories of verbs require the accusative:

d

1) Verbs of abundance (*verba copiae*) and scarcity (*inopiae*), e.g. מָלָא *to be full*(1), נִמְלָא *to fill oneself up, to be filled*: Is 1.15 יְדִיכֶם וַתִּמְלֵא הָאָרֶץ אוֹתָם Ex 1.7 *your hands are full of blood; and the land was filled with them*; 1Kg 7.14 וַיִּמְלֵא אֶת־הַחֶכְמָה and *he was filled with wisdom*; שָׂבַע (שָׂבַעוּ) *to be sated, satisfied*: Ex 16.12 תִּשְׂבַּעוּ־לֶחֶם you *shall be sated with bread*; שָׂרַץ *to teem with*: Ex 7.28; שָׁכַר *to become intoxicated*: Is 29.9; 49.26; רָוָה *to drink one's fill*: Pr 7.18; *verba inopiae*: חָסַר *to lack, to be short of*: Gn 18.28 etc.; שָׁכַל *to be deprived of children*: Gn 27.45.

The accusative with some verbs implying motion can probably(2) be explained as having arisen on the analogy of the accusative of the *verba copiae*: פָּרַץ *to run over with, overflow with*: Pr 3.10; נָטַף *to be*

dripping with: Jdg 5.4; לַנָּזֶל *to be running with, streaming with*: J 9.17; יָרַד *to be running with, streaming with*: Jer 9.17; הִלָּךְ *to be running with, streaming with*: Jl 4.18; בָּרַץ *to flow*: Lv 15.33 (with a co-nate object, זָבוּ).⁽³⁾

2) Verbs of wearing (*verba induendi*) and putting off (*exuend*) (ב) לָבַשׁ *to wear (clothes), to put on (clothes)*: 1Kg 22.30 הִשָּׂבַח לְבָשׁ *put on your clothes*; Is 61.10; לָצַד *to adorn oneself with*: Is 61.1 Job 40.10; לָצַד *to be covered with, to wrap oneself up*: 1Sm 28.1 Is 59.17; לָצַד *to cover oneself with*: Ps 65.14; הִשָּׂבַח *to strip off*: 5.3.

(1) According to some grammarians, we have here the adverbial accusative. For Arab grammarians, the accusative of verbs like *mali'a* "to be full" is a *tamyiz* (accusative of specification).

(2) According to some grammarians, this is an indirect accusative.

(3) The standing expression וְזָבַח וְזָבַח אֶרֶץ אֲרָץ *a land flowing with milk and honey* presents another kind of problem: § 129 *i*.

e The particle אֵל of the accusative. The direct object of the verb, whether pronominal or nominal, is often preceded by the particle אֵל (103 *k*). The particle אֵל is mainly an indicator of the accusative of object; but it is also found, albeit very seldom, with other accusative acc. of motion (§ *n*), of time (§ 126 *i*), of limitation (§ 126 *g*). The particle אֵל was probably first used with the pronoun, as in the other Semitic languages, then its use was extended to the determinate noun⁽¹⁾.

With pronouns אֵל is used of necessity 1) when the object precedes the verb: Nu 22.33 וְאוֹתָהּ הִחַיִּיתִי *I would have killed you and her, I would have let her live*; 2) when there is a double pronominal object⁽²⁾: 2Sm 15.25 וְהִרְאֵנִי אֹתוֹ *and he will show me it*; 3) with the inf. abs. (cf. § 123 *t*); 4) with the infinitive construct in הִפְּ: Dt 10. לְאַהֲבָה אֹתוֹ *to love him*; 5) usually also with the inf. cst. to avoid a ambiguity: Gn 4.15 לְבִלְתִּי הַכּוֹת אֹתוֹ כֹּל-מִצְאוֹ (§ 124 *g*); 6) usually when the pronominal object is followed by a nominal object: 1Sm 5.11 יֵת אֹתִי *following 23 וְאוֹת-אֲנָשֵׁי*; 23.12 הִיִּסְגְּרוּ בְעָלָי קְעֵלָה אֹתִי וְאוֹת-אֲנָשֵׁי *following 23 הִיִּסְגְּרוּ בְעָלָי קְעֵלָה*; Ex 12.14 הִתְקַדְּמוּ ... אֹתוֹ ⁽³⁾ *(a dozen exceptions, e.g. 1Sm 5.10 וְאוֹת-אֲנָשֵׁי*; Dt 11.6 [contr. Nu 16.3 Dt 15.16; cf. Driver, *Notes* ad 1Sm 5.10).

(1) If אֵל is used with a determinate noun and not with an indeterminate noun, it is probably because it was originally used with the pronoun, which is regarded as be

determinate. On the relatively late date of introduction of the accusative marker אַת, see § 137 *f*, n. On the alleged emphasising function of the particle אַת, see Muraoka, *Emphatic*, pp. 146-58.

(2) In Akkadian, Arabic, and Ethiopic the verb can take two suffixes.

(3) This alternation appears to be a stylistic feature characteristic of the Priestly source; Paran, *op. cit.* [§ 3 *a*], p. 69.

With **determinate nouns** אַת is very common, but seldom necessary⁽¹⁾. It must be used after a pronominal object: Dt 11.6 וַתִּבְלַעְם וְאֶת-בְּתוּרֵיהֶם וְאֶת-בְּתוּרֵיהֶם וְאֶת-בְּתוּרֵיהֶם and *she swallowed them up, as well as their houses and their tents* (cf. Ehrlich, *Randglossen ad loc.*); Nu 16.32. Placed before the verb, a determinate noun⁽²⁾ does not specifically require אַת: thus, without אַת: Gn 8.17; 30.40; 1Sm 2.9; 2Kg 22.8; with אַת: Gn 3.10; 9.13; Ex 18.23; 2Kg 23.19. The fluctuation in respect of the use or non-use of אַת is observable also when the object follows the verb: cp. Gn 20.7 הָשִׁיב אֶת-הָאִשָּׁה לְאִשְׁתּוֹ Return the man's wife and 20.14 וַיִּשָּׁב לֹא אֶת-שָׂרָה אִשְׁתּוֹ; 13.14 וַיִּשָּׁב לֹא אֶת-עֵינָיו and 13.10 וַיִּשָּׂא לֹא אֶת-עֵינָיו⁽³⁾. On the other hand, indeterminate nouns do not take אַת (cf. § *h*): e.g. Jdg 3.15 וַיִּקָּם לָהֶם מֹשִׁיעַ אֶת-אֶהוּד and *he raised up for them a deliverer, Ehud*.

(1) On some possible factors conditioning the use or non-use of אַת, see Muraoka, *Emphatic*, p. 152 with the bibliography mentioned there, to which is to be added, Polzin, pp. 28-31, and E.Z. Melammed, "אַת in Biblical poetry" [Heb.] in his *Studies in the Bible, its Translations and Interpreters* (Jerusalem, 1984), pp. 200-216.

(2) The following are determinate: 1) a proper noun; 2) a noun with the article; 3) a noun with a suffix; 4) a noun constructed on a determinate noun, e.g. Gn 1.25 אֶת-חַיַּת הָאָרֶץ the animals of the earth (cf. § 137 *a*).

(3) See a discussion in Muraoka, *Emphatic*, pp. 150f.

A **demonstrative pronoun** is regarded as determinate: אֶת-זֶה Gn 44.29; Lv 11.4,9,21; אֶת-זֶה 2Sm 13.17; אֶת-זֶה Gn 46.18,25. The interrogative pronoun for a person or people, מִי, is assumed to be determinate, hence אֶת-מִי Is 6.8 (but never אֶת-מִה*). The relative אֲשֶׁר can be determinate in respect of the meaning, hence אֶת-אֲשֶׁר in the meaning of *he who* 1Sm 16.3, *that which* Gn 9.24, *the fact that* (how) Josh 2.10.

A **grammatically indeterminate noun**, but which has a certain logical determination, can take אַת. Thus the noun כֹּל *totality, whole*, implying a certain determination (§ 139 *e*), is treated like a determinate noun: Gn 1.21b: אֶת-כָּל-עוֹף כַּנְּף every winged creature; 1.30; 8.21. There is also a certain determination in cases such as: Ex 40.2 אֶת-מִשְׁכַּן אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד

the Dwelling of the tent of the congregation (אהל מועד) is equivalent to a proper noun; it never takes the article, § 137 h); Lv 7.8 *a man's burnt offering*; 2Sm 4.11 *a just man* (made determinate by the context); Pr 23.6 *the food of the envious man*; 2Sm 23.21 הוא־הִקָּה את־איש מְצָרִי והוא־הִקָּה את־, with which cp. the parallel 1Ch 11.23 הוא־הִקָּה את־... את־אלהים אֲחֵרִים and Jer 16.13 האיש המצרי איש מְדָה ...

With אָחַד made determinate by a preposition and its noun (or pronoun): 1Sm 9.3 את־אֶחָד מֵהַנְּעָרִים *one of the servants*; Nu 16.15 את־אֶחָד מֵהֶם. With numbers: Ex 28.9 *two stones of shoham* (but Samar. הַשְּׁהָם); Gn 21.30 *seven ewes*; Nu 26.10 *250 men*; 1Kg 6.16 *twenty cubits* (with some determination).

Sometimes אַת is used with an indeterminate noun for the sake of clarity, to indicate the object clearly: Lv 26.5; Nu 21.9; Ex 21.28 (contr. 29); Is 10.2; 41.7; 50.4; 64.4.

i Noteworthy is the great freedom in the use of אַת; comp. 1Sm 10.1 קָח פֶּה הַשְּׂמֹן הַזֶּה and 2Kg 9.1 וַיִּקַּח שְׂמוֹנֶה אֶת־פֶּה הַשְּׂמֹן אַת (after the verb) and 3.5,11 כָּל אֲשֶׁר (before the verb); Jer 51.6 מִלְּטוֹ אִישׁ אֶת־נַפְשׁוֹ (1); Jer 45.4 הִנֵּה אֲשֶׁר־בְּיָמַי אֲנִי הֹרֵם וְאֵת אֲשֶׁר־נִטְעַמְתִּי אֲנִי (before the verb in both): (2).

(1) More examples in Muraoka, *Emphatic*, p. 151, and also § *f* above. See G.A. Khan, *BSOAS* 47 (1984) 471f., 488f.

(2) More examples of the omission of אַת where the obj. precedes: Gn 31.38; 46.32; 47.22; 50.8; Ex 8.22; Nu 24.8 (Brock., *Syntax*, § 96).

ia A similar fluctuation also occurs when the object designates a part of the body of the subject in an idiomatic collocation: e.g. Gn 22.4,13 וַיֵּשֶׁא יַעֲקֹב עֵינָיו וַיִּרְא 33.1 // וַיֵּשֶׁא אַבְרָהָם אֶת־עֵינָיו וַיִּרְא or Gn 27.38 וַיֵּשֶׁלַח יָדוֹ 8.9 or Gn 29.11 // וַיֵּשֶׁא עֵשָׂו קִלְוֹ וַיִּבְרַךְ. וַיִּשְׁלַח אַבְרָהָם אֶת־יָדוֹ וַיִּקַּח // 22.10.

j **Observation. Other uses of אַת.** There are a certain number of cases where אַת precedes a noun which cannot be regarded, even virtually, as the object⁽¹⁾. These cases are difficult to explain⁽²⁾; in some there may be an accusative of limitation or of specification; in others the אַת seems solely designed to bring the noun into prominence, on the analogy of the אַת which brings the object into prominence. Putting aside text-critically doubtful examples and those which can be explained at

least as accusatives of object, there remain a certain number of cases which may be grouped thus:⁽³⁾

1) Before a noun in apposition to a noun with a preposition: Ex 1.14 בכל-עֲבֹדָה בְּשָׂדֵה אֶת כָּל-עֲבֹדָתָם *by all labours in the fields, all their labours ...*; Ez 14.22 *concerning the evil that I have brought upon Jerusalem, all that I have brought upon her.*

2) In an enumeration: Nu 3.26 before the last two longer terms of an enumeration in the nominative; Josh 17.11 at the beginning of the group of the four יְשֻׁבֵי in an enumeration in the nominative; Ne 9.34 before the first term of an enumeration in the nominative.

3) Before an ordinary subject: Jdg 20.44 (46) *All those were valiant men*; Ez 17.21; 35.10.

4) Before a noun in *casus pendens* (§ 156 c): 1Kg 15.13 וגם את-מַעֲכָה *and even his mother Ma'ka, he took away from her the dignity of queen-mother* (here perhaps attraction of the following accusative); Ez 20.16 ואת-הַחֻקֹּתַי לֹא הִלְכוּ בָהֶם *and my decrees, they did not follow them.*

5) את with a strong meaning equivalent to a pronoun: Ez 43.7 את-אֵי מְקוֹם כְּסֵאֵי *here is the place of my throne*; Hg 2.5 את-הַדָּבָר *this is the word*⁽⁴⁾; Zech 7.7 הֲלֹא אֵת-הַדְּבָרִים *Are not these the words ...?*

6) There is perhaps an accusative of limitation (§ 126 g) in 2Sm 11.25 אֵל-יָרַע בְּעֵינַיִךְ אֶת-הַדָּבָר הַזֶּה *if ירע is regarded as impersonal* (§ 152 d) *may it not appear bad to you as far as this matter is concerned*; Ne 9.32 אֵל יִמְעַט לְפָנֶיךָ אֶת כָּל-הַתְּלָאָה *may it not appear to you trivial as far as all this toil is concerned*; and by analogy Josh 22.17 הַמְעַט-לָנוּ הַמְעוֹד *Is Peor's crime too trivial for us?*⁽⁵⁾

7) In the vicinity of a genuine accusative: Ne 9.19 את-עֲמוֹד הָעֲנָן *following* לֹא-סָר מֵעֲלֵיהֶם *following* לֹא עֲזַבְתֶּם בְּמִדְבָּר; Dn 9.13 את כל הַרְעָה *following* vs. 12 לְהַבִּיא עֲלֵינוּ רָעָה גְדוֹלָה *following* vs. 12 לְהַבִּיא עֲלֵינוּ רָעָה גְדוֹלָה.

(1) G.A. Khan's theory can account for only a very small number of the examples concerned: *BSQAS* 47 (1984) 496f. The hypothetical emphasising force of אֵת was claimed by many scholars for most of these abnormal cases; for a critique of the theory, see Muraoka, *Emphatic*, pp. 146-58.

(2) For a discussion of many such cases, see Muraoka, *Emphatic*, pp. 152-58.

(3) Most of these uses are also found with לְ (cf. § 1).

(4) Comp. Acts 10.36 τὸν λόγον ὃν ἀπέστειλεν.

(5) Cf. Brock., *GvG*, II, pp. 125, 349.

language in particular, ל is quite often used as indicator of the accusative of the determinate direct object noun⁽¹⁾: Ps 69.6 יַעֲתָ לְאֹנִיתִי you know my folly; Job 5.2 כִּי לְאֹוִיל יִהְרָג-כְּעַם for vexation kills the foolish one (object placed before verb; here grammatical determinative is lacking); with עֲזַב 1Ch 16.37; הִבְדִּיל 25.1; הִמְלִיךְ 29.22; שָׁלַח Ezr 8.1 1Ch 22.19; 2Ch 17.3,4; 20.3; 31.21; 34.3; זָכַר Ex 32.13; Dt 9.2 Jer 31.34; (ל due to parallelism); 2Ch 6.42; אָהַב Lv 19.18,34. With participle: Is 11.9 מַכְסִּים לִיָּם כַּמַּיִם as water covers the sea (contr. I 2.14); 14.2; Am 6.3.

(1) And in the Chronicles, only in the case of persons (Kropat, *Syntax*, p. 35). The use of ל as indicator of the determinate object is, to a great extent, probably due to Aramaic influence; but some Hebrew uses of ל tended towards the same result, e.g. the double construction of several verbs with either the accusative or ל: thus רָפָא heal (usu. with the acc., sometimes with ל, e.g. Nu 12.13; and even Piel once with 2Kg 2.21), קָרָא to call (even within a single verse as in 1Kg 1.9 אָחִיו בְּנֵי נָרְא את-כל-אָחִיו וּלְכָל-הַמְּלָכִים and he invited all his brothers ... and all the men of Judah); 1Ch 29.20 (also with את); נָשָׂא Gn 50.17; שָׁאַל to ask; הוֹשִׁיעַ to rescue, to save; Hifil verbs with ל like לָקַח לְהַנִּיחַ to give rest to; לָקַח לְהַצִּיק to make it narrow for.

1 Observation. Other uses of ל analogous to those of את (cf. § 124).

1) ל before a noun in apposition in any case: 1Ch 13.1 אֶת-שָׂרֵי-הַחֵיל וְהַמְּאֹזֹת לְכָל-נְגִידֵי-הָאֲלָפִים with the chiliarchs and the centurions, all chiefs; Lv 5.3; Jer 1.18b (after על); genitive: Gn 23.10 חַת בְּנֵי חַת וְזֵנֵי בְנֵי חַת לְכָל-בְּנֵי-שָׂרֵי-עִירוֹ; 1Ch 7.5; in the nominative: Ezr 4.9 לְכָל-בְּנֵי-יְהוּדָה; 1Ch 26.26; 2Ch 5.12; accusative: Ezr 8.24; Ne 8.9; even after את: 2Ch 23.1; 33.8.

2) In an enumeration, before the last noun (sometimes even when there are only two): nominative: 1Ch 29.6; accusative: 1Ch 28.1 (after את); 28.18 (last term of the enumeration beginning in vs. 11); 2Ch 24.12; 26.14; genitive: Ezr 7.28.

3) Before a subject: 1Ch 28.21 לְכָל-נְדָבֵי; 2Ch 7.21.

m **ב** of transitivity. When the object is an instrument, the construction with ב is sometimes found instead of the accusative⁽¹⁾: Ex 7.20 וַיִּלָּחֶץ בַּמֶּטֶה and he lifted up the rod (contr. 14.16; Is 10.15 with acc.) lit. he made an elevation with the rod; Josh 8.18 בְּכִידוֹן נִטֵּה tend the javelin⁽²⁾; 1Ch 15.16 (??) לְהִקְרִים בְּקוֹל to raise one's voice (cf. instance in prose); הִנִּיעַ בְּרֹאשׁ to shake one's head Job 16.4 (acc. 22.8); הִנִּיד בְּרֹאשׁ id. Jer 18.16; פָּעַר בִּפִּיהוּ to open one's mouth Job 16

בְּשִׁפְּרָהּ to open one's lips(?) Ps 22.8 בְּיָרְיָהּ she stretched out her arms Lam 1.17; בְּקוֹלִי Jer 12.8; Ps 46.7; 68.34 (elsewhere acc.).

(1) Comp. in Arabic, with *bi* of transitivity, e.g. *ramā bissahmī* "he threw the arrow, he made a throwing with the arrow."

(2) Comp. Fr. "cligner (from *clinare*) de l'oeil" alongside *cligner les yeux*.

Probably related to the accusative of the direct object (§ b) is the accusative of motion towards a place, of direction towards a goal. As explained in § 93 c, forms such as הָתַיִם to Gath and שְׂאֵלֹתָיִם to Sheol with the so-called He locale do not belong here⁽¹⁾. With the accusative placed before the verb, for emphasis: Josh 6.19 יְבוֹא יְהוָה אֶצֶר יְהוָה it is into Y.'s treasury that it shall come; 1Sm 5.8; 1Kg 2.26; 12.1; Is 52.4; Jer 2.10; 20.6; 32.5. The verb בּוֹא with the acc. means not only to go to, to come to (Jdg 11.16; 2Kg 6.4; 1Sm 4.12; 2Kg 8.7; Ru 1.2) but also to enter Gn 12.11; 41.57; 1Kg 14.12 (cf. *ingredi urbem* "to enter a city"). On the analogy of this construction the accusative is also used for the place out of which one comes (cf. *egredi urbem* "to leave a city"): Gn 44.4 יֵצְאוּ אֶת־הָעִיר; Ex 9.29,33; Dt 14.22; cf. Jer 10.20b (suffix).

(1) Meek (*JOS* 60 [1940]) suggests "terminative," a goal of movement, as a new term. E.A. Speiser, "The terminative-adverbial in Canaanite-Ugaritic and Akkadian," *IEJ* 4 (1954) 109, points out Meek's exaggeration that it is exclusively terminative, and says that it can shade off into "locative."

Related to the direct accusative are perhaps⁽¹⁾ some accusatives which may be called accusatives of result: Is 5.6 וְעָלְתָהּ וְשָׁמִיר וְשִׁית (the vine) shall go up with briars and thorns; 34.13; Pr 24.31 (comp. *ire in semen*, Fr. *monter en graine*); with נֹבַח Pr 10.31 the mouth of the just blossoms out with wisdom; פָּרַח Ex 9.9 an eruption budding with boils; perh. הִנָּחַת רִנָּה to break forth into cries of joy (Is 14.7; 44.23; 49.13; 54.1; 55.12); Is 59.5 הִבְרַקַּע הַבְּרִיקָה the crushed (egg) breaks forth into a viper.

For the accusative הִלְיָהּ, cf. § 93 h.

(1) But perhaps *predicative* accusative, cf. § w, n.; 126 d.

II) **Accusative of the effected object.** Whereas the *affected* object (§ a) is understood as existing prior to the action, the *effected* object is produced by the action itself. Thus Gn 1.29 יִרְעֵ זֶרַע (cf. 1.11, 12) producing seed, זֶרַע is an effected object, whereas it is an affected object in יִרְעֵ זֶרַע sow, (throw) the seed of Dt 11.10; 22.9 etc. The

effected object is concrete, and external in relation to the action: it is thus distinguished from the *internal* object (§ q). The effected object, thus defined, is rather rare; it is hardly ever found except with a verb of the same root (often denominative)⁽¹⁾. Examples: Gn 1.11 אֲשָׂא תִּרְשָׂא הָאָרֶץ רִשְׂא *let the earth produce grass*; 9.14 עָנַן; 11.3 לְבַנִּים; 37.7 אֲלֵמִים; Mi 2.4 נָהִי; Ps 144.6 בָּרַק; with a determinative: Gn 30.37 וַיַּפְצֵל וַיַּצְלֹת לְבָנוֹת *and he made white stripes*.

(1) Paronomasia is very common with the internal object (§ q), but it is relatively rare with the affected object. In all cases there is a *etymologica figura* (*schema etymologicum*).

q III) **Accusative of the internal object.** The internal object is an abstract noun of action, identical with, or analogous to the action expressed by the verb. By extension, some accusatives which are equivalent to this action or which determine it, are said to be related to the internal object. The abstract noun of action is mainly the infinitive absolute, the use of which as acc. of the internal object has been discussed in § 123 *d* ff.⁽¹⁾ But any other form may be found, e.g. Nu 11.4 תִּאָּזְרוּ תִּאָּזְרוּ תִּאָּזְרוּ *cupierunt cupidinem = they were seized with covetousness* Ps 106.14; Pr 21.26); פָּקְדָה Nu 16.29; אָבָה 1Sm 20.17; קְבוּרָה Jer 22.19; פֶּחַד Ps 14.5; חָטָא La 1.8⁽²⁾. — With a noun synonymous with the verb: יָדַע בִּינָה *to have intelligence* (lit. *to know* or *to learn intelligence*: Is 29.24; Pr 4.1; Job 38.4; 1Ch 12.32; 2Ch 2.11,12).

The accusative of the internal object is found not only with transitive verbs (e.g. Gn 43.3), but also with intransitive verbs: Ez 18.21 יִחְיֶה *vitam (vivere) vivet = he will live life*, with reflexive and passive verbs: Nu 16.29 יִפְקְדוּ עֲלֵיהֶם *they are punished with the punishment of all men*; Jer 22.19 יִקְבֹּר *he shall have the burial of a donkey* (cf. § 123 *r*); 1Sm 20.6; Gn 17.13; Nu 11.4; Ex 21.12; prob. הִלְךָ רָכִיל Lv 19.16 etc. *to defame* (רכיל, noun of action: *circulation*, hence *defamation*; cf. König, *Syntax*, § 329 *k*).

(1) What scanty evidence is available in Ugaritic suggests that the inf. abs. thus used is nominative: see Gordon, *UT*, § 9.27, and above in § 123 *d*, n. In such a case the form would be in apposition to the grammatical subject, and thus may have to be reinterpreted as a *nomen agentis* (actor noun), and cases such as מוֹת יוֹמֵת with a pure inf. abs. (?) and תִּאָּזְרוּ תִּאָּזְרוּ with a verbal noun may represent two distinct syntactic structures.

(2) Hence a way (common in Arabic) of expressing the comparative notion (*as*) between

two actions, e.g. 1Sm 20.17 **פִּי־אֶהֱבֵת נִפְשׁוֹ אֶהְבּוּ** *for he loved him with the love of [i.e. which he had for] himself = he loved him as himself*; Nu 16.29 *if they are punished as all men are* (but *ibid.* and 2Sm 3.33 **פְּמוֹת**, with כ of comparison; on the other hand **מְמוֹתֵי** without כ in Ez 28.8); Jer 22.19 *he shall be buried as a donkey (is buried)* (cf. § r for more examples).

The accusative of the internal object may be **qualified**. Thus it can have an adjective⁽¹⁾: Nu 11.33 **וַיִּף יהוה בָּעַם מַכָּה רַבָּה מְאֹד** *And Y. struck among the people a very great blow*⁽²⁾; Gn 27.34. It can have a genitive: 2Sm 4.5 **והוא שָׁכַב אֶת מְשַׁכְּב הַצֶּהָרִים** *now he was sleeping the mid-day sleep = (he was taking a siesta)*; 1Sm 20.17 **פִּי־אֶהֱבֵת נִפְשׁוֹ אֶהְבּוּ** *he loved him as*⁽³⁾ *himself (with the love of himself)*; Lv 25.42 **לֹא יִמְכְּרוּ עַבְד מִמֶּכְרֶת עֶבֶד** *they shall not be sold as one sells a slave*; Is 24.22; — with different subjects: Is 62.5 **מְשׁוֹשׁ חֲתָן עַל־כַּלָּה יֵשִׁישׁ עַל־יָדְךָ אֵלֶיךָ** *as the bridegroom rejoices in his bride so shall your God rejoice in you*.

(1) Comp. e.g. Mt 2.10 *ἐχάρησαν χαρὰν μεγάλην σφόδρα*.

(2) I.e. *made a great slaughter among the people* (2Ch 13.17; Josh 10.20; 1Sm 6.10 etc.).

(3) Cf. § q, n.

Probably⁽¹⁾ related to the internal object is the use of the word **קוֹל** *voice* with verbs which express an emission of voice. This concrete substantive, which has no corresponding verb, indeed seems to be used on the analogy of a noun of action. Thus with **קָרָא** *to speak loudly, to shout, to call* (without a corresponding noun of action) we have **קָרָא קוֹל** Ez 8.18; 9.1; 11.13; Ezr 10.12 (contr. **בְּקוֹל** Gn 39.14 etc.); with **זָעַק** *to cry out* 2Sm 19.5 **וַיִּזְעַק קוֹל גָּדוֹל**; with **בָּכָה** *to weep* 2Sm 15.23 **בּוֹכִים קוֹל גָּדוֹל**. Other examples: Dt 5.19; 27.14; 1Kg 8.55; prob. also Ex 24.3 **וַיַּעַן כָּל־הָעָם קוֹל אֶחָד** *and all the people answered with one voice*. There probably is an acc. in Is 10.30 **צִהְלֵי קוֹלְךָ** *hinni voce(m) tua(m)* [= lit. "Neigh your voice!"] (but not in **קוֹלֵי אֶקְרָא** Ps 3.5; cf. § 151 c).

(1) Cf. Brock., GvG, II, p. 306.

Also probably related to the internal object is the accusative of the number of **times** (equivalent to the number of *actions*)⁽¹⁾: Gn 33.3 **וַיִּשְׁתַּחֲוֶה שֶׁבַע פְּעָמִים** *and he bowed down seven times (= of seven prostrations)*; Ex 23.14 **שָׁלֹשׁ רְגָלִים תִּחַגּוּ לִי** *three times you shall celebrate the feast in my honour*; Nu 20.11.

(1) Brock., GvG, II, p. 301.

IV) The double accusative of the affected object⁽¹⁾.

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1) If, in a clause consisting of a **subject**, an **object**, and a transitive verb with simple (non-causative; § b—d) meaning, this verb is changed into a causative, the subject (usually a person) becomes a second object. Thus a sentence such as *וַיֵּרְאוּ אֶת־כְּבוֹדוֹ* *we have seen his glory* becomes *וַיַּעַלְנוּ אֶת־כְּבוֹדוֹ* Dt 5.21 *he has made it that we could see his glory* = *he has made us see* (= *has shown*) *his glory*. Thus we have *וַיַּעַלְנוּ אֶת־כְּבוֹדוֹ* *to make hear* 2Kg 7.6; *וַיַּעַלְנוּ אֶת־כְּבוֹדוֹ* *to make know* 1Sm 14.12; *וַיַּעַלְנוּ אֶת־כְּבוֹדוֹ* *to teach* Dt 4.5 *וַיַּעַלְנוּ אֶת־כְּבוֹדוֹ* *to cause sbd to eat* = *to give sbd sth to eat, to feed sbd with sth* Dt 8.3; *וַיַּעַלְנוּ אֶת־כְּבוֹדוֹ* *to cause sbd to drink* (שָׁתָה) *sth, give sbd sth to drink* Jdg 4.19. With *וַיַּעַלְנוּ אֶת־כְּבוֹדוֹ* *to support (feed) sbd with sth* Gn 47.12 1Kg 18.4,13† the second acc. is prob. an acc. of object (perh. on the analogy of *וַיַּעַלְנוּ אֶת־כְּבוֹדוֹ*)(2). This is the construction taken by verbs of abundance and scarcity, verbs of wearing and putting off, and other verbs on the analogy of these (§ d), when the meaning is causative, e.g. Gn 26.1: *וַיִּמְלְאוּ אֹתָם אֶת־הָאָרֶץ* *and they filled them with earth*; 41.42 *וַיַּלְבֵּשׁ אֹתוֹ* *and he dressed him in garments of byssus*; Ex 25.1 *וַיִּצְפֵּתְךָ אֹתוֹ זָהָב* *and you shall overlay it (the Ark) with gold*; Gn 37.23 *וַיִּפְשְׁטוּ אֶת־כִּתְמוֹנוֹ* *and they stripped Joseph of his tunic* 2Ch 20.11 *וַיִּשְׁתַּחֲוּ אֶת־אֲשֶׁר הוֹרַשְׁתָּנוּ* *out of your possession which you have given us to inherit*; Jdg 9.45 *וַיִּזְרַעְהָ מֶלֶחַח* *he sowed it with salt* Gn 27.37 *וַיִּתְרַשׁ אִתּוֹ חֵטְאֵי וַיִּתְרַשׁ אִתּוֹ יַיִן* *with corn and wine have I sustained him* Is 43.23 *וְלֹא כִבְדִיתֵנוּ בְּזִבְחֵיךָ* *you have not honoured us with your sacrifices*; 1Sm 24.18 *וַיִּמְלֵךְ אֵלַי הַטּוֹבָה* *you have dealt well with me*; Gn 32.24 *וַיַּעֲבֵר אֶת־הַנָּחַל* *and he got them across the river*; Dt 32.13 *וַיַּעַלְנוּ אֶת־כְּבוֹדוֹ* *and he made him suck honey*; Jer 23.27 *וַיַּעַלְנוּ אֶת־שְׁמִי* *to make my people forget my name*; Dt 31.7 *וַיַּעַלְנוּ אֶת־אֹתָם* *you shall put them in possession of it*; Is 28.9 *וַיַּעַלְנוּ אֶת־מִי יִבִּין שְׂמוֹעָה* *whom will he make the message understood?*; *וַיַּעַלְנוּ אֶת־כְּבוֹדוֹ* *to report*, mostly with double objects, but in Ex 19.8 and 2Ch 10.6 with *אֶל* or *ל* pers.

(1) Of course we can also have several accusatives of various kinds, e.g. Jon 1.1 *וַיִּירָאוּ אֶת־יְהוָה גְּדוֹלָה* *and they feared Yahweh (affected object) with great fear* (internal object); Jer 50.34 *וַיִּקַּח אֶת־רִיב* *he will indeed take up the cause* (ריב inf. cst. used as inf. abs., § 123 q; ריב affected or perh. effected object); Josh 6.11 *וַיַּעַלְנוּ אֶת־אֲרוֹן יְהוָה* *and he caused the ark of the Lord to go round* (first affected object) *הָעִיר* (second affected object) *בְּצִבְעוֹן* (inf. abs., § 123 r) *once* (internal object, § 125 t). Cf. M.Z. Kaddari in *Lš* 3 (1970) 245-56.

(2) Perh. comp. *וַיַּעַלְנוּ אֶת־כְּבוֹדוֹ* with the construction of *וַיַּעַלְנוּ אֶת־כְּבוֹדוֹ* Jdg 19.5.

2) There is also a double object in the following case: if a nominal clause (consisting of a **subject** and of a **predicate**) is changed to a verbal clause, with a verb such as *to make* etc., the subject becomes object, and the predicate becomes second object, which significantly does not take *את*. Thus a nominal clause such as *הָאָדָם עָפָר* *man (is) dust* becomes e.g. Gn 2.7 *וַיִּצְרַח אֶת-הָאָדָם עָפָר* *and he formed man (of) dust*. Just as the predicate of a nominal clause is used in a very loose manner (§ 154 e), a verbal clause with a double object is likewise used in a very broad manner. Thus it is used for: 1) the thing and the matter of which it is made: Ct 3.10 *עָשָׂה כֶּסֶף עַמּוּדָיו* *he made its pillars (of) silver*; Dt 27.6 *אֲבָנִים שְׁלֵמוֹת תִּבְנֶה אֶת-מִזְבַּח יְהוָה* *it is (of) whole stones that you shall build the altar of Y.* (the second object in first position for emphasis); 2) the word *שֵׁם* *name* and a proper noun: Gn 30.6 *קָרָאָה שְׁמוֹ דָּן* *she called his name Dan*; 3) the counted thing and the number: Ex 25.37 *וַעֲשִׂיתָ אֶת-נֵרְתָיָהּ שִׁבְעָה* *and you shall make its lamps (to the number) of seven*; 2Sm 14.26b; —prob. likewise with *מִסְפָּר* *number*: Job 1.5(1); Ex 16.16; 1Sm 6.4 (*מִסְפָּר* in first position; in vs. 18 as predicate of a nominal clause, and likewise Jer 2.28, § 154 e, 4).

(1) Cf. Ehrlich, *Randglossen* ad Job 1.5.

3) In the following case, the clause which is the basis of the construction with the two accusatives can hardly be a nominal clause, as in the preceding case; it is rather a verbal clause with the verb *הָיָה* in the sense of *to become*. Thus a clause like *הַכֶּסֶף הָיָה פְּסֵל* *the silver has become a statue*, consisting of a **subject**, the verbal predicate *הָיָה*, and a **predicative**(1) (complement of the predicate, cf. § 126 a), becomes, with a verb with causative meaning *cause to become* etc., *make*: *עָשָׂה הַכֶּסֶף פְּסֵל* *he has made the silver a statue*, where the subject becomes the first object, and the predicative the second object. Thus a second accusative of the **produced thing**, which incidentally does not take *את*, is often found with verbs(2) like *עָשָׂה* *to make*, *שָׂם* and *שָׂת* *to place* etc., *נָתַן* *to put*, *to give*: Jdg 17.4 *וַיַּעֲשׂוּהוּ פְּסֵל* *and they transformed it (the silver) (into) a statue*; also with *עָשָׂה*: Gn 27.9; Nu 11.8; 17.3; Ho 8.4; Ps 104.4. With *שָׂם*: 1Sm 8.1 *וַיַּשֶּׂם אֶת-בְּנָיו שֹׁפְטִים* *and he made his sons judges*; Gn 28.18 *וַיִּשֶׂם אֹתָהּ מִצְבָּה* *he set it (the stone) for a pillar*, and likewise 31.45 *וַיִּרְמָהּ מִצְבָּה* *he erected it for a pillar*; again with *שָׂם*: Gn 27.37; 1Sm 18.13; 22.7; 11.11 *וַיַּשֶּׂם אֶת-הָעֵם שְׁלֵשָׁה רָאשִׁים* *and*

he organised the people into three companies (comp. 13.17, § 126 c). With שִׁית: 1Kg 11.34 נָשִׂיא אֲשֶׁתָּנוּ *ducem ponameum* (Vulg. "I will make him ruler"); Is 5.6; 26.1 etc. With נָתַן: Is 3.4 שָׂרִיָּם נְעָרִים וְנָתַתִּי *dabo pueros principes eorum* (Vulg. "I will make boys their princes"); Gn 17.5 etc. With other verbs: 1Kg 18.32 וַיִּבְנֶה אֶת-הָאֲבָנִים מִזְבֵּחַ *aedificavit lapides (in) altare*, i.e. he arranged the stones (in the shape of) an altar (contr. Dt 27.6; § v); Ex 12.39 וַיִּאֲפוּ הַבֶּצֶק עֲגוֹת *they baked the dough (to make) cakes*; 1Kg 11.30 וַיִּקְרַעְהָ שְׁנָיִם עָשָׂר קְרָעִים *and he tore it (the cloak) (into) twelve pieces*; Ps 114.8 אֲגַם-מַיִם הַצּוֹר הֵפֶכִי הַצּוֹר *he who turns the rock into a pool of water*; Am 5.8; Hb 3.9 וַתִּבְקַע-אָרֶץ נְהַרֹת *you did cleave the earth (with) rivers (= rivers come out of it)*; Job 28.2.

For the construction of a doubly transitive verb used passively cf. § 128 c.

(1) According to analogy with Arabic, the predicative is in the accusative; cf. Driver, *Tenses*, § 161,3, note.

(2) With the same verbs, ל is also (and more often) found instead of the second accusative: in Am 5.8 לִהְפֹּךְ, then הִחֲשִׁיף with the acc.; Is 54.12 שׁוּם with the acc., then with ל.

Also with כ as in Gn 13.16 וַשְׂמַתִּי אֶת-וִרְעֵךְ כְּעַפְרַיִם הָאָרֶץ 34.31 הִכְזוֹנָה יַעֲשֶׂה אֶת-מִי יִתְנֶה כְּאֶחָד לִי 8.1 וַשְׂמַתִּיהָ כַּמְדָּבָר 2.5 אֲחֹתָנוּ;

Cf. M.Z. Kaddari, *Studies in BH Syntax* [Heb] (Ramat-Gan, 1976), pp. 18f.

x Unlike Gn 22.13 וַיֵּצֵאֵהוּ לְעֹלָה וַיִּקַּח אֶת-הָאֵיל *and he took the ram, and offered it up as a burnt offering*, the object is often omitted from the second verb: e.g. 1Sm 31.13 וַיִּקְבְּרוּ אֶת-עֲצָמֹתֵיהֶם וַיִּקְבְּרוּ *and they took their bones and buried (them)*; 1Kg 18.33 וַיִּנְתַּח אֶת-הַפָּר וַיִּשֶׂם עַל-הָעֵצִים *and he cut up the bull and put (it) on the wood*(¹).

Such an ellipsis can lead to the development of an apparently new meaning of verbs: Nu 14.19 וַשְׂאֲתָה לְעַם הַזֶּה *"you have forgiven this people (עוֹנָם understood)"*; Jer 6.10 הִנֵּה עָרְלָה אָזְנָם וְלֹא יוֹכְלוּ לְהִקְשִׁיב *behold, their ears are closed; they cannot listen*, cf. Pr 2.2 לְהִקְשִׁיב לְחֻכְמָה אֲזַנְךָ *to lend your ears to wisdom*(²); 1Kg 13.7 וַיִּסְעַרְהָ אִתִּי הַבַּיִתָּה וַיִּסְעַרְהָ *Come with me inside the house and refresh yourself*, cf. Jdg 19.5 סַעַד לְבָבְךָ פֶתֶחַ- *Refresh your heart with a morsel of bread*. Likewise הָשִׁיב דָּבָר *to report back, answer*, but occasionally just הָשִׁיב, e.g. Job 13.22.

(1) See Brock., *Syntax*, § 137.

(2) See Rashi ad Dn 9.19.

§ 126. The indirect accusative

The indirect accusative (cf. § 125 a) is indirectly subordinated to the verb (*ad-verbial* accusative). It indicates a determination of the verbal predicate. In some categories of the indirect accusative, that of time and place in particular (§ h, i), the syntactic relationship is sometimes made more explicit by the use of an appropriate preposition or by the use of a noun with a paragogic vowel. By extension, it can be found in a nominal clause. Finally the indirect accusative can be the attribute of a noun (§ 127). The main kinds of indirect accusative are the following:

1) **Predicative accusative of state.** If to a verbal clause is added a complementary affirmation expressing a state⁽¹⁾ or a quality of the subject (or of the object), this complementary affirmation, expressing something new, cannot simply be juxtaposed to the subject (or to the object): it is **subordinated to the verbal predicate**⁽²⁾, in the same way as an adverb, and is therefore put in the accusative⁽³⁾. The accusative can be recognised, in the absence of the old case-endings, by the indetermination. The accusative of state can be an adjective, a participle or a substantive. It can refer either to the subject or to the object⁽⁴⁾.

Adjective: (Predicative referring to the subject): Gn 25.25 וַיֵּצֵא אֶדְמוּנִי קֹדֶם אֶדְמוּנִי *prior egressus est rufus*, "the first one came out (and he was) red-haired" (אֶדְמוּנִי, being indeterminate, cannot be apposition of אֶדְמוּנִי; *red-haired* expresses something new, and brings about an affirmation); Gn 37.35; Nu 16.30; 2Sm 19.21; Ru 1.21 אֲנִי מְלֵאָה הִלְכָה *plena egressa sum* "I went away full" (the predicative preceding the verb for emphasis); Is 20.3 וַיֵּלֶךְ עֲרֹם וְיָחַף *my servant Isaiah has walked naked and barefoot* (in vs. 4 these two adjectives are in the sing. with plural substantives, like adverbs; likewise also עֲרֹם Job 24.7,10; וְיָחַף Is 47.5; שׁוֹלֵל Job 12.17).

(Predicative referring to the object): Nu 6.19 וְלָקַח אֶת-הַזֶּרֶעַ בְּשֻׁלְחָהּ *and he shall take the arm (when it is) cooked*; Josh 9.12 (חָם *hot* in first position for emphasis); Gn 37.2 וַיִּבֵּא יוֹסֵף אֶת-דִּבְרֵיהֶם רָעָה *attulit Ioseph rumorem de eis (ut) malum (= spoke ill of them)*; Nu 14.37; 2Ch 7.10.

(1) Hence: *accusative of state* or *ḥāl* in the terminology of Arabic grammarians.

(2) Hence: *predicative accusative*.

(3) Brock., *GvG*, II, p. 350. Cf. Eng. *this book is no longer sold bound, I bought it new*; Fr. *Ce livre n'existe plus broché or La séance continue très houleuse*.

(4) Comp. *Beth essentiae*, as indicator of the predicative, § 133 c.

- b** **Participle:** (Predicative referring to the **subject**): Nu 16.27 יֵצְאוּ וְנִצְבִים *exierant stantes* (= "they had gone out and were standing"); 10.25; 1Kg 14.15; Ezr 9.3; 10.9; 1Kg 1.45 שְׂמֵחִים (verbal adj.); — in a nominal clause: Gn 29.2; 2Ch 9.21 תִּרְשִׁישׁ הַלְּכוֹת לְמֶלֶךְ הַמֶּלֶךְ *the king had ships sailing to Tarshish...* rather than *the king's ships sailed to T.*; 30.22.

(Predicative referring to the **object**): Nu 11.10 וַיִּשְׁמַע מֹשֶׁה אֶת-הָעָם בֹּכֶה *Moses heard the people crying (who cried)*(¹); Gn 21.9; Ex 5.20; 1Sm 10.5; 1Kg 22.17.

(1) With the *verba sentiendi* (= 'verbs of perception'): *to hear, to see, to know*, etc. there can be a second object. — With *to see*, besides the construction of 1Sm 22.9 רָאִיתִי בֶן-יִשָּׁי בָא *I saw the son of Jesse come* (here בא with past meaning), there is 2Kg 9.17 וַיֵּרֶא אֶת-שָׂפָעֶת יְהוּא בָבֹאוֹ *he saw the troop of Jehu while he was coming*. But stylistic usage adds והנה, which shows the object sighted: Gn 24.63 וַיֵּרֶא וְהָנָה גַּמְלִים *and he saw (and behold) camels coming*; 33.1; 37.25 (cf. § 177 i).

- c** **Substantive:** (Predicative referring to the **subject**): 1Sm 13.17 וַיֵּצֵא הַמַּשְׁחִית מִמַּחֲנֵה פְּלִשְׁתִּים שְׁלֹשָׁה רֵאשִׁים *the destroying army came out of the camp of the Philistines (in = in the state of) three companies* (cp. 11.11, § 125 w); Jdg 9.34; 2Kg 5.2; Gn 17.12 בְּעֵת שְׁמֹנֶת יָמִים יִמּוּל לְכֶם כָּל-זָכָר *when they are eight days old, all your males shall be circumcised* the predicative in first position for emphasis); 9.20; 38.11; Lv 6.9; Jer 31.8; 2Kg 7.3 אַרְבָּעָה אֲנָשִׁים הָיוּ מִצַּרְעִים פֶּתַח הַשַּׁעַר *four men were there (as) lepers at the entrance of the gate*; 2Ch 26.21.

(Predicative referring to the **object**): 2Kg 8.13 הִרְאֵנִי יְהוּה אֶתְךָ מֶלֶךְ *Y. has shown you to me king of Syria*; Ex 2.11 וַיֵּרֶא אִישׁ מִצְרִי מַכֶּה אִישׁ-עִבְרִי *he saw an Egyptian (indeterminate object) striking a Hebrew*; Gn 6.17 הִנְנִי מְבִיא אֶת הַמַּבּוּל מֵיִם *I am about to bring the flood in the form of waters*

- d** Perhaps related to this discussion are cases like Mi 2.3 לֹא תֵלְכוּ רֹמָה *you shall not walk with head high (in a high manner, haughtily)*; Lv 26.13 קוֹמְמִיּוֹת *(ditto)*; Is 60.14 שָׁחוּחַ *(in bowing = in a bent manner)*; Dt 2.9; Josh 9.2 אָחָד פֶּה אֶחָד *ore uno = unanimously* (1Kg 22.13); Zeph 3.9 שְׂכָם אֶחָד *lit. with one shoulder* (on קוֹל אֶחָד Ex 24.3, cf. § 125 s). Some

substantives thus used as accusatives of **manner** end up taking on an adverbial value (§ 102 d): חֲטָטִים *safely* Gn 34.25; מִיִּשְׁרָיִם *rightly* Ct 1.4.

Likewise the substantive is predicative in some odd cases, like Is 21.8 e
(?) וַיִּקְרָא אֶרְיָה *he cried (in = like) a lion*; Ps 22.14; Zech 2.8 *it is (in = like an) open city that Jerusalem shall be inhabited*; Job 24.5.

The predicative is a phrase when two members are closely associated(1): Gn 32.31 אֶל-פָּנִים אֶל-פָּנִים *I have seen God face to face*; Nu 12.8 פֶּה אֶל-פֶּה אֶךְ-בְּרֹבֹבוֹ *it is mouth to mouth that I speak to him* (the predicative phrase in first position for emphasis). Likewise probably in cases like Gn 19.1 וַיִּשְׁתַּחֲוֶה אֶפְסָיו אֶרְצָה *and he worshipped with his face on the ground*. f

(1) Cf. Brock., *GvG*, II, pp. 355f.

2) **Accusative of limitation**(1). The part to which an affirmation g
is limited is in the accusative: 1Kg 15.23 אֶת-רַגְלָיו הָיָה *he was ill (as to) his feet* (אֶת very rare with the accusative of limitation, § 125 e)(2); Gn 41.40 מִמֶּנִּי אֶגְדֹּל מִמֶּנִּי *it is only by (in respect of) the throne that I shall be greater than you*; Gn 17.11 וַנְּמַלְתֶּם אֶת בְּשַׁר עֲרֻלְתְּכֶם *and you shall circumcise yourselves (in respect of) the flesh of your foreskin*; Ex 6.3; לְעַרְףְּךָ לְפָנֶיךָ *to turn in respect of one's back (= to turn one's back)* Josh 7.12; Jer 2.27; 32.33 (perh. also לְעַרְףְּךָ Josh 7.8); Jer 18.17 וְלֹא-עֲרֹךְ וְלֹא-פָנִים אֶרְאֶם *it is only a back-view and not a front-view that I shall have of them*. The accusative of limitation is probably also found in the following cases(3) (with a transitive verb): Gn 37.21 וְנִפְשׁוֹ *we must not strike him to death (in respect of the soul)*; Ps 3.8 לְחֵי לְחֵי *you have struck all my enemies on the cheek*; 2Sm 3.27; Dt 22.26; Gn 3.15 יִשְׁוֹפֵךְ רֹאשׁ *it shall aim at your head*; Dt 33.11; Jer 2.16.

(1) In Arabic terminology: *tamyiz* "specification."

(2) With ע in // 2Ch 16.12.

(3) According to Brock., *GvG*, II, p. 313 there is a second object here.

3) **Accusative of local determination**. The place where one is h
(without motion) is usually preceded by the preposition ע *in*, or ל *at*. But sometimes the noun is not preceded by any preposition: it must then be regarded as being in the accusative of determination. This accusative, which is not common outside certain nouns, may have originated as an extension of the accusative of motion (§ 125 n). In some cases the

labial ב may have been dropped by haplology before another ב especially בַּיִת, or even before another labial (especially פֶּתַח)⁽¹⁾. Examples: 1Kg 8.32 הַשְּׁמַע הַשָּׁמַיִם *you shall hear in heaven* (likewise vss. 34, 36, 39, 43, 45, 49; in the parall. 2Ch 6 we find (except vs. 27) מִן־הַשָּׁמַיִם (vss. 23, 25, 30, 33, 35, 39); 2Sm 17.26 אֶרֶץ הַגִּלְעָד ... וַיִּחַן *and he encamped in the land of Gilead*. The local accusative is found with the common names of the cardinal points מִזְרַח הַשָּׁמֶשׁ *in the orient* Josh 1.15; מְבוֹא הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ *in the (region of) the setting of the sun* 1.4; 23.4 (comp. Pr 8.3 מְבוֹא פֶתַחַיִם after two nouns with ל); קֶדְמַת *east of* Gn 4.16. Likewise for *at the place of the head, at the bed-head* we have מְרֹאשֹׁתָיו 1Sm 19.16 etc.; *at the place of the feet* מְרֹגְלֹתָיו Ru 3.8 etc. The accusative is usual with פֶּתַח followed by a genitive, e.g. Gn 18.1 יֹשֵׁב פֶּתַח־ *sitting at the entrance of the tent* (with ל Nu 11.10); Gn 19.11 אֲשֶׁר־פֶּתַח הַבַּיִת (with ל Pr 9.14; ב Jer 43.9); Jdg 18.16 הַשַּׁעַר (with ב Jer 26.10; Ez 11.1). To sum up, *at the entrance of* is usually פֶּתַח with the genitive (4 x only with ב, 2 x with ל); on the other hand, for *at the entrance* (without genitive) the acc. is never found (2 x ב, 1 x ל)⁽²⁾. Likewise the accusative is common with בַּיִת⁽³⁾ followed by a genitive: Gn 24.23 מִקּוֹם אָבִיךָ מִבֵּית אָבִיךָ *is there any room in your father's house?* (= *Fr. chez ton père?*); 38.11 (but Nu 30.4 בְּבַיִת אָבִיךָ for the sake of clarity); 2Sm 9.4; 2Kg 11.3 (15) בַּיִת יְהוָה *in the temple of Yahweh*; Is 3.6; Mi 6.10; Job 1.4 (but ב vss. 13, 18); Esth 4.13. With the proper nouns בַּיִת־לְקַיִן 1Sm 17.15; 2Sm 2.32; בַּיִת־אֵל 2Kg 10.29 (followed by בְּדָן *in Dan*); Ho 12.5. Contrast the proper nouns with initial ב: בְּבֵעַשׁ (6 x), בְּבִבְלָה (8 x). Even when בַּיִת is followed by a genitive, ב is quite common, e.g. Gn 39.20 (*prison*: likewise vs. 22; 40.5; 42.19; Ex 12.29; Jdg 16.21); after the verb הִקֵּה, e.g. Jdg 17.4, 12. בַּיִת, not followed by a genitive, is not used in the accusative. (For בַּיִתוֹ [?] 2Ch 33.20 cp. LXX and 2Kg 21.18).

(1) So in Ugr.: Gordon, *UT*, § 10.4 (p. 95).

(2) Cf. Driver, *Notes* ad 1Sm 2.29 (n. 2).

(3) In Aramaic this word is often used in the local accusative, e.g. Targum and Peshitta of Gn 24.23; 38.11; 1Sm 17.15.

i 4) **Accusative of temporal determination.** A temporal determination answering the questions *when?*, *how long?*⁽¹⁾ is often in the accusative: Ps 55.18 אֶשְׁיַחֲזֶק וְצַהֲרֵי יָמַי וּבִקְרֹב וּבְצַהֲרֵי יָמַי *in the evening, in the morning and at noon I will cause my complaint to be heard* (but with the article, we

find **בַּלַּיְלָה** [4x **ערב** **בַּלַּיְלָה**]; **בַּבֶּקֶר**, **בַּצֹּהֲרָיִם**; **בַּיּוֹם** *by day* (§ 102 b); **הַיּוֹם** *this day = today* (but **בַּיּוֹם הַזֶּה** *on this day*, more emphatic); **לַיְלָה** *by night* (§ 93 g); **הַלַּיְלָה** *this night*, e.g. 2Sm 19.8 (but **בַּלַּיְלָה הַהוּא** Gn 26.24 *during that night*); **עַתָּה** *now (hoc tempore, § 93 g; but בַּעֲתָה הַהִיא at that same time, at that time)*; **הַשָּׁנָה** *this year* Jer 28.16 (but **בַּשָּׁנָה** Gn 26.12 *in that year*(2)); however we have 1Kg 17.1 **הַשָּׁנִים הָאֵלֶּה** *(in) these years*; Gn 27.45 **יּוֹם אֶחָד** *(in) one day*; 3.14 **כָּל-יְמֵי חַיֶּיךָ** *all the days of your life*; Ex 20.9 **שֵׁשֶׁת יָמִים** *for six days*; vs. 11 *in six days*; with **את** (rare with the acc. of time, § 125 e): Ex 13.7 **את שִׁבְעַת הַיָּמִים** *during the seven days* (**את** again in Lv 25.22; Dt 9.25).

(1) **מִקֶּדֶם** Ps 119.152 is used with the meaning of **מִקֶּדֶם** *from of old*.

(2) Likewise we find **הַפַּעַם** *this time*, but **בַּפַּעַם הַזֶּה**, **בַּפַּעַם הַהִיא**. From these analogies, one probably ought to read 2Sm 21.9 with the Qre **בְּתַחֲלַת קְצִיר** (cf. Ru 1.22). Note that one also uses **בְּ** in **בְּכָל-יּוֹם** *every day*, **בְּכָל-עֵת** *at all times*.

5) **Accusative of measure**. Gn 31.23 **וַיִּרְדֵּף אַחֲרָיו הָרֶדֶף שִׁבְעַת יָמִים** *and he pursued him in the space (way) of seven days*; 7.20 **וַחֲמֵשׁ עָשָׂר אַמָּה מִלְּמַעְלָה גָּבְרוּ הַמַּיִם** *by fifteen cubits higher had the waters risen* (the acc. in first position); 43.34 **וְחֵמֶשׁ יָדוֹת** *Benjamin's portion was by five times (parts) larger than that of all of them*; prob. 1Sm 28.20 **וַיִּפֹּל מִלְּא-קוֹמָתוֹ** *he fell full length upon the ground (with the fullness of his stature)*.

6) For the **accusative of cause**, which is common in Arabic, hardly anything but Is 7.25 is quoted: **יִרְאֵת שְׁמִיר** *by fear of the thorns* (but the text is obscure and **יִרְאֵת** could be subject; cf. A. Dillmann *ad loc.*).

7) The existence of an **accusative of instrument** is doubtful; the few instances that could be mentioned can be explained otherwise. Thus Josh 7.25 **בְּגִבֹּתָאֵם** may be an accusative of internal object (Brock., *GvG*, II, p. 306); likewise prob. Pr 10.4 **בְּרִי** (GK, § 117 t).

§ 127. Attributive accusative

On the analogy of the indirect accusative determining a predicate (§ 126 a), the accusative is used for the attribute (§ 121 a, n.) of a noun⁽¹⁾ (or of a pronoun). The various kinds of accusative listed above in § 126 can be found as attributive accusative.

1) **Attributive accusative of state** (cf. § 126 a, b). **Participle**. (Absence of the article after a determinate noun indicates that the

participle is not in apposition, § 138 a). There are quite a few examples with קול: Gn 3.8 וַיִּשְׁמְעוּ אֶת-קוֹל יְהוָה אֱלֹהִים מְתַהַלֵּךְ בַּגֶּן: *and they heard the noise of Y. God walking about (as he was walking about) in the garden*; Dt 5.23; Is 6.8; 1Kg 1.41 קוֹל-הַקְּרִיָה הוֹמָה *quare sonitus urbis (ut) strepentis?* (= "what is the meaning of this tumult of the city that is heard?"); 14.6 וַשְּׁמַע אַחֲזִיָּהוּ אֶת-קוֹל רַגְלֶיהָ בָּאָה בַּפֶּתַח *when Ahijah heard the sound of her feet, as she came in at the door* (here the participle is an attribute of the pronominal suffix, which is assumed to be in the genitive, § 94 a); Ct 5.2. More examples: Hg 1.4 בְּבֵתֵיכֶם סֻפּוּנִים *in your houses (which are at present) panelled*; 1Kg 11.8; 2Kg 19.2; Jon 1.6; 1Ch 12.1; 21.16.

(1) The accusative of *ad-verbial* becomes *ad-nominal*.

- b 2) **Attributive accusative of limitation** (cf. § 126 g): 2Sm 15.32 וְתָרַע בְּתֹנִתוֹ *torn as to his tunic (whose tunic is torn.; § 121 o)*; Jol 15.10 יָמֶיךָ מֵאָבִיךָ *older than your father (greater [as to the days])(1)*; 11.9; 2Sm 21.20 וְאֶרְבַּע מֵסָפָר 24 *(in) number*; with the noun of the numbered thing: type אֶחָד עָשָׂר יוֹם 11 days *(11 as regard. day)* Dt 1.2 (cf. § 142 e); 1Sm 26.18 מַה-בְּיָדִי רָעָה *what guilt is on my hands?* (cf. § 144 d); 2Sm 15.2 מֵאֵי-מִזָּה עִיר אַתָּה *from which city are you?* 1Sm 24.19 אֵת אֲשֶׁר עָשִׂיתָ אֵלַי טוֹבָה *that which you have done to me as regards good*; 2Kg 8.12. — Ez 47.4 מַיִם בְּרִכְיָם *can be explained as acc. of measure: water (at the height of) the knees*; likewise probably לִיחַץ מַיִם 1Kg 22.27 [= 2Ch 18.26]; Is 30.20: *water (in the measure of) narrowness, i.e. of strict necessity, of indispensability (= strictly necessary water)*.

(1) With the adjective we usually find the genitive; cf. § 129 i.

- c **Attributive accusative of determination** (cf. § 126 h-j): 1Sm 9.9 הַרְאָה לְפָנַי הַיּוֹם יִקְרָא לְפָנַי הַרְאָה *he who is now called a prophet was formerly called a seer*; 1Ch 28.18 הַכְּרֻבִים זָהָב *the Cherubim in gold* perh. in תְּחִילָה בְּעֵת תְּחִילָה *at the same time next year* Gn 18.10 etc.(1).

(1) By considering תְּחִילָה as a noun of unit from יַמִּים *unit of life = year* (cf. P. Joüon in *MUSJ* 5 [1911] 411).

- d **Observation.** Quite often the vocalisation of Hebrew and comparison with Arabic do not allow us to determine whether we have an accusative or a genitive or an apposition, e.g. Jdg 3.15 יָד-יְמִינוֹ *weak (?) in the*

right arm (acc. or gen.); Gn 18.6 *שְׁלֹשׁ סָאִים קֶמַח* *three measures of flour* (acc. or apposition)⁽¹⁾; in expressions of the type *שְׁנַת־יָמִים* Gn 41.1 etc. *two full (in days) years*, there is an apposition rather than an accusative (cf. § 131 e). In Lv 5.15 *כֶּסֶף-שְׁקָלִים* *silver of several shekels*, there may be a genitive, or an apposition, or even an accusative.

(1) This example is given by Brockelmann as an apposition (*GvG*, II, p. 214), as an accusative (p. 267), by Driver (*Senses*, § 194) as an accusative.

§ 128. Accusative with a passive verb

The indirect accusative can obviously be used with a passive verb. a
Likewise there is no difficulty in the case of the accusative of internal object, e.g. Ex 21.12 *מוֹת יוּמָת* *he shall be put to death*; Is 45.17 *הוֹשַׁע עוֹלָמִים* ... *נוֹשַׁע* *it has been saved with an everlasting salvation*; and similarly for the accusative of the effected object.

The accusative of the affected object is found with the impersonal b
passive: Gn 27.42 *וַיִּגַּד לְרֵבֶקָה אֶת-דְּבָרֵי עֵשָׂו* *it was announced (= sbd announced) to Rebekah the words of Esau*. This strange construction can probably be explained thus: in a form of impersonal passive such as *וַיִּגַּד*, the transitive value of the corresponding active form *הוֹדִיעַ* *to announce* persists in some way; thus *וַיִּגַּד* *and it was announced* is felt to be like *someone announced*⁽¹⁾. That is how the variously explained⁽²⁾ hybrid construction *legitur Virgilium* in the sense of *one reads Virgil*, developed in Mediaeval Latin alongside the classical construction *legitur Virgilius*. Similarly in Italian a reflexive form such as *si vede* ends up with the meaning of *one sees*, e.g. *la casa si vede*: "the house sees itself = is seen", but *si vede la casa*: "one sees the house"; *lo si vede*: "one sees it"; *si compra, si vende mobili*: "one buys, one sells furniture"⁽³⁾. More examples: 2Sm 21.11 and 1Kg 18.13 (again with *הוֹדִיעַ* *someone announced*); Nu 32.5 *יִתֵּן אֶת-הָאָרֶץ הזֹּאת* *let one give this land*; 1Kg 2.21 (*יִתֵּן* again); Gn 4.18 *וַיִּגְלַד לְחֲנוּךְ אֶת-עִירָד* *and it was born (sbd bore) to Enoch Irad (= to Enoch was born Irad)* (again with *וּלְדָד* 21.5; 46.20; Nu 26.60); Jer 35.14 *הוֹדִיעַ אֶת-דְּבָרֵי יְהוֹנָדָב* *one has carried out Jonadab's orders*; Ex 21.28 *לֹא יֵאָכַל אֶת-בְּשָׂרוֹ* *one shall not eat its flesh*; 13.7 *מִצּוֹת יֵאָכַל* *one shall eat unleavened bread* (without

אֵת because of the indetermination); Lv 6.13 (Nu 7.10) יוֹם הַמָּשֶׁח אֹתוֹ on the day when one shall anoint him (with pronoun); Nu 11.22 צֹאֵן וּבָקָר וַיִּשְׁחַט לָהֶם וּמָצָא לָהֶם אִם אֶת-כָּל-דְּגַי הַיָּם יֵאָסֶף לָהֶם וּמָצָא לָהֶם? Would it, if one were to slaughter for them sheep and oxen, be enough for them? Would it, if one were to gather for them all the fish of the sea, be enough for them? (In a the construction is the same as in b, but אֵת omitted before the indeterminate noun). In Josh 7.15 הַגִּלְכָּד is in tl nominative and יִשְׂרָף is impersonal passive: *he shall be burnt*; then tl sentence proceeds while assuming an impersonal passive meaning for the same form: [*one shall burn him*] *him and all that he has*. See further Gn 17.5; 21.8; 40.20; Ex 25.28; 27.7; Nu 26.55 (contr. 53); Is 21.2; J 50.20; Ps 87.3 (with participle).

The impersonal character of this construction is evident in the use of the 3m.sg. form of the verb irrespective of the gender and number of the logical object. But see Jer 36.22 וְאֵת-הַאֵחַז לְפָנָיו מִבְעֻרַת and there was a fire in the brazier burning before him; 2Sm 21.22 ת־אֲרַבְעַת אֱלֵה יִלְדוּ וְלֹא תִנָּתֵן אֶת-הָעִיר הַזֹּאת 2Kg 18.30

(1) Another explanation in Brock., *GvG*, II, pp. 126ff. Kropat (*Syntax*, p. 3) rejects the existence of this construction; according to him אֵת indicates the subject (§ 125 j). There may be some doubts about this construction in some cases, with אֵת especially without אֵת, but it is difficult not to recognise the אֵת of the accusative in many cases, e.g. Gn 27.42. Besides, we also have אֵת with the pronoun: Lv 6.13. A fuller list of similar cases with אֵת may be found in Levi, *Inkongruenz*, p. 214, n. For examples without אֵת, see ib., pp. 215-19. Cf. also F.I. Andersen, "Passive ergative in Hebrew," *Fschr. Albright* [§ 35 b, n.], pp. 1-15.

(2) Cf. Ch. Thurot, "Extraits de divers manuscrits latins pour servir à l'histoire des doctrines grammaticales au moyen-âge," in *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Impériale*, vol. 22, part 2 (Paris, 1869), pp. 302ff., 503.

(3) In Neo-Syriac a construction similar to the Hebrew one has developed: *'etka lahtāvā hānā* "one has written this book" (Brock., *GvG*, II, p. 128).

ba The impersonal passive can also occur with an indirect object: e.g. Ez 16.34 לֹא זִוְנָה לְאֶחָרֶיךָ לֹא זִוְנָה you were not solicited; 2Sm 17.16 יִבְלַע לְמֶלֶךְ? lest the king be swallowed up; Dt 21.3 וְגִלְתָּ בְקָר אֲשֶׁר לֹא-עָבַד בָּהּ heifer with which no work has been done; Is 53.5, La 5.5(1).

(1) See J. Blau in Y. Avishur and J. Blau, *Studies in Bible and the Ancient Near East* [Fschr. S.E. Lowenstamm] [Heb] (Jerusalem, 1978), pp. 85-94.

c The second object of a doubly transitive verb remains in the accusative when the verb is used passively (cf. § 125 u-w). Thus,

the case of § 125 u, the type *הָרָאָנוּ אֶת-כְּבוֹדוֹ* Dt 5.21 *he has caused us to see (= has shown) his glory* would become in the passive: *הָרָאָנוּ אֶת-כְּבוֹדוֹ* *we have been made to see his glory = his glory has been shown to us*, e.g. Ex 26.30 *כְּמִשְׁפָּטוֹ אֲשֶׁר הָרָאִיתָ* *according to its model which was shown to you* (א' הר' אתו = virtually in the acc. = 25.40 (*ditto*); Gn 31.15 *הָלֹא נִכְרִיּוֹת נִחַשְׁבָנוּ לּוֹ*; Dt 2.20 *אֶרֶץ-רְפָאִים תִּחְשַׁב אֶת-הוּא*). Strangely enough, in Lv 13.49 the first (logical) object is in the acc.: *וְהָרָאָה אֶת-הַכְּהֵן* (*the wound*) *shall be shown to the priest* (one would expect *וְהָרָאָה אֶתוֹ הַכְּהֵן*). More examples: Job 7.3 ; perh. Is 1.20?. With the verbs of abundance and lack, the verbs of wearing and putting off: Ex 1.7 *וַתִּמְלֵא הָאָרֶץ אֹתָם* *the land was filled with them*⁽¹⁾; Is 6.4; 38.10; Ps 80.11 *כָּפְסוּ הָרִים צִלָּהּ* *the mountains were covered with its shadow*; Jon 3.5 *אֶת-כַּפְסוֹ יִתְּכֶם* *as against* 2Kg 19.1 *וַיִּתְּכֶם בַּשֶּׁקֶל*. (See also the examples with the partic., § 121 o). In the case of § 125 v: 1Kg 6.7(?) *וַיִּבְנֶה אֱלֹהֵי הַבַּיִת* (*the house*) *was built of whole stones* (comp. Dt 27.6). In the case of § 125 w: Mi 3.12 *וַיִּצְיֹן שָׂדֵה תִחְרַשׁ* *Sion (in) agrum arabitur = "Zion shall be ploughed (as) a field"* (= Jer 26.18); Is 6.11; 24.12; Zech 14.4 (comp. Hb 3.9, quoted in § 125 w).

(1) With the same verb *נִמְלָא*, both objects are, oddly enough, in the accusative in Nu 14.21 (= Ps 72.19); but perh. *אֵת* here indicates the subject.

§ 129. Genitive and construct state

While the accusative is the *verbal* (§125 a) and *ad-verbial* case, the genitive is the *ad-nominal* case. Indeed a noun which is the *attribute* (§ 121 a, n.) of another noun is usually put in the genitive⁽¹⁾. The genitival relationship⁽²⁾ is expressed by the close phonetic union of the two nouns, the first of which is said to be *constructed* on the second (§ 92 a). The *construct state* is the formal expression of the genitival relationship⁽³⁾. The two nouns put in a genitival relationship form a compact unit, and theoretically **nothing must separate them**⁽⁴⁾.

The sequence of the two constituents is typical of Hebrew syntax in that the qualified precedes the qualifier as is the case in *אִישׁ חָכָם* "a wise man," *הָאִישׁ הַזֶּה* "this man," and *אֲשֶׁר רָאִיתִי אָבִיו* "the man whose father I saw ..."

Consequently a complex idea such as *the sons of David and the daughters of David*, which in our languages is elliptically expressed as *the sons and daughters of David*, cannot be expressed by בְּנֵי וּבָנוֹת דָּוִד*, for the construct state בְּנֵי would be separated from its resting point: it would be constructed, as it were, *in cantilever* and would not lean on a resting point⁽⁵⁾. Therefore the translation is בני דוד ובנותיו, This is the usual construction: Gn 41.8 *the magicians of Egypt and its wise men*; Jdg 8.14; 1Kg 8.28; 2Kg 2.12. Or one may say, quite simply בני דוד והבנות, which is a less common construction: Gn 40.1 מִשְׁקָה מְלֶךְ מִצְרַיִם וְהַאֲפָהּ *the cup-bearer and the baker of the king of Egypt*⁽⁶⁾. Finally in some cases (§ 130) one must resort to the circumlocution with הַבָּנִים לְ: הַבָּנִים לְדָוִד *the sons and the daughters of (who belong to) David*, e.g. Gn 40.5.

(1) An attribute substantive can also be in the accusative (rather infrequently, § 127), and in apposition (§ 131). Finally a preposition with its noun is sometimes an attribute.

(2) In Arabic grammar the genitival relationship is called *annexation* (*idāfat*): the first noun is said to be *annexed*, the second is *the one to which annexation is made*. In Hebrew grammar the first noun is called נִסְמָךְ "supported," and the second סוּמָךְ "supporting," whereas the syntactic relationship between the two nouns is known as תְּמִיכוּת. Some scholars still use the Latin terminology: *regens* "the governing" (= נִסְמָךְ) and *rectum* "the governed" (= סוּמָךְ). In spite of the term 'genitive,' the form of the noun in the genitive remains unchanged as a result of the loss of the case endings in Hebrew.

(3) But the light vocalisation of the construct state goes beyond the case of the genitival relationship; it is sometimes found in other cases of close linking (§ r, s). One may wonder whether the relationship was felt to be properly genitival in cases where the noun was constructed on something other than another noun, e.g. on a preposition.

(4) The article of the second noun does not, of course, create a separation, nor does the paragogic -ā (§ 93 d), e.g. בְּיַתְּהָ יוֹסֵף Gn 43.17. But a possessive suffix would form a separation. However, we find the irregular expression Lv 26.42 אֶת־בְּרִיתִי יַעֲקֹב *my covenant with Jacob* (two other examples *ibid.*; Jer 33.20 אֶת־בְּרִיתִי הַיּוֹם *my covenant with the day*). The second noun, e.g. יַעֲקֹב, is virtually in the genitive, for the meaning is אֶת־בְּרִיתִי יַעֲקֹב לִי (cf. Dt 4.31). It is hard to see why the author did not write יַעֲקֹב (or יַעֲקֹב אֶת). Lambert (§ 230, n. 5) admits the possibility of a split construct chain in Ez 6.11 תּוֹעֲבוֹת רָעוֹת בַּיִת יִשְׂרָאֵל *the evil abominations of the house of Israel*. See further § 129 u below. Note also Jer 9.2 וַיְדַרְכוּ אֶת־לְשׁוֹנָם קִשְׁתָּם *and they derided with their tongues, their bows*. More examples of the type אֶת־בְּרִיתִי יַעֲקֹב are listed in König, *Syntax*, § 277a-b. On the other hand, there is no

need, *contra* Andersen (*Verbless*, pp. 37,67), to see a broken construct chain in Gn 49.3 (רְאוּבֵן בְּכֹרִי אֶתָּה כְּחֵי וְרֵאשִׁית אוֹנִי) and to translate *Reuben, you are the firstborn of my strength*.

(5) There are probably a few exceptions: Is 11.2; Ez 31.16; Pr 16.11; Dn 1.4. In all these examples the two constructed nouns, being analogous, have been taken as constituting a unit. See M. O'Connor, *Hebrew Verse Structure* (Winona Lake, 1980), pp. 308-11. In some of these cases the phrase as a whole refers to a single entity: Ez 31.16 *the choice and best of Lebanon*; Ma 3.3 *refiner and purifier of silver*.

(6) Likewise the suffix can be omitted after a second verb (§ 146 i).

But a *nomen regens*⁽¹⁾ can refer to several **juxtaposed genitives**; in other words, it is not necessary to repeat the *nomen regens* before each genitive⁽²⁾. Its repetition or non-repetition depends on the meaning, the style and also the usage of each period⁽³⁾: Gn 24.3 ביהוה אלהי אל עליון קנה שמים (in a solemn adjuration), but 14.19 אל עליון קנה שמים (they are the same prophets); 2Kg 3.13 ואל-נביאי אביא אמה; 2Kg 10.13; 1Sm 23.7 וברית עיר הלתים וברית a city with gates and bars; Nu 31.52 ומאת שרי האלפים ומאת שרי המאות, but vs. 54 ומאת שרי האלפים והמאות. With ימי: Is 1.1 יחזקיהו יחזקיהו ימי; in Nehemiah ימי is repeated when different times are mentioned, and it is not repeated in the opposite case (cf. Ne 12.26,47; 12.22,46); עצמות is repeated five times in Jer 8.1⁽⁴⁾.

(1) I.e., "governing noun" (= נִסְמָךְ), so called, since logically speaking the first noun is the nucleus of the phrase. The second noun is termed *nomen rectum* "governed noun."

(2) On an exchange of views on a different kind of ellipsis in the annexation structure, see M. Rotenberg in *Lš* 32 (1968) 347-58, M. Azar, *ibid.* 41 (1977) 180-90, and Rotenberg, *ibid.* 305-8.

(3) In the later period the repetition is readily omitted, e.g. 1Ch 18.10 כלי זהב וכלי כסף וכלי נחשת (contr. the parall. 2Sm 8.10 וכלי זהב וכלי נחשת); 2Ch 24.14 (contr. 2Kg 12.14); cf. Kropat, *Syntax*, p. 55.

(4) Cp. Dn 8.20 מלכי ישראל ומלכי מצרים (one empire) with 2Kg 23.22 מלכי ישראל ומלכי מצרים. Cf. § 132 g, n. 2, and M.Z. Kaddari in *Lš* 30 (1966) 121-30.

A genitive may govern a third noun and so forth: Gn 47.9 ימי שגרי ימי אבותי *the days of the years of the life of my fathers*; 41.10 (4 nouns); Is 21.17 (6 nouns). Sometimes a ל can break the chain of genitives (§ 130 c).

Kinds of genitives. Most relationships which there may be between

two nouns are expressed by the genitival construction. Note in particular the following genitives:

A) **Subjective genitive:** 1) genitive of the subject possessing a thing, a quality etc. יהוה הַיְכָל the temple of Y.; אִשְׁתּוֹ his wife; חֲכָמַת שֶׁל־מֶלֶךְ the wisdom of Solomon; 1Kg 10.9 יהוה אֲהַבַת the love which Y. has; Lv 10.3 קָרְבֵי they who come near me (= קָרְבִים אֵלַי Ez 43.19, or ק' לי 42.13); Ne 5.14 לֶחֶם הַפִּיחָה the food owed to the governor; 2Sm 16.8 רְעוּתְךָ the punishment which you deserve; Jdg 11.19 מְקוֹמִי the place where I must go.

2) Genitive of the subject, who is author of sth.: יהוה דְּבַר the word of Y.; Gn 24.33 דְּבָרַי the words which I have to say (that I must say); 2Ch 24.6 מִשְׁאֵת מֹשֶׁה the tax prescribed by Moses.

e B) **Objective genitive** in which the first noun indicates an action performed to, for, or against a person indicated by the second noun: Pr 20.2 מֶלֶךְ אֵימַת the fear (one has) of the king; Am 8.10 אֲבֵל יָחִיד the mourning for an only son; Ob 10 חֲמַס אָחִיךָ injustice against your brother; Gn 24.8 שְׁבוּעָתִי the oath sworn in my favour; Ps 56.13 נִדְרָיךָ vows to you; Jer 50.28 נִקְמַת יְהוָה vengeance for his temple (but *ibid.* יהוה נִקְמַת subjective genitive); Dt 4.31 אֲבֹתֶיךָ the pact with your fathers (for את or עם); Is 32.2 אֶתֶר אֶרֶץ shelter against the rain (for מן).

f C) The other objective genitives are mainly:

1) the genitive of the quality expressed by an abstract noun (which often makes up for the lack of adjectives): Ex 29.29 בְּגָדֵי הַקֹּדֶשׁ the garments of holiness (= the holy g.); Lv 10.17 מְקוֹם הַקֹּדֶשׁ the holy place (= the sanctuary)⁽¹⁾; Lv 19.36 מֵאזְנֵי אָדָם scales of justice (just s.)⁽²⁾; 1Kg 20.31 מְלָכֵי חֶסֶד merciful kings; Gn 17.8 אֲחֻזַּת עוֹלָם possession in perpetuity; Jdg 11.1 גִּבּוֹר חַיִּל valiant warrior.

2) genitive of whole: Gn 8.9 בֶּרֶךְ רַגְלָהּ the sole of her foot.

3) genitive of genus: Dt 23.15 עֲרוֹת דְּבַר impropriety of a thing (= something improper); 22.14 עֲלֵילֹת הַבְּרִים certain guilty actions; Gn 16.12 אֶתֶר אָדָם a wild ass of a man; Ez 36.38 אֶתֶר אָדָם human cattle.

4) genitive of species: Gn 23.4 אֲחֻזַּת-קֶבֶר possession of a tomb.

5) genitive of material⁽³⁾: Ex 20.24 מִזְבֵּחַ אֲרָמֶה altar of earth; Josh 7.21 לְשׁוֹן זָהָב tongue of gold.

6) genitive of measure⁽⁴⁾: Lv 14.12 לֹג הַשֶּׁמֶן the log of oil.

7) genitive of proper noun⁽⁵⁾: Gn 15.18 נְהַר פְּרָת the river (of) Euphrates; 13.12 אֶרֶץ כְּנָעַן the land of Canaan; Jer 18.13 בְּתוּלַת יִשְׂרָאֵל

the virgin (of) Israel; Is 37.22 בַּת יְרוּשָׁלַם *the daughter (of) Jerusalem*⁽⁶⁾. Compare the use of the indefinite pronoun פִּלְגֵי: 1Sm 21.3 (2Kg 6.8) אֶלְמֵנֵי אֶלְמֵנֵי מְקוֹם פִּלְגֵי אֶלְמֵנֵי *such and such a place* (§ 147 f).

8) **partitive genitive**: 2Ch 21.17 קָטָן בְּנָיו *the youngest of his sons* (§ 141 e); Gn 22.2 אֶחָד הַהָרִים *one of the mountains*; Jdg 5.29 חֲכָמוֹת שְׂרוּתֶיהָ *the wise amongst her ladies*.

(1) But always מְקוֹם קָדוֹשׁ *a holy place*, Ex 29.31 etc. Otherwise קָדוֹשׁ is not used with a noun of thing.

(2) The adjective צַדִּיק is not used for things.

(3) The word for material can also be in the accusative (§ 127 c: 1Ch 28.18) and in apposition (§ 131 d: Ex 39.17).

(4) The word for a measured thing can also be in the accusative and in apposition (§ 127 d).

(5) The proper noun can also be in apposition (§ 131 h).

(6) Comp. the type בַּת-צִיּוֹן (§ 129 r), which presupposes בת in the construct state.

The genitive is also used to express various **other determinations**:

Is 10.6 עַם עִבְרָתִי *the people (object) of my anger*; Jer 7.29; 1Kg 20.42 אִישׁ חֲרָמִי *the man (object) of my anathema (whom I have doomed to an.)*; Ps 107.30 מְחֹזֵז חֲפִצָּם *the haven (object) of their desire*; Pr 5.19 אֵילָת אֲהָבִים *hind (object) of love (= cerva carissima, Vulg.)*; 1Sm 20.14 חֲסֹד יְהוָה *kindness inspired by Y. or worthy of Y.*; Ps 51.19 זְבַחֵי אֱלֹהִים *sacrifices (pleasant) to God*; 29.2 (96.8†) שְׂמוֹ בְּבוֹד *glory due to (or worthy of) his name*; 1Kg 2.43 יְהוָה שְׁבַעַת *oath by Y.*; 2Sm 5.11 עֲשֵׂי עֵץ *workers in wood*; 1Kg 19.6 עֲגוֹת רֻצְפִים *biscuit (baked) on burning stones*; Josh 5.9 חֲרַפַּת מִצְרַיִם *the disgrace (dating from) of Egypt*.

The notion of **dative** is quite often expressed by the genitive (most examples are with the possessive pronoun, which are assumed to be in the genitive, § 94 a): Ex 3.21 מִצְרַיִם בְּעֵינֵי מִצְרַיִם *I will give to this people (to be an object of) favour in the eyes of the Egyptians*⁽¹⁾ (with pronoun Gn 39.21 חֲנוּ); Ex 2.9 אֲתָן אֶת-שְׁכָרְךָ LXX δῶσω σοι τὸν μισθόν; Jdg 4.9 לֹא תִהְיֶה תְּפִאֲרָתָךְ *the glory shall not be yours*; Dt 28.59 וְהִפְלֵא אֶת-מַכּוֹתָךְ *he will make you great wounds (he will make your wounds great)*; Ec 2.4 הִגְדַּלְתִּי מֵעֲשֵׂי *I made myself great works*; 1Kg 14.15 *they have made themselves Asherim*; Ps 20.3 *may he send you help*. See also Lv 26.4; Ez 27.10; Job 5.23; 18.10.

(1) Cf. P. Joüon in *Bib* 2 (1921) 228. Note that in those sentences Hebrew perceives the noun as being determinate, whereas for us it is logically indeterminate.

- i* **Adjectives with the genitive mainly express limitation**⁽¹⁾: Gn 39.6 רָאָה יְפֵה תֵּאֲרָא *beautiful of form*; 41.4 הַפָּרוֹת רָעוֹת הַמְרֵאָה *the cows bad of appearance* (if רָעוֹת were not construct, it would have the article, and not 'מ); Ex 34.6 אֶפְיֵם אֲרָרָה *slow to anger* (μακρόθυμος, *longanimis*) = *patient*; Ps 119.1 רָרָה הַמִּיָּמִי *wholesome in behaviour*; Is 6.5 שְׂמֵא־שִׁפְתָיִם *impure of lips* (= *with impure lips*).

It sometimes expresses **cause**: Lv 22.4 (Hg 2.13) שְׂמֵא־נֶפֶשׁ *impure by (the fact of) a corpse*; Nu 19.16 הָרָבֵל הָרָב *killed by the sword* (לָלַח, originally *pierced*, has become a subst.: *victim of the sword*). Note also Ct 2.5 אֶהְבֶּה אֶת חוֹלֵת *love-sick*.

For the **participle with the genitive** cf. § 121 *m-p*, e.g. **limitation** (§ 121 *o*) בְּגָדִים קָרוּעֵי בְּגָדִים 2Sm 13.31; **cause** § 121 *p*.

(1) The accusative is used very seldom, § 127 *b* (Job 15.10). Cf. W. Diem in *ZDMG* 136 (1986) 248-53; however, it must be pointed out that syntactically the Arabic "improper annexation" differs significantly from its Hebrew counterpart in that in Hebrew the second noun does not have to be determinate and the adjective cannot take the article.

- ia* The syntax displayed by many examples of the structure under discussion in § *i* is interesting in that, in spite of the formal agreement between the first noun and the following adjective or participle, the subject-predicate relationship is in reality between the latter and the second noun. Thus in Ex 32.9 עַם קָשָׁה-לְעֵרָף *a stiff-necked people*, the adjective קָשָׁה is an attribute of לְעֵרָף, as can be seen in expressions such as *Do not stiffen your neck any longer*: in the light of a usage such as 1Sm 25.3 הָאִישׁ קָשָׁה *the man was rough*, the adjective in עַם קָשָׁה would have a different connotation. Likewise 1Sm 1.15 אִשָּׁה קָשָׁת-רִיחַ ⁽¹⁾.

This construction is not confined to passive participles: e.g., the standing expression אֶרֶץ זָבַת חֶלֶב וְדָבַשׁ *a land flowing with milk and honey* in which the logical subject of the participle is clearly דָבַשׁ וְחֶלֶב.

(1) See Qimḥi ad loc., also ad 1Sm 2.14, and a discussion in T. Muraoka, "The status constructus of adjectives in BH," *VT* 27 (1977) 375-80. A similar, but not totally identical phenomenon is known in Akkadian. Cf. also W. von Soden, "Status rectus-Formen vor dem Genitiv im Akkadischen und die sogenannte uneigentliche Annexion im Arabischen," *JNES* 19 (1960) 163-71.

- j* **Genitival phrases with אִישׁ, בְּעַל, and בֶּן-.** These nouns, constructed on another (usually concrete) noun, express the possessor of a quality⁽¹⁾.

With *איש* (and similarly *מתי* *men of*; *אשת* *woman of*): 2Sm 16.7 *איש* *man of (shed) blood = bloodthirsty man*; Ex 4.10 *איש דבר* *man of words = eloquent man*; 1Kg 2.26 *איש מות* *man worthy of death* (2Sm 19.29) (comp. *בן-מות* with the same meaning); 1Sm 25.25 *איש הבל-על* *good-for-nothing* (also with *בן*); Gn 6.4 *אנשי השם* *the famous men*.

With *בעל* *owner of, master, lord*: Gn 37.19 *בעל החלמות* *the man with the dreams*; 14.13 *בעלי ברית* *allies*; 1Sm 28.7 *בעלת-אוב* *(woman) who has a spirit = necromancer*.

With *בן*: 1Sm 20.31 *בן-מות* *who deserves death* (comp. *איש מות*); 25.17 *בן-בל-על* *good-for-nothing* (cp. *איש בלי-על*); 1Kg 1.52 *בן-חיל* *virtuous*; to indicate age: Gn 21.5 *בן-מאת שנה* *100 years old*; Ex 12.5 *בן-שנה* *a one-year-old (lamb)*, but *בן-שנתו* Lv 12.6 *(lamb) of the year*(2).

בן is also used to indicate that an individual belongs to a class of beings: Ez 2.1 *בן-אדם* *an individual of the human species, a human, a man (homo)* as belonging to the species; Ps 29.1 *בני אלים* *individuals belonging to the אלים divine beings* (cp. Gn 6.2 *בני האלהים* and *בנות הָאָדָם*). But the *בני הנביאים* are *disciples of the prophets*, not *prophets properly speaking*(3).

(1) These expressions often make up for the lack of adjectives (cf. § f). For details see lexica.

(2) Properly speaking *son of the year in which he is*, and, therefore less than one year old (Cf. Ehrlich, *Randglossen* ad loc.).

(3) Jon 4.10 *בן-לילה* "overnight" is apparently of a different origin: see G.A. Rendsburg, *Abr-Nahrain* 27 (1989) 110f.

Some **genitival phrases** with superlative meaning are found with an abstract first noun(1): Gn 23.6 *קברינו מבתר* *the choice of our tombs = the choicest of our t.*; Is 37.24 *קומת ארזיו* *the height of its cedars = its very tall cedars (= 2Kg 19.23)*.

(1) It is therefore the reverse of the case of § f.

Extension of the genitival construction and of the construct state. The construct state is found not only before a noun (substantive or adjective), but sometimes also before an adverb or a preposition(1). It can also be found before a clause (treated as a nominal block, § p). Finally the cst. state is sometimes used outside a genitival relationship, as a light linking form (§ r).

With an **adverb** (very rarely): Ex 27.13 קִדְמָה פָּאֵת the east side; 1Kg 2.31 חַנָּם חַנָּם בְּדַם חַנָּם blood (shed) without reason (חַנָּם old subst., § 102 b, n.); Jer 23.23 אֵלֵהּ רְחוֹק ... אֵלֵהּ מְקָרוֹב a god near at hand ... a god far off; Pr 26.2 חַנָּם חַנָּם קְלָלָת חַנָּם gratuitous curse; Jer 31.35 אֹר יוֹמָם the light of day (יוֹמָם, § 102 b).

(1) There is no need to invoke here the postulated nominal origin of prepositions (§ 103 a). This is simply a case of the relationship of qualification, which is normally expressed by nouns, extended to prepositions, and such an extension occurs with adverbs or clauses as well.

m With a **preposition**: The following can be found constructed on a preposition followed by its noun: 1) a participle (quite a few examples, even in prose); 2) a substantive (rather few examples; seldom in simple prose); 3) the number *one* in the combination מִן אֶחָד (comp. the light form of אחד in עֶשֶׂר אֶחָד, § 100 b).

1) **Participle**: The frequent occurrence of a participle in the cst. state before a preposition is probably to be explained by the frequent occurrence of a participle constructed on a noun⁽¹⁾(§ 121 k ff.). Examples: Is 9.1b יְשָׁבִי בְּאֶרֶץ צִלְמֹות those who dwell in the land of the shadow of death (contr. 1a בְּחֹשֶׁךְ); Ps 2.12 all those who trust in him. Also with ב: Is 5.11; Ps 84.7. With ל: Is 30.18 לוֹ חוֹכֵי those who hope in him; 64.3; 56.10 אֹהֲבֵי לָנוּם loving to sleep (with an infinitive); Ez 38.11; Job 24.5. With אֶל־: Is 14.19 (quoted in § 121 n); Ez 21.17. With עַל: Jdg 5.10. With מִן: Is 28.9. With אֵת indicator of the acc.: Jer 33.22 מְשָׁרְתֵי אֵתִי who serve me (cf. § 121 k, n.). See also examples like Jer 49.16 (§ 93 n).

(1) Thus on the analogy of יְשָׁבִי בְּצִיּוֹן it has been possible to say יְשָׁבִי בְּצִיּוֹן. The scepticism expressed by Hummel can be safely dismissed: *JBL* 76 (1957) n. 92. The phenomena treated here in § m, n, and o have recently been discussed in terms of a "broken construct"; see D.N. Freedman, *Bib* 53 (1972) 534-36, and Waltke—O'Connor, *BH Syntax*, pp. 234, 371-90. However, they lend themselves to one or another more "traditional" interpretation; e.g. in Hb 3.13 לֵשׁעֵי אֵת מְשִׁיחָךְ, לֵשׁעֵי can be a variant inf. cst. (§ 49 d).

n 2) **Substantive**: Is 9.2 בְּקֶצֶר שְׂמֵחָת joy at harvest time. Also With ב: 2Sm 1.21; Is 5.11; Lam 1.1. With ל: Ps 58.5; Lam 2.18; 1Ch 6.55; 23.28. With מִן: Jer 23.23; Ez 13.2; Ho 7.5. With אֵת־: Is 8.6.

o 3) With אֶחָד: Gn 3.22 מִמֶּנּוּ אֶחָד like one of us; 1Sm 9.3 אֶחָד מִהַנְּעָרִים (perh. on the analogy of אֶחָד הַנְּעָרִים); Jdg 17.1 etc.

Observation. It is perh. on the analogy of this use that אַחֲרֵי is sometimes found in cases where it cannot be regarded as *nomen regens*: 1) in liaison: Is 27.12 אַחֲרֵי אַחֲרֵי (conjunctive accent and repetition); 2) without liaison: Gn 48.22 שָׁכַם אַחֲרֵי (disjunctive accent); 2Sm 17.22; Zech 11.7.

Noun constructed on a clause. A clause, whether verbal or nominal, forms a block which may, in some cases, be regarded as a substantive (§ 157); it will therefore be possible to consider it as a genitive in relation to a preceding noun, which will act as its *nomen regens*. In fact the following are found used as *nomen regens* in this position: 1) mainly nouns which have become prepositions; 2) some nouns used in an almost prepositional fashion; 3) (rather rarely) pure substantives keeping their full nominal value.

A genitival clause may be A) an ordinary (non-relative) clause; B) a relative clause.

A) Ordinary clause (non-relative):

1) With a *preposition*, e.g. אַחֲרֵי, אַחֲרָי, אַחֲרֵי, אַחֲרָי (see lexica)⁽¹⁾: e.g. אַחֲרֵי נִמְכַר Lv 25.48 *after he has sold himself* (but usually אַחֲרֵי אֲשֶׁר, § q).

Likewise with some particles otherwise used as adverbs: מֵאַזּוּ *since* (6 x), e.g. Josh 14.10 מֵאַזּוּ דִּבֶּר *since he spoke* (contr. Ex 4.10 with inf.); 2Sm 12.22 בְּעוֹד; Gn 43.3 בְּלִמְתִּי.

2) With a **noun** used in an almost prepositional way. Mainly בְּיוֹם *on the day when* (where יוֹם has a weakened meaning) = *when*: Ex 6.28 בְּיוֹם דִּבֶּר *on the day when he spoke*; כָּל-יְמֵי *all the days when* (weakened to *all the time when, as long as*); 1Sm 25.15 כָּל-יְמֵי הַתְּהַלְכָנוּ אִתָּם *all the time we were living among them*; Lv 14.16; cf. Job 29.2; Ps 56.4 יוֹם אֵיךָ אָנִי *when I fear, I shall trust you*; Jer 6.15 בְּעֵת פְּקֻדָתָם *at the time that I punish them*.

3) With **pure substantives** (rare): Ho 1.2 תְּחִלַּת דִּבְרֵי-יְהוָה בְּהוֹשֵׁעַ *Principium loquendi Domino in Osee* (Vulg.); literally: *beginning of (that which) Y. spoke ...*; Is 29.1 קְרִית חֲנָה דָוִד *city where D. encamped*; Jer 50.46 מְקוֹל נְתִפְשָׁה בְּבָל *at the news (of) that B. had been captured*. Possibly also Gn 1.1 : בְּרֵאשִׁית בְּרָא אֱלֹהִים אֶת הַשָּׁמַיִם וְאֶת הָאָרֶץ : *At the beginning of God's creation of the heaven and the earth...* (2).

(1) Cf. Brock., *GvG*, II, p. 549.

(2) Cf. H.M. Orlinsky in *Notes on the New Translation of the Torah* (Philadelphia,

1970), pp. 49-52.

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B) Relative clause:

a) asyndetic relative clause (rare; cf. § 158 d):

1) With a **preposition**: Jer 2.8 **לֹא-יִוָּעֲלוּ הַלְּכוּ** *they followed (those which) are good for nothing.*

2) With a **noun** used in an almost pronominal way: Ex 4.13 **בְּיַד תִּשְׁלַח** *by the hand of one whom you will send.*

3) With a **noun**: Job 18.21 **זֶה מְקוֹם לֹא-יָדַע אֵל** *it is the place of him who does not recognise God*; 29.16; Gn 39.4 **כָּל-יְשׁוּלוֹ** *all that he had*; similarly Ex 9.4; Ps 81.6; 2Ch 30.19.

b) Syndetic relative clause (with אֲשֶׁר; cf. § 158 e):

1) With **preposition** (very common), e.g. **אֲחֵרֵי אֲשֶׁר** (cf. § 104 b).

2) With a **noun** used in an almost prepositional way: Lv 13.46 **כַּל-אֲשֶׁר** *as long as* (Nu 9.18; rare); 2Sm 13.22 etc. **עַל-דֵּבַר אֲשֶׁר** (*by the thing which*) = *because*⁽¹⁾. **מְקוֹם אֲשֶׁר** *place where* (with weakening of meaning to *there where*)⁽²⁾: Gn 39.20 **בֵּית הַפֶּהָר מְקוֹם אֲשֶׁר אֶסְיְרֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ** *the prison, there where the king's prisoners were imprisoned*; 40.3; Ez 6.13; Esth 4.3; 8.17 (contr. **הַמְּקוֹם אֲשֶׁר** Ex 3.5 etc.). Likewise, with the preposition **בְּ**: **בְּמְקוֹם אֲשֶׁר** with weakened meaning *there where* (*everywhere*) 2Sm 15.21; Ne 4.14; and even without a weakening of the meaning: 1Kg 21.19 *in the (same) place where*; Lv 4.24,33; 6.18; 7.2; 14.13; Nu 9.17; Jer 22.12; Ez 21.35; (contr. e.g. Gn 35.13 **אֲשֶׁר** **בְּפָּ**). With **זֶה** as relative (§ 145 c): Ps 104.8 **אֶל-מְקוֹם זֶה יִסְדָּף לָהֶם**.

(1) This same word **דֵּבַר** is once found constructed on a relative clause which is introduced by the indeterminate pronoun **מָה**, acting as a relative: Nu 23.3 **מָה יִרְאֵנִי** *res τού quidquid ostendet mihi* = "the thing, whatever it is, which he will show me."

(2) With **אֶל**: Ec 1.7 **אֶל-מְקוֹם שֶׁ**. But Gn 19.27 **אֶל-הַמָּ' אֲשֶׁר**; and likewise with **עַד** Gn 13.3; **מִן** 13.14.

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Construct state as a pure linking form. In some cases the form of the construct state is found, although the noun cannot be regarded as *nomen regens*.

The only common case is the following: a noun **having in apposition** a genitival group (and thus with the cst. state) is itself in the cst. state: Is 37.22 **בַּת צִיּוֹן בְּתוּלַת** *the virgin daughter of Zion* (cf. § f); Jer 14.17 **בַּת צִיּוֹן בְּתוּלַת** *the virgin daughter of my people*; 1Sm 28.7 **אִשְׁתַּ** **בְּעַלְת־אֹב** *a woman who has a spirit (necromancer)*; Dt 21.11 **אִשְׁתַּ יִּפְתַּ**

אִתְּ אִשָּׁה יְפֵאֳרֹת (here with adjective, § i); with repetition of the same word: Gn 14.10 בְּאֲרֹת בְּאֲרֹת חֶמֶר pits, pits of bitumen (§ 135 e; abs. בְּאֲרֹת); Nu 3.47. See also § 147 d, n.

When two nouns are joined by ו and form a compact group, the first one sometimes has the light form of the cst. state⁽¹⁾: Ez 26.10 שְׁפָרֵשׁ וְנִלְגַל וְנִלְגַל (conjunctive 1st accent, disj. 2nd); Is 33.6; Zech 13.1 (disj. accent).

For אֶחָד, cf. § o.

(1) According to Brock., *GvG*, I, p. 108, this phenomenon is due to the accent of unity.

Stylistic use of the genitive. The stylistic use of the genitive in a relative clause is to be noted; it is especially common with the possessive pronoun, which is assumed to be in the genitive (§ 94 a): 1Kg 12.8 (13) יְעֲצָהוּ אֲשֶׁר יְהִי קְנִימָה אֲשֶׁר יְעֲצָהוּ the advice which the elders had given him; 2Kg 17.22 חֲטָאוֹת יִרְבְּעוּ אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה; 17.8,19; 21.16,17; Ex 32.32 סֵפֶרְךָ אֲשֶׁר כָּתַבְתָּ the book which you have written; Jdg 11.39; 1Kg 3.21; 2Kg 13.14; Ez 22.4⁽¹⁾.

(1) Comp. John 17.24 τὴν δόξαν τὴν ἐμήν, ἣν δέδωκάς μοι "The glory which you have given me".

Notwithstanding the general principle that nothing can break up a construct chain (§ a), some cognate languages, especially Ugaritic, suggest that BH may also have allowed the use of the enclitic Mem with the first noun in a construct chain, though its precise function remains obscure; for Ugaritic, see Gordon, *UT*, § 11.8. Out of a list of such possible cases mentioned by Hummel, the following appear reasonably assured: Gn 14.6 בְּהַרְרָם שְׁעִיר in the mountains of Seir; Nu 21.14 וְאֵת הַנְּחָלִים אֲרַנוֹן and the wadis of Arnon; Ps 18.16 אֲפִיקֵי מַיִם the channels of the sea (= אֲפִיקֵי יָם, cf. // 2Sm 22.16 יָם אֲפִיקֵי); Ps 110.3 מִרְחֹם מְשֻׁקֵּר from the womb of dawn (= מִרְחֹם שׁוֹחַר(?); see H.D. Hummel, "Enclitic Mem in Early Northwest Semitic, esp. Hebrew," *JBL* 76 (1957) 85-107.

§ 130. Genitive replaced by ל

The usual way to express a genitival relationship (Eng. *of*) is to construct the first noun on the second (§ 129). But this construction

is often avoided by reason of necessity or even of simple expediency; ל to is used instead (in some cases ל אֲשֶׁר § e)(1). The transition in meaning from to to of can be seen in cases like 1Sm 14.16 הַצְּפִים לְשָׂאוֹל הַצְּפִים לְשָׂאוֹל 'the sentinels whom Saul had in Gibeah (almost: the sentinels of Saul). The practical equivalence of the genitive and ל is illustrated by passages like Jer 29.11 מַחְשְׁבוֹת שְׁלוֹם וְלֹא לְרָעָה plans of happiness and not of misfortune and Dt 28.50 לֹא יִשָּׂא פָּנָיו לְזָקֵן it will have no respect for the old man compared with Lv 19.15 לֹא תִשָּׂא פָּנָיו לְלֵל (2); 1Ch 27.33 יוֹעֵץ לְמֶלֶךְ ... רֵעַ הַמֶּלֶךְ. The genitival relationship is expressed by ל in the following cases:

(1) Comp. with *la maison à Jean* meaning *la maison de Jean* in Fr. popular speech. About the substitution of the dative for the genitive in spoken Latin, see F. Brunot. *Hist. de la langue française*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1905), p. 91: *fuit abbas monasterio nostro* C.I.L., XII.944, 6th century); *a deo honorem* (Le Blant, N.R., 323. Cf. in the Oaths of Strasbourg: *pro deo amur*). Cf. E. Bourciez, *Éléments de linguistique romane* (Paris, 1910), § 228. See also BDB, s.v. ל, b, c.

(2) In Ez 20.6 צָבִי כָל־הָאֲרָצוֹת הַיָּא צָבִי הִיא לְכָל־הָאֲרָצוֹת is equivalent to צָבִי כָל־הָאֲרָצוֹת הַיָּא: the place given to אֵלֹהִים has brought about the resolution of the genitive into ל.

b The genitive is usually avoided and replaced by ל when the second noun is determinate but the first one is logically **indeterminate**(1). Thus a son of Jesse must normally be expressed as בֶּן לְיִשָּׁי 1Sm 16.18; also before a proper noun (always determinate, § 137 b): Gn 14.18; 36.12; Nu 22.4; 36.7. A prophet of Yāhweh is always נָבִיא לַיהוָה (1Kg 18.22; 22.7; 2Kg 3.11; 2Ch 18.6; 28.9†. The form נָבִיא* is not attested).

A Psalm of David (indeterminate) is rendered by מְזַמֵּר לְדָוִד (לְ auctoris = ל of author [2]) Ps 3.1 etc. Likewise with a determinate genitival group: 2Sm 19.21 בָּאתִי רִאשׁוֹן לְכָל־בֵּית יוֹסֵף I have come (the) first of all the house of Joseph (רִאשׁוֹן indeterminate predicative, § 126 a): Gn 41.12. Likewise before a noun with suffix (always determinate): Ex 20.5 (to retain the indetermination of רַבְעִים, on the analogy of the preceding nouns; likewise vs. 6).

(1) Because the determination of the *nomen rectum* normally brings about the determination of the *nomen regens* (§ 139 a); thus בֶּן לְיִשָּׁי normally means *the son of Jesse*.

(2) H. Cazelles, "La question du <Lamed auctoris>," *RB* 56 (1949) 93-101, denies the existence of such a Lamed in early Hebrew, though it may have been later so interpreted. He compares cases like לְדָוִד מְזַמֵּר and לְדָוִד alone, and is inclined to see here a "lamed de titulature, qui indique la destination, l'appartenance ou le classement."

Rainey argued for the Lamed of "recipient" in Samaria ostraca as against that of "donors" (Yadin). A.F. Rainey, *PEQ* 99 (1967) 32-41, ib. 102 (1970) 45-51.

ל is also used in order not to alter some expressions with a **genitive construction**: 1Kg 14.19 **סֵפֶר הַבְּרִי הַיָּמִים לְמַלְכֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל** *the book of the Chronicles of the kings of Israel*. (The words **סֵפֶר הַבְּרִי הַיָּמִים** form a compact group⁽¹⁾; moreover ל makes it possible to avoid a sequence of four genitives); Josh 19.51; 2Kg 5.9; 11.4. After place names: Gn 23.9 **לֹא אֶצְלֵ הַגְּבֻעָה אֲשֶׁר לְבְנֵימִין**; Jdg 19.14 **לְמַעַרְת הַמַּכְפֵּלָה אֲשֶׁר לוֹ** ^c

This construction is particularly preferred where the first noun forms a close semantic unit with the immediately following one(s); the relationship may be represented as

$$(a + b) + c,$$

where c in turn can consist of more than one noun. This also applies to many cases mediated by **אֲשֶׁר ל-** (discussed in § e below). Where three or more nouns follow one after another in genitival relationship, the first normally serves as the nucleus of the entire chain:

$$a + (b + c + \dots).$$

Thus in Gn 3.2 **פְּרִי עֵץ הַגֶּן**, the **הַגֶּן** is to be construed with **עֵץ** rather than with **פְּרִי**: (**עֵץ הַגֶּן**) + **פְּרִי**.

(1) A similar explanation applies to many cases of the use of **יָי** in BA: see T. Muraoka in *JSS* 11 (1966) § 2.1 - 2.2.

(2) See Y. Peretz, *The Relative Clause* [in Heb.] (Tel Aviv, 1967), p. 126.

