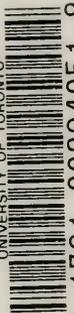


UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO



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HEBREW GRAMMAR

AS EDITED AND ENLARGED BY THE LATE

E. KAUTZSCH

PROFESSOR OF THEOLOGY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF HALLE

SECOND ENGLISH EDITION

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A. E. COWLEY

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## TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE

THE translation of the twenty-sixth German edition of this grammar, originally prepared by the Rev. G. W. Collins and revised by me, was published in 1898. Since that date a twenty-seventh German edition has appeared; and Prof. Kautzsch was already engaged on a twenty-eighth in 1908 when the English translation was becoming exhausted. He sent me the sheets as they were printed off, and I began revising the former translation in order to produce it as soon as possible after the completion of the German. The whole of the English has been carefully compared with the new edition, and, it is hoped, improved in many points, while Prof. Kautzsch's own corrections and additions have of course been incorporated. As before, the plan and arrangement of the original have been strictly followed, so that the references for sections and paragraphs correspond exactly in German and English. Dr. Driver has again most generously given up time, in the midst of other engagements, to reading the sheets, and has made numerous suggestions. To him also are chiefly due the enlargement of the index of subjects, some expansions in the new index of Hebrew words, and some additions to the index of passages, whereby we hope to have made the book more serviceable to students. I have also to thank my young friend, Mr. Godfrey R. Driver, of Winchester College, for some welcome help in correcting proofs of the Hebrew index and the index of passages. בן חכם ישמח אב. Many corrections have been sent to me by scholars who have used the former English edition, especially the Rev. W. E. Blomfield, the Rev. S. Holmes, Mr. P. Wilson, Prof. Witton Davies, Mr. G. H. Skipwith, and an unknown correspondent

at West Croydon. These, as well as suggestions in reviews, have all been considered, and where possible, utilized. I am also much indebted to the Press-readers for the great care which they have bestowed on the work.

Finally, I must pay an affectionate tribute to the memory of Prof. Kautzsch, who died in the spring of this year, shortly after finishing the last sheets of the twenty-eighth edition. For more than thirty years he was indefatigable in improving the successive editions of the Grammar. The German translation of the Old Testament first published by him in 1894, with the co-operation of other scholars, under the title *Die Heilige Schrift des ATs*, and now (1910) in the third and much enlarged edition, is a valuable work which has been widely appreciated: the *Apocryphen und Pseudepigraphen des ATs*, edited by him in 1900, is another important work: besides which he published his *Grammatik des Biblisch-Aramäischen* in 1884, two useful brochures *Bibelwissenschaft und Religionsunterricht* in 1900, and *Die bleibende Bedeutung des ATs* in 1903, six popular lectures on *Die Poesie und die poetischen Bücher des ATs* in 1902, his article 'Religion of Israel' in *Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible*, v. (1904), pp. 612-734, not to mention minor publications. His death is a serious loss to Biblical scholarship, while to me and to many others it is the loss of a most kindly friend, remarkable alike for his simple piety and his enthusiasm for learning.

A. C.

MAGDALEN COLLEGE, OXFORD,

Sept. 1910.

## FROM THE GERMAN PREFACE

THE present (twenty-eighth) edition of this Grammar,<sup>1</sup> like the former ones, takes account as far as possible of all important new publications on the subject, especially J. Barth's *Sprachwissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Semitischen*, pt. i, Lpz. 1907; the important works of C. Brockelmann (for the titles see the heading of § 1; vol. i of the *Grundriss* was finished in 1908); P. Kahle's *Der masoretische Text des AT's nach der Überlieferung der babylonischen Juden*, Lpz. 1902 (giving on p. 51 ff. an outline of Hebrew accidence from a Babylonian MS. at Berlin); R. Kittel's *Biblia Hebraica*, Lpz. 1905 f., 2 vols. (discriminating between certain, probable, and proposed emendations; see § 3 g, end); Th. Nöldeke's *Beiträge zur semit. Sprachwissenschaft*, Strassburg, 1904; Ed. Sievers' *Metrische Studien* (for the titles of these striking works see § 2 r). The important work of J. W. Rothstein, *Grundzüge des hebr. Rhythmus*, &c. (see also § 2 r), unfortunately appeared too late to be used. The two large commentaries edited by Nowack and Marti have been recently completed; and in P. Haupt's Polychrome Bible (*SBOT.*), part ix (Kings) by Stade and Schwally was published in 1904.

For full reviews of the twenty-seventh edition, which of course have been considered as carefully as possible, I have to thank Max Margolis (in *Hebraica*, 1902, p. 159 ff.), Mayer

<sup>1</sup> The first edition appeared at Halle in 1813 (202 pp. small 8vo); twelve more editions were published by W. Gesenius himself, the fourteenth to the twenty first (1845-1872) by E. Rödiger, the twenty-second to the twenty-eighth (1878-1910) by E. Kautzsch. The first abridged edition appeared in 1896, the second at the same time as the present (twenty-eighth) large edition. The first edition of the 'Übungsbuch' (Exercises) to Gesenius-Kautzsch's Hebrew Grammar appeared in 1881, the sixth in 1908.

Lambert (*REJ.* 1902, p. 307 ff.), and H. Oort (*Theol. Tijdschrift*, 1902, p. 373 ff.). For particular remarks and corrections I must thank Prof. J. Barth (Berlin), Dr. Gasser, pastor in Buchberg, Schaffhausen, B. Kirschner, of Charlottenburg, (contributions to the index of passages), Pastor Köhler, of Augst, Dr. Liebmann, of Kuczkw, Posen, Prof. Th. Nöldeke, of Strassburg, Pastor S. Preiswerk junior, of Bâle, Dr. Schwarz, of Leipzig, and Prof. B. Stade, of Giessen (died in 1906). Special mention must be made of the abundant help received from three old friends of this book, Prof. P. Haupt, of Baltimore, Prof. Knudtzon, of Kristiania, and Prof. H. Strack, of Berlin, and also, in connexion with the present edition, Prof. H. Hyvernât, of the University of Washington, who has rendered great service especially in the correction and enlargement of the indexes. I take this opportunity of thanking them all again sincerely. And I am no less grateful also to my dear colleague Prof. C. Steuernagel for the unwearying care with which he has helped me from beginning to end in correcting the proof-sheets.

Among material changes introduced into this edition may be mentioned the abolition of the term *Šewâ medium* (§ 10 d). In this I have adopted, not without hesitation, the views of Sievers. I find it, however, quite impossible to follow him in rejecting all distinctions of quantity in the vowels. It is no doubt possible that such matters may in the *spoken* language have worn a very different appearance, and especially that in the period of nearly a thousand years, over which the Old Testament writings extend, very great variations may have taken place. Our duty, however, is to represent the language in the form in which it has been handed down to us by the Masoretes; and that this form involves a distinction between unchangeable, tone-long, and short vowels, admits in my opinion of no doubt. The discussion of any earlier stage of development belongs not to Hebrew grammar but to comparative Semitic philology.

The same answer may be made to Beer's desire (*ThLZ.* 1904,

col. 314 f.) for an 'historical Hebrew grammar describing the actual growth of the language on a basis of comparative philology, as it may still be traced within the narrow limits of the Old Testament'. Such material as is available for the purpose ought indeed to be honestly set forth in the new editions of Gesenius; but Beer seems to me to appraise such material much too highly when he refers to it as necessitating an 'historical grammar'. In my opinion these historical differences have for the most part been obliterated by the harmonizing activity of the Masoretes.

. . . . .

E. KAUTZSCH.

HALLE,

*July, 1909.*

## ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

Page 42, line 13 from below, for note 1 read note 3.

Page 63, § 15 *p*. [See also Wickes, *Prose Accentuation*, 130 f., 87 n. (who, however, regards the superlinear, Babylonian system as the earlier); and Ginsburg, *Introduction to the Hebrew Bible*, 76, 78. In Ginsburg's *Hebrew Bible*, ed. 2 (1908), pp. 108 f., 267 f., the two systems of division are printed *in extenso*, in parallel columns—the 10 verses of the superlinear (Babylonian) system consisting (in Exodus) of v. <sup>2.3-6.7.8-11.12.13.14.16.16.17</sup> (as numbered in ordinary texts), and the 12 verses of the sublinear (Palestinian) system, consisting of v. <sup>2-3.4.5.6.7.8.9.10.11.12.13-16.17</sup>.—S. R. D.]

Page 65, note 1, for  $\aleph\aleph\aleph$  read  $\aleph\aleph\aleph$  (as § 105 a).

[Editions often vary in individual passages, as regards the accentuation of the first syllable: but in the 7 occurrences of  $\aleph\aleph\aleph$ , and the 6 of  $\aleph\aleph\aleph$ , Baer, Ginsburg, and Kittel agree in having an accent on both syllables (as  $\aleph\aleph\aleph$ ) in Gn 50<sup>17</sup>, Ex 32<sup>31</sup>,  $\psi$  116<sup>16</sup>, and Metheg on the first syllable and an accent on the second syllable (as  $\aleph\aleph\aleph$ ) in 2 K 20<sup>3</sup>=Is 38<sup>3</sup>, Jon 1<sup>14</sup>, 4<sup>2</sup>,  $\psi$  116<sup>4</sup>, 118<sup>25.25</sup>, Dn 9<sup>4</sup>, Ne 1<sup>5.11</sup>, except that in  $\psi$  116<sup>4</sup> Ginsburg has  $\aleph\aleph\aleph$ .—S. R. D.]

Page 79, § 22 *s*, before  $\aleph\aleph\aleph$  insert exceptions to *b* are. After Jer 39<sup>12</sup> add  $\psi$  52<sup>5</sup>; and for Ez 9<sup>6</sup> read Ezr 9<sup>6</sup>.

[So Baer (cf. his note on Jud 20<sup>43</sup>; also on Jer 39<sup>12</sup>, and several of the other passages in question): but Ginsburg only in 10 of the exceptions to *b*, and Jacob ben Ḥayyim and Kittel only in 5, viz. Jer 39<sup>12</sup>, Pr 11<sup>21</sup>, 15<sup>1</sup>,  $\psi$  52<sup>5</sup>, Ezr 9<sup>6</sup>.—S. R. D.]

Page 111, line 12, for  $\aleph\aleph\aleph$  read  $\aleph\aleph\aleph$ .

Page 123, § 45 *e*, add: cf. also  $\aleph\aleph\aleph$  followed by  $\aleph\aleph$ , Is 13<sup>19</sup>, Am 4<sup>11</sup> (§ 115 *d*).

Page 175, § 67. See B. Halper, 'The Participial formations of the Geminate Verbs' in *ZAW*. 1910, pp. 42 ff., 99 ff., 201 ff. (also dealing with the regular verb).

Page 177, at the end of § 67 *g* the following paragraph has been accidentally omitted:

Rem. According to the prevailing view, this strengthening of the first radical is merely intended to give the bi-literal stem at least

a tri-literal appearance. (Possibly aided by the analogy of verbs פ"ן, as P. Haupt has suggested to me in conversation.) But cf. Kautzsch, 'Die sog. aramaïsierenden Formen der Verba ע"ע im Hebr.' in *Oriental. Studien zum 70. Geburtstag Th. Nöldekes*, 1906, p. 771 ff. It is there shown (1) that the sharpening of the 1st radical often serves to emphasize a particular meaning (cf. יָגַר, but יִגְרָהוּ, יִגְרָל and יִחַל and יָסַב and יָסַב, יָשַׁם and יָשַׁם), and elsewhere no doubt to dissimilate the vowels (as יָגַר, יָדַל, never יָגַר, יָדַל, &c.): (2) that the sharpening of the 1st radical often appears to be occasioned by the nature of the first letter of the stem, especially when it is a sibilant. Whether the masoretic pronunciation is based on an early tradition, or the Masora has arbitrarily adopted aramaizing forms to attain the above objects, must be left undecided.

Page 193, the second and third paragraphs should have the marginal letters *d* and *e* respectively.

Page 200, § 72 *z*, line 2, after Est 2<sup>18</sup> add 4<sup>14</sup>.

Page 232, § 84<sup>a</sup> *s*, add שִׁמְמָה 2 S 13<sup>20</sup>.

Page 236, § 85 *c*, add הַיְנוּקָה Ezr 4<sup>22</sup>.

Page 273, § 93 *qq* end, add מוֹסְרוֹת Jer 5<sup>5</sup>, שְׁלֵשִׁים, רַבָּעִים Ez 20<sup>5</sup>, שִׁמְמוֹת Is 49<sup>8</sup>, שִׁמְמִים La 1<sup>16</sup> (cf. König, ii. 109).

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

The following abbreviations have occasionally been used for works and periodicals frequently quoted:—

- AJSL.* = American Journal of Semitic Languages.  
*CIS.* = Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum.  
*Ed.Mant.* = Biblia Hebraica ex recensione Sal. Norzi edidit Raphael Hayyim Basila, Mantuae 1742-4.  
*Jabl.* = Biblia Hebraica ex recensione D. E. Jablonski, Berolini, 1699.  
*JQR.* = Jewish Quarterly Review.  
*KAT.*<sup>3</sup> = Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament, 3rd ed. by H. Zimmern and H. Winckler, 2 vols., Berlin, 1902 f.  
*Lexicon* = A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament, based on the Thesaurus and Lexicon of Gesenius, by F. Brown, S. R. Driver, and C. A. Briggs, Oxford, 1906.  
*NB.* = J. Barth, Die Nominalbildung in den semitischen Sprachen. Lpz. 1889-94.  
*NGGW.* = Nachrichten der Göttinger Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften.  
*OLZ.* = Orientalistische Literaturzeitung. Vienna, 1898 ff.  
*PRE.* = Realencyclopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche, 3rd ed. by A. Hauck. Lpz. 1896 ff.  
*PSBA* = Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology. London, 1879 ff.  
*REJ.* = Revue des Études Juives. Paris, 1880 ff.  
*Sam.* = The (Hebrew) Pentateuch of the Samaritans.  
*SBOT.* = Sacred Books of the Old Testament, ed. by P. Haupt. Lpz. and Baltimore, 1893 ff.  
*ThLZ.* = Theologische Literaturzeitung, ed. by E. Schürer. Lpz. 1876 ff.  
*VB.* = Vorderasiatische Bibliothek, ed. by A. Jeremias and H. Winckler. Lpz. 1907 ff.  
*ZA.* = Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und verwandte Gebiete, ed. by C. Bezold. Lpz. 1886 ff.  
*ZAW.* = Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft, ed. by B. Stade, Giessen, 1881 ff., and since 1907 by K. Marti.  
*ZDMG.* = Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft, Lpz. 1846 ff., since 1903 ed. by A. Fischer.  
*ZDPV.* = Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästinavereins, Lpz. 1878 ff., since 1903 ed. by C. Steuernagel.

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## CHAPTER II. THE SENTENCE

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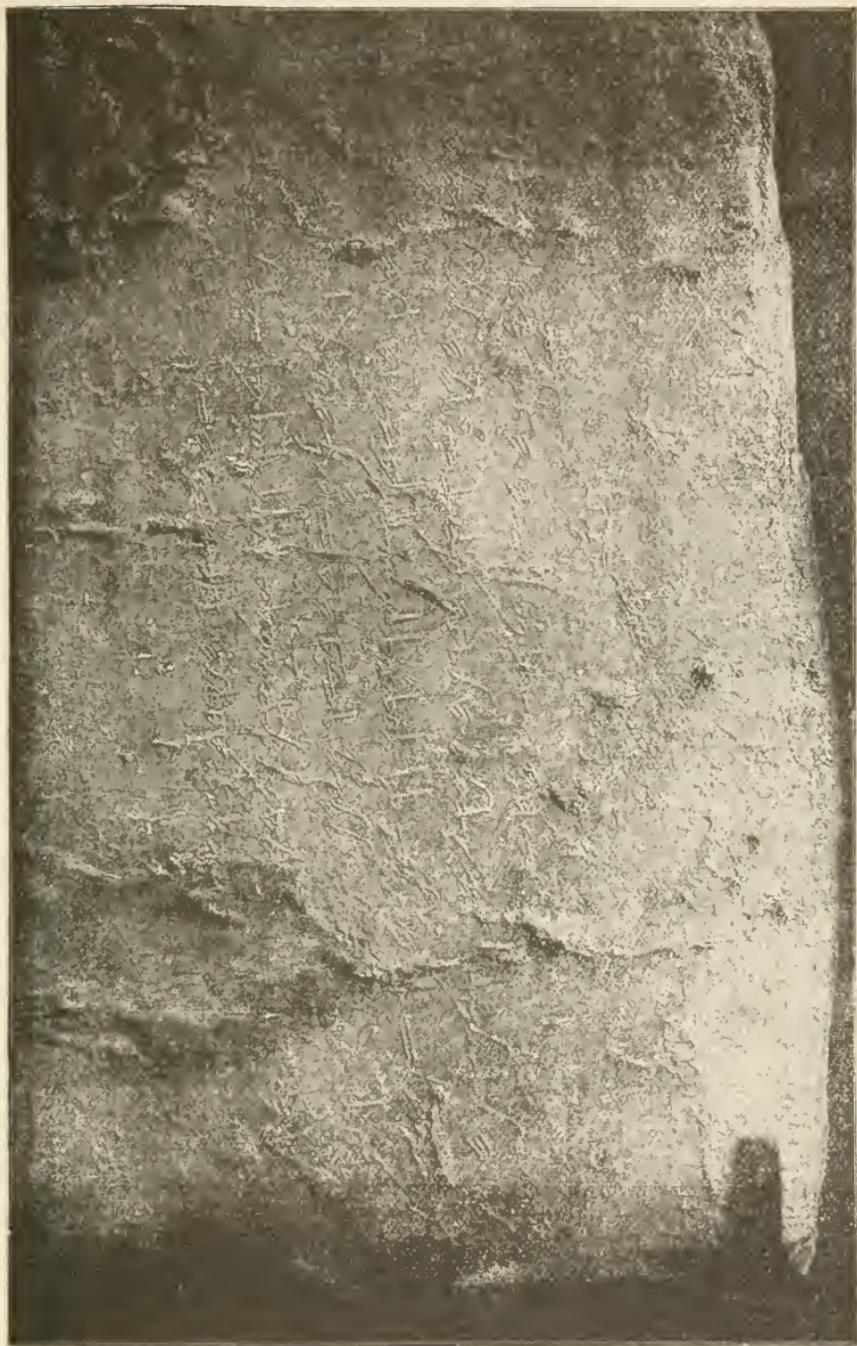
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THE SILOAM INSCRIPTION. From Müller-Benzinger, *Landschaftsbilder* (H. Grund : Berlin).



# HEBREW GRAMMAR

## INTRODUCTION

### § 1. *The Semitic Languages in General.*

B. Stade, *Lehrb. der hebr. Gramm.*, Lpz. 1879, § 2 ff.; E. König, *Hist.-krit. Lehrgeb. der hebr. Spr.*, i. Lpz. 1881, § 3; H. Strack, *Einl. in das A. T.*, 6th ed., Munich, 1906, p. 231 ff. (a good bibliography of all the Semitic dialects); Th. Nöldeke, article 'Semitic Languages', in the 9th ed. of the *Encycl. Brit.* (*Die semit. Sprachen*, 2nd ed., Lpz. 1899), and *Beitr. zur sem. Sprachwiss.*, Strassb., 1904; W. Wright, *Lectures on the Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages*, Camb. 1890; H. Reckendorf, 'Zur Charakteristik der sem. Sprachen,' in the *Actes du X<sup>m</sup>e Congrès internat. des Orientalistes* (at Geneva in 1894), iii. 1 ff., Leiden, 1896; O. E. Lindberg, *Vergl. Gramm. der sem. Sprachen*, i A: *Konsonantismus*, Gothenburg, 1897; H. Zimmern, *Vergl. Gramm. der sem. Sprachen*, Berlin, 1898; E. König, *Hebräisch und Semitisch: Prolegomena und Grundlinien einer Gesch. der sem. Sprachen*, &c., Berlin, 1901; C. Brockelmann, *Semitische Sprachwissenschaft*, Lpz. 1906, *Grundriss der vergl. Gramm. der sem. Sprachen*, vol. i (Laut- und Formenlehre), parts 1-5, Berlin, 1907 f. and his *Kurzgef. vergleichende Gramm.* (Porta Ling. Or.) Berlin, 1908.—The material contained in inscriptions has been in process of collection since 1881 in the Paris *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*. To this the best introductions are M. Lidzbarski's *Handbuch der Nordsem. Epigraphik*, Weimar, 1898, in 2 parts (text and plates), and his *Ephemeris zur sem. Epigraphik* (5 parts published), Giessen, 1900 f. [G. A. Cooke, *Handbook of North-Semitic Inscriptions*, Oxford, 1903].

1. The Hebrew language is one branch of a great family of languages in Western Asia which was indigenous in Palestine, Phoenicia, Syria, Mesopotamia, Babylonia, Assyria, and Arabia, that is to say, in the countries extending from the Mediterranean to the other side of the Euphrates and Tigris, and from the mountains of Armenia to the southern coast of Arabia. In early times, however, it spread from Arabia over Abyssinia, and by means of Phoenician colonies over many islands and sea-boards of the Mediterranean, as for instance to the Carthaginian coast. No comprehensive designation is found in early times for the languages and nations of this family; the name *Semites* or *Semitic*<sup>1</sup> *languages* (based upon the fact that according to Gn 10<sup>21</sup> ff. almost all nations speaking these languages are descended from Shem) is, however, now generally accepted, and has accordingly been retained here.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> First used by Schlözer in Eichhorn's *Repertorium für bibl. u. morgenl. Literatur*, 1781, p. 161.

<sup>2</sup> From Shem are derived (Gn 10<sup>21</sup> ff.) the Aramaean and Arab families as well as the Hebrews, but not the Canaanites (Phoenicians), who are traced back to Ham (vv. 6-15 ff.), although their language belongs decidedly to what is now called Semitic. The language of the Babylonians and Assyrians also was long ago shown to be Semitic, just as Aššur (Gn 10<sup>22</sup>) is included among the sons of Shem.

b 2. The better known Semitic languages may be subdivided<sup>1</sup> as follows:—

I. The South Semitic or Arabic branch. To this belong, besides the classical literary language of the Arabs and the modern vulgar Arabic, the older southern Arabic preserved in the Sabaeen inscriptions (less correctly called Himyaritic), and its offshoot, the Ge'ez or Ethiopic, in Abyssinia.

II. The Middle Semitic or Canaanitish branch. To this belongs the Hebrew of the Old Testament with its descendants, the New Hebrew, as found especially in the Mishna (see below, § 3 a), and Rabbinic; also Phoenician, with Punic (in Carthage and its colonies), and the various remains of Canaanitish dialects preserved in names of places and persons, and in the inscription of Mēša', king of Moab.

c III. The North Semitic or Aramaic branch. The subdivisions of this are—(1) The Eastern Aramaic or Syriac, the literary language of the Christian Syrians. The religious books of the Mandaeans (Nasoraean, Sabians, also called the disciples of St. John) represent a very debased offshoot of this. A Jewish modification of Syriac is to be seen in the language of the Babylonian Talmud. (2) The Western or Palestinian Aramaic, incorrectly called also 'Chaldee'.<sup>2</sup> This latter dialect is represented in the Old Testament by two words in Gn 31<sup>47</sup>, by the verse Jer 10<sup>11</sup>, and the sections Dn 2<sup>4</sup> to 7<sup>28</sup>; Ezr 4<sup>8</sup> to 6<sup>18</sup>, and 7<sup>12-26</sup>, as well as by a number of non-Jewish inscriptions and Jewish papyri (see below, under *m*), but especially by a considerable section of Jewish literature (Targums, Palestinian Gemara, &c.). To the same branch belongs also the Samaritan, with its admixture of Hebrew forms, and, except for the rather Arabic colouring of the proper names, the idiom of the Nabataean inscriptions in the Sinaitic peninsula, in the East of Palestine, &c.

For further particulars about the remains of Western Aramaic (including those in the New Test., in the Palmyrene and Egyptian Aramaic inscriptions) see Kautzsch, *Gramm. des Biblisch-Aramäischen*, Lpz. 1884, p. 6 ff.

d IV. The East Semitic branch, the language of the Assyrio-Babylonian cuneiform inscriptions, the third line of the Achaemenian inscriptions.

On the importance of Assyrian for Hebrew philology especially from a lexicographical point of view cf. Friedr. Delitzsch, *Prolegomena eines neuen*

<sup>1</sup> For conjectures as to the gradual divergence of the dialects (first the Babylonian, then Canaanite, including Hebrew, lastly Aramaic and Arabic) from primitive Semitic, see Zimmern, *KAT.*<sup>3</sup>, ii. p. 644 ff.

<sup>2</sup> In a wider sense all Jewish Aramaic is sometimes called 'Chaldee'.

hebr.-aram. Wörterbuchs zum A. T., Lpz. 1886; P. Haupt, 'Assyrian Phonology, &c.', in *Hebraica*, Chicago, Jan. 1885, vol. i. 3; Delitzsch, *Assyrische Grammatik*, 2nd ed., Berlin, 1906.

If the above division into four branches be reduced to two principal groups, No. I, as South Semitic, will be contrasted with the three North Semitic branches.<sup>1</sup>

All these languages stand to one another in much the same relation as those of the Germanic family (Gothic, Old Norse, Danish, Swedish; High and Low German in their earlier and later dialects), or as the Slavonic languages (Lithuanian, Lettish; Old Slavonic, Serbian, Russian; Polish, Bohemian). They are now either wholly extinct, as the Phœnician and Assyrian, or preserved only in a debased form, as Neo-Syriac among Syrian Christians and Jews in Mesopotamia and Kurdistan, Ethiopic (Ge'ez) in the later Abyssinian dialects (Tigré, Tigrīña, Amharic), and Hebrew among some modern Jews, except in so far as they attempt a purely literary reproduction of the language of the Old Testament. Arabic alone has not only occupied to this day its original abode in Arabia proper, but has also forced its way in all directions into the domain of other languages.

The Semitic family of languages is bounded on the East and North by another of still wider extent, which reaches from India to the western limits of Europe, and is called Indo-Germanic<sup>2</sup> since it comprises, in the most varied ramifications, the Indian (Sanskrit), Old and New Persian, Greek, Latin, Slavonic, as well as Gothic and the other Germanic languages. With the Old Egyptian language, of which Coptic is a descendant, as well as with the languages of north-western Africa, the Semitic had from the earliest times much in common, especially in grammatical structure; but on the other hand there are fundamental differences between them, especially from a lexicographical point of view; see Erman, 'Das Verhältnis des Aegyptischen zu den semitischen Sprachen,' in the *ZDMG.* xlvī, 1892, p. 93 ff., and Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, i. 3.

3. The *grammatical structure* of the Semitic family of languages, as compared with that of other languages, especially the Indo-Germanic, exhibits numerous peculiarities which collectively constitute its distinctive character, although many of them are found singly in other languages. These are—(a) among the consonants, which in fact form the substance of these languages, occur peculiar gutturals of different grades; the vowels are subject, within the same consonantal framework, to great changes in order to express various modifications of the same stem-meaning; (b) the word-stems are almost invariably triliteral, i.e. composed of three consonants; (c) the verb is restricted to two tense-forms, with a peculiarly regulated use; (d) the noun has only two genders (masc. and fem.); and peculiar expedients are adopted for the purpose of indicating the case-relations; (e) the

<sup>1</sup> Hommel, *Grundriss der Geogr. und Gesch. des alten Orients*, Munich, 1904, p. 75 ff., prefers to distinguish them as Eastern and Western Semitic branches. Their geographical position, however, is of less importance than the genealogical relation of the various groups of dialects, as rightly pointed out by A. Jeremias in *Th.LZ.* 1906, col. 291.

<sup>2</sup> First by Klaproth in *Asia Polyglotta*, Paris, 1823; cf. Leo Meyer in *Nachrichten d. Gött. Gesellschaft*, 1901, p. 454.

oblique cases of the personal pronoun, as well as all the possessive pronouns and the pronominal object of the verb, are denoted by forms appended directly to the governing word (suffixes); (*f*) the almost complete absence of compounds both in the noun (with the exception of many proper names) and in the verb; (*g*) great simplicity in the expression of syntactical relations, e. g. the small number of particles, and the prevalence of simple co-ordination of clauses without periodic structure. Classical Arabic and Syriac, however, form a not unimportant exception as regards the last-mentioned point.

*g* 4. From a lexicographical point of view also the vocabulary of the Semites differs essentially from that of the Indo-Germanic languages, although there is apparently more agreement here than in the grammar. A considerable number of Semitic roots and stems agree in sound with synonyms in the Indo-Germanic family. But apart from expressions actually borrowed (see below, under *i*), the real similarity may be reduced to imitative words (onomatopoeica), and to those in which one and the same idea is represented by similar sounds in consequence of a formative instinct common to the most varied families of language. Neither of these proves any *historic* or *generic* relation, for which an agreement in grammatical structure would also be necessary.

Comp. Friedr. Delitzsch, *Studien über indogermanisch-semitische Wurzelverwandtschaft*, Lpz. 1873; Nöldechen, *Semit. Glossen zu Fick und Curtius*, Magdeb. 1876 f.; McCurdy, *Aryo-Semitic Speech*, Andover, U. S. A., 1881. The phonetic relations have been thoroughly investigated by H. Möller in *Semitisch und Indogermanisch*, Teil I, *Konsonanten*, Copenhagen and Lpz. 1907, a work which has evoked considerable criticism.

*h* As onomatopoeic words, or as stem-sounds of a similar character, we may compare, e. g. לָקַקְךָ, לָחַץְךָ λείχω, *lingo*, Skt. *lih*, Eng. *to lick*, Fr. *lécher*, Germ. *lecken*; לָלַל (cf. אָגַל, עָגַל) κυλίω, *volvo*, Germ. *quellen, wallen*, Eng. *to well*; גָּרַר, חָרַט, חָרַת, χαράττω, Pers. *khâridan*, Ital. *grattare*, Fr. *gratter*, Eng. *to grate, to scratch*, Germ. *kratzen*; פָּרַק *frango*, Germ. *brechen*, &c.; Reuss, *Gesch. der hl. Schriften A. T.'s*, Braunsch. 1881, p. 38, draws attention moreover to the Semitic equivalents for *earth, six, seven, horn, to sound, to measure, to mix, to smell, to place, clear, to kneel, raven, goat, ox, &c.* An example of a somewhat different kind is *am, ham (sam), gam, kam*, in the sense of the German *samt, zusammen, together*; in Hebrew אֲמָתַי (whence אֲמָתַי *people, properly assembly*), עִם (with) *samt*, דַּבְּרָה also, *moreover*, Arab. عَمِلَ *to collect*; Pers. *ham, hamah (at the same time)*; Skt. *samā (with)*, Gk. ἄμα (*ἄμφω*), ὄμος, ὄμοῦ (*ὄμλος, ἔμαδος*), and harder *κοινός*, Lat. *cum, cumulus, cunctus*; with the corresponding sibilant Skt. *sam*, Gk. σύν, ξύν, ξυνός = *κοινός*, Goth. *sama*, Germ. *samt, sammeln*; but many of these instances are doubtful.

*i* Essentially different from this internal connexion is the occurrence of the same words in different languages, where one language has borrowed directly from the other. Such *loan-words* are—

(a) In Hebrew: some names of objects which were originally indigenous in Babylonia and Assyria (see a comprehensive list of Assyrio-Babylonian loan-words in the Hebrew and Aramaic of the Old Testament in Zimmern and Winckler, *KAT.*<sup>3</sup>, ii. p. 648 ff.), in Egypt, Persia, or India, e. g. נָהָר (also in the plural) *river*, from Egyptian *yoor*, generally as the name of the Nile (late Egypt. *yarō*, Assy. *yarū'u*), although it is possible that a pure Semitic נָהָר has been confounded with the Egyptian name of the Nile (so Zimmern); קַנְיָה (Egyptian) Nile-reed (see Lieblein, 'Mots égyptiens dans la Bible,' in *PSBA.* 1898, p. 202 f.); פַּרְדֵּיִם (in Zend *pairidaēza*, circumvallation = παράδεισος) *pleasure-garden, park*; דַּרְדָּרָיון *daric*, Persian gold coin; תְּבִיבִים *peacocks*, perhaps from the Malabar *tógai* or *tóghai*. Some of these words are also found in Greek, as כַּרְבָּס (Pers. *karbás*, Skt. *karpása*) *cotton, kárpassos, carbasus*. On the other hand it is doubtful if קִיפּוֹ corresponds to the Greek *κῆπος, κῆβος*, Skt. *kapi*, ape.

(b) In Greek, &c.: some originally Semitic names of Asiatic products and articles of commerce, e. g. בּוּיָן *Bússos, byssus*; לְבָנָה *líbanos, λιβανωτός, incense*; קַנְיָה *kángh, kánna, canna, cane*; כֻּמְנִין *kúmnon, cuminum, cumin*; קַסְיָה *kasíia, cassia*; גְּמָל *kámghlos, camelus*; עֲרָבוֹן *árrabáon, arrhabo, arrha, pledge*. Such transitions have perhaps been brought about chiefly by Phoenician trade. Cf. A. Müller, 'Semitische Lehnworte im älteren Griechisch,' in Bezenberger's *Beiträge zur Kunde der Indo-germ. Sprachen*, Göttingen, 1877, vol. i. p. 273 ff.; E. Ries, *Quae res et vocabula a gentibus semiticis in Graeciam pervenerint*, Breslau, 1890; Muss-Arnolt, 'Semitic words in Greek and Latin,' in the *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, xxiii. p. 35 ff.; H. Lewy, *Die semitischen Fremdwörter im Griech.*, Berlin, 1895; J. H. Bondi, *Dem hebr.-phōniz. Sprachzweige angehör. Lehnwörter in hieroglyph. u. hieratischen Texten*, Lpz. 1886.

5. No system of writing is ever so perfect as to be able to reproduce *k* the sounds of a language in all their various shades, and the *writing of the Semites* has one striking fundamental defect, viz. that only the consonants (which indeed form the substance of the language) are written as real letters,<sup>1</sup> whilst of the vowels only the longer are indicated by certain representative consonants (see below, § 7). It was only later that special small marks (points or strokes below or above the consonants) were invented to represent to the eye all the vowel-sounds (see § 8). These are, however, superfluous for the practised reader, and are therefore often wholly omitted in Semitic manuscripts and printed texts. Semitic writing, moreover, almost invariably proceeds from right to left.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> So also originally the Ethiopic writing, which afterwards represented the vowels by small appendages to the consonants, or by some other change in their form. On the Assyrio-Babylonian cuneiform writing, which likewise indicates the vowels, see the next note, ad fin.

<sup>2</sup> The Sabaean (Himyaritic) writing runs occasionally from left to right, and even alternately in both directions (*boustrophedon*), but as a rule from right to left. In Ethiopic writing the direction from left to right has become the rule; some few old inscriptions exhibit, however, the opposite direction. The cuneiform writing also runs from left to right, but this is undoubtedly borrowed from a non-Semitic people. Cf. § 5 d, note 3.

With the exception of the Assyrio-Babylonian (cuneiform), all varieties of Semitic writing, although differing widely in some respects, are derived from one and the same original alphabet, represented on extant monuments most faithfully by the characters used on the stele of Mēša', king of Moab (see below, § 2 d), and in the *old* Phoenician inscriptions, of which the bronze bowls from a temple of Baal (*CIS.* i. 22 ff. and Plate IV) are somewhat earlier than Mēša'. The old Hebrew writing, as it appears on the oldest monument, the Siloam inscription (see below, § 2 d), exhibits essentially the same character. The old Greek, and indirectly all European alphabets, are descended from the old Phoenician writing (see § 5 i).

l See the Table of Alphabets at the beginning of the Grammar, which shows the relations of the older varieties of Semitic writing to one another and especially the origin of the present Hebrew characters from their primitive forms. For a more complete view, see Gesenius' *Scripturae linguaeque Phoeniciae monumenta*, Lips. 1837, 4to, pt. i. p. 15 ff., and pt. iii. tab. 1-5. From numerous monuments since discovered, our knowledge of the Semitic characters, especially the Phoenician, has become considerably enlarged and more accurate. Cf. the all but exhaustive bibliography (from 1616 to 1896) in Lidzbarski's *Handbuch der Nordsemitischen Epigraphik*, i. p. 4 ff., and on the origin of the Semitic alphabet, *ibid.*, p. 173 ff., and *Ephemeris* (see the heading of § 1 a above), i. pp. 109 ff., 142, 261 ff., and his 'Altsemitische Texte', pt. i, *Kanaanäische Inschriften* (Moabite, Old-Hebrew, Phoenician, Punic), Giessen, 1907.—On the origin and development of the Hebrew characters and the best tables of alphabets, see § 5 a, last note, and especially § 5 e.

m 6. As regards the relative *age* of the Semitic languages, the oldest literary remains of them are to be found in the Assyrio-Babylonian (cuneiform) inscriptions,<sup>1</sup> with which are to be classed the earliest Hebrew fragments occurring in the old Testament (see § 2).

The earliest non-Jewish *Aramaic* inscriptions known to us are that of זכר king of Hamath (early eighth cent. B. C.), on which see Nöldeke, *ZA.* 1908, p. 376, and that found at Teima, in N. Arabia, in 1880, probably of the fifth cent. B. C., cf. E. Littmann in the *Monist*, xiv. 4 [and Cooke, *op. cit.*, p. 195]. The monuments of Kalammus of Sam'al, in the reign of Shalmanezzer II, 859-829 B. C. (cf. A. Šanda, *Die Aramäer*, Lpz. 1902, p. 26), and those found in 1888-1891 at Zenjirli in N. Syria, including the Hadad inscription of thirty-four lines (early eighth cent. B. C.) and the Panammu inscription (740 B. C.), are not in pure Aramaic. The Jewish-Aramaic writings begin about the time of Cyrus (cf. *Ezr* 6<sup>st</sup>), specially important being the papyri from Assuan ed. by Sayce and Cowley, London, 1906 (and in a cheaper form by Staerk, Bonn, 1907), which are precisely dated from 471 to 411 B. C., and three others of 407 B. C. ed. by Sachau, Berlin, 1907.

<sup>1</sup> According to Hilprecht, *The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania*, i. p. 11 ff., the inscriptions found at Nippur embrace the period from about 4000 to 450 B. C.

Monuments of the *Arabic* branch first appear in the earliest centuries A. D. (Sabæan inscriptions, Ethiopic translation of the Bible in the fourth or fifth century, North-Arabic literature from the sixth century A. D.).

It is, however, another question which of these languages has adhered longest and most faithfully to the original character of the Semitic, and which consequently represents to us the earliest phase of its development. For the more or less rapid transformation of the sounds and forms of a language, as spoken by nations and races, is dependent on causes quite distinct from the growth of a literature, and the organic structure of a language is often considerably impaired even before it has developed a literature, especially by early contact with people of a different language. Thus in the Semitic group, the Aramaic dialects exhibit the earliest and greatest decay, next to them the Hebrew-Canaanitish, and in its own way the Assyrian. Arabic, owing to the seclusion of the desert tribes, was the longest to retain the original fullness and purity of the sounds and forms of words.<sup>1</sup> Even here, however, there appeared, through the revolutionary influence of Islam, an ever-increasing decay, until Arabic at length reached the stage at which we find Hebrew in the Old Testament.

Hence the phenomenon, that in its grammatical structure the ancient Hebrew agrees more with the modern than with the ancient Arabic, and that the latter, although it only appears as a written language at a later period, has yet in many respects preserved a more complete structure and a more original vowel system than the other Semitic languages, cf. Nöldeke, 'Das klassische Arabisch und die arabischen Dialekte,' in *Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft*, p. 1 ff. It thus occupies amongst them a position similar to that which Sanskrit holds among the Indo-Germanic languages, or Gothic in the narrower circle of the Germanic. But even the toughest organism of a language often deteriorates, at least in single forms and derivatives, while on the contrary, in the midst of what is otherwise universal decay, there still remains here and there something original and archaic; and this is the case with the Semitic languages.

Fuller proof of the above statements belongs to the comparative Grammar of the Semitic languages. It follows, however, from what has been said: (1) that the Hebrew language, as found in the sacred literature of the Jews, has, in respect

<sup>1</sup> Even now the language of some of the Bédawi is much purer and more archaic than that of the town Arabs. It must, however, be admitted that the former exalted estimate of the primitiveness of Arabic has been moderated in many respects by the most recent school of Semitic philology. Much apparently original is to be regarded with Nöldeke (*Die semit. Spr.*, p. 5 [= *Encycl. Brit.*, ed. 9, art. SEMITIC LANGUAGES, p. 642]) only as a modification of the original. The assertion that the Arabs exhibit Semitic characteristics in their purest form, should, according to Nöldeke, be rather that 'the inhabitants of the desert lands of Arabia, under the influence of the extraordinarily monotonous scenery and of a life continually the same amid continual change, have developed most exclusively some of the principal traits of the Semitic race'.

to its organic structure, already suffered more considerable losses than the Arabic, which appears much later on the historical horizon; (2) that, notwithstanding this fact, we cannot at once and in all points concede priority to the latter; (3) that it is a mistake to consider with some that the Aramaic, on account of its simplicity (which is only due to the decay of its organic structure), is the oldest form of Semitic speech.

## § 2. Sketch of the History of the Hebrew Language.

See Gesenius, *Gesch. der hebr. Sprache u. Schrift*, Lpz. 1815, §§ 5-18; Th. Nöldeke's art., 'Sprache, hebräische,' in Schenkel's *Bibel-Lexikon*, Bd. v, Lpz. 1875; F. Buhl, 'Hebräische Sprache,' in Hauck's *Realencycl. für prot. Theol. und Kirche*, vii (1899), p. 506 ff.; A. Cowley, 'Hebrew Language and Literature,' in the forthcoming ed. of the *Encycl. Brit.*; W. R. Smith in the *Encycl. Bibl.*, ii. London, 1901, p. 1984 ff.; A. Lukyn Williams, 'Hebrew,' in *Hastings' Dict. of the Bible*, ii, p. 325 ff., Edinb. 1899.

a 1. The name *Hebrew Language* usually denotes the language of the sacred writings of the Israelites which form the canon of the *Old Testament*. It is also called *Ancient Hebrew* in contradistinction to the New Hebrew of Jewish writings of the post-biblical period (§ 3a). The name Hebrew language (לְשׁוֹן עִבְרִית) ἡλώσσα τῶν Ἑβραίων, ἑβραϊστί) does not occur in the Old Testament itself. Instead of it we find in Is 19<sup>18</sup> the term *language of Canaan*,<sup>1</sup> and יְהוּדִית in *the Jews' language* 2 K 18<sup>26,28</sup> (cf. Is 36<sup>11,13</sup>) Neh 13<sup>24</sup>. In the last-cited passage it already agrees with the later (post-exilic) usage, which gradually extended the name *Jews, Jewish* to the whole nation, as in Haggai, Nehemiah, and the book of Esther.

b The distinction between the names *Hebrew* (עִבְרִים Ἑβραῖοι) and *Israelites* (בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל) is that the latter was rather a national name of honour, with also a religious significance, employed by the people themselves, while the former appears as the less significant name by which the nation was known amongst foreigners. Hence in the Old Testament *Hebrews* are only spoken of either when the name is employed by themselves as contrasted with foreigners (Gn 40<sup>15</sup>, Ex 28<sup>f.</sup> 3<sup>18</sup> &c., Jon 1<sup>9</sup>) or when it is put in the mouth of those who are not Israelites (Gn 39<sup>14,17</sup> 41<sup>12</sup> &c.) or, finally, when it is used in opposition to other nations (Gn 14<sup>13</sup> 43<sup>32</sup>, Ex 2<sup>11,13</sup> 21<sup>2</sup>). In 1 S 13<sup>3,7</sup> and 14<sup>21</sup> the text is clearly corrupt. In the Greek and Latin authors, as well as in Josephus, the name Ἑβραῖοι, Hebraei,<sup>2</sup> &c., alone occurs. Of the many explanations of the gentile עִבְרִי, the derivation from עֵבֶר a country on the other side with the derivative suffix י־ (§ 86 h) appears to be the only one philologically possible. The name accordingly denoted the Israelites as being those who inhabited the 'eber, i. e. the district on the other side of the Jordan (or according to others the Euphrates), and would therefore originally be only appropriate when used by the nations on this side of the Jordan or Euphrates. We must, then, suppose that after the crossing of the river in question it had been retained by the Abrahamidae as an old-established name, and within certain limits

<sup>1</sup> That Hebrew in its present form was actually developed in Canaan appears from such facts as the use of *yām* (sea) for the west, *nēgeb* (properly *dryness*, afterwards as a proper name for the south of Palestine) for the south.

<sup>2</sup> The Graeco-Roman form of the name is not directly derived from the Hebrew עִבְרִי, but from the Palestinian Aramaic 'ebra'ya, 'the Hebrew.'

(see above) had become naturalized among them. In referring this name to the patronymic Eber, the Hebrew genealogists have assigned to it a much more comprehensive signification. For since in Gn 10<sup>21</sup> (Nu 24<sup>24</sup> does not apply) Shem is called the *father of all the children of Eber*, and to the latter there also belonged according to Gn 11<sup>14</sup> ff. and 10<sup>25</sup> ff. Aramean and Arab races, the name, afterwards restricted in the form of the gentile 'ibri exclusively to the Israelites, must have originally included a considerably larger group of countries and nations. The etymological significance of the name must in that case not be insisted upon.<sup>1</sup>

The term ἑβραϊστί is first used, to denote the old Hebrew, in the prologue C to Jesus the son of Sirach (about 130 B. C.), and in the New Testament, Rv 9<sup>11</sup>. On the other hand it serves in Jn 5<sup>2</sup>, 10<sup>13-17</sup> perhaps also in 19<sup>20</sup> and Rv 16<sup>16</sup> to denote what was then the (Aramaic) vernacular of Palestine as opposed to the Greek. The meaning of the expression ἑβραῖς διὰλεκτος in Acts 21<sup>40</sup>, 22<sup>2</sup>, and 26<sup>14</sup> is doubtful (cf. Kautzsch, *Gramm. des Bibl.-Aram.*, p. 19 f.). Josephus also uses the term *Hebrew* both of the old Hebrew and of the Aramaic vernacular of his time.

The Hebrew language is first called the *sacred language* in the Jewish-Aramaic versions of the Old Testament, as being the language of the sacred books in opposition to the *lingua profana*, i. e. the Aramaic vulgar tongue.

2. With the exception of the Old Testament (and apart from the *d* Phoenician inscriptions; see below, *f-h*), only very few remains of old Hebrew or old Canaanitish literature have been preserved. Of the latter—(1) an inscription, unfortunately much injured, of thirty-four lines, which was found in the ancient territory of the tribe of Reuben, about twelve miles to the east of the Dead Sea, among the ruins of the city of Dibón (now Dibân), inhabited in earlier times by the Gadites, afterwards by the Moabites. In it the Moabite king Méša' (about 850 B. C.) recounts his battles with Israel (cf. 2 K 3<sup>4</sup> ff.), his buildings, and other matters.<sup>2</sup> Of old Hebrew: (2) an inscription

<sup>1</sup> We may also leave out of account the linguistically possible identification of the 'Ibriyyim with the Ḥabiri who appear in the Tell-el-Amarna letters (about 1400 B. C.) as freebooters and mercenaries in Palestine and its neighbourhood.

<sup>2</sup> This monument, unique of its kind, was first seen in August, 1868, on the spot, by the German missionary F. A. Klein. It was afterwards broken into pieces by the Arabs, so that only an incomplete copy of the inscription could be made. Most of the fragments are now in the Louvre in Paris. For the history of the discovery and for the earlier literature relating to the stone, see Lidzbarski, *Nordsemitische Epigraphik*, i. pp. 103 f., 415 f., and in the bibliography (under Mø), p. 39 ff. The useful reproduction and translation of the inscription by Smend and Socin (Freiburg in Baden, 1886) was afterwards revised and improved by Nordlander, *Die Inschrift des Königs Mesa von Moab*, Lpz. 1896; by Socin and Holzinger, 'Zur Mesainschrift' (*Berichte der K. Sächsischen Gesell. d. Wiss.*, Dec. 1897); and by Lidzbarski, 'Eine Nachprüfung der Mesainschrift' (*Ephemeris*, i. 1, p. 1 ff.); text in his *Altsemitische Texte*, pt. 1, Giessen, 1907); J. Halévy, *Revue Sémitique*, 1900, pp. 236 ff., 289 ff., 1901, p. 297 ff.; M. J. Lagrange, *Revue biblique internationale*, 1901, p. 522 ff.; F. Prätorius in *ZDMG*, 1905, p. 33 ff., 1906, p. 402. Its genuineness was attacked by A. Löwy, *Die Echtheit der Moabit. Inschr. im Louvre* (Wien, 1903), and G. Jahn in *Das Buch Daniel*, Lpz. 1904, p. 122 ff. (also in *ZDMG*, 1905, p. 723 ff.), but without justification, as shown by E. König in *ZDMG*, 1905, pp. 233 ff. and 743 ff. [Cf. also Driver, *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Samuel*, Oxford, 1890, p. lxxxv ff.; Cooke, *op. cit.*, p. 1 ff.]

of six lines (probably of the eighth century B.C.<sup>1</sup>) discovered in June, 1880, in the tunnel between the Virgin's Spring and the Pool of Siloam at Jerusalem; (3) about forty engraved seal-stones, some of them pre-exilic but bearing little except proper names<sup>2</sup>; (4) coins of the Maccabæan prince Simon (from 'the 2nd year of deliverance', 140 and 139 B.C.) and his successors,<sup>3</sup> and the coinage of the revolts in the times of Vespasian and Hadrian.

e 3. In the whole series of the ancient Hebrew writings, as found in the Old Testament and also in non-biblical monuments (see above, d), the language (to judge from its consonantal formation) remains, as regards its general character, and apart from slight changes in form and differences of style (see *k* to *w*), at about the same stage of development. In this form, it may at an early time have been fixed as a literary language, and the fact that the books contained in the Old Testament were handed down as *sacred* writings, must have contributed to this constant uniformity.

f To this old Hebrew, the language of the Canaanitish or Phœnician<sup>4</sup> stocks came the nearest of all the Semitic languages, as is evident partly from the many Canaanitish names of persons and places with a Hebrew form and meaning which occur in the Old Testament (e.g. מְלִי־צִדְקָה, קְרִית־מִסְפָּר, &c.;

<sup>1</sup> Of this inscription—unfortunately not dated, but linguistically and palaeographically very important—referring to the boring of the tunnel, a facsimile is given at the beginning of this grammar. See also Lidzbarski, *Nordsemitische Epigraphik*, i. 105, 163, 439 (bibliography, p. 56 ff.; facsimile, vol. ii, plate xxi, 1); on the new drawing of it by Socin (*ZDPV*, xxii. p. 61 ff. and separately published at Freiburg i. B. 1899), see Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris*, i. 53 ff. and 310 f. (text in *Altsemit. Texte*, p. 9 f.). Against the view of A. Fischer (*ZDMG*, 1902, p. 800 f.) that the six lines are the continuation of an inscription which was never executed, see Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris*, ii. 71. The inscription was removed in 1890, and broken into six or seven pieces in the process. It has since been well restored, and is now in the Imperial Museum at Constantinople. If, as can hardly be doubted, the name יְשַׁלְּחֵם (i. e. *emissio*) Is<sup>6</sup> refers to the discharge of water from the Virgin's Spring, through the tunnel (so Stade, *Gesch. Isr.* i. 594), then the latter, and consequently the inscription, was already in existence about 736 B. C. [Cf. Cooke, *op. cit.*, p. 15 ff.]

<sup>2</sup> M. A. Levy, *Siegel u. Gemmen, &c.*, Bresl. 1869, p. 33 ff.; Stade, *ZAW*, 1897, p. 501 ff. (four old-Semitic seals published in 1896); Lidzbarski, *Handbuch*, i. 169 f.; *Ephemeris*, i. 10 ff.; W. Nowack, *Lehrb. d. hebr. Archäol.* (Freib. 1894), i. 262 f.; I. Benzinger, *Hebr. Archäol.*<sup>2</sup> (Tübingen, 1907), pp. 80, 225 ff., which includes the beautiful seal inscribed לְשֹׁמֵעַ עֶבֶר יִרְבַּעַם from the castle-hill of Megiddo, found in 1904; [Cooke, p. 362].

<sup>3</sup> De Sauley, *Numismatique de la Terre Sainte*, Par. 1874; M. A. Levy, *Gesch. der jüd. Münzen*, Breslau, 1862; Madden, *The Coins of the Jews*, Lond. 1881; Reinach, *Les monnaies juives*, Paris, 1888.—Cf. the literature in Schürer's *Gesch. des jüd. Volkes im Zeitalter J. C.*<sup>3</sup>, Lpz. 1901, i. p. 20 ff.; [Cooke, p. 352 ff.].

<sup>4</sup> פְּנִיעִי, פְּנִיעֵי is the native name, common both to the Canaanitish tribes in Palestine and to those which dwelt at the foot of the Lebanon and on the Syrian coast, whom we call Phœnicians, while they called themselves כְּנַעַן on their coins. The people of Carthage also called themselves so.

on 'Canaanite glosses'<sup>1</sup> to Assyrian words in the cuneiform tablets of Tell-el-Amarna [about 1400 B.C.] cf. H. Winekler, 'Die Thontafeln von Tell-el-Amarna,' in *Keilinschr. Bibliothek*, vol. v, Berlin, 1896 f. [transcription and translation]; J. A. Knudtzon, *Die El-Amarna-Tafeln*, Lpz. 1907 f.; H. Zimmern, *ZA.* 1891, p. 154 ff. and *KAT.*<sup>3</sup>, p. 651 ff.), and partly from the numerous remains of the Phoenician and Punic languages.

The latter we find in their peculiar writing (§ 1 k, l) in a great number of inscriptions and on coins, copies of which have been collected by Gesenius, Judas, Bourgade, Davis, de Vogüé, Levy, P. Schröder, v. Maltzan, Euting, but especially in Part I of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*, Paris, 1881 ff. Among the inscriptions but few public documents are found, e.g. two lists of fees for sacrifices; by far the most are epitaphs or votive tablets. Of special importance is the inscription on the sarcophagus of King Ešmūnazar of Sidon, found in 1855, now in the Louvre; see the bibliography in Lidzbarski, *Nordsem. Epigr.*, i. 23 ff.; on the inscription, i. 97 ff., 141 f., 417, ii. plate iv, 2; [Cooke, p. 30 ff.]. To these may be added isolated words in Greek and Latin authors, and the Punic texts in Plautus, *Poenulus* 5, 1-3 (best treated by Gildemeister in Ritschl's edition of Plautus, Lips. 1884, tom. ii, fasc. 5). From the monuments we learn the native orthography, from the Greek and Latin transcriptions the pronunciation and vocalization; the two together give a tolerably distinct idea of the language and its relation to Hebrew.

Phoenician (Punic) words occurring in inscriptions are, e.g. אל *God*, ג' אדם *man*, בן *son*, בת *daughter*, מלך *king*, עבד *servant*, כהן *priest*, זבח *sacrifice*, בעל *lord*, שמש *sun*, ארץ *land*, ים *sea*, אבן *stone*, כסף *silver*, ברזל *iron*, שמן *oil*, עת *time*, קבר *grave*, מצבה *monument*, מקום *place*, משכב *bed*, כל *all*, אחד *one*, שנים *two*, שלש *three*, ארבע *four*, חמש *five*, שש *six*, שבע *seven*, עשר *ten*, כן (=Hebr. היה) *to be*, שמע *to hear*, פתח *to open*, נדר *to vow*, ברך *to bless*, בקש *to seek*, &c. Proper names: צדן *Sidon*, צר *Tyre*, חנא *Hanno*, הנבעל *Hannibal*, &c. See the complete vocabulary in Lidzbarski, *Nordsem. Epigr.*, i. 204 ff.

Variations from Hebrew in Phoenician orthography and inflection are, *h* e.g. the almost invariable omission of the vowel letters (§ 7 b), as בת for בית *house*, קל for קול *voice*, צדן for צידון *צידונים* for כהנים *priests*, אלנם (in Plaut. *alonim*) *gods*; the fem., even in the absolute state, ending in ת (*ath*) (§ 80 b) as well as א (*ô*), the relative אש (Hebr. אִשָּׁר), &c. The differences in pronunciation are more remarkable, especially in Punic, where the *i* was regularly pronounced as *û*, e.g. שִׁפֵּט *sûfêt* (judge), שָׁלוֹשׁ *sâlûs* (three), רִישׁ *rûs* = ראש *head*; *i* and *e* often as the obscure dull sound of *y*, e.g. הַיְנִי *ynnynnu* (ecce eum), אַת (*ait*) *yth*; the *û* as *o*, e.g. מֹעָר *Mocar* (cf. מַעְרָה LXX, Gn 22<sup>24</sup> Μαρά). See the collection of the grammatical peculiarities in Gesenius, *Monumenta Phoenicia*, p. 430 ff.; Paul Schröder, *Die phöniz. Sprache*, Halle, 1869; B. Stade, 'Erneute Prüfung des zwischen dem Phöniz. und Hebr. bestehenden Verwandtschaftsgrades,' in the *Morgenländ. Forschungen*, Lpz. 1875, p. 169 ff.

4. As the Hebrew writing on monuments and coins mentioned *i* in *d* consists only of consonants, so also the writers of the Old

<sup>1</sup> Cf. inter alia: *aparu*, also *haparu* (Assyr. *epru*, *ipru*) = עָפַר = על *hullu* (with hard *û*; cf. § 6 c, and Assy. *humri* = עָמְרִי, *hazzatu* = עָזָה); *iazkur* = יָזַכַּר, *zuruhu* = זָרַע, *abadat* = אֲבָדָה, *šahri* = שַׁעַר, *gate*; *baḥnu* = בָּטֵן, *belly*; *kilûbi* = כְּלוֹב, *net*; *šaduk* = צָדִיק (צָדִיק), &c. [Cf. Böhl, *Die Sprache d. Amarnabriefe*, Lpz. 1909.]

Testament books used merely the consonant-signs (§ 1 k), and even now the written scrolls of the Law used in the synagogues must not, according to ancient custom, contain anything more. The present pronunciation of this consonantal text, its vocalization and accentuation, rest on the tradition of the Jewish schools, as it was finally fixed by the system of punctuation (§ 7 h) introduced by Jewish scholars about the seventh century A.D.; cf. § 3 b.

*k* An earlier stage in the development of the Canaanitish-Hebrew language, i.e. a form of it anterior to the written documents now extant, when it must have stood nearer to the common language of the united Semitic family, can still be discerned in its principal features:—(1) from many archaisms preserved in the traditional texts, especially in the names of persons and places dating from earlier times, as well as in isolated forms chiefly occurring in poetic style; (2) in general by an *a posteriori* conclusion from traditional forms, so far as according to the laws and analogies of phonetic change they clearly point to an older phase of the language; and (3) by comparison with the kindred languages, especially Arabic, in which this earlier stage of the language has been frequently preserved even down to later times (§ 1 m, n). In numerous instances in examining linguistic phenomena, the same—and consequently so much the more certain—result is attained by each of these three methods.

Although the systematic investigation of the linguistic development indicated above belongs to comparative Semitic philology, it is nevertheless indispensable for the scientific treatment of Hebrew to refer to the ground-forms<sup>1</sup> so far as they can be ascertained and to compare the corresponding forms in Arabic. Even elementary grammar which treats of the forms of the language occurring in the Old Testament frequently requires, for their explanation, a reference to these ground-forms.

*l* 5. Even in the language of the Old Testament, notwithstanding its general uniformity, there is noticeable a certain progress from an earlier to a later stage. Two periods, though with some reservations, may be distinguished: the *first*, down to the end of the Babylonian exile; and the *second*, after the exile.

*m* To the former belongs, apart from isolated traces of a later revision, the larger half of the Old Testament books, viz. (a) of the prose and historical writings, a large part of the Pentateuch and of Joshua, Judges, Samuel, and Kings; (b) of the poetical, perhaps

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<sup>1</sup> Whether these can be described simply as 'primitive Semitic' is a question which may be left undecided here.

a part of the Psalms and Proverbs; (c) the writings of the earlier prophets (apart from various later additions) in the following chronological order: Amos, Hosea, Isaiah I, Micah, Nahum, Zephaniah, Habakkuk, Obadiah (?), Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Isaiah II (ch. 40-55).

The beginning of this period, and consequently of Hebrew literature <sup>n</sup> generally, is undoubtedly to be placed as early as the time of Moses, although the Pentateuch in its present form, in which very different strata may be still clearly recognized, is to be regarded as a gradual production of the centuries after Moses. Certain linguistic peculiarities of the Pentateuch, which it was once customary to regard as archaisms, such as the epicene use of נָעָר *boy, youth*, for נַעֲרָה *girl*, and הוּא for הִיא, are merely to be attributed to a later redactor; cf. § 17 c.

The linguistic character of the various strata of the Pentateuch has been <sup>o</sup> examined by Ryssel, *De Elohistae Pentateuchici sermone*, Lpz. 1878; König, *De criticae sacrae argumento e linguae legibus repetito*, Lpz. 1879 (analysis of Gn 1-11); F. Giesebrecht, 'Der Sprachgebr. des hexateuchischen Elohisten,' in *ZAW*. 1881, p. 177 ff., partly modified by Driver in the *Journal of Philology*, vol. xi. p. 201 ff.; Kräutlein, *Die sprachl. Verschiedenheiten in den Hexateuchquellen*, Lpz. 1908.—Abundant matter is afforded also by Holzinger, *Einleitung in den Hexateuch*, Freib. 1893; Driver, *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament*<sup>8</sup>, Edinburgh, 1908; Strack, *Einleitung ins A. T.*<sup>6</sup>, Munich, 1906; König, *Einleitung in das A. T.*, Bonn, 1893.

6. Even in the writings of this first period, which embraces <sup>p</sup> about 600 years, we meet, as might be expected, with considerable differences in linguistic form and style, which are due partly to differences in the time and place of composition, and partly to the individuality and talent of the authors. Thus Isaiah, for example, writes quite differently from the later Jeremiah, but also differently from his contemporary Micah. Amongst the historical books of this period, the texts borrowed from earlier sources have a linguistic colouring perceptibly different from those derived from later sources, or passages which belong to the latest redactor himself. Yet the structure of the language, and, apart from isolated cases, even the vocabulary and phraseology, are on the whole the same, especially in the prose books.

But the *poetic language* is in many ways distinguished from <sup>q</sup> prose, not only by a *rhythm* due to more strictly balanced (parallel) members and definite metres (see *r*), but also by peculiar *words* and *meanings*, *inflections* and *syntactical constructions* which it uses in addition to those usual in prose. This distinction, however, does not go far as, for example, in Greek. Many of these poetic peculiarities occur in the kindred languages, especially in Aramaic, as the ordinary modes of expression, and probably are to be regarded largely as archaisms which poetry retained. Some perhaps, also, are

embellishments which the Hebrew poets who knew Aramaic adopted into their language.<sup>1</sup>

The prophets, at least the earlier, in language and rhythm are to be regarded almost entirely as poets, except that with them the sentences are often more extended, and the parallelism is less regular and balanced than is the case with the poets properly so called. The language of the later prophets, on the contrary, approaches nearer to prose.

<sup>7</sup> On the *rhythm* of Hebrew poetry, see besides the Commentaries on the poetical books and Introductions to the O. T., J. Ley, *Grundzüge des Rhythmus*, &c., Halle, 1875; *Leitfaden der Metrik der hebr. Poesie*, Halle, 1887; 'Die metr. Beschaffenheit des B. Hiob,' in *Theol. Stud. u. Krit.*, 1895, iv, 1897, i; Grimme, 'Abriss der bibl.-hebr. Metrik,' *ZDMG.* 1896, p. 529 ff., 1897, p. 683 ff.; *Psalmprobleme*, &c., Freiburg (Switzerland), 1902 (on which see Beer in *ThLZ.* 1903, no. 11); 'Gedanken über hebr. Metrik,' in *Altschüler's Vierteljahrschrift*, i (1903), 1 ff.; Döllner, *Rhythmus, Metrik u. Strophik in d. bibl.-hebr. Poesie*, Paderborn, 1899; Schloegl, *De re metrica veterum Hebraeorum disputatio*, Vindobonae, 1899 (on the same lines as Grimme); but especially Ed. Sievers, *Metrische Studien*: i *Studien zur hebr. Metrik*, pt. 1 *Untersuchungen*, pt. 2 *Textproben*, Lpz. 1901: ii *Die hebr. Genesis*, 1 *Texte*, 2 *Zur Quellenscheidung u. Textkritik*, Lpz. 1904 f.: iii *Samuel*, Lpz. 1907; *Amos metrisch bearbeitet* (with H. Guthe), Lpz. 1907; and his *Alttest. Miscellen* (1 *Is 24-27*, 2 *Jona*, 3 *Deutero-Zechariah*, 4 *Malachi*, 5 *Hosea*, 6 *Joel*, 7 *Obadiah*, 8 *Zephaniah*, 9 *Haggai*, 10 *Micah*), Lpz. 1904-7.—As a guide to Sievers' system (with some criticism of his principles: see Baumann, 'Die Metrik u. das A. T.,' in the *Theol. Rundschau*, viii (1905), 41 ff.; W. H. Cobb, *A criticism of systems of Hebrew Metre*, Oxford, 1905; Cornill, *Einleitung ins A. T.*<sup>3</sup>, Tübingen, 1905, p. 11 ff.; Rothstein, *Zeitschr. für d. ev. Rel.-Unterricht*, 1907, p. 188 ff. and his *Grundzüge des hebr. Rhythmus*, Lpz. 1909 (also separately *Psalmtexte u. der Text des Hohen Liedes*, Lpz. 1909); W. R. Arnold, 'The rhythms of the ancient Heb.,' in *O. T. and Semitic Studies in memory of W. R. Harper*, i. 165 ff., Chicago, 1907, according to whom the number of syllables between the beats is only limited by the physiological possibilities of phonetics; C. v. Orelli, 'Zur Metrik der alttest. Prophetenschriften,' in his *Kommentar zu den kl. Propheten*<sup>3</sup>, p. 236 ff., Munich, 1908.—In full agreement with Sievers is Baethgen, *Psalmen*<sup>3</sup>, p. xxvi ff., Göttingen, 1904. [Cf. Budde in *DB.* iv. 3 ff.; Duhm in *EB.* iii. 3793 ff.]

Of all views of this matter, the only one generally accepted as sound was at first Ley's and Budde's discovery of the Qina- or Lamentation-Verse (*ZAW.* 1882, 5 ff.; 1891, 234 ff.; 1892, 31 ff.). On their predecessors, Lowth, de Wette, Ewald, see Löhr, *Klagelied*<sup>2</sup>, p. 9. This verse, called by Duhm 'long verse', by Sievers simply 'five-syllabled' (Fünfer), consists of two members, the second at least one beat shorter than the other. That a regular repetition of an equal number of syllables in *arsis* and *thesis* was observed by other poets, had been established by Ley, Duhm, Gunkel, Grimme, and others, especially Zimmern, who cites a Babylonian hymn in which the members are actually marked (*ZA.* x. 1 ff., xii. 382 ff.; cf. also Delitzsch, *Das babyl. Welterschöpfungsepos*, Lpz. 1896, pp. 60 ff.). Recently, however, E. Sievers, the recognized authority on metre in other branches of literature, has indicated, in the works mentioned above, a number of fresh facts and views, which have frequently been confirmed by the conclusions of Ley and others. The most important are as follows:—

Hebrew poetry, as distinguished from the quantitative Classical and Arabic

<sup>1</sup> That already in Isaiah's time (second half of the eighth century B. C.) educated Hebrews, or at least officers of state, understood Aramaic, while the common people in Jerusalem did not, is evident from 2 K 18<sup>26</sup> (Is 36<sup>11</sup>).

and the syllabic Syriac verse, is *accentual*. The number of unstressed syllables between the beats (*ictus*) is, however, not arbitrary, but the scheme of the verse is based on an irregular anapaest which may undergo rhythmical modifications (e. g. resolving the ictus into two syllables, or lengthening the arsis so as to give a double accent) and contraction, e. g. of the first two syllables. The foot always concludes with the ictus, so that toneless endings, due to change of pronunciation or corruption of the text, are to be disregarded, although as a rule the ictus coincides with the Hebrew word-accent. The metrical scheme consists of combinations of feet in *series* (of 2, 3 or 4), and of these again in *periods*—double threes, very frequently, double fours in narrative, fives in Lamentations (see above) and very often elsewhere, and sevens. Sievers regards the last two metres as catalectic double threes and fours. Connected sections do not always maintain the same metre throughout, but often exhibit a mixture of metres.

It can no longer be doubted that in the analysis of purely poetical passages, this system often finds ready confirmation and leads to textual and literary results, such as the elimination of glosses. There are, however, various difficulties in carrying out the scheme consistently and extending it to the prophetic writings and still more to narrative: (1) not infrequently the required number of feet is only obtained by sacrificing the clearly marked parallelism, or the grammatical connexion (e. g. of the construct state with its genitive), and sometimes even by means of doubtful emendations; (2) the whole system assumes a correct transmission of the text and its pronunciation, for neither of which is there the least guarantee. To sum up, our conclusion at present is that for poetry proper some assured and final results have been already obtained, and others may be expected, from the principles laid down by Sievers, although, considering the way in which the text has been transmitted, a *faultless* arrangement of metres cannot be expected. Convincing proof of the *consistent* use of the same metrical schemes in the prophets, and *a fortiori* in narrative, can hardly be brought forward.

The great work of D. H. Müller, *Die Propheten in ihrer ursprüngl. Form* (2 vols., Vienna, 1896; cf. his *Strophenbau u. Responion*, *ibid.* 1898, and *Komposition u. Strophenbau*, *ibid.* 1907), is a study of the most important monuments of early Semitic poetry from the point of view of strophic structure and the use of the refrain, i. e. the repetition of the same or similar phrases or words in corresponding positions in different strophes.

The arrangement of certain poetical passages in verse-form required by early scribal rules (Ex 15<sup>1-19</sup>; Dt 32<sup>1-43</sup>; Ju 5; 1 S 2<sup>1-10</sup>; 2 S 22, 23<sup>1-7</sup>;  $\psi$  18, 136; Pr. 31<sup>10-31</sup>; 1 Ch 16<sup>8-36</sup>; cf. also Jo 12<sup>9-24</sup>; Ec 3<sup>2-8</sup>; Est 9<sup>7-10</sup>) has nothing to do with the question of metre in the above sense.

Words are used in poetry, for which others are customary in prose, e. g.  $\text{אָתָּה}$  *man* = אָדָם; אֶרֶץ *path* = דֶּרֶךְ; מִלָּה *word* = דְּבָר; חָזָה *to see* = רָאָה; אָתָּה *to come* = בּוֹא.

To the poetic meanings of words belongs the use of certain poetic epithets as substantives; thus, for example, אַבִּיר (only in constr. st. אֲבִיר) *the strong one for God*; אַבִּיר *the strong one for bull, horse*; לְבָנָה *alba for luna*; צֵר *enemy for איִי*.

Of word-forms, we may note, e. g. the longer forms of prepositions of place (§ 103 n) עַל = עָלַי, עַל = עָלַי, אֶל = אֵלַי, עַד = עָדַי; the endings  $\text{־י}$ ,  $\text{־ו}$  in the noun (§ 90); the pronominal suffixes מוּ, מוֹ, מוֹ for ׀, ׀, ׀ (58); the plural ending  $\text{־י}$  for ׀ (87 e). To the *syntax* belongs the far more sparing use of the article, of the relative pronoun, of the accusative particle אֵת; the construct state even before prepositions; the shortened imperfect with the same meaning as the ordinary form (§ 109  $\text{־}$ ); the wider governing power of prepositions; and in general a forcible brevity of expression.

t 7. The *second* period of the Hebrew language and literature, after the return from the exile until the Maccabees (about 160 B.C.), is chiefly distinguished by a constantly closer approximation of the language to the kindred western Aramaic dialect. This is due to the influence of the Aramaeans, who lived in close contact with the recent and thinly-populated colony in Jerusalem, and whose dialect was already of importance as being the official language of the western half of the Persian empire. Nevertheless the supplanting of Hebrew by Aramaic proceeded only very gradually. Writings intended for popular use, such as the Hebrew original of Jesus the son of Sirach and the book of Daniel, not only show that Hebrew about 170 B.C. was still in use as a literary language, but also that it was still at least understood by the people.<sup>1</sup> When it had finally ceased to exist as a living language, it was still preserved as the *language of the Schools*—not to mention the numerous Hebraisms introduced into the Aramaic spoken by the Jews.

For particulars, see Kautzsch, *Gramm. des Bibl.-Aram.*, pp. 1-6. We may conveniently regard the relation of the languages which co-existed in this later period as similar to that of the High and Low German in North Germany, or to that of the High German and the common dialects in the south and in Switzerland. Even amongst the more educated, the common dialect prevails orally, whilst the High German serves essentially as the literary and cultured language, and is at least understood by all classes of the people. Wholly untenable is the notion, based on an erroneous interpretation of Neh 8<sup>8</sup>, that the Jews immediately after the exile had completely forgotten the Hebrew language, and therefore needed a translation of the Holy Scriptures.

u The Old Testament writings belonging to this second period, in all of which the Aramaic colouring appears in various degrees, are: certain parts of the Pentateuch and of Joshua, Ruth, the books of Ezra, Nehemiah, Chronicles, Esther; the prophetic books of Haggai, Zechariah, Isaiah III (56-66), Malachi, Joel, Jonah, Daniel; of the poetical books, a large part of Proverbs, Job, Song of Songs, Ecclesiastes, and most of the Psalms. As literary compositions, these books are sometimes far inferior to those of the first period, although work was still produced which in purity of language and aesthetic value falls little short of the writings of the golden age.

v Later words (Aramaisms) are, e.g. אִתְּךָ declaration, אָנֹכִי compel, בֶּן son, צֵי chalk, אֶתְּ = עַתְּ time, הִרְאֵנוּ raise up, פִּי Pi. reproach, טֶלֶל Pi. roof over,

<sup>1</sup> The extensive use of Hebrew in the popular religious literature which is partly preserved to us in the Midrašim, the Mišna, and the Liturgy, indicates, moreover, that Hebrew was widely understood much later than this. Cf. M. H. Segal, 'Mišnaic Hebrew and its relations to Biblical Hebrew and Aramaic,' in *J. Q. R.*, 1908, p. 647 ff. (also separately).

טָעָה stray, רֹקֶה rock, מְלַח advise, סוֹף = קֵץ end, לָקַח = תָּקַח take, רָצַץ = רָצַץ break, שָׂנְאִים be many, מִלְּךָ = שֶׁלְּמֶלֶךְ rule, תָּמִיץ = תָּמַץ be strong.—Later meanings are, e. g. אָמַר (to say) to command; עָנָה (to answer) to begin speaking.—Orthographical and grammatical peculiarities are, the frequent *scriptio plena* of ו and י, e. g. דְּוִיָּד<sup>1</sup> (elsewhere דְּוִיד), even קִרְדָּשׁ for קִרְדֵּשׁ, רֹב for רַב; the interchange of ה and ח final; the more frequent use of substantives in ון, וַח, וַי, &c. Cf. Dav. Strauss, *Sprachl. Studien zu d. hebr. Sirachfragmenten*, Zürich, 1900, p. 19 ff.; for the Psalms Cheyne, *Origin of the Psalter*, p. 461 ff., and especially Giesebrecht in *ZAW*, 1881, p. 276 ff.; in general, Kautzsch, *Die Aramaismen im A. T.* (i, Lexikal. Teil), Halle, 1902.

But all the peculiarities of these later writers are not Aramaisms. Several do not occur in Aramaic and must have belonged at an earlier period to the Hebrew vernacular, especially it would seem in northern Palestine. There certain parts of Judges, amongst others, may have originated, as is indicated, e. g. by שֵׁשׁ, a common form in Phœnician (as well as שֵׁשׁ), for שֵׁשׁ (§ 36), which afterwards recurs in Jonah, Lamentations, the Song of Songs, the later Psalms, and Ecclesiastes.

Rem. 1. Of dialectical varieties in the old Hebrew language, only one <sup>w</sup> express mention occurs in the O. T. (Ju 12<sup>6</sup>), according to which the Ephraimites in certain cases pronounced the ש as ס. (Cf. Marquart in *ZAW*, 1888, p. 151 ff.) Whether in Neh 13<sup>24</sup> by the speech of Ashdod a Hebrew, or a (wholly different) Philistine dialect is intended, cannot be determined. On the other hand, many peculiarities in the North Palestinian books (Judges and Hosea) are probably to be regarded as differences in dialect, and so also some anomalies in the Moabite inscription of Mēša' (see above, d). On later developments see L. Metman, *Die hebr. Sprache, ihre Geschichte u. lexikal. Entwicklung seit Abschluss des Kanons u. ihr Bau in d. Gegenwart*, Jerusalem, 1906.

2. It is evident that, in the extant remains of old Hebrew literature,<sup>2</sup> the entire store of the ancient language is not preserved. The canonical books of the Old Testament formed certainly only a fraction of the whole Hebrew national literature.

### § 3. Grammatical Treatment of the Hebrew Language.

Gesenius, *Gesch. der hebr. Sprache*, §§ 19–39; Oehler's article, 'Hebr. Sprache,' in Schmid's *Encykl. des ges. Erziehungs- u. Unterrichtswesens*, vol. iii. p. 346 ff. (in the 2nd ed. revised by Nestle, p. 314 ff.). Cf. also the literature cited above in the headings of §§ 1 and 2; also Böttcher, *Lehrb. der hebr. Spr.*, i. Lpz. 1866, p. 30 ff.; L. Geiger, *Das Studium der Hebr. Spr. in Deutschl. vom Ende des XV. bis zur Mitte des XVI. Jahrh.*, Breslau, 1870; B. Pick, 'The Study of the Hebrew Language among Jews and Christians,' in *Bibliotheca Sacra*, 1884, p. 450 ff., and 1885, p. 470 ff.; W. Bacher, article 'Grammar' in the *Jew. Encyclopaedia*, vol. vi, New York and London, 1904. Cf. also the note on d.

1. At the time when the old Hebrew language was gradually *a* becoming extinct, and the formation of the O. T. canon was

<sup>1</sup> דְּוִיָּד in the Minor Prophets throughout (Ho 3<sup>5</sup>, &c.) is due merely to a caprice of the Masorettes.

<sup>2</sup> According to the calculation of the Dutch scholar Leusden, the O. T. contains 5,642 different Hebrew and Aramaic words; according to rabbinical calculations, 79,856 altogether in the Pentateuch. Cf. also E. Nestle, *ZAW*, 1906, p. 283; H. Strack, *ZAW*, 1907, p. 69 ff.; Blau, 'Neue masoret. Studien,' in *JQR*, xvi. 357 ff., treats of the number of letters and words, and the division in the O. T.

approaching completion, the Jews began to explain and critically revise their sacred text, and sometimes to translate it into the vernacular languages which in various countries had become current among them. The oldest *translation* is the Greek of the *Seventy* (more correctly *Seventy-two*) Interpreters (LXX), which was begun with the Pentateuch at Alexandria under Ptolemy Philadelphus, but only completed later. It was the work of various authors, some of whom had a living knowledge of the original, and was intended for the use of Greek-speaking Jews, especially in Alexandria. Somewhat later the Aramaic translations, or Targums (תַּרְגּוּמֵי מִיּוֹם i. e. *interpretations*), were formed by successive recensions made in Palestine and Babylonia. The *explanations*, derived in part from alleged tradition, refer almost exclusively to civil and ritual law and dogmatic theology, and are no more scientific in character than much of the textual tradition of that period. Both kinds of tradition are preserved in the *Talmud*, the first part of which, the *Mišna*, was finally brought to its present form towards the end of the second century; of the remainder, the *Gemāra*, one recension (the *Jerusalem* or *Palestinian Gem.*) about the middle of the fourth century, the other (the *Babylonian Gem.*) about the middle of the sixth century A.D. The *Mišna* forms the beginning of the New-Hebrew literature; the language of the *Gemaras* is for the most part Aramaic.

b 2. To the interval between the completion of the *Talmud* and the earliest grammatical writers, belong mainly the vocalization and accentuation of the hitherto unpointed text of the O. T., according to the pronunciation traditional in the Synagogues and Schools (§ 7 h, i), as well as the greater part of the collection of critical notes which bears the name of *Masōra* (מְסוֹרָה *traditio* ?).<sup>1</sup> From this the text which has since been transmitted with rigid uniformity by the MSS.,

<sup>1</sup> On the name *Masora* (or *Massora*, as e. g. E. König, *Einleitung in das A. T.*, p. 38 ff.; *Lehrgeb. d. hebr. Sprache*, ii. 358 ff.), and the great difficulty of satisfactorily explaining it, cf. De Lagarde, *Mitteilungen*, i. 91 ff. W. Bacher's derivation of the expression (in *JQR.* 1891, p. 785 ff.; so also C. Levias in the *Hebrew Union College Annual*, Cincinnati, 1904, p. 147 ff.) from Ez 20<sup>37</sup> (מְסַרְתָּ הַבְּרִית; מַסְרָה, i. e. מְוַסְרָה, being an equally legitimate form) is rightly rejected by König, l. c. The correctness of the form מְסוֹרָה (by the side of the equally well-attested form מְסַרְתָּ) does not seem to us to be invalidated by his arguments, nor by Blau's proposal to read מְסוֹרָתָה (*JQR.* xii. 241). The remark of Levias (l. c.) deserves notice, that with the earlier Masoretes מַסְוֵרָה is equivalent to orthography, i. e. *plene*- and *defective* writing, and only later came to mean *traditio*.—G. Wildboer, in *ZAW.* 1909, p. 74, contends that as מַסְרָה to hand on is not found in the O. T., it must be a late denominative in this sense.

and is still the received text of the O. T., has obtained the name of the Masoretic Text.

E. F. K. Rosenmüller already (*Handbuch für d. Liter. der bibl. Kritik u. C. Exegese*, 1797, i. 247; *Vorrede zur Stereotyp-Ausg. des A. T.*, Lpz. 1834) maintained that our O. T. text was derived from Codices belonging to a single recension. J. G. Sommer (cf. Cornill, *ZAW.* 1892, p. 309), Olshausen (since 1853), and especially De Lagarde (*Proverbien*, 1863, p. 1 ff.), have even made it probable that the original Masoretic text was derived from a single standard manuscript. Cf., however, E. König in *Ztschr. f. kirchl. Wiss.*, 1887, p. 279 f., and especially his *Einleitung ins A. T.*, p. 88 ff. Moreover a great many facts, which will be noticed in their proper places, indicate that the Masora itself is by no means uniform but shows clear traces of different schools and opinions; cf. H. Strack in *Semitic Studies in memory of . . . Kohut*, Berlin, 1897, p. 563 ff. An excellent foundation for the history of the Masora and the settlement of the masoretic tradition was laid by Joh. Buxtorf in his *Tiberias seu Commentarius Masorethicus*, first published at Basel in 1620 as an appendix to the Rabbinical Bible of 1618 f. For more recent work see Geiger, *Jüdische Ztschr.*, iii. 78 ff., followed by Harris in *JQR.* i. 128 ff., 243 ff.; S. Frensdorff, *Ochla W'ochla*, Hanover, 1864; and his *Massor. Wörterb.*, part i, Hanover and Lpz. 1876; and Ch. D. Ginsburg, *The Massora compiled from Manuscripts, &c.*, 3 vols., Lond. 1880 ff., and *Introduction to the Massoretico-critical edition of the Hebr. Bible*, Lond. 1897 (his text, reprinted from that of Jacob b. Ḥayyim [Venice, 1524-5] with variants from MSS. and the earliest editions, was published in 2 vols. at London in 1894, 2nd ed. 1906; a revised edition is in progress); H. Hyvernat, 'La langue et le langage de la Massore' (as a mixture of New-Hebrew and Aramaic), in the *Revue biblique*, Oct. 1903, p. 529 ff. and B: 'Lexique massorétique,' *ibid.*, Oct. 1904, p. 521 ff., 1905, p. 481 ff., and p. 515 ff. In the use of the Massora for the critical construction of the Text, useful work has been done especially by S. Baer, in the editions of the several books (only Exod.-Deut. have still to appear), edited from 1869 conjointly with Fr. Delitzsch, and since 1891 by Baer alone. Cf. also § 7 h.

The various readings of the Q<sup>r</sup>ê (see § 17) form one of the oldest and most important parts of the Masora. The punctuation of the Text, however, is not to be confounded with the compilation of the Masora. The former was settled at an earlier period, and is the result of a much more exhaustive labour than the Masora, which was not completed till a considerably later time.

3. It was not until about the beginning of the tenth century that *d* the Jews, following the example of the Arabs, began their grammatical compilations. Of the numerous grammatical and lexicographical works of R. Sa'adya,<sup>1</sup> beyond fragments in the commentary on the Sepher Yešira (ed. Mayer-Lambert, pp. 42, 47, 75, &c.), only the explanation in Arabic of the seventy (more correctly ninety) *hapax legomena* in the O. T. has been preserved. Written likewise in Arabic, but frequently translated into Hebrew, were the still extant works of the grammarians R. Yehuda Ḥayyûg (also called Abu Zakarya Yaḥya, about the year 1000) and R. Yona (Abu 'l-Walid Merwân ibn Ġanâh, about 1030). By the aid of these earlier labours, Abraham ben Ezra (commonly called Aben Ezra, ob. 1167) and R. David Qimḥi (ob. c. 1235) especially gained a classical reputation by their Hebrew grammatical writings.

<sup>1</sup> On his independent attitude towards the Masoretic punctuation, see Delitzsch, *Comm. zu den Psalmen*<sup>4</sup>, p. 39.

From these earliest grammarians are derived many principles of arrangement and technical terms, some of which are still retained, e. g. the naming of the conjugations and weak verbs according to the paradigm of פִּעַל, certain *voces memoriales*, as פִּנְיָן־פִּנְיָן and the like.<sup>1</sup>

e 4. The father of Hebrew philology among Christians was John Reuchlin (ob. 1522),<sup>2</sup> to whom Greek literature also is so much indebted. Like the grammarians who succeeded him, till the time of John Buxtorf the elder (ob. 1629), he still adhered almost entirely to Jewish tradition. From the middle of the seventeenth century the field of investigation gradually widened, and the study of the kindred languages, chiefly through the leaders of the Dutch school, Albert Schultens (ob. 1750) and N. W. Schröder (ob. 1798), became of fruitful service to Hebrew grammar.

f 5. In the nineteenth century<sup>3</sup> the advances in Hebrew philology are especially connected with the names of W. Gesenius (born at Nordhausen, Feb. 3, 1786; from the year 1810 Professor at Halle, where he died Oct. 23, 1842), who above all things aimed at the comprehensive observation and lucid presentation of the actually occurring linguistic phenomena; H. Ewald (ob. 1875, at Göttingen; *Krit. Gramm. der Hebr. Spr.*, Lpz. 1827; *Ausführl. Lehrb. d. hebr. Spr.*, 8th ed., Gött. 1870), who chiefly aimed at referring linguistic forms to general laws and rationally explaining the latter; J. Olshausen (ob. 1882, at Berlin; *Lehrb. der hebr. Sprache*, Brunswick, 1861) who attempted a consistent explanation of the existing condition of the language, from the presupposed primitive Semitic forms, preserved according to him notably in old Arabic. F. Böttcher (*Ausführl. Lehrb. d. hebr. Spr.* ed. by F. Mühlau, 2 vols., Lpz. 1866–8) endeavoured to present an exhaustive synopsis of the linguistic phenomena, as well as to give an explanation of them from the sphere of Hebrew

<sup>1</sup> On the oldest Hebrew grammarians, see Strack and Siegfried, *Lehrb. d. neuhebr. Spr. u. Liter.*, Carlsr. 1884, p. 107 ff., and the prefaces to the Hebrew Lexicons of Gesenius and Fürst; Berliner. *Beiträge zur hebr. Gramm. im Talmud u. Midrasch*, Berlin, 1879; Baer and Strack, *Die Dikduke ha-ʿamim des Ahron ben Moscheh ben Ascher u. andere alte grammatisch-massorethische Lehrstücke*, Lpz. 1879, and P. Kahle's criticisms in *ZDMG*. lv. 170, n. 2; Ewald and Dukes, *Beiträge z. Gesch. der ältesten Auslegung u. Spracherklärung des A. T.*, Stuttg. 1844, 3 vols.; Hupfeld, *De rei grammaticae apud Judaeos initiis antiquissimisque scriptoribus*, Hal. 1846; W. Bacher, 'Die Anfänge der hebr. Gr.', in *ZDMG*. 1895, 1 ff. and 335 ff.; and *Die hebr. Sprachwissenschaft vom 10. bis zum 16. Jahrh.*, Trier, 1892.

<sup>2</sup> A strong impulse was naturally given to these studies by the introduction of printing—the Psalter in 1477, the Bologna Pentateuch in 1482, the Soncino O. T. complete in 1488: see the description of the twenty-four earliest editions (down to 1528) in Ginsburg's *Introduction*, p. 779 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Of the literature or the subject down to the year 1850, see a tolerably full account in Steinschneider's *Bibliogr. Handb. f. hebr. Sprachkunde*, Lpz. 1859.

alone. B. Stade, on the other hand (*Lehrb. der hebr. Gr.*, pt. i. Lpz. 1879), adopted a strictly scientific method in endeavouring to reduce the systems of Ewald and Olshausen to a more fundamental unity. E. König<sup>1</sup> in his very thorough researches into the phonology and accentuation starts generally from the position reached by the early Jewish grammarians (in his second part 'with comparative reference to the Semitic languages in general') and instead of adopting the usual dogmatic method, takes pains to re-open the discussion of disputed grammatical questions. The syntax König has 'endeavoured to treat in several respects in such a way as to show its affinity to the common Semitic syntax'.—Among the works of Jewish scholars, special attention may be called to the grammar by S. D. Luzzatto written in Italian (Padua, 1853-69).

The chief requirements for one who is treating the grammar of an ancient language are—(1) that he should *observe* as fully and accurately as possible the existing linguistic phenomena and *describe* them, after showing their organic connexion (the empirical and historico-critical element); (2) that he should try to *explain* these facts, partly by comparing them with one another and by the analogy of the sister languages, partly from the general laws of philology (the logical element).

Such observation has more and more led to the belief that the original text of the O. T. has suffered to a much greater extent than former scholars were inclined to admit, in spite of the number of variants in parallel passages: Is 2<sup>2<sup>ff.</sup></sup> = Mi 4<sup>1<sup>ff.</sup></sup>, Is 36-39 = 2 K 18<sup>13-20</sup><sup>19</sup>, Jer 52 = 2 K 24<sup>18-25</sup><sup>30</sup>, 2 S 22 =  $\psi$  18,  $\psi$  14 =  $\psi$  53,  $\psi$  40<sup>14<sup>ff.</sup></sup> =  $\psi$  70,  $\psi$  108 =  $\psi$  57<sup>8<sup>ff.</sup></sup> and 60<sup>7<sup>ff.</sup></sup>. Cf. also the parallels between the Chronicles and the older historical books, and F. Vodel, *Die konsonant. Varianten in den doppelt überlief. poet. Stücken d. masoret. Textes*, Lpz. 1905. As to the extent and causes of the corruption of the Masoretic text, the newly discovered fragments of the Hebrew Ecclesiasticus are very instructive; cf. Smend, *Gött. gel. Anz.*, 1906, p. 763.

The causes of *unintentional* corruption in the great majority of cases are:—Interchange of similar letters, which has sometimes taken place in the early 'Phoenician' writing; transposition or omission of

<sup>1</sup> *Historisch-krit. Lehrgeb. der hebr. Sprache mit steter Beziehung auf Qimchi und die anderen Autoritäten*: I, 'Lehre von der Schrift, der Aussprache, dem Pron. u. dem Verbum,' Lpz. 1881; II. 1, 'Abschluss der speziellen Formenlehre u. generelle Formenl.,' 1895; ii. 2, 'Historisch-kompar. Syntax d. hebr. Spr.,' 1897.

single letters, words, or even whole sentences, which are then often added in the margin and thence brought back into the text in the wrong place; such omission is generally due to homoioteleuton (cf. Ginsburg, *Introd.*, p. 171 ff.), i. e. the scribe's eye wanders from the place to a subsequent word of the same or similar form. Other causes are dittography, i. e. erroneous repetition of letters, words, and even sentences; its opposite, haplography; and lastly wrong division of words (cf. Ginsburg, *Introd.*, p. 158 ff.), since at a certain period in the transmission of the text the words were not separated.<sup>1</sup>—*Intentional* changes are due to corrections for the sake of decency or of dogma, and to the insertion of glosses, some of them very early.

Advance in grammar is therefore closely dependent on progress in *textual criticism*. The systematic pursuit of the latter has only begun in recent years: cf. especially Doorninck on Ju 1-16, Leid. 1879; Wellhausen, *Text der Bb. Sam.*, Gött. 1871; Cornill, *Ezechiel*, Lpz. 1886; Klostermann, *Bb. Sam. u. d. Kön.*, Nördl. 1887; Driver, *Notes on the Hebr. text of the Books of Sam.*, Oxf. 1890; Klostermann, *Deuterjesaja*, Munich, 1893; Oort, *Textus hebr. emendationes*, Lugd. 1900; Burney on *Kings*, Oxf. 1903; the commentaries of Marti and Nowack; the *Internat. Crit. Comm.*; Kautzsch, *Die heil. Schriften des A. T.*<sup>2</sup>, 1909-10. A critical edition of the O. T. with full textual notes, and indicating the different documents by colours, is being published in a handsome form by P. Haupt in *The Sacred Books of the Old Test.*, Lpz. and Baltimore, 1893 ff. (sixteen parts have appeared: Exod., Deut., Minor Prophets, and Megilloth are still to come); Kittel, *Biblia hebraica*<sup>2</sup>, 1909, Masoretic text from Jacob b. Ḥayyim (see c), with a valuable selection of variants from the versions, and emendations.

#### § 4. *Division and Arrangement of the Grammar.*

The division and arrangement of Hebrew grammar follow the three constituent parts of every language, viz. (1) articulate *sounds* represented by *letters*, and united to form *syllables*, (2) *words*, and (3) *sentences*.

The first part (the elements) comprises accordingly the treatment of *sounds* and their representation in writing. It describes the nature and relations of the sounds of the language, teaches the pronunciation

<sup>1</sup> This *scriptio continua* is also found in Phoenician inscriptions. The inscription of Mē'a' always divides the words by a point (and so the Siloam inscription; see the facsimile at the beginning of this grammar), and frequently marks the close of a sentence by a stroke.

of the written signs (orthoepy), and the established mode of writing (orthography). It then treats of the sounds as combined in syllables and words, and specifies the laws and conditions under which this combination takes place.

The second part (etymology) treats of words in their character as parts of speech, and comprises: (1) the principles of the *formation of words*, or of the derivation of the different parts of speech from the roots or from one another; (2) the principles of *inflexion*, i. e. of the various forms which the words assume according to their relation to other words and to the sentence.

The third part (syntax, or the arrangement of words): (1) shows how the word-formations and inflexions occurring in the language are used to express different shades of ideas, and how other ideas, for which the language has not coined any forms, are expressed by periphrasis; (2) states the laws according to which the parts of speech are combined in sentences (the principles of the sentence, or syntax in the stricter sense of the term).

# FIRST PART

## ELEMENTARY PRINCIPLES OR THE SOUNDS AND CHARACTERS

### CHAPTER I

#### THE INDIVIDUAL SOUNDS AND CHARACTERS

##### § 5. *The Consonants: their Forms and Names.*

(Cf. the Table of Alphabets.)

Among the abundant literature on the subject, special attention is directed to: A. Berliner, *Beiträge zur hebr. Gram.*, Berlin, 1879, p. 15 ff., on the names, forms, and pronunciation of the consonants in Talmud and Midrash; H. Strack, *Schreibkunst u. Schrift bei d. Hebräern*, PRE<sup>3</sup>, Lpz. 1906, p. 766 ff.; Benzinger, *Hebr. Archäologie*<sup>2</sup>, Tübingen, 1907, p. 172 ff.; Nowack, *Lehrbuch d. hebr. Archäol.*, Freiburg, 1894, i. 279 ff.; Lidzbarski, *Handbuch d. nordsem. Epigraphik*, Weimar, 1898, i. 173 ff.; also his art. 'Hebrew Alphabet,' in the *Jewish Encyclopaedia*, i, 1901, p. 439 ff. (cf. his *Ephemeris*, i. 316 ff.); and 'Die Namen der Alphabetbuchstaben', in *Ephemeris*, ii. 125 ff.; Kenyon, art. 'Writing,' in the *Dictionary of the Bible*, iv. Edinb. 1902, p. 944 ff.; Nöldeke, 'Die semit. Buchstabennamen,' in *Beitr. zur semit. Sprachwiss.*, Strassb. 1904, p. 124 ff.; F. Praetorius, *Ueber den Ursprung des kanaän. Alphabets*, Berlin, 1906; H. Grimme, 'Zur Genesis des semit. Alphabets,' in *ZA.* xx. 1907, p. 49 ff.; R. Stübe, *Grundlinien zu einer Entwickelungsgesch. d. Schrift*, Munich, 1907; Jermain, *In the path of the Alphabet*, Fort Wayne, 1907.—L. Blau, *Studien zum althebr. Buchwesen*, dc., Strassb. 1902; and his 'Ueber d. Einfluss d. althebr. Buchwesens auf d. Originale', &c., in *Festschr. zu Ehren A. Berliners*, Frkf. 1903.

The best tables of alphabets are those of J. Euting in G. Bickell's *Outlines of Heb. Gram.* transl. by S. I. Curtiss, Lpz. 1877; in Pt. vii of the *Oriental Series of the Palaeographical Soc.*, London, 1882; and, the fullest of all, in Chwolson's *Corpus inscr. Hebr.*, Petersburg, 1882; also Lidzbarski's in the *Jewish Encycl.*, see above.

- a 1. The Hebrew letters now in use, in which both the manuscripts of the O. T. are written and our editions of the Bible are printed, commonly called the *square character* (פְּתֻחַת מִרְבָּעַת), also the *Assyrian character* (כְּפִי אֲשֻׁרִי),<sup>1</sup> are not those originally employed.

*Old Hebrew* (or *Old Canaanitish*)<sup>2</sup> writing, as it was used on

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<sup>1</sup> The name אֲשֻׁרִי (Assyria) is here used in the widest sense, to include the countries on the Mediterranean inhabited by Aramaeans; cf. Stade in *ZAW.* 1882, p. 292 f. On some other names for Old Hebrew writing. cf. G. Hoffmann, *ibid.* 1881, p. 334 ff.; Buhl, *Canon and Text of the O. T.* (transl. by J. Macpherson), Edinb. 1892, p. 200.

<sup>2</sup> It is tacitly assumed here that this was the mother of all Semitic alphabets. In *ZDMG.* 1909, p. 189 ff., however, Prätorius has shown good

public monuments in the beginning of the ninth and in the second half of the eighth century B.C., is to be seen in the inscription of Mēša', as well as in that of Siloam. The characters on the Macca-baeen coins of the second century B.C., and also on ancient gems, still bear much resemblance to this (cf. § 2 d). With the Old Hebrew writing the Phoenician is nearly identical (see § 1 k, § 2 f, and the Table of Alphabets). From the analogy of the history of other kinds of writing, it may be assumed that out of and along with this monumental character, a less antique and in some ways more convenient, rounded style was early developed, for use on softer materials, skins, bark, papyrus, and the like. This the Samaritans retained after their separation from the Jews, while the Jews gradually<sup>1</sup> (between the sixth and the fourth century) exchanged it for an Aramaic character. From this gradually arose (from about the fourth to the middle of the third century) what is called the *square character*, which consequently bears great resemblance to the extant forms of Aramaic writing, such as the Egyptian-Aramaic, the Nabatean and especially the Palmyrene. Of Hebrew inscriptions in the older square character, that of 'Arâq al-Emir (15½ miles north-east of the mouth of the Jordan) probably belongs to 183 B.C.<sup>2</sup>

The Jewish sarcophagus-inscriptions of the time of Christ, found in Jerusalem in 1905, almost without exception exhibit a pure square character. This altered little in the course of centuries, so that the age of a Hebrew MS. cannot easily be determined from the style of the writing. The oldest known biblical fragment is the Nash papyrus (found in 1902), containing the ten commandments and the beginning of Dt 6<sup>4t</sup>, of the end of the first or beginning of the second century A. D.; cf. N. Peters, *Die älteste Abschr. der 10 Gebote*, Freibg. i. B. 1905. Of actual MSS. of the Bible the oldest is probably one of 820-850 A. D. described by Ginsburg, *Introd.*, p. 469 ff., at the head of his sixty principal MSS.; next in age is the codex of Moses ben Asher at Cairo (897 A. D., cf. the art. 'Scribes' in the *Jew. Encycl.* xi and Gottheil in *JQR.* 1905, p. 32). The date (916 A. D.) of the Codex prophetarum Babylon. Petropol. (see § 8 g, note) is quite certain.—In the synagogue-rolls a distinction is drawn between the Tam-character (said to be so called from Rabbi Tam, grandson of R. Yishâqi, in the twelfth century) with its straight strokes, square corners and 'tittles' (tâgin), in German and Polish MSS., and the *foreign* character with rounded letters and tittles in Spanish MSS. See further E. König, *Einl. in das A. T.*, Bonn, 1893, p. 16 ff.

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grounds for believing that the South Somic alphabet is derived not from the Mēša' character, or from some kindred and hardly older script, but from some unknown and *much* earlier form of writing.

<sup>1</sup> On the effect of the transitional mixture of earlier and later forms on the constitution of the text, see R. Kittel, *Ueber d. Notwendigk. d. Herausg. einer neuen hebr. Bibel*, Lpz. 1901, p. 20 ff.—L. Blau, 'Wie lange stand die althebr. Schrift bei den Juden im Gebrauch?' in *Kaufmanngedenkbuch*, Breslau, 1900, p. 44 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Not 176, as formerly held. Driver and Lidzbarski now read ערביה, correctly, not טוּרְבִיָּה.

b 2. The Alphabet consists, like all Semitic alphabets, solely of consonants, twenty-two in number, some of which, however, have also a kind of vocalic power (§ 7 b). The following Table shows their form, names, pronunciation, and numerical value (see *k*):—

FORM.	NAME.	PRONUNCIATION.	NUMERICAL VALUE.
א	' <i>Ālēph</i>	' <i>spiritus lenis</i>	1
ב	<i>Bêth</i>	<i>b</i> ( <i>bh</i> , but see § 6 n)	2
ג	<i>Gimēl</i> ( <i>Giml</i> )	<i>g</i> ( <i>gh</i> , „ „ „ )	3
ד	<i>Dālêth</i>	<i>d</i> ( <i>dh</i> , „ „ „ )	4
ה	<i>Hē</i>	<i>h</i>	5
ו	<i>Wāw</i> ( <i>Wāu</i> )	<i>w</i> ( <i>u</i> ) <sup>1</sup>	6
ז	<i>Záyīn</i>	<i>z</i> , as in English (soft <i>s</i> )	7
ח	<i>Hêth</i>	<i>h</i> , a strong guttural	8
ט	<i>Têth</i>	<i>t</i> , emphatic <i>t</i>	9
י	<i>Yôd</i>	<i>y</i> ( <i>i</i> ) <sup>1</sup>	10
כ, final ך	<i>Kaph</i>	<i>k</i> ( <i>kh</i> , but see § 6 n)	20
ל	<i>Lāmēd</i>	<i>l</i>	30
מ, final ם	<i>Mēm</i>	<i>m</i>	40
נ, final ן	<i>Nîn</i>	<i>n</i>	50
ס	<i>Sāmēkh</i>	<i>s</i>	60
ע	' <i>Āyīn</i>	' a peculiar guttural (see below)	70
פ, final ף	<i>Pê</i>	<i>p</i> ( <i>f</i> , see § 6 n)	80
צ, final ץ	<i>Ṣādê</i>	<i>s</i> , emphatic <i>s</i>	90
ק	<i>Qôf</i>	<i>q</i> , a strong <i>k</i> <sup>2</sup> formed at the back of the palate	100
ר	<i>Rêš</i>	<i>r</i>	200
} ש	<i>Śīn</i>	<i>ś</i>	} 300
	<i>Šīn</i> <sup>3</sup>	<i>š</i> , pronounced <i>sh</i>	
ת	<i>Tāw</i> ( <i>Tāu</i> )	<i>t</i> ( <i>th</i> , but see § 6 n)	400

<sup>1</sup> Philippi, 'Die Aussprache der semit. Consonanten ו and י,' in *ZDMG*. 1886, p. 639 ff., 1897, p. 66 ff., adduces reasons in detail for the opinion that 'the Semitic ו and י are certainly by usage consonants, although by nature they are vowels, viz. *u* and *i*, and consequently are consonantal vowels'; cf. § 8 m.

<sup>2</sup> As a representation of this sound the Latin *q* is very suitable, since it occupies in the alphabet the place of the Semitic ק (Greek *κόππα*).

<sup>3</sup> Nestle (*Actes du onzième Congrès . . . des Orientalistes*, 1897, iv. 113 ff.) has shown that the original order was ש, ט.

3. As the Table shows, five letters have a special form at the end <sup>c</sup> of the word. They are called final letters, and were combined by the Jewish grammarians in the mnemonic word קַמְנֶפְהַס *Kamnèphäs*, or better, with A. Müller and Stade, קַמְנֶפְהַס i. e. *as the breaker in pieces*.<sup>1</sup> Of these, ק, פ, ה, ס are distinguished from the common form by the shaft being drawn straight down, while in the usual form it is bent round towards the left.<sup>2</sup> In the case of מ the letter is completely closed.

4. Hebrew is read and written from right to left.<sup>3</sup> Words must <sup>d</sup> not be divided at the end of the lines; <sup>4</sup> but, in order that no empty space may be left, in MSS. and printed texts, certain letters suitable for the purpose are dilated at the end or in the middle of the line. In our printed texts these *literae dilatabiles* are the five following: ם ן ל ך ם (mnemonic word םךלךם *'ahaltèm*). In some MSS. other letters suitable for the purpose are also employed in this way, as ך, ך, ך; cf. Strack in the *Theol. Lehrb.*, 1882, No. 22; Nestle, *ZAW*. 1906, p. 170 f.

Rem. 1. The forms of the letters originally represent the rude outlines of <sup>e</sup> perceptible objects, the names of which, respectively, begin with the consonant represented (akrophony). Thus *Yód*, in the earlier alphabets the rude picture of a hand, properly denotes *hand* (Heb. יד), but as a letter simply the sound *y*, with which this word begins; *Ayin*, originally a circle, properly an *eye* (ׁי), stands for the consonant *y*. In the Phoenician alphabet, especially, the resemblance of the forms to the objects denoted by the name is still for the most part recognizable (see the Table). In some letters (ג, ו, י, ט, ש) the similarity is still preserved in the square character.

It is another question whether the present names are all original. They may be merely due to a later, and not always accurate, interpretation of the forms. Moreover, it is possible that in the period from about 1500 to 1000 B. C. the original forms underwent considerable change.

The usual explanation of the present names of the letters <sup>5</sup> is: ך ן ן ן ן *ox, f*

<sup>1</sup> In the Talmud, disregarding the alphabetical order, מְנַפְתֵּיךָ *of thy watcher*, i. e. *prophet*. See the discussions of this mnemonic word by Nestle, *ZAW*. 1907, p. 119 ff., König, Bacher (who would read מְנַפְתֵּיךָ = *proceeding from thy prophets*, Is 52<sup>8</sup>), Krauss, Marmorstein, *ibid.* p. 278 ff. All the twenty-two letters, together with the five final forms, occur in Zp 3<sup>8</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Chwolson, *Corpus Inscr. Hebr.*, col. 68, rightly observes that the more original forms of these letters are preserved in the *literae finales*. Instances of them go back to the time of Christ.

<sup>3</sup> The same was originally the practice in Greek, which only adopted the opposite direction exclusively about 400 B. C. On the *boustrophēdon* writing (alternately in each direction) in early Greek, early Sabaeen, and in the Saba-inscriptions of the first three centuries A. D., cf. Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris*, i. 116 f.

<sup>4</sup> This does not apply to early inscriptions or seals. Cf. Mēša', ll. 1-5, 7, 8, &c., Siloam 2, 3, 5, where the division of words appears to be customary.

<sup>5</sup> We possess Greek transcriptions of the Hebrew names, dating from the fifth century B. C. The LXX give them (in almost the same form as Eusebius, *Præp. Evang.* 10. 5) in La 1-4, as do also many Codices of the Vulgate (e. g. the

בַּיִת *house*, גַּמֶּל *camel* (according to Lidzbarski, see below, perhaps originally גַּרְוֹן *axe or pick-axe*), דְּלָת *door* (properly *folding door*; according to Lidzbarski, perhaps דָּר *the female breast*), חַלּוֹן *air-hole* (?), *lattice-window* (?), וַיִּ hook, nail, וַיִּ weapon (according to Nestle, comparing the Greek ἄγρᾱ, rather וַיִּ *olive-tree*), חֵיֶת *fence, barrier* (but perhaps only differentiated from הַ by the left-hand stroke), טַיִת *a winding* (?), according to others a *leather bottle* or a *snake* (but perhaps only differentiated from תַּ by a circle round it), יוֹד *hand*, כַּף *bent hand*, לָמָד *ox-goad*, מַיִם *water*, נֶזֶק *fish* (Lidzbarski, 'perhaps originally נֶחֱשֶׁת *snake*,' as in Ethiopic), סָמָךְ *prop* (perhaps a modification of לוֹ), עֵין *eye*, פִּי (also פִּי) *mouth*, צַרְיִ *fish-hook* (?), קוֹף *eye of a needle*, according to others *back of the head* (Lidzb., 'perhaps קֶשֶׁת *bow*'), רִישׁ *head*, שֵׁן *tooth*, חֶץ *sign, cross*.

g With regard to the origin of this alphabet, it may be taken as proved that it is not earlier (or very little earlier) than the fifteenth century B. C., since otherwise the el-Amarna tablets (§ 2 f) would not have been written exclusively in cuneiform.<sup>1</sup> It seems equally certain on various grounds, that it originated on Canaanitish soil. It is, however, still an open question whether the inventors of it borrowed

(a) From the Egyptian system—not, as was formerly supposed, by direct adoption of hieroglyphic signs (an explanation of twelve or thirteen characters was revived by J. Halévy in *Rev. Sémit.* 1901, p. 356 ff., 1902, p. 331 ff., and in the *Verhandlungen des xiii. . . . Orient.-Kongr. zu Hamb., Leiden, 1904*, p. 199 ff.; but cf. Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris*, i. 261 ff.), or of hieratic characters derived from them (so E. de Rougé), but by the adoption of the *acrophonic* principle (see e) by which e. g. the hand, in Egyptian *tot*, represents the letter *t*, the lion = *laboi*, the letter *l*. This view still seems the most probable. It is now accepted by Lidzbarski ('Der Ursprung d. nord- u. südsemit. Schrift' in *Ephemeris*, i (1900), 109 ff., cf. pp. 134 and 261 ff.), though in his *Nordsem. Epigr.* (1898) p. 173 ff. he was still undecided.

(b) From the Babylonian (cuneiform) system. Wuttke's and W. Deecke's derivation of the old-Semitic alphabet from new-Assyrian cuneiform is impossible for chronological reasons. More recently Peters and Hommel have sought to derive it from the old-Babylonian, and Ball from the archaic Assyrian cuneiform. A vigorous discussion has been aroused by the theory of Frdr. Delitzsch (in *Die Entstehung des ält. Schriftsystems od. der Urspr. der Keilschriftzeichen dargeh.*, Lpz. 1897; and with the same title 'Ein Nachwort', Lpz. 1898, preceded by a very clear outline of the theory) that the old-Semitic alphabet arose in Canaan under the influence both of the Egyptian system (whence the acrophonic principle) and of the old-Babylonian, whence the principle of the graphic representation of objects and ideas by means of simple, and mostly rectilinear, signs. He holds that the choice of the objects was probably (in about fifteen cases) influenced by the Babylonian system. The correspondence of names had all the more effect since, according to Zimmern (*ZDMG.* 1896, p. 667 ff.), out of twelve names which are certainly identical, eight appear in the same order in the Babylonian arrangement of signs. But it must first be shown that the present names of the

Cod. Amiatinus) in ψψ 111, 112, 119, but with many variations from the customary forms, which rest on the traditional *Jewish* pronunciation. The forms *Deleth* (and *deth*), *Zai*, *Sen* (LXX also χσεν, cf. Hebr. שֵׁן *tooth*) are to be noticed, amongst others, for *Daleth*, *Zain*, *Sin*. Cf. the tables in Nöldeke, *Beiträge zur sem. Sprachwiss.*, p. 126 f. In his opinion (and so Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris*, i. 134) the form and meaning of the names point to Phoenicia as the original home of the alphabet, since *af*, *bēt*, *dalt*, *wāv*, *tāv*, *pei* = *pé*, *pi*, *mouth*, and the vowel of *pō* = *rōš*, *head*, are all Hebraeo-Phoenician.

<sup>1</sup> In the excavations at Jericho in April, 1907, E. Sellin found a jar-handle with the Canaanite characters הַי, which he dates (probably too early) about 1500 B. C.

'Phoenician' letters really denote the original picture. The identity of the objects may perhaps be due simply to the choice of the commonest things (animals, implements, limbs) in both systems.

The derivation of the Semitic alphabet from the signs of the Zodiac and their names, first attempted by Seyffarth in 1834, has been revived by Winckler, who refers twelve fundamental sounds to the Babylonian Zodiac. Hommel connects the original alphabet with the moon and its phases, and certain constellations; cf. Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris*, i. 269 ff., and in complete agreement with him, Benzinger, *Hebr. Archäologie*<sup>2</sup>, p. 173 ff. This theory is by no means convincing.

(c) From the hieroglyphic system of writing discovered in 1894 by A. J. Evans in inscriptions in Crete (esp. at Cnossus) and elsewhere. According to Kluge (1897) and others, this represents the 'Mycenaean script' used about 3000-1000 B. C., and according to Fries ('Die neuesten Forschungen über d. Urspr. des phöniz. Alph.' in *ZDPV*. xxii. 118 ff.) really supplies the original forms of the Phoenician alphabet as brought to Palestine by the Philistines about 1100 B. C., but 'the Phoenician-Canaanite-Hebrews gave to the Mycenaean signs names derived from the earlier cuneiform signs'. The hypothesis of Fries is thus connected with that of Delitzsch. But although the derivation of the Phoenician forms from 'Mycenaean' types appears in some cases very plausible, in others there are grave difficulties, and moreover the date, 1100 B. C., assigned for the introduction of the alphabet is clearly too late. [See Evans, *Scripta Minoa*, Oxf. 1909, p. 80 ff.]

(d) From a system, derived from Asia Minor, closely related to the Cypriote syllabary (Praetorius, *Der Urspr. des kanaan. Alphabets*, Berlin, 1906). On this theory the Canaanites transformed the syllabic into an apparently alphabetic writing. In reality, however, they merely retained a single sign for the various syllables, so that e.g.  $\text{p}$  is not really  $q$ , but  $qa$ ,  $qe$ ,  $qi$ , &c. Of the five Cypriote vowels also they retained only the star (in Cypriote =  $a$ ) simplified into an 'älef' (see alphabetical table) to express the vowels at the beginning of syllables, and  $i$  and  $u$  as Yod and Waw. Praetorius claims to explain about half the twenty-two Canaanite letters in this way, but there are various objections to his ingenious hypothesis.

2. As to the order of the letters, we possess early evidence in the alphabetic<sup>1</sup>  $\text{h}$  poems:  $\psi$  9 ( $\aleph$ - $\beth$ , cf.  $\psi$  10<sup>1</sup>  $\beth$ , and vv<sup>12-17</sup>  $\text{p}$ - $\text{p}$ ; cf. Gray in the *Expositor*, 1906, p. 233 ff., and Rosenthal, *ZAW*. 1896, p. 40, who shows that  $\psi$  9<sup>3.15-17</sup>  $\beth$ ,  $\beth$ ,  $\beth$  exactly fit in between  $\text{p}$ ,  $\beth$ ,  $\beth$ , and that  $\psi$  10<sup>1-3.5</sup> therefore has the reverse order  $\beth$ ,  $\beth$ ,  $\beth$ ); also  $\psi$  25 and 34 (both without a separate  $\text{p}$ -verse and with  $\text{D}$  repeated at the end<sup>2</sup>); 37, 111, 112, 119 (in which every eight verses begin with the same letter, each strophe, as discovered by D. H. Müller of Vienna, containing the eight leading words of  $\psi$  19<sup>8</sup>  $\aleph$ ,  $\text{tôrâ}$ ,  $\text{edûth}$ , &c.); La 1-4 (in 2-4  $\text{D}$  before  $\text{y}$ <sup>3</sup>, in chap. 3 every three verses with the same initial, see Löhr, *ZAW*. 1904, p. 1 ff., in chap. 5 at any rate as many verses as letters in the alphabet); Pr 24<sup>1-3.5</sup>, 31<sup>10-31</sup> (in the LXX with  $\text{D}$  before  $\text{y}$ <sup>3</sup>); also in Na 12-10 Pastor Frohnmeyer of Württemberg (ob. 1880) detected traces of an alphabetic arrangement, but the attempt of Gunkel, Bickell, Arnold (*ZAW*. 1901,

<sup>1</sup> On the supposed connexion of this artificial arrangement with magical formulae ('the order of the letters was believed to have a sort of magic power') cf. Löhr, *ZAW*. 1905, p. 173 ff., and *Klagelieder*<sup>2</sup>, Göttingen, 1907, p. vii ff.

<sup>2</sup> On this superfluous  $\text{D}$  cf. Grimme, *Euphemistic liturgical appendices*, Lpz. 1901, p. 8 ff., and Nestle, *ZAW*. 1903, p. 340 f., who considers it an appendage to the Greek alphabet.

<sup>3</sup> [Perhaps also originally in  $\psi$  34.]  $\text{D}$  before  $\text{y}$  is probably due to a magic alphabet, see above, n. 1. According to Böhmmer, *ZAW*. 1908, p. 53 ff., the combinations  $\aleph\aleph$ ,  $\beth\aleph$ ,  $\beth\aleph$ , &c., were used in magical texts;  $\text{Dy}$  was excluded, but by a rearrangement  $\text{y}$  get  $\aleph\text{D}$  and  $\beth\text{y}$ .

p. 225 ff.), Happel (*Der Ps. Nah*, Würzb. 1900) to discover further traces, has not been successful. [Cf. Gray in *Expositor*, 1898, p. 207 ff.; Driver, in the Century Bible, *Nahum*, p. 26.]—Bickell, *Ztschr. f. Kath. Theol.*, 1882, p. 319 ff., had already deduced from the versions the alphabetical character of Ecclus 51<sup>13-30</sup>, with the omission of the  $\gamma$ -verse and with  $\mathfrak{D}^1$  at the end. His conjectures have been brilliantly confirmed by the discovery of the Hebrew original, although the order from  $\mathfrak{A}$  to  $\mathfrak{L}$  is partly disturbed or obscured. If  $\gamma$  before  $\mathfrak{X}$  is deleted, ten letters are in their right positions, and seven can be restored to their places with certainty. Cf. N. Schlögl, *ZDMG.* 53, 669 ff.; C. Taylor in the appendix to Schechter and Taylor, *The Wisdom of Ben Sira*, Cambr. 1899, p. lxxvi ff., and in the *Journ. of Philol.*, xxx (1906), p. 95 ff.; *JQR.* 1905, p. 238 ff.; Löhr, *ZAW.* 1905, p. 183 ff.; I. Lévy, *REJ.* 1907, p. 62 ff.

The sequence of the three softest labial, palatal, and dental sounds  $\mathfrak{B}$ ,  $\mathfrak{G}$ ,  $\mathfrak{D}$ , and of the three liquids  $\mathfrak{L}$ ,  $\mathfrak{M}$ ,  $\mathfrak{N}$ , indicates an attempt at classification. At the same time other considerations also appear to have had influence. Thus it is certainly not accidental, that two letters, representing a hand (*Yód*, *Kaph*), as also two (if *Qóph* = back of the head) which represent the head, and in general several forms denoting objects naturally connected (*Mém* and *Nún*, *'Ayin* and *Pé*), stand next to one another.

*i* The order, names, and numerical values of the letters have passed over from the Phoenicians to the Greeks, in whose alphabet the letters A to T are borrowed from the Old Semitic. So also the Old Italic alphabets as well as the Roman, and consequently all alphabets derived either from this or from the Greek, are directly or indirectly dependent on the Phoenician.

*k* 3. *a.* In default of special arithmetical figures, the consonants were used also as numerical signs; cf. G. Gundermann, *Die Zahlzeichen*, Giessen, 1899, p. 6 f., and Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris*, i. 106 ff. The earliest traces of this usage are, however, first found on the Maccabean coins (see above, § 2 *d*, end). These numerical letters were afterwards commonly employed, e.g. for marking the numbers of chapters and verses in the editions of the Bible. The units are denoted by א-ט, the tens by י-צ, 100-400 by ק-ת, the numbers from 500-900 by ח (= 400), with the addition of the remaining hundreds, e.g. חק 500. In compound numbers the greater precedes (on the right), thus יא 11, קכא 121. But 15 is expressed by טו 9+6, not יה (which is a form of the divine name, being the first two consonants of יהוה).<sup>2</sup> For a similar reason טז is also mostly written for 16, instead of יז, which in compound proper names, like יואל, also represents the name of God, יהוה.

The thousands are sometimes denoted by the units with two dots placed above, e.g. ק̇ 1000.

*l* *b.* The reckoning of the years in Jewish writings (generally ליצירה *after the creation*) follows either the *full chronology* (לפ'רט ג'רול) or (לפ' ג'), with the addition of the thousands, or the *abridged chronology* (לפ' קטון), in which they are omitted. In the dates of the first thousand years after Christ, the Christian era is obtained by the addition of 240, in the second thousand years by the addition of 1240 (i. e. if the date falls between Jan. 1 and the Jewish new year; otherwise add 1239), the thousands of the Creation era being omitted.

*m* 4. Abbreviations of words are not found in the text of the O. T., but they occur on coins, and their use is extremely frequent amongst the later Jews.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See note 3 on p. 29.

<sup>2</sup> On the rise of this custom (יה having been originally used and afterwards יה), cf. Nestle in *ZAW.* 1884, p. 250, where a trace of this method of writing occurring as early as Origen is noted.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Jo. Buxtorf, *De abbreviaturis Hebr.*, Basel, 1613, &c.; Pietro Perreau.

A point, or later an oblique stroke, serves as the sign of abridgement in old MSS. and editions, e. g. 'יש' for 'ישׁראל', 'פ' for 'פְּלִנִי' *aliquis*, 'ר' for 'רִבְר' *aliquid*, 'וגו' for 'וְגוֹמַר' *et complens*, i. e. *and so on*. Also in the middle of what is apparently a word, such strokes indicate that it is an abbreviation or a *rox memorialis* (cf. e. g. § 15 d ת"ם). Two such strokes are employed, from § 41 d onward, to mark the different classes of weak verbs.—Note also 'י' or 'י' (also 'ה) for 'יהוה'.

5. Peculiarities in the tradition of the O. T. text, which are already mentioned in the Talmud, are—(1) The 15 *puncta extraordinaria*, about which the tradition (from Siphri on Nu 9<sup>10</sup> onwards) differs considerably, even as to their number; on particular consonants, Gn 16<sup>5</sup>, 18<sup>9</sup>, 19<sup>33-35</sup>, Nu 9<sup>10</sup>; or on whole words, Gn 33<sup>4</sup>, 37<sup>12</sup>, Nu 3<sup>39</sup>, 21<sup>30</sup>, 29<sup>15</sup>, Dt 29<sup>28</sup>, 2 S 19<sup>20</sup>, Is 44<sup>9</sup>, Ez 41<sup>20</sup>, 46<sup>22</sup>, ψ 27<sup>13</sup>,—all no doubt critical marks; cf. Strack, *Prolegomena Critica*, p. 88 ff.; L. Blau, *Masoretische Untersuchungen*, Strassburg, 1891, p. 6 ff., and *Einleitung in die hl. Schrift*, Budapest, 1894; Königsberger, *Jüd. Lit.-Blatt*, 1891, nos. 29-31, and *Aus Masorah u. Talmudkritik*, Berlin, 1892, p. 6 ff.; Mayer-Lambert, *REJ.* 30 (1895), no. 59; and especially Ginsburg, *Introd.*, p. 318 ff.; also on the ten points found in the Pentateuch, see Butin (Baltimore, 1906), who considers that they are as old as the Christian era and probably mark a letter, &c., to be deleted. (2) The *literae majusculae* (e. g. ב Gn 1<sup>1</sup>, ו Lv 11<sup>42</sup> as the middle consonant of the Pentateuch, י Nu 14<sup>17</sup>), and *minusculae* (e. g. ה Gn 2<sup>4</sup>). (3) The *literae suspensae* (Ginsburg, *Introd.*, p. 334 ff.) נ Ju 18<sup>30</sup> (which points to the reading מִשָּׁה for מִנְשָׁה), ע ψ 8c<sup>14</sup> (the middle of the Psalms<sup>1</sup>) and Jb 38<sup>13-15</sup>. (4) The 'mutilated' *Wāw* in שְׁלוֹם Nu 25<sup>12</sup>, and ק Ex 32<sup>25</sup> (בַּקְמִיּהָם), and Nu 7<sup>2</sup> (הַפְּקוּדִים). (5) *Mēm clausum* in לְמַרְבָּה Is 9<sup>6</sup>, and *Mēm apertum* in פְּרוּצִים Neh 2<sup>13</sup>. (6) *Nūn inversum* before Nu 1c<sup>35</sup>, and after ver. 36, as also before ψ 107<sup>23-23</sup> and 40; according to Ginsburg, *Introd.*, p. 341 ff., a sort of bracket to indicate that the verses are out of place; cf. Krauss, *ZAW.* 1902, p. 57 ff., who regards the inverted *Nūns* as an imitation of the Greek obelus.

## § 6. *Pronunciation and Division of Consonants.*

P. Haupt, 'Die Semit. Sprachlaute u. ihre Umschrift,' in *Beiträge zur Assyriologie u. vergleich. semit. Sprachwissenschaft*, by Delitzsch and Haupt, i, Lpz. 1889, 249 ff.; E. Sievers, *Metrische Studien*, i, Lpz. 1901, p. 14 ff.

1. An accurate knowledge of the original phonetic value of each consonant is of the greatest importance, since very many grammatical peculiarities and changes (§ 18 ff.) only become intelligible from the nature and pronunciation of the sounds. This knowledge is obtained partly from the pronunciation of the kindred dialects, especially the still living Arabic, partly by observing the affinity and interchange

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*Oceano delle abbreviature e sigle*<sup>2</sup>, Parma, 1883 (appendix, 1884); Ph. Lederer, *Hebr. u. Chald. Abbreviaturen*, Frankf. 1893; Händler, *Lexicon d. Abbreviaturen* (annexed to G. Dalman's *Aram.-neuhebr. WB.*, Frankf. 1897); Levias, art. 'Abbreviations,' in the *Jew. Encycl.*, i. 39 ff.; F. Perles, 'Zur Gesch. der Abbrev. im Hebr.' (*Archiv f. Stenogr.*, 1902, p. 41 ff.). On abbreviations in biblical MSS. see Ginsburg, *Introd.*, 165 ff.

<sup>1</sup> According to Blau, *Studien zum althebr. Buchwesen*, Strassburg, 1902, p. 167, properly a large *U*, called *l'ūyā* because suspended between the two halves of the Psalter, and then incorrectly taken for a *littera suspensa*.

of sounds on Hebrew itself (§ 19), and partly from the tradition of the Jews.<sup>1</sup>

The pronunciation of Hebrew by the modern German Jews, which partly resembles the Syriac and is generally called 'Polish', differs considerably from that of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews, which approaches nearer to the Arabic. The pronunciation of Hebrew by Christians follows the latter (after the example of Reuchlin), in almost all cases.

b The oldest tradition is presented in the transcription of Hebrew names in Assyrian cuneiform; a later, but yet in its way very important system is seen in the manner in which the LXX transcribe Hebrew names with Greek letters.<sup>2</sup> As, however, corresponding signs for several sounds (א, ב, ג, ד, ה) are wanting in the Greek alphabet, only an approximate representation was possible in these cases. The same applies to the Latin transcription of Hebrew words by Jerome, according to the Jewish pronunciation of his time.<sup>3</sup>

On the pronunciation of the modern Jews in North Africa, see Bargès in the *Journ. Asiat.*, Nov. 1848; on that of the South Arabian Jews, J. Dérenbourg, *Manuel du lecteur*, &c. (from a Yemen MS. of the year 1390), Paris, 1871 (extrait 6 du *Journ. Asiat.* 1870).

c 2. With regard to the pronunciation of the several gutturals and sibilants, and of א and ק, it may be remarked:—

1. Among the gutturals, the glottal stop א is the lightest, corresponding to the *spiritus lenis* of the Greeks. It may stand either at the beginning or end of a syllable, e. g. אָמַר 'āmār, אָמַרְתָּ yā'sām. Even before a vowel א is almost lost to our ear, like the *h* in *hour* and in the French *habit, homme*. After a vowel א generally (and at the end of a word, always) coalesces with it, e. g. אָרָא qārā for an original qārā', Arab. qārā'ā; see further, § 23 a, 27 g.

d א before a vowel corresponds exactly to our *h* (*spiritus asper*); after a vowel it is either a guttural (so always at the end of a syllable which is not final, e. g. נָהַפְּקָה nāhpakh; at the end of a word the consonantal א has a point—Mappiq—in it, see § 14), or it stands inaudible at the end of a word, generally as a mere orthographic indication of a preceding vowel, e. g. גָּלָה gālā; cf. §§ 7 b and 75 a.

e ב is related to א, but is a much stronger guttural. Its strongest sound is a rattled, guttural *g*, cf. e. g. בָּעַץ, LXX βάζα, בָּעַץ Γόμορρα; elsewhere, a weaker sound of the same kind, which the LXX reproduce by a *spiritus (lenis or asper)*, e. g. בָּלִי 'חלִי, בָּעַץ 'Αμάλεκ.<sup>4</sup> In the mouth of the Arabs one hears in the former case a sort of guttural *r*, in the latter a sound peculiar to themselves formed in the back of the throat.—It is as incorrect to omit the ב

<sup>1</sup> Cf. C. Meinhof, 'Die Aussprache des Hebr.,' in *Neue Jahrb. f. Philol. u. Pädag.*, 1885, Bd. 132, p. 146 ff.; M. Schreiner, 'Zur Gesch. der Ausspr. des Hebr.,' in *ZAW.* 1886, p. 213 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Frankel, *Vorstudien zu der Septuag.*, Lpz. 1841, p. 90 ff.; C. Könneke, 'Gymn.-Progr.,' Stargard, 1885. On the transcription of eleven Psalms in a palimpsest fragment of the Hexapla at Milan, see Mercati, *Atti della R. Accad.*, xxxi, Turin, 1896. [Cf. Burkitt, *Fragments of . . . Aquila*, Cambr. 1897, p. 13.]

<sup>3</sup> Numerous examples occur in *Hieronimi quaestiones hebraicae in libro geneleos*, edited by P. de Lagarde, Lpz. 1868; cf. the exhaustive and systematic discussion by Siegfried, 'Die Aussprache des Hebr. bei Hieronymus,' in *ZAW.* 1884, pp. 34-83.

<sup>4</sup> It is, however, doubtful if the LXX always consciously aimed at reproducing the actual differences of sound.

entirely, in reading and transcribing words (עֲלִי *Eli*, אֶמְלִיִּק *Amalek*), as to pronounce it exactly like *g* or like a nasal *ng*. The stronger sound might be approximately transcribed by *gh* or *'g*; but since in Hebrew the softer sound was the more common, it is sufficient to represent it by the sign ' , as אַרְבַּע 'arba', עַד 'ad.

ן is the strongest guttural sound, a deep guttural *ch*, as heard generally *f* in Swiss German, somewhat as in the German *Achat*, *Macht*, *Sache*, *Docht*, *Zucht* (not as in *Licht*, *Knecht*), and similar to the Spanish *j*. Like ף it was, however, pronounced in many words feebly, in others strongly.

As regards ך, its pronunciation as a palatal (with a vibrating uvula) seems *g* to have been the prevailing one. Hence in some respects it is also classed with the gutturals (§ 22 q, r). On the lingual ך, cf. o.

2. The Hebrew language is unusually rich in sibilants. These have, at any *h* rate in some cases, arisen from dentals which are retained as such in Aramaic and Arabic (see in the *Lexicon* the letters ך, צ and שׁ).

שׁ and שׂ were originally represented (as is still the case in the unpointed *i* texts) by only one form שׁ; but that the use of this one form to express two different sounds (at least in Hebrew) was due only to the poverty of the alphabet, is clear from the fact that they are differentiated in Arabic and Ethiopic (cf. Nöldeke in *Ztschr. f. wissenschaft. Theol.*, 1873, p. 121; Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, i. 133). In the Masoretic punctuation they were distinguished by means of the diacritical point as שׁ (sh) and שׂ (s).<sup>1</sup>

The original difference between the sounds שׁ and ם sometimes marks *h* a distinction in meaning, e. g. סָבַר to close, שָׂכַר to hire, סָבַל to be foolish, שָׂבַל to be prudent, to be wise. Syriac always represents both sounds by ם, and in Hebrew also they are sometimes interchanged; as סָבַר for שָׂכַר to hire, Ezr 4<sup>5</sup>; שָׂבִלּוֹת for סָבִלּוֹת *folly*, Ec 1<sup>17</sup>.

ז (transcribed ζ by the LXX) is a soft whizzing *s*, the French and English *z*, *l* altogether different from the German *z* (*ts*).

3. ט, ק, and probably צ are pronounced with a strong articulation and *m* with a compression of the larynx. The first two are thus essentially different from ת and כ, which correspond to our *t* and *k* and also are often aspirated (see below, *n*). צ is distinguished from every other *s* by its peculiar articulation, and in no way corresponds to the German *z* or *ts*; we transcribe it by *z*; cf. G. Hüsing, 'Zum Lautwerte des צ,' in *OLZ.* x. 467 ff.

3. Six consonants, the weak and middle hard Palatals, Dentals, *n* and Labials

ב נ ד כ פ ת (בְּנִדְכַפְתְּ)

have a twofold pronunciation, (1) a harder sound, as mutes, like

<sup>1</sup> The modern Samaritans, however, in reading their Hebrew Pentateuch pronounce שׁ invariably as שׂ.

<sup>2</sup> The original value of ם, and its relation to the original value of שׁ and שׂ, is still undetermined, despite the valuable investigations of P. Haupt, *ZDMG.* 1880, p. 762 f.; D. H. Müller, 'Zur Geschichte der semit. Zischlaute,' in the *Verhandlungen des Wiener Orient. Congresses*, Vienna, 1888, Semitic section, p. 229 ff.; De Lagarde, 'Samech,' in the *NGGW.* 1891, no. 5, esp. p. 173; Aug. Müller, *ZAW.* 1891, p. 267 ff.; Nöldeke, *ZDMG.* 1893, p. 100 f.; E. Glaser, *Zwei Wiener Publicationen über Habaschitisch-punische Dialekte in Südarabien*, Munich, 1902, pp. 19 ff.—On the phonetic value of צ see G. Hüsing, *OLZ.* 1907, p. 467 ff.

*k*, *p*, *t*, or initial *b*, *g* (hard), *d*; and (2) a softer sound as *spirantes*.<sup>1</sup> The harder sound is the original. It is retained at the beginning of syllables, when there is no vowel immediately preceding to influence the pronunciation, and is denoted by a point, *Dageš lene* (§ 13), placed in the consonants, viz. ב *b*, ג *g*, ד *d*, כ *k*, פ *p*, ת *t*. The weaker pronunciation appears as soon as a vowel sound immediately precedes. It is occasionally denoted, esp. in MSS., by *Rāphè* (§ 14 e), but in printed texts usually by the mere absence of the *Dageš*. In the case of ב, כ, פ, ת, the two sounds are clearly distinguishable even to our ear as *b* and *v*, *k* and German (weak) *ch*, *p* and *ph*, *t* and *th* (in *thin*). The Greeks too express this twofold pronunciation by special characters: ב κ, כ χ; פ π, פ φ; ת τ, ת θ. In the same way ג should be pronounced like the North German *g* in *Tage*, *Wagen*, and ד like *th* in *the*, as distinguished from ג and ד.

For more precise information on the cases in which the one or the other pronunciation takes place, see § 21. The modern Jews pronounce the aspirated ב as *v*, the aspirated ת as *s*, e.g. רב רַב (*rav* (or even *raf*)), בַּיִת *bais*. The customary transcription (used also in this Grammar) of the spirants ב, כ, ת by *bh*, *kh*, *th* is only an unsatisfactory makeshift, since it may lead (esp. in the case of *bh* and *kh*) to an erroneous conception of the sounds as real aspirates, *b-h*, *k-h*.

o 4. According to their special character the consonants are divided into—

(a) Gutturals	א ה ע ח
(b) Palatals	ק נ ג
(c) Dentals	ת ט ד
(d) Labials	פ ב
(e) Sibilants	צ ש ס ז
(f) Sonants	וי, ר, ל, נט.

In the case of ד its hardest pronunciation as a *palatal* (see above, *g*, end) is to be distinguished from its more unusual sound as a lingual, pronounced in the front of the mouth.

On the twofold pronunciation of *r* in Tiberias, cf. Delitzsch, *Physiol. und Musik*, Lpz. 1868, p. 10 ff.; Baer and Strack, *Dikduke ha-t'amim*, Lpz. 1879, p. 5, note a, and § 7 of the Hebrew text, as well as p. 82.

p In accordance with E. Sievers, *Metrische Studien*, i. 14, the following scheme of the Hebrew phonetic system is substituted for the table formerly given in this grammar:—

i. Throat sounds (Gutturals): א ה ע ח.

<sup>1</sup> So at any rate at the time when the present punctuation arose.

ii. Mouth-sounds :		w.	m.	e.	w.	m.
1. Mutes and Spirants :	Palatal	ג	כ	ק	ג	כ
	Dental	ד	ת	ט	ד	ת
	Labial	ב	פ	—	ב	פ
2. Sibilants :	...	ז	שׁ שׂ ש׃	צ		
3. Sonants :	...	ו	ל	מ		

Rem. 1. The meaning of the letters at the top is, w. = weak, m. = middle hard, e. = emphatic. Consonants which are produced by the same organ of speech are called *homorganic* (e.g. ג and כ as palatals), consonants whose sound is of the same nature *homogeneous* (e.g. ו and ױ as semi-vowels). On their homorganic character and homogeneity depends the possibility of interchange, whether within Hebrew itself or with the kindred dialects. In such cases the soft sound generally interchanges with the soft, the hard with the hard, &c. (e.g. ד=ז, ת=שׁ, ט=צ). Further transitions are not, however, excluded, as e.g. the interchange of ת and ק (ת=כ=ק). Here it is of importance to observe whether the change takes place in an initial, medial, or final letter; since e.g. the change in a letter when medial does not always prove the possibility of the change when initial. That in certain cases the character of the consonantal sound also influences the preceding or following vowel will be noticed in the accidence as the instances occur.

Rem. 2. Very probably in course of time certain nicer distinctions of *ʔ* pronunciation became more and more neglected and finally were lost. Thus e.g. the stronger *ʔ* *ʔg*, which was known to the LXX (see above, e), became in many cases altogether lost to the later Jews; by the Samaritans and Galileans *ʔ* and *ן* were pronounced merely as *ʔ*, and so in Ethiopic, *ʔ* like *ʔ*, *ן* like *h*, *שׁ* like *s*.

Rem. 3. The consonants which it is usual to describe especially as *weak*, *s* are those which readily coalesce with a preceding vowel to form a long vowel, viz. *ʔ*, ו, ױ (as to *ן*, cf. § 23 k), or those which are most frequently affected by the changes described in § 19 b-l, as again *ʔ*, ו, ױ, and *ן*, and in certain cases *ת* and *ל*; finally the gutturals and *ד* for the reason given in § 22 b and q.

### § 7. *The Vowels in General, Vowel Letters and Vowel Signs.*

1. The original vowels in Hebrew, as in the other Semitic tongues, *a* are *a*, *i*, *u*. *E* and *o* always arise from an obscuring or contraction of these three pure sounds, viz. *e* by modification from *i* or *ā*; short *o* from *ū*; *ê* by contraction from *ai* (properly *ay*); and *ô* sometimes by modification (obscuring) from *ā*, sometimes by contraction from *au* (properly *aw*).<sup>1</sup>

In Arabic writing there are vowel signs only for *a*, *i*, *u*; the combined sounds *ay* and *aw* are therefore retained uncontracted and pronounced as diphthongs (*ai* and *au*), e.g. *سأف* Arab. *sawf*, and *عائنا* Arab. *'ainain*. It was

<sup>1</sup> In proper names the LXX often use the diphthongs *ai* and *au* where the Hebrew form has *e* or *o*. It is, however, very doubtful whether the *ai* and *au* of the LXX really represent the true pronunciation of Hebrew of that time; see the instructive statistics given by Kittel in Haupt's *SBOT.*, on 1 Ch 1<sup>2-20</sup>.

only in later Arabic that they became in pronunciation  $\acute{e}$  and  $\acute{o}$ , at least after weaker or softer consonants; cf. בַּיִן Arab. *bain*, *bén*, בַּיִן Arab. *yaum*, *yóm*. The same contraction appears also in other languages, e.g. in Greek and Latin (*θαῦμα*, Ionic *θῶμα*; *plaustrum* = *plostrum*), in the French pronunciation of *ai* and *au*, and likewise in the German popular dialects (*Oge* for *Auge*, &c.). Similarly, the obscuring of the vowels plays a part in various languages (cf. e.g. the *a* in modern Persian, Swedish, English, &c.).<sup>1</sup>

b 2. The partial expression of the vowels by certain consonants (ה, ו, י; א), which sufficed during the lifetime of the language, and for a still longer period afterwards (cf. § 1 k), must in the main have passed through the following stages<sup>2</sup>:—

(a) The need of a written indication of the vowel first made itself felt in cases where, after the rejection of a consonant, or of an entire syllable, a long vowel formed the final sound of the word. The first step in such a case was to retain the original final consonant, at least as a vowel letter, i. e. merely as an indication of a final vowel. In point of fact we find even in the Old Testament, as already in the Mēša' inscription, a ה employed in this way (see below) as an indication of a final *o*. From this it was only a step to the employment of the same consonant to indicate also other vowels when final (thus, e.g. in the inflection of the verbs הָלַךְ, the vowels  $\bar{a}$ ,<sup>3</sup>  $\bar{e}$ ,  $\bar{e}$ ). After the employment of ו as a vowel letter for  $\acute{o}$  and  $\acute{u}$ , and of י for  $\acute{e}$  and  $\acute{i}$ , had been established (see below, e) these consonants were also employed—although not consistently—for the same vowels at the end of a word.

c According to § 91 b and d, the suffix of the 3rd sing. masc. in the noun (as in the verb) was originally pronounced הוּ. But in the places where this הוּ with a preceding *a* is contracted into  $\acute{o}$  (after the rejection of the ה), we find the ה still frequently retained as a vowel letter, e.g. עִירָהּ, סוּתָהּ Gn 49<sup>11</sup>, cf. § 91 e; so throughout the Mēša' inscription אֲרִצָּהּ, בֵּיתָהּ (also בֵּיתָהּ), בְּנָהּ, בָּהּ, לָהּ, הַלְתַּחַמָּהּ; on the other hand already in the Siloam inscription רֵעוּ.<sup>4</sup> Mēša', l. 8 = יָמָיו *his days* is unusual, as also רֵשָׁהּ l. 20 if it is for ראשיו *his chiefs*. The verbal forms with ה suffixed are to be read אֲרִצָּהּ (l. 6), וְאֲסַחֲבָהּ (l. 12 f.) and וַיִּגְרֶשָׁהּ (l. 19).

d As an example of the original consonant being retained, we might also include the ו of the constr. state plur. masc. if its  $\acute{e}$  (according to § 89 d) is

<sup>1</sup> In Sanskrit, in the Old Persian cuneiform, and in Ethiopic, short *a* alone of all the vowels is not represented, but the consonant by itself is pronounced with short *a*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. especially Stade, *Lehrb. der hebr. Gr.*, p. 34 ff.

<sup>3</sup> According to Stade, the employment of ה for  $\bar{a}$  probably took place first in the case of the locative accusatives which originally ended in הָ, as אֲרִצָּהּ, אֲרִצָּהּ.

<sup>4</sup> The form רֵעוּ contradicts the view of Oort, *Theol. Tijds.*, 1902, p. 374, that the above instances from the Mēša'-inscription are to be read *benhu*, *bahu*, *lahu*, which were afterwards vocalized as *beno*, *bo*, *lo*.

contracted from an original *ay*. Against this, however, it may be urged that the Phoenician inscriptions do not usually express this *ê*, nor any other final vowel.<sup>1</sup>

(b) The employment of ם to denote *ô*, *û*, and of ך to denote *ê*, *î*, may *e* have resulted from those cases in which a ם with a preceding *a* was contracted into *au* and further to *ô*, or with a preceding *u* coalesced into *û*, and where ך with *a* has been contracted into *ai* and further to *ê*, or with a preceding *i* into *î* (cf. § 24). In this case the previously existing consonants were retained as vowel letters and were further applied at the end of the word to denote the respective long vowels. Finally ם also will in the first instance have established itself as a vowel letter only where a consonantal ם with a preceding *a* had coalesced into *â* or *â*.

The orthography of the Siloam inscription corresponds almost exactly with the above assumptions. Here (as in the Mēša' inscr.) we find all the long vowels, which have not arisen from original diphthongs, *without* vowel letters, thus אֵשׁ אֶבֶב, חֶצְבֶם, מִיָּמֶן (or מִיָּמֵן); אֶפֶת, קֵל, שָׁלֵשׁ, צָר. On the other hand מוֹצָא (from *mausa'*), עוֹד (from *'aud*); מִיָּמֶן also, if it is to be read מִיָּמֵן, is an instance of the retention of a ך which has coalesced with *i* into *î*. Instances of the retention of an originally consonantal ם as a vowel letter are מֵאֲתָיִם, מוֹצָא, and קָרָא, as also רֵאשׁ. Otherwise final *â* is always represented by ה: אֶפֶה, הֵיָה, זֶה, נִקְבָה, וְזֶה. To this ם alone would form an exception (cf. however the note on יוֹם, § 96), instead of יוֹם (Arab. *yaum*) *day*, which one would expect. If the reading be correct, this is to be regarded as an argument that a consciousness of the origin of many long vowels was lost at an early period, so that (at least in the middle of the word) the vowel letters were omitted in places where they should stand, according to what has been stated above, and added where there was no case of contraction. This view is in a great measure confirmed by the orthography of the Mēša' inscription. There we find, as might be expected, רֵיבֶן (= *Daibōn*, as the *Δαιβών* of the LXX proves), הוֹרֶנֶן (*ô* from *au*), and בֵּיתָה (*ê* from *ai*), but also even הִשְׁעֵנִי <sup>2</sup> instead of הוֹשְׁעֵנִי (from *haus-*), וְאִשְׁבֵּיבֶת, וְאִשְׁבֵּיבֶת, four times, בֵּיתָה once, בֵּית and בֵּיתָה (from *bait*); לֵילָה = לָלָה, אֵן = אָן or אֵן.

<sup>1</sup> Thus there occurs, e.g. in Melit. I, l. 3 שְׁנַנְבֵּי = שְׁנֵי בְנֵי the two sons; elsewhere כ for כֵּי (but כֵּי in the Mēša' and Siloam inscr.), ך for ךָ (the latter in the Siloam inscr.), בַּנְתֵּי = בְּנֵתֵי (so Mēša') or בְּנֵתֵי, &c. Cf. on the other hand in Mēša', אֲנִכֵּי = אֲנִכֵּי (unless it was actually pronounced *'anōkkh* by the Moabites!). As final *â* is represented by ה and ם and final *î* by ך, so final *û* is almost everywhere expressed by ם in Mēša', and always in the Siloam inscription. It is indeed not impossible that Hebrew orthography also once passed through a period in which the final vowels were left always or sometimes undenoted, and that not a few strange forms in the present text of the Bible are to be explained from the fact that subsequently the vowel letters (especially ם and ך) were not added in all cases. So Chwolson, 'Die Quiescentia הוֹי in der althebr. Orthogr.', in *Travaux du Congrès . . . des Orientalistes*, Petersb. 1876; cf. numerous instances in Ginsburg, *Introd.*, p. 146 ff.

<sup>2</sup> הִשְׁעֵנִי is the more strange since the name of king הוֹשֵׁעַ is represented as *A-u si'* in cuneiform as late as 728 B.C.

*g* (c) In the present state of Old Testament vocalization as it appears in the Masoretic text, the striving after a certain uniformity cannot be mistaken, in spite of the inconsistencies which have crept in. Thus the final long vowel is, with very few exceptions (cf. § 9 *d*, and the very doubtful cases in § 8 *k*), indicated by a vowel letter—and almost always by the same letter in certain nominal and verbal endings. In many cases the use of ם to mark an *ô* or *û*, arising from contraction, and of ם for *ê* or *î*, is by far the more common, while we seldom find an originally consonantal ם rejected, and the simple phonetic principle taking the place of the historical orthography. On the other hand the number of exceptions is very great. In many cases (as e.g. in the plural endings ם׃ and ם׃) the vowel letters are habitually employed to express long vowels which do not arise through contraction, and we even find short vowels indicated. The conclusion is, that if there ever was a period of Hebrew writing when the application of fixed laws to all cases was intended, either these laws were not consistently carried out in the further transmission of the text, or errors and confusion afterwards crept into it. Moreover much remained uncertain even in texts which were plentifully provided with vowel letters. For, although in most cases the context was a guide to the correct reading, yet there were also cases where, of the many possible ways of pronouncing a word, more than one appeared admissible.<sup>1</sup>

*h* 3. When the language had died out, the ambiguity of such a writing must have been found continually more troublesome; and as there was thus a danger that the correct pronunciation might be finally lost, the vowel signs or vowel points were invented in order to fix it. By means of these points everything hitherto left uncertain was most accurately settled. It is true that there is no historical account of the date of this vocalization of the O. T. text, yet we may at least infer, from a comparison of other historical facts, that it was gradually developed by Jewish grammarians in the sixth and seventh centuries A. D. under the influence of different Schools, traces of which have been preserved to the present time in various differences of tradition.<sup>2</sup> They mainly followed, though with independent regard to

<sup>1</sup> Thus e.g. *בִּרְבִּי* can be read *qāṭal*, *qāṭāl*, *qāṭōl*, *qēṭōl*, *qōṭēl*, *qittēl*, *qattēl*, *quṭṭal*, *qēṭel*, and several of these forms have also different senses.

<sup>2</sup> The most important of these differences are, (a) those between the Orientals, i. e. the scholars of the Babylonian Schools, and the Occidentals, i. e. the scholars of Palestine (Tiberias, &c.); cf. Ginsburg, *Introd.*, p. 197 ff.; (b) amongst the Occidentals, between Ben-Naphtali and Ben-Asher, who flourished in the first half of the tenth century at Tiberias; cf. Ginsburg, *Introd.*, p. 241 ff. Both sets of variants are given by Baer in the appendices

the peculiar nature of the Hebrew, the example and pattern of the older Syrian punctuation.<sup>1</sup>

See Gesenius, *Gesch. d. hebr. Spr.*, p. 182 ff.; Hupfeld, in *Theol. Studien u. Kritiken*, 1830, pt. iii, who shows that neither Jerome nor the Talmud mentions vowel signs; Berliner, *Beiträge zur hebr. Gramm. im Talm. u. Midrasch*, p. 26 ff.; and B. Pick, in *Hebraica*, i. 3, p. 153 ff.; Abr. Geiger, 'Zur Nakdanim-[Punctuators-]Literatur,' in *Jüd. Ztschr. für Wissensch. u. Leben*, x. Breslau, 1872, p. 10 ff.; H. Strack, *Prolegomena critica in Vet. Test. Hebr.*, Lips. 1873; 'Beitrag zur Gesch. des hebr. Bibeltextes,' in *Theol. Stud. u. Krit.*, 1875, p. 736 ff., as also in the *Ztschr. f. die ges. luth. Theol. u. K.*, 1875, p. 619 ff.; 'Massorah,' in the *Protest. Real.-Enc.*, xii. 393 ff. (a good outline); A. Merx, in the *Verhandlungen des Orientalistenkongresses zu Berlin*, i. Berlin, 1881, p. 164 ff. and p. 188 ff.; H. Graetz, 'Die Anfänge der Vokalzeichen im Hebr.,' in *Monatsschr. f. Gesch. u. Wissensch. d. Judenth.*, 1881, pp. 348 ff. and 395 ff.; Hersmann, *Zur Gesch. des Streitens über die Entstehung der hebr. Punctuation*, Ruhrort, 1885; Harris, 'The Rise . . . of the Massorah,' *JQR.* i. 1889, p. 128 ff. and p. 223 ff.; Mayer-Lambert, *REJ.* xxvi. 1893, p. 274 ff.; J. Bachrach, *Das Alter d. bibl. Vocalisation u. Accentuation*, 2 pts. Warsaw, 1897, and esp. Ginsburg, *Introd.* (see § 3 c), p. 287 ff.; Budde, 'Zur Gesch. d. Tiberiens. Vokalisation,' in *Orient. Studien zu Ehren Th. Nöldekes*, i. 1906, 651 ff.; Bacher, 'Diakrit. Zeichen in vormasoret. Zeit,' in *ZAW.* 1907, p. 285; C. Levias, art. 'Vocalization,' in the *Jewish Encycl.*—On the hypothesis of the origin of punctuation in the Jewish schools for children, cf. J. Dérenbourg in the *Rev. Crit.*, xiii. 1879, no. 25.

4. To complete the historical vocalization of the consonantal text *i* a phonetic system was devised, so exact as to show all vowel-changes occasioned by lengthening of words, by the tone, by gutturals, &c., which in other languages are seldom indicated in writing. The pronunciation followed is in the main that of the Palestinian Jews of about the sixth century A.D., as observed in the solemn reading of the sacred writings in synagogue and school, but based on a much older tradition. That the real pronunciation of early Hebrew is consistently preserved by this tradition, has recently been seriously questioned on good grounds, especially in view of the transcription of proper names in the LXX. Nevertheless in many cases, internal reasons, as well as the analogy of the kindred languages, testify in a high degree to the faithfulness of the tradition. At the same recension of the text, or soon after, the various other signs for reading (§§ 11–14, 16) were added, and the accents (§ 15).

### § 8. *The Vowel Signs in particular.*

P. Haupt, 'The names of the Hebrew vowels,' *JAOS.* xxii, and in the *Johns Hopkins Semitic Papers*, Newhaven, 1901, p. 7 ff.; C. Levias in the *Hebr. Union Coll. Annual*, Cincinnati, 1904, p. 138 ff.

to his critical editions. Our printed editions present uniformly the text of Ben-Asher, with the exception of a few isolated readings of Ben-Naphtali, and of numerous later corruptions.

<sup>1</sup> See Geiger, 'Massorah bei d. Syrern,' in *ZDMG.* 1873, p. 148 ff.; J. P. Martin, *Hist. de la ponctuation ou de la Massore chez les Syriens*, Par. 1875; E. Nestle, in *ZDMG.* 1876, p. 525 ff.; Weingarten, *Die syr. Massora nach Bar Hebraeus*, Halle, 1887.

## Preliminary Remark.

The next two sections (§§ 8 and 9) have been severely criticized (Philippi, *ThLZ.* 1897, no. 2) for assigning a definite quantity to each of the several vowels, whereas in reality  $\bar{\_}$ ,  $\underline{\_}$ ,  $\cdot$  are merely signs for  $\bar{a}$ ,  $e$ ,  $o$ : 'whether these are long or short is not shown by the signs themselves but must be inferred from the rules for the pause which marks the breaks in continuous narrative, or from other circumstances.' But in the twenty-fourth and subsequent German editions of this Grammar, in the last note on § 8 a [English ed. p. 38, note 4], it was stated: 'it must be mentioned that the Masorettes are not concerned with any distinction between long and short vowels, or in general with any question of quantity. Their efforts are directed to fixing the received pronunciation as faithfully as possible, by means of writing.

For a long time only מְלָכִים מְבַעֵה שֶׁבַע מְלָכִים *seven kings* were reckoned (*vox memor.* in Elias Levita מְבַעֵה שֶׁבַע מְלָכִים), Šureq and Qibbuš being counted as one vowel.

The division of the vowels in respect of quantity is a later attempt at a scientific conception of the phonetic system, which was not invented but only represented by the Masorettes (Qimchi, *Mikhlol*, ed. Rittenb. 136 a, distinguishes the five long as *mothers* from their five daughters).

I have therefore long shared the opinion that 'the vowel-system represented by the ordinary punctuation (of Tiberias) was primarily intended to mark only differences of quality' (Sievers, *Metrische Studien*, i. 17). There is, however, of course a further question how far these 'later' grammarians were mistaken in assigning a particular quantity to the vowels represented by particular signs. In Philippi's opinion they were mistaken (excluding of course  $\bar{i}$ ,  $\bar{e}$ ,  $\bar{o}$  when written *plene*) in a very great number of cases, since not only does  $\bar{\_}$  stand, according to circumstances, for  $\bar{a}$  or  $\bar{ä}$ , and  $\underline{\_}$  for  $\bar{a}$  or  $\bar{ä}$ , but also  $\underline{\_}$  for  $\bar{e}$  or  $\bar{ö}$ , and  $\cdot$  for  $\bar{o}$  or  $\bar{ö}$ , e. g. מְבַעֵה and מְבַעֵה, out of pause *kābēd*, *qā'ōn* (form מְבַעֵה), but in pause *kābēd*, *qā'ōn*.

I readily admit, with regard to *Qameš* and *S<sup>e</sup>gol*, that the account formerly given in § 8 f. was open to misconstruction. With regard to *Šere* and *Holem*, however, I can only follow Philippi so long as his view does not conflict with the (to me inviolable) law of a long vowel in an open syllable before the tone and (except *Pathah*) in a final syllable with the tone. To me מְבַעֵה = *kābēd*, &c., is as impossible as e. g. מְבַעֵה = 'ēnab or מְבַעֵה = *bōrahk*, in spite of the analogy cited by Sievers (p. 18, note 1) that 'in old German e. g. original  $\bar{i}$  and  $\bar{u}$  often pass into  $\bar{e}$  and  $\bar{o}$  dialectically, while remaining in a closed syllable.

- a 1. The full vowels (in contrast to the half-vowels or vowel trills, § 10 a-f), classified according to the three principal vowel sounds (§ 7 a), are as follows:—

## First Class. A-sound.

- |   |   |  |
|---|---|--|
| A | { | 1. $\bar{\_}$ <sup>1</sup> <i>Qāmēš</i> denotes either $\bar{a}$ , $\bar{ä}$ , more strictly $\bar{ā}$ (the obscure Swedish $\bar{a}$ ) and $\hat{a}$ , <sup>2</sup> as מְבַעֵה <i>yād</i> (hand), מְבַעֵה <i>rā'sim</i> (heads), or $\bar{ä}$ (in future transcribed as $\bar{o}$ ), called <i>Qāmēš ḥātūph</i> , i. e. hurried <i>Qameš</i> . The latter occurs almost exclusively as a modification of $\bar{u}$ ; cf. c and § 9 u. |
|   |   | 2. $\underline{\_}$ <i>Pāthāh</i> , $\bar{ä}$ , מְבַעֵה <i>bāth</i> (daughter).  |

<sup>1</sup> In early MSS. the sign for *Qameš* is a stroke with a point underneath, i. e. according to Nestle's discovery (*ZDMG.* 1892, p. 411 f.), *Pathah* with *Holem*, the latter suggesting the obscure pronunciation of *Qameš* as  $\bar{ä}$ . Cf. also Ginsburg, *Intro.*, p. 609.

<sup>2</sup> Instead of the no doubt more accurate transcription  $\bar{ā}$ ,  $\hat{a}$  we have

Also 3. — *S<sup>e</sup>gôl*, an open *e*, è (*ā* or *ǎ*), as a modification of *ā*,<sup>1</sup> either in an untoned closed syllable, as in the first syllable of *יָדְךָ* *yādkhēm* (your hand) from *yādkhēm*—or in a tone-syllable as in *פְּסָחַ* *pēsah*; cf. *πᾶσχα*, and on the really monosyllabic character of such formations, see § 28 *e*. But *S<sup>e</sup>gôl* in an open tone-syllable with a following *ʾ*, as in *גְּלֵנָה* *g<sup>e</sup>lènā* (cf. § 75 *f*), *יָדְכָה* *yādèkhā* (cf. § 91 *i*), is due to contraction from *ay*.

Second Class. *I- and E-sounds.*

- |   |   |  |
|---|---|--|
| I | { | 1. <i>ʾ</i> — <i>Hirēq</i> with <i>yod</i> , almost always <i>î</i> , as <i>צַדִּיק</i> <i>šaddiq</i> (righteous). <i>b</i>  |
|   |   | 2. — either <i>î</i> (see below, <i>i</i> ), as <i>צַדִּיקִים</i> <i>šaddiqim</i> , only orthographically different from <i>צַדִּיקִים</i> ( <i>צַדִּיקִים</i> ),—or <i>î</i> , as <i>צַדִּיקָה</i> <i>šīdqô</i> (his righteousness).  |
| E | { | 3. <i>ʾ</i> — <i>Šerî</i> or <i>Šērê</i> with <i>yod</i> = <i>ê</i> , e. g. <i>בֵּיתוֹ</i> <i>bêthô</i> (his house).<br>— either <i>ê</i> , but rarely (see below, <i>i</i> ), or <i>ē</i> as <i>שֵׁם</i> <i>šēm</i> (name).<br><i>Šere</i> can only be <i>ě</i> , in my opinion, in few cases, such as those mentioned in § 29 <i>f</i> . |
|   |   | 4. — <i>S<sup>e</sup>gôl</i> , <i>ǎ</i> , a modification of <i>î</i> , e. g. <i>חֲפֵזִי</i> <i>hāfsî</i> (ground-form <i>hīfs</i> ); <i>שָׁן</i> <i>šān</i> (ground-form <i>šīn</i> ).   |

Third Class. *U- and O-sounds.*

- |   |   |  |
|---|---|--|
| U | { | 1. <i>ʾ</i> <i>Šārēq</i> , usually <i>ū</i> , <i>מָוֶת</i> <i>mūth</i> (to die), rarely <i>ū</i> . <i>C</i>  |
|   |   | 2. — <i>Qibbūs</i> , either <i>ū</i> , e. g. <i>מַלְאָכָה</i> <i>sūllām</i> (ladder), or <i>ū</i> , e. g. <i>קָמוּ</i> <i>qūmū</i> (rise up), instead of the usual <i>קָמוּ</i> .  |
| O | { | 3. <i>î</i> and — <i>Hōlēn</i> , <i>ô</i> and <i>ō</i> , <i>קוֹל</i> <i>qôl</i> (voice), <i>רֹב</i> <i>rôbh</i> (multitude).<br>Often also a defective — for <i>ô</i> ; rarely <i>î</i> for <i>ô</i> .<br>On the question whether — under some circumstances represents <i>ô</i> , see § 93 <i>r</i> . |
|   |   | 4. — On <i>Qāmēš hāṭūph</i> = <i>ô</i> , generally modified from <i>ū</i> , as <i>חֹק</i> <i>hōq</i> (statute), see above, <i>a</i> .  |

retained *ā*, *á* in this grammar, as being typographically simpler and not liable to any misunderstanding. For *Qāmēš hāṭūph*, in the previous German edition expressed by *ǎ*, we have, after careful consideration, returned to *ô*. The use of the same sign — for *ā* (*ā*) and *ǎ*, shows that the Massoretes did not intend to draw a sharp distinction between them. We must not, however, regard the Jewish grammarians as making a merely idle distinction between *Qāmēš rāhāb*, or broad *Qāmēš*, and *Qāmēš hāṭūph*, or light *Qāmēš*. It is quite impossible that in the living language an *ā* lengthened from *ǎ*, as in *dābār*, should have been indistinguishable from e. g. the last vowel in *יִשְׁבֵּן* or the first in *יִשְׁבֵּן*.—The notation *ā*, *é*, *ô* expresses here the vowels essentially long, either naturally or by contraction; the notation *ā*, *ē*, *ō* those lengthened only by the tone, and therefore changeable; *á*, *ě*, *ô* the short vowels. As regards the others, the distinction into *ı* and *î*, *ú* and *ū* is sufficient; see § 9.—The mark <sup>˘</sup> stands in the following pages over the tone-syllable, whenever this is not the last, as is usual, but the penultimate syllable of the word, e. g. *יִשְׁבֵּן*.

<sup>1</sup> These *S<sup>e</sup>gôls*, modified from *ǎ*, are very frequent in the language. The

d The names of the vowels are mostly taken from the form and action of the mouth in producing the various sounds, as פִּתַח opening; צִיָּרִי a wide parting (of the mouth), also שִׁבְרָה (= *v*) breaking, parting (cf. the Arab. *kasr*); הֵיָרֵק (also הֵרֵק) narrow opening; הוֹלָם closing, according to others fullness, i. e. of the mouth (also מְלֵא פִּים<sup>1</sup> fullness of the mouth). קָמִין<sup>2</sup> also denotes a slighter, as שׁוֹרֵק and קְבוּץ (also קְבוּץ פִּים) a firmer, compression or contraction of the mouth. *S<sup>e</sup>göl* (סְגוּל bunch of grapes) takes its name from its form. So שְׁלֵשׁ נְקֻדוֹת (three points) is another name for *Qibbûs*.

e Moreover the names were mostly so formed (but only later), that the sound of each vowel is heard in the first syllable (קָמִין for קְמִין, פִּתַח for פִּתְחָה, צִיָּרִי for צִיָּרִי); in order to carry this out consistently some even write *Sägöl*, *Qomes-ḥatûf*, *Qübbûs*.

f 2. As the above examples show, the vowel sign stands regularly under the consonant, after which it is to be pronounced, רַ *rā*, רֶ *rā*, רֵ *rē*, רִ *rē*, רֹ *rū*, &c. The *Pathah* called *furtivum* (§ 22 f) alone forms an exception to this rule, being pronounced before the consonant, רִיחַ *rū<sup>a</sup>ḥ* (wind, spirit). The *Hōlēm* (without *wāw*) stands on the left above the consonant; רֹ *rō* (but לֹ = *lō*). If א, as a vowel letter, follows a consonant which is to be pronounced with *ō*, the point is placed over its right arm, thus בֹּאֵשׁ, רֹאשׁ; but e. g. בֹּאֵם, since א here begins a syllable.

g No dot is used for the *Holem* when *ō* (of course without *wāw*) is pronounced after *sin* or before *šin*. Hence שִׁנְאָה *šōnē* (hating), נִשְׂאָה *n<sup>e</sup>šō* (to bear), מוֹשֶׁה *mōšē* (not מוֹשֶׁה); but שִׁמְרָה *šómēr* (a watchman). When *ō* precedes the *sin*, the dot is placed over its right arm, e. g. יִרְפֹּשׁ *yirpōš* (he treads with the feet), הַנְּשִׂאִים *hannōš<sup>e</sup>im* (those who carry).

In the sign ו, the ו may also be a consonant. The ו is then either to be read *ōw* (necessarily so when a consonant otherwise without a vowel precedes, e. g. לוֹוֶה *lōwè*, lending) or *wō*, when a vowel already precedes the ו, e. g. עוֹוֹן *‘āwōn* (iniquity) for עוֹוֹן. In more exact printing, a distinction is at least made between ו (wo) and ו (i. e. either *ō* or, when another vowel follows the *wāw*, *ōw*<sup>3</sup>).

Babylonian punctuation (see § 8 g, note 1) has only one sign for it and tone-bearing *Pathah*; see also Gaster, 'Die Unterschiedslosigkeit zwischen *Pathach* u. *Segol*,' in *ZAW*. 1894, p. 60 ff.

<sup>1</sup> On the erroneous use of the term *melo pum*, only in Germany, for *šureq* (hence also pronounced *melu pum* to indicate *ū*), see E. Nestle, *ZDMG*. 1904, p. 597 ff.; Bacher, *ibid.*, p. 799 ff., *Melopum*; Simonsen, *ibid.*, p. 807 ff.

<sup>2</sup> The usual spelling קָמִין and פִּתַח takes the words certainly rightly as Hebrew substantives; according to De Lagarde (*Gött. gel. Anz.* 1886, p. 873, and so previously Luzzatto), קְמִין and פִּתְחָה are rather Aram. participles, like *Dagesš*, &c., and consequently to be transliterated *Qimēs* and *Páthah*.

<sup>3</sup> Since 1846 we have become acquainted with a system of vocalization different in many respects from the common method. The vowel signs, all except ו, are there placed above the consonants, and differ almost throughout in form,

3. The vowels of the first class are, with the exception of  $\overset{\cdot}{\text{v}}$  in  $h$  the middle and  $\overset{\cdot}{\text{v}}$ ,  $\overset{\cdot}{\text{v}}$ ,  $\overset{\cdot}{\text{v}}$  at the end of the word (§ 9 a-d, f), represented *only* by vowel signs, but the long vowels of the I- and U-class largely by vowel letters. The vowel sound to which the letter

and some even as regards the sound which they denote:  $\overset{\cdot}{\text{v}}$  =  $\overset{\cdot}{\text{a}}$ ,  $\overset{\cdot}{\text{v}}$  = tone-bearing  $\overset{\cdot}{\text{a}}$  and  $\overset{\cdot}{\text{e}}$ ,  $\overset{\cdot}{\text{v}}$  =  $\overset{\cdot}{\text{e}}$ ,  $\overset{\cdot}{\text{v}}$ ,  $\overset{\cdot}{\text{v}}$  =  $\overset{\cdot}{\text{i}}$ ,  $\overset{\cdot}{\text{v}}$  =  $\overset{\cdot}{\text{o}}$ ,  $\overset{\cdot}{\text{v}}$  or  $\overset{\cdot}{\text{v}}$  =  $\overset{\cdot}{\text{u}}$ . In an unsharpened syllable  $\overset{\cdot}{\text{v}}$  = toneless  $\overset{\cdot}{\text{a}}$  and  $\overset{\cdot}{\text{e}}$ , and also  $\overset{\cdot}{\text{v}}$  Pathah;  $\overset{\cdot}{\text{v}}$  = toneless  $\overset{\cdot}{\text{e}}$  and  $\overset{\cdot}{\text{v}}$  S<sup>g</sup>h<sup>o</sup>l;  $\overset{\cdot}{\text{v}}$  =  $\overset{\cdot}{\text{i}}$ ,  $\overset{\cdot}{\text{v}}$  =  $\overset{\cdot}{\text{u}}$ ,  $\overset{\cdot}{\text{v}}$  =  $\overset{\cdot}{\text{o}}$ , and  $\overset{\cdot}{\text{v}}$  Qames. Lastly in toneless syllables before Dageš,  $\overset{\cdot}{\text{v}}$  =  $\overset{\cdot}{\text{a}}$ ,  $\overset{\cdot}{\text{v}}$  =  $\overset{\cdot}{\text{e}}$ ,  $\overset{\cdot}{\text{v}}$  =  $\overset{\cdot}{\text{i}}$ ,  $\overset{\cdot}{\text{v}}$  =  $\overset{\cdot}{\text{u}}$ ,  $\overset{\cdot}{\text{v}}$  =  $\overset{\cdot}{\text{a}}$ . Š<sup>o</sup>wâ is  $\overset{\cdot}{\text{v}}$

The accents differ less and stand in some cases under the line of the consonants. Besides this complicated system of the Codex Babylonicus (see below) and other MSS., there is a simpler one, used in Targums. It is still uncertain whether the latter is the foundation of the former (as Merx, *Chrest. Targ.* xi, and Bacher, *ZDMG.* 1895, p. 15 ff.), or is a later development of it among the Jews of South Arabia (as Praetorius, *ZDMG.* 1899, p. 181 ff.). For the older literature on this *Babylonian punctuation* (בְּבִבְיָוִת), as it is called, see A. Harkavy and H. L. Strack, *Katalog der hebr. Bibelhandschr. der Kaiserl. öffentl. Bibliothek zu St. Petersburg.*, St. Petersburg, and Lpz., 1875, parts i and ii, p. 223 ff. A more thorough study of the system was made possible by H. Strack's facsimile edition of the *Prophetarum posteriorum codex Babylonicus Petropolititanus* (St. Petersburg, 1876, la. fol.) of the year 916, which Firkowitsch discovered in 1839, in the synagogue at Tschufutkale in the Crimea. The MS. has been shown by Ginsburg (*Recueil des travaux rédigés en mémoire . . . de Chwolson*, Berlin, 1899, p. 149, and *Introd.*, pp. 216 ff., 475 f.) to contain a recension of the Biblical text partly Babylonian and partly Palestinian; cf. also Barnstein, *The Targum of Onkelos to Genesis*, London, 1896, p. 6 f. Strack edited a fragment of it in *Hosea et Joel prophetae ad fidem cod. Babylon. Petrop.*, St. Petersburg, 1875. Cf. also the publication by A. Merx, quoted above, § 7 h, and his *Chrestomathia Targumica*, Berlin, 1888; G. Margoliouth, in the *PSBA.* xv. 4, and M. Gaster, *ibid.*; P. Kahle, *Der masoret. Text des A. T. nach d. Überlief. der babyl. Juden*, Lpz. 1902, with the valuable review by Rahlfs in *GGA.* 1903, no. 5; Nestle, *ZDMG.* 1905, p. 719 (Babylonian  $\overset{\cdot}{\text{v}}$  =  $\overset{\cdot}{\text{v}}$ ). According to the opinion formerly prevailing, this Babylonian punctuation exhibits the system which was developed in the Eastern schools, corresponding to and contemporaneous with the Western or Tiberian system, although a higher degree of originality, or approximation to the original of both systems of punctuation, was generally conceded to the latter. Recently, however, Wickes, *Accents of the Twenty-one Books*, Oxford, 1887, p. 142 ff., has endeavoured to show, from the accents, that the 'Babylonian' punctuation may certainly be an Oriental, but is by no means the Oriental system. It is rather to be regarded, according to him, as a later and not altogether successful attempt to modify, and thus to simplify, the system common to all the Schools in the East and West. Strack, *Wiss. Jahresb. der ZDMG.* 1879, p. 124, established the probability that the vowels of the superlinear punctuation arose under Arab influence from the vowel letters נ' (so previously Pinsker and Graetz), while the Tiberian system shows Syrian influence.

A third, widely different system (Palestinian), probably the basis of the other two, is described by A. Neubauer, *JQR.* vii. 1895, p. 361 ff., and Friedländer, *ibid.*, p. 564 ff., and *PSBA.* 1896, p. 86 ff.; C. Levias, *Journ. of Sem. Lang. and Lit.*, xv. p. 157 ff.; and esp. P. Kahle, *Beitr. zu der Gesch. der hebr. Punctuation*, in *ZAW.* 1901, p. 273 ff. and in *Der masoret. Text des A. T.* (see above), chiefly dealing with the Berlin MS. Or. qu. 680, which contains a number of variants on the biblical text, and frequently agrees with the transcriptions of the LXX and Jerome.

points is determined more precisely by the vowel sign standing before, above, or within it. Thus—

י may be combined with *Hîrêq*, *Şêrê*, *Sêgôl* (יְ, יִ, יֶ).

י with *Şârêq* and *Hôlêm* (יִ and יֶ).<sup>1</sup>

In Arabic the long *a* also is regularly expressed by a vowel letter, viz. 'Alêph (آ), so that in that language three vowel letters correspond to the three vowel classes. In Hebrew א is rarely used as a vowel letter; see § 9 b and § 23 g.

i 4. The omission of the vowel letters when writing *i*, *u*, *e*, *o* is called *scriptio defectiva* in contrast to *scriptio plena*. קוּל, קוּם are written *plene*, חָלָק, חָק *defective*.

Cf. Bardowitz, *Studien zur Gesch. der Orthogr. im Althebr.*, 1894; Lidzbarski, *Ephem.*, i. 182, 275; Marmorstein, 'Midrasch der vollen u. defekt. Schreibung,' in *ZAW.* 1907, p. 33 ff.

k So far as the choice of the full or defective mode of writing is concerned, there are certainly some cases in which only the one or the other is admissible. Thus the full form is necessary at the end of the word, for *u*, *o*, *o*, *i*, *e*, *e*, as well as for *e* in חָזַק &c. (§ 9 f), also generally with *a*, *ā* (cf. however § 9 d), e.g. מַלְכֵי, יְדֵי, קְטָלְתֵי, קְטָלְוּ. (But the Masora requires in Jer 26<sup>6</sup>, 44<sup>9</sup>; Ezr 6<sup>21</sup>; 2 Ch 32<sup>13</sup> גּוֹיִ instead of גּוֹיִ; Zp 2<sup>9</sup> גּוֹיִ [perhaps an error due to the following י] for גּוֹיִ; Is 40<sup>21</sup> יְקוּיִ [followed by י] for יְקוּיִ; Jer 38<sup>11</sup> בְּלוֹיִ [בְּלוֹיִ].) On the other hand the defective writing is common when the letter, which would have to be employed as a vowel letter, immediately precedes as a strong consonant, e.g. גּוֹיִם (*nations*) for גּוֹיִים, מְצֻוֹת (*commandments*) for מְצֻוֹת.

l That much is here arbitrary (see § 7 g), follows from the fact that sometimes the same word is written very differently, e.g. הִקְיִמוּתֵי Ez 16<sup>60</sup>: הִקְמֹתֵי and also הִקְמוּתֵי Jer 23<sup>4</sup>; cf. § 25 b. Only it may be observed,

(a) That the *scriptio plena* in two successive syllables was generally avoided; cf. e.g. נְבִיא but נְבִאִים; צַדִּיק but צַדִּיקִים; קוּל but קְלוֹת; יְהוֹשֻׁעַ but מְצַאֲהוּ.

(b) That in the later Books of the O. T. (and regularly in post-biblical Hebrew) the full form, in the earlier the defective, is more usual.

m 5. In the cognate dialects, when a vowel precedes a vowel-letter which is not kindred (heterogeneous), e.g. יְ, יִ, יֶ, יֵ, יִ, a diphthong (*au*, *ai*)<sup>2</sup> is formed if the heterogeneous vowel be *a*. This is also to be regarded as the Old Hebrew pronunciation, since it

<sup>1</sup> After the example of the Jewish grammarians the expression, 'the vowel letter rests (*quiesces*) in the vowel-sign,' has become customary. On the other hand, the vowel letters are also called by the grammarians, *matres lectionis* or *supports* (*fulcra*).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. T. C. Foote, *The diphthong ai in Hebrew* (Johns Hopkins Univ. Circulars, June, 1903, p. 70 ff.).

agrees with the vocalic character of ו and י (§ 5 b, note 2). Thus such words as וי, ין, יג, יישׁוּ, יג, ין, יג are not to be pronounced according to the usual Jewish custom<sup>1</sup> as *vāv*, *hay*, *gōy*, *'āsūy*, *gēv*, *bayith* (or even as *vaf*, &c.; cf. modern Greek *av af*, *ev ef* for *av*, *ev*), but with the Italian Jews more like *wāu*, *hai*, &c. The sound of וֹ is the same as וֹ, i.e. almost like *āu*, so that וֹ is often written defectively for וֹ.

### § 9. Character of the several Vowels.

Numerous as are the vowel signs in Hebrew writing, they are yet *a* not fully adequate to express all the various modifications of the vowel sounds, especially with respect to length and shortness. To understand this better a short explanation of the character and value of the several vowels is required, especially in regard to their length and shortness as well as to their changeableness (§§ 25, 27).

#### I. First Class. *A*-sound.

1. *Qameṣ* (ֹ), when it represents a long *a*, is, by nature and origin, of two kinds:—

(1) The essentially long *ā* (in Arabic regularly written אֹ), which is not readily shortened and never wholly dropped (§ 25 c), e.g. כֹּתָב *kēthābh* (writing); very seldom with a following א, as שֹׁאֵל 2 S 12<sup>1,4</sup> (see the examples in § 72 p).<sup>2</sup>

The writing of חֹלָה Ho 10<sup>14</sup> for חֹלָה would only be justifiable, if the *ā* *b* of this form were to be explained as a contraction of *āā*; cf. however § 72 a; חֹלָה Neh 13<sup>16</sup> for חֹלָה (*dāg*) is certainly incorrect.—The rarity of the *ā* in Hebrew arises from the fact that it has for the most part become an obtuse *ō*; see below, q.

(2) *-ā*, lengthened only by position (i.e. tone-long or at all events *c* lengthened under the influence of the tone, according to the laws for the formation of syllables, § 27 e-h), either in the tone-syllable itself (or in the secondary tone-syllable indicated by *Mēthēg*, see below), or just before or after it. This sound is invariably lengthened from an original *ā*,<sup>3</sup> and is found in open syllables, i.e. syllables ending in a vowel (§ 26 b), e.g. חֹלָה, חֹלָה, חֹלָה, חֹלָה (Arab. *lakā*, *qātālā*, *yāqūmū*, *'āsīrū*), as well as in closed syllables, i.e. those ending in

<sup>1</sup> In MSS. ו and י, in such combinations as וי, ין, are even marked with Mappiq (§ 14 a).

<sup>2</sup> Of a different kind are the cases in which א has lost its consonantal sound by coalescing with a preceding *a*, § 23 a-d.

<sup>3</sup> In Arabic this *ā* is always retained in an open syllable.

a consonant, as  $\text{י}$ ,  $\text{בּוֹכֵב}$  (vulgar Arab. *yād, kaukāb*). In a closed syllable, however, it can only stand when this has the tone,  $\text{רָבֵר}$ ,  $\text{עוֹלֵם}$ ; whereas in an open syllable it is especially frequent *before* the tone, e.g.  $\text{רָבֵר}$ ,  $\text{יָבֵר}$ ,  $\text{לָבֵר}$ . Where the tone is moved forward or weakened (as happens most commonly in what is called the construct state of nouns, cf. § 89 a) the original short  $\check{a}$  (*Pathah*) is retained in a closed syllable, while in an open syllable it becomes  $\check{S}ewá$  (§ 27 i):  $\text{רָבֵר}$ , constr. state  $\text{רָבֵר}$  (*h<sup>a</sup>khām*);  $\text{רָבֵר}$ ,  $\text{רָבֵר}$  (*d<sup>e</sup>bhār*);  $\text{לָבֵר}$ ,  $\text{לָבֵר}$ . For examples of the retention, in the secondary tone-syllable, of  $\bar{a}$  lengthened from  $\check{a}$ , see § 93 *xx*.

d In some terminations of the verb ( $\text{וּ}$  in the 2nd sing. masc. perf.,  $\text{וֹ}$  in the 2nd pl. fem. of the imperat., as well as in the 3rd and 2nd pl. fem. of the imperf.), in  $\text{תָּ}$  *thou* (masc.) and in the suffixes  $\text{וֹ}$  and  $\text{וּ}$ ; the final  $\bar{a}$  can stand even without a vowel letter. A  $\text{ה}$  is, however, in these cases (except with  $\text{וּ}$ ) frequently added as a vowel letter.

On  $\text{וֹ}$  for  $\check{o}$  see below, *f*.

e 2. *Pathah*, or short  $\check{a}$ , stands in Hebrew almost exclusively in a closed syllable with or without the tone ( $\text{לָבֵר}$ ,  $\text{עוֹלֵם}$ ). In places where it now appears to stand in an open syllable the syllable was originally closed, and a helping vowel ( $\check{a}$ ,  $\check{y}$ ) has been inserted after the second radical merely to make the pronunciation easier, e.g.  $\text{נָחַל}$  (ground-form *nahl*),  $\text{בַּיִת}$  (Arab. *bait*), see § 28 *d*, and with regard to two cases of a different kind, § 26 *g, h*. Otherwise  $\check{a}$  in an open syllable has almost without exception passed into  $\bar{a}$  ( $\text{וֹ}$ ), see above, *c*.

On the very frequent attenuation of  $\bar{a}$  to  $\check{i}$ , cf. below, *h*. On the rare, and only apparent union of *Pathah* with  $\text{א}$  ( $\text{אֶ}$ ), see § 23 *d*, end. On  $\bar{a}$  as a helping-vowel, § 22 *f* (*Pathah furtivum*), and § 28 *e*.

f 3. *Segól* ( $\check{e}$ ,  $\check{e}$  [ $\bar{a}$ ]) by origin belongs sometimes to the second, but most frequently to the first vowel class (§ 27 *o, p, u*). It belongs to the first class when it is a modification of *a* (as the Germ. *Bad*, pl. *Büder*; Eng. *man*, pl. *men*), either in a toneless syllable, e.g.  $\text{בָּמֶן}$  (for *yadkhēm*), or with the tone, e.g.  $\text{אֶרֶץ}$  from *'ars*,  $\text{אֶרֶץ}$  Arab. *qārṇ*,  $\text{אֶמֶן}$  Arab. *qāmḥ*. This *Segól* is often retained even in the strongest tone-syllable, at the end of a sentence or of an important clause (in *pause*), as  $\text{מְלָאֲכָה}$ ,  $\text{פָּרְיָה}$  (*mālākh, sādāq*). As a rule, however, in such cases the *Pathah* which underlies the *Segól* is lengthened into *Qameṣ*, e.g.  $\text{מְלָאֲכָה}$ ,  $\text{פָּרְיָה}$ . A *Segól* apparently lengthened from  $\check{S}ewá$ , but in reality traceable to an original  $\check{a}$ , stands in pausal forms, as  $\text{אֶרֶץ}$  (ground-form *pāry*),  $\text{אֶרֶץ}$  (*yāhy*), &c. On the cases where a ' (originally consonantal) follows this *Segól*, see § 75 *f*, and § 91 *k*.



תָּן from תָּן (*give*), יְצַרְתָּ (thy creator) from יָצַר, or in the case discussed in § 93 o, חָלַקְתָּ, עָזְרִי from the ground-forms *hīlq*, 'izr; cf. also § 64 f. *Seḡōl* appears as a simple helping-vowel in cases such as שִׁפְרָה for *siphra*, יִגְלֵה for *yigl* (§ 28 e).

### III. Third Class. U- and O-sounds.

n 9. For the U-sound there is—

(1) the long *ū*, either (a) written fully, וְשֹׁרֶק, e.g. גְּבוּלָה (*boundary*), or (b) defectively written — *Qibbūs* גְּבוּלוֹ, יִמְתָּן;

(2) the short *ū*, mostly represented by *Qibbūs*, in a toneless closed syllable and especially common in a sharpened syllable, in e.g. שֻׁלְחָן (*table*), מִבְּתָה (*booth*).

O Sometimes also *ū* in a sharpened syllable is written וְ, e.g. הַיְבֵקָה ψ 102<sup>5</sup>, יִגְלֵה Jb 5<sup>7</sup>, בּוֹלָם Jer. 31<sup>34</sup>, מְשׁוֹבְתוֹ Is 5<sup>5</sup>, עֲרוּמִים Gn 22<sup>5</sup> for הַבְּקָה, &c.

For this *u* the LXX write o, e.g. עֲרֻלָּם 'Οδολλάμ, from which, however, it only follows, that this *ū* was pronounced somewhat indistinctly. The LXX also express the sharp *Hireq* by ε, e.g. אֶמְרָה = 'Εμμήρ. The pronunciation of the *Qibbūs* like the German *ū*, which was formerly common, is incorrect, although the occasional pronunciation of the U-sounds as *ū* in the time of the punctators is attested, at least as regards Palestine<sup>1</sup>; cf. the Turkish *būlbūl* for the Persian *bulbul*, and the pronunciation of the Arabic *dunyā* in Syria as *dūnyā*.

p 10. The O-sound bears the same relation to U as the E does to I in the second class. It has four varieties:—

(1) The *ō* which is contracted from *aw* (= *au*), § 7 a, and accordingly is mostly written fully; וְ (Holem plenum), e.g. שׁוֹט (*a whip*), Arab. *saut*, עוֹלָה (*iniquity*) from עוֹלָה. More rarely defectively, as שְׂרָךְ (*thine ox*) from שׁוֹר Arab. *šaur*.

q (2) The long *ō* which arose in Hebrew at an early period, by a general process of obscuring, out of an original *ā*,<sup>2</sup> while the latter has been retained in Arabic and Aramaic. It is usually written *fully* in the tone-syllable, *defectively* in the toneless, e.g. קָטִיל Arab. *qâtîl*. Aram. *qâtêl*, אֵלֹהִים Arab. 'ilâh, Aram. 'êlâh, plur. אֱלֹהִים; שׁוֹק (*leg*), Arab. *sâq*; גִּבּוֹר (*hero*), Arab. *gābbâr*; חוֹתָם (*seal*), Arab. *hâtâm*; רְמוֹן (*pomegranate*), Arab. *rūmmân*; שְׁלֵטוֹן (*dominion*), Aram. שְׁלֵטוֹן and שְׁלֵטָן Arab. *sūlṭân*; שְׁלוֹם (*peace*), Aram. שְׁלָם, Arab. *sâlâm*. Sometimes the form in *ā* also occurs side by side with that in *ō* as שְׁרָן and שְׁרָיוֹן (*coat of mail*; see however § 29 u). Cf. also § 68 b.

r (3) The tone-long *ō* which is lengthened from an original *ū*, or from an *ō* arising from *ū*, by the tone, or in general according to the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Delitzsch, *Physiologie u. Musik*, Lpz. 1868, p. 15 f.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. above, b, end. On Jerome's transliteration of *o* for *ā*, see ZAW. 1884, p. 75.

laws for the formation of syllables. It occurs not only in the tone-syllable, but also in an open syllable before the tone, e.g. שִׁבְרָה (ground-form *qušš*) *sanctuary*; בִּרְרָה for *burrakh*, בִּרְרָה יִשְׁרָאֵל  $\psi$  104<sup>23</sup>, as well as (with *Metheg*) in the secondary tone-syllable; אִי־לֵי־אֵל, אִי־לֵי־אֵל. But the original *ö* (*ü*) is retained in a toneless closed syllable, whereas in a toneless open syllable it is weakened to *šewâ*. Cf. אֵל *all*, but אֵל־לֵךְ (*köl*), אֵל־לָמַד (*küllām*); אֵל־לֵךְ, אֵל־לָמַד and אֵל־לָמַד, where original *ü* is weakened to *šewâ*: *yiqi<sup>el</sup>ü*, Arab. *yaqtülü*. This tone-long *ö* is only as an exception written fully.

(4)  $\text{—}$  *Qameš-ḥaṭuph* represents *ö* (properly *ä*, cf. § 8 a, note 2) modified from *ü* and is therefore classed here. It stands in the same relation to *Holem* as the *Seḡól* of the second class to *Sere*, אֵל־לֵךְ *köl*, אֵל־לָמַד *wayyāqôm*. On the distinction between this and *Qameš*, see below, *u*.

11. The following table gives a summary of the gradation of the *t* three vowel-classes according to the quantity of the vowels:—

First Class : A.	Second Class : I and E.	Third Class : U and O.
$\text{—}$ original <i>ā</i> (Arabic אֵֿֿֿ).	אֵֿֿ <i>ē</i> , from original <i>ay</i> ( <i>ai</i> ).  אֵֿֿֿ or אֵֿֿֿֿ long <i>i</i> .	אִֿ <i>î</i> , from original <i>aw</i> ( <i>au</i> ). אִֿֿ or אִֿֿֿ <i>ô</i> obscured from <i>ā</i> . אִֿֿ or אִֿֿֿ <i>û</i> .
$\text{—}$ tone-long <i>ā</i> (from original <i>ä</i> ) chiefly in the tone-syllable but also just before it.	$\text{—}$ tone-long <i>ē</i> (from <i>i</i> ) generally in the tone-syllable but also just before it.	$\text{—}$ tone-long <i>ō</i> (from original <i>ü</i> ) in the tone-syllable, otherwise in an open syllable.
$\text{—}$ (as a modification of <i>ä</i> ) sometimes a tone-long <i>ē</i> , sometimes <i>ē</i> . $\text{—}$ short <i>ä</i> . [ $\text{—}$ <i>i</i> attenuated from <i>ä</i> ; see <i>h</i> .] Utmost weakening to אֵֿֿֿ <sup>a</sup> , אֵֿֿֿ <sup>ē</sup> , אֵֿֿֿ <sup>e</sup> .	$\text{—}$ <i>ē</i> .  $\text{—}$ short <i>i</i> .  Utmost weakening to אֵֿֿֿ <sup>a</sup> , אֵֿֿֿ <sup>ē</sup> , or אֵֿֿֿ <sup>e</sup> .	$\text{—}$ <i>ō</i> , modified from <i>ü</i> .  $\text{—}$ short <i>ü</i> , especially in a sharpened syllable.  Utmost weakening to אִֿֿ <sup>a</sup> , אִֿֿ <sup>ē</sup> , אִֿֿ <sup>o</sup> , or אִֿֿ <sup>e</sup> .

Rem. On the distinction between *Qameš* and *Qameš-ḥaṭuph*.<sup>1</sup>

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According to § 8 a, long *ā* or *ā* (*Qameš*) and short *ö* or *ä* (*Qameš-ḥaṭuph*) are in manuscripts and printed texts generally expressed by the same sign (ֵ), e.g. אֵֿֿ *qām*, אֵֿֿֿ *köl*. The beginner who does not yet know the grammatical

<sup>1</sup> These statements, in order to be fully understood, must be studied in connexion with the theory of syllables (§ 26) and *Metheg* (§ 16 c-i).

origin of the words in question (which is of course the surest guide), may depend meanwhile on the following principal rules:—

1. The sign  $\text{ֿ}$ <sup>1</sup> is  $\ddot{o}$  in a toneless closed syllable, since such a syllable can have only a short vowel (§ 26 o). The above case occurs—

(a) When *Šewā* follows as a syllable-divider, as in  $\text{חֹכְמָה}$  *hōkh-mā* (wisdom),  $\text{אֹכֶל־לֶחֶם}$  'ōkh-lā (food). With *Metheg*  $\text{ֿ}$  is  $\bar{a}$  ( $\bar{ā}$ ) and according to the usual view stands in an open syllable with a following *Šewā* mobile, e.g.  $\text{אָכַלְתָּ}$  'ā-kh'lā (she ate); but cf. § 16 i.

(b) When a closed syllable is formed by *Dageš forte*, e.g.  $\text{חַנּוּנֵנִי}$  *hōnnēnī* (have mercy upon me); but  $\text{חַנּוּנִים}$  (with *Metheg*, § 16 f ζ) *bāttīm*.

(c) When the syllable in question loses the tone on account of a following *Maqqēph* (§ 16 a), e.g.  $\text{כֹּל־הָאָדָם}$  *kōl-hā-'ādām* (all men).

In  $\psi$  35<sup>10</sup> and Pr 19<sup>7</sup> *Maqqēph* with  $\text{כֹּל}$  is replaced by a conjunctive accent (*Mer'kha*); so by *Darga*, Ju 19<sup>5</sup> with  $\text{עָרַב}$ , and Ez 37<sup>8</sup> with  $\text{וַיִּקְרָם}$  (so Baer after Qimḥi; ed. Mant., Ginsburg, Kittel  $\text{וַיִּקְרָם}$ ).

(d) In a closed final syllable without the tone, e.g.  $\text{וַיָּקֶם}$  *wayyāqōm* (and he stood up).—In the cases where  $\acute{a}$  or  $\bar{a}$  in the final syllable has become toneless through *Maqqēph* (§ 16 a) and yet remains, e.g.  $\text{בְּרַב־הַדָּת}$  Est 4<sup>8</sup>,  $\text{שֵׁת־לִי}$  Gn 4<sup>25</sup>, it has a *Metheg* in correct manuscripts and printed texts.

In cases like  $\text{לָמָּה}$ ,  $\text{לָמָּה}$  *lāmmā*, the tone shows that  $\text{ֿ}$  is to be read as  $\bar{a}$ .

U 2. The cases in which  $\text{ֿ}$  appears to stand in an open syllable and yet is to be read as  $\ddot{o}$  require special consideration. This is the case, (a) when *Hateph-Qameš* follows, e.g.  $\text{פְּעָלוֹ}$  *his work*, or simple vocal *Šewā*, e.g.  $\text{רָבֵן}$  *ox goad*;  $\text{בְּעֵבְרוֹ}$  Jo 4<sup>7</sup>;  $\text{שְׁמֵרָה}$  (so ed. Mant., Ginsb.) *preserve*  $\psi$  86<sup>2</sup>, cf. 16<sup>1</sup> and the cases mentioned in § 48 i, n., and § 61 f, n.; other examples are Ob 11, Ju 14<sup>16</sup>); *Hateph-Pathah* follows in  $\text{לְמַשְׁחָה}$  (so Ginsburg; Baer  $\text{לְמַשְׁחָה}$ ) 1 S 15<sup>1</sup>,  $\text{לְהַרְגָהּ}$  24<sup>11</sup>, and  $\text{יַפְנֹשֶׁת}$  (so Baer, Gn 32<sup>18</sup>, others  $\text{יַפְנֹשֶׁת}$ ); (b) before another *Qameš-ḥaṭuph*, e.g.  $\text{פְּעָלֶיךָ}$  *thy work*; on  $\text{אֲרָה־לִי}$  and  $\text{קְבַה־לִי}$  Nu 23<sup>7</sup>, see § 67 o; (c) in the two plural forms  $\text{קְדָשִׁים}$  *sanctuaries* and  $\text{שְׁרָשִׁים}$  *roots* (also written  $\text{קָדֶשׁ}$  and  $\text{שָׂרֶשׁ}$ ). In all these cases the Jewish grammarians regard the *Metheg* accompanying the  $\text{ֿ}$  as indicating a *Qāmeš raḥabh* (broad *Qameš*) and therefore read the  $\text{ֿ}$  as  $\bar{a}$ ; thus *pā-<sup>o</sup>lō*, *dā-<sup>r</sup>ēbān*, *pā-<sup>ē</sup>l<sup>l</sup>khā*, *qā-dāšim*. But neither the origin of these forms, nor the analogous formations in Hebrew and in the cognate languages, nor the transcription of proper names in the

<sup>1</sup> In the Babylonian punctuation (§ 8 g, note)  $\bar{a}$  and  $\ddot{o}$  are carefully distinguished. So also in many MSS. with the ordinary punctuation and in Baer's editions of the text since 1880, in which  $\text{ֿ}$  is used for  $\ddot{o}$  as well as for  $\bar{a}$ . Cf. Baer-Delitzsch, *Liber Jobi*, p. 43. But the identity of the two signs is certainly original, and the use of  $\text{ֿ}$  for  $\ddot{o}$  is misleading.

LXX, allows us to regard this view as correct. It is just possible that Qames̄ is here used loosely for  $\ddot{a}$ , as the equivalent of  $\bar{o}$ , on the analogy of  $\text{לְעֵבֶר}$  &c., § 93 g. As a matter of fact, however, we ought no doubt to divide and read  $p\ddot{o}'\text{-l}\ddot{o}$  (for  $p\ddot{o}'\text{-l}\ddot{o}$ ),  $p\ddot{o}'\ddot{o}\text{-l}'kh\ddot{a}$ ,  $q\ddot{o}\ddot{d}\ddot{a}\text{-}\ddot{s}im$ .—Quite as inconceivable is it for *Metheg* to be a sign of the lengthening into  $\bar{a}$  in  $\text{הַיָּם־הַיָּבֵשׁ}$  (Ex 11<sup>8</sup>), although it is so in  $\text{בְּנֵי־בָרִי}$   $\ddot{a}\text{-}^{\circ}ni$  (in the navy), since here the  $\bar{a}$  of the article appears under the  $\text{ב}$ .

### § 10. The Half Vowels and the Syllable Divider (*Šewá*).

1. Besides the full vowels, Hebrew has also a series of vowel *a* sounds which may be called *half vowels* (Sievers, *Murmelvokale*). The punctuation makes use of these to represent extremely slight sounds which are to be regarded as remains of fuller and more distinct vowels from an earlier period of the language. They generally take the place of vowels *originally short* standing in *open syllables*. Such short vowels, though preserved in the kindred languages, are not tolerated by the present system of pointing in Hebrew, but either undergo a lengthening or are weakened to *Šewá*. Under some circumstances, however, the original short vowel may reappear.

To these belongs first of all the sign  $\text{ְ}$ , which indicates an extremely short, slight, and (as regards pronunciation) indeterminate vowel sound, something like an obscure half  $\ddot{e}$  ( $\text{ְ}$ ). It is called *Šewá*,<sup>1</sup> which may be either *simple Šewá* (*Šewá simplex*) as distinguished from the compound (see *f*), or *vocal Šewá* (*Šewá mobile*) as distinguished from *Šewá quiescens*, which is silent and stands as a mere syllable divider (see *i*) under the consonant which closes the syllable.

The vocal *Šewá* stands under a consonant which is closely united, as *c* a kind of grace-note, with the following syllable, either (*a*) at the beginning of the word, as  $\text{קָטַל}$   $q\ddot{e}t\ddot{o}l$  (to kill),  $\text{מָלַל}$   $m\ddot{e}mall\ddot{e}$  (filling), or (*b*) in the middle of the word, as  $\text{קָטַלְתָּ}$   $q\ddot{o}\text{-}t\ddot{e}l\ddot{a}$ ,  $\text{יָקַטְלֵי}$   $yiq\text{-}t\ddot{e}l\ddot{a}$ .

In former editions of this Grammar *Šewá* was distinguished as *medium d* when it followed a short vowel and therefore stood in a supposed 'loosely closed' or 'wavering' syllable, as in  $\text{מְלַבֵּל}$ ,  $\text{בְּנַפֵּל}$ . According to Sievers, *Metrische Studien*, i. 22, this distinction must now be abandoned. These syllables are really closed, and the original vowel is not merely shortened, but entirely elided. The fact that a following B<sup>g</sup>adk<sup>e</sup>phath letter (§ 6 n) remains spirant instead of taking *Dageš lene*, is explained by Sievers on the 'supposition that the change from hard to spirant is older than the elision

<sup>1</sup> On  $\text{שְׁוָא}$ , the older and certainly the only correct form (as in Ben Asher), see Bacher, *ZDMG*. 1895, p. 18, note 3, who compares *Šewayya*, the name of the Syriac accentual sign of similar form  $\text{ܫܘܘܐ}$  (= Hebr. *Zaqeph*). The form  $\text{שְׁוָא}$ , customary in Spain since the time of Menahem b. Sarûq, is due to a supposed connexion with Aram.  $\text{שְׁוָא}$  *rest*, and hence would originally have denoted only *Šewá quiescens*, like the Arabic *sukûn* (rest). The derivation from  $\text{שְׁוָא}$ ,  $\text{שְׁוָא}$  (stem  $\text{שָׁב}$ , *Levias*, *American Journ. of Philol.*, xvi. 28 ff.) seems impossible.

of the vowel, and that the prehistoric *malakai* became *malakhai* before being shortened to *malkhē*. In cases like מַלְכָּי (from מַלְכָּי), יְקָרָי (from יְקָרָי) the dropping of the *Dageš forte* shows that the original vowel is completely lost.

c The sound *ē* has been adopted as the normal transcription of simple *Š<sup>e</sup>wā* mobile, although it is certain that it often became assimilated in sound to other vowels. The LXX express it by *ε*, or even by *η*, ἀλληλοῦία, more frequently by *α*, ἀλλοῦία, but very frequently by assimilating its indeterminate sound to the following principal vowel, e. g. סֶדֶם סֶדֶם סֶדֶם Σόδομα, מְלַח מְלַח מְלַח Σολομών (as well as Σαλωμών), אֶבֶן אֶבֶן אֶבֶן Σαβαώθ, נַחְתָּנַי נַחְתָּנַי נַחְתָּנַי Nabanaḥā.<sup>1</sup> A similar account of the pronunciation of *Š<sup>e</sup>wā* is given by Jewish grammarians of the middle ages.<sup>2</sup>

How the *Š<sup>e</sup>wā* sound has arisen through the vanishing of a full vowel is seen, e. g. in בְּרָכָה from *bārākā*, as the word is still pronounced in Arabic. In that language the full short vowel regularly corresponds to the Hebrew *Š<sup>e</sup>wā* mobile.

f 2. Connected with the simple *Š<sup>e</sup>wā* mobile is the compound *Š<sup>e</sup>wā* or *Hâṭēph* (*correptum*), i. e. a *Š<sup>e</sup>wā* the pronunciation of which is more accurately fixed by the addition of a short vowel. There are three *Š<sup>e</sup>wā*-sounds determined in this way, corresponding to the three vowel classes (§ 7 a):—

(—) *Hâṭēph-Páthāh*, e. g. מֹדֶר מֹדֶר *h<sup>a</sup>mōr*, ass.

(—) *Hâṭēph-S<sup>e</sup>gōl*, e. g. מֹדֶר מֹדֶר *'emōr*, to say.

(—) *Hâṭēph-Qāmēs*, e. g. מֹדֶר מֹדֶר *h<sup>o</sup>li*, sickness.

These *Hâṭēphs*, or at least the first two, stand especially under the four guttural letters (§ 22 l), instead of a simple *Š<sup>e</sup>wā* mobile, since these letters by their nature require a more definite vowel than the indeterminate simple *Š<sup>e</sup>wā* mobile. Accordingly a guttural at the beginning of a syllable, where the *Š<sup>e</sup>wā* is necessarily vocal, can never have a mere *Š<sup>e</sup>wā* simplex.

On — the shorter *Hâṭef* as compared with — cf. § 27 v.

g Rem. A. Only — and — occur under letters which are not gutturals. *Hâṭef-Pathāh* is found instead of simple *Š<sup>e</sup>wā* (especially *Š<sup>e</sup>wā* mobile), chiefly (a) under strengthened consonants, since this strengthening (commonly called doubling) causes a more distinct pronunciation of the *Š<sup>e</sup>wā* mobile, מֹדֶר מֹדֶר branches, Zc 4<sup>12</sup>. According to the rule given by Ben-Asher (which, however, appears to be unknown to good early MSS. and is therefore rejected by Ginsburg, *Introd.*, p. 466; cf. Foote, *Johns Hopkins Univ. Circulars*, June 1903,

<sup>1</sup> The same occurs frequently also in the Greek and Latin transcriptions of Phoenician words, e. g. מַלְכָּי *Malaga*, מְבֹלִים *gubulim* (Schröder, *Die phöniz. Spr.*, p. 139 ff.). Cf. the Latin augment in *momordi*, *purugi*, with the Greek in τέτυφα, τετυμμένος, and the old form *memordi*.

<sup>2</sup> See especially *Yehuda Haiyūg*, pp. 4 f. and 130 f. in Nutt's edition (Lond. 1870), corresponding to p. 200 of the edition by Dukes (Stuttg. 1844); Ibn Ezra's *Šaḥoth*, p. 3; Gesenius, *Lehrgebäude der hebr. Sprache*, p. 68. The *Manuel du lecteur*, mentioned above, § 6 b, also contains express rules for the various ways of pronouncing *Š<sup>e</sup>wā* mobile: so too the *Dikduke ha-ʿamim*, ed. by Baer and Strack, Lpz. 1879, p. 12 ff. Cf. also Schreiner, *ZAW*. vi. 236 ff.

p. 71 f.), the *Ḥateph* is necessary<sup>1</sup> when, in a strengthened medial consonant with Šwá (consequently not in cases like וַיְהִי, &c.), preceded by a Pathah, the sign of the strengthening (*Dageš forte*) has fallen away, e. g. הַלְלוּ (but ed. Mant. and Ginsb. הַלְלוּ) *praise ye!* וְתִאֲלָצוּהוּ Ju 16<sup>16</sup>; no less universally, where after a consonant with Šwá the same consonant follows (to separate them more sharply, and hence with a *Metheg* always preceding), e. g. סוּרְרִים ψ 68<sup>8</sup>; קָלְלֵתָּךְ (ed. Mant. and Ginsb. קָלְלֵי) Gn 27<sup>13</sup> (but not without exceptions, e. g. חֲקִיקֵי Ju 5<sup>15</sup>, Is 10<sup>1</sup>; צִלְלֵי Jer 6<sup>4</sup>, and so always הִנְנִי *behold me*, הִנְנוּ *behold us*; on כִּי before the suffix הֵן, see § 20 b); also in certain forms under *Kaph* and *Rēš* after a long vowel and before the tone, e. g. תִּאֲבָלְנָה Gn 3<sup>17</sup>; בְּרַכְּוֹ ψ 103<sup>1</sup>; וְתִשְׂרְחֶהוּ 1 K 1<sup>4</sup> (but וַיִּתְּבַרְכּוּ ψ 72<sup>17</sup>, cf. Jer 4<sup>2</sup>, 1 Ch 29<sup>20</sup>, because the tone is thrown back on to the ā. After *ē* Šwá remains even before the tone, as בְּרַכּוּ, &c.; but before *Maqqef* אֲבִלְכֶה-נָא Baer Ex 4<sup>18</sup>, 2 S 15<sup>7</sup>, Jer 40<sup>15</sup>, but ed. Mant., Jabl., Ginsb. אֲבִלְ) <sup>2</sup>; (b) under initial sibilants after ו copulative, e. g. וְנָהַב Gn 2<sup>12</sup>; cf. Jer 48<sup>20</sup>; וַיִּסְחַר Is 45<sup>14</sup>; וַיִּשְׂרֶה Lv 25<sup>34</sup>; וַיִּשְׁקָה Gn 27<sup>26</sup>; וַיִּשְׁמַע Nu 23<sup>18</sup>, Is 37<sup>17</sup>, Dn 9<sup>18</sup>, cf. Ju 5<sup>12</sup>, 1 K 14<sup>21</sup>, 2 K 9<sup>17</sup>, Jb 14<sup>1</sup>, Ec 9<sup>7</sup>—to emphasize the vocal character of the Šwá. For the same reason under the emphatic ט in הוֹטְלוּ Jer 22<sup>28</sup>; cf. Jb 33<sup>25</sup>; after *Qōph* in יִקְרָרְתִּי (so Baer, but ed. Mant., Jabl., Ginsb. יִקְרָ) Ez 23<sup>41</sup>; יִגְרַב־ ψ 55<sup>22</sup>; cf. Jer. 32<sup>9</sup>; under *Rēš* in אֲרָה (ed. Mant. אֲרָ) Gn 18<sup>21</sup>; וַיִּרְעַם ψ 28<sup>9</sup>; even under ת Ezr 26<sup>1</sup>; under ב Est 2<sup>8</sup>; וַיִּבְרַכְּךָ so Jabl., Ginsb., but ed. Mant. וַיִּבְרַךְ Dt 24<sup>13</sup>; (c) under sonants, sibilants or *Qōph* after י, e. g. יִצְחָק Gn 21<sup>6</sup>, cf. 30<sup>38</sup> and Ez 21<sup>28</sup> (under ק) וַיִּמְרוּ ψ 12<sup>7</sup>; הַהֲמַלְוֶה Jer 22<sup>15</sup>; כְּנַרוֹת Jos 11<sup>2</sup>; בְּסִבְבָּהָ ψ 74<sup>5</sup>,—for the same reason as the cases under *b*<sup>3</sup>; according to Baer also in שְׂפַמוֹת 1 S 30<sup>28</sup>; יִפְנֹשֶׁךְ Gn 32<sup>18</sup> after *ō* (cf. § 9 v), as well as after *a* in הַקְּשִׁיבָה Dn 9<sup>19</sup>; הַבְּרִכָּה Gn 27<sup>38</sup>; הַמְצַרְעִים 2 K 7<sup>8</sup>.

B. The *Ḥateph-Qameš* is less restricted to the gutturals than the first two, <sup>h</sup> and stands more frequently for a simple Šwá mobile when an original O-sound requires to be partly preserved, e. g. at the beginning, in רְאֵי (ground-form *rū'y*) *vision* (cf. § 93 z); בְּנִיָּהוּ 2 Ch 31<sup>12</sup>, &c., *Q'ré* (*K'eth.* "בונג") *Ammonitish women*, 1 K 11<sup>1</sup> (sing. עֲמוֹנִית); יִרְדְּבָךְ for the usual יִרְדְּבָךְ Ez 35<sup>6</sup>, from יִרְדָּה; תִּקְבְּנֵנוּ Nu 23<sup>25</sup>, Jer 31<sup>33</sup>, and elsewhere before suffixes, cf. § 60 a; קִרְקְרוּ *his pate* (from קִרְקַר) ψ 7<sup>17</sup>, &c.; אֲשַׁקְטָה Is 18<sup>4</sup> *Q'erē*. Further, like —, it stands under consonants, which ought to have *Dageš forte*, as in לִקְחָה (for לִקְחָה) Gn 2<sup>23</sup>. In this example, as in וַיִּסְעֲדָה 1 K 13<sup>7</sup>; וַיִּסְעָה 2 K 7<sup>18</sup>; and וַיִּצְעֲקֵי Jer 22<sup>20</sup>, the *Ḥateph-Qameš* is no doubt due to the influence of the

<sup>1</sup> See Delitzsch, 'Bemerkungen über masoretisch treue Darstellung des alttestam. Textes,' in the *Ztschr. f. luth. Theol. u. Kirche*, vol. xxiv. 1863, p. 409 ff.

<sup>2</sup> On the uncertainty of the MSS. in some cases which come under *a*, see *Minḥat shay* (the Masoretic comm. in ed. Mant.) on Gn 12<sup>3</sup> and Ju 7<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> Ben-Asher requires — for — (even for Šwá quiescens) generally before a guttural or ר; hence Baer reads in 2 S 15<sup>5</sup> בְּקִרְבֵּי, ψ 18<sup>7</sup> אֲקָרָא; 49<sup>15</sup> לְשִׂאוֹל; 65<sup>5</sup> תִּבְחַר; 68<sup>24</sup> תִּמְחַח; Pr 3c<sup>17</sup> תִּלְעַן; Jb 29<sup>26</sup> אֲבַחֵר; cf. Delitzsch, *Psalms*, 12<sup>7</sup>, note.

following guttural as well as of the preceding U-sound. (Elsewhere indeed after  $\text{ך}$  in similar cases *Ha'ep̄h-Pathah* is preferred, see above, *b*; but with  $\text{לִקְהָה}$  cf. also  $\text{סָבְלוּ}$  Is 9<sup>3</sup>, 10<sup>27</sup>, 14<sup>26</sup>, where the U-sound must necessarily be admitted to have an influence on the *Šewā* immediately following.) In  $\text{וַיִּטְהַר}$  (*ú-!hór*) Jb 17<sup>9</sup> it is also influenced by the following O-sound. In  $\text{קָסְמוּ}$  1 S 28<sup>8</sup> *Qéré*, the original form is  $\text{קָסֹם}$ , where again the  $\bar{o}$  represents an  $\bar{ö}$ . It is only through the influence of a following guttural that we can explain the forms  $\text{נִקְרָאָה}$  Est 2<sup>14</sup>;  $\text{נִבְהָל}$  Pr 28<sup>22</sup>;  $\text{נִסְרָהָה}$  Jer 49<sup>7</sup>;  $\text{וַאֲפִשְׁעָה}$  Is 27<sup>4</sup>;  $\text{וַאֲשַׁמְעָה}$  Dn 8<sup>13</sup>;  $\text{וַאֲשַׁמְעָה}$   $\psi$  39<sup>13</sup>;  $\text{בַּסְעָרָה}$  2 K 2<sup>1</sup> (Baer's ed. also in ver. 11);  $\text{הַקְהָתִים}$  2 Ch 34<sup>12</sup> (ed. Mant., Opitius, &c.  $\text{הַקָּה}$ ). Finally in most of the examples which have been adduced, the influence of an emphatic sound ( $\text{ך}$ ,  $\text{ט}$ , cf. also  $\text{אֲלִקְטָה}$  Ru 2<sup>7</sup>), or of a sibilant is also to be taken into account.

*i* 3. The sign of the simple *Šewā*  $\text{—}$  serves also as a mere syllable divider. In this case it is disregarded in pronunciation and is called *Šewā quiescens*. In the middle of a word it stands under every consonant which closes a syllable; at the end of words on the other hand it is omitted except in *final*  $\text{ך}$  (to distinguish it better from final  $\text{ך}$ ), e.g.  $\text{מֶלֶךְ}$  *king*, and in the less frequent case, where a word ends with a mute after another vowelless consonant as in  $\text{נָרְךְ}$  *nard*,  $\text{תָּא}$  *thou fem.* (for *ant*),  $\text{קָטַלְתָּ}$  *thou fem. hast killed*,  $\text{וַיִּשְׂקֶה}$  *and he watered*,  $\text{וַיִּשְׂבֶּה}$  *and he took captive*,  $\text{אַל־תִּשְׂתֶּה}$  *drink thou not*; but  $\text{וַיִּרְא}$ ,  $\text{חָטָא}$ .

*k* However, in the examples where a mute closes the syllable, the final *Šewā* comes somewhat nearer to a vocal *Šewā*, especially as in almost all the cases a weakening of a final vowel has taken place, viz.  $\text{אַתָּה}$  'att<sup>h</sup> from 'att<sup>i</sup> ('anti),  $\text{קָטַלְתָּ}$  from  $\text{קָטַלְתִּי}$  (cf. in this form, the 2nd sing. fem. perf. Qal, even  $\text{בָּאָתָּה}$ , after a vowel, Gn 16<sup>8</sup>, Mi 4<sup>10</sup>, &c., according to the readings of Baer),  $\text{וַיִּשְׂבֶּה}$  from  $\text{וַיִּשְׂבֶּה}$ , &c. The Arabic actually has a short vowel in analogous forms. In  $\text{נָרְךְ}$  borrowed from the Indian, as also in  $\text{קֶשֶׁט}$  (*qōšf*) Pr 22<sup>21</sup>; and in  $\text{אַל־תוֹסֶף}$  *ne addas* (for which we should expect  $\text{תוֹסֶף}$ ) Pr 30<sup>6</sup> the final mute of itself attracts a slight vowel sound.

*l* Rem. The proper distinction between simple *Šewā mobile* and *quiescens* depends on a correct understanding of the formation of syllables (§ 26). The beginner may observe for the present, that (1) *Šewā* is always *mobile* (*a*) at the beginning of a word (except in  $\text{שְׂתִי}$ ,  $\text{שְׂתִי}$  § 97 *b*, note); (*b*) under a consonant with *Dageš forte*, e.g.  $\text{גִּיד־אֶפְהוּ}$ ; (*c*) after another *Šewā*, e.g.  $\text{יִקְטֹל}$  *yiq<sup>l</sup>lā* (except at the end of the word, see above, *i*). (2) *Šewā* is *quiescens* (*a*) at the end of a word, also in the  $\text{ך}$ ; (*b*) before another *Šewā*.

### § 11. Other Signs which affect the Reading.

Very closely connected with the vowel points are the *reading-signs*, which were probably introduced at the same time. Besides the diacritical point over  $\text{ש}$  and  $\text{ז}$ , a point is placed *within* a consonant

<sup>1</sup> On  $\text{יָת־}$  as an ending of the 2nd sing. fem. perf. Qal of verbs  $\text{יָת־}$ , see § 75 *m*.

to show that it has a stronger sound. On the other hand a horizontal stroke (*Rāphè*) over a consonant is a sign that it has *not* the stronger sound. According to the different purposes for which it is used the point is either (1) *Dageš forte*, a sign of strengthening (§ 12); or (2) *Dageš lene*, a sign of the harder pronunciation of certain consonants (§ 13); or (3) *Mappiq*, a sign to bring out the full consonantal value of letters which otherwise serve as vowel letters (§ 7 b), especially in the case of ה at the end of the word (§ 14 a). The *Rāphè*, which excludes the insertion of any of these points, has almost entirely gone out of use in our printed texts (§ 14 e).

§ 12. *Dageš in general*,<sup>1</sup> and *Dageš forte in particular*.

Cf. Graetz, 'Die mannigfache Anwendung u. Bedeut. des Dagesch,' in *Monatsschr. für Gesch. u. Wiss. d. Judent.*, 1887, pp. 425 ff. and 473 ff.

1. *Dageš*, a point standing in the middle of a consonant,<sup>2</sup> denotes, *a* according to § 11, (a) the *strengthening*<sup>3</sup> of a consonant (*Dageš forte*), e.g. קִטֵּל *qittēl* (§ 20); or (b) the *harder* pronunciation of the letters בּ גִּ דִּ (Dageš lene). For a variety of the latter, now rarely used in our printed texts, see § 13 c.

The root שָׁנָה in Syriac means *to pierce through, to bore through* (with sharp iron); hence the name *Dageš* is commonly explained, solely with reference to its form, by *puncture, point*. But the names of all similar signs are derived rather from their grammatical significance. Accordingly שָׁנָה may in the Masora have the sense: *acuere (literam)*, i. e. to *sharpen* a letter, as well as to *harden* it, i. e. to pronounce it as hard and without aspiration. שָׁנָה *acuens (literam)* would then be a sign of sharpening and hardening (like *Mappiq* מַפְּיֵק *proferens, as signum prolationis*), for which purposes a *prick* of the pen, or *puncture*, was selected. The opposite of *Dageš* is הֶפֶךָ *soft*, § 14 e, and § 22 n.

2. In grammar *Dageš forte*, the *sign of strengthening*, is the more *c* important. It may be compared to the *sicilicus* of the Latins (*Lucullus* for *Lucullus*) or to the stroke over  $\bar{m}$  and  $\bar{n}$ . In the unpointed text it is omitted, like the vowels and other reading signs.

For the different kinds of *Dageš forte*, see § 20.

<sup>1</sup> Oort, *Theol. Tijdschr.* 1902, p. 376, maintains that 'the Masoretes recognized no distinction between *Dageš lene* and *forte*. They used a *Dageš* where they considered that a letter had the sharp, not the soft or aspirated sound.' This may be true; but the old-established distinction between the two kinds of *Dageš* is essential for the right understanding of the grammatical forms.

<sup>2</sup> *Wāw* with *Dageš* (וּ) cannot in our printed texts be distinguished from a *wāw* pointed as שׁוּרֵק (וּ); in the latter case the point should stand higher up. The וּ שׁ is, however, easily to be recognized since it cannot take a vowel before or under it.

<sup>3</sup> Stade, *Lehrb. der hebr. Gr.*, Lpz. 1879, pp. 44, 103, rightly insists on the expression *strengthened pronunciation* instead of the older term *doubling*, since the consonant in question is only written once. The common expression arises from the fact that in transcription a *strengthened* consonant can only be indicated by writing it as double.

§ 13. *Dageš lene*.Ginsburg, *Introd.*, p. 114 ff. : Dagesh and Raphe.

- a 1. *Dageš lene*, the sign of *hardening*, is in ordinary printed texts placed only within the  $\text{תּוֹבֵן}$  letters (§ 6 n) as a sign that they should be pronounced with their original hard sound (without aspiration), e. g.  $\text{מֵלֶכְךְ}$  *mèlèk*h, but  $\text{מַלְכוֹ}$  *ma'*-kô ;  $\text{תַּפְּרֵן}$  *tāphār*, but  $\text{יִתְּפֹר}$  *yith-pōr* ;  $\text{שָׁתְּהָ}$  *šāthā*, but  $\text{יִשְׁתֶּה}$  *yis'-tè*.
- b 2. The cases in which a *Dageš lene* is to be inserted are stated in § 21. It occurs almost exclusively at the beginning of words and syllables. In the middle of the word it can easily be distinguished from *Dageš forte*, since the latter always has a vowel before it, whereas *Dageš lene* never has; accordingly the *Dageš* in  $\text{אַפֵּי}$  '*appē*,  $\text{רַבִּי}$  *rabbīm* must be *forte*, but in  $\text{יִגְדַל}$  *yigdal* it is *lene*.
- c A variety of the *Dageš lene* is used in many manuscripts, as well as in Baer's editions, though others (including Ginsburg in the first two cases, *Introd.*, pp. 121, 130, 603, 662) reject it together with the *Ḥatefs* discussed in § 10 g. It is inserted in consonants other than the *B<sup>g</sup>adk<sup>e</sup>phath* to call attention expressly to the beginning of a new syllable : (a) when the same consonant precedes in close connexion, e. g.  $\text{פִּשְׁלֵלֵךְ}$  *ψ 9<sup>s</sup>*, where, owing to the *Dageš*, the coalescing of the two *Lameds* is avoided; (b) in cases like  $\text{מַחֲסִי}$  *ψ 62<sup>s</sup>* = *maḥ-sī* (not *māḥ<sup>a</sup>-sī*) ; (c) according to some (including Baer; not in ed. Mant.) in  $\text{לֵל}$  in the combination  $\text{לֵל לֹ}$  Dt 32<sup>s</sup>, or  $\text{לֵל לֹ}$  Hb 1<sup>s</sup>, 2<sup>s</sup> &c. (so always also in Ginsburg's text, except in Gn 38<sup>s</sup>) ; see also § 20 e and g.—Delitzsch appropriately gives the name of *Dageš orthophonium* to this variety of *Dageš* (*Bibl. Kommentar*, 1874, on *ψ 94<sup>12</sup>*) ; cf. moreover Delitzsch, *Luth. Ztschr.*, 1863, p. 413 ; also his *Complutensische Varianten zu dem Alttest. Texte*, Lpz. 1878, p. 12.
- d 3. When *Dageš forte* is placed in a *B<sup>g</sup>adk<sup>e</sup>phath*, the strengthening necessarily excludes its aspiration, e. g.  $\text{אַפֵּי}$ , from  $\text{אַפֵּי}$ .

§ 14. *Mappiq and Rāphè*.

- a 1. *Mappiq*, like *Dageš*, also a point *within* the consonant, serves in the letters  $\text{וּ הּ וּ אֵ$  as a sign that they are to be regarded as full consonants and not as vowel letters. In most editions of the text it is only used in the consonantal  $\text{הּ}$  at the end of words (since  $\text{הּ}$  can never be a vowel letter in the middle of a word), e. g.  $\text{גַּבְּהָהּ}$  (*to be high*),  $\text{אַרְצָהּ}$  '*arṣāh* (her land) which has a consonantal ending (shortened from *-hā*), different from  $\text{אַרְצָה}$  '*arṣā* (*to the earth*) which has a vowel ending.
- b Rem. 1. Without doubt such a *Hē* was distinctly aspirated like the Arabic *Hā* at the end of a syllable. There are, however, cases in which this  $\text{הּ}$  has lost its consonantal character (the *Mappiq* of course disappearing too), so that it remains only as a vowel letter ; cf. § 91 e on the 3rd fem. sing.
- c The name  $\text{פּוֹפֵי}$  means *proferens*, i. e. a sign which brings out the sound of the letter distinctly, as a consonant. The same sign was selected for this

and for *Dageš*, since both are intended to indicate a hard, i. e. a strong, sound. Hence *Rāphè* (see e) is the opposite of both.

2. In MSS. *Mappiq* is also found with  $\aleph$ ,  $\gamma$ ,  $\iota$ , to mark them expressly as *d* consonants, e. g.  $\aleph$  (gōy),  $\aleph$  (qāw, qāu), for which  $\iota$  is also used, as  $\aleph$ , &c. For the various statements of the Masora (where these points are treated as *Dageš*), see Ginsburg, *The Massorah*, letter  $\aleph$ , § 5 (also *Introd.*, pp. 557, 609, 637, 770), and 'The Dageshed Alephs in the Karlsruhe MS.' (where these points are extremely frequent), in the *Verhandlungen des Berliner Orientalisten-Kongresses*, Berlin, i. 1881, p. 136 ff. The great differences in the statements found in the Masora point to different schools, one of which appears to have intended that every audible  $\aleph$  should be pointed. In the printed editions the point occurs only four times with  $\aleph$  ( $\aleph$  or  $\aleph$ ), Gn 43<sup>26</sup>, Lv 23<sup>17</sup>, Ezr 8<sup>18</sup> and Jb 33<sup>21</sup> ( $\aleph$ ; where the point can be taken only as an orthophonetic sign, not with König as *Dageš forte*). Cf. Delitzsch, *Hiob*, 2nd ed., p. 439 ff.

2. *Rāphè* (רַפֵּה) i. e. weak, soft), a horizontal stroke over the letter, *e* is the opposite of both kinds of *Dageš* and *Mappiq*, but especially of *Dageš lene*. In exact manuscripts every בְּנִרְכַּח letter has either *Dageš lene* or *Rāphè*, e. g. מֶלֶךְ *mèlèkh*, שֶׁנֶּה, הִפֵּר. In modern editions (except Ginsburg's 1st ed.) *Rāphè* is used only when the absence of a *Dageš* or *Mappiq* requires to be expressly pointed out.

### § 15. The Accents.

On the ordinary accents (see below, e), cf. W. Heidenheim, מִשְׁפָּטֵי הַטַּעֲמִים *a* [*The Laws of the Accents*], Rödelheim, 1808 (a compilation from older Jewish writers on the accents, with a commentary; W. Wickes (see also below), טַעֲמֵי כ"א ספרים [*The Accents of the Twenty-one Books*], Oxford, 1887, an exhaustive investigation in English; J. M. Japhet, *Die Accente der hl. Schrift* (exclusive of the books אֲמֹת), ed. by Heinemann, Frankf. a. M. 1896; Prætorius, *Die Herkunft der hebr. Accente*, Berlin, 1901, and (in answer to Gregory's criticism in the TLZ, 1901, no. 22) *Die Uebernahme der früh-mittelgriech. Neumen durch die Juden*, Berlin, 1902; P. Kahle, 'Zur Gesch. der hebr. Accente,' ZDMG. 55 (1901), 167 ff. (1, on the earliest Jewish lists of accents; 2, on the mutual relation of the various systems of accentuation; on p. 179 ff. he deals with the accents of the 3rd system, see above, § 8 g, note); Margolis, art. 'Accents,' in the *Jewish Encycl.* i (1901), 149 ff.; J. Adams, *Sermons in Accents*, London, 1906.—On the accents of the Books תּא"ם (see below, h), S. Baer, תּוֹרַת אֲמֹת [*Accentual Laws of the Books תּא"ם*], Rödelheim, 1852, and his appendix to Delitzsch's *Psalmencommentar*, vol. ii, Lpz. 1860, and in the 5th ed., 1894 (an epitome is given in Baer-Delitzsch's *Liber Psalmorum hebr.*, Lpz. 1861, 1874, 1880); cf. also Delitzsch's most instructive 'Accentuologischer Commentar' on Psalms 1–3, in his *Psalmencommentar* of 1874, as well as the numerous contributions to the accentual criticism of the text, &c., in the editions of Baer and Delitzsch, and in the commentaries of the latter; W. Wickes, טַעֲמֵי אֲמֹת [*Accents of the Poet. Books*], Oxford, 1881; Mitchell, in the *Journal of Bibl. Lit.*, 1891, p. 144 ff.; Baer and Strack, *Dikduke ha-ʿamim*, p. 17 ff.

1. As Prætorius (see above) has convincingly shown, the majority of *b* the Hebrew accents, especially, according to Kahle (see above), the 'Conjunctivi', were adopted by the Jews from the neums and punctuation-marks found in Greek gospel-books, and, like these, their primary purpose was to regulate minutely the public reading of the sacred

text. The complete transformation and amplification of the system (in three different forms, see § 8 g, note), which soon caused the Jews to forget its real origin, is clearly connected with the gradual change from the speaking voice in public reading to chanting or singing. The accents then served as a kind of musical notes.<sup>1</sup> Their value as such has, however, with the exception of a few traces, become lost in transmission. On the other hand, according to their original design they have also a twofold use which is still of the greatest importance for grammar (and syntax), viz. their value (a) as *marking the tone*, (b) as *marks of punctuation* to indicate the logical (syntactical) relation of single words to their immediate surroundings, and thus to the whole sentence.<sup>2</sup>

c 2. As a mark of the tone the accent stands almost invariably (but see below, e) with the syllable which has the principal tone in the word. This is usually the ultima, less frequently the penultima. Amongst the Jewish grammarians a word which has the tone on the ultima is called *Milra'* (Aram. מְלִרָע i.e. accented below<sup>3</sup>), e.g. קָטָל *qātāl*; a word which has the tone on the penultima is *Mil'el* (Aram. מְלֵעֵל, accented above), e.g. מֶלֶךְ *mēlēkh*. Besides this, in many cases a *secondary tone* is indicated in the word by *Mēthēg* (cf. § .16). Examples such as יְהוָה נְעֻמָּה Is 50<sup>8</sup> (cf. 40<sup>18</sup>, Ex 15<sup>8</sup>, Jb 12<sup>15</sup>, La 2<sup>16</sup>) are regarded by the Jewish grammarians as even *proparoxytone*.<sup>4</sup>

d 3. As marks of interpunctuation the accents are subdivided into those which *separate* (*Distinctivi* or *Domini*) and those which *connect* (*Conjunctivi* or *Servi*). Further a twofold system of accentuation is to be noted: (a) the common system found in twenty-one of the Books (the כ"א i.e. twenty-one), and (b) that used in the first three Books of the *Hagiographa*, viz. Psalms, Proverbs, and Job, for which the *vox memor.* is מְחַת, from the initial consonants of the names, תְּהִלִּים Psalms, מִשְׁלֵי Proverbs, אֵינֹב Job, or more correctly, according to their original sequence, תְּאִמִּים (תָּאִים *twin*), so that מְעַמְי תְּאִמִּים means the accents (sing. טַעַם) of these three Books. The latter system is not only richer and more complicated in itself, but also musically more significant than the ordinary accentuation.

<sup>1</sup> On the attempts of Christian scholars of the sixteenth century to express the Hebrew accents by musical notes, cf. Ortenberg, *ZDMG.* 1889, p. 534.

<sup>2</sup> At the same time it must not be forgotten that the value of the accent as a mark of punctuation is always relative; thus, e.g. 'Athnāḥ as regards the logical structure of the sentence may at one time indicate a very important break (as in Gn 1<sup>4</sup>); at another, one which is almost imperceptible (as in Gn 1<sup>1</sup>).

<sup>3</sup> 'Above' in this sense means what comes before, 'below' is what comes after; cf. Bacher, *ZAW.* 1907, p. 285 f.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Delitzsch on Is 40<sup>18</sup>.

I. The Common Accents.

Preliminary remark. The accents which are marked as *prepositive* stand to the right over or under the initial consonant of the word; those marked as *postpositive*, to the left over or under the last consonant. Consequently in both cases the tone-syllable must be ascertained independently of the accent (but cf. below, l).

A. DISJUNCTIVE ACCENTS (*Distinctivi* or *Domini*).<sup>1</sup>

1. (—) סִלּוּק Sillûq (*end*) always with the tone-syllable of the last word before Sôph pāsûq (:), the verse-divider, e.g. : אֶרְצָךְ.
2. (—) אֲתַנַּח 'Athnâḥ or אֲתַנַּחְתָּ 'Athnaḥtâ (*rest*), the principal divider within the verse.
- 3 a. (—) סֶגוֹלְתָּ Səgôltâ, *postpositive*, marks the fourth or fifth subordinate division, counting backwards from 'Athnâḥ (e.g. Gn I<sup>7.28</sup>).
- 3 b. (|—) שַׁלְשֵׁלֶת Šalsšêleth (i.e. *chain*), as disjunctive, or Great Šalsšêleth, distinguished by the following stroke<sup>2</sup> from the conjunctive in the poetic accentuation, is used for

<sup>1</sup> All the disjunctives occur in Is 39<sup>2</sup>.—The earlier Jewish accentuologists already distinguish between מַלְכֵי־מִלְכֵי *Reges* and מַלְכֵי־מַלְכֵי *Servi*. The division of the disjunctive accents into Imperatores, Reges, Duces, Comites, which became common amongst Christian grammarians, originated in the *Scrutinium S. S. ex accentibus* of Sam. Bohlius, Rostock, 1636, and, as the source of manifold confusion, had better be given up. The order of the accents in respect to their disjunctive power is shown in general by the above classification, following Wickes. In respect to the height of tone (in chanting) 1, 2, 5, 4, 8, which were *low* and long sustained notes, are to be distinguished from the *high* notes (7, 3<sup>a</sup>, 6, 13, 9), and the highest (3<sup>b</sup>, 11, 12, 10); cf. Wickes, א"כ' ט' p. 12 ff.—The name בְּעֵמֶיךָ (later = accents in general) was originally restricted to the disjunctives, see Kahle, l. c., p. 169.

<sup>2</sup> This stroke is commonly confused with *Paseq*, which has the same form. But Pāsêq (= *restraining, dividing*, also incorrectly called P<sup>o</sup>siq) is neither an independent accent, nor a constituent part of other accents, but is used as a mark for various purposes; see the Masoretic lists at the end of Baer's editions, and Wickes, *Accents of the Twenty-one Books*, p. 120 ff., where Pāsêq is divided into *distinctivum, emphaticum, homonymicum, and euphonicum*. The conjecture of Olshausen (*Lehrb.*, p. 86 f.), that Pāsêq served also to point out marginal glosses subsequently interpolated into the text, has been further developed by E. von Ortenberg, 'Die Bedeutung des Paseq für Quellenscheidung in den BB. d. A. T.,' in *Progr. des Domgymn. zu Verden*, 1887, and in the article, 'Paseq u. Legarmeh,' in *ZAW.* 1887, p. 301 ff. (but see Wickes, *ibid.* 1888, p. 149 ff.; also E. König, in the *Ztschr. f. kirchl. Wiss. u. kirchl. Leben*, 1889, parts 5 and 6; Maas, in *Hebraica*, v. 121 ff., viii. 89 ff.). Prätorius, *ZDMG.* 1899, p. 683 ff., pointed out that *Paseq* (which is pre-masoretic and quite distinct from *L'garmeh*) besides being a divider (used especially for the sake of greater clearness) also served as a sign of abbreviation. For further treatment of *Paseq* see H. Grimme, 'Pasekstudien,' in the *Bibl. Ztschr.*, i. 337 ff., ii. 28 ff., and *Psalmenprobleme*, &c., Freiburg (Switzerland), 1902, p. 173, where it is argued that *Paseq* indicates variants in a difficult sentence; J. Kennody, *The Note-line in the Heb. Scriptures*, Edinb. 1903, with an index of all the occurrences of *Paseq*, p. 117 ff. According to Kennody the 'note-line', of which he distinguishes sixteen different kinds, is intended to draw attention to some peculiarity in the text; it existed long before the Masorettes, and was no longer understood by them. See, however, the reviews of E. König, *Theol.*

Segôltâ (seven times altogether) when this would stand at the head of the sentence; cf. Gn 19<sup>16</sup>, &c.

- 4 a. (—) זָדוּל זָדוּל זָדוּל Zâqēph gādôl, and  
 4 b. (—) זָדוּל זָדוּל זָדוּל Zâqēph qâṭôn. The names refer to their musical character. As a disjunctive, Little Zâqēph is by nature stronger than Great Zâqēph; but if they stand together, the one which comes first is always the stronger.
5. (—) טִפְחָא Tiphhā or טַרְחָא Ṭarḥā, a subordinate disjunctive before Sillûq and 'Athnâh, but very often the principal disjunctive of the whole verse instead of 'Athnâh; always so when the verse consists of only two or three words (e.g. Is 2<sup>13</sup>), but also in longer verses (Gn 3<sup>21</sup>).
6. (—) רִבְיַע Rebhîa'.
7. (—) זַרְקָא Zarqā, *postpositive*.
- 8 a. (—) פַּשְׁטָא Paštā, *postpositive*,<sup>1</sup> and  
 8 b. (—) יְתִיב Yethibh, *prepositive*, and thus different from Mehup-pākh. Yethibh is used in place of Paštā when the latter would stand on a monosyllable or on a foretoned word, not preceded by a conjunctive accent.
9. (—) תֵּבְחִיר Tebhîr.
- 10 a. (—) גֵּרֶשׁ Gêreš or טְרֶשׁ Ṭères, and  
 10 b. (—) גֵּרֶשִׁים Gērāšayim<sup>2</sup> or Double Gêreš, used for Gêreš, when the tone rests on the ultima, and 'Azlā does not precede.
- 11 a. (—) פָּזֶר Pázēr, and  
 11 b. (—) זָדוּל פָּזֶר Pázēr gādôl (Great Pázēr) or קַרְנֵי פָּרָה Qarné phārā (cow-horns), only used 16 times, for special emphasis.
12. (—) תֵּלִישָׁא גדוֹלָה Telišā gedôlā or Great Telišā, *prepositive*.
13. (—) לְגַרְמָה Legarmēh, i.e. Mûnaḥ (see below) with a following stroke.

*Stud. u. Krit.*, 1904, p. 448 ff., G. Beer, *TLZ.* 1905, no. 3, and esp. A. Klostermann, *Theol. Lit.-blatt*, 1904, no. 13, with whom Ginsburg agrees (*Verhandlungen des Hamb. Or.-kongresses von 1902*, Leiden, 1904, p. 210 ff.) in showing that the tradition with regard to the 479 or 480 uses of *Paseq* is by no means uniform. The purpose of *Paseq* is clearly recognizable in the five old rules: as a divider between identical letters at the end and beginning of two words; between identical or very similar words; between words which are absolutely contradictory (as *God* and *evil-doer*); between words which are liable to be wrongly connected; and lastly, between heterogeneous terms, as 'Eleazar the High Priest, and Joshua'. But the assumption of a far-reaching critical importance in *Paseq* is at least doubtful.—Cf. also the important article by H. Fuchs, 'Peseq ein Glossenzeichen,' in the *Vierteljahrsschrift f. Bibelkunde*, Aug. 1908, p. 1 ff. and p. 97 ff.

<sup>1</sup> If the word in question has the tone on the penultima, Paštā is placed over it also, e.g. תְּרַחֵ אֱתָהּ Gn 1<sup>2</sup>; cf. below, l.

<sup>2</sup> Wickes requires Geršayim (גֵּרֶשִׁים).

B. CONJUNCTIVE ACCENTS (*Conjunctivi* or *Servi*).

g

14. (—) מִוְנַח Múnah.  
 15. (—) מְהֻפָּךְ Mehuppākḥ or מַהֻפָּךְ Mahpākḥ.  
 16 a. (—) מֵיֶרְכָא or מְאֵרְכָא Mèrēkhā, and  
 16 b. (—) מְעֵרְכָא מְכֵפְחָלָה Mèrēkhā khēphúlā or Double Mèrēkhā.  
 17. (—) דַּרְגָּא Dargā.  
 18. (—) אֲזֵלָא 'Azlā, when associated with Gèrēš (see above) also called Qadmā.  
 19. (—) תְּלִישָׁא קֶטַנָּה Telišā qeṭannā or Little Telišā, *postpositive*.  
 20. (—) גַּלְגַּל Galgal or יְרָחָה Yèrah.  
 [21. (—) מַעְיָלָא Me'ayyēlā or מְאֵיָלָא Māyēlā, a variety of Tiphḥa, serves to mark the secondary tone in words which have Sillûq or 'Athnâḥ, or which are united by Maqqēph with a word so accented, e.g. גִּנָּה גַּלְגַּל Gn 8<sup>18</sup>.]

II. *The Accents of the Books* מִן־סֵפֶר.

## A. DISTINCTIVI.

h

1. (—) Sillûq (see above, I, 1).  
 2. (—) עוֹלָהּ וְיִוְרֵד 'Ôlè weyôrēd,<sup>1</sup> a stronger divider than  
 3. (—) 'Athnâḥ (see above, I, 2). In shorter verses 'Athnâḥ suffices as principal distinctive; in longer verses 'Ôlè weyôrēd serves as such, and is then mostly followed by 'Athnâḥ as the principal disjunctive of the second half of the verse.  
 4. (—) Rebbhiā' gādôl (Great Rebbhiā').  
 5. (—) Rebbhiā' mugrāš, i.e. Rebbhiā' with Gèrēš on the same word.  
 6. (—) Great Šalšēleth (see above, I. 3 b).  
 7. (—) שִׁנּוֹר Šinnôr (Zarqā), as *postpositive*, is easily distinguished from שִׁנּוֹרִית Šinnôrith similarly placed, which is not an independent accent, but stands only over an open syllable before a consonant which has Mèrēkhā or Mahpākḥ.  
 8. (—) Rebbhiā' qāṭôn (Little Rebbhiā') immediately before 'Ôlè weyôrēd.  
 9. (—) דֶּהִי Dēhī or Tiphḥā, *prepositive*, to the right underneath the initial consonant, e.g. דֶּהִי־גַלְגַּל (consequently it does not mark the tone-syllable).

<sup>1</sup> Wrongly called also Mèrēkhā mēhuppākḥ (*Mèrēkha mahpakhatum*), although the accent underneath is in no way connected with Mèrēkhā; cf. Wickes, l. c., p. 14.

10. (  $\overset{\vee}{\text{—}}$  ) Pázēr (see above, I, 11 a).  
 11 a. ( |  $\overset{\vee}{\text{—}}$  ) Mēhuppākh lēgarmēh, i.e. Mahpākh with a following stroke.  
 11 b. ( |  $\overset{\vee}{\text{—}}$  ) 'Azlā lēgarmēh, i.e. 'Azlā with a following stroke.

i

## B. CONJUNCTIVI.

12. (  $\overset{\vee}{\text{—}}$  ) Mēekhā (see above, I. 16 a).  
 13. (  $\overset{\vee}{\text{—}}$  ) Mūnaḥ (see above, I. 14).  
 14. (  $\overset{\vee}{\text{—}}$  ) עֲלִי 'Illūy or Mūnaḥ superior.  
 15. (  $\overset{\vee}{\text{—}}$  ) טַרְחָא Tarḥā (under the tone-syllable, and thus easily distinguished from No. 9).  
 16. (  $\overset{\vee}{\text{—}}$  ) Galgal or Yèraḥ (see above, I. 20).  
 17. (  $\overset{\vee}{\text{—}}$  ) Mēhuppākh or Mahpākh (see above, I. 15).  
 18. (  $\overset{\vee}{\text{—}}$  ) 'Azlā (see above, I. 18).  
 19. (  $\overset{\vee}{\text{—}}$  ) Šalšēleth qeṭannā (Little Šalšēleth).

The last three are distinguished from the disjunctives of the same name by the absence of the stroke.

- [20. (  $\overset{\vee}{\text{—}}$  ) Šinnōrith, see above under No. 7.]

## REMARKS ON THE ACCENTS.

I. *As Signs of the Tone.*

k 1. As in Greek and English (cf. εἰμί and εἴμι, *compact* and *compact*) so also in Hebrew, words which are written with the same consonants are occasionally distinguished by the position of the tone, e.g. בָּנוּ *banū* (they built), בָּנוּ *bānu* (in us); קָמָה *qāma* (she stood up), קָמָה *qamā* (standing up, *fem.*).

l 2. As a rule the accent stands on the tone-syllable, and properly on its initial consonant. In the case of prepositives and postpositives alone (see above, e) the tone-syllable must be ascertained independently of the accent. In many MSS. as well as in Baer's editions of the text, the postpositive sign in foretoned words stands also over the tone-syllable after the analogy of Paštā (see above, I. 8 a, note); e.g. יִשְׁבְּבוּ *šəbbū* Gn 19<sup>4</sup>; so the prepositive sign in cases like יִהְיֶה *ihyeh* Gn 8<sup>13</sup>.

II. *As Signs of Punctuation.*

m 3. In respect to this use of the accents, every verse is regarded as a period which closes with Sillūq, or in the figurative language of the grammarians, as a province (*ditio*) which is governed by the great distinctive at the end. According as the verse is long or short, i.e. the province great or small, there are several subordinate *Domini* of different grades, as governors of greater and smaller divisions. When possible, the subdivisions themselves are also split up into parts according to the law of dichotomy (see Wickes, *The Accents of the Twenty-one Books*, p. 29 ff.).—When two or more equivalent accents (Zāqēph, R'bhia') occur consecutively, the accent which precedes marks a greater division than the one which follows; cf. e.g. the Zāqēph, Gn 1<sup>20 a</sup>.

n 4. In general a conjunctive (*Servus*) unites only such words as are closely connected in sense, e.g. a noun with a following genitive or a noun with an

adjective. For the closest connexion between two or more words *Maqqēph* is added (§ 16 a).

5. The consecution of the several accents (especially the correspondence of *O* disjunctives with their proper conjunctives) conforms in the most minute details to strict rules, for a further investigation of which we must refer to the above-mentioned works. Here, to avoid misunderstanding, we shall only notice further the rule that in the accentuation of the books תא"ם, the *R'bhī'ā mugrāš* before *Sillūq*, and the *D'ḥi* before *'Athnāh*, must be changed into conjunctives, unless at least two toneless syllables precede the principal disjunctive. For this purpose Š<sup>wā</sup> *mobile* after *Qameš*, *Sere*, or *Holem* (with *Metheg*) is to be regarded as forming a syllable. After 'Ōlè w<sup>y</sup>ōrēd the 'Athnāh does not necessarily act as pausal (cf. Delitzsch on ψ 45<sup>b</sup>). The condition of our ordinary texts is corrupt, and the system of accents can only be studied in correct editions [see Wickes' two treatises].

6. A double accentuation occurs in Gn 35<sup>22</sup>, from וישכב onward (where *l*) the later accentuation, intended for public reading, aims at uniting vv. 22 and 23 into one, so as to pass rapidly over the unpleasant statement in v. 22); and in the Decalogue, Ex 20<sup>2</sup> ff.; Dt 5<sup>6</sup> ff. Here also the later (mainly superlinear) accentuation which closes the first verse with עברים (instead of פני) is adopted simply for the purposes of public reading, in order to reduce the original twelve verses (with sublinear accentuation) to ten, the number of the Commandments. Thus עברים at the end of v. 2 has *Silluq* (to close the verse) in the lower accentuation, but in the upper, which unites vv. 2-6 (the actual words of God) into a single period, only *R'bhī'ā*. Again פני, regarded as closing v. 3, is pointed פני (pausal *Qameš* with *Silluq*), but in the upper accentuation it is פני with *Pathah* because not in pause. (Originally there may have been a third accentuation requiring עברים and פני, and thus representing vv. 2 and 3 as the first commandment.) Further the upper accentuation unites vv. 8-11 into one period, while in vv. 12-15 the lower accentuation combines commandments 5-8 into one verse. Cf. Geiger, *Urschrift u. Übersetzungen der Bibel*, p. 373; Japhet, *op. cit.*, p. 158, and esp. K. J. Grimm, *Johns Hopkins Univ. Circ.* xix (May, 1900), no. 145.

### § 16. Of *Maqqēph* and *Mèthēg*.

These are both closely connected with the accents.

*a*

1. *Maqqēph* (מקף i.e. *binder*) is a small horizontal stroke between the upper part of two words which so connects them that in respect of tone and pointing they are regarded as one, and therefore have only one accent. Two, three, or even four words may be connected in this way, e.g. כל־אדם *every man*, את־כל־עֵשֶׂב *every herb*, Gn 1<sup>29</sup>, כל־אשר־לוֹ *all that he had*, Gn 25<sup>5</sup>.

Certain monosyllabic prepositions and conjunctions, such as אל־ *to*, עַד־ *until*, עַל־ *upon*, עִם־ *with*, אֶל־ *ne*, אִם־ *if, whether*, מִן־ *from*, כִּי־ *lest*, are almost always found with a following *Maqqēph*, provided they have not become independent forms by being combined with prefixes, e.g. מֵעַל־, מֵעַם־, in which case *Maqqēph* as a rule does not follow. Occasionally *Maqqēph* is replaced by a conjunctive accent (see above, § 9 u, 1 c), as, according to the *Masora*, in Dt 27<sup>9</sup>, 2 S 20<sup>23</sup>, Jer 25<sup>30</sup>, 29<sup>25</sup>, Ec 9<sup>4</sup> in the case of אֶל־כָּל־; ψ 47<sup>6</sup>, 60<sup>2</sup>, Pr 3<sup>12</sup> in the case of אֶת־, the objective particle. Longer words are, however, con-

nected by Maqqēph with a following monosyllable, e.g. הַתְּהַלְּלֵךְ־גִּן Gn 6<sup>9</sup>, וַיְהִי־כֵן Gn 17; or two words of more than one syllable, e.g. שִׁבְעָה־עָשָׂר *sevenleen*, Gn 7<sup>11</sup>. Cf. the Greek proclitics *êv, êκ, êis, êi, ôs, ou*, which are *tonic*, and lean on the following word.

- C 2. *Mètheg* (מֶתֶגַּח i.e. *a bridle*), a small perpendicular stroke under the consonant to the left of the vowel, indicates most frequently the secondary stress or counter-tone, as opposed to the principal tone marked by the accents. It serves, however, in other cases to point out that the vowel should not be hastily passed over in pronunciation, but should be allowed its full sound. Hence other names of *Mèthëg* are *Ma'a'rikh*, i.e. *lengthener*, and *Ga'yā*, i.e. *raising of the voice*, which is *Great Ga'yā* with long vowels, otherwise *Little Ga'yā*.<sup>1</sup>

d It is divided into: 1. The *light Mèthëg*. This is subdivided again into (a) the ordinary *Mèthëg* of the counter-tone, as a rule in the second (open) syllable before the tone, e.g. מֶלֶךְ־צָר (cf. also such cases as מֶלֶךְ־צָר); but also in the third when the second is closed, e.g. הָאֲרָבַעַיִם (also in such cases as עֶבְרֵי־הַמִּלֻּךְ), and when the third is not suitable for it, even in the fourth (open) syllable before the tone. This *Mèthëg* may be repeated in the fourth syllable before the tone, when it already stands in the second, e.g. שִׁבְעָתֵיכֶם. Finally it is always added to the vowel of an open ultima, which is joined by Maqqēph to a word beginning with a toneless syllable and so without *Mèthëg* (e.g. בְּנֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל, on the other hand רִשְׁפֵי־קִשְׁתְּךָ, or to a word beginning with *Šewā* before the tone-syllable, e.g. מִי־לֶךְ, &c.; the object being to prevent the *Šewā* from becoming *quiescent*).

e The ordinary *light Mèthëg* is omitted with a movable *v copulative*, consequently we do not find וּבְנֵי, &c. (nor even וּבְנֵי, &c., contrary to *b, a*; but וּבְנֵי, &c., according to *b, δ*, cf. § 10 g. b).

f (b) The *firm or indispensable Mèthëg*. (a) With all long vowels (except in certain cases, *v copulative*, see above), which are followed by a *Šewā mobile* preceding the tone-syllable; e.g. יִשְׁנֵי, יִרְאוּ, &c. (β) To emphasize a long vowel in a closed syllable immediately before Maqqēph, e.g. שֶׁת־לִי Gn 4<sup>25</sup> (not *šth-li*); hence also with כָּל־ψ 138<sup>2</sup>, and אֶת־Jb 41<sup>26</sup> (for כָּל־ and אֶת־; cf. also מֵאֶת־Jo 15<sup>18</sup>, &c.). (γ) With *Šere*, which has become toneless through retraction of the tone, in order to prevent its being pronounced as *Šeghōl*, e.g. אֶהְבֶּה־דַעַת Pr 12<sup>1</sup> (not *'ôhëbh*). (δ) With all vowels before composite *Šewā*, e.g. יַעֲמֵד, יַעֲקֹם, &c. (except when the following consonant is strengthened, e.g. יַקְבֹּץ Is 62<sup>2</sup>, because the strengthening by *Dageš* excludes the retarding of the vowel by *Mèthëg*); so in the cases discussed in § 28 c, where a short vowel has taken the place of a *Ḥateph*, as יַעֲמֵד, &c. (ε) In the preformative syllable of all forms of הִיָּה *to be*, and הִיָּה *to live*, when *Šewā quiescens* stands under the ה or ה, e.g. יִהְיֶה, תִּהְיֶה (*yih-yè, tih-yè*), &c., cf.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. as the source of this account of *Mèthëg*, the exhaustive treatment by S. Baer, 'Mèthëg-Setzung nach ihren überlieferten Gesetzen,' in A. Merx's *Archiv für die wissenschaftl. Erforschung des A. Test.*, Heft i, Halle, 1867, p. 56 ff., and Heft ii. 1868, p. 194 ff.; Baer and Strack, *Dikduke ha-š'amim*, p. 30 ff.

§ 63 q. (S) With the Qames of the plural forms of בַּיִת *house* (thus בַּיִתִּים *báttim*, cf. § 96 under בַּיִת), and with הִנָּחֵם<sup>1</sup> *prithē!* to guard against the pronunciation *bóttim*, *ónnā*.—Every kind of light Mèthëg may in certain circumstances be changed into a conjunctive accent, e. g. הִתְחַיֵּם<sup>2</sup> Ch 34<sup>11</sup>, &c.

2. The *grave Mèthëg* (*Ga'yā* in the more limited sense) is especially employed <sup>g</sup> in the following cases in order more distinctly to emphasize a short vowel or an initial Š<sup>wā</sup>: (a) with the Pathah of the article or of the prefixes ב, כ, ל, when followed by Š<sup>wā</sup> under a consonant without Dageš, e. g. הַמְסַלֵּחַ, הַמְסַלֵּחַ, &c., but not before י (before which י also remains without Mèthëg, with the exception of יְהִי and יִהְיֶה, when they are followed by *Maqqēph*, or accented with *Paštā*), nor before the tone-syllable of a word, and neither *before* nor *after* the common Mèthëg; likewise not in words which are connected by a conjunctive accent with the following word; (b) with the interrogative הַ with Pathah (except when it precedes י, Dageš forte or the tone-syllable of the word), e. g. הֲאֵלֶּהּ. When a Š<sup>wā</sup> follows the הַ and after the Š<sup>wā</sup> there is an untuned syllable, Baer places the Mèthëg to the right of the Pathah, e. g. הַבְּרָכָה Gn 27<sup>33</sup> (but ed. Mant. and Ginsb. הַבְּרָכָה); (c) with the Pathah or S<sup>egol</sup> of the article before a guttural (which cannot take Dageš), e. g. הַהַיִּים, הַחַיִּים.—The Š<sup>wā</sup>-*Ga'yā* (,) is especially important in the accentuation of the מ"ת, for purposes of musical recitation; it stands chiefly in words whose principal tone is marked by a disjunctive without a preceding conjunctive, e. g. הַיִּהּ ψ 1<sup>3</sup>.

3. The *euphonic Ga'yā*, to ensure the distinct pronunciation of those con- <sup>h</sup>sonants which in consequence of the loss of the tone, or because they close a syllable, might easily be neglected, e. g. לֹוּ וַיִּשְׁבַּע לוֹ Gn 24<sup>9</sup>; פָּדְתָה אֶרֶץ Gn 28<sup>2</sup>, or in such cases as אֵל רִוַח־אֵל Jb 33<sup>4</sup>, &c.; אֵל תִּשָּׂא Gn 1<sup>11</sup>.

Mèthëg (especially in the cases mentioned in 1, b, a) is a guide to correct *i* pronunciation, since it distinguishes *ā* from *ō* (except in the case noted in § 9 v, b) and *i* from *ī*; e. g. אָכְלָה 'ā-*khēlā* (she has eaten), but אֲכָלָה 'ō*khilā* (food), since the        stands here in a toneless closed syllable, and must therefore be a short vowel; thus also יִרְאוּ *yī-r'ū* (they fear), but יִרְאוּ *yir'ū* (they see), יִשְׁנוּ (they sleep), but יִשְׁנוּ (they repeat). The Jewish grammarians, however, do not consider the syllables lengthened by Mèthëg as open. They regard the Š<sup>wā</sup> as *quiescent* in cases like אֲכָלָה, and belonging to the preceding vowel; cf. Baer, *Thorat 'Emeth*, p. 9, and in Merx's *Archiv*, i. p. 60, Rem. 1, and especially *Dikduke ha-ḥ'amim*, p. 13.

## § 17. Of the Q<sup>eré</sup> and K<sup>ethibh</sup>. *Masora marginalis* and *finalis*.

On Q<sup>eré</sup> and K<sup>ethibh</sup> see Ginsburg, *Intr.*, p. 183 ff.]

1. The margin of Biblical MSS. and editions exhibits variants <sup>a</sup> of an early date (§ 3 c), called קְרִי<sup>2</sup> *to be read*, since, according to

<sup>1</sup> The common form is הִנָּחֵם, with an accent on both syllables, in which case, according to Qimhi, the tone is always to be placed on the former. For the above mode of writing and position of the tone cf. Is 38<sup>3</sup>, Jon 1<sup>4</sup>, 4<sup>2</sup>, ψ 116<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> On the necessity of the punctuation קְרִי as passive participle (= *legendum*)

the opinion of the Jewish critics, they are to be preferred to the **בְּתִיב**, i.e. what is *written* in the text, and are actually to be read instead of it.

On this account the vowels of the marginal reading (the *Q<sup>erê</sup>*) are placed under the consonants of the text, and in order to understand both readings properly, the vowels in the text must be applied to the marginal reading, while for the reading of the text (the *K<sup>ethibh</sup>*) its own vowels are to be used. Thus in Jer 42<sup>6</sup> **אָנֹכִי** occurs in the text, in the margin **קָרִי**. Read **אָנֹכִי** *we* (or according to Jewish tradition **אָנֹכִי**) in the text, in the margin **אָנֹכִי**. A small circle or asterisk in the text always refers to the marginal reading.

**b** 2. Words or consonants which are to be passed over in reading, and are therefore left unpointed, are called **בְּתִיב וְלֹא קָרִי** (*scriptum et non legendum*), e.g. **את** Jer 38<sup>16</sup>, **אם** 39<sup>12</sup>, **ירך** 51<sup>3</sup>. Conversely, words not contained in the text, but required by the Masora (as indicated by the insertion of their vowels), are called **קָרִי וְלֹא בְּתִיב**, e.g. 2 S 8<sup>3</sup>, Jer 31<sup>33</sup>. See further Strack, *Prolegomena Critica*, p. 85; *Dikduke ha-ʿamim*, §§ 62, 64; Blau, *Masoretische Untersuchungen*, p. 49 ff.

**c** 3. In the case of some very common words, which are *always* to be read otherwise than according to the *K<sup>ethibh</sup>*, it has not been considered necessary to place the *Q<sup>erê</sup>* in the margin, but its vowels are simply attached to the word in the text. This *Q<sup>erê</sup> perpetuum* occurs in the Pentateuch in **הוּא** (*Q<sup>erê</sup> הוּא*) wherever **הוּא** stands for the feminine (§ 32 l), and in **נָעַר** (*K<sup>ethibh</sup> נָעַר, Q<sup>erê</sup> נָעֲרָה*) always, except in Dt 22<sup>19</sup> (but the Sam. text always has **היא**, *נערה*). The ordinary explanation of this supposed archaism, on the analogy of Greek *ὁ παῖς* and *ἡ παῖς*, our *child*, is inadequate, since there is no trace elsewhere of this epicene use; **נָעַר** for *נערה* is rather a survival of a system of orthography in which a final vowel was written defectively, as in **קָטַלְתָּ**; cf. § 2 n.—Other instances are: **יִשְׁכָּר** (*Q. יִשְׁכָּר*) Gn 30<sup>18</sup> &c., see the *Lexicon*, and Baer and Delitzsch, *Genesis*, p. 84, and below, note to § 47 b; **יְרוּשָׁלַם** (*Q. יְרוּשָׁלַיִם*), properly **יְרוּשָׁלַם**; **יְהוָה** (*Q. יְהוָה*) *the Lord*, or (after **יְהוָה**) (*Q. יְהוָה*) properly **יְהוָה** *Yahwè* (cf. § 102 m, and § 135 q, note); on **שָׁתִי**, **שָׁנִי** for **שָׁתִי**, **שָׁנִי**, see § 97 d, end.

**d** 4. The masoretic apparatus accompanying the biblical text is divided into (a) *Masora marginalis*, consisting of (a) *Masora (marginalis) magna* on the upper and lower margins of MSS.; (β) *Masora (marginalis) parva* between and on the right and left of the columns;

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instead of **קָרִי** *Q<sup>erê</sup>*, which was formerly common but is properly a past tense (= *lectum est*), see Kautzsch, *Gramm. des Bibl.-Aram.*, p. 81, note.

(b) *Masora finalis* at the end of the several books, counting Samuel, Kings, Minor Prophets, Ezra-Nehemiah, Chronicles, each as one book. On all three varieties see especially Ginsburg, *Introd.*, p. 423 ff., and the appendices containing (p. 983 ff.) the masoretic treatise from the St. Petersburg MS. of A. D. 1009, and (p. 1000 ff.) specimens of the *Masora parva* and *magna* on two chapters.

In nearly all printed editions only the *Masora finalis* is found, indicating <sup>e</sup> the number of verses, the middle point of the book, &c., and a scanty selection from the *Masora parva*. The following alphabetical list of technical expressions (some of them Aramaic) and abbreviations, may suffice with the help of the lexicon to elucidate the subject. Further details will be found in the appendix to Teile's edition of the Hebrew O. T., p. 1222 ff.

אות letter. אֵלֶּיךָ nisi, except. אֶמְצֵע middle. הַפְסוּקִים אִם"ה in the formula הַפְסוּקִים בְּלֹא אִם"ה without 'Athnaḥ or Soph-pasuq i. e. although no 'Athnaḥ or Soph-pasuq is written.

ג with, before names of vowels or accents, as בְּזָקֶף קָמֶיץ Qameṣ with Zaqeph used instead of Pathah (§ 29 i).—'ב' as a numeral = two, as in ב' טַעֲמִים two accents. בְּמִקְצֵת, see מִקְצֵת. בְּנִינָא אַחֲרֵינָא = בנינא (Aramaic) in another copy; pl. בְּנִינֵסָן אַחֲרֵינֵן.—בְּנִינֵסָן אַחֲרֵינֵן. בְּסִפְרֵי אַחֲרֵינֵן in other books. בְּתַר (Aram.) after.

דגוּשׁ fem. דְּגוּשָׁה marked with Dageš (or Mappiq). דָּף leaf, page.

זָעִיר fem. זְעִירָא (Aram.) small.

הוֹל profane, not sacred, e. g. אֲדַרְנִי Gn 19<sup>2</sup> because not referring to God. חוּץ except. חָסֵר written defectively, also wanting as 'א 'aleph is omitted.

טַעַם accent (see ב); טַעַם in Hiphil to chant an accent.

תֵּיר superfluous.

כָּאן here. כָּלֵל (Aram.) total, as adv. in general.

לֹא אֵית לֵיהּ (Aram., from אֵית לֵיהּ non est) = the form is not found elsewhere.

מְדוּקָא accurately corrected. מְלֵא full i. e. written plene. מְלַמְטָה below = מְלַרַע (§ 15 c). מְלַמְעֵיל = מְלַמְעֵיל (§ 15 c). מְנוּדָרוֹת separated, the name of the strangely formed Nûns before ψ 107<sup>23</sup> ff. (§ 5 n). מְקֵרָא that which is read, the name for all the O. T. scriptures. מְקַצֵּת part.

נַח fem. נַחָה quiescent, i. e. not sounded. נֶעְלָם concealed, i. e. only retained orthographically. נִקְוֵר a point. נִקְוֵר pointed.

סִמְנָא see ג. סִמְנָא σημεῖον, sign, esp. a mnemonic word or, frequently, sentence.

סְכָרִים = סְכָרִים total. סוּף פְּסוּקִים = ס"ה (§ 15 f).

עַמּוּד column of a page.

פְּסוּקָא a masoretic verse. פְּסוּקָא a space, esp. in the phrase פְּסוּקָא אֶמְצֵעַ פְּסוּקָא a space within a verse, e. g. Gn 35<sup>22</sup>; cf. H. Grätz, *Monatschrift für Gesch. u. Wiss. des Judentums*, 1878, p. 481 ff., and H. Strack, *ibid.* 1879, p. 26 ff.

קָרִי = קָרִי, see above, c. קָרִי properly קָרִי before. קָמוּצָה fem. קָמוּצָה poin'ed with Qameṣ. קוֹרֵא reader of the sacred text.

רַבְתָּא רַבְתָּה, רַבְתִּי (Aram., all fem. sing.) large.

רַבְתָּה word (consisting of more than one letter). רַבְתָּה suspensa (§ 5 n, 3). רַבְתִּי (Aram.) two.

## CHAPTER II

### PECULIARITIES AND CHANGES OF LETTERS: THE SYLLABLE AND THE TONE

#### § 18.

THE changes which take place in the forms of the various parts of speech, depend partly on the peculiar nature of certain classes of letters and the manner in which they affect the formation of syllables, partly on certain laws of the language in regard to syllables and the tone.

#### § 19. *Changes of Consonants.*

*a* The changes which take place among consonants, owing to the formation of words, inflexion, euphony, or to influences connected with the progress of the language, are *commutation, assimilation, rejection, addition, transposition, softening.*

1. *Commutation*<sup>1</sup> may take place between consonants which are either *homorganic* or *homogeneous* (cf. § 6 *q*), e. g. עָלוּ, עָלַם, עָלִין *to exult*, לָאָה, לָרַה, Aram. לָעָא *to be weary*, חָץ and חָץ *to press*, קָרַר and קָרַר *to close*, מָלַט and מָלַט *to escape*. In process of time, and partly under the influence of Aramaic, the harder and rougher sounds especially were changed into the softer, e. g. צָחַק into צָחַק *to laugh*, נָעַץ into נָאָל *to reject*, and the sibilants into the corresponding mutes: ז into ר, ש into ת, צ into ט. In many cases these mutes may be regarded as a return to an earlier stage of the pronunciation.

The interchange of consonants, however, belongs rather to the lexicographical treatment of stems<sup>2</sup> than to grammatical inflexion. To the latter belong the interchange (*a*) of ת and ט in *Hithpa'el* (§ 54 *b*); (*b*) of ו and י in verbs *primae Yôd* (§ 69), יָלַר for יָלַר, &c.

*b* 2. *Assimilation* usually takes place when one consonant which closes a syllable passes over into another beginning the next syllable, and forms with it a strengthened letter, as *illustriſ* for *inlustriſ*, *affero* for *adfero*, συλλαμβάνω for συναλαμβάνω. In Hebrew this occurs,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Barth, *Etymologische Forschungen*, Lpz. 1893, p. 15 ff. ('Lautverschiebungen').

<sup>2</sup> See in the *Lexicon*, the preliminary remarks on the several consonants.

(a) most frequently with נ, e.g. מִן־שָׁמַיִם (for *min-šām*) from there, מִן־זֶה (for *min-zè*) from this, יָתֵן (for *yintēn*) he gives. נ is not assimilated after the prefix לְ, e.g. לְנִגְזָר, nor as a rule before gutturals (except sometimes before ח), nor when it is the third consonant of the stem, e.g. שָׁבַע־נָתַן (cf. however נָתַן for *nāthāntā*) except when another Nun follows, cf. § 44 o; nor in some isolated cases, as Dt 33<sup>9</sup>, Is 29<sup>1</sup>, 58<sup>3</sup>, all in the principal pause; on הִנְדִּירָה and הִנְדִּירָה ׀ 68<sup>3</sup>, see § 51 k, and § 66 f.

(b) Less frequently and only in special cases with ל, ת, ד, e.g. יִקַּח d (for *yilqah*) he takes; מִדְּבַר for *mīhdabbēr*; יִתְחַמֵּם for *yitħtammā*; תִּיחֲכֹנֵן for *tīħkōnēn*; תִּתְנַשֵּׂא for *tītntāššā*; אֶחָד for *'ahadt*; but in 1 S 4<sup>19</sup> for לָלֶת read probably לָלֶתֶל.

(c) In isolated cases with ה, ו, י, e.g. אֶפְרַיִם *prithēe*! if from אֶפְרַיִם; e ו and י mostly before sibilants in the verbal forms enumerated in § 7 i.

In all these cases, instead of the assimilated letter, a *Dageš forte* *f* appears in the following consonant. *Dageš*, however, is omitted when the strengthened consonant would stand at the end of a word, since the strengthening would then be less audible (§ 20 l), e.g. אֶפְרַיִם *nose* (from *'anp*), תִּתֵּן *to give* (from *tint*).

The cases are less frequent where a weak letter is lost in pronunciation,<sup>1</sup> and in place of it the preceding stronger sound is sharpened, i. e. takes *Dageš*, e.g. קָטַלְתֶּהוּ from קָטַלְתֵּהוּ (§ 59 g). אֶפְרַיִם for אֶפְרַיִם (§ 66 e) is an Aramaism.

3. Complete *rejection* takes place only in the case of weaker consonants, especially the sonants נ and ל, the gutturals א and ה, and the two half vowels ו and י. Such rejection takes place,

(a) at the beginning of a word (*aphaeresis*), when these weak consonants (א, י, ל, נ) are not supported by a full vowel, but have only *Šewâ*, e.g. נֶחְמוּ *we*, also אֶנְחֵמוּ; וְדַע for וְדַע; קַח for לְקַח; נִגַּשׁ for נִגַּשׁ; הִי for הִי Ez 2<sup>10</sup>.

Aphaeresis of a weak consonant with a full vowel is supposed to occur in רָר i Ju 19<sup>11</sup> for יָרָר; in תָּתַח 2 S 22<sup>41</sup> for תָּתַח; in שׁוֹב for יִשׁוֹב Je 42<sup>10</sup>; on קַח Ez 17<sup>6</sup> for לְקַח, and on קָחַם Ho 11<sup>3</sup> for לְקָחַם, see § 66 g, end. In reality, however, all these forms are to be regarded merely as old textual errors.

(b) In the middle of a word (*syncope*), when *Šewâ* precedes the weak consonant<sup>2</sup>; thus in the case of א (see further § 23 b-f, and

<sup>1</sup> Such a suppression of a letter is sometimes inaccurately called 'backward assimilation'.

<sup>2</sup> Syncope of a strong consonant (ע) occurs in בִּי *prithēe*! if this stands for בְּעִי (see *Lexicon*), also in וְנִשְׁקָה Am 8<sup>8</sup>, K<sup>e</sup> *thibh* for וְנִשְׁקָה (cf. וְנִשְׁקָה 9<sup>5</sup>), and

§ 68 b-k), e.g. in כּוּם for מָאום. As a rule in such cases, however, the א is orthographically retained, e.g. לְקָרַאת for לְקָרַת. Syncope occurs frequently in the case of ה, e.g. לְהַפְלִיךָ for לְהַפְלִיךָ (§ 23 k and § 35 n), יִקְטִיל for יְהַקְטִיל (§ 53 a).

Syncope of א with Šewâ occurs in such cases as בְּאֲרָנִי for בְּאֲרָנִי (cf. § 102 m); וְאֶעֱשֶׂר Zc 11<sup>5</sup>.<sup>1</sup> On the cases in which א is wholly omitted after the article, see § 35 d.

Finally, the elision of ו and י in verbs ל'ה (§ 75 h) is an instance of syncope.—On the syncope of ה between two vowels, see § 23 k.

l (c) At the end of a word (*apocope*), e.g. גִּלּוֹה pr. name of a city (cf. גִּילּוֹנִי Gilonite); וְיָרָא, where א though really rejected is orthographically retained, &c. On the apocope of ו and י in verbs ל'ה, see § 24 g, and § 75 a.

Bolder changes (especially by violent apocope), took place in earlier periods of the language, notably the weakening of the feminine ending תּ—äth to תּ—ā, see § 44 a, and § 80 f.

- m 4. To avoid harshness in pronunciation a helping sound, Aleph prosthetic<sup>2</sup> with its vowel, is prefixed to some words, e.g. אֶזְרוּעַ and זְרוּעַ arm (cf. χθές, ἐχθές; spiritus, French esprit).—A prosthetic ע occurs probably in עֶקְרָב scorpion; cf. Arab. 'usfûr bird (stem şafara).
- n 5. *Transposition*<sup>3</sup> occurs only seldom in the grammar, e.g. הִשְׁתַּמֵּךְ for הִשְׁתַּמֵּךְ (§ 54 b) for the sake of euphony; it is more frequent in the lexicon (כֶּבֶשׂ and כֶּשֶׁב lamb, שִׁמְלָה and שִׁמְלָה garment), but is mostly confined to sibilants and sonants.
- o 6. *Softening* occurs e.g. in כּוֹכַב star, from *kaukabh*=*kawkabh* for *kabhkabh* (cf. Syriac *raurab*=*rabrab*); תּוֹפְלוֹת phylacteries for *ṭaph-ṭaphūt*; according to the common opinion, also in אִישׁ man from 'inš, cf. however § 96.

## § 20. *The Strengthening (Sharpening) of Consonants.*

a 1. The strengthening of a consonant, indicated by *Dageš forte*, is necessary and essential (*Dageš necessarium*)

(a) when the same consonant would be written twice in succession

in בָּלָה Jos 19<sup>3</sup> for בְּעָלָה (as in 15<sup>29</sup>). Probably, however, וּנְשָׂה and בָּלָה are only clerical errors, as is undoubtedly כָּאֵר Am 8<sup>3</sup> for כִּיאֵר (9<sup>6</sup>).

<sup>1</sup> Frensdorff, *Ochla W'ochla*, p. 97 f., gives a list of forty-eight words with quiescent א.

<sup>2</sup> This awkward term is at any rate as suitable as the name *Alef prostheticum* proposed by Nestle, *Marginalien u. Materialien*, Tübingen, 1893, p. 67 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Barth, *Etymologische Studien*, Lpz. 1893, p. 1 ff.; Königsberger, in *Zeitschrift f. wissenschaftliche Theologie*, 1894, p. 451 ff.

without an intermediate vowel or *Šewā mobile*; thus we have נָתַנְנִי without an intermediate vowel or *Šewā mobile*; thus we have נָתַנְנִי *nāthān-nū* and שָׁתַּתִּי for שִׁתַּתִּי.

(b) in cases of assimilation (§ 19 b-f), e.g. יִתֵּן for *yintēn*.

In both these cases the *Dageš* is called *compensativum*.

(c) When it is characteristic of a grammatical form, e.g. לָמַד *he has learned*, לָמַר *he has taught* (*Dageš characteristicum*). In a wider sense this includes the cases in which a consonant is sharpened by *Dageš forte*, to preserve a preceding short vowel (which in an open syllable would have to be lengthened by § 26 e), e.g. מַלְמָלִים *camels* for *g<sup>e</sup>mālīm*; cf. § 93 ee and kk, § 93 pp.

This coalescing of two consonants as indicated above does not take place <sup>b</sup> when the first has a vowel or *Šewā mobile*. In the latter case, according to the correct Masora, a compound *Šewā* should be used, preceded by *Methēg*, e.g. הוֹלֵלִים, קָלָלִים, &c. (cf. §§ 10g, 16f). This pointing is not used before the suffix הָ, e.g. תִּכְרְבֶּךָ Gn 27<sup>4</sup>, but the first כ has a vocal *Šewā*, otherwise the second כ would have *Dageš lenē*. Also when the former of the two consonants has been already strengthened by *Dageš forte*, it can only have a vocal *Šewā*, and any further contraction is therefore impossible. This applies also to cases where *Dageš forte* has been omitted (see below, m), e.g. הָלַלְוֹ properly הִלְלוּ = *hal-lēlū*. The form הִנְנִי ψ 9<sup>14</sup> (not הִנְנִי) might be explained as imperat. Pi'el = הִנְנִי; if it were imperat. Qal the non-contraction of the monosyllabic root would be as strange as it is in שָׂרַדְךָ Jer 49<sup>28</sup>, and in the imperf. יִשְׂרָדְךָ Jer 5<sup>6</sup>.

2. A consonant is sometimes strengthened merely for the sake of *C euphony* (*Dageš euphonicum*), and the strengthening is then not so essential. This occurs <sup>1</sup>—

(a) when two words are closely united in pronunciation by *Dageš forte conjunctivum*: (1) in the first letter of a monosyllable or of a word having the tone (or occasionally the counter-tone) on the first syllable,<sup>2</sup> when closely connected with the preceding word, if that word ends in a tone-bearing *Qames* (הַ־) with *Šewā mobile* preceding, or a tone-bearing הַ־, —called הִתִּיק (i. e. *compressed*) by the Jewish grammarians.

The term monosyllable here and in f (by § 28 e) includes Segholates like מִשְׁחָר, שָׁחַר, &c., as well as forms like מִשְׁחָר, שָׁחַר, and even בְּנָעַן.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Baer, 'De primarum vocabulorum literarum dagessatione,' in his *Liber Proverbiorum*, Lpz. 1880, pp. vii-xv; F. Pratorius, 'Über den Ursprung des Dag. f. conjunctivum,' in *ZAW*. 1883, p. 17 ff. (ascribed to an original assimilation of ך or ן).

<sup>2</sup> לָאִמֹר alone, although having the tone on the ultima, invariably takes the *Dageš forte conj.* when מִשְׁחָר with a conjunctive accent precedes, Ex 6<sup>10,29</sup>, 15<sup>24</sup>, &c.

Some limit the use of the *D<sup>e</sup>hiq* to the closest connexion of a monosyllable with a following *B<sup>e</sup>gadh<sup>e</sup>phath*. However, it also applies to cases like לְכֹהֵן-זָאֵת Nu 22<sup>6</sup>; לְקַחְהָ-זָאֵת Gn 22<sup>3</sup>; יְצַיֵּה-לָךְ ψ 91<sup>11</sup>; and even with *Rēš*, מַעֲנֶה-רֵךְ Pr 15<sup>1</sup>; וְשָׁנָה-רָבָה Gn 43<sup>15</sup>. In all these examples the tone, were it not for the *Maqqēph*, would be on the ultima of the first word.

d Rem. 1. When וְ this has *Maqqēph* after it, a *Dageš forte conj.* always follows, even if the next word is neither a monosyllable nor has the tone on the initial syllable; thus not only in וְוָה-שָׁמוּ Jer 23<sup>6</sup>, but also in וְוָה-פְּרִיָה Nu 13<sup>27</sup>, 1 Ch 22<sup>1</sup>. In וְנָאֵה Gn 19<sup>2</sup> (where *Maqqēph* is represented by a conjunctive accent, § 9 u, 1 c, and § 16 b), the *S<sup>e</sup>ghōl* coincides with the secondary tone-syllable. On the origin of *Dag. f. conj.* after מָה (for מָה) what?, see § 37 b, c.

e 2. Such cases as נָאֵה Gn 15<sup>1,21</sup>, the 2nd בְּמִכְבָּה in ver. 11, וְנָאֵה ver. 13, בְּאֵבֶן ver. 16, do not belong here. In these the *Dageš* can only be intended for *Dag. lenē*, see § 21 d.

f (2) In the first letter of a monosyllable, or of a word with the tone on the first syllable after a closely connected *mil'el* ending in הֶ or הָ. Such a *mil'el* is called by the Jewish grammarians אֲתֵי מִרְחִיק (Aram. = Heb. אֲתֵי מִרְחִיק) *veniens e longinquo* (in respect of the tone). The attraction of the following tone-syllable by *Dageš forte conj.* is here also due to the exigencies of rhythm, e. g. שְׁבִיתָ שְׁבִי ψ 68<sup>19</sup>; הוֹשִׁיעָה נָא ψ 118<sup>25</sup> (so ed. Mant., but Ginsburg and Kittel נָא הוֹשִׁיעָה); הִרְחִיבָה שְׂאוֹל Is 5<sup>14</sup>; אֲרִצָּה בְנֵעַן Gn 11<sup>31</sup>. The *Mil'el* may, however, also be due to a subsequent retraction of the tone (*nāsōg'ahôr*, § 29 e), as in עֲשֵׂה פְרִי Gn 1<sup>11</sup>.—The prefixes כִּ, כֶּ, לִ and י alone do not take a *Dageš* in this case, except in לָךְ, always, and לְלִילָה ψ 19<sup>3</sup>. Such forms as הוֹשִׁיעָה לִי Gn 21<sup>23</sup>, שָׁחַר מִלֵּאָה שְׁחַר Jb 21<sup>16</sup>, and even נַעֲמְרָה יַחַד Is 50<sup>8</sup> (i. e. the cases where the tone is thrown back from the ultima on to the syllable which otherwise would have *Metheg*), are likewise regarded as *mil'el*. On the other hand, e. g. תָּרָה לָךְ Gn 4<sup>6</sup>, not לָךְ since the first *ā* of תָּרָה could not have *Metheg*. When words are closely united by *Maqqēph* the same rules apply as above, except that in the first word *Metheg*, in the secondary tone, takes the place of the accent, cf. עֲשֵׂה-פְרִי Gn 1<sup>12</sup>; הִנְיָרָה-נָא Gn 32<sup>30</sup>, &c. Finally, the *Dageš* is used when the attracted word does not begin with the principal tone, but with a syllable having *Metheg*, יִרְשֵׁוּ הַפֹּה ψ 37<sup>9</sup>; אֵלָה יַעֲקֹב Is 44<sup>21</sup>; עֲשִׂיתָ קְעָרְתִּי Ex 25<sup>29</sup>, provided that the second word does not begin with a *B<sup>e</sup>gadh<sup>e</sup>phath* letter (hence e. g. אֵלָה תוֹלְדוֹת Gn 2<sup>4</sup>).

g Rem. Such cases as קָנָךְ Dt 32<sup>8</sup>, and בְּשִׂיתָ 32<sup>15</sup>, and נָעוֹת (so Baer, but not ed. Mant., &c.) 1 S 1<sup>13</sup> are therefore anomalous; also, because beginning with

a B<sup>g</sup>adk<sup>e</sup>phath, בְּאֵלִים Ex 15<sup>11</sup> (cf. however above, e); בְּרוּעַ Jos 8<sup>28</sup>; בְּרוּעַ ψ 77<sup>16</sup>; בְּרוּעַ Jb 5<sup>27</sup>.—It is doubtful whether we should include here those cases in which *Dageš forte* occurs after a word ending in a toneless *û*, such as בְּרוּעַ Gn 19<sup>14</sup>, Ex 12<sup>31</sup>; Ex 12<sup>15</sup> (בְּרוּעַ), Dt 2<sup>24</sup>; also לֵא Gn 19<sup>2</sup>, 1 S 8<sup>10</sup>; לוֹ Ju 18<sup>19</sup>, Est 6<sup>13</sup> (where P. Haupt regards the *Dageš* as due to the enclitic character of the לוֹ); מָעַט Ho 8<sup>10</sup>; מָדוּ Jer 49<sup>30</sup>; מָדוּ 1 S 15<sup>6</sup>. When we explained the *Dageš* in these examples not as conjunctive, but orthophonic (see above, § 13 c, and Delitzsch, *Psalmen*, 4th ed. on ψ 94<sup>12 a</sup>), we especially had in view those cases in which the consonant with *Dageš* has a *S<sup>e</sup>wā*. The extension of the use of *Dageš* to consonants with a strong vowel, seems, however, to indicate that these are cases of the אֲתִי מְרַחֵק, which was required by some Masoretes but not consistently inserted. On the other hand, the *Dageš forte* in ׀ after a preceding *i* (ψ 118<sup>6,18</sup>), and even after *û* (ψ 94<sup>12</sup>), is due to an attempt to preserve its consonantal power; see König, *Lehrgeb.*, p. 54 b.

(b) When a consonant with *S<sup>e</sup>wā* is strengthened by *Dageš forte h* *dirimens* to make the *S<sup>e</sup>wā* more audible. In almost all cases the strengthening or sharpening can be easily explained from the character of the particular consonant, which is almost always a sonant, sibilant, or the emphatic *Qôph*; cf. עֲבָבִי Lv 25<sup>5</sup>, Dt 32<sup>32</sup> (for עֲבָבִי); פִּנְיָתְךָ Is 33<sup>1</sup> (where, however, פִּנְיָתְךָ is to be read); cf. נָא 3<sup>17</sup>, Jb 9<sup>18</sup>, 17<sup>2</sup>, Jo 1<sup>17</sup> (with מ); Is 57<sup>6</sup> (with ל); Ju 20<sup>43,1</sup> 1 S 1<sup>6</sup> (with ר); Gn 49<sup>10,17</sup> (and so always in עֲקָבִי Ju 5<sup>22</sup>, Ct 1<sup>8</sup> and עֲקֹבוֹת ψ 77<sup>20</sup>, 89<sup>52</sup>); Ex 15<sup>17</sup>, Dt 23<sup>11</sup>, Ju 20<sup>32</sup>, 1 S 28<sup>10</sup> (ק)<sup>2</sup>; Ex 2<sup>3</sup>, Is 58<sup>3</sup>, Am 5<sup>21</sup>, ψ 141<sup>3</sup>, Pr 4<sup>13</sup> (צ); Pr 27<sup>25</sup> (ש); Is 5<sup>28</sup>, ψ 37<sup>15</sup>, Jer 51<sup>56</sup>, Neh 4<sup>7</sup> (ש). Also, with כ Ho 3<sup>2</sup>; with ב Is 9<sup>3</sup>, Jer 4<sup>7</sup>; with ת 1 S 10<sup>11</sup>. In many instances of this kind the influence of the following consonant is also observable.

(c) When a vowel is to be made specially emphatic, generally in *î* the principal *pause*, by a *Dageš forte affectuosum* in the following consonant. Thus in a following sonant, Ju 5<sup>7</sup> (חַרְלִי), Jb 29<sup>21</sup> (וַיַּחַלְלֵי), 22<sup>12</sup> (רַמְנוֹ); Ez 27<sup>19</sup> (in נ); in ת Is 33<sup>12</sup>, 41<sup>17</sup>, Jer 51<sup>58</sup>, perhaps also Jb 21<sup>13</sup> (וַיַּחַתְנוּ).

(d) When the sonants ל, מ, נ are strengthened by *Dageš forte firma-k* *tivum* in the pronouns הֵמָּה, הֵנָּה, אֵלֶּה, and in לָמָּה *why?* cf. also בַּמָּה, בְּמָה *whereby?* כַּמָּה *how much?* (§ 102 k, l), to give greater firmness to the preceding tone-vowel.

3. Omission of the strengthening, or at least the loss of the *Dageš forte* occurs,

(a) almost always at the end of a word, since here a strengthened

<sup>1</sup> The ordinary reading הַרְרִיפָהוּ, where ר is without *Dageš*, is only intelligible if the ר has *Dageš*.

<sup>2</sup> Also in ψ 45<sup>10</sup> read בְּיַקְרוּתֶיךָ with Baer and Ginsburg, following Ben Asher, and in Pr 30<sup>17</sup> לִיקָהֶת (Ben Naphthali בִּיקֵן and לִיקֵן).

consonant cannot easily be sounded.<sup>1</sup> In such cases the preceding vowel is frequently lengthened (§ 27 *d*), e. g. רַבב *multitude*, from רבב; עַם *people*, with a distinctive accent or after the article, עַם, from עמם; but e. g. גַּן *garden*, בַּת *daughter*, with the final consonant virtually sharpened. On the exceptions תָּתָּ thou (fem.) and תָּתָּתָּ thou (fem.) *hast given* Ez 16<sup>33</sup>, see § 10 *k*.

- m* (b) Very frequently in certain consonants with *Šewa mobile*, since the absence of a strong vowel causes the strengthening to be less noticeable. This occurs principally in the case of ו and י (on ו and י after the article, see § 35 *b*; on ו after מוה, § 37 *b*); and in the sonants מ,<sup>2</sup> נ and ל; also in the sibilants, especially when a guttural follows (but note Is 62<sup>9</sup>, מְאַסְפִּי, as ed. Mant. and Ginsb. correctly read, while Baer has מְאַסִּי with compensatory lengthening, and others even מְאַסִּי Gn 27<sup>28,39</sup>; מְשַׁלֵּשׁ 38<sup>24</sup> for מְשֵׁשׁ, I K 7<sup>28</sup>; מְשַׁקֵּה I K 19<sup>20</sup> from מְשַׁק, Ez 40<sup>43</sup> and מְשַׁפְּנִים ψ 104<sup>18</sup>; מְשַׁטֵּיִם Jon 4<sup>11</sup>, מְשַׁפְּרִדְעִים Ex 8<sup>1</sup> &c.);—and finally in the emphatic ק.<sup>3</sup>

Of the *Beqadkephath* letters, ב occurs without *Dageš* in מְבַצֵּר Ju 8<sup>2</sup>; נ in מְבַנְּוֹתָם Ez 32<sup>30</sup>; ר in נְרִי Is 11<sup>12</sup> 56<sup>8</sup>, ψ 147<sup>2</sup> (*not* in Jer 49<sup>56</sup>), supposing that it is the Participle Niph'al of נרַח; lastly, ח in התְּצַו Is 22<sup>10</sup>. Examples, וְיָהִי, עֲוִירִים (so always the preformative ו in the *imperf.* of verbs), מְלַמְעֵלָה, מְלַמְנַחַח, הַנְּנִי, הַלְּלוּ, מְלֹא, בְּסֵאִי, מְלֹא, יִקְחוּ, וְיִשְׂאוּ, בְּסֵאִי, מְלֹא, יִקְחוּ, וְיִשְׂאוּ, בְּסֵאִי, מְלֹא, יִקְחוּ, &c. In correct MSS. the omission of the *Dageš* is indicated by the *Rāphè* stroke (§ 14) over the consonant. However, in these cases, we must assume at least a *virtual* strengthening of the consonant (*Dageš forte implicitum*, see § 22 *c*, end).

(c) In the Gutturals, see § 22 *b*.

- n* Rem. 1. Contrary to rule the strengthening is omitted (especially in the later Books), owing to the lengthening of the preceding short vowel, generally *hireq* (cf. *mīle* for *mille*), e. g. יִהְיֶהֶן *he makes them afraid*, for יִהְיֶהֶן Hb 2<sup>17</sup> (where, however, it is perhaps more correct to suppose, with König, a formation on the analogy of verbs וְעָוִי, and moreover to read יִהְיֶהֶן with the LXX), יִקְוֹת, Is 50<sup>11</sup> for יִקְוֹת.

- O* 2. Very doubtful are the instances in which compensation for the strengthening is supposed to be made by the insertion of a following נ. Thus for

<sup>1</sup> So in Latin *fel* (for *fell*), gen. *fellis*; *mel*, *mellis*; *os*, *ossis*. In Middle High German the doubling of consonants never takes place at the end of a word, but only in the middle (as in Old High German), e. g. *val* (*Fall*), gen. *valles*; *swam* (*Schwamm*), &c., Grimm, *Deutsche Gramm.*, 2nd ed., i. 383.

<sup>2</sup> *Dageš forte* is almost always omitted in מ when it is the prefix of the participle Pi'el or Pu'al, hence ψ 104<sup>9</sup> הַמְקַרְרָה *who layeth the beams*, but הַמְקַרְרָה *the roof* Ec 10<sup>18</sup> (cf. הַמְקַלְאֲכָה *the work*, &c.).

<sup>3</sup> According to some also in ט in תְּטַעֵי Is 17<sup>10</sup>; but see Baer on the passage.



פ, even at the beginning of a syllable, by  $\chi$  and  $\phi$ ;  $\chi$ ερούβ, Καλδαίσι, Φαρφάρ, &c.—The forms פִּבְּרָבֵר (after וְשִׁמְתִּי) Is 54<sup>1</sup>, and בְּבִלְבֵל (after וְנִלְאִיתִי) Jer 20<sup>9</sup> are doubly anomalous.

e (2) In the middle of words after *Š<sup>e</sup>wā quiescens*, i.e. at the beginning of a syllable immediately after a vowelless consonant,<sup>1</sup> e.g. יִרְפֵּא *yirpā* (he heals), יִקְטֹלְתֶם *ye have killed*; but after *Š<sup>e</sup>wā mobile*, e.g. רִפֵּא *r<sup>e</sup>phā* (heal thou), שֶׁבֶרָה *she was heavy*.

f On קִטְלֵתִי, וְיִשְׁבֵּב, and similar forms, see § 10 i.

Whether *Š<sup>e</sup>wā* be vocal and consequently causes the aspiration of a following *tenuis*, depends upon the origin of the particular form. It is almost always vocal

(a) When it has arisen from the weakening of a strong vowel, e.g. יִרְפֵּא *pursue ye* (not יִרְפֵּוּ) from יִרְפֵּה; מִלְכֵי (not מִלְכֵי), because originally *mälākhē*, but מִלְכֵי from the ground-form *malk*.

(b) With the ם of the pronominal suffixes of the 2nd pers. יְרֵמֶם, םֵבֶם, יְבֵם, since *Š<sup>e</sup>wā mobile* is characteristic of these forms (see § 58 f; § 91 b).

Rem. Forms like יִשְׁלַחְתְּךָ *thou (fem.) hast sent*, in which we should expect an aspirated ה after the vowel, cf. יִחַדְךָ Ex 18<sup>9</sup>, have arisen from יִשְׁלַחְתְּךָ, יַחַדְךָ, &c.; Pathah being here simply a helping vowel has no influence on the *tenuis*; cf. § 28 e.

## § 22. *Peculiarities of the Gutturals.*

a The four gutturals ה, ה, ע, א, in consequence of their peculiar pronunciation, have special characteristics, but א, as the weakest of these sounds, and sometimes also ע (which elsewhere as one of the harder gutturals is the opposite of א), differ in several respects from the stronger ה and ה.

b 1. They do not admit of *Dageš forte*, since, in consequence of a gradual weakening of the pronunciation (see below, note 2), the strengthening of the gutturals was hardly audible to the Masoretes. But a distinction must be drawn between (a) the complete omission of the strengthening, and (b) the mere *echo* of it, commonly called *half doubling*, but better, *virtual strengthening*.

c In the former case, the short vowel before the guttural would stand in an open syllable, and must accordingly be lengthened or modified.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The exceptions יִקְתַּל Jos 15<sup>38</sup> (see *Minḥat shay*, on this passage), 2 K 14<sup>7</sup>, and יִקְרַע Jos 15<sup>56</sup> may perhaps be due to the character of the ׀.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *terra* and the French *terre*, the German *Rolle* and the French *rôle*; German *drollig* and French *drôle*. The omission of the strengthening shows a deterioration of the language. Arabic still admits of the strengthening of gutturals in all cases.

For a distinction must again be drawn between the full lengthening of *Pathah* into *Qameṣ*—mostly before א (always under the ה of the article, see § 35), as a rule also before ׀, less frequently before ה, and least often before ן—and the modification of *Pathah* to *Sēghôl*, mostly before a guttural with *Qameṣ*. In the other case (*virtual strengthening*) the *Dageš* is still omitted, but the strengthening is nevertheless regarded as having taken place, and the preceding vowel therefore remains short. This *virtual strengthening* occurs most frequently with ן, usually with ה, less frequently with ׀, and very seldom with א. Examples of (a) מֵאֵן, מֵאֵרֶם, הָעֵם, הָהָר, יְהִיבֵא (for *yihhābhē'*); also הָרָם, הָרָג, הָרִים, הָעֵנִי (see more fully on the pointing of the article before ׀ in § 35).—Of (b) הָחַיִּט, מְחַיֵּט (from *minḥūt*), הָהוּא, בָּעַר, בָּאֵן, &c.—In all these cases of virtual strengthening the *Dageš forte* is to be regarded at least as implied (hence called *Dageš forte implicitum, occultum, or delitescens*).