Such is the case, in particular, with **dates**: Ezr 1.1 **בְּשָׁנַת אֶחָת לְכוֹרֶשׁ** *in the year 1 of Cyrus*; Hg 1.1 **בְּשָׁנַת שְׁתַּיִם לְדָרְיָוֶשׁ**; 1Kg 15.28 **בְּשָׁנַת שָׁלֹשׁ** ^d
בְּיֹום אֶחָד לְחֹדֶשׁ. Compare the use of adjectival ordinals: 2Ch 29.3 **בְּשָׁנָה הֶרְאִשׁוֹנָה לְמַלְכוֹ** *in the first year of his reign*; 1Kg 3.18 **בְּיֹום הַשְּׁלִישִׁי לְלִדְתִי** *the 3rd day of (= after) my giving birth*.

ל **אֲשֶׁר** *who (is) to* may be used instead of ל in some cases in order to give more precision or more emphasis: 1Kg 1.33 **הַפָּרָדָה אֲשֶׁר־לִי** *my mule (my own m.)*; or in order not to alter an expression with a genitival construction (cf. § c): Ct 1.1 **שִׁיר הַשִּׁירִים אֲשֶׁר לְשֹׁלֹמֹה** *the Song of songs, of Solomon*; 1Sm 21.8; 2Sm 2.8. After a noun with the article ל **אֲשֶׁר** is quite often used for no clearly apparent reason⁽¹⁾: Gn 29.9 **הַצֹּאֵן אֲשֶׁר לְאָבִיהָ** *the flock of her father*; 31.19; 47.4; 1Sm 20.40 **הַנָּעַר אֲשֶׁר־לוֹ** *his servant*; also with a pronoun: 25.7; 2Sm 14.31; 1Kg 4.2; Ru 2.21. Cp. Ex 29.29 **בַּגְּדֵי הַקֹּדֶשׁ אֲשֶׁר לְאַהֲרֹן** and 39.41 **בַּגְּדֵי הַקֹּדֶשׁ לְאַהֲרֹן**. This con- ^e

struction is a BH precursor of the MH -שָׁלִי, and is already attested in ninth century Phoenician⁽²⁾.

(1) This construction thus expresses separately determination and the relation of possession, as if the writer thought first of one, then of the other. The simple ל is not usual in this case.

(2) Segert, *Gram. of Phoen. and Pun.*, § 77.321. Indeed, the above-quoted example from Ct 1.1 is instructive in that this is the sole instance of אשר in the book, -שָׁלִי being its equivalent elsewhere, and since it occurs in the title of the work, it is likely to be of secondary origin. Thus we are dealing here with a calque of שָׁלִי שְׁלֵמָה.

f **Observation.** אֲשֶׁר ל may be compared with אשר ב, which is sometimes equivalent to a local genitive: 1Kg 18.38 בַּתְּעֶלְהָ אֲשֶׁר הַמַּיִם אֲשֶׁר בַּתְּעֶלְהָ *the water of the canal*; 2Kg 5.3 הַנְּבִיא אֲשֶׁר בְּשֹׁמְרוֹן; 6.12 הַנְּבִיא אֲשֶׁר בִּישְׂרָאֵל; 1Kg 13.32 אֵל-אֵל אֲשֶׁר בְּבֵית-אֵל *the altar of Bethel* (vs. 4 without אשר); 2Kg 10.29. The genitive is not used to say *cedar of the Lebanon*, which is rendered by אֲשֶׁר בְּלִבְנוֹן אֲשֶׁר בְּלִבְנוֹן (2Kg 14.9 = 2Ch 25.18, where same construction is used for *thistle of the Lebanon, wild beast of the Lebanon*); 1Kg 5.13†; or, with ב alone, אֲשֶׁר בְּלִבְנוֹן Ez 31.3; Ps 92.13†. For the *islands of the sea*, alongside אֵי הַיָּם Is 11.11; 24.15; Esth 10.1†, the expression אֲשֶׁר בְּאֵיִם אֲשֶׁר בְּאֵיִם is found only once (Ez 26.18†).

fa The construction discussed in § *f*, namely a prepositional phrase qualifying a noun, can occur with other prepositions as well: Gn 3.3 מִפְּרֵי הָעֵץ אֲשֶׁר בְּתוֹךְ-הַגָּן *from the fruits of the tree in the midst of the garden*; 2Sm 17.11 אֲשֶׁר-עַל-הַיָּם כַּחֹל *like the sand by the sea*; Gn 24.5.4 הוּא וְהָאֲנָשִׁים אֲשֶׁר-עִמּוֹ *he and the men (who were) with him*; 2Kg 5.4 הַנְּעֶרְהָ אֲשֶׁר מֵאֶרֶץ יִשְׂרָאֵל *the girl from the land of Israel*.

The use of the relative pronoun in these cases is normal, and has the effect of averting an erroneous analysis whereby these prepositional phrases are misconstrued as adverbial phrases: for instance, in 2Kg 5.3 אֲחֻלִּי אֲדַנִּי לְפָנַי הַנְּבִיא אֲשֶׁר בְּשֹׁמְרוֹן could, without the relative, be taken to mean *I wish that my lord were before the prophet and in Samaria*⁽¹⁾.

(1) The story is told of a shop assistant who, on being approached by a customer asking to try on a particular suit in the shop-window, felt obliged to point out that a fitting room was available on the premises for that purpose! Cf. § 132 *a*, and see also M. Azar, "The prepositional phrase as attribute in BH" [Heb], *Proceedings of the Sixth World Congress of Jewish Studies* (Jerusalem, 1977), 1.43-54.

g ל equivalent to a genitive and attribute of a preceding noun (§ *a*

must also be compared with ל referring to the verb to indicate to whom the action refers. In that case the ל with its noun (or pronoun) is not equivalent to a genitive, since it refers to the noun and not to the verb; in practice, however, this construction expresses in an indirect way the genitival relationship of possession⁽¹⁾. Examples: Gn 17.12 יְמוּל לְכֶם כָּל־זָכָר "shall be circumcised to you every male" = *all your males shall be circumcised* (vs. 10; 34.15,22; Ex 12.48); Dt 23.3 (vss. 4,9) וְגַם הַדּוֹר עֲשִׂירִי לֹא יָבֵא לוֹ *etiam generatio decima non ingredietur ei* = "even his tenth generation shall not enter"; Jer 13.13 הַמְּלָכִים הַיֹּשְׁבִים הַמְּלָכִים הַיֹּשְׁבִים הַמְּלָכִים הַיֹּשְׁבִים *reges sedentes Davidi super thronum ejus*⁽²⁾ = "the kings [of the house of] David who sit on his throne" (22.4); Gn 50.23; Dt 22.14; 1Sm 2.33; 9.3,20; 11.2; 25.34; 1Kg 2.4; 14.10,13; 2Kg 10.30; Is 26.14; 33.14; Jer 48.35; Am 9.1; Ps 128.6; 132.12; Lam 1.10.

(1) One may compare the common Italian construction of the type: *gli è morta la madre*, in which the focus is on *to him*, whereas in the construction: *è morta la sua madre*, interest bears on *the mother*.

(2) C.H. Cornill (*Das Buch Jeremia* [Leipzig, 1905]) translates literally: *die Könige, welche dem D. auf seinem Throne sitzen*; likewise F. Giesebrecht in *Das Buch Jeremia* (Göttingen, 21907).

§ 131. Apposition

Apposition is the simple juxtaposition of a noun to a preceding noun. Whereas the noun in the genitive or in the attributive accusative is subordinated to the preceding noun, the noun in apposition is coordinate to the first noun; it is therefore in the same case as the first noun. There subsists a relationship of identity between the two components, which can be transformed into a nominal clause. The one component usually also agrees with the other in determination or indetermination. Apposition is used in Hebrew in a much broader way than in our languages. This is mainly due to the fact that Hebrew can use in a very loose manner a nominal clause with a substantive as predicate (§ 154 e).

Thus, just as one can say הַמִּזְבֵּחַ עֵץ *the altar (is) wood* (cf. Ez 41.22)⁽¹⁾, one can also say הַמִּזְבֵּחַ הָעֵץ* *the altar (of) wood* (cf. § d). As a rule, two nouns which can be subject and predicate of a nominal clause can become first noun and noun in apposition⁽²⁾.

Hebrew having lost its case-endings, it may happen that a noun which seems to be in apposition, and is even felt to be so, may originally have been an attributive accusative (§ 127)(³). The comparison with classical Arabic can throw some light in certain cases; but sometimes Arabic allows several constructions: apposition, genitive, accusative. In fact, a good many examples remain doubtful (cf. § 127 *d*).

(1) And consequently also עָשָׂה אֶת־הַמִּזְבֵּחַ עֵץ *he made the altar (of) wood*, § 125 *v*.

(2) But a noun in apposition cannot always be used as a predicate.

(3) Thus it is that in vulgar Arabic, where cases no longer exist, the singular /kitāb, *book* in /'arba'ta's kitāb/ *fourteen books* can be felt to be in apposition, although it is originally an accusative of specification: /kitāban/.

b Main cases of apposition:

1) The noun of **species** in apposition to the **genus**(¹): Dt 22.23 עַרְוָה בְּתוּלָה *a virgin young woman*; 2Kg 9.4 (with the article) הַנָּבִיא הַיָּעַר הַנָּבִיא *the prophet young man*. The words אִישׁ *man* and אִשָּׁה *woman* often have a substantive or a substantivised noun: Ex 2.14 אִישׁ שׁוֹר וְשֹׁפֵט (*man*) *prince and judge*; Lv 21.9 אִישׁ כֹּהֵן *priest*; Jer 38.7 אִישׁ סָרִיס *eunuch*; 2Sm 14.5 אִשָּׁה אֲנָשִׁים פְּלִגְשִׁים *concubines*; 1Kg 7.14; 11.26; 17.9,10; 2Sm 15.16 אֲנָשִׁים זָנוֹת *two prostitutes*; Gn 13.8 אֲנָשִׁים אֶחָיו *brothers*; Dt 13.14 אֲנָשִׁים בְּלִיעַל *worthless men*, cf. Jdg 19.12 אֲנָשִׁים בְּלִיעַל.

(1) An analogous usage is known in Greek as well, as far back as Homer, e.g. Iliac xvi 263 ἄνθρωπος ὁδίτης *a wayfarer*.

c 2) The noun (concrete or abstract) expressing a **quality** of a thing (rare): 1Sm 2.13 הַמְּזִלְגֵי שְׁלֹשׁ הַשָּׁנִים *the fork (with) three teeth* (note the determination); Ex 30.23 בְּשָׂמִים רִאשׁוֹנִים *first quality perfumes*, cf. Ct 4.14 בְּשָׂמִים רִאשׁוֹנִים(1); Pr 22.21 אֲמָתֵי אֱמֶת *words (of) truth* (but strange after the usual construction אֲמָתֵי אֱמֶת; cf. § 129 *f*)(²); Jer 10.10 אֱלֹהִים אֱמֶת *mountains (which are) cones* (? strange after 'גִּזְרֵי in vs. 16); 120.2 לְשׁוֹן רְמִיָּה *tongue (of) falsehood* (strange after עֲפָתָה); Zech 1.13 דְּבָרֵי נֶחֱמוּם *words (of) comfort* (strange after the construction with adjective דְּבָרֵי טוֹבִים). Cf. a nominal clause of the type Ps 19.10 מְשֹׁפְטֵי יְהוָה אֱמֶת.

(1) More examples of this kind may be found in Sperber, *Hist. Gram.*, p. 604.

(2) Cf. BDB, s.v. אֱמֶת, 5. In poetry we also meet with a bold expression with אֱמֶת alone: e.g. Ps 119.142 אֱמֶת וְתוֹרַתְךָ לְעוֹלָם וְתוֹרַתְךָ צְדָקָה לְעוֹלָם. See also Pr 3.17 יְרֵכֶיךָ יְרֵכֶיךָ וּמְקוֹם אֲשֶׁר אָתָּה עוֹמֵד עָלָיו and cp. Ex 3.5 וְכָל־נְתִיבוֹתֶיהָ שְׁלוֹם.

אֲדַמַת קָרֶשׁ הוּא with Josh 5.15 קָרֶשׁ הוּא אֲתָה עוֹמֵד עָלָיו Cf. R. Sappan *The Typical Features of the Syntax of Biblical Poetry in its Classical Period* [Heb] (Jerusalem, 1981), pp. 57f.

3) The noun of **material** (rare): 2Kg 16.14 הַמִּזְבֵּחַ הַנְּחֹשֶׁת *the altar of bronze* (to be read so, instead of הַמִּזְבֵּחַ; cf. Ez 41.22, § a); Ex 39.17 הַעֲבֹתוֹת הַזָּהָב *the cords of gold* (but the Samaritan Pentateuch has the cst. עֲבֹתוֹת, which gives the usual construction with the genitive, § 129 b); Ex 26.26 עֲצֵי שִׁטִּים בָּרִיחִים *bars of acacia wood*, cf. 36.31 עֲצֵי שִׁטִּים בָּרִיחִים; 1Ch 15.19 מְצַלְתָּיִם נְחֹשֶׁת *brass cymbals*(¹).

(1) There are a fair number of exceptions to the basic rule of the genitive, i.e. the noun in the construct does not take the definite article: 2Kg 25.11 הַמֶּלֶךְ בָּבֶל *the king of Babylon*; Ez 46.19 הַקְּרָשׁ הַקָּדָשׁ; 1Ch 9.26 בֵּית הָאֱלֹהִים הָאוֹצְרוֹת. Cf. also Is 24.2 הַכְּבֹרֶת הַכְּבֹרֶת. For more examples and a discussion of them, see König, *Syntax*, § 303, and below, § 140 c.

4) The noun of the **thing measured** (doubtful): Gn 18.6 (cf. § 127 e d); Gn 41.1 שְׁנַתַּיִם יָמִים *two full (in days) years* (for the acc. the sing. יוֹם would be more likely, § 127 d). 1Kg 16.24 כֶּסֶף כַּפָּרַיִם *two talents of silver*; 2Ch 4.13 שְׁנַיִם טוּרִים רְמוֹנִים *two rows of pomegranates*.

5) The noun of **number** (or equivalent): In the type בָּנִים שְׁלֹשָׁה *sons three (in number) = three sons* (§ 142 d); Nu 9.20 יָמִים מְסַפָּר *days (in small) number* (comp. Dt 33.6 מְסַפָּר as predicate of a nominal clause; but usually with the gen., e.g. מְסַפָּר מֵאֵלֶּיךָ Gn 34.30 etc.); Ne 2.12 מְעַט אֲנָשִׁים *a few people*.

6) The noun of the **thing numbered**: In the type בָּנִים שְׁלֹשָׁה *three sons* (§ 142 d, e); contr. with acc. sing. יוֹם אֶחָד עֶשֶׂר, § 127 b.

7) The **proper noun** in apposition to the **thing named** (rare; normally the genitive is used, § 129 f): 1Ch 5.9 הַנְּהַר פְּרָת *the river Euphrates* (but 'פ' may be an explanation); Gn 14.6; Nu 34.2; Ezr 9.1; 1Kg 16.24; Esth 8.15; Ezr 8.21 הַנְּהַר אֶהְיָא (but 8.31 א' מְנַהַר).

8) The **proper noun of person** in apposition to a noun of **kinship**, of *group* etc.: אָחִיו אֶבְרָם *his brother Abel*(¹).

Observation. A **preposition**, as well as the **particle** אֵת of the accusative, is generally repeated: Gn 32.19 לְעַבְדְּךָ לֵיעֲקֹב *to your servant Jacob*; 2Sm 7.8 אֶת-עַמִּי עַל-יִשְׂרָאֵל(2); Gn 4.2 אֶת-אָחִיו אֶת-הָאָדָם (cf. § 132 g). Likewise the *nomen regens* is re-

peated: Gn 19.4 אַנְשֵׁי הָעִיר אֲנָשֵׁי סְדֹם *the men of the city of S.*; 32.12 מִיַּד אֶחָי מִיַּד עֵשָׂו *from the hand of my brother Esau.*

(1) In this *explanatory apposition* ('*aif ul-bayān* of the Arabs) the second word is more precise, more determinate than the first.

(2) But 1Ch 17.7 (parall.) does not repeat the preposition; contr. also 2Sm 7.10,23 with 1Ch 17.9,21 (cf. Kropat, *Syntax*, p. 43); both structures within a single verse in 1Ch 11.2 על עַמֵּי יִשְׂרָאֵל ... אֶת עַמֵּי אֶת-יִשְׂרָאֵל. With מִלְּךָ the particle is never repeated, except once (2Sm 20.21 בַּמֶּלֶךְ בְּדוֹד). For more examples of the repeated particle, see I. Peretz in *Proceedings of the Fourth World Congress of Jewish Studies* (1969), p. 131.

j 9) The noun of **kinship** etc. in apposition to a **proper noun**: Gn 4.8 אֶחָיו אֶבְרָהָם *to Abel his brother*. This construction is less common than the previous one⁽¹⁾.

(1) This is the substitution (the *badal* of the Arabs) of the whole for the whole. The second member is less precise than the first; the preposition is not repeated.

k 10) The noun of **office**, occupation, title, in apposition to a **proper noun**: Ex 31.10 לְאַהֲרֹן הַכֹּהֵן *to Aaron the priest*; 1Sm 22.5 וְגֵר הַנְּבִיאָה *king*; 1Kg 2.17 לְשִׁלְמָה הַמַּלְכָּה. The word מֶלֶךְ *king*, followed by a name of country or people, naturally comes after the proper noun of person: Gn 14.1 אֶמְרָפֶל מֶלֶךְ שֹׁנְעָר; Ezr 1.1 מֶלֶךְ-פָּרְסָה, but vs. 7 הַמֶּלֶךְ כּוֹרֶשׁ. The phrase שִׁלְמָה הַמַּלְכָּה 1Kg 2.19, with הַמֶּלֶךְ coming first, is also attested (contr. vs. 17); Is 39.3; 2Ch 22.11; Esth 1.12 הַמַּלְכָּה וְשֵׁתִי (contr. vs. 11 וְשֵׁתִי הַמַּלְכָּה); 1Kg 1.43 אֶרְנַיִנוּ הַמֶּלֶךְ-דָּוִד; in this case הַמֶּלֶךְ is the main word of the group⁽¹⁾.

(1) See the collection of texts in König, *Syntax*, § 133 x.

שִׁלְמָה הַמַּלְכָּה represents the dominant Aramaic syntax. The vocable מֶלֶךְ is exceptional in that the type הַמֶּלֶךְ דָּוִד is almost the rule in Sm and Kg, but in Ch the reverse order shows a marked increase (25 vs. 20), a tendency observable in a number of Middle and Late Aramaic dialects; cf. Y. Peretz in *Proceedings of the Fourth World Congress of Jewish Studies* (1969), p. 131.

l 11) The word כָּל in apposition to the thing: 2Sm 2.9 כָּל-יִשְׂרָאֵל *Israel its whole = the whole of Israel*; Ez 29.2 מִצְרַיִם כָּלָה; often in Ezekiel, e.g. 11.15; 14.5; 20.40 etc.

m **Loose apposition.** Apposition is sometimes used in a loose way for stylistic reasons. Thus with a numeral: 2Kg 14.7 אֶרְדּוֹם בְּגֵי- *it is he who struck Edom in the valley of Salt: 10,000 (men)*; vs. 13 הִשָּׁבַח הַחֲוֹמֹתַיִם יְרוּשָׁלַיִם ... : 400 cubits; 2Sm 10.6 הִשָּׂא אֶרְמֵי אֲרָם בֵּית-רְחֹב וְאֶרְמֵי אֲרָם זֹבָח : 20,000 foot sol-

diers, the king of Maacah: 1,000 men ... etc. There is also loose apposition in the sentence Dt 3.5 *וּבָרִיחַ וּבַתְּיָמִים וּבַתְּיָמִים וּבַתְּיָמִים* *fortified cities: high walls, gates and bars* (comp. 1Kg 4.13; 2Ch 8.5).

APPENDIX: Apposition or genitive after a proper noun. A proper noun cannot, as a rule, be followed by a genitive. However a place name which retains its primary appellative value is put in the cst. state; thus *hill*: *גְּבֻעַת שְׂאוּל* 1Sm 11.4 etc., *גְּבֻעַת אֱלֹהִים* 1Sm 10.5; *מְצֻפָּה* *observation post*: *מְצֻפָּה מִזְרָח* 1Sm 22.3; *capital*: *רֶבֶת בְּנֵי עַמּוֹן* 2Sm 12.26. Even if the value of appellative is no longer apparent, the genitive is used when there are several places which bear the same name: thus with *Aram*: *אֲרָם נְהַרְרִים* Gn 24.10; *אֲרָם צוּבָה* 2Sm 10.6; *אֲרָם* *Ur of the Chaldees* Gn 11.28. In some cases the vocalisation seems to indicate the absolute state: *אֲבֵל מְצֻרִים* Gn 50.11; *אֲבֵל מַיִם* 2Ch 16.4; *אֲבֵל בַּיִת-מִעֲכָה* 1Kg 15.20; *יְבִישׁ גִּלְעָד*⁽¹⁾. The cst. (and the pataḥ, § 96 D d) is strange in Am 6.2 *חַמַּת רֶבֶת* *Hamat - Capital*⁽²⁾. The case of Is 60.14 is noteworthy: *צִיּוֹן קְדוֹשׁ יִשְׂרָאֵל* *Zion of the Holy of Israel*.

(1) The usual spelling with י is perhaps intended to make sure that the e is pronounced.

(2) Cf. P. Joüon in *MUSJ* 5 (1911) 420.

In the divine name *יהוה צבאות*, the first noun, being a proper noun, cannot be constructed on the second. Therefore there is apposition⁽¹⁾: *Yahweh (the) hosts* or if, as is likely, *צבאות* was felt to be a proper noun⁽²⁾, *Yahweh-švâ'ot*. That is why we find the Qre *אֲדוֹנָי צְבָאוֹת* *Adonây š.*; that is why we also find the expression *אלהים צבאות* (Ps 59.6; 80.15,20; 84.9) where 'א takes the place of *יהוה*⁽³⁾.

But the origin of *יהוה צבאות* is still obscure. It is generally assumed that this is an ellipsis for *יהוה אלהי צבאות* *Y. God of hosts*, which is found in e.g. 2Sm 5.10⁽⁴⁾.

(1) Cf. Ehrlich, *Randglossen* ad 1Sm 1.11.

(2) Cf. LXX Σαβαώθ e.g. Is 5.9 (comp. James 5.4 εἰς τὰ ὄρα κυρίου σαβαώθ).

(3) The parallelism with *יהוה צבאות* renders it unlikely that the Mem of *אלהים* is enclitic, as suggested by H.D. Hummel, *JBL* 76 (1957) 97. Cf. also A. Murtonen. *A Philological Treatise on the OT Divine Names* (Helsinki, 1951), pp. 67ff., 74ff.

(4) A recently discovered 8th century B.C. inscription from Kuntillet 'Ajrud in Sinai with *יהוה שמרן* and *יהוה תמן* "Yhwh of Samaria" and "Yhwh of Teman" suggests that *יהוה* could have been used as a nomen regens: see a discussion by J.A. Emerton, "New light on Israelite religion: the implications of the inscriptions from Kuntillet 'Ajrud," *ZAW* 94 (1982) 2-20.

CHAPTER III: PREPOSITIONS

§ 132. Prepositions in general

- a** A group made up of a preposition and its noun (or pronoun) may refer either to a noun whose *attribute* it is (§ 121 a, n.), or to a verb the indirect object of which it is.

The **nominal attribute** of a noun, as we saw, can either be a noun in the accusative (§ 127), in the genitive (§ 129) or in apposition (§ 131). It can also consist of a preposition and its noun: 1Kg 11.6 וַיַּעַשׂ הָרַע בְּעֵינֵי יְהוָה *he did that which is bad in the eyes of Y.* (= *that which displeases, that which is hateful to Y.*; וַיַּעַשׂ does not relate to וַיַּעַשׂ but to the substantivised adjective רָע; comp. Gn 38.10 וַיֵּרָע בְּעֵינֵי יְהוָה *this was bad in the eyes of Y.* = *this displeased Y.*); Gn 3.6 לְאִישָׁהָ עֲמָהָ *to her husband (who was) with her*; 9.16 הַבְּרִית הָעוֹלָמְדָה *the eternal covenant between God and ...* (contr. vs. 15 *my covenant which is between me and ...*); 1Ch 11.3 כְּדָבָר יְהוָה (כַּדְּבָר יְהוָה אֲשֶׁר הִבְרַתְיָהּ בְּיַד שִׁמְשׁוֹן *as the word of the Lord* (contr. 1Kg 15.29 *the covenant which I made with David*); Esth 7.8 עִמִּי בְּבַיִת *with me in the house* = *while I am in the h.* (likewise 1Kg 3.17); 13.4 הַמְּזֻבַּח אֲשֶׁר בְּבַיִת-אֵל *the altar which is in the house of God* (contr. vs. 32 *the altar which is in the house of God*; cf. § 130 f); Ez 26.8 בְּנוֹתֶיךָ בְּשָׂדֶיךָ *your daughters (who are) in the country* (cf. vs. 6 with אֲשֶׁר); Lv 19.18 וְאָהַבְתָּ לְרֵעֶךָ כְּמֹדֶךָ *you shall love your fellowman, who is like yourself*⁽¹⁾. For the לְ with its noun, instead of a genitive, cf. § 130.

(1) Thus probably against LXX: ... ὡς σεαυτόν. See T. Muraoka, "A syntactic problem in Lev. xix 18." *JSS* 23 (1978) 291-97. Cf. § 130 fa.

- b** The use of a preposition with its noun to express the **indirect object of the verb** (cf. § 125 b) is even more common. It is the role of the lexicon to indicate these very varied uses; we shall give a few details on this in § 133, when dealing with the various prepositions. Here we shall only discuss some questions concerning prepositions in general.

- c** Prepositions with a **passive verb** to indicate the author of the action. As a rule a proper passive form can be used only if the author of the action (*the agent*) is not named⁽¹⁾. Thus a sentence like *the innocent blood shed by Joab* must usually become in Hebrew *the innocent blood which Joab shed* וַיִּשְׁפֹּךְ יוֹאָב בְּדַם צְדִיקִים 1Kg 2.31; Gn 21.3;

Esth 2.6. In fact however, a construction like *shed by* is sometimes found, either with reflexive forms which have become passive (mainly Nifal)(2), or with passive forms properly speaking. ׀, ׃, and ׀ are found, with various nuances.

(1) Hence the definition of the passive in Arabic grammar: *the action the author of which is not named.*

(2) It has been possible, in some cases with a reflexive form, for the meaning to evolve, e.g. Ru 3.3 ׀ לְתִנְדָּעִי לְאִישׁ Do not let yourself be open to the possibility of that man recognising you, hence Do not get recognised by that man.

It is ׀ which best expresses *from whom* the action comes, *who* is the cause of it; cf. Germ. *von*. But examples are rare, especially in prose: Lv 21.7 ׀ מֵאִשְׁתּוֹ גָּרוּשָׁה woman put away by a husband; 26.43 ׀ הָאֲדָמָה the land shall be abandoned by them; Ec 12.11 ׀ הָאֵלֶּיךָ they are given by one shepherd; Ps 37.23; Job 24.1. In Gn 9.11 ׀ לֹא יִכָּרֵת מִמֵּי הַמַּבּוּל he shall not be cut off by the waters of the flood, where the cause is not principal but only instrumental; perh. ׀ has been preferred to ׃ (which would have been the normal word, cf. 41.36) in order to avoid a possible ambiguity with *in the waters*.

Nothing precludes the mention by name, with a passive, of the instrumental cause: then the preposition is ׃ by (*means of*): Gn 41.36 ׃ בְּרָצָה it shall be annihilated by the famine; 1Kg 1.40; Dt 21.3 ׃ לֹא עָבַד הַבֵּית work has not been done by (*means of*) the (heifer) (= it has not been put to work; even when talking about a man, Is 14.3). In Gn 9.6 ׃ is used and not ׀ because man is here the instrument of justice (exception to the law which forbids the shedding of blood, vs. 5): *He who sheds a man's blood, by (means of) a man shall his blood be shed*. On the other hand, examples of ׃ with the meaning of the Latin *ab* are doubtful: in ׃ בִּיהוּהָ to be saved by Y. (Dt 33.29; Is 45.17) the meaning is rather *per* (Germ. *durch*) "through." Textcritically doubtful cases: Nu 36.2; Ho 14.4.

׀ of relation (*in relation to*) is used with a passive verb to indicate *to whom*, as its *author*, the action relates, e.g. in the common phrase ׃ לִיהוּהָ blessed (by an act which relates) to Yahweh = *blessed by Y.*(1), e.g. Ru 2.20 *may he be blessed by Y.* (cf. 3.10; 1Sm 15.13; 23.21; 2Sm 2.5; Ps 115.15; Gn 14.19 = everywhere optative meaning). Apart from ׃ לִיהוּהָ examples are rather infrequent: Ps 111.2 ׃ לְכָל-׀ to be studied (§ 121 i) by all; Ex 12.16 ׃ לְכָל-׀ אֲשֶׁר יִשְׁׁר that which

must be eaten by each; ib. יַעֲשֶׂה לָכֶם will be done by you; Gn 31.15 הִלּוֹא לֹא נִחְשְׁבָנוּ לּוֹ נִכְרִיּוֹת נִחְשְׁבָנוּ לּוֹ have we not been regarded by him as strangers; Is 40.17 לֹא נִחְשְׁבוּ לּוֹ were considered by him (reputatae sunt ei, Vulg.); Jer 8.3 (after מִן)(2).

(1) The meaning of ל can thus practically border on that of מִן (§ d). Compare the stative verb הָרָה *to become pregnant* with מִן Gn 19.36 (person *cause* of the action) and with ל Gn 38.18,25 (person *author* of the action). This ל is analogous to the ל *auctoris* (§ 130 b). Comp. the dative of agent in Latin: "Quae nobis supra dicta sunt. Labor tibi frustra susceptus est. Honesta bonis viris, non occulta quaeruntur. Id mihi probatur".

However, the greeting formula בְּרַכְתָּךְ לַיהוָה *I bless you to Yāhweh*, which occurs a few times in the Arad and Kuntillet 'Ajrud inscriptions, makes it quite possible that we have here the usual Lamed with verbs of saying such as הִלְלֵל *to praise x to y*, and that לִּי בְּרוּךְ is a passive transform of לִּי בְּרַךְ. Cf. a discussion by D. Pardee in *UF* 8 (1976) 221-23, and T. Muraoka in *Annual of the Japanese Biblical Institute* 5 (1979) 92-94.

Many of the examples of this kind of Lamed often quoted as marking the agent in a passive construction lend themselves to a different interpretation: Gn 31.15 "they appeared to him ..."; Jer 8.3 "preferable to ...". 2Sm 17.16 and Is 53.5 are cases of impersonal passive (*pace* Waltke — O'Connor, *BH Syntax*, pp. 210f.). Hardly any similar example is to be found in QH: see J. Carmignac, *Revue de Qumrân* 9 (1978) 419f.

(2) On a generally negative evaluation of a proposal to find vocative Lamed in BH, see P.D. Miller, "Vocative Lamed in the Psalter: a reconsideration," *UF* 11 (1979) 617-39. One possible instance may be found in Ps 119.126; see M.H. Pope in *UF* 20 (1988) 201-7.

g **Repetition** of the preposition and of אֵל (acc.). In the case of apposition, a preposition (or אֵל) is repeated when the noun in apposition is more precise, more determinate than the first noun (cf. § 131 i); it is not repeated in the opposite case (cf. § 131 j). In a case of enumeration, when several nouns are logically governed by a preposition, this preposition is often repeated: Ex 9.3 (after בְּמִקְנֵי הַבַּיִת the בַּיִת is repeated before each of the five parts of the whole); Gn 40.2 (עַל; same observation); Ru 4.4 וְנִגְדַר הַיְשָׁבִים וְנִגְדַר זִקְנֵי עַמִּי; Gn 12.1; 2Sm 6.5; Ho 1.7; 2.21. But without repetition of the preposition: 2.20; 3.2; 2Kg 13.23(1).

In poetry, in the case of two parallel members, the preposition is sometimes understood before the noun of the second member; textcritically sure examples are few: Is 15.8 עַד; 48.9 לְמַעַן.

For prepositions governing an infinitive, cf. § 124 k; with אֲשֶׁר (*ib.*).

(1) In the particular case of כֶּסֶף *silver*, preceded by ב, the ב is almost always repeated before the following noun; only exception: Ps 105.37 בַּכֶּסֶף וַיִּזְהַב. In some cases the repetition may emphasise individuality, the non-repetition, cohesiveness: 2Kg 13.23 אֶת־אֲבֵרָהֶם יִצְחָק וַיַּעֲקֹב. Cf. Bendavid, 2.455-57.

§ 133. Prepositions in particular

Most prepositions originally had a *local* meaning; then they were used to express logical relationships. We shall quickly examine (in alphabetical order) the chief *local* prepositions אֶל, ב, מן and עַל, mainly from a grammatical point of view; then the preposition ב, which is of a very particular nature⁽¹⁾. a

(1) For details it would be profitable to consult BDB, where prepositions are treated by S.R. Driver.

אֶל properly means *towards*. It expresses motion *towards*, with exclusion, or with inclusion (= ב) of the destination, and the direction *towards*. With hostile direction the meaning merges with *against* (= עַל). Sometimes it means *in addition to*, *besides* (= עַל); metaphorically *because of*, *concerning*, *about* (= עַל); very occasionally *according to* (= עַל). Sometimes the idea of motion completely disappears (as for Lat. *ad*), and the meaning simply is *near*, *at* (= עַל). It is clear that אֶל quite often corresponds to עַל. The parallel drawn between these two prepositions was probably facilitated by graphic confusion. It is mainly אֶל which is found written for עַל⁽¹⁾; this confusion doubtless comes from copyists who spoke Aramaic (where עַל has all the meanings of the preposition אֶל, which is extremely rare in Aramaic)⁽²⁾, and who perhaps pronounced ע as a very weak sound. On the other hand, אֶל is quite often used in cases where ע is possible⁽³⁾; generally speaking אֶל expresses direction better than ע. b

אֶל is not used before an infinitive, nor before the relative conjunction אֲשֶׁר, § 124 k.

Note the use of אֶל in בִּרְאֵה אֶל to show oneself to, to appear to⁽⁴⁾, e.g. 1Kg 3.5 (but parall. 2Ch 1.7 ל); גִּלְגֵּל אֶל to reveal oneself to, Gn 35.7; גִּלְגֵּל אֶל to reveal to, Am 3.7. Pregnant phrases with אֶל are fairly common, e.g. Gn 43.33 וַיִּתְמְהוּ אִישׁ אֶל־יָרְעָהוּ they were astonished (*in*

looking) one towards the other = they looked at each other astonished; 42.28; 19.27; Is 41.1.

(1) Even within a single verse, e.g. 1Sm 25.17 - על-כל - אל-אֶדְוֹנָיו ועל-כל - חַיֵּי תוֹתוֹ Harm threatens our master and his entire household. See further BDB, p. 41a, and A. Sperber in *JBL* 62 (1943) 239-41 [= *Hist. Gram.*, pp. 58-62], and idem, *Hist. Gram.*, pp. 631-33.

(2) Those scribes may have been slavishly adhering to the rules of "correct usage" ('hypercorrection').

(3) An example illustrating the synonymity of the two prepositions is 2Sm 12.4 לְאֶרֶץ לְאֶרֶץ ... לְאֶרֶץ לְאֶרֶץ. More examples in Bendavid, 1.29f.

(4) The apparition is supposed to come out (cf. Dn 5.5 נִפְתְּקָה) of an object towards the seer; cf. Ex 3.2 ... appeared towards him in a flame of fire out of (מִן) the midst of a bush.

- c כִּי properly means *in* (and thus contrasts with לְאֶרֶץ)(¹). In the first place it expresses the fact of finding oneself (or of moving) *in* a place. But it has many other meanings: *on, against, with, by, for*. The origin of some of these meanings has been explained in various ways. We shall only note the main uses. כִּי is sometimes used for simple proximity, for contact; with a nuance of hostility it has the (frequent) meaning of *against* (= עַל). It sometimes expresses participation in something (Germ. *an*): Ex 12.43 כִּי אֲכַל "to eat at something" (contr. מִן אֲכַל to eat of or from 34.15)(²). In the temporal sense כִּי is far more common than לְ. כִּי expresses the idea of accompaniment (*[together] with*), the idea of instrument or means (*with, by*); the idea of equivalence (one thing *for* another) whence the כִּי *pretii* [= of price]; the idea of instrumental cause (cf. § 132 e). For כִּי of transitivity, cf. § 125 m. With the infinitive כִּי is used in the temporal sense (§ 166 l) and the causal sense (§ 170 j). Verbs expressing the idea of *confiding in, to rule over, to rejoice in* take כִּי. With verbs of perception, especially *to see*, כִּי indicates the idea of intensity or of pleasure.

From a grammatical point of view the *Beth essentiae*(³) is particularly important. It is used to indicate the predicate and especially of the predicative: 1) כִּי indicating the predicate: Ex 18.4 אֱלֹהֵי אָבִי בְּעֶזְרִי the God of my father is my help (the כִּי adds practically nothing to the meaning); Ps 146.5; 55.19; with the plural of intensity (§ 136 f): Jdg 11.35; Ps 54.6; 118.7; 2) כִּי indicating the predicative (the כִּי adds practically nothing to the meaning which is that of the predicative of state, § 126 a): A) rarely with an adjective: Is 40.10 בְּהִזָּק יְבוֹא h

will come (like) a strong man; Dt 26.14 (compare in § 126 a Ru 1.21 etc.); B) usually with a substantive (comp. § 126 c): Ex 6.3 וַיֵּאָרָא בְּאֵל שַׁדַּי apparui ut El Shadday "I showed myself as⁽⁴⁾ (in) Almighty God"; Nu 13.23 בֵּשְׁנַיִם (they) carried between two of them (Ital. *in due*); Dt 28.62 וְנִשְׁאַרְתָּם בְּמַתֵּי מְעַט and you remain [in the state of] few men (Ital. *in pochi*) (compare, without ב, 4.27 וְנִשְׁאַרְתָּם מִתֵּי מִסְפָּר, predicative accusative); Nu 26.53; 34.2; Dt 10.22; Ez 46.16; 47.14; Ps 35.2; 3) ב indicating a predicative which refers to the object (comp. § 126 a end): Nu 18.26 בְּנִחְלָתְכֶם אֲשֶׁר נָתַתִּי בְּנִחְלָתְכֶם which I have given as your inheritance; 18.10 you shall eat them as things most sacred (Ehrlich, *Randglossen ad loc.*); 36.2; Josh 13.6,7; 23.4; Ez 45.1; 47.22; Ps 78.55; Ne 5.15 as bread (Ehrlich).

For the omission of ב after a ב, cf. § h.

Instead of בְּבֵית one simply has בֵּית in the sense of Fr. *chez* (from Lat. *casa*), e.g. Ru 1.9.

(1) On a possible variant בָּ as in Jon 4.10 בָּ-לַיְלָה overnight, see G.A. Rendsburg in *Abr-Nahrain* 27 (1989) 110f.

(2) This could be cited as supporting the alleged double meaning of the preposition—ב, "in" and "from"; see Gordon, *UT*, § 10.1,5 and KB³, s.v., 14, but cf. J. Barr, *Comparative Philology and the Text of the Old Testament* (Oxford, 1968), pp. 175-77; D. Pardee, "The Preposition in Ugr.," *UF* 7 (1975) 329-78, 8 (1976) 215-322, esp. 312f., 320f.

(3) This old, rather unclear expression probably means that the noun introduced by the ב belongs to the *essence* (in the broad sense) of the thing which is being talked about, or it may point to the function of the preposition as a link between the subject and predicate of an equational clause. The expressions *Bet of identity* and *pleonastic Bet* are also found.

(4) See also other likely examples examined in P. Joüon in *Bib* 3 (1922) 318-20. Contrast ב as, like (of comparison [§ g]). ב is never used with the meaning as of ב *essentiae*.

לָ means *to*. It often expresses direction (but in a less precise manner than לָא); often too there is neither direction nor motion. לָ as indicator of the accusative (§ 125 k) is related to the meaning of direction. לָ expresses the idea of relation (*in relation to*) with a wide variety of nuances. Thus it expresses possession (comp. לָ *auctoris*, § 130 b) and replaces the genitive (§ 130 a); it indicates the author of the action (§ 132 f). It is used for causality, finality and yardstick (*according to*). In the temporal sense לָ is far less common than

ב. Because of the extreme variety of its meanings, ל often has a rather vague value. That is probably why it sometimes continues another preposition, the meaning of which it virtually assumes, e.g. in the combination ל ... בֵּין (= וּבֵין ... וּבֵין)(¹); thus ל is found continuing לְמַעַן Is 55.5; לְפָנַי Ezr 7.28; עַל Jer 1.18; 17.1.

From a grammatical point of view one must note the ל of the *dativus commodi* (and *incommodi*), which expresses *for whom, to whose advantage* (or *disadvantage*) something is done: Nu 11.16 אָסְפוּ-לִי *gather for me seventy men*; 22.6 אָרַךְ-לִי *curse this people for me*; 23.1 בִּנְנוּ-לִי *build for me seven altars*. *Dativus incommodi*, e.g. Jer 4.19 לִבִּי לְהִזְדַּחֵם *my heart is shaking* (contr. Ct 5.4 עַל, § f).

The ל of the *dativus commodi* is used in a very particular way with the pronoun of the **same person** as that of the verb(²). Thus we find, mainly with intransitive verbs (particularly with verbs of motion and their opposite), an indirect **reflexive nuance**, which may roughly be equivalent to some reflexive verbal nuance (e.g. Nifal [§ 51 c])(³). Instances are especially common in the imperative.

With verbs of motion: Gn 12.1 הֲרֹץ-לְךָ (22.2); 27.43 בְּרַח-לְךָ *flee* (Fr. *enfuis-toi*) (Am 7.12); Nu 22.34 לֵךְ-בָּהּ *I want to go back* (Fr. *je veux m'en retourner*); 2Sm 2.21 הֲטֵה-לְךָ *turn aside*; Gn 22.5 שֵׁב-לְכֶם *sit down* (or *stay*); 21.16 הִשָּׁב-לָהּ *and she sat down*; Job 15.28. With other verbs: Ps 66.7 יִרְוּמוּ-לָמוֹ (seems to be equivalent to יִתְרַמְמוּ); 2Kg 4.3 שְׁאַל-לְךָ *ask for yourself = borrow* (comp. שְׁאַל-לְךָ *to ask for oneself*). With a Nifal with reflexive meaning, ל with its pronoun strengthens the nuance; thus in the common הִשָּׁמַר-לְךָ, which corresponds to the Latin *cave tibi*: Gn 24.6 etc. With a Nifal with passive meaning: Ez 37.11 נִגְזְרוּנוּ-לָנוּ *we are destroyed* (here *dativus incommodi*).

For ל before the infinitive construct, cf. § 124 l.

On the alleged sense of "from" to be assigned to -ל, e.g. Gordon, *UT*, § 10.11; see also § c, n. 2.

(1) For the distinction between these two phrases for "between," see § 103 n, n.

(2) Several writers therefore talk about *dativus ethicus*. But the *dativus ethicus* (dative of feeling) of Latin and Greek does not correspond to the case of the type הֲרֹץ-לְךָ. A possible case of the genuine *dativus ethicus* may be identified in Jdg 1.1 מִי יַעֲלֶה-לָנוּ אֶל-הַכְּנָעִי ... לְהִלָּחֵם בּוֹ.

(3) To this indirect reflexive nuance (e.g. *vade tibi, go for yourself*) we may compare the direct reflexive nuance of an intransitive verb with pronoun in late Latin, Italian, French, etc. Thus we find *vadent se unusquisque* (*Peregr. Silviae* 25.7), and similarly

Ital. *andarsi*, Old Fr. *s'aller*. The addition of the pronoun stresses the part which the subject takes in the action (cf. E. Bourciez, *Éléments de linguistique romane* [Paris, 1910], § 118 c). In modern Italian instances are hardly found except with *ne*: *andarsene*, *partirsene*, *starsene*, *rimanersene*, *viversene*; but in the old language, e.g. *starsi*, *fuggirsi*, *uscirsi*. In Fr. *s'en aller*, *s'enfuir*.

To account for the majority of the examples of this type, we have proposed an alternative explanation, "centripetal Lamed," which seems to focus the attention on the subject or actor indicated by the suffix and isolate it from the surrounding: T. Muraoka, "The so-called *dativus ethicus* in Bib. Heb.," *JThSt* NS 29 (1978) 495-98. Pace E. Ullendorff, the features of "informality of speech and a measure of frivolity" do not seem to be present in most BH examples: see C. Robin (ed.), *Mélanges linguistiques offerts à Maxime Rodinson* etc. (Paris, 1985), p. 396.

מִן *from* (Lat. *de*, *ex*, *ab*) expresses primarily separation and distance. It is used in particular to express the idea of provenance: material from which something was made, cause (§ 132 d), source or origin. The partitive meaning is highly developed: note the use of מִן before a noun of unit, especially before מִן־הַיּוֹם, e.g. Lv 4.2 מִן־הַיּוֹם (any) one of these things⁽¹⁾; 1Sm 14.45 מִן־שֵׁעַר־רֹאשׁוֹ one (single) hair of his head. We sometimes find a מִן of explanation (*min al bayān* of the Arabs), consisting of (totum pro toto): 4 x מִכֹּל Gn 6.2; 7.22; 9.10; Lv 11.32; 1 x מִן־שֵׁעַר Jer 40.7. In the temporal sense מִן indicates the *terminus a quo* (= *since*), the period which immediately follows a limit (= *at the end of*, *after*); but it is sometimes redundant, e.g. in מִן־עַתָּה *once (upon a time)*.

From the idea of separation and of distance comes the meaning of difference, which is that of מִן in comparisons⁽²⁾; cf. § 141 g.

Before an infinitive (§ 124 k) מִן has a causal meaning (*because*); a consecutive meaning (*so ... that*, *so as to*). With this meaning it is used in a pregnant way: with an infinitive: 1Sm 15.26 וַיִּמְאַסֶּךָ מִלְּךָ *he has rejected you (so as to be far) from being king*; and in an even more elliptical manner, without an infinitive: vs. 23 וַיִּמְאַסֶּךָ מִלְּךָ.

(1) Cf. Brock., *GvG*, II, p. 84.

(2) Cf. Brock., *ib.*, p. 403.

עַל *on* (with or without motion). This basic meaning lends itself to a very great variety of uses. Thus עַל is used for cause (§ 170 h), for the excess of one thing over another, the addition of one thing to another, for proximity (*near [to]*). The pejorative meaning is highly

developed: thus על often means *against* (but כ is more common, § c). Something which is *on someone* weighs him down, is a burden to him (Is 1.14), is incumbent on him (2Sm 18.11). From a grammatical point of view note especially the use of על with the meaning of a *dativus incommodi* to indicate a victim (comp. the ל of the *dativus commodi* and *incommodi*, § d): Gn 48.7 מָתָה עָלַי רָחֵל mihi (*dolenti*) *mortua est Rachel* (= I lost Rachel). This על is common with verbs which express a painful emotion: Ct 5.4 מָעַי הִמּוּ עָלַי my entrails shook⁽¹⁾ (contr. ל Jer 4.19, § d); Jer 8.18 לִבִּי רָנַי mihi (*patienti*) *cor meum est aegrotum* (= my heart is sick); Mi 3.6. In later Hebrew על is found in the sense of a simple dative, without pejorative nuance: Esth 1.19 אִם-עַל-הַמֶּלֶךְ טוֹב if it pleases the king; 3.9 etc. (likewise in Aramaic Ezr 5.17; 7.18).

For the frequent confusion of על and אל, cf. § b.

(1) For the reading עלי instead of עליו, cf. P. Joüon, *Le Cantique des Cantiques* (Paris, 1909), *ad loc.* Cp. the analogous use of the BA על as in Dn 6.19 שָׁנְתָה נִדְתָּ עָלָיוּהִי Sleep eluded him and the Engl. 'on': 'He walked out on his wife' / 'The caller hung up on me.'

g The preposition כְּ like, as is of a very particular nature. Unlike the prepositions listed above, it is not a *local* preposition, and it does not belong to the construction of any verb. כְּ seems to have a demonstrative origin⁽¹⁾, but has taken on a substantival character: *similitude, resemblance*. It is in fact a preposition which has a more pronounced substantival character than the other prepositions. כְּ may be compared with the Latin *instar*, the primary meaning of which seems to be *value*, hence *resemblance, likeness* and adverbially *in the likeness of, in the manner of, like*⁽²⁾. כְּ expresses a relation of either perfect (equality), or imperfect (resemblance) similitude; the meaning may therefore be *exactly like*, or *more or less like*, but in many cases without any precise nuance. With the nuance of equality we have the *כְּ veritatis*: Ne 7.2 כִּי הוּא כְּאִישׁ אֱמֹת for he was a truly faithful man (*the exact similitude of a ...*); Ob 11 גַּם-אֶתָּה כְּאֶחָד מֵהֵם; on the other hand with the nuance of imperfect similitude: Ru 1.4 כְּעֶשְׂרִים שָׁנִים approximately ten years; 2.17 כְּאֵיפָּה about an epha in quantity. Before an infinitive (§ 124 k) כְּ means *like the action of ...* (= *as when ...*, *as if*): Jdg 14.6 כְּשֶׁפֶעַע הִגְדִּי as one would tear a kid; or, with a temporal meaning (§ 166 m), *just as, when, as*⁽³⁾: Gn 39.18 כְּהִרְיַמִּי קוֹלִי when I lifted up my voice.

- (1) Comp. כֹּה *thus, here*, כִּכֹּה *thus*. Cf. Brock., *GvG*, I, pp. 323,496, II, pp. 360, 389.
 (2) Comp. also Engl. *like*, which is a substantive, an adjective and an adverb.
 (3) For the transition from the meaning of manner to that of time, cf. Ital. *come*, Fr. *comme* (from *quomodo*), Germ. *wie* and Engl. *as*.

After כִּ the expected preposition is often omitted⁽¹⁾: thus ב is understood in Is 28.21 כִּהֲרֵר־פִּרְצִים as (on) Mount Perazim; Ps 95.8 כִּמַּרִּיבָה as at Meribah; Job 29.2; אֵת with in Gn 34.31 יַעֲשֶׂה אֵת־הַכִּזוּנָה יַעֲשֶׂה אֵת־הַכִּזוּנָה as at Meribah; Job 29.2; אֵת with in Gn 34.31 יַעֲשֶׂה אֵת־הַכִּזוּנָה יַעֲשֶׂה אֵת־הַכִּזוּנָה should one have treated our sister like a prostitute? (prob. also Ps 83.10); ל in Dt 3.20; Josh 1.15 לְאֶחֱיֶיכֶם כְּכֹס לְאֶחֱיֶיכֶם כְּכֹס לְאֶחֱיֶיכֶם to your brothers as well as to you. But the preposition ב is found in כִּבְרָאשׁוּנָה as before (Jdg 20.32; 1Kg 13.6; Is 1.26; Jer 33.7.11; without ב Dt 9.18; Dn 11.29+); in כִּבְרֵחַחֲלָה as in the beginning Is 1.26+ (parall. כִּבְרֵחַחֲלָה (כִּבְרֵחַחֲלָה)).

כ is used in a pregnant way with a substantive in e.g. Ps 18.34 מִשְׁוֹנֵה רַגְלִי כִּי־אֵילֹת who made my feet similar to the (feet of) hinds; Is 63.2; Jer 50.9; Lam 5.21.

(1) For more examples, see BDB, s.v. כ, p. 455a.

Preposition understood. The preposition belonging to the construction of a verb can be understood if clarity is not affected by it: After Jdg 7.9 בִּרְדוּ go down against = attack, רָדָה is found in vs. 10a with this same meaning of to attack (contr. 10b אֶל־רְדוּ go down to, for a simple visit); 1Sm 15.22 after בִּשְׁמֹעַ to obey, we have שָׁמַעַתְּ. Similarly, a verbal substantive can have a meaning corresponding to a verb and a preposition, e.g. פִּקְדָה in the sense of punishment (Nu 16.29; Jer 10.15 etc.) refers to עָלָה פִּקְדָה to punish (Is 24.21 etc.), properly to attend to someone to his detriment.

For the omission of the preposition with a retrospective pronoun after אֲשֶׁר, cf. § 158 i.

Compound prepositions. Compound prepositions are formed mainly with מִן and אֶל as first element. j

With מִן: מִמֶּחָרִי from behind (3 x מִמֶּחָרִי); מִמֶּעַת from near, from with, Fr. *de chez*; *on the part of*, *in the name of*⁽¹⁾; מִמֶּעַם (same meanings); מִבֵּיִן from between; מִלְּפָנַי from before; מִמַּעַל from above, from beside; מִתַּחַת from under.

With אֶל־: אֶל־מֶחָרִי behind (with motion); אֶל־בֵּיִן between (with motion); אֶל־תַּחַת under (with motion).

In לְמֶן we have a redundant ל before a preposition (frequently; = מֵן) *since, from* (mainly in a local or temporal sense): Jer 42.8 לְמֶקֶטָן (vs. 1 without ל); in לְבַעֲבוֹר for *the purpose of*: Ex 20.20 (and 2 x; = בַּעֲבוֹר).

Sometimes a redundant ל follows a preposition: לַ צֵד (mainly in Chr., Ezz.); לַ מִתְחַת ל (2 x), לַ מִתְחַת; לַ מְעַל ל.

(1) *De par* is for *de part*.

CHAPTER IV: THE NOUN

§ 134. Gender of nouns

Noun gender presents multiple difficulties. The biblical texts allow us to determine the gender of only about half of the nouns⁽¹⁾. The gender of several nouns varies for various reasons⁽²⁾. It is up to lexicographers to indicate them. a

As we saw in § 89 a, gender is often indicated by gender endings. Here we shall only offer some observations about the nexus between the gender of words and their meaning.

(1) Cf. K. Albrecht, "Das Geschlecht der hebr. Hauptwörter," *ZAW* 15 (1895) 313-25; 16 (1896) 41-121. Cf. a critique of Albrecht by J. Blau, *IOS* 2 (1972) 66f.

(2) Thus the figurative meaning can cause a change of gender: עֵינַי (fem.) eye is treated as masc. Zech 3.9; 4.10† where reference is made to engraved eyes (but perh. altered texts; cf. M. Lambert, *REJ* 71 [1920] 206); שֵׁן (fem.) tooth is masc. when talking about a rocky crag, 1Sm 14.4,5. Conversely, see the feminine form used for the figurative sense, § q.

With living beings the nouns for the male and the female naturally have the corresponding gender (physical gender). b

For certain beings, the feminine noun is distinguished from the masculine noun by the addition of a feminine ending: אחָ brother, אחות sister; אבָ husband's father, אִמָּה* husband's mother; בֵּן son, בַּת daughter; לְעָלָם (2 x) young man, עֲלֵמָה young woman; מֶלֶךְ king, מַלְכָּה queen; לְעֵלָל calf, עֲגֵלָה heifer, פֶּרֶ שֶׂה steer, פָּרָה cow; לְעֵלָל lamb, עֲגֵלָה ewe-lamb; לְעֵלָל kid, עֲגֵלָה young she-goat.

For some other beings, the male and the female are indicated by distinct nouns: אִישׁ man, אִשָּׁה woman; אבָ father, אִמָּה mother; אֵילִי ram, רֵחַלִּי ewe; אִישׁ־עֵז he-goat, עֵזִי she-goat; אִתּוֹן jack-ass, אִתּוֹן she-ass.

But sometimes there is (or we find) only one noun, either masculine or feminine, which designates any individual of the species, regardless of sex (*nomina epicoena*: which share one gender)⁽¹⁾. Thus for bear there is only the noun דָּבִי, which is always treated as masc. (when talking about the female: Ho 13.8 שֶׁבַד־דָּבִי she-bear deprived of her cubs), except 2Kg 2.24. Only the masc. is found for לְעֵלָל dog, אֲזַי wolf; only the fem. for אֲרֵנָה hare, יוֹנָה dove, אִתּוֹן stork (*avis pia*), דְּבוּרָה bee, c

גַּמְלָה *ant.*

(1) On גַּמְלָה *girl* see § 16 f 3.

- d** In some cases a masculine noun is treated as feminine when talking about a female, e.g. גַּמְלָה *camel* is fem. in Gn 32.16 מִיְּנִיקוֹת גַּמְלִים *milch camels*; the collective קֳרָן *oxen* is fem. in Gn 33.13 (*milch cows*); Job 1.14. Comp. אֱלֹהִים *god* used 1Kg 11.5 for *goddess*(¹).

On the other hand the collective קָטָן *small cattle* (ovine and bovine species), which is feminine, sometimes seems to be treated as masculine. (It is masc. in MH).

(1) Noteworthy is the fact that Hebrew has no proper word for *goddess*.

- e** **Apart from living beings gender is metaphorical:** some nouns are masculine, by analogy with male beings; the others are feminine, on the analogy of female beings. We must admit, however, that the reason which determines the gender often escapes us(¹).

Abstract nouns with feminine ending are feminine; the others are masculine: e.g. שְׁאֵלָה *request*, נֶאֱדָרָה *oath*; masc.: חֵיל *strength*, כְּבוֹד *glory*.

Concrete nouns with feminine ending are almost all (cf. § 89 b) feminine. The others are either masculine or feminine. Some useful observations about the gender of these concrete nouns without feminine ending may be made.

(1) According to E.A. Speiser (*JAOS* 56 [1936] 39), the gender distinction in substantives is, morphologically speaking, a device mainly for creating derivative stems with some special modification of meaning. We ought to note however that the gender distinction in the verb inflexion, to which that of the substantive is closely linked both morphologically and syntactically, is an integral part of the whole system, hardly a marginal or secondary feature. Take, for instance, the gender distinction in the imperative forms and the personal pronouns, which many would consider a most primitive part of any linguistic system. Cf. M. Féghali and A. Cuny, *Du genre grammatical en sémitique* (Paris, 1924); M.H. Ibrahim, *Grammatical Gender. Its Origin and Development* (The Hague/Paris, 1973).

For a recent attempt to address this question, see D. Michel, *Grundlegung einer hebräischen Syntax. Teil I, Sprachwissenschaftliche Methodik: Genus und Numerus des Nomens* (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1977).

- f** Nouns of **rivers are generally masculine:** נָהָר *river*, אֵרֶץ *canal*, נַחַל *wadi*, הַיַּרְדֵּן הַזֶּה *this Jordan* Gn 32.11 etc.; other nouns relating to

water: מַיִם *water*; יָם *sea*; the nouns for *rain*: מָטָר, גֶּשֶׁם, זָרַם. But fem.: בְּאֵר *well*, לַיִן *spring* (and *eye*, § j).

On the other hand several categories of concrete nouns are **feminine:** g

1) Names of **countries** (prob. on the analogy of אֶרֶץ (f.) *country, land, earth*) and of **cities** (prob. on the analogy of עִיר [f.] *city*): בָּבֶל *Babel* (*Babylon and Babylonia*), צִידוֹן *Sidon* (*city and country*). Several names designate both the people and the land: they are masculine in the first case, feminine in the second, e.g. יְהוּדָה masc. Is 3.8; fem. 7.6; אֲרָם masc. Nu 20.20; fem. Jer 49.17. However names of peoples are sometimes treated as feminine (§ 150 e), e.g. יִשְׂרָאֵל 1Sm 17.21; 2Sm 24.9; מִצְרַיִם Ex 12.33; מוֹאָב 2Sm 8.2; אֲרָם 2Sm 8.5,6; Is 7.2; עֵילָם 21.2; מְדִי *ib.*; קָנָן 42.11; שֹׁבָא Job 1.15. Moreover the population of a country or of a city may be personified and represented as a woman, e.g. Is 54.1; hence the frequent use of בַּת, e.g. בַּת צִיּוֹן, בַּת בָּבֶל (§ 129 f), בַּתּוֹלַת בַּת צִיּוֹן etc. (§ 129 r).

Observation. Names of cities with בֵּית (m.) are masculine, e.g. בֵּית־לֶחֶם Mi 5.1; בֵּית־אֵל Am 5.5.

2) **The Earth and its parts:** אֶרֶץ *earth, land, country* (cf. § g), h
עִיר *city* (cf. § g), תְּבִילָה (poetic) *the orb, the earth's disc*; שְׁאוֹל *Sheol, inferi* (abode of the dead), כְּפֹרֶת (territorial) *circle*; צָפוֹן *north*, תִּימָן *south*.

3) Nouns of **instruments** and other objects: יָתֵד *peg*, i
חֶרֶב *sword*, כּוֹס *cup*, בַּד *jug*; נַעֲלָיִם *sandal* (dual, § 91 c), עֶרֶשׁ *bed*.

4) Nouns of **double members** or which are found in pairs⁽¹⁾: עֵינַיִם j
eye (and *spring*, § f), אָזְנוֹת *ear*, שֵׁן *tooth*, לֶחַיִם *jaw*, כַּתְּפָיִם *shoulder*, זְרוּעַת *arm* (generally), יָד *hand* (and also, perh. by analogy, יְמִינִי *right hand*), כַּף *palm*, אֶצְבָּע *finger*, צִלְע *rib*, יָרֵךְ *hip, thigh*, בִּרְךָ *knee*, שׁוֹק *leg, thigh*, רֶגֶל *foot*; קַרְנֵי *horn*, כַּנְּף *wing*.

Exception: שֵׁן *breast* (m.) Ho 9.14; מְתָנִים *loins, sides* (m.).

(1) These nouns have a dual, § 91 b.

Other feminine nouns: אֶבֶן *stone*, בֶּטֶן *belly*, נֶפֶשׁ *soul* (sometimes k
treated as masc. by sense agreement: for *man*, Gn 46.25,27; Nu 31.28), הִנָּה (poet.) *flash* (of light).

Nouns usually feminine: אוֹת *sign*, almost always feminine (ת of the l
fem.), אֵשׁ *fire*⁽¹⁾, דֶּרֶךְ *way* (in the sing. usually fem., in the pl. al-

ways masc.), לְשׁוֹן *tongue*, מַעַל *time*, almost always fem. (prob. מ of the fem.), e.g. בְּעֵת הַהִיא *at that time*, רֵיחַ *wind* (wind nouns likewise: צְפוֹן Is 43.6; Ct 4.16, תִּימָן *ib.*; cf. § h), שֶׁמֶשׁ *sun*.

(1) Masculine in Ps 104.4 אֵשׁ לִהְיוֹת; see J. Blau, *JOS* 2 (1972) 65f.

- m** Nouns whose **gender varies**. From among these nouns, of which there are many, some examples are: אֹר *light*, אֶרֶץ (poetic) *path*, גַּי *valley*, כַּרְמֵי *vineyard*, חֲצֵר *enclosure, yard, court*, שַׁעַר *gate*; מָקוֹם *place* is very seldom fem.: Gn 18.24; Job 20.9 (cf. Jdg 19.13; 2Sm 17.12).
- n** Some **feminine abstract nouns** are formed by adding the feminine ending to an adjective or to a participle: רָעָה *evil*, טוֹבָה *good*, יְשָׁרָה *right* (Mi 3.9), נְכוֹנָה *that which is just* (Am 3.10), עֲלֵ-נִקְיָה *in lightness = lightly* (Jer 6.14). Especially in the plural: טוֹבוֹת *good things* (2Kg 25.28); קָשׁוֹת *harsh things* (Gn 42.7), גְּדֵלוֹת *great things* (Ps 131.1), נִפְלְאוֹת *very great things* (*ib.*), נְכוֹנוֹת *just things* (Is 26.10). But cf. Gn 2.9 וְרָע וְטוֹב *good and evil*.
- o** Likewise some **feminine collective nouns** are formed by adding the feminine ending to an adjective or to a participle: רַקֵּה *poor people* (2Kg 24.14), אֶרְקָה *caravan* (properly speaking *which makes its way*); גּוֹלָה *community in exile*, but יוֹשֶׁבֶת *female inhabitant* (Is 12.6 etc.), אֵיבָת *female enemy* (Mi 7.8 etc.) are personifications rather than collective nouns. בַּת צִיּוֹן and the like probably do not belong here; see § 129 f, 7.
- p** Very occasionally, a **noun of unit** is formed by adding the feminine ending to a collective noun without the feminine ending: אֲנִי (m. and f.) *fleet*, אֲנִיָּה *ship*; שַׁעַר *hair* (coll.), שַׁעֲרָה *a hair*. On the other hand הַדָּגָה *fish* is mainly collective, דָּג mainly noun of unit. טוֹבָה and רָעָה denote a *concrete, single act of kindness or wickedness* respectively. Note also the following pairs: צִיָּה/צִיָּד; שִׁירָה/שִׁיר; נִצָּה/נִצָּח; צִיָּה/צִיָּץ; יַעֲרָה/יַעַר.
- q** Sometimes a **feminine doublet** is found in the figurative sense: מִצְחָה (m.) *forehead*, מִצְחָה *greave* (kind of *forehead* for the legs); יָרֵךְ (f., § j) *hip, thigh*, יַרְכְּתַיִם *sides*. (Comp. § 91 d: fem. plural instead of dual for the figurative sense).
- r** Doublets (masc. and fem.) of abstract nouns (§ e) are numerous: נִקְמָה (17 x) and נִקְמָה (27 x) *vengeance*; עֲזָרָה and עֲזָרָה *help*; טַעַר and טַעַרָה *tempest*; מְעוֹן and מְעוֹנָה *dwelling-place*; מַעֲלָה and מַעֲלָה *step*; Is 13.1

מְשַׁעֲנָה וּמְשַׁעֵן *support and support = any sort of support*. For differences between מְשַׁעֵן and מְשַׁעֲנָה, see BDB, s.v. מְשַׁעֵן end(1).

(1) M. Ben-Asher argues that some of these examples may be put down to stylistic differentiation: see his "The gender of nouns in BH," *Semitics* 6 (1978) 1-14. So already Lambert, § 172.

§ 135. Plurality expressed by the collective singular,
the singular of species, etc.

The idea of plurality can be expressed not only by the plural (§ 136) and by the dual ending (§ 91), but also by the collective singular(1)(§ b) and by the singular noun of species (§ c); finally some ideas analogous to the idea of plurality are expressed by the repetition of the singular noun (§ d).

(1) In Arabic the idea of plurality is expressed extraordinarily frequently by collectives (*broken* or *internal plurals*), e.g. /'abid/ *the slaves* regarded collectively, *servitium, staff of servants*; on the other hand the plural proper (*external plural*) /'abdūna/ (sg. 'abd) designates several slaves regarded individually.

The collective noun properly speaking designates a plurality of individuals as forming a group(1), e.g. אֲרָמָה *armentum* (a herd of large cattle), a collection of individuals of the bovine species(2); צֹאן (f.) *pecus* (a flock of small cattle), a collection of individuals of the ovine and caprine species(3); עוֹף *the flying tribe, birds*; שִׁמְרִי *the pitterpattering tribe*, שִׁמְרִי *the wriggling or scampering tribe*; טֵף *the tiny tots* (sometimes including or implying women; cf. BDB, 1124a); רֶכֶב often collective *chariots*; פְּרִי *fruits*. All these collectives are masculine, except צֹאן (f.). (See also § 134 p).

Collectives with the feminine ending: בְּהֵמָה *beasts, cattle* (large animals, mainly domestic; the plural is rare and poetic); רֶמֶס *worms*; דְּמָעָה *tears* (the plural is very rare and poetic[4]); צִיצִית *fringes, tufts*; גְּבֻלָּה *corpses*. (See also § 134 o, p). Without feminine ending: שְׂפָיִם *persons*(5).

(1) A collective can be recognised when an adjective, a pronoun or a verb referring to it is in the plural.

(2) Because of their common use, we shall here give a few details about names in the bovine species and in the ovine and caprine species.

Bovine species: בָּקָר, a collective noun and noun of species. (The pl. בָּקָרִים only in the later period, Ne 10.37; 2Ch 4.3†); שׁוֹר, a noun of unit: an individual of the bovine species, regardless of sex or age; it also designates the male specifically. i.e. *α* (the sense *bull* [Arm., Arb.] is a doubtful translation for Hebrew). Nouns for the male: Beside שׁוֹר *α*: אֶלְיָ* (rare), אֶלְיָ (1x); לְעֹל calf; פֶּר steer, *juvencus*; אֶבִיר (poetic) *bull*. Nouns for the females: עֹלָה *heifer, vitula, juvenca*; פֶּרָה *juvenca, vacca*.

(3) **Ovine and caprine species:** Generic nouns, comprising both species: צֹאן, a collective noun and noun of the kind; שֵׁה, a noun of unit: an individual of the ovine or caprine species, regardless of sex or age (עֲתוּד seems used sometimes to designate the males of both species). I. **Ovine species:** there is no noun of species. כֶּבֶד (rarely כֶּשֶׁב), a unit noun, cf. Ex 12.5; Nu 18.17. Nouns for the male: כֶּבֶד *lamb* (in general); פֶּר *lamb* (rare); טֹלָה *lambkin*; אֵיל *ram*. Nouns for the female: כֶּבֶדָה *ewe-lamb*; רְחֵל *ewe*. II. **Caprine species:** there is no noun of species. עֵז, a unit noun, cf. Ex 12.5; Nu 18.17. Nouns for the male: יָדִי *kid*; שְׂעִיר *he-goat* (properly speaking *hairy one*); שְׂעִירָה *he-goat* (rare); עֲתוּד *he-goat* (which also seems to be used for the males of both species). Nouns for the female: עֵז *she-goat*, שְׂעִירַת עֵזִים (2 x), יָדִיָּה *young she-goat*.

(4) See Jon 4.11 רַבָּה רַבָּה, which certainly does not mean "a great beast."

(5) For a complete list of occurrences of this usage of the word, see BDB, s.v., 4, c, (3).

- c Almost any singular noun may be used as a **noun of species** or of category — the generic use — and then it is equivalent to a plural⁽¹⁾. Thus אָדָם *homo*⁽²⁾ and אִישׁ *vir* are used as nouns of species in Is 2.9 (contr. the pl. אֲנָשִׁים vss. 11,17); אִשָּׁה in Jdg 21.16 נִשְׁמְדָה מִבְּנֵימִין אִשָּׁה [the category:] *woman has been destroyed in B. = (all) the women* (cf. 1Sm 21.6); גֵּר *sojourner* is almost always in the sing., e.g. Dt 29.10 (after a plural); the nouns of Gn 32.6 וְשָׂפָחָה וְעֹבֵד וְצֹאן וְחֲמֹר *I have acquired oxen and donkeys, small cattle* (coll. § b), *man-servants and maid-servants*. The phrases אִישׁ יְהוּדָה (1Sm 11.8) and אִישׁ יִשְׂרָאֵל (Josh 9.6) are more frequent than the plural אֲנָשִׁים and express totality better. The *nomina gentilicia* are likewise used, e.g. הַיְבוּסִי Gn 10.16; הָאֲמֹרִי *ib.*; וּלְרֵאֵבֶנִי וּלְגָדִי וּלְחֻצֵי שֶׁבֶט הַמְנַשֶּׁה *to the Reubenites, to the Gadites, and to the half-tribe of Manasseh* Josh 1.12. Note the alternation in Ex 34.12f.: *Take heed to yourself lest you make a covenant with the inhabitants of the land* (יִוָּשְׁבֵי הָאָרֶץ) ... *you shall destroy their altars* (מִזְבְּחֵיהֶם), *break their images* (מַצֵּבֹתָם), and *cut down their asherahs* (אֲשֵׁרָיו); Ez 11.6 *you have multiplied your slain* (חֲלָלִים) *in this city, and you have filled the streets of it with the slain* (חֲלָלִים).

The noun of species or of category is frequent with **כל** *all*: Dt 29.9 **כל** *all the men of I.* (after four plurals); Ex 1.22 **כל־הַבָּנִים** *all the sons* (§ 139 *g*), likewise with a participle: 2Sm 2.23 **כל־הַבָּאִים** *all who came* (§ 139 *i*).

(1) This use of the singular is also found in our languages, but does not have the same extension as in Hebrew. A sentence like *homo est mortalis* is equivalent to *homines sunt mortales*.

(2) **אָדָם** is also collective, e.g. Gn 6.1 *man = men, mankind*.

Certain ideas analogous to the idea of plurality are expressed by the repetition of the singular noun: the idea of *each, every*: **יום יום** *every day*⁽¹⁾ Gn 39.10; **שָׁנָה שָׁנָה** *every year* Dt 14.22; **איש איש** *each man, everybody* Ex 36.4; **בַּבֶּקֶר בַּבֶּקֶר** *every morning* Ex 16.21; with **ו**: **איש ואיש** *everybody* Esth 1.8; **דֹּר וְדֹר** *every century* Dt 32.7; **יום וְיוֹם** *every day* Esth 3.4; 2Ch 35.15 **לְשַׁעַר וְשַׁעַר**. With the addition of **כל** and Waw as in LBH, QH, and MH: Ps 145.13 **בְּכָל דֹּר וְדֹר**; Esth 2.11 **יוֹם וְיוֹם**; 2Ch 11.12 **בְּכָל עִיר וְעִיר**; for a complete list, see BDB, s.v. **כל**, 1, **b** end⁽²⁾.

The idea of *varied, of various kinds*: **אֲבָבִים וְאֲבָבִים** *diverse weights* Dt 25.13 (cf. Pr 20.10); **לֵב וְלֵב** *varied hearts = cor duplex* Ps 12.3; 1Ch 12.33.

(1) Note that **כָּל־הַיָּמִים** does not mean *all the days* but *always (all the time)*; **יָמִים** is usual for *time*). Likewise **לְיָמִים** does not mean *per day*, but *per year* Jdg 17.10†. (**יָמִים** is common as the time unit *year*).

(2) See Hurvitz, *The Transition Period in BH* [§ 88 M *j*, n.], pp. 70-73, Polzin, pp. 47-51, and Qimron, *Hebrew of DSS*, pp. 81f. S. Gevirtz argues that the opposition between the syndetic and asyndetic constructions (**דֹּר וְדֹר** vs. **דֹּר**) is for the sake of stylistic variation, and does not represent a historical change: *JANESCU* 18 (1986) 26-8.

The repetition of a singular or plural noun is a stylistic process used to express certain nuances. Singular: Dt 2.27 **בַּדֶּרֶךְ בַּדֶּרֶךְ אֵלַי** *I will walk steadfastly by the road*; 2Kg 25.15 **אֲשֶׁר זָהָב זָהָב** *all that there was in gold* (cf. Thenius, ad loc.). — Plural: Ex 8.10 **הַחֲמָרִים חֲמָרִים** *very numerous heaps*; Gn 14.10 *very numerous bitumen pits* (cf. § 129 *r*); Jl 4.14 *countless multitudes*.

§ 136. The plural

The plural is used mainly to designate a plurality of distinct

beings. It is also used, quite broadly, to designate things which, while having a real unity, also express plurality in some way. Thus in a compound object one may consider the component elements, in an extended object the various parts, in a particularly perfect being the multiplicity or the intensity of the being, or even in something abstract the multiplicity of manifestations. Thus in Hebrew one may distinguish the plurals of *composition*, of *extension*, of *excellence* or of *majesty*, of *intensity*, of *abstraction*.

Many of these plurals are *pluralia tantum* (§ 90 f). Moreover, a fair number of them are only found in poetry.

- b* Plural of **composition**: חֻטִּים *wheat* as a collection of grains and stalks, e.g. always קְצִיר חֻטִּים *wheat harvest* Gn 30.14 (חֻטִּהּ designates wheat as a species: Ex 9.32; Dt 8.8); same distinction between שְׁעֵרָה and שְׁעֵרִים *barley*, פִּשְׁתָּהּ and פִּשְׁתִּים *flax*; כֶּסֶם and כֶּסֶמִים *spelt*⁽¹⁾. From כֶּסֶף we have כֶּסֶפִּים Gn 42.25 *pieces of silver*; from עֵץ we have עֵצִים *pieces or bits of wood*; from בְּדִיל we have בְּדִילִים *particles of lead* Is 1.25; בֵּד *linen*, בְּדֵים *linen garments* Dn 10.5. In poetry לַיְלֹת sometimes seems to mean *parts of the night, nocturnal hours* Is 21.8 (cf. LXX); Ct 3.1,8; Ps 16.7; 92.3; 134.1. The plural דַּמִּים designates *blood* in a state of dispersion (stains, pools of blood) and thus the *blood shed* in a murder Gn 4.10, hence *murder* Ez 22.2.

Compare, with dual of composition, שְׁנֵי שִׁטִּים *two pieces of bronze = chains* (of a prisoner; comp. Fr. *les fers*, Engl. *irons*), עַרְבֵי § 91 *g*.

מַיִם *water* may be explained as a plural of composition⁽¹⁾ or as a plural of extension.

(1) Here belongs a whole series of nouns which have the fem. ending in the sg., and the masc. in the pl., mostly designations of various kinds of agricultural produce: לֶבְנָה *brick*; בֵּיצָה* (the sg. attested in MH) *egg*; דְּבוּרָה *bee*; נְמֵלָה (pl. נְמָלִים in MH) *ant*; עֵרְשָׁה* (attested in MH) *lentil*; עֵרְבָה* (MH) *poplar*; פִּגְנָה* (so in MH) *early fig*; שׁוֹשְׁנָה *rose*; אַצְטָה *acacia tree*; שִׁקְמָה* (MH) *sycamore tree*; תְּאֵנָה *fig*, a word which occurs as תֵּאֵן in Ammonite (Heshbon ostracon 2), like the Arabic collective noun *tin*, parallel to בעֲרָמ *beasts of burden* and חֲבֵלִים *ropes*.

- c* Plural of **extension**: שָׁמַיִם *sky, heavens*; מַרְאֲשׁוֹת *bed-head* (parts where the head is laid); מַרְגְּלוֹת *place of the feet*; אַחֲזָרוֹת *hinder parts* Ex 26.12 etc.; פְּנֵים *face* (in Ez 1.6 the form is used as ordinary pl., *faces*); צַוְּאָרִים *neck*.
- d* Plural of **excellence or of majesty**⁽²⁾: אֱלֹהִים *God* (and ordinary

plural: *gods*); it is generally constructed in the singular (§§ 148 a, 150 f); comp. קדשׁים *the Holy One* (Pr 9.10; 30.3) and Arm. ܥܠܝܘܢܝܢ *the Most High* (Dn 7.18,22,25).

אֲדֹנָי *lord and Lord* (and ordinary plural: *lords*). The plural of majesty exists in all the forms, but in the 1st pers. sg. אֲדֹנָי it presents three peculiarities⁽³⁾: 1) it is sacred (and reserved for God); 2) it has an (emphatic) qameṣ; 3) the value of the suffix is practically nil⁽⁴⁾: *the Lord*. The plural of majesty has to a large extent ousted the singular, of which only the form without suffix אֲדֹנָי (sacred and profane) is found, and the form אֲדֹנָי *my lord*. Therefore we have: אֲדֹנָי (sacred and profane; speaking about God, always כָּל־הָאָרֶץ אֲדֹנָי 6 x); אֲדֹנָי (sacred and prof.); in the 1st p.sg. אֲדֹנָי (prof., e.g. אֲדֹנָי הַמֶּלֶךְ 'א), אֲדֹנָי (sacred, e.g. אֲדֹנָי יְהוָה)⁽⁵⁾; in the other persons, e.g. אֲדֹנָינוּ *our lord, our Lord* (and *our lords*)⁽⁶⁾.

From מַלְכֵי in the sense *master, lord* (not in the sense of *husband*) there is a plural of majesty, but only with suffixes (in fact only מַלְכָיו and מַלְכֵיהָ *his/her master*). תְּרַפִּים *Tēraphim* (domestic idols, household gods), treated as a sing. in 1Sm 19.13,16, is prob. a plural of excellence.

חֵכְמוֹת *Wisdom* (§ 96 A b) seems to be a kind of plural of majesty.

(1) In various languages the names of *water* tend to pass to the plural: the renewal of running water produces the impression of distinct parts; cf. W. Meyer-Lübke, *Grammaire des langues romanes* (Paris, 1890-1906), 3, § 26.

(2) J. Euting, *Tagebuch einer Reise in Inner-Arabien* (Leiden, 1896-1914), p. VII (cf. p. 127) draws attention to a curious example of the plural of majesty in a modern Arabic dialect: the sheik (*šayḥ*) of Ḥayel is called *aš-šuyūḥ* (broken plural: *the sheiks*). This example shows that it is not necessary for the origin of the plural of majesty to be sought in the plural of abstraction. The *we* of majesty does not exist in Hebrew, § 114 e, n.

(3) Cf. O. Eissfeldt, "ādhōn," in G.J. Botterweck and H. Ringgren (eds), *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament* (Stuttgart/Berlin/Köln/Mainz, 1970ff.), 1, cols. 62-78, where it is suggested, inter alia, that /-āy/ in this case may be a special affirmative, "Lord of all." However, the differentiation אֲדֹנָי (secular/human) vs. אֲדֹנָי (divine) can easily be an artificial, theologically motivated one; cf. אֲדֹנָי vs. אֲדֹנָי, אֲדֹנָי vs. אֲדֹנָי, and the unique אֲדֹנָי in BA.

(4) Comp. Fr. *monseigneur* (from *mon seigneur*), *madame*; *un monsieur*.

(5) 1 x אֲדֹנָי *my lords* Gn 19.2.

(6) 1Sm 16.16 אֲדֹנָינוּ *our lord*, without Yod, is prob. incorrect.

There probably⁽¹⁾ is a plural of majesty, doubtless on the analogy e

of the preceding nouns, in the following cases which refer to God or to a master. Speaking about God: עֲשֵׂי my maker Job 35.10; עֲשֵׂיךָ Is 54.5; עֲשֵׂיו Ps 149.2. Speaking about a master: שְׁלַחְתָּו he who has sent him Pr 10.26; 25.13 (parall. אֲדַנְיוּ); מְרִימֵו he who lifts it Is 10.15.

(1) In the case of ל"ה roots, there may be an apparent plural (§ 96 C e), e.g. Is 42.5 גּוֹטִיָּהֶם; 22.11 עֲשֵׂיָהּ.

f Plural of **intensity**⁽¹⁾ (analogous to the preceding): תַּנְיִינִים the (great) Dragon Ps 74.13; prob. בְּהֵמוֹת Behemoth (the great Beast) Job 40.15. But abstract plural nouns (§ *g*) often given as intensive plurals, e.g. בְּטָחוֹת security; אֲזוּזִים strength (Is 40.29 excludes the idea of intensity) do not seem to have this nuance. With *Beth essentiae* (or *Beth* of the predicate, § 133 c) there is Ps 118.7 יְהוָה לִי בְּעֹזִי Y. is for me my (great) Auxiliary; 54.6; Jdg 11.35.

(1) Cf. A. Ember, "The pluralis intensivus in Hebrew", *ASLL* 21 (1905) 195ff.

g Plural of **abstraction**. An abstract noun is quite often expressed by a plural, which properly speaking aims at the various concrete manifestations of a quality or of a state; thus בְּטָחוֹת security originally meant the *sure circumstances, the sure things, securae*, from which the transition was made to security.

Qualities: אֲמוּנוֹת integrity Pr 28.20† (the singular is frequent) and אֲמוּנִים (7 x; sg. אֲמוּן 1 x); בִּינּוֹת intelligence Is 27.11† (the sg. is freq.); תְּבוּנוֹת intelligence (6 x; sg. freq.); יְדָעוֹת knowledge 1Sm 2.3; Job 36.4† (sg. יְדָעָה 4 x); בְּטָחוֹת security Job 12.6† and מְבִטְחִים Is 32.18; Jer 2.37 (sg. freq.); יְשׁוּעוֹת salvation Is 26.18; Ps 18.51; 28.8; 42.6; 44.5 etc. (sg. freq.); הַיָּוֵת evil (misfortune and malice); תְּמִירוֹת excellence Dn 9.23; אִישׁ חָמוֹת Pr 22.24 (= אִישׁ חָמָה 15.18 bad-tempered man); חֲרָפוֹת shame Dn 12.2; תְּהַפְּכוֹת perversity (no sing.)⁽¹⁾; מִישְׁרִים rectitude; אֲזוּזִים strength Is 40.26,29; רַחֲמִים compassion; בְּמִסְתָּרִים Jer 13.17; Ps 17.12; Lam 3.10 and בְּמִסְתָּרִים Ps 10.8; 64.5 in secret (like בְּמִסְתָּר Hb 3.14; Ps 10.9); מַמְרָרִים bitterness Job 9.18; מַמְתָּקִים sweetness Ct 5.16; מְחַמְּדִים charm, beauty Ct 5.16; שְׂעִשְׂעִים pleasure, delights (no sing.); תְּעִנוּגִים pleasure, delights. Instances are mainly poetic. Cf. also § 90 *f*.

(1) Instead of קַנְאוֹת the pl. קַנְאוֹת is used for *jealousy* in the legal and ritual sense מִנְחַת קַנְאוֹת offering of Jealousy Nu 5.15,18,25; קַנְאוֹת law of J. vs. 29†.

h States⁽¹⁾: בְּחֹרֵי (2) adolescence (state or time) Nu 11.28(?)†; בְּחֹרוֹת

Ec 11.9; 12.1†; **בְּתוּלִים** *virginity* (state): Lv 21.13, etc (but time: Jdg 11.37); **זְקֵנִים** *old age* (state or time; contr. **זֶקֶן** quality of old age: *senility*); **כְּלִילוֹת** *engagement* (time: Jer 2.2†); **מְגוּרִים** *sojourning*; **נְעוּרִים** *youth* (time) [comp. **נָעַר** (poetic) time: Ps 88.16; Pr 29.21; Job 36.14; perh. quality of youth 33.25†]; 1 x **נְעוּרוֹת** Jer 32.30; **סַנּוּרִים** kind of *blindness* (*false vision*) Gn 19.11; 2Kg 6.18†; **עַלְוָמִים** *youth* (time: Ps 89.46; Job 33.25; state Is 54.4 (= *celibacy*); quality of youth = youthful vigour, Job 20.11); **שְׁכָלִים** *childlessness* Is 49.20. Perhaps the word **חַיִּים** *life* should be included here.

(1) Since a state is essentially durative, these plurals can prob. be explained by the idea of extension (§ c) in time.

(2) If the primary meaning had been *young people* (Brock., *GvG*, II, p. 60; BL, p. 472), one would expect **בְּחַרוּת**, **בְּחַרוֹת***. Indeed it is rather a *qūl* form, like the analogous **נְעוּרִים**, **זְקֵנִים**.

Actions(¹): **זְנוּנִים** *fornication, prostitution*; **כְּפָרִים** *atonement* (MH also **כְּפֹר**); **מְלֻאִים** *consecration*; **נְחֻמִּים** and **תְּנַחֲמוּמִים** *consolation*; **שְׁלָחִים** *sending back, dismissal* (MH **שְׁלוּחִים**); **שְׁלֻמִים** *retribution* Is 34.8 (**שְׁלוּם** Ho 9.7; Mi 7.3†); **שֹׁמְרִים** *watching* Ex 12.42†; **תְּחִנּוּנִים** *supplication*.

(1) The plural can in some cases be explained by the multiplicity of the acts making up the total action. In other cases the plural is difficult to explain, thus for **שְׁלָחִים** *sending back, dismissal* (but comp. in Italian plurals like *dare le sue dimissioni* "to tender one's resignation," *prendere le difese di* "to stand up for, defend."

Plural of generalisation. Apart from these various kinds of plural, some plurals are found, mainly in poetry(¹), which seem due to generalisation and to indetermination. Most instances are concrete nouns. Thus the plural is found in words for *sleep, dream, vision*: **שְׁנוֹת** *sleep* Pr 6.10 (= 24.33†); **תְּנוּמוֹת** *sleep* Pr 6.10 = (24.33); Job 33.15†; **חֲלֵמוֹת** *dream* Gn 37.8; Dn 2.1†; **מְרָאוֹת** *vision* Gn 46.2; Ez 1.1 etc. Other exx.: Zech 9.9 **בֶּן-אַתְנוֹת** *foal of a she-ass* (cp. Ct 2.9 **עֹפֶר הָאֵילִים** *fawn of hind*); 1Sm 17.43 **מִקְלוֹת** *stick(s)*; Jdg 11.36; 2Sm 4.8† **נְקָמוֹת** *vengeance*; Gn 21.7 **בָּנִים** *son*; Ex 21.22 **יְלֵדֵיהָ** *offspring*; Ps 133.3 **הַרְרֵי צִיּוֹן** *mountain of Zion* (cp. Am 3.9; Ct 4.8); Jer 23.24 **בְּמִסְתָּרִים** *in a hidden place* (also *in secret*, § g).

(1) Thus in the Song of Solomon (P. Joüon, *Le Cantique des Cantiques* [Rome, 1909], p. 79): 1.9 **רֶכְבֵּי**; 1.17 **בְּתִינוּ**; 2.9 **אֵילִים**; 2.14 **חֲלוֹנוֹת**; 2.17 **הָרֵי**; 3.6 **תִּמְרוֹת**; 5.5 **פְּתָחַי**; 6.2 **בָּנִים**; 7.14 **בְּתִינוּ**.

Finally, some plurals are variously explained, especially in poetry, **k**

e.g. הַרְמוֹנִים *Hermon* Ps 42.7† (everywhere else הַרְמוֹן); perhaps plural of intensity (§ f), *the Great Hermon*, or of extension (§ c).

- l* Alongside the tendency to use the plural despite the presence of the idea of the singular, there is the opposite tendency to use the singular instead of the plural in a case where several individuals have something in a similar manner, especially a *member* (*hand, head, heart, mouth*), a *voice* etc.: Jdg 7.19 "the jugs which were *in their hand* בְּיָדָם "; 7.25 "*the head* of Oreb and Zeeb"; Jer 32.40 "I will put the fear of me in *their heart*". (The plural *hearts* is rare: 8 x); Ps 17.10 פִּימוֹ *their mouth(s) have said*; Ru 1.9 "they lifted up *their voice* קוֹלָם "; Ru 1.2 "*the name* of his two sons"; 2Kg 23.14 מְקוֹמָם *their sites*; 25.28 כִּסְאֵי "*the thrones* of the kings"; Ezr 1.9 מִסְפָּרָם *their numbers* (the pl. only 1Ch 12.23).
- m* Plural of a **genitival group**. There are three ways of forming the plural of genitival group. Usually only the first noun is in the plural, quite rarely only the second, quite often both nouns.
- 1) The **first noun** only in the plural. It is the ordinary and logical construction: 1Ch 7.2 גִּבּוֹרֵי הַיָּל *warriors of valour*; 1Sm 22.7 בְּנֵי בְנֵי (sing. בֶּן־בְּנֵי *Benjaminite*); with suffix: Dt 1.41 כֵּלֵי מִלְחָמָהּ *his instruments of war = his weapons* (§ 140 b).
- n* 2) The **second noun** only in the plural. This rather rare construction assumes that the genitival group forms a compact block equivalent to a single noun. It seems to be found only with בֵּית אָב , mainly בֵּית אָב *family* (literally *house[hold] of father*), pl. בֵּית אָבוֹת Ex 6.14 etc. Other examples: 2Kg 17.29,32 $\text{בֵּית הַגְּבוּלוֹת}$ *the buildings of the high-places* (but 23.19 בְּתֵי); 1Kg 12.31 (contr. 13.32); perhaps Mi 2.9; 1Sm 31.9 (?); Ez 46.24.
- o* 3) **Both nouns** in the plural. This fairly common construction can be explained by *grammatical attraction*⁽¹⁾: the plural of the first noun was mechanically passed on to the second: $\text{גִּבּוֹרֵי הַיָּלִים}$ *warriors of valour* (1Ch 7.5 etc.; contr. 7.2, § m). The plural חֵילִים , never anywhere else meaning *valour*, cannot be explained as plural of abstraction (§ g); probably שָׂרֵי הַחֵיָלִים *the chiefs of the army* (1Kg 15.20 etc., where probably only one army is meant; contr. 2Sm 24.4 שָׂרֵי הַחֵיָל); Nu 13.32 אֲנָשֵׁי מְדוּת *men of tall stature* (contr. Is 45.14 מְדֵה); Dt 9.9 לוחות הָאֲבָנִים *the tablets of stone* (contr. Ex 24.12 לוחות הָאֲבָן); Ezr 3.3 עַמֵּי הָאֶרֶצוֹת *the peoples of the land* (not: *of the lands*); 1Ch 29.30 כָּל־

קירות הַבְּתִיִּים 1Ch 29.4 *πάσας βασιλείας τῆς γῆς*; 1Ch 29.4 *the walls of the temple*; Dt 9.2a *בְּנֵי עֲנָקִים* (contr. 2b *עֲנָק*); Ps 63.6 *שִׂפְתֵי רִנְנוֹת* *lips of exultation*; Gn 42.35b *כַּסְפֵּיהֶם* *their money-bags* (contr. 35a *צָרוֹר-כַּסְפוֹ*). The writer of Chronicles likes this construction⁽²⁾, e.g. *אֲנָשֵׁי שְׂמוֹת* 1Ch 5.24; 12.30 (contr. *אֲנָשֵׁי* Nu 16.2; cf. Gn 6.4). It is also common in MH, e.g. *בְּתֵי כְּנַסְיֹת*.

(1) Thus can the Fr. *de guerre lasse* (for *las*) be explained. Comp. formations like *les Nouveaux-Zelandais*, inhabitants of *la Nouvelle-Zelande*.

(2) Kropat, *Syntax*, pp. 8ff.

§ 137. Determination and indetermination: the article⁽¹⁾

A noun may be determined by itself or by a determining element. a

Common nouns (or *appellatives*) are in themselves indeterminate; they become determinate through a determining element, namely: the article: *בֶּן הַבֵּן* *the son*; a suffix: *בְּנִי* *my son*; a determinate *nomen rectum*: *בַּת הַמֶּלֶךְ* *the daughter of the king*; *בַּת בְּנִי* *the daughter of my son*, *בַּת דָּוִד* *the daughter of David*.

(1) Barr is highly critical of the generally assumed nexus between the use of the definite article in BH and the logical category of determination: J. Barr, "'Determination' and the definite article in BH," *JSS* 34 (1989) 307-35.

Proper nouns are in themselves determinate, since they designate b
unique beings. Therefore they do not take any determining element. Thus they cannot be followed by a determinate (nor indeterminate, § 131 *n-o*) genitive. Likewise they do not take the article, apart from some whose appellative value is still being felt; thus almost always *הַיַּרְדֵּן* *the Jordan* (perh. *river* or *watering-place*), Gn 32.11 *הַיַּרְדֵּן הַזֶּה* *this Jordan*; usually *הַלְבָּנוֹן* *the Lebanon* (perh. *white [mountain]*); *הַגְּבָעָה* (*the Hill*); *הַרְקְמָה* (*the Height*); *הָעֵי* (*the Hillock of ruins?*); *הַבְּשָׁן* (etym.?).

No proper noun of person takes the article⁽¹⁾, not even when it has the form of an adjective or a participle.

(1) But for "half of the tribe of Manasseh," for instance, we have *חֲצִי לְבֵט הַמְּנַשֶּׁה* Josh 1.12. The article *ה* is that of "half."

Nomina gentilitia have the article, e.g. *הָעִבְרִי* *the Hebrew*, *הָעִבְרִים* c
the Hebrews. Exceptions: *פְּלִשְׁתִּים* *the Philistines* is usually found without the article; 8 x *הַפִּי*, 18 x *בַּפִּי*, etc.; always *כַּפְתּוֹרִים* *the Caphtorim*

(3 x).

d Some appellative nouns used as proper nouns do not take the article: $\eta\lambda\iota\upsilon\eta$ *the Most High*, יְשׁוּבָה *the Almighty*, the sing. אֱלֹהִים *God* (poet.). The article with preposition is never found with the plural of majesty (§ 136 *d*) (בְּאֱלֹהִים , לְאֱלֹהִים , מֵאֱלֹהִים)(¹); but alongside אֱלֹהִים (²) we often have אֱלֹהֵינוּ . For *Baal* we almost always find הַיְיָ (*the Lord*).

(1) The absence of the article is only apparent in a vocalised text (comp. § *f* for the tendency of the Naqdanim to *add* the vowel of the article). Here בְּאֱלֹהִים , לְאֱלֹהִים have perh. been avoided because of the possible confusion for *among the gods* Ps 86.8†, *to the gods* Ex 22.19†.

(2) This anarthrous form is more common in earlier books: see Y. Lerner in *Leš* 48-49 (1985) 195-98.

e **Observation.** The personal pronouns and the demonstrative pronoun are also determinate in themselves, for they always represent determinate beings. That is also why the particle of the accusative אֵת can be found with these pronouns: אֵת־זֵאת 2Sm 13.17; אֵת־הַזֶּה vs.18. A noun with a pronominal suffix is determinate: בְּנִי *my son* (cf. § 140 *a*).

Although they are determinate in themselves, the pronoun of the 3rd pers. הוּא etc., and the demonstrative pronoun זֶה etc. take the article when they are used as attributes of the noun, and thus in an adjectival function: בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא *on that same day, on that day*; בַּיּוֹם הַזֶּה *on this day, today* (§ 138 *g*). But זֶה בְּמָוֶה *this high place* in Moabite (line 3).

f **Common nouns (or appellatives).** As far as the use of the article is concerned, these nouns are treated in a way which differs appreciably from that of our languages. Generally speaking, it may be said that the use of the article in Hebrew is rather loose(¹). Moreover, in cases where it only appears through vocalisation, it is unreliable: generally speaking the Naqdanim tend to add the vowel of the article(²).

In a given sentence, the thing designated by a common noun may be perfectly determinate, indeterminate, imperfectly determinate(³).

I. Perfect determination.

1) Determination is perfect mainly in cases where the thing can be pointed to, and where, therefore, the demonstrative pronoun could be used. The article הַ , which was originally a demonstrative, still has a weak demonstrative value in some phrases referring to time: הַיּוֹם *this day = today* Gn 4.14; הַלַּיְלָה *this night = tonight* 19.5; הַשָּׁנָה *this year* 2Kg 19.29; הַפֶּעַם *this time* Ex 9.27(⁴).

2) Determination is perfect in a case where the noun could be determinate by virtue of a pronominal suffix (§ c). In this case, the Hebrew article is sometimes equivalent to the possessive pronoun of our languages: Gn 24.65 (she took) *her veil* אֶת־צַדִּיקָהּ; 47.31 *his bed* (1Kg 1.47); Jdg 3.20 *his throne* (1Sm 1.9); Jdg 4.15 *his chariot* (1Kg 22.35; 2Kg 10.15, etc.); 1Sm 18.10 *his spear* (20.33); 1Sm 11.5 *his oxen*; comp. § 143 e.

3) A thing is perfectly determinate when it has already been mentioned — the so-called anaphoric use: the article is then equivalent to a weak demonstrative, e.g. *that man* (about whom we have spoken)⁽⁵⁾: Ru 1.2 אֶת־אִישׁ־אֶחָד (contr. vs. 1 אִישׁ a man) = אֶת־אִישׁ־הַהוּא Job 1.1b (contr. 1a); 1Sm 1.3 (contr. vs. 1); 1Kg 3.24 "bring a sword; and *the* sword was brought"; Zech 3.5 (with adjective); Gn 18.8 (with genitive; contr. vs. 7).

(1) In poetry the use of the article is very free. There is a general tendency to leave it out in cases where it would lengthen a word by one syllable. This phenomenon is perhaps due to metrical considerations, to a certain studied elegance, to a tendency towards brevity.

The definite article, as in most cognates, appears to be a relatively recent development, which accounts for its frequent omission in archaic biblical poetry. Thus in the song of Deborah (Jdg 5), it is often missing where it could be expected in prose: אֶת־ (vs. 2), מִלְּכָיִם... (3, voc.), אֶת־ (4), אֶת־ (4,20), אֶת־ (4), אֶת־ (5), etc., whereas the entire song has only five cases of the definite article plus five more but prefixed with a proclitic preposition as in אֶת־ (9). See also Gn 16.12 יָדוּ בֹ בְּכָל־יַד־פֶּלֶא; Josh 10.20 וַיִּרְחַץ... אֶת־; Mi 1.2.

Cf. § h below. For statistics, see F.I. Andersen and A.D. Forbes, "'Prose particle' counts of the Hebrew Bible," C.L. Meyers and M. O'Connor (eds), *The Word of the Lord shall Go forth* (Winona Lake, 1983), pp. 165-83, and D.N. Freedman, "Prose particles in the poetry of the Primary History" in *Fschr. S. Iwry* [op. cit., § 29 aa], pp. 49-62. According to Garr (*Dialect Geography* [§ 2 a, n], p. 89), the article first made its appearance in the early 1st millennium B.C.

(2) E.g.: 2Sm 23.21 בְּשֵׁבֶט־ "with a rod," after הַיָּדִית "a spear"; Ec 11.3 בְּכַרְרוֹם־, בְּצִפּוֹן־, but 1.6 אֶל־כַּרְרוֹם־, אֶל־צִפּוֹן־. See also § 147 d on אֶת־ alongside אֶת־; § 138 b. For more examples of doubtful vocalisation, see Lambert, § 217.

(3) Comp. the various degrees of determination and indetermination in: 'the hand,' 'from the hand of,' 'a hand, from hand to hand'; 'in the colour of,' 'in a colour which she liked,' 'in colour'; 'the spring'; 'he arrived to a (= some) spring'; 'should you come across a (= any) spring.'

(4) But with a preposition the article is not enough; the demonstrative is needed: הַיּוֹם־ on this day = today Josh 7.25; הַעַתָּה־ this time Ex 8.28 (§ 126 i).

(5) In this case, determination is sometimes expressed in our languages too by the possessive: 'our man' (about whom we are speaking).

g 4) The person (or the thing) which is addressed (**vocative**), since it is always determinate, should always have the article; in fact the article is often omitted, especially in poetry or in lofty prose. The following observations may be made:

a) In apposition to a determinate noun we necessarily have the article: 1Sm 24.9 *אֲרֹנֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ* *my lord the king!*; Zech 3.8 *יְהוֹשֻׁעַ הַכֹּהֵן הַגָּדוֹל* *O Joshua, the high-priest!*

b) The article is usually found when reference is made to persons who are present: 1Sm 17.55 *הַמֶּלֶךְ* *O king!*; 58 *הַנָּעַר* *O young man!*; 2Kg 9.5 *הַשָּׂר* *O prince!*; Jdg 6.12 *גִּבּוֹר הַחַיִּל* *O valiant warrior!*; but *בֶּן-אָדָם* *O son of man!* Ez 2.1 etc.

c) Quite often the article is missing when reference is made to persons who are not present or who are more or less imaginary: Ec 10.7 *אֶרֶץ* *O land!*; 11.9 *בָּחוּר* *O young man!*; Pr 6.6 *עָצֵל* *O lazy one!*; Is 23.16 *זוֹנָה* *O harlot!*; Pr 1.22 *פְּתוּיִם* *O naive ones!*; always *בְּנֵי* *O sons!* Ps 34.12; Pr 4.1 etc. Besides, there is sometimes much freedom: contr. Jl 1.2 *הַיְקִינִים*; 1.3 *הַכְּבֹהֲנִים* with 1.5 *שְׂכוֹרִים*; 1.13 *מִשָּׁרְתֵי מְזֻבְחַן*; for *O heavens* we have *הַשָּׁמַיִם* Dt 32.1; *שָׁמַיִם* Is 1.2.

h 5) A **thing** which is **unique** is, by virtue of this very fact, determinate and usually takes the article. Thus in simple prose we almost always have *הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ* *the sun*(¹); *הַיָּרֵחַ* *the moon*; *הַשָּׁמַיִם* *the heavens, the sky*(²); likewise *הָאָרֶץ* *the earth*, except in phrases indicating direction *towards the earth: to bow down, to worship towards the earth* (§ 125 n), 1Kg 1.31 *אֶרֶץ*; 1.23 *אֶרֶץ*.

Likewise we have e.g. *אֹהֶל הָעֵדוּת* *the tent of Testimony* Nu 9.15 etc.; *מִשְׁכַּן הָעֵדוּת* *the dwelling of the Testimony* Ex 38.21 etc.; but *אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד* *the tent of the Congregation* (cf. § 125 h) Ex 27.21 etc.

(1) Josh 10.12 *שָׁמֶשׁ*, in spite of the vocative, in an archaic sentence, in lofty prose (contr. vs. 13). Same observation for *יָרֵחַ* (*ib.*). In Josh 10.13 *הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ וִירַח* it looks as if the definite article is prefixed to the entire phrase; in vs. 12 *ירַח ... שֶׁמֶשׁ*.

(2) Gn 14.19 (22) *אֱלֹהֵי הַשָּׁמַיִם וְהָאָרֶץ* *creator of heaven and earth*, in a solemn speech.

i 6) **Classes** or **species** are unique and by virtue of this very fact, determinate—the so-called generic use: they often have the article(¹). Thus clean and unclean animals have the article in Lv 11.4ff.; Dt 14.7ff. (but not in vss. 4-5!). Adjectives or participles: *הַצְדִּיק* *the righteous (one)*; *הַרָשָׁע* *the wicked (one)*; Josh 8.19 *הָאֲרָב* (collectives) *those lying*

in ambush. Cf. Nu 11.12 כַּאֲשֶׁר יִשָּׂא הָאֵמֶן אֶת־הַיֵּנֶק *as a nursing father carries the sucking child.*

The article with words for classes or species is particularly frequent in comparisons⁽²⁾: 1Sm 26.20 "as one hunts *the* (= *a*) partridge הַקָּרָא"; Is 29.8 הָרָעֵב *the* (= *a*) hungry man; Gn 19.28 הַבְּשֵׁן *like the smoke of a furnace*; Jdg 14.6 כְּשִׁטַּע הַגְּדִי *as one would tear a kid*. With the preposition כּ the article can only be apparent through the vocalisation; the article is often used⁽³⁾: Is 34.4 כְּסֹפֶר; 10.14 כִּיָּזֶן; 38.13 כְּאֲרִי; always כְּכַתוּב *as (it is) written* (16 x = כְּאֲשֶׁר כָּתוּב 2 x); but the article is also missing often: Nu 23.24 כְּאֲרִי (24.9); always כְּאֲרִיָּה; Nu 23.24 כְּלִבְיָא; Job 16.14 etc. כְּגִבּוֹר. The article is omitted when the noun is followed by an attribute or a relative clause: Is 38.14 כְּסוּסִים עָגוּרִים (contr. vs. 13 כְּאֲרִי); 2Sm 17.8 (Ho 13.8) כְּדֹב שֹׁכֵן; Is 29.5 כְּנֹגַהּ ... כְּלִפִּיד יִבְעֶר *like radiance ... like a burning torch* and Jer 23.29 כְּאֵשׁ ... וְכַפְטִישׁ יִפְצֵץ *like a fire ... and like a hammer that breaks the rock in pieces.*

When a plural noun is thought to comprise all the individuals of the class or of the species, it takes the article: Gn 1.16 הַכּוֹכָבִים *the stars*; 10.32 הַגּוֹיִם *the nations*. But strangely enough, the article is never used for *the Ancients*: Lv 26.45; Dt 19.14; Is 61.4; Ps 79.8. לְבִקְרִים, with the article of totality, means *every morning* (Is 33.2; Ps 73.14; 101.8; Lam 3.23†), but לְבִקְרִים Job 7.18 †? *on certain mornings*, לְרִגְעִים *at certain moments* (Job 7.18 †; Is 27.3; Ez 26.16; 32.10†).

(1) See § 135 c. For the *nomina gentilicia*, cf. § 135 d.

(2) J. Barr is of the opinion that the use of the article (or the Massoretic pointing to that effect) has nothing to do with comparisons, but is also applicable to the other monosyllabic prepositions followed by a single word: *JSS* 34 (1989) 325-27. A fuller investigation is desirable. Does the Massoretic vocalisation possibly reflect the primitive vowel of these prepositions (cf. § 103 b)?

(3) Most of the examples collected by Sperber (*Hist. Gram.*, p. 626) to demonstrate the alleged promiscuous vocalisation of כּ can be readily accounted for in these terms. Ct 8.6 כְּשֹׂאֵל ... כְּמֹת is irrelevant, since שֹׂאֵל never takes the definite article.

Here also belong nouns indicating materials: Gn 2.11 אֶשְׁר־שָׁם הָזָהָב *ia where was gold*; 13.2 וְאַבְרָם כָּבֵד מְאֹד בַּמִּקְנֵהוּ בַכֶּסֶף וּבַזָּהָב *And Abram was very rich in cattle, silver and gold.*

7) **Abstract nouns** can be taken in a determinate way and so have *j*

the article. Thus for *the monarchy, the royal dignity* we usually find *הַמְּלוּכָה* 1Sm 18.8 etc. Note also Job 28.12 *הַחֲכָמָה*; 1Kg 7.14 *וַיִּמְלֵא אֶת-הַחֲכָמָה וְאֶת-הַתְּבוּנָה וְאֶת-הַרְצֵעַת* (1).

(1) As pointed out by J. Barr (*JSS* 34 [1989] 318), *הַרְצֵעַ* at 1Kg 21.29 (as against *רָצַעַת* at vs. 21) is obviously a case of the anaphoric use of the article.

k II) **Indetermination.** Apart from the cases listed above, there is generally indetermination, and therefore no article, e.g. *עִיר* a (any) city 2Sm 17.13; *אִישׁ* a man Ru 1.1; Job 1.1a; *אֲנָשִׁים* men Gn 12.20; 37.28; *לַיְלָה וַיּוֹמֵם* night and day (by night and by day) Dt 28.66 etc.; in phrases like *פִּה אֶל-פִּה* mouth to mouth Nu 12.8; *לְפִי לְפִי* edge to edge 2Kg 10.21; *בְּשָׁלוֹם* in peace; *בְּשָׁלוֹם* in peace (but *בְּשָׁלוֹם* with peace Ps 29.11; in (the midst of) peace Job 15.21†); *בְּרֵאשִׁית* in the beginning Gn 1.1 etc.(1); *מֵרֵאשִׁית* since the beginning; *מֵרֵאשִׁית* (id.) Is 40.21 etc.; *מִקְדָּמִים* from ancient times Ps 74.12 etc.

(1) On another possible interpretation of this passage, see § 129 *p*, n.

l The nominal predicate (subst., adj., ptc.) is, by its very nature, usually indeterminate. Thus obviously sentences such as "David is king, great, governing" are used frequently. But sometimes we may come across "David is *the* king, *the* great(est), *the* governing (*one*)." In the latter cases, in which both major clause constituents are determinate, the article is needed in Hebrew as it is in English, for then the predicate is determinate. There are quite a few examples with a participle but very few with a substantive. With an adjective the meaning is almost always comparative or superlative. In most cases, the nuance corresponds to the Eng. *it is the one ... who/which ...*, the so-called 'cleft sentence': see below § 154 *i*.

1) With participle: Gn 2.11 *הוּא הַפֹּסֵב* "it is the one which winds round the whole land of Havilah"; 45.12 *פִּי הַמְדַבֵּר* it is my mouth (= it is really I, and not someone else) which is speaking to you; Dt 3.21 (4.3; 11.7) *הֵנּוּ עֵינֶיךָ הַרְבִּי* = your eyes have been witnesses to ...; 8.18; 9.3; 20.4; Josh 23.3 (10); 24.17; 1Sm 4.16 *אֲנִי הוּא הַבּוֹרֵחַ* I am he who is returning from the battle; 2Sm 5.2 (Ore = 1Ch 11.2); Is 45.3; 66.9; Zech 7.6.

2) With adjective: Ex 9.27 *הוּא הַיָּשָׁר* it is Y. who is (the) right (one); 1Sm 17.14 *הוּא הַיָּשָׁר* it is D. who is the young(est); 1Kg 18.25

אֲתֶם הַרְבִּיִּים *it is you who are the (most) numerous* (For the comparative and the superlative, cf. § 141 g, i).

3) With substantive: Gn 42.6 וַיֹּסֶף הוּא הַשְּׁלִיט *now it was Y. who was the governor*; 1Sm 17.8 אֲנֹכִי הַפִּלְשְׁתִּי *I am the Philistine*; 1Kg 18.21 אִם יְהוָה הָאֱלֹהִים *if Y. is (the true) God*.

III. **Imperfect determination.** A thing which is not determinate in the consciousness of the writer or of him who is addressed is sometimes specifically determinate in itself; therefore the noun takes, or can take the article. This use of the article, characteristic of Hebrew, is rather frequent. It can only be translated in English by *a*, sometimes by *a certain* (§ r). In order better to show the Hebrew usage, the examples will be grouped into the following categories:

1) **Objects** which are specifically determinate because they are taken or used for some specific goal:

Objects taken: Dt 15.17 "you shall take an awl" אֶת־הַמְּרִצֵּעַ (comp. Ex 21.6); Jdg 4.21 אֶת־יְתֵד הָאֹהֶל *a peg of the tent* and אֶת־הַמַּקְבֵּת *a hammer*; 9.48 אֶת־הַקְּרָדִּמוֹת *axes*; 19.29 אֶת־הַמַּאֲכָלֶת *a knife*.

Objects used: Ex 16.32 "Keep an 'omerful" הַסֶּפֶל (cp. Jdg 6.38 הַסֶּפֶל *a bowl*); Ex 21.6 *with an awl*; 21.20 *with a rod* (cp. Nu 22.27); Nu 21.9 עַל־הַגֵּז *on a pole* (cp. Josh 8.29 עַל־הָעֵץ *on a piece of wood*; contr. Gn 40.19); Josh 2.15 *with a rope*; Jdg 8.25 הַשֹּׁמֶלֶה *a coat*; 20.16; 1Sm 21.10; 2Sm 23.21; 2Kg 10.7. Note in particular בַּסֵּפֶר *in a book* Ex 17.14; Nu 5.23; 1Sm 10.25; Jer 32.10; Job 19.23; הַחֲמֹר *a donkey* Ex 4.20; 1Sm 25.42; 2Sm 17.23; 19.27; 1Kg 13.13.

2) **A person** who is mentioned in the course of narration in circumstances which give him/her a particular determination: Gn 14.13 "a fugitive arrived" הַפִּלְטִי (also Ez 24.26; 33.21); Nu 11.27 הַנֶּעַר *a boy*; 2Sm 15.13 הַמְּגִיד *a messenger*; 17.17 הַשֹּׁפְחָה *a maidservant*. See also Gn 18.7; 42.23; 2Kg 13.21(1).

3) **Local objects.** (Sometimes the nuance *a certain*): Gn 16.7 עַל־הַמַּיִם *near a (certain) spring* (Ex 2.15 עַל־הַבְּאֵר *near a (certain) well*); Gn 28.11 *he came to a (certain) place*; 1Kg 19.9 הַמְּצֻרָה *a cave* (comp. Gn 19.30).

4) In the expression וַיְהִי הַיּוֹם *and a (certain) day arrived and ...* the word יוֹם, which is the subject, is made determinate by what follows it(2): 1Sm 1.4; 14.1; 2Kg 4.8,11,18; Job 1.6,13; 2.1†.

(1) At the beginning of a prophetic announcement Is 7.14 הַעַלְמָה *(a virgin or the vir-*

gin (in any case, determinate for the prophet).

(2) Cf. Driver, *Notes* ad 1Sm 1.4.

o 5) **Other examples:** Ex 3.2a הַסִּנֵּה *a bush*; Nu 21.6 הַנְּחָשִׁים *snakes*; 1Sm 17.34 הַאֲרִי *a lion*; 1Kg 20.36 הַאֲרִיָּה *a lion* (contr. 13.24).

With *adjective*: 2Sm 18.9 הַאֲלֵה הַגְּדוֹלָה *a large terebinth*; 18.17 (probably) *a great pit*; 18.29 *a great tumult*.

With *distributive* meaning: Nu 7.3 הַנְּשָׂאִים עַל-שְׁנֵי הַנְּשָׂאִים *a wagon for every two princes*; 23.2 אֵיל בְּמִזְבֵּחַ אֶל אֵיל בְּמִזְבֵּחַ *a ram on each altar*; 31.4 אֶלֶף לְמִטָּה אֶלֶף לְמִטָּה *a thousand per tribe*.

Measure: Ex 26.2 בָּאֶמָּה; Ez 45.11 וְהָיְתָה וְהָיְתָה; 45.12 הַשֶּׁקֶל.

p **Omission of the article.** Grouped here are some instances where the article, although expected, is missing.

1) In a **question**(¹): Dt 28.67 בְּבֹקֶר תֹּאמַר מִי יִתֵּן עֲרֶב יְהוָה *In the morning you shall say: why am I not in the evening? (And in the evening you shall say: why am I not in the morning?)*; Ex 18.14 מִן-בֹּקֶר עַד-עֶרֶב *from morning till evening?* (contr. vs. 13 with the article!); Gn 25.32 לְמָה-לָּמָּה לִּי בְּכֹרְהָ *of what ever (use) is the birthright to me?*; 27.46 לִּי לְמָה לִּי *of what (use) is life to me?*; 2Sm 19.36 קוֹל שָׂרִים וְשָׂרוֹת *the voice of male singers and female singers?*(²).

(1) This fact, which does not seem to have been noticed by grammarians, is difficult to explain; could it be a tendency to brevity?

(2) Ru 3.18 ? (in indirect question) יִפְּלֵ רָדָר *how will the matter turn out?*

q 2) The words for the **cardinal** points do not usually have the article, although they do when they are used in their primary meaning(¹). Thus יָם, which usually has the article when meaning *the sea*, does not usually have it when meaning *the west*, e.g. Josh 16.8 יָמָה *westward*, הַיָּם *to the sea*; contr. Josh 15.19 הַיָּבֵשׁ *arid land* and vs. 2 יָבֵשׁ *south*. So also צָפוֹן *north*, קֶרֶם *east*, יְמִין *right*, and שְׂמָאל *left*.

(1) Cf. P. Joüon in *MUSJ* 5 (1911) 396.

r 3) With nouns of **titles** there is a certain tendency to omit the article. Thus, alongside the usual שֹׂר הַצָּבָא *the chief of the army* 1Sm 17.55 etc., we sometimes find שֹׂר צָבָא 2Sm 2.8; 19.14; 1Kg 16.16. Contrasting with שֹׂר הַטְּבָחִים *the chiefs of the guards* Gn 37.36 - 41.12 we always find רֵב טְבָחִים 2Kg 25.8 etc.; Jer 39.9 etc.

s 4) With **place-names** the article is sometimes omitted: שְׂרָה כַּסֵּם *the*

fuller's field Is 7.3; 36.2 = 2Kg 18.17†; *the watchmen's field* Nu 23.14†; with *בַּיִת*, e.g. *בַּיִת לְחֶם*, *בַּיִת גִּדְרָה*; with *עֵינַיִן*, e.g. *עֵינַיִן שְׂמֵשׁ*, *עֵינַיִן גִּדְרָה* (but the article is found with *שַׁעַר* *gate*). Here perhaps belongs the oratorical designation of Egypt *בַּיִת עֲבָדִים* *the Ergastulum* (i.e. *the penitentiary, the place of slavery*) Dt 7.8 etc., often as attribute of *מִצְרַיִם*, e.g. Ex 13.3 *מִצְרַיִם מִבַּיִת עֲבָדִים*.

5) Nouns previously quoted: δ c *פְּלִשְׁתִּים* *the Philistines*; δ h *הַתְּנַיִם* *the tent of the Congregation*; δ i *רַאשֵׁי הַיָּמִים* *the Ancients*(¹).

Note also the three nouns *תְּבִלַת הָאָרֶץ* *the orb (the disc of the earth)*, *תְּהוֹמוֹת* *the abyss*, *שְׂאוֹל* *Sheol, the Nether regions*.

(1) The details concerning the article for each word should be given by the dictionaries.

APPENDIX. *אֶחָד* is sometimes used to indicate indetermination(¹), as *un* in French, especially in the books of Judges, Samuel, and Kings, mainly with *אִישׁ* and *אִשָּׁה*: 1Sm 1.1 *אִישׁ אֶחָד* (contr. Job 1.1 *אִישׁ אֶחָד*); also with *אִישׁ* Jdg 13.2; 2Sm 18.10; Dn 10.5; with *אִשָּׁה* Jdg 9.53; 2Kg 4.1. More examples: 1Sm 7.9,12; 1Kg 13.11 (20.13); 19.4; 22.9 (2Kg 8.6); 2Kg 12.10; Ez 8.8; 37.16; Dn 8.3.

(1) This use is all the more remarkable since *אֶחָד* is often omitted for the numerical meaning *one*, e.g. Ru 2.17 *אֶחָד אֵיפָה* *one ephah*; Ex 37.24 *כֶּכֶר אֶחָד* *one talent*; 1Kg 19.4 *יָוֵם אֶחָד* *a day's journey* (contr. *ib.* *אֶחָת רֵתֶם* *a broom tree*); Ne 13.20 *פְּעַם וּשְׁתַּיִם* *once and twice*; 1Ch 16.3 (the three *אֶחָד* of 2Sm 6.19 are omitted).

Sometimes *אֶחָד*, constructed on a plural noun, is used to indicate indetermination: Gn 22.2 *עַל אֶחָד הַהָרִים* "on a mountain which I shall show you"; 21.15 *תַּחַת אֶשְׁתְּ* *under a bush*. This turn of expression is particularly frequent in comparisons: 2Sm 2.18 *כְּאֶחָד הַצִּבְיִים* *like a gazelle*; 13.13 *כְּאֶחָד הַבְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל* *you would be as an infamous man in Israel*.

In some cases the nuance seems to be *some* or *any*: 1Sm 2.36 *אֶחָד מִבְּנֵי הַכֹּהֲנָיִם* *any priestly branch*; 2Sm 17.12 *אֶחָד מִכָּל הַמָּקוֹמִים* *in whatever place*; but 15.2 *אֶחָד מִבְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל* *of such and such a tribe of Israel*.

§ 138. Determination in the case of apposition

An **attribute**(¹) in **apposition** (adjective, participle) agrees with its noun in respect of determination: it usually takes the article if the noun is in some way determinate; it does not take it if the opposite is

the case. If more than one attributive adjective are constructed on a single noun, each adjective must have the article when the noun is determinate. *Determination*: Jon 1.2 נִיְנִוֶה הָעִיר הַגְּדוֹלָה *Niniveh the great city*; Gn 13.5 לְלוֹט הַהֹלֵךְ אֶת־אֲבְרָם *to Lot who was going with Abram*; 1Sm 12.22 שְׁמוֹ הַגְּדוֹל *his great name*; Dt 11.7 מַעֲשֵׂה יְהוָה הַגָּדֹל *the great work of Y.*; with several conjoined attributes: Dt 10.17 הָאֵל הַגָּדֹל הַגִּבּוֹר וְהַנּוֹרָא *the great, powerful, and fearsome God*. *Indetermination*: Is 36.13 בְּקוֹל גְּדוֹל *in a loud voice*; 2Kg 4.9 אִישׁ אֱלֹהִים קָדוֹשׁ *a holy man of God*(²).

The exceptions, real or apparent, can be grouped into two categories: I) attribute, with the article, in apposition to a noun without the article; II) attribute, without the article, in apposition to a determinate noun(³).

(1) Cf. § 121 *a*, n.

(2) Therefore the absence of the article after a determinate noun, e.g. Hg 1.4 (§ 127 *a*), indicates that there is no apposition; contr. 1Ch 21.16 מְכַפְּיִם with Ez 9.3 הִקְבִּיחַ.

(3) Cf. M. Lambert, *REJ* 31 (1895) 279ff.; Driver, *Tenses*, § 209.

b I) **Attribute, with the article, in apposition to a noun without the article.**

1) Apparently in the type יוֹם הַשְּׁבִיעִי *the seventh day* Ex 12.15, namely with the word יוֹם and an ordinal numeral; also Gn 2.3; יוֹם הַשֵּׁשִׁי *the sixth day* 1.31. But here it is more likely to be a genitive (literally: *the day of the seventh*), as there is a genitive in Ezr 7.8 שְׁנַת שִׁבְעִית לְמֶלֶךְ *the seventh year of the king* (literally: *the year of the seventh*)(¹). [This construction with the ordinal numeral is perhaps due to the analogy of that of the cardinal numeral: בְּשָׁנַת שְׁתַּיִם *in the year two*, בְּשָׁנַת אֶחָת *in the year one*, § 142 *o*]. With the preposition the vowel of the article is always found, e.g. בְּיוֹם הַשְּׁבִיעִי Gn 2.2; however, since the Naqdanim had a tendency to add the vowel of the article (§ 137 *f*) the original form may have been בְּיוֹם. The adjective רִאשׁוֹן *first* is treated in the same way: Ex 12.15 *b* מִיּוֹם הָרִאשׁוֹן (but 'בְּיוֹם הָרִ' 15*a*); cf. Zech 14.10 שְׁעַר הָרִאשׁוֹן *the First gate*, where the construction is doubtful (likewise Ez 9.2 שְׁעַר הָעֲלִיּוֹן). Also with cardinal numerals: e.g. Gn 21.29 שִׁבְעַת פְּבַשְׁתָּ הָאֵלֶּה; 41.26 שִׁבְעַת פְּרוֹת הַטְּבוֹת but vs. 27 שִׁבְעַת הַפְּרוֹת הַרְקוֹת וְהַרְעוֹת.

(1) Likewise, Arabic grammarians vocalise *yauma 's-sābi'i* "on the seventh day" as a

genitive. (The legitimacy of this vocalisation is, however, disputed by Wright, *Arabic Grammar*, vol. 2, p. 233, and Brock., *GvG*, II, p. 209).

2) Certain examples of the MH type כְּנִסְתֹּת הַגְּדוֹלָה *the great Synagogue*⁽¹⁾ are rare in the Bible: with an adjective and often in topographical expressions: 1Sm 6.18 עַד אֲבָל הַגְּדוֹלָה (LXX ἕως λίθου τοῦ μεγάλου^[2]); 19.22 עַד-בּוֹר הַגְּדוֹל; 1Kg 1.9 עַם אֲבָן הַזֵּיתֹנִית; Jer 17.2 עַל גְּבְעוֹת הַגְּבוּהוֹת *on the high hills*; 38.14 מְבוֹא הַשְּׁלִישִׁי? *the third entrance*; 1Kg 7.8 הָאֲחֵרֶת הַחֵצֵר *the other court* (cf. vs. 12; Ez 40.28); — with a participle which is further expanded by an object, prepositional complement, etc.⁽³⁾; 1Sm 25.10 אֲדָנָיו אִישׁ מִפָּנָיו *the servants who run away every man from his master*; Ct 4.5 בְּשְׁנֵי עֶפְרַיִם תְּאוּמֵי צְבָיָה הָרְעִים *like two twin fawns of a hind which feed amongst the lilies*; Is 65.2; Pr 26.18; בְּבֶטֶן הַמְּלֵאָה *in the full belly*⁽⁴⁾; Ez 21.19 חֶרֶב קָלַל הַגְּדוֹל *a sword of the great slaughter which encompasses them*. In several cases the vocalisation is probably incorrect, e.g. Jdg 21.19; 1Sm 12.23; 2Sm 12.2,4; in others, the consonantal text is doubtful, e.g. 1Sm 16.23.

(1) See M.H. Segal, *A Grammar of Mishnaic Hebrew* (Oxford, 1927), § 376 (Heb. ed. [Tel Aviv, 1936], § 86). A similar phenomenon occurs in Punic: יִמ הָאֲרַבְעִי (Friedrich—Röllig, § 301).

(2) See P. Joüon in *Bib* 9 (1928) 428f.

(3) In this case (which is the commonest) the value of the article is closer to that of the relative. On the article as relative, cf. § 145 *d*. More examples may be found in König, *Syntax*, § 411 *d*.

(4) So Ibn Ezra ad loc., where reference is also made to 2Sm 12.4 לְאִישׁ הַעֲשִׂיר *to the rich man*.

3) After כֹּל *all*, which conveys a certain notion of determination, the apposition can have the article: Gn 1.21 כֹּל-נֶפֶשׁ הַחַיָּה *every living being*; 1.28; 9.10 etc.

II) **Attribute, without the article**, in apposition to a determinate noun.

1) In the particular case of the **participial** attribute of a pronoun or of a determinate noun (expressed or understood), the article is quite often omitted in poetry: Is 44.24b ... עֲשֵׂה כֹל (but 26b ff. הָאֵמֶר); Ps 104.2,4 (but vs. 3 article!); 135.7; Jer 10.12 (continuation of vs. 10). Contr. with the article: after a pronoun: Is 46.6; Am 2.7; 3.10; 4.1; 5.7; 6.3ff.,13; — after a noun: Is 40.22 (at an absolute beginning, apparently);

Ps 33.15.

- f* 2) Apart from this particular case, the omission of the article is rather rare: Ps 143.10 טוֹבָה רַחֲמֵיךָ; Gn 43.14 אֲחֵיכֶם אֶחָד (by euphony?); with the numerals (§ 142 *l*) and in particular אֶחָד (§ 142 *l*).

Sometimes the article is omitted for some particular reason, e.g. Is 65.2 לֹא-טוֹב הִיָּרָךְ (because of לֹא); Zeph 2.1 הַגּוֹי הַזֶּה לֹא נִבְרָךְ *O unfeeling nation*; Is 11.9 מִכַּפְּתֵימָם לִיָּם (because of the separation by לִיָּם).

3) The demonstrative הַזֶּה (which is determinate in itself, § 137 *e*) does not take the article after a noun made determinate by a suffix: Josh 2.20 הַזֶּה דְּבַרְנוֹנוֹ *this word of ours*; הַזֶּה again Jdg 6.14; 2Kg 21.2 (= 8.8,9); אֵת Gn 24.8; אֵלֶיךָ Ex 10.1; 1Kg 22.23; Jer 31.21. But cf. 1Kg 3.9 הַזֶּה הַדָּבָר הַזֶּה, where the adjective appears to be responsible for the deviation⁽¹⁾.

(1) For an attempt to explain two other exceptions (Josh 2.17; 2Ch 1.10), see G.R. Driver in *JThSt* 30 (1929) 377f.

- g* 4) One finds אֵת הַזֶּה 4 x: Gn 19.33; 30.16; 32.23 (contr. 22!); 1Sm 19.10, instead of the usual אֵת הַזֶּה which should probably be restored (the הַזֶּה could have been dropped by haplography).

§ 139. Determination in the case of a genitival group

- a* A genitival group is determinate or indeterminate according as the *nomen rectum* is determinate or indeterminate. Now the latter can be determinate in itself (proper noun), or made determinate by a suffix or by a following determinate noun (cf. § 137 *a*). Thus there is determination in:

1) בַּיַּת יְהוָה *the house of Yahweh = the Temple*; 2) בַּיַּת הַמֶּלֶךְ *the house of the king = the royal Palace*; 3) בַּיַּת מַלְכִי *the house of my king (or my royal Palace, § 140 b)*; 4) בַּיַּת בְּנֵי-הַמֶּלֶךְ *the house of the son of the king*.

Observations. 1) Both nouns of the genitival group can logically be united in a more or less close fashion. Thus בַּיַּת מֶלֶךְ can mean: *the house of a king or a king's house (= a royal palace)*. This ambiguity is a considerable drawback of the Hebrew construction (cf. § 140 *b*)⁽¹⁾.

2) All determining elements must be put after the *nomen rectum*, hence further scope for ambiguity. Thus בַּיַּת מֶלֶךְ גְּדוֹל can mean *the house*

of a great king or a great royal house (= a great royal palace); שַׁעַר הַבַּיִת הַגָּדוֹל the gate of the great house or the great gate of the house. Hg 2.9 הַגְּדוֹל הַשֵּׁנִי הַזֶּה הָאֶחָדוֹן means the second glory of this house rather than the glory of this second house (because of the place of הַזֶּה, § 143 h); Ex 11.5 הַבְּכוֹר הַפְּרֵעָה הַיֹּשֵׁב עַל-כִּסֵּאֹו the first-born of Pharaoh who should have sat on his throne (i.e. should have succeeded him) much rather than of Pharaoh who (i.e. Pharaoh) sits; 2Kg 3.3 הַטְּאוֹת יָרַבְבָּעִם אֲשֶׁר הָחִטִּיא אֶת-יִשְׂרָאֵל the sins of Jeroboam by which he made Israel sin (not: Jer. who made sin; comp. 1Kg 15.26,30; cf. § 158 i).

In practice, however, an adjective used in this syntagm almost always qualifies the first noun, as is the case in the following examples. However, where a noun is further qualified by a demonstrative pronoun, the latter can relate to either the second noun or the entire construct phrase: e.g. Dt 28.61 הַסֵּפֶר הַתּוֹרָה הַזֶּה as against 29.20, 30.10 סֵפֶר הַתּוֹרָה הַזֶּה. Because זֶה never takes the definite article, one would not assume wrong vocalisation.

(1) Even the use of a proper noun as nomen rectum does not necessarily mean that the entire phrase is determined, just as בְּנִי can mean "a son of mine" (§ 140 a): thus for the narrator מַלְאַךְ יְהוָה is "the angel of the Lord" after the first mention in Jdg 6.11, but for Gideon who only later discovered the identity of his interlocutor he must have been perceived as "an angel of the Lord" (vs. 22 מַלְאַךְ יְהוָה פי מַלְאַךְ יְהוָה (הוא)).

Much of this deficiency in BH syntax has been removed by the introduction of the MH analytical structure through שֶׁל־, an analogue of the Aramaic דִּי, which opened up a whole range of new syntactic and logical relations which the classical synthetic syntax could only have expressed in cumbersome or awkward ways, if at all.

Exceptions. I) Very occasionally the meaning of the genitival group is indeterminate, although the nomen rectum has the article: 2Sm 23.11 חֲלֶקֶת הַשָּׂדֶה a field (literally a portion of the countryside, of the fields; הַשָּׂדֶה collectively means the fields); Jer 13.4 בְּנִקְיֵק הַסֹּלֶעַ in a hollow of the rock; several times in poetry (notably in Ct.), with a noun of material⁽¹⁾: Ct 1.11 עִם נִקְדוֹת הַכֶּסֶף with dots of silver; 7.5 כְּמִגְדֵּל הַשֵּׁן like a tower of ivory; 4.3.

(1) Contr. the normal construction Nu 21.9 אֶת נַחֲשׁ נְחֹשֶׁת a serpent of bronze (9b הַנָּחֹשׁ הַזֶּה the ...).

II) Sometimes the meaning of the genitival group is indeterminate c

although the *nomen rectum* is a proper noun. Quite often, instead of the usual construction בֶּן לְיִשִׁי a son of Jesse (§ 130 b; or אֲשֶׁר לְ , § 130 e), we find בֶּן יִשִׁי (which normally means *the son of Jesse*), e.g. 1Sm 4.12 אִישׁ בְּנֵימִין a man of B.; Dt 22.19 $\text{בְּתוּלַת יִשְׂרָאֵל}$ a virgin of Israel; Ex 10.9 חַג יְהוָה prob. a feast of Y.; Gn 22.11 מַלְאַךְ יְהוָה prob. an Angel of Y. (LXX ἄγγελος κυρίου); 2Sm 14.20 *like the wisdom of an Angel of God*; Dt 7.25 etc. תּוֹעֵבַת יְהוָה an abomination to Y.; with הָאֱלֹהִים , which is equivalent to a proper noun: Jdg 13.6 אִישׁ הָאֱלֹהִים a man of God, but also 1Sm 2.27 אִישׁ אֱלֹהִים .

The indeterminate nature of the genitival group as a whole is illustrated by examples such as 1Sm 16.16 $\text{רֹנֵן אֱלֹהִים רָצָה}$ and 2Kg 4.9 $\text{אִישׁ קָדוֹשׁ אֱלֹהִים}$, in which the adjective lacks the article.

d **Observation.** The compound *nomina gentilicia* of a genitival group are treated like any other genitival group: e.g. indeterminate: בְּנֵי־יְמִינִי Benjaminite, determinate: בֶּן־הַיְמִינִי ; likewise we have בֵּית הַלְחָמִי the Bethlehemite, $\text{בֵּית הַשְּׁמֶשֶׁי}$ the Bethshemeshite; אֲבִי הָעִזְרִי the Abiezrite.

e The genitival group with כָּל needs to be considered separately. כָּל is, strictly speaking, an abstract substantive which means *totality*, hence *all and every*(¹).

1) With a determinate singular: כָּל־הָאָרֶץ the totality of the earth = all the earth Gn 1.26; כָּל־הָעִיר all the city Gn 18.28; כָּל־יִשְׂרָאֵל all Israel. In poetry the article may be omitted: Is 1.5 כָּל־רֹאשׁ all the head (cf. the preceding note).

(1) כָּל , in some contexts, practically leads to our adverbial idea of *totally, entirely, exactly*: 2Sm 7.17 $\text{הִזֵּה הַחֲזִיוֹן הַזֶּה}$ exactly according to these words and exactly according to this vision; Dt 5.30 (2Kg 21.21; Jer 7.23) כָּל־הַדֶּרֶךְ exactly in the way; Dt 1.30 $\text{כָּכֵן אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה}$ just as he did it; 18.16; 1Kg 8.56; Jer 42.20; prob. Is 1.5 כָּל־רֹאשׁ the head is all sick (lit. all the head, § e. 1)).

f 2) With a determinate plural: כָּל־הַגּוֹיִם all the nations Is 2.2; כָּל־הַיָּמִים all the days (= always) Gn 43.9. — In poetry the article may be omitted: Is 28.8 כָּל־שְׁלֻחָנוֹת all the tables.

g 3) Instead of the determinate plural, one may have, with practically no change of meaning, the determinate singular of a noun of species or category (cf. § 135 c): כָּל־הַבָּנִים all the sons Ex 1.22; כָּל־הַיּוֹם all the days (= always, all the time) Gn 6.5; Dt 28.32; Ps 72.15 and often(¹); $\text{דָּבָר מִכָּל־הַדְּבָרִים אֲשֶׁר דִּבֶּר}$ a word from all the words which he said 1Sm 3.17. When a thing may be considered as a whole, there can

be some ambiguity: Jer 4.29 כָּל־הָעִיר *all the cities* or *all the city*; כָּל־הַיּוֹם can also mean *all the day*, but this meaning is very rare (cf. the preceding note).

(1) In fact כָּל־הַיּוֹם, used absolutely, always has this meaning (cf. BDB, s.v. יוֹם 7, f). The sense *all the day* is only found in כָּל־הַיּוֹם הַהוּא Nu 11.32; Jdg 9.45†; and כָּל־הַלַּיְלָה 1Sm 28.20; Is 62.6†. There is no evidence for a third meaning, *every day*, which is accepted by F.H.W. Gesenius (*Thesaurus philologicus criticus linguae hebraeae et chaldaeae Veteris Testamenti* [Leipzig, 1829-58], 584 g).

4) With an indeterminate noun: כָּל־בַּיִת *every house* Is 24.10; בְּכָל־יוֹם *every day*. h

Other meanings: Lv 16.2 אַל־יָבֹא בְכָל־עֵת *do not let him enter at any time whatsoever*; Gn 4.15 כָּל־הַרְגֵּךְ אֵין *whoever kills Cain*; 2.9 כָּל־עֵץ *every kind of tree*; Dt 5.23 מִי כָּל־בָּשָׂר *whoever is the man ...?*

Observation. With כָּל the participle is seldom in the plural (Jdg 8.10 הַנוֹתְרִים, after a number; in the cst. state: 2Kg 11.7; Na 3.19; Ps 129.5). The participle may be found with or without the article: כָּל־עוֹבֵר עָלֶיהָ Jer 18.16 etc. *all those who will pass by it*; כָּל־הַבָּאִים 2Sm 2.23 (§ 135 c); כָּל־הַנֹּגֵעַ בָּהָר *whoever touches the mountain* Ex 19.12. i

§ 140. Determination in the case of a noun with a suffix

The pronominal suffix being considered a genitive (§ 94 a), a noun with a suffix is equivalent to a noun constructed on a determinate noun. Therefore בְּנִי normally means "*the son of me*" = *my son*. However the meaning is sometimes indeterminate (as it sometimes is in the genitival group with a determinate governed noun, § 139 b-c)⁽¹⁾; in other words, for a *son of mine* the simple בְּנִי has sometimes been preferred to the circumlocutions בֶּן־מִבְּנֵי לִי, בֶּן־אִשָּׁר) (e.g. 2Kg 4.6 בְּנֵה *one of (two) sons*; 1Sm 15.28 לְרַעַף הַטּוֹב מֵמֶךָ *to one of your companions (who is) better than you* (cf. Esth 1.19); 1Kg 11.11 לְעַבְדֶּיךָ *to one of your servants*; Ex 2.21 צַפְרָה בַתּוֹ *who was one of Reuel's seven daughters* and this is the first mention of her in the story. Likewise בֵּית־בְּנִי normally means "*the house of the son of me*" = *the house of my son*, but it can sometimes mean *the house of a son of mine, a house of my son, a house of a son of mine*, e.g. Gn 22.3 אֶת־שְׁנֵי נְעָרָיו *two of his servants*; Lv 14.34 אֶרֶץ אֲחֻזַּתְכֶם *in a house of the country of your possession*. a

(1) Andersen has arranged various categories of noun phrase on a gradated scale of definiteness: *Verbless*, p. 109, Table 1, and see also a discussion on pp. 32f.

- b* The ambiguity of the genitival group which was indicated in § 139 *a*, Obs. 1, is particularly evident in the case of a noun with a suffix⁽¹⁾. When the logical union between the two nouns which make up a genitival group is very close, the suffix logically affects the block and not the second noun. Thus **הַר קִדְרָשׁ** means *mountain-of-holiness* = *holy mountain*, hence Ps 2.6 **הַר קִדְרָשׁ יְשִׁי** *my mountain-of-h. = my holy m.* (not: *the m. of my h.*; cf. § 129 *f*, 1); Is 2.20 **כְּסָפֹו אֱלִילָיִם** *his idols of silver* (cf. § 129 *f*, 5); Dt 1.41 **כְּלֵי מִלְחָמָתוֹ** *his instruments of war* = *his weapons*; Jdg 3.15 **יַד יְמִינֹו** *his right hand* (**יְמִין** always subs. *right-hand side, the right*); 1Kg 21.11 **אֲנָשֵׁי עִירוֹ** *his fellow-citizens*; 2Kg 6.12 **חֻרְרֹו** *your bedroom*; 2Kg 25.29 **בְּגָדֵי כְלָאוֹ** *his jail clothes*; Is 56.7 **בְּבֵיתִי** *in my house of prayer*; Ps 60.10 **מוֹאָב סִיר רְחֻצֵי** *Moab is my wash-basin*⁽²⁾; 132.11 **פְּרִי בִטְנֶךָ** *your offspring* (lit. *your fruit-of-womb*, Germ. *Leibesfrucht*; not: *the fruit of your womb*, which cannot be said about a man⁽³⁾).

(1) Only rarely do we find the unambiguous, but ponderous type of construction as in Gn 44.2 **כִּי יִבְרַע הַכֶּסֶף** *my cup (cup) of silver*: Gn 37.23; 2Kg 25.30 (Jer 52.34). Alternatively **ל** may be used as in Ezr 10.14 **שָׂרְיָנוּ לְכָל הַקְּהָל** *our rulers of all the congregation*.

(2) Not: "Moab olla spei meae" (Vulg.: "Moab, the pot of my hope") (where **רַחֵץ** is translated according to the meaning it has in Aramaic).

(3) Speaking of a woman Gn 30.2†, of a man Dt 7.13; 28.4,11,18,53; Mi 6.7; Ps 127.3†.

- c* A noun with a suffix, no more than a genitival group, can normally have the article. The instances which are found in our Massoretic text are incorrect or doubtful; e.g. Josh 7.21 **הָאֲהָלִי** (perh. a mixture of two readings **הָאֲהָלִי** and **הָאֲהָלִי**); 8.33 **הַחֻצֵי** (this form, as well as **חֻצֵי** where the suffix is irregular, should prob. be replaced by **הַחֻצֵי**, which is required by usage; cf. 1Kg 3.25; 16.21); Is 24.2 **כַּגְּבִרְתָּהּ** (vocalisation of the article for assonance with the other 11 forms with **כַּ**); Pr 16.4 **לְמַעַנְהוּ** (incorrect vocalisation).

On the other hand, cases such as Is 36.8,16 **הַמֶּלֶךְ אַשּׁוּר** *the king of Assyria*; Ez 45.16 **כָּל הָעָם הָאָרֶץ** *all the people of the land* cannot be easily explained away as due to textual corruption. It must be admitted that, though not normal, there are not a few instances in which the

article is prefixed to a noun determined by the following noun phrase such as a proper noun, another articular noun, etc.⁽¹⁾

(1) For a collection of such examples and a discussion of their classification, see A. Lemaire in *GLECS* 24-28 (1979-84) 134-39. Cf. § 131 *d*.

§ 141. The adjective. Comparative and superlative

Adjectives are relatively rare in Hebrew. Even when a certain adjective exists we sometimes find the adjectival idea expressed otherwise. A genitive expressing a quality (§ 129 *f*,1) is often used, e.g. **וְרַע הַמְּלֹכָה** 2Kg 25.25 etc. *the royal race (of royalty)*; **וְרַע הַמְּמַלְכָה** 2Kg 11.1; **כִּסֵּא הַמְּלֹכָה** and **כִּסֵּא הַמְּלֹכָה** *the royal throne*⁽¹⁾; sometimes a concrete noun, e.g. 2Kg 11.5 **בֵּית הַמֶּלֶךְ** *the royal house = the royal palace* (here *of the king* is impossible, since the reference is to queen Athaliah). The adjectival idea with the verb *to be* is found in stative verbs such as **קָטַנְתִּי** *I am small* Gn 32.11. Some phrases consisting of a preposition and a noun are equivalent to adjectives: Ps 136.1 **כִּי לְעוֹלָם חַסְדּוֹ** *for his kindness is eternal*; Job 1.15 **אֲנִי לְבַדִּי** *I alone*; Dt 21.14 **לְנַפְשָׁהּ** *free*; Is 27.21 **הַיָּם אֲשֶׁר בְּיָם** *the sea Dragon* (cf. § 130 *f*). A substantive used as a predicate is sometimes equivalent to an adjective: 1Kg 2.13 **הַשְּׁלוֹם בְּאָהָרְךָ** (cf. vs. 14) *is your visit peaceful*⁽²⁾?

(1) There is no adjective from the root **מלך**.

(2) There is no adjective for *peaceful*.

The place of the adjective is normally after the noun, of which it is the apposition: Gn 21.8 **מִשְׁתֵּה גְדוֹלָה** *a great banquet*; after a genitival group: 2Kg 4.9 **אִישׁ אֱלֹהִים קָדוֹשׁ** *a holy man of God*. Cf. 1Kg 8.23 **אֵין אֵין מִמַּעַל ... כְּמֹדֵךְ אֱלֹהִים בְּשָׁמַיִם** ... and poss. Gn 41.38 **אֲשֶׁר ... אֵין אֵין מִכָּאן כְּזֶה סֵפֶר** *Can we find a man like this who ...*, a syntax analogous to that in colloquial ModH *כזה ספר a book like this*.

The only certain exception is the adjective **רַב** *many* (not in the sense of *great*), which sometimes precedes the noun: often in the plural, Jer 16.16b **רַבִּים צֹדֵדִים** *many hunters* (contr. 16a **רַבִּים דִּיגְיָנִים** *many fishermen*); Pr 7.26; 31.29⁽¹⁾; Ne 9.28; 1Ch 28.5; Ps 89.51⁽²⁾. — In the sing. Is 21.7; 2Ch 28.13. Possibly also Ps 32.10 **רַבִּים מְכָאוּ בִים לְרָשָׁע**, where "the sorrows of the wicked are many" would require **רַבִּים לְרָשָׁע** or **מְכָאוּ בִי רָשָׁע**.

The pattern as evinced in Josh 7.21 אֲדִירַת שְׁנַעַר אַחַת טוֹבָה and 1Kg 13.11 אֲחָר זָקֵן נְבִיא אֲחָר זָקֵן comparable to the Syriac syntax, is more common than the pattern such as 1Sm 6.7 עֲגֹלָה חֲדָשָׁה אֲחֵת⁽³⁾.

(1) The acrostic structure of the chapter may have played a role here.

(2) This could be due to the influence of מְעַט, *a little*, כֹּל *all*, which, being substantives, precede the noun. There is also perhaps an Aramaic influence or that of numerals (Lambert, § 259). Syr. *saggi* "many" can also precede the head noun.

(3) See König, *Syntax*, § 334 e. For more details, see below § 142 *ba*.

c Observation. Normally an adjective cannot directly qualify a **proper noun**. Thus *Nineveh the great* is נִנְוֶה הָעִיר הַגְּדוֹלָה Jon 1.2.

d Adjectives are very rarely constructed on **indeterminate substantives**: 1Sm 17.40 חֲמֵשָׁה חֲלִקֵי אֲבָנִים literally *five smoothnesses of stones* = *five very smooth stones* (with superlative nuance)⁽¹⁾; Nu 17.3 רִקְעֵי פְּחִים *very thin plates* (beaten by hammering); Is 35.9 פְּרִיץ חֵיוֹת (?) *a ferocious beast*; Ez 7.24 רְעֵי גוֹיִם *very wicked nations*; Is 29.19 אֲבִיוֹנֵי אֲרָם *the poorest men*.

(1) אֲבָנֵי is treated as masculine here only (cf. § 134 *k*).

e On the other hand, adjectives are commonly constructed on **determinate substantives**: it is a way of expressing the superlative: 2Ch 21.17 בְּנֵי קִטָּן *the young(est) one of his sons* (cf. § *j*).

f The adjective, as **genitive of a noun**, is very uncommon: Is 22.24 כָּל הַקְּטָנִים *all the small(est?) vessels*; Is 28.4 צִיצַת נֶבֶל (?) *withered flower* (rather odd: fem. constructed on adj. in the masc.; contr. vs. 1). In Ps 78.49 מַלְאֲכֵי רָעִים *angels of calamity*, רָעִים is probably the plural (by grammatical attraction, § 136 *o*) of the subst. רָע.

Compare the construction type יוֹם הַשְּׁבִיעִי, § 138 *b*.

g Comparative. Hebrew is extremely simplistic in its expression of the comparative. Not only does it lack the comparative or elative (like Engl. *better*, *lesser*) form, but it does not even have the comparative adverbs with general meaning *more*⁽¹⁾, *less*⁽²⁾. When the sentence only has one member expressed, one must be content with the adjectival [or verbal⁽³⁾] form and nothing more: Nu 26.54 לָרַב תַּרְבֶּה וְנִחַלְתּוּ *for the (more) numerous you shall make his portion great(er)*; 54a^b; 35.8; with טוֹב: Jdg 9.2 *Which is better for you?*; 2Sm 14.32 *it would be better for me to be there still*; 18.3; Ru 2.22; — with גָּדוֹל: 1Kg 18.27 *Shout louder* (§ 102 *g*).

When the sentence contains two members, the second is preceded by מן, which in itself expresses the idea of *difference*(⁴), but practically, and according to usage, the difference *in addition to*(⁵): 1Sm 9.2 מִכָּל־הָעַם גָּבַהַּ מִכָּל־הָעַם *taller than all the people* (tall *other than, differently from*); with infinitive: Gn 29.19 טוֹב תַּתִּי אֶתְּהָ לְךָ מִתַּתִּי אֶתְּהָ לְאִישׁ אַחֵר *it is better that I give her to you than that I should give her to another man*; Ex 14.12(⁶).

(1) In MH יוֹתֵר, which is found in Ecclesiastes, e.g. 12.12.

(2) In MH פְּחוּת.

(3) E.g. Ex 17.11 גָּבַר *to be the strong(est) one*; Is 28.22 יִקְזָזוּ.

(4) Cf. P. Jouïon, *Le Cantique des cantiques* (Rome, 1909), ad 5.9.

(5) The idea of difference in מן comes from the idea of separation and distance. § 133 e. — The idea of *difference* likewise leads to that of *more* in Fr. *autrement*: "C'est bien *autrement* difficile" = "bien plus"; "je n'en suis pas *autrement* étonné" = "pas plus qu'il ne faut," colloquially "pas plus que ça."

(6) Cf. Mark 9.43 καλόν ἐστίν σε κυλλόν εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν ζωήν, ἢ . . .

Observation. The same construction with מן is used with stative *h* verbs, which express an adjectival idea: 1Sm 10.23 וַיִּגְבַּהּ מִכָּל־הָעַם *and he happened to be taller than all the people* (compare 9.2 גָּבַהַּ, § g); Gn 43.34 מִן וַתֵּרָב *and it was larger than*.

The same construction is found with many verbs (stative or active) which express an action, but in which there is virtually an adjectival idea, e.g. בָּאָהַב *to love* Gn 29.30; חָפֵץ *to love* Ho 6.6; כִּבֵּד *to honour* 1Sm 2.29.

The action verb בָּחַר *to choose* is also constructed with מן(¹): Job 7.15 (in Dt 14.2 מן can mean *rather than* or *from among*).

When there is no adjectival idea, one must resort to a periphrasis with the stative verb רָבַח *to be great, numerous*, e.g. *the forest devoured more of them than the sword* is 2Sm 18.8 וַיִּרְבַּח הַיָּעַר לְאָכְלָהּ *and the forest made much of them* ... (adverbial Hifil הרבה *make much*, § 54 d; *multum fecit comedendo = comedit multum* "it ate much")(²); Ex 36.5 *The people bring more than what is required for the work*(³).

(1) The very meaning of the verb implies the idea of *rather*.

(2) Here one could resort to an expression with רַבִּים as in Josh 10.11.

(3) For *less* one would symmetrically say e.g. הִמְעִיט לְאָכְלָהּ, but there are no instances in our texts; comp. 2Kg 4.3 תִּמְעָטִי, with לְשֹׂאֵל understood.

Elliptical comparison: too much for. A sentence such as הוּא כָּבֵד מְאֹדִי *i*

it is heavier than I can also mean *it is too heavy for me*. Instead of bearing on two objects, the comparison can be established between an object and what another object can do, e.g. *it is heavier than [that which] I [can carry]*, hence possible ambiguity, e.g. Gn 26.16 עֲצֵמְתָּ מְאֹד מֵאֵד *you are much too powerful for us* (rather than *more powerful*); Ru 1.13 מְאֹד מִכֶּם מֵרֵ-לִי *I am much too unhappy for you*; Ex 18.18 כִּי-בָר מְאֹד הָהָרְבָּר *for the thing is too heavy for you* (cf. Nu 11.14; Ps 38.5); after a Hifil expressing an adjectival idea: Ps 139.12 לֹא-אֲשִׁיף מְאֹד *darkness is not (too) dark for you*. Likewise an infinitive expressing the action which the subject cannot perform: Gn 36.7 כִּי-הָיָה *for their possessions were too numerous for them to be able to live together*; 4.13. With מְעַט *a little* we have Is 7.13 מְעַט מִכֶּם *too little for you*; but רַב לָכֶם מִן *it is too much for you* (with inf. 1Kg 12.28, or subst. Ez 44.6) does not seem to be logically formed (likewise מְעַשׂוֹת ... נִקְלָה *a thing too unimportant ... to do* Ez 8.17).

j **Superlative.** For the relative superlative one uses the adjective made determinate by the article, by a determinate noun, or by a suffix: 1Sm 30.19 מִן-הַקָּטָן וְעַד-הַגָּדוֹל *from the small(est) one to the great(est) one*; 1Kg 18.25 אַתֶּם הַרְבֵּימִים *it is you who are the (most) numerous ones* (§ 137 I, 2); 2Ch 21.17 קָטָן בְּנָיו *the young(est) one of his sons*; Jon 3.5 מִן-הַגָּדוֹל לְמִן-הַקָּטָן *from the great(est) one from among them to the small(est) one*. There is also a superlative nuance in cases like the following (with the article of the adjective): Ct 1.8 הַיָּפָה בַּנְּשִׁים *Oh, the most beautiful one among women*⁽¹⁾; 2Kg 10.3; Dt 28.54 הָאִישׁ הַרַךְ בָּךְ *the (most) delicate man among you*⁽²⁾; 1Sm 8.14 הַטּוֹבִים בָּיָם *your best olive-trees*; 2Sm 7.9 אֲשֶׁר בְּאֶרֶץ *all the best fields*.

(1) Compare the Hebraism in Luke 1.42 εὐλογημένη σὺ ἐν γυναιξίν "benedicta tu inter mulieres." — Likewise with בְּתוֹךְ Ez 29.12 "desolate land *among* the desolate lands," "desolate *among* all"; 30.7.

This is very close to the MH syntax as in שֶׁבַּהֲיִנִין הַגָּדוֹל *the greatest of the judges*; see Segal, *A Gram. of MH* [§ 138 c, n.] פ' § 392; id., Heb. ed., § 361.

(2) Literally *in you*. The singular pronoun *you* is here used with a collective value. Compare Hg 2.3 (quoted § 144 a) where מִי is used in the collective sense.

k The **absolute superlative** is expressed by the adjective followed by מאד: Gn 1.31 טוֹב מְאֹד *very good*⁽¹⁾.

The repetition of an adjective serves the same purpose: 1Sm 2.3 גְּבִיחָהּ

גְּבוּהָהּ *very proudly*; Gn 25.30 הָאָרֶם הָאָרֶם הַזֶּה *that very red thing*; Pr 20.14 רַע רַע; Ec 7.24 עֲמֹק עֲמֹק *very deep*.

A phrase like רַב־חֶסֶד *great in kindness* Ex 34.6 is equivalent to *very kind*. See also § d.

(1) On a variety of expressions using מְאֹד, such as 'עַד מְ, 'עַד לְמְ, 'מְ 'מְ, and 'מְ 'מְ, see BDB, s.v., p. 547b.

A group of two substantives, the first of which is constructed on the same substantive in the plural, expresses a superlative idea: Ex 26.33 הַקֹּדֶשׁ הַקֹּדֶשׁים *the Holy of holies (the most holy thing)*; Ct 1.1 שִׁיר הַשִּׁירִים *the Song of songs, the Song (par excellence)*; Gn 9.25; Nu 3.32; Dt 10.17; 1Kg 8.27; Jer 3.19; Ez 16.7; 26.7.

Likewise a genitival group of two substantives, which are synonyms or have closely related meanings, can sometimes express a superlative nuance: Jn 2.9 וְאֵין־לִי־שֹׂא *vanities of nothingness*; Ps 43.4 שִׂמְחַת גִּילִי *joy of my cheerfulness (= my overflowing joy)*; Is 2.10 הַדָּר גְּאֹנֹו *the glory of his majesty*.

For the agreement of the adjective with the noun, see § 148.

Some nouns such as אֶל־הִים, אֶל־הַיָּם in the genitive case can serve as intensifiers: 1Sm 14.15 חֲרַת־אֱלֹהִים *a very great panic*; 26.12 תְּרַדַּמַת יְהוּוֹה *a very deep sleep*; Ct 8.6 שֵׁלֶה־בַּת יָה *a frightful flame*(¹).

(1) See D. Winton Thomas, "A consideration of some unusual ways of expressing the superlative in Hebrew," *VT* 3 (1953) 209-24, and P.P. Saydon, "Some unusual ways of expressing the superlative in Hebrew and Maltese," *VT* 4 (1954) 432f. As a matter of fact, the idea was current already among mediaeval Jewish exegetes; see, e.g. Radak ad 1Sm 26.12. So in Ugr.: Gordon, *UT*, § 13.22.

§ 142. Numerals

About the semi-substantival and semi-adjectival nature of cardinal numbers, cf. § 100 a.

Number 1. This number is the one which has the most adjectival character. It agrees with its noun as the adjective does. Placed after the noun it is an adjective: אֶחָד *one man* (§ 137 u); Gn 11.1 שְׂפָה אֶחָת וְדַבָּרִים אֶחָדִים *the same language (lip) and the same words*; 27.44 יָמִים אֶחָדִים *some time*(¹). Placed before a substantive in the genitive or be-

fore a preposition it is, rather, a substantive: 22.2 אֶחָד הַקְּהָרִים (§ 137 v); אֶחָד מִן or (especially in liaison, § 129 o) מִן אֶחָד⁽²⁾. In בְּיוֹם אֶחָד Hg 1.1, 'א is prob. a substantive: "the day of one" = *the first day* (cf. § o; 138 b).

(1) יָמִים is usual for *time*.

(2) Note that in Hebrew אֶחָד does not take the suffixes. But שְׁנַי (שְׁתֵּי) with suff. is common. אֶרְבַּעַת and שְׁלֹשָׁת are also found with suff.

ba When a noun is qualified by both an adjective and the numeral for one, אֶחָד טוֹב is the normal pattern: Josh 7.21 אֶרְרֹת שֹׁנָעַר אֶחָד טוֹב *a goodly mantle of Shinar*; 1Kg 2.20 שְׂאֵלָה אֶחָד קְטַנָּה *one small request*; 1Kg 13.11, Ez 17.7; 2Ch 18.12. The alternative sequence is attested in 1Sm 6.7 עֲגֹלָה חֲדָשָׁה אֶחָד *one new cart*. Both patterns occur in a single verse: Nu 6.14 וְכִבְשָׁה אֶחָד בֶּת-שָׁנָתָה תְּמִימָה ... אֵיל אֶחָד תְּמִים *one ewe-lamb of the first year without blemish ... one ram without blemish*.

c **Number 2.** This number has a nature which is less adjectival than that of אֶחָד, but more so than that of the other numbers. It agrees in gender with its substantive. It usually comes before the noun, mostly in the cst. state, less often in the abs. state; finally it sometimes follows the noun: Gn 1.16 אֶת-שְׁנֵי הַמְּאֹרֹת הַגְּדֹלִים *the two great luminaries*; 1Kg 3.16 שְׁתֵּי נָשִׁים *two women*; 2Sm 1.1 יָמִים שְׁנַיִם *two days (days two [in number])*; Hg 1.1 בְּשָׁנַת שְׁתַּיִם *in the year (of) two*⁽¹⁾. Two is sometimes used in the sense of Engl. *a couple* (Germ. *ein paar*) = *some*: 1Kg 17.12 שְׁנַיִם עֲצִים *some pieces of wood*; prob. 2Sm 13.6; 1Kg 20.27.

(1) Ex 16.22 שְׁנֵי הָעֹמֶר for *two omers* is prob. incorrect.

d **Numbers 3-10.** For the nature of these numbers and the law of dissymmetry in their use, cf. § 100 d. They usually come before the noun, whether in the abs. state or in the cst. state; sometimes they come after it⁽¹⁾. Thus the three types are: שְׁלֹשָׁת בָּנִים *three sons*, שְׁלֹשָׁת בָּנִים properly speaking *a trio of sons*, בָּנִים שְׁלֹשָׁה *sons three (in number)*. The cst. state is generally used when the noun has the article: Ex 34.28 עֲשֹׂרֹת הַדְּבָרִים *the ten commandments*; 1Kg 11.35 עֲשֹׂרֹת הַשְּׁבָטִים *the ten tribes* (but vs. 31 עֲשָׂרָה); likewise when the things numbered are regarded as forming a group: 2Sm 24.13 שְׁלֹשָׁת יָמִים [a group of] *three days* (cp. a *triduum*); hence, with the numbers 100 and 1,000, the cst. state is always⁽²⁾ found: שְׁלֹשׁ מֵאוֹת 300; שְׁלֹשָׁת אֲלָפִים 3,000. The noun which

follows the number is always⁽³⁾ in the plural, especially in late books.

(1) All the other numbers can likewise follow the noun: this construction is mainly found, as is natural, in enumerations: Gn 32.15; Nu 7.17; 28.19. Comp. in Italian: *Il Re ha elargito lire cento mila; il prezzo del biglietto è di lire una; i soci pagano lire cinque annue.*

On a convincing critique of S. Herner, *Syntax der Zahlwörter im Alten Testament* (Lund, 1893), see Kropat, *Syntax*, pp. 50-53. Cf. also Qimron, *Hebrew of DSS*, pp. 85f.

(2) Exceptions with אֶלְפַיִם: 2Sm 18.3; 2Kg 24.14 (Ktiv).

(3) Exceptions: 2Kg 22.1 (but read עֶשְׂרֵה עֶשְׂרֵה); Ez 45.1 ?; Ktiv of 2Kg 8.17; 25.17.

It has been suggested that some of these exceptions may attest to an archaic feature: see J. Blau, *JOS* 2 (1972) 57f.

Numbers 11-19. About the formation and the use of these numbers, cf. § 100 e-h. The noun which follows is most of the time in the plural, in apposition (§ 131 g), e.g. עֶשְׂרֵה עֶשְׂרֵה בְּרָכוֹת 18 blessings (Talmud). However it is often in the singular (prob. accusative of limitation, § 127 b) in the case of some particularly common nouns⁽¹⁾: אִישׁ, נֶפֶשׁ, יוֹם, שָׁנָה, אֶלֶף, שֶׁבֶט, sometimes also חֹדֶשׁ אַמָּה cubit, שֶׁקֶל shekel, עִיר city: Jdg 3.14 שָׁנָה עֶשְׂרֵה עֶשְׂרֵה; Dt 1.2 יוֹם עֶשְׂרֵה יוֹם.

(1) Likewise for the following numbers, generally speaking. The singular is prob. the primitive use, which was preserved with nouns of things which are very often counted. Some nouns which are usually in the plural are sometimes found in the sing. e.g. מְלָךְ 1Kg 20.1,16.

Numbers of tens 20-90. Examples: Ex 36.23 עֶשְׂרִים קַרְשִׁים 20 joists; but with a frequent noun (cf. § e) Gn 31.41 עֶשְׂרִים שָׁנָה.

Numbers 100 and 1,000. E.g. 1Kg 18.4 מְאָה נְבִיאִים 100 prophets; 1Sm 25.2 אֶלְפֵי עֲזִים 1,000 goats; but with frequent nouns (§ e) Gn 17.17 מְאָה שָׁנָה; Jdg 15.16 אֶלֶף אִישׁ. — With the singular noun the cst. state מְאָה is also found in some texts: Gn 11.10 מְאָה שָׁנָה (frequent); Esth 1.4 מְאָה יוֹם; Nu 2.9 etc. מְאָה אֶלֶף⁽¹⁾. The only exception is Ex 38.27 מְאָה אַרְבָּנִים.

(1) However, the cst. of du. מְאָתַיִם and אֶלְפַיִם is never used, and where it is used with a counted noun, it always takes the absolute form as in 2Kg 18.23 אֶלְפַיִם סוּסִים. So in Ugr. written alphabetically; see Gordon, *UT*, § 4.31, but cf. Huehnergard, *Ugr. Vocabulary*, p. 144. This casts doubt on Z. Harris' hypothetical phonemic differentiation between /alpē/ "two thousands of" and /alfē/ "thousands of" (see § 5 o).

Intermediate numbers 21-99. E.g. 2Kg 2.24 אַרְבָּעִים וְשָׁנַיִם יְלָדִים 42 children; with a frequent noun (§ e) Gn 17.24 וְתֵשַׁע שָׁנָה.

Numbers of the hundreds 300-900. E.g. Jdg 15.4 שְׁלֹשׁ מֵאוֹת שׁוּעָלִים

300 foxes; with a frequent noun (§ e) Gn 5.22 *שְׁלֹשׁ מֵאוֹת שָׁנָה*. (The numbers 3-10 before the hundreds always in the cst. state, § d).

j **Numbers of the thousands 3,000-9,000.** E.g. Job 42.12 *שְׁשֹׁת אלפים* 6,000 camels; 1.3 *שְׁבַעַת אלפי-צאן ושלשֹׁת אלפי גמלים*; with a frequent noun (§ e) Josh 7.3 *שְׁלֹשׁת אלפים איש*. (The numbers 3-10 before the thousands are always used in the cst. state, § d).

k **Observation.** In the compound numbers 21 etc., 101 etc., the noun can be repeated after each element of the number: Gn 23.1 *מֵאָה שָׁנָה וְעֶשְׂרִים* 127 years.

l **Determination.** Numbers are supposed to be somewhat determinate in themselves; therefore the article is used very sparingly, whether with the number (even with the meaning of an ordinal numeral, § o), or with the noun.

The number takes the article if it is logically determinate: Gn 18.29*b* *הָאַרְבָּעִים* the forty; 14.9 *הַחֲמִשָּׁה* the five (enumerated vs. 2); 2Sm 23.18, 19. With a following noun (which itself does not take the article): Nu 16.35 *וּמֵאֲתָיִם וּמֵאֲתָיִם* the two hundred and fifty men; Josh 4.4 *אִישׁ אֶשְׁרֵי הָעֶשְׂרִים* the twelve men (cp. 1Kg 19.19 and contr. 1Ch 25.19; 27.15 *הַשְּׁלֹשִׁים עֶשְׂרֵי*). See also Dt 19.9 *עַל הַשְּׁלֹשָׁה הָאֵלֶּה* besides these three as against Gn 9.19 *שְׁלֹשָׁה אֵלֶּה* these three; with the article repeated in Nu 3.46 *וְהַשְּׁבַעִים וְהַמֵּאָתִים*.

Usually it is the noun which takes the article: Jdg 7.7 *שְׁלֹשׁ מֵאוֹת* *הָאִישׁ* the three hundred men (the noun in the sing. § i); 1Sm 30.21 *מֵאֲתָיִם* *הָאֲנָשִׁים* the two hundred men; Gn 18.28 *הַחֲמִשִּׁים הַצְּדִיקִים* the fifty righteous.

As we can see, the article is not used with the number and the noun at the same time. Likewise when the number follows: Dn 9.26 *הַשְּׁבַעִים* *וּשְׁנַיִם* the sixty-two weeks, and even 2Kg 25.16 *הַעַמֻּדִים שְׁנַיִם* the two columns.

m For one in the determinate sense (Fr. *l'un*), we have *הָאֶחָד* Nu 11.26 (contr. with *הַשְּׁנַיִם* the second = the other) (Gn 2.11; 4.19; 10.25; Dt 21.15; 2Sm 4.2); but 1Sm 1.2 *אֶחָד* ?

After a noun with the article, אחד, which is somewhat determinate in itself⁽¹⁾ like the other numbers, can occur without the article. With the article: Jer 52.21 *הָאֶחָד הַעַמֻּד* one of the [two] columns, but without the article vs. 20 (Qre) *הָיָה אֶחָד* the unique Sea. Without the article: Nu 28.4 *הַכֹּבֵשׁ הַבְּרֵךְ* one of the [two] lambs (contr. with *הַשְּׁנַיִם*) (but

with the article Lv 14.12); 1Sm 13.18 קָרַאשׁ אֶחָד; Jer 24.2; Ez 10.9. After a noun made determinate by a suffix: Gn 42.19 אֶחָדְכֶם אֶחָד (vs. 33 with the article).

(1) Note אַת in 1Sm 9.3 מִהַנְּעָרִים אַתְּ.

The ellipsis of certain names of measure is fairly common. Thus שֶׁקֶל n is understood in Gn 20.16 אֶלְף כֶּסֶף a thousand (shekels of) silver; 24.22 עֶשְׂרֵה זָהָב ten (shekels of) gold; אֵיפָה ephah in Ru 3.15 שֵׁשׁ שְׁעָרִים six (ephah of) barley. A word such as כֶּבֶךָ a round loaf is understood in 1Sm 21.4 חֲמִשָּׁה לֶחֶם five (round loaves) of bread (1Kg 14.3); cf. 1Sm 10.4? (contr. vs. 3) and an Arad ostracon (2.4) לֶחֶם 300. The word אַמָּה cubit is understood in Ex 27.11?; 27.15?. The common construction type Ex 26.2 שְׁמֹנֶה וְעֶשְׂרִים בְּאַמָּה means 28 (measures measured) according to the cubit = twenty-eight cubits (comp. Dt 3.11).

To express ordinal numbers, specific (adjectival, § 101 a) forms exist o only for the first ten numbers. However, even so, cardinal numbers are usually preferred to these forms for the reckoning of years and days (but not of months). From 11 onwards it is necessary to resort to the cardinal numbers: 1Kg 19.19 הָעֶשְׂרִים הַיְגִימָה the twelfth (yoke of oxen: יְגִמָּה); 1Ch 25.19 הָעֶשְׂרִים עָשָׂר (vs. 18 עֶשְׂרִים עָשָׂר the eleventh, without the article; vs. 20 לְשָׁלְשִׁים עָשָׂר to the thirteenth etc. without the article).

Indication of the year, of the month, and of the day: Hg 1.1 בְּשָׁנָה שְׁנֵי לְדָרְיָוֶשׁ הַמֶּלֶךְ בַּחֹדֶשׁ הַשְּׁשִׁי בְּיוֹם אֶחָד לַחֹדֶשׁ lit.: In the year [of] two of Darius the king, the sixth month, the day [of] one. (About the ל, cf. § 130 d).

Year: We may find שָׁנָה placed after the number, שָׁנָה placed before the number, and even a contamination of these two constructions:

With שָׁנָה: Gn 14.5 בְּאַרְבַּע עָשָׂר שָׁנָה in the fourteen(th) year; 1Kg 6.1 בְּשִׁמּוֹנִים שָׁנָה וְאַרְבַּע מֵאוֹת שָׁנָה in the year 480.

With שָׁנָה: 1Kg 16.10 בְּשָׁנָה עָשָׂרִים וְשִׁבְעִים in the year (of) 27; with the article: Dt 15.9 הַשְּׁבַע שָׁנָה the seventh year; Nu 33.38 בְּשָׁנָה הָאַרְבָּעִים in the year (of) 40; Dn 9.1 בְּשָׁנָה אֶחָד in the year 1 (in the year of one).

With שָׁנָה and שָׁנָה: Gn 7.11 בְּשָׁנָה שֵׁשׁ־מֵאוֹת שָׁנָה in the year of the six hundredth year = in the year 600; Lv 25.10 שָׁנָה הַחֲמִשִּׁים שָׁנָה the fiftieth year.

Day: We may find יוֹם placed before the number, placed after the number (doubtless in the cst. state like שָׁנָה), or we may find a conta-

mination of these two constructions: Ex 12.18a בַּאֲרֶבְעָה עָשָׂר יוֹם *the fourteenth day*; 18b (with the article) יוֹם הָאֶחָד וְעֶשְׂרִים עַד יוֹם הָאֶחָד *until the twenty-first day*; Ezr 10.16 בַּיּוֹם הָאֶחָד *the first day (the day of one)*; Nu 7.72 בַּיּוֹם הָעֲשֵׂרִי עָשָׂר יוֹם *on the day of the eleventh day = the eleventh day*.

On the construction יוֹם הַשְּׁבִיעִי, שְׁנַת הַשְּׁבִיעִית, cf. § 138 b.

Observation. For the *tenth day*, besides the ordinal number (Nu 7.66 בַּיּוֹם הָעֲשֵׂרִי) there is the special word עָשׂוֹר *period of ten days*: Ex 12.3 בַּעֲשׂוֹר לְחֹדֶשׁ. For the days of the week, apart from Gn 1.5,8,13,19,23,31; 2.2, there is only בַּיּוֹם הַשְּׁשִׁי Ex 16.5,22,29.

p The **distributive** idea may be expressed by the simple ל⁽¹⁾: Dt 1.23 אֶחָד לְשִׁבְטֵי אִישׁ אֶחָד לְשִׁבְטֵי אִישׁ *one man per tribe*; 1Kg 10.22 אַחַת לְשָׁלֹשׁ שָׁנִים *once every three years*; by repetition of the number: Gn 7.2 שִׁבְעָה שִׁבְעָה *seven (of each kind)*; 7.9 שְׁנַיִם שְׁנַיִם *two by two (in groups of two)*; Nu 13.2 אֶחָד לְמִטָּה אֶבְתָּיו *one man per paternal tribe*; with Waw intervening in 2Sm 21.20 שֵׁשׁ וְשֵׁשׁ *six each*. Sometimes the whole expression is repeated: Nu 31.4 אֶלֶף לְמִטָּה אֶלֶף לְמִטָּה *a thousand men per tribe*.

(1) This distributive ל is a variety of ל of relation (cf. BDB, sub ל, 5 a, b).

q For the **multiplicative** idea the only attested specific forms are אַרְבַּעַתְּיָם *fourfold* and שִׁבְעַתְּיָם *sevenfold* (§ 100 o). The cardinal numbers are usually used (generally in the masculine form, the fem. מַעַבְרִים *time* being understood, cf. § 102 f): Lv 26.21,24 שִׁבְעַתְּיָם *sevenfold, seven times*. But וְשִׁבְעַתְּיָם *seventy-seven times* (after שִׁבְעַתְּיָם); Ex 22.3,6,8 שְׁנַיִם *double*. For *double* there is also מִשְׁנָה: Gn 43.12,15; Ex 16.5,22. With מִשְׁנָה: Ez 41.6 מִשְׁנָה *thirty-three times*; 2Sm 24.3 מִשְׁנָה *thirty-three times*; Dt 1.11 אֶלֶף פַּעַם. Note also Ne 6.5 חֲמִישִׁית *the fifth time*; Josh 6.16 בַּפְּעַם הַשְּׁבִיעִית *at the seventh time*; פַּעַם prob. understood in Gn 22.15 בַּשְּׁלִישִׁית and 1Sm 3.8 בַּשְּׁלִישִׁית.

For *time*, besides מַעַבְרִים *foot, step*, there is the analogous word רִגְלָא *foot* in Ex 23.14 שְׁלֹשׁ רִגְלָא⁽¹⁾; Nu 22.28,32,33, — יָד *hand* (hence probably *part*) in Gn 43.34 חֲמֵשׁ יָדוֹת *five times* (strictly speaking *five parts*); Dn 1.20 עָשָׂר יָדוֹת *10 times*, — מִנְהָ* (obscure word) in Gn 31.7,41 עֲשָׂרַת מִנְהָ *ten times*.

(1) Cf. Ugr. *p'n*, the regular word for 'foot,' and *p'm* 'time' (of frequency).

CHAPTER V: THE PRONOUN

§ 143. The demonstrative pronoun

I. Properly speaking, the demonstrative in Hebrew is הַזֶּה *this (one)*, *a*
that (one) (§ 36), with the article הַזֶּה־הַזֶּה *this, that* (§ 137 e).

Originally הַזֶּה was a demonstrative adverb (*here; there*)(¹) and it is still found used as such (enclitically or otherwise): Gn 27.21 הַזֶּה אַתָּה לִי literally *you here* (Ger. *du da*); 2Sm 2.20; 1Kg 19.5 הִנֵּה־זֶה *ecce hīc*; Is 21.9; — in the temporal sense: Gn 31.41 הָיִיתִי בְּבֵיתְךָ שְׁנָיִם עָשָׂרִים וְשָׁנָה I *have now been in your house for twenty years* (literally: *hīc = nunc*); Josh 14.10 *it is now 45 years since ...*; Nu 14.22 זֶה לְעֹשֶׂר פְּעָמִים (they have put me to the test) *10 times now (= already)*; Gn 27.36; Nu 22.28; 24.10; 2Sm 14.2 זֶה יָמִים רַבִּים נִחַיִּים *nunc multo tempore = for a long time now*; Josh 22.3.

Related to this adverbial use is the (rare) use of הַזֶּה in a neutral sense: *this/that (thing, fact)*: Dt 14.12 זֶה הַזֶּה לֹא־תֹאכְלוּ מִמֶּנּוּ *this is that of which you shall not eat* (cp. Gn 49.28 וְזֵאת אֲשֶׁר־הִבְרַךְ לְהֵם לְהַאֲבִיבָהּ); Gn 6.15 *this is what you will do* (namely: its measurements); Ex 29.38 (cf. § 152 a). Cp. Ex 3.12 זֶה־הַזֶּה הָאֵת לְךָ *this is the sign for you* with Jer 44.29 זֵאת לְכֶם הָאֵת.

(1) E.g. in: *this man here, that man there; here is, there is; now then; here and there.*

As a pronoun הַזֶּה can occur in all cases, like the noun: Is 29.11 קְרָא *b*
 הַזֶּה־נֹא *do read this*; 2Sm 13.17 אֵת־זֵאת; Gn 2.23 לְזֵאת *to this one*; 29.27
 זֵאת שָׁבִיעַ *the week of this one*; 1Kg 21.2. By contrast, הוּא, הִיא etc. can
 be used only as subject or predicate.

Whenever הַזֶּה is used, what it refers to can be pointed to, whether actually or mentally. Likewise for הַזֶּה־הַזֶּה. הַזֶּה can refer to something already mentioned (Gn 2.4; 9.17,19)—anaphoric use—or to something that is about to be mentioned (5.1)—cataphoric use.

Hebrew does not distinguish between the demonstrative of the near *c*
 object (*this one*) and the demonstrative of the far object (*that one*):
 1Kg 3.23 "*this one* אֵת says ... and *that one* אֵת says ..."; Job 1.16
 "*this one* הַזֶּה was still speaking when *that one* (= *another one*) הַזֶּה ar-

rived"

d הַז does not in itself contain a nuance of **contempt**, but it can sometimes have this nuance by the omission of a fuller expression: 1Sm 10.27; 1Kg 22.27 (contr. 20.39 הַזֵּה אֵינִי הַזֵּה without contempt; Gn 24.58); תָּזֹא 2Sm 13.17 (contr. תָּזֹא הַזֵּה 1Sm 2.20; 1Kg 3.18; 2Kg 6.28).

e Sometimes the demonstrative is used with a nuance which seems to correspond more or less to a certain use of our **possessive**(¹): 2Kg 4.12 תָּזֹא לְשׁוֹנַמִּית הַזֵּה *call our Shunammite* (vss. 25,36); 2Kg 3.10 *these three kings = our three kings* (comp. 1Sm 29.4 *the heads of our men* where הַזֵּה is odd for הַזֵּה, § k); perh. Ex 32.1 הַזֵּה מֹשֶׁה *our Moses*(²)(§ i). Comp. § 137 f 2.

(1) Sometimes determination can be accomplished by the demonstrative or by the possessive: "this book is one of the best psychological studies of *these* days" (= *our*).

(2) Comp. Dn 6.4,6,29 הַזֵּה דָּנִיֵּאל *our Daniel*.

f הַזֵּה sometimes seems to be used only to add an **emphatic** nuance: 1Sm 12.16 ... הַזֵּה הַגְּדוֹל הַזֵּה אֲשֶׁר "this great thing which Yahweh is going to do before your eyes"; Dt 10.21 "these great and prodigious things which your eyes have seen"(¹).

(1) Cf. Mt 18.32 πᾶσαν τὴν ὀφειλὴν ἐκείνην *all this (huge) debt*.

g הַזֵּה is often added to an **interrogative** word, without any notable change in meaning (comp. Fr. *qui? qui ça?*): Job 38.2 הַזֵּה מִי *who ever?* (*quis hic?* or *quis hīc?*). For *what ever?* one generally uses מַה־זֶּה (fem. for the notion of neuter, § 152 a, and cf. Arb. *mādā*): Gn 3.13 מַה־זֶּה עָשִׂיתָ *what is that you have done?*; 12.18; 26.10; 29.25; Ex 14.5, 11; Jdg 2.2; Jon 1.10; rarely מַה־זֶּה 1Sm 10.11 (as subject): *what ever has happened to ...?* מַה־זֶּה is also found with the meaning of *how on earth?*: Gn 27.20; Jdg 18.24; — *why on earth?* 1Kg 21.5; 2Kg 1.5. With the interrogative adverb אֵי *where?*: אֵי־זֶה *where on earth?* (comp. Fr. *où ça?*): Job 38.19b מִקְמוֹ אֵי־זֶה *as for darkness, where is its place?*; Is 66.1 לִי אֵי זֶה בַּיִת אֲשֶׁר תִּבְנוּ *Where is the house you would build me?*; Job 38.19a אֵי־זֶה הַדֶּרֶךְ יִשְׁכְּן־אֹר *Where is the way where the light dwells?* (cf. § 158 b,c); אֵי מֶזֶה *Whence?, Where ... from?* Gn 16.8; Jb 2.2; with a noun attached and the striking intercalation of the preposition, 2Sm 15.2 אֵי מֶזֶה עִיר אַתָּה *What city are you from?*; Jon 1.8 אֵי מֶזֶה *What people are you from?*, cf. Jer 5.7 אֵי לְזֹאת *on what ground?*; very occasionally זֶה אֵי = *which?*: Ec 2.3; 11.6 (indirect ques-

tion)(1); Gn 18.13 שָׂרָה צָחָקָה זֶה לָמָּה why is it that Sarah has laughed?

As can be seen from some of the translations given above, the original function of the demonstrative pronoun seems to have been to mark the preceding phrase as extraposed and forming a cleft sentence. From a synchronic point of view, we are not dealing here with asyndetic relative clauses, an interpretation impossible with examples introduced by adverbial interrogatives such as לָמָּה(2).

(1) In ModH אֵיזוֹ m. and אֵיזוֹ f. are the usual words for *which, what sort of?*.

(2) Cf. Muraoka, *Emphatic*, pp. 134-37 and G. Goldenberg, "Imperfectly-transformed cleft sentences." *Proceedings of the Sixth World Congress of Jewish Studies* (Jerusalem, 1977), 1.127-33. Contrast also the above-quoted Gn 3.13 מָה זֶאת עֲשִׂית with 2Sm 12.21 מָה הֲרִבֵּר הַזֶּה אֲשֶׁר עָשִׂיתָ. Compare the reinforced (so at least in origin) interrogative sentence of the type *Qu'est-ce qu'il y a?* in French; see G. & R. le Bidois, *Syntaxe de Français moderne* (Paris, 1971), vol. I, § 647.

As **attribute of the noun**, זה is generally used with the article: הֵזֶה § 137 e (exceptions § 138 g). When there is an adjective, the demonstrative usually follows: Ex 3.3 הַמַּרְאֵה הַגָּדֹל הַזֶּה *this great sight*; 1Sm 12.16 (quoted in § f).

The only exception is Jer 13.10 הָעֵץ הַזֶּה הָרַע.

For the difference between הֵזֶה and הַהוּא, cf. § j-k.

In some very rare cases זה seems to be used adjectivally before the noun(1): Ex 32.1 זֶה מֹשֶׁה *this Moses* (§ e: *our M.*); 1Sm 21.12 הַלֹּא-זֶה הַיּוֹד מֶלֶךְ הָאָרֶץ *Is not this David the king of the land?* (acc. to the Massoretic accent); Ct 7.8 זֶה קוֹמְתֶךָ *haec statura tua = this your stature*(2); Is 23.13; Ps 34.7; 104.25; 118.20; perh. 49.14; Jdg 5.5 (// Ps 68.9) זֶה סִינַי(3); 1Kg 14.14; 2Kg 6.33; Ezr 3.12, and possibly Gn 2.23.

(1) But Josh 9.12 זֶה לֶחֶמֶנּוּ *this (is) our bread* (cf. vs. 13).

(2) This is a fairly common structure in MH. Comp. a similar phenomenon for מה § 144 d. In Arabic the demonstrative is placed before a noun which is made determinate by the article, after a noun which is made determinate by a suffix, and after a proper noun.

(3) Jdg 5.5 could mean "the one of Sinai, He of Sinai" similarly to *zu ha-at-ni(m)* "one of the son-in-law" in Amorite; see W.L. Moran in G.E. Wright, *The Bible and the Ancient Near East: Essays in Honor of W.F. Albright* (New York, 1961), p. 61, and Huffmon, *Amorite Personal Names* [§ 41 a, n.], pp. 121f. Is it, however, possible, notwithstanding the Massoretic accentuation, to see in זה an equivalent of Arb. (and Ugr.) *dū*? The accentuation at Ps 68.9 does not prevent such an interpretation. On the latter passage, see also M. Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel* (Oxford,

1985), pp. 54f.

j II. Besides the demonstrative proper הַזֶּה, הַזֶּה, there is the **quasi-demonstrative** or weak demonstrative הַהוּא⁽¹⁾. The proper meaning of הַהוּא seems to be *the same*, in particular *the same one* which/who has been mentioned, hence *that ...* (in question). הַהוּא can be called an adjective of *identity*. The strong meaning *the same* can clearly be seen e.g. in 1Sm 4.12 "he ran ... and arrived at Shiloh *the same day* בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא"; Dt 21.23 "you shall bury him *the same day*"; Gn 26.32 "Now *the same day* Isaac's servants arrived" Generally, with weakened meaning: (*on that day* (when such and such an action which has been mentioned took place)⁽²⁾): Gn 15.18; often in the Prophets: Is 5.30; 7.18,20,21,23. (Contr. בַּיּוֹם הַזֶּה Lv 8.34 etc. *this day, today*; rarely without הַ: 1Sm 17.10; 24.11 הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה *today*)⁽³⁾; בְּעֵת הַהִיא *at that (same) time* Esth 8.9 (contr. בְּעֵת הַזֹּאת *on this occasion* 4.14).

(1) The personal pronoun of the 3rd p. הוּא etc., which seems originally to have been a demonstrative, has practically lost this force, like the Fr. *il, lui* (from the Latin demonstrative *ille*). In itself הוּא is no more demonstrative than the 3rd p. suffixes. If the group הַהוּא has a certain demonstrative force, it probably owes it to the article, which has a weak demonstrative force (§ 137 f 1). (On הַהוּא used incorrectly for הַהוּא, cf. § 138 h). Likewise, contrasting with the demonstrative adverbs proper הֵּ here, עַתָּה now, כֵּן thus, are the adverbs שָׁם there, שָׁם then, כֵּן thus, in the same way, which are demonstrative in a broad sense (cf. § 102 h).

(2) *That day* in the sense of *on a certain day*: 1Sm 3.2.

(3) But *today*, without emphasis, is הַיּוֹם, § 137 f, 1.

k The difference between הַהוּא and הַזֶּה can be clearly seen in Jer 25.13 הַהוּא הַהַאֲרָץ הַהַזֵּה *that country* (Babylonia, of which he has just been speaking) and vs. 9 הַהַאֲרָץ הַזֹּאת *this country* (Judaea, where he is). Of course, הַזֶּה can be used even when reference is made to something which has already been spoken about, when the demonstrative idea is the dominant one: 1Sm 10.9 כָּל הַאֲתוֹת הָאֵלֶּה *all these signs* (enumerated in vss. 2-6), followed by בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא *on that day*. Other noteworthy examples of הַזֶּה: Gn 7.11 בַּיּוֹם הַזֶּה *on that day*; 7.13 etc. בְּעֵצְמֵם הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה *on that very day* (not: *on that same day*); 2Kg 4.4; Ne 9.1; but Josh 10.27 *until this very day*; Ez 24.2 *this very day* (cf. § 147 a).

On the other hand, הַהוּא is sometimes difficult to explain: Dt 1.19; 29.2; 1Sm 29.4 (§ e); 2Kg 3.17.

§ 144. The interrogative pronoun.

For persons **מי** *who?* (§ 37 a) is used, e.g. Gn 24.23 **מִי אֲנִי** *whose daughter are you?* (as a genitive). As an accusative we always find **אֵל**: Is 6.8 **אֵל מִי אֶשְׁלַח** *whom shall I send?* (§ 125 g). **מי** in the collective sense: Hg 2.3 **מִי בְּכֶם הַנִּשְׁאָר** *who among you are the survivors ...?*; **מי** can refer to a group: Jdg 21.8 (in spite of **אֶחָד**; cf. vs. 9); with **מי** repeated: Ex 10.8⁽¹⁾.

(1) With enclitic **הוּא**: **מי הוּא** *who ever?* Is 50.9; Job 4.7; Jer 30.21, the syntax of which is different from that in Ps 24.10 **מִלֶּךְ הַכְּבוֹד מִי הוּא זֶה** where **מִלֶּךְ הַכְּבוֹד** is in apposition to **זֶה**; with **הוּא** - **זֶה** Jer 30.21; Ps 24.10; cf. **מי זֶה**, § 143 g.

Instances of **מי** used for things are rare: Jdg 13.17 **מִי שְׁמִי** *what is your name?*⁽¹⁾; **מי** with a latent notion of person: Dt 4.7 **מִי-גוֹי**; Jdg 9.28 **מִי-שְׂכָם**; 2Sm 7.18 **מִי בֵּיתִי**. More exx.: Gn 33.8; Mi 1.5; Ct 3.6.

(1) By contamination of the two constructions: **מִי אֵל** and **מִה שְׁמִי** (Gn 32.28; Ex 3.13); this contamination is all the more explicable in that, for a Semite, the name is conceived as somewhat equivalent to the person. Likewise in Aramaic **מִן** Ezr 5.4 Cf. *Bib* 1 (1920) 365, n.

For things one uses **מה** (§ 37 b). As an accusative it never takes **אֵל** (§ 125 g). It is naturally very rare as a genitive: Jer 8.9 *wisdom of what?* (*what kind of w.?*); Nu 23.3 (§ 129 q, n.). It can be used when reference is made to a person, to ask *what* that person is: 1Sm 29.3 **מִה הֵאֱלֵה** *what are those Hebrews?*; Ct 5.9.

In the construction like 1Sm 26.18 **מִה-בְּיָדִי רָעָה** *what evil is there in my hand?* **מה** retains its pronominal quality, and the noun, separated from **מה**, is in the accusative (of limitation, § 127 b) (Fr. *qu'y a-t-il de mal dans ma main?*): 20.10; 2Sm 19.29; 24.13; 1Kg 12.16; Jer 2.5; Ec 1.12; Esth 6.3.

In the construction like Gn 37.26 **מִה-בְּנֵי צַעַק** *what benefit?*; Is 40.18 **מִה רְמוֹת** *what likeness?*, **מה** appears to be used adjectivally⁽¹⁾.

(1) Comp. a similar phenomenon for **זֶה**, § 143 i.

With an adjective or a verb **מה** has the adverbial meaning of *how!*, *how?*, *why?*: Ps 8.2 **מִה-אֲדִיר** *how glorious!*; 36.8 **מִה-יָקָר** *how precious!*; Nu 24.5 **מִה-טִּיבוֹ אֹהֲלֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל** *how beautiful are your tents!* (exclamative); Gn 44.16 **מִה-נִצְטַדְּקָא** *how shall we justify ourselves?*; Ex 14.15 **מִה-לָּא צָעַקְתָּ אֵלַי** *why are you crying out to me?* With enclitic **זֶה**, cf. § 143 g.

f מה sometimes has the force of an **indefinite pronoun**. In most instances it comes after the verb: 1Sm 19.3 וְרָאִיתִי מֵה וְהַגִּדְתִּי לְךָ *and if I see something, I'll tell you*; 2Sm 18.22 מֵה וְיִהְיֶה *let anything happen! = come what may!* (cf. Job 13.13); Nu 23.3 (§ 129 *q n.*); 2Sm 18.29 מֵה יָדְעֹתִי *I do not know anything* (cf. Pr 9.13)⁽¹⁾.

(1) The only example with מי could be 2Sm 18.12, where, however, לי must be read.

fa Likewise מי and מה occasionally seem to introduce a generalising relative clause, "whosoever ...," "whatsoever ...": e.g., Jdg 7.3 מִי־מִי יִרָא וְחָרַד יָשׁוּב *whoever is fearful and scared should return*; Pr 9.4,16 מִי־מִי מִה אֶקְבֹּל לֹא *Whoever is simple, let him turn in here*; Nu 23.8 מֵה אֶקְבֹּל לֹא *what I curse, God does not curse*. This interpretation, however, is rather unlikely in Dt 20.8 מִי הָאִישׁ הַיָּרֵא וְהַלֵּבָב יֵלֶךְ *What man is there that is fearful and fainthearted? Let him go ...*⁽¹⁾.

(1) *Pace* Lambert, § 277. See further BDB, s.v. מי, *g* and Brock., *Syntax*, § 154.

g In combination with the relative we find Ex 32.33 מִי אֲשֶׁר *he who*⁽¹⁾; 2Sm 20.11† (comp. Arm. מִן דְּנִי Dn 5.21); — Ec 1.9 מֵה־שֵׁי *that which*; 3.15 (comp. Arm. מֵה־דְּנִי Ezr 6.8).

(1) There is a shift from the interrogative to the relative sense: *Who is the one who has sinned against me? I will cut him off* becomes *Who(ever) has sinned ...* (Brock., *GvG*, II, p. 580); comp. Dt 20.5; Jdg 10.18; Ex 24.14, 32.26,33; Jdg 7.3, 9.48; 1Sm 20.4, 2Sm 21.4. See Y. Peretz, *The Relative Clause* [Heb] (Tel Aviv, 1967), pp. 144f.

h A rhetorical מה can, in certain circumstances, be equivalent to a **negation**⁽¹⁾: 1Kg 12.16 מֵה־לָּנוּ חֵלֶק בְּדָוִד *what portion do we have in David? = we have no portion* (followed by בְּבֶן־יִשְׁשִׁי [2]) (cf. 2Sm 20.1 לָּנוּ חֵלֶק [אֵין]); Ct 8.4 (contr. 5.8).

(1) In Arabic *mā* is usual as a negation.

(2) On the special nuance of the negative here, see below § 160 *a*.

§ 145. The relative pronoun

a I. Whatever its origin may be, אֲשֶׁר (§ 38; 158 *f*, *n.*) is, from a syntactical point of view, first a **relative conjunction**: *that*. This value is seen in complete relative clauses, namely those which have the *resumptive* (or *retrospective*) pronoun⁽¹⁾: Jer 28.9 הַנְּבִיא אֲשֶׁר שָׁלַח יְהוָה

literally: "the prophet *that* Yahweh has sent *him*" = *the pr. whom Y. has sent*; in a nominal clause: Gn 7.2 הַבְּהֵמָה אֲשֶׁר לֹא טָהָרָה הִיא lit. "the animal *that it is not clean*" = *the animal which is not clean*.

Little by little the relative conjunction was perceived as a relative pronoun: "the prophet *whom* Y. has sent," "the animal *which* is not pure"⁽²⁾. Moreover this pronoun was used absolutely, namely without a preceding noun, i.e. antecedent: Gn 15.4 אֲשֶׁר יֵצֵא מִמֶּעֶיךָ *he who shall come out of your womb*; Nu 22.6 אֲשֶׁר תְּבָרֵךְ *he whom you will bless* (§ 158 I).

(1) See also the use of אֲשֶׁר as equivalent of כִּי in syndetic substantival clauses, § 157 a ff.

(2) The tendency to perceive אֲשֶׁר as a pronoun must have increased in the later period when the resumptive pronoun tended to be omitted.

II. Although וְשֵׁי is originally different from אֲשֶׁר, it seems to have been felt as being an abbreviated form of אֲשֶׁר. From a syntactical point of view both words are treated in the same way. b

III. In poetry the ancient⁽¹⁾ relative pronoun וְזֶה, which would later become a demonstrative pronoun (adverb and pronoun, § 143 a), is fairly often recognisable (without distinction of gender or of number): Job 19.19 וְזֵה אֲהַבְתִּי נְהַפְכוּ-בִי *and those whom I love have turned against me*; 15.17; Ps 74.2; 78.54; 104.8,26; (§ 129 q); Pr 23.22. Even more common is the form וְזֵי (§ 36 b; Ps 132.12 וְזֵי), which is not much used as a demonstrative: Ps 17.9 וְזֵי שֶׁעָלְמוּ *the wicked who have tormented me*; 9.16; 10.2; 31.5; 32.8; 68.29; 143.8; Ex 15.13; Is 42.24; 43.21. All these וְזֵי relative clauses have a determinate antecedent, though it is not so marked formally⁽²⁾. c

(1) This use is well attested in Ugaritic.

(2) The same form is also attested in the Tayyi' dialect of Arabic: C. Rabin. *Ancient West Arabian* (London, 1951), pp. 203-5.

IV. In Chron. and Ezr. the article is sometimes used as a relative: d
1Ch 26.28 כֹּל הַהֲקִדִישׁ שֶׁמִּזְבֵּחַ *all that which S. had consecrated*. In fact, the eight examples are with the 3rd pers. perfect: 1Ch 29.8 הִנְמַצָּא, 17 הִנְמַצָּאוּ; 2Ch 1.4 with preposition בְּהַכִּינִי; 29.36 עָלַ הַהֲכִינִי; Ezr 8.25 הִתְהַדְּרִימוּ; 10.14 הִתְהַדְּרִימוּ (1).

(1) One must prob. add the ה before מִצָּאוּ 1Ch 12.23, הִתְהַדְּרִימוּ 2Ch 15.11 (cf. *MUSJ* 6 [1913] 132, n. 3). On the other hand the following are incorrect: Josh 10.24; 1Sm 9.24. This

phenomenon may have had its origin in the 3rd pers. sg. of the perfect in cases where the form was similar to that of the participle, e.g. אָבָה, הִנְמִצָּה, then it may have spread to the 3rd pers. pl. The evolution may have continued, but our texts do not show it. Alternatively, the phenomenon may have originated in a fairly common structure in which an indeterminate noun is qualified by a participial phrase with the definite article (§ 138 c) as in Jdg 16.27 וַעֲלֶה-הַגִּגַּן בְּשָׁלֹשׁ אֲלָפִים אִישׁ וְאִשָּׁה הָרְאִים בְּשֹׁחֹק שֶׁמְשׁוֹן *and on the roof there were about three thousand men and women watching Samson's show.*

e The existence of the article as a relative in the older texts is highly unlikely⁽¹⁾. Some forms which are vocalised or simply accented as perfects were most probably intended as participles by the writer. Forms vocalised as perfects: 1Kg 11.9 (Dn 8.1) הִנְרָאָה; Is 56.3 הִנְלִיָּה (read הִנְּ of the participle). — Forms with the mil'el accent of the perfect: Ru 1.22 (2.6; 4.3) הִשָּׁבָה *who came back* instead of הִשָּׁבָה *she who has come back*. Since the mil'el accentuation is almost always found in cases where the action is past, the Naqdanim may have preferred the perfect better to express the past: contr. e.g. Job 2.11 הִבָּאָה in a past sense: *who has come* and Ru 4.11 הִבָּאָה in the sense of near future: *who is about to come in*. Other exx. Gn 18.21; 46.27; Is 51.10; Ez 26.17 (perhaps passive participle of Qal; cf. § 56 c).

(1) This weakens the suggestion by Lambert (§ 295, n. 3) that this -ה is the equivalent of Akkadian *ša*.

f Details concerning the relative pronoun are given in the section about the relative clause, § 158 e ff.

§ 146. The personal pronoun

a **Independent pronoun added to a finite verbal form.** Since a finite verbal form in itself indicates the person, it can be said that, whenever a verb occurs with a pronoun, some nuance is intended. Generally speaking, the addition of a pronoun gives some special prominence to the person or persons indicated by it, comparable to the close-up focus in photography. The person or persons may be perceived by the speaker or writer as prominent *per se* or in relation to some other person or persons. Noteworthy are the following considerations⁽¹⁾:

1) The pronoun is added to bring out antithetical contrast; one member of a set is highlighted to the exclusion of the others. Usually there are two parts to the statement, one being cast in affirmative

form and the other in negative form. E.g. Jer 17.18 יִבְשׁוּ רִדְפֵי וְאֵל-אֲבָשָׁה Let my persecutors be confounded, but let me not be confounded; let them be dismayed, but let me not be dismayed; Jdg 8.23 לֹא-אֶמְשֵׁל אֲנִי בְכֶם ... יְהוּה יִמְשֵׁל בְכֶם I shall not rule over you, ... but Y. will rule over you. In some cases the contrast is only implicit, only one of the two contrasting members being explicitly mentioned: e.g., Dt 5.23 וְאַתָּה תִּדְבֹר ... וְאֵתְּ אֶתְּהָהּ You go near ... and you speak, i.e. instead of direct communication between God and the people; Jdg 14.3 הִיא יְשָׁרָה בְּעֵינַי, i.e. she is the only girl I am interested in Is 45.12 אֲנִי עָשִׂיתִי אֶרֶץ "It is I who made the earth"; 2Sm 24.17 "It is I who have sinned"; Ez 34.15 "It is I who will pasture my ewes"; Jdg 7.4 הוּא יֵלֶךְ he (and not someone else) shall go; Ex 5.7 הֵם יֵלְכוּ they themselves shall go.

2) The pronoun is also used in cases of disjunction or adversative juxtaposition, a weaker form of contrast: e.g., Gn 3.15 הוּא יִשׁוּפֶךָ רֹאשׁ וְאַתָּה תִּשׁוּפֶנּוּ עַקֵּב he shall aim at your head, whilst you will aim at his heel; Ps 109.28 הֵם יִקְלְלוּ וְאַתָּה תִּבְרֹךְ they shall curse but you shall bless.

3) The pronoun is readily added in certain sentences with an emphatic nuance. Thus, when reminding someone of a fact, one often says אַתָּה יָדָעְתָּ אַתָּה יָדָעְתָּ you know (very well) that (Josh 14.6 etc.); אַתָּם יָדָעְתֶּם (Gn 44.27 etc.)⁽²⁾; likewise in reply to an invitation or to a question, in particular in the case of a promise: Gn 21.24 אֲנִי אֶשְׁבַּע I am willing to swear it; 38.17 I will send you a kid (promise); 47.30 I will do as you have said (solemn promise); Jdg 6.18; 2Sm 3.13; 21.6; 1Kg 2.18; 5.22; 2Kg 6.3.

4) The first person pronoun is well suited to a boasting style: e.g. 2Ch 6.2 "I (Solomon) have built Thee an exalted house"; 1Ch 29.17 "in the uprightness of my heart I (David) have freely offered all these things"; 2Sm 12.7 "I anointed you king over Israel, and I delivered you out of the hand of Saul." We are reminded of Mesha's boastful declaration: "I carried out repairs ... I repaired its gates ... I repaired the king's residence ..." with אֲנִי repeated as many as twelve times in close succession⁽³⁾. In Ps 2.6 "I have set my king on Zion, my holy mountain" the pronoun rings with divine-royal authority against the background of the futile rebellion of earthly kings.

5) Akin to the usage described under (3) is the use of אֲנִי or אֲנֹכִי as an expression of self-consciousness or assertiveness. In Gn 16.5 "I gave my maid to your embrace" it would not be wrong to detect a sense of Sarai's hurt feelings and rivalry vis-à-vis Hagar; Ezr 7.28 אֲנִי הִתְחַזְּקֵתִי *I took courage* (Ezra's awareness of the leading role he played in the grand project of שִׁבְתַּת צִיּוֹן). Though not in the first person, the pronoun (הוּא) in 1Sm 23.22 הוּא יַעֲרֹם הוּא *he is a rather crafty character* vividly exposes Saul's neurotic psyche and fear of David.

6) The pronoun may be added out of grammatical necessity (§ 166 a)(4).

(1) See discussion in Muraoka, *Emphatic*, pp. 47-59.

(2) In actual speech situations, utterances such as these may well have been accompanied by some appropriate gesture like a finger pointed at the person addressed. So in a rebuke, e.g., Jdg 10.13 אֲנִי אָמַרְתָּ וְעַתָּה אָמַרְתָּ *you have forsaken me*; Jephthah gives vent to his indignation in ib. 11.7 "Did you (אַתָּה) not hate me and drive me out of my father's house?"; Jezebel mocks her cowardly husband, saying "Do you (הָאָתָּה) now govern Israel? ... I (אֲנִי) will let you have the vineyard of Naboth" (1Kg 21.7).

(3) F.I. Andersen justly considers this as a typical feature of the "boasting style of ... monumental inscriptions": *Or* 35 (1966) 98.

(4) It may also be added through metrical necessity, e.g. Ez 28.18 אֲכָלְתָּ אֶתְךָ *it devoured you*, instead of the expected form אָכַלְתָּ (cf. Lv 9.24; 10.2; Nu 11.1; 16.35; etc.) in order to have two accents in the second hemistich of the verse (*qinah*); cf. R. Kraetzschmar ad loc. (Göttingen, 1900); P. Cheminant, *Les prophéties d'Ezéchiel contre Tyr* (Paris, 1912), p. 82. See also Ez 27.8 הָמָּה. Metricians usually seem to forget that anomalies of syntax and of morphology could be of great assistance in forming their theories. In any poetry metrical constraint compels writers to deviate from prose usage, and these deviations may furnish valuable information about the metre.

b **Observations.** 1) According to some authorities, the pronoun is often pleonastically added after the verb in Ecclesiastes: 1.16 אֲנִי הִבַּרְתִּי *I spoke*; 2.1,11-15,18,20,24 etc.; also Ct 5.5,6. However, in all these cases in Ec the pronoun can be interpreted as indication of a meditating philosopher's ego⁽¹⁾.

2) On the enclitic 3rd person pronoun in the nominal clause, see § 154 *i*.

3) The pronoun can precede or follow the verb, apparently without any difference in meaning; in most cases it precedes.

4) Most examples of this type of pronoun occur in dialogues and lively conversations. This, however, is not to be taken to mean that

the usage is typical of popular language as against cultured language⁽²⁾.

(1) See Muraoka, *Emphatic*, pp. 48f., where there is also a discussion of the two examples in Ct.

(2) "Volksprache" of F. Delitzsch as applied in his interpretation of אָנִי in Ct 5.5, 6: see his *Hoheslied und Koheleth* (Leipzig, 1875) ad loc.

Independent pronoun added, in apposition⁽¹⁾.

c

Here also the added pronoun constitutes a "superfluous" element as in the case of such a pronoun added to a finite verb (§ a-b). Thus the general observations made above (§ a) apply equally here (§ c-d).

1) In apposition to the noun: Esth 9.1 יִשְׁלֹטוּ הַיְהוּדִים הַהֵמָּה "It was the Jews who became masters of their enemies." With a different emphatic nuance: Is 7.14 יִתֵּן אֲדֹנָי הוּא לְכֶם אוֹת well, then, the Lord himself (or here: of himself) will give you a sign!; Gn 4.26 לִשֵׁת גַּם־הוּא to Seth also (Fr. à Seth lui aussi). The addition of an independent pronoun is rather common in other syntactic environments as well, when, for example, preceded by אֲנִי or אָרְךָ, and indeed in a case like Gn 27.34 בְּרַכֵּנִי גַם־אֲנִי (§ d below), this is the only way to express the notion of "also" when a sentence opens with the synthetic structure and not בְּרַכֵּךְ אֲנִי⁽²⁾.

2) In apposition in the broad sense (a sort of *resumptive* pronoun)⁽³⁾: When a second subject is added to a nominal subject, after a word causing a separation, the resumptive pronoun is needed: Gn 13.1 וַיַּעַל אַבְרָם מִמִּצְרַיִם הוּא וְאִשְׁתּוֹ and Abram went up from Egypt, he and his wife ...; Ru 1.1. An apposition may not cause separation, hence e.g. Ex 18.5 וַיָּבֹא יִתְרוֹ חֹתֵן מֹשֶׁה וּבָנָיו and Jethro, Moses' father-in-law, came with his sons.

3) When a second subject is added to a pronominal subject virtually contained in a verbal form, the resumptive pronoun is needed: Gn 6.18 וּבָאתָ אֵל־הַתְּבָרָה אַתָּה וּבָנֶיךָ and you go into the ark, you and your sons ...; Gn 7.1; Jdg 11.38; 1Kg 1.21 (in 1Sm 29.10 restore אַתָּה); Ru 1.3,6.

4) When a subject in another person is added to a pronominal subject, the resumptive pronoun is needed: Gn 17.9 וְאַתָּה אֶת־בְּרִיתִי and as for you, you shall keep my covenant, you and your posterity ...

(1) See discussion with examples in Muraoka, *Emphatic*, pp. 61-66, and S. Kogut,

Observations. 1) The pronoun can be in *casus pendens* (cf. § 156), e.g. Is 45.12 אֲנִי יָדַי נְטוּ וְשָׁמַיִם as for me, my hands stretched out the heavens (cf. Ps 44.3); Ez 33.17.

2) After a preposition with suffix, the preposition is repeated before the noun (cf. § 132 g)⁽⁶⁾: Josh 1.2 לְבָנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל; Lv 6.8; Nu 32.33; Jdg 21.7; Jer 41.3, 51.56; Dn 11.11; 1Ch 4.42; 2Ch 26.14.

(1) See König, *Syntax*, e.g. § 284. Cf. also S. Kogut, art. cit. [§ c, n.], pp. 15-26, 97-112; Polzin, pp. 38-40; G.A. Khan in *BSOAS* 47 (1984) 481f.

(2) From Gk πρόληψις "taking in advance." For a general discussion of the phenomenon, see W. Diem, "Alienable und inalienable Possession im Semitischen," *ZDMG* 136 (1986) 227-91.

(3) See discussion in Muraoka, *Emphatic*, pp. 65f. Pace Khan (*Semitic Syntax*, p. 77, n. 15), the construction is not conditioned by the presence of ׁ, for the author could have left out ׁ or positioned ׁ after מצרים as in Gn 4.4 הָרַבִּל הֵבִיא אֹמֶת

(4) Very common construction in MH and Aramaic.

(5) Very common construction in MH and Aramaic.

(6) Common construction in MH and Aramaic.

Since the **nominal suffixed pronoun** is considered a genitive, it can have all the meanings of the genitive (cf. § 129 d ff. where examples are given), that of the dative in particular (§ 129 h). Likewise it can be replaced by ל (§ 130 a ff.) and especially by לְאִשְׁרָאֵל (§ 130 e). The suffix and genitival ל are only very rarely found together: Ps 27.2 לִי אֵיבֹבֵי my enemies; 144.2; 2Sm 22.2, or לְאִשְׁרָאֵל (as in Aramaic): Ct 1.6 (8.12) שְׂדֵי וְיַיְנֵי my own vineyard (Fr. *ma vigne à moi*); ib. 3.7 מְטַחֵה שְׂדֵי וְיַיְנֵי⁽¹⁾.

(1) The authentic MH spelling does not separate שְׂדֵי from the following noun.