2. They prefer before them, and sometimes after them (cf. h), *d* a short A-sound, because this vowel is organically the nearest akin to the gutturals. Hence

(a) before a guttural, *Pathah* readily (and always before ה, ח, ׀, ׀ closing a syllable) takes the place of another short vowel or of a rhythmically long *e* or *o*, e.g. חָבַר *sacrifice*, not *zēbhē*; רָמַע *report*, not *šēmē*. This is more especially so when *a* was the original vowel of the form, or is otherwise admissible. Thus in the Imperat. and Imperf. Qal of guttural verbs, שְׁלַח *send thou*, יִשְׁלַח *he will send* (not *yīšlōh*); Perf. Pi'el שָׁלַח (but in Pausa שָׁלַח); יִחַמֵּר *he will desire* (not *yihmōd*); וַיִּנָּח *and he rested* (not *wayyānōh*); נָעַר *a youth*. In שְׁלַח and יִחַמֵּר *ā* is the original vowel.

Rem. In such cases as דָּשָׁן, טָנָן, פָּלָא, פָּרָא, the א has no consonantal *e* value, and is only retained orthographically (see § 23 a).

(b) After a heterogeneous long vowel, i. e. after all except *Qameṣ*, *f* the hard gutturals<sup>1</sup> (consequently not א), when standing at the end of the word, require the insertion of a rapidly uttered *ä* (*Pathah furtivum*) between themselves and the vowel. This *Pathah* is placed under the guttural, but sounded *before* it. It is thus merely an orthographic indication not to neglect the guttural sound in pronunciation, e.g. רִיחַ *rūāh*, נוֹעַ, רָע, הַשְּׁלִיחַ, גְּבוּהַ (when consonantal ה is

<sup>1</sup> Prätorius, *Ueber den rückweich. Accent im Hebr.*, Halle, 1897, p. 17, &c., remarks that *Pathah furtivum* has not arisen merely under the influence of the guttural, but is due to a duplication of the accented syllable, so that e.g. יִשְׁבַּח, יִצְוֶה would also be pronounced *yasiḥh*, *yašūdh* although the short intermediate vowel was not so noticeable as before a guttural.

final it necessarily takes Mappiq), but e. g. רִוּיָּ, &c., since here the rapidly uttered *ā* is no longer heard.

g *I<sup>ach</sup>* for *ich*, &c., in some Swiss dialects of German, is analogous; a *furtive Pathah* is here involuntarily intruded before the deep guttural sound. In Arabic the same may be heard in such words as *mesiah*, although it is not expressed in writing. The LXX (and Jerome, cf. ZAW. iv. 79) write ε, sometimes α, instead of *furtive Pathah*, e. g. נָח Nāε, יְדוּעַ 'Ieddōva (also 'Iaddōv).

h Rem. 1. The guttural may also have an influence upon the following vowel, especially in Segholate forms, e. g. נָעַר (not *na'ēr*) a youth, פָּעַל (not *pō'el*) deed. The only exceptions are אָהַל, בָּהֶן, לָחַם, רָחַם.

i 2. Where in the present form of the language an *i*, whether original or attenuated from *Pathah*, would stand before or after a guttural in the first syllable of a word, a *S<sup>egh</sup>hōl* as being between *ā* and *i* is frequently used instead, e. g. יְחַבֵּשׁ (also יְחַבֵּשׁ), יְהַגֵּי, יְהַבֵּי, נְאָדָר, הַבֵּלִי, עוֹרִי, &c.

k On the other hand, the slighter and sharper *Hireq* is retained even under gutturals when the following consonant is sharpened by *Dageš forte*, e. g. הַלֵּל, הַפָּה, הַהָה, הַהֵה; but when this sharpening is removed, *S<sup>egh</sup>hōl* is again apt to appear, e. g. הַיִּוֵּן constr. הַיִּוֵּן, הַיִּוֵּן constr. הַיִּוֵּן.

l 3. Instead of simple *Š<sup>ewā</sup> mobile*, the gutturals take without exception a compound *Š<sup>ewā</sup>*, e. g. אֶמְטֵל, אֶמְטֵל, אֶמְטֵל, &c.

m 4. When a guttural with *quiescent Š<sup>ewā</sup>* happens to close a syllable in the middle of a word, the strongly closed syllable (with *quiescent Š<sup>ewā</sup>*) may remain; necessarily so with ח, ע, and ה at the end of the tone-syllable, e. g. יְשַׁלְּחֵם, יְדַעֵם, but also before the tone (see examples under *i*), even with א.

But in the syllable before the tone and further back, the closed syllable is generally opened artificially by a *Hateph* (as being suited to the guttural) taking the place of the *quiescent Š<sup>ewā</sup>*, and in particular that *Hateph* which repeats the sound of the preceding vowel, e. g. יְחַשֵּׁב (also יְחַשֵּׁב); יְחַוֵּק (also יְחַוֵּק); פָּעֵלוֹ *pō'elō* (for *pō'lo*). But when, owing to a flexional change, the strong vowel following the *Hateph* is weakened into *Š<sup>ewā</sup> mobile*, then instead of the *Hateph* its full vowel is written, e. g. יְעַמְדֵי (from יְעַמְדוּ, יְעַמְדוּ), פָּעֵלָה (from פָּעֵל). The original forms, according to § 28 c, were *ya'm<sup>e</sup>dhū*, *ne'r<sup>e</sup>mū*, *pō'el<sup>e</sup>khā*. Hence יְעַמְדֵי, &c., are really only different orthographic forms of יְעַמְדוּ, &c., and would be better transcribed by *ya'<sup>a</sup>m<sup>e</sup>dhū*, &c.

n Rem. 1. On the use of simple or compound *Š<sup>ewā</sup>* in guttural verbs, see further §§ 62-65.

o 2. Respecting the choice between the three *Hatephs*, it may be remarked:  
(a) ח, ה, ע at the beginning of a syllable prefer  $\text{ֿֿֿ}$ , but א prefers  $\text{ֿֿֿ}$ , e. g. חָמֹר *ass*, הָרַג *to kill*, אָמַר *to say*; when farther from the tone syllable, however, the  $\text{ֿֿֿ}$  even under א changes into the lighter  $\text{ֿֿֿ}$ , e. g. אָלִי (poetic for אֶלִּי) *to*, but אָלִיכֶם *to you*, אָכַל *to eat*, but אָכַל־ (*'akhōl*, toneless on account

of Maqqēph). Cf. § 27 w. The 1st pers. sing. imperf. Pi'el regularly has  $\text{ֿֿֿ}$ . Likewise  $\text{ֿֿֿ}$  is naturally found under  $\aleph$  in cases where the *Haṭeph* arises from a weakening of an original  $\check{a}$  (e.g.  $\text{לִיֿוֹן}$  lion, ground-form 'ary), and  $\text{ֿֿֿ}$  if there be a weakening of an original  $u$  (e.g.  $\text{לִיֿוֹן}$  a fleet,  $\text{עֲנִי}$  affliction, cf. § 93 q, z).

(b) In the middle of a word after a long vowel, a *Haṭeph-Pathah* takes the place of a simple  $\check{e}$  *wā mobile*, e.g.  $\text{מִנְהֿלָה}$  (see § 63 p); but if a short vowel precedes, the choice of the *Haṭeph* is generally regulated by it, e.g. *Perf. Hiph.*  $\text{הִעֲמִיר}$  (see above, i), *Infm.*  $\text{הִעֲמִיר}$  (regular form  $\text{הִקְטִיל}$ ); *Perf. Hoph.*  $\text{הִעֲמַר}$  (regular form  $\text{הִקְטַל}$ ); but cf.  $\text{שִׁחַרְוִי}$  Jb 6<sup>22</sup> (§ 64 a).

5. The  $\aleph$ , which in sound approximates to the gutturals (§ 6 g), *q* shares with the gutturals proper their first, and to a certain extent their second, peculiarity, viz.

(a) The exclusion of the strengthening, instead of which the preceding vowel is almost always lengthened, e.g.  $\text{בֵּרַךְ}$  he has blessed for *birra $\check{c}h$* ,  $\text{בִּרְךָ}$  to bless for *barrē $\check{c}h$* .

(b) The preference for  $\check{a}$  as a preceding vowel, e.g.  $\text{וַיִּרְאֵה}$  and he saw *r* (from  $\text{וַיִּרְאֶה}$ );  $\text{וַיִּסָּבֵר}$  both for  $\text{וַיִּסָּבֵר}$  and he turned back, and for  $\text{וַיִּסָּבֵר}$  and he caused to turn back.

The exceptions to *a* are  $\text{מֹרְרָת}$  *mōrrāth*, Pr 14<sup>10</sup>;  $\text{כְּחֹרְרָת}$  *khōrrāth* and  $\text{שֹׁרְרֶכֶח}$  *šōrrē $\check{c}h$* , S Ez 16<sup>4</sup> (cf. Pr 3<sup>8</sup>);  $\text{שִׁירָאֵשִׁי}$  Ct 5<sup>2</sup>;  $\text{הִרְעַמְהָ}$  1 S 1<sup>6</sup>;  $\text{הִרְאִיחֶם}$  1 S 10<sup>24</sup>, 17<sup>25</sup>, 2 K 6<sup>32</sup>;  $\text{הִרְדִּיפְהוּ}$  Ju 20<sup>43</sup> (cf. § 20 h);  $\text{מִרְדָּף}$  1 S 23<sup>28</sup>, 2 S 18<sup>16</sup>; also on account of  $\text{רַחִיק}$  (§ 20 c), Pr 15<sup>1</sup>, 20<sup>22</sup>, 2 Ch 26<sup>10</sup>; and on account of  $\text{אֲתִי מִרַחִיק}$  (§ 20 f) 1 S 15<sup>6</sup>, Jer 39<sup>12</sup>, Hb 3<sup>13</sup>, Pr 11<sup>21</sup>, Jb 39<sup>9</sup>, Ez 9<sup>6</sup>. A kind of virtual strengthening (after  $\text{מִן}$  for  $\text{מִןֿ}$ ) is found in  $\text{מִרְנִינֶךָ}$  Is 14<sup>3</sup>. In Samaritan and Arabic this strengthening has been retained throughout, and the LXX write e.g.  $\Sigma\acute{\alpha}\beta\beta\alpha$  for  $\text{שָׁבֵר}$ .

### § 23. *The Feebleness of the Gutturals $\aleph$ and ה.*

1. The  $\aleph$ , a light and scarcely audible guttural breathing, as a rule *a* entirely loses its slight consonantal power whenever it stands without a vowel at the end of a syllable. It then remains (like the German *h* in *roh, geh, nahte*) merely as a sign of the preceding long vowel, e.g.  $\text{מִצָּאֵה}$ ,  $\text{מִלֵּאֵה}$ ,  $\text{הוֹצִיאֵה}$  (but when a syllable is added with an introductory vowel, according to *b* below, we have, e.g.  $\text{מִצָּאֵהִי}$ ,  $\text{הוֹצִיאֵהִי}$ , since the  $\aleph$  then stands at the beginning of the syllable, not  $\text{מִצָּאֵהִי}$ ,  $\text{הוֹצִיאֵהִי}$ ),  $\text{מִצָּאֵהִי}$  (cf., however, § 74 a),  $\text{מִצָּאֵהִי}$  (for *māša'itā*,  $\text{הַמִּצָּאֵהִי}$ ). Similarly in cases like  $\text{הִטָּאֵה}$ ,  $\text{וַיִּרְאֵה}$ ,  $\text{שָׁוֵה}$ , &c. (§ 19 l), and even in  $\text{שָׁוֵהִי}$ ,  $\text{שָׁוֵהִי}$  (see above, § 22 e), the  $\aleph$  only retains an orthographic significance.

2. On the other hand,  $\aleph$  is in general retained as a strong consonant whenever it begins a syllable, e.g.  $\text{אֶמְצֵה}$ ,  $\text{מִצָּאֵהִי}$ , or when it is protected by a *Haṭeph* after a short syllable, e.g.  $\text{לִּמְצָאֵהִי}$ , and finally,

when it stands in a closed syllable with quiescent *Šewā* after a preceding *S<sup>g</sup>hōl* or *Pathah*, e.g. נַאֲדָר וַיֵּאָכֵר *nā'dār, ya'dimū*. Even in such cases the consonantal power of א may be entirely lost, viz.

c (a) when it would stand with a long vowel in the middle of a word after. *Šewā mobile*. The long vowel is then occasionally thrown back into the place of the *Šewā*, and the א is only retained orthographically, as an indication of the etymology, e.g. ראשים *heads* (for *r<sup>e</sup>'āšim*), מאתיים *two hundred* (for *m<sup>e</sup>'āthāyim*), עֲשָׂרָה Ez 25<sup>6</sup> for עֲשָׂרָה; בּוֹרָאם Neh 6<sup>8</sup> for בּוֹרָאם; מְאוֹם Jb 31<sup>7</sup>, Dn 1<sup>4</sup> for מְאוֹם; פְּאָרָה for פְּאָרָה Is 10<sup>33</sup>; חֲטָאִים *hōṭīm*, 1 S 14<sup>33</sup> for חֲטָאִים (cf. § 74 h, and § 75 oo); הַרְאוּבֵנִי Nu 34<sup>14</sup>, from רֵאִיבֵן; so always חֲטָאֹת or חֲטָאוֹת 1 K 14<sup>16</sup>, Mi 1<sup>5</sup>, &c., for חֲטָאוֹת. Sometimes a still more violent suppression of the א occurs at the beginning of a syllable, which then causes a further change in the preceding syllable, e.g. מְלָאכָה *work* for מְלָאכָה (as in the Babylonian punctuation), יִשְׁמַעְיָאל for יִשְׁמַעְיָאל; שְׂמְאֹל *the left hand*, ground form *sim'al*.

d (b) When it originally closed a syllable. In these cases א is generally (by § 22 m) pronounced with a *Haṭeph*, אֲ or אַ. The preceding short vowel is, however, sometimes lengthened and retains the following א only orthographically, e.g. וַיֵּאָצֵל Nu 11<sup>25</sup> for וַיֵּאָצֵל (cf. Ju 9<sup>41</sup>), and פְּאָרָרִיר Jo 2<sup>6</sup> for פְּאָרָרִיר; לְאָמַר for לְאָמַר; לְאֵלֶיהֶם for לְאֵלֶיהֶם; but the contraction does not take place in לְאֵלֶיהָ Is 10<sup>11</sup>. The short vowel is retained, although the consonantal power of א is entirely lost, in וַאֲרָבִי, &c. (see § 102 m), וַיֵּאָת Is 41<sup>25</sup>, וַאֲבָרָךְ Ez 28<sup>16</sup> for וַאֲבָרָךְ; cf. Dt 24<sup>10</sup>, 1 K 11<sup>39</sup>, Is 10<sup>13</sup>.

e Instead of this א which has lost its consonantal value, one of the vowel letters ו and י is often written according to the nature of the sound, the former with *ō* and the latter with *ē* and *i*, e.g. רֵאִים *buffalo* for רֵאִים. At the end of the word ה also is written for א, יִמְלֵה *he fills* for יִמְלֵה Jb 8<sup>21</sup> (see below, l).

f 3. When א is only preserved orthographically or as an indication of the etymology (quiescent), it is sometimes entirely dropped (cf. § 19 k), e.g. יָצֵתִי Jb 1<sup>21</sup> for יָצֵתִי; מְלָתִי Jb 32<sup>18</sup> for מְלָתִי; מְצָתִי Nu 11<sup>11</sup>; וַתְּהִי 2 S 20<sup>9</sup>; וַיִּרְפּוּ Jer 8<sup>11</sup> for וַיִּרְפּוּ; וַיִּתְּנֵהוּ 2 S 22<sup>40</sup>, but וַיִּתְּנֵהוּ ψ 18<sup>40</sup>; תּוֹמָם Gn 25<sup>24</sup> for תּוֹמָם; אֲחַטָּאָנָה 31<sup>39</sup> for אֲחַטָּאָנָה; שְׁלֹתְךָ 1 S 17<sup>17</sup> for שְׁלֹתְךָ; וַיִּתְּנֵהוּ 2 S 22<sup>22</sup> for וַיִּתְּנֵהוּ; גְּוָה Jb 22<sup>29</sup> for גְּוָה; חֲבָרְתִּי 1 Ch 11<sup>39</sup> for חֲבָרְתִּי, and so חֲבָרְתִּי 1 Ch 12<sup>38</sup> for חֲבָרְתִּי; לְהַשְׁוֹת 2 K 19<sup>25</sup> *Kethibh* for לְהַשְׁוֹת (cf. Is 37<sup>26</sup>); חֲמָאָה Jb 29<sup>6</sup> for חֲמָאָה. In מְכַלֵּת

<sup>1</sup> In Jer 22<sup>23</sup>, נְחֻמָּה is unquestionably a corruption of נַחַח for נְחֻמָּה.

1 K 5<sup>25</sup> (for "מַצֵּב") the strengthening of the following consonant by Dageš compensates for the loss of the א; in מַסְרֶת Ez 20<sup>37</sup>, if for "מַצֵּם" (but read מוֹסֵר, with Cornill), the preceding vowel is lengthened; cf. above, c. On אִמֵּר for אָמַר, see § 68 g.

Rem. 1. In Aramaic the א is much weaker and more liable to change than א in Hebrew. In literary Arabic, on the other hand, it is almost always a firm consonant. According to Arabic orthography, א serves also to indicate a long a, whereas in Hebrew it very rarely occurs as a mere vowel letter after Qameš; as in קָאֵם Ho 10<sup>14</sup> for קָם *he rose up*; רָאֵשׁ Pr 10<sup>4</sup>, 13<sup>23</sup> for רָשׁ *poor*; but in 2 S 11<sup>1</sup> the *Kethibh* הַמְלָאֲכִים *the messengers*, is the true reading; cf. § 7 b.

2. In some cases at the beginning of a word, the א, instead of a compound *h* *šwā*, takes the corresponding full vowel, e.g. אָוֹר *girde* for אֲוֹר; cf. § 84 a, a, and the analogous cases in § 52 n, § 63 p, § 76 d, § 93 r (אֲהָלִים).

3. An א is sometimes added at the end of the word to a final *ū*, *i*, or *ō*, e.g. *i* הַלְכֵנָּה for הִלְכֵנָּה Jos 10<sup>24</sup> (before א!), אָבוֹה Is 28<sup>12</sup>. These examples, however, are not so much instances of 'Arabic orthography', as early scribal errors, as in יִנְשֵׂאוּ Je 10<sup>6</sup> for יִנְשָׂאוּ; and in נִשְׂאוּ ψ 130<sup>20</sup> for נִשָּׂאוּ. Cf. also הוֹיָא Ec 11<sup>3</sup> (§ 75 s); נְקִיָּה for נְקִי *pure*; לוֹיָא for לוֹי *if*; אָפּוֹיָא for אָפּוֹ *then (enclitic)*; רְבוֹיָא for רְבוֹי *myriad*, Neh 7<sup>66-71</sup>. On הוֹיָא and הוֹיָא see § 32 k.

4. The ה is stronger and firmer than the א, and never loses its *h* consonantal sound (i.e. *quiesces*) in the middle of a word<sup>1</sup> except in the cases noted below, in which it is completely elided by syncope. On the other hand, at the end of a word it is always a mere vowel letter, unless expressly marked by *Mappiq* as a strong consonant (§ 14 a). Yet at times the consonantal sound of ה at the end of a word is lost, and its place is taken by a simple ה or more correctly *h̄*, with *Rāphè* as an indication of its non-consonantal character, e.g. לָהָה *to her* for לָהֶה, Zc 5<sup>11</sup>, &c. (cf. § 103 g, and §§ 58 g, 91 e); cf. also יָהֶה for יָהֵה (from יָהֵה) in proper names like יִרְמִיָּה, &c.—Finally, in very many cases a complete elision of the consonantal ה takes place by *syncope*: (a) when its vowel is thrown back to the place of a preceding *šwā mobile* (see above, c, with א), e.g. לְבָקֵר for לְהַבְקֵר (the ה of the article being syncopated as it almost always is); בְּיָוִם for בְּהַיָּוִם [but see § 35 n], בְּשָׂמַיִם for בְּהַשָּׁמַיִם; יְהוֹנָתָן for יְהוֹנָתָן; perhaps also בְּנֵיהֶם for בְּנֵיהֶם Ez 27<sup>32</sup>. (b) By contraction of the vowels preceding and following the ה, e.g. סוּסוֹ (also written סוּסוֹה) from *sūsahu* (*a + u = ō*).—A violent suppression of ה together with its vowel occurs in בָּם (from בָּהֶם), &c.

<sup>1</sup> Only apparent exceptions are such *proper names* as עֶשְׂהָאֵל, פְּרֵהָעוֹר, which are compounded of two words and hence are sometimes even divided. Cf. forms like תְּוֹהָאֵל for תְּוֹהָאֵל. Another exception is יְפֵהֶפִיָּה, the reading of many MSS. for the artificially divided form יְפֵהֶפִיָּה in the printed texts, Je 46<sup>20</sup>.

l Rem. In connexion with  $\bar{o}$  and  $\bar{e}$ , a  $\eta$  which only marks the vowel ending is occasionally changed into  $\imath$  or  $\iota$  ( $\imath$  אָ = הָאָה,  $\iota$  יָ = הָיָה Ho 6<sup>9</sup>), and with any vowel into  $\aleph$  in the later or Aramaic orthography, but especially with  $\bar{a}$ , e. g. אָשָׁן sleep,  $\psi$  127<sup>2</sup> for אָשָׁן; אָשָׁן Jer 23<sup>39</sup> for אָשָׁן, &c. Thus it is evident that final  $\eta$  as a vowel letter has only an orthographical importance.

### § 24. Changes of the Weak Letters $\imath$ and $\iota$ .

Philippi, *Die Aussprache der semit. Konsonanten*  $\imath$  und  $\iota$  (mentioned above, § 5 b, note 1), a thorough investigation of their phonetic value as consonantal, i. e. non-syllabic, vowel-sounds, not palatal or labial fricatives; cf. also E. Sievers, *Metrische Studien*, i. 15.

a  $\imath$  and  $\iota$  are, as consonants, so weak, and approach so nearly to the corresponding vowels  $u$  and  $i$ , that under certain conditions they very readily merge into them. This fact is especially important in the formation of those weak stems, in which a  $\imath$  or  $\iota$  occurs as one of the three radical consonants (§ 69 ff., § 85, § 93).

1. The cases in which  $\imath$  and  $\iota$  lose their consonantal power, i. e. merge into a vowel, belong almost exclusively to the middle and end of words; at the beginning they remain as consonants.<sup>1</sup>

The instances may be classified under two heads:

b (a) When either  $\imath$  or  $\iota$  with *quiescent*  $\check{S}ew\check{a}$  stands at the end of a syllable immediately after a *homogeneous* vowel ( $u$  or  $i$ ). It then merges in the homogeneous vowel, or more accurately it assumes its vowel-character ( $\imath$  as  $u$ ,  $\iota$  as  $i$ ), and is then contracted with the preceding vowel into *one* vowel, necessarily long, but is mostly retained orthographically as a (quiescent) vowel letter. Thus הַיִּשָׁב for *huwšab*; יִיָּקָשׁ for *yiyqas*; so also at the end of the word, e. g. עֲבָרִי *a Hebrew*, properly 'ibrîy, fem. עֲבָרִיָּה, pl. עֲבָרִיִּים (and עֲבָרִים); עֲשֵׂי Jb 41<sup>25</sup> for עֲשִׂו (cf. עֲשִׂוּת 1 S 25<sup>18</sup> *Kethibh*). On the other hand, if the preceding vowel be heterogeneous,  $\imath$  and  $\iota$  are retained as full consonants (on the pronunciation see § 8 m), e. g. שָׁלוֹם *quiet*, חֹם *the month of May*, גּוֹי *nation*, גָּלִי *revealed*. But with a preceding  $\bar{a}$  the  $\imath$  and  $\iota$  are mostly contracted into  $\bar{o}$  and  $\bar{e}$  (see below, f), and at the end of a word they are sometimes rejected (see below, g).

Complete syncope of  $\imath$  before  $\bar{e}$  occurs in אִיָּלָד *island* for אִיָּלָד; עֵי *ruins* for עֵי; רֵי *watering* Jb 37<sup>11</sup> for רֵי; [בֵּי *burning* Is 3<sup>24</sup> for בֵּי, cf. §§ 84<sup>a</sup> c, e, 93 y].

<sup>1</sup> Or as consonantal vowels (see above), and are then transcribed by P. Haupt, Philippi, and others, as  $u$ ,  $i$ , following the practice of Indogermanic philologists.  $\imath$  for  $\imath$  and, alone is a standing exception, see § 26. 1 and § 104 e. On  $\iota = i$  at the beginning of a word, cf. § 47 b, note. According to § 19 a, end, initial  $\imath$  in Hebrew almost always becomes  $\iota$ ; always in verbs originally פִּי, § 69 a. Apart from a few proper names, initial  $\imath$  occurs only in חֹך *hook*, חֹך *child* Gn 11<sup>30</sup>, 2 S 6<sup>23</sup> *Kethibh* [elsewhere חֹך], and the doubtful חֹך Pr 21<sup>8</sup>.

Thus an initial ו after the prefixes בּ, ל, כּ, ה, which would then be *c* pronounced with *i* (see § 28 a), and also almost always after מ (see § 102 b), coalesces with the *i* to *i*, e. g. בִּיהוּדָה in *Judah* (for בִּי), וִיהוּדָה and *Judah*, בֵּיאַר as the *Nile*, לִיהוּדָה for *Judah*, מִיָּד from the *hands of*.

(b) When ו and י without a vowel would stand at the end of the *d* word after *quiescent* *Šewā*, they are either wholly rejected and only orthographically replaced by ה (e. g. בִּכְהָ from *bikhy*, as well as the regularly formed בְּכִי *weeping*; cf. § 93 x) or become again vowel letters. In the latter case י becomes a homogeneous *Hireq*, and also attracts to itself the tone, whilst the preceding vowel becomes *Šewā* (e. g. פִּירִי from *piry*, properly *pariy*); ו is changed sometimes into a toneless *u* (e. g. תֹּהוּ from *tuhw*).

Rem. In Syriac, where the weak letters more readily become vowel sounds, *c* a simple *i* may stand even at the beginning of words instead of ו or י. The LXX also, in accordance with this, write Ἰουδά for יהוּדָה, Ἰσαάκ for יִצְחָק. Hence may be explained the *Syriac usage* in Hebrew of drawing back the vowel *i* to the preceding consonant, which properly had a simple vocal *Šewā*, e. g. (according to the reading of Ben-Naphtali <sup>1</sup>) וַיִּלְלָה Jer 25<sup>86</sup> for וַיִּלְלָה (so Baer), (according to the reading of Ben-Naphtali <sup>1</sup>) בִּיתְרוֹן Ec 2<sup>13</sup> for בִּיתְרוֹן, cf. also the examples in § 20 h, note 2; even וַיַּחֲלֵי Jb 29<sup>21</sup> (in some editions) for וַיַּחֲלֵי. According to Qimḥi (see § 47 b) יַחֲלֵי was pronounced as *iqṭāl*, and therefore the 1st pers. was pointed יַחֲלֵי to avoid confusion. In fact the Babylonian punctuation always has *i* for *ā* in the 1st pers.

2. With regard to the *choice* of the long vowel, in which ו and י *f* quiesce after such vocalization and contraction, the following rules may be laid down:

(a) With a short *homogeneous* vowel ו and י are contracted into the corresponding long vowel (*ū* or *î*), see above, b.

(b) With short *ā* they form the diphthongs *ô* and *ê* according to § 7 a, e. g. מִיִּטִּיב from מִיִּטִּיב; יוֹשִׁיב from יוֹשִׁיב, &c.<sup>2</sup>

Rem. The rejection of the half vowels ו and י (see above, b) occurs especially *g* at the end of words after a heterogeneous vowel (*ā*), if according to the nature of the form the contraction appears impossible. So especially in

<sup>1</sup> According to Abulwalid, Ben-Naphtali regarded the *Yodh* in all such cases as a vowel letter.

<sup>2</sup> Instances in which no contraction takes place after *ā* are, מִיִּמִּינִים I Ch 12<sup>2</sup>; אִיִּסְרִים Ho 7<sup>12</sup> (but cf. § 70 b); הַיִּשָּׁר ψ 5<sup>9</sup> *Qerē*; the locatives בֵּיתָה, מִצְרָיִמָה, &c.—On the suffix יְכִי for יְיָ see § 91 l.—Sometimes both forms are found, as עוֹלָה and עוֹלָה; cf. חַי *living*, constr. state חַי. Analogous is the contraction of מָוֶת (ground-form *mawt*) *death*, constr. מוֹת; עַיִן (ground-form *'ayn* [*'ain*]) *eye*, constr. עֵין.

verbs הָלַח, e. g. originally הָלַח = (י)הָלַח = הָלַח, since *ā* after the rejection of the *ʾ* stands in an open syllable, and consequently must be lengthened to *ā*. The הָ is simply an orthographic sign of the long vowel. So also הָשַׁלַח for *šālav*.<sup>1</sup> On the origin of הָיַלַח, see § 75 e; on הָקַם as perf. and part. of הָקַם, see § 72 b and g; on הָלַח, &c., from הָלַח, see § 69 b.—On the weakening of ו and י to א, see § 93 x.

### § 25. *Unchangeable Vowels.*

a What vowels in Hebrew are unchangeable, i. e. are not liable to attenuation (to *šewâ*), modification, lengthening, or shortening, can be known with certainty only from the nature of the grammatical forms, and in some cases by comparison with Arabic (cf. § 1 m). This holds good especially of the *essentially* long vowels, i. e. those long by *nature* or *contraction*, as distinguished from those which are only lengthened *rhythmically*, i. e. on account of the special laws which in Hebrew regulate the tone and the formation of syllables. The latter, when a change takes place in the position of the tone or in the division of syllables, readily become short again, or are reduced to a mere *vocal šewâ*.

b 1. The essentially long and consequently, as a rule (but cf. § 26 p, § 27 n, o), unchangeable vowels of the *second* and *third* class, *i*, *ê*, *â*, *ô*, can often be recognized by means of the vowel letters which accompany them (ױ, ײ, ׳, ״); e. g. הַיַּיִטְבַּ he does well, הַיַּיִטְבַּ palace, הַיַּיִטְבַּ boundary, הַיַּיִטְבַּ voice. The defective writing (§ 8 i) is indeed common enough, e. g. הַיַּיִטְבַּ and הַיַּיִטְבַּ for הַיַּיִטְבַּ; הַיַּיִטְבַּ for הַיַּיִטְבַּ; הַיַּיִטְבַּ for הַיַּיִטְבַּ, but this is merely an orthographic licence and has no influence on the quantity of the vowel; the *â* in הַיַּיִטְבַּ is just as necessarily long, as in הַיַּיִטְבַּ.

As an exception, a merely tone-long vowel of both these classes is sometimes written *fully*, e. g. הַיַּיִטְבַּ for הַיַּיִטְבַּ.

c 2. The essentially or naturally long *â* (*Qames impure*),<sup>2</sup> unless it has become *ô* (cf. § 9 g), has as a rule in Hebrew no representative among the consonants, while in Arabic it is regularly indicated by א; on the few instances of this kind in Hebrew, cf. § 9 b, § 23 g. The naturally long *â* and the merely tone-long *ā* therefore can only be distinguished by an accurate knowledge of the forms.

<sup>1</sup> The Arabic, in such cases, often writes etymologically הַיַּיִטְבַּ, but pronounces *galâ*. So the LXX סיני *šwâ*, Vulg. *Sina*; cf. Nestle, *ZAW*. 1905, p. 362 f. But even in Arabic هَلَا is written for هَلَا and pronounced *salâ*.

<sup>2</sup> By *vocales impurae* the older grammarians meant vowels properly followed by a vowel letter. Thus הַיַּיִטְבַּ *k<sup>e</sup>thâbh* was regarded as merely by a licence for הַיַּיִטְבַּ, &c.

3. Short vowels in closed syllables (§ 26 b), which are not final, are *d* as a rule unchangeable, e. g. מַלְבוּשׁ garment, מִדְבָּר wilderness, מַמְלָכָה kingdom; similarly, short vowels in sharpened syllables, i. e. before *Dageš forte*, e. g. גַּנֵּב thief.

4. Finally, those long vowels are unchangeable which, owing to *c* the omission of the strengthening in a guttural or *g*, have arisen by lengthening from the corresponding short vowels, and now stand in an open syllable, e. g. מַעַן for *mā'en*; בִּרְךָ for *burrakh*.

### § 26. Syllable-formation<sup>1</sup> and its Influence on the Quantity of Vowels.

Apart from the unchangeable vowels (§ 25), the use of short or long *a* vowels, i. e. their lengthening, shortening, or change into vocal *Šewa*, depends on the *theory of syllable-formation*. The initial and final syllables especially require consideration.

1. The *initial* syllable. A syllable regularly begins with a consonant, or, in the case of initial *h* and *ʿ* (cf. note on § 5 b), a consonantal vowel.<sup>2</sup> The copula is a standing exception to this rule. According to the Tiberian pronunciation *h* and *ʿ* is resolved into the corresponding vowel *i* before *Šewa*, and the labials, e. g. וְדַבֵּר, וְיִמְלֹךְ; the Babylonian punctuation in the latter cases writes *h*, i. e. *h* before a full vowel.

2. The *final* syllable. A syllable may end—

(a) With a vowel, and is then called an *open* or *simple* syllable, e. g. in קָטַלְתָּ where the first and last are open. See below, *e*.

(b) With *one* consonant, and is then called a *simple closed* or *compound* syllable, as the second in קָטַלְתָּ. See below, *a, p*. Such are also the syllables ending in a strengthened consonant, as the first in קָטַלְתָּ *qat-tēl*. See below, *q*.

(c) With *two* consonants, a *doubly closed* syllable, as קָטַלְתָּ. Cf. below, *r*, and § 10 *i-l*.

3. *Open* or *simple* syllables have a long vowel, whether they have the tone as in תֵּי in *thee*, הֵי he goes, or are toneless as in עֵבֶר a bunch of grapes.<sup>3</sup> A long vowel (Qameš, less frequently Šere) is

<sup>1</sup> Cf. C. H. Toy, 'The Syllable in Hebrew,' *Amer. Journal of Philol.*, 1884, p. 494 ff.; H. Strack, 'The Syllables in the Hebrew Language,' *Hebraica*, Oct. 1884, p. 73 ff.

<sup>2</sup> We are not taking account here of the few cases in which initial *Yodh* is represented as simple *i*, by being written יֵ or יֶ, see § 24 *e*, and especially § 47 *b*, note; nor of certain other cases in which *h* with an initial vowel has only a graphic purpose, though it is indispensable in an unpointed text.

<sup>3</sup> In opposition to this fundamental law in Hebrew (a long vowel in an open syllable), the original short vowel is found always in Arabic, and sometimes

especially common in an open syllable before the tone (pretonic vowel), e. g.  $\text{מִלֵּךְ}$ ,  $\text{יָקִים}$ ,  $\text{קָטַל}$ ,  $\text{לָבַב}$ .<sup>1</sup>

Short vowels in open syllables occur :

- f (a) In apparently dissyllabic words formed by means of a helping vowel from monosyllables, as  $\text{נָחַל}$  *brook*,  $\text{בַּיִת}$  *house*,  $\text{יָרַב}$  *let him increase*, from *nahl*, *bayt*, *yirb* ; cf. also  $\text{מִי־}$  the ending of the dual (§ 88). But see § 28 e.
- g (b) In the verbal suffix of the 1st pers. sing.  $\text{מֵי}$  (*me*), e. g.  $\text{קָטַלְתִּי}$  (Arab. *qātālāni*). The uncommon form  $\text{מֵי}$ , however (Gn 30<sup>c</sup>, cf. § 59f), proves that the tone-bearing *Pathah* produces a sharpening of the following sonant, and thus virtually stands in a closed syllable, even when the *Nun* is not expressly written with *Dageš*. In cases like  $\text{וְאֵרְבִי}$  (§ 102 m) *Pathah* is retained in the counter-tone after the *N* has become quiescent.
- h (c) Sometimes before the toneless  $\text{הַ}$  *local* (§ 90 c), e. g.  $\text{מִדְּבָרָה}$  *towards the wilderness*; only, however, in the constr. state (1 K 19<sup>b</sup>), since the toneless suffix  $\text{הַ}$  does not affect the character of the form (especially when rapidly pronounced in close connexion); otherwise it is  $\text{מִדְּבָרָה}$ .
- In all these cases the short vowel is also supported by the tone, either the principal tone of the word, or (as in *h*) by the secondary tone in the constr. st., or by the counter-tone with *Metheg*, as in  $\text{וְאֵרְבִי}$  above, *g*; cf. the effect of the *arsis* on the short vowel in classical prosody.

- i (d) In the combinations  $\text{וְ}$ ,  $\text{וּ}$ ,  $\text{וֹ}$ , e. g.  $\text{וְנַעֲרוֹ}$  *his boy*,  $\text{וְיִאָּפֵר}$  *he will bind*,  $\text{וְיַעֲלֶה$  *his deed*. In all these cases the syllable was at first really closed, and it was only when the guttural took a *Haṭeph* that it became in consequence open (but cf. e. g.  $\text{וְיִאָּסֵר}$  and  $\text{וְיִאָּסֵר}$ ). The same vowel sequence arises wherever a preposition  $\text{בְּ}$ ,  $\text{בִּי}$ ,  $\text{לְ}$ , or  $\text{ו}$  copulative is prefixed to an initial syllable which has a *Haṭeph*, since the former then takes the vowel

in the other Semitic languages, except of course in the case of *naturally* long vowels. The above examples are pronounced in Arabic *vikā*, *qātālā*, *ināb*. Although it is certain therefore that in Hebrew also, at an earlier period, short vowels were pronounced in open syllables, it may still be doubted whether the present pronunciation is due *merely* to an artificial practice followed in the solemn recitation of the O. T. text. On this hypothesis we should have still to explain, e. g. the undoubtedly very old lengthening of *i* and *ū* in an open syllable into *ē* and *ō*.

<sup>1</sup> That these pretonic vowels are really *long* is shown by Brockelmann, *ZA*. xiv. 343 f., from the transcription of Hebrew proper names in the Nestorian (Syriae) punctuation, and e. g. from the Arabic 'Ibrāhīm =  $\text{إِبْرَاهِيم}$ . He regards their lengthening in the syllable before the tone as a means adopted by the Masoretes to preserve the pronunciation of the traditional vowels. This explanation of the pretonic vowels as due to a precaution against their disappearing, is certainly right; as to whether the precaution can be ascribed to the Masoretes, see the previous note. For the pretonic vowel the Arabic regularly has a short vowel (*tāhīm*, *yāqūm*, &c.), the Aramaic simply a vocal *Šewā* ( $\text{וְיָקִים}$ ,  $\text{וְיַעֲלֶה}$ ); and even in Hebrew, when the tone is thrown forward the pretonic vowel almost always becomes *Šewā*, see § 27. It would, however, be incorrect to assume from this that the pretonic vowel has taken the place of *Šewā* only on account of the following tone-syllable. It always arises from an original short vowel, since such a vowel is mostly lengthened in an open syllable before the tone, but when the tone is moved forward it becomes *Šewā*.

contained in the *Ha'leph* (see § 102 *d* and § 104 *d*). To the same category belong also the cases where these prepositions with *Hireq* stand before a consonant with simple *Šewâ* mobile, e.g. בָּרַבֵּר, בְּרַבֵּר, &c.

(e) In forms like יִהְיוּ yāhā-š-qu (they are strong), פָּעַלְךָ pō'ō l'khā (thy *k* deed). These again are cases of the subsequent opening of closed syllables (hence, e.g. יִהְיוּ also occurs); פָּעַלְךָ is properly pō'ō l'khā; cf. generally § 22 *m*, end, and § 28 *c*.

Such cases as הִחַדְתָּם, אֲחִים (§ 96), הִחַתָּתָּ (§ 67 *w*) do not come under this *l* head, since they all have *ā* in a virtually sharpened syllable; nor does the tone-bearing *S'ghôl* in suffixes (e.g. הִחַתָּתָּ), nor *S'ghôl* for *ā* before a guttural with *Qames* (§ 22 *c*). On יִשְׂרָאֵל and קָרְאֵם, see § 9 *v*.

4. The independent syllables with a firm vowel which have been *m* described above, are frequently preceded by a single consonant with vocal *Šewâ*, simple or compound. Such a consonant with vocal *Šewâ* never has the value of an independent syllable, but rather attaches itself so closely to the following syllable that it forms practically one syllable with it, e.g. לְחִי (cheek) l'ḥî; חָלִי (sickness) ḥ'li; יָלַמְדוּ yil-*m'dhû*. This concerns especially the prefixes וְ, בְּ, בִּ, לְ. See § 102.

The *Šewâ* mobile is no doubt in all such cases weakened from an original *n* full vowel (e.g. יִקְטְלוּ Arab. yaqtū'ū, בִּיקָ Arab. bikā, &c.); from this, however, it cannot be inferred that the Masoretes regarded it as forming a kind of *open* syllable, for this would be even more directly opposed to their fundamental law (viz. that a long vowel should stand in an open syllable), than are the exceptions cited above, *f-k*. Even the use of *Metheg* with *Šewâ* in special cases (see § 16 *f*) is no proof of such a view on the part of the Masoretes.

5. *Closed* syllables ending with one consonant, when without the *o* tone, necessarily have *short* vowels, whether at the beginning or at the end of words,<sup>1</sup> e.g. מַלְכָּה queen, מְשֹׁבֵן understanding, חֲכָמָה wisdom, וָיָסַר and he turned back, וַיָּקָם, וַיָּקָם (wayyāqōm).

A *tone-bearing* closed syllable may have either a long or short vowel, *p* but if the latter, it must as a rule be either *Pathah* or *S'ghôl*.<sup>2</sup> The tone-bearing closed penultima admits, of the *long* vowels, only the tone-long *ā*, *ē*, *ō*, not the longest *î*, *ê*, *ô*, *û*; of the *short* vowels, only *ă*, *ĕ*, not *ĭ*, *ĭ̄*, *ö* (but on *ĭ* and *ĭ̄*, see § 29 *g*). Thus יִקְטְלוּ (3rd pl. masc. Imperf. Hiph.) but תִּקְטְלֶנָּה 3rd pl. fem., and קְרִיבֵנוּ (2nd pl. masc. Imperat. Qal) but קְרִיבֵנָּה fem.

<sup>1</sup> In exceptions such as שְׂתִילֵי Gn 4<sup>25</sup> (where *šat* is required by the character of the form, although the closed syllable has lost the tone owing to the following *Maqqeph*), *Metheg* is used to guard against a wrong pronunciation; similarly *ē* is sometimes retained before *Maqqeph*, e.g. שֵׁם Gn 2<sup>13</sup>; עֵינַי Gn 2<sup>16</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> See § 9 *e, f*. *ī* occurs thus only in the particles אֵם, עֵם, מֵן; but these usually (מֵן always) are rendered toneless by a following *Maqqeph*. Cf. also such forms as וַיָּשָׁב § 26 *r* and § 75 *q*.

q 6. A special kind of closed syllables are the *sharpened*, i. e. those which end in the same (strengthened) consonant with which the following syllable begins, e. g. אִמִּי 'im-mî, כִּלְלוּ küll-lô. If without the tone, they have, like the rest, short vowels; but, if bearing the tone, either short vowels as קָלִי, הִנְנִי, or long, as הִשָּׁה, הִמָּה.

On the omission of the strengthening of a consonant at the end of a word, see § 20 l.

r 7. Syllables ending with *two* consonants occur only at the end of words, and have most naturally short vowels, קָטַלְתָּ, וַיִּשָּׁב; but sometimes *Sere*, as נִרְדָּה, וַיִּבְרָךְ, or *Holem*, הוֹסִיף קִשְׁטָה. Cf., however, § 10 i. Usually the harshness of pronunciation is avoided by the use of a helping vowel (§ 28 e).

### § 27. *The Change of the Vowels, especially as regards Quantity.*

a The changes in sound through which the Hebrew language passed, before it assumed the form in which we know it from the Masoretic text of the O.T. (see § 2 k), have especially affected its vowel system. A precise knowledge of these vowel changes, which is indispensable for the understanding of most of the present forms of the language, is derived partly from the phenomena which the language itself presents in the laws of derivation and inflexion, partly from the comparison of the kindred dialects, principally the Arabic. By these two methods, we arrive at the following facts as regards Hebrew :

b 1. That in an open syllable the language has frequently retained only a half-vowel (*Šewā mobile*), where there originally stood a full short vowel, e. g. עֲגַלְתָּ (ground-form 'āgālāt) a waggon, צִדְקָה (ground-form šādāqāt) righteousness, קָטַלְתָּ (Arab. qātālū), יִקְטְלוּ (Arab. jūqattilū).

c 2. That vowels originally short have in the tone-syllable, as also in the open syllable preceding it, been generally changed into the corresponding tone-long vowels, *ā* into *ā*, *i* into *ē*, *u* into *ō* (see § 9, a-e, k, r). If, however, the tone be shifted or weakened, these tone-long vowels mostly revert to their original shortness, or, occasionally, are still further shortened, or reduced to mere *Šewā mobile*, or, finally, are entirely lost through a change in the division of syllables; e. g. מָטָר (Arab. mātār) rain, when in close dependence on a following genitive in the *construct state*, becomes מֵטָר; עֶקֶב (Arab. 'āqīb) heel, dual עֶקְבַיִם, dual *construct* (with attenuation of the original *ā* of the first syllable to *i*) עֶקְבַי [on the *ḡ*, see § 20 h]; יִקְטַל (Arab. yāqtül), plur. יִקְטְלוּ (Arab. yāqtülū). For instances of complete loss, as in בִּסְתִי, cf. § 93 m.

According to § 26, the following details of vowel-change must be observed :

1. The original, or a kindred short vowel reappears—

*d*

(a) When a closed syllable loses the tone (§ 26 o). Thus, *יָד*, *hand*, but *יָד־הַיָּהוָה* *the hand of Yahwe*; *בֵּן*, *son*, but *בֵּן־הַמֶּלֶךְ* *the son of the king*; *כָּל* *the whole*, but *כָּל־הָעָם* *the whole of the people*; so also when a tone-bearing closed syllable loses the tone on taking a suffix, e.g. *אֹיֵב* *enemy*, but *אֹיֵבֶיךָ* *thy enemy*; finally, when the tone recedes, *קָם*, but *קָמָה* (*wayyāqôm*); *יָלַד*, but *יָלַדָהּ*.

(b) To the same category belong cases like *סֵפֶר* *book*, but *סֵפֶרִי* *my book*; *קֹדֶשׁ* *holiness*, but *קֹדֶשִׁי* *my holiness*. In spite of the helping vowel, *סֵפֶר* and *קֹדֶשׁ* are really closed syllables with a tone-long vowel; when the syllable loses the tone, the original *ɨ* or *ɔ* (properly *ũ*) reappears.

The same is true of syllables with a virtually sharpened final consonant: the lengthening of original *ɨ* to *ē* and *ũ* to *ō* takes place only in a tone-bearing syllable; in a toneless syllable the *ɨ* or *ɔ* (or *ũ*) remains, e.g. *אִם* *mother*, but *אִמִּי* *my mother*; *חֹךְ* *law*, plur. *חֹכִים*; but *עוֹ* *strength*, *עוֹץ* (and *עוֹץ*) *my strength*.

2. The lengthening of the short vowel to the corresponding long, *e* takes place—

(a) When a closed syllable becomes open by its final consonant being transferred to a suffix beginning with a vowel, or in general to the following syllable, e.g. *קָטַל*, *קָטַלְוּ* *he has killed him*; *סוֹדָתִי* primarily from *סוֹדַת*. Similarly *ā* mostly becomes *ā* even before a suffix beginning with *š* *ewd mobile*; e.g. *קָטַלְתָּךְ* from *קָטַל* from *סוֹדַת*.

(b) When a syllable has become open by complete loss of the *f* strengthening of its final consonant (a guttural or *Réš*), e.g. *בִּרְרַחַח* for *birrahk*, see § 22 c. Cf. also § 20 n.

(c) When a weak consonant (*א*, *ו*, *י*) following the short vowel *g* quiesces in this vowel, according to § 23 a, c, d, § 24 f, e.g. *מָצַף* for *מָצַפ*, where the *א*, losing its consonantal value, loses also the power of closing the syllable, and the open syllable requires a long vowel.

(d) Very frequently through the influence of the *pause*, i. e. the *h* principal tone in the last word of a sentence or clause (§ 29 k). Sometimes also through the influence of the article (§ 35 o).

3. When a word increases at the end and the tone is consequently *i* moved forward, or when, in the *construct state* (see § 89), or otherwise in close connexion with the following word, its tone is weakened, in such cases a full vowel (short or tone-long) may, by a change in the

division of syllables, be weakened to *Šewā mobile*, or even be entirely lost, so that its place is taken by the mere syllable-divider (*Šewā quiescens*). Examples of the first case are, נָם *name*, pl. נָטוּחַ, but מִי *my name*, מִטְּוֹתָם *their names*, דָּבָר *word*, constr. st. דְּבַר; צְדָקָה *righteousness*, constr. st. צְדָקָת; an example of the second case is, בְּרָכָה *blessing*, constr. st. בְּרַבַּת. Whether the vowel is retained or becomes *Šewā* (דָּם, דְּמִי, but נָם, נְמִי), and which of the two disappears in two consecutive syllables, depends upon the character of the form in question. In general the rule is that only those vowels which stand in an open syllable can become *Šewā*.

Thus the change into *Šewā* takes place in—

k (a) The *ā* and *ē* of the first syllable, especially in the inflexion of nouns, e. g. דְּבָר *word*, plur. דְּבָרִים; גְּדוֹל *great*, fem. גְּדוֹלָה; לֵב *heart*, לִבִּי *my heart*; but also in the verb, תָּשׁוּב *she will return*, plur. תִּשְׁבְּוּנָה, and so always, when the originally short vowel of the prefixes of the Imperfect comes to stand in an open syllable which is not pretonic. On the other hand, an *ā* lengthened from *ā* before the tone is retained in the *Perfect consecutive* of Qal even in the secondary tone, e. g. וְקָטַלְתָּ; cf. § 49 i.

l (b) The short, or merely tone-long, vowels *a*, *e*, *o* of the ultima, especially in verbal forms, e. g. קָטַל, fem. קָטַלָה *qātālā*; יָקַטַל, יָקַטְלוּ *yiqṭalū*; but note also יִלְקַטוּ, תִּרְבְּקוּ, &c., according to § 47 m and o. The helping vowels are either entirely omitted, e. g. מֶלֶךְ *king* (ground-form *malk*), מֶלְכִי *my king*; or, under the influence of a guttural, are weakened to Hāṭeph, e. g. נֶעַר *boy*, נֶעְרוֹ *his boy*. If the tone remains unmoved, the vowel also is retained, notwithstanding the lengthening of the word, e. g. יָקַטַל *pausal-form* for יָקַטְלוּ.

m Where the tone moves forward two places, the former of the two vowels of a dissyllabic word may be shortened, and the second changed into *Šewā*. Cf. דְּבָר *word*; in the plur. דְּבָרִים; with heavy suffix דְּבָרֵיהֶם (cf. § 28 a) *their words*. On the attenuation of the *ā* to *ī*, see further, s, t.

n Rem. 1. An *ō* arising from *aw* = *au*, or by an obscuring of *ā* (see § 9 b), sometimes becomes *ū*, when the tone is moved forward, e. g. נְקוּמָה, נְקוּמוֹת (see Paradigm *Perf. Niph.* of קוּם); מְנוּחָה, מְנוּחָהּ *flight*, fem. מְנוּחָהּ, with suffix, מְנוּחָי. The not uncommon use of *ī* in a sharpened syllable, as בְּחִיקָי Ez 20<sup>18</sup> (for בְּחִיקֵי, cf. also the examples in § 9 o), is to be regarded as an orthographic licence, although sometimes in such cases *ū* may really have been intended by the *Kethibh*.

o Of the vowels of the *U*-class, *ū* and tone-long *ō* stand in a tone-bearing

closed final syllable, and *ö* in a toneless syllable, e.g. יָקִים *he will arise*, יָקִם jussive, *let him arise*, יָקַם and *he arose*. The only instance of *ü* in an ultima which has lost the tone is יָרַם Ex 16<sup>20</sup> (see § 67 *n*). Similarly, of vowels of the *I*-class, *é*, *i*, and *ē* stand in a tone-bearing closed final syllable, and *ë* in a toneless syllable, e.g. יָקִים *he will raise*, יָקַם *let him raise*, יָקַם and *he raised*. The only instance of *ĩ* in an ultima which has lost the tone is יָרַם Ju 9<sup>53</sup> (see § 67 *p*).

2. In the place of a *Pathah* we not infrequently find (according to § 9 *f*) *p* a *S<sup>e</sup>ghöl* (*ë*, *è*) as a modification of *ä*:

(a) In a closed antepenultima, e.g. in the proper names אֲבִיתָר and אֲבִיָּסָה, where LXX 'Αβι- = 'Αβι, which is certainly the better reading, cf. Ulmer, *Die semit. Eigennamen*, 1901, p. 12; or in a closed penultima, e.g. יְהִרָה, but also יָרַח *your hand*, for *yad<sup>s</sup>khēm*. In all these cases the character of the surrounding consonants (see § 6 *q*) has no doubt had an influence.

(b) Regularly before a guttural with *Qameṣ* or *IIateph Qameṣ*, *q* where the strengthening has been dropped, provided that a lengthening of the *Pathah* into *Qameṣ* be not necessary, e.g. אֶחָיו *his brothers*, for *'ahāw*; שֶׁבַח *false*, for *kaḥāš*; פֶּהָה *governor*, constr. st. פֶּתָה; פֶּחָה *coal*; הַחַי *the living* (with the article, הַ for הֶ); יָתְנָחֵם Nu 23<sup>19</sup>, &c., and so always before הֶ and הָ, as יְהִירָשִׁים *the months*, see § 35 *k*. Before הֶ and הָ *S<sup>e</sup>ghöl* generally stands only in the second syllable before the tone, e.g. הַהָרִים *the mountains*; הָעוֹן *the guilt*; immediately before the tone *Pathah* is lengthened into a (pretonic) *Qameṣ*, e.g. הַהָרָה, הָעָם; but cf. also הַטְּהָרִי Nu 8<sup>7</sup>. Before the weak consonants א and ר (cf. § 22 *c, q*), the lengthening of the *Pathah* into *Qameṣ* almost always takes place, e.g. הָאָב *the father*, pl. הָאָבוֹת; הָרֵאשִׁית *the head*, pl. הָרֵאשִׁיִּים. Exceptions, הָרָה *towards the mountain*, Gn 14<sup>10</sup>, in the tone-syllable, for *hārrā*; יְבִרְכֶיהוּ (pr. name) for יְבִרְכֶיהוּ. On הֶ as a form of the interrogative הֶ (הָ), see § 100 *n*; on מָה for מַה (מָה), § 37 *e, f*. Finally, אֶבְלָךְ Ex 33<sup>3</sup> also comes partly under this head, in consequence of the loss of the strengthening, for אֶבְלָךְ, and יְחַקֵּאל יְחַקֵּאל *Ezekiel* for יְחַקֵּאל = יְחַקֵּאל *God strengthens*.

(c) As a modification of the original *Pathah* in the first class of the segolate forms (§ 93 *g*), when a helping vowel (§ 28 *e*) is inserted after the second consonant. Thus the ground-form *kalb* (*dog*), after receiving a helping *S<sup>e</sup>ghöl*, is modified into קָלֶב (also in modern Arabic pronounced *kelb*),<sup>1</sup> *yarḥ* (*month*), with a helping *Pathah*, יָרַח. The same phenomenon appears also in the formation of verbs, in cases like יָגַל (jussive of the Hiph'il of בָּלָה), with a helping *S<sup>e</sup>ghöl*, for *yagl*.

3. The attenuation of *ä* to *ĩ* is very common in a toneless closed syllable. (a) In a firmly closed syllable, מְדוּ *his measure*, for מְדוּ (in a sharpened syllable); יִלְדֶתִי *I have begotten thee*, from יִלְדֶתִי with the suffix תִּי; cf. Lv 11<sup>44</sup>, Ez 38<sup>23</sup>, and § 44 *d*. Especially is this the case in a large number of *segholates*

<sup>1</sup> So the LXX write Μελαχισεδέκ for מֶלֶכִּי־עֶדֶק.



syllable, after the restoration of the short vowel, sometimes combines with the second to form a firmly closed syllable, e. g. לִנְפֹל Nu 14<sup>3</sup> for *linēphōl*, and so almost always in the infin. constr. after ל (§ 45 g); in isolated cases also with ק, as קִבֵּר Jer 17<sup>2</sup>.

2. If a guttural with *Ḥateph* follows, the original *ā* of the prefixes *b* is retained before *Ḥateph Pathah*, but before *Ḥateph Seghol* or *Ḥateph Qames* it is modified to the short vowel contained in the *Ḥateph*. Thus arise the vowel groups  $\frac{\text{ֶֿ}}{\text{ֶֿ}}$ ,  $\frac{\text{ֶֿ}}{\text{ֶֿ}}$ ,  $\frac{\text{ֶֿ}}{\text{ֶֿ}}$ , e. g. וְאָנִי and *I*, כְּאֲשֶׁר *as*, לְעֵבֵר *to serve*, לֶאֱכַל *to eat*, לְחֵלִי *in sickness*. On the Metheg with every such short vowel, see § 16 f, δ. Sometimes here also a fully closed syllable is formed. In such a case, the prefix takes the short vowel, which would have belonged to the suppressed *Ḥateph*, e. g. לְחַטֹּב for לְחַטֹּב; לְחַמֵּם Is 47<sup>14</sup> for לְחַמֵּם (see § 67 cc); לְאָסֹר but also לְאָסֹר; and even וְעָצַר Jb 4<sup>2</sup>, cf. Gn 32<sup>16</sup>. So always in the Infin. and Imperat. Qal of the verbs הָיָה *to be* and חָיָה *to live*, e. g. לְהָיוֹת *to be*, וְהָיוּ *and be ye*; even with מֵן, as מְהִיֹּת, on which cf. § 102 b; but וְהָיָה *and be*, וְחָיָה *and live*, have *ē* instead of *ī* under the prefix. For the Metheg, cf. § 16 f, ε.

3. When a *Ḥateph* in the middle of a word, owing to flexional *c* changes, would stand before a vocal *Šwā*, it is changed into the short vowel, with which it is compounded. This applies especially to cases in which the *Ḥateph* stands under a guttural instead of quiescent *Šwā*, as an echo of the preceding short vowel, e. g. יַעֲמֹד *he will stand* (for יַעֲמֹד), but plur. יַעֲמֹדוּ for *ya'amēdhū*, and נִהְפְּכוּ for *nēh'aphkhu* (*they have turned themselves*), יַעֲמֹדוּ *thy work*, cf. § 26 k. The syllables are to be divided *yā'ā-mēdhū*, and the second *ā* is to be regarded exactly as the helping *Pathah* in נִעַר, &c.<sup>1</sup>

4. At the end of words, syllables occur which close with two con-*d*sonants (§ 10 i, § 26 r), but only when the latter of the two is an emphatic consonant (ט, ק) or a tenuis (viz. ב, ד, ג, ת), e. g. יִשָּׁבֵט *let him turn aside*, וַיִּשְׁקֵךְ *and he caused to drink*, אָמַרְתָּ *thou (fem.) hast said*, וַיִּבְכֶּה *and he wept*, וַיִּרְדֵּךְ *and let him have dominion*, וַיִּשָּׁבֵט *and he took captive*.

This harsh ending is elsewhere avoided by the Masora,<sup>3</sup> which *c* inserts between the two final consonants a helping vowel, usually

<sup>1</sup> In Ju 16<sup>13</sup> read תִּאֲרָגִי not (with Opius, Hahn and others) תִּאֲרָגִי.

<sup>2</sup> With a final ה, the only example is הִסִּיף Pr 30<sup>6</sup>, where several MSS. and printed editions incorrectly have ה without Dageš. Instead of this masoretic caprice we should no doubt read הִסִּיף.

<sup>3</sup> An analogy to this practice of the Masora is found among the modern Beduin, who pronounce such a helping vowel before *h, ḥ, ḫ, ḡ*; cf. Spitta, *Gramm. des arab. Vulgärdialektes von Aegypten*, Lpz. 1880, § 43 d.

*Se'ghôl*, but with medial or final gutturals a *Pathah*,<sup>1</sup> and after *h* a *Hireq*, e. g. *וַיִּגְלוּ* and he revealed, for *wayyigil*; *וַיִּרְבּוּ* let it multiply, for *yirb*; *קִדְשׁ* holiness, ground-form *qudš*; *נַחַל* brook, ground-form *nahl*; *שָׁלַחְתָּ*<sup>2</sup> for *שָׁלַחְתָּ* thou hast sent; *בַּיִת* house, ground-form *bayt*. These helping vowels are, however, to be regarded as exactly like *furtive Pathah* (§ 22 f, g); they do not alter the monosyllabic character of the forms, and they disappear before formative suffixes, e. g. *קִדְשִׁי* my holiness, *בַּיְתָהּ* home-ward.

f 5. On the rise of a full vowel in place of a simple *Šewa*, under the influence of the *pause*, see § 29 m; on initial *š* for *š*, see § 23 h.

### § 29. *The Tone, its Changes and the Pause.*

a 1. The principal tone rests, according to the Masoretic accentuation (cf. § 15 c), as a rule on the final syllable, e. g. *קָטַלְתָּם*, *קָטַלְתָּ*, *קָטַלְתָּ*, *קָטַלְתָּ*—in the last five examples on the formative additions to the stem. Less frequently it rests on the penultima, as in *לַיְלָה* night, *קָטַלְתָּ*, *קָטַלְתָּ*; but a closed penultima can only have the tone if the ultima is open (e. g. *קָטַלְתָּ*, *קָטַלְתָּ*), whilst a closed ultima can as a rule only be without the tone if the penultima is open, e. g. *וַיִּקָּם*, *וַיִּקָּם*; see also below, c.

b A kind of counter-tone or secondary stress, as opposed to the principal tone, is marked by *Metheg* (§ 16 c). Words which are closely united by *Maqqeph* with the following word (§ 16 a) can at the most have only a secondary tone.

c 2. The original tone of a word, however, frequently shifts its place in consequence either of changes in the word itself, or of its close connexion with other words. If the word is increased at the end, the tone is moved forward (*descendit*) one or two places according to the length of the addition, e. g. *דְּבָרֶךָ* word, plur. *דְּבָרֶיךָ*; *דְּבָרֶיךָ* your words; *קִדְשִׁי* holy thing, plur. *קִדְשֵׁי*; *קָטַלְתָּ* with suffix *וְהוּא*, with *Wāw consecutive* *וְקָטַלְתָּ*. On the consequent vowel-changes, see § 27 d, i-m.

d 3. On the other hand, the original tone is shifted from the ultima to the penultima (*ascendit*):

<sup>1</sup> On the apparent exceptions *וַיִּשְׁשׂוּ*, &c., cf. § 22 e; other instances in which *š* has entirely lost its consonantal value, and is only retained orthographically, are *חַטָּא* sin, *נַיָּא* valley (also *נַיָּא*), *וַיִּשְׁוּ* vanity (Jb 15<sup>31</sup> *Kethibh* *וַיִּשְׁוּ*).

<sup>2</sup> In this form (§ 65 g) the *Dages lene* remains in the final *Tāw*, although a vowel precedes, in order to point out that the helping *Pathah* is not to be regarded as a really full vowel, but merely as an orthographic indication of a very slight sound, to ensure the correct pronunciation. An analogous case is *וַיְהִי* *yihād* from *וַיְהִי* (§ 75 r).

(a) In many forms of the Imperfect, under the influence of a prefixed *Wāw consecutive* (ו see § 49 c-e), e. g. וַיֹּאמֶר *he will say*, וַיֹּאמַר *and he said*; וַיֵּלֶךְ *he will go*, וַיֵּלֶךְ *and he went*. Cf. also § 51 n on the impf. Niph'al, and § 65 g, end, on the impf. Pi'el; on these forms in Pause, when the ו consec. does not take effect, see below, p.

(b) For rhythmical reasons (as often in other languages), when *c* a monosyllable, or a word with the tone on the first syllable, follows a word with the tone on the ultima, in order to avoid the concurrence of two tone-syllables.<sup>1</sup> This rhythmical retraction of the tone, however (נָסוּג אָחֹר *receding*, as it is called by the Jewish grammarians), is only admissible according to *a*, above, provided that the penultima, which now receives the tone, is an open syllable (with a long vowel; but see *g*), whilst the ultima, which loses the tone, must be either an open syllable with a long vowel, e. g. לִילָהּ לְקָרָא Gn 1<sup>5</sup>, 4<sup>17</sup>, 27<sup>25</sup>, Ex 16<sup>29</sup>, ψ 5<sup>11</sup>, 104<sup>14</sup>, Dn 11<sup>13</sup>, or a closed syllable with a short vowel, e. g. תֵּאבֵל לָחֶם Gn 3<sup>19</sup>, Jb 3<sup>3</sup>, 22<sup>28</sup>.<sup>2</sup> The *grave* suffixes בָּם, בָּן, הֶם, הֵן- are exceptions, as they never lose the tone. Moreover a fair number of instances occur in which the above conditions are fulfilled, but the tone is not retracted, e. g. esp. with הָיָה, and before א; cf. Qimlî, *Mikhlol*, ed. Rittenberg (Lyck, 1862), p. 4<sup>b</sup>, line 13 ff.

Although *Sere* can remain in a closed ultima which has lost the tone, it *f* is perhaps not to be regarded in this case (see § 8 b) as a long vowel. At any rate it then always has, in correct editions, a retarding *Metheg*, no doubt in order to prevent its being pronounced as *S'eghól*, e. g. לְבַעַר קִיּוּ Nu 24<sup>22</sup>; cf. Nu 17<sup>23</sup>, Ju 20<sup>2</sup>, Is 66<sup>3</sup>, Jer 23<sup>29</sup>, Ez 22<sup>25</sup>, ψ 37<sup>7</sup>, and even with a following *furtive Pathah* Pr 1<sup>19</sup>, 11<sup>26</sup>, &c., although there is no question here of two successive tone-syllables. In other cases the shortening into *S'eghól* does take place, e. g. הוֹלֵם פְּעַם *who smiteth the anvil*, Is 41<sup>7</sup>, for הוֹלֵם פְּעַם; מִאֶת שֶׁפָּרַח 1 K 16<sup>24</sup>.—The retraction of the tone even occurs when a half-syllable with a *Šewá* mobile precedes the original tone-syllable, e. g. וַיֹּאמְרוּ לוֹ Gn 19<sup>5</sup>, and frequently; ψ 28<sup>1</sup>; טָמְנוּ לִי

<sup>1</sup> Even Hebrew *prose* proceeds, according to the accentuation, in a kind of iambic rhythm. That this was intended by the marking of the tone, can be seen from the use of *Metheg*.—Jos. Wijnkoop in *Darcke hannesigah sive leges de accentus Hebraicae linguae ascensione*, Ludg. Bat. 1881, endeavours to explain, on euphonic and syntactical grounds, the numerous cases in which the usual retraction of the tone does not occur, e. g. וּבֹרָא חֵשֶׁךְ Is 45<sup>7</sup>, where the object probably is to avoid a kind of hiatus; but cf. also Am 4<sup>13</sup>. Prätorius, *Ueber den rückweich. Accent im Hebr.*, Halle, 1897, has fully discussed the *nasog 'ahor*.

<sup>2</sup> The reading עָרְיִים (so even Opatius and Hahn) Ez 16<sup>7</sup> for עָרְיִים is rightly described by Baer as 'error turpis'.—That an unchangeable vowel in a closed final syllable cannot lose the tone is shown by Prätorius from the duplication of the accent (see above, § 22 f).

ψ 31<sup>6</sup>; מְטַעֲנֵי הָרֵב; Is 14<sup>19</sup>; as also when the tone-syllable of the second word is preceded by a half-syllable, e.g. עֲשֵׂה פְרִי Gn 1<sup>11</sup> (on the *Dag. f.*, cf. § 20 f); לָחַת לְךָ Gn 15<sup>7</sup> (cf. § 20 c).

**g** According to the above, it must be regarded as anomalous when the Masora throws back the tone of a closed ultima upon a *virtually* sharpened syllable with a short vowel, e.g. אָחַר בֵּן 1 S 10<sup>6</sup>, § 101 a; וְכָחַשׁ בוֹ Jb 8<sup>18</sup>, cf. Lv 5<sup>22</sup>, Ho 9<sup>2</sup>; לְצַחֵק בְּנֵי Gn 39<sup>14,17</sup>; whereas it elsewhere allows a closed penultima to bear the tone only when the ultima is open. Still more anomalous is the placing of the tone on a *really* sharpened syllable, when the ultima is closed, as in הִקָּם עָלַי 2 S 23<sup>1</sup>; נָכַר שׁוֹעַ Jb 34<sup>19</sup>; cf. also יִקָּם-קִיָּן Gn 4<sup>24</sup>, with Metheg of the secondary tone. We should read either הִקָּם, or, with Frensdorff, *Massora Magna*, p. 167, Ginsb., Kittel, after Bomb., הִקָּם. Other abnormal forms are וַיִּחְזַק בוֹ Ex 4<sup>4</sup> (for similar instances see § 15 c, end) and וַיְהִי שָׁם Dt 10<sup>6</sup>.

**h** (c) In *pause*, see *i-v*.

The meeting of two tone-syllables (see *e, f*) is avoided also by connecting the words with Maqqeph, in which case the first word entirely loses the tone, e.g. וַיִּכְתֹּב-שָׁם and *he wrote there*, Jos 8<sup>32</sup>.

**i** 4. Very important changes of the tone and of the vowels are effected by the *pause*. By this term is meant the strong stress laid on the tone-syllable in the last word of a sentence (verse) or clause. It is marked by a great *distinctive accent*, *Sillûq*, *'Athnah*, and in the accentuation of the books תַּאֲמַר, 'Ôlè w'gyôred (§ 15 h). Apart from these principal pauses (*the great pause*), there are often pausal changes (*the lesser pause*) with the lesser distinctives, especially *Se'golta*, *Zaqeph qaton*, *Rebbhîw*, and even with *Pašta*, *Tiphha*, *Gereš*, and (Pr 30<sup>4</sup>) *Pazer*.<sup>1</sup> The changes are as follows:

**k** (a) When the tone-syllable naturally has a short vowel, it as a rule becomes tone-long in *pause*, e.g. קָטַל, קָטַל; כָּיִים, כָּיִים; קָטַלְתָּ, קָטַלְתָּ. An *ä* which has been modified to *S'ghöl* usually becomes *ā* in *pause*, e.g. קָשָׁר (ground-form *qašr*) in *pause* קָשָׁר 2 K 11<sup>14</sup>; אָרָץ אָרָץ Jer 22<sup>29</sup>;

<sup>1</sup> In most cases, probably on account of a following guttural or (at the end of a sentence) ׀ (cf. e.g. Ex 21<sup>31</sup>, Jer 3<sup>9</sup> [but Ginsb. וַתַּחֲנֶן, Ru 4<sup>4</sup>, Ec 11<sup>6</sup> [but Ginsb. וַיִּכְשַׁר]; before ׀ Jer 17<sup>11</sup>) [see also § 29 w]. וַאֲרָץ 1 S 7<sup>17</sup>, Is 65<sup>17</sup>, Pr 25<sup>3</sup>, where *ā* has *munah*, are very irregular, but the lengthening here is probably only to avoid the cacophony *šāphāt'ūt*. In the same way הַיְצִלְתָּ Ez 17<sup>15</sup> (with *Mahpakh* before הַ) and וַיִּקְרַם Ez 37<sup>8</sup> (with *Darga* before ׀) are to be explained. The four instances of אָנִי for אֲנִי apparently require a different explanation; see § 32 c.—The theory of Olshausen and others that the phenomena of the *pause* are due *entirely* to liturgical considerations, i. e. that it is 'a convenient way of developing the musical value of the final accents by means of fuller forms' in liturgical reading (Sievers, *Metr. Studien*, i. 236, also explains pausal forms like קָטַלְתָּ, יִקְטַלְתָּ, as 'late formations of the grammarians'), is contradicted by the fact that similar phenomena are still to be observed in modern vulgar Arabic, where they can only be attributed to rhythmical reasons of a general character.

also in 2 K 4<sup>31</sup> read קָשַׁב with ed. Mant., &c. (Baer קָשַׁב).—דָּבַר becomes in *pause* דָּבַר.

Sometimes, however, the distinct and sharper *ä* is intentionally retained <sup>l</sup> in *pause*, especially if the following consonant is strengthened, e. g. יִבְתֵּנוּ Jb 4<sup>20</sup>, or ought to be strengthened, e. g. כְּבַבְתָּ 2 S 12<sup>3</sup>, בִּזְ Is 8<sup>1</sup>, &c.; but also in other cases as וְקָנְתִּי Gn 27<sup>2</sup>, because from וְקָנָה, cf. below, *q*; וְגַּן Gn 49<sup>27</sup>; וְהִקְדַּשְׁנוּ 2 Ch 29<sup>19</sup> (so Baer, but Ginsb. 'הִקְדַּשְׁנוּ, ed. Mant. 'הִקְדַּשְׁנוּ); and regularly in the numeral אַרְבַּע *four*, Lv 11<sup>20</sup>, &c. In the accentuation of the three poetical books (§ 15 *d*) the use of *Pathah* with '*Athnah* is due to the inferior pausal force of '*Athnah*, especially after '*Ôlê w'yôred* (§ 15 *o*); cf.  $\psi$  100<sup>3</sup>, Pr 30<sup>3</sup>, and Qimhi, *Mikhlol*, ed. Rittenberg, p. 5<sup>b</sup>, line 4 from below. Compare the list of instances of pausal *ä* and *è* in the appendices to Baer's editions.

(b) When a full vowel in a tone-bearing final syllable has lost the *m* tone before an affirmative, and has become *vocal S'wâ*, it is restored in *pause* as tone-vowel, and, if short, is lengthened, e. g. קָטַל, *fem.* קָטַלָּה (*qāt'elā*), in *pause* קָטַלָּה; שָׁמְעִי (*šim'û*), in *pause* שָׁמְעִי (from sing. (שָׁמַע)); מְלֵאָה, מְלֵאָה, יִקְטְלוּ, יִקְטְלוּ (sing. יִקְטַל). The fuller endings of the Imperfect וִי and וְיִ— (§ 47 *m* and *o*) alone retain the tone even when the original vowel is restored. In segholate forms, like לָחִי, פָּרִי (ground-form *lahy, pary*), the original *ä* returns, though under the form of a tone-bearing *S'ghôl*, thus לָחִי, פָּרִי; original *î* becomes *ē*, e. g. חָצִי, in *pause* חָצִי; original *ö* (*ü*) becomes *ō*, חָלִי (ground-form *huly*), in *pause* חָלִי (§ 93 *x, y, z*).

On the analogy of such forms as לָחִי, &c., the shortened Imperfects *n* יְהִי and יִהְיֶה become in *pause* יְהִי, יִהְיֶה, because in the full forms יְהִיָּה *he will be*, and יִהְיֶהָ *he will live*, the *î* is attenuated from an original *ä*. Similarly שָׁקַם *shoulder*, in *pause* שָׁקַם (ground-form *šakhm*), and the pron. אֲנִי *I*, in *pause* אֲנִי; cf. also the restoration of the original *ä* as *è* before the suffix תְּ— *thy, thee*, e. g. דְּבַרְךָ *thy word*, in *pause* דְּבַרְךָ; יִשְׁמְרֶךָ *he guards thee*, in *pause* יִשְׁמְרֶךָ; but after the prepositions בְּ, לְ, חַת (אֶת) the suffix תְּ— in *pause* becomes תְּ—, e. g. בְּךָ, לְךָ, אֶתְךָ.

(c) This tendency to draw back the tone in *pause* to the *penultima* *o* appears also in such cases as אֲנִכִּי *I*, in *pause* אֲנִכִּי; אַתָּה *thou*, in *pause* אַתָּה (but in the three poetically accented books also אַתָּה, since in those books '*Athnah*, especially after '*Ôlê w'yôred*, has only the force of a *Zaqeph*; hence also יִפְלֵאוּ Pr 24<sup>4</sup> instead of יִפְלֵאוּ)<sup>2</sup>; עַתָּה *now*, עַתָּה; and in other sporadic instances, like כָּלִי  $\psi$  37<sup>20</sup> for כָּלִי; but in 1 S 12<sup>23</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Such a pausal syllable is sometimes further emphasized by strengthening the following consonant, see § 20 *i*.

<sup>2</sup> יִפְלֵאוּ  $\psi$  45<sup>6</sup>, cf. also יִפְלֵאוּ  $\psi$  40<sup>15</sup>, is to be explained in the same way, but not יִפְלֵאוּ Zc 2<sup>11</sup>, where, on the analogy of הִשְׁמְרוּ Je 6<sup>3</sup>, we should expect הִפְלֵאוּ.

תִּפְּבוּ with Baer and Ginsb., is to be preferred to the reading of ed. Mant., &c.

p (d) Conversely all forms of imperfects consecutive, whose final syllable, when not in *pause*, loses the tone and is pronounced with a short vowel, take, when in *pause*, the tone on the ultima with a tone-long vowel, e. g. וַיָּמָת and *he died*, in *pause* וַיָּמַת.

q Of other effects of the *pause* we have still to mention, (1) the transition of an  $\bar{e}$  (lengthened from  $\bar{i}$ ) to the more distinct  $\bar{a}$  (see above, l), e. g. הָתוּ for הָתוּ Is 18<sup>5</sup> (cf. § 67 v; § 72 dd); קָמַל Is 33<sup>9</sup>; אָצַל I Ch 8<sup>38</sup> (beside אָצַל [see v. 37. Cf. : טָבָאֵל Is 7<sup>6</sup> טָבָאֵל Ezr 4<sup>7</sup>]; וַיִּשָּׂר Jer 22<sup>14</sup>; סָפָרָד Ob 20; וַיִּנְצָשׁ Ex 31<sup>17</sup>; וַיִּאֲנָשׁ 2 S 12<sup>15</sup> (below, § 51 m)—S. R. D.]); הָפָר Gn 17<sup>14</sup>; הָפָצַר I S 15<sup>23</sup>; הָשָׁבָב ψ 40<sup>18</sup>; הָרַחֵק Jb 13<sup>21</sup>, mostly before liquids or sibilants (but also הָשָׁבָב Is 42<sup>22</sup>, and without the *pause* הָרַר La 3<sup>46</sup>). So also וַיִּלְחָץ (shortened from וַיִּלְחָץ) becomes in *pause* וַיִּלְחַץ; cf. וַיִּלְחָץ La 3<sup>2</sup>; וַיִּתְּלַן for וַיִּתְּלַן Ju 19<sup>20</sup>. On *S'ghôl* in *pause* instead of *Sere*, cf. § 52 n, 60 d, and especially § 75 n, on וַחֲיָה Pr 4<sup>4</sup> and 7<sup>2</sup>.

r (2) The transition from  $\bar{a}$  to  $\bar{e}$  in the ultima; so always in the formula וְעַד לְעוֹלָם וָעַד (for עַד) for *ever and ever*.

s (3) The *pausal Qameṣ* (according to § 54 k, lengthened from original  $\bar{a}$ ) in *Hithpa'el* (but not in *Pi'el*) for *Sere*, e. g. וַיִּתְּהַלֵּךְ Jb 18<sup>8</sup> וַיִּתְּהַלֵּךְ. But *pausal* forms like סָתַר, שָׁבַט (in the *absol. st.* סָתַר, שָׁבַט) go back to a secondary form of the *abs. st.* סָתַר, שָׁבַט.

t (4) The restoration of a final *Yodh* which has been dropped from the stem, together with the preceding vowel, e. g. בָּעֵי וַאֲתֵי Is 21<sup>12</sup>, for בָּעֵי, אֲתֵי, the latter also without the *pause* Is 56<sup>9,12</sup>; cf. Jb 12<sup>6</sup>, and the same occurrence even in the word *before the pause* Dt 32<sup>37</sup>, Is 21<sup>12</sup>.

u (5) The transition from  $\bar{o}$  or  $\bar{ö}$  to  $\bar{a}$  in *pause*: as שָׂאֲלָה Is 7<sup>11</sup>, if it be a locative of שָׂאֵל, and not rather imperat. Qal of שָׂאֵל; וַיִּשְׁבְּלֵתִי Gn 43<sup>14</sup> וַיִּשְׁבְּלֵתִי; עֹז Gn 49<sup>3</sup>; וַיִּטְרֶף Gn 49<sup>27</sup>; perhaps also וַיִּשְׂרֶן I K 22<sup>34</sup>, Is 59<sup>17</sup>, and מִשְׁבְּלֵת Is 28<sup>17</sup>, cf. 2 K 21<sup>13</sup>. On the other hand the regular *pausal* form וַיִּהְפֹּן (ordinary imperfect וַיִּהְפֹּן) corresponds to a perfect וַיִּהְפֵּן (see § 47 h).

v (6) When a *Pathah* both precedes and follows a virtually strengthened guttural, the second becomes  $\bar{a}$  in *pause*, and the first *S'ghôl*, according to § 22 c and § 27 q, e. g. אָחֵי my brothers, in *pause* אָחֵי. Similarly in cases where an original *Pathah* after a guttural has been attenuated to  $\bar{i}$  out of *pause*, and then lengthened to  $\bar{e}$  with the tone (cf. § 54 k), e. g. וַיִּתְּנָהּ, but in *pause* וַיִּתְּנָהּ. Dt 32<sup>26</sup>; cf. Nu 8<sup>7</sup>, 23<sup>19</sup>, Ez 5<sup>13</sup>, ψ 135<sup>14</sup>.—On *pausal Sere*, for *S'ghôl*, in *infin.*, imperat., and imperf. of verbs *h'hl*, see § 75 hh.

w [Other instances of the full vowel in lesser *pause*, where the voice would naturally rest on the word, are Gn 15<sup>14</sup> וַיַּעֲבְרוּ, Is 8<sup>15</sup>, 40<sup>24</sup>, Ho 4<sup>12</sup>, 8<sup>7</sup>, Dn 9<sup>15</sup>, and very often in such cases.]

## SECOND PART

### ETYMOLOGY, OR THE PARTS OF SPEECH

#### § 30. *Stems and Roots*<sup>1</sup>: *Biliteral, Triliteral, and Quadriliteral.*

1. Stems in Hebrew, as in the other Semitic languages, have this peculiarity, that by far the majority of them consist of three consonants. On these the meaning essentially depends, while the various modifications of the idea are expressed rather by changes in the vowels, e. g. עמק (עַמֶּק or עָמַק; the 3rd pers. sing. perf. does not occur) *it was deep*, עֲמֵק *deep*, עֲמִיק *depth*, עֵמֶק, *a valley, plain*. Such a stem may be either a verb or a noun, and the language commonly exhibits both together, e. g. זָרַע *he has sown*, זֶרַע *seed*; חָכַם *he was wise*, חָכֵם *a wise man*. For practical purposes, however, it has long been the custom to regard as the stem the 3rd pers. sing. Perf. Qal (see § 43), since it is one of the simplest forms of the verb, without any formative additions. Not only are the other forms of the verb referred to this stem, but also the noun-forms, and the large number of particles derived from nouns; e. g. קָדַשׁ *he was holy*, קִדְּוֹשׁ *holiness*, קְדוּשָׁה *holy*.

Sometimes the language, as we have it, exhibits only the verbal stem without any corresponding noun-form, e. g. סָבַל *to stone*, נָהַק *to bray*; and on the other hand, the noun sometimes exists without the corresponding verb, e. g. סֶלֶן *stone*, נֶבֶל *south*. Since, however, the nominal or verbal stems, which are not now found in Hebrew, generally occur in one or more of the other Semitic dialects, it may be assumed, as a rule, that Hebrew, when a living language, also possessed them. Thus, in Arabic, the verbal stem 'abnā (*to become compact, hard*) corresponds to סָבַל, and the Aramaic verb *nēgab* (*to be dry*) to נָבַב.

Rem. 1. The Jewish grammarians call the stem (i. e. the 3rd pers. sing. Perf. Qal) שִׁבְטָא *root*. Hence it became customary among Christian grammarians to call the stem *radix*, and its three consonants *litterae radicales*, in contradistinction to the *litterae serviles* or *formative letters*. On the correct use of the term *root*, see § 79.

<sup>1</sup> On the questions discussed here compare the bibliography at the head of § 79.

d 2. Others regard the three stem-consonants as a *root*, in the sense that, considered as *vowelless* and unpronounceable, it represents the common foundation of the verbal and nominal stems developed from it, just as in the vegetable world, from which the figure is borrowed, stems grow from the hidden root, e. g.

Root : מלך, the indeterminate idea of *ruling*.

Verb-stem, מָלַךְ *he has reigned*.

Noun-stem, מֶלֶךְ *king*.

For the historical investigation of the language, however, this hypothesis of unpronounceable roots, with indeterminate meaning, is fruitless. Moreover, the term *root*, as it is generally understood by philologists, cannot be applied to the Semitic trilateral stem (see *f*).<sup>1</sup>

c 3. The 3rd sing. Perf. Qal, which, according to the above, is usually regarded, both lexicographically and grammatically, as the ground-form, is generally in Hebrew a dissyllable, e. g. מָלַךְ. The monosyllabic forms have only arisen by contraction (according to the traditional explanation) from stems which had a weak letter (ו or י) for their middle consonant, e. g. דָּם from *qāwām*; or from stems whose second and third consonants are identical, e. g. צַר and צָרָר (but see below, §§ 67, 72). The dissyllabic forms have themselves no doubt arisen, through a loss of the final vowel, from trisyllables, e. g. קָטַל from *qātūlā*, as it is in literary Arabic.

f 2. The law of the trilateral stem is so strictly observed in the formation of verbs and nouns in Hebrew (and in the Semitic languages generally), that the language has sometimes adopted artificial methods to preserve at least an appearance of trilateralism in monosyllabic stems, e. g. מָלַךְ for the inf. constr. of verbs מָלַךְ; cf. § 69 b. Conversely such nouns, as אָב *father*, אִמָּה *mother*, אָח *brother*, which were formerly all regarded as original monosyllabic forms (*nomina primitiva*), may, in some cases at least, have arisen from mutilation of a trilateral stem.

g On the other hand, a large number of trilateral stems really point to a biliteral base, which may be properly called a *root* (*radix primaria, biliteralis*), since it forms the starting-point for several trilateral modifications of the same fundamental idea. Though in themselves unpronounceable, these roots are usually pronounced with *ā* between the two consonants, and are represented in writing by the sign √, e. g. √כר as the root of כָּרַר, כָּרַה, כָּוַר, כָּאָר. The reduction of a stem to the underlying root may generally be accomplished with certainty when the stem exhibits one weak consonant with two strong ones, or when the second and third consonants are identical. Thus e. g. the stems כָּרַךְ, כָּרַה, כָּרַא, כָּרַה, כָּרַה may all be traced to the idea of *striking, breaking*, and the root common to them all is evidently the two strong consonants כר (*dakh*). Very frequently, however, the development of the root into a stem is effected by the addition of

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Philippi, 'Der Grundstamm des starken Verbuns,' in *Morgenländische Forschungen*, Leipzig, 1875, pp. 69-106.

a strong consonant, especially, it seems, a sibilant, liquid or guttural.<sup>1</sup> Finally, further modifications of the same root are produced when either a consonant of the root, or the letter which has been added, changes by phonetic laws into a kindred letter (see the examples below). Usually such a change of sound is accompanied by a modification of meaning.

Examples: from the root קין (no doubt *onomatopoetic*, i. e. imitating the *h* sound), which represents the fundamental idea of *carving off, cutting in pieces*, are derived directly: קצה and קצץ to *cut, to cut off*; the latter also metaph. to *decide, to judge* (whence קָצִין, Arab. *qāḏi, a judge*); also קצב to *cut off, to shear*, קצף to *tear, to break*, קצע to *cut into*, קצר to *cut off, to reap*. With a dental instead of the sibilant, קר, קט, whence קטב to *cut in pieces, to destroy*, קטל to *cut down, to kill*, קטף to *tear off, to pluck off*. With the initial letter softened, the root becomes כס, whence כָּסַח to *cut off*, and כָּסַם to *shave*; cf. also נכס Syr. to *slay (sacrifice), to kill*. With the greatest softening to גו and גר; גָּוַן to *cut off, to shear*; גָּוַה to *hew stone*; גָּוַז, גָּוַע, גָּוַל, גָּוַר to *cut off, to tear off, eat up*; similarly גָּרַד to *cut into*, גָּרַע to *cut off*; cf. also גָּרַה, גָּרַף, גָּרַר. Allied to this root also is the series of stems which instead of a palatal begin with a guttural (ח), e. g. חָרַד to *split, cut*; cf. also חָרַל, חָרַק, חָרַד, חָדַשׁ, and further חָצַר, חָצִין, חָצַה, חָצַב, חָסַף, חָסַם, חָסַל, חָטַף, חָטַט, חָטַב, חָזַז, חָזַה, חָזַן, חָזַם in the Lexicon.

The root הַם expresses the sound of *humming*, which is made with the mouth closed (μύω); hence הָמַם, הָמָה, הָמָה, נְהָם (נְהָם), Arab. *hāmḥama, to buzz, to hum, to snarl, &c.*

As developments from the root רע cf. the stems רָעַד, רָעַל, רָעַם, רָעַע, רָעִין, רָעִשׁ. Not less numerous are the developments of the root בר (פּר) and many others.<sup>2</sup>

Closer investigation of the subject suggests the following observations:

(a) These roots are mere *abstractions* from stems in actual use, and are *i* themselves not used. They represent rather the hidden germs (*semina*) of the stems which appear in the language. Yet these stems are sometimes so short as to consist simply of the elements of the root itself, e. g. הָם to *be finished*, קַל *light*. The ascertaining of the root and its meaning, although in many ways very difficult and hazardous, is of great lexicographical importance. It is a wholly different and much contested question whether there ever was a period in the development of the Semitic languages when purely *biliteral* roots, either isolated and invariable or combined with inflexions, served for the communication of thought. In such a case it would have to be admitted, that the language at first expressed extremely few elementary ideas, which were only gradually extended by additions to denote more delicate shades of meaning. At all events this process of transformation would belong to a period of the language which is entirely outside our range. At the most only the gradual multiplication of *stems* by means of phonetic change (see below) can be historically proved.

(b) Many of these monosyllabic words are clearly imitations of sounds, and *h*

<sup>1</sup> That *all* trilateral stems are derived from biliterals (as König, *Lehrg.* ii. 1, 370; M. Lambert in *Studies in honour of A. Kohut*, Berl. 1897, p. 354 ff.) cannot be definitely proved.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the interesting examination of the Semitic roots QR, KR, XR, by P. Haupt in the *Amer. Journ. of Sem. Lang.*, xxiii (1907), p. 241 ff.

sometimes coincide with roots of a similar meaning in the Indo-Germanic family of languages (§ 1 *h*). Of other roots there is definite evidence that Semitic linguistic consciousness regarded them as onomatopoeic, whilst the Indo-Germanic instinct fails to recognize in them any imitation of sound.

*l* (c) Stems with the harder, stronger consonants are in general (§ 6 *r*) to be regarded as the older, from which a number of later stems probably arose through softening of the consonants; cf. פֹּזַר and בֹּזַר, שַׁחַק and צַחַק, צַעַק and זַעַק, עֵלֶם and עֵלֶן, רַבָּה and רַבָּה, and the almost consistent change of initial *h* to *ʿ*. In other instances, however, the harder stems have only been adopted at a later period from Aramaic, e.g. טַעָה, Hebr. תַּעָה. Finally in many cases the harder and softer stems may have been in use together from the first, thus often distinguishing, by a kind of sound-painting, the intensive action from the less intensive; see above קָצַץ to cut, נוּז to shear, &c.

*m* (d) When two consonants are united to form a root they are usually either both emphatic or both middle-hard or both soft, e.g. קָטַן, כָּסַף, גָּזַל never בִּין, גִּין, גָּט, גָּס, קָו. Within (triliteral) stems the first and second consonants are never identical. The apparent exceptions are either due to reduplication of the root, e.g. רָדָה (ψ 42<sup>5</sup>, Is 38<sup>15</sup>), Arabic رَادَاه, or result from other causes, cf. e.g. כָּבַה in the Lexicon. The first and third consonants are very seldom identical except in what are called concave stems (with middle *h* or *ʿ*), e.g. צָיִן, נוּן; note, however, נָתַן, נָגַן, שָׁמַשׁ, שָׁרַשׁ, and on עָלַע Jb 39<sup>30</sup> see § 55 *f*. The second and third consonants on the other hand are very frequently identical, see § 67.<sup>1</sup>

*n* (e) The softening mentioned under *l* is sometimes so great that strong consonants, especially in the middle of the stem, actually pass into vowels: cf. § 19 *o*, and עָזַוּל Lv 16<sup>8</sup> if it is for עֵזַוּל.

*o* (f) Some of the cases in which triliteral stems cannot with certainty be traced back to a biliteral root, may be due to a combination of two roots—a simple method of forming expressions to correspond to more complex ideas.

*p* 3. Stems of *four*, or even (in the case of nouns) of *five* consonants<sup>2</sup> are secondary formations. They arise from an extension of the triliteral stem: (*a*) by addition of a fourth stem-consonant; (*b*) in some cases perhaps by composition and contraction of two triliteral stems, by which means even *quinquilateral*s are produced. Stems which have arisen from reduplication of the biliteral root, or from the mere repetition of one or two of the three original stem-consonants, e.g. כָּלְכַל from כּוּל or כִּיל, סַחְרָחַר from סַחַר, are usually not regarded as *quadrilateral*s or *quinqueliteral*s, but as *conjugalional* forms (§ 55); so also the few words which are formed with the prefix *sh*, as שָׁלְהָבַת flame from לָהַב, correspond to the Aramaic conjugation Šaph'el, שְׁלַהַב.

*q* Rem. on (*a*). The letters *r* and *l*, especially, are inserted between the first and second radicals, e.g. פָּרַסַם, בָּרַסַם to eat up; שָׁרְפִיט = שָׁרְפִיט sceptre (this insertion of an *r* is especially frequent in Aramaic); זַעַףּהּ hot wind from זַעַףּ.

<sup>1</sup> Consonants which are not found together in roots and stems are called *incompatible*. They are chiefly consonants belonging to the same class, e.g. גַּב, גָּב, בַּק, דָּט, תַּט, בַּף, מַף, זֹד, זֹס, זִין, צַס, אַע, תַּע, &c., or in the reverse order.

<sup>2</sup> In Hebrew they are comparatively rare, but more numerous in the other Semitic languages, especially in Ethiopic.

to be hot. Cf. Aram. עָרַגַל to roll, expanded from עָגַל (conjugation Pa'el, corresponding to the Hebrew פִּי'ל). In Latin there is a similar expansion of *fid*, *scid*, *tud*, *jug* into *findo*, *scindo*, *tundo*, *jungo*. At the end of words the commonest expansion is by means of ל and ך, e. g. גִּרְוֹן axe, בְּרִמְלֵ garden-land (from בָּרַם), גְּבִיעַל corolla (גְּבִיעַ cup); cf. § 85, xi.

Rem. on (b). Forms such as צַפְרִירֵעַ frog, מִדְּבַצְצֵלֶת meadow-saffron, צַלְמוֹת shadow *r* of death,<sup>1</sup> were long regarded as compounds, though the explanation of them all was uncertain. Many words of this class, which earlier scholars attempted to explain from Hebrew sources, have since proved to be loan-words (§ 1 i), and consequently need no longer be taken into account.

4. A special class of formations, distinct from the fully developed *s* stems of three or four consonants, are (a) the *Interjections* (§ 105), which, as being direct imitations of natural sounds, are independent of the ordinary formative laws; (b) the *Pronouns*. Whether these are to be regarded as the mutilated remains of early developed stems, or as relics of a period of language when the formation of stems followed different laws, must remain undecided. At all events, the many peculiarities of their formation<sup>2</sup> require special treatment (§ 32 ff.). On the other hand, most of the particles (adverbs, prepositions, conjunctions) seem to have arisen in Hebrew from fully developed stems, although in many instances, in consequence of extreme shortening, the underlying stem is no longer recognizable (see § 99 ff.).

### § 31. Grammatical Structure.

P. Löbwald, 'Die Formenbildungsgesetze des Hebr.' (*Hilfsbuch für Lehrer des Hebr.*), Berlin, 1897, is recommended for occasional reference.

1. The formation of the parts of speech from the stems (derivation), *a* and their inflexion, are effected in two ways: (a) internally by changes in the stem itself, particularly in its vowels: (b) externally by the addition of formative syllables before or after it. The expression of grammatical relations (e. g. the comparative degree and some case-relations in Hebrew) periphrastically by means of separate words belongs, not to etymology, but to syntax.

The external method (b) of formation, by affixing formative syllables, *b* which occurs e. g. in Egyptian, appears on the whole to be the more ancient. Yet other families of language, and particularly the Semitic, at a very early period had recourse also to the internal method, and during their youthful vigour widely developed their power of forming derivatives. But the continuous decay of this power in the later periods of language made syntactical circumlocution more and more necessary. The same process may be seen also e. g. in Greek (including modern Greek), and in Latin with its Romance offshoots.

<sup>1</sup> So expressly Nöldeke in *ZAW.* 1897, p. 183 ff.; but most probably it is to be read צַלְמוֹת darkness from the stem צָלַם [Arab. *zalima*, to be dark].

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Hupfeld, 'System der semitischen Demonstrativbildung,' in the *Ztschr. f. d. Kunde des Morgenl.*, vol. ii. pp. 124 ff., 427 ff.

c 2. Both methods of formation exist together in Hebrew. The internal mode of formation by means of vowel changes is tolerably extensive (קָטַל, קָטַל, קָטַל; קָטַל, קָטַל, &c.). This is accompanied in numerous cases by external formation also (הִתְקַטַּל, הִתְקַטַּל, &c.), and even these formative additions again are subject to internal change, e.g. הִתְקַטַּל, הִתְקַטַּל. The addition of formative syllables occurs, as in almost all languages, chiefly in the formation of the persons of the verb, where the meaning of the affixed syllables is for the most part still perfectly clear (see §§ 44, 47). It is also employed to distinguish gender and number in the verb and noun. Of case-endings, on the contrary, only scanty traces remain in Hebrew (see § 90).

## CHAPTER I

### THE PRONOUN

Brockelmann, *Semit. Sprachwiss.*, p. 98 ff.; *Grundriss*, i. 296 ff. L. Reinisch, 'Das persönl. Fürwort u. die Verbalflexion in den chamito-semit. Sprachen' (*Wiener Akad. der Wiss.*, 1909).

#### § 32. *The Personal Pronoun. The Separate Pronoun.*

1. The personal pronoun (as well as the pronoun generally) belongs *a* to the oldest and simplest elements of the language (§ 30 *s*). It must be discussed *before* the verb, since it plays an important part in verbal inflexion (§§ 44, 47).

2. The independent principal forms of the personal pronoun serve *b* (like the Gk. ἐγώ, σὺ, Lat. *ego, tu*, and their plurals) almost exclusively to emphasize the nominative-subject (see, however, § 135 *d*). They are as follows:

<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
1. <i>Com.</i> אֲנִי, in <i>pause</i> אֲנִי; } <i>I.</i> אֲנִי, in <i>pause</i> אֲנִי }	1. <i>Com.</i> אֲנַחְנוּ, in <i>pause</i> אֲנַחְנוּ } <i>we.</i> (נַחְנוּ, in <i>pause</i> נַחְנוּ), (אֲנֹנוּ) }
2. { <i>m.</i> אַתָּה (אַתָּ), in <i>pause</i> אַתָּה or אַתָּה } <i>thou.</i> { <i>f.</i> אַתְּ (אַתְּ) properly אַתְּי, in <i>pause</i> אַתְּ }	2. { <i>m.</i> אַתֶּם <i>f.</i> אַתֶּנּוּ (אַתֶּנּוּ); אַתֶּן (אַתֶּן) } <i>ye.</i>
3. { <i>m.</i> הוּא <i>he (it).</i> <i>f.</i> הִיא <i>she (it).</i> }	3. { <i>m.</i> הֵם (הֵם), הֵנּוּ } <i>they.</i> <i>f.</i> הֵנָּה after <i>prefixes</i> הֵן, הֵן }

The forms enclosed in parentheses are the less common. A table of these pronouns with their shortened forms (*pronominal suffixes*) is given in Paradigm A at the end of this Grammar.

#### REMARKS.

##### I. *First Person.*

1. The form אֲנִי is less frequent than אֲנִי.<sup>1</sup> The former occurs in C

<sup>1</sup> On the prevalence of אֲנִי in the earlier Books compare the statistics collected by Giesebrecht in *ZAW*. 1881, p. 251 ff., partly contested by Driver in the *Journal of Philology*, 1882, vol. xi. p. 222 ff. (but cf. his *Introduction*, ed. 6, p. 135, line 1 f.), but thoroughly established by König in *Theol. Stud. u. Krit.*, 1893, pp. 464 ff. and 478, and in his *Einleitung in das A. T.*, p. 168, &c. In some of the latest books אֲנִי is not found at all, and hardly at all in the Talmud. [For details see the *Lexicon*, s. v. אֲנִי and אֲנִי.]

Phoenician, Moabite, and Assyrian, but in no other of the kindred dialects;<sup>1</sup> from the latter the suffixes are derived (§ 33). The *ô* most probably results from an obscuring of an original *â* (cf. Aram. אָנָּן, Arab. 'ána). The pausal form אָנָּן occurs not only with small disjunctive accents, but even with conjunctives; so always in אָנָּן אִי as *I live!* also Is 49<sup>18</sup> with *Munah*, ψ 119<sup>125</sup> with *Merkha* (which, however, has been altered from D<sup>o</sup>hî), and twice in Mal 1<sup>6</sup>. In all these cases there is manifestly a disagreement between the vocalization already established and the special laws regulating the system of accentuation.

d 2. The formation of the plural, in this and the other persons, exhibits a certain analogy with that of the noun, while at the same time (like the pronouns of other languages) it is characterized by many differences and peculiarities. The short form אָנָּן (אָנָּן) from which the suffix is derived occurs only in Jer 42<sup>6</sup> *Kethibh*. The form אָנָּן (cf. § 19 h) only in Ex 16<sup>7,8</sup>, Nu 32<sup>32</sup>, La 3<sup>42</sup>; אָנָּן in *pause*, Gn 42<sup>11</sup>; in Arabic *nāhnu* is the regular form. In the Mišna אָנָּן (אָנָּן) has altogether supplanted the longer forms.

e 3. The pronoun of the 1st person only is, as a rule in languages, of the *common gender*, because the person who is present and speaking needs no further indication of gender, as does the 2nd person, who is addressed (in Greek, Latin, English, &c., this distinction is also lacking), and still more the 3rd person who is absent.

## II. Second Person.

f 4. The forms of the 2nd person אָתָּךְ, אָתָּ, אָתָּךְ, אָתָּךְ, &c., are contracted from 'antā, &c. The kindred languages have retained the *n* before the ת, e. g. Arab. 'antā, fem. 'anti, thou; pl. 'antum, fem. 'antūna, ye. In Syriac אָתָּךְ, fem. אָתָּךְ are written, but both are pronounced 'at. In Western Aramaic אָתָּךְ is usual for both genders.

g אָתָּךְ (without ה) occurs five times, e. g. ψ 6<sup>4</sup>, always as *Kethibh*, with אָתָּךְ as *Qere*. In three places אָתָּךְ appears as a masculine, Nu 11<sup>15</sup>, Dt 5<sup>24</sup>, Ez 28<sup>14</sup>.

h The feminine form was originally אָתָּךְ as in Syriac, Arabic, and Ethiopic. This form is found seven times as *Kethibh* (Ju 17<sup>2</sup>, 1 K 14<sup>2</sup>, 2 K 4<sup>16,28</sup>, 8<sup>1</sup>, Jer 43<sup>0</sup>, Ez 36<sup>13</sup>) and appears also in the corresponding personal ending of verbs (see § 44 f), especially, and necessarily, before suffixes, as אָתָּךְ אָתָּךְ, § 59 a [c]; cf. also *i* as the ending of the 2nd fem. sing. of the imperative and imperfect. The final *i* was, however, gradually dropped in pronunciation, just as in Syriac (see above, f) it was eventually only written, not pronounced. The ' therefore finally disappeared (cf. § 10 k), and hence the Masoretes, even in these seven passages, have pointed the word in the text as אָתָּךְ to indicate the *Qere* אָתָּךְ (see § 17). The same final ' appears in the rare (Aramaic) forms of the suffix אָתָּךְ, אָתָּךְ (§§ 58, 91).

i 5. The plurals אָתָּךְ (with the second vowel assimilated to the fem. form) and אָתָּךְ (אָתָּךְ), with the tone on the ultima, only partially correspond to the assumed ground-forms 'antumū, fem. 'antinnā, Arab. 'āntūm (Aram. אָתָּךְ, אָתָּךְ) and 'antūnna (Aram. אָתָּךְ, אָתָּךְ). The form אָתָּךְ is found only in Ez 34<sup>31</sup> (so Qimḥi expressly, others אָתָּךְ); אָתָּךְ (for which some MSS. have

<sup>1</sup> In Phoenician and Moabite (inscription of Mēša', line 1) it is written אָתָּךְ, without the final ' . In Punic it was pronounced *anec* (Plaut. *Poen.* 5, 1, 8) or *anech* (5, 2, 35). Cf. Schröder, *Phöniz. Sprache*, p. 143. In Assyrian the corresponding form is *anaku*, in old Egyptian *anek*, Coptic *anok*, *nok*.

אֲנִי only four times, viz. Gn 31<sup>6</sup>, Ez 13<sup>11, 20</sup>, 34<sup>17</sup>; in 13<sup>20</sup> אֲנִי (before a מ) is even used as feminine.

### III. Third Person.

6. (a) In אָנִי and הִיאַ (hū and hī) the אַ (corresponding to the 'Elif of prolongation in Arabic, cf. § 23 i) might be regarded only as an orthographic addition closing the final long vowel, as in אָנִי, אָנִי, &c. The אַ is, however, always written in the case of the separate pronouns,<sup>1</sup> and only as a toneless suffix (§ 33 a) does אָנִי appear as אָנִי, while הִיאַ becomes הִיאַ. In Arabic (as in Syriac) they are written הִיאַ and הִיאַ but pronounced hūwā and hiyā, and in Vulgar Arabic even hūwā and hiyyā. This Arabic pronunciation alone would not indeed be decisive, since the vowel complement might have arisen from the more consonantal pronunciation of the ו and י; but the Ethiopic we'etū (= hu'a-tū) for אָנִי, ye'etū (= hi'a-tū) for הִיאַ (cf. also the Assyrian ya-u-a for אָנִי) show that the אַ was original and indicated an original vocalic termination of the two words. According to Philippi (*ZDMG.* xxviii. 172 and xxix. 371 ff.) אָנִי arose from a primitive Semitic ha-ra, אָנִי from ha-ya.

(b) The form אָנִי also stands in the consonantal text (*Kethibh*) of the Pentateuch<sup>2</sup> (with the exception of eleven places) for the fem. הִיאַ. In all such cases the Masora, by the punctuation אָנִי, has indicated the *Qere* הִיאַ (*Qere perpetuum*, see § 17). The old explanation regarded this phenomenon as an archaism which was incorrectly removed by the Masoretes. This assumption is, however, clearly untenable, if we consider (1) that no other Semitic language is without the quite indispensable distinction of gender in the separate pronoun of the 3rd pers.; (2) that this distinction does occur eleven times in the Pentateuch, and that in Gn 20<sup>6</sup>, 38<sup>25</sup>, Nu 5<sup>13, 14</sup> אָנִי and הִיאַ are found close to one another; (3) that outside the Pentateuch the distinction is found in the oldest documents, so that the אָנִי cannot be regarded as having been subsequently adopted from the Aramaic; (4) that those parts of the book of Joshua which certainly formed a constituent part of the original sources of the Pentateuch, know nothing of this epicene use of אָנִי. Consequently there only remains the hypothesis, that the writing of אָנִי for הִיאַ rests on an orthographical peculiarity which in some recension of the Pentateuch-text was almost consistently followed, but was afterwards very properly rejected by the Masoretes. The orthography was, however, peculiar to the Pentateuch-text alone, since it is unnecessary to follow the Masora in writing אָנִי for אָנִי in I K 17<sup>15</sup>, Is 30<sup>33</sup>, Jb 31<sup>11</sup>, or אָנִי for אָנִי in ψ 73<sup>16</sup>, Ec 5<sup>8</sup>, I Ch 29<sup>16</sup>. The Samaritan recension of the Pentateuch has the correct form in the *Kethibh* throughout. Levy's explanation of this strange practice of the Masoretes is evidently right, viz. that originally אָנִי was written for both forms (see k, note), and was almost everywhere, irrespective of gender, expanded into אָנִי. On the whole question see Driver, *Leviticus* (in Haupt's Bible), p. 25 f. In the text Driver always reads אָנִי.

7. The plural forms אֲנֵינוּ (אָנֵינוּ) and אֲנֵינָהּ (after prefixes אָנִי, אָנִי) are of doubtful origin, but אֲנֵינוּ, אָנֵינוּ have probably been assimilated to אֲנֵינָהּ which goes back to a form *hinnā*. In Western Aram. אָנֵינוּ, אָנֵינוּ (אָנֵינוּ), Syr. *henin*

<sup>1</sup> In the inscription of King Mēša' (see § 2 d), lines 6 and 27, we find אָנִי for אָנִי, and in the inscription of 'Ešmun'azar, line 22, for אָנִי, but in the Zenjirli inscriptions (see § 1 m) both אָנִי and אָנִי occur (Hadad i, l. 29).

<sup>2</sup> Also in twelve places in the Babylonian Codex (Prophets) of 916 A. D.; cf. Baer, *Ezekiel*, p. 108 f.; Buhl, *Canon and Text of the O. T.* (Edinb. 1892), p. 240.

(*enûn*), Arab. *humû* (archaic form of *hum*), and Ethiop. *hômû*, an *ô* or *û* is appended, which in Hebrew seems to reappear in the poetical suffixes מְ—, מוֹ—, מוּ— (§ 91 l, 3).

*n* In some passages הָיָה stands for the feminine (Zc 5<sup>10</sup>, Ct 6<sup>8</sup>, Ru 1<sup>22</sup>; cf. the use of the suffix of the 3rd masc. for the 3rd fem., § 135 o and § 145 t). For the quite anomalous עָרְיָהֶם 2 K 9<sup>18</sup> read עָרְיָהֶם (Jb 32<sup>12</sup>).

*O* 8. The pronouns of the 3rd person may refer to *things* as well as persons. On their meaning as *demonstratives* see § 136.

### § 33. Pronominal Suffixes.

Brockelmann, *Semit. Sprachwiss.*, p. 100 f.; *Grundriss*, i. 306 ff. J. Barth, 'Beiträge zur Suffixlehre des Nordsemit.,' in the *Amer. Journ. of Sem. Lang.*, 1901, p. 193 ff.

*a* 1. The independent principal forms of the personal pronoun (the *separate pronoun*), given in the preceding section, express only the nominative.<sup>1</sup> The accusative and genitive are expressed by forms, usually shorter, joined to the end of verbs, nouns, and particles (*pronominal suffixes* or simply *suffixes*); e. g. הוּ (toneless) and הוּ (from *āhû*) *eum* and *eius*, קָטַלְתִּיהוּ *I have killed him* (also קָטַלְתִּיו, קָטַלְתָּהוּ or (with *āhû* contracted into *ô*) קָטַלְתָּו *thou hast killed him*; אֹרוֹ (also אֹרְהוּ) *lux eius*.

The same method is employed in all the other Semitic languages, as well as in the Egyptian, Persian, Finnish, Tartar, and others; in Greek, Latin, and German we find only slight traces of the kind, e. g. German, *er gab's* for *er gab es*; Greek, *πατήρ μου* for *πατήρ ἐμοῦ*; Latin, *eccum, eccos*, &c., in Plautus and Terence for *ecce eum, ecce eos*.

*b* 2. The *case* which these suffixes represent is—

(*a*) When joined to verbs, the accusative (cf., however, § 117 *x*), e. g. קָטַלְתִּיהוּ *I have killed him*.

*c* (*b*) When affixed to substantives, the genitive (like *πατήρ μου, pater eius*). They then serve as *possessive pronouns*, e. g. אָבִי ('*ābh-î*) *my father*, סוּסוֹ *his horse*, which may be either *equus eius* or *equus suus*.

*d* (*c*) When joined to particles, either the genitive or accusative, according as the particles originally expressed the idea of a noun or a verb, e. g. בֵּינֵי, literally *interstitium mei, between me* (cf. *mea causa*); but הִנְיָהֵם *behold me, ecce me*.

*e* (*d*) Where, according to the Indo-Germanic case-system, the dative or ablative of the pronoun is required, the suffixes in Hebrew are joined to prepositions expressing those cases (לְ sign of the dative, מִן *in, from*, § 102), e. g. לְ *to him (ei) and to himself (sibi)*, בּוֹ *in him, מֵי (מֵינִי) from me*.

<sup>1</sup> On apparent exceptions see § 135 *d*.

3. The suffixes of the 2nd person (ךָ, &c.) are all formed with *f* a *k*-sound, not, like the *separate* pronouns of the 2nd person, with a *t*-sound.

So in all the Semitic languages, in Ethiopic even in the verbal form (*qatalka, thou hast killed* = Hebr. קָטַלְתָּ).

4. The *suffix of the verb* (the accusative) and the *suffix of the noun* (the *g* genitive) coincide in most forms, but some differ, e. g. יָ— *me*, יָ— *my*.

Paradigm A at the end of the Grammar gives a table of all the forms of the *separate pronoun* and the *suffixes*; a fuller treatment of the *verbal suffix* and the mode of attaching it to the verb will be found in § 58 ff., of the *noun-suffix* in § 91, of the *prepositions with suffixes* in § 103, of *adverbs with suffixes* § 100 o.

§ 34. The Demonstrative Pronoun.

1. *Sing.* { *m.* הַזֶּה<sup>1</sup> } *Plur. com.* הַאֵלֶּה (rarely הָאֵלֶּה) *these. a*  
*f.* זֹאת (הִיא, הִיא)<sup>2</sup> } *this.*

Rem. 1. The feminine form זֹאת has undoubtedly arisen from זֹאתָ, by *b* obscuring of an original *ā* to *ō* (for זֹאתָ = הַזֶּה cf. the Arab. *hā-dā, this, masc.*; for זֹאת as the feminine ending, § 80), and the forms הִיא, הִיא, both of which are rare,<sup>3</sup> are shortened from זֹאתָ. In  $\psi$  132<sup>12</sup> הִיא is used as a *relative*, cf. הִיא below. In Jer 26<sup>6</sup>, *Kethibh*, הַזֹּאתָ (with the article and the demonstrative termination הַזֶּה) is found for זֹאתָ. The forms הָאֵלֶּה and הַאֵלֶּה are the plurals of הַזֶּה and זֹאתָ by usage, though not etymologically. The form הָאֵלֶּה occurs only in the Pentateuch (but not in the Samaritan text), Gn 19<sup>3,25</sup>, 26<sup>3,4</sup>, &c. (8 times), always with the article, הַזֶּה [as well as הָאֵלֶּה, הַאֵלֶּה frequently], and in 1 Ch 20<sup>8</sup> without the article [cf. Driver on Dt 4<sup>42</sup>].<sup>4</sup> Both the singular and the plural may refer to things as well as persons.

2. In combination with prepositions to denote the oblique case we find הִיא *c*  
to *this* (cf. for הִיא, § 102 g), לְזֹאת, לְזֹאתָ to *this* (fem.), לְהָאֵלֶּה, לְהָאֵלֶּה to *these*; אֶת־זֶה *hunc*, אֶת־זֹאת *hanc*, אֶת־הָאֵלֶּה *hos*, also without אֶת־, even before the verb  $\psi$  75<sup>8</sup>, &c. Note also הַזֶּה קִבְּרֵי הַזֶּה *pretium huius* (1 K 21<sup>2</sup>), &c.

<sup>1</sup> In many languages the demonstratives begin with a *d*-sound (hence called the *demonstrative sound*) which, however, sometimes interchanges with a sibilant. Cf. Aram. הַזֶּה, הַזֶּה *masc.*, הַזֶּה, הַזֶּה *fem.* (this); Sansk. *sa, sā, tat*; Gothic *sa, sō, thata*; Germ. *da, der, die, das*; and Eng. *the, this, that, &c.* Cf. J. Barth, 'Zum semit. Demonstr. *z*,' in ZDMG. 59, 159 ff., and 633 ff.; Sprachwiss. Untersuchungen zum Semit., Lpz. 1907, p. 30 ff. [See the Lexicon, s. v. הַזֶּה, and Aram. אֶת, אֶת.]

<sup>2</sup> That הַזֶּה may stand for the feminine, cannot be proved either from Ju 16<sup>28</sup> or from the certainly corrupt passage in Jos 2<sup>17</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> הַזֶּה 2 K 6<sup>19</sup>, and in seven other places; הִיא only in Hos 7<sup>16</sup>,  $\psi$  132<sup>12</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> According to Kuenen (cf. above, § 2 n) and Driver, on Lev 18<sup>27</sup> in Haupt's Bible, this הָאֵלֶּה is due to an error of the punctuators. It goes back to a time when the vowel of the second syllable was not yet indicated by a vowel letter, and later copyists wrongly omitted the addition of the ה. In Phoenician also it was written הָאֵלֶּה, but pronounced *ily* according to Plautus, *Poen*, v, 1, 9.

*d* 2. The secondary form ו occurs only in poetic style, and mostly for the relative, like our *that* for *who* [see Lexicon, s. v.]. Like אֲשֶׁר (§ 36), it serves for all numbers and genders.

*e* Rem. 1. This pronoun takes the article (הַהוּא, הַזֶּה, הַלְלוֹה, הַיָּל) according to the same rule as adjectives, see § 126 *u*; e. g. הָאִישׁ הַזֶּה *this man*, but הָאִישׁ *this is the man*.

*f* 2. Rarer secondary forms, with strengthened demonstrative force, are הַלְלוֹה Gn 24<sup>65</sup>, 37<sup>13</sup>; הַלְלוֹ *fem.* Ez 36<sup>35</sup>; and shortened הָלוֹ, sometimes *masc.*, as in Ju 6<sup>20</sup>, 1 S 17<sup>76</sup>, 2 K 23<sup>17</sup>, Zc 2<sup>8</sup>, Dn 8<sup>16</sup>, sometimes *fem.*, 2 K 4<sup>25</sup>: cf. 1 S 14<sup>1</sup> [and 20<sup>19</sup> LXX; see Commentaries and Kittel].

*g* 3. The personal pronouns of the 3rd person also often have a demonstrative sense, see § 136.

### § 35. The Article.

J. Barth, 'Der heb. u. der aram. Artikel,' in *Sprachwiss. Untersuch. zum Semit.*, Lpz. 1907, p. 47 ff.

*a* 1. The article, which is by nature a kind of demonstrative pronoun, never appears in Hebrew as an independent word, but always in closest connexion with the word which is defined by it. It usually takes the form הַ, with *ā* and a strengthening of the next consonant, e. g. הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ *the sun*, הַיָּאֵר *the river*, הַלְלוִים *the Levites* (according to § 20 *m* for הַיָּאֵר, הַלְלוִים).

*b* Rem. With regard to the *Dageš* in הַ after the article, the rule is, that it is inserted when a ה or ע follows the הַ, e. g. הַיְהוּדִים *the Jews*, הַיְעֵפִים *the weary* (פִּיעֵנִים La 4<sup>3</sup> *Qeré* is an exception), but הַיָּאֵר, הַיְלָדִים, הַיָּסוּד, &c. *Dageš forte* also stands after the article in the prefix הַ in certain nouns and in the participles *Pi'el* and *Pu'al* (see § 52 *c*) before ה, ע and ר, except when the guttural (or ר) has under it a short vowel in a sharpened syllable; thus הַפְּהִיכָה Ez 22<sup>5</sup>, הַפְּעֵרָה *the cave*, פְּרָעִים ψ 37<sup>1</sup> (cf. Jb 38<sup>40</sup>, 1 Ch 4<sup>41</sup>); but הַמְּהַלְקֵה ψ 104<sup>3</sup> (Ec 4<sup>15</sup>, 2 Ch 23<sup>12</sup>; before ע ψ 103<sup>4</sup>); הַמְּעַשֶׂקָה Is 23<sup>12</sup>; הַמְּרַגְלִים Jos 6<sup>22</sup>. Before letters other than gutturals this הַ remains without *Dageš*, according to § 20 *m*.

*c* 2. When the article stands before a guttural, which (according to § 22 *b*) cannot properly be strengthened, the following cases arise, according to the character of the guttural (cf. § 27 *q*).

(1) In the case of the weakest guttural, א, and also with ר (§ 22 *c* and *q*), the strengthening is altogether omitted. Consequently, the *Pathah* of the article (since it stands in an open syllable) is always lengthened to *Qames*; e. g. הָאָב *the father*, הָאַחַר *the other*, הָאִמָּה *the mother*, הָאִישׁ *the man*, הָאוֹר *the light*, הָאֱלֹהִים ὁ θεός, הָרֵגֶל *the foot*, הָרֵאשׁ *the head*, הָרָשָׁע *the wicked*.

*d* So also הַשְּׂפּוֹת Neh 3<sup>13</sup>, because syncopated from הַשְּׂפּוֹת (cf. verse 14 and Baer on the passage); הַאֲוִקִים (as in Nu 11<sup>4</sup>, Ju 9<sup>41</sup>, 2 S 23<sup>33</sup>, with the א

orthographically retained), for 'הָאֵן Jer 40<sup>d</sup> (cf. 'בָּאֵן verse 1); for 'הַסְּרִיִּים Ec 4<sup>14</sup> for 'הָאֵם; 'הַרְפִּיִּים 2 Ch 22<sup>5</sup> for 'הָאֵר (cf. 2 K 8<sup>28</sup>).

(2) In the case of the other gutturals either the virtual strengthening takes place (§ 22 c)—especially with the stronger sounds ח and ה, less often with ע—or the strengthening is wholly omitted. In the former case, the *Pathah* of the article remains, because the syllable is still regarded as closed; in the second case, the *Pathah* is either modified to *Seghôl* or fully lengthened to *Qames*. That is to say:—

A. When the guttural has any other vowel than  $\bar{a}$  (ֶ) or  $\delta$  (ִ). *f* then

(1) before the stronger sounds ח and ה the article regularly remains הֶ; e. g. הַהַיּוֹ that, הַחֹדֶשׁ the month, הַחֵיל the force, הַחֲכָמָה the wisdom. Before ה,  $\bar{a}$  occurs only in הַחַי Gn 6<sup>19</sup> [not elsewhere], הַחֲרִיטִים Is 3<sup>22</sup>, הַחֲפִינִים Is 17<sup>8</sup> [not elsewhere]; before ה, always in הַהֶפְהָה, הַהֵם.

(2) before ע the *Pathah* is generally lengthened to *Qames*, e. g. הַעַיִן *g* the eye, הַעִיר the city, הַעֲבָד the servant, plur. הַעֲבָדִים; 1 K 12<sup>32</sup>; also in Gn 10<sup>27</sup> הַעֲרֵקִי is the better reading. Exceptions are בַּעֲוֹפֹתָת Ex 15<sup>10</sup>, הַעֲוִרִים 2 S 5<sup>6,8</sup>, Is 42<sup>18</sup>, בַּעֲבָר Is 24<sup>2</sup>, הַעֲרִכִים Is 65<sup>11</sup>, בַּעֲשָׂק Ez 22<sup>7</sup>, הַעֲוֹבִים Pr 2<sup>13</sup> and הַעֲוֹבֹת Pr 2<sup>17</sup>, לַעֲיִנִים 1 S 16<sup>7</sup>, Ec 11<sup>7</sup>; but לַעֲיִן Gn 3<sup>6</sup>, Pr 10<sup>26</sup>. Cf. Baer on Is 42<sup>18</sup>.

B. When the guttural has  $\bar{a}$  (ֶ) then *h*

(1) immediately before a tone-bearing הֶ or עֶ the article is always הֶ, otherwise it is הֶ; e. g. הַעָם the people, הַהָר the mountain, הַעַיִן (in pause) the eye, הַהָרָה towards the mountain; but (according to § 22 c) הַהָרִים the mountains, הַעֲוִן the iniquity.

(2) before הֶ the article is invariably הֶ without regard to the tone; *i* e. g. הַחֲכָם the wise man, הַחֲגֵג the festival.

C. When the guttural has ֶ the article is הֶ before הֶ; e. g. הַחֲדָשִׁים the months; בְּחַרְבוֹת in the waste places (without the article 'בְּחַרְבוֹת böħ-rābhōth) Ez 33<sup>27</sup>, הַחֲרָבוֹת Ez 36<sup>35,38</sup>, cf. 2 Ch 27<sup>4</sup>; but הֶ before עֶ, as הַעֲמָרִים the sheaves Ru 2<sup>15</sup>.

The gender and number of the noun have no influence on the form of the article.

Rem. 1. The original form of the Hebrew (and the Phoenician) article הֶ is generally considered to have been הֶל, the ל of which (owing to the proclitic nature of the article) has been invariably assimilated to the following consonant, as in יִקַּח from *yilqah*, § 19 d. This view was supported by the form of the Arabic article هَل (pronounced *hal* by some modern Beduin), the ل of which is also assimilated at least before all letters like *s* and *t* and before *l*, *n*, and *r*, e. g. 'al-Qur'an but 'as-sānā (Beduin *has-sana*) = Hebr. הַשָּׁנָה the year.

But Barth (*Amer. Journ. of Sem. Lang.*, 1896, p. 7 ff.), following Hupfeld and Stade, has shown that the Hebrew article is to be connected rather with the original Semitic demonstrative *hā*,<sup>1</sup> cf. Arab. *hāda*, Aram. *hādēn*, &c. The sharpening of the following consonant is to be explained exactly like the sharpening after ׀ consecutive (§ 49 f; cf. also cases like בַּמָּוֶה, בַּמָּוֶה, &c., § 102 k), from the close connexion of the *hā* with the following word, and the sharpening necessarily involved the shortening of the vowel.<sup>2</sup>

m The Arabic article is supposed to occur in the Old Testament in אֱלֹהִים 1 K 10<sup>11,12</sup> (also אֱלֹהֵיגִבְיִם 2 Ch 2<sup>7</sup>, 9<sup>10,11</sup>), *sandal-wood* (?), and in אֱלֹהֵיגִבְיִשׁ *hañ, ice* = גִּבְיִשׁ (Arab. *gībs*) Ez 13<sup>11,13</sup>, 38<sup>22</sup>, but this explanation can hardly be correct. On the other hand, in the proper name אֱלֹהֵימֹרְדֵךְ Gn 10<sup>26</sup> the first syllable is probably אֱלֹ *God*, as suggested by D. H. Müller (see *Lexicon*, s. v.) and Nöldeke, *Sitzungsber. der Berl. Akad.*, 1882, p. 1186. אֱלֹהִים Pr 30<sup>31</sup>, commonly explained as = Arab. *al-gaum*, the militia, is also quite uncertain.

n 2. When the prefixes בְּ, לְ, פֶּ, (§ 102) come before the article, the ה is elided, and its vowel is thrown back to the prefix, in the place of the Šwā (§ 19 k, and § 23 k), e. g. בְּשָׁמַיִם in the heaven for בְּהַשָּׁמַיִם (so ψ 36<sup>6</sup>); לְעַם for לְהָעַם to the people, בְּהָרִים on the mountains, בְּחַרְשֵׁים in the months; also in Is 41<sup>2</sup>, read בְּעַפְרָה instead of the impossible בְּעַפְרָה. Exceptions to this rule occur almost exclusively in the later Books: Ez 40<sup>25</sup>, 47<sup>22</sup>, Ec 8<sup>1</sup>, Dn 8<sup>16</sup>, Neh 9<sup>19</sup>, 12<sup>31</sup>, 2 Ch 10<sup>7</sup>, 25<sup>10</sup>, 29<sup>27</sup>; cf., however, 1 S 13<sup>21</sup>, 2 S 21<sup>20</sup>. Elsewhere, e. g. 2 K 7<sup>12</sup>, the Masora requires the elision in the *Qrē*. A distinction in meaning is observed between בְּהַיּוֹם about this time (Gn 39<sup>11</sup>, 1 S 9<sup>13</sup>, &c.) and בְּיוֹם first of all (Gn 25<sup>31</sup>, &c.). After the copula ׀ (*and*) elision of the ה does not take place, e. g. וְהָעַם.

o 3. The words אֲרֶזֶן *earth*, הַר *mountain*, חַג *feast*, עַם *people*, פָּר *bull*, always appear after the article with a long vowel (as in *pause*); הָאֲרֶזֶן, הָהָר, הַחַג, הָעַם, הָפָר; cf. also אֲרוֹן *ark* (so in the absol. st. in 2 K 12<sup>10</sup>, 2 Ch 24<sup>8</sup>, but to be read אֲרוֹן), with the article always הָאֲרוֹן.

### § 36. The Relative Pronoun.

The relative pronoun (cf. § 138) is usually the indeclinable אֲשֶׁר (*who, which, &c.*), originally a demonstrative pronoun; see further §§ 138 and 155. In the later books, especially Eccles. and the late Psalms, also Lam. (4 times), Jon. (1<sup>7</sup>), Chron. (twice), Ezra (once),—and always in the Canticle (cf. also Ju 7<sup>12</sup>, 8<sup>26</sup>, 2 K 6<sup>11</sup>), אֲשֶׁר is used instead; more rarely אֲשֶׁר Ju 5<sup>7</sup>, Ct 1<sup>7</sup> (Jb 19<sup>29</sup>?); once אֲשֶׁר before א Ju 6<sup>17</sup> (elsewhere אֲשֶׁר before a guttural), before ה even אֲשֶׁר Ec 3<sup>18</sup>, and according to some (e. g. Qimhi) also in Ec 2<sup>22</sup>.<sup>3</sup> [See *Lexicon*, s. v.]

<sup>1</sup> An original form *han*, proposed by Ungnad, 'Der hebr. Art.,' in *OLZ.* x (1907), col. 210 f., and *ZDMG.* 1908, p. 80 ff., is open to grave objections.

<sup>2</sup> In the Lihyanitic inscriptions collected by Euting (ed. by D. H. Müller in *Epigraphische Denkmäler aus Arabien*, Wien, 1889) the article is ה, and also in a North Arabian dialect, according to E. Littmann, *Safa-inschriften*, p. 2, Rem., and p. 34.

<sup>3</sup> The full form אֲשֶׁר does not occur in Phoenician, but only אֲשֶׁ (= אֲשֶׁ?), pronounced *asse, esse* (also *as, es, is, ys, us*), or—especially in the later Punic

§ 37. *The Interrogative and Indefinite Pronouns.*

1. The interrogative pronoun is **מִי** *who?* (of persons, even before *a* plurals, Gn 33<sup>5</sup>, Is 60<sup>8</sup>, 2 K 18<sup>35</sup>, and sometimes also of things Gn 33<sup>8</sup>, Ju 13<sup>17</sup>, Mi 1<sup>5</sup>; cf. also **מִי בֵּת-מִי** *whose daughter?* Gn 24<sup>23</sup>; **לְמִי** *to whom?* **מִי אֶת-מִי** *whom?*—**מָה**, **מַה** (see *b*) *what?* (of things).—**אֵי-יָהּ** *which? what?*

The form **מָה**, **מִי**, &c. (followed by *Dageš forte conjunct.*: even in **י**, Hb 2<sup>1</sup>, &c., *b* against § 20 *m*) may be explained (like the art. **הַ** § 35 *l*, and **וַ** in the *imperf. consec.*) from the rapid utterance of the interrogative in connexion with the following word. Most probably, however, the *Dageš forte* is rather due to the assimilation of an originally audible **ה** (**מָה**, as Olshausen), which goes back through the intermediate forms *math*, *mat* to an original *mant*: so W. Wright, *Comparative Grammar*, Cambridge, 1890, p. 124, partly following Böttcher, *Hebräische Grammatik*, § 261. A ground-form *mant* would most easily explain **מָן** (*what?*), used in Ex 16<sup>15</sup> in explanation of **מָן** *manna*, while **מִן** is the regular Aramaic for *who*. Socin calls attention to the Arabic *mah* (in pause with an audible *h*: *Mufaṣṣal*, 193, 8). Observe further that—

(a) In the closest connexion, by means of *Maqqeph*, **מָה** takes a following *c* *Dageš* (§ 20 *d*), e.g. **מָה-לְךָ** *what is it to thee?* and even in *one* word, as **מִלְכֶם** *what is it to you?* Is 3<sup>15</sup>; cf. Ex 4<sup>2</sup>, Mal 1<sup>13</sup>, and even before a guttural, **מָה** Ez 8<sup>6</sup> *K<sup>e</sup>thibh*.

(b) Before gutturals in close connexion, by means of *Maqqeph* or (e.g. Ju 14<sup>18</sup>, *d* 1 S 20<sup>1</sup>) a conjunctive accent, either **מָה** is used with a virtual strengthening of the guttural (§ 22 *c*), so especially before **ה**, and, in Gn 31<sup>36</sup>, Jb 21<sup>21</sup>, before **ו**—or the doubling is wholly omitted. In the latter case either (cf. § 35 *e-k*) **ā** is fully lengthened to *Qames* (so always before the **ה** of the article, except in Ec 2<sup>12</sup>; also before **הַמָּה**, **הַיָּהּ**, and so **ה** (Hb 2<sup>18</sup>), **א** (2 S 18<sup>22</sup>, 2 K 8<sup>14</sup>), **ע** (Gn 31<sup>22</sup>, 2 K 8<sup>13</sup>), or modified to *S<sup>e</sup>ghól*, especially before **ע**, **פ**, and generally before **ה**. The omission of the strengthening also takes place as a rule with **ה**, **ח**, **ע**, when they have not *Qames*, and then the form is either **מָה** or **מַה**, the latter especially before **ח** or **ע**, if *Maqqeph* follows.

The longer forms **מָה** and **מַה** are also used (**מָה** even before letters which *e* are not gutturals) when not connected by *Maqqeph* but only by a *conjunctive accent*. As a rule **מָה** is then used, but sometimes **מַה** when at a greater distance from the principal tone of the sentence, Is 1<sup>5</sup>,  $\psi$  4<sup>3</sup>. (On **מָה** in the combinations **בַּמָּה**, **בַּיָּהּ**, and even **לְמָה**, 1 S 1<sup>8</sup>, cf. § 102 *k* and *l*.)

(c) In the principal pause **מָה** is used without exception; also as a rule *f* with the smaller *disjunctives*, and almost always before gutturals (**מָה** only in very few cases). On the other hand, **מַה** more often stands before letters which are not gutturals, when at a greater distance from the principal tone of the sentence, e.g. 1 S 4<sup>6</sup>, 15<sup>14</sup>, 2 K 1<sup>7</sup>, Hag 1<sup>9</sup> (see Köhler on the passage),  $\psi$  10<sup>13</sup>, Jb 7<sup>21</sup>; cf., however, Pr 31<sup>2</sup>, and Delitzsch on the passage.

2. On **מִי** and **מַה** as indefinite pronouns in the sense of *quicumque*, *quodcumque*, and as relatives, *is qui*, *id quod*, &c., see § 137 *c*.

and in the *Poenulus* of Plautus—**ש** (*sa, si, sy, su*). Also in New Hebrew **שׁ** has become the common form. Cf. Schröder, *Phön. Sprache*, p. 162 ff. and below, § 155; also Bergsträsser, 'Das hebr. Präfix **שׁ**,' in *ZAW.* 1909, p. 40 ff.

## CHAPTER II

### THE VERB

#### § 38. General View.

*a* Verbal stems are either original or derived. They are usually divided into—

(*a*) Verbal stems proper (*primitive verbs*), which exhibit the stem without any addition, e.g. מָלַךְ *he has reigned*.

*b* (*b*) Verbal derivatives, i.e. *secondary* verbal stems, derived from the pure stem (letter *a*), e.g. קִדְּשׁ *to sanctify*, הִתְקַדְּשׁ *to sanctify oneself*, from שָׁרַשׁ *to be holy*. These are usually called *conjugations* (§ 39).

*c* (*c*) *Denominatives*,<sup>1</sup> i.e. verbs derived from nouns (like the Latin *causari, praedari*, and Eng. *to skin, to stone*), or even from particles (see *d*, end) either in a primitive or derivative form, e.g. אָהַל, *Qal* and פִּיֵּל, *to pitch a tent*, from אָהַל *tent*; הִשְׁרִישׁ and שָׁרַשׁ *to take root*, and שָׁרַשׁ *to root out*, from שָׁרַשׁ *root* (§ 52 *h*).

*d* This does not exclude the possibility that, for nouns, from which denominative verbs are derived, the corresponding (original) verbal stem may still be found either in Hebrew or in the dialects. The meaning, however, is sufficient to show that the denominatives have come from the noun, not from the verbal stem, e.g. לָבַנָה *a brick* (verbal stem לָבַן *to be white*), denomin. לָבַן *to make bricks*; דָּג *a fish* (verbal stem דָּגַה *to be prolific*), denomin. דָּגַג *to fish*; חֶרֶף *to winter* (from חֶרֶף *autumn, winter*, stem חָרַף *to pluck*); קָיַץ *to pass the summer* (from קָיַץ *summer*, stem קָיַץ *to be hot*).

On 'Semitic verbs derived from particles' see P. Haupt in the *Amer. Journ. of Sem. Lang.*, xxii (1906), 257 ff.

#### § 39. Ground-form and Derived Stems.

Brockelmann, *Sem. Sprachwiss.*, p. 119 ff.; *Grundriss*, p. 504 ff.

*a* 1. The 3rd sing. masc. of the *Perfect* in the form of the pure stem (i.e. in *Qal*, see *e*) is generally regarded, lexicographically and grammatically, as the ground-form of the verb (§ 30 *a*), e.g. הָטַל *he has killed*, כָּבֵד *he was heavy*, קָטַן *he was little*.<sup>2</sup> From this form the other

<sup>1</sup> Cf. W. J. Gerber, *Die hebr. Verba denom., insbes. im theol. Sprachgebr. des A. T.*, Lpz. 1896.

<sup>2</sup> For the sake of brevity, however, the meaning in Hebrew-English Lexicons is usually given in the Infinitive, e.g. לָמַד *to learn*, properly *he has learnt*.

persons of the *Perfect* are derived, and the *Participle* also is connected with it. קָטַל or קָטֹל, like the Imperative and Infinitive construct in sound, may also be regarded as an alternative ground-form, with which the Imperfect (see § 47) is connected.

In verbs י"ע (i.e. with י for their second radical) the stem-form, given both *b* in *Lexicon* and *Grammar*, is not the 3rd sing. masc. Perfect (consisting of two consonants), but the form with medial י, which appears in the Imperative and Infinitive; e. g. שׁוּב to return (3rd pers. perf. שָׁב): the same is the case in most stems with medial י, e. g. דִּין to judge.

2. From the pure stem, or *Qal*, the derivative stems are formed *c* according to an unvarying analogy, in which the idea of the stem assumes the most varied shades of meaning, according to the changes in its form (intensive, frequentative, privative, causative, reflexive, reciprocal; some of them with corresponding passive forms), e. g. לָמַד to learn, לָמַד to teach; שָׁכַב to lie, הִשְׁכַּיִב to lay; שָׁפַט to judge, נִשְׁפָּט to contend. In other languages such formations are regarded as new or *derivative* verbs, e. g. Germ. *fallen* (to fall), *fällen* (to fell); *trinken* (to drink), *tränken* (to drench); Lat. *lactere* (to suck, Germ. *säugen*), *lactare* (to suckle, Germ. *säugen*); *iacēre* (to throw), *iacēre* (to lie down); γίνομαι, γεννάω. In Hebrew, however, these formations are incomparably more regular and systematic than (e. g.) in Greek, Latin, or English; and, since the time of Reuchlin, they have usually been called *conjugations* of the primitive form (among the Jewish grammarians פְּנִינִים, i. e. *formations*, or more correctly *species*), and are always treated together in the grammar and lexicon.<sup>1</sup>

3. The changes in the primitive form consist either in internal *d* modification by means of vowel-change and strengthening of the middle consonant (קָטַל, קִטַּל; קוּטַל, קוֹטַל; cf. *to lie, to lay; to fall, to fell*), or in the repetition of one or two of the stem-consonants (קָטַלְטַל, קָטַלְטַל), or finally in the introduction of formative additions (נִקְטַל), which may also be accompanied by internal change (הִקְטַל, הִתְקַטַּל). Cf. § 31 b.

In Aramaic the formation of the conjugations is effected more by formative additions than by vowel-change. The vocalic distinctions have mostly become obsolete, so that, e. g. the reflexives with the prefix הִתְ, אִתְ, אָתְ have entirely usurped the place of the passives. On the other hand, Arabic has preserved great wealth in both methods of formation, while Hebrew in this, as in other respects, holds the middle place (§ 1 m).

4. Grammarians differ as to the *number* and *arrangement* of these *c* conjugations. The common practice, however, of calling them by the

<sup>1</sup> The term *Conjugation* thus has an entirely different meaning in Hebrew and Greek or Latin grammar.

old grammatical terms, prevents any misunderstanding. The simple form is called *Qal* (קָל *light*, because it has no formative additions); the others (כְּבִיּוֹם *heavy*, being weighted, as it were, with the strengthening of consonants or with formative additions) take their names from the paradigm of עָלָה *he has done*,<sup>1</sup> which was used in the earliest Jewish grammatical works. Several of these have passives which are distinguished from their actives by more obscure vowels. The common conjugations (including *Qal* and the passives) are the seven following, but very few verbs exhibit them all:

	<i>Active.</i>	<i>Passive.</i>
<i>f</i>	1. <i>Qal</i> קָטַל <i>to kill.</i>	(Cf. § 52 <i>e.</i> )
	2. <i>Niph'al</i> נִקְטַל <i>to kill oneself</i> (rarely passive).	
	3. <i>Pi'el</i> קָטַל <i>to kill many, to massacre.</i>	4. <i>Pu'al</i> קֻטַּל.
	5. <i>Hiph'il</i> הִקְטִיל <i>to cause to kill.</i>	6. <i>Hoph'al</i> הִקְטִיל.
	7. <i>Hithpa'el</i> הִתְקַטַּל <i>to kill oneself.</i> [Very rare, <i>Hothpa'al</i> הֹתְקַטַּל.]	

*g* There are besides several less frequent conjugations, some of which, however, are more common in the kindred languages, and even in Hebrew (in the weak verb) regularly take the place of the usual conjugations (§ 55).

In Arabic there is a greater variety of conjugations, and their arrangement is more appropriate. According to the Arabic method, the Hebrew conjugations would stand thus: 1. *Qal*; 2. *Pi'el* and *Pu'al*; 3. *Pō'el* and *Pō'al* (see § 55 *b*); 4. *Hiph'il* and *Hoph'al*; 5. *Hithpa'el* and *Hothpa'al*; 6. *Hithpō'el* (see § 55 *b*); 7. *Niph'al*; 8. *Hithpa'el* (see § 54 *l*); 9. *Pi'el* (see § 55 *d*). A more satisfactory division would be into three classes: (1) The intensive *Pi'el* with the derived and analogous forms *Pu'al* and *Hithpa'el*. (2) The causative *Hiph'il* with its passive *Hoph'al*, and the analogous forms (*Šaph'el* and *Tiph'el*). (3) The reflexive or passive *Niph'al*.

<sup>1</sup> This paradigm was borrowed from the Arabic grammarians, and, according to Bacher, probably first adopted throughout by Abulwalid. It was, however, unsuitable on account of the guttural, and was, therefore, usually exchanged in later times for פָּקַד, after the example of Moses Qimḥi. This verb has the advantage, that all its conjugations are actually found in the Old Testament. On the other hand, it has the disadvantage of indistinctness in the pronunciation of some of its forms, e. g. פָּקַדְתָּם, פָּקַדְתָּ. The paradigm of קָטַל, commonly used since the time of Danz, avoids this defect, and is especially adapted for the comparative treatment of the Semitic dialects, inasmuch as it is found with slight change (Arab. and Ethiop. קָטַל) in all of them. It is true that in Hebrew it occurs only three times in *Qal*, and even then only in poetic style (ψ 139<sup>19</sup>, Jb 13<sup>15</sup>, 24<sup>14</sup>); yet it is worth retaining as a model which has been sanctioned by usage. More serious is the defect, that a number of forms of the paradigm of קָטַל leave the beginner in doubt as to whether or not there should be a *Dageš* in the *B<sup>e</sup>gadh<sup>e</sup>phath* letters, and consequently as to the correct division of the syllables.

§ 40. *Tenses. Moods. Flexion.*

A. Ungnad, 'Die gegenseitigen Beziehungen der Verbalformen im Grundstamm des semit. Verbs,' in *ZDMG.* 59 (1905), 766 ff., and his 'Zum hebr. Verbalsystem', in *Beiträge zur Assyriologie* ed. by Fr. Delitzsch and P. Haupt, 1907, p. 55 ff.

1. While the Hebrew verb, owing to these derivative forms or *a* conjugations, possesses a certain richness and copiousness, it is, on the other hand, poor in the matter of *tenses* and *moods*. The verb has only two tense-forms (*Perfect* and *Imperfect*, see the note on § 47 a), besides an *Imperative* (but only in the active), two *Infinitives* and a *Participle*. All relations of time, absolute and relative, are expressed either by these forms (hence a certain diversity in their meaning, § 106 ff.) or by syntactical combinations. Of moods properly so called (besides the *Imperfect Indicative* and *Imperative*), only the *Jussive* and *Optative* are sometimes indicated by express modifications of the Imperfect-form (§ 48).

2. The *inflexion* of the *Perfect*, *Imperfect*, and *Imperative* as to *b* persons, differs from that of the Western languages in having, to a great extent, distinct forms for the two genders, which correspond to the different forms of the *personal pronoun*. It is from the union of the pronoun with the verbal stem that the personal inflexions of these *tenses* arise.

The following table will serve for the beginner as a provisional *c* scheme of the formative syllables (*afformatives* and *preformatives*) of the two *tenses*. The three stem-consonants of the strong verb are denoted by dots. Cf. § 44 ff. and the Paradigms.

PERFECT.

<i>Singular.</i>					<i>Plural.</i>				
3. m.	.	.	.		3. c.	י	.	.	.
3. f.	יְ	.	.						
2. m.	יָ	.	.		2. m.	יָ	.	.	.
2. f.	יִ	.	.		2. f.	יִ	.	.	.
1. c.	יֵ	.	.		1. c.	יֵ	.	.	.

IMPERFECT.

<i>Singular.</i>					<i>Plural.</i>				
3. m.	.	.	י		3. m.	י	.	.	י
3. f.	.	.	יָ		3. f.	יָ	.	.	יָ
2. m.	.	.	יָ		2. m.	יָ	.	.	יָ
2. f.	יְ	.	יָ		2. f.	יָ	.	.	יָ
1. c.	.	.	יָ		1. c.	.	.	.	יָ

§ 41. *Variations from the Ordinary Form of the Strong Verb.*

- a* The same laws which are normally exhibited in stems with strong (unchangeable) consonants, hold good for all other verbs. Deviations from the model of the strong verb are only modifications due to the special character or weakness of certain consonants, viz. :—
- (*a*) When one of the stem-consonants (or *radicals*) is a guttural. In this case, however, the variations only occur in the vocalization (according to § 22), not in the consonants. The *guttural verbs* (§§ 62–65) are, therefore, only a variety of the *strong verb*.
- b* (*b*) When a stem-consonant (*radical*) disappears by assimilation (§ 19 *b-f*), or when the stem originally consisted of only two consonants (*verbs* י"ב, י"ג, and י"ד, as שָׁנַן, קָל, קָם, §§ 66, 67, 72).
- c* (*c*) When one of the stem-consonants (*radicals*) is a weak letter. In this case, through aphaeresis, elision, &c., of the weak consonant, various important deviations from the regular form occur. Cf. § 68 ff. for these verbs, such as שָׁבַע, אָצַק, נָלַח.
- d* Taking the old paradigm לָעַב as a model, it is usual, following the example of the Jewish grammarians, to call the first radical of any stem ב, the second ג, and the third ל. Hence the expressions, *verb* א"ב for a verb whose first radical is א (*primae radicalis* [sc. *litterae*] א); י"ג for *mediae radicalis* י; ג"ג for a verb whose second radical is repeated to form a third.

## I. The Strong Verb.

### § 42.

As the formation of the strong verb is the model also for the weak verb, a statement of the general formative laws should precede the treatment of special cases.

Paradigm B, together with the Table of the personal preformatives and affirmatives given in § 40 *c*, offers a complete survey of the normal forms. A full explanation of them is given in the following sections (§§ 43–55), where each point is elucidated on its first occurrence; thus e. g. the inflexion of the Perfect, the Imperfect and its modifications, will be found under Qal, &c.

#### A. THE PURE STEM, OR QAL.

### § 43. *Its Form and Meaning.*

- a* The common form of the 3rd sing. masc. of the *Perfect Qal* is לָעַב, with *ä* (*Pathah*) in the second syllable, especially in *transitive verbs* (but see § 44 *c*). There is also a form with *ē* (*Sere*, originally *i*), and another with *ō* (*Holem*, originally *u*) in the second syllable, both of which, however, have almost always an *intransitive*<sup>1</sup> meaning,

<sup>1</sup> But cf. such instances as Jer 48<sup>d</sup>. In Arabic also, transitive verbs are found with middle *i*, corresponding to Hebrew verbs with *ē* in the second

and serve to express states and qualities, e.g. קָבֵר to be heavy, קָטַן to be small.

In Paradigm B a verb *middle a*, a verb *middle ē*, and a verb *middle o* are accordingly given side by side. The second example קָבֵר is chosen as showing, at the same time, when the *Dageš lene* is to be inserted or omitted.

Rem. 1. The vowel of the second syllable is the principal vowel, and hence *b* on it depends the distinction between the transitive and intransitive meaning. The *Qameš* of the first syllable is lengthened from an original *ā* (cf. Arabic *qātālā*), but it can be retained in Hebrew only immediately before the tone, or at the most (with an open ultima) in the counter-tone with *Metheg*; otherwise, like all the pretonic vowels (*ā, ē*), it becomes *Š<sup>e</sup>wā*, e. g. קָטַלְתָּם and plur. masc. In the Aramaic dialects the vowel of the first syllable is always reduced to *Š<sup>e</sup>wā*, as קָטַל = Hebr. קָטַל. The intransitive forms in Arabic are *qātūlā, qātūlū*; in Hebrew (after the rejection of the final vowel) *ī* being in the tone-syllable has been regularly lengthened to *ē*, and *ū* to *ō*.

2. Examples of *denominatives* in *Qal* are: חָפַר to cover with pitch, from חָמַר *C* pitch; מָלַח to salt, from מָלַח salt; שָׁבַר (usually *Hiph.*) to buy or sell corn, from שָׁבַר corn; see above, § 38 c.

#### § 44. Flexion of the Perfect of Qal.<sup>1</sup>

1. The formation of the persons of the Perfect is effected by the *a* addition of certain forms of the personal pronoun, and marks of the 3rd fem. sing. and 3rd pl. (as *affirmatives*) to the end of the verbal-stem, which contains the idea of a predicate, and may be regarded, in meaning if not in form, as a *Participle* or *verbal adjective*. For the 3rd pers. sing. masc. Perfect, the pronominal or subject idea inherent in the finite verb is sufficient: thus, קָטַל he has killed, קָטַלְתָּ thou hast killed (as it were, *killing thou*, or *a killer thou*), a killer wast thou = קָטַל אָתָּה; יָרָא he was fearing, יָרְאוּתָם ye were fearing = יָרָא אָתָּם. The ending of the 1st pers. plur. (נִי—) is also certainly connected with the termination of אֲנִי, אַנְיָנוּ we (§ 32 b, d). The affirmative of the 1st pers. sing. (תִּי) is to be referred, by an interchange of כ and ת (cf. § 33 f), to that form of the pronoun which also underlies אֲנִי, I.<sup>2</sup> In the *third* person הִיא (originally הִיא—, cf. below, f) is the mark of the feminine, as in a great number of nouns (§ 80 c), and י is the termination of the plural; cf., for the latter, the termination of the 3rd and 2nd pers. plur. Imperf. *ūna* in Arabic and *ū* (often also *ū*)

syllable. Hence P. Haupt (*Proc. Amer. Or. Soc.*, 1894, p. ci f.) prefers to distinguish them as *verba voluntaria* (actions which depend on the will of the subject) and *involuntaria* (actions or states independent of the will of the subject).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Nöldeke, 'Die Endungen des Perfects' (*Untersuchungen zur semit. Gramm.* ii.), in *ZDMG.* vol. 38, p. 407 ff., and more fully in *Beiträge zur sem. Sprachwiss.*, Strassb. 1904, p. 15 ff.

<sup>2</sup> According to Nöldeke, *l.c.*, p. 419, the original Semitic termination of the 1st sing. Perf. was most probably *kū*; cf. the Ethiopic *qatalku*, Arabic *qataltu*.

in Hebrew, also *ana* (in the construct state *ā*) as the plural termination of masc. nouns in literary Arabic.

*b* 2. The characteristic *Pathah* of the second syllable becomes *S<sup>e</sup>wā* before an affirmative beginning with a vowel, where it would otherwise stand in an open syllable (as קָטְלוּ, קָטְלוּ; but in *pause* קָטְלוּ, קָטְלוּ). Before an affirmative beginning with a consonant the *Pathah* remains, whether in the tone-syllable (קָטְלוּ, קָטְלוּ, קָטְלוּ; in *pause* קָטְלוּ &c.) or *before* it. In the latter case, however, the *Qames* of the first syllable, being no longer a pretonic vowel, becomes vocal *S<sup>e</sup>wā*; as קָטְלוּ, קָטְלוּ; cf. § 27 *i* and § 43 *b*. On the retention of *ā* with *Metheg* of the counter-tone in the *Perf. consecutive*, cf. § 49 *i*.

*c* Rem. 1. Verbs *middle ē* in Hebrew (as in Ethiopic, but not in Arabic or Aramaic) generally change the *E*-sound in their inflexion into *Pathah* (frequently so even in the 3rd sing. masc. Perf.). This tendency to assimilate to the more common verbs *middle a* may also be explained from the laws of vocalization of the tone-bearing closed penultima, which does not readily admit of *Sere*, and never of *Hireq*, of which the *Sere* is a lengthening (cf. § 26 *p*). On the other hand, *Sere* is retained in an open syllable; regularly so in the weak stems לָ ( § 74 *g*), before suffixes ( § 59 *i*), and in the pausal forms of the strong stem in an open tone-syllable, e.g. דִּבְרָהּ *it cleaveth*, Jb 29<sup>10</sup> (not דִּבְרָהּ, cf. 2 S 1<sup>23</sup>, Jb 41<sup>15</sup>; even (contrary to § 29 *q*) in a *closed* pausal syllable, e.g. יִשְׁבֶּן, Dt 33<sup>12</sup> (out of *pause* יִשְׁבֶּן, Is 32<sup>16</sup>); but קָטְלוּ Is 33<sup>9</sup>, &c., according to § 29 *q*.

*d* 2. In some weak stems *middle a*, the *Pathah* under the second radical sometimes, in a closed toneless syllable, becomes  $\text{ֿ}$ , and, in one example,  $\text{ֿ}$ . Thus from יִרְשֶׁתָּהּ and thou shall possess it, Dt 17<sup>14</sup>; יִרְשֶׁתָּהּ Dt 19<sup>1</sup>; יִרְשֶׁתָּהּ Dt 4<sup>1</sup>, and frequently; from יִלְךְּ to bring forth, to beget; יִלְדֶתִיךָ ψ 27 (cf. Nu 11<sup>12</sup>, Jer 2<sup>27</sup>, 15<sup>10</sup>); from פִּישָׁתָּם Mal 3<sup>20</sup>; from שְׁאַלְתִּי; שְׁאַלְתִּי I have asked him, 1 S 1<sup>20</sup> (Ju 13<sup>6</sup>), and three times שְׁאַלְתֶּם 1 S 12<sup>18</sup>, 25<sup>6</sup>, Jb 21<sup>29</sup>. Qimhi already suggests the explanation, that the *ī* (ē) of these forms of שְׁאַל and יִרַשׁ is the original vowel, since along with שְׁאַל and יִרַשׁ are also found שְׁאַל and יִרַשׁ (see the Lexicon). The possibility of this explanation cannot be denied (especially in the case of יִרַשׁ, see § 69 *s*); the *ī* in these forms might, however, equally well have arisen from an attenuation of *ā* (§ 27 *s*), such as must in any case be assumed in the other instances. Moreover, it is worthy of notice that in all the above cases the *ī* is favoured by the character of the following consonant (a sibilant or dental), and in most of them also by the tendency towards assimilation of the vowels (cf. § 54 *k* and § 64 *f*).

*e* 3. In verbs *middle ā*, the *Holem* is retained in the tone-syllable, e.g. יִרְתָּהּ thou dost tremble; יִכְלוּ in *pause* יִכְלוּ they were able; but in a toneless closed syllable the original short vowel appears in the form of a *Qames hatuph*; יִכְבְּדֶתִי I have prevailed against him, ψ 13<sup>6</sup>; יִכְבְּדֶתָּהּ (see § 49 *h*) then shalt thou be able, Ex 18<sup>23</sup>; in a toneless open syllable it becomes vocal *S<sup>e</sup>wā*, c.g. יִכְבְּדֶהּ.

*f* 4. Rarer forms<sup>1</sup> are: *Sing. 3rd fem.* in תִּֿ (as in Arabic, Ethiopic, and

<sup>1</sup> Many of these forms, which are uncommon in Hebrew, are usual in the

Aramaic), e. g.  $\text{לְאִלָּהּ}$  *it is gone*, Dt 32<sup>36</sup>;  $\text{וְנִשְׁכַּחַת}$  Is 23<sup>15</sup> (in the Aramaic form, for  $\text{וְנִשְׁכַּחַתָּהּ}$ ); from a verb  $\text{עָשָׂה}$ , cf. § 72 o. This original feminine ending *-ath* is regularly retained before suffixes, see § 59 a; and similarly in stems  $\text{לָ}$ , either in the form *āth* (which is frequent also in stems  $\text{לָ}$  § 74 g), or with the *Pathah* weakened to vocal *šwā* before the pleonastic ending  $\text{הָ}$ , e. g.  $\text{גָּלְתָהּ}$  § 75 i. In Ez 31<sup>5</sup> the Aramaic form  $\text{גָּלְתָהּ}$  occurs instead of  $\text{גָּלְתָהּ}$ .

2nd *masc.*  $\text{הָ}$  for  $\text{תָּ}$  (differing only orthographically), e. g.  $\text{בָּגַדְתָּהּ}$  *thou hast g dealt treacherously*, Mal 2<sup>14</sup>; cf. 1 S 15<sup>3</sup>, Gn 3<sup>12</sup> ( $\text{נִתְתָּהּ}$  which is twice as common as  $\text{נִתְתָּהּ}$ , cf. § 66 h); Gn 21<sup>23</sup>, 2 S 2<sup>26</sup>, 2 K 9<sup>3</sup>, Is 2<sup>6</sup>,  $\psi$  56<sup>9</sup> (so also in *Hiph'il*; 2 K 9<sup>7</sup>, Is 37<sup>23</sup>,  $\psi$  60<sup>4</sup>).

2nd *fem.* has sometimes a Yodh at the end, as in  $\text{הִלַּכְתִּי}$  *thou wentest*, Jer 31<sup>21</sup>;  $\text{לְ}$  cf. 2<sup>33</sup>, 3<sup>4</sup>, 4<sup>19</sup> (but read the ptp.  $\text{שָׁמַעַת}$ , with the LXX, instead of the 2nd fem.), 46<sup>11</sup>, and so commonly in Jeremiah, and Ez (16<sup>18</sup>, &c.); see also Mi 4<sup>13</sup>, Ru 3<sup>3</sup>.  $\text{הִלַּכְתִּי}$ , &c., is really intended, for the vowel signs in the text belong to the marginal reading  $\text{הִלַּכְתִּי}$  (without  $\text{י}$ )<sup>1</sup> as in the corresponding pronoun  $\text{אֲתִי}$  (אֲתִי) § 32 h. The ordinary form has rejected the final *i*, but it regularly reappears when pronominal suffixes are added (§ 59 a, c).

1st *pers. comm.* sometimes without Yodh, as  $\text{יִרְעֶתָּהּ}$   $\psi$  140<sup>13</sup>, Jb 42<sup>2</sup>, 1 K 8<sup>48</sup>,  $\text{ז}$  Ez 16<sup>59</sup> (all in K<sup>e</sup>thibh),  $\psi$  16<sup>2</sup>, without a Q<sup>r</sup>ê; in 2 K 18<sup>20</sup> also  $\text{אֲמַרְתָּהּ}$  is really intended, as appears from Is 36<sup>5</sup>. The Q<sup>r</sup>ê requires the ordinary form, to which the vowels of the text properly belong, whilst the K<sup>e</sup>thibh is probably to be regarded as the remains of an earlier orthography, which omitted vowel-letters even at the end of the word.

$\text{הָ}$  as the termination of the 2nd *plur. m.* for  $\text{הֶם}$  Ez 33<sup>26</sup>, might just possibly  $\text{לְ}$  be due to the following  $\text{הָ}$  (cf., for an analogous case, Mi 3<sup>12</sup>, § 87 c), but is probably a copyist's error. *Plur. 2nd fem.* in  $\text{הִנֵּנָה}$ —(according to others  $\text{הִנֵּנָה}$ )—Am 4<sup>3</sup>, but the reading is very doubtful; since  $\text{הָ}$  follows, it is perhaps merely due to dittography; cf., however,  $\text{אֲתִינָה}$  § 32 i.

3rd *plur. comm.* has three times the very strange termination  $\text{וֶן}$ <sup>2</sup>;  $\text{יִרְעֶן}$  Dt  $\text{ל}$  33<sup>16</sup> (both before  $\text{לְ}$ , and hence, no doubt, if the text is correct, to avoid a hiatus), and in the still more doubtful form  $\text{צָקֶן}$  Is 26<sup>16</sup>; on  $\text{וֶן}$  in the Imperf. see § 47 m; on the affixed  $\text{לְ}$  in Jos 10<sup>24</sup>, Is 28<sup>12</sup>, see § 23 i.

It is very doubtful whether, as in most Semitic languages (see § 47 c, note),  $\text{מל}$  the 3rd-*fem. plur.* in Hebrew was originally distinguished from the 3rd *masc.*

other Semitic dialects, and may, therefore, be called Aramaisms (Syriasms) or Arabisms. They must not, however, be regarded as cases of borrowing, but as a return to original forms.

<sup>1</sup> Where the Masora apparently regards the  $\text{תִּי}$  as the termination of the 2nd *sing. fem.*, e. g. in Jer 2<sup>20</sup> (twice), Mi 4<sup>13</sup>, it has rather taken the form as 1st *pers. sing.* (cf. Stade, *Gramm.*, p. 253); so in Ju 5<sup>7</sup>, where  $\text{קָמְתִי}$ , on account of verse 12, must either have originally been intended as 2nd *sing. fem.*, or is due to an erroneous pronunciation of the form  $\text{קָמַת}$  as  $\text{קָמְתִי}$  instead of 3rd *sing. fem.*  $\text{קָמַת}$  (as LXX).

<sup>2</sup> That these examples can hardly be referred to a primitive Semitic ending *ūn* in the 3rd *plur. Perf.*, has been shown by Nöldeke in *ZDMG.* vol. 38, p. 409 ff.; cf. also *ZDMG.* vol. 32, p. 757 f., where G. Hoffmann proves that the terminations in *Nûn* of the 3rd *plur.* in Aramaic, formerly adduced by us, are secondary forms. [See also Driver, *Heb. Tenses*<sup>3</sup>, p. 6 note.]

plur. by the termination  $\text{הַ$ , as in Biblical Aramaic. Nöldeke (*ZDMG.* 38 [1884], p. 411) referred doubtfully to the textual readings in Dt 21<sup>7</sup>, Jos 15<sup>4</sup>, 18<sup>12.14.19</sup>, Jer 2<sup>15</sup>, 22<sup>6</sup>, where the Masora uniformly inserts the termination  $\text{הַ}$ , and to Gn 48<sup>10</sup> in the Samaritan Pentateuch, Gn 49<sup>22</sup>, 1 S 4<sup>15</sup>,  $\psi$  18<sup>35</sup>, Neh 13<sup>10</sup>. In his *Beiträge zur sem. Sprachwiss.*, p. 19, however, he observes that the construction of a fem. plural with the 3rd sing. fem. is not unexampled, and also that  $\text{הַ}$  is often found as a mistake for  $\text{הַ}$ . On the other hand Mayer Lambert (*Une série de Qeré ketib*, Paris, 1891, p. 6 ff.) explains all these K<sup>e</sup>thibh, as well as  $\psi$  7<sup>3</sup>, Jer 50<sup>6</sup> (?), and (against Nöldeke) 1 K 22<sup>49</sup> (where  $\text{הַ}$  is undoubtedly the article belonging to the next word), Jb 16<sup>16</sup> (where the *masc.*  $\text{פְּנֵי}$  requires the marginal reading), also Jer 48<sup>41</sup>, 51<sup>66</sup>, Ez 26<sup>2</sup>,  $\psi$  68<sup>14</sup>, as remains of the 3rd fem. plur. in  $\text{הַ}$ . The form was abandoned as being indistinguishable from the (later) form of the 3rd fem. sing., but tended to be retained in the perfect of verbs  $\text{הַ}$ , as  $\text{הַ}$  *K<sup>e</sup>thibh* six times in the above examples.

n 5. The affirmatives  $\text{הַ}$ , ( $\text{הַ}$ ),  $\text{הַ}$ ,  $\text{הַ}$  are generally toneless, and the forms with these inflexions are consequently *Mi'el* ( $\text{הַ}$   $\text{הַ}$ , &c.); with all the other affirmatives they are *Mi'ra'* (§ 15 c). The place of the tone may, however, be shifted: (a) by the *pause* (§ 29 i-v), whenever a vowel which has become vocal Š<sup>wā</sup> under the second stem-consonant is restored by the *pause*; as  $\text{הַ}$  for  $\text{הַ}$  ( $\text{הַ}$  for  $\text{הַ}$ ), and  $\text{הַ}$  for  $\text{הַ}$  ( $\text{הַ}$  for  $\text{הַ}$ ); (b) in certain cases after *wāw consecutive* of the *Perfect* (see § 49 h).

o 6. Contraction of a final  $\text{הַ}$  with the  $\text{הַ}$  of the affirmative occurs e.g. in  $\text{הַ}$  Hag 2<sup>5</sup>, &c.; cf. Is 14<sup>20</sup>, &c., in the *Perf. Po'el*; Dt 4<sup>25</sup> in the *Hiph'il* of  $\text{הַ}$ ; Is 21<sup>2</sup>, &c., in the *Hiph'il* of  $\text{הַ}$ . Contraction of a final  $\text{הַ}$  with the affirmative  $\text{הַ}$  occurs in  $\text{הַ}$  Gn 34<sup>15</sup>; in *Niph.* Ezr 9<sup>7</sup>, cf. 2 Ch 14<sup>10</sup>; in *Hiph.* 2 Ch 29<sup>19</sup>; with the affirmative  $\text{הַ}$  in the *Imperfect Qal* Ez 17<sup>23</sup>; *Pi'el*  $\psi$  71<sup>23</sup>, where with Baer and Ginsburg  $\text{הַ}$  is to be read, according to others  $\text{הַ}$  (cf. in *Polel*  $\text{הַ}$  Ez 32<sup>16</sup>), but certainly not  $\text{הַ}$  with the Mantua ed., Opius and Hahn; with  $\text{הַ}$  in the *Imperat. Hiph.* Gn 4<sup>23</sup>, Is 32<sup>9</sup>.

### § 45. The Infinitive.

F. Prätorius, 'Ueber den sog. Inf. absol. des Hebr.,' in *ZDMG.* 1902, p. 546 ff.

u 1. The Infinitive is represented in Hebrew by two forms, a shorter and a longer; both are, however, strictly speaking, independent *nouns* (*verbal substantives*). The shorter form, the *Infinitive construct* (in *Qal*  $\text{הַ}$ ,<sup>1</sup> sometimes incorrectly  $\text{הַ}$ ), is used in very various ways, sometimes in connexion with pronominal suffixes, or governing a substantive in the genitive, or with an accusative of the object (§ 115), sometimes in connexion with prepositions ( $\text{הַ}$  *to kill*, § 114 f), and sometimes in dependence upon substantives as genitive, or upon verbs as accusative of the object. On the other hand, the use of the longer form, the *Infinitive absolute* (in *Qal*  $\text{הַ}$ , sometimes also  $\text{הַ}$ , obscured from original *qätäl*), is restricted to those cases in which it emphasizes

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the analogous forms of the noun, § 93 t.

the abstract verbal idea, without regard to the subject or object of the action. It stands most frequently as an adverbial accusative with a finite verb of the same stem (§ 113 h-s).<sup>1</sup>

The flexibility and versatility of the Infin. constr. and the rigidity <sup>b</sup> and inflexibility of the Infin. absol. are reflected in their vocalization. The latter has unchangeable vowels, while the *ō* of the Infin. constr. may be lost. For קטל, according to § 84<sup>a</sup>, *e*, goes back to the ground-form *qūṭūl*.

Other forms of the Infin. constr. Qal of the strong verb are—

(a) קטל, e. g. שָׁבַב to lie, Gn 34<sup>7</sup>; שָׁפַל to sink, Ec 12<sup>4</sup>; especially with verbs which have *ā* in the second syllable of the Imperf.: hence sometimes also with those, whose second or third radical is a guttural (frequently besides the ordinary form). All the examples (except שָׁבַב, see above) occur in the closest connexion with the following word, or with suffixes (see § 61 c). In Ez 21<sup>33</sup> the Masora seems to treat לְטַבַּח (verse 20, in pause לְטַבַּח) as an Infinitive = לְטַבַּח; probably לְטַבַּח should be read.

(b) קטלה and, attenuated from it, קטלה; קטלה and קטלה (which are <sup>d</sup> feminine forms<sup>2</sup> of קטל and קטל, mostly from intransitive verbs, and sometimes found along with forms having no feminine ending in use), e. g. לְאַשְׁמָה to be guilty, Lv 5<sup>26</sup>, אֲהַבָה to love, שִׂנְאָה to hate; לְיִרְאָה, often in Dt., to fear; וְקִנָּה to be old; קָרָא to meet (in לְקָרְאתָ § 19 k); לְרַבְעָה to lie down, Lv 20<sup>16</sup>; לְמִשְׁחָה to anoint, Ex 29<sup>29</sup>; לְרַחֲצָה to wash, Ex 30<sup>18</sup>, &c.; לְטִמְאָה (also a subst. = uncleanness, like טִמְאָה) to be unclean, Lv 15<sup>32</sup>; לְקָרְבָה to approach, Ex 36<sup>2</sup>, &c.; cf. Lv 12<sup>4-5</sup>, Dt 11<sup>22</sup>, Is 30<sup>19</sup>, Ez 21<sup>16</sup>, Hag 1<sup>6</sup>; also לְרַחֲקָה to be far off, Ez 8<sup>6</sup>; קָמַל to pity, Ez 16<sup>5</sup>; cf. Ho 7<sup>4</sup>. On the other hand in קָמַל Gn 19<sup>16</sup>, the original *ā* has been modified to *ā*; cf. חִוְקָה Is 8<sup>11</sup>, &c.

(c) In the Aramaic manner (מְקַטַּל but cf. also Arab. *maqṭal*) there occur as <sup>e</sup> Infin. Qal: מְשַׁלֵּחַ to send, Est 9<sup>19</sup>; מְקָרָא to call and מִפַּעַע to depart, Nu 10<sup>2</sup> (Dt 10<sup>11</sup>); מְקָה to take, 2 Ch 19<sup>7</sup>, &c.; מְשָׂא to carry, Nu 4<sup>24</sup>, &c. (cf. even לְמִשְׁאוֹחַ Ez 17<sup>9</sup>); also with a feminine ending מְעֹלָה to go up, Ezr 7<sup>9</sup>, &c.; cf. for these forms (almost all very late) Ryssel, *De Elohistae Pentateuchici sermone*, p. 50, and Strack on Nu 4<sup>24</sup>.

(d) קָטַל in יבִּשְׁתָּה Gn 8<sup>7</sup>; יבִּלְתָּ Nu 14<sup>16</sup>; probably also חֲרִשְׁתָּה Ex 31<sup>5</sup>, 35<sup>33</sup>.

2. A kind of *Gerund* is formed by the Infin. constr. with the prepo- <sup>f</sup> sition לְ; as לְקָטַל *ad interficiendum*, לְנַפֵּל *ad cadendum* (see § 28 a).

<sup>1</sup> The terms *absolute* and *construct* are of course not to be understood as implying that the Infin. constr. קטל forms the *construct state* (see § 89) of the Infin. absol. (קטול ground-form *qāṭāl*). In the Paradigms the *Inf. constr.*, as the principal form, is placed before the other, under the name of Infinitive simply.

<sup>2</sup> According to the remark of Elias Levita on Qimhi's *Mikhlol*, ed. Rittenb., 14 a, these feminine forms occur almost exclusively in connexion with the preposition לְ.

g The blending of the ה with the *Infin. constr.* into a single grammatical form seems to be indicated by the firmly closed syllable, cf. לְשַׁבֵּב Gn 34<sup>7</sup>; לְנַפֵּל ψ 118<sup>13</sup>, with *Dageš lene* in the פ = *lin pōl*; hence, also *liq-ōl*, &c.; but בְּנַפֵּל *bin<sup>e</sup>phōl*, Jb 4<sup>13</sup>; בְּנַפֵּל 2 S 3<sup>34</sup>. Exceptions לְצַבָּא Nu 4<sup>23</sup>, 8<sup>24</sup>; לְנַחֵשׁ וּלְנַחֵשׁ Jer 1<sup>10</sup>, 18<sup>7</sup>, 31<sup>28</sup>; לְשַׁרְדּוּ Jer 4<sup>7</sup>; לְטַבּוּחַ Jer 11<sup>19</sup>, &c., ψ 37<sup>14</sup>; לְבָרוּךְ 2 Ch 34<sup>10</sup>; according to some also לְסַבֵּב Nu 21<sup>4</sup> and לְכַבֵּשׁ 2 Ch 28<sup>10</sup> (Baer לְכַבֵּשׁ); on the other hand בְּשַׁבֵּן Gn 35<sup>22</sup>; בְּנִפְרַר Jer 17<sup>2</sup>. For the meaningless לְרִיּוֹשׁ Ezr 10<sup>16</sup> read לְרִישׁ.

### § 46. The Imperative.

- a 1. The ground-forms of the Imperative, קַטַּל (properly *qētūl*, which is for an original *qūtūl*), and קְטַל (see below, c), the same in pronunciation as the forms of the *Infin. constr.* (§ 45), are also the basis for the formation of the Imperfect (§ 47).<sup>1</sup> They represent the *second* person, and have both fem. and plur. forms. The third person is supplied by the Imperfect in the Jussive (§ 109 b); and even the second person must always be expressed by the Jussive, if it be used with a negative, e. g. אַל-תִּקְטַל *ne occidas* (not אַל-קְטַל). The passives have no Imperative, but it occurs in the reflexives, as Niph'al and Hithpa'el.<sup>2</sup>
- b 2. The Affirmatives of the 2nd sing. fem. and the 2nd plur. masc. and fem. are identical in every case with those of the Imperfect (§ 47 c). In the same way, the Imperative of the 2nd sing. masc., in common with the Imperfect, admits of the lengthening by the הַ— *paragogicum* (§ 48 i), as, on the other hand, there are certain shortened forms of this person analogous to the Jussive (§ 48. 5).
- c Rem. 1. Instead of the form קַטַּל (sometimes also *plene*, e. g. שָׁמֹר Ec 12<sup>13</sup>; before *Maqqeph* קְטַל- with *Qames hatuph*), those verbs which have an *a* in the final syllable of the *Imperf.* (i. e. especially verbs middle *e*) make their Imperative of the form קְטַל, e. g. לְבַשׁ *dress!* (Perf. לְבַשׁ and לְבַשְׁ); לִיֵּב *lie down!* in pause לִיֵּב 1 S 3<sup>5.6.9</sup>.
- d 2. The first syllable of the sing. fem. and plur. masc. are usually to be pronounced with *Šewā mobile* (*qit<sup>e</sup>lī*, *qit<sup>e</sup>lū*), and so שַׁפְּכֵי, &c., without *Dageš lene*, and even מְשִׁבֵי with *Metheg*, Ex 12<sup>21</sup>; but cf. אֶסְפֵי Jer 10<sup>17</sup>, and with the same phonetic combination חֲשַׁפֵי Is 47<sup>2</sup>; see analogous cases in § 93 m); less frequently we find an *ō* instead of the *i*, e. g. מְלִכֵי *rule*, Ju 9<sup>10</sup>; מְשִׁבֵי *draw*, Ez 32<sup>20</sup>; חֲרִבֵי Jer 2<sup>12</sup> (cf. חֲרִבֵי Is 44<sup>27</sup>); on קְסָמֵי 1 S 28<sup>8</sup> *Qerē*, יִצְעָקֵי Jer. 22<sup>20</sup> (cf. 1 K 13<sup>7</sup>), see § 10 h. This *ō* arises (see above, a) from a singular ground-form *qūtūl*, not from a retraction of the original *ū* of the second syllable. We must abandon the view that the forms with *i* in the first syllable (cf. also

<sup>1</sup> The *Infin. absol.*, like the Greek *Infin.*, is also sometimes used for the Imperative (§ 113 bb). Cf. in general, Koch, *Der semitische Inf.* (Schaffhausen, 1874).

<sup>2</sup> In *Hoph'al* an Imperative is found only twice (Ez 32<sup>19</sup>, Jer. 49<sup>8</sup>), and closely approximating in meaning to the reflexive.

אָמַרְי, חָנְרִי, מְכַרִי, עֲבָרִי) arise from a weakening of the characteristic vowel *ä*. They, or at least some of them, must rather be regarded with Barth (*ZDMG.* 1889, p. 182) as analogous to the original *i*-imperfects. See further analogies in §§ 47 i and 48 i; 61 b, 63 n.

The *pausal* form of the 2nd plur. masc. is יִזְרִי I K 3<sup>26</sup>; from שָׁמַעַי, שָׁמְעֵי, e &c.; similarly the 2nd sing. fem. in *pause* is עֲבָרִי Is 23<sup>12</sup>; even without the *pause* מְלוֹכִי Ju 9<sup>10,12</sup>, K<sup>eth.</sup>; יִסְאָמִי I S 25<sup>8</sup>, K<sup>eth.</sup> (cf. with this also מְלוֹכָה, &c., § 48 i); from שָׁמַחַי, שָׁמְחֵי Jo 2<sup>21</sup>.

3. In the 2nd plur. fem. שָׁמְעֵן occurs once, in Gn 4<sup>23</sup> (for שָׁמְעֵנָה) with loss of the הַ and insertion of a helping vowel, unless it is simply to be pointed שָׁמְעֵן. Also instead of the abnormal קְרָאָן Ex 2<sup>20</sup> (for קְרָאָה) we should perhaps read as in Ru 1<sup>20</sup> קְרָאָן (cf. מְצָאָן 1<sup>9</sup> and לָבָן 1<sup>12</sup>).

On the examples of a 2nd plur. fem. in אַ, Is 32<sup>11</sup>, see § 48 i.

### § 47. The Imperfect and its Inflection.

1. The persons of the Imperfect,<sup>1</sup> in contradistinction to those of *a* the Perfect, are formed by placing abbreviated forms of the personal pronoun (preformatives) before the stem, or rather before the abstract form of the stem (קָטַל). As, however, the tone is retained on the characteristic vowel of the Stem-form, or even (as in the 2nd sing. fem. and the 3rd and 2nd plur. masc.) passes over to the affirmatives, the preformatives of the Imperfect appear in a much more abbreviated form than the affirmatives of the Perfect, only *one* consonant (א, ה, נ, כ) remaining in each form. But as this preformative combined with the

<sup>1</sup> On the use of the Semitic Perfect and Imperfect cf. § 106 ff. and the literature cited in § 106. For our present purpose the following account will suffice:—The name *Imperfect* is here used in direct contrast to the Perfect, and is to be taken in a wider sense than in Latin and Greek grammar. The Hebrew (Semitic) *Perf.* denotes in general that which is *concluded, completed, and past*, that which has happened and has come into effect; but at the same time, also that which is *represented* as accomplished, even though it be continued into present time or even be actually still future. The *Imperf.* denotes, on the other hand, the *beginning, the unfinished, and the continuing*, that which is just happening, which is conceived as in process of coming to pass, and hence, also, that which is yet future; likewise also that which occurs repeatedly or in a continuous sequence in the past (Latin Imperf.). It follows from the above that the once common designation of the Imperf. as a *Future* emphasizes only *one* side of its meaning. In fact, the use of Indo-Germanic tense-names for the Semitic tenses, which was adopted by the Syrians under the influence of the Greek grammarians, and after their example by the Arabs, and finally by Jewish scholars, has involved many misconceptions. The Indo-Germanic scheme of three periods of time (past, present, and future) is entirely foreign to the Semitic tense-idea, which regards an occurrence only from the point of view of completed or incomplete action.—In the formation of the two tenses the chief distinction is that in the Perfect the verbal stem precedes and the indication of the person is added afterwards for precision, while in the Imperf. the subject, from which the action proceeds or about which a condition is predicated, is expressed by a prefixed pronoun.

stem-form was not always sufficient to express at the same time differences both of gender and number, the distinction had to be further indicated, in several cases, by special *affirmatives*. Cf. the table, § 40 c.

*b* 2. The derivation and meaning, both of the preformatives and the affirmatives, can still, in most cases, be recognized.

In the *first* pers.  $\text{לִּקְטַל}$ , plur.  $\text{לִּקְטַלְיָא}$ ,  $\text{ל}$  is probably connected with  $\text{לִּי}$ , and  $\text{ל}$  with  $\text{לִּי}$ ; here no indication of gender or number by a special ending was necessary. As regards the vocalization, the Arabic points to the ground-forms *'āqtūl* and *nāqtūl*: the *i* of the 1st plur. is, therefore, as in the other preformatives, attenuated from *a*. The *S<sup>e</sup>ghōl* of the 1st sing. is probably to be explained by the preference of the  $\text{ל}$  for this sound (cf. § 22 *o*, but also § 51 *p*); according to Qimḥi, it arises from an endeavour to avoid the similarity of sound between  $\text{לִּקְטַל}$  (which is the Babylonian punctuation) and  $\text{לִּקְטַלְיָא}$ , which, according to this view, was likewise pronounced *iqṭōl*.<sup>1</sup>

*c* The preformative  $\text{ת}$  of the *second* persons ( $\text{תִּקְטַלְיָא}$ , ground-form *tāqtūl*, &c.) is, without doubt, connected with the  $\text{ת}$  of  $\text{תִּקְטַלְיָא}$ , &c., and the *affirmative*  $\text{לִּי}$  of the 2nd fem. sing.  $\text{לִּי$  with the *i* of the original feminine form  $\text{לִּי}$  (see § 32 *h*). The *affirmative*  $\text{לִּי}$  of the 2nd masc. plur.  $\text{לִּי$  (in its more complete form,  $\text{לִּי}$ , see *m*) is the sign of the plural, as in the 3rd pers., and also in the Perfect (§ 44 *a*). In the Imperfect, however, it is restricted in both persons to the masculine,<sup>2</sup> while the *affirmative*  $\text{לִּי}$  (also  $\text{לִּי}$ ) of the 3rd and 2nd plur. fem. is probably connected with  $\text{לִּי}$  *eae* and  $\text{לִּי}$  *vos* (fem.).

*d* The preformatives of the *third* persons ( $\text{י}$  in the masc.  $\text{יִקְטַל}$ , ground-form *yāqtūl*, plur.  $\text{יִקְטַלְיָא}$ , ground-form *yāqtūlū*;  $\text{ת}$  in the fem.  $\text{תִּקְטַל}$ , plur.  $\text{תִּקְטַלְיָא}$ ) have not yet met with any satisfactory explanation. With  $\text{ת}$  might most obviously be compared the original feminine

<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 24 *e*. In favour of the above view of Qimḥi may be urged the phonetic orthography  $\text{לִּי}$  (in Pr 18<sup>24</sup>  $\text{לִּי}$ ), 2 S 14<sup>19</sup> (unless, with Perles,  $\text{לִּי}$  is to be read), Mi 6<sup>10</sup>, for  $\text{לִּי}$ , and  $\text{לִּי}$  1 Ch 2<sup>13</sup> for  $\text{לִּי}$  (as verse 12). Also  $\text{לִּי}$  Mi 6<sup>11</sup> is probably for  $\text{לִּי}$  =  $\text{לִּי}$ ,  $\text{לִּי}$  Is 10<sup>12</sup> for  $\text{לִּי}$ ;  $\text{לִּי}$  Is 51<sup>19</sup> for  $\text{לִּי}$ ; and conversely  $\text{לִּי}$  is for  $\text{לִּי}$  =  $\text{לִּי}$ . Similarly,  $\text{לִּי}$  1 S 14<sup>19</sup> is probably for  $\text{לִּי}$  or  $\text{לִּי}$ ; in 2 S 23<sup>8</sup>  $\text{לִּי}$  is, according to the LXX, an error for  $\text{לִּי}$  =  $\text{לִּי}$ . In Assyrian also the simple  $\text{לִּי}$  corresponds to the Hebrew  $\text{לִּי}$  as the preformative of the Impf. Qal.

<sup>2</sup> This is also the proper gender of the plural syllable *ū*, *ūn*. In Hebrew, indeed, it is used in the 3rd plur. *Perfect* for both genders, but in the kindred languages even there only for the masculine, e.g. in Syriac *q<sup>e</sup>tālū*, *q<sup>e</sup>tālūn*, with the feminine form *q<sup>e</sup>tālēn*, in Western Aram. *q<sup>e</sup>tālū*, fem. *q<sup>e</sup>tālā*; in Arab. *qātālū*, fem. *qātālānā*, Eth. *qātālū*, *qātālā*.

ending הַ— of nouns, and of the 3rd fem. sing. perfect. For the affirmatives וְ (וּ) and הָ, see c.

3. The characteristic vowel of the second syllable becomes *S<sup>e</sup>wā e* before tone-bearing affirmatives which begin with a vowel, but is retained (as being in the tone-syllable) before the toneless affirmative הָ. Thus: וְתִקְטְלוּ, וְיִקְטְלוּ, וְתִקְטְלוּ (but in *pause* תִּקְטְלוּ, &c.), תִּקְטְלוּ הָ.

Rem. 1. The *ō* of the second syllable (as in the inf. constr. and imperat.), being lengthened from an original *ū* in the tone-syllable, is only tone-long (§ 9 r). Hence it follows that: (a) it is incorrectly, although somewhat frequently, written *plene*; (b) before *Maqqeph* the short vowel appears as *Qameṣ ḥaiuph*, e.g. וַיִּכְתֹּבֵם שָׁם and *he wrote there*, Jos 8<sup>32</sup> (but cf. also Ex 21<sup>37</sup>, Jos 18<sup>20</sup>); (c) it becomes *S<sup>e</sup>wā* before the tone-bearing affirmatives וְ— and וְ (see above, e; but Jerome still heard e.g. *iezbuleni* for וַיִּבְלֵנִי; cf. ZAW. iv. 83).

Quite anomalous are the three examples which, instead of a shortening to *S<sup>e</sup>wā*, exhibit a long *ū*: וַיִּשְׁפֹּטוּ הֵם Ex 18<sup>26</sup>, immediately before the principal pause, but according to Qimḥi (ed. Rittenb. p. 18<sup>b</sup>), ed. Mant., Ginsb., Kittel against the other editions, with the tone on the ultima; likewise וְלֹא־תִעְבְּרוּיָ מִזֶּה Ru 2<sup>8</sup>; וְתִשְׁמְרוּם (in principal pause) Pr 14<sup>3</sup>. In the first two cases perhaps וַיִּשְׁפֹּטוּ and תִּעְבְּרוּיָ (for וַיִּשְׁפֹּטוּ, &c.) are intended, in virtue of a retrogressive effect of the pause; in Pr 14<sup>3</sup> וְתִשְׁמְרוּם is to be read, with August Müller.

2. The *ō* of the second syllable is to be found almost exclusively with transitive verbs middle *a*, like קָטַל. Intransitives middle *a* and *ē* almost always take *ā* (*Pathah*)<sup>1</sup> in the impf., e.g. וַיִּרְבֵּץ, וַיִּרְבֵּץ to *couch*, וַיִּשְׁכַּב, וַיִּשְׁכַּב to *lie down* (לָמַד, לָמַד to *learn* is also originally intransitive = *to accustom oneself*); וַיִּגְדַּל, וַיִּגְדַּל to *become great* (but cf. וַיִּשְׁכַּב and וַיִּשְׁכַּב imperf. וַיִּשְׁכַּב to  *dwell* and *to inhabit*, וַיִּגְדַּל imperf. וַיִּבַּל to *wither*); also from verbs middle *ō*, as וַיִּקְטַן to *be small*, the imperf. has the form וַיִּקְטַן.

Sometimes both forms occur together; those with *ō* having a transitive, *i* and those with *ā* an intransitive meaning, e.g. וַיִּקְצַר he *cuts off*, וַיִּקְצַר he *is cut off*, i.e. *is short*; וַיִּחַלֵּשׁ imperf. *ō*, to *overcome*, Ex 17<sup>13</sup>; imperf. *ā*, to *be overcome*, Jb 14<sup>10</sup>. More rarely both forms are used without any distinction, e.g. וַיִּשֶׁף and וַיִּשֶׁף he *bites*, וַיִּחַפֵּץ and וַיִּחַפֵּץ he *is inclined* (but only the latter with a transitive meaning = *he bends*, in Jb 40<sup>17</sup>). On the *a* of the impf. of verbs middle and third guttural, cf. § 64 b; § 65 b. In some verbs first guttural (§ 63 n), ע"ע (§ 67 p), פ"י (§ 69 b), and א"פ (§ 68 c), and in וַיִּתֵּן for *yintēn* from וַתֵּן to *give*, instead of *ā* or *ō* a movable *Sere* (originally *ī*) is found in the second syllable. A trace of these *i*-imperfects<sup>2</sup> in the ordinary strong verb is probably to be found in וַיִּטְמְנוּ 2 K 7<sup>8</sup>, since טמן otherwise only occurs in Qal. We call these three forms of the imperfect after their characteristic vowel impf. *o*, impf. *a*, impf. *e*.

3. For the 3rd sing. fem. וְתִקְטְלוּ (= *tiq-āl*), Baer requires in 1 S 25<sup>20</sup> תִּקְטְלוּ הָ (but read with ed. Mant., &c. תִּקְטְלוּ). For the 2nd sing. fem. (תִּקְטְלוּיָ) the form

<sup>1</sup> This *ā* is, however, by no means restricted to intransitive *strong* verbs; apart from verbs third guttural (§ 65 b), it is to be found in פ"י and ע"ע, and in many verbs א"פ and פ"י (§§ 69-71).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Barth, 'Das *ī*-Imperfekt im Nordsemitischen,' ZDMG. 1889, p. 177 ff.

הַקָּטֹל is found in Is 57<sup>8</sup>, Jer 3<sup>5</sup>, Ez 22<sup>4</sup>, 23<sup>32</sup>, in every case after the regular form; but cf. also Ez 26<sup>14</sup>. In Is 17<sup>10</sup>, where the 2nd fem. precedes and follows, probably הַתְּרַעֵינָּה is to be read with Marti for הַתְּרַעֵינָּה.—For the 3rd plur. fem. הַקָּטֹלָה we find in Jer 49<sup>11</sup>, in pause הַתְּבַחְתֶּנָּה (for הַתְּבַחְתֶּנָּה), and thrice (as if to distinguish it from the 2nd pers.) the form הַקָּטֹלָה with the preformative ה' (as always in Western Aram., Arab., Eth., and Assyr.), in Gn 30<sup>38</sup>, 1 S 6<sup>12</sup>, Dn 8<sup>22</sup>. On the other hand, הַקָּטֹלָה appears in some cases to be incorrectly used even for the fem. of the 3rd pers. or for the masc. of the 2nd pers. sing. as הַשְּׁלַחְתֶּנָּה Ju 5<sup>26</sup> (where, however, perhaps הַשְּׁלַחְתֶּנָּה is to be read), and Ob 1<sup>3</sup>, for 2nd sing. masc., according to Olshausen a corruption of הַשְּׁלַחְתֶּנָּה; in Pr 1<sup>20</sup>, 8<sup>3</sup> for הַתְּרַנֶּה read הַתְּרַנֶּה as in Jb 39<sup>23</sup>; in Ex 1<sup>10</sup> read הַקָּרְאֶנָּה with the Samaritan.—In Is 27<sup>11</sup>, 28<sup>3</sup>, as also in Jb 17<sup>16</sup> (if we read הַקָּוִי with LXX for the 2nd תְּקוּוּי), it is equally possible to explain the form as a plural. This small number of examples hardly justifies our finding in the above-mentioned passages the remains of an emphatic form of the Impf., analogous to the Arab. *Modus energicus I*, with the termination *ännä*.

l For הָּ we frequently find, especially in the Pentateuch and mostly after *wāw* consecutive, simply הָּ, e.g. Gn 19<sup>33.36</sup>, 37<sup>7</sup>, Ex 1<sup>18.19</sup>, 15<sup>20</sup>, Nu 2<sup>5.2</sup>, Ez 3<sup>20</sup>, 16<sup>65</sup>; in Arab. always *nä*. According to Elias Levita הַלְּשׁוֹן (2 S 13<sup>18</sup>) is the only example of this kind in the strong verb. The form הַתְּנַבְּהֶנָּה (so also Qimḥi and ed. Mant.; but Baer, Ginsb. הַתְּנַבְּהֶנָּה) for הַתְּנַבְּהֶנָּה they were high, Ez 16<sup>60</sup>, is irregular, with ה' inserted after the manner of verbs עָע and עָי, § 67 d; § 72 i; according to Olshausen it is an error caused by the following form.

m 4. Instead of the plural forms in הָּ there are, especially in the older books, over 300 forms<sup>1</sup> with the fuller ending הָּן (with *Nūn paragogicum*), always bearing the tone; cf. § 29 m and § 44 l; on its retention before suffixes, see § 60 e; also defectively יִרְיִבֹּן Ex 21<sup>18</sup>, 22<sup>8</sup>, &c. This usually expresses marked emphasis, and consequently occurs most commonly at the end of sentences (in the principal pause), in which case also the (pausal) vowel of the second syllable is generally retained. Thus there arise full-sounding forms such as יִלְקָטִינָּה they collect, ψ 104<sup>28</sup>; יִרְיִבֹּנָּה they tremble, Ex 15<sup>14</sup>; יִשְׁמָעוּנָּה ye shall hear, Dt 1<sup>17</sup>; cf. Ex 34<sup>13</sup>, with Zaqeph qāṭon, Athnah, and Silluq; Jos 24<sup>15</sup>, with Segolta; Is 13<sup>8</sup> and 17<sup>13</sup> with Zaqeph qāṭon, 17<sup>12</sup> with Athnah and Silluq, 41<sup>5</sup> after *wāw* consec. Without the pause, e.g. ψ 11<sup>2</sup> קִשְׁתֶּיךָ יִדְרֹכֶנָּה, cf. 4<sup>3</sup>, Gn 18<sup>28.29.30</sup> אֵן, 44<sup>1</sup>, Nu 32<sup>23</sup>, Jos 4<sup>6</sup> (יִשְׁאַלְהָן); Is 8<sup>12</sup>, 1 S 9<sup>13</sup>, Ru 2<sup>9</sup> (יִקְרְאוּנָּה and יִשְׁאַבְּנָן); Ju 11<sup>18</sup> after *wāw* consec.

Some of these examples may be partly due to euphonic reasons, e.g. certainly Ex 17<sup>2</sup>, Nu 16<sup>29</sup>, 32<sup>20</sup>, 1 S 9<sup>13</sup>, 1 K 9<sup>3</sup>, and often, to avoid a hiatus before אָ or עָ. It was, however, the pause especially which exerted an influence on the restoration of this older and fuller termination (cf. § 159 c, note), as is manifest from Is 26<sup>11</sup>: בְּלִי-יִחְזִיזוּן יִחְזִיזוּ וְיִבְשׂוּ they see not; may they see and become

<sup>1</sup> [See details in F. Böttcher, *Lehrb.*, § 930; and cf. Driver on 1 S 21<sup>5</sup>.]

ashamed. All this applies also to the corresponding forms in the Imperfect of the derived conjugations.<sup>1</sup> In Aramaic and Arabic this earlier ך (old Arabic *ünä*) is the regular termination; but in some dialects of vulgar Arabic it has also become *ü*.

With an affixed ך we find (in the imperf. Niph'al) יִשְׁוֹן Jer 10<sup>5</sup>, evidently *n* an error for יִשְׁוֹן, caused by the preceding ך.—In יִשְׁוֹן Is 35<sup>1</sup>, since ך follows, the ך is no doubt only due to dittography.

5. Corresponding to the use of ך for ך there occurs in the 2nd sing. fem., *o* although much less frequently, the fuller ending ך (as in Aram. and Arab.; old Arab. *inä*), also always with the tone, for ך, generally again in the principal pause, and almost in all cases with retention of the vowel of the penultima; thus תִּבְּרִי Ru 2<sup>8.21</sup>, cf. 3<sup>4.18</sup>, 1 S 14 (תִּבְּרִי), Jer 31<sup>22</sup>, Is 45<sup>10</sup>.

6. On the reappearance in pause of the *ö* which had become *Šwá* in the forms תִּבְּרִי, &c., see above, *e*; similarly, the imperfects with *ä* restore this vowel in pause and at the same time lengthen it (as a tone-vowel) to *ā*, hence, e.g. תִּבְּרִי, יִבְּרִי. This influence of the pause extends even to the forms without affirmatives, e.g. יִבְּרִי, in pause יִבְּרִי. But the fuller forms in *ün* and *in* have the tone always on the ultima, since the vowels *ü* and *i* in a closed final syllable never allow of the retraction of the tone.

7. On the numerous instances of passive forms in the imperfect, mostly *q* treated as Hoph'al, see § 53 *u*.

#### § 48. Shortening and Lengthening of the Imperfect and Imperative. The Jussive and Cohortative.

1. Certain modifications which take place in the form of the *a* imperfect, and express invariably, or nearly so, a distinct shade of meaning, serve to some extent as a compensation for the want of special forms for the *Tempora relativa* and for certain *moods* of the verb.

2. Along with the usual form of the imperfect, there exists also *b* a lengthened form of it (the *cohortative*), and a shortened form (the *jussive*).<sup>2</sup> The former occurs (with few exceptions) only in the 1st person, while the latter is mostly found in the 2nd and 3rd persons, and less frequently in the 1st person. The laws of the tone, however, and of the formation of syllables in Hebrew, not infrequently precluded the indication of the jussive by an actual shortening of the form; consequently it often—and, in the imperfect forms with affirmatives, always—coincides with the ordinary imperfect (*indicative*) form.

In classical Arabic the difference is almost always evident. That language distinguishes, besides the indicative *yäqtülü*, (*a*) a subjunctive, *yäqtülä*; (*b*) a

<sup>1</sup> It is to be observed that the Chronicles often omit the *Nün*, where it is found in the parallel passage in the Books of Kings; cf. 1 K 8<sup>38.43</sup> with 2 Ch 6<sup>29.33</sup>; 1 K 12<sup>24</sup>, 2 K 11<sup>5</sup> with 2 Ch 11<sup>4</sup>, 23<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> The perfect has only *one* form, since it cannot be used, like the imperfect, to express mood-relations (see § 106 *p*).

jussive, *yāqtûl*; (c) a double 'energetic' mood of the impf., *yāqtûlānnā* and *yāqtûlān*, in pause *yāqtûlā*, the last form thus corresponding to the Hebrew cohortative.

C 3. The characteristic of the cohortative form is an *ā* (הַ) affixed to the 1st pers. sing. or plur., e. g. הַקָּטָן from קָטָן.<sup>1</sup> It occurs in almost all conjugations and classes of the strong and weak verb (except of course in the passives), and this final הַ has the tone wherever the affirmatives וְ and וְ- would have it. As before these endings, so also before the הַ cohortative, the movable vowel of the last syllable of the verbal form becomes *Šewā*, e. g. in Qal הַשְׁמֵרָה *I will observe*, in Pi'el הַנְּתַחֵם let us break asunder, ψ 2<sup>3</sup>; on הַשְׁמֵרָה Is 18<sup>4</sup> *Qerê* (cf. also 27<sup>4</sup>, Ezr 8<sup>25</sup>, &c.), see § 10 h; with the *Kethibh* of these passages, compare the analogous cases ישׁפוטו, &c., § 47 g.—On the other hand, an unchangeable vowel in the final syllable is retained as tone-vowel before the הַ, as (e. g.) in Hiph. הַיְפָיֵה *I will praise*. In pause (as before *ū* and *î*), the vowel which became *Šewā* is restored as tone-vowel; thus for the cohortative הַשְׁמֵרָה the pausal form is הַשְׁמֵרָה ψ 59<sup>10</sup>; cf. Gn 18<sup>21</sup>, Is 41<sup>26</sup>.

d The change of הַ into the obtuse הַ seems to occur in 1 S 28<sup>15</sup>, unless, with Nestle, we are to assume a conflate reading, וְהַקָּרָה and וְהַקָּרָה; and with the 3rd pers. ψ 20<sup>4</sup>, in a syllable sharpened by a following *Dageš forte conjunct.*; cf. similar cases of the change of הַ into the obtuse הַ in *l* and in §§ 73 d, 80 i, 90 i. In ψ 20<sup>4</sup>, however, הַשְׁמֵרָה—with suffix—is probably intended. An הַ cohort. is also found with the 3rd pers. in Is 5<sup>19</sup> (twice); Ez 23<sup>20</sup>, and again in verse 16 according to the *Qerê*, but in both these cases without any effect on the meaning. Probably another instance occurs in Jb 11<sup>17</sup>, although there הַתְּעַפֶּה might also, with *Qimḥi*, be regarded as 2nd masc. For the doubly irregular form הַתְּבוֹאֲתָה Dt 33<sup>16</sup> (explained by Olshausen and König as a scribal error, due to a confusion with תְּבוֹאֲתָה in verse 14), read הַתְּבוֹאֲתָה. For הַתְּבוֹאֲתָה Jb 22<sup>21</sup> the noun תְּבוֹאֲתָה *thine increase*, might be meant, but the Masora has evidently intended an imperfect with the ending *ath*, instead of הַ, before the suffix, on the analogy of the 3rd sing. fem. perfect, see § 59 a; on ותְּבוֹאֲתָה 1 S 25<sup>34</sup>, see § 76 h.

e The cohortative expresses the direction of the will to an action and thus denotes especially self-encouragement (in the 1st plur. an exhortation to others at the same time), a resolution or a wish, as an optative, &c., see § 108.

f 4. The general characteristic of the jussive form of the imperfect is rapidity of pronunciation, combined with a tendency to retract

<sup>1</sup> Probably this *ā* goes back to the syllable *an*, which in Arabic (see above, Rem. to b) is used for the formation of the 'energetic' mood, and in Hebrew (see the footnote to § 53 i) often stands before suffixes.

the tone from the final syllable, in order by that means to express the urgency of the command in the very first syllable. This tendency has, in certain forms, even caused a material shortening of the termination of the word, so that the expression of the command appears to be concentrated on a single syllable. In other cases, however, the jussive is simply marked by a shortening of the vowel of the second syllable, without its losing the tone, and very frequently (see above, *b*) the nature of the form does not admit of any alteration. It is not impossible, however, that even in such cases the jussive in the living language was distinguished from the indicative by a change in the place of the tone.

In the strong verb the jussive differs in *form* from the indicative *g* only in *Hiph'il* (juss. יִקְטִיל, ind. יִקְטִיל), and similarly in the weak verb, wherever the imperfect indicative has *i* in the second syllable, e. g. from יִשָּׁב impf. *Hiph.* יוֹשִׁיב, juss. יוֹשִׁיב; from יָמַת and יָמַת; also in *Qal* of the verbs עָוַי and עָוַי, as יָמַת, ind. יָמַת; יָגַל, ind. יָגַל; in all conjugations of verbs לָה, so that the rejection (*apocope*) of the ending ה־ in *Qal* and *Hiph.* gives rise to monosyllabic forms, with or without a helping vowel under the second radical, e. g. *Qal* ind. יָגַל, juss. יָגַל; *Hiph.* ind. יִגְלוּ, juss. יִגְלוּ; and in the *Pī'el* יָצַי from the indic. יִצְוֶה (called apocopated imperfects). But almost all<sup>1</sup> the plural forms of the jussive coincide with those of the indicative, except that the jussive excludes the fuller ending ה־. Neither do the forms of the 2nd sing. fem., as תִּקְטְלִי, תִּמְוִתִי, תִּגְלִי, &c., admit of any change in the jussive, nor any forms, whether singular or plural, to which suffixes are attached, e. g. תִּמְוִתֵּי as ind. Jer 38<sup>15</sup>, as jussive Jer 41<sup>8</sup>.

The meaning of the jussive is similar to that of the cohortative, *h* except that in the jussive the command or wish is limited almost exclusively to the 2nd or 3rd pers. On special uses of the jussive, e. g. in hypothetical sentences (even in the 1st pers.), see § 109 *h*.

5. The imperative, in accordance with its other points of connexion *i* with the imperfect in form and meaning, admits of a similar lengthening (by ה־, Arab. *imper. energicus*, with the ending -ānnā or -ān, in pause -ā) and shortening. Thus in *Qal* of the strong verb, the lengthened form of שָׁמַר *guard* is שָׁמְרָה<sup>2</sup> (*šm'era*, cf. קָטְלִי *qī'li*, § 46 *d*); עוֹבָה, עוֹבָה Jer 49<sup>11</sup>; שָׁכַב, שָׁכַב *lie down*; שָׁמַע, שָׁמַע *hear*, in lesser pause שָׁמְעָה

<sup>1</sup> Only in 1st plur. do we find a few shortened forms, as נִשְׁאַר 1 S 14<sup>36</sup>, parallel with cohortatives; and נָרָא Is 41<sup>23</sup> *Keth.*

<sup>2</sup> On the reading שָׁמְרָה (i. e. *šm'era*, according to the Jewish grammarians), required by the Masora in ψ 86<sup>2</sup>, 119<sup>167</sup> (cf. also Is 38<sup>14</sup>, and שָׁמְרֵנִי ψ 16<sup>1</sup>), see § 9 *v*; on מְלוּכָה, Ju 9<sup>8</sup> *Keth.*, see § 46 *e*.

Dn 9<sup>19</sup>; in Niph'al הִשְׁבַּעַה Gn 21<sup>23</sup>. Cf., however, also מְכַרָּה *sell*, Gn 25<sup>31</sup>, notwithstanding the impf. יִמְכֹּר; יַעֲרֹכָה Jb 33<sup>5</sup> (cf. עָרַכְוֹ Jer 46<sup>3</sup>), but impf. יַעֲרֹךְ; אֶסְפָּה *collect*, Nu 11<sup>16</sup> (for 'אֶסֶף cf. § 63 l and the plural אֶסְפּוּ), but 2nd masc. אֶסְפֵּךְ; נִצְרָה ψ 141<sup>3</sup>. Barth (see above, § 47 i note) finds in these forms a trace of old imperfects in *i*, cf. § 63 n. On the other hand, קָרַבָּה ψ 69<sup>29</sup> (also Imperat. קָרַב Lv 9<sup>7</sup>, &c.), but impf. יִקְרַב. Without ה, we have the form לֵךְ *go*, Nu 23<sup>13</sup>, Ju 19<sup>13</sup>, 2 Ch 25<sup>17</sup>. The form קָטַל in pause becomes קָטַלָּה, the form קָטַל becomes קָטַלָּה, e. g. יִרְשָׁה Dt 33<sup>23</sup>. But also without the pause we find מְלוּכָה Ju 9<sup>8</sup> *Keth.* and צְרוּפָה ψ 26<sup>2</sup> *Keth.*, on which see § 46 e. On the other hand רָגְנָה, פָּשְׁטָה, עָרָה, חָגְגָרָה Is 32<sup>11</sup> are to be explained as aramaizing forms of the 2nd plur. fem.; also for הִרְרִי v. 11 read הִרְרָה, and for סִפְרִים v. 12 read סִפְרָה.

k The shortened imperative is found only in verbs ל"ה, e. g. in *Pi'el* פָּלַ from פָּלֵה. The shade of meaning conveyed by the imperatives with ה־ is not always so perceptible as in the cohortative forms of the imperfect, but the longer form is frequently emphatic, e. g. קוּם *rise up*, קוּמָה *up! give*, תֵּן *give up!*

l Rem. The form הִדְעָה for הִדְעָה, best attested in Pr 24<sup>14</sup> (where it is taken by the Masora as imperat., not as infin., הִדְעָה) is evidently due to the influence of the ה which follows it in close connexion (so Strack, on the analogy of Jb 31<sup>2</sup>); for other examples of this change of *a* to *S*<sup>g</sup>hol, see above, under *d*, § 73 d, and § 80 i. On the other hand, it is doubtful whether רָבָה Ju 9<sup>29</sup> (from רָבָה) is intended for רָבָה, and not rather for the common form of the imperative *Pi'el* רָבֵה. In favour of the former explanation it may be urged that the imperative יִצָּאָה (from יִצָּא) follows immediately after; in favour of the latter, that the ending ה־, with imperatives of verbs ל"ה, is not found elsewhere, and also that here no guttural follows (as in Pr 24<sup>14</sup>).

#### § 49. The Perfect and Imperfect with Wāw Consecutive.

a 1. The use of the two tense-forms, as is shown more fully in the Syntax (§§ 106, 107, cf. above, § 47, note on *a*), is by no means restricted to the expression of the past or future. One of the most striking peculiarities in the Hebrew consecution of tenses<sup>1</sup> is the phenomenon that, in representing a series of past events, only the first

<sup>1</sup> The other Semitic languages do not exhibit this peculiarity, excepting the Phoenician, the most closely related to Hebrew, and of course the Moabitish dialect of the *Méša'* inscription, which is practically identical with Old Hebrew. It also appears in the inscription of זכר of Hamāth (cf. Nöldeke, *ZA.* 1908, p. 379) where we find וַאֲשַׁא יָרִי and *I lifted up my hand*, וַיַּעֲנֵנִי and *he answered me*, after a perfect of narration.

verb stands in the perfect, and the narration is continued in the imperfect. Conversely, the representation of a series of future events begins with the imperfect, and is continued in the perfect. Thus in 2 K 20<sup>1</sup>, *In those days was Hezekiah sick unto death* (perf.), and *Isaiah . . . came* (imperf.) *to him, and said* (imperf.) *to him, &c.* On the other hand, Is 7<sup>17</sup>, *the Lord shall bring* (imperf.) *upon thee . . . days, &c.,* 7<sup>18</sup>, and *it shall come to pass* (perf. הִיאֵרָא) *in that day . . .*

This progress in the sequence of time, is regularly indicated by *b* a pregnant and (called *wāw consecutive*<sup>1</sup>), which in itself is really only a variety of the ordinary *wāw copulative*, but which sometimes (in the imperf.) appears with a different vocalization. Further, the tenses connected by *wāw consecutive* sometimes undergo a change in the tone and consequently are liable also to other variations.

2. The *wāw consecutive* of the *imperfect* is (a) pronounced with *c* *Pathah* and a *Dageš forte* in the next letter, as וַיִּקְטַל and *he killed*; before *ס* of the 1st pers. sing. (according to § 22 c) with *Qames*, as וַיִּקְטַלְנִי and *I killed*. Exceptions are, וַיִּבְרַחְנִי Ez 16<sup>10</sup> according to the *Dikduke ha-ṭ'amim*, § 71; also וַיִּמְחַדְנִי 2 S 1<sup>10</sup> according to *Qimḥi*; but in Ju 6<sup>9</sup> וַיִּשְׁרַחְנִי should be read according to *Baer*, and וַיִּשְׁרַחְנִי in both places in Ju 20<sup>6</sup>. *Dageš forte* is always omitted in the preformative וַ, in accordance with § 20 m.

(b) When a shortening of the imperfect form is possible (cf. § 48 g), *d* it takes effect, as a rule (but cf. § 51 n), after *wāw consec.*, e.g. in *Hiphil* וַיִּקְטַל (§ 53 n). The tendency to retract the tone from the final syllable is even stronger after *wāw consec.* than in the *jussive*. The throwing back of the tone on to the penultima (conditional upon its being an open syllable with a long vowel, § 29 a), further involves the greatest possible shortening of the vowel of the ultima, since the vowel then comes to stand in a toneless closed syllable, e.g. וַיִּקְטַל, *juss.*

<sup>1</sup> This name best expresses the prevailing syntactical relation, for by *wāw consecutive* an action is always represented as the direct, or at least temporal consequence of a preceding action. Moreover, it is clear from the above examples, that the *wāw consecutive* can only be thus used in immediate conjunction with the verb. As soon as *wāw*, owing to an insertion (e.g. a negative), is separated from the verb, the imperfect follows instead of the perfect *consecutive*, the perfect instead of the imperfect *consecutive*. The fact that whole Books (Lev., Num., Josh., Jud., Sam., 2 Kings, Ezek., Ruth, Esth., Neh., 2 Chron.) begin with the imperfect *consecutive*, and others (Exod., 1 Kings, Ezra) with *wāw copulative*, is taken as a sign of their close connexion with the historical Books now or originally preceding them. Cf., on the other hand, the independent beginning of Job and Daniel. It is a merely superficial description to call the *wāw consecutive* by the old-fashioned name *wāw conversive*, on the ground that it always converts the meaning of the respective tenses into its opposite, i.e. according to the old view, the future into the preterite, and vice versa.

קָם, with *wāw consec.* קָמָה and he arose (§ 67 n and x, § 68 d, § 69 p, § 71, § 72 t and aa, § 73 e).<sup>1</sup>

c In the *first* pers. sing. alone the retraction of the tone and even the reducing of the long vowel in the final syllable (*â* to *ô*, *î* to *ê*, and then to *ö* and *ë*) are not usual,<sup>2</sup> at least according to the Masoretic punctuation, and the apocope in verbs קָמָה occurs more rarely; e.g. always קָמָה (or קָמָה, a merely orthographic difference) and I arose; *Hiph.* קָמָה (but generally written קָמָה, implying the pronunciation *wā'āqem*, as קָמָה implies *wā'āqôm*); קָמָה and I saw, more frequently than קָמָה, § 75 t. On the other hand, the form with final ה־ is often used in the 1st pers. both sing. and plur., especially in the later books, e.g. קָמָה and I sent, Gn 32<sup>6</sup>, 41<sup>11</sup>, 43<sup>21</sup>, Nu 8<sup>19</sup> (קָמָה, as in Ju 6<sup>9</sup>, 1 S 2<sup>28</sup>, and often, probably a sort of compensation for the lost נ); Ju 6<sup>10</sup>, 12<sup>3</sup>, 2 S 22<sup>24</sup>, ψ 3<sup>6</sup>, 7<sup>5</sup>, 90<sup>10</sup>, 119<sup>56</sup>, Jb 1<sup>15ff.</sup>, 19<sup>20</sup>, Ez 7<sup>28</sup>, 8<sup>25</sup>, 9<sup>3</sup>, Neh 2<sup>13</sup>, 5<sup>7.8.13</sup>, 6<sup>11</sup>, 13<sup>7-11.21</sup> f., &c.—Sometimes, as in ψ 3<sup>6</sup>, with a certain emphasis of expression, and probably often, as in Ju 10<sup>12</sup>, קָמָה before א, for euphonic reasons. In Is 8<sup>2</sup> קָמָה may have been originally intended; in ψ 73<sup>16</sup> קָמָה and in Jb 30<sup>26</sup> קָמָה. In Ez 3<sup>3</sup> read קָמָה or קָמָה.

f This ו־ is in meaning a strengthened *wāw copulative*, and resembles in pronunciation the form which is retained in Arabic as the ordinary copula (*wā*).<sup>3</sup> The close connexion of this *wā* with the following consonant, caused the latter in Hebrew to take Dageš, especially as *ā* could not have been retained in an open syllable. Cf. בְּמָה, בְּמָה, בְּמָה (for בְּמָה), where the prepositions בְּ and לְ, and the particle וְ, are closely connected with מָה in the same way (§ 102 k).

g The retraction of the tone also occurs in such combinations, as in מָה (for מָה § 102 l).—The identity of many *consecutive* forms with jussives of the same conjugation must not mislead us into supposing an intimate relation between the moods. In the consecutive forms the shortening of the vowel (and the retraction of the tone) seems rather to be occasioned solely by the strengthening of the preformative syllable, while in the jussives the shortening (and retraction) belongs to the character of the form.

h 3. The counterpart of *wāw consecutive* of the *imperfect* is *wāw consecutive* of the *perfect*, by means of which perfects are placed as

<sup>1</sup> The plural forms in ה־ also occur less frequently after *wāw consecutive*; cf., however, וְיָרִיבוּ Ju 8<sup>1</sup>, 11<sup>18</sup>, Am 6<sup>3</sup>, Ez 44<sup>8</sup>, Dt 4<sup>11</sup>, 5<sup>20</sup>. The 2nd fem. sing. in ה־ never occurs after *wāw consecutive*.

<sup>2</sup> In the 1st plur. וְנַעֲמִיר Neh 4<sup>3</sup> is the only instance in which the vowel remains unreduced (cf. וְנָשׁוּב, i. e. וְנָשׁוּב, 4<sup>9</sup> K<sup>eth.</sup>; וְנָשׁוּב). On the treatment of the tone in the imperfect, imperative, and infinitive *Niph'al*, see § 51 n.

<sup>3</sup> In usage the Hebrew *wāw* does duty for the Arabic *fā* (*wāw apodosis*, see § 143 d) as well as *wā*.

the sequels in the future to preceding actions or events regarded as incomplete at the time of speaking, and therefore in the imperfect, imperative, or even participle. This *wāw* is in form an ordinary *wāw copulative*, and therefore shares its various vocalization (ו, ו, ו, as 2 K 7<sup>4</sup>, and ו); e. g. והיה, after an imperfect, &c., and so it happens = and it will happen. It has, however, the effect, in certain verbal forms, of shifting the tone from the penultima, generally on to the ultima, e. g. הלכתה I went, consecutive form והלכתה and I will go, Ju 1<sup>3</sup>, where it is co-ordinated with another *perfect consecutive*, which again is the consecutive to an *imperative*. See further on this usage in § 112.

As innumerable examples show, the *Qames* of the first syllable is retained <sup>i</sup> in the strong perf. consec. Qal, as formerly before the tone, so now in the secondary tone, and therefore necessarily takes *Metheg*. On the other hand, the *ō* of the second syllable in verbs *middle* *ō* upon losing the tone necessarily becomes *ö*, e. g. ויבלתי Ex 18<sup>23</sup>.

The shifting forward of the tone after the *wāw consecutive* of the *perfect* is, <sup>k</sup> however, not consistently carried out. It is omitted—(a) always in the 1st pers. pl., e. g. וישבנו Gn 34<sup>16</sup>; (b) regularly in Hiph'il before the affirmatives ה and ו, see § 53 r; and (c) in many cases in verbs א"ל and ה"ל, almost always in the 1st sing. of א"ל (Jer 29<sup>14</sup>), and in ה"ל if the vowel of the 2nd syllable is *i*, Ex 17<sup>6</sup>, 26<sup>4.6.7.10</sup> n, Ju 6<sup>26</sup>, &c., except in Qal (only Lv 24<sup>5</sup>, before א) and the 2nd sing. masc. of Hiph'il-forms before א, Nu 20<sup>8</sup>, Dt 20<sup>13</sup>, 1 S 15<sup>3</sup>, 2 K 13<sup>17</sup>; similarly in Pi'el before א, Ex 25<sup>4</sup>, Jer 27<sup>4</sup>. On the other hand the tone is generally moved forward if the second syllable has *e* (in א"ל Gn 27<sup>10</sup> &c., in ה"ל Ex 40<sup>4</sup>, Jer 33<sup>6</sup>, Ez 32<sup>7</sup>); but cf. also ויראת Lv 19<sup>14.32</sup> and frequently, always before the counter-tone, Jo 4<sup>21</sup>, ψ 19<sup>14</sup>.<sup>1</sup> With *ā* in the penultima the form is ונשאת Is 14<sup>4</sup>, and probably also וקראת Jer 2<sup>2</sup>, 3<sup>12</sup>, 1 S 10<sup>2</sup> with little T<sup>e</sup>li'ā, a postpositive accent.

But before a following א the ultima mostly bears the tone on phonetic <sup>l</sup> grounds, e. g. וקראת Gn 6<sup>1</sup>, Ex 3<sup>18</sup>, Zc 6<sup>10</sup> (by the side of וקראת, &c. (cf., however, וקראת, before א, Gn 17<sup>19</sup>, Jer 7<sup>27</sup>, Ez 36<sup>29</sup>); - וקראת Ju 6<sup>16</sup>, cf. Ex 25<sup>11</sup>, Lv 24<sup>5</sup> (but also וצויתני Lv 25<sup>21</sup>). Likewise, before ה, Am 8<sup>9</sup>, and ע, e. g. Gn 26<sup>10</sup>, 27<sup>12</sup>, Lv 26<sup>25</sup> (cf., however, וקראתי עליו, Ez 38<sup>21</sup>); on verbs ע"ע, see § 67 k and ee.

(d) The tone always keeps its place when such a perfect stands in *pause*, <sup>m</sup> e. g. ושב עתה Dt 6<sup>11</sup>, 11<sup>15</sup>; ואמר Is 14<sup>4</sup>, Ju 4<sup>8</sup>; sometimes even in the lesser pause, as Dt 2<sup>28</sup>, Ez 3<sup>26</sup>, 1 S 29<sup>9</sup> (where see Driver), with *Zaqeph qaton*; and frequently also immediately before a tone-syllable (according to § 29 e), as in ושב עתה Dt 17<sup>14</sup>, Ez 14<sup>18</sup>, 17<sup>22</sup>, Am 1<sup>4.7.10.12</sup>—but also וקראתה Dt 21<sup>11</sup>, 23<sup>14</sup>. 24<sup>19</sup>, 1 K 8<sup>46</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> The irregularity in the tone of these perfects manifestly results from following conflicting theories, not that of Ben Asher alone.

## § 50. The Participle.

*a* 1. Qal has both an active participle, called *Pō'el* from its form (לַפְעוּל), and a passive, *Pā'ul* (לַפְעוּל).<sup>1</sup>

*Pā'ul* is generally regarded as a survival of a passive of Qal, which still exists throughout in Arabic, but has been lost in Hebrew (see, however, § 52 *e*), just as in Aramaic the passives of *Pi'el* and *Hiph'il* are lost, except in the participles. But instances of the form *quṭṭāl* are better regarded as remnants of the passive participle Qal (see § 52 *s*), so that לַפְעוּל must be considered as an original verbal noun; cf. Barth, *Nominabildung*, p. 173 ff.

*b* 2. In the intransitive verbs *mid. e* and *mid. o*, the form of the participle active of Qal coincides in form with the 3rd sing. of the perfect, e. g. יָשָׁן *sleeping*, from יָשַׁן; יָנַר (only orthographically different from the perf. יָנַר) *fearing*; cf. the formation of the participle in *Niph'al*, § 51 *a*. On the other hand, the participle of verbs *mid. a* takes the form קָטַל (so even from the transitive שָׂנְאָה *to hate*, part. שֹׂנֵא). The *o* of these forms has arisen through an obscuring of the *a*, and is therefore unchangeable, cf. § 9 *g*. The form קָטַל (with a changeable *Qameṣ* in both syllables), which would correspond to the forms יָשָׁן and יָנַר, is only in use as a noun, cf. § 84<sup>a</sup> *f*. The formation of the participle in *Pi'el*, *Hiph'il*, and *Hithpa'el* follows a different method.

*c* 3. Participles form their feminine (קָטְלוּהָ or קָטְלוּהָ) and their plural like other nouns (§ 80 *e*, § 84<sup>a</sup> *r, s*, § 94).

*d* Rem. 1. From the above it follows, that the *a* of the form יָשָׁן is lengthened from *ä*, and consequently changeable (e. g. fem. יָשְׁנָה); and that the *o* of קָטַל on the other hand is obscured from an unchangeable *ä*.<sup>1</sup> In Arabic the verbal adjective of the form *qätül* corresponds to the form *qätäl*, and the part. *qätül* to *qätäl*. In both cases, therefore, the *e* of the second syllable is lengthened from *i*, and is consequently changeable (e. g. קָטַל, plur. קָטְלוּ; constr. pl. קָטְלוּ).

*e* תּוֹמִיךָ ψ 16<sup>b</sup>, instead of the form *qätäl*, is an anomaly; it is possible, however, that תּוֹמִיךָ (incorrectly written fully) is intended (cf. סְבִיב 2 K 8<sup>21</sup>), or even the imperfect *Hiph'il* of תּוֹמֵךְ. The form יִסְפֵּךְ in Is 29<sup>14</sup>, 38<sup>5</sup> appears to stand for יִסְפֵּךְ, but most probably the Masora here (as certainly in יִסְפֵּךְ Ec 1<sup>18</sup>) intends the 3rd sing. imperf. *Hiph.*, for which the better form would be יִסְפֵּךְ; אֹבְדִיל 1 Ch 27<sup>30</sup>, being a proper name and a foreign word, need not be considered.—אָבַר (constr. state of אָבַר), with *ä* in the second syllable, occurs in Dt 32<sup>28</sup> (cf. moreover, § 65 *d*). On הוֹלֵם Is 41<sup>7</sup> (for הוֹלֵם), see § 29 *f*.

*f* 2. A form like the pass. ptep. *Pā'ul*, but not to be confused with it, is sometimes found from intransitive verbs, to denote an inherent quality, e. g. אֱמוּנָה *faithful*, אֲנָשׁ *desperate*, Jer 15<sup>18</sup>, &c.; בְּטוּחָה *trustful*, Is 26<sup>3</sup>, ψ 112<sup>7</sup>; עֲצוּם *strong*; שָׂכָר *drunken*, Is 51<sup>21</sup>; and even from transitive verbs, חֲנֻחַה *handling*, Ct 3<sup>8</sup>; מְדַבֵּר *mindful*, ψ 103<sup>14</sup>; יָדוּעַ *knowing*, Is 53<sup>3</sup>; cf. § 84<sup>a</sup> *m*.

<sup>1</sup> The constr. st. נִשְׁמַר in the formula נִשְׁמַר יְהוָה, *the word* (properly the *whispering*) of the Lord, &c., is always written defectively.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Vollers, 'Das Qätäl-partizipium,' in ZA. 1903, p. 312 ff.

## R. VERBA DERIVATIVA, OR DERIVED CONJUGATIONS.

§ 51. *Niph'al*.<sup>1</sup>

1. The essential characteristic of this conjugation consists in a *a* prefix<sup>2</sup> to the stem. This exists in two forms: (a) the (probably original) prepositive *nā*, as in the Hebrew perfect and participle, although in the strong verb the *ā* is always attenuated to *i*: לָבַטַל for original *nā-qāṭāl*, participle לְבַטַל, infinitive absolute sometimes לְבַטֵּל; (b) the (later) proclitic *in* (as in all the forms of the corresponding Arabic conjugation VII. *'inqātālā*), found in the imperfect לְבַטֵּל for *yinqātēl*, in the imperative and infinitive construct, with a secondary ה added, לְבַטֵּלְה (for *hinqātēl*), and in the infinitive absolute לְבַטֵּלְה. The inflexion of *Niph'al* is perfectly analogous to that of *Qal*.

The features of *Niph'al* are accordingly in the perfect and participle the *b* prefixed *Nūn*, in the imperative, infinitive, and imperfect, the *Dageš* in the first radical. These characteristics hold good also for the weak verb. In the case of an initial guttural, which, according to § 22 *b*, cannot take *Dageš forte*, the omission of the strengthening invariably causes the lengthening of the preceding vowel (see § 63 *h*).

2. As regards its meaning, *Niph'al* bears some resemblance to the *c* Greek *middle voice*, in being—(a) primarily *reflexive* of *Qal*, e.g. יָחַלְלָהּ to *thrust oneself (against)*, נִשְׁמַר to *take heed to oneself*, φυλάσσεσθαι, נִסְתַּר to *hide oneself*, לְנַסְתָּר to *redeem oneself*; cf. also אָנַחְתִּי to *answer for oneself*. Equally characteristic of *Niph'al* is its frequent use to express emotions which react upon the mind; חָנַחְתִּי to *trouble oneself*, חָנַחְתִּי to *sigh (to bemoan oneself, cf. ὀδύρεσθαι, lamentari, contristari)*; as well as to express actions which the subject allows to happen to himself, or to have an effect upon himself (*Niph'al tolerativum*), e.g. שָׁרַחְתִּי to *search, to inquire*, *Niph. to allow oneself to be inquired of*, Is 65<sup>1</sup>, Ez 14<sup>3</sup>, &c.; so the *Niph.* of נִצַּחְתִּי to *find*, נִסַּחְתִּי to *warn, to correct*, Jer 6<sup>8</sup>, 31<sup>18</sup>, &c.

(b) It expresses *reciprocal* or mutual action. e.g. דַּבַּרְתֶּם to *speak*, *Niph. d* to *speak to one another*; שִׁפְטוּ to *judge*, *Niph. to go to law with one another*; יָצַחְתֶּם to *counsel*, *Niph. to take counsel*, cf. the *middle* and *deponent* verbs βουλευέσθαι (יוֹצֵחַ), μάχεσθαι (מִחַלְלֵת), altercari, luctari (הִצָּחְתֶּם to *strive with one another*) *proeliari*.

(c) It has also, like *Hithpa'el* (§ 54 *f*) and the Greek *middle*, the *c* meaning of the active, with the addition of *to oneself (sibi)*, for one-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. A. Rieder, *De linguae Hebr. verbis, quae vocantur derivata nifal et hitpacl*, Gumbinnen (Progr. des Gymn.), 1884, a list of all the strong *Niph'al* forms (81) and *Hithpa'el* forms (36) in the Old Testament; and especially M. Lambert, 'L'emploi du Nifal en Hébreu,' *REJ.* 41, 196 ff.

<sup>2</sup> See Philippi in *ZDMG.* 1886, p. 650, and Barth, *ibid.* 1894, p. 8 f.

self, e. g. לְשֵׁאלָא to ask (something) for oneself (1 S 20<sup>6,23</sup>, Neh 13<sup>6</sup>), cf. αἰτοῦμαι σε τοῦτο, ἐνδύσασθαι χιτῶνα, to put on (oneself) a tunic.

f (d) In consequence of a looseness of thought at an early period of the language, *Niph'al* comes finally in many cases to represent the passive<sup>1</sup> of *Qal*, e. g. יָלַד to bear, Niph. to be born; קָבַר to bury, Niph. to be buried. In cases where *Qal* is intransitive in meaning, or is not used, *Niph'al* appears also as the passive of *Pi'el* and *Hiph'il*, e. g. כָּבַד to be in honour, Pi'el to honour, Niph. to be honoured (as well as Pu'al כָּבַד; פָּתַר Pi'el to conceal, Hiph. to destroy, Niph. passive of either. In such cases *Niph'al* may again coincide in meaning with *Qal* (חָלַה *Qal* and Niph. to be ill) and even take an accusative.

g Examples of denominatives are, נִזְכָּר to be born a male, Ex 34<sup>19</sup> (from זָכַר; but probably הִזְכָּר should here be read); נִלְבַּב cordatum fieri, Jb 11<sup>12</sup> (from לָבַב cor); doubtless also נִבְנָה to obtain children, Gn 16<sup>2</sup>, 30<sup>3</sup>.

h The older grammarians were decidedly wrong in representing *Niph'al* simply as the passive of *Qal*; for *Niph'al* has (as the frequent use of its imperat. shows), in no respect the character of the other passives, and in Arabic a special conjugation (*ingätälä*) corresponds to it with a passive of its own. Moreover, the forms mentioned in § 52 e point to a differently formed passive of *Qal*.—The form נִזְאָלוּ Is 59<sup>3</sup>, La 4<sup>14</sup>, is not to be regarded as a passive of *Niph'al*, but with König and Cheyne as a *forma mixta*, in the sense that the punctuators intended to combine two optional readings, נִזְאָלוּ, perf. Niph., and נִזְאָלוּ, perf. Pu'al [cf. also Wright, *Compar. Gramm.*, p. 224]. Although the passive use of *Niph'al* was introduced at an early period, and became tolerably common, it is nevertheless quite secondary to the reflexive use.

i Rem. 1. The *infin. absol.* נִקְטָלוּ is connected in form with the perfect, to which it bears the same relation as קָטַל in *Qal*, the *o* in the second syllable being obscured from an original *á*. Examples are, נִבְכָּה Gn 31<sup>30</sup>; נִלְחָם Ju 11<sup>25</sup>; נִשְׂאָל 1 S 20<sup>6,23</sup>, all in connexion with the perfect.

k Examples of the form הִקְטַל (in connexion with imperfects) are, הִתְנַחַם Jer 32<sup>4</sup>; הִאָּכַל Lv 7<sup>18</sup>; once אִדְרַשׁ Ez 14<sup>3</sup>, where, perhaps, the subsequent אִדְרַשׁ has led to the substitution of א for ה.—Moreover, the form הִקְטַל is not infrequently used also for the *infin. absol.*,<sup>2</sup> e. g. Ex 22<sup>3</sup>, Nu 15<sup>31</sup>, Dt 4<sup>26</sup>, 1 K 20<sup>39</sup>. On the other hand, פָּהַנְרָה should simply be read for the wholly abnormal פָּהַנְרָה ψ 68<sup>3</sup> (commonly explained as being intended to correspond in sound with the subsequent פָּהַנְרָה, but probably a 'forma mixta', combining the readings פָּהַנְרָה and פָּהַנְרָה).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Halfmann, *Beiträge zur Syntax der hebräischen Sprache*, 1. Stück, Wittenb., 1888, 2. St. 1892 (Gymn.-Programm), statistics of the Niph'al (Pu'al, Hoph'al, and qätül) forms at different periods of the language, for the purpose of ascertaining the meaning of Niph. and its relation to the passive; the selection of periods is, however, very questionable from the standpoint of literary criticism.

<sup>2</sup> But, like הִקְטַל, only in connexion with imperfects, except Jer 7<sup>9</sup>. Barth is therefore right in describing (*Nominalbildung*, p. 74) both forms as later analogous formations (in addition to the original Semitic נִקְטָלוּ), intended to assimilate the infinitive to the imperfect which it strengthens.

Elision of the ה after prepositions is required by the Masora in בְּשֵׁלִי Pr l 24<sup>17</sup> (for בְּהֵלִי), בְּהֵרֵג Ez 26<sup>15</sup> and בְּעַטְףָּה La 2<sup>11</sup>; also in verbs לָהֵא Ex 10<sup>3</sup> (לָעֲנֹת); 34<sup>24</sup>, Dt 31<sup>11</sup>, Is 1<sup>12</sup> (לָרְאוֹת); in verbs וָעָרָה Jb 33<sup>30</sup> (לָאוֹר). It is, however, extremely doubtful whether the *infin. Qal* of the *Kethibh* is not rather intended in all these examples; it certainly is so in La 2<sup>11</sup>, cf. ψ 61<sup>3</sup>.

2. Instead of the *Sere* in the ultima of the imperfect, *Pathah* often occurs in pause, e.g. וַיִּגְמַל Gn 21<sup>8</sup>; cf. Ex 31<sup>17</sup>, 2 S 12<sup>25</sup> (with final וָשׁ); 17<sup>23</sup> (with ק); Jon 1<sup>6</sup> (with מ); see § 29 q. In the 2nd and 3rd plur. fem. *Pathah* predominates, e.g. תִּתְּכַרְנֶה Is 65<sup>17</sup>; *Sere* occurs only in תִּתְּעַנְנֶה Ru 1<sup>13</sup>, from עָנָן, and hence, with loss of the doubling, for תִּתְּעַנְנֶה; cf. even תִּתְּאֲמֶנָה Is 60<sup>4</sup>.—With *Nún paragodicum* (see § 47 m) in the 2nd and 3rd plur. masc. are found, וַיִּלְכְּדוּ, וַיִּלְחַמּוּ, &c., in pause וַיִּבְהִלּוּ, וַיִּשְׁמְדוּ, &c.; but Jb 19<sup>21</sup> (cf. 24<sup>24</sup>) וַיִּחַצְבוּ.

3. When the imperfect, the infinitive (in *ē*), or the imperative is followed in close connexion by a monosyllable, or by a word with the tone on the first syllable, the tone is, as a rule (but cf. וַיִּאֲבֹק אִישׁ Gn 32<sup>25</sup>), shifted back from the ultima to the penultima, while the ultima, which thus loses the tone, takes *S'ghōl* instead of *Sere*; e.g. וַיִּשְׁלַל בָּהּ Ez 33<sup>12</sup>; לוֹ וַיַּעֲטֶר Gn 25<sup>21</sup>; in the imperative, 13<sup>9</sup>.—So always הִשְׁמַר לָהּ (since לָהּ counts as one syllable) Gn 24<sup>5</sup>, &c., cf. 1 S 19<sup>2</sup>; and even with *Pathah* in the ultima, תִּתְּעוֹב אֲרִיִן Jb 18<sup>4</sup> (but cf. וַיַּעֲתָר אֱלֹהִים 2 S 21<sup>14</sup>). Although in isolated cases (e.g. Gn 32<sup>25</sup>, Ezr S<sup>23</sup>) the tone is not thrown back, in spite of a tone-syllable following, the retraction has become usual in certain forms, even when the next word begins with a toneless syllable; especially after 1 *consec.*, e.g. וַיִּשְׁפָּאֵר Gn 7<sup>23</sup>; וַיִּלְחַם Nu 21<sup>1</sup> and frequently, וַיִּצְטַד 25<sup>3</sup>; and always so in the imperative הִשְׁמַר Ex 23<sup>21</sup>, Jb 36<sup>21</sup>, and (before Metheg of the counter-tone) Dt 24<sup>8</sup>, 2 K 6<sup>9</sup>. On the avoidance of pausal-forms in the imperative (Am 2<sup>12</sup> with *Silluq*, Zc 2<sup>11</sup> with *Athnah*), and imperfect (Pr 24<sup>4</sup>, &c.), see § 29 o, and note; on the other hand, always הִפְלִיט, הִפְלִיט, &c.

In the *imperative*, נִקְבְּצוּ, for הִקְבְּצוּ, with the rejection of the initial ה, O occurs in Is 43<sup>9</sup>, and in Joel 4<sup>11</sup> in pause נִקְבְּצוּ (cf. נָלוּ Jer 50<sup>5</sup>); but in these examples either the reading or the explanation is doubtful. The 2nd sing. imperat. of נִשְׁבַּע is always (with ה־ paragodicum) לִי הִשְׁבַּעָה swear to me, Gn 21<sup>23</sup>, &c. (also לִי הִשְׁבַּעָה Gn 47<sup>31</sup>, 1 S 30<sup>15</sup>).

4. For the 1st sing. of the *imperfect*, the form אֶשְׁבַּל is as frequent as אֶשְׁבֹּל, p e.g. אֶדְרֹשׁ I shall be inquired of, Ez 14<sup>3</sup>; אֶשְׁבַּע I will swear, Gn 21<sup>24</sup>; cf. 16<sup>2</sup>, Nu 23<sup>15</sup>, Ez 2c<sup>35</sup>, and so always in the cohortative, e.g. אֶנְקָמָה I will avenge me, Is 1<sup>24</sup>; cf. 1 S 12<sup>7</sup>, Ez 26<sup>2</sup>, and in the impf. Niph. of פָּעַל (§ 69 t). The Babylonian punctuation admits only ִ under the preformative of the 1st person.

§ 52. Pi'el and Pu'al.

1. The *characteristic* of this conjugation consists in the strengthening *a* of the middle radical. From the simple stem *qatal* (cf. § 43 b) the form קָטַל (cf. the Arabic conj. II. *qattālā*) would naturally follow as

the *perfect* of the active (*Pi'el*). The *Pathah* of the first syllable is, however, with one exception (see *m*), always attenuated to *i* in the *perfect*. In the second syllable, *ā* has been retained in the majority of cases, so that the conjugation should more correctly be called *Pi'al*; but very frequently<sup>1</sup> this *ā* also is attenuated to *i*, which is then regularly lengthened to *ē*, under the influence of the tone. Cf. in Aram. קָטַל; but in Biblical Aramaic almost always קָטַל. On the three cases in which *ā* before a final ר or ס has passed into *Seghol*, see below, *l*.—Hence, for the 3rd sing. masc. *perfect*, there arise forms like קָטַר, קָטַשׁ, קָטַר, קָטַשׁ, קָטַר, קָטַשׁ, &c.—Before affirmatives beginning with a consonant, however, *ā* is always retained, thus קָטַלְתָּ, קָטַלְתָּם, קָטַלְתָּנִי, &c. In the *infinitives* (*absol.* קָטַל, obscured from *qattāl*; *constr.* קָטַל), *imperfect* (קָטַלְתָּ), *imperative* (קָטַל), and *participle* (קָטַלְתָּ) the original *ā* of the first syllable reappears throughout. The vocal *Sewa* of the preformatives is weakened from a short vowel; cf. the Arabic imperfect *yūqattil*, participle *mūqattil*.

*b* The *passive* (*Pu'al*) is distinguished by the obscure vowel *ū*, or very rarely *ō*, in the first syllable, and *ā* (in pause *ā*) always in the second. In Arabic, also, the passives are formed throughout with *ū* in the first syllable. The inflexion of both these conjugations is analogous to that of *Qal*.

*c* Rem. 1. The preformative מ, which in the remaining conjugations also is the prefix of the participle, is probably connected with the interrogative or indefinite (cf. § 37) pronoun מִי *quis? quicumque* (fem. i. e. neuter, מִיָּה); cf. § 85 e.

*d* 2. The Dageš forte, which according to the above is characteristic of the whole of *Pi'el* and *Pu'al*, is often omitted (independently of verbs *middle guttural*, § 64 *d*) when the middle radical has *Sewa* under it (cf. § 20 *m*), e. g. שָׁלַחְתָּ for שָׁלַחְתָּ Ez 17<sup>17</sup>; בָּקַשְׁתָּ 2 Ch 15<sup>15</sup> (but in the *imperative* always בָּקַשׁוּ 1 S 28<sup>7</sup>, &c.), and so always in הִלְלֵה *praise*. The vocal character of the *Sewa* under the *litera dagessanda* is sometimes in such cases (according to § 10 *h*) expressly emphasized by its taking the form of a *Haṭeph*, as in לָקַחְתָּ Gn 2<sup>28</sup>, with *—* owing to the influence of the preceding *u*, cf. פָּעַלְתָּ for פָּעַלְתָּ, &c.; Gn 9<sup>14</sup>, Ju 16<sup>16</sup>. In the *imperfect* and *participle* the *Sewa* under the preformatives (*Haṭeph-Pathah* under נ in the 1st sing. *imperfect*) serves at the same time as a characteristic of both conjugations (Gn 26<sup>14</sup>).

*e* 3. According to the convincing suggestion of Böttcher<sup>2</sup> (*Ausführliches Lehrbuch*, § 904 ff. and § 1022), many supposed *perfects* of *Pu'al* are in reality

<sup>1</sup> So in all verbs which end in *Nūn*, and in almost all which end in *Lamed* (Olsh. p. 538). Barth is probably right in supposing (*ZDMG*. 1894, p. 1 ff.) that the vowels of the strengthened *perfects* have been influenced by the *imperfect*.

<sup>2</sup> As Mayer Lambert observes, the same view was already expressed by Ibn Ġanāh (see above, § 3 *d*) in the *Kitāb el-luma'*, p. 161. Cf. especially Barth, 'Das passive Qal und seine Participien,' in the *Festschrift zum Jubiläum Hildesheimer* (Berlin, 1890), p. 145 ff.



לָקַח *to gather the clouds together* (from לָקַח, שָׁלַח *to divide in three parts*, or *to do a thing for the third time* (from שָׁלַח)); probably also דָּבַר *to speak*, from דָּבַר *a word*. Or again, the denominative may express taking away, injuring, &c., the object denoted by the noun (*privative Pi'el*, cf. our *to skin, to behead, to bone*), e. g. שָׁרַשׁ, from שָׁרַשׁ *to root out, to extirpate*, וָנֶבֶל prop. *to injure the tail* (וָנֶבֶל), hence *to rout the rear of an army, to attack it*; לָבַב *to ravish the heart*; דָּוָן *to remove the ashes* (דָּוָן), הִטָּא *to free from sin* (הִטָּא), עָצַם *to break any one's bones* (עָצַם; cf., in the same sense, גָּרַם from גָּרַם); סָעַף *to lop the boughs*, Is 10<sup>33</sup> (from סָעַף *a bough*). Some words are clearly denominatives, although the noun from which they are derived is no longer found, e. g. סָקַל *to stone, to pelt with stones* (also used in this sense in *Qal*), and *to remove stones* (from a field), *to clear away stones*; cf. our *to stone*, used also in the sense of *taking out the stones* from fruit.

The meaning of the *passive* (*Pu'al*) follows naturally from the above, e. g. בָּקַשׁ *Pi'el to seek, Pu'al to be sought*.

i In *Pi'el* the literal, concrete meaning of the verb has sometimes been retained, when *Qal* has acquired a figurative sense, e. g. גָּלָה, *Pi'el to uncover, Qal to reveal, also to emigrate, i. e. to make the land bare*.

k Also with an intransitive sense *Pi'el* occurs as an intensive form, but only in poetic language, e. g. חָתַת in *Pi'el to be broken in pieces*, Jer 51<sup>66</sup>; צָחַר *to tremble*, Is 51<sup>13</sup>, Pr 28<sup>14</sup>; רָוַח *to be drunken*, Is 34<sup>5,7</sup>; [מָעַט *to be few*, Ec 12<sup>3</sup>]; but in Is 48<sup>8</sup>, 60<sup>11</sup> instead of the *Pi'el* of פָּתַח the *Niph'al* is certainly to be read, with Cheyne.

l Rem. 1. The (more frequent) form of the perfect with *Pathah* in the second syllable appears especially before *Maqqeph* (Ec 9<sup>15</sup>, 12<sup>9</sup>) and in the middle of sentences in continuous discourse, but at the end of the sentence (in *pause*) the form with *Sere* is more common. Cf. גָּדַל Is 49<sup>21</sup> with גָּדַל Jos 4<sup>14</sup>, Est 3<sup>1</sup>; מָלַט Ez 33<sup>5</sup> with מָלַט Ec 9<sup>16</sup>; קָצַץ 2 K 8<sup>16</sup> with קָצַץ ψ 129<sup>4</sup>; but *Qames* never appears in this pausal form. The 3rd sing. fem. in *pause* is always of the form קָטְלָה, except קָבְצָה Mi 1<sup>7</sup>; the 3rd plur. always as קָטְלוּ; the 2nd and 1st sing. and 1st plur. of course as קָטַלְתָּ, קָטַלְתִּי, קָטַלְתֶּם (but always דִּבַּרְתִּי and לְפָדַרְתִּי). In the 3rd sing. perf. דִּבַּר *to speak*, בָּפַר *to pardon*, and כָּבַם *to wash clothes* (also כָּבַם Gn 49<sup>11</sup>) take *S'ghol*, but become in *pause* דִּבֵּר, בָּפַר, כָּבַם (2 S 19<sup>25</sup>); the pausal form of כָּבַר does not occur.

m *Pathah* in the first syllable (as in Aramaic and Arabic) occurs only once, Gn 41<sup>51</sup>, נִשְׁכַּחַתְּ he made me forget, to emphasize more clearly the play on the name מְנַשְׁכָּה.

n 2. In the imperfect (and *jussive* Ju 16<sup>25</sup>), infinitive, and imperative *Pi'el* (as also in *Hithpa'el*) the *Sere* in the final syllable, when followed by *Maqqeph*, is usually shortened into *S'ghol*, e. g. יִבְקֹשׂ-לוֹ he seeks for himself, Is 40<sup>20</sup>; קִדְּשֵׁנִי sanctify unto me, Ex 13<sup>2</sup>. Pausal-forms with *S'ghol* instead of *Sere*, as יִרְחַף Dt 32<sup>11</sup>, אָרַחַח Ho 2<sup>6</sup> (cf. Ex 32<sup>6</sup> in the infinitive, and Gn 21<sup>9</sup> in the participle), owe their origin to some particular school of Masoretes, and are wrongly accepted by Baer; cf. the analogous cases in § 75 n and hh. If the final syllable of the imperfect *Pi'el* has *Pathah* (before a guttural or ר), it remains

even in *pause*; cf. § 29 s and 65 e. In the 1st sing. imperfect the *e*-sound occurs in two words for *Ha'ep̄h-Pathah*, under the preformative א; אִרְרָה Lv 26<sup>38</sup>, Ez 5<sup>12</sup>, 12<sup>14</sup> and וְאִסְעַרְמִי Zc 7<sup>14</sup> (in accordance with § 23 h).—Before the full plural ending ון (see § 47 m) the *Sere* is retained in *pause*, e.g. הַדְּבָרֹן ψ 58<sup>2</sup> (but Gn 32<sup>20</sup> הַדְּבָרִין, cf. 2 K 6<sup>19</sup>, Dt 12<sup>3</sup>; so before *Silluq* ψ 58<sup>3</sup>, Jb 21<sup>11</sup> and even before *Zaqeph qaton* Dt 7<sup>5</sup>. Instead of הַקְפִּילְנָה, forms like הַקְפִּילְנָה are also found, e.g. Is 3<sup>16</sup>, 13<sup>18</sup>, in both cases before a sibilant and in *pause*. Also פִּלְגִי ψ 55<sup>10</sup> occurs as the 2nd sing. imperative (probably an intentional imitation of the sound of the preceding בִּלְעַ and קָרַב (for *qarrabh*) Ez 37<sup>17</sup>.

3. The *infinitive absolute* of *Pi'el* has sometimes the special form קָטַל given in 0 the paradigm, e.g. פָּרַר *castigando*, ψ 118<sup>18</sup>; cf. Ex 21<sup>19</sup>, 1 K 19<sup>10</sup> (from a verb אָרַר); ψ 40<sup>2</sup> (from a verb אָרַר); but much more frequently the form of the *infinitive construct* (קָטַל) is used instead. The latter has also, in exceptional cases, the form קָטַל (with *ā* attenuated to *ī* as in the *perfect*), e.g. in 1 Ch 8<sup>8</sup> שָׁלַח; perhaps also (if not a substantive) קָטַר Jer 44<sup>21</sup>; and for the sake of assonance even for *infinitive absolute* in 2 S 12<sup>14</sup> (נִיּוֹן נִאֲצַתָּ). On the other hand, שָׁלַח Dt 32<sup>35</sup> and דָּבַר Jer 5<sup>13</sup> are better regarded as substantives, while דָּבַר Ex 6<sup>28</sup>, Nu 3<sup>1</sup>, Dt 4<sup>15</sup> (in each case after בְּיוֹם), Ho 1<sup>2</sup> (after הַתְּחִלָּתָא), in all of which places it is considered by König (after Qimḥi) to be *infinitive construct*, is really perfect of *Pi'el*.

The *infinitive construct* *Pi'el*, with the *fem.* ending (cf. § 45 d), occurs in p אִרְרָה Lv 26<sup>18</sup>; אִרְרָה וְאִרְרָה ψ 147<sup>1</sup>; with ת of the *fem.* before a suffix אִרְרָהְךָ Ez 16<sup>52</sup>. On the verbal nouns after the form of the *Aram. inf.* *Pa'il* (אִרְרָה), see § 84<sup>b</sup> e.

Instead of the abnormal מְאִסְפִּי (so Baer, Is 62<sup>9</sup>) as ptep. *Pi'el*, read מְאִסְפִּי with ed. Mant. and Ginsburg.

4. In *Pu'al* *ō* is sometimes found instead of *ū* in the initial syllable, e.g. q מְאִדָּה dyed red, Ex 25<sup>5</sup>, &c., Na 2<sup>4</sup>, cf. 3<sup>7</sup> שְׂרָדָה; Ez 16<sup>4</sup>, ψ 72<sup>20</sup>, 80<sup>11</sup>. According to Baer's reading also in הַרְצָחוּ ψ 62<sup>4</sup>, and so also Ben Ašer, but Ben Naphtali הַרְצָחוּ. It is merely an orthographic licence when *ū* is written fully, e.g. יוּלַד Ju 18<sup>29</sup>.

5. As *infinitive absolute* of *Pu'al* we find גָּלַב Gn 40<sup>15</sup>.—No instance of the *inf. constr.* occurs in the strong verb in *Pu'al*; from אָרַח with suffix אִרְרָהְךָ ψ 132<sup>1</sup>.

6. A few examples occur of the *participle Pu'al* without the preformative (אִ), S e.g. אִבְלָה Ex 3<sup>2</sup>; יוּלַד (מְיֹלַד) Ju 13<sup>8</sup>; לָקַח 2 K 2<sup>10</sup>; אִרְרָה Is 54<sup>11</sup>. These *participles* are distinguished from the *perfect* (as in *Niph'al*) by the *ā* of the final syllable. For other examples, see Is 30<sup>24</sup>, Ec 9<sup>12</sup> (where יוֹקִישִׁים, according to § 20 n, stands for 'יִקְ = 'מִיִּקְ); but, according to the Masora, not Ez 26<sup>17</sup>, since הַהִלְלָה as *Mi'el* can only be the *perfect*. The rejection of the אִ may be favoured by an initial מ, as in Is 18<sup>2.7</sup> (but also מְאִשְׁשָׁה); Pr 25<sup>19</sup> (where, however, read מוֹעֵרָה); so also in the *participle Pi'el* מְאִן Ex 7<sup>27</sup>, 9<sup>2</sup> (always after אָם, but cf. also הַמְאִנִּים Jer 13<sup>10</sup>, where, however, הַמְאִנִּים = הַמְאִנִּים is to be read, with Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, p. 264 f.) and מְהַר Zp 1<sup>14</sup> (and Is 81<sup>3</sup>?). Notice, however, Barth's suggestion (*Nominalbildung*, p. 273) that, as the active of forms like אִבְלָה only occurs in *Qal*, they are perfect participles of former *passives* of *Qal* (see e), and in Jer 13<sup>10</sup>, 23<sup>32</sup>, perfect participles of *Pi'el*.—On מְרַבֵּעַ Ez 45<sup>2</sup>, see § 65 d.

§ 53. *Hiph'ûl and Hoph'al.*

a 1. The characteristic of the active (*Hiph'ûl*) is a prefixed ה (on its origin see § 55 i) in the perfect ה (with the *ä* attenuated to *î*, as in *Pi'el*), which forms a closed syllable with the first consonant of the stem. The second syllable of the perfect had also originally an *ä*; cf. the Arabic conj. iv. 'aqtälä, and in Hebrew the return of the *Pathah* in the 2nd and 1st pers. הִקְטַלְתָּ, &c. After the attenuation of this *ä* to *î*, it ought by rule to have been lengthened to *ê* in the tone-syllable, as in Aramaic קִטַּל, beside קִטַּל in Biblical Aramaic. Instead of this, however, it is always replaced in the strong verb by *î*,<sup>1</sup> —, but sometimes written defectively —; cf. § 9 g. Similarly in the infinitive construct קִטַּלְתָּ, and in the imperfect and participle מִקְטִיל and מִקְטִילָה, which are syncopated from יִקְטִיל and יִקְטִילָה; § 23 k. The corresponding Arabic forms (*juqtîl* and *muqtîl*) point to an original *î* in the second syllable of these forms. In Hebrew the regular lengthening of this *î* to *ê* appears in the strong verb at least in the *jussive* and in the *imperfect consecutive* (see n), as also in the *imperative* of the 2nd sing. masc. (see m); on הִקְטַלְנָה, הִקְטַלְנִי cf. § 26 p. On the return of the original *ä* in the second syllable of the *Imperat.*, *Jussive*, &c, under the influence of a guttural, cf. § 65 f.

b In the *passive* (*Hoph'al*) the preformative is pronounced with an obscure vowel, whilst the second syllable has *ä* (in pause *â*), as its characteristic, thus:—*Perf.* הִקְטַל or הִקְטַלְתָּ, *Imperf.* יִקְטַל (syncopated from יִקְטַלְתָּ) or יִקְטַלְתָּ, *Part.* מִקְטַל or מִקְטַלָה (from מִקְטַלְתָּ); but the *infinitive absolute* has the form הִקְטַל.

Thus the characteristics of both conjugations are the ה preformative in the *perfect*, *imperative*, and *infinitive*; in the *imperfect* and *participle Hiph'ûl*, *Pathah* under the preformatives, in the *Hoph'al* *ö* or *ü*.

c 2. The *meaning* of *Hiph'ûl* is primarily, and even more frequently than in *Pi'el* (§ 52 g), *causative* of *Qal*, e. g. הִצִּיץ to go forth, *Hiph.* to bring forth, to lead forth, to draw forth; הִקְדִּישׁ to be holy, *Hiph.* to sanctify. Under the *causative* is also included (as in *Pi'el*) the *declarative* sense, e. g. הִצִּדִּיק to pronounce just; הִרְשִׁיעַ to make one an evil doer (to pronounce guilty); cf. עָקַשׁ, in *Hiph'ûl*, Jb 9<sup>20</sup>, to represent as perverse. If *Qal* has already a transitive meaning, *Hiph'ûl* then takes two accusatives (see § 117 cc). In some verbs, *Pi'el* and *Hiph'ûl* occur side by side in the same sense, e. g. הִפְרִיט *perit*, *Pi'el* and *Hiph'ûl*, *perdidit*; as a rule,

<sup>1</sup> This *î* may have been transferred originally from the imperfects of verbs י"ע, as a convenient means of distinction between the indicative and *jussive*, to the *imperfect* of the strong verb and afterwards to the whole of *Hiph'ûl*; so Stade, Philippi, Praetorius, ZAW. 1883, p. 52 f.

however, only one of these two conjugations is in use, or else they differ from one another in meaning, e.g. כָּבַד *gravem esse*, Pi'el to honour, Hiph'il to bring to honour, also to make heavy. Verbs which are intransitive in *Qal* simply become transitive in *Hiph'il*, e.g. נָטָה to bow oneself, Hiph. to bow, to bend.

Among the ideas expressed by the *causative* and *transitive* are included, *d* moreover, according to the *Hebrew* point of view (and that of the *Semitic* languages in general, especially *Arabic*), a series of actions and ideas, which we have to express by periphrasis, in order to understand their being represented by the *Hiph'il*-form. To these *inwardly transitive* or *intensive* *Hiph'il*s belong: (a) *Hiph'il* stems which express the obtaining or receiving of a concrete or abstract quality. (In the following examples the *Qal* stems are given, for the sake of brevity, with the addition of the meaning which—often together with other meanings—belongs to the *Hiph'il*.) Thus אהל, זהר, יפע, יפיע, זור, אהל to be bright, to shine (to give forth brightness); opposed to חשף to become dark; אמין, גבר, חזק to be strong (to develop strength), עטף to be weak; ארך to be long (to acquire length); נבה to be high; הום to be in tumult, זעק to cry out, רוע to make a noise, to exult; חלף to sprout (to put forth shoots), cf. פרח to bloom, שוק to overflow; חרש, חשה, סבת, צמת to be silent (*silentium facere*, Pliny); מתק to be sweet; צלח to have success; שפל to be low; אדם to become red, לבן to become white.

(b) Stems which express in *Hiph'il* the entering into a certain condition and, *e* further, the being in the same: אמן to become firm, to trust in; באש to become stinking; זור to become boiling, to boil over; חלה to become ill; הסר to come to want; חרה to become hot; יבש to become dry, to become ashamed; יתר to attain superiority; סכן to become familiar; קוין, עור to become awake; קשה to become hard; רגע, שקט to become quiet (to keep quiet); שמום to be astonished. The *Hiph'il* forms of some verbs of motion constitute a variety of this class: נגש to draw near; קרב to come near; רחק to withdraw far off (all these three are besides used as *causatives*); קדם to come before.

(c) Stems which express action in some particular direction: *f* חטא to err; חלק to flatter (to act smoothly); יטב to act well, to do good; סכל to act foolishly, שכל to act wisely; ערם to act craftily; צנע to act submissively; רעע, רשע to act wickedly, godlessly; שחת, תעב to act corruptly, abominably; שלם to act peacefully, to be at peace, to be submissive.

Further, there are in *Hiph'il* a considerable number of *denominatives* which express the bringing out, the producing of a thing, and so are properly regarded as *causatives*,<sup>1</sup> e.g. אצר to set over the treasury, Neh 13<sup>15</sup> (unless אֲצַרָה is to be read, as in Neh 7<sup>2</sup>); בכר to bring forth a firstborn; גשם to cause to rain; זרע to produce seed; ימן (*Hiph'il* הַיְמִינִי) to go to the right, cf. הַשְּׂמָאלִי to go to the left; פרס to get or to have hoofs; קרן to get or to have horns; שכל to produce abortion; שלג to become snow-white; שמן to grow fat; שרש to put forth roots, &c.; so also according to the ordinary acceptation האֲזִיחוּ Is 19<sup>6</sup>, they have become stinking, from אֲנַח to stinking or stench, with retention of the *N* prosthetic, § 19 m (but see below, p).

<sup>1</sup> The same ideas are also paraphrased by the verb עָשָׂה (to make), e.g. to make fat, for, to produce fat upon his body, Jb 15<sup>27</sup>; to make fruit, to make branches, for, to put forth, to yield, Jb 14<sup>9</sup>, Ho 8<sup>7</sup>, cf. the Lat. *corpus*, *robur*, *sobolem*, *divitias facere*, and the Ital. *far corpo*, *far forze*, *far frutto*.

Of a different kind are the *denominatives* from: אָן (scarcely to prick up the ears, but) to act with the ears, to hear; cf. לָשׁן to move the tongue, to slander, and the German *äugeln* (to make eyes), *füssel*, *näseln*, *schwänzel*; שָׁבַר to sell corn; שָׁבַם to set out early (to load the back [of the camel, &c.]?); opposed to הָעָרִיב.

h 3. The meaning of *Hoph'al* is (a) primarily that of a *passive of Hiph'il*, e. g. הִשְׁלִיךְ *proiecit*, הִשְׁלַךְ or הִשְׁלָךְ *proiectus est*; (b) sometimes equivalent to a passive of *Qal*, as נָקַם to *avenge*, *Hoph. to be avenged* (but see below, *u*).

i Rem. 1. The *i* of the 3rd sing. masc. perf. *Hiph'il* remains, without exception, in the 3rd fem. (in the tone-syllable). That it was, however, only lengthened from a short vowel, and consequently is changeable, is proved by the forms of the *imperative* and *imperfect* where *i* (or, under the influence of gutturals, *a*) takes its place. In an open syllable the *i* is retained almost throughout;

k 2. The *infinitive absolute* commonly has *Sere* without *Yodh*, e. g. הִקְדֵּשׁ Ju 17<sup>3</sup>; less frequently it takes *'*, e. g. הִשְׁמִיר Am 9<sup>8</sup>; cf. Dt 15<sup>14</sup>, Is 59<sup>4</sup>, Jer 3<sup>15</sup>, 23<sup>32</sup>, 44<sup>25</sup>, Jb 34<sup>35</sup>, Ec 10<sup>10</sup>. With א instead of ה (probably a mere scribal error, not an Aramaism) we find אֲשַׁבֵּים Jer 25<sup>3</sup>. Rare exceptions, where the form with *Sere* stands for the *infinitive construct*, are, e. g. Dt 32<sup>8</sup> (Sam. בְּהַנְחִיל; read perhaps בְּהַנְחִל, Jer 44<sup>19,25</sup>, Pr 25<sup>2</sup>, Jb 13<sup>3</sup> (?); on the other hand, for לַעֲשֶׂיךָ Dt 26<sup>12</sup> (which looks like an *infinitive Hiph'il* with elision of the ה, for לְהַעֲשֶׂיךָ) the right reading is simply לַעֲשֶׂיךָ, since elsewhere the *Pi'el* alone occurs with the meaning to *tithe*; for בַּעֲשֶׂיךָ Neh 10<sup>39</sup> perhaps the inf. *Qal* (בַּעֲשֶׂיךָ) was intended, as in I S 15<sup>17</sup> (= to take the tithe). At the same time it is doubtful whether the present punctuation does not arise from a conflation of two different readings, the *Qal* and the *Pi'el*.

l Instead of the ordinary form of the *infinitive construct* הַקְטִיל the form הִקְטִיל sometimes occurs, e. g. הִשְׁמִיר to destroy, Dt 7<sup>24</sup>, 28<sup>48</sup>; cf. Lv 14<sup>46</sup>, Jos 11<sup>14</sup>, Jer 50<sup>34</sup>, 51<sup>33</sup> and הַקְצוּת for הַקְצוּת Lv 14<sup>43</sup> from קָצַף; scarcely, however, Lv 7<sup>35</sup> (see § 155 l), 2 S 22<sup>1</sup> (ψ 18<sup>1</sup>), 1 K 11<sup>16</sup> (after עַד), and in the passages so explained by König (i. 276) where הִשְׁמִיר appears after prepositions<sup>1</sup>; [cf. Driver on Dt 3<sup>3</sup>, 4<sup>15</sup>, 7<sup>24</sup>, 28<sup>55</sup>].

With *a* in the second syllable there occurs הַנְּבָרְכָם Ez 21<sup>29</sup> (cf. the substantival infn. הַפָּצֵר I S 15<sup>23</sup>).—In the Aram. manner לְהִשְׁמָעוּת is found in Ez 24<sup>26</sup> (as a *construct form*) for the *infinitive Hiph'il* (cf. the *infinitive Hithpa'el*, Dn 11<sup>23</sup>). On the elision of the ה after prefixes, see *q*.

m 3. In the *imperative* the *i* is retained throughout in the open syllable, according to *i*, and consequently also before suffixes (see § 61 *g*) and הַ— *paragogic*, e. g. הִקְשִׁיבָה attend to, נָא הוֹשִׁיעָה ψ 118<sup>25</sup>, as in ed. Mant., Jabl., Baer, not נָא הוֹשִׁיעָה as Ginsb. and Kittel; with the tone at the end only הַצְלִיחָה *ibid.* v. 25<sup>b</sup>. On the other hand, in the 2nd sing. masc. the original *i* (cf. Arabic *'aqlil*) is lengthened to *e*, e. g. הִשְׁמֵן make fat, and becomes *S'ghöl* before *Maqqeph*, e. g. הִסְכֵּןָא Jb 22<sup>21</sup>.—The form הַקְטִיל for הִקְטִיל appears anomalously a few times: ψ 94<sup>1</sup>, Is 43<sup>8</sup>, Jer 17<sup>18</sup> (cf. § 69 *v* and § 72 *y*); elsewhere the Masora has preferred the punctuation הִקְטִיל, e. g. 2 K 8<sup>6</sup>; cf. ψ 142<sup>5</sup>.—In La 5<sup>1</sup> הַבִּיטָה is required by the *Qere* for הִבִּיטָה.

<sup>1</sup> As to the doubtfulness, on general grounds, of this form of the Inf. *Hiph.*, see Robertson Smith in the *Journ. of Philol.*, xvi. p. 72 f.

4. In the *imperfect Hiph'il* the shorter form with *Şere* prevails for the jussive *l* in the 3rd masc. and fem. and 2nd masc. sing., e. g. אֲל־תִּגְדֹּל make not great, Ob 12; יִכְרֹת let Him cut off! ψ 12<sup>4</sup>; even incorrectly תִּפְיֹד Ex 19<sup>3</sup> and יִגְיֹד Ec 10<sup>20</sup>; cf. also יִכְעֹר Ex 22<sup>4</sup>, where the jussive form is to be explained according to § 109 h, and יִאָּבֵר Jb 39<sup>26</sup> before the principal pause. Similarly, after *l* consec., e. g. וַיִּבְדֵּל and He divided, Gn 1<sup>4</sup>. On the other hand, *i* is almost always retained in the 1st sing., e. g. וְאַשְׁמִיד Am 2<sup>9</sup> (but generally without *i*, as וְאַסְתֵּר Ez 39<sup>23 f.</sup>, &c.); cf. § 49 e and § 74 l, but also § 72 aa; in 1st plur. only in Neh 4<sup>3</sup>; in the 3rd sing. ψ 105<sup>28</sup>. With *ä* in the principal pause וְתוֹרַת Ru 2<sup>14</sup>, and in the lesser pause, Gn 49<sup>4</sup>; before a sibilant (see § 29 q) וַיִּגִּשׁ Ju 6<sup>19</sup>; in the lesser pause וַיִּקַּח La 3<sup>5</sup>. Before *Maqqeph* the *Şere* becomes *S<sup>e</sup>ghôl*, e. g. וַיְהוֹקֵבוּ Ju 19<sup>4</sup>. In the plural again, and before suffixes, *i* remains in the forms תִּקְטִילוּ, יִקְטִילוּ, even in the jussive and after *l* consecutive, e. g. וַיִּרְבִּיקוּ Ju 18<sup>22</sup>. The only exceptions, where the *i* is weakened to *S<sup>e</sup>wā*, are וַיִּרְכֹּב Jer 9<sup>2</sup>; וַיִּרְבְּקוּ 1 S 14<sup>22</sup>, 31<sup>2</sup>, 1 Ch 10<sup>2</sup>; וַיַּעֲבְרוּ Jer 11<sup>15</sup>; וְאַוְצְרָה Neh 13<sup>13</sup>, if it is *Hiph'il* of אֶצֶר, but probably וְאַצְוָה is to be read, as in 7<sup>2</sup>; perhaps also תִּהְיֶה Jb 19<sup>9</sup> (according to others, *imperfect Qal*). The same weakening occurs also in the imperfect in 3rd and 2nd masc. sing. before suffixes, 1 S 17<sup>25</sup>, 1 K 20<sup>33</sup>, ψ 65<sup>10</sup>, and in Jb 9<sup>20</sup>, unless the form be *Pi'el* = וַיַּעֲשֵׂנִי, since the *Hiph'il* is not found elsewhere. It is hardly likely that in these isolated examples we have a trace of the ground-form, *yaqtîl*, or an Aramaism. More probably they are due partly to a misunderstanding of the defective writing, which is found, by a purely orthographic licence, in numerous other cases (even in 3rd sing. יִשָּׂא Is 44<sup>28</sup>), and partly are intended, as *formae mixtae*, to combine the forms of *Qal* and *Hiph'il*. Instead of the firmly closed syllable, the Masora requires in Gn 1<sup>11</sup> תִּרְשָׁא, with euphonic Ga'ya (see § 16 h).

5. In the *participle*, מֹאצֵּא ψ 135<sup>7</sup> appears to be traceable to the ground-form, *O maqtîl*; yet the *Şere* may also possibly be explained by the retraction of the tone. The Masora appears to require the weakening of the vowel to *S<sup>e</sup>wā* (see above, n) in מְהַלְכִים Zc 3<sup>7</sup> (probably, however, מְהַלְכִים should be read), also in מְחַלְמִים Jer 29<sup>8</sup>, מְעוּרִים 2 Ch 25<sup>23</sup> (but as *ם* precedes, and accordingly dittography may well have taken place, the participle *Qal* is probably to be read in both places; the reading of the text is perhaps again intended to combine *Qal* and *Hiph'il*, see above, n), and in the *Q<sup>r</sup>é* מְחַצְרִים 1 Ch 15<sup>24</sup> &c. (where the *K<sup>e</sup>thibh* מְחַצְצְרִים is better).—The fem. is ordinarily pointed as מוֹפְרָת Nu 5<sup>15</sup>, מִשְׁפָּחַת Lv 14<sup>21</sup>; in pause מִשְׁפָּחַת Pr 19<sup>14</sup>.

6. In the *perfect* there occur occasionally such forms as הִכְלַמְנִי 1 S 25<sup>7</sup>; p cf. Gn 41<sup>28</sup>, 2 K 17<sup>11</sup>, Jer 29<sup>1</sup>, Mi 6<sup>3</sup>, Jb 16<sup>7</sup>; with the original *ä* in the first syllable וְהִרְאִיתִי Na 3<sup>5</sup>.—In אֲנִי אֶלְהִי<sup>1</sup> I have stained, Is 63<sup>3</sup>, א stands at the beginning instead of ה, cf. above, k, on אֲשַׁכֵּם. On the other hand, וְהִיאֲוִיחוּ

<sup>1</sup> Most probably, however, אֶלְהִיתִי (*perfect Pi'el*) is to be read, and the א is only an indication of the change of the *perfect* into the *imperfect*, as also previously, by a change of punctuation, וְאֶדְרַכְם and וַיֵּן (instead of וְאֶדְרַךְ and וַיֵּן) are made future instead of past. Jewish exegesis applied these Edom-oracles to the Roman (i. e. Christian) empire. So G. Moore in *Theol. Literaturzeitung*, 1887, col. 292.

Is 19<sup>6</sup> (see above, *g*) is a mere error of the scribe, who had the Aramaic form in mind and corrected it by prefixing ה.

q 7. In the *imperfect* and *participle* the characteristic ה is regularly elided after the preformatives, thus יִקְטִיל, מִקְטִיל; but it is retained in the *infinitive* after prepositions, e.g. לְהִקְטִיל. The exceptions are in the imperfect, יִהְיֶה יְשַׁע He will save for יוֹשֵׁעַ 1 S 17<sup>47</sup>, ψ 116<sup>6</sup> (in pause); יִהְיֶה יְהוֹרָה He will praise for יוֹרָה Neh 11<sup>17</sup>, ψ 28<sup>7</sup>, 45<sup>18</sup> (cf. the proper name יְהוֹבֵל Jer 37<sup>3</sup>, for which 38<sup>1</sup> יִבֵּל [and יְהוֹקֵף ψ 81<sup>6</sup>]; [יְהִילִינִי (§ 70 a) Is 52<sup>5</sup>, יְהִתְלִי Jer 9<sup>4</sup>, תְּהִתְלִי Jb 13<sup>3</sup>] and מְהִקְצַעוֹת Ez 46<sup>22</sup>; in the *infinitive* (where, however, as in *Niph'al*, § 51 l, the *infinitive Qal* is generally to be read) לְסַתֵּר Is 29<sup>15</sup> for לְהִסְתִּיר; לְנַפֵּל and לְצַבּוֹת Nu 5<sup>22</sup>; לְעִבִיר 2 S 19<sup>19</sup>; לְהִלָּק Jer 37<sup>12</sup>; לְחַטֵּיא Ec 5<sup>5</sup>; לְלַבֵּן (doubly anomalous for לְהִלְבִּין) Dn 11<sup>35</sup>; לְשַׁמֵּעַ ψ 26<sup>7</sup>; לְאַדִּיב 1 S 2<sup>33</sup>; לְשַׁמֵּד Is 23<sup>11</sup> and וְלִשְׁבִיחַ Am 8<sup>4</sup> (certainly corrupt); לְבַעֵיר for בְּהַעִיר ψ 73<sup>20</sup> (but in the city is probably meant); לְבִיא Jer 39<sup>7</sup> (2 Ch 31<sup>10</sup>); לְמַרוֹת Is 3<sup>3</sup>, ψ 78<sup>17</sup>; לְנַחוֹתֵם Ex 13<sup>21</sup> and בְּנִלוֹת (see, however, § 20 h) Is 33<sup>1</sup>; לְרִאֲתָכֶם Dt 1<sup>33</sup>: cf. further, from verbs ל"ה, Nu 5<sup>22</sup>, Jer 27<sup>20</sup>; on Dt 26<sup>12</sup> and Neh 10<sup>39</sup>, see above, *k*; for לְמַחוֹת Pr 31<sup>3</sup> read לְמַחוֹת or לְמַחֲחוֹת.

r 8. With regard to the tone it is to be observed that the affirmatives ו and ה־ in Hiph'il have *not* the tone, even in the *perfect* with *vav* consecutive (except in Ex 26<sup>33</sup> before ה, Lv 15<sup>29</sup> before א, to avoid a hiatus); but the plural ending ון (see § 47 m) always has the tone, e.g. תִּקְרְבוּן Dt 17<sup>17</sup>.

s 9. The passive (Hoph'al) has *ü* instead of Qames ḥaṭuṭh in the first syllable (הִקְטַל), in the strong verb less frequently in the perfect and infinitive, but generally in the participle, through the influence of the initial מ (but cf. מִשְׁחַת Pr 25<sup>26</sup>); e.g. הִשְׁבַּב Ez 32<sup>32</sup> (beside הִשְׁבַּבָה 32<sup>19</sup>); יִשְׁלַף *impf.* יִשְׁלַף, *part.* מִשְׁלַף 2 S 20<sup>21</sup> (beside הִשְׁלַכְתָּ Is 14<sup>19</sup>); הִמְלִיחַ Ez 16<sup>4</sup>; in the partic. Hoph. without elision of the ה: מְהִקְצַעוֹת Ez 46<sup>22</sup>; on the other hand, verbs פ"ן always have *ü* (in a sharpened syllable): הִנְדַּר, יִנְדַּר (cf. § 9 n).

t 10. The *infinitive absolute* has in Hoph'al (as in Hiph'il) *Ṣere* in the last syllable, e.g. הִחַתֵּל and הִמְלִיחַ Ez 16<sup>4</sup>; הִנְדַּר Jos 9<sup>24</sup>. An *infinitive construct* does not occur in the strong verb.

11. With regard to the *imperative Hoph'al*, see above, § 46 a, note.

u 12. According to Böttcher (*Ausführliches Lehrbuch*, § 906) and Barth (see above, § 52 e) a number of supposed imperfects Hoph'al are, in fact, imperfects of the passive of *Qal*. As in the case of the perfects passive of *Qal* (see above, § 52 e) the question is again of verbs of which neither the corresponding causative (i. e. here the Hiph'il), nor the other tense of the same conjugation (i. e. here the perfect Hoph'al) is found; so with יָקַם (for יִנְקַם, cf. *yuqtālū* as imperfect *Qal* in Arabic) and יָתַן, from נָקַם and נָתַן; יָקַח from לָקַח (cf. § 66 g) and יוֹאֵר Nu 22<sup>6</sup> from אָרַר; יָחַן from חָנַן; יוֹשֵׁד Ho 10<sup>14</sup> (cf. Is 33<sup>1</sup>) from שָׁדַד; Barth adds the verbs פִּיֵּן: תִּתֵּשׂ Ez 19<sup>12</sup> from נָתַשׂ; Lev 11<sup>35</sup> from נָתַן; the verbs עָעַע: יִחַקֵּי Jb 19<sup>23</sup> from חָקַק; יָבַת &c. from בָּתַת; the verb עָדַע from יָדַע; the verbs עָעַי: יוֹחֵל, יוֹשֵׁר, יוֹשֵׁת from חָיַל; יוֹשֵׁר and יוֹשֵׁת. On וַיִּשְׁעִם &c., § 73 f. In point of fact it would be very strange, especially in the case of יָתַן and יָקַח, that of these frequently used verbs,

amongst all the forms of Hiph'il and Hoph'al, only the *imperfect* Hoph'al should have been preserved. A passive of Qal is also indicated in the Tell-el-Amarna letters, according to Knudtzon, by a number of imperfect forms, which are undoubtedly due to Canaanite influence, cf. *Beitr. zur Assyriologie*, iv. 410.

### § 54. *Hithpa'el*.

1. The *Hithpa'el*<sup>1</sup> is connected with *Pi'el*, being formed by prefixing *a* to the *Pi'el*-stem (*qattēl*, *qattal*) the syllable הָה (Western Aramaic הָה, but in Biblical Aramaic הָה; Syr. 'et<sup>2</sup>). Like the preformative נ (הָנ) of *Niph'al*, הָה has also a reflexive force.

2. The ה of the prefix in this conjugation, as also in *Hothpa'al* *l* (see *h*), *Hithpō'el*, *Hithpa'el* and *Hithpapel* (§ 55), under certain circumstances, suffers the following changes:

(a) When the stem begins with one of the harder sibilants ט, צ, or ש, the ה and the sibilant change places (cf. on this *metathesis*, § 19 n), and at the same time the ה after a צ becomes the corresponding emphatic ט: thus הַשְׁתַּמֵּר to take heed to oneself, for הַתְּשַׁמֵּר; הִסְתַּבֵּל to become burdensome, for הַתְּסַבֵּל; הִצְטַדֵּק to justify oneself, from צָדַק. The only exception is in Jer 49<sup>3</sup>, וְהִתְשׁוּטְטָנָה, to avoid the cacophony of three successive *t*-sounds.

(b) When the stem begins with a *d*- or *t*-sound (ד, ט, ת), the ה of *c* the preformative is assimilated to it (§ 19 d), e.g. דִּבְרַר speaking, conversing; הִדְבָּא to be crushed, הִטְהַר to purify oneself, הִטְבִּיא to defile oneself, הִתְמַיֵּם to act uprightly. (An exception occurs in Ju 19<sup>22</sup>.) The assimilation of the ה occurs also with נ and כ, e.g. הִנְבֵּא to prophesy, as well as הִתְנַבֵּא (cf. Nu 24<sup>7</sup>, Ez 5<sup>13</sup>, Dn 11<sup>14</sup>); הִתְנַבֵּן Nu 21<sup>27</sup> (cf. Is 54<sup>14</sup>, ψ 59<sup>5</sup>); הִתְבַּסֶּה Pr 26<sup>26</sup>; with ש Ec 7<sup>16</sup>; with ר Is 33<sup>10</sup>.

Rem. Metathesis would likewise be expected, as in the cases under *b*, *d* when ה and י come together, as well as a change of ה to ד. Instead of this, in the only instance of the kind (הִנְבֵּן Is 1<sup>16</sup>) the ה is assimilated to the י, —unless indeed הִנְבֵּן, imperative *Niph'al* of נָבַח, is intended.

3. As in form, so also in meaning, *Hithpa'el* is primarily (*a*) reflexive of *Pi'el*, e.g. הִתְאַוֵּר to gird oneself, הִתְקַדְּשׁ to sanctify oneself. Although in these examples the intensive meaning is not distinctly marked, it is so in other cases, e.g. הִתְנַקֵּם to show oneself revengeful (*Niph.* simply to take revenge), and in the numerous instances where the *Hithpa'el* expresses to make oneself that which is predicated by the stem, to conduct oneself as such, to show oneself, to imagine oneself, to

<sup>1</sup> A. Stein, *Der Stamm des Hithpael in Hebr.* pt. 1, Schwerin, 1893, gives alphabetical statistics of the 1151 forms.

<sup>2</sup> So also in Hebrew אֶתְחַבֵּר 2 Ch 20<sup>36</sup>; cf. ψ 76<sup>6</sup> (אֶשְׁתַּחֲוֶלֶל).

affect to be of a certain character. E. g. הִתְנַבֵּל to make oneself great, to act proudly; הִתְחַכֵּם to show oneself wise, crafty; הִתְחַלֵּה to pretend to be ill; הִתְעַשֵּׂר to make, i. e. to feign oneself rich; הִשְׁתַּרְרַר Nu 16<sup>13</sup>, to make oneself a prince; הִתְנַבֵּא I S 18<sup>10</sup>, to act in an excited manner like a prophet, to rave. The meaning of *Hithpa'el* sometimes coincides with that of *Qal*, both forms being in use together, e. g. לָבַט to mourn, in *Qal* only in poetic style, in *Hithpa'el* in prose. On the accusative after *Hithpa'el* (regarded as a transitive verb), see § 117 w.

f (b) It expresses reciprocal action, like *Niph'al*, § 51 d, e. g. הִתְרָאָה to look upon one another, Gn 42<sup>1</sup>; cf. ψ 41<sup>8</sup>;—but

(c) It more often indicates an action less directly affecting the subject, and describes it as performed with regard to or for oneself, in one's own special interest (cf. *Niph'al*, § 51 e). *Hithpa'el* in such cases readily takes an accusative, e. g. הִתְפָּרַק Ex 32<sup>3</sup> and הִתְנַצַּל Ex 33<sup>6</sup> to tear off from oneself; הִתְפַּשֵּׁט exuit sibi (vestem), הִתְפַּתַּח solvit sibi (vincula); הִצְטִיֵּר Jos 9<sup>12</sup>, to take (something) as one's provision; without an accusative, הִתְהַלֵּךְ to walk about for oneself (ambulare); הִתְפַּלֵּל sibi intercedere (see Delitzsch on Is 1<sup>15</sup>); הִתְחַקֶּה to draw a line for oneself, Job 13<sup>27</sup>; on Is 14<sup>2</sup>, see § 57, note.

g (d) Only seldom is it passive, e. g. הִיא תִּתְהַלָּל Pr 31<sup>30</sup> she shall be praised; הִשְׁתַּבַּח to be forgotten, Ec 8<sup>10</sup>, where the reflexive sense (to bring oneself into oblivion) has altogether disappeared. Cf. *Niph'al*, § 51 f.

h The passive form *Hothpa'al* is found only in the few following examples: הִטְמָא to be defiled, Dt 24<sup>4</sup>; infinitive הִכְבַּס to be washed, Lv 13<sup>55,56</sup>; הִתְרַשְׁנָה (for הִתְרַשְׁנָה, the נָה being treated as if it were the affirmative of the fem. plur.) it is made fat, Is 34<sup>6</sup>. On הִתְפַּקְדוּ, see l.

i Denominatives with a reflexive meaning are הִתְיַהַד to embrace Judaism, from יהוד (יהודה) Judah; הִצְטִיֵּר to provision oneself for a journey, from צִדָה provision for a journey (see § 72 m).

k Rem. 1. As in *Pi'el*, so in *Hithpa'el*, the perfect very frequently (in stems ending in ל, ק, ט, פ) has retained the original *Pathah* in the final syllable (while in the ordinary form it is attenuated, as in *Pi'el*, to *i* and then lengthened to *e*), e. g. הִתְאַנְּף Dt 4<sup>21</sup>, &c.; cf. 2 Ch 13<sup>7</sup>, 15<sup>8</sup>; with *i* consecutive Is 8<sup>21</sup>; so also in the imperfect and imperative, e. g. הִתְחַבֵּם Ec 7<sup>16</sup>; cf. Dt 9<sup>8,18</sup>, 1 S 3<sup>10</sup>, 2 S 10<sup>12</sup>, 1 K 11<sup>9</sup>, Is 55<sup>2</sup>, 58<sup>14</sup>, 64<sup>11</sup>, ψ 55<sup>2</sup>; הִתְחַוֶּק 1 K 20<sup>22</sup>, ψ 37<sup>4</sup>, Est 5<sup>10</sup>; וְאִתְאַפֵּק 1 S 13<sup>12</sup>.—In Lv 11<sup>44</sup>, 20<sup>7</sup> and Ez 38<sup>23</sup>, *i* takes the place of *a* in the final syllable of the stem before שׁ (cf. § 44 d), and in the last passage before

ל. In the perfect, imperfect (with the exception of Ec 7<sup>16</sup>), and imperative of *Hithpa'el* (as well as of *Hithpa'el*, *Hithpa'el*, *Hithpa'el*, § 55) the original *a* always returns in pause as *Qamez*, e. g. הִתְאַוֶּר ψ 93<sup>1</sup>; יִתְאַבֵּל Ez 7<sup>27</sup>; יִתְהַלֶּךְ Jb 18<sup>8</sup>; יִתְלַפְדוּ 38<sup>31</sup>; יִתְחַקְדוּ Jos 3<sup>5</sup>; cf. Jb 33<sup>5</sup> and § 74 b.—The *a* also appears before the fuller ending *i* in the plural of the imperfect (cf. § 47 m) in ψ 12<sup>9</sup>, Jb

9<sup>s</sup>, 16<sup>10</sup>.—Like the Pi'el הִתְפַּלֵּן ( § 52 n ), forms occur in Hithpa'el like הִתְהַלְכָה Zc 6<sup>7</sup>; cf. Am 8<sup>13</sup>, and so in Hithpa'el, Jer 49<sup>3</sup>, Am 9<sup>13</sup>; with ē only in La 4<sup>1</sup>.—In the Aramaic manner an *infinitive* Hithpa'el הִתְחַבְּרוּת occurs in Dn 11<sup>23</sup> (cf. the Hiph'il inf. הִשְׁמָעוּת in Ez 24<sup>26</sup>).

2. As instances of the reflexive הִתְקַטַּל (connected with Pi'el) a few reflexive *l* forms of the verb פָּקַד (to examine) are also probably to be reckoned. Instead of a Pathah in a sharpened syllable after the first radical, these take Qames in an open syllable, e. g. הִתְפַּקְדוּ Ju 20<sup>15,17</sup>, imperfect יִתְפַּקְדוּ 20<sup>15</sup>, 21<sup>9</sup>. The corresponding passive form הִתְפַּקְדוּ also occurs four times, Nu 14<sup>7</sup>, 23<sup>3</sup>, 26<sup>62</sup>, 1 K 20<sup>27</sup>. According to others, these forms are rather reflexives of Qal, in the sense of to present oneself for review, to be reviewed, like the Aramaic 'Ithpe'el (Western Aramaic אֲתַקְטַל, Syr. אֲתַקְטַל) and the Ethiopic taqat'la, Arab. 'iqatala, the last with the t always placed after the first radical (cf. above, b); but they are more correctly explained, with König, as Hithpa'el forms, the doubling of the p being abnormally omitted.—Such a reflexive of Qal, with the ת transposed, occurs in הִלְתַּחַם (on the analogy of O. T. Hebrew to be pronounced הִלְתַּחַם) in the inscription of the Moabite king Mēša', with the meaning of the O. T. Niph'al נִלְחַם to fight, to wage war: see the inscription, lines 11, 15, 19, and 32; in the first two places in the imperfect with wāw consecutive וַיִּלְחַם; in line 19 in the infinitive with suffix, בְּהִלְחָמָה בִּי in his fighting against me.

### § 55. Less Common Conjugations.

Of the less common conjugations ( § 39 g ) some may be classed with *a* Pi'el, others with Hiph'il. To the former belong those which arise from the lengthening of the vowel or the repetition of one or even two radicals, in fact, from an internal modification or development of the stem; to the latter belong those which are formed by prefixing a consonant, like the ה of Hiph'il. Amongst the conjugations analogous to Pi'el are included the passive forms distinguished by their vowels, as well as the reflexives with the prefix הִתְ, on the analogy of Hithpa'el.

The following conjugations are related to Pi'el, as regards their *b* inflexion and partly in their meaning:

1. Pi'el קוּטַל, passive P'ol קוּטַל, reflexive Hithp'ol הִתְקוּטַל, corresponding to the Arabic conj. III. qātālā, pass. qūtīlā, and conj. VI. reflexive tāqātālā; imperfect יְקוּטַל, participle מְקוּטַל, imperfect passive יִקוּטַל &c. Hence it appears that in Hebrew the *ō* of the first syllable is in all the forms obscured from *ā*, while the passive form is distinguished simply by the *a*-sound in the second syllable. In the strong verb these conjugations are rather rare. Examples: participle מְשַׁפְּטִי mine adversary, who would contend with me, Jb 9<sup>15</sup>; מְלֹשְׁנִי (denominative from לְשׁוֹן the tongue) slandering (as if intent on injuring with the tongue) ψ 101<sup>5</sup> Keth. (The Q're requires מְלֹשְׁנִי mēlōšni as Na 1<sup>3</sup> וַגְּדוּל־); יָרְמוּ they have poured out, ψ 77<sup>18</sup> (if not rather Pu'al); יוֹרְעָתִי I have appointed, 1 S 21<sup>3</sup> (unless הוֹרְעָתִי should be read); יִסְעַר Ho 13<sup>3</sup>; שָׁרַשׁ to take root, passive

שׁוּרֵשׁ, denominative from שָׁרַשׁ root (but שָׁרַשׁ to root out); in Hithpô'el הִתְנַעֲשׂוּ they shall be moved, Jer 25<sup>16</sup>; imperf. 46<sup>8</sup>; from a verb לָהֵאָחַז, שׁוּשְׁחִי Is 10<sup>13</sup>. The participle מְנַאֵץ Is 52<sup>5</sup> is probably a *forma mixta* combining the readings מְנַאֵץ and מְתַנְאֵץ.

- c Po'el proper (as distinguished from the corresponding conjugations of verbs ע"ע § 67 l and ע"ו § 72 m, which take the place of the ordinary causative Pi'el) expresses an aim or endeavour to perform the action, especially with hostile intent, and is hence called, by Ewald, the stem expressing aim (Zielstamm), *endeavour* (Suche-stamm) or *attack* (Angriffs-stamm); cf. the examples given above from Jb 9<sup>15</sup>, ψ 10<sup>15</sup>, and עוֹיֵן I S 18<sup>9</sup> Qerê (probably for מְעוֹיֵן, cf. § 52 s; § 55 f: *seeking to cast an evil eye*).

With קוּטֵל is connected the formation of quadrilaterals by the insertion of a consonant between the first and second radicals (§ 30 p, § 56).

- d 2. Pa'el, generally with the *ä* attenuated to *ï*=Pi'el<sup>1</sup> (Pi'el), קָטַל and קָטְלָה; the *ë* in the final syllable also arises from *ï*, and this again from *ä*; passive Pu'al קָטְלָה, reflexive Hithpa'el הִתְקַטְּלָה, like the Arabic conjugations ix. 'iqṭällā and xi. 'iqṭállā, the former used of permanent, the latter of accidental or changing conditions, e.g. of colours; cf. the examples נִשְׁאָנָן to be at rest, רִעֵנָן to be green, passive אִמְלָה to be withered, all of them found only in the perfect and with no corresponding Qal form. (For the barbarous form צִפְתָּתוּנִי ψ 88<sup>17</sup> read צִפְתָּתְחִנִּי; for נִפְלָל Ez 28<sup>23</sup>, which has manifestly arisen only from confusion with the following חָלַל, read נִפְלָל). These forms are more common in verbs ע"ע, where they take the place of Pi'el and Hithpa'el (§ 72 m). Cf. also § 75 kk.

- e 3. Pe'al'al: קָטְלָה with repetition of the last two radicals, used of movements repeated in quick succession; e.g. סָחַרְחַר to go about quickly, to palpitate (of the heart) ψ 38<sup>11</sup>, from סָחַר to go about; passive הִמְרַמַּר to be in a ferment, to be heated, to be red, Jb 16<sup>16</sup>, La 1<sup>20</sup>, 2<sup>11</sup>. Probably this is also the explanation of הִצְוּצַר (denom. from הִצְוּצָרָה a trumpet, but only in the participle, I Ch 15<sup>24</sup> &c. K<sup>th.</sup>) for הִצְרַצַּר, by absorption of the first ר, lengthening of *ä* in the open syllable, and subsequent obscuring of *ä* to *ô*. On the other hand, for the meaningless אֶהְבֵּי הֶבֶי Ho 4<sup>18</sup> (which could only be referred to this conjugation if it stood for אֶהְבֵּי הֶבֶי) read אֶהְבֵּי, and for the equally meaningless יִפְיִתּוּ יִפְיִתּוּ ψ 45<sup>3</sup> read יִפְיִתּוּ. In both these cases a scribal error (*dittography*) has been perpetuated by the punctuation, which did not venture to alter the K<sup>thibh.</sup> On the employment of Pe'al'al in the formation of nouns, cf. § 84<sup>b</sup> n. Closely related to this form is—

- f 4. Pi'pēl (pass. Pōpal), with a strengthening of the two essential radicals in stems ע"ע, ע"ו, and ע"י, e.g. גָּלַל to roll, from גָּל=גָּלַל; reflexive הִתְגַּלְּגַל to roll oneself down; קָלַל from כּוּל, passive פָּלַל; cf. also טָאָטָא (so Baer and Ginsb. after Qimḥi; others טָאָטָא) Is 14<sup>23</sup>, and with *ä* in both syllables owing to the influence of ר, קָרַקַר from קָרָר Nu 24<sup>17</sup> (cf. however, in the parallel passage, Jer 48<sup>45</sup> (קָרְקַר) and Is 22<sup>5</sup>, in the participle; שָׁנְשָׁנָה Is 17<sup>11</sup> to hedge in, acc. to others make to grow. Probably to this form also belongs יִלְעָלְעוּ, the emended reading of Jb 39<sup>30</sup> instead of the impossible יִעָלְעוּ; also

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Wolfensohn, 'The Pi'el in Hebrew,' *Amer. Journ. of Or. Studies*, xxvii (1907), p. 303 ff.

סִפְּאָה Is 27<sup>8</sup>, if that form is to be referred to an *infinitive* סִפְּאָה; perhaps also שִׁפְּאָה Ez 39<sup>2</sup> for שִׂפְּאָה. This form also commonly expresses rapidly repeated movement, which all languages incline to indicate by a repetition of the sound,<sup>1</sup> e. g. צִפְּצִף to chirp; cf. in the Lexicon the nouns derived from גָּרַר, עוּף, and צָלַל.

As *Hithpa'el* we find יִשְׁתַּקְטְטוּן Na 2<sup>6</sup>; וַתִּתְחַלְחַל Est 4<sup>4</sup>; וַיִּתְמַרְמַר Dn 5<sup>7</sup>, g 11<sup>11</sup>. Of the same form is אָרְרָה Is 38<sup>15</sup>, if contracted from אֶתְרֹרָה or אַתְרִירָה from the root רר or רי), and also הִתְמַהְמַה tarry ye, Is 29<sup>9</sup> (but read probably הִתְמַהְמַה), וַיִּתְמַהְמַה (in pause) Gn 19<sup>16</sup>, &c., if it is to be derived from מַהַה, and not *Hithpa'el* from מַהְמַה.

Only examples more or less doubtful can be adduced of—

5. *Tiph'el* (properly *Taph'el* <sup>2</sup>): תִּקְטַל, with ת prefixed, cf. תִּרְגְּלִתי to teach to walk, to lead (denominative from רָגַל a foot?) Ho 11<sup>3</sup>; from a stem ל"ה, the imperfect יִתְחַרְרָה to contend with, Jer 12<sup>5</sup>; participle, 22<sup>15</sup> (from חָרָה to be hot, eager). Similarly in Aramaic, תִּרְגַּם to interpret, whence also in Hebrew the passive participle מִתְרַגֵּם Ezr 4<sup>7</sup>.