Stylistic usage of the nominal suffix. Generally speaking the possessive pronoun is more widely used in Hebrew than in our languages. Note in particular its use in relative clauses, e.g. Ex 32.32 (§ 129 t). With names of limbs it is generally used when the meaning allows it: Gn 22.10 וַיִּשְׁלַח אֶת-יָדוֹ he stretched forth his hand; Jdg 4.15; 2Sm 2.18; 9.13 שְׁתֵּי רַגְלָיו פְּסוּחָה lame of both feet (contr. vs. 3 נִכְהָ רַגְלָיִם 4.4); 1Kg 15.23; 2Kg 9.24.

On the other hand, the possessive pronoun is not used in some cases where our languages generally use it (cf. § 137 f 2).

The possessive pronoun is replaced by ל with a suffix in certain expressions, e.g. *לְאִשָּׁהּ לֹא הָיָה לוֹ* and *she became his wife* Gn 24.67 etc.; *לְשׂוֹל לֹא לֹא לְשׂוֹל* to *question someone with regard to health = to ask about his health*, hence also *to greet someone*⁽¹⁾. See also the expressions of § 130 g.

(1) The first ל is not the ל of the accusative (contrary to König, *Syntax*, § 327 k; Driver, *ad* 1Sm 10.4). For *he asked her about his health* we would say *לְשׂוֹל לֹא לְשׂוֹל*.

h **Omission of the pronominal subject.** The subject is often omitted after the demonstrative adverb הִנֵּה, which sufficiently shows the subject⁽¹⁾: Gn 42.28 *בְּאֵמֶתְחַתִּי הִנֵּה* here it is in my bag (contr. vs. 27 *הִנֵּה הִנֵּה*); before a participle (cf. § 154 c): Gn 24.30; 37.15; Ex 7.15; 8.16; — in an answer: Gn 18.9.

It is often omitted in a nominal clause which formally or virtually contains an answer: Gn 37.32 "see if it is your son's tunic or not. ³³And he recognised it and said: *כִּתְנֵת בְּנִי* it is my son's tunic!"; 1Sm 26.17; cf. § 161 l.

(1) Cf. E. König, *Stilistik, Rhetorik, Poetik in Bezug auf die biblische Literatur* (Leipzig, 1900), p. 178.

i **Omission of the pronominal object.** The pronominal object is often omitted.

1) When two verbs logically have the same object, the noun is placed after the first verb, and the second verb receives a suffix⁽¹⁾: Gn 22.13 *וַיֵּצֵאֵהוּ לְעֹלָה וַיִּקַּח אֶת־הָאֵילַן וַיִּעֲלֶהוּ לְעֹלָה* and he took the ram and offered it as a holocaust. But the suffix is often omitted altogether⁽²⁾: Gn 2.19 "And Yahweh God formed from the earth all the animals of the fields ... and he brought (them) to the man (*וַיַּבֵּא אֶל־הָאָדָם*)"; 18.7 *וַיִּבְרָא*.

2) Even outside this case, fairly often, if clarity is not affected: Gn 12.19 "here is your wife; take (her) and go (*וַיִּקַּח וַיֵּלֶךְ*)" (cf. 24.51); 24.41 *וַיִּבְרָא*.

3) The neuter object with the vague meaning *it* or *that* is omitted: Gn 9.22 *וַיְבַרְכֵהוּ* and he announced (it). Cf. § 152 b.

4) In relative clauses the retrospective object pronoun is often omitted: Dt 13.7 *אֱלֹהִים אֲשֶׁר לֹא יָדַעְתָּ* gods whom you have not known (cf. § 158 c, h).

On the omission of the nominal suffixed pronoun, cf. § g.

(1) It is the parallel case to the construction *בְּנִי יְדָד וּבְנוֹתָיו* § 129 a.

(2) Compare with the absence of a possessive pronoun in the construction *בְּנִי יְדָד וּבְנוֹתָיו*, § 129 a.

Observations. 1) In the sacred name *אֲדֹנָי the Lord*, the 1st pers. possessive suffix has a weakened and even a nil value; comp. Fr. *monseigneur, monsieur, madame* (cf. § 136 d). j

2) There is a vague suffix in *יַחְדָּו together (in unitedness of that, § 102 d)*: 1Kg 3.18 *אֲנִי וְיַחְדָּונו יחדיו we together*. *כָּלֵהּ, כָּלּוּ* are sometimes found with a suffix with the vague meaning of *totality of that = each*: Is 1.23; 9.16; 15.3; Jer 6.13; 8.6,10; 15.10; 20.7; Hb 1.9; Ps 53.4; perh. with the meaning of *entirely* Jer 2.21; Job 21.23. *כָּלָם totality of them* is found instead of *כָּלְכֶם** (which does not occur in the Bible) in 1Kg 22.28 (Mi 1.2) *שָׁמְעוּ עִמָּי כָּלָם hear, all of you* (literally *O people, all of them*) (contr. e.g. Is 14.29 *פָּלְשֶׁת כָּלֵהּ*); 1Sm 6.4?; Job 7.10?.

Reflexive pronoun. The nominal suffix of the 3rd person is also used in the reflexive sense: *of himself*. Likewise with prepositions, e.g. *לּוֹ to himself*: Jdg 3.16 *וַיַּעַשׂ לּוֹ אֶהוּד חֶרֶב Ehud made himself a sword*; Gn 8.9b *אָלָיו*; 33.17 *לּוֹ*; 1Sm 1.24 *עָמָה*; 2Kg 5.11 *אָלָי*; Is 3.9 *לָהֶם*. For the accusative of the reflexive pronoun, the verbal suffix is never used⁽¹⁾, but, very rarely, the particle *אֵת* of the accusative is found: Ex 5.19 *וַיֵּרְאוּ אֶתְּמֵם בְּרָעָה and they saw themselves in a bad situation*; in an antithesis: Jer 7.19; Ez 34.2,8,10. But the usual way of expressing the reflexive is to use a reflexive verbal form: Nifal, § 51 c; Hitpael, § 53 i. k

נַפְשׁוֹ soul is sometimes found as a substitute for the reflexive accusative⁽²⁾: Pr 19.8 *נִפְשׁוֹ אָהֵב loving himself*; also *נִפְשׁוֹ* 19.16; 29.24; Job 18.4; *נִפְשָׁם* Pr 19.18; in the plural: Jer 37.9 *אַל תִּשְׁאוּ נַפְשׁוֹתֵיכֶם do not deceive yourselves*.

Likewise, *נַפְשׁוֹ* is found with prepositions: Jer 51.14 *וַיִּשָּׁבַע בְּנַפְשׁוֹ he has sworn by himself*; 1Kg 2.23. With *verba dicendi* one finds *אָמַר בְּלִבּוֹ*, *דִּבֶּר בְּלִבּוֹ* *to say in one's heart = to say in oneself*; *אָמַר אֶל-לִבּוֹ*, *דִּבֶּר אֶל לִבּוֹ* *to say to one's heart = to say to oneself*.

(1) A. Abronin (*Leš* 1 [1927-28] 207f.) quotes Ez 29.3 *אֲנִי עָשִׂיתִנִּי* (Vulg. *ego feci memet ipsum*) to disprove this point; there is no doubt about the reflexive force in Ben Sirah 7.7 (*μη καταβάλλης σεαυτόν*) *אל תפילך ... אל תרשיעך*; 7.16 (*μη προσλογίζου σεαυτόν . . .*) *אל תחשיבך*.

(2) If the original meaning of the word was 'neck' or 'throat,' note that Classical

Eth. uses *re's* "head," and BH/MH עֲצָמַי *bone* (§ 147 a) as well as MH גוּרִי *body* for the same grammatical function. On Syr. *qnomâ'*, see C. Brockelmann, *Lexicon Syriacum* (Halle, 1928), s.v.

§ 147. Pronominal substitutions

a For the substitution of the reflexive personal pronoun cf. § 146 k.

עֲצָמַי *bone, limb, body* is used with the meaning of the English pronoun *self* (Fr. *même*) placed after the noun to mark more expressly the thing being spoken of⁽¹⁾. All the examples are with nouns of things: Ex 24.10 כַּמַּשְׁמַיִם *like the sky itself*; Job 21.23 בְּעֵצְמוֹ *in his prosperity(?) itself*; especially with יוֹמִי (§ 143 k): Gn 7.13 $\text{בַּעֲצֵם הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה}$ *on that very day*.

The simple personal pronoun used emphatically can be equivalent to *self*: Ex 5.7 הֵם יֵלְכוּ *they themselves shall go* (§ 146 a 1); Is 7.14 $\text{אֲדַבְּרֵנִי אֲהִי}$ *the Lord himself* (or here: *of himself*, § 146 c 1). *The same* (adj. of identity) [Fr. *le même*] is usually expressed by הַהוּא (§ 143 j). אֶחָד *one* often leads to the meaning of *same*: Lv 22.28 בְּיוֹם אֶחָד *in one (same) day, on the same day*; Gn 41.11 בַּלַּיְלָה אֶחָד *in one (same) night, on the same night*; 11.1 $\text{וְדַבְּרֵי אֶחָד וְדַבְּרֵי אֶחָד}$ *the same tongue (lip) and the same words*; 2Sm 12.1 בְּעִיר אֶחָת *in the same city*; 1Kg 3.17 בְּבַיִת אֶחָד *in the same house*; Mal 2.10 $\text{כֹּל אֲבוֹתֵינוּ אֶחָד}$ *we all have the same father*.

(1) עֲצָמַי is usual in MH to express the reflexive pronoun.

b אִישׁ *man, a man* is used with the weakened meaning of *someone*⁽¹⁾; Gn 13.16; Ct 8.7; *one* (cf. § 155 g); with a negation, the meaning becomes *no one* Ex 34.3. Likewise דָּבָר *a thing* is used with the weakened meaning of *something* Gn 18.14; with a negation the meaning becomes *nothing* 19.8; likewise $\text{אִישׁוֹ מֵהַמָּקוֹם}$ 22.12. In the plural we have אִישׁוֹת *some (pl.)*⁽²⁾ Jer 26.17.

(1) For *someone*, we sometimes also find אִישׁ *man* Lv 1.2; נַפְשׁוֹ *soul, person* Lv 4.2. On other ways of expressing *someone*, see § 155 d-f. Sometimes it is difficult to distinguish this kind of use of אִישׁ from that described below in § d; see, ad Ex 12.3, *Mechilta d'Rabbi Ismael* (Berlin, 1931), eds H.S. Horovitz—I.A. Rabin, p. 11, lines 2-3.

(2) The plural of a noun on its own can have the nuance of *some* (plural): Gn 24.55 יָמֵי *some days*.

c In correlation we have אִישׁ with אָח *brother*. עֹרֵב *companion*: Gn 13.11

וַיִּפְרְדּוּ אִישׁ מֵעַל אָחִיו *they separated from each other*; Jdg 6.29 וַיִּאֲמְרוּ אִישׁ אֶל-רֵעֵהוּ. Symmetrically, in the feminine, we have אִשָּׁה *woman* with אָחוֹת *sister*, רֵעִית* (*female*) *companion*: Ex 26.3 (talking about *cloth fem.*); Is 34.15 (*vultures fem.*).

On the other hand אִישׁ is also used with the strong meaning of *each one/every one*: Gn 47.20 וַיִּמְכְּרוּ אִישׁ שָׂדֵהוּ *each one sold his field*; Am 4.3 תֵּצְאִי אִשָּׁה נֹגְדָה *you shall go out ... every one straight before her*. Likewise אִישׁ אִישׁ (§ 135 d) Ex 36.4; note the plural verbs in all the uses discussed in this paragraph⁽¹⁾. With the article (perh. due to the Naqdanim, § 137 f) of ל (לְאִישׁ) 1Kg 8.39 (= 2Ch 6.30) (contr. Jer 17.10 לְאִישׁ in the same context!); 1Sm 26.23; Pr 24.29; but לְאִישׁ 2Sm 6.19; Zech 10.1; 1Ch 16.3.

Observations. 1) Note that the suffix of the noun is in the third person: 1Sm 25.13 בֹּוֹ אִישׁ אֶת-חַרְבּוֹ *gird (ye) on your (his) sword, every one!* (§ 151 d).

2) When אִישׁ should logically be in the genitive, it is put in the *casus pendens* (§ 156), and the noun gets a suffix⁽²⁾: Gn 42.35 הִנֵּה אִישׁ הַנֶּזֶק *behold, each one's purse of money was in his sack*; 41.12; 42.35; Ex 12.4; 28.21; Nu 5.10; 26.54; 2Kg 23.35. Likewise in Zech 7.10 וְלֹא תִחַשְׁבוּ *do not plan evil against each other*, אִישׁ is logically *casus pendens*⁽³⁾; Gn 9.5(?).

(1) The use of the sg. is exceptional: Gn 44.13 וַיַּעֲמֵס אִישׁ עַל-חֲמֹרוֹ *they loaded every man his ass*, but continued by וַיָּשׁוּבוּ הָעִירָה *and returned to the city*.

(2) The place thus given to אִישׁ is perh. due to the analogy of the construction of אִישׁ as a subject: Gn 47.20 (*supra*).

(3) רַעַת would therefore be separated from its logical genitive; see analogous cases, § 129 r. Perhaps, however, רַעַת is constructed on the whole expression regarded as a block.

כָּל followed by a noun without the article (§ 139 h) is used for *each*; cf. כָּלֵה with the meaning of *each one*, § 146 j.

Such is mainly rendered by כַּ *like* with הִזֵּה: Gn 44.7b וְעֲשׂוֹת כַּכֵּן הִזֵּה *to do such a thing*; 7a וְכַדְבָּרִים הָאֵלֶּה *such words or such things*; Jer 5.9 גֹּוֹי אֲשֶׁר כַּזֶּה *such a nation*; 2Sm 17.15 וְכַזֹּאת וְכַזֹּאת *such and such a thing*. Sometimes the notion of *such* is only virtual (by omission of כַּ): Is 7.17 יָמִים אֲשֶׁר לֹא-בָאוּ *days (such) as have not come* (omission of the retrospective כַּהֵם); Ex 10.6; 34.10 (cf. § 174 f). See also § 158 f: "a man such as I".

Such, instead of a noun which is not expressed, is rendered by פִּלְנִי פִּלְמְנִי Ru 4.1; 1Sm 21.3 'א 'פ 'מִקוֹם *such a place* (note the cst. state, § 129 *f*). For correlative *such* see e.g. Lv 7.7 כְּשֶׁאָזַח כְּהִטָּה *like the expiatory sacrifice, like the delictual sacrifice = the delictual sacrifice is like the expiatory sacrifice*.

g For the equivalents of the English pronoun *one* (Fr. *on*; Germ. *man*), cf. § 155 *b*.

CHAPTER VI: AGREEMENT

§ 148. Agreement of the adjective (and of the participle)

The adjective generally agrees in gender and number with its noun, whether the adjective is used as an attribute (§ 121 a n.) or as a predicate.

Attributive adjective. As far as **gender** is concerned, there are only a few exceptions⁽¹⁾. These are found especially in comparative clauses: Ps 119.72 טוֹב לִי תוֹרַת־פִּי מֵאַלְפֵי זָהָב וְכֶסֶף *the law of thy mouth is better to me than thousands of gold and silver pieces*⁽²⁾; Ec 7.8 טוֹב אַחֲרֵית טוֹב מֵרֵאשִׁיתוֹ *Better is the end of a thing than its beginning*. See also Ec 10.1; Pr 15.17; 17.1.

An adjective qualifying both a masculine noun and a feminine noun takes the masculine gender, as *genus potior* (= 'more potent gender'): Ne 9.13 טוֹבִים וּמִצְוֹת טוֹבִים *good laws and commandments*; Jer 34.9; Zech 8.5 (participle); Gn 18.11 (verbal adj.).

As far as **number** is concerned, the adjective of a noun in the **dual** takes the plural: Is 35.3 יָרֵיִם רַפּוֹת *unsteady (relaxed) hands*; Ps 18.28 (participle).

A **participle** which refers to a **collective noun** is quite often used in the plural (*constructio ad sensum*): Is 9.1 הָעָם הַהֹלְכִים *the people who walk*; cf. 65.2 עַם סוֹרֵר הַהֹלְכִים הַיָּרָף לֹא־טוֹב *a rebellious people who walk in a way that is not good*; 1Sm 13.15 הָעָם הַנִּמְצָאִים *the people that were present ...*, but in vs. 16 הָעָם הַנִּמְצָא *the people that were present*; 1Sm 2.14 כָּל־יִשְׂרָאֵל הַבָּאִים *all the Israelites who came*; Dn 11.32; Josh 5.5 כָּל־הָעָם הַיִּצְּאִים preceded by vs. 4 כָּל־הָעָם הַיִּצְּאִים. This phenomenon is rather rare with an adjective: Ez 3.5 עַם עֲמֻקִּי ... Example with an adjective in the sing. and a participle in the pl.: Nu 14.35 כָּל־הָעֲדָה הַרְעָה הַיּוֹצֵאת הַנוֹעְדִים.

An adjective qualifying a noun in the **plural of excellence** or of **majesty** (§ 136 d) is more often found in the singular than in the plural. Singular: Is 19.4 אֲדֹנָיִם קָשָׁה *a hard master*; living God 2Kg 19.4,16; — Plural: אֱלֹהִים חַיִּים Dt 5.23; 1Sm 17.26; Jer 23.36⁽³⁾; Ex 20.3 אֱלֹהִים אַחֲרֵים *another god* (rather than *other gods*); Josh 24.19, but agreeing with הוא.

(1) There is a second adjective in the masc. after a first adj. in the fem. in 1Kg 19.11; 1Sm 15.9; Jer 20.9; but the text is very probably corrupt.

(2) See Levi, *Inkongruenz*, pp. 97f.

(3) In all these three examples the reference is to the God of Israel.

b Exceptions to the agreement of the **predicative adjective** are very rare: Ex 17.12 **כִּבְדִּים מְשֶׁה וַיְדִי מִשָּׁה** and *Moses' arms were heavy* (דָּ fem.). The adjective **רְחוֹק** *distant, remote* remains invariable and is treated like an adverb (*far*)(¹) in Ps 22.2; 119.155.

With a collective we have e.g. Ex 5.5 **רַבִּים עַם הָאָרֶץ**.

(1) There are analogous cases in Arabic, e.g. *ba'id*, synonym of רְחוֹק; cf. Brock., *GvG*, II, p. 95. With **יִשְׂרָאֵל** Ps 119.137 we probably must read the singular **יִשְׂרָאֵל**.

c The **participle** is treated more or less like the **adjective**, e.g. 2Ch 6.40 **פְּתַחוּתַי עֵינַי וְנִבְּחָה עֵינַי** *let your eyes be open* (participle in the fem. although the verb is in the masc. § 150 c)(¹). Anomalies with regard to gender: Jer 44.19 **אֲנִי וְנָשָׁאֵי מִקְטָרֵינוּ** (women speaking of themselves; the fem. is thought unnecessary; cf. Brock., *GvG*, I, p. 298, n. 1; II, p. 98); Pr 26.23 (why?).

(1) With **אִם** juxtaposing two substantives, the participle is found in the sing. (Ex 23.4 **תִּפְעֶה**) or in the plural (Dt 22.1 **וְנִדְּחִים**; vs. 4; comp. 17.5 verbal suffix and verb in the plural).

d With two nouns of different gender the adjective (or the participle) takes the masc. plural: Gn 18.11 **וְשָׂרָה זָקְנָה וְזָקְנִים**; Dt 28.32; 1Kg 1.21.

For the sing. **נִקְי** 2Sm 14.9, cf. Ex 21.4 (§ 150 p). A case of possible attraction to a nearer noun is Gn 4.10 **קוּל דְּמִי אֲחִי צַעֲקִים**, though **קוּל** may be exclamatory, "Hark!" (§ 162 e).

§ 149. Agreement of the personal pronoun

a The personal pronoun agrees almost always in number and generally in gender with the noun it represents.

Number. A suffix referring to a fem. pl. noun of things is, very rarely, found in the fem. sing. The surest example is 2Kg 3.3 **מִמְּנָה** (referring to **חַטָּאוֹת** *sins*; also 13.2,11; 17.22; comp. that same fem. pl. with the verb in the fem. sg. Is 59.12, § 155 g).

A pronoun may agree with the immediately preceding nucleus of a construct phrase instead of the noun in the cst.: e.g. 2Ch 9.29 וְשָׂרָר ... הֲלֹא־הֵם כָּתוּבִים ... הַלְבָּרִי שְׁלֹמֹה ... *the rest of the deeds of Solomon ... are they not written ...?*; 1Kg 14.19; 2Ch 20.34.

A pronoun which refers to a collective (cf. § 148 b) can be in the plural: Gn 15.13 לָהֶם (to the posterity לְרַעַל); Nu 16.3; Zeph 2.7; cf. Ez 18.26; 33.18,19; Job 22.21; — independent pronoun: Nu 14.27; Ex 3.7.

Gender. A pronoun which refers to two nouns of different gender is put in the masculine as *genus potior* (cf. § 148 a): Gn 1.27 אֹתָם *them* (the man and the woman); 32.1 אֹתָהֶם *them* (his sons and his daughters).

b

The suffixed pronoun quite often takes the masc. instead of the feminine, especially in the 2nd pers. plural and (mainly) in the 3rd pers. plural. This replacement of the feminine by the masculine (*genus potior*) is especially frequent in the later books, notably in the book of Chronicles. This is a morpho-syntactic, not a phonological phenomenon, for the general tendency in MH is word-final $m > n$ ⁽¹⁾. Examples:

Nominal suffixes (with noun and preposition): Gn 31.9 אֲבִיכֶם but vss. 5,6 אֲבִיכֶן; Ru 1.9a לְכֶם, but 9b לְהֶן; 1.8 עִמָּכֶם; — Ex 2.17 צֹאנֶם, but 16 אֲבִיָּהֶן; likewise when talking about animals Gn 32.16 בְּגִיָּהֶם; 1Sm 6.7 עֲלֵיהֶם; or about things Gn 41.23 אֲחֵרֵיהֶם.

Verbal suffixes: The suffix of the 2nd pers. fem. pl. is wanting in all the verbal forms; the suffix of the 3rd pers. fem. pl. in most (cf. Paradigm 3): Jdg 16.3 וַיִּשְׁעֶם (the doors וְהַלְתוֹת); Pr 6.21 קִשְׂרָם; 1Sm 6.10 וַיִּאֲסְרוּם.

(1) Cf. Qimron, *Hebrew of DSS*, p. 63 with n. 79 there.

In the independent pronoun, on the other hand, the replacement of the feminine by the masculine is very rare⁽¹⁾. The only sure examples are in the 3rd pers. pl.: הֵמָּה Zech 5.10; Ct 6.8; Ru 1.22. Anomalies: Lv 25.33 הִיא instead of the plural by attraction of the predicate (cf. § 150 m); Jer 10.3 הִיא (same reason); Josh 13.14? הִיא perh. under the influence of the governed noun יְהוּה (who is the Levites' inheritance, vs. 33 etc.).

c

(1) For more possible examples, see Levi, *Inkongruenz*, pp. 162f. The only plausible exceptions in the 2nd pers. are Ez 13.20 אַתְּם מְצַדְדוֹת following אַתְּנָה מְצַדְדוֹת and Ez 34.31 where we read אַתְּם אֲרָם מְרַעִיתִי אֲרָם

APPENDIX. The demonstrative always agrees with the noun to which it

d

refers. With a collective the singular is used, e.g. always $\text{הָיָה עִם} \text{הָעָם}$ (1Sm 2.23 הָיָה עִם is incorrect).

§ 150. Agreement of the verb

a I. In the 2nd p. pl. the feminine is often replaced by the masculine: Ru 1.8 עָשִׂיתָם JI 2.22 אֶל-תִּירְאֵן ; Am 4.1 שָׁמְעוּ .

In fact, the feminine forms of the 2nd p. pl. are rare (namely קָטַלְתְּנָה , קָטַלְתְּנָה ^[1], קָטַלְתְּנָה); with suffixes they are replaced by the masculine forms (§§ 62 a, 63 a, 64 a).

(1) The form קָטַלְתְּנָה , as 3rd p. pl., is often ignored (§ c), i.e. not used where it could have been. For a list of the cases where the 2nd and 3rd f.pl. forms are replaced by their m. counterparts, see Lambert, § 705. In MH the distinctive forms for these categories disappeared, being replaced by the corresponding m. forms.

b II. In the 3rd person, the agreement of the verb presents a very large number of anomalies. As a fairly general rule, the verb agrees in number and gender with the noun (or pronoun) to which it refers. However there is a certain tendency 1) to ignore the feminine, whether the fem. sg. (§ k) or especially the fem. pl. (§§ c, l), mainly when the verb precedes; 2) to prefer the singular to the plural, mainly when the verb precedes; 3) to leave the verbal form uninflected (masc. sing.) when it precedes the noun. Finally 4) the fem. singular is sometimes used with certain nouns conceived as collectives (names of peoples, § e; plural names of things or of animals, § g)⁽¹⁾.

(1) Note the extraordinary vacillation in Ez 1.5-26, 34.2-31, 37.1-11.

c A) Agreement with a single subject.

There is no 3rd pl. fem. form in the perfect (§ 42 f). This fact may have contributed to the neglect of the 3rd fem. pl. in the future [קָטַלְתְּנָה ⁽¹⁾]. This form is often replaced by the 3rd masc. pl. form, especially when the verb precedes⁽²⁾: Jdg 21.21 $\text{יֵצְאוּ בָנוֹת-שִׁילוֹ}$ *the daughters of Shiloh will come out*; 1Kg 11.3b; Lv 26.33 $\text{עָרֵיכֶם יִהְיוּ חָרָבָה}$ *your cities shall be a ruin*; with a fem. dual: 2Ch 6.40 $\text{יִהְיוּ-נְאֻם עֵינֶיךָ}$ *they shall be* (cf. § d); with a collective: Gn 30.39 $\text{וַיִּחַמוּ הַצֹּאן}$ *the ewes were in heat* (cf. § e. For the neglected fem. sg., cf. § k).

(1) The form קָטַלְתְּנָה as 2nd p. is rare (§ a). See § 150 a, n. 1.

(2) As happens systematically in MH, and often in QH (Qimron, *Hebrew of DSS*, p. 45).

With a **dual** the verb is usually plural. If the noun is feminine the plural can be either feminine or masculine (§ c). With the fem. dual **יָרִים** one finds: always (5 x) **תִּחַזְקֶנָּה יָרִים** (Jdg 7.11; 2Sm 2.7; Ez 22.14; Zech 8.9,13); always (2 x) **יָרִים תִּרְפֶּינָה** (Is 13.7; Ez 7.17); but always **יָרִים יִרְפוּ** (4 x: 2Sm 4.1; Zeph 3.16; Ne 6.9; 2Ch 15.7). With **עֵינַיִם**: Mi 7.10 **עֵינַי תִּרְאֶינָה**. The dual (like the pl., § g) may be regarded as a collective and the verb put in the fem. sing. (rare): Mi 4.11 **וַתִּחַזַּקְוּ**; 1Sm 4.15 **עֵינַיִם קָמָה** (cf. § h).

With a **collective** the verb can be used in the singular or in the plural (which becomes more frequent in the later books, notably in Ch); 2Sm 23.11 **וְהָעָם נָס**; parall. 1Ch 11.13 **וְהָעָם נָסוּ** (contr. also 2Sm 6.19 and parall. 1Ch 16.43). But we note an alternation even in two adjacent verses: Jdg 9.36f.: **הִנֵּה עִם יִרְדִים** ... **הִנֵּה עִם יוֹרֵד**. A first verb, especially if it comes before the noun, can be used in the singular, and a second verb, which comes after the noun, in the plural: 1Kg 18.39 **וַיִּרְא וַיִּדְעוּ כָל-הָעָם וַיִּפְּלוּ**. Other exx.: with a fem. collective: 1Sm 17.46 **וַיִּדְעוּ כָל-הָאָרֶץ**; Gn 41.57 **וַיִּבְרָא וַיִּבְרָא**; Ez 31.6 **כָּל חַיַּת הַשָּׂדֶה** with a noun occasionally treated as a collective: Gn 34.24 **וַיִּמְלֹכוּ כָל-זָכָר**; Jdg 9.55 **וַיִּרְאוּ אִישׁ-יִשְׂרָאֵל**. Likewise with names of **peoples** the verb can be in the masc. sing. or in the masc. pl.: Masc. sing.: Ex 17.11 **וַיִּבְרַח יִשְׂרָאֵל**; Is 19.16; Am 1.11; 1Ch 18.5; 19.15,16,18,19; Masc. plur.: 2Sm 10.17 **וַיַּעֲרֹכוּ אֹרְכֵי**; 1Kg 20.20; 1Ch 18.2,5,6,13. Moreover, since a people can be regarded as a collection, the verb, especially if it comes first, can be used in the fem. sing.⁽¹⁾ (cf. § g): 2Sm 8.2 **וַתִּהְיֶינָה מוֹאָב**; vss. 5,6; 10.11; 24.9; Jer 13.19; 1Ch 19.12; Job 1.15 (followed by the plural); cf. § 134 g.

(1) This construction, which is fairly rare in Hebrew, is usual in Arabic. e.g. *qālat il Yāhūdu* "the Jews have said", Koran 2.107 (cf. Brock., *GvG*, II, p. 174). The construction with the feminine of 2Sm 8.2,5,6 has been replaced by the plural in 1Ch 18.2,5,6.

With a **plural of excellence** or of **majesty** (§ 136 d) the verb is usually in the singular (always so in the later stage of the language): 1Ch 17.21 **וְהָיָה הָאֱלֹהִים** (but // 2Sm 7.23 **וְהָיָה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם**); 1Kg 12.28 **אֱלֹהֵיךָ** *your God who brought you up* (rather than *your gods*); Ex 21.4 **וַיִּתֵּן יְהוָה**; vs. 29 **וַיִּתֵּן יְהוָה**.

Plural (especially fem.) nouns of **things** or of **animals** may be regarded as equivalent to collectives; the verb then takes the fem. sing.⁽¹⁾ Instances are not very numerous, especially in simple prose: Jl 1.20

חטאותינו ענתה לנו *the wild beasts troat*; Is 59.12 חטאותינו ענתה לנו *our sins have testified against us*(2). Other exx. after the noun: Gn 21.30; 49.22 (poet.); Jer 48.41; 49.24 (two synonyms: fem. sg. and m. pl.); Pr 15.22; 20.18; Job 12.7; 20.11 ? (after a first verb in the pl.); 41.10. Before the noun: 2Sm 24.13; Is 34.13; Jer 4.14; 12.4; Ps 18.35; 37.31; 103.5; Job 14.19; 27.20.

(1) Whilst *taqulūna* for the 3m.pl. appears to be confirmed for West Semitic dialects of the 14th century BC, its existence in BH is, *contra* Moran, rather unlikely; out of a total of 20 examples mentioned above, 7 are perfects, and out of the remaining 13 imperfects two only (Ps 103.5 and Job 14.19 with a hapax legomenon as the subject in the latter) have a m.pl. subject. See W.L. Moran in G.E. Wright (ed.), *The Bible and the Ancient Near East: Essays in Honor of W.F. Albright* (New York, 1961), pp. 62f., and cf. Sh. Izre'el, "Early Northwest Semitic 3rd pl m prefix," *UF* 19 (1987) 79-90.

(2) Here ענתה has perh. been avoided in order not to have the ending *nu* three times.

h **Observations.** 1) When the form of the perfect 3rd fem. sing. and that of the 3rd p. pl. differ only in respect of the final consonant, as in the case of קָמָה and קָמוּ, there is usually a Qre requiring the plural form, e.g. 1Sm 4.15 עִינָיו קָמָה, Q^{Or} קָמוּ; Dt 21.7; Jer 2.15; 51.29; Ps 73.2, but not Gn 49.22; Jer 48.41 (Cf. § 42 *f*).

i 2) In a case where a plural noun is followed by a genitive singular, the sing. of the verb may have been totally or partially caused by the sing. of the genitive: 2Sm 10.9 הִיָּתָה (prob. influenced by מִלְחָמָה); Ez 26.11 תָּרַד ? (perh. influence of the genitive עֲוֹנָי) (Cf. § *n*).

ia 3) Apparent defective spellings (§ 94 *j*) could have implications for the question of agreement: Jer 38.22 הִטְבַּעוּ בַּבוֹץ רַגְלֵיךָ *your feet are sunk in the mire*; compare Josh 5.15 מִעַל רַגְלֵיךָ מַעַלְלֵיךָ with Ex 3.5 מַעַלְלֵיךָ מִעַל רַגְלֵיךָ. See AF, p. 146.

j The verbal form quite often remains **uninflected** (masc. sing.) when it comes before the noun, especially if separated from it by one or more words⁽¹⁾. This construction, fairly rare when referring to persons, is mainly found in poetry and lofty prose. In simple prose it is chiefly found with the verb הִיָּה (especially the form וַיְהִי)⁽²⁾. Examples in simple prose⁽³⁾: Ez 14.1 וַיְבֹא אֵלַי אַנְשִׁים (var. וַיְבֹאוּ); 1Sm 4.10 וַיִּפֹּל וַיִּשְׁרַאֵל שְׁלֵשִׁים אֶלֶף רַגְלָיו (contr. Jdg 20.44 וַיִּפְּלוּ in a similar context); 2Sm 24.15 וַיִּמָּת מִן־הָעָם ... שְׁבַעַיִם אֶלֶף אִישׁ (contr. Ex 8.9 וַיִּמָּתוּ). With the verb הִיָּה: 1Sm 1.2 וַיְהִי לְפָנֶיךָ יְלָדִים⁽⁴⁾; 1Kg 11.3 הִצְפִּירָה עֵים. Outside simple prose: Is 47.11 וַיְהִי־לוֹ נָשִׁים שָׂרוֹת שְׁבַע מְאוֹת

וַיָּבֹא עֲלֵיָךְ רָעָה; Jer 51.48 יְבֹא־לָהּ הַשְׂוֹרְדִים; Is 2.17; 9.18; 14.11; 28.18; Jer 13.18; Ps 124.5. In Is 33.9 אָרַךְ אֲמַלְלָהּ אֶבְל אֶבְל the 2nd verb agrees (? contr. 24.4); cf. 14.9 ?

(1) The verb then has a sort of impersonal quality, as in the Fr. *il est arrivé de mauvaises nouvelles; il manque deux francs*; in the It. *manca due lire; mi è venuto voglia*. Psychologically, one first thinks about the verbal idea on its own, then about the subject.

(2) On the unique behaviour of הִיָּה, see Levi, *Inkongruenz* [§ 128 b, n.], pp. 203-13.

(3) In simple prose the verbal form is usually inflected when the noun follows immediately, e.g. וַיִּפְּלוּ Josh 17.5; Jdg 9.40; 1Sm 17.52; 31.1; 1Ch 10.1; 2Ch 13.17†.

(4) לִּיהִיָּה with the meaning of *to belong to = to have* is usually uninflected.

Even in the singular, the **feminine** is sometimes neglected. (For the plural cf. § c). In simple prose לִּיהִיָּה is found after a fem. noun⁽¹⁾: Ex 12.49 תּוֹרָה אַחַת יִהְיֶה לִּי (= Nu 15.29; cf. 9.14); Dt 18.2 נִחְלָה לֹא־; Ex 28.32; 2Ch 6.29 (parall. 1Kg 8.38 תִּהְיֶה); 2Ch 17.13. Apart from this case: Gn 15.17 ? עֲלֻטָּה הָיָה; Pr 2.10 (after תִּבְוֹא!); Job 8.7 (perh. on the analogy of וַהֲיָה); 36.18; Jer 50.46 ?

(1) Unexplained phenomenon; perh. on the analogy of the frequent הִיָּה uninflected before the noun (§ j, n.). In any case, what comes out of §§ j, k, l is that לִּיהִיָּה tends to remain uninflected. In Mandaean the verb *to be* very often remains uninflected; cf. Nöldeke, *Mandäische Grammatik* (Halle, 1875), § 281.

Not only the feminine, but also the plural is neglected with לִּיהִיָּה (cf. § k) in Gn 47.24 אֲרִבַּע הַיָּרֹת יִהְיֶה לָכֶם; Ex 28.7; 30.4 (the plural in Ec 2.7 לִי יִהְיֶה לִּי). Apart from this case, cf. Is 16.8; Hb 3.17.

Certain **anomalies** may be explained by the influence of the **predicate**: Gn 28.22 יִהְיֶה בַּיִת אֱלֹהִים ... הָאָרְצָה הַזֹּאת (but הִיָּה tends to remain uninflected, § k n.); 31.8 נִקְהִים יִהְיֶה שְׂכָרְךָ (id.); Lv 25.32 תִּהְיֶה (cf. v. 33 הִיא, § 149 c); Ez 35.15 תִּהְיֶה.

B) Agreement with a compound subject⁽¹⁾.

1) Subject consisting of a **genitival group** (*nomen regens* and *nomen rectum* = genitive). In this case the verb usually agrees with the *nomen regens*: 1Kg 17.16 כָּלֵתָה לֹא כָּלֵתָה *the jug of of flour did not go empty*. The verb seldom agrees with the *nomen rectum*: (ib.) וַצִּפְחַת הַשֶּׁמֶן וַצִּפְחַת הַשֶּׁמֶן *and the jug of oil did not run dry* (but ?; cf. v. 14 תִּחַסֵּר). Other exx. of agreement with the *nomen rectum* in respect of the gender: Ex 26.12; Lv 13.9; Josh 24.33; 2Kg 4.39; Is 27.2; Pr 29.25; — as for the number⁽²⁾, cf. § i.

(1) Cf. Levi, *Inkongruenz*, pp. 43-53.

(2) Comp. with an adjective 1Sm 2.4 (poetic and odd).

o **Observation.** When the nomen regens is כל, the verb almost always agrees with the nomen rectum: Ex 15.20 וַתֵּצְאֵן כָּל־הַנְּשִׂאִים *all the women went out*; Ps 150.6 יִפְתְּחֵן כָּל הַנְּשָׁמָה תְהַלֵּל יְהוָה *let all that breathes praise Yahweh!* (Likewise with a suffix, e.g. Josh 8.24 וַיִּפְּלוּ כָלָם). Exceptions are very rare: Ex 12.16 כָּל־מְלָאכָה לֹא־יַעֲשֶׂה *no work shall be done*; Pr 16.2 (where וַיִּזְכֹּר is a verb rather than an adjective: cf. Job 15.15).

p 2) Subject consisting of two (or several) nouns juxtaposed by (or even without) **Waw**.

The **postpositive verb** is usually in the plural: Ex 17.10 מָשָׁה אָהָרֹן וְחֹדֶר עָלוּ; Gn 31.14. The verb sometimes remains in the singular when the two nouns, forming a single idea⁽¹⁾, are taken *per modum unius*: Dt 8.13 כָּסַף וְזָהָב יִרְבֶּה־לָּךְ; Ho 4.11; 9.2; 10.8; Pr 27.9. In Is 9.4 הִיִּתְהָה agrees with the last subject. In Ex 21.4 the Waw has more or less the quality of the *Waw of accompaniment* of Arabic (= *together with*): *the wife together with her children shall be הִתְהָיָה* (comp. 2Sm 14.9, § 148 d); cf. § 151 a.

(1) Cf. Levi, *Inkongruenz*, pp. 58-96.

q The **prepositive verb** can agree with the first noun or be put in the plural⁽¹⁾. Agreement with the first noun: Nu 12.1 וַתְּדַבֵּר מִרְיָם וְאַהֲרֹן *Miriam and Aaron spoke* (continued by: 2 וַיֵּאמְרוּ); Gn 33.7 וַתִּגַּשׁ גַּם לְאָה וַתִּשְׁתַּחוּ וַיִּלְךְ לְרֵיָהּ וַיִּשְׁתַּחוּ *Leah also and her children approached and bowed down*; 31.14 וַתַּעֲזָב רָחֵל וְלֵאָה וַתֹּאמְרָנָה *Rachel and Leah answered and said*; 24.61 וַיִּקַּח שָׁם וַיִּפֹּת ... וַיֵּשְׂמוּ 9.23 וַתִּקְרַב בָּקָה וְנִעְרֹתֶיהָ וַתִּרְכַּב בְּנָה 11.29; 2Sm 12.2; Am 8.13 וַהֲבַחֲרוּ ... וַתִּעַלְפְּנָה הַבְּתוּלוֹת *the virgins and the young men shall faint*. The verb in the plural: Gn 40.1 וַחֲטְאוּ מִשְׁקָה מְלֶכֶךְ - *the cupbearer and the baker of the king of Egypt made a mistake*; 1Sm 31.7.

(1) According to M. Moreshet, the frequency of the singular relative to the pl. verb preceding a multiple subject is about 6 : 1 (*Leš* 31 [1967] 253). Moreshet (art. cit., 251-60) also shows that it is not always correct to say that the person mentioned first is the principal character.

r **Comparative observations about agreement.** From what was said above in §§ 148-150 the following general observations may be made:

1) The agreement of the adjective is almost perfect; thus from the gender of the adjective we may deduce the gender of the substantive. On the other hand the agreement of the verb and of the suffixed pronoun is very imperfect, e.g. 2Ch 6.40 יְהִי־נָא עֵינֵיךָ פְּתוּחֹת (§ c); Gn 32.16 גַּמְלִים מִיְנִיקוֹת וּבְנֵיהֶם (§ 149 b).

2) The replacement of the feminine by the masculine is frequent in the verb and in the suffixed pronoun.

3) Partial agreement and lack of agreement of the verb, especially the latter, are much more frequent when the verb comes before the noun.

§ 151. APPENDIX I: Agreement in respect of person

The reader will find gathered here some particular points about the agreement in respect of person. a

The Waw which links a noun to a pronoun has more or less the quality of the *Waw of accompaniment* of Arabic (= *together with*, cf. § 150 p) in Esth 4.16 אֲנִי וְנַעֲרֹתַי אֲצוּם *I, together with my maids, will fast*; Ne 5.14 לֹא אָכַלְתִּי ... לֹא אָכַלְתִּי *I and my brothers, we did not eat*.

In reverential speech where *your servant* is used for *I*, the 1st pers. of the pronoun or even of the verb is liable to appear: 1Kg 18.12 עֲבַדְךָ יְיָ *your servant has feared Y. from his (my) youth*; 2Sm 9.8 כָּמֹנִי; Gn 42.13; 2Sm 19.36 אֲמַטְּ עֲבַדְךָ אֶת־אֲשֶׁר אָכַל *does your servant have a taste for what he (I) eats (eat)?* b

There is also syllepsis of person in the following case, which, by the way, is only found in poetry. When certain nouns expressing something which forms part of the individual (*נַפְשׁ* *soul*, *פֶּה* *mouth*, and in particular *קוֹל* *voice*) are followed by a 1st or 2nd p. suffix, the verb is used in the person of that suffix. This construction may have originated with *נַפְשִׁי*, equivalent to *I*, and then spread to other nouns: Is 26.9 נַפְשִׁי 26.9 אֲנִי אֶשְׁחַרְחֶה בְּלַיְלָה אֶת־רוּחִי בְּקֶרְבִי אֶשְׁחַרְחֶה *my soul yearns for you in the night; and my spirit within me awaits you in the morning* (lit. *anima mea* [= *ego*] *desidero te*); Ps 57.5 נַפְשִׁי בְּתוֹךְ לְבָאִם אֲשֶׁפְּבָה *I (my soul) must sleep in the middle of lions*. With *קוֹל*: Ps 3.5 קוֹלִי אֶל־יְהוָה *my voice calls out to Yahweh*⁽¹⁾; Ps 27.7 *Listen, Yahweh, my voice (which) calls; 142.2 my voice calls out to Yahweh, my voice beseeches Yahweh*. Likewise with *פִּי*: Ps 66.17 פִּי קָרָאתִי *to him my voice called out*. Conversely, there is a change from a verb in the 2nd p. c

to a noun with a 2nd p. suffix in Ps 44.3 אַתָּה יָדְךָ גוֹיִם הוֹרְשִׁתָּ *it is your arm which dispossessed the nations* (lit. *you, [namely] your arm, you disp.*); Ps 60.7 הוֹשִׁיעָה יְמִינְךָ *let your right hand help!* (lit. *help, [namely] your right hand!*).

(1) Here קוֹלִי, before the verb, is subject like נִפְשִׁי Is 26.9; Ps 57.5; פִּי 66.17. (On the other hand קוֹלְךָ in Is 10.30 יִצְהָרְךָ, § 125 *s*). The emphatic nuance which is generally accepted is hardly apparent.

- d* On the type בּוֹ אֵשׁ אֶת-חַרְבוֹ 1Sm 25.13, see § 147 *d*.
 On the type שָׁמְעוּ עַמִּים כְּלָם 1Kg 22.28, see § 146 *j*.
 On the syllepsis of the person in relative clauses, see § 158 *n*.

§ 152. APPENDIX II. Expression of the neuter

- a* Generally speaking, the notion of neuter is expressed by the feminine rather than by the masculine. Cf. § 134 *n*.

1) **Demonstrative pronoun.** The most commonly used is זֹאת: Gn 42.18 וְעַתָּה עֲשׂוּ *do this*; 42.15 בְּזֹאת *by this*; Is 5.25b בְּכַל-זֹאת *in spite of all this* (9.11,20; 10.4; Ho 7.10); מִה-זֹאת *what ever?* (§ 143 *g*; seldom הִזִּיה־מִה). In all these cases, *this* does not refer to a concrete object. When talking about a concrete object one uses הִזִּיה אֲשֶׁר *this is what ...* (§ 143 *a*). Both genders occur in an idiomatic expression: 1Kg 14.5 וְכִזָּה וְכִזָּה *thus and thus* alongside Josh 7.20 וְכִזָּאת וְכִזָּאת.

- b* 2) **Personal pronoun.** Similarly the feminine is used when the meaning is vague: Am 7.6 גַּם הִיא לֹא תִהְיֶה *this too shall not be* (after על-זֹאת); Jdg 14.4 מִיָּהוּהָ הִיא *this was coming from Y.*; Nu 14.41; Ex 10.11 אֲתָּה *this is what you are asking for*; Gn 24.14 בָּהּ *by this I shall know*; 15.6 וַיִּחְשַׁבְהָ *and he considered it*; Job 38.18 כֻּלָּהּ *all that*; Gn 42.36 כָּל-זֵנָה *all those things*, but in the masc. הוּא אֲשֶׁר: 42.14 *this is what I said* (comp. 41.28); גַּן-הוּא 44.10; Ex 16.23 *this is what Yāhweh has said*.

- c* 3) **Verb.** The feminine is found in the same case as with the pronoun, e.g. Am 7.6 (§ *b*): Is 7.7 וְלֹא תִקּוּם וְלֹא תִהְיֶה *this shall not take place and shall not be*; 14.24 בְּאֲשֶׁר דְּמִיתִי בֶן הַיָּתֵה וּבְאֲשֶׁר יִעֲצָתִי הִיא *this*; תִּקּוּם; Job 4.5. Likewise after אֲשֶׁר referring to the total idea expressed in the main clause: Jer 7.31: "... to burn their sons and their daughters by fire ... which never entered my mind על-לְבִי אֲשֶׁר לֹא עָלְתָה עַל-לְבִי" (19.5; 32.35); comp. Nu 14.41.

But with verbs which take a more impersonal construction⁽¹⁾ the masculine is more usual by far. This is especially true of verbs expressing an emotion. Thus one always has וַיָּהִי and *it came to pass*, וַיָּהִיָּה and *it shall come to pass*. Likewise one has לוֹ חָרָה he is angry (*this is burning to him; it burns him*) Gn 4.6; לוֹ חָם he is hot (*it is hot to him*) 1Kg 1.1; Hg 1.6; לוֹ נָח he has rest (*quietum est ei*) Is 23.12; Job 3.13; Ne 9.28; לוֹ רָוַח he is relieved (*it is wide to him*) 1Sm 16.23; Job 32.20; antonym: לוֹ צָר he is distressed (*it is narrow to him*) Gn 32.8; Jdg 2.15; 2Sm 13.2; Job 20.22† (but fem. לוֹ וַיִּצְרַח Jdg 10.9; 1Sm 30.6†); מָר לוֹ he is unhappy (*it is bitter to him*) Ru 1.13; Lam 1.4†; לוֹ טוֹב he is happy (*it is good to him*) Nu 11.18; לוֹ רָע evil befell him, he was overwhelmed by misfortune (*it was bad to him*) Ps 106.32†; לוֹ רָע בְּעֵינָיו to displease, to be hateful to sbd (*to be bad in his eyes*) Gn 21.12 (contr. 11); 1Ch 21.7; also 2Sm 11.25 (§ 125 j 6).

(1) On the impersonal expression in general, see C. Rabin, *The Meanings of the Grammatical Forms in Biblical and Modern Hebrew* [Heb] (Jerusalem, 1971), pp. 36-42.

Likewise the inf. cst. used as subject is mostly treated as masc.: see examples in § 124 b. da

For meteorological phenomena one has in the masculine 1Sm 29.10 *it will be light*; 2Sm 2.32 וַיֵּאָר it was light (comp. Gn 44.3 הַבֹּקֶר morning gleamed); in the feminine Ps 50.3 נִשְׁעָרָה מְאֹד it was very tempestuous (the other examples in the feminine are doubtful: Am 4.7; Mi 3.6; Job 11.17). e

Apart from these cases one finds in the masculine: Gn 17.17 לֵינֹלָד it will be born to = a child will be given to (only example); Nu 11.22 וַיִּמָּצָא and this will be enough; Dt 24.21 וְהָיָה this shall be (for the sojourner ...). f

Especially noteworthy is the use of impersonal passive as in Lv 4.20 et passim - לְנִסְלָח; Is 14.3 בָּבֶל אֲשֶׁר עָבַד בָּבֶל with the lack of concord, and also ib. 14.11 תִּחְתָּיִךְ יִצַּע רַמָּה; 53.5 נִרְפָּא-לָנוּ; 2Sm 17.16 נָחַל אֵיתָן אֲשֶׁר עָגַלְתָּ בָּבֶל אֲשֶׁר לֹא-עָבַד בָּבֶל; Dt 21.3 לְמַלְאָךְ יִבְלַע; 21.4 אֲשֶׁר לֹא-יִעָבֵד בּוֹ וְלֹא יִזְרַע (1). In Gn 17.17 Arb. has *yuladu*, impersonal passive. By substituting the passive for the active in 2Ch 18.14 וַיִּנְתְּנוּ בְּיַד מִיכָאֵל // 1Kg 22.15 בְּיַד הַמְּלָאָךְ), the Chronicler seems to be suggesting that the prophet Micaiah is deliberately making an evasive fa

answer. One may have an impersonal passive even of an intransitive verb (as is common in Classical Arabic): Is 16.10 **וּבְכַרְמִים לֹא-יִרְנָן וְלֹא יִרְעָע** *and in the vineyards there shall be no singing, neither shall there be shouting*(²).

(1) Cf. T. Muraoka, *Classical Syriac for Hebraists* (Wiesbaden, 1987), p. 42, and § 132 e, f. Note a similar usage in German and Dutch: e.g., 'In dem Café wurde bis in die Nacht getanzt' (= *There was some dancing at the café which went on far into the night*); 'Es wird sonntags nicht gearbeitet' (= *There is no work on Sundays*); 'Er wordt gezongen' (= *There is some singing going on*); 'Er wordt aan de deur geklopt' (= *Somebody is knocking on the door*).

(2) Rabin, *Syntax*, p. 43.

- g** **Cardinal numbers.** The form used with a feminine noun is generally found: 1Ch 21.10 **אַחַת מִהֶנָּה** *one of (these) things* (parall. 2Sm 24.12 **מִהֶם** ?); Is 47.9 **שְׁתֵּי-אֵלֶּה** (cf. 51.19); Pr 30.15 **שְׁלוֹשׁ הֵנָּה** (cf. 30.21) but **שְׁלֹשׁ הֵנָּה** 30.18 (prob. because of **הֵנָּה** always masc. in the pl. and sometimes in the sing., § 134 I); 30.29 (the reference is to three males); 6.16 **שְׁשֵׁ-הֵנָּה**.
- h** The use of the feminine adjective with neuter force without its nuclear noun is rather common: e.g., Gn 50.20 "you meant to do me harm (**רָצָה**)"; Ps 12.4 "a tongue talking great things (**גְּדִלוֹת**)."

CHAPTER VII: CLAUSES.

A. CLAUSES IN GENERAL

§ 153. General remarks⁽¹⁾

A clause normally consists of a subject and a predicate.

Depending on whether the predicate is a noun or a verb, a clause is said to be *nominal* or *verbal*⁽²⁾. However, this division ought not to be pressed so far as to obscure some significant features shared by the two types of clause⁽³⁾.

A clause can be *simple* or *compound* (consisting of several simple clauses).

A simple clause is said by modern grammarians to be *bare* or *covered* depending on whether the subject and the predicate are lacking or provided with an attribute (§ 121 a, n.) or some complement.

The members of a compound clause can be *coordinate*⁽⁴⁾ or *subordinate*. Coordination and subordination can be *syndetic* or *asyndetic*, i.e. with or without a coordinating/juxtaposing or subordinating word.

From the point of view of **grammatical function**, a subordinate clause can be substantival, i.e. equivalent to a substantive, relative, or conjunctive, i.e. introduced by a conjunction.

From the point of view of time-sphere, the nominal clause is neutral; on the whole it indicates a universal truth, or a specific state or condition, or an ongoing action in the case of a participle of an action verb which is contemporaneous with the main verb⁽⁵⁾.

An important issue relating to clause structure is that of the sequence of the core constituents of a clause. The often expressed view⁽⁶⁾ that the clause-initial constituent represents what is most important to the speaker or writer is a gross oversimplification. Syntax often constrains and overrides semantic considerations⁽⁷⁾.

A major difficulty is presented by the question how one can identify the subject and the predicate of a clause. The difficulty is especially acute in the case of the nominal clause⁽⁸⁾. If one accepts the definition of the subject of a clause as some known entity about which some

new information (predicate) is provided, a clause such as Gn 2.10 וַיֵּצֵא מֵעֵדֶן ... יְצֵא מֵעֵדֶן, contrary to the commonly held view, can be said to constitute in its entirety a predicate, whilst its subject is the latent notion of existence, as can be best reproduced by the idiomatic English rendering: "And there was a river issuing forth from Eden ..." In a study of clause structure and word-order, as in many other linguistic investigations, due consideration needs to be given to possible differences according to register or genre. For example, Spoken Hebrew, to the extent that it is retrievable from written texts, may well diverge significantly from Written Hebrew, and the language of legal codes from that of plain narrative. These are distinctions which must be made in addition to the distinction usually made between prose and poetry⁽⁹⁾. We are in the dark on one important matter, namely that of intonation. Classical Hebrew must have possessed, just as many living languages do, an array of intonation patterns, some of which conceivably had grammatical/syntactical as well as emotive functions. Finally, from the point of view of the nuances of idea or feeling expressed, clauses can be classified into numerous specific categories, for example, temporal, conditional, final, consecutive, causal, negative, interrogative, exclamative, optative, etc.

(1) Cf. F.I. Andersen, *Sentence* (1974), a study informed by the tagmemic approach and with interest in discourse analysis.

(2) It may be more precise to speak of 'non-verbal clause' (cf. Andersen's 'verbless clause'), since the 'noun' here must be taken in a rather broad sense, i.e. to include adjectives, participles, prepositional phrases, and the like. However, we follow the conventional nomenclature, which brings out the contrast more clearly and more readily accommodates the participle as predicate: see also below § 154 *a*. On the other hand, we do not align ourselves with those, including indigenous Arab grammarians, who classify every clause beginning with a non-verb element, even when it includes a finite verb later in the clause, as nominal, and who classify only those clauses beginning with a verb as verbal. This is a position recently endorsed, for instance, by Niccacci, op. cit. [§ 113 *i*, n.], § 6; for a critique of this position, see T. Muraoka in *Abr-Nahrain* 27 (1989) 188f. Whether or not a clause such as Gn 3.13 הַנְּחֹשֶׁת הַשֵּׂיִאֲנִי is to be regarded as a complex or compound clause is a separate issue belonging to a different syntactical dimension, since a traditional nominal clause can also be compound. The view that the above-quoted Gn 3.13 and similar clauses are compound might be considered plausible in the light of a passage such as Is 9.1 הָעָם הַהֵלְכִים בְּחֹשֶׁךְ רָאוּ אֹרֶךְ נִדּוּל The people who walked in the darkness saw a great light, those who dwelt in the land of utter darkness had a light shining upon them: in view of צלמות ... ישבי at the head of the second hemistich, which is in

the *casus pendens*, one could argue that the parallel $\text{הָעֵם הַהֵלְכִים בַּחֲשׂוֹן}$ is also in the *casus pendens*.

(3) Indeed, some authorities hold that in both types of clause the normal word-order is Subject—Predicate: "L'ordre des mots dans la proposition verbale (comme dans la propos. nominale, § 154 *f*) est normalement: Sujet - Verbe" (Jouön in his original French edition of the present grammar). Cf. Muraoka, *Emphatic*, pp. 4f. It may be noted at this point that the circumstantial clause, which by nature tends not to accord special prominence or emphasis to one of the two principal constituents, normally shows the word-order Subject—Predicate, whether the clause be nominal or verbal. This observation, however, does not necessarily contradict Jespersen's view cited in n. 6 below.

(4) Used in the technical sense of 'being of equal syntactical status.' In the following, we prefer to use the term 'juxtaposing' or 'juxtaposed.'

(5) See F. Schwally, "Zum hebräischen Nominalsatz," *ZDMG* 68 (1914) 111-17.

(6) See, for example, König, *Syntax*, § 339*b, d, g-i, m, p*. The most recent advocate of this theory is E.J. Revell in *JSS* 34 (1989) 2. Our position on this matter was succinctly stated by O. Jespersen in his book *The Philosophy of Grammar* (London, 1924), p. 147: "... word-order in actual language is not exclusively determined by psychological reasons, but is often purely conventional and determined by idiomatic rules peculiar to the language in question and independent of the will of the individual speaker." It is an equally untenable extremism to suggest that every clause-initial element is the predicate of the clause: To take one of literally countless examples, how is one to analyse Gn 27.22 $\text{וְעָשׂוּ יְדֵי הַיָּרְיָם יַעֲקֹב וְהֵיָרְיָם יַעֲקֹב קוֹל הַקֶּל קוֹל יַעֲקֹב}$ on such a basis?

(7) Herein lies one of the major positive aspects of F.I. Andersen's study, *The Hebrew Verbless Clause in the Pentateuch* (Nashville/New York, 1970), which takes fully into account many syntactic parameters such as the circumstantial clause, the distinction between declarative and interrogative utterances, the effect of margin on clause structure, etc. On some general issues relating to word-order, see Andersen, *Verbless*, pp. 17-27, and Muraoka, *Emphatic*, pp. 1-6.

(8) How does one analyse, for instance, 1Kg 3.22 $\text{הַחַי וְהַמֵּת הַבֵּן הַזֶּה}$? For Andersen, this is undoubtedly a clause of identification in the S—P sequence, both being definite (his Rule 1: *Verbless*, p. 39). To us it seems that the question at the back of the minds of the two quarrelling women was: Whose is the living baby and whose the dead baby? Then the sequence is naturally P—S. Cf. the French translation by L. Segond (1910): "c'est mon fils qui est vivant, et c'est ton fils qui est mort"; Pesh. *bēr(y) (h)u hayyā' wavrēh(y) (h)w miṭā'*. In view of this difficulty J. Hoftijzer, in his important review of Andersen's *Verbless* (*VT* 23 [1973] 446-510), uses purely formal categories—definite and indefinite clause constituents—instead of the usual semantic-logical ones such as subject and predicate. For a general, theoretical discussion, see O. Jespersen, *The Philosophy of Grammar* (London, 1924), pp. 145-56; P.H. Matthews, *Syntax* (Cambridge, 1981), pp. 96-113.

(9) See Muraoka, *Emphatic*, p. 5; J. Macdonald, "Some distinctive characteristics of Israelite Spoken Hebrew," *BO* 32 (1975) 162-75. The text-linguistics stresses the importance of the distinction between narrative and discourse; for applications of this

approach to Hebrew, see W. Schneider, *Grammatik des biblischen Hebräisch* (München, 1982), E. Talstra, "Text grammar and Hebrew Bible," *BO* 35 (1978) 169-74, 39 (1982) 26-38; A. Niccacci, *op. cit.* [§ 113 *i*, n.].

§ 154. Nominal clause⁽¹⁾.

- a** The category nominal clause includes every clause the predicate of which is a noun or the equivalent of a noun, i.e. for instance, a participle, a preposition with a noun or a pronoun; or, put negatively, every clause the predicate of which is not a verb (but with the exception of הָיָה in the sense of *to be*, § *m*) is a nominal clause. The nominal clause in Hebrew, as in the other Semitic languages, enjoys extensive use.

(1) The structure of the nominal clause has been one of the most hotly debated topics in Biblical Hebrew grammar during the past two decades or so. To name only the principal works in the chronological order of their publication: T. Muraoka, "Emphasis in Biblical Hebrew," Ph.D. diss. (Jerusalem, 1969), pp. 1-15, 147-51; F.I. Andersen, *Verbless* (1970); J. Hoftijzer (1973), an extensive review article on Andersen's monograph; Bendavid, 2.692-769, 785-855; R. Contini, *Tipologia della frase nominale nel semitico nordoccidentale del I millennio A.C.* (Pisa, 1982); Muraoka, *Emphatic* (1985) [an extensively revised ed. of the above-mentioned dissertation], pp. 1-28 [both works deal with the verbal clause as well]; D. Cohen, *La Phrase nominale* (1984, actually published around 1987) [§ 113 *d*, n.]. J.A. Linton attempts a critical appraisal of four approaches to the Hebrew nominal clause represented by C. Albrecht, Andersen, Hoftijzer, and Muraoka in his "Four Views of the Verbless Clause in BH," Ph.D. diss. (Wisconsin, 1983); a more brief survey had been attempted by B.L. Bandstra, "The syntax of particle 'ky' in BH and Ugr.," Ph.D. diss. (Yale, 1982), pp. 63-72. Bandstra's discussion (pp. 62-96) embraces both the nominal and verbal clauses. There are other important works done on Modern Hebrew (a bibliography in Muraoka, *Emphatic*, p. 1, to which add now L. Glinert, *The Grammar of Mod. Heb.* [Cambridge, 1989], pp. 413-26), on Mishnaic Hebrew (T. Muraoka, "On the nominal clause in LBH and MH" [Heb], M. Bar-Asher (ed.), *Language Studies IV* (Jerusalem, 1990), pp. 219-52, and on Classical Syriac, on the last of which see especially T. Muraoka, "On the nominal clause in the Old Syriac Gospels," *JSS* 20 (1975) 28-37; idem, "On the Syriac particle 'ḫ,'" *BO* 34 (1977) 21f.; G. Goldenberg, "On Syriac sentence structure," in M. Sokoloff (ed.), *Arameans, Aramaic and the Aramaic Literary Tradition* (Ramat-Gan, 1983), pp. 97-140; T. Muraoka, *Classical Syriac for Hebraists* (Wiesbaden, 1987), pp. 59-67.

- b** The subject of the nominal clause is generally a noun or a pronoun, the latter sometimes understood (§ *c*). Furthermore, the subject can be:

1) A preposition with a noun (or pronoun): 1Ch 9.28 מֵהֶם עַל־כְּלֵי הַעֲבֹדָה (part) of them (were in charge) of the cultic utensils (lit.: *de eis super vasa ministerii*); Gn 44.18 כְּמֹדֶךָ כְּפִרְעֹה *instar tui instar Pharaonis* = you and Pharaoh are quite the same (cf. § 174 i).

2) An infinitive construct: Gn 2.18 לֹא־טוֹב הָיְתָה הָאָדָם לְבַדּוֹ *it is not good that the man should be alone*; 1Sm 18.23 הֲנִקְלָה בְּעֵינֶיכֶם הַתְּחַתֵּן בְּמַלְלָהּ *is it a trivial matter in your eyes to become the king's son-in-law?* (הִנְקָלָה Nif. fem.ptc.). Often the infinitive is preceded by an introductory proclitic ל (cf. § 124 b).

3) Rarely an infinitive absolute: Pr 25.27. Cf. § 123 b.

N.B. The subject pronoun is sometimes omitted in a participial clause, notably after הִנֵּה (§ 146 h): Gn 24.30 וְהִנֵּה עֹמֵד *and there he was standing*; 37.15; 38.24; 41.1; Ex 7.15; 8.16; 1Sm 15.12; Is 29.8; — without הִנֵּה: Gn 32.7 וְגַם הֵלֵךְ *and for sure he is coming*; Dt 33.3; 1Sm 20.1; Is 33.5; 40.19; Ps 22.29; 33.5; 55.20; Job 12.17,19ff.; 25.2; 26.7. In all these examples it is the pronoun of the 3rd pers. sg.m. הוּא that is understood. Examples with the other pronouns are rather rare: e.g. הִמָּה Ez 8.12; Ne 9.3; — אֲנֹכִי Hb 1.5; Zech 9.12.

Other than the participial clause: after הִנֵּה: Gn 42.28; 1Sm 10.11 (cf. § 146 h); without הִנֵּה: Ps 16.8 כִּי מִיְמִינִי *for (he is) at my right hand*; Job 9.32. — On the participle without subject, whether in the singular or plural, to express the notion of *one*, cf. § 155 f.

Predicate. The predicate of a nominal clause is usually a noun, i.e. substantive, adjective or participle: Gn 45.3 אֲנִי יוֹסֵף *I am Joseph*; 2Sm 14.20 אֲרֹנִי חָכָם *my lord is wise*; Gn 2.10 יָצָא נְהַר *a river went out*. The predicate can also be:

1) a pronoun: Jdg 9.28 מִי־אַבְיִמֶלֶךְ? *who is Abimelech?*

2) a preposition with its noun or pronoun: 1Kg 2.14 לִי אֲלֵיךָ *I have something to say to you*.

3) an adverb: Gn 9.23 אָחֻרְנִית *and their face was looking backwards*.

4) an infinitive construct preceded by ל, usually with הָיָה: Gn 15.12 לְבֹא הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ לָשֶׁט *and the sun was about to set* (§ 124 l); rarely without הָיָה: Jer 51.49; Esth 7.8; 2Ch 11.22; 12.12.

N.B. I. The nominal (substantival) predicate is used in Hebrew in a rather broad sense⁽¹⁾. As predicate we find:

1) The noun for the material from which something is made: Ez 41.22 *עֲצֵבֵיהֶם כֶּסֶף וְזָהָב* *their idols are silver and gold* (cf. § 131 a, d); Ps 115.4 *הַמִּזְבֵּחַ עֵץ* *the altar (was of) wood*.

2) The thing contained as predicate of the containing object: Jer 24.2 *הַדֹּדִים מְלֵאִים טְבוֹת* *one of the baskets (was full of) good figs*.

3) The measure as predicate of the thing measured: Is 6.3 *מְלֵא כָּל-הָאָרֶץ כְּבוֹדוֹ* lit.: *his glory (is) the fulness of the entire earth*(2).

4) The noun *מִסְפָּר* as predicate of the thing numbered: Jer 2.28 *כִּי עָרֶיךָ הָיוּ אֶל־הֵיחָדֶיךָ מִסְפָּר עָרֶיךָ* *for your gods were (like) the number of your cities*; 1Sm 6.18.

5) The substantive expressing an abstract quality or a concrete particularity: Ps 19.10 *מִשְׁפָּטֵי יְהוָה אֱמֶת* *the judgements of Y. (are) truth*; Gn 11.1 *וַיְהִי כָל-הָאָרֶץ שְׁפָה אֶחָדָה* *the whole earth was (of) the same language (lip)*; Ezr 10.13 *הַזֶּמַן גֶּשֶׁמִּים* *the season is a rainy season*. Cf. a phrase of the type Pr 22.21 *אֱמָרִים אֱמֶת* *truthful sayings* (§ 131 c); Ps 110.3 *עַמְּךָ נָדְבָת* *your people is willing*; Pr 3.17 *וְכָל-נְתִיבֵיהָ שְׁלוֹמִים* *all her paths are peaceful*; Ps 109.4 *וְאֲנִי תְּפִלָּה* *I am a man of prayer*; Jer 10.10 *עֵינֶיךָ יוֹנִים* *יהוה אלהים אמת*; Ct 1.15.

6) The explanation as predicate of the thing explained: Gn 41.26 *שִׁבְעַת הַשָּׁבָלִים הַטֹּבֹת לְשִׁבְעַת שָׁנִים הֵנָּה* *the seven good ears are seven years*.

II. A nominal clause can have an optative sense; cf. § 163 b. E.g., Gn 9.26 *בָּרוּךְ יְהוָה* *Blessed be the Lord* parallel to the juxtaposed *וַיִּהְיֶה כְּנָעַן לְעַבְדָּ לְאֱמוֹ* *and let Canaan be slave to him*. The optative force is especially conspicuous when the predicate is a passive participle and precedes the subject (see § 155 l), though the reverse sequence is also attested as in Gn 27.29 *בָּרוּךְ יְהוָה אֱרֹרְךָ וּמִבְרַכְיָה בָרוּךְ*(3).

(1) Hence the very extensive use of apposition (§ 131 a ff.) and of the verbal clause with a double object (§ 125 v).

(2) *מְלֵא* extracted from the form *qi(u)tāl*; cf. § 88 E d, e.

(3) Cf. Andersen, *Verbless*, pp. 38, 49f. In Gn 9.25 *בְּנֵי עֵן* *אֱרֹר* is parallel to, and followed by, *עַבְדָּ לְאֱמוֹ יְהוָה לְאֱחָיו* (not *יְהוָה*).

ea At a more fundamental level, one can recognise two logico-semantic relationships which obtain between the subject and the predicate⁽¹⁾. On the one hand, a nominal clause may be descriptive: the predicate describes the entity represented by the subject, to indicate in what state, condition or location the subject is found, or to what class or

category it can be assigned⁽²⁾. On the other hand, a nominal clause may be identificatory: the predicate identifies and indicates the entity to which alone the proposition expressed by the clause applies. To put it differently, an equational nominal sentence consisting of יוֹסֵף and אֲנִי, 'I am Joseph' in English—we leave out of account for the moment the feature of intonation or prosody—would be descriptive if it can be perceived as a reply to the question 'Who are you?' or 'What is your name?,' whereas it would be identificatory if it can be construed as a reply to the question 'Who among you is known as Joseph?'⁽³⁾

(1) This is true, to a large extent, of the verbal clause as well, though, at least in terms of surface structure, a finite verb form usually contains within itself both the subject and the predicate or part of it, whereas in the nominal clause the two are possessed of separate, independent formal expression, as a result of which the sequence of the two constituents can be varied, viz. S—P or P—S.

(2) Many writers (e.g. Andersen) prefer the term 'classificatory' or 'classifying' to 'descriptive.' Obviously the notion of 'classification' needs to be stretched somewhat in order to embrace existential or locative sentences such as בְּצִיּוֹן מְשָׁכְנוּ *his habitation is in Zion*.

(3) Let it be noted that our usage of the term 'identification' is significantly different from its normal usage, according to which, 'I' and 'Joseph' being both unique and definite in the speech situation here in view, the utterance 'I am Joseph' is necessarily identificatory. In our understanding, by contrast, it can be glossed as 'I am a man bearing the name *Joseph*,' in which case the clause is interpretable as descriptive just as is, say, the utterance 'I am an honest merchant.' Thus we maintain that, even in a case such as Gn 27.22 וְעָשׂוּ יְדֵי וְהִיָּרְיָם יַעֲקֹב וְהִיָּרְיָם יַעֲקֹב קוֹל הַקֶּל קוֹל הַקֶּל *The voice is that of Jacob, but the hands are those of Esau*, where the senile patriarch is trying to "identify" his sons, we have a descriptive clause. Likewise in Gn 37.32 הַבֶּרֶת־נָא הַבֶּרֶת־נָא הַבֶּרֶת־נָא הַבֶּרֶת־נָא *Do identify. Is this your son's robe or not?*; 1Sm 24.16 הַקֶּלֶךְ זֶה הַקֶּלֶךְ זֶה *Is this your voice?*; 26.17 וַיִּאָּמֶר דָּוִד קוֹלִי זֶה ... וַיִּאָּמֶר דָּוִד קוֹלִי זֶה *And Saul identified the voice as David's and said, "Is this your voice ...?" And David said, "Yes, it is ..."* Regarding the last two cases, Linton [pp. 172f. of the work cited in § 113 d, n.] objects that, if these were clauses of description, we should have הַקֶּלֶךְ זֶה הַקֶּלֶךְ זֶה, which is in fact identificatory: *This is your voice?* The question, however, is about the nature and character of the voice: Is this a voice one is accustomed to associate with David? Cf. Gn 48.18 זֶה הַבְּכֹר *This is the eldest son, not the other one*. On the difficulty of interpreting the definiteness of a construct phrase or a noun suffixed with a possessive pronoun, see also Andersen, *Verbless*, pp. 46f. See a discussion in Muraoka, *Emphatic*, pp. 7f., 13, 19f. In his 1973 review article, Hoftijzer made the notion of contrastivity central to his analysis of the Hebrew nominal clause; his current, revised position on the matter may be found in *OudSt* 25 (1989) 34 with n. 30 there.

clause is often Subject—Predicate, which is true in roughly two out of every three cases⁽¹⁾. Obviously those "minority" cases which can be assumed to account for about one third of all nominal clauses in BH narrative cannot be explained away as mere exceptions. An attempt must be made to seek possible reasons for such deviations⁽²⁾.

Some examples of this statistically dominant pattern are: Gn 33.13 **כִּי הֵילָדִים רַבִּים** ... *that the children are tender*; 47.9 **יְמֵי שְׁנֵי מְגוּרַי** **שְׁלֹשִׁים וּמֵאָת שָׁנָה** *the years of my (earthly) sojourn are one hundred and thirty*; 46.32 **צֹאֵן רְעִי הָאֲנָשִׁים** *the men are shepherds*; Jdg 18.10 **הָאָרֶץ יְרֵבָת** *the land is very spacious*; 1Sm 1.2 **שֵׁם אַחַת חַנָּה** *the name of one of them was Hannah*; 12.17 **רַעַתְכֶם רַבָּה** *your wickedness is considerable*; Jdg 6.12 **יְהוָה עִמָּךְ** *the Lord is with you*⁽³⁾.

(1) These statistics are based on a study of selected portions of the OT: see Andersen, *Verbless*, p. 31, and Muraoka, *Emphatic*, pp. 6f.

(2) As the tripartite nominal clause is treated elsewhere (§ i, j), the immediately following paragraphs will be concerned with the bipartite nominal clause.

(3) Cf. Gideon's somewhat sceptical response: **וַיֵּשׁ יְהוָה עִמָּנִי**. According to Andersen (*Verbless*, p. 38), however, the sequence S—P predominates when the pred. is a prepositional phrase. In most cases quoted by him, the judgement whether a given clause is precative or not can be subjective.

fa (1) A personal pronoun tends to occupy the second slot when no prominence is intended to be given to it⁽¹⁾: Jdg 18.7 **וַיִּרְחַקוּם הֵמָּה מִצִּדְנִים** *they were also distant from the Sidonians*; 18.28 **כִּי רְחוּקָה הִיא מִצִּידוֹן**; 1Sm 17.33 **כִּי־נָעַר אָתָּה וְהוּא אִישׁ מִלְחָמָה מִנְעָרָיו** *for you are a mere lad, but he has been a warrior since his youth*, where **הוּא** in the second clause is brought forward for the sake of contrast⁽²⁾. See also Gn 27.11 **וְאִישׁ חֲלָק עֵשָׂו אָחִי אִישׁ שְׂעָר וְאֲנִי אִישׁ חֲלָק** *Esau my brother is a hairy man, whilst I am a man of smooth skin*; Jdg 11.27 **וְאָתָּה לָּךְ וְאָתָּה לָּךְ וְאָתָּה לָּךְ** *I have not done anything wrong to you, and yet you treat me badly*. With **אֲנִי יוֹסֵף** Gn 45.3, 4 Joseph, fully conscious of his own self, dramatically reveals himself to his bewildered and incredulous brothers. The prominence accorded to the preceding pronoun may approach that of identification: Jdg 6.10 **אֲנִי יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם** (with a disjunctive accent *pashtā* on the pronoun) followed immediately by "you shall not pay reverence to the gods of the Amorites." The same can be said of the same phrase as a refrain concluding a whole series of Levitical commandments: Lv 18.6; 19.12 et passim. Also Jdg 13.11 "Was it you (**הֲאֵתָּה הָאִישׁ**)

who spoke to the woman?" and the famed Solomonic pronouncement in 1Kg 3.27 *she is his mother*. Circumstantial clauses must be viewed separately: Gn 37.2 *והוא נָעַר*; 1Sm 1.10 *וְהִיא מְרַת גַּפְּשׁ* and *she was feeling bitter*⁽³⁾.

Partly as a corollary of what has been said above, the predicate preceding a pronominal subject often does receive some prominence: e.g. Gn 42.9 *מְרַגְלִים אַתֶּם* *you are spies* (Joseph contradicting his brothers); 42.19 *אִם-כֹּנְנִים אַתֶּם* *if you are indeed honest* as you claim⁽⁴⁾. This is particularly true in subordinate clauses introduced by *כִּי* *because, that* and *אִם* *if*: 2Kg 20.1 *כִּי מֵת אַתָּה* *for you are going to die* (cp. Gn 50.24 *מֵת אֲנֹכִי*, where the preceding pronoun may be indicative of Joseph's self-consciousness on his death-bed); also with a ptc.: Gn 3.5 ... *כִּי יֵדַע אֱלֹהִים כִּי* *for God knows that* ...; with an adjective: 3.10 *כִּי-עֵירָם אֲנֹכִי* *for I am naked*; Jdg 7.2 *רַב הָעָם אֲשֶׁר אִתְּךָ* *the crowd who are with you are too many* vs. 7.4 *עוֹד הָעָם רַב* where the emphasis has shifted to *עוֹד* *still*; with a substantive: Gn 3.19 *כִּי עָפָר אַתָּה* *for you are dust*; with *אִם*: 27.46 *אִם לִקַּח יַעֲקֹב אִשָּׁה* *if Jacob takes a wife*; with a substantive: Job 6.12 *אִם-כֹּחַ אֲבָנִים כֹּחִי* *is my strength the strength of stones?* One must however allow for the possibility of some prosodic differentiation between the emphatic P—S pron. pattern and the non-emphatic P—S pron. pattern.

But with the relative *אֲשֶׁר* we usually find the order Subj.—Pred.: Ps 144.15 *הָעָם שֶׁיְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ* *the people for whom Yahweh is their God*; always pronoun followed by participle: Gn 13.15 *הָאָרֶץ אֲשֶׁר אַתָּה רֹאֶה*; also usually with a preposition suffixed with a pronoun: Gn 1.11(12) *אֲשֶׁר בּוֹ זָרְעוּ* (contr. 1.29; 7.15); cf. Ps 84.6; 146.5.

(1) More examples in Muraoka, *Emphatic*, p. 15. Bendavid (2.821f.) stresses that this general principle applies equally to MH. For a critique of Bendavid's view that the second person pronouns are an exception to the rule, normally occupying the first slot, see Muraoka, "On the nominal clause in LBH and MH" [article mentioned in § 154 a, n.], § 1.6 and 1.10.

(2) The contrast may be signalled already in the first clause as in Jer 36.4f. *אֲנִי עֹצוּר לֹא אֲבֹכֵל לָבוֹא ... וְכָאֵת אַתָּה כִּי אֲנֹכִי מֵת בְּאֶרֶץ הַזֹּאת אֵינְנִי* *I am confined, and cannot go ... so you must go*. Both clauses may begin with a personal pronoun as in Dt 4.22 *עֲבֹר אֶת-הַיַּרְדֵּן וְאַתֶּם עֹבְרִים*.

(3) See a discussion in Muraoka, *Emphatic*, pp. 11-14.

(4) More examples in Muraoka, *Emphatic*, pp. 15f.

some prominence when it occupies the first slot: Gn 28.17 *וְזֶה לְעַרְוַת הַשָּׁמַיִם* *and this must be the gate of the heavens* (about which I used to hear); Nu 13.27 *זֶה פְּרִי־הָאָרֶץ* *these are the fruits of* (the land you have sent us to explore), but 32.3 *זֶה מַחֲנֵה אֱלֹהִים* *this is an encampment of God* and Gn 12.12 *זֶה אִשְׁתּוֹ* *this is his wife*, whereas for "this is his wife, not that" one would say *זֹאת אִשְׁתּוֹ* (1).

(1) See § *ea* above, n. 3, and Muraoka, *Emphatic*, pp. 10f.

fc (3) A non-nominalised participle⁽¹⁾ normally occupies the second slot⁽²⁾ when the other constituent is not a personal pronoun, and thus this pattern can be regarded as unmarked or neutral as far as the factor of special prominence or emphasis is concerned. This observation is not invalidated by a fair number of circumstantial clauses which almost invariably show the sequence noun/pronoun—participle. If some prominence or emphasis is attributable, however, to the constituent which occupies the first slot, then it presumably does not stem from its position in the clause in question, but from some such factors as intonation, gesticulation and the general context⁽³⁾. Examples with a ptc. in the second slot: Gn 4.10 ... *צֹעֲקִים אֵלַי* ... *Listen! The blood of your brother is crying out to me ...*; 17.19 *בֵּן יֵלֶדֶת לְךָ* *Sarah your wife is going to bear you a boy*; 33.13 ... *יָדַע* ... *my lord is aware ...*; Nu 11.27 *אֶלְדָּד וּמֵדָד מְתַנַּבְּאִים בַּמַּחֲנֶה* *Eldad and Medad are prophesying in the camp*.

The pattern with a participle in the first slot appears to be rather common in subordinate clauses: e.g. Gn 29.31 *וַיִּרְא יְהוָה כִּי־שָׂנְאוּהָ* *and the Lord noted that Leah was disliked*; 42.23 *כִּי־יָדְעוּ כִּי־יֹסֵף* *and they were not aware that Joseph understood*. But also in independent clauses: Ex 26.5 *אֶל־אַחַת הָאֵלֶּה* *the loops face one another*; 1Sm 19.2 *אֶבְי לְהַמִּיתָהּ* *my father Saul is seeking to kill you*.

(1) A participle is usually nominalised by the addition of the definite article: e.g. Gn 2.13 *כָּל־אֶרֶץ כּוּשׁ* *this is the one which encircles all the land of Kush*.

(2) See Muraoka, *Emphatic*, pp. 20-23; Andersen, *Verbless*, pp. 34, 47f.; Muraoka, art. cit. [§ *fa* above, n.], §§ 1.1 - 1.3, where one can see that this tendency is equally observable in MH, as eloquently testified by, inter alia, the ubiquitous formula *אָמַר רַ' פְּלִי* *Rabbi so and so says* in contrast to *אָמַר רַ' פְּלִי* *Rabbi so and so said*.

J. Joosten argues for an aspectual difference between the two sequences, S—Ptc and Ptc—S, the former indicating contemporaneity (actual present) and the latter simulta-

neity (factual present): "The predicative participle in BH," *ZAH* 2 (1989) 128-59. The study is limited to clauses with a definite subject, and does not take into account a host of variables such as the use of a personal pronoun as one of the constituents. On the notion of "actual present," see my *Classical Syriac for Hebraists* (Wiesbaden, 1987), § 68.

(3) See a discussion with a critique of Andersen and Hoftijzer in Muraoka, *Emphatic*, pp. 24-26.

(4) In a clause consisting of a participle and a personal pronoun, the unmarked pattern is Ptc.—Pron.: Gn 31.5 רָאָה אֲנֹכִי אֶת־פְּנֵי אָבִיכֶן ... *I see the face of your father ...*; Nu 10.29 נֹסְעִים אֲנַחְנוּ אֶל־ ... *we are setting out to the place ...*; Jdg 11.9 אִם מְשִׁיבִים אַתָּם אֹתִי *if you bring me back*; 20.32 הֵם לְפָנֵינוּ נִגְפִים *they are being routed before us*. By contrast, when a pers. pron. occupies the first slot, one can perceive some prominence accorded to the person indicated by it: Ex 33.12 אָמַר אֲלֵי אֱלֹהִים (Moses confronting the Lord); in a number of passages (e.g. Dt 2.18; 9.1) announcing the promised entry into Canaan the initial second person pron. may be interpreted as an indication of God's personal appeal to the Israelites⁽¹⁾.

(1) For an attempt to explain other examples of the same pattern, see Muraoka, *Emphatic*, pp. 27f.

(5) When a third element additional to a pers. pron. and a ptc. or some other element occupies the first slot and attracts some prominence to itself, the pron. commonly occupies the second slot, thus x—pron.—ptc.: e.g., Gn 18.17 אֲנִי מְאֹבְרָה אֲנִי מֵאֲבְרָהָם אֲשֶׁר אֲנִי עֹשֶׂה *Am I going to conceal from Abraham what I intend to do?*; 2Sm 3.13 אֲדָבֵר אֶתְּךָ אֲנֹכִי *but I have only one condition to put to you* vs. Jer 38.14 שְׂאֵל *I want to ask you something*; Dn 9.18 לֹא עָלֵינוּ צָדִיקוֹתֵינוּ אֲנַחְנוּ מִפְּעִלֵים תְּחִנּוֹתֵינוּ לְפָנֶיךָ *it is not by virtue of our deeds of righteousness that we bring our supplications before you* vs. Jer 38.26 מִפְּעִלֵי־אֲנִי תְּחִנּוֹתֵי לְפָנֶיךָ הַמֶּלֶךְ *I bring my supplication before the king*; 1Sm 2.23 שָׁמַע אֲנֹכִי ... *vs.* 2Sm 20.17 שָׁמַע אֲנֹכִי *vs.* Jdg 19. 18 ... *vs.* Ezc 9.7 עֹבְרִים אֲנַחְנוּ מִבַּיִת־לְחָם *vs.* Jdg 19. 18 ... *vs.* Ezc 9.7 *since the days of our fathers down to this day our guilt has been great* vs. Ne 9.37 וּבְצָרָה וְגִדּוֹלָה אֲנַחְנוּ *and we are in dire straits*; Jdg 9.15 אִם בְּאֵמַת אַתָּם מְשַׁחִים אֹתִי *if you are really anointing me* vs. 11.9 אִם מְשִׁיבִים אַתָּם אֹתִי *if you allow me to return*⁽¹⁾.

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(1) We owe the formulation of this rule to Bendavid: more examples may be found in Bendavid, 2.817-21. The important underlying principle here is not the position of the pronoun vis-à-vis the participle or an equivalent predicate, but the relegation of the pronoun to the inconspicuous slot. There are, of course, exceptions to the rule: e.g. Gn 15.14 יַעֲבֹדוּךָ אֲנֹכִי וְגַם אֶת־הַגּוֹי אֲשֶׁר יַעֲבֹדוּךָ *and also upon the nation they are going to serve I shall bring judgement.*

ff (6) When the predicate consists of a preposition with its noun or pronoun, it is often put before the subject when there is some prominence to be accorded to the prepositional phrase: Ps 31.16 בְּיָדְךָ יְהוָה עֲתִידִי *my destiny is in your hand*; Hg 2.8 לִי הֵכֶסֶךְ *the money is mine*; Ps 24.1; Gn 3.16 וְאֵל־אִישׁךָ תִשְׁקָתִי וְהוּא יִמְשָׁל־בְּךָ *it shall be your husband that you will yearn for, and he is going to be your master.* However, in terms of prominence or emphasis, the sequence Prep.—Personal pronoun is neutral or unmarked. Equally unmarked is the same pattern of circumstantial clauses: 1Sm 1.2 וְלוֹ שְׁתֵּי נָשִׁים *and he had two wives*; similarly ib. 25.36 וְהִנֵּה־לוֹ מִשְׁתֶּה בְּבֵיתוֹ *and behold he had a banquet going at home.* Furthermore, in a straight nominal clause indicating the existence of a certain person or object the normal, unmarked sequence is Nid—prep.: e.g. Gn 25.23 גוֹיִם בְּבִטְנִי *two nations are in your stomach*; 43.28 שְׁלוֹם לְעַבְדְּךָ *your servant is well*; Jdg 19.20 שְׁלוֹם לָךְ *Peace be to you!*⁽¹⁾ Having regard to the above-named qualifications one may say that the normal sequence for the nominal clause with a prepositional phrase, a sequence which is neutral in respect of the prominence to be given to either of the two principal constituents, is N—Prep.⁽²⁾

(1) *Pace* D. Cohen [§ 154 a, n.], pp. 38-40.

(2) See a discussion in Muraoka, *Emphatic*, pp. 14f., and idem, "The BH nominal clause with a prepositional phrase" to appear in K. Jongeling and L. van Rompay (eds), *Studies in Hebrew and Aramaic Syntax* [Fshr. J. Hoftijzer] (Leiden, 1991).

g (7) In interrogative clauses, with the emphasis on the predicate, one usually finds the order P—S: 1Kg 2.13 הֲשָׁלוֹם בְּאֵיךָ *is your visit a friendly one?*; 2Kg 5.12. Ellipsis is common, the predicate only being given as the essential piece of information: Jdg 13.11 הֲאִתָּהּ הָאִישׁ אֲשֶׁר־ "Are you the man who spoke to the woman?" *And he said, "I am"*; 1Sm 16.4f. ... שְׁלוֹם וְיֵאמַר *"Is your visit a friendly one?" And he said, "Yes ..."*⁽¹⁾

In a reply one normally retains the word-order of the question: Gn 29.4 מֵאַיִן אַתֶּם וְיֵאמְרוּ מִמָּה־רָחֵק אַנְחִנּוּ *where are you from?; and they*

said: *We are from Haran*; 24.23 בַּת־מִי אַתָּה *Whose daughter are you?*; 24 בַּת־בְּתוּאֵל אֲנִי *I am a daughter of Bethuel's*. Thus both of the twin brothers' replies to their father are rather striking, each putting in his claim as the first-born: Gn 27.19 אֲנִי בְּכֹרֶךָ (Jacob) and 27.32 אֲנִי בְּנֶךָ בְּכֹרֶךָ עֲשׂוֹ (Esau) replying to Isaac's מִי אַתָּה⁽²⁾.

(1) More examples in Muraoka, *Emphatic*, p. 20.

(2) See discussion in Muraoka, *Emphatic*, pp. 18-20.

(8) In covered (§ 153) nominal clauses the natural and normal word-order is S—P, followed by object and adverbial modifiers: Gn 9.9 וְאֲנִי וְאַתְּכֶם הֵנָּה הַיּוֹם אֶת־בְּרִיתִי אֶתְּכֶם *And now as for me, here I am about to establish my covenant with you*. But emphasis causes the fronting of the object or adverbial modifier:

Subj.—Adv.—Pred.: Gn 26.29b; 12.6b.

Adv. (or Obj.)—Subj.—Pred.: Gn 4.7; 37.16 (reply).

Pred.—Subj.—Adv. etc.: Gn 43.32b.

Adv. etc.—Pred.—Subj.: Gn 41.2.

Apart from the relative importance of the various words, the length of the subject, predicate or complements exerts some influence over the word-order: longer elements tend to follow⁽¹⁾. E.g. Ne 9.17 וְאַתָּה אֱלֹהִים וְרַחֵם אֶת־עַמְּךָ וְרַחֵם אֶת־יִשְׂרָאֵל וְרַחֵם אֶת־יְהוּדָה וְרַחֵם אֶת־יְהוּדָה וְרַחֵם אֶת־יְהוּדָה *and you are a forgiving god, gracious, merciful, long-suffering and full of loving-kindness*: here the pronominal subject exceptionally precedes (§ fa above).

(1) In the following cases the predicate may precede because the utterances are interrogative: Gn 43.27 הַשְּׁלֹמִים אֲבִיכֶם הֲזָקָן אֲשֶׁר אֶמְרָתֶם *Is your elderly father whom you mentioned in good health?*; Jdg 8.2 הֲלוֹא טוֹב עֲלֵלוֹת אֶפְרַיִם מִבְּצִיר אֲבִיעֶזֶר *Is not the gleanings of the grapes of Ephraim better than the vintage of Abiezer?*; 18.19 הַטּוֹב הֲיִוְתָךְ ... כִּהֵן לְבֵית אִישׁ אֶחָד *Do you prefer to be priest for the household of one person ... ?* But note the following verbal sentence with a long subject at the end: Jdg 10.1 וַיָּקָם אַחֲרָי אַבְיִמֶלֶךְ לְהוֹשִׁיעַ אֶת־יִשְׂרָאֵל תּוֹלַע בֶּן־פּוֹאָה בֶּן־דְּדוּרָה אִישׁ יִשְׁשַׁבֵּר *and after Abimelech there arose, to deliver Israel, Tola ...*

Tripartite nominal clauses. The nominal clause of the standard type (§§ a-h) is a clause with two members: subject and predicate. In Hebrew, as in other Semitic languages, it may become a three-member clause with the addition of a third constituent which can be I) the pronoun of the third person; II) the adverbs of existence *ישׁ* and *אֵינן*; III) the verb *הָיָה*.

I. The Hebrew pronoun of the third person as a third constituent of a nominal clause can be used in a manner similar to its Aramaic counterpart. In most cases such a pronoun gives prominence to the immediately preceding clause constituent, occasionally in the manner of a 'cleft sentence' like *It is this man that I want to see*(¹).

The pronoun can occupy two different positions:

1) S—P—Pron.(²) In this type of sentence, it is possible that the noun is in the *casus pendens*, so that the pron. would be the subj. of the clause (cf. § 156 e)(³): Gn 34.21 הָאֵלֶּה שְׂלָמִים הֵם אֲתָנּוּ *these people are friendly towards us*; Dt 4.24 יְהוּה אֵלֵהֶיךָ אֵשׁ אֹכְלָה הוּא *Y. ... is a consuming fire*; Gn 31.43 כֹּל אֲשֶׁר־אַתָּה רֹאֶה לִי־הוּא *all that you see is mine*; 31.16; 45.20; 48.5a; Ex 3.5; 32.16; Nu 13.32; Dt 4.24; Josh 6.19; Mal 1.7; Ps 39.5 וּמַה־הִיא יְמֵי וּמַה־הִיא *what is my life-span?*(⁴).

This pattern provides a suitable formula for dream interpretation in which S stands for a symbol in a dream, and P for its referent in reality: e.g. Gn 40.12 הֵם שְׁלֹשֵׁת יָמִים הֵם שְׁלֹשֵׁת הַשָּׁרְגִים *the three branches symbolise three days*; also 40.18; 41.26,27; cf. BA in Dn 4.17-19(⁵).

(1) In other words, the pronoun thus used is not a mere 'copula' in the sense of the term as used in Indo-European grammars. So Driver, *Tenses*, Appendix V, pp. 267ff. against Brock., *GvG*, II, p. 105 and idem, *Syntax*, § 30 a. See also G. Goldenberg, art. cit. [§ 154 a, n.], § 8 (pp. 111f.); Muraoka, *Emphatic*, pp. 67-82; idem, *Classical Syriac* [§ 154 a n.], § 103; and M.Z. Kaddari, "On the function of the pronominal 'copula' in MH" [Heb.], A. Dotan (ed.), *Te'uda 6: Studies on Hebrew and Arabic* (Tel Aviv, 1988), pp. 15-30. However, the term 'copula' is appropriately applied to הִיא.

A classified list of tripartite nominal clauses in BH may be found in R. Sappan, op. cit. [§ 3 c, n.1], pp. 94-106.

(2) See a discussion in Muraoka, *Emphatic*, pp. 75f.

(3) This corresponds to Goldenberg's 'lesser subject' [loc. cit.], a concept taken over from Jespersen, though the latter, in his *Analytic Syntax* (London, 1937: § 8.9), uses it in a somewhat different sense, since his lesser subject occupies the first slot in the clause. The view that we have here to do with 'extraposition' or *casus pendens* is supported by an example such as Gn 34.23 מִקְנֵיהֶם וּקְנֵיהֶם וְכָל־בְּהֵמָתָם הֵם הֲלוֹא לָנוּ הֵם הֲלוֹא *Surely their cattle and their possessions, and all their animals belong to us?* where the position of הֲלוֹא is to be noted.

(4) Note the contrast between Gn 48.5b וְיָהִיוּ לָךְ יְהוּדִים וּמְנַשֶּׁה ... אֲפֹכְרִים וּמְנַשֶּׁה ... (לִי־הֵם) *those you have fathered after them will be yours*.

(5) Cf. Bendavid, 2.761-65, esp. 764f.

j 2) P—Pron.—S(¹): Gn 42.6 וְיוֹסֵף הוּא הַשְּׂלִיט עַל־הָאָרֶץ *now it was*

J. who was the governor of the land; 1Kg 18.39 יהוה הוא האלהים *it is Y. who is the (true) God* (contr. vs. 21 יהוה האלהים אם with lesser emphasis, § f); 2Sm 7.28 אַתָּה הוּא הָאֱלֹהִים *it is you who are the (true) God*; same confession at 1Kg 8.60 followed immediately by אֵין עוֹד *there is none other*; Dt 4.39; 10.9; 2Kg 19.15; Ps 44.5; 100.3. Occasionally with repetition of the predicate⁽²⁾: Is 43.11 אֲנֹכִי אֲנֹכִי יְהוָה (followed by "beside me there is no deliverer"); 43.25 אֲנֹכִי הוּא מְחַה פְּשָׁעֶיךָ *it is I, it is I who efface your sins* (further reinforced by הוּא); 51.12; Ct 6.9 יוֹנָתִי אֶחָדָה הִיא *she is unique, my dove*; Nu 3.27b אֵלֶּה הֵם *these are the families of the Kohathites*; Is 9.14; Lam 1.18. In this type of sentence with emphasis on the predicate, the pronoun regularly bears a disjunctive accent.

Whereas the pronoun in the first pattern, S—P—Pron., is rather weak and enclitic in force (cf. § 154 p), as indicated by the use of maqqef in most cases, the pronoun in this second pattern seems to retain more of its independence as shown by the frequent occurrence of a disjunctive accent with the first constituent.

The absence of the pronoun in 1Kg 18.21 as against 18.39 (both quoted above) does not necessarily mean that the pronoun is a superfluous, mere 'copula': it gives an explicit syntactic/lexical expression to what may have been expressed by a special intonation or some such means. See also Ex 9.27 יְהוָה הַצַּדִּיק וְאֲנִי וְעַמִּי הָרָשָׁעִים *it is the Lord who is righteous, and I and my people who are iniquitous*; 1Kg 3.22 בְּנֵי הַחַיִּי וּבְנֵי הַמֵּת *it's my boy who is alive, and yours who is dead*. The pronoun is scarcely pleonastic even in cases such as Gn 2.14 הַנְּהַר הָרְבִיעִי הוּא *the fourth river is Euphrates*⁽³⁾; 9.18 וְחָם הוּא אֲבִי כְנָעַן *and Ham was the ancestor of Canaan*⁽⁴⁾. See also Pr 28.26 בּוֹטֵחַ בְּלִבּוֹ הוּא כְּסִיל הוֹלֵךְ *it is one who relies on his own judgement who is silly, and it is one who walks in wisdom that escapes (calamities)*. In Ec 1.17 וְגַם-זֶה הוּא רְעִיוֹן רֵיחַ *this also is pursuit of wind* the pronoun is apparently pleonastic.

N.B. It is no doubt by the analogy of the pronoun used in the manner as discussed here that one should interpret the sentence in Isaiah אֲנִי אֶהְיֶה as meaning *I am the one*, i.e. the entity in question: 41.4; 43.10, 13; 46.4; 48.12. In other words these are cases of the third constituent, S, being understood. Cf. also Ps 102.28 אַתָּה הוּא (Ibn Ezra ad loc.: "you are the true one, and there is none other").

(1) Cf. Muraoka, *Emphatic*, pp. 72-7.

(2) Such a repetition is rather common in Syriac.

(3) Cf. Rashi ad loc.: "the most important of all being mentioned in connection with the Land of Israel." See also Bendavid, 2.729.

(4) Cf. Ehrlich and Rashi ad loc.

k II. **Adverbs of existence** ψ and אין (§ 102 j)(¹). The adverb of existence ψ *there is* expresses, first of all, the existence in a place, namely the presence, and then, by extension, existence as such(²). Likewise אין § 160 g (originally *Where?*) expresses, first of all, non-existence in a place, namely absence, and then, by extension, non-existence as such. These adverbs, therefore, are not simple copulas, but they add to the copulative notion that of existence, especially local: Gn 18.24 $\text{אולי יש חמשים צדיקים בתוך העיר}$ *perhaps there are fifty just people in the town*; 37.29 אין יוסף בבור *Joseph was not in the pit*; Ez 27.36 ואינך ער-עולם *and you will not be for ever*.

There is a significant difference between ψ and אין ; the use of a determinate noun with the former, indicating location rather than mere existence, is extremely rare (only 6 x), whereas it occurs frequently with the latter(³).

(1) See discussion in Muraoka, *Emphatic*, pp. 77-82, 99-111. On the use of אין as simple negator in nominal clauses with no specific sense of non-existence or absence (e.g. איןני שמע *I do not hear*), see § 160 g.

(2) It is the same with Fr. *il y a* and Ital. *c'è* (= *hic est*). The evolution from *il y a* to the sense of the pure auxiliary *être* (*y a bon* = *c'est bon*) is now current only in African French.

(3) See Muraoka, *Emphatic*, pp. 100-111.

l The apparently redundant addition of ψ with a subject pronoun suffix followed by a participle in a conditional or interrogative clause is attested when one wants to ascertain or confirm what one is only half sure about: e.g. Gn 43.4 אם ישלח משה *if you do send*; Dt 13.4 לדעת ה' שכם *in order to find out whether or not you love Y.*; Gn 24.42, 49; Jdg 6.36†(¹).

(1) See Muraoka, *Emphatic*, pp. 77-82, where analogous phenomena in the cognate languages are also discussed.

m III. The verb היה is used in the weak sense of *to be* as copula, when one wishes to specify the temporal sphere of a nominal clause(¹) It is therefore not a simple copula, but a copula with a temporal sense like

the English verb *to be*: Gn 1.2 וְהָאָרֶץ הַיְתָה תְּהוֹ וְבָהוּ now the earth was desolation and solitude: 3.1; 6.19 וְיִזְכָּרוּ וְיִקְרָבוּ יְהוּ they will be male and female; 1Kg 10.6 (הַיְתָה is omitted in the parallel text 2Ch 9.5).

In the group formed by הַיְתָה and a participle, the participle expresses the durative aspect and הַיְתָה the temporal sphere (cf. § 121 e, f), e.g. Job 1.14 הַיְתָה הַבָּקָר הוֹרֵשׁוֹת the cows were ploughing; 2Sm 5.2 (הַיְתָה omitted in the parallel 1Ch 11.2).

(1) Cf. R. Bartelmus, *HYH. Bedeutung und Funktion eines hebräischen "Allerweltwortes"* (St Ottilien, 1982).

Likewise, when it is necessary to express the volitive mood, the jussive יְהִי is used: Gn 1.6 (§ 121 e). But quite often יְהִי is omitted (cf. § 163 b). n

As an example of a nominal clause with only one member one can hardly find any but Ps 115.7 יְדֵיָם מַנּוּ manus eorum in the sense of manus (sunt) eis = they have hands (genitive in the sense of dative, § 129 h)(1). See also our observation above (§ 153) on Gn 2.11. o

(1) The Psalmist perhaps resorted to this construction for the sake of variety after the four usual constructions with ל (vss. 5 and 6), which anticipate it and render it intelligible.

The personal pronoun as the ordinary subject or 'lesser subject' tends to follow closely upon the predicate, thus resulting in the discontinuity of the latter with further (mainly prepositional) components following the pronoun: e.g., Gn 34.21 הֵם שְׁלֵמִים הָאֵלֶּה שְׁלֵמִים הֵם אֲתָנּוּ; Lv 11.4,5 הוּא לְכֶם טָמֵא; 11.10 הֵם לְכֶם שְׁקֵץ. Cf. § 154 j. p

§ 155. Verbal clause.

The subject of the verbal clause is normally a noun or pronoun. Furthermore, we find as subject the preposition מִן with its noun (or pronoun): Ex 16.27 מִן־הָעָם יֵצְאוּ (some) of the people depart (cf. § 154 b)(1); rarely the infinitive construct preceded by ל, Gn 4.26 (§ 124 b). a

(1) Cp. Jn 16.17 Εἶπαν οὖν ἐκ τῶν μαθητῶν; Acts 21.16 συνῆλθον δὲ καὶ τῶν μαθητῶν.

The vague personal subject (Engl. *one*, Fr. *on*, Germ. *man*) is often expressed by the pronoun of the 3rd pers. pl. m. contained in the verbal form(1): Gn 29.2 יָשְׁקוּ they gave water; 26.18; 41.14; 49.31; 2Sm b

19.9; 1Kg 1.2; Is 38.16; Ho 12.9; Job 18.18; 34.20; Esth 2.2; Ne 2.7(2).

(1) The feminine form in Ru 1.19 וַתֵּלֶד בָּנִים is due to the fact that the passage deals only with women. Comp. יָלְדָה Nu 26.59 (§ e, n.).

(2) The notion of the type *one made* is often equivalent to *it was made*; thus alongside וַיִּקְבְּרוּ אֹתוֹ 1Kg 15.8 we find v. 24 וַיִּקְבְּרוּ *he was buried* (common in this formula, cf. 2.10; 11.43; 14.31 etc.).

On the variety of impersonal constructions in BH and their reflections in the ancient versions, see C. Rabin, "The ancient versions and the indefinite subject," *Textus* 2 (1962) 60-76, where one can see that the third pers. m. sg. is used impersonally to a much greater extent than is generally thought. See also idem in *GLECS* 10 (1963-66) 34f.

- c **N.B.** In Aramaic it is possible to use the 3rd pers. pl. even in cases where a vague personal subject is not intended at all, e.g. Dn 5.20 וְהִסְתַּרְתָּם *transtulerunt* (= "they removed") in the sense of *translatum est* (= "he was removed"), following the passive וְהִנָּחַתָּ *depositus est* (= 'it was deposited'). In Biblical Hebrew examples of this kind are rather rare⁽¹⁾ and suspect; the least improbable are Pr 2.22 וְחָזַק (after a passive); 9.11 יוֹשֵׁיפוֹ. The vocalisation is perhaps due, in some cases, to the influence of Aramaic, e.g. Job 4.19; 7.3.

(1) They are common in Mishnaic Hebrew, no doubt under Aramaic influence.

- d Quite often, the 3rd pers. m.sg., with or without a participle, expresses the vague subject *one*, sometimes also *someone* (negative: *nobody*). In certain cases the participle (of the same root as the verb) represents a fairly precise subject: Jer 9.23 וְהַמְתַּלְלִים הֵמָּה יִתְהַלְּלוּ *may one who glorifies himself glorify himself in this*; Is 28.24 הַמְּלַחֵם מִי הוּא *he who ploughs, does he plough?* But, generally the participle represents a vague subject, *someone, one*: Ez 33.4 וְשָׁמַע הַשְּׁמַע *if someone hears*; 2Sm 17.9 וְיִשְׁמַע *and one will hear*; Dt 22.8 כִּי יִפֹּל הַנֹּפֵל *if someone falls*; 17.6 וְיִשְׁמַע *someone (or one) will be put to death*; Is 28.4 וְיִשְׁמַע *someone sees*; 16.10 וְיִשְׁמַע *one will not tread*. With the indeterminate participle: Nu 6.9 וְיָמוּת מָוֶת *if someone happens to die*; Am 9.1 וְיָנוּס נֹס *nobody will be able to flee*.

- e **With ellipsis of the participle:** Gn 11.9 וְעַל-כֵּן קָרָא שְׁמָהּ *that is why one called her ...* 16.14; 19.22; Ex 15.23); וַיִּקְרָא (Gn 35.8,10; 2Sm 2.16; Is 9.5); Gn 48.1 וַיֹּאמֶר *one (or someone) said*; 1Kg 22.38 *one washed*; Is 8.4 וְיִשְׁמַע *they will carry*; 46.7 וְיִשְׁמַע *someone cries (rather than one cries)*; Am 6.12[?]; Job 27.23[?](1). Cf. the above-mentioned study by Rabin (§ b, n.).

(1) In the 3rd f.sg., the subject being a female: Nu 26.59 וַיֵּלֶד (1Kg 1.6) *one has given birth to children*. Comp. וַתֵּלֶד בָּנִים Ru 1.19 (§ b, n.).

Much more rarely the vague personal subject is understood before a plural or singular participle (cf. § 154 c). Plural: Ex 5.16: אֹמְרִים *one says* (cf. Ez 36.13 ?); Is 32.12 *one beats one's breasts*; Ne 6.10 *they are going to come*. Singular: Is 21.11 אֵלַי קָרָא *someone cries to me*; 30.24 *one winnowed*; 33.4 *one flings oneself*. f

The vague subject *one* is very rarely expressed by אִישׁ (which is rather used for *someone*, § 147 b): Ct 8.11 *they had to, from its fruits, bring him a thousand shekels of gold*. g

N.B. 1) In order to express the notion of the vague pronoun *someone, anyone, etc.* with the force of the genitive, the participle is used as in § d, e.g. Ez 18.32 מוֹת הַמָּת *anybody's death* (comp. Dt 17.6, § d). We have the pronoun of the 2nd pers. m.sg. in the expression אֲנִי (צֵדֶק), e.g. Jdg 6.4 *until your coming = until they come (to Gaza)*; Gn 10.19,30; 13.10. h

2) The logical subject of an action expressed by an infinitive without a grammatical subject can be the vague subject *one*. Inf. absolute: 2Kg 4.43 *they shall eat and leave some* (§ 123 w); 8.6 הָשִׁיב *let them return* (probably); 2Ch 31.10 *they ate*. Sometimes the logical subject appears in a finite form which follows: Hg 1.9 פָּנְהָה *they waited* (= *you waited*; cf. וַהֲבֵאתֶם). Infinitive construct: see the examples in § 124 s. i

3) An impersonal passive like Gn 27.42 נִיגַדְתָּ *it was told* is equivalent to *they told* (§ 128 b).

4) On the vague impersonal subject, cf. § 125 c-e.

The **predicate** of the verbal clause is a finite verb form. All that pertains to the verbal predicate was given ample treatment in Chapter I: Tenses and moods. j

The statistically dominant and unmarked **word-order** in the verbal clause is: Verb—Subject⁽¹⁾. But, as in the case of the nominal clause, there is no lack of exceptions. Here again an attempt must be made to account for, or describe those exceptions. First, some examples of the normal word-order: V—S⁽²⁾: Gn 42.28 הוּשַׁב כֶּסֶפִי *My money is returned*; V—S—A—O: Jdg 7.14 הִמְחַנְהָה וְאֵת כָּל־הַמְּחַנְהָה *and he smote all the men of the camp*; V—S—A: Gn 42.38 לֹא־יֵרֵד בְּנִי עִמָּכֶם *my son is not going down with you*; A—V—S: 1Sm 2.34 שְׁנֵיהֶם יָמוּתוּ בְּיוֹם אֶחָד *your two sons will die in a single day*; V—A—S—A: Jdg 21.6 אֶחָד מִיִּשְׂרָאֵל *one of the men of Israel*. k

tribe has been cut down today from Israel. These are all examples without a preceding particle.

(1) Cf. Muraoka, *Emphatic*, pp. 28-41.

(2) S = Subject; V = Verb; O = Object; A = Adverb or adverbial phrase.

l In **interrogative** clauses we usually have the order V—S (cf. § 154 *g*, and below § *pb*): Gn 18.13 $\text{לָמָּה זֶה צָחַקְךָ שָׂרָה}$; 44.7; Ex 32.12.

The jussive of **optative** sentences is mostly found before the subject: Gn 1.3 יְהִי אֹר ; vv. 6,9,11,14,20,24; 27.41; Ex 5.21; Nu 6.24,25 (priestly benediction); 20.24; Ps 128.5. Sometimes the subject stands at the beginning: Ps 67.2 (before several jussives), and note Arad inscription 18.2f. $\text{כַּמֶּלֶךְ יִשְׂאֵל לְשִׁלְמִי}$ *May the Lord seek your well-being!*

m Verbal clause with **particle**. The order is normally V—S, if there is no emphasis on the subject.

With כִּי : Gn 29.32 $\text{כִּי־רָאָה יְהוָה בְּעֵינָי}$; 5.24; 28.6; 1Kg 19.10. But with emphasis on the subject: Nu 16.28 $\text{בְּזֹאת תֵּדָעוּן כִּי־יְהוָה שְׁלַחְנִי}$ *this you will realise that it is Y. who sent me*; Is 1.2 (and often): *for it is Y. who is speaking*.

With אִם : Gn 13.16 $\text{אִם יִכַּל אִישׁ לְמַנּוֹת}$; 32.9; 44.23.

With פִּן : Gn 19.19 $\text{פִּן־תִּדְבַּר בְּקִנְיִי הַרְעָה}$.

With לֹא : Gn 6.3: $\text{לֹא־יָדוּן רוּחִי בָּאָדָם}$; 42.38; 44.22; 49.10; 2Kg 5.25. But, with some emphasis on the subject: 1Kg 1.11 $\text{וְאֶדְנִינוּךָ לֹא יִדַּע}$; 2.32. If the negation relates to the subject, we naturally have the order S—V: Nu 16.29 $\text{לֹא יְהוָה שְׁלַחְנִי}$ *it is not Y. that has sent me* (comp. 28).

With הִנֵּה : Gn 16.2 $\text{הִנֵּה־נָא עֹצְרֵנִי יְהוָה מִלְּדוֹת}$; 19.19; 22.20. But, with some emphasis on the subject: 1Kg 1.18 $\text{הִנֵּה אֶדְנִיָּה מִלְּקֶה}$; Ex 32.34.

With כִּהֵּן : Hg 1.2a $\text{כִּהֵּן אָמַר יְהוָה}$ (contr. 2b) and often.

With כִּי־אָשֵׁר : Ex 9.35 $\text{כִּי־אָשֵׁר הִבֵּר יְהוָה}$ and often.

With אֲשֶׁר : Gn 1.21 $\text{אֲשֶׁר שָׂרְצוּ הַמַּיִם}$; 2.3,19; 3.1.

n N.B. With ו the word-order is determined by the use of the verbal forms. In the majority of cases the Waw is inseparable from the verbal form, e.g. וַיִּקְטֹל ; therefore the subject necessarily comes after the verb. But in certain cases the Waw must be separated from the verbal form, for example, to indicate the absence of sequence; the subject is then necessarily found before the verb: Gn 31.34 וְרַחֵל לָקְחָה *Now Rachel had taken* (cf. § 118 *d*).

na The use of the independent personal pronoun with a finite verb has

been treated above in § 146 a, b (3). Whilst the position of the pronoun in relation to the verb appears to make no difference in meaning, statistically speaking, examples of the preceding pronoun outnumber those of the following one: Gn 42.8 *וַיִּכַּר יוֹסֵף אֶת-אֶחָיו וְהֵם לֹא הִכְרָהוּ* *whilst Joseph recognised his brothers, they did not recognise him*; Jdg 14.13 ... *וְנָתַתָּם אֲתָם לִי שְׁלֹשִׁים סָדִינִים* ... *then you are going to give me thirty linen garments*⁽¹⁾.

(1) See discussion with more examples in Muraoka, *Emphatic*, pp. 31f.

The subject may precede the verb on account of emphasis or contrast: *nb*
e.g. Gn 48.19 "his (elder) brother will also become great, but his younger brother will outdo him (*וְאֶחָיו הִקְטִין יִגְדֵל מִמֶּנּוּ*)"; 50.20 *אֱלֹהִים חָשְׁבָה אֲתָם חָשְׁבֹתָם עָלַי רָעָה* *God meant it for good* (in contrast to vs. 20a *אֲתָם חָשְׁבֹתָם עָלַי רָעָה* *you meant evil against me*); Jdg 7.2 "lest Israel claim for themselves the glory due to me, saying 'It's our own hands that have saved us' (*יָדַי לִי יְהוֹה יִמְשַׁל בְּכֶם*)"; 8.23 *הוֹשִׁיעָה לִּי* (1).

(1) See discussion in Muraoka, *Emphatic*, p. 33.

The circumstantial clause also has the subject preceding the predicate⁽¹⁾. Examples: Gn 37.3 *וַיִּשְׂרָאֵל אֶהָב אֶת-יוֹסֵף מִכָּל-בָּנָיו* *now Israel liked Joseph the most of his sons*; 1Sm 3.2 *וַעֲיָנָיו הֵחֵלּוּ בְהוֹת* *by that time his eyesight had begun to fail*. *nc*

(1) See § 159, and Andersen, *Sentence*, pp. 29f.

At the very beginning of a statement, we usually find the order S—V: *nd*
Job 1.1 *הָיָה אִישׁ הָיָה* *there was a man*; 1.14 *הִבְקֹר הָיָה חֲרָשׁוֹת*; 16 *אֵשׁ אֱלֹהִים*; 17 *נִפְלְאָה*; Ps 93.1 (97.1) *יְהוָה מֶלֶךְ* *Y. is king* [but 2Kg 9.13 *יְהוָה מֶלֶךְ* *Jehu became king*⁽¹⁾]; 1Kg 8.12 *יְהוָה אָמַר* (but at the end of a prophecy always *יְהוָה אָמַר* Hg 1.8; 2.7,9); Hg 1.2 *הָעַם הַזֶּה אָמְרוּ*; Gn 36.2 *עָשׂוּ לָקַח אֶת-נְשָׁיו מִבְּנוֹת בְּנֵעַן*; Nu 27.3 *אָבְיָנוּ מִתּ בְּמִדְבָּר*; Ez 29.18; Pr 18.16 (and very frequently in Proverbs). In poetry the order V—S is rather frequent, but usually motivated by some particular consideration, e.g. Is 19.13; Ps 34.22. In simple prose we meet with that order, e.g. in reporting news⁽²⁾: 2Sm 3.23 *בָּא-אֲבִיבֵר בֶּן-נֵר*; 2Kg 8.7 *בָּא*; likewise with *בָּא*: Gn 27.35; 39.17. In addition to this case: *בָּאָה*: Jer 47.5; Ez 7.7; *בָּאוּ*; Jdg 5.19 (poet.); Ho 9.7⁽³⁾.

(1) In an exclamation. The emphasis on the verb is perhaps due to the newness of the action.

(2) It is probably the newness of the matter which occasioned this order. One may note that כִּי is quite common at the beginning of a clause. Here is an analogous case in French: 'Supposons un homme dont toute la fortune consiste en pierreries, qu'il croit fines. Vient un connoisseur qui lui affirme qu'elles sont fausses. Quel désappointement!' (= Let's suppose that there is a man whose entire fortune consists in gems which he believes to be genuine. Here comes a connoisseur who declares to him that they are fakes. What a disappointment!).

(3) On the apparent peculiarity of the verb כִּי and the like, see a discussion in Muraoka, *Emphatic*, p. 36.

ne In some cases religious sentiment may account for the initial position of the word for God or an agent of his: Gn 28.3 וְאֵל שְׁרֵי יְבָרֶךְ and God Almighty bless you; 48.16 הַמַּלְאָךְ הַגָּאֵל אֹתִי ... יְבָרֶךְ אֶת the angel who has redeemed me ... bless the lads; in scenes of theophany: Gn 31.29 וְאֵל הַי אֲבִיכֶם אָמַשׁ אָמַר אֵלַי the god of your father said to me last night. This phenomenon is all the more remarkable because in some of the above-quoted examples we have what appear to be optative clauses, which normally show the reverse word-order (§ 1 above), as is also the case in, for instance, Ex 5.21 יְרֵא יְהוָה עֲלֵיכֶם May J. look upon you!(1).

(1) See discussion in Muraoka, *Emphatic*, p. 35.

nf The word אִישׁ (or אִשָּׁה) used in indefinite sense, "someone," "everyone" or "nobody" in a negative clause, fairly frequently occupies the initial slot in the clause: Jdg 21.1 אִישׁ מֵמָנוּ לֹא יִתֵּן בָּתוּלָהּ לְבְנֵימִן none of us will give his daughter in marriage to B.; Lv 18.23 וְאִשָּׁה לֹא תַעֲמֹד לְפָנַי בְּהֵמָה and no woman shall stand before a beast; also the object preceding the verb (cf. § oc): Jdg 17.6, 21.5 אִישׁ הָיָה עֹשֶׂה בְּעֵינָיו יַעֲשֶׂה Everyone did what he thought right(1).

(1) See discussion in Muraoka, *Emphatic*, pp. 34f.

ng Attraction (or chiasmus; see below §§ oa, pa)(1): e.g. Jdg 6.28 וְהִנֵּה נִתְּחַת אֲשֵׁרָה ... כָּרְתָהּ and behold the altar of Baal was broken down and the Asherah ... was cut down; 1Sm 14.15 וְהָיָה חֲרָדָה בְּמַחֲנֵה ... וּבְכָל-הָעָם הַמֵּצֵב וְהַמְּשִׁחִית חֲרָדוּ גַם-הָהֵמָּה and there was a panic in the camp ..., and among all the people; the garrison and even the raiders trembled.

(1) See Muraoka, *Emphatic*, pp. 36f., and cf. Andersen, *Sentence*, pp. 119-40; Khan, *Syntax*, pp. 88-93.

In replies the essential part comes first (cf. §§ 154 *g*; 155 *ob*): *nh*
 Jdg 1.1f. יְהוּדָה יֵעֲלֶה ... מִי יֵעֲלֶה-לָנוּ *who is going up for us ...? Judah shall*;
 6.29 ... מִי עָשָׂה הַדָּבָר הַזֶּה ... גְּדַעוֹן בֶּן-יוֹאָשׁ עָשָׂה.

In *covered* verbal clauses (§ 153) the object and the various adverbial *o*
 modifiers normally follow the verb. The usual order is then, in principle,
 V—S—O—A, e.g. Gn 8.9 וְלֹא-מָצְאָה הַיּוֹנָה מָנוּחַ לְכַף-רַגְלָהּ *and the dove did not find a place for setting its foot*; Jdg 3.28 כִּי-נָתַן יְהוָה אֶת-אֵיבֵיכֶם אֶת-מוֹאָב בְּיַדְכֶם. In practice, various factors, notably emphasis and the relative length of the constituents, cause departure from this order⁽¹⁾.

The *affected* object can be put at the beginning for the sake of emphasis⁽²⁾; in this case the order is usually O—V—S⁽³⁾: Ex 21.32 אִם עֹלֵבֶד יִגַּח הַשּׂוֹר *if it is a slave that the ox gores*; 1Sm 15.1 אֲתִי שָׁלַח יְהוָה *it is me that J. has sent*; Dt 18.15; we rarely have O—S—V: 2Kg 5.13.

The *effected* object and the *internal* object are likewise placed after the verb, except for the sake of emphasis. See examples in § 125 *p-t*; and for the infinitive absolute, § 123 *e-o*.

(1) See discussion in Muraoka, *Emphatic*, pp. 38-41.

(2) Thus טָרָה in Jer 28.16; 29.32; but not Dt 13.6. We always find עָשָׂה *do this* (then is announced what is to be done): Gn 42.18; 43.11; 45.17,19; Nu 4.19; 16.6† (no example in the singular).

(3) No doubt due to the general tendency towards the order V—S when a clause is introduced by an element other than the subject or predicate.

As in the case of adverbs (§ *pa*), an object ending the preceding *oa*
 clause may cause the object of the following clause to follow it immediately, i.e. causing it to occur in the initial slot of the second clause. Such may be considered a case of attraction; it is difficult to say whether the resultant chiasmus is by design or not⁽¹⁾. Examples: Lv 19.4 אַל-תִּפְנוּ אֱלֹהִים אֲלֵיכֶם לֹא תַעֲשׂוּ לָכֶם *Do not turn to idols or make molten gods for yourselves*; Jdg 6.25 וְהָרַסְתָּ אֶת-מִזְבַּח וְהָרַסְתָּ אֶת-הָאֲשֵׁרָה ... וְהָרַסְתָּ אֶת-הָאֲשֵׁרָה ... *and destroy the altar of Baal ... and cut down the Asherah ...* See also 2Ch 29.7,18,19; 34.4; also 1Ch 22.14; 2Ch 28.8 (cf. Kropat, *Syntax*, p. 59).

In some cases, however, contrast may be the cause: Jdg 1.25 וַיִּכּוּ אֶת-הָעִיר וַיִּכּוּ אֶת-הָאֵשׁ וַיִּכּוּ אֶת-כָּל-מִשְׁפַּחַתוֹ שְׁלֹחַ *and they smote the*

city with the blade of the sword, but they let the man and his entire household go.

(1) See Muraoka, *Emphatic*, pp. 39f., and Khan, *Syntax*, pp. 88-93.

ob In replies the essential part appears at the beginning: Gn 37.16 מִבְּקֶשׁ אֶת־אֶחָי אֲנֹכִי מִבְּקֶשׁ (1). *I am looking for my brothers in reply to 37.15*

(1) Cf. § *pb* and § 154 *g*.

oc In legal texts, especially in Leviticus, the object sometimes precedes the verb, not on the ground of emphasis, contrast or prominence(1): Lv 19.8 וְאֹכְלֵי עֹוֹנוֹ יִשָּׂא *those who eat it shall bear their penalty*; 19.28 וְשָׂרֵט לְנֶפֶשׁ לֹא תִהְיֶה בְּבִשְׂרֹכְךָ *and you shall not make any cuttings in your flesh on account of the dead*; Ex 21.31 אוֹ-בֵן יִגַּח אוֹ-בַת יִגַּח *if it gores a man's son or daughter*.

(1) A possible influence of the Babylonian legal style or Aramaic syntax may be suspected: see Muraoka, *Emphatic*, pp. 40f.

od In a clause introduced by the conjunction Waw the position of the object within it may be a function of the usage of the tenses where some contextual or semantic consideration indicates the unsuitability of the *wayyiqtol* syntagm (cf. § *n*): e.g. Gn 46.32 וְצֹאֲנָם הָיוּ וְצֹאֲנָם הָיוּ *they have been cattle-men and have brought their flocks, herds and all they have*; Jdg 12.9 וְיָהִי־לוֹ שְׁלֹשִׁים בָּנִים *he had thirty sons and married out thirty daughters* (or attraction? —§ *oa*); Gn 39.8; Jdg 7.25.

p Various adverbial modifiers are placed at the beginning wherever there is some emphasis on them. E.g., Gn 19.2 בְּרָחוּב נָלִיִן *it is in the square that we are going to spend the night*; 29.25 הֲלֹא בְּרַחֵל עָבַרְתִּי עִמָּךְ *Surely it was on account of Rachel I toiled in your homestead?*(1).

On the other hand, many common adverbs or adverbial expressions, especially those which are anaphorically linked to what immediately precedes occupy the initial slot: כֹּה *thus* Gn 45.9; כֵּן *thus* Jdg 7.17; לָכֵן *therefore* Jdg 10.13; עַל כֵּן *therefore* Dt 24.18; כִּי־כֵן *therefore* Gn 32.20; אַחֲרָי *thereafter* Jdg 19.5; אַחֲרֵי־כֵן *thereafter* Gn 32.21; עַתָּה *now* Gn 31.42; אָז *then* Jdg 8.3; בְּצֵאת הַהִיא *at that time* 18.1; שָׁם 1Sm 4.4(2).

For a similar reason the adverb is occasionally found in a medial

slot when the verb is required, for some reason or other, to occupy the initial slot: Jdg 12.11 וַיִּשְׁפֹּט אַחֲרָיו אֶת־יִשְׂרָאֵל אֵלּוֹן *and after him Elon judged Israel*(3).

(1) More examples in Muraoka, *Emphatic*, p. 43. See also Lode, art. cit. [§ o, n.], esp. pp. 140-49.

(2) More examples in Muraoka, *Emphatic*, p. 43.

(3) More examples in Muraoka, *Emphatic*, p. 42,

Attraction (chiasmus)(1): e.g. Gn 41.17f. וְהִנֵּה: וְהִנֵּה הָיָאֵר עַל־שֵׁפֶת הַיָּאֵר: וְהִנֵּה ... *pa*
 ... וְהִנֵּה הָיָאֵר עַל־שֵׁפֶת הַיָּאֵר עַל־שֵׁפֶת הַיָּאֵר עַל־שֵׁפֶת הַיָּאֵר ... *behold I was standing on the bank of the Nile,*
and behold from the Nile there came up seven cows ...; Lv 25.41 וְשָׁב אֶל־
 וְשָׁב אֶל־מִשְׁפַּחְתּוֹ וְאֶל־אֲחֻזַּת אָבִיתּוֹ יָשׁוּב *and he will go back to his family and*
return to his fathers' possession; Gn 40.13,19; 1Sm 6.12f.

(1) See § oa; Muraoka, *Emphatic*, p. 44; and cf. Khan, *Syntax*, pp. 91f.

That interrogative adverbs should appear at the beginning of a clause *pb*
 is easily understandable(1): e.g. Gn 39.9 וְאֵיךְ אֶעֱשֶׂה הַרְצָעָה הַגְּדֹלָה הַזֹּאת *how could I*
commit such a stupendous sin?

(1) However, exceptions are by no means few: see Brock., *GvG* 2.194ff. In Japanese an interrogative, whether adverbial or not, is commonly and idiomatically found in a non-initial slot.

The indirect object of the action comes first, e.g. in Gn 15.3 הֲזֵן לִי *q*
 הֲזֵן לִי לֵאמֹר; 13.15; 26.3.

The infinitive with ל indicating the aim of an action is regularly *r*
 put at the beginning: Gn 42.9 לְרִאוֹת אֶת־עַרְוֹת הָאָרֶץ בָּאתֶם *it is in*
order to see the weak spots of the land that you have come; 47.4; Nu
 22.20; Josh 2.3; Jdg 15.10,12; 1Sm 16.2,5; 17.25; 2Sm 3.25.

The accusative or He of direction or destination quite often stands *s*
 at the beginning of a clause: 1Kg 2.26 לֵךְ עֲנָתוֹת לֵךְ *go to Anathoth*; Josh 2.16
 הָרְרָה לְכֹ *go towards the mountain*; Ex 1.22; Jdg 20.4; 1Sm 5.8; Is
 23.12; 52.4; Jer 2.10. In these examples the emphasis is almost or entirely
 unrecognisable; it is however noticeable in 1Kg 12.1b; Jer 20.6; 32.5.

There is a marked tendency for a suffixed preposition to occupy the *t*
 position immediately after the verb, even before the subject: e.g. Jdg
 1.3 וַיֵּלֶךְ אִתּוֹ שִׁמְעוֹן *and Simon went with him*; 3.16 וַיַּעַשׂ לוֹ אֶהְיֶה חֶרֶב *Ehud made himself a sword*. Despite occasional deviations, the pattern
 seems to be well established, so much so that the departure from it could

suggest some emphasis: e.g. Gn 25.31 **לִי בְכֹרֶתְךָ אֵת מְכִרָה כִּיּוֹם** *Sell your birthright to me today*⁽¹⁾.

(1) Cf. LXX: ἀπόδου μοι σήμερον τὰ πρωτοτόκιά σου ἐμοί. See also discussion in Muraoka, *Emphatic*, pp. 44f.

§ 156. APPENDIX: *Casus pendens* before a nominal or verbal clause

a A noun or a pronoun is often placed at the head of a clause in such a way as to stand aloof from what follows, and then *resumed* by means of a retrospective pronoun. The noun is thus *suspended*, so to speak, hence the term *casus pendens*. This construction is sometimes occasioned by the importance of the noun, i.e. it is the element of the clause which first springs to the mind of the speaker, and sometimes by a desire for clarity or smoothness of expression⁽¹⁾.

The noun in *casus pendens* can be a (logical) genitive, an object (accusative), the complement of a preposition, or a subject.

(1) Compare the anticipation of the subject in an object clause (§ 157 *d*). Cf. Muraoka. *Emphatic*, pp. 93-111; G. Khan, *BSOAS* 47 (1984) 486f. A meticulous attempt to analyse a rich variety of *casus pendens* constructions may be found in W. Gross. *Die Pendens-konstruktion im biblischen Hebräisch* (St. Ottilien 1987). See also Khan. *Syntax*. pp. 67-74, 78-97. In contemporary general linguistics it is customary to discuss these issues in terms of 'topic' and 'comment' or some such notions: see J. Lyons. *Semantics* 2 (Cambridge, 1977), pp. 500-11: the 'topic' would correspond to what is, in traditional Hebrew grammars, called *casus pendens*, and the 'comment' to what follows it.

aa In many cases poetic parallelism appears to lead to the use of the *casus pendens*: e.g. Is 1.7 **אַרְצְכֶם שָׁמְמָה עָרֵיכֶם שָׁרְפוֹת אֵשׁ אַדְמַתְכֶם** *your land is desolation, your towns burnt out by fire, strangers are devouring your land in your sight*; Ps 18.41 **אֵי בִי נָתַתָּה לִי לְעָרְף וּמִשְׁנֵאֵי אֲצַמִּיתֵם** *you made my enemies turn tail before me, and I did away with those who hate me*; 74.17; 145.6⁽¹⁾.

(1) For a discussion and more examples, see Muraoka. *Emphatic*. pp. 96f.

b **Genitive**: Na 1.3 **יְהוָה בְּסוּפָהּ וּבְשַׁעֲרָהּ יָרָכּוּ** *Y., in the storm and the tempest is his way*; Gn 34.8 **בְּבִתְּכֶם נִפְשׁוּ בְּבִתְּכֶם** *the soul of my son Shechem is attached to your daughter*. Likewise with a pronoun: Is 59.21 **אֲנִי זֶה וְאַתְּ בְּרִיתִי אִתְּם** *and I, here is my covenant with them* (אִתְּם)

= אָתָם, § 103 j); Gn 40.16; Josh 23.9; Is 45.12; Jer 30.6; Ez 33.17; Job 21.4; 1Ch 28.2.

Object: Gn 28.13 וְלִזְרְעֶךָ אֶת־הַבְּרָכָה וְלִזְרְעֶךָ אֶת־הָאָרֶץ אֲשֶׁר אָשָׁר אַתָּה שׁוֹכֵב עַל־יָדֶיךָ לְךָ אֶת־הַבְּרָכָה וְלִזְרְעֶךָ אֶת־הָאָרֶץ *the land upon which you sleep, I will give it to you and your seed*; Ps 125. 5 ... וְהַמְטִימִים עַקְלָקְלוֹתָם יוֹלִיכֵם יְהוָה *and those who turn aside upon their crooked ways J. will lead away ...* One cannot be absolutely certain, however, that these initial nouns are unmarked direct objects, for it is not uncommon to miss אַת before a direct object which can be considered determinate (§ 125 f)(1). Then the pronoun would merely be resumptive as in cases with אַת: Gn 13.15 אֶת־כָּל־הָאָרֶץ אֲשֶׁר־רָאָה לְךָ אֶת־נֶגְבָהּ אֶת־כָּל־הָאָרֶץ אֲשֶׁר־רָאָה לְךָ אֶת־נֶגְבָהּ *all the land which you see, I shall give it to you*; 21.13 35.12; 47.21; 1Sm 25.29; 1Kg 15.13 (cf. § 125 j 4)(2).

The verb with a pronoun referring back to the initial noun or pronoun normally appears towards the end of the clause, and such an anaphoric pronoun is usually fused with the verb, thus not אַתָּה אֶתָּה in the above-quoted Gn 13.15, for instance: but an exception in 47.21 וְאֶת־הָעַם הָעֵבֶרִי אֶתָּה אֶתָּה, not הָעֵבֶרִי אֶתָּה.

(1) See discussion in Muraoka, *Emphatic*, pp. 95f.

(2) Cf. G.A. Khan, *BSQAS* 47 (1984) 481f., 486f., and idem, *Syntax*, p. 78.

Complement of a preposition: 1Sm 9.20 ... וְלֹא־תִנּוּת הָאֲבֹדוֹת לְךָ *do not pay any attention to the she-asses you have lost*; 2Sm 6.23. The preposition can be omitted before the noun in the casus pendens. With a pronoun: 1Sm 12.23 גַּם אֲנֹכִי חָלִילָה לִּי *as for me, far from me ...!*; 2Ch 28.10(1).

(1) For a discussion and more examples, see Muraoka, *Emphatic*, pp. 97f.

Subject. For nominal clauses of the type of Gn 34.21, cf. § 154 i 1. In verbal clause: Gn 3.12 הָאִשָּׁה אֲשֶׁר נָתַתָּה עִמָּדִי הִיא נְתִנָּה לִּי מִן־הָעֵץ *the woman whom you placed beside me (she) has given me*; 24.7. Likewise כֹּל with a participle is in the casus pendens (followed by a Waw of apodosis) in Jdg 19.30; 2Sm 2.23(1).

(1) Some writers include in this category, i.e. as *nominal* clauses, those sentences in which a noun-phrase precedes the verb such as Gn 3.13 הַנְּחָשׁ הַשֵּׂיִאֲנִי. So W. Gross, op. cit. [§ 156 a, n.], passim, and Niccacci [see above, § 153, n. 2].

N.B. 1) Instead of the resumptive pronoun it is possible to use a new noun: Ex 12.15 כָּל־אֲכֹל חֶמֶץ וְנִבְרָתָהּ הַנֶּפֶשׁ הַהִיא מִיִּשְׂרָאֵל *whosoever*

eats of the leavened (bread), that person shall be cut off from Israel; Nu 35.30.

g 2) The participle is often used in the casus pendens: **Genitive:** Gn 9.6 *שֹׁפֵךְ דַּם הָאָדָם בְּאָדָם דָּמוֹ יִשְׁפָּךְ* *he who sheds the blood of a person, by (means of) a person his blood shall be shed.* (Here and in all the similar cases the participle is construed with the pronoun, as it appears, e.g. Ex 21.12 *מַכֵּה*, § 121 *m*); Pr 17.13.

h **Object:** Nu 35.30 *כָּל-מַכֵּה-נֶפֶשׁ...יִרְצַח אֶת-הַרְצֹחַ* *whosoever strikes a man ... the murderer shall be put to death* (cf. § *f*); 2Sm 14.10.

i **Complement of a preposition:** 2Sm 4.10.

j **Subject:** Ex 12.15 (§ *f*). In Ex 21.12 the casus pendens is merely virtual; instead of a separate resumptive pronoun or a new noun as in Nu 35.30, we only have the pronoun contained in the verb form: *מַכֵּה אִישׁ יוֹמַת מוֹת יוֹמַת* *whosoever strikes a man and should this latter die, he shall be put to death.*

k 3) Instead of the participle we sometimes find a **relative clause:** Josh 15.16 *אֲשֶׁר-יִכֶּה אֶת-קִרְיַת-סֶפֶר וְלָכְדָהּ וְנָתַתִּי לּוֹ אֶת-עַבְדָּהּ בְּתִי* *he who shall strike Kiriath-sepher and takes it, I shall give him my daughter Achsah as wife*; Gn 15.4.

l 4) A noun or its equivalent in casus pendens constitutes something like a separate member. In order to relate it to the following clause, a Waw is often added, similar to the Waw of apodosis, and which may be called, by extension, Waw of apodosis (cf. § 176 *a*): 1Kg 15.13 *וְגַם אֶת-מַעְכָּה מִצְרָיִם וַיִּסְרָהּ מִגְּבוּרָתָהּ* *and even Maacah his mother he stripped her of her dignity of queen-mother*; Ex 12.15 (§ *f*); Josh 15.16 (§ *k*).

m The casus pendens is rather common with some particles, notably *הִנֵּה*, *שֵׁי* (very rarely), and *אַיִן*. E.g. Ex 14.17 *וְאֲנִי הִנְנִי מְחַזְּקִים אֶת-לֵב מִצְרַיִם* *and behold I am about to harden the hearts of the Egyptians* in contrast to the preceding *וְאַתָּה הָרָם אֶת-מִטְּהָךְ* *and you raise your staff*; Dt 29.14 *אִישׁ אֵינָנוּ פֹה עִמָּנוּ* *with one who is not here with us*; 2Sm 3.22 *וְאַבְנֵר אֵינָנוּ עִם-דָּוִד* *and Abner was not with David*; Ps 104.35 *וְרָשָׁעִים עוֹד אֵינָם* *and the wicked are no longer there* (exceptionally with an indeterminate noun)⁽¹⁾.

(1) For a fuller analysis of the syntax of *הִנֵּה* and *אֵינָנוּ/שֵׁי*, see Muraoka, *Emphatic*, pp. 137-40, and 99-111 respectively.

B. PARTICULAR CLAUSES

§ 157. Substantival clause

A nominal or verbal clause may form a unit which can be considered and treated as a substantive. Thus "I know *that you arrived*" is equivalent to "I know (of) *your arrival*"; the clause *that you arrived* is a substantival clause equivalent to the substantive *your arrival*, and just as the latter is an object, *that you arrived* is an object clause. Like a substantive, a substantival clause can function as the subject or predicate of a sentence, and as the complement of a preposition or genitive, and occur in apposition. But it is mainly as object that it is commonly used (§ b).

I. **Subject clause.** *Asyndetic* (very rare): 2Sm 14.32 טוֹב לִי עוֹד אֲנִי־שָׁם *it would be better for me still to be there*; relative clause as subject: Is 41.24 תּוֹעֵבָה יִבְחַר בְּכֶם *an abomination is he who chooses you* (§ 158 d).

Syndetic (with either כִּי or אֲשֶׁר)⁽¹⁾: Gn 37.26 מַה־בְּצַע כִּי נִהְרַג אֶת־ *what is the use of us killing our brother?*; Ec 5.4 טוֹב אֲשֶׁר לֹא־תִוָּדַר *you had better not vow*; Ne 2.10; relative clause as subject: Josh 10.11 רַב־מֵתוּ רַבִּים אֲשֶׁר מָתוּ *many were those who died* (§ 158 l)⁽²⁾.

II. **Predicate clause.** This type, which exists, for instance, in Arabic, is of course possible in Hebrew, but there does not seem to be any example. Relative clause as predicate: Is 63.19 הָיִינוּ לֹא־מְשֻׁלְּתִים בָּם *we have become those over whom you have not ruled* (§ 158 d).

III. **Appositional clause.** This type also appears to be unattested.

IV. **Clauses as complement of a preposition** were treated in § 129 p-q in connection with the genitive.

V. On the **genitival clause**, see also § 129 p-q.

(1) אֲשֶׁר is particularly common in the late language.

(2) Likewise כִּי introduces a subject clause after a simple אָרַךְ כִּי־ Gn 3.1 אָרַךְ כִּי־ *(is it) also that he said? = is it then true that he said?*; Ru 2.21 וְכִי־אָמַר *(there is) still (that) which he said = moreover, he said*; Job 6.22 הֲכִי־אָמַרְתִּי *(is it true) that I said?* (§ 161 j). On Gn 3.1, see a discussion in Muraoka, *Emphatic*, pp. 142f.

b VI. Object clause.

Asyndetic: Job 32.22 לֹא יָדַעְתִּי אֲכַבֵּה I do not know how to flatter; Lv 9.6 וְזֶה הָיָה בְּרַךְ אֲשֶׁר-צִוָּה יְהוָה תַּעֲשׂוּ *this is the thing which Y. commanded you to do*; Is 42.21; Am 5.12; Ps 9.21; Job 19.25; with a *verbum dicendi* (= 'verb of saying'): Gn 12.13 אָמַרְתִּי אֵת אָחֹתִי אֵת say therefore (that) you are my sister. The construction is hardly used except with a *verbum dicendi* with a direct speech as the object: Gn 12.12 וְאָמְרוּ אֵשֶׁתּוֹ זֹאת and they will say "This is his wife."

Syndetic (with כִּי or אֲשֶׁר, cf. § a, n.): Gn 3.6 וַתִּרְאֵהָ הָאִשָּׁה כִּי טוֹב הָעֵץ the woman saw that the tree was good⁽¹⁾; 29.12; Ex 4.31; with a *verbum dicendi* with direct speech as its object⁽²⁾: Jdg 6.16 וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלָיו יְהוָה וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלָיו יְהוָה and Y. said to him "I shall be with you"⁽³⁾; Gn 3.11; 21.30; 26.22; 29.32,33; 37.35; Ex 4.25; 1Kg 11.22; 2Kg 8.13.

With אֲשֶׁר: 1Sm 18.15 וַיִּרְאֵהוּ שָׂאוּל אֲשֶׁר-הוּא מַשְׁכִּיל and Saul saw that he was succeeding; Ex 11.7; Dt 1.31; 1Kg 22.16; Is 38.7; Jer 28.9; Ez 20.26; Ne 8.14,15; Esth 3.4; 4.11; 6.2; Ec 6.10; 7.29; 9.1; Dn 1.8. Before אֲשֶׁר it is possible to have אֵת with the accusative: Josh 2.10 וְשָׁמְעֵנוּ אֵת אֲשֶׁר הוֹבִישׁ יְהוָה אֵת-מִי יַם-סוּף we have learned (the fact) that Y. dried up the waters of the Red Sea.

(1) For the frequent construction וַיִּרְאֵה וְהִנֵּה cf. § 177 i. Note here that the so-called *consecutio temporum* is unknown to Hebrew; the tense of the subordinate clause indicates that its time frame was contemporaneous with that of the main verb (וַיִּרְאֵה).

(2) On כִּי *recitativum* introducing direct speech, see Sh. Esh in *Lš* 22 (1957-58) 48-53; F. Zorrell (*Bib* 14 [1933] 465-69) denies it, unconvincingly in our opinion.

(3) With אָמַר, apart from the direct and indirect speech, with or without כִּי, we also find the inf. preceded by ל: 2Ch 6.20 וְשָׁמַעְתָּ לְשׁוֹמְרֵי הַמִּצְוֹת (contrast parall. 1Kg 8.29 וְשָׁמַעְתָּ יְהוָה יְהוָה שָׁמַעְתָּ).

ca The genuine indirect speech is rather rare: Esth 3.4 כִּי הִגִּיד לָהֶם אֲשֶׁר-הוּא יְהוּדִי for he had told them that he was a Jew⁽¹⁾. The speech is often cast in terms of the speaker or narrator, whether syndetically or asyndetically. Thus 1Sm 15.20 וַיֹּאמֶר שָׂאוּל אֶל-שָׁמוּאֵל אֲשֶׁר שָׁמַעְתִּי and Saul said to Samuel, 'I have obeyed the Lord'; Gn 21.30 וַיֹּאמֶר כִּי שֶׁבַע כְּבָשֹׂת תִּקַּח מִיָּדִי And he said, 'These seven ewe-lambs you shall take of my hand'; 12.13 אָמַרְתִּי אֵת אָחֹתִי אֵת Say that you are my sister; 41.15 וַאֲנִי שָׁמַעְתִּי עָלֶיךָ לֵאמֹר תִּשְׁמַע חִלּוֹם לְפָתוֹר אוֹתוֹ I have heard say of you that you can understand a dream to interpret it⁽²⁾.

- (1) Cf. Is 8.4 **אָבִי וְאִמִּי יָדַע הַנְּעָר קְרָא אָבִי וְאִמִּי** *before the child shall learn how to cry, My father, and my mother*, for which 1Q Is^a has **אָבִיו וְאִמוֹ**.
 (2) See C. Rabin, *Syntax*, pp. 109-12.

N.B. 1) With the *verba sentiendi* (= 'verbs of sense perception')(1), especially with **רָאָה** *to see* and **יָדַע** *to know*, there is often anticipation of the subject(2); Gn 1.4 **וַיִּרְא אֱלֹהִים אֶת־הָאֹר כִּי־טוֹב** *God saw that the light was good*; again with **רָאָה**: Gn 6.2; 12.14; 13.10; 49.15; Ex 2.2; Ec 2.24; 8.17; with **יָדַע**: Ex 32.22; 2Sm 17.8; 1Kg 5.17; with **הִכִּיר** *to recognise*: 1Kg 20.41. d

- (1) Rarely with other verbs, e.g. with **הִגִּיד** *to announce* in Ne 2.18.
 (2) Comp. the analogous phenomenon of *casus pendens* (§ 156). Thus we could say with the words of Gn 34.8 (§ 156 b) **יָדַעְתֶּם שְׂכָם בְּנֵי כִי חִשְׁקָה נִפְשׁוּ בְּבַתְּכֶם**. We find an anticipated circumstantial complement in Dt 31.29 *I know that after my death ...*; Ec 7.22.

2) It is perhaps by extension of their function in the object clause that **כִּי** and **אֲשֶׁר** are used to link a secondary clause to a main one, even when there is no verb governing an accusative; thus, after a substantive: Ex 3.12 **זֶה־הָאֵימָנוֹת כִּי אֲנֹכִי שְׁלַחְתִּיךָ** *this is the sign (showing) that I have sent you*; Gn 21.30b; Is 38.7 (with **אֲשֶׁר**). e

3) One also finds a relative clause used as object: Gn 44.1 **וַיִּצַו אֶת־אֲשֶׁר עַל־בֵּיתוֹ** *and he commanded the one who was in charge of his household* (§ 158 I). f

4) A verbal action as object of a verb, when it does not constitute a clause, is usually expressed by the infinitive, most often by the infinitive construct (with or without **ל**, § 124 c), sometimes by the infinitive absolute (§ 123 b). Very rarely, instead of the infinitive, one finds the **participle** (as in Greek and often in Aramaic, Syriac and MH): Is 33.1 **כִּי־תִמְּךָ שׁוֹדֵד** *when you have finished acting violently*; Jer 22.30; 1Sm 3.2?. g

5) About the clause with a Waw equivalent to an object clause, cf. § 177 h.

§ 158. Relative clause

A relative clause is usually equivalent to an attribute of a substantive; it corresponds most commonly to an adjective or a participle in a*

apposition⁽¹⁾. But, like the ordinary, i.e. non-relative clause (§ 157), it can be substantivised: cf. § 157 *a, f* and *infra* § *d, l*. The relative clause is either syndetic (with אֲשֶׁר, •ש) or asyndetic. The asyndetic clause seems to be the older of the two; in our texts it is found especially in poetry and elevated prose⁽²⁾.

The relative clause with an antecedent is of two kinds, limiting and non-limiting. The former serves to distinguish between more than one member of the class of the entity denoted by the antecedent as in Gn 1.7 מַיִם אֲשֶׁר מִתַּחַת לְרָקִיעַ *the waters which were under the firmament* as against those which were above it. The non-limiting type, by contrast, merely makes a parenthetical statement on the antecedent without contrasting the entity denoted by it with any other which may be characterised otherwise, e.g. Gn 4.11 אָרַר אֹתָהּ מִן הָאֲדָמָה אֲשֶׁר פָּצְתָהּ אֶת פִּיהָ *Cursed be thou from the earth, which has opened its mouth*. In this latter type it is normal to have a comma before the corresponding relative pronoun in its English version. The relationship between the two types is analogous to that between the adjective 'white' in 'a white robe' and that in 'white snow.' The non-limiting relative clause should not be confused with a type of relative clause common in some European languages and discussed in § *p* below.

There is a fundamental difference between the Hebrew relative pronoun and its counterpart in the major Indo-European languages. The former is unchangeable, and its main function is to signal that what follows it is an attribute, mostly in clause form, qualifying the preceding antecedent. The logico-syntactic relationship between the antecedent and the clause-form qualifier is often signalled by a pronominal element (§ *c, g-k* below) within it, which is totally uncharacteristic of the Indo-European relative clause⁽³⁾. Hence the Hebrew relative clause mostly forms a complete clause on its own, except where the antecedent is equivalent to the subject or direct object of the main verb of the relative clause. By contrast, in Indo-European relative clauses the relative pronoun is an integral and essential part of the relative clause, and it often displays a variety of morphological shapes the choice of which is a function of the grammatical category or categories of the antecedent on one hand, and of the syntactic status of the relative pronoun within the relative clause on the other.

(1) The appositional character of the relative clause can be clearly seen in Is 51.2

וְאֶל שָׂרָה תִּחְוֶלְלֶכֶם הַבֵּיטוּ אֶל אַבְרָהָם אָבִיכֶם וְאֶל שָׂרָה תִּחְוֶלְלֶכֶם *Look to Abraham your father and to Sarah, who bore you* (asyndetic relative clause).

(2) A clause such as Jer 13.20 essentially means: *Where is the herd? it was given you*; the subordination of the second member to the first is done mentally: ... *which was given you*. This consideration can account for cases such as Is 61.11 כְּאֶרֶץ תּוֹצִיאָהּ כַּאֲרֶץ תּוֹצִיאָהּ where the sense is not *like the earth that produces*, but *as the earth produces* (where, therefore, כִּי is used as a conjunction with the force of כִּי־אֲשֶׁר; cf. § 174 d); Ps 42.2 (probably vocalise לִּלְאֵלִי).

(3) Note that the predominantly demonstrative הַזֶּה and הַזֶּה are still occasionally used in poetry as relative pronouns (§ 145 c); cp. Ugr. *dū* (< *dū*), and Arb. *'alladī* etc., which is a compound of the definite article *'al* and the demonstrative element *dī*.

I. **Asyndetic clause. Verbal clause:** After a determinate noun: Jer 13.20 אֵיךְ הָיָה הַעֲרֹד נִתַּן לָךְ *where is the flock (which) has been given you?*; Ps 34.9 בּוֹ יִחְסֶה הַגִּבֹּר אֲשֶׁר יִתְבַּר *happy is the man who trusts in him*; after a determinate by itself): Ps 71.18; after a suffix: Ps 16.4⁽¹⁾. More often, after an *indeterminate* noun⁽²⁾: Gn 49.27 בֶּנְיָמִין זֶאֱבִי יִטְרֹף *Benj. is a robbing wolf* (ֻ in pause for וּ, § 32 c); Is 51.12 אִנּוּשׁ יָמוּת *a mortal man*; 55.13; Dt 32.17 לֹא יָדְעוּם אֱלֹהִים *gods whom they did not know*; Is 56.2; Ps 78.6; Pr 30.17; Lam 1.10; also in the type such as 1Sm 6.9 הֲיָיָה לָנוּ מְקֻרָה הִיא *it is a coincidence that has happened to us*; Job 31.12⁽³⁾; Jer 15.14 בְּאֶרֶץ לֹא יִדְעָתָּהּ (// 17.4 לֹא יִדְעָתָּהּ).

(1) According to many Ps 49.14, but cf. § 143 i.

(2) As is the rule in Classical Arabic.

(3) In both 1Sm 6.9 and Job 31.12 the pron. can be extraposing.

Nominal clause. Generally after an indeterminate noun: Job 3.15 שָׂרִים זָהָב *princes who have gold*; Is 51.7 עַם תּוֹרָתִי בְּלִבָּם *a nation in whose heart is my law*. Thus in clauses indicating the **weight** of an object, the usual type⁽¹⁾ is Gn 24.22 זָהָב בְּקֶעַע מִשְׁקָלוֹ *a golden ring whose weight is one beqa'* (note the word-order P—S); Nu 7.13ff.; Josh 7.21. In clauses indicating the **name** of a person we sometimes⁽²⁾ find the type 2Sm 20.21 אִישׁ מִהַר אֶפְרַיִם שָׁבַע שְׁמוֹ נִשְׂאָה יָדוֹ בְּמַלְכֹה *a man of the mountain of Ephraim, whose name is Sheba, has lifted up his hand against the king*; 1Sm 17.4; 1Kg 13.2; Is 54.5; Zech 6.12; Job 1.1. Striking is Is 66.1 אֵי־זֶה מְקוֹם מְנוּחָתִי *Where is the place which is my resting place?*, unless מְקוֹם (cst.) be intended.

(1) We find only once a circumstantial clause with Waw: 2Sm 12.30 וַיִּקַּח אֶת־עֲטֻרַת־מַלְכָּם *and he took the crown of their king—and its weight was a kikkar of*

gold—(After a determinate noun; but we could have the same construction after an indeterminate noun as we have it with וְשֵׁם [see the following note]).

(2) But far more frequently we have a circumstantial clause with Waw (§ 159 *d*): 2Sm 20.1 וְשֵׁם בְּלִיעֵל וְשֵׁם שָׁבַע *a villain, and his name was Sheba* (contrast vs. 21); note a change in the word-order. וְשֵׁם can stand far from the name, e.g. 2Sm 4.4. Only once do we find a relative clause with אֲשֶׁר (after a determinate plural noun) Ex 1.15 לְמִילֹדֹת הָעֶבְרִית אֲשֶׁר שָׁם הָאֵחָת שְׁפָרָה וְשָׁם הַשְּׁנִיית פִּינְעָה.

- c** N.B. 1) The *retrospective* pronoun in the asyndetic relative clause is rather frequently omitted: 2Sm 22.44 (= Ps 18.44) עַם לֹא-יָדָעְתִּי *a people I do not know*; Ex 15.17; Is 42.16; —after a determinate noun: Jdg 8.1 מִהַיְהוֹדָה הַזֶּה עָשִׂיתָ לָנוּ *what is this thing which you have done to us?*; Ps 33.12b. In poetry, the preposition with the retrospective pronoun is occasionally left out: Is 51.1 הַבַּיִטוֹ אֶל-צוּר חֲצֻבָתָם וְאֶל-מַקְבֹּת בּוֹר *Look to the rock (from which) you have been hewn out and to the hole of the pit where you were dug out*; Ps 90.15 כִּימוֹת עֲנִיָּתָנוּ ... *as many days when you afflicted us, (as) many years when we witnessed a disaster*. Note the ambiguity arising from such an omission in Ps 33.12 לֹו לְנַחֲלָה לָהֶם *the nation He chose for His inheritance*. See further below § *db*.
- d** 2) An asyndetic relative clause can be substantivised: Pr 8.32 אֲשֶׁרִי *Happy are those who watch my steps*; Jer 2.11 עַמִּי הִמִּיר עֲבוֹדוֹ בְּלוֹא יוֹעִיל *my people have changed its glory for what is of no benefit*; Is 41.24 (cited in § 157 *a*); 63.19 (*ibid.*); Jer 2.8 (cited in § 129 *q*); Job 18.21 (*ibid.*); Ne 8.10; 1Ch 15.12, 17.13; 2Ch 16.9; Gn 39.4, and more examples with כֹּל mentioned in Lambert, § 291.
- da** The above examples serve to illustrate a great variety of syntactic relationships that can subsist between the antecedent and its asyndetic relative clause.
- db** In the majority of asyndetic relative clauses the border-line with the antecedent is not immediately apparent, though the Massoretic accents can often help: there is lacking a formal device which signals the beginning of an asyndetic relative clause⁽¹⁾. Thus a case such as Jer 23.9 וְכַגְּבַר עֲבָרוּ יַיִן *and like a man whom wine has overcome* is in the minority as against examples such as ib. 2.6 אֶרֶץ לֹא-עָבַר בָּהּ אִישׁ *a land that no man passed through* for which one could have said לֹא-אֶרֶץ בָּהּ עָבַר אִישׁ; Job 3.3 יוֹם אֲנִלְדָּ בּוֹ *the day on which I was born*. Rare are cases such as 1Ch 18.8 ... נְחֹשֶׁת רַבָּה מְאֹד בָּהּ עָשָׂה שְׁלֵמָה אֶת-יָמָיו

...הַנִּהְיֶה שָׁת. It also needs to be remembered that the asyndetic relative clause usually has its verb at the beginning.

(1) Unlike in ModH prose where an asyndetic relative clause is usually introduced by a preposition with a suffix referring to the antecedent, e.g. /higgá'nu la'ir bah noládti v-gadálti/ *we arrived at the city in which I was born and grew up*.

II. Syndetic clause (with אֲשֶׁר, § 145). Like the asyndetic clause, this can be verbal or nominal. In nominal clauses one finds especially a preposition with its noun, sometimes an adjective, rather rarely a participle: Preposition with its noun: 1Kg 16.22 אֲחֵרֵי עֹמְרִי *the people who were after Omri* (= O.'s followers); adjective⁽¹⁾: Gn 7.2 אֲשֶׁר לֹא טָהוֹרָה הוּא *the animal which is not pure* (comp. Nu 9.13); participle: Dt 1.4 (3.2) אֲשֶׁר יוֹשֵׁב *Sihon, the king of the Amorites who lived at H.* [instead of the usual הָיָה יוֹשֵׁב⁽²⁾]; Ec 9.12 כְּדָגִים בְּרֶגֶט וְכַדְרֵי בְּמִצְוֹתָהּ וְכַצִּפּוֹרִים הָאֲחִזּוֹת בַּפֶּחַח *like the fishes that are caught in an evil net, and like the birds that are caught in the snare*; 1Kg 5.13; Ps 133.2,3 שִׁירֵד; Ec 4.1 אֲשֶׁר נִעְשִׂים (opp. 1.14 שֶׁנֶּעֱשׂוּ; 1.9 שֶׁנֶּעֱשָׂה; 1.13 etc.; compare in Aramaic Dn 5.5 יְדָא דִּי כְתָבָא *the hand which was writing*; more frequently with the independent pronoun: Jer 27.9 אֲשֶׁר-הֵם אֹמְרִים *the prophets etc. who say*; Nu 14.8; 1Sm 10.19; verbal adjective: Hg 1.9.

The relativisation (§ 130 fa) is optional as can be seen from Gn 45.13 אֲשֶׁר-לֹא-כָבֹדִי בְּמִצְרַיִם *as against Ex 3.7 רָאִיתִי* (3). *ea*

(1) But not with an adjective on its own as in אֲשֶׁר חָכֵם.

(2) But the type אֲשֶׁר הָיָה יוֹשֵׁב is obviously impossible; the text at 1Kg 12.8; 21.11 is garbled.

(3) More examples in M. Azar in *Proceedings of the Sixth World Congress of Jewish Studies* (Jerusalem, 1977), pp. 48f. [Heb. section].

The relative clause with אֲשֶׁר is used after either a determinate noun or an indeterminate noun⁽¹⁾. After **determinate** nouns: Nu 16.7 אֲשֶׁר-יִבְחַר יִהְיֶה *the man Y. will choose*; after **indeterminate** nouns: Ex 1.8 אֲשֶׁר לֹא-יָדָע אֶת-יוֹסֵף *there arose upon Egypt a new king who had not known Joseph*; Gn 20.9 מַעֲשֵׂים אֵינֶם *deeds which should not be done*; Gn 44.15 אִישׁ אֲשֶׁר *a man like me* [this explicative אֲשֶׁר is quite common in the follow- *f*

ing analogous cases: 2Sm 9.8; Jer 5.9,29 (9.8)]; Dt 13.7 אלהים אֲחֵרִים אשר (cf. Ru 2.11); Dt 28.49; 1Sm 3.11; Is 66.13.

(1) Even without a nuance of emphasis. The treatment of אשר (different from that of the Arabic relative *'alladi*, which, being determinate, is not used except after a determinate noun) shows that אשר is not determinate; consequently, it is probably not an ancient demonstrative; cf. § 145 *a*. In practice, in simple prose we have אשר; the absence of אשר is hardly attested except in elevated prose and poetry, § *a*.

g The **retrospective subject pronoun** in a nominal clause is commonly used with an adjective or participle: Gn 9.3 כל־יָרֵמֵשׁ אשר הוא־חַי *every moving being which is alive*; Nu 9.13; 35.31; Ru 4.15; examples with the participle in § *e*. But with a preposition followed by its noun, the pronoun is usually omitted: 1Kg 16.22, § *e*; except when there is a negation: Gn 17.12 לא מִזְרַעֲךָ הוא אשר; Dt 17.15; 20.15; a possible exception is Ps 16.3 לְקִרְוֵי אֲשֶׁר־בְּאָרֶץ הַמָּה, though the text is difficult. In verbal clauses the pronoun does not occur except in 2Kg 22.13, where it is probably to be deleted in view of the parallel 2Ch 34.21.

h The **retrospective object pronoun** (in the accusative) is frequent⁽¹⁾: Gn 45.4 אני יוֹסֵף אֲחִיכֶם אשר־מָכַרְתֶּם אֹתִי *I am Joseph your brother, whom you have sold* (for the syllepsis of the person, cf. § *n*); 2Kg 16.3 אֲתָם (omitted in the parallel 2Ch 28.3). But the omission is extremely common: Nu 16.7, § *f*; Dt 13.7, § *f*.

The **retrospective genitive pronoun** cannot be omitted: Dt 28.49 גוֹי אֲשֶׁר לֹא־תִשְׁמַע לְשׁוֹנוֹ *a people whose language you will not understand*.

(1) Very rarely, instead of the pronoun, the noun is repeated for the sake of precision or convenience: Gn 50.13 in the cave of the field of Macpelah, a field which Abraham had bought (cf. 49.30); Jer 31.32; Gn 13.16.

ha Where the antecedent is an internal object (§ 125 *q*), the retrospective pronoun is regularly left out⁽¹⁾: Gn 37.6 הַחֲלוֹם זֶה אֲשֶׁר חָלַמְתִּי *this dream which I dreamt*; Ps 137.8 אֶת־גְּמוּלָךְ שִׁנְמַלְתָּ לָּנוּ *your deed which you did to us*; Ec 1.3 בְּכָל־עֲמָלוֹ שֵׁי־עָמַל תַּחַת הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ *all his toil at which he toils under the sun*; 2.11 כָּל־מַעֲשָׂי שֶׁעָשׂוּ יָדַי *all my works which my hands had done*.

(1) See Y. Peretz, *The Relative Clause* [Heb] (Tel Aviv, 1967), p. 89.

i A **preposition with a retrospective pronoun**, especially אֹתִי, אֹתוֹ etc., is quite often omitted, even sometimes in cases where clarity seems to call for it. Thus, not only in cases where the preposition of

the relative clause is called for by a preceding preposition: 1Kg 2.26 *you toiled in all this (in which) my father toiled*; Jer 1.7 but also in extreme cases such as Dt 7.19 *a mighty hand and a stretched-out arm אשר הוֹצֵאָהּ (by which) he led you out*; 28.20 *the wickedness of your actions (by which) you have abandoned me*; 1Sm 2.32; 1Kg 8.59; Is 31.6; after כִּי: 1Kg 11.27 *this is the matter (regarding which) he rebelled*; Josh 5.4 *this is the reason (for which) Joshua circumcised*. See also 2Kg 3.3 (§ 139 a 2).

One should note the following cases in particular:

1) With verbs of saying, the preposition meaning *concerning* (כִּי, ל, על) is regularly omitted: Nu 10.29 *הַמָּקוֹם אֲשֶׁר אָמַר יְהוָה אֵתָּו אֶתְּנֶה לָּכֶם (concerning which) Y. said "I will give it to you."* Examples with אמר are common: Nu 14.40; Dt 28.68; 1Sm 9.17,23; 24.5; 1Kg 8.29; Jer 32.43. The examples with כִּי must no doubt be explained likewise: Gn 19.21; 23.16; Ru 4.1. Some other verbs are also similarly treated, e.g. נִשְׁבַּע to swear: Ex 33.1 *the land (concerning which) he swore to Abraham*; הִקְטִין to insult, revile: Jdg 8.15 *Zeba and Zalmunna (concerning whom) you abused me*; הֵצִיא to order: Gn 3.17 *the tree (concerning which) I gave you an order*⁽¹⁾.

(1) Probably also שְׁלַח in the sense of *to send a message*: 1Kg 5.23 *the place (in regard to which) you sent a message saying*; 20.9; 21.11; Josh 1.16; 2Sm 11.22; Jer 42.5,21; 43.1 (cf. P. Joüon in *Bib* 2 [1921] 226ff.).

2) With nouns pertaining to place, the preposition with a retrospective pronoun (*in it, towards it* etc.) is often replaced by the adverb שָׁמָּה, שָׁמָּה there, מִשָּׁמָּה from there. Thus alongside Gn 21.23 *הָאָרֶץ אֲשֶׁר-הָיִיתָ בָּהּ הַיְרֵחוֹ הַזֶּה the land in which you sojourned*, we find 2.11 *אֶרֶץ הַחַוִּילָה הַזֹּאת the land of Havilah where there is gold*⁽¹⁾. But the retrospective word (preposition with a pronoun, or adverb שָׁמָּה) is often omitted: Gn 35.13(14) *בַּמָּקוֹם אֲשֶׁר-דִּבֶּר אֵתָּו אִתּוֹ in the place where he had spoken with him* (but vs. 15 with שָׁמָּה); Nu 20.13; Is 64.10 (*in which* or *where*); Jer 32.3 (id.); Nu 13.27 (*towards which* or *where* שָׁמָּה).

(1) Contrast 1Kg 12.25a *בְּהַר שֵׁשֶׁב* with 25b *מִשָּׁמָּה*.

3) With nouns pertaining to time no retrospective word is used: 2Sm 19.25 *בְּיָוֵם אֲשֶׁר-בָּא עַד-הַיּוֹם אֲשֶׁר-יָשׁוּב until the day (when) he returns*; Gn 45.6; Dt 1.46; 9.7; 1Sm 20.31; 1Kg 11.42.

Substantival clause with אֲשֶׁר. A relative clause, whether nominal or

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verbal, with אשר is often substantivised: subject clause: Josh 10.11 (cited in § 157 a); object clause: Gn 44.1 (cited in § 157 f); genitival clause (§ 129 q); clause as prepositional complement: Gn 43.16 לְאִשֶּׁר עַל-בֵּיתוֹ *to the one who was in charge of his house* (44.4); 47.6 עַל-אִשֶּׁר-לִי *on what is to me = in charge of my estate*. With -שׁ: Ps 137. 8f. ... אֲשֶׁר יִשְׂלַם-לְךָ ... אֲשֶׁר יִשְׂלַם-לְךָ *Happy is he who shall repay you ... happy is he who shall seize ...* In all these cases אשר has the effect of a relative pronoun used absolutely: *qui, quem, quod* etc.; *the one who, that which* etc.; cf. § 145 a.

m Sometimes, by a kind of anticipation, אשר is preceded by את of the accusative or by the preposition which logically should follow it⁽¹⁾: Nu 22.6 מְבָרַךְ אֶת-אֲשֶׁר-תְּבָרַךְ מְבָרַךְ *the one whom you bless is blessed* (= אשר אתו תברך; likewise in its sequel, וְאֲשֶׁר תְּאָר יוֹאֵר *and one whom you curse is cursed*, in spite of the absence of את; Ex 22.8); Gn 31.32 עִם אֲשֶׁר אֶת-אֱלֹהֵיךָ תִּמְצָא *he with whom you will find your gods* (exceptional for אשר תמצא את-אלהיך עמו; cf. 44.9); Ps 119.49 זָכַרְתָּךְ לְעַבְדֶּךָ עַל זְכוֹרְתֶךָ *Stand ... with the multitude of thy sorceries, wherein thou hast laboured from thy youth*; 65.12 וּבְאֲשֶׁר לֹא-תִפְצְתִּי בְּחַרְתֶּם *and you choose that in which I delighted not*⁽²⁾. In the local sense⁽³⁾, the preposition must precede אשר: Gn 21.17 בְּאֲשֶׁר הָיָה שָׁם *where he was*; Ru 1.16 תֵּלְכִי בְּאֲשֶׁר תֵּלְכִי *where you will sojourn*; (ib.) אֶל-אֲשֶׁר תֵּלְכִי *whither you will be going*; 1Kg 18.12 עַל-אֲשֶׁר לֹא-אֲדָע *whither I do not know*; Ex 5.11 מֵאֲשֶׁר תִּמְצָאוּ *where you can find (some) from*.

(1) By assimilation of the antecedent to the relative clause we have אל for ב in Gn 20.13 אֶל-כָּל-הַמָּקוֹם אֲשֶׁר נָבֹא שָׁמָּה *in every place we shall go to* (שָׁמָּה = אֶלְיוֹ).

(2) The last two instances have been mentioned by M.H. Goshen-Gottstein, *JBL* 68 (1949) 44. Also perhaps Ec 3.11; Is 43.3f.; 47.13; Ez 23.40; art. cit., 45f., and see also BDB, s.v. אשר, 2.

(3) Apart from this case: Is 47.12 יָנַעַתְּ בְּאֲשֶׁר יָנַעַתְּ *with which you tired yourself* (exceptional for בְּהֵם ... אשר).

n N.B. 1) **Syllepsis of the person.** Hebrew generally uses the same person in the relative clause as in its antecedent: Gn 15.7 אֲנִי יְהוָה *I am Y., who has led you out*; Ex 20.2 (Dt 5.6); Jdg 13.11 אֲשֶׁר הוֹצֵאתִיךָ *are you the man who spoke?*; 1Kg 13.14; — Gn 45.4 אֲנִי יוֹסֵף אֲחִיכֶם אֲשֶׁר-מְכַרְתֶּם אֹתִי *I am Joseph your brother whom you sold (me)*; Nu 22.30; Is 49.23; — after a vocative: Is 41.8 *And*

you Israel, my servant, Jacob whom I have chosen (you) יַעֲקֹב אִשְׂרָאֵל; בְּחַרְתִּיךָ but, e.g. 54.1 לֹא יִלְדָה עֲקָרָה רְנִי rejoice, barren woman, who has not given birth; Ez 26.17; 29.3⁽¹⁾.

(1) The sudden change from the 2nd to the 3rd person also occurs, apart from this case, e.g. in Ez 26.3-4; 28.22; 32.12 (texts which one is well advised not to "correct").

2) **Paronomasia in relative clause.** The use of the same word in the main clause and the relative clause express certain nuances of indeterminateness (a figure of speech called *idem per idem*)(¹): 2Kg 8.1 גִּוְרֵי גִּוְרֵי בְּאֶשֶׁר תִּגְוֹרֵי sojourn where you will sojourn (= where you wish, never mind where); 1Sm 23.13 וַיִּתְהַלְּכוּ בְּאֶשֶׁר יִתְהַלְּכוּ they walked about at random; 2Sm 15.20 אֲנִי הֹלֵךְ וְאֲנִי לֹא יוֹדֵעַ I go I know not where; Ex 33.19 אֲנִי אֶהְיֶה רַחֵם לְמִי אֲשֶׁר אֲחַל I will be gracious to whom I will; Ex 4.13 שְׁלֵחַ אֶת־מִי שֶׁתִּשְׁלַח send whomever you wish.

(1) Similar phenomena in our languages: *J'ai composé un livre qui vaut ce qu'il vaut. Je suis bien loin de savoir tout; mais cependant je sais ce que je sais* (= *quelque chose*) (= I have written a book which is worth what it is worth. I am far from claiming to know everything, but I do know what I know, i.e. something). — *We shall see what we shall see* (= *nous verrons ce que nous verrons*). — *A chi la tocca, la tocca* (= *if the cap fits, wear it*).

3) Although the use of אֲשֶׁר is rather flexible(¹), Hebrew does not link two principal clauses with אֲשֶׁר, as is economically done in our languages(²) by means of, say, *who*. This *who*, which is equivalent to *and he*, must be rendered by a Waw (followed, or not, by an independent pronoun) and a verbal form. Thus a sentence such as *She ate from it and gave from it to her husband, who ate from it* must be rendered וַתֹּאכַל וַתִּתֵּן לְאִשְׁתָּהּ וַיֹּאכַל (cf. Gn 3.6). Comp. § b for the double construction for the *weight* and the *name*, and § 159 d.

(1) Three אֲשֶׁר's in succession Gn 49.30 *qui ... qui ... quem*.

(2) E.g.: *Un Lorrain ne comprend pas un Picard qui ne comprend pas un Berrichon* (= a native of Lorraine does not understand a native of Picard who does not understand a native of Berry) (A. Meillet).

אֲשֶׁר can relate to the entire idea expressed by the main clause: Jer 7.31 "... in order to burn their sons and their daughters in the fire, אֲשֶׁר לֹא צִוִּיתִי which I did not command..."; cf. § 152 c.

On the relative clause with אֲשֶׁר in the *casus pendens*, see § 156 k.

The word-order after אֲשֶׁר is generally S—P in nominal clause (§ 154

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p

q

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s

f), and V—S in verbal clause (§ 155 m).

- t אשר may not be immediately preceded by its antecedent: e.g. Jdg 21.19 הַיְהוָה חַג־יְהוָה בְּשִׁלּוֹ מִיָּמִים יָמִימָה אֲשֶׁר מִצְפּוֹנָה לְבֵית־אֵל *behold, there is the yearly feast of the Lord at Shiloh, which is north of Bethel*; Is 29.22 כֹּה־אָמַר יְהוָה אֶל־בֵּית יַעֲקֹב אֲשֶׁר פָּדָה אֶת־אֲבְרָהָם *thus said the Lord to the house of Jacob who had redeemed Abraham*; 2Kg 12.3 וַיַּעַשׂ יְהוֹאָשׁ הַיְשָׁר בְּעֵינֵי יְהוָה כֹּל־יָמָיו אֲשֶׁר הוֹרְהוּ יְהוֹיָדָע הַכֹּהֵן *and Jehoiada did what was right in the eyes of the Lord, that which Jehoiada the priest had instructed him*⁽¹⁾.

(1) These and other relative clauses are treated as cases of after-thought by M.H. Goshen-Gottstein : see *JBL* 68 (1949) 38-41.

- u Occasionally a relative clause is rather long, obscuring the syntactic relationship between what precedes it and what follows it: e.g. 1Ch 17.21 לְגַרֵּשׁ מִפְּנֵי עַמָּה אֲשֶׁר־פָּדִיתָ מִמִּצְרַיִם גּוֹיִם *to drive out nations from before your people whom you redeemed from Egypt*.

§ 159. Circumstantial clause

- a The circumstantial clause can be understood in a broader or narrower sense⁽¹⁾. Here we shall be content to give the main general types of circumstantial clause, since certain categories, notably the circumstantial clause of time, have to be treated separately.

The circumstantial clause plays a role analogous to the predicative accusative (§ 126 a). Just as we say דָּוִד יָצָא בֹכָה *David went out crying* (comp. Nu 16.27; Jer 17.25; 1Ch 15.28; 2Ch 5.6), we can say with an asyndetic clause (without Waw) דָּוִד יָצָא עוֹדְנוֹ בֹכָה *David went out still crying* (literally: *he [was] still crying*), or with a copulative clause (with Waw) דָּוִד יָצָא וְהוּא בֹכָה *David went out and he was crying*.

(1) König does not interpret as circumstantial many clauses considered as such by Driver and other grammarians. Sometimes it is not easy to see whether a given clause (especially participial) is purely circumstantial; it can form a sort of more or less independent parenthesis, or it can even be totally independent.

On the circumstantial clause in general, see Driver, *Tenses*, pp. 195-211; Andersen, *Sentence*, pp. 77-91.

- b I. Asyndetic clause: *nominal clause*: Gn 12.8 וַיֵּט אָהֳלָהּ בֵּית־אֵל מִיָּם

וְהָעִי מִקָּדֶם *he pitched his tent, Bethel (being for him) to the west and Ai to the east*; 32.12 וְיָבֹא וְהִכְנִי אִם עַל-בָּנִים *lest he should come and smite me, mother with children*⁽¹⁾; 2Sm 18.14 וַיִּתְקַעַם בְּלֵב אַבְשָׁלוֹם עוֹרְנוֹ *he thrust them into the heart of Absalom, (while he was) still alive*; Ex 22.9 אֵין רְאָה *should he die ... without there being any witness*; 22.13 אוֹ-מֵת בְּעַלְיוֹ אֵין עֲמוֹ *or die in the absence of its owner*; 2Ch 30.16 וַיַּעֲמְדוּ ... הַכֹּהֲנִים זֹרְקִים אֶת-הַדָּם *they stood ..., the priests sprinkling the blood*.

(1) It is perhaps on the analogy of these clauses that we have the predicate of the type אֵין-פְּנִים אֶל-פְּנִים; cf. § 126 f.

Verbal clause: Gn 44.12 וַיִּחְפֹּשׂ בְּגִדוֹל הַחֵל וּבִקְטָן כְּלֵה *he searched (them), beginning with the eldest and finishing with the youngest*⁽¹⁾; Is 5.11 הוּי מְשִׁימֵי בַבֶּקֶר שִׁכָּר יִרְדְּפוּ *How unfortunate for those who arise early in the morning, chasing after strong drinks!*; with negation: Lv 1.17 וְשָׁפַע אֹתוֹ בְּכַנְפָּיו לֹא יִבְדִּיל *he shall tear (the bird) by its wings without separating them*.

(1) But according to König, *Genesis*, ad loc., a parenthetic expression; cf. his *Syntax*, § 370 m.

II. Copulative clause (with Waw): nominal clause (very common): With participle: Gn 18.1 וַיֵּרָא אֵלָיו יְהוָה בְּאֵלֵי נִי מִמְרָא וְהוּא יֹשֵׁב פְּתַח-הָאֵקֶל *Y. appeared to him in the oak-grove(?) of Mamre as he sat at the entrance of his tent*. (On this type of temporal clause with a ptc., cf. § 166 h); 15.2 מֵה-תִּתֶּן-לִי וְאֲנֹכִי הוֹלֵךְ עֲרִירִי *what could you give me, when I am going childless?*; with אֵין (frequent): Lv 26.6 וְשָׁכַבְתֶּם וְאֵין מְחַרֵּד *and you will sleep without being scared by anybody*; — Gn 44.34 אֵיךְ אֶעֱלֶה *how could I go up to my father when the child is not with me?* (τοῦ πατρὸς μεθ' ἡμῶν); 24.45 וְהִנֵּה רַבְקָה יֹצֵאת *and now R. went out with her pitcher on her shoulder* (comp. Jer 2.37). After a substantive (instead of an asyndetic relative clause, rather uncommon in simple prose): Is 6.6 וַיָּעַף אֵלַי אֶחָד מֵן- *and one of the seraphs flew towards me, who had in his hand a burning stone*; Jdg 3.16 וַיַּעַשׂ לוֹ אֶהוּד חֶרֶב וְלָהּ שְׁנֵי פִיּוֹת *Ehud made himself a sword which had two cutting edges* (followed by the asyndetic relative clause אֶרְכָּה גֹמֵר *the length of which was a gomed*); with וְשֵׁמוֹ *whose name was*, e.g. 2Sm 20.1 (§ 158 b, n.).

Verbal clause: Gn 18.13 וְהֲאֵין אֲמַנָּם אֵלֶּךְ וְאֵין זָקֻנִי *is it that I shall* e

truly give birth, being old as I am? ; 24.56 אֶל־תִּאָחֲזוּ אֹתִי וַיְהוּהוּ הַצְּלִיחַ *do not hold me back, because Y. has made my travel succeed.*

- f* N.B. On the other hand, a nominal or verbal clause with Waw forms a sort of parenthesis and precedes the main clause as in Gn 13.2 וַאֲבָרָהָם *now Abraham was very rich ...* ; 24.16 *now the young girl was very beautiful...*; Jon 3.3 *now Nineveh was an enormous city*; Gn 48.10 וְעַיְנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל כָּבְדוּ מֵ־זָקֵן *now the eyes of Israel were heavy because of old age*; Josh 4.10 "whilst the priests ... stood (עֹמְדִים) in the middle of the Jordan ... the people hurriedly crossed over (וַיַּעֲבְרוּ)." This same type of clause is also found used in an independent fashion: 1Kg 1.1 (at the very beginning of a narrative) *now King David was old, advanced in age*; Gn 37.3 *now Israel loved Joseph more than all his sons*; Ex 19.18 *now the mountain of Sinai was all smoking.*

§ 160. Negative clause

- a* The usual negatives are: I לֹא in a verbal clause (sometimes also in a nominal clause, and with an isolated noun); II אַל in a negative imperative, i.e. prohibition; III אֵין, אֵין in a nominal clause; IV לֹבֵלְתִי, negative of the infinitive construct. Rare and poetic are the negatives V בִּל; VI בְּלִי; VII בְּלֵתִי. The negatives VIII טָרַם and IX אָפַס possess a peculiar nuance.
- b* I. לֹא (אֹ, אֹט) is used especially in **verbal clauses**: before the finite forms of the perfect and the future indicative: 2Kg 17.26a לֹא יָדְעוּ *they do not know* (contr. 26 *b* אֵין יָדְעִים *they do not know*, in a nominal clause).
- But לֹא is sometimes used also in **nominal clauses**, particularly when there is some emphasis or when the negation relates to a word other than the predicate. Thus there is an element of emphasis in Gn 7.2 וּמִן־הַבְּהֵמָה *and from the animals which themselves are not clean* (the unclean animals, from which two pairs only are taken, are contrasted with the clean animals from which seven pairs are taken; comp. with vs. 8, which has no nuance of contrast, within a simple listing וּמִן הַבְּהֵמָה אֵין נִבְנָה טְהוֹרָה⁽¹⁾). The negative relates to a word other than the predicate in Ez 36.32 לֹא לְמַעַנְכֶם אֲנִי־עֹשֶׂה *it is not because of you that I act*. In those cases where the independent pronoun (אֲנִי etc.) must be expressed, אֵין (אֵינְנוּ etc.) can not be used, hence the use of לֹא: Nu

35.23 והוא לא-אויב לו ולא מבקש רעתו *when he was not his enemy and did not wish him any harm* [והוא is influenced by the circumstantial character of the clause⁽²⁾]; Dt 4.42 (19.4); in a parenthetical clause: 2Sm 21.2 והגִּבְעֹנִים לא מבני ישראל הִמָּה *now the Gibeonites were not children of Israel*; — Jer 4.22 והִמָּה ולא נבונים הִמָּה *they are senseless sons and they are not wise* (the second הִמָּה is required by the symmetry).

(1) Thus *pace* Bendavid, 2.782, who sees here a mere MH-type variant.

(2) לא, with a participle, is therefore not "very abnormal" here (against Driver, *Tenses*, § 162, n.).

Generally speaking, לא before a nominal predicate (substantive, adjective, participle, or prepositional phrase) negates the latter more forcefully than אין would do, whether this predicate stands at the beginning of a clause or not:

At the beginning of a clause: Nu 23.19 אל ויכזב *God is not man that he should lie*; also with a substantive: Ex 4.10; 1Sm 15.29; Am 7.14; with an adjective: 1Kg 19.4 לא טוב אנכי מאבותי *for I am not better than my forefathers*; with a participle: Job 12.3 לא-נפל אנכי מכם *I am not at all inferior to you*; — not at the beginning of a clause: participle: 2Sm 3.34; Ez 4.14.

At times we find לא used for some special reason, e.g. Ps 38.15 (perh. in order to avoid two אין's; also 74.9; Job 28.14); Dt 28.61 אשר לא כתוב *which is not written* (לא simpler here than אין, which would mean: *which is found not written in this book*). Cf. Ez 36.31 דיבריכם והרעים ומעלליכם אשר לא-טובים.

לא as the negative of an isolated noun: attributive participle: Jer 2.2 לא יזרע לא בארץ *in a land which cannot be sown*; 18.15; adjective: Dt 32.6 עמ נבל ולא חכם *a base and senseless people*; substantive: Dt 32.21 לא-אל *a non-god* (= a false god, § k).

The position of לא is immediately before the verb. But this normal order can be relinquished, especially for the sake of emphasis. Thus we find לא—Pred.—Verb in Nu 16.29 לא יהוה שלחני *it is not Y. who has sent me*; Is 38.18; — לא before a determination: Ps 49.18 לא במותו כי לא יקח הכל *for on his death he will not take anything*.

II. לא (μή; La. *ne*) is the negative of prohibition⁽¹⁾. It is used with the forms of the direct volitive: jussive, cohortative (but not the im-

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perative): Ex 34.3 אֵל-יִרְאֵשׁ אֵל-יִרְאֵשׁ *let nobody appear!*; 1Kg 13.22 אֵל-תֹּאכַל *do not eat* (contr. vss. 9, 17 לֹא תֹאכַל *you shall not eat*; cf. § 114 i); — 2Sm 24.14 אֵל אֶפְלֶה *may I not fall!* cf. § 114 c, i.

N.B. 1) In poetry we encounter some cases where אֵל is used instead of אֶל, whether in order to give a more energetic nuance or for stylistic embellishment. See the examples in § 114 k.

2) On the use of אֶל with the indicative instead of אֵל with a volitive in order to express a purpose or result, cf. § 116 j.

3) The **position** of אֵל (like that of אֶל, § e) is immediately before the verb. Exceptions, for the sake of emphasis: Ps 6.2 אֵל-בְּאַפְּךָ תוֹכִיחֵנִי *Do not reprimand me with anger*; cf. 38.2; Is 64.8; Jer 15.15.

(1) On אֶל sometimes used in the sense of אֵל, cf. § 168 g, n.

For a fuller description of the usage of אֵל, see E. Qimron in art. cit. [§ 113 m], pp. 473-82.

g III. אֵינִי, אֵינִי *there is not, it is not* is a negative adverb of existence (cf. § 154 k)(1). אֵינִי, the original meaning of which is *where?*, is used in two different ways: 1) to negate the presence of something in a given place: *it is not there* (opposite of *שָׁם it is there*, § 154 k) as in Gn 37.29 בְּבוֹר יוֹסֵף אֵינִי-יֹסֵף בְּבוֹר, or to negate the existence of something absolutely as in Ex 2.12 וַיִּרְא כִּי אֵינִי אִישׁ ; (2) to negate the veracity of a statement expressed with a nominal clause as in אֵינִי שֹׁמֵעַ *I do not hear* (Is 1.15); comp. Dt 4.12 וְתִמְוֹנָה אֵינְכֶם קוֹל דְּבָרִים אֲתֶם שֹׁמְעִים וְתִמְוֹנָה אֵינְכֶם *you were hearing a sound of words, but you were not seeing any form*—אֵינִי is the usual negation of the nominal clause (אֶל is hardly used in nominal clauses except for some special reason, § b).

(1) A description of the syntax of this BH negative adverb may be found in Muraoka, *Emphatic*, pp. 102-11.

h Beside the full (uncontracted) form אֵינִי, there is the contracted, light form אֵינִי(1). The **full form** אֵינִי occurs: 1) when אֵינִי is used on its own: Nu 13.20 אֵינִי-אִם-עֵץ בָּהּ וְהָיָה *whether there is wood in it (i.e. the land) or not*; Ex 17.7; — 2) when אֵינִי is separated from the word which follows by a disjunctive accent of medium force, and the noun for the object whose existence is negated is indeterminate: Gn 2.5 וְאָדָם אֵינִי לְעֹבֵד וְאֵת-הָאָדָם *and there was not a man to till the land*.

The **contracted form** אֵינִי is the linking form. It occurs: 1) when אֵינִי

is at the beginning of a clause: Gn 31.50 **אֵין אִישׁ עִמָּנִי** (conjunctive accent); 2) when **אֵין**, though not at the beginning, is united with the following word by a conjunctive accent or by a weak disjunctive accent: Gn 19.31 **וְאִישׁ אֵין בְּאָרְץ** (conj. accent *mhuppâh*); 47.13 **וְלֹחֶם אֵין בְּכֹל-** (disj. accent. *paštâ*).

N.B. The negated word put at the beginning, before **אֵין**, and indeterminate⁽²⁾, usually carries some degree of emphasis: 2Kg 4.14 **אֵין בֶּן אֵין** *But she has no son* (literally: *a son, she has none*; contr. Gn 11.30 **אֵין לָהּ וְלָד**).

(1) Compare **שָׁנִים, שָׁנִים**, § 100 c.

(2) See Muraoka, *Emphatic*, pp. 102-4.

Examples: With an adjective: Gn 7.8 **וּמִן הַבְּהֵמָה אֲשֶׁר אֵינָנָה טְהוֹרָה** *and from the animals which are not clean* (contr. vs. 2 with **לֹא**, § b). (Examples with adjectives are rare).

With a (predicative) active participle: Gn 39.23 **אֵין שׂר בֵּית הַסֵּהר רֹאֶה** *the warden of the prison did not pay attention*; 2Kg 17.26b **אֵין יָדְעִים** *they did not know* (contr. 26a **לֹא יָדְעוּ**, § b).

With a (predicative) passive participle: Ex 3.2 **וְהַסֵּנֶה אֵינָנוּ אֲכָל** *and the bush was not consumed* (§ 58 b); 5.16 **אֵין נָתַן לְעַבְדֶּיךָ** *straw is not given to your slaves*.

N.B. 1) **אֵין** followed by an indeterminate noun and a participle or adjective forms an equivocal construction⁽¹⁾. Thus **אֵין מֶלֶךְ שׁוֹמֵעַ** can mean *there is no king who hears* (attributive participle) or *a king does not hear* (predicative participle): 1Kg 6.18 **אֵין אֶבֶן נִרְאָה** means rather *there was no stone that was visible*; cp. 1Sm 3.1; Ec 8.8 **אֵין אָדָם שְׁלִיט בְּרוּחַ**.

2) Occasionally we meet with a striking unsuffixed form of **אֵין** with a determinate subject: Lv 13.31 **וְהָיָה אֵין מֵן-הָעוֹר עֲמֹק מִן-הָעוֹר** *what is visible of it is no deeper than the skin*; 1Kg 21.15 **אֵין נָבוֹת חַי** *Naboth is not alive*; even where the subject heads the clause as in Lv 13.32 **וּמֵן-הָעוֹר עֲמֹק מִן-הָעוֹר** (cf. vs. 34) and Ex 22.13 **בְּעֵלְיוֹ אֵין עֵמוֹ** (circumstantial clause, so at Jdg 13.9; 16.15). Cf. Ne 4.17 **אֵין-אֲנַחְנוּ פִּשְׁטִים בְּגִרְיָנוּ**; Ez 8.12 **אֵין יְהוָה רֹאֶה אֲתָנוּ**.

3) For **אֵין** with suffixes, cf. § 102 k.

(1) Cf. Muraoka, *Emphatic*, pp. 106f.

The choice of the negative used absolutely is governed by the rules already given. In an answer we find, in Hg 2.12, **לֹא** with a verb under-

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stood and in the indicative; Ru 1.13 לֹא with a jussive understood⁽¹⁾; Jdg 4.20 אֵין in the sense of *there is not*.

After אֹא, in a disjunctive question⁽²⁾, we usually find לֹא: Gn 24.21 הֲאֵין יְהוָה יְהוּדֵינוּ; after a nominal clause: 27.21 הֲאֵין יְהוָה יְהוּדֵינוּ; and even after שׁ in the sense of *he is*: 24.49 אֵין שׁ; but we find אֵין after שׁ in the sense of *there is*: Ex 17.7 הֲאֵין יְהוָה בְּקֶרְבְּכֶם; Nu 13.20. Outside the disjunctive question, לֹא or אֵין is used depending on whether a finite form or ptc., respectively, is understood: 1Sm 2.16 (תִּתֵּן understood) וְאֵין; Gn 30.1 וְאֵין (= אֵין נִתֵּן); also וְאֵין after a finite verb: Ex 32.32; Jdg 9.15; 2Kg 2.10.

Before the infinitive construct with ל we find אֵין and לֹא with very much similar nuances: Esth 4.2 אֵין לָבוֹא *it was not allowable to enter (one did not have the right, permission)*; Ec 3.14 אֵין לְהוֹסִיף *impossible to add*; 1Ch 15.2 לֹא לְשָׂאת *it is not permissible to carry*; 5.1 לֹא לְהִתְיַחַשׁ *it was impossible to enrol*.

On לֹא and אֵין with כֹּל, cf. § k.

(1) See E. Qimron, art. cit. [§ 113 m], pp. 472-75.

(2) Cf. Driver *Notes* ad 2Sm 17.6.

k **Opposite and conflicting** notions are less sharply distinguished than in our languages. Thus שׂוֹנֵא *to hate* can be used where we would say *not to love*, e.g. Gn 29.31; and conversely *not to command* may be used where we would say *to prohibit*⁽¹⁾, e.g. Dt 17.3. The phrases combining the negative לֹא and כֹּל *every* are ambiguous: the meaning can be *not every* or *none*. Thus in Gn 3.1 the context requires: *you may not eat from every tree* rather than *from any tree*; Lv 16.2 *he is not to come into the sanctuary at any time (he wishes) (not ever)*. But the usual sense is *nothing, none*: Ps 49.18 *for on his death he will not take anything with him* (§ e); Gn 9.11 *no flesh*; Ex 10.15 *no greenery*; 12.16 כֹּל-מְלֶאכֶה לֹא- *one shall not do any work*. — Likewise with אֵין: 2Sm 12.3 וְלֹא- *the poor had nothing*; Ec 1.9; Dn 1.4; Hb 2.19 וְכֹל-רֹחַ אֵין *but no breath is in him*⁽²⁾.

Similarly לֹא affecting a single noun (§ d) can produce two different nuances: Is 31.8 שׂוֹנֵא-אִישׁ *someone who is not man*, or: Dt 32.21 לֹא-אֵל *a non-god (= a false god)*.

(1) As a matter of fact, BH lacks a verb equivalent to *to prohibit*; we say, e.g. Gn

3.11 צִוִּיתִי לִבְלֹתָי *I ordered not to (= I forbade to)*. We even find וַיִּצַח in the sense of *to prohibit* Dt 4.23 (and 2.37?).

(2) An example with לִבְלֹתָי (§ 1): Gn 4.15 *in order that nobody, on finding him, should kill him* (contr. vs. 14).

IV. לִבְלֹתָי is the usual negative of the **infinitive construct**, § 124 e l
 (on the form, cf. § 93 q). Very occasionally לִבְלֹתָי is used as conjunction before a yiqtol (*ad non [quod] = ut non = ne*): Ex 20.20 לִבְלֹתָי לְתַחַטָּא *so that you may not sin*; 2Sm 14.14†. (The perfects of Jer 23.14 and 27.18 are incorrect)(¹).

(1) Before the infinitive construct we also have מִבְּלֹתָי Nu 14.16 (but Dt 9.28 מִבְּלֹתָי); עַד-בְּלֹתָי Nu 21.35.

In addition to these very common negatives, we also find three relatively rare and almost exclusively poetic negatives בְּלֹ, בְּלִי, בְּלֹתָי, all three from the root בלה (cf. § 93 q), for the detailed use of which one may consult dictionaries. m

V. בֹּל (69 x) is a poetic synonym of אֵל(¹), which one finds quite often repeated in certain passages, e.g. seven times in Is 26.10-18. It is used especially with the Nifal future יִמוּט (from מוט): Ps 10.6 בֹּל יִמוּטָא *I shall not totter*. Before an adjective: Pr 24.23; before a preposition: 23.7; Ps 16.2?.

VI. בְּלִי does not seem to be found in prose except in Gn 31.20?. It is a rather rare synonym of אֵל: before a perfect Is 14.6; a future Job 41.18; a participle Ho 7.8; Ps 19.4; an adjective 2Sm 1.21.

VII. בְּלֹתָי (without ל) does not seem to be found, instead of בְּלִי, except in Is 14.6 before a substantive; 1Sm 20.26? before an adjective (but rather suspect in this text of plain prose).

(1) This negative particle is often used in MH in halachic discussions, replacing אֵל in Biblical texts under discussion.

To all these negatives with a general sense of, *no, not* we must add two more, דַּמְּךָ and סִפְּךָ, which have special meanings. n

VIII. דַּמְּךָ *not yet*: nearly always with the yiqtol in the sense of the past (§ 113 j); in the sense of the present: Ex 9.30; 10.7.

IX. סִפְּךָ *there is no more*(¹) is very rare in prose (2Sm 9.3 with עוֹד: *is there no more...?*). This is a negative, like אֵין, carrying the notion of non-existence, but usually with the added nuance of *still more* (hence = עוֹד אֵין): Is 5.8 עַד אִפְּסֵם מְקוֹם *until there is no more place*. In

the sentence **עוֹד וְאֶפְסִי אֲנִי** Zeph 2.15; Is 47.8,10†, the *i* appears to be the suffix and not the paragogic *i*. The expression can be translated literally as "Me, and *my exclusivity* still (is)," that is to say "Me, and me exclusively (= only me), I exist!"(2).

(1) For the notion of *no longer* ... with a verb, antonym(?) of *not yet* ..., there is no simple particle corresponding to **עוֹד**; the form used for this notion is **לֹא עוֹד**.

(2) Cf. P. Joüon in *MUSJ* 5 (1911) 408.

- o** **Observation** on the negatives **לֹא**, **אֵין**, **בְּלִי** with the force of *without*. Each of these negatives followed by a noun can form a sort of asyndetic curtailed relative clause which serves as an attribute to the preceding noun. Alongside the usual construction as in Job 38.26b **בּוֹ אֵין אָדָם** *a desert where there is no man*, we find 26a **אֵין אָדָם לְאֵשׁ** *a land without men*; cf. below, § *oa*. The negative is virtually equivalent to *without*. The examples are almost always poetic: with **לֹא**: 2Sm 23.4 *morning without a cloud*; Job 12.24; 26.2b; 1Ch 2.30, 32; — with **אֵין**: Is 9.6; Ho 7.11; Ps 88.5; — with **בְּלִי** Job 24.10.

These negative phrases replace the negative adjectives such as *innumerable*, ἀν-αρίθμητος, e.g. Jl 1.6 (after an adjective) **עָצוּם וְאֵין גּוֹי** ... *ἔθνος ἰσχυρὸν καὶ ἀναρίθμητον*; Is 59.10 (parallel to an adjective); with a preposition: Is 40.29; Job 26.2a,3.

- oa** **לֹא**, usually with a noun in the singular, may signify categorical negation: Nu 23.23 **לֹא-נִחַשׁ בִּיעֻקֵּב וְלֹא-קִסָּם בְּיִשְׂרָאֵל** *there is no single case of enchantment in Jacob nor a single case of divination in Israel*; Job 29.12 **לֹא-עֵזָר לִּי** (cf. Ps 72.12 **לֹא-אֵין עֵזָר לִּי**); Job 18.17,19; 21.9; 33.9; Is 53.2; Jer 10.14; 49.31; 51.17; 1Kg 12.16; 22.17(1). So also perh. the striking syntagm **לֹא** + inf. abs. + verb. fin. (see § 123 *o*).

(1) This use corresponds to what is known as *lā nāfiyatu l-jins* in Classical Arabic, which actually occurs in many of the passages here listed in an Arabic Bible put out by Beirut Jesuits in Jerusalem in 1876.

- p** **General observations.** 1) The negative is sometimes **pleonastic**. Thus after a **לֹא** in a privative or negative sense (§ 133 *e* end): Is 5.9 **מֵאַיִן יוֹשֵׁב** *in such a way as there may not be any inhabitant*; likewise Jer 2.15 **מִבְּלִי יֹשֵׁב**. There is a double negation in the locution **אֵין מִבְּלִי אֵין** *is it because of the lack of ...?* Ex 14.11; 2Kg 1.3,6,16. In Zeph 2.2 **בְּטָרָם לֹא-יבֹא** the extraordinary **לֹא** is pleonastic, like the *ne* in Fr. *avant*

qu'il (ne) vienne "before he comes" and the analogous Japanese negative in *kare ga konai* (= "not come") *uti ni* "before he comes."

2) The negative of a verb can extend its force to a second juxtaposed verb: Ex 28.43 וְיִצְוּן וְיִשְׂאָרְוּ? אֲלֵיךְ *so that they may not bear the consequence of a crime and not die* (Lv 22.9, 15-16); Is 23.4; 28.27; 38.18; 47.14; Ps 9.19; 35.19; 38.2; 44.19; 75.6. For the case of the conditional clause, cf. § 167 *t*.

q

§ 161. Interrogative sentence

A question can be genuine or merely rhetorical⁽¹⁾, in which latter case no reply is called for. It can become partially or even totally exclamatory⁽²⁾.

a

A question, even when genuine, can be indicated, as in our languages, merely by the rising intonation: 1Kg 1.24 הֲאֵלֶיךָ הָאֵלֶּה *have you ordered?*; 2Kg 9.11 הֲיָדַעְתָּ? הֲיָדַעְתָּ *do you know?* (the interrogative sense of which is not widely recognised). Sometimes the question appears further indicated by the word-order: 1Sm 16.4 בָּאֵלֶיךָ הֲיָדַעְתָּ? *is your visit friendly?* (but with הֲ in 1Kg 2.13 with the same word-order); 2Sm 18.29 (with הֲ in vs. 32). The omission of the interrogative הֲ is common after ו introducing an opposition: Job 2.10 לֹא וְאֵת־הָרָע לֹא וְנִקְבַּלְנוּ *and shall we not receive evil?* This type of sentence is particularly frequent with a pronoun: Jdg 14.16 "I have not told it to my father nor to my mother וְאֵת־הָרָע לֹא וְנִקְבַּלְנוּ *and am I to reveal it to you?*"; 11.23; 2Sm 11.11; Is 37.11; Jer 25.29; 45.5; 49.12; Ez 20.31.

(1) The very extensive use of the interrogative form is a stylistic trait peculiar to Hebrew; see, e.g. Ex 32.12 (Vulg.: *Ne quaeso dicant Aegyptii*); 2Sm 13.26, which can hardly be translated as a question, but *there is no reason why he should go with you* (cf. Ehrlich, *Randglossen* ad Gn 44.7). On the evolution of the sense of הֲלֵל, cf. § *h*.

(2) One can so explain the term הֲתַמְתִּי הֲ"ה *Heh of surprise* used by certain Jewish grammarians to designate the interrogative הֲ (§ 102 *l*, n.). See also Muraoka, *Emphatic*, pp. 118f.

The adverb הֲ, which is common for questions, sometimes has an exclamatory nuance, which on account of its relative infrequency, goes easily unnoticed⁽¹⁾: Gn 3.11 *you have indeed eaten!*; Nu 20.10 (probably) *Well, it is from this rock that we shall bring forth water!*; 31.15 *Why, you let all the women live!*; 1Sm 2.27 *Certainly I have revealed myself*

b

to your father's house!; 1Kg 18.17 *here you are, destroyer of Israel!*; 21.19 *You have then killed and taken possession!*; 22.3 *You know very well that ... !*; Jer 7.9 *Why, stealing, killing ... !*; Am 5.25 *Indeed, you offered me sacrifices and oblations in the wilderness!*; Jon 4.4 *you are really angry!*; Hg 2.19 *Surely, the seed is still in the sheath*; Ru 1.19 *this is indeed Naomi!* It is to be noted that the exclamatory force is recognisable in all the examples of תָּאֵיךְ 1Kg 20.13; 21.29; Jer 3.6; Ez 8.12,15,17; 47.6, and of מִתָּאֵיךְ (dagesh, § 102 *m* end) 1Sm 10.24; 17.25; 2Kg 6.32⁽²⁾.

(1) In speech, same words are quite often used both for a question and for an exclamation, e.g. *What man?* and *What a man!*; *How many are already dead?* and *How many are already dead!*. In Hebrew the interrogative pronoun מַה *what?* and the adverb כִּי־אֵיךְ *How?* are also used as exclamatives (§ 162 *a*).

(2) St Jerome sometimes does not translate as a question: *Certe vides* Ez 8.12; *certe vidisti* 8.15,17; 47.6. Comp. Lk 7.44 $\beta\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\pi\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ $\tau\alpha\upsilon\tau\eta\nu$ $\tau\eta\nu$ $\gamma\upsilon\nu\alpha\acute{\iota}\kappa\alpha$; *you see this woman!*

c Likewise אֵלֶיךָ (Lat. *nonne?*) is sometimes used with a certain exclamatory nuance⁽¹⁾: Jdg 4.6 *This is what Y. commands!*; 1Sm 20.37 *But the arrow is in front of you!*; 23.19 *Look! David is hiding amongst us!*; quite often to indicate emphatically where a certain thing is located: Dt 11.30 (*Know that*) *these (mountains) are on the other side of Jordan*; Josh 10.13 approximately: *this is written, as is well known, in the book of the Just* (a frequent formula: 1Kg 11.41; 14.29, which is equivalent to the other formula כִּתְּבוּבָה $\text{הַנִּגְּהַ$ 2Sm 1.18; מִכְּתוּבֵי־יָם 1Kg 14.19; 2Kg 15.11; 2Ch 27.7; 32.32 [cf. § 164 *d*]).

(1) Noting that the SH pronunciation of the form /ā'lū/ indicates that the second element was not felt to be identical with the negative, which is always pronounced /lā/, Ben-Hayyim suggests that the form may be akin to the Arm. exclamative אֵלֶיךָ (or אֵיךְ): *LOT*, vol. 5, p. 242. Cp. also AC *allū* (*CAD*, A, Part 1, p. 328). and Ugr. *hl*.

d In a direct question we also find, though rarely, אֵלֶיךָ (which is derived from the form of the indirect question)⁽¹⁾: 1Kg 1.27 *Is it by order of the king that this has been done?*; Is 29.16; — repeated: Am 3.6 (after several הוּא 's); Job 6.12; also אֵלֶיךָ : Jer 48.27; Ps 131.2(?); Job 17.2 (probably); 30.25 (probably).

(1) Comp. Latin: *An venit?*; Germ.: *ob mit Recht?*; Fr.: *est-ce avec raison?*.

e In a **disjunctive** (direct) question we find $\text{וְ$ in the first member; in the second we usually find אֵלֶיךָ (which is derived from the form of the

indirect question), e.g. Josh 5.13 $\text{הֲלֹנֵנוּ אֶתְּכֶם וְלֹא יָדַעְתֶּם לָנוּ$ *are you for us or for our enemies?*; 1Kg 22.15; rather rarely אִם JI 1.2; Job 21.4; rarely אִם Jdg 18.19; Ec 2.19 and (before a ו , perhaps to avoid אִם) 2Kg 6.27; Job 16.3; 38.28,31; — אִם Mal 1.8⁽¹⁾.

N.B. A disjunctive question is sometimes a mere stylistic feature, used in cases of synonymous parallelism, e.g. Gn 37.8; especially in poetry: Is 10.15; Jer 5.29; Job 4.17; 6.5f.; 8.3; 10.4f.; 11.2,7; 22.3.

(1) In the second negative member we have אִם-לֹא or אִם, הֲ § 160 j.

In an **indirect question** we use either the הֲ of direct question or אִם *f*
if. אִם is used especially when there is some verb understood: Ezr 2.59 *they could not prove their family lineage [in such a way as one could see] that they belonged to Israel*; Ex 22.7b *[in such a way as one may know] whether he has put his hand to someone else's goods* (here אִם-לֹא is not that of oath; likewise in 22.10; Job 1.11 *[and we shall see] whether he will not curse you*).

After הֲאֵרָא *to see* we find either הֲ (Ct 6.11) or אִם (7.13 in similar context).

Examples of הֲ : after $\text{עָרַף$ *to know* Dt 8.2; $\text{הֲפָקַד$ *to test* Ex 16.4⁽¹⁾.

Examples of אִם : after $\text{שָׁרַף$ *to seek* 2Kg 1.2; $\text{שָׁקַד$ *to look for* Jer 5.1; $\text{הֲפָקַד$ *to test* Mal 3.10.

For the disjunction we find הֲ in the first member, and in the second: אִם Nu 13.18b β ; הֲ 13.18b α ; אִם Ec 2.19.

(1) Strangely after הֲגִיד *to announce* Gn 43.6.

N.B. Most of the interrogative words are used also in indirect questions, e.g. הַמָּה *what* Nu 13.18a; מִי *who* Gn 43.22; מָתַי *when* Ex 8.5; הַיְּשָׁרָא *where* 1Sm 9.18; Jer 6.16; cf. Ps 121.1 (with a verb understood) יָשָׁרָא *[in order to see] where it will come from*; Josh 2.4. *g*

Specific questions. הַמָּה־לָּמָּה *why?*, which is used in a very loose fashion *h*
 (e.g. Ex 32.12; 2Sm 13.26; cf. § a, n.), borders on the negative *in order ... not*⁽¹⁾: 1Sm 19.17 *let me leave: why should I kill you? = in order that I may not kill you (in case ...)*; 2Sm 2.22. In Late Hebrew, with the relative serving as linkage, it has clearly this sense: Ct 1.7 הַמָּה־לָּמָּה $\mu\eta\pi\omicron\tau\epsilon$; Dn 1.10 הַמָּה־לָּמָּה $\mu\eta\pi\omicron\tau\epsilon$ (= Arm. הַמָּה־לָּמָּה Ezr 7.23; Syr. *dalmā*).

(1) In Arabic /mā/ *what?* is also a negative *... not*. Comp. the transition to the negative sense in הַמָּה־לָּמָּה 1) originally *where?*; 2) *there is not*, § 154 b.

הַמָּה־לָּמָּה *what is the matter with you?* etc. can enter various construc- *i*

tions: with כִּי: 1Sm 11.5 מֵה־לָּעָם כִּי יִבְכוּ *What are the people crying about?*; rarely with ל and infinitive: Ps 50.16 לָּמָּה לְסַפֵּר חֻקֵּי לִי *Why do you speak to me at length about my precepts?*; rarely with participle: Jon 1.6 מֵה־לָּמָּה נִרְדָּם *why are you sleeping?* (attributive accusative of state; cf. § 127 a); comp. Ez 18.2.

j In הֲכִי, which surprisingly corresponds to Fr. *est-ce que?* (literally *num [est] quod?*), the כִּי introduces a subject clause (cf. § 157 a, n.): Job 6.22 אָמַרְתִּי הֲכִי *did I say?*; 2Sm 9.1 יֵשׁ-עוֹד הֲכִי *is there no one more?*; Gn 29.15 *would you, being my brother, serve me for nothing?* (the question, strictly speaking, relates only to the last member; cf. § k); 27.36 *indeed, he was [justly] named Jacob, and (= for) he has already tripped me up twice* (with exclamatory הֲ, § b); with negative: 2Sm 13.28 אֲתָכֶם הֲלוֹא כִּי אֲנֹכִי צִוִּיתִי *is it not I that command you?*; 1Sm 10.1?.

k **General observations.** 1) Sometimes an interrogative word is placed at the beginning of a group of two coordinate members, when, logically, the first member is subordinate and the negative relates only to the second member: Nu 11.22 *if sheep and cows were slaughtered for them, would that be enough for them?* (§ 128 b); also with הֲ Jer 8.4; with הֲכִי Gn 29.15 (§ j); with מָדוּעַ: Is 50.2 *why did I not find anyone when I came?*; 5.4; with מָה: Is 58.3⁽¹⁾. Comp. an analogous phenomenon discussed in §§ 167 t; 168 h; 170 m.