6. *Saph'el*: שִׁקְטַל, frequent in Syriac, e. g. שִׁלְהַב from להב to flame; whence i in Hebrew שִׁלְהֶבֶת flame. Perhaps of the same form is שִׁבְלוּל a snail (unless it be from the stem שבל), and שִׁקְעֵרוֹרֶת hollow strakes, cf. § 85, No. 50. This conjugation is perhaps the original of *Hiph'il*, in which case the ה, by a phonetic change which may be exemplified elsewhere, is weakened from a sibilant.

\* \* \*

Forms of which only isolated examples occur are:—

7. קִטְטַל, passive קִטְטַל; as מִחִסְפָּם peeled off, like scales, Ex 16<sup>14</sup>, from חִסַּף חִשַּׁף to peel, to scale.

8. קִטְטַל, in זְרוּיָה a rain-storm, from זָרַף.

9. נִתְחַטַּל (regularly in Mishnic Hebrew <sup>3</sup>) a form compounded of *Niph'al* and *Hithpa'el*; as וְנִתְחַטְּרוּ for וְנִתְחַסְּרוּ that they may be taught, Ez 23<sup>48</sup>; נִבְפַּר probably an error for הִתְבַּפֵּר to be forgiven, Dt 21<sup>8</sup>. On נִשְׁתַּוָּה Pr 27<sup>15</sup>, see § 75 x.

### § 58. Quadriliterals.

On the origin of these altogether secondary formations cf. § 30 p. While quadriliteral nouns are tolerably numerous, only the following examples of the verb occur:

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Lat. *tinnio, tintinno*, our *tick-tack, ding-dong*, and the German *wirrwarr, Kingklang*. The repetition of the radical in verbs ע"ע also produces this effect; as in לָקַק to lick, דָּקַק to pound, טָפַף to trip along. The same thing is expressed also by *diminutive* forms, as in Latin by the termination *-illo*, e. g. *cantillo*, in German by *-eln, -ern*, e. g. *flimmern, trillern, tröpfeln*, to trickle.

<sup>2</sup> The existence of a *Taph'el* is contested on good grounds by Barth, *Nominalbildung*, p. 279.

<sup>3</sup> [See Segal, *Mishnaic Hebrew*, Oxf. 1909, p. 30 ff.]

(a) On the analogy of *Pi'el*: **יְבַרְסֶמֶנָה** *imperfect* **יְבַרְסֶמֶנָה** *he doth ravage it*, ψ 80<sup>14</sup> from **בָּרַס**, cf. **גָּוַם**. *Passive* **רָטַפַּשׁ** *to grow fresh again*, Jb 33<sup>26</sup>. *Participle* **מְכַרְבֵּל** *girt, clothed* (cf. Aramaic **כָּבַל** *to bind*), 1 Ch 15<sup>27</sup>. It is usual also to include among the quadrilaterals **פָּרְשָׁן** Jb 26<sup>9</sup>, as a *perfect* of Aramaic form with *Pathah* not attenuated. It is more correctly, however, regarded, with Delitzsch, as the *infinitive absolute* of a *Pi'el* formation, from **פָּרַשׁ** *to spread out*, with euphonic change of the first **שׁ** to **שׁ**, and the second to **ן**. Moreover, the reading **פָּרְשָׁן** also is very well attested, and is adopted by Baer in the text of Job; cf. the Rem. on p. 48 of his edition.

(b) On the analogy of *Hiph'il*: **הַשְׁמְאִיל**, by syncope **הַשְׁמְאִיל** and **הַשְׁמִיל** *to turn to the left* (denom. from **שָׂמַל**) Gn 13<sup>9</sup>, Is 30<sup>21</sup>, &c. On **הָאֲנִיחֵהוּ** cf. § 53 p.

### C. STRONG VERB WITH PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES.<sup>1</sup>

#### § 57.

The accusative of the personal pronoun, depending on an active verb,<sup>2</sup> may be expressed (1) by a separate word, **אֹת** the accusative sign (before a suffix **אֹת**, **אֹת**) with the pronominal suffix, e. g. **קָטַל אֹתוֹ** *he has killed him*; or (2) by a mere suffix, **קָטַלְהוּ** or **קָטְלוּ** *he has killed him*. The latter is the usual method (§ 33), and we are here concerned with it alone.<sup>3</sup> Neither of these methods, however, is employed when the accusative of the pronoun is *reflexive*. In that case a reflexive verb is used, viz. *Niph'al* or *Hithpa'el* (§§ 51 and 54), e. g. **הִתְקַדֵּשׁ** *he sanctified himself*, not **קָדְשׁוֹ**, which could only mean *he sanctified him*.<sup>4</sup>

Two points must be specially considered here: the form of the suffix itself (§ 58), and the form which the verb takes when suffixes are added to it (§§ 59-61).

<sup>1</sup> This subject of the verbal suffixes is treated here in connexion with the strong verb, in order that both the forms of the suffixes and the general laws which regulate their union with verbal forms may be clearly seen. The rules which relate to the union of the suffixes with weak verbs will be given under the several classes of those verbs.

<sup>2</sup> An accusative suffix occurs with *Niph'al* in ψ 109<sup>3</sup> (since **נִלְחַם** is used in the sense of *to attack*), and according to some, in Is 44<sup>21</sup>; with *Hithpa'el* Is 14<sup>2</sup> (**הִתְנַחֵל** to appropriate somebody to oneself as a possession); cf. above, § 54 f, and § 117 w.

<sup>3</sup> On the cases where **אֹת** is necessary, see § 117 e.

<sup>4</sup> The exceptions in Jer 7<sup>19</sup>, Ez 34<sup>2.8.10</sup> are only apparent. In all these instances the sharp antithesis between **אֹתָם** (*themselves*) and another object could only be expressed by retaining the same verb; also in Ex 5<sup>19</sup> **אֹתָם** after an active verb serves to emphasize the idea of *themselves*.

§ 58. *The Pronominal Suffixes of the Verb.*

Cf. the statistics collected by H. Petri, *Das Verbum mit Suffixen im Hebr.*, part ii, in the נבִיאִים רֵאשֻׁנִים, Leipzig, 1890. W. Diehl, *Das Pronomen pers. suff. . . . des Hebr.*, Giessen, 1895. J. Barth, 'Beiträge zur Suffixlehre des Nordsem.,' *AJSL*. xvii (1901), p. 205 f. Brockelmann, *Semit. Sprachwiss.*, i. 159 f.; *Grundriss*, p. 638 ff.

1. The *pronominal suffixes* appended to the verb express the *a* accusative of the *personal pronoun*. They are the following:—

A.	B.	C.
To a form ending in a Vowel.	To a form in the Perf. ending in a Consonant.	To a form in the Imperf. ending in a Consonant.
Sing. 1. com. נִי־	נִי־ (in pause נִי־)	נִי־ me.
2. m. ךִּי־	ךִּי־ (in pause ךִּי־, also ךִּי־)	ךִּי־ thee.
f. ךִּי־	ךִּי־ ךִּי־, rarely ךִּי־	ךִּי־
3. m. הִי־, יִי־	הִי־, יִי־ (יִי־)	הִי־ him.
f. הִי־	הִי־	הִי־ her.
Plur. 1. com. נוֹי־	נוֹי־	נוֹי־ us.
2. m. כֶּם־		כֶּם־ you (vos).
f. . . . . <sup>1</sup>		
3. m. םִי־, םִי־	םִי־ (from םִי־), םִי־	םִי־ (from םִי־) eos.
poet. מוֹי־	מוֹי־	מוֹי־
f. יִי־	יִי־, יִי־	. . . . . <sup>1</sup> eas.

2. That these suffixes are connected with the corresponding forms *b* of the *personal pronoun* (§ 32) is for the most part self-evident, and only a few of them require elucidation.

The suffixes נִי, נִי, הִי, הִי (and ךִּי, when a long vowel in an open *C* syllable precedes) never have the tone, which always rests on the preceding syllable; on the other hand, כֶּם and םִי always take the tone.

In the 3rd pers. masc. הִי־, by contraction of *a* and *u* after the *d* rejection of the weak ה, frequently gives rise to *ô* (§ 23 *k*), ordinarily written י, much less frequently יִ (see § 7 *c*). In the *feminine*, the suffix הִי should be pronounced with a preceding *a* (cf. below, *f*, note), as הִי־ or הִי־, on the analogy of *āhû*; instead of הִי־, however, it was simply pronounced הִי־, with the rejection of the final vowel,

<sup>1</sup> According to Diehl (see above), p. 61, כֶּם occurs only once with the perfect (see § 59 *e*), 7 times with the imperfect, but never in pre-exilic passages, whereas the accus. כֶּם־ occurs 40 times in Jer. and 36 times in Ezek.—םִי occurs only once as a verbal suffix (Dt 32<sup>26</sup>, unless, with Kahan, *Infinitive u. Participien*, p. 13, םִי־ from הִי־ is to be read), while the forms יִ (2nd *f. pl.*) and יִ־ and יִ־ (3rd *f. pl.*), added by Qimhi, never occur.

and with *Mappiq*, since the ה is consonantal; but the weakening to הַ is also found, see below, *g*.

*e* 3. The *variety* of the suffix-forms is occasioned chiefly by the fact that they are modified differently according to the form and tense of the verb to which they are attached. For almost every suffix three forms may be distinguished:

(*a*) One beginning with a consonant, as הַיְ, הִיְ, וְ (only after *i*), הַיְ, (הַיְ) הַיְ, &c. These are attached to verbal forms which end with a vowel, e. g. הַיְ הַיְ; הַיְ הַיְ, for which by absorption of the ה we also get הַיְ הַיְ, pronounced *q'altū*; cf. § 8 *m*.

*f* (*b*) A second and third with what are called *connecting vowels*<sup>1</sup> (הַיְ, הַיְ), used with verbal forms ending with a consonant (for exceptions, see § 59 *g* and § 60 *e*). This *connecting vowel* is *a* with the forms of the perfect, e. g. הַיְ הַיְ, הַיְ הַיְ, הַיְ הַיְ (on הַיְ הַיְ, the ordinary form of the 3rd masc. perf. with the 2nd fem. suffix, cf. below, *g*); and *e* (less frequently *a*) with the forms of the imperfect and imperative, e. g. הַיְ הַיְ, הַיְ הַיְ; also with the infinitive and participles, when these do not take noun-suffixes (cf. § 61 *a* and *h*). The form *i* also belongs to the suffixes of the perfect, since it has arisen from הַיְ הַיְ (cf., however, § 60 *d*). With הַיְ, הַיְ, the connecting sound is only a vocal *šewā*, which has arisen from an original short vowel, thus הַיְ הַיְ, הַיְ הַיְ, e. g. הַיְ הַיְ (*q'āl'khā*), or when the final consonant of the verb is a guttural, הַיְ הַיְ, e. g. הַיְ הַיְ. In *pause*, the original short vowel (*ā*) reappears as *Seghōl* with the tone הַיְ הַיְ (also הַיְ הַיְ, see *g*). On the appending of suffixes to the final הַיְ of the imperfect (§ 47 *m*), see § 60 *e*.

*g* Rem. 1. As *rare* forms may be mentioned *sing.* 2nd pers. *masc.* הַיְ הַיְ. Gn 27<sup>7</sup>, 1 K 18<sup>44</sup>, &c., in *pause* also הַיְ הַיְ (see below, *i*); *fem.* הַיְ, הַיְ ψ 103<sup>4</sup>, 137<sup>6</sup>. Instead of the form הַיְ הַיְ, which is usual even in the perfect (e. g. Ju 4<sup>20</sup>, Ez 27<sup>26</sup>), הַיְ הַיְ occurs as *fem.* Is 60<sup>9</sup> (as *masc.* Dt 6<sup>17</sup>, 28<sup>45</sup>, Is 30<sup>19</sup>, 55<sup>5</sup> always in *pause*); with *Munah* Is 54<sup>6</sup>, Jer 23<sup>37</sup>.—In the 3rd *masc.* הַיְ Ex 32<sup>25</sup>, Nu 23<sup>8</sup>; in the 3rd *fem.* הַיְ הַיְ without *Mappiq* (cf. § 91 *e*) Ex 2<sup>3</sup>, Jer 44<sup>19</sup>; Am 1<sup>11</sup>, with

<sup>1</sup> We have kept the term *connecting vowel*, although it is rather a superficial description, and moreover these vowels are of various origin. The connective *a* is most probably the remains of the old verbal termination, like the *i* in the 2nd pers. *fem.* *sing.* הַיְ הַיְ. Observe e. g. the Hebrew form *q'āl-ani* in connexion with the Arabic *qatala-ni*, contrasted with Hebrew *q'ālat-ni* and Arabic *qatalat-ni*. König accordingly prefers the expression 'vocalic ending of the stem', instead of 'connecting syllable'. The connective *ē*, *ā*, as Prätorius (*ZDMG.* 55, 267 ff.) and Barth (*ibid.* p. 205 f.) show by reference to the Syriac connective *ai* in the imperf. of the strong verb, is originally due to the analogy of verbs מַחֲיֵי מַחֲיֵי (from *m'ḥaini*), in which the final *ē* was used as a connecting vowel first of the imperat., then of the impf. (besides many forms with *a*, § 60 *d*), and of the infin. and participle.

retraction of the tone before a following tone-syllable, but read certainly  $\text{שָׁמַר לְנַצְחָה}$ .—The forms  $\text{מוֹ}$ ,  $\text{מוֹ}$ ,  $\text{מוֹ}$  occur 23 times, all in poetry<sup>1</sup> (except Ex 23<sup>31</sup>) [viz. with the perfect Ex 15<sup>10</sup>, 23<sup>31</sup>,  $\psi$  73<sup>6</sup>; with the imperfect Ex 15<sup>5</sup> ( $\text{מוֹ}$  for  $\text{מוֹ}$ ), 15<sup>7,9,9,12,15,17,17</sup>,  $\psi$  2<sup>5</sup>, 21<sup>10,13</sup>, 22<sup>5</sup>, 45<sup>17</sup>, 8c<sup>6</sup>, 14c<sup>10</sup>; with the imperative  $\psi$  5<sup>11</sup>, 59<sup>12,12</sup>, 83<sup>12</sup>]. On the age of these forms, see § 91 l 3; on  $\text{יֵ}$  and  $\text{יֵ}$  as suffixes of the 3rd fem. plur. of the imperfect, § 60 d.—In Gn 48<sup>9</sup>  $\text{וְהָיָה לְךָ חֵן וְרַחֲמִים}$  (cf.  $\text{וְיִשְׂרָאֵל יָשָׁב}$  1 Ch 14<sup>11</sup> according to Baer),  $\text{וְרַחֲמִים}$  has lost the tone before *Maqqeph* and so is shortened to  $\text{וְרַחֲמִים}$ .—In Ez 44<sup>8</sup>  $\text{וְהָיָה שִׁמּוֹן וְהָיָה שִׁמּוֹן}$  is probably only an error for  $\text{וְהָיָה שִׁמּוֹן}$ .

2. From a comparison of these verbal suffixes with the noun-suffixes (§ 91) *h* we find that (a) there is a greater variety of forms amongst the verbal than amongst the noun-suffixes, the forms and relations of the verb itself being more various;—(b) the verbal suffix, where it differs from that of the noun, is longer; cf. e.g.  $\text{נִי}$ ,  $\text{נִי}$ ,  $\text{נִי}$  (*me*) with  $\text{י}$  (*my*). The reason is that the pronominal object is less closely connected with the verb than the possessive pronoun (the genitive) is with the noun; consequently the former can also be expressed by a separate word (*את* in  $\text{אֶתִּי}$ , &c.).

4. A verbal form with a suffix gains additional strength, and some-<sup>i</sup> times intentional emphasis, when, instead of the mere connecting vowel, a special connecting-syllable<sup>2</sup> (*ān*)<sup>3</sup> is inserted between the suffix and the verbal stem. Since, however, this syllable always has the tone, the *ā* is invariably (except in the 1st pers. sing.) modified to tone-bearing *S<sup>e</sup>ghôl*. This is called the *Nûn energicum*<sup>4</sup> (less suitably *demonstrativum* or *epentheticum*), and occurs principally (see, however, Dt 32<sup>10</sup> bis) in pausal forms of the imperfect, e.g.  $\text{יְבַרְכֶנּוּהוּ}$  *he will bless him* ( $\psi$  72<sup>15</sup>, cf. Jer 5<sup>22</sup>),  $\text{יְכַבְּדֶנּוּנִי}$  *he will honour me* ( $\psi$  50<sup>23</sup>) is unusual; rarely in the perfect, Dt 24<sup>13</sup>  $\text{יְבַרְכֶנּוּהוּ}$ . On examples like  $\text{יְנַגֵּי}$  Gn 30<sup>6</sup>, cf. § 26 g, § 59 f. In far the greatest number of cases, however, this *Nûn* is assimilated to the following consonant (*נ*, *כ*), or the latter is lost in pronunciation (so *ה*), and the *Nûn* consequently sharpened. Hence we get the following series of suffix-forms:—

<sup>1</sup> Thus in  $\psi$  2  $\text{מוֹ}$  occurs five times [four times attached to a noun or preposition, §§ 91 f, 103 c], and  $\text{וְרַחֲמִים}$  only twice.

<sup>2</sup> It is, however, a question whether, instead of a connecting syllable, we should not assume a special verbal form, analogous to the Arabic *energetic mood* (see *l*, at the end) and probably also appearing in the Hebrew cohortative (see the footnote on § 48 c).—As M. Lambert has shown in *REL.* 1903, p. 178 ff. ('De l'emploi des suffixes pronominaux . . .'), the suffixes of the 3rd pers. with the impf. without *waw* in prose are  $\text{נָה}$  and  $\text{נָה}$ , but with *waw consec.*  $\text{וְנָה}$  and  $\text{וְנָה}$  or  $\text{וְנָה}$ ; with the jussive in the 2nd and 3rd pers. always  $\text{נָה}$ ,  $\text{נָה}$ ,  $\text{נָה}$ . In the 1st pers. more often  $\text{נָה}$  than  $\text{נָה}$ , and always  $\text{נָה}$ .

<sup>3</sup> According to Barth 'n-haltige Suffixe' in *Sprachwiss. Untersuchungen*, Lpz 1907, p. 1 ff., the connecting element, as in Aramaic, was originally *in*, which in Hebrew became *en* in a closed tone-syllable.

<sup>4</sup> So König, *Lehrgeb.*, i. p. 226.

- 1st pers.  $\text{אָנִי}$  (even in pause, Jb 7<sup>14</sup>, &c.),  $\text{אָנִי}$  (for  $\text{אָנִי}$ ,  $\text{אָנִי}$ ).  
 2nd pers.  $\text{אַתָּה}$  (Jer 22<sup>24</sup> in pause  $\text{אַתָּה}$ ) and, only orthographically different,  
 $\text{אַתָּה}$  (Is 10<sup>24</sup>, Pr 2<sup>11</sup> in pause).  
 3rd pers.  $\text{הוּא}$  (for  $\text{הוּא}$ ),<sup>1</sup> fem.  $\text{הִיא}$  for  $\text{הִיא}$ .  
 [1st pers. plur.  $\text{אֲנִי}$  (for  $\text{אֲנִי}$ ), see the Rem.]

In the other persons Nūn energetic does not occur.

*l* Rem. The uncontracted forms with Nūn are rare, and occur only in poetic or elevated style (Ex 15<sup>2</sup>, Dt 32<sup>10</sup> [*bis*], Jer 5<sup>22</sup>, 22<sup>24</sup>); they are never found in the 3rd fem. sing. and 1st plur. On the other hand, the contracted forms are tolerably frequent, even in prose. An example of  $\text{הוּא}$  as 1st plur. occurs perhaps in Jb 31<sup>15</sup> [but read  $\text{הוּא}$  and cf. § 72 cc], hardly in Ho 12<sup>5</sup>; cf.  $\text{הוּא}$  behold us, Gn 44<sup>16</sup>, 50<sup>18</sup>, Nu 14<sup>40</sup> for  $\text{הוּא}$  (instead of  $\text{הוּא}$ ; see § 20 m).— In Ez 4<sup>12</sup> the Masora requires  $\text{הוּא}$ , without Dageš in the Nūn.

*l* That the forms with Nūn energetic are intended to give greater emphasis to the verbal form is seen from their special frequency in pause. Apart from the verb, however, Nūn energetic occurs also in the union of suffixes with certain particles (§ 100 o).

This Nūn is frequent in Western Aramaic. In Arabic the corresponding forms are the two energetic moods (see § 48 b) ending in *an* and *anna*, which are used in connexion with suffixes (e.g. *yaqtulan-ka* or *yaqtulanna-ka*) as well as without them.

### § 59. The Perfect with Pronominal Suffixes.

*a* 1. The endings (*affirmatives*) of the perfect occasionally vary somewhat from the ordinary form, when connected with pronominal suffixes; viz. :—

(a) In the 3rd sing. fem. the original feminine ending  $\text{אָהָר}$  or  $\text{אָהָר}$  is used for  $\text{אָהָר}$ .

(b) In the 2nd sing. masc. besides  $\text{אָהָר}$  we find  $\text{אָהָר}$ , to which the connecting vowel is directly attached, but the only clear instances of this are with  $\text{אָהָר}$ .<sup>2</sup>

(c) In the 2nd sing. fem.  $\text{אָהָר}$ , the original form of  $\text{אָהָר}$ , appears; cf.  $\text{אָהָר}$ ,  $\text{אָהָר}$ , § 32 f; § 44 g. This form can be distinguished from the 1st pers. only by the context.

(d) 2nd plur. masc.  $\text{אָהָר}$  for  $\text{אָהָר}$ . The only examples are Nu 20<sup>5</sup>, 21<sup>5</sup>, Zc 7<sup>5</sup>. The fem.  $\text{אָהָר}$  never occurs with suffixes; probably it had the same form as the masculine.

We exhibit first the forms of the perfect *Hiph'ûl*, as used in connexion with suffixes, since here no further changes take place in the stem itself, except as regards the tone (see c).

<sup>1</sup> On  $\text{אָהָר} = \text{אָהָר}$  Nu 23<sup>13</sup>, see § 67 o.

<sup>2</sup> On the *ā* as an original element of the verbal form, see § 58 f, note.

<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
3. m. הקטיל	3. c. הקטילו
3. f. הקטילת	
2. m. הקטילת, הקטילת	2. m. הקטילתו
2. f. הקטילתי, הקטילת	
1. c. הקטילתי	1. c. הקטילנו

The beginner should first practise connecting the suffixes with these *Hiph'il* forms and then go on to unite them to the *Perfect Qal* (see *d*).

2. The addition of the suffix generally causes the tone to be thrown *c* forward towards the end of the word, since it would otherwise fall, in some cases, on the ante-penultima; with the *heavy* suffixes (see *e*) the tone is even transferred to the suffix itself. Considerations of tone, especially in the *Perfect Qal*, occasion certain vowel changes: (*a*) the *Qames* of the first syllable, no longer standing *before* the tone, always becomes vocal *Šewá*; (*b*) the original *Pathah* of the second syllable, which in the *3rd sing. fem.* and *3rd plur.* had become *Šewá*, reappears before the suffix, and, in an open syllable before the tone, is lengthened to *Qames*; similarly original *i* (as in the *3rd sing. masc. without* a suffix) is lengthened to *e*, e. g. אֶהְיֶה I S 18<sup>22</sup>, Pr 19<sup>7</sup>.

The forms of the perfect of *Qal* consequently appear as follows:— *d*

<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
3. m. קטל	3. c. קטלו
3. f. קטלת (קטלת, see <i>g</i> )	
2. m. קטלת (קטלת, see <i>h</i> )	2. m. קטלתו
2. f. קטלתי (קטלת, see <i>h</i> )	
1. c. קטלתי	1. c. קטלנו

The connexion of these forms with all the suffixes is shown in *Paradigm C*. It will be seen there also, how the *Šere* in the *Perfect Pi'el* changes sometimes into *S'eghól*, and sometimes into vocal *Šewá*.

Rem. 1. The suffixes of the 2nd and 3rd pers. plur. הם and כֹּם, since they *e* end in a consonant and also always have the tone, are distinguished as *heavy* suffixes (*suffixa gravia*) from the rest, which are called *light* suffixes. Compare the connexion of these (and of the corresponding feminine forms הֵן and הֵן) with the *noun*, § 91. With a perfect כֹּם alone occurs,  $\psi$  118<sup>26</sup>. The form קטל which is usually given as the connective form of the 3rd sing. masc. before כֹּם and כֵּן is only formed by analogy, and is without example in the O. T.

2. In the *3rd sing. masc.* קטלהו (especially in verbs ל"ה; in the strong verb only in Jer 20<sup>16</sup> in *Pi'el*) is mostly contracted to קטלו, according to § 23 *k*; likewise in the 2nd sing. masc. קטלתו to קטלתו.—As a suffix of the 1st sing. קטל occurs several times with the 3rd sing. masc. perf. *Qal* of verbs ל"ה, not only in *pause* (as עָנְנִי  $\psi$  118<sup>5</sup>; קָנְנִי Pr 8<sup>22</sup> with *D'hi*), but even with a con-



קָמַתְּ, however, it is shortened to *Qames hatuph*, e.g. יִשְׁמְרֶךָ (but in *pause* יִשְׁמְרֶךָ or יִשְׁמְרֶךָ; with *Nān energicum*, see § 58 i), &c. Instead of תִּקְטְלוּנָה, the form תִּקְטְלוּ<sup>1</sup> is used for the 2nd and 3rd *fem. plur.* before suffixes in three places: Jer 2<sup>19</sup>, Jb 19<sup>15</sup>, Ct 1<sup>6</sup>.

Rem. 1. יִחְבְּרֶךָ ψ 94<sup>20</sup> is an anomalous form for יַחְבְּרֶךָ (cf. the analogous *b* יַחְבְּרֶךָ § 67 n) and יִבְנֶנְשֶׁךָ (so Baer; others יִבְנֶנְשֶׁךָ) Gn 32<sup>18</sup> for יִבְנֶנְשֶׁךָ. To the same category as יַחְבְּרֶךָ belong also, according to the usual explanation, תַּעֲבִדֶם (from תַּעֲבֹד), Ex 20<sup>6</sup>, 23<sup>24</sup>, Dt 5<sup>9</sup>, and נַעֲבֹד Dt 13<sup>3</sup>. As a matter of fact, the explanation of these forms as imperfects of *Qal* appears to be required by the last of these passages; yet why has the retraction of the *ō* taken place only in these examples (beside numerous forms like יַעֲבֹדְנִי)? Could the Masora in the two Decalogues and in Ex 23<sup>24</sup> (on the analogy of which Dt 13<sup>3</sup> was then wrongly pointed) have intended an imperfect *Hoph'al* with the suffix, meaning *thou shalt not allow thyself to be brought to worship them*?

Verbs which have *a* in the second syllable of the *imperfect*, and imperative, *c* *Qal* (to which class especially *verba tertiae* and *mediae gutturalis* belong, § 64 and § 65) do not, as a rule, change the *Pathah* of the *imperfect* (nor of the imperative, see § 61 g) into *Ṣewā* before suffixes; but the *Pathah*, coming to stand in an open syllable before the tone, is lengthened to *Qames*, e.g. וְיִלְבְּשֵׁנִי Jb 29<sup>14</sup>; וַיִּנְאֲלוּהוּ<sup>35</sup> Jos 8<sup>3</sup>; וַיִּקְרְאוּהוּ ψ 145<sup>18</sup>; but יִקְרְאוּ Jer 23<sup>6</sup>, is probably a *forma mixta* combining the readings יִקְרְאוּ and יִקְרֹאוּ, cf. § 74 e.

2. Not infrequently suffixes with the connecting vowel *a* are also found *d* with the imperfect, e.g. תִּבְרַכְנִי Gn 19<sup>19</sup>, cf. 29<sup>82</sup>, Ex 33<sup>20</sup>, Nu 22<sup>33</sup>, 1 K 2<sup>24</sup> *Qerē*, Is 56<sup>3</sup>, Jb 9<sup>18</sup>; also בְּנִי, Gn 27<sup>19,31</sup>, Jb 7<sup>14</sup>, 9<sup>34</sup>, 13<sup>21</sup> (in principal *pause*); וַיִּבְרָה Gn 37<sup>38</sup>, cf. 16<sup>7</sup>, 2 S 11<sup>27</sup>, Is 26<sup>5</sup>, Jb 28<sup>27</sup>, 1 Ch 20<sup>2</sup>; וַיִּבְרָנוּ Is 63<sup>16</sup> (manifestly owing to the influence of the preceding וַיִּדְעֵנוּ; וַיִּלְבְּשֵׁם Ex 29<sup>0</sup>, cf. 2<sup>17</sup>, Nu 21<sup>30</sup>, Dt 7<sup>15</sup>, ψ 74<sup>8</sup>; even אֲמַיִלֶם 118<sup>10-12</sup>; וַיִּוְשַׁעַן Ex 2<sup>17</sup>, and יַחֲתֵן Hb 2<sup>17</sup> (where, however, the ancient versions read וַיַּחֲתֵךְ); even יִרְדְּפוּ (*ō* from *āhu*) Ho 8<sup>3</sup>; cf. Ex 22<sup>29</sup>, Jos 2<sup>4</sup> (but read וַתַּצְפִּנֶם); 1 S 18<sup>1</sup> *K<sup>er</sup>th.*, 21<sup>14</sup> (where, however, the text is corrupt); 2 S 14<sup>6</sup> (where read with the old versions וַיִּנְי); Jer 23<sup>6</sup> (see § 74 e), ψ 35<sup>8</sup>, Ec 4<sup>12</sup>.—On pausal *S<sup>eghōl</sup>* for *Sere* in וַאֲבַרְכֶם Gn 48<sup>9</sup> and וַתִּאֲלָצֶהוּ (so Baer, but ed. Mant., Ginsb. וַתִּאֲלָצֶהוּ) Ju 16<sup>16</sup>, see § 29 q.

3. Suffixes are also appended in twelve passages to the plural forms in וְנִי, *e* viz. תִּרְכַּאֲנֵנִי *will ye break me in pieces?* Jb 19<sup>2</sup>; יִשְׁתַּרְתְּנֶךָ (here necessarily with a connecting vowel) Is 60<sup>7,10</sup>; Pr 5<sup>22</sup> (i but probably corrupt); elsewhere always without a connecting vowel; יִקְרְאֵנִי with two other examples Pr 1<sup>28</sup>, 8<sup>17</sup>, Ho 5<sup>15</sup>; cf. וַגֵּךְ ψ 63<sup>4</sup>, 91<sup>12</sup>; וַנְהוּ Jer 5<sup>22</sup>; וַגֵּךְ Jer 2<sup>24</sup>, all in principal *pause*. [See Böttcher, *Lehrb.*, § 1047 f.]

4. In *Pi'el*, *Pō'el*, and *Po'tel*, the *Sere* of the final syllable, like the *ō* in *Qal*, *f* becomes vocal *Ṣewā*; but before the suffixes תְּךָ and כֶּם it is shortened to *S<sup>eghōl</sup>*, e.g. וַיִּקְבְּצֶךָ Dt 30<sup>4</sup>, ψ 34<sup>12</sup>, Is 51<sup>2</sup>. With a final guttural, however, וַיִּשְׁלַחְךָ Gn 32<sup>27</sup>; also in Pr 4<sup>8</sup>, where with *Qinḥi* תִּבְבְּרֶךָ is to be read. *ō* is

<sup>1</sup> This form is also found as feminine without a suffix, in Jer 49<sup>11</sup>, Ez 37<sup>7</sup>. In the latter passage וַתִּקְרְבוּ is probably to be regarded, with König, as a clumsy correction of the original וַיִּקְ, intended to suggest the reading וַתִּקְרְבֵנָה, to agree with the usual gender of עֲצָמוֹת.

retained in the tone-syllable; an analogous case in *Hiph'el* is *יִגְדֹּךָ* Dt 32<sup>7</sup>. Less frequently *Sere* is sharpened to *Hireq*, e.g. *אֶמְצָכֶם* Jb 16<sup>5</sup>, cf. Ex 31<sup>13</sup>, Is 1<sup>15</sup>, 52<sup>12</sup>; so in *Po'tel*, Is 25<sup>1</sup>, ψ 30<sup>2</sup>, 37<sup>24</sup>, 145<sup>1</sup>, and probably also in *Qal* *אֶסְפָּךְ* I S 15<sup>6</sup>; cf. § 68 h.

g 5. In *Hiph'el* the *i* remains, e.g. *תִּלְבִּישֵׁנִי* Jb 10<sup>11</sup> (after *wāw* consecutive it is often written defectively, e.g. *וַיִּלְבֹּשֶׁם* Gn 3<sup>21</sup> and often); but cf. above, *f*, Dt 32<sup>7</sup>. Forms like *תַּעֲשִׂיָהּ* thou enrichest it, ψ 65<sup>10</sup>, I S 17<sup>25</sup>, are rare. Cf. § 53 n.

h 6. Instead of the suffix of the 3rd plur. fem. (י), the suffix of the 3rd plur. masc. (ם) is affixed to the affirmative ו, to avoid a confusion with the personal ending וי; cf. *וַיִּמְלֹאֵם* Gn 26<sup>15</sup> (previously also with a perf. *סִתְּמֹם*; Gn 26<sup>18</sup>, 33<sup>13</sup>, Ex 2<sup>17</sup> (where *וַיִּוְשַׁעַן* occurs immediately after); 39<sup>18,20</sup>, I S 6<sup>10</sup> (where also *בְּנִיָהֶם* is for *בְּנֵיהֶן*, a neglect of gender which can only be explained by § 135 o).—For *יִהְרֹגֶנּוּ* Zc 11<sup>5</sup> read perhaps *יִהְרֹגֶנּוּ* with M. Lambert.

### § 61. Infinitive, Imperative and Participle with Pronominal Suffixes.

a 1. The infinitive construct of an active verb may be construed with an accusative, and therefore can also take a verbal suffix, i.e. the accusative of the personal pronoun. The only undoubted instances of the kind, however, in the O. T. are infinitives with the verbal suffix of the 1st pers. sing., e.g. *לִרְשִׁי* to inquire of me, Jer 37<sup>7</sup>. As a rule the infinitive (as a noun) takes noun-suffixes (in the genitive, which may be either subjective or objective, cf. § 115 c), e.g. *עָבְרִי* my passing by; *מְלֹכִי* his reigning, see § 115 a and e. The infinitive *Qal*, then, usually has the form *qōl*, retaining the original short vowel under the first radical (on the probable ground-form *qūtūl*, see § 46 a). The resulting syllable as a rule allows a following *Begadkephath* to be spirant, e.g. *בְּכַתְּבִי* in his writing, Jer 45<sup>1</sup>; cf., however, *הִפְּבִי* Gn 19<sup>21</sup>; *נִנְפִי* (so ed. Mant.; others *נִנְפִי*) Ex 12<sup>27</sup>; *עֲצָבִי* I Ch 4<sup>10</sup>; before *יְ* and *כֶּ*—also the syllable is completely closed, e.g. *בְּאֶסְפָּךְ* Ex 23<sup>16</sup>, Lv 23<sup>39</sup> (but in pause *לְהִרְגֶךָ* Gn 27<sup>42</sup>), unless the vowel be retained in the second syllable; see d. With the form *qāt* generally, compare the closely allied nouns of the form *qāt* (before a suffix *qāt* or *qāt*), § 84<sup>a</sup> a; § 93 q.

b Rem. 1. The infin. of verbs which have *ō* in the last syllable of the imperfect of *Qal*, sometimes takes the form *qīl* before suffixes, e.g. *בְּבִנְדִי* Ex 21<sup>8</sup>; *מְכָרֶם* Am 2<sup>6</sup> (but *מְכָרָה* Ex 21<sup>8</sup>), *נִפְלוֹ* 2 S 1<sup>10</sup> (but *נָפְלוֹ* I S 29<sup>8</sup>), *לְשִׁטְנִי* Zc 3<sup>1</sup>, *שִׁבְרִי* Lv 26<sup>26</sup>, Ez 30<sup>18</sup> &c. According to Barth (see above, § 47 i with the note) these forms with *i* in the first syllable point to former *i*-imperfects.

c Infinitives of the form *qāt* (§ 45 c) in verbs middle or third guttural (but cf. also *לְשִׁבְבָה* Gn 19<sup>33,35</sup>—elsewhere *לְשִׁבְבֶךָ* and *לְשִׁבְבוֹ*) before suffixes sometimes take the form *qāṭl*, as *עָפְוִי* Jon 1<sup>16</sup> (and, with the syllable loosely closed.

מוֹעֵם Ju 13<sup>25</sup>), מִהָאֵךְ and רִקְעָךְ Ez 25<sup>6</sup>; sometimes *qill*, with the *a* attenuated to *i*, especially in verbs third guttural; as בָּלְעִי, בָּקַעַם, בָּנְעוּ, בָּתַחִי, בָּנְעוּ, בָּקַעַם, בָּלְעִי, בָּתַחִי.—Contrary to § 58 *f* נִי (1 Ch 12<sup>17</sup>) and נִי (Ex 14<sup>11</sup>) are sometimes found with the *infinitive* instead of נִי and נִי. On יִרְוִי my following  $\psi$  38<sup>21</sup> (but *Qéré* יִרְוִי), cf. the analogous examples in § 46 *e*.

2. With the suffixes הֶ and כֶּ, contrary to the analogy of the corresponding nouns, forms occur like אֲכַלְךָ *thy eating*, Gn 2<sup>17</sup>; אֲכַלְכֶם Gn 3<sup>5</sup>; עֲמַרְךָ (others עֲמַרְךָ) Ob 11, i. e. with *ō* shortened in the same way as in the *imperfect*, see § 60. But the analogy of the nouns is followed in such forms as קָצַרְכֶם *your harvesting*, Lv 19<sup>9</sup>, 23<sup>22</sup> (with retention of the original *ū*), and מֵאֲסַכְּם (read *mō's'khēm*) *your despising*, Is 30<sup>12</sup>; cf. Dt 20<sup>2</sup>; on בְּמִצְאֲכֶם Gn 32<sup>20</sup> (for בְּמִצְאֵי), see § 74 *h*.—Very unusual are the infinitive suffixes of the 2nd sing. masc. with *l* *energicum* (on the analogy of suffixes with the *imperfect*, § 58 *i*), as יִפְרֶךְ Dt 4<sup>36</sup>, cf. 23<sup>5</sup>, Jb 33<sup>32</sup>, all in principal pause.

Examples of the *infinitive Niph'al* with suffixes are, יִשְׁמְרֶךְ Ex 14<sup>18</sup>; הִשְׁמַרְךָ Dt 28<sup>20</sup> (in *pause*, הִשְׁמַרְךָ verse 24); יִשְׁפֹּטוּ  $\psi$  37<sup>33</sup>; הִזְכְּרֶכֶם Ez 21<sup>29</sup>; הִשְׁמַרְכֶם Dt 7<sup>23</sup>. In the *infinitive of Piel* (as also in the *imperfect*, see § 60 *f*) the *ē* before the suff. הֶ, כֶּ, becomes *S'ghōl*, e. g. יִבְרַךְ Ex 4<sup>10</sup>, and with a sharpening to *ī* פִּרְשֶׁכֶם Is 1<sup>16</sup> (see § 60 *f*). In the *infinitive Pō'el*, בּוֹיֵשְׁכֶם occurs (with *a* for *ē* or *ī*) Am 5<sup>11</sup>, but probably בּוֹיֵשְׁכֶם, with Wellhausen, is the right reading; the correction *D* has crept into the text alongside of the *corrigendum* *ש*.

2. The leading form of the *imperative Qal* before suffixes (קָטַל) is *f* due probably (see § 46 *d*) to the retention of the original short vowel of the first syllable (ground-form *qūtūl*). In the *imperative* also *ō* is not followed by *Dageš lene*, e. g. כֹּתְבֶכֶם *kōthbhēm* (not *kōthbēm*), &c.<sup>1</sup> As in the *imperfect* (§ 60 *d*) and *infinitive* (see above, *c*), so also in the *imperative*, suffixes are found united to the stem by an *a*-sound; e. g. כְּתֹבְךָ Is 30<sup>8</sup>; cf. 2 S 12<sup>28</sup>.—The forms קָטַלְךָ, קָטַלְכֶם, which are not exhibited in Paradigm C, undergo no change. Instead of קָטַלְכֶם, the masc. form (קָטַלְךָ) is used, as in the *imperfect*.

In verbs which form the *imperative* with *a*, like שְׁלַח (to which class *g* belong especially verbs *middle* and *third guttural*, §§ 64 and 65), this *a* retains its place when pronominal suffixes are added, but, since it then stands in an open syllable, is, as a matter of course, lengthened to *Qames* (just as in *imperfects Qal* in *a*, § 60 *c*), e. g. שְׁלַחֲנִי *send me*, Is 6<sup>8</sup>, בְּחַיֵּי  $\psi$  26<sup>2</sup>, קְרֵאֵנִי  $\psi$  50<sup>15</sup>, שְׁמַעֵנִי Gn 23<sup>8</sup>. In Am 9<sup>1</sup>, בְּצַעַם (so ed. Mant., Baer, Ginsb., instead of the ordinary reading בְּצַעַם) is to be explained, with Margolis, *AJSL*. xix, p. 45 ff., from an original בְּצַעַמוּ, as וְהִרְגַתֶּם Am 9<sup>4</sup> from original וְהִרְגַתֶּמוּ.—In the *imperative Hiph'il*, the form used in conjunction with suffixes is not the 2nd sing. masc.

<sup>1</sup> שְׁמַרְנִי *šām'renī* required by the Masora in  $\psi$  16<sup>1</sup> (also שְׁמַרְךָ  $\psi$  86<sup>2</sup>, 119<sup>167</sup>; cf. Is 38<sup>14</sup> and עֲמַרְךָ Ob 11), belongs to the disputed cases discussed in § 9 *c* and § 48 *i* note.

הַקָּטִיל, but הַקָּטִיל (with *i* on account of the open syllable, cf. § 60 *g*), e. g. הַקָּרִיבָהּ *present it*, Mal 1<sup>8</sup>.

*h* 3. Like the infinitives, the participles can also be united with either verbal or noun-suffixes; see § 116 *f*. In both cases the vowel of the participles is shortened or becomes *S<sup>e</sup>wá* before the suffix, as in the corresponding noun-forms, e. g. from the form קָטַל: קָטַל, &c.; but before *S<sup>e</sup>wá mobile* קָטַל, &c., or with the original *š*, קָטַל Ex 23<sup>4</sup>, &c., אֶבְסַף 2 K 22<sup>20</sup> (coinciding in form with the 1st *sing. imperfect Qal*, 1 S 15<sup>6</sup>; cf. § 68 *h*); with a middle guttural (קָטַל, קָטַל); with a third guttural, בָּרַח Is 43<sup>1</sup>, but מִשְׁחַחְךָ, שָׁחַחְךָ Jer 28<sup>16</sup>, cf. § 65 *d*. The form מְקַטֵּל, with suffix מְקַטֵּל; before *S<sup>e</sup>wá* sometimes like מְקַטֵּל Is 48<sup>17</sup>, מִנְחָמָם 51<sup>12</sup>, sometimes like מְאֶסְפָּכֶם 52<sup>12</sup>. In Is 47<sup>10</sup> רָאִי is irregular for רָאִי; instead of the meaningless מְקַלְלֵי Jer 15<sup>10</sup> read קָלְלֵי.

Also unusual (see above, *d*) with participles are the suffixes of the 2nd *sing. masc.* with *energicum*, as עֹנֶךְ Jb 5<sup>1</sup>; cf. Dt 8<sup>5</sup>, 12<sup>14,23</sup>.

### § 62. Verbs with Gutturals.

Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, p. 584 ff.

Verbs which have a guttural for one of the three radicals differ in their inflexion from the ordinary strong verb, according to the general rules in § 22. These differences do not affect the consonantal part of the stem, and it is, therefore, more correct to regard the guttural verbs as a subdivision of the strong verb. At the most, only the entire omission of the strengthening in some of the verbs *middle guttural* (as well as in the *imperfect Niph'al* of verbs *first guttural*) can be regarded as a real weakness (§§ 63 *h*, 64 *e*). On the other hand, some original elements have been preserved in guttural stems, which have degenerated in the ordinary strong verb; e. g. the *ā* of the initial syllable in the *imperfect Qal*, as in יִהְיֶה, which elsewhere is attenuated to *š*, יִשָּׁל.—In guttural verbs *א* and *ה* are only taken into consideration when they are actual consonants, and not vowel-letters like the *א* in some verbs א"פ (§ 68), in a few א"ע (§ 73 *g*), and in most א"ל (§ 74). In all these cases, however, the *א* was at least originally a full consonant, while the *ה* in verbs א"ל was never anything but a vowel letter, cf. § 75. The really consonantal *ה* at the end of the word is marked by *Mappiq*.—Verbs containing a *ך* also, according to § 22 *q, r*, share some of the peculiarities of the guttural verbs. For more convenient treatment, the cases will be distinguished, according as the guttural is the first, second, or third radical. (Cf. the Paradigms D, E, F, in which only those conjugations are omitted which are wholly regular.)

## § 63. Verbs First Guttural, e. g. עָמַד to stand.

In this class the deviations from the ordinary strong verb may be *a* referred to the following cases:—

1. Instead of a *simple Šewâ mobile*, the initial guttural takes a *compound Šewâ (Hateph, § 10 f, § 22 l)*. Thus the *infinitives* עָמַד, לֶאֱכֹל to eat, and the *perfects, 2nd plur. masc.* עָמַדְתֶּם, חָפַצְתֶּם from חָפַץ to be inclined, correspond to the forms קָטַל and קָטַלְתֶּם; also אָכְלוּ to eat, and so always with initial א־ before a suffix for an original *ā*, according to § 22 o.

2. When a preformative is placed before an initial guttural, either *b* the two may form a closed syllable, or the vowel of the preformative is repeated as a *Hateph* under the guttural. If the vowel of the preformative was originally *a*, two methods of formation may again be distinguished, according as this *a* remains or passes into *Seghól*.

Examples: (*a*) of firmly closed syllables after the original vowel *c* of the preformative (always with *ō* in the second syllable, except וְהָעֵבֶב Ez 23<sup>5</sup>, תְּעַדָּה &c. from עָדָה to adorn oneself, and יַעֲטָה; but cf. *e*): חָמַד, יַחְמֹל, יַחְשֹׁב, יַחְשֹׁף, יַעֲקֹב Jer 9<sup>3</sup> (probably to distinguish it from the name יַעֲקֹב, just as in Jer 10<sup>19</sup>, &c., the participle fem. Niph'al of חָלָה is נַחֲלָה to distinguish it from נִחֲלָה), &c., and so generally in the *imperfect Qal* of stems beginning with ח, although sometimes parallel forms exist, which repeat the *ā* as a *Hateph*, e. g. יַחֲשֹׁב, &c. The same form appears also in the *imperfect Hiph'il* יַחְסִיר, &c. Very rarely the original *ā* is retained in a closed syllable under the preformative נ of the *perfect Niph'al*: נִחַפְּאָה Gn 31<sup>27</sup>; cf. 1 S 19<sup>2</sup>, Jos 2<sup>16</sup>; also the *infinitive absolute* נַחְתוּם Est 8<sup>8</sup>, נַעֲתוּר 1 Ch 5<sup>20</sup>, and the *participle fem.* נַחֲלָה (see above), *plur.* נַעֲתָרוּת Pr 27<sup>6</sup>. In these forms the original *ā* is commonly kept under the preformative and is followed by *Hateph-Pathah*; thus in the *perfect* of some verbs נִלְּשָׁה, &c.; in the *infinitive absolute*, נַחְפֹּה Est 9<sup>1</sup>; in the *participle* נַעֲרִין ψ 89<sup>8</sup>, &c.

(*b*) Of the corresponding *Hateph* after the original vowel: יַחֲבֹשׁ *d* (but יַחֲבֹשׁ Jb 5<sup>18</sup> in pause), יַחֲלֵם, יַעֲמֹד, יַיְהָרֵם, and so almost always with *y* and often with *h* in the *imperfects* of *Qal* and *Hiph'il*; in *Hoph'al*, הַעֲמִיד, הַעֲמִיר; but cf. also הַחֲבֹאוּ Is 42<sup>22</sup>, הַחֲתִיל Ez 16<sup>4</sup>.

The *ā* of the preformative before a guttural almost always (§ 22 i, *c* cf. § 27 *p*) becomes *Seghól* (cf., however, *q*). This *Seghól* again appears sometimes

(*c*) in a closed syllable, e. g. יַחֲבִישׁ, יַחְסֵר, יַעֲתֵר, יַאֲשֵׁם, always with *ā* in the second syllable, corresponding to the *imperfects* of verbs עָע, עָע,

with original *i* in the first and *a* in the second syllable, § 67 *n*, and also to the imperfects of verbs *י'ע*, § 72 *h*; but cf. also *יִאָסֵר*, *יִאָפֵד*, and *יִהְיֶה*; in *Niph.*, e. g. *נִהְיָה*; *נִהְיָה* Am 6<sup>6</sup>, &c.; in *Hiph.* *הִחְסִיר*, *הִעֲלִים* 2 K 4<sup>7</sup>, &c.: sometimes

(*d*) followed by *Haṭeph-Sēghōl*, e. g. *יִחְזַק*, *יִאָסֵר*, *יִחַשֵׁף*, *יַעֲרֹב* in *imperfect Qal*; *יִעֲמִיר* *Hiph'il*; *יַעֲנֵשׂ* *Niph'al*.

*f* Rem. With regard to the above examples the following points may also be noted: (1) The forms with a firmly closed syllable (called the hard combination) frequently occur in the same verb with forms containing a loosely closed syllable (the soft combination). (2) In the 1st *sing. imperfect Qal* the preformative *נ* invariably takes *Sēghōl*, whether in a firmly or loosely closed syllable, e. g. *נִאָחַז* (with the cohortative *נִאָחַזְךָ*), *נִאָחַזְךָ* (in *pause*), &c. In Jb 32<sup>17</sup> *נִאָנַח* must unquestionably be *Hiph'il*, since elsewhere the pointing is always *נִאָנַח*. Cohortatives like *נִאָחַזְךָ* Gn 27<sup>41</sup> and *נִאָחַזְךָ* Jb 16<sup>6</sup>, are explained by the next remark. (3) The shifting of the tone towards the end frequently causes the *Pathah* of the preformative to change into *Sēghōl*, and vice versa, e. g. *נִעֲשָׂה*, but *נִעֲשָׂתָה* 3rd *sing. fem.*; *יִאָסֵר*, but *יִאָסְפִי*, *יַעֲמִיר*, but *יַעֲמִירְךָ*, &c.; so *יִחְסְרוּ* Gn 8<sup>3</sup> the plur. of *יִחְסֵר*, cf. Gn 11<sup>8</sup>; and thus generally a change of the stronger *Haṭeph-Sēghōl* group ( $\frac{\text{---}}{\text{---}}$ ) into the lighter *Haṭeph-Pathah* group takes place whenever the tone is moved one place toward the end (cf. § 27 *v*).

*g* 3. When in forms like *יַעֲמִיר*, *נִעֲמִיר*, the vowel of the final syllable becomes a *vocal Šewā* in consequence of the addition of an affirmative (*י*, *י*—, *י*—) or suffix, the *compound Šewā* of the guttural is changed into the corresponding short vowel, e. g. *יַעֲמִיר*, plur. *יַעֲמִירוּ* (*ya'-a-me-dhū* as an equivalent for *ya'-me-dhū*); *נִעֲזָבָה* *she is forsaken*. But even in these forms the hard combination frequently occurs, e. g. *יִחַבְלוּ* *they take as a pledge* (cf. in the *sing.* *יִחַבֵּל*, also *יִחַבְלוּ*); *יִחֲזְקוּ* (also *יִחֲזְקוּ*) *they are strong*. Cf. *m* and, in general, § 22 *m*, § 28 *c*.

*h* 4. In the *infinitive, imperative, and imperfect Niph'al*, where the first radical should by rule be strengthened (*יִקְטֹל*, *יִקְטֹל*), the strengthening is always omitted, and the vowel of the preformative lengthened to *Sere*; *יַעֲמִיר* for *yi'āmēl*,<sup>1</sup> &c. Cf. § 22 *c*.—For *יִתְעַשֶׂה* Ex 25<sup>31</sup> (according to Dillmann, to prevent the pronunciation *יִתְעַשֶׂה*, which the LXX and Samaritan follow) read *יִתְעַשֶׂה*.

## REMARKS.

I. On *Qal*.

*i* 1. In verbs *נ"פ* the *infinitive construct* and *imperative* take *Haṭeph-Sēghōl* in the first syllable (according to § 22 *o*), e. g. *יִזְרַע* *gird thou*, Jb 38<sup>3</sup>, *יִאָהֵב* *love thou*,

<sup>1</sup> *יַעֲמִיר* Jb 19<sup>7</sup> (so even the Mantua ed.) is altogether abnormal: read *יַעֲמִיר*, with Baer, Ginsb.

Ho 3<sup>1</sup>, אָחֹז *seize thou*, Ex 4<sup>4</sup> (on אָפִי *bake ye*, Ex 16<sup>28</sup>, see § 76 d); אָכַל *to eat*; infinitive with a prefix לְאָחֹז, לְאָכַל, כְּאָכַל Is 5<sup>24</sup>; לְאָהֹב Ec 3<sup>8</sup>. Sometimes, however, *Haʿaleph-Pathah* is found as well, e. g. infinitive אָחֹז I K 6<sup>6</sup>; בְּאָכַל הָאִישׁ Nu 26<sup>10</sup> (before a suffix אֲכַלְךָ, אֲמַרְךָ, אֲכַלְכֶם, אֲמַרְכֶם § 61 d); cf. Dt 7<sup>20</sup>, 12<sup>23</sup>, Ez 25<sup>8</sup>, ψ 102<sup>5</sup>, Pr 25<sup>7</sup> (אֲמַרְרֶלְךָ), Jb 34<sup>18</sup>, always in close connexion with the following word. With a firmly closed syllable after ל cf. לְחַסוֹת Is 30<sup>2</sup>; לְחַפֵּר Jos 2<sup>2f</sup>. (on Is 2<sup>20</sup>, cf. § 84<sup>b</sup> n); לְחַתוֹת Is 30<sup>14</sup>, Hag 2<sup>16</sup>; גְּחֹשֶׁב Ex 31<sup>4</sup>, &c.; לְעוֹר 2 S 18<sup>3</sup> *Qéré*, but also בְּעוֹר I Ch 15<sup>26</sup>.

הַחֲרִילִי Ju 9<sup>9,11,13</sup> is altogether anomalous, and only a few authorities give *h* הַחֲרִילִי (Hiph'il), adopted by Moore in Haupt's Bible. According to Qimḥi, Olshausen, and others, the Masora intended a *perfect Hoph'al* with syncope of the preformative after the ה interrogative = הַחֲרִילִי, or (according to Olshausen) with the omission of the ה interrogative. But since the *Hiph'il* and *Hoph'al* of חָרַל nowhere occur, it is difficult to believe that such was the intention of the Masora. We should expect the *perfect Qal*, הַחֲרִילִי. But the *Qameṣ* under the ח, falling between the tone and counter-tone, was naturally less emphasized than in חָרַלִי, without the ה interrogative. Consequently it was weakened, not to simple *S<sup>wá</sup>*, but to *—*, in order to represent the sound of the *Qameṣ* (likewise pronounced as *á*) at least in a shortened form. The *S<sup>ghól</sup>* of the ה interrogative is explained, in any case, from § 100 n (cf. the similar pointing of the article, e. g. in הַחֲרָשִׁים, § 35 k). For the accusative after חָרַל, instead of the usual מִן, Jb 3<sup>17</sup> affords sufficient evidence.

Also in the other forms of the *imperative* the guttural not infrequently influences the vowel, causing a change of *i* (on this *i* cf. § 48 i) into *S<sup>ghól</sup>*, e. g. אֶסְפָּה *gather thou*, Nu 11<sup>16</sup>; עֲרְבָה *set in order*, Jb 33<sup>5</sup>; חִשְׁפֵי *strip off*, Is 47<sup>2</sup> (on this irregular *Dageš* cf. § 46 d), especially when the second radical is also a guttural, e. g. אֶהְבֵּוּ Am 5<sup>15</sup>, ψ 31<sup>24</sup>; cf. Zc 8<sup>19</sup>; אֶחֱוֶוּ Ct 2<sup>16</sup>; cf. also in verbs לִהַן *sing ye*, Nu 21<sup>17</sup>, ψ 147<sup>7</sup> (compared with אָנְשֵׁיךָ *answer ye*, I S 12<sup>3</sup>) and אֶלִי Jo 1<sup>8</sup>.—*Pathah* occurs in חַבְּלָהוּ *hold him in pledge*, Pr 20<sup>16</sup>, and probably also in ψ 9<sup>14</sup> (חַבְּנִי).—As a pausal form for חָרַבִי (cf. the plur. Jer 2<sup>12</sup>) we find in Is 44<sup>27</sup> חָרַבִי (cf. the imperf. יִחַרַב) with the *ó* repeated in the form of a *Haʿaleph-Qameṣ*. For other examples of this kind, see § 10 h and § 46 e.

2. The pronunciation (mentioned above, No. 2) of the imperfects in *á* with *h* *S<sup>ghól</sup>* under the preformative in a firmly closed syllable (e. g. יִחַדְּלִים, יִחַבְּסִים) regularly gives way to the soft combination in verbs which are at the same time לִהַן, e. g. יִחַדְּוֶה, יִחַדְּוֶה &c. (but cf. יִהַנֶּה &c., יִחַתֶּה Pr 6<sup>27</sup>, אֶעֱיֶה ed. Mant., Ex 3<sup>20</sup>). Even in the strong verb יִחַוֶּק is found along with יִחֹק. Cf. also וַתַּעֲנֵב Ez 23<sup>5</sup>; וַיַּעֲקֵבֵנִי Gn 27<sup>36</sup> (so Ben-Asher; but Ben-Naphtali וַיַּעֲקֵ); וַתַּחֲלֵקְם Neh 9<sup>22</sup>, and so always in the *imperfect Qal* of עוֹר with suffixes, Gn 49<sup>25</sup>, &c.—תִּתְּהַבֵּוּ Pr 1<sup>22</sup> is to be explained from the endeavour to avoid too great an accumulation of short sounds by the insertion of a long vowel, but it is a question whether we should not simply read תִּתְּהַבֵּוּ with Haupt in his Bible, *Proverbs*, p. 34, l. 44 ff.; cf. the analogous instances under *p*, and

such nouns as בָּאֵר, זָאֵב, § 93 *t*.—On יַחְבְּרֶהָ ψ 94<sup>20</sup> for יַחְבְּרֶהָ (according to Qimḥi, and others, rather *Pu'al*) cf. § 60 *b*.

- n וְיִחְלַקְמָם ψ 58<sup>5</sup> and יַעֲרֹם to deal subtilly, 1 S 23<sup>22</sup>, Pr 15<sup>5</sup>, 19<sup>25</sup>, may be explained with Barth (*ZDMG*. 1889, p. 179) as *i*-imperfects (see above, § 47 *i*),—the latter for the purpose of distinction from the causative יַעֲרִים ψ 83<sup>4</sup>.—Instead of the unintelligible form וְיִחְלַקְמָם (so ed. Mant.; Baer and Ginsb. as in 24<sup>3</sup>) 1 Ch 23<sup>6</sup> and וְיִחַן 24<sup>3</sup> (partly analogous to הִתְעַבְּרָם § 60 *b*) the Qal וְיִחְלַקְמָם is to be read. The form יַרְדֵּף ψ 7<sup>6</sup> which is, according to Qimḥi (in *Mikhlol*; but in his Lexicon he explains it as *Hithpa'el*), a composite form of Qal (יַרְדֵּף) and *Pi'el* (יַרְדֵּף), can only be understood as a development of יַרְדֵּף (cf. § 64 *h* on יַצְחַק, and § 69 *x* on הִתְחַלֵּף Ex 9<sup>23</sup>, ψ 73<sup>9</sup>). Pathah has taken the place of *Haṭeph-Pathah*, but as a mere helping-vowel (as in שִׁמְעֵתָ § 28 *e*, note 2) and without preventing the closing of the syllable. It is much simpler, however, to take it as a *forma mixta*, combining the readings יַרְדֵּף (impf. Qal) and יַרְדֵּף (impf. *Pi'el*).

### II. On *Hiph'il* and *Hoph'al*.

- O 3. The above-mentioned (*f*, 3) change of  $\frac{\text{---}}{\text{---}} \frac{\text{---}}{\text{---}}$  to  $\frac{\text{---}}{\text{---}}$  occurs in the perfect *Hiph'il*, especially when *wāw* consecutive precedes, and the tone is in consequence thrown forward upon the affirmative, e. g. הֵעֲמַדְתָּ, but וְהֵעֲמַדְתָּ Nu 3<sup>6</sup>, 8<sup>13</sup>, 27<sup>19</sup>; הֵעֲבַרְתִּי, but וְהֵעֲבַרְתִּי Jer 15<sup>14</sup>, Ez 2c<sup>37</sup>; even in the 3rd *sing.* וְהֵאֲוִין ψ 77<sup>2</sup>.—On the contrary  $\frac{\text{---}}{\text{---}}$  occurs instead of  $\frac{\text{---}}{\text{---}}$  in the imperative *Hiph'il*, Jer 49<sup>8,30</sup>; and in the infinitive Jer 31<sup>32</sup>. The preformative of עָתָר in *Hiph'il* always takes *a* in a closed syllable: Ex 8<sup>4</sup> הֵעֲתִירוּ; verse 5 אֶעֱתִיר; also verse 25 and Jb 22<sup>27</sup>.

- P 4. In the perfect *Hiph'il*  $\frac{\text{---}}{\text{---}}$  is sometimes changed into  $\frac{\text{---}}{\text{---}}$ , and in *Hoph'al*  $\frac{\text{---}}{\text{---}}$  into  $\frac{\text{---}}{\text{---}}$  (cf. § 23 *h*); הֵעֲבַרְתָּ Jos 7<sup>7</sup>, הֵעֲלָה Hb 11<sup>15</sup>, הֵעֲלָה Ju 6<sup>28</sup>, 2 Ch 2c<sup>34</sup>, Na 2<sup>8</sup>, always before *ע*, and hence evidently with the intention of strengthening the countertone-syllable (הֵ or הֵ) before the guttural. On a further case of this kind (וְעִמָּה) see § 64 *c*. Something similar occurs in the formation of segholate nouns of the form *qōll*; cf. § 93 *a*, and (on אֲמוֹן &c. for אֲמוֹן) § 84<sup>a</sup> *q*.—In the imperfect consecutive בוּ וַיִּחַן the tone is thrown back on to the first syllable. On the *Hoph'al* הִתְעַבְּרָם Ex 20<sup>5</sup>, &c., see § 60 *b*.

### III. הָיָה and חָיָה.

- Q 5. In the verbs הָיָה to be, and חָיָה to live, the guttural hardly ever affects the addition of preformatives; thus imperfect Qal יִהְיֶה and יִחְיֶה, *Niph'al* נִהְיֶה; but in the perfect *Hiph'il* הִיָּיָה (2nd *plur.* וְהִיָּיָתֶם Jos 2<sup>13</sup>, and even without *wāw* consecutive, Ju 8<sup>19</sup>). Initial ה always has *Haṭeph-Seghol* instead of vocal *Šwā*; הִיָּה, הִיָּת, הִיָּתֶם, 1 S 25<sup>7</sup>, הִיָּתֶם (except הִיָּיָה be thou! *fem.* Gn 24<sup>60</sup>). The 2nd *sing. fem. imperative* of חָיָה is חִיִּי live thou, Ez 16<sup>6</sup>; the infinitive, with suffix, חִיִּיתֶם Jos 5<sup>8</sup>. After the prefixes ה, כ, ב, ל, מ, (= מן) both ה and ח retain the simple *Šwā* (§ 28 *b*) and the prefix takes *i*, as elsewhere before strong consonants with *Šwā*; hence in the perfect Qal חִיִּיתָ, imperative וְחִי, infinitive לְחִיִּיתָ, &c. (cf. § 16 *f*, *ε*). The only exception is the 2nd *sing. masc.* of the imperative after *wāw*; וְחִי Gn 12<sup>2</sup>, &c., וְחִיָּה Gn 20<sup>7</sup>.

## § 64. Verbs Middle Guttural, e.g. שָׁחַט to slaughter.

The slight deviations from the ordinary inflexion are confined *a* chiefly to the following<sup>1</sup> :—

1. When the guttural would stand at the beginning of a syllable with simple *S<sup>e</sup>wā*, it necessarily takes a *Haṭeph*, and almost always *Haṭeph-Pathah*, e.g. perfect שָׁחַט, imperfect יִשְׁחַט, imperative *Niph'al* הִשְׁחַט. In the imperative *Qal*, before the affirmatives *i* and *ū*, the original *Pathah* is retained in the first syllable, and is followed by *Haṭeph-Pathah*, thus, וְעָקַבְךָ, וְעָקַבְךָ, &c.; in שָׁחַטְבִּי the preference of the *ā* for *S<sup>e</sup>ghōl* (but cf. also שָׁחַטְבִּי Jer 13<sup>21</sup>) has caused the change from *ā* to *ē*; in שָׁחַטְבִּי Jb 6<sup>22</sup>, even *i* remains before a *hard* guttural.

So in the *infinitive Qal fem.*, e.g. לְשַׁחֵט to love, לְרַחֵץ to pine; and in the *infinitive* with a suffix לְמַעַרְבָה Is 9<sup>6</sup>; the doubtful form שְׁחַטְבִּי Ho 5<sup>2</sup>, is better explained as *infinitive Pi'el* (= שְׁחַחְתָּ).

2. Since the preference of the gutturals for the *a*-sound has less *b* influence on the following than on the preceding vowel, not only is *Holem* retained after the middle guttural in the *infinitive Qal* שָׁחַט (with the fem. ending and retraction and shortening of the *o* רַחֵץ and רַחֵץ, cf. § 45 *b*), but generally also the *Sere* in the *imperfect Niph'al* and *Pi'el*, e.g. יִלָּחֵם he fights, יִנַּחֵם he comforts, and even the more feeble *S<sup>e</sup>ghōl* after *wāw* consecutive in such forms as וַיִּלָּחֵם, וַיִּנַּחֵם Gn 41<sup>8</sup> (cf., however, וַיִּנַּחֵם 1 K 12<sup>6</sup>, &c.). But in the *imperative* and *imperfect Qal*, the final syllable, through the influence of the guttural, mostly takes *Pathah*, even in transitive verbs, e.g. שְׁחַט, יִשְׁחַט; וְעָקַבְךָ, וְעָקַבְךָ; with *suffixes* (according to § 60 *c*), *imperative* שְׁחַטְבִּי, *imperfect* וַיִּנַּחֵם.

With *ō* in the *imperative Qal*, the only instances are נַעַל 2 S 13<sup>17</sup>; *c* אָחַז Ex 4<sup>4</sup>, 2 S 2<sup>21</sup>, *fem.* אָחַזְתְּ Ru 3<sup>15</sup> (with the unusual repetition of the lost *ō* as *Haṭeph-Qames*; 2nd *plur. masc.* in *pause* אָחַזְתְּ Nel 7<sup>3</sup>; without the *pause* אָחַזְתְּ Ct 2<sup>15</sup>); אָחַזְתְּ Ju 19<sup>8</sup>.<sup>2</sup> Finally אָחַזְתְּ for אָחַזְתְּ, Nu 23<sup>7</sup>, is an example of the same kind, see § 63 *p*. Just as rare are the *imperfects* in *ō* of verbs *middle guttural*, as אָחַזְתְּ, אָחַזְתְּ, אָחַזְתְּ Lv 5<sup>15</sup>, Nu 5<sup>27</sup> (but אָחַזְתְּ 2 Ch 26<sup>16</sup>); cf. אָחַזְתְּ Ez 16<sup>38</sup>; אָחַזְתְּ Jb 35<sup>6</sup>. Also in the *perfect Pi'el*, *Pathah* occurs somewhat more frequently than in the strong verb, e.g. נַחַם to comfort (cf., however, נַחַם, נַחַם, נַחַם);

<sup>1</sup> *Hoph'al*, which is not exhibited in the paradigm, follows the analogy of *Qal*; *Hiph'il* is regular.

<sup>2</sup> Also Ju 19<sup>5</sup> (where *Qimḥi* would read *s<sup>e</sup>ād*), read *s<sup>e</sup>ād*, and on the use of the conjunctive accent (here *Darga*) as a substitute for *Metheg*, cf. § 9 *u* (*c*) and § 16 *b*.

but *א* and *ע* always have *ē* in 3rd *sing.*—On the *infinitive* with suffixes, cf. § 61 b.

*d* 3. In *Pī'el*, *Pu'al*, and *Hithpa'el*, the *Dageš forte* being inadmissible in the middle radical, the preceding vowel, especially before ה, ח, and ע, nevertheless, generally remains short, and the guttural is consequently to be regarded as, at least, *virtually* strengthened, cf. § 22 c; e. g. *Pī'el* שָׁחַק נְחֻלִי Jos 14<sup>1</sup>, וּבְעַרְתִּי 1 K 14<sup>10</sup>, נִהַג Ex 10<sup>13</sup> (cf., however, אָחַר Gn 34<sup>19</sup>; יִהְיֶהָ Ex 15<sup>13</sup>, but in the *imperfect* and *participle* יִנְהַל, &c.; in verbs ל"ה, e. g. רָעָה), *infinitive* שָׁחַק, *Pu'al* רָחַץ (but cf. דָּחוּ ψ 36<sup>13</sup> from דָּחָה, also the unusual position of the tone in בָּחַן<sup>1</sup> Ez 21<sup>18</sup>, and in the *perfect* *Hithpa'el* הִתְרַחֲצִיתִי Jb 9<sup>30</sup>); *Hithpa'el* *perfect* and *imperative* הִפְתְּרוּ, &c.; in *pause* (see §§ 22 c, 27 q, 29 v, 54 k) הִפְתְּרוּ Nu 8<sup>7</sup>, 2 Ch 30<sup>18</sup>; יִתְנַחֵם Nu 23<sup>19</sup>, &c.

*e* The complete omission of the strengthening, and a consequent lengthening of the preceding vowel, occurs invariably only with ר (פָּרַח Ez 16<sup>4</sup> is an exception; כָּרַח also occurs, Ju 6<sup>28</sup>), e. g. פָּרַח (in *pause* פָּרַחַ, *imperfect* יִפְרַח, *Pu'al* פָּרַח. Before *א* it occurs regularly in the stems בָּאָר, גָּאָל, מָאָן, פָּאָר, and in the *Hithpa'el* of בָּאָשׁ, רָאָה, and שָׂאָה; on the other hand, *א* is *virtually* strengthened in the *perfects*, נָאָף (once in the *imperfect*, Jer 29<sup>23</sup>) *to commit adultery*, נִאָץ *to despise* (in the *participle*, Nu 14<sup>23</sup>, Is 60<sup>14</sup>, Jer 23<sup>17</sup>; according to Baer, but not ed. Mant., or Ginsb., even in the *imperfect* יִנְאִץ ψ 74<sup>10</sup>), נִאָר *to abhor* La 2<sup>7</sup> (also נִאָרְתָה ψ 89<sup>40</sup>) and נִשְׂאָל ψ 109<sup>10</sup>; moreover, in the *infinitive* יִאָשׁ Ec 2<sup>20</sup>, according to the best reading. On the *Mappiq* in the *Pu'al* רָאָה Jb 33<sup>21</sup>, cf. § 14 d.

*f* Rem. 1. In the verb שָׂאל *to ask, to beg*, some forms of the *perfect Qal* appear to be based upon a secondary form *middle e*, which is *Şere* when the vowel of the *א* stands in an open syllable, cf. שָׂאֵלְךָ Gn 32<sup>18</sup>, Ju 4<sup>20</sup>; שָׂאֵלְנִי ψ 137<sup>5</sup>; but in a closed syllable, even without a suffix, שָׂאֵלְתֶם 1 S 12<sup>18</sup>, 25<sup>5</sup>, Jb 21<sup>29</sup>; שָׂאֵלְתִּיהוּ Ju 13<sup>6</sup>, 1 S 1<sup>20</sup>. Cf., however, similar cases of attenuation of an original *ā*, § 69 s, and especially § 44 d. In the first three examples, if explained on that analogy, the *i* attenuated from *ā* would have been lengthened to *ē* (before the tone); in the next three *i* would have been modified to *ē*. Also in the *Hiph'il*-form הִשְׂאֵלְתִּיהוּ 1 S 1<sup>28</sup> the *א* is merely attenuated from *א*.

*g* 2. In *Pī'el* and *Hithpa'el* the lengthening of the vowel before the guttural causes the tone to be thrown back upon the penultima, and consequently the *Şere* of the ultima to be shortened to *S'ghöl*. Thus (a) before monosyllables, according to § 29 e, e. g. לְשָׂרְתָהּ שָׁם *to minister there*, Dt 17<sup>12</sup>, even in the case of a guttural which is *virtually* strengthened, Gn 39<sup>14</sup>, Jb 8<sup>18</sup> (see § 29 g). (b) after *wāw* consecutive, e. g. וַיְבָרַךְ and he blessed, Gn 1<sup>22</sup> and frequently, וַיִּגְרַשׁ and he drove out, Ex 10<sup>11</sup>, וַתִּפְעֹם Dn 2<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> בָּחַן is explained by Abulwalid as the 3rd pers. *perfect Pu'al*, but by Qimḥi as a noun.

3. The following are a few rarer anomalies; in the *imperfect Qal* יִצְחָק Gn 21<sup>6</sup> *h* (elsewhere הִצְחָק, &c., in *pause* יִצְחָק, cf. § 10 *g* (c) and § 63 *n*); וָאָחָר Gn 32<sup>6</sup> (for וָאָחָר); in the *perfect Pi'el* אָחָרָהּ Ju 5<sup>23</sup> (perhaps primarily for אָחָרָהּ; according to Gn 34<sup>19</sup> אָחָרָהּ would be expected), and similarly יִחַמְתִּנִּי ψ 51<sup>7</sup> for יִחַמְתִּנִּי; in the *imperative Pi'el* קָרַב Ez 37<sup>17</sup> (cf. above, § 52 *n*); finally, in the *imperative Hiph'il* הִרְחַק Jb 13<sup>21</sup> and הִמְעַר ψ 69<sup>24</sup>, in both cases probably influenced by the closing conso. ant, and by the preference for *Pathah* in *pause* (according to § 29 *g*); without the *pause* הִרְחַק Pr 4<sup>24</sup>, &c.; but also הִנְחַח Jo 4<sup>11</sup>.

4. As *infinitive Hithpa'el* with a suffix we find הִתְיַחֵשׂ Ezr 8<sup>1</sup>, &c., with *i* a firmly closed syllable, also the *participle* מְתַיַחֵשִׁים Neh 7<sup>64</sup>; Baer, however, reads in all these cases, on good authority, הִתְיַחֵשׂ, &c.—The quite meaningless *Kethibh* וַנִּשְׂאָר Ez 9<sup>8</sup> (for which the *Qere* requires the equally unintelligible וַנִּשְׂאָר) evidently combines two different readings, viz. וַנִּשְׂאָר (*part. Niph.*) and וַנִּשְׂאָר (*imperf. consec.*); cf. König, *Lehrgebäude*, i. p. 266 f.—In יִתְאַרְהוּ Is 44<sup>13</sup> (also יִתְאַרְהוּ in the same verse) an *imperfect Pi'el* appears to be intended by the Masora with an irregular shortening of the *o* for יִתְאַרְ; cf. § 55 *b* מְלִשְׁנֵי ψ 101<sup>5</sup> *Qere*; on the other hand Qimḥi, with whom Delitzsch agrees, explains the form as *Pi'el*, with an irregular  $\text{־}$  for  $\text{־}$ , as in the reading אֶלְקָמָה Ru 2<sup>27</sup>; cf. § 10 *h*.

5. A few examples in which א, as middle radical, entirely loses its consonantal value and quiesces in a vowel, will be found in § 73 *g*.

§ 65. *Verbs Third Guttural*, e.g. שָׁלַח to send.<sup>1</sup>

1. According to § 22 *d*, when the last syllable has a vowel incompatible with the guttural (i.e. not an *a*-sound), two possibilities present themselves, viz. either the regular vowel remains, and the guttural then takes *furtive Pathah*, or *Pathah* (in *pause Qames*) takes its place. More particularly it is to be remarked that—

(a) The unchangeable vowels '־, י, ו ( § 25 *b*) are always retained, even under such circumstances; hence *inf. abs. Qal* שְׁלֹחַ, *part. pass.* שְׁלֹחַ, *Hiph.* הַשְּׁלִיחַ, *imperf.* יִשְׁלִיחַ, *part.* מְשַׁלֵּחַ. So also the less firm *o* in the *inf. constr.* שְׁלַח is almost always retained: cf., however, שְׁלַח, in close connexion with a substantive, Is 58<sup>9</sup>, and שְׁלַח Nu 20<sup>3</sup>. Examples of the *infinitive* with suffixes are שְׁלַחְךָ Gn 35<sup>1</sup>; שְׁלַחְנוּ Nu 35<sup>19</sup>; שְׁלַחְנוּ Lv 18<sup>23</sup>, &c.

(b) The *imperfect* and *imperative Qal* almost always have *a* in the second syllable, sometimes, no doubt, due simply to the influence of the guttural (for a tone-long *o*, originally *u*), but sometimes as being the original vowel, thus שְׁלַח, שְׁלַח, &c.; with suffixes יִשְׁלַחְנִי, שְׁלַחְנִי, see § 60 *c*.

<sup>1</sup> Verbs שָׁלַח in which the ה is consonantal obviously belong also to this class, e.g. שְׁלַחְנִי to be high, שְׁלַחְנִי to be astonished, שְׁלַחְנִי (only in *Hithpa'el*) to delay.

Exceptions, in the *imperfect* אסלוח Jer 57, *K<sup>th</sup>*. (אָסֵלֶחַ *Q<sup>er</sup>*); in the *imperative* טַבַּח Gn 43<sup>16</sup>. On such cases as אַשְׁפָּעָה Is 27<sup>4</sup>, cf. § 10 h.

**c** (c) Where *Sere* would be the regular vowel of the final syllable, both forms (with  $\bar{e}^a$  and  $\bar{a}$ ) are sometimes in use; the choice of one or the other is decided by the special circumstances of the tone, i. e. :—

**d** Rem. 1. In the *absolute state* of the *participle Qal*, *Pi'el* and *Hithpa'el*, the forms שָׁלַח (with suff. שָׁלַחִי, but שְׁלַחְךָ), מְשַׁלַּח (with suff. מְשַׁלַּחְךָ), and מְשַׁלְּחֵנִי are used exclusively; except in verbs שָׁלַח where we find, in close connexion, also נָטַע  $\psi$  94<sup>9</sup>, רָגַע Is 51<sup>15</sup>, Jer 31<sup>35</sup>, רָקַע Is 42<sup>5</sup>, 44<sup>24</sup>, רוֹקַע  $\psi$  136<sup>6</sup>, שָׁפַע Lv 11<sup>7</sup>, all with the tone on the last syllable.—The part. Pu'al is מְרַבֵּעַ Ez 45<sup>2</sup> according to the best authorities (Kittel מְרַבֵּעַ).

**e** 2. Similarly, in the *imperf.* and *inf.* *Niph'al*, and in the *perf. inf.* and *imperf. Pi'el* the (probably more original) form with  $\bar{a}$  commonly occurs in the body of the sentence, and the fuller form with  $\bar{e}^a$  in *pause* (and even with the lesser distinctives, e. g. with *D<sup>hi</sup>*  $\psi$  86<sup>4</sup> in the *imperative Pi'el*; with *Tiph'ha* 1 K 12<sup>32</sup> in the *infinitive Pi'el*; Jer 4<sup>31</sup> *imperfect Hithpa'el*; Jer 16<sup>6</sup> *imperfect Niph'al*), cf. e. g. יָרַע Nu 27<sup>4</sup>, with יָרַע 36<sup>3</sup>; וַיִּשְׁבַּע Dt 1<sup>34</sup>, even with retraction of the tone in the *inf. abs.* *Niph'al* הִשְׁבַּע Nu 30<sup>3</sup> (elsewhere הִשְׁבַּע Jer 7<sup>9</sup>, 12<sup>16</sup> twice, in each case without the pause); הִבְקַע Hb 3<sup>9</sup>, with הִבְקַע Ez 13<sup>11</sup>; בָּלַע to devour Hb 1<sup>13</sup>, Nu 4<sup>20</sup> with בָּלַע La 2<sup>8</sup>; for *infinitive Hithpa'el*, cf. Is 28<sup>20</sup>. The *infinitive absolute Pi'el* has the form שָׁלַח Dt 22<sup>7</sup>, 1 K 11<sup>22</sup>; the *infinitive construct*, on the other hand, when without the pause is always as שָׁלַח except לְשַׁלַּח Ex 10<sup>4</sup>.—יִבְבַּח Hb 1<sup>16</sup> has  $\bar{e}$ , though not in *pause*, and even יִבְבַּח 2 K 16<sup>4</sup>, 2 Ch 28<sup>4</sup>; but *a* in *pause* in the *imperative Niph'al* הֶאֱבַח Ez 21<sup>11</sup>; *jussive Pi'el* תֵּאָחֵר  $\psi$  40<sup>18</sup>; cf. § 52 n. An example of  $\bar{a}$  in the *imperative Pi'el* under the influence of a final ר is בְּתַרְרֵה Jb 36<sup>2</sup>, in the *imperfect Niph'al* וַתַּעֲצֵר Nu 17<sup>13</sup>, &c.—In פָּרַח Jb 14<sup>9</sup> (cf.  $\psi$  92<sup>14</sup>, Pr 14<sup>11</sup>), Barth (see above, § 63 n) finds an *i-imperfect* of *Qal*, since the intransitive meaning is only found in *Qal*.

**f** 3. In the 2nd *sing. masc.* of the *imperative*, and in the forms of the *jussive* and *imperfect consecutive* of *Hiph'il* which end in gutturals, *a* alone occurs, e. g. הַצֵּלַח prosper thou, יַבְטַח let him make to trust, וַיַּצְמַח and he made to grow (so in *Hithpalpel* יִתְמַחֶמָה, &c., Hb 2<sup>3</sup>); even in *pause* וַיַּצְלַח 1 Ch 29<sup>23</sup>, and, with the best authorities, וַיִּוֹכַח 1 Ch 12<sup>17</sup>; וַיִּשְׁעֵב Is 35<sup>4</sup> is perhaps to be emended into וַיִּשְׁעֵי (= 'וַיִּשְׁעֵי').—In the *infinitive absolute Sere* remains, e. g. הִנְבִּיחַ to make high; as *infinitive construct* הִוְכַח also occurs in close connexion (Jb 6<sup>26</sup>); on הִוְשַׁע as *infinitive construct* (1 S 25<sup>26.33</sup>), cf. § 53 k.

**g** 2. When the guttural with *quiescent S<sup>e</sup>wa* stands at the end of a syllable, the ordinary strong form remains when not connected with suffixes, e. g. שָׁלַחְתִּי, שְׁלַחְתָּ. But in the 2nd *sing. fem. perfect* a *helping-Pathah* takes the place of the *S<sup>e</sup>wa*, שְׁכַחְתְּ Jer 13<sup>23</sup> (§ 28 e); also in 1 K 14<sup>3</sup>, לְכַחְתְּ is to be read, not לְכַחְתְּ.

**h** Rem. The soft combination with *compound S<sup>e</sup>wa* occurs only in the 1st *plur. perfect* with suffixes, since in these forms the tone is thrown one place farther forward, e. g. יָדַעְנוֹךָ we know thee, Ho 8<sup>2</sup> (cf. Gn 26<sup>29</sup>,  $\psi$  44<sup>18</sup>, 132<sup>9</sup>). Before the suffixes ךָ and כֶּם, the guttural must have ׀, e. g. אֶשְׁלַחְךָ I will send thee, 1 S 16<sup>1</sup>; וְאֶשְׁלַחְךָ Gn 31<sup>27</sup>; אֶשְׁמָיְעֶךָ Jer 18<sup>2</sup>.

On the weak verbs אָל, see especially § 74.

II. The Weak Verb.<sup>1</sup>

## § 66. Verbs Primae Radicalis Nûn (י"נ), e.g. נִשְׁבַּח to approach

Brockelmann, *Semit. Sprachwiss.*, p. 138 ff.; *Grundriss*, p. 595 ff.

The weakness of initial נ consists chiefly in its suffering *aphaeresis* <sup>a</sup> in the *infinitive construct* and *imperative* in some of these verbs (cf. § 19 h). On the other hand, the *assimilation* of the נ (see below) cannot properly be regarded as weakness, since the trilateral character of the stem is still preserved by the strengthening of the second consonant. The special points to be noticed are—

1. The *aphaeresis* of the Nûn (a) in the *infinitive construct*. This <sup>b</sup> occurs only (though not necessarily) in those verbs which have a in the second syllable of the *imperfect*. Thus from the stem נגש, *imperfect* נִשְׁבַּח, *infinitive* properly שִׁבַּח, but always lengthened by the feminine termination ן to the segholate form שִׁבַּחָה<sup>2</sup>; with suffix יתוהוּ Gn 33<sup>3</sup>; with the concurrence of a guttural נִשְׁבַּחַת to touch, *imperfect* נִשְׁבַּחַת, *infinitive* נִשְׁבַּחַת (also נִשְׁבַּחַת, see below); with suffix נִשְׁבַּחַת to plant, *infinitive* נִשְׁבַּחַת (also נִשְׁבַּחַת, see below); on the verb נתן to give, see especially h and i. On the other hand, *aphaeresis* does not take place in verbs which have *ō* in the *imperfect*, e.g. נפל to fall, *imperfect* יִפֹּל, *infinitive* נִפְּל, with suffix נִפְּלוּ, also נִפְּלוּ; נִבְּרַח Nu 6<sup>2</sup>, &c.; cf., moreover, לִבְּרַח Gn 20<sup>6</sup>, &c., נִבְּרַח Ex 19<sup>12</sup> (even לִבְּרַח Jb 6<sup>7</sup>; cf. Jer 1<sup>10</sup>); with suffix בִּבְּרַח Lv 15<sup>23</sup>. Also לִבְּרַח Is 51<sup>16</sup> (but לִבְּרַח Ec 3<sup>2</sup>); נִשְׁאָה Is 1<sup>14</sup>, 18<sup>3</sup>; with suffix בִּנְשִׂיאָה ψ 28<sup>2</sup> (elsewhere נִשְׂאָה, cf. § 74 i and § 76 b), לִבְּרַח 2 S 20<sup>9</sup>.

(b) In the *imperative*. Here the Nûn is always dropped in verbs <sup>c</sup> with a in the *imperfect*, e.g. נגש, *imperative* שִׁבַּח (more frequently with *paragogic ā*, נִשְׁבַּח; before *Maqqeph* also נִשְׁבַּח Gn 19<sup>9</sup>), *plur.* נִשְׁבַּחוּ, &c. Parallel with these there are the curious forms with *ō*, נִשְׁבַּח Ru 2<sup>14</sup> (with *retarding* *Metheg* in the second syllable, and also *nasog 'ahor*, according to § 29 e, before הִלַּח and שָׁוֹ Jos 3<sup>9</sup> (before הִלַּח), 1 S 14<sup>38</sup> (before הִלַּח) and 2 Ch 29<sup>31</sup>; in all these cases without the *pause*. With Nûn retained, as if in a strong verb, נִבְּרַח drive, 2 K 4<sup>24</sup> (*imperfect* יִבְּרַח, without assimilation of the Nûn), נִבְּרַח 2 K 19<sup>29</sup>, Is 37<sup>30</sup>, Jer 29<sup>5,28</sup>; cf. also the verbs נִלַּח, which are at the same time נִלַּח Ez 32<sup>18</sup>, נִלַּח Ex 32<sup>34</sup>, נִלַּח Ex 8<sup>1</sup>, &c.; the verb נִשְׂאָה ψ 10<sup>12</sup> (usually נִשְׂאָה); cf. § 76 b. But, as in the *infinitive*, the *aphaeresis* never takes place in verbs which have *ō* in the *imperfect*, e.g. נִבְּרַח, &c.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the summary, § 41.

<sup>2</sup> The law allowing the addition of the feminine termination to the unlengthened form, instead of a lengthening of the vowel, is suitably called by Barth 'the law of compensation' (*Nominalbildung*, p. xiii).

d 2. When, through the addition of a *preformative*, *Nûn* stands at the end of a syllable, it is readily assimilated to the second radical (§ 19 c); thus in the *imperfect Qal*,<sup>1</sup> e. g. יִפֹּל for *yinpōl*, *he will fall*; יִיָּגַשׁ for *yīngāš*; יִתֵּן for *yintēn*, *he will give* (on this single example of an *imperfect* with original *i* in the second syllable, cf. *h*)<sup>2</sup>; also in the *perfect Niph'al* נִיָּגַשׁ for *ningāš*; throughout *Hiph'il* (הִיָּגַשׁ, &c.) and *Hoph'al* (which in these verbs always has *Qibbuš*, in a sharpened syllable, cf. § 9 n) הִיָּגַשׁ.

The other forms are all quite regular, e. g. the *perfect, infinitive absolute* and *participle Qal*, all פִּיֵּל, פּוּ'אל, &c.

In Paradigm H, only those conjugations are given which differ from the regular form.

c The characteristic of these verbs in all forms with a *preformative* is *Dageš* following it in the second radical. Such forms, however, are also found in certain verbs פ"פ (§ 71), and even in verbs ע"ע (§ 67). The *infinitive* עָשָׂה and the *imperative* עֲשֵׂה, also עָשָׂה (Gn 19<sup>9</sup>) and עָשָׂה, resemble the corresponding forms of verbs פ"פ (§ 69).—On יָקַח, קָח, and קָחַת, from לָקַח to *take*, see *g*.—In יָקַח (imperfect *Niph'al* of קָח), and in similar forms of verbs ע"ע (§ 72), the full writing of the *ō* indicates, as a rule, that they are not to be regarded as *imperfects Qal* of קָחַת, &c.—Also אָסַח (ψ 139<sup>8</sup>) is not to be derived from אָסַח, but stands for אָסַחַת (with a sharpening of the *ח* as compensation for the loss of the *ל*), from אָסַחַת to *ascend*, see § 19 f, and Kautzsch, *Gramm. des Bibl.-Aram.*, § 44. Similarly the *Hiph'il*-forms הִשִּׁיקוּ Ez 39<sup>9</sup>, הִשִּׁיק Is 44<sup>15</sup>, and the *Niph'al* הִשִּׁיקוּ ψ 78<sup>21</sup> are most probably from a stem שִׁלַּק, not שִׁקַּח.

f Rem. 1. The instances are comparatively few in which the forms retain their *Nûn* before a firm consonant, e. g. יָנַחַר, imperfect יִנְחָר Jer 3<sup>5</sup> (elsewhere יָנַחַר); also from יָנַחַר the pausal form is *always* יִנְחָר (without the *pause* יָנַחַר Pr 20<sup>28</sup>); similarly in Is 29<sup>1</sup>, 58<sup>3</sup>, ψ 61<sup>8</sup>, 68<sup>3</sup> (where, however, הִנְחָר is intended), 140<sup>2,5</sup>, Pr 2<sup>11</sup>, Jb 40<sup>21</sup>, the retention of the *Nûn* is always connected with the *pause*. In *Niph'al* this never occurs (except in the irregular *inf.* הִנְחָרָה ψ 68<sup>3</sup>, cf. § 51 k), in *Hiph'il* and *Hoph'al* very seldom; e. g. הִנְחָרָה Ez 22<sup>20</sup>, הִנְחָרוּ Ju 20<sup>31</sup>; for לָנַחַל Nu 5<sup>22</sup> read לָנַחַל, according to § 53 q. On the other hand, the *Nûn* is regularly retained in all verbs, of which the second radical is a guttural, e. g. יִנְחַל *he will possess*, although there are rare cases like יִנְחַח (also יִנְחַח) *he will descend*, Jer 21<sup>13</sup> (even יִנְחַח Pr 17<sup>10</sup>; without apparent reason accented as *Mil'el*), plur. יִנְחָחוּ Jb 21<sup>13</sup> (cf. § 20 i; the Masora, however, probably regards יִנְחַח and יִנְחָחוּ as *imperfect Niph'al* from יִנְחַח); *Niph'al* נָחַח for נִנְחַח *he has grieved*.

g 2. The ל of לָקַח to *take* is treated like the *Nûn* of verbs פ"פ (§ 19 d). Hence *imperfect Qal* יָקַח, cohortative אֲקַח, *imperative* קַח, in *pause* and

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Mayer Lambert, 'Le futur qal des verbes פ"פ, פ"ן, פ"א,' in the *REJ.* xxvii. 136 ff.

<sup>2</sup> An *imperfect* in a (יָנַחַר) is given in the Paradigm, simply because it is the actual form in use in this verb.

before *suffixes* קָרַ (on נָקַרְס־נָקַרְסֵי Gn 48<sup>9</sup>, see § 61 g), *paragogic form* קָרַה; קָרַי, &c. (but cf. also לָקַח Ex 29<sup>1</sup>, Ez 37<sup>16</sup>, Pr 20<sup>16</sup>, לָקַחְי 1 K 17<sup>11</sup>, perhaps a mistake for קָחַי לָהּ, cf. LXX and Lucian); *infinitive construct* קָחַח (once קָחַח 2 K 12<sup>9</sup>, cf. § 93 h); with לָ, לָקַחַח; with *suffix* קָחַחְי; *Hoph'al* (cf., however, § 53 u) *imperfect* יִקַּח; *Niph'al*, however, is always יִקַּחְלָה.—The meaningless form קָחַח Ez 17<sup>5</sup> is a mistake; for the equally meaningless קָחַח Ho 11<sup>3</sup> read קָחַחְיָהּ.

3. The verb נָתַן *to give*, mentioned above in d, is the only example of a *h* verb פ"ן with *imperfect* in ē (נָתַן for *yintēn*; נָתַן<sup>1</sup> only in Ju 16<sup>6</sup>, elsewhere before *Maqqeph* נָתַןְיָ, &c.), and a corresponding *imperative* נָתַן or (very frequently) נָתַנה (but in ψ S<sup>2</sup> the very strange reading נָתַנה is no doubt simply meant by the Masora to suggest נָתַןְיָ); before *Maqqeph* נָתַןְיָ, fem. נָתַנְיָ, &c. Moreover, this very common verb has the peculiarity that its final *Nún*, as a weak nasal, is also assimilated; נָתַחְי for *nāthānti*, נָתַחְיָ or, very frequently, נָתַחְיָ, with a kind of orthographic compensation for the assimilated *Nún* (cf. § 44 g); *Niph'al perfect* נָתַחְיָ Lv 26<sup>25</sup>, Ezr 9<sup>7</sup>.

In the *infinitive construct Qal* the ground-form *tint* is not lengthened to *tēneth* *i* (as נָתַתְיָ from נָתַתְיָ), but contracted to *titt*, which is then correctly lengthened to נָתַתְיָ, with the omission of *Dageš forte* in the final consonant, see § 20 l; but with *suffixes* נָתַתְיָ, נָתַתְיָ, &c.; before *Maqqeph* with the prefix לָ לָתַתְיָ, e. g. Ex 5<sup>21</sup>, and even when closely connected by other means, e. g. Gn 15<sup>7</sup>. However, the strong formation of the *infinitive construct* also occurs in נָתַןְיָ Nu 20<sup>21</sup> and נָתַןְיָ Gn 38<sup>9</sup>; cf. § 69 m, note 2. On the other hand, for לָתַתְיָ 1 K 6<sup>19</sup> read either לָתַתְיָ or simply לָתַתְיָ, just as the *Q'ré*, 1 K 17<sup>14</sup>, requires נָתַתְיָ.

In other stems, the *h* is retained as the third radical, e. g. שָׁפַחְיָ, cf. *h* § 19 c and § 44 o. On the entirely anomalous aphaeresis of the *Nún* with a strong vowel in נָתַתְיָ (for נָתַתְיָ) 2 S 22<sup>41</sup>, cf. § 19 i.—On the *passive imperfect* יִתַּן, cf. § 53 u.

§ 67. *Verbs פ"ע, e. g. סָבַב to surround.*

Brockelmann, *Semit. Sprachwiss.*, p. 155 ff.; *Grundriss*, p. 632 ff.

1. A large number of Semitic stems have verbal forms with only *a* two radicals, as well as forms in which the stem has been made triliteral by a *repetition of the second radical*, hence called verbs פ"ע. Forms with two radicals were formerly explained as being due to contraction from original forms with three radicals. It is more correct

<sup>1</sup> P. Haupt on Ju 16<sup>5</sup> in his Bible, compares the form of the Assyrian imperfect *iddan* or *ittan* (besides *inādin*, *ināmdin*) from *nadānu* = נָתַן. But could this one passage be the only trace left in Hebrew of an imperf. in *a* from נָתַן?

to regard them as representing the original stem (with two radicals), and the forms with the second radical repeated as subsequently developed from the monosyllabic stem.<sup>1</sup> The appearance of a general contraction of trilateral stems is due to the fact that in biliteral forms the second radical regularly receives *Dageš forte* before affirmatives, except in the cases noted in § 22 *b* and *q*. This points, however, not to an actual doubling, but merely to a strengthening of the consonant, giving more body to the monosyllabic stem, and making it approximate more to the character of trilateral forms.

The development of biliteral to trilateral stems (y"ע) generally takes place in the 3rd *sing. masc. and fem.* and 3rd *plur. perfect Qal* of transitive verbs, or at any rate of verbs expressing an activity, e. g. סָבַב, סָבְבָה, סָבְבִי : סָבְבִי : חָנַן Gn 33<sup>5</sup> (but with suffix חָנַנִי, ver. 11); sometimes with an evident distinction between transitive and intransitive forms, as צָרַר to make strait, צָר to be in a strait; see further details, including the exceptions, in *aa*. The development of the stem takes place (*a*) necessarily whenever the strengthening of the 2nd radical is required by the character of the form (e. g. חָלַל, חָלְלָה, חָלְלִי), and (*b*) as a rule, whenever the 2nd radical is followed or preceded by an essentially long vowel, as, in *Qal*, סָבֹב, סָבֹב, in *Pó'el* and *Pó'al*, סוֹבֵב, סוֹבֵב.

*b* 2. The biliteral stem always (except in *Hiph'il* and the *imperfect Niph'al*, see below) takes the vowel which would have been required between the *second* and *third* radical of the ordinary strong form, or which stood in the ground-form, since that vowel is characteristic of the form (§ 43 *b*), e. g. תָּם answering to קָטַל, תָּמָה to the ground-form *qātālāt*, תָּמוּ to the ground-form *qātālū*; *infinitive*, טָב to קָטַל.

*c* 3. The insertion of *Dageš forte* (mentioned under *a*), for the purpose of strengthening the second radical, never takes place (see § 20 *l*) in the final consonant of the word, e. g. תָּם, טָב, not תָּם, טָב; but it appears again on the addition of affirmatives or suffixes, e. g. תָּמוּ, סָבְבִי, סָבְבִי, &c.

*d* 4. When the affirmative begins with a consonant (נ, ת), and hence the strongly pronounced second radical would properly come at the end of a closed syllable, a *separating vowel* is inserted between the stem-syllable and the affirmative. In the *perfect* this vowel is ה, in the *imperative* and *imperfect* וְ, e. g. סָבְבִי, סָבְבִי, *imperfect* תְּסָבְבִינָה (for *sabb-tā, sabb-nū, tasōbb-nā*). The artificial opening of the syllable

<sup>1</sup> So (partly following Ewald and Böttcher) A. Müller, *ZDMG.* xxxiii. p. 608 ff.; Stade, *Lehrbuch*, § 385 *b, c*; Nöldeke, and more recently Wellhausen, 'Ueber einige Arten schwacher Verba im Hebr.' (*Skizzen u. Vorarb.* vi. 250 ff.). Against Böttcher see M. Lambert, *REJ.* xxxv. 330 ff., and Brockelmann, as above.

by this means is merely intended to make the strengthening of the second radical audible.<sup>1</sup>

The *perfect* תִּמְנֶנֶּה (for תִּמְוֶנֶּה) Nu 17<sup>28</sup>, ψ 64<sup>7</sup> (Jer 44<sup>18</sup> תִּמְנֶנֶּה with *Silluq*), owing to omission of the separating vowel, approximates, if the text is right, to the form of verbs י"ע (cf. תִּמְנֶנֶּה from קום).

5. Since the preformatives of the *imperfect Qal*, of the *perfect f Niph'al*, and of *Hiph'il* and *Hoph'al* throughout, before a monosyllabic stem form an open syllable, they take a *long* vowel before the tone (according to § 27 e), e.g. *imperfect Hiph'il* יִסֵּב for *yä-sëb*, *imperative* יִסֵּב for *hä-sëb*, &c. Where the preformatives in the strong verb have *ı̇*, either the original *ä* (from which the *ı̇* was attenuated) is retained and lengthened, e.g. יִסֵּב in *imperfect Qal* for *yä-söb*, or the *ı̇* itself is lengthened to *ē*, e.g. יִסֵּב *perfect Hiph'il* for *hü-sëb* (see further under *h*). The vowel thus lengthened can be maintained, however, only before the tone (except the *ü* of the *Hoph'al*, יִסֵּב for *hü-säb*); when the tone is thrown forward it becomes *S<sup>e</sup>wä*, according to § 27 k (under *ä* and *h* compound *S<sup>e</sup>wä*), e.g. יִסֵּב, but יִסֵּב; *imperfect Hiph'il* יִסֵּב, but יִסֵּב; *perfect Hiph'il*, &c.

Besides the ordinary form of the imperfects, there is another (common in *g* *Aramaic*), in which the *imperfect Qal* is pronounced יִסֵּב or יִסֵּב, the *first* radical, not the second, being strengthened by *Dageš forte*, cf. יִשֵּׁם 1 K 9<sup>8</sup>, יִנְקֵר Gn 24<sup>26</sup>; with *a* in the second syllable, יִנְרֵ לֵב Lv 11<sup>7</sup>, יִדֵּל Is 17<sup>4</sup>, יִנְשַׁח Is 2<sup>9</sup>, &c., יִדֵּם Am 5<sup>13</sup> and frequently, יִנְפֹת Dt 9<sup>21</sup>, &c., יִפֵּב (*turn intrans.*) 1 S 5<sup>8</sup>, &c., יִנְקֵב Lv 24<sup>11</sup>, יִחֵם Ez 47<sup>12</sup>, &c., יִחֵם (with *Dageš forte implicitum*) 1 K 1<sup>1</sup>; in the plural, יִתְפֹּו Nu 14<sup>35</sup>, &c. (in pause יִתְפֹּו ψ 102<sup>28</sup>); perhaps also יִפֵּל, יִפֹּו (unless these forms are rather to be referred to *Niph'al*, like יִתְפֹּו 1 S 2<sup>9</sup>, יִפֵּלוּ Jb 24<sup>24</sup>); with suffix תִּקְבְּנוּ occurs (cf. § 10 *h*) in Nu 23<sup>25</sup>; *Imperfect Hiph'il* יִתֵּם, *Hoph'al* יִכֵּת, &c. The vowel of the preformative (which before *Dageš* is, of course, short) follows the analogy of the ordinary strong form (cf. also *u* and *y*). The same method is then extended to forms with affirmatives or suffixes, so that even before these additions the second radical is not strengthened, e.g. יִקְרֹוּ Gn 43<sup>28</sup>, &c., for יִקְרֹוּ and they bowed the head; יִנְכֹוּ and they beat down, Dt 1<sup>44</sup> (from פִּתַּח Dt 32<sup>8</sup>; יִדְמוּ Ex 15<sup>16</sup>, Jb 29<sup>21</sup> (cf., however, יִנְכֹוּ Ju 18<sup>23</sup>, 1 S 5<sup>8</sup>, יִכֹוּ Jer 46<sup>5</sup>, Jb 4<sup>20</sup>)). To the same class of apparently strong formations belongs תִּצְלִינָה (without the separating vowel, for תִּצְלִינָה, cf. 1 S 3<sup>11</sup> and below, *p*) they shall tingle, 2 K 21<sup>12</sup>, Jer 19<sup>3</sup>.—On the various forms of the *Niph'al*, see under *t*.

<sup>1</sup> Of all the explanations of these separating vowels the most satisfactory is that of Rödiger, who, both for the *perfect* and *imperfect* (Ewald and Stade, for the *imperfect* at least), points to the analogy of verbs לִ"ה. We must, however, regard סִבּוֹת as formed on the analogy not of גִּלְיֹת, but (with P. Haupt) of a form גִּלְאוֹת (= *gälautā*, cf. Arab. *ğazautā*), while תִּסְבִּינָה follows the analogy of תִּנְלִינָה. [See also Wright, *Comp. Gr.*, 229 f.]

- h** 6. The original vowel is retained, see *f*, (a) in the preformative of the *imperfect Qal* יִסֹּב for *yā-sōb* (cf. §§ 47 *b*, 63 *b*, and for verbs ע"י § 72); (b) in the *perfect Niph'al* נִסַּב for *nā-sāb* (§ 51 *a*); (c) in *Hoph'al* הִסֹּב, with irregular lengthening (no doubt on the analogy of verbs י"פ) for *hōsāb* from *hū-sab*, *imperfect* יִפֹּס from *yū-sab*, &c.
- i** On the other hand, an already attenuated vowel (*i*) underlies the intransitive *imperfects Qal* with *ā* in the second syllable (probably for the sake of dissimilating the two vowels), e. g. יִמַּר for *yū-mār* (see *p*); and in the preformative of *Hiph'il* הִסֵּב from *hī-sēb* (ground-form הִסִּיל, § 53 *a*), as well as of the participle מִסֵּב (ground-form מִסִּיל), on the analogy of the perfect. In the second syllable of the Perf. the underlying vowel is *ɨ*, attenuated from an original *ā*, which in the strong verb is abnormally lengthened to *ī* (§ 53 *a*). The *ē* lengthened from *ī* is, of course, only tone-long, and hence when without the tone and before *Dageš forte* we have e. g. הִסְבֹּת. On the retention of the original *ā* in the second syllable, cf. *v*.
- k** 7. The *tone*, as a general rule, tends to keep to the stem-syllable, and does not (as in the strong verb) pass to the affirmatives הִסַּב, י and יִסֹּב (2nd *sing. fem. imperfect*); e. g. 3rd *sing. fem. perfect* הִסְבָּה, in *pause* הִסְבָּה; with *r* and gutturals הִסְבֶּה (for הִסְבֶּה, ψ 44<sup>26</sup>); on the other hand, with *wāw* consecutive וְהִסְבֶּה Is 6<sup>12</sup> (but וְהִסְבֶּה Ex 1<sup>16</sup>). In the 3rd *plur. perfect* the tone-syllable varies; along with הִסְבִּי, הִסְבִּי, we also find הִסְבִּי and הִסְבִּי Is 59<sup>12</sup>, שִׁחִי Hb 3<sup>6</sup>, &c.; but in *pause* always הִסְבִּי, הִסְבִּי, &c. The tone likewise remains on the stem-syllable in the *imperfect Qal* in הִסְבִּי, יִסְבִּי; *perfect Hiph'il* הִסְבֶּה, הִסְבִּי; *imperfect* הִסְבִּי, יִסְבִּי, &c. In the forms with separating vowels, the tone is moved forward to these vowels (or to the final syllable, cf. *ee*), e. g. הִסְבִּי, הִסְבִּי, &c.; except before the endings הִסְבִּי and הִסְבִּי in the *perfect*, which always bear the tone. This shifting of the tone naturally causes the shortening of the merely tone-long vowels *ē* and *ō* to *ɨ* and *ū* (or *ō*, see *n*), hence הִסְבִּי from הִסְבֶּה, הִסְבִּי from יִסְבֶּה; on cases in which the vowel of the preformative becomes *S<sup>e</sup>wā*, see above, *f*.
- l** 8. In several verbs ע"ע, instead of *P'el*, *Pu'al* and *Hithpa'el*, the less frequent conjugation *Pō'el*, with its passive and reflexive, occurs (most probably on the analogy of the corresponding forms of verbs ע"ע, cf. § 72 *m*), generally with the same meaning,<sup>1</sup> e. g. עוֹלֵל to *ill-treat*, passive עוֹלָל, reflexive הִתְעוֹלֵל (from עָלָל; cf. the *Hithpō'el* from רָעַע

<sup>1</sup> Sometimes both *P'el* and *Pō'el* are formed from the same stem, though with a difference of meaning, e. g. רָצַץ to *break in pieces*, רָצַץ to *oppress*; הִגִּין to *make pleasing*, הוֹגִין to *have pity*; סָבַב to *turn, to change*, סוֹבֵב to *go round, to encompass*.

and פָּרַר Is 24<sup>19</sup>); in a few verbs also *Pilpāl* (§ 55 f) is found, e. g. גָּלַגַּל to roll, *Hithpalpāl* הִתְגַּלְגַּל to roll oneself (from גָּלַל); imperative with suffix סִלְסְלָה exalt her, Pr 4<sup>8</sup>; נִשְׁעֵשַׁע to comfort, to delight in; passive נִשְׁעַשַׁע to be caressed (from נִשְׁעַע). These forms cannot appear in a biliteral form any more than *Pī'el*, *Pu'al*, and *Hithpa'el*; cf. עִוְעִים (Is 19<sup>14</sup>) and מְקַוֵּי (Is 18<sup>2,7</sup>).—For מְתַבָּר 2 S 22<sup>27</sup> read, according to ψ 18<sup>27</sup>, מְתַבָּרֵר.

## REMARKS.

## I. On Qal.

1. In the *perfect*, isolated examples are found with *ō* in the first syllable, *III* which it is customary to refer to trilateral stems with middle *ō* (like יָבַל, § 43 a); viz. רָמוּ they are exalted, Jb 24<sup>24</sup> to רָמוּם; רָפוּ they shot, Gn 49<sup>23</sup> to רָכַב; וָרוּ Is 1<sup>6</sup> to וָרָר. But this explanation is very doubtful: וָרוּ especially is rather to be classed among the passives of Qal mentioned in § 52 e.

2. *Imperfects* Qal with *ō* in the second syllable keep the original *a* in the *II* preformative, but lengthen it to *ā*, as being in an open syllable, hence יָחַן, יָרַע (trans. he breaks in pieces, but יָרַע intrans. = he is cruel); imperfects with *ā* have, in the preformative, an *ē*, lengthened from *ī*. See the examples below, under *p*, § 63 c and e, § 72 h, and specially Barth in ZDMG. 1894, p. 5 f.

The *Hölēm* of the *infinitive*, *imperative*, and *imperfect* (יָסַב, סָב) is only tone-long, and therefore, as a rule, is written defectively (with a few exceptions, chiefly in the later orthography, e. g. צוּר bind up, Is 8<sup>16</sup>; גוּל ψ 37<sup>6</sup>; דוּם ver. 7; לָבוּ for לָבוּ to plunder, Est 3<sup>13</sup>, 8<sup>11</sup>). When this *ō* loses the tone, it becomes in the final syllable *ō*, in a sharpened syllable *ū*, or not infrequently even *ö* (see above, k). Examples of *ō* are: (a) in a toneless final syllable, i. e. before *Maqqeph* or in the *imperfect consecutive*, רִוַן (rōn) to rejoice, Jb 38<sup>7</sup>; יָסַב Ju 11<sup>18</sup> (once even with *ū* in a toneless final syllable, וַיָּרֶם Ex 16<sup>27</sup>); on the other hand, in the *plur. fem.* וַיִּסְבּוּ, fem. וַיִּסְבְּינָה; (b) before a tone-bearing *affirmative* or *suffix*, e. g. *imperative 2nd sing. fem.* רַחֲמֵי, רַחֲמֵי (cf. ff); חַנְּנֵי pity me; סִלְּוָה Jer 50<sup>26</sup>; יִשְׂדָּם Pr 11<sup>3</sup> *Qerē*; הַחֲנָהוּ Ex 12<sup>14</sup> (for the defective writing, cf. יִסְבְּהוּ Jb 40<sup>22</sup>). In יַחְנֶךָ Gn 43<sup>20</sup>, Is 30<sup>19</sup> (for יַחְנֶךָ) this *ō* is thrown back to the preformative.

On the 2nd plur. fem. imperat. עֲרֶה make yourselves naked Is 32<sup>11</sup>, cf. the *o* analogous forms in § 48 i.—Quite abnormal is the *infinitive absolute* רַעָה Is 24<sup>19</sup> (as ה follows, probably only a case of dittography for רַע, cf. קַב Nu 23<sup>25</sup> and שָׁל Ru 2<sup>16</sup>); so also are the *imperatives* קַבְּהֲלִי Nu 22<sup>11,17</sup>, and אַרְהֲלִי 22<sup>6</sup>, 23<sup>7</sup>, with ה *paragogic*. We should expect קַבְּהֵי, אַרְהֵי. If these forms are to be read *qāballi*, 'ōralli, they would be analogous to such cases as מְכַבְּרָה (§ 90 i), the addition of the *paragogic* ה־ causing no change in the form of the word (־קַב like רַן above). If, however, as Jewish tradition requires, they are to be read *qāballi*, 'āralli, then in both cases the *Qameṣ* must be explained, with

Stade, as the equivalent of  $\bar{o}$  (קָבַה־לִּי, &c.; cf. § 9 v). Still more surprising is קָבַנִּי *curse him*, Nu 23<sup>13</sup>, for קָבַנִּי or 'קָבַנִּי<sup>1</sup>

3. Examples with *Pathah* in the infinitive, imperative, and imperfect are בַּר (in לְבַרְרֵם *to prove them*, Ec 3<sup>18</sup>); רַר Is 45<sup>1</sup>; נוֹשֵׁה Jer 5<sup>26</sup>; בְּשִׁנְיָם *in their error*, Gn 6<sup>3</sup> (so ed. Mant., but there is also good authority for בְּשִׁנְיָם, from נוֹשֵׁה = נוֹשֵׁה = נוֹשֵׁה and נָם also; so Baer and Ginsburg). Also לָקַח *take away*, ψ 119<sup>22</sup>; and the imperfects יָחַם *it is hot*, Dt 19<sup>8</sup>, &c. (on the  $\bar{e}$  of the preformative cf. n); יָמַר *it is bitter*, Is 24<sup>9</sup>; יָצַר *it is straitened*; יָרַךְ *it is soft*, Is 7<sup>4</sup>; יָתַשׁ *it is desolate*, Ez 12<sup>19</sup> (in pause תִּישָׁם Gn 47<sup>19</sup>); וַתִּתְקַלְּ *she was despised*, Gn 16<sup>4</sup> (but elsewhere in the *impf. consec.* with the tone on the penultima, e. g. וַיִּצְרַר Gn 32<sup>8</sup>, &c.; וַיִּרְעַע Gn 21<sup>11</sup>, &c., cf. Ez 19<sup>7</sup>); in the 1st sing. imperfect יִתְחַמֵּם<sup>2</sup> ψ 119<sup>14</sup>, abnormally written fully for יִתְחַמֵּם, unless יִתְחַמֵּם is to be read, as in some MSS., on the analogy of the 3rd sing. יִתְחַמֵּם.—In the *impf. Qal* of שָׁלַל the reading of Hb 2<sup>8</sup> varies between יִשְׁלַחֵךְ (Baer, Ginsb.) and יִשְׁלַחֵךְ (ed. Mant., Jabl.).—The following forms are to be explained with Barth (*ZDMG.* xliii. p. 178) as imperfects Qal with original  $\bar{i}$  in the second syllable, there being no instances of their Hiph'il in the same sense: וַיִּגְלַל Gn 29<sup>10</sup>; וַיִּגְוֶה Is 31<sup>5</sup>, &c.; וַיִּסְקַף Ex 4c<sup>21</sup>, ψ 91<sup>4</sup>, &c.; perhaps also תִּתְקַלְּינָה 1 S 3<sup>11</sup> and יִתְהַלֵּךְ Jb 31<sup>26</sup>, &c.; in accordance with this last form, יִתְהַלֵּךְ (יִתְהַלֵּךְ) Jb 29<sup>3</sup> would also be an *infinitive Qal*, not Hiph'il (for בְּהַהֲלֹךְ), as formerly explained below, under *w*. Finally the very peculiar form וַתִּרְיַן Ju 9<sup>53</sup> may probably be added to the list.

4. Imperfects, with an original  $\bar{u}$  in the second syllable, are also found with this  $\bar{u}$  lengthened to  $\bar{u}$  (instead of  $\bar{o}$ ), e. g. וַרְיַן, if the text is correct, in Pr 29<sup>6</sup>; וַיִּשְׁרַר ψ 91<sup>6</sup> (unless it be simply an imperfect from שָׁרַר *to be powerful, to prevail*); וַרְיַן (if from רָצַן Is 42<sup>4</sup>, &c. (also defectively וַרְיַן ψ 18<sup>30</sup>; but in Ec 12<sup>6</sup>, according to Baer, וַתְּרַיַן); וַתְּרַיַן Ez 24<sup>11</sup> (on the sharpening of the ת cf. *g* above).<sup>3</sup>

A similar analogy with verbs ע"ו is seen in the infinitives לְבַוֵּר (for בַּוֵּר) Ec 9<sup>1</sup>; בְּחַקּוֹ Pr 8<sup>27</sup> (cf. בְּחַוּקוֹ Pr 8<sup>29</sup>) for בְּחַקּוֹ, and in the imperfect וַאֲמַשְׁךְ Gn 27<sup>21</sup>. (The forms חָלוּת in ψ 77<sup>10</sup>, שְׁמוּת Ez 36<sup>3</sup>, חָלוּתִי ψ 77<sup>11</sup>, formerly treated here as infinitives from ע"ו stems, are rather to be referred to ל"ה stems, with Barth, *Wurzeluntersuchungen*, Lpz. 1902, p. 21.) On other similar cases, see below, under *ee*. For examples of the *aramaizing imperfect*, see above, *g*.

4. In the *participle*, the aramaizing form שְׁאֻסְמִיָּה for שְׁאֻסְמִיָּה occurs in K<sup>e</sup>thibh, Jer 30<sup>16</sup> (the *Qere* indicates a *participle* from שָׁסַם); רָעָה Pr 25<sup>19</sup> appears to be a contraction from רָעַעָה, *part. fem.* = *breaking in pieces*.

<sup>1</sup> For נו as suffix of the 3rd person a parallel might be found in יִשְׁנֹנוּ, § 100 o, and probably also in the *Nūn* of the Phoenician suffix נם: cf. Barth, *ZDMG.* xli. p. 643, and the note on § 100 o.

<sup>2</sup> Also in Ez 6<sup>6</sup>, instead of הַיִּשְׁמִנָה, which could only come from ישם, 'ישם' is intended, and יִשְׁמִנֹנוּ in the same verse is probably only an error for יִשְׁמִנֹנוּ.

<sup>3</sup> According to Stade, *Grammatik*, § 95, Rem., the pronunciation with  $\bar{u}$ , since it also appears in Neo-Punic [and in Western Syriac, see Nöldeke, *Syr. Gramm.*, § 48], was that of everyday life.

## II. On Niph'al.

5. Besides the ordinary form of the *perfect* נָסַב with *Pathah* (in *pause*  $\tau$  נָסַב) and the *participle* נֹסֵב with *Qameṣ* in the second syllable, there is also another with *Sere*, and a third with *Holem*, e.g. *perfect* נָמַס *it melts*, Ez 21<sup>12</sup>, 22<sup>15</sup>; נִסְבָּה (for נִסְבָּה) Ez 26<sup>2</sup>; *part.* נֹמֵס *molten*, 1 S 15<sup>9</sup>, Na 2<sup>11</sup>; נָקַל *it is a light thing*, 2 K 20<sup>10</sup>, Is 49<sup>6</sup> (*perf.* נִקְלָה); with  $\bar{o}$ , e.g. נִקְלוּ *they are rolled together*, Is 34<sup>4</sup>; cf. 63<sup>19</sup>, 64<sup>2</sup>, Am 3<sup>11</sup>, Na 1<sup>12</sup>, Ec 12<sup>6b</sup>. In the *imperfect* with  $\bar{o}$  in the second syllable, on the analogy of verbs ע"ע (from which König would also explain the *perfects* with  $\bar{o}$ ), we find תִּרְמִי *thou shalt be brought to silence*, Jer 48<sup>2</sup> (unless this form should be referred to *Qal* with *Qimḥi*, Olshausen, König); יְרוּעַ *he suffers hurt*, Pr 11<sup>15</sup>, 13<sup>20</sup>; תִּירוּץ (for *tirros*) Ez 29<sup>7</sup>; with  $\bar{e}$  in the second syllable תִּחַל *she profanes herself*, Lv 21<sup>9</sup>, but יִחַל Ez 22<sup>26</sup>, and יִחַל Is 48<sup>11</sup>, יַחַח Is 7<sup>8</sup>, &c. For *infinitives*, cf. הִיָּמַס *to melt*,  $\psi$  68<sup>3</sup> (as *inf. constr.*; 2 S 17<sup>10</sup> as *inf. absol.*); again, with compensatory lengthening in the first syllable, הִחַל Ez 20<sup>9</sup>, 14<sup>22</sup>, but with suffix הִחִלוּ Lv 21<sup>4</sup>; also הִבּוּז *to be plundered*, and הִבוֹק *to be emptied*, Is 24<sup>9</sup>; in the *imperative*, only הִפְּרוּ *be ye clean*, Is 52<sup>11</sup>. On הִרְפוּ *get you up*, Nu 17<sup>10</sup>, and the corresponding *imperf.* יִרְפוּ Ez 10<sup>17</sup>, &c., cf. 72 *dd.*

Examples of the *perfect Niph'al* with sharpening of the initial syllable are,  $\mu$  נָחַל *it is profaned*, Ez 22<sup>16</sup>, 25<sup>3</sup> (from נָחַל); נָחַר (from נָחַר)  $\psi$  69<sup>4</sup>, 102<sup>4</sup> (also נָחַר Jer 6<sup>29</sup>); נָחַת *fractus est* (from נָחַת) Mal 2<sup>5</sup>; cf. with this in the *participle*, נִחְמִים (for *niḥhāmim*) Is 57<sup>5</sup>, and נִחְרִים Mal 3<sup>9</sup>: in the *imperative* and *infinitive Niph'al* such a virtual strengthening of the guttural after preformatives never occurs.—The occurrence of  $\mu$  instead of  $\bar{o}$  as a separating vowel in the *perfect* נִשְׁרִנִּי Mic 2<sup>4</sup> is abnormal.

## III. On Hiph'il and Hoph'al.

6. The second syllable in *Hiph'il* sometimes has *Pathah* instead of *Sere*,  $\nu$  especially under the influence of ר and the gutturals, e.g. *perfect* הִמַּר *he made bitter*, הִשָּׁח *he bowed*, הִפַּר *he hath broken*, Gn 17<sup>14</sup>, in *pause*, cf. § 29 q; otherwise הִפַּר, *plur.* הִפְּרוּ Is 24<sup>5</sup>. In הִפִּיר  $\psi$  33<sup>10</sup>, Ez 17<sup>19</sup>, cf.  $\psi$  89<sup>34</sup>, and in הִשְׁיִיר Ho 8<sup>4</sup> (perhaps also in יִחִיתָ Hab 2<sup>17</sup>, but cf. § 20 n) there is an assimilation to the corresponding forms of verbs ע"ע, see z. Also הִצִּיר Dt 28<sup>52</sup>, הִתּוּ (in *pause*) Is 18<sup>3</sup>; *inf.* לְהִבֵּר *to cleanse*, Jer 4<sup>11</sup>, in *pause*. But also with other consonants, e.g. הִדַּק 2 K 23<sup>15</sup>, הִקַּל Is 8<sup>23</sup>; הִרְקַּה Jb 23<sup>16</sup>; *plur.* הִסְבּוּ 1 S 5<sup>9,10</sup> (and so usually in the 3rd *plur. perf.*, except before ר and gutturals, e.g. הִרְעָע); *imper.* הִשָּׂע *besmear*, Is 6<sup>10</sup>; *plur.* הִשְׂמוּ *be astonished*, Jb 21<sup>6</sup>; *imperfect* תִּבֵּעַ *Thou dost afflict*; *part.* מִצַּל (on  $\bar{e}$  in the first syllable, see under  $\iota$ ) *shadowing*, Ez 31<sup>3</sup> (but מִסִּיָּה Ju 3<sup>24</sup> is assimilated to the form of verbs ע"ע, unless, with Moore, we simply read מִסִּיָּה, or, with incorrect spelling, מִסִּיָּה). So in the *imperative* הִמְיִשְׁנִי Ju 16<sup>26</sup> *Qeré*, and in the *infinitive* הִתְמַדַּק Is 33<sup>1</sup>).

The  $\bar{e}$  of the second syllable, when without the tone, may become  $\bar{e}$ , e.g. הִחַל בִּי Gn 31<sup>7</sup> (see also x). It is unusual (cf. § 53 k) to find the  $\bar{e}$  written fully as in the *infinitive* לְהִפְּרִי Zc 11<sup>10</sup>. Instead of *Hateph-Pathah* a *Hateph-*

*S<sup>e</sup>ghôl* is found under the preformative in הִקְלַתְנִי 2 S 19<sup>44</sup>, and a *Pathah* occurs before ן (with a virtual sharpening of the ן) in such forms as הִחַתְתָּ Is 9<sup>3</sup>; cf. Gn 11<sup>6</sup>, Dt 2<sup>31</sup>, 3<sup>24</sup>, 1 S 22<sup>15</sup>, Est 6<sup>13</sup>—in all these cases before ן.—On בְּהֵלֹו Jb 29<sup>3</sup>, see above, *p*: on וְהִחַתְתִּי Jer 49<sup>37</sup>, see below, *dd*.

*a* 7. In the *imperfect consecutive* of verbs whose second radical is a guttural, *ä* is retained (§ 22 *a*) in the second syllable instead of *ë*, e. g. וַיִּרְע 1 K 16<sup>25</sup>: so also with ר, as וַיִּצַר 2 Ch 28<sup>20</sup>, Dt 2<sup>9</sup>—but cf. also וַיִּפַּר Neh 4<sup>9</sup>.

*y* 8. Aramaizing forms (but cf. Rem. i § 67 *g*) in *Hiph'il* and *Hoph'al* are, וַיִּסַּב Ex 13<sup>18</sup>, &c.; cf. Ju. 15<sup>23</sup>; אֶל-תִּמְרָר Ex 23<sup>21</sup>, but read אֶל-תִּמְרָר from תִּמְרָר: וַיִּכְתְּבוּ Dt 1<sup>44</sup> (cf. Nu 14<sup>45</sup>), but וַיִּסְבְּבוּ Ju 18<sup>28</sup>, 1 S 5<sup>8</sup>, 2 Ch 29<sup>6</sup>; אֶחָל *profanabo*, Ez 39<sup>7</sup>; תִּתְחַלּוּ Jb 22<sup>3</sup>; without elision of the ה (cf. § 53 *q*), וַיִּהְיֶה לְךָ 1 K 18<sup>27</sup>, but Jer 9<sup>4</sup> יִהְיֶה לְךָ, Jb 13<sup>9</sup> תִּהְיֶה לְךָ; with *i* in the second syllable יֵשִׁים Jer 49<sup>20</sup>, 50<sup>45</sup>; cf. וַיִּנְשִׂים Nu 21<sup>30</sup>; in the *perfect* הוֹלִי לָהּ La 1<sup>8</sup>. In *Hoph'al*, הֵמְכוּ they are brought low, Jb 24<sup>21</sup>; יֵבֶת he is smitten, Is 24<sup>12</sup> (*plur.* יֵבְתוּ Jer 46<sup>5</sup>, Mi 1<sup>7</sup>); in *pause*, יִחַקּוּ Jb 15<sup>28</sup>, but also יִבְתּוּ Jb 4<sup>20</sup> (so Baer, Ginsb., but ed. Mant., Jabl. יִבְתּוּ); with *ö* in the initial syllable, הַשְׁמֹה (*infinitive with suffix* = הַשְׁמֹה, cf. § 91 *e*) Lv 26<sup>34 f.</sup>, cf. 2 Ch 36<sup>21</sup>; בְּהַשְׁמָה, with irregular syncope for בְּהַשְׁ, Lv 26<sup>43</sup>.

#### IV. In General.

*z* 9. Verbs ע"ע are most closely related as regards inflexion to verbs ע"י (§ 72). The form of verbs ע"ע is generally the shorter (cf. e. g. יָכַב and יָקוּם, יָקַם and יָקוּם); in a few cases, however, the two classes exactly coincide, e. g. in the *imperfect Qal* and *Hiph'il* with *wāw consecutive*, in *Hoph'al* and in the less common conjugations (see above, *l*).

*aa* 10. The developed forms (with three radicals), as mentioned in *a*, are especially frequent in the 3rd *sing. masc.* and *fem.*, and the 3rd *plur. perf. Qal* (i. e. in forms without an affirmative or with an affirmative beginning with a vowel) of transitive verbs, or verbs, at any rate, expressing action, e. g. סָבַב, שָׂדוּנִי, סָבְבֹנִי, סָבְבֹנִי (but before a suffix also סָבְבֹנִי, as well as סָבְבֹנִי, &c.); וָמַם, וָמָה, וָמָה, &c. Sometimes the contracted, as well as the uncontracted form, is found, e. g. בָּזַוּ to plunder, *plur.* בָּזוּוּ; in other parts, only בָּזוּוּ Dt 2<sup>35</sup>, as well as בָּזוּוּ Dt 3<sup>7</sup>; וָמָמִי Zc 8<sup>14.15</sup> and וָמָמִי Jer 4<sup>28</sup>. Other examples of biliteral forms in 2nd *sing. masc.* are Dt 25<sup>12</sup>, Pr 30<sup>32</sup>; in 1st *sing.*, Jos 5<sup>9</sup>. Apart from *Qal* the only example of a developed form is וְהִחַתְתִּי Jer 49<sup>37</sup>.

*bb* On the other hand, the biliteral forms are the more common in the 3rd *sing.* and *plur.* of perfects which are *intransitive*, and express a state; cf. דָּק Dt 9<sup>21</sup> (Ex 32<sup>30</sup> דָּקָה; elsewhere always a transitive verb); חָתָה, *fem.* חָתְתָה; מָרָה, *fem.* מָרָה (for *marrā*); צָרָה, *fem.* צָרָה (cf. וְחָרָה Ez 24<sup>11</sup>); שָׁח, *fem.* שָׁחָה, &c.; *plur.* חָתְתוּ, חָתְתוּ, &c. (but on the tone, cf. *ee* below). Exception, עָשָׂה שָׁחָה ψ 6<sup>2</sup>.

*cc* The intransitive but developed perfects דָּלְלוּ (also דָּלְלוּ), נָדְדוּ, נָדְדוּ, חָלְלוּ (also חָלְלוּ), נָדְדוּ (in *pause* נָדְדוּ), עָשָׂה שָׁחָה (*plur.* in *pause* עָשָׂה שָׁחָה ψ 31<sup>11</sup>), שָׁחָה (also שָׁחָה), almost all have, as Mayer Lambert observes, at least an active, not a stative meaning. Triliteral forms of the *infinitive* after ה are לְסָבַב Nu 21<sup>4</sup>; לְשָׂדוּר Jer 47<sup>4</sup>; לְזָוּוּ Gn 31<sup>19</sup> (also לְזָוּוּ Gn 38<sup>13</sup>); cf. also לְחָמַם Is 47<sup>14</sup>, in *subordinate pause*, for לְחָמַם; with *suffix* לְחַנְנֶכֶם Is 30<sup>13</sup>, and, from the same

form **חָנַן**, with retraction and modification of the vowel, **לְחַנְנֶה**  $\psi$  102<sup>14</sup>; also **שָׁחַח** Is 60<sup>14</sup>, **בָּנִזוּ** 1 S 25<sup>2</sup>, **בְּמַסֵּס** Is 10<sup>18</sup>, **בָּעוּזוּ** Pr 8<sup>28</sup>, **בְּצָרוֹר** Pr 26<sup>8</sup>.—*Imperative* **שָׁדַרְדַר** Jer 49<sup>28</sup> (cf. § 20 *b*, and *ibid.* also on **חָנְנִי**  $\psi$  9<sup>14</sup>); in the *imperfect*, **יָדוֹר** Na 3<sup>7</sup> ( $\psi$  68<sup>13</sup>; cf. Gn 31<sup>40</sup>) from **נָדַר**; the strong form here, after the assimilation of the *Nūn*, was unavoidable. On the other hand, **יִשְׁדָּרֵם** Jer 5<sup>6</sup> is anomalous for **יִשְׁדָּרֵם** (Pr 11<sup>3</sup> *Q<sup>erē</sup>*; the eastern school read the *Po'el* **יְשׁוּדָרֵם** in the *K<sup>ethibh</sup>*); the strengthening of the second radical has been afterwards resolved by the insertion of a vocal *S<sup>ewa</sup>*. Cf. also **יַחְנַן** Am 5<sup>15</sup> (elsewhere **יָחַן**). In *Niph'al*, the trilateral form **יִלְכַּב** is found, Jb 11<sup>12</sup>; in *Hiph'il*, all the forms of **רָנַן**, thus *imperative* **הִרְנִינוּ**, *imperfect* **תִּרְנִין**; *infinitive* **הִשְׁמִים** Mi 6<sup>13</sup>; *participle* **מִשְׁמִים** Ez 3<sup>15</sup>. That the developed (trilateral) forms possess a certain emphasis is seen from their frequent use in *pause*, as in  $\psi$  118<sup>11</sup> after a biliteral form (**סִבְּוִי נִם־סִבְּוִי**).

11. The above-mentioned (see *g*) neglect of the strengthening in aramaizing forms, such as **יָדְמוּ** and the like, occurs elsewhere tolerably often; in the *perfect Qal* **תָּמְנוּ** for **תַּמְנוּ** Nu 17<sup>28</sup> (Jer 44<sup>18</sup>; cf. above, *e*); *imperfect* **נָבֹהָ** 1 S 14<sup>36</sup> (**הַ־** *parag.* without any influence on the form, cf. *o*); even with the firm vowel reduced to vocal *S<sup>ewa</sup>*; **יִבְלָהָ** Gn 11<sup>7</sup> for **נָבְלָהָ** (cohortative from **בָּלַל**) for **יִזְמוּ** for **יִזְמוּ** *ibid.* ver. 6, *they purpose*; following the analogy of verbs **עָוָה** (see above, *r*); from *intransitive imperfects Qal*, **תִּצְרִי** Is 49<sup>13</sup> (*plur. masc.* Jb 18<sup>7</sup>); **יִרְעוּ** Neh 2<sup>3</sup>; also **תִּישְׁמְנָה** Ez 6<sup>6</sup> (for which read **תִּישׁ** = **תִּישׁ**) might be explained in the same way.—*Perfect Niph'al* **נִסְכָּהָ** for **נִסְכָּהָ** Ez 41<sup>7</sup>; **נָוְלוּ** Ju 5<sup>5</sup> for **נָוְלוּ**; **נִמְלָתָם** for **נִמְלָתָם** Gn 17<sup>11</sup> (as if from **מָלַל** not **מָוַל** to *circumcise*), cf. Is 19<sup>3</sup>, Jer 8<sup>14</sup>; *imperfect* **תִּפְקֹנָה** Zc 14<sup>12</sup>; *participle* **נִחְמִים**, cf. *u*. So also **נִפְצֵץ** 1 S 13<sup>11</sup>, **נִפְצָהָ** Gn 9<sup>13</sup> (cf. Is 33<sup>3</sup>), are *perfects Niph'al* from **פָּצַץ** (= **פָּוִץ**), not *Qal* from **נִפְצַץ**.—In *Hiph'il* **תִּהְלַחַתְּ** (for **תִּהְלַחַתְּ**) Ju 16<sup>10</sup> (2 S 15<sup>34</sup>); **תִּהְעָהָ** for **תִּהְעָהָ** Pr 7<sup>13</sup> (cf. Ct 6<sup>11</sup>, 7<sup>13</sup>).

No less irregular is the suppression of the vowel of the stem-syllable in **לְהַפְרִיכֵם** Lv 26<sup>15</sup>.—On the *perfect* **תִּלְוִי** Pr 26<sup>7</sup>, cf. § 75 *u*.

12. Cases in which the tone is thrown forward on the affirmatives (see *cc* *k*) are (*a*) in the *perfect*, the 1st *sing.* regularly (but cf. **וְהִצְרִחִי** Jer 10<sup>18</sup> before **לָהֶם**) after 1 *consec.*, Ex 33<sup>19, 22</sup>, 2 K 19<sup>34</sup>, &c., also Is 44<sup>16</sup> (**חַמּוּתִי** before **רַ**);  $\psi$  92<sup>11</sup> (but the text is certainly corrupt; see the *Lexicon*), 116<sup>6</sup>, perhaps also Jb 19<sup>17</sup>, **וְחִלַּחֲתִי** (though in this passage, and in  $\psi$  17<sup>3</sup>, the form might be an *infinitive* in *ōth*; see Delitzsch on Jb 19<sup>17</sup>); in the 2nd *sing.* **וְנִצַּחְתָּהּ** (before **א**) Dt 25<sup>12</sup>; in the 3rd *plural*, **רַבּוּ** *multi sunt*,  $\psi$  3<sup>2</sup>, 104<sup>24</sup>, Jer 5<sup>6</sup>, 1 S 25<sup>10</sup>; **רַבּוּ** *they are soft*,  $\psi$  55<sup>22</sup> **קָלוּ** *they are swift*, Jer 4<sup>13</sup>, Hb 1<sup>8</sup>; **וְנָכוּ** *they are pure*, Jb 15<sup>15</sup>, 25<sup>5</sup>, La 4<sup>7</sup>; **שָׁחֲוּ** *they did bow*, Hb 3<sup>6</sup>; **הָרָוּ** *they are burned*, Is 24<sup>6</sup>. A by-form of **שָׁחֲוּ** ( $\psi$  72 *dā*) is **שָׁחֲוּ**  $\psi$  49<sup>15</sup>, 73<sup>9</sup>.

(*b*) In the *imperative* (a command in an emphatic tone) **רָנִי** *sing.*, Is 54<sup>1</sup>, Zp 3<sup>14</sup>, Zc 2<sup>14</sup>; **רָנִי** Is 44<sup>23</sup>, 49<sup>13</sup>, Jer 31<sup>7</sup> (but **רָנִי** *lament*, La 2<sup>19</sup>), **הִקְפִּי** *keep (thy feasts)*, Na 2<sup>1</sup>, Jer 7<sup>29</sup>; **עָזְוָה** (= **עָזָה**) before **א**,  $\psi$  68<sup>29</sup>. On the retention of the short vowels *ū* (*ū*) and *i* before *Dageš forte*, in place of the tone-long *ō* and *ē*, see above, *k*; on the change of the vowel of the preformative into *S<sup>ewa</sup>*, when it no longer stands before the tone, see *g*.

*dd*

*cc*

*ff*

THE WEAKEST VERBS (*Verba Quiescentia*).

§ 68. Verbs א"ב e. g. אָכַל to eat.

Brockelmann, *Semit. Sprachwiss.*, p. 140 ff.; *Grundriss*, p. 589 ff.

- a So far as א retains its full consonantal value as a guttural, these verbs share all the peculiarities of verbs *primae gutturalis*, mentioned in § 63. They are, however, to be treated as *weak* verbs, when the א loses its value as a consonant, and coalesces with the preceding vowel (originally short) to form one long syllable. This takes place only in the following very common verbs and forms, as if through phonetic decay:—
- b 1. In the *imperfect Qal*, five verbs (viz. אָבַד to perish, אָבַה to be willing, אָכַל to eat, אָמַר to say, אָפַה to bake) regularly make the א quiesce in a long *ô*, e. g. יֹאכַל.<sup>1</sup> In a few others the ordinary (strong) form is also in use, as יֹאחֹז (18 times) and יֹאחֹזִי (3 times) *he takes hold*; אָסַף (see *h*), also אָסַף־יִי, *he collects*. This *ô* has primarily arisen from an obscuring of *â* (§ 9 q), and the *â* from אָ—, the weak consonant א coalescing with *â* to *â*; cf. § 23 a.
- c In the second syllable *ô* (for original *û*) never appears, but either *ê*<sup>2</sup> or *ä*; and in *pause* almost always *ê*, even before the tone-bearing *heavy* affirmative אֵ, e. g. יֹאכַלְוּ Dt 18<sup>1</sup>, without the *pause* יֹאכְלוּ Dt 4<sup>28</sup>. In the 3rd *sing. masc.* and 1st *sing.* of אָמַר, however, *ä* is always retained in *pause*, יֹאמַר and אָמַר; but in the 2nd *masc.* תֹּאמַר 1 K 5<sup>20</sup>, in the 3rd *fem.* תֹּאמְרִי Pr 1<sup>21</sup>; in the *plural* יֹאמְרוּ Jer 5<sup>2</sup>,  $\psi$  145<sup>6,11</sup>, תֹּאמְרוּ Jer 23<sup>38</sup>, with *Ségolta*; cf. also תֹּאבְלוּ 1 S 1<sup>7</sup>, &c. But with conjunctive accents in the body of the sentence, *ä* (as being a lighter vowel) is used, e. g. לְעֵר תֹּאבְדֵהוּ  $\psi$  9<sup>19</sup>, but in *pause* תֹּאבְדֵהוּ  $\psi$  1<sup>6</sup>; cf. a similar interchange of *ê* and *ä* in § 65 c. The 3rd *fem. plur. impf.* always has the form תֹּאכְלֵנָה Zc 11<sup>9</sup>.
- d When the tone moves back, the final syllable of the *imperfects* of אָבַד and אָכַל, with a conjunctive accent, also always takes *Pathah*, e. g. יֹאבְדֵהוּ Jb 3<sup>3</sup>, יֹאכְלֵהוּ and *he did eat*; in אָמַר the loss of the tone from the final syllable only occurs in the form with *wāw consecutive*

<sup>1</sup> So in the modern vulgar Arabic of South Palestine, *ya'kul* (*he eats*) becomes *yôkul*.

<sup>2</sup> On this *ê* (originally *i*) as a dissimilation from *ô* (originally *û*), cf. § 27 w, and F. Philippi, in the *Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie und Sprachwissenschaft*, xiv. 178. The latter rightly observes that the existence of an original *u* in the *imperfect* of אָכַל is indicated by the form of the *imperative* אָכַלְהוּ, the Arabic *ya'kul* and the Aramaic יֹאכַל, as well as by the fact that יֹאחֹז and יֹאסַף are found along with יֹאחֹזִי and יֹאסַף־יִי.

(but never in the 1st *sing.* וַאֲמַר; cf. וַאֲבַל), and then the final syllable, if without the *pause*, always takes *S<sup>e</sup>ghöl*, וַאֲמַר and he said (except לוֹ וַתֹּאמֶר Pr 7<sup>13</sup>).

In *pause*, however, the *imperfect consecutive* (except the 1st pers. of אָבַל, see below) always has the form וַיֹּאבַל (but *plur.* always וַיֹּאבְלוּ, וַיֹּאבְלוּ), and וַיֹּאמַר; except וַיֹּאמַר in the poetic portion of the book of Job, as 3<sup>2</sup>, 4<sup>1</sup>, &c., but not in 32<sup>6</sup>, in the middle of the verse. The weak *imperfect* of אָחַז is always יֹאחֲזוּ and וַיֹּאחֲזוּ, but in the 1st *sing.*, according to § 49 e, וַיֹּאחֲזוּ Ju 20<sup>6</sup>; cf. וַיֹּאבְלוּ Gn. 3<sup>12,13</sup> in *pause*.—אָבַח and אָפַח are, at the same time, verbs ל"ה, hence *imperfect* יֹאבְחָה (§ 75 c).

Before *light* suffixes the vowel of the second syllable becomes vocal Š<sup>e</sup>wā, as אֲבַחְכֵּם, but אֲבַחְכֵּם.—In a few cases, instead of the *ó* in the first syllable an *é* is found, which is due to contraction from the group  $\frac{\text{---}}{\text{---}}$  (or  $\frac{\text{---}}{\text{---}}$ ) in place of  $\frac{\text{---}}{\text{---}}$ ; e.g. תֵּאָתֶנָּה it shall come, Mi 4<sup>8</sup>, from תֵּאָתֶנָּה (from אָתֶנָּה); אָהֵב (for אָהֵב) I love, Pr 8<sup>17</sup>, also (four times) אָהֵב Mal 1<sup>2</sup>, &c., with suffixes אָהֵבֶהּ Ho 11<sup>1</sup>, 14<sup>5</sup>, &c. (but only in 1st *sing.*, otherwise יֹאהֵב, &c., from אָהֵב, אָהֵב); וַאֲחָר and I stayed, Gn 32<sup>6</sup>. The *infinitive construct* of אָמַר with ל is always לֵאמֹר *dicendo*, for לֵאמֹר.—According to Barth (*ZDMG*. 1889, p. 179) וַיֹּאבְלוּ Nu 11<sup>25</sup> is to be regarded as an *imperfect Qal*, without the obscuring of אָ to *ó*, not as *imperfect Hiph'il*, since אָבַל elsewhere occurs only in the *perfect Qal* and *Niph'al*; on the original *i* in the second syllable, see above, § 67 p. For תֵּאָבְלוּ Jb 20<sup>26</sup> we should simply emend תֵּאָבְלוּ; the view that it is *imperfect Pō'el* (which nowhere else occurs) can, as regards the change of *ó* to *ó*, be supported only by the very doubtful analogies of  $\psi$  62<sup>4</sup> (see § 52 q) and  $\psi$  101<sup>5</sup> *Qeré* (see § 55 b), while the view that it is *Pi'el* (תֵּאָבְלוּ = תֵּאָבְלוּ) rests on no analogy whatever. It would be more admissible to suppose that תֵּאָבְלוּ stands for תֵּאָבְלוּ, *Pu'al* (cf. אָבַלְךָ for אָבַלְךָ, § 27 q); but no reason has been discovered for this departure from the natural punctuation תֵּאָבְלוּ.

2. In the 1st *pers. sing. imperfect*, where two א's would ordinarily come together, the second (which is radical) is regularly dropped (§ 23 f), as אֲמַר<sup>1</sup> (for אֲאֲמַר), &c., and even *plene* וַאֲמַר Neh 2<sup>7</sup>, &c., אֲמַרְהָ  $\psi$  42<sup>10</sup>. In the other cases, also, where the א is ordinarily regarded as *quiescing* in *ó* or *é*, it is only retained orthographically, and on etymological grounds. Hence the possibility of its being dropped in the following cases:—

Always in the contracted forms of אָסַף, as אָסַף for אָסַף  $\psi$  104<sup>29</sup>; וַיֹּסַף 2 S 6<sup>1</sup> (but for וַיֹּסַף Jb 27<sup>19</sup> read וַיֹּסַף = וַיֹּסַף with the LXX); cf. also in

<sup>1</sup> The regularity of this orthography indicates that the contraction of אָא to *á* in this 1st pers. occurred at a time when in the 3rd and 2nd persons the א was still audible as a consonant (which accordingly was almost always retained in writing). Nöldeke (*ZDMG*. xxxii. 593) infers this from the fact that also in Arabic the 3rd and 2nd persons are still written *yá'kūlū*, *tá'kūlū*, but the 1st pers. 'ákulū, not 'á'kūlū.

the 1st pers. Mi 4<sup>6</sup> and אִסְפָּךְ 1 S 15<sup>6</sup>, which is apparently (from the *Metheg* with the *i*), intended for an *imperfect Hiph'il*: instead of it, however, read, with the Mantua edition, אִסְפָּךְ (with *i*, according to § 60 f). But תִּאֲסַפֵּן Ex 5<sup>7</sup> (for 'תִּאֲסַפְּךָ), וַיִּאֲסַף 1 S 18<sup>29</sup> (for 'וַיִּאֲסַף), and יִאֲסַף Jb 27<sup>19</sup> (see above) are due to a mistake, since all three forms must be derived from the stem יִסַּף. Furthermore, יִמְרֹךְ ψ 139<sup>20</sup> (where certainly 'יִמְרֹ is to be read); תִּבֵּן Pr 1<sup>10</sup> (cf. § 75 *hk*); וַתִּפְּהוּ 1 S 28<sup>24</sup>; יוֹבְלִי Ez 42<sup>5</sup>; הִמְרוּ 2 S 19<sup>14</sup>; וַתִּחַזּוּ 2 S 20<sup>9</sup>; תְּהוּלִי *thou gaddest about* (from תְּהוּלָה), Jer 2<sup>36</sup>; וַיִּתֵּן Dt 33<sup>21</sup> (for 'וַיִּתֵּן'), according to other readings (on the analogy of the cases mentioned in § 75 *p*) וַיִּתֵּן, וַיִּתֵּן or וַיִּתֵּן.

Paradigm I shows the weak forms of the *imperfect Qal*, and merely indicates the other conjugations, which are regular.

i Rem. 1. In the derived conjugations only isolated weak forms occur: *Perfect Niphal* נִאֲחָזוּ Nu 32<sup>30</sup>, Jos 22<sup>9</sup>; *Hiph.* וַיִּאֲצֵל Nu 11<sup>25</sup> (but the statement in verse 17 is וַאֲצֵלְתִּי, therefore *Qal*); equally doubtful is the punctuation of וַיִּרְבַּ (for 'וַיִּאֲרַב?) and *he laid wait*, 1 S 15<sup>5</sup>, and אָוִין *I listen*, Jb 32<sup>11</sup> (on the analogy of verbs עָוַן); cf. also אוֹכִיל (ô from á) *I give to eat*, Hos 11<sup>4</sup>; אֲבִיֶרָה (ô from á) *I will destroy*, Jer 46<sup>8</sup>; וַיִּוָּחַר 2 S 20<sup>5</sup> *Q<sup>r</sup>ré* (for 'וַיִּאֲחַר'); the *Kethibh* appears to require the *Pi'el* וַיִּוָּחַר, from יָחַר as a secondary form of אָחַר; but וַיִּוָּחַר = וַיִּאֲחַר for וַיִּאֲחַר as *imperfect Qal* is not impossible. On וַאֲזַעְרָה Neh 13<sup>13</sup>, cf. § 53 *n*.—*Infinitive* לְהַכִּיל Ez 21<sup>33</sup> (= לְהִאֲכִיל unless it is rather *infin. Hiph.* from כָּוַל); *Participle* מוֹיִן *giveth ear*, Pr 17<sup>4</sup> (clearly by false analogy of verbs עָוַן, for 'מְאֻוִין); *Imperative* הִתִּיב *bring* (from אָתַב) Jer 12<sup>9</sup>. (On the same form used for the *perfect* in Is 21<sup>14</sup>, cf. § 76 *d*.)

k 2. In the *Pi'el* the *ix* is sometimes elided (like ה in יְהַקְטִיל, יִקְטִיל, thus כִּלְיָה (as in Aramaic and Samaritan) *teaching*, for 'מִאֲלֵיָה Jb 35<sup>11</sup>; יְהִל (if not a mere scribal error) for יִאֲהֵל Is 13<sup>20</sup>; וַתִּמְרֹנֵי *thou hast girded me*, 2 S 22<sup>40</sup>, for 'וַתִּמְרֹנֵי, as ψ 18<sup>40</sup>; וַאֲבַדְךָ Ez 28<sup>16</sup>; cf. § 23 *c*.

§ 69. Verbs פ"י. *First Class, or Verbs originally פ"ו*,  
e.g. יָשַׁב *to dwell*.

Brockelmann, *Semit. Sprachwiss.*, p. 141 f.; *Grundriss*, p. 596 ff.

a Verbs which at present begin with *Yôdh* when without preformatives are divided into two classes according to their origin and consequent inflexion: (a) Verbs which (as still in Arabic and Ethiopic) originally began with *Wāw*, e.g. יָלַד *to give birth to*, Arab. and Eth. *wälädä*. In consequence of a phonetic change which prevails also with few exceptions in the noun, this *Wāw* in Hebrew and Aramaic always becomes a *Yôdh*, at least when it is the initial consonant; but after preformatives it either reappears, or is again changed into

*Yôdh*, or, lastly, is altogether elided; (b) Verbs which (as in Arabic) originally began with *Yôdh* (called *Verba cum Iod originario*, see § 70). A few verbs again (some with original *Yôdh*, and some with original *Wāw*) form a special class, which in certain forms assimilates the *Wāw* or *Yôdh* to the following consonant on the analogy of the *Nûn* in verbs פ"ן (see § 71).

With regard to verbs פ"ו (i. e. פ"ו with original *Wāw*) it is to be noticed that—

1. In the *imperfect*, *imperative* and *infinitive construct Qal* there is a twofold inflexion, according as the *Wāw* is wholly rejected or only changed into *Yôdh*. The complete rejection (or *elision*) takes place regularly in eight verbs (see *h*) in the following manner:

A. *Imperfect* יִרַע, יִשָּׁב with an unchangeable<sup>1</sup> *Şere* in the first syllable and original *š* in the second, which in the tone-syllable (according to § 27 c) becomes *ē* (thus יִלָּד, יִצָּא, יִרָר; יִלָּךְ, see *x*), or, under the influence of a guttural, with *ā* in the second (יִרַע, יִקַּע, יִחַר).

The tone-long *ē* of the second syllable is of course liable to be shortened or to become *Šewā*, e. g. יִשָּׁב, וַיִּשָּׁב, &c.; in the same way *ā* becomes *Šewā* in such cases as יִרַע, &c., but is lengthened to *Qames* in *pause* (יִרָע) and before suffixes (יִרָעִים).

B. *Imperative* שִׁב with *aphaeresis* of the *Wāw* and with tone-long *ē*, from *š*, as in the *imperfect*.

C. *Infinitive* שִׁבַּת from original *šibh*, by addition of the feminine ending (ת) lengthened to a *segholate* form; as in verbs פ"ן (cf. § 66 b) this lengthening affords a certain compensation for loss of the initial consonant.

Rem. Since the infinitives דָּעָה, לָרָה (see below, *m*) point to a ground-form *dī'at*, *lidat*, we must, with Philippi (*ZDMG.* xxxii. 42) and Barth (*ibid.* xli. 606), assign to שִׁבַּת, &c., the ground-form *šibt* (which, therefore, reappears in שִׁבַּתִּי, &c.); the apparent ground-form *šabt* rests upon the law that the *š* of the stem-syllable is changed into *a* whenever the syllable becomes doubly closed by the addition of the vowelless feminine ending.

<sup>1</sup> The *e* of the first syllable is really *ē*, not tone-long *ē*, since it is retained not merely before the tone, and in the counter-tone (e. g. וַיִּרָעִים Ho 14<sup>10</sup>), but also in אֶרְעָךְ Ex 33<sup>13, 17</sup>. It is no objection to this view that the *scriptio plena* of this *ē* occurs (with the exception of יִקַּר ψ 72<sup>14</sup>, elsewhere pointed יִקָּר) only in Mi 1<sup>8</sup> and Ez 35<sup>9</sup> *K<sup>th</sup>*.; in ψ 138<sup>6</sup> the Masora prefers to point יִרָע.—Of the various explanations of the *ē* the most satisfactory is that of Philippi (*ZDMG.* xl. p. 653) that an original *yālid*, for example (see above), became *yīlid* by assimilation of the vowel of the first syllable to that of the second; this then became *yēléd* instead of *yēléd*, in an attempt to raise the word again in this way (by writing *ē* instead of *ē*) to a trilateral form.

*d* In more than half the number of verbs פ"ו the original *Wāw* in the above-mentioned forms gives place to *Yôdh*, which, unless it suffers aphaeresis (see *f*), appears:—

in the *imperatives* יֵצֵא, יִרְשֵׁ, and *infinitives* יֵצֵא, יִרְשֵׁ, as a strong consonant, but

in the *imperfect* יִרְשֵׁ, properly *yiyraš*, merges with the preceding *i* into *i*.

In the second syllable *imperfects* of this form regularly have *ä*.

*e* (a) That the latter forms are derived from verbs with an original *Wāw* (not *Yôdh*) is shown partly by the inflexion of these verbs in *Niph'al*, *Hiph'il*, and *Hoph'al* (where the original *Wāw* reappears throughout), and partly by the Arabic, in which verbs פ"ו likewise exhibit a twofold formation; cf. *wälädä*, imperf. *yäüidu*, with elision of the *Wāw*, and *wägülä*, *yauǧalu*, with retention of the *Wāw*.

*f* (b) Sometimes both forms, the weaker and the stronger, occur in the same verb; cf. יָצַק 2 K 4<sup>41</sup> and יָצַק *pour*, Ez 24<sup>3</sup> (cf. יָצַק 1 K 18<sup>34</sup> and the *infin.* יָצַק Ex 38<sup>27</sup>); יָרַשׁ *take possession*, Dt 1<sup>21</sup>, 1 K 21<sup>15</sup> (but cf. *s*), יָרַשׁ (in pause for יָרַשׁ) Dt 2<sup>24.31</sup>; plur. יָרַשׁוּ Dt 1<sup>8</sup>, 9<sup>23</sup>, but also, with הַ— *paragogic*, יָרַשׁוּהָ Dt 33<sup>23</sup>. In the *imperfect* יִיקָר Dt 32<sup>22</sup> and יִיקָר Is 10<sup>10</sup> *it shall be kindled*; יִיקָר *it was precious*, 1 S 18<sup>30</sup> and יִיקָר ψ 49<sup>9</sup> (cf. יִיקָר ψ 72<sup>14</sup>).—The form וַיִּחַמְדוּ Gn 30<sup>39</sup>, for וַיִּחַמְדוּ, beside וַיִּחַמְדוּ verse 38, is remarkable; cf. § 47 *k*.

*g* (c) On יָרַד Ju 19<sup>11</sup> for יָרַד and יָרַד Jer 42<sup>10</sup> for the *infinitive absolute* יָרַד, cf. § 19 *i*.—But יָרַד Ju 5<sup>13</sup> (twice) is not intended by the Masora either as *perfect* (for יָרַד, which really should be restored) or as *imperative* of יָרַד, but as an apocopated *imperfect Pi'el* from יָרַדְהָ (= יָרַדְהָ) *to have dominion*.

*h* (d) The eight verbs,<sup>1</sup> of which the initial consonant in the above-mentioned forms always suffers elision or aphaeresis, are יָלַךְ *to bring forth*, יָצַא *to go forth*, יָשַׁב *to sit*, יָרַד *to descend*, also הֵלַךְ *to go* (cf. below, *x*); and with *ä* in the second syllable of the *imperfect*, יָדַע *to know*, יָחַד *to be united*, יָעַק *to be dislocated*. Examples of the other formation (יִירַשׁ, &c.) are יָעַק *to be wearied*, יָעַץ *to counsel*, יָשַׁן *to sleep*, יָרַא (*imperfect* יִירַא, *imperative* יָרַא) *to fear*.

*i* 2. The original *Wāw* is retained as a firm consonant: (a) in the *infinitive*, *imperative*, and *imperfect Niph'al*, being protected by the strengthening, e. g. הִוְשִׁיב, יִוְשִׁיב, which are consequently strong forms like הִקְטִיל, יִקְטִיל; (b) in the *Hithpa'el* of some verbs, e. g. הִתְוַדַּע from יָדַע, הִתְוַפְּחָה from יָפַח, הִתְוַנְדָּה from יָרַד; otherwise a radical *Wāw* at the beginning of a word is now found only in a few nouns, e. g. וְלָד *offspring* from יָלַךְ *to bear*. At the end of a syllable *Wāw* with the homogeneous

<sup>1</sup> A ninth יָסַף *to add*, is also to be included. In the Mēša'-inscription, l. 21, the *infinitive* is written לִסְפַת (cf. יִסְפַתִּי, l. 29); hence read in Is 30<sup>1</sup> (Nu 32<sup>14</sup>, Dt 29<sup>18</sup>) סִפְפוּת for סִפְפוּת. The 2nd plur. masc. *imperative* סִפְפוּ Is 29<sup>1</sup>, Jer 7<sup>21</sup> corresponds to שָׁבוּ; thus in proof of a supposed סִפְפָה *addere*, there remains only אִסְפָּה Dt 32<sup>21</sup>, for which, according to 2 S 12<sup>8</sup>, read אִסְפָּה.

vowel *ū* coalesces into *û*; so throughout *Hoph'al*, e. g. הוֹשֵׁב for *hūwšabh*; but with a preceding *a* the *Wāw* is contracted into *ô* (וּ); so in the *perfect* and *participle Niph'al* and throughout *Hiph'il*, e. g. נוֹשֵׁב from an original *nāwšābh*, הוֹשִׁיב from an original *hāwšībh*.

The first radical always appears as *Yēdh* in the *perfect* and *participle h* *Qal*, וְיָשַׁב, &c., יָשַׁב, יָשׁוּב, even when *!* precedes, e. g. וְיָשַׁב (but וְיִשְׁבְּחֶם, according to § 24 *b*), also throughout *Pi'el* and *Pu'al*, e. g. יָחַל to wait, יָלַד to be born, and in the *imperfect* and *participle* יִחַל מְדַע known (from יָדַע), and, as a rule, also in *Hithpa'el*, e. g. הִתְיַצַּב, הִתְיַחַש (as against הִתְוַדַּע, &c., with *Wāw*).

The beginner may recognize verbs פ"ו in the *imperfect Qal* partly by the *Šere* under the preformatives; in *Niph'al* and *Hiph'il* by the *Wāw* (וּ, ו) before the second radical. (The defective writing, as in הוֹלִיד, is rare.) Verbs פ"ו have forms like יָשַׁב (דַּע), נִשְׁבַּח, in common with verbs פ"ו. Similarly *Hoph'al* has the same form as in verbs ע"ע and ע"ו.

Rem. 1. The *infinitive Qal* of the weaker form (נִשְׁבַּח, ground-form *šibt*, *m* *וְיָשַׁב*; cf. above, *c*) with suffixes is pointed as נִשְׁבַּחְתִּי, <sup>1</sup> רָשַׁחְתוּ (the strong form only in לְיָרִישֶׁנּוּ Ju 14<sup>15</sup>). The masculine form is very rare, e. g. דַּע to know, Jb 32<sup>6,10</sup>, as also the feminine ending הַ, e. g. דַּעַה <sup>2</sup> Ex 2<sup>4</sup>, לָדָה Is 37<sup>3</sup> (2 K 19<sup>8</sup>); Jer 13<sup>21</sup>, Ho 9<sup>11</sup>; מְיָרְדָה <sup>2</sup> to descend, Gn 46<sup>3</sup>, where the change of the *ē* into vocal *Šewā* is to be explained, with König, from its position between the principal and secondary tone. From יָדַע, under the influence of the guttural, דַּעַת is formed, with *sufl.* דַּעַתִּי, &c.; but from יָצַא, יָצַאת. From יָרַד there occurs in ψ 30<sup>4</sup> in *Qéré* מְיָרְדִי (the *Keth.* requires מְיִרְדִי) a very remarkable case of the strong form (for מְיָרְדִי). For לַת 1 S 4<sup>19</sup> (generally explained as a case of assimilation of *ד* to *ת* in the supposed ground-form *ladt*; according to Mayer Lambert pausal of לַת = *lidt*, see above, *c*) read simply לָתָה.

Examples of the strong form of the *infinitive* are יִרָא to fear, Jos 22<sup>25</sup>, with preposition לִיסָר Is 51<sup>16</sup> (but 2 Ch 31<sup>7</sup> according to Ben Naphtali לִיפָר, where the *י* is only retained orthographically, but is really assimilated to the *ס*; the reading of Ben Asher, לִיפָר, accepted by Baer, is meaningless); לִישֹׁן Ec 5<sup>11</sup>; לִרָא 1 S 18<sup>29</sup> is irregular, but probably לִרָא (for לִירָא) is intended. With *sufl.* בִּיפָסְדוּ Jb 38<sup>4</sup>, cf. Ju 14<sup>15</sup>, Ezr 3<sup>12</sup>; with *fem.* תִּכְלָת to be able, Nu 14<sup>16</sup>. On יִבְשֶׁת, which is likewise usually referred to this class, cf. the note on § 70 *a*.

<sup>1</sup> יִשְׁבַּחְתִּי ψ 23<sup>6</sup> can hardly be intended for an *infn.* with suffix from יָשַׁב, but rather for a *perf. consec.* from יָשׁוּב; but read יִשְׁבַּחְתִּי.

<sup>2</sup> The infinitives דַּעַה and דַּדָה belong to the source marked E (Dillmann's B) in the modern criticism of the Pentateuch. The same document also has נָתַן to give, for תָּתַת; הִלְךָ to go, for לָכַת; and עָשָׂה to make, for עָשׂוֹת. See Dillmann, *Die BB. Num., Deut., Jos.*, p. 618.

O 2. The *imperative Qal* frequently has the lengthening by הַ, e.g. שִׁבְהָ *sit thou*, ירדְּךָ *descend thou*. From יִהְיֶה *to give*, Arab. *wāhābā*, only the *imperative* is used in Hebrew; it has the form הִבְּ *give*, lengthened הִבְּהָ generally with the meaning *age, go to*, hence in Gn 11<sup>3,4</sup> even addressed to several persons (Gn 29<sup>21</sup> הִבְּהָ before אַ to avoid the hiatus); *fem.* הִבְּיָ Ru 3<sup>15</sup>, *Milra'* on the analogy of the plural הִבְּוּ (once in Jb 6<sup>22</sup> הִבְּוּ before the tone-syllable; but cf. Dt 32<sup>3</sup>), whilst, on the analogy of other *imperatives Qal* of verbs פִּי, הִבְּיָ, הִבְּיָ would be expected.—On יִרְעָה Pr 24<sup>14</sup>, cf. § 48 l.

ן 3. The *imperfect* with ו elided takes *ā* in the second syllable, besides the cases mentioned above (under *f*), also in הִרְדָּה Jer 13<sup>17</sup> (cf. La 3<sup>48</sup>) and in the pausal form יִלְךָ Jb 27<sup>21</sup>, &c. (from הִלְךָ, see *x*); on יִקַּח Is 10<sup>16</sup> see above, *f*. The *ā* in the second syllable, when followed by the affirmative קָה (תִּרְדָּה) &c.), is in accordance with the law mentioned above (under *c*), by which *ā* takes the place of *ī* in a doubly closed syllable. Forms with *ē* in the second syllable shorten the *ē* to *S<sup>g</sup>ghôl*, when the tone is drawn back (before a tone-syllable or after *wāw* consecutive), e.g. יִשְׁבְּנָה Gn 44<sup>33</sup>; וְיִרְדָּה; וְיִשְׁבְּ; but *ē* is retained in an open syllable, even with *Mil'el*-tone, in יִנָּא Ex 16<sup>29</sup>, Ju 9<sup>39</sup>, in both cases with *nasog 'ahor*, § 29 *e*. The *pausal* is either of the form וְיִשְׁבְּ Ru 4<sup>1</sup> or וְיִרְדָּה ψ 18<sup>10</sup>; the 1st pers. sing., whether in or out of pause, is וְיִאֲרֶד, וְיִאֲלֶד, &c., except וְיִאֲרֶד Jb 19<sup>10</sup>, see *x*.—For יִירָע ψ 13<sup>56</sup> (cf. the note above, on *b* and the analogous cases in § 70 *d*) *ī* is intended.

ף The *imperfect* of the form יִירָשׁ is frequently (especially before affirmatives) written defectively, in which case the *ī* can always be recognized as a long vowel by the *Metheg* (see § 16 *f*), e.g. יִעֲפוּ Is 40<sup>30</sup>, יִנְעוּ Is 65<sup>23</sup>; and so always יִראוּ *they fear*, as distinguished from יִראוּ *they see* (*imperf. Qal* of רָאָה).—On יִשְׁמְעוּ Gn 50<sup>20</sup>, 24<sup>33</sup> *Keth*, and יִסְפָּה Ex 30<sup>32</sup>, see § 73 *f*.

ץ From יִכַּל *to prevail, to be able*, the *imperfect Qal* is יִוְכַל, which can only have arisen through a depression of the vowel from יִוְכַל (ground-form *yaukhal* = *yaukhal*), to distinguish it, according to Qimḥi, from אוֹכַל, just as, according to § 47 *b*, אֶקַּטַל is differentiated from יִקְטַל. Cf. the Arabic *yauru'u* (*yōru'u*) from *waru'a*, *yaujalu* (*yōjalu*) from *wajila*, as also the vulgar Arabic (among towns-people) *yūṣal*, &c., from *waṣala*. Others regard יִוְכַל as an *imperfect Hoph'al* (*he is enabled* = *he can*), always used instead of the *imperfect Qal*; cf., however, § 53 *u*.—יִתְוַכַּל occurs in Jer 3<sup>5</sup> as 2nd *sing. fem.* for וְתוְכַלִּי, according to König because the 2nd *fem.* had been sufficiently indicated previously.—Further יִוְרָה or יִרָה is to be regarded with M. Lambert (*REJ.* xxxvii, no. 73) as *impf. Qal* (not *Hiph'il*) of יָרָה *to throw, shoo* (the supposed *impf. Qal* וְיִרָם Nu 21<sup>30</sup> is critically very doubtful). This is shown especially by the passages in which the *impf. Qal* is immediately preceded by the *imperat. Qal* (2 K 13<sup>17</sup>) or *infin. Qal* (ψ 64<sup>5</sup>), or is followed by the *participle Qal* (2 Ch 35<sup>23</sup>; but in 2 S 11<sup>24</sup> by the *participle Hiph'il*).

ס 4. The attenuation of *ā* to *ī* in the *perfect* (in a toneless, closed syllable) which is discussed in § 44 *d* (cf. § 64 *f*) occurs in verbs פִּי in a few forms of יִלַּךְ Nu 11<sup>12</sup>, Jer 2<sup>27</sup>, ψ 2<sup>7</sup>, &c. (always after וּ), as well as of יִרַשׁ, e.g. וְיִרַשְׁתָּם, &c., Dt 4<sup>1</sup>, 8<sup>1</sup>, 17<sup>11</sup>, 19<sup>1</sup>, 26<sup>1</sup>, 31<sup>3</sup> (always after וּ for וְ). In both cases the attenuation might be explained from the tendency to assimilate the vowels, especially if the initial וּ was pronounced, as in Syriac, like *ī* (§ 47 *b*). In the case of יִרַשׁ, however, a secondary form יִרַשׁ (cf. § 44 *d*) is probably to be assumed, since in Arabic also the verb is *wāri'ā*. The forms

וַיִּרְשָׁוּ Ez 36<sup>12</sup> and וַיִּרְשָׁוָּּ ψ 69<sup>36</sup>, &c., are most simply explained from the return of this *i*.

5. As an exception, the *imperfect Niph'al* sometimes has a *i* instead of the *t* 1, e.g. וַיִּיָּחַל and he stayed, Gn 8<sup>12</sup> (unless the *Pi'el* or וַיִּחַל, as in ver. 10, is to be read), cf. Ex 19<sup>18</sup>; 1 S 13<sup>8</sup> *Kethibh*.—The first person always has the form אֶנְיָשׁ, not אֶנְיָשׁב, cf. § 51 p.—In the *participle* the plural נִגְיָ (from נָגַה, with depression of *o* to *u*, cf. § 27 n) is found in Zp 3<sup>18</sup>; cf. La 1<sup>4</sup>. While in these cases some doubt may be felt as to the correctness of the Masoretic pointing, much more is this so in the perfect נִגְלָדוּ *null'dhû*, 1 Ch 3<sup>5</sup>, 20<sup>8</sup>, for נִגְלָדוּ which appears to be required by the *wāw* in the initial syllable.

6. In the *imperfect Pi'el* elision of the first radical (*i*) sometimes takes place *u* after *wāw* consec. (as in the case of א, § 68 k), e.g. וַיִּגָּה for וַיִּגְהַה and he has grieved, La 3<sup>33</sup>, וַיִּרְדּוּ for וַיִּרְדּוּ and they have cast, verse 53, from יִרְדָּה, which may also be a true verb פ"ב (on the other hand, in יִרְדוּ גִרְלָהּ they have cast lots, Jo 4<sup>3</sup>, Ob 11, Na 3<sup>10</sup>, a *perfect Qal* of יִרְד is required by the context; but as this, being a *transitive* perfect, ought to have the form יִרְדוּ according to § 67 a, perhaps we should read יִרְדוּ). So from a verb פ"ב, of the second class, וַיַּבֵּשׂהוּ for וַיַּבֵּשׂהוּ and he made it dry, Na 1<sup>4</sup>; cf. וַיִּשְׂרָם 2 Ch 32<sup>30</sup> *Qere* (the *Keth.* points either to *Pi'el* וַיִּשְׂרָם or *Hiph'il* וַיִּשְׂרָם).

7. The *imperative Hiph'il*, instead of the usual form הוֹשִׁיב, sometimes has *i* in *u* the second syllable; הוֹצִיא Is 43<sup>8</sup>; הוֹפִיעַ ψ 94<sup>1</sup> (before ה, hence probably a mere mistake for הוֹפִיעַ). On the uncertainty of the tone in הוֹשִׁיעָה-נָא see § 53 m. When closed by a guttural the second syllable generally has *ä*, as הוֹשַׁע, cf. also הִקַּר Pr 25<sup>17</sup> (as in the *infin. constr.* הִבַּח Jb 6<sup>25</sup>; see § 65 f). On the other hand, *i* always appears when the syllable is open, thus הוֹשִׁיב, and so also before suffixes (§ 61 g). הוֹצִיא Gn 8<sup>17</sup> *Qere* (*Keth.* הוֹצִיא, see § 70 b) is irregular.—The *jussive* and the *imperfect consecutive Hiph'il* when the tone is drawn back take *S'ghöl* in the second syllable, as in *Qal*, e.g. יוֹסֶף that he may increase, Pr 1<sup>5</sup>, before לָקַח; cf. Ex 10<sup>28</sup> and Dt 3<sup>26</sup> after אֶל-; יוֹסֶף; in *pause*, however, also תוֹסֶף as *jussive*, Jb 40<sup>32</sup> (usual *jussive* in *pause* יוֹשֶׁב, &c., which occurs even without the *pause* after *wāw* consecutive, Gn 47<sup>11</sup>, Jos 24<sup>3</sup>, 2 S 8<sup>4</sup>, &c.). With a final guttural יוֹרַע and יוֹכַח (*jussive*) and יוֹיכַח, &c.; with a final ר in *pause* יוֹתַר Ru 2<sup>14</sup>: on יוֹשֶׁעֲכֶם Is 35<sup>4</sup>, cf. § 65 f).—On forms like הוֹשִׁיעַ, see § 53 q.

In *Hoph'al* *o* stands instead of *i*, in הוֹדַע (for הוֹדַע) Lv 4<sup>23,28</sup>, הִגָּה 2 S 20<sup>13</sup>, and perhaps in יוֹרַא (for יוֹרַה) Pr 11<sup>25</sup>; but cf. Delitzsch on the passage.—*Ptcp.* מוֹדַעַת Is 12<sup>5</sup> *Qere* (מֹדַעַת *Keth.*).—An *infinitive Hoph'al* with feminine ending occurs in הִלְלָתָה Gn 40<sup>20</sup>, for הִלְלָתָה = הִלְלָה; cf. above, *t*, on נִגְלָדוּ, and § 71 at the end.

8. The verb הִלְךָ to go, also belongs in some respects to the פ"ב class, since it *u* forms (as if from הִלַּךְ) *imperfect* יִלְכֶּה, with *wāw* consecutive יִלְכֶּה (in *pause* יִלְכֶּה Gn 24<sup>61</sup>, &c.), 1st sing. וְאִלְכֶּה (but in Jb 19<sup>10</sup> וְאִלְכֶּה); *infinitive construct* לִכְתֹּחַ with suff. לְכַתִּי (*S'ghöl* under the influence of the following palatal, as in נִכְבְּרִי, cf. also נִגְדִי); *imperative* לִכְתֹּחַ, לְכֹחַ, in the lengthened form לְכֹחַ (as an interjection referring even to a *feminine*, Gn 19<sup>32</sup>, or a *plural*, Gn 31<sup>44</sup>) and לְךָ (Nu 23<sup>18</sup>, Ju 19<sup>18</sup>, 2 Ch 25<sup>17</sup>); *Hiph.* הוֹלִיכִי (also in Ex 2<sup>9</sup> הוֹלִיכִי 2nd *fem.* *imperative* is to be read for הוֹלִיכִי, which probably arose merely through

confusion with the following  $\text{הַיְנַקְהוּ}$ ; *imperfect*  $\text{יִנְקֶה}$ , but in the 1st sing. of the *imperfect consecutive* always  $\text{וַיִּנְקֶה}$  Lv 26<sup>13</sup>, Am 2<sup>10</sup>, &c. Rarely, and almost exclusively late or in poetry, the regular inflexions of  $\text{הִנְקֶה}$  are also found: *imperf.*  $\text{יִהְלֶה}$  ( $\psi$  58<sup>9</sup>, &c.; but  $\text{הִתְהַלֶּה}$  Ex 9<sup>23</sup>,  $\psi$  73<sup>9</sup>; cf. § 64 a and b);  $\text{אֶהְלֶה}$  Jb 16<sup>22</sup>, also Mēša' inscription, line 14,  $\text{אֶהְלֶה}$ ; *infn.*  $\text{הִלֶּה}$  (Ex 3<sup>19</sup>, Nu 22<sup>18 f. 16</sup>, 1 Ec 6<sup>8.9</sup>); *imperative plur.*  $\text{הִלְכוּ}$  Jer 51<sup>50</sup>. On the other hand, the *perfect Qal* is always  $\text{הִלֵּךְ}$ , *participle*  $\text{הֹלֵךְ}$ , *infinitive absolute*  $\text{הִלְוֹךְ}$ , *Niph'al*  $\text{נִהְלַךְ}$ , *Pi'el*  $\text{הִלִּיף}$ , *Hithpa'el*  $\text{הִתְהַלִּיף}$ , so that a  $\text{י}$  never appears unmistakably as the first radical. The usual explanation of the above forms is nevertheless based on a supposed obsolete  $\text{הִלֵּךְ}$ . It is, however, more correct to regard the apparent  $\text{פ"ו}$  forms of  $\text{הִלֵּךְ}$  with Praetorius (*ZAW.* ii. 310 ff.) as originating with the *Hiph'il*, of which the ground-form *hālūkh* became *hālīkh*, and this again, on the analogy of the *imperfect Qal* of verbs  $\text{פ"א}$ , *hōlīkh*. This *hōlīkh* being referred to a supposed *hālūkh* (properly *hawlīkh*) gave rise to new formations after the manner of verbs  $\text{פ"ב}$ .

§ 70. Verbs  $\text{פ"ב}$ . *Second Class, or Verbs properly פ"ב*,  
e. g.  $\text{יָטַב}$  to be good. *Paradigm L.*

Brockelmann, *Semit. Sprachwiss.*, p. 143 ff.; *Grundriss*, p. 603 ff.

Verbs properly  $\text{פ"ב}$  differ from verbs  $\text{פ"ו}$  in the following points:

- a 1. In *Qal* the initial Yôdh never suffers aphaeresis or elision; hence the *infinitive* has the form  $\text{יָבֵשׁ}$ ,<sup>2</sup> the *imperfect*  $\text{יִבֹּשׁ}$ ,  $\text{יִבֹּשׁוּ}$ ,  $\text{יִבְשׁוּ}$  (in *pause*  $\text{יִבְשׁוּ}$ ), also written  $\text{יָבֹשׁ}$ , &c.; and so always with a tone-bearing  $\check{a}$  in the second syllable, even after *wāw consec.*, e. g.  $\text{וַיִּבְשׁוּ}$ , except  $\text{וַיִּבְשׁוּ}$  Gn 9<sup>24</sup>, and  $\text{וַיִּצְרָה}$  Gn 27<sup>19</sup>, unless  $\text{וַיִּצְרָה}$  is to be included among verbs  $\text{פ"ו}$  (cf.  $\text{וַיִּצְרָה}$  Is 43<sup>10</sup>).
- b 2. In *Hiph'il* the original form  $\text{הִיטִיב}$  is regularly contracted to  $\text{הִיטֵב}$  (rarely written  $\text{הִטִּיב}$ ,  $\text{הִיטֵב}$ , &c.); *imperfect*  $\text{יִיטֵב}$ ,  $\text{יִיטֵבוּ}$ . Instances of the uncontracted form are  $\text{וַיִּיטֵבוּ}$  Pr 4<sup>25</sup>, according to Barth (see above, § 67 p), an example of an *i-imperfect* of *Qal*, since the *Hiph'il* is otherwise always *causative*;  $\text{הִיטֵב}$  (*imperative*)  $\psi$  5<sup>9</sup> *Qerê* (the *Keth.* requires  $\text{הוֹיטֵב}$  according to the form of verbs  $\text{פ"ו}$ ; cf. Is 45<sup>2</sup>,  $\text{וַיִּיטֵב}$  *Keth.*,  $\text{וַיִּיטֵב}$  *Qerê*), cf. Gn 8<sup>17</sup> *Qerê*;  $\text{מִיִּטְבִּים}$  I Ch 12<sup>2</sup>, to be explained as a denominative from  $\text{מִיִּטְבִּים}$ ;  $\text{מִיִּטְבִּים}$  Ho 7<sup>12</sup> (§ 24 f, note), but perhaps the punctuation here is only intended to suggest another reading  $\text{מִיִּטְבִּים}$ .

<sup>1</sup> Cf. above, m, note 2.

<sup>2</sup> This may be inferred from  $\text{בִּיבֵשׁ}$  (=  $\text{בִּי'}$ ) Is 27<sup>11</sup>, which with its fem.  $\text{יִבְשַׁת}$  Gn 8<sup>7</sup>, is the only example of an infinitive *construct Qal* of these verbs. No example of the *imperative Qal* is found: consequently the forms  $\text{יָטַב}$ , &c. (in *Paradigm L* of the earlier editions of this Grammar), are only inferred from the *imperfect*.

Rem. 1. The only verbs of this kind are: יָטַב to be good (only in the *C* imperfect *Qal* and in *Hiph'il*; in the perfect *Qal* טוֹב, a verb עָוָה, is used instead), יָנַק to suck, יָקַן to awake, יָצַר to form (but see above, a), יָלַל only in *Hiph'il* הִילֵּל to bewail, יָשַׁר to be straight, right, also יָבֵשׁ (Arabic *yābisā*) to be dry (but *Hiph'il* הוֹבִישׁ 2 S 19<sup>8</sup>, on the analogy of verbs פ"ו; on Is 30<sup>5</sup>, cf. § 72 x), and the *Hiph'il* הִימִין (denominative from יָמִין), infin. לְהִמִּין 2 S 14<sup>13</sup> to go to the right.

2. In some examples of the imperfect *Hiph'il* the preformative has been subsequently added to the contracted form: יִיטִיב Jb 24<sup>21</sup>; יִילִיל Is 15<sup>2,3</sup>, 16<sup>7</sup>; יִילִיל Jer 48<sup>31</sup>; plur. יִילִילוֹ Ho 7<sup>14</sup>, cf. Is 65<sup>14</sup>. Qimḥi and others explain the above forms from a phonetic interchange of *Yōdh* and *He*, arising from the unsynopated forms יְהִילִיל, &c. (cf. Is 52<sup>6</sup>). It is, perhaps, more correct to suppose that the regular forms (יִיטִיב, יִילִיל) were originally intended, but that in the later pronunciation the syllable was broken up in order to restore artificially the preformative which had become merged in the first radical.

Isolated anomalies are: perfect *Hiph'il* וְהִטְבַּחְתִּי Ez 36<sup>11</sup> with separating vowel (for הִיטְבַּחְתִּי) on the analogy of verbs ע"ו; imperfect יִיטִיב for יִטִּיב 1 K 1<sup>47</sup>; תִּיטְבִּי (imperfect *Qal* for תִּיטְבִּי) Na 3<sup>8</sup>; וְתִנְיָהוּ imperfect *Hiph'il* Ex 2<sup>9</sup>, either an error for וְתִינְקוּ, or an irregular shortening of the first syllable, caused by the forward movement of the tone. Similarly, the *Hiph'il* הִקִּיין (from קִיין) is always used instead of הִיקִיין from יָקַן; hence also הִקִּיצוֹת, הִקִּיצְתִּי, imperat. הִקִּיצָה, infin. הִקִּיין.—On וַיִּבְשֶׁהוּ Na 1<sup>4</sup>, see § 69 u).

§ 71. Verbs פ"י. Third Class, or Verbs with *Yōdh* assimilated.

In some verbs פ"י, the *Yōdh* (or the original *Wāw*) does not quiesce in the preceding vowel, but is regarded as a full consonant, and, like *Nūn*,<sup>1</sup> is assimilated to the following consonant. These forms, therefore, belong properly to the class of strong verbs. Assimilation invariably takes place in יָצַע (פּוֹפ. וּצַע) to spread under; *Hiph'il* הִצִּיעַ, *Hoph'al* הִצַּע; יָצַח to burn, imperfect יִצַּח, *Niph'al* נִצַּח, *Hiph'il* הִצִּיחַ (in Is 27<sup>4</sup> also אֲצִיחֶנּוּהָ is to be read with König; in 2 S 14<sup>30</sup> the Masora has rightly emended the *Kethibh* הוֹרֻצִיתִיהָ, which could only be the 1st sing. perf. of a verb פ"ו, to the imperative וְהִצִּיחִינָה in agreement with the context and all the early versions); יָצַג, *Hiph'il* הִצִּיג to place, *Hoph'al* הִצַּג; and probably also in the forms ordinarily derived from יָצַב, viz. נִצַּב (*Niph'al*), הִצִּיב, נִצִּיב, הִצַּב; at any rate a stem יָצַב is implied by the *Hithpa'el* הִתְצַב; instead of the anomalous וְתִתְצַב Ex 2<sup>4</sup> read with the Samaritan וְתִתְצַב, i.e. וְתִתְצַב. Besides the common form we find once אֲצַק in Is 44<sup>3</sup> (from יָצַק to pour) with a transitive meaning, beside וַיִּצַּק intransitive, 1 K 22<sup>35</sup>. Elsewhere the imperfect

<sup>1</sup> These verbs, like verbs ע"ו (cf. above, note on § 67 g), may perhaps have been influenced by the analogy of verbs פ"ו.

*consecutive* has the form וַיִּצַק Gn 28<sup>18</sup>, 35<sup>14</sup>, &c., cf. § 69 f, where also other forms of צַק are given; וַיִּצַר and יָצַר (Is 44<sup>12</sup>, 49<sup>8</sup>, Jer 1<sup>5</sup> *Q<sup>er</sup>ê*), from יָצַר to *form*, are, however, used in the same sense. Cf. also אֶפְרַם Ho 10<sup>10</sup>; וַיִּטְרַן (for וַיִּתְרַן according to § 47 k) 1 S 6<sup>12</sup>; לֵיפֹד 2 Ch 31<sup>7</sup> (cf. § 69 n) and מוֹסֵד Is 28<sup>16</sup>. This assimilation is found always with sibilants (most frequently with צ) except in the case of וַיִּזַן 1 K 3<sup>15</sup> (so ed. Mant., Ginsb., Kittel; but Jabl., Baer וַיִּזַן) and in הִלְפֹת Gn 40<sup>20</sup>, Ez 16<sup>5</sup> (cf. הִלְפֹת verse 4), *infinitive Hoph'al* of יָלַר (cf. נִגְדִי § 69 t).

§ 72. Verbs וָע (vulgo וָע), e. g. קָם to rise up. *Paradigm M.*

Brockelmann, *Semit. Sprachwiss.*, p. 144 ff.; *Grundriss*, p. 605 ff.

- a 1. According to § 67 a a large number of monosyllabic stems were brought into agreement with the trilateral form by a strengthening, or repetition, of the second radical, i. e. of the *consonantal* element in the stem. In another large class of stems the same object has been attained by strengthening the *vocalic* element. The ground-form used for these verbs is not, as in other cases (§ 39 a), the 3rd *sing. masc. perfect*, but always the *infinitive construct* form (§ 39 b), the *û* of which is characteristic also of the *imperative* and of the *imperfect indicative Qal*. These stems are consequently termed verbs וָע or more correctly (see below) וָע.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The term וָע was consequent on the view that the *Wāw* (or ו in the case of verbs וָע) in these stems was originally consonantal. This view seemed especially to be supported by the return of the *Wāw* in *Piel* (עָרַר), the ו usually passing into ו as in קָם, cf. Arabic *qāwāmū*), and by certain forms of the *absolute state* of the nouns of such stems, e. g. מוֹתָ death, compared with מוֹת to die. Hence in explaining the verbal forms a supposed stem *qawam* (in verbs וָע e. g. *šayat*) was always assumed, and קָם was referred to an original *yaqwūm*, the *infinitive absolute* קָם to original *qawōm*, the *participle passive* קָם to original *qawūm*. It must, however, be admitted: (1) that forms like עָרַר, קָם (see m) are only to be found in the latest books, and are hence evidently secondary as compared with the pure Hebrew forms קָם, &c.; (2) that to refer the verbal forms invariably to the stem קָם, leads in many cases to phonetic combinations which are essentially improbable, whereas the assumption of original *middle-vowel* stems renders a simple and natural explanation almost always possible. These וָע stems are therefore to be rigidly distinguished from the real וָע stems of the strong forms, such as רָוַח, גָּנַע, &c. (see below, gg).—As early as the eleventh century the right view with regard to וָע stems was taken by Samuel Hannagid (cf. Bacher, *Leben und Werke des Abulwā'id*, p. 16); recently by Böttcher (*Lehrbuch*, § 1112), and (also as to וָע stems) especially by Müller, Stade, and Wellhausen (see above, § 67 a, note). On the other hand, the old view of ו and ו as consonants has been recently revived by Philippi, Barth, M. Lambert, and especially Brockelmann (op. cit.).

2. As in the case of verbs  $y''y$ , the monosyllabic stem of verbs  $y''y b$  generally takes the vowel which would have been required in the *second* syllable of the ordinary strong form, or which belonged to the ground-form, since this is essentially characteristic of the verbal form (§ 43 b; § 67 b). However, it is to be remarked: (a) that the vowel, short in itself, becomes of necessity long in an open syllable as well as in a tone-bearing closed *ultima* (except in *Hoph'al*, see *d*), e. g. 3rd *sing. masc. perf.* דָּם, *fem.* דָּמָה, *plur.* דָּמוּ, but in a closed *penultima* דָּמָה, &c.<sup>1</sup>; (b) that in the forms as we now have them the lengthening of the original short vowel sometimes takes place irregularly. Cf. *f*.

Intransitive verbs *middle e* in the *perfect Qal* have the form מֵת *he c is dead*; verbs *middle o* have the form אֹר *he shone*, בֹּשׁ *he was ashamed*, טוֹב *he was good*.<sup>2</sup> Cf. *n-r*.

3. In the *imperfect Qal*, *perfect Niph'al*, and throughout *Hiph'il* and *d Hoph'al* the short vowel of the preformatives in an open syllable before the tone is changed into the corresponding tone-long vowel. In *Qal* and *Niph'al* the original  $\ddot{a}$  is the basis of the form and not the  $\ddot{i}$  attenuated from  $\ddot{a}$  (§ 67 *h*; but cf. also *h* below, on יְבֹרֵשׁ), hence יָקֹם, for *yāqûm*; נָקֹם for *nāqôm*; on the other hand, in the *perfect Hiph'il* הִקִּים for *hūqîm*; *participle* מְקִים (on the *Şere* cf. *z*); *perfect Hoph'al* הִקֵּם for *hūqam*.

A vowel thus lengthened before the tone is naturally changeable and *e* becomes *vocal Šewá* when the tone is moved forward, e. g. יִמְוֹתֵנוּ *he will kill him*; so also in the 3rd *plur. imperfect Qal* with *Nûn paragoric*; יִמְוֹתָיו (without *Nûn* יְמֹתָיו). The wholly abnormal *scriptio plena* of  $\ddot{e}$  in הִיָּמִיר Jer 2<sup>11</sup> (beside הִמִּיר in the same verse) should, with König, be emended to הִיָּמִיר; the incorrect repetition of the interrogative necessarily led to the pointing of the form as *perfect* instead of *imperfect*.—But in *Hoph'al* the  $\ddot{a}$  is retained throughout as an unchangeable vowel, when it has been introduced by an abnormal lengthening for the tone-long  $\ddot{o}$  (as in the *Hoph'al* of verbs  $y''y$ ).

<sup>1</sup> In Aramaic, however, always קָמָה; also in Hebrew grammars before *Qimhi* קָמָה, קָמָתִי, &c., are found, but in our editions of the Bible this occurs only in *pause*, e. g. קָמָתִי Mi 7<sup>8</sup>, קָמָתֵנוּ 2 K 7<sup>3.4</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> According to Ståde (*Grammatik*, § 385 *e* and *f*) the *e* in מֵת is of the nature of a diphthong (from *ai*, which arose from the union of the vowel  $\ddot{i}$ , the sign of the intransitive, with the  $\ddot{a}$  of the root), and likewise the *o* in אֹר, &c. (from *au*). But  $\ddot{o}$  (from *au*) could not, by § 26 *p*, remain in a closed *penultima* (בֹּשֶׁת, &c.); consequently the *o* of these forms can only be tone-long, i. e. due to lengthening of an original  $\ddot{a}$ , and similarly the  $\ddot{e}$  of מֵת to lengthening of an original  $\ddot{i}$ . This is confirmed by the fact that the  $\ddot{o}$  in בֹּשֶׁת, בֹּשֶׁתִי, בֹּשֶׁנִּי is always, and in בֹּשֶׁן, 3rd *plur. perfect*, nearly always (the instances are 11 to 2), written defectively. Forms like בֹּרֶשֶׁן, בֹּרֶשֶׁן, &c., are therefore due to orthographic licence.

*f* 4. The cases of unusual vowel lengthening mentioned in *b* are: *imperfect Qal* קָיַם (also in Arabic *yāqūmu*), but *jussive* with normal lengthening (§ 48 *g*), קָיַם, with retraction of the tone קָיַם (yāqōm), קָיַם (in *pause* קָיַם); *imperative* קָיַם, with normal lengthening of the *ū* in the 2nd *plur. fem.* קָיַם, since, according to § 26 *p*, the *ū* cannot be retained in a closed penultima; *infinitive construct* קָיַם. In *Hiph'ûl* the original *ī* is naturally lengthened to *î* (קָיַם, *imperfect* קָיַם, *jussive* קָיַם, with retraction of the tone קָיַם); on the transference of this *î* to the *Hiph'ûl* of the strong verb, cf. § 53 *a*.

*g* The following forms require special consideration: the *participle Qal* קָיַם is to be traced to the ground-form with *â* unobscured, Arab. *qâim*, § 9 *q*, and § 50 *b*. On this analogy the form would be *qâim*,<sup>1</sup> which after absorption of the *ī* became קָיַם, owing to the predominating character of the *â*. The unchangeableness of the *â* (*plur.* קָיַם, *constr.* קָיַם, &c.) favours this explanation.

*h* In the *imperfect Qal*, besides the forms with original *ū* (now *û*) there are also forms with original *ā*. This *ā* was lengthened to *ā*, and then further obscured to *ô*; hence especially יָבֹא (יָבֹא, יָבֹא, &c., from the *perfect* בָּא *he has come*. In the *imperfects* יָבֹא (but cf. וְתָאֲרֶנָּה I S 14<sup>27</sup>) and בֹּשׂ from the *intransitive perfects* אָוֹר, אָוֹר (see above, *c*), most probably also in אָתָּה 2 K 12<sup>9</sup>, גָּאֹת Gn 34<sup>15</sup> from an unused אָתָּה to *consent*, and perhaps in וְתָהָם I S 4<sup>5</sup>, &c., as in the cases noticed in § 63 *e* and especially § 67 *n*, the *ē* of the preformative is lengthened from *ī* (which is attenuated from original *ā*) and thus *yī-bāš* became *yī-bāš*, and finally *yē-bōš*. Finally the *Niph.* נָקַם (*nā-qām*), *imperfect* יְקַם from *yiqqām*, originally (§ 51 *m*) *yinqām*, arises in the same way from the obscuring of *ā* lengthened from *ā*.

*i* 5. In the *perfect Niph'al* and *Hiph'ûl* a *ī* is inserted before the affirmatives beginning with a consonant in the 1st and 2nd persons, and *וְ* regularly (but see Rem.) in the *imperfect Qal*, sometimes also in the *imperfect Hiph'ûl* (as in תְּבִיאֲנָה Lv 7<sup>30</sup>, cf. תְּהִיבֶנָּה Mi 2<sup>12</sup>), before the termination of נָה. As in verbs עָע (§ 67 *d* and note) these *separating vowels* serve as an artificial opening of the preceding syllable, in order to preserve the long vowel; in the *perfect Hiph'ûl*, however, before the *ī*, instead of the *î* an *ē* is somewhat often found<sup>2</sup> (as a normal lengthening of the original *ī*), especially after *wāw con-*

<sup>1</sup> So in Arabic, prop. *qâim*, since the two vowels are kept apart by the insertion of an *n*, cf. Aram. קָיַם; but also contracted, as *šāk, hār*, for *šâ'ik*, &c. (cf. Wright's *Gramm. of the Arabic Language*, 2nd ed. vol. i. p. 164).

<sup>2</sup> וְהִשִּׁיבְתֶם I S 6<sup>7</sup> (cf. 2 Ch 6<sup>25</sup>) could only be an orthographic licence for 'והִשִּׁב; perhaps, however, 'והִשִּׁב was originally intended.

*secutive*, Dt 4<sup>39</sup>, 30<sup>1</sup>, as well as before the affirmatives הַם and הֵן or before suffixes, Dt 22<sup>2</sup>, 1 S 6<sup>8</sup>, 1 K 8<sup>34</sup>, Ez 34<sup>4</sup>. For in all these cases the tone is removed from the *i* to the following syllable, and this forward movement of the tone produces at the same time a weakening of the *i* to *e*; thus הַקִּים, הַקִּימוֹת, (or הַקִּי; on הַעֲוֹתָהּ Ex 19<sup>23</sup>, cf. *x*), but הַהֲקִימוֹת, &c., Ex 26<sup>30</sup>, &c.; Dt 4<sup>39</sup>, Nu 18<sup>26</sup> (cf., however, הַהֲקִימוֹתָּ Mi 5<sup>4</sup>). In the same way in the 1st pers. sing. of the perfect *Niph'al*, the *o* before the separating vowel is always modified to *u* (הַקִּימוֹתִי); cf. *v*. In the imperfect *Qal* and *Hiph'ul* the separating vowel *u* always bears the tone (הַקִּימוֹנִה).

Without the separating vowel and consequently with the tone-long *o* and *i* instead of *u* and *i* we find in imperfect *Qal* תִּבְּאֵנָה (see § 76 *g*); הַשִּׁבְּךָ Ez 16<sup>55</sup> (also הַשִּׁבְּכֵנִי in the same verse); וְהַשִּׁבְּכָהּ 1 S 7<sup>14</sup> (cf. Ez 35<sup>9</sup> *Qéré*; on the *Kethibh* הַשִּׁבְּכָהּ cf. above, note on § 69 *b*); וְהַתְּאָרְכָהּ 1 S 14<sup>27</sup> from אָרַח (*Kethibh* הַתְּאָרְכָהּ and they saw, see § 75 *w*); in *Hiph'ul*, e.g. הַנִּפְּתָהּ Ex 20<sup>25</sup>, also הַנִּפְּתִי Jb 31<sup>21</sup>; וְהַטְּלִיתִי Jer 22<sup>26</sup>; הַשִּׁבְּכָהּ Jb 20<sup>10</sup>; with a separating vowel, e.g. תְּבִיאֵנִה Lv. 7<sup>30</sup> from בּוֹא. *Sghöl* without *u* occurs in the imperfect *Qal* in הַמּוֹתְנָה Ez 13<sup>19</sup>, Zc 1<sup>17</sup>; and in *Hiph'ul* Mi 2<sup>12</sup>: the Dageš in the *Nûn* is, with Baer, to be rejected in all three cases according to the best authorities. Wholly abnormal is הַקִּימוֹנָה Jer 44<sup>25</sup>, probably an erroneous transposition of יִמ (for הַקִּימוֹנָה), unless it originates from an incorrect spelling הַקִּימוֹנָה or הַקִּימוֹנָה.

6. The tone, as in verbs ע"ע (cf. § 67 *k*), is also generally retained *l* on the stem-syllable in verbs ע"ע before the affirmatives הַ, וּ, וְ; thus הַקִּיָּה (but also הַקִּיָּה לְךָ 2 K 19<sup>21</sup>, probably for the sake of rhythmical uniformity with the following הַקִּיָּה לְךָ; after *wāw consecutive* הַשִּׁבְּכָהּ Is 23<sup>17</sup>); הַקִּיָּמוּ (but also הַקִּיָּמוּ, cf. Is 28<sup>7</sup>, 29<sup>9</sup>, Na 3<sup>18</sup>, ψ 76<sup>6</sup>, Pr 5<sup>6</sup>, La 4<sup>18</sup>; וְהַקִּיָּמוּ 1 S 8<sup>11</sup>; so especially before a following א, cf. § 49 *l*, Nu 13<sup>32</sup>; וְהַקִּיָּמוּ Is 19<sup>1</sup>; before ע, ψ 131<sup>1</sup>, Pr 30<sup>13</sup>, La 4<sup>14</sup>); הַקִּיָּמוּ, but before a suffix or with *Nûn paragogic* וְהַקִּיָּמוּ 2 Ch 28<sup>15</sup>; וְהַקִּיָּמוּ Dt 33<sup>11</sup>, &c.

7. The formation of the conjugations *Pē'el*, *Pu'al*, and *Hithpa'el* is, *m* strictly speaking, excluded by the nature of verbs ע"ע. It is only in the latest books that we begin to find a few secondary formations, probably borrowed from Aramaic, on the analogy of verbs ע"ע (with consonantal ו, see below, *gg*); e.g. the *Pē'el* עָוְרַנִּי to surround, only in עָוְרַנִּי ψ 119<sup>61</sup>; and with change of ו to י, הַקִּיָּמוּ Est 9<sup>31</sup>, הַקִּיָּמוּ Est 9<sup>27</sup>, *impf.* הַקִּיָּמוּ ψ 119<sup>106</sup>, *inf.* הַקִּיָּמוּ Ez 13<sup>6</sup>, Ru 4<sup>7</sup> &c., Est 9<sup>21</sup> &c., *imperat.* הַקִּיָּמוּ ψ 119<sup>28</sup>; וְהַקִּיָּמוּ Dn 1<sup>10</sup> from הַיָּבוּ to be guilty. The *Hithpa'el* הַקִּיָּמוּ Jos 9<sup>12</sup>, which belongs to the older language, is probably a denominative from צָוִר. On the other hand the otherwise less common conjugation *Pē'el* (see § 55 *c*), with its passive and reflexive, is usually

employed in the sense of *Pi'el* and as a substitute for it, e. g. קוֹמִים *to set up* from קוּם; מוֹתֵת *to slaughter*, 1 S 14<sup>13</sup>, 17<sup>51</sup>, 2 S 19<sup>9</sup>, from מוּת; רוֹמֵם *to exalt*, passive רוּמַם, from רוּם; reflexive הִתְעוֹרֵר *to stir up oneself* (cf. יִתְעַרֵר Jb 17<sup>8</sup> in *pause*) from עוּר; reciprocal הִתְבַּשִּׁישׁ *to be ashamed before one another*, Gn 2<sup>25</sup>. The conjugation *Pilp'el* (§ 55 f), on the analogy of verbs ע"ע, is less common, e. g. טָלַטַל *to hurl away* from טוּל; בָּלַבַּל *to contain* from בּוּל; קָרַר *to destroy* from קוּר.

## REMARKS.

## I. On Qal.

- nl 1. Of verbs *middle e* and *o*, in which, as in the strong verb, the *perfect* and *participle* have the same form (§ 50. 2), the following are the only examples: מָת he is dead, fem. מֵתָה, 2nd masc. מָתָה (cf. § 44 g; § 66 h); 1st sing. מָתִי, וְמָתִי (even in *pause*, Gn 19<sup>29</sup>); plur. מָתוּ, 1st pers. מָתַנּוּ, in *pause* מָתַנּוּ בַשׁ he was ashamed, בַּשָּׁתָה, בַּשָּׁתִי, בַּשָּׁנוּ, בַּשָּׁנוּ אֹר; אֹרוֹר it has shone, plur. אֹרוֹרוּ; טוֹב to be good, טָבוּ. *Participles* מֵת a dead man (plur. מֵתִים, מֵיָתִי); בּוֹשִׁים ashamed, Ez 32<sup>20</sup>. For נָד Is 27<sup>11</sup> read נָדָר, or, with LXX, עָד.
- o Isolated anomalies in the *perfect* are: וְשָׁבַתְתָּ (with the original ending of the fem. for וְשָׁבַתְתָּ) Ez 46<sup>17</sup> (see § 44 f); צָקוֹן Is 26<sup>16</sup> (see § 44 l).—In בָּנוּ 1 S 25<sup>8</sup> (for בָּאָנוּ from בּוּא) the א has been dropped contrary to custom. In יבֹאָו Jer 27<sup>18</sup> (instead of יבֹאוּ) the Masora seems to point to the *imperfect* יבֹאוּ which is what would be expected; as *Yôdh* precedes, it is perhaps simply a scribal error.
- p The form קָם occurs (cf. § 9 b) with א in the *perfect*, קָאם Ho 10<sup>14</sup>, also in the *participles* לָאֵם softly, Ju 4<sup>21</sup>, רָאֵשׁ poor, 2 S 12<sup>1,4</sup>, Pr 10<sup>4</sup>, plur. 13<sup>23</sup>; שְׁאֵטִים doing despite unto (unless נִשְׁאָטִים is to be read, from a stem שְׁאָט whence שְׁאָט Ez 25<sup>15</sup>, 36<sup>5</sup>), Ez 28<sup>24,26</sup>; fem. 16<sup>27</sup>; also in Zc 14<sup>10</sup> רָאֵמָה is to be read with Ben-Naphtali for רָאֵמָה. On the analogy of participles of verbs *middle o* (like בּוֹשִׁים, see above) קוֹמִים occurs for קָמִים 2 K 16<sup>7</sup> and even with a transitive meaning לוֹט occultans, Is 25<sup>7</sup>; בּוֹסִים Zc 1c<sup>6</sup>.—*Participle passive*, מוּל circumcised; but סוֹג a backslider, Pr 14<sup>14</sup>, and סוֹרָה put aside, Is 49<sup>21</sup> (cf. Jer 17<sup>13</sup> *Q'rê*), are verbal adjectives of the form *qātūl* (§ 50 f), not passive participles. For חֲשִׁים hastening, Nu 32<sup>17</sup>, read חֲחֲשִׁים as in Ex 13<sup>18</sup>; for שָׁבִי Mi 2<sup>8</sup> read שָׁבִי.
- q 2. Imperfects in *ū* almost always have the corresponding *imperative* and *infinitive construct* in *ū*, as יְקוּם, *imperative* and *infinitive* קוּם (also defectively written יְקָם, יְקָם); but יְרוּשׁ he threshes (*infin.* יְרוּשׁ), has *imperative* יְרוּשִׁי (*fem.*), Mi 4<sup>13</sup>; יְמוּט it slippeth, *infinitive* מוּט (ψ 38<sup>17</sup>, 46<sup>3</sup>); cf. נוּחַ (also נוּחַ) Nu 11<sup>25</sup> and נוּע Is 7<sup>2</sup> (elsewhere נוּע) with the *imperfects* יְנוּחַ and יְנוּע; יְעוּז Is 30<sup>2</sup>; שׁוּב Jos 2<sup>16</sup>; רוּם Ez 10<sup>17</sup> (verse 16 רוּם).
- r Where the *imperfect* (always intransitive in meaning) has *ō* the *imperative* and *infinitive* also have it; thus *imperfect* יְבוּא (*יבוא*), *infin.* and *imper.* בּוּא or בֹא<sup>1</sup>; וַיֵּאָר 2 S 3<sup>2</sup>, אֹרוֹי, אֹרוֹ; יְבוּשׁ, בּוּשׁ, &c.—יְקוּם Jb 8<sup>14</sup> (if it be a verb at all and not rather a substantive) is formed on the analogy of verbs ע"ע,

<sup>1</sup> In 1 K 14<sup>12</sup> (בְּבֹאָה before a genitive), the text is evidently corrupt: read with Klostermann after the LXX בְּבֹאָהָ.

since the *imperfect* of קוּט appears as אָקוּט in  $\psi$  95<sup>10</sup>. On the other hand יִקְשׁוּן (as if from קִישׁ, on the analogy of יָבוֹא, &c.) occurs as *imperfect* of יִקְשׁ (פ"י). The *imperfect* יָרוֹן, with  $\acute{o}$ , Gn 6<sup>3</sup>, probably in the sense of *to rule*, has no corresponding *perfect*, and is perhaps intentionally differentiated from the common verb יָדִין *to judge* (from דִּין ע"י). Or can יָרוֹן be a *jussive* after לֹא (cf. § 109 d)? Similarly לֹא תַחֲוֹם עֵינֵי (עֵינֶיךָ) might be taken as a case of a *jussive* after לֹא, with irregular *scriptio plena* (as in Ju 16<sup>30</sup>), in Dt 7<sup>16</sup>, 13<sup>9</sup>, 19<sup>13,21</sup>, 25<sup>12</sup>, Ez 5<sup>11</sup>, 7<sup>4,9</sup>, 8<sup>18</sup>, 9<sup>10</sup>. But perhaps in all these cases לֹא תַחֲוֹם was originally intended, as in Is 13<sup>18</sup>, Jer 21<sup>7</sup>, while cases like יַחֲם  $\psi$  72<sup>13</sup> are to be explained as in § 109 k.—The *infinitive absolute* always has  $\acute{o}$ , e.g. יִקְוֹמוּ קוּם Jer 44<sup>29</sup>.

3. In the *imperative* with affirmatives (קָמוּ, קָמוּי) the tone is on the stem <sup>s</sup> syllable (cf., however, עֲיָרִי Ju 5<sup>12</sup> intentionally varied from עֲיָרִי; also עוֹרָרִי Zc 13<sup>7</sup> and Is 51<sup>9</sup> beside עוֹרָרִי בְיָמֵי; עוֹרָרִי גֵילֵי Zc 9<sup>9</sup>; עוֹרָרִי Is 21<sup>2</sup>, שׁוֹבְרֵי  $\psi$  116<sup>7</sup>, likewise for rhythmical reasons). So also the lengthened form, as שׁוֹבְרָה Jer 3<sup>12</sup>,  $\psi$  7<sup>8</sup>, and עוֹרָרָה verse 7. But if an א follows in close connexion, the lengthened *imperative* usually has the form קוּמָה, &c.<sup>1</sup> in order to avoid a hiatus, e.g. Ju 4<sup>18</sup>,  $\psi$  82<sup>8</sup>; hence also before יְהוֹה, *Q<sup>eré</sup> perpetuum* אֲרָכִי (§ 17 c), e.g.  $\psi$  3<sup>8</sup>, 7<sup>7</sup> קוּמָה (cf., however, in the same verse עוֹרָרָה and in Jer 40<sup>5</sup>, שׁוֹבְרָה before א), and so even before ר  $\psi$  43<sup>1</sup>, 74<sup>22</sup>, &c. (רִיבָה).

4. In the *jussive*, besides the form יָקָם (see above, f), יָקוּם also occurs <sup>t</sup> (as subjunctive, Ec 12<sup>4</sup>; נָסוּג  $\psi$  80<sup>19</sup> may also, with Delitzsch, be regarded as a voluntative), incorrectly written *plene*, and יָקָם (Gn 27<sup>31</sup>; cf. Ju 6<sup>18</sup>, Pr 9<sup>4,16</sup>), which, however, is only orthographically different from יָקָם (cf. Jer 46<sup>6</sup>). In the *imperfect consecutive* (וַיִּקָּם, in pause וַיִּקָּם, see above, f) if there be a guttural or ר in the last syllable, א often takes the place of  $\acute{o}$ , e.g. וַיִּנַּח and he rested; וַיִּנָּע and it was moved; וַיִּסָּר and he turned aside, Ju 4<sup>18</sup>, Ru 4<sup>1</sup> (distinguished only by the sense from וַיִּסָּר and he removed, Gn 8<sup>13</sup>); וַיִּצָּר; Ex 21<sup>4</sup>, 2 K 5<sup>23</sup>, 17<sup>5</sup> (but also וַיִּגָּר from both גָּר *to sojourn*, and גָּר *to fear*); וַיַּעַף (to be distinguished from וַיִּעָף and he flew, Is 6<sup>6</sup>) and he was weary, Ju 4<sup>21</sup>, 1 S 14<sup>28,31</sup>, 2 S 21<sup>15</sup>, but probably in all these cases וַיַּעַף for וַיִּיעַף from יַעַף is intended. For ותלוש 2 S 13<sup>8</sup> *K<sup>eth.</sup>*, the *Q<sup>eré</sup>* rightly requires וַתִּלָּשׁ. On the other hand, in an open syllable always וַיִּקְוֹמוּ, וַיִּסְוֹרוּ, &c. On וַאֲקָמוּ (וַאֲקָמוּ), see § 49 e.

Examples of the full plural ending וִן with the tone (see above, l) are וַיִּמְתְּחוּ Gn 3<sup>3,4</sup>; וַיִּנָּסוּ  $\psi$  104<sup>7</sup>; וַיִּרְצְוּ Jo 24<sup>7,9</sup>.

## II. On Niph'al.

5. The form of the 1st *sing. perf.* נִקְוַמְתִּי, which frequently occurs (נִסְוַמְתִּי, וּ נְפִימְתִּי, cf. also the *ptcp. plur.* נִבְוִימִים Ex 14<sup>3</sup>), serves as a model for the 2nd *sing.* נִקְוַמְתְּ, נִקְוַמְוֹת, and the 1st *plur.* נִקְוַמוּנִי given in the paradigm, although no instances of these forms are found; but of the 2nd *plur.* the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Delitzsch's commentary on  $\psi$  3<sup>8</sup>.

only examples found have *ô* (not *û*), viz. **נִפְּזוּתֵם** *ye have been scattered*, Ez 11<sup>17</sup>, 2c<sup>34,41</sup>, and **וַיִּקְטוּתֵם** *and ye shall loathe yourselves*, Ez 20<sup>43</sup>, 36<sup>31</sup>.—To the *i* (instead of *û*) of the preformative may be traced the *perfect* **נָעוּר** Zc 2<sup>17</sup> (analogous to the *perfect* and *participle* **נָמוּל**, see below, *ee*), *imperfect* **יַעוּר** for *yi'ôr*.—The *infinitive construct* **הַרְוִישׁ** occurs in Is 25<sup>10</sup>; in **לְאֹר** Jb 3, 30, the Masora assumes the elision of the *h* (for **לְהֹאֹר**); but probably **לְאֹר** (*Qal*) is intended (see § 51 l).—**נִמְוֹג** Is 14<sup>31</sup>, **נָסוּג** Is 59<sup>13</sup> are to be regarded as *infinitives absolute*.

### III. On *Hiph'ûl*, *Hoph'al*, and *Pî'êl*.

6. Examples of the *perfect* without a separating vowel (see above, *k*) are: **הִבְּאֵת**, &c. (see further, § 76 *g*); **הִמְתָּה** (from *מִוֹת*) for *hēmāth-tû* (cf. § 20 *a*); **הִבְּנִי** 1st plur. *perfect* *Hiph'ûl* from **בִּנְי** 2 Ch 29<sup>19</sup>, even **הִמְתָּם** (§ 27 *s*) Nu 17<sup>6</sup>, &c.; cf. 1 S 17<sup>36</sup>, 2 S 13<sup>28</sup>, also **וַהֲמַתְּן** Ex 1<sup>16</sup>, and **וַהֲמַתִּיהָ** Ho 2<sup>5</sup>; but elsewhere, with *wāw* consecutive **וַהֲמַתִּי** Is 14<sup>30</sup>; cf. **וַהֲמַלְתִּי** Jer 16<sup>13</sup>, and **וַהֲנַפְתִּי** Ex 29<sup>24</sup>, &c.—In these cases the *ê* of the first syllable is retained in the secondary tone; elsewhere in the second syllable before the tone it becomes **ֵ** (1 Ch 15<sup>12</sup>, &c.) or more frequently **ֶ**, and in the syllable before the antepenultima it is necessarily **ֶ** (e.g. **וַהֲקַמְתִּי** Gn 6<sup>18</sup>). Before a suffix in the 3rd *sing. masc.* (except Gn 40<sup>13</sup>) and *fem.*, and in the 3rd *plur.*, the vowel of the initial syllable is *Ḥaṭeph-Seghōl*, in the other persons always *Ḥaṭeph-Pathah* (König); on **הִקְמַתִּי** 2 K 9<sup>2</sup>, ψ 89<sup>44</sup>, cf. Ex 19<sup>23</sup>, Nu 31<sup>28</sup>, Dt 4<sup>39</sup>, 22<sup>2</sup>, 27<sup>2</sup>, 30<sup>1</sup>, Ez 34<sup>4</sup>, and above, *i*. The 3rd *fem. perf. Hiph.* **הִמְתָּה** 1 K 21<sup>23</sup> is quite abnormal for **הִמְתִּיתָה** from *סוּת* or *סִית*.
- As in verbs **עָע** with *h* for their first radical (§ 67 *w*), all the forms of **עוּר** Ex 19<sup>23</sup> (where against the rule given under *i* we find **הַעֲרִיתָה** with *ê* instead of *i*), Dt 8<sup>19</sup>, Neh 9<sup>34</sup>, Jer 42<sup>19</sup>, and **עוּר** Is 41<sup>25</sup>, 45<sup>13</sup>, take *Pathah* in these conjugations instead of **ֵ**. The irregular **וְהוֹשִׁבוּתִים** Zc 10<sup>6</sup> has evidently arisen from a combination of two different readings, viz. **וְהוֹשִׁבוּתִים** (from **וְיָשַׁב**) and **וְהוֹשִׁבוּתִים** (from **וְיָשַׁב**): the latter is to be preferred.—On **הִבְּיִשׁ** and **הוֹבִיִּשׁ** as a (metaplastic) *perfect Hiph'ûl* of **בוֹשׁ**, cf. § 78 *b*.
7. In the *imperative*, besides the short form **הִקֵּם** (on **הִשָּׁב** Is 42<sup>22</sup> with *Silluq*, cf. § 29 *q*); but in Ez 21<sup>35</sup> for **הִשָּׁב** read the *infinitive* **הִשָּׁב** the lengthened form **הִקְיֵמָה** is also found. With suffix **הִקְיֵמִנִי**, &c. The *imperative* **הִבֵּיָה** Jer 17<sup>18</sup> is irregular (for **הִבֵּיָה** Gn 43<sup>16</sup>); perhaps **הִבֵּיָה** (as in 1 S 2c<sup>40</sup>; cf. 2 K 8<sup>6</sup>) is intended, or it was originally **הִבְיֵיָה**.
- In the *infinitive*, elision of the *h* occurs in **לְבִיָה** Jer 39<sup>7</sup>, 2 Ch 31<sup>10</sup> (for **לְהִבֵּיָה**); **הֵ** *fem.* is added in **לְהִנַּפָּה** Is 30<sup>28</sup>; cf. Est 2<sup>18</sup> and the analogous *infinitive Haph'el* in biblical Aramaic, Dn 5<sup>20</sup>.—As *infinitive absolute* **הִבִּין** occurs in Ez 7<sup>14</sup> (perh. also Jos 4<sup>3</sup>, Jer 1c<sup>23</sup>).—The *participles* have *ê*, on the analogy of the *perfect*, as the vowel of the preformative, like verbs **עָע** (§ 67 *i*). On **מְבִי** 2 S 5<sup>2</sup>, &c. (in *K'ṯibh*), see § 74 *k*.
- On the shortened forms of the *imperfect* (**יָקַם**, **וְיָקַם**, but always **וְיָבֵא**; in the *jussive* also with retraction of the tone **אֶל-הָתִשָּׁב** 1 K 2<sup>20</sup>) see above, *f*. With a guttural or **ר** the last syllable generally has *Pathah* (as in *Qal*), e.g. **וְיָעַר** *and he testified*, 2 K 17<sup>13</sup>; **יָרַח** *let him smell*, 1 S 26<sup>19</sup>; **וְיָרַח** Gn 8<sup>21</sup>; **וְיָסַר**

and he took away, Gn 8<sup>13</sup>. The 1st sing. of the imperfect consecutive commonly has the form וְאֵשִׁיב Neh 2<sup>20</sup>, or, more often, defectively וְאָעַד 1 K 2<sup>42</sup>, less frequently the form וְאֵשִׁב Jos 14<sup>7</sup>.—For אָסַף Zp 1<sup>2</sup> (after אָסַף) and in verse 3, read אָסַף from אָסַף, on the analogy of אָמַר § 68 g; similarly in Jer 8<sup>13</sup> אָסַפְּם instead of אֵסִיפֵם.

In the imperfect Pôlél the tone is moved backwards before a following tone-syllable, but without a shortening of the vowel of the final syllable; e.g. וְיִתְבַּנְּנוּ Pr 14<sup>34</sup>; לֹא תִחַלְּלוּ Jb 35<sup>14</sup>; cf. Pr 25<sup>23</sup>, and acc. to Baer יִתְבַּנְּנוּ בִּי Jb 30<sup>20</sup> (ed. Mant., Ginsb. וְיִתְבַּנְּנוּ בִּי), always in principal pause; on the *Metheg* with *Sere*, cf. § 16 f. γ.—As Pôlél cf. יִרְעַע Is 16<sup>10</sup>.

As *participle Hoph'al* הַפּוֹשֵׁב occurs in close connexion, Gn 43<sup>12</sup>; cf. § 65 d.

Peculiar contracted forms of Pôlél (unless they are transitives in Qal) are CC וְיִבְנְנוּ Jb 31<sup>15</sup>, יַעֲרֹנּוּ 41<sup>2</sup>, וְתִמְנְנוּ Is 64<sup>6</sup> for וְיִבְנְנוּ, &c. [but read וְיִבְנְנוּ (§ 58 k), יַעֲרֹנּוּ or יַעֲרֹנּוּ, and וְתִמְנְנוּ]; also תִּרְמְמוּ Jb 17<sup>4</sup>, for תִּרְמְמוּם.—In Is 15<sup>5</sup> יַעֲרֹ appears to have arisen from the *Pilpel* יַעֲרֹ, the *ä* after the loss of the *ṛ* having been lengthened to *ā*, which has then been obscured to *ê*.—For the strange form בְּתִקְוֵמֶיךָ ψ 139<sup>21</sup>, which cannot (according to § 52 s) be explained as a *participle* with the *Ṣ* omitted, read בְּמִתְקֶךָ.

IV. In General.

8. The verbs ו"ע are primarily related to the verbs ע"ע (§ 67), which were dd also originally biliteral, so that it is especially necessary in analysing them to pay attention to the differences between the inflexion of the two classes. Several forms are exactly the same in both, e.g. imperfect Qal and Hiph'il with *wāw* consecutive, the whole of Hoph'al, the P'él of verbs ו"ע, and the Pô'él of verbs ע"ע; see § 67 z. Owing to this close relation, verbs ו"ע sometimes have forms which follow the analogy of verbs ע"ע, e.g. perfect Qal בָּזָה he has despised (from בָּזָה, as if from בָּזָה) Zc 4<sup>10</sup>; perfect Niph'al נָמַר Jer 48<sup>11</sup> (for נָמַר from מָוַר, as if from מָוַר). The same explanation equally applies to נִקְטָה Jb 10<sup>1</sup> for נִקְטָה (cf. § 67 dā) = נִקְטָה from קָטַה, and נָקַטוּ Ez 6<sup>9</sup> (for נָקַטוּ); יָרֹמוּ Ez 10<sup>17</sup> and יָרְמוּ verse 15; הִרְפוּ (imperative) Nu 17<sup>10</sup>; יָסַג Mi 2<sup>6</sup>; Hiph'il perfect הִתָּו Is 18<sup>5</sup> for הִתָּו (cf. § 29 q), which is for הִתָּו from הִתָּו. On the other hand the imperfects יָמַר Ez 48<sup>14</sup> (unless it be intended for יָמַר, cf. ψ 15<sup>4</sup>) and יָפַח Hb 2<sup>3</sup>, are to be regarded according to § 109 i, simply as rhythmically shortened forms of יָמַר and יָפַח.

9. In common with verbs ע"ע (§ 67 g) verbs ו"ע sometimes have in Niph'al CC and Hiph'il the quasi-Aramaic formation, by which, instead of the long vowel under the preformative, they take a short vowel with *Dageš forte* in the following consonant; this variety is frequently found even along with the ordinary form, e.g. הִסִּית to incite, imperfect יָסִית (also הִסִּית, יָסִית); הִסִּיג, imperfect יָסִיג to remove (from סָוַג), also Hoph'al הִסִּג Is 59<sup>14</sup> (on הִסִּג cf. § 29 g); sometimes with a difference of meaning, as הִנִּיחַ to cause to rest,<sup>1</sup> but הִנִּיחַ (imperfect הִנִּיחַ, consecutive וְהִנִּיחַ Gn 39<sup>16</sup>; imperative הִנִּיחַ, plur. הִנִּיחוּ) to set down; for וְהִנִּיחָה (Baer, Ginsburg וְהִנִּיחָה) Zc 5<sup>11</sup> (which at any rate could only be explained as an isolated passive of Hiph'il on the analogy of the biblical Aramaic הִקִּימַת Dn 7<sup>4</sup>) we should probably read וְהִנִּיחָה with

<sup>1</sup> As the passive of this Hiph'il we should expect the Hoph'al הִנִּיחַ, which is, no doubt, to be read for הִנִּיחַ in La 5<sup>5</sup>.

Klostermann after the LXX. In Dn 8<sup>11</sup> the *Kethibh* הרים is intended for a perfect *Hiph'il*. There is also a distinction in meaning between יָלַן to spend the night, to remain, and יָלַן Ex 16<sup>7</sup> *Q<sup>eré</sup>* (*Kethibh* תָּלוּנוּ; conversely, verse 2 *Kethibh* יָלַנו, *Q<sup>eré</sup>* יָלוּנוּ), participle מְלִין Ex 16<sup>8</sup>, Nu 14<sup>27</sup>, 17<sup>20</sup>, to be stubborn, obstinate: in the latter sense from the form יָלַן only יָלַן is found, Ex 17<sup>3</sup>. Other examples are *Niph'al* נְמֹול he was circumcised, Gn 17<sup>26 f.</sup>; participle 34<sup>22</sup> (from מוּול, not נְמֹול); נָעוּר he is waked up, Zc 2<sup>17</sup> (see above, v); *Hiph'il* הִיָּלִיגָה La 1<sup>8</sup>; יָלִיזוּ Pr 4<sup>21</sup>.

*ff* Perhaps the same explanation applies to some forms of verbs *first guttural* with *Dageš forte implicitum*, which others derive differently or would emend, e. g. וְתַחַשׁ וְתַחַשׁ and she hastened (from חוּשׁ) Jb 31<sup>5</sup>; וַיָּעֵט (another reading is וַיָּעַט) וַיָּעֵט 1 S 15<sup>19</sup>, 25<sup>14</sup> (14<sup>82</sup> *Q<sup>eré</sup>*) from עוּט or עֵיט to fly at anything. Both, as far as the form is concerned, would be correct *apocopated imperfects* from הִשָּׂה and עָטָה (ל"ה), but these stems only occur with a wholly different meaning.

*gg* 10. Verbs with a consonantal *Wāw* for their second radical, are inflected throughout like the strong form, provided the first or third radical is not a weak letter, e. g. חוּר, *imperfect* יַחֲוֹר to be white; גּוּעַ, *imperfect* יִגּוּעַ to expire; רוּחַ to be wide; צוּחַ to cry; *Pi'el* עוּל, *imperfect* יַעֲוִל to act wickedly; עוּת to bend, *Hithpa'el* הִתְעוּת to bend oneself; and this is especially the case with verbs which are at the same time ל"ה, e. g. צוּהַ, *Pi'el* צִוָּה to command, קוּהַ to wait, רוּהַ to drink, *Pi'el* רָוָה (on אֲרִיבָה Is 16<sup>9</sup>, see § 75 *dd*) and *Hiph'il* הִרְוָה to give to drink, &c.

§ 73. Verbs middle *i* (*vulgo* "ע), e. g. בִּין to discern.

Paradigm N.

*a* 1. These verbs agree, as regards their structure, exactly with verbs "ע, and in contrast to them may be termed "ע, or more correctly, 'ayin-î verbs, from the characteristic vowel of the *impf.*, *imper.*, and *infn. constr.* This distinction is justified in so far as it refers to a difference in the pronunciation of the *imperfect* and its kindred forms, the *imperative* and *infn. constr.*—the "ע verbs having *â* lengthened from original *û* and "ע having *î* lengthened from original *ÿ*. In other respects verbs "ע simply belong to the class of really monosyllabic stems, which, by a strengthening of their *vocalic* element, have been assimilated to the trilateral form<sup>1</sup> (§ 67 *a*). In the *perfect Qal* the monosyllabic stem, as in "ע, has *â* lengthened from *ă*, thus: שָׁת he has set; *infinitive* שֵׁת, *infinitive absolute* שוּת, *imperative* שִׁת, *imperfect* יִשִּׁת, *jussive* יִשֵּׁת (§ 48 *g*), *imperfect consecutive* וַיִּשֵּׁת.—The *perfect Qal* of some verbs

<sup>1</sup> That verbs "ע and "ע are developed from biliteral roots at a period before the differentiation of the Semitic languages is admitted even by Nöldeke (*Beiträge zur sem. Sprachwiss.*, Strassburg, 1904, p. 34 ff.), although he contests the view that בִּינָתִי and בִּיבֹתָ are to be referred to *Hiph'il* with the preformative dropped.

used to be treated as having a double set of forms, a regular series, and others like *Hiph'il* without the preformative, e. g.  $\text{בִּיָּנְתִּי}$  Dn 10<sup>1</sup>;  $\text{בִּיָּנְתִּי}$  Dn 9<sup>2</sup>, also  $\text{בִּיָּנְתִּי}$   $\psi$  139<sup>2</sup>;  $\text{רִיבֹתָ}$  *thou strivest*, Jb 33<sup>13</sup>, also  $\text{רִיבֹתָ}$  La 3<sup>5a</sup>. The above *perfects* ( $\text{בִּיָּן}$ ,  $\text{רִיב}$ , &c.) might no doubt be taken as forms *middle*  $\bar{e}$  (properly  $\bar{i}$ ), the  $\bar{i}$  of which has been lengthened to  $\bar{i}$  (like the  $\bar{u}$  lengthened to  $\bar{u}$  in the *imperfect Qal* of  $\text{קָיָם}$ ). It is more probable, however, that they are really shortened forms of *Hiph'il*. This is supported by the fact that, especially in the case of  $\text{בִּיָּן}$ , the shortened forms are few and probably all late, while the corresponding unshortened forms with the same meaning are very numerous, e. g. *perfect*  $\text{בִּיָּנְתִּי}$  (but  $\text{בִּיָּן}$  only in Dn 10<sup>1</sup>),  $\text{בִּיָּנְתִּי}$ , *infinitive*  $\text{בִּיָּנְתִּי}$  (but *infin. abs.*  $\text{בִּיָּן}$  only in Pr 23<sup>1</sup>), *imperative*  $\text{הִבֵּן}$  (only in Dn 9<sup>23</sup>  $\text{בִּיָּן}$  immediately before  $\text{וְהִבֵּן}$ , also  $\text{בִּיָּנְתִּי}$  three times, and  $\text{בִּיָּנְתִּי}$   $\psi$  5<sup>2</sup>), *participle*  $\text{מִבִּיָּן}$ .<sup>1</sup> Elsewhere *Hiph'il*-forms are in use along with actual *Qal*-forms with the same meaning, thus:  $\text{מִרִיב}$  (also  $\text{רִיב}$ ),  $\text{מִשִּׁים}$  *placing* (but only in Jb 4<sup>9</sup>, which, with the critically untenable  $\text{הִשִּׁיטִי}$  Ez 21<sup>21</sup>, is the only instance of  $\text{שִׁים}$  in *Hiph'il*),  $\text{מִנִּיחַ}$  *breaking forth* Ju 20<sup>33</sup>, with *infin. Qal*  $\text{מִנִּיחַ}$  *they rushed forth* Ju 20<sup>37</sup>, with  $\text{מִנִּיחַ}$  *glancing*, also in *perfect*  $\text{מִנִּיחַ}$  *he spat out*, with *imperat. Qal*  $\text{מִנִּיחַ}$ . As *passives* we find a few apparent *imperfects Hoph'al*, which are really (according to § 53 u) *imperfects passive of Qal*, e. g.  $\text{יָחַל}$  Is 66<sup>8</sup> from  $\text{חָיַל}$  *to turn round*,  $\text{יָשַׁר}$  from  $\text{שָׁר}$  *to sing*,  $\text{יָשַׁח}$  from  $\text{שָׁח}$  *to set*.

2. The above-mentioned *Hiph'il*-forms might equally well be derived  $\text{ב}$  from verbs ע"ו; and the influence of the analogy of verbs ע"ו is distinctly seen in the *Niph'al*  $\text{נָבַח}$  (ground-form *nabān*),  $\text{בּוֹיָנָה}$ , and  $\text{הִתְבּוֹנֵן}$ . The very close relation existing between verbs ע"ו and ע"ו is evident also from the fact that from some stems both forms occur side by side in *Qal*, thus from  $\text{חָיַל}$  *to turn round*, *imperative* also  $\text{חָיַל}$  Mi 4<sup>10</sup>;  $\text{שִׁים}$  *to place*, *infinitive construct* commonly  $\text{שִׁים}$  (2 S 14<sup>7</sup>  $\text{שִׁים}$  *Qere*), *imperfect*  $\text{יָשִׁים}$ , but Ex 4<sup>11</sup>  $\text{יָשִׁים}$ . In other verbs one form is, at any rate, the more common, e. g.  $\text{בָּיַל}$  *to exult* ( $\text{בָּיַל}$  only Pr 23<sup>21</sup> *Kethibh*); from  $\text{לָחַץ}$  (perhaps denominative from  $\text{לַיַּל}$ ) *to spend the night*,  $\text{לָחַץ}$  occurs six times as *infinitive construct*,  $\text{לָחַץ}$  only in Gn 24<sup>23</sup>; but the *imperative* is always  $\text{לָחַץ}$ , &c.—Of verbs ע"ו the most common are  $\text{שָׁח}$  *to set*,  $\text{רִיב}$  *to strive*,  $\text{דָּן}$  *to judge*,  $\text{שִׂישׂ}$  *to rejoice*; cf. also *perfect*  $\text{פָּל}$  (*middle*

<sup>1</sup> Since  $\text{בִּיָּנְתִּי}$   $\psi$  139<sup>2</sup> might be intended for  $\text{בִּיָּנְתִּי}$ , there remains really no form of  $\text{בִּיָּן}$  which must necessarily be explained as a *Qal*, except the *plur. plur.*  $\text{בִּיָּנְתִּי}$  Jer 49<sup>7</sup>. Nevertheless it is highly probable that all the above instances of *Hiph'il*-forms, parallel with *Qal*-forms of the same meaning, are merely due to a secondary formation from the *imperfects Qal*  $\text{בִּיָּן}$ ,  $\text{רִיב}$ , &c., which were wrongly regarded as *imperfects Hiph'il*: so Barth, *ZDMG.* xliii. p. 190 f., and *Nominalbildung*, p. 119 f.

*Yôdh* in Arabic) to comprehend, to measure, Is 40<sup>12</sup>; עֵיט (as in Arabic and Syriac) to rush upon, and the denominative קָיַן (from קָיַן) to pass the summer, Is 18<sup>6</sup>. On the other hand, וְיִרְגְּמוּ and they shall fish them, Jer 16<sup>16</sup>, generally explained as perfect *Qal*, denominative from יָרַשׁ fish, probably represents a denominative *Pi'el*, וְיִרְגְּמוּ.

c Corresponding to verbs properly ע"ו, mentioned in § 72 *gg*, there are certain verbs ע"י with consonantal *Yôdh*, as אָבַב to hate, עָיַף to faint, הָיָה to become, to be, הָרָה to live.

d Rem. 1. In the perfect *Qal* 3rd fem. sing. וְלָכְנָה occurs once, Zc 5<sup>4</sup>, for וְלָכְנָה, with the weakening of the toneless *ā* to *ē* (as in the fem. participle וּרְחָה Is 59<sup>8</sup>); cf. the analogous examples in § 48 *l* and § 80 *i*.—2nd sing. masc. וְשָׁתָה ψ 90<sup>8</sup>, *Qéré* (before *ע*; cf. § 72 *s*); 1st sing. once שָׁתִּיתִי ψ 73<sup>28</sup>, *milra'*, without any apparent reason; 1st plur. וְלָכְנָה Ju 19<sup>13</sup> for *lān-nū*. The lengthened imperatival has the tone on the ultima before gutturals, וְרִיבָה יְהוּה, ψ 35<sup>1</sup>; see further, § 72 *s*.—Examples of the infinitive absolute are: רָב *litigando*, Ju 11<sup>25</sup>, Jb 4c<sup>2</sup>; שָׁם Jer 42<sup>15</sup>; שָׁת *ponendo*, Is 22<sup>7</sup>. On the other hand, רִיב יְרִיב (for רָב) Jer 5c<sup>34</sup>, בֵּין תְּבִין Pr 23<sup>1</sup>, חוּל חוּל Ez 30<sup>16</sup> *Keth.*, are irregular and perhaps due to incorrect *scriptio plena*; for the last the *Qéré* requires הוּל תְּחוּל, but read חוּל; cf. § 113 *x*.

e 2. The shortened imperfect usually has the form יָשַׁח, יָשַׁח; more rarely, with the tone moved back, e.g. לֹא יָרַב לוֹ Ju 6<sup>31</sup>, cf. Ex 23<sup>1</sup>, אֶל-תִּשָּׂח 1 S 9<sup>20</sup>. So with *wāw* consecutive וַיִּשָּׂם and he placed, וַיִּבֶן and he perceived; with a middle guttural בָּהֶם וַיַּעַט 1 S 25<sup>14</sup> (see § 72 *ee*); with *ר* as 3rd radical, וַיִּתְשַׁח Ju 5<sup>1</sup>. As jussive of לָיִן, לָיִן is found in Ju 19<sup>20</sup> (in pause) and Jb 17<sup>2</sup>, for תִּלְגֵּן.—For אֶל-תִּרְוּ Pr 3<sup>30</sup> *Keth.* (*Qéré* תִּרְוּ) read תִּרְבּוּ.

f 3. As participle active *Qal* לָיִן spending the night, occurs once, Neh 13<sup>21</sup>; participle passive שָׁם Nu 24<sup>21</sup>, 1 S 9<sup>24</sup>, Ob 4; feminine שֹׁמֵה 2 S 13<sup>32</sup>, in the *Qéré*, even according to the reading of the Oriental schools (see p. 38, note 2); the *Kethibh* has שֹׁמֵה. A passive of *Qal* (cf. above, § 52 *e* and *s*, and § 53 *u*) from שָׁם may perhaps be seen in וַיִּשָּׂם Gn 5c<sup>26</sup> (also Gn 24<sup>38</sup> *Kethibh* וַיִּשָּׂם, *Qéré* וַיִּשָּׂם); the Samaritan in both places has (וַיִּשָּׂם), and also in יִסְקָה Ex 3c<sup>32</sup>, Samaritan יוּסַךְ. Against the explanation of יִסַּךְ as a *Hoph'al*-form from סָקַךְ, Barth (*Jubelschrift*. . . *Hildesheimer*, Berlin, 1890, p. 151) rightly urges that the only example of a *Hiph'il* of סָקַךְ is the doubtful וַיִּסְקָה, which is probably an *i*-imperfect of *Qal*.—The explanation of יִשָּׂם, &c., as a passive of *Qal* arising from *yiysam*, &c. = *yuyssam* (so Barth, *ibid.*, note 1), is certainly also unconvincing, so that the correctness of the traditional reading is open to question.

\* \* \* \* \*

g 4. In verbs ע"י the *ע* always retains its consonantal value; these stems are, therefore, to be regarded as verbs *middle Guttural* (§ 64). An exception is יָנִיאַן Ec 12<sup>6</sup> if it be imperfect *Hiph'il* of נָאֵן (for יָנִיאַן); but if the form has really been correctly transmitted, it should rather be referred to נָצַן, and regarded as incorrectly written for יָנִיאַן. On נָאֵן (from נָאֵן), which was formerly treated here as ע"י, see now § 75 *x*.

## § 74. Verbs נ"ל, e.g. מצַף to find. Paradigm O.

The נ in these verbs, as in verbs נ"פ, is treated in some cases as *a* a consonant, i.e. as a guttural, in others as having no consonantal value (as a quiescent or vowel letter), viz.:

1. In those forms which terminate with the נ, the final syllable always has the regular vowels, if long, e.g. מִצַּץ, מִצַּץ, מִצַּץ, הַמִּצִּץ, i.e. the נ simply quiesces in the long vowel, without the latter suffering any change whatever. It is just possible that after the altogether heterogeneous vowel *û* the נ may originally have preserved a certain consonantal value. On the other hand, if the final נ quiesces in a preceding *ä* (as in the *perfect*, *imperfect*, and *imperative Qal*, in the *perfect Niph'al*, and in *Pu'al* and *Hoph'al*) this *ä* is necessarily lengthened to *ā*, by § 27 g, as standing in an open syllable; e.g. מִצַּץ, מִצַּץ, &c.

The *imperfect* and *imperative Qal* invariably have *ā* in the final syllable, on the analogy of verbs *tertiæ gutturalis*; cf., however, § 76 e.—In the *imperfect Hithpa'el* *ā* occurs in the final syllable not only (according to § 54 k) in the principal pause (Nu 31<sup>23</sup>), or immediately before it (Jb 10<sup>16</sup>), or with the lesser disjunctives (Lv 21<sup>1-4</sup>, Nu 19<sup>13,20</sup>), but even out of pause with *Me'kha*, Nu 6<sup>7</sup>, and even before *Maqqeph* in Nu 19<sup>12</sup>.

2. When נ stands at the end of a syllable before an affirmative *C* beginning with a consonant (ת, נ), it likewise quiesces with the preceding vowel; thus in the *perfect Qal* (and *Hoph'al*, see below) quiescing with *ä* it regularly becomes *Qames* (מִצַּץְתָּ for מִצַּץְתָּ, &c.); but in the *perfect* of all the other active and reflexive conjugations, so far as they occur, it is preceded by *Sere* (נִמְצַץְתָּ, &c.), and in the *imperative* and *imperfect* by *S<sup>e</sup>ghôl*, מִצַּץְתָּ, מִצַּץְתָּ.

(a) The *S<sup>e</sup>ghôl* of these forms of the imperfect and imperative might be considered as a modification, and at the same time a lengthening of an original *ä* (see § 8 a). In the same way the *ē* of the *perfect* forms in *Pi'el*, *Hithpa'el*, and *Hiph'il* might be traced to an original *i* (as in other cases the *ē* and *i* in the final syllable of the 3rd sing. masc. *perfect* of these conjugations), although this *i* may have only been attenuated from an original *ä*. According to another, and probably the correct explanation, however, both the *Sere* and the *S<sup>e</sup>ghôl* are due to the analogy of verbs ה"ל (§ 75 f) in consequence of the close relation between the two classes, cf. § 75 nu.—No form of this kind occurs in *Pu'al*; in the *perfect Hoph'al* only the 2nd masc. sing. הִצַּץְתָּ Ez 40<sup>4</sup>, lengthened according to rule.

(b) Before suffixes attached by a connecting vowel (e.g. יִקְרָאֵנִי) the נ *C* retains its consonantal value; so before תָּ and כָּ, e.g. מִצַּץְתָּ Ct 8<sup>1</sup>; מִצַּץְתָּ Ez 28<sup>13</sup> (cf. § 65 h), not מִצַּץְתָּ, &c., since these suffixes, by § 58 f, are likewise attached to the verb-form by a connecting vowel in the form of *S<sup>e</sup>wā mobile*.—As *infinitive Qal* with suffix notice מִצַּץְתָּ Ez 25<sup>6</sup>; *participle* with suffix מִצַּץְתָּ Is 43<sup>1</sup>; *infinitive Pi'el* בְּמִצַּץְתָּ.—The doubly anomalous form יִקְרָאֵנִי Jer 23<sup>6</sup> (for יִקְרָאֵנִי or יִקְרָאֵנִי) is perhaps a *forma mixta* combining the readings יִקְרָאֵנִי and יִקְרָאֵנִי.

*f* 3. When א begins a syllable (consequently before affirmatives which consist of or begin with a vowel, as well as before suffixes) it is necessarily a firm consonant, and the form then follows the analogy of the strong verb, e. g. מִצָּאָה *māṣṣ'ā*, מִצָּאֵי, &c. (in *paruse* מִצָּאָה, מִצָּאֵי).

## REMARKS.

*g* 1. Verbs *middle e*, like מָלֵא *to be full*, retain the *Ṣere* also in the other persons of the *perfect*, e. g. מָלְאָתִי (מָלְאָה Est 7<sup>5</sup> has  $\text{־}$  owing to its transitive use; for יִרְאֶתֶם Jos 4<sup>24</sup> read with Ewald יִרְאֶתֶם). Instead of מִצָּאָה the form קָרְאת *she names*, on the analogy of the ל"ה-forms noticed in § 75 *m*, occurs in Is 7<sup>14</sup> (from קָרְאת, cf. § 44 *f*), and with a different meaning (*it befalls*) in Dt 31<sup>29</sup>, Jer 44<sup>23</sup>, in both places before א, and hence, probably, to avoid a hiatus (on the other hand, וְהִטָּאת Ex 5<sup>16</sup>, could only be the 2nd *sing. masc.*; the text which is evidently corrupt should probably be emended to לְעַפְדֵּךְ וְהִטָּאת with the LXX); in *Niph'al* נִפְלְאָתָה ψ 118<sup>23</sup>; in *Hoph'al* הִבָּאת Gn 33<sup>11</sup>.—The 2nd *fem. sing.* is written קָרְאת by Baer, Gen 16<sup>11</sup>, &c., according to early MSS.

*h* 2. The *infin. Qal* occurs sometimes on the analogy of verbs ל"ה (גְּלוֹת, &c., see § 75 *nn*) in the feminine form; so always מָלְאָת *to fill* (as distinguished from מָלֵא *fullness*), Lv 8<sup>33</sup>, 12<sup>4,6</sup>, 25<sup>30</sup>, Jer 29<sup>10</sup>, Ez 5<sup>2</sup>, also written מְלֹאוֹת Jer 25<sup>12</sup>, Jb 20<sup>22</sup>, &c., and מְלֹאוֹת Est 1<sup>5</sup>. Cf. further, קָרְאת Ju 8<sup>1</sup>; שְׂנֵנָח Pr 8<sup>13</sup>; before suffixes, Ez 33<sup>12</sup>, and likewise in *Niph.* זָע 13<sup>4</sup>; also in *Piel* לְמַלְאֵת Ex 31<sup>5</sup>, 35<sup>33</sup>, or לְמִלְאוֹת Dn 9<sup>2</sup>, &c. *Kethibh*; with suffix 2 S 21<sup>2</sup>.—On the (aramaizing) *infinitives* מִשְׁאוֹת and מִשְׁאוֹת, see § 45 *e*; on לְקַרְאֵת *obviam*, § 19 *k*.—בְּמִצְאָהֶם *when ye find*, Gn 32<sup>20</sup>, stands, according to § 93 *q*, for מִצְאָהֶם. The tone of the lengthened *imperative* רַפְּאֵה Ps 41<sup>5</sup> as *Mil'ra'* (before נִפְשֵׁי) is to be explained on rhythmical grounds; cf. the analogous cases in § 72 *s*.—The 2nd *fem. plur. imperative* in Ru 1<sup>9</sup> has, according to Qimḥi, the form מִצְאֵי and in verse 20 קְרְאֵי; on the other hand, the Mantua edition and Ginsburg, on good authority, read מִצְאֵי, קְרְאֵי.

*i* 3. The *participle fem.* is commonly contracted, e. g. מִצָּאת (for מִצְאָתָה) 2 S 18<sup>22</sup>, cf. Est 2<sup>15</sup>; so *Niph'al* נִפְלְאָתָה Dt 30<sup>11</sup>, Zc 5<sup>7</sup> (but נִשְׁאָה Is 30<sup>25</sup>), and *Hoph'al*, Gn 38<sup>25</sup>; less frequent forms are מְוַצְאֵת Ct 8<sup>10</sup>; נִשְׁאָתָה 1 K 10<sup>22</sup> (cf. § 76 *b*, שְׁאָתָה beside לְשִׁאֲתָה as *infinitive construct* from נִשְׁאָה) and without א (see *k*) יוֹצֵת (from יוֹצֵא) Dt 28<sup>57</sup>. In the forms חַטָּאִים *sinning*, 1 S 14<sup>33</sup>, cf. ψ 99<sup>6</sup>; בְּרָדָם *feigning them*, Neh 6<sup>8</sup>, the א is elided, and is only retained orthographically (§ 23 *c*) after the retraction of its vowel; see the analogous cases in § 75 *oo*.—On the *plur. masc. pcp. Niph.* cf. § 93 *oo*.

*k* 4. Frequently an א which is quiescent is omitted in writing (§ 23 *f*): (a) in the middle of the word, e. g. בָּנֵי 1 S 25<sup>8</sup>; מִצְתֵי Nu 11<sup>11</sup>, cf. Jb 1<sup>21</sup>; צִמְתֵי Ju 4<sup>19</sup>, cf. Jb 32<sup>18</sup>. In the *imperfect* תִּשְׁנֶה Jer 9<sup>17</sup>, Zc 5<sup>9</sup>, Ru 1<sup>14</sup> (but the same form occurs with *Yódk* pleonastic after the manner of verbs ל"ה in Ez 23<sup>49</sup>, according to the common reading; cf. § 76 *b* and Jer 50<sup>20</sup>); in *Piel* אֶחְפְּנָה (after elision of the א, cf. § 75 *oo*) Gn 31<sup>39</sup>; and also in *Niph'al* נִטְמַתָּה Lv 11<sup>43</sup>; cf. Jos 2<sup>16</sup>. (b) at the end of the word; יוֹבֵי 1 K 12<sup>12</sup> *Kethibh*; *Hiph'il* הִחְבֵי 2 K 13<sup>6</sup>, cf. Is 53<sup>10</sup> הַחֲלִי for הַחֲלִיא *perfect Hiph'il* of חָלָה formed

after the manner of verbs א"ל); in the *imperfect* *Hiph'il* יִשֵּׁי ψ 55<sup>16</sup> *Kethibh*; יָנִי ψ 141<sup>5</sup>; אָבִי 1 K 21<sup>10</sup>, Mi 1<sup>15</sup>; in the *infinitive*, Jer 32<sup>35</sup>; in the *participle*, 2 S 5<sup>2</sup>, 1 K 21<sup>21</sup>, Jer 19<sup>15</sup>, 39<sup>6</sup>, all in *Kethibh* (מְבִי, always before א, hence perhaps only a scribal error).

5. In the *jussive*, *imperfect consecutive*, and *imperative* *Hiph'il* a number of cases *l* occur with *i* in the final syllable; cf. אֲשֵׁי Is 36<sup>14</sup> (in the parallel passages 2 K 18<sup>29</sup>, 2 Ch 32<sup>15</sup> אֲשֵׁי); אֲבִי Neh 8<sup>2</sup> (before ו); אֲהַבְתָּ 2 K 21<sup>11</sup> (cf. 1 K 16<sup>2</sup>, 21<sup>22</sup>); אֲתַחֲבֵא 2 K 6<sup>29</sup>; אֲוִיֹעָא Dt 4<sup>20</sup>, 2 K 11<sup>12</sup>, ψ 78<sup>16</sup>, 105<sup>48</sup>; *imperative* אֲהַבְתָּ Jer 17<sup>18</sup>; אֲהַבְתָּ Is 43<sup>8</sup> (in both cases before ו). If the tradition be correct (which at least in the defectively written forms appears very doubtful) the retention of the *i* is to be attributed to the open syllable; while in the closed syllable of the 3rd *sing. masc.* and *fem.*, and the 2nd *sing. masc.* after ו *consecutive*, the *i* is always reduced to *e*. In the examples before ו considerations of euphony may also have had some influence (cf. § 75 *hh*).—In Ez 40<sup>3</sup>, Baer reads with the Western school אֲהַבְתָּ, while the Orientals read in the *Kethibh* אֲהַבְתָּ, and in the *Qere* אֲהַבְתָּ.

On the transition of verbs א"ל to forms of א"ל see § 75 *nn*.

### § 75. Verbs א"ל, e. g. גָּלָה to reveal. Paradigm P.

Brockelmann, *Semit. Sprachwiss.*, p. 149 ff.; *Grundriss*, p. 618 ff.—G. R. Berry, 'Original Waw in א"ל verbs' in *AJSL*. xx. 256 f.

These verbs, like the verbs א"ל ( §§ 69, 70), belong to two different *a* classes, viz. those originally א"ל and those originally א"י,<sup>1</sup> which in Arabic, and even more in Ethiopic, are still clearly distinguished. In Hebrew, instead of the original ו or י at the end of the word, a ה always appears (except in the *ptcp. pass. Qal*) as a purely orthographic indication of a final vowel (§ 23 *k*); hence both classes are called א"ל, e. g. גָּלָה for גָּלִי *he has revealed*; שָׁלַח for שָׁלַח *he has rested*. By far the greater number of these verbs are, however, treated as originally א"י; only isolated forms occur of verbs א"ל.

אֲשֵׁי to be at rest may be recognized as originally א"י, in the forms in which *b* the *Wāw* appears as a strong consonant, cf. 1st *sing. perfect Qal* שָׁלַחְתִּי Jb 3<sup>26</sup>, the *participle* שָׁלַח and the derivative שָׁלַח rest; on the other hand the *imperfect* is אֲשֵׁי (with *Yôdh*). In אָנַח (Arab. عني) to answer, and אָנַח (Arab. اعنو) to be afflicted, are to be seen two verbs originally distinct, which have been assimilated in Hebrew (see the Lexicon, s. v. אָנַח).

<sup>1</sup> According to Wellhausen, 'Ueber einige Arten schwacher Verba' in his *Skizzen*, vi. p. 255 ff., the א"ל verbs, apart from some true א"ל and some probable א"י, are to be regarded as originally biliteral. To compensate for their arrested development they lengthened the vowel after the 2nd radical, as the א"ל verbs did after the 1st radical. But although there is much to be said for this view, it fails to explain pausal forms like אָנַח (see *u*). It seems impossible that these should all be late formations.

<sup>2</sup> In the Méša' inscription, line 5, אָנַח and he oppressed occurs as 3rd *sing. masc. imperfect Pi'el*, and in line 6, אָנַח I will oppress as 1st *sing.*

Of quite a different class are those verbs of which the third radical is a *consonantal* ה (distinguished by *Mappiq*). These are inflected throughout like verbs *tertiaie gutturalis*. Cf. § 65 note on the heading.

C The grammatical structure of verbs ה"ל (see Paradigm P) is based on the following laws:—

1. In all forms in which the original *Yôdh* or *Wāw* would stand at the end of the word, it is dropped (cf. § 24 g) and ה takes its place as an orthographic indication of the preceding long vowel. Such an indication would have been indispensable, on practical grounds, in the still unvocalized consonantal text. But even after the addition of the vowel signs, the orthographic rule remained, with insignificant exceptions (see § 8 k, and *ā* in הַלִּיף, &c.), that a final vowel must be indicated by a vowel letter. In verbs ה"ל the ה which is here employed as a vowel letter is preceded by the same vowel in the same part of the verb throughout all the conjugations. Thus the endings are—

ה־ in all perfects, הָה, הִה, הֵה, &c.

ה־ in all imperfects and participles, הִיְה, הֵה, &c.

ה־ in all imperatives, הִיְה, הֵה, &c.

ה־ in the infinitive absolute (הִה, &c.), except in *Hiph'âl*, *Hoph'âl*, and generally also *Pi'êl*, see *aa* and *ff*.

The *participle passive Qal* alone forms an exception, the original י (or ו, see *v*) reappearing at the end, יְהִי, &c.; and so also some derived nouns (§ 84<sup>a</sup>, *c*, *ε*, &c.).

The *infinitive construct* always has the ending הִי (with ה *feminine*); *Qal* הִיְה, *Pi'êl* הִיְה, &c.; for exceptions, see *n* and *y*.

d These forms may be explained as follows:—in the *perfect Qal* הָה stands, according to the above, for (י)ְהָה, and, similarly, in *Niph'âl*, *Pu'âl*, and *Hoph'âl*. The *Pi'êl* and *Hithpa'êl* may be based on the forms הִיְה, הִיְה (§ 52 l; and § 54 k), and *Hiph'âl* on the form הִיְה, on the analogy of the *ā* in the second syllable of the Arabic *'aqtûlâ* (§ 53 a). Perhaps, however, the final *ā* of these conjugations simply follows the analogy of the other conjugations.

e The explanation of the final tone-bearing ה־ of the *imperfect* is still a matter of dispute. As to the various treatments of it, see Barth, *Nominalbildung*, i. p. xxx ff, with § 136, Rem., and *ZDMG.* xlv. 695 f., against Philippi's objections in the *Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie*, 1890, p. 356 f.; also *ZDMG.* lvi. 244, where Barth appeals to the rule that, in the period before the differentiation of the North Semitic dialects, final *iy* becomes ה־ (*constr.* ה־), not *i*; M. Lambert, *Journ. Asiat.* 1893, p. 285; Prätorius, *ZDMG.* lv. 365. The most probable explanation now seems to be, first, that the uniform pronunciation of all imperfects and participles with *S<sup>g</sup>ghôl* in the last syllable merely follows the analogy of the *impf. Qal*, and secondly, that the *S<sup>g</sup>ghôl* of the *impf. Qal* does perhaps ultimately represent a contraction of the original termination יְהִי (= *ai*), although elsewhere (e.g. in the *imperative* of ה"ל) *ai* is usually contracted to *ê*.

2. When the original *Yôdh* stands at the end of the syllable before *f* an affirmative beginning with a consonant (ת, נ) there arises (a) in the *perfects*, primarily the diphthong *ai* (אֵי). In the middle of the word this ought always to be contracted to *ê* (אֵ), but this *ê* is only found consistently in the passive conjugations, whilst regularly in *Qal*, and frequently in the other active and reflexive conjugations (especially in *Pi'êl*), it appears as *î* (cf. *x, z, ee*). This *î*, however, in the *perf. Qal* is not to be explained as a weakening of an original *ê*, but as the original vowel of the *intransitive* form. It then became usual also in the *transitive* forms of *Qal* (and in some other conjugations on this analogy), whereas e.g. in Syriac the two kinds of forms are still carefully distinguished.—(b) In the *imperfects* and *imperatives*, אֵ with the tone always appears before the affirmative תָּ. On the most probable explanation of this אֵ, see above, *e*.

**Summary.** Accordingly before affirmatives beginning with a consonant the principal vowel is—

In the perfect *Qal* *î*, e.g. תָּלִי;

In the perfects of the other active and reflexive conjugations, sometimes *ê*, sometimes *î*, תָּלִי and תָּלִי; תָּלִי and תָּלִי;

In the perfects passive always *ê*, e.g. תָּלִי;

In the imperfects and imperatives always אֵ, e.g. תָּלִי, תָּלִי.

The diphthongal forms have been systematically retained in Arabic and Ethiopic; only as an exception and in the popular language is the diphthong contracted. In Aramaic the contracted forms predominate, yet the Syriac, for example, has in *Qal* 2nd *pers. sing. g'lat* (but 1st *pers. sing. תָּלִי*), and so too the Western Aramaic תָּלִי, but also תָּלִי.

3. Before the vocalic affirmatives (אֵ, אֵ, אֵ) the *Yôdh* is usually *h* dropped altogether, e.g. תָּלִי (ground-form *gälâyû*), תָּלִי, *participle fem.* תָּלִי, *plur. masc.* תָּלִי; yet the old full forms also not infrequently occur, especially in *pause*, see *u*. The elision of the *Yôdh* takes place regularly before *suffixes*, e.g. תָּלִי (see *U*).

4. In the 3rd *sing. fem. perfect*, the original feminine ending תָּ-*i* was appended to the stem; hence, after elision of the *Yôdh*, arose properly forms like תָּלִי, with *ā* in the final syllable with the tone. This form, however, has been but rarely preserved (see below, *m*). The analogy of the other forms had so much influence, that the common ending תָּ- was added pleonastically to the ending תָּ-. Before the תָּ- the vowel of the ending תָּ-, which thus loses the tone, becomes *šewā*, and thus there arise such forms as תָּלִי, תָּלִי, &c. (but in *pause* תָּלִי, &c.).

For similar cases see § 70 *d*; § 91 *m*.

*k* 5. Finally, a strongly-marked peculiarity of verbs ה"ל is the rejection of the ending הַיִּתְּ in forming the *jussive* and the *imperfect consecutive*. This shortening occurs in all the conjugations, and sometimes also involves further changes in the vocalization (see *o, y, bb, gg*). Similarly, in some conjugations a *shortened imperative* (cf. § 48 *k*) is formed by *apocope* of the final הַיִּתְּ (see *cc, gg*).

*l* 6. The ordinary form of the *imperfect* with the ending הַיִּתְּ serves in verbs ה"ל to express the cohortative also (§ 48 *c*); cf. Gn 1<sup>26</sup>, 2<sup>18</sup>, 2 Ch 25<sup>17</sup>, &c. With a final הַיִּתְּ there occur only: in *Qal*, עֲשֵׂהָּ ψ 119<sup>17</sup>, אֲהַמְיָהּ (with the ' retained, see below, *u*) ψ 77<sup>4</sup>; and in *Hithpa'el* וְנִשְׁחַעְהָּ Is 41<sup>23</sup> (with *Tiphḥa*, therefore in lesser pause).

## REMARKS.

I. On *Qal*.

*m* 1. The older form of the *fem.* of the 3rd *sing. perf.* עָשָׂתָּ, mentioned above, under *i* (cf. § 74 *g*), is preserved in עָשָׂתָּ (before א) Lv 25<sup>21</sup> (cf. 2 K 9<sup>37</sup> *Kethibh*)<sup>1</sup>; likewise in *Hiph'il* הִרְצַתָּ (before א) Lv 26<sup>34</sup>; הִלַּאתָּ Ez 24<sup>12</sup>; and in *Hoph'al* הִנְלַתָּ (before י) Jer 13<sup>19</sup>.—The 2nd *sing. fem.* is also written הַיִּתְּ; thus in the *textus receptus* וְהַיִּתְּ 2 S 14<sup>2</sup>, and always in Baer's editions (since 1872), as in most other verbs; הַיִּתְּ and הַיִּתְּ Is 57<sup>8</sup>; עָשִׂיתְּ Jer 2<sup>23</sup>, Ez 16<sup>48</sup>, &c. (so וְהַיִּצְאָתְּ 1 K 17<sup>13</sup> from יִצְאָתְּ). In the 3rd *pers. plur.* the tone, instead of keeping its usual place (גָּלָה, &c.), is retracted in ψ 37<sup>20</sup>, כָּלָהּ, both on account of the *païse* and also in rhythmical antithesis to the preceding כָּלָהּ; also in Is 16<sup>6</sup> תַּעֲנֵנִי (according to Delitzsch for the sake of the assonance with נִנְעֵנִי); and in Jb 24<sup>1</sup> הָיוּ הַיִּתְּ.—On the tone of the *perfect consecutive* see § 49 *k*.

*n* 2. The *infin. absol.* frequently has הַיִּתְּ (probably a survival of the older orthography) for הַיִּתְּ, e. g. הָיוּ Gn 18<sup>18</sup>; עָשָׂו Jer 4<sup>16</sup>, &c., Ez 31<sup>11</sup>; קָנוּ 2 S 24<sup>24</sup>; אָנוּ Gn 26<sup>28</sup>, Is 6<sup>9</sup> (cf. 1 S 6<sup>12</sup>), &c., beside רָאוּהָ. The form נִשְׁתַּחֲוֹתָּ Is 22<sup>13</sup> (beside נִשְׁתַּחֲוֹתָּ in the same verse) appears to have been chosen on account of its similarity in sound to שָׁחַתָּ; so in Is 42<sup>20</sup> *Q'ré* and Ho 10<sup>4</sup>, אֲלֹתָּ (unless it is a substantive, *oaths*) and כָּרַתָּ; cf. also עָרוּתָּ Hb 3<sup>13</sup>.—Conversely, instead of the *infinitive construct* גָּלוּתָּ such forms are occasionally found as גָּלוּהָ or גָּלוּהָ, cf. רָאוּהָ Gn 48<sup>11</sup>; קָנָה Pr 16<sup>16</sup>; עָשָׂהּ Gn 50<sup>20</sup>, ψ 101<sup>3</sup>, also עָשָׂוּ Gn 31<sup>28</sup> (cf. Pr 31<sup>4</sup>), and even with the *suffix* הַיִּתְּ the very remarkable form עָשָׂהּ Ex 18<sup>18</sup>.<sup>2</sup>—The feminine form רָאוּהָ (for רָאוּתָּ) Ez 28<sup>17</sup>, analogous to nouns like גָּאוּהָ (cf. § 45 *d*), is strange, but הָיָה as *infin.* Ez 21<sup>15</sup> is quite inexplicable.—The forms הַיִּתְּ and הַיִּתְּ Is 59<sup>13</sup> are perhaps to be regarded with Barth, *Nominalbildung*, § 51 *a*, as *infinitives absolute* of the *passive* of *Qal* (see above, § 53 *u*), not of *Pö'el*.—The 2nd *sing. masc. imperative* הַיִּתְּ occurs in the principal pause in Pr 4<sup>4</sup> and 7<sup>2</sup>; but

<sup>1</sup> In the Siloam inscription also (see above, § 2 *d*), line 3, הַיִּתְּ may be read הַיִּתְּ quite as well as [הַיִּתְּ].

<sup>2</sup> All these infinitives construct in *o*, in the Pentateuch, belong to the document called E; cf. § 69 *m*, second note.

probably these forms are simply to be attributed to r Masoretic school, which in general marked the difference between certain forms by the use of *ê* for *ē*, and conversely *ē* for *ê*; cf. the analogous examples in § 52 n, and especially § 75 hh, also Kautzsch, *Grammatik des Bibl.-Aram.*, § 17, 2, Rem. 1.—On the reading וְרָאָהּ Ct 3<sup>11</sup> (for וְרָאָהּ, on the analogy of the reading מְצָאָהּ &c., § 74 h), see Baer's note on the passage.

3. The shortening of the imperfect (see above, k, and the note on hh) occasions O in Qal the following changes:

(a) As a rule the first radical takes a helping *S<sup>g</sup>hōl*, or, if the second radical is a guttural, a helping *Pathah* (according to § 28 e). Thus וַיִּבֹּן for וּבָן; וַיִּבֹּן and he despised, Gn 25<sup>34</sup>; וַיִּבְנוּ and he built; וַיִּשַׁע he looks; וַיִּמַח and he destroyed, Gn 7<sup>23</sup>.

(b) The *î* of the preformative is then sometimes lengthened to *ē*, e.g. וַיִּרְא he sees. This, however, mostly happens only after the preformative ת, whilst after י the homogeneous *î* remains, e.g. וַתִּרְבּוּ (but וַתִּרְבְּ), וַתִּתְקַבְּלוּ (but וַתִּתְקַבְּלוּ), וַתִּתְקַבְּלוּ (but וַתִּתְקַבְּלוּ); with middle guttural וַתִּתְקַבְּלוּ (but וַתִּתְקַבְּלוּ) Jb 17<sup>7</sup> (from וַתִּתְקַבְּלוּ). The unusual position of the tone in וַתִּתְקַבְּלוּ Zc 9<sup>5</sup>, וַתִּתְקַבְּלוּ Mi 7<sup>10</sup> (so Baer and Ginsb.; ed. Mant. וַתִּתְקַבְּלוּ) is best explained (except in וַתִּתְקַבְּלוּ Gn 41<sup>33</sup>, before פ) on the analogy of וַתִּתְקַבְּלוּ, &c., § 72 s, as due to the following א. But cf. also hh.

(c) The helping vowel is elsewhere not used under the circumstances mentioned in § 28 d; וַיִּשְׁעַב Nu 21<sup>1</sup>, Jer 41<sup>10</sup>, cf. וַיִּפְתַּח Jb 31<sup>27</sup>; on the other hand, with *î* lengthened into *ē* (see p) וַיִּשְׁעַתּוּ וַיִּבְרְךְּ וַיִּרְדְּ וַיִּשְׁטּוּ. The form וַיִּרְא he sees, occurs parallel with וַיִּרְא and he saw (but 3rd fem. always וַתִּרְא), the latter with the original *Pathah* on account of the following ר, and identical with the 3rd sing. masc. of the imperf. consec. *Hiph'il*, 2 K 11<sup>4</sup>.

(d) Examples of verbs *primae gutturalis* (§ 63), and at the same time ל"ה, ר are וַיַּעַשׂ, in pause וַיַּעַשׂ and he made, from עָשָׂה; וַיַּעֲנֶה and he answered, from עָנָה (always identical with the corresponding forms in *Hiph'il*), וַיַּחְצֵץ and he divided, from חָצַע. On some similar forms of א"פ see § 76 d.—In the following cases the initial (hard) guttural does not affect the form: וַיִּתְחַר and he was wroth, וַיִּתְחַן and he encamped (3rd plur. וַיִּתְחַנוּ), וַיִּתְחַד (with *Dageš lene* and *Šewā*) let i rejoice, Jb 3<sup>6</sup>; cf. Ex 18<sup>9</sup>.—On וַיִּוַּי, וַיִּוַּי, וַיִּוַּי, &c., see § 76 b, c, f.

(e) The verbs הָיָה to be, and הָיָה to live, of which the shortened imperfects S ought to be *yihy* and *yihy*, change these forms to יְהִי and יְהִי, the second *Yōd* being resolved into *i* at the end of the word; but in pause (§ 29 n) יְהִי, יְהִי, with the original *ā* modified to *S<sup>g</sup>hōl* with the tone (cf. also nouns like בְּכִי for *bakhy*. in pause בְּכִי עָנִי for *ʿōny*, &c., § 84<sup>a</sup> c, and § 93 x). For הָשִׁי, however, in Dt 32<sup>18</sup>, since no verb שָׁי exists, we must read either הָשִׁי, or better הָשָׁה (Samaritan תשא), as imperfect Qal of שָׁשׂ to forget.—Analogous to יְהִי from הָיָה, there occurs once, from הָיָה to be, the form יְהִי for יְהִי he will be, Ec 11<sup>3</sup>, but no doubt הִיא is the right reading.

The full forms (without apocope of the ה, cf. § 49 c) not infrequently t occur after *wāw* consecutive, especially in the 1st pers. and in the later books, e.g. וַאֲרָאָהּ and I saw, twenty times, and Jos 7<sup>21</sup> in *Ke'thibh*, but never in the Pentateuch (וַאֲרָאָהּ fifteen times, of which three are in the Pent.); also in the

3rd pers. וַיַּעַשׂ Ez 18<sup>28</sup>, Jb 42<sup>16</sup> *Qere*; וַיַּעֲשֶׂה and *he made*, four times (but וַיַּעַשׂ over 200 times); cf. also Ju 19<sup>2</sup> (וַתַּעֲשֶׂה); 1 K 10<sup>29</sup> (וַתַּעֲשֶׂה); Dt 1<sup>6</sup> (וַיַּעֲשֶׂה), and Gn 24<sup>48</sup>. So also occasionally for the *jussive*, cf. Gn 1<sup>3</sup>, 41<sup>34</sup>, Jer 28<sup>6</sup>.—For the well attested, but meaningless תִּירָאוּ Jb 6<sup>21</sup> (doubtless caused by the following וַתִּירָאוּ), read תִּירָאוּ *ye see*, with Ginsburg.

- u 4. The original *y* sometimes appears even before affirmatives beginning with a vowel (cf. above, *h* and *l*), especially in and before the *pause*, and before the full plural ending ׀, or where for any reason an emphasis rests on the word. *Perfect* חָסְרֵיךָ ψ 57<sup>2</sup>, חָסְרֵיךָ Dt 32<sup>37</sup>, cf. ψ 73<sup>2</sup> *Qere*; *imperative* בְּעֵינֶיךָ Is 21<sup>12</sup>. *Imperfect* יֵאָתֶיךָ Jb 16<sup>22</sup>, 30<sup>14</sup> (without the *pause*, ψ 68<sup>32</sup>); יֵשָׁלְכֵיךָ Is 122<sup>6</sup>, Jb 12<sup>6</sup>, cf. ψ 77<sup>4</sup>; יֵרַבְּיִן Dt 8<sup>13</sup>; ψ 36<sup>9</sup>: more frequently like יֵשָׁתִיבִין ψ 76<sup>44</sup>; Is 17<sup>12</sup>, 21<sup>12</sup>, 26<sup>11</sup>, 31<sup>3</sup>, 33<sup>7</sup>, 41<sup>5</sup>, ψ 36<sup>8</sup>, 39<sup>7</sup>, 83<sup>3</sup>; before a suffix, Jb 3<sup>26</sup>. Also in Pr 26<sup>7</sup> הִדְלִיךְ, as *perf. Qal* from הִדְלַח, was perhaps originally intended, but hardly הִדְלִיךְ, since these full forms, though they may stand out of *pause*, do not begin sentences; הִדְלִיךְ probably points to הִדְלִיךְ from הִדְלַח as the right reading, since the sense requires an intransitive verb. Cf. further, *v*, *x*, *dd*, *gg*.
- u 5. The *participle active* (cf. Vollers, 'Das Qatil-Partizipium,' ZA. 1903, p. 312 ff., and on the participles of ה"ל, *ibid.*, p. 316 ff.), besides feminine forms like עֹלָה Ju 20<sup>81</sup>, &c., רֹאֶה Pr 20<sup>12</sup>, has also a *feminine* which retains the 3rd radical *y*, viz. בּוֹכֵיהָ (= בָּכָה) weeping, La 1<sup>16</sup>; הוֹמֵיהָ tumultuous, Is 22<sup>2</sup> (*plur.* Pr 1<sup>21</sup>); צוֹפֵיהָ spying, Pr 31<sup>27</sup>; פְּרִיָהָ fruitful, ψ 128<sup>3</sup>, *plur.* אֲתִיבֹת the things that are to come, Is 41<sup>23</sup>. With the ordinary strong inflexion *y* appears in עֹמְטֵהָ Ct 1<sup>7</sup>, but perhaps there also עֹמְטֵהָ was intended, unless it should be טְעִיָה a wanderer. For רֹאֶנִי Is 47<sup>10</sup>, רֹאֶנִי is to be read.—On עֵשָׂה 1 K 20<sup>40</sup> for עֵשָׂה, cf. § 116 *g*, note.—In the *participle passive* the 3rd radical still sometimes appears as *y* (§ 24 *b*), cf. עָשָׂה made, Jb 41<sup>25</sup>, צָפַו Jb 15<sup>23</sup>, contracted from עָשָׂוּ וּצָפַו; and before a formative ending, it even has its consonantal sound, הַעֲשִׂינֹם (read הַעֲשִׂינֹם) 2 K 23<sup>4</sup>; עֲשׂוּת (read <sup>a</sup>sūwōth) 1 S 25<sup>18</sup> *Kethibh*, נְטוּת (read <sup>n</sup>tūwōth) Is 3<sup>16</sup> *Kethibh*. The shortening of the *u* in רֹאִיֹת Est 2<sup>9</sup> is irregular.
- u 6. The defective writing is rare in such forms as וְהִיָּתָּה 2 S 15<sup>33</sup>; בָּנִיתִי 1 K 8<sup>44</sup>, cf. 1 K 9<sup>3</sup>; וַתִּרְלָנָה Ex 2<sup>16</sup> (cf. Jer 18<sup>21</sup>, 48<sup>6</sup>, 1 Ch 7<sup>15</sup>, Jb 17<sup>6</sup>, &c.), and the pronunciation תִּרְאִיָּה Mi 7<sup>10</sup>, cf. תִּעֲנִיָּה Ju 5<sup>29</sup> (unless they are *sing.* with *suff.* of the 3rd *sing. fem.*). Both cases are probably to be explained according to § 20 *i*.

## II. On Niph'al.

- x 7. Here the forms with *y* in the 1st and 2nd *pers. sing.* of the *perfect* predominate (*y* only in נִקְיִיתָ Gn 24<sup>8</sup>); on the other hand in the 1st *plur.* always *y*, as נִקְיִינוּ 1 S 14<sup>8</sup>. No examples of the 2nd *plur.* occur.—With *y* retained in *pause* נִפְיִי Nu 24<sup>6</sup>; once with an initial guttural נִחְרוּ Ct 1<sup>6</sup> for נִחְרָה, probably arising from the ordinary strong form *nihru*, but the harshness of *h* immediately followed by *r* is avoided by pronouncing the *h* with *Ḥateph-Pathah*.—In the 3rd *sing. fem.* נִשְׁתָּהָ Pr 27<sup>15</sup> (in *pause* for נִשְׁתָּהָ) ו and ת may be transposed for euphonic reasons; but probably we should simply read נִשְׁתָּהָ.—Among Niph'al forms of ה"ה must be classed, with Buxtorf and

others (cf. Nöldeke, *ZDMG.* xxx. 185), נִצְּוֹה from נִצְּוָה, not Pi'el of נִצְּוָה = נִצְּוָה; hence, according to § 23 d, נִצְּוֹה they are beautiful (for נִצְּוָוֹ) Is 52<sup>7</sup>, Ct 1<sup>10</sup>; but in ψ 93<sup>5</sup>, where Baer requires נִצְּוָה, read נִצְּוָה with ed. Mant., Ginsb.

8. The *apocope* of the *imperfect* causes no further changes beyond the rejection *y* of the ה־, e.g. יִגְלֵל from יִגְלֵלָה; in one verb *middle guttural*, however, a form occurs with the *Qames* shortened to *Pathah*, viz. יִמַח (for יִמַחַ) ψ 109<sup>13</sup>, as in verbs ע"ע; but in *pause* תִּמַח verse 14. Cf. *bb.*—The *infinitive absolute* נִגְלוֹת emphasizing an *infinitive construct*, 2 S 6<sup>20</sup>, is very extraordinary; probably it is a subsequent correction of an erroneous repetition of הגלות.—The *inf.* *const.* לְחַרְרָה occurs in Ju 13<sup>21</sup>, 1 S 3<sup>21</sup> for לְחַרְרָת; cf. above, *n.*—On the *infinitive Niph'al* with the ה elided, see § 51 l.—The irregular תַּעֲלֶה Ez 36<sup>3</sup> has probably arisen from a combination of the readings תַּעֲלֶה (*Qal*) and תַּעֲלֵי (*Niph'al*). Similarly the solecism נִמְבֹּה 1 S 15<sup>9</sup> might be due to a combination of the *participle fem. Niph'al* (נִמְבֹּהָ, cf. נַחֲלָה, נַחֲפָה, נַחֲשָׁח) with the *Hoph'al* (מִבְּוָה); but it is more correct, with Wellhausen, to explain the מ from a confusion with נִמַּס and to read, in fact, נִבְּוַח וְנִמְאָסַת.

III. On Pi'el, Pô'el, Pu'al, and Hithpa'el.

9. In the 1st and 2nd persons of the *perfect Pi'el* the second syllable in *z* most of the instances has ' on the analogy of *Qal* (see *f*), as קָיִיתִי, דְּמִיתִי; always so in the first *plur.*, and before *suffixes*, e.g. דְּבִיתָנוּ Gn 37<sup>26</sup>, דְּבִיתָנוּ ψ 44<sup>20</sup>. The form with ' is found only in the 1st *sing.* (e.g. Jo 4<sup>21</sup>; Is 5<sup>4</sup>, 8<sup>17</sup> along with the form with *i*). On the tone of the *perf. consec. Pi'el* of ל"ה, see § 49 k.—*Hithpa'el* has (besides ' Jer 17<sup>16</sup>) as a rule ' (Pr 24<sup>10</sup>, 1 K 2<sup>26</sup>, Jer 50<sup>24</sup>). On the other hand, *Pu'al* always has ' , e.g. עֲשִׂיתִי ψ 139<sup>15</sup>.—A 1st *sing. perfect Pô'el* שׁוּשַׁתִּי (= שׁוּשִׁיתִי) occurs in Is 10<sup>13</sup>.

10. The *infinitive absolute Pi'el* takes the form בָּלָה, כָּוָה (like קָטַל, the more *aa* frequent form even in the strong verb, see § 52 o); with *i* only in ψ 40<sup>2</sup> כָּוָה; with *o*th Hb 3<sup>13</sup> עָרִית (cf. above, *n*). On הָרוּ and הָנוּ, *infinitives absolute* of the passive of *Qal*, not of *Pô'el*, see above, *n.*—As *infinitive construct חָפִי* occurs in *Pi'el*, Ho 6<sup>9</sup> (only orthographically different from חָפָה, if the text is correct); לְכַלֵּא Dn 9<sup>24</sup> (on the *ס* see *rr*); עָרַלְכֶם 2 Ch 24<sup>10</sup>, 31<sup>1</sup>, for which in 2 K 13<sup>17,19</sup>, Ezr 9<sup>14</sup> עָרַפְכֶם with *inf.* *abs.*; in *Pu'al* עָנוֹת ψ 132<sup>1</sup>.

11. The *apocopated imperfect* must (according to § 20 l) lose the *Dageš forte bb* of the second radical, hence וַיִּצַו and he commanded, תַּעַר (for תַּעְרָה = *t<sup>e</sup>arrè*) ψ 141<sup>8</sup>; cf. Gn 24<sup>20</sup>; even in the principal *pause* אֶל־תִּגְלֵל Pr 25<sup>9</sup>; *Hithpa'el* וַיִּתְּלֵל and he uncovered himself, Gn 9<sup>21</sup>; תִּתְרַע Pr 22<sup>24</sup>; cf. ψ 37<sup>1,7,8</sup>. With the lengthening of *Pathah* to *Qames*, וַיִּתֵּן and he made marks, 1 S 21<sup>14</sup> (but read with Thenius וַיִּתֵּן, and instead of the meaningless וַיִּשְׁנוּ *ibid.* read וַיִּשְׁנֵן). In *Hithpa'el* אֶל־תִּתְרַע, in close connexion, Dt 2<sup>9,19</sup>; תִּשְׁתַּע Is 41<sup>10</sup>; according to Qimhi also וַיִּתְּאוּ, וַיִּתְּאוּ ψ 45<sup>12</sup>, Pr 23<sup>3,6</sup>, 24<sup>1</sup>, 1 Ch 11<sup>17</sup>, whilst Baer and Ginsburg read with the best authorities וַיִּתְּאוּ, וַיִּתְּאוּ (but cf. König, *Lehrgebäude*, i. 597).<sup>1</sup>—On אֶחָדֶךָ Jb 15<sup>17</sup> (for אֶחָדְךָ cf. § 20 m; on אֶכְלֶךָ Ex 33<sup>3</sup>, see § 27 q;

<sup>1</sup> In Nu 34<sup>7 f.</sup>, according to verse 10, וַיִּתְּאוּ (= וַיִּתְּאוּ) is intended to be read for וַיִּתְּאוּ (*imperfect Pi'el* from וַיִּתְּאוּ).

on יָרַר Ju 5<sup>13</sup>, see § 69 g. Finally, on יָרַי, which is referred to *Pi'el* by some, as a supposed *imperative*, see above, u.

CC 12. Examples of apocopated *imperatives* in *Pi'el* and *Hithpa'el* are: צו, also צוה *command thou*, גל *open thou*, ψ 119<sup>18,22</sup>; מן *prepare thou*, ψ 61<sup>8</sup>; נס for נסה *prove thou*, Dn 1<sup>12</sup>; הִתְחַל *feign thyself sick*, 2 S 13<sup>5</sup>; cf. Dt 2<sup>24</sup>.—On רבה Ju 9<sup>29</sup>, cf. § 48 l.—In ψ 137<sup>7</sup> עָרוּ *raise it*, is found twice instead of עָרוּ (for 'arrú) for rhythmical reasons (cf., however, ויערו in the *imperfect*, 2 Ch 24<sup>11</sup>).

dd 13. Examples of forms in which the *Yódh* is retained are the *imperfects* הִנְפוּיִן Is 40<sup>18</sup>, cf. verse 25 and 46<sup>6</sup>; יִכְסִימוּ *they cover them*, Ex 15<sup>5</sup>; *participle Pu'al* מִמַּחֲסִים Is 25<sup>6</sup>; for אַרְיָה Is 16<sup>9</sup> (from רָוה) read with Margolis, אַרְיָה.

#### IV. On *Hiph'il* and *Hoph'al*.

CC 14. The 3rd *sing. perfect Hiph'il* sometimes has *S<sup>e</sup>ghól* in the first syllable instead of *i* (§ 53 p), especially in הִנְלָה (but *perfect consecutive* וְהִנְלָה 2 K 24<sup>14</sup>), הִרְאָה, הִלְאָה; also with *suffixes*, e. g. הִנְלַם 1 Ch 8<sup>7</sup>, הִלְאָנִי Jb 16<sup>7</sup>, וְהִפְדָּה Ex 21<sup>8</sup>. The *S<sup>e</sup>ghól* also occurs in the 1st *sing.*, e. g. הִלְאָתִיךָ Mi 6<sup>3</sup>. On וְהִרְאִיתִי Na 3<sup>5</sup>, cf. § 53 p. The forms with *e* in the second syllable (also written defectively, as וְהִפְתִּי Jer 21<sup>6</sup>) are found throughout in the 1st *sing.* (except Pr 5<sup>13</sup>), rarely in the 2nd *sing. masc.*, and never in the 1st *plur.* In the other persons they are about equally common with *i*, except in the 2nd *plur.*, where *i* predominates. Before *suffixes* the forms with *i* predominate throughout; cf., however, *e* in Ex 4<sup>12</sup>, Mi 6<sup>3</sup>, Pr 4<sup>11</sup>. On the tone of the *perf. consec. Hiph.* of ל"ה, see § 49 k. In *Hoph'al* only י occurs in the 2nd syllable.

ff 15. In the *infinitive Hiph'il* of רָבַה *to be abundant*, besides the *construct* הִרְבֹּת we find the *absolute* הִרְבָּה taking the place of the common form הִרְבֵּה, which had come to be used invariably (but König calls attention to its use as *infinitive construct* in Ez 21<sup>20</sup>) as an adverb, in the sense of *much*; in 2 S 14<sup>11</sup> the *Q<sup>ere</sup>* requires הִרְבַּת for the *K<sup>e</sup>thibh* הִרְבִּית, an evident scribal error for הִרְבֹּת. Cf. Gn 41<sup>49</sup>, 22<sup>17</sup>, Dt 28<sup>63</sup>; the pointing הִרְבָּה Jer 42<sup>2</sup> probably arises from regarding this form as a noun.—On הִמְרוֹת Jb 17<sup>2</sup> (with *Dageš f. dirimens*) see § 20 h.—In 2 K 3<sup>24</sup> הִכּוֹת (before א) is probably *infinitive absolute*, used in order to avoid the hiatus, cf. § 113 x, and on a similar case in *Qal*, see above, n.—On the *infinitives* with elision of the ה, cf. § 53 q.

gg 16. The *shortened imperfect Hiph'il* either takes no helping vowel, as וַפָּתַל *let him enlarge*, Gn 9<sup>27</sup>; יִרְדַּךְ *he shall subdue*, Is 41<sup>2</sup>; וַיִּשְׁקַךְ *and he watered*, Gn 29<sup>10</sup>, &c.; וַיִּרְאֵךְ *and he showed*, 2 K 11<sup>4</sup> (see § 28 d): or else has a helping vowel, as וַיִּנְלֵךְ (for וַיִּנְלֵךְ, see § 27 r), e. g. 2 K 18<sup>11</sup>; וַיִּפְדֶּךְ ψ 105<sup>24</sup>; וַיִּתְמַךְ Ez 5<sup>6</sup>; וַיִּחַע 2 Ch 33<sup>9</sup>; וַאֲרַב i. e. probably וַאֲרַב Jos 24<sup>3</sup> *K<sup>e</sup>thibh* (וַאֲרַב *Q<sup>ere</sup>*).—Examples of verbs *first guttural*: וַיַּעַל Nu 23<sup>2</sup>, וַאֲעַל, &c., which can be distinguished as *Hiph'il* from the similar forms in *Qal* only by the sense.—The *apocopated imperative Hiph'il* always (except in verbs פ"ן, e. g. הִקֵּךְ, הִטֵּךְ, § 76 c) has a helping vowel, *S<sup>e</sup>ghól* or *Pathah*, e. g. הִרְבֵּךְ *increase thou* (for *harb*, הִרְבֵּה) ψ 51<sup>4</sup> *Q<sup>ere</sup>*, also Ju 20<sup>38</sup>; where, however, it cannot be explained the text stands; הִרְרֵךְ *let alone* (for הִרְרָה, הִרְרָה Dt 9<sup>14</sup>, &c.); הִעֵךְ (for הִעֵלָה) Ex 8<sup>1</sup>, 33<sup>12</sup>; but for הִשַּׁע ψ 39<sup>14</sup>, which could only be *imperative Hiph'il* of שָׁעַע (= *smear over*, as in Is 6<sup>10</sup>), read with Baethgen שָׁעָה *look away*.—The *imperfect Hiph'il* with *Yódh* retained occurs only in יִנְהֵךְ Jb 19<sup>2</sup>, from יָנָה. Cf. u.

V. In General.

17. In Aramaic the *imperfect* and *participle* of all the conjugations terminate in  $\text{h}^{\text{h}}$  or  $\text{h}^{\text{m}}$ . The Hebrew *infinitives*, *imperatives*, and *imperfects* in  $\text{h}^{\text{h}}$ , less frequently  $\text{h}^{\text{m}}$  or  $\text{h}^{\text{m}}$ , may be due to imitation of these forms. On the *infinitive construct* *Pi'el*  $\text{h}^{\text{h}}$ , see above, *aa*; *imperative Qal*  $\text{h}^{\text{h}}$  Jb 37<sup>6</sup> (in the sense of *fall*); *imperfect*  $\text{h}^{\text{h}}$  יֵרָא let him look out, Gn 41<sup>38</sup> (but see above, *p*); יֵעֲשֶׂה he will do, Is 64<sup>3</sup>; אֵל-תְּרוּהָ Jer 17<sup>17</sup>; אֵל-תִּבְנֶה consent thou not, Pr 1<sup>10</sup>; אֵל-תִּעֲשֶׂה do thou not, 2 S 13<sup>12</sup> (the same form in Gn 26<sup>29</sup>, Jos 7<sup>9</sup>, Jer 40<sup>16</sup> *Q'rê*); אֵהִי (so Baer and Ginsburg, after cod. Hillel, &c.) I will be, Jer 31<sup>1</sup>; וְנִעֲשֶׂה Jos 9<sup>24</sup>; וְנִבְנֶה Dn 1<sup>18</sup>. Cf. also in *Niph'al* יִמְצֵה Lv 5<sup>9</sup>; תִּבְנֶה (according to Qimhi) Nu 21<sup>27</sup>; in *Pi'el* תִּנְלֶה Lv 18<sup>7,8,12-17</sup>, 20<sup>19</sup>, in each case לֹא תִנְלֶה, beside תִּנְלֶה with a minor distinctive; יִנְקֶה (Baer יִנְקֶה) Na 1<sup>8</sup>; אֵזְרָה Ez 5<sup>12</sup> (with *Zaqeph*; Baer אֵזְרֶה). The fact, however, that a great number of these forms occur in *pause* and represent at the same time a *jussive* or *voluntative* (Jos 7<sup>9</sup>), suggests the view that the *Şere* is used merely to increase the emphasis of the pausal form, and at the same time to make a distinction in sound between the *jussive* or *voluntative* and the ordinary *imperfect*.<sup>1</sup> Elsewhere (Gn 26<sup>29</sup>, Lv 5<sup>9</sup>, Jer 40<sup>16</sup>, Dn 1<sup>18</sup>; according to Baer also Mi 7<sup>10</sup>, Zc 9<sup>5</sup>) the pronunciation with *é* is probably intended to soften the hiatus caused by a following  $\text{h}^{\text{h}}$  or  $\text{h}^{\text{m}}$ ; cf. the analogous cases above, § 74 *l*.

The ending  $\text{h}^{\text{h}}$  appears to stand for  $\text{h}^{\text{h}}$  in the *imperfect Qal* in ותוֹנִי-שָׂם  $\text{h}^{\text{h}}$  and there hath she played the harlot, Jer 3<sup>6</sup>; perhaps, however, the 2nd *sing. fem.* is intended, or it may have been introduced into the text of Jeremiah from Ez 16<sup>15</sup>, &c. Still more strange is it in the *imperfect Hiph'il* אֵל-תִּמְהִי Jer 18<sup>23</sup>; but the *Mil'el*-tone probably points to תִּמְחֵה as the correct reading (cf. Neh 13<sup>14</sup>). The  $\text{h}^{\text{h}}$  stands for  $\text{h}^{\text{h}}$  in the *perfect Hiph'il* הִחֲלִי he made sick, Is 53<sup>10</sup>, which is probably for הִחֲלִי from חָלָה, a secondary form of חָלָה; see *rr*. The *plur.* הִמְסִי (Baer הִמְסִי) they made to melt, Jos 14<sup>8</sup>, is a purely Aramaic form.

18. In two verbs the rare conjugation *Pa'el* or its reflexive (§ 55 *d*) occurs:  $\text{h}^{\text{h}}$   $\text{h}^{\text{h}}$  archers, Gn 21<sup>16</sup> (from  $\text{h}^{\text{h}}$ ); but most frequently in  $\text{h}^{\text{h}}$  to bend, *Pa'el*  $\text{h}^{\text{h}}$  not in use, whence reflexive  $\text{h}^{\text{h}}$  to bow oneself, to prostrate oneself, 2nd *pers.* in  $\text{h}^{\text{h}}$  and 1st *pers.* in  $\text{h}^{\text{h}}$ , *imperfect*  $\text{h}^{\text{h}}$ , consecutive 3rd *sing. masc.*  $\text{h}^{\text{h}}$  for wayyistāhū (analogous to the noun-forms, like  $\text{h}^{\text{h}}$  for  $\text{h}^{\text{h}}$ ); 3rd *plur.*  $\text{h}^{\text{h}}$ .—Instead of the aramaizing *infinitive* with suffix  $\text{h}^{\text{h}}$  2 K 5<sup>18</sup> read with König  $\text{h}^{\text{h}}$ ; in Ez 8<sup>16</sup>  $\text{h}^{\text{h}}$  is still more certainly a scribal error for  $\text{h}^{\text{h}}$ .

19. Before *suffixes* in all forms ending in  $\text{h}^{\text{h}}$ , a connecting vowel is employed instead of the  $\text{h}^{\text{h}}$  and the connecting vowel which precedes it (§ 58 *f*), e. g.  $\text{h}^{\text{h}}$  Gn 24<sup>27</sup>; in *pause*  $\text{h}^{\text{h}}$  1 K 2<sup>30</sup>, &c., even with lesser disjunctives,  $\text{h}^{\text{h}}$  Pr 8<sup>22</sup>, or with a conjunctive accent, 1 S 28<sup>15</sup> (but Baer  $\text{h}^{\text{h}}$ , Jb 30<sup>19</sup>; cf. § 59 *h*;  $\text{h}^{\text{h}}$ , in *pause*  $\text{h}^{\text{h}}$ , Is 30<sup>19</sup> (and even when not in *pause* Jer 23<sup>37</sup>) or like  $\text{h}^{\text{h}}$  Dt 32<sup>6</sup>;  $\text{h}^{\text{h}}$ ,  $\text{h}^{\text{h}}$ , Gn 28<sup>8</sup>; cf. also  $\text{h}^{\text{h}}$ ,  $\text{h}^{\text{h}}$ , *imperfect*  $\text{h}^{\text{h}}$ ,  $\text{h}^{\text{h}}$ , *Hiph'il*  $\text{h}^{\text{h}}$ .

Only very seldom does the *imperat.* or *impf.* end in  $\text{h}^{\text{h}}$  before suffixes, e. g. *mm*

<sup>1</sup> Possibly these examples (like the cases of *S<sup>g</sup>ghôl* in *pause*, see *n*) represent the view of a particular Masoretic school, which was intended to be consistently carried out.

הִמָּאִיִּם Dt 32<sup>26</sup>; יִכְפְּימוּ ψ 140<sup>10</sup> *Q<sup>r</sup>rê*; הִכִּינִי smite me, 1 K 20<sup>35,37</sup>; cf. Hb 3<sup>2</sup>, Is 38<sup>16</sup>. Even in these examples a return to the original ending *ay* might be assumed; but perhaps they are merely due to a less correct *plene* writing. In the 3rd sing. *perf. fem.* the older form גָּלַת (see *i*) is always used before a suffix, e. g. בָּלַתָּהּ (for בָּלַתְהוּ) Zc 5<sup>4</sup>; in *pause* עָשָׂתָנִי Jb 33<sup>4</sup>; רָאִיתָּהּ 4<sup>25</sup>.