2) On the demonstrative pronoun added to an interrogative word, cf. § 143 g.

3) An interrogative may occupy a non-initial position: e.g. Is 49.21 הֵם אֵיפֹה וְאֵלָּה... וְגַדְלִי *Who raised these?...and where are they?*

(1) Comp. Mt 18.21 ποσάκις ἁμαρτήσῃ εἰς ἐμὲ ὁ ἀδελφός μου καὶ ἀφήσω αὐτῷ;

l **APPENDICES. I. On the answer in particular.** 1) In an affirmative reply, we find the simple repetition of the word to which the question relates: Gn 29.6 וְשָׁלוֹם לוֹ וַיֹּאמְרוּ *Is it well with him? And they said: "Yes"*(1); 1Sm 23.11,12; Jer 37.17; with a change of person: Gn 29.5 הֲיָדַעְתֶּם *Do you know?* יֵרָעוּ *Yes, we do*; 24.58; 27.24; Jdg 13.11; 1Kg 13.14. On the omission of the subject pronoun in the answer, cf. § 146 h.

2) The pronoun is often added in an answer to an invitation and the like; cf. § 146 a 2.

3) On the word-order in the answer, cf. § 154 *g*.

4) In a negative answer a mere negative adverb suffices: Hg 2.12, 13 אֵל; Ru 1.13 לֹא; Jdg 4.20 וְיִשְׁׁלַח (cf. § 160 *j*).

5) For the use of the participle in the answer after a yiqtol in the question, e.g. Gn 37.15,16, cf. §§ 113 *d*, *n*. and 121 *d*(2).

(1) In BH, as in Latin, a standard word for *Yes* is lacking, hence the need to repeat the important word of the question. For וַיַּעַן *yes* in post-Talmudic Hebrew, cf. It. *sì* and Sp. *sí*. In Josh 2.4 ... וַיֹּאמֶר בְּנֵי אֵלֶיךָ, there is no question preceding.

(2) Cf. P. Joüon in *Bib* 2 (1921) 224.

II. Tense of the apodosis with Waw of an interrogative sentence. Although the use of tenses here presents nothing abnormal, we shall bring together the concrete examples explained in the chapter on Tenses. *m*

In order to indicate a **purpose** we use the indirect volitive, namely the cohortative in the 1st pers., the imperative in the 2nd pers., and the jussive in the 3rd pers.: 1Kg 22.7 *Is there no prophet here so that we may ask him?* (וַיִּנְדְּרֵם) (§ 116 *c*); — 2Sm 21.3 *What shall I do for you and how can I expiate so that you may bless* (וַיְבָרֵכֶם) *the inheritance of Yahweh?* (§ 116 *g*); — Jon 1.11 *what should we do to you so that the sea may become calm?* (וַיִּשְׁׁתָּטֵף) (cf. § 116 *e*)(1).

In order to express a **result** Hebrew uses the inverted tenses *w-qatalti* in the sphere of the future and the present, *wayyiqtol* in the domain of the past(2): Ps 80.13 *why have you demolished its wall, as a result of which all passers-by pick grapes?* (וַיִּבְרְאוּ) (§ 119 *e*); Gn 29.15 (§ 161 *j*); 2Kg 5.12; — Gn 12.19 *why did you say that she was your sister, as a result of which I took her as my wife?* (וַיִּקַּח) (§ 118 *h*). We find the indirect volitive in Jer 9.11 *Who is the wise man who understands it?* (וַיִּבְיֵן).

(1) Job 3.11 וַיִּנְדְּרֵם *Why did I not come out of the womb to die? But do I not die?* seems to be more natural.

(2) Ps 144.3 in the sphere of the present; cf. § 118 *h*, *n*.

§ 162. Exclamatory clause

The line between question and exclamation is often ill-defined. Many interrogative words can be used also as exclamatory words (cf. § 161 *b*, *n*). Thus the interrogative וְהֵמָּה: especially with a verb(1): Nu 24.5 וְהֵמָּה *a*

חָבוֹ אֹהֶלְיָיִךְ *How beautiful your tents are!*; Is 52.7 מִה־נָּאוּיִךְ *How beautiful they are!*; Ps 3.2 מִה־רַבּוֹ *How numerous they are!*; — with an adjective: Ps 8.2 מִה־אַדְיָר *How majestic it is!*; 36.8 מִה־יָקָר *how precious it is!*; — with a substantive: Zech 9.17 מִה־טוֹבוֹ *How good it is!*; Mal 1.13.

(1) If there is a choice, the verb is preferred to the adjective.

b Likewise אֵיךְ *How?* is used as exclamative: Ps 73.19; 2Sm 1.25,27; אֵיכָה־לָּךְ Lam 1.1; Is 1.21.

On the ה with exclamatory force, cf. § 161 b.

c A substantive can be used as exclamative: 2Kg 4.19 רֹאשִׁי רֹאשִׁי *O my head, my head!*; Is 29.16 הַפְּכֹכִים *O your perversity!*

d Amongst the most frequent exclamatives one may note הוֹי: 1Kg 13.30 הוֹי אָחִי *Alas, my brother!*; אֹי: Ez 24.6 עִיר הַדָּמִים *Woe to the bloody city!*; with ל: Is 6.5 לִי *Woe to me!* Cf. § 105 b.

e The word קוֹל, *voice, sound*, followed by a genitive, is quite often used as exclamative: *the sound of ...!*, which may be translated by *I hear!*, *Listen!* according to the cases: 1Kg 18.41 הַגֶּשֶׁם *for I hear the sound of the rain*; Ct 2.8 בָּא *I hear my love! Here he comes!*; 5.2 הַדָּבָר *I hear my love knocking* (accusative of state, § 127 a); Is 66.6 מְשֻׁלָּם *קוֹל יְהוָה מְשֻׁלָּם גְּמוּלָה* *קוֹל מִהֵיכָל קוֹל מִהֵיכָל קוֹל יְהוָה מְשֻׁלָּם גְּמוּלָה* *קוֹל שָׂאוֹן מִעִיר קוֹל מִהֵיכָל קוֹל יְהוָה מְשֻׁלָּם גְּמוּלָה* *I hear a noise that comes from the city, a noise that comes from the temple! I hear Y. who renders (acc.) his enemies that which they deserve!*; 40.3 קוֹרָא *קוֹל קוֹרָא* *I hear that someone is crying!*; 13.4; 40.6; 52.8; Jer 8.19; 10.22; 25.36; 50.28; 51.54; Mi 6.9(1).

(1) But Ps 29.3 *The voice of Yahweh on the waters!* This usage of קוֹל could resolve the difficulty of the lack of concord in Gn 4.10 אֶלֶי צַעֲקִים *קוֹל דְּמֵי אָחִיךָ צַעֲקִים אֶלֶי*.

§ 163. Optative clause

a The expression of a wish often resembles that of an exclamation or question.

The commonest and the simplest way of expressing a desire is by using the **volitive mood**.

1st person: Cohortative, especially with אֵן: Dt 3.25 אֵן־תֵּבֶרֶךְ־נִי *May I pass, if you please!* = *I wish to pass or permit me to pass* (§ 114 d); sometimes the form of the cohortative is not chosen: אֵן־נִי *Would that I found favour!* (Gn 34.11; cf. § 114 b, n.).

2nd person: jussive, almost always with אַל: Dt 9.26 אַל־תִּשְׁחַת *Don't destroy!* (§ 114 g). The imperative is also used with optative force, especially with אָנֹכִי: 2Kg 5.22 אָנֹכִי־תִּנְּהֵנָּה *Please give* (§ 114 m).

3rd person: jussive, especially with אָנֹכִי: Gn 26.28 הֲאֵלֶּה נָא תִּהְיֶה *please, may there be an oath.*

Observations: 1) On the word-order within the optative verbal clause, cf. § 155 l.

2) On the perfect with optative force in poetry, cf. § 112 k.

A nominal clause can have optative force; thus, in the greeting formulae: הֲלוֹאָ לְךָ *Greetings to you!* Jdg 6.23 etc.; יהוה עִמָּכֶם *Yahweh be with you!* Ru 2.4† (contr. Jdg 6.12 *Yahweh is with you!*); in blessings and curses: Gn 9.26 בָּרוּךְ יְהוָה *Yahweh be blessed!*; 3.14 אָרוּר אַתָּה *may you be cursed!* (word-order inverted).

Sometimes use is made of the conditional particles אִם and לוֹ *if* (with the indicative): אִם תִּשְׁמַע־לִי *if you would listen to me!* = *I wish you listened to me!*; 95.7; 139.19.

לוֹ with yiqtol (like אִם and without any appreciable difference in meaning) Gn 17.18 לֹא יִשְׁמַעֲלֶיךָ *Would that (at least) Ishmael might live in your sight!*; Job 6.2 (Gn 30.34 לוֹ is doubtful; יְהִי would be the only example of the jussive with לוֹ or אִם)(¹).

לוֹ with qatal, when the wish relates to the past: Nu 14.2 לוֹ־מָתוּנוּ *Oh that we had died in Egypt! (if only we had died!)*; 20.3; Josh 7.7; Is 48.18; 63.19(²).

Finally we once find אֶחָלֵי (§ 105 b, n.) with yiqtol: Ps 119.5 *Ah! I wish they were closed!*; once אֶחָלֵי 2Kg 5.3 before a nominal clause (but a verb could have been left out). Note also the use of אָבִי in Job 34.36 בִּבְחֹן אֵיבֹב *I wish that Job were tested!*

(1) For a discussion on Gn 30.34, see Muraoka, *Emphatic*. p. 116.

(2) In Gn 23.13, לוֹ with imperative appears to be adverbial (*for pity's sake!*); perhaps also read לוֹ in vs. 5 and vs. 11 (where it is separated from the imperative). But is this לוֹ, used in an archaic fashion which confused the copyists, identical with לוֹ *if*?

A wish is sometimes expressed by an exclamatory question: 2Sm 15.4 מִי־יִשְׁלַח־נִי שֹׁפֵט בְּאֶרֶץ *Who is going to appoint me judge in the land?* = *How much do I wish to be appointed judge ...!*; 23.15 מִי יִשְׁלַח־נִי *Ah! would that they gave me something to drink ...!*; Nu 11.4 מִי יִשְׁלַח־נִי *...*

he does not sleep; Gn 12.11 יָדַעְתִּי וְנָא הִנֵּה-נֹא *surely I know*; 16.2; 47.23 (וְהָ); Ez 16.44; Ct 1.6 הֲנִיךָ יָפֶה *indeed, you are handsome*; 4.1.

(1) We use the term *asseverative* rather than *affirmative* (as against *negative*), because the affirmation we are discussing here can have a negative form, e.g. *Surely he does not slumber* (Ps 121.4).

(2) E.g. Gn 17.19 בֵּן לְךָ יֵלֶדֶת אִשְׁתְּךָ וְשָׂרָה אֶבְרָאָה *Surely Sarah your wife is going to bear you a son*; see a discussion in Muraoka, *Emphatic*, pp. 128f.

(3) See Muraoka, *op. cit.*, pp. 133f.

(4) See Muraoka, *op. cit.*, pp. 128f.

(5) Compare the analogous use in Arabic of the corresponding word *'inna* "behold, surely" in the weak sense. Normally this word corresponds rather to כִּי, § *b*. On הִנֵּה, see P. Humbert, "La formule hébraïque *hinne* suivi d'un participe," *RÉJ* 97 (1934) 58-64; C.J. Labuschagne, "The particle הִנֵּה and הִנֵּה," *OudSt* 18 (1973) 1-14; T.O. Lambdin, *Introduction to BH* (New York, 1971), pp. 168-71; Muraoka, *Emphatic*, pp. 137-40; S. Kogut, "On the meaning and syntactical status of הִנֵּה in BH" [in Heb], in M. Bar-Asher (ed.), *Language Studies II-III* (Jerusalem, 1987), pp. 245-58 [= *Scripta Hierosolymitana*, vol. 31 (1986) 133-54]; H.-P. Müller, "Die Konstruktionen mit *hinne* 'siehe' und ihr sprachgeschichtlicher Hintergrund," *ZAH* 2 (1989) 45-76.

Likewise כִּי is sometimes used in order slightly to reinforce an affirmation: it has the force of a weakened *certainly, indeed*, and must usually be left out in translation⁽¹⁾. This כִּי of asseveration occurs especially in solemn asseverations of oath (§ 165 *b, e*) and in the apodosis of conditional clauses (§ 167 *s*). Apart from these cases, it can be identified here and there with greater or lesser certainty, especially when the particle immediately precedes the predicate, e.g. Gn 18.20 כִּי-רַבָּה וַעֲמָרָה וַעֲקֵת סֹדֶם וְגֵרָר *the clamour of S. and G., (indeed) it is great*⁽²⁾; other examples where the כִּי of affirmation is accepted by certain authors are: Is 32.13; Ps 49.16; 77.12; 118.10; La 3.22.

(1) The asseverative force of כִּי derives either from its primary force as a demonstrative (cf. Brock., *GvG*, II, p. 111) or from its use as a relative conjunction (cf. BDB, s.v. כִּי 1,d,e).

(2) Here the כִּי can probably be explained as: (*there is this*), *namely that it is great*; the subject is in *casus pendens* for the sake of emphasis. In addition to our extensive discussion on the alleged emphatic force of this particle in Muraoka, *Emphatic*, pp. 158-64, see B. Bandstra, "The Syntax of particle 'ky' in Bibl. Heb. and Ugaritic," Diss. Yale Univ. 1982, esp. Chapter 2, where the emphatic function of כִּי is totally negated. See now also W.T. Claassen, "Speaker orientated functions of *kî* in Biblical Hebrew," *JNWSL* 11 (1983) 29-46, esp. 30-35 where one will find a convenient survey of a recent debate on the alleged emphatic *kî*, and also A. Aejmelaeus, "Function and interpretation of כִּי in BH," *JBL* 105 (1986) 193-209.

b

- c אִם־כִּי approaches in meaning *surely, definitely* especially in an adjuration: 2Kg 5.20; Jer 51.14 (cf. § 165 e, c); see § 173 c.
- d אֵלֶּה used as an exclamatory particle sometimes assumes a special force of asseveration, e.g. in the formula הֲלֵא הִיא כְּתוּבָה *this is written, as is well known, in ...* Josh 10.13 (cf. § 161 c).
- e The infinitive absolute is often used in order to express asseveration emphatically; cf. § 123 e.
- f On אִם and אִם לֵא with affirmatory force, cf. § 165 j and Muraoka, *Emphatic*, p. 128.
- g The asseverative force under the rather vague notion of 'emphasis' has been attributed by many writers to a wide range of particles: אֵלֶּה, אֵלֶּי, אֵלֶּיךָ, אֵלֶּיךָ, אֵלֶּיךָ, אֵלֶּיךָ, אֵלֶּיךָ (= nota accusativi), ב, בֵּל, גַּם, הֵן/הִנֵּה, ו, כ, כִּי, לֵךְ, לֵךְ(1). In most cases adduced to support the case of 'emphatic' force of one or other of these particles, if a case is made at all, the argument does not hold much water, since it is not made clear precisely what is meant by 'emphasis' nor why an emphatic utterance is called for in the context in question. The notion of 'emphasis' is often invoked rather irresponsibly as a facile panacea for textual or exegetical difficulties of all sorts.
- (1) A comprehensive discussion of the question may be found in Muraoka, *Emphatic*, Ch. 7 [= pp. 113-64]. Add to the literature quoted there, C.H.J. van der Merwe, *The Old Hebrew Particle gam. A Syntactic Description of gam in Gn-2Kg* (St. Ottilien, 1990).

§ 165. Clause of curse and oath

- a I. The curse (שְׁבוּעַת אֲלֵהָ) *maledictory oath* has as its protasis the optative formula כִּה יַעֲשֶׂה (לִי) אֱלֹהִים וְכִה יוֹסִיף *May God do this (to me) and add this!*(1) In the apodosis we find 1) אִם for a negative statement: 2Kg 6.31 אִם יֵעָמֵד *if his head remains on him* (= *certainly it will not remain*); 1Sm 3.17; 25.22; 1Kg 20.10†; — 2) אִם לֵא for a positive statement: 2Sm 19.14 אִם־לֵא ... *if you will not be* (= *you will certainly be*)†. For a positive statement, in addition to אִם לֵא, which is the usual construction, we also find — 3) כִּי: 1Sm 14.44 כִּי מוֹת תָּמוּת *you will surely die*; 1Kg 2.23. This כִּי of asseveration derives from oath clauses, § b, e.

(1) The twelve examples occur in the books of Samuel and Kings (with the exception of

Ru 1.17); 1Sm 3.17; 14.44; 20.13; 25.22; 2Sm 3.9,35; 19.14; 1Kg 2.23; 2Kg 6.31; with plural verbs: 1Kg 19.2 (Jezebel); 20.10 (Benhadad). It ought to be noted that the verbal forms are in the indicative despite the optative sense. In this formula, כה no doubt belongs to the scribe: the person who pronounced the curse had to name the evils which he was calling down upon himself, e.g. illness, loss of goods, death, as is the case in Job 31.8ff.,22. It is not inconceivable that an utterance of this formula was accompanied by some appropriate gesture such as the speaker ominously passing his hand across his own throat. It is thus that כה belongs to the scribe in Nu 23.5; 1Kg 2.30; וְכָזַבְתָּ וְכָזַבְתָּ 1Kg 14.5.

II. An oath or a swearing (שָׁבוּעַ) is optionally preceded by an exclamatory formula. b

A) Without any exclamatory formula, the verb נִשְׁבַּע to swear is used⁽¹⁾; the usual construction is כִּי נִשְׁבַּע to swear that⁽²⁾, for a positive statement: Am 4.2; כִּי נִשְׁבַּעְתִּי Is 45.23; Jer 22.5; 49.13; נִשְׁבַּעְתָּ כִּי 1Kg 1.17. The כִּי, in a similar context, assumes a value of affirmation, hence the use of כִּי certainly even removed from נִשְׁבַּע, e.g. after לֵאמֹר 1Kg 1.13,30. This כִּי has passed into the sentence of oath without נִשְׁבַּע (§ e) and the sentence of imprecation (§ a).

(1) As an equivalent of to swear we have to raise one's hand יָדוּ הָרִים Gn 14.22 etc.

(2) As we say e.g. כִּי הִגִּיד to declare that Gn 3.11; 12.18.

For a positive statement, we also find, albeit rarely, אֵלֶּיךָ, which is derived from imprecation (§ a): Is 14.24. In Jer 51.41 we have כִּי אֵלֶיךָ; cf. § 164 c. c

For a negative statement one does not find כִּי לֹא (which we would have anticipated), but אֵלֶיךָ⁽¹⁾, which derives no doubt from imprecation (§ a): 1Sm 3.14 אֵלֶיךָ אֵלֶיךָ; 2Sm 19.8; Jer 44.26; Ps 89.36; 95.11†; הִשָּׁבַעְתָּ אֵלֶיךָ Gn 21.23; 1Sm 24.22; 30.15†. d

(1) Comp. the Hebraism in Mk 8.12 ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν, εἰ δοθήσεται τῇ γενεᾷ ταύτῃ σημεῖον.

B) With an exclamatory formula: אֲנִי־חַי־אֵלֶיךָ I am alive! = Upon my life!⁽¹⁾; חַי־יְהוָה Y. is alive!; חַי־פַּרְעֹה⁽²⁾ (Upon the) life of Pharaoh!; חַי־נַפְשֶׁךָ Upon your life! e

For a positive statement, Hebrew uses כִּי certainly, which is no doubt derived from כִּי נִשְׁבַּע (§ b): 1Sm 26.16 חַי־יְהוָה אֵלֶיךָ כִּי בְנֵי מָוֶת אַתָּה אֵלֶיךָ by Y. the living God! (certainly) you deserve death; 2Sm 12.5; 1Kg 18.15. In 2Kg 5.20; Jer 51.14 we find אֵלֶיךָ; cf. § 164 c.

No doubt we could also use אֵל as in those cases where there is no exclamatory formula (§ c).

(1) *Pace* Greenberg, it is difficult to see why יְיָ or some such form was not used analogously to 2Sm 11.11 יְיָ instead of יְיָ, which Greenberg is forced to admit as a solecism: M. Greenberg, "The Hebrew oath particle *Hay/Hē*," *JBL* 76 (1957) 34-39.

(2) Construct state of אֵל, and this is used in oaths pronounced by the life of men; cf. König, vol. 2, p. 42.

f For a negative statement, אֵל is used (cf. § d): 2Sm 11.11; 1Kg 18.10.

g In the light of the above one can see that there is **mutual contamination** of curse and oath. Thus:

1) **For a positive statement**, we usually find:

CURSE: Me puniat Deus *si non* fecero hanc rem אֵל

(= If I do not do that, may God punish me!)

OATH: Juro *quod (certo)* faciam hanc rem כִּי

(= I swear that I will [certainly] do that)

Hence, by contamination:

CURSE: Me puniat Deus, *certo* faciam hanc rem כִּי

(= May God punish me; I will certainly do that)

OATH: Juro *si non* fecero hanc rem אֵל

(= I swear, if I do not do that)

2) **For a negative statement**, we usually find:

CURSE: Me puniat Deus *si* fecero hanc rem אֵל

(= May God punish me if I do that)

Hence, by contamination:

OATH: Juro *si* fecero hanc rem אֵל

(= I swear if I do that)

h If we admit these cases of contamination, there is no point in explaining אֵל, אֵל in oaths as a curse left unexpressed (even in the mouth of God!, e.g. Dt 1.35).

i N.B: 1) אֵל and especially כִּי are sometimes repeated: אֵל: Gn 14.23; כִּי: Gn 22.16f.; 1Sm 14.39; 1Kg 1.30.

j 2) The אֵל *certainly not* and the אֵל *certainly* of oath may be used to reinforce an affirmation: Is 22.14 אֵל יְכַפֵּר אֵל *it will surely not be forgiven*; 1Kg 20.23 אֵל-אֵל נַחְזִיק מֵהֶם *surely we shall overpower them*; Is 5.9.

On יַבּ of affirmation, cf. § 164 b.

APPENDIX. The formula $\text{יִהְיֶה לִּי לְפָנָי} absit a me$ (Vulg.); *God forbid!, Far be it from me!* probably means *profanation to me!*, hence the notion of repulsion and aversion⁽¹⁾. The usual construction is with יָנַח : Gn 44.17 $\text{תִּאָּזַר מִעֲשׂוֹתַי לִּי יִהְיֶה לִּי לְפָנָי} Far be it from me to act like that!, May God protect me from ...!$ Three times the construction is with יָנַח , which no doubt is derived from a clause of imprecation (§ a): 1Sm 24.7; 2Sm 20.20; Job 27.5 (cf. § 93 h; § 105 f).

(1) The notion of *nefas!* has changed to that of *absit!*. Cf. P. Joüon, *Bib* 3 (1922) 59.

§ 166. Temporal clause

Preliminary remarks. Here we shall deal one by one with the temporal, conditional, final and consecutive clauses, since they are the most important from the point of view of tense and mood. The temporal clause (§ 166) and the conditional clause (§ 167) are closely related; in certain cases it may be difficult to decide whether a given clause is temporal or conditional. Likewise the final, i.e. purpose, clause (§ 168) and the consecutive clause (§ 169) are closely related, as we observed in the chapter on tenses.

The time relationship between two clauses can be expressed A) lightly and elegantly by means of the simple Waw, or B) more precisely through other particles. In these two cases we shall examine how the relationships of succession (posteriority), simultaneity, and anteriority are expressed.

A) Time relation expressed by the **simple Waw**.

GENERAL PRINCIPLE. If an action is represented as posterior, we use the Waw of succession (wayyiqtol and w-qataltí forms). In contrast, if the action is not represented as posterior, these forms are avoided (cf. § 118 d-g; 119 d) and we use instead, according to the time indicated by the context, w-...qatálti or w-...yiqtol (but not w-qatálti and w-yiqtol)⁽¹⁾. The Waw must be separated from the verb form by a *buffer word*. Often this word emerges naturally from the context; otherwise, recourse is had to an independent pronoun, which, because of mere grammatical necessity, possesses no emphatic force whatsoever.

(1) As a matter of fact, in the classical language, the forms w-qatálti and *I killed*

and w-yiqtol *and he will kill* are generally avoided (apart from the pure juxtaposition, e.g. Jer 22.15 *אכל ושתה* *he ate and drank*). The reason for this is no doubt as follows: w-qatal is usually used as an inverted form (namely, w-qatalti *and I will kill*); since in many cases the stress cannot be shifted, there would have occurred a tremendous confusion if w-qatal could also have been used as a non-inverted form (namely, w-qatali *and I killed*). As regards the form w-yiqtol, there is no danger, it is true, of its being confused with wayyiqtol; nonetheless, it is avoided as w-qatal (w-qatali), no doubt because of analogy.

- b I. **Succession.** In the domain of the past wayyiqtol is used (§ 118 c): Gn 24.19 *וְהִשְׁקִיתוֹ וְהִכְבִּילָהּ* *and she finished giving him a drink, and (then) she said = after she had finished ... she said*⁽¹⁾.

In the domain of the future w-qatali is used (§ 119 c): Gn 44.4 *וְהִשְׁגַּחְתֶּם וְאָמַרְתֶּם* *and you will overtake them and (then) you will say = when you have overtaken them you will say*; 1Kg 20.36 *הֲנִי הוֹלֵךְ מֵאַתִּי וְהִכָּה* *behold you are going to leave me and (then) a lion will smite you*; Ru 2.9 *וְהָלַכְתָּ וְצָמְתָּ* *and when you are thirsty, you will go* (rather than a conditional clause: *and if you are thirsty ...* § 167 b).

(1) The notion is expressed rather frequently by this type of sentence (ten examples). We also find two other types: 1) *וַיֵּאמֶר ... כְּבָלוֹת* (1Kg 8.54 [thirteen examples], cf. § 166 m; 2) *וַיְהִי כַּאֲשֶׁר כָּלָה* (Jdg 3.18 (five examples): cf. § 166 n.

- c II. **Simultaneity.** Since any of two actions can be instantaneous or durative, there are four possible combinations for expressing simultaneity. For a durative action the participle⁽¹⁾ is used, but for an instantaneous action either qatal (in the sphere of past) or yiqtol (in the sphere of future, § i) is used.

Past:

1) **Two instantaneous actions:** Type qatal ... w- ... qatal: 1Sm 9.17 *עָנָה וַיִּרְאוּ אֶת-שָׁאוּל וַיִּהְיוּ עִנְיָהוּ* *the moment Samuel saw Saul Y. said to him*; Gn 19.23 *וַיִּשְׁמַרְשֵׁם עַל-הָאָרֶץ וְלוֹט בָּא צִעְרָה* *the moment the sun rose upon the earth, Lot entered Zoar*; 1Sm 9.5 *וַיָּבֹאוּ בְּאֶרֶץ סוּף* *when they entered the land of Suf, Saul said*. (One may note that in the last three examples the aspect of *אָצַץ* to depart and *בָּא* to enter is instantaneous; cf. § 111 d). See further Gn 27.30 (cf. § 123 k).

(1) The participle presupposes that the subject, noun or pronoun, is expressed. A sentence such as 1Kg 17.6 *וַיִּשְׁתָּה מִן-הַנַּחַל* *and he drank of the water of the torrent*, with yiqtol, is not intended to indicate simultaneity, for which rather *וַיְהִי שׁוֹתָה* is used (cf. § e).

Alongside this usual type we also find in certain particular cases d
 the type wayyiqtol⁽¹⁾ ... w-...qatal: Gn 15.12 וַיְהִי הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ לָבוֹא וְתָרַדְמָה נִפְלָה עַל-אַבְרָם
when the sun was about to set, a deep sleep fell upon
 Abram; Josh 2.5 וַיְהִי הַשַּׁעַר לִסְגוֹר וְהָאֲנָשִׁים יָצְאוּ
they were about to close the gate when the men left.

(1) The wayyiqtol represents the first action as posterior to the preceding action.

2) Two durative actions: Type qōtel... w-...qōtel: 1Sm 9.14 הִמָּה ע
 וּבָאִים בְּתוֹךְ הָעִיר וְהִנֵּה שְׂמוּאֵל יֹצֵא לְקִרְיָתָם
as they were entering the town, behold Samuel was coming out to meet them (the aspect of the two
 verbs is durative; cf. § 111 d); 2Kg 4.5 הֵם מְגִישִׁים אֵלֶיהָ וְהִיא מוֹצֵקֶת
as they were presenting her (the vessels), she was pouring (the oil).

3) The first action is durative, whilst the second is instantane- f
 ous: Type qōtel... w-...qatal: 1Sm 9.11 הִמָּה עֹלִים בְּמַעְלֵה הָעִיר וְהִמָּה מֵצְאוּ
 וְנִפְגְּרוּת
while they were ascending the slope of the city, they encountered
lasses (the second הִמָּה acts as a buffer word, § a); 2Kg 13.21 וַיְהִי הֵם
 וַיִּרְאוּ אֶת-קְבָרֵי אִישׁ וְהִנֵּה רָאוּ אֶת-הַגְּדוּד
when they were burying a man, behold they spotted a band of men (הִנֵּה acts as a buffer word); 1Sm 7.10 וַיְהִי
 וְשָׂמוּאֵל מְעַלֶּה הָעוֹלָה וּפְלִשְׁתִּים נֹגְשׁוּ
whilst Samuel was offering the burnt offering, Philistines approached⁽¹⁾; Job 1.16 זֶה מְדַבֵּר וְזֶה בָּא
this one was still speaking when another arrived⁽²⁾; 1Kg 1.22; 2Kg 2.23; 6.5,
 26; 19.37. With a passive participle: Gn 38.25 הִיא מוּצָאָה וְהִיא שְׁלֻחָה
 אֶל-חָתָנֶיהָ
as she was being taken out, she sent for her father-in-law
 (the second הִיא is a buffer word, § a).

(1) The action of *approaching* is represented as instantaneous on account of its suddenness. The sense is not *they had approached* (against König, *Syntax*, § 117); the position of פְּלִשְׁתִּים is not due to emphasis (against Driver ad loc.) but to grammatical necessity.

(2) The action of *arriving* being instantaneous, זֶה בָּא here is in the perfect; likewise בָּאָה Gn 29.9.

N.B. The first member can express a state instead of an action; then g
 there is a nominal clause: Jdg 18.3 הִמָּה עִם-בֵּית מִיכָה וְהִמָּה הַכִּירוּ אֶת
 הַיְלֹוִי
while they were near the house of Micah, they recognised the voice of the young Levite (the second הִמָּה serves as a buffer word, § a); Gn 7.6 וַיְהִי שְׁשֵׁשׁ מֵאוֹת שָׁנָה וְהַמַּבּוּל הָיָה
Noah was six hundred years old when the flood occurred.

Very occasionally one meets with a nominal clause instead of a perfect: 2Kg 2.11. One may even find two nominal clauses, the first instead of a participle, and the second instead of a perfect: 1Kg 18.7.

h 4) **The first action is instantaneous, whilst the second is durative.** In order to express a thought such as *Ruben found while Simeon searched*, and to underline the notion of simultaneity, the preceding type should be used (§ *f*): *While S. searched, R. found*. But if the second action is perceived as a pure circumstance, wayyiqtol (qatal) ... w-...qōtel is used: Gn 18.1 וַיֵּרָא אֵלָיו יְהוָה בְּאֵלֵי נִי מִמְרָא וְהוּא יֹשֵׁב פְּתַח- Y. appeared to him in the oak-grove(?) of Mamre, while he was sitting at the entrance of his tent (§ 159 *d*); 19.1; Jdg 13.9; 1Kg 19.19: with a qatal: Esth 7.8 (not classical).

i In the **domain of the future**, examples are naturally rare: 1Kg 18.12 וַיֵּשָׂא הַרוּחַ וְרָגַח אֵלָיו מֵאֲחָרָיו וְהָיָה אֲנִי אֵלָיו מֵאֲחָרָיו וְהָיָה אֲנִי יֹשֵׁא הַרוּחַ וְרָגַח אֵלָיו מֵאֲחָרָיו וְהָיָה אֲנִי אֵלָיו מֵאֲחָרָיו the moment I depart from you, the spirit of Y. will carry you (two instantaneous actions); 1.14 הִנֵּה עוֹרְךָ מֵעַתָּה וְהָיָה אֲנִי אֵלָיו מֵאֲחָרָיו whilst you are there in the middle of a conversation with the king, I shall enter (the first action is durative, the second instantaneous). In LBH עַד is used: e.g. Ne 7.3 ... "while people are still standing there, let them shut the doors"; Job 1.18 ... "whilst he was yet speaking, there came also another" (but in 1.17 with עוֹד)(1).

(1) See A. Hurvitz, *Beth Miqrah* 20 (1975) 467-69.

j III. **Anteriority.** In order to express the anteriority of an action in relation to one previously mentioned, Hebrew is content, in a narrative sequence, with avoiding the wayyiqtol (cf. § 118 *d*). The w-...qatal, by virtue of the context, possesses the force of our pluperfect: Nu 17.15 וַיֵּשָׂב אַהֲרֹן וְהַמִּגַּפָּה נִעְצְרָה וַיֵּשָׂב אַהֲרֹן וְהַמִּגַּפָּה נִעְצְרָה and Aaron returned...and the plague had ceased (= after the plague had ceased or because the plague had ceased; contr. 25.8 וַיֵּשָׂב אַהֲרֹן וְהַמִּגַּפָּה נִעְצְרָה and [then] the plague ceased); Jer 36.20 וַיֵּבְאוּ אֵל-הַמֶּלֶךְ וְהִגְדוּ לוֹ אֵת-כָּל-הַמִּגְלָה וְהִגְדוּ לוֹ אֵת-כָּל-הַמִּגְלָה וְהִגְדוּ לוֹ אֵת-כָּל-הַמִּגְלָה and they went to the king into the court, after having deposited the scroll... and they announced (and they deposited is out of the question in view of the context); 1Kg 3.20.

After a qatal: Ex 10.13 הַבֶּקָר הָיָה וְרוּחַ הַמֶּזְרוּחַ בָּאוּ וְהָיָה אֵת-הָאֲרָבָה וְהָיָה אֵת-הָאֲרָבָה וְהָיָה אֵת-הָאֲרָבָה when the morning arrived, the east wind had brought locusts. (The con-

text alone indicates that the second action preceded the first and is not simultaneous with it; cf. § c).

B) Temporal relation expressed by particles other than Waw.

k

Anteriority and posteriority are indicated by words the usage of which presents hardly any difficulty. We shall therefore be content to give here the usual words for before and after.

Before	After
<i>before</i> (prep.): לְפָנַי with noun/inf. עַד with inf.	<i>after</i> (prep.) אַחֲרַי with noun/inf. אַחַר (less common)
<i>before</i> (conj.) עַד־אֲשֶׁר בְּטָרֶם § 113 j	<i>after</i> (conj.) אַחֲרַי אֲשֶׁר אַחַר אֲשֶׁר (less common)
<i>beforehand</i> (adv.) בְּרֵאשֹׁנָה (לְפָנַי = <i>in the past</i>)	<i>afterwards</i> (adv.), <i>then</i> כֵּן אַחֲרַי אַחַר (less common) אַחַר (rare) <i>after these things</i> אַחֲרֵי הַדְּבָרִים הָאֵלֶּה

Simultaneity. Simultaneity, in the strict or not so strict sense, is expressed particularly by means of the two prepositions ב and כ with the infinitive; also by means of the conjunction כְּאֲשֶׁר, § n, and less frequently by כִּי, § o, and אֲזַי, § p.

l

ב indicates, properly speaking, the inclusion of an action *in* the time of another; כ indicates, strictly speaking, the correspondence of two actions in time: the time of one is *like* that of the other. We see that the two prepositions are virtually synonymous⁽¹⁾, yet distinct in ways explicable in terms of their basic meanings.

ב is used for the simple indication of time, without any special nuance, like Engl. 'on his coming' or 'when he came,' especially if the action is durative: 'while he was coming.' Thus we always meet with בְּהֵיטָל: Josh 5.13 וַיִּשָּׂא עֵינָיו וַיִּרְיחוּ וַיִּשָּׂא עֵינָיו וַיִּרְיחוּ *now, when Joshua was very close to Jericho, he raised his eyes*⁽²⁾; Gn 4.8; 34.25; etc.; always in talking about the exit from Egypt: כְּצֵאתָ, בְּהוֹצִיאָ, Ex 13.8; Dt 23.5; 24.9; 25.17; Josh 2.10; — Ex 3.12; 16.32; Lv 23.43; etc. But one also finds quite frequently כ for an instantaneous action; thus 2Sm 1.2 וּבְבֹאֵי *on arrival, when he arrived*; 4.4 וּבְבֹאֵי *when (the news) reached*; always בְּמָלְכוֹ *when he became king*: 1Sm 13.1; 2Sm 2.10 etc. (once בְּמָלְכוֹ

1Kg 15.29 as soon as he was king; also probably in 16.11 in the same context).

(1) Hence the numerous instances of confusion in the MT (with many corrections through Qre), exacerbated also by the graphic resemblance of כ and כ. Cf. P. Joüon in *MUSJ* 5 (1911) 389 (The conclusions of this study have been partially modified here).

(2) Note that here and in the following paragraphs § *m-p* we normally find the Waw of apodosis; cf. § 176 *f*. We very occasionally find וְ of apodosis, which adds some emphatic nuance: 2Sm 5.24a; Job 28.27; 33.16.

m In contrast, כ presupposes an implicit comparison, a correlation between the times of the two actions, hence the notion of exact correspondence of the two actions: Engl. *the moment* or (emphatically) *as soon as*, and, by extension, *immediately after*, *after*⁽¹⁾. In 1Sm 9.13 the correlation is expressly marked by וְ of apodosis (§ 174 *b*): כְּבָאֲכֹכֶם הָעִיר כֵּן תִּמְצְאוּן אֹתוֹ literally as you enter the city, thus (then) you will find it = the moment you enter. The notion of exact correspondence would account for the fact that כ is hardly used except for an instantaneous action or one represented as such: *the moment*; thus for the action of finishing we usually find כְּכִלּוֹת, כְּתֹם, כְּתֹם: Dt 31.24 וַיְהִי כְּכִלּוֹת מֹשֶׁה כְּתֹם, כְּתֹם ... וַיִּצַו וַיֵּצֵא now, after (when) M. had finished writing ... he commanded; 1Kg 8.54 etc. כ is used for the moment of the day during which an action is completed: Dt 16.6 כְּבוֹא הַשְּׁמֶשׁ at sunset; Gn 18.1 כְּחֹם הַיּוֹם at the moment of the heat of the day; 2Kg 3.20 כְּעִלּוֹת הַמִּנְחָה the moment the offering is offered (so in 1Kg 18.36). The notion of correlation also explains the use of כ when the action is repeated: Ex 33.8 וַהֲקִיָּה כְּצֵאת יְקוֹמּוּ ... יִקְוּמוּ now every time (= when) Moses left ... they arose; 33.9; Jer 36.23 (cf. F. Giesebrecht, *Das Buch Jeremiah* [Göttingen, 1907] ad loc.).

(1) Comp. Lat. *cum* (= when, after).

n כְּבִאֲשֹׁר is common in the sense of Lat. *cum* (= when, after). Thus, as an equivalent of כְּכִלּוֹת we have Gn 24.22 וַיְהִי כְּבִאֲשֹׁר כָּלּוּ לְשֹׁת וַיִּקַּח now, when they finished drinking, he took; Jdg 3.18 etc.; 8.33 וַיְהִי כְּבִאֲשֹׁר מֵת גִּדְּוֹן now, after Gideon died, they returned; Ps 51.2 כְּבִאֲשֹׁר כָּבָא after he had entered (after כְּבוֹא when he came). Cp. Jdg 11.7 כְּעָתָה כְּבִאֲשֹׁר now that you have run into difficulties with Dt 4.29f. כִּי תִדְרֹשׁוּ בִּי בְּכָל-לִבְבְּךָ וּבְכָל-נַפְשֶׁךָ: בִּצְרָתְךָ בְּצָרְךָ if you seek Him with all your heart and soul when you are in distress.

כִּי in the temporal sense of Lat. *cum* (= *when, after*) is less frequent than כַּאֲשֶׁר: 2Sm 19.26 וַיָּבֹא ... וַיְהִי כִּי-בָא *now, when he arrived, he said*; Jdg 1.28 וַיִּשְׁמַע ... וַיְהִי כִּי-תָזַק *after Israel had become strong ... it put ...*⁽¹⁾.

(1) Jdg 2.18 כִּי-הִקִּים *when he raised*, with qatal despite the frequentative force, which is expressed by הוֹשִׁיעָם *he would save them*. The same phenomenon with אִם, § p and § 167 g.

Just as כִּי is sometimes used in the conditional sense of *if* (§ 167 i), אִם *if* is occasionally used in the temporal sense: Dt 19.8 וְאִם-יִרְחִיב *when he enlarges* (contr. 9 כִּי-תִשְׁמַר *but if you observe*); Jdg 21.21 אִם יֵצְאוּ *when (the daughters of Shilo) go out*; with a qatal (despite the frequentative sense [cf. § 167 g]: Gn 38.9 בָּא אִם וְהָיָה *now, when he entered [every time he entered]*) (cf. Jdg 6.3); Ps 94.18.

LBH is characterised by the frequent omission of the introductory וַיְהִי or וְהָיָה: 2Kg 12.11 ... וַיְהִי כִּי-רַב הַכֶּסֶף // 2Ch 24.11 ... וְכִרְאוֹתֵם כִּי-רַב הַכֶּסֶף⁽¹⁾.

(1) See further Qimron, *Hebrew of DSS*, pp. 72f., and S.R. Driver, *An Introduction to the Literature of the OT* (Edinburgh, 1913), pp. 505f.

§ 167. Conditional clause⁽¹⁾

The conditional clause is closely related to the temporal clause (§ 166)⁽²⁾. Like the temporal relationship, the conditional relation can be expressed in a light and elegant fashion by means of the simple Waw, or in a more precise fashion by the particles אִם, לִי *if* etc. Furthermore, the conditional relationship can be indicated through simple juxtaposition of the two constituent clauses⁽³⁾.

1) The simple **juxtaposition** of two clauses can exist without any grammatical modification: Ne 1.8 וְאַתֶּם תִּמְעָלוּ אֲנִי אֶפְיֵן אֶתְכֶם בְּעַמִּים *you will rebel, and as for me I will disperse you among the nations* (= *if you rebel, I will disperse you*); Ps 139.18. This simple type is rather rare⁽⁴⁾. Pr 18.22 מָצָא אִשָּׁה מְצָא טוֹב *If one has found a wife, one has found a good thing*.

2) The simple **juxtaposition** of two clauses is accompanied by a grammatical modification which makes the relationship stand out, namely the volitive mode: Ps 104.20 תִּשְׁתַּחֲשָׁד וְיִהְיֶה לִי לֵה בּוֹ תִרְמַשׁ כֹּל-חַיִּיתוֹ -

יָעַרְךָ *Make darkness and let the night come, then all the animals of the forest will move about*(⁵)(comp. vs. 28 where the forms are virtually in the jussive, and vs. 29 where one should probably read the jussive תִּסְתַּחַר); Zech 9.5 אֲשַׁקְלוֹן וְתִירָא *when Ashkelon sees, she will be terrified* (here the nuance is more temporal; likewise Mi 7.10 *when my enemy sees it, shame will cover her*); Ps 146.4 *the breath departs, he returns to the earth, on that day all his schemes will perish*(⁶). This type of clause is rather rare, and poetic. In the 1st person we naturally find the cohortative: Ps 40.6; 139.8-9; Job 19.18.

(1) Cf. M.H. Segal, "The structure of the conditional sentence in BH and MH," *Leš* 41 (1932) 191-211.

(2) Compare *When I meet him, I greet him* and *If I meet him ...*

(3) Compare *You make him some offer, he always haggles. — No work, no pay.*

One should distinguish between what was probably intended in Hebrew and an interpretation that the speaker of another language might put on that intention. This qualification applies to some other logical relationships as well, such as purpose (§ 168), result (§ 169), cause or reason (§ 170), concession (§ 171), and adversative (§ 172). The question is to what extent it is legitimate to verbalise what is, at most, merely implied in the original language. Pure descriptive linguistics is not, of course, concerned with how a given construction can be translated.

(4) It is common in MH. Compare also Sir 6.7 קָנִיתָ אֶת הַיָּדָיִם בְּנִסְיוֹן קָנִיתָ אֶת הַחֵן *if you are to win a friend, win one after some testing.*

(5) The apodosis begins only with תִּרְמַשׁ, which is virtually in the jussive, like the verbs of the protasis; וַיְהִי is conjoined with תִּלְשֵׁת. The punctuation generally accepted produces a statement of the obvious: *if you make darkness, the night comes.*

(6) This is the right punctuation; יִשָּׁב can represent a jussive (cf. § 80 k); in the apodosis the tense is the perfect.

b 3) The relationship between the two clauses can be expressed by a **Waw**. In this case it is common for the protasis also to begin with Waw: these two Waws bring out more clearly the correlation of the two members(¹): Gn 44.22 וְאִם יֵצֵא אֶת-אָבִיו וְאִם יֵצֵא אֶת-אָבִיו וְאִם יֵצֵא אֶת-אָבִיו *the lad cannot leave his father; should he leave his father, the latter would die* (lit.: *and he will leave his father, and he will die*; the first Waw can be explained only as intended to bring out the correlation of the two clauses); Dt 25.8b-9 *if he persists and says, "I do not wish to marry her," his brother's wife will go up ...*; Jer 18.4 *if the vessel he was making failed, he would start again ...*; 1Sm 19.3 (§ 144 f). The role of the first Waw is even clearer when it is prefixed to a word other than a verb: Jdg 6.13 וְיֵשׁ יְהוָה עִמָּנוּ וְלָמָּה מִצָּאֵתָנוּ כִּלְ-זֹאת *if Y. is with us, why*

has all this happened to us?; Nu 12.14 וְאֵבִיָּהּ יָרַק יָרַק בְּפָנֶיהָ הֲלֵא *should it happen*(2) *that her father spits in her face, would she not remain covered with shame for seven days?* (Here the Waw of the second member is omitted before ה; likewise Lv 10.19b: *if I had eaten the sin-offering today, would it have been acceptable to Yāhweh?*); cp. Ru 2.9 (§ 166 b).

(1) Comp. the use of double Waw bringing out the correlation in cases such as Ex 21.16 "he who steals a man, whether he has sold him or he is still in his possession ..."; and before nouns: Nu 9.14b "whether for the foreigner or for the native"; cf. § 175 b; § 177 p.

(2) For the infinitive absolute in the case of a rather unlikely supposition, cf. § 123 g.

4) But the most common way of expressing a condition consists in using in the protasis a conditional particle, most frequently אִם *if*(1) (sometimes כִּי *in case, if*) for a supposition considered real, and לֹא for a supposition considered unreal (cf. § f and k); the apodosis often begins with the Waw of apodosis (§ 176 d). For details, see below, § 176 f-o.

(1) See C. van Leeuwen, "Die Partikel אִם," *OudSt* 18 (1973) 15-48.

These diverse types of conditional clause are sometimes mixed together. Thus we find the types 1), 3), and 4) in Ne 1.8f.: in vs. 8, type 1) cited in § a; in vs. 9, type 3) וְשׁוּבוּ *if you return* and type 4) אִם-יְהִיָּהּ *if it is*. In Ps 139.8-10 we have type 4) אִם-אֶסְעַק *if I ascend*, and 2) volitive of the 1st person (cohortative) וְאֶצְיָצֵהָ *if I lie down*; likewise אֲשַׁאֲ is a cohortative without ה (§ 114 b, n.).

A sub-condition can be inserted in a condition: Nu 21.9 וְהִבִּיט *if he looks*, which is a sub-condition within the condition אִם-נֹשֵׁךְ *if (when) he bites*; Lv 15.24 (read probably וְהִתְהַיָּה); 4.2f. כִּי-יִפְּשֵׁ כִי *if someone*, a condition as against אִם, a sub-condition. In Gn 44.29 וְקָרָהּ *if it should befall him* is a second condition or a sub-condition.

The condition (or hypothesis) can be conceived of as real (Fr. *si je tue*) or as unreal (Fr. *si je tuais*, Lat. *si occiderem*, Ital. *se uccidessi*, Engl. *if I killed, if I were to kill*). In the first case we use אִם (less frequently כִּי). In the second, we usually use לֹא(1) (negatively לֹא-לִי *if ... not*), but occasionally it is enough to say אִם; thus with qatal: Job 9.30 *if I washed myself*; Ps 73.15 (but ?); with yiqtol: Nu

22.18 *if he were to give me* (contr. 2Sm 18.12 לָלֵךְ with qōtel for the same idea); 1Kg 13.8.

(1) On לָלֵךְ: J. Huehnergard, "Asseverative *la and hypothetical *lu/law in Semitic," *JAO* 103 (1983) 569-93.

g From the point of view of the tenses there is nothing of particular importance to be noted. The tenses (qatal, yiqtol, qōtel) are used in accordance with the usual rules, whether in a protasis or in an apodosis; so there are a great number of possible combinations.

In the conditional sentences, more often than in others (cf. § 166 *o*, *n.*, *p*) we sometimes find, despite the frequentative aspect, qatal instead of yiqtol, in a protasis: Ps 78.34 וַיִּהְיוּ אֲנָשִׁים וַיִּקְרָא אֲנָשִׁים אִם *if (when) he killed them, they would seek him*; 41.7. The expression of the frequentative aspect can be made by means of הִיָּחַד and *it happened*, which is put in first position: Nu 21.9 וְעַתָּה אִם הִיָּחַד *now, if a serpent should bite*. (See the analogous examples with אִם in the temporal sense, § 166 *p*, e.g. Gn 38.9.)

(1) The frequentative sense of the first verb stems from the frequentative force of the w-qatalī in the apodosis. The qatal has the advantage of clearly placing the action in the past, but at the expense of the frequentative aspect.

h In a protasis with אִם, one can therefore have the following types, with an action verb:

Past: קָטַל אִם *if he has killed*⁽¹⁾ (rarely frequentative: *if he used to kill*, § *g*): Gn 18.3.

יִקְטֹל אִם *if he used to kill* (frequentative or durative): Ex 40.37.

Future: יִקְטֹל אִם *if he kills* (lit., *if he will kill, si occidet*) Gn 28.20.

Present: יִקְטֹל אִם *if he kills* (frequentative or durative): Gn 4.7.

קָטַל אִם *if he kills* (present or near future): Gn 27.46.

(1) קָטַל אִם is also used, quite frequently, for the past future: *si occiderit*. e.g. Gn 43.9; 2Kg 7.4 (cf. § 112 *i*). But יִקְטֹל אִם *si occidet* is more frequent.

i It is possible to have the same types with כִּי, though less frequent than אִם, which is used almost with the same meaning, sometimes with a nuance rather similar to the temporal nuance, *in case*: with qatal: Nu 5.20; with yiqtol Ex 21.22; with qōtel 2Sm 19.8. Like אִם (§ *f*), כִּי can be used for an unreal supposition: Jer 49.16 *even if you soared like an eagle* (like אִם in the parallel Ob 4); 51.53. Quite often כִּי is placed

after the subject, especially in laws of the Priestly source (BDB, s.v. **כִּי**, 2, b): Lv 1.2 **כִּי יִקְרִיב אָדָם** *if a man offers*.

The relative particle **אֲשֶׁר** is only rarely used in the sense of **כִּי**: Dt 11.27 **אֲשֶׁר תִּשְׁמָעוּ** *if you hear* (cp. 28 **אֲמַלֵּא תִשְׁמָעוּ**); Lv 4.22 etc.

A condition (or hypothesis) considered unreal (Engl. *if I killed* for the sphere of the present; *if I had killed* for the sphere of the past) is usually expressed by **לִו** *if*⁽¹⁾, negatively by **לֹא לִוְלִי**⁽²⁾ *if ... not*. It is possible to have the same types of clause as with **אִם** (§ h). Examples are particularly frequent with qatal: Jdg 8.19 **לֹא הִחַיְתֶם אוֹתָם לֹא הִרְגֹתִי** *if you had let them live, I would not have killed you*⁽³⁾; Gn 43.10 **לֹא הִתְמַהֲמַהְנוּ בִּי-עָפָה שָׁבָנוּ זֶה פְּעָמַיִם** *if we had not dragged our feet, we would now have returned twice*⁽⁴⁾; with stative qatal: Jdg 13.23 **לֹא חָפֵץ יְהוָה לְהַמִּיתָנוּ לֹא-לָקַח מִיָּדֵנוּ עֹלָה וּמִנְחָה** *if Y. wanted (or had wanted) to destroy us, he would not have accepted our burnt offering and oblation*; — with yiqtol (rare): Dt 32.27 **אֲנֹכִי לֹא יִרְאֶה** *if I did not fear*; (with **לִו** no certain example is found; in Gn 50.15 **לִו יִשְׁטַמְנוּ** *if he had a spite against us!* without apodosis, the use of **לִו** is strange and unique); — with a participle or some other nominal clause (rare): 2Sm 18.12 **לֹא-אֶשְׁלַח אֶת-יָדִי** *even if I weighed ... I would not stretch forth (my hand)*; 2Kg 3.14 (**לֹא לִוְלִי** with a participle); Nu 22.29 **לֹא יִשְׁ-חָרֵב** *if I had a sword in my hand, I would have killed you already*.

(1) According to Brock., *GvG*, II, p. 642, the conditional sense derives from the optative sense *utinam*. The Vulgate tends to prefer *utinam* to *si*: cf. Nu 22.29; Dt 32.29; Job 16.4; Esth 7.4 (אֵלִו).

(2) Less frequently **לֹא לִוְלִי** (for ***לִוְלִי אֵ**, § 29 h).

(3) **הִרְגֹתִי**: the action is considered as over.

(4) **כִּי** affirmative in the apodosis, § s.

N.B.: 1) **הִן** *behold*, a particle which is used especially to attract attention (cf. § 105 d), is occasionally used with the value of *if*, as in Aramaic and no doubt under Aramaic influence: 2Ch 7.13 **הִן אֶעֱצֹר** *if I close* (continued by **אִם**)⁽¹⁾; Lv 25.20; Hg 2.12; esp. in Job: 9.11,12; 12.14,15; 23.8.

On the other hand, **הִנֵּה** never appears to have the proper force of *if*⁽²⁾.

(1) The only sure instance according to D.M. Stec, *VT* 37 (1987) 478-86.

(2) In 1Sm 9.7 **וְנָבִיא לְאִישׁ וְנִלְוָה וְנִלְוָה** *if we go, what shall we take to this man?* the

virtual conditional sense is due to the double Waw (§ b), and not to וַיִּבְרַח , which plays the role of a buffer word (§ 166 a), as $\text{וַיִּבְרַח$ would have done. The same explanation applies to 2Sm 18.11 *because you saw him, why ... ?* In Lv 13.5 $\text{וַיִּבְרַח} \dots \text{וַיִּבְרַח}$ *he will examine ... and behold*, וַיִּבְרַח was introduced due to the notion of *seeing* (cf. § 177 i). The implicit conditional notion is due to the context, not to וַיִּבְרַח , which is equivalent to *and (if) he sees ...* It is the same in all the analogous texts where we are dealing with the notion of *seeing someone* after an enquiry: vss. 6,7,8,9; Dt 13.15; 17.4; 19.18; 1Sm 20.12. On the stylistic use of וַיִּבְרַח following the verbs of *seeing* and *discovering*, cf. BDB, s.v., c, e.g. Gn 1.31.

m 2) $\text{וְהִיא} \text{?}$ *is it true that?* in Jer 13.23 is practically equal to *if*: the conditional protasis is represented by a question⁽¹⁾.

(1) Comp. Ho 14.10; Ps 107.43; Job 3.12f., and constructions such as Jam 5.13 $\text{Κακοπαθεῖ τις ἐν ὑμῖν; προσευχέσθω.}$ — Fr. *Lui faites-vous une concession, il marchande toujours.*

n 3) On וְכִי , cf. § 105 f.

o Elliptical clause. Ellipsis may be found in protases as well as in apodoses.

Ellipsis in a protasis: אִם לֹא תַעֲשׂוּ *et si non (facitis; § 160 j)*: 1Sm 2.16; 6.9; אִם לֹא תַעֲשׂוּ Ex 32.32b. Depending on the type of clause (Jdg 6.13 [§ b]) one may find an elliptical וְהִיא *if it is (it)* 2Kg 10.15; and similarly אִם לֹא *if (since, because) it is not* 2Sm 13.26⁽¹⁾; 2Kg 5.17. (No example of אִם לֹא , no doubt by accident). For וְכִי , cf. § 104 d, n.

(1) J. Wellhausen (*Der Text der Bücher Samuelis* [Göttingen, 1871]) translates the Waw twice: *und wenn nicht*.

p אִם can extend its force to a second protasis over the first apodosis: Pr 9.12 *if you are wise, it is for your own good; and (if) you are ungodly, you alone will bear all the consequences*; Job 10.15; 16.6; likewise וְכִי Is 43.2.

q Likewise, an אִם or a וְכִי may extend its force to a second supposition introduced by אוֹר *or*: Ex 21.31 *or (= if) it is a boy or a girl that it gores*; 21.36; Lv 4.23,28; 5.21,22; 25.49; Nu 5.14; Ez 14.17,19.

r **Ellipsis of the apodosis.** Certain examples of understood apodosis are few: Gn 38.17b: *if you give me a pledge (I will consent is understood)*; Nu 5.20. In a disjunction, the apodosis of the first part is suppressed Ex 32.32 *and now, if you forgive their sin (it is good is understood); if not, knock my name off your book*⁽¹⁾ (contrast Ru 3.13).

(1) Compare Lk 13.9 $\text{κὰν μὲν ποιήσῃ καρπὸν εἰς τὸ μέλλον· εἰ δὲ μήγε, ἐκκόψεις}$

αὐτήν.

The ׀ of **affirmation** is rather frequent in the apodosis of the conditional clause (cf. § 164 a): Is 7.9; notably in ׀ (common after ׀, ׀) Nu 22.29; 1Sm 14.30; Gn 31.42; 43.10; (after ׀) Job 8.6; ׀ Job 11.15; perh. 2Sm 2.27; 19.7 (where ׀, however, can resume the preceding ׀).

Where the **negation** of a verb extends its force to a juxtaposed verb (§ 160 q), it is possible to have the equivalent of a conditional clause with a positive protasis and negative apodosis: Dt 22.1 *You will not see the ox or the ewe of my brother which has got lost and you will stay aloof from it ... = if you see ... you would not stand aloof from it*; 22.4; comp. Ex 33.20. Comp. §§ 168 h; 161 k; 170 m.

The conditional clause is logically related to the consecutive clause with an imperatival protasis⁽¹⁾. Thus a sentence such as Gn 42.18 ׀ ׀ ׀ (§ 111 f 3) is equivalent to *Do this, and (if you do it) you will live*.

(1) Compare the expression of a conditional notion in sentences of the type *Grasp it like a man of mettle, it remains as soft as silk*, or *Give way to him; it will do him no good*. Cf. Jn 2.19 λύσατε τὸν ναὸν τοῦτον, καὶ ἐν τρισὶν ἡμέραις ἐγερῶ αὐτόν.

The **order of the components** of the conditional clause is almost always *Condition—Conditioned*, which accords with the general principle that the most important element and that which first springs to one's mind is stated first. Sometimes, for some particular reason, it is the conditioned which is the important element: Gn 18.28b *I will not destroy, if I find there forty-five*. (The condition of similar import, which had been expressed in 28a, is now but of secondary importance, and could have been understood; likewise vs. 30; contrast vs. 26); 42.37 *My two sons, you may kill them, if I do not bring him back* (contrast between the two sons of Ruben and the sons of Jacob, vs. 36).

§ 168. Final clause

Preliminary remark. The final clause and the consecutive clause are closely related to each other; Hebrew does not make any strict distinction between them, and quite often we may not be sure about the precise nuance⁽¹⁾. On the principal differences in the means of expression, cf.

§ 169 *i.* — Like the temporal (§ 166 *a*) and conditional relationships (§ 167 *a*), the final and consecutive relationships can be expressed in a light and elegant fashion by a mere Waw, or in a more precise way by means of other particles⁽²⁾.

(1) Thus in Nu 25.4 the idea is that of result (LXX) rather than of purpose (Vulg.). In New Testament Greek consecutive clauses are often couched in the same form as final clauses; thus we have τὸν with the infinitive, εἰς τό with the inf., and ἵνα with consecutive force. Sometimes a consequence is given as a purpose, e.g. Mt 10.34, 35. In French, *pour*, usually final, is used for result: *Il tomba pour ne plus se relever* (= he fell never to get up again), *Il partit pour ne plus revenir* (= he left never to return), *Parler pour ne rien dire* (= Talk for the sake of talking), *Quel mal t'ai-je fait pour que tu m'en veuilles?* (= What wrong have I done to you that you should bear a grudge against me?).

(2) Both processes can be observed in one and the same sentence, Is 5.19 לְמַעַן נִרְאֶה In order that we may see, וְנִדְעָה in order that we may know; compare Am 5.4 וְהָיָה and 14 לְמַעַן תִּתְּנֵנִי with the same consecutive force.

b Finality or purpose is expressed in a light and elegant way by means of the **Waw with an indirect volitive** (§ 116), notably after a direct volitive, but also sometimes after an indicative or a nominal clause, especially in a question (§ 161 *m*). If the notion of purpose is negative, one may use אֲלֵי and the indicative (§ 116 *j*). See the numerous examples cited above.

c A purpose, especially with a rather weak force, can be expressed by ל with an infinitive construct: 1Kg 18.42; Ru 2.8. Other examples may be found in § 124 *l*. If the notion of purpose is negative, then Hebrew uses לְבִלְתִּי (§ 124 *e*): Gn 4.15; 38.9; 2Kg 23.10; Jer 23.14.

d The following are the more important conjunctions used to express purpose:⁽¹⁾

לְמַעַן אֲשֶׁר lit. *for the idea that* (where the final modality is expressed by ל): Jer 42.6 לְמַעַן אֲשֶׁר יִיטְבוּ לָנוּ so that we may be happy (contrast Dt 10.13 לְמַעַן אֲשֶׁר יִיטְבוּ לָּךְ in order that you may be happy, with the inf.). More often אֲשֶׁר is omitted, and לְמַעַן is construed with the indicative: Gn 12.13 לְמַעַן יִיטְבוּ לִי so that I may be happy; 27.25; Jer 32.14. But לְמַעַן can also be used as a preposition with the infinitive: Gn 37.22 לְמַעַן הַצִּיל אֹתוֹ in order to deliver him. — With negation (rare) we find לְמַעַן אֲשֶׁר לֹא Nu 17.5 (and 4 times); לְמַעַן לֹא all in LBH as in Ez 14.11 (and seven times)⁽²⁾. (לְבִלְתִּי, § c, or אֲלֵי, § g, is more common).

(1) These conjunctions, like all the others (except the Waw), never require the voli-

tive mode.

(2) See A. Hurvitz, *Transition Period* [§ 88 M j, n.], pp. 147f.

Much less frequent is **בְּעֵבֹר** lit. *in relation to that which*: once with **אֲשֶׁר** Gn 27.10; 9 times without **אֲשֶׁר**: Gn 21.30. We also find **בְּעֵבֹר** as a preposition with the infinitive (4 times): Ex 9.16; 4 times **לְבְּעֵבֹר** Ex 20.20. e

Rather rarely the relative particle **אֲשֶׁר** is used with a final nuance: **אֲשֶׁר יִיטֹב לְךָ** Dt 4.40 *in order that you may be happy* (comp. § d); 4.10 (after a Waw with a volitive with final force); 6.3; 32.46; Josh 3.7. With negation: **אֲשֶׁר לֹא** Gn 11.7; Ex 20.26. f

To indicate a negative wish of a speaker or speakers, **פֶּן** is used: "I (or: we) do not wish the following to be, become or have become a reality."⁽¹⁾ This word, which is probably a shortened form of **פִּנְיָ**, may originally have meant Lat. *respectu, as regards, in relation to* (a dreaded thing, a thing to ward off)⁽²⁾, hence the development of the negative nuance: Gn 3.3 **פֶּן-תִּמְתּוּן בּוֹ לֹא תִגְעוּ** *you shall not touch it lest you die* (lit. *in relation to the fact that you would die*); Nu 20.18; Jdg 9.54 *so that people will not say or for fear that people may say*; 1Sm 4.9⁽³⁾. g

(1) Cf. M. Azar in *Hebrew Computational Linguistics* 18 (1982) 19-31.

(2) Cf. P. Joüon in *Bib* 2 (1921) 341.

(3) In those rather rare cases where **פֶּן**, right at the beginning of a sentence, has a negative optative sense (direct *ne* of Latin), it appears that it stems from **נִשְׁמַר פֶּן** *to guard oneself against* something, naturally a dreaded thing. Thus in Ex 34.15 **פֶּן-תִּכְרֹת בְּרִית** *ne in eas pactum* (Vulg.) is no doubt an elliptical expression of the fuller form in vs. 12 **פֶּן תִּכְרֹת בְּרִית לְךָ הִשְׁמַר** *Guard yourself against entering an agreement*; cf. Job 32.13; Is 36.18; Jer 51.46; Gn 44.34 (cf. P. Joüon in *Bib* 2 [1921] 342, n.). Cf. S.E. Fassberg, "Negative final clauses in BH: **וְלֹא יִקְטֹל** and **פֶּן יִקְטֹל**" [Heb] in F Schr. C. Rabin (eds: M.H. Goshen-Gottstein, Sh. Morag, and S. Kogut) (Jerusalem, 1990), pp. 273-94, where it is concluded, inter alia, that **וְלֹא יִקְטֹל** is very common after **וְקָטַל** with inversive Waw, whereas **פֶּן יִקְטֹל** is common after an imperative.

Where **פֶּן** extends its force to a second juxtaposed verb, the first clause can be logically subordinate (temporal or conditional): 1Sm 9.5 **פֶּן יַחְדֵּל אָבִי מִן-הָאֲתָנוּת וְדָאָג לָנוּ** *in case my father, losing interest in the donkeys, worries about us*; Dt 8.12-14 *lest, having eaten your full etc. ..., your heart is lifted up ...*; 4.19 *lest, lifting your eyes to the sky and seeing the sun etc. ..., you are tempted ...*; 25.3; Ps 28.1 *lest, if you remain silent, I become like ...* Comp. §§ 167 t; 161 k; 170 m. h

§ 169. Consecutive clause

a As we said in § 168 *a*, the consecutive clause is closely related to the final clause. On the principal differences in the means of expression, cf. below, § *i*.

b Consequence, like purpose (§ 168 *b*), can be expressed in a light and elegant manner by the indirect volitive (§ 116), especially after a direct volitive, but also sometimes after an indicative or a nominal clause, e.g. in a question, Jer 9.11 (§ 161 *m*), or after a negation, Nu 23.19 לֹא יִבְרַח אֱלֹהִים אֲשֶׁר אֵל וַיִּבְרַח *God is not man that he should lie*. If the notion of result is negative, אֵל with the indicative is used (§ 116 *j*: Is 8.10. See the numerous examples already cited.).

c But, apart from those cases where a direct volitive precedes, a result is normally expressed by the Waw inversive. Thus we use wayyiqtol (§ 118 *h*) or w-qatalí (§ 119 *e*), according to the time sphere. For the special case of the interrogative, cf. § 161 *m*.

d Like a purpose (§ 168 *c*), a result can be expressed by the ל with an infinitive construct (§ 124 *l*). If the consecutive notion is negative, לֹא לְבְרַחְתִּי (§ 124 *c*) is used: Jer 16.12.

The following are the most notable conjunctions expressing a result:

e כִּי *that, for that* is common after a question⁽¹⁾: Ps 8.5 מִה־אֶנְוֶשׁ כִּי-? *What is man that you should remember him?* (comp. Job 7.17; contrast Ps 144.3); Gn 20.9,10; 31.36; Ex 3.11; Nu 16.11; — after a negative: Gn 40.15 (probably).

(1) For a fuller list of examples, see BDB, s.v. כִּי, 1, f (p. 472b). The כִּי clause establishes a surprising fact, and the preceding question asks why that should be so or should happen in such a way.

f אֲשֶׁר *that, as a result of which* is used (outside of a question)⁽¹⁾ with a nuance different from כִּי: Gn 13.16 *as a result of which*; 22.14 (probably); with a negative: לֹא אֲשֶׁר לֹא 2Kg 9.37; Mal 3.19.

(1) In Ex 5.2 אֲשֶׁר is relative (LXX): *Who is Yahweh that I should obey?*

g לְמַעַן, which is especially used to indicate a purpose (§ 168 *d*), is also used sometimes with a consecutive force⁽¹⁾. Thus in talking about an intended action the effect of which one is concerned about rather than the aim: Jer 27.10,15; Jl 4.6; Ob 9; Mi 6.16; particularly in

talking about a punishable act the effect of which is an offence against God rather than its aim: thus in the expression *לְמַעַן הִכְעִים* so as to irritate 2Kg 22.17 etc. (= *לְהִכְעִים* Dt 4.25 etc., § 124 D); Lv 20.3 (*לְמַעַן* followed by *ל* with consecutive force); Am 2.7. Other examples: Jer 36.3; Ho 8.4; Am 5.14 (§ 168 a, n.); Ps 30.13; 51.6; 130.4.

(1) This point, generally contested, can be easily explained if we bear in mind that the element *ל* is used to express a result as well as a purpose. On the particle *לְמַעַן* in BH, see H.A. Brongers, "Die Partikel *לְמַעַן* in der hebräischen Sprache," *OudS* 18 (1973) 84-96.

Finally, *מְ* with the infinitive expresses a negative result: Gn 27.1 *וַתְּכַהֵן עֵינָיו מִרְאֹת* and his eye-sight was dull with the result that he could not see; Ex 14.5; Lv 26.13; Dt 28.55; 1Sm 15.26 (cf. § 133 e). h

APPENDIX. Comparing §§ 168 and 169 we can see that the notions of purpose and result are often expressed by the same means. In both we use *ל* with an infinitive, *לְבַלְתִּי*, *לְאֶשֶׁר* and even *לְמַעַן*. But *בְּעֵבֹר* is essentially a final particle, and *כִּי* is consecutive. i

The Waw with an indirect volitive is used to indicate result as well as purpose, but the inversive Waw is not used except with consecutive force. In one and the same sentence we find Waw with an indirect volitive used to indicate a purpose and a result: 1Kg 13.7 *בָּאָה־אֵתִי הִכְיָתָה* *וְסִעַרְתָּה וְאָתָּנָה לִּי מִמָּת* come with me to the house to refresh yourself, and (as a consequence) I will give you a present (cf. 116 f and b). In Jon 1.11-12 *וַיִּשְׁתַּק* is used in the final sense (i.e. to indicate purpose) in a question, and in the consecutive sense in the reply. More examples in § 116 h.

§ 170. Causal and explicative clause

Causality or logical antecedence is like the reverse of result, and is quite often expressed by the same means. Here it is possible to distinguish ordinary causality (Engl. *because*, Lat. *cum*), explanatory causality (*for*), and supposedly known cause (*since*). a

The relation of causality, like that of condition (§ 167 a), can be indicated in a somewhat elliptical fashion by the simple juxtaposition of the two member clauses: Gn 17.14 *This person will be cut off from among his people: he has violated my pact* (*אֵת־בְּרִיתִי הִפָּרַךְ*). b

Like the temporal, conditional, final and consecutive relations, the c

causal relation can be expressed in a light and elegant manner with a mere Waw: Gn 22.12 וְלֹא הִשְׁכַּחְתָּ for you have not spared (probably); 24.62 (circumstance); Ex 23.9 for you, you know the soul of the stranger (followed by a כִּי because); 1Kg 22.23; Hg 2.9,14; Ps 60.13.

After an imperative: 1Ch 14.10 עֲלֵה וּנְתַתֶּימָם בְּיָדְךָ Go up, for I will deliver them to you (cf. // 2Sm 5.19 עֲלֵה כִּי נָתַן אֶתְּךָ); 1Sm 23.2 לֵךְ וְהִכִּיתָ go, for you will smite ...; Gn 24.56 (since).

On the wayyiqtol with an explanatory nuance, cf. § 118 j.

d But the various nuances of causality are usually rendered by particles.

The most common conjunction is כִּי, one of whose many meanings is that of *because, for*: Gn 3.14 *Because you have done this*; 3.17; 8.9.

da In some cases what follows כִּי is not a logical cause of an event or circumstance, but evidence of, or an argument, for the preceding assertion: 1Kg 1.24f. "My lord, O king, you did say that Adonijah should reign after you and sit upon your throne. For (כִּי) he is gone down this day, and has slaughtered oxen ...," cf. also 1Sm 26.15⁽¹⁾.

(1) See W.T. Claassen in *JNWSL* 11 (1983) 35-44.

e The relative conjunction אֲשֶׁר can have a weak causal sense: Gn 30.18; 31.49; 34.13,27; 1Sm 15.15; 26.23; 1Kg 3.19. For the change from the relative to the causal sense, see Gn 42.21 אֲשֶׁר רָאִינוּ (we) who have seen = *because we have seen*; 1Sm 26.16; 2Sm 2.5,6.

f For a stronger or more precisely causal nuance יַעַן is used⁽¹⁾, literally *for the reason of (the fact that)*, *ea ratione (quod)*, hence *because of (the fact that)*, most frequently (32 times) with אֲשֶׁר, less frequently (23 times) without אֲשֶׁר, rarely (7 times) with כִּי. But יַעַן can be also used as a preposition with the infinitive. — Examples: Gn 22.16 יַעַן אֲשֶׁר עָשִׂיתָ אֶת־הַדָּבָר הַזֶּה *because you have done this thing*; Nu 20.12 יַעַן לֹא־הֵאֱמַנְתָּם בִּי *because you have not trusted me*; 11.20 יַעַן כִּי־ יַעַן הִתְמַכְּרָה *because you have rejected Y.*; 1Kg 21.20 יַעַן הִתְמַכְּרָה *because you have sold yourself*. In fact almost all the examples occur in texts evincing an elevated style (a divine or prophetic speech; exception 1Sm 30.22)⁽²⁾.

(1) יַעַן is probably a form shortened from a nominal form יַעֲנֵנָה*, like the analogous מַעַן from מַעֲנָה. On יַעַן: M.J. Mulder, "Die Partikel יַעַן," *OudSt* 18 (1973) 49-83.

(2) With repetition יַעַן וּבְיַעַן *at the rate of and in proportion to (that which)* =

simply *because*: Lv 26.43; Ez 13.10; 36.3 without ׀. The *ya'an* clause usually describes human behaviour which serves as a ground for divine response, retribution, whether favourable or not: cf. D.E. Gowan, "The use of *ya'an* in BH," *VT* 21 (1971) 159-85.

For the special nuance of *in recompense for the fact that* or in the pejorative sense of *in punishment for the fact that* we use (אשר) לְעֵקֶב and תַּחַת אֲשֶׁר, which are practically synonymous: *in recompense for*: עֵקֶב אֲשֶׁר Gn 22.18 (contrast 16 לְעֵן אֲשֶׁר 26.5; עֵקֶב Nu 14.24; Dt 7.12; — תַּחַת אֲשֶׁר Nu 25.13; Is 53.12; — *in punishment for*: עֵקֶב אֲשֶׁר 2Sm 12.6; עֵקֶב כִּי Nu 12.10; עֵקֶב Dt 8.20; — תַּחַת אֲשֶׁר 2Kg 22.17 (= 2Ch 34.25); Jer 29.19; 50.7; 2Ch 21.12.

The most common preposition for causality is עַל: Gn 20.3 "you are going to die *because of* this woman"; before an infinitive: Ex 17.7 עַל אֲשֶׁר נִסְּתֶם *because they tempted*; Am 1.3,6,9,11,13; Jer 2.35; 9.12; 16.18; עַל־כֵּן literally *because of thus = because of that, for that*(¹); עַל־מָה *because of what? for what reason? why?* (comp. the usual לְמָה *for what?*). עַל may form the following compound conjunctions עַל־כִּי *because* Mal 2.14 (in answer to עַל־מָה); Dt 31.17; Jdg 3.12; עַל אֲשֶׁר 2Sm 3.30; עַל־כֵּן אֲשֶׁר *because of the fact that* Dt 22.24; 23.5; 2Sm 13.22.

(1) The notion of supposed known causality (Engl. *since, seeing that*, Fr. *puisque*, Lat. *quandoquidem, siquidem*) is expressed by עַל־כֵּן literally *for by that*, a locution where the notion of causality is doubly expressed: Gn 18.5; 33.10; 38.26; Nu 10.31; 14.43; 2Sm 18.20Q.

The preposition מֵן indicating the cause *whence* an effect derives is frequent: Ex 15.23 "they could not drink the water *because of* its bitterness"; often מֵרֹב *because of the multitude* Gn 16.10. Likewise with a negative: מֵאֵין Is 50.2 "*because there is no water*" = "*for lack of water*," מִבְּלִי *for lack of* (with a subst. or inf.). With an infinitive (in fact, with feminine verbal substantives; rare): 2Sm 3.11 מֵיִרְאָתוֹ אֶתוֹ *because he feared him*; Dt 7.8; 9.28b; Is 48.4; likewise with a negative: Nu 14.16 מִבְּלִי יִכָּלֵת *because he could not*; Ez 16.28. The expression מִפְּנֵי sometimes assumes the causal sense: Gn 27.46.

With מֵן we find the compound conjunctions מֵאֲשֶׁר *because* in Is 43.4†; מִפְּנֵי אֲשֶׁר *because* (without any special nuance): Ex 19.18; Jer 44.23†.

In contrast, כִּי rarely has a nuance which strictly speaking is causal. However, the sense *with* occasionally leads to a causal nuance(¹).

With a substantive we hardly ever find examples in which כִּי signifies *because of*(²); with an infinitive, we rarely have the causal sense *because*: Gn 19.16; Ex 16.7; 2Ch 28.6. Rarely also we find כִּי־אֲשַׁר in the sense of *because*: Gn 39.9,23; Ec 7.2; 8.4.

(1) Compare Fr. *par ce que*, whence *parce que*.

(2) Thus in the examples given by BDB, כִּי III, 5, the sense is *by* or *for*.

k Extremely rarely כִּי־אֲשַׁר assumes a causal value *because*: Nu 27.14; Jdg 6.27; 1Sm 28.18; 2Kg 17.26; Mi 3.4 (but LXX כִּי־אֲשַׁר)(¹).

(1) See further P. Joüon in *MUSJ* 10 (1925) 6.

l The prepositional locution כִּי־עֲבוֹר (cf. § 168 *e*) is common in the causal sense: *because of*: Gn 3.17 "accursed is the land *because of* you." Less frequent is the almost synonymous locution, כִּי־גִלְלִי: Gn 30.17 "Yahweh blessed me *because of* you."

m A causal particle can govern two juxtaposed clauses the first of which is logically subordinate: 1Sm 26.23 *because, Yahweh having delivered you to me, I did not wish ...*; Is 12.1. cp. §§ 161 *k*; 167 *t*; 168 *h*.

n The order of the constituent members depends on the relative importance of each of the two. With כִּי־גִלְלִי, which often expresses a strong nuance, the usual order is *Cause—Caused*: Gn 22.16; but כִּי in second position in Nu 11.20; Lv 26.43. Conversely כִּי is often in second position: Gn 8.9; but it is sometimes in first position: 3.14,17.

o When the cause appears in first position, the apodosis very often begins with a Waw of apodosis (§ 176 *e*). Sometimes the apodosis begins with כִּי־לָכֵן *therefore, ideo*(¹): Nu 20.12; 1Kg 14.10; Is 29.13f.; Ez 36.3f. etc.; very rarely with כִּי־לָכֵן *therefore, propterea* (stronger than כִּי־לָכֵן): 1Sm 28.18 (after כִּי־אֲשַׁר, § *k*).

(1) Cf. BDB, s.v. כִּי, 3, d.

§ 171. Concessive clause

a Concession takes two main forms, represented in English by *although* and *even though*. The nuance *although* is associated with the notion of causality (§ 170) and can be expressed by the same means. The nuance *even though* is a simple modality of the conditional notion and can be expressed by the same means. In fact, for *although*, we find, as for

causality, כִּי (§ 170 d), עַל (§ 170 h), and also כִּי גַם, which formally expresses the notion of *although*. For *even though* we have, as for the simple condition, אֲף (§ 167 f) and כִּי (§ 167 i); but we do not find, e.g. אֲף גַם* as in Modern Hebrew. Examples:

כִּי *even though* or *though*: Is 54.10; Jer 14.12; 49.16; 50.11; 51.53; Ez 11.16; Zech 8.6; Ps 37.24; Pr 6.35(1) b

(1) A. Aejmelaeus rightly stresses that the concessive force is unlikely where the כִּי clause follows the main clause: *JBL* 105 (1986) 205-7.

גַּם כִּי *though*: Is 1.15; Ho 8.10; 9.16; Ps 23.4. c

אֲף *even though*: Nu 22.18; Is 1.18; Am 9.2-4. d

עַל- *despite the fact that, though*: with an infinitive: Job 10.7 על-הַיָּדָעַתְּ *despite the fact that you know*(1); עַל construed with a clause (verbal or nominal; cf. § 129 p): Is 53.9 עַל לֹא-הָקָמָה עֲשָׂה *although he has not committed any injustice*; Job 16.17 עַל לֹא-הָקָמָה בְּכַפֵּי *although there is no injustice in my hands*. e

(1) But according to others: *because you know* (cf. Ehrlich, *Randglossen* ad loc.).

The nuance of causal contrast can be weakly rendered by the simple juxtaposition of the two members of the sentence joined by a Waw(1): Gn 18.27 *Behold I begin to speak to my lord again, although I am dust and ashes* וְאָנֹכִי עֹפָר וָאֵפֶר; 48.14 וְהוּא הַצָּעִיר *although he was the youngest*; 1Sm 12.12 וַיְהוֹה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם מִלְּכֶכֶם *although Yahweh your God is your king*; with a verbal clause: Gn 18.18 וְאַבְרָהָם הָיָה יְהִיָּה *although Abraham will certainly be ...* Cp. the reverse relationship: Gn 32.31 *I have seen God face to face and (yet) my soul was unharmed* וַהֲנִצַּל נַפְשִׁי. Cf. § 172 a. f

(1) Comp. *He is miserable, and he is rich!* with *He is miserable even though he is rich!*

On the inf. abs. for underlining a concession, cf. §§ 123 i 6. g

§ 172. Adversative clause

The nuance of opposition of the Engl. *but* can be rendered by a mere Waw (cf. § 171 f): Gn 2.20b וּלְאָדָם *but to Adam*; 3.3 וּמִפְרֵי *but from the fruit*; Ct 1.5 *I am black but beautiful*; 5.2 *I am asleep, but my heart is awake*; with Waw inversive: Lv 25.43 וְיִרְאַתְּ (§ 43 b) *but you will fear*; (after a negative clause): Gn 17.5 *you will no longer be called Abram*, a

but Abraham shall be your name וְהָיָה אֲבְרָהָם שְׁמִי; with w-...qatal: (after negation): Gn 42.10 No, my lord, but your servants have come וְיַעֲבֹדְךָ יְהוָה וְיֵאָדָּו; with an anomalous form⁽¹⁾ w-qatálti (instead of the normal w-..qatálti): 1Kg 3.11 (after a negative clause): you have not asked for ... but have asked for וְשָׁאַלְתָּ; 2Kg 8.10 וְהָרָאֵנִי but Yáhwēh made me see; Ez 20.22 וְהָשִׁיבֵתִי but I made ... return.

(1) Cf. § 119 z. Could w-qatálti here be due to the adversative notion? (cf. Davidson, *Syntax*, § 58 b). It would then be the symmetrical case of synonymy.

b With a stronger nuance of *but*, we sometimes find אֲזַלְּךָ, אֲזַלְּךָ: Job 1.11 but stretch forth your hand (= 2.5); Gn 48.19; Ex 9.16.

c After a negation, the notion of *but* is often expressed by כִּי⁽¹⁾, also often by אִם כִּי⁽²⁾, which perhaps has a slightly less strong nuance⁽³⁾. Examples with כִּי: 2Sm 20.21 כִּי הָיָה בְּרַךְ כִּי the thing is not so, but ...⁽⁴⁾; Gn 18.15; 19.2; Josh 5.14; Am 7.14. With אִם כִּי: Gn 32.29 לֹא לֵאמֹר יִשְׂרָאֵל כִּי אִם יִשְׂרָאֵל you will no longer be called Jacob, but rather Israel (contr. 17.5 and 15); 15.4; Dt 7.5; 1Sm 2.15; 8.19; Ps 1.2.

(1) The adversative sense probably derives from the causal one, and must have developed in cases where there is virtual equivalence between *for* and *but*: Gn 17.15 Sarai your wife, you will no longer call her Sarai, for (= but) Sarah is her name. It is in this way that Lat. *enim* took on the sense of *but*. In 1Kg 21.15, after an initial כִּי in the sense of *for*, this explanation appears quite natural.

(2) The adverbial sense probably derives from the exceptive one (§ 173 b), initially in cases such as Ex 12.9 Do not eat anything which is half-cooked or boiled with water, if it is not (= but) roasted on fire. Comp. in the N.T. εἰ μὴ if it is not used in the sense of *but*: Mt 12.4; Lk 4.26. In Italian *se non che* takes on the sense of *but* (at the beginning of a sentence).

(3) According to Kropat, *Syntax*, p. 31, the Chronicler avoids אִם כִּי for *but*, using it only in the exceptive sense.

(4) By extension כִּי occasionally takes the adversative nuance by virtue of the context. Thus in this example, if we delete the three preceding words, כִּי would still retain the adversative nuance by virtue of the context (cf. vs. 20).

d On the use of the inf. abs. for underlining a contrast, cf. § 123 i.

§ 173. Exceptive clause

a To introduce an exception after a positive statement we find especially כִּי אֶפְסֵם except that: Am 9.8 אֶפְסֵם כִּי לֹא הִשְׁמִיד אֶשְׁמִיד except that I shall not annihilate; Nu 13.28; Dt 15.4; Jdg 4.9. Use is also made of

בְּלֹתִי אִם in the sense of *if ... not (nisi)* Am 3.4; בְּלֹתִי construed with a nominal clause (cf. § 129 p): Gn 43.3 אֲחִיכֶם אִתְּכֶם *unless your brother is with you*.

After a negative statement, we find אִם כִּי⁽¹⁾ (cf. § 172 e): Gn 32.27 *I will not let you go unless you have blessed me*; Lv 22.6; Is 55.10 (BDB, p. 475a: *but*); 65.6; Am 3.7; Ru 3.18. b

(1) Transition from the sense of *but if* to that of *if ... not (nisi)*, e.g. Gn 32.27 "I will not let go of you, *but if* you bless me (I will let go of you) = *if* you do *not* bless me."

From the exceptive sense of *if ... not (nisi, quin)* is derived the sense of absolute necessity, *necessarily*, which is equivalent to *assuredly*; cf. after an oath: 2Kg 5.20; Jer 51.14 (§ 164 c); outside of an oath: 1Kg 20.6; Mi 6.8. c

§ 174. Comparative clause

The usual particle for introducing a comparative clause is כַּאֲשֶׁר, *in the same way as*, which is used not only with qualitative force, but also with quantitative force, e.g. Ex 1.12 כַּאֲשֶׁר יַעֲנֹוּ אֹתוֹ כֵּן יַרְבֶּה *According as they oppressed them, thus they multiplied (= the more ... the more)*; cf. Gn 34.12. a

In the apodosis we often find כֵּן, as in the example cited above, Ex 1.12; Gn 41.13; Jdg 1.7. Twice we find a Waw of apodosis: Ex 16.34; Nu 1.19. b

Before a substantive (or an infinitive, § 133 g) we find the preposition כִּי: Ho 4.7 כִּי כָּרְבָם כֵּן חָטְאוּ לִי *as they multiplied (or in proportion to their increase), so they sinned against me*; also with כֵּן in the apodosis: Ps 48.11; 123.2; Pr 26.1,8,18,19. c

Occasionally the preposition כִּי is used with the force of a conjunction (cf. § 158 a, n.)⁽¹⁾; Is 11.9 "the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord as the waters (בַּמַּיִם) cover the sea"; 61.11 כַּאֲרֵץ תּוֹצִיא *as the earth produces*; Ob 16 וְהָיוּ כִּלּוֹא הָיוּ *and they will be as if they had never been*⁽²⁾; Ps 42.2 *as a hart longs*⁽³⁾. d

(1) But it is doubtful whether כִּי ever becomes a conjunction in the strict sense of the word; it is not found before a verb form. Cf. BDB, s.v., 1, c, end.

(2) כִּי here in the sense of *as if*, like כַּאֲשֶׁר in 2Sm 16.23; Zech 10.6; Job 10.19.

(3) In the locution כִּי־הוּמָּה הַיּוֹם Gn 50.20 the verb *to be* is understood: *as (this is) today (still)*, not: *as today*.

e In certain rare and suspect cases, we find כִּי without כִּי־אֲשֶׁר: Is 55.9, ...כִּי־גִבְהוֹ שָׁמַיִם מֵאָרֶץ כִּי־... but (*as*) *the heavens are higher than the earth, so ...*; Jer 3.20; Ho 11.2⁽¹⁾.

(1) In Is 62.5 there is neither כִּי־אֲשֶׁר nor כִּי.

f The comparison is virtual in cases like Is 7.17 where אֲשֶׁר is not followed by the correlative כִּי with a pronoun (§ 147 f).

g An accusative of internal object followed by a determination can express a comparison, e.g. 1Sm 20.17 (cf. § 125 q, n.).

h Finally the comparison can be weakly expressed by a mere Waw⁽¹⁾: Pr 26.14 "the door turns on its hinges and (= *likewise*) the sluggard on his bed"; 17.3; 25.3; 26.3,9; 27.21; Job 12.11; 14.11ff.; 34.3. The comparison can even be brought out by the simple juxtaposition of two members of a statement without Waw: Jer 17.11; Job 24.19.

(1) *Waw adaequationis* הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה וְהַיּוֹם הַבָּא.

i With כִּי ... כִּי (or וְכִי ... כִּי Josh 14.11; 1Sm 30.24; Ez 18.4; Dn 11.29), it is not exactly being said that the first thing is *like* the second nor (Josh 14.11; Jdg 8.18; 1Sm 30.24; Is 24.2) that the second thing is *like* the first, but rather that the first thing is like the second *and* the second is like the first (so the sequence of the members is immaterial and there is the possibility of using 1). In other words, the two terms are declared identical in some regard. Thus Josh 14.11 כִּי־כֹחִי אָז וְכִי־כֹחִי הַיּוֹם does not signify *my force then is like my force now* (which would not suit the context), nor *my force now is like my force then*, but *my force then and my force now, they are the same*. Examples: Gn 18.25 *the just and the sinner will have the same fate*; Lv 7.7 *the guilt-offering and the sin-offering are comparable: one law governs both*; 24.16 *the immigrant and the native are equal*; Gn 44.18 כִּי־אַתָּה וְכִי־פַרְעֹה *you and Pharaoh, both are one* (cf. § 154 b); Is 24.2 *the same end will await people and priests, slaves and masters ...*; Hg 2.3 *he and nothing, are they not the same thing in your eyes?*; Ec 9.2 *the just and the sinner have the same lot*⁽¹⁾.

(1) Read then כִּי־שָׁבַע וְכִי־שָׁבַח *the perjurer and one who honours oaths share the same fate*.

§ 175. Disjunctive clause⁽¹⁾

The idea represented by the Engl. *or* is usually expressed by או, a
 e.g. 2Sm 2.21 וְעַל-שְׂמֹאלְךָ אִוּ עַל-יְמִינְךָ אִוּ *turn aside to your right or*
to your left. But instead of this precise word, a Waw often suffices,
 e.g. vs. 19 וְעַל-הַשְּׂמֹאל לֹא-נָטָה לְדָבָר עַל-הַיְמִינִי וְעַל-הַשְּׂמֹאל לֹא-נָטָה לְדָבָר *he did not turn aside*
right or (nor) left, with a less precise nuance of *or*; Ex 21.17 מְקַלֵּל אָבִיו וְאִמּוֹ *he who curses his father or mother*. After a negative or the equi-
 valent of a negation such a ו corresponds to *nor*: Gn 45.6 אֵין חָרִישׁ וְאֵין קָצִיר *there will be neither ploughing nor harvesting*; 1Kg 17.1 אִם יִהְיֶה טַל וְאִם יִמָּטֵר *there will be neither dew nor rain*.

(1) See Andersen, *Sentence*, pp. 141-49.

Similarly ו ... ו can signify *either ... or, whether ... or*: Ex 21.16 בְּיָדוֹ וְנִמְצָא בְּיָדוֹ אִם-יִמָּכְרוֹ וְאִם-יִשָּׂא *he who steals a man, whether he has sold*
him or whether he is still in his possession; Dt 24.7.

But for the disjunction *whether ... or* we usually find אִם ... אִם (or
 אִם ... אִם) in a verbal clause or a nominal clause (usually elliptical):
 Ez 2.5 אִם-יִשְׁמְעוּ וְאִם-יִחַדְלוּ *whether they hear or cease*; 2Sm 15.21 אִם-לְחַיֵּים
 וְאִם-לְמָוֶת *whether for death or for life*.

Very rarely we find או ... או: Lv 5.1 אוּ יָדַע אוּ רָאָה *whether he saw*
or knew (אִם probably avoided on account of the following אִם)⁽¹⁾.

(1) This is, it seems, the sole example of this kind. In Ex 21.31 a preceding אִם af-
 fects the verbs which follow או (§ 167 q).

For the disjunctive question, cf. § 161 e-f. e

CHAPTER VIII: CONJUNCTION WAW

After all that has been said on Waw in the chapter on the tenses (§§ 115-120) and in the chapter on the prepositions (§§ 159, 166-75) it is possible to see how exceptionally important a role this tiny word plays in the simple syntax of Hebrew. It remains to consider certain uses (or non-uses) of Waw. We will, first of all, look at the Waw of apodosis.

§ 176. The Waw of apodosis

- a* The *Waw of apodosis*, as indicated by its name, is a Waw which is put at the beginning of an apodosis to link it to its protasis: Gn 32.18f. וְאָמַרְתָּ¹⁹ ... כִּי יִפְגַּעְךָ עֵשָׂו *when* (rather than *if*, LXX, Vulg.) *Esau meets you ... (then) you will say*. In a broad sense, we may include in this category the Waw which is very often found not before, but after a secondary part of a statement which functions as a protasis linking this to the principal part, which functions as an apodosis: Gn 27.34 וַיִּצְעַק ... כִּשְׁמֹעַ עֵשָׂו *when Esau heard ... (then) he cried*; 3.5 בְּיוֹם אֲכָלְכֶם וְנִפְתְּחוּ עֵינֵיכֶם *the day you eat from it (then) your eyes will open*. Finally, in a still broader sense, one can, by analogy, call Waw of apodosis the Waw which occurs after a *casus pendens* (§ 156 I): 1Kg 15.13 *and even his mother Ma'ka, he robbed her of the honour of being queen-mother*.
- b* The term *Waw of apodosis* is purely formal. In order to express the nature of this energetic Waw (likewise that of the corresponding Arabic *fa*)(¹) we could call it *Waw of resumption*(²) or *Waw of linkage*. The Waw of apodosis always presupposes that the train of thought has somehow been arrested. The Waw with its basic sense of *and* serves vividly to *pick up* the train of thought which has been held up or slowed down, and to *link* the two disjointed parts of the statement.

The *and* of apodosis, being energetic by nature, if the apodosis (or quasi-apodosis) begins with a finite verb in the indicative, the forms used are wayyiqtol and w-qataltí (cf. § 115 *b-c*). Therefore, when these

forms are used as forms of apodosis, one should not attach to them their usual value (succession or consecution): they must be explained in terms of the energetic Waw of resumption⁽³⁾.

(1) Cf. H. Reckendorf, *Die syntaktischen Verhältnisse des Arabischen* (Leiden, 1895-98), p. 678. The recognition of the Arabic analogue is as old as Saadia, Ibn Ezra and others.

(2) This phenomenon of *resumption* is totally different from that in which a Waw precedes a verb which, for some stylistic reason, *resumes* the same verb, whether in the same form or not, e.g. Ex 1.15f. וַיֹּאמֶר ... וַיֹּאמֶר; 4.9; 12.41; Lv 13.3; 17.5 יְבִיאֵן לְמַעַן יְבִיאֵן וְהִבִּיאֵן ...; Dt 4.42 וְנִס ... לְנִס; Jer 34.18-20; Zech 8.23 (cf. Driver, *Tenses*, § 118 n., and *Notes* ad 1Sm 25.26). See also 1Ma 1.1 (cf. P. Joüon in *Bib* 3 [1922] 205); Tob 6.14 (Cod. Sinaiticus, ed. R. Hanhart, καὶ ἀπέθανον . . . καὶ ἀπέθνησκον; cf. P. Joüon in *Bib* 4 [1923] 172).

(3) In order to render this Waw which has no equivalent in English, we have had recourse to words such as *then* (Fr. *alors*, *eh bien*) the nuance of which is much stronger than that of the Hebrew. The Germ. *so* is rather close to the Waw of apodosis.

The use of the Waw of apodosis is not subject to any strict rules. Generally such a Waw is used when a need is felt to link what is about to be said to what has been said, after a slowing down or break in the flow of thought. Now this slowing down takes place especially in conditional clauses (§ 167), causal clauses (§ 170), temporal clauses (§ 166), and after the casus pendens (§ 156). Certain details have some bearing on the use of the Waw of apodosis, notably the grammatical category of the word which begins the apodosis (verb, noun, particle), and the length of the protasis. c

The Waw of apodosis is particularly frequent in conditional clauses (§ 167) beginning with אִם or כִּי: Gn 18.26 *If I find in Sodom fifty just men, in the midst of the city, וְנִשְׁפָּטֵתִי I would forgive*. Also after אִם: 24.8,41; 32.9; Nu 30.15; Jdg 4.20; 1Sm 1.11; 20.6; 1Kg 3.14 (w-qatalí in all). Such examples abound in casuistic legal codes, e.g. Ex 21.3b וְיִצְאָהּ; v. 6 וְהִגִּישׁוּ (but before a noun, no Waw of apodosis Ex 21.3a,4; nor before a negative, vs. 7). In 1Ch 28.9b (a very short protasis) no Waw of apodosis: אִם תִּדְרֹשׁוּ אֹתוֹ יִמְצָא לָכֶם if you seek him, he will be found by you. See also Jdg 4.8 אִם-תִּלְכֶּי עִמִּי וְהִלַּכְתִּי וְאִם-לֹא תִלְכֶּי עִמִּי לֹא אֶלֶךְ.

Likewise, the Waw of apodosis is frequent in causal clauses⁽¹⁾: 1Sm 15.23b וְעַן מָאָסְתָּ בְּיְהוָה וְיִמְאָסֶיךָ מִמְּלִכָה because you rejected the word of Y., he has denied you kingship; Is 3.16f. d

c

d

e

(1) In causal clauses we also find וַיִּבְנֶה of apodosis (§ 170 o). Compare also the וַיִּבְנֶה of apodosis in comparative clauses (§ 174 b).

f The Waw of apodosis is extremely common in **temporal** clauses (§ 166 *l-p*). In those very numerous cases where the protasis (or the quasi-protasis) is introduced by וַיְהִי or וַהֲיִה, the apodosis mostly has wayyiqtol or w-qataltí: Gn 21.22 וַיִּבְרַח הַיָּמָּה וַיֹּאמֶר *now, at that time, he said*. But sometimes the Waw of apodosis is wanting: Ex 16.22 וַיְהִי בַיּוֹם *now, on the sixth day they collected*; 16.27; Lv 9.1 (the sole example in Lv); after וַהֲיִה Lv 14.9. This is especially common in late books: e.g. Ne 1.4 ... וַאֲבָכָה יִשְׁבְּתִי וְאֶבְכָה 4.10; 2Ch 12.2,11; 20.1; 21.19; 24.4,23; Esth 1.1; 5.2.

g Apart from this case, usage varies. After temporal indications, even if they are very brief, we can find the Waw of apodosis, e.g. in the remarkable case of Ex 16.6 וַיֵּרָב וַיִּדְעָתֶם *in the evening (when it becomes evening), you will find out ...*; 1Kg 13.31 וַיִּמָּוֶתִי וַיִּקְבְּרֶתֶם אֹתִי *on my death you will bury me ...*

h After בַּיּוֹם we usually do not find this Waw⁽¹⁾: Gn 7.11; Ex 19.1; Gn 15.18; Lv 22.30; Josh 4.14; 1Sm 3.12; 1Kg 8.64; בַּיּוֹם followed by an ordinal numeral Ex 22.29; Nu 6.9; 1Kg 8.66; 2Kg 20.5.

(1) Except, of course, after the introductory וַיְהִי, וַהֲיִה (§ *f*). In Gn 22.4 before וַיִּשְׁאַל בַּיּוֹם הַשְּׁלִישִׁי we probably must restore the introductory וַיְהִי.

i In relative clauses the Waw of apodosis is rather frequent; they come under the category of *casus pendens* (§ *j*): Josh 15.16 אֲשֶׁר-יִכָּה וְנָתַתִּי לוֹ *he who smites Q.-S. and takes it, I will give him ...* (§ 156 *k*); Ex 21.13. The length of the protasis is important; thus, the Waw does not occur in Gn 44.10 where the protasis is short, whilst we find it in vs. 9 where the protasis is longer.

j In cases of *casus pendens* (§ 156 *l*) the length of the protasis can be an important factor. Thus, for an identical case of accusative (object), we find the Waw in 2Kg 16.14, but it is not found in Gn 47.21; 1Sm 25.29b.

k We have seen that the verbal forms in the indicative very often take the Waw of apodosis, hence wayyiqtol and w-qataltí. The Waw of apodosis is not put before the imperative: Dt 12.30 הֲשִׁמְרֵם לָהּ (after a very long temporal protasis); Gn 50.4; 1Sm 21.10 after conditional protases of medium length. But it is found before the jussive: Ex 12.3, and before the cohortative: Gn 13.9.

Before a noun, the Waw of apodosis is rather rare. Constructions such as 2Ch 7.1 **וְיִבְכְּלוּת־שֶׁל־מָה לְהִתְפַּלֵּל וְהָאֵשׁ יִרְדָּה**; 13.15; 26.19 are not classical⁽¹⁾. l

(1) Cf. Kropat, *Syntax*, p. 70.

The inf. abs., which is a noun, does not take the Waw of apodosis: Ex 21.12,20,22. m

Before particles, the Waw of apodosis is not usually found: Ex 21.7 **וְיִצְאָה לָא תֶּצֵא** (contr. vs. 3b **וְיִצְאָה ב**); 1Kg 1.52a **לֹא יִפֹּל** (contr. b **וּמָת**). n

In a major pause the Waw of apodosis appears to be especially necessary: 2Kg 7.4bβ **אִם־יִחַיֵּנוּ נַחֲיֶיהָ וְאִם־יָמִיתֵנוּ וּמָתָנוּ** *if they spare us, we shall survive, and if they kill us, (well then) we shall die!* (The last verb in a major pause has the Waw, though the protasis is rather short; by contrast, the verb of the first apodosis lacks it); Ex 9.20f. (after two protases of equal length we find the Waw only after the second: **וַיַּעֲזֹב**); Jer 6.19 **וְתוֹרְתִי וַיִּמְאַסּוּ־בָהּ** (the Waw, following a very short casus pendens, is due to the major pause)⁽¹⁾. o

(1) In Gn 43.14 **וַאֲנִי כְּאֲשֶׁר שָׁכַלְתִּי שָׁכַלְתִּי** the same form was preferred for the sake of assonance; likewise Esth 4.16.

§ 177. Syndesis and asyndesis⁽¹⁾

Generally Hebrew shows a very marked tendency towards the syndetic construction (with Waw): e.g. Gn 22.3 **וַיִּשְׁכַּם אַבְרָהָם בַּבֹּקֶר וַיַּחֲבֹשׁ אֶת־אֶת־חַמְרוֹ וַיִּקַּח אֶת־שְׁנֵי נְעָרָיו אִתּוֹ וְאֵת יִצְחָק בְּנוֹ וַיִּבְקַע עֵצִי עֹלָה וַיִּקַּח ... וַיִּלֶּךְ אֶל־הַמָּקוֹם ...** *So Abraham rose early in the morning, saddled his ass, and took two of his young men with him, and his son Isaac, and he cut the wood for a burnt offering, and arose and went to the place ...* Thus cases of asyndetic construction are all the more remarkable, e.g. Josh 2.18: *Behold we are about to enter the land: this cord of scarlet thread, you will bind it to the window* Jdg 5.27 **בֵּין רַגְלֶיהָ כָּרַע** *at her feet he bent, he fell, he lay down.* Quite often an explicative development is asyndetically added: 2Sm 12.13 *Yahweh has taken your sin away: you shall not die*; 1Kg 13.28 **לֹא אָכַל** *the lion had not eaten* (the καί of the LXX leaves something to be desired); 18.6 *they divided the land in order to go through it; Ahab went in one direction ...*; 2Kg 3.3 *he clung* a

to the sins of Jeroboam: he did not dissociate himself from them (= without dissociating himself from them).

(1) See Kuhr, E.: *Die Ausdrucksmittel der konjunktionslosen Hypotaxe in der ältesten hebräischen Prosa. Ein Beitrag zur historischen Syntax des Hebräischen* (Leipzig, 1929).

- b* Certain verbs require special consideration, notably the two verbs used to express our adverbial notion of *again* (§ 102 *g*): *שוב* *to return* and *יָסַף, הוֹסִיף* *to add*⁽¹⁾. There is a general tendency to use the same form in the two verbs, hence, as a consequence, the use or non-use of Waw. Thus we find after an initial form with Waw: Gn 26.18 *וַיָּשָׁב יִצְחָק* *Isaac dug again*⁽²⁾; Is 6.13 *וְשָׁבָה וְהִיָּתְהָ*; Mal 1.4 *וְנָשׁוּב וְנִבְנָה*. In contrast we find: Gn 30.31 *אָשׁוּבָה אֲרַעָה*; Mi 7.19 *יָשׁוּב יִרְחֲמֵנִי*; 1Sm 3.5 *שׁוּב לְשָׁבֵב*. But we find, e.g. Ho 2.11 *אָשׁוּב וְלִקְחָתִי*; Dn 9.25 *תָּשׁוּב וְנִבְנָתָה*.