### VI. The Relation between Verbs ל"ה and ל"א.

nn 20. The close relation existing between verbs ל"ה and ל"א is shown in Hebrew by the fact that the verbs of one class often borrow forms from the other, especially in the later writers and the poets.

oo 21. Thus there are forms of verbs ל"א—

(a) Which have adopted the vowels of verbs ל"ה, e. g. *perfect Qal* בָּלַאתִי I have refrained, ψ 119<sup>101</sup>; *participle* חוֹטֵא (חֹטֵא) *sinning*, Ec 2<sup>26</sup>, 8<sup>12</sup>, 9<sup>2,18</sup>; cf. Is 65<sup>20</sup>; מוֹצֵא Ec 7<sup>26</sup>; לֹשֵׁא *lending*, 1 S 22<sup>2</sup>; *Pi'el perfect* מָלֵא he has filled, Jer 51<sup>34</sup>; cf. 1 K 9<sup>11</sup>, Am 4<sup>2</sup> (where, however, the *perfect Niph.* is perhaps intended), ψ 89<sup>11</sup>, 143<sup>9</sup>; רָפְאֵתוּ I heal, 2 K 22<sup>1</sup>; cf. Jer 51<sup>9</sup>; *imperfect* יִגְמֵא Jb 39<sup>24</sup>; *Niph'al perfect* נִפְלְאָתָהּ (like נִנְלְתָהּ) it was wonderful, 2 S 1<sup>26</sup>; *Hiph'il perfect* הִפְלְאָהּ Dt 28<sup>69</sup>; הִחְבְּאָתָהּ (not אָתָהּ—, cf. above, 2 S 1<sup>26</sup>) she hid, Jos 6<sup>17</sup>. On the other hand, forms like חֹטְאִים 1 S 14<sup>38</sup>, קָרְאִים ψ 99<sup>6</sup>, נִרְפְּאוּ Ez 47<sup>8</sup>, תִּדְרַבְּאוּנִי, according to the correct reading, Jb 19<sup>2</sup> (cf. Gn 31<sup>39</sup> אֲחַפְּנֶנָּה), and יִרְאוּ *imperative plur. masc.* from יָרָא Jos 24<sup>14</sup>, 1 S 12<sup>24</sup>, ψ 34<sup>10</sup>, are due to the elision of the א, see § 74 i. On יִנְשֵׂאוּ Jer 10<sup>6</sup> and נִשְׂאוּ ψ 139<sup>20</sup>, see § 23 i.

pp (b) Forms in ה, but keeping their ל"א vowels, e. g. *imperfect Qal* אֲרַפֵּה Jer 32<sup>2</sup>; *imperative* רַפֵּה heal thou, ψ 60<sup>4</sup>; *Niph'al* נִחַבְהָ Jer 49<sup>10</sup> (which must evidently be a *perfect*; read with Ewald the *infinitive absolute* נִחַבְהָ as in verse 23), and הִחַבְהָ to hide oneself, 1 K 22<sup>25</sup>, cf. Jer 19<sup>11</sup>; *Pi'el imperfect* יִמְלֵא he will fill, Jb 82<sup>1</sup>.

qq (c) Forms entirely of a ל"ה character, e. g. *perfect Qal* וְצַמְתָּ and when thou art athirst, Ru 2<sup>9</sup>, cf. 2 S 3<sup>8</sup>; בָּלוּ they shut up, 1 S 6<sup>10</sup>; cf. 25<sup>38</sup>; מָלוּ they are full, Ez 28<sup>16</sup>, cf. 39<sup>26</sup>; *infinitive* חָטָא (see above, n) to sin, Gn 20<sup>6</sup> (on מָלֵאת see above, § 74 h); *imperative sing. fem.* חֲבִי Is 26<sup>20</sup>; *imperfect* יִכְלֵה (for יִכְלֵא) he will keep back, Gn 23<sup>6</sup>; תִּרְפְּינָהּ they heal, Jb 5<sup>18</sup>; *participle* בּוֹטֵה Pr 12<sup>18</sup>; *fem.* יָצָא Ec 10<sup>5</sup>; *plur.* צָבִיָּה Is 29<sup>7</sup>; *participle passive* נִשְׂעִי ψ 32<sup>1</sup>; *Niph'al* נִרְפְּתָהּ Jer 51<sup>9</sup>; נְבִיָּתָּהּ thou hast prophesied, Jer 26<sup>9</sup> (cf. ψ 139<sup>14</sup>, Jb 18<sup>9</sup>); *imperfect* וַיִּרְפֵּה 2 K 2<sup>22</sup> (*infinitive* Jer 19<sup>11</sup>); *Pi'el imperfect* וַיִּרְפֵּה Jer 8<sup>11</sup>, cf. Gn 31<sup>39</sup>; *Hiph'il participle* מְקַנְהָ Ez 8<sup>3</sup>; *Hithpa'el* הִתְנַבְּיָתָהּ 1 S 10<sup>6</sup>; *infinitive* הִתְנַבְּוֹתָהּ 1 S 10<sup>15</sup>. For the *K<sup>e</sup>thibh* להִשׂוֹת 2 K 19<sup>25</sup>, Jablonski and others require as *Q<sup>r</sup>rê* the form לְהִשְׂאוֹת (so Is 37<sup>26</sup>); the *K<sup>e</sup>thibh* would have to be read לְהִשְׂוֹת, with elision of the א and retraction of the vowel.

rr 22. On the other hand, there are forms of verbs ל"ה, which wholly or in part follow the analogy of verbs ל"א, e. g. in their consonants אָתָהּ he comes, Is 21<sup>12</sup>; בָּרָא 2 S 12<sup>17</sup> (*textus receptus* בָּרָה); וַיִּרְצָאתִי Ez 43<sup>27</sup>; יִשְׁנֵא Jb 8<sup>11</sup>; יִשְׁנֵא La 4<sup>1</sup>; וַיִּהְיֵא 2 Ch 16<sup>12</sup>; תִּקְרָאָהּ Ex 1<sup>10</sup>, Lv 10<sup>19</sup>; תִּלְאִים Dt 28<sup>66</sup> (cf. Ho 11<sup>7</sup>); נִקְרָא (*infin. absol. Niph'al* beside נִקְרָיתִי) 2 S 1<sup>6</sup>; שָׁנֵא 2 K 25<sup>29</sup>; מִרְפָּא

Jer 38<sup>4</sup>; אִשָּׁנָה Ec 8<sup>1</sup>: in their vowels, אָתָנוּ Jer 3<sup>22</sup>; יָקָרָה Dn 10<sup>14</sup>; תִּבְלָה; 1 K 17<sup>14</sup>: in both, יָקָרָה Gn 49<sup>1</sup>; cf. 42<sup>4</sup>, Is 51<sup>19</sup>; תִּלְאָוִם 2 S 21<sup>12</sup> *Q'rê*; לִירֹא 2 Ch 26<sup>15</sup> (cf. וִירָאוּ הַמּוֹרָאִים 2 S 11<sup>24</sup> *K'ithibh*); קָרָאָה (*participle fem. Qal*) Zp 3<sup>1</sup>; וַפְרִיא Ho 13<sup>15</sup>; מִסְלָאִים La 4<sup>2</sup>.—For פְּרָאוֹת (so Baer, Ez 17<sup>6</sup>, cf. 31<sup>8</sup>), which can only be intended for פְּרָאוֹת *participle fem. plur.* from פָּרָא = פָּרָה, read פְּרָאוֹת *branches*, according to Ez 31<sup>5</sup>, &c.

## § 76. Verbs Doubly Weak.

1. In a tolerably large number of verbs two radicals are weak *a* letters, and are consequently affected by one or other of the anomalies already described. In cases where two anomalies might occur, usage must teach whether one, or both, or neither of them, takes effect.

Thus e.g. from נָרַד to *flee*, the *imperfect* is יָרֹד in Na 3<sup>7</sup> and יָרַד in Gn 31<sup>40</sup> (on the analogy of verbs פ"ן); *Hiph'il* הִנְרִי (like a verb ע"ע), but the *imperfect Hoph'al* again יִרַד (as פ"ן).

2. The following are examples of difficult forms, which are derived *b* from doubly weak verbs:

(a) Verbs פ"ן and ל"ה (cf. § 66 and § 74), e.g. נָשָׂא to *bear*, *imperative* שָׂאָה (ψ 10<sup>12</sup> נָשָׂא, of which נָסָה ψ 4<sup>7</sup> is probably only an orthographic variation); *infinitive construct* שָׂאתָ (for שָׂאתָ; see the analogous noun-formations in § 93 *l*), also נָשָׂא Is 1<sup>14</sup>, 18<sup>3</sup>; Gn 4<sup>28</sup> נָשָׂא; ψ 89<sup>10</sup> שָׂא (perhaps only a scribal error); after the *prefix* ל always לְשָׂאתָ (otherwise the contracted form only occurs in מִשְׁתוֹ Jb 41<sup>17</sup>, with rejection of the א); *imperfect* תִּשְׂנֶנֶה for תִּשְׂנֶנֶה Ru 1<sup>14</sup>; wholly irregular are תִּשְׂאִינָה Ez 23<sup>49</sup> (so Baer after Qimḥi; *textus receptus*, and also the Mantua ed., and Ginsburg, תִּשְׂאִינָה) and נִשְׂאָתָ 2 S 19<sup>43</sup> as *infinitive absolute Niph'al* (on the analogy of the *infinitive construct Qal* ?); but most probably נָשָׂא is to be read, with Driver.

(b) Verbs פ"ן and ל"ה (cf. § 66 and § 75), as נָטָה to *bow*, to *incline*, נָכָה to *smite*. Hence *imperfect Qal* יִטָּה, *apocopated* וַיִּטּוּ (Gn 26<sup>25</sup> וַיִּטּוּ) and *he bowed*; וַיִּזּוּ (so, probably, also Is 63<sup>3</sup> for וַיִּזּוּ) 2 K 9<sup>33</sup> and *he sprinkled* (from נָזָה); *perfect Hiph'il* הִכָּה *he smote*, *imperfect* יִכָּה, *apocopated* יָכָה, יָכָה (even with *Athnaḥ* 2 K 15<sup>16</sup>; but also ten times וַיִּכָּה) וַיִּכָּה Dt 2<sup>33</sup>; so also וַיִּזּוּ Lv 8<sup>11.30</sup>; וַיִּזּוּ ψ 141<sup>4</sup> (cf. Jb 23<sup>11</sup>); *imperative* הִכָּה, *apocopated* הִךְ *smite thou* (like הִט *incline*, with הִטָּה), *infinitive construct* הִכּוֹת, *participle* מִכָּה; *Hoph'al* הִכָּה, *participle* מִכָּה.

(c) Verbs פ"א and ל"ה (cf. § 68 and § 75), as אָבָה to *be willing*, אָפָה to *bake*, אָתָה to *come*. E.g. *imperfect Qal* יִאָבֶה, יִאָפֶה, *plur.* יִאָפּוּ; וַיָּתָה (cf. § 68 *h*) Dt 33<sup>21</sup> for וַיָּאָתָה (= וַיָּאָתָה); *imperfect apocopated* וַיָּאָתָה Is 41<sup>26</sup> for וַיָּאָתָה; *imperative* אָתְרִי Is 21<sup>12</sup>, 56<sup>9.12</sup> (cf. אָפּוּ *bake ye*, Ex 16<sup>23</sup>) for אָתְרִי, אָתְרִי (§ 23 *h*; § 75 *u*); *Hiph'il perfect* הִתְרִי הִתְרִי הִתְרִי Is 21<sup>14</sup>; *imperfect apocopated* וַיִּאָלַ and *he adjured*, 1 S 14<sup>24</sup>, properly יִאָלַה (יִאָלַה) from אָלַה, whence יִאָלַה, and, with the obscuring to *ô*, יִאָלַה; instead of the simple *apocope* (יִאָלַ) the א which had already become

quiescent, is made audible again by the helping *S<sup>e</sup>ghôl* (unless perhaps there is a confusion with the *imperfect consecutive Hiph'il* of **לָא**).

*c* (d) Verbs **פָּוּ** and **לָוּ** (cf. § 69, § 70, and § 74), as **פָּוּ** to go forth, *imperative פָּוּ* go forth, with הַ—paragogic **פָּוּהָ** Ju 9<sup>29</sup> in principal pause for **פָּוּהָ**; 2nd fem. plur. **פָּוּהָן** Ct 3<sup>11</sup>; *infinitive פָּוּהָ*; *Hiph'il הוֹפִיאוּ* to bring forth.—**אָרַא** to fear, *imperfect יִרְאָה and **יִרְאָה** (or **יִרְאָה**), *imperative יִרְאָה*; *imperfect Niph'al יִרְאָה* ψ 130<sup>4</sup>, *participle נִרְאָה*.*

*f* (e) Verbs **פָּוּ** and **לָוּ** (cf. § 69, § 70, and § 75), e.g. **יָרָה** to throw, *Hiph'il to confess, to praise, and יָרָה* to throw (both properly verbs **פָּוּ**), and **יָפָה** to be beautiful. *Infinitive יָרָה, יָרוּת, יָרִיחַ*; *imperative יָרִיחַ*; *imperfect consecutive יָרִיחַ* Ez 31<sup>7</sup> (cf. also **וַתִּפֵּי** 16<sup>13</sup>); with *suffixes וַיִּפְדוּם* we have shot at them (from **יָרָה**) Nu 21<sup>30</sup>; perhaps, however, it should be read with the **LXX וַיִּנָּמֶם** and their race (also in the very corrupt passage ψ 74<sup>8</sup> **וַיִּנָּמֶם** is probably a *substantive*, and not the *imperfect Qal* with *suffix* from **יָרָה**); *Pi'el וַיִּרְדוּ* for **וַיִּרְדוּ** (§ 69 u). *Hiph'il הוֹרָה, הוֹרָה*; *infinitive הוֹרָה* (as *infinitive absolute* 2 Ch 7<sup>3</sup>); *imperfect יוֹרָה*, cf. **אֶל-תָּנוּ** Jer 22<sup>3</sup>; *apocopated וַיִּוֹר 2 K 13<sup>17</sup>.*

*g* (f) Verbs **עָוּ** and **לָוּ**, particularly **בָּאוּ** to come. *Perfect בָּאת, בָּאתָ, בָּאתָ* or **בָּאתָ** (Gn 16<sup>8</sup>, 2 S 14<sup>3</sup>, Mi 4<sup>10</sup>; cf. § 75 m), once **בָּאוּ** for **בָּאוּ** 1 S 25<sup>8</sup>; for **בָּאוּ** Jer 27<sup>18</sup>, which is apparently the *perfect*, read **יָבֹאוּ**. In the *imperfect Qal* the separating vowel occurs (**תִּבְאֵינָה** instead of the more common **תִּבְאֵנָה**, cf. also **תִּבְאֵנָה** Gn 30<sup>38</sup>) only in Jer 9<sup>16</sup>, ψ 45<sup>16</sup>, and 1 S 10<sup>7</sup> *K<sup>e</sup>thibh*.

*h* For **וַתִּבְאֵת** 1 S 25<sup>34</sup> *Q<sup>e</sup>rê* (the *K<sup>e</sup>thibh* **וַתִּבְאֵת** evidently combines the two readings **וַתִּבְאֵת** and **וַתִּבְאֵי**; cf. Nestle, *ZAW.* xiv. 319), read **וַתִּבְאֵי** on the impossible forms Dt 33<sup>16</sup> and Jb 22<sup>21</sup> cf. § 48 d.—In the *perfect Hiph'il* **הִבִּיאַתְּ**, **הִבִּיאַתְּ** and (only before a suffix) **הִבִּיאַתְּ**; the latter form is also certainly intended in Nu 14<sup>31</sup>, where the Masora requires **וַהֲבִיאֲתִי**, cf. 2 K 9<sup>2</sup>, 19<sup>25</sup>, Is 43<sup>23</sup>, Jer 25<sup>13</sup>, Ct 3<sup>4</sup>. Before suffixes the *ē* of the first syllable in the 3rd *sing.* always becomes *Ḥateph-S<sup>e</sup>ghôl*, e.g. **הִבִּיאֲתִי**, **הִבִּיאֲתִי**; elsewhere invariably *Ḥateph-Pathah*, e.g. **הִבִּיאֲתִי** or **הִבִּיאֲתִי**. On the other hand, *ē* is retained in the secondary tone in the *perfect consecutive* when without suffixes, e.g. **וַהֲבִיאֲתִי**. Cf. moreover, **וַהֲקִיאֲתוּ** (in Opius and Hahn is altogether incorrect), Pr 25<sup>16</sup>, from **קִיאַתְּ**; but **קִיאַתְּ** *spue ye*, Jer 25<sup>27</sup> (perhaps only a mistake for **קִיאַתְּ**), is not to be referred to **קִיאַתְּ** but to a secondary stem **קִיאַתְּ**. In the *imperfect* **וַתִּקְאֵת** is found once, Lv 18<sup>25</sup>, besides **וַתִּקְאֵת** (analogous to **וַתִּקְאֵת**).—On **אָבִי** (for **אָבִי**, **מִבִּי**, **יָבִי**, see § 74 k.

*i* (g) The form **חָיָה** to live, in the *perfect Qal*, besides the ordinary development to **חָיָה** (*fem.* **חָיָהָ**), is also treated as a verb **עָוּ**, and then becomes **חָיָה** in the 3rd *pers. perfect*, in *pause* **חָיָה**, and with *wāw consecutive* **וַחָיָה** Gn 3<sup>22</sup>, and frequently. In Lv 25<sup>36</sup> the contracted form **וַחָיָה** is perhaps *st. constr.* of **חָיָה** *life*, but in any case read **וַחָיָה** *perfect consecutive* as in verse 35. The form **וַחָיָה** occurs in Ex 1<sup>16</sup> in *pause* for **וַחָיָה** (3rd *fem.*) with *Dageš* omitted in the ' on account of the pausal lengthening of *ä* to *ā*.

§ 77. *Relation of the Weak Verbs to one another.*

The close relation which exists between some classes of the weak *a* verbs (e. g. between פ"ו and פ"י, ל"א and ל"ה, ע"ע and ע"י, ע"ע and ל"ה) appears not only in their similarity or identity of inflexion, or their mutual interchange of certain forms, but especially from the fact that frequently the same root (*radix bilittera*, see § 30 g) recurs in various weak stems of similar meaning. The meaning accordingly is inherent in the two constant root-consonants, while the third consonant, which is weak (and the particular class of weak verbs with it), does not establish any difference in the meaning. Thus from the root דף there occur with the same meaning דָּבַק, דָּבַד, דָּבַא *to strike, to crush*; and from the root נד there are נָד, נָדַד, נָדַה *to flee*.

In this manner the following classes are related in form and *b* meaning:

1. Verbs ע"ע and ע"י in which the first and third consonants are the same in both, as being essential to the meaning; e. g. מָוַף and מָבַף *to become poor*; מָשַׁשׁ and מָשַׁשׁ *to feel*; נָדַד and נָדַד *to flee*.

2. Verbs פ"י and פ"ן; e. g. יָצַב and נָצַב *to place*, יָקַשׁ and יָקַשׁ (*yāqōš*) *to lay snares*. Moreover, stems belonging to the classes mentioned in 1 (especially ע"ע) are frequently related also to verbs פ"י and פ"ן, e. g. יָנַר and יָנַר *to fear*; יָטַב and יָטַב *to be good*; נָפַח and נָפַח *to blow*; נָפַץ and נָפַץ *to dash to pieces*. Verbs פ"א are less frequently connected with these classes, e. g. אָרַשׁ and דָּוַשׁ *to thresh, &c.*

3. Verbs ל"ה and ל"ה (in which the first two consonants form the real *d* body of the stem) are sometimes related to each other, and sometimes to the above classes. To each other, in דָּבַא and דָּבַה *to crush*, קָרַא and קָרַה *to meet* (cf. § 75 *nm*); to verbs of the other classes, in מָצַח and מָצַץ *to suck*, דָּחַה and דָּחַה *to thrust, &c.*

4. Verbs ע"ע and ל"ה, on which cf. Grimm, *Journal of Bibl. Lit.*, 1903, p. 196; e. g. אָנַה and אָנַן *to sigh*, דָּמַה and דָּמַם *to be quiet*, חָנַה and חָנַן *to incline*, בָּלַה and בָּלַל *to end*, קָלַה and קָלַל *to despise*, שָׁנַה and שָׁנַנ *to err*, שָׁחַה and שָׁחַח *to bend down*, שָׁסַה and שָׁסַס *to plunder*.

5. Verbs ע"י and ע"ה; e. g. מָוַל and מָוַל (New Hebrew; in O. T. only מָוַל *f* Is 1<sup>22</sup>) *to circumcise*, מָוַר and מָוַר *to exchange*, נָוַר (in מְנוֹרָה *a light*) and נָוַר *to shine*; cf. also לְהַטִּים *secret arts*, Ex 7<sup>11</sup> with לָטַת *secret*, from לוֹטַת.

§ 78. *Verba Defectiva.*

It often happens, when two kindred weak verbs are in use with *a* the same meaning, that both are *defective*, i. e. do not occur in all the forms. Since, however, those tenses and forms which are not in use in the one verb are generally supplied by the other, they mutually complete one another, and thus form together, as it were, an entire

verb, as in Greek ἔρχομαι, aor. ἦλθον, fut. ἐλεύσομαι, and in Latin *fero, tuli, latum, ferre, &c.*, but with this difference, that in Hebrew the roots of these verbs are almost always closely related.

b The most common verbs of this kind are—

בשׁ to be ashamed. *Hiph'il* הִבִּישׁ (inferred from הִבִּישׁוֹת), but also הִבִּישׁ, הִבִּישׁ, as if from יבשׁ, on the analogy of verbs פ"ו; also in Is 30<sup>5</sup> the *Q're* requires הִבִּישׁ, where the *Kethibh* has הִבְאִישׁ from בָּאִישׁ.

טוב to be good. *Perfect* טוב; but *imperfect* יִטַּב and *Hiph'il* יִטַּב from יָטַב (but cf. הִטִּיבָה 2 K 10<sup>30</sup>).

יָרַח to be afraid. *Imperfect* יִנָּחַר (from נָחַר).

יָקַץ to awake, only in the *imperf.* יִקָּץ; for the *perfect*, the *Hiph'il* הִקָּץ is used (from קָץ).

פָּצַע to break in pieces. *Imperfect* יִפְצֹץ (from פָּצַץ). *Imperative* פּוּץ. *Niph'al* נִפְצַץ. *Pi'el* נִפְצַץ (from נָפַץ). *Pölel* פּוּצֵץ (from פָּצַץ). *Reflexive* הִתְפּוּצֵץ. *Hiph'il* הִפְצִץ. Also פִּצְּצֵץ Jb 16<sup>12</sup>.

נָצַב (*Qal* in post-biblical Hebrew, in Aramaic and Arabic) to place, whence (possibly) *Niph'al* נִצַּב and *Hiph'il* הִצִּיב (see above, § 71); but *Hithpa'el* הִתְנַצַּב.

שָׁתָה to drink, used in *Qal*; but in *Hiph.* הִשְׁתָּה to give to drink, from a *Qal* שָׁתָה which is not used in Hebrew.

On הִלָּךְ (יָלַךְ) to go, see above, § 69 x.

c Rem. 1. To the same category belong also, to a certain extent, those cases where the *tenses* or *moods* not in use in one conjugation, are supplied by forms having the same meaning in other conjugations of the same verb. Thus:

יָסַף to add. The *infinitive* (but cf. § 69 h, note) and *imperfect*, unused in *Qal*, are supplied by the *Hiph'il* הוֹסִיף, הוֹסִיף (on יוֹסִיף as *imperfect indicative*, see § 109 d, cf. also § 109 i).

פָּשַׁל to stumble. *Perfect* from *Qal*, *imperfect* from *Niph'al*.

נָגַשׁ to approach, unused in *perf. Qal*, instead of which *Niph'al* נִגַּשׁ is used; but *imperfect* נִגַּשׁ, *imperative* נִגַּשׁ, and *infinitive* נִגְשָׁת from *Qal* only are in use.

נָחָה to lead. *Perfect* usually נָחָה in *Qal*, so *imperative* נַחֵה, but *imperfect* and *infinitive* always in *Hiph'il*.

נָתַךְ to be poured out. *Perfect* *Niph'al* נִתְּךְ with *imperfect* *Qal* יִתְּךְ, but the *perfect* *Qal* and *imperfect* *Niph'al* are not in use.

2. The early grammarians often speak of *mixed forms* (*formae mixtae*), i. e. forms which unite the supposed character and meaning of two different tenses, genders, or conjugations. Most of the examples adduced are at once set aside by accurate grammatical analysis; some others appear to have arisen from misapprehension and inaccuracy, especially from erroneous views of unusual *plene* forms. Others, again, are either merely wrong readings or represent an intentional conflation of two different readings.

## CHAPTER III

### THE NOUN

#### § 79. General View.

For the literature, see De Lagarde, *Uebersicht über die im Aram., Arab. und Hebr. übliche Bildung der Nomina*, Göttingen, 1889; Index and Additions, 1891; J. Barth, *Die Nominalbildung in den semitischen Sprachen*, first half, *Simple nouns*, Leipzig, 1889; second half, *Nouns with external additions*, 1891; second edition, with indices of words and subjects, 1894; E. König, *Historisch-kritisches Lehrgebäude, &c.*, ii. 1, Leipzig, 1895, see above, § 3 f.—Of these three important works the first two especially have given rise to various articles. In support of De Lagarde: Hommel in *ZDMG.* xlv, p. 535 ff. (against De Lagarde and Hommel: Barth, *ibid.*, p. 679 ff.), and dealing with the Index, *ZDMG.* xlv, p. 340 ff.—Against Barth (though with many points of agreement): Philippi in the *Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie*, 1890, p. 344 ff. (answered by Barth in *ZDMG.* xlv, p. 692 ff.), and *ZDMG.* xlvi, p. 149 ff. (answered again by Barth, *ibid.*, xlviii, p. 10 ff.), also in the *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, ii (1892), p. 359 ff. 'Die semitische Verbal- und Nominalbildung,' and lastly, in *ZDMG.* xlix, p. 187 ff.—Cf. also A. Müller, 'Semitische Nomina. Bemerkungen zu de Lagarde und Barth,' *ZDMG.* xlv, p. 221 ff.—The main points at issue in the works of De Lagarde and Barth are indicated below, § 83 d.—Brockelmann, *Semit. Sprachwiss.*, p. 104 ff.; *Grundriss*, p. 329 ff.

1. Since, according to § 30 a, most word-stems are developed into *α* verbal stems as well as into noun-stems, it has become customary (especially in the Lexicon) to refer the noun to the most simple ground-form of the verbal formation, viz. the 3rd pers. sing. perfect *Qal*, and, as it were, to derive it from that form. This is usual, not only in those noun-stems which can be directly connected with a corresponding verbal stem (*Nomina verbalia* or *derivativa*, § 83 ff.), but also with *Nomina primitiva*, i. e. those of which no verbal stem is now found in Hebrew (see § 82), as well as finally with *Nomina denominativa*, which have evidently been derived from other nouns (§ 86).

The adjective agrees in form entirely with the substantive. On the formation of adjectival ideas by giving to abstracts a concrete sense, see § 83 c.

2. A special inflexion of the noun to express the various cases does *β* not exist in Hebrew; only a few ancient and almost extinct traces of case-endings have survived (§ 90). The syntactical relation of a noun can therefore in general only be inferred from its position in the sentence, or from its being joined to prepositions. In either case, the form of the noun undergoes no change (except for the *construct*

state, § 89), and the representation of case-relations belongs therefore almost exclusively to the syntax (§ 117 ff.). The comparative and superlative of adjectives also can be expressed only by a syntactical combination (§ 133). On the other hand, several changes in the forms of nouns are occasioned by the additions of the plural, dual, and feminine terminations, as well as of the pronominal suffixes, and also by the close connexion of two nouns, by means of the *construct state*.<sup>1</sup>

### § 80. The Indication of Gender in Nouns.

Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, p. 404 ff.; 'Ueber die Femininendung *at, ah, ā*' in *Semit. Sprachwiss.*, p. 106 f.; *Grundriss*, pp. 105, 405 ff.; 'Die Femininendung *T* im Semit.' (*Sitzung d. orient.-sprachwiss. Sektion d. schlesischen Gesellschaft*, Feb. 26, 1903); against him J. Barth, *ZDMG.* 1903, p. 628 ff.; Brockelmann's reply, *ibid.*, p. 795 ff.; and Barth again, *ibid.*, p. 798 ff.

*a* 1. The Hebrew, like all Semitic languages, recognizes only two genders in the noun, a *masculine* and a *feminine*. Inanimate objects and abstract ideas, which other languages sometimes indicate by the *neuter*, are regarded in Hebrew either as masculine or feminine, more often the latter (see the Syntax, § 122 *q*).

*b* 2. The *masculine*, as being the more common and important gender, has no special indication.

Feminine nouns are also without an indication of gender when the meaning of the word naturally denotes a feminine, as אִמָּה *mother*, אִתָּהּ *a she-ass*, אִתָּהּ *a she-goat*, אִתָּהּ *an ewe* (cf. § 122 *b*). As a rule, however, the *feminine* had originally the ending ת־, as in the 3rd *sing. perfect* of verbs (§ 44 *a*). This ת־, however, is regularly retained in Hebrew only in close connexion with a following genitive or suffix (cf. § 89 *e* and § 91 *o*), except where the form has arisen through the addition of a simple ת<sup>2</sup> (see below, *d*). Otherwise, the feminine ending of the independent form (the *absolute state*, § 89 *a*) is—

*c* (*a*) Most commonly a tone-bearing ה־, e. g. סוּסִים *equus*, סוּסָה *equa*. Of nouns ending in ת־, like עֲבֹרֵי, the feminine (by § 24 *b*) is עֲבֹרֵהּ, cf. § 86 *h*. As in the 3rd *sing. fem. perfect* (הִקְטִילָהּ, &c.), this ה־ seems to have arisen by the rejection of the final ת, and the lengthening of the *ā* in the open syllable, whereupon the ה was added as an orthographic indication of the final long vowel: cf. the exactly similar origin of such forms as אִלָּהּ for אִלָּהּ, § 75 *c*. It must, however, be

<sup>1</sup> To speak of these changes as a declension of the Hebrew noun, as is usually done, is accordingly incorrect.

<sup>2</sup> In Mal 1<sup>14</sup> מִשְׁחָתָהּ (so e. g. ed. Mant.) would stand for מִשְׁחָתָהּ, the ptc. fem. Hoph'al; but מִשְׁחָתָהּ (so Baer and Ginsb.) is also supported by good authority.

noticed that in Arabic (see *m* and note) the pausal form of *at* is *ah*, of which a trace may be preserved in the Hebrew  $\text{הַ}$ .

(b) Simple  $\text{ת}$  with nouns ending in a vowel, e. g. יהודית *Jew*, יהודית *Jewess*. The same ending  $\text{ת}$  is very frequently added to stems ending in a consonant, but only (except before suffixes) by means of a helping vowel, which, as a rule, is *S<sup>e</sup>ghôl*, but after gutturals *Pathah*, e. g. קטל *kill*, fem. קטלת *killng*; before suffixes, e. g. קטלתי, according to the rule given in § 69 c, cf. also § 84<sup>a</sup> s; מורע *an acquaintance*, fem. מורעת. The forms which arise in this way follow in every respect the analogy of the *segholate* forms (§ 94 f). The forms which have been developed by means of a helping vowel are retained even in the connective form (*construct state*); except וילדת (for ילדת, which is used elsewhere) Gn 16<sup>11</sup>, Ju 13<sup>5,7</sup>; cf. Jer 22<sup>23</sup> and 51<sup>13</sup> *Qerê*, also מושרת I K 15, *participle fem. Pi'el*, properly *m<sup>e</sup>šaratt* = משרתת; also מבעתה (*participle fem. Pi'el* with suffix) arises from the form מבעתה which was developed into מבעתת.

Rem. 1. The fem. form in  $\text{תָּ}$  is in general less frequent, and occurs *e* almost exclusively when the form in  $\text{תַּ}$  is also in use. It is only in the participles and infinitives that it is the commoner, e. g. קטלת more common than קטלה, לדת than לדה.

2. Rarer feminine endings are—(a)  $\text{תַּ}$  with the tone, e. g. ברקת *emerald*, *f* Ez 28<sup>13</sup> (also ברקת Ex 28<sup>17</sup>); שפעת *a company*, 2 K 9<sup>17</sup>, unless the reading is wrong; more frequently in proper names, especially of places among the Canaanites or Phoenicians (in whose language  $\text{תַּ}$  was the usual fem. ending, § 2 d) and other neighbouring tribes,<sup>1</sup> e. g. זרפת *Zarephath*, גבעת *Gibeath*, קיריאת *Kiriath*, אילת *Greek Ailana* in Idumea; אהות Gn 26<sup>26</sup>: on the reading גלית cf. g. Cf., moreover, נגינת  $\psi$  61<sup>1</sup> (prob. originally נגינת *LXX* חיות 74<sup>19a</sup>); פוגת La 2<sup>18</sup>; [רבת *much*, in  $\psi$  65<sup>10</sup>, 120<sup>6</sup>, 123<sup>4</sup>, 129<sup>1,2</sup>, is a form borrowed from the Aramaic (Syriac *rabbath*) in which the original *t* of the fem. is often retained to form adverbs, see Wright, *Comparative Grammar*, p. 135.]

(b)  $\text{תַּ}$ , which likewise occurs in some names of places, e. g. חלקת, בעלת, *g* as well as in the masc. proper name גלית I S 17<sup>4</sup>, &c. (in 17<sup>23</sup>, and 21<sup>10</sup>, ed. Mant. has גלית), and in the fem. proper name שמעת; otherwise, almost only in poetry, viz. זמרת Ex 15<sup>2</sup>, Is 12<sup>2</sup>,  $\psi$  118<sup>14</sup> (really for זמרת *my song*; the absorption of the *i*, however, can scarcely have 'taken place in the Aramaic manner', as suggested by Duhm on Is 12<sup>2</sup>, nor is it due merely to the following *Yôdh*, but is intended 'to facilitate the absorption of ה''); so Geiger, *Urschrift*, p. 277 f.); נחלת *heritage*,  $\psi$  16<sup>6</sup> (either again for נחלתי *my heritage*, or for נחלתה, cf. § 90 g, as probably also עזרת *help*,  $\psi$  60<sup>13</sup>, 108<sup>13</sup> for עזרתה). These forms are possibly

<sup>1</sup> In the list of Palestinian towns taken by Pharaoh Shoshenq, the feminine town-names all end in *t*. Cf. also the Mēša' inscription, line 3, הכמת זאת *this high place*; line 26, המסלת *the highway* [see also Driver, *Tenses*, § 181, note].

survivals from a period when even final vowels were not supported by a vowel-letter. Cf. also פֶּרֶת *fecunda* (a fruitful tree) Gn 49<sup>22</sup>; יְהֵרֵת *abundance*, Jer 48<sup>36</sup> (before *y*; but in Is 15<sup>7</sup> יְהֵרֵת); שָׁנָת *sleep* (for שְׁנָה) *ψ* 132<sup>4</sup>; and (unless the ה is radical) in prose קָאֵת *pelican* (which reading is also preferable, in Is 34<sup>11</sup>, to the form קָאֵת), also מָחָרָת *the morrow*, but in *construct state* always מִמָּחָרָת.<sup>1</sup>—תְּהֵלֶת Jer 45<sup>25</sup> *Q'rê* is no doubt intended to indicate the reading תְּהֵלֶת, parallel to מִשְׁוֹשֵׁי; cf. above, on וְמָרָת, &c.

h (c) אָ, the Aramaic orthography for הָ, chiefly in the later writers; לֹאֲרָ *loathing*, Nu 11<sup>20</sup>; חֲנָא *a terror*, Is 19<sup>17</sup>; שְׁנָא *sleep*, *ψ* 127<sup>2</sup>; לְבִיאָ *a lioness*, Ez 19<sup>2</sup> (unless לְבִיאָ is intended); מַטְרָא *a mark*, La 3<sup>12</sup>; cf. also תְּשָׁא *threshing* (participle *Qal* from דָּוָשׁ) Jer 50<sup>11</sup>; מָרָא *bitter*, Ru 1<sup>20</sup>. On the other hand, according to the western Masora, קָרְחָה *baldness* is to be read in Ez 27<sup>31</sup>; see Baer on the passage.

i (d) הָ, an obtuse form of הָ (§ 27 u), only in הַזְּרָה for הַזְּרָה Is 59<sup>5</sup> (unless it is again a *forma mixta* combining the *active ptcp. masc.* הַזְּרָה and the *passive ptcp. fem.* הַזְּרָה); cf. לָנָה for לָנָה Zc 5<sup>4</sup>; אָנָה 1 K 2<sup>36.42</sup> (§ 90 i, and § 48 d).

k (e) הָ without the tone, e. g. רֶחֶמָה Dt 14<sup>17</sup> [Lv 11<sup>18</sup> רָחַם]; תַּנּוּר בְּעֵרָה; an oven heated, Ho 7<sup>4</sup>; cf. Ez. 40<sup>19</sup>, 2 K 15<sup>29</sup>, 16<sup>18</sup>. In all these examples the usual tone-bearing הָ is perhaps intended, but the Punctuators, who considered the feminine ending inappropriate, produced a kind of *locative* form (see § 90 c) by the retraction of the tone. [In 2 K 16<sup>18</sup>, Is 24<sup>19</sup>, Ez 21<sup>31</sup> (note in each case the following ה), and in Jb 42<sup>18</sup>, Ho 7<sup>4</sup>, the text is probably in error.]

l (f) יָ, as an old feminine termination, preserved also in Syriac (*ai*; see examples in Nöldeke's *Syrische Gram.*, § 83), in Arabic and (contracted to *ê*) in Ethiopic, very probably occurs in the proper name שָׂרַי *Sarai*, cf. Nöldeke, *ZDMG.* xl. 183, and xlii. 484; also עֵשְׂרָה *ten (fem.)* undoubtedly arises from an original *'esray*; so Wright, *Comparative Grammar*, p. 138; König, *Lehrgebäude*, ii. 427.

m 3. It is wholly incorrect to regard the vowel-ending הָ<sup>2</sup> as the original termination of the feminine, and the consonantal ending הָ as derived from it. The Ethiopic still has the ה throughout, so too the Assyrian (*at, it*); in Phoenician also the feminines end for the most part in ה, which is pronounced *at* in the words found in Greek and Latin authors; less frequently in א (see Gesenius, *Monumm. Phoen.*, pp. 439, 440; Schröder, *Phön. Sprache*, p. 169 ff.). The ancient Arabic has the obtuse ending (*ah*) almost exclusively in *pause*; in modern Arabic the relation between the two endings is very much as in Hebrew.

<sup>1</sup> In 1 S 2c<sup>27</sup> also, where the Masora (see Baer on Jos 5<sup>11</sup>) for some unknown reason requires מִמָּחָרָת, read with ed. Mant., Jablonski, Opatius, and Ginsburg, מִמָּחָרָת.

<sup>2</sup> In this ending the ה h can only be considered consonantal in the sense that the ה was originally aspirated, and afterwards 'the mute ה was dropped before h, just as the old Persian *mīthra* became in modern Persian *mīhr*'; so Socin, who also points to the Arabic pausal form in *ah*, and observes that among some of the modern Beduin an h is still heard as a fem. ending, cf. Socin, *Dirvan aus Centralarabien*, iii. 98, ed. by H. Stumme, Lpz. 1901. In Hebrew this consonantal termination was entirely abandoned, at any rate in later times.

## § 81. Derivation of Nouns.

Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, p. 329 ff.

Nouns are by their derivation either *primitive*, i. e. cannot be *a* referred to any verbal stem at present extant (see § 82), such as אָב *father*, אִמָּה *mother* (but see both words in the Lexicon; according to Stade and others אָב, אִמָּה, &c., are children's words and terms of endearment, and so really primitive nouns), or *derivative*, i. e. either *Derivativa verbalia* (§§ 83-5), e. g. גָּבַח *high*, גְּבוּחַ *high place*, מְרוֹם *height*, from רוּם *to be high*, or less frequently *Derivativa denominativa* (§ 86), e. g. מְרִגְלוֹת *the place at the feet*, from רִגְלוֹ *foot*.

Rem. 1. The earlier grammarians consider the verb alone as stem, and *b* therefore all nouns as verbals, dividing them into (a) *Formae nudae*, i. e. such as have only the three (or two) radicals, and (b) *Formae auctae*, such as have formative letters or syllables added at the beginning or end, e. g. מְמַלְכָה, מְלַכּוֹת. The formative letters used for this purpose are י ו ט נ ת י א ה (הֶאֱמַנְתִּיו),<sup>1</sup> and the treatment of nouns formerly followed this order.

According to the view of roots and stems presented in § 30 d, nouns (other *c* than *denominatives*) are derived not from the verbal stem, but either from the (abstract) root or from the still undefined stem. In the following pages, however, the arrangement according to the verbal stem is retained as being simpler for the beginner. Cf. § 79 a.

2. Compound nouns as *appellatives* are very rare in Hebrew, e. g. בְּלִיעֵל *d* *worthlessness, baseness*. On the other hand, they very frequently occur as proper names, e. g. גַּבְרִיאֵל (*man of God*), יְהוֹרָקִים (*Yahwe raises up*), יְהוֹנָתָן (*Yahwe gave*), &c.<sup>2</sup>

## § 82. Primitive Nouns.

The number of *primitive* nouns in the sense used in § 81 is small, since nouns, which in other languages are represented as independent noun-stems, can easily be traced back in Hebrew to the verbal idea, e. g. names of animals and natural objects, as שְׂעִיר *he-goat* (prop. *shaggy*, from שָׁעַר), שְׂעֵרָה *barley* (prop. *prickly*, also from שָׁעַר), חֲסִידָה *stork* (prop. *plā*, sc. *avis*), זָהָב *gold* (from זָהַב = צָהַב *to shine, to be yellow*). Thus there remain only a few nouns, e. g. several names of members of the body in men or beasts, to which a corresponding verbal stem cannot be assigned at all, or at any rate only indirectly (from other Semitic dialects), as קַרְנוֹ *horn*, עֵינַי *eye*.

<sup>1</sup> From this *vox memorialis* the *nomina aucta* are also called by the older grammarians *nomina heemantica*.

<sup>2</sup> G. Rammelt (*Über die zusammengesetzten Nomina im Hebr.*, Halle, 1883, and Leipzig, 1884) recognizes as appellatives only צִפְרִדָּע (cf. below, § 85 w) and צִלְמוֹת (the latter certainly incorrectly [see, however, Nöldeke, *ZATW.* 1897, p. 183 ff.]). In p. 8 ff. the author gives a list of 'logical compounds', i. e. new terms formed by composition with the negatives לֹא, בְּלִי, מְבִלִי.

## § 83. Verbal Nouns in General.

a 1. In Hebrew, as in Greek and Latin, the *verbal nouns* are connected in form and meaning primarily with certain forms of the verb, especially the participles and infinitives, which are themselves, even in their ordinary form, frequently used precisely like nouns, e. g. **אֵיבֹן** *enemy*, **דָּעַת** *to know, knowledge*. Still oftener, however, certain forms of the infinitive and participle, which are seldom or never found as such in the strong verb, though in use in the weak verb and in the kindred dialects, came to be commonly used for the verbal noun; e. g. the participial form **קָטַל**, the infinitives of the (Aramaic) form **מִקְטַל** (as a *noun* also **מִקְטָל**), further **קָטְלָתָהּ**, **קָטְלָהּ**, **קָטְלָהּ**, **קָטְלָהּ** (§ 45 d), &c. Others (as the Arabic shows) are properly intensive forms of the participle.

b 2. As regards their meaning, it follows from the nature of the case that nouns which have the form of the infinitive regularly denote the *action* or *state*, with other closely related ideas, and are therefore mostly *abstract*; while the participial nouns, on the contrary, denote for the most part the *subject* of the action or state, and are therefore *concrete*. Moreover, it is to be noticed, that a particular meaning is attached to many of the special forms of derivative nouns, although it does not appear equally in them all.

c Rem. It need not appear strange, when we consider the analogy of other languages, that a noun which in form is properly *abstract* afterwards acquired a *concrete* sense, and vice versa. So in English, we say *his acquaintance*, for the *persons* with whom he is *acquainted*; the *Godhead* for *God* himself; in Hebrew **מוֹרֵעַ** *acquaintance* and *an acquaintance*.

d The inner connexion in thought between Semitic noun-forms and the corresponding verbal forms is investigated in the works of De Lagarde and Barth (see the titles at the head of § 79) on very different lines, but with many points of agreement. De Lagarde starts from the fact that language consists of sentences. A sentence which consists of only *one* word is called a verb, and anything which serves as a complement to it is a noun. The oldest form of the sentence is the imperative. Closely related to it are three kinds of sentences of the nature of verbal forms, differing according as the property of the particular object of sense is to be represented as invariable (form *qatula*), or as liable to change (form *qatila*), or, finally, as a circumstance which takes place before our eyes (form *qatala*). Like the imperative, these three forms of sentences have also been transformed into nouns, by means of certain phonetic changes,—especially by the omission of the final vowels and the addition of different terminations to the last consonant of the stem. But just as the forms of the verbal sentence undergo numerous modifications (in the tenses, moods, and conjugations), so also do the nouns, sometimes by assimilation of the unessential to the characteristic vowel (*qatul*, *qitil*), sometimes by the lengthening of the characteristic vowel (*qatul*, *qatil*, *qatâl*), or else through the displacement of the accent and the consequent reduction of the noun to a monosyllabic form (*qat*, *qut*, *qit*), or, finally, by their being formed from the derived stems (or conjugations), e. g. *qattal*, *qattâl*; *qi'il*, *qittâl*, &c. Further modifications arise from the use of the various imperfect

and infinitive forms, and also from the employment of the prefix *m*. Lastly, *denominalia* are formed from *deverbalia* by appending certain suffixes.

De Lagarde does not, however, claim to be able to show in the case of each particular noun the sense it conveyed in primitive times; the origin of a number of nouns can now no longer be detected. In those, however, which are clearly derived from verbs, the original meaning is chiefly determined by the characteristic vowel.

Barth's system is based on the thesis that 'all Semitic nouns, adjectives, and participles are derived from either the perfect or the imperfect stem'. Thus, e. g. קָטַל is the infinitive of the perfect stem, קָטַל the infinitive of the imperfect stem, וְשָׁבַב infinitive of וְשָׁבַב, &c. In dissyllabic noun-forms the second vowel is always alone characteristic and essential, the first vowel unessential, and therefore variable. Further modifications of the simple form are effected by strengthening (sharpening) the second or third consonant, by lengthening the characteristic vowel (instead of which, however, the feminine termination may also be used), or by 'metaplasm', i. e. by the use of noun-forms derived from one of the two intransitive stems for the other, e. g. *qull* for *qil*, and vice versa.

In nouns of the perfect stem, the vowels *i* and *u* indicate intransitive formations, the vowel *a* a transitive sense. In nouns of the imperfect stem on the contrary, *u* and *i*, being characteristic vowels, indicate a transitive and *a* an intransitive sense: for *yaqtülü* is imperfect of the transitive perfect *qatala*, and *yaqtälü* imperfect of the intransitive perfects *qatila* and *qatula*, &c. This explains how nouns, apparently identical in form, may yet in sense belong to different classes: a *qull*-form from a *u*-imperfect has a transitive meaning, but the same form from a *u*-perfect has an intransitive meaning. This double system of perfect and imperfect forms runs through the whole scheme of noun-formation, not only the forms connected with the conjugations, but also the forms with prefixes and suffixes.

Against the whole theory it has been urged that it postulates for the development of the language a much too abstract mechanism, and further, that the meanings of words as we find them may in many cases be due to a modification of the original sense. But though many of the details (e. g. the alleged unessential character of the vowel of the first syllable) remain doubtful, yet the agreement between the characteristic vowel of certain noun formations and that of the perfect or imperfect stem, is supported by such a number of incontestable instances, that there can be no doubt as to a systematic, intimate connexion between the two. At the same time it must be admitted that De Lagarde has put forward many important and suggestive points, and both scholars agree in laying stress on *one* characteristic vowel as indicative of the meaning.

### § 84<sup>a</sup>. Nouns derived from the Simple Stem.

*Preliminary remark.*—From the statement made above, § 83 *d*, it follows that *an external similarity between forms is no proof of their similar origin, and, vice versa, external difference does not exclude the possibility of their being closely related both in origin and meaning.*

#### I. Nouns with One Vowel, originally Short.

R. Růžicka, 'Beiträge zur Erklärung der nomina segolata,' in *Sitz.-ber. d. böhmischen Ges. d. Wiss.*, Prag, 1904.

1. Nouns with one of the three short vowels after the first radical: *present ground-form* *qätl*, *qïl*, *qütl*.

The supposition of *monosyllabic* ground-forms appeared to be required by the character of forms now existing in Hebrew, as well as in Arabic, &c. But there are strong reasons for believing that at least a large proportion of these forms go back to original dissyllabic bases with a short vowel in each syllable. When formative additions were made, the vowel of the 2nd syllable

was dropped, i.e. before case-endings in Assyrian and early Arabic, and before pronominal suffixes in Hebrew. From the forms thus produced, the bases *qatl*, *qitl*, *quṭl* have been assumed, although they never appear in Hebrew except in the singular and then in connexion with suffixes.

In support of this view of a large number of original dissyllabic bases, we must not, however, appeal to the Sēghöl or Pathah under the 2nd consonant of the existing developed forms, קָפַר, יָרַע, &c. These are in no sense survivals or modifications of an original full vowel in the 2nd syllable, but are mere helping-vowels (§ 28 e) to make the monosyllabic forms pronounceable,<sup>1</sup> and consequently disappear when no longer needed. Under certain circumstances even (e.g. in קִשְׁטָה) they are not used at all. Actual proofs of such original toneless full vowels in the 2nd syllable of existing Segholates are—

1. Forms like Arab. *mālik*, for which rarely *malik*, corresponding to the Hebrew ground-form; cf. De Lagarde, *Uebersicht*, p. 72 ff.

2. In Hebrew גָּדַר, יָרַךְ, פָּתַח, פָּתַח, the connective forms of גָּדַר, יָרַךְ, &c., which latter can only come from ground-forms *gādīr*, *yārīk*, *kābid*, *kātip*.

3. The forms treated under e, which are in many ways related to the Segholates proper, in so far as they are to be referred to original dissyllabic bases.

4. The plurals of Hebrew Segholates, since, with very rare exceptions, they take *Qameṣ* under the 2nd radical before the termination ׀־, fem. ׀־, of the absolute state, as מְלָכִים, מְלָכוֹת, סְפָרִים, &c. This *Qameṣ* (see note 1 on § 26 e) can only be due to a lengthening of an original short vowel in the 2nd syllable, and hence it would seem as though the vowel were always *ä*. This is impossible from what has been said, especially under 1 and 2. Hence the explanation of the consistent occurrence of *Qameṣ* in the plurals of all Segholates can only be that the regularly formed plurals (i.e. from singulars with original *ä* in the 2nd syllable) became the models for all the others, and ultimately even for some really monosyllabic forms.<sup>2</sup>

(a) From the strong stem the above three ground-forms are further developed to קָטַל, קָטַל, קָטַל (cf. § 27 r and in § 93 the explanations of Paradigm I, a-c); without a helping vowel (§ 28 d) קִשְׁטָה *truth*. If the second

<sup>1</sup> According to Delitzsch (*Assyr. Gram.*, p. 157 f.) the same is true in Assyrian of the corresponding *qatl*-forms. Without case-endings they are *kalab*, *šamas*, *aban* (= קָלַב, שָׁמַשׁ, אֲבָן), with case-endings *kalbu*, *šamsu*, *abnu*.

On the other hand, acc. to Sievers, *Metrik*, i. 261, Hebrew ground-forms probably have a twofold origin: they are shortened according to Hebrew rules partly from old absolute forms like *kālbū*, *sifru*, *qudšu*, and partly from old construct-forms like the Assyrian types *kalab*, *sifir*, *quduš*.

<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, Ungnad, *ZA*. 1903, p. 333 ff., rejecting all previous explanations, maintains that the *a* in *m<sup>e</sup>lākhim*, *m<sup>e</sup>lākhōth* is inserted merely to facilitate the pronunciation. From *galīm* arose *qat<sup>a</sup>līm*, then *qaṭalīm* and finally *q<sup>e</sup>tālīm*. See, however, Nöldeke, 'Zur semit. Pluralendung,' *ZA*. 1904, p. 68 ff., who points out that the Semitic nouns *fa'l*, *fi'l*, *fu'l* with their corresponding feminines *fa'la*, &c., on assuming the plural termination commonly take an *a* before the 3rd radical, but that no satisfactory account can be given for it. M. Margolis, 'The plural of Segolates' (*Proc. of the Philol. Assoc. of the Pacific Coast*, San Francisco, 1903, p. 4 ff.), and S. Brooks, *Vestiges of the broken plural in Hebrew*, Dublin, 1883, explain *m<sup>e</sup>lākhim* as a *pluralis fractus*.

<sup>3</sup> It is worthy of notice that St. Jerome also (cf. Siegfried, *ZAW*. iv. 76) frequently represents the vowel of the first syllable by *a*, e.g. *gader*, *aben*, *ader*, *areb*, for גָּדַר, אֲבָן, אָדַר, חָרַב, but *cedem*, *secel*, *deber*, &c., for קָדַם, שָׁקַל, דָּבַר, &c.

or third radical be a guttural, a helping *Pathah* takes the place of the helping *Seghól*, according to § 22 d, e.g. זֶרַע *seed*, עֶצֶל *eternity*, פְּעַל *work*; but with middle ה or ח, note לֶחֶם *bread*, רֶחֶם (as well as רָחֵם) *womb*, אֶהָל *tent*, בְּהֵן *thumb*; so with final א, פָּרָא *a wild ass*, &c.; with a middle guttural also the modification of the principal vowel *ā* to *è* does not occur, e.g. רֶחֶב, נָעַר, לַחֵץ (exceptions, again, לָחֵם, רָחֵם). On the inflexion, cf. § 93, Paradigm I, a-f, and the explanations. In חַטָּא *sin*, the א has wholly lost its consonantal value.

Examples of feminines: מַלְכָּה (directly from the ground-form *malk, king*), סִתְרָה *a covering* (also סִתְרָה); אֹכֶלֶת *food* (also אֹכֶלֶת); with a middle guttural גִּירְלָה *girl*, טְהוּרָה *purity* (also טְהוּרָה). Cf. § 94, Paradigm I.

(b) From weak stems: (a) from stems ע"ו, e.g. אָף *nose* (from 'ānp, hence with formative additions, e.g. אָפִי for 'ānpī, *my nose*); עוּ *a she-goat* (ground-form 'inz); fem. חֲטָה *wheat*; (β) from stems ע"ע (§ 93, Paradigm I, l-n); פַּח *a morsel*, עַם *people* (so, when in close connexion with the next word; unconnected עַם; with article הָעַם, הָעַם, &c.); רַב in the sense of *much*, but רַב *great, numerous* (in close connexion also רַב); רָע *evil*, with the article in close connexion הָרָע, unconnected הָרָע; with the *ā* always lengthened to *ā*, יַם *sea*; fem. חַיָּה *life*, and with attenuation of the *ā* to *ī*, מִדָּה *measure*; from the ground-form qīl, אִם *mother*; fem. גִּנָּה *a shearing*; from the ground-form qūll, חֻק *statute*, fem. חֻקָּה. (γ) from stems ע"י (Paradigm I, g and i); מוֹת *death* (from mā-ut, the u passing into the corresponding consonant, as in מוֹתָן *middle*) or contracted יוֹם *day*, שׁוֹט *whip*, שׁוֹר *a bull*; fem. עוֹלָה *perverseness* (also contracted עוֹלָה); from the ground-form qūll, צוֹר *a rock*; fem. סוֹפָה *a storm*. (δ) from stems ע"ח (Paradigm I, h); זַיִת *an olive-tree* (with a helping Hireq instead of a helping *Seghól*) from zā-it, the i passing into the corresponding consonant; or contracted חֵיק *bosom*, חֵיל 2 K 18<sup>17</sup> (elsewhere חֵיל) *host*; fem. שֵׁיבָה *grey hair*; from the ground-form qīl, דִּין *judgement*; fem. בִּינָה *understanding*. (ε) from stems ל"ה (Paradigm I, k); partly forms such as בָּכָה *weeping*, מוֹמְמוֹרָה *murmuring*, נִדְוָה *a present*, קֶצֶה *the end*, partly such as אֲרִי *a lion* (ground-form būky, 'āry); cf. also the forms from stems originally ל"ו, שָׂחָה *swimming* (ground-form sāhw); fem. שְׁלֵוָה *rest*, נִשְׂאוֹתָה *exaltation*; from stems ל"ז, לְוִיָּה *a fat tail*, and with attenuation of *ā* to *ī* שְׁבִיבָה *captivity*, also שְׁבִיבָה, formed no doubt directly from the masc. שְׁבִי with the fem. termination ת; from the ground-form qīl, חֲצִי (from hīsy); fem. חֲדוּדָה *joy*, עֲרִיָּה and עֲרוּדָה *nakedness*; from the ground-form qūll, בְּהוּ (from bōhw) *waste*, תְּהוּ *emptiness*; דְּלִי, for דְּלִי, *bucket*; fem. אֲנִיָּה *a ship* (directly from אֲנִי *a fleet*).

The masculines as well as the feminines of these *segholate* forms may have either an abstract or a concrete meaning. In the form קָטַל the *passive* or at any rate the abstract meaning is by far the more common (e.g. נָעַר *youthfulness*, abstract of נָעַר *boy*; אֹכֶל *food*, &c.).<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> M. Lambert also (*REJ.* 1896, p. 18 ff.), from statistics of the *Segholates*, arrives at the conclusion that the *qāll*-form is especially used for concretes (in nouns without gutturals he reckons twenty concretes as against two abstracts), and the *qīll*-form, and less strictly the *qull*, for abstracts.

*c* 2. Nouns with one of the three short vowels under the second radical (present ground-form *q<sup>e</sup>tāl*, *q<sup>e</sup>tīl*, *q<sup>e</sup>tūl*), e. g. דְּבִשׁ *honey*, דְּוִי *sickness*, חַתַּח *terror*; and so always with middle א, בְּאֵר *a well*, וּלְב *a wolf*, בְּאֵשׁ *stench*. In reality these forms, like the segholates mentioned in No. 1 (see above, a), are, probably, for the most part to be referred to original *dissyllabic* forms, but the tone has been shifted from its original place (the penultima) on to the ultima. Thus *dibāš* (originally *dibaš*) as ground-form of דְּבִשׁ is supported both by the Hebrew דְּבִשְׁי (with suffix of the first person), and by the Arabic *dibs*, the principal form; *bi'ir* (according to Philippi with assimilation of the vowel of the second syllable to that of the first) as ground-form of בְּאֵר is attested by the Arabic *bi'r*; for בְּאֵשׁ (Arabic *bu's*) similarly a ground-form *bu'uš* may be inferred, just as a ground-form *qūtāl* underlies the infinitives of the form קָטַל.<sup>1</sup>

## II. Nouns with an original Short Vowel in both Syllables.

*f* 3. The ground-form *qātāl*, fem. *qātālāt*, developed in Hebrew to קָטַל (§ 93, Paradigm II, a, b) and קָטְלָה (§§ 94, 95, Paradigm II, a, b), mostly forms intransitive adjectives, as חָכָם *wise*, חָדָשׁ *new*, יָשָׁר *upright*; but also substantives, as דְּבָר *a word*, and even abstracts, as אָשָׁם *guilt*, רָעָב *hunger*, שִׂבְע *satiety*; in the fem. frequently abstract, as צְדָקָה<sup>2</sup> *righteousness*; with an initial guttural אֶרֶץ *earth*.—Of the same formation from verbs עָנָה *are alone*, עָנָן *cloud*; passive חָלַל *pierced*.—In verbs ל"ה a final *Yôdh* is almost always rejected, and the *ā* of the second syllable lengthened to *è*. Thus שָׂרִי *field*, after rejection of the י and addition of ה as a vowel-letter, becomes שָׂרְה (cf. § 93, Paradigm II, f); fem. e. g. שָׂנְה *year*; cf. § 95, Paradigm II, c. From a verb ל"ו the strong form עָנָן *afflicted* occurs.

*g* 4. The ground-form *qātīl*, fem. *qātīlāt*, developed to קָטַל (§ 93, Paradigm II, c-e) and קָטְלָה, is frequently used as participle of verbs middle *e* (§ 50 b), and hence mostly with an intransitive meaning; cf. זָקֵן *old, an old man*; כָּבֵד *heavy*; fem. בַּהֲמָה *cattle*, אַפְלָה and חֹשֶׁכָה *darkness*.—From verbs פ"ב: irregularly, דְּלִיּוֹתָיו *the branches of it*, Jer 11<sup>16</sup>, &c., generally referred to a *sing.* דְּלִיּוֹת (stem רָלָה), and הֲרִיּוֹתָיו Ho 14<sup>1</sup> *their women with child* (from הָרָה, *st. constr.* הָרָת, plur. *st. absol. and constr.* הָרוֹת).—From a verb ל"ו with consonantal *Wāw*: שָׁלוֹ *at ease*, incorrectly written *plene* שָׁלוּ Jb 21<sup>23</sup>.

*h* 5. The ground-form *qātūl*, developed to קָטַל (also written קָטוּל), generally forms adjectives, e. g. אִים *terrible*, בָּרָד *piebald*, מְתוּק *sweet*, נֶקֶד *speckled*, עֲבַת *interwoven*, עֵגֶל *round*, עֵמֶק *deep*, עֵקֶב *hilly*, צָהָב *golden*; קָטָן *small, only in sing. masc., with a parallel form קָטְנָן of the class treated under f, fem. קָטְנָה, plur. קָטְנִים*. These forms are not to be confounded with those in No. III, from

<sup>1</sup> On this theory cf. Stade, *Hebräische Grammatik*, § 199 b; De Lagarde, *Übersicht*, p. 57 f.; A. Müller, *ZDMG*. xlv, p. 226, and especially Philippi, *ZDMG*. xlix, p. 208.

<sup>2</sup> In St. Jerome's time these forms were still pronounced *šadaca* (צְדָקָה), *šāaca* (צְעָקָה), *nabala* (נִבְלָה), &c., see Siegfried, *ZAW*. iv. 79. Moreover, the numerous abstracts of this form (e. g. even קִצְפָה *a splintering*, צִוּתָה *a crying*, &c.) are undoubtedly to be regarded (with Barth, *Nominalbildung*, p. 87) as feminines of infinitives of the form *qātāl*, the lengthening of the second syllable being balanced, as in other cases, by the addition of the feminine termination.

the ground-form *qātāl*.—Fem. אִימָה, בְּבוּדָה (*glorious*), עֵבֶתָה, עֲנָנָה (*delicate*), עֲנָלָה, עֲמָקָה, עֲמָקָה, with sharpening of the third radical, in order to keep the original *ā* short, and similarly in the plurals בְּרָדִים, נְקָרִים, עֲנָלִים, אֲסָפִים *stores*, &c.

6. The ground-form *qātāl* develops to קָטַל (cf. § 93, Paradigm II, Rem. 1), *i* e. g. לֵבָב *heart*, עֲנַב *a bunch of grapes*, שֵׁכָר *strong drink*; from a verb לָחַח, probably of this class is רֵעָה, generally contracted to רֵעַ *friend*, ground-form *ri'uy*: the full form is preserved in רֵעָהּ *his friend*, for רֵעִיהוּ.

III. *Nouns with an original Short Vowel in the First and a Long Vowel in the Second Syllable.*

7. The ground-form *qātāl* in Hebrew always develops to the form קָטַל, the *k* *ā* becoming an obscure *ô*. The fact that this form is also written קָטַל must not lead to the confusion of these forms with those mentioned in No. 5, from the ground-form *qātūl*.<sup>1</sup> Moreover the *qatōl*-class includes forms of various origin, and therefore of various meaning, as (a) intransitive adjectives like גְּדוֹל *great*, קְדוֹשׁ *holy*, fem. גְּדוּלָה, the short vowel becoming Š<sup>e</sup>wā, whereas in גְּדוּל, &c., before the tone it is lengthened to *ā*; (b) the infinitives absolute of the form קָטַל (§ 45 a) as representing the abstract idea of the verb, and abstract substantives like כְּבוֹד *honour*, שְׁלוֹם *peace* (Arab. *sālām*); (c) substantives and adjectives in an active sense, as בַּחוּן *assayer* (of metals), עוֹשֹׁק *an oppressor*, חֹמֵץ *oppressing*; in the feminine בְּגוּרָה *treacherous* Jer 37.<sup>10</sup>, the irregular retention of the *ā* in the third syllable from the end is no doubt to be explained, with Brockelmann, from Aramaic influence, the punctuator having in mind the Aramaic nomen agentis *qātōl*.

8. The ground-form *qātīl* develops to קָטִיל (cf. § 93, Paradigm IV, a and b). *l* Here also forms of various origin and meaning are to be distinguished: (a) adjectives used substantivally with a passive meaning to denote duration in a state, as אֲסִיר *a prisoner*, מְשִׁיחַ *an anointed one*. These proper *qātīl*-forms are parallel to the purely passive *qatūl*-forms (see *m*), but others are due to a strengthening of original *qatīl*-forms. These are either (b) intransitive in meaning, as צָעִיר *small*, and, from לָ"י stems, נָקִי *pure*, עָבִי *poor* (see § 93 *sv*), or (c) active, as נְבִיא *a speaker* (prophet), פֶּקִיד *an overseer*.—Of a different kind again (according to De Lagarde, infinitives) are (d) forms like אֲסִיף *the ingathering*, בְּצִיר *vintage*, חֲרִישׁ *ploughing time*, קְצִיר *harvest*. On *qātīl* forms with a kindred meaning, cf. § 84<sup>b</sup> *f*.

9. The ground-form *qātūl* develops to קָטַל. As in the *qatāl* and *qatīl*-forms *m* (see *k* and *l*), so here forms of various kinds are to be distinguished: (a) *qatūl*-forms proper, with passive meaning, especially all the passive participles of Qal; fem. e. g. בְּתוּלָה *virgin* (properly *secluded*). On the other hand, by strengthening an original *qatūl*-form we get (b) certain stative adjectives (§ 50 *f*), as אֲנָשׁ *incurable*, עָצוּם *strong*, עָרוּם *subtil*, or even transitive, as אֲחוּז *holding*; (c) active substantives, as יָקוּשׁ *a fouler*. Further, some of the forms mentioned in § 84<sup>b</sup> *g* belong to this class; see above, the remark on *l*.

10. The ground-form *qītāl* or *qūtāl*<sup>2</sup> in Hebrew changes the *i* to vocal Š<sup>e</sup>wā, *n*

<sup>1</sup> In Na 1<sup>3</sup> only the *Qeré* requires נְדָל (in the constr. state) for the *Kethibh* נְדוּל.

<sup>2</sup> On the *fu'āl*-forms (regarded by Wellhausen as original diminutives) see Nöldeke, *Beiträge* (Strassb. 1904), p. 30 ff. He includes among them נְעָרָת *lute*, and טְהָרִים *hemorrhoids*.

and develops to קטל (cf. § 93, Paradigm IV, c) or קטול, with *á* obscured to *ó* (as above, *k*). Cf. שְׂאֵר remnant, יָקָר honour, כְּתָב book (Arab. *kīlāb*), מָרָב war (the last three probably loan-words from the Aramaic); of the other form, חֲלוֹם a dream, חֲמֹר an ass (Arab. *ḥimār*), אֱלֹהִים God (Arab. *'ilāh*); with א prosthetic (§ 19 m), אַרְוֵעַ arm (twice: usually וְאַרְוֵעַ); fem. בְּשׂוּרָה good news (Arab. *bīšārāt*); עֲבוּדָה service, כְּתָבֶת (Arab. *kīlābāt*) tattooing.

o 11. The ground-form *qīṭil* seems to occur e. g. in Hebrew אֵייל foolish, אֵילִל vanity, בָּרִיל lead, פְּסִיל a fool, חֲזִיר a swine (the prop. name חֲזִיר points to the ground-form *qīṭil*, cf. Arab. *ḥinzīr*).

p 12. The ground-form *qīṭul* or *qūṭul*, Hebr. קָטוּל, e. g. גְּבוּל a boundary, לְבָשׁ a garment; fem. גְּבוּרָה strength, אֲמוּנָה faithfulness.

q Rem. When the forms *qēṭul* and *qēṭol* begin with א, they almost invariably take in the singular a *Ṣere* under the א instead of the ordinary *Ḥateph-Seghōl*; cf. אֲבוֹם a crib, אֲטוּן thread, אֲמוּן faithful, אֲזוּב hyssop, אֲזוּר a waist-band, אֲסוּר a bond, אֲפוּד an 'ephod'; cf. § 23 h, and the analogous cases of *Ṣere* for *Ḥateph-Seghōl* in verbal forms § 52 n, § 63 p, § 76 d.

IV. Nouns with a Long Vocal in the First Syllable and originally a Short Vowel in the Second Syllable.

r 13. The ground-form *qāṭāl*, in Hebrew, always changes the *á* into an obscure *ó*, קוֹטָל (קֹטֵל), e. g. עוֹלָם (§ 93, Paradigm III, a), Arab. *'alām*, eternity; חוֹתָם (Arab. *ḥātām*) a seal (according to Barth a loan-word of Egyptian origin), fem. חוֹתָמָה (from *ḥōtām*); תוֹלַע worm (unless from a stem וּלַע, like תוֹשֵׁב from וָשַׁב; see the analogous cases in § 85 b). On the participles *Qal* of verbs ל"ה (§ 93, Paradigm III, c), cf. § 75 e; on the feminines of the participles *Qal*, which are formed with the termination ת, see below, s.

Rem. Of a different kind (probably from a ground-form *qauṭal*) are such forms as אוֹפֵן (or אוֹפֵן Ez 10<sup>9</sup> in the same verse) a wheel; גּוֹזֵל a young bird, דּוֹנֵן wax, &c.

s 14. The ground-form *qāṭil* also becomes in Hebrew almost invariably קוֹטָל (קֹטֵל). Besides participles active masc. *Qal* this class includes also feminines of the form קוֹטָלָה, if their ground-form *qōṭalt* (§ 69 c) goes back to an original *qāṭilt*. The substantives of this form, such as כֹּהֵן priest (Arab. *kāhīn*), were also originally participles *Qal*. The fem. of the substantives has *ē* (lengthened from *i*) retained before the tone, e. g. יֹלְרָה a woman in travail (cf. also בְּגֵרָה the treacherous woman, Jer 3<sup>8</sup>; הַצֹּלְעָה her that halleth, Mi 4<sup>6 f.</sup>, Zp 3<sup>19</sup>; כֹּחֲרָה a buckler, ψ 91<sup>4</sup>); the participles as a rule have the form יֹלְרָה, &c., the original *i* having become *Ṣewa*; however, the form with *Ṣere* occurs also in the latter, Is 29<sup>8, 6</sup>, 34<sup>9</sup>, ψ 68<sup>28</sup>, 118<sup>18</sup> (all in principal pause; in subordinate pause 2 S 13<sup>20</sup>, Is 33<sup>14</sup>; with a conjunctive accent, Ct 1<sup>6</sup>).

t 15. The ground-form *qūṭāl*, Hebrew קוֹטָל (as יוֹבֵל river, Jer 17<sup>8</sup>) or קוֹטָל e. g. עֵינֵב a pipe, commonly עֵנֵב, and to be so read, with Baer, also in ψ 150<sup>4</sup>, not עֵנֵב.

V. Nouns with a Long Vowel in each Syllable.

u 16. קִטוּל, e. g. קִטוּר smoke. The few forms of this kind are probably derived from the ground-form *qīṭāl* (*qūṭāl* ?), i. e. the original *á* has become an obscure *ó*.

§ 84<sup>b</sup>. *Formation of Nouns from the Intensive Stem.*

This includes all forms which have arisen, either through the *a* doubling of the middle radical, or the repetition of one or of two consonants of the simple stem.

VI. *Nouns with the Middle Consonant sharpened.*

As in the corresponding verbal stems (cf. § 52 *f*), so also in some noun-formations of this class, the Dageš in the second radical expresses an intensification of the idea of the stem, either emphasizing the energy of the action or relation, or else indicating a longer continuance of the relation or state. Other nouns of this character are evidently only by-forms of the nouns derived from the simple stem, which were treated in the last section: cf. the instances adduced under *f* and *g*, and Barth, *Nominalbildung*, Introd., p. x.

17. The ground-form *qättäl* is mostly lengthened in Hebrew to קָטַל; cf. *b* אֵילָא *a stag*, fem. אֵילָה, constr. st. אֵילָת (from 'äyyält); cf. also the fem. (originating from *Qal*) אֵלְהָבָה *a flame* (according to § 27 *q* for lähhābhā), אֵלְהָבָה *dry land* (for ḥarrābhā), אֵלְהָבָה and אֵלְהָבָה *a burning fever*, אֵלְהָבָה and אֵלְהָבָה *dry land*, אֵלְהָבָה *a seal-ring*, אֵלְהָבָה *consumption*. Adjectives of this class ('intensified participles of the active verb', Barth, *ibid.*, § 33) are אֵלְהָבָה *sinful*, אֵלְהָבָה *went to gore*, אֵלְהָבָה *jealous*, אֵלְהָבָה (for *kahhāš*, by § 22 *c*) *lying*. *Nomina opificum* also, curiously enough, are so treated in Hebrew (at least in the constr. state of the sing.), although the corresponding Arabic form *qättäl* points to an original (unchangeable) *ä* in the second syllable; cf. אֵלְהָבָה *a thief*, אֵלְהָבָה *a judge* (constr. st. אֵלְהָבָה ψ 68<sup>b</sup>), אֵלְהָבָה *a cook*, אֵלְהָבָה (for ḥarrās) *artificer* (constr. st. אֵלְהָבָה, but plur. constr. אֵלְהָבָה); אֵלְהָבָה *horseman* (for parrās), constr. st. אֵלְהָבָה Ez 26<sup>10</sup>.

18. The ground-form *qättäl* appears in אֵלְהָבָה *dry*, אֵלְהָבָה *haughty* (the *i* being C lengthened to *ē* according to § 22 *c*), if these forms go back to original *sihhäy*, *gi'äy*. On the analogy, however, of the adjectives denoting defects (see *d* below), we should rather expect a ground-form *qättül*; moreover, אֵלְהָבָה *ground-form of the fem.* אֵלְהָבָה *foolishness*, goes back to an original *i* *will*, see § 69 *c*.

19. The ground-form *qättäl* and *qättül*; cf. the fem. אֵלְהָבָה *spelt*, אֵלְהָבָה *coat*.

20. The ground-form *qättül*; from the intensive stem, the infinitives *Pi'el* of *d* the form אֵלְהָבָה.

21. The ground-form *qättül*, in Hebrew lengthened to אֵלְהָבָה. Of this form are a considerable number of adjectives which denote a bodily or mental fault or defect. Cf. אֵלְהָבָה *disabled*, אֵלְהָבָה *dumb*, אֵלְהָבָה *hump-backed*, אֵלְהָבָה *blind*, אֵלְהָבָה *deaf* (for ḥirreš), אֵלְהָבָה *lame*, אֵלְהָבָה *bald*, אֵלְהָבָה *perverse*; אֵלְהָבָה *open-eyed* follows the same analogy.

22. The ground-form *qättäl*, cf. the remarks in *b* above, on the *nomina opificum*; moreover, to this class belong infinitives *Pi'el* of the Aramaic form אֵלְהָבָה *a searching out*; אֵלְהָבָה *a request*; with middle guttural (see § 22 *c*) אֵלְהָבָה *contumely*; but cf. also אֵלְהָבָה Ez 35<sup>12</sup>, with full lengthening of the original *ä* before א; אֵלְהָבָה *comfort*. From the attenuation of the *ä* of this form to *i*, arises undoubtedly:

23. The ground-form *qättäl*, e. g. אֵלְהָבָה *husbandman* (Arab. 'äkkār).

24. The ground-form *qättäl*, most probably only a variety of the form *qättäl* with the *ä* attenuated to *i* (as in No. 23), and the *ä* obscured to *ö* (as in *n* and

r); cf. גָּבוֹר *hero* (Arab. *gābbār*), יָסוּר *caviller*, צִפּוֹר *(piper or chirper) a bird*, שָׁכוֹר *drunkard*. On the other hand, יָלוּד *born* probably arises from *yullād*, an old participle passive of *Qal*, the *ū* being dissimilated in the sharpened syllable before *ō*: so Barth, *ibid.*, p. 41 f.

f 25. The ground-form *qāṭīl*, קָטִיל, almost exclusively of persons, who possess some quality in an intensive manner, e.g. אָבִיר *strong*, צַדִּיק *righteous*, בְּרִיחַ *fugitive* (for *barri<sup>a</sup>h*), עָרִיץ *violent* (for *'ārrīš*).

That some of these are only by-forms of the *qāṭīl*-class (see above, remark on *a*), appears from the *constr. st.* פְּרִיץ *ravenous*, Is 35<sup>9</sup> (but פְּרִיצִי, פְּרִיצִים always), and according to Barth (*ibid.*, 35 *a*) also from the *constr. st.* אָבִיר (but also אָבִיר I S 21<sup>8</sup>) of אָבִיר. However, the form אָבִיר, as a name of God, may be intentionally differentiated from אָבִיר, a poetic term for the bull.

In the same way אָסִיר *prisoner*, כְּרִים *eunuch* (*constr. st.* always כְּרִים, plur. כְּרִימִים, *constr. st.* כְּרִימִי Gn 40<sup>7</sup>, but in the book of Esther always כְּרִימִי with suffix כְּרִימִי, &c.), and עֲתִיק *weaned*, may be regarded as by-forms of the *qāṭīl*-class with passive meaning, see § 84<sup>a</sup> l.

g 26. The ground-form *qāṭīl*, קָטִיל, e.g. חַנּוּן *gracious*, רַחוּם *compassionate* (with virtual strengthening of the ח), קָדוֹן *diligent* (for *harrūs*), probably, again, to a large extent by-forms of the *qāṭīl*-class, § 84<sup>a</sup> m. The same applies to substantives like אֵשֶׁר *a step* (in אֲשֶׁרִי, as well as אֲשֶׁר, &c.), עַמּוּד *pillar*; fem. חַבּוּרָה *a stripe* (also חַבְּרוֹת), בְּטָחוֹת *security*: cf. Barth, *ibid.*, § 84.

h 27. The ground-form *qāṭīl*; besides the infinitives absolute *Pīl* of the form קָטַל, also קָנָא *jealous* (as well as קָנָה, an obscured form of *qāṭīl*, see *e*).

i 28. The ground-form *qāṭīl*, קָטִיל, e.g. צָפָיִי *a coating of metal*, שְׁלוּם *requital*, עָזוֹן *drink*, שְׂקָיִן *detestable thing*; with concrete meaning לְמוּד *a disciple*, עָזוֹן *strong*; frequently in the plural in an abstract sense, as גְּדוּפִים *reproach*, מְלֵאִים *filling* (the induction of a priest), נְחָמִים *consolations, compassion*, שְׂבָבִים *bereavement*, שְׁלָחִים *dismissal*, שְׂבָרִים *observance*.

#### VII. Nouns with the Third Consonant repeated.

l 29. The ground-form *qāṭlāl*, e.g. שָׁאֵן *quiet*, fem. שְׂאֵנָה (with sharpening of the second *Nūn*, in order to keep the preceding vowel short); רֶעֶן *green*, plur. רֶעֶנִים.

l 30. The ground-form *qāṭlāl*, in Hebrew קָטַלֵּל; of this form are e.g. the infinitives *Pīlāl* (prop. *Pa'ṭl*), cf. § 55 *d*.

m 31. The ground-form *qāṭlāl*; so the plur. גְּבִנִים *ridges* (with sharpening of the *Nūn*, as in No. 29).

32. The ground-form *qūṭlāl*, in פְּרָחַח *a brood*.

33. The ground-form *qūṭlāl*, in אֲמָלֵל *faint*.

34. The ground-form *qāṭlāl*, e.g. עֲבָטִים *plunder*, סְרִיר *rain-storm*, שְׁפִיר *glittering tapestry*, Jer 43<sup>10</sup> *Q<sup>e</sup>rē*; with attenuation of the *ā* to *i* in כְּמַרְרִים *all that maketh black*, Jb 5<sup>8</sup> (but the better reading is כְּמַרְרִי).

35. The ground-form *qāṭlāl*, e.g. שְׂפָרוֹר Jer 43<sup>10</sup> *K<sup>e</sup>th.*; נְאֻפִים *adulteries*.

#### VIII. Nouns with the Second and Third Consonants repeated.

n 36-39. *Q<sup>e</sup>ṭālāl*, *q<sup>e</sup>ṭālāl*, *q<sup>e</sup>ṭālāl*; *q<sup>e</sup>ṭālāl*, *q<sup>e</sup>ṭālāl* (in *fem.* and *plur.* often with the last consonant sharpened for the reason given in *a* above); cf. הַכְּפָהּ

crooked, חֲלָקָהְלוֹת *slippery places*; עֲקָלְלוֹת *crooked (ways)*; פְּתִילָהְלוֹת *tortuous*; also words denoting colours, אֲדָמָהְלוֹת (Lv 13<sup>42,49</sup> in pause) *reddish*, fem. אֲדָמָהְלוֹת, plur. אֲדָמָהְלוֹת; יִרְקָהְלוֹת *greenish*, plur. fem. יִרְקָהְלוֹת; *q<sup>e</sup>alil*, יִפְיָהְלוֹת *very fair* (to be read in Jer 46<sup>20</sup> for *יפהפיה*); *q<sup>e</sup>altil*, שְׁחֲחֲרָהְלוֹת (fem.) *blackish*; אֲסָפָהְלוֹת *a rabble* (augmented from אָסַף *collected*). From a verb פִּי with aphaeresis of the initial syllable אֲפִיָּים *offspring*. Moreover, of the same form, probably, is חֲצוּצָהְלוֹת *a trumpet* (for חֲצוּצָהְלוֹת, cf. § 55 e). Also in Is 2<sup>20</sup> לְחַפְרָהְלוֹת is to be read instead of לְחַפְרָהְלוֹת (from the sing. חֲפְרָהְלוֹת *a digging or burrowing animal, perhaps the mole*). But פְּתָחְלוֹת *opening*, Is 61<sup>1</sup> (ed. Mant., Baer, Ginsb. פְּתָחְלוֹת), is an evident mistake due to dittography; read פְּתָחְלוֹת as in 42<sup>7</sup>.

IX. *Nouns in which the Whole (Biliteral) Stem is repeated.*

Naturally this class includes only isolated forms of the stems ע"ו and ע"ע O (on פִּיפִיּוֹת see § 96 under פִּה). Thus:—

40. גִּלְגָּל *a wheel*, and, with attenuation of the first ā to ī, גִּלְגָּל (from גִּלָּל); fem. חֲלָהְלוֹת *anguish* (from חָלָהְלוֹת or חִילָהְלוֹת); כֶּכֶר (for *kirkar*) *a talent*; cf. also כּוֹכֵב *a star* (from *kāwkāb*, Arabic *kaukāb*, for כֶּכֶבֶב, *bands*, for טַפְטַפָּת; צִלְצִל probably *a whirring locust*).
41. פִּלְפֵּל infin. *Filpēl* (prop. *Palpūl*) from פָּוַל; fem. טֹטְלוֹת *a hurling* (from טָוַל).
42. כֶּכֶר perhaps *a ruby* (for *kādkūd*), from כָּדָר.
43. קִקְוֹד *the crown of the head* (for *qudqūd*), from קָדָר; fem. גִּלְגֻּלָּת *a skull* (for *gūlgūl*), from גָּלָל.
44. וְרוּיִר *girded*, from וָרָר; בֶּקְבֹּקֶת *a bottle*, from בֶּקֶת; בִּרְבִּירִים *fattened birds* (?).

§ 85. *Nouns with Preformatives and Affirmatives.*

These include nouns which are directly derived from verbal forms *a* having preformatives (*Hiph'il, Hoph'al, Hitpa'el, Niph'al, &c.*), as well as those which are formed with other preformatives (א, י, מ, נ, ת), and finally those which are formed with affirmatives. The quadrilaterals and quinquilaterals also are taken in connexion with these formations, inasmuch as they arise almost always by the addition or insertion of one or two consonants to the trilateral stem.

X. *Nouns with Preformatives.*

45. Nouns with א prefixed. Cf. the substantives with א prosthetic (§ 19 m), *b* such as אֲרֹוּעַ *arm* (Jer 32<sup>21</sup>, Jb 31<sup>22</sup>; elsewhere always אֲרֹוּעַ); אֲצִפֵּעַ *a finger*, אֲרִבָּה *a locust*, אֲנִרוּף *fist* (others *mattock, or clod*), אֲשִׁמְרָהְלוֹת or אֲשִׁמְרָת *a watch*. In these examples the א is a 'euphonic' prefix (Barth, *ibid.*, § 150 b); in other cases it is 'essential'; cf. especially the adjectives, אֲכֹזֵב *deceitful*, אֲכֹזֵר *cruel*, אֲיָתֵן *perennial* (for 'aitan) [=the Arab. 'elative', used for expressing the compar. and superl. degrees]. The fem. אֲנִפְרָהְלוֹת *fragrant part*<sup>1</sup> (of the meal-

<sup>1</sup> Or perhaps more correctly with Jacob, *ZAW*. 1897, p. 79, 'declaration,' i.e. the part of the meal-offering which 'announces the sacrifice and its object'.

offering) is a *nomen verbale* of *Hiph'il*, answering to the Aramaic infinitive of the causal stem ('*Aph'el*), hence with suff. אֲפִרְתָּהּ Lv 2<sup>7</sup>, &c.

**C** 46. Nouns with ה prefixed. Besides the ordinary infinitives of *Hiph'il* הַקָּטֵל and הַקָּטִיל, of *Niph'al* הַקָּטֵל, הַקָּטִיל (for *hinq.*), and of the conjugations formed with the prefix הַת, this class also includes some rare *nomina verbalia* derived from *Hiph'il* (cf. § 72 z), viz. הַפָּרָה *appearance* (from נָכַר), Is 3<sup>9</sup>; הַנִּפְּהָ *a swinging* (from נָפַח), [Is 30<sup>28</sup>; הַנְּחָה *a rest-giving*, Est 2<sup>18</sup>]; הַצִּלָּה *deliverance* (from נָצַל), [Est 4<sup>14</sup> an Aram. form: cf. הִזְדָּה Dn 5<sup>20</sup>]; perhaps also הַיָּבֵל *palace*, from *haikäl*, unless it is borrowed from the Assyrian; see the Lexicon.

**d** 47. Nouns with י prefixed, as יֶצְהָר *oil*, יֶלְקוּט *wallet*, יֶנְשׂוּף *owl* (?); from verbs יָעַר, e. g. יָקוּם *a living thing*, יָתוּר *a range*; from a verb יָיַב, עֵי יָיַב *an adversary*. Of a different character are the many proper names which have simply adopted the imperfect form, as יַעֲקֹב, יַצְחָק, &c.

**e** 48. Nouns with מ prefixed. This *preformative Mêm*, which is no doubt connected with מִי *who*, and מָה *what* (see § 37 and § 52 c), appears in a very large number of nouns, and serves to express the most varied modifications of the idea of the stem: (1) מ *subjective*, when preformative of the participles *P'el*, *Hiph'il*, *Hithpa'el*, and other active conjugations. (2) מ *objective*, when preformative of the participles *Pu'al*, *Hoph'al*, and other passive conjugations, as well as of numerous nouns. (3) מ *instrumental*, as in מַפְתֵּחַ *a key*, &c. (4) מ *local*, as in מְרַבֵּר *a drive for cattle*, &c.

**f** As regards the formation of these nouns, it is to be remarked that the preformative מ was originally in most cases followed by a short ä. This ä, however, in a closed syllable is frequently attenuated to ĩ; in an open syllable before the tone it is lengthened to ā (so also the ĩ, attenuated from ä, is lengthened to ē), and in מִגְן *shield* (with suff. מִגְנִי) it even becomes unchangeable á. But in an open syllable which does not stand before the tone, the ä necessarily becomes *S'wā*.

**g** The following forms are especially to be noticed: (a) ground-form *māqtāl*, in Hebrew מִקָּטַל,<sup>1</sup> e. g. מִמְּאֹכֵל *food*; fem. מַמְּלָכָה *kingdom*, מִמְּאֹכֶלֶת *a knife*, מִמְּלֹאכָה *a knife*, מִמְּלֹאכָה by § 23 c) *business*; from a verb מָתַן *a gift*; from verbs מָצָא, מוֹצֵא *a going forth*, מוֹשֵׁב *a seat*; from verbs מָיַטַב *the best* (from *maittāb*); with י (or י) assimilated, מִצָּע *a bed*; from verbs מָסַךְ *a screen*, and with the shortening of the ä under the preformative, מִמָּר *bitterness* (from מָר developed to a *segholate*), fem. מִשְׁמָה *desolation*; from a verb מָוַה *probably* of this class is מִקוֹם *place*, the ä lengthened to ā and obscured to ô (Aramaic *māqām*); from verbs מָרָא *appearance*, מַעַן (for מִכְּעֵנָה) *prop. intention*, only in לְמַעַן *on account of, in order that*.

**h** (b) Ground-form *miqtāl* (the usual form of the infin. *Qal* in Aramaic), Hebr. מִקָּטַל, e. g. מְרַבֵּר (in Jer 2<sup>31</sup> also, where Baer requires הַמְרַבֵּר, read with ed. Mant., Ginsburg, &c. הַמְרַבֵּר) *a cattle-drive*, fem. מְרַבֵּרָה *war*, מְרַבֵּבָה *a chariot* (with *S'ghöl* instead of ĩ, but in *constr. st.* מְרַבֵּבָת Gn 41<sup>43</sup>; cf. מְרַחֵק *distance*), מְשַׁמְרֵת *a watch*; from verbs מָסַב, e. g. מִסָּב *surroundings* (from *mī-sāb*; ĩ in the open syllable being lengthened to ē; but cf. also מִשָּׂק Is 33<sup>4</sup> as *constr. state* from שָׂקַק with sharpening of the first radical; cf. § 67 g); from verbs מָהָה *l.*, מְקַנָּה *a possession*, fem. מְקַנָּה.

<sup>1</sup> In כְּמִתְקִים Ct 5<sup>16</sup>, Neh 8<sup>10</sup>, the first syllable is artificially opened to avoid the cacophony; on the ä of the second syllable cf. § 93 *ee*.

(c) Ground-form *māqūl*, Hebr. מקטל, e. g. משׂען *a support* (fem. מִשְׁעָנָה), *מַסְגֵּר* *a smith*, מַעְשֵׂר *a tithe*; fem. מִבְּשֵׁלָה *a ruin*; from a verb פִּיץ *an overthrow*, מַצְבֵּה *a pillar*; from verbs עָגַע *מִגֵּן* *a shield*; fem. מִגִּלָּה *a roll* (from גָּלַל), מַאֲרָה *a curse* (for *m<sup>e</sup>irrā* from אָרַר); from a verb פִּיץ *מוֹקֵשׁ* *a snare* (from *māwqīš*).

(d) Ground-form *mīqūl*, Hebr. מקטיל, e. g. מִסְפָּד *mourning*, מִזְבֵּחַ *an altar* (*place of sacrifice*); from a verb עָעַע, e. g. מִסֵּב (מִסֵּב?) *concessus*; (e) ground-form *māqūl*, Hebr. מקטל, fem. מִמְאֲכָלָת *food*, מִשְׂבָּרָת *wages*; from a verb עָעַע, fem. מִסְכָּה *a covering* (from סָכַח). Also from עָעַע, according to the Masora, מַעוֹן *a refuge*, with suffixes מַעְוִי and מַעוּי, plur. מַעְוִים, but, very probably, most if not all of these forms are to be referred to the stem עוּן *to flee for safety*, and therefore should be written מַעוּי, &c. The form מַעוֹן, if derived from the stem עוּן, would mean *stronghold*.—Cf. also מְרִירָה *faintness*, developed to a segholate, probably from מְרִירָה, for *mārōkh* from מְרִירָה, like מְרִירָה *soundness of body*, from מְרִירָה.

With a long vowel in the second syllable: (f) ground-form *maqūl*, with *ā* always obscured to *ō*, e. g. מְחַסֵּר *want*, מְלִקוּחַ *booty*; from verbs עָעַע, e. g. מְגוּרָה *fear*, fem. מְגוּרָה and מְגוּרָה (with the *ō* depressed to *ū* in a toneless syllable; cf. § 27 n), מְהוּמָה, &c., Is 22<sup>b</sup>. (g) Ground-form *mīqūl*, in Hebr. again מקטול, e. g. מְסַתֵּר *a covert*, מְכַשּׁוּל *a stumbling-block* (cf. above under *i*, *mākḥšēlā*); fem. מְכַמְרָת *a fishing-net*; (h) the ground-forms *maqūl*, *miqūl* (cf. מִקְוִים) are found only in participles *Hiph'il*; the fem. מְבִלְיִינִית *cheerfulness*, is a denominative formed from a participle *Hiph'il*; (i) ground-form *māqūl*, as מְלִבְיִישׁ *a garment*.

Rem. On מ as preformative of the participles of all the conjugations except *III Qal* and *Niph'al*, cf. § 52 c. Many of these participles have become substantives, as מְזַפְּרָת *snuffers*, מִשְׁחִית *destroyer, destruction*.

49. Nouns with נ prefixed. Besides the participles *Niph'al* (ground-form נִמְקָטָל, still retained e. g. in נִמְלָד for *nāwlād*, but commonly attenuated to *nīqūl*, Hebr. נִמְקָטָל) and the infinitive *Niph'al* of the form נִמְקָטָל, the prefix נ is found in נִמְתַּלְּמִים *wrestlings*, Gn 30<sup>8</sup>, which is also to be referred to *Niph'al*, and נִייד *boiled pottage* (stem וייד).

50. With ש prefixed, e. g. שִׁלְהֶבֶת *a flame*. On this *Šaph'el* formation, cf. § 55 i. O

51. Nouns with ת prefixed. Examples of this formation are numerous, especially from weak stems, for the purpose of strengthening them phonetically (see Barth, *ibid.*, p. 283), and notably from verbs פִּיץ and פִּיץ. They may be classified as follows:—(a) the ground-form תִּמְקָטָל in תִּמְקָטָל *ostrich* (?); from verbs פִּיץ *תוֹשֵׁב* *a settler*; fem. תּוֹחֵלָת *expectation*, תּוֹכַחַת (from the *Hiph'il* correction); from a verb פִּיץ *תִּימֵן* *the south*; from verbs פִּיץ and לָהַח *תּוֹרָה* *thanksgiving*, and תּוֹרָה *law*, both from *Hiph'il*; from a verb פִּיץ and לָהַח *תּוֹצְאוֹת* *issues*; probably belonging to this class, from verbs עָעַע *תִּבְבֵּל* *confusion*, and תִּמָּס *a melting away* (developed from תִּבְבֵּל and תִּמָּס, from בָּלַל and מָסַס).

(b) *Tiqūl*, e. g. fem. תִּפְאָרָת and תִּפְאָרָת *glory*; from a verb לָהַח, e. g. תִּקְוָה *hope*; (c) *tāqūl*, e. g. תִּשְׁבָּץ *chequer work*; fem. תִּרְדָּמָה *deep sleep* (probably from the *Niph'al* תִּרְדַּם); from a verb פִּיץ *תִּבְחָה* *correction* (from the *Hiph'il*-stem, like the constr. *st. plur.* תּוֹלְדוֹת *generations*); from verbs עָעַע *תִּהְלָה* *praise*, תִּפְלָה *prayer* (from the *Pi'el* of the stems הָלַל and פָּלַל).

- 7' With a long vowel in the second syllable: (d) *tīqtāl*, as תהום *the ocean, the deep* (for *tihām*; in Assyrian the fem. *tīāmtu*, constr. st. *tīāmat*, is the usual word for *sea*), unless it is to be derived with Delitzsch, *Prolegomena*, p. 113, from the stem תהם; (e) *tīqtīl* (in Arabic the usual form of the infinitive of conjugation II. which corresponds to the Hebrew *Pī'ēl*), e.g. from a verb ל"ה fem. תְּכַלִּית *completeness*; תְּרִבִּית *increase, usury*, with a parallel form מְרִבִּית; in a passive sense, תַּלְמִיד *a disciple*; (f) תַּקְטִיל, e.g. תַּפּוּחַ *an apple* (for *tānpū'āh*); very frequently used to form abstracts, e.g. תַּמְנוּל *a benefit* (also נְמוּל); from verbs עִירַם *a treading down*, תְּנוּפָה *a waving* (like תְּרוּמָה *a lifting up*, from the *Hiph'ūl* stem), תְּשׁוּקָה *a longing*, &c.; very frequently also as an abstract plural, e.g. תְּהַפְכוּת *perverseness*, תְּהַבְלוּת *guidance*, תְּמַרְרוּרִים *bitterness*, תְּנַחֲמִים and תְּנַחֲמוֹת *consolation*; from a verb עִוַּי, תְּנַחֵם *toil*.

#### XI. Nouns with Affirmatives.

- § 52. Nouns with ל affixed. Perhaps חֲשֵׁמֶל *amber* (?), and probably בְּרוֹן *iron*, בְּרָמֶל *garden-land* (*S<sup>e</sup>ghōl* in both cases is probably a modification of the original *ā* in the tone-syllable), גְּבֻעַל *bloom*, cf. § 30 g.—According to Prätorius, *ZDMG*. 1903, p. 530 ff., *al* is an affix of endearment in the proper names מֵיכַל, חֲמוּטַל (*little lizard* ?) אֲבִיגַיִל (also אֲבִיגַיִל).
- † 53. Nouns with ם affixed. With an original *ām* as affirmative, אֵילָם *vestibule* (although the *ā* in the *sing.* remains unchangeable), plur. אֵילָמִים; but in כְּנָם *a swarm of gnats*, the ם is radical. With original affirmative *ām*, עִירָם (also עִירָם) *naked* (from עוּר), plur. עִירָמִים Gn 3<sup>7</sup>, parallel form עָרוֹם, plur. עָרוּמִים Gn 2<sup>25</sup>.—To this class also belong the adverbs in *ām* and *ōm*, mentioned in § 100 g, and many proper names, as גְּרִישָׁם, also גְּרִישׁוֹם, and גְּרִישׁוֹן (*patronymic* גְּרִישָׁנִי), מִלְפָם, עֲמָרָם, &c.; but for פְּדִיּוֹם *ransom* (?), Nu 3<sup>49</sup>, probably פְּדוּיָם is to be read.
- ‡ 54. Nouns with ן affixed. The ן is added by means of a simple helping vowel in כְּנַעַן *Canaan*, and צַפְרָן *a finger nail*; more frequently the addition is made by means of a tone-bearing *ā*, which in Hebrew is modified to *S<sup>e</sup>ghōl* (as גְּרָן *axe*) or lengthened to *ā* (but cf. also אֲהַרְנִית and קְדַרְבִּית); e.g. קַנְיָן *a possession*, שְׁלֵחָן *a table*, קָרְבָן *an offering*. From an original *ā* being changed into an obscure *ō* we may probably explain such forms as דְּאָבוֹן *a pining away*; דְּרָבוֹן (also דְּרָבָן) *a goad*; רַעְבּוֹן *hunger*; from verbs ל"ה גָּאוֹן *pride*, הָמוֹן *noise*, חוֹזוֹן *a vision*; שְׂרִיּוֹן *a coat of mail*; from a verb פ"ן מִשְׁאָוֹן *guile* (the only instance with both *m* preformative and *ōn* affirmative)<sup>1</sup>; very frequently from the simple stem with an unorganic sharpening of the second radical, e.g. זְכָרוֹן *memorial*, בְּלִיּוֹן *destruction* (constr. st. וְזָכָרוֹן and בְּלִיּוֹן), &c.; cf. also הַרְיוֹן *pregnancy* (for הָרָה) and § 93 uu; יִקְלָלוֹן *shame*, for יִקְלָלוּן. Proper names occur with the termination *ūn*, as יִשְׂרָוֹן, § 86 g, and others.

<sup>1</sup> The plurals נְצַנִּים *flowers*, Ct 2<sup>12</sup>, and קַמְשָׁנִים *thorns* appear to be formed directly from the singulars נִצַּן (cf. נִצָּה) and קַמּוּשׁ with the insertion of *ān* (which in 'קמ' is obscured to *ōn*). See Nöldeke, *Mand. Gr.*, p. 169, Rem. 3; similarly, according to Hoffmann, 'Einige phöniz. Inschriften,' p. 15 (*Abh. der Gött. Ges. der Wiss.*, xxxvi), עֹבּוֹנִים *wares*, Ez 27<sup>14, 16</sup> from עֹבּוֹ = עֹבֵב.

Rem. A large number of proper names now ending in ה־ or י־ used to *ו* be classed as nouns originally formed with the affix ין־. The subsequent rejection of the final *Nûn* seemed to be confirmed by the form מְגִדוֹן, once used (*Zc* 12<sup>11</sup>) for מְגִדוֹ (and conversely in *Pr* 27<sup>20</sup> אֲבֵרָה *Kethibh* אֲבֵרָה, *Qere* אֲבֵרָה for אֲבֵרָה *destruction*), also by the fact that for שְׁלֹמֹה the LXX give the form Σολωμών or Σαλωμών, and especially that in patronymics and tribal names (§ 86 h) a *Nûn* appears before the termination *i*, as גִּילְנִי *Gilonite* from גִּלְה־ and שְׁיִלְנִי from שְׁיִלְה־ (modern name *Sailûn*). Wetzstein, however (in *Delitzsch's Commentary on Job*, 1st ed., p. 599), explained the *Nûn* in מְגִדוֹן as a secondary addition to the common old-Palestinian termination *ô* (יְרִיחוֹ, עֵבֹ, רְמוֹנוֹ, &c.), and Barth (*Nominalbildung*, § 224 b) has since shown the unsoundness of the prevailing view on other grounds: the rejection of the *Nûn* would be much more likely to occur in the numerous appellatives in *ôn* than in proper names, and גִּילְנִי and שְׁיִלְנִי are due to the necessity of avoiding, for euphonic reasons, such forms as *gilô-i*, *šilô-i*, &c.; cf. also שְׁלֹמֹה from שְׁלֹה־.

On the affirmatives י־, י־, וְה־, י־, see below, § 86 h-l.

## XII. Quadrilaterals and Quinquilaterals.

55. גִּלְכֹּוֹד *barren*, חֲלָמִישׁ *a flint*, and the fem זֶלְעָפָה *heat*, &c., have probably *ט* arisen from the insertion of a ל ; חֲרָזִל *a locust*, קֶרֶד *an axe*, סְרַעְפָּה *a branch*, *Ez* 31<sup>6</sup> (verses 6, 8 סְרַעְפָּה, שְׂרַעְפָּים, also שְׂרַעְפָּים) *anxious thoughts*, שְׂרַפִּיט *sceptre*, from insertion of a ר, which is common in Aramaic. Cf., moreover, חֲרָמִישׁ *a sickle*, סְקָרָה *vine-blossom*; with an initial ע, עֵטֶלֶף *a bat*, עֵפְפָּיִשׁ *a spider*, עֵקְבָּר *a mouse*, עֵקְרָב *a scorpion*,<sup>1</sup> &c.—Quinquilateral, צַפְרָדַע *a frog*.

## § 86. Denominative Nouns.

1. Such are all nouns formed *immediately* from another noun, *u* whether the latter be primitive or derived from a verb, e.g. קֶרְמוֹן *eastern*, immediately from קָרַם *the east* (verbal stem קָרַם *to be in front*).

2. Most of the forms which nouns of this class assume have already *ו* been given in §§ 84 and 85, since the denominatives, as secondary (although in some cases very old) forms, invariably follow the analogy of the verbal derivatives. As, for instance, the verbals with a prefixed מ (*§ 85 e to m*) express the place, &c., of an action, so the denominatives with מ *local* represent the place where a thing is found or its neighbourhood (see *e*).

The most common forms of denominatives are—

1. Those like the *participle Qal* (§ 84<sup>a</sup> s), e.g. שְׂעָר *a porter*, from שָׁעַר *a gate*; בִּקְרָה *a herdsman*, from בָּקַר *a herd*; בִּרְסָה *a vinedresser*, from בָּרַם *a vineyard*.

2. Those like the form *qāttāl* (§ 84<sup>b</sup> b), e.g. קֶשֶׁת *an archer*, from קִשְׁתָּה *a bow*. *l*

<sup>1</sup> Derenbourg (*REJ.*, 1883, p. 165) infers from the above examples and a comparison of the Arabic *'usfûr*, *sparrow* (from *şafara*, *to chirp*), that ע was especially employed to form quadrilateral names of animals.

Both these forms (c and d) indicate customary occupations, inhering in the subject, like Greek nouns in *της, τεύς*, e. g. *πολίτης, γραμματεύς*.

e 3. Nouns with **מ** prefixed, denoting the place where a thing is (cf. § 85 e), or its neighbourhood, e. g. *מַעְיָן* a place of fountains, from *עָיַן*; *מַרְגְּלוֹת* the place about the feet, *מַרְאֲשׁוֹת* the place about the head, from *רָגַל*; *רֹאשׁ*, *מִקְשָׁה* (for *מִקְשָׁה*) a cucumber field, from *קִישָׁא* cucumber. Cf. *ἀμπελῶν* from *ἀμπελος*.

f 4. Nouns with the termination **וֹן** or **וִין** expressing adjectival ideas: *קֶדְמוֹן* eastern, from *קָדַם*; *אַחֲרוֹן* posterior, from *אַחַר*; *חַיצוֹן* exterior, from *חָיצוֹן*; probably also *לְוִיָּהּ* coiled, hence coiled animal, serpent, from *לָוְיָהּ* a winding; *נְחֹשֶׁת* brazen, from *נְחָשֶׁת* brass. Also abstracts, e. g. *עֵוָרוֹן* blindness, from *עָוָר*. Cf. § 85 u.—With a double termination (*ôn* or *ân* with *i*) *אֲדָמְנִי* reddish, *יֹדְעָנִי* a knowing (spirit); *צַפְפְּנִי* basilisk; *רַחֲמָנִיּוֹת* merciful [fem. plur.].

g *וִין* appears to be used as a diminutive ending (cf. the Syriac *וִין*) in *אִישׁוֹן* little man (in the eye), apple of the eye, from *אִישׁ*<sup>1</sup>; on the other hand *שִׁפְיָן* adder, which was formerly regarded as a diminutive, is properly an adjectival form from *שָׁפַף* to rub (hence, as it were, a rubbing creature); in the same way *יִשְׂרָוִן* is a denominative from *יִשׂוּר* (= *יִשָּׁר*), properly upright (righteous people), and not a diminutive (pious little people, and the like); finally, *שֶׁהָרוֹן* is not lunula, but an artificial moon (used as an ornament), and *צַוְרָנִים* not little neck, but necklace (from *צַוָּאר* neck). Cf. Delitzsch on Ct 4<sup>o</sup>.

h 5. Peculiar to denominatives is the termination **וֹן**, which converts a substantive into an adjective, and is added especially to numerals and names of persons and countries, in order to form *ordinals, patronymics, and tribal names*; e. g. *רַגְלִי* footman, plur. *רַגְלִים*, from *רֶגֶל* foot; *נְכָרִי* strange, from *נָכַר* strangeness, *תַּחְתִּי* lower, from *תַּחַת* below, fem. *תַּחְתִּית* and *תַּחְתִּיָּהּ*, plur. *תַּחְתִּיּוֹת*, *תַּחְתִּיּוֹת* the sixth, from *שֵׁשׁ* six; *מוֹאָבִי* Moabite, from *מוֹאָב*, plur. *מוֹאָבִים*, fem. *מוֹאָבִיָּהּ* and *מוֹאָבִית*, plur. *מוֹאָבִיּוֹת*; *עִבְרִי* Hebrew, plur. *יִשְׂרָאֵלִי* Israelite, from *יִשְׂרָאֵל*. When the original substantive is a compound, it is resolved again into two words, e. g. *בְּנֵי־מִינִי* Benjamite, from *בְּנֵי־מִיָּן* (cf. on the use of the article in such cases, § 127 d).

i Instead of **וֹן** we find in a few cases (a) the ending **וֹן** (as in Aram.), e. g. *בִּילִי* (crafty, or, according to others, churlish) if it stands for *נְבִילִי* and is not rather from a stem *כלא* or *כלה*; *חֹזְרִי* white cloth, Is 19<sup>o</sup> in pause; perhaps also *זָבִי* a swarm of locusts, Am 7<sup>1</sup> *זָבִי* Na 3<sup>17</sup>; hardly *נְנִיּוֹתִי* Is 38<sup>20</sup>, Hb 3<sup>19</sup>; but certainly in proper names as *בַּרְזִילִי* (ferreus) Barzillai;<sup>2</sup> and (b) **וֹן**,

[<sup>1</sup> Cf. Barth, § 212; König, ii. 1, 413. Diminutives in Semitic languages are, however, most commonly formed by inserting a *y* after the second radical, e. g. Aram. *עוּלִימָא*, Syr. *حَكْمَلَا*, Arab. *عَلَيْمٌ* a very young man, *kulaib*, a little dog, &c. Since Olshausen (§ 180), *זְעִיר* (Is 28<sup>10, 13</sup>, Jb 36<sup>2</sup>) has commonly been regarded as an example of the same form, to which others have added *שְׁבִיטִים* Is 3<sup>18</sup> (as though a foreign dialectical form for *šumais*, little sun), and *אֲמִינוֹן* 2 S 13<sup>20</sup>, as a contemptuous diminutive form of *אֲמִנוֹן*; cf. Ewald, § 167, W. Wright, *Arab. Gramm.*<sup>2</sup> i. § 269, De Lagarde, *Nominalbildung*, pp. 85–87, König, ii. 1, p. 143 f. The existence of the form in Hebrew is disputed by Barth, § 192 d.]

<sup>2</sup> On **וֹן** as an old fem. ending, see above, § 80 l.

arising from *ay*, in אֵשׁ belonging to fire (אֵשׁ), i. e. a sacrifice offered by fire; לְבָנָה (prop. milky) the storax-shrub, Arabic lubnay.

6. Abstract nouns formed from concretes by the addition of וֹת, תְּ [יָ] לְ ( § 95 t), cf. our terminations -dom, -hood, -ness, e.g. יְלָדוֹת youth, מַלְכוּת kingdom (the omission of the Dageš in כ shows that the Šewā is weakened from a full vowel; on *matik* as underlying the present form מְלֵךְ cf. § 84<sup>a</sup> a) ; אֶלְמָנוּת widowhood, from אֶלְמָן widower, אֶלְמָנָה widow. In Aram. this fem. ending וֹת (or וֹ with rejection of the ת) is a common termination of the infinitive in the derived conjugations (cf., as substantival infinitives of this kind, הִשְׁמָעוֹת the announcing, Ez 24<sup>25</sup>, and הִתְחַבְּרוֹת the making of a league, Dn 11<sup>23</sup>); in Hebr. וֹת as a termination to express abstract ideas (including some which appear to be directly derived from the verbal stem, as סְבִלּוֹת folly, רְפִאוֹת a healing<sup>1</sup>) becomes more common only in the later books. It is affixed to adjectives ending in *i* (see above, h) in אֲכֹרִיּוֹת cruelty, and קוֹמְמִיּוֹת upright position (Lv 26<sup>13</sup>, used adverbially).

The ending יָתְ is found earlier, e.g. in שְׂאֵרֵית remainder, רִאשִׁית principium, from ראש = ראש (head) princeps. The termination *ôth* seems to occur in חֲכָמוֹת wisdom (in Pr 1<sup>20</sup>, 9<sup>1</sup>, joined to a singular; so also חֲכָמוֹת Pr 14<sup>1</sup>, where, probably, חֲכָמוֹת should likewise be read) and in הוֹלָלוֹת Ec 1<sup>17</sup>, &c., with the parallel form הוֹלָלוֹת Ec 10<sup>13</sup>.

### § 87. Of the Plural.

Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, i. 426 ff., and on the feminines, p. 441 ff.; M. Lambert, 'Remarques sur la formation du pluriel hébreu,' *REJ.* xxiv. 99 ff., and 'Les anomalies du pluriel des noms en Hébreu,' *REJ.* xliii. 206 ff.; P. Lajciak, *Die Plural- u. Dualendungen im semit. Nomen*, Lpz. 1903; J. Barth, 'Beiträge zur Pluralbildung des Semit.,' *ZDMG.* 1904, p. 431 ff., i. 'the *ai* of the constr. st.'

1. The regular plural termination for the masculine gender is יָם, *a* always with the tone, e.g. סוּס horse, plur. סוּסִים horses; but also very often written defectively סִם, especially when in the same word one of the vowel letters, ו or י, precedes, e.g. Gn 1<sup>21</sup> תַּיִנִּים. Nouns in יָ make their plural in יָם, e.g. עֵבְרִי a Hebrew, plur. עֵבְרִיִּים (Ex 3<sup>18</sup>); but usually contraction takes place, e.g. עֵבְרִים; שָׁנִים crimson garments, from שָׁנָי.

Nouns in הָ lose this termination when they take the plural *ô* ending, e.g. חֶזֶה seer, plur. חֶזִים (cf. § 75 h).—In regard to the loss of the tone from the סִם in the two old plurals מַיִם water and שָׁמַיִם heaven, cf. § 88 d and § 96.

The termination יָ is sometimes assumed also by feminines (cf. *c* נְשִׁים women, § 96 under אִשָּׁה; שָׁנִים years, from שָׁנָה; רְחֵלִים ewes, from רָחַל), so that an indication of gender is not necessarily implied in it (cf. also below, *m-p*).—On the use of this termination יָ to express abstract, extensive, and intensive ideas, cf. § 124.

<sup>1</sup> [See a complete list of instances in König, *Lehrgeäude*, ii. 1, p. 205 f.]

*d* The ending *im* is also common in Phoenician, e. g. צדנם *Sidonii*; Assyrian has *áni* (acc. to P. Haupt originally *ámi*, cf. § 88 *d*); Aramaic has *in*; Arabic *ána* (nominative) and *ina* (in the oblique cases, but in vulgar Arabic *in* is also used for the nominative); Ethiopic *án*. Cf. also the verbal ending *in* in the 3rd plur. perf. (§ 44 *l*) and in the 3rd and 2nd plur. impf. (§ 47 *m*).<sup>1</sup>

*e* Less frequent, or only apparent terminations of the plur. masc. are—

(a) *in*—, as in Aramaic,<sup>2</sup> found almost exclusively in the later books of the O. T. (apart from the poetical use in some of the older and even the oldest portions), viz. מלכין *kings*, Pr 31<sup>3</sup>, יָרֵיִן I K 11<sup>33</sup>, רָעִין *the guard*, 2 K 11<sup>13</sup>, חֲפִיִן *wheat*, Ez 4<sup>2</sup>; defectively יָאִין *islands*, Ez 26<sup>18</sup>; יָמִין *days*, Dn 12<sup>13</sup>. Cf. also מַרְדִּיִן *carpets*, Ju 5<sup>10</sup>, in the North-Palestinian song of Deborah, which also has other linguistic peculiarities; עֵיִן *heaps*, Mi 3<sup>12</sup> (before ת; cf. § 44 *k*); מְלִיִן *words* (from the really Aram. מְלִיָּה), Jb 4<sup>2</sup>, and twelve other places in Job (beside מְלִיָּים, ten times in Job); further, חֲרִיִן Jb 24<sup>22</sup>, אֲחָרִיִן 31<sup>10</sup>, and שׁוֹמְמִין La 1<sup>4</sup>, חֲפִיִן 4<sup>3</sup>.—The following forms are doubtful:

*f* (b) *in*— (with the *ד* rejected, as, according to some, in the *dual* יָרִי for רָיִים Ez 13<sup>18</sup>, cf. § 88 *c*), e. g. מְנִיִן *stringed instruments*, ψ 45<sup>9</sup> for מְנִיִּים (unless it is to be so written)<sup>3</sup>; עַמֵּי *peoples*, ψ 144<sup>2</sup>, and, probably, also La 3<sup>14</sup> (in 2 S 22<sup>44</sup> it may be taken as עַמֵּי *my people*; cf. in the parallel passage ψ 18<sup>44</sup> עַם; also in Ct 8<sup>2</sup> the *i* of רַמְנֵי is better regarded as a *suffix*); see also 2 S 23<sup>8</sup> as compared with 1 Ch 11<sup>11</sup>, and on the whole question Gesenius, *Lehrgebäude*, p. 524 ff. More doubtful still is—

*g* (c) *in*— (like the constr. state in Syriac), which is supposed to appear in e. g. שָׂרֵי *princes*, Ju 5<sup>15</sup> (perhaps *my princes* is intended: read either the constr. st. שָׂרֵי, which also has good authority, or with LXX שָׂרִים); for חֲלוֹנֵי וּם Jer 22<sup>14</sup> (according to others *dual*, see § 88 *c*, or a loan word, cf. ZA. iii. 93) read חֲלוֹנֵי כַפּוֹן. On חֲנֹרֵי and גֻּבֵי, which have also been so explained, see above, § 86 *i*.—חֲשִׁיפֵי Is 20<sup>4</sup> (where the right reading is certainly חֲשִׁיפֵי) must be intended by the Masora either as a singular with the formative syllable *in*— = *bareness* or, more probably, as a constr. st. with the original termination *ay* (cf. § 89 *d*) to avoid the harsh combination *h<sup>a</sup>súfê šēt<sup>4</sup>*; in אֲדֹנָי *the Lord* (prop. *my lord*, from the plur. *majestatis*, אֲדֹנָיִם *lord*), the *ay* was originally a *suffix*, § 135 *q*.

*h* (d) *in*—, a supposed *plural* ending in בָּנִים = בָּנִים *gnats* (or *lice*), and הָלָם *ladder* (supposed by some to be a plur. like our *stairs*); but cf. on the former, § 85 *t*.

*i* 2. The plural termination of the *feminine gender* is generally indicated by the termination וֹת (often written defectively ת—, e. g. תְּהִלָּה *song of praise, psalm*, plur. תְּהִלוֹת (only in post-biblical Hebrew

<sup>1</sup> On the connexion between all these endings see Dietrich's *Abhandl. zur hebr. Gram.*, Leipzig, 1846, p. 51 ff.; Halévy, *REJ.* 1888, p. 138 ff. [cf. also Driver, *Tenses*, § 6, *Obs.* 2].

<sup>2</sup> So also always in the Meša' inscription, e. g. line 2 שלשן *thirty*; line 4 מלכין *kings*; line 5 ימן רבן *many days*, &c.

<sup>3</sup> According to some this *i* is simply due to a neglect of the point (§ 5 *m*), which in MSS. and elsewhere marked the abbreviation of the plur. ending.

<sup>4</sup> Prätorius, *ZDMG.* 1903, p. 525, regards חֲשִׁיפֵי as an instance of the affix of endearment (cf. בְּלוֹבֵי, אֲחֻמֵי) transferred to an appellative, but such an explanation is rendered unlikely by the meaning of this isolated instance.

סֵפֶר תְּהִלּוֹת, as in the headings of the printed editions, as well as תְּהִלִּים *the Book of Psalms*); אֵיזָרָה a letter, plur. אֵיזָרוֹת; בְּאֵר a well, plur. בְּאֵרוֹת. Feminines in יָת־ form their plural in יוֹת־, e.g. מִצְרַיִת an Egyptian woman, plur. מִצְרַיִת; and those in יָת either make יוֹת־, as מְלָכֻתָּה kingdom, plur. מְלָכֻתוֹת, Dn 8<sup>22</sup> (cf. תְּנִיּוֹת cells, Jer 37<sup>16</sup>), or are inflected like עֲדוּתֵי testimonies (pronounced 'ēdhēwōth for 'ēdhūwōth).

It is only from a mistake or disregard of these feminine endings יָת־ and יוֹת־ that some words ending with them form their plural by the addition of יָם־ or אוֹת־, e.g. הַנִּיָּתִים spear, plur. הַנִּיָּתוֹת and הַנִּיָּתוֹת whoredom, plur. הַנִּיָּתוֹת (by the side of הַנִּיָּתוֹת; אֶלְמִנּוּתִים widowhood; שְׁחִיתוֹת pits, כְּפָתוֹת amulets (if connected with Assyr. *kāsu*, to bind), &c.

The termination -ōth stands primarily for -āth (which is the form it has in *l* Arab., Eth., in the *constr. st.* of Western Aramaic, in Eastern Syriac, and also in Assyrian; on the change of *ā* into an obscure *ō*, see § 9 *q*). On the other hand, it is doubtful whether this *āth* is to be regarded as a lengthened and stronger form of the singular fem. ending *āth* (cf. § 80 *b*).

How the changeable vowels of a noun are shortened or become *Šewā* in consequence of the addition of the plural endings is explained in §§ 92-5.

3. Words which in the singular are used both as masculine and *m* feminine (§ 122 *d*), often have in the plural parallel forms with the masculine and feminine terminations, e.g. עָבֹד cloud, plur. עָבֹדִים and עָבֹדוֹת; and each form may be treated either as masculine or feminine, according to the usage of the particular word.—But even those words, of which the gender is invariable, sometimes have both plural forms, e.g. דּוֹר masc. a generation, plur. דּוֹרוֹת and דּוֹרִים; שָׁנָה fem. a year, plur. שָׁנִים and שָׁנוֹת (see the Rem.). In these words the gender of both plural forms remains the same as in the singular, e.g. אֲרִי masc. a lion, plur. אֲרִיֹת masc., Zp 3<sup>3</sup>, דּוֹרוֹת masc., Jb 42<sup>16</sup>.

Sometimes usage makes a distinction between the two plural forms of the same word. Thus, יָמִים days, שָׁנִים years are the usual, but יָמוֹת (only twice, in the *constr. st.* Dt 32<sup>7</sup>, ψ 90<sup>16</sup>) and שָׁנוֹת (also only in the *constr. st.* and before suffixes) are rarer poetic forms.

A difference of meaning appears in several names of members of the body, *o* the dual (see § 88) denoting the living members themselves, while the plur. in תָּו expresses something like them, but without life (§ 122 *u*), e.g. יָדַי hands, יָדוֹת artificial hands, also e.g. the arms of a throne; כַּפָּי hands, כַּפּוֹת handes (Lat. *manubria*); פְּעָמַי foot, פְּעָמוֹת artificial feet (of the ark), קַרְנָי horns, קַרְנוֹת horns (of the altar); עֵינָי eyes, עֵינּוֹת fountains; cf. also אֲרִיִּים lions, אֲרִיֹת the figures of lions on Solomon's throne, תְּמָרָה palm, תְּמָרוֹת a palm-like column, plur. תְּמָרוֹת and תְּמָרִים.

4. A considerable number of masculines form their plural in אוֹת, *p* while many feminines have a plural in יָם־. The gender of the singular, however, is as a rule retained in the plural.

Undoubted instances of masculines with (masculine) plural in **ות** are : **אב** *father*, **אוצר** *treasure*, **באר** and **בור** *cistern*, **זנב** *tail*, **חלום** *dream*, **כסא** *throne*, **לב** and **לֵבָב** *heart*, **לוח** *tablet*, **לילה** and **לַיְלָה** *night*, **מזבח** *altar*, **מקום** *place*, **נאר** *skin-bottle*, **נר** *lamp*, **עור** *skin*, **קול** *voice*, **שֶׁלֶחַן** *table*, **שֵׁם** *name*, **שופר** *trumpet*.

q Feminines ending in **ה** which take in the plural the termination **ים** are **אלה** *terebinth*, **אימה** *terror* (but also **אימות**), **הבֵּלָה** *a cake of figs*, **חטה** *wheat*, **לבֵּנָה** *a brick*, **מלה** (only in poetry) *a word*, **סֵאָה** *seā, a dry measure*, **שְׁעוּרָה** *barley*, and the following names of animals **דבורה** *a bee* and **יונה** *a dove*; also, for **ביצים** fem. *eggs*, a singular **ביצה** is to be assumed. **שֶׁלֶפָּה** *sheaf* and **שָׁנָה** *year* (see above, n) take both **ים** and **ות**; cf. finally **שֶׁפֶלֶת** *an ear of corn*, plur. **שֶׁפֶלֶתִים**, and without the fem. termination in the singular **פְּיִלְגָּנִשׁ** *concubine*, plur. **פְּיִלְגָּנִשִׁים**.

7 5. A strict distinction in gender between the two plural endings is found, in fact, only in adjectives and participles, e.g. **טובים** *boni*, **טובות** *bonae*, **קטלים** masc., **קטלות** fem. So also in substantives of the same stem, where there is an express distinction of sex, as **בנים** *fili*, **בנות** *filiae*; **מלכים** *reges*, **מלכות** *reginae*.

8 Rem. 1. In some few words there is added to the plural ending **ות** a second (masculine) plural termination (in the form of the *constr. st.* **ים**, cf. § 89 c), or a dual ending **ים**, e.g. **במה** *a high place*, plur. **במות**, *constr. s.* **במותי** (also **במתי** *bām<sup>o</sup>thē*, Is 14<sup>14</sup>, Jb 9<sup>8</sup>, &c., sometimes as *Q<sup>er</sup>ē* to the K<sup>e</sup>thibh **במותי**; see § 95 o); **מראשתי שאול** *from Saul's head*, 1 S 26<sup>12</sup>; **חומה** *wall*, plur. **חומות** *moenia*, whence dual **חומתיים** *double walls*. This double indication of the plural appears also in the connexion of suffixes with the plural ending **ות** (§ 91 m).

t 2. Some nouns are only used in the singular (e.g. **אדם** *man*, and collectively *men*); a number of other nouns only in the plural, e.g. **מרים** *men* (the old *sing.* **מתי** is only preserved in proper names, see § 90 o; in Eth. the *sing.* is *mēl*, *man*); some of these have, moreover, a singular meaning (§ 124 a), as **פנים** *face*. In such cases, however, the same form can also express plurality, e.g. **פנים** means also *faces*, Gn 40<sup>7</sup>, Ez 1<sup>6</sup>; cf. **אלהים** *God*, and also *gods* (the *sing.* **אלה**, a later formation from it, occurs only ten times, except in Job forty-one and in Daniel four times).

### § 88. Of the Dual.

Cf. the literature on the Semitic dual in Grünert, *Die Begriffs-Präponderanz und die Duale a potiori im Altarab.* (Wien, 1886), p. 21; Frockelmann, *Grundriss*, p. 455 ff.

a 1. The *dual* is a further indication of number, which originated in early times. In Hebrew, however, it is almost exclusively used to denote those objects which naturally occur in pairs (see e). The dual termination is never found in adjectives, verbs, or pronouns. In the noun it is indicated in both genders by the termination **ים**.

appended to the ground-form,<sup>1</sup> e.g. יָרִים *both hands*, יוֹמִים *two days*. In the feminine the dual termination is always added to the old ending *ath* (instead of הַ־), but necessarily with *ā* (since it is in an open syllable before the tone), thus תִּמְתִּים־ָ, e.g. שְׂפָתַי *lips*, שְׂפָתַיִם *both lips*. From a feminine with the ending ת־ָ, e.g. נְחֻשְׁתִּי (from *nēhušt*) the dual is formed like נְחֻשְׁתַּיִם *double fetters*.

With nouns which in the singular have not a feminine ending, the *l* dual termination is likewise really added to the ground-form; but the latter generally undergoes certain changes in consequence of the shifting of the tone, e.g. כַּנְּף *wing* (ground-form *kānāph*), dual כַּנְּפַיִם, the first *ā* becoming *Šewā*, since it no longer stands before the tone, and the second *ā* being lengthened before the new tone-syllable. In 1 K 16<sup>24</sup>, 2 K 5<sup>23b</sup> the form כַּבְּרַיִם (which should be כַּבְּרִים) evidently merely points to the *constr. st.* כַּבְּרֵי, which would be expected before פָּקֶד; cf. כַּבְּרַיִם in 2 K 5<sup>23a</sup>, and on the syntax see § 131 *d*. In the segholate forms (§ 84<sup>a</sup> *a*) the dual ending is mostly added to the ground-form, e.g. רַגְלַי *foot* (ground-form *rāgl*), dual רַגְלַיִם; cf., however, קַרְנַיִם (only in the book of Daniel), as well as קַרְנֵי from קַרְן *horn*, and לְחַיִּים from לֶחַי *cheek* (as if from the plurals קַרְנוֹת, לְחַיִּים).—A feminine dual of an adjective used substantivally occurs in עַצְלָתַיִם *a sluggish pair* (of hands) Ec 10<sup>18</sup> from the sing. עָצַל.

Rem. 1. Certain place-names were formerly reckoned as dual-forms (so in *C* earlier editions of this Grammar, and still in König's *Lehrgebäude*, ii. 437), viz.—  
 (a) those in יָנ־ָ and יַ־ָ, e.g. דְּתַיִן Gn 37<sup>17a</sup> (locative דְּתַיִנָּה, but in 17<sup>b</sup> דְּתַיִן), and דְּתַן 2 K 6<sup>19</sup>; קַרְתַּן Jos 21<sup>32</sup>, identical with קַרְיָתַיִם in 1 Ch 6<sup>61</sup> (cf. also the Moabite names of towns in the Mēša' inscription, line 10 קריתן = Hebrew קַרְיָתַיִם; line 30 בַּת דְּבַלְתַּיִם = בת דבלתן Jer 48<sup>22</sup>; lines 31, 32 חורנן = חורנֵים Is 15<sup>6</sup>, &c.); (b) in ד־ָ, Jos 15<sup>34</sup> הָעַיִנִּים (= עַיִנִּים Gn 38<sup>21</sup>). The view that יַ־ָ and ד־ָ arise from a contraction of the dual terminations יָנ־ָ (as in Western Aramaic, cf. also nom. *āni*, accus. *aini*, of the dual in Arabic) and יָנ־ָ seemed to be supported by the Mēša' inscription, where we find (line 20) כַּמְאֵתַן *two hundred* = כַּמְאֵתַיִם, Hebrew כַּמְאֵתַיִם. But in many of these supposed duals either a dual sense cannot be detected at all, or it does not agree at any rate with the nature of the Semitic dual, as found elsewhere. Hence it can hardly be doubted that יָנ־ָ and יָנ־ָ in these place-names only arise from a subsequent expansion of the terminations יַ־ָ and ד־ָ: so Wellhausen, *Jahrbücher für Deutsche Theologie*, xxi. 433; Philippi, *ZDMG*. xxxii. 65 f.; Barth, *Nominalbildung*, p. 319, note 5; Strack, *Kommentar zur Genesis*, p. 135. The strongest argument in favour of this opinion is that we have a clear case of such an expansion in the *Q'ere perpetuum* (§ 17 *c*) יְרוּשָׁלַיִם for יְרוּשָׁלַיִם (so, according to Strack, even in old MSS. of the Mišna; cf. *Urusalim* in the Tel-el-Amarna tablets, and the Aramaic form יְרוּשָׁלַיִם): similarly in

<sup>1</sup> On dual endings appended to the plural see § 87 *s* and § 95 *o* at the beginning.

the Aramaic שַׁמְרִין = שְׁמֶרֶן for the Hebrew שְׁמֶרֶן *Samaria*.—We may add to this list אֶפְרַיִם, נַהֲרִים, the river country (in the Tel-el-Amarna letters *nārīma*, *na'rīma*), מִצְרַיִם *Egypt*, Phoenician מִצְרָם; also the words denoting time, צַהֲרַיִם *midday* (Mēša' inscription, line 15 צהרם), and perhaps עֶרְבַיִם *in the evening*, if the regular expression בֵּי-הָעֶרְבַיִם Ex 12<sup>6</sup>, 16<sup>12</sup>, &c., is only due to mistaking עֶרְבַיִם for a dual: LXX πρὸς ἑσπέραν, τὸ δειλινόν, ὕψι, and only in Lv 23<sup>5</sup> ἀνὰ μέσον τῶν ἑσπερινῶν. The Arabs also say *el 'isā'án*, the two evenings, cf. Kuhn's *Literaturblatt*, iii. 48.

Instead of the supposed dual יְרֵי Ez 13<sup>18</sup> read יְרִים. On חַלּוּנֵי (generally taken to be a double window) Jer 22<sup>14</sup>, see above, § 87 g.

d 2. Only apparently dual-forms (but really plural) are the words מַיִם *water* and שָׁמַיִם *heaven*. According to P. Haupt in *SBOT*. (critical notes on Isaiah, p. 157, line 18 ff.), they are to be derived from the old plural forms (found in Assyrian) *māmi*, *šamāmi*, whence the Hebr. מַיִם, שָׁמַיִם arose by inversion of the *i*, *māmi*, *māimi*, *maim*. It is simpler, however, to suppose that the primitive singulars *may* and *šamay*, when they took the plural of extension (§ 124 b), kept the tone on the *ay*, thus causing the *im* (which otherwise always has the tone, § 87 a) to be shortened to *im*. Cf. the analogous formations, Arab. *tarḡaina*, 2nd fem. sing. imperf. of a verb *لوي*, for *tarḡay + ina*, corresponding to *taḡtulīna* in the strong verb; also bibl.-Aram. בִּנְיָן the *abs. st. plur.* of the *ptcp.* *Qal* of בָּנָה (*לוי*), which otherwise always ends in *in* with the tone, e.g. in the *ptcp. Qal* of the strong verb, דְּבַחֵין *sacrificing*.

e 2. The use of the dual in Hebrew is confined, except in the numerals 2, 12, 200, &c. (see § 97), practically to those objects which are by nature or art always found in *pairs*, especially to the double members of the body (but not necessarily so, cf. יָרְעִים and יָרְעוֹת *arms*, never in the dual), e.g. יְרֵים *both hands*, אָזְנַיִם *both ears*, שֵׁנַיִם *teeth* (of both rows), also נַעֲלָיִם *a pair of sandals*, מֵאֲזָנַיִם *a pair of scales*, Lat. *bilanx*, &c.; or things which are at least thought of as forming a pair, e.g. יוֹמַיִם *two* (successive) *days*, Lat. *biduum*; שָׁבָעַיִם *two weeks*; שְׁנַתַּיִם *two years* (in succession), Lat. *biennium*; אַמְתַּיִם *two cubits*.<sup>1</sup>

f In the former case the dual may be used for a plural, either indefinite or defined by a numeral, where it is thought of in a double arrangement, e.g. אַרְבַּע רַגְלָיִם *four feet*, Lv 11<sup>28</sup>; שֵׁשׁ בְּנָפַיִם *six wings* (i. e. three pairs), Is 6<sup>2</sup>, Ez 1<sup>6</sup>; even שִׁבְעָה עֵינַיִם *seven eyes*, Zc 3<sup>9</sup>, כָּל-כַּרְפָּיִם *all knees*, Ez 7<sup>17</sup>; כָּל-יָדַיִם *all hands*, Ez 21<sup>12</sup>; מִצְלָתַיִם *cymbals*, Ezr 3<sup>10</sup>; שְׁפָתַיִם *double-hooks*, Ez 40<sup>43</sup>.—To express a certain emphasis the numeral *two* is used with the dual, as in Ju 16<sup>28</sup>, Am 3<sup>12</sup>.—See some other remarks on the use of the dual in § 87 o and s.

g It is not impossible that Hebrew at an earlier period made a more extensive and freer use of the dual, and that the restrictions and limitations of its use, mentioned above, belong to a relatively later phase of development. The

<sup>1</sup> But for דְּרָכַיִם Pr 28<sup>0.18</sup> (which the Masora takes as two roads leading from the cross-ways) דְּרָכִים is to be read.

Arabic literary language forms the dual in the noun, pronoun, and verb, almost as extensively as the Sanskrit or Greek; but in modern Arabic it has almost entirely disappeared in the verb, pronoun, and adjective. The Syriac has preserved it only in a few stereotyped forms, with which such duals as the Latin *duo, ambo, octo* may be compared. In the same way, the dual of the Sanskrit is lost in the modern Indian languages, and its full use in Old Slavonic has been restricted later, e.g. in Bohemian, just as in Hebrew, to *pairs*, such as hands, feet, eyes, ears. On the Germanic dual, see Grimm's *Gramm.*, 2nd ed., i. p. 814.

### § 89. *The Genitive and the Construct State.*

Philippi, *Wesen und Ursprung des Stat. Constr. im Hebr. . .*, Weimar, 1871, p. 98 ff: on which cf. Nöldeke in the *Gött. Gel. Anzeigen*, 1871, p. 23.—Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, p. 459 ff.

1. The Hebrew language no longer makes a living use of *case-endings*,<sup>1</sup> but either has no external indication of case (this is so for the *nominative*, generally also for the *accusative*) or expresses the relation by means of prepositions (§ 119), while the *genitive* is mostly indicated by a close connexion (or interdependence) of the *Nomen regens* and the *Nomen rectum*. That is to say, the noun which as genitive serves to define more particularly an immediately preceding *Nomen regens*, remains entirely unchanged in its form. The close combination, however, of the governing with the governed noun causes the tone first of all to be forced on to the latter,<sup>2</sup> and the consequently weakened tone of the former word then usually involves further changes in it. These changes to some extent affect the consonants, but more especially the vocalization, since vowels which had been lengthened by their position *in* or *before* the tone-syllable necessarily become shortened, or are reduced to *Šewâ* (cf. § 9 a, c, k; § 27 e-m); e.g. דָּבָר word, דְּבַר יְהוָה word of God (a sort of compound, as with us in inverted order, *God's-word, house-top, landlord*); יָד hand, יַד הַמֶּלֶךְ the hand of the king; דְּבַר יְהוָה words, דְּבַר יְהוָה the words of the people. Thus in Hebrew only the noun which stands *before* a *genitive* suffers a change, and in grammatical language is said to be dependent, or in the *construct state*, while a noun which has not a genitive after it is said to be in the *absolute state*. It is sufficiently evident from the above that the *construct state* is not strictly to be regarded as a *syntactical* and *logical* phenomenon, but rather as simply *phonetic* and *rhythmical*, depending on the circumstances of the tone.

<sup>1</sup> On some remains of obsolete case-endings see § 90.

<sup>2</sup> The same phenomenon of the tone may also be easily seen in other languages, when two words are closely connected in a similar way. Observe, for example, in German the natural stress on the last word in 'der Thron des Königs'; though here the other order of the words (inadmissible in Hebrew) 'des Königs Thron' exhibits the same peculiarity.

*b* Very frequently such interdependent words are also united by *Maqqeph* (§ 16 a); this, however, is not necessary, but depends on the accentuation in the particular case. On the wider uses of the *constr. st.* see the *Syntax*, § 130.

*c* 2. The *vowel* changes which are occasioned in many nouns by the *construct state* are more fully described in §§ 92-5. But besides these, the *terminations* of the noun in the *construct state* sometimes assume a special form. Thus:

(a) In the *construct state*, plural and dual, the termination is  $\text{־ִי}$ , e. g. סוּסִים horses, פְּרָעֹה סוּסֵי the horses of Pharaoh; עֵינַיְם eyes. עֵינַי הַמֶּלֶךְ the eyes of the king.

*d* Rem. The  $\text{־ִי}$  of the dual has evidently arisen from  $\text{־ִיִּם}$  (cf. דְּוָיִם), but the origin of the termination  $\text{־ִי}$  in the *constr. st. plur.* is disputed. The *Syriac constr. st.* in *ay* and the form of the plural noun before suffixes (סוּסֵיךָ, סוּסֵי, &c., § 91 h) would point to a contraction of an original  $\text{־ִיִּם}$ , as in the dual. But whether this *ay* was only transferred from the dual to the plural (so Olshausen, and Nöldeke, *Beitr. zur sem. Sprachwiss.*, Strassb. 1904, p. 48 ff.), or is to be regarded as the *abstract, collective* termination, as in אֲשֶׁר (see *f*) and חוֹרֵי (so Philippi, *ThLZ.* 1890, col. 419; Barth, *ZDMG.* 1904, p. 431 ff.), must be left undecided.

*e* (b) The original  $\text{־ִי}$  is regularly retained as the feminine termination in the *construct state* sing. of those nouns which in the *absolute state* end in  $\text{־ִי}$ , e. g. מְלֻכָּה queen, מְלֻכַת שֶׁבַע the queen of Sheba. But the feminine endings  $\text{־ִיִּם}$ ,  $\text{־ִיִּת}$ , and also the plural  $\text{־ִיִּם}$ , remain unchanged in the *construct state*.

*f* (c) Nouns in  $\text{־ִי}$  (cf. § 75 e) from verbs ל"ה (§ 93, Paradigm III c) form their *constr. st.* in  $\text{־ִי}$ , e. g. רֵאָה seer, constr. רֵאִיָּה. If this  $\text{־ִי}$  is due to contraction of the original  $\text{־ִיִּם}$ , with ה added as a vowel letter, we may compare רֵי, constr. רֵיָּה sufficiency; חַי, constr. חַיָּה life; נַיִן (נֵי), constr. נַיִן (נֵי) valley.

On the terminations  $\text{־ִי}$  and  $\text{־ִיִּם}$  in the *constr. st.* see § 90.

### § 90. Real and Supposed Remains of Early Case-endings.

$\text{־ִי}$  local,  $\text{־ִי}$  in compound proper names,  $\text{־ִי}$  and  $\text{־ִיִּם}$  in the *Construct State*.

K. U. Nylander, *Om Kasusändelserna i Hebräiskan*, Upsala, 1882; J. Barth, 'Die Casusreste im Hebr.,' *ZDMG.* liii. 593 ff.

*a* 1. As the Assyrian and old Arabic distinguish three cases by special endings, so also in the Hebrew noun there are three endings which, in the main, correspond to those of the Arabic. It is, however, a question whether they are all to be regarded as real remnants of former case-endings, or are in some instances to be explained other-

wise. It can hardly be doubted (but cf. *h*, Rem.) that the (locative) termination  $\eta\text{---}$  is a survival of the old accusative termination *a*, and that  $\eta$  in certain compound proper names is the old sign of the nominative. The explanation of the  $\hat{i}$  as an old genitive sign, which, as being no longer understood in Hebrew, was used for quite different purposes, and the view that  $\hat{i}$  is a form of the nominative termination  $\eta$ , are open to grave doubts.

In Assyrian the rule is that *u* marks the nominative, *i* the genitive, and *a* the accusative,<sup>1</sup> 'in spite of the many and various exceptions to this rule which occur' (Delitzsch, *Assyrische Gram.*, § 66). Similarly, the Arabic case-endings in the fully declined nouns (*Triptotes*) are: *-u* for the nominative, *-i* for the genitive, and *-a* for the accusative; in the *Diptotes* the ending *-a* represents the genitive also. In modern Arabic these endings have almost entirely disappeared, and if they are now and then used, as among the Beduin, it is done without regularity, and one is interchanged with another (Wallin, in *ZDMG.* v, p. 9, xii, p. 874; Wetzstein, *ibid.*, xxii, p. 113 f., and especially Spitta, *Gramm. des arab. Vulgärdialekts von Ägypten*, Lpz. 1880, p. 147 ff.). Even as early as the Sinaitic inscriptions, their regular use is not maintained (Beer, *Studia Asiatica*, iii. 1840, p. xviii; Tuch, *ZDMG.* iii. 139 f.). Ethiopic has preserved only the *-a* (in proper names *-hā*), which is, however, still used for the whole range of the accusative, and also (the distinction of case being lost) as a termination of the *constr. st.* to connect it with a following genitive.

2. As remarked above, under *a*, the *accusative* form is preserved C in Hebrew most certainly and clearly in the (usually toneless) ending  $\eta\text{---}$ , originally  $\hat{a}$ , as in the old Arabic accusative. This is appended to the substantive:

(a) Most commonly to express *direction towards* an object, or *motion to a place*,<sup>2</sup> e. g.  $\eta\text{---}$  seaward, westward,  $\eta\text{---}$  eastward,  $\eta\text{---}$  northward,  $\eta\text{---}$  to Assyria,  $\eta\text{---}$  to Babylon,  $\eta\text{---}$  (from  $\eta\text{---}$ ) to the mountain, Gn 14<sup>10</sup>,  $\eta\text{---}$  to the earth,  $\eta\text{---}$  to the house,  $\eta\text{---}$  to Tirzah ( $\eta\text{---}$ ) 1 K 14<sup>17</sup>, &c.,  $\eta\text{---}$  to Gaza ( $\eta\text{---}$ ) Ju 16<sup>1</sup>; with the article  $\eta\text{---}$  to the mountain,  $\eta\text{---}$  into the house,  $\eta\text{---}$  into the chamber, 1 K 1<sup>15</sup>;  $\eta\text{---}$  into the tent, Gn 18<sup>6</sup>, &c.; similarly with adverbs, as  $\eta\text{---}$  thither,  $\eta\text{---}$  whither?; even with the *constr. st.* before a genitive  $\eta\text{---}$  into Joseph's house, Gn 43<sup>17-24</sup>;  $\eta\text{---}$  toward the land of the south, Gn 20<sup>1</sup>;  $\eta\text{---}$  to the land of Egypt, Ex 4<sup>20</sup>;  $\eta\text{---}$  toward the wilderness of Damascus, 1 K 19<sup>15</sup>;  $\eta\text{---}$  toward the sun-rising, Dt 4<sup>41</sup>; and even with the plural  $\eta\text{---}$  into Chaldea, Ez 11<sup>24</sup>;  $\eta\text{---}$  towards the heavens.

<sup>1</sup> This rule is almost always observed in the Tell-el-Amarna letters (see § 2 f); cf. the instances cited by Barth, l. c., p. 595, from Winckler's edition.

<sup>2</sup> On this meaning of the accusative see the Syntax, § 118 d, and cf. the Latin accusative of motion to a place, as in *Romam profectus est, domum reverti, rus ire*.

<sup>3</sup>  $\eta\text{---}$  in Baer's text, Gn 18<sup>6</sup>, is an error, according to his preface to Isaiah, p. v.

Rem. The above examples are mostly rendered definite by the article, or by a following genitive of definition, or are proper names. But cases like *יָמָה, הָרָה, בַּיְתָה* show that the locative form of *itself* possessed a defining power.

d (b) In a somewhat weakened sense, indicating the place *where* something is or happens (cf. § 118 d), e.g. *מִחַנֵּימָה* in *Maḥanaim*, 1 K 4<sup>14</sup>; *שָׁמָּה* *there* (usually *thither*, see c), Jer 18<sup>2</sup>, cf. 2 K 23<sup>8</sup>, and the expression *to offer a sacrifice הַמִּזְבֵּיחַ*, properly *towards the altar* for *on the altar*. On the other hand, *בְּבָבֶלָה* Jer 29<sup>15</sup>, and *וּבְלָה* Hb 3<sup>11</sup>, are to be regarded as ordinary accusatives of direction, *to Babylon, into the habitation*; also expressions like *פְּאַת צָפוֹנָה* *the quarter towards the north*, Jos 15<sup>5</sup> (at the beginning of the verse, *גְּבוּל קְדֻמָּה* *the border toward the east*), cf. 18<sup>15,20</sup>, Ex 26<sup>18</sup>, Jer 23<sup>8</sup>.

e (c) The original force of the ending *הַ* is also disregarded when it is added to a substantive with a preposition prefixed (cf. also *עַרְאֵלָה* *how long* ?), and this not only after *לְ*, *אֶל-* or *עַד-* (which are easily explained), e.g. *לְמַעַלָה* *upwards*, *לְמַטָּה* *downwards*, *לְשָׁאוֹלָה* *to Sheol*, ψ 9<sup>18</sup>; *עַד-אַפְהֵקָה* *unto Aphek*, Jos 13<sup>4</sup>, *אֶל-הַצְּפוֹנָה* *toward the north*, Ez 8<sup>14</sup>, cf. Ju 20<sup>16</sup>; but also after *בְּ*, and even after *מִן*, e.g. *בְּפְנֵינָה* *in the south*, Jos 15<sup>21</sup>, cf. Ju 14<sup>2</sup>, 1 S 23<sup>15,19</sup>, 31<sup>13</sup>, 2 S 20<sup>15</sup>, Jer 52<sup>10</sup>; *מִבְּבִלָּה* *from Babylon*, Jer 27<sup>16</sup>; cf. 1<sup>13</sup>, Jos 10<sup>36</sup>, 15<sup>10</sup>, Ju 21<sup>19</sup>, Is 45<sup>6</sup>.

f Rem. Old locative forms (or original accusatives) are, according to the Masora, still to be found in

(a) *לַיְלָה*, in pause *לַיְלָה*, the usual word in prose for *night*, which is always construed as masculine. The nominative of this supposed old accusative<sup>1</sup> appeared to be preserved in the form *לַיִל*, only used in poetry, Is 16<sup>3</sup>, *constr. st. לַיִל* (even used for the *absol. st.* in pause Is 21<sup>11</sup>). Most probably, however, *לַיְלָה* is to be referred, with Nöldeke and others, to a reduplicated form *לַיְלִי*; cf. especially the western Aramaic *לַיְלִיָּא*, Syr. *lilya*, &c.—Another instance is *מְאֵמָה* *something*, probably from *מְאֵוִם*, *מֵוִם* *spot, point*, generally with a negative = *nothing*. Similarly *אַרְצָה* Is 8<sup>23</sup> and (in pause) Jb 34<sup>13</sup>, *סוּפָתָה* Ho 8<sup>7</sup>, and the place-name *צָהַר* 1 Ch 6<sup>68</sup>, might be explained as accusatives. Elsewhere, however, the toneless *הַ* can be regarded only as a meaningless appendage, or at the most as expressing poetic emphasis; thus *אַרְצָה* (in pause) Jb 37<sup>12</sup>; *הַמּוֹתָה* *death*, ψ 116<sup>15</sup>; *נְגַדְהָ-נָא* ψ 116<sup>14,18</sup>; *נְחָלָה* *stream*, ψ 124<sup>4</sup>; *הַחֲשֵׁמְלָה* *amber*, Ez 8<sup>2</sup> [in 1<sup>4</sup> *הַחֲשֵׁמֶל*, cf. § 80 c], &c. In Jos 15<sup>12</sup> *הַיָּמָה* is probably only a scribal error (dittography). In Ju 14<sup>18</sup> instead of the quite unsuitable poetic word *הַחֲרֻסָה* (towards the sun??) read as in 15<sup>1</sup> *הַחֲרָה* *to the bride-chamber*.

<sup>1</sup> Brockelmann, *Sem. Sprachwiss.*, p. 113, also takes it as such, *lāylā* being properly *at night*, then *night* simply. Barth, however (*Sprachwiss. Abhandlungen*, p. 16, note 1), refers it to an original *לַיְלָה*, like *אַנָּה* from *אָנָּה*.

(b) In the termination הַ־ often used in poetry with feminines, viz. *g*<sup>r</sup> אִימָתָה *terror* (= אִימָה), Ex 15<sup>16</sup>; עֲוֹרָתָה *help* (= עֹרָה), ψ 44<sup>27</sup>, 63<sup>3</sup>, 94<sup>17</sup>; יִשְׁעָתָה *salvation* (= יִשְׁעָה), ψ 3<sup>3</sup>, 8c<sup>3</sup>, Jon 2<sup>10</sup>; עוֹלָתָה *unrighteousness* (= עוֹלָה), Ez 28<sup>15</sup>, Ho 10<sup>13</sup>, ψ 125<sup>3</sup>; עֲלָתָה ψ 92<sup>16</sup> *Keth.* Jb 5<sup>16</sup>; צָרָתָה ψ 120<sup>1</sup>; עֵיפָתָה *darkness*, Jb 10<sup>22</sup>; הַמְּוֹפָתָה Jer 11<sup>15</sup> is corrupt, see the LXX and Commentaries. These cases are not to be taken as double feminine endings, since the loss of the tone on the final syllable could then hardly be explained, but they are further instances of an old accusative of direction or intention. In examples like עֲוֹרָתָה *for help* (ψ 44<sup>27</sup>) this is still quite apparent, but elsewhere it has become meaningless and is used merely for the sake of poetical emphasis.<sup>1</sup>

This termination הַ־ usually has reference to *place* (hence called *h* הַ־ *locale*<sup>2</sup>); sometimes, however, its use is extended to time, as in מִיָּמָה מִיָּמָה *from year to year*. Its use in הַלְּיָלָה, properly *ad profanum* != *absit*! is peculiar.

As the termination הַ־ is almost always toneless (except in מוֹרָתָה *constr. st. i* Dt 4<sup>1</sup>; גָּתָה and עָתָה Jos 19<sup>13</sup>) it generally, as the above examples show, exercises no influence whatever upon the vowels of the word; in the *constr. st.* מוֹדַבְרָה Jos 18<sup>12</sup>, 1 K 19<sup>15</sup>, and in the proper names גָּתָה 1 K 2<sup>40</sup>, רִנָּה 2 S 24<sup>6</sup> (so Baer; ed. Mant. and Ginsb. רִנָּה), צַפְתָּה 2 Ch 14<sup>9</sup>, צַרְפָּתָה 1 K 17<sup>9</sup>, צַרְתָּה 1 K 4<sup>12</sup>, an *ä* is retained even in an open tone-syllable (cf., however, הָרָה Gn 14<sup>10</sup>, צִפְרִינָה Gn 28<sup>2</sup> from פִּרְדָּן, with modification of the *a* to *è*; also פְּרָמְלָה 1 S 25<sup>5</sup> from פְּרָמֶל). In segholate forms, as a general rule, the הַ־ *local* is joined to the already developed form of the *absol. st.*, except that the helping-vowel before הַ־ naturally becomes *šewā*, e.g. בֵּיתָה הָאֵלֶּה Gn 18<sup>6</sup>, &c.; הִיעָרָה Jos 17<sup>15</sup>, הִשְׁעָרָה<sup>3</sup> Ju 20<sup>16</sup>, &c., but also נַחֲלָה Nu 34<sup>5</sup> (*constr. st.*; likewise to be read in the *absolute* in Ez 47<sup>19</sup>, 48<sup>28</sup>) and שִׁיעָרָה Is 28<sup>6</sup> (with *Silluq*); cf. נִנְפָה Ez 47<sup>19</sup> and נִרְנָה (Baer, incorrectly, נִרְנָה) Mi 4<sup>12</sup> (both in *pause*).—In the case of feminines ending in הַ־ the הַ־ *local* is added to the original feminine ending הַ־ (§ 80 b), the *ä* of which (since it then stands in an open tone-syllable) is lengthened to *ā*, e.g. תְּרַצָּתָה.—Moreover the termination הַ־ is even weakened to הַ־ in לָכָה *to Nob*, 1 S 21<sup>2</sup>, 22<sup>9</sup>; אָנָה *whither*, 1 K 23<sup>6.42</sup> and דְּרַצָּה *to Dedan*, Ez 25<sup>13</sup>.

3. Of the three other terminations <sup>3</sup> may still be regarded as a *h* survival of the old nominative ending. It occurs only in the middle

[<sup>1</sup> The form clings also to a few place-names, as נִדְרָה Dt 10<sup>7</sup>; שְׁלֵשָׁה 1 S 9<sup>4</sup>, 2 K 4<sup>42</sup>; קְהָלָה Nu 33<sup>22 f.</sup>; יִטְבָּתָה verse 33 f.; תְּמֻנָה Jos 19<sup>43</sup>, &c.; אֲפָתָה Mi 5<sup>1</sup>, &c.]

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Sarauw, 'Der hebr. Lokativ,' ZA. 1907, p. 183 ff. He derives the הַ־ from the adverbs שָׁמָּה, אָנָה and holds that it has nothing whatever to do with the old accusative.

<sup>3</sup> So Qimḥi, and the Mant. ed. (Baer הִשְׁעָרָה), i. e. locative from שִׁיעַר (Is 7<sup>20</sup>). The reading הִשְׁעָרָה (Opit., Ginsb.) implies a feminine in הַ־.

of a few (often undoubtedly very old) proper names,<sup>1</sup> viz. אֲחֻמִּי (if compounded of אָחוּ and מִי), קְמוּטָל (for which in Jer 52<sup>1</sup> *Keth.* קְמוּטָל), מְתוּשָׁלַח and מְתוּשָׁלַח (otherwise in Hebrew only in the plur. מְתָיִם *men*; to מְתָיִם corresponds most probably בְּתוּיָל (בְּתוּיָל, פְּנִיָּאל Gn 32<sup>31</sup> (but in ver. 32 פְּנִיָּאל) *face of God* (otherwise only in the plur. פְּנִיָּים *constr. st.* פְּנִיָּי).<sup>2</sup>—שְׂמֹנֶה Neh 6<sup>6</sup> (elsewhere שְׂמֹנֶה), is the name of an Arab, cf. 6<sup>1</sup>. On the other hand the terminations ם־ and םֿ are most probably to be regarded (with Barth, l. c., p. 597) as having originated on Hebrew soil in order to emphasize the *constr. st.*, on the analogy of the *constr. st.* of terms expressing relationship.

In view of the analogies in other languages (see *b*) there is nothing impossible in the view formerly taken here that the *litterae compaginis* ם־ and םֿ are obsolete (and hence no longer understood) case-endings, *i* being the old genitive and *o* for the nominative sign *u*. Barth objects that the *i* and *o* almost invariably have the tone, whereas the accusative ם־ is toneless, and that they are long, where the Arab. *i* and *ü* are short. Both these objections, however, lose their force if we consider the special laws of the tone and syllable in Hebrew. The language does not admit a final *i* or *ü*, and the necessarily lengthened vowel might easily attract the tone to itself. On the other hand a strong argument for Barth's theory is the fact that these *litterae compaginis* are almost exclusively used to emphasize the close connexion of one noun with another, hence especially in the *constr. st.* Consequently it seems in the highest degree probable that all these uses are based upon forms in which the *constr. st.* is expressly emphasized by a special termination, i. e. the *constr. st.* of terms of relationship, אָבִי, אֲחִי, אֲחִי, אָבִי from אָב *father*, אָבִי *brother*, אָבִי *father-in-law* (cf. § 96). The instances given under *l* and *m* followed this analogy.

Like *i*, םֿ is also used only to emphasize the *constr. st.* (see *o*), and must therefore have a similar origin, but its exact explanation is difficult. According to Barth, this םֿ corresponds to a primitive Semitic *á* (cf. § 9 *g*) and is traceable to 'abá, 'ahá, the accusatives of terms of relationship in the *constr. st.*, which have *á* only before a genitive. Against this explanation it may be objected that there is no trace of the supposed Hebrew accusatives אָבִי, אֲחִי, אָבִי, אֲחִי, and only of the analogous בְּנֵי. It is also remarkable that so archaic a form should have been preserved (except in בְּנֵי) only in two words and those in quite late passages. However we have no better explanation to offer in place of Barth's.

Finally we cannot deny the possibility, in some cases, of Barth's explanation of the םֿ in compound proper names like בְּתוּיָל, &c. (see above), as due to the analogy of terms of relationship with nominative in םֿ. But this in no way militates against the view expressed above, that in some very old names, like פְּנִיָּאל, בְּתוּיָל, &c., the original common nominative sign has simply been preserved.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the list in L. Kaila, *Zur Syntax des in verbaler Abhängigkeit stehenden Nomens im alttest. Hebr.*, Helsingfors, 1906, p. 54.

<sup>2</sup> The name שְׂמֹנֶה formerly regarded as a compound of שְׂמֹנֶה = שְׂמֹנֶה *name* and אָל, is better explained with Prätorius, *ZDMG.* 1903, p. 777, as a name of affection, for אָל = שְׂמֹנֶה = אָל [but see Driver on 1 S 1<sup>20</sup>]; similarly, according to Prätorius, אָל = בְּתוּיָל and many others.

The instances found are:

(a) Of the ending '—: עֹזְבֵי הַצֹּאן *his ass's colt*, Gn 49<sup>11</sup>; שֹׁכֵנֵי סִנְהָ *that leaveth the flock*, Zc 11<sup>17</sup> (cf. the preceding רֹעֵי הָאֵלִיל); שֹׁכֵנֵי סִנְהָ *the dweller in the bush*, Dt 33<sup>16</sup> (on שֹׁכֵנֵי cf. below Jer 49<sup>16a</sup>, Ob<sup>3</sup>); appended to the feminine יוֹם וַיִּגְנַבְתִּי לָיְלָה *whether stolen by day or stolen by night*, Gn 31<sup>39</sup> (in prose, but in very emphatic speech); מְלֵאֲתִי מִשֶּׁטֶט *plena iustitiae*, Is 1<sup>21</sup>; עַם רַבָּתִי *full of people*, La 1<sup>1</sup> (on the retraction of the tone before a following tone-syllable, cf. § 29 e; in the same verse the second רַבָּתִי and שֹׁרְתִי, see below, follow the example of רַבָּתִי, although no tone-syllable follows; cf. also Ho 10<sup>11</sup> below); עַל-דְּבָרָתִי מִלְכִי-צֶדֶק *after the order of Melchizedek*, ψ 110<sup>4</sup>; cf. also ψ 113<sup>9</sup>, Jer 49<sup>16b</sup>. To the same category belong the rather numerous cases, in which a preposition is inserted between the *construct state* and its genitive (cf. § 130 a), without actually abolishing the dependent relation, e. g. בְּגוֹיִם רַבָּתִי *she that was great among the nations*, שֹׁרְתִי בְּמִדְיָנוֹת *princess among the provinces*, La 1<sup>1</sup>; אֲהַבֵּתִי לְרוּשׁ *that loveth to tread*, Ho 10<sup>11</sup>; cf. also Jer 49<sup>16a</sup>, Ob<sup>3</sup>.—In Ex 15<sup>6</sup> נֶאֱדָרְתִּי can only be so explained if it is a vocative referring to יהוה, but perhaps we should read נֶאֱדָרְתָּ as predicate to יְיָיִנִּי.

Further, the *Hireq compaginis* is found with certain particles which are really also nouns in the *constr. st.*, as מִזֵּי (וּלְתִי =) *except*, מִן (מִן) *from*, בְּלֹתִי *not*, אֶפְסִי *not* (thrice in the formula אֲנִי אֶפְסִי *I am, and there is none else beside me*; but many take the '— as a suffix here), Is 47<sup>8,10</sup>, Zp 2<sup>15</sup>. [The above are all the cases in which this '— is attached to independent words in the O.T.; it occurs, however, besides] in compound proper names (again attached to the *constr. st.*), as מִלְכִי-צֶדֶק (*king of righteousness*), גְּבֻרֵי־אֱלֹהִים (*man of God*), חַסְדֵי־אֱלֹהִים (*favour of God*), and others (cf. also the Punic name *Hannibal*, i. e. חַסְדֵי־בָעַל *favour of Ba'al*).

Otherwise than in the *constr. st.* the *Hireq compaginis* is only found <sup>m</sup> in participial forms, evidently with the object of giving them more dignity, just as in the case of the construct forms in *î*. We must distinguish, however, between passages in which the participle nevertheless does stand in close connexion, as Gn 49<sup>11</sup>, Is 22<sup>16</sup> (הֹקְנִי and הֹצֵבִי), also in impassioned speech), Mi 7<sup>14</sup> (probably influenced by Dt 33<sup>16</sup>), ψ 101<sup>5</sup>, 113<sup>7</sup>; and passages in which the *î* added to the participle with the article merely serves as an ornamental device of poetic style, e. g. in the late Psalms, 113<sup>5,6,7,9</sup> (on verse 8 see *n*), 114<sup>8</sup>, 123<sup>1</sup>.

In *Kethibh* the termination *î* also occurs four times in יוֹשְׁבֵי, i. e. יוֹשְׁבֵי־יְרוּשָׁלַיִם, Jer 10<sup>17</sup>, 22<sup>23</sup> (before בְּ), Ez 27<sup>3</sup> (before עַל־), La 4<sup>21</sup> (before בְּ). The *Qere* always

requires for it יוֹשֶׁבֶת (or יֹשֵׁב), except in Jer 22<sup>25</sup> יֹשֶׁבֶת; cf. *ibid.* מִקְנֵנְתִי *Keth.*, מִקְנֵנְתִי *Qere*, and finally Jer 51<sup>13</sup> שְׂכַנְתִּי *Keth.*, שְׂכַנְתִּי *Qere*. Perhaps יֹשֶׁבֶתִי and שְׂכַנְתִּי are *formae mixtae*, combining the readings יֹשֶׁבֶת, &c. and שְׂכַנְתִּי (2nd fem. *perf.*), &c., but מִקְנֵנְתִי may be merely assimilated to יֹשֶׁבֶתִי which immediately precedes it.

The following are simply textual errors: 2 K 4<sup>23</sup> הַהֶלְכְּתִי *Keth.*, due to the preceding אֶתִּי, and to be read הַהֶלְכְּתִי as in the *Qere*; ψ 30<sup>8</sup> (read הַרְרִי), 113<sup>8</sup> (read לְהוֹשִׁיבֵי), 116<sup>1</sup> (read קוֹל תַּחַר, as in five other places). On בְּרִיתִי, thrice, in Lv 26<sup>42</sup>, cf. § 128 d.

- o (b) Of the ending  $\dot{\text{ı}}$ <sup>1</sup> (always with the tone): in prose only in the Pentateuch, but in elevated style, Gn 1<sup>24</sup> בְּיַת־אֲרִיץ *the beast of the earth* (= בְּיַת־הָאֲרִיץ ver. 25); similarly in ψ 50<sup>10</sup>, 79<sup>2</sup>, 104<sup>11,20</sup>, Is 56<sup>9</sup> (twice), Zp 2<sup>14</sup>; otherwise only in בְּנוֹ צִפּוֹר *son of Zippor*, Nu 23<sup>18</sup>; בְּנוֹ בְּעוֹר *son of Beor*, Nu 24<sup>3,15</sup>; and מַעְיֵנוּ מַיִם *a fountain of waters*, ψ 114<sup>8</sup>.

### § 91. The Noun with Pronominal Suffixes.

W. Diehl, *Das Pronomen pers. suffixum 2 u. 3 pers. plur. des Hebr.*, Giessen, 1895; A. Ungnad, 'Das Nomen mit Suffixen im Semit.,' *Vienna Oriental Journal*, xx, p. 167 ff.

- a With regard to the connexion of the noun with pronominal suffixes, which then stand in a genitive relation (§ 33 c) and are, therefore, necessarily appended to the *construct state* of the noun, we shall first consider, as in the verb (§ 57 ff.), the forms of the suffixes themselves, and then the various changes in the form of the noun to which they are attached. The nouns are also tabulated in the Paradigms of the flexion of the noun in § 92 ff. Cf. also Paradigm A in the Appendix. We are here primarily concerned with the different forms of the suffixes when added to the singular, plural, and dual.

- b 1. The Suffixes of the singular are—

With nouns ending in a—

Vowel.		Consonant.	
Sing. 1.	c. י	י־	<i>my.</i>
2.	{ m. ך	ך־ (pause ך־)	} <i>thy.</i>
	{ f. ך		
3.	{ m. הו, ו	ו־ (הו), הו־	<i>his.</i>
	{ f. ך	ו־, ך־	<i>her.</i>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Kaila, l.c., p. 59 ff.

Vowel.			Consonant.		
Plur. 1.	c.	נו	נו	our.	
2.	m.	כֶּם	כֶּם	your.	
	f.	כֶּן			
3.	m.	הֶם	הֶם	eorum.	
	f.	מוֹ			(poet. מוֹ)
		הוּ (הוֹ)			

Rem. 1. There is less variety of forms in these than in the verbal suffixes ; C the particular forms are used as follows :—

(a) Those without a connecting vowel (on the derivation of these ‘connecting vowels’ from original stem-vowels, see note on § 58 f) are generally joined to nouns of a peculiar form (see § 96), the constr. st. of which ends in a vowel, as אֲבִיהוּ, אֲבֵיהוּ and אֲבֵיו, אֲבֵיהָ, אֲבֵינוּ, אֲבֵיכֶם, אֲבֵיכֶן, אֲבֵיהֶם, אֲבֵיהֶן, sometimes also to segholate forms ending in *i* from ל”ה stems (see § 93 x, y), e. g. פְּרִיהֶם the fruit of them, Am 9<sup>14</sup> (also פְּרִיָם Is 37<sup>30</sup>, &c.), אֲבֵיהֶן Jer 29<sup>28</sup> (also פְּרִיָן verse 5); cf., moreover, חֲלָבֵהֶן Lv 8<sup>16,25</sup> and similar examples with הֶן (Is 3<sup>17</sup> הֶן) Gn 21<sup>28</sup>, Ez 13<sup>17</sup>, 16<sup>53</sup>.<sup>i</sup> Also in Gn 1<sup>21</sup>, 4<sup>4</sup>, Ez 10<sup>12</sup>, Nah 2<sup>8</sup>, &c., the K<sup>eti</sup>. perhaps intends the singular, לְמִינֵהֶם, &c., but the Masora requires the plural with defective *e*.

(b) The forms with connecting vowels (§ 58 f) are joined to nouns ending *d* in a consonant. The connecting vowel is regularly *a* in the 3rd sing. fem. הָ (for *aha*) and 3rd plur. ם, מוֹ, ׀, also in the 3rd sing. masc. ׀ (הָ), since the *o* is contracted from *a[h]u*, and in the pausal form of the 2nd masc. ׀ (a modification of original ׀).

The forms with *e* in the above-mentioned persons are common only with nouns in הָ (from stems ל”ה), constr. st. הָ (cf. § 89 f), e. g. שָׂדֵהוּ (from *sadaihû*) his field; עֲלֵהָ its leaf, Is 1<sup>30</sup>; מְרֵאָהּ the appearance thereof, Lv 13<sup>4</sup> (from *mar'aihâ*; on the *S'ghôl* see k); but שָׂדֵהָ her field. The orthographic retention of the *y*, e. g. מְעֵשָׂיו, מְעֵשָׂיָךְ, gives to many forms the appearance of plurals; see the instances in § 93 ss.

Apart from these ל”ה forms the connecting vowel *e* in the 3rd pers. occurs only in isolated cases; הִיאֵהּ his light, Jb 25<sup>3</sup>; לְמִינֵהּ after its kind, Gn 1<sup>12,25</sup> [+ 12 times]; Na 1<sup>13</sup>; in Ju 19<sup>24</sup> read פִּילֵגְשׁוֹ as in vv. 2, 25. On the other hand הָ in the 2nd sing. fem. and נוֹ in the 1st plur. are by far the more common forms, while הָ, נוֹ are of rare occurrence; see c.—Instead of הָ (with *S'ua* mobile), if the last consonant of the noun is a guttural, the forms are הָ, כֶּם, כֶּן, e. g. רִיחָךְ thy spirit, בְּרֵאֲךָ thy creator, Is 43<sup>1</sup>, רֵיעֶכֶם your friend, Jb 6<sup>27</sup> (on such cases as בְּחֹזְכֶם Hag 2<sup>5</sup>, see § 10 g).—With *Nun energicum* (cf. § 58 i, and on עֹנֵךְ Jb 5<sup>1</sup>, &c., cf. § 61 h) הָ occurs in Pr 25<sup>16</sup>, in principal pause.

2. Rare or incorrect forms are—

Sing. 1st pers. נִי in בְּשׁוֹבְנִי Ez 47<sup>7</sup> (certainly only a scribal error, caused C by וַיִּשְׁבְּנִי in verse 6).

<sup>1</sup> Also in Jer 15<sup>10</sup> read (according to § 61 h, end) בְּלִפְנֵיהֶם קָלְלוּנִי; in Ho 7<sup>8</sup> probably אֲפֵהֶם for אֲפֵהָם.

2nd pers. *m.* in pause כָּחֶ֑ךָ, e.g. בְּכַפְּךָ (thy hand),  $\psi$  139<sup>5</sup>, cf. Pr 24<sup>10</sup>; once חֶנֶךָ  $\psi$  53<sup>6</sup> (cf. the analogous cases in the verbal suffix § 75 l); *fem.* הֵיָ֑ עז 5<sup>12</sup> (in 16<sup>53</sup> also for שְׂבִיתֶיךָ probably שְׂבִיתֶיךָ is intended), כִּיָּ֑ Jer 11<sup>15</sup>,  $\psi$  103<sup>3</sup>, 116<sup>19</sup>, 135<sup>9</sup> (corresponding to the Aramaic suffix of the 2nd *fem. sing.*; on the wholly abnormal בַּהֶ֑ Na 2<sup>14</sup>, cf. l), לְכִיָּ֑ K<sup>eth.</sup> 2 K 4<sup>2</sup>, Ct 2<sup>13</sup>. Also הֵיָ֑ Is 22<sup>1</sup>, Ez 23<sup>28</sup>, 25<sup>4</sup>.

3rd pers. *m.* הֵ֑ (cf. § 7 c), e.g. אֶהְלֶה־גֹּ֑ Gn 9<sup>21</sup>, 12<sup>8</sup>, 13<sup>3</sup>, 35<sup>21</sup> (always with *Q<sup>ere</sup>* אֶהְלֶה; נָחָה Nu 10<sup>36</sup>; לָחָה Dt 34<sup>7</sup>; בָּלָה Jer 20<sup>7</sup>, Na 2<sup>1</sup> *Q<sup>ere</sup>*; קָצָה 2 K 19<sup>23</sup> K<sup>eth.</sup>, for which קָצָה is read in Is 37<sup>24</sup>; עִירָה and סוּתָה Gn 49<sup>11</sup>, cf. Ex 22<sup>26</sup> (*Q<sup>ere</sup>* עִירָה); סָכָה  $\psi$  10<sup>9</sup>, 27<sup>5</sup> K<sup>eth.</sup>; הִמּוֹנָה Ez 31<sup>18</sup>, &c., K<sup>eth.</sup>; תְּבוּאָתָה Ez 48<sup>8</sup> [altogether fourteen times in the Pentateuch, and some forty times in other books: see Driver, *Samuel*, p. xxxv, and on 2 S 2<sup>9</sup>, 21<sup>1</sup>].

3rd *fem.* הֵיָ֑ for הֵיָ֑ (with the softening of the *Mappiq*, cf. § 23 k, and the analogous cases in § 58 g) occurs repeatedly before *B<sup>e</sup>ghadhk<sup>e</sup>phath* and other soft consonants, Ex 9<sup>18</sup> (before ך, if the text is right), Lv 13<sup>4</sup> (before ך), Nu 15<sup>28,31</sup>, 1 S 1<sup>9</sup> (unless אֶכְלֶה, the infin. with *fem.* termination, is intended; שָׁתָה follows), Ez 16<sup>44</sup>, 24<sup>6</sup> (before כ), 1 S 20<sup>20</sup>, 2 K 8<sup>6</sup>, Pr 12<sup>28</sup> (before כ), Na 3<sup>9</sup> (before ו),  $\psi$  48<sup>14</sup> (before פ), Ez 47<sup>10</sup>, Jb 31<sup>22</sup> twice (before ת), Is 21<sup>2</sup>, Jer 20<sup>17</sup> (before ה), Nu 32<sup>42</sup>, Am 1<sup>11</sup> (before נ), Lv 6<sup>2</sup> (before ע); even in *pause*, Lv 12<sup>4 a</sup> and 5<sup>b</sup>; Is 23<sup>17</sup>, Pr 21<sup>22</sup>, also with *Zaqeph*, Is 45<sup>6</sup>, Jer 6<sup>6</sup> (probably), 44<sup>19</sup>; on הִשְׁמָה Lv 26<sup>34</sup>, &c., see § 67 y. Cf. also אֵיָ֑ Ez 36<sup>6</sup>.—Sometimes the Masora appears (but this is very doubtful) to regard the הֵיָ֑ with feminines as a shortening of תָּהֵיָ֑, e.g. נָצָה־גֹּ֑ Gn 40<sup>10</sup> for נָצָתָה־גֹּ֑, Pr 7<sup>8</sup> for תָּתָה־גֹּ֑; also דֵּ֑ for תָּם־גֹּ֑ בְּתוֹבִינָם Ho 13<sup>2</sup>, and עֵרָמָם־גֹּ֑ Jb 5<sup>13</sup>. The examples, however, are for the most part uncertain, e.g. in Is 28<sup>4</sup> the reading is simply to be emended to בְּפִנְיָה־גֹּ֑, and in Zc 4<sup>2</sup> to גִּלְיָה־גֹּ֑, Jb 11<sup>9</sup> to מִדָּה־גֹּ֑, Neh 5<sup>14</sup> to תָּחָה־גֹּ֑. [See also, after prepositions, § 103 g.]

f *Plur.* 1st pers. נֹנֵ֑, in *pause* קִיָּמֹנֵי־גֹּ֑ Jb 22<sup>20</sup> (where, however, קִיָּמֹנֵי is certainly to be read); cf. Ru 3<sup>2</sup> [Is 47<sup>10</sup>, cf. § 61 c, h], and so always בְּלֵנֵי־גֹּ֑ all of us, Gn 42<sup>11</sup>, &c [cf. בָּנֵי־גֹּ֑, לָנֵי־גֹּ֑, אֲתָנֵי־גֹּ֑, עֵפְנֵי־גֹּ֑].

2nd pers. *fem.* בְּנֵיָ֑ Ez 23<sup>48,49</sup>.

3rd pers. *masc.* מוֹ־גֹּ֑  $\psi$  17<sup>10</sup> (on מוֹ in פִּימוֹ in the same verse, and in  $\psi$  58<sup>7</sup> see l); הֵם־גֹּ֑ 2 S 23<sup>6</sup>, according to Sievers probably to call attention to the reading כִּלְהֵם. *Fem.* הֵנָּה־גֹּ֑ 1 K 7<sup>37</sup>, Ez 16<sup>68</sup> (in *pause*); נָה־גֹּ֑ Gn 41<sup>21</sup>; נָה־גֹּ֑ Gn 30<sup>41</sup>; נָה־גֹּ֑ Ru 1<sup>13</sup>; elsewhere generally in *pause* (Gn 21<sup>29</sup>, 42<sup>36</sup>, Jer 8<sup>7</sup>, Pr 31<sup>29</sup>, Jb 39<sup>2</sup>); finally הֵן as suffix to a noun, only in Is 3<sup>17</sup>.

For examples of singulars with plural suffixes see l.

g 2. In the *plural masc.* and in the *dual* the suffixes are to be regarded primarily as affixed to the original ending of the *construct state* (־֑, cf. § 89 d). This ending, however, has been preserved unchanged only in the 2nd *fem.* In most cases it is contracted to ־֑, as in the *constr. st.* without suffixes (so throughout the plur. and in the poetical suffix יהִי־גֹ֑ of the 3rd *sing. masc.*); in the 2nd *masc.* and 3rd *fem. sing.* it is ־֑ (cf. k). On the 1st *pers.* and 3rd *masc. sing.* see i.—Thus there arise the following

Suffixes of Plural Nouns.

h

Singular.		Plural.
1. c. יָנוּ, pause יָנוּ my.		1. c. יָנוּ our.
2. { m. יָנוּ } { f. יָנוּ, pause יָנוּ } thy.		2. { m. יָנוּ } { f. יָנוּ } ycur.
3. { m. יָנוּ, poet. יָנוּ } his. { f. יָנוּ } her.		3. { m. יָנוּ, poet. יָנוּ } { f. יָנוּ } their.

Thus the original יָנוּ is (a) contracted in the 3rd sing. masc. יָנוּ and throughout the plural, as סוּסֵי יָנוּ, &c.; (b) retained unchanged in the 1st sing. סוּסִי, the real suffix-ending י (see b) being united with the final Yôdh of the ending יָנוּ; and in the 2nd fem. sing. יָנוּ, with a helping-Hireq after the Yôdh. On the other hand (c) the Yôdh of יָנוּ is lost in pronunciation and the *ā* lengthened to *ā* in the 3rd masc. sing. סוּסָאוּ, i. e. *sūsāw* (pronounced *susā-u*).<sup>1</sup> The 2nd masc. sing. יָנוּ and the 3rd fem. sing. יָנוּ were formerly also explained here as having really lost the י, and modified the *a* of *sūsakā*, *sūsahā* to *S<sup>e</sup>ghôl*; but cf. the view now given in *g* and *k*.

Rem. 1. As סוּסֵי יָנוּ represents *sūsai-nū*, so סוּסֵי יָנוּ and סוּסֵי יָנוּ represent *sūsai-kā*, *h* *sūsai-hā*, and the use of *S<sup>e</sup>ghôl* instead of the more regular *Sere* is to be explained from the character of the following syllable,—so P. Haupt who points to יָנוּ as compared with יָנוּ. In support of the view formerly adopted by us that the י is only orthographically retained, too much stress must not be laid on the fact that it is sometimes omitted,<sup>2</sup> thereby causing confusion in an unpointed text with the singular noun. A number of the examples which follow may be due to an erroneous assumption that the noun is a plural, where in reality it is a singular, and others may be incorrect readings. Cf. יָנוּ thy ways (probably יָנוּ is intended), Ex 33<sup>13</sup>, Jos 1<sup>8</sup>, ψ 119<sup>37</sup>; for other examples, see Jos 21<sup>11</sup> ff. (יָנוּ; but in 1 Ch 6<sup>40</sup> ff. always יָנוּ), Ju 19<sup>9</sup>, 1 K 8<sup>29</sup>, Is 58<sup>13</sup>, ψ 119<sup>41.43.98</sup> (probably, however, in all these cases the sing. is intended); Nu 30<sup>8</sup> (cf. v. 5); Jer 19<sup>8</sup>, 49<sup>17</sup>; Dn 11<sup>6</sup>. For the orthographic omission of י before suffixes cf. יָנוּ for יָנוּ *his friends* 1 S 30<sup>26</sup>, Pr 29<sup>18</sup>; Jb 42<sup>10</sup> (but it is possible to explain it here as a collective singular); עוֹנוֹנוּ *our iniquities*, Is 64<sup>5.6</sup>, Jer 14<sup>7</sup>; Ex 10<sup>9</sup>, Neh 10<sup>1</sup> (לְיוֹנוּ from לְיוֹנוּ which is always written defectively); Nu 29<sup>33</sup>, Jer 44<sup>9</sup>; יָנוּ; ψ 134<sup>2</sup>; לְמִינֵהֶם *after their kinds*, Gn 1<sup>21</sup> (but see c), cf. 4<sup>4</sup> and Na 2<sup>8</sup>. The

<sup>1</sup> In the papyrus of the decalogue from the Fayyûm, line 16, ויקרשוו occurs for ויקרשוו Ex 20<sup>11</sup>. Gall, *ZAW*. 1903, p. 349, takes this as an indication that the traditional forms of the noun-suffix יו or ו represent *aiü* or *eü*. P. Haupt aptly compares the Greek use of the *iota subscript* (̣).

<sup>2</sup> So in the Mēša' inscription, l. 22 מנרלתה *its towers* (along with שעריה *its gates*). Can it have been the rule to omit י after the termination *ôth*? Cf. below, n.

defective writing is especially frequent in the 3rd masc. *sing.*  $\text{לְ}$ , which in *Q<sup>erê</sup>* is almost always changed to  $\text{לִ}$ , e. g.  $\text{לְצִיָּו}$  his arrows,  $\psi$  58<sup>8</sup>, *Q<sup>erê</sup>*  $\text{לְצִיָּו}$ . On  $\text{לְ}$ , only three times  $\text{לְהִרְיִי}$ , cf. § 135 r.

- l 2. Unusual forms (but for the most part probably only scribal errors) are—*Sing.* 2nd pers. *fem.*  $\text{הִיָּ}$  (after  $\text{אַשְׂרֵי}$  happy! Ec 10<sup>17</sup>, which has become stereotyped as an interjection, and is therefore unchangeable; cf. Delitzsch on the passage);  $\text{יָבִי}$  (cf. Syr.  $\text{בִּי}$ ) 2 K 4<sup>3</sup>, and  $\text{יָבִי}$  in *K<sup>eth.</sup>*,  $\psi$  103<sup>3-5</sup>, 116<sup>7</sup> ( $\text{יָבִי}$  in *pause*).—In Ez 16<sup>31</sup>  $\text{הִיָּ}$  (so  $\text{יָבִי}$  in 6<sup>8</sup>) occurs with an *infin.* ending in  $\text{וֹת}$ , the  $\text{וֹת}$  being therefore treated as a plural ending; similarly, the plural suffix is sometimes found with the feminine ending  $\text{וֹת}$  (Nu 14<sup>33</sup>, Is 54<sup>4</sup>, Jer 3<sup>8</sup>, Ez 16<sup>15</sup>, 23<sup>7</sup>, as well as in 16<sup>20</sup> *Q<sup>erê</sup>*, and Zp 3<sup>20</sup>), with the ending *ith* (Lv 5<sup>24</sup>, reading  $\text{וְהִמְשִׁיחֶנּוּ}$ ), and even with the ordinary feminine ending *ath*; Is 47<sup>13</sup>, Ez 35<sup>11</sup>,  $\psi$  9<sup>15</sup>, Ezr 9<sup>15</sup>.—Wholly abnormal is  $\text{מְלָאֲכָנָה}$  thy messengers, Na 2<sup>4</sup>, evidently a case of dittography of the following  $\text{הִיָּ}$ : read  $\text{מְלָאֲכָנָה}$ .

3rd masc.  $\text{וְהִיָּ}$  Hb 3<sup>10</sup>, Jb 24<sup>23</sup>;  $\text{וְהִיָּ}$  1 S 30<sup>26</sup>, Ez 43<sup>17</sup>, Na 2<sup>4</sup>;  $\text{וְהִיָּ}$  (a purely Aramaic form)  $\psi$  116<sup>12</sup>.—3rd fem.  $\text{אִהִיָּ}$  Ez 41<sup>15</sup>.

Plur. The strange 2nd pers. *masc.*  $\text{הַפּוֹצְוֹתֵיכֶם}$  (with *i*, so Qimḥi; cf. Norzi) Jer 25<sup>34</sup>, is probably a mixed form combining  $\text{הַפּוֹצְוֹתֵיכֶם}$  and  $\text{הַפּוֹצְוֹתֵיכֶם}$ ; *fem.*  $\text{יָבִיָּ}$  Ez 13<sup>20</sup>.

3rd masc.  $\text{וְהִיָּ}$  Ez 40<sup>16</sup>; *fem.*  $\text{וְהִיָּ}$  Ez 1<sup>11</sup>.

3. The termination  $\text{וֹת}$  (also with the *dual*, e. g.  $\psi$  58<sup>7</sup>, 59<sup>13</sup>), like  $\text{וֹת}$  and  $\text{וֹת}$ , occurs with the noun (as with the verb, § 58 g) almost exclusively in the later poets [viz. with a substantive in the singular,  $\psi$  21<sup>11</sup>, 17<sup>10,10</sup>, 58<sup>7</sup>, 59<sup>13</sup>, 89<sup>18</sup>; with a dual or plural, Dt 32<sup>27,32,37,38</sup>, 33<sup>29</sup>,  $\psi$  2<sup>3,3</sup>, 11<sup>7</sup>, 35<sup>16</sup>, 49<sup>12</sup>, 58<sup>7</sup>, 59<sup>14</sup>, 73<sup>5,7</sup>, 83<sup>12,12</sup>, 140<sup>4,10</sup>, Jb 27<sup>23</sup>; after prepositions, see § 103 f, o, notes], and cannot, therefore, by itself be taken as an indication of archaic language. On the other hand there can be no doubt that these are revivals of really old forms. That they are consciously and artificially used is shown by the evidently intentional accumulation of them, e. g. in Ex 15<sup>5,7,9</sup>,  $\psi$  2<sup>3,5</sup>, and 140<sup>4,10</sup>, and also by the fact observed by Diehl (see the heading of this section) that in Ex 15 they occur *only* as verbal suffixes, in Dt 32 *only* as noun suffixes.

- m 3. It is clear and beyond doubt that the *Yôdh* in these suffixes with the plural noun belongs, in reality, to the ending of the *construct state* of the masculine plural. Yet the consciousness of this fact became so completely lost as to admit of the striking peculiarity (or rather inaccuracy) of appending those *suffix-forms* which include the plural ending  $\text{וֹת}$ , even to the feminine plural in  $\text{וֹת}$  (קִיסוֹתֵינִי),  $\text{וֹת}$  (קִיסוֹתֵיךְ, &c.), so that in reality the result is a double indication of the plural.<sup>1</sup>

- n Such is the rule: the singular suffix, however (see b), also occurs with the ending  $\text{וֹת}$  (probably through the influence of Aramaic), e. g.  $\text{וְעָרְוֹתֵי}$   $\psi$  132<sup>12</sup> (unless it be *sing.* for  $\text{וְעָרְוֹתֵי}$ , as, according to Qimḥi in his *Lexicon*, 2 K 6<sup>8</sup> is for  $\text{וְעָרְוֹתֵי}$ );  $\text{מִבְּתָרְךָ}$  Dt 28<sup>69</sup> (treated on the analogy of an *infin.*  $\text{לְהִיָּ}$ );

<sup>1</sup> See an analogous case in § 87 s. Cf. also the double feminine ending in the 3rd *sing. perf.* of verbs  $\text{לְהִיָּ}$ , § 75 i.

אֲחֵי־יִתְּךָ Ez 16<sup>52</sup>. On the other hand מִצְוֹתֶךָ (so Baer, Ginsb. ; but Opit. יְךָ) ψ 119<sup>98</sup>, Dn 9<sup>5</sup> is merely written defectively, like גִּרְרֹתֶךָ according to Baer (not Ginsb.) in Pr 1<sup>9</sup>, &c. In the 3<sup>rd</sup> plur. the use of the singular suffix is even the rule in the earlier Books (see the instances in Diehl, l. c., p. 8), e. g. אֲבוֹתָם (*their fathers*) oftener than אֲבֹתֵיהֶם (this only in 1 K 14<sup>15</sup>, and in Jer, Ezr, Neh, and Ch [in 1 K, Jer, Ezr, however, אֲבוֹתָם is more common]); so always שְׁמוֹתָם, שְׁמוֹתֵיהֶם *their names*, דִּוְרֹתָם, דִּוְרֹתֵיהֶם *their generations*. From parallel passages like 2 S 22<sup>46</sup> compared with ψ 18<sup>46</sup>, Is 2<sup>4</sup> with Mi 4<sup>3</sup>, it appears that in many cases the longer form in אֵיהֶם can only subsequently have taken the place of אֵי־.

4. The following Paradigm of a masculine and feminine noun *O* with suffixes is based upon a monosyllabic noun with one unchangeable vowel. With regard to the ending ת— in the *constr. st.* of the fem. it should be further remarked that the short *ä* of this ending is only retained before the *grave* suffixes כֶּם and כֵּן; before all the others (the *light* suffixes) it is lengthened to *ā*.

*Singular.*

*p*

	<i>Masculine.</i>	<i>Feminine.</i>
	סוּס <i>a horse.</i>	סוּסָה <i>a mare.</i>
Sing. 1. <i>com.</i>	סוּסִי <i>my horse.</i>	סוּסָתִי <i>my mare.</i>
2. { <i>m.</i>	סוּסְךָ <i>thy horse.</i>	סוּסְךָ <i>thy mare.</i>
{ <i>f.</i>	סוּסֶיךָ <i>thy horse.</i>	סוּסְתֶיךָ <i>thy mare.</i>
3. { <i>m.</i>	סוּסוֹ <i>equus eius (suus).</i>	סוּסָתוֹ <i>equa eius (sua).</i>
{ <i>f.</i>	סוּסָהּ <i>equus eius (suus).</i>	סוּסְתָהּ <i>equa eius (sua).</i>
Plur. 1. <i>com.</i>	סוּסֵינוּ <i>our horse.</i>	סוּסָתֵנוּ <i>our mare.</i>
2. { <i>m.</i>	סוּסֵיכֶם <i>your horse.</i>	סוּסֵיכֶם <i>your mare.</i>
{ <i>f.</i>	סוּסֵיכֶן <i>your horse.</i>	סוּסֵיכֶן <i>your mare.</i>
3. { <i>m.</i>	סוּסֵם <i>equus eorum (suus).</i>	סוּסָתֵם <i>equa eorum (sua).</i>
{ <i>f.</i>	סוּסֵן <i>equus earum (suus).</i>	סוּסְתֵן <i>equa earum (sua).</i>

*Plural.*

*q*

	<i>Masculine.</i>	<i>Feminine.</i>
	סוּסִים <i>horses.</i>	סוּסוֹת <i>mares.</i>
Sing. 1. <i>com.</i>	סוּסֵי <i>my horses.</i>	סוּסוֹתַי <i>my mares.</i>
2. { <i>m.</i>	סוּסֵיךָ <i>thy horses.</i>	סוּסוֹתֶיךָ <i>thy mares.</i>
{ <i>f.</i>	סוּסֵיךָ <i>thy horses.</i>	סוּסוֹתֶיךָ <i>thy mares.</i>
3. { <i>m.</i>	סוּסֵיוֹ <i>equi eius (sui).</i>	סוּסוֹתֵיוֹ <i>equae eius (suae).</i>
{ <i>f.</i>	סוּסֵיהֶּן <i>equi eius (sui).</i>	סוּסוֹתֵיהֶּן <i>equae eius (suae).</i>
Plur. 1. <i>com.</i>	סוּסֵינוּ <i>our horses.</i>	סוּסוֹתֵינוּ <i>our mares.</i>
2. { <i>m.</i>	סוּסֵיכֶם <i>your horses.</i>	סוּסוֹתֵיכֶם <i>your mares.</i>
{ <i>f.</i>	סוּסֵיכֶן <i>your horses.</i>	סוּסוֹתֵיכֶן <i>your mares.</i>
3. { <i>m.</i>	סוּסֵיהֶם <i>equi eorum (sui).</i>	סוּסוֹתֵיהֶם <i>equae eorum (suae).</i>
{ <i>f.</i>	סוּסֵיהֶן <i>equi earum (sui).</i>	סוּסוֹתֵיהֶן <i>equae earum (suae).</i>

## § 92. Vowel Changes in the Noun.

*a* 1. Vowel changes in the noun may be caused (*a*) by dependence on a following genitive; (*b*) by connexion with pronominal suffixes, (*c*) by the plural and dual terminations, whether in the form of the absolute state or of the construct (before a following genitive of a noun or suffix).

*b* 2. In all these cases, the tone of the noun is moved forward either one or two syllables, while the tone of the *construct state* may even be thrown upon the following word. In this way the following changes may arise:—

(*a*) When the tone is moved forward only one place, as is the case when the plural and dual endings ים־, וֹת and ים־ are affixed, as well as with all monosyllabic or paroxytone suffixes, then in dissyllabic nouns the originally short vowel of the first syllable (which was lengthened as being in an open syllable before the tone) becomes *Šewā*, since it no longer stands before the tone. On the other hand, the originally short, but tone-lengthened vowel, of the second syllable is retained as being now the pretonic vowel; e. g. דָּבָר word (ground-form *dābār*), plur. דְּבָרִים; with a light suffix beginning with a vowel, דְּבָרַי, דְּבָרָנוּ; plur. דְּבָרַי, דְּבָרֵינוּ, &c.; with an unchangeable vowel in the second syllable: פְּקִיד overseer, plur. פְּקִידִים; with the suffix of the sing. פְּקִידִי, &c.; with the suff. of the plur. פְּקִידַי, &c. With an unchangeable vowel in the first syllable: עוֹלָם eternity, plur. עוֹלָמִים, with suff. עוֹלָמִי, &c.<sup>1</sup>

*c* But in participles of the form לַטַּל, with tone-lengthened *ē* (originally *ī*) in the second syllable, the *ē* regularly becomes *Šewā mobile* before a tone-bearing affix, e. g. אֶיב enemy, plur. אֶיבִים, with suff. אֶיבִי, &c. Likewise in words of the form קַטַּל, קַטַּל, &c. (with *ē* in the second syllable; § 84<sup>b</sup> *d, l, p*; § 85 *i* and *k*), e. g. אֵלִים dumb, plur. אֵלִיִּם.

*d* (*b*) When the tone of the *construct state*, plural or dual, is carried over to the following word, or, in consequence of the addition of the grave suffixes to the *constr. st.* plur. or dual, is moved forward two places within the word itself, in such cases the originally short vowel of the second syllable becomes *Šewā*, while the vowel of the first syllable reverts to its original shortness, e. g. דְּבָרֵי הָעָם the words of the people, דְּבָרֵיכֶם your words, דְּבָרֵיהֶם their words (in all which instances the *ī* of the first syllable is attenuated from an original *ā*).

<sup>1</sup> The participles *Niph'al* נִדְרַח Dt 30<sup>4</sup>, נִדְרַחוּ 2 S 14<sup>13</sup>, and some plurals of the participle *Niph.* of verbs לִ form an exception; cf. § 93 oo.

In the segholate forms in the singular and mostly in the dual the suffix is *e* appended to the ground-form (מִלְכִי my king, מְלִכָּנוּ, &c.); on the other hand, before the endings מִי־, וְ, (sometimes also before מִי־) a *Qames* regularly occurs,<sup>1</sup> before which the vowel of the first syllable then becomes vocal *Šewā* (מְלִכִים, מְלִכֹת). This *Qames* (on which cf. § 84<sup>a</sup> a) remains even before the light suffixes, when attached to the plur. masc. (מְלִכֵי, מְלִכָּי, &c.). On the other hand, the *constr. st. plur.* and dual, regularly, according to *d*, has the form מְלִכֵי, with grave suffix מְלִכֵיכֶם, &c., מְלִכֵי from דְּלָתַימ folding-doors.

(c) Before the *Šewā mobile* which precedes the suffix *ך* when *f* following a consonant, the *a*-sound, as a rule, is the only tone-lengthened vowel which remains in the final syllable (being now in an open syllable *before* the tone), e. g. דְּבַרְךָ, דְּבַרְךָ, &c. (on the forms with *ē* in the second syllable, see § 93 *qq*); but before the grave suffixes מְלִכֵי and מְלִכֵי in the same position it reverts to its original shortness, as דְּבַרְכֶם (d<sup>e</sup>bhārkhēm), &c. In the same way the tone-lengthened *ā* or *ē* of the second syllable in the *constr. st. sing.* also becomes short again, since the *constr. st.* resigns the principal tone to the following word, e. g. דְּבַר אֱלֹהִים; חֶצֶר הַצֵּיר (from חֶצֶר).

Rem. The Masora (cf. *Diqduge ha-š'amim*, p. 37) reckons thirteen words *g* which retain *Qames* in the *constr. st.*, some of which had originally *ā* and therefore need not be considered. On the other hand, אֵלֶם or אֵלֶם I K 7<sup>6</sup>, Ez 40<sup>48</sup>, &c. (in spite of the *constr. st. plur.* אֵלֶמִי); מִצֵּב Pr 25<sup>19</sup>; מִצֵּב I S 13<sup>28</sup> (so Baer, but ed. Mant., Ginsburg, &c. מִצֵּב); מִשְׁקָל Ezr 8<sup>30</sup> and מִתֵּן Pr 18<sup>16</sup> are very peculiar.

3. The vowel changes in the inflexion of *feminine nouns* (§ 95) are *h* not so considerable, since generally in the formation of the feminine either the original vowels have been retained, or they have already become *Šewā*.

Besides the vowel changes discussed above in *a-g*, which take place according to the general formative laws (§§ 25-28), certain further phenomena must also be considered in the inflexion of nouns, an accurate knowledge of which requires in each case an investigation of the original form of the words in question (see §§ 84-86). Such are, e. g., the rejection of the *h* of לְיָה stems before all formative additions (cf. § 91 *d*), the sharpening of the final consonant of *ע* stems in such cases as חֶקֶץ, חֶקֶץ, &c.

A striking difference between the vowel changes in the verb and noun is *h* that in a verb when terminations are added it is mostly the second of two changeable vowels which becomes *Šewā* (קָטַל, קָטַלָה, קָטַלְתִּי), but in a noun, the first (דְּבַרְךָ, דְּבַרְכֶם), cf. § 27. 3.

<sup>1</sup> For the rare exceptions see § 93 *l* and § 97 *f*, note 2.

§ 93. *Paradigms of Masculine Nouns.*<sup>1</sup>

*a* Masculine nouns from the simple stem may, as regards their form and the vowel changes connected with it, be divided into *four* classes. A synopsis of them is given on pp. 264, 265, and they are further explained below. Two general remarks may be premised :

(*a*) That all feminines without a distinctive termination (§ 122 *h*) are treated like these masculine nouns, e. g. **חֶרֶב** *f.* sword, like **מֶלֶךְ** *m.* king, except that in the *plural* they usually take the termination **וֹת**—; thus **חֶרְבוֹת**, *constr.* חֶרְבוֹת (and so always before *suffixes*, see § 95).

*b* (*b*) That in the plural of the first three classes a changeable vowel is always retained even before the light suffixes as a lengthened pretonic vowel, whenever it also stands before the plural ending **וֹת**— . All suffixes, except **וֹת**, **וֹן**, **וֹם**, **וֹן** (**וֹתְוֹם**—, **וֹתְוֹן**—, **וֹתְוֹם**—, **וֹתְוֹן**—), are called *light*. Cf. § 92 *e*.

*Explanations of the Paradigms* (see pp. 264, 265).

*c* 1. Paradigm I comprises the large class of *segholate* nouns (§ 84<sup>a</sup> *a-e*). In the first three examples, from a strong stem, the ground-forms, *mälk*, *sîphr*, *quďš* have been developed by the adoption of a helping *S<sup>e</sup>ghöl* to **מֶלֶךְ** (with *ä* modified to *è*), **סֵפֶר** (*š* lengthened to *ē*), **שִׁפְרֵי** (*ä* lengthened to *ō*).<sup>2</sup> The next three examples, instead of the helping *S<sup>e</sup>ghöl*, have a helping *Pathah*, on account of the middle (*d*, *f*) or final guttural (*e*). In all these cases the *constr. st. sing.* coincides exactly with the *absolute*. The singular suffixes are added to the ground-form; but in *c* and *f* an *ö* takes the place of the original *ä*, and in *d* and *f* the guttural requires a repetition of the *ä* and *ö* in the form of a *Haṭeph* (**מַלְכֵי**, **סֵפְרֵי**); before a following *S<sup>e</sup>wd* this *Haṭeph* passes into a simple helping vowel (*ä*, *ö*), according to § 28 *c*; hence **מַלְכֵיךָ**, &c.

*d* In the plural an *a*-sound almost always appears before the tone-bearing affix **וֹת**— (on the analogy of forms with original *a* in the

<sup>1</sup> A sort of detailed commentary on the following scheme of Hebrew declensions is supplied by E. König in his *Hist.-krit. Lehrgeb. der hebr. Spr.*, ii. 1, p. 1 ff.

<sup>2</sup> According to P. Haupt 'The book of Nahum' in the *Journ. of bibl. Lit.*, 1907, p. 29, the *e* in **סֵפֶר** and the *o* in **שִׁפְרֵי** are not long but accented, and hence to be pronounced *σέφρ*, *úšv* (שִׁפְרֵי), a theory unknown at any rate to the Jewish grammarians.

second syllable; cf. § 84<sup>a</sup> a), in the form of a pretonic *Qames*, whilst the short vowel of the first syllable becomes vocal *Šewā*. The original *a* of the 2nd syllable is elided in the *construct state*, so that the short vowel under the first radical then stands in a closed syllable. The omission of *Dageš* in a following *Begadkephath* (מַלְכֵי, not מִלְכֵי, &c.) is due to the loss of a vowel between ל and כ. On the other hand, the pretonic *Qames* of the *absolute state* is retained before the light plural suffixes, whilst the grave suffixes are added to the form of the *construct state*.—The ending of the *absolute state* of the dual is added, as a rule, to the ground-form (so in *a-d* and *h*, but cf. *k*). The *construct state* of the dual is generally the same as that of the plural, except, of course, in cases like *m*.

Paradigms *g* and *h* exhibit forms with middle *u* and *i* (§ 84<sup>a</sup> c, γ e and δ); the ground forms *maut* and *zait* are always contracted to *môth*, *zêth*, except in the *absol. sing.*, where *u* and *i* are changed into the corresponding consonants ו and י.

Paradigm *i* exhibits one of the numerous forms in which the contraction of a middle *u* or *i* has already taken place in the *absol. sing.* (ground-form *šaut*).

Paradigm *k* is a formation from a stem ה"ל (§ 84<sup>a</sup> c, ε).

Paradigms *l*, *m*, *n* are forms from stems י"ע, and hence (see § 67 a) *f* originally biliteral, *yam*, 'im, *huq*, with the regular lengthening to יָ, אָ, קָ. Before formative additions a sharpening, as in the inflexion of verbs י"ע, takes place in the second radical, e.g. אָמַי, אָמַיִם, &c. (see § 84<sup>a</sup> c, β).

#### REMARKS.

I. A. On I. *a* and *d* (ground-form *qatl*). In *pause* the full lengthening to *ā* *g* generally takes place, thus יָרְדֵי *vineyard*, נָעַר, וָרַע *seed* (from וָרַע), and so always (except ψ 48<sup>11</sup>), in יָרְדֵי *earth* with the article, הָאָרֶץ, according to § 35 o (cf. also in the LXX the forms 'Αβέλ, 'Ιαφίθ for הָבֵל, הָפֶת). However, the form with *è* is also sometimes found in *pause*, along with that in *ā*, e.g. הָקָר together with הָקָר; and very frequently only the form with *S<sup>e</sup>ghôl*, e.g. הָקָר, שָׁרְיָ *grass*, חַצְרָיָ *perpetuity*, פְּלִיאָ *a wonder*, צְדָקָ *righteousness*, קָרָם *the East*, יָשַׁע *help*, &c.—With two *S<sup>e</sup>ghôls*, although with a middle guttural, we find לָחֶם *bread* (in *pause* חָחֶם) and רָחֶם *womb* (in *pause* רָחֶם), besides רָחֶם Ju 5<sup>30</sup> (in *pause* חָחֶם). A helping *S<sup>e</sup>ghôl* always stands before a final א, as יָשַׁע, יָשַׁע, יָשַׁע (with *sufl.* יָשַׁע), פְּלִיאָ, פְּלִיאָ (also written פְּרִיאָ), except in יָשַׁע, see v.

B. The *constr. st.* is almost always the same as the *absolute*. Sometimes, *h* however, under the influence of a final guttural or ר, *Pathah* appears in the second syllable as the principal vowel (see below, s), e.g. יָרַע ψ 18<sup>26</sup>; יָרַע

## Paradigms of

## I.

	a.	b.	c.	d.	e.	f.
<i>Sing. absolute</i>	מֶלֶךְ (king)	סֵפֶר (book)	קֹדֶשׁ (sanctuary)	נָעַר (a youth)	נֶצַח (perpetuity)	פְּעֹל (work)
„ <i>construct</i>	מֶלֶךְ	סֵפֶר	קֹדֶשׁ	נָעַר	נֶצַח	פְּעֹל
„ <i>with light suff.</i>	מֶלְכִי	סִפְרִי	קֹדְשִׁי	נְעָרִי	נֶצְחִי	פְּעוּלִי
„ <i>with grave suff.</i>	מֶלְכְךָ	סִפְרְךָ	קֹדְשְׁךָ	נְעָרְךָ	נֶצְחְךָ	פְּעוּלְךָ
<i>Plur. absolute</i>	מְלָכִים	סִפְרִים	[קֹדֶשִׁים]	נְעָרִים	נֶצְחִים	פְּעוּלִים
„ <i>construct</i>	מְלָכֵי	סִפְרֵי	קֹדְשֵׁי	נְעָרֵי	נֶצְחֵי	פְּעוּלֵי
„ <i>with light suff.</i>	מְלָכֵי	סִפְרֵי	[קֹדְשֵׁי]	נְעָרֵי	נֶצְחֵי	פְּעוּלֵי
„ <i>with grave suff.</i>	מְלָכֵיכֶם	סִפְרֵיכֶם	קֹדְשֵׁיכֶם	נְעָרֵיכֶם	נֶצְחֵיכֶם	פְּעוּלֵיכֶם
<i>Dual absolute</i>	רַגְלָיִם (feet)	קַבְצָיִם (two heaps)	מַחְזָיִם (loins)	נַעֲלָיִם (sandals)		
„ <i>construct</i>	רַגְלֵי	[proper name.]	מַחְזֵי	נַעֲלֵי		

## II.

	a.	b.	c.	d.	e.	f.
<i>Sing. absolute</i>	דָּבָר (word)	חָכֵם (wise)	זָקֵן (an old man)	פְּתָף (shoulder)	חֲצֵר (court)	שָׂדֶה (field)
„ <i>construct</i>	דָּבָר	חָכֵם	זָקֵן	פְּתָף	חֲצֵר	שָׂדֶה
„ <i>with light suff.</i>	דְּבָרִי	חֲכָמִי	זָקֵנִי	פְּתָפִי	חֲצָרִי	שָׂדֵי
„ <i>with grave suff.</i>	דְּבָרְךָ	חֲכָמְךָ				שָׂדֶךָ
<i>Plur. absolute</i>	דְּבָרִים	חֲכָמִים	זָקֵנִים		חֲצָרִים	פְּנִים
„ <i>construct</i>	דְּבָרֵי	חֲכָמֵי	זָקֵנֵי		חֲצָרֵי	פְּנֵי
„ <i>with light suff.</i>	דְּבָרֵי	חֲכָמֵי	זָקֵנֵי		חֲצָרֵי	פְּנֵי
„ <i>with grave suff.</i>	דְּבָרֵיכֶם	חֲכָמֵיכֶם	זָקֵנֵיכֶם		חֲצָרֵיכֶם	פְּנֵיכֶם
<i>Dual absolute</i>	כְּנָפַיִם (wings)	חֲלָצָיִם (loins)	יָרְכָיִם (thighs)			(face)
„ <i>construct</i>	כְּנָפֵי					

Masculine Nouns.

I.

<i>g.</i>	<i>h.</i>	<i>i.</i>	<i>k.</i>	<i>l.</i>	<i>m.</i>	<i>n.</i>
מָוֹת	זַיִת	שׁוֹט	פְּרִי	יָם	אִם	חֵק
(death)	(olive)	(whip)	(fruit)	(sea)	(mother)	(statute)
מוֹת	זַיִת	שׁוֹט	פְּרִי	יָם, יַם	אִם	חֵק
מוֹתֵי	זַיִתֵי	שׁוֹטֵי	פְּרִיֵי	יַמֵי	אִמֵי	חֻקֵי
מוֹתֶיךָ	זַיִתְךָ	שׁוֹטְךָ	פְּרִיְךָ	יַמְךָ	אִמְךָ	חֻקְךָ
מוֹתֵיכֶם	זַיִתְכֶם	שׁוֹטְכֶם	פְּרִיְכֶם	יַמְכֶם	אִמְכֶם	חֻקְכֶם
[מוֹתֵי]	זַיִתִּים	שׁוֹטִים	פְּרִיִים	יַמִּים	אִמוֹת	חֻקִּים
מוֹתֵי	זַיִתֵי	שׁוֹטֵי	פְּרִיֵי	יַמֵי	אִמוֹת	חֻקֵי
	זַיִתֵי	שׁוֹטֵי	(kids)	יַמֵי	אִמוֹתֵי	חֻקֵי
	זַיִתְכֶם	שׁוֹטְכֶם		יַמְכֶם	אִמוֹתֵיכֶם	חֻקְכֶם
	עֵינַיִם	יוֹמַיִם	לְחָיִים	כַּפָּיִם	שֵׁנַיִם	
	(eyes)	(two days, biduum)	(cheeks)	(hands)	(teeth)	
	עֵינַי		לְחָיֵי	כַּפָּי	שֵׁנַי	

III.

IV.

<i>a.</i>	<i>b.</i>	<i>c.</i>	<i>a.</i>	<i>b.</i>	<i>c.</i>
עוֹלָם	אֵיב	הוֹה	פְּקִיד	עָנִי	כְּתָב
(eternity)	(enemy)	(seer)	(overseer)	(poor)	(writing)
עוֹלָם	אֵיב	הוֹה	פְּקִיד	עָנִי	כְּתָב
עוֹלָמֵי	אֵיבֵי	הוֹוֵי	פְּקִידֵי		כְּתָבֵי
עוֹלָמְךָ	אֵיבְךָ	הוֹוְךָ	פְּקִידְךָ		כְּתָבְךָ
עוֹלָמְכֶם	אֵיבְכֶם	הוֹוְכֶם	פְּקִידְכֶם		כְּתָבְכֶם
עוֹלָמִים	אֵיבִים	הוֹוִים	פְּקִידִים	עָנִיִּים	[כְּתָבִים]
עוֹלָמֵי	אֵיבֵי	הוֹוֵי	פְּקִידֵי	עָנִי	[כְּתָבֵי]
עוֹלָמֵי	אֵיבֵי	הוֹוֵי	פְּקִידֵי		[כְּתָבֵי]
עוֹלָמֵיכֶם	אֵיבֵיכֶם	הוֹוֵיכֶם	פְּקִידֵיכֶם	עָנִיכֶם	[כְּתָבֵיכֶם]
מְלָקָתִים	מֵאֻנָּים		שָׁבָעִים		
(pair of tongs)	(balance)		(two weeks)		
	מֵאֻנָּי				



tendency to assimilate the dual to the plural in form: so König, *Lehrgeb.*, ii. 17), as קַרְנַיִם horns, with suff. קַרְנָיו (Dn 8<sup>3</sup> <sup>fr.</sup>; elsewhere always קַרְנַיִם, קַרְנָיו, &c.), and so always דְּלָתַיִם, constr. st. דְּלָתַיִ רְלִיתִי folding-doors, דְּרָבַיִם (?) double way.

2. On Paradigms *b* and *e*. With a final א rejected (but retained orthographically) we find הַטָּא *sin*. An initial guttural before suffixes generally receives *S<sup>e</sup>ghôl* instead of the original *i*, e.g. הַלְקִי, עֲוֹרִי, &c., so in the constr. st. plur. עֲוֹנָי, &c.; אַטָּא forms אַטָּאִי 2 K 10<sup>29</sup>, &c., retaining the *Qameš* of אַטָּאִים before the weak א.—The pausal forms סֶחֶר and שֶׁבֶט (out of pause always סֶחֶר, שֶׁבֶט) go back to by-forms סֶחֶר, שֶׁבֶט.—On עֲשׂוּבוֹת (constr. st. plur. of עֲשׂוּב) Pr 27<sup>25</sup>, cf. § 20 *h*; שִׁקְמוֹת *sycamores*, without *Qameš* before the termination אֶ— (see above, *l*), is probably from the sing. שִׁקְמוֹה found in the Mišna.

3. On Paradigms *c* and *f*. קִטְשׁ occurs in Pr 22<sup>21</sup> without a helping vowel; *p* with a middle guttural פִּעֵל, &c., but with ה also אָהֵל, בָּהֵן; with a final guttural גָּבַהּ, רָבַע, &c., but with א, גָּמָא; with a firmly closed syllable אֶסְפִּי Mi 7<sup>1</sup>.

Before suffixes the original *ü* sometimes reappears in the sing., e.g. גִּדְלוּ (*ψ* 150<sup>2</sup>) beside גִּדְלוֹ, from גִּדְלוֹ greatness; סִבְלוֹ (with *Dageš forte dirimens*, and the *ü* repeated in the form of a *Ḥateph-Qameš*, cf. § 10 *h*) Is 9<sup>3</sup>, &c.; and גִּשְׂמוֹה Ez 22<sup>24</sup>.—Corresponding to the form פִּעֵלְכֶם *po'ól'khêm* we find קִטְבְּךָ Ho 13<sup>14</sup>, even without a middle guttural; similarly קִטְנִי (so Jablonski and Opatius) 1 K 12<sup>10</sup>, 2 Ch 10<sup>10</sup>, from קִטְנוֹ little finger; but the better reading is, no doubt, קִטְנִי (so ed. Mant., 'the *q* proleptically assuming the vowel of the following syllable'; König, *Lehrgeb.*, ii. 69), and the form is to be derived, with König, from קִטְנוֹ, not *qütün*, as Brockelmann quotes him, in *Grundriss*, p. 103. The reading קִטְנִי (Baer and Ginsburg) is probably not due to a confusion of the above two readings, but אֶ is merely intended to mark the vowel expressly as *ö*. In the forms פִּעֵלוֹ Is 1<sup>31</sup> (for פִּעֵלוֹ) and תִּאָּרוֹ Is 52<sup>14</sup> (for תִּאָּרוֹ 1 S 28<sup>14</sup>), the lengthening of the original *ü* to *ö* has been retained even before the suffix; cf. § 63 *p* and § 74 *h* (בְּמִצְעָאֵם Gn 32<sup>20</sup>).—In the same way *ö* remains before אֶ— locale, e.g. מְרִנָּה, מְרִנָּה הָאֵהֵלָה Gn 18<sup>6</sup>, 24<sup>67</sup>, &c. Dissimilation of the vowel (or a by-form נִכְחָ?) seems to occur in נִכְחוֹ Ex 14<sup>2</sup>, Ez 46<sup>9</sup>, for נִכְחוֹ.

In the *absol. st. plur.* the original *ü* generally becomes *Š'ewá* before the *Qameš*, *r* e.g. בְּקָרִים from בְּקָר morning, פְּעֻלִים works, רִמְחִים lances, יְדָעִים handfuls (constr. st. יְדָעִי Ez 13<sup>19</sup>); on the other hand, with an initial guttural the *ü*-sound reappears as *Ḥateph Qameš*, e.g. חֳדָשִׁים months, עֲפָרִים gazelles, אֲרָחוֹת ways; and so even without an initial guttural, הַנְּרָנוֹת the threshing-floors, 1 S 23<sup>1</sup>, Jo 2<sup>24</sup>; קִדְשִׁים sanctuaries, and שְׁרָשִׁים roots (*qōdhāšīm*, &c., with *ö* for אֶ—); also קִדְשֵׁי [but קִדְשֵׁי, קִדְשָׁיו, once 'קִ], where, however, the reading frequently fluctuates between 'קִ and 'קֶ; with the article הַקֶּ, בְּקֶ, לְקֶ, according to Baer and Ginsburg. On these forms cf. especially § 9 *v*. From אָהֵל tent, both בְּאֵהֵלִים and אֵהֵלִים (cf. § 23 *h* and פִּעֵלוֹ above) are found; with light suffixes אֵהֵלִי, &c.; so from אֲרָחַתִּי way, אֲרָחַתִּי (also אֲרָחַתִּי)—hence only with initial א, 'on account of its weak articulation' (König, *Lehrgeb.*, ii. 45). It seems that by these different ways of writing a distinction was intended between the

plural of אַרְחָה *caravan*, and of אַרְחַ way; however, אַרְחֹת is also found in the former sense (in *constr. st.* Jb 6<sup>19</sup>) and אַרְחֹת in the latter (e.g. Jb 13<sup>27</sup> according to the reading of Ben Naphtali and Qimḥi); cf. also אַרְחִיּוֹת 2 Ch 8<sup>18</sup> *K<sup>eth.</sup>* (אַרְחִי *Q<sup>rê</sup>*).—The *constr. st.* plural of בָּהֶן *thumb* is בְּהֹנוֹת Ju 16<sup>f.</sup>, as if from a sing. בְּהֵן: of נְהִי *brightness*, Is 59<sup>9</sup> נְהִיּוֹת (on these *q<sup>e</sup>l-ol*-forms, cf. *l.*)—If אַפְּנֵי Pr 25<sup>11</sup> is not dual but plural (see the Lexicon) it is then analogous to the examples, given in *l* and *o*, of plurals without a pretonic *Qames*; cf. בְּטַנִּים *pistachio nuts*, probably from a sing. בְּטַנָּה. According to Barth, *ZDMG.* xlii, 345 *f.* אַפְּנֵי is a sing. (אַפְּנִי, the ground-form of אַפְּנָה, with suffix).

In the *constr. st. plur.* the only example with original *ä* is רְכִסֵּי  $\psi$  31<sup>21</sup>; otherwise like קְדִישֵׁי, אֲהָלֵי, &c.

§ 4. Besides the forms treated hitherto we have to consider also a series of formations, which have their characteristic vowel under the *second* radical, as is ordinarily the case in Aramaic (on the origin of these forms see further, § 84<sup>a</sup> *e*). Thus (*a*) of the form קָטַל; רֵבֶשׁ *honey*, מְעַט *little*; in *pause*, רֵבֶשׁ, מְעַט; מְעַט *man* (as *constr. st.*, see above, *h*),  $\psi$  18<sup>26</sup> (elsewhere always רֵבֶבֶשׁ), and *infinitives* like שֶׁכַּב (§ 45 *c*; on קָחַת, see above, *h*); שֶׁכָּם *shoulder*, *ä* being modified to *è* (but in *pause* שֶׁכָּם); locative שְׁכָמָה, also שְׁכָמָה Ho 6<sup>9</sup>. With suffixes in the usual manner שְׁכָמִי, שְׁכָבָה Gn 19<sup>33.35</sup> (an *infin.* with suffix, therefore not שְׁכָבָה). On the other hand, the *ä* is retained in the *plur. absol.* by sharpening the final consonant: אֲנָמִים (*constr.* אֲנָמִי) *marshes*, הַרְפִּים *myrtles*, מְעַטִּים *few*.

*t* (*b*) Of the form קָטַל; בְּאֵר *a well*, זָאב *wolf*, &c.<sup>1</sup>; locative בְּאֵרָה, with *suffix*. בְּאֵרֵי, *plur.* זְאֵבִים, זְאֵבֵי; but בְּאֵרוֹת, *constr.* בְּאֵרוֹת; on the *infin. constr.* שְׂאֵת, cf. § 76 *b*.

(*c*) of the form קָטַל; בְּאֵשׁ *stench* (with *suffix* בְּאֵשׁוֹ, just as סִבְכּוֹ occurs in Jer 4<sup>7</sup> along with the *constr. st.* סִבְכָּה  $\psi$  74<sup>5</sup>; cf. for the Dageš, § 20 *h*), perhaps also לְאָם *nation*, *pl.* לְאָמִים.

¶ 5. Paradigms *g-i* comprise the segholate forms with middle ו or י: (*a*) of the form *qätl* with *Wāw* as a strong consonant, in which cases the original *ä* is almost always lengthened to *ā* (Paradigm *g*), thus מוֹתָו *vanity*, עוֹלָו *iniquity*, מִדְּתוֹ *midst*; with final א, שוֹאָו *falsehood*; cf. however, also רוֹחָו *space*. In the *constr. st.* contraction always occurs, מוֹת, &c. (from original *maut*), and likewise before suffixes מוֹתוֹ, &c. Exception, עוֹלוֹ as *constr. st.* Ez 28<sup>18</sup> (according to Qimḥi) and with *suffix* עוֹלוֹ. The contraction remains also in all cases in the plural (but see below, *w*).

¶ (*b*) Of the form *qätl* with consonantal *Yôdh* (Paradigm *h*). With final א, גֵּיָא (also גֵּי), in Is 40<sup>4</sup> גֵּיָא, in the *constr. st.* (also *absol.* Zc 14<sup>4</sup>) גֵּיָא (also גֵּי); *plur.* 2 K 2<sup>16</sup> and Ez 6<sup>3</sup> *K<sup>eth.</sup>* according to Baer נֵאוֹת, i. e. doubtless נֵאוֹת (cf. גֵּיאוֹתֵיךְ Ez 35<sup>8</sup>; according to another reading [and so Ginsburg] נֵיאוֹת,

<sup>1</sup> The proposal of Haupt (*SBOT.* 'Proverbs', p. 34, l. 44 *ff.*) to read בְּאֵר, זָאב, &c., does not seem to be warranted. The case here is quite different from that in Pr 1<sup>22</sup> where the Masora requires תְּאֵהָבוּ, no doubt on the analogy of בְּאֵר, &c., for תְּאֵהָבוּ, which was probably intended, see § 63 *m*.

i. e. doubtless נִיאֹת, but in *Q'ré*, and all other passages, נִיאֹת. The uncontracted form (in the *absol. st.* with helping *Hireq*) remains also before הַ־ locale, e. g. בֵּיתָהּ (but in the *constr. st.* e. g. יִסְתָּהּ).—עִירָהּ (from עִיר) Gn 49<sup>11</sup> is peculiar, so also שִׁתּוֹ Is 10<sup>17</sup> (from שִׁית).—In the *plural absol.* uncontracted forms occur, like הַחֲלִים *hosts*, עֵינֹת *springs*, עֵצִים *young asses*, הַיִּשְׁים *he-goats*, &c.; as *constr. st.* Pr 8<sup>28</sup> עֵינֹת for עֵינֹת.

(c) With the contraction of the ו and י even in the *absol. st. sing.* (Paradigm *z*). In this way there arise formations which are unchangeable throughout; thus from the ground-form *qātl*: יום (cf., however, § 96), סוֹף, שוֹר, &c.; with middle *Yōdh*, חֵיל I Ch 9<sup>13</sup> (elsewhere חַיִל, חַיִל Is 21<sup>11</sup> (elsewhere חַיִל, in prose חַיִלָּהּ, see above, § 90 *f*); from the ground-form *qūl*, דֵּין, שִׁיר (see, however, § 96); from the ground-form *qūl*, גֹּר, רוּחַ, &c. The plurals דְּרוֹדִים *pots*, שְׁוֹקִים *streets*, שְׁוֹרִים *oxen*, have a strong formation (but for הַחוֹדִים I S 13<sup>6</sup> read חוֹרִים as in 14<sup>11</sup>). Finally, forms with a quiescent middle א also belong to this class, such as ראש *head* (obscured from ראש = ra's, see § 96) and צֹאן *sheep*.

6. On Paradigm *k*: segholate forms from ל<sup>h</sup> stems. Besides the formations *z* mentioned in § 84<sup>a</sup> c, e, like בְּכָהּ, &c., and שָׁחוּ Ez 47<sup>5</sup>, with the original ו resolved, according to § 24 *d* (cf. the *constr. plur.* חֲנִי clefts, Ob 3, &c., and קֶצְוִי ends, ψ 48<sup>11</sup>, &c., where the ו becomes again a strong consonant,<sup>1</sup> from חָנּוּ and קָצוּ or חָנוּ and קָצוּ), there occur also (*a*) commonly, of the ground-form *qall*, forms like פָּרִי, לְחִי, לְחִי, צָבִי, אָרִי, &c.; in *pause* פָּרִי, לְחִי, צָבִי (cf. § 29 *m*), but אָרִי Ju 14<sup>18</sup>; with suffixes פָּרִי (attenuated from *pāryō*), ψ 6<sup>9</sup>, but also פָּרִי, לְחִי, &c.; before a grave suffix פָּרִי, but also פָּרִי. Plur. נְדִיִּים (*constr.* נְדִי, see above, o, חֲטָאִי, אֲרִיִּים and אֲרִיֹת; with softening of the ו to א (as elsewhere in בְּלוֹאִי Jer 38<sup>12</sup> for which there is בְּלוֹי in verse 11, according to § 8 *k*; עֲרִבִיאִים 2 Ch 17<sup>11</sup>, cf. 26<sup>7</sup> *Keth.*; probably in דוֹרִיאִים and דוֹרִי from דוֹרִי and דוֹרִי; also חֲלִבִיאִים ψ 1c<sup>10</sup> *Keth.*, divided into two words by the Masora, is to be referred to a sing. חֲלִבִי *hapless*): חֲלִיִּים *jewels*, Ct 7<sup>2</sup> (from חֲלִי), טְלִיִּים *lambs*, Is 40<sup>11</sup> (from טְלִי); but instead of פְּתִיאִים and צְבִיאִים (from פְּתִי and צְבִי) the Masora requires פְּתִיאִים and צְבִיאִים; dual: לְחִיִּים, *constr. st.* לְחִי, with *suffix* לְחִי, &c. On דֶּלַּךְ *door*, cf. § 95 *f*, and on such formations generally, see Barth on biliteral nouns in *ZDMG*. 1887, p. 603 ff., and *Nominalbildung* (isolated nouns), p. 1 ff.

(b) From the ground-form *qūl*, חֲצִי *half*, in *pause* חֲצִי, with *suffix* חֲצִי, &c.—*y* From stems with middle *Wāw* arise such forms as אִי (from *'iwy*), עִי, צִי *ship*, plur. אִיִּים, צִיִּים, &c.; instead of the extraordinary plur. צִיִּים Nu 24<sup>24</sup> read with the Samaritan וְצִיִּים, and for בְּצִיִּים Ez 30<sup>9</sup> read probably with Cornill אֲצִיִּים.

(c) From the ground-form *qūl* sometimes forms like תָּהוּ, בָּהוּ (from *tāhw*, ≈ *bāhw*), sometimes like חֲלִי, עֵנִי, and even without an initial guttural יָפִי, דְּמִי, &c.,

<sup>1</sup> Nöldeke, *Beiträge*, p. 58: the direct or indirect retention of this ו is hardly a feature of early Hebrew. The true Hebrew forms from קָצוּ would be קָצוּהּ, קָצוֹת, קָצוֹת, the aramaizing forms קָצוּהּ, קָצוֹת, קָצוֹת.

צָרִי (also יָפִי, דָּמִי, צָרִי, רָאִי, &c.; in *pause* הָלִי, &c., with suff. הָלִי, plur. הָלִיִּים. From עֲפָי *branch*, there occurs in  $\psi$  10.4<sup>12</sup> the plur. עֲפָאִים (analogous to אֲפָאִים, &c., see above, x); the *K<sup>eth</sup>*. evidently intends עֲפָאִים (so Opatius and others). Dual, with suff. הָלִי Nu 24<sup>7</sup>, *bucket* (from הָלִי, for הָלִי), more correctly, with the Masora, הָלִי with Munah for Metheg. This unusual Metheg is to be treated as following the analogy of the cases mentioned in § 9 v.

aa 7. On Paradigms l-n: segholate forms from stems ע"ע (see § 84<sup>a</sup> c, B).

(a) In the *qatl*-form the *ä* of the contracted formation is sometimes lengthened in the *absol. st.*, sing. as in יָד (so also in the *constr. st.*, except in the combination יָד־סוּף *the Red sea*; and even before *Maqqeph*, יָד־הַפֶּלֶל *the salt sea*), sometimes it remains short, e.g. פַּת *morsel*, עַם *people*, but even these formations generally have *Qames* in *pause*, as well as after the article (e.g. הָעַם). Adjectives under the influence of a guttural either have forms like לַחִים, צָחִים or, with *compensatory lengthening*, רָעִים, רָעִי. In the *constr. st.* חַי *living* (in the plural חַיִּים also a substantive, *life*), and רַי *sufficiency*, are contracted to חַי<sup>1</sup> and רַי. As a locative form notice הָרָה *to the mountain*, Gn 14<sup>10</sup> (see § 27 q) beside הָרָה. The stem is expanded to a trilateral form in הָרָרִי (unless it is simply derived from a by-form הָרָר on the analogy of *qätäl*-forms) Jer 17<sup>3</sup> (but in  $\psi$  30<sup>8</sup> for הָרָרִי read הָרָרִי) and הָרָרִים Gn 14<sup>6</sup>; plur. *constr.* הָרָרִי Nu 23<sup>7</sup>, &c. (but only in poetical passages), with suffix, הָרָרִיָּה Dt 8<sup>9</sup>; with suffix, עֲמָמִים Ju 5<sup>14</sup> (where, however, read probably בַּעֲמָמִי), Neh 9<sup>22</sup>; עֲמָמִי Neh 9<sup>24</sup>: elsewhere עֲמָמִים, עֲמָמִי.—Before *suffixes* and in the plur. *ä* is sometimes attenuated to *i*, e.g. פָּתִי, פָּתִים, from פַּת; סָפִים and סָפּוֹת (also סָפּוֹת 2 S 17<sup>28</sup>) from סָף. Before פ *ä* is retained in a virtually sharpened syllable, e.g. פָּחִים *traps*.

bb (b) *Qitl*-forms: אֵשׁ, אֵשׁ־אֵשׁ *fire* (with suff. אֵשִׁי, but cf. also אֵשֶׁבֶת Is 50<sup>11</sup>), חֵן *favour*, &c.; of a trilateral form, the plur. חֵנִים  $\psi$  77<sup>18</sup>.

(c) *Qitl*-forms: חֵק, חֵק־חֵק *totality*, before *Maqqeph* חֵק־חֵק, with suff. חֵקִי, &c., with omission of *Dageš forte* (according to § 20 m) always חֵקֶךָ, חֵקְכֶם, but from עו, עוֹ, עוֹךְ, עוֹכֶם, עוֹכֶיךָ, for which עוֹי and עוֹנֶיךָ are also found. חֵקִי, expanded to a trilateral form, Ju 5<sup>15</sup> and Is 10<sup>1</sup>, generally explained as a secondary form of חֵקִי with abnormal weakening of the *ä* to *i*, is more probably to be referred to a *qitl*-form = Arabic *hiqq*.

cc The forms with assimilated middle *Nün* likewise follow the analogy of Paradigms l-n, e.g. אָף *nose, anger* (אָפִים, dual אָפִים, also *face*) for 'any; חֵךְ *palate* for *hink*, חֵךְ־חֵךְ *fetters*, עֹז *goat*, plur. עֹזִים, for 'inz, probably also יָבֵן *green herb*, for 'inb.

dd 2. Paradigm II comprises all formations with original short vowels, whether in the first or second syllable; cf. § 84<sup>a</sup> f-i, and the general laws of formation, § 92 b-g.

<sup>1</sup> חַי only in Dn 12<sup>7</sup> as *constr. st.*, since in the asseverative formulae (cf. § 149) חַי פָּרַעַר, חַי נִפְשֶׁךָ, חַי (otherwise only in 2 S 15<sup>21</sup>, after חַי יהוה, and Amos 8<sup>14</sup>), חַי is a contracted form of the *absol. st.* (prop. *living is Pharaoh!* &c.). It is evidently only a rabbinical refinement which makes the pronunciation חַי distinctive of an oath by God (or of God by himself), as in the regular formulae חַי אֱנִי (חַי אֲנִי Dt 32<sup>40</sup>) and חַי יְהוָה (= חַי אֲנִי).

Rem. 1. On Paradigms *a* and *b*: ground-form *qāṭāl*. The lengthening of the second *ā* to *ā* is maintained in the *constr. st. sing.* only in *א"ל*-forms, e.g. *צָבָא* *army*, *צָבָא*. For the construct forms *חָלֵב* *milk*, *לָבָן* *white*, Gn 49<sup>12</sup>, instead of the ordinary *absolutes* *חָלֵב*, *לָבָן*, a secondary form *חָלֵב*, *לָבָן* must be assumed; from *עָשָׁן* *smoke*, the *constr. st.* *עָשָׁן* occurs once, Ex 19<sup>18</sup>, beside *עָשָׁן*, from *הָדָר* *ornament* the *constr. st.* *הָדָר* Dn 11<sup>20</sup>, beside the common form *הָדָר*.—The plur. *פָּרָשִׁים* *horses*, Is 21<sup>7</sup> (instead of *פָּרָשִׁים*, ground-form *pārās*) is no doubt due to a confusion with the *qāṭāl*-form *פָּרָשׁ* *horseman*.

A. Sometimes a sharpening of the third radical takes place, in order to *ee* keep the preceding vowel short, e.g. *גַּמְלִים* *camels*, *קַטְנִים* *small ones*, *פְּלִגּוֹת* *brooks* (see § 20 *a*).—The attenuation of the *ā* of the first syllable to *i* does not take place in the *constr. st. plur.* as a rule after an initial guttural, as *חֻכְמֵי*, *עֲנֵי*, but *חֻקֵי*, and never before a middle guttural, e.g. *נְהַרֵי*; nor (according to König, owing to the influence of the nasal) in the non-guttural forms *וּנְבוֹת* *tails*, *בְּנִפּוֹת*, and (in the dual) *בְּנִפֵי* *wings*, from *וּנְבָה*, *בְּנֵה*.—The dual *נְהַרֵים* from *נְהַר* *river*, shows an abnormal omission of the lengthening of the *ā* before a tone-bearing termination, but cf. § 88 *c*.

B. From *ע"ע* stems, forms like *חָלָל*, *עָנָן*, &c., belong to this class.

C. The few nouns of the ground-form *qāṭāl* follow the same analogy, such as *לִבָּב* *heart*, *שֵׁבֶר* *strong drink*, *עֵנַב* *grape*, &c. From *שֵׁעָר* *hair*, in the *constr. st.* besides *שֵׁעָר* the form *שֵׁעָר* is also found (perhaps a survival of a secondary form like those in Paradigm I, *d*); so from *צִלְעָה* *rib*, *צִלְעָה* and even *צִלְעָה* 2 S 16<sup>13</sup> (so ed. Mant., Ginsb.; but Baer *צִלְעָה*), both, probably, old secondary forms (also used for the *absol. st.*) of *צִלְעָה*; cf. also *צִלְעֵי* and *צִלְעוּ*, as well as the *constr. st. plur.* *צִלְעוֹת*; also from *נֶבְרָה* *strangeness*, the *constr. st.* *נֶבְרָה* is found, Dt 31<sup>16</sup>.

2. On Paradigms *c-e*: ground-form *qāṭil*, developed to *qāṭēl*; with a final guttural, e.g. *שָׂבַע* *satisfied*. In the *constr. st.* the original *i* of the second syllable, probably on the analogy of the forms discussed in § 69 *c*, becomes *ā*, e.g. *וְזָקָן*, *חֵדָל*, *חָסַר*, &c., but not before suffixes, *בְּתַפֵּי*, &c., nor in forms from *א"ל* stems, e.g. *מָלְא* *full*, *מָלְא*; cf., moreover, *עָקַב* Gn 25<sup>26</sup> from *עָקַב* *heel*, and *אֲבָל* ψ 35<sup>14</sup>, *mourning*. Paradigm *d* represents forms which in the *constr. st.* instead of the ordinary *בְּתַף*, &c., have a segholate form, as *אֲרָף*, *גִּדָר*, *יָרֵף*, *גִּזָל*, *עָרַל* (Ez 44<sup>9</sup>), *constr. st.* of *אֲרָף* *long*, *גִּדָר* *wall*, *יָרֵף* *thigh*, *גִּזָל* *robbery*, *עָרַל* *uncircumcised*. In Is 11<sup>14</sup> *בְּבִתָּף* would be altogether without precedent as a *constr. st.* (for *בְּבִתָּף*); most probably the *absol. st.* is intended by the Masora (according to Nöldeke, *Gött. Gel. Anzeigen*, 1871, No. 23 [p. 896] for *בְּבִתָּף* 'בב' *with one shoulder*, i. e. *shoulder to shoulder*); [cf. Driver, *Tenses*, § 190, *Obs.*].

In the *plur. constr.* the *ē* lengthened from *i* is frequently retained in verbal *ii* adjectives of this formation, e.g. *שְׂמַחֵי*, *שְׂמַחֵי*, *יְשִׁנֵי*, *אֲבָלֵי*, *חַפְצֵי*; cf. also *יְתֻרְתֵי* (with *ē* under the protection of the secondary tone) from *יְתֻר* *tent-peg*. On the other hand from *יָרַא* *fearing*, always *יָרַא*; cf. also *רִנְעֵי* ψ 35<sup>20</sup> from *רִנַע*.—With *ā* retained in the initial syllable cf. *אָחַר* *alius* (with a virtual sharpening of the *ח*).—From *ע"ע* stems come forms like *מֵת* *dead person*, *גֵר* *resident stranger*, *עֵד* *witness*, with unchangeable *Ṣerē*; hence *מֵתִי*, *מֵתִי*, &c.

Kindred in character are the formations from the ground-form *qāṭil*. This *kk*

ff' gg

hh

ground-form is regularly lengthened to *qāfōl*, e.g. עָלַל *round*, עֵמֶק *deep*, אָרֶם *red*; but before formative additions the short *ū* returns, protected by the sharpening of the following consonant (see *ee* above), as עֲנָלִים, &c. (but in stems with a third guttural or ר, נְבָהָה, נְשָׁתָרִים). The form עֲנָל, 1 K 10<sup>19</sup>, is abnormal; likewise עֲמוֹקָה Pr 23<sup>27</sup>, Jablonski (ed. Mant. עֲמֻקָה, Baer and Ginsburg עֲמוֹקָה).

ll 3. On Paradigm *f*: ground-form *qāfāl* from ל"ה stems. As in verbs ל"ה § 75 *h*, the general rule is that before the terminations of the plur. and dual and before suffixes beginning with a vowel, the third radical is usually elided altogether. But besides שָׂרָה the form שָׂרִי, with the final *Yōdh* retained, is also found in poetry (cf. also the singulars with suffixes, like מוֹשֵׁתִיהֶם, in *ss*); in the same way final י is retained in עֲנִיִּים *the poor*, constr. עֲנִי. The plur. of שָׂרָה is שָׂרוֹת, constr. שָׂרוֹת (also שָׂרִי, unless this is a *sing.*, contracted from שָׂרִי; so Barth, *ZDMG*. xlii, p. 351). The *qāfāl*-form (see § 84<sup>a</sup> *i*) רָעָה 2 S 15<sup>37</sup>, 16<sup>16</sup>, 1 K 4<sup>5</sup> is remarkable as a *constr. st.* (the reading רָעָה of Opitius and others is opposed to the express statement of the Masora). To the category of these forms also belongs without doubt פָּנִים *face* (only in *plur.*), פָּנִי, פָּנִי, &c.

mm In a few formations of this kind the vowel of the second syllable appears to have been already lost in the *absol. st. sing.*; so according to the ordinary view, in יָד *hand*, constr. יָד, with *suffix* יָדוֹ, but יָדְכֶם; plur. יָדוֹת, constr. יָדוֹת, dual יָדַיְכֶם, יָדַי, with *suffix* יָדַיְכֶם, &c., and in דָּם *blood*, constr. דָּם, with *suffix* דָּמִי, but דָּמְכֶם (*ā* attenuated to *ē*), plur. דָּמַיְכֶם, דָּמִי. But perhaps both these nouns are to be regarded as primitive (§ 81), and as original monosyllabic formations.

nn 3. Paradigm III comprises forms with an unchangeable vowel in the first syllable, whilst the vowel of the second syllable has been lengthened from an original short vowel, and is therefore changeable. The special cases are to be distinguished in which the original short vowel is lengthened both *in* and *before* the tone, but in an open syllable becomes *S<sup>e</sup>wā* (Paradigm *a*, but cf. also examples like אֲפֻנִים *wheels*, for אֲפֻנִים, and אֲלֻמִּים *porches*), secondly, the cases in which the vowel becomes *S<sup>e</sup>wā* even *before* the tone (Paradigm *b*), and finally, those in which the termination of ל"ה formations is entirely lost (Paradigm *c*).

oo Rem. 1. On the model of עֹלָם (which, moreover, is obscured from 'ālām), the following forms also are inflected: מְקַטֵּל (§ 85 *h*), in some cases with virtual sharpening of the third radical (see § 20 *a*), as מְבַטְחוֹ Jer 17<sup>7</sup>, ψ 40<sup>5</sup>, Jb 8<sup>14</sup>, &c.; ל"ה nouns of this form maintain the *Qameṣ* in the *constr. st. plur.*, e.g. מְקַרְאֵי from מְקַרָּה<sup>1</sup>; on the other hand, in the plur. of the *participles Niph.* (§ 85 *n*) of verbs ל"ה (which likewise belong to this class), are found not only regular forms like נְקַרְאִים but also נְחַבְאִים Jos 10<sup>17</sup>, Ez 20<sup>30f</sup>,

<sup>1</sup> מְקַרְשִׁיהֶם Ez 7<sup>24</sup> for מְקַרְשִׁי (from מְקַרְשִׁי) is wholly irregular; perhaps, however, the *part. Pi'el* is intended, without *Dageš* in the ק (according to § 20 *m*).

and so always נִבְּאִים (except Ez 13<sup>2</sup> הַנְּבִיאִים) and נִמְצְאִים 1 S 13<sup>15</sup>, 2 K 14<sup>14</sup>, &c. (except Ezr 8<sup>25</sup> הַנְּמַצְאִים in pause).<sup>1</sup>

Moreover, the other participles in *ā* also follow the analogy of עֹלֵם as *pp* regards the final syllable (מִקְטָל, מִקְטַל; cf., however, הַמּוֹשֵׁב Gn 43<sup>12</sup> in close connexion; see the analogous cases in § 65 *d*); also שֹׁלְחָן *table* (§ 85 *u*; plur. שֹׁלְחָנוֹת, *constr. שְׁלַחְנוֹת*), קָרְבָן, *constr. קִרְבָן*, hence in plur. *constr.* with *suff.* קִרְבָּיִהָ Lv 7<sup>38</sup>; עֲקָרָב (§ 85 *w*), plur. עֲקָרְבַיִם (with sharpening of the final consonant for עֲקָרְבַיִם, cf. also עֵרִים *naked*, plur. עֵרְמַיִם Gn 3<sup>7</sup> [but in 2<sup>25</sup> מְעֵרְמַיִם, according to § 90 an orthographic licence for עֵרְמַיִם from עֵרִים], עֵרְמַיִם *nakedness*, 2 Ch 28<sup>15</sup>; קָרְדָּמוֹ, מְעַמְּקֵי Is 51<sup>10</sup>; נִכְבְּדֵי Is 23<sup>8 f.</sup>; מְשַׁבְּבֵי ψ 18<sup>3</sup>; even with attenuation of the *ā* to *i*, מוֹרְגִים *threshing instruments*, 2 S 24<sup>22</sup>, 1 Ch 21<sup>23</sup>, from מוֹרֵג (מתן) (§ 85 *g*), מְגַן (§ 85 *i*), מְעֹז (§ 85 *k*), inasmuch as they retain the *ā* of the first syllable, contrary to rule, even when not pretonic. e.g. מְנַיִ, מְעֹזֵי, מוֹשְׁבֵי (§ 85 *g*); תוֹשְׁבֵי (§ 85 *p*), *constr. st. plur. תְּשׁוּבֵי* 1 K 17<sup>1</sup>; also isolated forms according to § 84<sup>a</sup> *t*, and § 84<sup>b</sup> *b, c, k, m, n, o*. Cf. finally צְנָאָר *neck* (from *šāw'ār*), *constr. st. צְנָאָר* Jer 28<sup>10 ff.</sup>, *constr. st. plur. צְנָאָרֵי* Gn 45<sup>14</sup>, &c.

2. (Paradigm *b*; cf. § 84<sup>a</sup> *s*.) Instead of the original *i* in such forms as אֵיבָרֵךְ (cf. 2 K 22<sup>29</sup>), the second syllable more frequently has *ē*, e.g. יִצְרָךְ *thy creator*; with a closing guttural (according to § 91 *d*; but cf. also אֵבֶר Dt 32<sup>28</sup>) forms are found sometimes like שֹׁלְחֶךָ, sometimes like בְּרִאֶךָ; *constr. st.* without *suff.* נָטַע ψ 94<sup>9</sup> (according to § 65 *d*); with a middle guttural זֵאֶלְךָ Is 48<sup>17</sup>; cf. 43<sup>14</sup>.—The same analogy also is followed in the flexion of the other participles which have *ē* in the final syllable (מִקְטָל, מִתְקַטֵּל, &c.), see further, in § 84<sup>b</sup> *d*, נָבַן, &c. (but with exceptions, as שֹׁלְשֵׁים, רִבְעֵים, and *ibid.* *l, p*; § 85 *i, k* (מִזְבֵּחַ *altar, constr. st. מִזְבְּחָה*, plur. מִזְבְּחוֹת), and *ibid.* *q*, but here also there are exceptions like מְקַהֲלִים ψ 26<sup>12</sup>).

3. (Paradigm *c: part. Qal* of verbs לָה, differing from Paradigm II, *f* in the *unchangeableness of the vowel of the first syllable*.) In Ez 17<sup>15</sup> *ē* in the *absol. st.* is abnormal, and *S'ghôl* in the *constr. st.* in 2 S 24<sup>11</sup> (so Opatius, Ginsburg; but Baer חוֹה Ec 2<sup>15</sup> (according to Baer, but not the Mantua ed.; מקָהָה Ec 3<sup>19</sup> is in the *absol. st.*). To this class belong, as regards their formation, the לָה-forms mentioned in § 84<sup>a</sup> *r*, § 85 *g* (with *suff.*, e.g. הִמְעַלְךָ Dt 20<sup>1</sup>, *which brought thee up*), and *h*.

In a few instances, before a suffix beginning with a consonant, the original *SS* *ây* of the termination has been contracted to *i*, and thus there arise forms which have apparently *plural suffixes*; as מְשַׁפְּיָהֶם Is 5<sup>12</sup>, Dn 1<sup>10.16</sup>; מְרִאֵיהֶם *their appearance*, Dn 1<sup>15</sup>, Gn 41<sup>21</sup>, cf. Na 2<sup>5</sup>; נֹטְיָהֶם *who stretched them forth*, Is 42<sup>5</sup>; *defectively* אֶפְהֶם Ho 7<sup>5</sup> (cf. נֹהֶם Ez 34<sup>14</sup>); on the other hand, the examples in Is 14<sup>11</sup>, Gn 47<sup>17</sup>, which were formerly classed with the above, are really plurals. But מַחֲנֵיךָ *thy camp*, Dt 23<sup>15</sup> (מַחֲנֵךְ occurs just before),

<sup>1</sup> Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, p. 659, observes that except in 2 Ch 5<sup>11</sup>, 35<sup>17</sup> הַנְּמַצְאִים is always followed by a preposition governing a word, so that the punctuators perhaps intended to indicate a sort of *constr. st.*

מִקְנֵיךָ *thy cattle*, Is 30<sup>23</sup> (probably also שְׂרִירָךְ 1 K 2<sup>26</sup>, מִרְאֵיךָ Ct 2<sup>14</sup>, and מִרְאֵי *the sight of him*, Jb 41<sup>1</sup> (with the *י* here retained orthographically), מִעֲלֵי Ez 40<sup>31</sup>, &c., are still to be explained as singulars.—On a few other examples which may perhaps be thus explained, see § 124 *k*. Before the plural ending the original termination *ay* reappears in מִמְחֵיִם Is 25<sup>6</sup> (*part. Pu.* from מחה).

*tt* 4. Paradigm IV comprises the forms with a changeable vowel (*a, b*), or a vowel which has already become  $\check{S}^{ew\acute{a}}$  (*c*), in the first syllable, and an unchangeable vowel in the second. With Paradigm *c* (which, however, for the most part consists merely of forms based on analogy, without biblical parallels) are also connected all the forms which have unchangeable vowels in both syllables, and therefore (like פֶּתַח) cannot undergo any vowel changes.

*uu* Rem. 1. Analogous to פָּקִיד (ground-form *pāqīd*) are § 84<sup>a</sup> *k*, גְּדוּל, &c. (with *ó*, not changeable *ō* for *ü*); in substantives like שְׁלֹמֹה, this *ó* is demonstrably obscured from *á* (Arab. *sālām*); *ibid.* *l, m*, אָסִיר, אֶסִיר, &c.; § 85 *u*, וְזָרוֹן, *constr.* וְזָרוֹן; חֲזִיוֹן, *constr.* חֲזִיוֹן; בְּלִיּוֹן, *constr.* בְּלִיּוֹן (cf., however, the forms in the *constr. st.* עֲצָבוֹן, קִנְמוֹן, and with the plural suffix עֲבוּבֵיךָ Ez 27<sup>12</sup>); § 85 *w*, חֲלָמִישׁ, *constr.* חֲלָמִישׁ; § 85 *l*, מְקוֹם, &c.

*uu* 2. עָנִי (ground-form *āniy*, stem עָנָה) represents forms in which a final *Yōdh* has been resolved into *i*; before formative additions the original *Yōdh* under the protection of a *Dageš forte* again becomes audible as a firm consonant, whilst the (originally short) vowel of the first syllable becomes  $\check{S}^{ew\acute{a}}$ ; cf. § 84<sup>a</sup> *l*, נָקִי, plur. נְקִיִּים, and § 87 *a*.

*uu* 3. פֶּתַח with unchangeable *á* in the second syllable, whilst the  $\check{S}^{ew\acute{a}}$  is weakened from a short vowel (Arab. *kūlāb*); *constr. st.* פֶּתַח Est 4<sup>8</sup> (readings like פֶּתַח 2 Ch 35<sup>4</sup> are incorrect, although יָקַר Est 1<sup>4</sup> and פֶּתַח 4<sup>8</sup> are supported by fairly good authority; however, these *qāṭil*-forms in Hebrew are probably all loan-words from the Aramaic). The only plural form found in the O. T. is עֲבֵרֵיהֶם *their deeds*, Ec 9<sup>1</sup>. In a narrower sense the forms enumerated in § 84<sup>a</sup> *n-p* belong to this class; in a wider sense all those which have unchangeable vowels throughout, thus § 84<sup>a</sup> *u*, § 84<sup>b</sup> *e* (קָטַל, cf., however, the anomalous forms mentioned there), *ibid.* *f-i, m* (No. 34 *f.*), *n* (No. 39), *p* (No. 44), also partly § 85 *b-w* (especially *l* and *r*).

*xx* In opposition to the anomalous shortening of the form קָטַל (see above), cases are also found where pretonic vowels are retained even in the antepenultima (with the secondary tone); cf. above, *ii* and *pp*, also of the form קָטַל (properly *qāṭil*) the examples סְרִיסִים, פְּרִיצִים, שְׁלֵיִשִּׁים, whilst the *constr. st. sing.* according to the rule, changes the *ā* into  $\check{S}^{ew\acute{a}}$  (סְרִיִן, פְּרִיִן). (These are not to be confounded with forms like עֲרִיִן *tyrant*, which is for עֲרִיִן, and consequently has an unchangeable *Qameṣ*.) Of the form קָטַל (*qāṭil*) in this class are שָׁבַע *week*, plur. שְׁבָעִים and שְׁבָעוֹת, *constr.* שְׁבָעוֹת, but with *Metheg* of the secondary tone in the fifth syllable from the end, שְׁבָעוֹתֵיכֶם.—On קָעוֹן, מְעוֹן, &c., cf. § 85 *k*.

## § 94. Formation of Feminine Nouns.

1. The feminine ending הַתְּ, when appended to the masculine *a* forms treated in § 93, effects in almost all cases the same changes as are produced in the masculine forms by the addition of a light suffix, since in both cases the tone is moved one place farther forward (see § 92 *b*). The following scheme is based on the same division into four classes, with their subdivisions, as in § 93; a few special forms will be treated in § 95 in connexion with the paradigms of feminine nouns.

Paradigm I: segholate forms, with the feminine ending always *b* added to the ground-form, (*a*) מַלְכָּה *queen*, כְּבֻשָׁה, and with attenuation of *ā* to *ī* כְּבֻשָׁה *lamb*, רֶצֶפָה *hot stone*, Is 6<sup>6</sup> (from another root רֶצַפָּה; see Baer on Ez 40<sup>17</sup>), חֲזָקָה *strength* (unless belonging to Paradigm *b*); (*b*) סִתְרָה *covering* (masc. סִתֵּר); עֲרֵנָה *pleasure* (עֲרֵן), not to be confounded with the unchangeable forms with a prefixed מ, derived from ל"ה stems, as מְצֻוֹה *command*, plur. מְצֻוֹת; (*c*) חֲלִידָה, proper name (חֲלִיד *mole*), אֲכָלָה *food* (אָכַל); (*d*) גַּעְרָה *girl* (נָעַר); (*f*) בְּאִשָּׁה *weed*, טְהִירָה *purity* (טָהַר); (*g*) עֲוִלָּה *wrong* (also עוֹלָה, Paradigm *i*); (*i*) צִירָה *victuals* (masc. צִיר, cf. Paradigm *h*); from *qitl* and *quṭl*-forms, בִּינָה *understanding*, סוּפָה *tempest*; (*k*) אֲלִיָּה *fat tail* (as if from אָלַי), שְׁבִיָּה (*ā* attenuated to *ī*) *captivity* (שָׁבַי), לִוְיָה *wreath* (probably an original *qitl*-form); (*l*) חַיָּה *life*, מְדָה *measure* (attenuated from מִדָּה). Adjectives derived from ע"ע stems also belong in flexion to this class, as רַבָּה *multa*, with middle guttural רָעָה *mala*; (*m*) וְזָה *plan*; (*n*) חֲקָה *statute* (חָק).

Paradigm II: ground-form *qātālāt*, &c., (*a*) נִקְמָה *vengeance* (נָקַם); *c* (*b*) אֲרָמָה *earth*; (*c*) גַּבְלָה *corpse*; (*d*) עֵיפָה *languida*; (*f*) יָפָה *beautiful*, קֶצֶה *end* (from יָפָה, קֶצֶה). From stems ע"י arise such forms as עֲרָה (masc. עָר, properly *part. Qal* from עוֹר) *female witness*. From the ground-form *qātūl*, עֲמִיקָה *profunda* (masc. עָמַק), עֲבֻדָה *servitude*, &c.

Paradigm III: unchangeable vowel in the first, changeable in the *d* second syllable, (*a*) יִלְדָּה *a woman with child* (cf. the examples in § 84<sup>a</sup> *s*, and the retention of the *ē* in the *part. Pīēl*, Ex 22<sup>17</sup>, 23<sup>26</sup>; in the *Hithpaēl* 1 K 14<sup>5f.</sup>), but also with the change of the *ē* (originally *ī*) into *Šōwā*, יִשְׁבָּה *dwelling*, Na 3<sup>8</sup>. However, in these participial forms the feminine is mostly indicated by הַתְּ (see below, *h*); (*c*) גּוֹלָה *those of the captivity* (masc. גּוֹלָה), but also with a return of the final *Yôdh*, הַמְיָה *clamorous*, Pr 7<sup>11</sup>, and the examples in § 75 *v*. On the *ā* of the participles of verbs ע"ע, which also belong to this class, such as וְרָה *peregrina*, cf. § 72 *g*.

e Paradigm IV: originally changeable vowel in the first syllable, unchangeable in the second, (a) *גְּדֹלָה* magna, *סְטוּרָה* stork, properly *pia*; *בְּתוּלָה* virgin, properly *seivuncta*; (b) *עֲנִיָּה* *misera*.

f 2. A simple ת is added as feminine ending in forms like *בְּכִית* weeping (masc. *בָּכִי*, § 93 x, a), *בְּרִית* covenant; but feminine participles of verbs *לִ"א*, as *יִצְאָת*, *מִצְאָת*, may be due to contraction from *yôšè et*, &c. (hardly to lengthening of the *ı̄* in the ground-form *môši*), whilst forms like *מוֹצְאָת*, *נִשְׂאָת* (see § 74 i) are to be explained on the analogy of the forms treated in § 93 t. Apart from the *ל"ה* formations, we find the simple ת in the participle *מִשְׁרָת* I K 1<sup>5</sup>, contracted from *מִשְׁרָתָת*. But *וְיִלְדָת* Gn 16<sup>11</sup>, Ju 13<sup>5,7</sup> is the ground-form of the ptc. *וְיִלְדָת* (as in the same connexion in Gn 17<sup>19</sup>, Is 7<sup>14</sup>), cf. § 80 d and the *Q<sup>ere</sup>* *שְׁבָת*, &c., discussed in § 90 n.

g The forms which arise by appending the ת feminine to masculine nouns with a changeable vowel in a closed final syllable are, as a rule, developed exactly in the same way as masculine segholate forms. Thus there arise in Paradigm I (a) from *גְּבִירָת* (for original *g<sup>e</sup>birt*; § 69 c), the form *גְּבִירָת* mistress (but only in *construct st.*; in Is 47<sup>7</sup> also *גְּבִירָת עַד* are to be taken together; the *absolute st.* is *גְּבִירָה*); from *מַלְכָת*, *מַלְכָת* queen (in Paradigm II, a); *פִּתָת* (= *פִּתָת* = *pit*) Lv 13<sup>55</sup>; (c) *גִּירָת* wall, *גִּירָת* (from *גִּירָת* = *g<sup>e</sup>dirt*; cf. *גִּירָת* as *construct st.* of *גִּירָת*); on the other hand, *חֲמִשָּׁת* is *construct st.* of *חֲמִשָּׁה* five, with lengthening of the original *ı̄* of *חֲמִשָּׁת*.

h Formations with a changeable *ō* in the second syllable belonging to this class are *נְחֹשֶׁת* bronze (from *נְחֹשֶׁת*, the *constr. st.* of *נְחֹשֶׁת* coat, perhaps also *בְּתִבָת* writing (unless it be obscured from *בְּתִבָת*, § 93, Paradigm IV, c).—Paradigm III, (a) *הֲחֹמָת* (from *הֲחֹמָת*), masc. *חֹמָת* seal; (b) *יוֹנְקָת* (properly *sucking*) sprout (in *pause*, e. g. *הַבְּרָת* Ex 26<sup>4</sup>, &c.), and so most feminines of participles *קָטְלָת*. On this transition of the ground-form *qôtilt* to *קָטְלָת* (regularly before suffixes in *יוֹנְקָתוֹ*, *יִלְדָתוֹ*, &c.), cf. § 69 c; *qô!alt* serves as the ground-form under the influence of a guttural as well as before suffixes, e. g. *יֹדְעָת*, feminine of *יָדָע* knowing; in a wider sense, *גִּלְגָּלָת* skull may also be included here, see § 95, Paradigm IV, c.

On the endings *ית* and *ית*—, see § 86 k, l, § 95 at the end.

### § 95. Paradigms of Feminine Nouns.

a In accordance with the general formative laws, stated in § 92 b-k, the following cases have chiefly to be considered in the flexion of

feminines also: (1) a tone-lengthened vowel on the removal of the tone reverts to its original shortness (thus the  $\bar{a}$  of the termination  $\eta\text{---}$  becomes again  $\check{a}$  in the *construct st.*  $\eta\text{---}$ ). On the other hand, even an originally short vowel is retained as (a long) pretonic vowel before the endings  $\eta\text{---}$  and  $\eta\text{ }$  in the *abs. st.*, e. g.  $\eta\text{---}$ ; (2) without the tone or foretone an originally short vowel almost always becomes  $\check{e}w\acute{a}$ ; on the other hand, before a vowel which had thus become  $\check{e}w\acute{a}$  the  $\check{a}$  in the first syllable which had hitherto also been reduced to  $\check{e}w\acute{a}$  returns, although usually attenuated to  $\check{i}$ , e. g.  $\eta\text{---}$  from  $\check{s}adh\check{a}q\check{a}th$ ; (3) in the plural of the feminines of segholate forms before the termination of  $\eta\text{ }$  or  $\eta\text{---}$ , and in formations of the latter kind also before the light suffixes, a *pretonic Qames* reappears, while the short vowel of the first syllable becomes  $\check{e}w\acute{a}$ . This short vowel, however, returns in the *construct st. plur.*, whether ending in  $\eta\text{ }$  or  $\eta\text{---}$ ; in formations of the latter kind also before the grave suffixes.

The following Paradigms (with the exception of I, d) deal only with such of the forms treated in § 94 as incur some vowel changes or other. All forms with unchangeable vowels follow the analogy of Paradigm I, d.

		I.					b
		a.	b.		c.	d.	e.
sing. absolute		מְלִכָּה	[בְּלִיָּה]	חֲרָפָה	חֲרָבָה	חֻקָּה	[גְּבִירָה]
		(queen)	(kidney)	(reproach)	(waste)	(statute)	(mistrcss)
„ construct		מְלִכַת		חֲרַפַת	חֲרַבַת	חֻקַת	גְּבִירַת
„ with light suff.		מְלִכָּתִי		חֲרַפָּתִי	חֲרַבָּתִי	חֻקָּתִי	גְּבִירָתִי
„ with grave suff.		מְלִכְתְּכֶם		חֲרַחְתְּכֶם	חֲרַבְתְּכֶם	חֻקְתְּכֶם	גְּבִירְתְּכֶם
plur. absolute		מְלִכּוֹת	בְּלִיּוֹת	חֲרַפּוֹת	חֲרַבּוֹת	חֻקּוֹת	
„ construct		מְלִכּוֹת	בְּלִיּוֹת	חֲרַפּוֹת <sup>1</sup>	חֲרַבּוֹת	חֻקּוֹת	
„ with suff.		מְלִכּוֹתֵי	בְּלִיּוֹתֵי		חֲרַבּוֹתֵי	חֻקּוֹתֵי	
Qual absolute			רֻקְמֵתִים				מְצַלְתִּים
			(a double piece of embroidery)				(cymbals)

<sup>1</sup> Only in  $\psi$  69<sup>10</sup>, contrary to rule, with a firmly closed syllable, cf. § 93 m.

c

	II.			III.	
	a.	b.	c.	a.	b.
<i>Sing. absolute</i>	צָדָקָה (righteousness)	זַעֲקָה (outcry)	שָׁנָה (year)	יוֹנְקָת (sprout)	גִּלְגָּלֶת (skull)
„ <i>construct</i>	צָדָקַת	זַעֲקַת	שָׁנַת	יוֹנְקַת	גִּלְגָּלַת
„ <i>with light suff.</i>	צָדָקְתִּי	זַעֲקַתִּי	שָׁנַתִּי	יוֹנְקַתִּי	גִּלְגָּלַתִּי
„ <i>with grave suff.</i>	צָדָקְתְּכֶם	זַעֲקַתְּכֶם	שָׁנַתְּכֶם	יוֹנְקַתְּכֶם	גִּלְגָּלַתְּכֶם
<i>Plur. absolute</i>	צָדָקוֹת		שָׁנוֹת <sup>1</sup>	[יוֹנְקוֹת]	
„ <i>construct</i>	צָדָקוֹת		שָׁנוֹת	יוֹנְקוֹת	גִּלְגָּלוֹת
„ <i>with suff.</i>	צָדָקוֹתִי		שָׁנוֹתִי	יוֹנְקוֹתִי	גִּלְגָּלוֹתִי
<i>Dual absolute</i>	[נְחֻשֵׁתַיִם] (fettors of brass)		שִׁפְתַיִם (lips)		
„ <i>construct</i>			שִׁפְתַי		

## REMARKS.

*d* 1. Paradigm I: feminines of segholate forms. (a) The locative of this class has the form נִבְעָתָהּ *towards Gibeah* (masc. גִּבְעָה). In some cases, especially with an initial guttural, there is no means of deciding whether the form in question is to be referred to a *qātl* or a *qūl* base, e.g. חֲזָקָה *strength* (cf. חֲרָפָה under b). A *dual* of this form occurs in שִׁבְעָתַיִם *seven times* (cf. שִׁבְעָה *seven*, fem.).

Analogous to masculine forms like דְּרִיבֵשׁ (§ 93 s) is הֲרָפָה *myrtle*.—From masculines of the form פְּרִי (לִּיה, cf. § 93 I, k) arise feminines sometimes like נִאֲוָה, שְׁלָהּ, אֲלִיָּהּ (see above, § 94 b), sometimes like בְּכִית (§ 94 f); occasionally the final ת is retained before the plural ending, as if it belonged to the stem (cf. § 87 k), e.g. חֲנִיתוֹת *spears*. Forms like גְּדִיָּה (cf. אֲנִיָּה, a *qūl* form) are derived directly from the masculine forms גְּדִי *kid*, אֲנִי *a fleet*.—(b) From a stem עָוָן *wheat* (for חֲטָהּ), plur. חֲטָיִם.—(c) From עָרְלָה *foreskin*, the plur. absol. is עָרְלוֹת (cf. פְּעֻלִים, § 93, Paradigm I, f), constr. עָרְלוֹת.—(d) Example of a feminine segholate form from a stem עָוָה (ground-form *qūll*, like חֲתָהּ of the form *qātl*, וָפָה of the form *qūl*), with *ö* for *ü*, חֲנָא *terror*, Is 19<sup>17</sup> (Aramaic orthography for חֲנָהּ).

*e* (e) To the list of segholate forms with ת fem. belong also the infinitives of verbs פָּוַן and פָּוַן, which have rejected the weak consonant at the beginning, as שָׁבַת (from יָשַׁב), דָּעַת (from יָדַע), גָּשַׁת (from נָגַשׁ), as well as כָּחַת (from לָקַח); cf. § 69 m and § 66 b and g. The infinitives of verbs פָּוַן are, however, also found in the form דָּעָה, לָרָה, צָאָה, and of the same origin also are עָדָה *congregation* (from יָעַד), עֲצָה *counsel* (from יָעַץ), נִשְׁנָה *sleep* (from יָשַׁן), constr. עָרַת, שָׁנַת, while in the constr. forms זַעַת *sweat*, Gn 3<sup>19</sup> (from יָזַע *to flow*), and צָאָת *excrement*, Ez 4<sup>12</sup>, the *Şere* has remained firm.

*f* From a stem עָוָה (cf. בּוֹשׁ *to be ashamed*) is בָּשַׁת *shame*, with suffix בָּשַׁתִּי.

<sup>1</sup> On שָׁנוֹת as a less frequent (poetic) form for שָׁנִים see § 87 u.

From a stem ל"ה (דלה, cf., however, Barth, ZDMG. 1887, p. 607, who assumes a stem ירל) the masculine דל appears to have been formed after the rejection of the final *Yôdh*, and afterwards the feminine דלת *door*; but in the plural דלתות, constr. דלתות, the ת of the termination is retained (see above, d, תניתות). In a similar way רפתים *stalls*, Hb 3<sup>17</sup>, has arisen, if it is from the stem רפה, and שקת *trough* (from שקה), of which the masc. must have been שק = שקי; on the other hand, the plur. constr. נשקות Gn 30<sup>38</sup> (again retaining the feminine ת as an apparent radical) can only be an abnormal formation from the singular נשקת, not from a kindred form נשקת or נשקת.

2. Paradigm II: ground-form *qāṭlāt*, &c., cf. § 94 c, Paradigm II, a and b. Analogous to the masculine forms like קטן, plur. קטנים, we find קטנה *parva*, &c.—The constr. forms, like צרקה (šidh<sup>h</sup>qāth), are distinguished by the vocal *Ṣ<sup>wā</sup>* (§ 10 d) from the segholate forms, like כבשת (kibh-sāth). Consequently the constr. st. ברבב Gn 28<sup>4</sup>, &c. (from ברבה *blessing*), and חרדת I S 14<sup>13</sup>, &c. (from חרדה *a trembling*), are abnormal.—Under the influence of a guttural (see Paradigm b) the original *ā* is retained in the first syllable in the constr. st. (cf. also ארמה *earth*, ארמת); in other cases it is modified to *Ṣ<sup>ghōl</sup>*, e. g. ענלה *wagon*, ענלות. Frequently from an absol. st. in ה— the constr. is formed with the termination ת, e. g. עטרה *crown*, constr. עטרות (from עטרת); along with עצרה *assembly*, עצרות is found usually, even in the absol. st.; יבמת (from יבם *levir*) before suffixes is pointed as יבמתי, and thus entirely agrees with גברת (Paradigm I e). From a stem ל"ן (אמן) is formed אמת *truth* (from 'āmant, and this no doubt for an original 'āmint, § 69 c) before suffixes אמתי, &c.

From the masc. form קטל (*qāṭil*) are formed, according to rule, גרה *wall*, הללה *corpse*, constr. נבלת; בהמה *cattle*, constr. בהמת (for בהמת), with suffix בהמתך Lv 19<sup>19</sup>. More frequently, however, the *ē* of the second syllable is retained before the termination *ath* of the constr. st.; thus from נבלה once נבלתי Is 26<sup>19</sup>, and always ברבב *pool*, גולת *prey*, טמאת *unclean*, מלאתי *full*, Is 1<sup>21</sup> (with *Hireq compaginis*, see § 90 l), מדרתי Jb 16<sup>13</sup>, שאלתי I S 1<sup>27</sup>, &c. (with elision of the א, שאלתי I S 1<sup>17</sup>), also שאלתי Jb 6<sup>8</sup>. Cf. the analogous forms of the constr. st. מגפת *plague*, תרדמת *deep sleep*, from מגפה.

As dual we find ירכתים *sides* (cf. ירכתו Gn 49<sup>13</sup>, from the obsolete ירכה, *i* feminine of ירה); the constr. st. ירכתי is perhaps to be referred to a segholate form (ירפה, cf. ירה as constr. st. of ירה), unless the closed syllable be due to the analogy of ברבב and חרדת (see g).

In the forms with simple ת feminine the ground-form *qāṭilt* is developed (*ḥ* § 69 c) to *q<sup>e</sup>ṭalt*, and this again regularly to קטלת. Thus the feminine of חבר *companion* is חברת (with suffix חברתה Mal 2<sup>14</sup>, cf. שננתה Ex 3<sup>22</sup>), of נדר *fem.* נדרת besides נדרה.—Of ע"ו stems the segholate forms נחת *rest* and נחת *pit* (from נח, נח) belong to this class; Böttcher (*Gram.* i. 411) rightly distinguished the latter from נחת *corruption* (stem נחת); in the same way also נחת *rest* is distinct from נחת *a lighting down* (stem נחת).

The feminines of the form *qāṭil* from stems ע"ו, as מתה *mortua*, ערה *fem.* *l*

witness (from מוֹת עוֹר, *עוֹר*), have likewise an unchangeable vowel in the first syllable. Cf., on the other hand, the forms from פ"י stems mentioned above, under *e*, such as שָׁנָה *sleep*, constr. st. שָׁנָה; moreover, אַמָּה *anger*, constr. st. חֶמְתָּ (but חֶמְתָּ a leathern bottle, in pause חֶמְתָּ [so Baer, Ginsb., but Kittel חֶמְתָּ Gn 21<sup>13</sup>, constr. st. חֶמְתָּ מַיִם Gn 21<sup>14</sup>, perhaps from a stem חממת).

11 The feminines of the form *qāfūl*, like עֲמֻקָּה (masc. עֲמֻק), maintain the original *ū* by sharpening the following consonant (cf. § 93 *kk*); on the other hand, by appending the fem. ת, segholate forms arise like נְחֻשֶׁת, before suff. נְחֻשֶׁתָּ, &c. Dual נְחֻשֶׁתַיִם (see Paradigm II, *a*); but cf. נְחֻשֶׁתַי La 3<sup>7</sup>.

11 A few (aramaising) feminines from ל"ה stems (Paradigm II, *c*) are found with the ending *āth*, due to the rejection of the final *Wāw* or *Yōdh* and contraction of the preceding *ā* with the *ā* of the termination *āth*; thus מְנַחַתְּךָ (for *mānāyāth* or *mānāwāth*), קֶצֶת end (also קֶצֶת and קֶצֶת), plur. מְנַחֲתוֹת (constr. st. Neh 12<sup>47</sup>, 13<sup>10</sup>) and מְנַחֲאוֹת (Neh 12<sup>44</sup>); קֶצֶת Ex 35<sup>5</sup>; cf. 37<sup>8</sup> and 39<sup>4</sup> K<sup>eth.</sup>; on נְחֻשֶׁתַיִם *valleys*, see § 93 *v*.—אוֹת sign (stem אוה) is obscured from אוֹת, and this is contracted from 'āyāth = 'āwāyāth; plur. אוֹתוֹת, with the double feminine ending; cf. above, *f*, and § 87 *k*.—The retention of the *ā* in the first syllable in אֶלְתַּי, &c., Gn 24<sup>41</sup>, &c., is abnormal.

0 3. Paradigm III, cf. the various forms in § 94 *d* and *f-h*. The dual חוֹמַתַּיִם *two walls*, Is 22<sup>11</sup>, &c., taken directly from the plur. חוֹמוֹת, for חוֹמַתַּיִם, is abnormal (cf. § 87 *s*, and the proper name נְדַרְתַּיִם Jos 15<sup>36</sup>).—Among the forms resembling participles *Qal* of verbs ע"ו, such as זָרַח (masc. זָרַח from *zār*, hence with unchangeable *ā*), must be reckoned also בָּמָה *high place* (from בּוֹם), which has for its constr. st. plur. the pleonastic form בְּמֹתַי, or written defectively בְּמֹתַי (see § 87 *s*); for this the Masora everywhere requires בְּמֹתַי, which is to be read *bām<sup>o</sup>thē* (not *bōm<sup>o</sup>thē*), with an anomalous shortening of the *ō* to *ē*; but with suffixes בְּמֹתַי, &c.

p In a wider sense the feminines of the form קָטַל (§ 84<sup>b</sup> *e*) belong to this class, in so far as they shorten the *ā* of the second syllable before the termination ת, e.g. רִלְקָתָּ *inflammation* (from *dallāqt*), with suff. צִרְקָתָּ Ez 16<sup>52</sup>; טַבַּעַת *signet*; also fem. of the forms קָטַל and קָטַל (§ 84<sup>b</sup> *c* and *d*), as אֶלְתָּ *folly* (for *iwwālt*), and of all the forms which have a changeable vowel in the second syllable, and are formed with the prefix מ (§ 85 *g-k*), e.g. מְמַלְכָּה *kingdom*, constr. always מְמַלְכָּת; מְמַמְרָה (not used in the sing.) *pruning-hook*, plur. מְמַמְרוֹת; מְשַׁבְּרָת *reward*, with suff. מְשַׁבְּרַתַּי; cf. also the examples given in § 85 *g* and *p*, like מוֹלְדָּת *birth* (but from ל"ה מוֹלְדָּת *outgoing*), תּוֹלְדָּת *generation*, תּוֹעֵבָה *abomination*, constr. תּוֹעֵבַת, &c.

q Sometimes the plural of these forms is to be traced to a secondary form, e.g. אֶלְתָּ *a letter*, plur. אֶלְתָּרוֹת (as if from אֶלְתָּרָה); also יוֹנְקוֹת, which is merely formed on the analogy of the other plur. fem. of participles *Qal*, is to be referred to a sing. יוֹנְקָה. Cf., moreover, מְחַרְשֶׁת *ploughshare*, plur. מְחַרְשֹׁת (as if from מְחַרְשָׁה)<sup>1</sup>; on the other hand, בְּתָרוֹת *capitals* (of columns), and תּוֹכְחוֹת *reproofs*, are the regular plurals of בְּתָרַת and תּוֹכַחַת.

<sup>1</sup> עֲשֵׂתָרֹת *Astarte* (plur. עֲשֵׂתָרֹת), which was formerly included among these examples, is most probably due to an intentional alteration of the

In בְּתֻלָּה *coat* the original *ū* of the first syllable is maintained by the *r* sharpening of the following consonant (cf. Arab. *qūṭūn*), with suff. בְּתֻנְהִי, the *constr. st.*, however, is בְּתֻנָּה (as also in the *absol. st.* in Ex 28<sup>39</sup>); plur. בְּתֻנּוֹת, *constr.* בְּתֻנּוֹת.—The form בְּתֻלָּה given in Paradigm III, *b* is a *Pätpül*-form of the stem בְּתֻל, cf. בְּתֻלָּה, § 84<sup>b</sup> *p*.

4. To the fourth class, for which no Paradigm is required, belong all the numerous forms which in classical Hebrew have unchangeable vowels throughout, the originally short vowel of the first syllable having become *Šewa*, owing to the tone being thrown forward. Of the forms mentioned in §§ 84 and 85 those from ע"ע stems especially belong to this class, as מְנִלָּה *scroll*, תְּהִלָּה *praise*, תְּפִלָּה *prayer* (§ 85 *i* and *q*), as well as the feminine of the participle *Hiph'ül* of verbs ע"ע, e.g. מְאִירָה *enlightening* (from מְאִיר), and generally the feminines of ע"ע stems which are compounded with the *preformative* מ, as מְנוּחָה *rest* (from מְנוּחַ), see § 85 *l*; from ל"ה stems perhaps also תְּעֻלָּה *conduit* (*constr. st.* תְּעֻלָּה Is 7<sup>3</sup>, &c.) and תְּלַאָּה *travail*. Thus all these forms coincide externally with those which already, in the masculine form, have unchangeable vowels throughout (see the list of them in § 93 *ww*).

5. The feminine ending ית־ (apart from ל"ה-forms like בְּבִית, § 94<sup>f</sup>) arises *t* from the addition of the feminine ת to the ending י־, which is employed to form adjectives, &c., see § 86 *d*, *h*, and *k*. The ending וַת, mentioned there, is attached, in *segholat* forms, sometimes to the ground-form, as עֲשֵׂהוּת Jb 12<sup>6</sup> (v.l. עֲשֵׂהוּת), sometimes to forms with a loosely-closed syllable, as מְלֻכּוֹת *kingdom*; from ל"ה stems we find forms sometimes like שְׁבוּת *captivity* (according to others from the stem שׁוּב, like לוֹת *perverseness* from לוֹ), sometimes like בְּכוֹת *weeping*, גְּלוֹת *exile*, חֲזוֹת *vision*; the latter retain the *ā* of the first syllable even in the *constr. st.* and before *suffixes*. From a *qāṭūl*-form is formed כְּבִירוֹת *heaviness*; from a *qāṭūl*-form פְּקֻדוֹת &c.

In the plural of these forms different methods of treatment may be distinguished. In some cases the whole ending וַת is retained, as if belonging to the stem (cf. above, *f*), e.g. אֲלֻמְנוֹתַי from אֲלֻמְנוֹת, in others this ending is resolved, as in מְלֻכּוֹת Dn 8<sup>22</sup> (no doubt for *māl'khuwwoṭh*), and עֲדוֹת 'edh'woth, from עֲדוֹת *testimony*, but only with *suffixes*, עֲדוֹתַי ψ 119<sup>14</sup>, &c.; עֲדוֹתַי 1 K 2<sup>3</sup>, &c.

### § 96. *Nouns of Peculiar Formation.*

In the following Paradigms,<sup>1</sup> pp. 282 to 284, a number of frequently used nouns are arranged, whose flexion presents more or less striking peculiarities. These peculiarities, however, are almost always subordinate to the usual phonetic laws, and the usual designation of the nouns as *irregular* is, therefore, not justified, when once the ground-forms are properly recognized on which the present forms are based.

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original עֲשֵׂתָרָה, like מְלָה Lv 18<sup>21</sup>, &c. (for מְלָה), with the vowels of בְּשֵׂת *shame*, the latter word being substituted in reading for the name of the goddess.

<sup>1</sup> The only omissions from these Paradigms are אָחַד, חָד, and חֲמוֹת (on which see the remarks), and all forms which are not found in the O. T.

<i>Sing. absolute</i>	אָב	אָח	אָחוֹת	אִישׁ	אִשָּׁה
	(father)	(brother)	(sister)	(man)	(woman)
„ <i>construct</i>	אָבִי	אָחִי	אָחוֹתִי	אִישׁ	אִשָּׁתִּי
„ <i>with suff. of I sing.</i>	אָבִי	אָחִי	אָחוֹתִי	אִישִׁי	אִשְׁתִּי
„ <i>2 masc.</i>	אָבִיךָ	אָחִיךָ	אָחוֹתְךָ		אִשְׁתְּךָ
„ <i>2 fem.</i>	אָבִיךָ	אָחִיךָ	אָחוֹתְךָ	אִישֶׁךָ	
„ <i>3 masc.</i>	אָבִיו (אָבִיהוּ)	אָחִיו (אָחִיהוּ)	אָחוֹתוֹ	אִישׁוֹ	אִשְׁתּוֹ
„ <i>3 fem.</i>	אָבִיהָ	אָחִיהָ	אָחוֹתָהּ	אִישָׁהּ	
„ <i>1 Pl.</i>	אָבֵינוּ	אָחֵינוּ	אָחוֹתֵנוּ		
„ <i>2 masc.</i>	אָבֵיכֶם	אָחֵיכֶם	[אָחוֹתֵכֶם]		
„ <i>2 fem.</i>	אָבֵיכֶן				
„ <i>3 masc.</i>	אָבֵיהֶם	אָחֵיהֶם	אָחוֹתֵם		
„ <i>3 fem.</i>	אָבֵיהֶן				
<i>Plur. absolute</i>	אָבוֹת	אָחִים		אָנָשִׁים	אִשָּׁוּת
„ <i>construct</i>	אָבוֹת	אָחִי		אָנָשִׁי	אִשָּׁוְתִי
„ <i>with suff. of I sing.</i>	אָבוֹתַי	אָחִי, pause	אָחוֹתַי	אָנָשִׁי	אִשָּׁוְתִי
„ <i>2 masc.</i>	אָבוֹתֶיךָ	אָחֶיךָ		אָנָשֶׁיךָ	אִשָּׁוְתֶיךָ
„ <i>2 fem.</i>		אָחֶיךָ	אָחוֹתֶיךָ		
„ <i>3 masc.</i>	אָבוֹתָיו	אָחָיו	אָחוֹתָיו	אָנָשָׁיו	אִשָּׁוְתָיו
„ <i>3 fem.</i>		אָחֵיהָ		אָנָשֶׁיהָ	
„ <i>1 Pl.</i>	אָבוֹתֵינוּ	אָחֵינוּ		אָנָשֵׁינוּ	אִשָּׁוְתֵינוּ
„ <i>2 masc.</i>	אָבוֹתֵיכֶם	אָחֵיכֶם	אָחוֹתֵיכֶם		אִשָּׁוְתֵיכֶם
„ <i>3 masc.</i>	אָבוֹתֵיהֶם (אָבוֹתֵיהֶם)	אָחֵיהֶם	אָחוֹתֵיהֶם	אָנָשֶׁיהֶם	אִשָּׁוְתֵיהֶם
„ <i>3 fem.</i>				אָנָשֶׁיהֶן	

## REMARKS.

אָב *father*; the *constr.* אָבִי, like אָחִי and בְּנִי (which occurs once), belongs to the connective forms discussed in § 90 *k*, which serve as the model for the *Hireq compaginis*. However, אָב also occurs in compound proper names, e.g. אָבִישָׁלוֹם, beside אָבִישָׁלוֹם, &c.; also Gn 17<sup>4</sup> *f*. אָבִיהֶמוֹן for the purpose of explaining the name אָבִיר[הֶם]. On the plur. אָבוֹת see § 87 *p*.

אָח *brother*. The plur. *absol.* אָחִים has *Dageš forte implicitum* (§ 22 *c*); אָחִי stands for אָחִי according to the phonetic law stated in § 27 *q*, and so also אָחִי in *pause* for אָחִי. The sharpening of the ח merely serves to keep the preceding *Pathaḥ* short, as in גְּמָלִים, &c. (§ 93 *ee*).

אָחָד *one* (for אָחָד, likewise with *Dageš forte implicitum*, § 22 *c*, cf. § 27 *q*), *constr.* and otherwise in close connexion, אָחָד, Gn 48<sup>22</sup>, 2 S 17<sup>22</sup>, Is 27<sup>12</sup>,

אָמָה (handmaid)	בֵּית (house)	בֵּן (son)	בַּת (daughter)	יוֹם (day)	כֵּלִי (vessel)
	בֵּית	בֶּן	בַּת	יוֹם	כֵּלִי
אִמְתִּי	בֵּיתִי	בְּנִי	בַּתִּי		
אִמְתֶּךָ	בֵּיתְךָ	בְּנֶךָ, <i>pause</i>	בַּתְּךָ, <i>pause</i>		כֵּלֶיךָ
	בֵּיתְךָ	בְּנֶךָ			
אִמְתּוֹ	בֵּיתוֹ	בְּנוֹ	בַּתּוֹ	יוֹמוֹ	
אִמְתָּהּ	בֵּיתָהּ	בְּנָהּ	בַּתָּהּ		
		בְּנֶנּוּ			
	בֵּיתְכֶם		בַּתְכֶם		
	בֵּיתֶם			יוֹמֶם	
אִמְהוֹת	בְּתִיִּם	בְּנִיִּם	בָּנוֹת	יָמִים	כֵּלִים
אִמְהוֹת	בְּתִי	בְּנִי	בָּנוֹת	יָמִי	כֵּלִי
אִמְהַתִּי		בְּנִי	בְּנֹתִי	יָמִי	כֵּלִי
	בְּתִיךָ	בְּנִיךָ	בְּנֹתֶיךָ	יָמֶיךָ	כֵּלֶיךָ
	בְּתִיךָ	בְּנִיךָ	בְּנֹתֶיךָ	יָמֶיךָ	
אִמְהַתִּיו		בְּנָיו	בְּנֹתָיו	יָמָיו	כֵּלָיו
אִמְהַתֶּיהָ		בְּנֶיהָ	בְּנֹתֶיהָ	יָמֶיהָ	כֵּלֶיהָ
	בְּתִינִי	בְּנִינִי	בְּנֹתֵינוּ	יָמֵינוּ	כֵּלֵינוּ
אִמְהַתֶּיכֶם	בְּתִיכֶם	בְּנִיכֶם	בְּנֹתֵיכֶם	יָמֵיכֶם	כֵּלֵיכֶם
	בְּתִיָּהֶם	בְּנִיָּהֶם	בְּנֹתֵיהֶם	יָמֵיהֶם	כֵּלֵיהֶם
אִמְהַתֶּיהֶן	בְּתִיָּהֶן	בְּנִיָּהֶן			

Zc 11<sup>7</sup>; and especially before מֶן (מִן) Gn 3<sup>22</sup>, Ex 3c<sup>14</sup>, Nu 16<sup>15</sup>, Ju 17<sup>5</sup>, 1 S 9<sup>3</sup>, Ez 18<sup>10</sup>; fem. אִחָת *una* (for אִחָתְךָ, according to § 19 *d*), in *pause* אִחָת. Once חַד masc. (by aphaeresis, § 19 *h*), Ez 33<sup>30</sup>, as in Aramaic; plur. אִחָדִים *some*, but also *idem*.

אִחָת *sister*, from 'āhāwāt or 'āhāyāt, with elision of the ו or י, and with the ā, which has arisen from ā, obscured to ō.<sup>1</sup> In Nu 6<sup>7</sup> אִחָתוֹ stands for אִחָתוֹ (with virtual sharpening of the ח). The plur. *absol.* (אִחָיוֹת) does not happen

<sup>1</sup> This explanation of אִחָת (and חָמוֹת q. v.) still seems to us more probable than the assumption that the fem. ending *āth* is lengthened to compensate for the loss of the 3rd radical (so Wellhausen, *Skizzen*, vi. 258), or that the form is derived from 'ahā, the old-semitic constr. *sl.* of the accusative, with ת feminine (so Barth, *ZDMG.* 1899, p. 598).

<i>Sing. absolute</i>	[מַי]	עִיר	פֶּה	רֹאשׁ	שֵׁם	[שָׁמַיִם]
	(water)	(city)	(mouth)	(head)	(name)	(heaven)
„ <i>construct</i>		עִיר	פִּי	רֹאשׁ	שֵׁם-	שָׁמַיִם
„ <i>with suff. of 1 sing.</i>		עִירִי	פִּי	רֹאשִׁי		שָׁמַיִ
„ <i>2 masc.</i>		עִירְךָ	פִּיךָ	רֹאשְׁךָ	שָׁמְךָ, pause	שָׁמַיְךָ
„ <i>2 fem.</i>				רֹאשֶׁךָ		שָׁמֶךָ
„ <i>3 masc.</i>		עִירוֹ	פִּיהוּ, פִּיו	רֹאשׁוֹ		שָׁמוֹ
„ <i>3 fem.</i>		עִירָהּ	פִּיהָ	רֹאשֶׁהּ		שָׁמָהּ
„ <i>1 Pl.</i>			פִּינוּ	רֹאשֵׁנוּ		שָׁמָנוּ
„ <i>2 masc.</i>			פִּיכֶם	רֹאשֵׁכֶם		שָׁמְכֶם
„ <i>3 masc.</i>		עִירָם	פִּיהֶם	רֹאשֵׁם		שָׁמָם
„ <i>3 fem.</i>			פִּיהֶן	רֹאשֵׁן		
<i>Plur. absolute</i>	סִיִּם	עָרִים	פִּיּוֹת	רֹאשִׁים	שֵׁמוֹת	שָׁמַיִם
„ <i>construct</i>	מֵימַי, מִי	עָרַי		רֹאשֵׁי	שֵׁמוֹת	שָׁמַיִ
„ <i>with suff. of 1 sing.</i>	מֵימִי	עָרַי				
„ <i>2 masc.</i>	מֵימֶיךָ	עָרֶיךָ				שָׁמַיְךָ
„ <i>2 fem.</i>		עָרֶיךָ				
„ <i>3 masc.</i>	מֵימֵנוּ	עָרֵינוּ		רֹאשֵׁינוּ		שָׁמֵנוּ
„ <i>3 fem.</i>	מֵימֶיהָ	עָרֶיהָ		רֹאשֶׁיהָ		
„ <i>1 Pl.</i>	מֵימָנוּ	עָרֵינוּ		רֹאשֵׁינוּ		
„ <i>2 masc.</i>		עָרֵיכֶם		רֹאשֵׁיכֶם		שָׁמַיְכֶם
„ <i>3 masc.</i>	מֵימֵיהֶם	עָרֵיהֶם		רֹאשֵׁיהֶם	שֵׁמוֹתָם	
„ <i>3 fem.</i>				רֹאשֵׁיהֶן	שֵׁמוֹתָן	

to occur. In Ez 16<sup>62</sup> אַחֲזִיתָךְ occurs (for אַחֲזִיתֶיךָ). In the forms אַחֲזִיתִי Jos 2<sup>13</sup> *Keth.*, אַחֲזִיתֶיךָ Ez 16<sup>61, 65, 61</sup> (to be read also in verse 45 for אַחֲזִיתָךְ, which has been erroneously assimilated to the singular occurring in vv. 48, 49, 56), and אַחֲזִיתֶכֶם Ho 2<sup>9</sup> (for which, however, read אַחֲזִיתְכֶם), the third radical has been entirely lost.

אִישׁ *man*, according to the common opinion either incorrectly lengthened for אִישׁ (from 'inš, with assimilation of the *Nûn* of the ground-form 'inš, which again has been attenuated from 'anš from the stem אִנְשׁ), or softened directly from 'inš. It is, however, probable that a separate stem (אִישׁ to be strong?) is to be assumed for the singular<sup>1</sup>; consequently the stem אִנְשׁ to be sociable,

<sup>1</sup> So already Gesenius in his *Thes. linguae Hebr.*, i. 83 f., and recently again Friedr. Delitzsch, *Prolegg.*, p. 160 ff., Praetorius in Kuhn's *Orient. L.-B.*, 1884, p. 196; König, *Lehrgeb.*, ii. 38; while Nöldeke (*ZDMG.* 1886, p. 739 f.), against Delitzsch, would connect both אִישׁ and אִנְשׁ with the stem אִנְשׁ.

would be connected only with the plur. אֲנָשִׁים (אִישִׁים is found only in Is 53<sup>3</sup>, ψ 141<sup>4</sup>, Pr 8<sup>4</sup>).

אֲמָה slave, handmaid; with the plur. אֲמָהוֹת, with consonantal ה, cf. in Aram. אַבְרָהָן fathers, and similarly in Phoen. רִלְתָה from רִלְתָה, also Arab. 'abahât (fathers), 'ummahât (mothers), with an artificial expansion into a trilateral stem.

אִשָּׁה woman, probably for אֲנָשָׁה; from אֲנָשׁ i.e. not (as Aram. אַתְתָּא shows) אֲנָשׁ to be sociable (see above, on אִישׁ) but אֲנָשׁ to be weak (Arab. 'änülî). So De Lagarde, *Uebersicht*, p. 68; König, *Lehrgeb.*, ii. 159 f. The form אֲנָשָׁת (for 'išt, with ת fem., from 'išt, after rejection of the doubling and lengthening of the *i* to *e*) occurs in Dt 21<sup>11</sup>, 1 S 28<sup>7</sup>, ψ 58<sup>9</sup>, even in *absol. st.* [cf., however, below, § 130. 4, 5].—In ψ 128<sup>3</sup> אֲנָשָׁתְךָ is found for אֲנָשֶׁתְךָ. Instead of the plur. אֲנָשִׁים, we find in Ez 23<sup>44</sup> אֲנָשָׁת.<sup>1</sup>

בַּיִת house, locative הַבַּיְתָה, הַבַּיְתָה, in pause הַבַּיְתָה, constr. בַּיְתָה, plur. בַּיְתִים (but in Dt 6<sup>11</sup>, 1 Ch 28<sup>11</sup> בַּיְתִים without *Metheg*), pronounced *bâtîm*. The explanation of the Dageš in the ת is still a matter of dispute. The Syriac *bâtîm*, however, shows that the *Dageš* is original, and belongs to the character of the form.<sup>2</sup> According to Wright, *Comparative Grammar*, p. 88, בַּיְתִים is simply contracted from *bai-tim* (as אָן from אֵן, עֵינַיִם from עֵינַיִם, &c.), and the *Dageš*, therefore, is *lene*; König, *Lehrgeb.*, ii. 56, proposes the name *Dageš forte orthoconsonanticum*; on the other hand Rahlfs, *ThLZ.* 1896, col. 587, suggests that the *v* is assimilated to the ת, while Philippi, *ZDMG.* xlix, p. 206, assumes for the plural a stem distinct from that of the singular. A definite solution is at present impossible. The incorrectness of the formerly common pronunciation *bottim* is sufficiently shown by the Babylonian punctuation (see § 8 g, note 3), which leaves no doubt as to the *â*.

בֵּן son (Gn 30<sup>19</sup> בְּנֵי-יִשְׂרָאֵל) constr. usually בְּנֵי- (also with a conjunctive accent as an equivalent for *Maqqeph*, Gn 17<sup>17</sup>, Is 8<sup>2</sup>, &c., 1 Ch 9<sup>21</sup>; even with smaller disjunctives, especially in the combination מִבְּנֵי, Ex 30<sup>14</sup>, Lv 27<sup>3</sup>, &c. מִבְּנֵי- only after וְאִם and before אֲחֵרִים, also in Is 51<sup>12</sup>; see Strack on Ex 30<sup>14</sup>), rarely בְּנֵי- (Dt 25<sup>2</sup>, Jon 4<sup>10</sup> twice, Pr 30<sup>1</sup>, and so always in the combination בְּנֵי-נֶגוּן, and in the proper names בְּנֵי-יָמִין [but בְּנֵי-יָמִיני *Benjamite*] and בְּנֵי-יָקָה Pr 30<sup>1</sup>), once בְּנֵי (cf. § 90 l) Gn 49<sup>11</sup>, and בְּנֵי (§ 90 o) Nu 23<sup>18</sup>, 24<sup>3,15</sup>.—In Gn 49<sup>22</sup> בְּנֵי, for which בְּנֵי- ought to be read, is intended by the Masora for the *absol. st.*, not the *constr.*

<sup>1</sup> Friedr. Delitzsch (in his Babylonian glosses to Baer's text of Ezekiel, p. xi) on Ez 23<sup>44</sup> remarks that in Assyro-Babylonian the plur. of *aššatu* (woman) is *aššāti*, corresponding, therefore, to אֲשֹׁת, not to the ordinary plur. אֲנָשִׁים. The *a* of אֲנָשִׁים (instead of *i* as in Arab. or *e* as in Syr.) is to be explained with Barth (*Orient. Studien zu Ehren Th. Nöldekes*, Giessen, 1906, p. 792) from the natural connexion of the ideas 'men' and 'women', אֲנָשִׁים and אֲנָשִׁים.

<sup>2</sup> This disposes of the traditional view that the *Dageš* (after a firm *Metheg*, see § 16 f) only serves to distinguish it from בַּיְתִים *passing the night*, ptep. *Qal* of בִּיתָה, a stem which never occurs in the O. T. According to P. Haupt the stem is בָּא to go in, ת therefore being the feminine termination, as in *bit* daughter, and the original form *ba'tu*, *bātu* (entrance) is preserved in the plural *bâtîm* where the *tt* is to be explained as due to the analogy of trisyllabic stems. In the singular *bât* passed into *bēt* (?), and this was resolved into *bait*, as *Y'erūsālēm* into *Y'erūsālayim*.

בַּת *daughter* (from *bant*, and this again, according to the law stated in § 69 c, for *bint*, fem. of בִּין), with suff. בְּתִי for בְּתֵי. Plur. בָּנוֹת, from the sing. בְּנָה, comp. בְּנִים *sons*.

חָם *husband's father*, only with suff. חָמִי, חָמִיָּה; and חֲמוֹת *husband's mother*, only with suff. חֲמוֹתָי, חֲמוֹתָהּ. Cf. אָח, אָחָה, and especially אָחוֹת.

יוֹם *day* (Arab. *yaum*),<sup>1</sup> dual יוֹמִים; the plur. יָמִים is probably from a different sing. (יָמָם), constr. יָמֵי and (poetically) יָמוֹת, Dt 32<sup>7</sup>, ψ 90<sup>15</sup>.

כֵּל *vessel*, in pause כֵּלִי (with suff. כֵּלְיָךְ Dt 23<sup>26</sup>) from כָּלָה *to contain*, plur. כֵּלִים (as if from כָּל, כָּלָה; according to König, ii. 63, shortened from *kilyim*). מַיִם *water*; on the plur. cf. § 88 d.

עִיר *city*. The plur. עָרִים is scarcely syncopated from עִירִים, as it is pointed in Ju 10<sup>4</sup> (no doubt erroneously, in imitation of the preceding עִירִים *ass colts*), but from a kindred sing. עָר, which still occurs in proper names.

פֶּה *mouth*, constr. st. פִּי (for original פִּי = פֶּה?). Its origin is still disputed. According to Gesenius and König (ii. 103), פֶּה stands for פָּאָה (ground-form *pi'ay*) from פָּאָה *to breathe, to blow*; according to Olshausen, for פִּי, from a stem פִּיָּה or פִּוָּה. But parallel with the Hebrew פֶּה are Assyr. *pû*, Arab. *fû*, *fam*, *famm*, *fumm*, bibl. Aram. פִּם, פִּמָּא, Syr. *pûm*, *pûnâ*, so that Barth, *ZDMG.* xli, p. 634, assumes two forms of development from the same stem (פִּמוּ), viz. *fm* and *fw*. פִּי *my mouth*, from *pi-y*; for פִּיָּה we find in ψ 17<sup>10</sup>, 58<sup>7</sup>, 59<sup>13</sup> פִּיָּמוּ. The supposed plur. פִּים 1 S 13<sup>21</sup> is generally explained as a contraction from פִּיִּים, but the text is altogether corrupt. The plur. פִּיּוֹת, for the *edges* of a sword, occurs in Pr 5<sup>4</sup>; reduplicated פִּיפִּיּוֹת Is 41<sup>15</sup>, ψ 149<sup>6</sup>.

רֹאשׁ *head* (obscured from רֹאשׁ = *rûš*); plur. רֹאשִׁים (for רֹאשִׁים, § 23 c); רֹאשָׁיו only in Is 15<sup>2</sup>.

שֵׂה *a head of small cattle (sheep or goat)*, constr. st. שֵׂהָ, with suff. שֵׂהָי 1 S 14<sup>34</sup> and שֵׂהָי Dt 22<sup>1</sup>, according to König, ii. 131, from a ground-form *si'ay*, but according to De Lagarde, *Uebersicht*, 81 f., from a stem וִישׁ (שֵׂהָ = *say* = *wisay*).

שֵׁם *name*, constr. generally שֵׁם (only six times שֵׁם); cf. בֵּן.

שָׁמַיִם *heaven* (§ 88 d).

## § 97. Numerals. (a) Cardinal Numbers.

Brockelmann, *Sem. Sprachwiss.*, p. 116 ff.; *Grundriss*, i. 484 ff.

a 1. The formation of the cardinal numbers from 3 to 10 (on 1 and 2 see below) has this peculiarity, that numerals connected with a mascu-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Nöldeke, *Beiträge*, p. 58, *yaum*, probably an extension of a biliteral word which has survived in יָמִים, יָמֵי. Barth, however, *Orient. Studien*, p. 791 (see above on אָשָׁה), sees in יָמִים, יָמֵי, יָמוֹת new formations in Hebrew, caused by the naturally close connexion and association of these plurals with שָׁנִים, שָׁנֵי, שָׁנֹת *years*, to which they became assimilated in form. The view that יָמִים is merely an incorrect obscuring of יָם, and therefore distinct from the Arab. *yaum*, is contradicted by the invariable spelling יָוֹם, &c., notwithstanding the spelling וְיָם (= וְיָם?) in the Siloam inscription, line 3 (cf. § 7 f), and מֵיָמִים Ho 6<sup>2</sup>. Cf. also the note on § 100 g.

line substantive take the feminine form, and those with a feminine substantive take the masculine form. The common explanation of this strange phenomenon used to be that the primary form of the numeral was an abstract noun in the feminine (cf. § 122 p). This was originally attached in the *constr. st.* to the word qualified, then came to be also used in apposition to it, and finally was placed after it like an adjective. The consequence of the appositional, and finally adjectival, construction was, that for numerals connected with feminine nouns a special shorter form came to be used, whilst the original forms, with the abstract feminine ending, were used in connexion with masculine nouns, after as well as before them.

On this view the historical process would have been that originally the abstract numerals (like Latin *trias*, *decas*, Greek *τρεις*, *δεκάς*, &c.) were placed in the *constr. st.* before masculines and feminines alike, e. g. *שְׁלֹשֶׁת בָּנִים trias filiorum*, *עֶשְׂרֵת נָשִׁים decas mulierum*. A trace of this earlier usage was seen in the examples mentioned under *c*, like *שְׁלֹשֶׁת נָשִׁים*.—Further, it was possible to say *בָּנִים שְׁלֹשָׁה trias*, sc. *filii*, as well as *בָּנִים שְׁלֹשָׁה filii, trias*. From this second appositional construction it was only a step to the treatment of the abstract numeral as an adjective, *filii tres*. Similarly the subsequently shortened forms of the abstract numeral, which were used in connexion with feminines, might stand either in the *constr. st.* before, or in apposition before or after the word numbered, thus *שְׁלֹשׁ בָּנוֹת trias filiarum*, or *שְׁלֹשׁ בָּנוֹת trias*, sc. *filiae*, or *בָּנוֹת שְׁלֹשׁ filiae, trias*, or adjectivally *filiae tres*.

A different and much more intelligible explanation of the striking disagreement between the gender of the numeral and that of the word numbered has recently been given by Reckendorf, *Die syntaktischen Verhältnisse des Arabischen*, pt. ii, Leiden, 1898, p. 265 ff. He also considers that the earliest forms were abstract numerals which were placed in the *constr. st.* before the noun numbered, the latter depending on them in the genitive. The original form, however, of the abstract numerals from 3 to 9 is not the feminine, but the masculine, used for both genders, as it still is in the tens, 20, 30, &c. The feminine abstract numeral was first distinguished by a special form in the numbers from 13 to 19 (see further, below) when connected with masculines, and this distinction was afterwards extended to the numbers from 3 to 10. This explanation does not affect the view stated above that the appositional and adjectival use of the abstract numerals was only adopted later in addition to their use in the genitive construction.

The differentiation of the numerals (originally of common gender) into masculine and feminine forms in the second decade, was occasioned, according to Reckendorf, by the use of the abstract feminine *עֶשְׂרֵה* in compounds.

So long as it was felt that נְשָׁלֶשׁ עֶשְׂרֵה simply meant *the three of the decade*, the gender of the noun numbered made no difference. When, however, the consciousness of this meaning became weakened and the combination of units and tens came to be felt as a copulative rather than a genitive relation, it seemed suitable to connect only feminine nouns with the feminine form עֶשְׂרֵה. New forms were therefore invented, both of the units and the tens, for use with masculine nouns. The former, however, no longer had the form of the *constr.* but of the absolute state, clearly showing that the consciousness of the original syntactical relation in נְשָׁלֶשׁ עֶשְׂרֵה, &c., was lost. On the other hand, after the extension of these new formations to the first decade, the new feminine forms readily came to be used also in the genitive construction (and therefore in the *constr. st.*) on the analogy of the earlier masculine forms.

Of the first two numerals, אֶחָד *one*, with its fem. אַחַת (see § 96), may be recognized, from its form and use, as an adjective, although even so it admits of such combinations as אֶחָד הַהָרִים *unus e montibus*. The numeral two, as would be expected, appears as an abstract in the *dual*, but, like the other numerals, can also stand in apposition to the noun numbered. In form it always agrees with the gender of its noun. Accordingly, the numerals from 1 to 10 are as follows :

b	With the Masculine.		With the Feminine.	
	Absol.	Constr.	Absol.	Constr.
1.	אֶחָד	אֶחָד	אַחַת	אַחַת
2.	שְׁנַיִם	שְׁנַיִ	שְׁתַּיִם <sup>1</sup>	שְׁתַּיִ
3.	שְׁלֹשָׁה	שְׁלֹשֶׁת	שְׁלֹשׁ	שְׁלֹשׁ
4.	אַרְבָּעָה	אַרְבַּעַת	אַרְבַּע	אַרְבַּע
5.	חַמֵּשָׁה <sup>2</sup>	חַמֵּשֶׁת	חַמֵּשׁ	חַמֵּשׁ
6.	שֵׁשָׁה	שֵׁשֶׁת	שֵׁשׁ	שֵׁשׁ
7.	שִׁבְעָה	שִׁבְעַת	שִׁבְעַ	שִׁבְעַ <sup>3</sup> [שִׁבְעַ]
8.	שְׁמֹנֶה	שְׁמֹנֶת	שְׁמֹנֶה	שְׁמֹנֶה
9.	תְּשַׁעָה	תְּשַׁעַת	תְּשַׁעַ	תְּשַׁעַ <sup>3</sup> [תְּשַׁעַ]
10.	עֶשְׂרֵה	עֶשְׂרֵת	עֶשְׂרֵה	עֶשְׂרֵה

<sup>1</sup> Shortened from שְׁנַיִתַיִם, which would be the regular feminine form of שְׁנַיִם. Nevertheless, the *Dageš* in שְׁתַּיִם, &c. (even after מִן; Jon 4<sup>11</sup>; cf., however, מִשְׁתַּיִ Ju 16<sup>28</sup>), can by no means be regarded as a *Dageš forte* arising from assimilation of the *Nūn*, for in that case the word could only be שְׁתַּיִם (cf. Arab. *šintāni*). This form does occur in the Codex Babylonicus of A. D. 916, but it is only a later correction for שְׁתַּיִם, while in the Berlin MS. or. qu. 680 described by Kahle (Lpz. 1902) there is no trace of the *Dageš*. It is rather to be read *štayim*, *šlé* (with *Dageš lene*), cf. אִשְׁתַּיִם, representing the later Palestinian pronunciation (Philippi, *ZDMG.* xlix, p. 206), and Arab. *šintāni* (with a kind of prosthetic א; cf. § 19 m), as a further feminine form of

On the connective forms שָׁבַע, הִשָּׁע, cf. the analogous forms in § 93 h.

The other Semitic languages also exhibit the same peculiarity in the C external differentiation of the numerals from 3 to 10 as regards gender. The fem. form of the numeral abstracts is only rarely found in connexion with feminine nouns,<sup>4</sup> e. g. נְשֵׁי שְׁלֹשָׁת נְשִׁים Gn 7<sup>13</sup>, 1 S 10<sup>5</sup>, Jb 1<sup>4</sup>, Ez 7<sup>2</sup> *Keth.*; probably also Jos 17<sup>11</sup>, where we should read with Dillmann הַנְּפֹתוֹת 'שׁ. In apposition, Zc 3<sup>9</sup>, 4<sup>2</sup>, cf. Jer 36<sup>23</sup>. From what was said above, under a, it follows that these cases are not a return to original usage, but only an intrusion of the form used before masculines into the sphere of the feminine. Conversely in Gn 38<sup>24</sup> נְשֵׁי הַרְנָשִׁים (but in the Samaritan נְשֵׁי הַרְנָשִׁים).—For שֶׁבַע *seven*, there occurs in Jb 42<sup>13</sup> the strange form שֶׁבַעֲנָה, according to Ewald [*Ausführl. Lehrb.*<sup>8</sup>, § 269 b] an old feminine substantive (German *ein Siebend*, a set of seven), but more probably a scribal error.

2. The numerals from 11 to 19 are formed by placing the units, *d* without the *copula*, before the number ten (in the form עָשָׂר masc., עֶשְׂרֵה fem.), but without the two words being joined into one. As was said above, under a, and as is proved by the use of אַחַד, אַחַת in the numeral 11, the feminine numerals from 13 to 19 are to be regarded as *construct* forms in a genitive connexion. The connective forms of the masculine abstracts, like שְׁלֹשָׁת, &c., are not admitted in combination with עָשָׂר, since they are merely in apposition, and not in a genitive relation (see the rare exceptions at the end of e). On the other hand שְׁנֵי and שְׁתֵּי in the numeral 12 are undoubtedly true *constructs*, like אַחַד and the fem. numerals 13–19. But instead of שְׁנֵי (Ex 28<sup>21</sup>, Jos 3<sup>12</sup> and four other places) and שְׁתֵּי (Jos 4<sup>8</sup> and three times in Ezek.), we generally find שְׁנַיִם and שְׁתַּיִם. Two explanations have been given of these forms: (1) that the *Kethibh* really intends שְׁנַיִם, שְׁתַּיִם, in the *absol. st.*, which was first introduced in the case of שְׁנַיִם, שְׁתַּיִם, on the analogy of עֶשְׂרֵה, &c., and then extended to שְׁתַּיִם; the Masora, however, required שְׁנֵי, שְׁתֵּי (but see below), and therefore pointed שְׁנַיִם, שְׁתַּיִם as a *Qerê perpetuum* (see § 17).—(2) that the *absolute* forms שְׁנַיִם, שְׁתַּיִם (introduced on the analogy of שְׁלֹשָׁה, &c.) were contracted to שְׁנַיִם, שְׁתַּיִם to facilitate the pronunciation of the duals when closely

<sup>1</sup> *itnāni, duo.* According to Barth (*Orient. Studien . . . Th. Nöldeke*, ii. 792 f.) the irregularity of שְׁתַּיִם (he takes the Dageš as *Dageš forte*) is due to the complete assimilation of its vowels to those of the masc. שְׁנַיִם where the *Šewa mobile* is normal.

<sup>2</sup> With Dageš probably on the analogy of שְׁשָׁה, as שְׁשֵׁת on the analogy of חֲמִשָּׁה. Cf. also J. K. Blake on חֲמִשָּׁה, חֲמִשִּׁים, in *JAOS.* 1905, p. 117 ff.

<sup>3</sup> שָׁבַע and הִשָּׁע appear only as connective forms before עֶשְׂרֵה and מֵאוֹת.

<sup>4</sup> In the vulgar dialects of Arabic, and in Ethiopic, the feminine form of the numeral is by far the more common. This form appears also in Hebrew, when the number is regarded in the abstract, as in the multiplicatives (see § 97 h).

connected with עָשָׂר and עֶשְׂרֵה, and that the contraction is founded on an early and correct tradition. The second explanation is supported by the large number of examples of שָׁנִים (66) and שָׁתִים (34). It would be strange if the Masora required the alteration of the far commoner forms on account of isolated instances of שָׁנִי and שָׁתִי. As a matter of fact even in regard to the latter forms the tradition often varies between שָׁנִי and שָׁנִים, &c., cf. e. g. Ginsburg on Jos 3<sup>12</sup>. We cannot therefore assume a *Q<sup>o</sup>rê perpetuum*.

e Accordingly the numbers from 11 upwards are—

	<i>Masculine.</i>	<i>Feminine.</i>
11.	אֶחָד עָשָׂר עֶשְׁתֵּי עָשָׂר	אֶחַת עֶשְׂרֵה עֶשְׁתֵּי עֶשְׂרֵה
12.	שְׁנַיִם עָשָׂר שְׁנַיִם עָשָׂר	שְׁתֵּי עֶשְׂרֵה שְׁתֵּי עֶשְׂרֵה
13.	שְׁלֹשָׁה עָשָׂר	שְׁלֹשׁ עֶשְׂרֵה

&c., on the analogy of the last. These numerals regularly have only the above form. In regard to their syntax, cf. § 134 f.

Very rarely the units appear in the *masc.* in the *constr. st.*, as חֲמִשָּׁת עָשָׂר fifteen, Ju 8<sup>10</sup>, 2 S 19<sup>18</sup>; שְׁמֹנֶת עָשָׂר eighteen, Ju 20<sup>26</sup>.—Connected by וְ we find חֲמִשָּׁה וְעֶשְׂרֵה in Ex 45<sup>12</sup>.

f 3. The tens from 30 to 90 are expressed by the plural forms of the units (so that the plural here always stands for *ten times* the unit), thus, שְׁלֹשִׁים 30, אַרְבָּעִים 40, חֲמִשִּׁים 50, שֵׁשִׁים 60, שִׁבְעִים 70, שְׁמֹנִים 80, תְּשַׁעִים 90. But *twenty* is expressed by עֶשְׂרִים, plur. of עָשָׂר *ten*.<sup>2</sup> These numerals are all of common gender, and do not admit of the *construct state*.—In compound numerals, like 22, 23, 44, &c., the units

<sup>1</sup> עֶשְׁתֵּי, which remained for a long time unexplained, was recognized (first by J. Oppert) in the Assyro-Babylonian inscriptions in the form *ištin* or *ištēn*; cf. Friedr. Delitzsch, *Assyrische Grammatik*, p. 203, and P. Haupt, in the *American Journal of Philology*, viii. 279. Accordingly, עֶשְׁתֵּי עָשָׂר is a compound, like the Sansk. *ekādaśan*, *ἑνδεκά*, *undecim* (analogous to the combination of units and tens in the numerals from 12 to 19), and is used at the same time in the composition of the feminine numeral eleven. On the gradual substitution of עֶשְׁתֵּי עָשָׂר for עָחָד עָשָׂר and אֶחַת עָשָׂר see Giesebrecht in *ZAW*. 1881, p. 226; עֶשְׁתֵּי עָשָׂר occurs only in Jer., Ez., in the prologue to Deuteronomy (1<sup>3</sup>), in the Priestly Code, and in passages undoubtedly post-exilic, so that it may very well be a loan-word from the Babylonian.

<sup>2</sup> For עֶשְׂרִים, שִׁבְעִים, תְּשַׁעִים (from the *segholates* עָשָׂר, שִׁבְעָה, תְּשַׁעָה), we should expect *\*asārim*, *\*šebhā'im*, *\*tešā'im*. Is this very unusual deviation from the common formation (see above, § 93 l, o, r) connected with the special meaning of these plurals, or are these survivals of an older form of the plural of *segholates*?

may precede (*two and twenty*, as in Arabic and English), e. g. Nu 3<sup>30</sup>, 26<sup>14</sup>. Very frequently, however, the reverse order is found (*twenty and two*, as in Syriac, cf. French and English *twenty-two*), e. g. 1 Ch 12<sup>28</sup>, 18<sup>5</sup>.<sup>1</sup> In all cases the units and tens are connected by the *copula*, ordinarily ׀, but ׀ before numerals with the tone on the penultima, ׀ before ׀, ׀ before *Šewá*; see § 104 d, e, g.

The remaining numerals are the substantives—

100 מֵאָה fem., constr. מֵאָת.

200 מֵאֲתָיִם dual (contracted from מֵאֲתָיִם; cf. § 23 c).

300 שְׁלֹשׁ מֵאוֹת plur. (but in 2 K 11<sup>4.9.10.15</sup>, *Keth.* הַמֵּאוֹת).

1000 אֶלֶף masc.

2000 אֶלְפַיִם dual.

3000 שְׁלֹשָׁת אֲלָפִים plur., and so on (except עֶשְׂרֵה אֲלָפִים in 2 S 18<sup>3</sup>, 2 K 24<sup>14</sup> *Keth.*; elsewhere always עֶשְׂרֵת אֲלָפִים).

10000 רִבּוּבָה, in the later books the aramaizing<sup>2</sup> forms רבוּ, רבוא, רבות (properly *multitude*, cf. *μυριάς*).

20000 רִבְתָּיִם dual (see below, *h*); but נְשֵׂי רִבּוּת Neh 7<sup>70</sup> (also נְשֵׂי רבוא Neh 7<sup>71</sup>).

40000 אַרְבַּע רבוא Neh 7<sup>66</sup>.

60000 נְשֵׂי שְׁבַע רבואות Ezr 2<sup>69</sup> (Baer and Ginsburg רבואות, as in Dn 11<sup>12</sup>). רבבואות אלפי thousands of myriads, Gn 24<sup>60</sup>.

Rem. 1. The dual form which occurs in some of the units has the meaning *h* of our ending *-fold*, e. g. אַרְבַּעַתַּיִם fourfold, 2 S 12<sup>6</sup>; שִׁבְעַתַּיִם sevenfold, Gn 4<sup>15.24</sup>, Is 30<sup>26</sup>, ψ 12<sup>7</sup>, 79<sup>12</sup> (cf. § 134 r). The dual רִבְתָּיִם ψ 68<sup>18</sup> (explained by אֲלָפֵי שְׁנָאָן thousands of duplication) is not meant to be taken in the sense of *two myriads* or *twice the number of myriads*, but in a multiplicative sense.<sup>3</sup>—Besides the plural which denotes the tens, there are also the plurals אֲחָרִים *some*, also *idem*, and עֶשְׂרֹת decades (not *decem*) Ex 18<sup>21.25</sup>.

2. The suffixes to numerals are, as with other nouns, properly genitives, *i* although they are translated in English as nominatives, e. g. נְשֵׂי שְׁלֹשָׁתֶּךָ *your triad*, i. e. *you three*, Nu 12<sup>4</sup>; חֲמִשִּׁי *his fifty* (i. e. the 50 belonging to him) 2 K 1<sup>9-13</sup>, and חֲמִשִּׁיךָ 2 K 1<sup>10.12</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> According to the conclusions of König (*De Criticæ Sacrae Argumento*, p. 61, and *Lehrgeb.*, ii. p. 215 ff.), the smaller number more commonly precedes in Ezek. and the Priestly Code, but the larger always elsewhere. S. Herner (*Syntax der Zahlwörter im A. T.*, Lund, 1893, p. 71 ff.) arrives at the same conclusion by a full examination of the statistics; cf. also his remarks on König in *ZAW.* 1896, p. 123, and König's reply, *ibid.*, p. 328 f.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Kautzsch, *Die Aramäer im A. T.* (Halle, 1902), p. 79 f.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. D. H. Müller, 'Die numeralia multiplicativa in den Amarnatafeln u. im Hebr.,' *Semitica*, i, Wien, 1906, p. 13 ff.

## § 98. Numerals. (b) Ordinal Numbers.

*a* The ordinal numbers from 2 to 10 are formed from the corresponding cardinals by adding the termination יָ— (§ 86 *h*), before which another יָ— also is generally inserted between the second and third radicals. They are as follows: שֵׁנִי *second*, שְׁלִישִׁי, רְבִיעִי (like רָבִעַ, רִבְעִים, רִבְעֵי, without the prosthetic א, which appears in אַרְבַּע, &c.), חֲמִישִׁי or חֲמִשִּׁי (which, according to Strack, is always to be read for חֲמִשִּׁי), שֵׁשִׁי, שִׁבְעִי, שְׁמֹנִי, תְּשִׁיעִי, עָשְׂרִי. The ordinal *first* is expressed by ראשון (cf. § 27 *w*), from ראש *head, beginning*, with the termination ון (§ 86 *f*). On the use of אָתָּר as an ordinal in numbering the days of the month, cf. § 134 *p*; in such cases as Gn 1<sup>5</sup>, 2<sup>11</sup>, the meaning of *first* is derived solely from the context.

*b* The feminine forms have the termination יָת—, more rarely (and only in the case of 3 and 10) יָתֵה—. They are employed also to express fractions, e. g. חֲמִישִׁית *fifth* or *fifth part*, עָשְׂרִית and עָשְׂרִיתֵה *tenth part*. Side by side with these, in the same sense, there are also forms like רְבִיעַ and רְבִיעֵה *a quarter*, חֲמִשָּׁה *a fifth part*, and with the affirmative ון, עָשְׂרוֹן (plur. עָשְׂרוֹנִים) *a tenth part*; these are to be regarded as abstracts, and are denominatives from the cardinal numbers. Cf. finally שְׁבִיעַ עָשָׂר *εβδομάς, a week*; עָשָׂרִים *a decade (of days)*, and also the *tenth day*.

On the expression of the other relations of number, for which the Hebrew has no special forms, see the Syntax, § 134 *q* and *r*.

## CHAPTER IV

### THE PARTICLES

#### § 99. *General View.*

Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, i. 492 f.

1. The particles, which in general express the secondary modifications of thought in speech, the closer relation of words to one another, and the mutual connexion of sentences, are for the most part either borrowed or derived from noun-forms, sometimes also from pronouns and verbs (§ 30 s). *Primitive* particles (apart from a few demonstrative forms, see § 100 i) can only be so called in the sense defined in § 81 f.

2. So far as the origin of the particles can be discovered with certainty, they are either (1) *borrowed* from other parts of speech; i. e. certain forms of the noun, pronoun, or verb, with more or less loss of their original meaning, have come to be employed as particles; cf. in the Indo-Germanic languages, e. g. the Latin *certo*, *falso*, *partim*, *verum*, *causa*, the German *statt*, *anstatt*, *wegen*, *weg*, and the English *instead*, *away*; or (2) *derived* from other parts of speech, either (a) by the *addition* of formative syllables, as  $\text{דַּי}$  by *day*, from  $\text{דַּי}$  (cf., however, § 100 g); or most commonly (b) by *abbreviations* effected in various ways, the extent of their mutilation being in proportion to the frequency of their use, so that in some cases (see below) the original stem has become wholly unrecognizable.

Cf. in German *gen*, from *gegen*, *Gegend*; *seit*, from *Seite*; *weil* (originally a particle of time, like our *while*), from *Weile*.

Still more violent abbreviations occur in Greek, Latin, and the Romance languages, e. g.  $\alpha\pi\acute{o}$ , *ab*, *a*;  $\acute{\epsilon}\xi$ , *ex*, *e*; *ad*, Fr. *à*; *aut*, Fr. *ou*, Ital. *o*; *super*, Ital. *su*.<sup>1</sup>

The greatest shortening occurs in those particles which have entirely lost the character of an independent word, by being reduced to a single consonant with its vowel (generally short) or  $\check{S}ewd$ . According to the laws of syllable formation in Hebrew (§ 26 m),

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<sup>1</sup> Even short phrases are contracted into one word: Lat. *forsitan*, from *fors sit an*,  $\delta\eta\lambda\omicron\nu\acute{o}\tau\iota$ ,  $\delta\eta\lambda\alpha\delta\acute{\eta}$ , Fr. *peut-être*, Eng. *prithce* from *I pray thee*.—In Chinese most of the particles are verbs or nouns; e. g. *iü* (to give), also the sign of the dative;  $\dot{\imath}$  (to make use of), *to*, *for*; *nēi* (the interior), *in*.

such particles cannot stand by themselves, but are united, as prefixes, with the following word (§ 102), very much like the preformatives of the imperfect (§ 47 a-d).

d The view that this shortening of whole words to single letters has actually taken place in the gradual course of linguistic development is rendered highly probable by the fact that similar abbreviations in later Hebrew and in Aramaic, i. e. as the development of the original Semitic speech progresses, become more and more striking and frequent. Thus the Biblical Aramaic  $\text{רִי}$  becomes at a later period  $\text{ר}$ ; in modern Arabic, e. g. *hallaq* (now) is from *hahwaqt*; *lêš* (why?) from *li-ayyi-šaišn*, &c. Cf. also the analogous cases mentioned above from the Western languages. Nevertheless, the use of the simplest particles is found already in the earliest periods of the Hebrew language, or, at any rate, in the earliest documents which have come down to us.

e 3. Less frequently particles are formed by *composition*; as  $\text{מִדּוּעַ}$  *wherefore?* for  $\text{מַה־יְדוּעַ}$  *quid edoctus?* ( $\tau\acute{\iota}\ \mu\alpha\theta\acute{o}\nu$ ); or *quid cognitum?*;  $\text{בְּלַעַי}$  (from  $\text{בַּל}$  and  $\text{עַי}$ ) *besides*;  $\text{מִלְמַעְלָה}$  (from  $\text{מִן}$ ,  $\text{לְ}$ ,  $\text{מִמַּעְלָה}$ ) *from above, above*.

More frequent is the combination of two words into one without contraction, e. g.  $\text{אֶתְרִיבֶן}$ ,  $\text{אֶתְרִבִּי}$ ,  $\text{אֶתְרִבֶּן}$ ,  $\text{אֶתְרִבִּי}$ ; cf. also the compounds of  $\text{אֵי}$  with demonstrative pronouns, as  $\text{אֵי־מִנָּה}$  *from what?*;  $\text{אֵי לָזֹאת}$  *wherefore?* [R. V. *how*]. See the lexicon under  $\text{אֵי}$ .

### § 100. Adverbs.

On demonstrative adverbs cf. Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, i. 323; on interrogative adverbs, *ibid.*, i. 328; on adverbs in general, i. 492 ff.

a 1. The negative  $\text{לֹא}$  *not*, and a few particles of place and time, as  $\text{שָׁם}$  *there*, are of obscure origin.

b 2. Forms of other parts of speech, which are used adverbially without further change, are—

(a) Substantives with prepositions, e. g.  $\text{בְּמֵאֹד}$  (with might) *very*;  $\text{לְבַד}$  *alone* (prop. *in separation*, Fr. *à part*), with suffix  $\text{לְבַדִּי}$  *I alone*;  $\text{מִבֵּית}$  *from within, within*; cf. also  $\text{בְּאַחַד}$  (as one) *together*,  $\text{לְעִמָּת}$  and  $\text{מִלְעִמָּת}$  (originally *in connexion with*) *near to, corresponding to, like*, &c., cf. § 161 b.

c (b) Substantives in the accusative (the adverbial case of the Semites, § 118 m), cf.  $\tau\eta\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\rho\chi\acute{\eta}\nu$ ,  $\delta\omega\pi\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\nu$ , e. g.  $\text{מֵאֹד}$  (might) *very*,  $\text{עֲסָפָה}$  (cessation) *no more*,  $\text{הַיּוֹם}$  (the day) *to-day* (cf. § 126 b),  $\text{מָחָר}$ <sup>1</sup> *to-morrow*,  $\text{יַחַד}$  (union) *together*. Several of these continued to be used, though rarely, as substantives, e. g.  $\text{סְבִיב}$ , plur.  $\text{סְבִיבִים}$  and  $\text{סְבִיבוֹת}$ , *circuit*, as adverb

<sup>1</sup> Generally derived from the *ptcp.*  $\text{מֵאֲחָר}$  *m<sup>e</sup>ohār* (= *m<sup>e</sup>ohār*) and hence to be read *mōhār* (cf.  $\text{מִחֲרָת}$  *morning*); but according to P. Haupt (notes to Esther, p. 159) from  $\text{יּוֹם אַחַר}$ .

*circum, around*; others have quite ceased to be so used, e.g. בָּרַךְ (length) *long ago* [Aram.: only in Ec.]; עוֹר (repetition, duration) *again or further*.

(c) Adjectives, especially in the feminine (corresponding to the *d* Indo-Germanic neuter), e.g. רִאשׁוֹנָה *primum, formerly* (more frequently בְּרִאשׁוֹנָה, also לְרִאשׁוֹנָה); רַבָּה and רַבַּת [both rare] *multum, much, enough*; נִפְלְאוֹת *wonderfully* (properly *mirabilibus, sc. modis*), יְהוּדִית *Jewish*, i. e. in the Jewish language.

(d) Verbs in the infinitive absolute, especially in *Hiph'el*, which *e* are likewise to be regarded as accusatives (§ 113 *h*), e.g. הִרְבֵּה (prop. *a multiplying*) *much* [frequent], לְהִרְבֵּה [rare and late] *in multitude*; הִשְׁפִּיעַ (mane faciendo) *early*; הִעֲרַב (vespere faciendo) *in the evening*.

(e) Pronouns and numerals, e.g. זֶה (prop. *there = at this place*) *here, f* הֵנָּה *here, hither* (also of time, עַד-הֵנָּה *till now*, cf. the late and rare עָנָן and עֲצָנָה = עַד-הֵן; אַחַת, שְׁתַּיִם, שִׁבְעָה, מֵאָה *once, twice, seven times, a hundred times*; שְׁנַיִת *for the second time*).

3. Some adverbs are formed by the addition of formative syllables *g* (most frequently  $\text{מֶ-}$ ) to substantives or adjectives, e.g. אֲמָנָם and אֲמָנָם *truly* (from אֱמֶן *truth*); חִנָּם (by favour) *gratis* (from חֵן *gratia*); רֵיקָם *in vain, frustra*, but also *empty* (from רֵיק *empty, emptiness, vanum*), Ru 1<sup>21</sup>, parallel with the fem. מְלֵאָה *full*; יוֹמָם *by day* (from יוֹם)<sup>1</sup>; with *o* in the last syllable, פְּתָאִם, for פְּתָעִם, *in a twinkling, suddenly* (from פָּתַע *a twinkling*, the *o* being probably obscured from an original *o*).<sup>2</sup>—Moreover, cf. אֲחֵרֵינִית *backward*, and קְרִירֵינִית *darkly attired*, Mal 3<sup>14</sup>. In both these cases, the formative syllable *an* has been first attached to the stem, and then the feminine ending *ith*, which is elsewhere used to form adverbs, has been added to it.

The termination  $\text{מֶ-}$  occurs also in the formation of substantives, e.g. אֹיָלָם *porch*, and hence the above adverbs may equally well be regarded as nouns used adverbially, so that  $\text{מֶ-}$ ,  $\text{מֶ-}$ , would correspond to  $\text{מֶ-}$ ,  $\text{מֶ-}$  (§ 85, Nos. 53, 54), cf. בְּפִתְאִם (with prep.) *suddenly*, 2 Ch 29<sup>36</sup>. According to others, this *am* is an obsolete accusative ending, to be compared with the indeterminate accusative sing. in *än* in Arabic.

<sup>1</sup> Is this  $\text{מֶ-}$  an instance of the locative or temporal termination (cf. especially צֶהְרָם) mentioned in § 88 *c*? Nöldeke, *ZDMG*. xl. p. 721, considers יוֹמָם a secondary substantival form (used adverbially like לַיְלָה *noctu*), corresponding to the Phœnician and Aramaic יַמָּם, Syr. 'imāmā; cf. on the other hand, König, ii. 255, who follows Olshausen in maintaining that the *ām* is an adverbial termination.

<sup>2</sup> דּוֹמָם *silent* (an adjective in Is 47<sup>5</sup>, La 3<sup>26</sup>; a substantive in Hb 2<sup>19</sup>), which was formerly included under this head, is better taken, with Barth (*Nominalbildung*, p. 352, Rem. 2), as a participle formed like שׁוֹכֵב, עוֹלֵל, so that דּוֹמָם (perhaps assimilated to דּוֹמָה) stands for original דּוֹמָם.

i 4. A number of forms standing in very close relation to the demonstrative pronoun may be regarded as primitive adverbs, since they arise directly from a combination of demonstrative sounds. Some of these have subsequently suffered great mutilation, the extent of which, however, can now very rarely be ascertained with certainty. Such are e.g. **אָז** *then*, **הִנֵּה** *here* (according to Barth, *Sprachwiss. Abhandlungen*, p. 16, formed from the two demonstrative elements *hin* and *na*), **כֵּן**, **כִּכָּה** *thus* (cf. **אֵיכָּה**, **אֵיכָּה** *how* ?), **אָז** *only*, **אֲזַל** *truly* (on all these adverbs, see the Lexicon), and especially the interrogative **הֲ** (*Hē interrogativum*), e.g. **הֲלֹא** (Dt 3<sup>11</sup> **הֲלֹא**) *nonne* ?, **הֲגַם** *num etiam* ? This *Hē interrogativum* is perhaps shortened from **הָל**, which is still used in Arabic, and, according to the view of a certain school of Masoretes, occurs also in Hebrew in Dt 32<sup>6</sup>.<sup>1</sup>

k The **ה** interrogative takes—(1) *Haṭeph-Pathah* generally before non-gutturals (even before **ר**), with a firm vowel, e.g. **הֲשִׁמְתָּ** *hast thou set* ? see the interrogative clause, § 150 c (**הֲיִיטֵב** Lv 10<sup>19</sup> is an exception).

l (2) Before a consonant with *Šewā*, usually *Pathah* without a following *Dageš forte*, e.g. **הֲבִרְכָה** Gn 27<sup>38</sup>, cf. 18<sup>17</sup>, 29<sup>5</sup>, 30<sup>15</sup>, 34<sup>31</sup>; less frequently (in about ten passages), *Pathah* with a following *Dageš forte*, e.g. **הֲבִרְכָה** *num in via*, Ez 20<sup>30</sup>, **הֲלִבֵן** Gn 17<sup>17</sup>, 18<sup>21</sup>, 37<sup>32</sup>, Nu 13<sup>19</sup>, Jb 23<sup>6</sup>; even in **ר**, 1 S 10<sup>24</sup>, 17<sup>25</sup>, 2 K 6<sup>32</sup>.

m (3) Before gutturals, not pointed with either *Qameš* or *Haṭeph-Qameš*, it takes *Pathah*, e.g. **הֲאֵלֵךְ** *shall I go* ?, **הֲאֵתָה** *num tu* ?, **הֲאֵם** *num si*; **הֲאֵרְצָה** Mal 1<sup>13</sup>; also in Ju 6<sup>31</sup> read **הֲאֵתָם** (not **הָאֵם**), likewise **ה** in Ju 12<sup>5</sup>, Jer 8<sup>19</sup>, Neh 6<sup>11</sup>.—In **הֲאֵיִשׁ** Nu 16<sup>22</sup>, the Masora intends the article; read **הָאֵיִשׁ**, and cf. Dt 20<sup>19</sup>; in Ec 3<sup>21</sup> read **הֲעֵלָה** and **הֲיִרְרַת**; the article is a correction due to doctrinal considerations.

n (4) The **ה** takes *Seghōl* before gutturals pointed with *Qameš* or (as in Ju 9<sup>9ff.</sup>) *Haṭeph-Qameš*, e.g. **הֲאֵמֹר** Mi 2<sup>7</sup>; **הֲאֵלֵכִי** Jb 21<sup>4</sup>; **הֲהֵיִתָה** Jo 1<sup>2</sup>; **הֲהֵיִשָּׁב** Gn 24<sup>5</sup> (cf. the analogous instances in § 22 c, § 35 k, § 63 k). The place of this interrogative particle is always at the beginning of the clause [but see Jb 34<sup>31</sup>, Neh 13<sup>27</sup>, Jer 22<sup>15</sup>, where one or more words are prefixed for emphasis].

o 5. Some adverbs occur also in connexion with suffixes, thus **יִשְׁךָ** *thou art there*, 3rd sing. masc. **יִשְׁנֹו**<sup>2</sup> (but see note below), 2nd plur. masc. **יִשְׁבְּכֶם**; **אֵינִנִּי** *I am not*, 2nd sing. **אֵינִיךְ**, fem. **אֵינִיךְ**, 3rd sing. **אֵינִי**, fem. **אֵינִיךְ**, 2nd plur. **אֵינִיכֶם**, 3rd plur. masc. **אֵינִם**.—Also **עוֹדִי** *I am yet* (**עוֹדִי** only in **בְּעוֹדִי** and **בְּעוֹדִי**); **עוֹדִי**, **עוֹדִיךְ**, **עוֹדִיךְ**, **עוֹדִי**, **עוֹדִי** (La 4<sup>17</sup> *Qerê*; **עוֹדִינָה** **עוֹדִינָה** **עוֹדִינָה**).

<sup>1</sup> The separation of the **ה** at the beginning of Dt 32<sup>6</sup>, expressly noticed by Qimḥi (ed. Rittenb., p. 40 b) as an unique instance, is perhaps a protest against admitting a particle **הָל**.

<sup>2</sup> This form, which occurs in Dt 29<sup>14</sup>, 1 S 14<sup>39</sup>, 23<sup>23</sup>, Est 3<sup>8</sup>, is textually very doubtful, and cannot be supported by the equally doubtful **קִבְּנוּ** (for **קִבְּנוּ**) Nu 23<sup>13</sup>. Most probably, with Stade, *Gramm.*, § 370 b, and P. Haupt, *SBOT Numbers*, p. 57, line 37, we should read **יִשְׁנֹו**.

*Keth.*; the oriental school [see above, p. 38, note 2] recognize only the reading (עוֹרְיִנוּ), עוֹרְם. — אַיְיָ where art thou?, אֵי where is he?, אֵימ where are they? The same applies to הֵן (הֵן-) and הִנֵּה behold! (prop. here, here is; see § 105 b), only in Gn 19<sup>2</sup> הִנֵּה-נָא; with suffixes, הִנְנִי, once הִנְנִי (Gn 22<sup>7</sup> with *Munah*), in pause הִנְנִי behold me (here am I), הִנְךָ (pause הִנְךָ ψ 139<sup>8</sup>), הִנּוּ, הִנֵּה [both very rare], הִנְנוּ (behold us), and הִנְנוּ (in pause הִנְנוּ), הִנְכֶם, הִנְם; [see more fully in the Lexicon, p. 243].

The usual explanation of these suffixes (especially of the forms with *Nun p* *energicum*) as verbal suffixes, which ascribes some power of verbal government even to forms originally substantival (e.g. יִשְׁנֹו there is, he is), is at least inadmissible for forms (like אֵי, בְּעוֹרֵי) which are evidently connected with noun-suffixes; even for the other forms it is questionable. Brockelmann suggests that the ך in connexion with these particles is a survival from הנה corresponding to the Arab. 'anna which introduces dependent clauses.

### 101. Prepositions.

Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, i. 494 ff.

1. All words, which by usage serve as prepositions, were originally *a* substantives, viz.:

(a) Substantives in the accusative and in the construct state, so that the noun governed by them is to be considered as in the genitive, and in Arabic actually has the genitive ending, cf. in German *statt dessen*, *kraft dessen*, in Greek *τούτου χάριν*, in Latin *huius rei causa*, or *gratia*, *montis instar*.<sup>1</sup> Cf. אַחֲרֵי (hinder part\*) behind, after (*Mil'el* in בְּן אַחֲרֵי Lv 14<sup>36</sup>, Dt 21<sup>13</sup>, 1 S 10<sup>5</sup>; וְהָ אַחֲרֵי 2 Ch 32<sup>9</sup>); אֶצֶל (side) close by; בֵּינֵן (intermediate space\*) between; בְּעֵד, בְּעֵד (distance?) behind, around; וּבֵלַת, or with *Hireq compaginis* וּבֵלַתִּי (removal, want) except; לְעוֹ (purpose) on account of; מוֹל (מול only in Dt 1<sup>1</sup>) before, over against; מִן (separation; cf. § 119 v) from, out of; מִבְּנֵי (coming in front, that which is over against) before, over against; -עַד (progress, duration\*) during, until; עַל- (height, upper part\*) upon, over; עִם- (connexion?) with; it is doubtful whether this is to be derived from the same stem as עִמָּת, לְעִמָּת near, beside, like; תַּחַת (under part\*) under, instead of.

(b) Substantives in the construct state, but to be regarded as in the *b* genitive, since they depend on prepositions (especially the inseparable), e.g. לְפָנַי (in the face of\*) before; כְּפִי, לְפִי (according to the mouth,

<sup>1</sup> In the examples which follow, the meaning of the noun is added in parentheses, and, when it is actually in use [though it is mostly in such cases very rare], is marked with an asterisk.—On a similar use in other languages, see W. von Humboldt, *Über die Kawisprache*, iii, p. 621.

<sup>2</sup> So also J. Hoch de Long, *Die hebr. Präpos.* בְּעֵד, Lpz. 1905.

i. e. the command of\*) *according to*; בְּגִלָּל (in the concern of) *on account of*; לְמַעַן (for the purpose of) *on account of*.

- c 2. Substantives used adverbially very frequently become prepositions in this way, e. g. בְּלֵי, בְּבָלִי, מְבָלִי, בְּלֵתִי, בְּאִיו, בְּאִפְסָם (with cessation) *without*, בְּעוֹר (in the duration of) *during*; בְּרֵי, בְּרֵי (according to the requirement of) *for, according to*.

### § 102. Prefixed Prepositions.

- a 1. Of the words mentioned in § 101, מִן *from, out of*, frequently occurs as a prefix (§ 99 c), with its *Nûn* assimilated to the following consonant (by means of *Dageš forte*), e. g. מִן־עֵר *out of a forest*.

- b Rem. The separate מִן (always with a following *Maqqeph*) is usual (but not necessary, cf. Ju 20<sup>14</sup> with verse 15, Ez 43<sup>6</sup>, &c.) only before the article, e. g. מִן־הָאֲרָץ, and sometimes occurs before the softer consonants, e. g. מִן־אֶזְרָא Jer 44<sup>18</sup>, מִן־בְּנֵי Jo 1<sup>12</sup>, 1 Ch 5<sup>18</sup>; cf. Ex 18<sup>14</sup>, Lv 1<sup>14</sup>, 14<sup>30</sup>, Ju 7<sup>23</sup>, 10<sup>11</sup>, 19<sup>16</sup>, ψ 104<sup>7</sup> (2 K 23<sup>36</sup> before ך; also before ך in ψ 18<sup>49</sup>), and elsewhere in the later books (as in Aramaic)<sup>1</sup>; there is besides a poetic by-form מִנִּי (cf. § 90 m) and מִיִּי Is 30<sup>11</sup>. Its form is most commonly מִי with a following *Dageš*, which may, however, be omitted in letters which have *Šewā* (cf. § 20 m). With a following י the מ is, as a rule, contracted to מי, e. g. מִי־י = מִי־י or מִי־י (but cf. מִי־שֵׁנִי Dn 12<sup>2</sup>; מִי־שֵׁנִי 2 Ch 20<sup>11</sup>); before gutturals it becomes מִ (according to § 22 c), e. g. מִ־אֶרֶם, מִ־עַם; before ה the מ occurs with the guttural virtually sharpened in מַחֲוֹיִן *on the outside*, and in מַחֲוֹט Gn 14<sup>23</sup>; before ה in מַחֲוֹיֹת (cf. § 28 b and § 63 q. The closed syllable here is inconsistent with the required virtual sharpening of the ה; probably מַחֲוֹיֹת is merely due to the analogy of מַחֲוֹיֹת); similarly Is 14<sup>3</sup> before ך; but in 1 S 23<sup>23</sup>, 2 S 18<sup>16</sup> מַחֲוֹרֶף is to be read, according to § 22 s.

- c 2. There are also three other particles, the most commonly used prepositions and the particle of comparison, which have been reduced by abbreviation (§ 99 c) to a single prefixed consonant with *Šewā* (but see below, and § 103 e), viz.:

בְּ [poet. בְּמוֹ] *in, at, with*.

לְ [poet. לְמוֹ] *towards, (belonging) to, for, Lat. ad*.

כְּ [poet. כְּמוֹ] *like, as, according to* (no doubt the remnant of a substantive with the meaning of *matter, kind, instar*).

- d With regard to the pointing it is to be observed that—

(a) The *Šewā mobile*, with which the above prefixes are usually pronounced, has resulted from the weakening of a short vowel (an original *ā*, according to f)<sup>2</sup>; the short vowel is regularly retained before *Šewā*: before *Šewā simplex*

<sup>1</sup> König, *Einführung ins A. T.*, p. 393 (cf. also the almost exhaustive statistics in his *Lehrgebäude*, ii. 292 ff.), enumerates eight instances of מִן before a word without the article in 2 Samuel and Kings, and forty-five in Chronicles.

<sup>2</sup> Jerome (see Siegfried, *ZAW.* iv. 79) almost always represents בְּ by *ba*.

in the form of an *i*, attenuated from *ä*: before a *Haṭeph* the prefix takes the vowel of the *Haṭeph*, e. g. לְפֵרִי for fruit, בְּאַרְיָא as a lion, בְּעֵנִי *bö'eni*, in affliction (sometimes with the syllable subsequently closed, cf. § 28 b, and the infinitives with לְ § 63 i): before weak consonants it follows the rule given in § 24 c, e. g. לְיִהוּדָה for לְיָ. When the prefixes בְּ, וְ, כְּ, לְ precede אֱלֹהִים *God*, the *Šewā* and *Haṭeph Šeghōl* regularly coalesce in *Šērē*, e. g. בְּאֱלֹהִים, &c., for בְּאֵלִים; so with suffixes וְאֱלֹהֵיוּ, &c. (once also in the sing. לְאֱלֹהָיו Hb 1<sup>11</sup>); also regularly לְאָמַר to say, for לְאָמַר, see § 23 d.

(b) When the prefixes precede the article, the *h* is almost always dropped, *e* and they take its vowel. See further in § 35 n.

(c) Immediately before the tone-syllable, i. e. before monosyllables and disyllables with the tone on the penultima (in the fore-tone), they take *Qames f* (undoubtedly a lengthening of an original *ä*, cf. § 26 e, § 28 a), but only in the following cases:

(aa) לְ before infinitives of the above-mentioned forms, as לְתַתּוּ to give, לְרִיזוּ to judge, לְבֹזוּ to plunder, לְגַזּוּ to shear, לְהַגּוּ to keep a festival, לְלָרֶתֶת to bring forth, לְלָלֶת to go, לְלָקַחַת to take, except when the infinitive (as a *nomen regens*) is closely connected with another word (especially its subject, § 115 e), and consequently, as being in a sort of *constr. state*, loses the principal tone, e. g. לְיָצֵאת Ex 19<sup>1</sup>, לְשָׁבַת Gn 16<sup>3</sup>, and so always לְבֵאתָ Nu 13<sup>21</sup>, &c. (in such cases as לְתַתְּחָרֵב Ex 5<sup>21</sup> the *ä* is protected by the secondary tone; before infinitives of verbs וְעָ, the לְ is retained even in close connexion; cf. Ez 21<sup>20.25</sup>, 22<sup>3</sup>);

(bb) before many pronominal forms, e. g. בְּזֶנֶה (so also in 1 S 21<sup>10</sup>; not בְּזֶנֶה), לְזֶנֶה, לְזֶנֶה, לְזֶנֶה (in close connexion, however, לְזֶנֶה Gn 2<sup>23</sup>; לְזֶנֶה Gn 45<sup>23</sup>); לְזֶנֶה as these; and especially בְּכֶם, לְכֶם, בְּכֶם (בְּכֶם) and בְּהֶם, לְהֶם, בְּהֶם (בְּהֶם), see § 103 e;

(cc) לְ before monosyllables or fore-toned nouns in such combinations as לְפֶה מִפֶּה mouth to mouth, 2 K 10<sup>21</sup>, בֵּין מַיִם לְמַיִם between waters and waters, Gn 16<sup>6</sup>; לְטָרַח for a trouble, Is 1<sup>14</sup>, but always before the principal pause. The instructive example in Dt 17<sup>8</sup> also shows that the punctuation לְ is only possible with at least the lesser pause after it; in Is 28<sup>10.13</sup> the לְ is twice repeated, even before the small and smallest disjunctives;

(dd) in certain standing expressions, which have become stereotyped almost *i* as adverbs, e. g. לְעֶד to eternity, לְרַב in multitude, לְבִטְחָא in security, לְנֶצַח to eternity, but לְנֶצַח נְצָחִים to all eternity, Is 34<sup>10</sup>. Cf. also לְנַפְשָׁם for the dead, Lv 19<sup>28</sup>, Nu 5<sup>2</sup>, 9<sup>10</sup>.

(d) With the interrogative מָה they are pointed as in בְּמָה; in pause and before א as in בְּמָה by what? (before a following relative clause, as in Ec 3<sup>22</sup>, בְּמָה; cf. Delitzsch, *Jesaia*, 4th ed., on Is 2<sup>22</sup>); בְּמָה how much? but also בְּמָה 1 K 22<sup>18</sup>, in close connexion, and at a greater distance from the pause. The *Šeghōl* in these forms arises from a modification of the original *ä*, while the *m* is sharpened in order to maintain the original *ä* of the prefixes.

When לְ (prop. *la*) is united to מָה, it takes, according to § 49 f, g, the form לְמָה (Jb 7<sup>20</sup> לְמָה, 1 S 15<sup>4</sup> לְמָה, all *Mil'el*, and hence the *ä* in the tone is lengthened to *ā*) for what? why? Before the gutturals א, ה, ע, לְמָה is used for euphonic reasons (exceptions 1 S 28<sup>15</sup>, 2 S 14<sup>31</sup>, Jer 15<sup>18</sup>, before ה; 2 S 2<sup>22</sup>,

ψ 49<sup>6</sup>, before א) ; לְמָהּ, however, remains before ה. Before letters which are not gutturals, לְמָהּ is found in ψ 42<sup>10</sup>, 43<sup>2</sup> (immediately after a tone-syllable).

III Rem. The divine name יהוה, which has not its original vowels (יהוה) but those of אֲדֹנָי (see § 17 c), except that the ו has simple not compound *S<sup>e</sup>wa*, takes the prefixes also, after the manner of אֲדֹנָי, thus וַיְהוֹה, וַיְהוֹה, לַיהוֹה, בַּיהוֹה, מִיהוֹה (since they are to be read וַאֲדֹנָי, לַאֲדֹנָי, בַּאֲדֹנָי, מִאֲדֹנָי); for the א of אֲדֹנָי, as of אֲדֹנָי, אֲדֹנָי, &c. (see below), quiesces after the prefixes ב, פ, ל, ו, but is audible after מ (for מֵן), שׁ (no instance in the O. T.), and ה (in הַאֲדֹנָי Dt 10<sup>7</sup>, ψ 136<sup>3</sup>, the article, not ה interrog., is intended; the only example with ה interrog., Jer 8<sup>19</sup>, is to be pointed הַיהוֹה, i.e. הַאֲדֹנָי, not הַיהוֹה). Hence the rule, מִשָּׁה מוֹצִיא מִשָּׁה מוֹצִיא (i.e. מ, שׁ, ה make the א audible), וְכִלְבִּי מְבִינִים and כִּלְבִּי מְבִינִים (i.e. ו, כ, ל, ב allow it to quiesce).<sup>1</sup>—As regards the other plural forms of אֲדֹנָי, elision of the א always takes place after ב, ו, פ, ל, except in the form אֲדֹנָי, thus לַאֲדֹנָי, לַאֲדֹנָי, &c.; but לַאֲדֹנָי, &c., לַאֲדֹנָי, &c., לַאֲדֹנָי, &c.

### § 103. Prepositions with Pronominal Suffixes and in the Plural Form.

a 1. As all prepositions were originally nouns (§ 101) in the accusative, they may be united with the noun-suffixes (§ 91 b-l), e.g. אֶצְלִי (prop. at my side) *by me*, אִתִּי (in my proximity) *with me*, בְּתַחְתָּם (in their place) *instead of them*, like the Latin *mea causa*, *for my sake*.

b Rem. 1. The preposition אֵת (usually אֵת־) *near, with*, is distinguished from אֵת (see below, and § 117 a, note 4), the sign of the definite accusative (§ 117 a), in its connexion with suffixes, by a difference of pointing, the former making אִתִּי, אִתְּךָ, in pause אֵתְךָ, 2nd fem. אֵתְךָ (Is 54<sup>10</sup> אֵתְךָ, אֵתוֹ, אֵתָהּ, אֵתָם, also in the later books, especially in Kings, and always in Jer. and Ezek., incorrectly אִתִּי *with me*; מִמֶּנּוּ *from thee*, 1 K 20<sup>25</sup>; מִמֶּנּוּ *from him*, 1 K 22<sup>7</sup>; אֵתָם *with them*), while the latter retains its *o* (obscured from *a*) before the light suffixes, but before grave suffixes is pointed with *S<sup>e</sup>ghöl*. This *S<sup>e</sup>ghöl* is to be explained, with Praetorius, *ZDMG*. lv. 369 f., as the modification of an *a* which again was shortened from original *á* (in 'áthi, 'áthó, &c.) in a closed syllable ('áth-hem, &c.). The same shortening and modification of the original *á* takes place before words in close connexion, hence אֵת־בָּל, &c. When not in close connexion, the toneless אֵת becomes tone-long אֵית, e.g. אֵית הַשָּׁמַיִם Gn 1<sup>1</sup>. Hence the following forms arise:—

	Sing.		Plur.
1.	אִתִּי <i>me</i> .		אִתְּנוּ <i>us</i> .
2.	{ <i>m.</i> אִתְּךָ, <i>pause</i> אֵתְךָ } <i>thee</i> .		אִתְּכֶם <i>you</i> .
	{ <i>f.</i> אִתְּךָ . . . . . }		. . . . .
3.	{ <i>m.</i> אִתּוֹ <i>him</i> .		אִתָּם, rarely אִתְּהֶם } <i>them</i> .
	{ <i>f.</i> אִתָּהּ <i>her</i> .		אִתְּהֶן, rarely אִתְּנָהּ }

<sup>1</sup> Another vox memor. is כָּל־בּוֹ נִעְלָם all is hidden in him.

Less common are the *plene* forms אֹתִי, אֹתְךָ (Nu 22<sup>33</sup> אֹתְכֶם before ה), אֹתָהּ (Ex 29<sup>56</sup> אֹתְכֶם), אֹתוֹ, אֹתָהּ, אֹתָנוּ, אֹתְכֶם. Moreover, for אֹתְכֶם we find אֹתְכֶם Jos 23<sup>16</sup>; for אֹתָם, five times אֹתְהֶם (Gn 32<sup>1</sup>, Ex 18<sup>20</sup>, &c.), and in Ez 23<sup>45</sup> אֹתְהֶם; for אֹתָהּ (Gn 19<sup>8</sup>, &c. [13 times]), אֹתָּ (only found in Ez 16<sup>64</sup>; Ex 35<sup>26</sup> אֹתָהּ; Ez 34<sup>21</sup> אֹתָהּ), and אֹתְהֶן Ez 23<sup>47</sup>.—No instance of the 2nd fem. plur. אֹתְכֶן occurs in the O. T.; in Cant 2<sup>7</sup>, &c., אֹתְכֶם is used instead.

2. The preposition עִם *with* (with suffixes on the model of stems עָמַע, עָמִי, עָמְךָ [1 S 12<sup>26</sup> עָמְכָה], in *pause* עָמַע; 2nd fem. עָמְךָ; עָמוּ) is united with the suffixes נוּ, כֶּם, and הֶם by a (pretonic) *Qames*, which causes the sharpening of the *Mém* to be distinctly audible: עָמְנוּ, עָמְכֶם, עָמְהֶם (so in Nu 22<sup>12</sup>, Dt 29<sup>16</sup>, both in principal pause, and often in very late passages, otherwise עָמַע is generally used). In the first person, besides עָמִי, we also find עָמְדִי (probably from original עָנִי; cf. Arab. *inda*, beside, with).

3. It is but seldom that prepositions occur with verbal suffixes, as תַּחְתָּי d 2 S 22<sup>37.40.48</sup> (for which ψ 18<sup>37.40.48</sup> תַּחְתָּי), תַּחְתָּיְךָ Gn 2<sup>21</sup> and בְּעֵרְנִי ψ 139<sup>11</sup> (here probably for the sake of the rhyme with יִשְׁוֹנֵי).<sup>1</sup>

2. When pronominal suffixes are added to the prefixes (§ 102), there appears occasionally, especially in the case of the shorter suffixes, an endeavour to lengthen the preposition, so as to give it more strength and body. Hence to אֶ is appended the syllable מוּ (see below, *k*), and אֶ and אֶ take at least a full vowel, אֶ and אֶ (§ 102 *d, f*).—The following deviations from the analogy of the noun with suffixes are to be noticed (*a*) in the pausal forms אֶךָ, אֶלְךָ, אֶתְךָ, אֶתְךָ, אֶמְךָ (not *bēkhā*, &c.); (*b*) in the similar forms with the suffix of the 2nd sing. fem. (not *bēkh*, &c.) and in בְּנִי, בְּנִי, &c. (not *bēnū*, &c.).

(a) אֶ with Pronominal Suffixes. f

Sing.

Plur.

<p>1. אֶלִּי to me.</p>	<p>אֶלְנוּ to us.</p>
<p>2. { m. אֶלְךָ (אֶלְכָה), in <i>pause</i> אֶלְךָ } to thee.</p> <p style="margin-left: 2em;">f. אֶלְךָ . . . . . }</p>	<p>אֶלְכֶם } to you.</p> <p>[אֶלְכֶנָּה<sup>2</sup>]</p>
<p>3. { m. אֶלּוּ to him.</p> <p style="margin-left: 2em;">f. אֶלְהָּ to her.</p>	<p>אֶלְהֶם, אֶלְהֶמָּה, poet. אֶלְמוּ } to them.</p> <p>[53 times]<sup>3</sup></p> <p>אֶלְהֶן, אֶלְהֶנָּה<sup>4</sup></p>

<sup>1</sup> *Fini* and *binī* (in me), in vulgar Arabic for *fiyya* and *bī*, are compared by Socin. Brockelmann, ZA. xiv. 347, note 1, suggests that תַּחְתָּי, תַּחְתָּנָה, תַּחְתָּנִי are later formations on the model of תַּחְתָּנִי when its origin from the reduplication of the preposition had become obscured, but see below, *m*.

<sup>2</sup> אֶלְכֶנָּה does not occur in the O. T., by a mere accident, no doubt; Ez 13<sup>18</sup> אֶלְכֶנָּה.

g  $\ddot{\text{q}}$  takes suffixes in the same manner:  $\ddot{\text{q}}$ ,  $\ddot{\text{q}}$  (Ex 7<sup>29</sup>, 2 S 22<sup>30</sup>,  $\psi$  141<sup>8</sup>  $\ddot{\text{q}}$ , as in Gn 27<sup>37</sup>, 2 S 18<sup>22</sup>, Is 3<sup>6</sup> לְקָהּ [for 2nd fem. קָהּ the *Kethibh* לְכִי occurs in 2 K 4<sup>2</sup>, Ct 2<sup>13</sup>, cf. § 91 e)],  $\ddot{\text{q}}$ , &c.; except that for the 3rd plur., besides  $\ddot{\text{q}}$  (especially in the later books) and  $\ddot{\text{q}}$  (only in Ex 30<sup>4</sup>, 36<sup>1</sup>, Hb 1<sup>16</sup>;  $\ddot{\text{q}}$  only in Jer 14<sup>16</sup>), the form  $\ddot{\text{q}}$  is also used; and for the feminine, besides  $\ddot{\text{q}}$  (three times),  $\ddot{\text{q}}$  is found fifteen times, and  $\ddot{\text{q}}$  only in 1 S 31<sup>7</sup>, Is 38<sup>16</sup>, Ez 42<sup>14</sup>.—According to the Masora, לְ is found fifteen times for לְ (as conversely in 1 S 2<sup>16</sup>, 20<sup>2</sup> לְ for לְ), e. g. Ex 21<sup>8</sup>, 1 S 2<sup>3</sup>, Is 9<sup>2</sup>,  $\psi$  100<sup>3</sup> (and, as has been conjectured, also Jb 41<sup>4</sup>); cf. Delitzsch on  $\psi$  100<sup>3</sup>.—In Nu 32<sup>42</sup>, Zc 5<sup>11</sup>, Ru 2<sup>14</sup>, the Masora requires לְ instead of לְ (in all three places before a following tone-syllable; cf. § 23 k, and the analogous cases of the loss of *Mappiq* in § 58 g, § 91 e).

h

(b)  $\ddot{\text{q}}$  with Pronominal Suffixes.

	Sing.	Plur.	
1.	$\ddot{\text{q}}$ as I.	$\ddot{\text{q}}$ as we.	
2.	$\ddot{\text{q}}$ as thou.	$\ddot{\text{q}}$ , $\ddot{\text{q}}$ , rarely $\ddot{\text{q}}$	} as ye.
	$\ddot{\text{q}}$ . . . . .	. . . . .	
3.	$\ddot{\text{q}}$ as he.	$\ddot{\text{q}}$ , [ $\ddot{\text{q}}$ , $\ddot{\text{q}}$ ], $\ddot{\text{q}}$	} as they.
	$\ddot{\text{q}}$ as she.	[ $\ddot{\text{q}}$ ], $\ddot{\text{q}}$	

<sup>3</sup> The question whether  $\ddot{\text{q}}$  can also stand for the sing. לְ, which Rödiger and recently W. Diehl (*Das Pronomen pers. suff. . . des Hebr.*, p. 20 f.) and P. Haupt (*SBOT.* on Pr 23<sup>20</sup>, a contraction of *la-humû*) have altogether denied, must be answered in the affirmative unless we conclude with Diehl and Haupt that all the instances concerned are due to corruptions of the text. It is true that in such places as Gn 9<sup>26.27</sup>, Dt 33<sup>2</sup>, Is 30<sup>5</sup>,  $\psi$  73<sup>10</sup> (all in or immediately before the principal pause; in Dt 33<sup>2</sup> with *Zaqeph qa'on* at least)  $\ddot{\text{q}}$  can be better explained as plural (in reference to collective nouns); and in Is 53<sup>8</sup> for  $\ddot{\text{q}}$  we should read with the LXX לְ. On the other hand, in Is 44<sup>15</sup> its explanation as plural would be extremely forced. Even then there would remain—presuming the traditional text to be correct— $\ddot{\text{q}}$   $\psi$  11<sup>7</sup> and  $\ddot{\text{q}}$  Jb 27<sup>23</sup>, as well as  $\ddot{\text{q}}$ , three times, Jb 20<sup>23</sup>, 27<sup>23</sup> (beside  $\ddot{\text{q}}$ ), and especially Jb 22<sup>2</sup>. In all these places the most extreme exegetical artifices can only be avoided by simply admitting a singular suffix (=  $\ddot{\text{q}}$ ).—On the question of the antiquity of the suffixes in  $\ddot{\text{q}}$  see § 91 l.

<sup>4</sup> The form  $\ddot{\text{q}}$  in Ru 1<sup>13</sup> is Aramaic (= therefore).

<sup>5</sup> The use of  $\ddot{\text{q}}$  here for  $\ddot{\text{q}}$  (cf. above, d) might be due to euphonic reasons.— $\ddot{\text{q}}$  (defectively) only in the Pentateuch, Ex 15<sup>11</sup>.

(c) מִן with Pronominal Suffixes.

i

Sing.	Plur.
1. מִפָּנָי, poet. מִנִּי [4 times], in pause also מִנֵּי [6 times] from me.	מִפָּנָנוּ from us.
2. { m. מִמֶּךָ, in pause } from thee. f. מִמֶּיךָ }	{ מִמְּכֶם } from you. מִמְּיָכֶם }
3. { m. מִמֶּנּוּ, Jb 4 <sup>12</sup> in pause } from him. or מִנֵּהוּ: see below } f. מִמֶּנָּה from her.	{ מִמֵּהֶם [twice], } from Jb 11 <sup>20</sup> מִמֵּהֶם } מִמֵּנָה [7 times] } them.

The syllable מוּ (in Arabic *mā* מָא = Heb. מָה *what*) in כְּמוֹנִי (probably from כְּמוֹנֵי אֲנִי, prop. *according to what I, for as I*) is, in poetry, appended to the three simple prefixes כִּי, כִּי, כִּי, even without suffixes, so that כְּמוֹ, כְּמוּ, כְּמוֹ appear as independent words, equivalent in meaning to כִּי, כִּי, כִּי. Poetry is here distinguished from prose by the use of longer forms; in the case of מִן, on the other hand, it prefers the shorter, which resemble the Syriac and Arabic.

The form כְּהֶם, enclosed in brackets above, occurs only in 2 K 17<sup>15</sup> (in *l* pause), כְּהֵמָה only in Jer 36<sup>32</sup> (in *pause*); כְּהֵן (Baer following Qimḥi כְּהֵן) only in Ez 18<sup>14</sup>. Cf. Frensdorff, *Massora Magna*, p. 234 ff.—For כְּכֶם as *ye*, Qimḥi requires כְּכֶם (invariably or only in Jb 16<sup>4</sup>?); in Jos 1<sup>15</sup>, Ju 8<sup>2</sup>, Ezr 4<sup>2</sup> Baer gives כְּכֶם.

With regard to מִן with suffixes, מִמֶּנּוּ from *me* is usually explained as arising, *III* by a reduplication of מִן, from an original מִנּוּמִנִי, just as מִמֶּנּוּ from *him*, from מִנּוּמִנֵּי, identical in form with מִפָּנָנוּ<sup>1</sup> from *us*, from מִנּוּמִנָּנוּ, while מִמֶּנָּה from *her*, goes back to מִנּוּמִנָּה. Far simpler, however, is Mayer Lambert's explanation (*REJ.* xxiii. 302 ff.), that מִמֶּנּוּי, &c., have arisen from מִנְּנִי, &c., and that the forms of the suffixes are to be explained on the analogy of תַּחֲתָנָה, עוֹרָנִי, אֵינִי, &c., § 100 o.—The bracketed form מִנֵּהוּ, for which Baer, following Qimḥi and others, writes מִנֵּהוּ, occurs only in ψ 68<sup>24</sup>, and is there regarded by Delitzsch, Hupfeld, and others (following Simonis) as a substantive (מִן = portion). The expression מִן־הוּא (for מִמֶּנּוּ?) Is 18<sup>2.7</sup> is very strange.—מִמֵּהָ occurs only in Jer 10<sup>2</sup>, Ec 12<sup>12</sup> (Jb 11<sup>20</sup> מִמֵּהֶם); מִהֵן (so Baer and Ginsburg, following the best authorities, instead of the ordinary reading מִיָּהֵן) only in Ez 16<sup>47.52</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> The Babylonian Masora writes מִמֶּנּוּי (to distinguish it from the 3rd sing.), which is justly blamed by Ibn Ezra.

*n* 3. Several prepositions, especially those which express relations of space and time, are (like the German *wegen*) properly plural nouns (for the reason, see § 124 *a*), and are, therefore, joined with the pronominal suffixes in the form of the plural *construct state*, just like other plural nouns (§ 91 *g*). On the other hand, the apparent connexion of אַל־, עַד־, עַל־ with plural suffixes is explained from the ground-forms of those prepositions (from stems ל"ה אָלִי (אַלִי), עָדִי, עָלִי (contracted to אָלִי, אַלִי, &c.).<sup>1</sup>

*o* Without suffixes these prepositions are—

אַחֲרַי, more frequently אַחֲרַי (prop. *hinder parts*) *behind, after*.

אַל־,<sup>2</sup> poet. [4 times in Job] also אָלִי (*region, direction*), *towards, to, according to*.

בֵּין (*interval*) *between*; the suffixes indicating the singular are added to the singular בֵּין, thus בֵּינִי, בֵּינֶךָ, &c. (Gn 16<sup>5</sup> בֵּינֶיךָ, the second *Yôdh* is, however, marked with a point as critically doubtful; בֵּינָיו, which occurs three times, is only the Masoretic *Qerê* for בֵּינוֹ, which is found e.g. in Gn 30<sup>36</sup>). On the other hand, the suffixes indicating a plural are attached to the plural forms בֵּינֵי or בֵּינוֹת.

סָבִיב (circuit) *around*, as a preposition, always has the plural form, sometimes masc. סָבִיבֶיךָ, &c. [10 times], but much more frequently in the fem. סָבִיבוֹת (*surroundings*). In Ez 43<sup>17</sup> סָבִיב אֹתָהּ is a corruption of סָבִיבֶתֶיךָ; [in 1 K 6<sup>5</sup> אֶת סָבִיב also is so contrary to usage, that it must be due to some textual error].

עַד־ (*continuation, duration, from* עָדָה) *as far as, unto*, poet. עָדִי [12 times]. In Jb 32<sup>12</sup> עָדֵיכֶם, with the *ā* retained in the secondary tone, is abnormal. Also in 2 K 9<sup>18</sup> for עַד־הֵם read עָדֵיהֶם.

עַל־ *upon, over* (cf. the rare subst. עֶלְיָ *height* [see Lexicon], from עָלָה *to ascend*), poet. עָלַי [40 times, and 2 *Qerê*].

תַּחַת *under* (prop. *what is beneath*). On תַּחַתִּי, &c.; cf. above, *d*.

<sup>1</sup> The reference of these forms to original plurals has been again expressly supported by De Lagarde, *Symmicta*, ii. 101 ff.; *Nachrichten der G. g. G.*, 1881, p. 376, cf. *Mittheilungen*, 1884, p. 63; also *GGA*. 1884, p. 280 f. According to Barth, *ZDMG*. xlii. p. 348 ff., and *Nominalbildung*, p. 375 ff., תַּחַתֶּיךָ, &c., was only formed on the analogy of עָלֶיךָ, &c., and אַחֲרֶיךָ, &c., only on the analogy of לְפָנַי, &c., since the real plural forms ought to be תַּחַתֶּיךָ, אַחֲרֶיךָ, &c.; cf., however, König, *Lehrgebäude*, ii. 305 f.

<sup>2</sup> On the use of this particle see § 119 *g*.

*With Suffixes.*

	אַחֲרַי	בֵּינִי	סְבִיבוֹתַי	תַּחְתַּי	אֵלַי	עָרִי	עָלַי p
<i>Sing.</i>	(after me)	(between me)	(around me)	(beneath me)	(to me)	(unto me)	(on me)
<i>S. m.</i>	אַחֲרָיִךְ	בֵּינֶךָ	סְבִיבוֹתֶיךָ & סְבִיבֶיךָ	תַּחְתֶּיךָ	אֵלֶיךָ	עָרֶיךָ	עָלֶיךָ
<i>S. f.</i>	אַחֲרַיִךְ		סְבִיבוֹתֶיךָ & סְבִיבֶיךָ		אֵלֶיךָ		עָלֶיךָ
<i>S. m.</i>	אַחֲרָיו	בֵּינוֹ	סְבִיבוֹתָיו & סְבִיבָיו	תַּחְתָּיו	אֵלָיו	עָרָיו	עָלָיו
<i>S. f.</i>	אַחֲרֶיהָ		סְבִיבוֹתֶיהָ & סְבִיבֶיהָ	תַּחְתֶּיהָ	אֵלֶיהָ	עָרֶיהָ	עָלֶיהָ
<i>Plur.</i>	אַחֲרֵינוּ & בֵּינוֹתֵינוּ <sup>1</sup>	בֵּינֵנוּ	סְבִיבוֹתֵינוּ	תַּחְתֵּינוּ	אֵלֵינוּ		עָלֵינוּ
<i>Pl. m.</i>	אַחֲרֵיכֶם	בֵּינֵכֶם	סְבִיבוֹתֵיכֶם	תַּחְתֵּיכֶם	אֵלֵיכֶם	עָרֵיכֶם	עָלֵיכֶם
<i>Pl. m.</i>	אַחֲרֵיהֶם	בֵּינֵיהֶם & בֵּינוֹתָם	סְבִיבוֹתֵיהֶם & סְבִיבוֹתָם	תַּחְתֵּיהֶם usually תַּחְתָּם	אֵלֵיהֶם & אֵלֵיהֶם <sup>2</sup>	[עָרֵיהֶם]	עָלֵיהֶם [עָלֵיהֶם <sup>2</sup> ]
<i>Pl. f.</i>	אַחֲרֵיהֶן			תַּחְתֵּיהֶן	אֵלֵיהֶן & אֵלֵיהֶן		עָלֵיהֶן

§ 104. *Conjunctions.*

1. The conjunctions serve to connect sentences, and to express their *a* relations one to another. They may be either—

(a) Original pronouns, e. g. the demonstrative בִּי *that, because, for*.

(b) Original substantives, which afterwards were reduced to the rank of pronouns, adverbs, or conjunctions; so perhaps אֲשֶׁר (see § 36), which is sometimes used to express the general idea of relation, sometimes as a relative pronoun (properly a demonstrative), but in many cases stands simply for בִּי; also אֵל־ (nothing), that not; פֶּן *that not* (the Greek μή of prohibition), &c. To these may be added the adverbial combination of substantives with prepositions, e. g. בְּתוֹרָם

<sup>1</sup> As Mayer Lambert observes, usage (cf. esp. Gn 26<sup>28</sup>) distinguishes between the two forms: בֵּינוֹתֵינוּ means *between us and you*, whereas בֵּינֵנוּ (Jos 22<sup>25.27.28</sup> before וּבֵינֵכֶם) means *between us on the one side*.

<sup>2</sup> The poetical form אֵלֵיהֶם only in ψ 2<sup>5</sup>; עָלֵיהֶם, on which see note 3 on *f*, 12 times [viz. Dt 32<sup>23</sup>, ψ 5<sup>12</sup>, 55<sup>16</sup>, 64<sup>9</sup>, Jb 6<sup>16</sup>, 20<sup>23</sup>, 21<sup>17.22</sup>, 27<sup>23</sup>, 29<sup>22</sup>, 30<sup>2.5</sup>].

(in the not yet) earlier, before, for which מִטְּרָם is also used. On the combination of two particles to express complex ideas (e. g. אֲחַפְּי added to this, that = much more), see the Syntax, § 163 f.

- b (c) Prepositions, which with the addition of the conjunction אֲשֶׁר or וְ together form one single conjunction, e. g. אֲשֶׁר אֵלֶּן because, prop. on account of the fact that; אַחֲרֵי אֲשֶׁר, and more frequently אַחֲרֵי אֲשֶׁר, after that; כְּאֲשֶׁר according as (with כִּי); וְעַקֵּב כִּי and אֲשֶׁר וְעַקֵּב in consequence of the fact that, for the reason that, because. Sometimes, however, the conjunction in such cases is omitted, and the preposition itself used as a conjunction, e. g. עַל- (for עַל-אֲשֶׁר) although, Jb 16<sup>17</sup>.

So, at any rate, according to our linguistic principles. It would, however, be more correct to say, that instead of the intermediary אֲשֶׁר the whole of the succeeding sentence is regarded as one substantival idea, under the immediate government of the preposition. In the same way, all prepositions governing the gerund in English may be paraphrased by conjunctions with the finite verb, see §§ 114 and 115, *passim*.

- c 2. Besides those already mentioned, there are certain other small words now used as conjunctions, of which the derivation or original meaning is altogether obscure, thus אוּ or, אִם if (also or before the second member of a double question), אֲפֹ also, וְ and, and others.

- d Rem. The pointing of the וְ (originally ו, as still before *Haṭeph Pathah* and—with a following *Dageš forte*—in *wāw consecutive* of the imperfect; cf. § 49 f) is in many respects analogous to that of the prefixes כִּי, כִּי, לְ (§ 102 d-i), but as being a weak consonant, the *wāw copulative* has some further peculiarities:

(a) Usually it takes simple *Šewā* (וְ).

(b) Before words which begin with a guttural having a compound *Šewā*, it takes the vowel with which the *Šewā* is compounded (according to § 28 b), e. g. וְחִכֶּם and be thou wise, וְעֲבָדִים and servants, וְעוֹז and strength, וְאָכַל and eat thou, וְחִלִּי and sickness. On וְאֵלֶּיךָ and וְאֵלֶּיךָ &c., see § 102 d; on וְאֵרְנִי, &c., see § 102 m; on such cases as וְעַלֵּר Jb 4<sup>2</sup>, cf. § 28 b.

- e (c) Before words with simple *Šewā* under the first consonant (except in the cases under f), the *Wāw* becomes the vowel *ū* (cf. § 26 a), e. g. וְכָל and to all, so also (except in the case under g) before the cognate labials ב, מ, פ, hence וְכָל. On the cases in which simple *Šewā* has become a *Haṭeph* after וְ copulative (e. g. וְהָבֵה Gn 2<sup>22</sup>), cf. § 10 g.

- f (d) With a following וְ the וְ coalesces to form וְ according to § 24 b, as וְיָהּ and let him be. On the peculiar punctuation of the *wāw copulative* before forms with initial *Šewā* from הָיָה to be and חָיָה to live (e. g. וְהָיָה Jos 8<sup>4</sup>, וְחָיָה Gn 20<sup>7</sup>), cf. § 63 q.

- g (e) Immediately before the tone-syllable it frequently takes *Qames*, like כִּי, כִּי, לְ (see § 102 f), but in most cases only at the end of a sentence or clause (but cf. also וְכֵן 2 K 22<sup>30</sup>), e. g. וְכֵן Ex 21<sup>12</sup> (on the other hand, in verse 20

וּמְתַנּוּ is in closer logical connexion with what follows); 2 K 7<sup>4</sup> וּמְתַנּוּ שָׁם; and וּמְתַנּוּ; Ru 3<sup>3</sup> וּמְתַנּוּ; ψ 10<sup>15</sup> וּמְתַנּוּ; 1 S 9<sup>4</sup> וּמְתַנּוּ; 2 S 13<sup>26</sup> וּמְתַנּוּ; Ez 47<sup>9</sup> וּמְתַנּוּ; cf. also (with *Tiphtha*) Gn 33<sup>18</sup>, 2 S 15<sup>12</sup>. The very frequent connexion of nouns expressing kindred ideas, by means of וּ, is due simply to considerations of rhythm, for even in such cases the *Wāw* must immediately precede the tone-syllable, which must be marked by a disjunctive accent, e. g. הָהוּ וְכֹה Gn 1<sup>2</sup>, הָהוּ וְכֹה Gn 8<sup>22</sup> (see also the previous examples); Gn 13<sup>14</sup> (thrice); Ex 25<sup>3</sup> וְכֹה וְכֹה; ψ 96<sup>7</sup> וְכֹה וְכֹה; Gn 7<sup>18</sup> וְכֹה וְכֹה; 1 K 21<sup>10</sup> וְכֹה וְכֹה; Est 1<sup>8</sup> אִישׁ-וְאִישׁ at the end of the verse, but in ψ 87<sup>5</sup> אִישׁ וְאִישׁ in spite of the *D'hi* with the second אִישׁ, because it is closely connected with the following predicate. Also with three words פָּחַד וּפְחַת וּפָחַד Is 24<sup>17</sup>. On the other hand, the rapid pronunciation וּ occurs before a conjunctive accent (and, when farther removed from the principal pause, even with the smaller disjunctives, in spite of a following tone-syllable), e. g. צֵאן וְעָבַד Gn 32<sup>6</sup>; cf. Gn 31<sup>40</sup>, Lv 7<sup>23</sup>, Dt 2<sup>21</sup>, and among the examples given above, Gn 7<sup>18</sup> and ψ 76<sup>7</sup>. (Exceptions: וּקְרָמָה Gn 13<sup>14</sup>, where evidently the וּ is intended to ensure the slow and solemn recitation of the promise, but also וּוּיָה Jos 15<sup>55</sup>, וּעֲתָר 19<sup>7</sup>, וּבִטָּן 19<sup>25</sup>, all immediately before the pause.) For the same rhythmical reason וּ (not ו) is used regularly with certain monosyllables which, by their nature, lean more closely upon the following word, thus וּוּה, וּוּאת, וּגַם, וּלֹא (to be distinguished from וְלֹא *if not*, with *Zaqerh gadol*, 2 K 5<sup>17</sup>), and others.

§ 105. Interjections.

1. Among the interjections some (as in all languages) are simply *a* natural sounds, or, as it were, vocal gestures, called forth involuntarily by certain impressions or sensations, e. g. אָהָה (Ez 30<sup>2</sup> אָהָה), אָהּ *ah!* אָהָה *aha!* (cf. this אָהּ also in אָהָלִי and אָהָלִי *utinam!*), אָהָה Ex 32<sup>31</sup>, &c. (Gn 50<sup>17</sup> אָהָה) *ah!* (from אָהָה and גָּאָה), otherwise written אָהָה 2 K 20<sup>3</sup>, Jn 1<sup>14</sup>, ψ 106<sup>4</sup>; also הָם (in pause הָם, even in the plural הָם *hold your peace!* Neh 8<sup>11</sup>) *hush!* הוּי (Am 5<sup>16</sup> הוּי-הוּי) *ha! woe!* אוּי (ψ 120<sup>5</sup>), אֵי (in אֵילֵי Ec 4<sup>10</sup>; אֵי-אֵי 10<sup>16</sup>) *woe!*

2. Others, however, originally expressed independent ideas, and *b* become interjections only by rapid pronunciation and by usage, e. g. הֵן (הָאָה) or הֵנָּה *behold!* (prop. *here*); רָאָה *behold!* (prop. imperative); הֵבָה, plur. הֵבֵי (prop. *give*, imperative of יָהֵב; as to the tone, cf. § 69 o), *come*, the Latin *age, agite!* לָכֵה (also לָךְ), לָכוּ (prop. *go*, imperative of הָלַךְ) with the same meaning<sup>1</sup>; הָלֵלָה *far be it!* (prop. *ad profanum!*)

<sup>1</sup> רָאָה (Dt 1<sup>8</sup>), הֵבָה and לָכֵה are also used in connexion with the feminine and the plural, which proves that they have become quite stereotyped as interjections.

יָ (see the Lexicon) *I beseech, hear me!* נָּ *pray!*<sup>1</sup> used to emphasize a demand, warning, or entreaty, and always placed after the expression to which it belongs.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> נָּ serves to express the most various shades of expression, which are discussed in the various parts of the syntax. It is used especially (a) after the *imperative*, either in commands or entreaty, see § 110 d; (b) with the *imperfect*, either in the cohortative (§ 108 b) or jussive (§ 109 b); (c) once with *perfect*, Gn 40<sup>14</sup>; (d) after various particles: נָּ-הִנֵּה *behold now*; particularly after the conjunctions לָּ and וְ: נָּ-לָּ *ne quaeso* and נָּ-אִם *if now*, εἴπερ, εἴποτε, *if*, in a deprecatory sense, expressive of politeness or modesty. In Nu 12<sup>13</sup> נָּ stands after a noun; but we ought certainly to read נָּ-לָּ.— In polite language this particle is used constantly in all these ways, Gn 18<sup>3,4</sup>, 19<sup>7,8,19</sup>, and 50<sup>17</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Against the usual view which regards נָּ as a hortatory particle (= *up!* *come!* analogous to the original imperatives הִבֵּה and הִבֵּה and the Ethiopic *nā'ā*, properly *hither*, also *come!*), P. Haupt, in the *Johns Hopkins University Circulars*, xiii, no. 114, p. 109, justly observes that we should then expect the particle to be *prefixed* to the imperative, &c. He proposes to describe נָּ as an emphatic particle. Haupt's suggested identification of this נָּ with the Assyrian, Arabic, and Ethiopic particle *mā* (which is also an enclitic of emphasis), and ultimately with the interrogative *mā*, we shall not discuss here.

# THIRD PART

## SYNTAX<sup>1</sup>

### CHAPTER I

#### THE PARTS OF SPEECH

##### I. Syntax of the Verb.

##### A. USE OF THE TENSES AND MOODS.<sup>2</sup>

##### § 106. Use of the Perfect.

The perfect serves to express actions, events, or states, which the *a* speaker wishes to represent from the point of view of completion, whether they belong to a determinate past time, or extend into the present, or, while still future, are pictured as in their completed state.

The definition formerly given here ('the perfect serves to express *completed* actions') applies, strictly speaking, only to some of the varieties of the perfect discussed under *b-p*: hence the above modification based on the arguments of Knudtzon (for the title see note 2, and cf. further § 107 *a*).

More particularly the uses of the perfect may be distinguished as follows:—

1. To represent actions, events, or states, which, after a shorter *b*

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<sup>1</sup> Recent works on Hebrew syntax are: A. B. Davidson, *Introductory Heb. Gram.*, vol. ii, *Heb. Syntax*, Edinburgh, 1894; Ed. König, *Hist.-compar. Syntax der hebr. Sprache*, Lpz. 1897 (see above, § 3 *f*). Important contributions to Hebrew syntax are also contained in H. Reckendorf's work *Die syntakt. Verhältnisse des Arab.*, 2 pts., Leiden, 1895, 1898, of which we have already made use in § 97 *a*. Cf. also the same author's very instructive discussions *Ueber syntakt. Forschung*, Munich, 1899.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the sketch of the tenses and moods used in Hebrew in § 40; and on the general characteristics of the perfect and imperfect see the note on § 47 *a*; also Driver, *A Treatise on the Use of the Tenses in Hebrew* (Oxford, 1874; 3rd ed. 1892); Bennett, 'Notes on the Use of the Hebrew Tenses' (*Hebraica*, 1886, vols. ii, iii). A partial modification of the accepted definition of the Semitic perfect and imperfect was proposed by J. A. Knudtzon, *Om det saakaldte Perfektum og Imperfektum i Hebraisk*, Kristiania, 1890; of which a summary entitled 'Vom sogenannten Perf. und Imperf. im Hebr.' appeared in the *Transactions of the Oriental Congress at Stockholm*, section sémitique *b*, p. 73 ff. (Leiden, 1893). Cf. also Knudtzon's articles, 'Zur assyrischen und allgemein semitischen Grammatik' in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, especially vi. 422 ff. and vii. 33 ff.

or longer duration, were terminated in the past, and hence are finally concluded, viz.:

(a) Corresponding to the perfect proper in Latin and the English perfect definite, in assertions, negations, confirmations, interrogations, &c., e.g. Gn 18<sup>15</sup> *then Sarah denied, saying, I laughed not* (אֲנִי לֹא צָחַקְתִּי) . . . . .; and *he said, Nay, but thou didst laugh* (אָמַרְתָּ צָחַקְתָּ); Gn 3<sup>11</sup> *וְהָיָה לְךָ מִי הַגִּיד לְךָ who told thee . . . ?* Cf. 3<sup>13.14.17.22</sup>. Also pointing to some undefined time in the past, e.g. Is 66<sup>8</sup> *מִי שָׁמַע פְּוֹאֵת who hath (ever yet) heard such a thing ?*

c Rem. In opposition to this express use of the perfect to emphasize the completion of an event, the imperfect is not infrequently used to emphasize that which is still future, e.g. Jos 1<sup>5</sup> *as I was* (הָיִיתִי) *with Moses, so will I be* (אֶהְיֶה) *with thee*; Jos 1<sup>17</sup>, Ex 10<sup>14</sup>, Dt 32<sup>21</sup>, 1 K 2<sup>38</sup>, Is 46<sup>4.11</sup>, Jo 2<sup>2</sup>, Ec 1<sup>9</sup>.

d (b) As a simple *tempus historicum* (corresponding to the Greek *aorist*) in narrating past events, e.g. Gn 4<sup>4</sup> *and Abel, he also brought* (וַיָּבִיֵא), &c.; Gn 7<sup>19</sup> *the waters did prevail* (וַיִּגְבְּרוּ), &c.; Jb 1<sup>1</sup> *there was a man* (אִישׁ הָיָה) *in the land of Uz, &c.*; even in relating repeated actions, 1 S 18<sup>30</sup>.

e Rem. As the above examples indicate, the perfect of narration occurs especially at the head of an entire narrative (Jb 1<sup>1</sup>; cf. Dn 2<sup>1</sup>) or an independent sentence (e.g. Gn 7<sup>11.13</sup>), but in co-ordinate sentences, as a rule, only when the verb is separated from the copulative ו by one or more words (cf. above Gn 4<sup>4</sup> and 7<sup>19</sup>). In other cases, the narrative is continued in the imperfect consecutive, according to § 111 a. The direct connexion of the narrative perfect with ו copulative (not to be confounded with the perfect consecutive proper, § 112) agrees rather with Aramaic syntax (cf. Kautzsch, *Gramm. des Biblisch-Aram.*, § 71, 1 b). On the examples (which are in many respects doubtful) in the earlier texts, see § 112 pp-uu.

f (c) To represent actions, &c., which were already completed in the past, at the time when other actions or conditions took place (pluperfect),<sup>1</sup> e.g. 1 S 28<sup>3</sup> *now Samuel was (long since) dead*<sup>2</sup> . . . and *Saul had put away* (הִסִּיר) *those that had familiar spirits . . . out of the land.* Both these statements, being as it were in parentheses, merely assign a reason for the narrative beginning at verse 6. Cf. 1 S 9<sup>15</sup>, 25<sup>21</sup>, 2 S 18<sup>18</sup>.—Gn 20<sup>18</sup> (*for the Lord had fast closed up, &c.*); 27<sup>30</sup>, 31<sup>19.34</sup>, Dt 2<sup>10</sup>; and in a negative statement, Gn 2<sup>5</sup> *for the Lord God had not (up to that time) caused it to ruin, &c.* This is especially frequent, from the nature of the case, in relative, causal, and temporal clauses, when the main clause contains a tense referring to the past, e.g. Gn 2<sup>2</sup> *and he rested . . . from all his work which he had made* (עָשָׂה); Gn 7<sup>9</sup>,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. P. Haupt in the *Notes on Esther*, 9<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Incorrectly, e.g. in the Vulgate, *Samuel autem mortuus est . . . et Saul abstulit magos, &c.*

19<sup>27</sup>, &c.; 29<sup>10</sup> *now when Jacob had seen Rachel* (בַּיּוֹם שֶׁרָאָה) . . . , *Jacob went near*, &c.; so also in clauses which express the completion or incompleteness of one action, &c., on the occurrence of another, as in Gn 24<sup>15</sup>, 27<sup>30</sup>, &c.; cf. § 164 b, with the note, and c.

2. To represent actions, events, or states, which, although completed *g* in the past, nevertheless extend their influence into the present (in English generally rendered by the present):

(a) Expressing facts which were accomplished long before, or conditions and attributes which were acquired long before, but of which the effects still remain in the present (present perfect), e. g.  $\psi$  10<sup>11</sup> הִסְתִּיר פָּנָיו *he hath hidden his face (and still keeps it hidden)*;  $\psi$  143<sup>6</sup> פִּרְשֵׁתִי *I have spread forth my hands (and still keep them spread forth)*. This applies particularly to a large number of perfects (almost exclusively of intransitive<sup>1</sup> verbs, denoting affections or states of the mind) which in English can be rendered only by the present, or, in the case mentioned above under *f*, by the imperfect.<sup>2</sup> Thus, יָדַעְתִּי *I know* (prop. *I have perceived, have experienced*) Jb 9<sup>2</sup>, 10<sup>13</sup>, לֹא יָדַעְתִּי *I know not* Gn 4<sup>9</sup>, &c.; on the other hand, e. g. in Gn 28<sup>16</sup>, Nu 22<sup>34</sup>, the context requires *I knew not*; וְזָכַרְנוּ *we remember* Nu 11<sup>5</sup>; מְאַנָּה *she refuseth* Jb 6<sup>7</sup>; עָלְזָה *it exulteth*; שִׂמְחָתִי *I rejoice* 1 S 2<sup>1</sup>; בִּקֵּשׁ *he requireth* Is 1<sup>12</sup>; קָנִיתִי *I wait* Gn 49<sup>18</sup>,  $\psi$  130<sup>5</sup> (parallel with הוֹחֵלֵתִי *I delight*  $\psi$  40<sup>9</sup> (mostly negative, Is 11<sup>11</sup>, &c.)); אֲהַבֵּתִי *I love* Gn 27<sup>4</sup>; שָׂנְאֹתִי *I hate*  $\psi$  31<sup>7</sup>; מֵאַסֵּתִי *I despise* Am 5<sup>21</sup>; תִּעְבְּבוּנִי *they abhor me* Jb 30<sup>10</sup>; בִּטְחָתִי *I trust*  $\psi$  25<sup>2</sup>; הִטֵּיתִי *I put my trust*  $\psi$  31<sup>2</sup>; יָדָרְתִּי *I am righteous* Jb 34<sup>5</sup>; פָּקַדְתִּי *I have decided to requite* 1 S 15<sup>2</sup>.—We may further include a number of verbs which express bodily characteristics or states, such as גְּדֹלָתְךָ *thou art great*  $\psi$  104<sup>1</sup>; קְטַנְתִּי *I am little* Gn 32<sup>11</sup>; גְּבוּהוֹ *they are high* Is 55<sup>9</sup>; הִתְחַקִּי *they stand aloof* Jb 30<sup>10</sup>; טָבוֹ *they are goodly* Nu 24<sup>5</sup>; נְאוֹי *they are beautiful* Is 52<sup>7</sup>; זָקְנָתִי *I am old* Gn 18<sup>13</sup>; יָדַעְתִּי *I am weary*  $\psi$  6<sup>7</sup>; שָׂבַעְתִּי *I am full* Is 1<sup>11</sup>, &c.

Rem. To the same category probably belong also the perfects after עַרְמָתִי *h* Ex 10<sup>3</sup> *how long hast thou already been refusing* (and *refusest still . . . ?* which really amounts to *how long wilt thou refuse?*),  $\psi$  80<sup>5</sup>, Pr 1<sup>22</sup> (co-ordinate with the imperf.), and after עַרְאֵלָה Ex 16<sup>28</sup>, Hb 1<sup>2</sup>.

(b) In direct narration to express actions which, although really *i* only in process of accomplishment, are nevertheless meant to be repre-

<sup>1</sup> With regard to the great but very natural preponderance of intransitive verbs (expressing an existing state), cf. the lists in Knudtzon (see above, p. 309, note 2), pp. 117 and 122 in the Danish text.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *novi, odi, memini*; ὤδα, μέμνημαι, εἶκα, δέδορκα, κέκραγα; in the New Testament, ἤλπικα, ἠγάπηκα.

sented as already accomplished in the conception of the speaker, e. g.  $\text{יָרַמְתִּי}$  *I lift up* (my hand in ratifying an oath) Gn 14<sup>22</sup>;  $\text{נִשְׁבַּעְתִּי}$  *I swear* Jer 22<sup>5</sup>;  $\text{הִעֲדֵתִי}$  *I testify* Dt 8<sup>19</sup>;  $\text{יַעֲצֵתִי}$  *I counsel* 2 S 17<sup>11</sup> (but in a different context in ver. 15, *I have counselled*);  $\text{אָמַרְתִּי}$  (prop. *I say*) *I decide* (*I consider as hereby settled*) 2 S 19<sup>30</sup>; *I declare* Jb 9<sup>22</sup>, 32<sup>10</sup>.

k (c) To express facts which have formerly taken place, and are still of constant recurrence, and hence are matters of common experience (the Greek *gnomic aorist*), e. g.  $\psi$  9<sup>11</sup> *for thou, Lord, hast not forsaken* ( $\text{לֹא-עָזַבְתָּנוּ}$ ) *them that seek thee*. Cf. ver. 13, also  $\psi$  10<sup>3</sup>, 119<sup>40</sup> and Gn 49<sup>11</sup> ( $\text{בְּבָרִים}$ ).

l Rem. In almost all the cases discussed in No. 2 (included under the English present) the imperfect can be used instead of the perfect, wherever the action or state in question is regarded, not as already completed, but as still continuing or just taking place (see § 107 a). Thus,  $\text{לֹא יָכַלְתִּי}$  *I am not able*  $\psi$  40<sup>13</sup> and  $\text{לֹא אֵיכָל}$  Gn 31<sup>35</sup> have practically the same meaning. Hence also it very frequently happens that the imperfect corresponds to such perfects in poetic or prophetic parallelism, e. g. Is 5<sup>12</sup>,  $\psi$  2<sup>1 f.</sup>, Pr 1<sup>22</sup>, Jb 3<sup>17</sup>.

m 3. To express *future* actions, when the speaker intends by an express assurance to represent them as finished, or as equivalent to accomplished facts:

(a) In contracts or other express stipulations (again corresponding to the English present, and therefore closely related to the instances noted under i), e. g. Gn 23<sup>11</sup> *the field I give* ( $\text{נָתַתִּי}$ ) *thee*; cf. ver. 13 and 48<sup>22</sup>, 2 S 14<sup>21</sup>, 24<sup>23</sup>, Jer 40<sup>4</sup>; in a threat, 1 S 2<sup>16</sup>, 2 S 5<sup>6</sup> (unless, with Wellhausen,  $\text{יִסְיֶרְךָ}$  is to be read).—Especially in promises made by God, Gn 1<sup>29</sup>, 15<sup>18</sup>, 17<sup>20</sup>, Ju 1<sup>2</sup>.

n (b) To express facts which are undoubtedly imminent, and, therefore, in the imagination of the speaker, already accomplished (*perfectum confidentiae*), e. g. Nu 17<sup>27</sup>  $\text{הִנֵּנוּ גֹעַנִי אֲבָרְנוּ בְּלֵנֵנוּ אֲבָרְנוּ}$  *behold, we perish, we are undone, we are all undone*. Gn 30<sup>13</sup>, Is 6<sup>5</sup> ( $\text{נִרְמִיתִי}$  *I am undone*<sup>1</sup>), Pr 4<sup>2</sup>. Even in interrogative sentences, Gn 18<sup>12</sup>, Nu 17<sup>28</sup>, 23<sup>10</sup>, Ju 9<sup>9,11</sup>, Zc 4<sup>10</sup> (?), Pr 22<sup>20</sup>.<sup>2</sup> This use of the perfect occurs most frequently in prophetic language (*perfectum propheticum*). The prophet so trans-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the similar use of  $\delta\lambda\omega\lambda\alpha$  (*διέφθορας*, Il. 15. 128) and *perii!* On the kindred use of the perfect in conditional sentences, cf. below, p.

<sup>2</sup> In Gn 40<sup>14</sup> a *perf. confidentiae* (after  $\text{אֵין בָּי}$ ; but cf. § 163 d) appears to be used in the expression of an earnest desire that something may happen (*but have me in thy remembrance, &c.*). Neither this passage, however, nor the use of the perfect in Arabic to express a wish or imprecation, justifies us in assuming the existence of a *precativae* perfect in Hebrew. In Jb 21<sup>16</sup>, 22<sup>18</sup>, also, translate *the counsel of the wicked is far from me*. Cf. Driver, *Tenses*<sup>3</sup>, p. 25 f. In Is 43<sup>9</sup> either  $\text{נִקְבְּצָנוּ}$  is *imperative* (see § 51 o) or we must read  $\text{נִקְבְּצָנוּ}$ , corresponding to  $\text{אִסְפָּנוּ}$  which follows.

ports himself in imagination into the future that he describes the future event as if it had been already seen or heard by him, e. g. Is 5<sup>13</sup> *therefore my people are gone into captivity* (גָּלוּ); 9<sup>1st</sup>, 10<sup>28</sup>, 11<sup>9</sup> (after כִּי, as frequently elsewhere); 19<sup>7</sup>, Jb 5<sup>20</sup>, 2 Ch 20<sup>37</sup>. Not infrequently the imperfect interchanges with such perfects either in the parallel member or further on in the narrative.

(c) To express actions or facts, which are meant to be indicated as *O* existing in the future in a completed state (*futurum exactum*), e. g. Is 4<sup>4</sup> וַיִּזְכֹּר אֱלֹהִים *when he has washed away* = *when he shall have washed away* (an *imperfect* follows in the co-ordinate sentence; cf. the conditional sentences in § 107 x); Is 6<sup>11</sup> (after וַיִּשְׁפֹּךְ אֶת הַיַּיִן, as in Gn 28<sup>15</sup>, Nu 32<sup>17</sup>; also 2 S 17<sup>13</sup> after וַיִּשְׁפֹּךְ אֶת הַיַּיִן, Gn 24<sup>19</sup> after וַיִּשְׁפֹּךְ אֶת הַיַּיִן and elsewhere frequently after temporal conjunctions); Mi 5<sup>2</sup> (וְיִלְכְּדוּ); Gn 43<sup>14</sup> וַיִּבְרַח אֲנִי וְאֶתְּיָרָה וְאֶתְּיָרָה וְאֶתְּיָרָה *and I—if I am bereaved (orbis fuero), I am bereaved*, an expression of despairing resignation. Cf. Pr 23<sup>15</sup>, Est 4<sup>16</sup>.

4. To express actions and facts, whose accomplishment in the past *p* is to be represented, not as actual, but only as possible (generally corresponding to the Latin imperfect or pluperfect subjunctive), e. g. Gn 31<sup>42</sup> *except the God of my father . . . had been with me, surely now hadst thou sent me away empty* (שָׁלַחְתָּנִי); Gn 43<sup>10</sup>, Ex 9<sup>15</sup> שָׁלַחְתִּי *I had almost put forth, &c.*); Nu 22<sup>33</sup>, Ju 13<sup>23</sup>, 14<sup>18</sup>, 1 S 13<sup>33</sup> (הִכִּינִי); 2 K 13<sup>19</sup>; so frequently after קַמְעַט *easily, almost*, Gn 26<sup>10</sup>, Is 1<sup>9</sup> (where קַמְעַט is probably to be connected with the word after it), ψ 73<sup>2</sup>, 94<sup>17</sup>, 119<sup>87</sup>, Pr 5<sup>14</sup>. Cf. also Jb 3<sup>19</sup>, 23<sup>10</sup> (בְּהִנְיִי), Ru 1<sup>12</sup> (*if I should think, &c.*; cf. 2 K 7<sup>4</sup>); in the apodosis of a conditional sentence, 1 S 25<sup>34</sup>.—So also to express an unfulfilled desire, Nu 14<sup>2</sup> לִי מָתוּנוּ *would that we had died . . . !* (לִי with the imperfect would mean *would that we might die!* 1 S 14<sup>30</sup>). Finally, also in a question indicating astonishment, Gn 21<sup>7</sup> מִי מֵיָלַל *who would have said . . . ? quis dixerit ?* ψ 73<sup>11</sup>.

### § 107. Use of the Imperfect.<sup>1</sup>

The imperfect, as opposed to the perfect, represents actions, events, *a* or states which are regarded by the speaker at any moment as still continuing, or in process of accomplishment, or even as just taking place. In the last case, its occurrence may be represented as certainly imminent, or merely as conceived in the mind of the speaker, or simply as desired, and therefore only contingent (the modal use of the imperfect).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the literature cited above, p. 309, note 2.

Knudtson (see above, Rem. on § 106 a), comparing the Ass.-Bab. usage, would prefer the term *present* rather than imperfect, on the ground that the tense expresses what is either actually or mentally present. In any case, the essential difference between the perfect and imperfect consists, he argues, in this, that the perfect simply indicates what is actually complete, while the imperfect places the action, &c., in a more direct relation to the judgement or feeling of the speaker.

More precisely the imperfect serves—

1. In the sphere of *past time*:

b (a) To express actions, &c., which *continued* throughout a longer or shorter period,<sup>1</sup> e.g. Gn 2<sup>6</sup> *a mist went up continually* (יַעֲלֶה), 2<sup>25</sup>, 37<sup>7</sup>, 48<sup>10</sup>, Ex 1<sup>12</sup>, 8<sup>20</sup>, 13<sup>22</sup>, 15<sup>6,12,14,15</sup>, Nu 9<sup>15 f. 20 f.</sup>, 23<sup>7</sup>, Ju 2<sup>1</sup>, 5<sup>8</sup>, 1 S 3<sup>2</sup>, 13<sup>17 f.</sup>, 2 S 2<sup>28</sup>, 23<sup>10</sup>, 1 K 3<sup>4</sup>, 7<sup>8</sup>, 2 I<sup>6</sup>, Is 1<sup>21</sup>, 6<sup>4</sup> (אִפְלֵא), 17<sup>10 f.</sup>, 5 I<sup>2 2</sup>, Jer 13<sup>7</sup>, 36<sup>18</sup>, ψ 18<sup>7,14,17 ff. 38 ff.</sup>, 24<sup>2</sup>, 32<sup>4,5</sup> (אִזְרִיעֶךָ), 47<sup>5</sup>, 68<sup>10,12</sup>, 104<sup>6 ff.</sup>, 106<sup>19</sup>, 107<sup>18,29</sup>, 139<sup>13</sup>, Jb 3<sup>11</sup>, 4<sup>12,15 f.</sup>, 10<sup>10 f.</sup>, 15<sup>7 f.</sup>—very frequently alternating with a perfect (especially with a frequentative perfect; cf. Nu 9<sup>15-23</sup> and § 112 e), or when the narration is continued by means of an imperfect consecutive.<sup>2</sup>

C Rem. 1. The imperfect is frequently used in this way after the particles אֵן *then*, טָרָם *not yet*, בְּטָרָם *before*, עַד־ *until*, e.g. Ex 15<sup>1</sup> אֵן יִשְׂרָאֵל־מִשָּׁה *then sang Moses*, &c.; Nu 21<sup>17</sup>, Dt 4<sup>41</sup>, Jos 10<sup>12</sup>, 1 K 3<sup>16</sup>, 8<sup>1</sup>, ψ 126<sup>2</sup>, Jb 38<sup>21</sup>. (The perfect is used after אֵן when stress is to be laid on the fact that the action has really taken place, and not upon its gradual accomplishment or duration in the past, e.g. Gn 4<sup>26</sup> אֵן הוּחַל *then began*, &c.; Gn 49<sup>4</sup>, Ex 15<sup>15</sup>, Jos 22<sup>31</sup>, Ju 5<sup>11</sup>, ψ 89<sup>20</sup>.)<sup>3</sup> After טָרָם e.g. Gn 19<sup>4</sup> יִשְׁכְּבוּ טָרָם *before they lay down*; Gn 2<sup>5</sup>, 24<sup>45</sup>, 1 S 3<sup>8,7</sup>, always in the sense of our *pluperfect*. (In Gn 24<sup>15</sup> instead of the perf. בָּלָה, the imperf. should be read, as in verse 45; so also in 1 S 3<sup>7</sup> [יָגְלָה] an imperf. is co-ordinated with יָדַע). After בְּטָרָם (sometimes also simply טָרָם Ex 12<sup>34</sup>, Jos 3<sup>1</sup>), e.g. Jer 1<sup>5</sup> הֵצֵא בְּטָרָם *before thou camest forth*; Gn 27<sup>33</sup>, 37<sup>18</sup>, 41<sup>50</sup>, Ru 3<sup>14</sup> (perhaps also in ψ 90<sup>2</sup> an imperf. was intended instead of יִלְדוּ; cf. Wellhausen on 2 S 3<sup>2</sup>; but note also Pr 8<sup>25</sup>, in a similar context, *before the mountains were settled*, הִטְבְּעוּ, the predicate being separated from בְּטָרָם by הָרִים, as in ψ 90<sup>2</sup>). After עַד־ Jos 10<sup>13</sup>, ψ 73<sup>17</sup> (*until I went*), 2 Ch 29<sup>34</sup>; on the other

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the Mēša' inscription, l. 5, יֵאנף כְּמִשׁ בְּאַרְצָה *for Chemosh was angry with his land*. As Driver, *Tenses*, 3rd ed., § 27, 1 a, remarks, this vivid realization of the accomplishment of the action is especially frequent in poetic and prophetic style.

<sup>2</sup> According to the Masora such imperfects occur in Is 10<sup>13</sup> *bis* (where, however, וְאַסִּיר might also mean *I am wont to remove*, &c.), Is 45<sup>9</sup>, 57<sup>17</sup>, ψ 18<sup>38 a</sup>, also (according to § 49 c) in 2 S 1<sup>10</sup> and Ez 16<sup>10</sup>. In some other cases י is no doubt a dogmatic emendation for י (imperf. consec.) in order to represent historical statements as promises; cf. Is 42<sup>6</sup>, 43<sup>28</sup> [contrasted with 42<sup>25</sup>], 51<sup>2 bis</sup>, 63<sup>8 ff.</sup> and the note on § 53 p.

<sup>3</sup> After אֵן *then* (to announce future events) the imperf. is naturally used in the sense of a future, Gn 24<sup>41</sup>, Ex 12<sup>48</sup>, Mi 3<sup>4</sup>, Zp 3<sup>9</sup>, ψ 51<sup>21</sup>.

hand, with the perf., e.g. Jos 2<sup>22</sup>. As after אַחַר, so also after טָרַם, טָרַם, and עָרַד the imperf. may be used, according to the context, in the sense of our future, e.g. 2 K 2<sup>9</sup>, Is 65<sup>24</sup>, Jb 10<sup>21</sup>; after עָרַד e.g. Is 22<sup>14</sup>. The imperf. is used in the sense of our present after טָרַם in Ex 9<sup>30</sup>, 10<sup>7</sup>.

2. Driver (*Tenses*<sup>3</sup>, p. 35 f.) rightly lays stress upon the inherent distinction *d* between the participle as expressing mere duration, and the imperfect as expressing progressive duration (in the present, past, or future). Thus the words וְנָהַר יַצָּן Gn 2<sup>10</sup> represent the river of Paradise as going out of Eden in a continuous, uninterrupted stream, but וַיִּפְרֹד, which immediately follows, describes how the parting of its waters is always taking place afresh. In the same way וַיִּעֲלֶה Gn 2<sup>6</sup> represents new mists as constantly arising, and וַיִּמְלֵא Is 6<sup>4</sup> new clouds of smoke. Also those actions, &c., which might be regarded in themselves as single or even momentary, are, as it were, broken up by the imperfect into their component parts, and so pictured as gradually completing themselves. Hence וַיִּבְלַעְמוּ Ex 15<sup>12</sup> (after a perf. as in verse 14) represents the Egyptians, in a vivid, poetic description, as being swallowed up one after another, and וַיִּנְהַיֵּי Nu 23<sup>7</sup> the leading on by stages, &c.

(b) To express actions, &c., which were repeated in the past, either *c* at fixed intervals or occasionally (the *modus rei repetitae*), e.g. Jb 1<sup>5</sup> thus did (וַיַּעֲשֶׂה) Job continually (after each occasion of his sons' festivities); 4<sup>3f.</sup>, 22<sup>6f.</sup>, 23<sup>11</sup>, 29<sup>7.9.12f.</sup>, Gn 6<sup>4</sup>, 29<sup>2</sup>, 30<sup>8</sup>, 42<sup>31.39</sup> (I used to bear the loss of it), Ex 1<sup>12</sup>, 19<sup>19</sup>, 33<sup>7f.</sup> (וַיִּקַּח used to take every time), 40<sup>36f.</sup>, Nu 9<sup>17f. 20f.</sup>, 11<sup>5.9</sup>, Ju 6<sup>4</sup>, 14<sup>10</sup>, 21<sup>25</sup>, 1 S 1<sup>7</sup>, 2<sup>22</sup>, 9<sup>9</sup>, 13<sup>19</sup>, 18<sup>5</sup>, 27<sup>9</sup>, 2 S 1<sup>22</sup>, 12<sup>3</sup>, 13<sup>18</sup>, 1 K 5<sup>25</sup> (of tribute repeated year by year), 10<sup>5</sup>, 13<sup>33</sup>, 14<sup>28</sup>, 2 K 4<sup>8</sup>, 8<sup>29</sup>, 13<sup>20</sup>, 25<sup>14</sup>, Jer 36<sup>23</sup>, ψ 42<sup>5</sup>, 44<sup>3</sup>, 78<sup>15.40</sup>, 103<sup>7</sup>, Est 2<sup>14</sup>; even in a negative dependent clause, 1 K 18<sup>10</sup>.

## 2. In the sphere of present time, again

(a) To express actions, events, or states, which are continued for a shorter or longer time,<sup>1</sup> e.g. Gn 37<sup>15</sup> מַה תִּבְקֹשׁ what seekest thou? 19<sup>19</sup> לֹא אֵינִי יָכוֹל I cannot; 24<sup>50</sup>, 31<sup>35</sup>, Is 1<sup>13</sup>. Other examples are Gn 2<sup>10</sup>, 24<sup>31</sup>, 1 S 1<sup>8</sup>, 11<sup>5</sup>, 1 K 3<sup>7</sup>, ψ 2<sup>2</sup>, and in the prophetic formula יְהוָה יֹאמֵר saith the Lord, Is 1<sup>11.18</sup>, &c., cf. 40<sup>1</sup>. So especially to express facts known by experience, which occur at all times, and consequently hold good at any moment, e.g. Pr 15<sup>20</sup> a wise son maketh a glad father; hence especially frequent in Job and Proverbs. In an interrogative sentence, e.g. Jb 4<sup>17</sup> is mortal man just before God? In a negative sentence, Jb 4<sup>18</sup>, &c.

(b) To express actions, &c., which may be repeated at any time, *g* including therefore the present, or are customarily repeated on a given occasion (cf. above, e), e.g. Dt 1<sup>44</sup> as bees do (are accustomed to

<sup>1</sup> It is not always possible to carry out with certainty the distinction between continued and repeated actions. Some of the examples given under *f* might equally be referred to *g*.

do); Gn 6<sup>21</sup>, 32<sup>33</sup>, 43<sup>32</sup>, Ju 11<sup>40</sup>, 1 S 2<sup>8</sup>, 5<sup>5</sup>, 20<sup>2</sup>, 2 S 15<sup>32</sup>, Is 1<sup>23</sup>, 3<sup>16</sup>, ψ 1<sup>3</sup>. So again (see *f*) especially to express facts known by experience which may at any time come into effect again, e.g. Ex 23<sup>8</sup> *a gift blindeth* (רְעִיבֵר), &c.; Gn 2<sup>24</sup>, 22<sup>14</sup>, Is 32<sup>6</sup>, Am 3<sup>7</sup>, Mal 1<sup>6</sup>, Jb 2<sup>4</sup>, &c. Of the same kind also is the imperfect in such relative clauses (see § 155), as Gn 49<sup>27</sup> *Benjamin is* יִטְרֶה יְאִי *a wolf that ravineth* (properly, is accustomed to ravin). Finally, compare also the formulae יִמְרָא it is (wont to be) said (to introduce proverbial expressions) Gn 10<sup>9</sup>, 22<sup>14</sup>, &c.; לֹא יַעֲשֶׂה כֵן it is not (wont to be) so done (and hence may not, shall not be, see *u*), Gn 29<sup>26</sup>, 20<sup>9</sup>, 34<sup>7</sup>, 2 S 13<sup>12</sup>.

*h* (c) To express actions, &c., which although, strictly speaking, they are already finished, are regarded as still lasting on into the present time, or continuing to operate in it, e.g. Gn 32<sup>30</sup> *wherefore is it that thou dost ask* (אֲשַׁאל) *after my name?* 24<sup>31</sup>, 44<sup>7</sup>, Ex 5<sup>15</sup>, 2 S 16<sup>9</sup>. In such cases, naturally, the perfect is also admissible, and is sometimes found in the same formula as the imperfect, e.g. Jb 17<sup>(2)</sup> מֵאַיִן תָּבֵא *whence comest thou* (just now)? but Gn 16<sup>8</sup> (cf. 42<sup>7</sup>) מֵאַיִן תָּבֵאת *whence camest thou?* The imperfect represents the coming as still in its last stage, whereas the perfect represents it as an accomplished fact.

*i* 3. In the sphere of *future time*. To express actions, &c., which are to be represented as about to take place, and as continuing a shorter or longer time in the future, or as being repeated; thus:

(a) From the standpoint of the speaker's present time, e.g. Ex 4<sup>1</sup> *they will not believe* (אֲמַיִנו) *me, nor hearken* (יִשְׁמְעוּ) *unto my voice: for they will say* (יֹאמְרוּ), &c., 6<sup>1</sup>, 9<sup>5</sup>, &c.

*k* (b) In dependent clauses to represent actions, &c., which from some point of time in the past are to be represented as future, e.g. Gn 43<sup>7</sup> *could we in any wise know that he would say* (יֹאמַר)? 2<sup>19</sup>, 43<sup>25</sup>, Ex 2<sup>4</sup>, 2 K 3<sup>27</sup> אֲשֶׁר יִמְלֶךְ *qui regnaturus erat*; 13<sup>14</sup>, Jon 4<sup>5</sup>, Jb 3<sup>3</sup>, Ec 2<sup>3</sup>, ψ 78<sup>6</sup> *that the generation to come might know*, יִלְדוּ בְּנִים *the children which should be born* (qui nascituri essent; the imperfect here with the collateral idea of the occurrence being repeated in the future).

*l* (c) To represent a *futurum exactum*; cf. Is 4<sup>4</sup>, 6<sup>11</sup> (co-ordinated with a perfect used in the same sense, see § 106 o); so also sometimes after the temporal particles עַד, ψ 132<sup>5</sup>, and עַד אֲשֶׁר *until*, Gn 29<sup>8</sup>, Nu 20<sup>17</sup>, &c.

*m* 4. Finally to the sphere of future time belong also those cases in which the (modal) imperfect serves to express actions, events, or states, the occurrence of which is to be represented as willed (or not

willed), or as in some way conditional, and consequently only contingent. More particularly such imperfects serve—

(a) As an expression of will, whether it be a definite intention and *n* arrangement, or a simple desire, viz.:

(1) Sometimes in positive sentences in place of the cohortative (cf. e. g.  $\psi$  59<sup>17</sup> with verse 18; 2 S 22<sup>5b</sup> with  $\psi$  18<sup>50</sup>; Ju 19<sup>11</sup>, &c.), of the imperative (Is 18<sup>3</sup>), or of the jussive (which, however, in most cases, does not differ from the ordinary form of the imperfect), e. g.  $\text{הִרְאָה}$  *let it appear* Gn 1<sup>9</sup>, 41<sup>34</sup>, Lv 19<sup>2,3</sup>, 2 S 10<sup>12</sup> (and so frequently in verbs ה"ל; cf. § 109 a, note 2); Zc 9<sup>5</sup> ( $\text{הִתְחִיל}$ );  $\psi$  61<sup>7</sup> ( $\text{הִוֹסִיף}$ ); Pr 22<sup>17</sup> ( $\text{הִשְׁוִית}$ ); 23<sup>1</sup>, Jb 6<sup>23</sup> (co-ordinated with the imperative), 10<sup>30</sup> *Keth.*; so probably also  $\text{יִרְי}$  *let him judge!*  $\psi$  72<sup>2</sup>.—So also in the 1st pers., to express a wish which is asserted subsequently with reference to a fixed point of time in the past, e. g. Jb 10<sup>18</sup>  $\text{אֶנְנֶה}$  *I ought to* [not *should* as A.V., R.V.] *have*, (then, immediately after being born) *given up the ghost*; cf. verse 19  $\text{הִתְחַיֶּה}$  and  $\text{אֶנְבֵּל}$  Lv 10<sup>18</sup>, Nu 35<sup>23</sup>. Even to express an obligation or necessity according to the judgement of another person, e. g. Jb 9<sup>29</sup>  $\text{אֶרְשָׁע}$  *I am to be guilty*, 12<sup>4</sup>. Cp. Jb 9<sup>15</sup>, 19<sup>16</sup>; in a question,  $\psi$  42<sup>10</sup>, 43<sup>2</sup>.

(2) To express the definite expectation that something will not happen. The imperfect with  $\text{לֹא}$  represents a more emphatic form of prohibition than the jussive<sup>1</sup> with  $\text{אַל}$  (cf. § 109 c), and corresponds to our *thou shalt not do it!* with the strongest expectation of obedience, while  $\text{אַל}$  with the jussive is rather a simple warning, *do not that!* Thus  $\text{לֹא}$  with the imperfect is especially used in enforcing the divine commands, e. g.  $\text{לֹא תִגְנוֹב}$  *thou shalt not steal* Ex 20<sup>15</sup>; cf. verses 3, 4, 5, 7, 10 ff. So  $\text{לֹא}$  with the 3rd pers. perhaps in Pr 16<sup>10</sup>.

Rem. The *jussive*, which is to be expected after  $\text{אַל}$ , does not, as a rule *p* (according to *n*, and § 109 a, note 2), differ in form from the simple imperfect. That many supposed jussives are intended as simple imperfects is possible from the occurrence after  $\text{אַל}$  of what are undoubtedly imperfect forms, not only from verbs ל"ה (cf. § 109 a, note 2), but also from verbs ו"ע, to express a prohibition or negative wish,  $\text{אַל-תִּבְיט}$  Gn 19<sup>17</sup>,  $\text{אַל-תִּסְדֹּר}$  Jos 1<sup>7</sup>,  $\text{אַל-נָא יִשָּׂא}$  1 S 25<sup>25</sup>. Even with the 1st pers. plur. (after an imperative)  $\text{וְאַל-נִמְוֹת}$  *that we die not*, 1 S 12<sup>9</sup>. Also to express the conviction that something cannot happen,  $\text{אַל-יִנָּדָם}$  *he will not slumber*,<sup>2</sup>  $\psi$  121<sup>3</sup>; cf. Jer 46<sup>6</sup>, 2 Ch 14<sup>10</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> As stated in § 46 a, a prohibition cannot be expressed by  $\text{אַל}$  and the imperative.

<sup>2</sup> To regard this as an optative (so Hupfeld) is from the context impossible. It is more probably a strong pregnant construction, or fusion of two sentences (such as, *do not think he will slumber!*). Verse 4 contains the objective confirmation, by means of  $\text{לֹא}$  with the imperf., of that which was previously only a subjective conviction.

- q (3) In dependent clauses after final conjunctions (§ 165 b), as אֲשֶׁר, Gn 11<sup>7</sup> לֹא יִשְׁמְעוּ (אֲשֶׁר לֹא יִשְׁמְעוּ) *that they may not understand*; Gn 21<sup>30</sup>, 27<sup>4,19</sup>, Ex 9<sup>14</sup>, &c.; אֲשֶׁר לְמַעַן אֲשֶׁר Nu 17<sup>5</sup>; לְמַעַן Dt 4<sup>1</sup>, ψ 51<sup>6</sup>, 78<sup>6</sup>, and יַעַן אֲשֶׁר<sup>1</sup> Ex 12<sup>12</sup>, *in order that*<sup>2</sup>; לְבַלְתִּי *that . . . not*, Ex 20<sup>20</sup>, 2 S 14<sup>14</sup>; also after אֲפֹרָה *that not, lest*, Gn 3<sup>22</sup>, 11<sup>4</sup>, 19<sup>15</sup>, &c.<sup>3</sup>; cf. also the instances introduced by לֹא in § 109 g.—In Lv 9<sup>6</sup> such an imperfect (or jussive? see the examples in § 109 f) is added to the expression of the command by an asyndeton, and in La 1<sup>19</sup> to the principal clause simply by י: *while they sought them food וַיִּשְׁבְּוּ אֶת־נַפְשָׁם to refresh their souls* (cf. also La 3<sup>26</sup>, *it is good and let him hope, i. e. that he should hope*); so after an interrogative clause, Ex 2<sup>7</sup>. Finally also in a relative clause, ψ 32<sup>8</sup> בְּדַרְךְךָ יְיָ תֵלֶךְ *in the way which thou shouldst go*.
- r (b) To express actions, &c., which are to be represented as possibly taking place or not taking place (sometimes corresponding to the *potential* of the classical languages, as also to our periphrases with *can, may, should*<sup>4</sup>). More particularly such imperfects are used—
- s (1) In a permissive sense, e. g. Gn 2<sup>16</sup> *of every tree of the garden (אֶכֶל הַגַּן) thou mayest freely eat* (the opposite in verse 17); 3<sup>2</sup>, 42<sup>37</sup>, Lv 21<sup>3,22</sup>, Jb 21<sup>3</sup>. In the 1st pers. ψ 5<sup>8</sup>, 22<sup>18</sup> (*I may, or can, tell*); in a negative sentence, e. g. ψ 5<sup>5</sup>.
- t (2) In interrogative sentences, e. g. Pr 20<sup>9</sup> מִי־יֹאמַר *quis dixerit?* Cf. Gn 17<sup>17</sup>, 18<sup>14</sup>, 31<sup>43</sup>, 1 S 11<sup>12</sup>, 2 K 5<sup>12</sup> הֲלֹא־אֶרְחֵץ בָּהֶם *may I not wash in them?* Is 33<sup>14</sup>, ψ 15<sup>1</sup>, 24<sup>3</sup>, Ec 5<sup>5</sup>. So especially in a question expressing surprise after אֵיךְ, e. g. Gn 39<sup>9</sup> *how then can I . . .?* 44<sup>34</sup>, Is 19<sup>11</sup>, ψ 137<sup>4</sup>, and even with regard to some point of time in the past, looking forward from an event might have been expected to take place, e. g. Gn 43<sup>7</sup> הֲיָרִיעַ נִרְעָה *could we in any wise know . . .?* Cf. 2 S 3<sup>33</sup> (יָמוּת *was Abner to die as a fool, i. e. was he destined to die . . .?*), and so probably also Gn 34<sup>31</sup> (*should he deal . . .?*). Very closely connected with this is the use of the imperfect—
- u (3) In a consecutive clause depending on an interrogative clause, e. g. Ex 3<sup>11</sup>, *who am I (כִּי אֲנִי) that I should (ought, could) go?* 16<sup>7</sup>, Nu 11<sup>12</sup>, Ju 9<sup>23</sup>, 1 S 18<sup>18</sup>, 2 K 8<sup>13</sup>, Is 29<sup>16</sup>, Jb 6<sup>11</sup>, 21<sup>15</sup>, similarly after אֲשֶׁר Gn 38<sup>18</sup>, Ex 5<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> But אֲשֶׁר יַעַן in a causal sense (*because, since*), e. g. Ju 2<sup>20</sup> (as אֲשֶׁר Gn 34<sup>27</sup>) is followed by the perfect. On Jos 4<sup>24</sup> see above, § 74 g.

[<sup>2</sup> R. V. *because he shall not see.*]

<sup>3</sup> In 2 K 2<sup>16</sup> אֲפֹרָה occurs with the perf. in a vivid presentment of the time when the fear is realized and the remedy comes too late. (In 2 S 2c<sup>6</sup>, since a perfect consec. follows, read with Driver יִמְצָא.)

<sup>4</sup> By this, of course, is not meant that these finer distinctions were consciously present to the Hebrew mind. They are rather mere expedients for making intelligible to ourselves the full significance of the Semitic imperfect.

Rem. In passages like 1 S 11<sup>5</sup>,  $\psi$  8<sup>5</sup>, 114<sup>5</sup>, the context shows that the  $\omega$  imperfect corresponds rather to our present. In such sentences the perfect also is naturally used in referring to completed actions, e. g. Gn 20<sup>10</sup>, Ju 18<sup>23</sup>, 2 S 7<sup>18</sup>, Is 22<sup>1</sup>.

(4) In *negative sentences* to express actions, &c., which cannot or  $\omega$  should not happen, e. g. Gn 32<sup>13</sup> לֹא יִסְפָּר מְרֹב which cannot be numbered for multitude; 20<sup>9</sup> דְּעָשָׂה לֹא יֵעָשֶׂה (אֲשֶׁר) that ought not to be done (cf. above, g);  $\psi$  5<sup>5</sup>.

(5) In *conditional clauses* (the *modus conditionalis* corresponding  $\omega$  to the Latin present or imperfect conjunctive) both in the protasis and apodosis, or only in the latter,  $\psi$  23<sup>4</sup> רָע לֹא אֵיךָ . . . אֶם כִּי אֵלֶּךָ . . . yea, though I walk (or had to walk) . . . I fear (or I would fear) no evil; Jb 9<sup>20</sup> though I be righteous, mine own mouth shall condemn me. After a perfect in the protasis, e. g. Jb 23<sup>10</sup>. Very frequently also in an apodosis, the protasis to which must be supplied from the context, e. g. Jb 5<sup>8</sup> but as for me, I would seek unto God (were I in thy place); 3<sup>13,16</sup>, 14<sup>14f.</sup>,  $\psi$  55<sup>13</sup>, Ru 1<sup>12</sup>. However, some of the imperfects in these examples are probably intended as jussive forms. Cf. § 109 h.

### § 108. *Use of the Cohortative.*

The cohortative, i. e. according to § 48 c, the 1st pers.<sup>1</sup> sing. or  $\alpha$  plur. of the imperfect lengthened by the ending הַיֵּן,<sup>2</sup> represents in general an endeavour directed expressly towards a definite object. While the corresponding forms of the indicative rather express the mere announcement that an action will be undertaken, the cohortative lays stress on the determination underlying the action, and the personal interest in it.

Its uses may be divided into—

1. The cohortative standing alone, or co-ordinated with another  $\beta$  cohortative, and frequently strengthened by the addition of the particle אֲנִי:

(a) To express self-encouragement, e. g. Ex 3<sup>3</sup> אֲנִי אֲסַרְהָנָא וְגו' I will turn aside now, and see . . .! So especially as the result of inward deliberation (in soliloquies), e. g. Gn 18<sup>21</sup>, 32<sup>21</sup> (rarely so used after לֹא, Gn 21<sup>16</sup> let me not look . . .! Jer 18<sup>18</sup>), and also as a more or less emphatic statement of a fixed determination, e. g. Is 5<sup>1</sup> I will sing<sup>3</sup> . . .! 5<sup>6</sup>, 31<sup>8</sup>. Cf. also Gn 46<sup>30</sup> now let me die (I am willing to die),

<sup>1</sup> For the few examples of cohortatives in the 3rd sing., see § 48 d.

<sup>2</sup> But verbs הַיֵּן, according to § 75 l, even in the cohortative, almost always have the ending הַיֵּן; cf. e. g. in Dt 32<sup>20</sup> אֲסַרְהָנָא after אֲסַרְהָנָא.

[<sup>3</sup> R. V. let me sing.]

since I have seen thy face; and  $\psi$  31<sup>8</sup>. In the 1st pers. plur. the cohortative includes a summons to others to help in doing something, e. g.  $\psi$  2<sup>3</sup>  $\text{בָּנֵינוּ בָּרֶקֶת}$  come! let us break asunder! &c., and Gn 11<sup>3</sup>.

c (b) To express a wish, or a request for permission, that one should be allowed to do something, e. g. Dt 22<sup>7</sup>  $\text{אֶעְבְּרָה}$  may I be allowed to pass through (let me pass through)! Nu 20<sup>17</sup>  $\text{נִעְבְּרָה נָא}$  may we be allowed to pass through! Jer 40<sup>15</sup> let me go, I pray thee! &c.; 2 S 16<sup>9</sup>; so after  $\text{לֹא}$  2 S 18<sup>14</sup>; after  $\text{לֹא אֶל}$  2 S 24<sup>14</sup>, Jer 17<sup>18</sup>,  $\psi$  25<sup>2</sup>  $\text{אֶל-אִבְשׁוּן}$  let me not be ashamed; cf.  $\psi$  31<sup>2,18</sup>, 71<sup>1</sup>; 69<sup>15</sup>. After  $\text{אֶל-נָא}$  Jon 1<sup>14</sup>.

d 2. The cohortative in dependence on other moods, as well as in conditional sentences: (a) In dependence (with *wāw* copulative;  $\psi$  9<sup>15</sup> after  $\text{לְמַעַן}$ ) on an imperative or jussive to express an intention or intended consequence, e. g. Gn 27<sup>4</sup> bring it to me,  $\text{וְאֹכְלָהּ}$  that I may eat, prop. then will I eat; Gn 19<sup>5</sup>, 23<sup>4</sup>, 24<sup>66</sup>, 27<sup>25</sup>, 29<sup>21</sup>, 30<sup>25f.</sup>, 42<sup>34</sup>, 49<sup>1</sup>, Dt 32<sup>1</sup>, Ho 6<sup>1</sup>,  $\psi$  2<sup>8</sup>, 39<sup>14</sup>, Jb 10<sup>20</sup> *Qerê*; Is 5<sup>19</sup> and let the counsel of the Holy One of Israel draw nigh and come,  $\text{וְנִרְעָה}$  that we may know (it)! Gn 26<sup>28</sup>, 1 S 27<sup>5</sup>. Also after negative sentences, Gn 18<sup>30,32</sup>, Ju 6<sup>39</sup>, and after interrogative sentences, 1 K 22<sup>7</sup>, Is 40<sup>25</sup>, 41<sup>26</sup>, Am 8<sup>5</sup>.

e (b) In conditional sentences (with or without  $\text{אִם}$ ) to express a contingent intention, e. g. Jb 16<sup>6</sup>  $\text{אִם-אֶרְבְּרָה}$  should I determine to speak, my grief is not assuaged,  $\text{וְאִחֲלֶהּ}$  and should I forbear, what am I eased? without  $\text{אִם}$  Jb 19<sup>18</sup>, 30<sup>26</sup> (where, however,  $\text{וְאִחֲלֶהּ}$  is probably intended);  $\psi$  73<sup>16</sup> (unless  $\text{וְאִחֲלֶהּ}$  should be read), 139<sup>8f.</sup>. After the 3rd person, Jb 11<sup>17</sup> though it be dark, &c. So perhaps also 2 S 22<sup>38</sup>  $\text{אִרְדְּפָהּ}$  if I determined to pursue, then . . . , but cf.  $\psi$  18<sup>38</sup>.

f (c) Likewise in the apodosis of conditional sentences, e. g. Jb 31<sup>7f.</sup> if my step hath turned out of the way . . . ,  $\text{אִרְעָה}$  then let me sow; cf. 16<sup>4f.</sup> I also could speak as ye do, if . . . ! So even when the condition must be supplied from the context, e. g.  $\psi$  40<sup>6</sup> else would I declare and speak of them; 51<sup>18</sup> else would I (gladly) give it, i. e. if thou didst require it (cf. the precisely similar  $\text{וְאִשָּׂא}$   $\psi$  55<sup>13</sup>); Jb 6<sup>10</sup>. In the 1st plur. Jer 20<sup>10</sup>. To the same category belong the cohortatives after the formula expressing a wish  $\text{כִּי-יִתְּנֵנִי}$ ,  $\text{כִּי-יִתְּנֵנִי}$ , e. g. Jer 9<sup>1</sup> oh, that I had . . . ,  $\text{וְאֶעְזְבָהּ}$  then (i. e. if I had) should I (or would I) leave my people, &c.; Ju 9<sup>29</sup>; without *Wāw* Is 27<sup>4</sup>,  $\psi$  55<sup>7</sup>, Jb 23<sup>4</sup> (cf. also verse 7).

g Rem. 1. The question, whether a resolution formed under compulsion (a necessity) is also expressed by the cohortative (so, according to the prevailing opinion, in Is 38<sup>10</sup>  $\text{אֶלְכָהּ}$ ; Jer 3<sup>25</sup>, 4<sup>19,21</sup>, 6<sup>10</sup>,  $\psi$  55<sup>3,18</sup> (?); 57<sup>5</sup>, where, however, with Hupfeld,  $\text{שִׁכַּבְהָ}$  should be read; 77<sup>7</sup>, 88<sup>16</sup>, and in the 1st plur. Is 59<sup>10</sup>), is to be answered in the sense that in these examples the cohortative form is used after its meaning has become entirely lost, merely for the sake of its fuller sound, instead of the ordinary imperfect. This view is strongly

supported by the rather numerous examples of cohortative forms after *wāw* consec. of the imperfect (cf. § 49 e, as also  $\psi$  66<sup>6</sup> נִשְׂמְחָה שָׂם there did we rejoice<sup>1</sup>;  $\psi$  119<sup>163</sup> וְנִאֲתַעְבָּה; Pr 7<sup>7</sup>), which can likewise only be explained as forms chosen merely for euphony, and therefore due to considerations of rhythm.

2. The cohortative is strange after עָרַךְ  $\psi$  73<sup>17</sup> until I went . . . אֲבִינָה I considered their latter end; possibly a pregnant construction for 'until I made up my mind, saying, I will consider', &c. (but אֲבִינָה Pr 7<sup>7</sup> is still dependent on the preceding  $\text{ן}$ ); עָרַךְ אֲרִיבֵי עָה Pr 12<sup>19</sup> is at any rate to be explained in the same way (in Jer 49<sup>19</sup>, 50<sup>44</sup> we have כִּי־אֶ with a similar meaning), as long as I (intentionally) wink with the eyelashes (shall wink). On the other hand, in Ex 32<sup>50</sup> אֲכַפֵּר is to be read, with the Samaritan, instead of אֲכַפְּרָה after אֲנִי.

### § 109. Use of the Jussive.

As the cohortative is used in the 1st pers., so the jussive is especially *a* found in the 2nd and 3rd pers. sing. and plur. to express a more or less definite desire that something should or should not happen (cf. for its form, which frequently coincides with that of the ordinary imperfect,<sup>2</sup> § 48 f, g). More particularly its uses may be distinguished as follows:

1. The jussive standing alone, or co-ordinated with another jussive:

(a) In affirmative sentences to express a command, a wish (or a *b* blessing), advice, or a request; in the last case (the optative or pre-cative) it is frequently strengthened by the addition of נָא. Examples: Gn 1<sup>3</sup> אֹהֵר יְהִי אֹהֵר let there be light! Gn 1<sup>6.9.11</sup>, &c. (the creative commands); Nu 6<sup>26</sup> the Lord lift up his countenance upon thee, and give thee peace! cf. verse 25. After particles expressing a wish, Gn 30<sup>34</sup> לִי יְהִי I would it might be;  $\psi$  81<sup>9</sup> אִם־תִּשְׁמַע־לִי if thou wouldst hearken unto me! As a humble request, Gn 44<sup>33</sup> . . . וְהָעֶרְ יַעֲלֵ . . . יִשָּׁב־נָא עִבְדְךָ let thy servant, I pray thee, abide, &c., and let the lad go up, &c., Gn 47<sup>4</sup>.

(b) In negative sentences to express prohibition or dissuasion, *c* warning, a negative wish (or imprecation), and a request. The prohibitive particle used before the jussive (according to § 107 o) is almost always אַל־ (in negative desires and requests frequently

<sup>1</sup> Analogous to this cohortative (as equivalent to the imperfect) after שָׂם is the use of the historic imperf. after אָז, § 107 c.

<sup>2</sup> With regard to verbs לָהֵא, it is true that the full form of the imperfect is frequently used with the meaning of the jussive (as also for the cohortative, see § 108 a, note 2), e.g. אֲלִי־רָאָה Jb 3<sup>9</sup> (but previously יִקֹּן let it look for!): especially in (Neh 2<sup>9</sup>) and immediately before the principal pause, Gn 1<sup>9</sup> הִתְרָאָה; Ju 6<sup>39</sup> יְהִיָּה, but previously יְהִי־נָא; Is 47<sup>9</sup> הִתְרָאָה, previously הִתְנַל;  $\psi$  109<sup>7</sup>. On the attempt to distinguish such jussives from the imperfect by means of a special meaning הִתְנַל, see § 75 h h.

אֲלֹנֶיָּא); e.g. Ex 34<sup>3</sup> אִישׁ אֲלֵיָּרָא neither let any man be seen! Pr 3<sup>7</sup> be not (אֲלֵתִּיהִי) wise in thine own eyes! Jb 15<sup>31</sup> אֲלֵאֲמִיָּן ne confidat. In the form of a request (prayer), Dt 9<sup>26</sup> אֲלֵתִּשְׁחֶת destroy not! 1 K 2<sup>20</sup>, ψ 27<sup>9</sup>, 69<sup>18</sup>.

d Rem. 1. The few examples of אֵל with the jussive could at most have arisen from the attempt to moderate subsequently by means of the jussive (voluntative) form what was at first intended to be a strict command (אֵל with imperf. indic.); probably, however, they are either cases in which the defective writing has been misunderstood (as in 1 K 2<sup>6</sup>, Ez 48<sup>14</sup>), or (as in Gn 24<sup>8</sup>) instances of the purely rhythmical jussive form treated below, under *k*. Moreover, cf. יֹסֶף לֵא Jo 2<sup>2</sup> and from the same verb Gn 4<sup>12</sup> (unless it is to be referred to *h*) and Dt 13<sup>1</sup>. The same form, however, appears also to stand three times for the cohortative (see below), and in Nu 22<sup>19</sup> for the ordinary imperfect (but see below, *i*). Thus it is doubtful whether an imaginary by-form of the ordinary imperf. is not intended by the Masora in all these cases, and whether consequently יֹסֶף, &c., should not be restored.—On לֵא־תְחֹם עֵינֶיךָ, &c., Dt 7<sup>16</sup>, 13<sup>9</sup>, &c., Ez 5<sup>11</sup>, &c., cf. § 72 *r*, according to which תְּחֹם should probably be read in every case.—The jussive appears in the place of the cohortative after לֵא 1 S 14<sup>36</sup> (וְלֵא־נִשְׁאָר) co-ordinated with two cohortatives, 2 S 17<sup>12</sup>; cf. Is 41<sup>23</sup> *Keth.* (וְנָרָא), i.e. וְנִרְאָה, after another cohortative); also (see above) לֵא אֶפֶס Dt 18<sup>16</sup>, Ho 9<sup>15</sup>, and even without לֵא Ez 5<sup>16</sup>.

e 2. אֲלֵ with the jussive (or imperf., cf. § 107 *p*) is used sometimes to express the conviction that something cannot or should not happen; cf. Is 2<sup>9</sup> (where, however, the text is very doubtful) וְאֲלֵתִּישָׂא לָהֶם and thou canst not possibly forgive them [R.V. therefore forgive them not]; ψ 34<sup>6</sup>, 41<sup>3</sup>, 50<sup>3</sup>, 121<sup>3</sup> (אֲלֵיִתֵּן); Pr 3<sup>25</sup>, Jb 5<sup>22</sup> אֲלֵתִּירָא neither needest thou be afraid; 20<sup>17</sup>, 40<sup>32</sup>.

f 2. The jussive depending on other moods, or in conditional sentences:

(a) Depending<sup>1</sup> (with *Wāw*) on an imperative or cohortative to express an intention or an assurance of a contingent occurrence, e.g. Gn 24<sup>51</sup> take her and go, and let her be (וְיִתְהִי prop. and she will be) . . . ; 30<sup>3</sup>, 31<sup>37</sup>, 38<sup>24</sup>, Ex 8<sup>4</sup>, 9<sup>13</sup>, 10<sup>17</sup>, 14<sup>2</sup>, Jos 4<sup>16</sup>, Ju 6<sup>30</sup>, 1 S 5<sup>11</sup>, 7<sup>3</sup>, 1 K 21<sup>10</sup>, ψ 144<sup>5</sup>, Pr 20<sup>22</sup>, Jb 14<sup>6</sup>. Also after interrogative sentences, which include a demand, Est 7<sup>2</sup> (say) what is thy desire . . . , וְיִתְעַשׂ and it shall (i.e. in order that it may) be granted! 1 K 22<sup>20</sup>, Is 19<sup>12</sup>, Jb 38<sup>34f</sup>. Depending on a cohortative, e.g. Gn 19<sup>20</sup> נָא אֲמַלְטָה נָא שְׂפָתַי oh, let me escape thither . . . וְיִתְחַי נַפְשִׁי that my soul may live; even after a simple imperf. (cf. below, *g*), 1 K 13<sup>33</sup> whosoever would, he consecrated him . . . וְיִהְיֶה that he might be a priest (read בְּהֵן) of the high places, but probably the LXX reading וְיִהְיֶה is to be preferred.

<sup>1</sup> This does not include the cases in which the jussive is not logically dependent on a preceding imperat., but is merely co-ordinated, e.g. Gn 20<sup>7</sup>, ψ 27<sup>14</sup>, &c.

Rem. In 2 Ch 35<sup>21</sup> a negative final clause with  $\text{וְלֹא־יִשְׁׁרֹף}$  is dependent on an  $\text{ג}$  imperative, *forbear from* (meddling with) *God . . . that he destroy thee not*. As a rule, however, negative final clauses are attached to the principal sentence by means of  $\text{לֹא־יִשְׁׁרֹף}$  and a following imperfect; so after an imperative, Gn 42<sup>2</sup>, 1 K 14<sup>2</sup>, 18<sup>44</sup>; after a jussive, Ex 30<sup>20</sup>, Neh 6<sup>9</sup>; after a perfect consec., Ex 28<sup>35,43</sup>, 30<sup>12</sup>, Nu 18<sup>5</sup>; after  $\text{לֹא}$  with an imperfect, Lv 10<sup>6</sup>, Nu 18<sup>3</sup>, Dt 17<sup>17</sup> *neither shall he multiply wives unto himself* ( $\text{וְלֹא־יִסְוֶר לְבָבּוֹ}$ ) *that his heart turn not away*; 1 S 20<sup>14</sup>, 2 S 21<sup>17</sup>, Jer 11<sup>21</sup>; after  $\text{לֹא־יִשְׁׁרֹף}$  with jussive, Lv 10<sup>9</sup>, 11<sup>43</sup>, 16<sup>2</sup>, 2 S 13<sup>25</sup>, Jer 25<sup>8</sup>, 37<sup>20</sup>, 38<sup>24 f.</sup>; after the asseverative  $\text{דַּם}$  with the impft., Gn 14<sup>23</sup>; even after a simple imperfect, Jer 10<sup>4</sup> *with nails . . . they fasten it* ( $\text{וְלֹא־יִפְּקֵי}$ ) *that it move not*; after a participle, Jb 9<sup>7</sup>.

(b) Frequently in conditional sentences (as in Arabic), either in the  $\text{h}$  protasis or in the apodosis, cf.  $\psi$  45<sup>12</sup>  $\text{יִתְאַוּ}$  *should he desire . . . then . . .*; 104<sup>20</sup>  $\text{וַיְהִי}$  . . .  $\text{תִּשְׁׁחַךְ}$  *if thou makest darkness, then it is night*; so also in the protasis, Ex 22<sup>4</sup>, Lv 15<sup>24</sup>, Is 41<sup>28</sup>, Ez 14<sup>7</sup> ( $\text{וַיֵּלֶךְ}$ ), Jb 34<sup>29</sup>; in the apodosis, Ex 7<sup>9</sup> *then will it* (not, *then shall it*) *become a serpent*; Pr 9<sup>9</sup> after an imperat. in the protasis; Jb 10<sup>16</sup>, 13<sup>5</sup>, 22<sup>26</sup>. In a negative apodosis, Gn 4<sup>12</sup> ( $\text{לֹא־תִסְּרֵךְ}$ , but see above, d). In 2 K 6<sup>27</sup>  $\text{אִל־יִשְׁׁעֶיךָ}$  (*if the Lord do not help thee, &c.*) is to be explained as a jussive in a negative protasis.

Rem. Undoubtedly this use of the jussive (in conditional sentences) is based  $\text{z}$  on its original *voluntative* meaning; let something be so and so, then this or that must happen as a consequence. Certain other examples of the *jussive*, however, show that in the consciousness of the language the *voluntative* has in such cases become weakened almost to a *potential* mood, and hence the *jussive* serves to express facts which may happen *contingently*, or may be expected, e. g. Nu 22<sup>19</sup> ( $\text{מִה־יִסְּרֵךְ}$ , but cf. above, a); Jb 9<sup>33</sup> *there is no daysman betwixt us, that might lay* ( $\text{יִשֵּׁת}$ ), hence plainly a *subjunctive* = *qui ponat*; also in Nu 23<sup>19</sup>  $\text{וַיִּכְבֹּד}$  *that he should lie* is probably intended as a jussive); Ec 5<sup>14</sup>; so after interrogative sentences, Jer 9<sup>11</sup> *who is the wise man*,  $\text{וַיִּבֶן}$  *qui intelligat hoc?*; Ho 14<sup>10</sup>.

Moreover, in not a few cases, the jussive is used, without any collateral  $\text{k}$  sense, for the ordinary imperfect form. and this occurs not alone in forms, which may arise from a misunderstanding of the defective writing, as Dt 28<sup>21,36</sup>, 32<sup>8</sup>, 1 K 8<sup>1</sup>, Is 12<sup>1</sup>, Mi 3<sup>4</sup>, 5<sup>8</sup>,  $\psi$  11<sup>6</sup>, 18<sup>12</sup>, 21<sup>2</sup>  $\text{מִה־יִסְּרֵךְ}$ , *Keth.*  $\text{וַיִּנְיֵל}$ , 25<sup>9</sup>, 47<sup>4</sup>, 90<sup>3</sup>, 91<sup>4</sup>, 107<sup>23</sup>, Pr 15<sup>25</sup>, Jb 13<sup>27</sup>, 15<sup>33</sup>, 18<sup>9</sup>, 20<sup>2</sup>, 27<sup>22</sup>, 33<sup>11</sup>, 36<sup>14</sup>, 38<sup>24</sup>, Ec 12<sup>6</sup> (verse 7  $\text{יִשְׁׁב}$ , but immediately afterwards  $\text{תִּשְׁׁב}$ ), Dn 8<sup>12</sup>,—but also in shortened forms, such as  $\text{יְהִי}$  Gu 49<sup>17</sup> (Sam.  $\text{יְהִי־הֵי}$ ), Dt 28<sup>8</sup>, 1 S 10<sup>5</sup>, 2 S 5<sup>24</sup>, Ho 6<sup>1</sup>, 11<sup>4</sup>, Am 5<sup>14</sup>, Mi 1<sup>2</sup>, Zp 2<sup>13</sup>, Zc 9<sup>5</sup>,  $\psi$  72<sup>16 f.</sup> (after other jussives), 104<sup>31</sup>, Jb 18<sup>12</sup>, 20<sup>23,26,28</sup>, 27<sup>8</sup>, 33<sup>21</sup>, 34<sup>37</sup>, Ru 3<sup>4</sup>. This use of the jussive can hardly be due merely to poetic licence, but is rather to be explained on rhythmical grounds. In all the above-cited examples, in fact, the jussive stands at the beginning of the sentence (and hence removed as far as possible from the principal tone), in others it is immediately before the principal pause (Is 42<sup>6</sup>, 50<sup>2</sup>,  $\psi$  68<sup>15</sup>, Pr 23<sup>25</sup>, Jb 24<sup>14</sup>, 29<sup>3</sup>, 40<sup>19</sup>), or actually *in* pause (Dt 32<sup>18</sup>, Jb 23<sup>9,11</sup>, La 3<sup>50</sup>), and is then a simply rhythmical shortening due to the strong influence of the tone. Moreover, since the jussive in numerous cases is not distinguished in form from the imperfect (§ 48 g), it is frequently doubtful which of the two the writer intended. This especially applies to those cases, in which a *subjunctive* is to be expressed by one or other of the forms (cf. § 107 k and m-x).

## § 110. The Imperative.

Mayer Lambert, 'Sur la syntaxe de l'impératif en hébreu,' in  
*REJ.* 1897, p. 106 ff.

*a* 1. The imperative,<sup>1</sup> which, according to § 46, is restricted to the 2nd pers. sing. and plur., and to *positive* commands, &c., may stand either alone, or in simple co-ordination (as in 1 K 18<sup>44</sup>, Is 56<sup>1</sup>, 65<sup>18</sup>) with other imperatives:

(*a*) To express real commands, e.g. Gn 12<sup>1</sup> *get thee out of thy country*; or (like the jussive) mere admonitions (Ho 10<sup>12</sup>) and requests, 2 K 5<sup>22</sup>, Is 5<sup>3</sup>; on the addition of אָנֹכִי see below, Rem. 1. The imperative is used in the sense of an ironical challenge (often including a threat) in 1 K 2<sup>22</sup> *ask for him the kingdom also*; 22<sup>15</sup>, Ju 10<sup>14</sup>, Is 47<sup>12</sup> (with אָנֹכִי), Jer 7<sup>21</sup>, Ez 20<sup>39</sup>, Am 4<sup>4</sup>, Jb 38<sup>3f.</sup>, 40<sup>10ff.</sup>, La 4<sup>21</sup>. The imperative has a concessive sense in Na 3<sup>15</sup> (though thou *make thyself many*, &c.), and in the cases discussed under *f*, e.g. Is 8<sup>9f.</sup>, 29<sup>9</sup>.

*b* (*b*) To express permission, e.g. 2 S 18<sup>23</sup> after previous dissuasion, (then) *run* (as far as I am concerned)! Is 21<sup>12</sup>, 45<sup>11</sup>.

*c* (*c*) To express a distinct assurance (like our expression, *thou shalt have it*)<sup>2</sup> or promise, e.g. Is 65<sup>18</sup> *but be ye glad*, &c. (i. e. ye will have continually occasion to be glad); and Is 37<sup>30</sup>, ψ 110<sup>2</sup>; in a threat, Jer 2<sup>19</sup>. So especially in commands, the fulfilment of which is altogether out of the power of the person addressed, e.g. Is 54<sup>14</sup> *be far from anxiety* (meaning, thou needst not fear any more); Gn 1<sup>28</sup>, &c. (for other examples, such as 1 K 22<sup>12</sup>, 2 K 5<sup>18</sup>, see below, *f*). Most clearly in the case of the *imperative Niph'al* with a passive meaning, e.g. Gn 42<sup>16</sup> אֲנִי וְאֶחָיו וְאֶחָיו וְאֶחָיו and *ye shall be bound*; Dt 32<sup>50</sup>, Is 49<sup>9</sup> (Is 45<sup>22</sup>, see below, *f*).

*d* Rem. 1. The particle אָנֹכִי (*age!*) (§ 105) is frequently added to the imperative, as to the jussive, sometimes to soften down a command, or to make a request in a more courteous form (see above, *a*), Gn 12<sup>13</sup>, 24<sup>2</sup>, sometimes to strengthen an exhortation uttered as a rebuke or threat (Nu 16<sup>26</sup>, 20<sup>10</sup>) or in ridicule (Is 47<sup>12</sup>).

*e* 2. The imperative after the desiderative particle הִנֵּה Gn 23<sup>13</sup> (at the end of verses 5 and 14 also read הִנֵּה for הִנֵּה and join it to the following imperative) is due to an anacoluthon. Instead of the imperfect which would be expected here after הִנֵּה, the more forcible imperative is used in a new sentence.

*f* 2. The imperative in logical dependence upon a preceding imperative, jussive (or cohortative), or an interrogative sentence, serves to

<sup>1</sup> On the close relation between the imperative and jussive (both in meaning and form), cf. § 46 and § 48 *i*.

<sup>2</sup> Like the threatening formulae in the Latin comic writers, e.g. *vapula*, Ter. Phorm. v. 6, 10 = *vapulare te iubeo*, Plaut. Curc. vi. 4, 12.

express the distinct assurance or promise that an action or state will ensue as the certain consequence of a previous action. So especially:

(a) The imperative when depending (with *wāw copulative*) upon another imperative. In this case the first imperative contains, as a rule, a condition, while the second declares the consequence which the fulfilment of the condition will involve. The imperative is used for this declaration, since the consequence is, as a matter of fact, intended or desired by the speaker (cf. *divide et impera*), e. g. Gn 42<sup>18</sup> וְאַתָּה עֲשֵׂה וְיָחִי *this do, and live*, i. e. thus shall ye continue to live. Gn 17<sup>1</sup>, 1 K 22<sup>12</sup>, 2 K 5<sup>13</sup>, Is 36<sup>16</sup>, 45<sup>22</sup> (וְהָיָשְׁעֵי), Jcr 6<sup>16</sup>, Am 5<sup>4,6</sup>, ψ 37<sup>27</sup>, Pr 3<sup>3f.</sup>, 4<sup>4</sup>, 7<sup>2</sup>, 13<sup>20</sup> *Keth.*, Jb 2<sup>9</sup>, 2 Ch 20<sup>20</sup>; in Jer 25<sup>5</sup>, Jb 22<sup>21</sup> נִזְּ is added to the first imperative. In other cases, the first imperative contains a mocking concession, the second an irrevocable denunciation, e. g. Is 8<sup>9</sup> רָעוּ עַמִּים וְחָתְמוּ (continue to) *make an uproar, O ye peoples, and ye shall be broken in pieces*; cf. verse 9 b.

Rem. 1. If a promise or threat dependent on an imperative be expressed in the 3rd pers. then the jussive is naturally used instead of the 2nd imperative Is 8<sup>10</sup>, 55<sup>2</sup>.

2. In Pr 20<sup>13</sup> the second imperative (containing a promise) is attached by *asyndeton*; elsewhere two imperatives occur side by side without the copula, where the second might be expected to be subordinated to the first, e. g. Dt 2<sup>24</sup> רָשׁ הַחֵלֶל (where רָשׁ is virtually, as it were, an object to הַחֵלֶל) *begin, take in possession for to take in possession* (cf., however, Ju 19<sup>6</sup> הוֹאֵל־נָא וְלִין *be content, I pray thee, and tarry all night*, and on this kind of co-ordination in general, cf. § 120 d). But such imperatives as הֵן (לְכֹנֵה), when immediately preceding a second imperative, are for the most part only equivalent to interjections, *come! up!*

(b) The imperative, when depending (with *wāw copulative*) upon a jussive (cohortative), or an interrogative sentence, frequently expresses also a consequence which is to be expected with certainty, and often a consequence which is intended, or in fact an intention; cf. Gn 20<sup>7</sup> *and he shall pray for thee, וְיָחִי and thou shalt live*; cf. Ex 14<sup>16</sup>, 2 K 5<sup>10</sup>, Jb 11<sup>6</sup>, ψ 128<sup>5</sup> *the Lord bless thee . . . so that* (or *in order that*) *thou seest, &c.*; Ru 1<sup>9</sup>, 4<sup>11</sup>; after a cohortative, Gn 12<sup>2</sup>, 45<sup>18</sup>, Ex 3<sup>10</sup> וְהוֹצֵאת *that thou mayest bring forth*; Ex 18<sup>2</sup>, 1 S 12<sup>17</sup>, 1 K 1<sup>12</sup>; Jer 35<sup>15</sup> (after imperative and jussive); after an interrogative sentence, 2 S 21<sup>3</sup> *wherewith shall I make atonement, וְיְבָרְכֵנִי that ye may bless, &c.*—In Nu 5<sup>19</sup> the imperative without ! (in 32<sup>23</sup> with !) is used after a conditional clause in the sense of a definite promise.

Rem. The 2nd sing. masc. occurs in addressing feminine persons in Ju 4<sup>20</sup> *לְךָ* (עָמַר, according to Qimḥi an infinitive, in which case, however, the infinitive absolute עָמַר should be read; but probably we should simply read עָמַרְי with Moore), Mi 1<sup>18</sup> and Zc 13<sup>7</sup> (after עֲרִי); and in Is 23<sup>1</sup>, the 2nd plur. masc. (On

the four forms of the 2<sup>nd</sup> fem. plur. imperative in Is 32<sup>11</sup>, erroneously explained here in former editions, see now § 48 i). In Na 3<sup>15</sup> the interchange of masc. and fem. serves to express totality (the nation in all its aspects). Cf., moreover, § 145 p on other noticeable attempts to substitute the corresponding masculine forms for the feminine.

### § 111. The Imperfect with Wāw Consecutive.

- a** 1. The *imperfect with wāw consecutive* (§ 49 a-g) serves to express actions, events, or states, which are to be regarded as the temporal or logical sequel of actions, events, or states mentioned immediately<sup>1</sup> before. The *imperfect consecutive* is used in this way most frequently as the *narrative tense*, corresponding to the Greek *aorist* or the Latin *historic perfect*. As a rule the narrative is introduced by a perfect, and then continued by means of imperfects with *wāw consecutive* (on this interchange of tenses cf. § 49 a, and especially § 112 a), e.g. Gn 3<sup>1</sup> *now the serpent was* (הִיָּה) *more subtil . . . and he said* (וַיֹּאמֶר) *unto the woman*; 4<sup>1</sup>, 6<sup>9f.</sup>, 10<sup>9f.</sup>, 15<sup>19</sup>, 11<sup>12f. 27f.</sup>, 14<sup>5f.</sup>, 15<sup>1f.</sup>, 16<sup>1f.</sup>, 21<sup>1f.</sup>, 24<sup>1f.</sup>, 25<sup>19f.</sup>, 36<sup>2f.</sup>, 37<sup>2</sup>.
- b** Rem. 1. To this class belong some of the numerous *imperfects consec.* after various expressions of time, whenever such expressions are equivalent in meaning to a perfect<sup>2</sup> (viz. הָיָה *it came to pass*), e.g. Is 6<sup>1</sup> *in the year that king Uzziah died, I saw* (וַיֵּרָא), &c.; Gn 22<sup>4</sup>, 27<sup>34</sup>, Ju 11<sup>16</sup>, 1 S 4<sup>19'</sup>, 17<sup>67</sup>, 21<sup>6</sup>, Ho 11<sup>1</sup>: on the use of וַיְהִי to connect expressions of time, see below, g.—It is only in late books or passages that we find the simple *perfect* in a clause following an expression of time, as 1 S 17<sup>60</sup> (cf. Driver on the passage), 2 Ch 12<sup>7</sup>, 15<sup>3</sup>, &c., Dn 10<sup>11</sup>, 15<sup>19</sup>; the *Perfect* after וַיְהִי and the subject, 2 Ch 7<sup>1</sup>.
- c** 2. The continuation of the narrative by means of the imperfect consec. may result in a series of any number of such imperfects, e.g. there are forty-nine in Gn. 1. As soon, however, as the connecting *Wāw* becomes separated from the verb to which it belongs, by the insertion of any word, the perfect necessarily takes the place of the imperfect, e.g. Gn 1<sup>6</sup> *and God called* (וַיִּקְרָא) *the light Day, and the darkness he called* (וַיִּקְרָא לַחֹשֶׁךְ לַיְלָה) *Night*; verse 10, 2<sup>20</sup>, 11<sup>3</sup> and frequently.
- d** 3. Of two co-ordinate *imperfects consecutive* the former (as equivalent to a temporal clause) is most frequently subordinate in sense to the latter, e.g. Gn 28<sup>8f.</sup> וַיֵּלֶךְ . . . וַיֵּרָא עֵשָׂו *when Esau saw that . . . , he went*, &c.; so also, frequently וַיִּשְׁמַע, &c., Gn 37<sup>21</sup>, &c. On the other hand, a second *imperfect consecutive* is seldom used in an explanatory sense, e.g. Ex 21<sup>0</sup> (וַתֹּאמֶר) *for she said*; cf. 1 S 7<sup>12</sup>. Other examples of the imperfect consecutive, which apparently represent a progress in the narrative, in reality only refer to the same time, or explain what precedes, see Gn 2<sup>25</sup> (וַיְהִי) *they were*; but Jos 4<sup>9</sup>, 1 K 8<sup>8</sup> *they are*; Gn 36<sup>14</sup> (וַתֵּלֶךְ), 36<sup>32</sup> (וַיִּמְלֶךְ), 1 K 1<sup>44</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> On an apparent exception (the *imperf. consec.* at the beginning of whole books) see § 49 b note.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Is 45<sup>4</sup>, where the *imperf. consec.* is joined to an abrupt statement of the cause, and Jb 36<sup>7</sup>, where it is joined to an abrupt statement of the place.

4. The imperfect consecutive sometimes has such a merely external connexion with an immediately preceding perfect, that in reality it represents an antithesis to it, e.g. Gn 32<sup>31</sup> and (yet) *my life is preserved*; 2 S 3<sup>8</sup> and yet thou *chargest me*; Jb 10<sup>8</sup>, 32<sup>3</sup>; similarly in dependence on noun-clauses, Pr 30<sup>25</sup> π.

2. The introduction of independent narratives, or of a new section *f* of the narrative, by means of an *imperfect consecutive*, likewise aims at a connexion, though again loose and external, with that which has been narrated previously. Such a connexion is especially often established by means of וַיְהִי (καὶ ἐγένετο) and *it came to pass*, after which there then follows either (most commonly) an *imperfect consecutive* (Gn 4<sup>3,8</sup>, 8<sup>6</sup>, 11<sup>2</sup>, Ex 12<sup>29</sup>, 13<sup>17</sup>, &c.), or *Wāw* with the perfect (separated from it), Gn 7<sup>10</sup>, 15<sup>12</sup>, 22<sup>1</sup>, 27<sup>30</sup>, or even a perfect without *Wāw* (Gn 8<sup>13</sup>, 14<sup>1f.</sup>, 40<sup>1</sup>, Ex 12<sup>41</sup>, 16<sup>22</sup>, Nu 10<sup>11</sup>, Dt 1<sup>3</sup>, 1 S 18<sup>30</sup>, 2 K 8<sup>21</sup>, &c.), or finally a noun-clause introduced by *Wāw*, Gn 41<sup>1</sup>.

Rem. 1. This loose connexion by means of וַיְהִי is especially common, *g* when the narrative or a new section of it begins with any expression of time, see above, *b*; cf., in addition to the above-mentioned examples (e.g. Gn 22<sup>1</sup> and *it came to pass after these things, that God did prove Abraham*), the similar cases in Gn 19<sup>34</sup>, 21<sup>22</sup>, 1 S 11<sup>11</sup>, Ru 1<sup>1</sup>. Elsewhere the statement of time is expressed by וְ or וְ with an infinitive (Gn 12<sup>14</sup>, 19<sup>17,29</sup> 39<sup>13</sup>, 15<sup>18f.</sup>, Ju 16<sup>25</sup>) or by an independent sentence with the perfect (equivalent to a pluperfect, cf. § 106 *f*), e.g. Gn 15<sup>17</sup>, 24<sup>15</sup>, 27<sup>30</sup>, or by a temporal clause introduced by כִּי when, Gn 26<sup>8</sup>, 27<sup>1</sup>, Ju 16<sup>16</sup>, כַּאֲשֶׁר when, Gn 12<sup>11</sup>, 20<sup>13</sup>, מֵאָז from the time that, Gn 39<sup>5</sup>; or, finally, by a noun-clause (cf. § 116 *u*), e.g. 2 K 13<sup>21</sup> וַיְהִי הֵם קִבְּרִים אִישׁ and *it came to pass, as they were (just) burying a man (prop. they burying), that . . .*; Gn 42<sup>35</sup>, 2 K 2<sup>11</sup> (the apodosis in both these cases being introduced by וְהִנֵּה); 1 S 7<sup>10</sup>, 2 S 13<sup>30</sup>, 2 K 6<sup>6,26</sup>, 19<sup>37</sup> (= Is 37<sup>38</sup>).—In 1 S 10<sup>11</sup>, 11<sup>11</sup>, 2 S 2<sup>23</sup>, 15<sup>2</sup> a noun standing absolutely follows וַיְהִי (as the equivalent of a complete sentence; see below, *h*), and then an *imperfect consecutive* follows.

2. Closely related to the cases noticed in *g* are those in which the *imperfect consecutive*, even without a preceding וַיְהִי, introduces the apodosis either—(a) to whole sentences, or (b) to what are equivalent to whole sentences, especially to nouns standing absolutely. As in certain cases of the *perfect consecutive* (see § 112 *x*), so the *imperfect consecutive* has here acquired a sort of independent force. Cf. for (a) 1 S 15<sup>23</sup> because thou hast rejected the word of the Lord, וַיִּמְאַסְךָ he hath rejected thee (cf. Nu 14<sup>16</sup>, Is 48<sup>4</sup>, where the causal clause precedes in the form of an infinitive with preposition), Ex 9<sup>21</sup>; for (b) Gn 22<sup>24</sup> וַיִּבְלֵנֶנּוּ and (as to) his concubine . . . , וַיִּבְלֵךְ she bare, &c.; Ex 38<sup>24</sup>, Nu 14<sup>36f.</sup>, 1 S 14<sup>19</sup>, 17<sup>24</sup>, 2 S 4<sup>10</sup>, 19<sup>41</sup> *Keeth.*, 21<sup>16</sup>, 1 K 9<sup>20f.</sup>, 12<sup>17</sup>, 2 K 25<sup>22</sup>, Jer 6<sup>19</sup>, 28<sup>8</sup>, 33<sup>24</sup>, 44<sup>25</sup>.<sup>2</sup>—In 1 K 15<sup>13</sup>, 2 K 16<sup>14</sup> the preceding noun, used absolutely, is even regarded as the object of the following imperfect consecutive, and is therefore introduced by אֶת־.

<sup>1</sup> Exhaustive statistics of the use of וַיְהִי in its many and various connexions are given by König in *ZAW.* 1899, p. 260 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the Mēša' inscription, l. 5 (*Omri*) the king of Israel, וַיַּעֲנוּ he oppressed Moab, &c.—The peculiar imperfect consecutive in Gn 30<sup>27b</sup> (in the earlier editions explained as equivalent to an object-clause) arises rather from a pregnant brevity of expression: *I have observed and have come to the conclusion, the Lord hath blessed me, &c.*—In Gn 27<sup>34</sup> read, with LXX, וַיְהִי before בִּשְׂמֹעַ.

*i* 3. The *imperfect consecutive* serves, in the cases treated under *a-h*, to represent either expressly, or at least to a great extent, a *chronological* succession of actions or events; elsewhere it expresses those actions, &c., which represent the logical consequence of what preceded, or a result arising from it by an inherent necessity. Thus the *imperfect consecutive* is used—

*k* (a) As a final summing up of the preceding narrative, e. g. Gn 2<sup>1</sup>, 23<sup>20</sup> וַיִּקְרָא אֱלֹהִים אֶת-אֲרָמָה וַיִּקְרָא אֶת-אֲרָמָה אַבְרָהָם so (in this way) *the field became* (legally) *the property of Abraham, &c.*; 1 S 17<sup>50</sup>, 31<sup>6</sup>.

*l* (b) To express a logical or necessary consequence of that which immediately precedes, e. g. Gn 39<sup>2</sup>, Jb 2<sup>3</sup> and *he still holdeth fast his integrity*, וַיִּסְתַּחֲבֵר אֱלֹהִים אֶת-יִצְחָק וַיִּסְתַּחֲבֵר אֱלֹהִים אֶת-יִצְחָק so *that thou thus* (as it now appears) *groundlessly movedst me against him*; ψ 65<sup>9</sup> so *that they are afraid . . .*; even a consequence which happens conditionally, Jer 20<sup>17</sup> וַיִּהְיֶה כִּי-יָמָּה אֲמַתְּ אֶת-אִמִּי וַיִּהְיֶה כִּי-יָמָּה אֲמַתְּ אֶת-אִמִּי so *that my mother should have been . . .* Another instance of the kind perhaps (if the text be correct) is Jer 38<sup>9</sup> וַיָּמָת אֶת-יְהוֹנָתָן וַיָּמָת אֶת-יְהוֹנָתָן so *that he dies* (must die).

*m* Rem. Such consecutive clauses frequently occur after interrogative sentences, e. g. Is 51<sup>12</sup> *who art thou* (i. e. *art thou so helpless*), וַיִּתְיַחֵס אֱלֹהִים וַיִּתְיַחֵס אֱלֹהִים *that thou art* (*must needs be*) *afraid?* ψ 144<sup>3</sup> (cf. ψ 8<sup>5</sup>, where in a very similar context כִּי *that* is used with the imperfect); Gn 12<sup>19</sup> (וַיִּסְתַּחֲבֵר אֱלֹהִים אֶת-יִצְחָק); 31<sup>27</sup> וַיִּשְׁלַח אֱלֹהִים אֶת-יְהוֹנָתָן וַיִּשְׁלַח אֱלֹהִים אֶת-יְהוֹנָתָן so *that I might have sent thee away*.

4. As regards the range of time it is to be carefully noticed—

*n* (a) That the *imperfect consecutive* may represent all varieties in the relations of tense and mood, which, according to § 107 *a*, follow from the idea of the imperfect;

*o* (b) That the more precise determination of the range of time to which an *imperfect consecutive* relates must be inferred in each case from the character of the preceding tense (or tense-equivalent), to which it is attached, in a more or less close relation, as temporal or logical sequence. Thus the *imperfect consecutive* serves—

*p* (1) To represent actions, events, or states, which are *past* (or were repeated in past time), when it is united with tenses, or their equivalents, which refer to an actual past.

*q* Cf. the examples given above, under *a* and *f*, of the imperfect consecutive as an historic tense. The imperfect consecutive also frequently occurs as the continuation of a perfect (*preterite*) in a subordinate clause; e. g. Gn 27<sup>1</sup>, Nu 11<sup>20</sup>, Dt 4<sup>37</sup>, 1 S 8<sup>8</sup>, 1 K 2<sup>5</sup>, 11<sup>33</sup>, 18<sup>13</sup>, &c.; also in Is 49<sup>7</sup> וַיִּבְרָךְ יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ וַיִּבְרָךְ יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ is the continuation of a preterite, contained, according to the sense, in the preceding וַיִּבְרָךְ יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ.—In Jb 31<sup>26,34</sup> the imperfect consecutive is joined to an imperfect denoting the past in a conditional sentence. An imperfect consecutive occurs in dependence on a perfect which has the sense of a pluperfect (§ 106 *f*), e. g. in Gn 26<sup>18</sup>, 28<sup>6 f.</sup>, 31<sup>19,34</sup> (*now Rachel had taken the teraphim, וַיִּשְׁלַח אֱלֹהִים אֶת-יְהוֹנָתָן and had*

put them, &c.); Nu 14<sup>36</sup>, 1 S 28<sup>3</sup>, 2 S 2<sup>23</sup>, Is 39<sup>1</sup>. Finally there are the cases in which an infinitival or participial construction representing past time, according to § 113 r, § 116 x, is taken up and continued by an imperfect consecutive.

(2) To represent *present* actions, &c., in connexion with tenses, or *r* their equivalents, which describe actions and states as being either present or lasting on into the present (continuing in their effect); so especially,

(a) In connexion with the present perfects, described in § 106 g, e. g.  $\psi$  16<sup>9</sup> *therefore my heart is glad* (שָׂמַח) and *my glory rejoiceth* (גִּילָה); Is 3<sup>16</sup> (parallel with a simple imperfect). Cf. also such examples as  $\psi$  29<sup>10</sup> בָּשָׁב (prop. he sat down, and has been enthroned ever since),  $\psi$  41<sup>13</sup>.

(β) In connexion with those perfects which represent experiences *S* frequently confirmed (see § 106 k), e. g. Jb 14<sup>2</sup> *he cometh up* (צָמַח) like a flower, and *is cut down* (נִצַּח); *he fleeth* (יָבַח) also as a shadow, וְלֹא יַעֲמֹד and *continueth not*; Jb 20<sup>15</sup>, 24<sup>2,11</sup>, Is 40<sup>24</sup>, Pr 11<sup>2</sup>.

(γ) In connexion with imperfects which, in one of the ways *t* described in § 107. 2, are used in the sense of the present; e. g. Jb 14<sup>10</sup> *but man dieth* (יָמוּת) and *becometh powerless* (שָׁחַת), &c., i. e. remains powerless; Jb 4<sup>5</sup>, Ho 8<sup>13</sup>, Hb 1<sup>9f.</sup>,  $\psi$  55<sup>18</sup>, 90<sup>3</sup>, Jb 5<sup>15</sup>, 7<sup>18</sup>, 11<sup>3</sup> (*when thou mockest*), 12<sup>25</sup>, 34<sup>24</sup>, 37<sup>8</sup> (parallel with a simple imperfect); 39<sup>15</sup>. In the apodosis of a conditional sentence,  $\psi$  59<sup>16</sup>, so also after an interrogative imperfect, 1 S 2<sup>29</sup>,  $\psi$  42<sup>6</sup> (וְהָיָה לְךָ) for which in verse 12 and in 43<sup>5</sup> we have וּמָה־תִּהְיֶה לְךָ and *why art thou disquieted?*

(δ) In dependence on participles, which represent what at present *u* continues or is being repeated, e. g. Nu 22<sup>11</sup>, 1 S 2<sup>6</sup>, 2 S 19<sup>2</sup> *behold the king weepeth* (בֹּכֶה) and *mourneth* (יִתְאֲבֵל) for Absalom; Am 5<sup>8</sup>, 9<sup>5f.</sup>, Na 1<sup>4</sup>,  $\psi$  34<sup>8</sup>, Pr 20<sup>26</sup>, Jb 12<sup>22ff.</sup>, but cf. e. g. Jb 12<sup>4</sup> לֹא־אָמַר קִרָּא וַיַּעֲנֵהוּ and *he answered him*.

(ε) In dependence on other equivalents of the present, as in Is 51<sup>12</sup>,  $\psi$  144<sup>3</sup> (see above, *m*); Jb 10<sup>22</sup>. So especially as the continuation of an infinitive, which is governed by a preposition (cf. § 114 r), Is 30<sup>12</sup>, Jer 10<sup>13</sup>,  $\psi$  92<sup>8</sup>, &c.

(3) To represent *future* actions, &c., in dependence on—(a) an *w* imperfect which refers to the future,  $\psi$  49<sup>15</sup>, 94<sup>22f.</sup>;—(β) a perfect consecutive, or those perfects which, according to § 106 n, are intended to represent future events as undoubtedly certain, and therefore as though already accomplished (*perf. propheticum*); cf. Is 5<sup>15</sup> (parallel with a simple imperfect separated from ו); 5<sup>16</sup> (cf. 2<sup>11,17</sup>, where the same threat is expressed by the perfect consecutive); 5<sup>25</sup>, 9<sup>6,10f.</sup>,

13<sup>15,17 ff.</sup>, 22<sup>7 ff.</sup>, Jo 2<sup>23</sup>, Mi 2<sup>13</sup>, Ez 33<sup>4,6</sup>, ψ 7<sup>13</sup>, 64<sup>8 ff.</sup>;—(γ) a future participle, Jer 4<sup>15</sup>.<sup>1</sup>

x Rem. An imperfect consecutive in dependence on a perfect or imperfect, which represents an action occurring only conditionally, is likewise used only in a hypothetical sense, e. g. Jb 9<sup>16</sup> וַיִּעֲנֵנִי וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלַי if I had called, and he had answered me, yet . . . ; ψ 139<sup>11</sup> וַאֲמַר if I should say (previously, in verse 8 f., hypothetical imperfects are used).—In Is 48<sup>18 f.</sup> an imperfect consecutive occurs in dependence on a sentence expressing a wish introduced by אִיִּנָּם (וְיִהְיֶה) *utinam* (וְיִהְיֶה) and it, or so that it were, equivalent to *then should it be*). Cf. also the examples mentioned above, under *l* (Jer 20<sup>27</sup>) and *m* (Gn 31<sup>27</sup>), where the imperfect consecutive expresses facts occurring contingently.

### § 112. The Perfect with Wāw Consecutive.

G. R. Berry, 'Waw consecutive with the perfect in Hebrew,' in *Bibl. Lit.*, xxii. (1903), pp. 60-69.

a 1. The perfect, like the imperfect (§ 111), is used with *wāw consecutive* (cf. § 49 a; on the external differentiation of the perfect consecutive by a change in the position of the tone, see § 49 h) to express actions, events, or states, which are to be attached to what precedes, in a more or less close relation, as its *temporal* or *logical* consequence. And as, according to § 111 a, the narrative which begins with a perfect, or its equivalent, is continued in the imperfect consecutive, so, vice versa, the perfect consecutive forms the regular continuation to a preceding imperfect, or its equivalent.

b Rem. 1. This alternation of perfect and imperfect or their equivalents is a striking peculiarity of the *consecutio temporum* in Hebrew. It not only affords a certain compensation for the lack of forms for tenses and moods, but also gives to Hebrew style the charm of an expressive variety, an action conceived as being still in progress (*imperfect*, &c.), reaching afterwards in the *perfect* a calm and settled conclusion, in order to be again exhibited in movement in the imperfect, and vice versa.<sup>2</sup> The strict regularity of this

<sup>1</sup> Also in Jer 51<sup>29</sup> the imperfects consecutive are attached to the threat virtually contained in the preceding imperatives. On the other hand וַיִּהְיֶה Ho 8<sup>10</sup> would be very remarkable as expressing a future; the text is, however, certainly corrupt, and hence the Cod. Babyl. and the Erfurt MS. 3 endeavour to remedy it by וַיְהִי, and Ewald reads וַיְהִי.—In Ez 28<sup>16</sup> (cf. Jer 15<sup>6 f.</sup>) וַיִּהְיֶה appears to announce an action irrevocably determined upon, and therefore represented as already accomplished; cf. the prophetic perfects in verse 17 ff.

<sup>2</sup> It is difficult to give a proper explanation of this phenomenon (according to § 49 a, note, to be found only in the Canaanitish group of languages), when we have given up the theory of a special *wāw conversivum* in the unscientific sense mentioned in § 49 b, note, at the end, and if we accept the fact that the *perfect* and *imperfect consecutive* cannot possibly be used in a way which contradicts their fundamental character as described in §§ 106 and 107. In other words, even the *perfect consecutive* originally represents a finally completed action, &c., just as the *imperfect consecutive* represents an action which

alternation belongs indeed rather to the higher style, and even then it depends upon the view and intention of the speaker, whether he wishes the action, &c., to be regarded as the logical consequence of what has preceded, or as simply co-ordinate with it, and so in the same tense.

2. A succession of any number of other *perfects consecutive* may be co-ordinated with a *perfect consecutive* (cf. e. g. Ez 14<sup>13</sup>, Am 5<sup>19</sup>, Ru 3<sup>3</sup>, four perfects in each case, Is 8<sup>7</sup> five, Ex 6<sup>6f.</sup> eight). It is true, however, of the perfect (as conversely of the *imperfect*, § 111 c), that as soon as the *Wāw* is separated by any intervening word from the verb to which it belongs, an *imperfect* necessarily takes the place of the *perfect*, e. g. Gn 12<sup>12</sup> when the Egyptians shall see thee, they shall say (וַיֹּאמְרוּ), This is his wife: and they will kill me (וַיִּהְיוּ אֵתִי) but thee they will save alive (וַיִּחַיֵּךְ).

2. The perfect consecutive, like the imperfect consecutive, always *d* belongs to the period of time expressed by the preceding tense, or its equivalent, with which it is connected as the temporal or logical consequence. The particular cases may be classed under three heads: (a) the perfect consecutive in *immediate* dependence (see *e*), (b) in loose connexion (see *x*) with the preceding, and (c) the perfect consecutive at the beginning of the apodosis to other sentences, or their equivalents (see *f*).

3. The perfect consecutive in immediate dependence on the preceding tense, or its equivalent, serves *e*

(a) As a frequentative tense to express *past* actions, &c., i. e. actions repeatedly brought to a conclusion in the past, and follows tenses, or their equivalents, representing actions which have *continued* or been *repeated in the past*:

(a) After a simple imperfect, e. g. Gn 2<sup>6</sup> וַיֵּלֶךְ אֶת־מִן מִן וַיִּשְׁקֵה וַיִּשְׁקֵה and watered (as it were, and ever watered afresh), &c. This frequentative use of the perfect consecutive is equally evident after frequentative imperfects, Gn 2<sup>10</sup> (וַיְהִי) and it became again every time; וַיְהִי would mean, and it became so once for all); 29<sup>2f.</sup> (four perfects consecutive referring to actions repeated daily); Ex 33<sup>7-11</sup> וַיִּקַּח he used to take at each new encampment the tent, וַיִּנָּח and to pitch it again every time without the camp; notice, amongst the numerous frequent. perff. consec., the imperf. in vv. 7, 8, 9, 11, always in a frequentative sense; 34<sup>34f.</sup>, Nu 9<sup>19,21</sup> (among several simple imperfects), 10<sup>17</sup>, Ju 2<sup>19</sup>, 1 S 2<sup>19</sup> וַיַּעֲשֶׂה

is only beginning, becoming or still continuing, and hence in any case incomplete. The simplest view is to suppose, that the use of the *perfect consecutive* originated from those cases, in which it had to express the conclusion (or final consequence) of an action which was continued (or repeated) *in past time* (see the examples above), and that this use was afterwards extended to other cases, in which it had to represent the temporal or logical consequence of actions, &c., still in progress, and thus in the end a regular interchange of the two tenses became recognized.

she used to make . . . והעֲלֶתָהּ and brought it to him from year to year ; 27<sup>9</sup> (וְלִקְחָהּ), 1 K 14<sup>28</sup>, 2 K 3<sup>25</sup>, 12<sup>15</sup> (in verses 16<sup>f.</sup> imperfects occur again). So also in dependent sentences, Gn 6<sup>4</sup> (וַיִּלְדְּרֵי), as a continuation of יבֹאֵי, Jb 31<sup>29</sup>.<sup>1</sup>

f (β) After an imperfect consecutive, e. g. Ex 39<sup>3</sup> (Samaritan וקצצו), 1 S 5<sup>7</sup> (? see § 112 rr), 7<sup>16</sup>, 2 S 15<sup>2,5</sup>, 16<sup>13</sup> and he threw stones at him, וַעֲפָר and cast dust continually ; 12<sup>16,31</sup>, 2 K 6<sup>10</sup>, 12<sup>11 ff. 15</sup>, Jer 37<sup>15</sup>, Jb 1<sup>5</sup>.

g Rem. The frequentative perfect consecutive is sometimes joined even with imperfects consecutive which simply express one *single* action or occurrence in the past ; thus Ex 18<sup>26</sup>, 4c<sup>31 f.</sup>, 1 S 1<sup>4</sup>, 2 S 15<sup>1 f.</sup>, 1 K 14<sup>27</sup> (cf. verse 28) ; 1 K 18<sup>4</sup>, 2 K 12<sup>10</sup>. For other examples of a loosely connected frequentative perfect consecutive, see below, *dd*.

h (γ) After a perfect, Gn 37<sup>3</sup> (וְעִשָּׂה לוֹ), i. e. as often as he needed a new garment)<sup>2</sup> ; Gn 31<sup>7</sup>, Nu 11<sup>8</sup>, 1 S 16<sup>14</sup>, 2 K 3<sup>4</sup>, ψ 22<sup>6</sup> ;<sup>3</sup> in interrogative sentences, 1 S 26<sup>9</sup> *who has ever*, &c. ; ψ 80<sup>13</sup>, Jb 1<sup>4</sup>, Ru 4<sup>7</sup>.

i (δ) After an infinitive, Am 1<sup>11</sup> עַל־רַדְּפוֹ because he did pursue his brother, וְשָׁחַת and (on each occasion) did cast off all pity (then an imperfect consecutive) ; after an infinitive absolute, Jos 6<sup>13</sup>, 2 S 13<sup>19</sup>, Jer 23<sup>14</sup>.

k (ε) After a participle, Is 6<sup>3</sup> (וְקָרָא), &c., frequentative, as a continuation of עֲמִירִים, verse 2) ; 1 S 2<sup>22</sup>, 2 S 17<sup>17</sup>.<sup>4</sup>

l (ζ) After other equivalents of tenses, e. g. Gn 47<sup>22</sup> the priests had a portion from Pharaoh, וְאָכְלוּ and did eat (year by year), &c. ; 1 K 4<sup>7</sup>.

m (b) To express *present* actions, &c., as the temporal or logical consequence of actions or events which continue or are repeated in the present, especially such as have, according to experience, been at all times frequently repeated, and may be repeated at any time :

(a) After a simple imperfect, e. g. Gn 2<sup>24</sup> therefore a man leaves (וְעוֹבֵד is accustomed to leave) . . . וְרִבֵּק and cleaves, &c., here, as frequently elsewhere, clearly with the secondary idea of purpose, i. e. in order to cleave ; Is 5<sup>11</sup> (if וְהִיָּה is to be taken as a continuation

<sup>1</sup> Also in Ez 44<sup>12</sup> (where Stade, *ZAW.* v. 293, would read וְשִׁרְתוּ and וְהִיָּהוּ) the unusual tenses may have been intentionally chosen : *because they continually ministered and so always became afresh . . .*

<sup>2</sup> Driver, on this passage, rightly refers to 1 S 2<sup>19</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> Am 4<sup>7</sup> would also come under this head, if וְהִמְטִירָהּ is really intended, and the statement refers to the past ; מְנַעַתִּי might, however, also be a perfect expressing positive assurance (§ 106 m), and the passage would then come under s.

<sup>4</sup> That וְהִלְכָהּ, &c., are frequentatives (*the maidservant used to go repeatedly and tell them*) may be seen from וְלָבֹי (necessarily an imperfect, since it is separated from וְ by הֵם) and וְיִבְלֵי ; on the other hand in verse 18 וְיָרָא and וְיִלְכְּבוּ of actions which happened only once.

of וַיִּלְיָקִים); Is 28<sup>28</sup>, Jer 12<sup>3</sup>, Ho 4<sup>3</sup>, 7<sup>7</sup>, ψ 90<sup>6</sup>, Jb 14<sup>9</sup>; also in dependent clauses, Lv 20<sup>18</sup>, Is 29<sup>8, 11<sup>f</sup></sup>, Am 5<sup>19</sup>.

(β) After a participle, as the equivalent of a sentence representing *n* a contingent action, &c., e.g. Ex 21<sup>12</sup> מַכֶּה אִישׁ וְיָמַת (instead of מַכֶּה there is in verse 20, &c. וְיָמַת אִישׁ) if one smite a man and (so that) he die, &c., Ex 21<sup>16</sup>, Is 29<sup>15</sup>, Am 6<sup>1</sup>, Hb 2<sup>12</sup>.

(γ) After an infinitive absolute, Jer 7<sup>9<sup>f</sup></sup> will ye steal, murder, and O commit adultery (simple infinitives absolute; cf. § 113 ee), וּבֹאֲתֶם and then come and stand before me . . . and say, &c.; cf. below, u.

(c) To express future actions, &c., as the temporal or logical con-*p* sequence of tenses, or their equivalents, which announce or require such future actions or events. Thus—

(a) After imperfects in the sense of a simple future, e.g. Am 9<sup>3<sup>f</sup></sup> מְשֻׁם אֶחָדֵיכֶם וְלִקְחוּתֵיכֶם I will search and take them out thence, &c.; Gn 4<sup>14</sup>, 40<sup>13</sup>, Ex 7<sup>3</sup>, 1 S 17<sup>32</sup>, 2 K 5<sup>11</sup>, Jb 8<sup>6<sup>f</sup></sup> (also with a change of subject, Gn 27<sup>12</sup>, Ju 6<sup>16</sup>, &c.); and in interrogative sentences, Gn 39<sup>9</sup>, Ex 2<sup>7</sup>, 2 S 12<sup>18</sup>, 2 K 14<sup>10</sup>, Am 8<sup>3</sup>, ψ 41<sup>6</sup>; cf. also Ru 1<sup>11</sup>; in sentences expressing a wish, 2 S 15<sup>4</sup>; as well as in almost all kinds of dependent clauses. Also in conditional clauses after ׀ Gn 32<sup>9</sup>, Ex 19<sup>5</sup>, 1 S 11<sup>11</sup>, or כִּי Gn 37<sup>26</sup>, or הֲוֹן Jer 3<sup>1</sup>; in final clauses after לְמַעַן Gn 12<sup>13</sup>, Nu 15<sup>40</sup>, Is 28<sup>13</sup>; after אֲנִיִּךְ Dt 2<sup>25</sup>, or כִּיִּךְ Gn 3<sup>22</sup>, 19<sup>19</sup>, 32<sup>12</sup>, Is 6<sup>10</sup>, Am 5<sup>6</sup>; in temporal clauses, Is 32<sup>15</sup>, Jer 13<sup>16</sup>; and in relative clauses, Gn 24<sup>14</sup>, Ju 1<sup>12</sup>, 1 S 17<sup>28</sup>.

(β) After the jussive (or an imperfect in the sense of a jussive or *q* optative) or cohortative, with the same or a different subject, e.g. Gn 11<sup>4<sup>f</sup></sup> וְהָיוּ . . . יְהִי מְאֹרֶת let there be lights . . . and let them be, &c.; Gn 24<sup>4</sup>, 28<sup>3</sup>, 31<sup>44</sup>, 1 K 1<sup>2</sup>, 22<sup>13</sup>, Ru 2<sup>7</sup>, 1 Ch 22<sup>11</sup>; after a jussive expressing an imprecation, ψ 109<sup>10</sup>.

(γ) After an imperative, also with the same or a different subject, *r* e.g. 2 S 7<sup>5</sup> וְאָמַרְתָּ לָּהּ go and tell (that thou mayst tell), &c., and often, *perf. consec.* after לָּהּ (as also the *perf. consec.* of אָמַר and דָּבַר very frequently follows other imperatives); Gn 6<sup>14</sup>, 8<sup>17</sup>, 27<sup>43<sup>f</sup></sup>, 1 S 15<sup>3, 18</sup>, 1 K 2<sup>36</sup>, Jer 48<sup>26</sup>.

(δ) After perfects which express a definite expectation or assurance *δ* (cf. § 106 m and n), e.g. Gn 17<sup>20</sup> אֶתְּוֹ וְהִפְרֵתִי אֹתוֹ behold, I have blessed him, and will make him fruitful, &c.; Is 2<sup>11</sup>, 5<sup>14</sup>; on Am 4<sup>7</sup> see above, note 3 on h; in an interrogative sentence, Ju 9<sup>9</sup>, 11<sup>13</sup>.

(e) After a participle, e.g. Gn 7<sup>4</sup> מִמָּטָר and I will cause it to rain . . . וְיָמְחִיתִי and I will (i.e. in order to) destroy, &c.; Jer 21<sup>9</sup>; also with a different subject, Gn 24<sup>43<sup>f</sup></sup> the

maiden which cometh forth (הַיְצִיאת) . . . , וְאִמְרָתִי אֵלֶיהָ to whom I shall say . . . , וְאִמְרָהּ and she (then) shall say, &c. This use of the perfect consecutive is especially frequent after a participle introduced by הַיְהִי, e.g. Gn 6<sup>17</sup><sup>f.</sup>; with a different subject 1 K 20<sup>36</sup>, Am 6<sup>14</sup>; after a complete noun-clause introduced by הַיְהִי (cf. § 140), Ex 3<sup>13</sup> behold, I come (i.e. if I shall come) . . . , וְאִמְרָתִי לָהֶם and shall say unto them . . . , וְאִמְרוּ and they (then) shall say, &c.; 1 S 14<sup>8ff.</sup>, Is 7<sup>14</sup>, 8<sup>7</sup><sup>f.</sup>, 39<sup>6</sup>.

u (z) After an infinitive absolute, whether the infinitive absolute serves to strengthen the finite verb (see § 113 t), e.g. Is 31<sup>5</sup>, or is used as an emphatic substitute for a cohortative or imperfect (§ 113 dd and ee), e.g. Lv 2<sup>6</sup>, Dt 1<sup>16</sup>, Is 5<sup>5</sup>, Ez 23<sup>46</sup><sup>f.</sup>.

v (η) After an infinitive construct governed by a preposition (for this change from the infinitive construction to the finite verb, cf. § 114 r), e.g. 1 S 10<sup>8</sup> לְךָ יְהוָה וְהוֹדַעְתִּי לְךָ till I come unto thee (prop. until my coming) and show thee, &c.; Gn 18<sup>25</sup>, 27<sup>45</sup>, Ju 6<sup>18</sup>, Ez 39<sup>27</sup>; cf. 1 K 2<sup>37,42</sup>.

w Rem. To the same class belong 1 S 14<sup>24</sup>, where the idea of time precedes, until it be evening and until I be avenged, &c., and Is 5<sup>5</sup>, where the idea of place precedes, in both cases governed by עַד.

x 4. The very frequent use of the perfect consecutive in direct dependence upon other tenses (see above, d-v) explains how it finally obtained a kind of independent force—especially for the purpose of announcing future events—and might depend loosely on sentences to which it stood only in a wider sense in the relation of a temporal or logical consequence. Thus the perfect consecutive is used—

(a) To announce future events, &c., in loose connexion with a further announcement, e.g. Gn 41<sup>30</sup> וְקָמוּ and two co-ordinate perfects consecutive, equivalent to *but then shall arise*, &c.; frequently so after הַיְהִי with a following substantive (1 S 9<sup>5</sup>), or a participial clause (cf. the analogous instances above, under t), e.g. 1 S 2<sup>31</sup> behold, the days come, וְגִדַּעְתִּי that I will cut off, &c.; Is 39<sup>6</sup>, Am 4<sup>2</sup>, 8<sup>11</sup>, 9<sup>13</sup>, and very often in Jeremiah; after an expression of time, Ex 17<sup>4</sup>, Is 10<sup>25</sup>, 29<sup>17</sup>, Jer 51<sup>33</sup>, Ho 1<sup>4</sup>. Further, when joined to a statement concerning present or past facts, especially when these contain the reason for the action, &c., expressed in the perfect consecutive; cf. Is 6<sup>7</sup> lo, this hath touched thy lips, וְקָרַךְ therefore thine iniquity shall be taken away, &c. (not copulative and it is taken away, since it is parallel with a simple imperfect), Gn 20<sup>11</sup>, 26<sup>22</sup>, Ju 13<sup>3</sup> (here in an adversative sense); Ho 8<sup>14</sup>. In loose connexion with a noun-clause, a long succession of perfects consecutive occurs in Ex 6<sup>6ff.</sup>. Also in Amos 5<sup>26</sup> וְנִשְׂאָתֶם may be an announcement *yea, ye shall take up*; but cf. below, rr.

Rem. 1. Very frequently the announcement of a future event is attached *y* by means of וְהָיָה<sup>1</sup> and *it shall come to pass* (cf. the analogous continuation in the past by means of וַיְהִי, § 111, 2), after which the event announced (sometimes after a long parenthesis) follows in one or more (co-ordinate) perfects consecutive, Gn 9<sup>14</sup>, 12<sup>12</sup> (וְהָיָה כִּי = *if*, as in 46<sup>33</sup>, Ex 1<sup>10</sup>, 22<sup>26</sup> and frequently), 1 K 18<sup>12</sup>, Is 14<sup>3 f.</sup>, Am 5<sup>9</sup>; or in the imperfect, Gn 4<sup>14</sup>, Is 2<sup>2</sup>, 3<sup>24</sup>, 4<sup>3</sup>, 7<sup>18, 21</sup> ff. (cf. 29<sup>8</sup>); or in the jussive, Lv 14<sup>9</sup>. It very rarely happens that the verb which is thus loosely added, agrees in gender and number with the following subject, as in Nu 5<sup>27</sup>, Jer 42<sup>16</sup> וְהָיְתָה (before הַחֶרֶב), and in Jer 42<sup>17</sup> וַיְהִי (before בְּלִי אֲנִי וְנַשִּׁים).

2. The jussive form וַיְהִי occurs (in the sense described in *y*) instead of וְהָיָה ≈ in 1 S 10<sup>5</sup>, 2 S 5<sup>24</sup> (1 Ch 14<sup>15</sup>), 1 K 14<sup>5</sup>, Ru 3<sup>4</sup>, although in the first three places a jussive is wholly inadmissible in the context, and even in Ru 3<sup>4</sup> (where an admonition follows) וְהָיָה would be expected (see below, *bb*). In 1 K 14<sup>5</sup> the form is a textual error, and the pointing should simply be וַיְהִי. In the other passages וַיְהִי (always before an infinitive with a preposition) stands at the beginning of the sentence at an unusually long distance from the principal tone, and hence is certainly to be explained according to § 109 *k*, except that in 1 S 10<sup>5</sup>, &c., the simply rhythmical jussive form takes the place, not of the full imperfect form, but (exceptionally) of the perfect consecutive.

(*b*) To introduce a command or wish: Dt 10<sup>19</sup> *love ye therefore the aa stranger*; 1 S 6<sup>5</sup>, 24<sup>16</sup>, 1 K 2<sup>6</sup> (in Gn 40<sup>14</sup> the precative perfect consecutive, as elsewhere the cohortative, jussive, and imperative, is strengthened by means of וְ). So, also, in loose connexion with participial and other noun-clauses (see above, *x*), Gn 45<sup>12 f.</sup>, 1 K 2<sup>2 f.</sup>, Ru 3<sup>3 f.</sup>, 3<sup>9</sup>.—In Gn 17<sup>11</sup> the perfect consecutive (וְנִמְלְתֶם and *ye shall be circumcised*, &c.) is used to explain a preceding command.

Rem. As in the cases mentioned above under *y*, the connexion may be made by means of וְהָיָה. Thus with a following perfect consecutive, e.g. Gn 46<sup>33</sup>, 47<sup>24</sup>, Ju 4<sup>20</sup>. Cf. also Gn 24<sup>14</sup>, where the real wish, at least as regards the sense, is contained in the next sentence. *bb*

(*c*) To introduce a question, whether in loose connexion with *cc* another interrogative sentence (see above, *p*), e.g. Gn 29<sup>15</sup> *art thou my brother* (equivalent to, *Surely thou art*), וְעַבְדְּתָנִי and *shouldest thou then serve me for naught?* or with a positive statement, e.g. Ex 5<sup>5</sup> (וְהִשְׁבַּתֶּם) *will ye then make them rest?*; Nu 16<sup>10</sup>, 1 S 25<sup>11</sup>, and (if it is *Mil'ra'*) ψ 50<sup>21</sup> (וְהִחַרְשִׁתִּי).

(*d*) To introduce actions frequently repeated (hence analogous to *dd* the numerous examples of a frequentative perfect consecutive, above, under *e*), e.g. 1 S 1<sup>3</sup> (וְעָלָה) of annual festival journeys; 13<sup>21</sup> (where, however, the text appears radically corrupt); 27<sup>9</sup> (וְהָבָה, i.e. every time, therefore continued by means of וְלֹא יָחִיָּה); 1 K 5<sup>7</sup> (וּבְלִבְלֵי),

<sup>1</sup> On the various combinations with וְהָיָה see Künlg's statistics in *ZAW.* xix. 272 ff.

parallel with a simple imperfect); 9<sup>25</sup>, Jer 25<sup>4</sup>, Ho 12<sup>11</sup>, Dn 8<sup>4</sup>.—In Jb 1<sup>4f</sup>. a series of frequentative perfects consecutive is interrupted by an imperfect consecutive, while a simple imperfect (as the *modus rei repetitæ*) forms the conclusion. In Jer 6<sup>17</sup> a similar perfect is expressly marked, by placing the tone on the final syllable (according to § 49 h), as parallel with the real perfects consecutive.

cc Rem. The loose connexion of *tempora frequentativa* by וְהָיָה (cf. the Rem. on y and bb) is also very common in this sense; thus with a following perfect consecutive, Gn 30<sup>41f</sup>. (but in verse 42<sup>a</sup>, where the verb is separated from the Wāw by an insertion, we find וַיִּשְׁרַף לֵאמֹר he used not to put them in, according to § 107 e); Gn 38<sup>9</sup>, Ex 17<sup>11</sup>, 33<sup>7ff</sup>. (see above, e), Nu 21<sup>9</sup>, Ju 6<sup>3</sup>, 19<sup>30</sup>, 1 S 16<sup>23</sup> (followed by five perfects consecutive); 2 S 15<sup>5</sup>; with a following imperfect (as the *modus rei repetitæ*), Ju 2<sup>19</sup>, 2 S 14<sup>26</sup>.—In Ju 12<sup>5f</sup>. וְהָיָה, contrary to what would be expected, is continued by means of the imperfect consecutive, and in 1 S 13<sup>22</sup> by וְהָיָה with the perfect (instead of the imperfect).

ff 5. Further, the perfect consecutive is very frequently employed with a certain emphasis to introduce the apodosis after sentences (or their equivalents) which contain a condition, a reason, or a statement of time. Such an apodosis, as in the cases already treated, may represent either future events, or commands and wishes, or even events which have been often repeated in the past. Thus—

(a) The perfect consecutive occurs in the apodosis to conditional sentences <sup>1</sup> (§ 159 g, o, s):

(a) After דִּם with the imperfect, e. g. 2 K 7<sup>4b</sup> וְנִמְתָּנוּ וְנָמְתָנוּ if they kill us, (well then) we shall but die; here the perfect consecutive is used obviously with greater emphasis than the imperfect (וְנִמְתָּנוּ) which immediately precedes; Gn 18<sup>26</sup>, 24<sup>8,41</sup>, 32<sup>9</sup>, Nu 30<sup>15</sup>, Ju 4<sup>20</sup>, 1 S 1<sup>11</sup>, 20<sup>6</sup>, 1 K 3<sup>14</sup>, Na 3<sup>12</sup>, Ec 4<sup>11</sup>.

gg (β) After דִּם with the perfect (in the sense of a *futurum exactum*), Nu 5<sup>27</sup>, 2 K 5<sup>20</sup>, 7<sup>4a</sup>, Is 4<sup>4f</sup>.; as precative apodosis after אֲנִי־דִם with the *perf. preteritum*, Gn 33<sup>10</sup>; as a frequentative perfect consecutive, to represent past events in the apodosis after דִּם with a perfect, Gn 38<sup>9</sup>, Nu 21<sup>9</sup>, Ju 6<sup>3</sup>, Jb 7<sup>4</sup>; after דִּם with imperfect, Gn 31<sup>8</sup>.

hh (γ) After וְ (in case, suppose that) with the imperfect, Gn 12<sup>12</sup>, Ex 18<sup>16</sup>, Ju 13<sup>17</sup>, Is 58<sup>7</sup>, Ez 14<sup>13</sup>.<sup>2</sup> Frequentative with reference to the past, after וְ with frequentative perfect, Ju 2<sup>18</sup>, Jb 7<sup>13f</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> In a number of the examples of this kind the protasis is already loosely connected by means of וְהָיָה, and hence some of them had to be already mentioned above, under y, bb, ee.

<sup>2</sup> In 1 S 24<sup>19</sup> a question appears to be expressed by the perfect consecutive, for if a man find his enemy, will he let him go well away? Probably, however, with Klostermann, וְנִמְתָּנוּ should be read for וְנִמְתָּנוּ.

(δ) After אֲשֶׁר with the imperfect, Gn 44<sup>9</sup> וְנָתַתְּ . . . אֹתוֹ . . . אֲשֶׁר יִמָּצֵא אֹתוֹ *with whomsoever . . . it be found, let him die*; with the perfect, Ex 21<sup>13</sup> *and if a man lie not in wait, &c.*; Ju 1<sup>12</sup>.

(ε) Very frequently after a perfect consecutive (one or more) containing the condition, e. g. Gn 44<sup>29</sup> וְיִקְחֶתְּם בְּיָמֵי-אֶתְוֶה . . . וְהוֹרְדֶתְם *and if ye take (or shall have taken) this one also . . . ye shall bring down, &c.*; cf. Gn 33<sup>13</sup>, 42<sup>38</sup>, 44<sup>4,22</sup>, 47<sup>30</sup>, Nu 30<sup>12</sup>, Ru 2<sup>9</sup>, and probably also Ez 39<sup>28</sup>.—Also frequentative in reference to the past, e. g. 1 S 17<sup>34f.</sup> . . . וּבָא הַלֵּוֹיִי *and when there came (as sometimes happened) a lion . . . I went out, &c.*; Ex 33<sup>10</sup>, Nu 10<sup>17ff.</sup>, 1 K 18<sup>10</sup>, Jer 20<sup>9</sup> (the perfects consecutive being regularly continued in the apodosis by וְלֵא with an imperfect<sup>1</sup>).

Rem. The perfect consecutive may be used also in the protasis to express a condition when the employment of the perfect consecutive in the apodosis has become impossible, owing to an emphatic word having to stand before it; thus in Ez 14<sup>14</sup> on account of הַפֶּה; 33<sup>4</sup> on account of הָמוֹ.—In 1 S 14<sup>52</sup> the imperfect consecutive, contrary to what might be expected, stands in the apodosis, *and when Saul saw any . . . valiant man, he took him unto him*, where וַיִּשְׁאָפֵהוּ suggests the special case, rather than a repeated occurrence; cf. 2 S 15<sup>2</sup>. Conversely, in 1 S 21<sup>6</sup> (וַיִּשְׁמַר) perhaps a mere mistake for (וַיִּשְׁמַר), 17<sup>35b</sup> an imperfect consecutive stands in the protasis.

(ζ) After various equivalents of sentences, which contain a condition; *mm* thus, after a substantive standing absolutely, or a participle (a *casus pendens*), Gn 17<sup>14</sup> וְנִכְרְתָהּ וְג' . . . וְעָרַל זָכָר *and the uncircumcised male (in case such an one be found), he shall be cut off, &c.*; cf. Gn 30<sup>32</sup>, Ex 12<sup>15</sup>, 2 S 14<sup>10</sup>, Is 6<sup>13</sup>, and (after an infinitive with a preposition) 2 S 7<sup>14</sup>; in a wider sense also Ex 4<sup>21</sup>, 9<sup>19</sup>, 12<sup>44</sup>, Is 9<sup>4</sup>, 56<sup>5</sup>.

(b) The perfect consecutive serves as the apodosis to causal clauses; *nn* thus e. g. after כִּי with the perfect, Is 3<sup>16f.</sup>; after אֲשֶׁר with perfect, 1 K 20<sup>28</sup>; after לְעֵקֶב with perfect, Nu 14<sup>24</sup>; also after what are equivalent to causal clauses, e. g. ψ 25<sup>11</sup> וּסְלַחֲתָ . . . לְמַעַן שְׁמִיךְ *for thy name's sake . . . pardon . . .*; Is 37<sup>29</sup> after לְעַן with an infinitive.

(c) The perfect consecutive occurs as the apodosis to temporal *oo* clauses or their equivalents, e. g. 1 S 2<sup>15</sup> וּבָא . . . אֶת־הַחֶלֶב *before they burnt the fat, the priest's servant came (used to come), &c.*, hence a frequentative perfect consecutive relating to the past, as in Ex 1<sup>19</sup>; also after participial clauses (§ 116 w), e. g. 1 S 2<sup>13f.</sup> וּבָא . . . כָּל־אִישׁ וּבָח וּבָח *when(ever) any man offered sacrifice, then came,*

<sup>1</sup> In all these examples (not only in the frequentative perfects consecutive) the original idea of the perfect, which also underlies the perfect consecutive, comes out very distinctly. Gn 44<sup>29</sup> (see above) implies in the mind of the speaker, If it ever shall have come to this, that ye have taken this one also, then ye have thereby brought me down to Sheol.

&c. (so Ju 19<sup>30</sup>, 2 S 20<sup>12</sup>), with a frequentative perfect consecutive. The perfect consecutive is very frequently used to announce future actions or events after simple expressions of time of any kind; thus Gn 3<sup>6</sup>, Ex 32<sup>34</sup> (after  $\text{וַיִּזְכֹּר}$  with the infinitive), cf. also such examples as Gn 44<sup>31</sup>, Ju 16<sup>2</sup>, Jos 6<sup>10</sup>, 1 S 1<sup>22</sup>, 16<sup>23</sup> (numerous frequentative perfects consecutive after the infinitive with a preposition; so 2 S 15<sup>5</sup>, see above, *ee*); 1 S 20<sup>18</sup>, 2 S 14<sup>26</sup>, 15<sup>10</sup>, Is 18<sup>5</sup>; moreover, Ex 17<sup>4</sup>, Is 10<sup>25</sup>, 29<sup>17</sup>, 37<sup>26</sup>; even after single disconnected words, e. g. Ex 16<sup>6</sup>  $\text{וַיָּרֶב עֶרְבָּךְ וַיִּרְעַמְךָ}$  at *even* (when it becomes evening) *then ye shall know*; cf. verse 7, Lv 7<sup>16</sup>, 1 K 13<sup>31</sup>, Pr 24<sup>27</sup>.

pp 6. Finally there still remains a number of passages which cannot be classed with any of those hitherto mentioned. Of these, some are due to the influence of Aramaic modes of expression, while in others the text is evidently corrupt.<sup>1</sup> In a few instances we can do no more than merely call attention to the incorrectness of the expression. (We are not of course concerned here with the cases—usually occurring in dependent clauses—in which a 2nd pers. *perf.* with Wāw copulative is simply co-ordinate with what precedes, as in Gn 28<sup>6</sup>, and probably Nu 21<sup>15</sup>, Dt 33<sup>2</sup>.)

(a) The influence of the Aramaic construction of the perfect with  $\text{וַי}$  as the narrative tense, instead of the Hebrew imperfect consecutive (cf. Kautzsch, *Gramm. des Bibl.-Aram.*, § 71 b), is certainly to be traced in: *Qoheleth*, and sporadically in other very late books,<sup>2</sup> perhaps also in a few passages in the books of Kings, which are open to the suspicion of being due to later interpolation; so probably 1 K 12<sup>32</sup>  $\text{וַיִּזְכֹּר וַיִּזְכֹּר}$ ; 2 K 11<sup>1</sup> *Keeth.*  $\text{וַיִּזְכֹּר וַיִּזְכֹּר}$ ; 14<sup>14</sup>  $\text{וַיִּזְכֹּר וַיִּזְכֹּר}$  (in the parallel passage, 2 Ch 25<sup>24</sup>, the word is wanting); 2 K 23<sup>4</sup>  $\text{וַיִּזְכֹּר וַיִּזְכֹּר}$ , &c.; verse 10  $\text{וַיִּזְכֹּר וַיִּזְכֹּר}$ , &c.; verse 12  $\text{וַיִּזְכֹּר וַיִּזְכֹּר}$ , &c.; verse 15  $\text{וַיִּזְכֹּר וַיִּזְכֹּר}$ , &c.<sup>3</sup> Cf. also Ez 37<sup>2,7,10</sup>.

qq (b) The text is certainly corrupt in Is 40<sup>6</sup> (read with the LXX and Vulgate

<sup>1</sup> Mayer Lambert, *REJ.* xxvi. 55, is probably right in pointing some of these forms as *infin. abs.* instead of *perfects*.

<sup>2</sup> In the whole of *Qoheleth* the imperfect consecutive occurs only in 1<sup>17</sup> and 4<sup>1-7</sup>. Several of the perfects with  $\text{וַי}$  can no doubt be explained as frequentatives, e. g. 1<sup>13</sup>, 2<sup>5,9,11,13,15</sup>, 5<sup>18</sup>, compared with 6<sup>2</sup>; but this is impossible in such passages as 9<sup>14</sup> ff. In *Ezra*, Driver reckons only six examples of the historical perfect with  $\text{וַי}$ , in *Nehemiah* only six, and in *Esther* six or seven.

<sup>3</sup> Stade in *ZAW.* v. 291 ff. and in *Ausgewählte akad. Reden*, Giessen, 1899, p. 194 ff. and appendix p. 199, discusses, in connexion with 2 K 12<sup>12</sup>, a number of critically questionable perfects with  $\text{וַי}$ . He considers that the whole section, 2 K 23<sup>4</sup> from  $\text{וַיִּזְכֹּר וַיִּזְכֹּר}$  to verse 5 inclusive, is to be regarded as a gloss, since the continuation of an imperfect consecutive by means of a perfect with  $\text{וַי}$  never occurs in pre-exilic documents, except in places where it is due to corruption of the original text. The theory of frequentative perfects consecutive (even immediately after imperfects consecutive), which has been supported above, under *f* and *g*, by a large number of examples, is quite inconsistent with the character of the action in 2 K 23<sup>5</sup>  $\text{וַיִּזְכֹּר וַיִּזְכֹּר}$ , verse 8  $\text{וַיִּזְכֹּר וַיִּזְכֹּר}$ , and verse 14  $\text{וַיִּזְכֹּר וַיִּזְכֹּר}$ .

וְאָמַר); Jer 38<sup>28</sup>, where the narrative breaks off in the middle of the sentence; 40<sup>3</sup> וְהָיָה, &c., wanting in the LXX); also in Ju 7<sup>13</sup> וְנִפְלָה הָאֱהָלִים is altogether redundant; in 1 S 3<sup>13</sup> read, with Klostermann, the 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. masc. instead of וְהִגְדַּרְתִּי; in 1 K 21<sup>12</sup> וְהִשְׁכַּח is, no doubt, incorrectly repeated from verse 9, where it is an imperative.

Of other questionable instances, (a) the following, at any rate, may also be explained as frequentatives, Gn 21<sup>25</sup>, 49<sup>23</sup>, Ex 36<sup>38</sup>, 38<sup>28</sup>, 39<sup>3</sup>, 1 S 5<sup>7</sup>, 17<sup>20</sup>, 24<sup>11</sup> (but even so וְאָמַר would be expected); 2 K 23<sup>12</sup>, Is 28<sup>26</sup> (parallel with an imperfect); Am 5<sup>26</sup> (unless it is rather, *yea, ye shall take up*; see above, x); ψ 26<sup>3</sup>, Ez 8<sup>30</sup>.

(B) A longer or constant continuance in a past state is perhaps represented by the perfect with וְ (as a variety of the frequentative perfect with וְ), in Gn 15<sup>6</sup>, 34<sup>5</sup>, Nu 21<sup>20</sup>, Jos 9<sup>12</sup>, 22<sup>3b</sup>, Is 22<sup>14</sup>, Jer 3<sup>9</sup>. But the unusual *perfects consec.* in Jos 15<sup>3-11</sup>, 16<sup>2-8</sup> (ultimately parallel with an imperf. as in 17<sup>9</sup>, 18<sup>20</sup>), 18<sup>12-21</sup>, 19<sup>11-14.22.26-29.34</sup>, are without doubt rightly explained by Bennett (*SBOT*, Joshua, p. 23) as originally containing the directions either of God to Joshua or of Joshua to the people; cf. the evident trace of this in 15<sup>4b</sup>. A redactor transformed the directions into a description but left the *perfects consec.*, which are to be explained as in *aa*. In the same way וְהָיָה Ex 36<sup>29</sup> is most simply explained as repeated from 26<sup>25</sup>.

(γ) The following are due to errors in the text, or to incorrect modes of *tt* expression: Ex 36<sup>29f</sup>, Ju 3<sup>23</sup>, 16<sup>18</sup> (read וַיִּעָלֶיךָ), 1 S 4<sup>19</sup>, 17<sup>88</sup>, 2 S 16<sup>5</sup>, 19<sup>18f</sup>. (read וַיִּעָבְרוּ and וַיִּעָבְרוּ), 1 K 3<sup>11</sup> (where וְשָׁאֵלֶת is, no doubt intentionally, assimilated to the four other perfects); 13<sup>3</sup>, 20<sup>21</sup>; 2 K 14<sup>7</sup> (where, with Stade, וְאֶת-הַסֶּלַע תִּפְשֵׁ should be read); 14<sup>14</sup>, 18<sup>4</sup> (where, at any rate, וְיִשְׁבֵּר might be taken as a frequentative, but not וְכָרַת, &c.; evidently the perfects are co-ordinated only in form with וְהִסִּיר (הוּא הִסִּיר); 18<sup>96</sup>, 21<sup>15</sup>, 24<sup>14</sup>, Jer 37<sup>15</sup> (where וְהָכִי, but not וְנָתַנִּי, might be frequentative); Ez 9<sup>7</sup> (omit וַיִּצְאָה with Stade, and read וְהָכִי); 20<sup>22</sup> (וְהַשְׁבֵּתִי *Mil'el* before an imperfect consecutive); Am 7<sup>4</sup> (וְאָבְלָה after an imperfect consecutive); Jb 16<sup>12</sup>.

Finally, in 1 S 10<sup>12</sup>, 10<sup>9</sup>, 17<sup>48</sup>, 25<sup>20</sup>, 2 S 6<sup>16</sup>, 2 K 3<sup>15</sup>, Jer 37<sup>11</sup>, Am 7<sup>2</sup> וְהָיָה is to be *uu* read throughout instead of וְהָיָה, but in Gn 38<sup>5</sup> וְהָיָה with the LXX.

## B. THE INFINITIVE AND PARTICIPLE.

### § 113. *The Infinitive Absolute.*

Cf. the dissertation of J. Kahan, and, especially, the thorough investigation by E. Sellin, both entitled, *Ueber die verbal-nominale Doppelnatur der hebräischen Participien und Infinitive*, &c., Lpz. 1889; F. Prätorius, 'Ueber die sogen. Infin. absol. des Hebr.' in *ZDMG*. 1902, pp. 546 ff.

1. The infinitive absolute is employed according to § 45 to emphasize *a* the idea of the verb *in the abstract*, i.e. it speaks of an action (or state) without any regard to the agent or to the circumstances of time and mood under which it takes place. As the *name* of an action the infinitive absolute, like other nouns in the stricter sense,

<sup>1</sup> Or does וְנָעַל, as a frequentative, imply fastening with several bolts? It is, at all events, to be noticed, that in 2 S 13<sup>18</sup> also וְנָעַל follows an imperfect consecutive.

may form part of certain combinations (as a subject, predicate, or object, or even as a genitive,<sup>1</sup> see below); but such a use of the infinitive absolute (instead of the infinitive construct with or without a preposition) is, on the whole, rare, and, moreover, open to question on critical grounds. On the other hand, the infinitive absolute frequently exhibits its character as an expression of the *verbal idea* by taking an object, either in the accusative or even with a preposition.

*b* Examples of the use of the infinitive absolute:—

(a) As subject, Pr 25<sup>27</sup> אֲכַל דְּבַשׁ הַרְבוֹת לֹא טוֹב *it is not good to eat much honey*; Jer 10<sup>5</sup>, Jb 6<sup>25</sup>, Ec 4<sup>17</sup>; epexegetically, after a demonstrative pronoun, Is 58<sup>5f.</sup>, Zc 14<sup>12</sup>.

*c* (b) As predicate, Is 32<sup>17</sup> *and the effect of righteousness (is) הַשְׁקֵט וְנִטְחַח quietness (prop. to find rest) and confidence.*

*d* (c) As object, Is 1<sup>17</sup> לִמְדוּ הַיָּטִיב *learn to do well*; Is 7<sup>15</sup>, Pr 15<sup>12</sup>, Jb 9<sup>18</sup>; according to the sense also Jer 9<sup>23</sup> 23<sup>14</sup>, as well as Is 5<sup>5</sup> (הִסְרֵם and פְּרִיץ virtually depend on the idea of the wish contained in עֲשֵׂה); Is 22<sup>13</sup>, where a long series of infinitives absolute is governed by הִנֵּה, and 59<sup>3</sup> (six infinitives governed by יִרְעֵנוּם in verse 12); Dt 28<sup>56</sup> is strange since the object precedes the infinitive absolute which governs it,<sup>2</sup> also Is 42<sup>24</sup>, where the statement of place precedes the infinitive absolute.—In Jer 9<sup>4</sup>, Jb 13<sup>3</sup> the infinitive absolute as the object of the verb is placed before it for the sake of emphasis (with the verb negated by לֹא in Is 57<sup>20</sup>, Jer 49<sup>23</sup>), so also in La 3<sup>45</sup> where it is the remoter object and co-ordinated with a substantive.

*e* (d) As genitive, Is 14<sup>23</sup> בְּמַטְאֵיָהּ הַשְׁמֵר *with the besom of destruction*; so perhaps also 4<sup>4</sup> בְּעֵר בְּרוּחַ; cf. further, Pr 1<sup>3</sup>, 21<sup>16</sup>. The infinitive absolute is never used in immediate connexion with prepositions<sup>3</sup> (which as being originally substantives govern the genitive), but always the infinitive construct; but if a second infinitive is co-ordinated by ׀ with such an infinitive construct, it has the form of the infinitive absolute (since it is released from the immediate government of the preposition), e. g. 1 S 22<sup>13</sup> . . . בְּתַחֲדָּ לֹא לָחֵם . . . וְשָׂאוֹל לוֹ בְּאֵלֹהִים *in that thou hast given him bread . . . and hast enquired of God for him*; Ez 36<sup>3</sup>; 1 S 25<sup>26, 33</sup> (after מָן); after לְ Ex 32<sup>8</sup>, Jer 7<sup>18</sup>, 44<sup>17</sup>.

*f* (e) Governing an accusative of the object, e. g. Is 22<sup>13</sup> הָרַג בְּקֹר וְשָׁחַט צֹאן *slaying oxen and killing sheep*; cf. Ex 20<sup>3</sup>, 23<sup>30</sup>, Dt 5<sup>12</sup>, Is 37<sup>19</sup>, Ez 23<sup>30</sup>, and of the examples in *a-d*, Dt 28<sup>56</sup>, Is 5<sup>5</sup>, 58<sup>6f.</sup>, Pr 25<sup>27</sup>, &c.; followed by a preposition, e. g. Is 7<sup>15</sup> בָּרַע וּבָחַר בְּטוֹב *to refuse the evil and choose the good*; Pr 15<sup>12</sup> (הוֹבִיחַ לוֹ).

*g* If the object be a personal pronoun, then, since the infinitive absolute can never be united with a suffix (see the note on *a*), it is affixed by means of the accusative-sign אֶת (את), e. g. Jer 9<sup>28</sup> וְיָדוּעַ אֶתִּי *and knoweth me*; Ez 36<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> The infinitive absolute can never be joined with a genitive or a pronominal suffix.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps הִצַּג according to § 53 *k* should be explained as an infinitive construct, or should be written הִצַּג.

<sup>3</sup> וְאֶחָרִי שָׂתָה 1 S 1<sup>9</sup> is impossible Hebrew, and as the LXX shows, a late addition.

2. Analogous to the use of the infinitive absolute as the accusative *l* of the object, mentioned in *d*, is its employment as a *casus adverbialis*<sup>1</sup> in connexion with some form of the finite verb, to describe more particularly the manner or attendant circumstances (especially those of time and place) under which an action or state has taken place, or is taking place, or will take place; e. g. Jer 22<sup>19</sup> *he shall be buried with the burial of an ass, וְהִשְׁלָךְ אֶחָיִב וְהִשְׁלָךְ* a drawing and casting forth, i. e. being drawn and cast forth, &c.; Gn 21<sup>16</sup> (וְהִרְחַק) a removing, i. e. distant; cf. Ex 33<sup>7</sup>, Jos 3<sup>16</sup>); Gn 30<sup>32</sup>, Ex 30<sup>36</sup>, Nu 6<sup>5,23</sup>, 15<sup>55</sup> (where a subject is added subsequently; see below, *gg*); Jos 3<sup>17</sup>, 1 S 3<sup>12</sup> (וְהָחֵל וְכִלָּה) a beginning and ending, i. e. from beginning to end); 2 S 8<sup>2</sup>, Is 7<sup>11</sup> (וְהַעֲמִיק and וְהִגְבִּיהַ, prop. a making deep . . . , and a making high, i. e. whether thy request extend to the world below or to the height above); 57<sup>17</sup> (וְהִתְחַיֵּר in hiding, sc. my face); Jer 3<sup>15</sup> (וְהִשְׁכִּיל וְהִשְׁמָע) with knowledge and understanding); Hb 3<sup>13</sup> (עָרוֹת, for the form cf. § 75 *aa*); Zc 7<sup>3</sup>, ψ 35<sup>16</sup> (וְהִרְקַ, to define more precisely קִרְעוּ verse 15); Jb 15<sup>3</sup>.<sup>2</sup>

Rem. 1. To an adverbial infinitive absolute of this kind, there may further *z* be added a *casus adverbialis* (the accusative of state or circumstance), or even a circumstantial clause, to define more exactly the manner in which the action is performed, e. g. Is 20<sup>2</sup> *and he did so וַיֵּלֶךְ עָרוֹם וְיָחָף* walking naked and barefoot, prop. in the condition of one naked, &c.; Is 30<sup>14</sup> *a breaking in pieces (acc. to the reading בְּתוֹת; the Masora requires בְּתוֹת) without sparing.*

2. A few infinitives of this kind, all of which are in Hiph'il, have, through *k* frequent use, come to be treated by the language as simple adverbs; so especially וְהִרְבֶּה (cf. § 75 *ff*) *multum faciendo*, i. e. *multum*, very frequently strengthened by מְאֹד *very* and even used without connexion with a finite verb (see the Lexicon); also וְהֵיטֵב *bene faciendo*, i. e. *bene*, used especially to express the careful and thorough performance of an action (e. g. Dt 13<sup>16</sup>); in Dt 9<sup>21</sup>, 27<sup>8</sup> it is added epexegetically to another adverbial infinitive absolute, in Jon 4<sup>9</sup> it twice precedes the verb for the sake of emphasis. Finally, וְהֵשִׁיב *mane faciendo*, i. e. *early in the morning*, then in general *early* with the additional idea of earnestness; in 1 S 17<sup>16</sup> joined with the infinitive absolute וְהָעֵרַב a denominative from עָרַב *evening (morning and evening, i. e. early and late)*, elsewhere (with the exception of Pr 27<sup>14</sup>) always joined with the infinitive absolute of the governing verb, e. g. Jer 11<sup>7</sup> *for I earnestly protested (וְהָעֵרַתִּי) unto your fathers . . . וְהָעֵרַב וְהִשְׁבַּחְתִּים rising early and protesting, i. e. with earnest protestation; Jer 25<sup>3</sup>, 26<sup>8</sup> (where וְהָעֵרַב should be omitted before 'ה); Jer 29<sup>19</sup>, 32<sup>33</sup>, 2 Ch 16<sup>15</sup>.*

<sup>1</sup> That this *casus adverbialis* also was originally regarded as an accusative, may be seen from classical Arabic, where an infinitive of this kind expressly retains the accusative ending. In Latin the ablative of the gerund corresponds in many ways to this use of the infinitive absolute.

<sup>2</sup> Also in 2 K 21<sup>13</sup> for וְהִפְתָּ וְהִמָּחָה read with Stade and Klostermann וְהִפְתָּ וְהִמָּחָה; similarly, with Stade, וְהִשְׁמָע in Ju 4<sup>24</sup>; וְהִחֹזֵק in Jer 23<sup>14</sup>, and on Is 31<sup>5</sup> cf. *t*.

l 3. The infinitive absolute occurs most frequently in immediate connexion with the finite verb of the same stem, in order in various ways to *define more accurately* or to *strengthen the idea of the verb*.<sup>1</sup>

III These infinitives absolute joined immediately to the finite verb belong in a sense to the *schema etymologicum* treated in § 117 p, i. e. they are objects of the finite verb in question, except that the infinitive absolute (as a *nomen abstractum*) lays stress rather on the actual occurrence or the energy of the action (see the examples below), while the noun proper emphasizes the result or extent of the action; cf. e. g. Ex 22<sup>22</sup> אִם-יִצְעַק יִצְעַק אֵלַי if it actually happens that *he cries to me*, with Gn 27<sup>34</sup> (as it were, *he cried*, so that a great cry was heard).

We must further distinguish—

n (a) The infinitive absolute used *before* the verb to *strengthen* the verbal idea, i. e. to emphasize in this way either the certainty (especially in the case of threats) or the forcibleness and completeness of an occurrence. In English, such an infinitive is mostly expressed by a corresponding adverb, but sometimes merely by putting greater stress on the verb; e. g. Gn 2<sup>17</sup> מוֹת תָּמוּת thou shalt surely die, cf. 18<sup>10, 18</sup>, 22<sup>17</sup>, 28<sup>22</sup>, 1 S 9<sup>6</sup> (cometh surely to pass); 24<sup>21</sup>, Am 5<sup>5</sup>, 7<sup>17</sup>, Hb 2<sup>3</sup>, Zc 11<sup>17</sup>; with the infinitive strengthened by אָזָּה Gn 44<sup>28</sup> (but 27<sup>30</sup> and Jacob was yet scarce gone out, &c.); Gn 43<sup>3</sup> הָעֵר הָעֵר בְּנֵי הָאֵלֹהִים he did solemnly protest unto us; 1 S 20<sup>6</sup> נִשְׂאֵל נִשְׂאֵל דָּוִד earnestly asked leave of me; Jos 17<sup>13</sup>, Ju 1<sup>23</sup> לֹא הִזְרִישׁוּ לֹא הִזְרִישׁוּ and did not utterly drive them out; especially typical instances are Am 9<sup>8</sup> I will destroy it from off the face of the earth וְגַם אֶשְׂמֵר לֹא הִשְׁמִיר אֶשְׂמֵר saving that I will not utterly destroy, &c.; Jer 30<sup>11</sup> and will in no wise leave thee unpunished; cf. further Gn 20<sup>18</sup>, 1 K 3<sup>26</sup>, Jo 1<sup>7</sup>, Jb 13<sup>5</sup>.

o The infinitive absolute is used before the verb with less emphasis:

(1) Frequently at the beginning of the statement; cf. Driver on 1 S 20<sup>6</sup>. However, in these cases a special emphasis on the following verb is sometimes intended; cf. above, n, on Gn 43<sup>3</sup>, 1 S 20<sup>6</sup>; also Gn 3<sup>16</sup>, 26<sup>28</sup>, 32<sup>17</sup>, 1 S 14<sup>28</sup>, 20<sup>3</sup>. Elsewhere the infinitive absolute is evidently used only as possessing a certain fullness of sound (hence for rhythmical reasons, like some uses of the separate pronoun, § 135 a), as in Gn 15<sup>13</sup>, 43<sup>7, 20</sup>, Ju 9<sup>8</sup>, 1 S 10<sup>16</sup>, 23<sup>10</sup>, 2 S 1<sup>6</sup>, 20<sup>18</sup>.

(2) Very frequently in conditional sentences after אִם, &c. The infinitive absolute in this case emphasizes the importance of the con-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. A. Rieder, *Die Verbindung des Inf. abs. mit dem Verb. fin. . . im Hebr.*, Lpz., 1872; also his *Quae ad syntaxin Hebraicam . . . planiorem faciendam ex lingua Graeca et Latina afferantur*, Gumbinnen (Programm des Gymnasiums), 1884. G. R. Hauschild, *Die Verbindung finiter und infinitiver Verbalformen desselben Stammes in einigen Bibelsprachen*, Frankfurt a. M., 1893, discussing especially the rendering of such constructions in the Greek and Latin versions.

dition on which some consequence depends, e.g. Ex 15<sup>26</sup> *if thou wilt diligently hearken, &c.*, Ex 19<sup>5</sup>, 21<sup>5</sup>, 22<sup>3, 11<sup>f</sup>, 16<sup>, 22</sup></sup> (see above, m); 23<sup>22</sup>, Nu 21<sup>2</sup>, Ju 16<sup>11</sup>, 1 S 11<sup>1</sup>, 12<sup>25</sup>; after לִי 1 S 14<sup>30</sup>.

The infinitive absolute is used to give emphasis to an antithesis, e.g. p 2 S 24<sup>24</sup> *nay; but I will verily buy* (קָנִיתִי אֶתְּךָ בְּכֶסֶף) *it of thee, &c.* (not receive it as a gift); Ju 15<sup>13</sup> *no; but we will bind thee fast . . . but surely we will not kill thee*; cf. further Gn 31<sup>30</sup> (thou art indeed gone =) *though thou wouldst needs be gone* (Vulg. *esto*), *because thou sore longedst, &c.*; ψ 118<sup>13, 15</sup>, 126<sup>6</sup> (the second infinitive absolute as a supplement to the first—see below, r—comes *after* the verb).—Hence also, as permissive, Gn 216<sup>f</sup>. אֲכַלְתָּ חֵלֶב אֲשֶׁר לֹא יִצְוָה לְאָכְלוֹ *thou mayest freely eat, but, &c.* (so that verse 16 is in antithesis to verse 17); or concessive, 1 S 2<sup>30</sup> *I said indeed . . .*, 14<sup>43</sup>.

The infinitive absolute is used to strengthen a question, and q especially in impassioned or indignant questions, e.g. Gn 37<sup>8</sup> הֲמִלְכָהּ עָלֵינוּ תִּמְלֹךְ *shalt thou indeed reign over us?* Gn 37<sup>10</sup>, 43<sup>7</sup>, Ju 11<sup>25</sup>, 1 S 2<sup>27</sup>, 2 S 19<sup>43</sup>, Jer 3<sup>1</sup>, 13<sup>12</sup>, Ez 28<sup>9</sup>, Am 3<sup>5</sup>, Zc 7<sup>5</sup>; but cf. also Gn 24<sup>5</sup> *must I needs bring again?*

(b) The infinitive absolute *after the verb*, sometimes (as in n) to r intensify<sup>1</sup> the idea of the verb (especially after imperatives and participles, since the infinitive absolute can never precede either, e.g. Nu 11<sup>15</sup>, Jb 13<sup>17</sup>, 21<sup>2</sup>, 37<sup>2</sup> שְׁמַעוּ שְׂמַעוּ שְׂמַעוּ *hearken ye attentively*; Jer 22<sup>10</sup>; after participles, e.g. Is 22<sup>17</sup>, also elsewhere, e.g. Nu 23<sup>11</sup>, 24<sup>10</sup> *thou hast altogether blessed them*; Jos 24<sup>10</sup>, 2 K 5<sup>11</sup>, Dn 11<sup>10</sup>, and with the infinitive absolute strengthened by means of ׀ Gn 31<sup>15</sup>, 46<sup>4</sup>, Nu 16<sup>13</sup>); sometimes to express the long *continuance* of an action; here again after an imperative, Is 6<sup>9</sup> שְׁמַעוּ שְׂמַעוּ שְׂמַעוּ *hear ye continually*; after a perfect, Jer 6<sup>29</sup>; after a participle, Jer 23<sup>17</sup>; after an imperfect consecutive, Gn 19<sup>9</sup>, Nu 11<sup>32</sup>.

To this class belong especially those cases in which a second infinitive absolute is co-ordinated with the first; the latter then expresses either an accompanying or antithetical action or the aim to which the principal action is directed; e.g. 1 S 6<sup>12</sup> הֹלְכֵי הָלְכוּ הֹלְכֵי הָלְכוּ *lowing as they went* (lowing continually; so after a participle, Jos 6<sup>13b</sup> *Qerê*); Gn 8<sup>7</sup> *it went forth to and fro*<sup>2</sup>; Is 19<sup>22</sup> *smiting and* (i. e. but also) *healing again*; Jo 2<sup>26</sup> (see above, m).

Rem. 1. Instead of a second infinitive absolute (see above) there is sometimes found a perfect consecutive (Jos. 6<sup>13a</sup> and 2 S 13<sup>19</sup> [but Stade's וַיִּעַק is

<sup>1</sup> In Arabic also, the intensifying infinitive regularly stands *after* the verb, but in Syriac *before* the verb.

<sup>2</sup> Also in Ez 1<sup>14</sup> for the distorted form רָצוּן reads simply יִצְוֶה יִצְוֶה.

is preferable], in both places as perfect frequentative; Is 31<sup>5</sup> referring to the future, unless with Stade, *ZAW.* vi. 189, we read וְהִצִּיל and וְהִמְלִיט, or an imperfect consecutive (1 S 19<sup>23</sup>, 2 S 16<sup>33</sup>) or participle (2 S 16<sup>5</sup>); cf. also *u.*

- 76 2. The idea of long *continuance* is very frequently expressed by the verb הִלֵּךְ *to go*, along with its infinitive absolute, or even by the latter alone, and this occurs not only when it can be taken in its literal sense (*to go, to walk*, as in the examples given above, Jos 6<sup>9,13</sup>, 1 S 6<sup>12</sup>, 2 S 3<sup>16</sup>, 13<sup>19</sup>; cf. also, Is 3<sup>16</sup>, where both infinitives stand *before* the verb, and ψ 126<sup>6</sup>, where הִלֹךְ precedes), but also in cases where הִלֵּךְ in the sense of *to go on, to continue*, merely performs the function of an adverb. The action itself is added in a second infinitive absolute, or sometimes (see above, *t*) in a participle or verbal adjective. Examples, Gn 8<sup>3</sup> וַיֵּשְׁבוּ הַמַּיִם . . . הַלֹּהֶךְ וַיָּשׁוּב . . . *continually*; Gn 8<sup>5</sup>, 12<sup>9</sup>, Ju 14<sup>9</sup>, 2 K 2<sup>11</sup>; with a participle following, Jer 41<sup>6</sup> (unless we read וַיִּבְכְּהוּ, as in 2 S 3<sup>16</sup>); with an adjective following, Gen 26<sup>13</sup>, Ju 4<sup>24</sup>, 1 S 14<sup>19</sup>, 2 S 5<sup>10</sup> (1 Ch 11<sup>9</sup>), 2 S 18<sup>25</sup>.<sup>1</sup>

On the other hand, in 1 S 17<sup>41</sup> the participle הֹלֵךְ is used instead of the infinitive absolute. Of a different kind are the instances in which the participle הֹלֵךְ is used as predicate along with the co-ordinate adjective (Ex 19<sup>19</sup>, 1 S 2<sup>26</sup>, 2 S 3<sup>1</sup>, 15<sup>12</sup>, Est 9<sup>4</sup>, 2 Ch 17<sup>12</sup>) or participle (1 S 17<sup>15</sup>, Jon 1<sup>11</sup>, Pr 4<sup>18</sup>, Ec 1<sup>6</sup>).

- 77 3. The regular place of the negative is between the intensifying infinitive absolute and the finite verb,<sup>2</sup> e.g. Ex 5<sup>25</sup> וְהִצִּיל לֹא-הָעֵלְתָּ *neither hast thou delivered at all*, Ju 15<sup>13</sup>, Jer 13<sup>12</sup>, 30<sup>11</sup>; cf. Mi 1<sup>10</sup> (אֵל). Exceptions are Gn 3<sup>4</sup> (where the negation of the threat pronounced in 2<sup>17</sup> is expressed in the same form of words); Am 9<sup>8</sup>, ψ 49<sup>8</sup>.
- 78 4. With a finite verb of one of the derived conjugations, not only the infinitive absolute of the *same* conjugation may be connected (Gn 28<sup>22</sup> Pi'el; 17<sup>13</sup>, Ex 22<sup>3</sup>, Ez 14<sup>3</sup> Niph'al; Gn 40<sup>15</sup> Pu'al; Ho 4<sup>18</sup> Hiph'il; Ez 16<sup>4</sup> Hoph'al), but also (especially with Niph'al, rarely with Pi'el and Hiph'il; see Driver on 2 S 20<sup>18</sup>) that of Qal as the simplest and most general representative of the verbal idea, 2 S 20<sup>18</sup> (with Pi'el; but in Gn 37<sup>33</sup>, 44<sup>28</sup> טָרַף is a passive of Qal, § 52 *e*); 46<sup>4</sup> (with Hiph'il); Ex 19<sup>13</sup>, 21<sup>20</sup>, 2 S 23<sup>7</sup>, Is 40<sup>30</sup>, Jer 10<sup>5</sup>, Jb 6<sup>2</sup> (with Niph'al); Is 24<sup>19</sup> (with Hithpo'el; רָעָה in the same verse must also, according to the Masora, certainly be the infinitive absolute Qal; see § 67 *o*), and so always מוֹת יוֹמָת *he shall surely be put to death*. Elsewhere the infinitive absolute of a conjugation with kindred meaning is found, Lv 19<sup>20</sup>, 2 K 3<sup>23</sup> Hoph'al for Niph'al (but most probably we should read, with Driver, the *infin. Niph.* in both places, הַפְּרָה and הַהֲרִיב); 1 S 2<sup>16</sup> (Pi'el for Hiph'il, unless יִקְטְרוּן is to be read); Ez 16<sup>4</sup> (Hoph'al for Pu'al).<sup>3</sup> Finally, the infinitive absolute may

<sup>1</sup> Cf. in French, *Le mal va toujours croissant, la maladie va toujours en augmentant et en empirant*, 'continually increases and becomes worse and worse.'

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Rieder, *Quo loco ponantur negationes לֹא et אֵל . . .* (*Zeitschrift für Gymn.-Wesen*, 1879, p. 395 ff.).

<sup>3</sup> In three passages even the infinitive absolute of another stem of like sound occurs; but in Is 28<sup>28</sup> אָרוּשׁ is no doubt a mere textual error for רוּשׁ, and in Jer 8<sup>13</sup>, according to § 72 *aa*, we should read אֲסַפֵּם, and in Zp 1<sup>2</sup> אֲקַף. Barth, *Nom.-bildung*, § 49 *b*, sees in אָרוּשׁ and אֲסַפֵּם infinitives Hiph'il, exactly corresponding in form to 'qām[ā] the Aram. infin. 'Aph'el of קַיִם; but there is no more evidence for a Hiph. of רוּשׁ in Hebrew than for a stem אָרַשׁ.

equally well be represented by a *substantive* of kindred stem.<sup>1</sup> In Is 20<sup>14</sup> the substantive intensifying the verb is found *along with* the infinitive absolute.

5. Instead of the infinitive absolute immediately connected with the finite *x* verb, an infinitive construct form appears (cf. § 73 *d*), in Nu 23<sup>25</sup> (גַּם קָב); cf. Ru 2<sup>18</sup> (גַּם שָׁל); Jer 50<sup>34</sup> (רִיב יְרִיב); Pr 23<sup>1</sup> (בִּין תִּבְיִן). In the last instances the infinitive is probably assimilated to the imperfect, like the infinitive Niph'al in the forms noticed in § 51 *k* and note.—Cf. also 2 K 3<sup>24</sup> וַיִּבְאוּ בָא וְהַבּוֹת (read so with the LXX) before א, hence, no doubt due to the dislike of a hiatus; so in ψ 50<sup>21</sup>, Neh 1<sup>7</sup> (חָבַל), all in rapid style; *after* the verb, Jos 7<sup>7</sup>, unless הֶעֱבִיר is intended.

4. Finally the infinitive absolute sometimes appears as a *substitute y* for the finite verb, either when it is sufficient simply to mention the verbal idea (see *z*), or when the hurried or otherwise excited style intentionally contents itself with this infinitive, in order to bring out the verbal idea in a clearer and more expressive manner (see *aa*).

(*a*) The infinitive absolute as the continuation of a preceding finite *z* verb. In the later books especially it often happens that in a succession of several acts only the first (or sometimes more) of the verbs is inflected, while the second (or third, &c.) is added simply in the infinitive absolute. Thus after several perfects, Dn 9<sup>5</sup> (cf. verse 11) *we have sinned . . . and have transgressed thy law*, וְסוּר and *have turned aside* (prop. *a turning aside* took place); so after a perfect Ex 36<sup>7</sup> (?), 1 S 2<sup>23</sup>, Is 37<sup>19</sup>, Jer 14<sup>5</sup>, 19<sup>13</sup>, Hag 1<sup>6</sup> (four infinitives), Zc 3<sup>4</sup> (but read with Wellhausen, after the LXX, וְהִלְבִּישׁוּ אֹתוֹ), 7<sup>5</sup>, Ec 8<sup>9</sup>, 9<sup>11</sup>, Est 3<sup>13</sup>, 9<sup>6,16,18</sup>, 12<sup>6ff.</sup>, Neh 9<sup>8,13</sup>, 1 Ch 5<sup>20</sup>, 2 Ch 28<sup>19</sup>; <sup>2</sup> after the perfect consecutive, Zc 12<sup>10</sup>; after the perfect frequentative 1 K 9<sup>25</sup> (unless וְהִקְטִיר be intended); after the simple imperfect, Lv 25<sup>14</sup>, Nu 30<sup>3</sup>, Jer 32<sup>44</sup> (three infinitives), 36<sup>23</sup>, 1 Ch 21<sup>24</sup>; after a cohortative, Jos 9<sup>20</sup>; after the imperfect consecutive, Gn 41<sup>43</sup> (as a continuation of וַיִּרְבֵּב); Ex 8<sup>11</sup>, Ju 7<sup>19</sup>, Jer 37<sup>21</sup>, Neh 8<sup>8</sup>, 1 Ch 16<sup>36</sup>, 2 Ch 7<sup>3</sup>; with אִם or after the jussive, Dt 14<sup>21</sup>, Est 2<sup>3</sup>, 6<sup>9</sup>; after the imperative, Is 37<sup>30b</sup>, Am 4<sup>4f.</sup>; after the participle, Hb 2<sup>15</sup> (strengthened by אִם, and regarded, like the participle itself, as an adverbial accusative); Est 8<sup>8</sup>.

(*b*) At the beginning of the narrative, or at least of a new section *aa* of it. The special form of the finite verb which the infinitive absolute represents must be determined from the context. The infinitive

<sup>1</sup> On these substantives (and on the use of the infinitive absolute generally as absolute object, see above, *m*), cf. the *schema etymologicum* treated in connexion with the government of the verb in § 117 *p, q*.

<sup>2</sup> In Ez 7<sup>14</sup> a perfect appears to be continued by means of an infinitive construct; but the text is quite corrupt; Cornill reads תִּקְוֶה תִּקְוֶה הִכְיִנוּ הֵבֵן.

absolute is most frequently used in this way, corresponding to the infinitive of command in Greek, &c.<sup>1</sup>:—

- bb* (a) For an emphatic imperative,<sup>2</sup> e. g. שָׁמֹר (thou shalt, ye shall), observe Dt 5<sup>12</sup>; זָכוֹר (thou shalt) remember, Ex 13<sup>3</sup>, 20<sup>8</sup> (the full form occurs in Dt 6<sup>17</sup> תִּשְׁמֹר תִּשְׁמְרוּן; 7<sup>18</sup> וְזָכַר תִּזְכְּרוּ); Lv 2<sup>6</sup>, Nu 4<sup>2</sup>, 25<sup>17</sup>, Dt 1<sup>16</sup>, 2 K 5<sup>10</sup>, Is 38<sup>5</sup>, Jer 2<sup>2</sup>, followed by a *perfect consecutive*; Jos 1<sup>13</sup>, 2 K 3<sup>16</sup>, Is 7<sup>4</sup>, 14<sup>31</sup> (parallel with an *imperative*; in Na 2<sup>2</sup> three imperatives follow). But הִיטֵיטָא 142<sup>5</sup> may be only an incorrect spelling of הִיטֵטָא imperative.<sup>3</sup>
- cc* (β) For the jussive, Lv 6<sup>7</sup>, Nu 6<sup>5</sup>, 2 K 11<sup>15</sup>, Ez 23<sup>46</sup>; cf. also Pr 17<sup>12</sup> (let it rather meet).
- dd* (γ) For the cohortative, Is 22<sup>13b</sup> אָכֹל וְשָׂתוּ (the exclamation of the mocker); Ez 21<sup>31</sup>, 23<sup>30,46</sup>; perhaps also Jer 31<sup>2</sup> (הֲלֹוֹיָהּ).<sup>4</sup>
- ee* (δ) For the imperfect in emphatic promises, e. g. 2 K 4<sup>43</sup> ye shall eat and leave thereof; 19<sup>29</sup> (Is 37<sup>30</sup>), 2 Ch 31<sup>10</sup>; also in indignant questions, Jb 40<sup>2</sup> shall he that cavilleth contend with the Almighty? <sup>5</sup> (on the addition of the subject cf. the Rem. below); Jer 3<sup>1</sup> and thinkest thou to return again to me? Jer 7<sup>9ff.</sup> (six infinitives, continued by means of the *perfect consecutive*; cf. § 112 o).
- ff* (ε) For any historical tense (like the Latin *historic* infinitive) in lively narration (or enumeration) and description, even of what is still taking place in present time, e. g. Hos 4<sup>2</sup> swearing and breaking faith, and killing, and stealing, and committing adultery (in these they are busied); 10<sup>4</sup> (after a *perfect*); Is 21<sup>5</sup>, 59<sup>4</sup>, Jer 8<sup>15</sup>, 14<sup>19</sup>, Jb 15<sup>35</sup>; cf. further Jer 32<sup>33</sup>, Ec 4<sup>2</sup>.—In Ez 23<sup>30</sup>, Pr 12<sup>7</sup>, 15<sup>22</sup>, and 25<sup>4</sup>, the infinitive absolute is best rendered by the passive.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also such infinitives in French as *voir* (page so and so, &c.), *s'adresser* . . . , *se méfier des voleurs*!

<sup>2</sup> Prätorius, *op. cit.*, p. 547: the extraordinarily common use of the infinitive form *qāṭōl* in the sense of an imperative, jussive, or cohortative has long since caused it to be compared with the Arab. *fa'āli*. It thus appears that the infin. *qāṭōl* in Hebrew could be used from early times as a kind of fixed, invariable word of command.

<sup>3</sup> In Ez 21<sup>31</sup>, for the infinitives construct הַסִּיר, הָרִים, הַשְּׁפִיל (beside הַנְּבִיָּה) read with Cornill the infinitives absolute הִסָּר, &c. The K<sup>ethibh</sup> probably intends הַסִּיר, &c.

<sup>4</sup> In 2 S 3<sup>18</sup> the infinitive construct appears to be used instead of the cohortative, but הוֹשִׁיעַ should certainly be read for הוֹשִׁיעַ. Also in 1 K 22<sup>30</sup> (2 Ch 18<sup>29</sup>), which was formerly included under this head (I will disguise myself and go into the battle), read אֶתְחַפֵּשׂ וְאָבֵא.

<sup>5</sup> In Jb 34<sup>18</sup> in a similar question instead of the infinitive constr. we should rather expect the infinitive absolute (הִאָּמַר), unless with the LXX and Vulg. the participle with the article (הַאָּמַר) is to be read.

Rem. The subject is sometimes added to the infinitive absolute when it takes the place of the finite verb, e. g. Lv 6<sup>7</sup>, Nu 15<sup>35</sup>, Dt 15<sup>2</sup>, ψ 17<sup>5</sup>, Pr 17<sup>12</sup>, Jb 40<sup>2</sup>, Ec 4<sup>2</sup>, Est 9<sup>1</sup>. So, probably, also in Gn 17<sup>10</sup>, Ex 12<sup>43</sup>, although here כָּל־יֹכֵר according to § 121 a might also be taken as an *object* with a passive verb; cf. Est 3<sup>13</sup>. In 1 S 25<sup>26,33</sup> the subject follows an infinitive absolute which is co-ordinated with an infinitive construct, see above, e.

### § 114. The Infinitive Construct.

1. The infinitive construct, like the infinitive absolute, may also *a* represent a *nomen verbale* (§ 45 a), but of a much more flexible character than the infinitive absolute (cf. § 113 a). Its close relation with nouns properly so called is especially seen in the readiness with which the infinitive construct may be used for any case whatever; thus,

(a) As the nominative of the subject, e. g. Gn 2<sup>18</sup> לֹא־טוֹב הָיְיֹוֹת לְבַדּוֹ הָאָדָם, literally, *not good is the being of man in his separation*; Gn 30<sup>15</sup>, 1 S 23<sup>20</sup>, Is 7<sup>13</sup>, Pr 17<sup>26</sup>, 25<sup>7,24</sup> (but cf. 21<sup>9</sup> לֹא־שָׁבַח לְטוֹב in the same statement); ψ 32<sup>9</sup> prop. *there is not a coming near unto thee*, but the text is probably corrupt. With a *feminine* predicate, 1 S 18<sup>23</sup>, Jer 2<sup>17</sup>.

(b) As genitive, e. g. Ec 3<sup>4</sup> עַת קָפֹד וְעַת רְקוֹד a *time of mourning* *b* and a *time of dancing*; Gn 2<sup>17</sup>, 29<sup>7</sup>, Neh 12<sup>46</sup>, 2 Ch 24<sup>14</sup>. This equally includes, according to § 101 a, all those cases in which the infinitive construct depends on a preposition (see below, d) [and Driver, *Tenses*, § 206].

(c) As accusative of the object, e. g. 1 K 3<sup>7</sup> לֹא אֲדַע יְצֵאת וְבֵאת I *know c* *not the going out or the coming in* (*I know not how to go out and come in*); Gn 21<sup>6</sup>, 31<sup>28</sup>, Nu 20<sup>21</sup>, Is 1<sup>14</sup>, 37<sup>28</sup> (even with אֵת), Jer 6<sup>15</sup>, Jb 15<sup>22</sup> (cf. for the use of the infinitive absolute as object, § 113 f); as accusative with a verb expressing fullness, Is 11<sup>9</sup>.

2. The construction of the infinitive with prepositions (as in Greek, *d* ἐν τῷ εἶναι, διὰ τὸ εἶναι, &c.) may usually be resolved in English into the finite verb with a conjunction, e. g. Nu 35<sup>19</sup> בְּפָנֵעוֹ־בּוֹ in *his meeting him*, i. e. if (as soon as) he meets him; Gn 27<sup>45</sup> (עַד־שׁוֹב); Is 30<sup>12</sup> יַעַן כִּיאֲסִי־בָם *because ye despise*; Jer 2<sup>35</sup> עַל־אֲמַרְךָ *because thou sayest*; Gn 27<sup>1</sup> and *his eyes were dim מִרְאֵת from seeing*, i. e. so that he could not see.

This use of the infinitive construct is especially frequent in connexion with וְ or וְ to express time-determinations (in English resolved into a temporal clause, as above the combination of the infinitive with יַעַן or עַל־ is resolved into a causal clause), especially after וַיְהִי (see the

examples, § 111 g), e.g. 1 S 2<sup>27</sup> בְּהֵיוֹתָם בְּמִצְרַיִם when they were in Egypt; Gn 24<sup>30</sup> וַיְהִי כִּי רָאָתָה אֶת-הַחֲנֻכָּה . . . וּבִשְׁמָעוֹ וַיִּגַּד . . . and it came to pass, when he saw (prop. in the seeing) the ring . . ., and when he heard (prop. in his hearing), &c.

f But by far the most frequent is the connexion of the infinitive construct with לְ.<sup>1</sup> Starting from the fundamental meaning of לְ, i. e. *direction towards something*, infinitives with לְ serve to express the most varied ideas of purpose or aim, and very commonly also (with a weakening or a complete disregard of the original meaning of the לְ) to introduce the object of an action, or finally even (like the infinitive absolute used adverbially, § 113 h, and the Latin gerund in *-ndo*) to state motives or attendant circumstances. See the instances in the Remarks.

g Rem. 1. The original meaning of the לְ is most plainly seen in those infinitives with לְ which expressly state a purpose (hence as the equivalent of a final clause), e.g. Gn 11<sup>5</sup> and the Lord came down, לְרִאֲתָא אֶת-הָעִיר to see the city; also with a change of subject, e.g. 2 S 12<sup>10</sup> and thou hast taken the wife of Uriah the Hittite לְאִשְׁתֵּי לְךָ לְאִשְׁתֵּי הַחִיטִּית to be (i. e. that she may be) thy wife; cf. Gn 28<sup>4</sup>, Jer 38<sup>26</sup> (לְמֹות).—If there is a special emphasis on the infinitive with לְ, it is placed, with its complement, before the governing verb, e.g. Gn 42<sup>3</sup>, 47<sup>4</sup>, Nu 22<sup>20</sup>, Jos 2<sup>3</sup>, 1 S 16<sup>2</sup> with בּוֹא; Ju 15<sup>10</sup>, 1 S 17<sup>25</sup> with עָלָה.

h 2. Just as clearly the idea of aiming at a definite purpose or turning towards an object may be seen in the combination of the verb הָיָה to be, with לְ and an infinitive. In fact הָיָה לַעֲשׂוֹת may mean, either (a) *he was in the act of, he was about to* (as it were, he set himself), *he was ready, to do something*, or (b) *he or it was appointed or compelled, &c., to do the action in question*. In the latter case הָיָה לַעֲשׂוֹת corresponds to the Latin *faciendum erat*, cf. also the English *I am to go*. In both cases הָיָה (as elsewhere when copula) is often omitted.

i Examples of (a) Gn 15<sup>12</sup> וַיְהִי הַשָּׁמֶשׁ לָבוֹא and when the sun was going down (just about to set); 2 Ch 26<sup>5</sup> וַיְהִי לְרַרֵשׁ אֱלֹהִים and he set himself to seek God (here with the secondary idea of a continuous action); with the omission of הָיָה Is 38<sup>20</sup>, יהוָה לְהוֹשִׁיעֲנִי the Lord is ready to save me; 1 S 14<sup>21</sup> (?), Jer 51<sup>49</sup>, ψ 25<sup>14</sup> (et foedus suum manifestaturus est eis); Pr 18<sup>24</sup> (?), 19<sup>8</sup> לְמַצָּא consecuturus

<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 45 g, according to which the close union of the לְ with the first consonant of the infinitive (לְכַתֵּב with a firmly closed syllable, as opposed to בְּכַתֵּב, בְּכַתֵּב, &c.) seems to point to the formation of a special new verbal form. Quite distinct are the few examples where the infinitive with לְ serves to express time, as Gn 24<sup>68</sup> לְפִנּוֹת עָרֵב at the eventide (prop. at the time of the return of evening); cf. Dt 23<sup>12</sup>, Ex 14<sup>27</sup>, Ju 19<sup>26</sup>; 2 S 18<sup>29</sup> when Joab sent the king's servant.

est, unless we simply read יִמְצָא with the LXX)<sup>1</sup>; 20<sup>25</sup>, Ec 3<sup>15</sup> לְהִיּוֹת אֲשֶׁר לְהִיּוֹת quod futurum est; 2 Ch 11<sup>22</sup>, 12<sup>12</sup> (in a negative statement); in a question, Est 7<sup>8</sup> (will he even . . .?). Cf. also 1 S 4<sup>19</sup>.

Of (b) Jos 2<sup>5</sup> וַיְהִי הַשַּׁעַר לְסָגוֹר and the gate was to be shut (had to be shut); k Is 37<sup>26</sup>, ψ 109<sup>13</sup>.<sup>2</sup> Mostly with the omission of הִיָּה, e.g. 2 K 4<sup>13</sup> מָה לַעֲשׂוֹת לְךָ וְג' what is to be done for thee? (הֵיִשׁ לְךָ בְּרִי-לְךָ) wouldst thou be (lit. is it to be) spoken for to the king, &c.? 2 K 13<sup>19</sup> לְהַכּוֹת הִיָּה it was to smite equivalent to thou shouldst have smitten; Is 5<sup>4</sup>, ψ 32<sup>9</sup>, 68<sup>19</sup> (?), Jb 30<sup>6</sup> (habilandum est iis), 1 Ch 9<sup>25</sup>, 10<sup>18</sup>, 22<sup>5</sup>, 2 Ch 8<sup>13</sup> (?), 11<sup>22</sup>, 19<sup>2</sup>, 36<sup>19</sup> (?), Ho 9<sup>13</sup>, Hb 1<sup>17</sup>. In a question 2 Ch 19<sup>2</sup>; after לָא 1 Ch 5<sup>1</sup>, 15<sup>2</sup>; after אֵין 1 Ch 23<sup>26</sup>, 2 Ch 5<sup>11</sup> and frequently.

Of the same kind also are the cases, in which the infinitive with ל depends on the idea of an obligation or permission (or prohibition); especially in such forms of expression as 2 S 18<sup>11</sup> וְעָלִי לָתֶת לְךָ וְג' it was upon me, i. e. it would have been my duty to give thee, &c.<sup>3</sup>; cf. Mi 3<sup>1</sup> (2 Ch 13<sup>5</sup>) it is not for you to (i. e. are ye not bound to)?<sup>4</sup> with a negative, 2 Ch 26<sup>18</sup> וְג' לָא לְךָ וְג' it pertaineth not unto thee, Uzziah, to burn incense unto the Lord, but only to the priests; also אֵין לְךָ with an infinitive expresses it is not permitted (nefas est), may not, e.g. Est 4<sup>2</sup> לָא לְבֹא אֵין לְבֹא for none might enter; 8<sup>8</sup>, 1 Ch 15<sup>2</sup>; אֵין לְךָ with an infinitive is used in a somewhat different sense, equivalent to it is not feasible, not possible, e.g. in ψ 40<sup>6</sup>, Ec 3<sup>14</sup>, 2 Ch 5<sup>11</sup>.<sup>6</sup>—With either meaning לָא can be used instead of אֵין, e.g. Am 6<sup>10</sup> לָא לְהוֹבִיר לָא nefas est, to make mention of the name of the Lord: but Ju 1<sup>19</sup> for it was not possible to drive out, &c., perhaps, however, the text originally stood as in Jos 17<sup>12</sup> לָא יִכְלֶה לְהַ; 1 Ch 15<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> P. Haupt (SBOT., Proverbs, p. 52, lines 10 ff.; Critical Notes on Esther, p. 170, on 7<sup>8</sup>) considers it possible that here and in Pr 2<sup>8</sup>, 6<sup>24</sup>, 7<sup>5</sup>, 16<sup>30</sup>, 30<sup>14</sup>, as well as in 14<sup>35</sup>, 17<sup>21</sup> before a noun, the ל is a survival of the emphatic ל with an imperf., which is especially common in Arabic. In that case לְמִצָּא must be read לְמִצָּא, i. e. לְמִצָּא. But all the above instances can be taken as infinitives with ל without difficulty.

<sup>2</sup> Somewhat different are the cases where הִיָּה with the infinitive (which is then used exactly as a substantive) implies to become something, i. e. to meet with a particular fate, as Nu 24<sup>22</sup> (cf. Is 5<sup>5</sup>, 6<sup>13</sup>) לְבָעֵר לְבָעֵר for wasting, for which elsewhere frequently לְשָׂמָה and the like; probably also לְבָלֹת ψ 49<sup>15</sup> is to be explained in this way, the הִיָּה being omitted.

<sup>3</sup> 2 S 4<sup>10</sup> (cui dandum erat mihi) appears to be similar; it may, however, be better, with Wellhausen, to omit the אֲשֶׁר.

<sup>4</sup> But in 1 S 23<sup>20</sup> after וְלָנֹהַ and our part shall be the infinitive without ל stands as the subject of the sentence.

<sup>5</sup> Quite different of course are such cases as Is 37<sup>3</sup> וְכַח אֵין לְלָרֶה and there is not strength to bring forth; cf. Nu 20<sup>5</sup>, Ru 4<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> In 2 S 14<sup>19</sup> אֵשׁ (= וְשׁ it is, there is) is used in a similar sense after אֵם, the negative particle of asseveration, of a truth it is not possible to turn to the right hand or to the left.

m 3. A further class comprises the very numerous cases, in which the infinitive with לְ is used as the object<sup>1</sup> of a governing verb, hence, again, for the direction which an action takes. The verbs (or conjugations) which occur most frequently in this combination with לְ and an infinitive are: הֵחֵל (with an infinitive without לְ, e.g. Dt 2<sup>25,31</sup>, Jos 3<sup>7</sup>), הוֹאִיל to begin, הוֹסִיף, הוֹסִיף יָסַף (prop. to add) to continue, very frequently, even in prose, with an infinitive without לְ, as Gn 4<sup>12</sup>, 8<sup>10,12</sup>, 37<sup>5</sup>, 1 S 3<sup>8</sup>, Jb 27<sup>1</sup>, &c.; חָרַל to cease from, to desist; כָּלַה to complete, to make an end of; חָמַם to be finished; הִקְרִיב to come near to, Gn 12<sup>11</sup>; מָהֵר to hasten (with an infinitive without לְ Ex 2<sup>18</sup>); אָבָה to be willing (with an infinitive without לְ Is 28<sup>12</sup>, 30<sup>9</sup>, Jb 39<sup>9</sup>); חָפֵן to will, to desire; מָאָן to refuse (to be unwilling); בָּקַשׁ to seek; יָכַל to be able (with an infinitive without לְ, e.g. Gn 24<sup>50</sup>, 37<sup>4</sup>, Ex 2<sup>9</sup>, 18<sup>23</sup>, Nu 22<sup>38</sup>, Jb 4<sup>2</sup>); נָתַן with an accusative of the person in the sense of to give up to some one, to cause, or permit him to do something, e.g. Gn 20<sup>9</sup>, ψ 16<sup>11</sup> (with an infinitive abs. Jb 9<sup>18</sup>, see § 113 d), יָדַע to understand how to do something (in Jb 3<sup>8</sup> הֵעֵתִידִים עָרַר is analogous); לָמַד to learn; קָנָה to wait, expect (with a change of subject, e.g. Is 5<sup>2</sup> and he waited for it to bring forth grapes).

n We must further mention here a number of verbs in Hiph'il (partly denominatives), which express an action in some definite direction (cf. § 53 f), as הִנְדִּיל to do greatly, הִשְׁפִּיל to make (it) low, הִנְבִּיחַ to make (it) high, הִעֲמִיק to make (it) deep, הִרְחִיק to make (it) far, distant, הִיטִיב to make (it) good (with an infinitive without לְ ψ 33<sup>3</sup>, but 1 S 16<sup>17</sup>, in the same combination, with לְ); הִשְׁכִּיחַ to do anything early (ψ 127<sup>2</sup>, along with its opposite יָאַחַר to do something late, with an infinitive without לְ); הִרְבָּה to make (it) much, הִפְלִא to make (it) wonderful (even with a passive infinitive 2 Ch 26<sup>15</sup>),<sup>2</sup> &c.

<sup>1</sup> This view is based upon the fact, that in numerous expressions of this kind (see the examples above) the לְ may be omitted, and the infinitive consequently stand as an actual accusative of the object (see above, c). However, the connexion of the verb with the object is in the latter case closer and more emphatic (hence especially adapted to poetic or prophetic diction), than the looser addition of the infinitive with לְ; thus לֹא אָבּוּ שְׁמוּעַ לְ Is 28<sup>12</sup> is equivalent to they desired not obeying (לֹא אָבּוּ לְ also with the infin. abs. in Is 42<sup>24</sup>; cf. § 113 d); but לֹא אָבּוּ לְשִׁמְעַ Ez 20<sup>9</sup> rather expresses they could not make up their mind as to hearkening. When connected with לְ, the governing verb has a more independent sense than when it directly governs the accusative of the object.

<sup>2</sup> In almost all these examples the principal idea is properly contained in the infinitive, whilst the governing verb strictly speaking contains only a subordinate adverbial statement, and is therefore best rendered in English by an adverb; e.g. Gn 27<sup>20</sup> how is it that thou hast found it so quickly? (prop. how thou hast hastened to find!), Gn 31<sup>27</sup> wherefore didst thou flee secretly? So frequently with הִרְבָּה (=often, abundantly), Ex 36<sup>5</sup>, 1 S 1<sup>12</sup>, 2 K 21<sup>6</sup>, Is 55<sup>7</sup>, Am 4<sup>4</sup>, ψ 78<sup>38</sup>, &c.; with שׁוּב (=again), Dt 30<sup>9</sup>, 1 K 13<sup>17</sup>, Ho 11<sup>9</sup>, Ezr 9<sup>14</sup>; cf. also 2 S 19<sup>4</sup>, Jer 1<sup>12</sup>, Jn 4<sup>2</sup>, and the analogous instances in § 120 g; also 2 K 2<sup>1</sup> thou hast asked a hard thing.

4. Finally, the infinitive with הַ is very frequently used in a much looser O connexion to state motives, attendant circumstances, or otherwise to define more exactly. In English, such infinitive constructions (like the Latin gerund in -do; cf. f) must frequently be turned by that or a gerund; e.g. 1 S 12<sup>17</sup> וְשָׂאֵל לְכִם מֶלֶךְ in asking you a king; 14<sup>33</sup>, 19<sup>5</sup>, 20<sup>36</sup>, Gn 3<sup>22</sup>, 18<sup>19</sup>, 34<sup>7,15</sup>, Ex 23<sup>2</sup>, Lv 5<sup>4,22,26</sup>, 8<sup>15</sup>, Nu 14<sup>36</sup>, 2 S 3<sup>10</sup>, 1 K 2<sup>3 f.</sup>, 14<sup>8</sup>, Jer 44<sup>7 f.</sup>, ψ 63<sup>3</sup>, 78<sup>18</sup>, 101<sup>8</sup>, 103<sup>20</sup>, 104<sup>14 f.</sup>, 111<sup>6</sup>, Pr 2<sup>8</sup>, 8<sup>34</sup>, 18<sup>6</sup>, Neh 13<sup>18</sup>. Sometimes the infinitive with הַ is used in this way simply by itself, e.g. 1 Ch 12<sup>8</sup> as the roes upon the mountains לְמַהֵר (as regards hastening) in swiftness; Gn 2<sup>3</sup>, 2 S 14<sup>25</sup> (לְהַלֵּל); Is 21<sup>1</sup> (לְחַלּוֹף); Jo 2<sup>26</sup>, Pr 2<sup>2</sup>, 26<sup>2</sup> and so very frequently the infinitive לְאמֹר dicendo which has become stereotyped as an adverb to introduce direct narration (in the sense of thus, as follows).<sup>1</sup>

5. In a number of instances—especially in the later books—the infin. P constr. with הַ appears to be attached by Wāw (like the infinitive absolute, § 113 z), as the continuation of a previous finite verb. In most examples of this kind it is, however, evident that the infinitive with הַ virtually depends on an idea of intention, effort, or being in the act of, which, according to the sense, is contained in what has preceded, whilst the copula, as sometimes also elsewhere, is used in an emphatic sense (and that too); thus e.g. Ex 32<sup>29</sup> (if the text be right) fill your hand to-day (sc. with an offering) for the Lord . . . and that to bring a blessing upon you, i. e. that ye may be blessed; cf. 1 S 25<sup>31</sup> (otherwise in verses 26 and 33 where the infinitive absolute is used, see § 113 e); ψ 104<sup>21</sup>,<sup>2</sup> Jb 34<sup>8</sup>, Ec 9<sup>1</sup>, Neh 8<sup>13</sup>, 2 Ch 7<sup>17</sup>.—In Lv 10<sup>10 f.</sup> וְלִהְיֶיךָ might be regarded as an explanatory addition to the command contained in verse 9 b (=this prohibition of wine before the service shall ye observe, and that in order to put a difference, &c.); but probably the text has been disturbed by a redactor.—In 2 Ch 30<sup>9</sup> וְלִשְׂבוֹחַ depends on the idea of receiving a favour which lies in לְרַחֲמִים. On the other hand, in 1 S 8<sup>12</sup> it is sufficient to explain and in order to appoint them unto him for captains of thousands (sc. he will take them). In Is 44<sup>28</sup> translate and he (Cyrus) shall perform all my pleasure, and that in saying of Jerusalem, &c.

3. The period of time to which an action or occurrence represented Q by the infinitive construct belongs, must sometimes be inferred from the context, or from the character of the principal tenses; cf. e.g. Gn 2<sup>4</sup> these are the generations of the heaven and of the earth, בְּהִבְרָאָם when they were created (prop. in their being created); Ju 6<sup>18</sup> עַד-בָּאֵי וְג' until

<sup>1</sup> לְאמֹר is very often so used after וְיִדְבַר in the Priestly document (Gn 8<sup>15</sup>, 17<sup>3</sup>, &c., and numberless times in the legal parts of Exod., Lev., and Num.)—a pleonasm which is not surprising considering the admittedly prolix and formal style of the document.

<sup>2</sup> When Delitzsch on ψ 104<sup>21</sup>, referring to Hb 1<sup>17</sup>, explains the infinitive with הַ as an elliptical mode of expressing the coniugatio periphrastica (equivalent to *flagitaturi sunt a deo cibum suum*), this is, in point of fact, certainly applicable to this and a few other places mentioned above; but all these passages, in which the infinitive with הַ follows, are to be distinguished from the cases treated above under h, where the infinitive with הַ without Wāw corresponds to a Latin gerundive, or is actually used to express the coniugatio periphrastica.

*I come unto thee, and bring forth, &c.* Cf. 1 S 18<sup>19</sup> (= *when she should have been given*); 2 K 2<sup>1</sup>, Ho 7<sup>1</sup>.

7<sup>r</sup> Rem. 1. The constructions of the infinitive with a preposition, described above under *d*, are almost always continued in the further course of the narrative by means of the *finite verb*, i. e. by an independent sentence, not by a co-ordinate infinitive. Such a finite verb we regard as governed by a conjunction, which corresponds to the preposition standing before the infinitive. Thus the infinitival construction (frequently even with a change of subject) is continued by a perfect (with לָ), Jer 9<sup>12</sup> *because they have forsaken* (עַל-עֲוֹנֵבָם) *my law* . . . וְלֹא שָׁמְעוּ and *have not obeyed my voice*; Gn 39<sup>10</sup>, 1 S 24<sup>12</sup>, Am 1<sup>8</sup>; without לָ Jb 28<sup>25</sup> (perf. after לְ and infin.); by a perfect with וְ (cf. § 112 *i* and *v*) Am 1<sup>11</sup> וְגַלְרָרְפוּ because *he did pursue his brother with the sword, and did cast off continually all pity* (a frequentative perfect; for examples of the perfect consecutive proper see Gn 27<sup>45</sup>, Ju 6<sup>18</sup>, 1 S 10<sup>8</sup>, 2 K 18<sup>32</sup> [Is 36<sup>17</sup>], always after עַד-בֹּאִי until *I come*); by a simple imperfect, e. g. Pr 1<sup>27</sup> (after בְּ) ; Is 30<sup>26</sup> (after בַּיּוֹם in the *day*, a temporal phrase which has here become equivalent to a preposition); Is 5<sup>24</sup> (after בְּ), 10<sup>2</sup>, 13<sup>9</sup>, 14<sup>25</sup>, 45<sup>1</sup>, 49<sup>5</sup>, 1 S 2<sup>8</sup>, Pr 2<sup>8</sup>, 5<sup>2</sup>, 8<sup>21</sup> (always after לְ) <sup>1</sup>; by an imperfect consecutive, e. g. Gn 39<sup>18</sup> and *it came to pass, וַאֲפָרָא קוֹלִי וַאֲבָרַחְתִּי as I lifted up my voice and cried, that* . . . ; 1 K 10<sup>9</sup>, Jb 38<sup>13</sup> (after לְ) <sup>1</sup>; 1 K 18<sup>18</sup>, Is 38<sup>9</sup>, Jb 38<sup>7-9</sup> ff. (after בְּ) ; Is 30<sup>12</sup>, Jer 7<sup>13</sup>, Ez 34<sup>8</sup> (after עַל).

8<sup>s</sup> 2. The negation of an infinitive construct, on account of the predominance of the noun-element in its character, is effected not by the verbal negative לֹא (except in the compound בְּלֹא, which has come to be used as a preposition, *without*, Nu 35<sup>23</sup>, Pr 19<sup>2</sup>), but by בְּלֹתִי, originally a substantive (see the Lexicon), with לְ prefixed (but also Nu 14<sup>16</sup> (מִבְּלֹתִי), e. g. Gn 3<sup>11</sup> לֹא-בָלַתְּ מִפְּנֵי not to *eat of it*; in a final sense, 4<sup>15</sup> lest any *finding him should smite him*; only in 2 K 23<sup>10</sup> is לְ repeated before the infinitive. In ψ 32<sup>9</sup> (if the text be right) בְּלֹא negatives, not the infinitive, but the predicate which is understood.

### § 115. Construction of the Infinitive Construct with Subject and Object.

*a* 1. Like the infinitive absolute (see § 113 *a*), the character of the infinitive construct as a *verbal noun* is shown by its power of taking the case proper to its verb, and hence in transitive verbs<sup>2</sup> *the accusative of the object*, e. g. Nu 9<sup>15</sup> בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא אֶת-הַפִּשְׁטָן on the *day the*

<sup>1</sup> The great frequency of examples of this kind, especially in the poetical books, is due to a striving after what is called *chiasmus* in the arrangement of the parallel members in the two halves of the verse, i. e. in the instances given, the finite verb at the end of the second (co-ordinate) clause is parallel with the infinitive at the beginning of the first. In this way the verbal form necessarily became separated from the וְ, and consequently the imperfect had to be used instead of the perfect consecutive. Such a parallelism of the external and internal members of a verse is frequent also in other cases, and was evidently felt to be an elegance of elevated—poetic or prophetic—style.

<sup>2</sup> For examples of the accus. of the object with a pass. infin., see § 121 *c*.

tabernacle was reared up; 1 S 19<sup>1</sup> אֶת־דָּוִד לְהָמִית that they should slay David; Gn 14<sup>17</sup>, 19<sup>29</sup>, Ex 38<sup>27</sup>, 1 K 12<sup>15</sup>, 15<sup>4</sup>; with a negative, e. g. Lv 26<sup>15</sup> לְבַלְלִי עֲשׂוֹת אֶת־כָּל־מִצְוֹתַי so that ye will not do all my commandments; with the accusative of the personal pronoun, e. g. Dt 29<sup>12</sup> לְמַעַן לְהָקִים אֹתְךָ that he may establish thee; Gn 25<sup>26</sup>, Jer 24<sup>7</sup>; with a verbal suffix, e. g. Ex 2<sup>14</sup> לְהַרְגֵנִי to kill me; Jer 38<sup>26</sup> לְבַלְלִי הַשִּׁיבֵנִי that he would not cause me to return (on the suffix, cf. c). In Is 49<sup>6</sup> the object even precedes the infinitive with לְ; on this order cf. the note on § 114 r.— If the verb governs a double accusative, the infinitive may also take the same, e. g. Gn 41<sup>39</sup> אֶת־כָּל־זוֹאת הוֹדִיעַ אֱלֹהִים אֹתְךָ forasmuch as God hath showed thee all this; Dt 21<sup>16</sup>.

Rem. 1. The object after the infinitive construct must also always be regarded as in the accusative, even when it is not expressly introduced (as in all the above examples) by the *nota accusativi* אֶת, and when therefore the substantive in question might easily be taken as the *genitive of the object* governed by the infinitive (the usual construction in Arabic), e. g. Pr 21<sup>15</sup> עֲשׂוֹת מִשְׁפָּט to do judgement. Against regarding it as a genitive, which is in itself possible (the doing, the executing of judgement), is the fact (a) that elsewhere the *nota accusativi* is so frequently added; (b) that in such a case the secondary forms of the infinitive, such as אֶת־רָאָה for רָאָה (פְּנִיךָ) Gn 48<sup>11</sup> (cf. ψ 101<sup>3</sup>, Pr 16<sup>16</sup>), would be unintelligible; (c) that certain infinitive forms, if they were to be regarded as in the construct state, could hardly retain the pretonic Qames without exception, whereas, when connected with suffixes (i. e. with real genitives; cf. § 33 c), this Qames necessarily becomes *Ṣ'wā*; e. g. Gn 18<sup>25</sup> לְהָמִית צַדִּיק to slay the righteous (never as לְהָמִית; cf., on the other hand, above, הַשִּׁיבֵנִי); 2 K 21<sup>8</sup>, Ez 44<sup>30</sup>. Similarly in such cases as Is 3<sup>13</sup> (ψ 50<sup>4</sup>) instead of לְרִין עַפְמִים we should rather expect לְרִין, if the infinitive were regarded as in the construct state, and עַפְמִים as the genitive. Hence also in cases like Is 58<sup>9</sup> (שְׁלַחַּךְ for שְׁלַח) we must assume, with Sellin, op. cit., p. 78, a merely 'external phonetic connexion' and not the genitive construction.

2. The verbal suffixes added to the infinitive are (with the exception of C הוֹצִיאָהוּ Jer 39<sup>14</sup>) only the suffix of the 1st pers. sing. (besides the above examples cf. also 1 S 5<sup>10</sup>, 27<sup>1</sup>, 28<sup>9</sup>, Ru 2<sup>10</sup>, 1 Ch 12<sup>17</sup>, &c.) and plural; e. g. לְהַשְׁמִיךְנָּ to destroy us, Dt 1<sup>27</sup> (immediately after אֲתַנְּנוּ, so that נָּ is doubtless a verbal not a noun-suffix, although in form it might be either); לְהַמְתִּינָּ Nu 16<sup>13</sup>, Ju 13<sup>23</sup> (after הִפִּינָּ). Elsewhere the pronominal object is appended either by means of the accusative sign (e. g. Gn 25<sup>26</sup> אֶתֶּם בְּלֶדְתְּ אֲתֶם prop. in the bearing them; לְרַעַת אֲתִי to know me, Jer 24<sup>7</sup>) or in the form of a noun-suffix (as genitive of the object). The latter occurs almost always, whenever the context excludes the possibility of a misunderstanding; e. g. 1 S 20<sup>33</sup> לְהַבְתֹּחוּ (prop. for his smiting) to smite him, not, as the form might also mean, in order that he might smite; cf. 1 K 20<sup>35</sup>; with the suffix of the 3rd sing. fem. Nu 22<sup>25</sup>; of the 3rd plur. Jos 10<sup>20</sup>, 2 S 21<sup>2</sup>, &c. Hence also the suffixes of the 2nd sing. with the infinitive, as לְהַבְתֶּךָ Jer 40<sup>14</sup>, cf. Mi 6<sup>13</sup>, and even נְדַלְךָ to magnify thee, Jos 3<sup>7</sup>, must certainly be regarded as *nominal not verbal suffixes*. The connexion of the noun-suffix, as genitive of the object, with the infinitive,

was so fully established, that it could be used not only in such strange cases, as Gn 37<sup>4</sup> לֹא יִבְלֶי דְבָרוֹ לְשָׁלֵם they could not speak to him peaceably, cf. Zc 3<sup>1</sup> לְשֹׁטְנִי to be an adversary to him, but ultimately even in the 1st sing., as in Nu 22<sup>13</sup> לְתַתִּי to give me leave [Dt 25<sup>7</sup> לֹא אֲבַהּ יִבְמִי לְבַלְתִּי עֲצָבִי that it may not grieve me!]

d 3. The power of governing like a verb is also retained in those verbal nouns which, although originally secondary forms of the infinitive, have fully acquired the value of nouns, e. g. Is 11<sup>9</sup> דַּעַת אֶת־יְהוָה (prop. to know the Lord) the knowledge of the Lord; Is 34<sup>10</sup> לְיִרְאָה אֹתִי to fear me, Dt 4<sup>10</sup>, 5<sup>26</sup>, 10<sup>12</sup>; an accusative follows לְאֲהַבָּה Dt 10<sup>12,15</sup>, Is 56<sup>6</sup> (cf. also 1 K 10<sup>9</sup>, Ho 3<sup>1</sup>); לְהִנָּפֵף Is 30<sup>28</sup>; אֲתָנִי Dt 12<sup>7</sup>; after verbal nouns formed with the prefix מ (cf. § 45 e), Nu 10<sup>2</sup>, Is 13<sup>19</sup>, Am 4<sup>11</sup>, Ez 17<sup>9</sup>. The accusative of the object likewise remains after infinitives (or their secondary forms) which have the article, e. g. Gn 2<sup>9</sup>, Jer 22<sup>16</sup>, or a suffix, e. g. Gn 5<sup>4</sup>, &c., 28<sup>4,6</sup>, 29<sup>19 f</sup>, 30<sup>15</sup>, 38<sup>5</sup>, 2 S 3<sup>11</sup>, Is 29<sup>13</sup>.

e 2. The subject of the action represented by the infinitive is mostly placed immediately<sup>1</sup> after it, either in the *genitive* or *nominative*. The subject is in the genitive (§ 33 c) whenever it has the form of a noun-suffix, and also when the infinitive has the termination of the constr. st. fem. sing. (see f); probably also in many other cases, where the infinitive in form and meaning is used more like a substantive, and accordingly governs like a noun. On the other hand, the subject of the infinitive is certainly to be regarded as a nominative, when it is separated from the infinitive by any insertion, and according to certain indications (see g) very probably in many other instances.

f Rem. 1. Examples of genitives of the subject after infinitives in the connective form are Dt 12<sup>7</sup> בְּשִׂנְאֵת יְהוָה אֲתָנִי prop. in the Lord's hating us; cf. 7<sup>8</sup>, Gn 19<sup>16</sup>, 1 K 10<sup>9</sup>, Is 13<sup>19</sup>, 47<sup>9</sup>, Ho 3<sup>1</sup>, Am 4<sup>11</sup>. The subject of the infinitive is probably also to be regarded as genitive in such cases as Ex 17<sup>1</sup> and there was no water לְשִׁתַּת הָעָם for the people to drink (prop. for the drinking of the people), and in cases like Gn 16<sup>16</sup> (בְּלִדַת הָגֵר); Gn 16<sup>3</sup>, Ex 19<sup>1</sup>, Nu 20<sup>3,4</sup>, 33<sup>38</sup>, 1 K 6<sup>1</sup>, ψ 133<sup>1</sup>, 2 Ch 7<sup>3</sup>, &c.

g 2. Examples in which the subject is separated from the infinitive by an insertion, and hence must certainly be regarded as a nominative, are Jb 34<sup>22</sup> לְהִפְתֹּר שָׁם בְּעֵלֵי אֹן that the workers of iniquity may hide themselves there (prop. for the hiding themselves there the workers of iniquity); cf. Gn 34<sup>15</sup>, Nu 35<sup>6</sup>, Dt 19<sup>3</sup>, Ju 9<sup>2</sup>, 2 S 24<sup>13</sup>, ψ 76<sup>10</sup>, and below, i. The subject is likewise to be regarded as a *nominative*, whenever the *Lamedh* is prefixed to the infinitive by means of a pretonic *Qames* (cf. b above), e. g. 2 S 19<sup>20</sup> לְשׂוֹם הַפְּלֹקָה אֶל־לִבִּי,

<sup>1</sup> In Gn 24<sup>30</sup> the subject of בְּרָאת is wanting (but בְּשָׂמְעוֹ follows); the original reading was undoubtedly בְּרָאתוֹ, and the text is now in a state of confusion; verse 30a should come before verse 29b. In Gn 19<sup>29</sup>, 25<sup>26</sup>, Ex 9<sup>16</sup>, 13<sup>21</sup>, 1 S 18<sup>19</sup>, Jer 41<sup>6</sup>, ψ 42<sup>4</sup> the subject, although not indicated, is easily supplied from the context. The infinitive in such cases is best rendered in English by a passive.

since, if the infinitive were used as a *nomen regens*, we should rather expect לְשׂוֹם according to § 102 f. That the subject of the infinitive is regarded elsewhere also as nominative is again (see above, b) probable, since in such forms as הַנִּחִי Dt 25<sup>19</sup>, Is 14<sup>9</sup>, הַמִּיר ψ 46<sup>3</sup>, &c., the pretonic Qameṣ is retained without exception, whereas on the analogy of הַנִּחִי Ez 24<sup>13</sup>, הַקִּימוֹ Jer 23<sup>20</sup>, &c., we should expect הַנִּחִי, הַמִּיר, &c., if the infinitive were regarded as a *nomen regens*. Or was the retention of the Qameṣ (assuming the thorough correctness of the Masoretic punctuation) rendered possible even before a following genitive, because that vowel was characteristic of the form? It is at all events certain that owing to the lack of case-endings,<sup>1</sup> a distinction between the genitival and nominatival constructions could not have been consciously made in the case of most infinitives, e. g. in unchangeable forms like קָטַל, קוּם, &c.

3. When both a *subject* and an *object* are connected with the *h* infinitive, the rule is, that the subject should immediately follow the infinitive, and then the object. The latter, in such a case, is necessarily in the accusative, but the subject (as in *e*) may be either in the genitive or in the nominative. The noun-suffixes again are, of course, to be regarded as genitives, e. g. Gn 39<sup>18</sup> בְּהִרְיָמִי קוֹלִי as *I lifted up my voice* (cf. 1 K 13<sup>21</sup>, and the examples, Gn 5<sup>4</sup>, &c., enumerated above, under *d*), and so also substantives which follow a connective form, Dt 1<sup>27</sup>, &c.; see above, *d* and *f*.

On the other hand, the subject appears necessarily to be in the *i* nominative in such cases as Is 10<sup>15</sup> אֶת־מְרִימֵי שִׁבְטֵי בְּהִנְיֹה as *if a rod should shake them that lift it up* (for the plur. מְרִימֵי cf. § 124 *k*), not בְּהִנְיֹה, as would be expected (see *g* above), if שִׁבְטֵי were in the genitive; cf. 2 S 14<sup>13</sup>, Jb 33<sup>17</sup>. And so probably also in other cases, as Gn 5<sup>1</sup>, 13<sup>10</sup>, Jos 14<sup>7</sup>, 1 K 13<sup>4</sup>, 2 K 23<sup>10</sup>, Is 32<sup>7</sup>. The subject is separated from the infinitive by an insertion (and consequently must necessarily be in the nominative; see *g* above), e. g. in Jer 21<sup>1</sup>.

Rem. Less frequently the object is placed immediately after the infinitive, *k* and then the nominative of the subject, as a subsequent complement, e. g. Is 20<sup>1</sup> כְּרָנֶנּוּ אֹתוֹ בְּשִׁלְחָה when *Sargon sent him*; Gn 4<sup>15</sup>, Jos 14<sup>11</sup>, 2 S 18<sup>29</sup>, Is 5<sup>24</sup>, ψ 56<sup>1</sup>, Pr 25<sup>8</sup>. In Nu 24<sup>23</sup> the subject follows an infinitive which has a noun-suffix in place of the object.

## § 116. *The Participles.*

Cf. Sellin (see above at the head of § 113), p. 6 ff., and Kahan, p. 11 ff.

1. Like the two infinitives, the participles also occupy a middle *a* place between the noun and the verb. In form they are simple nouns,

<sup>1</sup> In Arabic, where the case-endings leave no doubt as to the construction, it is equally possible to say either *qatlu Zaidin* (gen. of subj.) '*Amran* (acc.), literally *Zaid's killing Amr*, or *qatlu Amrin* (gen. of obj.) *Zaidun* (nom. of subj.), or even *el-qatlu* (with article) *Zaidun* (nom. of subj.) '*Amran* (acc. of obj.).

and most nearly related to the adjective; consequently they cannot in themselves be employed to represent definite relations of tense or mood. On the other hand, their verbal character is shown by their not representing, like the adjectives, a fixed and permanent quality (or state), but one which is in some way connected with an *action* or *activity*. The *participle active* indicates a person or thing conceived as being in the continual uninterrupted *exercise* of an activity. The *participle passive*, on the other hand, indicates the person or thing in a state which has been brought about by external *actions*.

b Rem. That the language was fully conscious of the difference between a state implying action (or effected by external action) and mere passivity, is seen from the fact, that participles proper cannot be formed from the purely stative Qal, but only verbal adjectives of the form *qāfāl* (אָפַל, מָלַךְ, &c.) or *qāfōl* (אָפַל, &c.), whereas the *transitive* Qal אָשַׁן to hate, although it coincides in form with the intransitive Qal (as a verb middle *e*), nevertheless forms a participle active אָשַׁן, and participle passive אָשַׁן (cf. the feminine אָשַׁן).—In cases where the participle proper and the verbal adjective both occur, they are by no means synonymous. When the Assyrians are called in Is 28<sup>11</sup> אָשַׁן לְעֵי שִׁפְהָ men of stammering lips, a character is ascribed to them which is inseparably connected with their personality. On the other hand אָשַׁן לְעֵי בְּלֵהָ Jer 20<sup>7</sup>, describes those about the prophet as continually engaged in casting ridicule upon him. Cf. also ψ 9<sup>18</sup> (אָשַׁן) with 50<sup>22</sup> (אָשַׁן).

c On the difference between the participle as expressing *simple* duration and the imperfect as expressing *progressive* duration, cf. what has been stated above in § 107 d. Nevertheless the participle is sometimes used—especially in the later books, cf. e.g. Neh 6<sup>17</sup>, 2 Ch 17<sup>11</sup>—where we should expect the action to be divided up into its several parts, and consequently should expect the finite verb. But the substitution of the participle for the *tempus historicum*, which becomes customary in Aramaic (cf. Kautzsch, *Gramm. des Bibl.-Aram.*, § 76. 2, d and e), is nevertheless quite foreign to Hebrew.

d 2. The period of time indicated by (a) a participle active, either as an attribute or predicate, must be inferred from the particular context. Thus מָוֹת may mean either *moriens* (Zc 11<sup>9</sup>), or *mortuus* (so commonly; with the article הַמָּוֹת regularly=*the dead man*), or *moriturus* (Dt 4<sup>22</sup>); אָבֵן coming, come Gn 18<sup>11</sup>, &c., *venturus* 1 S 23<sup>1</sup>, &c.; אָפַל falling, but also fallen, Ju 3<sup>25</sup>, 1 S 5<sup>3</sup>, and *ready to fall* (threatening ruin, Is 30<sup>13</sup>, Am 9<sup>11</sup>). For other examples of perfect participles see Gn 27<sup>33</sup>, 43<sup>18</sup> (אָשַׁן that was returned; cf. Ezr 6<sup>21</sup>, &c., אָשַׁן which were come again from the captivity); Gn 35<sup>3</sup>, Ex 11<sup>5</sup>, Zc 12<sup>1</sup>, ψ 137<sup>7</sup>, Pr 8<sup>9</sup>, Jb 12<sup>4</sup> (אָשַׁן), and see *m* below. For future participles see Gn 41<sup>25</sup>, 1 K 18<sup>9</sup>, Is 5<sup>5</sup>, Jon 1<sup>3</sup>, &c., probably also אָשַׁן Gn 19<sup>14</sup>. On the *futurum instans* (esp. after הָיָה) see *p* below.

e (b) Of the passive participles, that of Qal (e.g. אָשַׁן scriptus) always corresponds to a Latin or Greek perfect participle passive, those of the other conjugations, especially *Niph'al*, sometimes to

a Latin gerundive (or to an adjective in *-bilis*), e. g. נֹרָא *metuendus*, to be feared, ψ 76<sup>8</sup>, &c.; נְחָמֵר *desiderandus* (*desiderabilis*) Gn 3<sup>6</sup>, ψ 19<sup>11</sup>, &c.; נִבְרָא *creandus* ψ 102<sup>19</sup>; נוֹלָר, usually *natus*, but also (like הַיּוֹלֵד Ju 13<sup>8</sup>) *procreandus, nasciturus* 1 K 13<sup>2</sup>, ψ 22<sup>32</sup>; גַּעְרָן *terribilis* ψ 89<sup>8</sup>; נִתְעַב *abominable* Jb 15<sup>16</sup>; נִחְשָׁב *aestimandus* Is 2<sup>22</sup>; הַנֵּאֱכָלָה *that may be eaten* (an animal) Lv 11<sup>47</sup>. In *Pu'al* מְהֻלָּל *laudandus, worthy to be praised* ψ 18<sup>4</sup>. In *Hoph'al*, 2 S 20<sup>21</sup> מְשֻׁלָּף; 2 K 11<sup>2</sup> הַמְּוֹמְתִים; Is 12<sup>5</sup> *Qerê* מוֹרְעֵת.<sup>1</sup>

3. The participles active, in virtue of their partly verbal character, *f* possess the power of governing like verbs, and consequently, when used in the absolute state, may take after them an object either in the accusative, or with the preposition with which the verb in question is elsewhere usually construed, e. g. 1 S 18<sup>29</sup> אֵיב אֶת־דָּוִד *hating David*; Gn 42<sup>29</sup>; with the suffix of the accusative, e. g. עָשִׂינִי *that made me* Jb 31<sup>15</sup>; מִי רֵאֵנוּ *who seeth us?* Is 29<sup>15</sup> (in Is 47<sup>10</sup> רֵאֵנִי is abnormal); רָדְמָם *ruling them* ψ 68<sup>28</sup>, sometimes also with the article, e. g. ψ 18<sup>33</sup> הַמְאַוְרְנִי *that girdeth me* (LXX ὁ καταίων με); Dt 8<sup>14-16</sup>, 13<sup>6,11</sup>, 20<sup>1</sup>, 2 S 1<sup>24</sup>, Is 9<sup>12</sup> (where, however, Cheyne omits the article), 63<sup>11</sup>, ψ 81<sup>11</sup>, 103<sup>4</sup>, Dn 11<sup>6</sup>; followed by a preposition, e. g. 1 K 9<sup>23</sup> בָּעַם הָרְדִים *which bare rule over the people*; 2 K 20<sup>5</sup> לֵךְ רַפֵּא הִנְנִי *behold, I will heal thee.*<sup>2</sup>

By an exhaustive examination of the statistics, Sellin (see the title at the head of § 113), p. 40 ff., shows that the participle when construed as a *verb* expresses a single and comparatively transitory act, or relates to particular cases, historical facts, and the like, while the participle construed as a *noun* (see *g*) indicates repeated, enduring, or commonly occurring acts, occupations, and thoughts.