(1) These two verbs are used to express repetition (Lat. *iterum*, Germ. *wieder*). Furthermore each of them has a special nuance: *שוב* expresses a movement opposite to one mentioned previously (Germ. *zurück*, e.g. in *zurücknehmen* "retake"; *יָסַף* expresses continuation (Germ. *fort*) or augmentation. In addition to the construction with a finite form (with or without Waw), *שוב* and especially *יָסַף* can be used with the infinitive (with or without *ל*).

(2) It is not possible to say *וַיָּשָׁב יִצְחָק חָפַר* (cf. § 118 *k*).

- c* Similarly for *יָסַף, הוֹסִיף*: Gn 25.1 *וַיִּסְּף אַבְרָהָם וַיִּקַּח* *A. took again*; 38.5 etc. In contrast we have: Ho 1.6 *לֹא אוֹסִיף עוֹד אֲרַחֵם* etc. (with a change of the subject Is 47.1b[1], 5b)⁽²⁾.

(1) *וְיִקְרְאוּ לְךָ* *they will call you* could have been felt to be a pure passive: *you will be called*, hence with *לֹא תוֹסִיפִי* *you will no longer be called* (cf. § 155 *c*).

(2) If *יָסַף, הוֹסִיף* is used here transitively, the second verb would constitute an object clause. The same can be said of other verbs like *הוֹאִיל*, § *d*; cf. § *h*.

- d* Apart from these two verbs thus used as semi-auxiliaries, usage varies. Thus with *הוֹאִיל* *to begin, to condescend*, in the imperative we find the Waw three times: Jdg 19.6; 2Sm 7.29; 2Kg 6.3; twice with no Waw: 2Kg 5.23; Job 6.28; — in the perfect we find the Waw once, in Josh 7.7; twice with no Waw: Dt 1.5; Ho 5.11.

- e* In the imperative we very often find the asyndetic construction when the second verb follows immediately; in other words, we find the type *לֵךְ וְאָמַר* *go, say* (= *go to say*) far more often than *לֵךְ וְאָמַר*⁽¹⁾: Ru 4.1a *וַיָּסֵר וַיֵּשֶׁב* *come over here, sit down here* (contr. *b*: *וַיָּסֵר וַיֵּשֶׁב*); 1Kg

19.7 קוּם אֶכֶל *Rise, eat* (contr. 8 וַיִּקָּם וַיֵּאָכֵל; 18.41 עָלָה אֶכֶל *go up, eat* and 44 אָמַר עָלָה אֶכֶל (despite the considerable interval between the two actions); Ex 17.9 צָא הִלָּחֶם *go, fight*; 19.21 הָעֵד בָּעַם *go down, adjure the people*; Ez 20.39 עֲבֹדוּ לְכוּ אִישׁ גִּלּוּלָיו *go to serve, each his idols*. This construction is especially common when the first verb denotes a physical movement.

(1) On the third construction וְאָמַרְתָּ לֵּךְ *go and you will say*, cf. § 119 l (e.g. Ex 19.24).

The imperative לֵךְ (לָכֵי, לָכֵה etc.) is often weakened to the force of an interjection *Now, come on!* (particularly before a second asyndetic imperative) Ex 19.24 לֵךְ-רֵד *Come, go down*; before other forms: 1Kg 1.12 לָכֵי אֵי עֲצֹף *Come! I want to give you some advice*(¹); 1Sm 9.10 לָכֵה גַלְלָה *Come on, let's go!*(²) Cf. § 105 e.

(1) Gn 19.32 וְלָכֵה גַלְלָה (instead of לָכֵי) can be explained in terms of interjectory force.

(2) Cf. the grammaticalised Engl. *go* as in *I'm going to go*.

One may note asyndesis where the first verb expresses an **adverbial notion**: Ho 9.9 שִׁחָתוּ הַעֲמִיקוּ *profunde peccaverunt* (Vulg. = 'they have sunk deep into corruption'); Zeph 3.7 הַשְׁכֵּימוּ הַשְׁחִיתוּ *as soon as the day broke, they acted wickedly* (cf., in the participle, Ho 6.4 = 13.3); Josh 3.16 נִבְרָתוּ הַמַּיִם (the waters) *disappeared completely*; 1Sm 2.3 אַל-גְּבִהָה גְּבִהָה *Talk no more so very proudly*. Contrast Jer 4.5 (where the second verb expresses the adverbial notion) קְרָאוּ מְלֵאוּ *cry loudly*.

Occasionally a clause introduced by a Waw is equivalent to an object clause (§ 157 b): Gn 47.6 אִם יָדַעְתָּ וַיֵּשׁ-בָּם אֲנָשִׁים-חַיִּל *if you know that there are able people among them*; Ru 1.9 וַיִּמְצְאוּ יְהוָה לְכֶם *Would that Y. enabled you to find*; Dt 5.26 (§ 163 d); 31.12 (cf. vs. 13); Is 1.19; Esth 8.6.

This is how one can probably explain clauses beginning with וַהֲגִיחַ after a verb *to see*. As in the construction with כִּי, the object noun can be anticipated (cf. § 157 d). Therefore two constructions are possible: 1) without anticipation, 2) with anticipation of the object noun. 1) Without anticipation we find the type in Gn 8.13 וַיֵּרָא וַהֲגִיחַ חֲרָבוּ *he saw and behold (= he saw that) the surface of the earth had been dried up* (as we have Gn 3.6 וַיֵּרָא כִּי טוֹב הָעֵץ *she saw that the tree was beautiful*). 2) With anticipation we find the type in Gn 1.31

וַיֵּרָא אֱלֹהִים אֶת־כָּל־אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה וְהִנֵּה טוֹב מְאֹד *God saw that all he had made was very good* (as we have Gn 1.4 וַיֵּרָא אֱלֹהִים אֶת־הָאֹר כִּי־טוֹב *God saw that the light was good*).

j With the verbs of commandment, alongside the construction of the complete type *he commanded to do and they did* (e.g. Gn 50.2), there also exists the type *he commanded and they did*, which is used as a virtual equivalent of *he commanded to do*⁽¹⁾: Gn 42.25 וַיִּצַו יוֹסֵף וַיִּמְלְאוּ אֹתָם־אֶת־ J. *commanded to fill their receptacles with grain and return ...*; Am 9.3 אֲצַוֶּה אֶת־הַנָּחָשׁ וַיִּנְשָׁכֶם *I will command the serpent to bite them*; Gn 18.19 וַיִּצַּו אֶת־בָּנָיו וַשְׁמְרוּ *he will command his sons to guard*. In the sphere of the future, in addition to this construction with the indicative, we also find the construction with the jussive⁽²⁾, especially after an imperative: Lv 24.2 צַו אֶת־בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל וַיִּקְחוּ אֵלַיְךָ *command the children of Israel to bring you*; Nu 5.2; Josh 4.16; 1Kg 5.20 (hence וַיִּנְתְּנוּ of Nu 35.2 is suspect).

(1) This type is especially common in Arabic and Aramaic.

(2) It seems that the jussive here is direct (*and that he ...*), because with a negative we find וְאַל־לְךָ אֶת־אֶהְרֹן וְאַל־יָבֵא Lv 16.2 *order Aaron not to enter* (comp. § 116 *j*).

k One finds this same construction with other verbs, e.g. Ex 8.4 וְיִסֹר הַצְּפָרְדֵּי־עַיִם אֶל־יְהוָה וְיִסֹר הַצְּפָרְדֵּי־עַיִם *entreat Y. to remove the frogs*; 2Sm 16.11 וַיִּקְלֵל לוֹ הַנָּחַשׁ *let him curse me*.

l Certain Waw's appear to have no other purpose than to indicate the jussive more clearly⁽¹⁾: Gn 27.28 וַיִּתֵּן (at the beginning of the clause) *would that he gave!*; 34.21 (probably); Nu 9.2; 1Sm 2.10 *Would that he gave*⁽²⁾; 25.24; 30.22b; 2Sm 24.3; 1Kg 18.23; 2Kg 7.13; Ps 5.12; 72.5* (to be read וַיִּאָרְךָ), 8, 11, 15; 89.6; 102.16.

(1) A form וַיִּקְטֹל in the sense of *and he will kill* would not be classical.

(2) Cf. P. Joüon in *MUSJ* 5 (1911) 466ff., where several more examples are given.

m Quite often the Waw, like *and* in our languages, expresses a nuance of emotion rather than a logical link: 1Kg 2.22 וַשְׁאַלְיָ *ask then (rather) for him the kingdom!*; also before an imperative: Ez 18.32 וְהָשִׁיבוּ *repent then!*; Ps 2.10 וְעַתָּה *and now (kings, understand)*, and often; Nu 20.3 וְלוֹ (optative) *would that ...!* (Josh 7.7). This Waw of emotion is particularly frequent in questions: Ex 2.20 וְאַיּוֹ *and where is he?*; 1Sm 10.12 וּמִי אֲבִי־הֵם *and who is their father?*⁽¹⁾; 2Kg 4.14 וּמָה־; 2Ch 25.9 וּמָה־; Gn 29.25; Jdg 6.13; 1Kg 2.22 etc.; Nu 12.8; 1Kg 1.13 etc.

(1) Cp. Lk 10.29 *καὶ τίς ἐστὶν μου πλησίον;*

In poetry the Waw is sometimes used emphatically with a nuance of affirmation: Is 51.15 *וְאֵלֵינוּ אֵלֵינוּ אֵלֵינוּ* and *I (I am Yahweh your God)* (almost: *As it is true that I am ...*); Jer 29.23b; Ho 12.6; Am 9.5; Ps 89.38b.

Syndesis and asyndesis of nouns. In a series of nouns which follow one after another the use of Waw is rather variable. Generally we find the Waw placed before each noun (except the first, cf. § p): Gn 12.16 "small cattle and large cattle and he-asses and menservants and maid-servants"; 20.14; 24.35 etc. Sometimes the last noun alone has the Waw: 1Kg 9.20 "the Amorites, the Hittites, the Perizzites, the Hivites and the Jebusites"⁽¹⁾; 1Ch 5.27 "Gershom, Kohath and Merari" (contrast Ex 6.16 "G. and K. and M.").

(1) But the Chronicler adds the Waw to all the intervening names: 2Ch 8.7 (cf. Kropat, *Syntax*, p. 62). In a series of four members, the Chronicler gives the Waw to the second and fourth: 1Ch 14.4 "Shamua and Shobab, Nathan and Solomon" (contrast 2Sm 5.14 "Sh. and Sh. and Nathan and S."). Contrast also 1Ch 1.8 and Gn 10.6; 1Ch 5.3 and Gn 46.9; 1Ch 7.1 and Gn 46.13.

Very occasionally the Waw is put before the first of two nouns: Ps 76.7 "and chariots and horses"; Jer 32.20 "and for Israel and for the men"; 2Ch 26.10; 27.5; Ne 12.45 (cf. § 167 b, n.; § 175 b); before the first of a series of nouns: 1Ch 16.4; Ne 12.28f.⁽¹⁾

(1) Cf. Kropat, *Syntax*, p. 63.

Our emphatic *both ... and* is rendered by *וְגַם ... וְגַם*: Gn 24.25 "both straw and provender"; 32.20 *וְגַם* repeated three times; 43.8 (id.); before disparate elements: Gn 24.44 "(and you, drink, and for your camels I will draw water." We also have *וְגַם ... וְגַם* (as in the last example): 1Sm 2.26 etc.

On the double Waw in conditional clauses, cf. § 167 b; in disjunctive clauses, cf. § 175 b.

Examples of asyndesis of word-class other than the verb are: Gn 37.27 *וְהוּא הוּא בְּשָׂרֵנוּ וְבָרֶגְלֵנוּ* *he is our brother and our flesh*; ib. 41.23 *וְצַנְמוֹת וְיָבֵשׁוּ וְיִשְׁבְּחוּ וְיִשְׁרְפוּ וְיִשְׁבְּחוּ וְיִשְׁרְפוּ* *withered, thin, blighted by the east wind as against* 41.6 *וְיִשְׁבְּחוּ וְיִשְׁרְפוּ וְיִשְׁבְּחוּ וְיִשְׁרְפוּ*.

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Separate pronouns (§ 39)

Suffixes of

Sg.1c	אֲנִי, אַנִּי אַנְכִי, אַנְכִי	אֲנִי—; Pf. אֲנִי—; Fut. אֲנִי—
2m.	אַתָּה (אַתָּה 5 x), אַתָּה, אַתָּה	אַתָּה; אַתָּה, אַתָּה (אַתָּה)
f.	אַתָּה, אַתָּה	אַתָּה; אַתָּה; אַתָּה (אַתָּה—)
3m.	הוא	הוא—; ו, ו; Pf. ו, ו; Fut. ו—
f.	היא	היא; היא; Fut. היא—
Pl.1c.	אֲנֵינוּ, אַנְנוּ (אֲנֵינוּ 5 x, אַנְנוּ 1 x)	אֲנֵינוּ—; Pf. אֲנֵינוּ—; Fut. אֲנֵינוּ—
2m.	אַתֶּם	אַתֶּם; אַתֶּם
f.	אַתֶּנּוּ 3 x; אַתֶּן 1 x	אַתֶּן; אַתֶּן
3m.	הֵמָּה > הֵם	(הֵמָּה), הֵם; Pf. הֵמָּה (הֵמָּה—); Fut. הֵמָּה (הֵמָּה—), poet. הֵמָּה; הֵמָּה
f.	הֵנָּה	(הֵנָּה) הֵנָּה; Pf. הֵנָּה (הֵנָּה—); Fut. (הֵנָּה)

The verb with suffixes, Paradigm 3 (הִלֵּךְ verb, Paradigm 12).

The noun and the particles with suffixes, Paradigm 20.

the verb (§ 61)	Suffixes of the noun (§ 94)	
<p>With א</p> <p>אֲנִי (rare); אֲנִי 1 x</p> <p>אֲנִי (אֲנִי)</p> <p>אֲנִי, אֲנִי, (אֲנִי)</p> <p>אֲנִי (אֲנִי)</p> <p>אֲנִי</p>	1) sg. noun	2) pl. noun
	אֲנִי	אֲנִי, אֲנִי
	אֲנִי, אֲנִי, אֲנִי	אֲנִי
	אֲנִי, אֲנִי	
	אֲנִי א; אֲנִי אֲנִי	אֲנִי; (אֲנִי)
	אֲנִי; אֲנִי; אֲנִי	אֲנִי
(אֲנִי ?)	אֲנִי; אֲנִי (אֲנִי)	אֲנִי
	אֲנִי אֲנִי	אֲנִי
	אֲנִי אֲנִי	אֲנִי
	אֲנִי אֲנִי poet. אֲנִי	אֲנִי [אֲנִי, § 94 g] poet. אֲנִי
	אֲנִי אֲנִי אֲנִי	אֲנִי

		Qal (§§ 42-50)			Nifal (§ 51)
Perf. Sg.3m.		קָטַל	כָּבַד	קָטַן	נִקְטַל
§ 42	f.	קָטַלָּה	כָּבְדָה	קָטְנָה	נִקְטַלָּה
	2m.	קָטַלְתָּ	כָּבַדְתָּ	קָטַנְתָּ	נִקְטַלְתָּ
	f.	קָטַלְתְּ	etc.	קָטַנְתְּ	נִקְטַלְתְּ
	1c.	קָטַלְתִּי		קָטַנְתִּי	נִקְטַלְתִּי
	Pl. 3c.	קָטַלוּ		קָטְנוּ	נִקְטַלוּ
	2m.	קָטַלְתֶּם		קָטַנְתֶּם	נִקְטַלְתֶּם
	2f.	יְ—		יְ—	יְ—
	1c.	קָטַלְנוּ		קָטַנּוּ	נִקְטַלְנוּ
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Fut. Sg.3m.		יִקְטַל	יִכְבֹּד	יִקְטֹן	יִקְטַל
§ 44	f.	תִּקְטַל	תִּכְבֹּד	etc.	תִּקְטַל
	2m.	תִּקְטַל	תִּכְבֹּד		תִּקְטַל
	f.	תִּקְטַלִּי	תִּכְבְּדִי		תִּקְטַלִּי
	1c.	אֶקְטַל	אֶכְבֹּד		אֶקְטַל (א) ⁽¹⁾
	Pl. 3m.	יִקְטְלוּ	יִכְבְּדוּ		יִקְטְלוּ
	f.	תִּקְטַלְנָה	תִּכְבְּדְנָה		תִּקְטַלְנָה
	2m.	תִּקְטְלוּ	תִּכְבְּדוּ		תִּקְטְלוּ
	f.	תִּקְטַלְנִי	תִּכְבְּדִנִי		תִּקְטַלְנִי
	1c.	נִקְטַל	נִכְבֹּד		נִקְטַל
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Juss. (§ 46)					
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Impv. Sg.m.		קָטַל	כָּבַד	קָטַן	הִקְטַל
§ 48	f.	קָטַלִּי (מִלְכִּי)	כָּבְדִי	etc.	הִקְטַלִּי
	Pl. m.	קָטְלוּ	כָּבְדוּ		הִקְטְלוּ
	f.	קָטַלְנָה	כָּבְדְנָה		הִקְטַלְנָה
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Inf.cst. § 49		קָטַל(ל)	כָּבַד(ל)	קָטַן(ל)	הִקְטַל(ל)
Inf.abs. § 49		קָטוּל			הִקְטַל, נִקְטַל
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Ptc.act. § 50		קָטַל	כָּבַד ⁽²⁾	קָטַן ⁽²⁾	נִקְטַל
Ptc.pass. § 50		קָטוּל			

(1) Cohortative אֶקְטַלִּי (2) Verbal adjective

Piel § 52 Pual § 55,56 Hifil § 54 Hofal § 55,57 Hitpacl § 53

קטל (ט)	קטל	הקטיל	הקטל (ה >)	התקטל (ט)
קטלה	קטלה	הקטילה	הקטלה	התקטלה
קטלת	קטלת	הקטלת	הקטלת	התקטלת
קטלת	קטלת	הקטלת	הקטלת	התקטלת
קטלתי	קטלתי	הקטלתי	הקטלתי	התקטלתי
קטלו	קטלו	הקטילו	הקטלו	התקטלו
קטלתם	קטלתם	הקטלתם	הקטלתם	התקטלתם
קטלוּ	קטלוּ	קטלוּ	קטלוּ	קטלוּ
קטלנו	קטלנו	הקטלנו	הקטלנו	התקטלנו

יקטל	יקטל	יקטיל	יקטל (י >)	יתקטל (ט)
תקטל	תקטל	תקטיל	תקטל	תתקטל
תקטל	תקטל	תקטיל	תקטל	תתקטל
תקטלי	תקטלי	תקטילי	תקטלי	תתקטלי
אקטל	אקטל	אקטיל	אקטל	אתקטל
יקטלו	יקטלו	יקטילו	יקטלו	יתקטלו
תקטלנה	תקטלנה	תקטלנה	תקטלנה	תתקטלנה (ט)
תקטלו	תקטלו	תקטילו	תקטלו	תתקטלו
תקטלנה	תקטלנה	תקטלנה	תקטלנה	תתקטלנה (ט)
נקטל	נקטל	נקטיל	נקטל	נתקטל

יקטל

קטל	הקטל	התקטל (ט)
קטלי	הקטילי	התקטלי
קטלו	הקטילו	התקטלו
קטלנה	הקטלנה	התקטלנה

קטל (ל)	קטל (1 x)	הקטיל (ל)	הקטל (ל)	התקטל (ל)
(קטל)		הקטל (=י)	הקטל (ל)	הקטל (ל)

מקטל	מקטיל	מקטל (מ >)
	מקטל	

Suffixes:	Sg. 1c.	Sg. 2m.	Sg. 2f.	Sg. 3m.
Perf. Qal § 62	3m(־) שָׁכַחְנִי, קָטַלְנִי	(־) קָטַלְתָּ	קָטַלְתְּ	קָטַלְתָּ
<i>f.</i>	קָטַלְתְּנִי	קָטַלְתָּ	קָטַלְתְּ	קָטַלְתָּ (1 x)
<i>2m.</i>	קָטַלְתָּנִי(־)			קָטַלְתָּ (1 x)
<i>f.</i>	קָטַלְתְּנִי			קָטַלְתְּ (2 x)
<i>1c.</i>		קָטַלְתָּ	קָטַלְתְּ	קָטַלְתָּ
<i>Pl.</i>	<i>3c.</i> קָטַלְנוּ	קָטַלְתֶּם	קָטַלְתֶּן	קָטַלְתֶּם
	<i>2m.</i> קָטַלְתֶּם			קָטַלְתֶּם
	<i>1c.</i>	קָטַלְנוּ	קָטַלְנוּ	קָטַלְנוּ
Perf. Piel	3m. קָטַלְנִי(־)	קָטַלְתָּ	קָטַלְתְּ	קָטַלְתָּ
Fut. Qal § 63	3m. יִקָּטַלְנִי	יִקָּטַלְתָּ	יִקָּטַלְתְּ	יִקָּטַלְתָּ
(with ו)	3m. יִלְבַּשְׁנִי	יִלְבַּשְׁתָּ	יִלְבַּשְׁתְּ	יִלְבַּשְׁתָּ
<i>Pl.</i>	3m. יִקָּטַלְנוּ	יִקָּטַלְתֶּם	יִקָּטַלְתֶּן	יִקָּטַלְתֶּם
Impv. Qal § 64	2m. קָטַלְנִי			קָטַלְהוּ
	שְׁלַחְנִי			
Inf. Qal § 65	קָטַלְנִי	קָטַלְתָּ	קָטַלְתְּ	קָטַלְתָּ
	קָטַלְיִ	קָטַלְתָּ		

Ptc., cf. § 66

Sg. 3f.	Pl. 1c.	Pl. 2m.	Pl. 3m.	Pl. 3f.
קָטְלָהּ	קָטְלֵנּוּ		קָטְלֵם	קָטְלֵן
קָטְלֵתָּהּ	קָטְלֵתֵנּוּ		קָטְלֵתֵם	
קָטְלֵתָּן	קָטְלֵתֵנּוּ		קָטְלֵתֵם	
קָטְלֵתֵיהָ	קָטְלֵתֵינּוּ		קָטְלֵתֵימ	
קָטְלֵתֵיהֶן			קָטְלֵתֵימ	
קָטְלֵיהָ	קָטְלֵינּוּ		קָטְלֵימ	
קָטְלֵיהֶן	קָטְלֵתֵינּוּ		קָטְלֵימ	
קָטְלֵנּוּ		קָטְלֵנּוּכֶם	קָטְלֵנּוּם	
קָטְלָהּ	קָטְלֵנּוּ		קָטְלֵם	
יְקָטְלֶיהָ	יְקָטְלֵנּוּ	יְקָטְלֵכֶם	יְקָטְלֵם	
יְלֻבְּשֶׁתָּהּ	יְלֻבְּשֵׁנּוּ	(יְלֻבְּשֶׁכֶם)	יְלֻבְּשֵׁם	
יְקָטְלֵנָּהּ	(יְקָטְלֵנּוּ)			
יְקָטְלֵיהָ	יְקָטְלֵינּוּ	יְקָטְלֵכֶם	יְקָטְלֵימ	
קָטְלָהּ	קָטְלֵנּוּ		קָטְלֵם	
קָטְלָהּ				
קָטְלָהּ	קָטְלֵנּוּ	קָטְלֵכֶם	קָטְלֵם	קָטְלֵן
		קָטְלֵכֶם		

662 P A R A D I G M 4. First-Guttural Verbs: עָמַד to stand, § 68(1)

		Qal	Nifal	Hifil	Hofal
Perf. Sg.3m.	עָמַד	חָזַק	נִעְמַד	הִעְמִיד	הִעְמַד
<i>f.</i>	עָמְדָה		*נִעְמְדָה	הִעְמִיְדָה	*הִעְמְדָה
2m.	עָמַדְתָּ		נִעְמַדְתָּ	הִעְמַדְתָּ	הִעְמַדְתָּ
<i>f.</i>	עָמַדְתְּ		נִעְמַדְתְּ	הִעְמַדְתְּ	הִעְמַדְתְּ
1c.	עָמַדְתִּי		נִעְמַדְתִּי	הִעְמַדְתִּי	הִעְמַדְתִּי
Pl. 3c.	עָמְדוּ		*נִעְמְדוּ	הִעְמִירוּ	*הִעְמְדוּ
2m.	עָמַדְתֶּם		נִעְמַדְתֶּם	הִעְמַדְתֶּם	הִעְמַדְתֶּם
<i>f.</i>	׀—		׀—	׀—	׀—
1c.	עָמַדְנוּ		נִעְמַדְנוּ	הִעְמַדְנוּ	הִעְמַדְנוּ
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Fut. Sg.3m.	יִעְמַד	יִחְזַק	יִעְמַד	יִעְמִיד	יִעְמַד
<i>f.</i>	תִּעְמַד	תִּחְזַק	תִּעְמַד	תִּעְמִיד	תִּעְמַד
2m.	תִּעְמַד	תִּחְזַק	תִּעְמַד	תִּעְמִיד	תִּעְמַד
<i>f.</i>	תִּעְמְדִי	*תִּחְזְקִי	תִּעְמְדִי	תִּעְמִיְדִי	*תִּעְמְדִי
1c.	אֶעְמַד	אֶחְזַק	אֶעְמַד	אֶעְמִיד	אֶעְמַד
Pl. 3m.	יִעְמְדוּ*	יִחְזְקוּ*	יִעְמְדוּ	יִעְמִירוּ	*יִעְמְדוּ
<i>f.</i>	תִּעְמַדְנָה	תִּחְזְקְנָה	תִּעְמַדְנָה	תִּעְמִירְנָה	תִּעְמַדְנָה
2m.	תִּעְמְדוּ*	*תִּחְזְקוּ*	תִּעְמְדוּ	תִּעְמִירוּ	*תִּעְמְדוּ
<i>f.</i>	תִּעְמַדְנָה	תִּחְזְקְנָה (1x)	תִּעְמַדְנָה	תִּעְמִירְנָה	תִּעְמַדְנָה
1c.	נִעְמַד	נִחְזַק	נִעְמַד	נִעְמִיד	נִעְמַד
<hr/>					
Juss.				יִעְמַד	
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Impv. Sg. m.	עָמַד	חָזַק	הִעְמַד	הִעְמַד	
<i>f.</i>	עָמְדִי (ע)	חָזְקִי	הִעְמְדִי	הִעְמִיְדִי	
Pl. m.	עָמְדוּ	חָזְקוּ	הִעְמְדוּ	הִעְמִירוּ	
<i>f.</i>	עָמַדְנָה	חָזְקְנָה	הִעְמַדְנָה	הִעְמִירְנָה	
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Inf. cst.	עָמַד (לְ)		הִעְמַד (לְ)	הִעְמִיד (לְ)	
Inf. abs.	עָמוּד		הִעְמוּד, נִעְמוּד	הִעְמַד	הִעְמַד
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Ptc. act.	עֹמֵד	חָזֵק ⁽²⁾	נִעְמָד	מִעְמִיד	
Ptc. pass.	עָמוּד				מִעְמָד

(1) We have chosen two verbs which take an auxiliary ḥaṭef. In the asterisked forms, the ḥaṭef becomes a full vowel (cf. § 22 c.). (2) Verbal adjective.

	Qal	Nifal	Piel	Pual	Hitpacl
Perf. Sg.3m.	שָׁחַט	נִשְׁחַט	בָּרַךְ (-)	בָּרַךְ	הִתְבָּרַךְ
<i>f.</i>	שָׁחַטָה	נִשְׁחַטָה	בָּרַכָה	(בָּרַכָה)	הִתְבָּרַכָה
2 <i>m.</i>	שָׁחַטְתָּ	נִשְׁחַטְתָּ	בָּרַכְתָּ	בָּרַכְתָּ	הִתְבָּרַכְתָּ
<i>f.</i>	שָׁחַטְתְּ	נִשְׁחַטְתְּ	בָּרַכְתְּ	בָּרַכְתְּ	הִתְבָּרַכְתְּ
1 <i>c.</i>	שָׁחַטְתִּי	נִשְׁחַטְתִּי	בָּרַכְתִּי	בָּרַכְתִּי	הִתְבָּרַכְתִּי
<i>Pl. 3c.</i>	שָׁחַטוּ	נִשְׁחַטוּ	בָּרְכוּ	בָּרְכוּ	הִתְבָּרְכוּ
2 <i>m.</i>	שָׁחַטְתֶּם	נִשְׁחַטְתֶּם	בָּרַכְתֶּם	בָּרַכְתֶּם	הִתְבָּרַכְתֶּם
<i>f.</i>	זֹ—	זֹ—	זֹ—	זֹ—	זֹ—
1 <i>c.</i>	שָׁחַטְנִי	נִשְׁחַטְנִי	בָּרַכְנוּ	בָּרַכְנוּ	הִתְבָּרַכְנוּ
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Fut. Sg.3m.	יִשְׁחַט (-)	יִשְׁחַט	יְבָרַךְ	יְבָרַךְ	יִתְבָּרַךְ
<i>f.</i>	תִּשְׁחַט	תִּשְׁחַט	תְּבָרַךְ	תְּבָרַךְ	תִּתְבָּרַךְ
2 <i>m.</i>	תִּשְׁחַט	תִּשְׁחַט	תְּבָרַךְ	תְּבָרַךְ	תִּתְבָּרַךְ
<i>f.</i>	תִּשְׁחַטִּי	תִּשְׁחַטִּי	תְּבָרַכְכִּי	(תְּבָרַכִּי)	(תִּתְבָּרַכִּי)
1 <i>c.</i>	אֶשְׁחַט	אֶשְׁחַט	אֶבָרַךְ	אֶבָרַךְ	אֶתְבָּרַךְ
<i>Pl. 3m.</i>	יִשְׁחַטוּ	יִשְׁחַטוּ	יְבָרְכוּ	יְבָרְכוּ	יִתְבָּרְכוּ
<i>f.</i>	תִּשְׁחַטְנָה	תִּשְׁחַטְנָה	תְּבָרַכְנָה	תְּבָרַכְנָה	תִּתְבָּרַכְנָה
2 <i>m.</i>	תִּשְׁחַטוּ	תִּשְׁחַטוּ	תְּבָרְכוּ	תְּבָרְכוּ	תִּתְבָּרְכוּ
<i>f.</i>	תִּשְׁחַטְנָה	תִּשְׁחַטְנָה	תְּבָרַכְנָה	תְּבָרַכְנָה	תִּתְבָּרַכְנָה
1 <i>c.</i>	נִשְׁחַט	נִשְׁחַט	נִבָרַךְ	נִבָרַךְ	נִתְבָּרַךְ
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Fut. with suf.	יִשְׁחַטְנִי		וַיְבָרַךְ ⁽¹⁾		
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Impv. Sg. m.	שָׁחַט	הִשְׁחַט	בָּרַךְ		הִתְבָּרַךְ
<i>f.</i>	שָׁחַטִּי	הִשְׁחַטִּי	בָּרַכִּי		
<i>Pl. m.</i>	שָׁחַטוּ	הִשְׁחַטוּ	בָּרְכוּ		
<i>f.</i>	שָׁחַטְנָה	הִשְׁחַטְנָה	בָּרַכְנָה		
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Inf. est.	שָׁחַט (ל)	הִשְׁחַט (ל)	בָּרַךְ (ל)		הִתְבָּרַךְ (ל)
Inf. abs.	שָׁחוֹט	נִשְׁחוֹט	(בָּרוּךְ)		
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Ptc. act.	שָׁחַט	נִשְׁחַט	מְבָרַךְ		מִתְבָּרַךְ
Ptc. pass.	שָׁחוּט			מְבָרָךְ	

(¹) With 1 inversive.

	Qal	Nifal	Piel
Perf. Sg.3m.	שָׁלַח(ל) ⁽¹⁾	נִשְׁלַח	שָׁלַח (=—)
f.	שָׁלְחָה	נִשְׁלַחָה	שָׁלְחָה
2m.	שָׁלַחְתָּ	נִשְׁלַחְתָּ	שָׁלַחְתָּ
f.	שָׁלַחְתְּ (f)	נִשְׁלַחְתְּ	שָׁלַחְתְּ
1c.	שָׁלַחְתִּי	נִשְׁלַחְתִּי	שָׁלַחְתִּי
Pl. 3c.	שָׁלְחוּ	נִשְׁלְחוּ	שָׁלְחוּ(ל)
2m.	שָׁלַחְתֶּם	נִשְׁלַחְתֶּם	שָׁלַחְתֶּם
f.	שָׁלַחְתֶּן	שָׁלַחְתֶּן	שָׁלַחְתֶּן
1c.	שָׁלַחְנוּ	נִשְׁלַחְנוּ	שָׁלַחְנוּ
Fut. Sg.3m.	יִשְׁלַח(ל)	יִשְׁלַח (=—)	יִשְׁלַח (=—)
f.	תִּשְׁלַח	תִּשְׁלַח	תִּשְׁלַח
2m.	תִּשְׁלַח	תִּשְׁלַח	תִּשְׁלַח
f.	תִּשְׁלַחִי(ל)	תִּשְׁלַחִי	תִּשְׁלַחִי
1c.	אֶשְׁלַח	אֶשְׁלַח	אֶשְׁלַח
Pl. 3m.	יִשְׁלְחוּ	יִשְׁלְחוּ	יִשְׁלְחוּ
f.	תִּשְׁלַחְנָה	תִּשְׁלַחְנָה	תִּשְׁלַחְנָה
2m.	תִּשְׁלַחְוּ(ל)	תִּשְׁלַחְוּ	תִּשְׁלַחְוּ
f.	תִּשְׁלַחְנָה	תִּשְׁלַחְנָה	תִּשְׁלַחְנָה
1c.	נִשְׁלַח	נִשְׁלַח	נִשְׁלַח
Juss.			
Impv. Sg. m.	שָׁלַח(ל)	הִשְׁלַח (=—)	שָׁלַח (=—)
f.	שָׁלַחִי	הִשְׁלַחִי	שָׁלַחִי
Pl. m.	שָׁלַחוּ(שָׁלְחוּ)	הִשְׁלַחוּ	שָׁלַחוּ
f.	שָׁלַחְנָה	הִשְׁלַחְנָה	שָׁלַחְנָה
Inf. cst.	שָׁלַח(ל)	הִשְׁלַח(ל)	שָׁלַח(ל)
Inf. abs.	שָׁלוּחַ	נִשְׁלוּחַ, הִשְׁבִּיעַ	שָׁלַח
Ptc. act.	שָׁלַח(שָׁלַח. cst.)	נִשְׁלַח	מִשְׁלַח(= cst.)
Ptc. pass.	שָׁלוּחַ		

(1) Stative (שָׁמַע) שָׁמַע

<i>Pual</i>	<i>Hifil</i>	<i>Hofal</i>	<i>Hitpael</i>
שָׁלַח	הִשְׁלִיחַ	הִשְׁלַח	הִשְׁתַּלַּח
שָׁלַחָה	הִשְׁלִיחָה	הִשְׁלַחָה	הִשְׁתַּלַּחָה
שָׁלַחְתָּ	הִשְׁלַחְתָּ	הִשְׁלַחְתָּ	הִשְׁתַּלַּחְתָּ
שָׁלַחְתָּ	הִשְׁלַחְתָּ	הִשְׁלַחְתָּ	הִשְׁתַּלַּחְתָּ
שָׁלַחְתִּי	הִשְׁלַחְתִּי	הִשְׁלַחְתִּי	הִשְׁתַּלַּחְתִּי
שָׁלַחוּ	הִשְׁלִיחוּ	הִשְׁלַחוּ	הִשְׁתַּלַּחוּ
שָׁלַחְתֶּם	הִשְׁלַחְתֶּם	הִשְׁלַחְתֶּם	הִשְׁתַּלַּחְתֶּם
וְ—	וְ—	וְ—	וְ—
שָׁלַחְנוּ	הִשְׁלַחְנוּ	הִשְׁלַחְנוּ	הִשְׁתַּלַּחְנוּ

יִשְׁלַח	יִשְׁלִיחַ	יִשְׁלַח	יִשְׁתַּלַּח
תִּשְׁלַח	תִּשְׁלִיחַ	תִּשְׁלַח	תִּשְׁתַּלַּח
תִּשְׁלַח	תִּשְׁלִיחַ	תִּשְׁלַח	תִּשְׁתַּלַּח
תִּשְׁלַחֵי	תִּשְׁלִיחֵי	תִּשְׁלַחֵי	תִּשְׁתַּלַּחֵי
אִשְׁלַח	אִשְׁלִיחַ	אִשְׁלַח	אִשְׁתַּלַּח
יִשְׁלַחוּ	יִשְׁלִיחוּ	יִשְׁלַחוּ	יִשְׁתַּלַּחוּ
תִּשְׁלַחְנָה	תִּשְׁלַחְנָה	תִּשְׁלַחְנָה	תִּשְׁתַּלַּחְנָה
תִּשְׁלַחוּ	תִּשְׁלִיחוּ	תִּשְׁלַחוּ	תִּשְׁתַּלַּחוּ
תִּשְׁלַחְנָה	תִּשְׁלַחְנָה	תִּשְׁלַחְנָה	תִּשְׁתַּלַּחְנָה
נִשְׁלַח	נִשְׁלִיחַ	נִשְׁלַח	נִשְׁתַּלַּח

יִשְׁלַח

הִשְׁלַח	הִשְׁתַּלַּח
הִשְׁלִיחֵי	הִשְׁתַּלַּחֵי
הִשְׁלַחוּ	הִשְׁתַּלַּחוּ
הִשְׁלַחְנָה	הִשְׁתַּלַּחְנָה

(ל) הִשְׁלִיחַ	(ל) הִשְׁתַּלַּח
הִשְׁלַח	הִשְׁלַח

מִשְׁלַח	מִשְׁלִיחַ	מִשְׁלַח	מִשְׁתַּלַּח (cst. =)
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	Qal		Nifal	Hifil	Hofal
Perf.	[נָגַשׁ*]	נָפַל	נָנַשׁ	הִגִּישׁ	הִנְשִׁי
Fut.	יִנְשֵׁ(2)	יִפֹּל(3)	יִנָּשׁ	יִגִּישׁ	יִנְשֵׁ
Impv. Sg.m.	נָשׁ(4)	נָפַל	הִנְנָשׁ	הִגֵּשׁ	
Inf. cst.	(לְ)נָשֵׁת(5)	(לְ)נָפַל	(לְ)הִנְנָשׁ	(לְ)הִגִּישׁ	(לְ)הִנְשִׁי
Inf. abs.	נָשׁ		נָנַשׁ	הִגֵּשׁ	הִנְשִׁי
Ptc.	נָשֵׁ (pass. נָנַשׁ)		נָנַשׁ	מִגִּישׁ	מִנְשִׁי

PARADIGM 8. פ"י Verbs: יָשַׁב to sit, to dwell, § 75

	Qal		Nifal	Hifil	Hofal
Perf.	יָשַׁב	יָרַשׁ*, יָרָא	נוֹשַׁב	הוֹשִׁיב	הוֹשִׁיב
Fut.Sg.3m.	יִשַׁב	יִירַשׁ, יִירָא	יִנְשַׁב	יּוֹשִׁיב	יּוֹשַׁב
f.	תִּשַׁב	תִּירַשׁ	etc.	etc.	etc.
2m.	תִּשַׁב	תִּירַשׁ			
f.	תִּשְׁבִּי	תִּירְשִׁי			
1c.	אֵשֶׁב	אִירַשׁ	אִנְשַׁב(2)		
Pl. 3m.	יִשְׁבוּ	יִירְשׁוּ	etc.		
f.	תִּשְׁבְּנָה	(תִּירְשְׁנָה)			
2m.	תִּשְׁבוּ	תִּירְשׁוּ			
f.	(תִּשְׁבְּנָה)	תִּירְשְׁנָה			
1c.	נִשַׁב	נִירַשׁ			
Fut. with 1 invs.	וַיִּשַׁב (וַיִּשְׁב)	וַיִּירַשׁ		וַיּוֹשִׁיב	
Impv.Sg.m.	שֵׁב, רַע		הִנְשַׁב	הוֹשִׁיב	
f.	שְׁבִי			הוֹשִׁיבִי	
Pl. m.	שְׁבוּ			הוֹשִׁיבוּ	
f.	שְׁבְנָה			(הוֹשִׁיבְנָה)	
Inf. cst.	(לְ)שָׁבַת(1)	(לְ)רָשַׁת	(לְ)הִנְשַׁב	(לְ)הוֹשִׁיב	(לְ)הוֹשִׁיב
Inf. abs.	יָשׁוּב			הוֹשִׁיב	
Ptc. act.	יֹשֵׁב		נוֹשֵׁב	מוֹשִׁיב	
Ptc. pass.	יֹשׁוּב				מוֹשֵׁב

- (1) The actually attested forms of this verb are defective: Pf. נָגַשׁ, Fut. יִגֹּשׁ, § 72 g.
- (2) Fut. יִגֹּשׁ: Sg. יִגֹּשׁ, תִּגֹּשׁ, יִגֹּשׁ; Pl. יִגֹּשׁוּ, תִּגֹּשְׁנוּ, יִגֹּשׁוּ; נִגְשׁוּ (תִּגֹּשְׁנוּ); נִגְשׁוּ
- (3) Fut. יִפֹּל: Sg. יִפֹּל, תִּפֹּל, יִפֹּל; Pl. יִפֹּלוּ, תִּפֹּלְנוּ, יִפֹּלוּ; נִפְלוּ (תִּפֹּלְנוּ); נִפְלוּ
- (4) Impv. Sg. גֹּשׁ, גֹּשׁי; Pl. גֹּשׁוּ, גֹּשׁוּהוּ
- (5) With suffixes גֹּשְׁתוּ etc.

P A R A. 9. פִּי' Verbs (with primitive י'): יֵטֵב* to be good, § 76(1)

	Qal	Hifil
Perf.	יֵטֵב*, יָטַב	הֵיטִיב
Fut.Sg.3m.	יֵיטֵב, יִיטֵב	יֵיטִיב
f.	תֵּיטֵב	תֵּיטִיב
2m.	תֵּיטֵב	תֵּיטִיב
f.	תֵּיטֵבִי	תֵּיטִיבִי
1c.	אֵיטֵב	etc.
Pl. 3m.	יֵיטְבוּ	
f.	תֵּיטְבֵנָה	
2m.	תֵּיטְבוּ	
f.	(תֵּיטְבֵנָה)	
1c.	נֵיטֵב	
Fut. with 1 invs.	וַיֵּטֵב	וַיֵּיטֵב
Impv.Sg.m.		הֵיטֵב
f.		הֵיטִיבִי
Pl. m.		הֵיטִיבוּ
f.		(הֵיטְבֵנָה)
Inf. cst.		לְהֵיטִיב
Inf. abs.		הֵיטֵב
Ptc. act.		מֵיטִיב, מֵיטִיבֵנָה

	Qal		Nifal	Piel
Perf. Sg.3m.	מָצָא	מָלָא	נִמְצָא	מָצָא
<i>f.</i>	מָצָאָה	מָלָאָה	נִמְצָאָה	(מָצָאָה)
2m.	מָצָאתָ	מָלָאתָ	נִמְצָאתָ ⁽³⁾	מָצָאתָ
<i>f.</i>	מָצָאתְּ	מָלָאתְּ	נִמְצָאתְּ	(מָצָאתְּ)
1c.	מָצָאתִי	מָלָאתִי	נִמְצָאתִי	מָצָאתִי
<i>Pl. 3c.</i>	מָצְאוּ	מָלְאוּ	נִמְצְאוּ	מָצְאוּ
2m.	מָצַאתֶם	מָלַאתֶם	נִמְצַאתֶם	מָצַאתֶם
<i>f.</i>	(?—)	(?—)	(?—)	(?—)
1c.	מָצַאתִנִּי	מָלַאתִנִּי	נִמְצַאתִנִּי	מָצַאתִנִּי
Fut. Sg.3m.	יִמְצָא	יִמְלָא	יִנְמָצָא	יִמְצָא
<i>f.</i>	תִּמְצָא		תִּנְמָצָא	תִּמְצָא
2m.	תִּמְצָא		תִּנְמָצָא	תִּמְצָא
<i>f.</i>	תִּמְצָאִי		תִּנְמָצָאִי	תִּמְצָאִי
1c.	אֶמְצָא		אֶנְמָצָא	אֶמְצָא
<i>Pl. 3m.</i>	יִמְצְאוּ		יִנְמָצְאוּ	יִמְצְאוּ
<i>f.</i>	תִּמְצָאנָה ⁽¹⁾		תִּנְמָצָאנָה	תִּמְצָאנָה
2m.	תִּמְצְאוּ		תִּנְמָצְאוּ	תִּמְצְאוּ
<i>f.</i>	תִּמְצָאנָה		תִּנְמָצָאנָה	תִּמְצָאנָה
1c.	נִמְצָא		נִנְמָצָא	נִמְצָא
Juss.				
Fut. with suf.	יִמְצָאֵנִי, יִמְצָאֵנִי			יִמְצָאֵנִי
Impv. Sg. m.	מְצָא		הִמְצָא	מְצָא
<i>f.</i>	מְצָאִי			
<i>Pl. m.</i>	מְצְאוּ			מְצְאוּ
<i>f.</i>	מְצָאנָה			
Inf. cst.	מְצָא(ל)		מְצָא(ל)	מְצָא(ל)
Inf. abs.	מְצוֹא		נִמְצָא	מְצוֹא
Ptc. act.	מְצָא(מְצָאת)	מְלָא ⁽²⁾	נִמְצָא ⁽⁴⁾	מְמָצָא
Ptc. pass.	מְצוֹא			

(1) Cp. תִּנְמָצָאנָה (2) Cst. מְלָא (3) Cp. תִּנְמָצָאנָה

(4) Plural, § 78h.

<i>Pual</i>	<i>Hifil</i>	<i>Hofal</i>	<i>Hitpacl</i>
(מָצַךְ)	הִמְצִיחַ	(הִמְצַח)	הִתְמַצֵּחַ (־)
מִצְאָה	הִמְצִיחָה	הִמְצַחָה	הִתְמַצְּאָה (־)
מִצְאָתָּ	הִמְצִיחָתְּ	(הִמְצַחָתְּ)	הִתְמַצְּאָתְּ
מִצְאָתִי	הִמְצִיחָתִי	הִמְצַחָתִי	הִתְמַצְּאָתִי
מִצְאוֹ	הִמְצִיחוֹ	הִמְצַחוֹ	הִתְמַצְּאוֹ
מִצְאָתְּם	הִמְצִיחְתֶּם	הִמְצַחְתֶּם	(הִתְמַצְּאָתְּם)
וְ—	(וְ—)	וְ—	וְ—
(מִצְאָנִי)	(הִמְצִיחָנִי)	(הִמְצַחָנִי)	(הִתְמַצְּאָנִי)

יִמְצָא	יִמְצִיחַ	(יִמְצַח)	יִתְמַצְּא (־)
(יִתְמַצָּא)	יִתְמַצְּא		יִתְמַצְּא
יִתְמַצָּא	יִתְמַצְּא		יִתְמַצְּא
יִתְמַצְּאִי	יִתְמַצְּאִי		(יִתְמַצְּאִי)
יִתְמַצְּאֵי	יִתְמַצְּאֵי		(יִתְמַצְּאֵי)
יִתְמַצְּאוּ	יִתְמַצְּאוּ		יִתְמַצְּאוּ
יִתְמַצְּאָנָה	יִתְמַצְּאָנָה		(יִתְמַצְּאָנָה)
יִתְמַצְּאוּ	יִתְמַצְּאוּ		יִתְמַצְּאוּ
יִתְמַצְּאָנָה	יִתְמַצְּאָנָה		(יִתְמַצְּאָנָה)
(יִתְמַצְּאֵי)	יִתְמַצְּאוּ		יִתְמַצְּאוּ

	יִמְצָא		
	יִתְמַצְּאוּ		

	הִמְצָא		(הִתְמַצָּא)
	הִמְצִיחַ		
	הִמְצִיחוֹ		

	(לְ)הִמְצִיחַ		(לְ)הִתְמַצָּא
	הִמְצָא		

	מִמְצִיחַ		מִתְמַצָּא
מִמְצָא		מִמְצָא	

	Qal	Nifal	Piel
Perf. Sg.3m.	גָּלָה	נִגְלָה ⁽³⁾	גָּלָה
<i>f.</i>	גָּלְתָה(-)	נִגְלְתָה (1 x כּ)	גָּלְתָה
2m.	גָּלִיתָ	נִגְלִיתָ	גָּלִיתָ
<i>f.</i>	גָּלִיתְּ	נִגְלִיתְּ	גָּלִיתְּ
1c.	גָּלִיתִי	נִגְלִיתִי	גָּלִיתִי(-)
Pl. 3c.	גָּלוּ	נִגְלוּ	גָּלוּ
2m.	גָּלִיתֶם	(נִגְלִיתֶם)	גָּלִיתֶם
<i>f.</i>	גָּלִיְתֶם	(גָּלִיְתֶם)	(גָּלִיְתֶם)
1c.	גָּלִינוּ	נִגְלִינוּ	גָּלִינוּ
Fut. Sg.3m.	יִגְלֶה ⁽¹⁾	יִגְלֶה	יִגְלֶה
<i>f.</i>	תִּגְלֶה	תִּגְלֶה	תִּגְלֶה
2m.	תִּגְלֶה	תִּגְלֶה	תִּגְלֶה
<i>f.</i>	תִּגְלִי	(תִּגְלִי)	תִּגְלִי
1c.	אִגְלֶה	אִגְלֶה (א)	אִגְלֶה
Pl. 3m.	יִגְלוּ	יִגְלוּ	יִגְלוּ
<i>f.</i>	תִּגְלִינָה	תִּגְלִינָה	תִּגְלִינָה
2m.	תִּגְלוּ	תִּגְלוּ	תִּגְלוּ
<i>f.</i>	תִּגְלִינָה	תִּגְלִינָה	תִּגְלִינָה
1c.	נִגְלֶה	(נִגְלֶה)	נִגְלֶה
Apoc. Fut.	יִגְלֶה ⁽²⁾	יִגְלֶה (3 x)	גַּל
Impv. Sg. m.	גָּלֶה	הִגְלֶה	לֶה(גַּל)
<i>f.</i>	גָּלִי	הִגְלִי	לִי
Pl. m.	גָּלוּ	הִגְלוּ	לוּ
<i>f.</i>	גָּלִינָה		
Inf. cst.	(ל)גָּלוּת (גָּלֶת)	(ל)הִגָּלוּת	(ל)גָּלוּת
Inf. abs.	גָּלָה	נִגְלָה, הִגְלָה	לָה, גָּלָה
Ptc. act.	גָּלֶה	נִגְלֶה	גָּלֶה
Ptc. pass.	גָּלוּי		

נִגְלָה⁽³⁾ וְתִמַּר: נִיחַר: נִיבֵרָא: גִּירָא: וְתִמְפֵּן: וְתִשָּׁב: וְיִשָּׁב⁽²⁾ נִגְלָה⁽¹⁾ וְיִחַסָּה

<i>Pual</i>	<i>Hifil</i>	<i>Hofal</i>	<i>Hitpacl</i>
גלה	הגלה (ה')	הגלה	התגלה
גלתה	הגלתה (ה)	הגלתה	(התגלתה)
גלית	הגלית (-)	הגלית	התגלית
(גלית)	הגלית (-)	(הגלית)	(התגלית)
גליתי	הגליתי (-)	הגליתי	התגליתי
גלו	הגלו	הגלו	התגלו
(גליתם)	הגליתם (-)	(הגליתם)	התגליתם
יִגְלוּ	(יִגְלוּ)	יִגְלוּ	(יִגְלוּ)
(גלינו)	הגלינו	(הגלינו)	התגלינו

יגלה	יגלה	(יגלה)	יתגלה
תגלה	תגלה		(תתגלה)
תגלה	תגלה		תתגלה
(תגלי)	תגלי		תתגלי
(אגלה)	אגלה		אתגלה
יגלו	יגלו		יתגלו
(תגלינה)	תגלינה		(תתגלינה)
תגלו	תגלו		תתגלו
תגלינה	תגלינה		(תתגלינה)
(נגלה)	נגלה		נתגלה

	יגלו(4)		יתגלו
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	הגלה (הרף)		(התגלה, התגל)
	הגלי		התגלי
	הגלו		התגלו

(ל)גלות	(ל)הגלות הגלה(5)	הגלה	(ל)התגלות
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	מגלה		מתגלה
מגלה		מגלה	

(4) הרבה But (5) וירא, וישק

Suffixes:	Sg. 1c.	Sg. 2m.	Sg. 2f.
Perf. Sg.3m.	גָּלַנִי (—)	גָּלַתְּ (גָּלַתְּ > גָּלַתְּ)	גָּלַתְּ (גָּלַתְּ)
f.	גָּלַתְּנִי (—)		
2m.	גָּלִיתְּנִי (—)		
f.	גָּלִיתְּנִי		
1c.		גָּלִיתְּנִי	גָּלִיתְּנִי
Pl. 3c.	גָּלַנּוּ	גָּלַתְּ	גָּלַתְּ
1c.		גָּלַתְּנִי	

Fut. Sg.3m.	יִגְלֶנִי	יִגְלֶתְּ (יִגְלֶתְּ > יִגְלֶתְּ)	יִגְלֶתְּ (יִגְלֶתְּ)
Pl. 3m.	יִגְלֶנּוּ	יִגְלֶתְּ	

Impv. Sg.2m.	גָּלֵנִי		
f.	גָּלֵנִי		
Pl. 2m.	גָּלֵנּוּ		

Ptc. גָּלֵנִי (Gn 48.4) מְפָרֵחַ

Sg. 3m.	Sg. 3f.	Pl. 1c.	Pl. 3m.
גָּלְהוּ	גָּלְהָה	גָּלְהוּנָה	גָּלְהוּם
גָּלְתוּ	גָּלְתָה		גָּלְתוּם
גָּלְתִּי	גָּלְתְּךָ	גָּלְתֵּינוּ	גָּלְתֵּיכֶם
גָּלְתִּיהוּ (1-)	גָּלְתִּיהָ		גָּלְתֵיכֶם
גָּלְהוּהָ	גָּלְהוּהָ		גָּלְהוּם
גָּלְיָהוּהָ			

יגָּלְהוּ (גָּלְהוּ)	יגָּלְהָה (גָּלְהָה)	יגָּלְהוּנָה	יגָּלְהוּם
יגָּלְתוּהָ	יגָּלְתָה	יגָּלְתֵּינוּ	(יגָּלְתוּם)

	גָּלְהוּנָה	גָּלְהוּם
גָּלְהוּהָ		גָּלְהוּם

(Ho 2.16) גָּלְתִּיהָ *seducing her*

	Qal		Nifal	Hifil
Perf. Sg.3m.	קָם, בָּא	מַת, בַּשׁ, טוּב	נָקוּם (p הַנִּיחַ)	הִקִּים
<i>f.</i>	קָמָה	מָתָה	נָקוּמָה	הִקִּימָה
2m.	קָמְתָּ (—)	מָתָה	נָקוּמֹתָ	הִקִּימֹתָ (ה)
<i>f.</i>	קָמְתְּ	(מְתָה)	נָקוּמוֹת	הִקִּימוֹת
1c.	קָמְתִי	מָתִי	נָקוּמוֹתִי	הִקִּימוֹתִי
Pl. 3c.	קָמוּ	מָתוּ	נָקוּמוּ	הִקִּימוּ
2m.	קָמְתֶם	(מְתֶם)	נָקוּמוֹתֶם	הִקִּימוֹתֶם (ק)
<i>f.</i>	קָמְתֵי	(מְתֵי)	קָמְתֵי	קָמְתֵי
1c.	קָמְנוּ	מָתְנוּ	נָקוּמוֹנוּ	הִקִּימוֹנוּ
Fut. Sg.3m.	יִקְוֹם ⁽¹⁾	יִבּוֹשׁ	יִקּוּם	יִקְיִים (יִנִּיחַ)
<i>f.</i>	תִּקְוֹם	תִּבּוֹשׁ	תִּקּוּם	תִּקְיִים
2m.	תִּקְוֹם	תִּבּוֹשׁ	תִּקּוּם	תִּקְיִים
<i>f.</i>	תִּקְוֹמִי	תִּבּוֹשִׁי	(תִּקְוֹמִי)	תִּקְיָמִי
1c.	אִקְוֹם	אִבּוֹשׁ	אִקּוּם	אִקְיִים
Pl. 3m.	יִקְוֹמוּ	יִבּוֹשׁוּ	יִקּוּמוּ	יִקְיִמוּ
<i>f.</i>	תִּקְוֹמְיָנָה ⁽²⁾			תִּקְיָמְיָנָה (תִּקְוֹמְיָנָה)
2m.	תִּקְוֹמוּ	תִּבּוֹשׁוּ	תִּקּוּמוּ	תִּקְיָמוּ
<i>f.</i>	תִּקְוֹמְיָנָה			
1c.	נִקְוֹם	נִבּוֹשׁ	נִקּוּם	נִקְיִים
Juss.	יִקּוּם			יִקּוּם
Fut. + 1 cons.	וַיִּקְוֹם (וַיִּקְוֹם)			וַיִּקְיִים (וַיִּקְיִים ⁽⁴⁾)
Impv. Sg. m.	קוּם, בֹּא	בוֹשׁ	הִקּוּם	הִקֵּם (הַנִּיחַ)
<i>f.</i>	קְוֹמִי			הִקְיָמִי
Pl. m.	קְוֹמוּ		הִקּוּמוּ	הִקְיָמוּ
<i>f.</i>	קְוֹמְנָה			(הִקְוֹמְנָה)
Inf. cst.	קוּם, (לְ) קוּם, (לְ) בֹא	(לְ) טוּב	(לְ) הִקּוּם	(לְ) הִקֵּם (הַנִּיחַ)
Inf. abs.	קוּם, בּוֹא		נִקּוּם	הִקֵּם
Ptc. act.	קוֹם ⁽³⁾	מַת, בּוֹשׁ	נִקּוּם	מִקְיִים (מִנִּיחַ)
Ptc. pass.	קוּם, מוּל			

(1) יָבוֹא, יָשַׁת (2) Often תִּקְוֹמְנָה (b), and usually תִּבּוֹשׁנָה (3) קוֹמֵה (4) With *seré*.(4) With *seré*.

Hofal	Poel	Pool	Qal	Nifal
הִקָּם	קוּמַם	קוּמַם	דָּן	נִדְוֶן
	קוּמְמָה	(קוּמְמָה)	(as קָם)	(as נִקָּם)
	קוּמְמָתָּ	קוּמְמָתָּ		
	(קוּמְמָתָּ)	(קוּמְמָתָּ)		
	קוּמְמָתִי	קוּמְמָתִי		
הִקָּמוּ	קוּמְמוּ	קוּמְמוּ		
	(קוּמְמָתָם)	(קוּמְמָתָם)		
	קוּמְמוּ	קוּמְמוּ		
	(קוּמְמָנוּ)	(קוּמְמָנוּ)		

יִקָּם	יִקוּמַם	יִקוּמַם	יִדְּוֶן	יִדְּוֶן
תִּקָּם	תִּקוּמַם	(תִּקוּמַם)	(as יִקָּם)	(as יִקָּם)
	תִּקוּמַם	תִּקוּמַם		
	(תִּקוּמְמִי)	תִּקוּמְמִי		
	אִקוּמַם	אִקוּמַם		
יִקָּמוּ	יִקוּמְמוּ	יִקוּמְמוּ		
	תִּקוּמְמָנָה	תִּקוּמְמָנָה		
	תִּקוּמְמוּ	(תִּקוּמְמוּ)		
	תִּקוּמְמָנָה	תִּקוּמְמָנָה		
נִקָּם	נִקוּמַם	(נִקוּמַם)		

קוּמַם	דָּן
(קוּמְמִי)	דָּנִי
קוּמְמוּ	דָּנוּ
(קוּמְמָנָה)	

(לְ)הִקָּם	(לְ)קוּמַם	(לְ)דָּן ⁽¹⁾
		דָּן

מִקָּם	מִקוּמַם	דָּן, לָזַן	נִדְּוֶן
		שִׁים (שׁוּם)	

⁽¹⁾ But (לְ)שׁוּם, (לְ)לָזַן, once (לְ)שׁוּשׁ

	<i>Qal</i>	<i>Nifal</i>
Perf. Sg.3m.	קָבַב; קָל, קָמ	נָסַב, נָמַס
<i>f.</i>	קָבְבָה, קָלָה	נָסְבָה
2m.	קָבַוּת	נָסְבוּת
<i>f.</i>	קָבוּת	נָסְבוּת
1c.	קָבוּתִי	נָסְבוּתִי
<i>Pl. 3c.</i>	קָבְבוּ, קָלוּ	נָסְבוּ
2m.	קָבוּתֶם	נָסְבוּתֶם
<i>f.</i>	קָבוּתְנִי	קָבוּתְנִי
1c.	קָבוּנִי	נָסְבוּנִי
<hr/>		
Fut. Sg.3m.	יִסֵּב; יִקָּל, יִדָּל	יִסָּב (?) יִמָּס
<i>f.</i>	יִסְבָּ	יִמְסָב
2m.	יִסְבָּ	יִמְסָב
<i>f.</i>	יִסְבִּי	יִמְסְבִי
1c.	אִסְבָּ	אִמְסָב
<i>Pl. 3m.</i>	יִסְבוּ	יִמְסְבוּ
<i>f.</i>	תִּסְבְּיָנָה	(תִּמְסְבְּיָנָה)
2m.	תִּסְבוּ	תִּמְסְבוּ
<i>f.</i>	תִּסְבְּיָנָה	(תִּמְסְבְּיָנָה)
1c.	נִסְבָּ	נִמְסָב
<hr/>		
Fut. with 1 invs.	וַיִּסְבּוּ; וַיִּקָּלוּ, וַיִּדָּלוּ	
Fut. with suf.	יִסְבְּנִי	
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Impv. Sg. m.	סֵב	(הִסְב)
<i>f.</i>	סְבִי	(הִסְבִּי)
<i>Pl. m.</i>	סְבוּ	(הִסְבוּ) הִבְרִי
<i>f.</i>	(סְבִינָה)	(הִסְבְּיָנָה)
<hr/>		
Inf. cst.	(לְ)סֵב, (לְ)סְבָב; (לְ)תָם	(לְ)הִסָּב, (לְ)הִמָּס
Inf. abs.	סְבוּב	הִסְוּב
<hr/>		
Ptc. act.	סָבַב, קָמָם	נָסַב, נָמַס
Ptc. pass.	סְבוּב	

<i>Hifil</i>	<i>Hofal</i>	<i>Poel</i>	<i>Paal</i>
הִסְבִּיב, הִסְבִּיבָה	הוֹסִיב	סוּבַב	סוּבַב
הִסְבִּיבֶה	הוֹסִיבֶה	סוּבַבְה	
הִסְבִּיבֹת		סוּבַבְתּוּ	
הִסְבִּיבוּ		סוּבַבְתֶּם	
הִסְבִּיבֵי		סוּבַבְתֵּי	
הִסְבִּיבוּ (ע)	הוֹסִיבוּ	סוּבַבוּ	
הִסְבִּיבוּם		סוּבַבְתֶּם	
וְ—		וְ—	
הִסְבִּיבוּ		סוּבַבְנוּ	

יִסַּב (> יִסַּב)	יּוֹסִיב (יִסַּב)	יִסּוּב	יִסּוּב (יִסּוּב)
יִסַּב		יִסּוּבְה	
יִסַּב		יִסּוּבְתּוּ	
(יִסַּבֵּי)		(יִסּוּבְתֵי)	
אִסַּב		(אִסּוּב)	
יִסְבּוּ	יּוֹסִיבוּ	יִסּוּבוּ	
יִסְבּוּנָה		(יִסּוּבְנָה)	
יִסְבוּ		יִסּוּבוּ	
יִסְבּוּנָה		(יִסּוּבְנָה)	
נִסַּב		(נִסּוּב)	

נִיִּסַּב (> נִיִּסַּב)		יִסּוּבְנֵי	
יִסְבּוּ			
יִסְבּוּ			
יִסְבּוּ			
(יִסְבּוּנָה)			

הִסְבִּיב (ל)		סוּבַב (ל)	
הִסְבִּיב		סוּבַב	

מִסַּב, מִרַע (מִרַעִים)		מִסּוּב	
	מוֹסַב		מִסּוּב

	Qal	Nifal	Hifil	Hofal
Perfect	קָטַל; כָּבַד, קָטַן	נִקְטַל	הִקְטִיל	הִקְטַל (>ה)
פ"ן	נָגַשׁ*	נִגְשׁ	הִגִּישׁ	הִגִּישׁ
ע"ע	סָבַב, קָל	נָסַב, נָמַס	הִסָּב, הִקָּל	הִסָּב
פ"וי	יָשַׁב, יָרַשׁ*	נִוָּשַׁב	הוֹשִׁיב	הוֹשִׁב
פ"י	יָטַב*, יָבַשׁ		הִיטִיב	
ע"ו	קָם; מָת, בָּשׁ	נִקְוָם	הִקָּם	הוֹקָם
ע"י	דָּן	נִדְוָן		
ל"ה	גָּלָה	נִגָּלָה	הִגָּלָה (ה')	הִגָּלָה
Future	יִקְטַל; יִכְבֵּד, יִקְטֵן	יִקְטַל	יִקְטִיל	יִקְטַל (>י)
פ"ן	יִגֵּשׁ	יִנְגָּשׁ*	יִגִּישׁ	יִגִּישׁ
ע"ע	יִסָּב, יִסַּב; יִקָּל, יִדַּל	יִסָּב (? יִסַּב)	יִסָּב < יִסַּב	יִסָּב, יִסַּב
פ"וי	יִשָּׁב, יִירַשׁ	יִוָּשַׁב	יִוָּשִׁיב	יִוָּשַׁב
פ"י	יִיטֵב		יִיטִיב	
ע"ו	יִקְוָם, יִבּוֹשׁ	יִקְוָם	יִקָּם	יִקָּם
ע"י	יִדְוָן	יִדְוָן		
ל"ה	יִגָּלָה (יִגְלֵל apoc.)	יִגָּלָה (יִגְלֵל ap.)	יִגָּלָה (יִגְלֵל ap.)	(יִגְלֵל)
Impv.	קָטַל; כָּבַד, קָטַן	הִקְטַל	הִקְטַל	
פ"ן	גֵּשׁ	הִנְגֵּשׁ	הִגֵּשׁ	
ע"ע	סַב	(הִסָּב)	הִסָּב	
פ"וי	שָׁב, דַּע	הוֹשֵׁב	הוֹשֵׁב	
פ"י			הִיטֵב	
ע"ו	קוּם, בּוֹשׁ	הִקוּם	הִקָּם	
ע"י	דִּין			
ל"ה	גָּלָה	הִגָּלָה	הִגָּלָה (הִרָּף)	

	<i>Qal</i>	<i>Nifal</i>	<i>Hifil</i>	<i>Hofal</i>
Inf. cst.	קָטַן (לְ), כָּבַד (לְ); קָטַל (לְ)	הִקְטַל (לְ)	הִקְטִיל (לְ)	(לְ)הִקְטַל (לְ)
פ"ן	נָשַׁת (לְ)	הִנְגַּשׁ (לְ)	הִגִּישׁ (לְ)	הִגִּישׁ (לְ)
ע"ע	סָב, (לְ)תָם	הִסֵּב (לְ)	הִסִּיב (לְ)	
פ"וי	שָׁבַת (לְ), רָשַׁת (לְ)	הִוָּשַׁב (לְ)	הִוָּשִׁיב (לְ)	הִוָּשַׁב (לְ)
פ"יי			הִיטִיב (לְ)	
ע"ו	קָם, (לְ)טוּב	הִקָּוַם (לְ)	הִקָּוֵם (לְ)	הִקָּוַם (לְ)
ע"י	דָּיַן (לְ)			
ל"ה	גָּלוּת (לְ)	הִגָּלוּת (לְ)	הִגָּלוּת (לְ)	
Inf. abs.	קָטַל, נָקַטַל	הִקְטַל, נִקְטַל	הִקְטִיל	הִקְטַל
פ"ן	נָגַשׁ	נִגַּשׁ	הִגִּישׁ	הִגִּישׁ
ע"ע	סָבַב	הִסֵּב	הִסִּיב	
פ"וי	יָשׁוּב		הִוָּשַׁב	
פ"יי			הִיטִיב	
ע"ו	קָם	נִקָּוַם	הִקָּוַם	
ע"י	דָּוַן			
ל"ה	גָּלָה	הִגָּלָה, נִגָּלָה	הִגָּלָה	הִגָּלָה
Participle	קָטַל(1); כָּבֵד, קָטַל	נִקְטָל	מִקְטִיל (>מְ)	מִקְטַל
פ"ן	נִגֵּשׁ	נִגַּשׁ	מִגִּישׁ	מִגִּישׁ
ע"ע	סָבַב, תָּם	נִסָּב, נִסָּב	מִסִּיב	מִסָּב
פ"וי	יָשׁוּב	נוֹשֵׁב	מוֹשִׁיב	מוֹשֵׁב
פ"יי			מִיטִיב	
ע"ו	קָם(2); מֵת, בּוֹשׁ	נִקָּוַם	מִקָּוַם	מִקָּוַם
ע"י	דָּן(3)	נִדָּוַן		
ל"ה	גָּלָה(4)	נִגָּלָה	מִגָּלָה	מִגָּלָה

Qal pass. ptc.: (1) קָטוּל; (2) קָם; (3) שָׁיִם (שׁוּם); (4) גָּלוּי

	1. <i>qatl</i> ⊘ Ac king	2. <i>qitl</i> ⊘ Ae book	3. <i>qutl</i> ⊘ Ag holiness	4. <i>qatl</i> gutt. ⊘ Ai lad	5. <i>qutl</i> gutt. ⊘ Aj work
Sg.abs.	מֶלֶךְ (1)	סֵפֶר	קֹדֶשׁ	נָעָר (ג)	פְּעַל
<i>cst.</i>	מֶלֶךְ	סֵפֶר	קֹדֶשׁ	נָעָר	פְּעַל
<i>light suf.</i>	מְלָכִי (2)	סִפְרִי (5)	קֹדְשִׁי (6)	נְעָרִי	פְּעָלִי
<i>heavy suf.</i>	מְלַכְכֶם	סִפְרְכֶם	קֹדְשְׁכֶם	נְעָרְכֶם	פְּעַלְכֶם
Pl.abs.	מְלָכִים	סִפְרִים	קֹדְשִׁים (ק)	נְעָרִים	פְּעָלִים
<i>cst.</i>	מְלָכִי (3)	סִפְרִי	קֹדְשִׁי	נְעָרִי	פְּעָלִי
<i>light suf.</i>	מְלָכִי	סִפְרִי	קֹדְשִׁי (ק)	נְעָרִי	פְּעָלִי
<i>heavy suf.</i>	מְלַכְיֶכֶם			נְעָרֵיכֶם	פְּעַלְיֶכֶם
Du.abs.	רְגָלַיִם (4)		מַתְנִים	נְעָלַיִם	
<i>cst.</i>	רְגָלִי		מַתְנִי	נְעָלִי	
<i>suffixes</i>	רְגָלִי		מַתְנִי	נְעָלִי	

(1) כֶּרֶם (2) בָּטְנִי, נְגֻדִי (3) בָּטְנִי, נְגֻדִי (4) בְּרַפְּיָם (5) נְסֻפִי (6) חֶלְקִי גִדְלוֹ

	12. <i>qatal</i> ⊘ Bb word	13. <i>qatil</i> ⊘ Bd old	14. <i>qata(i)l</i> ל"ה ⊘ Bf field	15. <i>qātal</i> ⊘ Cb aeon	16. <i>qātil</i> ⊘ Cc enemy
Sg.abs.	דָּבָר (2)	זָקַן, בְּתָר (2)	שָׂדֶה	עוֹלָם	אֵיב
<i>cst.</i>	דָּבָר	זָקַן, בְּתָר	שָׂדֶה	עוֹלָם	אֵיב (י)
<i>light suf.</i>	דְּבָרִי	זָקְנִי	שְׂדֵי	עוֹלָמִי	אֵיבִי
<i>heavy suf.</i>	דְּבַרְךָ		שְׂדֶךָ	עוֹלָמְךָ	אֵיבְךָ (י)
Pl.abs.	דְּבָרִים	זָקְנִים	(שְׂדָכֶם)	עוֹלָמְכֶם	אֵיבְכֶם (י)
<i>cst.</i>	דְּבָרִי	זָקְנִי	פְּנִי (4)	עוֹלָמִי	אֵיבִי
<i>light suf.</i>	דְּבָרִי	זָקְנִי	פְּנִי	עוֹלָמִי	אֵיבִי
<i>heavy suf.</i>	דְּבַבְיֶכֶם	זָקְנֵיכֶם	פְּנֵיכֶם	עוֹלָמֵיכֶם	אֵיבֵיכֶם
Du.abs.	כַּנְפָּיִם (1)	יָרְכִים (3)		מְלַקְחִים (5)	מִזְנֵיִם (6)
<i>cst.</i>	כַּנְפֵי				
<i>light suf.</i>	כַּנְפֵי	יָרְכִי			
<i>heavy suf.</i>	כַּנְפֵיכֶם				

(1) כַּנְפֵי wing (2) בְּתָר shoulder (3) יָרֵךְ thigh (4) פָּנִי face (5) לְשׁוֹן tongue (6) מִזְנֵי scales

6. *qatl* ע"ו *Al death* § *Am olive* 7. *qatl* ע"י *Am olive* § *An people* 8. *qatl* ע"ע *An people* § *Ao goat* 9. *qitl* ע"ע *Ao goat* § *Ap law* 10. *qutl* ע"ע *Ap law* § *Aq fruit* 11. *qatl* ל"ה *Aq fruit*

מָוֹת ⁽¹⁾	זַיִת ⁽²⁾	עַם (עַם)	עֵז ⁽³⁾	חֵק	פְּרִי (פְּרִי)
מוֹת	זַיִת	עַם	עֵז	חֵק, חֵק־	פְּרִי
מוֹתַי	זַיִתִּי	עַמִּי	עֵזִי	חֵקִי	פְּרִיִי
מוֹתְכֶם	זַיִתְכֶם	עַמְכֶם	עֵזְכֶם	(חֵקְכֶם) ⁽⁴⁾	פְּרִיְכֶם
שׁוֹטִים	זַיִתִּים	עַמִּים	עֵזִים	חֵקִים	גְּדִיִים ⁽⁵⁾
שׁוֹטֵי	זַיִתִּי	עַמִּי	עֵזִי	חֵקִי	גְּדִיִי
שׁוֹטֵי	זַיִתִּי	עַמִּי	עֵזִי	חֵקִי	
שׁוֹטֵיכֶם	זַיִתֵּיכֶם	עַמֵּיכֶם	עֵזֵיכֶם	חֵקֵיכֶם	
		כַּפַּיִם	שְׁנָיִם		
		כַּפֵּי	שְׁנַיִ		
		כַּפֵּי	שְׁנַיִ		

(1) *whip* שׁוֹט (2) *bosom* חֵיק (3) *mother, pl.* אֵם (4) *tooth* שֵׁן; אֲמוֹת (5) *kid* גְּדִי

17. *qāti(a)* ל"ה *Ce seer* § *Db official in charge* 18. *qatil* § *Dc afflicted* 19. *qatil* ל"ה § *Dd writing* 20. *qi(u)tāl* § *Dd writing*

חֹזֶה	פְּקִיד	עָנִי	כְּתָב
חֹזֶה	פְּקִיד	עָנִי	כְּתָב
חֹזִי	פְּקִידִי	כְּתָבִי	
חֹזֶה	פְּקִידֶה	כְּתָבֶה	
חֹזְכֶם	פְּקִידְכֶם	כְּתָבְכֶם	
חֹזִים	פְּקִידִים	עָנִיִּים	מְצֻדוֹת ⁽¹⁾
חֹזִי	פְּקִידִי	עָנִיִּי	מְצֻדוֹת
חֹזִי	פְּקִידִי		
חֹזְכֶם	פְּקִידֵיכֶם	עָנִיְכֶם	

(1) *fortification* מְצָד

	21. <i>qatl</i>	22. <i>qatal</i>	23. <i>qatal</i>	24. [final segholate]
	§ A <i>b</i> queen	§ B <i>b</i> justice	§ E <i>b</i> year	§ F <i>b</i> shoot
Sg. abs.	מִלְכָּה ⁽¹⁾	צְדָקָה	שָׁנָה	יוֹנְקָת
<i>cst.</i>	מִלְכַּת	צְדָקַת	שָׁנַת	יוֹנְקַת
<i>light suf.</i>	מִלְכָּתִי	צְדָקָתִי	שָׁנָתִי	יוֹנְקָתִי
<i>heavy suf.</i>	מִלְכַּתְכֶּם	צְדָקַתְכֶּם	שָׁנַתְכֶּם	יוֹנְקַתְכֶּם
Pl. abs.	מְלָכוֹת	צְדָקוֹת	שָׁנוֹת ⁽²⁾	יוֹנְקוֹת
<i>cst.</i>	מְלָכוֹת	צְדָקוֹת	שָׁנוֹת	יוֹנְקוֹת
<i>suf.</i>	מְלָכוֹתִי	צְדָקוֹתִי	שָׁנוֹתִי	יוֹנְקוֹתִי
Duabs.			שְׁפָתַיִם ⁽³⁾	
<i>cst.</i>			שְׁפָתִי	
<i>light suf.</i>			שְׁפָתִי	
<i>heavy suf.</i>			שְׁפָתֵיכֶם	

(1) פֶּבְשָׁה *lamb* (2) poetic, § 90 *b*; ordinary plural שְׁנַיִם (3) *lips*

[continued on pp. 684-85]

	1 (§ 98b)	2 (§ 98b)	4 (§ 98c)	5 (§ 98d)	7 (§ 98d)
	<i>father</i>	<i>brother</i>	<i>son</i>	<i>daughter</i>	<i>sister</i>
Sg.abs.	אָב	אָח	בֶּן	בַּת	אָחוֹת
<i>ct.</i>	אָבִי	אָחִי	בֶּן- ⁽⁶⁾	בַּת	אָחוֹת
Suf.Sg.1 c.	אָבִי	אָחִי	בְּנִי	בַּתִּי	אָחוֹתִי
2 m.	אָבִיךָ	אָחִיךָ	בְּנֵיךָ ⁽⁷⁾	בַּתְּךָ ⁽⁸⁾	אָחוֹתְךָ
2 f.	אָבִיךָ	אָחִיךָ	בְּנֵיךָ		אָחוֹתְךָ
3 m.	אָבִיו ⁽²⁾	אָחִיו ⁽⁴⁾	בְּנוֹ	בַּתּוֹ	אָחוֹתּוֹ
3 f.	אָבִיהָ	אָחִיהָ	בְּנֶיהָ	בַּתָּהּ	אָחוֹתָהּ
Pl. 1 c.	אָבֵינוּ	אָחֵינוּ	בְּנֵינוּ		אָחוֹתֵנוּ
2 m.	אָבֵיכֶם	אָחֵיכֶם		בַּתְּכֶם	
3 m.	אָבֵיהֶם	אָחֵיהֶם			אָחוֹתֶם
Pl.abs.	אָבוֹת	אָחִים	בְּנִים	בָּנוֹת	*אָחוֹת
<i>ct.</i>	אָבוֹת	אָחִי	בְּנֵי	בָּנוֹת	*אָחוֹת
Suf.Sg.1 c.	אָבֹתִי	אָחִי ⁽⁵⁾	בְּנֵי	בָּנוֹתִי	אָחוֹתִי
2 m.	אָבֹתֶיךָ	אָחֶיךָ	בְּנֵיךָ	בָּנוֹתֶיךָ	
2 f.		אָחֶיךָ	בְּנֵיךָ	בָּנוֹתֶיךָ	אָחוֹתֶיךָ
3 m.	אָבֹתָיו	אָחָיו	בְּנָיו	בָּנוֹתָיו	אָחוֹתָיו
3 f.		אָחֶיהָ	בְּנֵיהָ	בָּנוֹתֶיהָ	
Pl. 1 c.	אָבֹתֵינוּ	אָחֵינוּ	בְּנֵינוּ	בָּנוֹתֵינוּ	
2 m.	אָבֹתֵיכֶם	אָחֵיכֶם	בְּנֵיכֶם	בָּנוֹתֵיכֶם	אָחוֹתֵיכֶם
3 m.	אָבֹתֵיהֶם ⁽³⁾	אָחֵיהֶם	בְּנֵיהֶם	בָּנוֹתֵיהֶם	אָחוֹתֵיהֶם

(1) We have omitted the forms with *pl.fem. suffixes*.

(2) אָבִיהוּ (3) more frequent than אָבֹתֵיהֶם § 94 g (4) אָחִיהוּ (5) אָחִי (6) בֶּן-

(7) בְּנֵיךָ (8) בַּתְּךָ

	10 (§ 98e) <i>mouth</i>	11 (§ 98e) <i>water</i>	12 (§ 98e) <i>sky</i>	13 (§ 98e) <i>vessel</i>	14 (§ 98f) <i>head</i>
Sing.abs.	פֶּה	[מִי*]	[שָׁמַי*]	כֶּלִי (כֶּלִי)	רֹאשׁ
<i>cst.</i>	פִּי			כֶּלִי	רֹאשׁ
Suf.Sg.1c.	פִּי				רֹאשִׁי
2m.	פִּיךָ			כֶּלִיךָ	רֹאשְׁךָ
2f.					רֹאשְׁךָ
3m.	פִּיו (פִּיהוּ)				רֹאשׁוֹ
3f.	פִּיהָ				רֹאשֶׁהָ
Pl. 1 c.	פִּינוּ				רֹאשֵׁינוּ
2m.	פִּיכֶם				רֹאשֵׁיכֶם
3m.	פִּיהֶם				רֹאשֵׁם
Plur.abs.	(פִּיּוֹת)	מַיִם	שָׁמַיִם	כֶּלִים	רֹאשִׁים
<i>cst.</i>		מִי (מִימֵי)	שָׁמַי	כֶּלִי	
Suf.Sg.1c.		מִימֵי		כֶּלִי	
2m.		מִימֶיךָ	שָׁמַיךָ	כֶּלִיךָ	
2f.					
3m.		מִימֵיו	שָׁמַיּוֹ	כֶּלָיו	רֹאשָׁיו
3f.		מִימֶיהָ		כֶּלֶיהָ	רֹאשֶׁיהָ
Pl. 1 c.		מִימֵינוּ		כֶּלֵינוּ	רֹאשֵׁינוּ
2m.			שָׁמַיְכֶם	כֶּלֵיכֶם	רֹאשֵׁיכֶם
3m.		מִימֵיהֶם		כֶּלֵיהֶם	רֹאשֵׁיהֶם

	15 (§ 98f)	16 (§ 98f)	17 (§ 98f)	18 (§ 98b)	19 (§ 98b)
	day	town	house	man	woman
Sing.abs.	יוֹם	עִיר	בַּיִת	אִישׁ	אִשָּׁה
<i>cst.</i>	יוֹם	עִיר	בַּיִת	אִישׁ	אִשָּׁה
Suf.Sg.1c.		עִירִי	בַּיְתִי	אִישִׁי	אִשְׁתִּי
2m.		עִירְךָ	בַּיְתְּךָ		אִשְׁתְּךָ
2f.			בַּיְתְּךָ	אִישְׁךָ	
3m.	יוֹמוֹ	עִירוֹ	בַּיְתּוֹ	אִישׁוֹ	אִשְׁתּוֹ
3f.		עִירָהּ	בַּיְתָּהּ	אִשָּׁהּ	
Pl. 1 c.					
2m.			בַּיְתְּכֶם		
3m.	יוֹמָם	עִירָם	בַּיְתָם		
Plur.abs.	יָמִים	עָרִים	בָּתִּים	אֲנָשִׁים	נָשִׁים
<i>cst.</i>	יָמִי	עָרֵי	בָּתֵּי	אֲנָשִׁי	נָשִׁי
Suf.Sg.1c.	יָמִי	עָרֵי		אֲנָשִׁי	נָשִׁי
2 m.	יָמֶיךָ	עָרֶיךָ	בָּתֶּיךָ	אֲנָשֶׁיךָ	נָשֶׁיךָ
2 f.	יָמֶיךָ	עָרֶיךָ	בָּתֶּיךָ		
3 m.	יָמָיו	עָרָיו		אֲנָשָׁיו	נָשָׁיו
3 f.	יָמֶיהָ	עָרֶיהָ		אֲנָשֶׁיהָ	
Pl. 1 c.	יָמֵינוּ	עָרֵינוּ	בָּתֵּינוּ	אֲנָשֵׁינוּ	נָשֵׁינוּ
2 m.	יָמֵיכֶם	עָרֵיכֶם	בָּתֵיכֶם		נָשֵׁיכֶם
3 m.	יָמֵיהֶם	עָרֵיהֶם	בָּתֵיהֶם	אֲנָשֵׁיהֶם	נָשֵׁיהֶם

Sing.		1st c.	2nd m.	2nd f.	3rd m.	3rd f.
<i>Sg.m.</i>	סוּס	סוּסִי	סוּסְךָ (אֲ)	סוּסְךָ	סוּסוֹ	סוּסֶיהָ
<i>Sg.f.</i>	סוּסָה	סוּסָתִי	סוּסָתְךָ (אֲ)	סוּסָתְךָ	סוּסָתּוֹ	סוּסָתֶיהָ
<i>Pl.m.</i>	סוּסִים	סוּסֵי (אֲ)	סוּסֵיךָ (אֲ)	סוּסֵיךָ (אֲ)	סוּסֵיוֹ	סוּסֵיהֶן
<i>Pl.f.</i>	סוּסוֹת	סוּסוֹתֵי (אֲ)	סוּסוֹתֵיךָ (אֲ)	סוּסוֹתֵיךָ (אֲ)	סוּסוֹתֵיוֹ	סוּסוֹתֵיהֶן
<i>Sg.m.</i>	שָׂרָה	שָׂרִי	שָׂרְךָ (אֲ)	שָׂרְךָ	שָׂרָהּ (ו)	שָׂרָהּ (הֲ)

§ 96Bf

בֶּ	§ 103 f	בִּי	בְּךָ (אֲ)	בְּךָ	בּוֹ	בָּהּ
לֶ	§ 103 f	לִי	לְךָ (אֲ)	לְךָ	לוֹ (10)	לָהּ
כֶּ	§ 103 g	כְּמוֹנִי	כְּמוֹנְךָ	כְּמוֹנְךָ	כְּמוֹהוּ	כְּמוֹתֶיהָ
מֶ	§ 103 h	מְמַנִּי (4)	מְמַנְךָ (8)	מְמַנְךָ	מְמַנּוֹ	מְמַנֶּיהָ
עֶ	§ 103 i	עַמִּי (5)	עַמְךָ (אֲ)	עַמְךָ	עַמּוֹ	עַמָּהּ
אַת (1)	§ 103 j	אַתִּי	אַתְךָ (אֲ)	אַתְךָ	אַתּוֹ	אַתָּהּ
אַת (2)	§ 103 k	אַתִּי	אַתְךָ (אֲ)	אַתְךָ	אַתּוֹ	אַתָּהּ
אֵינִי	§ 102 k	אֵינִי	אֵינְךָ	אֵינְךָ	אֵינּוֹ	אֵינָהּ
עוֹד	§ 102 k	עוֹדְנִי (6)	עוֹדְךָ	עוֹדְךָ (1x)	עוֹדְנּוֹ	עוֹדְנֶיהָ (12)
הֵנָּה	§ 102 k	הֵנָּנִי (7)	הֵנָּךָ (9)	הֵנָּךָ	הֵנּוֹ	
בֵּינִי (3)	§ 103 n	בֵּינִי	בֵּינְךָ (אֲ)	בֵּינְךָ	בֵּינּוֹ (11)	

Suffixes of the plur. noun

עֵל	§ 103 m	עֲלֵי (אֲ)	עֲלֵיךָ	עֲלֵיךָ (אֲ)	עֲלָיו	עֲלֶיהָ
עַד	§ 103 m	עַדִּי	עַדְךָ	עַדְךָ	עַדָּיו	עַדָּיהָ
אֵל	§ 103 m	אֲלֵי (אֲ)	אֲלֵיךָ	אֲלֵיךָ (אֲ)	אֲלָיו	אֲלֶיהָ

(1) with (2) sign of the accusative (3) בֵּינִי with sg. suf. like a sg. noun, and with pl. suf. like a pl. noun (4) poet. מְמַנִּי (5) עַמְדִּי (6) 4 x עוֹדִי (7) הֵנָּנִי; 2 x הֵנָּנִי (8) מְמַנְךָ (9) הֵנָּךָ 1 x (10) poet. לְמוֹ 2x (11) בֵּינָיו (12) עוֹדָהּ

Plur.	1st c.	2nd m.	2nd f.	3rd m.	3rd f.
Sg.m.	סוֹדְנֹו	סוֹדְכֶם	סוֹדְכֶן	סוֹדָם	סוֹדָן
Sg.f.	סוֹדְתֶנּוּ	סוֹדְתֶכֶם	סוֹדְתֶכֶן	סוֹדְתָם	סוֹדְתָן
Pl.m.	סוֹדְיָנֹו	סוֹדְיָכֶם	סוֹדְיָכֶן	סוֹדְיָהֶם	סוֹדְיָהֶן
Pl.f.	סוֹדְתֵינֹו	סוֹדְתֵיכֶם	סוֹדְתֵיכֶן	סוֹדְתֵיהֶם	סוֹדְתֵיהֶן
Sg.m.	שׂוֹדְנֹו	(שׂוֹדְכֶם)	(שׂוֹדְכֶן)	שׂוֹדָם	שׂוֹדָן

בְּנֹו	בְּכֶם		בְּהֶם, בָּם ⁽⁵⁾	בְּהֶן ⁽¹²⁾
לָנֹו	לָכֶם	(לָכֶן) ⁽⁴⁾	לָהֶם ⁽⁶⁾	לָהֶן ⁽¹³⁾
כְּמֹונו	כְּכֶם ⁽³⁾		כְּהֶם ⁽⁷⁾	כְּהֶן ⁽¹⁴⁾
מִמֶּנּוּ	מִכֶּם	מִכֶּן	מִהֶם ⁽⁸⁾	מִהֶן ⁽¹⁵⁾
עִמֶּנּוּ	עִמְכֶם		עִמָּם ⁽⁹⁾	
אִתְּנֹו	אִתְּכֶם		אִתָּם	
אִתְּנֵנו	אִתְּכֶם		אִתָּם ⁽¹⁰⁾	אִתְּהֶן ⁽¹⁶⁾
אִינְנֹו	אִינְכֶם		אִינָם	
			עוֹדָם	
			הֵנָם	
הֵנְנֹו ⁽¹⁾	הֵנְכֶם			
בֵּינֵינוּ ⁽²⁾	בֵּינֵיכֶם		בֵּינֵיהֶם ⁽¹¹⁾	

Suffixes of the plur. noun

עֲלֵינוּ	עֲלֵיכֶם	עֲלֵיהֶם	עֲלֵיהֶן
	עֲדֵיכֶם		
אֲלֵינוּ	אֲלֵיכֶם	אֲלֵיהֶם	אֲלֵיהֶן

(1) הֵנְנֹו; הֵנְנוּ (2) בֵּינוֹתֵינוּ (3) poet. כְּמוֹכֶם (4) 1 x לָכֶן (5) 3 x בְּהֶמָּה (6) poet. לָמוּ; 1 x לָהֶמָּה (7) séré; 1 x בְּהֶם, 1 x כְּהֶמָּה (8) 2 x מִהֶמָּה (9) more freq. than עִמָּהֶם (10) more freq. than אִתְּהֶם (11) בֵּינוֹתָם (12) 3 x בְּהֶן, 3 x בְּהֶנָּה (13) 4 x לָהֶנָּה (14) 1 x כְּהֶן (15) 2 x מִהֶן (16) more freq. than אִתְּנֶן

HEBREW INDEX

References are to sub-paragraphs (§). Thus 112c refers to § 112 c. The upper case <N> refers to <end-note>. Thus <118cN> refers to an end-note in § 118 c, whereas <118c,N> refers to § 118 c and an end-note there.

אָב	98b	אַלֶּת	97Fb
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אַבָּה	73g	אָז	113i
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הַלְזֵף	123s		
הַז	102kN; 167l		

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וַיַּעַף	80k	חֹזֶה	96Ce
וַיַּצַּר	23b	חֲזוֹת	88Mj
וַיַּצַּר	23b; 82b	חָטָא	88Ch; 96Ae
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יּוֹמָם	102b	יַקַּח	58a; 72j
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		יַרְאֶה	49d

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| יָרַד | 125d | כֵּלָה | 7b; 94h; 146j |
| יָרָה | 75f | כֵּלֹו | (see כֵּלָה) |
| יְרוּשָׁלַם | 16f4 | כֵּלִי | 98e |
| יֵרַכָה | 97Bd | כֵּלִיָּה | 91c |
| יָרַשׁ | 42d | כֵּלְנוֹ | 94h |
| יִשְׁשַׁכֵּר | 16f5 | כֶּם | 8f7; 61c,d |
| יֵשׁ | 102k; 154k | כֵּן | 102h; 174bsq. |
| יָשַׁב | 112a | כָּנָף | 96Bb |
| יֵשֵׁב | 75c | כֶּסְאִי | 8f9; 18m |
| יִשׁוּעַ | 29h | כֶּסֶף | 132gN; 136b |
| יָשַׁן | 96Bd | כֶּפֶר | 52c |
| יֵת | 97Ga | כַּרְמֶל | 88Mm |
| יָתַר | 96Bd | כִּפֶּת | 56a |
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| כ | 103b,c,g; 133g,h;
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| כ..כ | 174i | כִּתְנוֹת | 97Fd |
| ך | 8f8; 61c,d | כֶּתֶף | 96Bd |
| ךָ | 61fN | | |
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cst. 124l; exponent of the
acc. 125k; replacing the
gen. 130; with passive verb
132f; expletive 133j |
| כְּאֶשֶׁר | 166n; 170k; 174a | לֹא | 7b; 102j; 103f; 113m; 116j;
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| כָּבֵד | 41b,f; 96Bd; 112a; 113a | לְאמֹר | 24e; 73g; 103b; 118j,k;
119l |
| כֶּבֶס (וּכְבֶּס) | 52c | לְבָב | 88Dd |
| כִּבְשָׁה | 97Aa | לְבַד | 102d |
| כֵּה | 102h | לְבוּשׁ | 121oN |
| כְּהִיּוֹם | 35e | לְבוּשׁ | 30d |
| כָּזַב | 96Bb | לְבַלְתִּי | 124e; 160l |
| כִּי | 154fa; 155m; 157a,c,e;
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169e; 170d; 171a; 172c
recitativum 157c,N | לְבָז | 96Bb |
| כִּי־אִם | 164c; 172c; 173b | לְבֶשׁ | 125d |
| כִּיּוֹם | 35e | לְדָה | 75m |
| כָּכָה | 102h | לְדַת | 75m |
| כֶּכֶר | 90e | לָהּ | 25a; 103f |
| כֵּל | 125h; 138d; 139e; 150o;
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| מְמַר | 88Le | מְרַבָּה | 97Fa |
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| מְנוּחָה | 29b | מְשַׁמְנִים | 96Cb |
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References are to sub-paragraphs (ð). Thus 112c refers to ð 112 c. The upper case <N> refers to <end-note>. Thus <118cN> refers to an end-note in ð 118 c, whereas <118c,N> refers to ð 118 c and an end-note there.