So also the verbal adjectives of the form *qatēl* may take an accusative of the person or thing, if the finite verb from which they are derived governs an accusative, e. g. Dt 34<sup>9</sup> רֵיחַ חֲכָמָה מְלֵא *full of the spirit of wisdom*; ψ 5<sup>5</sup> הַפֶּזַח רֵשָׁע *that hath pleasure in wickedness*.

As a sort of noun the participle may, however, also exercise the *g* same government as a noun, being in the construct state, and followed by the object of the action in the genitive (see § 89 *a*; and cf. § 128 *x*), e. g. ψ 5<sup>12</sup> אֲהַבֵּי שְׁמִי *that love thy name*; cf. ψ 19<sup>8f</sup>; also when a verbal adjective, e. g. Gn 22<sup>12</sup> and often אֵלֶיהֶם יִרָא *one fearing*

<sup>1</sup> Such examples as נֹרָא, נְחָמֵר, מְהֻלָּל show plainly the origin of this gerundive use of the participle passive. A person or thing *feared, desired, or praised* at all times is shown thereby to be *terrible, desirable, or praiseworthy*, and therefore also *to be feared, &c.*

<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, in Is. 11<sup>9</sup> *as the waters* לְמַכְסִים מְכַסֵּם *covering the sea*, the ל serves only to introduce the object preceding the participle [cf. the Arabic parallels cited by Driver, *Tenses*, § 135, 7 *Obs.*]. Cf. Hab. 2<sup>14</sup>.

God; Hb 2<sup>15</sup>; with an infinitive,  $\psi$  127<sup>2</sup>; with a noun-suffix (which, according to § 33 c, also represents a genitive), e. g. Gn 4<sup>14</sup>  $\text{כָּל־מֵצְאֵי}$  *whosoever findeth me* (prop. my finder; cf.  $\text{עֹשֵׂי}$  *my maker*); 12<sup>3</sup>  $\text{מְבַרְכֶיךָ}$  *that bless thee*,  $\text{מְקַלְלֶיךָ}$  *that curseth thee* (but read either  $\text{מְבַרְכֶיךָ}$ , or  $\text{מְבַרְכֶיךָ}$  in the preceding clause); 27<sup>29</sup>, 1 S 2<sup>30</sup>, Is 63<sup>13</sup>,  $\psi$  18<sup>49</sup>. In Jer 33<sup>22</sup> read  $\text{מִשְׁרָתִים אֲתִי}$ .<sup>1</sup>

h. Rem. To the class of objective genitives belong also specifications of place after the participles  $\text{בָּא}$  *iniens* and  $\text{יֵצֵא}$  *egrediens*, since the verbs  $\text{בּוֹא}$  and  $\text{יֵצֵא}$ , in the sense of *ingredi, egredi*, can be directly connected with an accusative; e. g. Gn 23<sup>10,18</sup>  $\text{שָׁעַר עִירוֹ בָּאֵי}$  *that went in at the gate of his city*; La 1<sup>4</sup>; after  $\text{יֵצֵא}$ , Gn 9<sup>10</sup>, 34<sup>24</sup>, 46<sup>26</sup>, &c.—In poetic language the participle in the construct state may be connected not only with a genitive of the object, but also with any other specifications (especially of space) which otherwise can only be made to depend on the verb in question by means of a preposition; cf. Is 38<sup>18</sup>, and frequently,  $\text{יֹרְדֵי־בוֹר}$  *they that go down into the p~~h~~ (the grave)*;  $\psi$  88<sup>6</sup>  $\text{שֹׁכְבֵי קֶבֶר}$  *that lie in the grave*; Dt 32<sup>24</sup> (Mi 7<sup>17</sup>); 1 K 2<sup>7</sup>, 2 K 11<sup>5,7,9</sup> *those that came in (or went out) on the sabbath*, Pr 2<sup>7</sup>, 1 Ch 5<sup>18</sup>, &c.; instead of the construction with  $\text{מִן}$ , e. g. Is 59<sup>20</sup> (*those who turn from transgression*), Mi 2<sup>8</sup> (cf. § 72 p).

i. These genitives of nearer definition appear also in the form of a noun-suffix, e. g.  $\psi$  18<sup>40,49</sup>  $\text{קָמִי}$  (for  $\text{קָמִים עָלַי}$ ) *that rise up against me*; cf. Ex 15<sup>7</sup>, Dt 33<sup>11</sup>,  $\psi$  44<sup>6</sup>, Ex 32<sup>25</sup>, Is 1<sup>27</sup>  $\text{שָׁבְרֶיהָ}$  *her converts*;  $\psi$  53<sup>6</sup> ( $\text{הֹרֶג}$ ); Pr 2<sup>19</sup>  $\text{כָּל־בָּאֵיהָ}$  *all that go unto her*; the construction is especially bold in Is 29<sup>7</sup>  $\text{כָּל־צְבָיִהּ וּמְצֻדָתָהּ}$  *all that fight against her and her stronghold* (for  $\text{פְּלִי־הַצְּבָאִים עָלֶיהָ וְעַל־מִ}$ );  $\psi$  102<sup>9</sup> even with a participle Po'al,  $\text{מְהוֹלְלֵי}$  *they that are mad against me* (?), but read perhaps with Olshausen  $\text{מְהוֹלְלֵי}$  *who pierce me*.—In Is 1<sup>30</sup> as a *terebinth*  $\text{עָלְתָּ נֹבֶלֶת}$  *fading as regards its leaf*, it remains doubtful whether  $\text{נֹבֶלֶת}$  is in the absolute state, and consequently  $\text{עָלְתָּ}$  in the accusative, or whether it is to be regarded as construct state, and  $\text{עָלְתָּ}$  as the genitive. In the latter case it would be analogous to Pr 14<sup>2</sup> (see k).

k. 4. The passive participles also may either be in the absolute state, and take the determining word in the accusative,<sup>2</sup> or may be connected

<sup>1</sup> When, as in Jb 40<sup>19</sup>, the participle with the noun-suffix  $\text{הַעֲשֵׂוֹ}$  *he that made him*, also has the article (cf. § 127 i), the anomaly is difficult to understand, since a word determined by a genitive does not admit of being determined by the article.—No less remarkable is the use of the constr. st. of the participle before the accusative in Jer 33<sup>22</sup>  $\text{מִשְׁרָתִי אֲתִי}$  *that minister unto me* (for which there is  $\text{מִשְׁרָתִי}$  in verse 21). In Am 4<sup>13</sup> an accusative of the product follows the genitive of the object,  $\text{עֹשֵׂה שָׁחַר עֵיפָה}$  *maker of the morning into darkness*. In Jer 2<sup>17</sup>  $\text{כֵּן בָּעַת כִּזְלֹכְךָ}$  is supposed to mean *at the time when he led thee*; perhaps the perfect ( $\text{הוֹלֵךְ}$ ) should be read as in 6<sup>15</sup>. In Ez 27<sup>34</sup>, the ancient versions read  $\text{עַתָּה נִשְׁבַּרְתָּ}$  *now thou art broken*, instead of the difficult  $\text{עַת נִשְׁבַּרְתָּ}$ . In 1 K 20<sup>40</sup> read  $\text{עֹשֵׂה}$  before  $\text{הֵנָּה וְהֵנָּה}$ .

<sup>2</sup> On the proper force of this accusative when retained in the passive con-

with it in the construct state, e. g. Ju 18<sup>11</sup>, 1 S 2<sup>18</sup>, Ez 9<sup>2</sup> לְבוּשׁ בְּדָיִם *clothed in linen*, cf. verse 3 הַלְּבָשׁ הַבְּדָיִם; (even with a suffix קָרוּעַ בְּתִנְתּוֹ *rent as regards his coat* 2 S 15<sup>32</sup>; with the participle following Ju 1<sup>7</sup>); but Ez 9<sup>11</sup> לְבוּשׁ הַבְּדָיִם *the one clothed with linen*; 2 S 13<sup>31</sup> קָרָעַי בְּנָדָיִם *rent in respect of clothes*, equivalent to *with their clothes rent* (cf. Jer 41<sup>5</sup>); Nu 24<sup>4</sup>, Dt 25<sup>10</sup>, Is 3<sup>3</sup>, 33<sup>24</sup>, Jo 1<sup>8</sup>, ψ 32<sup>1</sup> נִשְׁיִי־פָּשְׁעַי *forgiven in respect of transgression*, כִּסּוּי־חַטָּאתָה *covered in respect of sin*); with a suffix to the noun, Pr 14<sup>2</sup> נָלוֹז דְּרָכָיו *he that is perverse in his ways*.

Rem. The passive participle occurs in the construct state before a genitive of the *cause*, e. g. in Is 1<sup>7</sup> שָׂרְפוֹת אֵשׁ *burnt with fire*; cf. Gn 41<sup>6</sup>, Ex 28<sup>11</sup>, Dt 32<sup>24</sup>; before a genitive denoting the *author*, e. g. Gn 24<sup>31</sup> בְּרוּךְ יְהוָה *blessed of the Lord* (but ψ 115<sup>15</sup> לַיהוָה *to the Lord*, see § 121 f); cf. Is 53<sup>4</sup>, ψ 22<sup>7</sup>, Jb 14<sup>1</sup> (15<sup>14</sup>, 25<sup>4</sup>); hence also with noun-suffixes (which are accordingly genitive) Pr 9<sup>18</sup> קָרְאִיהָ *her invited ones*, i. e. those invited by her; cf. 7<sup>26</sup>, ψ 37<sup>22</sup>.

5. The use of the participle as predicate is very frequent in noun-*nn* clauses (which, according to § 140 e, describe established facts and states), in which the period of time intended by the description must again (see above, d) be inferred from the context. Thus:

(a) As *present*, in speaking of truths which hold good at all times, e. g. Ec 1<sup>4</sup> נֶאֱבָדָה וְדוֹר הַלֵּךְ וְדוֹר בָּא *one generation goeth, and another generation cometh*; and the earth abideth (עֹמֶדֶת) *for ever*; cf. verse 7; also to represent incidental (continuous) occurrences which are just happening, Gn 3<sup>5</sup>, 16<sup>8</sup> (I am fleeing); 32<sup>12</sup>, Ex 9<sup>17</sup>, 1 S 16<sup>15</sup>, 23<sup>1</sup>, 2 K 7<sup>9</sup>, Is 1<sup>7</sup>; when the subject is introduced by the emphatic demonstrative הִנֵּה *behold!* (§ 100 o and § 105 b), e. g. Gn 16<sup>11</sup> הִנֵּה הַנֶּזֶד *behold, thou art with child*, &c.; 27<sup>42</sup>; frequently also in circumstantial clauses (connected by *Wāw*), cf. § 141 e, e. g. Gn 15<sup>2</sup>, &c.

(b) To represent *past* actions or states, sometimes in independent noun-*o* clauses, e. g. Ex 20<sup>18</sup> וַיִּרְאוּ אֶת־הַקּוֹלֹת *and all the people saw the thunders*, &c.; 1 K 1<sup>5</sup>; in negative statements, e. g. Gn 39<sup>23a</sup>; sometimes in relative clauses, e. g. Gn 39<sup>23b</sup>, Dt 3<sup>2</sup> (cf. also the frequent combination of the participle with the article as the equivalent of a relative clause, e. g. Gn 32<sup>10</sup> הָאִמֶּר *which saidst*; 12<sup>7</sup>, 16<sup>13</sup>, 35<sup>1.3</sup>, 36<sup>35</sup>, 48<sup>16</sup>, 2 S 15<sup>31</sup>, &c.); sometimes again (see n) in circumstantial clauses, especially those representing actions or states which occurred simultaneously with other past actions, &c., e. g. Gn 19<sup>1</sup> *and the two angels came to Sodom* וַיֹּשֶׁב *and* (i. e. *while*) Lot sat, &c.; 18<sup>1.8.16.22</sup>, 25<sup>26</sup>, Ju 13<sup>9</sup>, 2 Ch 22<sup>9</sup>; also with the subject introduced by הִנֵּה 37<sup>7</sup>, 41<sup>17</sup>. (On הִלֵּךְ with a following adjective or participle to express an action constantly or occasionally recurring, cf. § 113 u.)

(c) To announce *future* actions or events, e. g. 1 K 2<sup>2</sup>, 2 K 4<sup>16</sup> *at this season* p *when the time cometh round*, בֵּן אֶת־חֶבְקֵת *thou shalt embrace a son*; so after a specification of time, Gu 7<sup>4</sup>, 15<sup>14</sup>, 17<sup>19</sup>, 19<sup>13</sup>, Hag 2<sup>6</sup> (but in Is 23<sup>15</sup>, where, after הָיָה we should rather expect a perfect consecutive, it is better to explain

struction cf. below, § 117 cc, &c., and § 121 c, d. So also Neh 4<sup>12</sup> is to be understood, *and the builders were girded every one with his sword on his side, and building*.

וְנִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה, with Qimḥi, as the 3rd sing. fem. of the perfect; on the form, cf. § 44 f); or in relative clauses, Gn 41<sup>25</sup>, Is 5<sup>5</sup> *what I am doing*, i. e. am in the act of doing; in a deliberative question, Gn 37<sup>30</sup>; but especially often when the subject is introduced by הִנֵּה (especially also if the subject be attached as a suffix to הִנֵּה as הִנְנִי, הִנְךָ, &c.), if it is intended to announce the event as imminent, or at least near at hand (and sure to happen), when it is called *futurum instans*, e. g. Gn 6<sup>17</sup>, 15<sup>3</sup>, 20<sup>3</sup>, 24<sup>13f.</sup>, 48<sup>21</sup>, 50<sup>6</sup>, Ex 3<sup>13</sup>, 8<sup>25</sup>, 9<sup>3</sup>, 34<sup>10</sup>, Jos 2<sup>18</sup>, Ju 7<sup>17</sup>, 9<sup>33</sup>, 1 S 3<sup>11</sup>, 2 K 7<sup>2</sup>, Is 3<sup>1</sup>, 7<sup>14</sup>, 17<sup>1</sup>, Jer 30<sup>10</sup>, Zc 2<sup>13</sup>, 3<sup>8</sup>; with a participle passive, 2 S 20<sup>21</sup>: cf. also § 112 t.

q Rem. 1. As the above examples show, a noun-clause with a participle as predicate may have for its subject either a substantive or a personal pronoun; in both cases the participle, especially if there be a certain emphasis upon it, may precede the subject. Also in noun-clauses introduced by הִנֵּה the subject may be either a substantive, or (e. g. Gn 37<sup>7</sup>) a separate personal pronoun, or a suffix attached to הִנֵּה. In the same way, the subject may also be introduced by שׁוּ (est, see the Lexicon) with a suffix, and in negative sentences by אֵין (non est) with a suffix, e. g. Ju 6<sup>36</sup> אִם-אֵיֶשֶׁךָ מוֹשִׁיעַ if thou wilt save; Gn 43<sup>5</sup> אִם-אֵיֶנְךָ מְשַׁלַּח if thou wilt not send; 1 S 19<sup>11</sup>.—In such cases as Is 14<sup>27</sup> הַנְּטוּיָה יָדוֹ the stretched out hand is his, הַנְּטוּיָה is not, like נְטוּיָה in 9<sup>11-16</sup>, &c., the predicate (in which case the participle could not take the article), but the subject; cf. Gn 2<sup>11</sup>, 45<sup>12</sup>, Is 66<sup>9</sup>, Ez 20<sup>29</sup>, Zc 7<sup>6</sup> (cf. § 126 k), where the participle with the article likewise refers to the present, also Nu 7<sup>2</sup>, Dt 3<sup>21</sup>, 4<sup>3</sup>, &c., 1 S 4<sup>16</sup>, where it refers to the past. In 1 K 12<sup>8</sup> and 21<sup>11</sup> even in relative clauses after אֲשֶׁר.

r 2. To give express emphasis to an action continuing in the past, the perfect הָיָה in the corresponding person is sometimes added to the participle, and similarly the imperfect יִהְיֶה (or the jussive יִהְיֶה, or the imperfect consecutive) is used to emphasize an action continuing in the future, e. g. Jb 1<sup>14</sup> הַבֶּקֶר הָיוּ הַרְשׁוֹת the oxen (cows) were plowing; Gn 37<sup>2</sup>, 39<sup>22</sup>, Ex 3<sup>1</sup>, Dt 9<sup>24</sup>, Ju 1<sup>7</sup>, 1 S 2<sup>11</sup>, 2 S 3<sup>6</sup>; the same occurs with a passive participle, e. g. Jos 5<sup>5</sup>, Zc 3<sup>3</sup>; יִהְיֶה with a participle is found e. g. in Is 2<sup>2</sup>; the jussive in Gn 1<sup>6</sup>, ψ 109<sup>12</sup>;<sup>1</sup> and יוּהַי with a participle in Ju 16<sup>21</sup>, Neh 1<sup>4</sup>.

s 3. The personal pronoun which would be expected as the subject of a participial clause is frequently omitted, or at least (as elsewhere in noun-clauses, cf. Is 26<sup>3</sup>, ψ 16<sup>8</sup>, Jb 9<sup>32</sup>) the pronoun of the 3rd pers. הוּא, e. g. Gn 24<sup>30</sup>, 37<sup>15</sup>, 38<sup>24</sup>, 41<sup>1</sup>, 1 S 10<sup>11</sup>, 15<sup>12</sup>, Is 29<sup>8</sup> (the participle always after הִנֵּה); cf., moreover, Gn 32<sup>7</sup>, Dt 33<sup>3</sup>, 1 S 17<sup>25</sup>, 20<sup>1</sup>, Is 33<sup>5</sup>, 40<sup>19</sup>, ψ 22<sup>29</sup>, 33<sup>5</sup>, 55<sup>20</sup>, Jb 12<sup>17-19</sup> π., 25<sup>2</sup>, 26<sup>7</sup>.—הוּא is omitted in Lv 18<sup>28</sup>; הִנְפֹה in Is 32<sup>12</sup>, Ez 8<sup>12</sup>, Neh 9<sup>3</sup>; in a relative clause, Gn 39<sup>22</sup>, Is 24<sup>2</sup>.—The personal pronoun of the 2nd pers. masc. (אַתָּה) is omitted in Hb 2<sup>10</sup>; the 2nd fem. (אַתְּ) in Gn 20<sup>16</sup> (where, however, for the participle וְלִכְתֹּת the 2nd fem. perf. וְלִכְתְּ is to be read); the pronoun of the 1st sing. in Hb 1<sup>5</sup> (?), Zc 9<sup>12</sup>, Mal 2<sup>16</sup>; the 2nd plur. (אַתֶּם) 1 S 2<sup>24</sup> (if the text be right), 6<sup>3</sup>, Ez 13<sup>7</sup> (?). But these passages are all more or less doubtful.

t Of a different kind are the cases in which some undefined subject is to be supplied with the participle; e. g. Is 21<sup>11</sup> אֵלַי קֹרֵא there is one calling unto me (= one calleth; § 144 d); cf. Is 30<sup>24</sup>, 33<sup>4</sup>.—So with participles in the plur., e. g. Ex 5<sup>16</sup> אֲמָרִים sc. the taskmasters; Jer 38<sup>23</sup> (in 33<sup>5</sup> the text is corrupt), Ez 13<sup>7</sup> (?), 36<sup>13</sup>, 37<sup>11</sup> (equivalent to *sunt qui dicant*).

<sup>1</sup> A jussive is practically to be supplied also in the formulae of blessing and cursing, בְּרוּךְ blessed be . . . Gn 9<sup>26</sup>, &c.; אָרוּר cursed art thou . . . 3<sup>14</sup>, &c.

4. We must mention as a special class those noun-clauses which occur at the beginning of a period, and are intended to lay stress upon the fact that the first action still continues on the occurrence of the second (always introduced by וְ); e. g. Jb 1<sup>16</sup> f. כָּא וְהָיָה מְרַבֵּר וְהָיָה כֵּן *he was yet speaking, and (= when) another came, &c.*<sup>1</sup>; cf. Gn 29<sup>9</sup>, 1 S 9<sup>11, 27</sup>, 2c<sup>36</sup>, 1 K 14<sup>17</sup> *she was entering the threshold of the house, when the child died*; 2 K 2<sup>23</sup>, 4<sup>5</sup>, Dn 9<sup>20</sup> f.; also in Ju 19<sup>22</sup>, 1 S 9<sup>14</sup>, 17<sup>23</sup>, 1 K 1<sup>42</sup>, Jb 1<sup>18</sup> f., in all which passages the apodosis is introduced by וְהָיָה. — On the other hand, in 1 K 1<sup>14</sup> the noun-clause itself is introduced by הִנֵּה (as in verse 22 by וְהִנֵּה), and denotes an action only just impending.<sup>2</sup> Finally, when the whole sentence is introduced by means of וַיְהִי (cf. § 111 g), and the apodosis by וְהִנֵּה, Gn 42<sup>35</sup>, 2 K 2<sup>11</sup>, 13<sup>21</sup>; without הִנֵּה in the apodosis, 1 S 7<sup>10</sup>, 2 K 10<sup>37</sup> (Is 37<sup>38</sup>).

*Participles active*, which are used in the sense of the perfect participle, and also *participles passive*, in accordance with their meaning, express in such noun-clauses a state still continuing on the occurrence of the principal action, e. g. Gn 38<sup>25</sup> וְהָיָה שְׁלֹחָה וְהָיָה מוֹצֵאתָּהּ *she was being brought forth, when she sent, &c.*; cf. Gn 50<sup>24</sup>. [See further in Driver, *Tenses*, §§ 166-169.]

5. Different from the examples treated in u and v are the instances in which a participle (either alone or as the attribute of a noun) stands at the beginning of the sentence as a *casus pendens* (or as the subject of a *compound noun-clause*, see § 143 c) to indicate a condition, the contingent occurrence of which involves a further consequence; e. g. Gn 9<sup>6</sup> שִׁפְךָ דָּם הָאָדָם בְּאָדָם דָּמוֹ יִשְׁפָּק *shedding man's blood, i. e. if any one sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed*; Ex 21<sup>12</sup>, ψ 75<sup>4</sup>, Pr 17<sup>14</sup>, Jb 41<sup>18</sup>; so especially if כֹּל precedes the participle, Gn 4<sup>15</sup>, 1 S 3<sup>11</sup> (2 K 21<sup>12</sup>), 2 S 5<sup>8</sup> (*whosoever smiteth*), 1 Ch 11<sup>6</sup>. The apodosis is very often introduced by וְ (wāw apodosis), e. g. Ex 12<sup>15</sup> (with a following perfect consecutive), Nu 35<sup>30</sup>; 1 S 2<sup>13</sup> בְּלֹא־אִישׁ זָבַח וְהָיָה *when any man offered sacrifice, the priest's servant came, &c.*; 2 S 14<sup>10</sup> (participle with article); 22<sup>41</sup> (where, however, the text is to be emended in accordance with ψ 18<sup>41</sup>); 2 S 23<sup>3</sup> f., Pr 23<sup>24</sup> *K<sup>e</sup>th.*; 29<sup>9</sup>. — As in the instances discussed under u, such sentences are sometimes preceded by וַיְהִי, cf. 1 S 10<sup>11</sup>, 11<sup>11</sup>, 2 S 2<sup>23</sup> כֹּל-הַבָּא וַיְהִי *and it came to pass, that as many as came, &c. [or by וְהָיָה, frequentative, Ju 19<sup>30</sup>].* — On the other hand, וְהִנְשַׁבְּרָתָּהּ Dn 8<sup>22</sup> is a mere catchword (equivalent to *and as for that which was broken*) to call to mind the contents of verse 8.

6. On the use of the participle after the infinitive absolute הִלְלוּ cf. § 113 u.

7. Almost as a rule the participial construction beginning a sentence (like the infinitival constructions according to § 114 r) is continued by means of a finite verb with or without וְ, before which the English construction requires us to supply the relative pronoun implied in the participle; thus,

<sup>1</sup> The independent noun-clause here lays stress upon the simultaneous occurrence (and consequently the overlapping) of the events far more forcibly than could be done by a subordinate expression of time (as e. g. וַיְהִי כִּי בְרַבְרוֹ). In English it may be represented by *scarcely had he finished speaking when. . .* As the above examples show, the apodosis also frequently consists of a noun-clause.

<sup>2</sup> At the same time the preceding עוֹר still shows that what is announced is not merely a future event, but a future event *contemporaneous* with something else; the case thus entirely differs from the examples given in § 112 t, where הִנֵּה refers to the following participle, while here it belongs properly to the apodosis, before which it is therefore generally placed; see the examples.

continued by means of a perfect, Is 14<sup>17</sup> שָׁם תִּבְלֵן בְּמִדְבָּר וְעָרָיו הָרִים that made the world as a wilderness, and overthrew the cities thereof<sup>1</sup>; 43<sup>7</sup>, Ez 22<sup>3</sup>, ψ 136<sup>13</sup> π., Pr 2<sup>17</sup>; by a perfect without Wāw, Gn 49<sup>11</sup>; by a simple imperfect (as the *modus rei repetitae* in the present), Is 5<sup>23</sup>, 46<sup>6</sup>, Pr 7<sup>8</sup>, Jb 12<sup>17, 19</sup> π., 24<sup>21</sup>; by an imperfect without Wāw, e. g. 1 S 2<sup>8</sup>, Is 5<sup>8</sup>, Pr 2<sup>14</sup>, 19<sup>26</sup>; by an imperfect consecutive, Gn 27<sup>33</sup>, 35<sup>3</sup>, 1 S 2<sup>6</sup>, Jer 13<sup>10</sup> (after several participles), ψ 18<sup>33</sup>, 136<sup>10f</sup>.

### C. THE GOVERNMENT OF THE VERB.

#### § 117. The Direct Subordination of the Noun to the Verb as Accusative of the Object. The Double Accusative.

L. Kaila, *Zur Syntax des in verbaler Abhängigkeit stehenden Nomens im alttest. Hebr.*, Helsingfors, 1906.

a 1. The simplest way in which a noun is subordinated to a verbal form is by the addition of an accusative of the object to a transitive verb.<sup>2</sup> In the absence of case-endings,<sup>3</sup> this accusative can now be recognized only from the context, or by the particle אֵת (את), before suffixes also אֵת, אֹת)<sup>4</sup> prefixed to it. The use of this *nota accusativi*

<sup>1</sup> On the parallelism between the *external* and *internal* members, which appears here and in many other examples of this kind, see the note on § 114 r.

<sup>2</sup> The verb in question may either have been originally transitive, or only have become transitive by a modification of its original meaning. Thus the vocalization shows that הִפְנִין (to have pleasure, usually with בְּ) to desire, מָלֵא (to be full of something, also transitive) to fill, were originally intransitive. Cf. also such cases as בָּכָה to weep (generally with עַל־ , אֶל־ or לְ), but also to bewail with an accusative; יָשַׁב to dwell (usually with בְּ), but also to inhabit with an accusative (cf. further, under *u*).—The examples are different in which verbs of motion such as בָּוֵא intrare, also aggredi, יָצָא egredi (cf. § 116 h above), שָׁב redire, Is 5<sup>8</sup>, take an accusative of the aim of the motion, while בָּוֵא according to the Old Semitic usage, even takes an accusative of the person (at least in poetry, equivalent to בָּוֵא אֶל־ in prose).

<sup>3</sup> On traces of these endings, especially the remains of a former accusative ending in *a*, cf. § 90 c.

<sup>4</sup> אֵת (toneless owing to the following Maqqeph), and את (with a tone-long ē, אֵת only in Jb 41<sup>26</sup>), אֹת or אֹת before the light suffixes (on all these forms cf. § 103 b: the underlying form *āth* was obscured in Hebrew to *ōth*, shortened to *āth* before suffixes beginning with a consonant and then modified to אֵת, whence finally the secondary form את with the tone), Phoenician אית i. e. probably *iyāth* (for the Phoenician form, cf. G. Hoffmann, *Einige phönik. Inschriften*, Göttingen, 1889, p. 39 f.), Punic *yth* or (according to Euting) pronounced even as a mere prefixed *t*, Arabic, before suffixes, 'iyyā, Aram. יֵת, יֵת. It was no doubt originally a substantive, meaning *essence*, *substance*, *self* (like the Syriac *yāth*; on the other hand, any connexion with the Hebrew אֹת, Syriac 'ūtā, Arabic 'āyat, a sign, must, with Nöldeke, *ZDMG*. xl. 738, be rejected), but now united in the construct state with a following noun or suffix stands for the pronoun *ipse*, *autós*. In common use, however (cf. Wilson, 'The particle אֵת in Hebrew,' *Hebraica*, vi. 2, 3, and the precise statistics of the use

is, however, somewhat rare in poetry, and even in prose it is not invariably necessary but is restricted to those cases in which the accusative of the object is more closely determined by being a proper name, or by having the article, or by a following determinate genitive (hence also by the suffixes), or in some other way (see below, c), e. g. Gn 4<sup>1</sup> and she bare אֵת הַתַּיִם וְאֵת הָאָרֶץ Cain; 6<sup>10</sup>, 1<sup>1</sup> God created אֵת הַשָּׁמַיִם וְאֵת הָאָרֶץ the heaven and the earth (but 2<sup>4</sup> אֵת הָאָרֶץ וְהַיָּם); 1<sup>25</sup> and God made אֵת-תְּחִית הַיָּם the beast of the earth; 2<sup>24</sup>.

Rem. 1. The rare occurrence of the *nota accusativi* in poetic style (e. g. it never occurs in Ex 15<sup>2-18</sup>, Dt 32, Ju 5, 1 S 2, &c., though it is frequent in the late Psalms) may be explained from the fact that in this as in other respects (cf. § 2 q) poetry represents a somewhat more archaic stage of the language than prose. The need of some external means of indicating the accusative could only have been felt after the case-endings had become wholly extinct. Even then the תּא would probably have been used at first to indicate only an object placed before the verb (when it followed, it was already sufficiently characterized by its position as depending on the verb), or proper names.<sup>1</sup> Finally, however, the *nota accusativi* became so customary everywhere in prose, that even the pronominal object was expressed rather by תּא with suffixes than by verbal suffixes, even when none of the reasons mentioned under e can be assigned for it; cf. Giesebrecht in *ZAW.* 1881, p. 258 ff., and the statistics of H. Petri, cited above at the head of § 58. Such examples as כָּל־אֲשֶׁר-צָוָהוּ יְהוָה Gn 6<sup>22</sup> in the *Priestly Code*, beside אֲתוּ אֱלֹהִים 7<sup>5</sup> in the *Jahvist*, are especially instructive.

2. As accusatives determined in other ways, we have in the first place to consider the collectives introduced by כָּל *entirety*, without a following article or determinate genitive, inasmuch as the meaning of כָּל includes a determinative sense, cf. e. g. Gn 1<sup>21-30</sup>, 8<sup>21</sup>, Dt 2<sup>24</sup>, 2 K 25<sup>9</sup>. כָּל-אֲתֵּיב is used absolutely in Gn 9<sup>3</sup>, cf. 39<sup>23</sup>; similarly, מִי is determinate of itself, since it always denotes a person, hence אֲתֵּיב־מִי *quem?* e. g. Is 6<sup>8</sup>, 37<sup>23</sup>, &c., but never אֲתֵּיב־מִי *quid?* So also the relative אֲשֶׁר in the sense of *eum qui* or *quem*, &c., e. g. 1 S 16<sup>3</sup>, or *id quod*, Gn 9<sup>24</sup>, &c. Cf. also such examples as Jos 2<sup>10</sup>, 1 S 24<sup>19</sup>, where אֲשֶׁר אֵת is equivalent to *the circumstance, that*, &c.—Elsewhere אֵת stands before nouns which are determinate in sense, although the article is omitted, which according to § 126 h is very frequently the case in poetic or otherwise elevated style; thus Lv 26<sup>5</sup>, Jos 24<sup>14,15</sup>, Is 41<sup>7</sup> (to distinguish the object from the subject); 5c<sup>4</sup> (with the first of two accusatives, also for the sake of clearness); Ez 13<sup>20</sup>, 43<sup>10</sup>, Pr 13<sup>21</sup> (where the צְרִיקִים are to be regarded as a distinct class); Jb 13<sup>25</sup>

of תּא on p. 140 ff.), it has so little force (like the oblique cases *αὐτοῦ, αὐτῶ, αὐτόν*, sometimes also *ipsius, ipsum*, and the Germ. *desselben*, &c.) that it merely serves to introduce a determinate object; אֵת הַשָּׁמַיִם prop. *αὐτὸν τὸν οὐρανόν* (cf. *αὐτὴν Χρυσήδα*, Iliad i. 143) is no stronger than the simple אֵת הַשָּׁמַיִם τὸν οὐρανόν. Cf., further, P. Haupt on Pr 18<sup>24</sup> in his *Rainbow Bible*, and also in the *Notes on Esther*, p. 191.

<sup>1</sup> Thus, in Dt 33, תּא occurs only in verse 9 (twice, with an object preceding the verb), in Gn 49 in the blessing of Jacob only in verse 15 with a co-ordinate second object (consequently farther removed from the verb). Of the thirteen instances of תּא in the Mēša' inscription, seven stand directly and four indirectly before proper names.

(unless, with Beer and others, we read **וְאִם** for **וְאִתָּ**); also Ec 7<sup>7</sup> may be a quotation of an ancient maxim.

**d** On the other hand **אֵת** occurs very seldom in prose before a noun actually or apparently undetermined. In 1 S 24<sup>6</sup> **בְּנֶה** is more closely defined by means of the following relative clause; in 2 S 4<sup>11</sup> **אִישׁ צְדִיק** refers to Ishbo-sheth (as if it were *him, who was an innocent man*); in 1 K 6<sup>16</sup> **עֶשְׂרִים אַמָּה** refers to the particular twenty cubits. In Ex 21<sup>28</sup> (otherwise in verse 29) perhaps the **אֵת** is used in order to avoid the combination **אִישׁ שׁוֹר** (as in Nu 21<sup>9</sup> to avoid the cacophony **אִישׁ הַנֶּחֱשׁ אִישׁ** ?); in Lv 7<sup>8</sup> and 20<sup>10</sup> the accusatives are at any rate defined by the context.—In Nu 16<sup>15</sup> **אֶת־אֶחָד מֵהֶם** probably means *even a single one* (and then *ipso facto* a definite one) of them, as also in 1 S 9<sup>3</sup> **מִהַנְּעָרִים אֶת־אֶחָד מֵהַנְּעָרִים** may refer to some definite one of the men-servants. In Gn 21<sup>30</sup> we should read **אֶת־שֵׁבַע הַבְּכֹשֶׁת** with the Samaritan, since the seven lambs have been already mentioned; in Ex 2<sup>1</sup> translate with Meyer, *Die Israeliten*, p. 79, **אֶת־בֵּת־לֵוִי** *the daughter of Levi*; in Ex 28<sup>9</sup> read **הַשֵּׁהָם** with the Samaritan; in Lv 20<sup>14</sup> **אֶת־אִשָּׁה** is probably a scribal error due to **וְאֶת־אִמָּה**; in 1 S 26<sup>20</sup> read **נַפְשִׁי** with the LXX for **אֶחָד**; in 2 S 5<sup>24</sup> read **הַצְעֲרָה** as in 1 Ch 14<sup>15</sup>; in 2 S 15<sup>16</sup> the **אֵת** is incorrectly inserted from 20<sup>3</sup>, where it refers to the women already mentioned; in 2 S 18<sup>18</sup> read **הַמְצַבֶּת**, or omit both **אֵת** and **אִשָּׁר** with the LXX and Lucian; in 1 K 12<sup>31</sup> omit **אֵת**; in 2 K 23<sup>20</sup> probably **אֶת־עַצְמוֹתָם** is to be read; in 2 K 25<sup>9</sup> the text is corrupt. In Ez 16<sup>32</sup> **אֶת־זָרִים** might refer to *the strangers in question*; but see Smend on the passage.

**e** 3. The pronominal object *must* be represented by **אֵת** with a suffix (instead of a verbal suffix), when (a) it precedes the verb, e.g. Nu 22<sup>33</sup> **וְאֶתְכָה הֲרַנִּיתִי** *I had slain thee and saved her alive*; Gn 7<sup>1</sup>, Lv 22<sup>28</sup>, 1 S 8<sup>7</sup>, Is 43<sup>22</sup>, 57<sup>11</sup>, Jer 4<sup>17, 22</sup>, 7<sup>19</sup>; (b) when a suffix is already attached to the verb, and as a rule when a second accusative with **וְ** follows, e.g. 2 S 15<sup>25</sup> **וְהִרְאֵנִי אֹתוֹ** *and he will show me it*; Ex 17<sup>3</sup> **לְהַמִּית אֹתִי וְאֶת־בְּנֵי** *to kill us and our children*; Nu 16<sup>32</sup>, 1 S 5<sup>11</sup>, 2 S 14<sup>16</sup> (but cf. also Dt 11<sup>6</sup>, 15<sup>16</sup>, &c., and Driver on 1 S 5<sup>10</sup>); (c) after an infinitive absolute, see above § 113 a note; (d) after an infinitive construct, when it is immediately followed by the subject, e.g. Gn 41<sup>39</sup>, or when the combination of a suffix with the infinitive might lead to a misunderstanding, e.g. Gn 4<sup>15</sup> **לְבַלְתִּי הַכּוֹת־אֹתוֹ** *lest one should smite him*, &c., where **לְבַלְתִּי הַכּוֹתוֹ** might also mean *lest he should smite*.

**f** 4. The pronominal object is very frequently omitted, when it can be easily supplied from the context; so especially the neuter accusative referring to something previously mentioned (the English *it*) after *verba sentiendi* (**שָׁמַע**) and *dicendi*, e.g. Gn 9<sup>22</sup>, &c., **וַיִּגַּד** *and he told (it)*; also after **נָתַן** *to give*, Gn 18<sup>7</sup>, 24<sup>41</sup>, &c., **לָקַח** *to take*, **הָבִיא** *to bring*, **שָׁם** *to lay*, Gn 9<sup>23</sup>, &c., **מָצָא** *to find*, Gn 31<sup>33</sup>, &c. A personal object is omitted, e.g. in Gn 12<sup>19</sup>, 24<sup>51</sup> (after **לָקַח**).—The omission of the plural object is remarkable, because it leaves an opportunity for a misunderstanding, in Gn 37<sup>17</sup> **שָׁמַעְתִּי אִמְרֵיהֶם** *I heard them saying*; perhaps, however, we should read **שָׁמַעְתִּים** with the Samaritan.

**g** 5. In common formulae the substantival object is also sometimes omitted

<sup>1</sup> According to the ordinary rules of syntax (cf. § 116 *t*) we should translate, *I heard men who said, &c.*

(an elliptical expression); thus e.g. כָּרַת 1 S 20<sup>16</sup>, &c. (see the Lexicon) stands for כָּרַת כְּרִית like the English *to close* (sc. a bargain) with any one; נָטַר *to keep* (sc. אַף *anger*) equivalent to *to be resentful*, ψ 103<sup>9</sup>, &c.; so also שָׁמַר Jer 3<sup>5</sup> (beside נָטַר); נָשָׂא for קוֹל נָשָׂא *to lift up the voice*, Is 3<sup>7</sup>; לָּ for נָשָׂא לָּ *to take away any one's sin* (to forgive), Gn 18<sup>24, 26</sup>, Is 2<sup>9</sup>; שָׁלַח for יָד *to reach after something*, 2 S 6<sup>6</sup>, ψ 18<sup>17</sup>.

6. *Verba sentiendi* may take a second object, generally in the form of a participle or adjective and necessarily indeterminate, to define more exactly the action or state in which the object is perceived, e.g. Nu 11<sup>10</sup> וַיִּשְׁמַע מִשָּׁמָה אֶת־הָעָם בֹּכֶה and *Moses heard the people weeping*; Gn 7<sup>1</sup> אֶתְּךָ רִאִיתִי צַדִּיק אֶתְּךָ רִאִיתִי צַדִּיק *thee have I seen righteous*. Frequently, however, the second object is expressed by a separate clause. This is especially frequent with רָאָה *to see*, e.g. Gn 1<sup>4</sup> and *God saw the light, that it was good*; Gn 6<sup>2</sup>, 12<sup>14</sup>, 13<sup>10</sup>, 49<sup>15</sup>, Ex 2<sup>2</sup>, ψ 25<sup>19</sup>, Pr 23<sup>31</sup>, Jb 22<sup>12</sup>, Ec 2<sup>24</sup>, S<sup>17</sup>; so with יָדַע *to know*, Ex 32<sup>22</sup>, 2 S 3<sup>26</sup>, 17<sup>8</sup> (with two objects); 1 K 5<sup>17</sup>.

7. In certain instances אֵת serves apparently to introduce or to emphasize *ḥ* a nominative. This cannot be regarded as a reappearance of the original substantial meaning of the אֵת, since all unquestionable examples of the kind belong to the later Books of the Old Testament. They are rather (apart from textual errors or other explanations) cases of virtual dependence on an implied *verbum regens* understood. The constant use of אֵת to indicate a clause governed by the verb, necessarily led at length to the use of אֵת generally as a defining particle irrespective of a governing verb. So in the Hebrew of the Mishna<sup>1</sup> (see above, § 3 a) אֵתוֹ and אֵתָהּ are prefixed even to a nominative without any special emphasis.

Naturally the above does not apply to any of the places in which אֵת is not *k* the *nota accusativi*, but a preposition (on אֵת *with*, cf. § 103 b), e.g. Is 57<sup>15</sup>, 1 S 17<sup>34</sup> וַאֲתֵּרֶוּבַּי and *that, with a bear*; אֵת־ here, however, has probably been interpolated from verse 36, where it is wanting); nor the places in which the accusative is subordinate to a passive (according to § 121 c) or to a verb of wanting as in Jos 22<sup>17</sup> and Neh 9<sup>32</sup>, see below, z. In Ez 43<sup>17</sup> קָבִיב אֹתָהּ *about* governs like a verb, being followed by אֹתָהּ.

Other cases are clearly due to attraction to a following relative pronoun in *l* the accusative (Ez 14<sup>22</sup>, Zc 8<sup>17</sup>; but Hag 2<sup>5a</sup>, מִמְצָרִים, must be omitted, with the LXX, as a later addition), or the accusative depends on a verbal idea, virtually contained in what has gone before, and consequently present to the speaker's mind as governing the accusative. Thus Nu 3<sup>26</sup> (the verbal idea contained in וּמִשְׁמֶרֶת verse 25 is *they had to take charge of*); in Jos 17<sup>11</sup> וַיְהִי לָּ implies *it was given up* or *they gave him*; 1 S 26<sup>16</sup> *see where* is equivalent to *search now for*; in 2 S 11<sup>25</sup> אֶל־יָרַע בְּעֵינַיִךְ is used in the sense of *noli aegre ferre*<sup>2</sup>; Jer 36<sup>83</sup> and he had the brazier before him; in Ec 4<sup>3</sup> a verb like *I esteem* is mentally supplied before אֵת אֶשֶׁר. On Jos 22<sup>17</sup>, Neh 9<sup>32</sup>, see below, aa.—Aposiopesis occurs in Dt 11<sup>2</sup> *for not your children* (do I mean); still more boldly in Zc 7<sup>7</sup>, where either שְׁמַעְתֶּם or תִּשְׁמְעוּ (*תִּעֲשׂוּ*) is to be supplied.

Setting aside a few undoubtedly corrupt passages<sup>3</sup> there still remain the *m*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Weiss, *משפט לשון המשנה* (Vienna, 1867), p. 112.

<sup>2</sup> So also in 1 S 20<sup>13</sup> the Qal (יִטַּב) is, with Wellhausen, to be read instead of the Hiph'il.

<sup>3</sup> Thus 1 S 26<sup>16</sup>, where וַיֵּא is to be read for וַיֵּאֵת; 1 K 11<sup>25</sup>, where at present the predicate of the relative clause is wanting; in 2 K 6<sup>6</sup> the אֵת is probably



of a noun derived from the same stem,<sup>1</sup> e.g.  $\psi$  14<sup>5</sup> פָּחַדוּ בְּפָחַד they feared a fear (i.e. they were in great fear), Pr 15<sup>27</sup>; also with the object preceding, e.g. La 1<sup>8</sup> יְרִשְׁלָם יְרִשְׁתָּהּ הַטָּא הַטָּא Jerusalem hath sinned a sin; with a double accusative (see below, *cc*), e.g. 1 K 1<sup>12</sup> נָא עֲצֵה נָא עֲצֵה let me, I pray thee, give thee counsel; 1 K 1<sup>12</sup>.<sup>2</sup>

Rem. (a) Strictly speaking the only cases of this kind are those in which the verbal idea is supplemented by means of an *indeterminate* substantive (see the examples above). Such a substantive, except in the case of the addition of the internal object to denominative verbs (see below), is, like the infinitive absolute, never altogether without force, but rather serves like it to strengthen the verbal idea. This strengthening is implied in the indeterminateness of the internal object, analogous to such exclamations as, *this was a man!*<sup>3</sup> Hence it is intelligible that some intensifying attribute is very frequently (as in Greek usually) added to the internal object, e.g. Gn 27<sup>34</sup> וַיִּצְעַק צְעָקָה גְּדֹלָה וּמְרָה עַרְמָאֵר he cried (with) an exceeding great and bitter cry; cf. the Greek *νοσείν νόσον κακήν, ἐχάρησαν χαρὰν μεγάλην* (Matt. 2<sup>10</sup>); *magnam rugnare rugnam, tutiorem vitam vivere, &c.*

Examples of an internal object after the verb, and without further addition, are Ex 22<sup>5</sup>, 2 S 12<sup>16</sup>, Is 24<sup>22</sup>, 35<sup>2</sup>, 42<sup>17</sup>, Ez 25<sup>15</sup>, 26<sup>15</sup>, 27<sup>35</sup>, Mic 4<sup>9</sup>, Zc 1<sup>2</sup>, Pr 21<sup>26</sup>; with an intensifying attribute, Gn 27<sup>33</sup>, Ex 32<sup>31</sup>, Ju 15<sup>8</sup>, 2 S 13<sup>36</sup>, 1 K 1<sup>40</sup> (cf. Jon 4<sup>6</sup>, 1 Ch 29<sup>9</sup>); Is 21<sup>7</sup>, 45<sup>17</sup>, Jon 1<sup>10</sup>, Zc 1<sup>14</sup>, 8<sup>2a</sup>, Dn 11<sup>3</sup>; along with an object proper the internal object occurs with an attribute in Gn 12<sup>17</sup>, 2 S 13<sup>15</sup>; cf. also Is 14<sup>6</sup>, Jon 4<sup>1</sup>.—An internal object without an attribute before the verb: Is 24<sup>16</sup>, Jer 46<sup>5</sup>, Hb 3<sup>9</sup>, Jb 27<sup>12</sup>; with an attribute before the verb: Jer 14<sup>17</sup>, Zc 1<sup>15</sup> (cf. also Gn 30<sup>8</sup>, Jer 22<sup>19</sup>, 30<sup>14</sup>,  $\psi$  139<sup>22</sup>). Instead of the substantive which would naturally be expected, another of kindred meaning is used in Zc 8<sup>2</sup>.

(b) Only in a wider sense can the *schema etymologicum* be made to include cases in which the denominative verb is used in connexion with the noun from which it is derived, e.g. Gn 1<sup>11</sup>, 9<sup>14</sup>, 11<sup>3</sup>, 37<sup>7</sup>, Ez 18<sup>2</sup>,  $\psi$  144<sup>6</sup>, probably also Mi 2<sup>4</sup>, or where this substantive, made determinate in some way, follows its verb, e.g. Gn 30<sup>37</sup>, Nu 25<sup>11</sup>, 2 K 4<sup>13</sup>, 13<sup>14</sup>, Is 45<sup>17</sup>, La 3<sup>58</sup>,<sup>4</sup> and, determinate at least in sense, Jer 22<sup>16</sup>; or precedes it, as in 2 K 2<sup>16</sup>, Is 5<sup>12</sup>, 62<sup>5</sup>, Zc 3<sup>7</sup>; cf. also Ex 3<sup>9</sup>. In both cases the substantive is used, without any special emphasis, merely for clearness or as a more convenient way of connecting the verb with other members of the sentence.

3. Verbs which denote *speaking* (*crying out, weeping*), or any s external act, frequently take a direct accusative of the organ or means by which the action is performed. In this case, however, the accusative must be more closely determined by an attributive adjective or a noun in the genitive. This fact shows the close relation between these accusatives and the *internal objects* treated under *p*, which also,

<sup>1</sup> On a kindred use of the infinitive absolute as an *internal object*, see above, § 113 *w*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *βουλὰς βουλεύειν*, Iliad x. 147.

<sup>3</sup> The Arab grammarians assign to the indeterminate cases generally an intensive sense in many instances; hence the commentators on the Qorān usually explain such cases by adding *and what . . .!* see § 125 *b*.

<sup>4</sup> Also in  $\psi$  13<sup>4</sup> *lest I sleep the sleep of death*, הַמָּוֶת is only used pregnantly for שְׁנַת הַמָּוֶת (cf. Jer 51<sup>39</sup>), as צָרְקוֹת Is 33<sup>15</sup> for צָרְקוֹת הַדָּרָךְ. On the similar use of הַלֵּךְ תָּמִים in  $\psi$  15<sup>2</sup>, see § 118 *n*.

according to *q*, mostly take an intensifying attribute. On the other hand, they must not be regarded as adverbial (instrumental) accusatives, nor are they to be classed with the second (neuter) subjects treated below in § 144 l.

t Examples of the accusative following the verb are וַיִּזְעַק קוֹל-גָּדוֹל and I cried a loud voice, i. e. with a loud voice, Ez 11<sup>13</sup>, 2 S 15<sup>23</sup> (after the proper object, Dt 5<sup>19</sup>, 1 K 8<sup>55</sup>);  $\psi$  109<sup>2</sup> they have spoken unto me לְשׁוֹן טְקָרָה a tongue of deceit, i. e. with a lying tongue; Pr 10<sup>4</sup> he becometh poor כְּהִרְמִיָּה עֵשָׂה dealing a slack hand, i. e. who dealeth with a slack hand; cf. the German *eine schöne Stimme singen*, to sing a fine voice, *eine tüchtige Klinge schlagen*, to smite a trusty sword, *Schlittschuhe laufen*, to run skates (i. e. to skate), and our to write a good hand, to play ball, &c.—Examples of the accusative preceding are שְׂפָתַי רִנְּנוּת יְהוָה לְפִי my mouth shall praise with joyful lips,  $\psi$  63<sup>6</sup>; cf.  $\psi$  12<sup>9</sup>, where a *casus instrumenti* with  $\text{בְּ}$  follows the accusative.

u 4. Many verbs originally intransitive (sometimes even in form; see *a*, note 2) may be used also as transitives, in consequence of a certain modification of their original meaning, which has gradually become established by usage; cf. e. g. רִיב to strive, but also with an accusative *causam alicuius agere* (so even in Is 1<sup>17</sup>, &c.; elsewhere with  $\text{לְ}$  of the person for whom one strives); יָבֵל absolutely to be able, with an accusative to prevail over any one; הִיָּצַח to be inclined and רָצָה to have pleasure (usually with  $\text{בְּ}$ ), with an accusative to wish for some one or something; טָשַׁב cubare, then in the sense of *concupere*, originally joined with עִם cum, but quite early also with the accusative, equivalent to *comprimere (feminam)*, &c. So in 2 S 13<sup>14</sup>, &c., unless in all or some of the passages the preposition אֶת is intended, e. g. אֶת־הָאִתָּה; in the earlier passages עִם is the more usual.

U Rem. 1. It is certainly difficult to decide whether some verbs, which were afterwards used absolutely or joined with prepositions, were not nevertheless originally transitive, and consequently it is only the supposed original meaning, usually assigned to them in English, which causes them to appear intransitive.<sup>1</sup> In that case there is of course no syntactical peculiarity to be considered, and a list of such verbs would at the most be requisite only for practical purposes. Moreover, it is also possible that certain verbs were originally in use at the same time both as transitive and intransitive, e. g. perhaps לָבַשׁ to be clothed along with לָבַשׁ לְ to put on (a garment). Finally the analogy of certain transitives in constant use may have led to intransitives of kindred meaning being also united directly with the accusative, so that, in other words, whole classes of verbs came to be regarded in a particular aspect as transitives. See below, *y*.

<sup>1</sup> Thus e. g. עָנָה to reply to (ἀμείβεσθαι τινα), to answer any one; צִוָּה to command (iubere aliquem); זָכַר to remember; קָוָה (also with  $\text{לְ}$ ) to wait for any one (to expect any one); בָּשַׂר to bring glad tidings to any one (see the Lexicon); נָאֵף and נָאָף to commit adultery (adulterare matronam); עָבַר to serve (colere); עָרַב to become surety for . . . , and many others.

2. The modification of the original meaning becomes especially evident  $\gamma$  when even reflexive conjugations (*Niph'al*, *Hithpa'el*, &c.) take an accusative (cf. § 57, note 2); e.g. נִבְּא to prophesy, Jer 25<sup>13</sup>; נִסַּב (prop. to put oneself round) to surround, Ju 19<sup>22</sup>; נִלָּחַם to fight,  $\psi$  109<sup>3</sup> (where, however, the *Qal* וַיִּלָּחֲמוּ should be read; cf.  $\psi$  35<sup>1</sup>); also הִתְנַלַּח to shave (something) for oneself, Num 6<sup>19</sup>; הִתְנַחַל to take some one for oneself as a possession, Is 14<sup>2</sup>; הִתְנַצַּל to make some one an object of craft, Gn 37<sup>18</sup>; הִתְנַצַּל to strip a thing off oneself, Ex 33<sup>6</sup>; הִתְעַבֵּר to bring on oneself the anger of any one, to anger him; הִתְבּוֹנֵן to consider something, Jb 37<sup>14</sup>; הִתְפַּרֵּק to break something off from oneself, Ex 32<sup>3</sup>. In Gn 34<sup>9</sup> after הִתְחַתְּנוּ make ye marriages, read אֶתְּנוּ instead of אֶתְּנוּ. Cf. § 54 f.

3. So also it is only owing to a modification of the original meaning of  $\alpha$  a verb (except where the expression is incorrect, and perhaps derived from the popular language), when sometimes the remoter object (otherwise introduced by ל) is directly subordinated in the form of an accusative suffix, e.g. Zc 7<sup>6</sup> הַצּוּם צִמְתָּנִי אֲנִי did ye fast at all unto me, even to me? as though to say, have ye be-fasted me? have ye reached me with your fasting? Still more strange is Jb 31<sup>18</sup> גִּדְּלֵנִי בְּאָב he (the orphan) grew up to me as to a father; cf. Is 27<sup>4</sup>, 65<sup>5</sup>, Jer 31<sup>3</sup>, and in Aramaic Dn 5<sup>6</sup>; but אֶרְיִן הֶגְנֵב נִתְּתָנִי Jos 15<sup>19</sup> is to be regarded as a double accusative after a verb of giving, see ff. In 1 S 2<sup>25</sup> read וּפְלָלוּ in Is 44<sup>21</sup>, instead of the *Niph'al*, read וַתִּנְשָׁנִי; in Ez 29<sup>3</sup> either עֲשִׂיתִיו is to be read with Olshausen or עֲשִׂיתִים (and previously יֵאָרֶי) with Smend; in  $\psi$  42<sup>5</sup> אֶרְדָּה or אֶרְדֶּם; in  $\psi$  55<sup>23</sup> (where König takes יִהְיֶה as he has given it to thee) we must certainly assume a substantive יָהֵב (= fate?).

4. Whole classes of verbs, which, according to  $v$  above, are regarded as *transitive*, either on account of their original meaning or (for the sake of analogy) by a modification of that meaning, are—  $\gamma$

(a) Verba induendi and exuendi, as לָבַשׁ to put on, פָּשַׁט to put off a garment, עָדָה to put on ornaments, to adorn oneself with (cf. also מְשֻׁבָּצִים זָהָב enclosed in gold, Ex 28<sup>20</sup>). Also in poetic expressions such as  $\psi$  65<sup>14</sup> לְבָשׁוּ כְרִים הַצֹּאן the pastures are clothed with flocks, cf.  $\psi$  109<sup>29</sup>; 104<sup>2</sup> (עָטָה); 65<sup>14b</sup> (עָטָה), &c.<sup>1</sup>

(b) Verba copiae and inopiae (also called verba abundandi and deficiendi), as מָלֵא, to be full of something, Ex 8<sup>17</sup>; here, and also frequently elsewhere, construed with אָת, and hence evidently with an accusative; Gn 6<sup>18</sup>; with a personal object, Ex 15<sup>9</sup> my lust shall be satisfied upon them; with an accusative preceding the verb for the sake of emphasis, e.g. Is 1<sup>15</sup> your hands מָלְאוּ דָמִים are full of blood, cf. Is 22<sup>2</sup>; so also the *Niph.* נִמְלָא to fill oneself with something, e.g. Gn 6<sup>11</sup>, Ex 1<sup>7</sup> (where the object is connected by אֵת); Is 27<sup>1</sup>, 6<sup>4</sup>, Pr 3<sup>10</sup>; נִנְרַע to be fructified with, Nu 5<sup>28</sup>; נִשְׂרַץ to swarm with, Gn 1<sup>20.21</sup> Ex 7<sup>28</sup>; שָׂבַע (שָׂבַע) to be full of, Is 1<sup>11</sup>, Jo 2<sup>19</sup>, Pr 12<sup>11</sup>; גָּבַר to become strong, to wax mighty in something, Jb 21<sup>7</sup>; פָּרַץ to overflow with something, Pr 3<sup>10</sup> (with the object preceding); יָרַד prop. to descend, poetically also to pour down, to overflow with something (cf. in Greek  $\pi\rho\rho\rho\acute{\epsilon}\iota\nu$  ὑδωρ, δάκρυα στάζειν), e.g. La 3<sup>48</sup> פָּלְגֵי מַיִם הִרְדּוּ עֵינַי mine eye runneth

<sup>1</sup> From the idea of covering oneself with something, we might also, if necessary, explain Ex 30<sup>20</sup> יִרְחֲצוּ מֵיִם they shall wash themselves with water; but the reading is simply to be emended to the ordinary בַּמַּיִם.

down (with) rivers of water; 1<sup>16</sup>, Jer 9<sup>17</sup>, 13<sup>17</sup>,  $\psi$  119<sup>136</sup>; so also הִלָּךְ to run over with, to flow with, Jo 4<sup>18</sup>; נוּל to gush out with, Jer 9<sup>17</sup>; נָטַף to drop, to overflow with, Ju 5<sup>4</sup>, Jo 4<sup>18a</sup>; פָּרַח to break forth, Ex 9<sup>9</sup>; שָׁטַף to overflow, but also (transitively) to overflow with, probably in Is 10<sup>22</sup>; נֹבַח to bud with, Pr 10<sup>31</sup>; so perhaps also עָבַר to pass over, to overflow with, Jer 5<sup>28</sup>; יָצָא to go forth with, Am 5<sup>3</sup>.—Especially bold, but still on the analogy of the above examples, is Is 5<sup>6</sup>, where it is said of a vineyard וְעֵלָה תִּשְׁמֵר וְשִׁית but it shall come up (it shall be overgrown) with briars and thorns; cf. Pr 24<sup>31</sup>, and still more boldly, Is 34<sup>13</sup>.

aa With the opposite idea, חָסַר to be in want of, to lack, Gn 18<sup>28</sup>; שָׁכַל to be decreed of (as though it were to lose), Gn 27<sup>45</sup>.—In Jos 22<sup>17</sup> even הַמְעַט־לָנוּ (prop. was there too little for us . . . ?) as being equivalent to a verbum inopiae (= had we too little of . . . ?) is construed with an accusative; cf. Neh 9<sup>32</sup>.

bb (c) Several verbs of dwelling; the accusative in this case expresses either the place or the thing at which or with which any one tarries; thus Gn 4<sup>20</sup>,  $\psi$  22<sup>4</sup> after יָשַׁב, cf. § 118 g; Ju 5<sup>17</sup>, Is 33<sup>14</sup> after גִּוַר;  $\psi$  57<sup>5</sup> after שָׁכַב;  $\psi$  68<sup>7</sup>, Pr 8<sup>12</sup>, Is 33<sup>16</sup> with שָׁכַן; or even the person (the people) with whom any one dwells or is a guest, as  $\psi$  5<sup>5</sup>, 120<sup>5</sup> after גִּוַר, Gn 30<sup>20</sup> after וּבָלַח,  $\psi$  68<sup>19</sup> with שָׁכַן.

cc 5. Two accusatives (usually one of the person and one of the thing) are governed by—

(a) The causative conjugations (*Pi'el*, *Hiph'il*, sometimes also *Pilpel*, e.g. פָּלַל Gn 47<sup>12</sup>, &c.) of verbs which are simply transitive in *Qal*, and hence also of *verba induendi* and *exuendi*, &c. (cf. above a and u, and also y, z), e.g. Ex 33<sup>18</sup> נָא אֶת־כְּבוֹדִי מֵרָאִי show me, I pray thee, thy glory. Thus very frequently הוֹרִיעַ to cause some one to know something; Ju 1<sup>10</sup> דָּוָד הוֹרִיעַ אֶת־בְּנֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל docere aliquem aliquid, &c.; cf. further, Gn 41<sup>42</sup> וַיְלַבֵּשׁ אֹתוֹ וַיַּגִּישׁ אֵלָיו וַיַּעֲרֵךְ אֵלָיו וַיַּעֲרֵךְ אֵלָיו and he caused him to put on vestures of fine linen (he arrayed him in vestures, &c.); cf. in the opposite sense, Gn 37<sup>23</sup> (both accusatives after הִפְשִׁיט introduced by אֶת); so with כִּילָא to fill, to fill up with something, Gn 21<sup>19</sup>, 26<sup>15</sup>, Ex 28<sup>3</sup>; אָזַר to gird some one with something,  $\psi$  18<sup>33</sup>; עֲטַר to crown,  $\psi$  8<sup>6</sup>, &c.; חָסַר to cause some one to lack something,  $\psi$  8<sup>6</sup>; הִאֲכִיל to feed some one with something, Ex 16<sup>32</sup>; הִשְׁקָה to make some one drink something, Gn 19<sup>32a</sup>.

dd (b) Many verbs (even in *Qal*) which express an influence upon the object through some external means. The latter, in this case, is attached as a second object. They are especially—

ee (a) Verbs which express covering, clothing, overlaying, חָגַר Ex 29<sup>9</sup>, צָפַה Ex 26<sup>29</sup>, &c., טָחַח Ez 13<sup>10a</sup>, עָטַר  $\psi$  5<sup>13</sup>; cf. also אָבַן Jos 7<sup>25</sup>, &c.; hence also verbs which express sowing (וָרַע Jud 9<sup>45</sup>, Is 17<sup>10</sup>, 30<sup>23</sup>), planting (Is 5<sup>2</sup>), anointing ( $\psi$  45<sup>8</sup>) with anything.

ff (b) Expressions of giving, thus נָתַן Jos 15<sup>19</sup> where the accusative of the thing precedes; endowing, וָבַר Gn 30<sup>20</sup>; and its opposite taking away, as קָבַע Pr 22<sup>23</sup>; בָּרַךְ to bless some one with something, Gn 49<sup>25</sup>, Dt 15<sup>14</sup>; to give graciously,  $\psi$  119<sup>5</sup>; to sustain (i.e. to support, to maintain, to furnish) with anything,

e. g. Gn 27<sup>37</sup>, ψ 51<sup>14</sup> (קָמַף); Ju 19<sup>5</sup> (סָעַר); *to do something to one*, גָּמַל Gn 50<sup>15,17</sup>, 1 S 24<sup>18</sup>; cf. also קָרַם *to come to meet any one with something*, ψ 21<sup>4</sup>, שָׁלַם *to repay some one with something* (with two accusatives, ψ 35<sup>12</sup>, Pr 13<sup>21</sup>), and for the accusative of the person cf. εὔ, *κακῶς πράττειν τινά*. In a wider sense we may also include such phrases as *they hunt every man his brother with a net*, Mi 7<sup>2</sup>; *to shoot at one with arrows*, ψ 64<sup>8</sup> (though this is against the accents); Pr 13<sup>24</sup> *seeks him early* (with) *discipline*, i. e. *chastises him betimes*, &c.

(γ) Expressions of *asking* some one for something, *desiring* something from some one (שָׁאַל Dt 14<sup>26</sup>, ψ 137<sup>3</sup>); *answering* any one anything (עָנָה Mi 6<sup>5</sup>, &c.); cf. in the other conjugations הָשִׁיב הַבֵּר prop. *verbum reddere*, with an accusative of the person, 1 K 12<sup>6</sup>, &c., also in the sense of *announcing*; sometimes also הַגִּיד *to declare* something to some one, Jb 26<sup>4</sup>, &c., for (הַגִּיד לְ); צָוָה *to enjoin a person* something, Ex 34<sup>32</sup>, Dt 1<sup>18</sup>, 32<sup>46</sup>, Jer 7<sup>28</sup>.

(δ) Expressions which mean *to make, to form, to build* something out of something; in such cases, besides the accusative of the object proper, another accusative is used for the material of which the thing is made, e. g. Gn 2<sup>7</sup> וַיַּצַּר יְהוָה אֱלֹהִים אֶת-הָאָדָם עָפָר מִן-הָאָרֶץ *and the Lord formed man of the dust of the ground*; so with יָצַר also in 1 K 7<sup>15</sup>; further Ex 38<sup>3</sup> כָּל-כֵּלָיו עָשָׂה נְחֹשֶׁת *all the vessels thereof made he of brass* (for another explanation of the accusative נְחֹשֶׁת [into brass], linguistically possible but excluded by the context, see below, ii with *kk*); cf. Ex 25<sup>18,28</sup>, 26<sup>1,14,29</sup>, 27<sup>1</sup>, 36<sup>6</sup>, 1 K 7<sup>27</sup>; with a preceding accusative of the material, Ex 25<sup>29</sup>, 29<sup>2</sup>, Dt 27<sup>6</sup> אֲבָנִים שְׁלֵמוֹת תִּבְנֶה אֶת-מִזְבֵּחַ יְהוָה *of unhewn stones shall thou build the altar of the Lord*.

(c) Verbs which express *making, preparing, forming* into anything, along with the object proper, take a second accusative of the product, e. g. Gn 27<sup>9</sup> אֶעֱשֶׂה אֹתָם מִטַּעֲמִים *I will make them (the kids) into savoury meat*; cf. Gn 6<sup>14,16</sup>, Ex 26<sup>1b</sup>, 30<sup>25</sup>, 32<sup>4</sup>, Is 44<sup>15</sup>, Ho 8<sup>4</sup>, 1 K 18<sup>32</sup> וַיִּבְנֶה וַיִּבְנֶה אֶת-הָאֲבָנִים מִזֶּבַח *and he built the stones (into) an altar*; cf. 10<sup>12</sup>. So also אָפָה, with two accusatives, *to bake* something into something, Ex 12<sup>39</sup>, Lv 24<sup>5</sup>; שָׂם (prop. *to set up* for something, cf. Gn 27<sup>37</sup>, 28<sup>18</sup>, ψ 39<sup>9</sup>, and similarly הָרִים Gn 31<sup>45</sup>) *to change* into something, Jos 8<sup>28</sup>, Is 50<sup>2</sup>, 51<sup>10</sup>, Mi 1<sup>7</sup>, 4<sup>13</sup>; with two accusatives of the person (*to appoint, promote* any one to the position of a . . .), Is 3<sup>7</sup>; נָתַן is also used in the same sense with two accusatives, Gn 17<sup>5</sup>, and שִׁית 1 K 11<sup>34</sup>; as a rule, however, the description of the office, and also frequently of the product, is introduced by לְ *to*, § 119 *t*; also שִׂית *to make a thing so and so* (Is 5<sup>6</sup>, 26<sup>1</sup>; with a personal object, ψ 21<sup>7</sup>, 191<sup>9</sup>); הִחְשִׁיךְ *to make dark*, Am 5<sup>8</sup>. Of the same class also are instances like Jb 28<sup>2</sup> וַיִּקְרְטֶה שָׁנִים עֶשֶׂר 1 K 11<sup>30</sup> אֶבֶן יָצִיק יָצִיק יָצִיק *a stone they smelt into brass*; 1 K 11<sup>30</sup> עֶשֶׂר וַיִּקְרְטֶה *and rent it (the garment) into twelve pieces*; cf. Is 37<sup>26</sup>, accusative of the product before the object proper, after לְהַשְׁאִיחַ *to lay waste*.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. a very pregnant expression of this kind in ψ 21<sup>13</sup> כִּי תִשְׂיֵתָמוּ שֵׁכְמָם *for thou shalt make them (as) a neck, i. e. thou shalt cause them to turn their necks (backs) to me*; similarly ψ 18<sup>41</sup> (2 S 22<sup>41</sup>, Ex 23<sup>27</sup>) וְאֵיבֵי נִתְתָּה לִּי עֲרֹף; *thou hast given mine enemies unto me as a back*; cf. Jer 18<sup>17</sup>.

On a second object with *verba sentiendi* (as יָדַעַתְּ to know something to be something, Ec 7<sup>25</sup>; רָאָהַתְּ to see, find to be, Gn 7<sup>1</sup>; כִּשְׁבַתְּ to esteem one to be something, Is 53<sup>4</sup>, elsewhere always construed with לְ or בְ), cf. *h*.

*kk* Rem. At first sight some of the examples given above appear to be identical in character with those treated under *hh*; thus it is possible, e. g. in 1 K 18<sup>32</sup>, by a translation which equally suits the sense, *he built from the stones an altar*, to explain מִן־הַבְּנֵי־אֲבֵנֵי־הַמִּזְבֵּחַ as the nearer object and אֲבֵנֵי־הַמִּזְבֵּחַ as an accusative of the material, and the construction would then be exactly the same as in Dt 27<sup>6</sup>. In reality, however, the fundamental idea is by no means the same. Not that in the living language an accusative of the material in the one case, and in the other an accusative of the product were consciously distinguished. As Driver (*Tenses*, § 195) rightly observes, the remoter accusative in both cases is, strictly speaking, in apposition to the nearer. This is especially evident in such examples as Ex 20<sup>25</sup> *thou shalt not build them* (the stones of the altar) אֲבֵנֵי־הַמִּזְבֵּחַ as *hewn stones*, cf. also Gn 1<sup>27</sup>. The main point is, which of the two accusatives, as being primarily affected (or aimed at) by the action, is to be made the more prominent; and on this point neither the position of the words (the nearer object, mostly determinate, as a rule follows immediately after the verb), nor even the context admits of much doubt. Thus in 1 K 18<sup>32</sup> the treatment of the stones is the primary object in view, the erection of the altar for which they were intended is the secondary; in Dt 27<sup>6</sup> the case is reversed.

*ll* (*d*) Finally, the second accusative sometimes more closely determines the nearer object by indicating the part or member specially affected by the action,<sup>1</sup> e. g. פָּסַעַתְּ לִי־עַל־צִוְיִי for thou hast smitten all mine enemies יָדְעִיתְּ (as to) the cheek bone, equivalent to upon the cheek bone; cf. Gn 37<sup>21</sup> let us not smite him שָׁפַעְתְּ in the life, i. e. let us not kill him; Dt 22<sup>26</sup>, 2 S 3<sup>27</sup>; also with שָׁפַעַתְּ Gn 3<sup>15</sup>; with פָּעַרְתְּ Jer 2<sup>16</sup>; in poetry the object specially concerned is, by a bold construction, even placed first, Dt 33<sup>11</sup> (with פָּעַרְתְּ).

### § 118. The Looser Subordination of the Accusative to the Verb.

*a* 1. The various forms of the looser subordination of a noun to the verb are distinguished from the different kinds of the accusative of the object (§ 117) by their specifying not the persons or things directly affected by the action, but some *more immediate circumstance* under which an action or an event takes place. Of such circumstances the most common are those of *place, time, measure, cause*, and finally the *manner* of performing the action. These nearer definitions are, as a rule, placed *after* the verb; they may, however, also precede it.

*b* Rem. That the cases thus loosely subordinated to the verb are to be regarded as *accusatives* is seen first from the fact that in certain instances the *nota accusativi* (אֵת) is prefixed; secondly from the fact that in one form of

<sup>1</sup> Analogous to this is the σχῆμα καθ' ὅλον καὶ κατὰ μέρος in Greek epic poetry, e. g. ποῦν σε ἔπος φύγε ἕρκος ἰδόντων.

the *casus loci* a termination (הַ־) is employed, in which (according to § 90 c) the old accusative ending is preserved; and finally from the consistency with which classical Arabic puts these nearer definitions in the accusative (which may be recognized by its form) even under circumstances in which one would be rather inclined to expect a nominative in apposition.

The relation subsisting between the circumstantial accusative and the *c* accusative of the object is especially apparent when the former (as e.g. in a statement of the goal after a verb of motion) is immediately connected with its verb. But even the more loosely connected circumstantial definitions are certainly to be regarded as originally objects of a governing word habitually omitted, only that the consciousness of this closer government was at length lost, and the accusative more and more acquired an independent value as a *casus adverbialis*.

2. The accusative serves to define more precisely the *place* (*accus. d loci*), either (a) in answer to the question *whither?* after verbs of motion,<sup>1</sup> or (b) in answer to the question *where?* after verbs of *being, dwelling, resting, &c.* (but also after transitive verbs, see the examples), or finally (c) to define more precisely the *extent* in space, in answer to the question *how far? how high? how much?, &c.*

Instead of the simple accusative, the locative (see above, § 90 c)<sup>2</sup> is frequently found in the cases mentioned under *f* (sometimes also in those under *g*) or the preposition אֶל-<sup>3</sup> especially before persons as the aim of the movement, or בְּ, usually, to express being at a place.

Examples of (a): נֵצַחַ הַשָּׂדֶה let us go out into the field, 1 S 20<sup>11</sup>; cf. Gn 27<sup>8</sup>, 31<sup>4</sup>, Jb 29<sup>7</sup>; לְלִבְתַּרְשִׁישׁ to go to Tarshish, 2 Ch 20<sup>56</sup>; cf. Gn 10<sup>11</sup>, 13<sup>9</sup>, 24<sup>27</sup>, 26<sup>23</sup>, 31<sup>21</sup>, Ex 4<sup>9</sup>, 17<sup>10</sup>, Ju 12<sup>6</sup>, 2 K 11<sup>19</sup>, Na 1<sup>8</sup> (?), ψ 134<sup>2</sup>; with לָקַח Nu 23<sup>14</sup>; with נָתַן Jos 6<sup>24</sup>; with the *accus. loci* emphatically preceding (cf. Driver on 1 S 5<sup>8</sup>), 1 K 2<sup>26</sup>, Is 23<sup>12</sup>, Jer 2<sup>10</sup>, 20<sup>6</sup>, 32<sup>5</sup>; with בּוֹא (in the sense of *aggredi*, equivalent to בּוֹא עָלַי, cf. § 117 a, note 2) the *personal aim* also is poetically added in the accusative, Ez 32<sup>11</sup>, 38<sup>11</sup>, Pr 10<sup>24</sup>, 28<sup>22</sup>, Jb 15<sup>21</sup>, 20<sup>22</sup>; but in the last passage it is better taken as an accusative of the object (cf. the German *einen ankommen, überkommen*). See also Nu 10<sup>36</sup> (where שָׁבִיב can hardly be transitive); Ju 11<sup>29</sup>, 1 S 13<sup>20</sup> (where, however, אֶל- has probably fallen out after יִשְׂרָאֵל; so Strack).—Finally, cf. also the use of אֵשֶׁר for שָׁמָּה . . . אֵשֶׁר *whither*, Nu 13<sup>27</sup>.—The *accus. loci* occurs after a passive, e.g. Gn 12<sup>15</sup>.

Examples of (b): Gn 38<sup>11</sup> remain a widow בֵּית אָבִיךָ in thy father's house; cf. Gn 24<sup>23</sup>, 1 S 17<sup>15</sup>, 2 S 2<sup>32</sup>, Is 3<sup>6</sup>, Hos 12<sup>5</sup>, Mi 6<sup>10</sup>, 2 Ch 33<sup>20</sup>; בֵּית הַתֶּחֱלָה in the tent door, Gn 18<sup>1.10</sup>, 19<sup>11</sup>, and frequently. As observed by Driver on 1 S 2<sup>29</sup>, accusatives of this kind are almost without exception (but cf. 1 K 8<sup>32</sup>, Is 16<sup>2</sup>, 28<sup>7</sup>, 2 Ch 33<sup>20</sup>) connected with a noun in the genitive. In all the above examples, however, the accusative may have been preferred to the natural construction with בְּ (which is not rare even with בֵּית and תֶּחֱלָה) for euphonic reasons, in order to avoid the combination of such sounds as בְּבֵ and בְּפֵ; cf., moreover, Gn 2<sup>14</sup>, 4<sup>16</sup>, Ex 18<sup>6</sup>, Lv 6<sup>8</sup> הַמִּזְבֵּחַ instead of the usual הַמִּזְבֵּחַתָּה

<sup>1</sup> So commonly in Sanskrit; in Greek only poetically, e.g. Iliad i. 317 *κνίση δ' οὐρανὸν ἴκεν*: in Latin, e.g. *rus ire, Roman proficisci*.

<sup>2</sup> Hence e.g. in 1 S 9<sup>26</sup> the Masora requires הַיְנָה instead of the *K<sup>th</sup>* הַיָּנָה.

<sup>3</sup> So in Ju 19<sup>18</sup> for אֶת-בֵּית אֵל-בְּ the better reading is אֶל-בְּ.

Ex 29<sup>13</sup>, &c.); Dt 1<sup>2,19</sup>, 1 2 S 17<sup>26</sup>, 1 K 7<sup>8</sup>, Pr 8<sup>3</sup>, 9<sup>14</sup>. On Is 1<sup>30</sup> see § 116 i; on שָׁב, with the *accus. loci*, see § 117 bb. On the other hand, in Dt 6<sup>3</sup>, according to the LXX, a verb of *giving* has dropped out before אֶרְיָן.

h Examples of (c): Gn 7<sup>20</sup> *fifteen cubits upward did the waters prevail*; Gn 31<sup>23</sup>, 41<sup>40</sup> אֲנִי אֶנְדָּל מִמָּךְ בָּרַק הַכֶּסֶם וְאֶנְדָּל מִמָּךְ only in the throne will I be greater than thou; Dt 1<sup>19</sup> *we went (through) all that great and terrible wilderness*; cf. Jb 29<sup>3</sup>. Of the same kind also are such cases as Ex 16<sup>16</sup> (according to the number of your persons, for which elsewhere לְמִסְפָּר is used); 1 S 6<sup>4</sup> (with the *accus. preceding*); 6<sup>18</sup>, 2 S 21<sup>20</sup>, Jb 1<sup>5</sup>.—A statement of weight is put in the accusative in 2 S 14<sup>26</sup>.

i 3. The accusative is employed to determine more precisely the *time* (*accus. temporis*), (a) in answer to the question *when?* e.g. הַיּוֹם the day, i.e. *on the day* (in question), *at that time*, but also *on this day*, i.e. *to-day*, or finally *by day*, equivalent to יוֹמָם, like עֶרֶב at evening, לַיְלָה noctu, בֹּקֶר in the morning, early, ψ 5<sup>4</sup>, &c., וְצַהֲרָיִם at noonday, ψ 91<sup>6</sup>; יוֹם אֶחָד on one and the same day, Gn 27<sup>45</sup>; שָׁנָא in sleep, ψ 127<sup>2</sup>; בְּתֹרֶת הַחֶלֶת קִצְרֵי שְׁעָרִים (*Q'erê 'bêt*) at the beginning of barley harvest, 2 S 21<sup>9</sup>; in stating a date, Gn 11<sup>10</sup>, 14<sup>4</sup> in the thirteenth year.

h (b) In answer to the question *how long?* e.g. Gn 3<sup>14</sup>, &c., כָּל-יְמֵי כָל-יְמֵיךָ all the days of thy life; 7<sup>4</sup> forty days and forty nights; 7<sup>21</sup>, 14<sup>4</sup>, 15<sup>13</sup>, 21<sup>34</sup>, 29<sup>18</sup>, Ex 20<sup>9</sup> (for six days); 23<sup>15</sup>, 31<sup>17</sup>; עוֹלָמִים for ever, 1 K 8<sup>13</sup>; also with the accusative made determinate, Ex 13<sup>7</sup> אֵת שִׁבְעַת הַיָּמִים throughout the seven days in question, mentioned immediately before; cf. Ju 14<sup>17</sup>, Dt 9<sup>25</sup>.

l 4. The accusative is sometimes used of abstract ideas to state the reason (*accus. causae*), e.g. Is 7<sup>25</sup> thou shalt not come thither יִרְאַת שָׁמִיר for fear of briars.

m 5. Finally the accusative is used very variously (as an *accus. adverbialis* in the narrower sense), in order to describe more precisely the *manner* in which an action or state takes place. In English such accusatives are mostly rendered by *in*, *with*, *as*, *in the form or manner of* . . ., *according to*, *in relation to*, *with regard to*. For more convenient classification we may distinguish them as—

n (a) Adjectives expressing *state*, placed after the verb to describe more accurately some bodily or other external condition, e.g. Is 20<sup>2</sup> walking עָרוֹם וְיָהָף naked and barefoot; cf. verse 3, 8<sup>21</sup>, Gn 15<sup>2</sup>, 33<sup>18</sup> (שָׁלֵם), Ju 8<sup>4</sup>, Mi 1<sup>8</sup>, ψ 107<sup>5</sup> (but in 15<sup>2</sup> הַיָּמִים is rather a substantive directly dependent on הוֹלֵךְ = *he that walketh in uprightness*; cf. § 117 r, note); Jb 30<sup>23</sup>. After an accusative, e.g. Dt 15<sup>18</sup>; to specify some mental state, e.g. Gn 37<sup>35</sup> (אֲבֵל).—Before the verb (and then with a certain emphasis), Am 2<sup>16</sup>, Jb 1<sup>21</sup>, Ec 5<sup>14</sup>; Lv 20<sup>20</sup>, Jb 19<sup>25</sup>, 27<sup>19</sup>, 31<sup>26</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In ψ 21<sup>2</sup> הַדֶּרֶךְ is not to be taken as an *accus. loci* (*on the way*), but as an *accus. of respect* (*with regard to the way*); see below, m.

(unless יקר be a substantive); Ru 1<sup>21</sup> (מְלֵאָה parallel with the adverb רִיקָם).

In Mi 2<sup>7</sup> the text is clearly corrupt.

Those examples are especially instructive in which the adjective expressing a state, although referring to several, is nevertheless used in the singular, e. g. Jb 24<sup>10</sup> עָרוֹם הֵלְכוּ naked, i. e. in the condition of one naked, they go about; cf. verse 7 and 12<sup>17</sup>. In Is 20<sup>4</sup> the singular occurs after a plural object, and in Is 47<sup>5</sup> the masc. after the 2nd sing. fem. imperative, which clearly proves that the term expressing the state is not conceived as being in apposition, but as an indeclinable adverb.

(b) Participles, again either after the verb, Nu 16<sup>27</sup>, Jer 2<sup>27</sup>, 43<sup>2</sup>, ψ 7<sup>3</sup>, Jb 24<sup>5</sup>, 2<sup>9</sup> Ct 2<sup>8</sup>, or before it, Gn 49<sup>11</sup>, Is 57<sup>19</sup>, Ez 36<sup>35</sup>, ψ 56<sup>2</sup>, 92<sup>14</sup>, Pr 20<sup>14</sup>; cf. also the substantival use of the participles נִוְרָאוֹת in a fearful manner (ψ 139<sup>4</sup>) and נִפְלְאוֹת in a wonderful manner, Jb 37<sup>5</sup>, Dn 8<sup>24</sup>.—Also participles in connexion with genitives, as מִתְהַלֵּךְ Gn 3<sup>8</sup> (cf. also בָּאָה 1 K 14<sup>9</sup>), are to be regarded as expressing a state and not as being in apposition, since in the latter case they would have to take the article.—In 2 S 13<sup>20</sup>, 1 K 7<sup>7</sup> and Hb 2<sup>10</sup> the explicative Wāw (equivalent to *and that too*) is also prefixed to the participle. In ψ 69<sup>4</sup> for מְיַחַל read מְיַחֵל.—On 1 K 11<sup>8</sup>, 2 K 10<sup>6</sup>, 19<sup>2</sup>, Hag 1<sup>4</sup>, cf. the note on § 131 h.

(c) Substantives<sup>1</sup> in the most varied relations: thus, as describing an external state, e. g. Mi 2<sup>3</sup> וְלֹא תֵלְכוּ רוּמָה neither shall ye walk haughtily (as opposed to שְׂחוֹחַ Is 60<sup>14</sup>); Lv 6<sup>9</sup> (accus. before the verb = as unleavened cakes), Dt 2<sup>9</sup>, 4<sup>11</sup>, Ju 5<sup>21</sup>, Is 57<sup>2</sup>, Pr 7<sup>10</sup>, Jb 31<sup>26</sup>, La 1<sup>9</sup>; as stating the position of a disease, 1 K 15<sup>23</sup> he was diseased אֶת־רַגְלָיו in his feet (2 Ch 16<sup>12</sup> בְּרַגְלָיו), analogous to the cases discussed in § 117 ll and § 121 d (d); as describing a spiritual, mental, or moral state, e. g. Nu 32<sup>14</sup>, Jos 9<sup>2</sup> פָּה אֶחָד with one accord, 1 K 22<sup>13</sup>; cf. Ex 24<sup>8</sup>, Zp 3<sup>9</sup>, 1 S 15<sup>32</sup>, 2 S 23<sup>3</sup>, Is 41<sup>3</sup> (unless שְׁלֹם is adjectival, and the passage is to be explained as in n); Jer 31<sup>7</sup>, Ho 12<sup>15</sup>, 14<sup>5</sup>, ψ 56<sup>3</sup>, 58<sup>2</sup>, 75<sup>3</sup>, Pr 31<sup>9</sup>, Jb 16<sup>9</sup>, La 1<sup>9</sup>; Lv 19<sup>16</sup>, &c., in the expression הֲלִיךְ רָכִיל to go up and down as a tale-bearer; also אֲנָשִׁים unawares, Gn 34<sup>25</sup>, Ez 30<sup>9</sup>; מְיַשְׂרִים uprightly, ψ 58<sup>2</sup>, 75<sup>3</sup> (in both places before the verb); as stating the age, e. g. 1 S 2<sup>33</sup> (if the text be right) יָמוֹתֵי אַנְשִׁים they shall die as men, i. e. in the prime of life; cf. 1 S 2<sup>18</sup> (נָעַר), Is 65<sup>20</sup>, and Gn 15<sup>16</sup>; as specifying a number more accurately, Dt 4<sup>27</sup>, 1 S 13<sup>17</sup>, 2 K 5<sup>2</sup>, Jer 31<sup>8</sup> [in Jer 13<sup>19</sup> שְׁלֹמִים wholly (?) is corrupt; read שְׁלֵמָה נְלִיָּת with LXX for ש' הַנְּלִיָּת]; as stating the consequence of the action, Lv 15<sup>13</sup>, &c.

The description of the external or internal state may follow, in poetry, in the form of a comparison with some well-known class, e. g. Is 21<sup>8</sup> וַיִּקְרָא אֲרִיָּה and he cried as a lion; cf. ψ 22<sup>14</sup>, Is 22<sup>18</sup> כְּדוֹר like a ball; Is 24<sup>22</sup>, Zc 2<sup>8</sup>, ψ 11<sup>1</sup> (unless צִפּוֹר be vocative); 58<sup>9b</sup> (unless the force of the preceding שֶׁ is carried on, as in ψ 90<sup>4</sup>); ψ 144<sup>12</sup>, Jb 24<sup>5</sup> פְּרָאִים, before the verb); 41<sup>7</sup> shut up together as with a close seal.<sup>2</sup>

6. To the expressions describing a state belong finally those nouns s which are introduced by the comparative particle בְּ,<sup>3</sup> since the בְּ is to

<sup>1</sup> Cf. above, § 100 c, on certain substantives which have completely become adverbs; and § 113 h and k on the adverbial use of the infinitive absolute.

<sup>2</sup> It is, as a matter of fact, permissible to speak of the above examples as *comparatio decurtata*, but it must not be assumed that the comparative particle בְּ, which is otherwise regularly prefixed (see s), has actually dropped out.

<sup>3</sup> On the use of בְּ as a prefix, cf. § 102 c.

be regarded as originally a substantive<sup>1</sup> in the sense of *amount, kind* (*instar*), standing in the accusative (so that  $\text{כִּי}$  is equivalent to *as a kind of, after the manner of, according to*), while the following noun represents a genitive governed by the  $\text{כִּי}$ . From this, which is the proper meaning of the  $\text{כִּי}$ , may be explained its power of representing a great many pregnant relations, which in English can only be rendered by the help of prepositions.<sup>2</sup> Thus the comparison may refer to—

t (a) The place, e.g. Is. 5<sup>17</sup>  $\text{כִּי־בָרָם}$  after the manner of, i. e. as in their pasture; 23<sup>15</sup> as (it is said) in the song of the harlot; 28<sup>21</sup>, 29<sup>7</sup>  $\text{כִּי־לֹלֶם}$  as in a dream.

u (b) The time, especially in the combination  $\text{כִּי־יּוֹם}$  after the manner of the day, equivalent to *as in the day*, Is 9<sup>8</sup>, Ho 2<sup>5</sup>;  $\text{כִּי־יָמֵי}$  as in the days of . . . , Is 51<sup>9</sup>, Ho 2<sup>17</sup>, 9<sup>9</sup>, 12<sup>10</sup>, Am 9<sup>11</sup>; cf. moreover, Lv 22<sup>18</sup>, Ju 20<sup>39</sup>, Is 17<sup>6</sup>, Jb 5<sup>14</sup>, 29<sup>2</sup>, and the expressions  $\text{כִּי־יּוֹם כִּי־יּוֹם}$  as day by day = as in the former days, 1 S 18<sup>10</sup>;  $\text{כִּי־פָעַם כִּי־פָעַם}$  as at other times, 1 S 3<sup>10</sup>, &c. ;  $\text{כִּי־שָׁנָה כִּי־שָׁנָה}$  as in former years, 2 K 17<sup>4</sup>; cf. § 123 c. Of a different character is the use of  $\text{כִּי}$  as a simple particle of time, e.g. Gn 18<sup>10</sup>  $\text{כִּי־עַתָּה}$  at this time (not about the time), when it lives again, i. e. at the end of a year;  $\text{כִּי־מָחָר}$  to-morrow at this time; cf. Is 23<sup>5</sup>, and the frequent connexion of  $\text{כִּי}$  with the infinitive construct to express a definite time (in the sense of a pluperfect), Gn 12<sup>14</sup>, 27<sup>34</sup>, Ex 9<sup>29</sup>, &c.

v (c) The person, e.g. Gn 34<sup>31</sup> should he deal with our sister as with a harlot?

w (d) The thing, e.g. Is 10<sup>14</sup>,  $\psi$  33<sup>7</sup>, Jb 28<sup>5</sup>  $\text{כִּי־אֵשׁ}$  as a fire, i. e. as it were by fire (cf. Is 1<sup>25</sup>  $\text{כִּי־בַבַּר}$  as with lye); Jb 29<sup>23</sup>  $\text{כִּי־מָטָר}$  as for the rain (they waited for me); Jb 38<sup>14</sup> (as in a garment); 38<sup>30</sup>  $\text{כִּי־אֶבֶן}$  as to stone (the waters are solidified in freezing).

x Rem. According to the earlier grammarians,  $\text{כִּי}$  is sometimes used pleonastically, i. e. not to indicate a similarity (as in Lv 14<sup>35</sup> as it were, i. e. something like), but simply to introduce the predicate (*Kaph veritatis*), e.g. Neh 7<sup>2</sup> for he was  $\text{כִּי־אִישׁ אֱמֻנָה}$  a faithful man; cf. 1 S 20<sup>3</sup>  $\text{כִּי־פָשַׁע}$ , La 1<sup>20</sup>  $\text{כִּי־פְיוֹת}$ . Such a pleonasm is of course out of the question. At the most a *Kaph veritatis* can only be admitted in the sense that the comparison is sometimes introduced by  $\text{כִּי}$  with a certain emphasis (equivalent to *in every respect like*); thus  $\text{כִּי־אִישׁ אֱמֻנָה}$  in Neh 7<sup>2</sup> means simply of the nature of a faithful man, i. e. as only a faithful man can be; cf. Nu 11<sup>1</sup>, Is 1<sup>7</sup>, 13<sup>6</sup>, Ho 4<sup>4</sup>, 5<sup>10</sup>, Ob 11, Jb 24<sup>14</sup>, 27<sup>7</sup>, La 1<sup>20</sup>, 2<sup>4</sup>; also  $\text{כִּי־מְעַט}$  in such passages as  $\psi$  105<sup>12</sup> *yea, very few*; but e.g. in Is 1<sup>9</sup> *only just, a very small . . .*

<sup>1</sup> Schwabe ( $\text{כִּי}$  nach seinem Wesen und Gebrauch im alttestam. Kanon gewürdigt, Halle, 1883) contests this explanation (which is defended especially by Fleischer and is certainly indisputable). He, with Gesenius and Ewald, places  $\text{כִּי}$  as a preposition on the same footing as  $\text{כִּי}$  and  $\text{כִּי}$ , and believes it to be probably connected with the stem  $\text{כִּי}$  as well as with  $\text{כִּי}$  and  $\text{כִּי}$ . The above view of  $\text{כִּי}$  as a substantive of course does not imply that the language as we have it is still in every case conscious of the substantival meaning.—On  $\text{כִּי}$  in numerical statements, in the sense of *about, nearly*, see the Lexicon.

<sup>2</sup> It would be altogether unsuitable here also (see above, note 2 on r) to assume a loss of the preposition. Such examples as Is 1<sup>26</sup>  $\text{כִּי־אֵשׁ}$  and  $\text{כִּי־תִתְחַלֵּף}$ , Lv 26<sup>37</sup> ( $\text{כִּי־מַפְגִּי}$ ) are to be explained from the fact that here the

§ 119. *The Subordination of Nouns to the Verb by means of Prepositions.*

1. In general. As is the case with regard to the looser subordination of nouns to the verbal idea (§ 118), so also their subordination by means of prepositions is used to represent the more immediate circumstances (of place, time, cause, purpose, measure, association, or separation) under which an action or event is accomplished. In the case of most prepositions some idea of a relation of *space* underlies the construction, which then, in a wider sense, is extended to the ideas of time, motive, or other relations conceived by the mind.

On the origin of the prepositions and the original case-relation in which they stand to the nouns governed by them, cf. § 101, where a list of the prepositions is given with their original meanings. Cf. also § 102 on the prefixes, and § 103 on the union of prepositions with suffixes.

2. A not unimportant part is played in Hebrew by the *compounding* *b* of prepositions to represent more accurately the relations of place, which either precede or follow the action. In the former case מִן, and in the latter (which is not so frequent) אַחֲרֵי occurs before other prepositions of place; cf. e. g. Am 7<sup>15</sup> *the Lord took me מֵאַחֲרֵי הַצֹּאֵן from behind the flock*; 2 K 9<sup>18</sup> *turn thee אַחֲרַי to behind me, i. e. turn thee behind me*; מֵעִם, מֵאֵת *from being with . . .*, as in French *de chez, d'après quelqu'un.*<sup>1</sup> For further examples, see *c*.

Rem. 1. We must *not* regard as combined prepositions in the above sense *C* either those *substantives* which have become prepositions only by their union with prefixes, as לְפָנַי *before*, מִפְּנֵי, לְמַעַן *on account of* (but e. g. מִלְּפָנַי *from before*, Gn 4<sup>16</sup>, &c., is such a compound); nor *adverbs*, which are also formed by combining words which were originally substantives (also used as prepositions) with prepositions, as מִחוּצָה *without*, מִתַּחַת *in the sense of below*,<sup>2</sup> מֵעַל

preposition and substantive had already become simply *one* word before the ׀ was prefixed. We find also מֵעַל Is 59<sup>18</sup>, 63<sup>7</sup>, ψ 119<sup>14</sup>, and 2 Ch 32<sup>19</sup>; cf. Driver on 1 S 14<sup>14</sup> (פָּנֵי הַצֵּי), where the text is wholly corrupt.

<sup>1</sup> In other cases French, as well as English and German, can only emphasize *one* of the two combined ideas; thus, such expressions as *il prend le chapeau sur la table*, German and English *er nimmt den Hut vom Tisch, he takes his hat from the table*, all regard the action from one point of view only; the Hebrew here brings out both aspects of it by means of מֵעַל *from upon*, cf. e. g. Is 6<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Hence not to be confounded with מִתַּחַת *from under*, in such examples as Pr 22<sup>27</sup>, which is a real compound preposition. In the above-mentioned adverbs also the מִן was *originally* by no means pleonastic; מִתַּחַת denotes properly the locality, regarded primarily as a place *from beneath* which something proceeds, and so on. This original sense of the מִן, however, has become so much obscured by its regular combination with words of place to form independent adverbs, that it is even prefixed (evidently only on the analogy of such common adverbs as מֵעַל, מִתַּחַת) in cases where it is really inadmissible, owing to the meaning of the adverb, e. g. in מִלְּבַד, מִבְּלִיעָרִי

above (so also in Gn 27<sup>89</sup>, 49<sup>25</sup>, not from above). These adverbs of place, however, may become prepositions by the addition of לְ, e.g. לְמִחוּץ outside as regards . . ., i. e. outside of something, in 1 K 21<sup>13</sup> even after a transitive verb of motion; לְמִתַּחַת below as regards . . ., i. e. under something (cf. לְעַד-מִתַּחַת until they came under . . ., 1 S 7<sup>11</sup>), לְמַעַל over something, &c.; לְבַד prop. in separation; לְבַד מִן- in separation from, i. e. apart from, besides. Only rarely in such a case is the לְ omitted for the sake of brevity, e.g. Jb 26<sup>5</sup> מִתַּחַת מִן- beneath the waters; Neh 3<sup>28</sup> (מַעַל-).

d 2. Real combinations of prepositions (each retaining its full force) occur—  
 (a) With מִן-, in מֵאַחֵר, מֵאַחֲרַי (see above) from behind something; מֵאַחַד and מֵעִם from with (see above); מֵבֵינַי or מֵבֵינֹת from between something (with motion in either direction, see e.g. Gn 49<sup>10</sup>); מִלְפָּנַי from before (see above); sometimes also מִמּוּל Lv 5<sup>8</sup>, &c.; מֵעַל- from upon, i. e. off from; מִתַּחַת away from under (see footnote 2 on p. 377).

e (b) With אֶל-, in אֶל-אַחֲרַי to behind, אֶל-בֵּינֹת to between; אֶל-מִבֵּית לְ forth between 2 K 11<sup>15</sup>; אֶל-מִחוּץ לְ forth without, i. e. out in front of, Nu 5<sup>3</sup>; אֶל-תַּחַת down under.<sup>1</sup>—In Jb 5<sup>5</sup> the two prepositions of motion are combined in a peculiarly pregnant construction, אֶל-מִצְּנִים (he goes thither and takes it) out of the thorns, i. e. he taketh it even out of the thorns, but the text is hardly correct.

f 3. A general view of the union of certain verbs, or whole classes of verbs, with particular prepositions, especially in explanation of certain idioms and pregnant expressions.<sup>2</sup>

g (a) אֶל- (אֵלַי)<sup>3</sup> towards, properly an expression of motion or at least direction towards something (either in the sense of up to = עַד, or into = אֶל-תּוֹךְ), is used after verbs not only in answer to the question *whither?* but by a specially pregnant construction, in answer to the question *where?* e.g. Jer 41<sup>12</sup> *they*

*without*, cf. also such examples as מִבְּלֵי, מִמּוּל, מִפְּנֵי, מִשָּׁם (there), &c. Since a מִן- is not usually repeated after מִלְבַּד, it appears as if מִלְבַּד by a transposition of the מִן- stood for the usual לְבַד מִן-. In reality, however, the preposition which forms the adverb into a preposition is omitted here, as in מֵעַל, מִתַּחַת, without a following לְ (see above). Properly מִלְבַּד has a purely adverbial meaning = *taken by itself*, like מִלְמַעְלָה מִמּוּעַל (Syriac *men le'el*) above (adv.), as distinguished from מֵעַל-לְ or מֵעַל-לְ (Syriac *le'el men*), over, upon something.—Also לְמִן- from . . . onward is not for מִן-, but the לְ serves merely (just like the Latin *usque* in *usque a*, *usque ad*, *usque ex*) to indicate expressly the starting-point, as an exact *terminus a quo* (of place or time).

<sup>1</sup> Also in 1 S 21<sup>5</sup> אֶל-תַּחַת by a pregnant construction is virtually dependent on the idea of *coming into*, contained in the preceding אֵיךְ.

<sup>2</sup> A summary of all the relations and senses in which a preposition may be used, belongs not to the Grammar but to the Lexicon.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Mitchell, 'The preposition *el*,' in the *Journal of the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis*, 1888, p. 143 ff., and especially A. Noordtzijs, *Het hebreusche voorzetsel אל*, Leiden, 1896, a thorough examination of its uses, and especially of the relation between אֶל- and עַל-.

found him אֶל-מַיִם רַבִּים by the great waters; cf. Dt 16<sup>6</sup>, 1 K 13<sup>20</sup>, and a still more remarkable instance in 8<sup>30</sup> אֶל-מְקוֹם שְׁבִתְךָ אֶל-הַשְּׂמֵימִים. This combination of two different ideas, of motion to a place and being or acting in the place (very plainly seen in Dt 16<sup>6</sup> but to the place which the Lord thy God shall choose . . . shalt thou bring thine offering and there shalt thou sacrifice, &c.), is the same as the Greek use of εἰς for ἐν, the Latin in potestatem, in amicitium ditioemque esse, manere (Cic. Verr. 5, 38; Div. 2, 14, &c.); cf. also the common German expressions zu Hause, zu Leipzig sein, zu Bette liegen, &c.

(b) בְּ. Underlying the very various uses of this preposition is either the idea of being or moving within some definite region, or some sphere of space or time (with the infinitive, a simultaneous action, &c.), or else the idea of fastening on something, close connexion with something (also in a metaphorical sense, following some kind of pattern, e.g. the advice or command of some one בְּדַבַּר פ', בְּעֵצַת פ', or in a comparison, as in Gn 1<sup>26</sup> בְּעֵצְלֵמֵנו כְּדַמּוֹתֵנו in our image, after our likeness; cf. 1<sup>27</sup>, 5<sup>1-3</sup>), or finally the idea of relying or depending upon . . ., or even of merely striking or touching something.

The use of בְּ is explained—

(1) In the sense of among (in the domain of), e.g. Mi 7<sup>2</sup> יֵשֶׁר בְּאָדָם אֵין there is none upright among men; in the sense of consisting of, in specifying the constituents of a collective idea, e.g. Gn 7<sup>21</sup> and all flesh died . . . in (= consisting of) fowl, &c. 8<sup>17</sup>, 9<sup>10</sup>, Ho 4<sup>3</sup>. Also after ideas of appearing, manifesting oneself, representing, being, in the sense of as, in the capacity of (prop. in the sphere, after the manner of, see above), consisting of . . ., tanquam, the בְּ essentialia of the earlier grammarians, corresponding to the Greek ἐν, the Latin in,<sup>2</sup> and the French en, e.g. Ex 6<sup>3</sup> I appeared unto Abraham . . . בְּאֵל שַׁדַּי as El Shaddai; Jb 23<sup>13</sup> וְהוּא בְּאָחֵר but he is (manifests himself as) one, i.e. he remains always the same; Dt 26<sup>5</sup>, 28<sup>62</sup> בְּמִתֵּי מְעוֹת in the condition of being few, cf. 10<sup>22</sup> to the number of seventy; Is 40<sup>10</sup>, ψ 39<sup>7</sup>.—Cf. also such examples as Ex 18<sup>4</sup> (ψ 35<sup>2</sup>, 146<sup>5</sup>) בְּעֻזִּי as my help; Dt 26<sup>14</sup> being unclean; Is 28<sup>16</sup> in Sion (i.e. I make Sion a foundation); Ez 20<sup>41</sup> as a sweet savour; Pr 3<sup>26</sup>, perhaps also Ex 3<sup>2</sup> in (i.e. as) a flame of fire; Is 66<sup>15</sup> with (i.e. like) fire; ψ 31<sup>22</sup>, 37<sup>20</sup> (102<sup>4</sup>). For the origin of all these forms of expression ψ 54<sup>6</sup> is especially instructive, since אֲדָנִי בְּכַמְבִּי נַפְשִׁי is not meant to refer to the Lord as belonging to the לְמַכְּבִּים, but only to ascribe to him a similar character, i.e. the Lord is one who upholds my soul; so also ψ 99<sup>6</sup>, 118<sup>7</sup>, Ju 11<sup>35</sup> [the plur. as in § 124 g-i].<sup>3</sup>—Cf. Gesenius, *Theos. Linguae Hebr.*, i. 174 f., and Delitzsch on ψ 35<sup>2</sup>.

(2) To introduce the object after transitive verbs, which denote touching, striking, reaching to (thus to some extent a fastening on, see above) something, in English sometimes rendered by at, on, &c., and in German generally by compounds with an, e.g. anfassen = בְּ אָחַז, anrühren = בְּ נָנַע, &c. To the same category belongs also the construction of verbs denoting authority (מָשַׁל, מָלַךְ), נָגַשׁ, נָגַשׁ, the last prop. to tread on . . .) with בְּ, inasmuch as the exercise of the authority is regarded as a laying hold of the person ruled; so also, the introduction of the object by בְּ after certain *verba dicendi*, or when the mental action is to be represented as extending to some one or something: e.g.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Wandel, *De particulae Hebr. בְּ indole, vi, usu*, Jena, 1875.

<sup>2</sup> e.g. *res in praeda captae*, i.e. things taken as spoil; see Nägelsbach, *Laf. Stilistik*, § 123<sup>4</sup>. On the Hebrew בְּ essentialia, see Hauschild in the *Festschrift zur Einweihung des Goethegymn.* Frankf. a. M. 1897, p. 163.

<sup>3</sup> Other instances formerly cited here (Is 26<sup>4</sup>, ψ 55<sup>19</sup>, where בְּ is used before the subject) as well as ψ 68<sup>5</sup> בְּיָהּ שְׁמוֹ Jah is his name, are textually very uncertain. Cf. Cheyne, *SBOT. Isaiah*, p. 173, on Is 26<sup>4</sup>.

בָּרָאָה to call on some one, בָּרָאָה יִרְאֶה *irare per aliquem*, בָּרָאָה לְשׂאֵל to enquire of some one. Again; בָּרָאָה to look upon, בָּרָאָה לְשׂמַע to hearken to (but cf. also *m*), generally with the secondary idea of participation, or of the pleasure with which one sees or hears anything, especially pleasure at the misfortunes of others, hence בָּרָאָה לְרָאָה to see his desire on any one or anything; cf. however, Gn 21<sup>16</sup> let me not look upon the death of the child; 1 S 6<sup>19</sup> because they had looked [irreverently] at the ark of the Lord.

Closely related to this is the use of בָּ :

- l** (3) To introduce the person or thing, which is the object of a mental act, e. g. בָּרָאָה לְאִמּוֹן to trust in (to cleave trustingly to) somebody or something; בָּרָאָה לְבִטָּח to have confidence in . . . ; בָּרָאָה לְשִׂמְחָה to rejoice in or at something, &c.; בָּרָאָה לְדִבָּר to speak of (about) some one or something, Dt 6<sup>7</sup>, 1 S 19<sup>3 f.</sup>, &c.
- m** (4) The idea of an action as extending to something, with at the same time the secondary idea of participation in something, underlies the same the partitive use of בָּ, e. g. בָּרָאָה לְאִכְלָה to share in eating something, Ex 12<sup>43 f.</sup>, Lv 22<sup>11</sup>; also simply to eat, to taste of something, Ju 13<sup>16</sup>, Jb 21<sup>25</sup>; so also בָּרָאָה לְאִכְלָה to eat of, and בָּרָאָה לְשִׂמְחָה to drink of something, Pr 9<sup>5</sup>; בָּרָאָה לְשִׂמְעָה to hear a whisper of something, Jb 26<sup>14</sup>; בָּרָאָה לְמִצָּאָה they found remaining of her only. . . , 2 K 9<sup>35</sup>; בָּרָאָה לְנִשָּׂאָה to bear a share of something, Nu 11<sup>17</sup>, Ez 18<sup>20</sup>, Jb 7<sup>13</sup>. Cf. also בָּרָאָה לְהַלְקָה to give a share of something, Jb 39<sup>17</sup>; בָּרָאָה לְבִנְיָהּ to do building to, Neh 4<sup>4</sup>.
- n** (5) With the idea of touching, striking against anything is naturally connected that of proximity and vicinity near, and further that of association with something; cf. Gn 9<sup>4</sup> בָּרָאָה לְחַיֵּי הַיָּם with the life thereof; 15<sup>14</sup>, 32<sup>11</sup> בָּרָאָה לְמַטְּיָי with my staff. Sometimes בָּ combined with a verb of motion (to come with something), expresses the idea of bringing, e. g. Ju 15<sup>1</sup> Samson visited his wife with a kid, i. e. he brought her a kid; Dt 23<sup>5</sup>, ψ 66<sup>18</sup>, 1 Ch 15<sup>19 f.</sup>, 16<sup>6</sup>.
- o** (6) From the idea of connexion with something, being accompanied by something (see *n*), is developed, finally, the instrumental use of בָּ, which represents the means or instrument (or even the personal agent), as something with which one has associated himself in order to perform an action; cf. Mi 4<sup>14</sup> בָּרָאָה לְעֵבֶדָהּ they smite with the rod; Is 10<sup>24</sup>; ψ 18<sup>30</sup> בָּרָאָה לְךָ by thee (so also 44<sup>6</sup>, parallel with בָּרָאָה לְעֵבֶדָהּ); Is 10<sup>34</sup>, Ho 1<sup>7</sup>, 12<sup>14</sup>; cf. also בָּרָאָה לְעֵבֶדָהּ to labour by means of some one, i. e. to cause him to labour at it, Ex 1<sup>4</sup>, &c. On בָּ with the passive to introduce the means or the author, see § 121 f.
- p** A variety of the בָּ instrumenti is בָּ pretii (the price being considered as the means of acquiring a thing), cf. Gn 23<sup>9</sup>, 29<sup>19</sup> (בָּרָאָה לְךָ); 30<sup>16</sup>, 33<sup>19</sup>, 34<sup>16</sup> (בָּרָאָה לְךָ on this condition); 37<sup>28</sup>; also, in a wider sense, Gn 18<sup>28</sup> בָּ לְפָנֶיךָ for the sake of; 1 S 3<sup>13</sup>.
- q** Rem. The use of בָּ instrumenti to introduce the object is peculiar in such expressions as ψ 44<sup>20</sup> and thou coveredst over us בָּרָאָה לְצִלְמָוֹת with the shadow of death; Jb 16<sup>10</sup> בָּרָאָה לְפִי עָלַי they have opened wide their mouth against me (prop. have made an opening with their mouth); cp. ψ 22<sup>8</sup>, Ex 7<sup>20</sup> he lifted up בָּרָאָה לְךָ the rod; Lv 16<sup>4</sup> הִגֵּר and צָנָה followed by בָּ; Jos 8<sup>16</sup>, La 1<sup>17</sup>. Analogous to some English expressions we find both to gnash the teeth, ψ 35<sup>16</sup>, and to gnash with the teeth, Jb 16<sup>9</sup>; to wink the eye, Pr 10<sup>10</sup>, and to wink with the eye, Pr 6<sup>13</sup>; shake the head, ψ 22<sup>8</sup>, and to shake with the head, Jer 18<sup>16</sup>, Jb 16<sup>4</sup>.—In all these instances

<sup>1</sup> To be distinguished from בָּרָאָה לְשִׂמְחָה = to drink from (a cup, &c., Gn 44<sup>5</sup>, Am 6<sup>6</sup>), as in Arabic and Aramaic (Dn 5<sup>2</sup>). Cf. also ἐν ποτηρίοις (Xen. Anab. vi. 1, 4), ἐν χρυσώμασι πίνευ (3 Ezr 3<sup>6</sup>), venenum in auro bibitur, Seneca, Thyestes 453, and the French boire dans une tasse.

the verb (intransitive) construed with  $\text{בְּ}$  has a greater independence, and consequently more emphasis than the verb construed with a direct accusative; the latter conveys a sort of necessary specification of the action, while the noun introduced by  $\text{בְּ}$  is used rather as a merely adverbial complement. An instructive example of this is  $\text{נָתַן קוֹל}$  *vocem emittere, to utter a voice*, also to *thunder*, while in  $\text{נָתַן בְּקוֹלוֹ}$   $\psi$  467 (68<sup>34</sup>, Jer 12<sup>8</sup>),  $\text{נָתַן}$  has an independent sense = *he thundered with his voice* (i. e. mightily).

(c)  $\text{לְ}$ <sup>1</sup> to, a very general expression of *direction towards* anything, is used to represent the most varied *relations* of an action or state with regard to a person or thing. On the use of  $\text{לְ}$  as a periphrasis for the *genetivus possessoris* or *auctoris* (the idea of belonging to), see § 129; on  $\text{לְ}$  with the passive, to introduce the author or the cause, see § 121 f; on  $\text{לְ}$  in a purely local sense (e. g.  $\text{לְיְמִינֶךָ}$  *at thy right hand*, prop. *towards thy right hand*), or temporal (e. g.  $\text{לְעֶרְבֹךָ}$  *at evening*, &c.) or distributive, see the Lexicon.

The following uses of  $\text{לְ}$  properly belong to the government of the verb :

- (1) As a *nota dativi*<sup>2</sup> to introduce the remoter object; also S
- (2) To introduce the *dativus commodi*. This *dativus commodi* (or *incommodi*, e. g. Ez 37<sup>11</sup>) is used—especially in colloquial language and in later style—in the form of a pronoun with  $\text{לְ}$ , as an apparently pleonastic *dativus ethicus*, with many verbs, in order to give emphasis to the significance of the occurrence in question for a particular subject. In this construction the person of the pronoun must always agree with that of the verbal form.<sup>3</sup> By far the most frequent use of this  $\text{לְ}$  is with the pronoun of the 2nd person after imperatives, e. g.  $\text{לֵךְ-לֵךְ}$  *go, get thee away*, Gn 12<sup>1</sup>, 22<sup>2</sup>, Dt 2<sup>15</sup> (also in the feminine, Ct 2<sup>10,13</sup>);  $\text{לֵךְ וְנָטָה}$  *turn thee aside*, 2 S 22<sup>1</sup>;  $\text{לָקַח$  *take your journey*, Dt 1<sup>7</sup>;  $\text{לָקַח עִבְרֹךָ}$  *pass ye over*;  $\\text{לָקַח בְּרַח-לֵךְ}$  *flee (to save thyself)*, Gn 27<sup>43</sup>;  $\text{עֲלִי-לֵךְ}$  *get thee up*, Is 40<sup>9</sup>;  $\text{לָקַח פְּנֵי$  *turn you*, Dt 1<sup>40</sup>;  $\text{לָקַח שׁוּבוּ$  *return ye*, Dt 5<sup>27</sup>;  $\text{לָקַח קוּמִי}$  *rise up*, Ct 2<sup>10</sup>;  $\text{לָקַח שְׁבוּ$  *abide ye*, Gn 22<sup>5</sup>;  $\text{לָקַח הָרַל}$  *forbear thee*, 2 Ch 35<sup>21</sup> (in the plural, Is 22<sup>2</sup>);  $\text{לָקַח הָרְבוּ}$  *take you*, Dt 1<sup>13</sup>, Jos 18<sup>4</sup>, Ju 20<sup>7</sup>, 2 S 16<sup>20</sup>, and so almost regularly  $\text{לָקַח הִשְׁמַר}$  (see above, § 51 n) *cave tibi!* and  $\text{לָקַח הִשְׁמַרְוּ$  *take heed to yourselves*;  $\text{לָקַח דְּמֹה לָךְ}$  *be thou like*, Ct 2<sup>17</sup> (cf. verse 9), 8<sup>14</sup>, is remarkable; after a perfect consecutive, 1 K 17<sup>3</sup>, 1 S 22<sup>5</sup>; after an imperfect consecutive, e. g. Is 36<sup>9</sup>  $\text{לָקַח וְהִבַּטְחָ לָךְ}$  *and puttest thy trust*.—In the 3rd person, e. g.  $\text{לָקַח וְנָטָה לָהּ}$  *and sat her down*, Gn 21<sup>16</sup>, cf. 22<sup>5</sup>, Ex 18<sup>27</sup>,  $\psi$  120<sup>6</sup>, 123<sup>4</sup>, Jb 6<sup>19</sup>; even after a participle, Ho 8<sup>9</sup>.—In the 1st person plural, Ez 37<sup>11</sup>.
- (3) To introduce the result after verbs of making, forming, changing, *t* appointing to something, esteeming as something; in short, in all those cases in which, according to § 117 ii, a second *accusative* may also be used.
- (4) In loose connexion with some verbal idea in the sense of *in reference to*, *u* with regard to . . . (§ 143 e); so after a *verbum dicendi*, Gn 20<sup>13</sup>; 1 K 10<sup>23</sup>, cf.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Giesebrecht, *Die hebr. Präpos. Lamed*, Halle, 1876.

<sup>2</sup> Just as in the Romance languages the Latin preposition *ad* (Italian *a*, before vowels *ad*, French *à*, Spanish *á*) and in English *to* are used as a periphrasis for the dative.—On the introduction of the nearer object by  $\text{לְ}$ , cf. § 117 n.

<sup>3</sup> Such expressions as the analogous English *he plucked me ope his doublet, but me no buts*, and the like, are accordingly inadmissible in Hebrew.

Is 36<sup>9</sup>; even before the verb, Jer 9<sup>2</sup>.—To the same class belongs also the *Lamedh inscriptionis* (untranslatable in English, and hardly more than a mere quotation-mark) which introduces the exact wording of an inscription or title; thus Is 8<sup>1</sup> *write upon it . . .* (the words) מְהָרָה שָׁלַל וְגו' (cf. verse 3, where the ל naturally is not used); Ez 37<sup>16</sup>.

ו (d) מִן, originally (according to § 101 a) *separation*,<sup>1</sup> represents both the idea of *distance, separation or remoteness from something*, and that of *motion away from something*, hence also *descent, origin from a place*, Am 1<sup>1</sup>.

ט (1) From the idea of *separation* is naturally derived on the one hand the sense of (*taken*) *from among . . . , e numero*, e. g. Gn 3<sup>1</sup> *subtil as none other of the beasts, &c.*; cf. 3<sup>14</sup>, Dt 33<sup>24</sup>, 1 S 15<sup>33</sup>, Ju 5<sup>24</sup> (so especially after the idea of choosing out of<sup>2</sup> a larger class, 1 S 2<sup>28</sup>; cf. Ex 19<sup>5</sup>, &c.), and on the other hand, the sense of *without* (separated, free from . . .), e. g. Is 22<sup>3</sup> מִקֶּשֶׁת אֶפְרַיִם *without the bow* (i. e. without one needing to bend a bow against them) *they were made prisoners*; cf. Jer 48<sup>45</sup> מִכֹּחַ *without strength*; Ho 6<sup>6</sup>, as the first half-verse shows, *not more than burnt offerings* (as R. V.), but *and not burnt offerings*; Mi 3<sup>6</sup>, ψ 52<sup>5</sup>, Jb 11<sup>15</sup>, 19<sup>26</sup>, 21<sup>9</sup>, also such examples as Nu 15<sup>24</sup> *far from the eyes*, i. e. unobserved by the congregation; Pr 20<sup>3</sup>.

י Here also belongs the use of מִן after the ideas of *restraining, withholding from, refusing to any one*, frequently in pregnant expressions, which we can render only by complete final or consecutive clauses, e. g. 1 S 15<sup>28</sup> *he hath rejected thee מִמְּלִכְךָ away from (being) king*, instead of 'מְהִיּוֹת מ' (as in verse 26), *that thou be no longer king*; cf. 1 K 15<sup>13</sup>, Is 17<sup>1</sup> מְעִיר *so that it is no longer a city*; Jer 17<sup>16</sup>, Jb 28<sup>11</sup> *he bindeth the streams מִבְּכִי that they trickle not*; Gn 16<sup>2</sup>, 23<sup>6</sup> מִקְבֹּר *that thou shouldst not bury thy dead*; Is 24<sup>10</sup>.

י The מִן has a still more pregnant force in those examples in which the idea of precluding from anything is only indirectly contained in the preceding verb, e. g. Gn 27<sup>1</sup> *his eyes were dim יָרְאוֹת away from seeing*, i. e. *so that he could not see*; Is 7<sup>8</sup> *Ephraim shall be broken in pieces מִעַם that it be not a people* (just as in Is 23<sup>1</sup>, Jer 48<sup>2,42</sup>, ψ 83<sup>5</sup>); Lv 26<sup>13</sup>, Is 5<sup>6</sup>, 49<sup>15</sup>, 54<sup>9</sup>, Ezr 2<sup>62</sup> (for other pregnant constructions with מִן see below, f)<sup>3</sup>; on מִבְּלִי and מֵאִין *without*, cf. § 152 u.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. O. Molin, *Om prepositionen min i Bibellehebreiskan*, Upsala, 1893, and especially N. Zerweck, *Die hebr. Praep. min*, Leipzig, 1893, who, instead of the partitive meaning (formerly accepted by us also), more correctly takes 'separation' as the starting-point of its various uses.

<sup>2</sup> All the *partitive* uses of מִן also come most naturally under this idea of separation out of a larger class. Thus מִן is used in the sense of *some, something, and even one*, in such expressions as *and he slew . . . also מִשְׁטְרֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל (divers) of the princes of Israel*, 2 Ch 21<sup>4</sup>; - מִבְּלִי Lv 4<sup>2</sup>; 1 K 18<sup>5</sup>; מִדַּם הַפָּר *some of the blood of the bullock*, Ex 29<sup>12</sup>, &c.; Jb 27<sup>6</sup> *my heart doth not reproach me מִמִּי for any*, i. e. for one, *of my days*; 38<sup>12</sup> מִיָּמַי *one of thy days*, i. e. *ever in thy life* (this explanation is confirmed by 1 K 1<sup>6</sup>; cf. also 1 S 14<sup>45</sup>, 25<sup>28</sup>). In this way also, the frequently misunderstood Hebrew (and Arabic) idiom is to be explained, by which מִן before אֲחֵר is equivalent to *ullus*; e. g. Lv 4<sup>2</sup> *and shall do מִיָּחַת מֵאֵחַת any one of these things*; 5<sup>13</sup>, Dt 15<sup>7</sup>, Ez 18<sup>30</sup>; so before a *nomen unitatis* (see § 122 t), 1 S 14<sup>45</sup> (2 S 14<sup>11</sup>, 1 K 1<sup>52</sup>) מִשְׁעַרְתֵּי רֹאשׁוֹ *not one hair of his head*.—מִן is used in the sense of the Arabic *min el-beyān* or explicative *min* (often to be simply translated by *namely*), e. g. in Gn 7<sup>22</sup> *of all that was*, i. e. *so far as it was*, probably also Gn 6<sup>2</sup> (= *whomsoever they chose*).

<sup>3</sup> On the use of מִן to express the comparative, which likewise depends on the idea of *distance from . . .*, cf. below, § 133 a; on מִן as expressing the

(2) On the sense of *motion away from* anything depends the use of מִן after  $\approx$  such ideas as *to take away from, to beware, to be afraid of, to flee, to escape, to hide oneself from* (cf. *καλύπτω ἀπό, custodire ab*), sometimes again in pregnant expressions, e. g. Is 33<sup>15</sup>. On the idea of *starting from* anything depends finally the very frequent *causative* use of מִן *on account of, in consequence of* (cf. *our that comes from . . .*), *prae*, e. g. מִרֹב for *multitude*, 1 K 8<sup>5</sup>.

(e) על-<sup>1</sup> The two original local meanings of this preposition are *upon* αα (*ἐπί*)<sup>2</sup> and *over* (ὐπέρ, *super*).

(1) From the original meaning *upon* is explained the use of על- after ideas of *commanding, commissioning* (פָּקַד על-) &c., inasmuch as the command, obligation, &c., is *laid upon* the object. The construction is self-evident in the case of *to lie, rest, lean, rely, press upon* something; cf. also, for the last, such examples as Is 1<sup>14</sup>, Jb 7<sup>20</sup>, 23<sup>2</sup>, and especially 2 S 18<sup>11</sup> וְעָלַי prop. *upon me* would it have been, it would have been incumbent *upon me*, &c.

(2) From the original meaning *over* is explained the use of על- after ideas *of covering, protecting, guarding* -בָּקַשׁ על-, גָּנַן על-, also the combinations רַחַם על- *to have compassion upon . . .*, חוּם על-, חָמַל על- *to spare some one*, arise from the idea of a compassionate or protective *bending over* something. Cf. also נִלְחַם על- Ju 9<sup>17</sup> = *to fight for some one*, i. e. in his defence.

(3) Moreover על- is used after verbs of *standing and going*, to express *CC* a towering *over* some one or something, sometimes in phrases, in which the original local idea has altogether fallen into the background, and which are therefore to be rendered in English by means of other prepositions (*by, with, before, near*), e. g. Gn 41<sup>1</sup>, &c., *Pharaoh . . . stood על-הַיָּאָר* by the Nile (above the water level; cf.  $\psi$  1<sup>3</sup>), and so especially עָמַד על- in the pregnant sense *to stand serving before* some one (prop. *over* one who sits or reclines at table) Ze 4<sup>14</sup> (cf. Is 6<sup>2</sup>, where מִמַּעַל לְ is used for על-); הִתְיַצַּב על- *to present oneself by command before* some one, Jb 1<sup>6</sup>, &c. Cf. also על-יָדַי, על-יָדַי (Jb 1<sup>14</sup>) *near, at (on) the side of* some one or something.

(4) From the original meaning *above* (not, as formerly explained, *on to* dd something, *at something*) there arise finally all the various constructions with על- in the sense of *towards, against*. The original idea (which in many of these constructions has become wholly unrecognizable) starts from the view that the assailant endeavours to take up his position *over* the person attacked, so as to reach him from above, or to *overpower* him; cf. especially קוּם על- *to rise up over, i. e. against* some one, then with a transference of

distance of time from a fixed limit, in the sense of *after*, e. g.  $\psi$  73<sup>20</sup> מִתְקַיֵּין *after awaking* (cf.  $\xi\grave{\alpha}$  ἀπίστων, *ab itinere*), or *after the lapse of . . .*, e. g. Gn 38<sup>24</sup>, Ho 6<sup>2</sup>, and very frequently מִכִּיּוֹן *from the end of, i. e. after the lapse of . . .*, see the Lexicon; also for the use of מִן to represent *resting beside* anything, like the Latin *prope abesse ab . . .*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Budie, *Die hebr. Präpos. 'Al (על)*, Halle, 1882.

<sup>2</sup> Since the placing *upon* anything is an addition to it, על- also implies *in addition to* something, cf. Gn 28<sup>9</sup> (31<sup>60</sup>); 30<sup>40</sup>, 32<sup>12</sup> (probably a proverbial saying = *mother and children*); Dt 22<sup>6</sup>. Also עַל *notwithstanding* is no doubt properly *in addition to*, e. g. Jb 10<sup>7</sup> *although thou knowest*, prop. *in addition to thy knowing*.—From the original meaning *upon* is also derived that of *on account of* (prop. *upon the ground of*) and *in agreement with, according to*, since the pattern is regarded as the foundation *upon* which a thing stands or rests.

thought applied to any kind of hostile approach, נִלְחָם עַל־ to fight against . . . , עָלָה עַל־ to encamp against . . . , נֶאֱסַף עַל־ to be gathered together, to assemble against (Mi 4<sup>11</sup>; cf. ψ 2<sup>2</sup>), &c. ; even after verbs which express a mental action, e.g. חָשַׁב רָעָה עַל־ to imagine evil against any one, &c.

ee 4. Sometimes a preposition appears to be under the immediate government of a verb, which, by its meaning, excludes such a union. In reality the preposition is dependent on a verb (generally a verb of motion), which, for the sake of brevity, is not expressed, but in sense is contained in what is apparently the governing verb.

ff Various examples of this *constructio praeagnans* have been already noticed above in *x* and *y* under מִן; for מִן cf. also ψ 22<sup>22</sup> וּמִקְרָנֵי רְמִים עֵינִי־נִי וְיָצִיטָהּ אֶת־נַפְשִׁי אֶת־עֵצֵי הַיַּבֵּשׁ וְיָצִיטָהּ אֶת־נַפְשִׁי אֶת־עֵצֵי הַיַּבֵּשׁ and thou hast answered and saved me from the horns of the wild oxen (in Is 38<sup>17</sup>, which Delitzsch translates by thou hast loved and delivered my soul from the pit, read חֲשַׁבְתָּ with the LXX); Gn 25<sup>23</sup>, 2 S 18<sup>19</sup>, Jb 28<sup>12</sup>; cf. also וְנָה מִן־ ψ 73<sup>27</sup> to go a whoring from any one i.e. to be unfaithful to him; 1 S 18<sup>22</sup> = to depart wickedly from God; חָרַשׁ מִן־ ψ 28<sup>1</sup> to be silent from one (to turn away in silence); cf. Jb 13<sup>13</sup> [; so with מֵעַל Jb 30<sup>17,30</sup>].

gg Pregnant constructions with אַחֲרַי: Nu 14<sup>24</sup> equivalent to וַיִּמְלֵא לְלֶכְתָּת אַחֲרַי and he made full to walk i.e. walked fully after me; in 1 S 13<sup>7</sup> read with the LXX מֵאַחֲרָיו הָרָדוּ they trembled, i.e. went trembling away from him; with אֶל־ Gn 43<sup>33</sup> הִתְמַה אֶל־ to turn in astonishment to some one (cf. Is 13<sup>8</sup>); דָּרַשׁ אֶל־ Is 11<sup>10</sup>, &c., to turn inquiringly to some one; הִחְרִישׁ אֶל־ Is 41<sup>1</sup> to turn in silence to some one; חָרַד אֶל־ Gn 42<sup>28</sup> to turn trembling to some one (cf. חָרַד לְקָרְאתָ to come trembling to meet, 1 S 21<sup>2</sup> [also with שָׂמַח, הִרְיִץ, שָׂאֵן and other verbs, Ju 14<sup>5</sup>, 15<sup>14</sup>, 19<sup>8</sup>; see Lexicon]); cf. further Jer 41<sup>7</sup>, ψ 7<sup>7</sup>, 2 Ch 32<sup>1</sup>; with בְּ־ ψ 55<sup>19</sup> he hath redeemed and hath put my soul in peace, exactly like ψ 118<sup>5</sup>; with לְ־ ψ 74<sup>7</sup> they have profaned and cast . . . even to the ground; cf. 89<sup>40</sup>.

hh 5. In poetic parallelism the governing power of a preposition is sometimes extended to the corresponding substantive of the second member; <sup>1</sup> e.g. בְּ־ Is 40<sup>19</sup>, 48<sup>14</sup> he shall perform his pleasure בְּבַבְלֹן on Babylon, and his arm shall be בְּשַׁבְרֵיהֶם (for בְּבַבְלֹן) on the Chaldeans; Jb 15<sup>3</sup>; לְ־ Is 28<sup>6</sup>, 42<sup>22</sup> (but probably לְ־ has fallen out after another לְ־), Ez 39<sup>4</sup>, Jb 34<sup>10</sup> (perhaps also Gn 45<sup>8</sup>; מִשָּׁל may, however, be taken here as a second accusative according to § 117 ii); מִן־ Is 48<sup>9</sup>; לְ־ Is 58<sup>13</sup>, ψ 141<sup>9</sup> (unless וַיִּמְקָשׁוּת is to be read); עַד־ Is 15<sup>8</sup>; הִתְחַתּ Is 61<sup>7</sup>.

ii 6. Adverbs which have acquired a substantival value are sometimes governed by prepositions, e.g. אֶל־הֵנָּם in vain, Ez 6<sup>10</sup>; אַחֲרֵי־כֵן after this; בְּכֵן (Ec 8<sup>10</sup>, Est 4<sup>16</sup>) then, on this condition; לְכֵן and עַל־כֵּן therefore; עַד־כֵּן hitherto.

<sup>1</sup> Similarly the force of a negative is sometimes extended to the parallel member; see § 152 z.

§ 120. *Verbal Ideas under the Government of a Verb.*  
*Co-ordination of Complementary Verbal Ideas.*

1. When a *relative* verb (incomplete in itself) receives its necessary *a* complement in the form of a verbal idea, the latter is, as a rule, subordinated in the infinitive construct (with or without לְ), less frequently in the infinitive absolute, in a few instances in the form of a participle (or verbal adjective), or finally in the imperfect without the copula. In these combinations the principal idea is very frequently represented by the subordinate member of the sentence, whilst the governing verb rather contains a mere definition of the manner of the action; cf. *d* and *g* below, and § 114 *n*, note 2.

(a) On the subordination of an infinitive construct as an accusative of the object, and as the complement of relative verbal ideas, see above, § 114 *c*, and the numerous examples given in § 114 *m*; on the infinitive absolute as object, see § 113 *d*.—The complement in the form of a participle (as in Greek, and also frequently in Syriac) occurs in Is 33<sup>1</sup> פָּהֲתָמָךְ שׁוֹרֵר (cf. for the form, § 67 *v*) *when thou hast ceased as a spoiler, i. e. to spoil*; Jer 22<sup>30</sup> לֹא יִצְלַח . . . יֹשֵׁב *he shall never prosper, sitting, i. e. so as to sit, &c.*; Jon 1<sup>6</sup> *what meanest thou, sleeping?* i. e. that thou sleepest; <sup>1</sup> by a verbal adjective, 1 S 3<sup>2</sup> *now his eyes had begun being dim, i. e. to wax dim* (unless we read לְבָהוֹת = בְּהוֹת, cf. § 114 *m*); by a substantive, Gn 9<sup>20</sup> *and Noah began to be an husbandman* (omitting the article before אֲרָמָה).

(b) Examples of the subordination of the complementary verbal idea in the imperfect<sup>2</sup> (in English usually rendered by *to, in order to or that*) are—(1) with both verbs in the same person: after the perfect, Is 42<sup>21</sup> יְהוָה הִפְיִן . . . יַגְדִּיל *it pleased the Lord . . . to magnify, &c.*; Jb 30<sup>28</sup>, 32<sup>22</sup> לֹא יִרְעֵתִי אֲכַנָּה *I know not to give flattering titles*; after a perfect consecutive, 1 S 20<sup>19</sup> (where for תִּרְרָר we should read with the LXX תִּפְקָר); after an imperfect, ψ 88<sup>11</sup>, 102<sup>14</sup>, Jb 19<sup>3</sup>, 24<sup>14</sup>; after an imperf. consec., Jb 16<sup>8</sup>; after a participle, Is 5<sup>11 a</sup>.—(2) with a difference in the persons: after a perfect, Lv 9<sup>6</sup> *this is the thing which the Lord commanded (that) ye should do*; a negative imperfect follows צִיָּה in La 1<sup>10</sup>; after the imperfect, Is 47<sup>1</sup> (5) *כי לא תוֹסִיפִי עוֹד יִקְרָאוּ לְךָ for thou shalt no more continue (that) they call thee, i. e. thou shalt no longer be called, &c.*; Ho 1<sup>6</sup> *לא אוֹסִיף עוֹד אֲרַחֵם I will no longer continue (and) have mercy, i. e. I will no more have mercy*; Is 5<sup>2</sup>, Pr 23<sup>35</sup>.—Nu 22<sup>6</sup> *peradventure I shall prevail (that) we may smite them, and (that) I may drive them out of the land* (אֹיְבֵי may, however, be a scribal error for נֹכַח, due to the preceding אֹיְבֵי, and in that case the example would belong to No. 1); after a participle,

<sup>1</sup> In 1 S 16<sup>16</sup>, which appears to be a case of this kind, two different readings are combined, יִרְעֵ לְנִי and the simple מְנַיֵן.

<sup>2</sup> This kind of subordination is frequent in Arabic and in Syriac (cf. e. g. the Peshittá, Luke 18<sup>13</sup>); as a rule, however, a conjunction (corresponding to our *that*) is inserted. Cf. moreover, the Latin *quid vis faciam?* Terence; *rolo hac oratori contingat*, Cicero, Brut. 84; and our *I would it were*; *I thought he would go*.

2 S 21<sup>4</sup>.—A perfect is possibly subordinated in Ia 1<sup>10</sup>; but the explanation of  $\text{כִּי־בָּנָה}$  as a relative clause is preferable.

d 2. Instead of subordination (as in the cases mentioned in a-c), the *co-ordination* of the complementary verbal idea in the finite verb (cf. above, c) frequently occurs, either—

(a) With the second verb co-ordinated in a form exactly corresponding to the first (but see below, e) by means of  $\text{וְ}$  (ו, וּ).<sup>1</sup> As a rule, here also (see above, a) the principal idea is introduced only by the second verb, while the first (especially  $\text{שָׁבַע}$ ,  $\text{וּסַף}$ ,<sup>2</sup>  $\text{הוֹסִיף}$ ) contains the definition of the manner of the action, e. g. Gn 26<sup>18</sup>  $\text{וַיֵּשֶׁב וַיַּחְפֹּר}$  and *he returned and digged*, i. e. he digged again; 2 K 1<sup>11.13</sup>; in the perfect consecutive, Is 6<sup>13</sup>; with  $\text{הוֹסִיף}$ , e. g. Gn 25<sup>1</sup> and *Abraham added and took a wife*, i. e. again took a wife; Gn 38<sup>5</sup> and frequently; with  $\text{הוֹאִיל}$  in the jussive, Jb 6<sup>9</sup>; in the imperative (cf. § 110 h), Ju 1<sup>6</sup>  $\text{הוֹאִל־נָא וְלִי־יְהִי־נֶחֱמָה}$  *be content, I pray thee, and tarry all night* (cf. the English *he was persuaded and remained, for to remain*); 2 S 7<sup>29</sup>; with  $\text{מָהַר}$  Gn 24<sup>18.20</sup>, &c.; with  $\text{הִפְרָה}$  Ct 2<sup>3</sup>.

e Rem. 1. Instead of an exact agreement between co-ordinate verbal forms, other combinations sometimes occur, viz. imperfect and perfect consecutive (cf. § 112 d), e. g. Dt 31<sup>12</sup>  $\text{וְלִמְדוּ וְיִרְאוּ אֶת־יְהוָה}$  *may learn, and fear the Lord*, i. e. *to fear the Lord*; Is 1<sup>9</sup>, Ho 2<sup>11</sup>, Est 8<sup>6</sup>, Dn 9<sup>25b</sup>; perfect and imperfect, Jb 23<sup>3</sup> (*O that I knew how I might find him*); perfect and imperfect consecutive, Jos 7<sup>7</sup>, Ec 4<sup>1.7</sup>; jussive and imperative, Jb 17<sup>10</sup>; cf., finally, Gn 47<sup>6</sup>  $\text{וְאִם־יָדַעְתָּ וְיִשָּׁבְכֶם}$  *and if thou knowest and there are among them, &c.*, i. e. that there are among them.

f 2. Special mention must be made of the instances in which the natural complement of the first verb is suppressed, or is added immediately after in the form of an historical statement, e. g. Gn 42<sup>25</sup> *then Joseph commanded and they filled*<sup>3</sup> (prop. that they should fill, and they filled . . .; cf. the full form of expression in Gn 50<sup>2</sup>); a further command is then added by means of  $\text{וְ}$  and the infinitive; Ex 36<sup>6</sup>; another instance of the same kind is Gn 30<sup>27</sup> *I have divined and the Lord hath blessed me, &c.*, i. e. that the Lord hath blessed me for thy sake.

g (b) With the second verb (which, according to the above, represents the principal idea) attached *without the copula*<sup>4</sup> in the same mood, &c. In this construction (cf. § 110 h) the imperatives  $\text{קָבְמִי}$  ( $\text{קָבְמָה}$ )  $\text{קָבֵם}$ ,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the English colloquial expression *I will try and do it*.

<sup>2</sup> Of a different kind are the cases in which  $\text{וְיִסַּף}$  with a negative is co-ordinated with a verb to emphasize the non-recurrence of the action; cf. Nu 11<sup>25</sup> *they prophesied and added not, sc. to prophesy, i. e. but they did so no more*; Dt 5<sup>19</sup>, Jb 27<sup>19</sup> (reading  $\text{וְיִסַּף}$   $\text{וְלֹא־יִסַּף}$ ).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the analogous examples in Kautzsch's *Gramm. des Bibl. Aram.*, § 102.

<sup>4</sup> To be distinguished, of course, from the cases in which two equally important and independent verbs are used together without the copula in vigorous poetic imagery, e. g. Ex 15<sup>9</sup>, Jb 29<sup>8</sup>, &c.

&c.) and לָךְ (לָכֶּה, לָכִי, &c.) are exceedingly common with the sense of interjections, before verbs which express a movement or other action, e. g. קוּם הִתְהַלֵּךְ *arise, walk*, Gn 13<sup>17</sup>, 19<sup>15</sup>, 27<sup>43</sup>; in the plural, Gn 19<sup>14</sup>; Ex 19<sup>24</sup> לֵךְ הָרַד *go, get thee down*; 1 S 3<sup>9</sup>; with a following cohortative, 1 S 9<sup>10</sup> לָכֶה גִּלְכָּה *come, let us go*; Gn 31<sup>44</sup> and frequently.—Also with שׁוּב (a periphrasis for *again*) in the perfect, Zc 8<sup>15</sup>; in the imperfect, Mi 7<sup>19</sup>, ψ 7<sup>13</sup>, 59<sup>7</sup>, 71<sup>20</sup>; in the jussive, Jb 10<sup>16</sup>; in the cohortative, Gn 30<sup>31</sup>; in the imperative, Jos 5<sup>2</sup>, 1 S 3<sup>5</sup> *lie down again*; הוֹאִיל (sometimes to express the idea of *willingly* or *gladly*) in the perfect, Dt 1<sup>5</sup>, Ho 5<sup>11</sup>; in the imperative, Jb 6<sup>28</sup>; הִרְבֵּה = *much*, 1 S 2<sup>3</sup> אַל-תִּרְבּוּ תִרְבְּרוּ *do not multiply and talk*, i. e. talk not so much *arrogancy*; in the imperative, ψ 51<sup>4</sup>; הֵחֵל, Dt 2<sup>24</sup> רַשׁ הֵחֵל *begin, possess*; יָכַל, La 4<sup>14</sup> בְּלֹא יִגְעוּ *without men's being able to touch*, &c.; מְהֵרָה = *quickly*, in the perfect, ψ 106<sup>13</sup>; in the imperative, Gn 19<sup>22</sup>, Ju 9<sup>48</sup>, Est 6<sup>10</sup>.—Other examples are: Ho 9<sup>9</sup> הֵעֵמִיק = *deeply, radically*; Zp 3<sup>7</sup> הַשְּׂבִים = *early* (even in the participle, Ho 6<sup>4</sup>, 13<sup>3</sup>); Is 29<sup>4</sup> נִשְׁפַּל = *low*, cf. Jer 13<sup>18</sup>; Jos 3<sup>16</sup> תָּמַם = *wholly*; ψ 112<sup>9</sup> פִּזַּר = *plentifully*.

Rem. This co-ordination without the copula belongs (as being more *h* vigorous and bolder) rather to poetic or otherwise elevated style (cf. e. g. Is 5<sup>2</sup>, Ho 1<sup>6</sup>, 9<sup>9</sup> with Gn 25<sup>1</sup>, &c.). Asyndeton, however, is not wanting even in prose; besides the above examples (especially the imperatives of קוּם and הִלֵּךְ Gn 30<sup>31</sup>, Dt 1<sup>5</sup>, 2<sup>24</sup>, Jos 3<sup>16</sup>, 1 S 3<sup>5</sup>) cf. also Neh 3<sup>20</sup>, 1 Ch 13<sup>2</sup>. For special reasons the verb representing the principal idea may even come first; thus Is 53<sup>11</sup> יִרְאֶה יִשְׁבַּע *he shall see, he shall be satisfied* (sc. with the sight), for the satisfaction does not come until after the enjoyment of the sight; Jer 4<sup>5</sup> מָלֵא קְרָא *cry, fill*, i. e. cry with a full (loud) voice.

### § 121. Construction of Passive Verbs.

Blake, 'The internal passive in Semitic,' *JAOS.* xxii.

1. Verbs which in the active take *one* accusative (either of the *α* proper object, or of the *internal* object, or of some other nearer definition; cf. § 117 *a, p, u*) may in the passive, according to our mode of expression, be construed *personally*, the object of the active sentence now becoming the subject, e. g. Gn 35<sup>19</sup> וַתָּמַת רַחֵל וַתִּקָּבֵר *and Rachel died, and was buried*, &c. The passive, however, is also used *impersonally* (in the 3rd sing. masc.), either absolutely, as Dt 21<sup>34</sup>, Is 16<sup>10</sup>, Ez 16<sup>34</sup> (with a dative added, 2 S 17<sup>16</sup>, Is 53<sup>5</sup>, La 5<sup>5</sup>), or, more frequently, with the object of the active construction still subordinated in the accusative,<sup>1</sup> e. g. Gn 27<sup>42</sup> וַיִּגַּד לְרִבְקָה אֶת-דְּבָרֵי עֵשָׂו *and there were told* (i. e. one told) *to Rebekah the words of Esau*; 2 S 21<sup>11</sup>, 1 K 18<sup>13</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> When this is not recognizable either by the *nota accusativi*, or by its disagreement with the passive form in gender, number, and person, it

*b* Other examples are: after Niph., Gn 4<sup>18</sup> וַיֵּלֶד לְחַנוּךְ אֶת־עֵיֶרֶר and unto Enoch was born Irad (cf. Nu 26<sup>60</sup>, and after an infinitive, Gn 21<sup>5</sup>); Gn 17<sup>5</sup>, 21<sup>8</sup> (after an infinitive); 29<sup>27</sup> (unless וְנִתְּנָה is 1st plur. cohortative); Ex 21<sup>28</sup>, 25<sup>28</sup>, Lv 6<sup>13</sup>, Nu 7<sup>10</sup> (after an infinitive); 26<sup>55</sup> (cf. verse 53); Dt 20<sup>8</sup> (where, however, for יָמִים the Hiph. יָמִים should be read, according to 1<sup>28</sup>); Jos 7<sup>15</sup>, Is 16<sup>10</sup>; with the object preceding, Ex 13<sup>7</sup>, Lv 2<sup>8</sup>, 19<sup>20</sup>, Nu 16<sup>28</sup>, Dan 9<sup>24</sup>.<sup>1</sup>—Also after Pu'al, Jer 50<sup>20</sup>; before Pu'al, Is 14<sup>8</sup> (אֲשֶׁר equivalent to the internal object עֲבַרְתָּ = which they have caused to be served by thee); Jb 22<sup>9</sup>; according to the Masoretic text also Gn 46<sup>22</sup>, where, however, the Samaritan and LXX read יִלְרָה for יִלְרֵ; the Samaritan in Gn 35<sup>26</sup> and 46<sup>27</sup> also reads יִלְרֵ, and this (or יִלְרֵ) should certainly be read instead of יִלְרֵ in 2 S 21<sup>22</sup>.—After Hoph., Ex 10<sup>8</sup>, 27<sup>7</sup>, Lv 10<sup>18</sup>, 16<sup>27</sup>, Nu 32<sup>5</sup>, 1 K 2<sup>21</sup>, Pr 16<sup>33</sup>, Jb 30<sup>15</sup>; after the infinitive Hoph., Gn 40<sup>20</sup>, Ez 16<sup>4f.</sup>, 27<sup>7</sup>; before Hoph., Is 17<sup>1</sup>, 21<sup>2</sup>, Ho 10<sup>8</sup>, Zc 13<sup>6</sup>; after the infinitive Hothpa'el, Lv 13<sup>55f.</sup>

*c* 2. Verbs which in the active take two accusatives (§ 117 *cc*) retain in the passive construction at least *one* accusative, namely that of the second or remoter object, whilst the nearer object now becomes the subject. Thus, corresponding to אֲשֶׁר אֶרְאֶה which I will show thee (Gn 12<sup>1</sup>) the passive is אֲשֶׁר אֶתָּה מְרֵאָה (Ex 25<sup>40</sup>) which thou hast been shown, i. e. which has been shown to thee; cf. Ex 26<sup>30</sup> (but in Lv 13<sup>49</sup> with an accusative of the person); Jb 7<sup>3</sup>. In ψ 22<sup>15</sup> מְדַבֵּק מִלְּקוֹחַי depends on an assumed transitive הִדְבִּיק governing two accusatives (= my tongue is made to cleave to my jaws); also in Is 1<sup>20</sup> הָרֵב תֹּאכְלוּ ye shall be devoured with the sword, הָרֵב is not an accus. instrumenti, but most probably an accusative of the object retained from the active construction.<sup>2</sup>

*d* Rem. 1. Examples of the retention of the second accusative are—(a) with verba induendi and exuendi (§ 117 *cc*), ψ 80<sup>11</sup>, כָּסוּ הַרִים צֶלֶה the mountains were covered with the shadow of it (the vine); Pr 10<sup>23</sup>. So also some of the examples in § 116 *k* of passive participles of these verbs, Ju 18<sup>11</sup>, 1 S 21<sup>8</sup>, 17<sup>5</sup>, 1 K 22<sup>10</sup>,

naturally cannot be determined whether the construction is really impersonal. The construction itself can only be explained by supposing that while using the passive form the speaker at the same time thinks of some author or authors of the action in question, just as on the theory of the Arab grammarians a concealed agent is included in every passive. This accounts for the possibility (cf. § 144 *g*) of using the active without a specified subject as a periphrasis for the passive.

<sup>1</sup> In 2 K 18<sup>30</sup> יִנָּתֵן is to be read or אֶת־ is to be omitted, as in the parallel passage Is 36<sup>15</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> In the active, the sentence would be *I will cause the sword to devour you*; by the rule stated above, under *c*, this would become in the passive, *the sword* (nom.) *shall be made to devour you* (acc.). Instead of this, the remoter object is here made the subject, and the nearer object is retained in the accusative. Otherwise, the only possible explanation would be, according to the Arabic idiom, *to cause one to devour the sword* (remoter object), i. e. to give him over to it.

It would then be simplest to read הִתְאָכְלוּ.

Ez 9<sup>2,3</sup>;<sup>1</sup> with the accusative preceding, Neh 4<sup>12</sup>.—(b) with *verba copiae* and *inopias*, Ex 1<sup>7</sup>, Is 38<sup>10</sup> (equivalent to *I must forego the residue of my years*); Is 40<sup>20</sup>.—(c) an accusative of the result (§ 117 ii) with the passive, Is 6<sup>11</sup>, Zc 14<sup>4</sup>, Jb 28<sup>2</sup>; with the accusative preceding, Is 24<sup>12</sup>, Mi 3<sup>12</sup> (Jer 26<sup>18</sup>), Jb 15<sup>7</sup>, 22<sup>16</sup>.<sup>2</sup> Also in Ez 40<sup>17</sup> and 46<sup>23</sup>, the accusative preceding עָשִׂי (in 41<sup>18</sup> following it) can only be taken as the accusative of the result; some general idea, such as that of *place*, is to be understood as the subject of עָשִׂי.—(d) an accusative of the member or part specially affected by the action (§ 117 U), Gn 17<sup>11</sup>, 14<sup>24</sup>, Ju 1<sup>7</sup> (accusative *before* part. pass.); 2 S 15<sup>32</sup> (accusative with suffix after the part. pass.).

2. Both accusatives are retained in an unusual manner after the passive of *ē* a *verbum implendi* in Nu 14<sup>21</sup>; instead, however, of the *Niph.* וַיִּמְלֵא the *Qal* (which is sometimes used transitively elsewhere) should simply be read with the LXX; similarly in ψ 72<sup>19</sup>, although there the LXX also translate the passive.

3. The efficient cause (or personal agent) is, as a rule, attached to the passive by לְ (thus corresponding to the Greek and Latin dative), e. g. Gn 25<sup>21</sup> וַיְהִי לוֹ יְהוָה וַיִּעֲתֶר the Lord let himself be intreated by him; cf. Lv 26<sup>23</sup>, ψ 73<sup>10</sup> and the blessing בְּרוּךְ הוּא לְיְהוָה blessed be he of the Lord Ru 2<sup>20</sup>; cf. Gn 14<sup>19</sup>, Ju 17<sup>2b</sup>, 1 S 15<sup>13</sup>; also in the plural, 1 S 23<sup>21</sup> (2 S 2<sup>5</sup>, ψ 115<sup>15</sup>).—Before the verb, Pr 14<sup>20</sup> and frequently; less commonly by מִן (called מִן־ of origin = *coming from*), e. g. Gn 9<sup>11</sup>; before the verb, ψ 37<sup>23</sup>, Jb 24<sup>1</sup>; by בְּ (instrumenti) [rarely, König § 106], Gn 9<sup>6</sup> (בְּאָרְםַּם by man); Nu 36<sup>2</sup>, Is 14<sup>3b</sup> [but ? = *wherewith it was worked* (§ 52 e) with thee; cf. Dt 21<sup>3</sup>, König § 106; and see עָבַד in the Lexicon], Ho 14<sup>4</sup>, always to introduce a personal agent.—On the connexion of the passive participle with a genitive of the agent, cf. § 116 l.

## II. Syntax of the Noun.

### § 122. Indication of the Gender of the Noun.

Cf. F. Schwabe, *Die Genusbestimmung des Nomens im bibl. Hebr.*, Jena, 1894, and especially the thorough investigation by K. Albrecht, 'Das Geschlecht der hebr. Hauptwörter,' in *ZAW.* 1895, p. 313 ff., and 1896, p. 61 ff. H. Rosenberg, 'Zum Geschlecht der hebr. Hauptwörter,' in *ZAW.* 1905, p. 325 ff. (supplementing Albrecht's work by a treatment of the gender of many nouns in the Mishna); and his 'Notizen aus der tannaitischen Literatur...' *ZAW.* 1908, p. 144 ff.

1. According to § 80 a, Hebrew, like the other Semitic languages, *α* distinguishes only a *masculine* and *feminine* gender. To indicate <sup>the</sup> he

<sup>1</sup> Analogous to הַלְבָּשׁ הַבְּרִים who was clothed in linen, Ez 9<sup>3</sup>, would be הַנְּוֹתֵר הַזֶּה אֶת־הַמֶּמֶן הַזֶּה 2 Ch 31<sup>10</sup>; but we must certainly read there וַנְּוֹתֵר with the LXX.—Still less can ψ 87<sup>3</sup> be so explained, נִכְבְּרוֹת being not an accusative, but the subject of a noun-clause. On the other hand, שָׁלוּחַ 1 K 14<sup>6</sup> may be explained with Ewald in the sense of *being charged with something*, so that, like צִוָּה, it may be construed with an accusative.

<sup>2</sup> In reality וַיִּרְם Ex 16<sup>20,26</sup> (*it became putrid*) is equivalent to a passive (*it was changed*), to which הוֹלָעִים is added as an accusative of the result.

latter a special feminine ending is generally used (§ 80 *b* and § 87 *i*) both in the singular and plural (see, however, § 87 *p*), its use being most consistent in adjectives and participles; cf. § 87 *r*. The employment of these special endings is most natural when by means of them the feminine names of persons or animals are distinguished from the masculine of the same stem and the same formation, e. g. אח brother, אחות sister; עלם a young man, עלמה a young woman, maid; פרו iuvencus, פרה iuvenca; עגל vitulus, עגלה vitula. On the other hand, the feminine plays an important part in denoting the gender of whole classes of ideas (see below, *p*, &c.), which the Hebrew regards as feminine. The language, however, is not obliged to use the feminine ending either for the purpose of distinguishing the *sex* of animate objects (see *b*), or as an indication of the (*figurative*) gender of inanimate things which are regarded as feminine (see *h*).

*b* 2. The distinction of *sex* may be effected even without the feminine ending, (*a*) by the employment of words of different stems for the masculine and feminine; (*b*) by the different construction (either as masculine or feminine) of the same word (*communia*). But the distinction may also, (*c*) in the case of names of animals, be entirely neglected, all examples of a species being included under one particular gender, either masculine or feminine (*epicoena*).

*c* Examples of (*a*) are: אב father, אם mother; איל ram, רחל ewe; תיש he-goat, יעו she-goat; חמור he-ass, אתון she-ass; אריה lion, לביא lioness. Sometimes with the feminine ending as well, e. g. עבד male slave, man-servant, אמה or שפחה female slave, maid; חתן bridegroom, כלה bride.

*d* Of (*b*): גמל camel. Plur. גמלים construed as masculine, Gn 24<sup>63</sup>; as feminine, Gn 32<sup>16</sup>; בקר collect. oxen, Ex 21<sup>27</sup>, construed as masculine, but in Gn 33<sup>13</sup>, Jb 1<sup>14</sup> as feminine. In Jer 2<sup>24</sup> the construction of פרה wild ass, changes directly from the masculine (intended as epicene) to the feminine. Cf. the Greek δ, ἡ παῖς δ, ἡ βοῦς.

*e* Of (*c*): analogous to the epicene nouns of other languages, many species of animals which are strong and courageous, are regarded in Hebrew as always masculine, while the weak and timid are feminine; cf. δ λύκος, ἡ χελιδὼν, and the German der Löwe, der Adler, &c., but die Katze, die Taube, &c. Similarly in Hebrew, e. g. אלוף ox (ψ 144<sup>14</sup> even referring to cows when pregnant), דב bear, Ho 13<sup>8</sup> דוב שבול (a bear that is bereaved of her whelps; cf., however, 2 K 2<sup>24</sup>, Is 11<sup>7</sup>), זאב wolf, כלב dog, all masculine; but ארנקת hare, יונה dove, חסידה stork, דבורה bee, נמלה ant, &c., feminine.

*f* Rem. 1. Masculine nouns which either have a separate feminine form or might easily form one, are but seldom used as epicene; such are, חמור ass, 2 S 19<sup>27</sup> אתון; איל hart, ψ 42<sup>2</sup> אילה. In Gn 23<sup>35</sup> מת a dead body, refers more especially to the body of a woman; אמן a master workman, in Pr 8<sup>30</sup> refers to wisdom (חכמה feminine, cf. Plin. 2, 1 natura omnium artifex; and our

use of *friend, teacher, servant, neighbour*, either as masculine or feminine; in German, *Gemahl*<sup>1</sup> spouse, also for fem. *Gemahlin*, &c.).

2. Of words denoting persons נָעָר נַאִיִּם, according to the formerly common *g* opinion, was in early times used as epicene (see, however, above, § 2 n). The use of the plural נְעָרִים in Jb 1<sup>19</sup> and Ru 2<sup>21</sup> in the sense of *young people* (of both genders) does not, however, prove this. In this and in similar cases (cf. e. g. אֲתָם Gn 1<sup>27</sup> and אֲתָתֶם 3<sup>21</sup>) the masculine as *prior gender* includes the feminine.<sup>2</sup>

3. The following classes of ideas are usually regarded as feminine,<sup>3</sup> although the substantives which express them are mostly without the feminine ending:<sup>4</sup>

(a) Names of *countries* and *towns*, since they are regarded as the mothers<sup>5</sup> and nurses of the inhabitants; e. g. אֲשׁוּר Assyria, אֲדָם Idumaea, צֵר Tyre; cf. also such expressions as בַּת בָּבֶל daughter of Babylon, בַּת צִיּוֹן daughter of Zion, &c. On the other hand appellatives which are originally masculine, remain so when used as place-names, e. g. Am 5<sup>5</sup> בֵּית אֵל, הַגִּלְגָּל, &c.

Rem. The same proper nouns, which as names of countries are regarded<sup>2</sup> as feminine, are frequently used also as names of the people, and may then, like national names in other languages, be construed as masculine (the national name almost always being used also as the personal name of the supposed ancestor of the people); thus יְהוֹרָה masc. Is 3<sup>8</sup>, &c., *Julæi*; but

<sup>1</sup> So in early Arabic, *ba'l* (lord) and *zawg* (conjug) are used both for *maritus* and *uxor*; 'arūs for *bridegroom* and *bride*; the later language, however, distinguishes the feminine from the masculine in all these cases generally by the ending *a* (*at*). In early Arabic also the feminine ending is commonly omitted in such participles as *hāmūl*, *bātin* (gravida), and the like, which from the nature of the case can only be used of females. Thus also אִמָּן, at least in Nu 11<sup>12</sup> (Is 49<sup>23</sup>?), probably means *nurse* (for אֲמָן 2 S 4<sup>4</sup>, &c.), not *nursing-father*.

<sup>2</sup> The Arab grammarians call this use of the masculine plural and dual (e. g. *el-abacāni*, the two fathers, i. e. *parentes*) *taghīb* or *the making* (the masculine) *prevail* (over the feminine).—Cf. M. Grünert, *Die Begriffs-Präponderanz und die Duale a potiori im Altarab.*, Vienna, 1886.

<sup>3</sup> The masculine gender is attributed 'by the Hebrews and the Semites generally to whatever is dangerous, savage, courageous, respected, great, strong, powerful . . . ; the feminine to whatever is motherly, productive, sustaining, nourishing, gentle, weak, . . . subject, &c.' (Albrecht, *ZAW.* 1896, p. 120 f.).

<sup>4</sup> When, on the other hand, words with a feminine-ending, such as קֶשֶׁת a bow (stem קִישׁ), עֵת time (see the Lexicon), are sometimes construed as masculine, this is owing probably in some cases to a misunderstanding of the formation of the word, the ך of the feminine being regarded as a radical.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. a city and a mother (אֵם) in Israel, 2 S 20<sup>19</sup>. In the same way אֵם (like μήτηρ, *mater*) on Phœnician coins stands for *mother-city*, μητροπόλις. The same figure is used in such expressions as *sons of Zion*, ψ 149<sup>2</sup>; *sons of Babylon*, Ez 23<sup>15</sup>, &c., as also in speaking of the suburbs of a city as its *daughters*, e. g. Jos 15<sup>45</sup> ff., &c.—The comparison of Jerusalem to a woman is especially frequent in allegorical descriptions, o. g. Ez 16<sup>23</sup>, Ia 1<sup>1</sup>, &c.

Is 7<sup>6</sup>, fem., *Judaea*; אָרָם masc., *Idumaei*, Nu 20<sup>20</sup>; fem., *Idumaea*, Jer 49<sup>17</sup>. Nevertheless, it sometimes happens that by a very common transference of thought (just as we say *Turkey concludes peace*) these names are construed as feminine, even when they denote not the country but the inhabitants; so יהוּדָה La 1<sup>3</sup>; cf. Gn 41<sup>8</sup>, Ex 10<sup>7</sup>, 12<sup>33</sup>, 1 S 17<sup>21</sup>, 2 S 8<sup>2</sup>, 24<sup>9</sup>, Is 7<sup>2</sup>, 21<sup>2</sup>, 42<sup>11</sup>, Jer 50<sup>10</sup>, Jb 1<sup>15</sup>. Hence the frequent personification of nations (as well as of countries and towns, see *h*, note 5) as female beings, e. g. Is 50<sup>1</sup>, 54<sup>1</sup> <sup>π</sup>, and the use of the expressions בַּת בָּבֶל Is 47<sup>1</sup> <sup>π</sup>, בַּת צִיּוֹן &c. (see above) as collective poetical personifications of the people.

k (b) Appellative nouns, which denote a *circumscribed space*, such as אֶרֶץ *earth, land*, הָעוֹלָם *world*, שְׂאֵל *the abode of the dead*, כְּכַר *circle* (of the Jordan valley), עִיר *a town*, בְּאֵר *a well*, צָפוֹן *the north*, תְּיֹמֵן *the south*.

l In the majority of nouns denoting place the gender is variable, e. g. אֶרֶץ and דֶּרֶךְ *a way* (usually feminine; the masculine gender only begins to predominate with Ezekiel; cf. Albrecht, l. c., 1896, p. 55), גַּיָּא (גַּי) *valley*, גַּן *garden* (fem. Gn 2<sup>15</sup>, unless לְעֵבְרָה &c., is to be read), הַיְכָל *palace, temple*, חֲצֵר *court*, פְּרָדִים *vineyard*, שַׁעַר *door*,<sup>1</sup> &c.; also מְקוֹם *place*, at least in Gn 18<sup>24</sup> (referring to Sodom), Jb 20<sup>9</sup>, and 2 S 17<sup>12</sup> *Kēthibh*, is construed as feminine. The mountains and hills commanding the surrounding country are almost without exception masculine (see Albrecht, l. c., p. 60 f.).

m (c) The names of *instruments, utensils*, and (on the same analogy) *members and parts of the body* in man or beast, since these are all regarded as subservient and subordinate (consequently as feminine).

n Thus חֶרֶב *sword*, יֵתֶד *tent-peg*, בַּד *bucket*, כּוּס *cup*, נַעַל *shoe*, עֶרֶשׁ *bed*, &c.; in other cases, as אָרוֹן *chest, ark* (with the article הָאָרוֹן, *the oven*, the gender is variable. ('Instruments for binding or holding, girdles and the like, as constraining and mastering, are masculine,' Albrecht, l. c., p. 89).—Also אוֹז *ear* (and in general, members occurring in pairs, Albrecht, l. c., p. 73 f.), אֶצְבַּע *finger* (and so probably בֵּהֵן *thumb, great toe*), יָד and כַּף *hand*, יְמִין *right hand*, רֶגֶל *foot*, בְּרִיךְ *knee*, יָרֵךְ *thigh*, כַּתֵּף *shoulder*, לְחִי *cheek*, בֶּטֶן *belly*, כַּנָּף *wing*, קֶרֶן *horn*, שֵׁן *tooth*; as a rule also זְרוּעַת *arm* (masc. Is 17<sup>5</sup>, &c.), לְשׁוֹן *tongue* (masc. ψ 22<sup>16</sup>, Pr 26<sup>28</sup>, &c.), עֵינַי *eye* (masc. Zc 3<sup>9</sup>, &c.), שׁוֹק *thigh* (masc. Ex 29<sup>27</sup>).<sup>2</sup>

o (d) Certain names of natural forces or substances are feminine, being probably regarded as instruments, while in the names of the heavens, the heavenly bodies and natural phenomena, the masculine generally predominates (cf. Albrecht, l. c., p. 323 ff.); thus feminine are שֶׁמֶשׁ *sun* (but often also *masc.*, ψ 19<sup>6</sup>, 104<sup>19</sup>); אֵשׁ (*Ethiopic 'ēsât*)

<sup>1</sup> מַחֲנֶה *camp* is feminine only when it is a collective, denoting the persons in a camp.

<sup>2</sup> אָף *nose*, נִיד *sinew*, זָנָב *tail*, חֶה *palate*, כֶּבֶד *liver*, לֵב *heart*, רֵחִים, מַעִים, רֵחִים, בֹּוֹלִים, אֶף *bowels*, רֵאשׁ *head*, צְוּאָר *neck*, עוֹר *skin*, עֵרֶף *back of the neck*, פֶּה *mouth*, מְצָח *forehead*, שֵׁבֶם *shoulder*, also רֶחֶם *womb*, except in Jer 20<sup>17</sup>, are invariably construed as masculine.—עֶצָם *bone* is common.

fire (rarely masc.); *נְיָה* brightness, *אֶבֶן* a stone, as a rule also *רוּחַ* wind, spirit; *נְפֶשׁ* breath, soul; also *אוֹר* light in Jer 13<sup>16</sup>, Jb 36<sup>32</sup>, and others.

4. The following classes of ideas, which are also regarded as *f* feminine in Hebrew (see above, *h*), are usually indicated by the feminine form, notwithstanding their occasional transference to masculine persons (see *r* and *s*):

(a) Abstracts<sup>1</sup> (sometimes along with masculine forms from the same stem, as *נִקְמָה* vengeance, as well as *נָקַם*, *עֲזָרָה* help, as well as *עָזַר*, e. g. *אֲמוּנָה* firmness, faithfulness, *גְּבוּרָה* strength, *גְּדוּלָה* greatness, *מְלֵאָה* fullness, *מְשָׁלָה* dominion, &c. Similarly, the feminine (sing. and plur.) of adjectives and participles is used substantivally in the sense of the Latin and Greek *neuter*, e. g. *נְכוּנָה* steadfastness, *ψ* 5<sup>10</sup>, *טוֹבָה* goodness, *רָעָה* evil, Gn 50<sup>20</sup>, *נִקְלָה* a light thing (i. e. a trifling thing), Jer 6<sup>14</sup>; so especially in the plural, e. g. *גְּדוּלוֹת* great things, *ψ* 12<sup>4</sup>; *הַנְּהָרְסוֹת* the ruined places, Ez 36<sup>36</sup>, along with *הַיְשָׁמָה* that which was desolate, *טְבוֹת* kindnesses, 2 K 25<sup>28</sup>, *נְכוּחֹת* uprightness, honesty, Is 26<sup>10</sup>, *נְעִימוֹת* *amoena*, *ψ* 16<sup>11</sup> (but in versé 6 in the same sense *נְעִימִים* wonderful things, Ex 34<sup>10</sup> and frequently, *קָשׁוֹת* hard things, roughly, Gn 42<sup>7-30</sup> (but cf. also *רֵיקִים* vain things, Pr 12<sup>11</sup>, 28<sup>19</sup>). Cf. moreover, the very frequent use of *זֹאת*, *הִיא* (as well as *זֶה* and *הוּא*), Ju 14<sup>4</sup>, *ψ* 118<sup>23</sup>, &c., in the sense of *hoc, illud* (also *הִנֵּה* equivalent to *illa*, Is 51<sup>19</sup>): also the use of the feminine form of the verb in Is 7<sup>7</sup> *וְלֹא תִהְיֶה וְלֹא תָקוּם* it shall not stand, neither shall it come to pass; cf. Jer 10<sup>7</sup>; so too the suffixes Gn 15<sup>6</sup>, Ex 10<sup>11</sup>, Jb 38<sup>18</sup>, referring back to a whole statement.<sup>2</sup>

(b) Titles and designations of office, properly a subdivision of the abstract *f* ideas treated above, under *g*, and specially noticed here only on account of their peculiar transference to concrete male persons. Thus we have *קְהָלָת* Ec 1<sup>1</sup>, &c. (as a title of Solomon), properly no doubt that which takes part in or speaks in a religious assembly, hence LXX *ἐκκλησιαστής*, i. e. *concionator, preacher*; the proper names *סִפְרָת* Ezr 2<sup>55</sup>, Neh 7<sup>57</sup>, and *פְּכָרְת* Ezr 2<sup>57</sup>, Neh 7<sup>59</sup>, and the foreign word *פָּחָה* viceroy; in the plural *כְּנוֹת* prop. *cognomina*, then *like-named, colleagues*; *פְּרָעוֹת* princes (if this be the true meaning).<sup>3</sup> All these words, in accordance with their meaning, are construed as masculine (in Ec 7<sup>27</sup> instead of *אִמְרָה* the words should rather be divided as *הַקְּ*; cf. 12<sup>5</sup>).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the list of masculine and feminine abstracts in Albrecht, l. c., 1896, p. 111 ff.

<sup>2</sup> While in all these instances it is simplest to speak of the feminine in Hebrew as being used for the neuter (which in Latin, Greek, and German is commonly employed for similar purposes), it must yet not be forgotten that since the language is wholly wanting in neuters, the Semitic mind regarded the above-mentioned forms primarily as actual feminines. Hence the Arab commentators are accustomed to explain the feminines of adjectives and participles (which would be neuter in Latin, &c.) by supplying a feminine substantive.

<sup>3</sup> This use of the feminine form is far more frequent in Arabic, Ethiopic, and Aramaic; cf. e. g. in Arabic *ḥalīfa* (fem. from *ḥalīf*, following after, taking the place of) in the sense of the successor or representative (of Muhammad), and *ʿallīma* (great wisdom) as a title of learned men. Analogous to this is the Latin *magistratus, magistracy*, for *magistrate*, and our *his Majesty, Excellency, Highness, &c.*

## S Abstract ideas include also—

(c) *Collectives* in the fem. form,<sup>1</sup> generally fem. participles used substantivally, especially as the comprehensive designation of a number of *persons*, e. g. אֲרָחָה (fem. of *travelling*), prop. *the travelling* (company), i. e. travelling persons (a caravan); גּוֹלָה (fem. of גָּלָה *one going into exile*) *the company of exiles* (also frequently used of those who had returned home again); יוֹשְׁבָת (that which inhabits) i. e. *the population*, Is 12<sup>6</sup>, Mi 11<sup>1</sup> f.; אֲיָבֶת (prop. that which is hostile) *the enemy*, Mi 7<sup>3,10</sup> (cf. Mi 4<sup>6</sup> f. *the halting, cast off, driven away*, i. e. *those who halt*, &c.); דָּלָה (the abject) *the poorest sort*; of living beings which are not persons, cf. חַיָּה (that which lives) in the sense of *cattle, beasts*; דְּגָה *a shoal of fish*, Gn 12<sup>6</sup> (but in Jon 2<sup>2</sup> as a *nomen unitatis*, cf. *t*, for דָּג *a fish*, which in verses 1 and 11 is used as the *nomen unitatis*). Cf., moreover, נֶבֶלָה *dead body*, Is 26<sup>19</sup>, &c. (construed as masculine), for *a heap of dead bodies*.—On the collective poetic personification of a nation, by means of בַּת *daughter*, in בַּת עַמִּי, בַּת בְּבֶל (equivalent to בְּנֵי עַמִּי) *my countrymen*, see above, *i*.

t (d) Conversely the feminine form of substantives is sometimes used (as in Arabic) as a *nomen unitatis*, i. e. to indicate a *single* example of a class which is denoted by the masculine form; cf. אֲנִי *a fleet* (1 K 9<sup>26</sup>), אֲנִיָּה *a single ship* (Jon 1<sup>3</sup> ff.); צִיד *hunting, game*, צִידָה Gn 27<sup>3</sup> *Keth.* (צִידָה *Qéré*) *a piece of venison*; שֵׁעַר *hair* (coll.), שֵׁעָרָה *a single hair* (Ju 20<sup>16</sup>; in the plural, ψ 40<sup>13</sup>, 65<sup>5</sup>); שִׁיר *a poem*, frequently collective, שִׁירָה *a single song*; so probably also הַיַּיִנָּה *a fig* (the corresponding masculine *tin* is collective in Arabic); שִׁשְׁנָה *a lily* (also שִׁשְׁנָה); לִבְנָה *a brick* (Arab. *libina*, but *libin* collective), &c.

u (e) The feminine is also used for things *without life* (as being weaker or less important), which are named from their resemblance to *organic* things expressed by the corresponding masculine form; cf. יָרֵךְ *side* (of the body), *thigh*, יָרְכָה or יָרְכָה *back part, border* (of a country, house, &c.); מִצְחָה *forehead*, מִצְחָה *greaves*. On a similar distinction between the masculine for natural, and the feminine for artificial objects, see § 87 o.

U Rem. The juxtaposition of the masculine and feminine from the same stem serves sometimes to express entirety; e. g. Is 3<sup>1</sup> מְשִׁעֵנָה וּמְשִׁעֵנָה *stay and staff*, i. e. every kind of support (unless we omit verse 1<sup>b</sup> as a gloss and take *staff* as = *staff-bearer, official*; the list of officials begins in verse 2); cf. Is 16<sup>6</sup>, Pr 8<sup>13</sup>. For similar groupings in the case of persons, see Is 43<sup>6</sup>, 49<sup>22</sup>, 60<sup>4</sup> (*sons and daughters*); 49<sup>23</sup>, Ec 2<sup>6</sup>.

### § 123. The Representation of Plural Ideas by Means of Collectives, and by the Repetition of Words.

a Besides the plural endings treated in § 87 a-i, the language employs other means to express a plurality of living beings or things:

(a) Certain words employed exclusively in a collective sense, while the individual members of the class are denoted by special words (*nomina unitatis*, but not in the same sense as in § 122 t).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. in Greek ἡ ἵππος, *the cavalry* (as well as τὸ ἵππικόν), ἡ κάμηλος, Hdt. 1, 80, &c., *the camel corps*.

Thus **בָּקָר** *cattle, oxen*<sup>1</sup> (even joined with numerals, e.g. Ex 21<sup>37</sup> **חֲמִשָּׁה בָּקָר** *five head of cattle*), but **שׂוֹר** *an ox*; **צֹאן** *small cattle, i. e. sheep and goats* (*μῆλα*), cf. Jb 1<sup>3</sup> **שִׁבְעַת אֲלֵפֵי צֹאן** *seven thousand sheep*; but **שׂוֹה** *a single head of small cattle* (a sheep or a goat). Other more or less common collectives are: **וְיִז** (prop. that which prowls or roams) *wild beasts*, **טָרַף** (perhaps prop. *tripping*) *a number of little children*; **רִשָּׁף** *fresh green herb, i. e. young plants*, **יָרֵק** *green, i. e. vegetation in general*; **עוֹף** *birds, fowl*; **רֶכֶב** *chariots or cavalcade*, **רִמָּה** *worms*, **רִמָּשׁ** *creeping things* (of small creatures), **שִׂרְיָן** *swarming things*.

(b) The collective use of substantives which at the same time serve *b* as *nomina unitatis*; thus, **אָדָם** (never in plur.) means both *man* (*homo*) and *men* (*homines*); **אִישׁ** *a man* (*vir*) and *men* (*viri*); **אִשָּׁה** *woman* and *women* (Ju 21<sup>16</sup>, 1 S 21<sup>6</sup>); **אַרְבֵּה** *a locust*, but usually *a swarm of locusts*; **נַפְשׁוֹת** *soul and souls* (persons); **מַטְּלָה** *staff* and *staves* (Gn 30<sup>37</sup>); **עֵיט** *a bird of prey* and *birds of prey*; **עֵלֶף** *a leaf* and *foliage*; **עֵשֶׂב** *a plant and plants, herbs*; **עֵץ** *a tree and trees* (as it were *foliage*); **פְּרִי** *fruit and fruits*; **שִׁיחַ** *a shrub and shrubs*; in isolated instances also nouns like **עֶבֶד** *man-servant*, **שִׁפְחָה** *maid-servant*, **חֲמֹר** *ass*, **שׂוֹר** *ox* (cf. Gn 32<sup>6</sup>).—On the singular (especially of gentilic names) with the article (which may, however, be omitted in poetry, cf. e.g. ψ 12<sup>2</sup> **הַסִּיד**, Pr 11<sup>14</sup> **יֹעִיץ**) to include all individuals of the same species, cf. § 126 l. On the special meaning of the plurals formed from certain collectives, see § 124 l.

(c) The feminine ending; see § 122 s.

(d) The repetition of single words, and even of whole groups of *c* words, especially to express entirety, or in a distributive sense. The following cases are more particularly to be noticed:

1. The repetition of one or more words to express the idea of *every, all*, as **יּוֹם יּוֹם** Gn 39<sup>10</sup>, &c., *day by day, every day*; **שָׁנָה שָׁנָה** Dt 14<sup>22</sup>; **אִישׁ אִישׁ** *every man*, Ex 36<sup>4</sup>; with **וְ** before each, as **בְּבֹקֶר בְּבֹקֶר** Ex 16<sup>21</sup> *every morning* (and similarly before a group of words, Lv 24<sup>8</sup>), for which the distributive **לְ** is also used, **לְבֹקֶר לְבֹקֶר** 1 Ch 9<sup>27</sup>, and with *one plural* **לְבֹקְרִים** ψ 73<sup>14</sup>, **לְרִנָּעִים** Jb 7<sup>18</sup> parallel with **לְרִנָּעִים** *every moment*. Somewhat different are the instances with **וְ** before the second word only, e.g. **יּוֹם בְּיוֹם** *day by day*, 1 Ch 12<sup>22</sup>; **שָׁנָה בְּשָׁנָה** *year by year*, Dt 15<sup>20</sup>, 1 S 17 (but in verse 3 **בְּפַעַם בְּפַעַם** Nu 24<sup>1</sup>, Ju 16<sup>20</sup>, 20<sup>30</sup><sup>f</sup>, 1 S 3<sup>10</sup> *as at other times*). Also with the two words united by means of *wāw copulative*, **אִישׁ וְאִישׁ** ψ 87<sup>5</sup>, or **אִישׁ וְאִישׁ** Est 1<sup>8</sup>; **דּוֹר וְדוֹר** *all generations*, Dt 32<sup>7</sup>; **יּוֹם וְיוֹם** Est 3<sup>4</sup>; cf. Est 8<sup>9</sup>,

<sup>1</sup> The plural form **בְּקָרִים** from **בָּקָר** is found only in very late Hebrew, Neh 10<sup>87</sup> (where according to the Mantua edition, Ginsburg, &c., even **צֹאֲנֵינוּ** *our sheep*, is also to be read; Baer, however, has **צֹאֲנָנוּ**), and 2 Ch 4<sup>3</sup>. In Am 6<sup>12</sup> read, with Hitzig, **בְּבֹקֶר יֵם**.

Ezr 10<sup>14</sup>, 1 Ch 26<sup>13</sup> and often (cf. Cheyne, *Bampton Lectures*, 1889, p. 479, according to whom the use of the copulative with the second word is especially common in Ch and Est, and therefore belongs to the later language; Driver, *Introd.*<sup>6</sup>, p. 538, No. 35); sometimes (but with the exception of  $\psi$  45<sup>18</sup> only in very late passages) with a pleonastic כֹּל- preceding,  $\psi$  145<sup>13</sup>, Est 2<sup>11</sup>, 9<sup>28</sup>, 2 Ch 11<sup>12</sup>, &c.

d 2. Repetition of words in an expressly distributive sense<sup>1</sup> (which may to some extent be noticed in the examples under c) equivalent to *one each*, &c., e. g. Nu 14<sup>34</sup> *forty days* יוֹם לְשָׁנָה יוֹם לְשָׁנָה *counting for every day a year*; cf. Ez 24<sup>6</sup>, Ex 28<sup>34</sup> (three words repeated); also with the addition of לְבַדְּךָ *apart*, לְבַדְּךָ עָרָר עָרָר *every drove by itself*, Gn 32<sup>17</sup>; cf. Zc 12<sup>12</sup>. Most frequently with the addition of a numeral (for the simple repetition of numerals for the same purpose, cf. § 134 q), and with the words not only in groups of two (Lv 24<sup>8</sup>, Nu 13<sup>2</sup>, 31<sup>4</sup>) or three (Nu 7<sup>11</sup>, 17<sup>21</sup>), but even of six (Ex 26<sup>3</sup>) or seven (Ex 25<sup>33</sup>, 26<sup>19.21.25</sup>); in Ex 25<sup>35</sup> five words even three times repeated.<sup>2</sup>

e 3. Repetition to express an exceptional or at least superlative quality; e. g. 2 K 25<sup>16</sup> *which were of gold, gold, of silver, silver*, i. e. made of pure gold and pure silver; Dt 2<sup>27</sup> בְּדֶרֶךְ בְּדֶרֶךְ *only along by the high way*; cf. Nu 3<sup>8</sup>, 8<sup>16</sup> *they are given, given to him*, i. e. given exclusively for his service, for his very own. Also with a certain hyperbole in such examples as 2 K 3<sup>16</sup> גִּבְיִים גִּבְיִים *nothing but trenches*; Gn 14<sup>10</sup> בְּאַרְתְּ חַמֵּר בְּאַרְתְּ *all asphalt-pits*.—Repetition serves to intensify the expression to the highest degree in Ju 5<sup>22</sup> *by reason of the violent pransings of his strong ones*, Ex 5<sup>10</sup> (*countless heaps*), and Jo 4<sup>14</sup> (*countless multitudes*); cf. also מְעַט מְעַט Ex 23<sup>30</sup> *by little and little, very gradually*; cf. § 133 k.

f 4. Repetition with the copula to express of more than one kind; thus Dt 25<sup>13</sup> (Pr 20<sup>10</sup>) וְאֶבֶן וְאֶבֶן *a weight and a weight*, i. e. two kinds of weight (hence the addition *great and small*);  $\psi$  12<sup>3</sup> בְּלֵב וּבְלֵב *with two kinds of heart*, i. e. *with a double-dealing heart*; cf. the opposite בְּלֵב לֵב 1 Ch 12<sup>33</sup>.

### § 124. The Various Uses of the Plural-form.<sup>3</sup>

a 1. The plural is by no means used in Hebrew solely to express a number of individuals or separate objects, but may also denote them collectively. This use of the plural expresses either (a) a combination of various external constituent parts (plurals of *local extension*), or (b) a more or less intensive focusing of the characteristics inherent in the idea of the stem (*abstract plurals*, usually rendered in English by forms in *-hood*, *-ness*, *-ship*). A variety of the plurals described under (b), in which the secondary idea of *intensity* or of an *internal*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. in the New Testament St. Mark 6<sup>39</sup> f. *συνπόσια συνπόσια, πρασιαί πρασιαί* (Weizsäcker, *tischweise, beetweise*).

<sup>2</sup> These repetitions of larger groups of words belong entirely to the *Priestly Code* in the Pentateuch, and are unquestionably indications of a late period of the language. Of quite a different kind are such examples as Ez 16<sup>6</sup>, where the repetition of four words serves to give greater solemnity to the promise, unless here, as certainly in 1<sup>20</sup>, it is a mere *ditlography*; the LXX omit the repetition in both passages.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Dietrich, 'Über Begriff und Form des hebr. Plurals,' in the *Abhandl. zur hebr. Grammatik*, Leipzig, 1846, p. 2 ff.

*multiplication* of the idea of the stem may be clearly seen, is (c) the *pluralis excellentiae* or *pluralis maiestatis*.

Examples of (a): Plurals of *local extension* to denote localities in general, but especially level surfaces (the *surface-plural*), since in them the idea of a whole composed of innumerable separate parts or points is most evident, as שָׁמַיִם (§ 88 d) *heaven* (cf. also מְרוֹמִים *heights* of heaven, Is 33<sup>16</sup>, Jb 16<sup>19</sup>; elsewhere מְרוֹם); יַמִּים *water*; יָם (the broad surface of the sea) poetically for יָם *sea*; פָּנִים (prop. the side turned towards any one, then) *surface* in general, usually *face*; אַחֲרֵי the back, Ex 26<sup>12</sup>, 33<sup>23</sup>, &c., צַוְאֵרִים *neck, nape of the neck*<sup>1</sup>; also מְרִאשׁוֹת *the place at the head*, מְרַגְלוֹת *place at the feet*; עֵבְרַיִם *place on the other side* (of a river); מַעְמָקִים *depth*, מְרַחֲקִים (also מְרַחֵק) *distance*, מְשַׁבְּבִים *bed*, Gn 49<sup>4</sup> (unless, with Dillmann, it is to be explained in the sense of *double bed*, i.e. *torus*), מְשַׁבְּנִים ψ 46<sup>5</sup>, and מִישְׁבְּנוֹת 43<sup>3</sup>, 84<sup>2</sup>, 132<sup>5</sup>, *dwelling* (perhaps also אֶהְלִים *encampment*, in passages like 1 S 4<sup>10</sup>). The last four belong, however, to poetic style, and are better reckoned amongst the *plurals of amplification* treated under d-f. So perhaps יַצְעִים *bed* (ψ 63<sup>7</sup>, Jb 17<sup>13</sup>; but Gn 49<sup>4</sup>, ψ 132<sup>3</sup>, &c., in the singular); probably, however, יַצְעִים (prop. *strata*) refers to a number of coverings or pillows.

The plural of extension is used to denote a lengthened period of *time* in עוֹלָמִים *eternity* (everlasting ages).

Rem. The plural of extension includes also a few examples which were formerly explained as simply poetic plurals, e.g. Jb 17<sup>1</sup> לִי קְבָרִים *graves are* (ready) for me, i.e. the place where there are many of them (as it were the *graveyard*) is my portion, Jb 21<sup>32</sup>, 2 Ch 16<sup>14</sup>; cf. 2 K 22<sup>20</sup>.

Of (b): the tolerably numerous abstract plurals, mostly of a particular form (*gʷtūlim, gittūlim, &c.*), may be divided into two classes. They sum up either the *conditions* or *qualities* inherent in the idea of the stem, or else the various single *acts* of which an action is composed. Cf. for the first class, בְּחַיִּים and בְּחַיִּוֹת *youth*, זְקֵנִים *old age*, נְעוּרִים *youth*; בְּתוּלִים *maidenhood*, כְּלוּמוֹת *bridal state*; מְנוּרִים *condition of a sojourner*, בְּשָׂרִים *fleshliness* (only in Pr 14<sup>30</sup>), חַיִּים *life* (the abstract idea of the qualities of a living being); שְׁבוּלִים *childlessness*, סְנוּרִים *blindness*, עוֹעִים *perverseness*.

There are also a number of plurals, found almost exclusively in poetry (sometimes along with the singular), which are evidently intended to intensify<sup>2</sup> the idea of the stem (plural of amplification), as אֹנִים *might*, Is 40<sup>26</sup>; אֲמוּנִים (as well as אֲמוּנָה) and אֲמוּנוֹת *faithfulness*; אֲשָׁרִי (according to § 93 i, only in the construct state plural or with suffixes = *the happiness of*), *happy*; כְּוִשְׁרוֹת (complete) *prosperity*, ψ 68<sup>7</sup>; בִּינוֹת Is 27<sup>11</sup> and תְּבוּנוֹת Is 40<sup>14</sup>, &c. (keen) *understanding*; עֵצוֹת (true) *counsel*, Dt 32<sup>28</sup>; הַעֵיִם Jb 37<sup>16</sup> and דַּעוֹת

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the same use of the plural in τὰ στέρνα, τὰ νῶτα, τὰ πράχyla, *praecordia, cervices, fauces*; on plurals of extension in general, cf. the prepositions of place and time in the plur. form, § 103 n. סִפְרִים is not a case in point, in the sense of *letter* (properly a sheet folded into several pages; elsewhere also סִפְרָה) 1 K 21<sup>8</sup> π., 2 K 10<sup>1</sup>, 19<sup>14</sup> (Is 37<sup>14</sup>; referred to afterwards by the singular suffix); Is 39<sup>1</sup>, Jer 29<sup>25</sup>, 32<sup>14</sup> (after being folded, previously סִפְרָה).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. A. Ember, 'The pluralis intensivus in Hebrew,' *AJSL*. 1905, p. 195 ff.

1 S 2<sup>9</sup> (thorough) *knowledge*; בְּפִחוֹת Jb 12<sup>6</sup> and מִבְּטְחֵיהֶם Is 32<sup>18</sup> (full) *confidence*; בְּרִכּוֹת (abundant) *blessing*, ψ 21<sup>7</sup>; גְּבוּרוֹת (exceptional) *strength*, Jb 41<sup>4</sup>; הַגּוֹת ψ 51<sup>10</sup> (very) *wickedness*; הַמּוֹדוֹת Dn 9<sup>23</sup> (greatly) *beloved*; הַחַמּוֹת ψ 76<sup>11</sup>, &c. (fierce) *wrath*; תְּרַפּוֹת Dn 12<sup>2</sup> (utter) *contempt*; יִשְׁעוֹת (real) *help*, Is 26<sup>18</sup>, &c.; מְרֵאוֹת Gn 46<sup>2</sup> (an important) *vision*; מִישְׁרָיִם מִישְׁרָיִם *uprightness*; תְּהַפְּכוֹת *perversity*; נִקְמוֹת (complete) *vengeance*, Ju 11<sup>36</sup>, &c.; מַחְשְׁפֵי־חַיִּים and חֵשְׁכֵי־חַיִּים (thick) *darkness*; מִסְתָּרִים a (close) *hiding-place*; נְגִידִים *nobility*; שְׁמָנִים Is 28<sup>1</sup> *fatness*; צַחְצְחוֹת (complete) *aridity*; מִמְתָּקִים *sweetness*; מִחֲמָדִים *preciousness*; שְׂשׂוּעִים *delight*; עֲרֵנִים and תַּעֲנֻגִים *pleasure*; רַחֲמִים *compassion*; מְנוּחָה ψ 23<sup>2</sup> *rest, refreshment*; מְהוֹמָה Am 3<sup>9</sup> *tumult*. Probably also יְרִידַת (heartfelt) *love*, ψ 45<sup>1</sup>; מְרוֹת (extreme) *bitterness*, Jb 13<sup>26</sup>; מְרֵמוֹת (base) *deceit*, ψ 38<sup>13</sup>; צְדָקוֹת (true) *righteousness*, Is 33<sup>15</sup>, &c.; שְׂמָחוֹת (the highest) *joy*, ψ 16<sup>11</sup>. On the other hand, חֲכָמוֹת *wisdom* (Pr 1<sup>20</sup>, &c.) can hardly be a plural (=the essence of wisdom, or wisdom personified), but is a singular (see § 86 l).

A further extension of this plural of amplification occurs according to P. Haupt's very probable suggestion (*SBOT. Proverbs*, p. 40, line 50, &c.) in אַרְיִים *the great river* (of the Nile, generally אֵיָר Is 7<sup>18</sup>, 19<sup>6</sup> (though with the predicate in the plural), Ez 30<sup>12</sup>, ψ 78<sup>44</sup>, but in Is 37<sup>25</sup>, Ez 29<sup>3</sup> the usual explanation, *arms or channels of the Nile*, can hardly be avoided; also in נְהַרוֹת ψ 24<sup>2</sup> of the ocean, which encircles the earth, 137<sup>1</sup> of the *great river*, i. e. the Euphrates, but in Is 18<sup>1</sup> נְהַרֵי כּוּשׁ is evidently a numerical plural.—In Pr 16<sup>13</sup> מְלָכִים (acc. to P. Haupt=the *great king*) is very doubtful. In נְשִׂיאֵי Ez 19<sup>1</sup> the second *yôdh* is evidently due to dittography, since יִשְׂרָאֵל follows.

f The summing up of the several parts of an action is expressed in חֲנֻטִים *embalming*, כְּפָרִים *atonement*, מְלֵאִים (prop. *filling*, sc. of the hand) *ordination to the priesthood*, שְׁלָחִים *dismissal*, שְׁלֵמִים *retribution*, פְּתָחִים *engraving* (of a seal, &c.); אֲהָבִים *fornication*, זְנוּנִים *whoredom*, נְאֻפִים *adultery*; נְחָמִים (prop. no doubt, warm compassion) *consolation*, תְּחִנוּנִים *supplication*, נְדָדִים Jb 7<sup>4</sup> (restless) *tossing to and fro*, פְּלֵאִים *wonder* La 1<sup>9</sup>, עֲלֵלוֹת *gleaning*; perhaps also נְגִינּוֹת ψ 4<sup>1</sup>, 6<sup>1</sup>, &c., if it means the *playing on stringed instruments*, and שְׁלֹמֹנִים Is 1<sup>23</sup> *bribery*, unless it be a plural of number.<sup>1</sup>

g Of (c): the *pluralis excellentiae* or *maiestatis*, as has been remarked above, is properly a variety of the abstract plural, since it sums up the several characteristics<sup>2</sup> belonging to the idea, besides possessing the secondary sense of an *intensification* of the original idea. It is thus closely related to the plurals of amplification, treated under *e*, which are mostly found in poetry.

<sup>1</sup> Mayer Lambert in *REJ.* xxiv. 106 ff., enumerates no less than ninety-five words ending in *im*, which in his opinion are to be regarded as *pluralia tantum*.

<sup>2</sup> The Jewish grammarians call such plurals רְבוּי הַפְּחוֹת *plur. virium* or *virtutum*; later grammarians call them *plur. excellentiae*, *magnitudinis*, or *plur. maiestaticus*. This last name may have been suggested by the *ue* used by kings when speaking of themselves (cf. already 1 Macc. 10<sup>19</sup>, 11<sup>31</sup>); and the plural used by God in Gn 1<sup>26</sup>, 11<sup>7</sup>, Is 6<sup>8</sup> has been incorrectly explained in this way. It is, however, either *communicative* (including the attendant angels; so at all events in Is 6<sup>8</sup>, cf. also Gn 3<sup>22</sup>), or according to others, an indication of the *fullness of power and might* implied in אֱלֹהִים (see Dillmann on Gn 1<sup>26</sup>); but it is best explained as a plural of *self-deliberation*. The use of the plural as a form of respectful address is quite foreign to Hebrew.

So especially אֱלֹהִים *Godhead, God* (to be distinguished from the numerical plural *gods*, Ex 12<sup>12</sup>, &c.). The supposition that אֱלֹהִים is to be regarded as merely a remnant of earlier polytheistic views (i. e. as originally only a numerical plural) is at least highly improbable, and, moreover, would not explain the analogous plurals (see below). That the language has entirely rejected the idea of numerical plurality in אֱלֹהִים (whenever it denotes *one* God), is proved especially by its being almost invariably joined with a singular attribute (cf. § 132 h), e. g. אֱלֹהִים צָרִיךְ ψ 7<sup>10</sup>, &c. Hence אֱלֹהִים may have been used originally not only as a numerical but also as an abstract plural (corresponding to the Latin *numen*, and our *Godhead*), and, like other abstracts of the same kind, have been transferred to a concrete single god (even of the heathen).

To the same class (and probably formed on the analogy of אֱלֹהִים) belong הַ the plurals קְדוּשִׁים *the Most Holy* (only of Yahweh), Ho 12<sup>1</sup>, Pr 9<sup>10</sup>, 30<sup>3</sup> (cf. Jos 24<sup>19</sup>, and the Aram. עֲלִיוֹנִין *the Most High*, Dn 7<sup>18.22.25</sup>); and probably הַרְפִּים (usually taken in the sense of *penates*) the image of a god, used especially for obtaining oracles. Certainly in 1 S 19<sup>13.16</sup> only *one* image is intended; in most other places a single image *may* be intended<sup>1</sup>; in Zc 10<sup>2</sup> alone is it most naturally taken as a numerical plural. In Ec 5<sup>7</sup> גְּבוּהִים *supremus* (of God) is doubtful; according to others it is a numerical plural, *superiores*.

Further, אֲרָנִים, as well as the singular אֲרוֹן, (lordship) *lord*, e. g. אֲרָנִים קָשָׁה *a cruel lord*, Is 19<sup>4</sup>; אֲרָנִי הָאָרֶץ *the lord of the land*, Gn 42<sup>30</sup>, cf. Gn 32<sup>19</sup>; so especially with the suffixes of the 2nd and 3rd persons אֲרָנְךָ, אֲרָנָיו, ψ 45<sup>12</sup>, אֲרָנִי, &c., also אֲרָנֵינוּ (except 1 S 16<sup>16</sup>); but in 1st sing. always אֲרָנִי.<sup>2</sup> So also בְּעָלִים (with suffixes) *lord, master* (of slaves, cattle, or inanimate things; but in the sense of *maritus*, always in the singular), e. g. בְּעָלָי Ex 21<sup>29</sup>, Is 1<sup>8</sup>, &c.<sup>3</sup>

On the other hand, we must regard as doubtful a number of participles in הַ the plural, which, being used as attributes of God, resemble *plurales excellentiae*; thus, עֹשֵׂי *my Maker*, Jb 35<sup>10</sup>; עֹשֵׂיךָ Is 54<sup>5</sup>; עֹשֵׂיו ψ 149<sup>2</sup>; עֹשֵׂיהָ Is 22<sup>11</sup>; נֹטְתֵיהֶם *stretching them out*, Is 42<sup>6</sup>; for all these forms may also be explained as singular, according to § 93 ss.<sup>4</sup>—נֹגְשֵׁיו Is 3<sup>12</sup> might also be regarded as another instance, unless it be a numerical plural, *their oppressors*; moreover, מְרִימוֹ *him who lifteth it up*, Is 10<sup>15</sup> (but read probably מְרִימוֹ); שֵׁלְחָיו *him who sendeth him*, Pr 10<sup>26</sup>, 22<sup>21</sup> (so Baer, but Ginsburg שֵׁלְחָךְ), 25<sup>18</sup> (in parallelism with אֲרָנֵינוּ). These latter plurals, however (including מְרִימוֹ), may probably be more simply explained as indicating an indefinite individual, cf. o below.—For שֹׁמְרֵיךְ ψ 121<sup>5</sup> (*textus receptus*) and בּוֹרְאֵיךְ Ec 12<sup>1</sup> (*textus receptus*) the singular should be read, with Baer.

<sup>1</sup> Even in Gn 31<sup>34</sup>, notwithstanding the plural suffix in וַתִּשְׁמַעַם, since the construction of these abstracts as numerical plurals is one of the peculiarities of the E-document of the Hexateuch; cf. Gn 20<sup>13</sup>, 35<sup>7</sup>, and § 145 i.

<sup>2</sup> On אֲרָנִי (for אֲרָנִי) as a name of God, cf. § 135 g.

<sup>3</sup> Euting, *Reise in Arabien*, p. 61, mentions the interesting fact that the subjects of the Emir of Hâyel commonly speak of their ruler as *šiyûkh*, a plur. majestatis = *the great sheikh*.

<sup>4</sup> בְּעָלָי, which in Is 54<sup>5</sup> is in parallelism with עֹשֵׂיךָ, must then be explained as merely formed on analogy.

- l Rem. 1. (a) Coherent substances, &c., are mostly regarded as *single*, and are, accordingly, almost always represented by nouns in the singular, cf. כֶּבֶד *fine dust*, אֲפֹרָה *ashes*, בֵּן *linen*, בְּרִיל *lead*, זָהָב *gold*, כֶּסֶף *silver*, נְחֹשֶׁת *brass*, חֶלֶב *milk*, יַיִן *wine*, עָפָר *dust*, הָאָרֶץ *the ground*, עֵץ *wood*. Plurals are, however, formed from some of these words expressing materials in order to denote separate portions taken from the whole in manufacture (*plurals of the result*) or parts otherwise detached from it; thus, בְּרֵימ *linen garments*; כֶּסֶפִּים *silver pieces*, Gn 42<sup>25,35</sup>; נְחֹשֶׁתַיִם (dual) *fetters of brass*; עֵצִים *ligna* (*timber for building or sticks for burning*); also in a wider sense, בְּרִילִים particles of *alloy to be separated by smelting*, Is 1<sup>26</sup>; עֲפָרוֹת *fragments of earth*, Pr 8<sup>26</sup>, cf. Jb 28<sup>6</sup> עֲפָרַת זָהָב *dust of gold*.
- m (b) To the class of *plurals of the result* belong also a few names of natural products, when represented in an artificial condition; thus, חֲטָיִם *wheat in grain* (threshed wheat), as distinguished from חֲטָה *wheat* (used collectively) in the ear; cf. the same distinction between בְּפִמִּים and בְּפִמָּת *spell*; עֲרֻשִׁים and עֲרֻשָׁה (the singular preserved only in the Mishna) *lentils*; שְׁעִירִים and שְׁעִירָה *barley*; also פְּשָׁתִים *linen*, פְּשֵׁתָה (to be inferred from פְּשָׁתִי) *flax*.
- n (c) Finally, the distinction between דָּם *blood* and דְּמַיִם requires to be specially noticed. The singular is always used when the blood is regarded as an organic unity, hence also of menstrual blood, and the blood of sacrifices (collected in the basin and then sprinkled), and in Nu 23<sup>24</sup> of the blood gushing from wounds. On the other hand, דְּמַיִם as a sort of plural of the result and at the same time of local extension, denotes *blood which is shed*, when it appears as blood-stains (Is 1<sup>16</sup>) or as blood-marks (so evidently in Is 9<sup>4</sup>). But since blood-stains or blood-marks, as a rule, suggest blood shed in murder (although דְּמַיִם also denotes the blood which flows at childbirth or in circumcision), דְּמַיִם acquired (even in very early passages) simply the sense of a *bloody deed*, and especially of *bloodguiltiness*, Ex 22<sup>1f</sup>, &c.
- o In some few cases the plural is used to denote an indefinite singular; certainly so in Dt 17<sup>5</sup> אֶל-שַׁעֲרֵיךָ *unto one of thy gates*; Zc 9<sup>9</sup> בְּוַתְּאֲתָנוֹת (cf. Ct 2<sup>9</sup>); Ex 21<sup>22</sup> יִלְדֶיָּהּ (where evidently only *one* child is thought of, though certainly in connexion with a contingency which may be repeated); cf. also Ec 4<sup>10</sup> (*if one of them fall*).—So probably also Gn 8<sup>4</sup>, 1 S 17<sup>43</sup>, Dn 2<sup>1</sup>, Neh 3<sup>8, 62</sup>; but not Gn 19<sup>29</sup>, since the same document (Gn 13<sup>12</sup>) makes Lot dwell in the cities of the Jordan valley; in Gn 21<sup>7</sup> בָּנִים denotes the class with which the action is concerned. In Ju 12<sup>7</sup> instead of the unusual בְּעָרֵי גִלְעָד *in the cities of Gilead* (formerly explained here as *in one of the cities of Gilead*) we should most probably read, with Moore (*SBOT. Judges*, p. 52), בְּעָירוֹ בְּמִצְפֵּה גִלְעָד *in his city, in Mizpeh* (in) *Gilead*.
- p 2. When a substantive is followed by a genitive, and the compound idea thus formed is to be expressed in the plural, this is done—
- (a) Most naturally by using the plural of the *nomen regens*, e.g. גִּבּוֹרֵי הַיָּל *mighty men of valour* (prop. heroes of strength), 1 Ch 7<sup>2,9</sup>; so also in compounds, e.g. בְּנֵי יַמִּינִי 1 S 22<sup>7</sup>, as the plur. of בְּנֵי יַמִּינִי *Benjamite*; but also
- q (b) By using the plural of *both* nouns,<sup>1</sup> e.g. גִּבּוֹרֵי הַיָּלִים 1 Ch 7<sup>5</sup>;

<sup>1</sup> Cf. König, *Lehrgebäude*, ii. 438 f., according to whom the plural of the principal word exercises an influence on the determining genitive.

שְׁנֵי־לֶחֶת אֲבָנִים, and in prison houses, Is 42<sup>22</sup>; cf. Ex 34<sup>1</sup>, &c., two tables of stone (but Ex 31<sup>18</sup> לֶחֶת אֶבֶן); Nu 13<sup>32</sup>, Dt 1<sup>28</sup>, Jos 5<sup>2</sup>, 6<sup>4</sup>, 2 K 14<sup>14</sup>, 25<sup>23</sup>, Is 51<sup>9</sup>, Jer 41<sup>16</sup>, Ezr 3<sup>3</sup>, &c. עַמֵּי הָאָרֶצוֹת the people of the country; 2 Ch 26<sup>14</sup>; so perhaps בְּנֵי אֱלֹהִים sons of God, ψ 29<sup>1</sup>, 89<sup>7</sup> (according to others sons of gods); or finally even

(c) By using the plural of the *nomen rectum*; <sup>1</sup> e. g. בֵּית אָבוֹת Ex 6<sup>14</sup>, r Nu 1<sup>2.4<sup>ff.</sup></sup>, &c., as plur. of בֵּית אָב father's house, family; בֵּית הַבָּמֹת the houses of the high places, 2 K 17<sup>29</sup> (also בְּתֵי הַבָּמֹת 23<sup>19</sup>); בֵּית עֲצָבֵיהֶם the houses of their idols, 1 S 31<sup>9</sup>, Ez 46<sup>24</sup>; cf. also Ju 7<sup>25</sup> the head of Oreb and Zeeb, i. e. the heads, &c.

Rem. When a substantive (in a distributive sense) with a suffix refers *s* back to a plural, the singular form of the substantive suffices, since the idea of plurality is already adequately expressed by the suffix, e. g. בְּיָמוֹ os (for ora) eorum, ψ 17<sup>10</sup>; יְמִינָם their right hand, ψ 144<sup>8</sup> [so in the English RV.], for hands.

## § 125. *Determination of Nouns in general. Determination of Proper Names.*

Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, i. 466 ff.

1. A noun may either be determinate in itself, as a proper name *a* or pronoun (see below, *d* and *i*), or be made so by its context. In the latter case, the determination may be effected either by prefixing the article (see § 126), or by the connexion of the noun (in the construct state) with a following determinate genitive, and consequently also (according to § 33 c) by its union with a pronominal suffix (§ 127 a). It is to be taken as a fundamental rule, that the determination can only be effected in *one* of the ways here mentioned; the article cannot be prefixed to a proper name, nor to a noun followed by the genitive, nor can a proper name be used in the construct state. Deviations from this rule are either only apparent or have arisen from a corruption of the text.

Rem. Only in a few passages is a noun made expressly *indeterminate* by the addition of אֶחָד in the sense of our indefinite article; cf. Ex 16<sup>33</sup>, Ju 9<sup>53</sup>, 13<sup>2</sup>, 1 S 1<sup>1</sup>, 7<sup>9.12</sup>, 1 K 13<sup>11</sup>, 19<sup>4</sup>, 20<sup>13</sup>, 22<sup>9</sup>, 2 K 4<sup>1</sup>, 8<sup>6</sup>, 12<sup>10</sup>, Ez 8<sup>8</sup>, Dn 8<sup>3</sup>, 10<sup>6</sup> (in 8<sup>13</sup> אֶחָד קָדוֹשׁ i. e. *one*, viz. *a holy one*, is opposed to another).

It is further to be noticed, that in Hebrew the phenomenon sometimes *c* occurs, which the Arab grammarians call *indeterminateness for the sake of amplification*; e. g. Is 31<sup>8</sup> and he shall flee מִפְּנֵי־חֶרֶב from a sword, i. e. from an irresistible sword (God's sword); cf. Is 28<sup>2</sup> בֵּינֵךְ; 2 S 6<sup>2</sup> נָשִׁים; Ho 3<sup>1</sup> אִשָּׁה such a woman, without doubt to be referred to the Gomer mentioned in cap. 1;

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, i. 482.

Am 6<sup>14</sup> גֹּיִם;  $\psi$  בְּרִיעַ 7<sup>16</sup>; Pr 21<sup>12</sup> צָרִיךְ, if with Delitzsch it is to be referred to God; Jb 8<sup>10</sup> מְלִים meaning *important words*, but in 15<sup>13</sup> מְלִין *reproachful words*. Cf. on this point, § 117 q, note 3, and Delitzsch, *Psalmen*, ed. 4, p. 79.

d 2. Real *proper nouns*, as being the names of things (or persons) only *once* met with, are sufficiently determinate in themselves. Such names, therefore, as יהוה, דָּוִד, יַעֲקֹב, בְּנֵעַן, פָּרֹם do not admit of the article,<sup>1</sup> nor can they be in the construct state. On the other hand, not only *gentilic* names (as denoting the *various* individuals belonging to the same class), but also all those proper names, of which the appellative sense is still sufficiently evident to the mind, or at least has been handed down from an earlier period of the language, frequently (often even as a rule) take the article (according to § 126 e), and may even be followed by a genitive.

e Examples. Like the above-mentioned proper names of individuals, countries, and cities, so also national names, which are identical in form with the name of the founder of the race (e.g. יִשְׂרָאֵל, אָדָם, מוֹאָב), are always determinate in themselves. Of gentilic names (e.g. הָעִבְרִי *the Hebrew*, הָעִבְרִים *the Hebrews*, Gn 40<sup>15</sup>; הַכְּנַעֲנִי *the Canaanite*) the plural פְּלִשְׁתִּים, even when meaning *the Philistines*, is generally used without the article (but in 1 S 4<sup>7</sup>, &c., הַפִּזָּה); so always בְּפִתְרִים.—Evident appellatives (like such modern names as *the Hague*, *le Havre*) are הַגְּבֵעָה *the hill*, in the construct state גְּבַעַת שְׂאוּל, i. e. *the Gibeah named after Saul* to distinguish it from others; הַרְמָה *the height*; הֶעָי *the heap*; הַלְבָּנוֹן (prop. *the white mountain*) *the Lebanon*; הַיָּאֵר (prop. *the river*) *the Nile*, cf. Am 8<sup>8</sup> בְּיַאֲוֵר מִצְרַיִם *like the river of Egypt*; הַיַּרְדֵּן *the Jordan* (according to Seybold, *Mittheil. und Nachr. des DPV.*, 1896, p. 11, probably *the drinking-place* [ירד, Arab. *warada*, meaning orig. *to go down to drink*]).

f Rem. 1. In a few instances original appellatives have completely assumed the character of real proper names, and are therefore used without the article; thus אֱלֹהִים *God*, to denote the one true God (as elsewhere יהוה) Gn 1<sup>1</sup> and so generally in this document of the Pentateuch up to Ex 6, elsewhere sometimes הָאֱלֹהִים ὁ θεός (cf. § 126 e); also the sing. אֱלֹהֵי *God*, עֲלִיּוֹן *the Most High*, and שְׂדֵי *the Almighty* never take the article.—Moreover, אָדָם *Adam* from Gn 5<sup>1</sup> onwards (previously in 2<sup>7</sup>, &c., הָאָדָם *the first man*); שָׂטָן *Satan*, 1 Ch 21<sup>1</sup> (but Zc 3<sup>1</sup>, Jb 1<sup>6</sup>, &c., הַשָּׂטָן *the adversary*); cf. אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד *the tent of revelation* (i. e. *the tabernacle*), always without the article.

g To the class of nouns originally appellative, which the language regards

<sup>1</sup> Consequently, הַמְּנַשֶּׁה Dt 3<sup>13</sup>, Jos 1<sup>12</sup>, &c. (in the Deuteronomist) in the combination הַמְּנַשֶּׁה שִׁבְטֵי (for which elsewhere מְנַשֶּׁה) is to be regarded *not* as a proper name but as a gentilic name (= *the tribe of the Manassites*), for which in Dt 29<sup>7</sup> הַמְּנַשֶּׁה שֵׁשׁ is used, as in 10<sup>8</sup> הַלֵּוִי שֵׁשׁ *the tribe of the Levites*, and in Ju 18<sup>1</sup> הַדָּנִי שֵׁשׁ *the tribe of the Danites*.—In Jos 13<sup>7</sup> הַמְּנַשֶּׁה (like gentilic names in '—) is even used adjectivally.

as proper names, and which consequently never take the article, belong also certain archaic words mostly used only by poets, such as שְׁאוֹל *Hades*, תְּבֵל *world*, תְּהוֹם *ocean*, of the body of water which encircles the earth, Gn 1<sup>2</sup>, &c.; but Is 63<sup>13</sup>, ψ 106<sup>9</sup> בְּתַהֲמוֹת *through the depths*, viz. of the Red Sea.<sup>1</sup>

2. When nouns which the usage of the language always treats as proper names occasionally appear to be connected with a following genitive, this is really owing to an ellipse whereby the noun which really governs the genitive, i. e. the appellative idea contained in the proper name, is suppressed. So evidently in the case of יהוה צְבָאוֹת *Yahweh (the God) of hosts*; the fuller form יהוה אֱלֹהֵי צְבָאוֹת 2 S 5<sup>10</sup>, &c., or יהוה אֱלֹהֵי הַצְבָּאוֹת Am 3<sup>13</sup>, &c., is a secondary expansion of the original יהוה צְבָאוֹת; אֱלֹהִים צְבָאוֹת in ψ 59<sup>6</sup>, 80<sup>15.20</sup>, 84<sup>9</sup> is due to the mechanical substitution of אֱלֹהִים for יהוה affected in the 2nd and part of the 3rd book of the Psalms. So also in geographical names such as אֹרֶם נְהַרִים *Uram (the city) of the Chaldees*, Gn 11<sup>28</sup>; אֲרָם נְהַרִים *Aram (the region) of the two rivers*; בֵּית לָחֶם יְהוּדָה *Bethlehem (the city) of Judah*; אָבֶל בֵּית מַעֲבָה 2 S 20<sup>14</sup>, &c., to distinguish it from אָבֶל מַיִם *Abel by the water*, 2 Ch 16<sup>4</sup>; יְבִישׁ גִּלְעָד 1 S 11<sup>1</sup>, &c.; יִרְדֵּן יִרְחוֹ Nu 22<sup>1</sup>, 26<sup>3.63</sup>, &c.; on Ju 8<sup>32</sup> cf. § 128 c; צִיּוֹן קְדוֹשׁ יִשְׂרָאֵל *the Zion of the Holy One of Israel*, Is 60<sup>14</sup>; but in 1 S 1<sup>1</sup> for צוֹפִים read צוּפִי *a Zuphite*. Some of these examples (cf. also Am 6<sup>2</sup>) come very near to the actual construct state (cf. above, גִּבְעַת שְׂאוֹל), since e.g. the addition of the genitive serves to distinguish the place from four others called Aram (see the Lexicon), or from another Bethlehem. Aram, Bethlehem, &c., are accordingly no longer names found only in one special sense, and therefore also are no longer proper names in the strictest sense.

3. Of the pronouns, the personal pronouns proper (the separate *i* pronouns, § 32) are always determinate in themselves, since they can denote only definite individuals (the 3rd person, also definite things). For the same reason the demonstrative pronouns (§ 34) are also determinate in themselves, when they stand *alone* (as equivalent to substantives), either as subject (Gn 5<sup>29</sup>) or as predicate (e.g. יוֹם הַיּוֹם *this is the day*, Ju 4<sup>14</sup>; אֵלֶּה הַדְּבָרִים *these are the words*, Dt 1<sup>1</sup>), or as object (e.g. אֶת-זוֹאת 2 S 13<sup>17</sup>), or as genitive (יוֹם מַחִיר 1 K 21<sup>2</sup>), or finally when joined to a preposition (לְזוֹאת Gn 2<sup>23</sup>; בְּיוֹם 1 S 16<sup>8</sup>, see § 102 g).

So also the personal pronouns הִיא, הֵיא, הֵם, הֵמָּה, הֵנָּה when they *k* are used as demonstratives (= *is, ea, id, ille, &c.*) are always determinate in themselves, e.g. הוּא הַדְּבָר *that is the thing*, Gn 41<sup>28</sup>. They

<sup>1</sup> That various other words, such as אָנוֹשׁ *man*, צִלְמוֹת *deep darkness*, רִיָּן *prince*, שְׂרֵי *field*, תְּהוֹשִׁיָּה *effectual working*, are always found without the article is not to be attributed to any special archaism, but is to be explained from the fact that they belong solely to poetic language, which avoids the article; in other cases, such as תְּהוֹמָה *deep sleep*, there is no occasion for the article in the passages we possess.

are made determinate by the article, when they are joined like adjectives (see § 126 *u*) with a determinate substantive, e. g. הַזֶּה הָאִישׁ הַזֶּה *this man*; הַאֲנָשִׁים הַהֵם *these men*; וּבַיָּמֵי הַהֵמָּה וּבָעֵת הַהִיא *in those days, and in that time*, Jo 4<sup>1</sup>. The demonstrative, however, even in this case, is frequently used *without* the article, as being sufficiently determinate in itself (cf. § 126 *y*).

### § 126. Determination by Means of the Article.

*a* 1. The article (הַ, הָ, הֵ, § 35) was originally, as in other languages (clearly in the Romance; cf. also *ὁ, ἡ, τὸ* in Homer), a demonstrative pronoun. The demonstrative force of the article, apart from its occasional use as a relative pronoun (see § 138 *i*), appears now, however, only (*a*) in a few standing phrases, and (*b*) in a certain class of statements or exclamations.

*b* (*a*) Cf. הַיּוֹם *this day, hodie* (§ 100 *c*); הַלַּיְלָה *this night*, Gn 19<sup>34</sup>; הַפֶּעַם *this time*, Gn 2<sup>25</sup>; הַשָּׁנָה *this year* (= in this year) Is 37<sup>30</sup>, Jer 28<sup>16</sup>.

(*b*) includes those instances in which the article, mostly when prefixed to a participle, joins on a new statement concerning a preceding noun. Although such participles, &c., are no doubt primarily regarded always as in apposition to a preceding substantive, the article nevertheless has in some of these examples almost the force of הַיּוֹם (הַיָּמָּה, הַיּוֹם) as the subject of a noun-clause; e. g. *ψ* 19<sup>10</sup> *the judgements of the Lord are true . . . , verse 11 וְגַם הַפְּחָמִים וְגַם הַמְּבִטִים* prop. *the more to be desired than gold*, i. e. *they are more to be desired, or even they, that are more to be desired*,<sup>1</sup> &c.; cf. Gn 49<sup>21</sup>, Is 40<sup>22 f.</sup>, 44<sup>27 f.</sup>, 46<sup>6</sup>, Am 2<sup>7</sup>, 5<sup>7</sup>, *ψ* 33<sup>15</sup>, 49<sup>7</sup> הַבְּמִתִּים in the parallel half of the verse continued by a finite verb); *ψ* 104<sup>3</sup>, Jb 6<sup>16</sup>, 28<sup>4</sup>, 30<sup>3</sup>, 41<sup>25</sup> and frequently. When such a participle has another co-ordinate with it, the latter is used *without* the article, since according to the above it strictly speaking represents a second predicate, and as such, according to *i*, remains indeterminate; e. g. Jb 5<sup>10</sup> *who giveth (הַנֹּתֵן) rain, &c., and sendeth (וְשֵׁלַח) &c.*

*C* The article is sometimes used with similar emphasis before a substantive, which serves as the subject of a compound sentence (§ 140 *d*); e. g. Dt 32<sup>4</sup> הַצֵּיִר הַתָּמִים פֶּעֲלוֹ i. e. as a fresh statement (not in apposition to the preceding dative), really equivalent to *he is a rock, perfect in his work* (i. e. *whose work is perfect*); cf. *ψ* 18<sup>31</sup>.

*d* 2. The article is, generally speaking, employed to determine a substantive wherever it is required by Greek and English; thus:

(*a*) When a person or thing already spoken of is mentioned again, and is consequently more definite to the mind of the hearer or reader; e. g. Gn 1<sup>3</sup> *and God said, Let there be light: verse 4 and God saw the light (וַאֲתֵתְהָאוֹר)*; 1 K 3<sup>24</sup> *fetch me a sword: and they brought the sword*; Ec 9<sup>15</sup>. (In 2 S 12<sup>2</sup> therefore לְעֵשִׂיר must be read.)

<sup>1</sup> On the analogous use of the article before participles which have a verbal suffix, as in *ψ* 18<sup>33</sup>, &c., cf. above, § 116 *f*.



i (i) On the other hand, the article is always omitted when a person or thing is to be represented as indefinite (or indefinable) or as yet unknown; consequently also before the predicate, since this is from its nature always a general term, under which the subject is included, e.g. Gn 29<sup>7</sup> עוֹר הַיּוֹם גָּדוֹל *as yet the day is great*, i.e. it is yet high day; 33<sup>13</sup>, 40<sup>18</sup>, 41<sup>26</sup>, Is 66<sup>8</sup>.

k Rem. 1. As exceptions to the above rule it is usual to regard those examples in which a determinate adjective or participle (equivalent to a relative clause) is used apparently as a predicate, e.g. Gn 2<sup>11</sup> הוּא הַפֶּקֶב *it is the compassing*, i.e. *that is it which compasseth*; 42<sup>6</sup>, 45<sup>12</sup>, Ex 9<sup>27</sup>, Dt 3<sup>21</sup>, 8<sup>18</sup>, 11<sup>7</sup>, 1 S 4<sup>16</sup>, Is 14<sup>27</sup>, Mal 3<sup>2</sup> (cf. in Greek, e.g. St. Mat. 10<sup>20</sup>, where Winer, *Gram. des newest. Sprachidioms*, § 58, 2, Rem., explains *οἱ λαλοῦντες* as a predicate with the article). In reality, however, these supposed predicates are rather subjects (acc. to § 116 q), and the only peculiarity of these cases is that the subject is not included under a general idea, but is equated with the predicate.

2. Sometimes the article is used with only one of two parallel words, as Na 1<sup>5</sup> הַרִים and הַנְּבִעוֹת, 2 Ch 3<sup>17</sup> מִיָּמִין and מִהַשְּׂמֹאל.

l 3. The use of the article to determine the *class* is more extensive in Hebrew than in most other languages. In this case the article indicates universally known, closely circumscribed, and therefore well defined classes of persons or things. The special cases to be considered are—

m (a) The employment of general names as collectives in the singular, to denote the *sum total* of individuals belonging to the class (which may, however, be done just as well by the plural); e.g. *the righteous, the wicked man*, Ec 3<sup>17</sup>; *the woman*, i.e. *the female sex*, 7<sup>26</sup>; הַיָּאֵיב *th. enemy*, i.e. *the enemies* (?) ψ 9<sup>7</sup>; הַאֲרֵב *the liar in wait*, i.e. *the liars in wait*; הַחֲלָיִין *the armed man*, i.e. *soldiers*; הַמְּאַפֵּף *the rearguard*; הַפּוֹשְׁתִּית *the spoiler*, 1 S 13<sup>17</sup>;<sup>1</sup> so also (as in English) with names of animals, when something is asserted of them, which applies to the whole species, e.g. 2 S 17<sup>10</sup> *as the courage of הַאֲרִיָּה the lion*. Especially also with gentile names, e.g. *the Canaanite*, Gn 13<sup>7</sup> (cf. 15<sup>19f.</sup>); so in English *the Russian, the Turk, &c.*, in Attic writers *ὁ Ἀθηναῖος, ὁ Συρακόσιος, &c.*

n (b) Names of materials known everywhere, the elements and other words denoting classes, even though only a part and not the whole of them is considered, in which case in other languages, as e.g. in English, the article is usually omitted (cf., however, our *to fall into the water, into the fire, &c.*), e.g. Gn 13<sup>2</sup> and *Abram was very rich* וּבְהֶבֶה וּבַכֶּסֶף וּבַמֶּקֶה *in cattle, in silver and in gold*; Jbs 11<sup>9</sup> and *he burnt their chariots* בְּאֵשׁ *with fire*; cf. Gn 6<sup>14</sup>, 41<sup>42</sup> (unless this means, *the chain* necessarily belonging to the official dress); Ex 2<sup>3</sup>, 31<sup>4</sup> (35<sup>32</sup>), Is 1<sup>22</sup>, &c. and בְּשֶׁמֶן *with oil*<sup>2</sup> very commonly in the sacrificial laws, Ex 29<sup>2</sup>,

<sup>1</sup> But in Ex 12<sup>23</sup> הַמֹּרֵס is either to be explained as *the destroyer* (now mentioned for the first time) according to q, or a particular angel is meant whose regular function it was to inflict punishments. Others again take הַמֹּרֵס even in Ex 12<sup>23</sup> impersonally = *destruction*.

<sup>2</sup> In nearly all the above examples the presence of the article is only indicated by the vowel of the prefix (בְּ, בַּ, בִּ) and might therefore be merely

&c., and also Dt 33<sup>24</sup>, 2 S 1<sup>21</sup>, Is 1<sup>6</sup>, ψ 23<sup>5</sup>, &c. Similarly the article is used with terms of measurement, as האַפָּה Ex 16<sup>36</sup>, &c.: החֶמֶר and הַבֵּת Ez 45<sup>11</sup>; העֶמֶר Ex 16<sup>22</sup>; בַּחֶבֶל 2 S 8<sup>2</sup>.

(c) The expression of abstract ideas of every kind, since they are likewise used to represent whole classes of attributes or states, physical or moral defects, &c.; e.g. Pr 25<sup>5</sup> (בְּצֹרֶךְ); Gn 19<sup>11</sup> and they smote the men . . . בַּפְּגָמִים with blindness; Am 4<sup>9</sup>, &c.; but in הַחֲטָיִת Is 60<sup>2</sup> the article is no doubt due to dittography of the ה, and the parallel וְעֶרְפָּל has no article.

(d) Comparisons, since the object compared is treated not (as usually in O English) individually but as a general term, e.g. Is 1<sup>18</sup> white בְּשֹׁלֵג as snow, כֶּצֶמֶר as wool; red כְּתוֹלֶעַת like crimson; Is 34<sup>4</sup> and the heavens shall be rolled together כַּפִּיפָר as a scroll; cf. Nu 11<sup>12</sup>, Ju 8<sup>18</sup>, 16<sup>9</sup> as פְּתִיל־הַנְּעֹרֶת a string of tow is broken; 1 S 26<sup>20</sup>, 1 K 14<sup>15</sup>, Is 10<sup>14</sup>, 24<sup>20</sup>, 27<sup>10</sup>, 29<sup>8</sup>, 53<sup>6</sup>, Na 3<sup>15</sup>, ψ 33<sup>7</sup>, 49<sup>15</sup>; cf. also such examples as Gn 19<sup>28</sup>, Ju 14<sup>6</sup>, where the object compared is determined by a determinate genitive which follows (according to § 127 a).

Examples of indeterminate comparisons are rare, and perhaps due only to *p* the Masora,—so at least in the case of singulars, while in such plurals as those in Gn 42<sup>30</sup>, 1 K 10<sup>27</sup>, Jo 2<sup>4.7</sup>, the omission of the article may be explained by the ordinary rules. On the other hand, the article is regularly omitted when the object compared is already defined by means of an attribute (or relative clause, Jer 23<sup>9</sup>, ψ 17<sup>12</sup>), e.g. Is 16<sup>3</sup> כְּעוֹף נוֹדֵד קֵן מְשֻׁלַּח as wandering birds, (as) a scattered nest (but cf. 10<sup>14</sup> בְּקֵן); 14<sup>19</sup>, 29<sup>5</sup> כְּמִין עֵבֶר (but ψ 1<sup>4</sup> כַּפִּיץ); Jer 2<sup>30</sup>, Pr 27<sup>8</sup>, Jb 29<sup>25</sup>, 30<sup>14</sup>.—In comparisons with persons also the Masora seems to avoid the use of the article, as in כְּנָבוֹר Jb 16<sup>14</sup> and seven other places (כְּנָבוֹר only in Is 42<sup>13</sup>), כְּאָב Jb 31<sup>18</sup>, כְּנָבֵר Jb 38<sup>3</sup>, 40<sup>7</sup>.

4. Peculiar to Hebrew<sup>1</sup> is the employment of the article to denote *q* a single person or thing (primarily one which is as yet unknown, and therefore not capable of being defined) as being present to the mind under given circumstances. In such cases in English the indefinite article is mostly used.

Thus Am 5<sup>19</sup> as if a man did flee from a lion (הָאֲרִי, i.e. the particular lion *q* pursuing him at the time), and a bear (הַדָּב) met him, &c., cf. 3<sup>12</sup>, 1 K 20<sup>36</sup> (John 10<sup>12</sup>); also Gn 8<sup>7f.</sup>, 14<sup>13</sup> הַפְּלִיט, i.e. one that had escaped, the particular one who came just then; so also Ez 24<sup>26</sup>, 33<sup>21</sup>; cf. 2 S 15<sup>13</sup>); Gn 15<sup>1.11</sup>, 18<sup>7</sup> the servant, who is regarded as being constantly at hand and awaiting his commands; cf. 2 S 17<sup>17</sup> (but הַנָּעַר Nu 11<sup>27</sup> is used like הַפְּלִיט above); Gn 19<sup>30</sup>, unless בַּמְעָרָה means in the well-known cave; בְּמִקּוֹם Gn 28<sup>11</sup>, according to Dillmann, upon the place suitable for passing the night, or the right place, but it may possibly also refer to the sanctuary of Bethel afterwards so sacred and celebrated; Gn 42<sup>23</sup>, 46<sup>2</sup>, 50<sup>26</sup>, Ex 2<sup>15</sup>, 3<sup>2</sup>, 4<sup>20</sup>, 21<sup>20</sup> (2 S 23<sup>21</sup>), Lv 23<sup>42</sup>, 24<sup>10</sup> (Samaritan יִשְׂרָאֵל without the article); Nu 17<sup>11</sup>, 21<sup>6.9</sup>, 25<sup>6</sup>, Dt 19<sup>5</sup>, Jos 2<sup>15</sup>, Ju 4<sup>18</sup>, 8<sup>25</sup>, 13<sup>19</sup>, 16<sup>19</sup>, 19<sup>29</sup>, 20<sup>16</sup>, 1 S 17<sup>34</sup>, 19<sup>13</sup>, 21<sup>10</sup>, 2 S 17<sup>17</sup>, 1 K 6<sup>8</sup>, 13<sup>14</sup> (? most

due to the masoretic punctuation. There is, however, no reason to doubt the correctness of the tradition. The same is true of the examples under *n* and *o*.

<sup>1</sup> Cf., however, analogous examples in biblical Aramaic in Kautzsch's *Gramm. des Bibl. Aram.*, § 79 f, e.g. Dn 2<sup>14</sup>, 3<sup>2</sup>, &c.

probably a particular tree is meant); 19<sup>9</sup>, Is 7<sup>14</sup> (הַעֲלִמָּה), i. e. *the particular maiden*, through whom the prophet's announcement shall be fulfilled; we should say *a maiden* [cf. Driver on 1 S 14, 6<sup>8</sup>, 19<sup>13</sup>]; Jb 9<sup>31</sup>.

- S So always to write in the book (or on the scroll, Nu 5<sup>28</sup>, Jer 32<sup>10</sup>), i. e. not in the book already in use, but in the book which is to be devoted to that purpose, equivalent to *in a book, on a scroll*, Ex 17<sup>14</sup>, 1 S 10<sup>25</sup>, Jb 19<sup>23</sup>. Especially instructive for this use of the article is the phrase וַיְהִי הַיּוֹם, which does not simply refer back to the previous narrative in the sense of the *same day*, but is used exactly like our *one day* (properly meaning on the particular day when it happened, i. e. *on a certain day*), 1 S 14, 14<sup>1</sup>, 2 K 4<sup>8</sup>, 11<sup>18</sup>, Jb 16<sup>13</sup>. In Gn 39<sup>11</sup> even כְּהַיּוֹם הַהוּא.

- t The article is sometimes used in this way before collectives in the singular, which are not meant to denote (like the examples given under l) a whole class, but only that part of it which applies to the given case; thus הַעֲרָב, הַיּוֹנָה Gn 87, הַצִּרְעָה Ex 23<sup>28</sup>.

- u 5. When a substantive is defined by the article, or by a suffix, or by a following genitive determinate in any way (see the examples below), the attribute belonging to it (whether adjective, participle, ordinal, or demonstrative pronoun) necessarily takes the article (see, however, the Rem.), e. g. Gn 10<sup>12</sup> הַגְּדֹלָה הָעִיר *the great city*; Dt 3<sup>24</sup> יָדְךָ הַחֲזָקָה *thy strong hand*. A genitive following the substantive may, according to § 127 a, be determined either by the article, e. g. 1 S 25<sup>25</sup> אִישׁ הַבְּלִיעַל הַזֶּה *this worthless man* (prop. *man of worthlessness*; cf. also such examples as 2 Ch 36<sup>18</sup>, where the article is prefixed only to a second genitive following the noun); or as a proper name, e. g. Dt 11<sup>7</sup> מַעֲשֵׂה הַגָּדֹל הַזֶּה *the great work of the Lord*; or by a suffix, e. g. Is 36<sup>9</sup> עַבְדֵי אֲרָנִי הַקְּטַנִּים *the least of my master's servants*.

- v When several attributes (whether connected by *Wāw* or not) follow a determinate substantive, each of them takes the article, e. g. Dt 10<sup>17</sup> הָאֵל הַגָּבֹר הַהַיָּלִי הַנּוֹרָא *the great God, the mighty, and the terrible*. Cf. also Ex 3<sup>3</sup>, Dt 1<sup>9</sup>, in both of which places a demonstrative with the article also follows the adjective,<sup>1</sup>

Rem. 1. The article is, however, not infrequently used also—

- w (a) With the attribute alone, when it is added to an originally indefinite substantive as a subsequent limitation; so always with ordinal numbers after יוֹם,<sup>2</sup> e. g. Gn 1<sup>51</sup> (cf. 2<sup>3</sup>, Ex 20<sup>10</sup>, &c.) יוֹם הַשֵּׁשִׁי *the sixth day* (prop. *a day namely*

<sup>1</sup> The demonstrative used adjectivally is generally placed *after* the adjective proper; in such cases as עֹמֶךָ הַזֶּה הַגְּדֹלָה 2 Ch 1<sup>10</sup> the adjective forms a further (fresh) addition to הַזֶּה הַגָּבֹר.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Driver, *Tenses*, 3rd ed., § 209; M. Lambert, *REJ.* 31, 279 f.—The omission of the article from the substantive is not to be regarded in *this* instance as an indication of late style, and consequently cannot be put forward as a proof of the late origin of the 'Priestly Code' (cf. Dillmann on Gn 1<sup>51</sup>, Holzinger, *Einl. in d. Hexateuch*, p. 465, and especially Driver in the *Journal of Philology*, xi. 229 f., against Giesebrecht in *ZAW.* 1881, p. 265 f.). On the other hand, the common omission of the article from the substantive before a determinate adjective (e. g. כְּנֶסֶת הַגְּדֹלָה *the great synagogue*, in the Mishna; cf. Segal, *Mishnaic Hebrew*, p. 19 ff.) is certainly a later idiom.

the sixth; but יום שְׁנִי a second day, Gn 1<sup>8</sup>; Ex 12<sup>15</sup> מִיּוֹם הָרִאשׁוֹן from the first day onward (not before Dn 10<sup>12</sup> and Neh 8<sup>18</sup> is מִן-הַיּוֹם הָרִאשׁוֹן used instead of it). On the other hand, the article is always found after בְּ, hence בְּיוֹם הַשְּׁשִׁי, &c., although it is possible that the original reading in these cases was בְּיוֹם, and that the article is only due to the Masora. In Ju 6<sup>25</sup> the text is evidently corrupt (see verse 26).—Especially also in certain frequently recurring combinations as in particularizing the gates in Jer 38<sup>14</sup>, Ez 9<sup>2</sup>, &c., Zc 14<sup>10</sup>, and courts in 1 K 7<sup>8,12</sup>, &c., Ez 40<sup>25</sup>; and very often when the attribute consists of a participle, e.g. Dt 2<sup>25</sup>, Ju 21<sup>19</sup>, 1 S 25<sup>10</sup>, Jer 27<sup>3</sup>, 46<sup>16</sup> הָרֵב הַיּוֹנָה the sword which oppresses (?); Ez 14<sup>22</sup>, Zc 11<sup>2</sup> *Keth.* (the impenetrable forest?) Pr 26<sup>18</sup>, ψ 119<sup>21</sup>.

Of the other examples, Gn 21<sup>29</sup> (where, however, the Samaritan reads אֲחֵי הַכַּבְשׁוֹת, 41<sup>26</sup> (but cf. verse 4), Nu 11<sup>25</sup>, Ju 16<sup>27</sup>, 1 S 17<sup>17</sup> may at any rate be explained on the ground that the preceding cardinal number is equivalent to a determinant; in Gn 1<sup>21</sup>, 28<sup>9,10</sup>, &c., the substantive is already determined by בְּלִי, and in 1 S 14<sup>29</sup> (רֵבֶשׁ) by מָעֵט.—In 1 S 12<sup>23</sup>, 2 S 12<sup>4</sup>, Is 7<sup>20</sup> (where, however, הַטְּבִירָה might also be understood as a subsequent explanation of בְּהָעֵר and Neh 9<sup>35</sup>, the omission of the article after the preposition is certainly due merely to the Masora. In 1 S 16<sup>23</sup> (unless רֵחַ אֱלֹהִים is to be read twice), Zc 4<sup>7</sup> (where however אֶת הָהָר is probably meant), ψ 104<sup>18</sup> (where a ה precedes הַרִים, hence probably a case of haplography), the omission of the article before אֵל, ר (?), and ה may be due to a regard for euphony (see z below). On the other hand, in 1 S 6<sup>18</sup> (read הָאֲבָן הַנִּי, 17<sup>12</sup> הַזֶּה is a later addition), 19<sup>22</sup> (cf. the LXX), Jer 17<sup>2</sup>, 32<sup>14</sup>, 40<sup>8</sup> *Keth.*, Ez 2<sup>3</sup> (read גֹּי or omit גֹּיִם with Cornill), Mi 7<sup>11</sup>, ψ 62<sup>4</sup>, either the text is corrupt, or the expression incorrect. But in 2 K 20<sup>13</sup>, Jer 6<sup>20</sup>, Ct 7<sup>10</sup> acc. to D. H. Müller (*Anzeiger der Wiener Akad.*, phil.-hist. Kl. 1902, no. x) הַטּוֹב is the genitive of a substantive, aromatic oil, sweet cane (in Jer 6<sup>20</sup> read וַיִּקְנֶה, like spiced wine. In Is 39<sup>2</sup> read בְּשִׁמְן הַטּוֹב and in ψ 133<sup>2</sup> בְּשִׁמְן הַטַּי.

(b) No article with the attribute, while the substantive is determined *y* either by the article, or a suffix, or a following genitive. Thus the article is sometimes omitted with demonstratives, since they are already to a certain extent determined by their meaning (cf. also the Meša' inscription, l. 3, זאת הבמת *this high place*); as with הַזֶּה Gn 19<sup>33</sup> (evidently for euphony, and so probably often); 30<sup>16</sup>, 32<sup>23</sup>, 1 S 19<sup>10</sup>; with הַיּוֹם Gn 38<sup>21</sup>; with וְזוֹ ψ 12<sup>8</sup> (according to the Masora וְזוֹ is a relative pronoun here, as always elsewhere); with אֵלֶּה 1 S 2<sup>23</sup>, according to the present corrupt text (the original reading בְּלִי-עַם אֵלֶּה became בְּלִי-עַם אֱלֹהִים, and אֱלֹהִים was then corrupted to אֵלֶּה); so, almost without exception, when the substantive is determined only by a suffix, e.g. Jos 2<sup>20</sup>, Ju 6<sup>14</sup>, 1 K 10<sup>8</sup>, 2 K 1<sup>2</sup> and 8<sup>8f</sup>, where חָלִי, as in Jer 10<sup>19</sup>, has arisen by contraction from חָלִי, or we should simply read חָלִי (in all these passages with וְזוֹ); Gn 24<sup>8</sup> (with וְזוֹת); Ex 10<sup>4</sup>, 1 K 22<sup>23</sup>, Jer 31<sup>21</sup> (with אֵלֶּה).

The article is sometimes omitted also with the attributes referring to proper names,<sup>1</sup> as צִדּוֹן רֵבָה Jos 11<sup>8</sup>, 19<sup>28</sup>, חַמַּת רֵבָה Am 6<sup>2</sup>. Other examples are Jos 16<sup>3,5</sup>, 18<sup>13</sup>, 1 K 9<sup>17</sup> (but in 1 Ch 7<sup>24</sup>, 2 Ch 8<sup>5</sup> with the article). In Gn 7<sup>11</sup>, &c., הַהוֹם רֵבָה is also a case of this kind, הַהוֹם being used (almost always without the article) as a sort of proper name; cf. also אֵל עֲלִיוֹן the most high

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Nöldeke, *Beiträge zur semit. Sprachwiss.*, p. 48, n. 1.

God and אֱלֹהִים הַיְיָ the living God. In Ju 1<sup>15</sup> נָלַח עָלֶיךָ and נָתַתִּיתָ אֵלֶיךָ strange; Jos 15<sup>19</sup> has עָלֶיךָ אֵלֶיךָ and נָתַתִּיתָ אֵלֶיךָ.

~ Of the remaining examples Is 11<sup>9</sup> explains itself; the direct connexion of the attribute with its substantive is broken by the insertion of לִי. In Ez 34<sup>12</sup>, Hag. 1<sup>4</sup> (as Wellhausen says, a good instance of a Hebrew adjective in the stative form = וְהָיָה סְפִנִּיִם), ψ 143<sup>10</sup>, Ct 6<sup>12</sup>(?) the substantive is also (see above) determined by a suffix, and consequently the attribute is less closely attached; the same applies to Gn 37<sup>2</sup>, 42<sup>19</sup>, 43<sup>14</sup>, ψ 18<sup>18</sup>, except that in these passages the omission of the article before ר, א, ע may at the same time be due to considerations of euphony (as also in Jos 16<sup>1</sup> before ע, Nu 14<sup>37</sup> before ר, 28<sup>4</sup>, Ez 10<sup>9</sup> before א, 21<sup>19</sup> before ח).<sup>1</sup> In 1 S 13<sup>17f.</sup> (אָהָר) and 2 K 25<sup>16</sup> (שְׁנַיִם) after a determinate substantive), the attribute again, being a numeral, is determinate in itself (see above, x); in Is 65<sup>2</sup> the ל prevents the use of the article; finally, in 2 Ch 26<sup>15</sup> בְּחַצְצִים and בְּאַבְנֵים are to be read, as in Jer 2<sup>21</sup> בָּפֶן for הַבָּפֶן, in 22<sup>26</sup> אָרִין for הָאָרֶץ; in 2 S 6<sup>3</sup> omit תְּרַשָּׁה, and in Ez 39<sup>27</sup> omit רַבִּים. Without any apparent reason the article is omitted in Dn 8<sup>13</sup> and 11<sup>31</sup>.

aa 2. When, as in Mi 7<sup>12</sup> יוֹם הַהוּא in that day?, the article is omitted from both substantive and demonstrative, and in Ezr 3<sup>12</sup>, the demonstrative even precedes (תְּהִי הַזֶּה = הַזֶּה הַתְּהִי), this is obviously due in both cases to a radical corruption of the text (not only in the words quoted). In Jos 9<sup>12</sup> לַחֲמֵנוּ לֶחֶם is either in apposition to the independent demonstrative הַזֶּה (= this our bread, &c.), as in verse 13 נֹאדוֹת is to אֵלֶיךָ, or they are complete sentences, this is our bread, &c. So also in Ex 32<sup>1</sup> מֹשֶׁה (= that [iste] Moses, &c.), and in ψ 48<sup>15</sup> אֱלֹהִים are to be taken in apposition to הַזֶּה. On ψ 68<sup>8</sup> and Is 23<sup>13</sup> cf. § 136 d.

### § 127. The Noun determined by a following Determinate Genitive.

Brockelmann, Grundriss. i. 475.

a When a genitive, determined in any way, follows a *nomen regens*, it also determines the *nomen regens*, which, according to § 89 a, is always in the construct state. Moreover, every pronominal suffix attached to a substantive is, according to § 33 c, to be considered as a genitive determinate by nature. An independent genitive may be determinate—

(a) By its character as a *proper name* (according to § 125 a), e. g. יהוה דבר יהוה the word of the Lord.

(b) By having the article, e. g. איש המלחמה (prop. the man of the war) the soldier (but מלחמה איש Jos 17<sup>1</sup>, a soldier); אנשי המלחמה

<sup>1</sup> The same reason no doubt also favoured the omission of the article before הוּא and אֵלֶיךָ, see above, under y. Also in Is 23<sup>7</sup> (is this your joyous...?) the article is omitted before עֲלֶיךָ probably only for euphony.

Nu 31<sup>49</sup>, *the soldiers*; הַנְּבִיאִים *the word of the prophet*, Jer 28<sup>9</sup> (but e. g., on the other hand, מִצְוַת אֲנָשִׁים מְלֻמָּדָה *a commandment of men which hath been taught*, Is 29<sup>13</sup>; דְּבַר־שֶׁקֶר *word of falsehood*, Pr 29<sup>12</sup>).

(c) By the addition of a pronominal suffix (see above), e. g. בְּיַת־אָבִי *my father's house*.

(d) By construction with another genitive determined in some way, e. g. גֵּן־הַגָּדִל *of the fruit of the trees of the garden*. Thus in Is 10<sup>12</sup> four, and in 21<sup>17</sup> even five, members of a series are determined by a concluding determinate genitive.

Rem. 1. The above explains also the various meanings of כָּל (prop. a *b* substantive in the sense of *aggregate, whole*), according as it is followed by a determinate or indeterminate genitive. In the former case כָּל has the meaning of *the entirety*, i. e. *all, the whole* (like the French *tous les hommes, toute la ville*), e. g. כָּל־הָאָרֶץ *the whole* (prop. the entirety of the) *earth*, כָּל־הָאָדָם *all men*;<sup>1</sup> Ex 18<sup>22</sup>, Nu 15<sup>13</sup>, Jer 4<sup>29</sup>, and cases like Nu 4<sup>23,47</sup>, 21<sup>8</sup> where כָּל is followed by a singular participle with the article. On the other hand, before an indeterminate genitive כָּל is used in the more indefinite (individualizing) sense of *of all kinds, any* (cf. *tout homme, à tout prix*), or distributively *each, every*, e. g. כָּל־עֵץ *every* (kind of) *tree*, Gn 2<sup>9</sup>; cf. 4<sup>22</sup>, 24<sup>10</sup>, 1 Ch 29<sup>2</sup>; כָּל־דָּבָר *any thing*, Ju 19<sup>19</sup>; כָּל־יּוֹם *every day, every time*, ψ 7<sup>12</sup>.

It is, however, to be observed—

(a) That the article may in this case also (see § 126 h) be omitted in poetic style, although the substantive is to be regarded as determinate, e. g. כָּל־שִׁלְחָנוֹת *all (the) tables*, Is 28<sup>8</sup>. c

(b) That the meaning *every* is frequent even before singulars used collectively; afterwards the idea of *quisque* passes naturally into that of *totality*, e. g. כָּל־חַי *each living thing*, i. e. *every* (not every kind of) *living thing*; כָּל־בָּשָׂר *all flesh*, i. e. *all men or all living creatures* (with the article only in Gn 7<sup>15</sup> before a relative clause, and in Is 40<sup>6</sup>); sometimes also כָּל־עֵץ *all trees*, כָּל־עוֹף *all birds*; finally—

(c) That before the names of members of the human body, כָּל frequently (as being determinate in itself) denotes the entirety, e. g. Is 1<sup>5</sup> *the whole head, the whole heart* (the sense required by the context, not *every head, &c.*, which the expression *in itself* might also mean); 9<sup>11</sup>, 2 K 23<sup>3</sup>, Ez 29<sup>7</sup> *all* (i. e. *the whole of*) *their shoulders . . . all (the whole of) their loins*; 36<sup>5</sup>.—On כָּל with a suffix when it follows a noun in apposition (e. g. Is 9<sup>8</sup> הָעָם בְּלוֹ *the people, all of it*, i. e. *the whole nation*, more emphatic than כָּל־הָעָם, cf. Driver on 2 S 2<sup>9</sup>), as well as when it follows absolutely in the genitive (= *all men, every one*, e. g. Gn 16<sup>12</sup>),<sup>2</sup> see the Lexicon, pp. 481<sup>b</sup>, 482<sup>b</sup>.

2. Gentile names (or patronymics), derived from compound proper names *d* (consisting of a nomen regens and genitive), are determined by inserting the article before the second part of the compound (since it contains the original

<sup>1</sup> כָּל־הָאָדָם being a collective, cf. כָּל־הָאִישׁ 2 S 15<sup>2</sup>, *all men*, כָּל־הַבָּנִים Ex 1<sup>22</sup> *all sons*, כָּל־הַבָּת *all daughters*; in itself כָּל־הָאָדָם could also mean *the whole man*.

<sup>2</sup> In Ezr 10<sup>17</sup> instead of כָּל־הָאֲנָשִׁים read simply בְּכָל־הָאֲנָשִׁים.

genitive), e.g. בְּנֵי־יְמִינִי (see § 86 h) a Benjamite; בְּנֵי־הַיְמִינִי Ju 3<sup>15</sup>, &c., the Benjamite; בֵּית־הַלְּחָמִי the Bethlehemite, 1 S 16<sup>1</sup>, &c. (cf., however, 1 Ch 27<sup>12</sup> *Q<sup>er</sup>* בֵּית־הַיְמִינִי); בֵּית־הַשְּׁמִשִּׁי the Beth-shemite, 1 S 6<sup>14</sup>; אֲבֵי־הָעֵזְרִי the Abiezrite, Ju 6<sup>11</sup>, &c., cf. 1 K 16<sup>34</sup>.

c 3. In a few instances the nomen regens appears to be used indefinitely notwithstanding a following determinate genitive; it is not so, however, in Gn 16<sup>7</sup>, where the reference is to a well-known fountain; 21<sup>25</sup>, where in the original context there must have been some reason for *the seven ewe lambs of the flock*; 2 S 12<sup>30</sup> *the spoil found in the city*; but it often is so before a proper name, as in Ex 10<sup>9</sup> הַגַּדְּ הַיְהוָה a feast of the Lord (unless it is the spring festival), Dt 7<sup>25</sup>, and frequently הַיְהוָה הַזֶּה an abomination unto the Lord; cf. also Gn 46<sup>34</sup>, Dt 22<sup>19</sup> a virgin of Israel; 1 S 4<sup>12</sup> a man of Benjamin; Pr 25<sup>1</sup>, Ct 2<sup>1</sup>, 3<sup>9</sup>; similarly before appellatives with the article (or before a genitive determined by a suffix, as in Lv 14<sup>34</sup>), 1 S 20<sup>20</sup> three arrows; 2 S 23<sup>11</sup> חֲלֻקַת הַשָּׂדֶה a plot of the ground (but see Gn 33<sup>19</sup>, Jos 24<sup>32</sup>); Ju 13<sup>6</sup>, Jer 13<sup>4</sup>, 41<sup>16</sup>, Ct 11<sup>13</sup> f, 5<sup>13</sup>, 7<sup>3</sup>, 8<sup>2</sup>. On the other hand, שִׁיר הַמַּעֲלוֹת in the titles of Psalms 120 to 134 (except 121<sup>1</sup>, שִׁיר לַמַּעֲלוֹת) was most probably originally the title of a collection, in the sense of 'the pilgrimage-songs' (according to § 124 r), and was subsequently added to these Psalms severally.—In Ex 20<sup>24</sup> בְּכָל־הַמָּקוֹם in all the place, sc. of the sanctuary, is a dogmatic correction of בְּכָל־מָקוֹם, in every place, to avoid the difficulty that several holy-places are here authorized, instead of the one central sanctuary. In Gn 20<sup>13</sup> also כָּל־הַמָּקוֹם (unless it means in the whole place) is remarkable, since elsewhere every place is always (8 times) מְקוֹם.

f 4. The deviations mentioned under e, from a fundamental rule of syntax, are in some cases open to suspicion on textual grounds, but much more doubtful are the instances in which the article is found before a noun already determined in some other way, as—

(a) Before a noun which appears to be determined by a following independent determinate genitive. The least questionable are the instances in which the genitive is a proper name, since these may be elliptical forms of expression like the apparent construction of proper names with a genitive, noticed in § 125 h, e.g. Nu 21<sup>14</sup> אַרְנוֹן הַנְּחָלִים the valleys, namely the valleys of Arnon; 2 K 23<sup>17</sup> הַמִּזְבֵּחַ בֵּית־אֵל the altar, namely the altar of Bethel (i.e. with the suppression of the real nomen regens, מִזְבֵּחַ without the article; by the pointing הַמִּזְבֵּחַ the Masora evidently intends to allow the choice either of reading הַמִּזְבֵּחַ or correcting it to מִזְבֵּחַ); הָאֵל הַבֵּית־אֵל the God of Beth-el<sup>1</sup> (equivalent to 'אל ב' (הָאֵל אֵל ב'), Gn 31<sup>13</sup> (the LXX read בְּמִקְוֹם הָאֵל הַנִּרְאָה אֵלַיךְ in the holy place); הַמֶּלֶךְ אֲשֹׁר the king of Assyria, Is 36<sup>16</sup> (probably a scribal error due to verse 13; it does not occur in the parallel passage, 2 K 18<sup>31</sup>), cf. Jos 13<sup>6</sup>, 2 K 25<sup>11</sup>, Jer 38<sup>6</sup>, Ez 47<sup>15</sup>; in the vocative, Jer 48<sup>32</sup>, La 2<sup>13</sup>. On the other hand, שָׂרָה אִמִּי Gn 24<sup>67</sup> is no doubt

<sup>1</sup> According to Philippi (*St. Constr.*, p. 38) בית־אל is rather a case of 'subposition' in the accusative, as also הַדֶּרֶךְ הַחֲתָלוֹן Ez 47<sup>15</sup> (for which, however, in 48<sup>1</sup> there is the correct reading הַדֶּרֶךְ הַחֲתָלוֹן) by the way to Hethlon; and in fact, Ez 47<sup>15</sup> may without difficulty be explained in this way; so שֵׁשׁ Ex 39<sup>27</sup> as an accusative of the material.

only a subsequent insertion; so also יִשְׂרָאֵל Jos 8<sup>33b</sup> (cf. LXX), 2 S 20<sup>23</sup>, 2 K 7<sup>13</sup>, הַמְּלָכָה 1 S 26<sup>22</sup> after הַחַיִּית (simplified by the Masora to חַיִּית *Qéré*); עָלִית אֶחָז 2 K 23<sup>12</sup>, אֲשֶׁנּוּ Is 36<sup>8</sup> (cf. 2 K 18<sup>23</sup>), הַקֶּרֶשׁ Ez 46<sup>19</sup> (unless the article with לִשְׂכֹּת is to be omitted), also הַתְּמִיר Dn 8<sup>13</sup>, and עֵרֶד הַנְּבִיא 2 Ch 15<sup>8</sup>. In Ex 9<sup>18</sup> read with the Samaritan לְמִיּוֹם; in 2 S 19<sup>25</sup> לָכֶת might possibly be taken in apposition to לְמֵן הַיּוֹם; in 2 K 10<sup>1</sup> restore אֶת־בְּנֵי, with the LXX and Lucian, before אֶחָב; in 2 K 25<sup>19</sup> omit the article, as in Jer 52<sup>25</sup>, before סֶפֶר.

A similar ellipse must also be assumed in 2 K 23<sup>17</sup> *the sepulchre is the* <sup>g</sup> *sepulchre of the man of God* (but most probably קָבֵר has dropped out after הַקֶּבֶר) and ψ 123<sup>4</sup> (cf., however, the LXX, and observe that in the parallel member the genitive is paraphrased by לְ).—In Jos 3<sup>14</sup> הַבְּרִית (verse 17 בְּרִית יְהוָה) has been added to the original הָאָרֶץ by a redactor; cf. similar syntactically impossible additions in verse 11 (also in 1 S 4<sup>3</sup>, &c., where the LXX still had simply יהוה הָאָרֶץ); in הַיְתֵד Ju 16<sup>14</sup> the Masora evidently combines two different readings הַיְתֵד and הָאָרֶץ; and similarly in Jer 25<sup>26</sup> (where הָאָרֶץ was only subsequently introduced into the text), the two readings הַמְּמַלְכֹת and מְמַלְכֹת הָאֵל are combined.—In Jos 8<sup>11</sup>, 1 K 14<sup>24</sup>, Jer 31<sup>40</sup>, Ez 45<sup>16</sup> the article, being usual after כָּל־, has been mechanically added, and so also in 2 Ch 8<sup>16</sup> after עַד־; in 2 K 9<sup>4</sup> the second הַפְּעֵר (instead of נְעֵר) is occasioned by the first; in Ez 7<sup>7</sup> מְהוּמָה belongs as a nominative to what follows; in Ez 8<sup>29</sup> the meaning perhaps is *in the chambers, in the house of the Lord*, or the article is to be omitted; in 1 Ch 15<sup>27</sup> the text is manifestly corrupt.

Of another kind are the instances in which a determinate noun is followed <sup>h</sup> by a definition of the material in *apposition* (hence, not in the genitive; cf. § 131), e. g. Zc 4<sup>10</sup> הָאֶבֶן הַכְּבִילִי *the weight, the lead, i. e. the leaden weight*; Ex 39<sup>17</sup>, 2 K 16<sup>14</sup> הַנְּחָשֶׁת, both here and in verse 17, is probably only a later addition, while המסגרות המכנות in verse 17 has arisen from a confusion of two readings, מסגרות המכנות and מסגרות מהמכנות. In Jer 32<sup>12</sup> also הַמְּקַנֶּה (unless the article is simply to be omitted) is in apposition to הַפְּפֵר.

(b) Before a noun with a suffix (which likewise represents a determinate <sup>i</sup> genitive; see above, at the beginning of this section). This does not apply to cases in which a *verbal* (i. e. *accusative*) suffix is affixed to a participle which has the article, e. g. הַמְּבַרְחִי Is 9<sup>12</sup>, *the one smiling him*; in Dt 8<sup>15</sup>, 13<sup>6</sup> also הַ is a verbal suffix, but hardly the ה in הַעֲשֵׂנוּ for הַעֲשִׂיתָ Job 40<sup>19</sup>, nor the ה־ in הַלְּבָרָה Dn 11<sup>6</sup>; § 116 g. For הַעֲרֹכֶךָ Lev 27<sup>23</sup>, read עֲרֹכֶךָ as in verses 2, 3, 5, 7, 13, &c., twelve times (but cf. also the note on § 128 d).—Of the remaining examples כְּבִנְבְּרָתָהּ Is 24<sup>2</sup> (probably an intentional alliteration with the eleven other words beginning with כְּ), לְמַעַנְהָ Pr 16<sup>4</sup>, and בְּעֵרֵינוּ (so Baer, following the best authorities) Ezr 10<sup>14</sup>, rest only on the authority of the Masoretes, not of the authors. So also in הָאֶהְלִי Jos 7<sup>21</sup>, הַחֲצִיּוֹ Jos 8<sup>33</sup> (previously חֲצִיּוֹ), הַהֲרֹאִיָּה 2 K 15<sup>16</sup> (dittography of the ה), the article is simply to be omitted as syntactically impossible; the ו of הַדְּבָרָוּ Mi 2<sup>12</sup> is the copula belonging to the next word.

§ 128. *The Indication of the Genitive Relation by means of the Construct State.*

Cf. especially Philippi's work cited at the head of § 89.

*a* 1. The genitive relation is regularly expressed (see § 89) by the close connexion of the *nomen regens* (in the construct state) with the *nomen rectum* (in the genitive). Since only *one* *nomen regens* can be immediately connected with a *nomen rectum*, it follows that the same genitive cannot depend on two or more *co-ordinate* nouns, but a second (sometimes even a third, &c.) *regens* must be added with a suffix referring to the *nomen rectum*, e. g. *בְּנֵי דָוִד וּבָנֹתָיו* *the sons of David and his daughters* (not *בְּנֵי וּבָנֹת דָּוִד*); cf. 1 K 8<sup>28</sup>.<sup>1</sup> The language also prefers to avoid a series of several *co-ordinate*<sup>2</sup> *regens* depending upon one and the same *nomen regens* (such as occur in Gn 14<sup>19</sup>, Nu 20<sup>5</sup>, 31<sup>54</sup> [1 Ch 13<sup>1</sup>], 1 S 23<sup>7</sup>, 2 S 19<sup>6</sup>, Is 22<sup>5</sup>, ψ 5<sup>7</sup>, 8<sup>3</sup>),<sup>3</sup> and rather tends to repeat the *nomen regens*, e. g. Gn 24<sup>3</sup> *אֱלֹהֵי הַשָּׁמַיִם וְאֱלֹהֵי הָאָרֶץ* *the God of heaven and the God of the earth* (so in Jer 8<sup>1</sup> the *regens* is five times repeated). A lengthened series of *genitives* may, however, be formed by a *nomen rectum* serving at the same time as *regens* to a *genitive* depending on it (cf. § 127 *a* [*d*]); e. g. Gn 47<sup>9</sup> *יְמֵי חַיֵּי אֲבוֹתַי* *the days of the years of the life of my fathers*; cf. Jb 12<sup>24</sup>, where there are three *genitives*, Is 10<sup>12</sup> four, and 21<sup>17</sup> five (unless the last three are in apposition). As a rule, indeed, such an inconvenient accumulation of *genitives* is avoided by means of a circumlocution in the case of one of them (see § 129 *d*).

*b* Rem. As the fundamental rules stated above are the necessary consequence not merely of *logical* but more especially of *rhythmical* relations (see § 89 *a*), we must feel the more hesitation in admitting examples in which *genitives* are supposed to be loosely attached to forms other than the construct state. Some of these examples (the supposed *genitives* following a *regens* which is determined by the article) have been already discussed in § 127 *f-h*. Compare, moreover:

*c* (*a*) *Genitives* after the absolute state, e. g. Is 28<sup>1</sup> *נְיָאֵר־שְׂמָנִים הֶלְוִיִּים* *the fat valley of them that are overcome with wine*. The usual explanation that *נְיָאֵר־שְׂמָנִים* forms *one* single idea (in German *Fettigkeitstal*), on which the

<sup>1</sup> Very rare, and only possible in very rapid utterance, are such exceptions as Ez 31<sup>16</sup> *מִבְּחַר וּמִזֶּבֶל־בְּנוֹן*; Pr 16<sup>11</sup>.—In Is 11<sup>2</sup> *the spirit of knowledge and of the fear of the Lord*, רֵעֵת may at any rate also be taken as an absolute *genitive*, so also סָפָר Dn 1<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> In ψ 114<sup>1</sup> a second *genitive* is added even without the copula, but the parallelism of the members renders any misunderstanding impossible.

<sup>3</sup> In almost all these instances the two (or three) *genitives* form one closely connected whole, as *heaven and earth*, *sons and daughters*.

genitive הַלְלוּמֵי הַיָּם then depends, in reality explains nothing; the text is almost certainly corrupt. In Dt 15<sup>18</sup> מִשְׁנֵהּ would be expected; in Jos 3<sup>11</sup> הַפְּרִיָּה is a later addition; in Is 32<sup>13</sup> (מִשְׁוֹשׁ), and ψ 68<sup>22</sup> (שְׁעָר), the absolute for the construct state probably rests only on the authority of the Masoretes. In Ju 6<sup>25</sup> the text is obviously in confusion. In Ju 8<sup>32</sup> (cf. 6<sup>24</sup>) בְּעַפְרָה should come either after וַיִּקְבֹּר or at the end of the verse, unless, with Moore, we omit הָעֵבֶר אֲבִי הָעֵבֶר as a gloss (from 6<sup>24</sup>); in Is 63<sup>11</sup> מִטָּה is probably a gloss on יַמֵּי-עוֹלָם which has crept into the text; in 2 S 4<sup>2</sup> לְאִישׁ-בֵּשֶׁת, according to the LXX, has dropped out before בָּן; in Ez 6<sup>11</sup> רְעוֹת is to be omitted with the LXX; if originally in the text, it could only be genitive (= *all abominations of evils*), not an adjective; Pr 21<sup>6</sup> the text is altogether uncertain (the LXX read מִזְבְּחֵי for מִזְבְּחֵי); in 1 Ch 9<sup>13</sup> the preposition לְ (after אֶל) has dropped out before מְלֹאכֶת (cf. 12<sup>25</sup>).—Elsewhere (Dt 3<sup>5</sup>, 1 K 4<sup>13</sup>, 2 Ch 8<sup>5</sup>) the supposed genitives are to be taken rather as words of nearer definition standing in apposition, i. e. *with high walls, gates, and bars*. In Jer 8<sup>5</sup> יְרוּשָׁלַיִם is either in apposition to הוּא הָעָם or is better (since not in the LXX) omitted as a gloss.

(b) Genitives after a noun with a suffix (where the suffix prevents the direct government by the *nomen regens*). Thus in Lv 27<sup>3-5, 6</sup>, where עֲרֶבֶךָ after הַבֵּיָר might be taken, contrary to the accents, as subject of the following clause; in Lv 5<sup>15, 25</sup> the suffix may refer to Moses. In Lv 6<sup>3</sup> בְּרֹדוֹ his garment, namely the garment of *linen*, unless simply in apposition, cf. § 131 d (or read מִדָּה ?); Lv 26<sup>42</sup>, where בְּרִיתִי יַעֲקֹב וְנֹר could at most be explained as an ellipse for יַעֲקֹב בְּרִיתִי בְּרִיתִי, cf. § 125 h (probably, however, it is a case of dittography of the י, which was repeated also before אַבְרָהָם; so Valeton, *ZAW.* xii. 3); equally strange is הַיּוֹם בְּרִיתִי הַיּוֹם Jer 33<sup>20</sup>, &c. On the other hand, אִם יְהִיָּה אִם הַיּוֹם נְבִיאֲכֶם יְהוָה Nu 12<sup>6</sup> could not possibly mean *if your prophet be a prophet of the Lord*; the text is manifestly corrupt (probably נְבִיאֲכֶם מִיְהוָה is to be read, with Marti). In ψ 45<sup>7</sup> בְּסִמְאֵךְ אֱלֹהִים (usually explained as *thy divine throne*), אֱלֹהִים is most probably a later addition [another suggestion is to read כְּאֱלֹהִים like God's throne): cf. § 141 d, note]. In Jer 52<sup>20</sup> two readings are probably combined, לְנֶחֱשָׁתָם without any addition, and לְנֶחֱשָׁת פֶּל-הַבָּלִים. In Nu 25<sup>12</sup> שְׁלוֹם is in apposition to בְּרִיתִי. On Ez 16<sup>27</sup>, cf. § 131 r.

(c) The interposition of a word is assumed between כֹּל (the whole; cf. § 127 b) and the genitive governed by it in 2 S 1<sup>9</sup>, Jb 27<sup>3</sup> (עוֹד), and, if the text is correct, in Hos 14<sup>3</sup> (תִּצְאָה). In reality, however, in all three places the genitive relation is destroyed by the transposition of the words (instead of עוֹד כֹּל, &c.), and כֹּל is rather to be taken adverbially (equivalent to *wholly*), e. g. 2 S 1<sup>9</sup> *because my life is yet wholly in me*, i. e. my whole life; cf. Philippi, *Stat. Constr.*, p. 10.—On the instances in which the original construct state אֵין non-existence is used without a following genitive, see the negative sentences, § 152 o.

2. The dependence of the *nomen rectum* on the *nomen regens* by *f* no means represents merely what is, properly speaking, the genitive relation (see the examples under *g-i*). Very frequently the *nomen*

<sup>1</sup> Halévy, *J. A.* xiv. 548, removes the difficulty by pointing עֲרֶבֶךָ.

rectum only adds a nearer definition of the nomen regens, whether by giving the name, the genus or species, the measure, the material, or finally an attribute of it (*genit. epexegeticus* or *appositionis*,<sup>1</sup> see the examples under *k-q*).

Examples. The *nomen rectum* represents—

- g** (a) A *subjective genitive*, specifying the possessor, author, &c., e. g. בֵּית־הַמֶּלֶךְ the king's house; דְּבַר יְהוָה the word of the Lord.
- h** (b) An *objective genitive*, e. g. Ob<sup>10</sup> מַחֲמַם אֲחִיךָ for the violence done to thy brother<sup>2</sup> (but in Ez 12<sup>19</sup> מַחֲמַם is followed by a subjective genitive); Pr 20<sup>2</sup> מֶלֶךְ אֵימַת מֶלֶךְ the terror of a king; Gn 18<sup>20</sup> וַעֲקַת סֹדֹם the cry concerning Sodom; Is 23<sup>5</sup> צֹר שִׁמְעֵ צֹר the report of (about) Tyre, cf. 2 S 4<sup>4</sup>; Am 8<sup>10</sup> יָחִיד יֶחֱבֵל הַמֵּוֹלָה the mourning for an only son; Dt 20<sup>14</sup> שָׁלַל אֵיבֶיכֶם praeda hostibus tuis erepta; cf. Is 3<sup>14</sup>. In a wider sense this includes such examples as עֵץ הַחַיִּים דֶּרֶךְ הַיָּם the way of (i. e. to) the tree of life, Gn 3<sup>24</sup>; cf. Pr 7<sup>27</sup>, Jb 38<sup>20</sup>; הַיָּם דֶּרֶךְ הַיָּם the way of (by) the sea, Is 8<sup>28</sup>; וּבְחַיִּי אֲלֹהִים the sacrifices of (i. e. pleasing to) God, ψ 51<sup>19</sup>; שְׁבַעַת יְהוָה the oath of (i. e. sworn before) the Lord, 1 K 2<sup>48</sup>; לְמוֹאֵל דְּבַרֵּי הַמֵּוֹלָה the words of (i. e. addressed to) L., Pr 31<sup>1</sup>.
- i** (c) A *partitive genitive*; this includes especially the cases in which an adjective in the construct state is followed by a general term, e. g. חֲכָמוֹת שְׂרוּתֶיהָ the wisest of her ladies, Ju 5<sup>29</sup>; cf. for this way of expressing the superlative, § 133 *h*, and also *r* below.
- k** Merely formal genitives (*genit. explicativus* or *epexegeticus, genit. appositionis*) are those added to the construct state as nearer definitions—
- (d) Of the name, e. g. נְהַר פְּרָת the river Euphrates; אֶרֶץ כְּנָעַן the land of Canaan; בְּתוּלַת יִשְׂרָאֵל the virgin Israel (not of Israel), Am 5<sup>2</sup>.
- l** (e) Of the genus, e. g. Pr 15<sup>20</sup> (21<sup>20</sup>) בְּסִיל אָדָם a fool of a man (= a foolish man); cf. Gn 16<sup>12</sup>, Is 1<sup>4</sup>, 29<sup>19</sup>, Ho 13<sup>2</sup>, Mi 5<sup>4</sup>, &c.
- m** (f) Of the species, e. g. אֲחֻזַּת קְבֹרָה a possession of a burying-place, i. e. hereditary sepulchre, Gn 23<sup>4</sup>, &c.; הַמְּאִי הַבְּבוּרוֹת the early figs, Jer 24<sup>2</sup>; אֹהֶל בֵּיתִי the tabernacle of my house, i. e. my dwelling-place, ψ 132<sup>3</sup>.
- n** (g) Of the measure, weight, extent, number, e. g. מִתֵּי מִסְפָּר people of number, i. e. few in number, Gn 34<sup>30</sup>, Dt 26<sup>5</sup>; cf. also Ez 47<sup>5-6</sup> מַיִם הַיָּמִין waters of the ankles, waters of the loins, waters of swimming, i. e. which reached up to the ankles, or loins, or necessitated swimming; but in verse 4 in apposition (?) מַיִם הַיָּמִין.
- o** (h) Of the material<sup>3</sup> of which something consists, e. g. כֶּלִּי חֲרִישׁ a vessel of earthenware, Nu 5<sup>17</sup>; כְּסָף כֶּלִּי vessels of silver (cf. the French *des vases d'or*); עֵץ אֲרוֹן an ark of wood, שֵׁבֶט בְּרֹזֶל a rod of iron, ψ 2<sup>9</sup>; cf. Gn 3<sup>21</sup>, 6<sup>14</sup>, Ju 7<sup>13</sup>, &c.

<sup>1</sup> The latter term is preferred especially by König, *Theol. Stud. und Krit.*, 1898, p. 528 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. in Latin a similar use of the genitive after *iniuria* (Caes. *B. G.* 1, 30), *metus* (*hostium, Pompeii*, &c.), *spes*, and other words. In Greek, cf. *εὐνοία τῶν φίλων, πίστις τοῦ θεοῦ, ὁ λόγος ὁ τοῦ σταυροῦ*, 1 Cor. 1<sup>18</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> In the almost entire absence of corresponding adjectives (אַרְזִי made of cedar, a denominative from אֲרָז, and נְחֹשֶׁת brazen are the only examples), the language regularly has recourse to the above periphrasis. On the form *qāfūl*, as expressing an inherent property, cf. § 50 *f*; cf. also the proper name, בְּרֹזֶל *ferreus*.

(i) Of the attribute of a person or thing, e. g. Gn 17<sup>8</sup> אֶחָזֶת עוֹלָם *an everlasting p*ossession; Pr 17<sup>8</sup> *u* precious stone; cf. Nu 28<sup>6</sup>, Is 13<sup>8</sup>, 28<sup>4</sup>, ψ 23<sup>2</sup>, 31<sup>8</sup>, Pr 5<sup>19</sup>, 14<sup>5</sup>, Jb 41<sup>19</sup>, and the examples of the genitive with a suffix given in § 135 n. Such a periphrasis for the expression of attributes frequently occurs, even when the corresponding adjectives are in use. Thus especially קָדֹשׁ *holiness* very frequently serves as a periphrasis for the adjective קָדוֹשׁ (e. g. בְּגָדֵי הַקָּדֹשׁ *the holy garments*, Ex 29<sup>29</sup>), since קָדוֹשׁ is used almost exclusively in reference to persons (hence also with עַם and גּוֹי *people*, and with שֵׁם the name of a person); the only exceptions are מְקוֹם קָדוֹשׁ *holy place*, Ex 29<sup>31</sup>, &c.; מַיִם קְדוּשִׁים *holy water*, Nu 5<sup>17</sup>; קָדוֹשׁ as the predicate of יוֹם *day*, Neh 8<sup>10</sup><sup>f</sup>, and of מַחֲנֶה *camp*, Dt 23<sup>15</sup>. So also the use of צְדִיק *righteous* is always confined to persons, except in Dt 4<sup>8</sup>; elsewhere the periphrasis with צָרָק or צָרָקָה is always used, e. g. מֵאֲנֵי צָרָק *just balances*, Lv 19<sup>36</sup>.

In a wider sense this use of the genitive also includes statements of the *Q* purpose for which something is intended, e. g. צֹאן מִבְּחָרָה *sheep for the slaughter*, ψ 44<sup>23</sup>; מוֹסֵר שְׁלֹמֹנֹנוּ *the chastisement designed for our peace*, Is 53<sup>5</sup>; cf. 51<sup>17</sup> (*the cup which causes staggering*), ψ 116<sup>13</sup>; finally, also, the description of the material, with which something is laden or filled, e. g. וְיֵין וְנֶאֱדָר לָהֶם וְנֶאֱדָר לָהֶם *an ass laden with bread and a bottle of wine* (but probably עֵשְׂרֶה is to be read for תְּחִמָּר); cf. Gn 21<sup>14</sup>, Pr 7<sup>20</sup>, &c.

Rem. 1. Certain substantives are used to convey an attributive idea in the *Ṛ* construct state before a partitive genitive; thus מְבַחֵר *choice, selection*, as in Gn 23<sup>8</sup> מְבַחֵר קְבָרֵינוּ *the choice of our sepulchres*, i. e. our choicest sepulchres; Ex 15<sup>4</sup>, Is 22<sup>7</sup>, 37<sup>24</sup>; other examples are, Is 1<sup>18</sup> *the evil of your doings*, emphatically, for *your evil doings*; Is 17<sup>4</sup>, 37<sup>24</sup> (= *the tall cedars thereof*), ψ 139<sup>22</sup>, Jb 15<sup>26</sup>.— This is the more common construction with the substantive כֹּל *entirety*, for *all, the whole, every*, see § 127 b; it is also frequent with מְעַט *a little, for few*, 1 S 17<sup>28</sup>, &c.

2. To the periphrases expressing attributive ideas (see *p* above) by means *S* of a genitive construction may be added the very numerous combinations of the construct states אִישׁ *a man*, בָּעַל *master, possessor*, בֶּן *son*, and their feminines and plurals (including מְתֵי *men*, used only in the plural), with some appellative noun, in order to represent a person (poetically even a thing) as possessing some object or quality, or being in some condition. In English, such combinations are sometimes rendered by single substantives, sometimes by circumlocution.

Examples:—

(a) Of אִישׁ, &c.: אִישׁ דְּבָרִים *an eloquent man*, Ex 4<sup>10</sup> (but אִישׁ שִׁפְתָיִם Jb 11<sup>2</sup> *a man of lips*, i. e. a boaster); אִישׁ לָשׁוֹן = *a slanderer*, ψ 140<sup>12</sup>; אִישׁ דַּעַת *a man of knowledge*, Pr 24<sup>5</sup>; אִישׁ חֲמָה *a wrathful man*, Pr 15<sup>18</sup>; אִישׁ דָּמִים *a man of blood*, 2 S 16<sup>7</sup>, ψ 5<sup>7</sup>; cf. further, 1 S 16<sup>18</sup>, 1 K 2<sup>26</sup>, Is 53<sup>3</sup>, Pr 19<sup>6</sup>, 26<sup>21</sup>, 29<sup>1</sup>, Ezr 8<sup>18</sup>; also אִשֶּׁת מְרִינִים *a contentious woman*, Pr 27<sup>15</sup>; in the plural, e. g. Gn 6<sup>4</sup> אֲנָשֵׁי הַשָּׁמַיִם *the men of renown, famous*; cf. Gn 47<sup>6</sup>, Is 41<sup>11</sup>, Jb 34<sup>8,10</sup> (אֲנָשֵׁי לֵבָב *men of understanding*); with מְתֵי, e. g. Is 5<sup>13</sup> (מְתֵי רָעֵב *famished men*; but read probably מְתֵי רָעֵב *weak with hunger*); ψ 26<sup>4</sup>, Jb 11<sup>11</sup>, 22<sup>15</sup>.

(b) Of בָּעַל, &c.: בָּעַל שְׂעָרַי *hairy*, 2 K 1<sup>8</sup>; בָּעַל הַחֲלָמוֹת *the dreamer*, Gn 37<sup>19</sup>; וְכַף נַפְשׁוֹ *a destroyer*, Pr 17<sup>17</sup>, 18<sup>9</sup>, 22<sup>24</sup>, 23<sup>2</sup> (*disposed to eat, greedy*), 24<sup>8</sup>; feminine

בַּעֲלַת-אוֹב *a woman that hath a soothsaying spirit*, 1 S 28<sup>7</sup>; cf. Na 3<sup>4</sup>; in the plural, e. g. בַּעֲלֵי חֲצִים *archers*, Gn 49<sup>23</sup>, בַּעֲלֵי בְרִית *confederates*, Gn 14<sup>13</sup>; בַּעֲלֵי שְׂבוּעָה *sworn supporters*, Neh 6<sup>18</sup>.

- U (c) Of בֶּן-חַיִל &c.: בֶּן-חַיִל *a hero, warrior*, 1 K 15<sup>2</sup>; בֶּן-מֵישַׁק *heir*, Gn 15<sup>2</sup>; בֶּן-שָׁנָה *yearling*, Ex 12<sup>5</sup>, &c.; בֶּן-מֵאָת שָׁנָה *centum annos natus*, Gn 21<sup>5</sup>; בֶּן-מָוֶת *worthy to die*, 1 S 2c<sup>31</sup> (Luther, 2 S 12<sup>5</sup> *ein Kind des Todes*); cf. Dt 25<sup>2</sup> בֶּן-הַכּוֹת *worthy to be beaten*. Feminine, e. g. בַּת-בְּלָעַל *a wicked woman*, 1 S 11<sup>6</sup>; frequently also בְּלָעַל, and even simply בְּלָעַל, like the Latin *scelus* for *sceltestissimus*, 2 S 23<sup>6</sup>, Jb 34<sup>18</sup>. Plural masculine, e. g. בְּנֵי מְרִי *children of rebellion*, Nu 17<sup>25</sup>. בֶּן is used poetically of things without life, e. g. Is 5<sup>1</sup> בֶּן-שֶׁמֶן *a fat*, i. e. a fruitful (hill); Jon 4<sup>10</sup> בֶּן-לַיְלָה i. e. *grown in a night*; Jb 41<sup>20</sup> *son of the bow* (i. e. an arrow); so also בְּנֵי רֶשֶׁף = *sparks*, Jb 5<sup>7</sup>; La 3<sup>13</sup>; בְּנוֹת Ec 12<sup>4</sup> *the daughters of song*, probably meaning the individual notes.

There is another use of בֶּן or בְּנֵי to denote membership of a guild or society (or of a tribe, or any definite class). Thus בְּנֵי אֱלֹהִים or בְּנֵי הָאֱלֹהִים Gn 62<sup>4</sup>, Jb 1<sup>6</sup>, 2<sup>1</sup>, 38<sup>7</sup> (cf. also בְּנֵי אֱלִים ψ 29<sup>1</sup>, 89<sup>7</sup>) properly means not *sons of god(s)*, but beings of the class of אֱלֹהִים or אֱלִים 1 K 20<sup>35</sup> (singular in Am 7<sup>14</sup>) *persons belonging to the guild of prophets*; בֶּן-הַרְפוּקָהִים Neh 3<sup>8</sup> *one of the guild of apothecaries*, cf. 3<sup>31</sup> where בֶּן-הַצְּרָפִים is to be read. Similarly בְּנֵי שְׁלֵשִׁים Gn 5c<sup>23</sup> are most probably not *great-grandsons* but *grandsons*, i. e. those belonging to the third generation. Cf. also בְּנֵי הַגֵּרְשֹׁנִי Nu 4<sup>27f</sup>. *Gershonites*, בְּנֵי הַקֹּהֲתִים 2 Ch 20<sup>19</sup>, &c., *Kohathites*; בְּנֵי קָדִים *dwellers in the East*.

- 7U 3. Special mention must be made of the not infrequent idiom by which adjectives (sometimes also ordinals, see § 134 o) are added in the genitive, like substantives, rather than as attributes in the same state, gender, and number as the noun which they qualify; thus, Is 28<sup>4</sup> צִיצַת נָבֵל *the flower of that which fades*, for which verse 1 has צִיץ נָבֵל *the fading flower*; cf. further, Is 22<sup>24</sup>, Jer 22<sup>17</sup> (?), 52<sup>13</sup>, ψ 73<sup>10</sup>, 74<sup>15</sup> (but אֵיתָן may be a substantive), 78<sup>49</sup>; also the use of רַע as a substantive, e. g. in Pr 21<sup>4b</sup>, 6<sup>24</sup> (אֵישׁ רַע), &c., analogous to the New Testament phrase *ὁ οἰκονόμος τῆς ἀδικίας*, Luke 16<sup>8</sup>, and the French *un homme de bien*.<sup>1</sup>—Finally, an adverb (treated as a substantive) may likewise be used as an exegetical genitive; cf. הִמָּוֶה דְּמֵי הַנֶּם *blood shed without cause*, 1 K 2<sup>21</sup>; Pr 24<sup>28</sup>, 26<sup>2</sup>; Ez 30<sup>16</sup> (יוֹמָם).

- v 3. The exegetical genitives include finally the numerous nearer definitions which follow the construct state of adjectives (and of active and passive participles, or verbal adjectives, cf. § 116 f-l). For, while the word of nearer definition is added to the verb in the accusative (e. g. חָלָה אֶת-רַגְלָיו *he was diseased in his feet*, 1 K 15<sup>23</sup>), it may, with participles and verbal adjectives, be either in the accusative

<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, in such passages as Is 36<sup>2</sup> (2 K 18<sup>17</sup>), Zc 14<sup>4</sup>, Ec 8<sup>10</sup>, &c., there is no apparent reason why the Masora requires the construct state instead of the absolute; hence חֵיל Is 36<sup>2</sup> and גֵּיא Zc 14<sup>4</sup> must be intended as forms of the absolute state, shortened in consequence of their close connexion.

(§ 116 *f* and *k*) or in the genitive, the case of a word depending on a noun. Such a genitive relation is usually termed an *improper annexion*. The nearer definition contains a statement either of the material, e. g. Ex 3<sup>8</sup>, &c., זָבַת חֶלֶב יִרְבֵּשׁ a land flowing with milk and honey; or of the means, e. g. חָלַל־יָחֶרֶב slain with the sword, Is 22<sup>2</sup>; or the cause, Ct 2<sup>5</sup> sick of love; or of the scope of the attribute,<sup>1</sup> e. g. Gn 39<sup>6</sup> יָפֵה־הָאָר fair of form; cf. Gn 41<sup>2,4</sup>, Ex 34<sup>6</sup>, Is 1<sup>4</sup>, Jer 32<sup>19</sup>, Na 1<sup>3</sup>, ψ 119<sup>1</sup>, Jb 37<sup>16</sup>; or of the manner, e. g. ψ 59<sup>6</sup> אֶן־בְּנֵי־אֵן־אֵן faithless ones of wickedness (wickedly faithless).

Especially frequent is the use of this genitive to name the part of *y* the body described as being affected by some physical or mental condition, e. g. ψ 24<sup>4</sup> נְקֵי כַפַּיִם clean as regards hands, &c.; 2 S 9<sup>3</sup>, Is 6<sup>5</sup>, Jb 17<sup>9</sup>; Is 19<sup>10</sup> אֲנִמִּי־נָפֵשׁ grieved in soul; 1 S 1<sup>10</sup>, Jb 3<sup>20</sup>. Also such examples as Am 2<sup>16</sup>, Pr 19<sup>1</sup>, where a suffix is attached to the substantive, must be regarded as instances of the genitive construction, on the analogy of Pr 14<sup>2</sup>, see § 116 *k*.

### § 129. *Expression of the Genitive by Circumlocution.*

Besides the construction of a nomen rectum dependent upon a nomen *a* regens in the construct state (§§ 89 and 128), the connexion of two nouns may also be effected otherwise, either by simply attaching the dependent noun by means of the preposition לְ, which, according to § 119 *r*, expresses, besides other ideas, like that of *belonging to*,<sup>2</sup> or by the addition of a relative clause (לְ אֲשֶׁר לְ, see *h* below).

1. The introduction of a genitive by לְ sometimes occurs even when the *b* construction with the construct state would be equally possible, e. g. 1 S 14<sup>16</sup> הַצִּפִּים לְשָׂאֵל the watchmen of Saul; ψ 37<sup>16</sup>, 2 Ch 28<sup>18</sup> (where indeed the circumlocution makes the sense much plainer); as a rule, however, this use is restricted to the following cases:—

(a) To prevent a nomen regens being determined by a following determinate *C* genitive, e. g. 1 S 16<sup>18</sup> בֶּן לְיֵשׁוּ a son of Jesse (בֶּן־יֵשׁוּ would be, according to § 127 *a*, the son of Jesse); cf. Gn 14<sup>18</sup>, 36<sup>12</sup>, 41<sup>12</sup>, Nu 16<sup>22</sup> (27<sup>16</sup>), 1 S 17<sup>8</sup>, 2 S 19<sup>21</sup>, ψ 122<sup>5</sup>. Hence, regularly מְנוּמֹר לְדָוִד (ψ 3<sup>1</sup>, &c.) a psalm of David (properly belonging to David as the author), for which לְדָוִד of David is used alone elliptically in ψ 11<sup>1</sup>, 14<sup>1</sup>, &c. Such a case as מְנוּמֹר לְדָוִד (ψ 24<sup>1</sup>, &c.) is not to

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the Latin *integer vitæ scelerisque purus; tristis animi*, &c.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the σχῆμα Κολοφώνιον in Greek, e. g. ἡ κεφαλὴ τῶ ἀνθρώπου for τοῦ ἀνθρώπου (Bernhardy's *Syntax*, p. 88). The Arab grammarians distinguish a twofold genitive, one of which may be resolved by لְ, and the other by مِّنْ [see Wright's *Arabic Grammar*, vol. ii, § 75 ff.]. The *de* of the Romance languages is a development of the latter idea; the Gascon, however, says e. g. *la fille à Mr. N.* laying stress upon the idea of *belonging to* and not that of *origin*, as in *la fille de . . .* of the literary language.

be regarded as a transposition, but מְזֻמָּר is used epexegetically for the general term omitted before לְדָוִד (as it were, a poem of David, a psalm).

Moreover, the introduction of the author, poet, &c., by this *Lamed auctoris* is the customary idiom also in the other Semitic dialects, especially in Arabic.

d (b) When a genitive is to be made dependent on a nomen regens, which is itself composed of a nomen regens and rectum, and represents, as a compound, one united idea, e. g. Ru 2<sup>3</sup> חֶלְקֶת הַשָּׂדֶה לְבִעֹז the portion of field belonging to Boaz (בִּעֹז שָׂדֶה would be the portion of the field of Boaz); 2 K 5<sup>9</sup> at the house-door of Elisha. This especially applies to the cases in which the compound regens represents a term in very common use, the fixed form of which cannot be altered, e. g. 1 K 14<sup>19</sup> עַל-סֵפֶר דְּבָרֵי הַיָּמִים לְמַלְכֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל in the book of the chronicles of the kings of Israel; 15<sup>23</sup>, &c.; cf. also Jos 19<sup>51</sup>.

e (c) When for any other reason the construction with the nomen regens in the construct state is inadmissible; cf. e. g. Lv 18<sup>20</sup>, where שְׂכַבְתָּךְ, on account of the suffix, cannot be used in the construct state; but Lv 15<sup>16</sup> ff., &c., שְׂכַבְת־זָרַע; Ju 3<sup>28</sup> the Jordan fords of Moab (יַרְדֵּן as a proper name cannot be used in the construct state); Ex 20<sup>5</sup> upon the third and upon the fourth generation of them that hate me; וְעַל-רִבְעֵים must be kept in the absolute state for the sake of conformity with עַל-שְׁלֹשִׁים, and for the same reason also לְאֵלִפַּיִם לְאַהֲבֵי.

f (d) After statements of number in such cases as Gn 8<sup>14</sup> בְּשִׁבְעָה וְעֶשְׂרִים יוֹם לְחָרָשׁ on the seven and twentieth day of the month; cf. 7<sup>11</sup>, 16<sup>3</sup> and frequently, or as in Hag 1<sup>1</sup> בְּשִׁנַּת שְׁתַּיִם לְדַרְיָוִשׁ in the second year of Darius; the numeral here is always one compound idea with the substantive numbered, and consequently (as in the examples under b) does not admit of being in the constr. st. with a genitive. The same naturally applies also to such examples as 1 K 3<sup>18</sup> בַּיּוֹם הַשְּׁלִישִׁי לְלִדְתִי on the third day of my giving birth (i. e. after my giving birth). Cf. also the standing phrase בְּאַחַד לְחָדָשׁ on the first (day) of the month, Gn 8<sup>5</sup> and frequently.

g Rem. In cases like 2 S 3<sup>2</sup> and his firstborn was Amnon לְאַחִינֹעַם of Ahinoam, the genitive expressed by circumlocation with לְ is in reality dependent on a regens which is omitted (בֶּן לְאַחִינֹעַם a son of Ahinoam); cf. 2 S 3<sup>3,5</sup>, 1 K 14<sup>13</sup>, Am 5<sup>3</sup> (unless לְבַיִת יִשְׂרָאֵל originally depended on thus spake the Lord), and the remarks on מְזֻמָּר under c above.

h 2. The periphrastic expression of the genitive by means of לְ אִשָּׁר לְ is used principally to state the possessor, e. g. Gn 29<sup>9</sup> הַצֹּאן אֲשֶׁר לְאָבִיהָ her father's sheep (prop. the sheep which belonged to her father); Gn 47<sup>4</sup> and frequently. So also (according to § 128 a) when a genitive depends on more than one substantive, e. g. Gn 40<sup>5</sup> הַמֶּלֶךְ וְהַבָּכֵר וְהַמְּצַרִּים would indicate only the baker as belonging to the king); or when a genitive (as in the examples under d above) is added to a compound, which expresses one united idea (Ru 4<sup>3</sup>); or when, as a fixed term (e. g. a title), it appears always in the same form, e. g. Ct 1<sup>1</sup> שִׁיר הַשִּׁירִים אֲשֶׁר לְשֹׁלֹמֹה the Song of songs, of Solomon; 1 S 21<sup>8</sup>, 2 S 2<sup>8</sup>, 1 Ch 11<sup>10</sup>; cf. also Gn 41<sup>43,1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> In New Hebrew שֶׁל (derived from שָׁל = אֲשֶׁר לְ, see § 36, and cf. Ct 1<sup>6</sup>, 3<sup>7</sup> שֶׁלִּי נְשָׁלֹמָה, נְשָׁלִי) is used like the simple relative דִּי, דְּ in Aramaic, as an independent sign of the genitive.

§ 130. *Wider Use of the Construct State.*

The construct state, which, according to § 89 a, primarily represents *a* only the immediate government by one substantive of the following word (or combination of words), is frequently employed in rapid narrative as a connecting form, even apart from the genitive relation; so especially—

(1) Before prepositions,<sup>1</sup> particularly in elevated (prophetic or poetic) style, especially when the nomen regens is a participle. Thus before  $\text{בְּ, שִׂמְחַת בְּקִצִּיר}$  *the joy in the harvest*, Is 9<sup>2</sup>, 2 S 1<sup>21</sup>,  $\psi$  136<sup>8f.</sup>; in participles, Is 5<sup>11</sup>, 9<sup>1</sup>, 19<sup>8</sup>,  $\psi$  84<sup>7</sup>, and especially often when  $\text{בְּ}$  with a suffix follows the participle, e. g.  $\psi$  2<sup>12</sup>  $\text{בְּלִחְוִי בּו}$ ; cf. Na 1<sup>7</sup>, Jer 8<sup>16</sup> ( $\psi$  24<sup>1</sup>);  $\psi$  64<sup>9</sup> (unless  $\text{רָאָה}$  should be read); 98<sup>7</sup>.<sup>2</sup>—Before  $\text{לְ}$ , Ho 9<sup>6</sup> (but read probably  $\text{מִמְּהָרֵי בְּמִסְפָּם}$ );  $\psi$  58<sup>5</sup> (before  $\text{לְמֹו}$ ); Pr 24<sup>9</sup>, Jb 18<sup>2</sup>, La 2<sup>18</sup> (before  $\text{לְךָ}$ ); 1 Ch 6<sup>55</sup>, 23<sup>28</sup>; in participles, Ez 38<sup>11</sup>, Jb 24<sup>5</sup>; before  $\text{לְ}$  with an infinitive, Is 56<sup>10</sup>, and again before  $\text{לְ}$  with a suffix, Gn 24<sup>21</sup>, Is 30<sup>18</sup>, 64<sup>3</sup>;<sup>3</sup>—before  $\text{אֶל־}$ , Is 14<sup>19</sup>, Ez 21<sup>17</sup>;—before  $\text{אֶת־}$  (*with*), Is 8<sup>6</sup>;—before  $\text{מִן}$ , Gn 3<sup>22</sup>, Is 28<sup>9</sup> (a participle); Jer 23<sup>23</sup>, Ez 13<sup>2</sup>, Ho 7<sup>5</sup>;—before  $\text{עַל־}$ , Ju 5<sup>10</sup>;—before  $\text{בְּלִי}$ , Is 14<sup>6</sup>;—before the *nota accus.*  $\text{אֵת}$ , Jer 33<sup>22</sup>;—before a locative (which in such cases also serves as a genitive), Ex 27<sup>13</sup>, Jer 1<sup>15</sup>.