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qall	- <i>g</i>
qill	- <i>h</i>
qull	- <i>i</i>
qatl	88C <i>a*</i> , <i>a</i>
qitl	- <i>h</i>
qutl	- <i>j</i>
qtal	88C <i>g</i>
qtallah	-
qtil	88C <i>i</i>
qtillah	-
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qtullah	-
<hr/>	
qatal	88D <i>a</i>
qatil	- <i>b</i>
qatul	- <i>c</i>
qital	- <i>d</i>
<hr/>	
qatāl	88E <i>a</i>
qatil	- <i>b</i>

qatūl	- <i>c</i>
qitāl	- <i>d</i>
qutāl	- <i>e</i>

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qātal	88F <i>a</i>
qātil	- <i>b</i>
qūtal	- <i>c</i>

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qattal	88H <i>a</i>
qattil	- <i>c</i>
quttal	- <i>d</i>

<hr/>	
qattāl	88I <i>a</i>
qattil	- <i>b</i>
qattūl	- <i>c</i>

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12 159 <i>c</i>	30 114 <i>cN</i>	3 32 <i>c</i> ; 129 <i>aN</i> 4
13 147 <i>dN</i>	32 125 <i>iN</i> ; 154 <i>f</i>	10 155 <i>m</i>
15 37 <i>c</i> ; 158 <i>f</i>	155 <i>od</i>	11 93 <i>m,n,r</i>
16 144 <i>e</i>	47 4 114 <i>h</i> ; 130 <i>e</i> ;	12 96 <i>Bb</i>
17 165 <i>k</i>	155 <i>r</i>	15 157 <i>d</i>
18 105 <i>c</i> ; 154 <i>b</i> ;	6 158 <i>l</i> ; 177 <i>h</i>	17 18 <i>k</i>
174 <i>i</i>	9 129 <i>c</i> ; 154 <i>f</i>	22 42 <i>f</i> ; 89 <i>n</i> ;
20 112 <i>a</i>	12 125 <i>u</i>	150 <i>g,h</i>
22 112 <i>a</i> ; 140 <i>bN</i> ;	13 160 <i>h</i>	23 82 <i>l</i>
155 <i>m</i> ; 167 <i>b</i>	19 82 <i>h</i>	24 91 <i>c</i>
23 155 <i>m</i>	20 147 <i>d,N</i>	27 32 <i>c</i> ; 158 <i>a</i>
27 146 <i>a</i>	21 156 <i>c</i> ; 176 <i>j</i>	28 143 <i>a</i>
28 123 <i>e</i>	22 119 <i>v</i> ; 125 <i>iN</i>	30 158 <i>hN</i>
29 125 <i>g</i> ; 167 <i>e</i>	23 164 <i>a</i>	31 155 <i>b</i>
33 114 <i>h</i>	24 150 <i>l</i>	33 47 <i>b</i>
34 159 <i>d</i> ; 168 <i>gN</i>	25 114 <i>bN</i>	50 2 177 <i>j</i>
45 3 154 <i>d,fa</i>	30 146 <i>a</i>	4 176 <i>k</i>
4 154 <i>fa</i> ; 158 <i>h,n</i>	31 137 <i>f</i>	5 114 <i>d</i>
6 158 <i>k</i> ; 175 <i>a</i>	48 1 155 <i>e</i>	6 114 <i>n</i>
9 119 <i>lN</i> ; 155 <i>p</i>	4 79 <i>k</i>	8 125 <i>iN</i>
12 137 <i>l</i>	5 <i>a</i> 154 <i>i</i>	11 131 <i>n</i>
13 158 <i>ea</i>	5 <i>b</i> 154 <i>iN</i>	13 158 <i>hN</i>
17 135 <i>oN</i>	6 <i>a</i> 154 <i>iN</i>	15 167 <i>k</i>
19 119 <i>l</i>	7 89 <i>n</i> ; 93 <i>f</i>	20 152 <i>h</i> ; 155 <i>nb</i>
20 154 <i>i</i>	133 <i>f</i>	174 <i>d</i>
28 114 <i>c</i>	10 ... 112 <i>aN</i> ; 113 <i>ga</i> ;	23 130 <i>g</i>
46 2 136 <i>j</i>	159 <i>f</i>	24 154 <i>fa</i>
4 123 <i>l,p</i>	14 171 <i>f</i>	
9 177 <i>oN</i>	16 155 <i>ne</i>	Exodus
13 177 <i>oN</i>	17 113 <i>ga</i>	1 7 125 <i>d</i> ; 128 <i>c</i>
18 125 <i>g</i>	18 154 <i>eaN</i>	8 158 <i>f</i>
20 128 <i>b</i>	19 155 <i>nb</i> ; 172 <i>b</i>	

Exodus	Exodus	Exodus
10 61 <i>f</i> ; 105 <i>e</i>	11 169 <i>e</i>	14 136 <i>n</i>
12 174 <i>a,b</i>	12 143 <i>a</i> ; 157 <i>e</i>	16 177 <i>o</i>
14 125 <i>j</i>	166 <i>l</i>	28 129 <i>p</i>
15 ... 158 <i>bN</i> ; 176 <i>bN</i>	16 119 <i>l</i>	7 1 105 <i>d</i>
16 176 <i>b N</i>	18 90 <i>b</i> ; 114 <i>f</i>	9 116 <i>i</i>
22 134 <i>c</i> ; 135 <i>c</i> ; 139 <i>s</i> ; 155 <i>s</i>	21 129 <i>h</i>	11 146 <i>e</i>
2 2 157 <i>d</i>	4 2 37 <i>c</i>	15 146 <i>h</i> ; 154 <i>c</i>
3 61 <i>i</i>	4 31 <i>d</i> ; 69 <i>b</i>	20 125 <i>m</i>
4 53 <i>f</i>	6 105 <i>cN</i>	26 119 <i>lN</i>
6 146 <i>e</i>	9 176 <i>bN</i>	27 52 <i>c</i>
7 103 <i>d</i>	10 105 <i>c</i> ; 129 <i>j,p</i>	28 125 <i>d</i>
9 129 <i>h</i>	160 <i>c</i>	29 18 <i>m</i>
10 118 <i>j</i>	13 105 <i>c</i> ; 129 <i>q</i> ;	8 4 177 <i>k</i>
11 126 <i>c</i>	158 <i>o</i>	5 9 <i>c</i> ; 161 <i>g</i>
12 104 <i>d</i> ; 160 <i>g</i>	15 113 <i>m</i>	9 150 <i>j</i>
14 131 <i>b</i>	18 114 <i>d,n</i>	10 135 <i>e</i>
15 137 <i>n</i>	19 18 <i>m</i>	11 123 <i>x</i>
16 80 <i>bN</i>	20 93 <i>d</i> ; 137 <i>m</i>	12 119 <i>m</i>
17 149 <i>b</i>	25 157 <i>c</i>	16 146 <i>h</i> ; 154 <i>c</i>
20 44 <i>dN</i> ; 177 <i>m</i>	31 157 <i>c</i>	22 125 <i>iN</i>
21 140 <i>a</i>	5 2 169 <i>fN</i>	24 123 <i>o</i>
22 118 <i>j</i>	3 114 <i>e,f</i>	28 137 <i>fN</i>
3 1 21 <i>f</i>	4 113 <i>d</i>	9 2 52 <i>c</i>
2 16 <i>fN</i> ; 58 <i>b</i> ;	5 148 <i>b</i>	3 132 <i>g</i>
133 <i>bN</i> ; 137 <i>o</i> ; 160 <i>i</i>	7 146 <i>a</i> ; 147 <i>a</i>	4 129 <i>q,3</i>
3 45 <i>b</i> ; 79 <i>o</i> ;	8 114 <i>e</i>	8 119 <i>m</i>
105 <i>c</i> ; 114 <i>d</i> ;	11 158 <i>m</i>	9 125 <i>o</i>
116 <i>b</i> ; 131 <i>cN</i>	15 113 <i>d</i>	13 116 <i>d</i>
143 <i>h</i>	16 155 <i>f</i> ; 160 <i>i</i>	16 124 <i>s</i> ; 168 <i>e</i> ;
5 131 <i>cN</i> ; 150 <i>ia</i>	17 114 <i>e</i>	172 <i>b</i>
154 <i>i</i>	19 146 <i>k</i>	20 176 <i>o</i>
7 123 <i>dN</i> ; 149 <i>a</i>	20 126 <i>b</i>	21 176 <i>o</i>
158 <i>ea</i>	21 124 <i>s</i> ; 155 <i>ne</i>	22 119 <i>m</i>
8 121 <i>m</i>	6 3 126 <i>g</i> ; 133 <i>c</i>	23 ... 9 <i>c5</i> ; 75 <i>g</i> ; 118 <i>e</i>
	6 119 <i>e</i>	27 137 <i>f,l</i> ; 154 <i>j</i>

Exodus	Exodus	Exodus
29 125 <i>n</i>	41 176 <i>bN</i>	7 37 <i>e</i> ; 170 <i>j</i>
30 160 <i>n</i>	42 136 <i>i</i>	12 125 <i>d</i>
32 136 <i>b</i>	43 133 <i>c</i>	16 125 <i>v</i>
33 125 <i>n</i>	48 119 <i>w</i> ; 123 <i>v</i> ;	21 135 <i>d</i>
35 155 <i>m</i>	130 <i>g</i>	22 ... 142 <i>cN,q</i> ;176 <i>f</i>
10 1 138 <i>g</i>	49 150 <i>k</i>	23 152 <i>b</i>
3 112 <i>e</i>	13 3 137 <i>s</i>	27 155 <i>a</i> ; 176 <i>f</i>
4 52 <i>c</i> ; 70 <i>e</i>	7 126 <i>i</i> ; 128 <i>b</i>	28 112 <i>e</i>
6 147 <i>f</i>	8 166 <i>l</i>	32 137 <i>m</i>
7 112 <i>eN</i> ; 160 <i>n</i>	12 96 <i>Ac</i>	34 174 <i>b</i>
8 144 <i>a</i>	15 121 <i>d</i>	17 5 119 <i>l</i>
9 139 <i>c</i>	18 82 <i>i</i>	7 160 <i>h,j</i> ; 170 <i>h</i>
11 152 <i>b</i>	22 113 <i>f</i>	9 177 <i>e</i>
12 119 <i>m</i>	14 3 80 <i>l</i>	10 150 <i>p</i>
13 118 <i>e</i> ; 166 <i>j</i>	5 143 <i>g</i> ; 169 <i>h</i>	11 141 <i>gN</i> ; 150 <i>e</i>
15 160 <i>k</i>	11 143 <i>g</i> ;160 <i>p</i>	12 148 <i>b</i>
11 2 105 <i>cN</i>	12 141 <i>g</i>	14 137 <i>m</i>
5 121 <i>i</i> ; 139 <i>a</i>	13 112 <i>a</i>	18 4 133 <i>c</i>
7 157 <i>c</i>	15 144 <i>e</i>	5 146 <i>c</i>
12 3 ... 119 <i>yN</i> ; 142 <i>o</i> ;	16 116 <i>fN</i>	11 33
176 <i>k</i>	17 156 <i>m</i>	14 137 <i>p</i>
4 119 <i>yN</i> ; 147 <i>d</i>	15 1 124 <i>o</i>	18 141 <i>i</i>
5 129 <i>j</i> ; 135 <i>bN</i>	2 61 <i>h</i> ; 89 <i>n</i>	21 121 <i>l,m</i>
9 172 <i>cN</i>	5 61 <i>i</i> ; 113 <i>h</i>	25 119 <i>v</i>
14 82 <i>g</i> ; 125 <i>e</i>	12 113 <i>h</i>	26 44 <i>c</i> ; 119 <i>v</i>
15 138 <i>b</i> ;156 <i>f,j,l</i>	14 113 <i>h</i>	19 1 124 <i>g</i> ; 176 <i>h</i>
16 132 <i>f</i> ; 150 <i>o</i> ;	16 . 82 <i>hN</i> ; 93 <i>j</i> ;96 <i>Ak</i>	4 54 <i>cN</i>
160 <i>k</i>	17 158 <i>c</i>	5 123 <i>g</i>
18 142 <i>o</i>	20 150 <i>o</i>	8 125 <i>u</i>
24 13 <i>d</i>	23 155 <i>e</i> ;170 <i>i</i>	12 123 <i>p</i> ; 139 <i>i</i>
29 126 <i>h</i>	26 123 <i>g</i>	13 123 <i>p</i>
32 119 <i>l</i>	16 3 163 <i>d</i>	15 121 <i>eN</i>
33 112 <i>g</i> ; 134 <i>g</i>	4 161 <i>f</i>	18 96 <i>Bb</i> ; 159 <i>f</i> ;
34 113 <i>j</i>	5 142 <i>o,q</i>	170 <i>i</i>
39 125 <i>w</i>	6 176 <i>g</i>	19 123 <i>s</i>

Exodus	Exodus	Exodus
21 177e	176m	16 112iN
23 119l	28 113m; 123h; 125h; 128b	20 121m
24 177eN,f	29 150f	21 112iN
20 2 158n	31 155oc; 167q 175dN	28 128b
3 148a	32 155o	37 125v
5 63b;130b	36 167q	40 128c
6 121l	22 3 101b;123g,p; 142q	26 2 137o; 142n
8 123v	6 101b	3 147c
9 126i	7 161f	5 154fc
11 126i	8 101b; 158m	12 136c; 150n
12 123vN	9 159b	26 131d
13 113m	10 161f	30 80m; 128c
18 121f	11 123p	33 33; 141l
20 133j; 160l 168e	13 159b; 160i	27 7 128b
24 129f	19 137dN	11 142n
25 80i	22 123dN,g	13 129l
26 168f	29 176h	15 142n
21 3 176d,n	23 1 47aN; 81e	21 137h
4 150f,p; 176d	4 148cN	28 7 150l
5 123g	8 113c	9 125h
6 137m; 176d	9 170c	11 121p
7 176d,n	14 125t; 142q	14 90e
8 65b	22 81aN; 123g	21 147d
12 104d; 119r 121m; 125q; 128a; 156g,j; 176m	24 63b; 94g	32 150k
13 176i	30 112iN	43 160q
16 119r; 167bN; 175b	24 3 125s; 126d	29 13 93e
17 175a	10 147a	29 .. 49d;129f;130e
20 104d; 123p 137m; 176m	14 144gN	30 63a
22 136j; 167i;	18 133c	31 129fN
	25 3 104d	38 143a
	5 56a	30 4 150l
	11 125u	23 131c
		36 123r,N
		31 2 105d
		10 131k

Exodus	Exodus	Leviticus
13 61dN	6 129i; 141k	2 6 119p; 123v
16 124o	7 123o	3 3 14c6; 35c
17 51b	9 114h	102m
32 1 143e,i	10 147f	4 2 133e; 147bN
3 53i; 125c	12 ... 121eN;168gN	167e
6 124r	12f 134c	3 167e
9 129ia	13 94g	14 117d
12 155l	15 133c; 168gN	20 152fa
161aN,h	27 42e	22 167j
13 125k	28 142d	23 117d; 167q
16 154i	34 119u	24 129q
22 157d	35 5 146e	26 172cN
25 61i	36 4 135d; 147d	28 167q
26 144gN	5 141h	33 129q
30 114c	31 131d	5 1 175d
31 105cN	37 24 137uN	3 125l
32 129t; 146g;	38 14 101aN	15 127d
160j; 167o,r	15 101aN	21 167q
33 144g,N	21 137h	22 167q
34 155m	27 142q	6 2 94h
33 1 158i	39 17 129fN;131d	7 123v,y
6 125c	41 130e	8 146e
7 113e; 123r	40 2 125h	9 126c
8 111i; 118n	4 43b	13 128b
166m	30 119v	18 129q
9 166m	31 119v	7 2 129q
11 113cN	36 113e	7 147f;174i
12 105d; 154fd	37 167h	8 125h
13 94j		30 19d; 80iN
16 79h	Leviticus	8 16 94h
19 158o		25 94h
20 63a; 167t	1 1 118cN	34 143j
34 1 119m	2 119l;147bN;	9 1 176f
3 114i; 147b;	167i	6 116e; 157b
160f	17 159c	10 3 129d

Leviticus	Leviticus	Leviticus
6 116j	15 24 167e	9 160q
9 116j	29 33	15 160q
12 119l	33 125d	22 88Ec
13 119l	16 1 116j	28 147a
17 129f	2 139h; 160k;	30 176h
19 167b	177jN	23 17 20aN
11 4 .. 121m; 137i; 154p	4 117d	30 68f
5 154p	34 102f	43 166l
10 154p	17 5 62h; 176bN	24 2 177j
23 91e,ea	18 6 154fa	10 88Mg
27f 39aN	12 79n	11 88Mg
32 133e	13 79n	16 174i
47 121i	14 79n	25 5 18k
12 4 94h	15 79n	10 142o
5 94h; 96Db	16 79n	14 123x
6 129j	17 79n	20 167l
13 3 176bN	23 155nf	22 126i
5 167lN	19 4 155oa	32 150m
9 150n	8 155oc	33 149c
31 160i	12 154fa	41 155pa
32 160i	16 125q	42 125r
34 160i	18 125k	43 172a
46 129q	20 123p	48 129p
49 128c	28 103c; 155oc	49 167q
55 53h	32 113m; 119h	26 4 129h
56 53h	34 125k	5 125h
57 146e	36 129f	6 159d
14 9 176f	20 3 169g	13 126d; 169h
12 129f; 142m	19 79n	16 102d
13 129q	21 1 119l	18 52c
20 93e	3 98d	21 142q
34 140a	7 132d	24 142q
43 56bN	9 82m; 131b	26 65b
46 129p	22 4 112iN; 129i	33 52c; 150c
57 124s	6 173b	42 129aN

Leviticus	Numbers	Numbers
43 116e; 132d 170fN, <i>n</i>	14 142ba	12 113cN
45 137i	19 125c;126a	14 141i
46 103n	23 123v	15 39aN ;116j 123ja
27 33 103cN	24 114gN, <i>h</i> ; 155l	16 48d; 133d
Numbers	25 114gN	18 152d
1 1 118cN	26 114gN	20 ... 112iN; 170f, <i>n</i>
3 121n	7 3 137o	22 128b; 152f; 161k
18 75a	10 128b	25 80k
19 174b	13 158b	26 142m
21 146e	17 142dN	27 137n; 154fc
47 53g	66 142o	28 136h
2 9 100n; 142g	72 142o	29 163d
33 53g	8 6 119l	30 47b
3 6 119l	9 2 177l	32 123l; 139gN
26 125j	10 103c	33 125r
27 154j	13 158e, <i>g</i>	12 1 150q
32 141l	14 150k; 167bN	8 126f; 177m
46 142l	15 137h	13 125lN
47 122r	16 111i; 113a, <i>f</i>	14 123g; 167b
4 2 123u	17 113f; 129q	13 2 142p
19 116fN; 119m; 125bb; 155oN	18 129q	18 161f, <i>g</i>
5 2 103c; 177j	20 131f	20 160h, <i>j</i>
10 147d	21 119u	23 133c
14 125bc; 167q	10 2 49e	27 154fb; 158j
15 136gN	25 126b	28 121m; 173a
20 167i, <i>r</i>	29 154fd; 158i	32 136o; 154i
22 54b	31 170hN	14 2 163c
23 137m;	35 33; 118b, <i>n</i>	8 158e
29 136gN	36 9dN	16 124h;160lN; 170i
6 7 98d	11 4 88Jb; 125q; 163d	19 125x
9 155d; 176h	5 112a; 123l	21 128cN
	8 125w	22 143a
	10 126b, <i>h</i>	

Numbers	Numbers	Numbers
24 .....170g	27 112g	22 4 130q
27 149a	28 82j; 112j	6 18i; 48d; 82l
32 111aN; 146d	18 10 133c	133d;145a;158m
33 94j; 121fN	17 135bN	8 119m
35 148a	26 133c	11 82l
37 126a	19 16 129i	13 65a
40 158i	20 3 70d; 163c;	17 82l
41 152b,c	177m	18 167f; 171d
42 113m	4 124g	19 75f
43 170hN	5 62aN	20 155r
45 82hN,i	8 43b	27 137m
15 28 94h	10 105c; 114m	28 142q; 143a
29 150k	161b	29 167k,N,s
31 51b; 94h	11 124t	30 158n
32 111i	12 170f,o	33 125e
33 121iN	13 158j	34 133d
35 123r,y	17 105c; 112iN;	23 1 133d
16 3 149a	114f	2 137o
6 119l;155oN	18 168g	3 129qN; 144f
7 119l;158f,h	19 114c	5 165aN.
10 119t	20 134g	7 82l; 113g
11 169e	21 72i; 124c	8 61i; 144fa
13 123l,p	24 114oN	10 112j
15 125h	26 119l	11 123l
17 119l	21 2 123g	13 82l; 102k
26 105c; 114m	4 82k	14 137s
27 126b; 159a	5 62aN	18 9c 4;93r
28 155m	6 137o	19 35d; 116e;
29 125q,N; 133i;	9 125h; 137m;	160c; 169b
155m; 160e	167e,g	23 160oa
30 126a	14 129u	24 53c;78c;137i
32 125f	17 68aN	25 123q
17 3 125w; 141d	22 114c	27 48d
5 168d	23 125baN	3 93r
15 166j	35 54c,N; 160lN	

Numbers	Numbers	Deuteronomy
24 5 112a; 144e; 162a	32 5 128b	20 121e
8 125iN	8 70d	22 44e
9 137i	17 112i	23 142p
10 143a	24 113m	27 49d; 124g
15 93r	30 73f	30 139eN
20 88FbN	33 146e	31 113cN; 157c
25 4 168aN	42 25a; 103f	35 165h
8 166j	33 3 93f	41 136m; 140b
13 170g	23 93f	42 113m
17 123u	38 14cN; 124g 142o	44 82hN,i; 113c
26 10 125h	34 2 131h; 133c	46 158k
53 133c	35 2 177j	2 3 82k
54 141g; 147d	6 124g	6 119e,h
55 128b	8 141g	9 126d
59 155bN,eN	17 113l	18 154fd
60 128b	23 160b	20 128c
62 53g	28 113l,m	25 124c
27 3 155nd	30 121l; 156f,h,j	27 114c; 135e
14 170k	31 158g	28 114c; 119e
28 4 142m	36 2 132e; 133c	30 124c
19 142dN	7 82h; 130b	31 82n;124c
26 14cN		35 82k
30 3 82i; 123x	Deuteronomy	37 160kN
4 126h		3 2 158e
15 176d	1 2 127b	3 54cN
31 4 137o; 142p	4 158e	5 131m
15 161b	5 177d	6 123rN
28 80m; 134k	8 105d	7 82k
30 121m	12 113l	11 142n
36 101b	13 50e	20 133h
43 101b	15 50e	21 137l
50 118o	16 119p; 123v	24 82n
52 129b	18 113m	25 114d; 163a
54 129b	19 143k	4 1 41b; 42d
		3 137l

Deuteronomy	Deuteronomy	Deuteronomy
5 125u	7 5 94g	10 7 93f
7 144b	8 137s; 170i	9 154j
10 44e; 168f	12 113b; 170g	11 49e
11 44e	16 80k	12 125e
12 160g	18 123hN	13 168d
19 168h	19 158i	15 124f
20 54cN; 78i	24 54c	16 129ia
23 160kN	25 139c	17 138a; 141l
24 154i	8 2 161f	19 119e
25 124l; 169g	3 42f; 125u	21 143f
26 51b; 80m	5 61fN; 66b	22 133c
27 133c	8 136b	11 6 125e
29f 166n	10 112i	7 137l; 138a
31 129e	12 119d,f; 168h	10 43b; 125p
36 61fN; 65d	13 150p	13 123g
39 80m; 154j	16 42f	19 65b
40 168f	18 137l	27 167j
41 93c	19 80m; 112f;	30 161c
42 160b; 176bN	123dN	12 2 113m; 123h
5 3 146d	20 129bN; 170g	3 94g
6 158n	9 1 154fd	14 61fN; 66b
9 63b	2 136o	20 114c
12 123v	3 137l	28 61fN; 66b
19 125s	7 121fN;	30 176k
20 44e	123vN; 158k	13 1 75f
21 125u; 128c	9 136o	3 63b; 114e
23 127a; 139h;	18 133h	4 102k; 121m
146a; 148a	21 54cN; 123rN	154l
24 39aN	22 121fN	5 44e
26 163d; 177h	24 121fN	6 155oN
27 39aN	25 126i	7 114e; 146i;
30 139eN	26 114i; 163a	158f,h
6 3 168f	27 125k	9 80k
7 65b	28 49d; 124h;	10 123e
17 123h	160lN; 170i	14 114e; 131b

Deuteronomy	Deuteronomy	Deuteronomy
15 123 <i>r</i> ; 167 <i>IN</i>	16 15 <i>e</i>	22 113 <i>m</i>
19 124 <i>o</i>	18 167 <i>IN</i>	24 119 <i>h</i>
14 2 141 <i>h</i>	21 80 <i>k</i>	24 4 53 <i>h</i> ; 124 <i>s</i>
4 137 <i>i</i>	20 2 65 <i>c</i>	7 175 <i>b</i>
7 137 <i>i</i>	4 137 <i>l</i>	10 24 <i>e</i>
12 143 <i>a</i>	5 114 <i>h,gN</i>	13 61 <i>fN</i>
17 93 <i>k</i>	8 144 <i>fa</i>	18 155 <i>p</i>
21 123 <i>x</i>	15 158 <i>g</i>	21 152 <i>f</i>
22 125 <i>n</i> ; 135 <i>d</i>	21 3 128 <i>ba</i> ; 132 <i>e</i>	25 2 54 <i>d</i>
15 2 123 <i>v,y</i>	152 <i>fa</i>	3 168 <i>h</i>
3 113 <i>l</i>	4 152 <i>fa</i>	7 65 <i>a</i>
4 173 <i>a</i>	7 42 <i>f</i> ; 150 <i>h</i>	8 167 <i>b</i>
5 123 <i>g</i>	8 59 <i>f</i>	9 167 <i>b</i>
8 123 <i>kN</i>	11 122 <i>r</i>	10 121 <i>o</i>
9 142 <i>o</i>	14 .. 18 <i>j</i> ; 123 <i>o</i> 141 <i>a</i>	12 80 <i>k</i>
16 112 <i>a</i> ; 125 <i>e</i>	15 142 <i>m</i>	13 135 <i>d</i>
17 137 <i>m</i>	17 101 <i>b</i>	19 124 <i>g</i>
16 6 166 <i>m</i>	23 123 <i>e</i> ; 143 <i>j</i>	26 3 112 <i>f</i>
17 3 160 <i>k</i>	22 1 98 <i>e</i> ; 148 <i>cN</i> ;	14 133 <i>c</i>
4 167 <i>IN</i>	167 <i>t</i>	16 121 <i>hN</i>
5 148 <i>cN</i>	4 148 <i>cN</i> ; 167 <i>t</i>	19 124 <i>f</i>
6 155 <i>d</i>	8 155 <i>d</i>	27 2 80 <i>m</i>
14 41 <i>b</i> ; 114 <i>c</i>	9 125 <i>p</i>	6 43 <i>b</i> ; 125 <i>v,w</i> ;
15 113 <i>l</i> ; 123 <i>h</i>	13 117 <i>d</i>	128 <i>c</i>
158 <i>g</i>	14 129 <i>f</i> ; 130 <i>g</i>	14 125 <i>s</i>
17 116 <i>j</i>	19 139 <i>c</i>	19 13 <i>d</i>
18 2 150 <i>k</i>	23 131 <i>b</i>	28 1 123 <i>g</i>
6 113 <i>n</i>	24 170 <i>h</i>	8 114 <i>l</i>
15 155 <i>o</i>	26 126 <i>g</i>	20 158 <i>i</i>
16 114 <i>g</i> ; 139 <i>eN</i>	23 3 130 <i>g</i>	21 114 <i>l</i>
19 4 160 <i>b</i>	5 61 <i>fN</i> ; 65 <i>d</i> ;	29 113 <i>cN</i> ; 121 <i>e</i>
8 166 <i>p</i>	166 <i>l</i> ; 170 <i>h</i>	31 51 <i>cN</i> ; 121 <i>e</i>
9 142 <i>l</i>	6 112 <i>a</i>	121 <i>q</i>
13 80 <i>k</i>	15 96 <i>Ce</i> ; 129 <i>f</i>	32 51 <i>cN</i> ; 139 <i>g</i>
14 113 <i>m</i> ; 137 <i>i</i>	20 32 <i>c</i>	148 <i>d</i>

Deuteronomy	Deuteronomy	Joshua
36 114 <i>l</i>	10 61 <i>h</i> ; 113 <i>h</i>	16 158 <i>iN</i>
48 54 <i>c</i>	13 97 <i>Eb</i> ; 125 <i>u</i>	2 3 155 <i>r</i>
49 158 <i>f,h</i>	14 113 <i>oN</i>	4 161 <i>g, IN</i>
50 130 <i>a</i>	17 158 <i>a</i>	5 123 <i>r</i> ; 124 <i>l,s</i> ;
54 141 <i>j</i>	20 79 <i>o</i>	166 <i>d</i>
55 169 <i>h</i>	21 160 <i>d,k</i>	10 125 <i>g</i> ; 157 <i>c</i> ;
56 123 <i>bN</i>	23 103 <i>m</i>	166 <i>l</i>
59 78 <i>g</i> ; 94 <i>g</i> ;	24 121 <i>p</i>	13 98 <i>d</i>
129 <i>h</i>	27 167 <i>k</i>	15 137 <i>m</i>
61 139 <i>a</i> ; 160 <i>c</i>	28 96 <i>Cc</i>	16 80 <i>k</i> ; 155 <i>s</i>
62 133 <i>c</i>	29 167 <i>kN</i>	17 62 <i>f</i>
67 137 <i>p</i> ; 163 <i>d</i>	32 18 <i>k</i>	18 177 <i>a</i>
68 158 <i>i</i>	36 42 <i>f</i>	20 62 <i>f</i> ; 138 <i>g</i>
29 2 143 <i>k</i>	46 168 <i>f</i>	24 6 <i>caN</i>
9 134 <i>c</i> ; 135 <i>c</i>	50 47 <i>b</i> ; 114 <i>o</i>	3 1 113 <i>j</i>
10 135 <i>c</i>	33 2 103 <i>f</i>	4 103 <i>n</i>
14 102 <i>k</i> ; 156 <i>m</i>	3 154 <i>c</i>	7 124 <i>c</i> ; 168 <i>f</i>
20 139 <i>a</i>	6 131 <i>f</i>	13 80 <i>k</i>
23 37 <i>c</i>	9 113 <i>oN</i>	16 123 <i>r</i> ; 177 <i>g</i>
30 1 80 <i>m</i>	11 126 <i>g</i>	17 80 <i>n</i> ; 123 <i>r</i>
10 139 <i>a</i>	16 93 <i>n</i>	4 3 62 <i>aN</i> ; 80 <i>n</i>
19 80 <i>m</i>	17 9 <i>cN,dN</i>	10 159 <i>f</i>
31 7 125 <i>u</i>	28 113 <i>oN</i>	11 <i>f</i> 118 <i>k</i>
12 177 <i>h</i>	29 132 <i>e</i>	14 176 <i>h</i>
13 177 <i>h</i>		16 116 <i>bN</i> ; 177 <i>j</i>
16 96 <i>Bc</i>	Joshua	5 3 97 <i>Ac</i>
17 170 <i>h</i>		4 148 <i>a</i> ; 158 <i>i</i>
24 166 <i>m</i>	1 1 118 <i>cN</i>	5 ... 121 <i>fN</i> ; 131 <i>cN</i>
27 121 <i>fN</i> ; 129 <i>ia</i>	2 146 <i>e</i>	148 <i>a</i>
29 157 <i>dN</i>	4 126 <i>h</i>	9 129 <i>g</i>
32 1 115 <i>cN</i> ; 116 <i>b</i> ;	8 94 <i>j</i>	13 161 <i>e,l</i>
137 <i>g</i>	12 135 <i>c</i> ; 137 <i>bN</i>	14 172 <i>c</i>
6 160 <i>d</i>	13 123 <i>u</i>	15 131 <i>cN</i> ; 150 <i>ia</i>
7 98 <i>f</i> ; 135 <i>d</i>	14 125 <i>b</i>	6 3 123 <i>rN</i>
8 54 <i>c</i>	15 126 <i>h</i> ; 133 <i>h</i>	11 ... 123 <i>rN</i> ; 125 <i>uN</i>

Joshua	Joshua	Joshua
13 119v; 123m,n	24 145dN	4 126h; 133c
16 102f; 142q	27 143k	9 156b
19 125n; 154i	33 54cN; 113i	15 54c
7 3 114j	39 63d	24 10 123l
7 68f; 163c;	40 118i	12 47a; 69d
177d,m	11 2 9c5	14 119l
8 105c; 126g	8 54cN; 63d	15 124b
9 79n; 82h	14 54c	17 137l
12 126g	20 54c	18 121m
15 128b	13 6 133c	19 148a
20 93h; 152a	7 133c	33 150n
21 129f; 140c;	14 149c	
141b; 158b	14 6 146a	Judges
25 126l; 137fN	7 80n	1 1 118cN
8 18 125m	10 129p; 143a	133d,N
19 137i	11 174i	1f 155nh
20 96Bb	12 103j	2 112g
22 54cN	15 10 93f	3 155t
29 137m	16 156k,l;176i	6 52d
30 113i	19 125ba	7 121f,o;174b
33 140c	21 93f	14 19e
9 2 126d	34 91h	15 125ba
5 90e	36 91b	25 70g; 155oa
6 135c	16 8 137q	28 123i,o;166o
12 125c; 126a	17 5 150jN	2 1 113g
143iN	11 125j	2 143g
24 57b; 79n	13 123i	15 152d
10 9 111e	19 13 93c	18 166oN
11 141hN; 157a	50 79m	19 119u
158l	51 130c	3 12 170h
12 137hN	21 42 6caN	15 125f; 127d;
13 113k; 137hN	22 3 143a	140b
161c; 164d	9 73f	16 98e;146k;
19 119lN	17 125j	155t; 159d
20 124f	23 3 137l	

Judges		Judges		Judges	
18	..... 166bN,n	12	..... 137g; 154f	3	..... 155p
20	..... 137f		163b	10	..... 100e; 121i;
23	..... 119z	13	..... 105c;115cN;		139i
25	..... 112aN		167b,o; 177m	14	..... 129a
28	..... 155o	14	..... 138g	15	..... 158i
4 6	..... 161c	15	..... 105c	18	..... 174i
8	..... 113n; 176d	16	..... 119e; 157c	19	..... 167k
9	..... 123i; 129h;	17	..... 38,N	23	..... 146a; 155nb
	173a	18	..... 80k; 119o;	25	..... 137m
15	..... 137f; 146g		124q; 146a	33	..... 166n
18	..... 33	22	..... 139aN	9 2	..... 124b; 141g
19	..... 125u	23	..... 163b	8	..... 123k
20	..... 160j; 161l;	25	..... 119l; 155oa	9	..... 112j
	176d	26	..... 43b; 113b	10	..... 48c
21	..... 80k; 137m	27	..... 170k	15	..... 154fe; 160j
24	..... 123s	28	.. 68f;121q;155ng	24	..... 124l
5 1	..... 81e	29	..... 147c; 155nh	28	..... 144b; 154d
4	..... 69b; 125d	36	..... 154l	29	..... 116c; 163d
5	..... 143i	38	..... 137m	34	..... 126c
7	..... 18gN; 38, N	40	..... 118f	36	..... 121d
9	... 129f,8; 155nd	7 2	..... 154fa; 155nb	36f	..... 150e
10	..... 90c; 129m	3	... 118f;144fa,gN	41	..... 103b
12	..... 9c 4	4	..... 103jN; 146a	45	..... 125u; 139gN
14	..... 103d		154fa	48	... 137m; 144gN
15	..... 96Ap	6	..... 52d	51	..... 99c
17	..... 113oN	9	..... 133i	53	..... 137u
19	..... 155k	10	..... 119lN; 133i	54	..... 168g
23	..... 123ja	11	..... 119lN; 150d	55	..... 150e
26	..... 61f; 113h	12	..... 112aN	10 1	..... 154hN
27	..... 177a	14	..... 155k	9	..... 152d
30	..... 96Ai	17	..... 155p	13	..... 146aN; 155p
6 3	..... 166p	19	..... 123k,x;136l	18	..... 144gN
4	..... 155h	25	..... 136l; 155od	11 1	..... 129f
10	..... 154fa	8 1	..... 44e; 158c	5	..... 19c
11	..... 139aN	2	..... 154hN	7	..... 146aN; 166n

Judges	Judges	Judges
9 154 <i>fd,fe</i>	6 . . 124 <i>s</i> ;133 <i>g</i> ;137 <i>i</i>	19 5 . . . 48a <i>N</i> ;125u <i>N,x</i>
17 114 <i>d</i>	9 123 <i>m</i>	155 <i>p</i>
19 114 <i>f</i> ; 129 <i>d</i>	13 155 <i>na</i>	6 177 <i>d</i>
23 161 <i>a</i>	16 112 <i>a</i> ; 161 <i>a</i>	8 48a <i>N</i> ; 69 <i>b</i>
25 80 <i>q</i> ; 81 <i>e</i>	15 2 114 <i>h</i>	11 119 <i>j</i>
27 154 <i>fa</i>	8 61 <i>a</i>	12 131 <i>b</i>
30 118 <i>j</i>	10 155 <i>r</i>	13 119 <i>j</i> ; 134 <i>m</i>
35 133 <i>c</i> ; 136 <i>f</i>	13 123 <i>i,o</i>	14 130 <i>c</i>
36 136 <i>j</i>	14 91 <i>c</i>	18 125 <i>bb</i> ; 154 <i>fe</i>
37 136 <i>h</i>	16 3 149 <i>b</i>	22 82 <i>h</i> ; 125 <i>c</i>
38 146 <i>c</i>	4 118 <i>b</i>	26 103 <i>mN</i>
39 129 <i>t</i>	15 160 <i>i</i>	29 137 <i>m</i>
40 113 <i>c</i>	16 9 <i>c2</i>	30 112 <i>d</i> ; 156 <i>e</i>
12 4 155 <i>p</i>	19 54 <i>dN</i>	20 4 155 <i>s</i>
5 114 <i>c</i> ; 118 <i>n</i>	21 . 121 <i>f</i> ;125 <i>bc</i> ;126 <i>h</i>	5 82 <i>h</i>
6 3 <i>cN</i>	23 118 <i>k</i>	6 52 <i>d</i>
9 155 <i>od</i>	26 82 <i>o</i>	11 47 <i>b</i>
11 155 <i>p</i>	27 146 <i>dN</i>	15 53 <i>g</i>
13 2 137 <i>u</i>	17 2 121 <i>p</i>	16 137 <i>m</i>
3 119 <i>c</i>	4 125 <i>w</i> ; 126 <i>h</i>	17 53 <i>g</i>
5 89 <i>j</i>	6 155 <i>nf</i>	25 100 <i>e</i>
6 139 <i>c</i>	10 135 <i>dN</i>	32 133 <i>h</i> ; 154 <i>fd</i>
7 89 <i>j</i>	11 129 <i>o</i>	39 41 <i>a</i> ; 123 <i>e</i>
8 58 <i>b</i> ; 105 <i>c</i>	12 126 <i>h</i>	44 125 <i>j</i>
9 . . 121 <i>f</i> ;160 <i>i</i> ;166 <i>h</i>	18 1 155 <i>p</i>	46 125 <i>j</i>
11 154 <i>fa,g</i>	3 166 <i>g</i>	21 1 155 <i>nf</i>
158 <i>n</i> ; 161 <i>l</i>	7 154 <i>fa</i>	3 37 <i>d</i>
17 144 <i>b</i>	10 154 <i>f</i>	5 155 <i>nf</i>
21 123 <i>c</i>	11 121 <i>o</i>	6 155 <i>k</i>
23 167 <i>k</i>	16 121 <i>o</i> ; 126 <i>h</i>	7 146 <i>e</i>
25 69 <i>b</i>	17 121 <i>o</i>	8 144 <i>a</i>
14 2 93 <i>f</i>	19 154 <i>hN</i> ; 161 <i>e</i>	9 53 <i>g</i>
3 146 <i>a</i>	22 53 <i>e</i>	16 135 <i>c</i>
4 152 <i>b</i>	24 143 <i>g</i>	19 . . . 93 <i>f</i> ;138 <i>c</i> ;158 <i>t</i>
5 93 <i>f</i>	28 154 <i>fa</i>	21 150 <i>c</i> ; 166 <i>p</i>

1 Samuel	1 Samuel	1 Samuel
1 1 118cN; 137u	19 119u	8 125n,155s
2 142m; 150j; 154f,ff	20 143d	10 125e
3 119v; 137f	22 119v	11 125e
4 137n	23 149d; 154fe	6 4 125v; 146j
6 18k	26 ... 80q;123s;177q	6 52dN
7 79m	27 139c; 161b	7 .. 119l;141b;149b
8 37d; 113d	28 123x	9 158a; 167o
9 123c; 137f	29 118q	10 78g; 149b
10 154fa	32 158i	12 44d; 77aN
11 119f; 123g; 176d	33 54b; 130g	123m,s
12 119z	34 155k	12f 155pa
13 121f	36 124s;137v	18 138c; 154e
15 129ia	3 1 160i	7 3 116d
20 41b; 42d	2 ... 143jN; 155nc	9 137u
22 112iN	157g	10 166f
24 146k	5 177b	12 137u
26 105c	7 113j	15 119v
2 3 136g; 141k	8 142q	16 119v
177g	10 53c	8 1 125w
4 82b; 150nN	11 158f	8 118j
6 118r; 121j	12 123r; 176h	14 141j
6-8 121hN	14 165d	9 2 141g
8 113c; 121j; 124q	17 139g;165aN	3 125h; 130g
10 177l	21 123c	142m
11 121f	4 4 155p	5 111d;166c; 168h
13 ... 91e;121l;131c	9 168g	6 114e; 123e
14 129iaN	10 150j	7 167lN
15 44eN	12 139c; 143j	9 105e;127c
16 112g; 118n; 123p; 160j; 167o	14 37e	10 114e; 177f
18 121o	15 150d,h	11 166f
	16 137l	13 35e; 166m
	20 121iN	14 111d; 166e
	21 102jN;118j	17 158i; 166c
	5 6 61a	18 125bb; 161g
	7 119z	

1 Samuel	1 Samuel	1 Samuel
20 81e; 130g 156d	18 7c	45 133e
21 113dN	19 116j	47 133eN
23 158i	22 138a	52 118n
24 145dN	23 124q;138c; 156d	15 1 155o
26 61f	24 119l	6 61dN
10 1 125b,i; 161j	25 123g	9 148aN
3 100dN	13 1 91eaN; 124g; 166l	12 154c
4 119w; 142n	15 148a	13 132f
5 31d; 119z 126b	16 148a	15 170e
8 114g	17 125w; 126c	20 157ca
9 119z; 143k	18 142m	22 124b,m; 133i
11 143g;154c	19 113ga	23 .. 123b;133e;176e
12 177m	21 98eN	25 119m
16 123k	22 119z	26 133e; 169h
19 158e	14 1 137n	28 140a
23 141h	3 102jN	29 160c
24 23a; 102m 161b	4 134aN	30 119iN,m
25 137m	8 79h; 154fe	34 118f
27 143d	12 125u	16 2 155r
11 2 130g	15 141n; 155ng	3 125g
5 113d;137f; 161i	16 130a	4 161a
8 135c	18 48d; 94i	4f 154g
11 125w; 126c	19 82b; 123s	7 96Ak
12 3 68aN	22 54c	8 103cN
12 171f	27 80q	9 103cN
13 41b; 42d	28 80k	11 64a
14 111h	30 123g; 167s	14 119v
16 143f,h	31 80k	16 124c; 136dN 139c
17 .. 7c;114bN;124o 154f	33 78g; 124o	17 124nN
	34 98e	18 130b
	36 82j; 114l	23 138c; 152d
	39 102k; 165i	17 4 158b
	44 165a,N	5 121o
		8 137l

1 Samuel	1 Samuel	1 Samuel
10 143j	5 124o	6 135c
12 118j	10 138g	8 130e
14 137l	13 136d	10 113n; 137m
15 126h	16 126h	176k
16 102e; 123r	17 161h	12 143i
17 102g	20 96CbN	30 157ca
21 134g	22 138c	22 5 131k
25 23a; 63c; 102m; 155r; 161b	23 123n; 146d	7 125w; 136m
26 148a	24 112aN	9 93c; 126bN
28 35d	20 1 154c	13 124r,x
33 154fa	4 144gN	15 82n
34 137o	6 51b; 123g,j; 125q; 176d	18 82h
35 118nN	7 123g	23 1 96Ag
40 141d	9 123g	2 170c
41 123s	10 144d	7 129b
43 136j	11 114bN	11 125e; 161l
46 150e	12 167lN	12 125e; 161l
47 54b	13 165aN	13 158o
48 119z	14 129g	19 161c
50 118i	16 125bd	20 124b
55 137g	17 125q,N; 125r; 174g	21 132f
58 137g	21 123g	22 123p
18 9 121f	26 160m	23 102k; 119l
10 137f	28 123j	24 1 96Dd
11 118k	31 129j; 158k	5 158i
13 125w	33 65a; 137f	7 165k
15 157c	37 161c	9 137g
17 114j	40 130e	11 143j
19 124s	42 146d	12 124q
23 124b; 154b	21 2 93c	15 112k; 163d
19 1 124i	3 93h; 129f 147f	16 154eaN
2 154fc	4 142n	18 125u
3 144f; 167b		19 127b
		21 123e
		22 165d

1 Samuel	1 Samuel	2 Samuel
25 2 82k	14 96A;125d	2 26 78g
3 129ia	15 78hN	5 132f; 170e
5 42d;93c; 118k	18 170k,o	6 170e
7 54c; 130e	20 102g;126j; 139gN	7 150d
8 116d	22 116h	8 130e; 137r
10 138c	23 114cN	10 166l
13 147d	29 3 65b;144c	16 119v; 155e
15 129p	4 143e,k	18 137v; 146g
17 129j; 133bN	10 146c; 152e	19 175a
18 79p; 121q	30 3 118i	20 143a
20 119z	6 152d	21 69b;133d; 175a
22 165a,N	12 89aN	22 161h
24 146d; 177l	15 113n; 165d	23 134c; 135c 139i; 156e
25 114gN;129j	19 141j	24 111d
26 123x;124r	21 125bb	26 42f
29 156c;176j	22 170f,l	27 167s
33 78g	24 174i	32 126h; 152e
34 130g	26 94i	3 1 123s
36 154f	31 6 118i	6 121f
42 137m	7 150q	9 165aN
26 6 103jN; 113n	9 136n	11 125b;170i
9 112j	13 125x	13 146a; 154fe
10 63a		21 119e
12 141n	2 Samuel	22 156m
15 170da	1 1 ... 91eaN;118cN; 142c	23 118g; 155nd
16 165e;170e	2 166l	25 155r
17 146h; 154eaN	6 79l	27 126g
18 127b; 144d	10 65b	30 170h
20 137i	18 124s; 161c	33 113m
23 147d;170e,m	21 129n; 160m	34 49f; 160c
27 1 51b	22 112d	35 165aN
5 116b	25 162b	4 1 150d
28 3 118d		2 142m
7 122r; 129j		4 158bN;166l

2 Samuel	2 Samuel	2 Samuel
5 125r	13 146g	24 114h
8 136j	10 6 131m,n	25 114bN,f
10 156i	9 150i	26 104dN; 161aN,h; 167o
11 125h	11 150e	28 161j
5 2 137l; 154m	14 118e	31 121o
10 123s	17 150e	32 81b
11 129g	11 11 161a;165f	14 2 143a
14 177oN	22 158iN	5 131b
19 170c	25 125j;152d	7 58c
24 119z;166lN	12 1 80k; 147a	9 148d; 150p
6 5 132g	2 138c;150q	10 156h
11 177k	3 160k	14 160l
14 121o	4 80k; 133bN 138c	20 139c; 154d
16 119z	5 165e	25 124l
19 137uN; 147d; 150e	6 100o;170g	26 125v
23 156d	7 146a	31 130e
7 5 119lN	10 170g	32 119w;141g; 157a
8 131i	13 177a	15 1 119v
9 141j	14 52c	2 118n; 119v; 124l; 127b; 143g
10 62g;131iN	21 143gN	3 105d
17 139eN	22 129p	4 163d
18 144b	24 112b	5 118n
23 131iN;150f	30 158bN	7 114d
28 154j	13 2 152d	9 114n
29 112k;177d	5 53i; 119k	12 82b; 123s
8 2 121l;123r; 134g;150e,N	6 53i; 142c	13 137n
5 134g	11 124s	16 131b
10 129bN	12 79n	20 158o
13 100n	13 137v	21 129q; 175c
9 1 161j	17 69b;137e; 125g;143b,d	23 125s
3 160n	18 113a; 119z	
4 126h	19 123n	
8 151b;158f	22 129q; 170h	

2 Samuel	2 Samuel	2 Samuel
25 125e	9 137o	38 114h
32 113c; 121o; 127b	10 137u	39 114h
37 96Ce; 113ga	11 124b; 133f 167iN	43 123f
16 4 112f	12 ... 144fN; 167f,k	20 1 ... 144h; 158bN; 159d
5 123n	14 159b	8 121o
7 124iN; 129j	17 137o	11 144g
8 129d	18 118d	17 154fe
9 113d; 114d; 116b	20 170hN	18 52d; 123p
13 123n	22 144f	20 165k
16 96Ce	23 112fN; 114n	21 121e; 131iN 158b; 172c
23 174dN	25 123s	21 2 160b
17 1 119j	29 137o; 144f 161a	3 116g; 161m
2 119j	32 161a	4 144gN
3 119j	19 1 146d; 163d	9 126iN
5 146d	2 118r	10 80k
8 137i; 157d	4 53i	11 128b
9 155d	5 125s	15 80k
11 112f; 130fa	7 49d; 167s	16 121o
12 114l; 134m 137v	8 126i; 165d; 167i	18 113i
15 147f	9 155b	20 127b
16 123i; 132fN 152fa	11 33; 37d	22 128b
17 113ga; 119v; 137n	14 137r; 165a,N	22 1 54cN
22 129o	18 100e	2 146f
23 137m	19 54b	16 129u
25 88Mg	20 124g	37 103eN
26 126h	21 126a; 130b	40 103eN
28 96An	25 52c; 158k	44 158c
18 2 123k	26 166o	46 94g
3 141g; 142dN	27 137m	48 103eN
8 102g; 141h	29 129j; 144d	23 1 103a
	30 111d; 112f	4 90e; 160o
	36 137p; 151b	6 94h
		7 123p

2 Samuel	1 Kings	1 Kings
11 139 <i>b</i> ; 150 <i>e</i>	22 121 <i>e</i> ; 166 <i>f</i>	158 <i>i</i>
15 163 <i>d</i>	24 161 <i>a</i> ; 170 <i>da</i>	27 124 <i>l</i>
21 125 <i>h</i> ; 137 <i>fN,m</i>	26 146 <i>d</i>	30 165 <i>aN</i>
24 2 119 <i>iN,m</i>	27 161 <i>d</i>	31 119 <i>e,l</i> ; 129 <i>l</i> ; 132 <i>c</i>
3 103 <i>c</i> ; 177 <i>l</i>	30 165 <i>b,i</i>	32 155 <i>m</i>
8 118 <i>i</i>	33 119 <i>l</i> ; 130 <i>e</i>	36 31 <i>cN</i> ; 93 <i>c</i> ; 119 <i>l</i>
9 139 <i>g</i> ; 150 <i>e</i>	40 132 <i>e</i>	37 119 <i>o</i> ; 124 <i>q</i>
11 96 <i>Ce</i>	41 127 <i>a</i>	40 93 <i>c</i>
12 123 <i>u</i> ; 152 <i>g</i>	45 126 <i>b</i>	42 93 <i>c</i> ; 119 <i>o</i> ; 124 <i>q</i>
13 142 <i>d</i> ; 144 <i>d</i> ; 150 <i>g</i>	47 137 <i>f</i>	43 129 <i>g</i>
14 94 <i>dN</i> ; 114 <i>bN,c</i> ; 160 <i>f</i>	52 129 <i>j</i> ; 176 <i>n</i>	45 121 <i>e</i>
15 150 <i>j</i>	2 2 103 <i>b</i>	3 2 121 <i>f</i>
17 146 <i>a</i>	3 124 <i>o</i>	5 133 <i>b</i>
23 112 <i>f</i>	4 130 <i>g</i>	7 124 <i>c</i>
24 123 <i>e,i</i>	5 118 <i>j</i>	9 103 <i>cN</i>
1 Kings	6 114 <i>l</i>	11 15 <i>e</i> ; 124 <i>c</i> ; 172 <i>a</i>
1 1 152 <i>d</i> ; 159 <i>f</i>	7 129 <i>e</i>	14 176 <i>d</i>
2 119 <i>k</i> ; 155 <i>b</i>	8 118 <i>e</i>	16 113 <i>i</i> ; 131 <i>b</i> ; 142 <i>c</i>
5 121 <i>f</i> ; 146 <i>a</i>	9 125 <i>n</i>	17 105 <i>c</i> ; 132 <i>a</i> ; 147 <i>a</i>
6 155 <i>eN</i> ; 177 <i>qN</i>	10 155 <i>bN</i>	18 130 <i>d</i> ; 143 <i>d</i> ; 146 <i>j</i>
9 138 <i>c</i>	13 141 <i>a</i> ; 154 <i>g</i> ; 161 <i>a</i>	19 170 <i>e</i>
11 155 <i>m</i>	14 154 <i>d</i>	20 166 <i>j</i>
12 105 <i>e</i> ; 116 <i>f</i> ; 177 <i>f</i>	15 18 <i>j</i> ; 124 <i>s</i>	22 153 <i>N</i> ; 154 <i>j</i>
13 115 <i>cN</i> ; 165 <i>b</i> ; 177 <i>m</i>	17 131 <i>k</i>	23 143 <i>c</i>
14 121 <i>e</i> ; 166 <i>i</i>	18 146 <i>a</i>	24 137 <i>f</i>
17 165 <i>b</i>	19 131 <i>k</i>	26 48 <i>b</i> ; 105 <i>c</i> ; 113 <i>m</i> ; 123 <i>i,ja,o</i>
18 155 <i>m</i>	20 47 <i>aN</i> ; 80 <i>n</i> ; 114 <i>i</i> ; 142 <i>ba</i>	
20 124 <i>s</i>	21 128 <i>b</i>	
21 146 <i>c</i> ; 148 <i>d</i>	22 113 <i>dN</i> ; 114 <i>m</i> ; 177 <i>m</i>	
	23 146 <i>k</i> ; 165 <i>a,N</i>	
	26 96 <i>Ce</i> ; 125 <i>n</i> ; 129 <i>j</i> ; 155 <i>s</i> ;	

1 Kings	1 Kings	1 Kings
27 113 <i>m</i> ; 123 <i>o</i> 154 <i>fa</i>	49 99 <i>fN</i>	42 158 <i>k</i>
4 2 130 <i>e</i>	54 166 <i>bN,m</i>	12 1 125 <i>n</i> ; 155 <i>s</i>
5 96 <i>Ce</i>	55 125 <i>s</i>	8 129 <i>t</i> ; 158 <i>eN</i>
7 119 <i>v</i>	56 139 <i>eN</i>	10 52 <i>dN</i>
12 93 <i>c</i>	59 124 <i>s</i> ; 158 <i>i</i>	16 ... 144 <i>d,h</i> ; 159 <i>oa</i>
13 131 <i>m</i>	60 154 <i>j</i>	21 121 <i>i</i>
5 1 121 <i>l</i>	64 176 <i>h</i>	24 44 <i>eN</i>
13 130 <i>f</i> ; 158 <i>e</i>	66 176 <i>h</i>	25 158 <i>jN</i>
17 157 <i>d</i>	9 13 155 <i>nd</i>	26 113 <i>l</i>
20 177 <i>j</i>	20 177 <i>o</i>	27 113 <i>b</i>
22 146 <i>a</i>	24 113 <i>i</i>	28 141 <i>i</i> ; 150 <i>f</i>
23 158 <i>iN</i>	25 123 <i>x</i>	31 136 <i>n</i>
6 1 124 <i>g</i> ; 142 <i>o</i>	10 6 154 <i>m</i>	32 119 <i>z</i>
7 128 <i>c</i>	9 129 <i>d</i>	13 2 158 <i>b</i>
16 125 <i>h</i>	19 75 <i>m</i> ; 91 <i>d</i>	4 132 <i>a</i>
18 160 <i>i</i>	22 142 <i>p</i>	5 118 <i>f</i>
34 90 <i>e</i>	29 79 <i>m</i>	6 133 <i>h</i>
7 8 138 <i>c</i>	11 3 150 <i>c,j</i>	7 41 <i>a</i> ; 116 <i>b,f</i> ; 169 <i>i</i>
12 138 <i>c</i>	5 134 <i>d</i>	8 167 <i>f</i>
14 118 <i>b</i> ; 125 <i>d</i> ; 131 <i>b</i> ; 137 <i>j</i>	6 132 <i>a</i>	9 114 <i>i</i>
37 94 <i>h</i>	7 113 <i>i</i>	11 137 <i>u</i> ; 142 <i>ba</i>
8 1 114 <i>l</i>	8 127 <i>a</i>	13 137 <i>m</i>
7 118 <i>l</i>	9 145 <i>e</i>	14 158 <i>n</i> ; 161 <i>l</i>
12 155 <i>nd</i>	11 140 <i>a</i>	17 114 <i>i</i>
27 141 <i>l</i>	15 52 <i>d</i>	20 80 <i>m</i>
28 129 <i>a</i>	22 157 <i>c</i>	22 114 <i>i</i> ; 160 <i>f</i>
29 157 <i>cN</i> ; 158 <i>i</i>	26 131 <i>b</i>	23 80 <i>m</i>
32 126 <i>h</i>	27 158 <i>i</i>	26 80 <i>m</i>
35 44 <i>eN</i>	30 125 <i>w</i>	28 177 <i>a</i>
38 44 <i>eN</i> ; 150 <i>k</i>	31 100 <i>d</i>	30 162 <i>d</i>
39 147 <i>d</i>	33 90 <i>c</i>	31 176 <i>g</i>
43 44 <i>eN</i>	34 125 <i>w</i>	32 130 <i>f</i> ; 132 <i>a</i> 136 <i>n</i>
47 112 <i>i</i>	35 142 <i>d</i>	33 116 <i>e</i>
	39 24 <i>e</i>	
	41 161 <i>c</i>	

1 Kings	1 Kings	1 Kings
14 2 116j	25 79m	41 105cN; 162e; 177e
3 142n	17 1 ... 96CbN; 112a; 126i; 175a	42 79m; 168c
5 119z; 152a 165aN	6 121f; 166cN	43 105cN
6 127a	9 93c; 131b	44 102f; 116j; 177e
8 124o	12 142c	19 2 165aN
9 124n	13 119l	4 118e; 137u,N; 160c
10 130g; 170o	14 79l; 150n	5 143a
13 130g	16 150n	6 118k; 129g
14 143i	18 3 121f	7 177e
15 94g; 126b; 129h	4 125u	9 137n
19 130c; 149a 161c	6 177a	10 155m
21 111e	7 166g	11 148aN
27 119za	9 37c; 124s	15 93c
28 111i; 117d; 118b; 119u	10 165f	19 142o; 166h
29 161c	12 151b; 158m 166i	20 9bN,d; 114d 116b
15 8 155bN	13 118j; 125u 128b	20 1 142eN
13 125j; 156c,l; 176a	14 119c	6 173c
20 131n; 136o	15 112a; 165e	8 119iN
23 126g; 146g	16 102dN	9 158iN
24 155bN	17 161b	10 165a,N
28 130d	18 124q	13 112a; 121e; 137u; 161b
29 166l	19 121n	16 142eN
16 2 78i	21 137l; 154j	19 118g
10 142o	22 130b	20 150e
11 166l	23 119iN; 177l	23 114bN; 165j
13 124l	25 137l; 142j	25 114bN
16 137r	27 102g; 141g	27 53g; 142c
17 79m	32 79m; 125w	31 114bN; 129f
22 158e,g	33 125x	35 79k
24 ... 91b; 130h; 131e	36 166m	36 119n; 137o
	38 130f	
	39 150e; 154j	

1 Kings	1 Kings	2 Kings
166b	21 37d	3 139a; 149a;
37 79k; 123m	23 118d; 138g;	158i; 177a
39 51b; 123g;	170c	4 100n; 111e;
143d	24 103j	119v
41 102g; 157d	25 78g	8 102i
42 129g	27 127b; 143d	10 143e
21 2 116d,i; 143b	28 146j	13 129b
3 124sN	30 125d	14 112a; 167k
4 118j	31 118d	15 119z
5 143g; 154l	35 77b; 79m;	16 123u
6 113g	137f	17 143k
10 125b	38 155e	19 141j
11 140b;	41 118f	20 166m
158eN, iN	44 121f	21 121i
13 125b; 146e		23 123p
15 160i; 172cN	2 Kings	24 123q
19 129q; 146d;	1 1 118cN	25 119u
161b	2 118k; 138g;	27 113b; 121i
20 15e; 170f	161f	4 1 121f,l; 137u
21 137jN	3 160p	2 94h,i
22 78i	5 143g	3 94i; 133d
25 80mN	2 9 101b	141hN
29 78f; 137jN;	10 58b; 124nN;	4 143k
161b	160j	5 166e
22 3 161b	11 52c; 123m;	6 140a
6 113m; 116bN	166g	7 94i
7 116c; 161m	12 129a	8 118b; 137n
8 124s; 125c	16 70g; 114h	9 138a; 139c
9 102g; 137u	17 114n	10 114bN,f
12 119m	21 78g; 125kN	11 137n
13 119k; 126d	22 78g	12 143e
15 113m; 116bN	23 166f	14 160h; 177m
119m; 152fa; 161e	24 134c	16 121e
16 157c	3 2 79m	18 137n
17 126b; 160oa		19 162c

2 Kings	2 Kings	2 Kings
23 93o	13 91h	18 103mN
25 36bN; 143e	16 103j	24 91c; 146g
31 118d	17 114gN; 116d	37 113l; 169f
32 48a	18 136h	10 3 141j
36 143e	22 121hN	7 96A1; 137m
39 150n	26 166f	11 54cN
43 123w; 155i	27 161e	13 129b
5 1 121o	28 61f; 143d	15 ... 104dN; 137f; 167o
2 126c	29 61f; 78i	19 114i
3 ... 105bN; 130f; 130fa; 163c	31 165a,N	21 103c
4 130fa	32 23a; 102m 161b	29 126h; 130f
9 130c	33 143i	30 130g
10 116d,f,h; 119p; 123u	7 3 112i; 126c	11 1 141a
11 123l; 146k	4 104d; 112i 167hN;; 176o	3 126h
12 113l; 154g; 161m	6 125u	4 79i; 100kN; 130c
13 105f; 116f 155o	13 177l	5 141a
16 112a	8 1 158o	7 139i
17 104dN; 167o	6 54c; 94h 137u; 155i	9 100kN
18 79t	7 155nd	10 100kN
20 112f; 164c; 165e; 173c	8 103j	12 78i
22 114m; 163a	10 172a	15 100kN
23 91b; 177d	12 127b	12 3 158t
25 93c; 118e; 155m	13 126c; 157c	10 119v; 137u
6 2 114f,n	17 142dN	11 119v; 166q
3 146a; 177d	9 1 125i	12 119v
5 166f	3 42f	14 129bN
8 129f	4 131b	15 119u
10 119v	5 137g	18 113i
12 130f; 140b	7 42f	13 2 149a
	11 118e; 161a	6 78f
	13 111h; 155k	11 79m; 149a
	17 126bN	14 113b
		17 75fN; 79pN

2 Kings	2 Kings	2 Kings
123c	29 78i	35 147d
19 79pN; 119v	30 128b	24 14 79q; 93q; 134o; 142dN
21 137n; 166f	31 116f	25 5 118d
23 132gN	37 121o	8 137r
14 7 131m	19 1 128c	11 131dN
8 79o	2 127a	15 135e
9 130f	4 148a	17 142dN
13 131m	15 154j	21 61a
14 119z	16 148a	24 116d
15 1 111h	18 123x	25 141a
5 121fN	23 129k	28 134n; 136l
11 161c	25 24e	30 140bN
16 113i	29 114p;123u,x; 137f	
29 93k	37 166f	Isaiah
16 3 158h	20 1 154fa	1 1 129b
4 111e	5 123uN;176h	2 137g; 155m
5 113i	17 119n	4 112e
14 131d; 176j	21 11 78i	5 139e
15 146e	16 103c	6 82l
18 93k	21 139eN	7 121p; 156aa
23 94i	22 1 142dN	11 112a
17 3 111e	13 158g	12 51b
8 129t	17 124lN; 169g; 170g	14 103c; 124c; 133f
11 111e	23 4 119z	15 61dN; 125d; 160g; 171c
15 103cN	5 119z	16 124c
22 129t; 149a	8 93e	17 123b
25 121g	10 119z; 168c	18 171d
26 160b,i; 170k	12 119z	19 177h
28 121g	14 136l	20 128c
29 121g; 136n	15 119z	21 93m; 113f 162b
32 121g; 136n	18 47aN; 80kN	
33 121g	19 136n	
41 121g	22 129bN	
18 17 137s		
23 ... 116bN; 142gN		

Isaiah	Isaiah	Isaiah
23 146 <i>j</i>	4 113 <i>f</i> ; 128 <i>c</i>	3 82 <i>n</i>
25 136 <i>b</i>	5 112 <i>g</i> ; 129 <i>i</i> ;	4 150 <i>p</i>
26 133 <i>h</i>	162 <i>d</i>	5 .. 112 <i>h</i> ; 118 <i>s</i> ; 155 <i>e</i>
31 96 <i>Aj</i>	6 159 <i>d</i>	6 160 <i>o</i>
2 2 119 <i>c</i> ; 121 <i>e</i>	7 119 <i>e</i>	12 121 <i>k</i>
6 113 <i>oN</i>	8 64 <i>a</i> ; 114 <i>a</i> ;	14 154 <i>j</i>
9 135 <i>c</i>	125 <i>g</i> ; 127 <i>a</i>	16 146 <i>j</i>
10 141 <i>m</i>	9 123 <i>l</i>	18 150 <i>j</i>
17 150 <i>j</i>	11 112 <i>i</i> ; 128 <i>c</i>	10 1 96 <i>Ap</i>
20 140 <i>b</i>	13 101 <i>b</i> ; 177 <i>b</i>	2 124 <i>q</i> ; 125 <i>h</i>
3 4 125 <i>w</i>	7 2 80 <i>k</i> ; 134 <i>g</i>	6 82 <i>k</i> ; 129 <i>g</i>
6 126 <i>h</i>	3 105 <i>cN</i> ; 137 <i>s</i>	14 124 <i>s</i> ; 137 <i>i</i>
8 134 <i>g</i>	6 134 <i>g</i>	15 136 <i>e</i> ; 161 <i>e</i>
9 88 <i>Lb</i> ; 146 <i>k</i>	7 152 <i>c</i>	28 112 <i>h</i>
13 124 <i>i</i>	9 167 <i>s</i>	30 125 <i>s</i> ; 151 <i>cN</i>
15 37 <i>c</i>	11 32 <i>c</i> ; 123 <i>r</i>	11 1 119 <i>c</i>
16 52 <i>c</i> ; 118 <i>p</i>	13 124 <i>b</i> ; 141 <i>i</i>	2 129 <i>aN</i>
123 <i>m</i> ; 176 <i>e</i>	14 119 <i>n</i> ; 137 <i>nN</i> ;	9 124 <i>j</i> ; 125 <i>k</i> ;
17 176 <i>e</i>	146 <i>c</i> ; 147 <i>a</i>	138 <i>f</i>
5 1 114 <i>d</i>	15 123 <i>b</i>	12 1 170 <i>m</i>
4 161 <i>k</i>	16 123 <i>b</i>	2 89 <i>n</i>
5 114 <i>d</i> ; 119 <i>p</i> ;	17 147 <i>f</i> ; 174 <i>f</i>	5 54 <i>b</i>
123 <i>w</i>	18 143 <i>f</i>	6 134 <i>o</i>
6 ... 123 <i>w</i> ; 125 <i>o,w</i>	20 96 <i>Bc</i>	13 4 162 <i>e</i>
8 160 <i>n</i>	25 126 <i>k</i>	7 150 <i>d</i>
9 160 <i>p</i> ; 165 <i>j</i>	8 4 155 <i>e</i> ; 157 <i>caN</i>	9 124 <i>q</i>
10 96 <i>Ad</i>	6 129 <i>n</i>	18 52 <i>c</i> ; 80 <i>k</i>
11 129 <i>m,n</i> ; 159 <i>c</i>	7 119 <i>n</i>	14 2 62 <i>h</i> ; 125 <i>c,k</i>
19 45 <i>aN</i> ; 116 <i>b</i> ;	10 116 <i>j</i>	3 132 <i>e</i> ; 152 <i>fa</i>
168 <i>aN</i>	11 77 <i>aN</i>	4 112 <i>hN</i>
23 121 <i>j</i>	23 93 <i>iN</i>	6 160 <i>m</i>
25 152 <i>a</i>	9 1 93 <i>nN</i> ; 112 <i>h</i> ;	7 125 <i>o</i>
30 143 <i>j</i>	129 <i>m</i> ; 148 <i>a</i>	9 150 <i>j</i>
6 2 91 <i>e</i> ; 119 <i>v</i>	153 <i>N</i>	11 150 <i>j</i> ; 152 <i>fa</i>
3 119 <i>v</i> ; 154 <i>e</i>	2 129 <i>n</i>	14 97 <i>Eb</i>

Isaiah	Isaiah	Isaiah
19 57a; 121n; 129m	24 141f	15 125ba
23 123c	23 4 160q	18 150j
24 152c; 165c	12 152d; 155s	20 124s
25 124q	13 143i	21 133h
29 94h; 146j	15 42f	22 141gN
31 94h; 123u	16 137g	24 155d
15 3 146j	17 94h	27 160q
5 101b	24 2 140c; 174i	29 1 129p
7 89n	3 82m	5 137i
8 132g	12 82i; 128c	6 97Ca
16 8 150l	17 104d	8 137i; 154c
10 152fa; 155d	19 123p	9 125d
18 3 113m	21 133i	11 119q; 143b
4 7bN	22 125r	13 52dN; 170o
19 4 148a	25 1 61dN	14 170o
6 82k	26 1 125w	15 54b; 111i; 118r; 119r
13 155nd	5 61f; 113o	16 161d; 162c
16 150e	9 151c	19 141d
20 119yN	10 134n; 160m	21 54dN
22 123m	11 44e	22 158t
24 101b	14 130g	24 125q
20 3 126a	16 42f	30 2 68e; 80k
4 126a	18 136g	8 64b
21 2 94h; 128b; 134g	27 1 141a	11 103d
7 129c; 141b	2 150n	12 65c
8 126e; 136b	3 137i	14 68e
9 143a	4 77b; 116i 125ba	17 112i
11 96Am; 155f	11 124h; 136g	18 129m
22 1 94h	12 129o	19 63b
11 136eN	28 4 141f; 155d	20 127b
13 79p	7 80j	23 96Ce
14 112iN; 165j	8 139f	24 155f
16 93n	9 125u; 129m	26 100o
	13 119f	28 80n

Isaiah	Isaiah	Isaiah
30 97Ca	24 129k	23 79o,p
31 5 54cN; 123n,p	26 24fa	24 157a; 158d
6 158i	28 124c	25 24e; 80m
8 160k	30 114p; 123x	26 116c
32 2 129e	38 5 123uN	28 114g
6 113c	7 157c,e	29 96Ad
12 89n; 155f	9 124q	42 5 136eN
13 164b	10 96As; 114cN;	6 114g
17 123b	128c	11 134g
18 136g	13 137i	16 ... 125baN; 158c
33 1 157g	14 82k; 137i	20 79p
2 137i	16 155b	21 157b
4 155f	18 121n; 160e,q	22 124qN
5 154c	39 2 15j	24 123bN
6 129s	6 119n	43 2 167p
7 102c	40 1 123dN	3f 158mN
9 150j	2 100o	4 170i
14 97Ca, 130g	3 15k; 162e	6 48b; 134l
16 96Dd	6 119z; 162e	8 78i
24 121o	7 112d	10 154j
34 4 82m; 137i	8 112d	23 68f; 125u
6 53h	10 133c	25 154j
8 136i	17 132f	44 15 103f
10 103c	19 113oN; 154c	23 125o
13 125o; 150g	22 138e	24 138e
15 147c	25 116c	45 1 82l; 124q
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13 150 <i>q</i>	5 128 <i>ba</i> ; 141 <i>j</i>	16 169 <i>g</i>
9 1 130 <i>g</i> ; 155 <i>d</i>	4 4 161 <i>b</i>	7 1 96 <i>Ad</i> ; 105 <i>b</i>
2 171 <i>d</i>	5 113 <i>k</i>	3 146 <i>d</i>
3 119 <i>c</i> ; 177 <i>j</i>	11 134 <i>bN</i>	8 97 <i>Fb</i> ; 134 <i>o</i>
5 118 <i>r</i> ; 177 <i>n</i>		10 97 <i>Fh</i> ; 150 <i>d</i> ; 167 <i>a</i>
6 118 <i>r</i>		14 93 <i>n</i>
8 173 <i>a</i>		19 177 <i>b</i>
11 121 <i>i</i>		

Nahum		Zephaniah		Zechariah	
1	3 156b	2	2 160p	1	3 116b
	4 118r		7 149a		8 92c
2	2 123u		9 82g		13 131a
	4 94i		13 114l		14 125bc
	5 96Ce		14 93r	2	6 121d, hN
3	5 54aN		15 160n		8 126e
	8 103n	3	4 97Ca		17 80p
	9 94h		7 177g	3	1 65b
13	..... 123p		9 126d		3 121fN,o
19	..... 139i		16 150d		4 21i
			20 94j		5 137f
					8 137g
					9 91e; 134aN
				4	10 80o; 134aN
				5	4 81e
					10 149c
					11 25a; 103f
				6	10 33; 43b; 123u
					12 158b
					15 123g
				7	5 62aN; 123x
					125baN; 146d
					6 137l
					7 125j
					10 147d
					14 52c
				8	5 148a
					6 171b
					9 121r; 150d
					13 150d
					21 114e
					23 114e; 176bN
				9	5 167a
					9 137j
					12 154c
					17 162a

Habakkuk		Haggai	
1	2 125b	1	1 ... 130d; 142b,c,o
	5 154c		2 155m,nd
	9 118q; 146j		4 127a; 146d
	10 118q		6 123x; 152d
	11 103b		8 155nd
2	3 123e		9 37d; 123w
	8 82g		155i; 158e
	12 119r; 121l	2	3 ... 141jN; 144a;
	19 160k		174i
3	3 93dN		5 125j
	6 82k		7 155nd
	9 125w; 128c		8 154f,ff
	10 94i		9 . 139a; 155nd; 170c
	13 49ca; 79p		12 ... 160j; 161l; 167l
	17 150l		13 129i
			14 170c
			16 68e
			19 161b
			21 92b

Zephaniah	
1	8 121oN
	14 52c; 102c

Zechariah	Psalms	Psalms
10 1 147 <i>d</i>	10 177 <i>m</i>	16 2 160 <i>m</i>
5 80 <i>dN</i>	12 119 <i>y</i> ; 129 <i>m</i>	3 158 <i>g</i>
6 112 <i>a</i> ; 119 <i>yN</i> ; 174 <i>dN</i>	3 1 130 <i>b</i>	4 158 <i>a</i>
11 7 129 <i>o</i>	2 112 <i>aN</i> ; 162 <i>a</i>	6 89 <i>n</i>
9 121 <i>iN</i>	3 93 <i>dN,j</i>	7 136 <i>b</i>
17 93 <i>n</i>	5 151 <i>c</i>	8 154 <i>c</i>
12 3 123 <i>p</i>	8 126 <i>g</i>	9 118 <i>p</i>
10 123 <i>x</i>	5 2 48 <i>d</i>	17 8 113 <i>m</i>
13 1 129 <i>s</i>	5 121 <i>l</i>	9 145 <i>c</i>
8 101 <i>b</i>	12 121 <i>m</i> ; 177 <i>l</i>	10 94 <i>h</i> ; 136 <i>l</i>
14 4 128 <i>c</i>	6 2 160 <i>f</i>	12 136 <i>g</i>
10 138 <i>b</i>	7 5 121 <i>k</i>	15 114 <i>c</i>
	6 16 <i>g</i>	18 1 54 <i>cN</i>
	8 2 144 <i>e</i> ; 162 <i>a</i>	4 121 <i>i</i>
	5 169 <i>e</i>	6 129 <i>u</i>
	6 113 <i>h</i>	14 113 <i>h</i>
Malachi	9 7 146 <i>d</i>	28 148 <i>a</i>
1 4 177 <i>b</i>	8 75 <i>c</i>	33 66 <i>a</i> ; 118 <i>r</i> ; 121 <i>k</i>
7 154 <i>i</i>	11 112 <i>d</i>	34 133 <i>h</i>
8 64 <i>b</i> ; 161 <i>e</i>	15 94 <i>j</i>	35 150 <i>g</i>
13 162 <i>a</i>	16 145 <i>c</i>	40 121 <i>n</i>
2 10 147 <i>a</i>	18 50 <i>b</i>	41 39 <i>aN</i> ; 156 <i>aa</i>
14 170 <i>h</i>	19 160 <i>q</i>	44 158 <i>c</i>
3 3 129 <i>aN</i>	21 157 <i>b</i>	46 94 <i>g</i>
7 116 <i>b</i>	10 6 160 <i>m</i>	51 136 <i>g</i>
9 82 <i>i</i>	8 136 <i>g</i>	19 4 160 <i>m</i>
10 161 <i>f</i>	14 121 <i>fN</i>	10 97 <i>Be</i> ; 131 <i>c</i> 154 <i>e</i>
19 169 <i>f</i>	11 6 114 <i>l</i>	14 82 <i>h</i>
20 121 <i>l</i>	7 94 <i>i</i>	20 3 129 <i>h</i>
	12 3 135 <i>d</i>	22 2 102 <i>c</i> ; 148 <i>b</i>
Psalms	4 152 <i>h</i>	8 125 <i>m</i>
1 1 97 <i>Eb</i> ; 112 <i>dN</i>	7 100 <i>o</i>	11 57 <i>a</i>
2 112 <i>dN</i>	13 5 125 <i>b</i>	14 126 <i>e</i>
2 3 45 <i>a</i> ; 114 <i>e</i>	14 5 125 <i>q</i>	
6 140 <i>b</i>	15 4 121 <i>l</i>	

Psalms	Psalms	Psalms
29 154c	33 3 124nN	41 3 114k
23 4 171c	5 154c	7 167g
24 1 154f,ff	10 82n	13 118p
10 144aN	12 158c	42 2 158*N; 174d
25 2 114c	15 138e	4 124s
9 114l	16 113cN	6 118q; 136g
12 121l	20 112a	7 136k
19 96Cb	34 5 119yN	12 118q
27 2 146f	7 143i	43 1 113m
3 89bN	8 118r	4 141m
7 151c	9 158a	44 3 146e; 151c
28 1 27d;31c;168h	22 155nd	5 136g; 154j
8 61iN; 136g	35 2 133c	18 125ba
29 1 129j	14 96Bd	19 160q
2 129g	16 61iN	27 89n; 93j
3 162eN	19 121k; 160q	45 3 59d
9 68bN	22 112a	8 118p
11 137k	25 70b	48 111iN
30 2 61dN	27 121l	46 3 80k
8 52cN	36 3 52cN	5 96Ak
10 18hN; 61fN	8 144e	7 125m
11 121e,fN	12 125ba	10 52cN
12 96An	37 23 132d	47 9 112a
13 169g	27 116f; 171b	48 11 174c
31 2 114c	31 150g	14 94h
4 6dN	38 2 160f,q	49 8 123o
8 114c	5 141i	12 61iN
16 154f,ff	11 59d; 146d	14 61iN; 143i
18 114c	12 113h	158aN
23 6dN	15 160c	16 164b
24 6e3	17 80k	18 160e,k
32 1 121o	39 5 114c; 154i	50 3 103n; 114k
4 113a	40 6 167a	152e
8 75c	9 112a	7 115cN
10 141b	15 121l	10 93i

Psalms	Psalms	Psalms
16 118 <i>r</i> ; 161 <i>i</i>	7 151 <i>c</i>	12 160 <i>oa</i>
21 123 <i>q</i>	10 140 <i>b</i>	13 80 <i>kN</i>
22 50 <i>b</i>	13 89 <i>n</i> ; 170 <i>c</i>	15 139 <i>g</i> ; 167 <i>f</i> ;
23 61 <i>h</i>	61 3 51 <i>b</i>	177 <i>l</i>
51 2 166 <i>n</i>	5 114 <i>c</i>	19 128 <i>cN</i>
3 113 <i>m</i>	62 4 97 <i>Be</i>	20 56 <i>a</i>
4 113 <i>m</i>	63 6 136 <i>o</i>	73 2 150 <i>h</i>
6 169 <i>g</i>	64 2 113 <i>m</i>	9 75 <i>g</i>
9 113 <i>m</i>	4 82 <i>aN</i>	14 137 <i>i</i>
10 113 <i>m</i>	5 136 <i>g</i>	17 114 <i>cN</i>
19 129 <i>g</i>	11 119 <i>k</i>	19 162 <i>b</i>
52 10 112 <i>a</i>	65 5 114 <i>e</i>	74 2 145 <i>c</i>
53 4 146 <i>j</i>	10 63 <i>c</i>	6 93 <i>gN</i>
54 3 113 <i>m</i>	14 125 <i>d</i>	9 112 <i>a</i> ; 160 <i>c</i>
6 133 <i>c</i> ; 136 <i>f</i>	66 7 133 <i>d</i>	13 136 <i>f</i>
55 7 116 <i>i</i> ; 163 <i>d</i>	17 151 <i>c</i>	17 156 <i>aa</i>
10 52 <i>c</i>	67 2 155 <i>l</i>	75 6 160 <i>q</i>
13 121 <i>k</i>	68 9 143 <i>i</i>	76 4 96 <i>Ad</i>
18 126 <i>i</i>	17 131 <i>c</i>	7 177 <i>p</i>
19 133 <i>c</i>	18 100 <i>o</i>	8 121 <i>i</i>
20 154 <i>c</i>	19 18 <i>j</i>	10 103 <i>i</i>
56 1 124 <i>g</i>	34 125 <i>b,m</i>	77 4 79 <i>o</i>
4 129 <i>p,2</i>	69 4 82 <i>i</i>	12 164 <i>b</i>
5 112 <i>a</i>	6 125 <i>k</i>	18 90 <i>e</i> ; 96 <i>Ao</i>
12 112 <i>a</i>	15 114 <i>c</i> ; 116 <i>j</i>	125 <i>b</i>
13 129 <i>e</i>	19 48 <i>d</i>	78 6 158 <i>a</i>
57 5 114 <i>cN</i> ; 151 <i>c</i>	70 3 121 <i>l</i>	16 78 <i>i</i>
7 112 <i>k</i>	71 1 114 <i>c</i>	34 167 <i>g</i>
58 5 129 <i>n</i>	2 113 <i>m</i>	49 141 <i>f</i>
7 94 <i>h</i>	16 146 <i>dN</i>	54 145 <i>c</i>
9 75 <i>g</i>	18 158 <i>a</i>	55 133 <i>c</i>
59 2 113 <i>m</i>	21 79 <i>iN</i> ; 114 <i>g</i>	79 2 93 <i>r</i>
6 131 <i>o</i>	72 5 177 <i>l</i>	8 137 <i>i</i>
10 45 <i>a</i>	8 177 <i>l</i>	12 100 <i>o</i>
60 4 78 <i>g</i>	11 177 <i>l</i>	80 11 128 <i>c</i>

Psalms	Psalms	Psalms
13 119 <i>e,t</i> ; 161 <i>m</i>	8 33	4 125 <i>w</i> ; 138 <i>e</i>
14 60	10 47 <i>e</i>	8 129 <i>q</i> ; 145 <i>c</i>
15 131 <i>o</i>	15 98 <i>f</i> ; 158 <i>c</i>	11 93 <i>r</i>
20 131 <i>o</i>	91 14 119 <i>yN</i>	20 . 93 <i>r</i> ; 114 <i>g</i> ; 167 <i>a</i>
81 6 129 <i>q,3</i>	15 119 <i>yN</i>	25 143 <i>i</i>
9 163 <i>c</i>	92 3 136 <i>b</i>	26 145 <i>c</i>
82 1 113 <i>cN</i>	13 130 <i>f</i>	28 44 <i>e</i> ; 167 <i>a</i>
83 10 133 <i>h</i>	16 93 <i>j</i>	29 73 <i>f</i> ; 167 <i>a</i>
12 146 <i>e</i>	93 1 111 <i>h</i> ; 155 <i>nd</i>	35 156 <i>m</i>
84 4 112 <i>d</i>	94 1 54 <i>c</i>	105 37 132 <i>gN</i>
6 154 <i>f,fa</i>	9 96 <i>Cc</i>	43 78 <i>i</i>
7 129 <i>m</i>	18 166 <i>p</i>	106 14 125 <i>q</i>
9 131 <i>o</i>	20 63 <i>b</i>	15 97 <i>Bd</i>
11 112 <i>a</i>	95 7 163 <i>c</i>	32 152 <i>d</i>
85 4 80 <i>m</i>	8 133 <i>h</i>	107 30 129 <i>g</i>
86 2 121 <i>r</i>	11 165 <i>d</i>	43 167 <i>mN</i>
8 137 <i>dN</i>	96 8 129 <i>g</i>	109 4 154 <i>e</i>
87 3 128 <i>b</i>	97 1 155 <i>nd</i>	7 114 <i>gN</i>
5 104 <i>d</i>	2 103 <i>n</i>	10 119 <i>k</i>
88 5 160 <i>o</i>	100 3 154 <i>j</i>	28 146 <i>a</i>
6 121 <i>n</i>	101 5 93 <i>n</i>	110 2 114 <i>p</i>
16 136 <i>h</i>	8 137 <i>i</i>	3 129 <i>u</i> ; 154 <i>e</i>
89 6 177 <i>l</i>	102 4 82 <i>i</i>	4 93 <i>m</i>
28 88 <i>Ca*</i>	16 177 <i>l</i>	111 2 121 <i>eN,i</i> ;
34 82 <i>n</i>	19 116 <i>i</i>	132 <i>f</i>
36 165 <i>d</i>	28 154 <i>j</i>	113 5 93 <i>n</i>
38 177 <i>n</i>	103 1 9 <i>c3</i>	6 93 <i>n</i>
39 39 <i>aN</i>	2 3 121 <i>r</i>	7 93 <i>n</i>
40 52 <i>cN</i>	3 94 <i>h,i</i>	8 93 <i>p</i>
43 80 <i>m</i>	4 61 <i>i</i> ; 94 <i>i</i>	114 8 93 <i>n,r</i> ;
44 80 <i>m</i>	5 94 <i>i</i> ; 150 <i>g</i>	125 <i>w</i>
46 136 <i>h</i>	13 112 <i>a</i>	115 4 154 <i>e</i>
51 141 <i>b</i>	14 50 <i>e</i>	7 82 <i>o</i> ; 154 <i>o</i>
90 2 113 <i>j</i>	104 1 112 <i>a</i>	15 132 <i>f</i>
6 119 <i>q</i>	2 138 <i>e</i>	116 1 93 <i>p</i>

Psalms	Psalms	Psalms
3 113 <i>h</i>	155 102 <i>c</i> ; 148 <i>b</i>	3 136 <i>j</i>
6 54 <i>b</i>	120 1 93 <i>j</i> ; 119 <i>yN</i>	134 1 136 <i>b</i>
7 94 <i>i</i>	2 131 <i>c</i>	135 7 112 <i>l</i> ; 138 <i>e</i>
12 94 <i>i</i>	5 105 <i>b</i>	9 94 <i>h</i>
14 93 <i>c</i>	6 102 <i>c</i>	136 1 141 <i>a</i>
15 93 <i>i</i>	121 1 113 <i>d</i> ; 161 <i>g</i>	10 121 <i>j</i>
18 93 <i>c</i>	4 164 <i>a</i>	11 121 <i>j</i>
19 94 <i>h</i>	123 1 93 <i>n</i> ; 112 <i>e</i>	14 121 <i>j</i>
118 7 133 <i>c</i> ; 136 <i>f</i>	113 <i>d</i>	137 6 61 <i>i</i>
8 68 <i>e</i>	2 174 <i>c</i>	8 158 <i>ha</i>
9 68 <i>e</i>	4 102 <i>c</i>	138 2 14 <i>c7</i>
10 164 <i>b</i>	12 94 <i>g</i>	6 75 <i>cN</i>
13 49 <i>f</i> ; 123 <i>i</i>	124 2 103 <i>c</i>	139 5 94 <i>h</i>
14 89 <i>n</i>	4 93 <i>i</i>	8 167 <i>a,d</i>
18 62 <i>c</i> ; 123 <i>i</i>	5 150 <i>j</i>	9 114 <i>bN</i> ;
20 143 <i>i</i>	125 2 103 <i>n</i>	167 <i>a,d</i>
26 61 <i>aN</i>	3 93 <i>j</i>	10 167 <i>d</i>
119 1 129 <i>i</i>	5 156 <i>c</i>	11 103 <i>eN</i>
5 105 <i>bN</i> ; 163 <i>c</i>	126 6 90 <i>e</i> ; 123 <i>i,m</i>	12 141 <i>i</i>
17 116 <i>i</i>	127 1 112 <i>i</i>	18 167 <i>a</i>
22 82 <i>l</i>	2 7 <i>b</i> ; 31 <i>c</i> ; 89 <i>k</i>	19 40 <i>aN</i> ;
26 119 <i>yN</i>	121 <i>m</i> ; 124 <i>nN</i>	163 <i>c</i>
28 80 <i>h</i>	128 3 89 <i>n</i> ; 99 <i>cN</i>	21 113 <i>m</i>
37 94 <i>j</i>	5 116 <i>f</i>	22 113 <i>m</i>
41 125 <i>ba</i>	6 130 <i>g</i>	140 2 113 <i>m</i>
49 158 <i>m</i>	129 1 102 <i>c</i>	4 82 <i>aN</i>
61 80 <i>h</i>	5 139 <i>i</i>	13 42 <i>f</i>
67 113 <i>j</i>	130 4 169 <i>g</i>	141 4 99 <i>bN</i>
90 118 <i>oN</i>	5 112 <i>a</i>	142 2 113 <i>d</i> ; 151 <i>c</i>
101 78 <i>g</i>	131 1 80 <i>j</i> ; 134 <i>n</i>	143 6 112 <i>e</i>
106 80 <i>h</i>	2 161 <i>d</i>	10 138 <i>f</i>
117 79 <i>o</i>	132 4 89 <i>n</i>	144 2 146 <i>f</i>
137 148 <i>bN</i>	11 102 <i>d</i> ; 140 <i>b</i>	3 118 <i>hN</i> ;
142 131 <i>cN</i>	12 130 <i>g</i> ; 145 <i>c</i>	161 <i>mN</i> ; 169 <i>e</i>
152 126 <i>iN</i>	133 2 158 <i>e</i>	6 125 <i>p</i>

Psalms	Proverbs	Proverbs
15 154 <i>f</i>	25 114 <i>k</i>	4 126 <i>l</i>
145 1 61 <i>dN</i>	4 1 125 <i>q</i>	24 125 <i>ba</i>
6 156 <i>aa</i>	6 64 <i>a</i>	26 136 <i>e</i>
20 ... 113 <i>cN</i> ; 121 <i>hN</i>	16 14 <i>c</i>	31 125 <i>o</i>
146 4 167 <i>a</i>	18 123 <i>s</i>	11 3 82 <i>g</i>
5 133 <i>c</i> ; 154 <i>f</i>	5 2 124 <i>q</i>	15 82 <i>m</i>
<i>fa</i>	4 98 <i>e</i>	18 96 <i>Bb</i>
9 121 <i>hN</i>	19 129 <i>g</i>	12 7 123 <i>w</i>
147 1 52 <i>c</i>	22 146 <i>e</i>	28 94 <i>h</i>
2 121 <i>l</i>	6 6 137 <i>g</i>	13 20 82 <i>m</i> ; 116 <i>f</i>
3 121 <i>q</i>	10 136 <i>j</i>	14 3 44 <i>c</i>
7 68 <i>aN</i>	16 152 <i>g</i>	10 23 <i>a</i>
149 2 136 <i>e</i>	21 149 <i>b</i>	15 9 113 <i>a</i>
6 98 <i>e</i>	35 171 <i>b</i>	12 113 <i>a</i>
150 2 96 <i>Ag</i>	7 1 113 <i>m</i>	20 113 <i>c</i>
6 150 <i>o</i>	2 116 <i>f</i>	22 123 <i>w</i> ; 150 <i>g</i>
	3 64 <i>a</i>	25 114 <i>l</i>
Proverbs	13 125 <i>b</i>	16 2 150 <i>o</i>
1 3 123 <i>c</i>	18 125 <i>d</i>	4 140 <i>c</i>
19 31 <i>c</i>	26 141 <i>b</i>	11 129 <i>aN</i>
20 88 <i>Mk</i>	8 3 126 <i>h</i>	13 113 <i>a</i>
22 137 <i>g</i>	4 99 <i>bN</i>	17 3 174 <i>h</i>
2 2 125 <i>x</i>	17 73 <i>g</i>	13 156 <i>g</i>
10 150 <i>k</i>	21 124 <i>q</i>	25 88 <i>Le</i>
13 35 <i>d</i>	25 113 <i>j</i>	26 124 <i>b</i>
17 35 <i>d</i> ; 121 <i>j</i>	27 82 <i>l</i>	18 6 96 <i>Cb</i>
19 121 <i>n</i>	32 158 <i>d</i>	16 15 <i>nd</i>
22 155 <i>c</i>	9 1 88 <i>Mk</i>	22 167 <i>a</i>
3 3 64 <i>a</i> ; 116 <i>f</i>	4 80 <i>k</i> ; 144 <i>fa</i>	19 8 146 <i>k</i>
4 116 <i>f</i>	10 136 <i>d</i>	16 146 <i>k</i>
8 116 <i>i</i>	11 155 <i>c</i>	18 146 <i>k</i>
10 125 <i>d</i>	12 167 <i>p</i>	20 2 129 <i>e</i>
12 113 <i>a</i>	13 144 <i>f</i>	10 135 <i>d</i>
17 131 <i>cN</i> ; 154 <i>e</i>	16 80 <i>k</i> ; 144 <i>fa</i>	13 116 <i>i</i>
	10 1 113 <i>cN</i>	14 142 <i>k</i>

Proverbs	Proverbs	Job
18 150g	9 174h	1 1 155nd; 158b
22 116d	13 112d	4 100dN; 119v; 126h
26 118r	14 174h	5 111e; 113e; 125v
21 15 124i	18 138c	6 137n
16 123c	23 148c	11 161f; 172b
22 94h	26 53e	13 137n
26 125q	27 9 150p	14 121f; 134d 154m; 155nd
29 125b	14 123r	15 134g; 141a; 150e
22 14 19d	15 88Ja	16 143c; 155nd 160f
17 113m	21 174h	17 155nd; 160e
21 131c; 154e	23 123j	18 160e
24 136g	28 12 103c	21 78f
28 113m	20 136g	2 1 137n
23 1 81e; 123q	21 13d; 123b	2 143h
6 125h	22 125ba	3 118h
7 160m	26 154j	5 172b
15 146d	28 103c	9 116f
22 145c	29 6 82l	10 161a
32 32c	14 121kN	11 145e
24 10 94h	21 136h	13 112b
14 29f	24 146k	3 2 73dN
23 123b; 160m	25 150n	3 113h; 158db
29 147d	30 3 136d	9 114gN
31 125o	15 152g	11 113h; 161mN
33 136j	17 158a	12 167mN
25 3 174h	18 152g	13 ... 152d; 167mN
4 123w	21 152g	15 158b
7 124b	25 118r	18 112a
13 136e	29 152g	26 19d; 79a; 112a
19 96Cb	31 3 90c	4 2 22d; 104cN
24 124b	21 121o	
27 123b,t; 154b	28 119za	
26 1 174c	29 94h; 141b	
2 129l		
3 174h		

Job	Job	Job
3 112dN	9 8 97Eb	13 3 123b
5 152c	11 167l	5 123j
7 144aN	12 167l	13 115cN; 144f
13 49f	13 82k	15 40aN
15 113o	15 59a	17 123l
17 161e	18 123b; 136g	22 125x
19 155c	30 167f	14 10 118q
5 1 61fN; 66b	32 116i; 154c	11 174h
2 125k	33 116i	19 68f; 150g
16 93j	35 116i	15 7 113h
18 29f; 32c; 78g; 118qN	10 1 80oN	10 127b
22 114k	4 161e	15 150o
23 129h	7 171e	17 145c
6 2 123g,p; 163c	15 105b; 167p	21 125ba; 137k
5 161e	16 114l	28 133d
8 97Bd; 163d	17 114l	31 88Cf
9 116h	19 174dN	33 114l
10 116h	22 93j	35 123w
12 154fa; 161d	11 2 161e	16 3 161e
21 31c	3 118hN	4 ... 125m; 167kN
22 157aN; 161j	6 100o	6 167p
23 113m	7 161e	10 125m
28 177d	9 127b	14 137i
7 3 128c; 155c	11 118p	16 59d
8 121k	12 82m	17 171e
9 112d	15 167s	17 2 161d
17 169e	17 152e	10 113m; 146j
18 118q; 137i	12 3 160c	18 2 113m
8 3 161e	6 136g	4 146k
6 167s	7 150g	9 114l
7 150k	11 174h	10 129h
11 103n	14 167l	12 114l
18 31d	15 167l	17 160oa
21 78g	17 126a; 154c	18 155b
	22 118r	19 160oa
	23-4 118r	

Job	Job	Job
21 129q; 158d	28 167l	21 80i
19 2 63e	24 1 132d	22 94h
7 125b	5 126e; 129m	35 163d
10 113o	7 126a	32 11 113o
12 113o	10 126a; 160o	12 103mN
15 44da; 63a	14 40aN	13 168gN
18 167a	19 174h	18 78f
19 145c	23 94i	19 90d
23 137m; 163d	24 82l	20 152d
25 157b	25 2 123b; 154c	21 114d
29 38N	3 94h	22 121k; 157b
20 4 58c	26 2 160o	31 114bN
9 134m	3 160o	33 5 48d
10 80i	7 154c	8 113o
11 136h; 150g	27 5 165k	9 160oa
22 125ba; 152d	20 150g	11 114l
23 103m	22 114l	13 81d
26 63b	23 94i; 103m;	15 136j
21 2 123l	155e	16 166lN
4 156b; 161e	28 2 125w	21 114l
5 116f	4 82k	25 9c5; 136h
9 160oa	12 137j	29 102f
23 115cN; 146j;	14 160c	31 48d
147a	27 166lN	32 61fN; 65d
29 42d	29 2 129p; 133h	34 3 174h
22 2 103m	163d	20 155b
3 161e; 163d	11 125b	24 118q
9 112dN	12 160oa	36 105f; 163c
16 17 121r	16 129q	37 114l
18 112k	21 82hN	35 10 136e
21 149a	30 25 161d	36 4 136g
27 119yN	31 10 44e	14 136h
30 102jN	12 158a	18 150k
23 4 114bN; 116i	15 66a	37 2 123l
11 114l	18 41b,f;125baN	12 93i

Job	Canticles	Canticles
22 113o	146f	9 62f; 144c
38 2 143g	7 38N;161h	16 136g
3 116f	8 141j	6 2 136jN
4 125q	9 136jN	5 96Bc
17 113o	11 139b	8 149c
18 152b	16 164a	9 119za; 154j
19 143g	17 136jN	11 161f
26 160o	2 5 129i	7 3 114k
28 161e	7 112f	5 139b
31 161e	8 162e	7 37c
34 115cN	9 136j,N	8 143i
35 115cN	14 136jN	12 114bN
39 2 94h	15 69b	13 161f
40 7 116f	17 136jN	14 136jN
10 113m; 125d	3 1 136b	8 1 125b,wN
14 113b	2 114d	4 144h
15 136f	4 96Ac	6 96Ad; 137iN
19 121k	6 136jN; 144b	141n
32 116i	7 103n; 146f	7 147b
41 8 72gN	8 50e; 136b	11 97Ca; 155g
10 150g	10 125v	12 97Ca; 146f
18 160m	4 1 96Bc; 164a	
25 79p	3 139b	Ruth
26 14c7	5 138c	1 1 118cN; 146c
42 4 115cN	7 94h	2 136l; 137f
8 119l	8 136j	3 146c
11 121k	14 131c	4 133g
	16 134l	6 146c
Canticles	5 2 23a;38;127a;	8 149b; 150a
1 1 130e; 141l	162e; 172a	9 133c; 136l
2 125b	3 125d	149b; 177h
4 126d	4 133d,f	11 113n; 119iN
5 172a	5 136jN; 146b	12 15e
6 63a; 97Ca;	6 146b	13 141i; 152d;
	8 144h	

Ruth	Ruth	Lamentations
160j; 161l	2 89b; 94h;	8 125q
14 78f; 118f	102k	10 130g; 158a
16 158m	3 16e; 42f;	16 79p; 96Cc
17 165aN	132cN	17 103n; 125m
19 94h; 155bN;	4 42f; 44f; 65b;	18 154j
161b	113m; 119z	19 116e
20 89k	5 125i	20 59d
21 126a; 133c	8 126h	2 11 51b; 59d
22 118i; 145e	9 15k; 119w	13 116c
149c	10 132f	18 129n
2 1 89b	11 125i	3 7 97Fd
2 114d,n; 119j	12 16e	10 136g
122c	13 113n; 167r	12 89k
3 118k	15 69b; 142n	22 164b
4 163b	16 125i	23 137i
6 145e	17 114j	50 114l
7 119j; 122c	18 44f; 137pN;	54 112g
8 44c,f; 112a;	173b	59 112a
168c	4 1 147f; 158i	4 21 93o
9 4e; 78g;	177e	5 5 128ba
112g; 125b;	3 145e	21 133h
166b; 167b	4 112f; 113m;	
10 124l,s	132g	Ecclesiastes
11 158f	7 80h	1 3 158ha
12 68e	9 112f	4 121d
14 15k; 25a; 103f;	11 145e	7 129qN
114m; 119lN	15 31c; 158g	9 111i; 113a;
15 113l		144g; 160k
16 123q	Lamentations	16 146b
17 133g; 137uN	1 1 93m; 112a	17 88Mk; 119za
20 132f	129n; 162b	154j
21 44f; 112i;	2 123k	2 1 146b
130e; 157aN	4 96Cc; 121n;	3 113k; 143g
22 141g	152d	4 129h
3 1 113m		

Ecclesiastes	Ecclesiastes	Esther
7 150 <i>l</i>	2 174 <i>i</i>	13 123 <i>x,y</i>
11 158 <i>ha</i>	11 88 <i>Lf</i> ; 123 <i>x</i>	4 2 124 <i>b,l</i> ; 160 <i>j</i>
12 37 <i>c</i>	12 121 <i>q</i> ; 158 <i>e</i>	3 129 <i>q</i>
16 102 <i>n</i>	10 7 137 <i>g</i>	11 157 <i>c</i>
19 102 <i>n</i> ; 161 <i>e,f</i>	9 103 <i>iN</i>	13 126 <i>h</i>
22 38 <i>N</i>	13 88 <i>Mk</i>	14 88 <i>Lb</i>
24 157 <i>d</i>	16 105 <i>b</i>	16 151 <i>a</i> ; 176 <i>oN</i>
26 78 <i>g</i>	11 2 144 <i>d</i>	5 2 176 <i>f</i>
3 4 124 <i>d</i>	3 137 <i>fN</i>	12 121 <i>q</i>
8 49 <i>d</i>	6 143 <i>g</i>	14 116 <i>f</i>
11 158 <i>mN</i>	9 136 <i>h</i> ; 137 <i>g</i>	6 1 121 <i>q</i>
14 160 <i>j</i>	12 1 136 <i>h</i>	2 157 <i>c</i>
15 144 <i>g</i>	6 82 <i>m</i>	3 144 <i>d</i>
18 38 <i>N</i> ; 82 <i>l</i>	7 114 <i>l</i>	9 123 <i>x</i>
4 1 119 <i>za</i> ; 158 <i>e</i>	11 132 <i>d</i>	13 82 <i>n</i>
2 123 <i>xN</i>		7 4 124 <i>s</i> ; 167 <i>kN</i>
7 119 <i>za</i>	Esther	5 78 <i>j</i>
10 105 <i>b</i>	1 1 118 <i>cN</i> ; 176 <i>f</i>	8 132 <i>a</i> ; 154 <i>d</i> ; 166 <i>h</i>
5 3 113 <i>m</i>	4 142 <i>g</i>	8 6 177 <i>h</i>
4 157 <i>a</i>	7 123 <i>q</i>	9 143 <i>j</i>
5 113 <i>m</i>	8 104 <i>d</i> ; 135 <i>d</i>	15 130 <i>h</i>
11 75 <i>h</i>	12 131 <i>k</i>	17 129 <i>q</i>
6 10 157 <i>c</i>	19 133 <i>f</i> ; 140 <i>a</i>	9 1 123 <i>y</i> ; 146 <i>c</i>
7 2 170 <i>j</i>	2 2 155 <i>b</i>	4 123 <i>s</i>
16 53 <i>e</i>	3 123 <i>x</i>	5 88 <i>Mb</i>
18 103 <i>cN</i>	6 16 <i>fN</i> ; 132 <i>c</i>	6 123 <i>x</i>
22 157 <i>dN</i>	11 121 <i>f</i>	16 123 <i>x</i>
23 45 <i>a</i>	13 103 <i>cN</i> ; 121 <i>f</i>	19 49 <i>e</i>
24 142 <i>k</i>	14 9 <i>d</i> ; 121 <i>f</i>	21 80 <i>h</i>
29 157 <i>c</i>	18 88 <i>Lb</i>	
8 4 170 <i>j</i>	3 2 121 <i>f</i>	Daniel
8 160 <i>i</i>	4 135 <i>d</i> ; 157 <i>c,ca</i>	1 4 129 <i>aN</i> ; 160 <i>k</i>
9 123 <i>x</i>	8 102 <i>k</i>	5 124 <i>l</i>
17 157 <i>d</i>	9 133 <i>f</i>	
9 1 82 <i>l</i> ; 157 <i>c</i>		

Daniel	Daniel	Ezra
8 157c	4 105cN	17 133f
10 80h; 161h	5 123x	6 8 144g
12 116bN	12 125j7	21 121i
13 114m	13 125j7	7 6 146e
15 96Ce	18 154fe	8 138b
20 142q	23 136g	18 133f
2 1 136j	25 177b	23 161h
13 124sN	10 1 81d	28 .. 125l;133d;146a
40 82h	5 121o; 136b	8 16 125k
3 12 103kN	137u	18 20aN
23 98f	11 6 121k	21 130h
4 3 18bN	10 123l	23 47d
24 90c	11 146e	24 125
5 5 158e	14 17 119zb	25 145d
11 42fN	23 53f; 88Mj	26 9c
12 42fN	29 133h; 174i	31 47e; 130h
14 42fN	32 148a	9 1 124s; 131h;
20 80n; 155c	36 112i	146e
21 144g	12 2 103dN; 136g	3 126b
6 4 143eN	6 121o	7 154fe
5 42fN	11 124p	14 79pN
6 143eN	13 90c	15 94j
19 133fN		10 1 96Aq
23 42fN	Ezra	9 126b
29 143eN		12 125s
7 18 136d	1 1 130d; 131k	13 154e
8 1 145e; 146d	5 125l	14 140bN; 145d
3 137u	7 131k	16 142o
8 80bN	9 136l	17 145d
11 57a	2 12 100m	
12 114l	59 161f	Nehemiah
20 129bN	69 100n	1 1 118cN
22 44d; 97Gb	3 3 136o	4 121f,g; 176f
9 1 142o	12 143i	8 167a,d
2 81d	5 4 144bN	
	8 29e	

Nehemiah	Nehemiah	1 Chronicles
9 167 <i>d</i>	13 123 <i>x</i> ; 148 <i>a</i>	24 136 <i>o</i>
2 7 155 <i>b</i>	19 125 <i>j</i> 7	26 103 <i>m</i> N; 146 <i>e</i>
10 157 <i>a</i>	28 141 <i>b</i> ; 152 <i>d</i>	27 177 <i>o</i>
12 131 <i>f</i>	32 125 <i>j</i>	6 34 124 <i>p</i>
13 114 <i>b</i> N; 121 <i>g</i>	34 125 <i>j</i>	55 129 <i>n</i>
15 121 <i>g</i>	37 154 <i>fe</i>	7 1 177 <i>o</i> N
18 157 <i>d</i> N	10 34 135 <i>b</i> N	2 136 <i>m</i>
20 80 <i>n</i>	38 146 <i>e</i>	5 125 <i>l</i> ; 136 <i>o</i>
4 10 176 <i>f</i>	11 17 54 <i>b</i>	9 146 <i>e</i>
12 121 <i>o</i>	12 14 93 <i>s</i>	9 26 ... 131 <i>d</i> N; 146 <i>e</i>
14 129 <i>q</i>	22 129 <i>b</i>	28 154 <i>b</i>
17 160 <i>i</i>	26 129 <i>b</i>	11 2 131 <i>i</i> N; 137 <i>l</i>
5 3 116 <i>c</i>	27 91 <i>e</i>	154 <i>m</i>
11 35 <i>e</i>	28 177 <i>p</i>	3 132 <i>a</i>
14 129 <i>d</i> ; 151 <i>a</i>	29 177 <i>p</i>	8 103 <i>n</i>
15 133 <i>c</i>	45 177 <i>p</i>	13 150 <i>e</i>
6 1 51 <i>c</i> N; 93 <i>s</i>	46 124 <i>d</i> ; 129 <i>b</i>	12 1 127 <i>a</i>
6 93 <i>s</i>	47 129 <i>b</i>	17 102 <i>d</i>
9 150 <i>d</i>	13 14 125 <i>b</i>	23 136 <i>l</i> ; 145 <i>d</i> N
10 155 <i>f</i>	20 102 <i>f</i> ; 137 <i>u</i> N	30 136 <i>o</i>
7 2 133 <i>g</i>	21 14 <i>c</i>	32 125 <i>q</i>
3 69 <i>b</i> ; 166 <i>i</i>	22 125 <i>b</i>	33 124 <i>p</i> ; 135 <i>d</i>
66 100 <i>n</i>		13 1 125 <i>l</i>
71 100 <i>n</i>	1 Chronicles	14 4 177 <i>o</i> N
72 100 <i>n</i>		10 170 <i>c</i>
8 2 78 <i>i</i>	1 8 177 <i>o</i> N	17 118 <i>f</i>
8 123 <i>x</i>	3 2 125 <i>l</i>	15 2 160 <i>j</i>
9 125 <i>l</i>	5 16 <i>f</i> N	12 158 <i>d</i>
10 158 <i>d</i>	4 10 65 <i>a,b</i>	16 125 <i>m</i>
11 105 <i>b</i>	42 146 <i>e</i>	19 131 <i>d</i>
14 113 <i>m</i> ; 157 <i>c</i>	5 1 160 <i>j</i>	26 20 <i>d</i>
9 1 143 <i>k</i>	3 177 <i>o</i> N	27 60
3 154 <i>c</i>	9 131 <i>h</i>	28 159 <i>a</i>
7 119 <i>za</i>	18 50 <i>e</i> ; 121 <i>n</i>	29 119 <i>z</i>
8 119 <i>za</i> ; 123 <i>x</i>	20 123 <i>x</i>	16 3 137 <i>u</i> N; 147 <i>d</i>

1 Chronicles	1 Chronicles	2 Chronicles
4 177 <i>p</i>	28 145 <i>d</i>	26 44 <i>eN</i>
36 123 <i>x</i>	31 14 <i>cN</i>	29 44 <i>eN</i> ; 150 <i>k</i>
37 125 <i>k</i>	27 6 146 <i>e</i>	30 147 <i>d</i>
43 150 <i>e</i>	33 130 <i>b</i>	33 44 <i>eN</i>
17 7 131 <i>iN</i>	28 1 125 <i>l</i>	39 99 <i>fN</i>
9 62 <i>g</i> ; 131 <i>iN</i>	2 156 <i>b</i>	40 148 <i>c</i> ; 150 <i>c,r</i>
10 119 <i>za</i>	5 141 <i>b</i>	42 125 <i>k</i>
13 158 <i>d</i>	9 176 <i>d</i>	7 1 176 <i>l</i>
17 119 <i>za</i>	18 125 <i>l</i> ; 127 <i>c</i> ; 129 <i>fN</i>	3 123 <i>q,x</i>
21 131 <i>iN</i> ; 150 <i>f</i> 158 <i>u</i>	21 125 <i>l</i>	9 97 <i>Bc</i>
27 112 <i>k</i>	29 4 136 <i>o</i>	10 126 <i>a</i>
18 2 150 <i>e,N</i>	6 125 <i>l</i>	13 167 <i>l</i>
5 150 <i>e</i>	8 145 <i>d</i>	19 44 <i>eN</i>
6 125 <i>b</i>	16 80 <i>m</i>	21 125 <i>l</i>
8 158 <i>db</i>	17 145 <i>d</i> ; 146 <i>a</i>	8 5 131 <i>m</i>
10 7 <i>bN</i> ; 129 <i>bN</i>	22 125 <i>k</i>	7 177 <i>oN</i>
19 12 150 <i>e</i>	30 136 <i>o</i>	9 4 88 <i>FbN</i>
15 150 <i>e</i>		5 154 <i>m</i>
21 2 119 <i>m</i>	2 Chronicles	21 126 <i>b</i>
7 152 <i>d</i>	1 1 118 <i>cN</i>	29 149 <i>a</i>
10 123 <i>u</i> ; 152 <i>g</i>	4 145 <i>d</i>	10 6 125 <i>u</i>
13 114 <i>bN,c</i>	7 133 <i>b</i>	7 35 <i>e</i>
16 127 <i>a</i> ; 138 <i>aN</i>	10 114 <i>bN</i>	11 4 44 <i>eN</i>
23 112 <i>f</i>	2 6 70 <i>e</i>	22 154 <i>d</i>
24 123 <i>q</i>	8 124 <i>p</i>	12 2 176 <i>f</i>
22 11 119 <i>iN,k</i>	11 125 <i>q</i>	5 112 <i>g</i>
14 155 <i>oa</i>	4 3 135 <i>bN</i>	10 119 <i>za</i>
19 121 <i>q</i> ; 125 <i>k</i>	13 131 <i>e</i>	11 176 <i>f</i>
23 28 129 <i>n</i>	5 6 159 <i>a</i>	12 154 <i>d</i>
25 1 96 <i>CbN</i> ; 125 <i>k</i> 146 <i>b</i>	12 125 <i>l</i>	13 9 111 <i>i</i>
18 142 <i>o</i>	6 2 146 <i>a</i>	15 176 <i>l</i>
19 142 <i>o</i>	20 157 <i>cN</i>	14 9 93 <i>c</i>
20 142 <i>o</i>	23 126 <i>h</i>	15 7 150 <i>d</i>
26 26 125 <i>l</i> ; 146 <i>e</i>		11 145 <i>dN</i>
		18 61 <i>N</i>
		16 4 131 <i>n</i>
		..... 150 <i>d</i>

2 Chronicles	2 Chronicles	2 Chronicles
126gN	10 177p	12 146e
17 3 125k	14 125l; 146e	15 78i
4 125k	15 79l	30 146e
12 123s	19 176l	32 161c
13 150k	21 126c	33 8 125l
18 12 142ba	27 5 177p	20 126h
14 152fa	7 161c	23 146e
26 127b	28 3 158h	34 3 125k
19 2 113l	6 170j	4 155oa
7 49e	8 155oa	21 158g
20 1 176f	10 156d	35 3 49e
3 125k	13 141b	13 96Al; 102g
7 88Fb	19 123x	21 116j; 146d
11 103dN; 125u	21 93j	36 15 123rN
18 118f	22 146e	16 121g
25 49e	29 3 130d	
34 68f; 149a	7 155oa	Ben Sira
35 53aN	18 155oa	6 7 166aN
21 10 113h	19 80m; 155oa	8 6 80hN
17 129f; 141e,j	22 93e	30 12 80hN
19 176f	29 124s	23 80hN
22 9 121f	36 145d	31 29 59e
23 1 125l	30 10 121g	40 5 59e
4 121n	16 159b	45 8 91ea
24 4 176f	19 129q,3	
6 129d	22 126b	1 Maccabees
10 79pN; 123c	31 1 79pN; 123c;	1 1 176bN
11 118b; 166q	124s	
12 121g; 125l	7 75l	Tobit
14 124d; 129bN	10 54b; 80r	6 14 176bN
23 176f	123w; 155i	
25 1 16fN	16 146e	
9 177m	21 125k	
10 35e	32 1 65a	
26 6 79m	9 16fN	

Matthew

1 22 124*I*N
 2 10 125*r*N
 7 1 116*j*N
 10 34 168*a*N
 35 168*a*N
 12 4 172*c*N
 18 21 161*k*N
 32 143*f*N

Mark

8 12 165*d*N
 9 43 141*g*N
 14 58 113*I*N

Luke

1 42 141*j*N
 2 29 113*I*N
 6 37 116*j*N
 7 44 161*b*N
 10 29 177*m*N
 13 9 167*r*N

John

2 19 167*u*N
 10 32 113*n*N
 33 113*n*N
 16 17 155*a*N
 17 24 129*t*N

Acts

10 36 125*j*N
 16 30 113*m*N
 31 116*f*N
 21 16 155*a*N
 22 10 112*m*N

James

5 4 131*o*N
 13 167*m*N

Apocalypse

3 14 105*f*N
 9 11 88*Mb*

**1Q M = Qumran
War Scroll**

6 12 7*c*

**1QpHb = pesher
Habakkuk**

4 13 54*b*