(2) Before *wāw copulative*, e. g. Ez 26<sup>10</sup>; but  $\text{הַקְּמַת}$  Is 33<sup>6</sup>,  $\text{גִּילַת}$  35<sup>2</sup>,  $\text{שִׁבְרַת}$  51<sup>21</sup> may be cases of an intentional reversion to the old feminine ending *ath*, in order to avoid the hiatus (וְ) ! הַ—.

(3) When it governs the (originally demonstrative) pronoun  $\text{אֲשֶׁר}$ ; *C* so especially in the combination  $\text{אֲשֶׁר מְקוֹם}$ , Gn 39<sup>20</sup>, 40<sup>3</sup>, *the place where* (prop. of *that in which*) *Joseph was bound*; cf. § 138 g; or  $\text{בְּמְקוֹם אֲשֶׁר}$  Lv 4<sup>24,33</sup>, 2 S 15<sup>21</sup>, 1 K 21<sup>19</sup>, Jer 22<sup>12</sup>, Ez 21<sup>35</sup>, Ho 2<sup>1</sup>. We should expect  $\text{אֲשֶׁר בְּמְקוֹם אֲשֶׁר}$ , as in Gn 35<sup>13</sup>, &c., *at the place which . . .*, cf. § 138; but  $\text{אֲשֶׁר}$  is treated as a nomen rectum instead of as an attribute.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. König, 'Die Ueberwucherung des St.-constr.-Gebrauchs im Semit.,' ZDMG. 53, 521 ff.

<sup>2</sup> In Ju 8<sup>11</sup> the article is even used before a construct state followed by  $\text{בְּ}$ , in order to determine the whole combination  $\text{בְּאֵהָלִים שְׁבוּנֵי}$  *tent-dwellers*, taken as one word; cf., however, the remarks in § 127 f-i on similar grammatical solecisms.

<sup>3</sup> These are to be distinguished from the cases where  $\text{לְ}$  follows a construct state, which in conjunction with  $\text{מִן}$  (and the following  $\text{לְ}$ ) has become a sort of preposition or adverb of place; thus, we have  $\text{מִבֵּית־לְ}$  Ex 26<sup>33</sup> (for which in Ez 1<sup>27</sup> merely  $\text{בֵּית־לְ}$  meaning simply *within*);  $\text{מִיְמִין־לְ}$  (2 K 23<sup>13</sup>, Ez 10<sup>3</sup>) *on the right hand* (i. e. south) *of*;  $\text{מִצְפוֹן־לְ}$  (Jos 8<sup>11,13</sup>, &c., Ju 2<sup>9</sup>) *on the north of*; cf. also Jos 15<sup>21</sup> and  $\text{לְפָנֵי מִן}$  Neh 13<sup>4</sup>.

Cf. also מְיוֹם א' followed by a *perfect* in 1 S 29<sup>8</sup>, and מְיוֹם א' Lv 13<sup>46</sup>, Nu 9<sup>18</sup>.<sup>1</sup>

d (4) When it governs independent sentences (cf. § 155), which virtually stand to the construct state (as *nomen regens*) in a sort of genitive relation, e. g. Ex 4<sup>13</sup> בְּיַד הַשֵּׁלַח prop. *by the hand of him whom thou wilt send*; Nu 23<sup>3</sup> מַה-יִרְאֶנִי דָבָר *the matter of that which he shall show me*, i. e. whatever he shall; Is 29<sup>1</sup> הָרְיַח הַזֶּה דָּוִד *the city where David encamped*; Jer 48<sup>36</sup>, ψ 16<sup>3</sup> (if the text be right), 65<sup>5</sup> (Pr 8<sup>32</sup>), ψ 81<sup>6</sup>, Jb 18<sup>21</sup> *the place of him that knoweth not God*; Jb 29<sup>16</sup>, La 1<sup>14</sup> (if the text be right) *into the hands of those against whom I cannot stand*.<sup>2</sup> In Gn 39<sup>4</sup> (בְּלִישְׁלוֹ) the בְּ- takes after it a noun-clause, and in Ex 9<sup>4</sup>, still more boldly, a subst. with לְ.—Very often a *time-determination* governs the following sentence in this way; thus אַחֲרַי followed by a *perfect*, Lv 25<sup>43</sup>, 1 S 5<sup>9</sup>; בְּיוֹם ψ 102<sup>3</sup> (before a noun-clause), Ex 6<sup>28</sup>, Nu 3<sup>1</sup>, Dt 4<sup>15</sup>, 2 S 22<sup>1</sup>, ψ 18<sup>1</sup>, 59<sup>17</sup>, 138<sup>3</sup> (in every case before a following *perfect*), ψ 56<sup>10</sup> (before an *imperfect*); מְיוֹם followed by the *perfect*, Jer 36<sup>2</sup>; בְּלִימַי Lv 14<sup>46</sup>, 1 S 25<sup>15</sup>, Jb 29<sup>2</sup> (מְיוֹם) *as in the days when . . .*<sup>3</sup>; cf. שָׁנוֹת and בְּיָמֹת before a *perfect*, ψ 90<sup>15</sup>; בְּעַת before a *perfect*, Jer 6<sup>15</sup> (cf. 49<sup>8</sup>, 50<sup>31</sup>); before an *imperfect*, Jb 6<sup>17</sup>; תְּחִלַּת before a *perfect*, Ho 1<sup>2</sup>.

e (5) Connected with a following word in apposition; certainly so in such cases as בְּתוּלַת בְּתֻצִיּוֹן *the virgin, the daughter of Zion*, Is 37<sup>22</sup>; cf. 23<sup>12</sup>, Jer 14<sup>17</sup>; also 1 S 28<sup>7</sup> בְּעֹלְת־אֵיב *a woman, possessor of a soothsaying spirit*; cf. Dt 21<sup>11</sup>.—Gn 14<sup>10</sup>, Ju 19<sup>22</sup> (but read probably אֲנָשִׁים with Moore, as in Dt 13<sup>14</sup>, Ju 20<sup>13</sup>, 1 K 21<sup>10</sup>); 2 K 10<sup>6</sup>, 17<sup>13</sup> Q̄erê; Jer 46<sup>9</sup>, ψ 35<sup>16</sup> (?), 78<sup>9</sup>, Jb 20<sup>17</sup><sup>b</sup> (unless נְהַרֵי or נְהַלֵי be a gloss).

f Rem. Some of the above passages may also be explained by supposing that there exists a real genitive relation towards the preceding construct state, which has been, as it were, provisionally left *in suspenso*, in consequence of the insertion of some interrupting word, e. g. Is 37<sup>22</sup>, &c.; Jb 20<sup>17</sup><sup>a</sup>. Elsewhere (Dt 33<sup>19</sup>, ψ 68<sup>34</sup>) the *nomen regens* probably governs the following construct state directly.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In Dt 23<sup>5</sup> the construct state governs a sentence introduced by the conjunction אֲשֶׁר (עַל-דָּבָר אֲשֶׁר *by reason of the fact that, i. e. because*); so also in 1 S 3<sup>13</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Probably Gn 22<sup>4</sup> is also to be so explained (contrary to the accents), and certainly (contrary to the very unnatural division of the verses) 2 Ch 30<sup>18</sup>, which should read on thus: יְהוָה הַטוֹב יִכַּפֵּר בְּעַד כָּל-לִבְבוֹ הַכִּין *the good Lord pardon every one that setteth his heart to seek God*. [See Wickes' *Accentuation of the Twenty-one Prose Books of the Old Testament*, p. 140.]

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Na 2<sup>9</sup> מְיוֹם הִיא, usually explained to mean *from the days that she hath been*, but the text is evidently very corrupt.

<sup>4</sup> So also Is 28<sup>16</sup> a corner stone of the preciousness (יְקִרְת) is a substantive not an adjective of a fixed foundation, i. e. a precious corner stone of surest foundation.—In 2 S 20<sup>19</sup> the text is wholly corrupt; in ψ 119<sup>188</sup> read בְּלִפְקוּרָיִךְ.

(6) The numeral אֶחָד *one* for אֶחָד in close connexion, and even with *g* small disjunctives, e. g. Gn 3<sup>22</sup>, 48<sup>22</sup>, 1 S 9<sup>3</sup>, 2 S 17<sup>22</sup>, Is 27<sup>12</sup>, Zc 11<sup>7</sup>.

The character of these passages shows that the numeral here cannot be in the construct state, but is merely a rhythmical shortening of the usual (tone-lengthened) form.

§ 131. *Apposition.*

1. Apposition in the stricter sense is the collocation of two substantives in the same case in order to define more exactly (or to complete) the one by the other, and, as a rule (see, however, below, under *g*), the former by the latter. Apposition in Hebrew (as in the other Semitic languages<sup>1</sup>) is by no means confined to those cases in which it is used in English or in the classical languages. It is not infrequently found when either the *subordination* of one substantive to the other or some more circumstantial kind of epexegetical addition would be expected.

2. The principal kinds of apposition in Hebrew are:—

(a) The collocation of *genus* and *species*, e. g. אִשָּׁה אֶלְמָנָה *a woman (who was) a widow*, 1 K 7<sup>14</sup>; נַעֲרָה בְּתוּלָה *a damsel (that is) a virgin*, Dt 22<sup>23, 28</sup>, Ju 4<sup>4</sup>, 19<sup>1</sup>, 21<sup>12</sup>, 1 S 30<sup>17</sup>, 1 K 1<sup>2</sup>; cf. Gn 13<sup>8</sup>, 21<sup>20</sup> (where, however, נְשָׂא is probably an explanatory gloss); Ex 24<sup>5</sup> (1 S 11<sup>15</sup>), 2 S 15<sup>16</sup>, 1 K 3<sup>16</sup>, 5<sup>29</sup> (but probably מְבַל should be read instead of סְבַל); Is 3<sup>24</sup> (unless מְעַשֶׂה is to be read), Jer 20<sup>1</sup>. Perhaps also כֹּהֵן הָרֹאשׁ *the priest (who is) the chief man*, 2 K 25<sup>18</sup>, &c.; others take כֹּהֵן as constr. st.—In 2 S 10<sup>7</sup> read כָּל־צָבָא הַגִּבּוֹר with the LXX, as in the parallel passage 1 Ch 19<sup>9</sup> for כָּל־צָבָא הַגִּבּוֹר, which is evidently meant to refer to the reading in 2 S.

(b) Collocation of the *person* or *thing* and the *attribute*, e. g. Jb 20<sup>29</sup> C (27<sup>13</sup>) רָשָׁע הֵלֵק־אָדָם רָשָׁע *this is the portion of a man, (who is) a wicked man* (but רָשָׁע might also be an adjunct.); cf. Pr 6<sup>12</sup>.—Lv 6<sup>13</sup>, 16<sup>4</sup> (where, however, קִרְשׁ is probably a gloss); Pr 22<sup>21</sup> אֱמָת אֱמָרִים *words (which are) truth*; (immediately after אֱמָת אֱמָרִי cf. 1 S 2<sup>13</sup>, Mi 1<sup>11</sup> (where, however, בְּנֵי־שֵׁת is most probably a gloss on עֲרִיבָה)); Zc 1<sup>13</sup> (= *comfortable words*); ψ 45<sup>5</sup> (?), 68<sup>17</sup> (cf. verse 16). In a wider sense this includes also such cases as ψ 60<sup>5</sup> יַיִן תַּרְעֵלָה *wine which is staggering* (intoxicating drink), which causes staggering<sup>2</sup>; 1 K 22<sup>27</sup>, 2 Ch 18<sup>26</sup> לַחֵיז מִיָּמִים (in

<sup>1</sup> On certain uses of apposition peculiar to the Semitic languages, cf. the exhaustive discussion by Fleischer, 'Ueber einige Arten der Nominalapposition im Arab.' (*Kleine Schriften*, ii. 16); [and see also Driver, *Tenses*, Appendix IV.]

<sup>2</sup> Unless it is to be translated *thou gavest us intoxication to drink as wine* (and so in 1 K 22<sup>27</sup> *give him affliction to eat as bread*, &c.); cf. ψ 80<sup>6</sup> and the analogous examples of apposition in the form of a second accusative in § 117 *kk*. More-

Is 30<sup>20</sup> parallel with צַר לָהֶם) *water* which is *affliction*, drunk in trouble (imprisonment). Still more boldly, 1 K 5<sup>3</sup> בָּקָר רְעִי *oxen* which were taken out of the *pastures*, and 1 K 6<sup>7</sup> *undressed stones* which come from the *quarry*, probably a corruption of מִפִּסֵּעַ. A person and a condition are in apposition in Ez 18<sup>6</sup> (unless בְּנִדְתָהּ is to be read).—In 1 S 4<sup>1</sup> read 'עָבָן הָעֵץ, as in 5<sup>1</sup>, 7<sup>12</sup>.

- d (c) Collocation of the *person* (Dt 28<sup>36</sup>) or *thing* (form) and *material*,<sup>1</sup> or of the *place* or *measure* and its *contents*, e. g. 1 Ch 15<sup>19</sup> בְּמִצְבְּלֵיהֶם *בְּחִשְׁתֵּי* with *cymbals* which were *brass*, i. e. of brass; cf. Ex 26<sup>25</sup>, Dn 11<sup>8</sup>, 1 Ch 28<sup>15, 18</sup> (?); Ex 28<sup>17</sup> *four rows*, namely *stones* (for which 39<sup>10</sup> has בָּנִי; cf. 2 Ch 4<sup>13</sup>, Lv 6<sup>3</sup> (see, however, § 128 d); 2 K 7<sup>1</sup> סֵלֶת *a seah of fine flour*; cf. 2 K 7<sup>16, 18</sup>, Gn 18<sup>6</sup>, Ex 16<sup>33</sup>, Lv 5<sup>11</sup>, Ru 2<sup>17</sup>, 1 K 16<sup>24</sup>, 2 K 5<sup>23</sup> כֶּסֶף *two talents of silver*;<sup>2</sup> cf. 5<sup>17</sup>, Ex 39<sup>17</sup>, Ez 22<sup>18</sup> (if the text be right). With the *material* placed before the *measure*, Ex 30<sup>23f</sup>.—A *period of time* and its *contents* are placed in apposition חֹדֶשׁ יָמִים *a month of days*, i. e. a month's time=for a whole month, Gn 29<sup>14</sup>, Nu 11<sup>20, 21</sup>, cf. Dt 21<sup>13</sup>, 2 K 15<sup>13</sup>, and שְׁנַתַּיִם יָמִים *two years' time*, i. e. two full years, Gn 41<sup>1</sup>, 2 S 13<sup>23</sup>, 14<sup>28</sup>, Jer 28<sup>3, 11</sup>, Dn 10<sup>2f</sup>.

Finally, under this head may be included all the cases in which a numeral (regarded as a substantive) is followed by the object numbered in apposition, e. g. בְּנֵי שְׁלֹשָׁה *trias* sc. *fili*, § 97 a and § 134 b.

- e (d) Collocation of the *thing* and the *measure* or *extent*, *number*, &c., e. g. Nu 9<sup>20</sup> מִסְפָּר יָמִים *days*, (a small) *number*, i. e. only a few days; מִשְׁנָה כְּסוּפָה *money, repetition*, i. e. twice as much money, Gn 43<sup>12</sup> (unless כְּסוּפָה be constr. st.); מַיִם בְּרַכְוִים *water* which was of the measure of the *knees*, which reached to the knees, Ez 47<sup>4</sup> (also מַיִם מִתְּנִיִּים *water that was to the loins*, in the same verse). This likewise includes the cases in which a noun is followed in apposition by a numeral (see § 134 c) or an adverb, originally conceived as a substantive, e. g. Neh 2<sup>12</sup> אֲנָשִׁים מְעַט *men, a few*, i. e. some few men; 1 K 5<sup>9</sup> תְּבִנְנָה הַרְבֵּה *understanding, much-making*, i. e. much understanding, unless הַרְבֵּה is to be taken as an adverb with וַיִּתֵּן, as in 2 S 8<sup>8</sup> with לָקַח.

over, having regard to הַרְבֵּה יַיִן *spiced wine*, Ct 8<sup>2</sup>, and עֵיִר פָּרָא *a wild ass's colt*, Jb 11<sup>12</sup> (in which passages יַיִן and עֵיִר must certainly be in the construct state) we cannot but ask whether the Masora does not intend the יַיִן in ψ 60<sup>5</sup> to be taken as construct state (for which elsewhere יַיִן).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also the examples treated above in § 127 h.

<sup>2</sup> On the anomalous form כְּבָרִים (instead of כְּבָרִים; cf. כְּבָרִים immediately before), see § 88 b.

(e) Collocation of the *thing* and its *name*, e.g. *בְּהַר־שֵׁעִיר* *in their mountainous district, Seir* (perhaps only a later gloss), Gn 14<sup>6</sup>; *הָאָרֶץ פְּנֵעַן* *the land Canaan* (כנען probably only a later gloss), Nu 34<sup>2</sup>; cf. Ezr 9<sup>1</sup>, 1 Ch 5<sup>9</sup> (see under *g* below).—For examples of nouns in the construct state before a noun in apposition, see § 130 e.

Rem. 1. Only in certain combinations does the noun of nearer definition *g* come first, e.g. *הַמֶּלֶךְ דָּוִד שְׁלֹמֹה הַמֶּלֶךְ* *king David, king Solomon* (less frequently *הַמֶּלֶךְ דָּוִד* as in 2 S 13<sup>39</sup>, 1 K 2<sup>17</sup>, 12<sup>2</sup>, 2 K 8<sup>29</sup>, 9<sup>15</sup>, and in late Hebrew, Hag 1<sup>15</sup> [cf. the Aramaic order מלכא מלכא], and often in Chron.).—A chiasmus occurs in Is 45<sup>4</sup>, the name standing after the defining noun in the first part of the verse, and before it in the parallel clause.

2. When the *nota accusativi* (אֵת, אֶת־) or a preposition precedes the first *h* substantive, it *may* be repeated before the noun in apposition, e.g. Gn 4<sup>2</sup>, 22<sup>2</sup>, 24<sup>4</sup>, 47<sup>29</sup>, Is 66<sup>21</sup>; this usually occurs when the nearer definition precedes a *proper name*. As a rule, however, the repetition does not take place (Dt 18<sup>1</sup>, Jer 33<sup>18</sup>, 1 S 2<sup>14</sup>). A noun in apposition is made determinate, even after a noun with a prefix, in the ordinary way, e.g. 2 Ch 12<sup>13</sup> *בְּיְרוּשָׁלַיִם הָעִיר* *in Jerusalem, the city which, &c.*<sup>1</sup>

3. Sometimes a second adjective is used in apposition to a preceding *i* adjective, in order to modify in some way the meaning of the first, e.g. Lv 13<sup>19</sup> *בְּהָרֶת לְבָנָה אֲדָמָה־מַּת* *a white-reddish (light red) bright spot*.

4. *Permutation* is to be regarded as a variety of apposition. It is not complementary like apposition proper (see *a* above), but rather *defines* the preceding substantive (or pronoun, see below), in order to prevent any possible misunderstanding. This includes cases like Gn 9<sup>4</sup> *with the life thereof* (which is) *the blood thereof*; Ex 22<sup>30</sup>, Dt 2<sup>26</sup>, 1 S 7<sup>9</sup>, 2 K 3<sup>4</sup> *an hundred thousand rams, the wool*, i.e. the wool of the rams; Jer 25<sup>15</sup> *this cup of the wine, that is of fury* (but *הַחֶמֶת* is probably a gloss); Is 42<sup>25</sup> *he poured upon him fury, namely his anger*; <sup>2</sup> but especially the examples in which such a permutative is added to a preceding pronoun, viz.—

(a) To a separate pronoun, e.g. Ex 7<sup>11</sup>; with regard to the vocative, cf. l § 126 f.

(b) To an accusative suffix, e.g. Ex 2<sup>6</sup> *she saw him, the child* (unless אֶת־הִיא *m* be a later gloss); Ex 35<sup>5</sup>, Lv 13<sup>57b</sup>, 1 K 19<sup>21</sup> (where, indeed, הַבֶּשֶׂר appears to be a late gloss); 21<sup>18</sup>, 2 K 16<sup>15</sup> *Kethib*, Jer 9<sup>14</sup>, 31<sup>2</sup>, Ez 3<sup>21</sup>, Ec 2<sup>21</sup> (according to Delitzsch rather a double accusative).<sup>3</sup>

(c) To a noun-suffix, e.g. Ez 10<sup>3</sup> *כִּבְאוֹ הָאִישׁ* *when he went in, the man*; 42<sup>14</sup>; *n* cf. Pr 13<sup>4</sup> (?), Ez 3<sup>12</sup>; so also after a preposition with suffix, e.g. Ec 4<sup>10</sup> *לוֹ הָאֶחָד* *woe to him, the one alone*; with a repetition of the preposition, Nu 32<sup>38</sup>, Jos 1<sup>2</sup> *לְבָנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל* *to them, to the children of Israel*; Ju 21<sup>7</sup>, Jer 51<sup>56</sup>,

<sup>1</sup> In 1 K 11<sup>8</sup> participles after *לְכָל־נַשְׂיוֹ*, as in 2 K 10<sup>6</sup> after *הָעִיר* *n*, in 19<sup>2</sup> after a determinate accusative, and in Hag 1<sup>4</sup> after *בְּבִתְיֵיכֶם*, are used without the article; these, however, are probably to be explained not as in apposition, but according to § 118 p.

<sup>2</sup> But מַיִם Gn 6<sup>17</sup> (cf. 7<sup>6</sup>) is to be regarded as a later gloss upon the archaic מַבּוּל.

<sup>3</sup> For וַיִּשְׁנֶנּוּ 1 S 21<sup>14</sup> either וַיִּשְׁנֶנּוּ is to be read or the *Kethibh* is to be explained according to § 75 b, note. Also יִלְכְּדֵנוּ Pr 5<sup>22</sup> has hardly preserved the correct form.

Ez 42<sup>5</sup> (?), Dn 11<sup>11</sup>, 1 Ch 4<sup>42</sup>, 2 Ch 26<sup>14</sup>.<sup>1</sup>—Cf. finally, Ct 3<sup>7</sup>, where the suffix precedes the genitive periphrastically expressed by שָׁלֵל, as in Ez 9<sup>1</sup>, where the genitive is expressed by לֵךְ.<sup>2</sup>

o Of a different kind are the cases in which the permutative with its proper suffix follows as a kind of correction of the preceding suffix, e. g. Is 29<sup>23</sup> *when he (or rather) his children see*, &c. (but יִלְרֵוּ is clearly a gloss); cf. ψ 83<sup>12</sup>; in Jb 29<sup>3</sup> read בְּהִלְלוּ (infin. Hiph.) or at least its syncopated form בְּהִלוּ.

p 5. Cases of apposition in a wider sense are those in which the nearer definition added to the noun was originally regarded as an *adverbial accusative*; on its use with the verb and on the relative correctness of speaking of such an accusative in Hebrew, cf. § 118 *a* and *m*. Owing to the lack of case-endings, indeed, it is in many instances only by analogies elsewhere (especially in Arabic) that we can decide whether the case is one of apposition in the narrower or in the wider sense; in other instances this must remain quite uncertain. However, the following are probably cases of apposition in the wider sense:—

q (a) Such phrases as מִשְׁנֵה כֶּסֶף a double amount in money, Gn 43<sup>15</sup>; cf. Jer 17<sup>18</sup>; 1 S 17<sup>5</sup> five thousand shekels in brass, but this might also be taken (as in *d*) shekels which were brass; certainly such cases as Jb 15<sup>30</sup> older than thy father in days, and the expression of the superlative by means of מְאֹד (originally a substantive), e. g. טוֹב מְאֹד very good, Gn 1<sup>31</sup> (cf. also Ec 7<sup>16</sup> מְאֹד הַרְבֵּה צְדִיקִי הַרְבֵּה מְאֹד prop. a much-making exceedingly, i. e. exceedingly great, Gn 15<sup>1</sup>, 41<sup>49</sup>, also Pr 23<sup>29</sup> חֲנָם חַנְּטִים wounds without cause,<sup>3</sup> perhaps also Gn 34<sup>25</sup> חֲנָם).

r (b) A few examples, in which an exegetical substantive is added to a substantive with a suffix; thus, Ez 16<sup>27</sup> מְדַרְבֵּךְ וְזִמָּה of thy conduct in lewdness (but it is also possible to explain it (as in *c*) of thy conduct, which is lewdness); cf. Ez 24<sup>13</sup>, 2 S 22<sup>33</sup> חֵיל מְעוֹזִי חֵיל my fortress in strength, i. e. my strong fortress (cf., however, ψ 18<sup>33</sup>); Hb 3<sup>8</sup>, ψ 71<sup>7</sup>. While even in these examples the deviation from the ordinary usage of the language (cf. § 135 *n*) is strange, it is much more so in חוֹב הַחֲבָלְתוֹ Ez 18<sup>7</sup>, i. e. according to the context his pledge for a debt; Ezr 2<sup>62</sup> בְּתַבְּתָם הַמְּתִיחַשִׁים, i. e. their register, namely of those that were reckoned by genealogy (but perhaps הַמְּתִיחַ is in apposition to the suffix in בְּתַבְּתָם), also the curious combinations (mentioned in § 128 *d*) of בְּרִיתִי with a proper name (Lv 26<sup>42</sup>), and in Jer 33<sup>20</sup> with הַיּוֹם.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> But in Is 17<sup>6</sup> we should certainly divide the words differently and read בְּסַעְפֵי הַפְּרִיָה, in Jer 48<sup>44</sup> read אֶלְיָה for אֶלְיָהּ, and in Pr 14<sup>13</sup> אֶחָרִית הַשְּׂמֻחָה; in Gn 2<sup>19</sup> נִפְשׁ חַיָּה is a late gloss upon לוֹ, and in Ez 41<sup>25</sup> אֶל־דִּלְתוֹת הַהִיכָל a gloss on אֶל־יָהֵן.

<sup>2</sup> Some of the examples given above are textually (or exegetically) doubtful, whilst in the case of others, especially those from the later Books, we cannot help asking whether such a prolepsis of the genitive by means of a suffix (as e. g. Ez 10<sup>3</sup>) is not due to the influence of Aramaic, in which it is the customary idiom; cf. Kautzsch's *Gramm. des Biblisch-Aram.*, § 81 *e* and § 88.

<sup>3</sup> In ψ 69<sup>5</sup> חֲנָם (like שְׁקֵר in a false way, falsely, ψ 35<sup>19</sup> and 38<sup>20</sup>) is used as an *adverbial accusative* with a participle; cf. § 118 *q*.

<sup>4</sup> But in Nu 25<sup>12</sup> שְׁלוֹם may also be explained, according to *c*, as really in apposition. Cf. on the whole question Delitzsch, *Psalmen*, 4th ed., p. 203, note 1.

6. In Dt 33<sup>4</sup> מוֹרֶשֶׁהָ, perhaps לְקַהֲלֵת מוֹרֶ is to be read), 33<sup>27</sup> (מְעַנָּה), Ju 7<sup>8</sup> S (עֲרָה), the absolute state appears to be used instead of the construct to govern a following logical genitive; this, however, cannot be explained either as a special kind of apposition, or (with Hitzig) as a peculiarity of the dialect of Northern Palestine, but is merely a textual corruption. On the other hand, in Jb 31<sup>11</sup> עֹן פְּלִילִים is evidently intended to combine the readings עֹן פְּלִילִים and עֹן פְּלִילִי (as in verse 28).—The remarkable combination אֱלֹהִים צְבָאוֹת in ψ 80<sup>8,15</sup> is due to the fact that in ψψ 42–83 אֱלֹהִים has almost throughout been subsequently substituted by some redactor for the divine name יהוה; on צְבָאוֹת יהוה cf. § 125 h. In ψ 59<sup>6</sup>, 80<sup>5,20</sup>, and 84<sup>9</sup> יהוה has been reinstated in the text before אֱלֹהִים צְבָאוֹת.<sup>1</sup>

7. Lastly, the nearer definition (qualification) of a noun may be effected by *t* means of a preposition (either with a suffix or with an independent noun), but must then be distinguished from the cases in which the preposition is dependent on a verb or verbal idea, e. g. Gn 3<sup>6</sup> and she gave also לְאִישָׁהּ עִמָּה unto her husband with her (= her husband who was with her); in Gn 9<sup>16</sup> (that I may remember the everlasting covenant between God and every living creature of all flesh) and other places, the qualification of the noun is itself also qualified.

### § 132. Connexion of the Substantive with the Adjective.<sup>2</sup>

1. The adjective (like the participle used adjectivally), which serves *a* as an *attribute* of a substantive, stands *after* the substantive, and agrees with it in *gender* and *number*, e. g. אִישׁ גָּדוֹל a great man, אִשָּׁה יְפָה a beautiful woman. If the substantive is immediately connected with a genitive, the attribute follows the latter, since, according to § 89 and § 128 a, the construct state and the genitive belonging to it are inseparably united, e. g. Est 8<sup>15</sup> עֲטֹרֶת זָהָב גְּדוֹלָה a great crown of gold.—On the attribute when attached to a *determinate* substantive, see above, § 126 u.

<sup>1</sup> Without this assumption it would be inconceivable that יהוה אֱלֹהֵי צְבָאוֹת should not have been written; that the author of these Psalms regarded צְבָאוֹת already as an independent name of God (so Gesenius and Olshausen) is out of the question.

<sup>2</sup> On the expression of attributive ideas by substantives, cf. above, § 127 h, and § 128 a, with the note; § 135 n and § 141 c (substantives for adjectives as predicates of noun-clauses) and § 152 u (periphrases for negative qualities). On the use of the feminine of adjectives (and participles) to express abstract ideas, see § 122 g. It remains to mention further the employment (mostly only in poetry) of certain epithets in place of the substantives to which the quality in question belongs; e. g. אֲבִיר the strong one, i. e. God; אֲבִיר the strong one, i. e. the bull (in Jer 8<sup>16</sup>, &c., the horse); קַל swift = the runner (of the horse, Is 30<sup>16</sup>); לְבָנָה alba, i. e. luna; פְּרִיָּה (fructifera) a fruitful tree, Is 17<sup>6</sup> (so פְּרִית Gn 49<sup>22</sup>); רֹכֵץ a croucher, i. e. a crouching beast of prey, Gn 4<sup>7</sup>. Cf. also רֹגֵן (gravis, augustus) and נְשִׂיאַ (elatus?), i. e. a prince. The use of adjectives and participles for substantives is much more extensive in Arabic. In Greek and Latin poetical language cf. such examples as ὑγρή = the sea; merum for vinum, &c.

**b** Rem. 1. Where an adjectival attribute appears to stand *before* its substantive (according to the usual explanation, for the sake of special emphasis) the relation is really appositional in character; thus, Is 10<sup>20</sup> עֲנִיָּה עֲנֹתוֹת *O thou poor one, Anathoth!* (but probably עֲנִיָּה *answer her*, is to be read); cf. 23<sup>12</sup>, 53<sup>11</sup> (a righteous man, my servant; but in 28<sup>21</sup> זָרַר and נְכַרְי are predicates preceding the substantives); Jer 3<sup>6.10f.</sup>, ψ 18<sup>4</sup> *him who is worthy to be praised will I call upon, the Lord*; 9<sup>2.12</sup> (apposition after participles).—But רַבִּים and רַבּוֹת *many*, are sometimes placed, like numerals, before the substantive, Jer 16<sup>16</sup>, Neh 9<sup>28</sup> (in ψ 145<sup>7</sup> רַב is a *subst. regens*, in 89<sup>51</sup> the text is corrupt); an appositional relation can scarcely be intended in these instances.

**c** 2. In a few expressions (mostly poetic) the adjective appears not as an attribute *after* the substantive, but in the construct state governing it; so in the singular, Ex 15<sup>16</sup> (unless גְּדָל should be read); 1 S 16<sup>7</sup> (*the height of his stature*); in the plural, 1 S 17<sup>40</sup> הַלְּקֵי הָאֲבָנִים *smooth ones of (among) stones*, i. e. *smooth stones*; Is 35<sup>9</sup>, Ez 7<sup>24</sup>, ψ 46<sup>5</sup>, and with a following collective instead of a plural, e. g. Is 29<sup>19</sup> אֶתְּרוֹנֵי אֲדָם *the poor among men*, i. e. *poor men*; Jer 49<sup>20</sup>, Zc 11<sup>7</sup>; cf. in Latin *canum degeneres*. However, in almost all these cases the adjective which is made into a *regens* is strongly emphatic, and is frequently equivalent to a superlative (see below, § 133 g).

**d** 3. When two adjectives follow a feminine, sometimes only that standing next to the noun takes the feminine termination, e. g. 1 K 19<sup>11</sup> רֵיחַ גְּרִלָּהּ (but read גְּרִילוֹ); 1 S 15<sup>9</sup> (but cf. § 75 y); Jer 20<sup>9</sup>, ψ 63<sup>2</sup>. A similar dislike of the feminine form may also be observed in the case of verbal predicates referring to feminine subjects, cf. § 145 p and t.

When an attribute qualifies several substantives of different genders, it agrees with the masculine, as being the *prior gender* (cf. § 146 d), e. g. Neh 9<sup>13</sup> חֲקִים וּמִצּוֹת טוֹבִים; Jer 34<sup>9</sup>, Zc 8<sup>5</sup>.

When three attributes follow a substantive, the first two may stand without a conjunction, and the last be attached by *wāw copulative*, cf. Zc 1<sup>8</sup>.

**e** 4. After feminines plural ending in יָ (cf. § 87 p) the adjectival attribute (in accordance with the fundamental rule stated above, under a) takes the ending וֹת, e. g. Is 10<sup>14</sup> עֲבוֹת גַּיְצִים *forsaken eggs*; Gn 32<sup>16</sup>. For a strange exception see Jer 29<sup>17</sup> (differently in 24<sup>2</sup>).

**f** 5. With regard to *number* it is to be remarked that—

(a) Substantives in the *dual* are followed by adjectives (or participles) in the *plural*, e. g. ψ 18<sup>28</sup> (Pr 6<sup>17</sup>) עֵינָיִם רְמוֹת *haughty eyes*; Is 35<sup>3</sup>, Jb 4<sup>3.4</sup>, cf. § 88 a.

**g** (b) *Collective* ideas are not infrequently joined with the *plural* of the adjective or participle (*constructio ad sensum*); thus, e. g. צֹאן *sheep* [with *fem. plur.*], Gn 30<sup>43</sup>, 1 S 25<sup>18</sup>; עָם = *men*, 1 S 13<sup>15</sup>, Is 9<sup>1</sup>; כָּל־יִשְׂרָאֵל = *all the Israelites*, 1 S 2<sup>14</sup>; גְּלוֹת = *the exiles*, Jer 28<sup>4</sup>; cf. also נַפְשֵׁי שְׁנַיִם *two souls*, Gn 46<sup>27.1</sup>. Cf. similar phenomena in the connexion of collectives with plural predicates in § 145 c.

**h** (c) The *pluralis excellentiae* or *pluralis maiestatis* is joined, as a rule, to the singular of the attribute, e. g. ψ 7<sup>10</sup> אֱלֹהִים צְרִיק; 2 K 19<sup>4.16</sup> (= Is 37<sup>4.17</sup>); Is 19<sup>4</sup>; but cf. אֱלֹהִים חַיִּים<sup>2</sup> Dt 5<sup>23</sup>, 1 S 17<sup>26.36</sup>, Jer 10<sup>10</sup>, 23<sup>36</sup>, perhaps also

<sup>1</sup> But it is impossible to take תַּמְיָמִים in Ez 46<sup>6</sup> as an attribute of בָּקָר; probably it is a correction intended to harmonize the passage with Nu 28<sup>11</sup>, where *two* young bullocks are required.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. 1 S 28<sup>13</sup>, where אֱלֹהִים (in the sense of a *spirit*) is followed by עֲלִים as a second accusative; conversely in 1 S 19<sup>13.16</sup>, a singular suffix refers back

Ex 20<sup>3</sup> אֱלֹהִים אֲחֵרִים = *another god*, and Jos 24<sup>19</sup> אֱלֹהִים קְדוּשִׁים (but cf. above, § 124 g-k). On the other hand, 1 S 4<sup>8</sup> is to be explained as having been said by the Philistines, who supposed that the Israelites had several gods. On the connexion of אֱלֹהִים with a plural predicate, see § 145 i.

2. On the adjective (in the construct state) governing a following genitive, see § 128 x; for the participle in the same construction, see § 116 f-l.

### § 133. *The Comparison of Adjectives. (Periphrastic Expression of the Comparative and Superlative.)*

A. Wünsche, 'Der Komparativ im Hebr. im Lichte der arab. Gramm.,' in *Vierteljahrsschrift für Bibelkunde*, 1904, p. 398 ff.

1. Hebrew possesses no special forms either for the comparative or a superlative of the adjective.<sup>1</sup> In order to express a comparative, the person or thing which is to be represented as excelled in some particular quality is attached to the attributive word by the preposition מִן (מִי), e. g. 1 S 9<sup>2</sup> גְּבוּהָ מִכָּל-הָעָם *higher than any of the people*. The fundamental idea evidently is, *tall away from all the people* (beyond all the people); cf. Ju 14<sup>18</sup> מַה-מְּדַבֵּשׁ וְמָה עוֹ מִצְּאֵרִי *what is sweeter than honey? and what is stronger than a lion?* Ez 28<sup>3</sup>, Am 6<sup>2</sup>. Frequently an infinitive appears as the object of the comparison, e. g. Gn 29<sup>19</sup> *it is better that I give her to thee, than that I should give her*, &c.; Ex 14<sup>12</sup>, ψ 118<sup>8f.</sup> 2

Rem. 1. This use of מִן is also very common when the attributive idea is represented by an intransitive verb, e. g. 1 S 10<sup>23</sup> וַיִּגְבְּהָ מִכָּל-הָעָם *and he was higher than any of the people*; Na 3<sup>8</sup>, Jb 7<sup>6</sup>. Elsewhere, especially after transitive verbs, מִן rather represents (on its different senses see § 119 v-z) the idea

to אֱלֹהֵי הַבַּיִת household god (but not so in Gn 31<sup>34</sup>), as in ψ 46<sup>4</sup> to the plural of amplification יַמֵּי יָם *sea*. On the other hand, it is very doubtful whether רַבָּה ψ 78<sup>16</sup> is to be regarded as an attribute of הַתְּהוֹמוֹת and not rather as the adverb, *abundantly*.

<sup>1</sup> There is in Arabic a special form of the adjective (the *elative*) for the comparative and superlative, which in Hebrew would have the form אֶקְטֵל. Instances of it, perhaps, are אֶכְזֹר *daring, cruel*, אֶכְזֹב *deceptive* (of a brook drying up), and its opposite אֶיִתֵן (contracted from 'aitan) *constantly flowing, perennis*. These forms are, however, used without any perceptible emphasis, and cannot be regarded as more than isolated relics of an elative formation which has become obsolete, much as the Latin comparative disappears in Italian, and still more so in French, and is supplanted by the circumlocution with *più, plus*.

<sup>2</sup> In Ju 11<sup>25</sup> the adjective is specially intensified by repetition, *art thou so much better than Balak?* It would also be possible, however, to translate *art thou really better . . . ?*

of a separation, distinction or superiority of one person or thing from or over others.<sup>1</sup> This is evident in such cases as בָּחַר מִן to choose something (to prefer it) before something else, e. g. Jb 7<sup>15</sup>, cf. Dt 14<sup>2</sup> (also מִן . . . יִתְרוֹן the excellence of . . . over . . . , Ec 2<sup>13</sup>); it is also seen in examples like Gn 37<sup>3</sup> וַיִּשְׂרָאֵל אֶהָב אֶת־יוֹסֵף מִכָּל־בָּנָיו now Israel loved Joseph more than all his (other) children; 29<sup>30</sup>, 1 S 2<sup>29</sup>, Ho 6<sup>6</sup>.<sup>2</sup>

- C 2. A somewhat different idea underlies the use of מִן after adjectives, or intransitive verbs possessing an attributive sense, when the thought to be expressed is that the quality is *too little* or *too much* in force for the attainment of a particular aim or object, e. g. Is 7<sup>13</sup> הֲמַעַט מִמֶּם is it a small thing (i. e. too little) for you to . . . ? Jb 15<sup>11</sup>; after an intransitive verb, e. g. Gn 32<sup>11</sup> I am too insignificant (קָטַנְתִּי) for all the mercies (I am not worthy of . . .), &c.; cf. also the expressions כָּבֵד מִן to be too heavy for one, Ex 18<sup>18</sup>, Nu 11<sup>14</sup>, ψ 38<sup>6</sup>; קָשָׁה מִן to be too hard for one, Dt 1<sup>17</sup>; מְעַט מִן to be too few for something, Ex 12<sup>4</sup>; גָּבַר מִן to be too strong for one, ψ 65<sup>4</sup>; עֲצָם מִן to be too mighty for one, Gn 26<sup>16</sup>; רַוּם מִן to be too high for one, ψ 61<sup>3</sup>; צָר מִן to be too narrow for one, Is 49<sup>10</sup>; קָצָר מִן to be too short for something, Is 50<sup>2</sup>, and very frequently נִפְלְאָה מִן to be too wonderful for one (and, consequently, inconceivable or unattainable), Gn 18<sup>14</sup>, Dt 17<sup>8</sup>, 30<sup>11</sup>, Jer 37<sup>17</sup>, Pr 30<sup>18</sup>; in ψ 139<sup>6</sup> פְּלִיאָה in the same sense is followed by מִן.—This use is especially seen in the numerous instances in which the attribute is followed by מִן with an infinitive, e. g. 1 K 8<sup>64</sup> the brazen altar . . . was קָטַן מִהֵבִיל too little to receive (to be able to receive) the burnt offering, cf. Gn 4<sup>13</sup>, 36<sup>7</sup> too great for them to dwell together; after verbs, e. g. Ex 12<sup>4</sup>, Is 28<sup>20</sup>, ψ 40<sup>6</sup>. Finally, cf. רַב לָכֶם מִן, followed by the infinitive, it is enough (prop. too much) for you to . . . , meaning ye have . . . long enough, 1 K 12<sup>28</sup>; cf. Ex 9<sup>22</sup> and Ez 44<sup>6</sup> (מִן followed by a substantive).<sup>3</sup>

d In all these instances מִן expresses either the removal of a thing from a person, or the severance of the person from some aim or object; cf. also the expression לֹא־יִבְצֵר מִהֶם כֹּל וגו' nothing will be unattainable for them (prop. there shall not be cut off from them anything which, &c.), Gn 11<sup>6</sup>, Jb 42<sup>3</sup>.

- e 3. The attributive idea, on which מִן logically depends, must sometimes, in consequence of a pregnant use of the מִן (see the analogous examples in § 119 ff), be supplied from the context, e. g. Is 10<sup>10</sup> וּפְסִלֵיהֶם מִירוּשָׁלַיִם whose graven images were more numerous than those at Jerusalem, &c.;<sup>4</sup> Mi 7<sup>4</sup> worse than a thorn hedge; ψ 62<sup>10</sup> lighter than a breath; Jb 11<sup>17</sup> clearer than the noonday; Ec 4<sup>17</sup> better than, &c.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the Latin ablative with the comparative; also the etymology of such words as *eximius*, *egregius*, and the Homeric *ἐκ πάντων μάλιστα*, Il. 4, 96; *ἐκ πασέων*, 18, 431.

<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, the phrase צָרַק מִן expresses not a comparison, but only a relation existing between one person and another; thus, in Gn 38<sup>26</sup> צָרַקָה מִמֶּנִּי means, she is in the right as against me; cf. ψ 139<sup>12</sup>, Jb 4<sup>17</sup>, 32<sup>2</sup>.—In Pr 17<sup>12</sup> rather (to meet with so and so) than . . . is expressed by וְאֵל־ before the second member.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. also 2 K 4<sup>3</sup>, where the idea of doing something too little is paraphrased by the Hiph. הִמְעִיט = do not too little, sc. לִשְׂאֵל in borrowing empty vessels.

<sup>4</sup> With this *comparatio decurtata*, cf. the still bolder pregnant construction in ψ 4<sup>6</sup>, מְעַט greater gladness than at the time, &c.

2. The correlative comparatives *greater—less* (*older—younger*) are *f* expressed by the simple adjective with the article (*the great*, equivalent to *the greater*, &c.); Gn 1<sup>16</sup>, 19<sup>31,34</sup>, 27<sup>15</sup>, 29<sup>16,18,26</sup>.

3. To express the *superlative* it is also sufficient (see above, *f*) to *g* make the adjective determinate, either by means of the article or a following partitive genitive (or suffix); in this case the article or genitive indicates that the attribute in question belongs especially to one or more definite individuals; <sup>1</sup> e. g. 1 S 9<sup>21</sup> הַצְעֵרָה *the least*; 16<sup>11</sup> הַקָּטָן *the little one*, i. e. the *youngest* of eight sons; 17<sup>14</sup> David was הַקָּטָן *the youngest*, and the three great, i. e. elder, &c.; Gn 42<sup>13</sup>, 44<sup>2</sup>, Ct 1<sup>8</sup>.—So also with a qualifying adjective, e. g. Gn 9<sup>24</sup> הַקָּטָן בְּנוֹ *his youngest son*; cf. Jos 14<sup>15</sup>; also with a following genitive, 2 Ch 21<sup>17</sup> הַקָּטָן בְּנֵי קָטָן *the youngest of his sons*: Pr 30<sup>24</sup> *the least upon the earth*; with suffix, Mi 7<sup>4</sup> טוֹבָם *their good one*, i. e. the best of them; Jon 3<sup>5</sup> מִדְּרוֹלָם *from the greatest of them even to the least of them*; cf. the inverse order in Jer 6<sup>13</sup>, 31<sup>34</sup>.

Rem. 1. The above examples apply only to the most common *relative h* attributes (*great, small, good*), and to expressions which by usage easily came to be recognized as periphrases for the superlative. Other adjectives, however, when followed by a partitive genitive, also acquire the sense of a superlative; this appears from the context, e. g. Dt 33<sup>19</sup> *the most hidden treasures of the sand*; Ju 5<sup>29</sup> *the wisest amongst her ladies*; Is 14<sup>30</sup>, 19<sup>11</sup>, 23<sup>8f.</sup>, 29<sup>19</sup>, Jer 49<sup>20</sup>, Ez 28<sup>7</sup>, Zc 11<sup>7</sup>, ψ 45<sup>15</sup>, Jb 30<sup>6</sup> (*in the most horrible of valleys*), 41<sup>22</sup>; probably also ψ 35<sup>16</sup>. On this government by the adjective generally, cf. § 132 c.—Moreover, the combination of a substantive in the construct state with an adjective used substantivally (§ 128 w) sometimes serves as a periphrasis for the superlative, e. g. Is 22<sup>24</sup> כָּל בְּלֵי הַקָּטָן *all the smallest vessels*. On Ct 7<sup>10</sup> see § 126 x.

2. Other periphrases for the superlative are the use of a substantive in the *i* construct state before the plural of the same word (which is naturally to be regarded as a partitive genitive; cf. our *book of books*), e. g. Ex 26<sup>33</sup> קֹדֶשׁ הַקִּדְשִׁים *the most holy place*; שִׁיר הַשִּׁירִים (Ct 1<sup>1</sup>) *the most excellent song*; cf. Gn 9<sup>25</sup> (= *servus servorum, the lowest servant*); Nu 3<sup>32</sup>, Dt 10<sup>17</sup> (ψ 136<sup>2,3</sup>)<sup>2</sup>; 1 K 8<sup>27</sup>, Is 34<sup>10</sup> (cf. Gal 1<sup>5</sup>, Rev 22<sup>5</sup>); Jer 3<sup>19</sup>, Ez 16<sup>7</sup>, 26<sup>7</sup> (*king of kings*, of Nebuchadrezzar; cf. 1 Tim 6<sup>15</sup>, Rev 17<sup>14</sup>, 19<sup>16</sup>, and another kind of periphrasis in ψ 95<sup>3</sup>); Ec 1<sup>2</sup>. Similarly in Jer 6<sup>28</sup> two participles are combined, and in Ho 10<sup>15</sup> two substantives in the singular. Finally, the same object is attained by connecting one substantive in the construct state with another of the same stem (שַׁבַּת שַׁבְּתוֹן *a sabbath of solemn rest*, i. e. an obligatory day of rest, Ex 31<sup>15</sup>, &c.) or of the same meaning (e. g. הַעֲשֵׂה אֲפֵלָה *a thick darkness*, Ex 10<sup>22</sup>).

3. The intensification of attributes by means of repetition belongs rather *k* to rhetoric than to syntax, e. g. Ec 7<sup>24</sup> עֹמֵק עֹמֵק *exceeding deep*; 1 S 2<sup>3</sup>, Pr 20<sup>14</sup>; the adjective is even used three times in Is 6<sup>3</sup>.—Cf. the repetition of adverbs for the same purpose in Gn 7<sup>19</sup>, Nu 14<sup>7</sup> (מְאֹד מְאֹד *exceedingly*, also מְאֹד מְאֹד Ex 17, &c.); Ez 42<sup>15</sup>.—On the other hand, in Dt 28<sup>43</sup> the repetition expresses

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also עֲלִיוֹן *the one above*, i. e. the *Most High*.

<sup>2</sup> *God of gods, and Lord of lords*, just as the supreme god of the Babylonians is called *bēl bēlī* (Tiele, *Compend. der Rel.-Gesch.*, p. 87).

a continuous progress, *higher and higher . . . lower and lower*; in Dt 2<sup>27</sup> (see § 123 e) and 16<sup>20</sup> (*nothing but justice*) the constancy of the action. Cf. Ex 23<sup>30</sup> מַעֲטִים מַעֲטִים *little by little, very gradually*.<sup>1</sup>

- l The repetition of substantives serves also as a periphrasis for the superlative in such cases as לְרֵר רֵר (Ex 3<sup>15</sup>) = *to the remotest generations*; cf. 17<sup>16</sup>, Jer 6<sup>14</sup>, 8<sup>11</sup> (*perfect peace*); Ez 21<sup>32</sup> (עָנָה three times);<sup>2</sup> 35<sup>7</sup>, Na 1<sup>2</sup>; cf. also Ho 2<sup>21 f.</sup> and the emphatic combination of synonymous verbs in Is 33<sup>10</sup>. Sometimes the completeness of an action or state is expressed by placing together two or even three substantives of the same stem and of similar sound, cf. Is 22<sup>5</sup>, Ez 6<sup>14</sup> (33<sup>28 f.</sup>, 35<sup>3</sup>); 32<sup>15</sup>, Na 2<sup>11</sup>, Zp 1<sup>15</sup> (Jb 30<sup>3</sup>, 38<sup>27</sup>).

### § 134. Syntax of the Numerals.

Cf. the exhaustive statistics collected by Sven Herner, *Syntax der Zahlwörter im A. T.*, Lund, 1893. E. König, 'Zur Syntax der Zahlwörter im A. T.', *AJSL*. xviii. 129 ff.

- a 1. The numerals from 2 to 10, as being originally abstract substantives,<sup>3</sup> may be connected with their substantives in three different ways. They may stand either —

(a) In the construct state *before* the substantive (the object numbered being consequently in the genitive), e. g. שְׁלֹשֶׁת יָמִים *a triad of days*, i. e. three days; שְׁנֵי הָאֲנָשִׁים *the two men*; or

- b (b) In the absolute state *before* it (the object numbered being in apposition, § 131 d), e. g. שְׁלֹשָׁה בָּנִים *a triad, viz. sons*, i. e. three sons; שְׁנַיִם אֲנָשִׁים *two men*; or

- c (c) In the absolute state (likewise in apposition) *after* the object numbered, e. g. בָּנוֹת שְׁלוֹשׁ. So especially in long lists, since in these the substantives naturally come first, e. g. Gn 32<sup>15</sup>. Nu 7<sup>17</sup>, 28<sup>19</sup>. Apart from such cases, the frequency of this order in the later Books is due to the fact that the character of the numeral tended more and more to become adjectival rather than substantival.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Adverbs of the same stem are connected in this way in Nu 6<sup>9</sup>, Is 29<sup>6</sup>, 30<sup>13</sup>; of different stems in Is 5<sup>26</sup> and Jo 4<sup>4</sup>. In Nu 12<sup>2</sup> the particles הִנֵּן וְכֵן appear to be placed together for a similar purpose, equivalent to *simply and solely*.

<sup>2</sup> Different in kind from the triple utterance of the same words in 2 S 18<sup>33</sup>, Jer 7<sup>4</sup> and 22<sup>29</sup>, and the double exclamation in Jer 4<sup>19</sup> and La 1<sup>16</sup> (?).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. § 97 a, where it is shown that the masculine is the original form of the numerals (used for both genders), and that the feminine was afterwards differentiated and used with masc. nouns, primarily in the second decade and then in the first as well.

<sup>4</sup> From Herner's tables (op. cit., pp. 55-66) it appears, according to p. 68, that in the documents J, E, D of the Pentateuch, and in Jos 1-12, Judges, Samuel, Isaiah, Jeremiah, the Minor Prophets, Psalms, Megilloth, and Job, the numeral never, or very rarely, stands *after* its noun; in Kings and Ezekiel it stands several times *after*; in the Priestly Code nearly always *after*; in Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, and Daniel, nearly as often *after* as *before* the noun. In Ex 28<sup>10</sup> the Masora makes the numeral in the genitive follow the construct state of the substantive numbered; we should, however, read וְאֶת־שְׁמוֹת הַשָּׁשֶׁה; for the omission of the article before 'ש', cf. § 126 w,

Rem. In Lv 24<sup>22</sup> אָחָר follows the construct state מְשֻׁפָּט, but here as in *d* Nu 15<sup>16</sup> מְשֻׁפָּט should be read. In Gn 42<sup>19</sup> אָחָר is in apposition to a substantive with a suffix (= *one of you brethren*; but verse 33 *the one of you brethren*). In Nu 31<sup>28</sup> אָחָר precedes the substantive in the Aramaic manner (= *one each*). —For מֵאָה־שָׁנָה (Gn 17<sup>17</sup>, &c.) we find regularly in the Priestly Code (except in Gn 17<sup>17</sup>, 23<sup>1</sup>) מֵאֹת שָׁנָה (Gn 5<sup>5</sup>, &c.) *an hundred years*. On the connexion of abstract numerals with suffixes, as שְׁנֵיהֶם *their duality*, i. e. *they two*, Gn 2<sup>25</sup>, &c. (also with a strengthening separate pronoun, as שְׁנֵינוּ אֲנַחְנוּ 1 S 20<sup>42</sup>), cf. § 97 *i*.

2. The numerals from 2 to 10 take the object numbered in the *e* plural,<sup>1</sup> with very few exceptions, such as Ex 16<sup>22</sup> (where שְׁנֵי הָעֹמֶר = *the double of an omer*), 2 K 22<sup>1</sup>, Ez 45<sup>1</sup>, cf. 2 K 8<sup>17</sup> and 25<sup>17</sup> *Keth*. The numerals from 11 to 19 generally take the plural, but with certain substantives frequently used with numerals the singular is more common (see further, under *f*). The tens (from 20 to 90), when they precede, take the singular (in the accusative, cf. § 131 *p*) of certain nouns frequently used with numerals (אֶלֶף *a thousand*, אִישׁ, יוֹם, כֶּרֶם, נֶפֶשׁ, שֶׁקֶל—but only in Ezekiel and the Priestly Code), otherwise the plural, as בָּנִים, בָּנוֹת, עָרִים (but cf. also Ju 11<sup>53</sup>), &c.; on the other hand, the plural is necessary when they follow the object numbered in apposition (e. g. אַמּוֹת עֶשְׂרִים *twenty cubits*, 2 Ch 3<sup>31</sup>; with the exception of 2 S 24<sup>24</sup>, only in late Books). After מֵאָה and אֶלֶף the substantive numbered may be used either in the singular or plural, see further under *g*.

Rem. 1. After the numerals from 11 to 19 the singular is used, as a rule, with יוֹם *day*, שָׁנָה *year*, אִישׁ *man*, נֶפֶשׁ *soul* (person), שֵׁבֶט *tribe*, מַצֵּבָה *pillar* (Ex 24<sup>4</sup>), sometimes with אַמָּה *cubit*, חֹדֶשׁ *month*, עִיר *city*, שֶׁקֶל *shekel* (compare our *four-year-old, ten pound*), e. g. Dt 1<sup>2</sup> אַחַר עֶשְׂרֵי יוֹם (cf., however, such exceptions as Dt 1<sup>28</sup>, Jos 4<sup>2</sup>, &c.).—Substantives other than these are used in the plural with the numerals from 11 to 19, and the numeral may even follow the substantive, especially in later passages, as Nu 7<sup>87</sup> *l*, 1 Ch 4<sup>27</sup>, 25<sup>5</sup>.

2. After מֵאָה (מֵאֹת) [so almost exclusively in the Priestly Code, e. g. always אֶלֶף (מֵאֹת אֶלֶף) and אֶלֶף (אֶלֶפִים, אֶלֶפִים, אֶלֶפִים)] the substantives אִישׁ, אֶלֶף, אַמָּה (except in Ez 40<sup>27</sup>), יוֹם, רִגְלִי, צֶמֶד (with the exception of Jos 7<sup>21</sup>, 2 S 14<sup>26</sup>, &c.); cf., moreover, Gn 33<sup>19</sup>, 24<sup>60</sup> (אֶלֶפִי רִבְכָּה), Est 1<sup>1</sup>, Ju 21<sup>12</sup>, Dt 7<sup>9</sup>, 1 K 5<sup>12</sup>, 2 Ch 9<sup>15</sup>.—Examples of the plural after מֵאָה are Gn 26<sup>12</sup>, 1 S 18<sup>25</sup>, 2 S 16<sup>1</sup>, 1 K 18<sup>4</sup>; after מֵאֹת Ex 38<sup>27</sup>; after אַמּוֹת Ju 15<sup>4</sup>, 2 S 8<sup>4</sup>, 1 K 10<sup>17</sup>,

<sup>1</sup> On examples such as Gn 46<sup>27</sup> (נֶפֶשׁ שְׁנַיִם *two souls*), cf. § 132 *g* (collectives joined with the plural of the adjective).

Ez 42<sup>17</sup>; after מֵאָתַיִם I S 25<sup>18</sup>, I K 7<sup>20</sup>; after אֶלְפָּיִם I S 25<sup>2</sup>, I K 3<sup>4</sup>, 5<sup>6</sup>, 2 K 3<sup>4</sup>, ψ 90<sup>4</sup>; after אֶלְפָּיִם I S 17<sup>6</sup>, Jb 42<sup>12</sup>; after אֶלְפָּיִם Mi 6<sup>7</sup>; after אֶלְפָּיִם Is 36<sup>8</sup>.— In Dn 12<sup>11</sup> the plural יָמִים precedes the numeral *twelve hundred*.

h 3. Numerals compounded of tens and units (like 21, 62) take the object numbered either *after* them in the singular (in the accusative), e. g. Gn 5<sup>20</sup> שְׁנָה וְשֵׁשִׁים וְשִׁשִּׁים *two and sixty years* (שְׁנָה in the singular, according to *e*, since it conforms to the ten immediately preceding; but also שְׁנָה וְשִׁשִּׁים וְשִׁשִּׁים Dt 2<sup>14</sup>), or *before* them in the plural, especially in the later Books, Dn 9<sup>26</sup>, &c.; or the object is repeated (but only in I K 6<sup>1</sup>, and the Priestly Code; sometimes even several times, e. g. Gn 23<sup>1</sup>, 25<sup>7-17</sup> thrice) in the plural with the units, and in the singular with the tens and hundreds, e. g. Gn 12<sup>4</sup> חֲמִשׁ שָׁנִים וְשִׁבְעִים *five and seventy years*; Gn 23<sup>1</sup> מֵאָה שָׁנָה וְעֶשְׂרִים שָׁנָה וְשִׁבְעִים שָׁנִים *an hundred and twenty and seven years*. Cf. Gn 5<sup>6</sup> ff.

i Rem. 1. It may further be remarked with regard to the order, that the thousand or thousands always precede the hundreds, &c., and the hundreds almost always come before the smaller numbers (in Kings and Ezekiel sometimes, and in the Priestly Code usually, after the smaller numbers), the tens in the earlier Books (documents J and D of the Pentateuch, in Joshua 1-12, Judges, Samuel, Isaiah, and also in Ezra and Nehemiah) *before* the units, but in Jeremiah, Ezekiel, the Priestly Code, Joshua 13-24 *after* the units (see Herner, op. cit., p. 73). After the hundreds the smaller number is very frequently added without ׀, especially in Ezra, Nehemiah, and Daniel.

On the syntax of the cardinals in general:—

k 2. The cardinals are determined by the article, when they refer back (without being connected with the object numbered; cf., however, Lv 25<sup>10 f.</sup>, Nu 16<sup>35</sup>, Jos 4<sup>4</sup>, 2 S 23<sup>13</sup>) to a number or list already mentioned, e. g. Gn 2<sup>11</sup> שֵׁם הָאֶחָד פִּישׁוֹן *the name of the one (the first) is Pishon*; Gn 14<sup>9</sup> אַרְבָּע מַלְכֵי כְּנָעַן *four kings against the five* (enumerated in verse 2); cf. I Ch 11<sup>20 f.</sup>, and the determinate tens in Gn 18<sup>29, 31 f.</sup>. A demonstrative with the article may also be added to a numeral determined in this way, e. g. Dt 19<sup>9</sup> (but cf. also Gn 9<sup>19</sup>, 22<sup>23</sup>, where the numeral and demonstrative are practically determinate in themselves). In the case of the numerals from 11 to 19 the article may stand either before the unit (I Ch 25<sup>19</sup>, 27<sup>15</sup>) or before עֶשְׂרִים (Jos 4<sup>4</sup>); it is used before all three members of a compound number (273) in Nu 3<sup>46</sup>.

l In apposition with any determinate substantive the cardinal number is used *without* the article, not only when it precedes the substantive, as in Jos 15<sup>14</sup> אֶת־שְׁלוֹשָׁה בְנֵי הָעֵינֶק *where שְׁלוֹשָׁה is equivalent to a substantive determinate in itself; cf. Gn 18<sup>28</sup>, Jos 6<sup>8, 22</sup>, I S 17<sup>14</sup>, I K 11<sup>31</sup>, and the passages discussed above in § 126 x, Gn 21<sup>29</sup>, &c.)*, but also when it follows the substantive, e. g. I K 7<sup>27, 43 f.</sup> עֶשְׂרִים וְעֶשְׂרִים; the omission of the article may here, as in the cases noticed in § 126 z, be also due to the dislike of a hiatus, but cf. also שְׁנַיִם 2 K 25<sup>16</sup> after a determinate substantive. The fact that it is by nature determinate would also be a very simple explanation of אֶחָד Nu 28<sup>4</sup>, I S 13<sup>17 f.</sup>, Jer 24<sup>2</sup>, Ez 10<sup>9</sup>, instead of the more usual הָאֶחָד, and of אַחַת I S 1<sup>2</sup> for הָאַחַת.

Such cases as *הַיָּמִים* *שֶׁבַע* Ju 14<sup>17</sup> (which is determined by a following *m* determinate genitive) are explained from § 127 b; 1 Ch 9<sup>25</sup> perhaps from § 126 q; in Is 30<sup>26</sup> probably the light of all the seven days of the week is meant; on the other hand, in 1 S 9<sup>20</sup> and 25<sup>38</sup> the article is, with Wellhausen, to be omitted.

3. Certain specifications of *measure, weight, or time*, are commonly omitted *n* after numerals, e.g. Gn 20<sup>16</sup> *אֶלֶף כֶּסֶף* a thousand (shekels) of silver; so also before *זֶהָב* Gn 24<sup>22</sup>, 1 K 10<sup>16</sup>, Is 7<sup>23</sup>, cf. *ψ* 119<sup>72</sup>. Moreover, Ru 3<sup>15</sup> *שֵׁשׁ עָבִירִים* six (ephahs) of barley; 1 S 10<sup>4</sup> *שְׁתֵּי-לֶחֶם* two (sc. loaves, see verse 3) of bread, cf. 17<sup>17</sup> *לֶחֶם*; *עֵשָׂרָה* 2 S 16<sup>1</sup>, where before *מִיָּין* a measure, or perhaps some term like *cakes*, is to be supplied.—The number of cubits is stated in the Priestly Code (Ex 26<sup>2</sup>, &c.) and in 1 K 6 and 7 (otherwise only in Ez 40<sup>5,21</sup>, 47<sup>8</sup>, Zc 5<sup>2</sup>, 1 Ch 11<sup>23</sup>, 2 Ch 4<sup>2 f.</sup>) by the addition of *בְּאַמָּה* prop. *by the cubit*. Also in Ex 27<sup>11</sup> the Samaritan and LXX read *בְּאַמָּה* after *אָרְךָ*, and in 27<sup>15</sup> *אָמָה* after *עֵשָׂרָה*.

4. The *ordinals* above 10 have no special forms, but are expressed *o* by the corresponding cardinals, which may then stand either before or after the object numbered, e.g. Gn 7<sup>11</sup> *יּוֹם* *עֵשָׂרָה* *בְּשֶׁבַע* on the seventeenth day; Dt 1<sup>3</sup> *בְּאַרְבָּעִים* *שָׁנָה* in the fortieth year; cf. Gn 14<sup>5</sup>, 2 K 25<sup>27</sup>, and, with repetition of *שָׁנָה* in a compound number, 1 K 6<sup>1</sup>; such a cardinal occurs without *בְּ* (and therefore in the *accus. temporis*, according to § 118 k) in Gn 14<sup>4</sup> (the Samaritan, however, has *ובשל*); with the article (but without a numbered object, see under k), 1 K 19<sup>19</sup>.<sup>1</sup>—On the position of the numeral as a genitive following its noun, cf. e.g. 1 K 16<sup>10</sup> *בְּשֵׁנַת* *עֶשְׂרִים* *וְשֶׁבַע* in the twenty and seventh year, and with a determinate numeral, Ex 12<sup>18</sup>, Nu 33<sup>38</sup>, Dt 15<sup>9</sup>. In this case, however, *שָׁנָה* is very frequently repeated, e.g. Gn 7<sup>11</sup>, 2 K 13<sup>10</sup>; after a determinate numeral, Lv 25<sup>10</sup>.<sup>2</sup>

Rem. In numbering days of the month and years, the cardinals are very *p* frequently used instead of the ordinals even for the numbers from 1 to 10, e.g. *בְּשֵׁנַת* *שְׁלֹשָׁה* 1 K 15<sup>25</sup>; *בְּשֵׁנַת* *שְׁלֹשָׁה* 2 K 18<sup>1</sup>, &c., cf. Dt 15<sup>9</sup>. The months themselves are always numbered by the ordinals (*בְּרֵאשִׁי*, *בְּשֵׁנִי*, &c., up to *בְּעֶשְׂרִי*), but not the days of the month, e.g. *בְּאַחַד* *לְחָדָשׁ* Gn 8<sup>5</sup>, &c., *בְּאַרְבָּעָה* *בְּחֹמֶשֶׁת* *לְחָדָשׁ* Ez 1<sup>1</sup>, &c., *בְּשֶׁבַע* *לְחָדָשׁ* 2 K 25<sup>8</sup>, *בְּתִשְׁעָה* *לְחָדָשׁ* Lv 23<sup>32</sup> (always, however, *בְּעֶשֶׂר* *לְחָדָשׁ* on the tenth day of the month). On the

<sup>1</sup> Somewhat different from this is Ex 19<sup>15</sup> *בְּשֵׁנַת* *יָמִים* *שְׁלֹשָׁה* prop. *after three days*, i. e. on the third day (in verses 11 and 16 and in Ezr 10<sup>8</sup> the ordinal is used), also 1 S 30<sup>13</sup> *שְׁלֹשָׁה* *יָמִים* *הָיָה* *בִּי* *חֲלִיִּי* because three days ago I fell sick, prop. *to-day three (days)*.

<sup>2</sup> All these expressions may indeed be explained by supposing that, e.g. in Lv 25<sup>10</sup>, the proper meaning is *the year of the fifty years* which it completed, i. e. the fiftieth year; but it is more correct to regard *שָׁנַת* or *בְּשֵׁנַת* in such cases not as a real *nomen regens*, but simply as a connective form to be explained on the analogy of the cases mentioned in § 128 k.

omission of יום in all these cases see under *n*; only in late passages is יום added, e. g. 2 Ch 29<sup>17</sup> בְּיוֹם שְׁמוֹנֶה עָרָב; Ezr 3<sup>6</sup> כְּיוֹם אֶחָד לַחֹדֶשׁ.—Finally, when the year is stated by בְּשָׁנָה governing a determinate ordinal, viz. 2 K 17<sup>6</sup> בְּשָׁנַת הַתְּשִׁיעִית *in the ninth year*; 2 K 25<sup>1</sup> (in Jer 52<sup>4</sup> בְּשָׁנָה), Jer 28<sup>1</sup> *K<sup>e</sup>th.*, 32<sup>1</sup> *K<sup>e</sup>th.*, 46<sup>2</sup>, 51<sup>59</sup>, Ezr 7<sup>8</sup>; בְּשָׁנָת; בְּשָׁנָה in such cases is again (see note 2 on *o*) to be explained according to § 128 *k*. This is supported by the fact that the Masora on Jer 28<sup>1</sup>, 32<sup>1</sup> requires in the *Q<sup>e</sup>re* בְּשָׁנָה for בשנת.

q 5. *Distributives* are expressed either by repetition of the cardinal number, e. g. Gn 7<sup>9,15</sup> שְׁנַיִם שְׁנַיִם *two and two*; 2 S 21<sup>20</sup> שֵׁשׁ וְשֵׁשׁ *six each*; with the numbered object also repeated, e. g. Jos 3<sup>12</sup> אִישׁ אֶחָד לְשִׁבְטָא *for every tribe a man*; Nu 13<sup>2</sup>, 34<sup>18</sup> (אֶחָד מֵן), as in Neh 11<sup>1</sup>, *one out of every ten*; cf. § 123 *d*; or a periphrasis with לְ אֶחָד is used, Nu 17<sup>18</sup>, Dt 1<sup>23</sup>, cf. Is 6<sup>2</sup> לְ אֶחָד after *six wings* twice repeated; the simple distributive לְ is, however, sufficient (as in לְבָרִים, § 123 *c*), e. g. לְמֵאוֹת וְלְאֲלָפִים *by hundreds and by thousands*.

r 6. The *multiplicatives* are expressed either (like the ordinals above 10, see under *o*) by the cardinals (in the feminine, probably owing to the omission of פְּעַם; so König, *Lehrgeb.*, ii. 228), as שְׁתַּיִם *twice*, Jb 40<sup>5</sup>; שֶׁבַע *seven times*, Lv 26<sup>21,24</sup>, Pr 24<sup>16</sup>; cf. also אַחַת *once*, 2 K 6<sup>10</sup>, Jb 40<sup>5</sup>, for which in Jb 33<sup>14</sup> בְּאַחַת along with שְׁתַּיִם (the latter also in 1 S 18<sup>21</sup>); or by the *dual* of the numeral, thus שְׁבַעַתַּיִם Gn 4<sup>15</sup> (in verse 24 along with the cardinal 77 for 77 times); Is 30<sup>26</sup>, ψ 12<sup>7</sup>, 79<sup>12</sup>; אַרְבַּעַתַּיִם 2 S 12<sup>6</sup>;<sup>2</sup> or periphrastically by פְּעַם *a time* (prop. *a step*, with the article, הַפְּעַם *this time*; cf. also בַּפְּעַם, with בְּ, like בְּאַחַת above), as פְּעַם אַחַת *once* (Neh 13<sup>20</sup> וּשְׁתַּיִם *once and twice*), שְׁלֹשׁ פְּעַמַּיִם *twice*, שְׁלֹשׁ פְּעַמַּיִם (for which in Ex 23<sup>14</sup>, Nu 22<sup>28,32</sup> רְגָלַיִם *three times*; cf. Ez 41<sup>6</sup> *thirty-three times*; 2 S 24<sup>3</sup> *an hundred times*; Dt 1<sup>11</sup> *a thousand times*; 1 K 22<sup>16</sup> עַד-בְּמָה פְּעַמַּיִם *until how many times*, i. e. how often. Cf. also עֶשְׂרֵת מַנִּים *ten times*, Gn 31<sup>7,14</sup>, and רַבּוֹת עֵתַיִם *many times*, Neh 9<sup>28</sup>.—In Gn 43<sup>34</sup>, *five times* is expressed by הַמִּשׁ יָרוֹת (prop. *five hands*),<sup>3</sup> and in Ex 16<sup>5</sup> the *double* is expressed by מִשְׁנָה עַל- (prop. *a repetition over and above that which*, &c.).—Of the ordinals שְׁנִית is used as a numeral adverb, Gn 22<sup>15</sup>, &c., *a second time*, cf. the Latin *tertium consul*; בְּשָׁלִישִׁת *the third time*, 1 S 3<sup>9</sup>; פְּעַם הַמִּישִׁית *a fifth time*, Neh 6<sup>5</sup>; בְּשִׁבְעִית *at the seventh (time)*, 1 K 18<sup>44</sup>, and בַּפְּעַם הַשֵּׁ Jos 6<sup>16</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> But בְּאַחַת Nu 10<sup>4</sup> is to be translated on *one* (trumpet).

<sup>2</sup> Probably also בְּכָפְלַיִם Jb 11<sup>6</sup> (from כָּפַל *doubling*) does not mean *doubled* but *manifold*.

<sup>3</sup> But אַרְבַּע הַיָּרוֹת Gn 47<sup>24</sup> means *the (other) four parts*; cf. 2 K 11<sup>7</sup>, Neh 11<sup>1</sup>.

Rem. The collocation of a numeral with the next above it (either in the *S* same or in different sentences) is a rhetorical device employed in *numerical sayings* to express a number, which need not, or cannot, be more exactly specified. It must be gathered from the context whether such formulae are intended to denote only an insignificant number (e.g. Is 17<sup>6</sup>, *two* or at the most *three*), or a considerable number, e.g. Mi 5<sup>4</sup>. Sometimes, however, this juxtaposition serves to express merely an indefinite total, without the collateral idea of intensifying the lower by means of the higher number. Thus *one* and *two* are connected by ׀, Dt 32<sup>30</sup>, Jer 3<sup>14</sup>, Jb 33<sup>14</sup>, 40<sup>6</sup> (without ׀, ψ 62<sup>12</sup>); *two* and *three*, Is 17<sup>6</sup> (Sirac 23<sup>16</sup>, 26<sup>28</sup>, 50<sup>25</sup>), and without ׀, 2 K 9<sup>32</sup>, Ho 6<sup>2</sup>, Am 4<sup>8</sup>; *three* and *four*, Jer 36<sup>23</sup>, Am 1<sup>3-11</sup>, Pr 30<sup>18</sup>, 21<sup>29</sup> (Sirac 26<sup>6</sup>), and without ׀, Pr 30<sup>15</sup>; *four* and *five*, without ׀, Is 17<sup>6</sup>; *six* and *seven*, Jb 5<sup>13</sup>, Pr 6<sup>16</sup>; *seven* and *eight*, Mi 5<sup>4</sup>, Ec 11<sup>2</sup>; (*nine* and *ten*, Sirac 25<sup>7</sup>).

### III. Syntax of the Pronoun.

#### § 135. *The Personal Pronoun.*

1. The *separate* pronouns,—apart from their employment as the *a* subject in noun-clauses (cf. § 141 a) and the idiom mentioned under *d-h*,—are used, according to § 32 b, as a rule, only to give express emphasis to the subject; e.g. Gn 16<sup>5</sup>, 2 S 24<sup>17</sup> אֲנִי i. e. *I myself*, so also אֲנִי 2 S 12<sup>28</sup>, 17<sup>15</sup> (after the verb), Ez 34<sup>15</sup>, ψ 2<sup>6</sup>;<sup>1</sup> but 1 S 10<sup>18</sup>, 2 S 12<sup>7</sup>, Is 45<sup>12</sup> אֲנִי אֲנִי *I and none else*; cf. also אֲנִי אֲנִי *I, I!* Ho 5<sup>14</sup>, &c.; אֲתָהּ Gn 15<sup>15</sup>, Ju 15<sup>18</sup>, 1 S 17<sup>56</sup> (as in 20<sup>8</sup>, 22<sup>18</sup>, Ex 18<sup>19</sup>, Dt 5<sup>24</sup>, Ju 8<sup>21</sup>, after the imperative); 1 K 21<sup>7</sup>; אַתָּם Gn 9<sup>7</sup>, Ex 20<sup>19</sup> (after the verb, Ju 15<sup>12</sup>); fem. Gn 31<sup>6</sup>; הִיא 1 S 22<sup>18</sup>; הִיא Gn 3<sup>20</sup>, Ju 14<sup>3</sup>; הִיאָ Jer 5<sup>5</sup>.— Sometimes, however, the separate pronoun appears to be placed before the verb more on rhythmical grounds, i. e. in order to give the statement a fuller sound than that of the bare verbal form (cf. the similar use of the infinitive absolute, § 113 o). Thus Gn 14<sup>23</sup>, ψ 139<sup>2</sup>, and most clearly in such passages as Gn 21<sup>24</sup>, 47<sup>30</sup>, Ex 8<sup>24</sup>, Ju 6<sup>18</sup>, 11<sup>9</sup>, 1 S 12<sup>20</sup>, 2 S 3<sup>13</sup>, 21<sup>6</sup>, 1 K 2<sup>18</sup> (in solemn promises). The same explanation applies to אֲנִי at the beginning of sentences, e.g. Gn 24<sup>45</sup>, Ho 5<sup>3</sup>, 10<sup>11</sup>, 12<sup>11</sup>, ψ 39<sup>11</sup>, 82<sup>6</sup>, Jb 5<sup>3</sup>.<sup>2</sup>

Rem. 1. Different from this is the pleonastic addition of the separate *b* pronoun immediately after the verb (according to Delitzsch on Ct 5<sup>5</sup> perhaps

<sup>1</sup> Also הוּא, הִיא *he himself, she herself* (of persons and things), e.g. Is 7<sup>14</sup> אֲרֹנֵי הוּא *the Lord himself*; Est 9<sup>1</sup> הֵמָּה הַיְהוּדִים *the Jews themselves*. In the sense of *the same* (ὁ αὐτός) or (*one and*) *the same*, הוּא is used in Is 41<sup>4</sup>, 43<sup>10, 13</sup>, 46<sup>4</sup>, 48<sup>12</sup> (always הוּא אֲנִי, ψ 102<sup>28</sup> אַתָּה הוּא), and probably also Jb 3<sup>19</sup>.—The position of הֵמָּה, as an accusative of the object, before a perfect in 1 Ch 5<sup>22</sup>, can at most be explained on the analogy of Aramaic (Ezr 5<sup>12</sup>).

<sup>2</sup> As early as the Meša' inscription (line 21 ff.) אַנְךָ frequently stands at the beginning of a new sentence after the dividing stroke.

a trace of popular language), e. g. 1 S 23<sup>22</sup> (?), Ct 5<sup>5</sup>, and (like other indications of the very late origin of the book) very frequently in Ecclesiastes, e. g. 1<sup>16</sup>, 2<sup>1.11.15</sup>, 3<sup>17f</sup>, and thirteen other places; in Aramaic, Dn 5<sup>16</sup>.

*C* 2. Substantival subjects also are somewhat frequently resumed, and thus expressly emphasized, by the insertion of the corresponding separate pronominal of the 3rd person before the predicate is stated, e. g. Gn 3<sup>12</sup> *the woman whom thou gavest to be with me, she* (היא) gave me, &c.; 14<sup>24</sup> (הם); 15<sup>4</sup>, 24<sup>7</sup>, &c.; but הוא in Is 7<sup>14</sup> after the predicate and subject is equivalent to *he himself*.<sup>1</sup>

*d* 2. Not infrequently the separate pronominal serves to give strong emphasis to a suffix of the same person which precedes (or sometimes even to one which follows), whether the suffix be attached to a verb (as accusative) or to a noun or preposition (as genitive). In English such an emphasis on the pronominal can generally be rendered only by laying greater stress upon it, or sometimes by repeating it; cf., on the contrary, the French *mon livre à moi*. The separate pronominal in such instances is not to be regarded as a *casus obliquus* (accusative or genitive), but as the subject of an independent sentence, the predicate of which must in each case be supplied according to the context.

*e* Examples of emphasis:—

(a) On a verbal suffix by means of אני (אני), Gn 27<sup>34</sup> בִּרְבִּנִי גַם־אֲנִי bless me, even me also (prop. *bless me, I also would be blessed*); Zc 7<sup>9</sup>; cf. also Ez 6<sup>3</sup>, 34<sup>11.20</sup> הֲנִי אֲנִי; by אתה (אתה) Pr 22<sup>19</sup> (but the text is most probably corrupt).—The separate pronominal precedes in Gn 24<sup>27</sup> (אֲנִי); 49<sup>8</sup> (אתה, not *Judah, thou art he whom*, but *Judah thee, thee thy brethren shall praise!*), and Ec 2<sup>15</sup> גַּם־אֲנִי.

*f* (b) On a noun-suffix with a substantive, by means of אני 2 S 19<sup>1</sup>, Pr 23<sup>15</sup>; by אתה 1 K 21<sup>19</sup> גַּם־אֶת־הַדָּמָדָּם־אֶתְךָ thy blood, even thine; by הוא 2 S 17<sup>5</sup>, Jer 27<sup>7</sup>, Mi 7<sup>3</sup>; by אֲנַחְנוּ 1 S 20<sup>42</sup>, after שְׂנֵאִינוּ, but without special stress; Neh 5<sup>2</sup> (?); by אֲתָם Nu 14<sup>32</sup>; by הם ψ 38<sup>11</sup> (without special stress), הֵמָּה ψ 9<sup>7</sup>.—The separate pronominal precedes in Jb 21<sup>4</sup> (אֲנִי); Gn 40<sup>16</sup>, Is 45<sup>12</sup>, 1 Ch 28<sup>2</sup> (אֲנִי); Zc 9<sup>11</sup> (את); Jos 23<sup>9</sup> (אֲתָם); Ez 33<sup>17</sup> (הֵמָּה).—In ψ 89<sup>48</sup>, where אֲנִי might be taken as strengthening חָלַר (equivalent in sense to חָלַרְיָ, we should read אֲנִי for אֲנִי, as in verse 51.

*g* (c) On a suffix united with a preposition, 1 S 25<sup>24</sup> אֲנִי בִּי upon me, upon me; 1 K 1<sup>26</sup> אֲנִי . . . לִי; 2 Ch 35<sup>21</sup> לֹא־עָלְיָךְ אֶתָּה not against thee; 1 S 19<sup>23</sup> גַּם־עָלָיו upon him also; Dt 5<sup>3</sup> אֲנַחְנוּ בִּי אֲתָנוּ but with us, even us; Hag 1<sup>4</sup> לְכֶם אֲתָם for you yourselves; Jer 25<sup>14</sup> בְּכֶם גַּם־הֵמָּה. —The separate pronominal precedes in 1 S 12<sup>23</sup> לִי . . . אֲנִי; 1 K 1<sup>20</sup> עָלְיָךְ . . . אֶתָּה; Mi 5<sup>1</sup> מִמֶּךָ . . . אֶתָּה, and 2 Ch 28<sup>10</sup> אֲתָם עִמָּכֶם.

*h* The same principle also explains Gn 4<sup>26</sup> לְשֵׁת גַּם־הוּא to Seth, to him also (not לְשֵׁת־לוֹ); cf. 10<sup>21</sup>, and Ex 35<sup>34</sup>, Nu 4<sup>22</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Analogous to this is the resumption of a noun dependent on a preposition, by means of a pronominal suffix united with the same preposition, e. g. Gn 2<sup>17</sup>, 2 S 6<sup>22</sup>, 2 K 22<sup>18</sup>, or of an object by means of the *nota accusativi* את with suffix, e. g. 1 S 15<sup>9</sup> (where וְנִמְאָסְתָּ is certainly to be read), Is 8<sup>13</sup>.

3. The *oblique* cases of the personal pronouns expressed by means of *i* a preposition (or the *nota accus.* חָא) with a suffix may be used either in a demonstrative or reflexive sense,<sup>1</sup> as לְ to him, but also to himself, e. g. Ju 3<sup>16</sup> and Ehud made לְ for himself a sword, cf. Gn 33<sup>17</sup>; so also הָ לְ sibi, Is 3<sup>9</sup>; אֵלָיו unto him, and Gn 8<sup>9</sup> unto himself; אִתּוֹ with him, and Gn 22<sup>3</sup> with himself; עִמָּהּ with her, and 1 S 1<sup>24</sup> with herself; also apparently as a pleonastic *dativus ethicus* (see § 119 s), Jb 12<sup>11</sup>, 13<sup>1</sup>.

Rarely, and only when marked emphasis is intended, is the *accusative k* of the reflexive pronoun represented by the *nota accusativi* חָא with a suffix (this being ordinarily expressed by the reflexive conjugations *Niph'al* and *Hithpa'el*<sup>2</sup>); thus, חָא se ipsos, Ex 5<sup>19</sup>, Jer 7<sup>19</sup> in sharp antithesis to הָאֵתִי; Ez 34<sup>2,8,10</sup>. Cf. § 57 at the end, together with note 2.

Rem. There is a similar emphasis in Is 49<sup>26</sup> on בְּשָׂרָם and דָּמָם in the *l* sense of *their own flesh, their own blood*. On the sometimes demonstrative, sometimes reflexive meaning of noun-suffixes of the 3rd person singular and plural, cf. § 91, p and q. For other circumlocutions to express the idea of *self*, see § 139 f.

4. The *possessive pronouns* are, according to § 33 c, expressed by *m* the *suffixes of the noun* (in the genitive),<sup>3</sup> which may represent either a *subjective genitive*, or (like the genitives proper, § 128 h) an *objective genitive*, e. g. הַמַּסִּי the wrong done against me, Gn 16<sup>5</sup>, Jer 51<sup>35</sup>; cf. Gn 9<sup>2</sup>, 18<sup>21</sup>, 27<sup>13</sup> (2 S 16<sup>12</sup> *Keth.*); Gn 30<sup>23</sup>, 39<sup>21</sup> (cf. Ex 3<sup>21</sup>, &c.); 50<sup>4</sup>, Ex 20<sup>20</sup>, 21<sup>35</sup>, Ju 4<sup>9</sup>, 13<sup>12</sup> (מַעֲשֵׂהוֹ the treatment of him); Is 56<sup>7</sup>, Jer 9<sup>7</sup>, Na 3<sup>19</sup>, Pr 1<sup>27</sup>, 24<sup>22</sup>, Jb 20<sup>29</sup>, 23<sup>14</sup>, 34<sup>6</sup>. Cf. also such pregnant expressions as ψ 20<sup>3</sup> עֲזָרְךָ יְשַׁלַּחְךָ he will send thy help (help for thee), i. e. he will send thee help; Gn 30<sup>18</sup>, 39<sup>21</sup>, Ex 2<sup>9</sup>, Is 1<sup>26</sup> (and I will restore judges for thee); Ez 37<sup>15</sup>.

When several substantives are co-ordinated, the pronominal suffix must be attached to each singly, e. g. Gn 36<sup>6</sup> and Esau took אֶת-נְשָׁיו וְאֶת-בָּנָיו וְאֶת-אִתּוֹתָיו his wives and his sons and his daughters, &c.; 38<sup>18</sup>, &c. In 2 S 23<sup>5</sup> the text is hardly correct.

<sup>1</sup> As in Luther's Bible *jm* (*ihm*), *jr* (*ihr*) for *sich*, and in our version *him*, *her* for *himself*, *herself*.

<sup>2</sup> *Niph'al* according to § 51 e (like *Hithpa'el* according to § 54 f) may also include the *dative* of the reflexive pronoun.

<sup>3</sup> Like the substantival genitive, according to § 129 h, the possessive pronoun may also be paraphrased by a relative clause, e. g. Ru 2<sup>21</sup> הַנְּעָרִים לִי אֲנִי the young men, which are to me, i. e. my young men; so especially, when the substantive, which should take a genitive suffix, is already followed by a genitive, e. g. 1 S 17<sup>40</sup>. In this case, however, the suffix also is sometimes attached pleonastically, e. g. Ct 1<sup>6</sup> כַּרְמִי נְעֻלִי my vineyard, which belongs to me. Cf. Ct 3<sup>7</sup>, and the analogous pleonasms in 2 S 22<sup>2</sup> (but see ψ 152<sup>1</sup> and ψ 27<sup>2</sup>).

n 5. When the genitive, following a construct state, is used periphrastically to express the idea of a material or attribute (§ 128 o and p), the pronominal suffix, which properly belongs to the compound idea (represented by the *nomen regens* and genitive), is, like the article (§ 127), attached to the second substantive (the genitive), e. g. הַר־קֹדֶשׁ prop. *the hill of my holiness*, i. e. my holy hill, ψ 2<sup>6</sup>, &c.; עִיר קֹדֶשׁ *thy holy city*, Dn 9<sup>24</sup>; אֱלֹהֵי כֶסֶף *his idols of silver*, Is 2<sup>20</sup>, 30<sup>52</sup>, 31<sup>7</sup>;<sup>1</sup> cf. Dt 1<sup>41</sup>, Is 9<sup>3</sup>, 28<sup>4</sup>, 41<sup>11</sup>, Ez 9<sup>11</sup>, ψ 41<sup>10</sup>, 150<sup>1</sup>, Jb 18<sup>7</sup> אִינוֹ צַעֲרֵי *his steps of strength*; 38<sup>6</sup>; after an adjective as *nomen regens*, Is 13<sup>3</sup> (Zp 3<sup>11</sup>) עֲלֵיוֹ נִגְאֲתֵי *my proudly exulting ones*.—On the same analogy is the use of e. g. דְּלֵי מַלְחָמָתוֹ Dt 1<sup>41</sup> *his weapons of war* [cf. Is 41<sup>12</sup>]; Is 56<sup>7</sup> בַּיֵּת הַפְּלִיטֵי *my house of prayer*, although the genitive here does not convey the idea of an attribute.

O Rem. 1. Through a weakening in the distinction of gender, which is noticeable elsewhere (cf. § 110 k, 144 a, 145 p, t, u) and which probably passed from the colloquial language<sup>2</sup> into that of literature, *masculine* suffixes (especially in the plural) are not infrequently used to refer to *feminine* substantives; thus a noun-suffix in the singular, Ex 11<sup>6</sup>, 25<sup>19</sup>, Ju 11<sup>34</sup>;<sup>3</sup> in the plural, Gn 31<sup>9</sup>, 32<sup>16</sup>, 41<sup>23</sup>, Ex 12<sup>1</sup>, 21<sup>7</sup>, Nu 27<sup>7</sup> (but the feminine suffix twice immediately after, and so the Samaritan also in verse 7); 36<sup>6</sup> (Samaritan אֲבֵיהֶם, but also בְּעֵינֵיהֶם); Ju 19<sup>24</sup>, 21<sup>22</sup>, 1 S 6<sup>10b</sup> (בְּנֵיהֶם); 9<sup>20</sup>, Is 3<sup>16</sup>, Ez 23<sup>45 ff.</sup> (alternating with הֵן); Am 4<sup>1f.</sup> (but afterwards a feminine suffix); Jb 1<sup>14</sup>, 39<sup>3</sup> (הַבְּלִיָּהֶם in parallelism with בְּלִיָּהֶן); 42<sup>15</sup>, Ct 4<sup>2</sup>, 6<sup>6</sup>, Ru 1<sup>8 ff.</sup> (along with feminine suffixes); Dn 1<sup>5</sup>, 8<sup>9</sup>. Verbal suffixes in the singular, Ex 22<sup>25</sup>; in the plural, Ju 16<sup>3</sup>, Pr 6<sup>21</sup>, Jb 1<sup>15</sup>. But Gn 26<sup>15, 18</sup>, 33<sup>13</sup>, Ex 2<sup>17</sup>, 1 S 6<sup>10a</sup> are to be explained according to § 60 h. On הַיְמֹתָ as feminine, see § 32 n. On the use of the masculine in general as the *prior gender*, see § 122 g.

p 2. The suffix of the 3rd person singular feminine (as also the separate pronoun הִיא Nu 14<sup>41</sup>, Jos 1c<sup>13</sup>, Ju 14<sup>4</sup>) sometimes refers in a general sense to the verbal idea contained in a preceding sentence (corresponding to our *it*); thus the verbal suffix, Gn 15<sup>6</sup>, Nu 23<sup>19</sup>, 1 S 11<sup>2</sup>, 1 K 11<sup>12</sup>, Is 30<sup>8</sup>, Am 8<sup>10</sup>; cf. Gn 24<sup>14</sup> (בָּהּ *thereby*), 42<sup>36</sup>, 47<sup>26</sup>, Ex 10<sup>11</sup> (אֵתָהּ *that*), Is 47<sup>7</sup>. Elsewhere the suffix of the 3rd singular feminine refers to the plurals of things, e. g. 2 K 3<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, more explicitly in prose, Gn 44<sup>2</sup> הַכֶּסֶף נְבִיעַ נְבִיעַי *my cup, the silver cup*.

<sup>2</sup> According to Diehl (see the title at the head of § 91 a), who adduces numerous instances on pp. 44 ff., 54 ff., 67 f., many of these cases may be set down to corruption of the traditional text, while the sudden (and sometimes repeated) change of gender in suffixes is mainly due to the influence exercised on the copyists by the Mishnic and popular Aramaic dialects, neither of which recognizes such distinctions. Such influence, however, is insufficient to explain the large number of instances of this weakening, occurring even in the earlier documents.

<sup>3</sup> The Masora reckons six instances of כְּפָנָה, where כְּפָנָה would be expected (Ju 11<sup>34</sup>, where, however, the text is most probably corrupt), Ex 25<sup>15</sup> (?), Lv 6<sup>8</sup>, 7<sup>18</sup>, 27<sup>9</sup>, Jos 17<sup>7</sup>; almost all these passages can, however, be easily explained in other ways.

[but see Kittel; so 13<sup>2,6,11</sup>; 10<sup>26</sup>, but LXX מַצְבַּת], Jer 36<sup>23</sup>, Jb 6<sup>20</sup> (if the text is correct), 39<sup>16</sup> (read תִּתְחַמֵּם in v. 14), and to the plurals of names of animals, Is 35<sup>7</sup>, Ezr 11<sup>5</sup>. Conversely, plural suffixes refer to collective singulars, e.g. in Gn 15<sup>13</sup>, Nu 16<sup>3</sup>, 1 S 2<sup>8</sup>, Zp 2<sup>7</sup> [but read הָיָם]; and to a verbal idea contained in the preceding clause, in Ez 33<sup>18</sup>, Jb 22<sup>21</sup> (בָּהֶם *thereby*), Ez 18<sup>26</sup>, 33<sup>19</sup> (עָלֵיהֶם *on that account, thereby*).<sup>1</sup> But the suffix in נִתְּנוּ Dt 21<sup>10</sup> refers to the collective idea contained in אֵיבָיִךְ; in Jon 1<sup>3</sup> עֲמָהֶם refers to the sailors included in sense under the term אֲנִיָּה. In Jos 2<sup>4</sup> read וְהִצַּפְנָם; in Is 30<sup>8</sup> (מִיָּהֶם), 38<sup>16</sup>, ψ 19<sup>5</sup> (בָּהֶם) the text is most probably corrupt.

3. In a few examples the force of the noun-suffix or possessive pronoun *ŷ* has become so weak that the language appears to be almost entirely unconscious of it. Thus in אֲרָנִי *my Lord*, usually explained as being from the *pluralis maiestatis* אֲרָנִים (§ 124 i) with the suffix of the 1st singular (always with *Qames* to distinguish it from אֲרָנִי *my lords*, Gn 19<sup>2</sup>; but see note below), used exclusively of God, not only in addressing him (Gn 15<sup>2</sup>, 18<sup>3</sup>, ψ 35<sup>23</sup>), but ultimately (see, however, the note below), without any regard to the pronoun, as equivalent to *the Lord*.<sup>2</sup> On אֲרָנִי as a *Q'rê perpetuum* of the Masoretes for יהוה see § 17 c and § 102 m.

A similar loss of vitality in the suffix is generally assumed in יַחְדוֹ prop. *in ŷ* *his unitedness*, i.e. *he &c. together*, e.g. בְּלִיְהוֹם יַחְדוֹ Ex 19<sup>8</sup>; then, without regard to the suffix, even after the 1st person יִחְדוּ אֲנִיָּהּ 1 K 3<sup>18</sup> in reference to two women; Is 41<sup>1</sup>, Jb 9<sup>32</sup>, Neh 6<sup>2,7</sup>; after the 2nd person, Is 45<sup>20</sup>, &c. But the supposed pronominal suffix is perhaps rather to be explained, with Brockelmann, *ZA.* xiv. 344 f., as an old adverbial ending, which survives in the Arabic adverbs in *u* and in Assyrian.—Cf. further בְּכֻלָּם prop. *their entirety*, but also after the 2nd person equivalent to *all together*, 1 K 22<sup>28</sup>, Mi 1<sup>2</sup> (*hear, ye peoples, all of you*; cf. § 144 p), and even before the 2nd person, Jb 17<sup>10</sup> (in 1 S 6<sup>4</sup> read לְכֻלָּם with the LXX).—On the redundant suffix in הִקְרַבְךָ Lv 27<sup>23</sup>, cf. § 127 i.

<sup>1</sup> In 2 K 7<sup>10</sup> for שְׁעָרַי (the LXX had שְׁעָרֵי) read שְׁעָרֵי.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the same weakening of the force of the possessive pronoun in רַבִּי prop. *my master*, from the second century A. D. onwards *the master*; so also in Syriac מַרִּי *my lord*, and ultimately as a title *the lord*; in Italian *Madonna*, French *Madame, Notre Dame, Monsieur, Monseigneur*, &c. It can, however, hardly be doubted that the regular distinction between אֲרָנִי as a holy name, and אֲרָנִי as an ordinary appellative is merely due to the practice of the later Rabbis. G. H. Dalman. *Der Gottesname Adonaj und seine Geschichte* (Berlin, 1889), in an exhaustive discussion, shows that apart from the book of Daniel and the eight critically doubtful passages, in which אֲרָנִי is used by God himself, there is nowhere any necessity to regard the suffix as entirely meaningless, since אֲרָנִי is always used either in an address to or (like אֲרָנִי, which also is never a mere phrase or title) in reverent language about God—as the Lord of the speaker—like the Assyrian *bēi-ia, my lord*. Against any original distinction between אֲרָנִי and אֲרָנִי it may be urged especially that when unconnected with suffixes the singular אֲדוֹן is always used of God, and not the *pluralis maiestatis* presupposed by אֲרָנִי.

## § 136. The Demonstrative Pronoun.

- a The demonstrative pronouns are הַזֶּה, fem. וְזֹאת, plur. הַאֵלֶּה (§ 34), *hic, haec (hoc), hi, &c.*, and the personal pronoun הַזֶּה, likewise used as a demonstrative, fem. הִיא, plur. masc. הֵמָּה, fem. הֵנָּה (§ 32 b), *is, ea (id), or ille, &c., ii, eae or illi, &c.* The distinction between them in usage is that הַזֶּה (like *hic*, ὁδε) almost always points out a (new) person or thing present, while הַזֶּה (like *is, ille, αὐτός, ἐκεῖνος*) refers to a person or thing already mentioned or known (see the examples below).<sup>1</sup>
- b Rem. 1. Compare the instructive examples in Gn 32<sup>9</sup>, Ju 7<sup>4</sup> of whom I say unto thee, *this* (זֶה) shall go with thee, he (הַזֶּה) shall go with thee (so afterwards with negatives). Moreover, הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה *this day*, i.e. the actual day on which one is speaking or writing (Gn 26<sup>33</sup>, &c.), but הַיּוֹם הַהוּא the day or period of which the historian has just been speaking (Gn 15<sup>18</sup>, 26<sup>32</sup>) or of which the prophet has just been foretelling (Is 5<sup>30</sup>, 7<sup>18.20 ff.</sup>) and of which he continues to speak or foretell. Nevertheless הַזֶּה and הַאֵלֶּה are also found in certain common combinations where הַזֶּה and הֵמָּה would be expected, and vice versa; thus almost always הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה, plur. הַיּוֹמִים הַאֵלֶּה, but הַיּוֹם הַהוּא or בַּיּוֹמִים הַהֵם.—With a secondary sense of contempt (like Latin *iste*) הַזֶּה occurs, e.g. in 1 S 10<sup>27</sup>, 21<sup>16</sup>, 1 K 22<sup>27</sup>, Is 6<sup>10</sup>, &c. In the sense of the neuter, *this*, הַזֶּה is more common than הַזֶּה, as Is 5<sup>25</sup>, 43<sup>9</sup>, &c., but הַזֶּה more common than הִיא.
- c 2. Both הַזֶּה and הַזֶּה are sometimes used almost as enclitics to emphasize interrogative words (like the Latin *nam* in *quisnam*; cf. also *quis tandem*); e.g. Jb 38<sup>2</sup> מִי הַזֶּה נֹוֹה *who now* (darkeneth, &c.) . . . ? 1 S 17<sup>55 f.</sup>, Is 63<sup>1</sup>, Jer 49<sup>19</sup>, ψ 24<sup>8</sup>, 25<sup>12</sup>, &c.; מַה הַזֶּה *what now?* 1 S 10<sup>11</sup>; *how now?* Gn 27<sup>20</sup>; *why now?* Ju 16<sup>24</sup>; but before the verb עָשָׂה it is usually מַה הַזֶּה Gn 3<sup>13</sup>, 12<sup>18</sup>, Ex 14<sup>5</sup>, Ju 15<sup>11</sup>; לְמַה הַזֶּה *wherefore now?* Gn 18<sup>13</sup>, 25<sup>22</sup>, 1 S 17<sup>23</sup>, 2 S 12<sup>23</sup>, &c.—So also מִי הַזֶּה Is 50<sup>9</sup>, Jb 4<sup>7 ff.</sup>; and still more emphatically מִי הַזֶּה ψ 24<sup>10</sup>, Jer 30<sup>21</sup>.
- d 3. הַזֶּה is likewise used as an enclitic (see c above): (a) of place, in such passages as Gn 27<sup>21</sup> וְגַם הַזֶּה הֲאֵתָהּ *whether thou (that art here) be my son Esau?* 2 S 2<sup>20</sup> *is it thou?* הִנֵּה הַזֶּה *behold, here*, 1 K 19<sup>5</sup>, Is 21<sup>9</sup>;<sup>2</sup> cf. also the strengthen-

<sup>1</sup> On הַזֶּה and הַזֶּה standing separately as determinate in themselves, see § 125 i. On the use of determinate demonstratives as adjectives, see § 126 u.

<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, it is very questionable whether הַזֶּה in ψ 104<sup>25</sup> (הַיָּם), Is 23<sup>13</sup> (הַיָּם), Ju 5<sup>6</sup>, ψ 68<sup>9</sup> (הַיָּם) can be taken, according to the common explanation, simply as a prefixed demonstrative particle (*the sea yonder, &c.*). In ψ 104<sup>25</sup> הַיָּם may be in apposition to הַזֶּה; cf. § 126 aa, on Ex 32<sup>1</sup>, and Zc 5<sup>7</sup>, where אֵשֶׁת אֶחָת is in apposition to וְזֹאת depending on הַנְּהַ, and also Ez 4c<sup>45</sup>, where הַלְּשָׁבֶה is in apposition to הַזֶּה; otherwise it is most naturally taken as the subject, *this is the sea*. Is 23<sup>13</sup>, Ju 5<sup>6</sup>, 1 K 14<sup>14</sup>, and ψ 68<sup>9</sup> might also be explained in the same way; but in these passages the text is almost certainly

ing of the separate pronoun by הוּא Is 43<sup>26</sup> (אֲנֹכִי), 1 S 7<sup>28</sup>, Is 37<sup>16</sup>, ψ 44<sup>5</sup> (אַתָּה); and הֵם הֵלֵךְ these are, Gn 25<sup>16</sup>, 1 S 4<sup>8</sup>; (b) of time: הַנּוֹעַ now, 1 K 17<sup>24</sup>; just now, 2 K 5<sup>22</sup>; and rather frequently before words denoting number, e. g. Gn 27<sup>56</sup> הַנּוֹעַ הַזֶּה twice, now; cf. 31<sup>88</sup>, 2 S 14<sup>2</sup>, Jb 1<sup>12</sup>, 7<sup>8</sup>, 19<sup>3</sup>; separated from the numeral in Gn 31<sup>41</sup> הַנּוֹעַ לִי elliptically for *this*, i. e. this present period, is to me, i. e. makes altogether, *twenty years*, &c. The other examples are similarly elliptical.

### § 137. The Interrogative Pronoun.

The interrogative pronoun מִי *who* may refer either to a masculine *a* or feminine person (Ct 3<sup>6</sup>), or even to a plural, e. g. מִי אַתֶּם *who are ye?* Jos 9<sup>8</sup>; מִי-אֵלֶּה Gn 33<sup>5</sup>, Nu 22<sup>9</sup> (more minutely, מִי וְמִי Ex 10<sup>8</sup>, i. e. *who exactly, who in particular?*). It is used of the neuter only when the idea of a person is implied, e. g. מִי-שֶׁפֶּם *who are the Shechemites?* Ju 9<sup>28</sup>, 13<sup>17</sup>, Gn 33<sup>8</sup>, Mi 1<sup>5</sup>; even more boldly, with the repetition of a מִי used personally, in 1 S 18<sup>18</sup>, 2 S 7<sup>18</sup>.—Another interrogative is אֵיזוֹ *which, what?*; of persons only in Est 7<sup>5</sup>.

Moreover, מִי may also be used in the sense of a genitive, e. g. *b* מִי אֵת *whose daughter art thou?* Gn 24<sup>23</sup>, 1 S 17<sup>55, 56, 58</sup>; מִי דְבַר *whose word?* Jer 44<sup>28</sup>, 1 S 12<sup>3</sup>; in the accusative, אֶת-מִי *quoniam?* 1 S 28<sup>11</sup>, Is 6<sup>8</sup>; with prepositions, e. g. בְּמִי 1 K 20<sup>14</sup> (in an abrupt question *by whom?*); לְמִי Gn 32<sup>18</sup>; מִי אֶחָד 1 S 24<sup>15</sup>.—Similarly מַה, מֵה, מִה *what?* is used for the nominative, or accusative, or genitive (Jer 8<sup>9</sup>), or with prepositions, e. g. עַל-מַה *whereupon?* Is 1<sup>5</sup>, Jb 38<sup>6</sup>; *why?* Nu 22<sup>32</sup>, &c.; עַד-מַה *quousque?* ψ 74<sup>9, 1</sup>.

Rem. Both מִי and מַה are used also in indirect questions (on the merely *c* relative distinction between direct and indirect questions in Hebrew, see the *Interrogative Sentences*), e. g. Gn 39<sup>8</sup> (but read מֵאֲדוֹמָה with Samar. and LXX), 43<sup>22</sup>, Ex 32<sup>1</sup>.—On the meaning of מִי and מַה as interrogatives is based also their use as *indefinite pronouns* (equivalent to *quisquis, quodcumque* or *quicquam*), e. g. Ex 32<sup>26</sup>, Ju 7<sup>8</sup>, 1 S 20<sup>4</sup>, Is 50<sup>10</sup> (read יִשְׁמַע in the apodosis), 54<sup>15</sup>, Pr 9<sup>4, 16</sup>, 2 Ch 36<sup>23</sup>; even שָׂרְרֵי-מִי *have a care, whosoever ye be*, 2 S 18<sup>12</sup> (unless לִי is to be read, with the LXX, for מִי); so also מִה (whatever it be) Jb 13<sup>13</sup>, 1 S 19<sup>3</sup>, 2 S 18<sup>22, 23</sup>; cf. Nu 23<sup>9</sup> מִה-יִרְאֵנִי וְדַבֵּר *and whatsoever he showeth me*. Cf. also אִשָּׁר מִי אִשָּׁר *whosoever* Ex 32<sup>33</sup>, 2 S 20<sup>11</sup>, and מִי-הָאִישׁ אִשָּׁר *any man who* Dt 20<sup>5π</sup>,

corrupt. In Ju 5<sup>5</sup> in fact סִינִי הוּא is most probably to be regarded with Moore as a very early gloss, which subsequently found its way from this passage into ψ 68.

<sup>1</sup> A quite different use of מַה was pointed out (privately) by P. Haupt in Ct 5<sup>8</sup> *will ye not tell him?* i. e. *I charge you that ye tell him*, and 7<sup>1</sup> = *look now at the Shulamite*, corresponding to the late Arabic *mā tarā, just see!* *mā taqūlu, say now!* It has long been recognized that מַה is used as a negative in Ct 8<sup>4</sup>.

Ju 10<sup>18</sup>. A still further weakening of the *indefinite* use of *מה* is the combination *מה־שׁי* that *which*, Ec 1<sup>9</sup>, 3<sup>15</sup> (just like the Syriac *ܩܡܐ*); cf. Est 8<sup>1</sup>, and *מה . . . ל* Pr 9<sup>13</sup>, *מה . . . לא* Neh 2<sup>12</sup>, *nothing whatever*.—On *מה־אִי־מָה* *quicquam, anything at all* (usually with a negative), and as an adverb *in any way*, 1 S 21<sup>3</sup>, see the Lexicon.

### § 138. The Relative Pronoun.

Cf. Philippi, *Stat. constr.* (see heading of § 89), p. 71 f., and especially V. Baumann, *Hebräische Relativsätze*, Leipzig, 1894.

a Relative clauses are most frequently (but not necessarily; cf. § 155 b) introduced by the indeclinable *אֲשֶׁר* (see § 36).<sup>1</sup> This is not, however, a relative pronoun in the Greek, Latin, or English sense, nor is it a mere *nota relationis*,<sup>2</sup> but an original *demonstrative* pronoun [as though *iste, istius, &c.*].<sup>3</sup> Hence it is used—

(1) In immediate dependence on the substantival idea to be defined, and virtually in the same case as it (hence belonging syntactically to the main clause); e. g. Gn 24<sup>7</sup> . . . הוּא יִשְׁלַח . . . הַיְהוָה אֲשֶׁר לָקַחְנִי *the Lord, iste, he took me . . . he shall send, &c. (= who took me)*; Gn 2<sup>2</sup> and God finished *עָשָׂה אֲשֶׁר מְלַאכְתּוֹ* *his work, istud, he had made (it)*. Such qualifying clauses may be called *dependent relative clauses*.

b Rem. 1. In the above examples *אֲשֶׁר* in Gn 24<sup>7</sup> is virtually in the nominative, in Gn 2<sup>2</sup> in the accusative. A further distinction between the examples is that in Gn 24<sup>7</sup> the main idea (הוּא), to which *אֲשֶׁר* is added in apposition, is only resumed in the qualifying clause by the subject (*he*) inherent in

<sup>1</sup> The etymology of the word is still a matter of dispute. Against the identification of *אֲשֶׁר* as an original substantive, with the Arabic *'atar, trace*, Aram. *אתר* *place, trace*, Nöldeke urges (*ZDMG*. xl. 738) that the expression *trace of . . .* could hardly have developed into the relative conjunction, while the meaning of *place* has been evolved only in Aramaic, where the word is never used as a relative. According to others, *אֲשֶׁר* is really a compound of several pronominal roots; cf. Sperling, *Die Nota relationis im Hebräischen*, Leipzig, 1876, and König, *Lehrgeb.*, ii. 323 ff., who follows Ewald and Böttcher in referring it to an original *אֶשֶׁל*. According to Hommel (*ZDMG*. xxxii. 708 ff.) *אֲשֶׁר* is an original substantive, to be distinguished from *שׁי* and *שׁי* (an original pronominal stem), but used in Hebrew as a *nota relationis*, or (as *וְהוּא* and *וְהוּא* are also sometimes used, see below, *g* and *h*) simply for the *relative pronoun*. Baumann (op. cit., p. 44) sees in the Assyrian *ša*, Phoenician, Punic, and Hebrew *שׁי*, the ground-forms, of which the Phoenician and Punic *שׁי* (see above, § 36 note) and the Hebrew *אֲשֶׁר* are developments.

<sup>2</sup> E. g. like Luther's use of *so*, in *die fremden Götter, so unter euch sind*, Gn 35<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> This is the necessary conclusion both from the analogy of the Arabic *'alladi*, which is clearly a demonstrative (like the Hebr. *הַלְלוּהוּ*, *הַלְלוּהוּ*), and from the use of *וְהוּא* and *וְהוּא* as relatives.

לְקַחְתִּי, while in Gn 2<sup>2</sup> it is not resumed at all. This suppression of the retrospective pronoun<sup>1</sup> takes place especially when it (as in Gn 2<sup>2</sup>) would represent an accusative of the object, or when it would be a separate pronoun representing a nominative of the subject in a noun-clause, e.g. Gn 1<sup>7</sup> לְרַקֵּעַ מִתַּחַת הַמַּיִם אֲשֶׁר מִתַּחַת הַרְקִיעַ the waters, those, under the firmament, &c. In negative sentences, however, the retrospective pronoun is not infrequently added, e.g. Gn 17<sup>12</sup> הוּא; 7<sup>2</sup> הִיא; 1 K 9<sup>20</sup> הִמָּה; Dt 20<sup>15</sup> הִנֵּה; but cf. also הִיא אֲשֶׁר הוּא Gn 9<sup>3</sup>. The addition of הִיא in a verbal clause, 2 K 22<sup>15</sup>, is unusual.

The very frequent omission of the retrospective pronoun is noticeable in cases where the predicate of the qualifying clause is a *verbum dicendi*, e.g. Nu 10<sup>29</sup> *we are journeying unto the place*, אֲשֶׁר אָמַר יְהוָה אֵלָיו אֲתֹן לָכֶם that place, the Lord said (of it), *It will I give to you*; cf. Nu 14<sup>40</sup>, Ju 8<sup>15</sup>, 1 S 9<sup>17,23</sup>, 24<sup>5</sup>, 1 K 8<sup>29</sup>, Jer 32<sup>43</sup>.

2. When the substantive, followed by אֲשֶׁר and the qualifying clause, C expresses an idea of *place*, it may also be resumed by the adverbs of place שָׁם *there*, שָׁמָּה *thither*, מִשָּׁם *thence*, e.g. Gn 13<sup>3</sup> עַד-הַמָּקוֹם אֲשֶׁר-הָיָה שָׁם אָהֳלָה שָׁם unto the place, that one, his tent had been there, i.e. *where his tent had been*; cf. Gn 3<sup>23</sup> מִשָּׁם, Ex 21<sup>13</sup> שָׁמָּה. But even in this case the retrospective word may be omitted, cf. Gn 35<sup>14</sup>, Nu 20<sup>13</sup>, Is 64<sup>10</sup>, where שָׁם would be expected, and Gn 30<sup>38</sup>, Nu 13<sup>27</sup>, 1 K 12<sup>2</sup>, where שָׁמָּה would be expected.—When the appositional clause is added to a word of time, the retrospective pronoun is always omitted, e.g. 1 S 20<sup>31</sup> *for all the days*, אֲשֶׁר בְּיָוֵשׁ חִי those—the son of Jesse is living (in them); cf. Gn 45<sup>6</sup>, Dt 1<sup>46</sup>, 9<sup>7</sup>, 1 K 11<sup>42</sup>; see Baumann, op. cit., p. 33.

3. If the governing substantive forms part of a statement made in the first or second person, the retrospective pronoun (or the subject of the appositional clause) is in the same person, e.g. Gn 45<sup>4</sup> *I am Joseph*, אֲשֶׁר-מָכַרְתָּם אֵתִי he—ye sold me, i.e. *whom ye sold*; Nu 22<sup>30</sup>, Is 49<sup>23</sup>; 41<sup>8</sup> *thou, Jacob*, אֲשֶׁר בָּחַרְתִּיךָ he—I have chosen thee; Jer 32<sup>19</sup>, Ec 10<sup>16f.</sup>; Gn 15<sup>7</sup> *I am the Lord*, אֲשֶׁר הוֹצֵאתִיךָ he—I brought thee out, &c., Ex 20<sup>2</sup> (Dt 5<sup>6</sup>).

(2) Not depending (adjectivally) on a governing substantive, but C itself expressing a substantival idea. Clauses introduced in this way may be called *independent relative clauses*. This use of אֲשֶׁר is generally rendered in English by *he who*, *he whom*, &c. (according to the context), or *that which*, &c., or sometimes *of such a kind as* (*qualis*), cf. Ex 14<sup>13b</sup>, and in a dependent relative clause Is 7<sup>17</sup>. In reality, however, the אֲשֶׁר is still a demonstrative belonging to the construction of the main clause as subject or object, or as a genitive dependent on a noun or preposition, e.g. Nu 22<sup>6</sup> יוֹאָרָא אֲשֶׁר תֵּאָר יוֹאָרָא iste—*thou cursest* (him)—*is cursed*, i.e. *he whom thou cursest*, &c.; Ex 22<sup>8</sup>; אֲשֶׁר as object, Gn 44<sup>1</sup>,

<sup>1</sup> The instances in which, instead of a retrospective pronoun, the main idea itself is repeated (Gn 49<sup>30</sup>, 50<sup>13</sup>, Jer 31<sup>32</sup>) are most probably all due to subsequent amplification of the original text by another hand.

<sup>2</sup> The absolute use of אֲשֶׁר is very peculiar in the formula אֲשֶׁר הָיָה דְבַר יְיָ אֵלַי this (is it)—it came as the word of the Lord to . . . , Jer 14<sup>1</sup>, 46<sup>1</sup>, 47<sup>1</sup>, 49<sup>34</sup>.

49<sup>1</sup>, 1 S 16<sup>3ff.</sup>, Mi 6<sup>1</sup> (אֵת אֲשֶׁר); and even preceding the verb, e.g. Is 52<sup>15</sup>, ψ 69<sup>5</sup>; אֲשֶׁר as genitive, Ez 23<sup>28</sup> *I will deliver thee בְּיַד אֲשֶׁר* into the hand of those—*thou hatest* (them); depending on a preposition, e.g. לְאֲשֶׁר Gn 44<sup>4</sup>, 2 K 10<sup>22</sup>; בְּאֲשֶׁר Gn 21<sup>17</sup>, הוּא אֲשֶׁר הוּא שָׁם in that (place)—*he is there*, i. e. *where he is*; cf. Ju 17<sup>8</sup> and Ru 1<sup>16</sup> אֶל-אֲשֶׁר whither; <sup>1</sup> 1 K 18<sup>12</sup> עַל-אֲשֶׁר whither; מֵאֲשֶׁר Ex 5<sup>11</sup>.

f From these examples it follows that in independent relative clauses the retrospective suffix, or adverb of place, may be, and in fact generally is, omitted. As a rule, however (as in the dependent relative clause), this does not apply to cases in which the retrospective pronoun, by the construction of the sentence, depends on a preposition,<sup>2</sup> e.g. Gn 44<sup>9f.</sup> וְמָת . . . אֲשֶׁר יִמְצָא אֹתוֹ . . . וְמָת cf. § 143 d). In such cases אֲשֶׁר preceded by the preposition is quite anomalous, as in Gn 31<sup>82</sup> אֲשֶׁר הִמְצָא עִם אֲשֶׁר הִמְצָא with whomsoever thou findest, where אֲשֶׁר is a relative pronoun in the English sense; on the other hand, in Is 47<sup>12</sup> (and probably also 56<sup>4</sup>) בְּאֲשֶׁר is to be explained (with Baumann, *op. cit.*, p. 37) by reference to 47<sup>15</sup>, as a demonstrative pronoun, *stand now with thine enchantments . . . , with those—thou hast laboured* (with them).

[With regard to the preceding explanation of אֲשֶׁר, the student will of course understand that, in Hebrew as we know it, אֲשֶׁר never occurs as a mere demonstrative. A particle which, whatever its origin, is uniformly used with reference to something in another, contiguous clause, will naturally have acquired in practice that force which we denote by the term 'relative'.]

g Like the original demonstrative pronoun אֲשֶׁר, the demonstratives proper וְהוּא, וְהוּא, וְהוּא (the last commonly),<sup>3</sup> and sometimes the article, are used somewhat frequently in poetic language to introduce both dependent and independent relative clauses. With regard to the construction of וְהוּא, &c., the remarks on אֲשֶׁר, under *a* and *e*, also hold good.

Examples:—

(a) וְהוּא in apposition to a governing substantive in the nominative, ψ 104<sup>26</sup> לְוִיָּתָן וְהוּא יָצַרְתָּ (there is) *leviathan, he—thou hast formed* (him), i. e. *whom thou hast formed*; Is 42<sup>24</sup> (וְהוּא); in the accusative, Is 25<sup>9</sup>, ψ 74<sup>2</sup> (in both cases with a retrospective pronoun; וְהוּא is used without it in ψ 132<sup>12</sup>); in apposition to a genitive dependent on a preposition, Pr 23<sup>22</sup> וְהוּא יָלַדְךָ שָׁמַע לְאָבִיךָ הוּא הִבְרִיךְ thee *hegar thee*, i. e. *who begat thee*; ψ 17<sup>9</sup> (וְהוּא).—In ψ 104<sup>8</sup> אֶל-מְקוֹם וְהוּא יָסְדָתָם הֵם unto the place which thou hadst founded for them (cf. § 130 c), וְהוּא is in the genitive after the construct state מְקוֹם to the place of that, thou hadst

<sup>1</sup> In Zc 12<sup>10</sup> also, instead of the unintelligible אֵלֵי אֵת אֲשֶׁר, we should probably read אֶל-אֲשֶׁר, and refer the passage to this class.

<sup>2</sup> Such a strong ellipse as in Is 31<sup>6</sup>, where מְפֹנֵנוּ would be expected after הַעֲמִיקוּ, is only possible in elevated poetic or prophetic language.

<sup>3</sup> The etymological equivalent וְהוּא, וְהוּא in Aramaic is always a relative.

founded (it) for them; on the same analogy we may also take, with Baumann (op. cit., p. 48),  $\psi$  78<sup>54</sup> (חַר הָיָה) and Ex 15<sup>18</sup> (עָמְדוּ נְאֻמְלֵת), 15<sup>16</sup>, Is 43<sup>21</sup>,  $\psi$  9<sup>16</sup>, 10<sup>2</sup>, 31<sup>5</sup>, 32<sup>8</sup>, 62<sup>12</sup>, 142<sup>4</sup>, 143<sup>8</sup> (all examples of הוּ).

To introduce independent relative clauses הוּ is used as a nominative in *h* Jb 19<sup>19</sup>; as accusative, Jb 15<sup>17</sup> and הוּ Hb 11<sup>1</sup>,  $\psi$  68<sup>29</sup> (after a preposition, הוּ Ex 13<sup>8</sup>; but the text is evidently corrupt).

(b) More certain examples of the use of the article as a relative pronoun *i* (more correctly, perhaps, of the demonstrative which is otherwise used as article) are 1 Ch 26<sup>28</sup> בְּלֹ הַהֲקָרִישׁ שְׂמוֹנָאֵל *all that Samuel had dedicated*, &c.; 1 Ch 29<sup>8</sup> (where נִמְצָא can only be perfect *Niph'al*); 2 Ch 29<sup>36</sup>, Ezr 10<sup>14</sup>. In connexion with a plural, Jos 10<sup>24</sup> *the chiefs of the men of war הָהֵלְכֵנוּ אִתּוֹ who went with him*; Ezr 8<sup>25</sup>, 10<sup>17</sup>, 1 Ch 29<sup>17</sup>. Finally, in the sense of *id quod*, Jer 5<sup>13</sup> (where, however, we should read with the LXX הַדְּבָר). Cf. moreover, 1 S 9<sup>24</sup> *the thigh וְהָעֵלְיָהּ and that which was upon it* (but see *k* below); 2 Ch 1<sup>4</sup> בְּהֵיכָן equivalent to בְּאִשֶׁר הֵכִין *to the place, that he had prepared*.

In all the examples adduced except 1 S 9<sup>24</sup> (where וְהָאֵלִיָּהּ should probably *k* be read for וְהָעֵלְיָהּ) the ה is followed by undoubted perfects; almost all the examples, moreover, belong to the latest Books (Ezra and Chronicles). On the other hand, another series of instances (even in the older texts) is extremely doubtful, in which the Masora likewise requires perfects, either by placing the tone on the penultima, as in Gn 18<sup>21</sup>, 46<sup>27</sup>, Jb 2<sup>11</sup> הַבָּאָה; Is 51<sup>10</sup> הַשָּׂמָה; Ez 26<sup>17</sup> הַהֲלֵלָה Ru 1<sup>22</sup>, 2<sup>6</sup> and 4<sup>3</sup> הַשָּׂבָה, or by the punctuation, Gn 21<sup>8</sup> הַנּוֹלֵךְ; 1 K 11<sup>9</sup>, Dn 8<sup>1</sup> הַנְּרָאָה; Is 56<sup>8</sup> הַנְּלִיָּהּ, while no doubt the authors in all these cases intended participles (and in fact perfect participles, cf. § 116 *d*) with the article, thus הַבָּאָה, &c., Ez 26<sup>17</sup> הַהֲלֵלָה for הַמְהַלְלָה according to § 52 *s*, and in the other examples הַנּוֹלֵךְ, הַנְּרָאָה, הַנְּלִיָּהּ.

### § 139. *Expression of Pronominal Ideas by means of Substantives.*

Analogous to the periphrases for expressing materials and attributes *a* by means of substantives (§ 128 *o* and *p*), is the use of substantives to represent certain kinds of pronominal ideas, for which no special expressions exist. Thus—

1. אִישׁ, אִשָּׁה *man, woman*, are used to express—

(a) The idea of *each, every* (in the sense of each severally) with reference to persons,<sup>1</sup> and even animals (Gn 15<sup>10</sup>), e.g. Gn 10<sup>5</sup>, feminine Ex 3<sup>22</sup>; אִישׁ is the object, e.g. in Jer 12<sup>15</sup>. On אִישׁ—אִישׁ cf. § 123 *c*.

In a few passages אִישׁ in the above sense is placed for the sake of emphasis *C* before the governing noun (always a substantive with a suffix), thus מִיַּד אִישׁ Gn 9<sup>5</sup>, according to the usual explanation, stands for מִיַּד אִתּוֹ אִישׁ *at the hand of the brother of every man*. But although the explanation seems to be

<sup>1</sup> As a rule אִישׁ is used in the particularizing sense of *each man*, with the plural of the verb, e.g. Gn 44<sup>11</sup>; sometimes, however, as subject to a verb in the singular, e.g. Gn 44<sup>13</sup>.

supported by Gn 42<sup>26</sup> and Nu 17<sup>17</sup>, it is inconceivable that such an inversion of *nomen regens* and *rectum* should occur. It is more likely, either that the second substantive is in apposition to אִישׁ (thus Gn 9<sup>5</sup> *at the hand of every man, his brother*, [unless it is a combination of the two readings אִישׁ מִיָּד and מִיָּד הָאָדָם]; similarly 15<sup>10</sup> *and he laid each or, more exactly, one piece of it, &c.*, and so probably also Nu 17<sup>17</sup> *every one, sc. his name*), or אִישׁ precedes as a kind of *casus pendens*, and only receives its nearer definition from the following substantive with suffix; thus Gn 41<sup>12</sup>, 42<sup>26</sup> (according to the context = *to every one in his sack*); 42<sup>36</sup>, where אִישׁוֹרֵר־בְּסָפוֹ בְּשָׂקוֹ is virtually the predicate of אִישׁ; Ex 12<sup>4</sup>, 28<sup>21</sup>, Nu 5<sup>10</sup>, 26<sup>64</sup>, 2 K 23<sup>36</sup>, and especially Zc 7<sup>10</sup>.<sup>1</sup>

d (b) *Any one, some one*, e.g. Gn 13<sup>16</sup>, Ct 8<sup>7</sup>, with a negative *no one*; <sup>2</sup> so after אֶל־ Ex 16<sup>19, 29</sup>; before לֹא Gn 23<sup>8</sup> and frequently.—Instead of אִישׁ we sometimes find in a similar sense אָדָם *man, homo*, e.g. Lv 1<sup>2</sup> (cf. בְּאַחֵר הָאָדָם *as any one else*, Ju 16<sup>7, 11</sup>), נַפְשׁ *(soul) person*, Lv 2<sup>1</sup>, 5<sup>1</sup>, &c., and in a neuter sense דָּבָר (prop. word, thing) for *anything*, Gn 18<sup>14</sup>, or כֹּל־דָּבָר Lv 5<sup>2</sup>, Nu 31<sup>23</sup>. With a negative דָּבָר means *nothing*; thus after אֶל־ Gn 19<sup>8</sup>; after לֹא Ec 8<sup>5</sup>.—Cf. finally, מִיֶּאֱחָד *any one*, Dt 15<sup>7</sup>; *anything*, Ez 18<sup>10</sup> (but in Lv 4<sup>2</sup>, 5<sup>13</sup> מִיֶּאֱחָת and the expressions noticed in § 144 e. The latter include also instances like Ez 18<sup>32</sup> *I have no pleasure בְּמוֹת הַמֵּת in the death of him that dieth, i.e. of any man.*

c (c) In connexion with אָחִיו *his brother* or רֵעֵהוּ *his neighbour*, אִישׁ *one, masc.* (as אִשָּׁה *one, fem.*, in connexion with אַחֻתָּהּ *her sister* or רֵעִיתָהּ *her neighbour*) is used to represent the ideas of *alter—alter, the one—the other* <sup>3</sup> (in reference to persons, animals, or things without life; see the Lexicon) or the idea of *one another*, e.g. Gn 13<sup>11</sup> *and they separated themselves אָחִיו מֵעַל אִישׁ the one from the other*; Ex 26<sup>3</sup> *five curtains (יריעות fem.) shall be coupled together אֶל־אַחֻתָּהּ one to another.*

f 2. נַפְשׁ *soul, person* expresses the idea of *self*,<sup>4</sup> both in the singular, Pr 19<sup>8, 16</sup>, 29<sup>24</sup>, Jb 18<sup>4</sup> (in all cases נַפְשׁוֹ equivalent to *himself*) and in the plural, Jer 37<sup>9</sup>, &c. Similar to this is the use of בְּקִרְבָּהּ Gn 18<sup>12</sup> (prop. *in her inward part*) in the sense of *within herself*.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. on the whole question the thorough discussion by Budde, *Die bibl. Urgeschichte*, p. 283 ff.: according to him, the words in Gn 9<sup>5</sup> are to be rendered *at the hand of one another* (from men mutually) *will I require it*. [In support of this view, Budde points to Zc 7<sup>10</sup> אֶל־תִּחְשְׁבוּ וְרַעַת אִישׁ אָחִיו וְאִישׁ אֶת־רַעַת רֵעֵהוּ אֶל־תִּחְשְׁבוּ בְּלִבְבְּכֶם, which in the light of 8<sup>17</sup> וְאִישׁ אֶת־רַעַת רֵעֵהוּ אֶל־תִּחְשְׁבוּ בְּלִבְבְּכֶם, can only, he observes, be rendered 'and devise not the hurt of one another in your heart'. So also König, *Syntax*, § 33.]

<sup>2</sup> Cf. also אִין־אִישׁ Gn 39<sup>11</sup>. On the expression of the idea of *no one* by means of אִין with a following participle, see the *Negative Sentences*, § 152 l.

<sup>3</sup> Elsewhere וְהָ . . . וְהָ are used in a similar sense, Ex 14<sup>20</sup>, Is 6<sup>3</sup>; also הָאֶחָד . . . הָאֶחָד 2 S 14<sup>6</sup>, or the substantive is repeated, e.g. Gn 47<sup>21</sup> (*from one end . . . to the other end*).

<sup>4</sup> On the representation of this idea by pronouns, separate and suffixed, see § 135 a, i and k.

<sup>5</sup> In a similar way the idea of *self* in Arabic, as in Sanskrit (*ātman*), is paraphrased by *soul, spirit*; in Arabic also by *eye*; in Rabbinic by גוּף *body*,

3. בְּעֵצָם *bone* (then metaphorically for *substance*) expresses the idea of *self*, *g* *selfsame*, *very same*, in reference to *things* (as נִפְּשֵׁי to persons, e.g. הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה בְּעֵצָם *in the selfsame day*, Gn 7<sup>13</sup>, cf. Jos 10<sup>27</sup>, Ez 24<sup>2</sup>; כְּעֵצָם הַשָּׁמַיִם לְטָהָר *as it were the very heaven for clearness*, Ex 24<sup>10</sup>; בְּעֵצָם תָּמוּ *in the very fullness of his strength* (= *in the midst of his full strength*), Jb 21<sup>23</sup>).

4. The simple plural of words denoting time sometimes includes also the *h* idea of *a few*, *some*;<sup>1</sup> thus יָמִים *a few days*, Gn 24<sup>55</sup>, 40<sup>4</sup> (here even of a longer period, = *for some time*); Is 65<sup>20</sup>, Dn 8<sup>27</sup> (on the other hand, Gn 27<sup>44</sup>, 29<sup>20</sup> יָמִים אֲחָרִים; see § 96 under אֲחָרִים); שָׁנִים *some years*, Dn 11<sup>6,8</sup>.

בְּרָם or עֵצָם *bone*, in Ethiopic and Amharic by *head*, in Egyptian by *mouth*, *hand*, &c.; cf. also the Middle High German *min lip*, *din lip*, for *ich*, *du*. However, נִפְּשֵׁי in such cases is never (not even in Is 46<sup>2</sup> נִפְּשֵׁי *they themselves*) a merely otiose periphrasis for the personal pronoun, but always involves a reference to the *mental* personality, as affected by the senses, desires, &c.

<sup>1</sup> *Some* in reference to persons in Ex 16<sup>20</sup> is expressed by אֲנָשִׁים, and in Neh 5<sup>2-4</sup> by אֲשֶׁר יֵשׁ אֲשֶׁר *sunt qui*, with a participle following.

## CHAPTER II

### THE SENTENCE

#### I. The Sentence in General.

#### § 140. Noun-clauses, Verbal-clauses, and the Compound Sentence.

- a* 1. Every sentence, the subject and predicate of which are nouns or their equivalents (esp. participles), is called a *noun-clause*, e. g. יהוה מלכנו *the Lord is our king*, Is 33<sup>22</sup>; וְאַנְשֵׁי סְדֹם רָעִים וְחַפְזָאִים *now the men of Sodom were wicked and sinners*, Gn 13<sup>13</sup>; פֶּה לָהֶם *a mouth is theirs*, ψ 115<sup>5</sup>; see further, § 141.
- b* 2. Every sentence, the subject of which is a noun (or pronoun included in a verbal-form) and its predicate a finite verb, is called a *verbal-clause*, e. g. וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהִים *and God said*, Gn 1<sup>3</sup>; וַיִּבְרָא *and he divided*, 1<sup>7</sup>; see further, § 142.
- c* Rem. In the last example the pronominal subject is at least indicated by the preformative (י), and in almost all forms of the perfect by affirmatives. The 3rd pers. sing. perf. however, which contains no indication of the subject, must also be regarded as a full verbal-clause.
- d* 3. Every sentence, the subject or predicate of which is itself a full clause, is called a *compound sentence*, e. g. ψ 18<sup>31</sup> הָאֵל תְּמִים דְּרָבּוֹ *God—his way is perfect*, equivalent to *God's way is perfect*; Gn 34<sup>8</sup> שָׂכַם בְּנֵי שֵׁכֶם *my son Shechem—his soul longeth for your daughter*; see further, § 143.
- e* 4. The above distinction between different kinds of sentences—especially between noun- and verbal-clauses—is indispensable to the more delicate appreciation of Hebrew syntax (and that of the Semitic languages generally), since it is by no means merely external or formal, but involves fundamental differences of meaning. Noun-clauses with a substantive as predicate, represent something *fixed*, a *state* or in short, a *being* so and so; verbal-clauses on the other hand, something *moveable* and *in progress*, an *event* or *action*. The latter description is indeed true in a certain sense also of noun-clauses

with a participial predicate, except that in their case the event or action (as distinguished from that expressed by the verbal-clause) is of a fixed and abiding character.

Rem. By the Arab grammarians every clause beginning with an independent subject is regarded as a noun-clause, and every clause beginning with a finite verb as verbal. If a finite verb follows the noun-subject the two together (since the verb comprises its own subject and is thus a complete verbal-clause) form a compound noun-sentence, just as when the predicate consists of an independent noun-clause. Though this definition of the different kinds of sentence, which we formerly accepted (in § 144 a of the 22nd to the 24th German editions of this Grammar), is rejected above, *a-d*, we must, nevertheless, mention here the point in which this more complicated view of the Arab grammarians may be regarded as at least relatively correct, namely, in classifying verbal-clauses according as the subject precedes or follows the verb, a distinction which is often of great importance in Hebrew also; see further, in § 142 a.

### § 141. *The Noun-clause.*

1. The *subject* of a noun-clause (see § 140 a) may be—

(a) A substantive, e. g. וְנָהָר יָצָא מֵעֵדֶן *and a river went out* (was going out) of *Eden*, Gn 2<sup>10</sup>.

(b) A pronoun, e. g. Gn 7<sup>4</sup> אֲנֹכִי מִמָּטִיר I will cause it to rain; 14<sup>18</sup> כֹּהֵן וְהוּא כֹהֵן *and he was priest*; 2<sup>23</sup> (זאת) before a feminine predicate, as אִיָּהּ before a plural in Ex 32<sup>4</sup>); מִי הָכֵם *who is wise?* Ho 14<sup>10</sup>.—In 1 Ch 5<sup>2</sup> וּלְגִייר מִפָּנָיו *and of him one became a prince*, the subject is contained in כִּפְּנָיו.<sup>1</sup>

2. The *predicate* of a noun-clause may be—

(a) A substantive, e. g. Dt 14<sup>1</sup> וְגו' אֶתֶם וְגו' בְּנִים אֶתֶם *ye are children of the Lord your God*; Gn 42<sup>13</sup>. Specially characteristic of the Semitic mode of expression are the cases in which both subject and predicate are substantives, thus emphasizing their identity ('the thing is its measure, material, or equivalent'), e. g. Ez 41<sup>22</sup> עֵץ וְקִירָתָיו עֵץ . . . הַמִּזְבֵּחַ עֵץ *the altar (was) wood . . . , and the walls thereof (were) wood*, i. e. of wood. Cf. below, c.

(b) An adjective or participle, e. g. Gn 2<sup>12</sup> וְזָהָב הָאֶרֶץ הַהִיא טוֹב *and the gold of that land is good*; וְעַפְרוֹן יָשָׁב *now Ephron was sitting*, &c., Gn 23<sup>10</sup>.<sup>2</sup> Very frequently such noun-clauses, attached by *Wāw* to a verbal-clause, are used to represent a state *contemporaneous* with the principal action; cf. *e* below.

(c) A numeral, e. g. Gn 42<sup>13</sup> עֶשְׂרֵי עַבְדֵיךָ *the twelve (of us) are thy servants*.

<sup>1</sup> For other remarkable instances of ellipse in the Chronicler, see Driver, *Introduction*, ed. 8, p. 537, no. 27.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the numerous examples in § 116 n-p.

(d) A pronoun, e. g. Gn 10<sup>12</sup> (היא), Ex 9<sup>27</sup> (אני), Gn 24<sup>65</sup> (כי), 1 K 9<sup>13</sup> (מה).<sup>1</sup>

(e) An adverb or (esp. if formed with a preposition) any specification of time, place, quality, possessor, &c., which may be regarded as the equivalent of a noun-idea, e. g. שם הַבְּדִלְיָה there is the bdellium, Gn 2<sup>12</sup>; אֵי הַבְּלָל where is Abel? 4<sup>9</sup>; לְעוֹלָם חֶסְדּוֹ his mercy endureth for ever, ψ 136<sup>1f.</sup>; לֹו אֲנַחְנוּ לוֹ אֲנַחְנוּ riches are in his house, ψ 112<sup>3</sup>; לוֹ אֲנַחְנוּ we are his, ψ 100<sup>3</sup> Q<sup>er</sup>.

C Rem. 1. The employment of a substantive as predicate of a noun-clause is especially frequent, either when no corresponding adjective exists (so mostly with words expressing the material; cf. § 128 o) or when the attribute is intended to receive a certain emphasis. For in all cases there is a much greater stress upon a substantival predicate,<sup>2</sup> since it represents something as identical with the subject (see above, b [a]), than upon an adjectival or verbal predicate; cf. Ct 1<sup>10</sup>; ψ 25<sup>10</sup> all the paths of the Lord are אֱמֶת וְחֶסֶד lovingkindness and truth (i. e. wholly lovingkindness, &c.; cf. Jer 10<sup>10</sup>); Ez 38<sup>6</sup>, ψ 10<sup>5</sup>, 19<sup>10</sup>, 23<sup>5</sup>, 88<sup>19</sup>, Pr 3<sup>17</sup>,<sup>8</sup> Jb 22<sup>12</sup>, 23<sup>2</sup>, 26<sup>18</sup>, Ru 3<sup>2</sup>. Sometimes the emphasis on the predicate is obtained by the use of the plural form (according to § 124 e), e. g. ψ 110<sup>3</sup> thy people are נְדָבָת altogether willingness; Ct 5<sup>16</sup>, Dn 9<sup>23</sup>.

d Sometimes the boldness of such combinations is modified by the repetition of the subject, as regens of the predicate, e. g. Jb 6<sup>12</sup> אִם-בָּחַ אֲבָנִים בָּחַי is my strength the strength of stones? Pr 3<sup>17</sup>. That the language, however—especially in poetry—is not averse even to the boldest combinations in order to emphasize very strongly the unconditional relation between the subject and predicate, is shown by such examples as ψ 45<sup>9</sup> myrrh and aloes and cassia are all thy garments (i. e. so perfumed with them that they seem to be composed of them); Ct 1<sup>15</sup> thine eyes are doves, i. e. dove's eyes (but פְּיוֹנִים);<sup>4</sup> ψ 23<sup>5</sup>, 109<sup>4</sup>, Jb 8<sup>9</sup>, 12<sup>12</sup>, Ct 2<sup>13</sup>. In prose, e. g. Ex 9<sup>31</sup>, Ezr 10<sup>13</sup> הָעֵת נִשְׁפְּטִים the season is rain showers, i. e. the rainy season; with a bold enallage of the number, Gn 34<sup>30</sup> וְאֲנִי מְתֵי מְסָפָר and I (with my family) am persons few in number. For similarly bold expressions with הָיָה cf. Gn 11<sup>1</sup>, 12<sup>2</sup>, Ex 17<sup>12</sup>, Is 5<sup>12</sup>, Jer 2<sup>28</sup>, and again with a bold enallage of the number, Jb 29<sup>15</sup> I was eyes to the blind, and feet was I to the lame, but in prose, Nu 10<sup>31</sup> and thou shalt be to us כְּעֵינַיִם.

<sup>1</sup> Why in these examples the pronouns, notwithstanding appearances to the contrary, are to be considered as predicates and not as subjects, may be seen from what has been remarked above, § 126 k.

<sup>2</sup> The same naturally applies to most of those cases which are not pure noun-clauses, but have the substantival predicate connected with the subject by הָיָה (e. g. Gn 1<sup>2</sup> and the earth was a waste and emptiness; cf. ψ 35<sup>6</sup>, Pr 8<sup>30</sup>, Jb 3<sup>4</sup>) or where a preposition precedes the substantival predicate, as ψ 29<sup>4</sup> the voice of the Lord is with power, i. e. powerful.

<sup>3</sup> שָׁלוֹם here, as in Jb 21<sup>9</sup>, is evidently a substantive after a plural subject; on the other hand, it is doubtful whether שָׁלוֹם in such passages as Gn 43<sup>27</sup>, 2 S 20<sup>9</sup>, ψ 120<sup>7</sup>, &c., is not rather to be regarded as an adjectivo.

<sup>4</sup> As a rule, in such comparisons כִּי (which is then to be regarded as nominative) stands before the predicate, e. g. Is 63<sup>2</sup> wherefore are thy garments כְּדִרְרֵךְ בְּנֵת כְּדִרְרֵךְ like those of one that treadeth in the wine-press? (prop. the like of one that treadeth, instar calcantis); Jer 50<sup>9</sup>. The comparison is then much less emphatic than in the noun-clauses cited above.

2. The noun-clause connected by *wāw copulative* to a verbal-clause, or its *equivalent*, always describes a state *contemporaneous* with the principal action, or (when the predicate is a transitive participle) an action represented in constant duration (cf. § 107 d, as well as § 116 n and o), e.g. Gn 19<sup>1</sup> *and the two angels came to Sodom at even*, וְלוֹט יֹשֵׁב *while Lot sat*, &c.; 18<sup>1.8.16.22</sup>, 25<sup>26</sup>, Ju 13<sup>9</sup>, 1 S 1<sup>9</sup>, 2 S 4<sup>7</sup>, 11<sup>4</sup> (always with a participle); with an adjectival predicate, Gn 18<sup>12</sup>; with a substantival predicate, 18<sup>27</sup>; with an adverbial predicate, 9<sup>23</sup>. Not infrequently such a *circumstantial* clause indicates at the same time some contradictory fact, so that וְ is equivalent to *whereas*, *whilst*, *although*, e.g. Gn 15<sup>2</sup>, 18<sup>27</sup>, 2c<sup>3</sup>, 48<sup>14</sup> (*although he was the younger*); Ju 16<sup>15</sup> *how canst thou say, I love thee*, וְלִבְךָ אֵין אִתִּי *whereas thine heart is not with me?* 2 S 3<sup>39</sup>, ψ 28<sup>3</sup> *whilst mischief is in their hearts*. These clauses describing a state are, however, only a subdivision of the large class of circumstantial clauses, on which see § 156.

3. As the examples given under *a* and *b* show, the syntactical relation existing between the subject and predicate of a noun-clause is as a rule expressed by simple juxtaposition, without a *copula* of any kind. To what period of time the statement applies must be inferred from the context; e.g. 1 K 18<sup>21</sup> יְהוָה הָאֱלֹהִים *the Lord is the true God*; 1 S 9<sup>19</sup>; Is 31<sup>2</sup> גַּם־הוּא חָכֵם *yet he also is wise*; Gn 42<sup>11</sup>; on the other hand, Gn 19<sup>1</sup> וְלוֹט יֹשֵׁב *and (=while) Lot was sitting*; Ez 28<sup>15</sup>; Gn 7<sup>4</sup> אֲנִי מְמַטֵּר *I am raining*, i. e. *I will rain*. Sometimes even a jussive or optative is to be supplied as predicate, Gn 27<sup>13</sup> *upon me be thy curse*; Gn 11<sup>3</sup>, 20<sup>13</sup>, Ex 12<sup>2</sup>. Cf. § 116 r, note.

Not infrequently, however, a connexion is established between subject and predicate (*a*) by adding the separate pronoun of the 3rd person singular or plural, expressly resuming and therefore strengthening the subject, or (*b*) (especially for the sake of a more exact specification of time) by the help of the verb הָיָה. The first of these will be a *compound* sentence, since the predicate to the main subject consists of an independent clause.

Examples of (*a*): Gn 41<sup>26</sup> *the seven good kine* שִׁבְעַ עֲשָׂרִים הֵנָּה *they are seven* / *years*; Dt 1<sup>17</sup>, 4<sup>24</sup>; Ec 5<sup>18</sup> זֶה מַתַּת אֱלֹהִים הִיא *this—it is a gift of God*; Nu 3<sup>27</sup> הִנֵּה הִיא; in a question, Gn 27<sup>38</sup>. Sometimes הוּא is used in this way to strengthen a pronominal subject of the first or second person, and at the same time to connect it with the predicate which follows,<sup>1</sup> e.g. אֲנִי אֲנִי הוּא Is 43<sup>25</sup> *I, even I, am he that blotteth out*, &c.; 51<sup>12</sup>; אֲתָה הוּא 2 S 7<sup>28</sup>, Is 37<sup>16</sup>, ψ 44<sup>5</sup>, Neh 9<sup>6.7</sup>; in an interrogative sentence, Jer 14<sup>22</sup>;<sup>2</sup> in Jer 49<sup>13</sup> הוּא *in a verbal-clause* strengthens אֲתָה.

<sup>1</sup> On a similar use of the separate pronoun of the third person in Aramaic (Dn 2<sup>38</sup>, Ezr 5<sup>11</sup>, &c.) see Kautzsch, *Gramm. des Bibl. Aram.*, § 87. 3.

<sup>2</sup> This is of course to be distinguished from the use of הוּא (to be inferred from the context) as predicate in the sense of δ αὐτός; see above, § 135 a, note 1; or such cases as Dt 32<sup>39</sup> *see now* אֲנִי אֲנִי הוּא *that I, even I, am he*; 1 Ch 21<sup>17</sup>.

i Of (b): naturally this does not apply to the examples, in which הָיָה, in the sense of *to become, to fare, to exist*, still retains its full force as a verb, and where accordingly the sentence is verbal, and not a noun-clause; especially when the predicate precedes the subject. On the other hand, such examples as Gn 1<sup>2</sup> and the earth was (הָיְתָה) waste and emptiness, can scarcely be regarded as properly verbal clauses; הָיְתָה is used here really only for the purpose of referring to past time a statement which, as the description of a state, might also appear in the form of a pure noun-clause; cf. Gn 3<sup>1</sup>. This is especially true of the somewhat numerous instances in which הָיָה occurs as a connecting word between the subject and the participial predicate; e.g. Ju 1<sup>7</sup>, Jb 1<sup>14</sup> (immediately afterwards a pure noun-clause). The imperfect of הָיָה announces what is future in Nu 14<sup>33</sup>, &c.; cf. § 116 r. However, especially in the latter case, הָיָה is not wholly without verbal force, but comes very near to being a mere copula, and this use is more frequent in the later books<sup>1</sup> than in the earlier.

k Rem. On the employment of הָיָה existence, and אֵין non-existence, which were originally substantives (on their tendency to be used as verbs, equivalent to *est*, and *non est*, cf. § 100 o, and the *Negative Sentences*, § 152) as a connecting link between a pronominal subject and a participial predicate (especially in conditional and interrogative sentences, Gn 24<sup>42,49</sup>, 43<sup>4</sup>, &c.), see above, § 116 g, and the various kinds of subordinate clauses mentioned in §§ 150, 159.

l 4. The natural arrangement of words in the noun-clause, as describing a state, is *subject—predicate*; the principal stress falls on the former since it is the object of the description. Very frequently, however (and not merely in poetry, where greater freedom is naturally allowed in the arrangement of words), the reverse order is found, i. e. *predicate—subject*. The latter order *must* be used when special emphasis is laid on the predicate,<sup>2</sup> or when it consists of an interrogative word; thus with a substantival predicate, e.g. Gn 3<sup>19</sup> עָפָר אַתָּה dust thou art; 4<sup>9</sup>, 12<sup>13</sup> (my sister, not my wife); 20<sup>2,12</sup>, 29<sup>14</sup>, Is 6<sup>3b</sup>, Jb 5<sup>24</sup>, 6<sup>12</sup>; with an adjectival predicate, e.g. Is 6<sup>3a</sup>, 28<sup>21</sup>, Jer 10<sup>6</sup>; with a participle, Gn 30<sup>1</sup>, 32<sup>12</sup>; with an interrogative pronoun, e.g. Gn 24<sup>65</sup>;<sup>3</sup> with an adverbial interrogative, e.g. Gn 4<sup>9</sup>.

m Rem. On the above cf. the exhaustive investigations of C. Albrecht, 'Die Wortstellung im hebr. Nominalsatz,' ZAW. vii. 218 ff. and viii. 249 ff.; with a complete list of the exceptions to the order *subject—predicate*, p. 254 ff. The predicate *must* precede for the reasons stated (an *adjectival predicate* is particularly emphatic when it has the force of a comparative, e.g. Gn 4<sup>13</sup>; the predicate expressed by means of a preposition precedes most frequently when it serves to convey the ideas of *having, possessing*, e.g. Gn 18<sup>14</sup>, 29<sup>16</sup>, &c.; cf. also 26<sup>20</sup>, 31<sup>16,43</sup>).

n The predicate *may* precede: (a) when the subject is a pronoun, for 'the person assumed to be generally known, does not excite the same interest as

<sup>1</sup> According to Albrecht, ZAW. viii. 252, especially in Deuteronomy and in the Priestly Code.

<sup>2</sup> For the same reason specifications of place (e.g. Gn 4<sup>7</sup>) or other adverbial qualifications may stand at the beginning of the sentence.

<sup>3</sup> The only exceptions, according to Albrecht (see the Rem. above), are Ex 16<sup>7,8</sup>.

that which is stated about him; (b) 'in order not to be a mere appendage to a subject which consists of several words,' e.g. 2 K 20<sup>19</sup>; (c) in interrogative sentences (with a substantival or adjectival predicate or one compounded with a preposition), e.g. 1 S 16<sup>4</sup>; finally (d) in a relative clause, when the predicate is adverbial or compounded with a preposition, as a rule closely united (by Maqqeph) with אֲשֶׁר, e.g. Gn 2<sup>11</sup> אֲשֶׁר-בּוֹ; 1<sup>29f</sup>.

### § 142. The Verbal-clause.

1. By § 140 f there is an essential distinction between verbal- $\alpha$  clauses, according as the subject stands before or after the verb. In the verbal-clause proper the principal emphasis rests upon the action which proceeds from (or is experienced by) the subject, and accordingly the verb naturally precedes (*necessarily* so when it is in the perf. consec. or imperf. consec.). Nevertheless, the subject does sometimes precede even in the verbal-clause proper, in the continuation of the narrative, e.g. Gn 7<sup>19</sup>, 1 S 18<sup>1</sup>, 2 S 19<sup>12</sup>; especially so if there is special emphasis upon it, e.g. Gn 3<sup>23</sup> (it is not I who am to blame, but) *the serpent beguiled me*, cf. Gn 2<sup>5</sup>, &c.<sup>1</sup> In the great majority of instances, however, the position of the subject at the beginning of a verbal-clause is to be explained from the fact that the clause is not intended to introduce a new fact carrying on the narrative, but rather to describe a *state*. Verbal-clauses of this kind approximate closely in character to noun-clauses, and not infrequently (viz. when the verbal form might just as well be read as a participle) it is doubtful whether the writer did not in fact intend a noun-clause.

The particular *state* represented in the verb may consist—

(a) Of an act completed long before, to which reference is made only because it is necessary for understanding the sequel of the principal action. If the predicate be a perfect (as it almost always is in these cases), it is generally to be rendered in English by a pluperfect; cf. the examples discussed above in § 106 f (1 S 25<sup>3</sup>, &c.); also Gn 6<sup>8</sup> (not *Noah found grace*); 16<sup>1</sup>, 18<sup>17</sup>, 20<sup>4</sup>, 24<sup>1</sup>, 39<sup>1</sup> (and *Joseph in the meanwhile had been brought down to Egypt*); 4<sup>10</sup>, Ju 1<sup>16</sup>, 1 S 9<sup>15</sup>, 14<sup>27</sup>, 25<sup>21</sup>, 1 K 1<sup>1</sup>, &c.—In a wider sense this applies also to such verbal-clauses as Gn 2<sup>6</sup> (see further, § 112 e), since when they serve to represent an action continuing for a long period in the past, and thus to some extent a *state*.

(b) Of a fact, contemporaneous with the principal events or continuing as the result of them. To the former class belong all those instances in which the predicate is combined with הָיָה (provided that הָיָה has not, as in Gn 1<sup>2</sup>, 3<sup>1</sup>, &c., been weakened to a mere copula, in which case the precedence of the subject is fully explained from the character of the clause as a noun-clause; cf. § 141 i, and the examples of הָיָה, &c., with a participle, § 116 r); as an example of the second class, cf. e.g. Gn 13<sup>12</sup> אַבְרָם יָשָׁב בְּאֶרֶץ-כְּנָעַן וְגו' *Abraham accordingly continued to dwell in the land of Canaan, but Lot dwell, &c.*

<sup>1</sup> This of course applies also to the cases, in which the subject consists of a strongly emphasized personal pronoun, e.g. Gn 32<sup>13</sup> אַתָּה *thou thyself*; 33<sup>3</sup> אֲנִי *he himself*.

*d* Rem. 1. The close relation between verbal-clauses beginning with the subject and actual noun-clauses, is seen finally from the fact that the former also are somewhat frequently added with ׀ (or subordinated) to a preceding sentence in order to lay stress upon some accompanying circumstance; on such noun-clauses describing a *state* or *circumstance*, cf. § 141 *e*. This is especially the case, again, when the circumstantial appendage involves an antithesis; cf. Gn 18<sup>18</sup> *seeing that nevertheless Abraham shall surely become, &c.*; 24<sup>56</sup>, 26<sup>27</sup>, Is 29<sup>13</sup>, Jer 14<sup>15</sup>, ψ 50<sup>17</sup>, Jb 21<sup>22</sup>, and such examples as Gn 4<sup>2,4</sup>, 29<sup>17</sup>, where by means of ׀ a new subject is introduced in express antithesis to one just mentioned. Moreover, in the examples treated above, under *b* and *c* (1 S 28<sup>3</sup>, &c.), the subject is frequently introduced by ׀, which then corresponds to the Greek δέ, used to interpose an explanation, &c., see Winer, *Gramm. des neutest. Sprachidioms*, § 53. 7 *b*.

*c* 2. By a peculiar construction verbal-clauses may be joined by means of ׀ and a following subject to participial clauses, e.g. Gn 38<sup>25</sup> הָיָא מְצַנְתָּא וְהָיָא שְׁלֵחָה *she was already brought forth, when she sent, &c.*; 44<sup>3,4</sup>, Ju 18<sup>3</sup>, 19<sup>11</sup>, 2 S 20<sup>8</sup>; for other examples, see § 116 *u* (where it is pointed out, note 1, that the apodosis also frequently appears in the form of a *noun*-clause, a further proof of the close relation between verbal-clauses beginning with the subject and noun-clauses proper). Without doubt there is in all these cases a kind of inversion of the principal clause and the temporal subordinate clause; the latter for the sake of greater emphasis being raised to an independent noun-clause, while the real principal action is added as though it were an accompanying circumstance, and hence in the form of an ordinary circumstantial clause. [Cf. Driver, *Tenses*, § 166 ff.]

*f* 2. According to what has been remarked above, under *a*, the natural order of words within the verbal sentence is: *Verb—Subject*, or *Verb—Subject—Object*. But as in the noun-clause (§ 141 *l*) so also in the verbal-clause, a variation of the usual order of words frequently occurs when any member of the sentence is to be specially emphasized by priority of position.<sup>1</sup> Thus the order may be:—

(*a*) *Object—Verb—Subject*: Gn 30<sup>40</sup>, 37<sup>4</sup>, 1 S 15<sup>1</sup>, 2 K 23<sup>19</sup> and frequently. Naturally the examples are far more numerous, in which the object precedes a verbal form which includes the subject in itself, e.g. Gn 3<sup>10,14,18</sup>, 6<sup>16</sup>, 8<sup>17</sup>, 9<sup>13</sup>, Ex 18<sup>23</sup>, Ju 14<sup>3</sup>, 1 S 18<sup>17</sup>, 20<sup>9</sup>, 2 I<sup>10</sup>, 2 K 22<sup>8</sup>, Pr 13<sup>5</sup>, &c.

(*b*) *Verb—Object—Subject*: Gn 21<sup>7</sup>, Nu 5<sup>23</sup>, 1 S 15<sup>33</sup>, 2 S 24<sup>16</sup> (but הַמְלֵאךָ is probably only a subsequent addition); Is 19<sup>13</sup>, ψ 34<sup>22</sup>, Jb 11<sup>19</sup>, &c.

(*c*) *Subject—Object—Verb*: Is 3<sup>17</sup>, 11<sup>8</sup>, 13<sup>18</sup>, Ho 12<sup>11</sup>, ψ 6<sup>10</sup>, 11<sup>5</sup>, Jb 29<sup>25</sup>.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Not infrequently also the striving after *chiasmus* mentioned in § 114 *r*, note, occasions a departure from the usual arrangement of words.

<sup>2</sup> This sequence occurs even in prose (Gn 17<sup>9</sup>, 23<sup>6</sup>, &c.); it is, however, more doubtful here than in the above prophetic and poetical passages, whether the preceding subject should not be regarded rather as the subject of a compound sentence (§ 143), the predicate of which is an independent verbal-clause; this would explain why the verbal-clause is usually separated from the subject by one of the greater disjunctives.—On the other hand, the sequence *Subject—Object—Verb* is quite common in Aramaic (e.g. Dn 27<sup>10</sup>); cf.

(d) *Object—Subject—Verb* (very rarely): 2 K 5<sup>13</sup>, Is 5<sup>17</sup>, 28<sup>17</sup>, ψ 51<sup>5</sup>, Pr 13<sup>16</sup> (read בָּל).<sup>1</sup>

(e) A substantival complement of the verb היה is placed first in Is 18<sup>5</sup> יִפְתַּח יְהוָה נֶצֶחַ וַיִּבְסַר גַּמְלִי וַיִּפְתַּח יְהוָה נֶצֶחַ and a ripening grape the flower becometh.

Rem. Of specifications compounded with a preposition those of *place* stand regularly after the verb, unless they are specially emphatic as e. g. Gn 19<sup>2</sup>, 30<sup>16</sup>, 32<sup>5</sup>, Mi 5<sup>1</sup>, Est 9<sup>12</sup>; in Gn 29<sup>25</sup> בְּרִחַל with בְּ pretii precedes for the sake of emphasis. Cf., however, in Gn 35<sup>13</sup> the order *verb—specification of place—subject*.—The remoter object precedes for the sake of emphasis, e. g. in Gn 13<sup>15</sup> (26<sup>3</sup>), 15<sup>3</sup>; even before the interrogative, Gn 27<sup>37</sup> (cf. Jer 22<sup>15</sup> where the subject precedes an interrogative, and 1 S 20<sup>8</sup>, Jb 34<sup>31</sup> where a prepositional specification precedes).—Prepositional specifications of *time*, such as בְּרֵאשִׁית (Gn 1<sup>1</sup>), בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא, &c. (but not בְּרֵאשִׁית, nor the simple רֵאשִׁית, בְּתַחֲלָה, לְעוֹלָם), stand, as a rule, before the verb, provided it be not in the perf. consec. or imperf. consec.; so also certain adverbs of time, such as אָז, עַתָּה, whilst others like עוֹד, תָּמִיד regularly follow the verb.

### § 143. The Compound Sentence.

A compound sentence (§ 140 d) is formed by the juxtaposition of a subject<sup>2</sup> (which always precedes, see c) and

(a) An independent noun-clause, which (a) refers to the principal subject by means of a pronoun, e. g. Na 1<sup>3</sup> יְהוָה בְּסוּפָה רִבּוֹ the Lord—in the storm is his way; 2 S 23<sup>6</sup>, ψ 18<sup>31</sup>, 104<sup>17</sup>, 125<sup>2</sup>, Ec 2<sup>14</sup>; cf. also Gn 34<sup>23</sup>, where the predicate is an interrogative clause.—A personal pronoun is somewhat frequently used as the principal subject, e. g. Is 59<sup>21</sup> וְאֵנִי זֹאת בְּרִיתִי אִתָּם and as for me, this is my covenant with them, &c.; Gn 9<sup>9</sup>, 17<sup>4</sup>, Is 1<sup>7</sup>, 1 Ch 28<sup>2</sup>;<sup>3</sup> with an interrogative noun-clause, Gn 37<sup>30</sup>, Jb 21<sup>4</sup>, 38<sup>19</sup>:—or (β) is without a retrospective suffix (in which case naturally the connexion between the subject and predicate is much looser), e. g. 1 S 20<sup>23</sup> and as touching the matter which, &c. . . behold the Lord is between thee and me for ever; Pr 27<sup>2</sup>.

Gesenius, *Comm.* on Is 42<sup>24</sup>, and Kautzsch's *Gramm. des Bibl. Aram.*, § 84. 1 b. The pure Aramaic usage of placing the *object* before the *infinitive* occurs in Hebrew in Lv 19<sup>9</sup>, 21<sup>21</sup>, Dt 28<sup>56</sup>, 2 S 11<sup>19</sup>, Is 49<sup>6</sup>, 2 Ch 28<sup>10</sup>, 31<sup>7</sup>, 36<sup>19</sup> (?).

<sup>1</sup> This sequence occurs more frequently in noun-clauses with a participial predicate, e. g. Gn 37<sup>16</sup>, 41<sup>9</sup>, 2 S 13<sup>4</sup>, &c., in interrogative sentences, e. g. 2 K 6<sup>22</sup>, Jer 7<sup>19</sup>; in all which cases the emphasized object is placed before the natural sequence of *subject—predicate*. [Cf. Driver, *Tenses*, § 208.]

<sup>2</sup> In Gn 31<sup>40</sup> a verbal-clause (הָיִיתִי I was) occurs instead of the subject, and is then explained by another verbal-clause.

<sup>3</sup> In 1 Chr 28<sup>2</sup> (cf. also 22<sup>7</sup> אֲנִי הָיִיתִי עִם-לִבִּי אֲנִי might also be taken as strengthening the pronominal suffix which follows (equivalent to I myself had it in my mind), as e. g. Ez 33<sup>17</sup> whereas their own way is not equal; cf. § 135 f.

b (b) An independent verbal-clause: (a) with a retrospective suffix,<sup>1</sup> e.g. Gn 9<sup>6</sup> (cf. § 116 w); 17<sup>15</sup> *as for Sarai thy wife, thou shalt not call her name Sarai*; 26<sup>15</sup>, 28<sup>13</sup>, 34<sup>3</sup>, Ex 30<sup>37</sup>, 32<sup>1</sup>, 1 S 2<sup>10</sup>, 2 K 10<sup>29</sup>, Is 9<sup>1</sup>, 11<sup>10</sup>, Ez 33<sup>2</sup>, Ho 9<sup>11</sup>, ψ 11<sup>4</sup>, 46<sup>5</sup>, 65<sup>4</sup>, 74<sup>17</sup>, Dn 1<sup>17</sup>; with a pronoun as the principal subject, Gn 24<sup>27</sup>; (β) without a retrospective suffix, Is 19<sup>17</sup> *every one that mentions it (Judah) to it (Egypt), it (Egypt) is afraid*.

c Rem. i. In all the above examples prominence is given to the principal subject (by its mere separation from the context by means of a greater disjunctive, as a *casus pendens*<sup>2</sup>) in a manner which would be quite impossible in a simple noun or verbal-clause (e.g. Na 1<sup>3</sup> if it were הָיָה בְּסוֹפָהּ; cf. the French *c'est moi qu'on a accusé*. But the statement or question contained in the clause which forms the predicate also receives greater weight. For the same purpose other members of the sentence also are sometimes placed at the beginning and resumed again by a following suffix; thus the object, Gn 13<sup>15</sup>, 21<sup>13</sup>, 35<sup>12</sup>, 47<sup>21</sup> (with the Samaritan and LXX read perhaps הָעֵבֶר<sup>17</sup>); 1 S 25<sup>29</sup>; a specification of place, Gn 2<sup>17</sup>, 2 K 22<sup>13</sup>, &c.; a substantive with הָ, 1 S 9<sup>20</sup>, 2 S 6<sup>23</sup>; cf. the examples in § 135 a.—In Nu 15<sup>29</sup> a dative is co-ordinated with the *casus pendens*, i.e. there is a transition to a different construction.

d 2. To compound sentences belong also the numerous examples already treated in the account of the tenses, where the predicate of a *casus pendens* is introduced by the *wāw apodosis*. The isolation and prominence of the principal subject is in this case still more marked than in the instances treated above; on the *casus pendens* with a following imperfect consecutive (e.g. Jer 6<sup>19</sup>, 33<sup>24</sup>), cf. § 111 h; with a following perfect consecutive (e.g. Ex 4<sup>21</sup>, 12<sup>44</sup>, Nu 23<sup>3</sup>, 1 S 25<sup>27</sup>, 2 S 14<sup>10</sup>, Is 9<sup>4</sup>, 56<sup>6f.</sup>), § 112 t and mm; on the participle as *casus pendens*, § 112 oo and § 116 w.—In Jb 15<sup>17</sup> *wāw apodosis* follows with the cohortative; in Jb 23<sup>12</sup>, ψ 115<sup>7</sup>, the imperfect is separated by הָ from the *wāw apodosis*; in Jb 4<sup>6</sup> as for *thy hope, it is the integrity of thy ways*, 36<sup>6</sup>, Ec 5<sup>6</sup>, an incomplete noun-clause is appended by *wāw apodosis*. On *wāw apodosis* after disconnected specifications of time, cf. § 112 oo at the end, and Gn 40<sup>9</sup>, 2 S 15<sup>34</sup> וְעַתָּה וְאֲנִי עֲבָדְךָ *and now* (so far as the present is concerned) *I will be thy servant*, Nu 12<sup>12</sup>, Jer 4<sup>1</sup> (*me thou needest not fear*).

e 3. Sometimes a substantive introduced by הָ (*in respect to*; cf. § 119 u) serves the same purpose as the *casus pendens* beginning the sentence, as Nu 18<sup>8</sup> (unless the הָ here serves to introduce the object, according to § 117 n); Is 32<sup>1</sup> (where, however, וְשָׂרִי should most probably be read); Ec 9<sup>4</sup>, 1 Ch 7<sup>1</sup>, 24<sup>20ff.</sup>, 2 Ch 7<sup>21</sup>. On the other hand, ψ 16<sup>3</sup>, 17<sup>4</sup>, 32<sup>6</sup>, 89<sup>19</sup>, 116<sup>91</sup>, are very doubtful. The suggestion of P. Haupt (*Johns Hopkins University Circulars*, xiii. no. 114; Baltimore, 1894) also deserves attention, that in passages like Ec 9<sup>4</sup>, and in כֹּלֵךְ Gn 9<sup>10</sup>, 23<sup>10</sup>, Ex 27<sup>3,19</sup>, Ez 44<sup>9</sup>, &c., הָ is not the preposition, but an emphasizing particle, answering to the Arab. *lū, surely*; Assyrian *lū*; with כֹּל it is equivalent to *in short*. Cf. also הָ. הָ *sive—sive, et—et*, Jos 17<sup>16</sup>, Ezr 1<sup>11</sup>, Assyrian *lū—lū*.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the Mēša' inscription, l. 31, and *Horonain, therein dwelt*, &c.

<sup>2</sup> But this term must not (any more than that formerly used 'the subject preceding absolutely') be misunderstood to mean that the principal subject is, as it were, floating in the air, and that the whole sentence results in an anacoluthon. On the contrary, to the Semitic mind, such sentences appear quite as correctly formed as ordinary noun- and verbal-clauses.

§ 144. *Peculiarities in the Representation of the Subject*  
(especially in the Verbal-clause).

1. According to § 40 ff. most forms of the finite verb include a *a* specification of the subject in the form of *personal affirmatives* (in the imperfect also in the form of preformatives). Not infrequently, however, masculine forms are used in referring to feminines, e.g. וַיְרַעְפֶּם Ez 23<sup>49</sup>; וְעִשְׂתִּיהֶם Ru 1<sup>8</sup>; in the imperfect, Jo 2<sup>22</sup>, Ct 2<sup>7</sup>; in the imperative, Am 4<sup>1</sup>, Zc 13<sup>7</sup> (for other examples, see § 110 *k*). On emphasizing the pronominal subject by the addition of the separate pronoun, see § 135 *a* and *b*.

On the masculine as *prior gender*, cf. § 122 *g*; on similar anomalies in the use of the personal pronoun, § 135 *o*, in the connexion between substantive and adjective, § 132 *d*, between subject and predicate, § 145 *p*, *t*, *u*.

2. The third person singular is often used impersonally, especially *b* in the masculine, e.g. וַיְהִי and *it came to pass*, וְהָיָה and *it shall come to pass*; הָרָה followed by לוֹ, &c., *it became hot to him*, i. e. *he became angry*, Gn 4<sup>6</sup>, &c.; לוֹ וַיִּצָּר lit. *and it became strait to him, he was distressed*, Gn 32<sup>8</sup>;<sup>1</sup> also in the feminine, e.g. I S 30<sup>6</sup> (Ju 10<sup>9</sup>) וַתִּצָּר וַתָּרוֹר; Ju 11<sup>39</sup>, Jer 7<sup>31</sup>, Ez 12<sup>25</sup>, Jb 15<sup>32</sup> (unless הִתְמַנְתָּו in verse 31 be the subject); cf. also the impersonal passives, Is 1<sup>6</sup> (רִכְזָה), 29<sup>6</sup> (תִּפְקֹר). Somewhat different are the instances in which the 3rd singular feminine occurs as the predicate of a feminine subject which is not mentioned, but is before the mind of the speaker, e.g. Is 7<sup>7</sup>, 14<sup>24</sup>, Jer 10<sup>7</sup>, Jb 4<sup>5</sup>, 18<sup>15</sup> (in 2 K 24<sup>7</sup> בָּל־אֲשֶׁר is used in this way with a feminine predicate, and in Jer 19<sup>5</sup> אֲשֶׁר alone); different, too, are the instances in which the 3rd singular masculine refers to an act just mentioned, e.g. Gn 17<sup>11</sup> וְהָיָה and *this* (the circumcision) *shall be a token of a covenant*, &c.

Rem. The expressions for natural phenomena may be either in the 3rd C sing. masculine or feminine, e.g. אֵר it *becomes light*, I S 29<sup>10</sup> (but with an explicit subject, Gn 44<sup>9</sup>); וַיֵּאֵר and *it became light*; so also יִחְשֶׁה *it grows dark*, Jer 13<sup>16</sup>; but וַחֲשֹׁכָה Mi 3<sup>6</sup>; תֵּעָפֶה *though there be darkness*, Jb 11<sup>17</sup>; תִּמְטֵר *it rains*, Am 4<sup>7</sup> (where, however, the context requires the reading אֲמַטֵּר); ψ 50<sup>3</sup> נִשְׁעָרָה *it is tempestuous*.

<sup>1</sup> In Arabic and Ethiopic the masculine is commonly used in this case, in Syriac the feminine.—The forms חם *hot*, טוב *good, well*, מר *bitter*, צר *narrow*, רע *evil* (frequently joined by לוֹ, לוֹ, &c.), which many regard as impersonal, are no doubt to be regarded in most cases not as forms of the 3rd pers. sing. perf., but, with Hupfeld on ψ 18<sup>7</sup>, as adjectives.

d 3. The indefinite personal subject (our *they, one*, the French *on*, and the German *man*<sup>1</sup>) is expressed—

(a) By the 3rd person singular masculine, e. g. אָרָב *one* (sc. any one who named it, see the Rem.) called (or calls) it, Gn 11<sup>9</sup>, 16<sup>14</sup>, 19<sup>22</sup>, Ex 15<sup>23</sup>; וְיִקְרָא Gn 35<sup>8,10</sup>, 2 S 2<sup>16</sup>, Is 9<sup>5</sup>; וַיֹּאמֶר *one said*, Gn 48<sup>1</sup>, 1 S 16<sup>4</sup>;<sup>2</sup> other examples are Gn 38<sup>28</sup> *one put out a hand*; Nu 23<sup>21</sup>, 1 K 22<sup>38</sup>, Is 6<sup>10</sup> לֹא וְרָפָא and *one heals them*; 8<sup>4</sup> (וַיִּשָּׂא); 46<sup>7</sup> (וַיַּעַק); Am 6<sup>12</sup>, Mi 2<sup>4</sup>, Jb 27<sup>23</sup>; by the 3rd singular feminine (הִיאֲרָב,) Nu 26<sup>59</sup>.

e Rem. The Jewish commentators, following the Arab grammarians, usually explain these singulars by the addition of the participle (generally determinate) of the same stem, e. g. קָרָא וְקָרָא. This view is supported by the fact that such a complement sometimes occurs, e. g. Is 16<sup>10</sup> יִרְרֶף הַדֶּרֶךְ *the treader treads out*, for *one treads out*; 28<sup>4,24</sup> (doth one plow continually?); Dt 17<sup>6</sup> (Ez 18<sup>32</sup>), Dt 22<sup>8</sup>, 2 S 17<sup>9</sup> (Ez 33<sup>4</sup>), Jer 9<sup>23</sup>; with an indeterminate participle (as in Arabic, e. g. *qāla qā'ilun, a sayer says, i. e. some one says*), e. g. Nu 6<sup>9</sup>, Am 9<sup>1</sup>; cf. above, § 116 t, and, on the whole question, Driver on 1 S 16<sup>4</sup>.

f (b) Very frequently by the 3rd plural masculine, e. g. Gn 29<sup>2</sup> for out of that well וַיִּשְׁקוּ *they* (i. e. people generally) watered the flocks; 26<sup>18</sup>, 35<sup>5</sup>, 41<sup>14</sup>, 49<sup>31</sup>, 1 K 1<sup>2</sup>, Is 38<sup>16</sup>, Ho 12<sup>9</sup>, Jb 18<sup>18</sup>, 34<sup>20</sup>, Est 2<sup>2</sup>, Neh 2<sup>7</sup>.

g Rem. The 3rd plur. also is sometimes used to express an indefinite subject, where the context does not admit of a human agent or at least not of several, e. g. Gn 34<sup>27</sup>. In such a case the 3rd plur. comes to be equivalent to a passive, as very commonly in Aramaic (see Kautzsch's *Gramm. des Bibl. Aram.*, § 96. 1 c); e. g. Jb 7<sup>3</sup> wearisome nights מְנוּחָי have they allotted to me (equivalent to were allotted to me; to make 'invisible powers' the subject is a merely artificial device); Jb 4<sup>19</sup>, 6<sup>2</sup>, 18<sup>18</sup>, 19<sup>26</sup>, 34<sup>20</sup>, Ez 32<sup>25</sup>, ψ 63<sup>11</sup>, Pr 2<sup>22</sup> (in parallelism with a passive); 9<sup>11</sup>.

h (c) By the 2nd singular masculine, e. g. Is 7<sup>25</sup> לֹא-תָבֹאוּ *one will* (or can) not come thither (prop. thou wilt . . .); Jer 23<sup>37</sup>, Pr 19<sup>25</sup>, 30<sup>28</sup> (unless the reading should be תִּתְפַּשׂ). Cf. also וְעַד-בֹּאֲךָ or simply בֹּאֲךָ (Gn 10<sup>19,30</sup>, 13<sup>10</sup> בֹּאֲךָ) prop. until thy coming, i. e. until one comes.

i (d) By the plural of the participle, e. g. Jer 38<sup>23</sup> and all thy wives and thy children מְוַצֵּאִים (prop. are they bringing out =) they will bring out, &c.; cf. Is 32<sup>12</sup>, Ez 13<sup>7</sup>, Neh 6<sup>10</sup> (for some are coming to slay thee)

<sup>1</sup> In 1 S 9<sup>9</sup> הָאִישׁ (prop. the man) is used in exactly the same sense as our *one*.

<sup>2</sup> Elsewhere in such cases וַיִּשְׁמַר usually occurs (but not in the perfect, e. g. 1 S 23<sup>22</sup>), so that it is doubtful whether the present reading of Gn 48<sup>1</sup>, &c., would not be better explained according to § 7 d, note. In Gn 48<sup>2</sup> for the extraordinary וַיִּגַּר the common form וַיִּגַּר is to be read; so in 50<sup>26</sup> for וַיִּשָּׂם (after a plural) either וַיִּשָּׂם or the 3rd plur.; in 2 K 21<sup>21</sup> וַיִּקְבְּרוּ.

and the passages discussed above, § 116 t.<sup>1</sup> In 1 K 5<sup>1</sup> the text is corrupt.

(e) By the passive, e. g. Gn 4<sup>26</sup> לָקְרָא אֶזְרוּ הַחַיִּים then (was it begun =) *he* began men to call upon, &c. (but read הָיָה הַחַיִּים *he* began).

4. A peculiar idiom, and one always confined to poetic language, <sup>l</sup> is the not infrequent occurrence of two subjects in a verbal sentence,<sup>2</sup> one of the person and the other of the thing. The latter then serves—whether it precedes or follows—to state the instrument, organ, or member by which the action in question is performed, and may be most often rendered in English by an adverb, as a nearer definition of the manner of the action. All the examples of this kind have this in common, that the subject denoting the thing takes a suffix in the same person as the personal subject.<sup>3</sup> They are thus distinguished from the *accusatives* treated in § 117 s, with which they are often confused.

(a) Examples where the subject denoting the *thing* precedes, קוֹלִי אֶל־יְהוָה *m* קוֹלִי *m* אֶקְרָא *m* my voice—I cry unto the Lord, i. e. I cry aloud unto the Lord, ψ 3<sup>5</sup>, 27<sup>7</sup>, 142<sup>2</sup>; בִּי־קֶרְבִּי אֶמְצֵא *m* my mouth—I cried, i. e. I cried aloud, ψ 66<sup>17</sup> (cf. 17<sup>10</sup>); Is 26<sup>9</sup> נַפְשִׁי with my soul, i. e. fervently, and parallel with it אֶפְרָרְתִּי; but נַפְשִׁי ψ 57<sup>5</sup> is rather a periphrasis for the 1st pers. I.

(b) Where the subject denoting the *thing* follows, צַחֲלִי קוֹלִי cry—thy voice (i. e. aloud), Is 10<sup>30</sup>; so also after an imperative, ψ 17<sup>13</sup> (חַרְבֵּךְ); and verse 14 (יִרְדֵּךְ); 60<sup>7</sup>, 108<sup>7</sup> (יִמְיִנֶךָ); after a perfect, Hb 3<sup>15</sup> (סִנְיֶךָ); after a cohortative, ψ 108<sup>2</sup> (אֶפְרָרְתִּי). The subject denoting the *thing* stands between the personal subject and the predicate in ψ 44<sup>3</sup> יִרְדֵּךְ אֶתְהַיֵּאֵר.

Rem. 1. Sometimes (as in other languages) an action is ascribed to a *n* subject which can only have been performed at his direction by another

<sup>1</sup> That this form of expression also (see *g*) comes to be equivalent to a passive is seen from the analogy of such Aramaic passages as Dn 4<sup>22</sup>, which exclude any idea of human agency. Cf. Kautzsch, *Gramm. des Bibl. Aram.*, § 76. 2 e at the end, and in post.-bibl. Hebrew, e. g. *Pirqe Aboth* 2, 16; 3, 5, &c.

<sup>2</sup> Two subjects occur in a noun-clause in ψ 83<sup>19</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> In Ex 6<sup>3</sup> שָׁמַיִךְ is subordinated to the following passive נִוְרָעְתִּי (§ 121 b); in 1 S 25<sup>26,33</sup> יָדִי, יָרֵךְ are subjects to the infinitive absolute הוֹשִׁיעַ, according to § 113 *gg*. In ψ 69<sup>11</sup> read וְאֶבְכֶה וְאֶעֱנֶה for וְאֶבְכֶה.

<sup>4</sup> In several of the above examples it might naturally be supposed that the subject denoting the thing (especially when it follows the verb) is to be explained rather as a *casus instrumentalis*, i. e. as an accusative, analogous to the adverbial accusatives in § 118 *q*. But although it is true that the subject denoting the thing often defines more closely the manner in which the action is performed, and although in similar (but still different) examples, ψ 89<sup>2</sup>, 109<sup>30</sup>, Jb 19<sup>16</sup>, בִּי occurs with בְּ *instrumentale*, the explanation given above must nevertheless be accepted.

person; cf. e.g. Gn 40<sup>22</sup> (41<sup>13</sup>), 41<sup>14</sup>, 43<sup>34</sup> (and he commanded to set before them, &c.); 46<sup>29</sup>, 2 S 12<sup>9</sup>.

O 2. Supposed ellipses of a definite subject are due either to a misunderstanding of the passage, or to a corruption of the text. Thus in 1 S 24<sup>11</sup> after **וַתִּקַּח** either **עַל יַדִּי** has dropped out (through confusion with **עַל יַדִּי**) or we should read with the LXX **וַתִּקַּח**. In 2 S 13<sup>39</sup> (**וַתִּבֶּל הַיָּד**) the text is obviously corrupt.

P 3. In poetic (or prophetic) language<sup>1</sup> there sometimes occurs (supposing the text to be correct) a more or less abrupt transition from one person to another. Thus from the 2nd to the 3rd (i.e. from an address to a statement), Gn 49<sup>4</sup> (?), Is 31<sup>6</sup> (?), 42<sup>20</sup>, 52<sup>14</sup>, 61<sup>7</sup>, Mal 2<sup>15</sup> (where, however, for **וַיִּבְנֶה** we should undoubtedly read **וַתִּבְנֶה**);  $\psi$  22<sup>9</sup> [and regularly after a vocative, Is 22<sup>16</sup>, 47<sup>8</sup>, 48<sup>1</sup>, 54<sup>1,11</sup>, Jer 22<sup>16</sup>, 49<sup>4,16</sup>, Am 5<sup>6f.</sup>, Mic 1<sup>2</sup> (= 1 K 22<sup>28</sup>), Mal 3<sup>9</sup>, 2 K 9<sup>31</sup>; and after **הוּא** Is 5<sup>8</sup>, 29<sup>15</sup>, Jer 22<sup>13</sup>]. From the 3rd to the 2nd pers., Dt 32<sup>15</sup>, Is 1<sup>29</sup> (but read probably **וַתִּמְדַּתֶּם** for **וַתִּמְדַּתֶּם**, which has caused the insertion of **וְאַתָּה**), 5<sup>8</sup>, Jer 29<sup>19</sup>, Jb 16<sup>7</sup>, cf. also Dt 32<sup>17</sup>. From the 1st to the 3rd pers., La 3<sup>1</sup> (in a relative clause). In Jb 13<sup>28</sup> the 3rd pers. **וְהוּא** is probably employed *δεικτικῶς* for the 1st.

### § 145. Agreement between the Members of a Sentence, especially between Subject and Predicate, in respect of Gender and Number.

a 1. As in other languages, so also in Hebrew, the predicate in general conforms to the subject in gender and number (even when it is a pronoun, e.g. **זֶאת בְּרִיתִי** *this is my covenant*, Gn 17<sup>10</sup>). There are, however, numerous exceptions to this fundamental rule. These are due partly to the *constructio ad sensum* (where attention is paid to the meaning rather than to the grammatical form; see b-l below), partly to the position of the predicate (regarded as being without gender) before the subject.

b 2. Singular nouns which include in themselves a collective idea (§ 123 a), or which occasionally have a collective sense (§ 123 b), may readily, in accordance with their meaning, be construed with the plural of the predicate, whether it precedes or follows. This is also the case, when the collective is itself feminine but represents, exclusively or at least generally, masculine persons.

Examples:—

C (a) Of collectives proper (cf. § 132 g): (a) with the predicate preceding, Gn 30<sup>38</sup> **הַצֹּאן תִּבְרָאָן** (cf. 30<sup>39</sup>, 31<sup>8</sup> and 33<sup>13</sup>); Ju 1<sup>22f.</sup> **בְּיַת** representing persons belonging to the tribe; Mi 4<sup>3</sup> **גֹּיִם**; 2 K 25<sup>5</sup> **חַיִּל** *army*; Pr 11<sup>26</sup> **לְאִים**

<sup>1</sup> In prose, Lv 2<sup>8</sup>; but **וַתִּקְרֶיבָהּ** here is hardly the original reading. Different from this is Gn 26<sup>7</sup>, where there is a transition to direct narration.

the people; Nu 10<sup>3</sup> בְּלִיְהוּדָה all the congregation (cf. 1 K 8<sup>5</sup>); 1 K 1<sup>40</sup>, Is 9<sup>8</sup>, 25<sup>3</sup>, Am 1<sup>5</sup> עַם; 1 S 17<sup>47</sup>, Ezr 10<sup>12</sup> קְהָל assembly. Cf. also the construction of national names, as אֲרָם (§ 122 i), e.g. 1 K 20<sup>20</sup> וַיִּנְסוּ אֲרָם and the Syrians fled; 1 S 4<sup>5</sup>.—(β) with the predicate following, 1 K 8<sup>5</sup> צֹאן וּבָקָר sheep and oxen, construed with the plural in the following relative clause; Jb 1<sup>14</sup> הַבָּקָר הָיוּ הֹרְשֹׁת הַרְשֹׁת the cattle (cows) were ploughing; 2 S 3<sup>1</sup> and 1 Ch 10<sup>6</sup> בָּיִת = family (in 1 S 6<sup>13</sup> בֵּית שֵׁמֶשׁ on the analogy of names of countries, is used for the inhabitants of Bethshemesh); Ho 11<sup>7</sup>, Ezr 4<sup>4</sup> עַם; ψ 68<sup>11</sup> הַיְהִי herd [if correct, figuratively for people]; Is 26<sup>19</sup> גְּבוֹלָה dead bodies; Is 27<sup>11</sup> קִצִּיר boughs; 1 S 4<sup>1</sup> יִשְׂרָאֵל, preceded by a predicate in the singular.

(b) Of substantives occasionally used as collectives: (α) with the predicate preceding, Gn 34<sup>24</sup> וְזָכָר; Ju 9<sup>65</sup>, 15<sup>10</sup> אִישׁ; Is 16<sup>4</sup> רֹמֵם the treader down.—(β) with the predicate following, Jb 8<sup>19</sup> אֲהֵר = others; Ez 28<sup>3</sup> סֵתוּם a secret; [ψ 9<sup>7</sup>, and even after וְהָ Jb 19<sup>19</sup>.]

(c) Of feminines as collective terms denoting masculine persons: (α) with the predicate preceding, 1 S 17<sup>46</sup> בְּלִיְהוּדָה וְיִדְעוּ that all the earth may know, i.e. all the inhabitants of the earth; cf. Dt 9<sup>23</sup>, ψ 66<sup>1</sup>, 96<sup>1,9</sup>, &c.; Am 1<sup>8</sup> שְׂאִירֵית remnant; (ψ 33<sup>8</sup> בְּלִיְהוּדָה).—(β) with the predicate following, Gn 41<sup>57</sup>, 2 S 15<sup>24</sup>, 1 K 10<sup>24</sup>, Gn 48<sup>6</sup> מוֹלָדָת issue; 1 S 2<sup>33</sup> כָּל־מַרְבִּית all the increase; Jb 30<sup>12</sup> חֲרָחֵב rabble. In Hag 2<sup>7</sup> read חֲמַרָת with the LXX.

Examples of predicates in the singular, notwithstanding the collective meaning of the subject, occur in Gn 35<sup>11</sup>, Ex 10<sup>24</sup>, 14<sup>10</sup>, Dt 1<sup>39</sup>, &c.—For examples of bold enallage of the number in noun-clauses with a substantival predicate, see above, § 141 c.

Rem. Not infrequently the construction begins in the singular (especially when the predicate precedes; see o below), but is carried on, after the collective subject has been mentioned, in the plural; e.g. Ex 1<sup>20</sup> וַיִּרְבֵּה הָעָם וַיַּעֲצֵמוּ מְאֹד and the people multiplied, and waxed very mighty; 33<sup>4</sup>.

3. On the other hand, plurals which have a singular meaning (§ 124 a) are frequently construed with the singular, especially the *pluralis excellentiae* or *maiestatis* (§ 124 g-i; on the union of these plurals with attributes, cf. § 132 h), as אֱלֹהִים Gn 1<sup>1,3</sup>, &c. (but see the Rem.), מַלְאָכִים master, Ex 21<sup>4</sup> בָּעָלִים master, owner, Ex 21<sup>29</sup>; cf., moreover, פְּנִים with the singular, Jb 16<sup>16</sup> *Keth.*, רַחֲמִים Pr 12<sup>10</sup>.—So feminine forms with a masculine meaning are construed with a masculine predicate, e.g. Ec 12<sup>9</sup> קְהָלָת חָכָם הִיא הַיְהִי the preacher was wise.

Rem. The construction of אֱלֹהִים God with the plural of the predicate may be explained (apart of course from such passages as 1 K 19<sup>2</sup>, 20<sup>10</sup>, where the speakers are heathen, and אֱלֹהִים may, therefore, be a numerical plural) partly as an acquiescence in a polytheistic form of expression, partly from the peculiar usage of one of the early documents of the Hexateuch, called *E* by Wellhausen, &c., *B* by Dillmann; cf. his commentary on Numbers—Joshua, p. 618, and above, § 124 g, note 2. So Gn 20<sup>13</sup> (but in conversation with a heathen); 31<sup>53</sup>, 35<sup>7</sup>, cf. also Jos 24<sup>19</sup>. That this construction was afterwards studiously avoided from fear of misconception, is shown by such passages as Neh 9<sup>18</sup> compared with Ex 32<sup>4,8</sup>, and 1 Ch 17<sup>21</sup> compared with 2 S 7<sup>23</sup>. Cf. Strack's excursus on Gen 20<sup>13</sup> in *Die Genesis*, Munich, 1905, p. 77.

k 4. Plurals of names of animals or things, and of abstracts, whether they be masculine or feminine, are frequently construed with the feminine singular of the verbal predicate<sup>1</sup> (on the collective sense of the feminine form, cf. § 122 s); thus Jo 1<sup>20</sup> שָׂרָה תַעֲרַג בְּהֵמוֹת שָׂרָה *the beasts of the field long*; Jer 12<sup>4</sup> (where the predicate precedes), cf. also Jb 12<sup>7</sup>; names of things with the predicate preceding occur in 2 S 24<sup>13</sup>, Is 34<sup>13</sup>, Jer 4<sup>14</sup>, 51<sup>29</sup>, ψ 18<sup>35</sup>, 37<sup>31</sup>, 73<sup>2</sup> *Keth.*, 103<sup>6</sup> (unless הַמַּחֲרֵשׁ is to be read for תַּתְּחַדֵּשׁ), Jb 14<sup>19</sup>, 27<sup>20</sup>; with the predicate following, Gn 49<sup>22</sup> (בְּנֹת = *branches*); Dt 21<sup>7</sup>, 1 S 4<sup>15</sup> (וְעֵינָיו קָמָה),<sup>2</sup> 2 S 10<sup>9</sup>, Is 59<sup>12</sup>, Jer 2<sup>15</sup> *Keth.*, 48<sup>41</sup>, 49<sup>24</sup>, Pr 15<sup>22</sup>, 20<sup>18</sup>, Jb 41<sup>10</sup>.<sup>3</sup>

l 5. Moreover, the plural of persons (especially in the participle) is sometimes construed with the singular of the predicate, when instead of the whole class of individuals, each severally is to be represented as affected by the statement. Undoubted examples of this *distributive* singular are Gn 27<sup>29</sup> (Nu 24<sup>9</sup>) אֲרָרְיָךְ אֶרְרֶךְ וּמְבַרְכְּיָךְ בָּרִיךְ *those that curse thee, cursed be every one of them, and those that bless thee, blessed be every one of them*; Ex 31<sup>14</sup>, Lv 17<sup>14</sup> and 19<sup>8</sup> (in both places the Samaritan has אֲכָלוּ); Is 3<sup>12</sup> unless נְשִׂיוֹ is to be regarded as a *pluralis maiestatis* according to § 124 k; Pr 3<sup>18.36</sup> (?), 18<sup>21</sup> (?), 21<sup>27b</sup>, 27<sup>16</sup>, 28<sup>1b</sup>, 28<sup>16</sup> *Keth.*

nn Rem. Analogous to the examples above mentioned is the somewhat frequent<sup>4</sup> use of suffixes in the singular (distributively) referring to plurals; cf. the *verbal*-suffixes in Dt 21<sup>10</sup>, 28<sup>48</sup>, Am 6<sup>10</sup>; and the *noun*-suffixes in Is 2<sup>8</sup>, 30<sup>22</sup>, Jer 31<sup>14</sup>, Ho 4<sup>8</sup> (but since ו follows, נַפְשִׁי is undoubtedly a dittography for נַפְשֵׁי), Zc 14<sup>12</sup>, ψ 5<sup>10</sup> (where, however, בְּיָמֹו is clearly to be read with all the early versions); 62<sup>5</sup>, 141<sup>10</sup> (?), Jb 38<sup>32</sup>, Ec 10<sup>15</sup> [but LXX הַכְּסִיל]; finally, the suffixes with prepositions in Is 2<sup>50</sup> אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה-לִּי *which they made each one for himself* (according to others, *which they (the makers) made for him*); 5<sup>26</sup>, 8<sup>20</sup>, Jb 24<sup>5</sup>, in each case לִי; in Gn 2<sup>19</sup> לוֹ refers to the collectives הֵיחָד and עוֹף; cf. further, Jos 24<sup>7</sup>, Is 5<sup>23</sup> מְאֹנְנֵי אַחֲרַי (but read probably צַדִּיק with the LXX, &c.). Conversely in Mi 1<sup>11</sup> לְכֶם עֲבָרִי לְכֶם [cf. Jer 13<sup>20</sup> *Keth.*], but the text is undoubtedly corrupt.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. in Greek the construction of the neuter plural with the singular of the predicate τὰ πρόβατα βαίνει; in Attic Greek the plural of the predicate is allowed only when the neuter denotes actual persons, as τὰ ἀνδράποδα ἔλαβον. In Arabic also the *pluralis inhumanus* (i. e. not denoting persons) is regularly construed with the feminine singular of the attribute or predicate, as are all the *plurales fracti* (properly collective forms).

<sup>2</sup> On the possibility of explaining forms like קָמָה as 3rd plural feminine, cf. above, § 44 m; but this explanation would not apply to all the cases under this head, cf. Jo 1<sup>20</sup>, ψ 37<sup>31</sup>, 103<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> In Pr 14<sup>1</sup> an abstract plural חַכְמוֹת (to be read thus with g<sup>1</sup>, &c., instead of חַכְמוֹת) is construed with the singular; but cf. § 86 l, § 124 e, end.

<sup>4</sup> In several of the above examples the text is doubtful, and hence Mayer Lambert (*REJ.* xxiv. 110) rejects the theory of distributive singulars generally. [Cf. Driver, *Jeremiah*, p. 362, on 16<sup>7</sup>.]

6. Subjects in the dual are construed with the plural of the predicate, *n* since verbs, adjectives, and pronouns, according to § 88 *a*, have no dual forms; thus עֵינַיִם, Gn 29<sup>17</sup> לְאֵה רְבוֹת and *Leah's eyes were dull*; 2 S 24<sup>3</sup>, Is 30<sup>20</sup>, Jer 14<sup>6</sup>, Mi 7<sup>10</sup>, ψ 18<sup>28</sup>, 38<sup>11</sup> (on the other hand, in 1 S 4<sup>15</sup> the predicate is in the feminine singular *after* the subject, and in Mi 4<sup>11</sup> *before* it; on both constructions cf. *k* above); so also אָזְנוֹתַי *ears*, 2 Ch 6<sup>40</sup>; יָדַיִם *hands*, Is 1<sup>15</sup>, Jb 10<sup>8</sup>, 20<sup>10</sup> (in Ex 17<sup>12</sup> even with the plural masculine כַּבְּרַיִם; cf. *q*); שְׂפָתַיִם *lips*, 1 S 1<sup>13</sup>, Jb 27<sup>4</sup>; שְׂדָרַיִם *breasts*, Ho 9<sup>14</sup>.

7. Variations from the fundamental rule (see above, *a*) very frequently occur *when the predicate precedes the subject* (denoting animals or things<sup>1</sup>). The speaker or writer begins with the most simple form of the predicate, the uninflected 3rd singular masculine, and leaves us without indication as to which of the following subjects (and so which gender or number) is to define the predicate thus left temporarily indefinite.<sup>2</sup> Thus inflexions are omitted in—

(*a*) The verb, with a following singular feminine, Is 2<sup>17</sup> וְשָׁחַ וְנִבְהַתָּה and *bowed down shall be the loftiness of man*; 9<sup>18</sup>, 14<sup>11</sup>, 28<sup>18</sup>, 47<sup>11</sup>; 1 S 25<sup>27</sup> (see note 1 below); 1 K 8<sup>31b</sup>, 22<sup>36</sup>, 2 K 3<sup>26</sup>, Jer 51<sup>46</sup>, Ec 7<sup>7</sup>; with a following plural masc., Is 13<sup>22</sup> וְנָקְוּ אֲרִיִּים and *there shall cry wolves, &c.*; Ju 13<sup>17</sup> *Keth.*, 20<sup>46</sup>, 1 S 1<sup>2</sup>, 4<sup>10</sup>, 2 S 24<sup>15</sup>, 1 K 13<sup>33</sup>, Jer 51<sup>48</sup>, ψ 124<sup>5</sup>, Est 9<sup>23</sup> (see note 1 below); Gn 1<sup>14</sup> וְהָיָה שָׁמַרְתָּ לְהַיָּהוּתָא *let there be lights*; with a following plural feminine, Dt 32<sup>35</sup>, 1 K 11<sup>3a</sup>, Is 8<sup>8</sup>, Jer 13<sup>18</sup>, Mi 2<sup>6</sup>, ψ 57<sup>2</sup>; before collectives and mixed subjects, e. g. Gn 12<sup>16</sup>, 13<sup>5</sup>, 30<sup>43</sup>, 32<sup>6</sup>, &c.; before a following dual, Is 44<sup>18</sup>, ψ 73<sup>7</sup> (where, however, with the LXX וְנִמְנוּ should be read).

Rem. 1. The instances in which a preceding predicate appears in the plural masculine before a plural (or collective singular) feminine of persons (Ju 21<sup>21</sup>, 1 K 11<sup>3b</sup>), of animals (Gn 30<sup>39</sup> where however אֶצְלָא may refer specially to male animals) or of things (Lv 26<sup>33</sup>, Jer 13<sup>16</sup>, Ho 14<sup>7</sup>, ψ 164, Jb 32<sup>4</sup>, Ct 6<sup>9</sup>), or before a dual (2 S 4<sup>1</sup>, Zp 3<sup>16</sup>, 2 Ch 15<sup>7</sup>) are to be explained not on the analogy of the examples under *o*, but from a dislike of using the 3rd plur. fem. imperf., for this is the only form concerned in the above examples (cf., however, Na 3<sup>11</sup> וְהָיָה אֶצְלָא instead of וְהָיָה אֶצְלָא); cf. the examples of a following predicate in the 3rd plur. masc., instead of the fem., under *t* and *u*, and on an analogous phenomenon in the imperative, see § 110 *k*.

2. As in the case of verbs proper so also the verb הָיָה, when used as a *q* copula, frequently remains uninflected before the subject; cf. Gn 5<sup>23a</sup>, 35<sup>5</sup>,

<sup>1</sup> Only rarely does an uninflected predicate precede a personal subject, as 1 S 25<sup>27</sup> (but וְהָיָה אֶצְלָא should probably be read, as in verse 35); Est 9<sup>23</sup> (before a plur. masc.). Such examples as Jb 42<sup>15</sup> are to be explained according to § 121 *a*.

<sup>2</sup> In a certain sense this is analogous to the German *es kommt ein Mann, eine Frau, &c.*

Dt 21<sup>3</sup> (according to the accents); 22<sup>23</sup>, Is 18<sup>5</sup> **יְהִי נָצֶה גְמִל וּבִקָּר** and a ripening grape the flower becometh.

r (b) The adjective in a noun-clause, e.g. **יָשָׁר מִשְׁפָּטֶיךָ** 119<sup>137</sup> upright are thy judgements; cf. verse 155.<sup>1</sup>—On the other hand, **רָעָה** in **יִשְׁרָעוּ עֲבָדֶיךָ** thy servants are shepherds, Gn 47<sup>3</sup>, is either an unusual orthography or simply a misspelling for **רָעִי**.

S Rem. 1. As soon as a sentence which begins with an uninflected predicate is carried on after the mention of the subject, the gender and number of the subsequent (co-ordinate) predicates must coincide with those of the subject, e.g. Gn 14<sup>14</sup> **וַהֲיוּ כְּאֹרֶת . . . יְהִי כְּאֹרֶת** (see *o* above); Nu 9<sup>8</sup>, Ez 14<sup>1</sup>; cf. also Gn 30<sup>39</sup> (see *p* above).

t 2. The dislike mentioned in *p* above, of using the feminine form (cf., further, § 144 *a*, with the sections of the Grammar referred to there, and below, under *u*), is exemplified sometimes by the fact that of several predicates only that which stands next to the feminine substantive is inflected as feminine (cf. the treatment of several attributes following a feminine substantive, § 132 *d*); thus in Is 14<sup>9</sup> **הִנְנֶה עֹרֵר** (but **עֹרֵר** is better taken as an infin. abs. = *excitando*, reading **הַקִּים** for **הִקִּים**); 33<sup>9</sup> **אָבֵל אֶרֶץ מִלְלָה אֶרֶץ מִלְלָה** mourneth, languisheth the land. Cf. Jer 4<sup>30</sup>, Jb 1<sup>19</sup>, and the examples (§ 47 *k*) where only the first of several consecutive forms of the 2nd sing. fem. imperf. has the affirmative **י**, Is 57<sup>8</sup>, Jer 3<sup>5</sup>, Ez 22<sup>4</sup>, 23<sup>32</sup> (**תְּהִיָּה** after **תִּשְׁתִּי**); on the converse sequence of genders in imperatives, Na 3<sup>15</sup>, cf. § 110 *k*.—Of a different kind are instances like Lv 2<sup>1</sup>, 5<sup>1</sup>, 20<sup>6</sup>, where **נִפְשׁ** person (fem.) as the narrative continues, assumes (in agreement with the context) the sense of a masculine person.

u 3. The instances in which the gender or number of the following predicate appears to differ from that of the subject are due partly to manifest errors in the text, e.g. Gn 32<sup>9</sup> read with the Samaritan **הָאָחַת** instead of **הָאָחַת**; **וְהָיָה** then follows correctly; 1 S 2<sup>20</sup> read with Wellhausen **שָׂאֵל**, according to 1<sup>28</sup>, instead of **שָׂאֵל**; 1 S 16<sup>4</sup> read **וַיֹּאמְרוּ**; Ez 18<sup>29</sup> instead of **יִתְבְּן** read the plural as in verse 25; so also Ez 20<sup>38</sup> for **יָבוֹא**,<sup>2</sup> and in Jb 6<sup>20</sup> for **בָּטַח**; in La 5<sup>10</sup> read **נִכְמַר**, and cf. in general, § 7 *d*, note; 1 Ch 2<sup>48</sup> read **יִלְרָה**; in Jer 48<sup>15</sup> also the text is certainly corrupt. Other instances are due to special reasons. The anomalies in Is 49<sup>11</sup>, Ho 14<sup>1</sup>, Pr 1<sup>16</sup> (after **רַנְּנִלְיוּ**, **י** 11<sup>4</sup> (after **עֵינָיו**), 63<sup>4</sup>, Pr 5<sup>2</sup>, 10<sup>21-32</sup> 18<sup>6</sup>, 26<sup>23</sup>, Jb 15<sup>6</sup> (all after **שִׁפְתֵי**), Pr 3<sup>2</sup> (after **מִצֻּתֵי**), **י** 102<sup>28</sup>, Jb 16<sup>22</sup> (after **שָׁנוֹת**), Dn 11<sup>41</sup> (read **וְרַבִּית**), and perhaps Gn 20<sup>17</sup> are also to be explained (see *p*) from the dislike of the 3rd plur. fem. imperf.; moreover, in Jer 44<sup>19</sup>, Pr 26<sup>23</sup> the plur. masc. even of a participle occurs instead of the plur. fem.—In Gn 31<sup>8</sup> **יְהִיָּה**, after a plural subject, is explained as a case of attraction to the following singular predicate.<sup>3</sup>—In Gn 4<sup>7</sup> **רִבֵּן**

<sup>1</sup> This does not include such cases as Jb 24<sup>7,10</sup>, where **עָרוֹם** is rather to be explained as an accusative denoting a state, § 118 *n*.

<sup>2</sup> **יָבוֹא** probably an error for **יָבֹאוּ**. The Masora on Lv 11<sup>34</sup> reckons fourteen instances of **יָבֹאוּ**, where we should expect the plural.

<sup>3</sup> So also the pronoun **הוּא** emphatically resuming the subject (see § 141 *h*) is attracted to the predicate in number in Jos 13<sup>14</sup> **הוּא נַחֲלָתוֹ . . . אֲשֵׁי יְהוָה** the offerings of the Lord . . . that is his inheritance; in number and gender, Lv 25<sup>33</sup> *Qéré*; Jer 10<sup>3</sup>.

is a substantival participle (*a lurker, a coucher*). In Gn 47<sup>24</sup> יְהִיָּה remains undefined in gender (masc.), although the noun precedes for the sake of emphasis; so also in Gn 28<sup>22</sup>, Ex 12<sup>49</sup>, 28<sup>7,32</sup>, Nu 9<sup>14</sup>, 15<sup>29</sup>, Jer 50<sup>46</sup>, Ec 27 (יְהִיָּה לִי as if the sentence began afresh, and *servants born in my house . . . there fell to my lot* this possession also). In Jb 20<sup>26</sup> לֹא-נִפְחָה שֵׁשׁ־אֵשׁ may (unless שֵׁשׁ־אֵשׁ is regarded as masculine, § 122 o) be taken impersonally, *fire, without its being blown upon*.—In Is 16<sup>8</sup> and Hb 3<sup>17</sup> the predicate in the singular is explained from the collective character of שְׂרָמוֹת (see *h* above); on the other hand, the masculine form of the predicate is abnormal in ψ 87<sup>3</sup>, Pr 2<sup>10</sup>, 12<sup>25</sup>, 29<sup>25</sup>, Jb 87, 36<sup>18</sup>.

## § 146. Construction of Compound Subjects.

1. When the subject is composed of a nomen regens (in the construct *a* state) with a following genitive, the predicate sometimes agrees in gender and number not with the nomen regens, but with the genitive, when this represents the principal idea of the compound subject.<sup>1</sup> Thus 1 S 2<sup>4</sup> קִשְׁתַּת גִּבּוֹרִים חֲתִים the *bow of the mighty men is broken*, as if it were *the mighty men with their bow are broken*; Ex 26<sup>12</sup>, Lv 13<sup>9</sup>, 1 K 1<sup>41</sup> (but the text is clearly very corrupt), 17<sup>16</sup>, Is 2<sup>11</sup>, 21<sup>17</sup>, Zc 8<sup>10</sup>, Jb 15<sup>20</sup>, 21<sup>21</sup>, 29<sup>10</sup>, 32<sup>7</sup> (רַב שָׁנִים equivalent to *many years*); 38<sup>21</sup>; with the predicate preceding, 2 S 10<sup>9</sup>, unless it is to be explained according to § 145 *k*.

Rem. 1. The cases in which קוֹל (*voice, sound*) with a following genitive *b* stands at the beginning of a sentence, apparently in this construction, are really of a different kind. The קוֹל is there to be taken as an exclamation, and the supposed predicate as in apposition to the genitive, e.g. Gn 4<sup>10</sup> the *voice of thy brother's blood, which crieth* (prop. as *one crying*) . . . != *hark! thy brother's blood is crying, &c.*; Is 13<sup>4</sup>, 66<sup>6</sup>. In Is 52<sup>8</sup> an independent verbal-clause follows the exclamation *the voice of thy watchmen!*; in Jer 10<sup>22</sup> and Ct 2<sup>8</sup> an independent noun-clause; in Is 40<sup>3</sup> קוֹל קָרָא the *voice of one that crieth!* i.e. *hark! there is one crying* is followed immediately by direct speech; in Mi 6<sup>9</sup> קוֹל *hark!* may be used disconnectedly (cf. the almost adverbial use of קוֹל in § 144 *m*) and יְהוָה be taken as the subject to יקרא.

2. When the substantive כֹּל (כָּל-) *entirety* is used in connexion with a genitive as subject of the sentence, the predicate usually agrees in gender and number with the genitive, since כֹּל is equivalent in sense to an attribute (*whole, all*) of the genitive; hence, e.g. with the predicate preceding, Gn 5<sup>5</sup> וַיְהִיו כָּל-יְמֵי אָדָם and *all the days of Adam were*, &c. (in 5<sup>23</sup>, 9<sup>29</sup> וַיְהִי; but the Samaritan reads ויהיו here also); Ex 15<sup>20</sup>; with the predicate following, ψ 150<sup>6</sup>, &c. Exceptions are, e.g. Lv 17<sup>14</sup> (but cf. § 145 *l*), Jos 8<sup>25</sup>, Is 64<sup>10</sup>, Pr 16<sup>2</sup>, Na 3<sup>7</sup>. On the other hand, in such cases as Ex 12<sup>16</sup> the agreement of the

<sup>1</sup> Sometimes, however, the attraction of the predicate to the genitive may be merely due to juxtaposition.

predicate with  $\text{כָּל־מְלָאכָה}$  is explained from the stress laid upon the latter,  $\text{כָּל־מְלָאכָה}$  being equivalent to *the whole of work* (is forbidden).

d 2. When the subject of the sentence consists of several nouns connected by *wāw copulative*, usually

(a) The predicate *following* is put in the plural, e. g. Gn 8<sup>22</sup> *seed time and harvest, and cold and heat . . . shall not cease* ( $\text{לֹא יִשְׁבְּתוּ}$ ); after subjects of different genders it is in the masculine (as the *prior gender*, cf. § 132 d), e. g. Gn 18<sup>11</sup>  $\text{אַבְרָהָם וְשָׂרָה וְקַיִם}$  *Abraham and Sarah were old*; Dt 28<sup>32</sup>, 1 K 1<sup>21</sup>.

e Rem. Rare exceptions are Pr 27<sup>9</sup>  $\text{נִשְׁמֵן וְקַטְרֶת יִשְׂמַח־לֵב}$  *ointment and perfume rejoice the heart*, where the predicate agrees in gender with the masculine  $\text{נִשְׁמֵן}$  (as in Is 51<sup>3</sup> with  $\text{שִׁשׁוֹן}$ ); on the other hand, in Ex 21<sup>4</sup> (where  $\text{הָאִשָּׁה}$  are the subjects) it agrees with  $\text{הָאִשָּׁה}$  as being the principal person; in the compound sentence, Is 9<sup>4</sup>, it agrees with the feminine subject immediately preceding.<sup>1</sup>

f (b) The predicate *preceding* two or more subjects may likewise be used in the plural (Gn 40<sup>1</sup>, Jb 3<sup>5</sup>, &c.); not infrequently, however, it agrees in gender and number with the first, as being the subject nearest to it. Thus the predicate is put in the singular masculine before several masculines singular in Gn 9<sup>23</sup>, 11<sup>29</sup>, 21<sup>32</sup>, 24<sup>50</sup>, 34<sup>20</sup>, Ju 14<sup>5</sup>; before a masculine and a feminine singular, e. g. Gn 3<sup>8</sup>, 24<sup>45</sup> *then said* ( $\text{וַיֹּאמֶר}$ ) *her brother and her mother*; 33<sup>7</sup>; before a masculine singular and a plural, e. g. Gn 7<sup>7</sup>  $\text{וַיָּבֹא לֵחַ וּבָנָיו}$  *and Noah went in, and his sons, &c.*; Gn 8<sup>18</sup> (where feminines plural also follow); 44<sup>14</sup>, Ex 15<sup>1</sup>, 2 S 5<sup>21</sup>; before collectives feminine and masculine, 2 S 12<sup>2</sup>.

g Similarly, the feminine singular occurs before several feminines singular, e. g. Gn 31<sup>14</sup>  $\text{וַתַּעַן רָחֵל וְלֵאָה}$  *then answered Rachel and Leah*; before a feminine singular and a feminine plural, e. g. Gn 24<sup>61</sup>; before a feminine singular and a masculine singular, Nu 12<sup>1</sup>  $\text{וַתְּדַבֵּר מִרְיָם וְאַהֲרֹן}$  *then spake Miriam and Aaron*; Ju 5<sup>1</sup>; before a feminine singular and a masculine plural, e. g. Gn 33<sup>7</sup> (cf., on the other hand,  $\psi$  75<sup>4</sup>  $\text{וְכָל־יֹשְׁבֵיָהָ אָרְצָהּ}$  *dissolved are the earth and all the inhabitants thereof*). The plural feminine occurs before a plural feminine and a plural masculine in Am 8<sup>13</sup>.—In Jer 44<sup>25</sup> for  $\text{וְנִשְׁיָכֶם}$  read  $\text{אִתְּכֶם}$  with the LXX, and cf. verse 19.

h (c) When other predicates follow after the subjects have been mentioned, they are necessarily put in the plural; cf. Gn 21<sup>32</sup>, 24<sup>61</sup>, 31<sup>14</sup>, 33<sup>7</sup>, &c., and § 145 s.

<sup>1</sup> Similarly with a mixed object, Gn 33<sup>2</sup> *he put . . . Leah and her children after*;  $\text{אַחֲרֵיהֶם}$  agrees with the masculine immediately preceding.

§ 147. *Incomplete Sentences.*

1. Sentences are called *incomplete*, in which either the subject or  $\alpha$  the predicate or both must in some way be supplied from the context.<sup>1</sup> Besides the instances enumerated in § 116 s (omission of the personal pronoun when subject of a participial clause) and the periphrases for negative attributes § 152 u, this description includes certain (noun-) clauses introduced by הִנֵּה (see *b* below), and also a number of exclamations of the most varied kinds (see *c* below).

Rem. Incomplete sentences are very common in Chronicles, but are mostly due to the bad condition of the text; cf. Driver, *Introd.*<sup>6</sup>, p. 537, no. 27. Thus in 2 Ch 11<sup>22b</sup> restore הַשֹּׁשֶׁבֶת, with the LXX, before הַמְּלִיכֹי; in 35<sup>21</sup> add אֲתִי, with the LXX, after הַיּוֹם and read פָּרַת for בָּיִת; in 2 Ch 19<sup>6</sup> and 28<sup>21</sup> the pronoun הִנֵּה is wanted as subject, and in 30<sup>9</sup> the predicate יָהִי; cf. also the unusual expressions in 1 Ch 9<sup>33</sup> (Ezr 3<sup>3</sup>), 1 Ch 15<sup>13</sup> (*ye were not present?*), 2 Ch 15<sup>3</sup>, 16<sup>10,12</sup> (b<sup>13</sup>), 18<sup>3</sup>.

2. The demonstrative particle הִנֵּה, הִנְיָ *en, ecce* may be used either  $\beta$  absolutely (as a kind of interjection, cf. § 105 b) before complete noun- or verbal-clauses, e. g. Gn 28<sup>15</sup> וְהִנֵּה אֲנִי עִמָּךְ *and, behold! I am with thee*; 37<sup>7</sup>, 48<sup>21</sup>, Ex 3<sup>13</sup>, 34<sup>10</sup>, or may take the pronoun, which would be the natural subject of a noun-clause, in the form of a suffix, see § 100 o. Whether these suffixes are to be regarded as in the accusative has been shown to be doubtful in § 100 p. However, in the case of הִנֵּה the analogy of the corresponding Arabic demonstrative particle 'inna (followed by an accusative of the noun) is significant.<sup>2</sup> If הִנֵּה with a suffix and a following adjective or participle (see the examples in § 116 p and q) forms a noun-clause, the subject proper, to which הִנֵּה with the suffix refers, must, strictly speaking, be supplied again before the predicate.<sup>3</sup> Sometimes, however, the pronoun referring to the subject is wanting, and the simple הִנֵּה takes the place of the

<sup>1</sup> This does not apply to such cases as Gn 33<sup>8</sup>, where an infinitive with הִנֵּה appears alone in answer to a question, the substance of the question being presupposed as a main clause; cf. also Gn 26<sup>7</sup>, where הִנֵּה must again be supplied after אֲשַׁחֲתֶיךָ.

<sup>2</sup> On the same analogy any substantive following הִנֵּה would have to be regarded as originally a virtual accusative. Since, however, Hebrew does not possess case-terminations (as the Arabic does, and uses the accusative necessarily after 'inna), it is very doubtful whether, and how far, substantives following הִנֵּה were felt to be accusatives.

<sup>3</sup> That these are real noun-clauses and that the participle (e. g. מֵת in מֵת הִנֵּה Gn 20<sup>8</sup>) cannot be taken as a second accusative (as it were *ecce te moriturum*), is also shown by the analogy of Arabic, where after 'inna with an accusative the predicate is expressly in the *nominative*.

subject and copula (as Gn 18<sup>9</sup> **הִנֵּה בָּאֵהָל** *behold she is in the tent*; 42<sup>28</sup>), or there is no indication whatever of the predicate, so that the sentence is limited to **הִנֵּה** with the suffix, as in the frequent use of **הִנֵּנִי**, **הִנֵּנִי** *here am I*, in answer to an address. Elsewhere a substantive follows **הִנֵּה** (or **הִן** Gn 11<sup>6</sup>, Jb 31<sup>35</sup>), and **הִנֵּה** then includes the meaning of a demonstrative pronoun and the copula, e.g. Gn 22<sup>7</sup> **הִנֵּה הָאֵשׁ וְהָעֵצִים** *here is the fire and the wood, &c.*; 12<sup>19</sup> *behold thou hast thy wife!* Ex 24<sup>8</sup>; with reference to the past, e.g. Am 7<sup>1</sup> **וְהָיָה לְקֶשֶׁת וְגו'** *and lo, it was the latter growth, &c.* By a very pregnant construction the simple **הִנֵּה** is used as the equivalent of a sentence in Jb 9<sup>19</sup>, *lo, here am I!*

- C 3. Examples of exclamations (threatening, complaining, triumphing, especially warlike or seditious) in which, owing to the excitement of the speaker, some indispensable member of the sentence is suppressed, are—(a) with suppression of the predicate (which has frequently to be supplied in the form of a jussive), e.g. Ju 7<sup>20</sup> *a sword for the Lord and for Gideon!* (verse 18 without **הָרִב**); 2 S 20<sup>1</sup> and 2 Ch 10<sup>16</sup> (cf. also 1 K 22<sup>36</sup>) *every man to his tents, O Israel!* (i. e. *let every man go to or remain in his tent*); without **אֵשׁ** 1 K 12<sup>16</sup>; moreover, Is 1<sup>23</sup>, 13<sup>4</sup> (on the exclamatory **קוּל** equivalent to *hark!* cf. § 146 b); 28<sup>10</sup>, 29<sup>16</sup> (**הַפְּכֵנָם** *O your perversity!* i. e. *how great it is!*); Jer 49<sup>16</sup> (if **תִּפְלַעַתְךָ** be equivalent to *terror be upon thee!*); Jo 4<sup>14</sup>, Mal 1<sup>13</sup> (**הִנֵּה מִתְלַאֵף** *behold what a weariness!*); Jb 22<sup>29</sup>; perhaps also Gn 49<sup>4</sup> **פַּחַז בַּפִּיִּם** *a bubbling over as water* (sc. happened), unless it is better to supply a subject **אָתָּה** (*thou wast*).—(b) With suppression of the subject, Ju 4<sup>20</sup>, cf. § 152 k; Jb 15<sup>23</sup> **אֵיִה** *where* sc. is bread?—(c) With suppression of both subject and predicate, Ju 7<sup>18</sup> (see above); 1 K 12<sup>16</sup> (see above); 2 K 9<sup>27</sup> **גַּם אִתּוֹ** *him also!* explained immediately afterwards by **הַבִּיהוּ** *smite him!* Ho 5<sup>8</sup> *after thee, Benjamin!* sc. is the enemy (differently in Ju 5<sup>14</sup>); ψ 6<sup>4</sup>, 90<sup>13</sup>, Hb 2<sup>6</sup> **עַד-מַתִּי**; ψ 74<sup>9</sup> **עַד-מָה**.—On **וְלֹא** *and if not* (unless **וְלֹא** is to be read), 2 S 13<sup>26</sup>, 2 K 5<sup>17</sup>, see § 159 dd.

- d Rem. 1. To the class of incomplete sentences naturally belong exclamations introduced by interjections **אָהוּ**, **אָוִי**, **הוּי**, **הִם**;<sup>1</sup> cf. § 105. After the first two the object of the *threat* or *imprecation* follows regularly with **לְךָ** (cf. *vae tibi*) or **לָנוּ** or **עָלָנוּ**, e.g. **אָוִי לָנוּ** *woe unto us!* 1 S 4<sup>8</sup>, Is 6<sup>5</sup>; cf. also **אָהוּ לַיּוֹם** *alas for the day!* Jo 1<sup>1</sup>; on the other hand, the object of *commiseration* (after **הוּי**) follows mostly in the vocative, or rather in the accusative of exclamation (cf. *vae te* in Plautus); so in lamentation for the dead, **אָהוּ הוּי** *alas, my brother!* 1 K 13<sup>36</sup>,

<sup>1</sup> We do not consider here the cases in which these interjections (e.g. **הִם** Ju 3<sup>19</sup>, Am 6<sup>9</sup>) stand quite disconnectedly (so always **אָתָּה** and **הָאָתָּה**).

Jer 22<sup>18</sup>; אַח הַטֵּיִם הֵי הַיְּהוּדִים *ah, sinful nation!* Is 1<sup>4</sup>, 5<sup>8.11.18.20.22</sup> (*ah! they that . . .*).—For אַח cf. Hb 2<sup>20</sup>, Zp 1<sup>7</sup>, Zc 2<sup>17</sup>.

2. Finally, instances of noun-clauses shortened in an unusual manner *c* may perhaps occur in יְדֵיהֶם and רַגְלֵיהֶם ψ 115<sup>7</sup>, for יָדַיִם לָהֶם *they have hands*, &c.; cf. verses 5 and 6 פִּה־לָהֶם, &c. Perhaps also וּפִילִגְשׁוֹ Gn 22<sup>24</sup>, and וְחַלְיוֹ Ec 5<sup>16</sup> are to be regarded in the same way, but hardly נִבְיָאֵיכֶם Nu 12<sup>6</sup>; cf. § 128 *d* above.

## II. Special Kinds of Sentences.

### § 148. Exclamations.

The originally interrogative מָה is used to introduce exclamations *a* of wonder or indignation = *O how!* or ridicule, *why! how!* sometimes strengthened by וְהִי or וְאֵת according to § 136 *c*.—Astonishment or indignation at something which has happened is introduced by אֵיךְ *how* (likewise originally interrogative) with the perfect; the indignant refusal of a demand by אֵיךְ (but also by מָה Jb 31<sup>1</sup>) with the imperfect; an exclamation of lamentation by אֵיכָה, less frequently אֵיךְ *how!*; in Jo 1<sup>18</sup> by מָה.

Examples:—

מָה (or מָה־ with a following *Dageš*, see § 37) expressing admiration (or *b* astonishment) before verbal-clauses, e.g. Gn 27<sup>20</sup> (מָה־זֶה); 38<sup>29</sup>, Nu 24<sup>5</sup> (*how goodly are . . .!*); ψ 21<sup>2</sup>, Ct 7<sup>2</sup>; before the predicate of noun-clauses, e.g. Gn 28<sup>17</sup>, ψ 8<sup>2</sup>; mockingly before the verb, 2 S 6<sup>20</sup> (*how glorious was . . .!*); Jer 22<sup>23</sup>, Jb 26<sup>2f.</sup>; indignantly, Gn 3<sup>13</sup> מָה־זֵאת 4<sup>10</sup>, 20<sup>9</sup>, 31<sup>26</sup> *what hast thou done!*

אֵיךְ with the perfect, e.g. Gn 26<sup>9</sup>, ψ 73<sup>19</sup>; in scornful exclamation, Is 14<sup>4.12</sup>; in a lament (usually אֵיכָה, 2 S 1<sup>25.27</sup>; with the imperfect, in a reproachful question, Gn 39<sup>9</sup>, 44<sup>8</sup>, ψ 11<sup>1</sup>, 137<sup>4</sup>; in a mocking imitation of lament, Mi 2<sup>4</sup>.

אֵיכָה with the perfect, Is 1<sup>21</sup>, La 1<sup>1</sup>; with the imperfect, La 2<sup>1</sup>, 4<sup>1</sup>.

Rem. 1. The close relation between a question and an exclamation appears *c* also in the interrogative personal pronoun מִי in such cases as Mi 7<sup>18</sup> מִי־אֵל כְּמִוֶּךָ *who is a God like unto thee?* and so in general in *rhetorical* questions as the expression of a forcible denial; similarly in the use of an interrogative sentence to express a wish, see §§ 150 *d*, 151 *a*.

2. A weaker form of exclamation is sometimes produced by the insertion *d* of a corroborative כִּי *verily, surely*, before the predicate, Gn 18<sup>20</sup>; cf. 33<sup>11</sup>, Is 7<sup>9</sup>, and the analogous cases in the apodoses of conditional sentences, § 159 *ee*.

### § 149. Sentences which express an Oath or Asseveration.

The particle אִם, in the sense of *certainly not*, and אִם־לֹא (rarely כִּי *a* Gn 22<sup>16</sup>) in the sense of *certainly*, are used to introduce promises or threats confirmed by an oath (especially after such formulæ as חַי־יְהוָה,

חַי־נַפְשְׁךָ<sup>1</sup>, חַי אֲנִי, &c., as well as after imprecations, see below), and also simple asseverations, e.g. 1 S 2<sup>30</sup>, 2 S 20<sup>20</sup>, Jb 27<sup>5</sup> after חָלִילָה לִי *far be it from me*, but mostly without any introductory formula.

- b* Rem. No certain explanation of these particles has yet been given. According to the usual view, phrases expressing an oath depend on the suppression of an imprecation upon oneself, e.g. *the Lord do so unto me, if I do it* equivalent to *I certainly will not do it*; then naturally אִם־לֹא properly *if I do it not* equivalent to *I certainly will do it*. It is indeed difficult to understand such self-imprecations, put into the mouth of God, as in Dt 1<sup>34 f.</sup>, Is 14<sup>24</sup>, 22<sup>14</sup>, Jer 22<sup>6</sup>, Ez 3<sup>6</sup>, 35<sup>6</sup>, ψ 95<sup>11</sup>. Possibly, however, the consciousness of the real meaning of the formula was lost at an early period, and אִם־לֹא simply came to express *verily*, אִם *verily not*.—In 1 S 25<sup>22</sup>, where, instead of a self-imprecation, a curse is pronounced upon others, read לְרוּךְ with the LXX for לְאִיבֵי רוּךְ.

Examples:—

- c* (a) The particles אִם and אִם־לֹא used after the utterance of an oath and after formulae of swearing, e.g. 2 S 11<sup>11</sup> (see note on *a*) חַי־יְהוָה וְחַי נַפְשְׁךָ אִם־אֲעִשֶׂה אֶת־הַדָּבָר הַזֶּה *as the Lord liveth, and as thy soul liveth, I will not do this thing*; 1 S 14<sup>45</sup>, 2 K 5<sup>16</sup> (after חַי יְהוָה; in 1 S 14<sup>39</sup> and 29<sup>6</sup> חַי־י is followed by a simple כִּי); Ct 2<sup>7</sup>, 3<sup>5</sup> (after הִשְׁבַּעְתִּי *I adjure you*); cf. also Gn 14<sup>23</sup>, 21<sup>23</sup>, 26<sup>29</sup>; spoken by God, Dt 1<sup>34 f.</sup>, 1 S 3<sup>14</sup>, ψ 95<sup>11</sup>; similarly אִם־לֹא Gn 24<sup>37 f.</sup>; spoken by God, Is 14<sup>24</sup>, where אִם־לֹא occurs first with the perfect in the sense of a prophetic perfect, § 106 *n*, but in the parallel clause with the imperfect; Jer 22<sup>6</sup>; in Gn 31<sup>52</sup> the negative oath introduced by אִם־אֲנִי אִם־אֶתָּה is immediately afterwards continued by לֹא with the imperfect.—In Ez 34<sup>10</sup> the threat introduced in verse 8 by אִם־לֹא is, after a long parenthesis, resumed with הֲנִי.
- d* (b) אִם and אִם־לֹא after formulae of cursing, e.g. 1 S 3<sup>17</sup> כֹּה יַעֲשֶׂה־לְךָ אֱלֹהִים וְכֹה יוֹסִיף אִם־תִּבְחַר מִפְּנֵי דָבָר וְגו' *God do so to thee, and more also! thou shalt not hide anything from me, &c.*; cf. 1 S 25<sup>22</sup>. On the other hand, כִּי follows the curse, in 1 S 14<sup>44</sup>, 1 K 2<sup>23</sup> (here with a perfect), and in 2 S 3<sup>35</sup> כִּי אִם; in 1 S 25<sup>34</sup> the preceding כִּי is repeated before אִם; in 1 S 20<sup>13</sup> the purport of the asseveration is repeated (after the insertion of a conditional sentence) in the perfect consecutive.
- e* (c) אִם and אִם־לֹא as simple particles of asseveration, e.g. Ju 5<sup>8</sup> מִיָּנִי וְגו' אִם־יִרְאָה וְרִמָּה *truly, there was not a shield and spear seen, &c.*; Is 22<sup>14</sup>, Jb 6<sup>28</sup> (in the middle of the sentence); after חָלִילָה חָלִילָה *absit*, 2 S 20<sup>20</sup>; אִם־לֹא with the imperf. Is 5<sup>9</sup>, with the perfect, Jb 22<sup>20</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Also combined חַי־יְהוָה וְחַי נַפְשְׁךָ 1 S 20<sup>3</sup>, 25<sup>26</sup> *as the Lord liveth, and as thy soul (i.e. thou) liveth!* (Also in 2 S 11<sup>11</sup> read חַי־יְהוָה instead of the impossible חַיִּי). On חַי and חַיִּי in these noun-clauses (prop. *living is the Lord, &c.*), cf. § 93 *aa*, note.

§ 150. *Interrogative Sentences.*

H. G. Mitchell, 'The omission of the interrogative particle,' in *Old Test. and Sem. Studies in memory of W. R. Harper*, Chicago, 1907, i, 113 ff.

1. A question need not necessarily be introduced by a special *a* interrogative pronoun or adverb. Frequently<sup>1</sup> the natural emphasis upon the words is of itself sufficient to indicate an interrogative sentence as such; cf. Gn 27<sup>24</sup> **וְהָ אָתָּה בְּנִי יַעֲשֵׂוּ** *thou art my son Esau?* (but cf. note 1 below) Gn 18<sup>12</sup>, Ex 33<sup>14</sup> (**וְפָנִי**); 1 S 11<sup>12</sup> **שָׂאוּל יִמְלֶךָ** *Saul shall reign over us?* 1 S 22<sup>7</sup>, 2 S 16<sup>17</sup>, 18<sup>29</sup> **לְעֶרְ לְשׁוֹמֵר** *is it well with the young man?* (but cf. note 1); 1 S 16<sup>4</sup>, 1 K 1<sup>24</sup>, Is 28<sup>28</sup>, Ho 4<sup>16</sup>, Zc 8<sup>8</sup> (*should it also be marvellous in mine eyes?*); Pr 5<sup>16</sup>. So especially, when the interrogative clause is connected with a preceding sentence by **וְ**, e. g. Jn 4<sup>11</sup> **וְאֵינִי לֹא אֲחֻס׃** *and I should not have pity?* Ex 8<sup>22</sup> *will they not stone us?* Ju 11<sup>23</sup>, 14<sup>16</sup>, 1 S 20<sup>9</sup>, 24<sup>20</sup>, 25<sup>11</sup>, 2 S 11<sup>11</sup>, 15<sup>20</sup>, Is 37<sup>11</sup>, 44<sup>19b</sup>, Jer 25<sup>29</sup>, 45<sup>5</sup>, 49<sup>12</sup>, Ez 20<sup>31</sup>, Jb 2<sup>10</sup>, 10<sup>9</sup>; or when (as in some of the examples just given) it is negative (with **לֹא** for **הֲלֹא** *nonne?*), 2 K 5<sup>26</sup> (but cf. note 1), La 3<sup>33</sup>.<sup>2</sup>

Rem. The statement formerly made here that the interrogative particle is omitted especially before gutturals, cannot be maintained in view of Mitchell's statistics (op. cit. p. 123 f.). The supposed considerations of euphony are quite disproved by the 118 cases in which **וְ** or **וּ** occurs before a guttural.

2. As a rule, however, the simple question is introduced by *He c* interrogative **וְ** (**וְ**; as to its form, cf. § 100 k-n), *ne? num?* the disjunctive question by **וְ** (*num? utrum?*) in the first clause, and **אִם**<sup>3</sup> (also **אִם־וְ**, less frequently **אִי**) *an?* in the second, e. g. 1 K 22<sup>15</sup> . . . **הֲנִלְכֶה**

<sup>1</sup> Mitchell (op. cit.) restricts the number of instances to 39, of which he attributes 12 (or 17) to corruption of the text. Thus in Gn 27<sup>24</sup> he would read, with the Samaritan, **וְהָ אָתָּה** as in verse 21, in 1 S 16<sup>4</sup> **וְהַשָּׂלֵם**, in 2 S 18<sup>29</sup> **וְהַשָּׂלֵם** as in verse 32; similarly he would read the interrogative particle in 2 K 5<sup>26</sup>, Ez 11<sup>3</sup>, Jb 40<sup>25</sup>, 41<sup>1</sup>; 1 S 30<sup>8</sup>, 2 K 9<sup>19</sup>, Ez 11<sup>13</sup>, 17<sup>9</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> But in 1 S 27<sup>10</sup> instead of **אִל־וְ** (which according to the usual explanation would expect a negative answer) read either **וְעַל־מִי** (**עַל־מִי**) with the LXX, or better, **אִן** (**אִנְהָ**) *whither?* with the Targum. In 2 S 23<sup>5</sup> read **וְהֲלֹא חָפְצֵי הַלְּאֵה** with Wellhausen.

<sup>3</sup> Quite exceptional is the use of the particle **אִין** *num?* (common in Aramaic) in 1 S 21<sup>9</sup> **וְאִין יֵשׁ־פֶּה** *num est hic?* The text is, however, undoubtedly corrupt; according to Wellhausen, *Text der Bücher Sam.*, the LXX express the reading **וְהִישׁ הֲיֵשׁ**; but cf. the full discussion of the passage by König, *ZAW*. xviii. 239 ff.—The above does not apply to interrogative sentences introduced by interrogative pronouns (§ 37) or by the interrogatives compounded with **מָה** *what?* such as **מָה־כַּמּוֹ** *how many?* **מָה־לָּמָּה** *why?* (see § 102 k), **מָה־וְ** *why?* (§ 99 e), or by **אִיהָ** *where?* **אִיָּהּ**, **אִיָּהּ** *how?* (§ 148), &c. On the transformation of

לָנָהּ אִם נָהָלָהּ shall we go . . . or shall we forbear? Cf. also אַיְ where? whither? אֵיְנָהּ whither, and J. Barth, *Sprachwiss. Untersuchungen*, i. 13 ff.

d The particular uses are as follows:—

(a) The particle הֲ stands primarily before the simple question, when the questioner is wholly uncertain as to the answer to be expected, and may be used either before noun-clauses, e.g. Gn 43<sup>7</sup> אֵחָ לָכֶם הֲיִישׁ הַיִּשׁ is your father yet alive? have ye another brother? for הֲיִישׁ cf. Gn 24<sup>13</sup>, 1 S 9<sup>11</sup>; for הֲכִי is it that? Jb 6<sup>22</sup>; for הֲכִי יֵשׁ is there yet? 2 S 9<sup>1</sup> (but in 2 S 23<sup>19</sup> for הֲכִי read הֲנֹ with 1 Ch 11<sup>25</sup>); for הֲאִין is there not? 1 K 22<sup>7</sup>, &c.; or before verbal-clauses, e.g. Jb 2<sup>3</sup> hast thou considered (הֲשָׁמַתָּ לְבָדִי) my servant Job? In other cases הֲ (= num?) is used before questions, to which, from their tone and contents, a negative answer is expected, e.g. Jb 14<sup>14</sup> if a man die, הֲיִחִיָּהּ shall he indeed live again? Sometimes a question is so used only as a rhetorical form instead of a negative assertion, or of a surprised or indignant refusal,<sup>2</sup> e.g. 2 S 7<sup>5</sup> בֵּית הַבַּיִת תִּבְנֶה לִּי shall thou build me an house? (in the parallel passage 1 Ch 17<sup>4</sup> לֹא אֶתֶּה וְנִי thou shalt not, &c.); Gn 4<sup>9</sup> אֲחֵי אֲנֹכִי am I my brother's keeper? cf. 2 K 5<sup>7</sup>, and the two passages where הֲ is used before the infinitive (constr. Jb 34<sup>13</sup>, absol. Jb 40<sup>2</sup>; on both, see § 113 *ee*, with the note).—On the other hand, in 1 K 16<sup>31</sup> for הֲנִקֵּל (after וַיְהִי) read הֲנִקֵּל.

c Rem. 1. A few passages deserve special mention, in which the use of the interrogative is altogether different from our idiom, since it serves merely to express the conviction that the contents of the statement are well known to the hearer, and are unconditionally admitted by him. Thus, Gn 3<sup>11</sup> surely thou hast eaten; Gn 27<sup>36</sup> הֲכִי קָרָא prop. is it so that one names? &c., i. e. of a truth he is rightly named Jacob; Gn 29<sup>15</sup> verily thou art my brother; Dt 11<sup>30</sup>, Ju 4<sup>6</sup>, 1 S 2<sup>27</sup> I did indeed, &c.; 20<sup>37</sup>, 1 K 22<sup>3</sup> ye know surely . . .; Mi 3<sup>1</sup>, Jb 20<sup>4</sup>.—In 1 S 23<sup>19</sup> (cf. ψ 54<sup>2</sup>) a surprising communication is introduced in this way (by הֲלֹא); in order to show it to be absolutely true, and in Am 9<sup>7</sup> a concession is expressed by הֲלֹא I have, it is true, &c. Finally, we may include the formula of quotation הֲלֹא הִיא כְּתוּבָה Jos 10<sup>13</sup> or הֲלֹא הֵם כְּתוּבִים equivalent to surely it is, they are written (the latter in 1 K 11<sup>41</sup>, 14<sup>29</sup>, and very often elsewhere in the books of Kings and Chronicles), synonymous with the simple formula of assertion הֲנֵה כְּתוּבָה 2 S 1<sup>18</sup>, and הֲנֵם כְּתוּבִים 1 K 14<sup>19</sup>, 2 K 15<sup>11</sup>, 2 Ch 27<sup>7</sup>, 32<sup>32</sup>.

Of very frequent occurrence also are questions introduced by לָמָּה, which really contain an affirmation and are used to state the reason for a request or warning, e.g. 2 S 22<sup>22</sup> turn thee aside . . . wherefore should I smite thee to the ground? i. e. otherwise I will (or must) smite, &c.; cf. 1 S 19<sup>17</sup>, and Driver on the passage; 2 Ch 25<sup>16</sup>; also Gn 27<sup>45</sup>, Ex 32<sup>12</sup> (Jo 2<sup>17</sup>, ψ 79<sup>10</sup>, 115<sup>2</sup>); Ct 1<sup>7</sup>, Ec 5<sup>5</sup>, 7<sup>17</sup>, Dn 1<sup>10</sup>.

pronouns and adverbs into interrogative words by means of a prefixed אֵי, see the Lexicon.

<sup>1</sup> On the use of the *imperfect* in deliberative questions, see § 107 *t*; on the *perfectum confidentiae* in interrogative sentences, see § 106 *n*.

<sup>2</sup> Analogous to this is the use of the interrogative מָה in the sense of a reproachful remonstrance instead of a prohibition, as Ct 8<sup>4</sup> מַה תַּעֲוִירוּ why should ye stir up? i. e. pray, stir not up; cf. also Jb 31<sup>1</sup>; see above, § 148.

2. The rare cases in which a *simple* question is introduced by **אֵין** (as sometimes in Latin by *an? is it?*) are really due to the suppression of the first member of a double question; thus 1 K 1<sup>27</sup>, Is 29<sup>16</sup>, Jb 6<sup>12</sup>, 39<sup>13</sup>.

(b) Disjunctive questions are, as a rule, introduced by **אֵין—וְ** (*utrum—an?*) *g* or sometimes by **אֵין—וְ**, e. g. Jo 1<sup>2</sup>, Jb 21<sup>4</sup> (even with **וְ** repeated after **אֵין** in a question which implies disbelief, Gn 17<sup>17</sup>). In Jb 34<sup>17</sup>, 40<sup>8 f.</sup> special emphasis is given to the first member by **הֲאֵין** prop. *is it even?* The second member is introduced by **וְאֵין** or in 2 K 6<sup>27</sup>, Jb 16<sup>3</sup>, 38<sup>28</sup>, 31<sup>36</sup> (Mal 1<sup>8</sup> **וְאֵין**), in each case before **וְ**, and hence no doubt for euphonic reasons, to avoid the combination **וְ אֵין**; cf. also Ju 18<sup>19</sup>, Ec 2<sup>19</sup>.

Double questions with (**אֵין**) **אֵין—וְ** need not always be mutually exclusive; *h* frequently the disjunctive form serves (especially in poetic parallelism; but cf. also e. g. Gn 37<sup>8</sup>) merely to repeat the same question in different words, and thus to express it more emphatically. So Jb 4<sup>17</sup> *shall mortal man be just before God? or (אֵין) shall a man be pure before his Maker?* Jb 6<sup>5 f.</sup>, 8<sup>3</sup>, 10<sup>4 f.</sup>, 11<sup>2, 7</sup>, 22<sup>3</sup>, Is 10<sup>15</sup>, Jer 5<sup>29</sup>. The second member may, therefore, just as well be connected by a simple **וְ**, e. g. Jb 13<sup>7</sup>, 15<sup>7 f.</sup>, 38<sup>16 f.</sup> 22.32.39; cf. also **וְ** 8<sup>5</sup> after **וְהָ**; Jb 21<sup>17 f.</sup> after **כִּמְהָ**; or even without a conjunction, Jb 8<sup>11</sup>, 22<sup>4</sup>; after **וְהָ** **וְ** 144<sup>3</sup>.

(c) With regard to *indirect* questions<sup>2</sup> after verbs of inquiring, doubling, *i* examining,<sup>3</sup> &c., simple questions of this kind take either **וְ** *whether*, Gn 8<sup>8, 4</sup> or **אֵין** Gn 15<sup>5</sup>, 2 K 1<sup>2</sup>, Ct 7<sup>13</sup>; even before a noun-clause, Jer 5<sup>1</sup>; in 1 S 20<sup>10</sup> the indirect question is introduced by **אֵין**, i. e. probably *if perchance*. In disjunctives (*whether—or*) **אֵין—וְ** Nu 13<sup>18</sup> at the end (or **אֵין—אֵין—וְ** Gn 24<sup>21</sup>, 27<sup>21</sup>, 37<sup>32</sup>, Ex 16<sup>4</sup>), and **וְ—וְ** Nu 13<sup>18</sup>, which is followed by **אֵין—וְ**; also **אֵין—וְ** Ec 2<sup>19</sup>. The formula **אֵין יוֹדַע מִי** has an affirmative force, *who knows whether . . . not*, like the Latin *nescio an*, Est 4<sup>14</sup>.

In Jon 1<sup>7, 8</sup> the relative pronouns **מִי** and **מִיֶּשֶׁר** owing to the following *h* **מִי** have become also interrogative, *for whose cause?*

(d) **וְהָ** and **הוּא** (cf. § 136 c) immediately after the interrogative serve to *l* give vividness to the question; so also **אֵין** (for which **אֵין** five times in Job) *then, now*, Gn 27<sup>33</sup> **הוּא אֵין** *who then is he?* Ju 9<sup>88</sup>, Is 16<sup>12</sup>, Jb 17<sup>15</sup>; **אֵין** *אֵין*

<sup>1</sup> **אֵין** occurs in Pr 27<sup>24</sup> after a negative statement; we should, however, with Dyserinck read **וְאֵין**. Not less irregular is **הֲלֵא** instead of **לֵא** **אֵין** in the second clause of Ju 14<sup>15</sup>, but the text can hardly be correct (cf. Moore, *Ju'ges*, New York, 1895, p. 337); in 1 S 23<sup>11</sup> the second **וְ** introduces a fresh question which is only loosely connected with the first.—In Nu 17<sup>23</sup> and in the third clause of Jb 6<sup>13</sup>, **אֵין** is best taken with Ewald in the sense of **הֲלֵא**, since **אֵין** from its use in oaths (see above, § 149 b) may simply mean *verily not*.

<sup>2</sup> It should here be remarked that the distinction between direct and indirect questions cannot have been recognized by the Hebrew mind to the same extent as it is in Latin or English. In Hebrew there is no difference between the two kinds of sentence, either as regards mood (as in Latin) or in tense and position of the words (as in English). Cf. also § 137 c.

<sup>3</sup> In Gn 43<sup>8</sup> the **וְ** after **הֲיִרְדָּה** is explained from the fact that the latter, according to the context, implies *to give information upon a question*.

<sup>4</sup> Also in Ec 3<sup>21</sup> we should read **הֲעֵלָה** and **הֲיִרְדָּה** (*whether—whether*) instead of the article which is assumed by the Masora.

where then is . . . ? However, אֲנִי may also be placed at the end of the entire question (Ex 33<sup>16</sup>, Is 22<sup>1</sup>; also Ho 13<sup>10</sup>, since either אֲנִי is a dialectical form of אֲנִי, or אֲנִי should be read instead of it) or at the beginning of the question proper, after a strongly emphasized word, as in Gn 27<sup>37</sup>.<sup>1</sup>

m (e) Sometimes one interrogative governs two co-ordinate clauses, the first of which should rather be subordinated to the second, so that the interrogative word strictly speaking affects only the second; thus Is 5<sup>4</sup> after מַדְרִיעַ *wherefore looked I . . . and it brought forth?* i. e. wherefore brought it forth, while I looked, &c.; Is 50<sup>2</sup>; after הָ Nu 32<sup>8</sup>, Jer 8<sup>4</sup>, also Nu 16<sup>22</sup> (read אֲנִי); after אֲלֵה Jos 22<sup>20</sup>; after הָ Is 58<sup>3</sup>, 2 Ch 32<sup>4</sup>; after אֲלֵה Is 40<sup>25</sup>.<sup>2</sup> But הָ Jb 4<sup>2</sup> and אֲלֵה 4<sup>21</sup> are separated from the verb to which they belong by the insertion of a conditional clause.

n 3. The affirmative answer is generally expressed, as in Latin, by repeating the emphatic word in the question (or with the second person changed to the first, Gn 24<sup>58</sup>, 27<sup>24</sup>, 29<sup>5</sup>, Ju 13<sup>11</sup>), Gn 29<sup>6</sup>, 37<sup>32f</sup>, 1 S 23<sup>11</sup>, 26<sup>17</sup>, 1 K 21<sup>10</sup>, Jer 37<sup>17</sup>. (On אֲנִי *if it be so* in the corrected text of 2 K 10<sup>15</sup>, see § 159 *dd*.) As a negative answer the simple אֵל is sometimes sufficient, as in Gn 19<sup>2</sup>, 1 K 3<sup>22</sup>, &c.; cf. § 152 *c*; and in Ju 4<sup>20</sup> the simple אֵל equivalent to *no* or *no one*.

### § 151. Desiderative Sentences.

a A wish may be expressed not only by the simple imperfect (§ 107 *n*), cohortative (§ 108, especially with אֲנִי § 108 *c*), jussive (§ 109; with אֲנִי § 109 *b*), imperative (§ 110 *a*), perfect consecutive (§ 112 *aa*) or by a simple noun-clause (§ 116 *r*, note, and § 141 *g*) but also in the following ways:—

1. By exclamations in the form of *interrogative* clauses:<sup>3</sup> especially sentences with מַי followed by the imperfect as being the mood of that which is still unfulfilled but possible, and hence also of that which is desired, e. g. 2 S 15<sup>4</sup> מַי־שִׁפְטֵנִי שִׁפְטָם *who maketh me judge?* i. e. *O that I were made judge!* 1 S 20<sup>10</sup>, 2 S 23<sup>15</sup>. On the other hand, מַי with the perfect (Gn 21<sup>7</sup>, Nu 23<sup>10</sup>, 1 S 26<sup>9</sup>, Is 53<sup>1</sup>, &c.) or participle (ψ 59<sup>8</sup>, Pr 24<sup>22</sup>, &c.), rather expresses a rhetorical question, i. e. a denial, cf. § 150 *d*. Especially frequent is the use of מַי־יִתֵּן (prop. *who gives?*) to introduce all kinds of desiderative clauses (see under *b*).—In Mal 1<sup>10</sup> the desiderative clause proper is co-ordinated with an interrogative clause,

<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, in Jb 9<sup>24</sup> and 24<sup>25</sup> אֲנִי is not prefixed to tho מַי, but appended to the conditional sentence.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the analogous sentences after יֵשׁ *because*, Is 65<sup>12</sup>, Jer 35<sup>17</sup>; after causal אֲנִי 1 S 26<sup>28</sup>; after מַי Is 12<sup>1</sup>; likewise after אֲנִי § 153 at the end; after אֲנִי Dt 8<sup>12-14</sup>, 25<sup>3</sup>, Jos 6<sup>18</sup>, 2 S 12<sup>28</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> The transition from a question to a wish may be seen, e. g. in Nu 11<sup>4</sup> *who shall give us flesh to eat?* i. e. *O that we had flesh to eat!*

וְיִסְגֹּר דְלָתַיִם וְיִסְגֹּר בְּכֶם וְיִסְגֹּר מִי גַם-בְּכֶם *would that one were among you and would shut the doors*, i. e. O that one would shut the doors!

Rem. Sometimes the original sense of מִי־יָתֵן is still plainly discernible, *b* e. g. Ju 9<sup>29</sup> מִי־יָתֵן אֶת־הָעָם הַזֶּה בְּיָדִי *who gives this people into my hand?* equivalent to, O that this people were given into my hand! cf. ψ 55<sup>7</sup>. In these examples, however, מִי־יָתֵן is still equivalent to *O had I!* and in numerous other instances the idea of *giving* has entirely disappeared, מִי־יָתֵן having become stereotyped as a mere desiderative particle (*utinam*). Its construction is either—

(a) With the *accusative* (in accordance with its original meaning) of a substantive, Dt 28<sup>67</sup> *would that it were even! . . . morning!* Ju 9<sup>29</sup>, ψ 14<sup>7</sup> (53<sup>7</sup>), 55<sup>7</sup>; with an accusative and a following infinitive, Jb 11<sup>5</sup>; with two accusatives, Nu 11<sup>29</sup>, Jer 8<sup>23</sup>; with the accusative of an infinitive, Ex 16<sup>3</sup>, 2 S 19<sup>1</sup> מִי־יָתֵן תַּחֲמִיד *would that I had died for thee* (for אֲנִי cf. § 135 *f*); of a participle, Jb 31<sup>35</sup>; of a personal pronoun (as a suffix), Jb 29<sup>2</sup> (with a following כִּי; but מִי־יָתֵן Is 27<sup>4</sup> and Jer 9<sup>1</sup> with a following accusative is not simply equivalent to מִי־יָתֵן לִי, but is properly *who endows me with*, &c.; cf. § 117 *f*).—With a still greater weakening of the original meaning מִי־יָתֵן is used with an adjective in Jb 14<sup>4</sup> *could a clean thing but come out of an unclean!* i. e. *how can a clean thing come*, &c.; similarly in Jb 31<sup>31</sup> *who can find one that hath not been satisfied!*

(b) With a following perfect, Jb 23<sup>3</sup> (cf. § 120 *e*); with a perfect consecutive, C Dt 5<sup>26</sup> *O that they had such an heart!*

(c) With a following imperfect, Jb 6<sup>8</sup>, 13<sup>5</sup>, 14<sup>13</sup>; in Jb 19<sup>23</sup> the imperfect is *d* twice added with *Wāw* (cf. *a* above, on Mal. 1<sup>10</sup>).

On the cohortative in the apodosis to such desiderative clauses, cf. § 108 *f*.

2. The wish may also be expressed by the particles אִם (ψ 81<sup>9</sup>, 95<sup>7</sup>, e 139<sup>19</sup>, Pr 24<sup>11</sup>, 1 Ch 4<sup>10</sup>; always with a following imperfect) and לִי (for which in ψ 119<sup>5</sup> we have אֶחָלִי, 2 K 5<sup>3</sup> אֶחָלִי, from אַח *ah!* and לִי = לִי; both with a following imperfect) *si, o si! utinam*.<sup>1</sup> לִי is followed by the imperfect, Gn 17<sup>18</sup>, Jb 6<sup>2</sup>; by the jussive, Gn 30<sup>34</sup> (rather concessive, equivalent to *let it be so*); by the perfect, as the expression of a wish that something might have happened in past time (cf. § 106 *p*), Nu 14<sup>2</sup> לִי מָתַנּוּ *would that we had died*; 20<sup>3</sup> and Jos 7<sup>7</sup> (both times לִי); on the other hand, Is 48<sup>18</sup> and 63<sup>19</sup> (both times לִי) to express a wish that something expected in the future may already have happened.—On לִי with the imperative (by an anacoluthon) Gn 23<sup>13</sup> cf. § 110 *e*. On the perfect after אִם פִּי Gn 40<sup>14</sup>, 2 K 5<sup>20</sup>, cf. § 106 *n*, note 2.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. a similar transition from a conditional to a desiderative particle, in consequence of the suppression of the apodosis, in the English, *O if I had!* and the like; e. g. Nu 22<sup>29</sup> *if there were* (לִי יֵשׁ) *a sword in my hand now had I surely killed thee!*

## § 152. Negative Sentences.

*a* 1. Besides the use of rhetorical questions (§§ 150 *d*, 151 *a*), independent sentences are made negative by the adverbs לֹא (Jb 6<sup>21</sup>, where instead of the *Keth.* לוֹ we must evidently read לֹא; perhaps preserved as a substantive)=the Greek οὐ, *not*, -*α* = μὴ (Jb 24<sup>25</sup> as a substantive), לוֹ (it is) *not*; וְעַד לֹא *not yet*, אֲפָס לֹא *not*, אֲפָסִי (cf. § 90 *m*) *not*. The forms בִּלְאִי, בִּלְאִי, בִּלְאִי *not* belong almost entirely to poetry.—With regard to לוֹ and לוֹ the main distinction is that verbal-clauses (rarely noun-clauses, see *e*) are regularly negated by לוֹ (besides its use as negating single words<sup>1</sup>), while לוֹ is used exclusively with noun-clauses (see the examples below).

*b* The conjunctions וְלֹא and וְלֹא that *not*, serve to negative dependent clauses. The particular uses of these particles are as follows:—

(*a*) לוֹ (less frequently לוֹ), like οὐ, οὐκ, is used regularly for the *objective, unconditional* negation, and hence is usually connected with the perfect or imperfect (as indicative); on לוֹ with the imperfect to express an unconditional prohibition, see § 107 *o*; on its use with the jussive, see § 109 *d*.—On לוֹ for לוֹ *nonne*, in interrogative sentences, cf. § 150 *a*. In connexion with לוֹ, לוֹ (= *any*), לוֹ is used to express an *absolute* negation, *nullus, none whatever* (cf. the French *ne . . . personne, ne . . . rien*), usually in the order לוֹ . . . לוֹ, e. g. Gn 3<sup>1</sup> הֲגַן מִכָּל עֵץ הַגָּן לֹא תֹאכְלוּ מִכָּל עֵץ הַגָּן *ye shall not eat of any tree of the garden*; 9<sup>11</sup>, Ex 10<sup>16</sup>, 20<sup>10</sup>, Lv 7<sup>23</sup>, Dt 8<sup>9</sup>, Jer 13<sup>7</sup>, 32<sup>17</sup> בְּלֹא דָבָר . . . לוֹ *nothing at all*; cf. the same statement in the form of a rhetorical question, Jer 32<sup>27</sup>); Pr 12<sup>21</sup>, 30<sup>30</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Especially in compounds, e. g. לֹא-אֱלֹהִים lit. *a no-God* (Germ. *Ungott*) who is indeed called a god, but is not really a god, Dt 32<sup>21</sup>; לֹא-אֱלֹהִים lit. *verse 17*, cf. Jer 5<sup>7</sup>, 2 Ch 13<sup>9</sup>; לֹא-עַם lit. *a not-people* (Germ. *Unvolk*), Dt 32<sup>21</sup>; לֹא דָבָר *a nothing*, Am 6<sup>13</sup>; לֹא עֵץ lit. *not-wood*, Is 10<sup>15</sup>; לֹא-אָדָם, לֹא-אִישׁ lit. *not-man, superhuman* (of God), Is 31<sup>8</sup>; לֹא-צְדָקָה *unrighteousness*, Jer 22<sup>13</sup>, cf. Ez 22<sup>29</sup>; לֹא-סִדְרִים *disorder*, Jb 10<sup>22</sup>; לֹא-חַמָּה *not-violence*, 16<sup>17</sup>; after לוֹ Jb 26<sup>2f</sup>. לֹא-חֵן, לֹא-עֵז *helplessness, insipientia*); cf. also Is 55<sup>2</sup> לֹא-שָׂבַעָה לֹא-עֵז *for what is unsatisfying*; ψ 44<sup>13</sup>, Jb 8<sup>11</sup>, 15<sup>32</sup>, 1 Ch 12<sup>39</sup>.—In Nu 20<sup>6</sup> a construct state with several genitives is negated by לוֹ.—Also לוֹ is used with an infinitive, Nu 35<sup>23</sup>; with an adjective, לֹא חָכָם *unwise*, Dt 32<sup>6</sup>, Ho 13<sup>13</sup>; לֹא-חָסִיד *impious*, ψ 43<sup>1</sup>; לֹא-עָזוּם and לֹא-עָזוּם *not strong*, Pr 30<sup>25f</sup>; לֹא-כֵן *unsuitably*, 2 K 7<sup>9</sup>; לֹא-טוֹב *not-good*, Is 65<sup>2</sup>, Ez 20<sup>26</sup>, &c.; לֹא-טָהוֹר *not-clean*, 2 Ch 30<sup>17</sup>; with a participle, e. g. Jer 2<sup>2</sup> (unsown); 6<sup>8</sup>, Ez 4<sup>14</sup>, 22<sup>24</sup>, Zp 2<sup>1</sup>, 3<sup>5</sup>; the Masora, however, requires נִחְמָה in Is 54<sup>11</sup>, נִחְמָה in 62<sup>12</sup>, נִחְמָה in Jer 6<sup>8</sup>, רַחֲמָה in Ho 1<sup>6</sup>, i. e. always 3rd sing. fem. perf. in pause = *she was not comforted*, &c., and consequently not compounds, but either relative clauses or (Is 54<sup>11</sup>, Ho 1<sup>6</sup>, and especially 2<sup>26</sup>) main clauses instead of proper names.—On the above compounds generally, cf. the dissertation mentioned in § 81 *d*, note 2; on their use in sentences expressing a state, to convey attributive ideas, see *u* below.

לֹא . . . מִפְּנֵי-כֹל and turneth *not away for any*; 2 Ch 32<sup>15</sup>; but cf. also the inverted order, Ex 12<sup>16</sup> לֹא-יֵעָשֶׂה בְּלִי-מְלָאכָה *no manner of work shall be done*; 12<sup>43</sup>, 15<sup>26</sup>, 22<sup>21</sup>, Lv 16<sup>17</sup>, Jb 33<sup>13</sup>, Dn 11<sup>37</sup>. The meaning is different when כֹּל by being determinate is used in the sense of *whole*, e.g. Nu 23<sup>13</sup> בְּלוּ לֹא תִרְאֶה *thou shalt not see them all*, but only a part.

Analogous to כֹּל . . . לֹא is the use of לֹא . . . אִישׁ Gn 23<sup>8</sup>, &c., in verbal-clauses in the sense of *no one at all, not a single one*. On אִין-כֹּל *nothing at all*, see under *p*.

Rem. 1. The examples in which לֹא is used absolutely as a negative answer, *c* equivalent to *certainly not! no!* must be regarded as extremely short verbal-clauses, e.g. Gn 10<sup>2</sup> (לֹא according to the context for נִסְוֹר &c.); 23<sup>11</sup>, 42<sup>10</sup>, Hag 2<sup>12</sup>, Jb 23<sup>6</sup>, sometimes with a following כִּי *but*, Gn 19<sup>2</sup> (see above); Jos 5<sup>14</sup>, 1 K 3<sup>22</sup>.

2. The negation of *noun-clauses* by לֹא (as opposed to the regular negation אִין) always includes a certain emphasis, since the force of the negation falls rather upon a particular word (cf. e.g. Ez 36<sup>32</sup>), than upon the whole clause. In 2 S 3<sup>34</sup> לֹא-אִסְרוּת יָדֶיךָ *thy hands were not bound*, a participle is thus specially negated by לֹא; cf. ψ 74<sup>9</sup>, where, however, לֹא is separated from the participle by אֶתֵּנִי, and Jb 12<sup>8</sup>. As a rule, *noun-clauses* with a pronominal subject are thus negated by לֹא, Gn 20<sup>12</sup>, Nu 35<sup>23</sup> (Dt 4<sup>42</sup>, 19<sup>4</sup>); 1 S 15<sup>29</sup>, 2 S 21<sup>2</sup>, Jer 4<sup>22</sup>, ψ 22<sup>7</sup>, Jb 28<sup>14</sup>, parallel with אִין; generally with לֹא before a substantival predicate, e.g. Ex 4<sup>10</sup> לֹא אִישׁ דְּבָרִים אֶנְכִּי *I am not a man of words*; Am 5<sup>18</sup>.—*Noun-clauses* with a substantival subject, Gn 29<sup>7</sup>, Nu 23<sup>19</sup>, Is 22<sup>2</sup>, 44<sup>19</sup>, Hag 1<sup>2</sup>, ψ 22<sup>3</sup>, Jb 9<sup>32</sup>, 18<sup>17</sup>, 21<sup>9</sup>, 22<sup>16</sup>, 36<sup>26</sup> (with ׀ of the apodosis); 41<sup>2</sup>; in Jb 9<sup>33</sup> even יֵשׁ לֹא *non est* is used instead of אִין.—In Pr 18<sup>5</sup> לֹא is used before an adjectival predicate; in 1 S 20<sup>26</sup> (where a preceding *noun-clause* is negated by בְּלִיתִי) read לֹא טוֹהָר with the LXX, for לֹא טוֹהוֹר. On אִין לֹא for אִין in circumstantial clauses to express attributive ideas, see *u* below.

3. As a rule לֹא stands immediately before the verb, but sometimes is *e* separated from it (frequently to bring into special prominence another word which follows it); thus Jb 22<sup>7</sup>, Ec 10<sup>10</sup> before the object and verb; Nu 16<sup>29</sup> before the subject and verb; Dt 8<sup>9</sup>, 2 S 3<sup>34</sup>, ψ 49<sup>18</sup>, 103<sup>10</sup>, Jb 13<sup>16</sup>, 34<sup>23</sup> before a complementary adjunct. In Dt 32<sup>6</sup> לֹא according to the accentuation even stands at the end of the clause (*they offend him not*); but undoubtedly לֹא בָּנִי are to be taken together.—On the position of לֹא with the infinitive absolute, see § 113 *v*.

(b) אִל- is used like *μή* and *ne* to express a *subjective* and *conditional* negation, *f* and hence especially in connexion with the jussive (§ 109 *c* and *e*) to introduce prohibitions, warnings, negative desires, and requests. On אִל- with the imperfect, see § 107 *p*; with the cohortative, see § 108 *c*; on 2 K 6<sup>27</sup>, see § 109 *h*.

Rem. 1. אִל- (like לֹא, see note on *a* above) may be used to form a compound *g* word, as in Pr 12<sup>28</sup> אִל-מָוֶת *not-death* (immortality); though all the early versions read אִל-מָוֶת. The instances in which אִל appears to stand absolutely, equivalent to *no, certainly not* (like *μή* for *μη γένηται*), e.g. Ru 1<sup>13</sup> אִל בְּנֹתַי *nay, my daughters*, and Gn 19<sup>18</sup>, 33<sup>10</sup> (אִל-נָא), are also due (see under *c*) to extreme shortening of a full clause (in 2 S 13<sup>25</sup> such a clause is repeated immediately

afterwards); thus in 2 S 1<sup>21</sup>, Is 62<sup>2</sup>,  $\psi$  83<sup>2</sup> יהי is evidently to be supplied, and in Jo 2<sup>13</sup>, Am 5<sup>14</sup>, Pr 8<sup>10</sup> the corresponding jussive from the preceding imperatives, in Pr 17<sup>12</sup> from the preceding infinitive absolute.

*h* 2. אֵל, like אֵל, regularly stands immediately before the verb, but in Is 64<sup>8</sup>, Jer 10<sup>24</sup>, 15<sup>15</sup>,  $\psi$  6<sup>2</sup>, 38<sup>2</sup> before another strongly emphasized member of the sentence.<sup>1</sup>

*i* (c) אֵין construct state (unless it be sometimes merely a contracted connective form, cf. שָׁנִים for שְׁנַיִם § 97 *d*) of אֵין non-existence (as also the absolute state, see below) is the negative of שׁ existence; cf. e.g. Gn 31<sup>29</sup> with Neh 5<sup>5</sup>. As שׁ (*he, she, it is, was, &c.*) includes the idea of *being* in all tenses, so אֵין includes the idea of *not being* in all tenses. Hence—

*k* (1) The absolute state אֵין, with an evident transition to the meaning of a verbal predicate, *there does not exist*, always follows the word negated, e.g. Is 37<sup>3</sup> (2 K 19<sup>3</sup>) וְכַח אֵין לְלַדְדָהּ and strength does not exist to bring forth; Gn 2<sup>5</sup> אֵין was not present; Ex 17<sup>7</sup> אֵין אִם-אֵין or is he not? after הֲיִשׁ is he . . .? (cf. Nu 13<sup>20</sup>); Lv 26<sup>37</sup>, Nu 20<sup>5</sup>, Ju 4<sup>20</sup> (אֵין no). In 1 S 9<sup>4</sup> and 10<sup>14</sup> אֵין is used in reference to a plural; 1 K 18<sup>10</sup>, Is 41<sup>17</sup>, 45<sup>21</sup>, 59<sup>11</sup>, Mi 7<sup>2</sup>, Pr 13<sup>4</sup>, 25<sup>14</sup>, Jb 3<sup>9</sup> אֵין and let there be none, let none come! Ec 3<sup>15</sup>.—Cf. finally אֵין אִם-אֵין if it be not so, Gn 30<sup>1</sup>, Ex 32<sup>32</sup>, Ju 9<sup>15</sup>, 2 K 2<sup>10</sup>.—Quite anomalous is אֵין Jb 35<sup>15</sup> before a perfect as an emphatic negation; the text, however, can hardly be correct.

*l* (2) The construct state אֵין stands in its natural position immediately before the substantive whose non-existence it predicates, or before the subject of the sentence which is to be negated. To the former class belong also the very numerous instances in which אֵין is joined to a participle, e.g. 1 S 26<sup>12</sup> וְאֵין רָאָה וְאֵין יוֹדַע וְאֵין מַקְיִין and there was not one seeing, &c., i. e. and no man saw it, nor knew it, neither did any awake; so especially וְאֵין with a participle in subordinate circumstantial or descriptive clauses, such as Is 5<sup>29</sup> וְנִפְלִיט וְאֵין מַצִּיל and he shall carry it away, while there is none delivering, i. e. without any one's delivering it;  $\psi$  7<sup>3</sup>, &c.; Lv 26<sup>6</sup> &c., וְאֵין מַחְרִיר and without any one's making you afraid; cf. § 141 *e*. אֵין is used as the negation of an entire noun-clause, e.g. in Gn 39<sup>23</sup>, Nu 14<sup>42</sup> אֵין הַיְהוָה בְּקִרְבָּכֶם אֵין the Lord is not among you; Gn 37<sup>29</sup> אֵין-יֹסֵף בְּבוֹר Joseph was not in the pit.

*nn* (3) When the subject which is to be negated is a personal pronoun, it is joined as a suffix to אֵין, according to § 100 *o*, e.g. אֵין-אֲנִי I am not, was not, shall not be; אֵין-אָנְךָ, fem. אֵין-אָנְךָ, thou art not, &c.; אֵין-אֲנִי, fem. אֵין-אֲנִי he, she is not, &c.; also absolutely, Gn 42<sup>13</sup> he is (5<sup>24</sup> he was) no longer alive; אֵין-אֲנִי they are not, &c. When the accompanying predicate is a verb, it follows again (see *l*) in the form of a participle, since אֵין always introduces a noun-clause, e.g. Ex 5<sup>10</sup> אֵין-אֲנִי נָתַן I will not give; 8<sup>17</sup>, Dt 1<sup>32</sup>.

*nn* Rem. In Neh 4<sup>17</sup> אֵין אֲנִי אֵין-אֲנִי is due to its being co-ordinate with three other (substantival) subjects; these are again expressly summed up in אֵין-אֲנִי-אֲנִי.—In Hag 2<sup>17</sup> אֵין אֵין אֵין the pronominal complement of אֵין appears

<sup>1</sup> In Jer 51<sup>3</sup> the pointing אֵל- occurs twice instead of אֵל, and is thus, in the opinion of the Masorètes, equivalent to *against him that bendeth*; but undoubtedly we should read אֵל.

to follow with the sign of the accusative;<sup>1</sup> but most probably we should read with the LXX אֲתֶכֶם for אֲשֶׁכֶם.

(4) The fact that אֵין (like אֵין) always includes the idea of a verb (*is not, O was not, &c.*) led finally to such a predominance of the verbal element, that the original character of אֵין as a construct state (but cf. *i* above) was forgotten, and accordingly it is very frequently separated from its noun (substantive or participle); especially so by the insertion of shorter words (of the nature of enclitics), e.g. בּוֹ Is 1<sup>6</sup>, לוֹ Lv 11<sup>10,12</sup>, לָהּ Gn 11<sup>30</sup>, גַּם ψ 14<sup>3</sup>, נָשׁ Ju 18<sup>10</sup>, Ex 12<sup>30</sup>; but cf. also ψ 5<sup>10</sup>, 6<sup>6</sup>, 32<sup>2</sup>, and אֵין used absolutely in Ex 22<sup>2</sup>, 1 K 8<sup>9</sup>, Ru 4<sup>4</sup>.—Hence, finally, even the transposition of אֵין and its noun became possible, e.g. Gn 40<sup>8</sup> and 41<sup>15</sup> וַיִּתֵּן אֵין אֶתּוֹ and *an interpreter there is not of it*; Gn 47<sup>13</sup>, Ju 14<sup>6</sup>, 1 S 21<sup>2</sup>, Is 1<sup>30</sup>, Jer 30<sup>13</sup>, Hb 2<sup>19</sup>, Pr 5<sup>17</sup> (וַאֲיֵן = *neve sint*; cf. *k* above, on Jb 3<sup>9</sup>); 30<sup>27</sup>.—In Gn 19<sup>31</sup>, Ex 5<sup>16</sup> אֵין is placed between the subject and predicate.

Rem. 1. Like בַּל . . . לֹא or לֹא . . . בַּל (see *b* above) so also אֵין בַּל *p* expresses an *absolute* negation, e.g. Ec 1<sup>9</sup> אֵין בַּל-חֲדָשׁ there is no new thing, &c.; 2 S 12<sup>3</sup>, Dn 1<sup>4</sup> (cf. also אֵין מְאֹמָה there is nothing, 1 K 18<sup>43</sup>, Ec 5<sup>13</sup>); as also אֵין . . . בַּל- Hb 2<sup>19</sup>; cf. אֵין מְאֹמָה Ju 14<sup>6</sup>.

2. Undoubtedly akin to אֵין in origin is the negative syllable אֵ occurring *q* in the two compounds אֵי כְבוֹד אֵי (as a proper name, 1 S 4<sup>21</sup>; Baer אֵי-כְבוֹד) and אֵי נְקִי not innocent, Jb 22<sup>30</sup>; but the proper name אֵי תִמְרָה is doubtful, and the fem. אֵי תִבְלָה very doubtful. In Ethiopic this אֵ is the most common form of negation, prefixed even to verbs.

(*d*) אֵינִי not yet, when referring to past time is used, as a rule (§ 107 *c*), *q* with the imperfect, Gn 2<sup>5</sup> אֵינִי . . . בַּל none . . . yet; see *b* and *p* above; Gn 19<sup>4</sup>, 24<sup>45</sup>, Jos 2<sup>8</sup>, 1 S 3<sup>3</sup>; with the imperfect in the sense of a present, Ex 10<sup>7</sup> הֲיָדָעְתָּ אֵינִי הֲיָדָעְתָּ knowest thou not yet? Ex 9<sup>30</sup>; but cf. Gn 24<sup>15</sup>, and אֵינִי with the perfect in ψ 90<sup>2</sup> (but see § 107 *c*), Pr 8<sup>25</sup>.

(*e*) אֵין (prop. a substantive, *cessation*) no longer, including the verbal idea *S* of existing, cf. Dt 32<sup>36</sup>, Is 45<sup>6,14</sup>, 46<sup>9</sup>; used absolutely, Am 6<sup>10</sup> in the question אֵין עוֹד אֵישׁ is there none left? &c., 2 S 9<sup>3</sup>; frequently also in the sense of *non nisi*; with אֵין paragogic (§ 90 *m*) אֵין אֵין Is 47<sup>8,10</sup>, Zp 2<sup>15</sup> אֵין אֵין עוֹד I am, and there is none else.

(*f*) בַּל, <sup>2</sup> in poetic and prophetic style, and with a certain emphasis, = לֹא, *t* is used with the imperfect, e.g. Is 26<sup>14</sup>, 33<sup>20,23</sup> (immediately afterwards with a perfect); Ho 7<sup>2</sup>, ψ 49<sup>13</sup>, Pr 10<sup>30</sup> (but Is 14<sup>21</sup> before the jussive, = אַל-); before an adjective, Pr 24<sup>23</sup>; before a preposition, ψ 16<sup>2</sup>, Pr 23<sup>7</sup>.

(*g*) בְּלִי with a perfect, Gn 31<sup>20</sup>, Is 14<sup>6</sup>; with an imperfect, Jb 41<sup>18</sup>; to negative a participle, Ho 7<sup>8</sup>, ψ 19<sup>4</sup>; to negative an adjective, 2 S 1<sup>21</sup>.

(*h*) בְּלִי to negative an adjective, 1 S 20<sup>26</sup>; on בְּלִי Ez 13<sup>3</sup>, see *x*; on

<sup>1</sup> According to De Lagarde, *Novae psalterii graeci editionis specimen*, p. 26, אֵין is also an accusative after אֵין.

<sup>2</sup> Evidently from בָּלָה to waste away, from which stem also בְּלִי and בְּלָתָה (whence בְּלִי § 90 *m*), originally substantives, are formed.

לְבַלְתִּי as the regular negative with the infinitive construct, see § 114 s; on לְבַלְתִּי as a conjunction, see *x* below.

On אֵין as a negative particle in oaths (*verily not*), see § 149 c above.

u Rem. on לֹא, אֵין, בְּלִי. To the category of negative sentences belongs also the expression of negative attributes by means of לֹא, בְּלִי *not* (both so used almost exclusively in poetic language) or אֵין with a following substantive, mostly in the simplest form of circumstantial clause; e. g. 2 S 23<sup>4</sup> לֹא בָקֵר לֹא עֲבוֹת *a morning when there are not clouds, i. e. a cloudless morning*; cf. Jb 12<sup>24</sup>, 26<sup>2b</sup>, 38<sup>26</sup> (לֹא-אִישׁ) *where no man is, i. e. uninhabited*; 1 Ch 23<sup>30.32</sup> לֹא בְנִים *childless*; so also בְּלִי e. g. Jb 24<sup>10</sup> and אֵין e. g. ψ 88<sup>5</sup> *I am as a man אֵין-אֵיִל there is not help, i. e. like a helpless man*; Is 9<sup>6</sup> אֵין-קֵץ *endless*; 47<sup>1</sup>, Ho 7<sup>11</sup>; אֵין-מִסְפָּר *countless*, Ct 6<sup>8</sup>, &c., but usually (ψ 104<sup>25</sup>, &c.) like a proper circumstantial clause (cf. § 141 e) connected by *Wāw*, וְאֵין-מִסְפָּר.—Less frequently such periphrases take the form of relative clauses (cf. § 155 e), e. g. Jb 30<sup>13</sup> לֹא עוֹזֵר לָמוֹ *they for whom there is no helper, i. e. the helpless* (but probably עוֹזֵר is only an intrusion from 29<sup>12</sup>, and we should read עֲצָר *without any one's restraining them*; in 29<sup>12</sup> translate *the fatherless and him that had none to help him*; in ψ 72<sup>12</sup> וְאֵין-עֹזֵר is used in the same sense); Hb 1<sup>14</sup>; with אֵין Is 45<sup>9</sup> *thy work is that of a man who hath no hands*; Zc 9<sup>11</sup> *out of the waterless pit*.<sup>1</sup>

U How far such compounds finally came to be regarded by the language simply as negative adjectives, may be seen partly from the fact that they (as also relative clauses analogous to the above) are frequently co-ordinated with real adjectives, Jo 1<sup>6</sup>, ψ 72<sup>12</sup>, Jb 29<sup>12</sup>; cf. also Is 59<sup>10</sup>, where בְּאֵין-עֵינַיִם is parallel with בְּעוֹרֵרִים; partly from their being introduced by the sign of the dative לְ, e. g. Is 40<sup>29</sup> (= *and to the powerless*); Jb 26<sup>2a.3</sup>, Neh 8<sup>10</sup>.

70 (i) לֵפָנַי *lest, that not*, at the beginning of a clause expressing a fear or precaution, hence especially after such ideas as *fearing*, Gn 32<sup>12</sup>, &c. (cf. *δείδω μή, vereor ne*), *taking heed*, frequently after הִשָּׁמְרוּ, הִשָּׁמְרוּ Gn 24<sup>6</sup>, 31<sup>24</sup>, &c., *taking care*, 2 K 10<sup>23</sup>, &c. Not infrequently the idea on which לֵפָנַי depends, is only virtually contained in the main clause, e. g. Gn 19<sup>19</sup> *I cannot escape to the mountain* (because I am afraid), לֵפָנַי תִּהְיֶה בְּקִנְיֵי הָרָעָה *lest some evil overtake me*; Gn 26<sup>9</sup>, 38<sup>11</sup>; also in Gn 44<sup>34</sup> from the rhetorical question *how shall I . . . ?* we must understand *I cannot*, governing לֵפָנַי. This is especially the case after an appeal to do or not to do an action by which something may be prevented (in which case לֵפָנַי is simply equivalent to the final *ne*); cf. e. g. Gn 11<sup>4</sup>, 19<sup>15</sup>, Nu 20<sup>18</sup> (where לֵפָנַי *lest* is separated from the verb by a strongly emphasized substantive); Ju 15<sup>12</sup> after *swear unto me*; Pr 24<sup>18</sup>.—In Gn 32<sup>22</sup> *and now, lest he put forth his hand*, &c., לֵפָנַי is to be regarded as virtually dependent on a cohortative, which immediately afterwards (verse 23) is changed into an historic tense; cf. also Gn 26<sup>7</sup>, 31<sup>31</sup>, 42<sup>4</sup> Ex 13<sup>17</sup>, 1 S 13<sup>19</sup>, 27<sup>11</sup>, ψ 38<sup>17</sup>, in every case after כִּי אָמַרְתִּי, כִּי אָמַר, &c. = *I thought, &c., I must beware lest, &c.*

Rem. According to § 107 q, לֵפָנַי is naturally followed by the imperfect; for the exceptions, 2 S 20<sup>6</sup>, 2 K 2<sup>16</sup>, see § 107 q, note 3; cf. moreover, 2 K 10<sup>23</sup> לֵפָנַי שֵׁפֶה רֹאֵה לֵפָנַי-שֵׁפֶה *look lest there be here, &c.*

<sup>1</sup> In Pr 9<sup>13</sup> (perhaps also 14<sup>7</sup>; but see Delitzsch on the passage) a verbal-clause is used co-ordinately in this way as a periphrasis for an adjective.

(k) לְבַלְתִּי that . . . not, with the imperfect, Ex 20<sup>20</sup>, 2 S 14<sup>14</sup> (in Jer 23<sup>14</sup> read the infinitive שָׁבוּ for יָשָׁבוּ, in 27<sup>8</sup> יָבֹאוּ for בָּאוּ). In Ez 13<sup>3</sup> בְּלִתִּי רָאוּ is a relative clause governed by לְ = according to things which they have not seen.

2. Two negatives in the same sentence do not neutralize each other *y* (as in *nonnulli, non nemo*), but make the negation the more emphatic (like οὐκ οὐδέεις, οὐκ οὐδαμῶς, *nulli—non, nemo non*); e. g. Zp 2<sup>2</sup> (if the text is correct) לֹא-יָבֹאוּ בְּתָרָם before there shall (not) come.<sup>1</sup> This especially applies to the compounds formed by the union of מִן or בְּלִי with מִן without (§ 119 *y*), e. g. Is 5<sup>9</sup> (6<sup>11</sup>) מִמֵּי יִשָּׁב (for which in Jer 2<sup>15</sup> מִבְּלֵי יִשָּׁב), prop. without no inhabitant, i. e. so that no inhabitant is left there. On the other hand, in Is 50<sup>2</sup> מִיָּמִים מִיָּמִין the מִן is causative, because there is no water; as also in Ex 14<sup>11</sup> הֲמִבְּלֵי אֵיזֶר is it because there were no . . . ? 2 K 1<sup>3.6.16</sup>. In Ec 3<sup>11</sup> לֹא מִבְּלֵי אִשָּׁר לא except that (yet so that man cannot, &c.).

3. The negative sometimes extends its influence from the first to *z* a second negative sentence parallel with it (which may or may not have *Wāw*); e. g. 1 S 2<sup>3</sup> talk not so much arrogancy; let (not) boasting come out of your mouth; Ex 28<sup>43</sup>, Lv 19<sup>12</sup>, 22<sup>9.15</sup> f., Nu 16<sup>14</sup>, 23<sup>19</sup>, Dt 7<sup>25</sup>, Is 23<sup>4</sup>, 28<sup>27</sup>, 38<sup>18</sup>, 47<sup>14</sup>, Ez 16<sup>47</sup>, ψ 9<sup>19</sup>, 13<sup>5</sup>, 35<sup>19</sup>, 38<sup>2</sup>, 44<sup>19</sup>, 75<sup>6</sup>, Jb 28<sup>17</sup> (so לָמָּה לֹא why . . . not? in Jb 3<sup>11</sup> also affects the parallel clause).

### § 153. Restrictive and Intensive Clauses.

The particles אֲשֶׁר, כִּי *only*, serve to introduce restrictive clauses, and אֲשֶׁר, אֲשֶׁר *also, besides, even*, intensive clauses. It is to be observed that the force of these particles does not necessarily affect the word which immediately follows (as is the case with אֲשֶׁר Gn 7<sup>23</sup>, 34<sup>15</sup>; כִּי Gn 6<sup>3</sup>, Am 3<sup>2</sup>; even אֲשֶׁר הֲרִק אֲשֶׁר hath he indeed only? Nu 12<sup>2</sup>; אֲשֶׁר Gn 27<sup>34</sup>, Jb 7<sup>11</sup>; אֲשֶׁר Dt 15<sup>17</sup>), but very frequently extends to the whole of the following sentence. Thus with אֲשֶׁר, e. g. Nu 14<sup>9</sup>, 1 K 17<sup>13</sup>, Pr 17<sup>11</sup>, Jb 13<sup>15</sup>, 14<sup>22</sup>, 16<sup>7</sup>, 23<sup>6</sup>; כִּי Gn 20<sup>11</sup>, 24<sup>8</sup>, ψ 32<sup>6</sup>, Pr 13<sup>10</sup>; אֲשֶׁר Gn 27<sup>33</sup>, 32<sup>21</sup> (אֲשֶׁר הֲרִיחַ), 44<sup>10</sup>; 1 S 22<sup>7</sup>, 28<sup>20</sup>, Zc 9<sup>11</sup>, Pr 17<sup>26</sup>, 20<sup>11</sup>; אֲשֶׁר Jb 14<sup>3</sup>, 15<sup>4</sup>.—In Mal 1<sup>10</sup> and Jb 2<sup>10</sup> אֲשֶׁר is placed before two co-ordinate sentences, although, strictly speaking, it applies only to the second. Cf. the analogous examples in § 150 *m*.

<sup>1</sup> In 1 K 10<sup>21</sup> אֵינִי-בֹקֵר goes with what precedes and must be emended, with the LXX and Lucian, to כִּי הֲבֹקֵר.

§ 154. Sentences connected by *Wāw*.

- a *Wāw copulativum*<sup>1</sup> (!) serves to connect two or more sentences, or single words (on its various vocalization, cf. § 104 d-g). Its use, however, is by no means restricted merely to joining sentences which

<sup>1</sup> For further particulars of the use of *wāw copulativum*, see Gesenius' *Thesaurus*, i. 393 ff. On its use in the co-ordination of similar tenses and moods (e.g. five imperfects consecutive in Gn 25<sup>34</sup>, five perfects with וַיְהִי) as well as of dissimilar tenses and moods, the remarks made in the treatment of the tenses will suffice. With regard to the connexion of single nouns by וַיְ (which strictly speaking is always really a contraction of so many clauses into a single sentence) the following observations may be made:—

(a) Contrary to English usage, which in lengthy enumerations uses the *and* to connect only the last member of the series, in Hebrew *polysyndeton* is customary, as in Gn 12<sup>16</sup> *wāw copulativum* six times, 24<sup>35</sup> seven times, 15<sup>19ff.</sup> nine times, and in Jos 7<sup>24</sup> ten times. Sometimes, however, only the last two words are joined (so in a series of three members, Gn 5<sup>32</sup>, 10<sup>1</sup>, 11<sup>26</sup>, 13<sup>2</sup>, 14<sup>1</sup>, 30<sup>39</sup>, &c.; the last three out of a series of four, Jer 2<sup>26</sup>); less frequently only the first two, ψ 45<sup>9</sup>; cf. § 132 d. The formula הַמּוֹל שְׁלִשְׁמֵימָן yesterday (and) the day before yesterday, Ex 5<sup>8</sup>, &c., is always without the copula. On the other hand, the *constructio asyndetos* in a series of verbs is used as a rhetorical expedient to produce a hurried and so an impassioned description; e.g. Ju 5<sup>27</sup> at her feet he bowed, he fell, he lay; Ex 15<sup>9</sup>, Dt 32<sup>15</sup>, 1 S 15<sup>6</sup>, Jer 4<sup>7</sup>, Am 5<sup>21</sup>, ψ 10<sup>10</sup>, 14<sup>1</sup>, 45<sup>5</sup>, Jb 20<sup>19</sup>, 28<sup>4</sup>, 29<sup>8</sup>, Ct 2<sup>11</sup>, 5<sup>6</sup>, &c.

(b) Frequently *wāw copulativum* is also explanatory (like *isque, et—quidem*, and the German *und zwar*, English *to wit*), and is then called *wāw explicativum*, e.g. Gn 4<sup>4</sup> and (i.e. namely) of the fat thereof (unless it is simply copulative); Ex 24<sup>12</sup>, 25<sup>12</sup> (to wit two); 27<sup>14</sup>, 28<sup>23</sup>, Ju 17<sup>8</sup> (in וַיִּמְסַכְרָה; here as often elsewhere, to introduce an explanatory gloss, cf. Is 17<sup>8</sup>, Ez 3<sup>15</sup>, and especially P. Haupt, *SBOT*. Isaiah, p. 90, l. 21 ff.), 1 S 17<sup>34</sup> and that too with the bear; 2 S 13<sup>20</sup>, Is 57<sup>11</sup>, Jer 17<sup>10</sup>, Am 3<sup>11</sup>, 4<sup>10</sup>, Ze 9<sup>9</sup>, Pr 3<sup>12</sup>, Neh 8<sup>13</sup>, 2 Ch 23<sup>10</sup> (but in 1 S 28<sup>3</sup> the ו before בְּעִירָו is to be omitted with the LXX); cf. also such combinations as כִּן—וְעַד from . . . and even to . . . , Gn 13<sup>3</sup>, 14<sup>23</sup>, 19<sup>4,11</sup>, &c.—In 1 S 6<sup>11</sup> (see Driver on the passage), 2 S 1<sup>23</sup>, &c., ו is equivalent to *yea, and*; in Is 32<sup>7</sup> *even*.

וַיְ is used to express emphasis (=and especially), e.g. in Gn 3<sup>16</sup> וְהָרְגֵנִי; Is 2<sup>1</sup>, ψ 18<sup>1</sup>, perhaps also in Jb 10<sup>17</sup> *yea, a whole host*; 2 Ch 16<sup>14</sup>.—An undoubted example of what is called *wāw concomitantiae* occurs in Jb 41<sup>12</sup> a seething pot וְאֵנְכֵן with burning rushes; cf. Ex 10<sup>10</sup> (with your little ones), 12<sup>8</sup>, Lv 1<sup>12</sup>, Is 42<sup>5</sup>. In Arabic this *wāw concom.* is followed by the accusative.

וַיְ—וַיְ is used in the sense of *both—and* in ψ 76<sup>7</sup>, Dn 1<sup>3</sup>, 8<sup>13</sup>. On וַיְ—וַיְ as meaning *sive—sive*, cf. § 162 b.

(c) See the Lexicon on adverbs used in a copulative sense, such as אֲדַם also, moreover, summing up a number, e.g. אֲדַם—אֲדַם both together, Gn 27<sup>45</sup>, Pr 17<sup>15</sup>; אֲדַם—אֲדַם all together; as an intensive and, e.g. Gn 30<sup>8</sup>, 37<sup>7</sup>, 1 S 30<sup>8</sup>; cf. also such examples as 1 S 24<sup>12</sup> *see, yea see!* אֲדַם—אֲדַם or אֲדַם—אֲדַם Gn 24<sup>44</sup> = *both—and*; אֲדַם occurs three times in Gn 24<sup>25</sup> and 32<sup>20</sup>; also אֲדַם, which is generally still more intensive, in the sense of *also, in addition to this, even*, and belongs rather to poetry, and to the later language; frequently also equivalent to a mere *and*, but sometimes adversative *but now*, ψ 44<sup>10</sup>, &c.; and אֲדַם—אֲדַם (also three times), equivalent to *both—and*; cf. אֲדַם וְאֲדַם and even, Lv 26<sup>44</sup>; אֲדַם—אֲדַם prop. *add to this also that*, equivalent to *not to mention*, according to the context either *quanto magis* or *quanto minus*.

are actually co-ordinate. Frequently the language employs merely the simple connexion by *Wāw*, even to introduce an antithesis (Gn 17<sup>21</sup>, 19<sup>19</sup>, Lv 2<sup>12</sup>, Jb 6<sup>25</sup>, and very frequently in circumstantial noun-clauses), or when one of the two clauses is not co-ordinated, but subordinated to the other. On the use of ׀ to introduce circumstantial clauses, cf. especially § 141 e and § 142 d; introducing causal clauses, § 158 a; comparative clauses, § 161 a; final clauses, § 165 a; consecutive clauses, § 166 a. On *wāw apodosi*s, cf. § 143 d, and the sections there cited; on the use of *Wāw* in numerical sayings, cf. § 134 s.

Rem. Sometimes *wāw copulativum* joins a sentence apparently to what immediately precedes, but in reality to a sentence which is suppressed and which must, therefore, be supplied from the context. So especially ׀ with imperatives to express inferences, e.g. 1 K 2<sup>22</sup> אֲשַׁלְּחֶיךָ אֲשֶׁר אֲשַׁלְּחֶיךָ אֲשֶׁר אֲשַׁלְּחֶיךָ *ask now rather*; Ez 18<sup>2</sup> *for I have no pleasure in the death of him that dieth . . . , וְהִשִּׁיבוּ wherefore turn yourselves*. Also at the beginning of a speech in loose connexion with an act or speech of another person, e.g. Ex 2<sup>20</sup>, 2 S 18<sup>11</sup>, 24<sup>3</sup>, 2 K 4<sup>14, 41</sup>, 7<sup>13</sup>, 2 Ch 25<sup>9</sup>; cf. also Jos 7<sup>7</sup> (וְלֵךְ), ψ 2<sup>10</sup>, 4<sup>4</sup>, Is 8<sup>7</sup>. Sometimes the suppression of the protasis is due to passionate excitement or haste, which does not allow time for full expression; this is especially illustrated by Nu 12<sup>14</sup>, 20<sup>3</sup> (וְלֵךְ), 1 S 10<sup>12</sup>, 15<sup>14</sup>, 22<sup>14</sup>, 28<sup>16</sup>, 2 S 18<sup>12</sup>, 24<sup>3</sup>, 1 K 2<sup>22</sup> (וְלֵךְ), 2 K 1<sup>10</sup>, 7<sup>19</sup> (cf. verse 2); Is 3<sup>14</sup>, Zc 2<sup>10</sup>, ψ 2<sup>6</sup> (at the same time a circumstantial clause *whereas I = and yet I have*, &c.); cf. also a new clause beginning with the formula of wishing וְיִמְצֵא Nu 11<sup>29</sup>, Ju 9<sup>29</sup>; on the disconnected use of אֲשֶׁר and וְיִמְצֵא cf. § 159 dd.

### § 155. Relative Clauses.

See V. Baumann, *Hebräische Relativsätze*, Leipzig, 1894 (cf. the heading of § 138 above); G. Bergsträsser, 'Das hebr. Präfix וְ', *ZATW.* 1909, p. 40 ff.<sup>1</sup>

1. By § 138 a, e, relative clauses are divided into two classes: those *a* which are used for the nearer definition of a noun (substantive or pronoun), and those which are not dependent on a noun. The former may be called *incomplete*, the latter *complete* relative clauses.

Complete relative clauses, as a rule (see the exceptions under *n*), *b* are introduced by the originally demonstrative pronoun וְשֵׁנִי; see further in § 138 e. Similarly, incomplete relative clauses may also be introduced by וְשֵׁנִי, or by some other demonstrative pronoun; see further in § 138 a and *g-k*. Very frequently, however, especially

<sup>1</sup> In this exhaustive article the author shows that between וְ (on the pronunciation see § 36) and וְשֵׁנִי there is syntactically no primary difference, but only a secondary distinction which arose in the course of the development of the language, namely that וְשֵׁנִי is preferred in combinations which are customary in the old literary language, and וְ in those which are derived from the popular language or from Aramaic.

in poetic style, the attributive relation is expressed by simple co-ordination.<sup>1</sup>

c The governing substantive or pronoun is frequently (in certain cases *always*) resumed by a pronominal suffix or an adverb. The resumption may, however, be omitted, just as in relative clauses introduced by  $\text{לְאִשְׁרָיִךְ}$ , &c.; see § 138 f.

d In Arabic a distinction is made between relative clauses used for the nearer definition of a *determinate* substantive (*šila*), and those which are attached to an *indeterminate* substantive (*šifa*). The former must be introduced by the demonstrative pronoun *alladī*, the latter are always simply co-ordinated. The same distinction was no doubt originally observed in Hebrew, since simply co-ordinated relative clauses are most commonly found after *indeterminate* substantives (see the examples below), and in cases like Dt 28<sup>49</sup> ( $\text{גּוֹי אֲשֶׁר לֹא-תִשְׁמַע לְשׁוֹנֹךְ}$ ) a nation whose tongue thou shalt not understand; cf. Is 66<sup>13</sup>, and especially I S 3<sup>11</sup>, the addition of  $\text{אֲשֶׁר}$  is explained from the special stress laid on the indeterminate substantive,<sup>2</sup> a nation of such a kind, thou understandest not their tongue. On the other hand, in poetic style at least,  $\text{אֲשֶׁר}$  is somewhat frequently omitted even after a determinate noun, but only rarely in prose (except by the Chronicler; cf. I Ch 9<sup>22</sup>, 12<sup>23</sup>, 29<sup>1</sup> (read prob.  $\text{אֲשֶׁר}$  for  $\text{אֹהֶר}$ ), 2 Ch 15<sup>11</sup>; after  $\text{כְּגַלִּי}$  I Ch 29<sup>3</sup>, 2 Ch 18<sup>23</sup>, 30<sup>17</sup>, 31<sup>19</sup>, Ezr 1<sup>6</sup>, but also Gn 39<sup>4</sup>; for further instances, see Driver, *Introd.*<sup>8</sup>, p. 537, no. 30); so Ex 18<sup>20</sup>, Ju 8<sup>1</sup>, 20<sup>15</sup>, I K 13<sup>12</sup> (= which way), so 2 K 3<sup>8</sup>, 2 Ch 18<sup>23</sup>; Neh 13<sup>23</sup>; after a pronominal subject, I S 6<sup>9</sup>. In Jer 52<sup>12</sup> for  $\text{עַמְּךָ}$  read  $\text{עַמְּךָ}$  with the LXX.

e 2. If the nearer definition of a substantive or pronoun is effected by simple co-ordination of the relative clause, it may take the form—

(a) Of a noun-clause, e. g. 2 S 20<sup>21</sup> a man of the hill country of Ephraim  $\text{שֵׁבַע שְׂמוֹ$  whose name was Sheba; Zc 6<sup>12</sup>, Jb 1<sup>1</sup>, 3<sup>15</sup> with princes  $\text{לְהֵם זָהָב}$  that had gold;  $\psi$  11<sup>4</sup>, Pr 22<sup>11</sup>; when referring to a noun-suffix, e. g.  $\psi$  49<sup>14</sup>  $\text{לְמוֹ לָמוֹ}$  this is the way of them who have (self-)confidence.—On periphrases of this kind to express negative attributes, as in Jb 38<sup>26</sup>  $\text{עַל-אֲרָצֵי לֹא-אִישׁ}$  on a land where no man is, see § 152 u, and cf. for this very short form of the relative clause, Gn 15<sup>13</sup>  $\text{לֹא לָהֶם בְּאֲרָצֵי}$  in a land that belongs not to them; Dt 32<sup>17</sup> ( $\text{לְיִשְׂרָאֵל לֹא אֱלֹהִים}$ ); Hb 1<sup>6</sup>, Pr 26<sup>17</sup> ( $\text{לֹא-לֵוִי}$ ).

f (b) Of a verbal clause.

Here we must distinguish the cases in which the retrospective pronoun—

(1) Is the subject of the relative clause, and is contained in the

<sup>1</sup> The old view that all these cases arise from the omission of  $\text{אֲשֶׁר}$  is incorrect. These co-ordinated attributive clauses are rather a mere subdivision of the various kinds of circumstantial clauses (see § 156) which may be attached to a *nomen regens*. Cf. in English *this is the letter (which) he wrote to me*.

<sup>2</sup> So Baumann, op. cit., p. 14 f., following Böttcher, *Lehrbuch*, ii. 80.

verb; so after a determinate substantive,  $\psi$  34<sup>9</sup> *happy is the man*  $\text{יְחַסְדֵּיבוֹ}$  *that trusteth in him*; Jb 3<sup>3b</sup>  $\text{הַלַּיְלָה אָמַר}$  *the night which said*; after  $\text{כִּלְ$   $\psi$  71<sup>13</sup>; referring to a vocative, which is determinate in itself even without the article, Is 54<sup>1</sup>, or to a noun-suffix (see under *e*),  $\psi$  16<sup>4</sup>; after an indeterminate substantive, e.g. Jb 31<sup>12</sup> *it is a fire* (that) *devoureth unto Abaddon*; Dt 32<sup>17b</sup>, 1 S 6<sup>9</sup>, Is 55<sup>13</sup>, 56<sup>2</sup>,  $\psi$  68<sup>31</sup>, 78<sup>6</sup>, Pr 30<sup>17</sup>, La 1<sup>10</sup>, 2 Ch 28<sup>9</sup>; referring to the suffix in  $\text{הִנְנִי}$  Is 28<sup>16</sup>, prop. *behold me, who have laid, &c.*, but perhaps the participle  $\text{יֹסֵר}$  is to be read; 29<sup>14</sup>, 38<sup>5</sup> (but probably again the participle  $\text{יֹסֵף}$  should be read instead of the imperfect); Ez 25<sup>7</sup>. The relative clause is used in this way especially to supply the place of an adjective, e.g. Gn 49<sup>27</sup>  $\text{וְיִאָּבֵד}$  *a wolf that ravineth, i. e. a ravining wolf*; Is 51<sup>12</sup>; to express a negative quality, e.g. Is 40<sup>20</sup>, Ho 4<sup>14</sup>  $\text{עַם לֹא־יָבִין}$  *an undiscerning people*.

Rem. Very frequently such relative sentences are attached to substantives <sup>g</sup> which have the particle of comparison  $\text{כִּי}$ , e.g. Jb 7<sup>2</sup>  $\text{כְּעֶבֶר יִשְׁאַף־צֶל}$  *as a servant that earnestly desireth the shadow, &c.*; Dt 32<sup>11</sup>, Is 62<sup>1</sup>, Jer 23<sup>29</sup>, Ho 6<sup>3</sup>,  $\psi$  42<sup>2</sup>, 83<sup>15</sup>, Jb 9<sup>26</sup>, 11<sup>16</sup>; so also after  $\text{כִּמּוֹ}$   $\psi$  58<sup>5</sup>; after a determinate substantive, e.g. Is 53<sup>7</sup> (but the better reading is  $\text{כְּעֵשָׂה}$  without the article), 61<sup>10f.</sup>, Hb 2<sup>14</sup>,  $\psi$  49<sup>13,21</sup>, 125<sup>1</sup>; see also the examples under *h*. Sometimes it seems simpler in such cases, to take the verb directly as predicate to the preceding substantive, and to explain  $\text{כִּי}$  (for  $\text{כְּאַשְׁרֵךְ}$ ; see *Comparative Clauses*, § 161 b) as a conjunction—a view which even Hupfeld was ready to accept, at least as regards  $\psi$  90<sup>5</sup>, 125<sup>1</sup>, Is 53<sup>7</sup>, 61<sup>11</sup>, but it can hardly be right.

(2) The cases in which the retrospective pronoun represents an <sup>h</sup> accusative of the object, or would do so if not suppressed, as it usually is in such cases in relative clauses with  $\text{אֲשֶׁר}$ , cf. § 138 b. Examples with the retrospective pronoun are, Dt 32<sup>17</sup>  $\text{לֹא יָדְעוּם אֱלֹהִים}$  *gods whom they knew not* (see also the end of the verse); after a substantive with  $\text{כִּי}$  (see above, *g*), Jer 23<sup>9</sup>, Jb 13<sup>28</sup>. Without a retrospective pronoun, after a determinate substantive, Ju 8<sup>1</sup>,  $\psi$  33<sup>12</sup> (preceded by a relative clause with  $\text{אֲשֶׁר}$ ); Jb 28<sup>1</sup>. Other examples of this kind, though the article is omitted according to poetic usage, are Is 15<sup>7</sup>  $\text{יִתְּרָה עֵשָׂה}$ , for which Jer 48<sup>36</sup>  $\text{יִתְּרַת עֵשָׂה}$  with the substantive in the construct state governing the relative clause, see § 130 d),  $\psi$  7<sup>16</sup>, 51<sup>10</sup>, La 1<sup>21</sup>.—Without the retrospective pronoun, after an indeterminate substantive, e.g. Is 6<sup>6</sup>  $\text{רָצְפָה בְּמִלְקָתָיִם לָקַח מֵעַל הַמִּזְבֵּחַ}$  *a live coal which he had taken with the tongs from off the altar*; Ex 15<sup>17</sup>, Is 42<sup>16</sup> (48<sup>17</sup>,  $\psi$  25<sup>12</sup>, all after  $\text{בְּיַד־רָרָךְ}$ ; but  $\psi$  32<sup>8</sup>  $\text{בְּיַד־רָרָדְיוֹ הִלְכָה}$ ); Is 64<sup>2</sup>; Ec 10<sup>5</sup> (in 6<sup>1</sup> the same clause with  $\text{אֲשֶׁר}$ ); moreover, in Jer 14<sup>18</sup> read with the LXX  $\text{אֶל־אֶרֶץ לֹא יָדְעוּ}$  *into a land (that) they know not*.

(3) The cases in which the retrospective pronoun is dependent on <sup>i</sup> a preposition, or its place is taken by the adverb  $\text{שָׁם}$ , as in Jer 2<sup>9</sup> end.

Thus after a determinate substantive,  $\psi$  18<sup>3</sup> צִרְיִי אֶחָה־בוּ *my rock in which I take refuge*; Ex 18<sup>20</sup>, Is 42<sup>1</sup>; in Jb 3<sup>3a</sup> also, the omission of the article with יוֹם is only a poetic licence. After an indeterminate substantive, Jer 2<sup>6</sup>, last clause but one;  $\psi$  32<sup>2</sup>.

*k* In this case also the retrospective word is not infrequently suppressed, giving rise to extremely short, bold expressions, such as Is 51<sup>1</sup> look unto the rock הַצִּבְתָּם (whence) *ye were hewn, and to the hole of the pit הַבְּרִיתָם* (whence) *ye were digged*; Jb 21<sup>27</sup> the devices (where-with) *ye act violently against me*.—A retrospective adverb is suppressed in Jb 38<sup>19</sup> *where is the way* (to the place where) *the light dwelleth?* cf. 38<sup>24</sup>.

*l* Rem. 1. The omission of the retrospective word occurs most frequently in relative clauses which are governed by the construct state of a preceding substantive (especially an expression of time) and hence are virtually in the genitive. In addition to the instances already given in § 130 *d*, cf. the following: after בְּיוֹם Lv 7<sup>35</sup>,  $\psi$  56<sup>10</sup>; after מִיּוֹם Jer 36<sup>2</sup>; after simple יוֹם  $\psi$  56<sup>4</sup> (אִיּוֹם אֵינִי on the day when I am afraid); after בְּעֵת הַחֵל הָעוֹלָה 2 Ch 29<sup>27</sup> (at the time when the burnt offering began); 20<sup>22</sup>, 24<sup>11</sup>, Jb 6<sup>17</sup>; after לְעֵת Dt 32<sup>35</sup>; after עַרְעָת Mi 5<sup>2</sup>; after מְעַת  $\psi$  4<sup>8</sup> *thou hast put gladness in my heart more than* (their gladness) *at the time* (when) *their corn and their wine are increased*.

*m* 2. The agreement (§ 138 *d*) of the retrospective pronoun with a pronominal regens in the 1st or 2nd person also takes place in a simple co-ordinated relative clause in 1 S 26<sup>14</sup> *who art thou* (that) *criest?* Cf., however, Is 63<sup>19</sup> *we are become as they over whom* (בָּם not בָּנִי) *thou no longer bearest rule*.

*n* 3. Occasionally—chiefly in poetic or otherwise elevated style—even independent relative clauses are simply co-ordinated with a regens, whereas we should expect them always to be preceded by a demonstrative pronoun, on the analogy of the examples in § 138 *e*. The suppressed pronoun would stand—

(a) As subject, Is 41<sup>24</sup> *an abomination* (is he) *that chooseth you* (but read perhaps לְבָחֵר); Jb 30<sup>13</sup>, cf. § 152 *u*.

(b) As object, Is 41<sup>2</sup>, with a retrospective pronoun; Mal 2<sup>16</sup> וְיִכְסֶה וְיִכְסֶה *and him that covereth* (or read וְיִכְסֶה?); Jb 29<sup>12</sup> *I delivered . . . the fatherless also, and him that had none to help him*.

(c) In the genitive governed by a substantive (cf. § 130 *d*), Ex 4<sup>13</sup> הַבְּרִית־שֶׁלָּח שְׁלַח־נָא בְּיַד־הַיְהוָה *send, I pray thee, by the hand of him whom thou wilt send*, i.e. by the hand of some one else;  $\psi$  65<sup>3</sup> and Pr 8<sup>32</sup>, verbal-clauses after אֲשֶׁר־יֵשׁ *O the happiness of the man, &c.*;  $\psi$  81<sup>6</sup>, 141<sup>9</sup>, Jb 29<sup>16</sup>, La 1<sup>14</sup>; after פֶּל־ Gn 39<sup>4</sup>, but we must certainly read here, with the Samaritan and LXX, בְּל־אֲשֶׁר יֵשׁ־לִי as in verses 5 and 8; Ex 9<sup>4</sup>; verbal-clauses after פֶּל־ 1 Ch 29<sup>3</sup>, 2 Ch 30<sup>19</sup>, 31<sup>19</sup>, Ezr 1<sup>5</sup>.

(d) Governed by a preposition; so verbal-clauses after אֶת־ Jer 2<sup>8</sup>; after אֶל־ (= to the place where), 1 Ch 15<sup>12</sup>, but Ex 23<sup>20</sup> before the same

verb אֲשֶׁר הִפְקִים אֲשֶׁר; after כִּי Jer 2<sup>11</sup>, 2 Ch 1<sup>4</sup> (בְּהַרְבֵּי = 'בְּהַרְבֵּי = to the place where); after לְ Is 65<sup>1</sup> לְלוֹא שְׁאַלְוּ לְלֹא by them that asked not for me . . . לְלוֹא בְקִשְׁנִי them that sought me not; Ez 13<sup>3</sup> that which they have not seen, but the text is hardly correct; after עַל ψ 119<sup>136</sup>, cf. § 158 b; after עַם 2 Ch 16<sup>9</sup>.—A noun-clause follows לְ in Neh 8<sup>10</sup>. An analogous instance in Aramaic is Ezr 5<sup>14</sup> to one whose name was Sheshbazzar [so in the papyri, see the Lexicon, p. 1116<sup>a</sup>].

### § 156. Circumstantial Clauses.

1. The statement of the particular circumstances under which *a* a subject appears as performing some action, or under which an action (or an occurrence) is accomplished, is made especially (apart from relative clauses, see § 155) by means of noun-clauses connected by *Wāw* with a following subject (see further on this kind of *circumstantial clause* in § 141 *e*), and by verbal-clauses (see § 142 *d*). Very frequently, however, such statements of the particular circumstances are subordinated to the main clause by being simply attached, without *Wāw*, either as noun-clauses, sometimes extremely short (see *c*), or as verbal-clauses (see *d-g*).

Rem. Among relative clauses of this kind the commonest are the various *b* noun-clauses, which are most closely subordinated to a preceding substantive without אֲשֶׁר, e. g. Gn 16<sup>12</sup>; also statements of weight, Gn 24<sup>22</sup>; of name, Jb 1<sup>1</sup> (also introduced by וַשְׁמוֹ Gn 24<sup>29</sup>, 1 S 1<sup>1</sup>, &c., or וַשְׁמָה Gn 16<sup>1</sup>, 22<sup>24</sup>, &c.); of a condition of body, Ju 1<sup>7</sup>, and others.—Noun-clauses which begin with *wāw* and the *predicate* have a somewhat more independent character than those introduced by *wāw* and the *subject*<sup>1</sup> (Gn 19<sup>1</sup>, &c.). The former, however, are also to be regarded as circumstantial clauses, in so far as they describe a *state* which is simultaneous with the principal action; thus Is 3<sup>7</sup> *I will not be an healer*, חֵם וְבִיתִי אֵין לֶחֶם וְלִבְשֵׁי אֵין וְבִיתִי אֵין *while in my house is neither bread nor clothing*; Is 6<sup>6</sup> (Am 7<sup>7</sup>); 2 S 13<sup>18</sup>, 16<sup>1</sup>. Cf. also the instances in § 152 *l* of וַאֲיִן followed by a participle, as וַאֲיִן מַצִּיל, &c.

2. Characteristic examples of circumstantial *noun-clauses* are Gn 12<sup>8</sup> *C* and pitched his tent בֵּית-אֵל מִיָּם וְהָעֵי מִפְּרָם with *Bethel on the west and Ai on the east*; Nu 22<sup>24</sup>, 2 S 18<sup>14</sup> *through the heart of Absalom*, עוֹדֵנִי חַי *while he was yet alive*; Jer 30<sup>6</sup>, Ez 9<sup>2</sup> (cf. Ct 3<sup>8</sup>), Na 3<sup>8</sup>, Zc 14<sup>5</sup>, 2 Ch 23<sup>10</sup>; with the *predicate* preceding, e. g. 1 S 26<sup>13</sup>, ψ 32<sup>8</sup>.—In Gn 41<sup>29</sup> a noun-clause serves to announce a state in the future.—We may also include here certain set phrases, as אֶל-פְּנֵים אֶל-פְּנֵים *face to face* (prop. while *face* was turned towards *face*), Gn 32<sup>31</sup>, Ex 33<sup>11</sup>, Dt 34<sup>10</sup>,

<sup>1</sup> In Dt 32<sup>31</sup> this form of sequence appears to be selected for another purpose, and indeed our enemies are judges thereof, with *wāw* emphatic; to take it as a circumstantial clause is too artificial.

&c.;<sup>1</sup> so also *to cast oneself down*, אָרְצָה אַפָּיִם *the face being turned to the earth*, Gn 19<sup>1</sup>, &c. (for אָרְצָה we find אָרְץ in 1 K 1<sup>31</sup>, Is 49<sup>23</sup>).<sup>2</sup>—Cf. finally the formula אִם עַל-בָּנִים *mother with children*, Gn 32<sup>12</sup>; cf. Ho 10<sup>14</sup> and § 119 aa note 2.

Rem. On circumlocutions of this kind to express negative attributes by means of short noun-clauses (complete or incomplete), cf. § 152 u.

d 3. As circumstantial verbal-clauses,<sup>3</sup> we find (1) sometimes affirmative clauses (see below), but far more frequently (2) negative clauses (see *f*), and among these (3) a certain number of expressions which may be regarded simply as equivalent to negative adverbial ideas (see *g*).

Examples of (1) Is 5<sup>11b</sup> woe unto them, that tarry late in the evening, יַיִן יִדְלִיקֵם *while wine inflames them*; Is 1<sup>6</sup>, 10<sup>24</sup>, 30<sup>31</sup>, Jer 7<sup>26</sup>, 20<sup>15</sup>, ψ 4<sup>3</sup>, 5<sup>12</sup>, 21<sup>13</sup>, 62<sup>5</sup>. The circumstantial verbal-clause is used to particularize an action which has before been expressed generally, in Gn 44<sup>12</sup>, 48<sup>14</sup> = *crossing his hands*; Dt 2<sup>27</sup>, Ju 6<sup>19</sup>; antithetically, 1 K 13<sup>18</sup> לוֹ פָּחַשׁ *wherewith however he lied unto him*. The verbal-clause seems to assign a reason in ψ 7<sup>7</sup> מִשְׁפָּט צִוִּיתָ *since thou hast commanded judgement*; a consequence in ψ 103<sup>5</sup>.<sup>4</sup>

e Rem. On the cases in which an imperfect in the sense of a final clause is subordinated to a verb of motion (generally קָם), see § 120 c.

f Of (2), subordinate verbal-clauses with לֹא (in English usually rendered by *without* and the gerund, if the subject be the same as in the principal clause), e.g. Lv 11<sup>17</sup> לֹא יִבְרֵיל *without dividing it asunder*; Jb 31<sup>34</sup>; לֹא with the perfect is so used in Gn 44<sup>4</sup>, Ex 34<sup>23</sup>, 1 S 30<sup>2</sup>, Jb 20<sup>26</sup> (*without its being blown upon it*). With a different subject, equivalent to a consecutive clause in English, Is 27<sup>9</sup> לֹא יִקְמוּ *so that they shall rise up no more*.—Moreover, verbal-clauses in the same sense (*without doing, &c.*) are frequently connected by וְלֹא; cf. 1 S 20<sup>2</sup>, Jb 24<sup>22</sup>, 42<sup>3</sup>; in a concessive sense, Is 33<sup>1</sup>, ψ 44<sup>18</sup>.

g Of (3), cf. לֹא יָדַע (prop. *he knows it not*) unawares, ψ 35<sup>8</sup>, Pr 5<sup>6</sup> יְחַמֵּל *unsparingly*, Is 30<sup>14</sup> (after an infinitive absolute); Hb 1<sup>17</sup>, Jb 6<sup>10</sup> (but יְחַמֵּל יְחַמֵּל Jb 16<sup>13</sup>, 27<sup>22</sup>; see *f* at the end); לֹא כִתְרוּ (prop. *they hide not*) openly, Is 3<sup>9</sup> (but

<sup>1</sup> The expression הִתְרָאָה פְּנִים *to look one another in the face* (i. e. to contend in combat) 2 K 14<sup>8,11</sup>, 2 Ch 25<sup>17,21</sup>, is probably only a shortened form for הִתְרָאָה פְּנִים אֶל-פְּנִים.

<sup>2</sup> That אָרְצָה (אָרְץ) is really to be regarded as a virtual predicate to אַפָּיִם, and not אַפָּיִם as a *casus instrumenti*, is seen from Is 49<sup>23</sup>, where אַפָּיִם אָרְץ precedes the verb.

<sup>3</sup> Some examples of these have been already discussed in another connexion above, § 120 a-c.

<sup>4</sup> In Gn 21<sup>14</sup> the circumstantial verbal-clause שָׁם עַל-שִׁכְמָהּ is only due to a harmonizing transposition; read שָׁ עַל שִׁכְמָהּ וְאֶת-הַיֶּלֶד שָׁ. According to the source used in cap. 21 Ishmael was still a young child; according to 17<sup>25</sup> he was about 16 or 17 years old.

Jb 15<sup>18</sup> בְּלֹא כְחֶרֶד (וְלֹא כְחֶרֶד); בְּלֵי חֲשָׁךְ (prop. *he restrains not*) *unceasingly*, Is 14<sup>6</sup>; בְּלֹא-יָמוּט; Jb 41<sup>15</sup> (ψ 93<sup>1</sup> בְּבַל-תִּמּוּט) and לֹא יָמוּט Is 40<sup>20</sup> (*without tottering*) *immovably*; cf. also לֹא אֶמְעָר *without wavering*, ψ 26<sup>1</sup>.

### § 157. Object-Clauses (Oratio Obliqua).

Clauses which depend on a transitive verb, especially on what are *a* called *verba cordis*, i. e. verbs denoting any mental act, such as *to see, to hear, to know, to perceive, to believe, to remember, to forget, to say, to think, &c.*, may be subordinated to the governing verb without the help of a conjunction by simple juxtaposition (§ 120 a), or they may be co-ordinated with it either with or without *wāw copulative* (§ 120 d-h). As a rule, however, the objective clause is introduced by the conjunction כִּי *that*, less frequently by אֲשֶׁר *that*.<sup>1</sup>

Examples:—

(a) Object-clauses without a conjunction. Besides the passages mentioned in § 120 (especially under e) there are a number of examples, in which a clause depending on a *verbum dicendi* or *sentiendi* (the *oratio obliqua* of the Latin and English Grammar) is added in the form of an independent noun-clause or verbal-clause; e. g. Gn 12<sup>13</sup> אָתָּה אֲחֹתִי אָמַרְתָּ אָמַרְתָּ אָמַרְתָּ אָמַרְתָּ *say, I pray thee, thou art my sister*; ψ 10<sup>13</sup>, Jb 25<sup>3a,14</sup>, Neh 6<sup>6</sup>; Zc 8<sup>23</sup> (after נִשְׁמַע); ψ 9<sup>21</sup> (after יָרַע); verbal-clauses, e. g. ψ 50<sup>21</sup> *thou thoughtest* כְּמוֹךְ הָיִיתָ-אֲהִיָּה I was surely like thyself [but read הָיִי for הָיִיתָ]; Gn 41<sup>15</sup>, Ju 9<sup>48</sup> *what ye have seen me do*; Is 48<sup>8</sup>, Ho 7<sup>2</sup>.

(b) Object-clauses introduced by כִּי, e. g. Gn 6<sup>5</sup> וַיִּרְא יְהוָה כִּי רַבָּה רַעַת הָאָדָם *and the Lord saw that the wickedness of man was great, &c.*—Direct narration also is very frequently introduced by כִּי (analogous to the *oratio obliqua*; frequently, indeed, with the secondary idea of a particle of asseveration, as in Gn 26<sup>9</sup>, 27<sup>20</sup>), e. g. Gn 21<sup>30</sup>, 22<sup>16 f.</sup>, 26<sup>22</sup>, 29<sup>32</sup>, 37<sup>35</sup>, Jos 2<sup>24</sup>, &c., even when the direct narration is not expressly indicated, Gn 4<sup>25</sup>, 32<sup>31</sup>, 41<sup>51 f.</sup>, Ex 18<sup>4</sup>.—On the expression of a second object by means of a clause introduced by כִּי, see § 117 h.<sup>2</sup>

(c) Object-clauses introduced by אֲשֶׁר, e. g. Est 3<sup>4</sup> לָהֶם אֲשֶׁר-הוּא כִּי-יְהוָה *for he had told them that he was a Jew*; 1 S 18<sup>15</sup>, Ez 20<sup>26</sup>, Ec 8<sup>12,3</sup> even before direct narration, 1 S 15<sup>20</sup>, 2 S 1<sup>4</sup>. Somewhat frequently אֲשֶׁר is preceded by

<sup>1</sup> On these clauses with כִּי and אֲשֶׁר and generally on clauses which we should render as subordinate, cf. P. Dörwald 'Zur hebr. Syntax' in *Neue Jahrb. für Philol. und Pädag.* 1890, p. 115 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Instead of a complete objective clause we sometimes find a kind of accusative and infinitive construction, especially after נָתַן (prop. *to give up*) in the sense of *to allow*, e. g. Nu 21<sup>23</sup> וְלֹא-נָתַן סִיחֹן אֶת-יִשְׂרָאֵל עֲבַר בְּגַבְלוֹ *and Sihon did not suffer Israel to pass through his border*; 20<sup>21</sup>; followed by an infinitive with ל, e. g. Gn 20<sup>6</sup>, 31<sup>7</sup>, Ex 3<sup>19</sup>.—Cf. also the analogous examples in Dt 28<sup>56</sup> (after נָסָה *to venture*; see § 113 d); Ju 11<sup>20</sup> (after הֵאֱמִין *to trust*); 1 K 19<sup>4</sup> (after שָׁאַל *to request*).

<sup>3</sup> In Jer 28<sup>9</sup> a subject-clause is thus introduced by אֲשֶׁר instead of the usual כִּי.

the *nota accusativi* אֲתָ (equivalent to the circumstance, the fact, that), e. g. Jos 2<sup>10</sup>, 1 S 24<sup>11,19</sup>, 2 S 11<sup>20</sup>, Is 38<sup>3</sup>, but in Gn 30<sup>29</sup>, Dt 29<sup>15</sup> equivalent to the way in which.

### § 158. Causal Clauses.

*a* A complete clause, assigning the reason for statements, demands, threats, &c., sometimes follows with the simple *wāw copulative*, e. g. ψ 60<sup>13</sup> give us help against the adversary, and (for) vain is the help of man; Gn 6<sup>17</sup> (וְאֵינִי), 22<sup>12</sup>, Ex 23<sup>9</sup>, Jb 22<sup>12</sup>, perhaps also ψ 7<sup>10</sup>; or even without *Wāw*, e. g. Gn 17<sup>14</sup>. As a rule, however, special conjunctions in various combinations are used to introduce causal clauses.

*b* The most common causal conjunctions are כִּי Is 3<sup>16</sup>, &c., and יַעַן אֲשֶׁר because, prop. on account of the fact that; both, however, may also be shortened to the simple יַעַן Nu 20<sup>12</sup>, &c., or to כִּי because, Gn 3<sup>14,17</sup>, &c., or to אֲשֶׁר Gn 30<sup>18</sup>, 31<sup>49</sup>, 34<sup>13,27</sup>, 1 S 15<sup>15</sup>, 20<sup>42</sup>, 26<sup>16,23</sup>, 1 K 3<sup>19</sup>, 8<sup>33</sup>, Ho 14<sup>4</sup>, Zc 1<sup>15</sup>; also בְּאֲשֶׁר Gn 39<sup>9,23</sup>. On the other hand, the simple יַעַן is sometimes repeated for emphasis, יַעַן זָבָרְעֻן (something like the German *sintemal und alldieweil*) Lv 26<sup>43</sup>, Ez 13<sup>10</sup> (without וְ 36<sup>3</sup>); also עַל-אֲשֶׁר 2 S 3<sup>30</sup>, and עַל-כִּי Dt 31<sup>17</sup>, Ju 3<sup>12</sup>, Mal 2<sup>14</sup> on the ground that; עַל-דִּבְרֵי אֲשֶׁר because of the circumstance that, Dt 23<sup>5</sup>; עַל-כֵּן אֲרֹת אֲשֶׁר for this very cause that, Jer 3<sup>8</sup>. But just as the simple יַעַן is used for אֲשֶׁר, so also the simple עַל- with the perfect stands for עַל-אֲשֶׁר ψ 119<sup>136</sup>, Ezr 3<sup>11</sup>; cf. עַל-בְּלִי Gn 31<sup>20</sup> and מִבְּלִי Dt 28<sup>55</sup> both with the perfect, equivalent to *because . . . not*.—Cf. further אֲשֶׁר עָקַב Gn 22<sup>18</sup>, 26<sup>5</sup>, 2 S 12<sup>8</sup>, all with the perfect, and כִּי עָקַב (2 S 12<sup>10</sup> with the perfect; Am 4<sup>12</sup> with the imperfect) prop. in return for the fact that; similarly again the simple עָקַב Nu 14<sup>24</sup> with the perfect, and Dt 7<sup>12</sup>, 8<sup>20</sup> with the imperfect; finally, מֵאֲשֶׁר Is 43<sup>4</sup> arising from the fact that, = *because*; וְרַחַת אֲשֶׁר 1 S 26<sup>21</sup>, &c., and כִּי רַחַת Dt 4<sup>37</sup>, Pr 1<sup>29</sup> for the reason that.

*c* Rem. 1. The preposition עַל- (*because of, on account of*) with the infinitive (§ 114 *e*) is frequently used as the equivalent of a full causal clause; cf. e. g. Am 1<sup>3,6,13</sup>, 2<sup>1,6</sup>. Such a construction with the infinitive may, however, according to § 114 *r*, be continued by means of a finite verb, in which case עַל- governs the verb as a conjunction; e. g. Am 1<sup>9</sup> וְלֹא זָכְרוּ . . . עַל-הַסִּיָּרָם because they delivered up . . . and remembered not, &c.; 1<sup>11</sup>, 2<sup>4</sup>; without *Wāw*, Is 30<sup>14</sup>.

*d* 2. The choice of tense is regulated by the general principles stated in § 106 *ff.*, viz. the perfect (cf. especially § 106 *f*) refers to causes already brought fully into effect, the imperfect to those which may contingently arise; cf. e. g. Dt 7<sup>12</sup>, 8<sup>20</sup>, 1 K 8<sup>33</sup>, where the imperfect leaves the possibility still open that the persons addressed will perhaps escape the threatened punishments by avoiding disobedience.—Cf. further, § 111 *h* on the imperfect consecutive, and § 112 *nn* on the perfect consecutive in the apodosis to causal clauses.

<sup>1</sup> Also כִּי-עַל-כֵּן prop. for *therefore*, Gn 18<sup>5</sup>, 19<sup>8</sup>, 33<sup>10</sup>, 38<sup>26</sup>, Nu 10<sup>31</sup>, 14<sup>43</sup>, 2 S 18<sup>20</sup> *cf. ré*, and אֲשֶׁר-עַל-כֵּן Jb 34<sup>27</sup>, always mean *forasmuch as*.

## § 159. Conditional Sentences.

Cf. H. Ferguson, 'The Use of the Tenses in Conditional Sentences in Hebrew' (*Journal of the Society of Bibl. Lit. and Exeg.*, Middletown, Conn., June and September, 1882).—P. Friedrich, *Die hebr. Conditionalsätze*, Königsberg, 1884 (Inaug.-Diss.).—Driver, *Use of the Tenses*, 3rd ed., p. 174 ff.

1. The great variety of construction in conditional sentences is *a* owing to the fact that it frequently depends on the subjective judgment of the speaker, whether he wishes a condition to be regarded as *capable of fulfilment* (absolutely, or at least possibly), thus including those already fulfilled, or as *incapable of fulfilment*. On this distinction depends the choice both of the conditional particle to be used (see below), and especially (as also in Greek and Latin) of the tense. The use of the latter is naturally determined according to the general principles laid down in § 106 ff.<sup>1</sup> In the following sketch, for the sake of clearness, conditional sentences *without* conditional particles will be first discussed (under *b*), and afterwards sentences *with* these particles (under *l*).

2. The relation between condition and consequence may be expressed, *b* as in English, by the simple juxtaposition of two clauses. At the same time, it is to be observed in general as a fundamental rule (in accordance with the original character of the two tenses), that the *imperfect*, with its equivalents (the jussive, cohortative, imperative, perfect consecutive, and participle), is used to express a condition and consequence which are regarded as being *capable of fulfilment* in present or future time, while the *perfect* represents a condition already fulfilled in the past, and its consequence as an accomplished fact. The other use of the perfect—to represent conditions regarded as *impossible*—occurs only in connexion with particles.

Examples:—

(a) *Imperfect* (cf. § 107 x) in protasis and apodosis, Jos 22<sup>18</sup>,  $\psi$  104<sup>28 ff.</sup> *c*  
 יִלְקָטוּן לָהֶם רֶחֶם אֲתָנָן (if) thou givest unto them, they gather, &c.;  $\psi$  139<sup>18</sup>, Pr 12<sup>17</sup>,  
 Jb 20<sup>24</sup>, Ec 1<sup>18</sup>, Neh 1<sup>8</sup>; with an interrogative imperfect in the apodosis,  
 Ju 13<sup>12</sup>; with the jussive, Jb 10<sup>16</sup>; with the cohortative, Pr. 1<sup>23</sup>; with the  
 perfect, Is 26<sup>10</sup> (yet will he not learn righteousness; the apodosis forcibly denies

<sup>1</sup> It may, moreover, happen that a different idea is introduced in the apodosis, from that with which the protasis started—a source of many further variations.

<sup>2</sup> On the termination ׀- cf. § 47 m. In verse 28 b also יִשְׁפְּעוּן is probably to be explained from its immediately preceding the greater *pause*. These terminations in verses 28-30 and  $\psi$  139<sup>18</sup> can scarcely have any connexion with the conditional sentence, although it is strange that ׀- in Nu 32<sup>23</sup> appears after אֲלֵ-אִם in the protasis. In Nu 16<sup>29</sup>, 32<sup>20</sup> ׀- as before א (as in Jb 31<sup>10</sup> in the apodosis) is to be explained from the dislike of hiatus.

what the imperfect in the protasis had represented as still conceivable; cf. Ho 8<sup>12</sup>; with the perfect consecutive, Gn 47<sup>25</sup>, Ex 33<sup>5</sup>; with the protasis suppressed, Jb 5<sup>8</sup> (see § 107 x).

- d* (b) *Jussive* in protasis (cf. § 109 *h, i*) and apodosis,  $\psi$  104<sup>10</sup> תִּשְׁתַּחֲשָׁן (if) thou makest darkness, it is night; imperfect in the apodosis,  $\psi$  104<sup>29b</sup>; cohortative Pr 1<sup>23</sup>. Also in Ex 7<sup>9</sup> יְהִי לְתַנִּין it shall become a serpent, is the apodosis to a suppressed protasis if thou cast it down; so in 2 K 5<sup>10</sup> וַיִּשָׁב is the apodosis to a protasis if thou wash, contained in what precedes.
- e* (c) *Cohortative* (see § 108 *e*) in the protasis; perfect in the apodosis,  $\psi$  40<sup>6</sup>; imperfect consecutive, Jb 19<sup>18</sup> אֶקְוֶמָה וַיְדַבְּרוּבֵי (if) I arise, they speak against me; on the cohortative in the apodosis, cf. § 108 *f*.
- f* (d) *Imperfect consecutive* in the protasis (§ 111 *x*),  $\psi$  139<sup>11</sup> וְאָמַר if I say, &c. (with a noun-clause as the apodosis); with a frequentative perfect consecutive in the apodosis, 1 S 2<sup>16</sup>.
- g* (e) *Perfect consecutive* in the protasis and apodosis (see the examples, § 112 *kk* and *ll*), Gn 44<sup>22</sup> וְעָוַב אָבִיו וּמָת and should he leave his father, his father would die; 9<sup>15</sup>, 44<sup>29</sup>, Ex 4<sup>14</sup>, 12<sup>13</sup>, 1 S 16<sup>2</sup>, 19<sup>3</sup>, 2 S 13<sup>28</sup>, 1 K 8<sup>30</sup>; with frequentative perfects, Ex 16<sup>21</sup> (referring to the past, Jer 20<sup>9</sup>); with imperfect in the apodosis (being separated from the *Wāw* by לָא), Nu 23<sup>20</sup>, Jb 5<sup>24</sup>; introduced by an infinitive absolute, 1 K 2<sup>37</sup>; an interrogative clause in the apodosis, Lv 10<sup>19</sup>; a noun-clause,  $\psi$  37<sup>10</sup>, Jb 7<sup>21</sup>.
- h* (f) *A simple perfect* (to represent actions which are to be regarded as completed) in the protasis and apodosis, Pr 18<sup>22</sup> מָצְאָה אִשָּׁה מְצָא טוֹב has one found a wife, he has found a good thing; an imperfect in the apodosis, Jb 19<sup>4</sup>, 23<sup>10</sup>; an imperfect consecutive, Ex 20<sup>25</sup>, Pr 11<sup>2</sup>, Jb 3<sup>25</sup>, 23<sup>13b</sup>, 29<sup>11</sup>; an interrogative clause, Nu 12<sup>14</sup>, Jb 7<sup>20</sup> if I have sinned (prop., well, now I have sinned!) what can I do unto thee? 21<sup>31</sup>, 35<sup>6</sup>, Am 3<sup>8</sup>; a noun-clause, Jb 27<sup>19</sup>.
- i* (g) *A participle as casus pendens* (cf. § 143 *d*, and the sections of the Grammar there cited, esp. § 116 *w*) or a complete noun-clause in the protasis; the apodosis mostly introduced by *wāw* apodosis, e.g. Pr 23<sup>24</sup> *Keth.* יוֹלֵד הַכֶּם וַיִּשְׂמַח בּוֹ if one begetteth a wise child, he shall have joy of him; with perfect frequentative in the apodosis, 1 S 2<sup>13</sup>, &c.; but also with a simple imperfect, e.g. Ex 21<sup>12</sup> (cf. § 112 *n*); with an interrogative imperfect, 2 K 7<sup>2,19</sup>; with an interrogative perfect, Ju 6<sup>13</sup>.
- k* (h) *Infinitive with preposition* (also as the equivalent of a conditional clause) in the protasis, and a perfect consecutive in the apodosis (cf. § 112 *mm*), e.g. 2 S 7<sup>14</sup> *σ.* וְנִבְהַתִּיזוּ וְנִבְהַתִּיזוּ וְנִבְהַתִּיזוּ if he commit iniquity, I will correct him; Ex 34<sup>34</sup> *f.* (with imperfect, followed by perfects frequentative in the apodosis).

Rem. On the expression of condition and consequence by means of two co-ordinate imperatives, see § 110 *f*.

- l* 3. Particles used to introduce conditional sentences are אִם (for which in the later and latest Books sometimes הִן, see below, under *w*) and לוֹ (1 S 14<sup>30</sup>, Is 63<sup>19</sup> לֹא; Ec 6<sup>6</sup>, Est 7<sup>4</sup> אִלּוּ, from אִם לוֹ) if, negative לֹא אִם and לֹא לִי (לִי לֹא) unless; כִּי supposing that (Lat. *ut*), in case that, sometimes used almost in the same sense as אִם. With regard to the difference between אִם (לֹא) and לוֹ (לִי לֹא), the fundamental rule is that אִם is used if the condition be regarded either as already fulfilled, or if it, together with its consequence, be thought of as possibly (or

<sup>1</sup> On לוֹ cf. Kohler in Geiger's *Zeitschr. für Wiss. und Leben*, vi (1868), p. 21 ff.

probably) occurring in the present or future. In the former case, **אם** is followed by the perfect, in the latter (corresponding to the Greek *εάν* with the present subjunctive) by the imperfect or its equivalent (frequently in the apodosis also). On the other hand, **לִי** (**לִי־אִם**) is used when the condition is to be represented as *not fulfilled* in the past, or as *not capable of fulfilment* in the present or future, and the consequence accordingly as not having occurred or never occurring. In the former case, **לִי** and **לִי־אִם** are necessarily followed by the perfect (mostly also in the apodosis) corresponding to the Greek *εἰ* with the indicative of an historic tense, and the Latin imperfect or pluperfect subjunctive. In the latter case (which is extremely rare) the perfect, or the participle, or even the imperfect, may be used.

Rem. Since it again frequently depends on the subjective judgement of the speaker (see under a), whether a condition is to be regarded as possible or impossible, we cannot wonder that the distinction between **אם** and **לִי** is not always consistently observed. Although naturally **לִי** and **לִי־אִם** cannot take the place of **אם** and **אִם־לִי** (on the strange use of **לִי** in Gn 50<sup>16</sup> see below), yet conversely **אם** is sometimes used where **לִי** would certainly be expected; cf. e.g.  $\psi$  50<sup>12</sup>, 137<sup>5</sup>, 139<sup>8</sup>, Ho 9<sup>12</sup> (cf. verse 11). These examples, indeed (**אם** with the imperfect), may without difficulty be explained from the fact that the connexion of **לִי** with the imperfect was evidently avoided, because the imperfect by its nature indicates a still unfinished action, and consequently (as opposed to **לִי**) a still open possibility. But **אם** is also used for **לִי** in connexion with the perfect, especially when an imprecation is attached by the apodosis to the condition introduced by **אם**, e.g.  $\psi$  74<sup>11</sup>. . . . **אִם־עָשִׂיתִי זֹאת . . . יִרְדֵּף וְג'** if I have done this . . . , let the enemy pursue my soul, &c., cf. Jb 31<sup>9</sup>. The speaker assumes for a moment as possible and even actual, that which he really rejects as inconceivable, in order to invoke the most severe punishment on himself, if it should prove to be the case.

On the frequent addition of an infinitive absolute to the verb in clauses with **אם** see § 113 o above.

Examples:—

A. **אם** i. with *perfect* in the protasis to express conditions, &c., which have *been* completely fulfilled in the past or which will be completely fulfilled in the future (the perfect is here equivalent to the *futurum exactum*, § 106 o). The apodosis<sup>1</sup> takes—

(a) A *perfect* also, e.g. Pr 9<sup>12</sup> **אִם־חָכְמָתְךָ חֲכָמָתְךָ לָךְ** if thou art wise, thou art wise for thyself;  $\psi$  73<sup>15</sup> (see below on **לִי**).

(b) *Imperfect*, e.g. Dt 32<sup>41</sup> **אִם־שִׁנֹּתִי אֶשִׁיב** if I whet my glittering sword . . . I will render vengeance, &c.; Jb 9<sup>15f.30</sup> (in both cases we should expect **לִי** rather than **אִם**; so also in  $\psi$  44<sup>21f.</sup>, with an interrogative imperfect in the apodosis); Jb 11<sup>13</sup> (the apodosis is in verse 15).

(c) *Jussive* (or *optative*), e.g. Jb 31<sup>9</sup>. (see m above); Gn 18<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> We are not here concerned with the fact that the logical apodosis (the consequence of the condition) is sometimes mentioned before the condition; as in Gn 18<sup>28.30</sup>, Ju 11<sup>10</sup>,  $\psi$  63<sup>6f.</sup>, 137<sup>6</sup>, and according to Dillmann Is 4<sup>4</sup>.

O (d) *Perfect consecutive* (see the examples in § 112 *gg*), e. g. Gn 43<sup>9</sup> אֲמַלְלָהּ הַבְּיָאֲתוֹ וְנָּ if I bring him not . . . then I shall have sinned, &c.; Ju 16<sup>17</sup>, 2 S 15<sup>33</sup>, 2 K 7<sup>4</sup>. On the other hand, e. g. Gn 47<sup>6</sup>, Mi 5<sup>7</sup>, Jb 7<sup>4</sup> refer to actions already completed; in Gn 38<sup>9</sup> and Nu 21<sup>9</sup> the perfect with ׀ is a perfect frequentative and refers to past time.

(e) *Imperfect consecutive* (see § 111 *q*), e. g. Jb 8<sup>4</sup> if thy children have sinned (הִטָּאוּ) . . . , וַיִּשְׁלַחֵם, he has delivered them, &c.

(f) *Imperative*, e. g. Gn 50<sup>4</sup> וּנְאֻךְ בְּעֵינֶיךָ דְּבַרְרָנָא וְנָּ if I have found grace in your eyes, speak, I pray you, &c.; the imperative precedes in Gn 47<sup>16</sup> and Jb 38<sup>4.18</sup>.

P (g) A (complete or incomplete) noun-clause, e. g. Jer 14<sup>18</sup> (a vivid realization of the future) if I have gone forth into the field (= if I go, &c.), then, behold, the slain with the sword! &c.; Pr 24<sup>14</sup> (apodosis with *wāw apodosis*).

Q 2. אִם with *imperfect* in the protasis, to express what is possible in the present or future, as well as (according to § 107 *b*) what has continued or been repeated in the past. The apodosis takes—

(a) The *perfect*, e. g. Nu 32<sup>28</sup> וְאִם-לֹא תַעֲשׂוּן בְּנֵי הַיָּהָה תַּטְּאוּם but if ye will not do so, behold, ye have sinned; here the apodosis represents the time when the consequence has already taken place; so also Jb 20<sup>12-14</sup>. On the other hand, Nu 16<sup>29</sup> (as also 1 S 6<sup>9</sup> and 1 K 22<sup>28</sup>) is a case of a pregnant construction, if these men die as all men die, then (it will follow from this) the Lord hath not sent me.

R (b) The *imperfect*, e. g. 2 K 7<sup>4</sup> אִם-יִחְיֶינוּ נִחִיהָ if they save us alive, we shall live, &c.; Gn 13<sup>16</sup>, 18<sup>28.30</sup>, 28<sup>20</sup> ff., Ex 20<sup>25</sup> (the second imperfect is equivalent to a jussive); Is 1<sup>18</sup>, 10<sup>22</sup>, Am 9<sup>2-4</sup>, ψ 50<sup>12</sup> (where אִם ironically represents an impossibility as possible); Jb 8<sup>5</sup> f. (with the insertion of a second condition in the form of a noun-clause); 9<sup>3.20</sup>, 14<sup>7</sup>; a frequentative imperfect referring to the past, Gn 31<sup>8</sup> אִם-כִּהָּ יֹאמֵר וַיִּלְרֹּו then they bare . . . ; Ex 40<sup>37</sup>. In Gn 42<sup>27</sup> the consequence (on תָּמִית cf. § 107 *s*) precedes the condition.

(c) The *jussive* (or *optative*), e. g. ψ 137<sup>5</sup>; cf. § 109 *h*.

(d) The *cohortative*, e. g. Gn 13<sup>9</sup>, Jb 31<sup>7</sup>; cf. § 108 *f*.

S (e) The *perfect consecutive* (see the examples in § 112 *ff* and *gg*), e. g. 1 S 20<sup>6</sup> וְאִם-פָּקַד וַיִּפְקְדֵנִי אָבִיךָ וְאָמַרְתָּ if thy father miss me at all, then shall thou say, &c.; Gn 24<sup>41</sup>, Ju 4<sup>20</sup>; with a frequentative perfect consecutive, Gn 31<sup>8</sup> if he said (as often happened) . . . , then, &c.

(f) The *imperfect consecutive*; so perhaps ψ 59<sup>16</sup>, if וַיִּלְיֵנוּ is to be explained according to § 111 *t*.

(g) The *imperative*, e. g. Gn 31<sup>50</sup>, 1 S 20<sup>21</sup> (with *wāw apodosis*, but in verse 22 simply לָּ), 21<sup>10</sup>, Jb 33<sup>3</sup>.

T (h) A noun-clause, e. g. Gn 4<sup>7</sup>, ψ 139<sup>8</sup>, Jb 8<sup>6</sup>, 31<sup>26</sup> f.

3. אִם with *cohortative*, e. g. Gn 30<sup>31</sup>; cf. the passages in § 108 *e*.

U 4. אִם with *infinitive*, Jb 9<sup>27</sup> אִם-אָמַרְתִּי prop. if my saying is (but probably we should read אָמַרְתִּי).

V 5. אִם with a noun-clause, e. g. Dt 5<sup>22</sup> (in the apodosis a perfect with *wāw apodosis*), Gn 27<sup>46</sup>, Ju 9<sup>15</sup> (imperative in the apodosis); 11<sup>9</sup> (imperfect in the apodosis); 2 S 12<sup>8</sup> (cohortative in the apodosis); Ho 12<sup>12</sup>; especially if the subject of the conditional clause be a personal pronoun. In an affirmative sentence this pronoun is often joined to ׀, in a negative sentence to אִין (cf. on both, § 100 *o*), while the predicate (cf. § 116 *q*) is represented by a participle, usually expressing the future, e. g. Ju 6<sup>36</sup> f. אִם-יִשָּׁךְ מוֹשִׁיעַ

if thou wilt save, &c. ; Gn 24<sup>49</sup> אִם־יִשְׁבַּחַם עַשִׂים if ye will deal, &c. ; 1 S 23<sup>23</sup>. In Gn 24<sup>42 f.</sup> the condition is expressed in a more humble form by the addition of נָא. With אִין Gn 43<sup>5</sup> וְאִם־יִנְיֶךָ מִשְׁלַחַּ but if thou wilt not send, &c. ; 20<sup>7</sup> (with imperative in the apodosis) ; Ex 8<sup>17</sup>, 9<sup>2 f.</sup>, 1 S 19<sup>11</sup> (all with a participle also in the apodosis). But יִשׁ and יִנְי may also be used after אִם without a suffix ; thus יִשׁ Gn 23<sup>8</sup>, 1 S 20<sup>8</sup>, 2 K 9<sup>15</sup>, &c., אִם־יִנְי (if it be not the case) Gn 30<sup>1</sup>, Ex 32<sup>32</sup>, Ju 9<sup>15</sup>, 2 K 2<sup>10</sup> ; cf. also יִבְיֶן אִם־יִבְיֶן if it be so, Gn 25<sup>22</sup>.

B. הֵן if, generally supposed to be originally identical with הֵן behold!<sup>1</sup> w  
Probably, however, הֵן if, is a pure Aramaism, and since the Aramaic word never has the meaning *behold*, it is at least improbable that it had originally any connexion with הֵן or הֵנָּה. Cf. Ex 8<sup>22</sup>, Lv 25<sup>20</sup>, Is 54<sup>15</sup>, Jer 3<sup>1</sup>, Hag 2<sup>12</sup>, 2 Ch 7<sup>13</sup>, and frequently in Job, as 9<sup>11,12</sup>, 12<sup>14,15</sup>, 19<sup>7</sup>, 23<sup>3</sup>, 40<sup>23</sup>, always with wāw apodosis following, except in 13<sup>15</sup>, where consequently the meaning *see* is no doubt preferable.

C. לֹא if, לֹא־לֵא (לֹא־לֵא) if not. x

1. With perfect in the protasis and apodosis (cf. § 106 p), e.g. Ju 8<sup>19</sup> ; אִלָּא is used in the same sense as לֹא in Est 7<sup>4</sup>, cf. Ec 6<sup>6</sup> (with a question in the apodosis).—With the perfect in protasis and apodosis after אִלָּא־לֵא Gn 31<sup>42</sup>, 43<sup>10</sup>, Ju 14<sup>18</sup>, 1 S 25<sup>34</sup>, 2 S 2<sup>27</sup>, Is 1<sup>9</sup>. On the other hand, in Dt 32<sup>29</sup> לֹא with a perfect is followed by an imperfect in the apodosis, *if they were wise, they would understand this* ; in Mi 2<sup>11</sup> by a perfect consecutive.

2. With imperfect after אִלָּא־לֵא Dt 32<sup>27</sup>, אָנֹכִי probably as the *modus rei repetitæ*, *y* were it not that I ever and again feared, &c. ; so also the imperfect after לֹא with the apodosis suppressed, Gn 50<sup>15</sup> *supposing that Joseph should hate us* ; since, according to the context, the danger was real, the use of לֹא here is strange ; conversely in other cases, e.g. ψ 73<sup>15</sup>, Jb 9<sup>15 f. 30</sup>, לֹא would be more natural than אִם.

3. A noun-clause occurs after לֹא 2 S 18<sup>12</sup>, 2 K 3<sup>14</sup>, ψ 81<sup>14</sup>, all with imperfect אֲז in the apodosis ; Jb 16<sup>4</sup> לֹא יֵשׁ, with cohortative in the apodosis.

D. כִּי supposing that, if :—

1. כִּי with perfect in the protasis, e.g. Nu 5<sup>20</sup> וְאִתָּךְ כִּי שָׁטְיִית but thou, if thou *aa* hast gone astray, &c. ; with a frequentative perfect consecutive in the apodosis, Jb 7<sup>13 f.</sup> ; with an imperfect consecutive, Jb 22<sup>29</sup>.

2. כִּי with imperfect in the protasis, e.g. ψ 23<sup>4</sup> גַּם כִּי־אֵלֶךְ בְּיָמַי yea, though I walk *bb* (have to walk) . . . , I will fear no (לֹא־אִירָא) evil ; 37<sup>24</sup> ; Ex 21<sup>2</sup> כִּי־תִקְנֶה עֶבֶד עִבְרִי if thou buy an Hebrew servant, six years shall he serve (but in verses 3-5 a series of definite conditions with definite consequences is introduced by אִם ; so also the כִּי in verse 7 is followed in verses 8-11 by the special cases with אִם ; cf. also verse 17 ff.) ; cf. Gn 4<sup>24</sup>, 24<sup>41</sup>, Jb 38<sup>5</sup> ; with a perfect consecutive in the apodosis, Gn 32<sup>18 f.</sup>, Ex 18<sup>16</sup> ; with a noun-clause, Is 1<sup>15</sup>.

3. כִּי with a noun-clause (and imperfect in the apodosis), 2 S 19<sup>8</sup>.

REMARKS.

1. In 2 K 5<sup>13</sup> the particle אֲבִי (Masora אֲבִי, probably in the sense of *my CC* father) appears exceptionally for לֹא ; its meaning here is unquestionable, but

<sup>1</sup> There could be no doubt of their identity if הֵנָּה in 1 S 9<sup>7</sup>, 2 S 18<sup>11</sup>, simply meant *if*. We must, however, keep to the meaning *but behold*.

its origin is obscure. Cf. the exhaustive discussion of Delitzsch and Wetzstein on Jb 34<sup>86</sup>, where this אֲנִי appears to be used as a desiderative particle.—Sometimes when one case has been already discussed, another of the same character is added by means of אִי or, e.g. Ex 21<sup>26</sup> אִי נֹרַע וְגַ' or (another possible case) *it is known that, &c.*, i.e. *but if it be known, &c.*, LXX εἰν δέ, Vulg. *sin autem*; cf. Lv 4<sup>28.28</sup>, 5<sup>1</sup>, 25<sup>49</sup>, 2 S 18<sup>13</sup>; with a following imperfect, Ez 14<sup>171</sup>.—On the hypothetical use of אֲפֹרָ (which is interchangeable with כִּי in other senses also) Lv 4<sup>22</sup> (in verses 3 and 27 אֲפֹרָ), Dt 11<sup>27</sup> (verse 28 אֲפֹרָ), Jos 4<sup>21</sup>, see the Lexicon.

*dd* 2. The conditional sentence is frequently found in an abridged form, where the suppressed clauses can be easily supplied from the context; cf. Gn 13<sup>9</sup>, 24<sup>49</sup>, 1 S 2<sup>16</sup> וְאִם-לֹא־אֶתְּנֶהּ *and if not, i. e. and if thou wilt not give it to me, then I take it* (perfect according to § 106 *n*) *by force*; cf. 1 S 6<sup>9</sup>. The use of וַיֵּשׁ alone in Ju 6<sup>13</sup> is peculiar, as also וַיֵּשׁ in 2 K 10<sup>15</sup> (where read with the LXX וַיֵּשׁ) in the sense of *if it be so*.—In 2 S 13<sup>26</sup>, 2 K 5<sup>17</sup> וְלֹא־אֶתְּנֶהּ alone appears to be used in the sense of *if really . . . not*, in each case with a following jussive equivalent to *may there at least, &c.* (cf. § 143 *d*); but perhaps with Matthes, *ZAW.* 1903, p. 122 ff., following Kuipers, we should read וְלֹא־אֶתְּנֶהּ *would that!*—In 1 S 13<sup>13</sup>, Jb 3<sup>13</sup> the condition must be supplied from the preceding clause to complete the sentence introduced by כִּי, in Jb 31<sup>28</sup> by כִּי, in 2 K 13<sup>19</sup> by אִי.—The apodosis also appears sometimes in an abridged form (e.g. Gn 4<sup>24</sup>, Is 43<sup>2</sup>) or is entirely suppressed, e.g. Gn 30<sup>27</sup>, 38<sup>17</sup>, 50<sup>15</sup> (see *y* above), Ex 32<sup>32</sup>, ψ 27<sup>13</sup>, Jb 38<sup>5</sup>, where properly הִפְיָר must be supplied with כִּי תִרַע as in verses 4 and 18; cf. § 167 *a*.—In ψ 8<sup>4</sup>, instead of the apodosis *I exclaim* which we should expect, the exclamation itself follows.

*cc* 3. The absolute certainty with which a result is to be expected is frequently emphasized by the insertion of כִּי Is 7<sup>9</sup>; אִי 2 S 22<sup>7</sup>, 19<sup>7</sup>, Jb 11<sup>15</sup>; or עֲתָה כִּי *now verily*, Nu 22<sup>29</sup>, 1 S 14<sup>30</sup> after לִי, Gn 31<sup>42</sup>, 43<sup>10</sup> after לִגְבִי, Jb 8<sup>6</sup> after אִם. On this corroborative כִּי cf. such passages as Gn 18<sup>20</sup>, &c., and § 148 *d*. On אִם כִּי after an oath cf. 163 *d*.

*ff* 4. Sometimes the force of a hypothetical particle extends beyond the apodosis to a second conditional clause, as in the case of אִם Pr 9<sup>12</sup>, Jb 10<sup>15</sup>, 16<sup>6</sup>, 22<sup>23</sup>, and כִּי Is 43<sup>2</sup>.

*gg* 5. In Ex 33<sup>20</sup> a negative statement takes the place of a condition with a negative consequence, *for a man doth not see me and live*, instead of *for if a man sees me, he does not live*; cf. the similar passages, Dt 22<sup>1.4</sup> *thou shalt not see . . . and hide thyself*, instead of *if thou seest . . . thou shalt not hide thyself*.

### § 160. Concessive Clauses.

*a* Besides the use of the imperative in the sense of a concession, meant either seriously (§ 110 *a*) or mockingly (§ 110 *f*), and of concessive circumstantial clauses (§ 141 *e*, § 142 *d*, and § 156 *f*), concessive clauses may be introduced—

(*a*) By a simple אִם *if*: thus Jb 9<sup>15</sup> with perfect, *if (=though) I had been in the right*; Is 1<sup>18</sup> and 10<sup>22</sup> with imperfect in reference to a contingent event.

*b* (*b*) By כִּי אִם *yea though*, Is 1<sup>15</sup> with imperfect; for which we find simply אִם in Is 49<sup>15</sup> with imperfect, *yea, though these may forget, yet . . .*; on the other hand, with perfect, Jer 36<sup>25</sup>, ψ 95<sup>9</sup>, Neh 6<sup>1</sup>; finally אִם כִּי *even if, though*, Ec 4<sup>14</sup>.

(c) By the preposition **עַל** governing a complete noun-clause, as Jb 16<sup>17</sup> **עַל לֹא־הָקָם בְּכַפְי** notwithstanding that no violence is in mine hands, or a verbal-clause, Is 53<sup>9</sup>. On **עַל** with the infinitive in a similar sense (equivalent to *in addition to the fact that* = *notwithstanding that*), cf. § 119 aa, note 2.

§ 161. Comparative Clauses.

1. A comparison between two facts is sometimes established by *α* simply uniting them with *wāw copulative*, especially in gnomic poetry, when facts of a moral nature are compared with those of the physical world, e. g. Jb 5<sup>7</sup> *man is born unto trouble, and the sons of flame fly upward*, i. e. as the sparks by nature fly upward, so man, &c.; Jb 12<sup>11</sup> (in an interrogative form; in 34<sup>3</sup> the same comparison as a statement); 14<sup>11f</sup>, Pr 17<sup>3</sup>, 25<sup>3</sup>, 26<sup>3,9,14</sup>, 27<sup>21</sup>, &c.<sup>1</sup> Even without the connecting **וְ** Jb 24<sup>19</sup> *drought and heat consume the snow waters*, **וְשָׂאוֹל הַטָּהוּר** so doth Sheol those who have sinned (cf. § 155 n); cf. Jer 17<sup>11</sup>.

2. The conjunction **כַּאֲשֶׁר** (cf. § 155 g; the simple **אֲשֶׁר** occurs in the *β* same sense in Ex 10<sup>6</sup>, 14<sup>13</sup>, 34<sup>18</sup>) *as, quemadmodum*, is used as a comparative conjunction (Ob<sup>15</sup>), frequently with **כֵּן** *so*, corresponding to it in the apodosis, Is 31<sup>4</sup>, 52<sup>14f</sup>. Sometimes, however, **כֵּן** (*so also*) occurs even after independent statements, Is 55<sup>9</sup>, Jer 3<sup>20</sup>.—Exact coincidence of two facts is expressed in Ec 5<sup>15</sup> by **בְּכָל־עֲמֻתָּו** *in all points as*.

Rem. On the use of **כֵּן** *as*, with single nouns or pronouns to introduce *γ* comparisons, cf. 118 s; on the alleged use of **כֵּן** as a conjunction (equivalent to **כַּאֲשֶׁר**), cf. § 155 g.—It is to be further remarked that **כֵּן—כֵּן** when used in correspondence with one another, *as—so* (e. g. Lv 7<sup>7</sup>, Ju 8<sup>18</sup>, Is 24<sup>2</sup>, Ho 4<sup>9</sup>; also *so—as*, Gn 18<sup>25</sup>, 44<sup>18</sup>, Dt 1<sup>17</sup>, 1 K 22<sup>4</sup>; in Jos 14<sup>11</sup>, 1 S 30<sup>24</sup> **כֵּן—וְכֵן**; ψ 127<sup>4</sup> and often, **כֵּן—כֵּן**, cf. Jo 2<sup>4</sup>), are not to be regarded as conjunctions, but as virtual substantives with a following genitive; **כַּכֶּם בְּיַהֲוִיָּה** Nu 15<sup>15</sup> properly means *the like of you shall be the like of the stranger*, i. e. *your duty shall be (also) the stranger's duty*; cf. Lv 24<sup>22</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> On this *wāw adaequationis*, and in general on these proverbial comparisons, see Delitzsch, *Das Salomonische Spruchbuch*, p. 9 f. Moreover, instead of entire clauses, the nouns alone (without predicates) are frequently grouped together, e. g. Pr 25<sup>25</sup>, 26<sup>21</sup>, 27<sup>21</sup> (called by Delitzsch, the 'emblematic Mashal'). The expressions **עַם נִחְשָׁב** prop. *to be counted with some one*, ψ 88<sup>5</sup>, and **עַם נִמְשָׁל** *to be likened with some one*, ψ 28<sup>1</sup>, 143<sup>7</sup>, also arise from the idea of comparison implied in grouping things together. On this use of **עַם** cf. Jb 9<sup>26</sup>, where *with* is equivalent to *like*.

<sup>2</sup> In spite of its form this particle has originally nothing to do with **כֵּן**, **כַּל**, **כָּל** *all*. The expression is compounded of **כֵּן** and **לְעֲמַתָּו**, like the Aramaic **כָּל־קַבְּלָא** for **כָּל־קַבְּלָא**; cf. M. Lambert, *REJ.* xxx. 47.

§ 162. *Disjunctive Sentences.*

- a* The introduction of another possible case, excluding that which preceded, is effected by וְ or, e.g. Ex 21<sup>36</sup>, equivalent to the Latin *vel*; but also equivalent to *aut* with an exclusive antithesis, 2 K 2<sup>16</sup>; so Is 27<sup>5</sup> וְ = *it would then happen that*, for which elsewhere וְ וְ.
- b* In the sense of *sive—sive* we find וְ—וְ, or וְ—וְ, or וְ—וְ (see the examples in the Lexicon), also וְ—וְ Lv 5<sup>3</sup>, Nu 9<sup>14</sup>, Dt 24<sup>7</sup>, Is 2<sup>13</sup><sup>fr.</sup>, Jer 32<sup>20</sup>, ψ 76<sup>7</sup>, Jb 34<sup>29</sup>, perhaps also Ex 21<sup>16</sup> (but not Pr 29<sup>9</sup>; cf. Delitzsch on the passage), and וְ—וְ (see § 143 *e*); cf. also וְ—וְ (in Gn 24<sup>44</sup> וְ—וְ) *both—and*; but וְ—וְ (in Gn 21<sup>26</sup> וְ—וְ) *neither—nor*. On disjunctive questions, see § 150 *g*.

§ 163. *Adversative and Exceptive Clauses.*

- a* 1. After negative sentences (especially after prohibitions) the antithesis (*but*) is introduced by וְ, e.g. 1 S 8<sup>19</sup> *and they said, Nay, but we will have a king over us*; ψ 1<sup>2</sup>, &c.; frequently also by וְ alone, e.g. Gn 18<sup>15</sup>, 19<sup>2</sup>, or even simply connected with וְ, Gn 17<sup>5</sup>, וְ, as perfect consecutive; 42<sup>10</sup>; cf. Ex 5<sup>18</sup>.
- b* Rem. Sometimes the negation is only virtually contained in the preceding sentence, e.g. in the form of a rhetorical question (Mi 6<sup>3f.</sup>) or of conditions which are to be regarded as not having been fulfilled (Jb 31<sup>18</sup>); וְ or וְ in such cases becomes equivalent to *nay, rather*.
- c* 2. *Exceptive* clauses, depending on another sentence, are introduced by וְ וְ *except that*, and (again after negative sentences, see *a* above) וְ וְ<sup>1</sup> *unless*; especially וְ וְ with the perfect (equivalent to *unless previously*) after imperfects which contain a declaration, e.g. Gn 32<sup>27</sup> *I will not let thee go, except thou hast previously blessed me*; Lv 22<sup>6</sup>, Is 55<sup>10</sup>, 65<sup>6</sup>, Am 3<sup>7</sup>, Ru 3<sup>18</sup>. Finally, וְ וְ *unless*, Am 3<sup>4</sup> (with perfect after a rhetorical question), or simply וְ וְ Gn 43<sup>3</sup> with a noun-clause, *except your brother be with you*; Is 10<sup>4</sup> after a rhetorical question, with a verbal-clause.

<sup>1</sup> Very probably this use of וְ וְ arises from the original meaning *for if, surely if* (וְ in an affirmative sense); so evidently in Ex 22<sup>22</sup> as a forcible resumption of the preceding וְ. Thus, e.g. Ju 15<sup>7</sup> is simply *surely when I have been avenged of you, after that I will cease, equivalent to, I will not cease, until I have, &c.* When the exception follows, an ellipse must be assumed, e.g. Ru 3<sup>18</sup> *surely (or for) when he has finished it (then the man will rest)*. It is far less natural to assume such an ellipse with וְ וְ *but* (before entire clauses as before single nouns); see *a* above.

Rem. The principal statement, to which אֲנִי כִּי appends an exception, א' must sometimes be supplied from the context; thus, Gn 40<sup>14</sup> (I desire nothing else) *except that thou remember me*, equivalent to *only do thou remember, &c.* (cf. § 106 n, note 2; but it is probably better to read אֲנִי for כִּי). Cf. Mi 6<sup>8</sup>, where אֲנִי כִּי, equivalent to *nothing but*, is used before an infinitive, and Jb 42<sup>8</sup>, equivalent to *only*, before a noun. Similarly when אֲנִי כִּי after an oath introduces an emphatic assurance, e.g. in 2 K 5<sup>20</sup> *as the Lord liveth* (I can do nothing else) *except I run after him, &c.*; cf. 2 S 15<sup>21</sup> *K<sup>e</sup>th.*, Jer 51<sup>14</sup>, Ru 3<sup>12</sup> *K<sup>e</sup>th.*, and even without the oath, Ju 15<sup>7</sup>; cf. the Rem. on c.

### § 164. Temporal Clauses.

1. The relations of time existing between two different actions or a' events are frequently expressed without the aid of a conjunction simply by juxtaposition:—

(a) Actions or events are represented as wholly or in part *simultaneous* by connecting a noun-clause with another noun-clause or verbal-clause introduced by וְ (or וְהִיָּה), e.g. Gn 7<sup>6</sup> *and Noah was six hundred years old* (prop. *a son of six hundred years*), וְהַמַּבּוּל הָיָה and (i.e. *when*) *the flood was*. This is especially the case when the predicate of the noun-clause (frequently introduced by עוֹד *still*) is expressed by an active participle, e.g. Jb 1<sup>16</sup> *עוֹד וְהָיָה* 'וְהָיָה כִּי אֵלֶיךָ יָבֹא וְהָיָה אֲנִי כִּי אֵלֶיךָ יָבֹא *he was yet speaking, and there came another, &c.*; see the numerous examples in § 111 g and § 116 u. Instead of a complete noun-clause there often occurs a simple *casus pendens* after כִּי with a participial attribute in the sense of *whenever any one . . .*, e.g. 1 S 2<sup>13</sup> *כִּי-אִישׁ זָבַח זֶבַח וְזָבַח* 'וְזָבַח *whenever any man offered sacrifice, then came, &c.*; 2 S 2<sup>23</sup>, &c.; see the examples (in which the second member is generally introduced by *wāw apodosis*) in § 116 w.

(b) Sequence is expressed by the juxtaposition

(1) of two imperfects consecutive, e.g. Gn 24<sup>19</sup> *וְהָיָה כִּי תִשְׁקָתוֹ וְהָיָה אֲמַר* *and when she had done giving him drink, she said, &c.*; 28<sup>6</sup>, 29<sup>31</sup>, 30<sup>9</sup>, 32<sup>26</sup>, &c.; cf. § 111 d;

(2) of a noun-clause with a passive participle as predicate, and a verbal-clause attached by וְ, e.g. Gn 38<sup>23</sup>; cf. § 116 v; in Gn 49<sup>29</sup> an imperative follows without וְ;

(3) of two perfects (frequently with the secondary idea of rapid succession<sup>1</sup> of the two actions or events in past time), e.g. Gn 19<sup>23</sup> *וְהָיָה כִּי יָרָא . . . וְהָיָה אֲמַר* *the sun was just risen . . . and (=when) Lot came, &c.*, cf. 1 S 9<sup>5</sup>, 2 S 2<sup>24</sup>; Gn 44<sup>3</sup>, Ju 3<sup>24</sup>, 15<sup>14</sup>, 20<sup>39</sup>.—In all these examples the subject follows immediately after the connective *Wāw*, and then the (simple) perfect. On the other hand,

(4) a perfect consecutive follows another perfect consecutive to express the contingent succession of future actions, e.g. Gn 44<sup>4</sup> *וְהָיָה אֲמַר וְהָיָה אֲמַר*

<sup>1</sup> This secondary idea is implied here by the mere co-ordination of two independent *verbal-clauses*, just as the idea of simultaneous occurrence (according to § 116 u, note 1) is implied in the co-ordination of a *noun-clause* with another clause. In Gn 2<sup>7,30</sup> the immediate succession is especially emphasized by וְ and the infinitive absolute, *Jacob was yet scarce gone out . . . then Esau his brother came*; in 1 K 9<sup>24</sup> by וְ only in ψ 48<sup>6</sup> by וְ and the addition of two more perfects without וְ.

and when thou dost overtake them (as soon as thou shalt have overtaken), thou shalt say unto them. Naturally, examples of this kind are very closely related to conditional sentences; see, therefore, the examples in § 112 *kk* and § 159 *g*. On the connexion of an imperfect consecutive or a perfect with detached expressions of time (as equivalent to complete clauses), cf. § 111 *b*; on the imperfect consecutive after וַיְהִי and a statement of time, cf. § 111 *g*; on the perfect consecutive following a detached statement of time, as in Ex 16<sup>6</sup>, cf. § 112 *oo*.—In 1 S 29<sup>10</sup> an imperative with ׀ follows the perfect consecutive.

- C* (5) The fact that one action or event has not yet taken place on the occurrence of another, is expressed by טָרָם (an adverb, not a conjunction) with the imperfect (according to § 107 *c*). The apodosis, which may consist of a subject and perfect or even of a noun-clause (Gn 24<sup>15</sup>),<sup>1</sup> is then connected by ׀ (or וְהָיָה) as in the examples above, under no. 3, e.g. Gn 19<sup>4</sup> (cf. Jos 2<sup>8</sup>) נָסְבוּ וְנָּ . . . נִשְׁבְּבוּ וְאֲנִשִּׁי הָעִיר . . . טָרָם they had not yet lain down, and (= when) the men of the city . . . compassed, &c.; Gn 24<sup>25</sup>.

*d* 2. Conjunctions used to introduce temporal clauses are קִי (with perfect, e.g. Gn 6<sup>1</sup>, Ju 1<sup>28</sup>, 16<sup>16</sup>, 1 S 1<sup>12</sup>; with imperfect, Gn 4<sup>12</sup>, 12<sup>12</sup>, 24<sup>41</sup>, Ex 3<sup>21</sup>, Lv 21<sup>9</sup>, Dt 31<sup>21</sup>, Is 1<sup>12</sup>, 8<sup>19</sup>) and אֲשֶׁר<sup>2</sup> when (קִי with the imperfect also = *as often as*, ψ 8<sup>4</sup>; with perfect Jb 1<sup>5</sup>); less frequently אֲמָם<sup>3</sup> (joined with a perfect), e.g. Gn 38<sup>9</sup>, Nu 21<sup>9</sup>, Ju 6<sup>3</sup>, ψ 41<sup>7</sup>, 94<sup>18</sup>, cf. also Is 24<sup>13</sup> = *quotiescunque*; also in the same sense with an imperfect, Nu 36<sup>4</sup>; with a perfect, equivalent to the *futurum exactum*, Is 4<sup>1</sup>. Other conjunctions of time are the compounds קִימָו when, Gn 19<sup>15</sup>; כִּי־אֲשֶׁר when, after that; עַד־אֲשֶׁר until (also the simple עַד, e.g. Gn 38<sup>11</sup>, Jos 2<sup>22</sup>, 1 S 1<sup>22</sup> [with the imperfect = *only when*, as in 2 S 10<sup>5</sup>]); 2<sup>5</sup>, &c.; especially in the formula לוֹ עַד־בְּלֹתִי הַשְּׂאִיר until there was none left remaining to him (where indeed it would be very natural to read הַשְּׂאִיר the infin. constr., as elsewhere after בְּלֹתִי, § 114 *s*) Nu 21<sup>35</sup>, Dt 3<sup>3</sup>, Jos 8<sup>22</sup>, 11<sup>8</sup> (but 1 S 14<sup>19</sup> while, as long as); לִפְנֵי עַד אֲשֶׁר לֹא before that, Ec 12<sup>1.2.6</sup> with an imperfect, as in Pr 8<sup>26</sup> עַד with a perfect; עַד־אֲמָם until the time when; אַחֲרֵי־אֲשֶׁר (for which in Ez 40<sup>1</sup> אַחֲרֵי־אֲשֶׁר; Lv 25<sup>48</sup>, 1 S 5<sup>9</sup> simply אַחֲרֵי; Lv 14<sup>43</sup>, Jer 41<sup>16</sup>, Jb 42<sup>7</sup> simply אַחֲרֵי) after that; מֵאָז (prop. since that time; the dependent clause is attached to it in the same way as the attributive clause to the demonstrative אֲשֶׁר § 138 *e*) since, Gn 39<sup>5</sup>; בְּטָרָם (and simply טָרָם § 107 *c*) before; קִרְמַת אֲשֶׁר before, ψ 129<sup>5</sup>.

- C* Rem. 1. With regard to the tenses used with the above conjunctions, the rules are practically the same as those given in § 158 *d* for causal clauses. The perfect indicates actions completed in the past or future (in the former case corresponding to the Latin pluperfect, § 106 *f*, and in the latter to the

<sup>1</sup> On the perfect in the protasis, which is critically doubtful, cf. § 107 *c*.

<sup>2</sup> On אֲשֶׁר as an original demonstrative, cf. § 138 *a*; hence עַד־אֲשֶׁר לָשׁוּב is properly up to that (moment)—we shall return.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the frequent use of *wenn* [prop. *if*] for *wann* [= *when*] in German.

Latin *futurum exactum*, § 106 o), the imperfect denotes actions occurring contingently in the future. On טָרַם, בְּטָרַם, and עַד with the imperfect as a *tempus historicum*, cf. 107 c.

2. Clauses introduced by עַד, עַד-כִּי, or עַד-אַשֶׁר, sometimes express a limit *f* which is not absolute (terminating the preceding action), but only relative, beyond which the action or state described in the principal clause still continues; thus, עַד with the imperfect, ψ 110<sup>1</sup>; עַד-כִּי with the perfect, Gn 26<sup>13</sup>, with i.npf. 49<sup>10</sup>; עַד-אַשֶׁר with the perfect, Gn 28<sup>15</sup>; with the imperfect, ψ 112<sup>8</sup>.—Like the Arab. حَتَّى, עַד may even introduce a main clause; e.g. Ex 15<sup>16</sup> עַד-יַעֲבֹר prop. no doubt = thus it came to this—they passed through, i.e. so they passed through.

3. The infinitive construct governed by a preposition (§ 114 d, e) is very *g* frequently used as the equivalent of a temporal clause; the infinitive with בְּ may usually be rendered by *when, as, or whilst*; the infinitive with בְּ by *when, as soon as* (in Pr 10<sup>25</sup> followed by a noun-clause introduced by *wāw apodosis*), or, when referring to the future, by *if*; the infinitive after מִן by *since*. According to § 111 g such statements of time are generally preceded by וַיְהִי and the apodosis follows in the imperfect consecutive; hence in 1 S 17<sup>55</sup> (cf. Driver on the passage) וַיְהִי אֹת וַיִּבְרָאֹת with a simple perfect following, is unusual. On the continuation of these infinitival constructions by means of the perfect consecutive, cf. § 112 v, and in general, § 114 r.—With the participle, כִּי appears to be used as the equivalent of a conjunction in כִּי-שֹׁב as *he drew back*, Gn 35<sup>29</sup> (unless we should read כִּי-שֹׁב [or כִּי-שֹׁב, cf. Gn 19<sup>15</sup>]), and in כִּי-פָּרַחַת *when it budded*, 40<sup>10</sup>.

### § 165. Final Clauses.<sup>1</sup>

1. Like most of the dependent clauses hitherto treated, the final *a* clause may also be joined by a simple *wāw copulative* to the main clause, unless the final clause is directly subordinated to the governing verb. ??

Examples of the connexion: (α) of a final imperfect (or jussive?) with a perfect by means of ׀, La 1<sup>19</sup>, see § 107 q; with an interrogative sentence, 2 S 9<sup>1,3</sup>, Jb 38<sup>24</sup>; with an optative, ψ 51<sup>9</sup>; with an imperative, 1 K 11<sup>21</sup>; (β) of a cohortative with an imperative by ׀, Gn 29<sup>21</sup>, 1 S 15<sup>16</sup>, or a jussive, Neh 2<sup>5</sup> (§ 108 d); (γ) of a jussive with an imperative by ׀, Ex 9<sup>1</sup>, 2 S 16<sup>11</sup>, 1 K 5<sup>50</sup>, ψ 59<sup>14</sup>, 86<sup>17</sup>; with a jussive, Jb 21<sup>19</sup>, or cohortative, § 109 f, g (cf. also 2 S 24<sup>21</sup> the infinitive with לְ, Jon 1<sup>11</sup> מָה with the 1st plur. imperf., and 2 Ch 29<sup>10</sup> עַם-לִבְבִי, which are equivalent to cohortatives); (δ) of an imperative with a jussive, cohortative, or interrogative sentence by ׀, § 110 i; (ε) of a perfect consecutive after another perfect consecutive, Lv 14<sup>38</sup>; after an imperfect, § 112 m and p; similarly after a jussive, § 112 q; after an imperative, § 112 r.—On negative final clauses joined by וְלֹא to the imperfect (so Ex 25<sup>43</sup>, 30<sup>20</sup>; and 2 S 13<sup>25</sup> after אֶל-נָא with a jussive in the main clause) see the Rem. on § 109 g. In Ex 28<sup>32</sup>, 39<sup>23</sup> the negative final clause is simply connected by לֹא.—On the use of an historical statement after verbs of command-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. H. G. T. Mitchell, *Final Constructions of Biblical Hebrew*, Leipzig, 1879.

ing, where we should expect a final clause (e.g. Neh 13<sup>9</sup> *then I commanded, and they cleansed*, equivalent to *that they should cleanse, and they cleansed*; in Jb 9<sup>7</sup> a negative final clause is connected in this way by אִלּוּ, cf. § 120 f.

For examples of the direct subordination of the final imperfect (without וְ) see § 120 c.

b 2. Final conjunctions are לְמַעַן אֲשֶׁר *to the end that*; also simply לְמַעַן Gn 12<sup>13</sup>, 27<sup>25</sup>, Ex 4<sup>5</sup>, ψ 51<sup>6</sup>, &c.; אֲשֶׁר בְּעֵבֶר prop. *for the purpose that*, Gn 27<sup>10</sup>, and simply בְּעֵבֶר Gn 27<sup>4</sup>, Ex 9<sup>14</sup>, 20<sup>20</sup>; also the simple אֲשֶׁר<sup>1</sup> Dt 4<sup>10,40</sup>, 6<sup>3</sup>, 32<sup>46</sup>, Jos 3<sup>7</sup>, Neh 8<sup>14f.</sup>; negatively, לֹא אֲשֶׁר Gn 11<sup>7</sup>, 24<sup>3</sup>, 1 K 22<sup>16</sup>; or וְ Ec 3<sup>14</sup>; also negatively, עַל-דְּבַר שְׂאֵל *for the matter (purpose) that . . . not*, Ec 7<sup>14</sup>; לְבַלְתִּי with imperfect, Ex 20<sup>20</sup>, 2 S 14<sup>14</sup> *that . . . not*.—Quite exceptional is the use of כִּי (if the text be right) in Dt 33<sup>11</sup> כִּי-יִקְרָאוּ, with the imperfect, equivalent to *that . . . not* [in prose, מְקוּם].

c Rem. All the conjunctions here mentioned are naturally always used with the imperfect, see § 107 g (on the apparent exception in Jos 4<sup>24</sup>, see § 74 g).—On the negative conjunctions אִלּוּ and כִּי *that not, lest*, see § 152 f and w. On the infinitive with הֵ (also לְמַעַן Gn 18<sup>19</sup>, 37<sup>22</sup>, &c.) as the equivalent of a final clause (Gn 11<sup>5</sup>, 28<sup>4</sup>, &c.), see § 114 f, h, p. On the continuation of such infinitival constructions by means of the finite verb, see § 114 r. On the negation of the final infinitive by לְבַלְתִּי, § 114 s. On the preposition מִן with a substantive or infinitive as the equivalent of a negative final clause (Gn 31<sup>29</sup>, 1 S 15<sup>23</sup>, &c.), see § 119 x and y.

### § 166. Consecutive Clauses.

a 1. Consecutive clauses are added by means of simple wāw copulative with the jussive,<sup>3</sup> especially after negative and interrogative sentences, e.g. Nu 23<sup>19</sup> לֹא אִישׁ אֵל וְיִכְיֶזֶב וְיִזְבֹּחַ אֶרֶם וְיִתְנַחֵם *God is not a man, that he should lie, and (i. e. neither) the son of man, that he should repent*; Is 53<sup>2</sup> וְיִנְחַמְרָהוּ; Ho 14<sup>10</sup> מִי חָכֵם וְיִבֵּן אֵלֶּה נְבוֹן וְיִרְדְּעֵם *who is wise, that he may understand these things? prudent, that he may know them?* Jb 5<sup>12</sup> וְלֹא=*so that . . . not*; in Pr 30<sup>3</sup> וְ is separated from the predicate by the object. In Gn 16<sup>10</sup> a negative consecutive clause comes after a cohortative, and in Ex 10<sup>5</sup> after a perfect consecutive.—On the other hand, in Jb 9<sup>32,33</sup> the jussive in the sense of a consecutive clause is attached without Wāw to the preceding negative sentence (in

<sup>1</sup> In Ez 36<sup>27</sup> a final clause is introduced by אֲשֶׁר אֵת, thus at the same time taking the form of an object-clause.

<sup>2</sup> On הֵ as a supposed conjunction (equivalent to the Arabic *li*) 1 K 6<sup>19</sup>, see § 66 i.

<sup>3</sup> That such examples as וְיִכְיֶזֶב are to be regarded as jussive is probable from the analogy of Ho 14<sup>10</sup> and Jb 9<sup>33</sup>.

verse 32 a second jussive follows, likewise without *Wāw*, for *he is not a man, as I am, that I should answer him, that we should come together in judgement*). On the imperfect consecutive as expressing a logical consequence, see § 111 l; on the perfect consecutive as a consecutive clause after a participle, see § 112 n.

2. Conjunctions introducing consecutive clauses are again (see *b* § 157 c, note 3) וְ and וְכֵן=so that; especially again after interrogative sentences, according to § 107 u; cf. Nu 16<sup>11</sup>, וְ with the imperfect, *that ye murmur*; but in Gn 20<sup>10</sup> with the perfect, in reference to an action already completed. On וְכֵן with the imperfect (or jussive) equivalent to *so that*, cf. further Gn 13<sup>16</sup>, 22<sup>14</sup>; with perfect and imperfect, 1 K 3<sup>12f.</sup>, with the demonstrative force clearly discernible, depending on כֵּן; on כֵּן וְכֵן=ut non, cf. Dt 28<sup>35</sup>, 1 K 3<sup>8</sup>, 2 K 9<sup>37</sup>.

On וְ with a substantive or infinitive as the equivalent of a consecutive clause, see § 119 y.

### § 167. *Aposiopesis, Anacoluthon, Involved Series of Sentences.*

1. *Aposiopesis* is the concealment or suppression of entire sentences *a* or clauses, which are of themselves necessary to complete the sense,<sup>1</sup> and therefore must be supplied from the context. This is especially frequent after conditional clauses; besides the examples already given in § 159 *dd*, cf. also Ex 32<sup>32</sup> (the LXX and Samaritan supply אֲשֶׁר); Nu 5<sup>20</sup>, Ju 9<sup>16</sup> (in verse 19, after a long parenthesis, an imperative follows as the apodosis to this conditional clause); 1 S 12<sup>14f.</sup>, 2 S 5<sup>8</sup> (where indeed the text is probably very corrupt; cf. the addition in 1 Ch 11<sup>6</sup>); 2 S 23<sup>17</sup>, ψ 27<sup>13</sup>, 1 Ch 4<sup>10</sup>. For other examples of various kinds, see § 117 l, and especially § 147; in Aramaic, Dn 3<sup>15</sup>.—On Gn 3<sup>22</sup>, cf. § 152 *w* at the end.

2. *Anacoluthon* is the change from a construction which has been *b* already begun to one of a different kind. It is found especially after long parentheses, because the speaker has either lost sight of the beginning of his sentence, or for the sake of clearness purposely makes a new beginning; thus Gn 20<sup>13</sup>, 31<sup>52</sup> and Ez 34<sup>10</sup> (cf. § 149 at the end); Nu 14<sup>21ff.</sup>, 32<sup>20ff.</sup>, Dt 17<sup>2ff.</sup>, 24<sup>1ff.</sup>, 29<sup>21ff.</sup>, Ju 10<sup>11</sup> (where, after a series of intermediate sentences, the predicate *I saved you* is sup-

<sup>1</sup> But those cases are not to be regarded as examples of aposiopesis, in which the answer, being closely connected with the question, is given simply in the infinitive with הֵ; cf. § 147 a, note 1.

pressed; but the text can hardly be correct); perhaps also Is 66<sup>18</sup> (cf., however, Delitzsch on the passage, which is certainly corrupt).<sup>1</sup> On Gn 23<sup>13</sup> (<sup>3</sup><sup>b</sup> with the imperative), see § 110 e.

c 3. We may mention as instructive examples of *involved series* of sentences Gn 24<sup>14</sup> and <sup>42</sup> <sup>π</sup>, and Gn 28<sup>6π</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, from the Semitic point of view the various kinds of compound sentences are *not* to be regarded as instances of anacoluthon, e.g. Gn 17<sup>14.17</sup>, nor even Gn 31<sup>40</sup> (cf. § 143).

## THE PARADIGMS.

IN the paradigms of the verbs, those forms which are to be especially noticed by the beginner are marked throughout by an asterisk as model forms. Thus e.g. in the strong verb the 3rd *sing. fem.* קָטְלָהּ is the model for קָטְלָהּ, which likewise has only a vocalic affirmative, and קָטְלָהּ is the model for קָטְלָהּ, קָטְלָהּ and קָטְלָהּ, which in the same way have a toneless affirmative beginning with a consonant. On the other hand, the forms קָטְלָהּ and קָטְלָהּ, where the affix beginning with a consonant has the tone, stand by themselves.—In the table of the pronouns the asterisk has a different meaning; see the footnote there.—The bracketed forms (from Paradigm G onwards) are merely analogous formations not occurring in the Old Testament.

The newly added paradigm (Q) consists of forms actually found, belonging to various verbs.

## A. The Personal

Nominative of the Pronoun,  
or *Pronomen separatum*.

Accusative of the Pronoun,

A.

Simple form.

Sing. I. comm. אֲנִי, in pause אֲנִי;   
אֲנִי, in pause אֲנִי I.

אֲנִי; אֲנִי; אֲנִי me.

2. { m. אַתָּה (את), in pause }   
אַתָּה } thou.   
f. אַתְּ (אתי) }

אַתָּה; אַתָּה, in pause אַתָּה, }   
אַתָּה } thee.   
אַתְּ; אַתְּ; אַתְּ, אַתְּ }

3. { m. הוּא he.   
f. הִיא she. }

הוּא; הוּא (ה), הוּא; הִיא him.

הִיא; הִיא; הִיא her (eam).

Plur. I. comm. אֲנַחְנוּ (נַחְנוּ), in   
pause אֲנַחְנוּ (נַחְנוּ) we.

אֲנַחְנוּ; אֲנַחְנוּ us.

2. { m. אַתֶּם }   
f. אַתֶּן, אַתֶּן } you.

אַתֶּם; אַתֶּן } you.   
[אַתֶּן; אַתֶּן]

3. { m. הֵם, הֵם }   
f. הֵנָּה } they.

(הֵם), הֵם; הֵם, הֵם, הֵם \*; הֵם,   
(הֵם), הֵם \* them (eos).

[הֵם], הֵם; הֵם, (הֵם); [הֵם] them (eas).

Pronoun.<sup>1</sup>

or *Suffixum Verbi*.

Genitive of the Pronoun, or *Suffixum Nominis*  
(*Pron. possessivum*).

B.	A.	B.
With <i>Nūn energeticum</i> .	Attached to a sing. noun.	Attached to a noun plur. or dual.
אֲנִי; אַתָּה	אֲנִי <i>my</i> (prop. gen. <i>mei</i> ).	אֲנִי <i>my</i> .
אַתָּה, (אַתָּה)	אָתְּ, אַתָּה, in } <i>thy</i> pause אַתָּה } (prop. אָתְּ, אַתָּה, (אַתָּה) } <i>twi</i> .	אֲתָּה } <i>thy</i> . אַתָּה }
not found.		
(אֲנִי), אֲנִי; (אֲנִי)	הוּא, וְ; הוּא, וְ (הוּ) <i>his</i> ( <i>eius</i> and <i>suus</i> ).	הוּא, וְ, (הוּא*) <i>his</i> .
אֲתָּה	הִיא; הִיא; הִיא <i>her</i> .	הִיא <i>her</i> .
אֲנִי? (see § 58 k)	אֲנִי; אֲנִי; (אֲנִי) <i>our</i> .	אֲנִי <i>our</i> .
these forms are not found.	אַתָּה; אַתָּה } <i>your</i> . אַתָּה; אַתָּה }	אַתָּה } <i>your</i> . אַתָּה }
	הֵם; הֵם, } <i>their</i> . הֵמוֹ * }	הֵם, הֵמוֹ * } <i>their</i> . הֵמוֹ }

<sup>1</sup> Forms with an asterisk are exclusively poetic, those in parentheses ( ) are rare, those in brackets [ ] do not occur (cf. § 58 a, note).

		Qal.		Niph'al.	P'el.	
<i>Perf. Sing.</i>	3. m.	קָטַל*	כָּבַד*	קָטַן*	קָטַל, קָטַל*	
	3. f.	קָטַלָּה*	כָּבְדָה*	קָטְנָה*	קָטַלָּה*	
	2. m.	קָטַלְתָּ*	כָּבַדְתָּ*	קָטַנְתָּ*	קָטַלְתָּ*	
	2. f.	קָטַלְתְּ*	כָּבַדְתְּ*	קָטַנְתְּ*	קָטַלְתְּ*	
	1. c.	קָטַלְתִּי	כָּבַדְתִּי	קָטַנְתִּי	קָטַלְתִּי	
	<i>Plur.</i>	3. c.	קָטַלוּ	כָּבְדוּ	קָטְנוּ	קָטַלוּ
		2. m.	קָטַלְתֶּם*	כָּבַדְתֶּם*	קָטַנְתֶּם*	קָטַלְתֶּם
		2. f.	קָטַלְתֶּן	כָּבַדְתֶּן	קָטַנְתֶּן	קָטַלְתֶּן
	1. c.	קָטַלְנוּ	כָּבַדְנוּ	קָטַנְנוּ	קָטַלְנוּ	
<i>Inf.</i>	שָׁבַב, קָטַל*			הִקָּטַל*	קָטַל*	
<i>Inf. absol.</i>	קָטוּל*			הִקָּטַל, נִקָּטַל	קָטַל, קָטַל*	
<i>Imp. Sing.</i>	2. m.	קָטַל*	כָּבַד*	הִקָּטַל*	קָטַל*	
	2. f.	קָטַלִּי*	כָּבְדִי*	הִקָּטַלִּי*	קָטַלִּי*	
	<i>Plur.</i>	2. m.	קָטַלוּ	כָּבְדוּ	הִקָּטַלוּ	קָטַלוּ
		2. f.	קָטַלְנָה*	כָּבְדְנָה*	הִקָּטַלְנָה*	קָטַלְנָה*
<i>Impf. Sing.</i>	3. m.	יִקְטַל*	יִכְבֹּד*	יִקְטַן*	יִקְטַל*	
	3. f.	תִּקְטַל	תִּכְבֹּד	תִּקְטַל	תִּקְטַל	
	2. m.	תִּקְטַל	תִּכְבֹּד	תִּקְטַל	תִּקְטַל	
	2. f.	תִּקְטַלִּי*	תִּכְבְּדִי*	תִּקְטַלִּי*	תִּקְטַלִּי*	
	1. c.	אִקְטַל	אִכְבֹּד	אִקְטַל	אִקְטַל	
	<i>Plur.</i>	3. m.	יִקְטְלוּ	יִכְבְּדוּ	יִקְטְלוּ	יִקְטְלוּ
		3. f.	תִּקְטַלְנָה*	תִּכְבְּדְנָה*	תִּקְטַלְנָה*	תִּקְטַלְנָה*
		2. m.	תִּקְטְלוּ	תִּכְבְּדוּ	תִּקְטְלוּ	תִּקְטְלוּ
		2. f.	תִּקְטַלְנָה	תִּכְבְּדְנָה	תִּקְטַלְנָה	תִּקְטַלְנָה
	1. c.	נִקְטַל	נִכְבֹּד	נִקְטַל	נִקְטַל	
<i>Shortened Impf. (Jussive).</i>						
<i>Part. act.</i>		קָטַל*	כָּבַד	קָטַן	נִקְטַל*	
	<i>pass.</i>	קָטוּל*				

Verb.

<i>Pu'al.</i>	<i>Hiph'il.</i>	<i>Hoph'al.</i>	<i>Hithpa'el.</i>
קָטַל*	הִקְטִיל*	הִקְטַל*	הִתְקַטַּל*
קָטַלָּה*	הִקְטִילָּה*	הִקְטַלָּה*	הִתְקַטַּלָּה*
קָטַלְתָּ*	הִקְטַלְתָּ*	הִקְטַלְתָּ*	הִתְקַטַּלְתָּ*
קָטַלְתָּ	הִקְטַלְתָּ	הִקְטַלְתָּ	הִתְקַטַּלְתָּ
קָטַלְתִּי	הִקְטַלְתִּי	הִקְטַלְתִּי	הִתְקַטַּלְתִּי
קָטַלְוּ	הִקְטִילוּ	הִקְטַלוּ	הִתְקַטַּלוּ
קָטַלְתֶּם	הִקְטַלְתֶּם	הִקְטַלְתֶּם	הִתְקַטַּלְתֶּם
קָטַלְתֶּן	הִקְטַלְתֶּן	הִקְטַלְתֶּן	הִתְקַטַּלְתֶּן
קָטַלְנוּ	הִקְטַלְנוּ	הִקְטַלְנוּ	הִתְקַטַּלְנוּ
wanting.	הִקְטִיל*	wanting.	הִתְקַטַּל*
קָטַל*	הִקְטַל*	הִקְטַל*	הִתְקַטַּל*
wanting.	הִקְטַל*	wanting.	הִתְקַטַּל*
	הִקְטִילִי*		הִתְקַטַּלִי*
	הִקְטִילוּ		הִתְקַטַּלוּ
	הִקְטִילְנָה*		הִתְקַטַּלְנָה*
יִקְטַל*	יִקְטִיל*	יִקְטַל*	יִתְקַטַּל*
תִּקְטַל	תִּקְטִיל	תִּקְטַל	תִּתְקַטַּל
תִּקְטַל	תִּקְטִיל	תִּקְטַל	תִּתְקַטַּל
יִתְקַטַּל*	יִתְקַטִּיל*	יִתְקַטַּל*	יִתְקַטַּל*
אִתְקַטַּל	אִתְקִיל	אִתְקַטַּל	אִתְקַטַּל
יִתְקַטַּלוּ	יִתְקִילוּ	יִתְקַטַּלוּ	יִתְקַטַּלוּ
תִּתְקַטַּלְנָה*	תִּתְקִילְנָה*	תִּתְקַטַּלְנָה*	תִּתְקַטַּלְנָה*
תִּתְקַטַּלוּ	תִּתְקִילוּ	תִּתְקַטַּלוּ	תִּתְקַטַּלוּ
תִּתְקַטַּלְנָה	תִּתְקִילְנָה	תִּתְקַטַּלְנָה	תִּתְקַטַּלְנָה
נִקְטַל	נִקְטִיל	נִקְטַל	נִתְקַטַּל
	יִקְטַל*		
	מִקְטִיל*		מִתְקַטַּל*
מִקְטַל*		מִקְטַל*	

## C. Strong Verb

		Suffixes	1 Sing.	2 Sing. m.	2 Sing. f.	3 Sing. m.
Perf. Qal	3. m.	{ קטלני שָׁבַחְתִּי }	קטלך	קטלך	{ קטלהו קטלו }	
	3. f.					קטלתני
	2. m.	קטלתני	—	—	{ קטלתהו קטלתו }	
	2. f.	קטלתני	—	—	קטלתיהו	
	1. c.	—	קטלתיד	קטלתיה	{ קטלתיו קטלתיהו }	
	Plur.	3. c.	קטלני	{ קטלוד אָהַבְוּךָ }	קטלוד	קטלהו
		2. m.	קטלתני	—	—	קטלתהו
		1. c.	—	קטלנוד	קטלנוד	קטלנדהו
	Inf. Qal		{ קטלי קטלני }	{ בַּתְּבֹד קטלך }	קטלך	קטלו
	Imp. Qal 2.		קטלני	—	—	קטלהו
		(from an Imperf. in a שְׁמַעְנִי, שְׁלַחְנִי)				
Impf. Qal	3. m.	{ יקטלני יִלְבְּשֵׁנִי }	{ יקטלך יִלְבֹּשֶׁךָ }	{ יקטלך יִלְבֹּשֶׁךָ }	{ יקטלהו יִלְבֹּשֶׁהוּ }	
	3. m. with <i>Nûn</i> energ.	} יקטלני	} יקטלך	—	יקטלנו	
	Plur. 3. m.			יקטלני	יקטלוד	יקטלוד
	Perf. Pi'el 3. m.		קטלני	קטלך	קטלך	קטלו

with Suffixes.

3 Sing. f.	1 Plur.	2 Plur. m.	2 Plur. f.	3 Plur. m.	3 Plur. f.
קָטְלָהּ	קָטְלָנוּ	wanting.	wanting.	{ קָטְלָם } { לְבָשָׁם }	קָטְלוּ
קָטְלָתָהּ	קָטְלָתָנוּ	—	—	קָטְלָתָם	wanting.
קָטְלָתֶהּ	קָטְלָתֶנוּ	—	—	קָטְלָתָם	wanting.
קָטְלָתֶיהָ	קָטְלָתֵינוּ	—	—	קָטְלָתֵימָם	wanting.
קָטְלָתֶיהָ	—	קָטְלָתֵיכֶם	wanting.	קָטְלָתֵימָם	קָטְלָתֵיוּ
קָטְלָוּהָ	קָטְלָוּנוּ	wanting.	wanting.	קָטְלָוּם	קָטְלָוּ
wanting.	קָטְלָוּנוּ	—	—	wanting.	wanting.
קָטְלָוּהָ	—	קָטְלָוּכֶם	wanting.	קָטְלָוּם	wanting.
קָטְלָהּ	קָטְלָנוּ	{ קָטְלָבְכֶם } { קָטְלָבָם }	wanting.	קָטְלָם	קָטְלוּ
{ קָטְלָהּ } { קָטְלָהּ }	קָטְלָנוּ	—	—	קָטְלָם	—
{ יְקָטְלָהּ } { יְלַבְּשָׁה } { יְקָטְלָהּ }	{ יְקָטְלָנוּ } { יְלַבְּשָׁנוּ }	יְקָטְלָכֶם	wanting.	יְקָטְלָם	wanting.
יְקָטְלָנָהּ	יְקָטְלָנוּ	—	—	—	—
יְקָטְלָוּהָ	יְקָטְלָוּנוּ	יְקָטְלָוּכֶם	wanting.	יְקָטְלָוּם	wanting.
קָטְלָהּ	קָטְלָנוּ	wanting.	wanting.	קָטְלָם	קָטְלוּ

D. Verbs *primae gutturalis*

	<i>Qal.</i>	<i>Niph'al.</i>	<i>Hiph'ul.</i>	<i>Hoph'al.</i>
<i>Perf. Sing. 3. m.</i>	עָמַד	נִעְמַד*	הֶעֱמִיד*	הִעָמַד*
3. <i>f.</i>	עָמְדָה	נִעְמְדָה*	הֶעֱמִידָה	הִעָמְדָה*
2. <i>m.</i>	עָמַדְתָּ	נִעְמַדְתָּ	הֶעֱמַדְתָּ	הִעָמַדְתָּ
2. <i>f.</i>	עָמַדְתְּ	נִעְמַדְתְּ	הֶעֱמַדְתְּ	הִעָמַדְתְּ
1. <i>c.</i>	עָמַדְתִּי	נִעְמַדְתִּי	הֶעֱמַדְתִּי	הִעָמַדְתִּי
<i>Plur. 3. c.</i>	עָמְדוּ	נִעְמְדוּ	הֶעֱמִידוּ	הִעָמְדוּ
2. <i>m.</i>	עָמַדְתֶּם*	נִעְמַדְתֶּם	הֶעֱמַדְתֶּם	הִעָמַדְתֶּם
2. <i>f.</i>	עָמַדְתֶּן*	נִעְמַדְתֶּן	הֶעֱמַדְתֶּן	הִעָמַדְתֶּן
1. <i>c.</i>	עָמַדְנִי	נִעְמַדְנִי	הֶעֱמַדְנִי	הִעָמַדְנִי
<i>Inf.</i>	עָמַד*	הֶעֱמַד*	הֶעֱמִיד*	
<i>Inf. absol.</i>	עָמוּד	נִעְמוּד, הָאָסַף	הֶעֱמַד*	הִעָמַד*
<i>Imp. Sing. m.</i>	עָמַד*	חֹזֵק*	הֶעֱמַד*	הֶעֱמַד
<i>f.</i>	עָמְדִי	חֹזְמִי	הֶעֱמְדִי	הֶעֱמְדִי
<i>Plur. m.</i>	עָמְדוּ	חֹזְקוּ	הֶעֱמְדוּ	הֶעֱמְדוּ
<i>f.</i>	עָמְדֶנָּה*	חֹזְקֶנָּה*	הֶעֱמְדֶנָּה	הֶעֱמְדֶנָּה
<i>Impf. Sing. 3. m.</i>	יַעֲמַד*	יִחַזֵּק*	יַעֲמַד*	יַעֲמִיד*
3. <i>f.</i>	תַּעֲמֹד	תִּחַזֵּק	תַּעֲמֹד	תַּעֲמִיד
2. <i>m.</i>	תַּעֲמֹד	תִּחַזֵּק	תַּעֲמֹד	תַּעֲמִיד
2. <i>f.</i>	תַּעֲמְדִי*	תִּחַזְּקִי*	תַּעֲמְדִי	תַּעֲמְדִי
1. <i>c.</i>	אֶעֱמֹד*	אֶחַזֵּק	אֶעֱמֹד	אֶעֱמִיד
<i>Plur. 3. m.</i>	יַעֲמְדוּ*	יִחַזְּקוּ*	יַעֲמְדוּ	יַעֲמִידוּ
3. <i>f.</i>	תַּעֲמְדֶנָּה	תִּחַזְּקֶנָּה	תַּעֲמְדֶנָּה	תַּעֲמְדֶנָּה
2. <i>m.</i>	תַּעֲמְדוּ	תִּחַזְּקוּ	תַּעֲמְדוּ	תַּעֲמְדוּ
2. <i>f.</i>	תַּעֲמְדֶנָּה	תִּחַזְּקֶנָּה	תַּעֲמְדֶנָּה	תַּעֲמְדֶנָּה
1. <i>c.</i>	נִעְמַד	נִחַזֵּק	נִעְמַד	נִעְמַד
<i>Shortened Impf. (Jussive).</i>			יַעֲמַד	
<i>Part. act.</i>	עָמֵד	נִעְמָד*	מִעֲמִיד*	
<i>pass.</i>	עָמוּד			מִעָמַד

wanting.

E. Verbs mediae gutturalis.

	Qal.	Niph'al.	Pi'el.	Pu'al.	Hithpa'el.
<i>Perf. Sing.</i> 3. m.	שָׁחַט	נִשְׁחַט	בָּרַךְ*	בָּרַךְ*	הִתְבָּרַךְ*
3. f.	שָׁחַטָה*	נִשְׁחַטָה*	בָּרַכְהָ	[בָּרַכְהָ]	הִתְבָּרַכְהָ
2. m.	שָׁחַטְתָּ	נִשְׁחַטְתָּ	בָּרַכְתָּ	בָּרַכְתָּ	הִתְבָּרַכְתָּ
2. f.	שָׁחַטְתְּ	נִשְׁחַטְתְּ	בָּרַכְתְּ	בָּרַכְתְּ	הִתְבָּרַכְתְּ
1. c.	שָׁחַטְתִּי	נִשְׁחַטְתִּי	בָּרַכְתִּי	בָּרַכְתִּי	הִתְבָּרַכְתִּי
<i>Plur.</i> 3. c.	שָׁחַטוּ*	נִשְׁחַטוּ*	בָּרְכוּ	בָּרְכוּ	הִתְבָּרְכוּ
2. m.	שָׁחַטְתֶּם	נִשְׁחַטְתֶּם	בָּרַכְתֶּם	בָּרַכְתֶּם	הִתְבָּרַכְתֶּם
2. f.	שָׁחַטְתֶּן	נִשְׁחַטְתֶּן	[בָּרַכְתֶּן]	בָּרַכְתֶּן	הִתְבָּרַכְתֶּן
1. c.	שָׁחַטְנוּ	נִשְׁחַטְנוּ	בָּרַכְנוּ	בָּרַכְנוּ	הִתְבָּרַכְנוּ
<i>Inf.</i>	שָׁחַט	הִשְׁחַט	בָּרַךְ*	wanting.	הִתְבָּרַךְ*
<i>Inf. absol.</i>	שָׁחוּט	נִשְׁחוּט	בָּרַךְ*		
<i>Imp. Sing.</i> m.	שָׁחַט*	הִשְׁחַט	בָּרַךְ*		הִתְבָּרַךְ*
f.	שִׁחַטִי*	הִשְׁחַטִי*	בָּרְכִי*	wanting.	[הִתְבָּרְכִי]
<i>Plur.</i> m.	שָׁחַטוּ	הִשְׁחַטוּ	בָּרְכוּ		[הִתְבָּרְכוּ]
f.	שִׁחַטְנָה	הִשְׁחַטְנָה	בָּרַכְנָה*		הִתְבָּרַכְנָה
<i>Impf. Sing.</i> 3. m.	יִשְׁחַט*	יִשְׁחַט	יְבָרַךְ*	יְבָרַךְ*	יִתְבָּרַךְ*
3. f.	תִּשְׁחַט	תִּשְׁחַט	תְּבָרַךְ	תְּבָרַךְ	תִּתְבָּרַךְ
2. m.	תִּשְׁחַט	תִּשְׁחַט	תְּבָרַךְ	תְּבָרַךְ	תִּתְבָּרַךְ
אֲשֶׁר. f.	תִּשְׁחַטִּי*	תִּשְׁחַטִּי*	תְּבָרְכִי	[תְּבָרְכִי]	[תִּתְבָּרְכִי]
יִשְׁלַח. c.	אִשְׁחַט	אִשְׁחַט	אֲבָרַךְ	אֲבָרַךְ	אִתְבָּרַךְ
<i>Plur.</i> 3. m.	יִשְׁחַטוּ	יִשְׁחַטוּ	יְבָרְכוּ	יְבָרְכוּ	יִתְבָּרְכוּ
3. f.	תִּשְׁחַטְנָה	תִּשְׁחַטְנָה	תְּבָרַכְנָה	תְּבָרַכְנָה	תִּתְבָּרַכְנָה
2. m.	תִּשְׁחַטוּ	תִּשְׁחַטוּ	תְּבָרְכוּ	תְּבָרְכוּ	תִּתְבָּרְכוּ
2. f.	תִּשְׁחַטְנָה	תִּשְׁחַטְנָה	תְּבָרַכְנָה	תְּבָרַכְנָה	תִּתְבָּרַכְנָה
1. c.	נִשְׁחַט	נִשְׁחַט	נְבָרַךְ	נְבָרַךְ	נִתְבָּרַךְ
<i>Impf. with Suff.</i>	יִשְׁחַטְהוּ				
<i>Part. act.</i>	שֹׁחֵט	נִשְׁחָט	מְבָרַךְ*		מִתְבָּרַךְ*
<i>pass.</i>	שָׁחוּט			מְבָרַךְ*	

	<i>Qal.</i>	<i>Niph'al.</i>	<i>Pi'el.</i>
<i>Perf. Sing.</i> 3. m.	שָׁלַח	נִשְׁלַחַח	שָׁלַח*
3. f.	שָׁלַחָה	נִשְׁלַחְחָה	שָׁלַחָה
2. m.	שָׁלַחְתָּ	נִשְׁלַחְתָּ	שָׁלַחְתָּ
2. f.	שָׁלַחְתְּ*	נִשְׁלַחְתְּ*	שָׁלַחְתְּ*
1. c.	שָׁלַחְתִּי	נִשְׁלַחְתִּי	שָׁלַחְתִּי
<i>Plur.</i> 3. c.	שָׁלְחוּ	נִשְׁלַחוּ	שָׁלְחוּ
2. m.	שָׁלַחְתֶּם	נִשְׁלַחְתֶּם	שָׁלַחְתֶּם
2. f.	שָׁלַחְתֶּן	נִשְׁלַחְתֶּן	שָׁלַחְתֶּן
1. c.	שָׁלַחְנוּ	נִשְׁלַחְנוּ	שָׁלַחְנוּ
<i>Inf.</i>	שָׁלַח*	הִשְׁלַח*	שָׁלַח*
<i>Inf. absol.</i>	שָׁלוּחַ	נִשְׁלוּחַ	שָׁלַח
<i>Imp. Sing.</i> m.	שָׁלַח*	הִשְׁלַח*	שָׁלַח*
f.	שָׁלְחִי	הִשְׁלְחִי	שָׁלְחִי*
<i>Plur.</i> m.	שָׁלְחוּ	הִשְׁלְחוּ	שָׁלְחוּ
f.	שָׁלְחֶנָּה*	הִשְׁלְחֶנָּה	שָׁלְחֶנָּה*
<i>Impf. Sing.</i> 3. m.	יִשְׁלַח*	יִשְׁלַח*	יִשְׁלַח*
3. f.	תִּשְׁלַח	תִּשְׁלַח	תִּשְׁלַח*
2. m.	תִּשְׁלַח	תִּשְׁלַח	תִּשְׁלַח
2. f.	תִּשְׁלַחִי	תִּשְׁלַחִי	תִּשְׁלַחִי
1. c.	אֶשְׁלַח	אֶשְׁלַח	אֶשְׁלַח <sup>2</sup>
<i>Plur.</i> 3. m.	יִשְׁלְחוּ	יִשְׁלְחוּ	יִשְׁלְחוּ <sup>1</sup>
3. f.	תִּשְׁלַחְנָה*	תִּשְׁלַחְנָה*	תִּשְׁלַחְנָה*
2. m.	תִּשְׁלְחוּ	תִּשְׁלְחוּ	תִּשְׁלְחוּ
2. f.	תִּשְׁלַחְנָה	תִּשְׁלַחְנָה	תִּשְׁלַחְנָה
1. c.	נִשְׁלַח	נִשְׁלַח	נִשְׁלַח
<i>Shortened Impf. (Jussive).</i>			
<i>Impf. with Suff.</i>	יִשְׁלַחְנִי		
<i>Part. act.</i>	שָׁלַח*	נִשְׁלַחַח	מִשְׁלַח*
<i>pass.</i>	שָׁלוּחַ*		

tertiae gutturalis.

<i>Pu'al.</i>	<i>Hiph'el.</i>	<i>Hoph'al.</i>	<i>Hithpa'el.</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
שָׁלַחְתֶּן	הִשְׁלַחְתֶּן	הִשְׁלַחְתֶּן	הִשְׁתַּלַּחְתֶּן
שָׁלַחְנוּ	הִשְׁלַחְנוּ	הִשְׁלַחְנוּ	הִשְׁתַּלַּחְנוּ
	הִשְׁלִיחַ*		הִשְׁתַּלַּח*
	הִשְׁלַח*	הִשְׁלַח*	
	הִשְׁלַח		הִשְׁתַּלַּח*
wanting.	הִשְׁלִיחִי	wanting.	הִשְׁתַּלַּחִי
	הִשְׁלִיחוּ		הִשְׁתַּלַּחוּ
	הִשְׁלַחְנָה		הִשְׁתַּלַּחְנָה*
יִשְׁלַח	יִשְׁלִיחַ*	יִשְׁלַח	יִשְׁתַּלַּח
תִּשְׁלַח	תִּשְׁלִיחַ	תִּשְׁלַח	תִּשְׁתַּלַּח
תִּשְׁלַח	תִּשְׁלִיחַ	תִּשְׁלַח	תִּשְׁתַּלַּח
יִשְׁלַחִי	יִשְׁלִיחֵי	יִשְׁלַחִי	יִשְׁתַּלַּחִי
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		
	מִשְׁלִיחַ*		מִשְׁתַּלַּח*
מִשְׁלַח		מִשְׁלַח	

## G. Verbs mediae geminatae

	Qal.	Niph'al.
<i>Perf. Sing.</i> 3. m.	קָבַב, תָּם*	נָקַב, נָקַם*
3. f.	קָבְבָה, תָּמְוָה	נָקְבָה*
2. m.	קָבַוְת*	נָקְבוֹת*
2. f.	קְבוֹת	נָקְבוֹת
1. c.	קָבַוְתִי	נָקְבוֹתִי
<i>Plur.</i> 3. c.	קָבְבוּ, תָּמוּ	נָקְבוּ
2. m.	קְבוֹתֶם	נָקְבוֹתֶם
2. f.	קְבוֹתֵן	נָקְבוֹתֵן
1. c.	קָבַוְנוּ	נָקְבוֹנוּ
<i>Inf.</i>	קָבַב*	הִקָּב
<i>Inf. absol.</i>	קְבוֹב	הִקָּם, הִסּוּב
<i>Imp. Sing. m.</i>	קָבַב*	הִקָּב
f.	קָבְבִי*	הִקָּבִי*
<i>Plur. m.</i>	קָבְבוּ	הִקָּבוּ
f.	[קָבְבִינָה]	[הִקָּבְבִינָה]
<i>Impf. Sing.</i> 3. m.	יִקָּב* (יִקָּב) (p § 67 יקל)	יִקָּם*
3. f.	תִּקָּב	תִּקָּם
2. m.	תִּקָּב	תִּקָּם
2. f.	תִּקָּבִי*	תִּקָּבִי
1. c.	אִקָּב	אִקָּם
<i>Plur.</i> 3. m.	יִקָּבוּ	יִקָּמוּ
3. f.	תִּקָּבְינָה*	[תִּקָּבְנָה]
2. m.	תִּקָּבוּ	תִּקָּמוּ
2. f.	[תִּקָּבְינָה]	[תִּקָּבְנָה]
1. c.	נִקָּב	נִקָּם
<i>Impf. with Wāw consec.</i>	וַיִּקָּב* (pause ויִקָּב)	
<i>Impf. with Suff.</i>	יִקָּבְנִי*	
<i>Part. act.</i>	קָבֵב	קָבֵב
<i>pass.</i>	קָבֻב*	(fem. נִקְבָה)

or double v.

Hiph'il.	Hoph'al.	Po'el.	Po'al.
הִסַּב, הִסַּב*	הוֹסַּב*	סוֹבַב*	סוֹבַב*
הִסְבָּה*	הוֹסְבָה	סוֹבְבָה	[סוֹבְבָה]
הִסְבֹּת*	[הוֹסְבֹת]	סוֹבְבֹת	סוֹבְבֹת
הִסְבֹּת	הוֹסְבֹת	סוֹבְבֹת	סוֹבְבֹת
הִסְבֹּתִי	[הוֹסְבֹתִי]	סוֹבְבֹתִי	סוֹבְבֹתִי
הִסְבֵּב, הִחֵלֵב	הוֹסְבֵב	סוֹבְבוּ	סוֹבְבוּ
הִסְבֹּתֶם	[הוֹסְבֹתֶם]	סוֹבְבֹתֶם	סוֹבְבֹתֶם
הִסְבֹּתֶן	הוֹסְבֹתֶן	סוֹבְבֹתֶן	סוֹבְבֹתֶן
הִסְבִּינוּ	[הוֹסְבִינוּ]	סוֹבְבִינוּ	[סוֹבְבִינוּ]
הִסַּב*		סוֹבַב	
הִסַּב	הִשְׁמַח	סוֹבַב	[סוֹבַב]
הִסַּב*		סוֹבַב	
הִסְבִּי	wanting.	[סוֹבְבִי]	wanting.
הִסְבֵּב		סוֹבְבוּ	
[הִסְבִּינָה]		סוֹבְבִנָה	
יִסַּב, יִסַּב*	יִוֹסַּב, יִוֹסַּב*	יִסוֹבַב	[יִסוֹבַב]
תִּסַּב	[תִּוֹסַּב]	תִּסוֹבַב	תִּסוֹבַב
תִּסַּב	תִּוֹסַּב	תִּסוֹבַב	תִּסוֹבַב
[תִּסְבִּי]	*תִּוֹסְבִי	[תִּסְבְּבִי]	תִּסְבְּבִי
אִסַּב	[אִוֹסַּב]	[אִסוֹבַב]	אִסוֹבַב
יִסְבֵּב, יִסְבֵּב	יִוֹסְבֵב	יִסוֹבְבוּ	יִסוֹבְבוּ
*תִּסְבְּבִינָה	*תִּוֹסְבְּבִינָה	[תִּסוֹבְבִינָה]	תִּסוֹבְבִינָה
תִּסְבֵּב	תִּוֹסְבֵב	תִּסוֹבְבוּ	תִּסוֹבְבוּ
תִּסְבְּבִינָה	תִּוֹסְבְּבִינָה	[תִּסוֹבְבִינָה]	תִּסוֹבְבִינָה
נִסַּב	[נִוֹסַּב]	נִסוֹבַב	[נִסוֹבַב]
וַיִּסַּב			
וַיִּסְבְּבִי* (יִסְבְּבִים)		וַיִּסוֹבְבִי	
מִסַּב*		מִסוֹבַב	
	מִוֹסַּב		מִסוֹבַב

## H. Verbs י"ב.

	Qal.	Niph'al.	Hiph'il.	Hoph'al.
<i>Perf. Sing.</i> 3. m.	נָפַל [נָפַשׁ]	נָפַל*	הִנִּישׁ*	הִנִּישׁ*
3. f.		נָפְשָׁה	הִנִּישָׁה	הִנִּישָׁה
2. m.		נָפַשְׁתָּ	הִנִּישְׁתָּ	הִנִּישְׁתָּ
2. f.		נָפַשְׁתְּ	הִנִּישְׁתְּ	הִנִּישְׁתְּ
1. c.	regular.	נָפַשְׁתִּי	הִנִּישְׁתִּי	הִנִּישְׁתִּי
<i>Plur.</i> 3. c.		נָפְשׁוּ	הִנִּישׁוּ	הִנִּישׁוּ
2. m.		נָפַשְׁתֶּם	הִנִּישְׁתֶּם	הִנִּישְׁתֶּם
2. f.		נָפַשְׁתֶּן	הִנִּישְׁתֶּן	הִנִּישְׁתֶּן
1. c.		נָפַשְׁנוּ	הִנִּישְׁנוּ	הִנִּישְׁנוּ
<i>Inf.</i>	נִפְשֹׁת*	נָפַל*	הִנְיִישׁ	הִנִּישׁ*
<i>Inf. absol.</i>	נָפֹשׁ	נָפַל	נָפֹף, הִנְיִישׁ	הִנִּישׁ*
<i>Imp. Sing. m.</i>	נִישׁ*	נָפַל*	הִנְיִישׁ	הִנִּישׁ*
f.	נִישִׁי	נָפְלִי	הִנְיִישִׁי	הִנִּישִׁי
<i>Plur. m.</i>	נִישׂוּ	נָפְלוּ	הִנְיִישׂוּ	הִנִּישׂוּ
f.	נִישְׁנָה	נָפְלְנָה	הִנְיִישְׁנָה	הִנִּישְׁנָה
<i>Impf. Sing.</i> 3. m.	יִנִּישׁ*	יִפֹּל*	[יִנְיִישׁ]	יִנִּישׁ*
3. f.	תִּנִּישׁ	תִּפֹּל		תִּנִּישׁ
2. m.	תִּנִּישׁ	תִּפֹּל		תִּנִּישׁ
2. f.	תִּנִּישִׁי	תִּפְּלִי		תִּנִּישִׁי
1. c.	אִנִּישׁ	אִפֹּל		אִנִּישׁ
<i>Plur.</i> 3. m.	יִנִּישׂוּ	יִפְּלוּ	regular.	יִנִּישׂוּ
3. f.	תִּנִּישְׁנָה	תִּפְּלְנָה		תִּנִּישְׁנָה
2. m.	תִּנִּישׂוּ	תִּפְּלוּ		תִּנִּישׂוּ
2. f.	[תִּנִּישְׁנָה]	[תִּפְּלְנָה]		[תִּנִּישְׁנָה]
1. c.	נִיִּישׁ	נִפֹּל		נִיִּישׁ
<i>Shortened Impf. (Jussive).</i>				יִנִּישׁ*
<i>Part. act.</i>	נִיִּישׁ		נִיִּישׁ*	מִיִּישׁ*
<i>pass.</i>	נִיִּישׁ			מִיִּישׁ

## I. Weak Verbs, פ"א.

	Qal.	Niph'al.	Hiph'il.	Hoph'al.
Perf.	אָכַל	נִאָכַל*	הִאָכַל*	הֻאָכַל*

Like Verbs *primae gutturalis*.

Inf.	אָכַל, אֲכַל*	הִאָכַל	הִאָכַל	הִאָכַל
Inf. absol.	אָכֹל	הִאָכֹל	wanting.	wanting.
Impf. Sing. m.	אֲכַל*	הִאָכַל	הִאָכַל	
f.	אֲכָלִי	&c.	&c.	wanting.
Plur. m.	אֲכֹלוּ			
f.	[אֲכַלְנָה]			
Impf. Sing. 3. m.	יֵאָכַל* (in pause	יִאָכַל*	יִאָכִיל*	יִאָכֵל*
3. f.	תֵּאָכַל	&c.	&c.	&c.
2. m.	תֵּאָכַל			
2. f.	תֵּאָכְלִי			
1. c.	אֵכַל*			
Plur. 3. m.	יֵאָכְלוּ			
3. f.	תֵּאָכְלֵנָה			
2. m.	תֵּאָכְלוּ			
2. f.	[תֵּאָכְלֵנָה]			
1. c.	נֵאָכַל			
Impf. with consec.	וַיֵּאָכַר* וַיֵּאָכַל*			
Part. act.	אֹכֵל	נֹאֲכֵל	מֵאָכִיל	
pass.	אָכֹל			מֵאָכֵל

		Qal.	Niph'al.	
<i>Perf. Sing</i>	3. m.	יָשַׁב	נִישַׁב*	
	3. f.		נִישְׁבָּה*	
	2. m.		נִישַׁבְתָּ	
	2. f.		נִישַׁבְתְּ	
	1. c.	regular.	נִישַׁבְתִּי	
	<i>Plur.</i>		3. c.	נִישַׁבוּ
			2. m.	נִישַׁבְתֶּם
			2. f.	נִישַׁבְתֶּן
1. c.	נִישַׁבְנוּ			
<i>Inf.</i>		יֹסֵד, רָשַׁת, *נִשְׁבַּח	*הִישַׁב	
<i>Inf. absol.</i>		יָשׁוּב	wanting.	
<i>Impf. Sing.</i>	m.	*נִשֵּׁב, דַּע	*הִישַׁב	
	f.	נִשְׁבִּי	הִישְׁבִּי	
	<i>Plur. m.</i>	נִשְׁבוּ	הִישְׁבוּ	
		f.	נִשְׁבְּנָה	[הִישְׁבְּנָה]
<i>Impf. Sing.</i>	3. m.	*יִשַׁב	*יִישַׁב	
	3. f.	תִּשַׁב	תִּישַׁב	
	2. m.	תִּישַׁב	תִּישַׁב	
	2. f.	תִּישְׁבִּי	תִּישְׁבִּי	
	1. c.	אִישַׁב	אִישַׁב	
	<i>Plur.</i>	3. m.	יִשְׁבוּ	יִישְׁבוּ
		3. f.	תִּישְׁבְּנָה	[תִּישְׁבְּנָה]
		2. m.	תִּישְׁבוּ	תִּישְׁבוּ
		2. f.	[תִּישְׁבְּנָה]	[תִּישְׁבְּנָה]
		1. c.	נִישַׁב	נִישַׁב

*Shortened Impf. (Jussive).**Impf. with Wāw consec.* \*וַיִּשַׁב

<i>Part. act.</i>	יֹשֵׁב	*נוֹשֵׁב
<i>pass.</i>	יֹשׁוּב	

פ"י (for פ"ו).

L. Verbs properly פ"י.

<i>Hiph'il.</i>	<i>Hoph'al.</i>	<i>Qal.</i>	<i>Hiph'il.</i>
הוֹשִׁיב*	הוֹשִׁיב*	יָטַב	הִיטִיב*
הוֹשִׁיבָה	הוֹשִׁיבָה		הִיטִיבָה
הוֹשִׁיבְתָּ	הוֹשִׁיבְתָּ		הִיטִיבְתָּ
הוֹשִׁיבְתִּי	הוֹשִׁיבְתִּי	regular.	הִיטִיבְתִּי
הוֹשִׁיבוּ	הוֹשִׁיבוּ		הִיטִיבוּ
הוֹשִׁיבְתֶם	הוֹשִׁיבְתֶם		הִיטִיבְתֶם
הוֹשִׁיבְתֶן	הוֹשִׁיבְתֶן		הִיטִיבְתֶן
הוֹשִׁיבֶנּוּ	הוֹשִׁיבֶנּוּ		הִיטִיבֶנּוּ
הוֹשִׁיב*	הוֹשִׁיב*	יָטַב	הִיטִיב*
הוֹשִׁיב*		יָטוּב	הִיטִיב*
הוֹשִׁיב*			הִיטִיב*
הוֹשִׁיבִי	wanting.		הִיטִיבִי
הוֹשִׁיבוּ			הִיטִיבוּ
[הוֹשִׁיבְנָה]			[הִיטִיבְנָה]
יוֹשִׁיב	יּוֹשִׁיב*	יִיטַב*	יִיטִיב*
תּוֹשִׁיב	תּוֹשִׁיב	תִּיטַב	תִּיטִיב
תּוֹשִׁיבִי	תּוֹשִׁיבִי	תִּיטַבְּךָ	תִּיטִיבְךָ
אֹשִׁיב	אֹשִׁיב	אִיטַב	אִיטִיב
יֹשִׁיבוּ	יֹשִׁיבוּ	יִיטַבוּ	יִיטִיבוּ
[תּוֹשִׁיבְנָה]	תּוֹשִׁיבְנָה	תִּיטַבְּנָה	[תִּיטִיבְנָה]
תּוֹשִׁיבוּ	תּוֹשִׁיבוּ	תִּיטַבוּ	תִּיטִיבוּ
[תּוֹשִׁיבְנָה]	[תּוֹשִׁיבְנָה]	[תִּיטַבְּנָה]	[תִּיטִיבְנָה]
נֹשִׁיב	נֹשִׁיב	נִיטַב	[נִיטִיב]
יּוֹשֵׁב*			יִיטַב
יֹשֵׁב		וַיִּטַב	וַיִּטֵּב
מֹשִׁיב*		מִיטַב	מִיטִיב
	מֹשֵׁב*	מִיטַבוּ	

		Qal.	Niph'al.	Hiph'il.		
<i>Perf. Sing.</i>	3. m.	קָם*	מָת*	נָקוּם*	הִקִּים*	
	3. f.	קָמָה*	מָתָה*	נָקְוָה*	הִקְיָמָה*	
	2. m.	קָמַתָּ*	מָתָה*	נָקוּמוֹת	הִקְיָמוֹת*	
	2. f.	קָמַתְּ	[מָתְּ]	[נָקוּמוֹת]	הִקְיָמוֹת	
	I. c.	קָמַתִּי	מָתִי	נָקוּמוֹתִי	הִקְיָמוֹתִי	
	<i>Plur.</i>	3. c.	קָמוּ	מָתוּ	נָקוּמוּ	הִקְיָמוּ
		2. m.	קָמַתֶּם	[מָתֶם]	נָקוּמוֹתֶם	הִקְיָמוֹתֶם
		2. f.	[קָמַתְוּן]	[מָתוּן]	[נָקוּמוֹתוּן]	[הִקְיָמוֹתוּן]
I. c.	קָמַנּוּ	כָּתְנוּ	[נָקוּמוֹנוּ]	הִקְיָמוֹנוּ		
<i>Inf.</i>		קוּם*	הִקּוּם*	הִקְיָם*		
<i>Inf. absol.</i>		קוּם*	הִקּוּם, נָסוּג	הִקְיָם*		
<i>Imp. Sing.</i>	m.	קוּם*	הִקּוּם*	הִקְיָם*		
	f.	קְוִי*	[הִקְוִי]	הִקְיָמִי*		
	<i>Plur. m.</i>	קְוּמוּ	הִקְוּמוּ	הִקְיָמוּ		
		f.	קְוִינָה*		[הִקְוִינָה]	
<i>Impf. Sing.</i>	3. m.	יָקוּם, יָבֹא	יִקּוּם*	יִקְיָם*		
	3. f.	תִּקּוּם	תִּקּוּם	תִּקְיָם		
	2. m.	תִּקּוּם	תִּקּוּם	תִּקְיָם		
	2. f.	תִּקְוִי*	[תִּקְוִי]	תִּקְיָמִי*		
	I. c.	אֶקּוּם	אֶקּוּם	אֶקְיָם		
	<i>Plur.</i>	3. m.	יִקְוּמוּ	יִקְוּמוּ	יִקְיָמוּ	
		3. f.	תִּקְוִינָה, תִּקְוִינָה*		תִּקְיָמִינָה, תִּקְיָמִינָה*	
		2. m.	תִּקְוּמוּ	תִּקְוּמוּ	תִּקְיָמוּ	
		2. f.	תִּקְוִינָה		[תִּקְוִינָה]	
I. c.	נִקּוּם	נִקּוּם	נִקְיָם			
<i>Shortened Impf.</i>		יִקּוּ*	יִקְיָ*			
<i>Impf. with Wāw consec.</i>		וַיִּקּוּם (pause וַיִּקְיָם*)	וַיִּקְיָם*			
<i>Impf. with Suff.</i>		יִשְׁוִינִי*	יִקְיָמִי*			
<i>Part. act.</i>		קָם*	נָקוּם*	מִקְיָם*		
	<i>pass.</i>	קוּם*				



		Qal.	Niph'al.	Pi'el.	
<i>Perf. Sing.</i>	3. m.	מָצַא*	מָלֵא	דָּבַא, מָצַא	
	3. f.	מָצְאָה	מָלְאָה	[מָצְאָה]	
	2. m.	מָצַאתָ*	מָלֵאתָ	מָצַאתָ*	
	2. f.	מָצַאתְּ	מָלֵאתְּ	[מָצַאתְּ]	
	1. c.	מָצַאתִי	מָלֵאתִי	מָצַאתִי	
	<i>Plur.</i>	3. c.	מָצְאוּ	נִמְצְאוּ	מָצְאוּ
		2. m.	מָצַאתֶם	נִמְצַאתֶם	מָצַאתֶם
		2. f.	[מָצַאתֶן]	[מָלֵאתֶן]	[מָצַאתֶן]
	1. c.	מָצַאתִנִּי	מָלֵאתִנִּי	[נִמְצַאתִנִּי]	
<i>Inf.</i>		מָצֵא	הִמְצֵא	מָצֵא	
<i>Inf. absol.</i>		מָצוּא	נִמְצֵא	מָצֵא	
<i>Imp. Sing.</i>	m.	מָצַא*	הִמְצֵא	מָצֵא	
	f.	מָצְאִי	[הִמְצְאִי]	[מָצְאִי]	
	<i>Plur. m.</i>	m.	מָצְאוּ	הִמְצְאוּ	מָצְאוּ
		f.	מָצְאֵנָה*	[הִמְצְאֵנָה]	[מָצְאֵנָה]
<i>Impf. Sing.</i>	3. m.	יִמְצֵא*	יִמְצֵא*	יִמְצֵא	
	3. f.	תִּמְצֵא	תִּמְצֵא	תִּמְצֵא	
	2. m.	תִּמְצֵא	תִּמְצֵא	תִּמְצֵא	
	2. f.	תִּמְצְאִי	תִּמְצְאִי	[תִּמְצְאִי]	
	1. c.	אִמְצֵא	אִמְצֵא	אִמְצֵא	
	<i>Plur.</i>	3. m.	יִמְצְאוּ	יִמְצְאוּ	יִמְצְאוּ
		3. f.	תִּמְצְאֵנָה*	תִּמְצְאֵנָה*	תִּמְצְאֵנָה*
		2. m.	תִּמְצְאוּ	תִּמְצְאוּ	[תִּמְצְאוּ]
		2. f.	תִּמְצְאֵנָה	תִּמְצְאֵנָה	תִּמְצְאֵנָה
		1. c.	נִמְצֵא	[נִמְצֵא]	נִמְצֵא
<i>Shortened Impf. (Jussive).</i>					
<i>Impf. with Suff.</i>		יִמְצְאֵךְ, יִמְצְאֵנִי		יִמְצְאֵנִי	
<i>Part. act.</i>		מֹצֵא	נִמְצֵא	מֹצֵא	
<i>pass.</i>		מְצוּא			

## Verbs, ל"א.

<i>Pu'al.</i>	<i>Hiph'il.</i>	<i>Hoph'al.</i>	<i>Hithpa'el.</i>
קרא [מִצָּא]	הִמְצִיא	[הִמְצָא]	[הִתְמַצָּא]
מִצָּאָה	הִמְצִיָּאָה	הִמְצָאָה	הִתְמַצָּאָה
מִצָּאתָ	*הִמְצִיָּאתָ*	*הִמְצָאתָ*	*הִתְמַצָּאתָ*
מִצָּאתִי	הִמְצִיָּאתִי	הִמְצָאתִי	[הִתְמַצָּאתִי]
מִצָּאוּ	הִמְצִיִּאוּ	הִמְצָאוּ	הִתְמַצָּאוּ
מִצָּאתֶם	הִמְצִיִּאתֶם	הִמְצָאתֶם	[הִתְמַצָּאתֶם]
מִצָּאתֶן	[הִמְצִיִּאתֶן]	הִמְצָאתֶן	הִתְמַצָּאתֶן
[מִצָּאנוּ]	[הִמְצִיִּאנוּ]	[הִמְצָאנוּ]	[הִתְמַצָּאנוּ]
wanting.	הִמְצִיא הִמְצָא	wanting.	הִתְמַצָּא wanting.
wanting.	הִמְצָא הִמְצִיָּאי הִמְצִיִּאוּ [הִמְצָאנָה]	wanting.	[הִתְמַצָּא] הִתְמַצָּאי הִתְמַצָּאוּ [הִתְמַצָּאנָה]
יִמְצָא	יִמְצִיא	[יִמְצָא]	יִתְמַצָּא
[תִּמְצָא]	תִּמְצִיא	תִּמְצָא	תִּתְמַצָּא
תִּמְצָא	תִּמְצִיא	תִּמְצָא	תִּתְמַצָּא
תִּמְצָאי	תִּמְצִיָּאי	תִּמְצָאי	[תִּתְמַצָּאי]
אִמְצָא	אִמְצִיא	אִמְצָא	[אִתְמַצָּא]
יִמְצָאוּ	יִמְצִיִּאוּ	יִמְצָאוּ	יִתְמַצָּאוּ
*תִּמְצָאנָה	*תִּמְצִיָּאנָה*	*תִּמְצָאנָה*	[תִּתְמַצָּאנָה]
תִּמְצָאוּ	תִּמְצִיִּאוּ	תִּמְצָאוּ	תִּתְמַצָּאוּ
תִּמְצָאנָה	תִּמְצִיָּאנָה	תִּמְצָאנָה	[תִּתְמַצָּאנָה]
[נִמְצָא]	נִמְצִיא	נִמְצָא	נִתְמַצָּא [נִתְמַצָּא]
	יִמְצָא		
	יִמְצִיָּאנוּ		
	מִמְצִיא		מִתְמַצָּא
מִמְצָא		מִמְצָא	

	<i>Qal.</i>	<i>Niph'al.</i>	<i>Pi'el.</i>
<i>Perf. Sing.</i> 3. m.	גָּלָה*	נִגְלָה*	גִּלָּה*
3. f.	גָּלְתָה*	נִגְלְתָה*	גִּלְתָה*
2. m.	גָּלִיתָ*	נִגְלִיתָ, יָת	גִּלִּיתָ*
2. f.	גָּלִית	נִגְלִית	גִּלִּית
1. c.	גָּלִיתִי	נִגְלִיתִי	גִּלִּיתִי, גִּלִּיתִי
<i>Plur.</i> 3. c.	גָּלוּ*	נִגְלוּ	גִּלוּ
2. m.	גָּלִיתֶם	נִגְלִיתֶם	גִּלִּיתֶם
2. f.	גָּלִיתֶן	נִגְלִיתֶן	[גִּלִּיתֶן]
1. c.	גָּלִינוּ	נִגְלִינוּ	גִּלִּינוּ
<i>Inf.</i>	גָּלוֹת*	הַגָּלוֹת*	גִּלוֹת*
<i>Inf. absol.</i>	גָּלָה	נִגְלָה, הַגָּקָה	גִּלָּה, גָּלָה
<i>Imp. Sing.</i> m.	גָּלֵה*	הַגָּלֵה*	גִּלֵּה, גַּל
f.	גָּלִי*	הַגָּלִי*	גִּלִּי*
<i>Plur. m.</i>	גָּלוּ	הַגָּלוּ	גִּלוּ
f.	גָּלִינָה*	[הַגָּלִינָה]	[גִּלִּינָה]
<i>Impf. Sing.</i> 3. m.	יִגְלֶה*	יִגְלֶה*	יִגְלֶה*
3. f.	תִּגְלֶה	תִּגְלֶה	תִּגְלֶה
2. m.	תִּגְלֶה	תִּגְלֶה	תִּגְלֶה
2. f.	תִּגְלִי*	[תִּגְלִי]	תִּגְלִי*
1. c.	אֶגְלֶה	אֶגְלֶה, אֶגְ'	אֶגְלֶה
<i>Plur.</i> 3. m.	יִגְלוּ	יִגְלוּ	יִגְלוּ
3. f.	תִּגְלִינָה*	תִּגְלִינָה*	תִּגְלִינָה*
2. m.	תִּגְלוּ	תִּגְלוּ	תִּגְלוּ
2. f.	תִּגְלִינָה	תִּגְלִינָה	תִּגְלִינָה
1. c.	נִגְלֶה	[נִגְלֶה]	נִגְלֶה
<i>Shortened Impf.</i>	יִגְלֵ*	יִגְלֵ*	יִגְלֵ*
<i>Impf. with Suff.</i>	יִגְלֶה, יִגְלִי*		יִגְלֶה, יִגְלִי*
<i>Part. act.</i>	גָּלָה*	נִגְלָה*	גִּמְגָה*
<i>pass.</i>	גָּלוּי*		

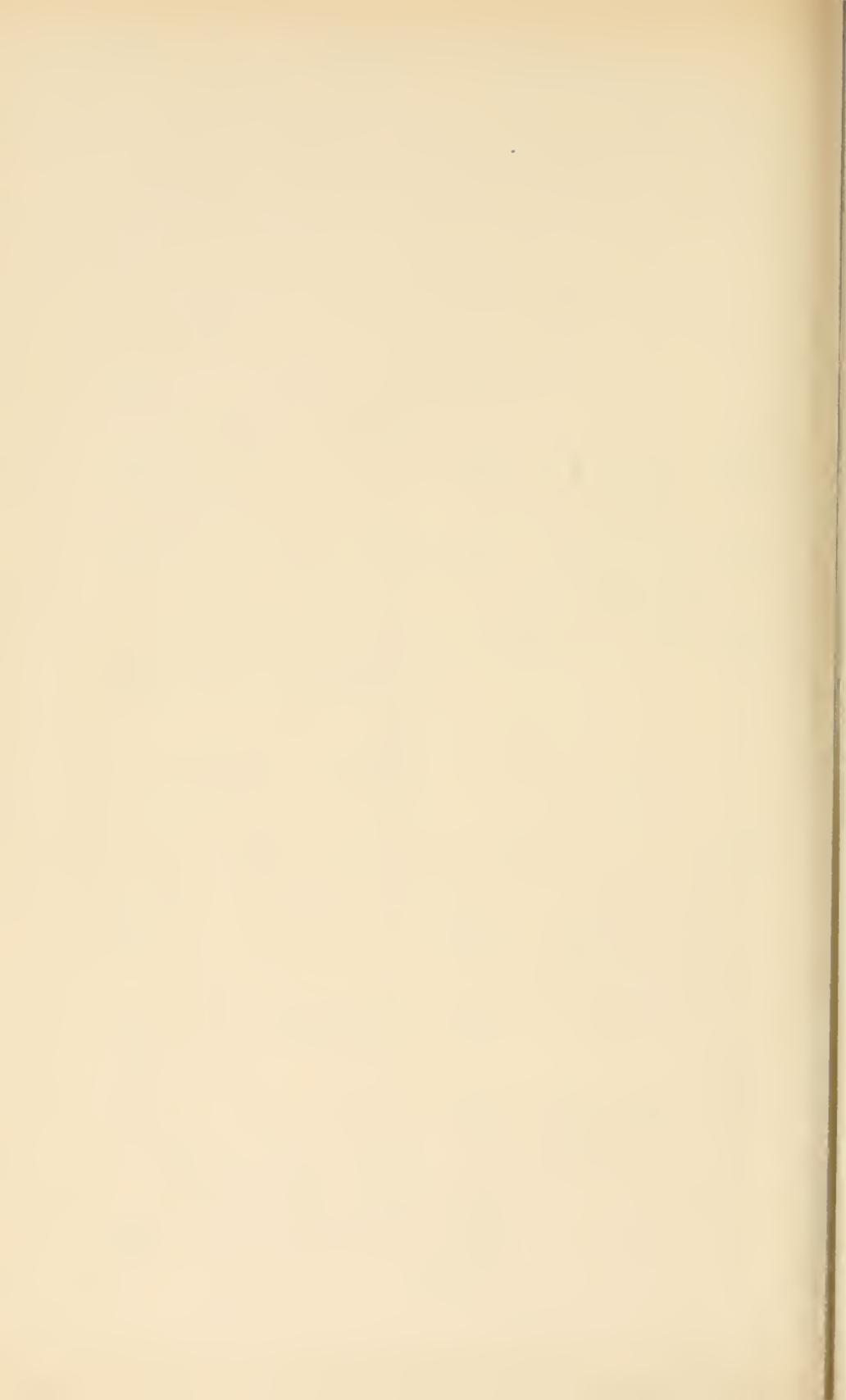
## Verbs, ל"ה.

<i>Pu'al.</i>	<i>Hiph'il.</i>	<i>Hoph'al.</i>	<i>Hithpa'el.</i>
גָּלָה*	הִגְלָה*	הִגָּלָה*	הִתְגַּלָּה*
גָּלְתָה*	הִגְלִיתָ*	הִגָּלְתָה*	[הִתְגַּלְתָּה]
גָּלִיתִי*	הִגְלִיתִי, יָגֵל יָתִי	הִגָּלִיתִי	הִתְגַּלִּיתִי
[גָּלִיתִי]	הִגְלִיתִי, יָגֵל יָתִי	[הִגָּלִיתִי]	[הִתְגַּלִּיתִי]
גָּלְתִּי	הִגְלִיתִי, יָגֵל יָתִי	הִגָּלְתִּי	הִתְגַּלְתִּי
גָּלוּ	הִגְלוּ	הִגָּלוּ	הִתְגַּלוּ
גָּלִיתֶם	הִגְלִיתֶם, יָגֵל יָתֶם	[הִגָּלִיתֶם]	הִתְגַּלִּיתֶם
גָּלִיתֻם	[הִגְלִיתֻם]	הִגָּלִיתֻם	[הִתְגַּלִּיתֻם]
[גָּלִיתֻם]	הִגְלִיתֻם	[הִגָּלִיתֻם]	[הִתְגַּלִּיתֻם]
גָּלוּת*	הִגְלוּת*	הִגָּלוּת*	הִתְגַּלוּת*
	הִגְלָה		
	הִגְלָה*		[הִתְגַּלָּה] הִתְגַּל
wanting.	הִגְלִי*	wanting.	הִתְגַּלִּי
	הִגְלוּ		הִתְגַּלוּ
	[הִגְלִינָה]		[הִתְגַּלִּינָה]
יִגְלָה*	יִגְלָה*	[יִגְלָה]*	יִתְגַּלָּה*
תִּגְלָה	תִּגְלָה	תִּגְלָה	[תִּתְגַּלָּה]
תִּגְלֶה	תִּגְלֶה	תִּגְלֶה	תִּתְגַּלֶּה
[תִּגְלִי]	תִּגְלִי*	תִּגְלִי*	תִּתְגַּלִּי*
[יִגְלֶה]	יִגְלֶה	יִגְלֶה*	יִתְגַּלֶּה
יִגְלוּ	יִגְלוּ	יִגְלוּ	יִתְגַּלוּ
[תִּגְלִינָה]*	תִּגְלִינָה	תִּגְלִינָה	[תִּתְגַּלִּינָה]
תִּגְלוּ	תִּגְלוּ	תִּגְלוּ	תִּתְגַּלוּ
תִּגְלִינָה	תִּגְלִינָה	תִּגְלִינָה	[תִּתְגַּלִּינָה]
[נִגְלָה]	נִגְלָה	[נִגְלָה]	נִתְגַּלָּה
	יִגְלֶה*		יִתְגַּל
	יִגְלֶה, יִגְלֶה*		
	מִגְלָה*		מִתְגַּלָּה*
מִגְלָה*		מִגְלָה*	

	1. Sing.	2. Sing. m.	2. Sing. f.
<i>Perf. Qal. 3. m.</i>	נָחַנִּי	רָאָדְךָ, עָשָׂךְךָ	
	<i>P.</i> עָשָׂנִי	<i>P.</i> עָנְךָךָ	
3. f.	עָשָׂנִי		
2. m.	רָאִיתָנִי		
	<i>P.</i> עָנִיתָנִי		
2. f.	<i>Pi.</i> רָפִיתָנִי		
1. c.		רָאִיתִיךָ	עָנִיתִיךָ
<i>Plur. 3. c.</i>	עָשָׂנוּ	רָאִיתֶם	<i>Pi.</i> כָּפַסְתֶּם
1. c.		<i>Pi.</i> קָנִיתֶם	
<i>Imper. 2. m.</i>	נָחֵנִי } עָנֵנִי }		
2. f.	<i>Hiph.</i> הִרְאִינִי		
<i>Plur. 2. m.</i>	<i>Pi.</i> כָּפְסוּ		
<i>Impf. 3. m.</i>	יִרְאֵנִי	יִפְדֶּךָ } יִחַתֶּךָ }	
3. f.		תִּשְׁכַּחְךָ	
2. m.	תִּרְאֵנִי		
2. f.			
1. c.		אֶרְאֶךָ	אֶעָרְךָ
		אֶעַנְךָ	
<i>Plur. 3. m.</i>	יִעְשֹׂנוּ	<i>Pi.</i> יִפְתְּרוּךָ	
2. m.	תִּעַצְּרֵנִי		
1. c.			

with Suffixes.

3. Sing. m.	3. Sing. f.	1. Plur.	3. Plur. m.
עָשָׂהוּ	רָאָהָ	עָשִׂנוּ	עָשׂוּם
<i>Pi.</i> בָּלְתָהוּ	<i>Pi.</i> צָוָתָהָ		<i>Hiph.</i> הֶעֱלָתָם
<i>Pi.</i> בָּפִיתָהוּ	עָשִׂיתָהָ	<i>Pi.</i> דִּבְרַתְנוּ	עָנִיתָם
עָשִׂיתָהוּ } רָאִיתָהוּ }	רָאִיתָהָ		רָעִיתָם
עָשָׂהוּ <i>Pi.</i> קִוִּיָּהוּ	רָאָהָ		שָׁבוּם
		<i>Hiph.</i> הִרְאֵנוּ	רָעָם
הִלְדָּהוּ			<i>Hiph.</i> הִכְסִים
יִרְאָהוּ } יִלְוֶנוּ }	יִרְאָהָ } יִרְאֶנָּה }	<i>Pi.</i> יִצְוֵנוּ	יִחַצֵּם } יִעֲשִׂם }
<i>Hiph.</i> תִּשְׁקָרָהוּ	תִּעֲשֶׂהָ	<i>Hiph.</i> תִּתְעַנֵּנוּ	תִּזְרֵם
תִּעֲשֶׂנוּ			<i>Pi.</i> תִּכְסִים
אָרְאָנוּ	אִעֲשֶׂנָּה		אָפְדָם
אִעֲנֶהוּ <i>Pi.</i> יִפְתָּרָהוּ	יִעֲשֶׂהָ	<i>Pi.</i> יִעֲנֵנוּ	
נִשְׁקָנוּ	נִעֲשֶׂנָּה		תִּצִים



## I

## INDEX OF SUBJECTS

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הִלְלוּ 10 <i>g</i>	הִנְנוּ 10 <i>g</i>	הִרְדִּיפָהּ 20 <i>h</i> <sup>1</sup> , 22 <i>s</i>
הִלֵּם 50 <i>e</i>	הִנְנוּ 58 <i>k</i>	הִרְהַ 27 <i>q</i> , 93 <i>aa</i>
הִלְתֶּם (Moab.) 54 <i>l</i>	הִנְנִי 10 <i>g</i>	הִרוּ 75 <i>n</i> , <i>aa</i>
הֵם, הִפּוֹה, הֵם 32 <i>m</i> , for the ninine, 32 <i>n</i>	הִנְפֹת 72 <i>k</i>	הִרְחַק 29 <i>q</i> , 64 <i>h</i>
הַמְּאִוֹת 97 <i>g</i>	הִנְתַּקוּ 66 <i>f</i>	הִרְחַק 64 <i>h</i>
הִפּוֹה its Dageš 20 <i>k</i>	הֵם 105 <i>a</i>	הִרְיוֹתַי 84 <i>g</i>
הַמּוֹנֵה 91 <i>e</i>	הִפּג 72 <i>ee</i>	הִרִים 72 <i>ee</i>
הַמּוֹשֵׁב in close con- xion 72 <i>bb</i> , 93 <i>pp</i> , cf. <i>d</i>	הִסְרִים 35 <i>d</i>	הִרְפוּ 67 <i>t</i> , 72 <i>dd</i>
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הַפְּכוּ 67 <i>y</i>	הִסִּית 72 <i>ee</i>	הִרְנִין 67 <i>cc</i>
הַפּוֹלְטִי 29 <i>o</i> <sup>2</sup>	הִסְתָּה 72 <i>w</i>	הִרְעוּ 67 <i>v</i>
הַמְּנַשֶּׁה 125 <i>d</i> <sup>1</sup>	הִעֲבַרְתָּ 63 <i>p</i>	הִרְעַמָּה 22 <i>s</i>
הַפִּם 67 <i>t</i>	הִעֲרִים 35 <i>g</i>	הִרְרִי 90 <i>n</i>
הַמְּסִיו 75 <i>ii</i>	הִעֲזִיבִים 35 <i>g</i>	הִרְרִי 93 <i>aa</i>
הַמְּסִלַת (Moab.) 80 <i>f</i> <sup>1</sup>	הִעֲבַת 35 <i>g</i>	הִרְרִי 93 <i>aa</i>
הַמְּעַד : 64 <i>h</i>	הִעֲזָה 67 <i>dd</i>	הִרְרִיהַ 93 <i>aa</i>
הַמְּעִיט 133 <i>c</i> <sup>3</sup>	הִעֲלָה 63 <i>p</i>	הִרְרִים 93 <i>aa</i>
הַמְּצַרְעִים 10 <i>g</i>	הִעֲלָה 63 <i>p</i>	הִרְשִׁמוּ ? 73 <i>a</i>
הַמְּרוֹת 75 <i>ff</i>	הִעֲרַב 113 <i>k</i>	הִשְׁקוּ 66 <i>e</i>
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הַכֹּתֶה 72 <i>w</i>	הִעֲשׂוּ 116 <i>g</i> <sup>1</sup>	הִשְׁעֶרָה 90 <i>i</i>
הַמְּתָם 72 <i>w</i>	הִעֲשׂוּם 75 <i>v</i>	הִשְׁאַלְתִּיהוּ 64 <i>f</i>
הֵן with suffixes	הִעֲתִיר 63 <i>o</i>	הִשָּׁב 29 <i>q</i> , 72 <i>y</i>
oo <i>o</i> , 147 <i>b</i> , origin 105 <i>b</i> , = <i>if</i> 159 <i>w</i>	הִפִּיר 67 <i>v</i>	הִשְׁבַּע 65 <i>e</i>
הַנֵּד 76 <i>a</i>	הִפְּי 61 <i>a</i>	הִשְׁבַּעְתֶּנּוּ (fem.) 59 <i>h</i>
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oo <i>o</i> , 147 <i>b</i> , origin 105 <i>b</i> , ith ptc. of present time	הִפְּצָר 29 <i>q</i> , 53 <i>l</i>	הִשְׁפּוֹה 67 <i>y</i>
16 <i>n</i> ; more often of future me 116 <i>p</i>	הִפֵּר 29 <i>q</i> , 67 <i>v</i>	הִשְׁמַם 67 <i>cc</i>
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הִנְזָקָה 85 <i>c</i> (A dit.)	הִצְטִיר 72 <i>m</i>	הִשְׁעִנִּי 7 <i>f</i>
הִנַּח 72 <i>ee</i>	הִקְלַתֵּנִי 67 <i>w</i>	הִשְׁפּוֹת 35 <i>d</i>
הִנְחַת 64 <i>h</i>	הֵן הַשֵּׁם ? 29 <i>g</i>	הִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה 75 <i>kk</i>
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	הִרְאִיתֶם 22 <i>s</i>	הִתִּיו 68 <i>i</i>
	הִרְבָּה 113 <i>k</i>	הִתְיַחֲשֵׁם ? 64 <i>i</i>
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	הִרְבָּה 75 <i>ff</i>	

- הַתְּמַהוּ? 55 *g*  
 הַתְּמַךְ 67 *v*  
 הַתְּנַבּוּת 75 *qq*  
 הַתְּנַבִּיית 75 *qq*  
 הַתְּפַקְדוּ 54 *l*  
 הַתְּפַקְדוּ 54 *l*  
 הַתְּרָאָה פְּנִים 156 *c*<sup>1</sup>  
 הַתְּרַחֲצוּת 64 *d*
- ו as a vowel-letter 5 *b*<sup>1</sup>, 7 *b-g*, 8 *h-m*, 9 *n-s*, its changes 24, initial 26 *a*; a firm consonant in verbs ע"ו 72 *gg*, in verbs orig. ל"ו 75 *a, b, kk*, cf. in nouns 93 *x*
- ! pointing of 104 *d-g*, connecting sentences 154, = *and that*, or *and especially* 114 *p*, 154 *a*<sup>1</sup> (*b*), introducing predicate 143 *d*; ׀ introducing predicate 111 *h*, or apodosis (rare) 111 *q*, 159 *o* (*e*), *s* (*f*). 143 *d*; ׀ with perf. introducing predicate or apodosis 112 *ff-oo*, 143 *d*, 159 *o, s*. See also Wāw in Index I.
- וְאֶבְרַךְ 23 *d*, 68 *k*  
 וְאֶבְרַכְכֶם: 60 *d*  
 וְאֶנְרַשׁ+ 49 *c*  
 וְאֶרְבִּי 23 *d*, 26 *g*, 102 *m*, 104 *d*  
 וְאֶזְרָח. 53 *n, g*, 68 *i*  
 וְאֶחָו 68 *e*  
 וְאֶחְלָלְךָ 111 *w*<sup>1</sup>  
 וְאֶחָר 64 *h*, 68 *e*  
 וְאֶחָרֵי שְׂתָה+ 113 *e*<sup>3</sup>  
 וְאֶחְשָׁבָה? 49 *e*  
 וְאֶחְלָה? 49 *e*
- וְאֶכֶל 68 *e*  
 וְאֶכְלָה 49 *e*  
 וְאֶכְסַף 49 *c*  
 וְאֶל- = *rather than* 133 *b*<sup>2</sup>  
 וְאֶלְךָ 69 *p*  
 וְאֵלֵהִים 102 *d*, 104 *d*  
 וְאֵסְחָבָה (Moab.) 7 *c*  
 וְאֵעִידָה? 49 *e*  
 וְאֵקוּם 49 *e*, 72 *t*  
 וְאֵקְרָא? 48 *d*  
 וְאֵרַב 75 *gg*  
 וְאֵרַץ 29 *i*<sup>1</sup>  
 וְבָטוֹן 104 *g*  
 וְדִינָם 73 *b*  
 וְדִהֲאֹנִיחוּ 53 *g*  
 וְדִבֵּיתִי 76 *h*  
 וְדִלְגָה 75 *ee*  
 וְדוֹשְׁבוֹתַי? 72 *x*  
 וְדִחַתְתִּי 67 *dd*  
 וְדִטַלְתִּי 72 *k, w*  
 וְדִהָה in prophetic style 112 *y, z*  
 וְהָיָה 28 *b*  
 וְהָיָה 28 *b*  
 וְהָיִטַבְתִּי 70 *e*  
 וְהָיִיתֶם 63 *q*, 104 *f*  
 וְהָמַטְרָתִי (Am 4<sup>7</sup>) 112 *h*<sup>3</sup>  
 וְהָמַתִּי 72 *w*  
 וְהָמַחִיה 72 *w*  
 וְהָמַחֵן 72 *w*  
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 וְהָצִיתָהּ 71  
 וְהָצִרְתִּי 67 *ee*  
 וְהִקְאֵתוּ 76 *h*  
 וְהִקְדָּשְׁנוּ 29 *l*  
 וְהִקְלַמְנוּ 72 *i*  
 וְהִרְאִיתִי 53 *p*, 75 *ee*
- וְהִשִּׁיבְתֶם 72 *i*<sup>2</sup>  
 וְהִתְשׁוּטְטָהּ 54 *b*  
 וְזָהַב 16 *e*, 104 *e*  
 וְזָרַף 104 *g*  
 וְחָטָאת (Ex 5<sup>16</sup>) 74 *g*  
 וְחָי? 76 *i*  
 וְחָי 76 *i*  
 וְחָבְתֶם 72 *m*  
 וְחָיָה 67 *k*  
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 וְחָנְתִּי 67 *ee*  
 וְיָאֵל 76 *d*  
 וְיָאָמַר: (in Jb) 68 *e*  
 וְיָאָסַף 68 *h*  
 וְיָאָסַר 23 *b*  
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 וְיָבֵךְ 75 *q*  
 וְיָבֵרַךְ 64 *g*  
 וְיָבִישׁוּהוּ 69 *u*, 70 *e*  
 וְיָגַה 69 *u*  
 וְיָגַל 67 *p*  
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 וְיָדְבִקוּ 53 *n*  
 וְיָדוּ 69 *u*  
 וְיָדְרָכוּ 53 *n*  
 וְיָהִי 102 *m*  
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 וְיָהִי שָׁם 29 *g*  
 וְיָהִתַל 67 *y*  
 וְיָיֹחַר? 68 *i*  
 וְיָעֲזֹן 64 *b*  
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 וְיִי 75 *r*

וַיִּזְ 75 r, 76 b  
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 וַיִּחְזַק בוֹ 29 g  
 וַיִּחַטָּא 74 l  
 וַיַּחֲזִי 16 g  
 וַיִּחַלֵּא 75 rr  
 וַיַּחֲלוּ (Ho8<sup>10</sup>)? I I I w<sup>1</sup>  
 וַיַּחֲלוּ 24 e  
 וַיַּחֲלִיפוּ (Moab.) 7 c  
 וַיַּחֲלִקֶם? 63 n  
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 וַיַּחֲמִנָה 69 f  
 וַיַּחֲזוּ 75 r  
 וַיַּחֲרִי 75 r  
 וַיַּחֲטִי 75 r  
 וַיַּטְמִינוּ 47 i  
 וַיַּחֲלִי 69 t  
 וַיַּחֲזִיק 76 f  
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 וַיַּחֲזִיקוּ 60 d  
 וַיַּחֲזִיקוּ 58 g  
 וַיַּחֲזִיקוּ 72 cc  
 וַיַּחֲזִיקוּ 67 g, y  
 וַיַּחֲזִיקוּ? 80 d, 94 f  
 וַיַּחֲזִיקוּ 24 e  
 וַיַּחֲזִיקוּ 72 ee  
 וַיַּחֲזִיקוּ 60 h  
 וַיַּחֲזִיקוּ 72 ee  
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 וַיַּחֲזִיקוּ 67 g  
 וַיַּחֲזִיקוּ 67 p, 73 f  
 וַיַּחֲזִיקוּ 59 h  
 וַיַּחֲזִיקוּ 72 ff  
 וַיַּחֲזִיקוּ (Moab.) 75 b<sup>2</sup>  
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 וַיַּחֲזִיקוּ? 53 n

וַיַּעֲרֹב 75 cc  
 וַיַּעֲרֹב 67 x  
 וַיַּעֲרֹב 75 q  
 וַיַּעֲרֹב 65 f  
 וַיַּעֲרֹב 71  
 וַיַּעֲרֹב 71  
 וַיַּעֲרֹב 67 g  
 וַיַּעֲרֹב 67 g  
 וַיַּעֲרֹב? 71  
 וַיַּעֲרֹב 75 q  
 וַיַּעֲרֹב 75 rr  
 וַיַּעֲרֹב 68 i  
 וַיַּעֲרֹב 75 q  
 וַיַּעֲרֹב 49 d<sup>1</sup>  
 וַיַּעֲרֹב 27 o, 67 o;  
 with accus. 121 d<sup>2</sup>  
 וַיַּעֲרֹב 75 qq  
 וַיַּעֲרֹב 23 f, 75 qq  
 וַיַּעֲרֹב 69 s  
 וַיַּעֲרֹב 69 s  
 וַיַּעֲרֹב 44 d  
 וַיַּעֲרֹב 44 d  
 וַיַּעֲרֹב 26 p<sup>2</sup>, 75 q  
 וַיַּעֲרֹב 69 k  
 וַיַּעֲרֹב 60 d, 75 bb,  
 131 m<sup>3</sup>  
 וַיַּעֲרֹב? 65 f  
 וַיַּעֲרֹב 69 u  
 וַיַּעֲרֹב 71  
 וַיַּעֲרֹב 75 q  
 וַיַּעֲרֹב 75 kk  
 וַיַּעֲרֹב 68 h  
 וַיַּעֲרֹב 75 bb  
 וַיַּעֲרֹב 55 g  
 וַיַּעֲרֹב 67 g  
 וַיַּעֲרֹב 29 g  
 וַיַּעֲרֹב 104 g  
 וַיַּעֲרֹב 73 d

וַיַּעֲרֹב 73 d  
 וַיַּעֲרֹב in perfect  
 (rare) 44 l; in imperfect  
 47 m, n; less frequent with  
 wāw consec. 49 d<sup>1</sup>. Cf.  
 וַיַּעֲרֹב.  
 וַיַּעֲרֹב 64 i  
 וַיַּעֲרֹב? 69 r, 76 f  
 וַיַּעֲרֹב I I 2 tt<sup>1</sup>  
 וַיַּעֲרֹב 49 e<sup>2</sup>  
 וַיַּעֲרֹב 75 h h  
 וַיַּעֲרֹב 49 e<sup>2</sup>  
 וַיַּעֲרֹב 67 y  
 וַיַּעֲרֹב 44 f  
 וַיַּעֲרֹב? 19 k<sup>2</sup>  
 וַיַּעֲרֹב 75 l  
 וַיַּעֲרֹב 28 b, 104 d  
 וַיַּעֲרֹב 104 g  
 וַיַּעֲרֹב 44 d  
 וַיַּעֲרֹב 75 qq  
 וַיַּעֲרֹב 104 g  
 וַיַּעֲרֹב 8 k  
 וַיַּעֲרֹב 67 ee  
 וַיַּעֲרֹב 75 n  
 וַיַּעֲרֹב 75 rr  
 וַיַּעֲרֹב 44 f, 72 o  
 וַיַּעֲרֹב (ψ 23<sup>6</sup>)? 69 m<sup>1</sup>  
 וַיַּעֲרֹב nouns ending  
 in 86 k, 95 t, plur. of 95 u  
 וַיַּעֲרֹב 72 k  
 וַיַּעֲרֹב 76 h  
 וַיַּעֲרֹב 48 d  
 וַיַּעֲרֹב 47 l  
 וַיַּעֲרֹב 72 h  
 וַיַּעֲרֹב 69 r  
 וַיַּעֲרֹב 75 ii  
 וַיַּעֲרֹב for וַיַּעֲרֹב 23 f,  
 68 k  
 וַיַּעֲרֹב 74 l  
 וַיַּעֲרֹב 23 f

וַתְּחַלְקֶם 63 *m*  
 וַתַּחֲשׁ 72 *ff*  
 וַתִּיפֵי 76 *f*  
 וַתְּלוֹשׁ ? 72 *t*  
 וַתְּמוֹנְנוּ 72 *cc*  
 וַתִּנְיָהוּ 70 *e*  
 וַתַּעֲנֹב 63 *m*  
 וַתַּעֲט 72 *ff*  
 וַתַּעֲצֹר 65 *e*  
 וַתַּצְפְּנוּ 60 *d*  
 וַתִּמְרְבוּ ? 60 *a*<sup>1</sup>  
 וַתֵּרָא 75 *p*  
 וַתִּרְצַן 27 *o*, 67 *p*  
 וַתִּשְׁמֹנוּ ? 58 *g*  
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 ז (Moab.) for זָה  
 7 *d*<sup>1</sup>  
 זָאת 34, use of 136  
 זָה 34, use of 136;  
 enclitic 136 *c*, *d*; = *here*  
 or *now* 136 *d*; as a rela-  
 tive 138 *g*  
 זָהָב 82  
 זֶה, זֹה 34 *b*  
 זֶה demonstr. pron.  
 34 *d*; relat. pron. 138 *g*  
 זָלַח 90 *l*, 101 *a*  
 זָוְרָה 73 *d*  
 זִיקוֹת 20 *n*  
 זָפַי 67 *ee*  
 זָמַמְתִּי 67 *aa*  
 זָפְרָה 52 *p*  
 זָמַרְתָּ ? 80 *g*  
 זָבוֹת 93 *ee*  
 זָעִיר 86 *g*<sup>1</sup>  
 זָעָמָה 63 *p*, 64 *c*  
 זָעַת 95 *e*  
 זָרַי 67 *m*  
 זָרְמוּ 55 *l*

ח with dageš f.  
 implicitum 22 *c*  
 חָבִי 75 *qq*  
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 חָבַרְתּוּ 84<sup>b</sup> *g*  
 חָנָא 95 *d*  
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 חָנִי 67 *ff*  
 חָד (אָחַד) 96  
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 חָתְוּחִים 93 *w*  
 חָוָא 75 *oo*  
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 חוֹמֹתַיִם 95 *o*  
 חֹפֵי 27 *n*  
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 חוֹתָם 84<sup>a</sup> *r*  
 חוֹאֵל 23 *k*<sup>1</sup>  
 חוֹה (2S24<sup>11</sup>)<sup>1</sup> 93 *rr*  
 חוֹיֵר 84<sup>a</sup> *o*  
 חוֹיֵר 84<sup>a</sup> *o*  
 חוֹקָה 45 *d*  
 חוֹקֵי 93 *ee*  
 חוֹטָאִים 23 *e*, 74 *i*,  
 75 *oo*  
 חָטוּ 75 *qq*  
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 149 *a*<sup>1</sup>, *c*  
 חַי אֲנִי 32 *c*  
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 take Metheg 16 *f*, pointing  
 of 63 *g*, shortened forms of  
 in imperfect 75 *s*, perfect  
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 חִית ? 80 *f*  
 חִיתוּ 90 *o*  
 חִפִּי 23 *l*, 75 *aa*, *hh*  
 חִכְמוֹת 86 *l*

חָלַב 93 *dd*  
 חָלְוִי 87 *g*  
 חָלוֹתֵי הָיָא 67 *r*  
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 חָלַל 67 *cc*  
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 חָם 96  
 חָמָה 23 *f*  
 חָמוּטַל 90 *k*  
 חָפוֹתַי 67 *ee*  
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 חָמְשִׁי 98 *a*  
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 חָמְשֶׁתַּי 91 *l*  
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 67 *cc*  
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 חָקָךְ 93 *bb*  
 חָקְכָם 93 *bb*  
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 חָרְבִי 63 *l*  
 חָרַדְתָּ 95 *g*  
 חָרוּ 67 *ee*  
 חָרַשׁ 84<sup>b</sup> *b*  
 חָשׁוּפִי ? 87 *g*  
 חָשְׁפִי 46 *d*, 63 *l*  
 חָשִׁים 72 *p*  
 חָשְׁמַל 85 *s*

טָאָט 55 *f*  
 טָבַח 65 *b*  
 טָבַח 84<sup>b</sup> *b*  
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 טָרַם with impf., of  
 past time 107 *c*, of present  
 time 152 *r*

' as a vowel-  
 letter 5 *b*<sup>1</sup>, 7 *b-g*, 8 *h-m*,  
*g-m*, its changes 24, as  
 initial vowel 47 *b*<sup>1</sup>; orig. '  
 appearing in poet. forms  
 of verbs לָהּ 75 *u, v*, *dd, gg*

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יָאוֹר 72 *h*

יָאִחוּ 68 *b*

יָאִחוּ 68 *b*

יָאִחֻזֵּד 64 *a*

יָאָטֵם 63 *m*

יָאִבְלוֹן 68 *c*

יָאָמַר 68 *c*

יָאָסַף 68 *b, h*

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יָאָר 1 *i*

יָאָשׁ 64 *e*

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יָבִיר 53 *n*

יָנְפָא 75 *oo*

יָגוּ 67 *p*

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יָגַר 67 *g* (Addit.)

יָד 93 *mm*

יָדָה 76 *a*

יָדָה 76 *a*

יָדָה 76 *f*

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יָדוּד 67 *cc*, 76 *a*

יָדוֹן 72 *r*

יָדִי? 87 *f*

יָדָכֶם 91 *k*

יָדָל 67 *g* (Addit.)

יָדָמוּ 67 *g*

יָדָמוּ 67 *g*

יָדָעוּן 44 *l*

יָדָעַ מְנַגֵּן 120 *b*<sup>1</sup>

יָדָעַת 44 *i*

יָדָשְׁנָה? 48 *d*

יָהֵב 69 *o*

יָהֵגָה 63 *m*

יָהֵדָף 63 *e*

יָהוּא 27 *w*

יָהוּא 23 *i*, 75 *s*

יָהוּדָה 53 *q*

יָהוּה 17 *e*, its pro-  
 nunciation with prefixes  
 102 *m*; יָצָאוֹת 125 *h*

יָהִבְל 53 *q*

יָהִלְשִׁיעַ 53 *q*

יָהִי 75 *s*

יָהִי 9 *f*, 75 *s*

יָהִל 67 *p*

יָהֵל? 68 *k*

יָהֵצָה 90 *f*

יָיָאָר 53 *u*

יָיֹדְעָמִי? 55 *b*

יָיָדָשׁ 53 *u*

יָיָחַל 53 *u*

יָיָבַח 65 *f*

יָיָבַל 53 *u*, 69 *r*

יָיָלָד (ptcp.) 52 *s*

יָיֹם 96

יָיֹמָם 100 *g*<sup>1</sup>

יָיֹנְקוֹת 95 *q*

יָיֹסֵף? 50 *e*

יָיֹצֵת 74 *i*

יָיֹקְשִׁים (ptcp.) 52 *s*

יָיֹרָא 69 *w*

יָיֹרָה 69 *r*

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יָיֹשֶׁר 53 *u*, 73 *a*

יָיֹשֶׁת 53 *u*, 73 *a*<sup>1</sup>

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יָיֹנָמוּ 67 *dd*

יָיֹבְלוּ 63 *g*

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יָיֹבֵשׁ 63 *d*

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יָיֹחַדוּ 91 *k*

135 *r*

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יָיֹזְקִי 63 *g*

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יָיֹי 75 *s*

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יָיֹחְמָתָי 64 *h*

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יָיֹחֵנוּ 67 *cc*

יָיֹחַם 72 *r*

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יָיֹחֶתָה 63 *m*

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יִלְוִי 72 <i>ee</i>	יִעְרְנוּ 72 <i>cc</i>	יְקַשׁוּן 72 <i>r</i>
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נָבְהוֹת 93 <i>r</i>	נִחַרְו 75 <i>x</i>	נִפְשׁוּ שְׁנַיִם 132 <i>g</i> , 134 <i>e</i> <sup>1</sup>
נָבְיֹוּתִי 86 <i>i</i>	נִחַת 95 <i>k</i>	נִצַּב forms of 78 <i>b</i>
נָבְיִנַח? 80 <i>f</i>	נִחַת 67 <i>u</i>	נִצָּה 91 <i>e</i>
נָבְלוֹת 75 <i>x</i>	נִחַת 67 <i>u</i>	נִצָּנִים 85 <i>u</i> <sup>1</sup>
נָבְפוּ 61 <i>a</i>	נִחַתוּם 63 <i>c</i>	נִצָּרָה 48 <i>i</i>
נָבַשׁ forms of 78 <i>c</i>	נִחַתָּ forms of 76 <i>c</i>	נִקְבְּצוּ (imper.) 51 <i>o</i>
נָבַר? 72 <i>n</i>	נִחַתָּ 66 <i>c</i>	נִקּוּם 72 <i>h</i>
נָבְרָה 67 <i>cc</i>	נִחַתוֹת 75 <i>v</i>	נִקְטָה 72 <i>dd</i>
נָבְחָה 92 <i>b</i> <sup>1</sup>	נִחַיִּי 75 <i>x</i>	נִקְטָפוּ 72 <i>dd</i>
נָבְחִי 20 <i>m</i>	נִחַמְּאִים 93 <i>oo</i>	נִקְיָא 23 <i>i</i>
נָבְחִיךָ 92 <i>b</i> <sup>1</sup>	נִטַּע 65 <i>d</i>	נִקְיָת 75 <i>x</i>
נָבַח 66 <i>c</i>	נִיָּגַם 76 <i>f</i>	נִקְרָא 75 <i>rr</i>

נָרָא (Is 41 <sup>28</sup> Keth.)	כָּפוּ 69 h <sup>1</sup>	uses of 119 aa-dd; causa
48 g <sup>1</sup>	סְפוֹת (from נִסְפָּה) ?	with perfect 158 b, wit
נָרַד 26 r	69 h <sup>1</sup>	infin. 158 c; concessiv
נָרְפָא 75 oo	סְפָרִים a letter 124 b <sup>1</sup>	160 c
נָרְפָתָה 75 qq	סְרִים 84 <sup>b</sup> f	עֲלִיּוֹן 133 g <sup>1</sup>
נִשָּׂא 66 c, 76 b	סָרַר 67 cc	עֲלִיּוֹהַּ Is 23 <sup>7</sup> without
נִשָּׂא forms of 76 b	סְתָמוֹם 60 h	article 126 z <sup>2</sup>
נִשְׂאָת 76 b	ע pronunciation	עֲלִימוֹ 103 f <sup>3</sup>
נִשְׂאָת 74 i, 94 f	6 e; with dageš f. implici-	עַם its origin
נִשְׂוֵא 23 i, 75 oo	tum 22 a-c	101 a; pointing, with su
נִשְׂוִי 75 qq	עֲבָרִי 2 b, 9 b	103 c
נִשְׂקָה 66 e	עָנַב 84 <sup>a</sup> t	עֲמֻדָּה 61 d
נִשָּׂא 75 oo	עָנֹל 93 kk	עֲמוּקָה ? 93 kk
נִשְׂאָר 48 g <sup>1</sup>	עֲדָהֶם 32 n	עֲפִי plur. apoc
נִשְׂדָּנוּ 67 u	עַד, poetic עָדִי 103 o; with	87 f
נִשְׂנִי 52 m	imperf. of past time 107 c	עֲמָמִים 93 aa
נִשְׂתָּוָה ? 75 x	עֲדוֹתִי ? 91 n	עָנְבִי 20 h
נִשְׂתָּעָה 75 l	עָדִים 29 e <sup>1</sup>	עָנִי 63 l
נָתַן forms of 78 c	עָרִיכֶם 103 o	עָנִי 63 l
נָתַן 66 h, i; with	עָדָר 72 m	עָנוֹת 75 aa
accus. and infin. = allow to	עָוָה 67 ff	עֲפָאִים 93 z
157 b <sup>2</sup>	עֵינֹן 55 c	עָץ 9 l, 26 o <sup>1</sup>
נָתַן 66 i, 69 m <sup>2</sup>	עָוֹל 93 u	עֲצָבוֹן 93 uu
נָתַן 66 h	עָוֹנָה 61 h, 91 d	עֲצָבִי 61 a
נָתַנוּ 44 o	עָוֹנִנוּ 91 k	עָקַב 93 hh
נָתַתָּ 19 c, 20 l	עָוִי 72 s	עָקָרָב 19 m
נָתַתָּה 44 g, 66 h	עָזָאוֹל 30 n	עָרְבִיאִים 93 x
נָסָאָה ? 55 f	עָזְבוֹנֶיךָ 93 uu	עָרְפִים 88 c
נָסְבוֹת 67 d <sup>1</sup>	עָרַת 80 g	עָרוּ 75 cc
נָסִיב 103 o	עָטִיהַּ 75 v	עָרוֹם 118 n, 146
נָסִיב 50 e	עֵי 24 b, 93 y	עָרוּמִים 93 pp
נָסְלוּ 10 h, 93 q	עֵז 82	עָרוֹת (Hb 3 <sup>13</sup> ) 7.
נָסַג 72 p	עֵינוֹת 93 v	עָרְכָה 48 i
נָסְפָתָה 90 f	עֵיר 96	עָרְכוּ 48 i
נָסְרָה 72 p	עֵירָה 91 e	עָרְלָה 95 d
נָסְתָה 91 e	עֵירוֹ 93 v	עָרְמָם 91 e
נָסִיב 24 g <sup>1</sup>	עֵירוֹם 27 w	עָשׂוֹבוֹת 20 h, 93 o
נָסְבָה 91 e	עַל 2 f <sup>1</sup>	עָשָׂה 69 m <sup>2</sup>
נָסְרָר 6 k	עַל its origin	עָשָׂהָל 23 k <sup>1</sup>
נָסְלָם 85 t, 87 h	101 a; poetic עֲלִי 103 o;	עָשָׂהוּ 75 n

עָשָׂו ptc. passive  
24 b, 75 v  
עֲשׂוֹת 75 v  
עֲשָׂרָה 80 l  
עֲשָׂרָה אֲלֶפֶס 97 g  
עֲשָׂרִים 93 l, 97 f  
עֲשָׂן 93 dd  
עֲשָׂשָׁה 67 cc  
עֲשָׂשׂוּ 67 cc  
עֲשָׂתִי 97 e<sup>1</sup>  
עֲשִׂיתָרַח 95 q<sup>1</sup>  
עֲתָה 90 h  
עֲתִיק 84 b f  
עַת נִשְׁבְּרָה ? 116 g<sup>1</sup>  
פֶּאֶרָה 23 c  
פֶּדְהָצִיר 23 k<sup>1</sup>  
פְּרִיִם 85 t  
פָּה 96  
פִּינֵת 80 f  
פָּחַם (Ne 5<sup>14</sup>) ? 91 e  
פִּיּוֹת 96  
פִּימוֹ 91 f  
פִּלָּא 93 k  
פִּלָּא 22 e  
פִּלְגַּ 52 n  
פֶּן with imperf.  
twice perf.) 107 q and  
note<sup>3</sup>, 152 w (end), after  
deas of fearing 152 w  
פְּנָה 91 e  
פְּנוּיָאֵל 90 k  
פְּנִים 145 h  
פְּנִימוֹ 103 f<sup>3</sup>  
פָּעַל 39 e, 41 d  
פָּעֵלוֹ 93 q  
פְּפִיּוֹת 96  
פְּפִיקוֹחַ 84 b n  
פְּרָא 22 e

פְּרָאוֹת 75 rr  
פְּרָדִים 1 i  
פְּרִי 93 x  
פְּרִי 9 f  
פְּרִיִן 84 b f  
פְּרִשׁ 84 b b  
פְּרִשׁוֹ 56  
פְּרִשִׁים 93 dd  
פְּרַת 80 g  
פְּרָתַיִם 93 x  
פָּאן with 3rd fem.  
pl. 132 g, 145 c  
פָּאֲנִינִי ? 123 a<sup>1</sup>  
פָּאֵת 69 m  
פָּאֵת 95 e  
פָּבְאוֹת 125 h  
פָּבְאִים 93 x  
פָּבְיָה 75 qq  
פָּרַק מֶן 133 b<sup>2</sup>  
פָּרַקְתָּךְ 52 p  
פָּרַחְרִים 88 c  
פָּזַר (verb) 67 n  
פָּזַרְי 72 s  
פָּזַרְגִּים 86 g  
פָּחָה 84 b c  
פָּצִים, צִי 93 y  
פָּצֵלוֹ 67 cc  
פָּצֵלִי 10 g  
פָּצֵלְמוֹת 30 r, 81 d<sup>2</sup>  
פָּצֵלַע 93 gg  
פָּצֵלַע 93 gg  
פָּצַתְתֹּנִי 55 d  
פָּצַקִי 46 d  
פָּפוֹ passive ptc.  
75 v  
פָּפְרַע 81 d<sup>2</sup>, 85 w  
פָּצִקִּי ? 44 l, 72 o

קָאָם for קָאָם 9b, 23 g,  
analogous cases 72 p  
קָאָת 80 g  
קָבְה־לִּי 9 v, 67 o  
קָבְנוֹ the נ not com-  
pensatory 20 o, for קָבְנִי  
67 o, doubtful form 100 o<sup>2</sup>  
קָבְצָה 52 l  
קָרְבִּינִת 85 u  
קָרְשִׁים 9 v, 93 r  
קָרְשִׁים 124 h  
קָה־לֵּת 145 h  
קֹל = hark!  
146 b  
קֹלִי constr. st. 90 n  
קֹימָה 72 s  
קֹימוֹ צָא 20 g  
קֹימִים 72 p  
קֹוֶף 1 i  
קֹרְתָהוּ 21 c  
קָח ? for לָקַח 19 i,  
66 g  
קָחָם ? for לָקַחְם 19 i,  
66 g  
קָחָם־נָא 58 g, 61 g,  
66 g  
קָחַת 66 g, 93 h  
קָחְבֵּךְ 93 q  
קָחְלִי 26 g  
קָחְלִיתִי 19 f  
קָחְנִי ? 93 q  
קָחַר 52 o  
קָיָא 76 h  
קָיִי 76 h  
קָיִטוֹר 84 a u  
קָיִם 72 m  
קָיִמְנִי 91 f  
קָלִי 67 ee  
קָלִם 72 g

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קַצָּה 91 <i>e</i>	רַדְפִי 61 <i>c</i>	שָׁבְלוֹת 6 <i>k</i>
קַצְוִי 93 <i>x</i>	רוֹם 72 <i>q</i>	שֶׁלֶק 66 <i>e</i>
קַצְרָכִם 61 <i>d</i>	רָחַם 22 <i>h</i>	שָׁמַאל 23 <i>c</i>
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רַבִּי 67 <i>m</i>	שָׂאת 76 <i>b</i> , 93 <i>t</i>	name 10 <i>b</i> <sup>1</sup>
רַבּוֹא 23 <i>i</i>	שָׂרִי, שָׂרָה 84 <sup>a</sup> <i>f</i> , 93 <i>U</i>	שׁוב infin. abs., ex-

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 שׁחַת 95 k  
 שׁוּלְטִי 85 v  
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 שׁכַּב 45 c  
 שׁכַּבָּה 61 c, 93 s  
 שׁכַּחַת 65 g  
 שׁכּוֹ 44 c  
 שׁכַּנְתִּי 90 n  
 שׁלַחַת 55 i, 85 o  
 שׁלַחַ בָּהּ 21 c  
 שׁלֹחַ with accus.  
 121 d<sup>1</sup>  
 שׁלֹם subst. and  
 adj. 141 c<sup>2</sup>  
 שׁלַח 65 a  
 שׁלַחוּ 52 o  
 שׁלַחְךָ 61 h, 65 d  
 שׁלַחְתָּ 21 f, 28 e<sup>2</sup>  
 שׁלִי 129 h<sup>1</sup>  
 שׁלִי 84<sup>a</sup> g  
 שׁלֵם 52 o  
 שׁלֵשִׁים 93 qg  
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 שׁמְעַת 80 g  
 שׁמְרָה 48 i<sup>2</sup>, 61 f<sup>1</sup>  
 שׁמְרוֹן 88 c  
 שׁמְרִי 48 i<sup>2</sup>, 61 f<sup>1</sup>  
 שׁנָא 23 l  
 שׁנָא 75 rr  
 שׁנַבּ (Phoen.) 7 d<sup>1</sup>  
 שׁנוֹת 95 c<sup>1</sup>  
 שׁנִים 97 d  
 שׁנַת 80 g  
 שׁסַע 65 d  
 שׁעֵר ? 135 p<sup>1</sup>  
 שׁפַּט אֶת- 29 i<sup>1</sup>  
 שׁפִּיפּוֹן 86 g  
 שׁפַּמוֹת 10 g  
 שׁפַּעַת 80 f  
 שׁפּוּרוֹ 84<sup>b</sup> m  
 שׁקָמִים 93 o  
 שׁקָקוֹת 95 f  
 שׁרָאשִׁי 22 s  
 שׁרִית 23 f  
 שׁרָךְ 22 s  
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תִּיכּוֹן	27 <i>w</i>	תַּעֲבֹרִי	47 <i>g</i>	תִּרְצָחִי ?	52 <i>q</i>
+תִּיעֲשֶׂה	63 <i>h</i>	תַּעֲנֶנָּה	51 <i>m</i>	תִּשְׁאִינָה	(Ez 23 <sup>49</sup> )? 76 <i>t</i>
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תִּכְלָה	77 <i>rr</i>	תַּעֲשִׂרְנָה	60 <i>g</i>	תִּשְׁלַחְנָה	(anomalous) 47 <i>k</i>
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 4 . . . . . 111 b  
 5 . . . . . 119 s  
 7 . . . . . 147 b  
 12 . . . . . 116 g, 158 a  
 14 . . . . . 130 d N<sup>2</sup>  
 17 . . . . . 75 ff  
 23 . . . . . 134 k  
 24 . . . . . 111 h, 147 e  
 23 1 . . . . . 134 d, 134 h  
 3 . . . . . 122 f  
 4 . . . . . 52 f, 128 m  
 5 . . . . . 110 e  
 6 75 qq, 119 x, 128 r,  
 142 f N<sup>2</sup>, 152 b  
 8 . . . . . 61 g  
 9 . . . . . 119 p  
 10 116 h, 141 b, 143 e  
 11 . . . . . 106 m, 152 c  
 13 . . . . . 110 e  
 20 . . . . . 111 k  
 24 3 . . . . . 128 a, 165 b  
 5 . . . . . 100 n, 113 q  
 6 . . . . . 51 n, 152 w  
 7 . . . . . 138 a  
 8 . . . . . 75 x, 109 d, 126 y  
 9 . . . . . 16 h  
 14 112 bb, 135 p,  
 167 c  
 15 106 f, 107 c, 152 r  
 18 . . . . . 120 d  
 19 . . . . . 106 o, 164 b  
 20 . . . . . 75 bb  
 21 . . . . . 130 a, 150 i  
 22 . . . . . 134 n, 156 b  
 23 . . . . . 37 a, 118 g  
 26 . . . . . 67 g  
 27 . . . . . 75 ll, 135 e, 143 b  
 29 . . . . . 156 b  
 30 . . . . . 115 e N., 116 s  
 31 . . . . . 116 l  
 33 . . . . . 73 f  
 35 . . . . . 154 a N.  
 37 . . . . . 149 c  
 41 95 n, 117 f, 164 d  
 42 . . . . . 159 v, 167 c  
 43 . . . . . 112 t  
 44 . . . . . 154 a N., 162 b  
 45 . . . . . 135 a  
 48 . . . . . 75 t  
 49 . . . . . 159 v  
 51 . . . . . 109 f, 117 f  
 55 . . . . . 139 h, 146 f  
 56 . . . . . 142 d  
 58 . . . . . 150 n  
 60 . . . . . 63 q, 97 g, 134 g  
 61 . . . . . 146 g, 146 h

Genesis

24 63 . . . . . 114 f N.  
 65 . . . . . 34 f  
 67 . . . . . 127 f  
 25 1 . . . . . 120 d  
 5 . . . . . 16 a  
 16 . . . . . 136 d  
 21 . . . . . 51 n, 121 f  
 23 . . . . . 119 ff  
 24 . . . . . 23 f  
 26 115 a, 115 c, 115 e  
 N.  
 31 . . . . . 35 n, 48 i  
 34 . . . . . 75 o  
 26 7 144 p N., 147 a N.  
 9 148 b, 152 w, 157 b  
 10 . . . . . 49 l, 106 p  
 13 . . . . . 113 u, 164 f  
 15 . . . . . 60 h, 135 o  
 16 . . . . . 133 c  
 18 . . . . . 60 h, 111 q, 120 d  
 23 . . . . . 118 f  
 25 . . . . . 76 c  
 28 . . . . . 75 n, 103 p N.  
 29 . . . . . 65 h, 75 hh  
 27 1 111 q, 114 d, 119 y  
 3 . . . . . 118 f, 122 t  
 4 . . . . . 20 b, 106 g, 108 d  
 7 . . . . . 58 g  
 9 . . . . . 117 ii  
 12 . . . . . 49 l, 112 p  
 13 . . . . . 10 g, 141 f  
 19 . . . . . 60 d  
 20 114 n N., 136 c,  
 148 b  
 21 . . . . . 67 r, 136 d  
 24 . . . . . 150 a  
 26 . . . . . 10 g  
 28 . . . . . 20 m  
 29 . . . . . 145 l  
 30 . . . . . 113 n, 164 b N.  
 31 . . . . . 72 t  
 33 107 c, 116 d, 117 q,  
 150 l, 153  
 34 111 h N., 113 m,  
 117 q, 135 e, 153  
 36 63 m, 136 d, 150 e  
 37 103 g, 117 ff, 117 ii,  
 142 g, 150 l  
 38 . . . . . 10 g, 16 g, 100 l  
 39 . . . . . 20 m, 119 c  
 41 . . . . . 63 f  
 42 . . . . . 61 a, 121 a  
 43 . . . . . 112 r, 119 s  
 45 114 d, 114 r,  
 117 aa, 118 i,  
 150 e, 154 a N.  
 28 2 . . . . . 16 h, 90 i  
 3 . . . . . 75 ll  
 4 . . . . . 95 g, 114 g  
 6 . . . . . 167 c

## Genesis

28 8 . . . . . 111 *d*  
 9 . . . . . 119 *aa N.*  
 11 . . . . . 126 *r*  
 15 . . . . . 106 *o*, 147 *b*  
 16 . . . . . 106 *g*  
 18 . . . . . 71  
 29 2 . . . . . 111 *e*, 144 *f*  
 6 . . . . . 150 *n*  
 7 . . . . . 126 *i*, 152 *d*  
 9 . . . . . 116 *u*, 129 *h*  
 10 . . . . . 67 *p*, 75 *gg*, 106 *f*  
 14 . . . . . 131 *d*  
 15 . . . . . 112 *cc*, 150 *e*  
 17 . . . . . 145 *n*  
 19 . . . . . 133 *a*  
 21 . . . . . 69 *o*, 165 *a*  
 25 . . . . . 142 *g*  
 26 . . . . . 107 *g*  
 27 . . . . . 121 *b*  
 30 . . . . . 133 *b*  
 32 . . . . . 60 *d*  
 30 3 . . . . . 51 *g*  
 6 . . . . . 26 *g*, 59 *f*  
 8 85 *n*, 117 *q*, 154 *a*  
*N.*  
 13 . . . . . 106 *n*  
 15 . . . . . 114 *a*  
 16 . . . . . 126 *y*  
 18 . . . . . 17 *c*, 135 *m*  
 19 . . . . . 96  
 20 . . . . . 117 *bb*, 117 *ff*  
 23 . . . . . 135 *m*  
 27 111 *h N.*, 120 *f*,  
 159 *dd*  
 29 . . . . . 157 *c*  
 31 . . . . . 120 *g*, 120 *h*  
 32 . . . . . 112 *mm*  
 34 . . . . . 109 *b*, 151 *e*  
 37 . . . . . 117 *r*, 123 *b*  
 38 10 *g*, 47 *k*, 76 *g*,  
 95 *f*, 138 *c*, 145 *c*  
 39 . . . . . 69 *f*, 145 *p*  
 40 . . . . . 119 *aa N.*, 142 *f*  
 41 . . . . . 91 *f*, 112 *ee*  
 43 . . . . . 132 *g*  
 31 6 . . . . . 32 *i*  
 7 . . . . . 67 *w*, 112 *h*  
 8 145 *u*, 159 *r*, 159 *s*  
 9 . . . . . 135 *o*  
 13 . . . . . 127 *f*  
 14 . . . . . 146 *g*, 146 *h*  
 15 . . . . . 113 *r*  
 19 . . . . . 67 *cc*  
 23 . . . . . 118 *h*  
 27 63 *c*, 111 *m*, 114 *n*  
*N.*  
 28 . . . . . 75 *n*  
 29 . . . . . 152 *i*  
 30 . . . . . 51 *i*, 113 *p*  
 32 . . . . . 138 *f*

## Genesis

31 32 . . . . . 59 *g*, 138 *f*  
 34 111 *q*, 124 *h N.*,  
 132 *h N.*  
 35 . . . . . 106 *l*  
 36 . . . . . 20 *d*, 37 *d*  
 39 23 *f*, 74 *k*, 75 *oo*,  
 75 *qq*, 90 *l*, 107 *e*  
 40 67 *cc*, 76 *a*, 104 *g*,  
 143 *a N.*, 167 *b N.*  
 41 . . . . . 136 *d*  
 42 . . . . . 106 *p*  
 44 . . . . . 69 *x*  
 45 . . . . . 117 *ii*  
 47 . . . . . 1 *c*  
 52 . . . . . 149 *c*, 167 *b*  
 53 . . . . . 145 *i*  
 32 1 . . . . . 103 *b*, 122 *g*  
 3 . . . . . 136 *b*  
 5 . . . . . 64 *h*, 68 *f*  
 6 . . . . . 49 *e*, 104 *g*, 123 *b*  
 7 . . . . . 116 *s*  
 8 . . . . . 67 *p*, 144 *b*  
 9 . . . . . 112 *p*, 145 *u*  
 10 . . . . . 116 *o*  
 11 106 *g*, 119 *n*, 133 *c*  
 12 119 *aa N.*, 152 *w*,  
 156 *c*  
 13 . . . . . 107 *w*  
 15 . . . . . 134 *c*  
 16 28 *b*, 122 *d*, 132 *e*,  
 135 *o*  
 17 . . . . . 123 *d*  
 18 9 *v*, 10 *g*, 60 *b*, 64 *f*,  
 137 *b*  
 19 . . . . . 124 *i*  
 20 . . . . . 52 *n*, 61 *d*, 74 *h*  
 25 . . . . . 51 *n*  
 27 . . . . . 60 *f*, 65 *h*, 163 *c*  
 30 . . . . . 20 *f*, 107 *h*  
 31 90 *k*, 111 *e*, 156 *c*,  
 157 *b*  
 33 2 . . . . . 146 *e N.*  
 3 . . . . . 66 *b*  
 4 . . . . . 5 *n*  
 5 37 *a*, 67 *a*, 117 *ff*,  
 137 *a*  
 7 . . . . . 146 *h*  
 8 . . . . . 147 *a N.*  
 10 . . . . . 112 *gg*, 158 *b N.*  
 11 . . . . . 74 *g*  
 13 60 *h*, 104 *g*, 122 *d*,  
 126 *i*, 135 *o*  
 18 . . . . . 118 *n*  
 19 . . . . . 134 *g*  
 34 5 . . . . . 112 *ss*  
 7 . . . . . 45 *c*, 45 *g*  
 8 . . . . . 140 *d*  
 9 . . . . . 117 *w*  
 15 . . . . . 72 *h*, 119 *p*  
 16 . . . . . 44 *o*, 49 *k*

## Genesis

34 19 . . . . . 64 *d*  
 22 . . . . . 72 *ee*  
 23 . . . . . 143 *a*  
 24 . . . . . 145 *d*  
 25 . . . . . 118 *q*, 131 *q*  
 27 . . . . . 144 *g*  
 30 . . . . . 128 *n*, 141 *d*  
 31 . . . . . 107 *t*, 118 *v*  
 35 1 . . . . . 65 *a*  
 3 . . . . . 116 *d*  
 7 . . . . . 124 *h N.*, 145 *i*  
 8 . . . . . 126 *d*, 144 *d*  
 11 . . . . . 145 *f*  
 13 . . . . . 142 *g*  
 14 . . . . . 138 *c*  
 22 . . . . . 15 *p*, 45 *g*  
 26 . . . . . 121 *b*  
 36 7 . . . . . 133 *c*  
 37 2 . . . . . 126 *z*  
 3 . . . . . 112 *h*, 133 *b*  
 4 . . . . . 115 *c*  
 7 . . . . . 47 *l*, 116 *o*  
 8 . . . . . 113 *q*, 150 *h*  
 15 . . . . . 107 *f*, 116 *s*  
 16 . . . . . 142 *f N.*  
 17 . . . . . 117 *f*  
 18 . . . . . 117 *w*  
 19 . . . . . 128 *u*  
 21 . . . . . 117 *ll*  
 23 . . . . . 117 *cc*  
 29 . . . . . 152 *l*  
 30 . . . . . 116 *p*, 143 *a*  
 32 . . . . . 150 *i*  
 33 . . . . . 60 *d*, 113 *w*  
 35 . . . . . 118 *n*  
 38 5 . . . . . 112 *uu*  
 9 . . . . . 13 *c*, 66 *i*, 112 *gg*  
 11 . . . . . 118 *g*, 152 *w*  
 17 . . . . . 159 *dd*  
 21 . . . . . 126 *y*  
 24 20 *m*, 97 *c*, 116 *s*,  
 119 *y N.*  
 25 32 *l*, 74 *i*, 116 *v*,  
 142 *e*  
 26 . . . . . 133 *b N.*  
 28 . . . . . 144 *d*  
 29 . . . . . 164 *g*  
 39 1 . . . . . 142 *b*  
 4 130 *d*, 155 *d*, 155 *n*  
 5 . . . . . 145 *g*  
 6 . . . . . 128 *x*  
 8 . . . . . 137 *c*  
 9 . . . . . 107 *t*, 112 *p*  
 10 . . . . . 123 *c*  
 11 . . . . . 35 *n*, 126 *s*  
 14 . . . . . 2 *b*, 29 *g*, 64 *g*  
 16 . . . . . 72 *ee*  
 18 . . . . . 114 *r*  
 20 . . . . . 130 *c*  
 22 . . . . . 116 *s*

Genesis

39 23 . . . 116 o, 152 l  
 40 4 . . . . . 139 h  
 5 . . . . . 129 h  
 7 . . . . . 84<sup>b</sup> f, 87 t  
 8 . . . . . 152 o  
 9 . . . . . 143 d  
 10 . . . . . 91 e, 164 g  
 13 . . . . . 72 w  
 14 10<sup>5</sup> b N., 106 n N.,  
 163 d  
 15 . . . . . 2 b  
 16 . . . . . 135 f  
 20 . . . . . 69 w, 71, 121 b  
 22 . . . . . 144 n  
 41 1 116 s, 119 cc, 131 d  
 6 . . . . . 116 l  
 8 . . . . . 64 b, 122 i  
 11 . . . . . 49 e  
 12 . . . . . 139 c  
 15 . . . . . 152 o, 157 a  
 21 . . . . . 91 f, 93 ss  
 25 . . . . . 116 d  
 26 . . . . . 126 x, 141 h  
 28 . . . . . 53 p  
 29 . . . . . 156 c  
 30 . . . . . 112 x  
 33 . . . . . 75 p, 75 hh  
 39 . . . . . 115 a  
 40 . . . . . 118 h  
 42 . . . . . 117 cc  
 43 8<sup>5</sup> h, 113 z, 129 h  
 49 . . . . . 75 ff  
 51 . . . . . 52 m  
 57 . . . . . 145 e  
 42 1 . . . . . 54 f  
 2 . . . . . 109 g  
 4 . . . . . 75 rr  
 6 . . . . . 126 k  
 7 . . . . . 122 q  
 9 . . . . . 114 g  
 10 . . . . . 163 a  
 11 . . . . . 32 d, 91 f  
 13 133 g, 141 b, 152 m  
 16 . . . . . 110 c  
 18 . . . . . 110 f  
 19 . . . . . 134 d  
 23 . . . . . 126 r  
 25 93 m, 120 f, 124 l,  
 139 c  
 28 . . . . . 119 gg  
 30 . . . . . 124 i, 126 p  
 33 . . . . . 134 d  
 35 111 g, 116 u, 139 c  
 36 . . . . . 91 f, 135 p  
 37 . . . . . 159 r  
 43 3 . . . . . 113 n, 163 c  
 5 . . . . . 116 g, 159 v  
 6 . . . . . 150 i N.  
 7 107 k, 107 t, 113 q,  
 150 d

Genesis

43 9 . . . . . 159 o  
 10 . . . . . 106 p, 159 x  
 12 65 d, 72 bb, 93 pp,  
 131 e  
 14 . . . . . 29 u, 106 o  
 15 . . . . . 20 c, 131 q  
 16 . . . . . 65 b  
 17 . . . . . 90 c  
 18 . . . . . 116 d  
 21 . . . . . 49 e  
 26 . . . . . 14 d  
 27 . . . . . 141 c N.  
 28 . . . . . 67 g  
 29 . . . . . 67 n  
 33 . . . . . 119 gg  
 34 . . . . . 134 r, 144 n  
 44 1 . . . . . 47 m, 138 e  
 2 . . . . . 135 n N.  
 3 . . . . . 142 e, 144 c  
 4 138 e, 156 f, 164 b  
 5 . . . . . 119 m N.  
 9 . . . . . 112 ii, 138 f  
 10 . . . . . 153  
 12 . . . . . 156 d  
 16 . . . . . 20 d, 58 k  
 22 . . . . . 159 g  
 23 . . . . . 137 b  
 28 . . . . . 113 w  
 29 . . . . . 112 kk  
 31 . . . . . 112 oo  
 33 . . . . . 69 p, 109 b  
 34 . . . . . 152 w  
 45 4 . . . . . 138 d  
 7 . . . . . 117 n  
 8 . . . . . 119 hh  
 14 . . . . . 93 pp  
 23 . . . . . 102 g  
 46 2 . . . . . 124 e, 126 r  
 3 . . . . . 69 m  
 4 . . . . . 113 w  
 22 . . . . . 121 b  
 27 . . . . . 121 b, 132 g  
 30 . . . . . 108 b  
 34 . . . . . 127 e  
 47 3 . . . . . 145 r  
 6 . . . . . 120 e  
 9 . . . . . 128 a  
 11 . . . . . 69 v  
 17 . . . . . 93 ss  
 19 . . . . . 67 p  
 21 . . . . . 139 e N., 143 c  
 22 . . . . . 112 l  
 24 . . . . . 145 u  
 48 1 . . . . . 144 d  
 2 . . . . . 144 d N<sup>2</sup>  
 9 . . . . . 58 g, 60 d, 61 g  
 11 . . . . . 75 n, 115 b  
 14 . . . . . 141 e, 156 d  
 22 . . . . . 96, 106 m, 130 g  
 49 1 . . . . . 75 rr

Genesis

49 3 . . . . . 29 u  
 4 53 n, 124 b, 144 p,  
 147 c  
 8 . . . . . 135 e  
 10 . . . . . 20 h, 164 f  
 11 7c, 52 l, 90 m, 91 e,  
 93 v, 96, 106 k,  
 116 x, 118 p  
 12 . . . . . 93 dd  
 13 . . . . . 95 i  
 15 . . . . . 117 b N.  
 17 . . . . . 20 h, 109 k  
 18 . . . . . 106 g  
 21 . . . . . 126 b  
 22 44 m, 80 g, 96,  
 145 k  
 23 . . . . . 67 m, 112 rr  
 25 . . . . . 117 ff, 119 c  
 27 29 l, 29 u, 107 g,  
 155 f  
 30 . . . . . 138 b N.  
 50 13 . . . . . 138 b N.  
 15 . . . . . 117 ff, 159 y  
 18 . . . . . 58 k  
 20 . . . . . 75 n  
 23 . . . . . 128 v  
 25 . . . . . 116 v  
 26 . . . . . 73 f, 144 d N.

Exodus

1 1 . . . . . 49 b N.  
 7 117 z, 121 d, 133 k  
 10 . . . . . 47 k, 75 rr, 112 y  
 12 . . . . . 107 e  
 14 . . . . . 119 o  
 16 . . . . . 67 k, 72 w, 76 i  
 18 . . . . . 47 l  
 19 . . . . . 47 l, 112 oo  
 20 . . . . . 47 l  
 21 . . . . . 135 o  
 22 . . . . . 127 b N.  
 2 1 . . . . . 117 d  
 2 . . . . . 117 h  
 3 20 h, 58 g, 114 m,  
 126 m  
 4 . . . . . 69 m, 71  
 6 . . . . . 131 m  
 9 . . . . . 69 x, 70 e, 135 m  
 10 . . . . . 111 d  
 15 . . . . . 126 r  
 16 . . . . . 75 w  
 17 . . . . . 60 d, 60 h, 135 o  
 20 . . . . . 46 f, 154 b  
 3 2 . . . . . 52 s, 119 i, 126 r  
 3 . . . . . 108 b, 126 v  
 8 . . . . . 128 x  
 9 . . . . . 117 r  
 10 . . . . . 110 i  
 11 . . . . . 107 u

## Exodus

3	13 . . . . .	112 t
	15 . . . . .	133 l
	18 . . . . .	49 l
	19 . . . . .	69 x, 157 b N.
	20 . . . . .	63 m
	21 . . . . .	164 d
	22 . . . . .	95 k, 139 b
4	1 . . . . .	107 i
	2 . . . . .	37 c
	4 . . . . .	29 g, 64 c
	10 . . . . .	61 e, 128 t, 152 d
	12 . . . . .	75 ee
	13 . . . . .	130 d, 155 n
	14 . . . . .	159 g
	21 . . . . .	112 mm, 143 d
5	2 . . . . .	107 u
	5 . . . . .	112 cc
	7 . . . . .	68 h
	10 . . . . .	152 m
	11 . . . . .	138 e
	16 . . . . .	74 g, 116 t, 152 o
	18 . . . . .	163 a
	19 . . . . .	57 N., 135 k
	20 . . . . .	126 r
	21 . . . . .	66 i, 102 f
	23 . . . . .	113 v
6	3 . . . . .	119 i, 144 l N.
	6 . . . . .	112 x
	10 . . . . .	20 c N.
	14 . . . . .	124 r
	28 . . . . .	52 o, 130 d
7	9 . . . . .	109 h, 159 d
	11 . . . . .	131 l
	20 . . . . .	119 q
	27 . . . . .	52 s
8	1 . . . . .	20 m, 75 gg
	4 . . . . .	63 o
	10 . . . . .	123 e
	17 . . . . .	117 z
	20 . . . . .	107 b
	22 . . . . .	150 a, 159 w
9	4 . . . . .	130 d, 155 n
	9 . . . . .	117 z
	15 . . . . .	106 p
	16 . . . . .	115 e N.
	18 . . . . .	91 e, 127 f
	23 . . . . .	63 n, 69 x
	27 . . . . .	126 k
	30 . . . . .	107 c
	31 . . . . .	141 d
10	1 . . . . .	126 y
	3 . . . . .	51 l, 106 h
	4 . . . . .	65 e
	6 . . . . .	161 b
	7 . . . . .	107 c, 152 r
	8 . . . . .	137 a
	9 . . . . .	91 k, 127 e
	10 . . . . .	154 a N.
	11 . . . . .	135 p
	22 . . . . .	133 i

## Exodus

10	28 . . . . .	69 v
11	6 . . . . .	135 o
	8 . . . . .	9 v
12	4 . . . . .	133 c, 139 c
	5 . . . . .	128 v
	6 . . . . .	88 c
	8 . . . . .	154 a N.
	12 . . . . .	124 g
	13 . . . . .	159 g
	14 . . . . .	67 n
	15 . . . . .	20 g, 112 mm, 116 w, 126 w
	16 . . . . .	146 c, 152 b
	18 . . . . .	134 o
	21 . . . . .	46 d
	23 . . . . .	126 l N.
	27 . . . . .	61 a
	31 . . . . .	20 g
	34 . . . . .	107 c
	39 . . . . .	117 ii
	43 . . . . .	119 m
	48 . . . . .	113 gg
	49 . . . . .	145 u
13	2 . . . . .	52 n
	3 . . . . .	113 bb
	7 . . . . .	118 k, 121 b
	8 . . . . .	138 h
	18 . . . . .	67 y
	21 . . . . .	53 q
14	2 . . . . .	93 q
	11 . . . . .	61 c, 152 y
	20 . . . . .	139 e N.
15	1 . . . . .	20 e, 107 c, 146 f
	2 . . . . .	58 k, 80 g, 117 b
	4 . . . . .	128 r
	5 . . . . .	58 g, 75 dd, 91 l
	6 . . . . .	90 l
	7 . . . . .	116 i
	8 . . . . .	15 c
	9 . . . . .	117 z, 120 g N., 154 a N.
	10 . . . . .	35 g
	11 . . . . .	20 e, 20 g
	12 . . . . .	107 d
	13 . . . . .	20 e, 64 d, 138 g
	14 . . . . .	47 m
	15 . . . . .	107 c
	16 . . . . .	20 e, 67 g, 90 g, 132 c, 138 g, 164 f
	17 . . . . .	20 h, 155 h
	20 . . . . .	47 l, 146 c
	21 . . . . .	20 e
	24 . . . . .	20 c
	26 . . . . .	113 o
16	2 . . . . .	72 ee
	6 . . . . .	112 oo
	7 . . . . .	32 d, 72 ee, 141 l N.
	8 . . . . .	72 ee
	12 . . . . .	88 c
	14 . . . . .	55 k

## Exodus

16	16 . . . . .	118 h
	20 . . . . .	27 o, 67 n, 121 d N., 139 h N.
	21 . . . . .	123 c, 159 g
	22 . . . . .	134 e
	23 . . . . .	63 i, 76 d
	29 . . . . .	9 l, 69 p, 139 d
	32 . . . . .	117 cc
	33 . . . . .	125 b
17	1 . . . . .	115 f
	2 . . . . .	47 m
	3 . . . . .	72 ee, 117 e
	4 . . . . .	112 x
	6 . . . . .	49 k
	7 . . . . .	152 k
	12 . . . . .	141 d, 145 n
	14 . . . . .	126 s
18	4 . . . . .	119 i
	5 . . . . .	118 g
	9 . . . . .	75 r
	14 . . . . .	102 b
	18 . . . . .	75 n, 133 c
	20 . . . . .	155 d, 155 i
	21 . . . . .	97 h
	22 . . . . .	127 b
	23 . . . . .	49 i
	26 . . . . .	47 g, 112 g
	27 . . . . .	119 s
19	1 . . . . .	102 f
	3 . . . . .	53 n
	5 . . . . .	113 o
	8 . . . . .	135 r
	13 . . . . .	69 t
	15 . . . . .	134 o N.
	18 . . . . .	93 dd
	19 . . . . .	113 u
	23 . . . . .	72 w, 72 x
20	2 . . . . .	15 p, 138 d
	3 . . . . .	107 o, 132 h
	5 . . . . .	60 b, 129 e
	8 . . . . .	113 bb
	9 . . . . .	118 k
	15 . . . . .	107 o
	18 . . . . .	116 o
	20 . . . . .	135 m, 152 x
	24 . . . . .	127 e
	25 . . . . .	72 k, 117 kk
21	2 . . . . .	159 bb
	4 . . . . .	145 h, 146 e
	5 . . . . .	113 o
	8 . . . . .	61 b, 75 ee, 103 g
	12 . . . . .	104 g, 112 n, 116 w
	13 . . . . .	112 ii
	18 . . . . .	47 m
	20 . . . . .	126 r
	28 . . . . .	117 d, 121 b
	29 . . . . .	124 i
	31 . . . . .	29 i N.
	35 . . . . .	135 m
	36 . . . . .	159 cc

Exodus

21 37 . . . 47*f*, 123 *a*  
 22 1 . . . 124 *n*  
 3 . . . 51 *k*, 113 *o*  
 4 . . . 53 *n*  
 5 . . . 117 *g*  
 8 . . . 138 *e*  
 11 . . . 113 *o*  
 17 . . . 94 *d*  
 22 . 113 *m*, 163 *c* *N.*  
 25 . . . 135 *o*  
 29 . . . 60 *d*  
 30 . . . 131 *k*  
 23 4 . . . 21 *h*  
 8 . . . 107 *g*  
 9 . . . 158 *a*  
 16 . . . 61 *a*  
 21 . . . 51 *n*, 67 *y*  
 22 . . . 113 *o*  
 24 . . . 60 *b*  
 26 . . . 94 *d*  
 27 . . . 117 *ii* *N.*  
 28 . . . 126 *t*  
 30 . . . 123 *e*, 133 *k*  
 31 . . . 58 *g*  
 24 3 . . . 118 *g*  
 4 . . . 134 *f*  
 10 . . . 139 *g*  
 12 . . . 154 *a* *N.*  
 25 5 . . . 52 *q*  
 11 . . . 49 *l*  
 15 . . . 135 *o* *N.*  
 18 . . . 117 *hh*  
 28 . . . 117 *hh*  
 29 . . . 20 *f*, 117 *hh*  
 31 . . . 63 *h*  
 33 . . . 123 *d*  
 35 . . . 123 *d*  
 40 . . . 121 *c*  
 26 2 . . . 134 *n*  
 3 . . . 123 *d*, 139 *e*  
 19 . . . 123 *d*  
 33 . 49 *h*, 53 *r*, 133 *i*  
 27 11 . . . 134 *n*  
 28 9 . . . 117 *d*  
 10 . . . 134 *c* *N.*  
 17 . . . 131 *d*  
 20 . . . 117 *y*  
 21 . . . 139 *c*  
 32 . . . 165 *a*  
 43 . . . 165 *a*  
 29 1 . . . 66 *g*  
 2 . . . 126 *m*  
 12 . . . 119 *w* *N.*  
 31 . . . 128 *p*  
 35 . . . 103 *b*  
 30 4 . . . 103 *g*  
 20 . . . 117 *y* *N.*  
 32 . . . 73 *f*  
 31 4 . . . 63 *i*  
 13 . . . 60 *f*

Exodus

31 17 . . . 51 *m*  
 18 . . . 124 *g*  
 32 1 . . . 126 *aa*, 137 *c*  
 3 . . . 54 *f*, 117 *w*  
 4 . . . 72 *t*, 145 *i*  
 6 . . . 52 *n*, 113 *e*  
 12 . . . 150 *e*  
 25 . 5 *n*, 58 *g*, 116 *i*  
 26 . . . 137 *c*  
 29 . . . 114 *p*  
 30 . . . 108 *h*  
 32 . . . 159 *dd*, 167 *a*  
 33 3 . . . 137 *c*  
 34 . . . 112 *oo*  
 33 3 . . . 27 *q*  
 6 . . . 54 *f*, 117 *w*  
 7 107 *e*, 112 *e*, 113 *h*  
 10 . . . 112 *kk*  
 11 . . . 156 *c*  
 12 . . . 75 *gg*  
 13 . . . 69 *b* *N.*, 91 *k*  
 14 . . . 150 *a*  
 19 . . . 67 *ee*  
 20 . . . 60 *d*, 159 *gg*  
 23 . . . 124 *b*  
 34 1 . . . 124 *q*  
 10 . . . 122 *q*  
 13 . . . 47 *m*  
 19 . . . 51 *g*  
 24 . . . 51 *l*  
 34 . . . 159 *k*  
 36 1 . . . 103 *g*  
 29 . . . 112 *ss*  
 38 3 . . . 117 *hh*  
 5 . . . 95 *n*  
 39 17 . . . 131 *d*  
 18 . . . 60 *h*  
 23 . . . 165 *a*

Leviticus

1 1 . . . 49 *b* *N.*  
 2 . . . 139 *d*  
 2 1 . . . 139 *d*, 145 *t*  
 2 . . . 85 *b*  
 8 . . . 144 *p* *N.*  
 4 2 . 119 *w* *N.*, 139 *d*  
 23 . . . 69 *w*  
 5 9 . . . 75 *hh*  
 11 . . . 131 *d*  
 13 . . . 119 *w* *N.*  
 15 . . . 128 *d*  
 6 2 . . . 91 *e*  
 3 . . . 128 *d*  
 7 . . . 113 *gg*  
 8 . 118 *g*, 135 *o* *N.*  
 9 . . . 118 *h*  
 13 . . . 131 *c*  
 7 8 . . . 117 *d*  
 35 . . . 53 *l*, 155 *l*

Leviticus

8 11 . . . 76 *c*  
 16 . . . 91 *c*  
 9 6 . . . 107 *q*, 120 *c*  
 10 6 . . . 109 *g*  
 10 . . . 114 *p*  
 19 75 *rr*, 100 *k*, 159 *g*  
 11 7 . . . 67 *g*  
 23 . . . 88 *f*  
 35 . . . 53 *u*  
 42 . . . 5 *n*  
 43 . . . 74 *k*  
 44 . . . 54 *k*  
 13 4 . . . 91 *e*  
 19 . . . 131 *i*  
 34 . . . 127 *e*  
 55 . . . 54 *h*  
 14 34 . . . 101 *a*  
 43 . . . 53 *l*  
 46 . . . 53 *l*  
 55 . . . 54 *h*  
 15 29 . . . 53 *r*  
 16 8 . . . 30 *n*  
 17 14 . . . 145 *l*  
 18 7 . . . 75 *hh*  
 21 . . . 95 *q* *N.*  
 25 . . . 76 *h*  
 27 . . . 34 *b* *N.*  
 28 . . . 116 *s*  
 19 9 . . . 61 *d*, 142 *f* *N.*  
 16 . . . 118 *q*  
 20 . . . 113 *w*  
 28 . . . 102 *i*  
 20 7 . . . 54 *k*  
 10 . . . 117 *d*  
 14 . . . 117 *d*  
 19 . . . 75 *hh*  
 21 4 . . . 67 *t*  
 9 . . . 67 *t*, 164 *d*  
 21 . . . 142 *f* *N.*  
 23 17 . . . 14 *d*  
 22 . . . 61 *d*  
 39 . . . 61 *a*  
 42 . . . 126 *r*  
 24 5 . . . 49 *l*, 117 *ii*  
 22 . . . 134 *d*  
 25 5 . . . 20 *h*  
 10 . . . 134 *o* *N.*  
 20 . . . 159 *w*  
 21 . . . 49 *l*, 75 *m*  
 33 . . . 145 *u* *N.*  
 36 . . . 76 *i*  
 48 . . . 130 *d*  
 26 15 . . . 67 *dd*  
 18 . . . 52 *p*  
 25 . . . 49 *l*  
 33 . . . 52 *n*  
 34 . . . 67 *y*, 75 *m*  
 37 . . . 118 *s* *N.*  
 42 . . . 128 *d*, 131 *r*  
 43 . . . 67 *y*

## Leviticus

27 2 . . . . . 128 *d*  
 23 . . . . . 127 *i*

## Numbers

1 1 . . . . . 49 *b N.*  
 2 . . . . . 124 *r*  
 47 . . . . . 54 *l*  
 2 33 . . . . . 54 *l*  
 3 1 . . . . . 52 *o*, 130 *d*  
 9 . . . . . 123 *e*  
 26 . . . . . 117 *l*  
 46 . . . . . 117 *m*, 134 *k*  
 49 . . . . . 85 *t*  
 4 2 . . . . . 113 *bb*  
 23 . . . . . 45 *g*  
 27 . . . . . 128 *v*  
 5 2 . . . . . 102 *i*  
 3 . . . . . 119 *e*  
 10 . . . . . 117 *m*, 139 *c*  
 17 . . . . . 128 *p*  
 19 . . . . . 110 *i*  
 20 . . . . . 167 *a*  
 22 . . . . . 53 *q*, 66 *f*  
 23 . . . . . 126 *s*  
 27 . . . . . 112 *y*  
 6 7 . . . . . 74 *b*, 96  
 9 . . . . . 133 *k N.*, 144 *e*  
 26 . . . . . 109 *b*  
 7 2 . . . . . 5 *n*  
 11 . . . . . 123 *d*  
 8 7 . . . . . 27 *q*, 64 *d*  
 24 . . . . . 45 *g*  
 9 20 . . . . . 131 *e*  
 10 3 . . . . . 145 *c*  
 4 . . . . . 134 *r N.*  
 29 . . . . . 138 *b*  
 35 . . . . . 5 *n*  
 36 . . . . . 118 *f*  
 11 4 . . . . . 35 *d*, 151 *a N.*  
 5 . . . . . 106 *g*  
 7 . . . . . 93 *h*  
 10 . . . . . 117 *h*  
 11 . . . . . 74 *k*  
 12 . . . . . 69 *s*, 122 *f N.*  
 15 . . . . . 32 *g*  
 16 . . . . . 48 *i*  
 17 . . . . . 119 *m*  
 20 . . . . . 80 *h*  
 25 23 *d*, 68 *f*, 72 *q*,  
 120 *d N.*, 126 *x*  
 27 . . . . . 126 *r*  
 29 . . . . . 154 *b*  
 12 1 . . . . . 146 *g*  
 2 . . . . . 133 *k N.*  
 4 . . . . . 97 *i*  
 6 . . . . . 128 *d*  
 13 . . . . . 105 *b N.*  
 14 . . . . . 154 *b*  
 13 21 . . . . . 102 *f*

## Numbers

13 27 . . . . . 118 *f*  
 32 . . . . . 72 *l*  
 14 2 . . . . . 106 *p*, 151 *e*  
 16 . . . . . 69 *n*, 114 *s*  
 17 . . . . . 5 *n*  
 21 . . . . . 167 *b*  
 24 . . . . . 119 *gg*  
 27 . . . . . 72 *ee*  
 31 . . . . . 76 *h*  
 33 . . . . . 91 *l*  
 34 . . . . . 123 *d*  
 35 . . . . . 67 *g*  
 40 . . . . . 58 *k*  
 41 . . . . . 135 *p*  
 15 15 . . . . . 161 *c*  
 24 . . . . . 119 *w*  
 29 . . . . . 143 *c*  
 31 . . . . . 51 *k*  
 35 . . . . . 113 *gg*  
 16 13 . . . . . 54 *e*  
 15 . . . . . 117 *d*  
 22 . . . . . 100 *m*, 150 *m*  
 29 121 *b*, 159 *c N.*,  
 159 *q*  
 17 6 . . . . . 72 *w*  
 10 . . . . . 67 *t*, 72 *dd*  
 17 . . . . . 139 *c*  
 20 . . . . . 72 *ee*  
 25 . . . . . 128 *v*  
 27 . . . . . 106 *n*  
 28 67 *e*, 67 *dd*, 150 *g*  
 N.  
 18 8 . . . . . 143 *e*  
 26 . . . . . 72 *i*  
 19 12 . . . . . 74 *b*  
 20 3 . . . . . 65 *a*, 154 *b*  
 5 . . . . . 59 *a*, 152 *a N.*  
 18 . . . . . 152 *w*  
 21 . . . . . 66 *i*  
 21 1 . . . . . 75 *q*  
 5 . . . . . 59 *a*  
 9 . . . . . 117 *d*  
 14 . . . . . 127 *f*  
 15 . . . . . 112 *pp*  
 17 . . . . . 63 *l*  
 20 . . . . . 112 *ss*  
 23 . . . . . 157 *b N.*  
 24 . . . . . 112 *pp*  
 27 . . . . . 54 *c*, 75 *hh*  
 30 . . . . . 67 *g*, 69 *r*, 76 *f*  
 35 . . . . . 164 *d*  
 22 1 . . . . . 125 *h*  
 6 20 *c*, 53 *u*, 67 *o*,  
 120 *c*, 138 *e*  
 12 . . . . . 103 *c*  
 13 . . . . . 69 *x*, 115 *c*  
 17 . . . . . 67 *o*  
 19 . . . . . 109 *d*, *i*  
 29 . . . . . 151 *e N.*  
 33 . . . . . 103 *b*, 117 *e*

## Numbers

22 38 . . . . . 114 *m*  
 23 3 . . . . . 130 *d*, 137 *c*  
 6 . . . . . 64 *c*, 67 *o*, 93 *aa*  
 8 . . . . . 58 *g*  
 10 . . . . . 151 *a*  
 13 20 *o*, 48 *i*, 67 *o N.*,  
 69 *x*, 100 *o N.*,  
 152 *b*  
 14 . . . . . 118 *f*  
 15 . . . . . 51 *p*  
 18 . . . . . 90 *o*, 96  
 19 27 *q*, 64 *d*, 109 *i*,  
 166 *a*  
 20 . . . . . 159 *g*  
 24 . . . . . 124 *n*  
 25 . . . . . 10 *h*, 67 *g*  
 24 1 . . . . . 123 *c*  
 3 . . . . . 90 *o*, 96  
 4 . . . . . 116 *k*  
 5 . . . . . 148 *b*  
 6 . . . . . 75 *x*  
 7 . . . . . 54 *c*, 93 *z*  
 10 . . . . . 113 *r*  
 17 . . . . . 55 *f*  
 22 . . . . . 29 *f*  
 23 . . . . . 115 *k*  
 24 . . . . . 93 *y*  
 25 12 5 *n*, 128 *d*, 131 *r N.*  
 26 62 . . . . . 54 *l*  
 27 7 . . . . . 135 *o*  
 29 39 . . . . . 93 *m*  
 30 5, 8 . . . . . 91 *k*  
 31 28 . . . . . 134 *d*  
 32 6 . . . . . 150 *m*  
 14 . . . . . 69 *h*  
 17 . . . . . 72 *p*  
 20 . . . . . 159 *c N.*, 167 *b*  
 23 . . . . . 47 *m*, 159 *q*  
 30 . . . . . 68 *i*  
 32 . . . . . 32 *d*  
 42 . . . . . 103 *g*  
 34 2 . . . . . 131 *f*  
 7 . . . . . 75 *bb N.*  
 14 . . . . . 23 *c*  
 36 6 . . . . . 135 *o*

## Deuteronomy

1 1 . . . . . 101 *a*  
 2 . . . . . 118 *g*, 134 *f*  
 3 . . . . . 134 *o*  
 5 . . . . . 120 *g*, 120 *h*  
 7 . . . . . 119 *s*  
 13 . . . . . 119 *s*  
 16 . . . . . 75 *t*, 112 *u*  
 17 47 *m*, 53 *r*, 133 *c*,  
 161 *c*  
 18 . . . . . 117 *gg*  
 19 . . . . . 118 *h*, 126 *v*  
 21 . . . . . 69 *f*  
 23 . . . . . 134 *f*

Deuteronomy

1 24 . . . . . 120 h  
 27 . . . . . 115 c, 115 f  
 28 . . . . . 124 q  
 33 . . . . . 53 q  
 34 . . . . . 65 e, 149 b  
 40 . . . . . 119 s  
 41 . . . . . 135 n  
 44 . 67 g, 67 y, 107 g  
 46 . . . . . 138 c  
 2 9 . . . . . 75 bb, 118 q  
 13 . . . . . 119 s  
 14 . . . . . 134 h  
 23 . . . . . 126 w  
 24 20 g, 69 f, 75 cc,  
 110 h, 120 g, h  
 27 108 c, 123 e, 133 k,  
 156 d  
 28 . . . . . 49 m  
 31 . . . . . 67 w, 69 f  
 3 3 . . . . . 164 d  
 5 . . . . . 128 c  
 11 . . . . . 100 i  
 13 . . . . . 125 d N.  
 21 . . . . . 126 k  
 26 . . . . . 69 v  
 4 1 . . . . . 44 d, 69 s  
 8 . . . . . 128 p  
 10 . . . . . 115 d, 165 b  
 15 . . . . . 52 o, 130 d  
 20 . . . . . 74 l  
 21 . . . . . 54 k  
 26 . . . . . 51 k  
 36 . . . . . 61 d  
 39 . . . . . 2 v, 72 w  
 41 . . . . . 90 c  
 5 3 . . . . . 135 g  
 6 . . . . . 15 p, 138 d  
 9 . . . . . 60 b  
 12 . . . . . 113 bb  
 19 . . . . . 120 d N.  
 23 . . . . . 132 h  
 24 . . . . . 32 h  
 26 . . . . . 115 d, 151 c  
 6 3 . . . . . 118 g, 165 b  
 7 . . . . . 119 l  
 11 . . . . . 49 m, 96  
 17 . . . . . 58 g  
 7 5 . . . . . 52 n  
 15 . . . . . 60 d  
 16 . . . . . 72 r, 109 d  
 24 . . . . . 53 l  
 25 . . . . . 127 e  
 8 3 . . . . . 44 l, 72 o  
 5 . . . . . 61 h  
 9 . . . . . 93 aa  
 13 . . . . . 75 u  
 14 . . . . . 116 f  
 15 . . . . . 127 i  
 16 . . . . . 44 l, 72 o  
 19 . . . . . 106 i

Deuteronomy

9 7 . . . . . 138 c  
 8 . . . . . 54 k  
 18 . . . . . 54 k  
 10 5 . . . . . 29 g  
 17 102 m, 126 v, 133 i  
 19 . . . . . 112 aa  
 22 . . . . . 119 i  
 11 2 . . . . . 117 l  
 15 . . . . . 49 m  
 30 . . . . . 150 e  
 12 3 . . . . . 52 n  
 14 . . . . . 61 h  
 13 1 . . . . . 109 d  
 3 . . . . . 60 b  
 6 . . . . . 116 f  
 9 . . . . . 109 d  
 14 17 . . . . . 80 k  
 15 2 . . . . . 113 gg  
 7 . 119 w N., 139 d  
 14 . . . . . 93 k  
 18 . . . . . 128 c, 133 k  
 16 6 . . . . . 119 g  
 13 . . . . . 93 k  
 20 . . . . . 133 k  
 17 2 . . . . . 167 b  
 5 . . . . . 124 o  
 6 . . . . . 144 e  
 8 . . . . . 102 h  
 14 . . . . . 44 d, 49 m  
 17 . . . . . 109 g  
 18 1 . . . . . 68 c, 131 h  
 16 . . . . . 109 d  
 19 5 . . . . . 126 r  
 20 2 . . . . . 61 d  
 5 . . . . . 137 c  
 8 . . . . . 121 b  
 14 . . . . . 128 h  
 21 3 . . . . . 121 a, 145 q  
 4 . . . . . 121 a  
 7 . . . . . 44 m, 145 k  
 8 . . . . . 55 k  
 10 . . . . . 135 p, 145 m  
 11 . . . . . 49 m, 96, 130 e  
 13 . . . . . 101 a  
 22 1 . . . . . 159 gg  
 19 . . . . . 17 c, 127 e  
 23 . . . . . 131 b  
 23 5 . 61 d, 130 c N 1  
 11 . . . . . 20 h  
 15 . . . . . 93 ss, 128 p  
 25 . . . . . 96  
 24 1 . . . . . 167 b  
 4 . . . . . 54 h  
 8 . . . . . 51 n  
 10 . . . . . 23 d  
 13 . . . . . 58 i  
 25 2 . . . . . 96, 128 v  
 12 . . . . . 67 ee  
 13 . . . . . 123 f  
 26 5 . . . . . 119 i  
 12 . . . . . 53 k

Deuteronomy

27 2 . . . . . 72 w  
 6 . . . . . 117 hh  
 9 . . . . . 16 b  
 28 24 . . . . . 58 g  
 36 . . . . . 131 d  
 43 . . . . . 133 k  
 48 . . . . . 53 l, 145 m  
 49 . . . . . 155 d  
 52 . . . . . 67 v  
 56 . 113 d, 142 f N.  
 57 . . . . . 74 i  
 59 . . . . . 91 n  
 62 . . . . . 119 i  
 66 . . . . . 75 rr  
 67 . . . . . 151 b  
 29 14 . . . . . 100 o N.  
 15 . . . . . 157 c  
 18 . . . . . 69 h N.  
 21 . . . . . 167 b  
 28 . . . . . 5 n  
 30 4 . . . . . 92 b N.  
 31 12 . . . . . 120 e  
 16 . . . . . 93 gg  
 21 . . . . . 164 d  
 29 . . . . . 74 g  
 32 1 . . 2 r, 91 l, 117 b  
 3 . . . . . 69 o  
 4 . . . . . 126 c  
 5 . . . . . 13 c, 152 e  
 6 20 g, 75 ll, 100 i,  
 152 a N.  
 7 . 60 f, 87 n, 123 c  
 8 . . . . . 53 k, 109 k  
 10 . . . . . 58 i, 58 k  
 11 . . . . . 52 n, 155 g  
 15 20 g, 144 p, 154  
 N (a)  
 17 144 p, 152 a N.,  
 155 e, 155 f, 155 h  
 18 . . . . . 75 s, 109 k  
 20 . . . . . 108 a  
 21 . . . . . 152 a N.  
 22 . . . . . 69 f  
 24 . . . . . 116 h, 116 l  
 26 . 58 a N., 75 mm  
 27 . . . . . 139 y  
 28 50 e, 93 qq, 124 e  
 29 . . . . . 159 x  
 30 . . . . . 134 s  
 31 . . . . . 156 b N.  
 32 . . . . . 20 h  
 35 52 o, 145 o, 155 l  
 36 . 29 v, 44 f, 152 s  
 37 . . . . . 29 t, 75 u  
 39 . . . . . 141 h N 2  
 40 . . . . . 93 aa N.  
 41 . . . . . 159 n  
 46 . . . . . 117 gg, 165 t  
 50 . . . . . 110 c  
 33 2 . . . . . 112 pp

Deuteronomy

33 3 . . . . . 116 s  
 4 . . . . . 131 s  
 9 . . . . . 19 c, 117 b N.  
 11 116 i, 117 l, 165 b  
 12 . . . . . 44 c  
 16 . . . . . 48 d, 90 l, 90 m  
 19 . . . . . 130 f, 133 h  
 21 . . . . . 68 h, 76 d  
 23 . . . . . 48 i, 69 f  
 24 . . . . . 119 w, 126 m  
 26 . . . . . 91 l  
 27 . . . . . 131 s  
 34 8 . . . . . 67 g  
 9 . . . . . 116 f

Joshua

1 1 . . . . . 49 b N.  
 2 . . . . . 131 n  
 5 . . . . . 106 c  
 7 . . . . . 107 p, 135 o N.  
 8 . . . . . 91 k  
 12 . . . . . 125 d N.  
 2 2 . . . . . 63 i  
 4 . . . . . 60 d, 135 p  
 5 . . . . . 114 k  
 6 . . . . . 59 g  
 10 . . . . . 117 c, 157 c  
 13 . . . . . 63 g, 96  
 15 . . . . . 126 r  
 16 . . . . . 63 c, 72 g, 74 k  
 17 . . . . . 34 a N., 59 h  
 18 . . . . . 59 h  
 20 . . . . . 126 y  
 3 5 . . . . . 54 k  
 7 . . . . . 115 c  
 9 . . . . . 66 c  
 11 . . . . . 128 c  
 12 . . . . . 134 q  
 14 . . . . . 127 g  
 16 . . . . . 120 g  
 4 3 . . . . . 72 z  
 4 . . . . . 134 k  
 6 . . . . . 47 m  
 7 . . . . . 9 v  
 14 . . . . . 52 l  
 24 . . . . . 74 g  
 5 2 . . . . . 120 g, 124 q  
 8 . . . . . 63 q  
 6 8 . . . . . 134 l  
 9 . . . . . 113 u  
 13 . . . . . 112 i, 113 t  
 17 . . . . . 75 oo  
 22 . . . . . 134 l  
 7 7 63 p, 113 x, 120 e,  
 154 b  
 9 . . . . . 75 hh  
 15 . . . . . 121 b  
 21 . . . . . 127 i, 134 g  
 24 . . . . . 154 a N. (a)  
 25 . . . . . 117 ee  
 8 3 . . . . . 60 c

Joshua

8 11 . . . . . 127 g  
 25 . . . . . 146 c  
 28 . . . . . 20 g, 117 ii  
 33 . . . . . 127 f, 127 i  
 9 2 . . . . . 118 q  
 8 . . . . . 137 a  
 12 54 f, 72 m, 112 ss,  
 126 aa  
 20 . . . . . 113 z  
 24 . . . . . 75 hh  
 10 2 . . . . . 107 c  
 13 107 c, 135 p, 150 e  
 17 . . . . . 93 oo  
 24 . . . . . 23 i, 138 i  
 36 . . . . . 90 e  
 11 2 . . . . . 10 g  
 8 . . . . . 126 y  
 14 . . . . . 53 l  
 12 9 . . . . . 2 r (end)  
 13 5 . . . . . 127 f  
 7 . . . . . 125 d N.  
 14 . . . . . 145 u N.  
 14 1 . . . . . 64 d  
 7 . . . . . 72 aa, 115 i  
 8 . . . . . 75 ii  
 11 . . . . . 115 k, 161 c  
 15 3 . . . . . 112 ss  
 5 . . . . . 90 d  
 12 . . . . . 90 f  
 14 . . . . . 134 l  
 18 . . . . . 16 f  
 19 117 x, 117 ff, 126 y  
 21 . . . . . 90 e  
 38 56 . . . . . 21 e N.  
 16 2 . . . . . 112 ss  
 3, 5 . . . . . 126 y  
 17 11 . . . . . 97 c, 117 l  
 18 12 . . . . . 90 i, 112 ss  
 13 . . . . . 126 y  
 20 . . . . . 47 f  
 19 11 . . . . . 112 ss  
 13 . . . . . 90 i  
 21 11 . . . . . 91 k  
 22 3 . . . . . 112 ss  
 9 . . . . . 68 i  
 17 . . . . . 117 aa  
 20 . . . . . 150 m  
 25 . . . . . 69 n  
 23 5 . . . . . 60 a  
 15 . . . . . 103 b  
 24 7 . . . . . 145 m  
 10 . . . . . 113 r  
 14 . . . . . 75 oo  
 19 . . . . . 124 h, 145 i

Judges

1 1 . . . . . 49 b N.  
 2 . . . . . 106 m  
 3 . . . . . 49 h  
 6 . . . . . 93 r

Judges

1 7 116 k, 121 d, 141 i,  
 156 b  
 12 . . . . . 112 ii  
 15 . . . . . 59 h, 126 y  
 19 . . . . . 114 l  
 22 . . . . . 145 c  
 28 . . . . . 113 n, 164 d  
 2 1 . . . . . 107 b  
 18 . . . . . 112 hh  
 19 . . . . . 112 e, 112 ee  
 3 23 . . . . . 112 tt  
 24 . . . . . 67 v, 164 b  
 25 . . . . . 116 d  
 28 . . . . . 129 e  
 4 4 . . . . . 131 b  
 6 . . . . . 150 e  
 8 . . . . . 49 m  
 18 . . . . . 72 s, 72 t, 126 r  
 19 . . . . . 74 k  
 20 58 g, 64 f, 110 k,  
 147 c, 159 n, 152 k  
 21 . . . . . 72 p, 72 t  
 24 . . . . . 113 h N., 113 u  
 5 1 2 r, 73 e, 117 b,  
 146 g  
 4 . . . . . 117 z  
 5 . . . . . 67 dd, 136 d N.  
 7 . . . . . 20 i, 36, 44 h N.  
 8 . . . . . 107 b, 149 e  
 10 . . . . . 87 e, 130 a  
 12 . . . . . 10 g, 71 s  
 13 . . . . . 69 g  
 14 . . . . . 93 aa  
 15 . . . . . 10 g, 87 g, 93 bb  
 17 . . . . . 117 bb  
 21 . . . . . 118 q  
 22 . . . . . 20 h, 123 e  
 24 . . . . . 119 w  
 26 . . . . . 47 k  
 27 . . . . . 154 a N.  
 28 . . . . . 64 h  
 29 75 w, 128 i, 133 h  
 6 9 . . . . . 49 c, 49 e  
 10 . . . . . 49 e  
 11 . . . . . 127 d  
 13 . . . . . 159 dd  
 14 . . . . . 126 y  
 16 . . . . . 49 l  
 17 . . . . . 36  
 18 . . . . . 114 g, 135 a  
 19 . . . . . 53 n, 156 d  
 20 . . . . . 34 f  
 25 . . . . . 126 w, 128 c  
 28 . . . . . 63 p  
 31 . . . . . 73 e, 100 m  
 36 . . . . . 116 q, 159 v  
 39 . . . . . 109 a N.  
 7 3 . . . . . 137 c  
 4 . . . . . 136 b  
 6 . . . . . 93 n

## Judges

7	8	131 s
12		36
13		112 qq
19		113 z
20		147 c
23		102 b
25		124 r
8	1	74 h, 155 d, 155 h
2		20 m
4		118 n
10		97 e
11		130 a N.
18		126 o, 161 c
19		63 q, 159 x
32		125 h, 128 c
9	8	113 o
9		63 k, 100 n, 106 n
10		46 d, 46 e
15		159 v
16		167 a
17		119 bb
28		137 a
29		48 l, 76 e, 151 b, 154 b
39		69 p
41		35 d
45		117 ee
48		157 a
53		27 o, 67 p, 125 b
55		145 d
10	4	96
11		167 b
18		137 c
11	5	21 b
10		159 n N.
18		47 m
20		157 b N.
25		51 i, 133 a N.
29		118 f
33		134 e
34		135 o, 135 o N.
35		119 i
36		124 e
39		144 b
12	5	100 m, 112 ee
6		2 w
7		124 o
13	2	125 b
5		80 d
6		44 d, 64 f, 127 e
8		52 s
12		135 m
16		119 m
21		75 y
23		90 h N.
25		61 c
14	2	90 e
3		135 a
4		122 q, 135 p
6		152 p

## Judges

14	15	9 v, 69 n, 150 g N.
17		134 m
18		37 d, 90 f, 93 x, 133 a
15	1	119 n
7		163 c, 163 d N.
12		152 w
13		113 p
14		164 b
16	5	66 h
9		126 o
10		67 dd
11		113 o
13		28 c N.
14		127 g
15		141 e
16		10 g, 52 d, 60 d, 164 d
18		112 tt
20		123 c
25		52 n
26		67 v
27		126 x
28		34 a N., 88 f, 97 b N.
30		72 r
17	2	32 h, 121 f
3		154 N.
18	3	142 e
19		20 g, 150 g
23		67 g, 67 y
29		52 q
30		5 n
19	1	131 b
2		75 t
5		9 u, 64 c N., 117 ff
6		110 h, 120 d
8		64
9		91 k
11		19 i
13		69 x, 73 d
18		118 e N.
20		29 g, 73 e
22		54 c, 130 e
30		112 ee, oo, 116 w
20	2	29 f
15		54 l, 155 d
16		90 i N.
31		66 f
32		20 h
38		75 gg
39		118 u
43		22 s
44		117 m
21	7	131 n
9		54 l
16		123 b
21		145 p

## 1 Samuel

1	1	49 b N., 125 b, 125 h, 156 b
2		134 l, 145 o
3		112 dd, 123 c
4		112 g, 126 s
6		20 h, 22 s, 59 g, 117 p
7		107 e, 123 c
8		37 e, 102 l
9		91 e, 113 e N., 141 e
10		128 y
11		113 o
12		112 uu, 114 n N., 164 d
13		20 g
14		47 o
16		128 v
17		23 f, 95 h
20		44 d, 64 f
22		112 oo
24		135 i
27		95 h
28		64 f
2	1	2 r, 1c6 g
3		103 g, 120 g, 124 e, 133 k, 152 z
4		146 a
6		111 u, 116 x
8		107 g, 116 x, 135 p
9		67 g
13		112 oo, 116 w, 131 c, 159 i, 164 a
14		131 h, 132 g
15		112 oo
16		103 g, 106 m, 112 ll, 113 w, 159 f, 159 dd
18		116 k, 118 q, 121 d
19		112 e
20		145 u
22		112 k
23		126 y
24		116 s
25		117 x
26		113 u
27		113 q, 114 e, 150 e
28		49 e, 113 z, 119 w
29		133 b
30		113 p, 116 g, 149 a
31		112 x, 116 d
33		53 g, 118 q, 145 e
3	2	107 b, 120 b
3		107 c, 152 r
5		46 c, 120 g, 120 h
7		107 c
10		54 k, 118 u, 123 c
11		67 g, 67 p, 116 w, 155 d
12		113 h

## 1 Samuel

- 3 13 112 *qq*, 130 *c N.*,  
119 *p*  
14 . . . . . 149 *c*  
17 . . . . . 149 *d*  
21 . . . . . 75 *y*  
4 1 . . . . . 131 *c*, 145 *c*  
3 . . . . . 127 *g*  
5 . . . . . 72 *h*, 145 *c*  
6 . . . . . 37 *f*  
7 . . . . . 125 *e*  
8 132 *h*, 136 *d*, 147 *d*  
10 . . . . . 124 *b*, 145 *o*  
12 . . . . . 127 *e*  
15 44 *m*, 145 *k*, 145 *n*  
16 . . . . . 126 *k*  
19 . . . . . 69 *m*, 112 *tt*  
21 . . . . . 152 *q*  
5 3 . . . . . 116 *d*  
7 . . . . . 112 *rr*  
9 . . . . . 67 *v*, 130 *d*,  
164 *d*  
10 . . . . . 115 *c*, 145 *m*  
11 . . . . . 117 *e*  
6 4 . . . . . 118 *h*, 135 *r*  
7 . . . . . 72 *i N.*, 135 *o*  
9 155 *d*, 155 *f*, 159 *q*  
10 . . . . . 60 *h*, 75 *qq*  
11 . . . . . 154 *a N.*  
12 . . . . . 47 *k*, 71, 75 *n*,  
113 *s*  
14 . . . . . 127 *d*  
18 . . . . . 126 *x*  
19 . . . . . 119 *k*  
7 9 . . . . . 131 *k*  
10 . . . . . 116 *u*  
11 . . . . . 119 *c*  
12 . . . . . 111 *d*  
14 . . . . . 72 *k*  
16 . . . . . 112 *f*  
17 . . . . . 29 *i N.*  
8 11 . . . . . 72 *l*  
12 . . . . . 114 *p*  
19 . . . . . 20 *g*, 163 *a*  
9 2 . . . . . 133 *a*  
3 . . . . . 96, 117 *d*, 130 *g*  
4 . . . . . 104 *g*, 152 *k*  
7 . . . . . 159 *w N.*  
9 . . . . . 107 *e*, 144 *d N*<sup>1</sup>  
10 . . . . . 120 *g*  
11 . . . . . 116 *u*  
13 . . . . . 35 *n*, 47 *m*  
17 . . . . . 138 *b*  
20 73 *e*, 134 *m*, 143 *c*  
21 . . . . . 133 *g*  
24 . . . . . 138 *i*, 138 *k*  
10 3 . . . . . 97 *c*  
4 . . . . . 134 *n*  
5 29 *g*, 101 *a*, 109 *k*,  
112 *z*  
6 . . . . . 75 *qq*

## 1 Samuel

- 10 8 . . . . . 112 *v*  
9 . . . . . 112 *uu*  
11 20 *h*, 111 *g*, 116 *s*,  
116 *w*, 136 *c*  
12 . . . . . 154 *b*  
13 . . . . . 75 *qq*  
14 . . . . . 152 *k*  
16 . . . . . 113 *o*  
18 . . . . . 135 *a*  
23 . . . . . 133 *b*  
24 . . . . . 22 *s*, 100 *l*  
25 . . . . . 126 *s*  
27 . . . . . 136 *b*  
11 1 . . . . . 125 *h*  
2 . . . . . 135 *p*  
5 . . . . . 107 *v*  
11 . . . . . 111 *g*, 116 *w*  
12 . . . . . 150 *a*  
12 3 . . . . . 137 *b*  
7 . . . . . 51 *p*  
13 . . . . . 44 *d*, 64 *f*  
14 . . . . . 167 *a*  
17 . . . . . 114 *o*  
19 . . . . . 107 *p*  
20 . . . . . 135 *a*  
23 . . . . . 126 *x*, 135 *g*  
24 . . . . . 75 *oo*  
25 . . . . . 29 *o*, 113 *o*  
13 3 . . . . . 2 *b*  
6 . . . . . 93 *w*  
7 . . . . . 119 *gg*  
8 . . . . . 69 *t*  
11 . . . . . 67 *dd*  
12 . . . . . 54 *k*  
13 . . . . . 159 *dd*  
15 . . . . . 93 *oo*, 132 *g*  
17 118 *q*, 126 *m*, 126 *z*,  
134 *l*  
19 . . . . . 152 *w*  
20 . . . . . 118 *f*  
21 . . . . . 35 *n*, 96, 112 *dd*  
22 . . . . . 112 *ee*  
23 . . . . . 92 *g*  
14 1 . . . . . 126 *s*  
13 . . . . . 72 *m*  
14 . . . . . 118 *s N.*  
15 . . . . . 95 *g*  
16 . . . . . 129 *b*  
19 111 *h*, 113 *u*, 164 *d*  
21 . . . . . 2 *b*  
22 . . . . . 53 *n*  
24 . . . . . 76 *d*, 112 *w*  
27 . . . . . 72 *k*  
28 . . . . . 72 *t*  
29 . . . . . 126 *c*  
30 106 *p*, 113 *o*, 159 *x*  
33 . . . . . 23 *c*, 74 *i*, 75 *oo*  
34 . . . . . 96 (p. 286)  
36 48 *g N.*, 67 *dd*, 109 *d*  
38 . . . . . 66 *c*

## 1 Samuel

- 14 39 . . . . . 100 *o N.*, 149 *c*  
43 . . . . . 113 *p*  
44 . . . . . 149 *d*  
45 . . . . . 119 *w N.*  
49 . . . . . 47 *b N.*  
52 . . . . . 112 *ll*  
15 1 . . . . . 9 *v*  
2 . . . . . 106 *g*  
4 . . . . . 93 *x*  
5 . . . . . 68 *i*  
6 20 *g*, 22 *s*, 60 *f*,  
68 *h*, 154 *a N.*  
9 67 *t*, 75 *y*, 132 *d*,  
135 *c N.*  
13 . . . . . 121 *f*  
14 . . . . . 37 *f*, 154 *b*  
16 . . . . . 165 *a*  
19 . . . . . 72 *ff*  
20 . . . . . 157 *c*  
23 29 *q*, 53 *l*, 111 *h*,  
119 *x*  
32 . . . . . 118 *q*  
33 . . . . . 119 *w*  
16 1 . . . . . 65 *h*, 127 *d*  
2 . . . . . 114 *g*, 159 *g*  
3 . . . . . 138 *e*  
4 141 *n*, 144 *d*, 145 *u*,  
150 *a*  
7 . . . . . 35 *g*, 132 *c*  
8 . . . . . 125 *i*  
11 . . . . . 133 *g*  
12 . . . . . 128 *x*  
14 . . . . . 112 *h*  
16 . . . . . 120 *b N.*, 124 *i*  
18 . . . . . 128 *t*, 129 *c*  
20 . . . . . 128 *g*  
23 112 *ee*, 112 *oo*, 126 *x*  
17 5 . . . . . 121 *d*, 131 *q*  
12 . . . . . 126 *x*  
14 . . . . . 133 *g*, 134 *l*  
15 . . . . . 113 *u*, 118 *g*  
16 . . . . . 113 *k*  
17 . . . . . 126 *x*, 134 *n*  
20 . . . . . 112 *rr*  
21 . . . . . 122 *i*  
24 . . . . . 111 *h*  
25 22 *s*, 53 *n*, 60 *g*,  
100 *l*, 114 *g*, 116 *s*  
26 . . . . . 34 *f*, 132 *h*  
28 . . . . . 136 *c*  
32 . . . . . 112 *p*  
34 . . . . . 112 *kk*, 126 *r*,  
154 *a N.*  
38 . . . . . 112 *tt*  
40 . . . . . 132 *c*  
41 . . . . . 113 *u*  
43 . . . . . 124 *o*  
46 . . . . . 145 *e*  
47 . . . . . 53 *q*, 145 *c*  
48 . . . . . 112 *uu*

1 Samuel

17 50 . . . . . 111 *k*  
 55 . . . . . 136 *c*,  
     137 *b*  
 58 . . . . . 126 *e*, 126 *f*  
 18 1 . . . . . 60 *d*  
   9 . . . . . 55 *c*  
   10 . . . . . 54 *e*, 118 *u*  
   15 . . . . . 157 *c*  
   18 . . . . . 137 *a*  
   19 . . . . . 114 *q*, 115 *e* N.  
   21 . . . . . 134 *r*  
   22 . . . . . 59 *c*  
   23 . . . . . 114 *a*  
   28 . . . . . 59 *g*, 59 *i*  
   29 . . . . . 68 *h*, 69 *n*  
 19 1 . . . . . 115 *a*  
   2 . . . . . 51 *n*, 63 *c*  
   3 . . . . . 119 *l*  
   10 . . . . . 126 *y*  
   13 . . . . . 124 *h*, 132 *h* N.  
   17 . . . . . 59 *h*, 150 *e*  
   22 . . . . . 126 *x*  
   23 . . . . . 113 *t*, 135 *g*  
 20 1 . . . . . 37 *d*, 116 *s*  
   2 . . . . . 103 *g*, 156 *f*  
   3 . . . . . 118 *x*, 149 *a* N.  
   6 51 *e*, 51 *i*, 113 *n*,  
     159 *s*  
   8 . . . . . 142 *g*  
   9 . . . . . 150 *a*  
   10 . . . . . 150 *i*, 151 *a*  
   11 . . . . . 118 *f*  
   13 . . . . . 117 *l* N., 149 *d*  
   16 . . . . . 117 *g*  
   19 . . . . . 120 *c*  
   20 . . . . . 127 *e*  
   23 . . . . . 143 *a*  
   26 . . . . . 152 *d*  
   27 . . . . . 80 *g* N.  
   31 . . . . . 128 *v*, 138 *c*  
   33 . . . . . 115 *c*  
   37 . . . . . 150 *e*  
   40 . . . . . 72 *y*  
   42 . . . . . 134 *d*, 135 *f*  
 21 2 90 *i*, 119 *g*, 152 *o*  
   3 . . . . . 55 *b*, 137 *c*  
   5 . . . . . 119 *e* N.  
   6 . . . . . 123 *b*  
   8 . . . . . 129 *h*  
   9 . . . . . 150 *c* N<sup>3</sup>  
   10 . . . . . 102 *g*, 126 *r*  
   14 60 *d*, 75 *bb*, 131 *m*  
     N.  
   16 . . . . . 150 *b*  
 22 2 . . . . . 75 *oo*  
   5 . . . . . 119 *s*  
   7 117 *n*, 124 *p*, 153  
   9 . . . . . 90 *i*  
   13 . . . . . 113 *e*  
   15 . . . . . 67 *w*, 150 *b*

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23 1 . . . . . 93 *r*  
   7 . . . . . 128 *a*  
   10 . . . . . 113 *o*, 117 *n*  
   11 . . . . . 150 *g* N., 150 *n*  
   15 . . . . . 90 *e*  
   19 . . . . . 150 *e*  
   21 . . . . . 121 *f*  
   22 63 *n*, 135 *b*, 144 *d*  
     N<sup>2</sup>  
   23 . . . . . 100 *o* N.  
   28 . . . . . 22 *s*  
 24 5 . . . . . 138 *b*  
   6 . . . . . 117 *d*  
   11 9 *v*, 112 *rr*, 144 *o*  
   12 114 *r*, 154 N. (c)  
   18 . . . . . 117 *ff*  
   19 . . . . . 112 *hh* N., 117 *c*  
 25 1 . . . . . 21 *d*  
   2 . . . . . 67 *cc*  
   5 . . . . . 44 *d*, 64 *f*  
   7 . . . . . 53 *p*  
   8 . . . . . 72 *o*, 74 *k*, 76 *g*  
   10 . . . . . 67 *ee*, 126 *w*  
   11 . . . . . 112 *cc*  
   14 . . . . . 72 *ff*  
   15 . . . . . 130 *d*  
   18 . . . . . 24 *b*, 75 *v*, 132 *g*  
   20 . . . . . 47 *k*, 112 *uu*  
   22 . . . . . 149 *b*  
   24 . . . . . 135 *g*  
   25 . . . . . 107 *p*  
   26 65 *f*, 113 *e*, 113 *gg*,  
     144 *l* N<sup>3</sup>, 149 *a* N.  
   27 143 *d*, 145 *o*, 145 *o*  
     N<sup>1</sup>  
   28 . . . . . 119 *w* N.  
   29 . . . . . 143 *c*  
   31 . . . . . 114 *p*  
   33 . . . . . 75 *qq*  
   34 76 *h*, 106 *p*, 149 *d*  
 26 9 . . . . . 112 *h*, 151 *a*  
   12 . . . . . 87 *s*, 152 *l*  
   13 . . . . . 156 *c*  
   14 . . . . . 155 *m*  
   16 . . . . . 117 *l*, 117 *m* N.  
   19 . . . . . 72 *aa*  
   20 . . . . . 117 *d*  
   22 . . . . . 127 *f*  
 27 9 . . . . . 112 *e*, 112 *dd*  
   10 . . . . . 150 *a* N.  
 28 3 . . . . . 106 *f*, 154 *a* N.  
   7 52 *d*, 96, 128 *u*,  
     130 *e*  
   8 . . . . . 10 *h*, 46 *d*, 46 *e*  
   10 . . . . . 20 *h*  
   13 . . . . . 132 *h* N. I  
   15 48 *d*, 59 *f*, 75 *ll*,  
     102 *l*  
   24 . . . . . 68 *h*  
 29 6 . . . . . 149 *c*

1 Samuel

29 8 . . . . . 49 *m*, 130 *c*  
   10 . . . . . 144 *c*  
 30 2 . . . . . 156 *f*  
   6 . . . . . 144 *b*  
   8 . . . . . 150 *a* N<sup>1</sup>, 154 *a*  
   13 . . . . . 134 *o* N<sup>1</sup>  
   24 . . . . . 161 *c*  
   26 . . . . . 91 *k*  
   28 . . . . . 10 *g*  
 31 2 . . . . . 53 *n*  
   7 . . . . . 103 *g*  
   9 . . . . . 124 *r*

2 Samuel

1 4 . . . . . 157 *c*  
   6 . . . . . 75 *rr*, 113 *o*  
   9 . . . . . 72 *m*, 128 *e*  
   10 49 *c*, 61 *b*, 107 *b* N.  
   18 . . . . . 150 *e*  
   21 126 *m*, 130 *a*, 152 *g*  
   23 . . . . . 44 *c*, 154 *a* N.  
   24 . . . . . 116 *f*  
   25 . . . . . 148 *b*  
   26 . . . . . 75 *oo*  
 2 5 . . . . . 121 *f*  
   16 . . . . . 144 *d*  
   20 . . . . . 136 *d*  
   21 . . . . . 64 *c*, 119 *s*  
   22 . . . . . 102 *l*, 150 *e*  
   23 . . . . . 111 *g*, 116 *w*  
   26 . . . . . 44 *g*  
   27 . . . . . 159 *ee*  
   32 . . . . . 72 *r*, 118 *g*  
 3 1 . . . . . 113 *u*, 145 *c*  
   2 . . . . . 129 *g*  
   8 . . . . . 75 *qq*, 111 *e*  
   10 . . . . . 114 *o*  
   11 . . . . . 115 *d*  
   16 . . . . . 113 *u*  
   18 . . . . . 113 *dd* N.  
   25 . . . . . 117 *h*  
   27 . . . . . 117 *ll*  
   30 . . . . . 117 *n*  
   33 . . . . . 107 *t*  
   34 . . . . . 152 *d*, 152 *e*  
   39 . . . . . 141 *e*  
 4 1 . . . . . 145 *p*  
   2 . . . . . 128 *c*  
   4 . . . . . 128 *h*  
   7 . . . . . 141 *e*  
   10 . . . . . 111 *h*, 114 *l* N.  
   11 . . . . . 117 *d*  
 5 2 . . . . . 74 *k*  
   6 . . . . . 35 *g*, 106 *m*  
   8 35 *g*, 116 *w*, 107 *u*  
   10 . . . . . 125 *h*  
   21 . . . . . 146 *f*  
   24 109 *k*, 112 *z*, 117 *d*  
 6 1 . . . . . 68 *h*

## 2 Samuel

6	2	125 c
	3	126 z
	6	117 g
	16	112 uu
	20	75 y, 148 b
7	5	112 r, 150 d
	14	112 mm
	29	120 d
8	2	126 m
	3	17 b
	4	69 v
	8	131 e
9	1	165 a
	3	128 y, 152 s
10	7	131 o
	9	145 k, 146 a
	12	54 k
11	1	23 g
	4	141 e
	11	149 a N.
	19	142 f N <sup>2</sup>
	20	157 c
	24	69 r, 75 rr
	25	117 l
	27	60 d
12	1	72 p
	2	126 d, 126 x, 146 f
	3	152 p
	6	97 h
	9	144 n
	10	114 g
	14	52 o
	15	51 m
	16	112 f, 117 q
	17	75 rr
	28	61 f, 135 a, 150 m N.
	30	127 e
13	4	p. 457 N <sup>1</sup>
	5	75 cc
	8	72 t
	12	75 hh, 107 g
	14	117 u
	15	117 q
	17	64 c
	18	47 l, 112 tt N., 156 b
	19	113 t
	20	84 a s, 118 p, 154 a N
	23	131 d
	25	152 g, 165 a
	26	159 dd
	28	72 w, 159 g
	31	116 k
	32	73 f
	39	131 g, 144 o
14	2	75 m, 136 d
	3	76 g
	4	126 e
	6	60 d

## 2 Samuel

14	7	73 b
	10	116 w
	11	75 ff, 119 w N.
	13	92 b, 115 i
	19	47 b N., 70 c
	21	106 m
	26	118 h, 134 g
	30	71
	31	102 l
15	2	111 g, 127 b N.
	4	112 p, 151 a
	5	10 g N <sup>s</sup>
	7	10 g
	12	113 u
	16	117 d
	20	150 a
	21	93 aa N., 130 c, 163 d
	23	117 t
	25	117 e
	27	72 s
	32	116 k, 121 d
	33	49 l, 75 w
	34	67 dd, 143 d
	37	93 u
16	1	134 n
	5	112 tt, 113 t
	7	128 t
	13	93 gg, 112 f
17	5	135 f
	8	117 h
	9	144 e
	10	67 t
	11	106 i
	12	109 d, 122 l
	13	106 o
	15	135 a
	16	121 a
	17	112 k, 126 r
	22	96, 130 g
	23	51 m
	26	118 g
18	3	63 i, 97 g
	11	114 l, 119 aa, 154 b, 159 w N.
	12	137 c, 154 b
	13	159 cc
	14	108 c, 156 c
	16	22 s
	18	117 d
	19	119 ff
	22	74 i
	23	110 b
	29	114 f, 150 a
	33	133 l N.
19	1	135 f, 151 b
	6	70 c, 128 a
	13	112 i
	14	68 h
	18	97 e, 112 tt

## 2 Samuel

19	19	53 q
	20	115 g
	25	52 l, 127 f
	27	122 f
	30	106 i
	43	76 b
	44	67 w
20	1	147 c
	5	68 i
	8	142 e
	9	68 h, 141 c
	11	137 c
	12	112 oo, 116 e
	13	69 w
	14	125 h
	18	113 w
	19	130 f N.
	20	149 a, 149 e
	21	53 s, 155 e
	23	16 b, 127 f
21	2	74 h
	3	110 i
	4	120 c
	9	118 i
	11	121 a
	12	75 rr
	15	72 t
	20	35 n
	22	121 b
22	1	2 s, 53 l, 130 d
	24	49 e
	27	67 l
	33	35 d, 131 r
	37	103 d
	38	108 e
	40	68 k
	41	19 i, 116 w
	44	87 f
23	1	2 s, 29 g
	3	116 w
	4	152 u
	5	135 m, 150 a N.
	6	91 f, 143 a
	7	113 w
	8	47 b, 87 f
	11	127 e
	13	134 k
	17	167 a
	19	150 d
24	3	145 n, 154 b
	6	90 i
	11	93 rr
	13	145 h
	16	142 f
	21	165 a
	22	93 pp
	23	106 m
	24	75 n, 113 p

## 1 Kings

1	1	49 b, 67 g
	2	131 b, 144 f
	5	116 o
	6	119 w N.
	12	117 p
	14	116 u
	15	80 d, 90 c
	20	135 g
	21	146 d
	24	150 a, 150 b
	26	135 g
	27	150 f
	31	156 c
	40	117 g, 145 c
	41	146 a
	47	70 e
	52	119 w N.
2	2	116 p
	3	95 u, 114 o
	6	109 d
	7	116 h
	17	131 g
	18	135 a
	21	121 b
	22	110 a, 154 b
	23	149 d
	26	75 z, 93 ss, 118 f, 128 t
	30	75 u
	31	128 w
	36	80 i, 90 i
	40	90 i
	42	72 aa
	43	128 h
3	4	107 b
	7	114 c
	8	166 b
	11	112 tt
	12	166 b
	15	71
	16	107 c
	18	128 f, 135 r
	26	46 e
4	5	93 u
	7	112 l
	12	90 i
	13	128 c
	14	90 d
5	1	144 i
	3	131 c
	7	112 dd
	9	131 e
	12	134 g
	17	117 h
	20	68 c
	25	23 f, 107 e
	29	131 b
6	1	134 h, 134 o
	6	63 i
	7	131 c

## 1 Kings

6	16	117 d
	19	66 i
7	6	92 g
	7	118 p, 126 w
	8	118 g
	14	41 o, 131 b
	15	117 hh
	27	134 l
	28	20 m
	37	91 f
8	1	107 c, 109 k
	5	119 z, 145 c
	12	138 e
	13	118 k
	29	91 k
	30	119 g, 159 g
	31	145 o
	32	118 g
	33	158 d
	44	75 w
	46	49 m
	48	44 i
	64	133 c
9	3	75 v
	8	67 g
	11	75 oo
	17	126 y
	25	112 dd, 113 z
	26	122 t
10	9	115 d
	11	35 m
	12	117 ii
	21	152 y N.
	22	74 i
	23	119 u
	24	164 b N.
	27	126 p
	29	75 t
11	1	10 h
	3	145 o, 145 p
	5	122 f
	8	131 h N.
	9	138 k
	12	135 p
	15	52 f
	16	53 l
	19	54 k
	21	165 a
	25	117 m N.
	30	117 ii
	31	134 l
	33	87 e
	34	117 ii
	39	23 d
	41	150 e
12	2	138 d
	6	64 b, 117 gg
	8	116 q, 118 q
	10	93 q
	12	74 k

## 1 Kings

12	15	115 a
	28	133 c
	31	117 d
	32	21 d, 65 e, 112 pp
13	3	112 tt
	7	10 h
	11	125 b
	12	155 d
	14	126 r
	18	156 d
	30	147 d
	33	109 f, 109 g
14	2	32 h
	3	65 g
	5	94 d, 112 z
	6	118 p, 121 d N <sup>1</sup>
	10	64 d
	12	72 r N,
	13	129 g
	14	136 d N.
	15	91 u
	16	23 c
	17	116 u
	19	129 d, 150 e
	21	10 g
	24	127 g
15	13	119 x
	23	118 q
	25	134 p
16	2	74 l
	10	134 o
	24	29 f, 88 b
	25	67 x
	31	150 d
17	1	93 pp
	3	119 s
	9	90 i
	11	66 g
	13	75 m
	14	66 i, 75 rr
	15	32 l
	16	146 a
18	5	119 w N.
	10	107 e
	27	53 q, 67 y
	32	117 ii, 117 kk
	43	152 p
	44	58 g
19	4	157 b N <sup>2</sup>
	9	126 r
	11	132 d
	15	26 h, 90 c, 90 i
	19	134 o
	20	20 m
	21	131 m
20	14	137 b
	20	145 c
	21	112 tt
	22	54 k
	25	103 b

## 1 Kings

20	27 . . . . .	54 l
	33 . . . . .	53 n
	35 . . . . .	75 mm, 128 v
	39 . . . . .	51 k
	40 . . . . .	116 g N.
21	2 . . . . .	34 c
	8 . . . . .	124 b N.
	10 . . . . .	104 g
	11 . . . . .	116 g, 118 q
	12 . . . . .	112 qq
	13 . . . . .	119 c
	15 . . . . .	69 f
	19 . . . . .	74 k, 135 f
	21 . . . . .	74 k, 74 l
	25 . . . . .	72 w
22	3 . . . . .	150 e
	4 . . . . .	161 c
	7 . . . . .	108 b
	10 . . . . .	121 d
	12 . . . . .	110 f
	15 . . . . .	150 c
	16 . . . . .	102 k, 134 r
	23 . . . . .	126 y
	25 . . . . .	75 pp
	27 . . . . .	131 c
	28 . . . . .	135 r, 144 p, 159 q
	30 . . . . .	104 g, 113 dd N.
	35 . . . . .	71
	49 . . . . .	44 m

## 2 Kings

1	1 . . . . .	49 b
	2 . . . . .	126 y
	3 . . . . .	152 y
	7 . . . . .	37 f
	9 . . . . .	97 i
	10 . . . . .	154 b
	11 . . . . .	120 d
2	1 . . . . .	10 h, 114 q
	9 . . . . .	107 c
	10 . . . . .	52 s, 114 n N.
	16 . . . . .	93 u, 107 q N <sup>s</sup>
	20 . . . . .	72 aa
	21 . . . . .	75 oo
	22 . . . . .	75 qq
	24 . . . . .	122 e
3	3 . . . . .	135 p
	4 . . . . .	2 d, 112 h, 131 k
	8 . . . . .	155 d
	15 . . . . .	112 uu
	16 . . . . .	113 bb, 123 e
	23 . . . . .	113 w
	24 . . . . .	75 ff
	25 . . . . .	112 e
	27 . . . . .	107 k
4	1 . . . . .	125 b
	3 . . . . .	91 l, 133 c N.
	8 . . . . .	126 s
	13 . . . . .	114 k, 117 r

## 2 Kings

4	14 . . . . .	154 b
	16 . . . . .	32 h, 116 p
	23 . . . . .	90 n
	24 . . . . .	66 c
	25 . . . . .	34 f
	27 . . . . .	63 e
	31 . . . . .	29 k
	41 . . . . .	69 f
	43 . . . . .	113 ee
5	2 . . . . .	118 q
	3 . . . . .	151 e
	9 . . . . .	129 d
	10 . . . . .	110 i, 113 bb, 159 d
	11 . . . . .	112 p
	12 . . . . .	107 t
	13 . . . . .	110 f, 142 f, 159 cc
	17 . . . . .	104 g, 159 dd
	18 . . . . .	75 kk
	20 . . . . .	112 gg, 163 d
	22 . . . . .	136 d
	23 . . . . .	72 t, 88 b, 131 d
	26 . . . . .	150 a N <sup>1</sup>
6	5 . . . . .	117 m N.
	8 . . . . .	91 n
	9 . . . . .	51 n
	10 . . . . .	134 r
	11 . . . . .	36
	19 . . . . .	34 b N <sup>s</sup> , 52 n
	22 . . . . .	p. 457 N <sup>1</sup>
	27 . . . . .	109 h, 150 g
	29 . . . . .	74 l
	32 . . . . .	22 s, 100 l
7	1 . . . . .	131 d
	4 . . . . .	112 ff
	8 . . . . .	47 i
	10 . . . . .	135 p N <sup>1</sup>
	13 . . . . .	127 f
	18 . . . . .	10 h
8	1 . . . . .	32 h
	6 . . . . .	53 m, 72 y, 91 e
	8 . . . . .	126 y
	16 . . . . .	52 l
	17 . . . . .	134 e
	21 . . . . .	50 e
9	2 . . . . .	72 w, 76 h
	4 . . . . .	127 g
	17 . . . . .	80 f
	18 . . . . .	32 n, 103 o, 119 b
	19 . . . . .	150 a N <sup>1</sup>
	27 . . . . .	147 c
	31 . . . . .	144 p
	33 . . . . .	76 c
	35 . . . . .	119 m
	37 . . . . .	75 m
10	1 . . . . .	124 b N., 127 f
	6 . . . . .	131 h N.
	15 . . . . .	159 cc
	21 . . . . .	102 h
	23 . . . . .	152 w
	29 . . . . .	93 o

## 2 Kings

11	1 . . . . .	112 pp
	2 . . . . .	116 e
	4 . . . . .	75 gg, 75 q, 97 g
	5 . . . . .	116 h
	12 . . . . .	74 l
	13 . . . . .	87 e
	15 . . . . .	113 cc, 119 e
12	9 . . . . .	72 h, 66 g, 93 h
	12 . . . . .	112 pp N <sup>s</sup>
13	6 . . . . .	74 k
	17 . . . . .	69 r, 76 f
	19 . . . . .	114 k, 159 dd
	21 . . . . .	111 g
14	7 . . . . .	21 e, 112 tt
	8 . . . . .	156 o
	14 . . . . .	93 oo, 112 pp, 112 tt, 124 q
15	16 . . . . .	76 c, 127 i
	29 . . . . .	80 k
16	4 . . . . .	65 e
	7 . . . . .	72 p
	14 . . . . .	127 h
	17 . . . . .	127 h
	18 . . . . .	80 k
17	4 . . . . .	118 u
	6 . . . . .	134 p
	11 . . . . .	53 p
	15 . . . . .	103 l
	29 . . . . .	124 r
18	1 . . . . .	134 p
	4 . . . . .	112 tt
	17 . . . . .	128 w N.
	20 . . . . .	44 i
	26 . . . . .	2 a
	28 . . . . .	2 a
	29 . . . . .	74 l
	30 . . . . .	121 b N.
	36 . . . . .	112 tt
19	2 . . . . .	131 h N.
	4 . . . . .	132 h
	14 . . . . .	124 b N.
	21 . . . . .	72 l
	25 . . . . .	23 f, 75 qq
20	1 . . . . .	49 a
	19 . . . . .	126 x, 141 n
21	11 . . . . .	74 l
	12 . . . . .	67 g
	13 . . . . .	113 h N.
	15 . . . . .	112 tt
	26 . . . . .	144 d N.
22	1 . . . . .	134 e
	13 . . . . .	138 b
	20 . . . . .	61 h, 124 c
23	3 . . . . .	127 c
	4 . . . . .	75 v, 112 pp, 112 pp N.
	8 . . . . .	112 pp N.
	10 . . . . .	112 pp, 114 s
	12 . . . . .	112 rr, 127 f
	14 . . . . .	112 pp N.

## 2 Kings

23	15 . . . . .	67 v
	17 . . . . .	127 f, 127 g
	20 . . . . .	117 d
	35 . . . . .	139 c
24	7 . . . . .	144 b
	14 . . . . .	97 g, 112 tt
25	9 . . . . .	117 d
	15 . . . . .	123 e
	16 . . . . .	126 z, 134 l
	17 . . . . .	134 e
	18 . . . . .	131 b
	19 . . . . .	127 f
	28 . . . . .	122 q
	29 . . . . .	75 rr

## Isaiah

1	2 . . . . .	126 e
	3 . . . . .	124 i
	4 . . . . .	128 l, x, 147 d
	5 37 e, 127 c, 137 b, 156 d	
	6 67 m, 126 m, 144 b, 152 o	
	7 116 l, 116 n, 118 x, 143 a	
	9 106 p, 118 x, 159 x	
	11 106 g, 107 f, 117 z	
	12 . 51 l, 106 g, 164 d	
	14 66 b, 76 b, 102 h, 114 c, 119 aa	
	15 60 f, 61 e, 117 z, 124 n, 145 n	
	16 . . . . .	54 d, 128 r
	17 . . . . .	113 d, 117 u
	18 . . . . .	126 o, 160 a
	19 . . . . .	120 e
	20 . . . . .	52 e, 121 c
	21 90 l, 95 h, 107 b, 148 b	
	22 . . . . .	126 m
	23 . . . . .	107 g, 124 f
	24 . . . . .	51 p
	25 . . . . .	118 w, 124 l
	26 . 118 s N., 135 m	
	27 . . . . .	116 i
	28 . . . . .	147 c
	29 . . . . .	144 p
	30 . 91 d, 116 i, 152 o	
	31 . . . . .	93 q
2	1 . . . . .	154 a N.
	2 . . . . .	116 r
	4 . . . . .	91 n
	6 . . . . .	44 g
	7 . . . . .	117 z
	8 . . . . .	145 m
	9 . . . . .	109 e, 117 g
	11 . . . . .	112 s, 146 a
	17 . . . . .	145 o
	18 . . . . .	15 f

## Isaiah

2	20 63 i, 84 <sup>b</sup> n, 135 n, 145 m	
	22 . . . . .	116 e, 119 s
3	1 . . . . .	116 p, 122 v
	3 . . . . .	116 k
	6 . . . . .	103 g, 118 g
	7 117 g, 117 ii, 156 b	
	8 . . . . .	53 g, 122 i
	9 . . . . .	135 i, 156 g
	12 . . . . .	124 k, 145 l
	13 . . . . .	115 b
	14 . . . . .	128 h, 154 b
	15 . . . . .	37 c
	16 52 n, 75 v, 111 r, 112 nn, 113 u, 135 o	
	17 . 91 c, 91 f, 142 f	
	18 . . . . .	86 g N.
	22 . . . . .	35 f
	24 . . . . .	131 b
4	4 106 o, 107 l, 113 e, 159 n N.	
5	1 87 f N., 108 b, 128 v	
	2 . . . . .	114 m, 117 ee
	3 . . . . .	110 a
	4 75 z, 114 k, 150 m	
	5 112 u, 113 d, 113 f, 114 k N., 116 d, 116 p	
	6 117 z, 117 ii, 119 y	
	8 112 w, 116 x, 144 p, 147 d	
	9 . . . . .	149 e, 152 y
	10 . . . . .	93 m
	11 112 m, 120 c, 130 a, 156 d	
	12 93 ss, 106 l, 141 d	
	13 . . . . .	106 n, 128 t
	14 . . . . .	20 f, 112 s
	15 . . . . .	111 v
	17 . . . . .	118 t, 142 f
	19 . . . . .	48 d, 108 d
	23 . . . . .	116 x, 145 m
	24 . . . . .	114 r, 115 k
	25 . . . . .	136 b
	26 . 133 k N., 145 m	
	28 . . . . .	20 h, 117 z
	29 . . . . .	152 l
	30 . . . . .	136 b
6	1 . . . . .	111 b
	2 88 f, 119 cc, 134 q	
	3 112 k, 133 k, 139 e N., 141 l	
	4 107 b, 107 d, 117 z	
	5 106 n, 128 y, 147 d	
	6 94 b, 155 h, 156 b	
	7 . . . . .	112 x
	8 61 g, 117 c, 124 g N., 137 b	
	9 . . . . .	75 n, 113 r
	10 . . . . .	67 v, 136 b

## Isaiah

6	11 106 o, 121 d, 144 d, 152 y	
	12 . . . . .	67 k
	13 52 p, 112 mm, 114 k N., 120 d	
7	2 . . . . .	72 q, 122 i
	3 . . . . .	95 s
	4 . . . . .	113 bb
	6 . . . . .	122 i
	7 . . . . .	122 q, 144 b
	8 . . . . .	119 y
	9 . . . . .	148 d, 159 ee
	11 . . . . .	29 u
	13 . . . . .	114 a, 133 c
	14 74 g, 112 t, 113 h, 126 r, 135 a N., 135 c	
	15 . . . . .	113 f
	17 . . . . .	49 a
	18 . . . . .	124 e
	20 . . . . .	126 x
	23 . . . . .	134 n
	25 . . . . .	118 l, 144 h
8	1 . . . . .	29 l, 52 s, 119 u
	2 . . . . .	49 e, 96
	4 . . . . .	144 d
	6 . . . . .	2 d N., 130 a
	7 . . . . .	154 b
	8 . . . . .	145 o
	9 . . . . .	110 f
	11 . . . . .	45 d, 59 h
	12 . . . . .	47 m, 117 r
	16 . . . . .	67 n
	17 . . . . .	75 z
	19 . . . . .	164 d
	20 . . . . .	145 m
	21 . . . . .	54 k, 118 n
	23 . 67 v, 90 f, 128 h	
9	1 106 n, 130 a, 132 g	
	2 . . . . .	103 g, 130 a
	3 10 h, 20 h, 67 w, 93 q, 118 u, 135 n	
	4 112 mm, 124 n, 143 d, 146 e	
	5 . . . . .	93 k, 144 d
	6 . . . . .	5 n, 152 u
	8 . . . . .	127 c, 145 c
	11 . . . . .	127 c
	12 . . . . .	116 f
	18 . . . . .	145 o
10	1 . . . . .	10 g, 93 bb
	2 . . . . .	114 r
	4 . . . . .	163 c
	5 . . . . .	152 a
	9 . . . . .	21 d
	10 . . . . .	133 e
	12 . . . . .	47 b, 127 a
	13 23 d, 75 z, 107 b N.	
	14 118 w, 126 o, 132 e	
	15 115 i, 124 k, 150 h	

## Isaiah

10 16 . . . . . 69f  
 17 . . . . . 93v  
 18 . . . . . 67cc  
 22 . . . . . 117z  
 24 . 58i, 119o, 156d  
 30 . . . 132b, 144m  
 32 . . . 114k, 119o  
 33 . . . . . 23c  
 34 . . . . . 119o  
 11 2 . . . . . 128a  
 7 . . . . . 122e  
 8 . . . . . 142f  
 9 106u, 114c, 115d,  
 116fN., 117n, 126z  
 10 . . . . . 119gg  
 12 . . . . . 20m  
 14 . . . . . 93hh  
 12 1 . . . . . 109k  
 2 . . . . . 80g  
 5 . . . . . 116e  
 6 . . . . . 122s  
 13 3 . . . . . 135n  
 4 . . . 146b, 147c  
 6 . . . . . 118x  
 8 . . . 47m, 119gg  
 18 . . . . . 52n  
 19 . . . . . 115d  
 20 . . . . . 68k  
 22 . . . . . 145o  
 14 2 54f, 57N<sup>a</sup>, 117w  
 3 22s, 102b, 115g,  
 121b, 121f  
 4 . 49k, 49m, 148b  
 6 . . . 117g, 130a  
 9 . . . . . 145t  
 11 . . . . 93ss, 145o  
 14 . . . . . 87s  
 17 . . . 116x, 117o  
 19 . 29f, 126p, 130a  
 23 . . . . 55f, 113e  
 24 . . . 144b, 149b  
 27 . . . 116g, 126k  
 30 . . . . 72w, 133h  
 31 . . . . 72v, 113bb  
 15 2 . . . . . 70d, 96  
 5 . . . . . 72cc  
 7 . . . . . 155h  
 8 . . . . . 119hh  
 16 2 . . . . . 126p  
 4 . . . . . 145d  
 6 . . . . . 122v  
 7 . . . . . 70d  
 8 . . . . . 75m, 145u  
 9 . . . . . 75dd  
 10 72bb, 121a, b, 144e  
 17 1 . . . 119x, 121b  
 4 . . . . . 128r  
 5 . . . . . 122n  
 6 118u, 131n N<sup>1</sup>,  
 134s

## Isaiah

17 8 . 35f, 154a N. (b)  
 10 . . . 20m N., 47k  
 11 . . . . . 72n  
 12 . . . . . 47m, 75u  
 18 1 . . . . . 124e  
 2 . . . . . 52s, 103m  
 3 . . . . . 66b  
 4 . . . . . 10h  
 5 29g, 67v, 72dd,  
 142f, 145q  
 6 . . . . . 73b  
 19 1 . . . . . 72l  
 3 . . . . . 67dd  
 4 . . . 124i, 132h  
 6 . 53g, 53p, 124e  
 9 . . . . . 86i  
 10 . . . . . 128y  
 11 . . . . . 133h  
 12 . . . . . 109f  
 13 . . . . . 142f  
 17 . 80h, 95d, 143b  
 18 . . . . . 2a  
 22 . . . . . 113s  
 20 1 . . . . . 115k  
 2 . . . . 113i, 118n  
 4 . . . . 87g, 118o  
 21 1 . . . . . 114o  
 2 . . . . 44o, 72s, 121b  
 7 . . . . . 93dd, 117q  
 8 . . . . . 118r  
 9 . . . . . 136d  
 11 . 90f, 93w, 116t  
 12 29t, 75u, 75rr,  
 76d  
 14 . . . . . 76d  
 17 127a, 128a,  
 146a  
 22 1 . . . . 91e, 150l  
 2 75v, 91e, 117z,  
 126e, 128x, 152d  
 3 . . . . . 119w  
 5 . . . . 128a, 133l  
 7 . . . . . 128r  
 10 . . . . . 20m  
 11 . . . . 95v, 124k  
 13 75n, 113d, 113f,  
 113dd  
 14 107c, 112ss, 149b,  
 149e  
 16 . . . . 90m, 144p  
 17 . . . . . 113r  
 18 . . . . . 118r  
 19 . . . . . 144p  
 24 . . . . 128w, 133h  
 23 1 . . . 110k, 119y  
 4 . . . . . 152z  
 5 . . . . 118u, 128h  
 7 . . . . . 126z N.  
 8 . . . . . 93pp  
 11 . . . . 20o, 53q

## Isaiah

23 12 . 35b, 46e, 118f,  
 130e, 132b  
 13 . . . . . 136d N.  
 15 . 44f, 116p, 118t  
 17 . . . . . 72l, 91e  
 24 2 . 35g, 116s, 127i  
 3 . . . . . 67t  
 10 . . . . . 119x  
 12 . . . . . 121d  
 16 . . . . . 117q  
 19 . . . . 67o, 113w  
 22 . . . . . 117q  
 25 6 . . . . 75dd, 93ss  
 7 . . . . . 72p  
 10 . . . . . 72v  
 26 4 . . . . . 119i N.  
 9 . . . . . 144m  
 10 . . . . . 159c  
 11 . . . . . 47m  
 16 . . . . 44l, 72o  
 18 . . . . . 124e  
 19 . . . . 95h, 122s  
 20 . . . . . 75qq  
 27 3 . . . . . 65a  
 4 10h, 65b, 71,  
 117x, 151b  
 5 . . . . . 162a  
 8 . . . . . 55f  
 9 . . . . . 156f  
 11 . . . . 70a N., 124e  
 18 . . . . . 152x  
 28 1 . . . . 124e, 128c  
 2 . . . . . 125c  
 3 . . . . . 47k  
 4 91e, 128w, 135n,  
 144e  
 6 . . . . 90i, 119hh  
 7 . . . . . 72l, 118h  
 8 . . . . . 127c  
 9 . . . . . 130a  
 10 . . . . 102h, 147c  
 11 . . . . . 116b  
 12 . . . . 23t, 114m N.  
 16 71, 119i, 130f  
 N., 155f  
 17 . . . . 29u, 142f  
 18 . . . . . 145o  
 20 . . . . . 133c  
 21 . . . . 118t, 132b  
 24 . . . . . 144e  
 26 . . . . . 112rr  
 27 . . . . . 152z  
 28 112m, 113w N.  
 150a  
 29 1 19c, 66f, 69h N.,  
 130d  
 4 . . . . . 120g  
 5 . 126p, 133k N.  
 6 . . . . 84<sup>a</sup>s, 144b  
 7 . 75qq, 116i, 118t

Isaiah  
 29 8 . . . . . 116 s  
 9 . . . . . 55 g, 72 l  
 13 115 d, 127 a, 142 d  
 14 . 50 e, 113 w, 155 f  
 15 . . . . . 53 q, 112 n  
 16 . . . . . 147 c, 150 f  
 19 128 l, 132 c, 133 h  
 23 . . . . . 131 o  
 30 1 . . . . . 69 h N.  
 2 . . . . . 63 i, 72 q  
 5 . . . . . 78 b  
 6 . . . . . 135 p  
 8 . . . . . 61 f, 135 p  
 11 . . . . . 102 b  
 12 61 d, 111 v, 114 d,  
 114 r  
 13 . . . . . 116 d  
 14 . 63 i, 113 i, 156 g  
 18 . . . . . 67 cc, 130 a  
 19 . 58 g, 67 n, 75 ll  
 20 . . . . . 131 c, 145 n  
 21 . . . . . 56  
 22 . . . . . 135 n, 145 m  
 23 . . . . . 93 ss  
 24 . . . . . 52 s  
 25 . . . . . 74 i  
 26 . . . . . 114 r, 134 r  
 28 . . . . . 72 z  
 31 . . . . . 156 d  
 33 . . . . . 32 l  
 31 2 . . . . . 141 f  
 3 . . . . . 75 u  
 5 . . . . . 67 p, 113 t  
 6 . 138 f N., 144 p  
 8 . . . . . 125 c, 152 a  
 32 1 . . . . . 143 e  
 7 . . . . . 154 a N.  
 9 . . . . . 44 o  
 11 . 48 i, 67 o, 110 k  
 12 . . . . . 116 s, 144 i  
 13 . . . . . 128 c  
 17 . . . . . 113 c  
 18 . . . . . 124 e  
 33 1 20 h, 53 q, 53 u,  
 67 v, 120 b, 156 f  
 3 . . . . . 67 dd  
 4 . . . . . 85 h  
 5 . . . . . 116 s  
 6 . . . . . 130 b  
 7 . . . . . 75 u  
 9 . . . . . 29 q, 145 t  
 10 . . . . . 54 c, 133 l  
 12 . . . . . 20 i  
 14 . . 84<sup>a</sup> s, 117 bb  
 15 117 r N., 119 z,  
 124 e  
 16 . . . . . 124 b  
 20 . . . . . 152 t  
 34 4 . . . . . 67 t, 126 o  
 5 . . . . . 52 k

Isaiah  
 34 6 . . . . . 54 h  
 10 . . . . . 102 i  
 11 . . . . . 21 c, 80 g  
 13 . . . . . 117 z  
 17 . . . . . 59 g  
 35 1 . . . . . 47 n  
 2 . . . . . 117 q, 130 b  
 4 . . . . . 65 f  
 7 . . . . . 135 p  
 9 . . . . . 84<sup>b</sup> f, 132 c  
 36 2 . . . . . 128 w N.  
 8 . . . . . 127 f  
 9 . . . . . 119 s, 119 u  
 11 . . . . . 2 a  
 14 . . . . . 74 l  
 16 . . . . . 110 f, 127 f  
 17 . . . . . 114 r  
 37 3 . . . . . 69 m, 152 k  
 11 . . . . . 150 a  
 14 . . . . . 124 b N.  
 17 . . . . . 10 g  
 19 . . . . . 113 f, 113 z  
 22 . . . . . 130 e  
 24 . . . . . 128 r  
 25 . . . . . 124 e  
 26 75 qq, 114 k, 117 ii  
 28 . . . . . 114 c  
 29 . . . . . 112 nn  
 30 113 z, 113 ee, 126 b  
 38 3 . . . . . 16 f N., 157 c  
 5 50 e, 113 bb, 155 f  
 9 . . . . . 114 r  
 10 . . . . . 108 g, 121 d  
 14 . 48 i N., 61 f N.  
 15 . . . . . 55 g  
 16 75 mm, 103 g, 135 p  
 17 . . . . . 119 ff  
 18 . . . . . 116 h, 152 z  
 20 . . . . . 86 i, 114 i  
 39 1 . . . . . 124 b N.  
 2 . . . . . 15 e N., 126 x  
 40 1 . . . . . 107 f  
 3 . . . . . 146 b  
 4 . . . . . 93 v  
 6 . . . . . 112 qq, 127 c  
 9 . . . . . 119 s  
 10 . . . . . 119 i  
 11 . . . . . 93 x  
 14 . . . . . 124 e  
 18 . . . . . 15 c, 75 dd  
 19 . . . . . 119 hh  
 20 . . . . . 155 f, 156 g  
 22 . . . . . 126 b  
 25 . . . . . 150 m  
 26 . . . . . 124 e  
 29 . . . . . 152 v  
 30 . . . . . 69 q  
 31 . . . . . 8 k  
 41 1 . . . . . 119 gg  
 2 35 n N., 75 gg, 155 n

Isaiah  
 41 3 . . . . . 118 q  
 4 . . . . . 135 a N.  
 5 . . . . . 75 u  
 7 . . . . . 29 f  
 8 . . . . . 138 d  
 10 . . . . . 75 bb  
 12 . . . . . 135 n  
 15 . . . . . 96  
 17 . . . . . 20 i  
 23 48 g N., 75 l, 75 v,  
 109 d  
 24 . . . . . 155 n  
 25 . . . . . 23 d, 76 d  
 28 . 109 h, cf. 159 d  
 42 4 . . . . . 67 q  
 5 . 65 d, 93 ss, 124 k  
 6 . 107 b N., 109 k  
 13 . . . . . 126 p  
 18 35 g, 126 e, 126 f  
 20 . . . . . 75 n, 144 p  
 21 . . . . . 120 c  
 22 29 q, 72 y, 119 hh,  
 124 q  
 24 113 d, 114 m N.,  
 138 g  
 25 . . . . . 131 k  
 43 1 . 61 h, 74 e, 91 d  
 2 . . . . . 159 dd, 159 ff  
 6 . . . . . 122 v  
 8 . 53 m, 69 v, 74 l  
 9 . 51 o, 106 n N<sup>2</sup>  
 10 . . . . . 135 a N.  
 25 . . . . . 141 h  
 44 3 . . . . . 71  
 9 . . . . . 5 n  
 13 . . . . . 64 i  
 15 . . 66 e, 103 f N.  
 16 . . . . . 67 ee  
 19 . . . . . 150 a  
 21 20 f, 57 N., 117 x  
 24 . . . . . 65 d  
 28 . . . . . 53 n, 114 p  
 45 1 . . . . . 67 p  
 2 . . . . . 70 b  
 4 . 111 b N., 131 g  
 9 . . . . . 152 u  
 10 . . . . . 47 o  
 14 . . . . . 10 g  
 46 5 . . . . . 75 dd  
 47 1 . . . . . 120 c  
 2 . . . . . 46 d, 63 l  
 5 . 100 g N<sup>2</sup>, 118 o  
 7 . . . . . 94 g  
 8 . . . . . 90 l, 144 p  
 10 59 g, 61 h, 75 v,  
 116 f  
 12 . . . . . 138 f  
 14 . . . . . 28 b, 67 cc  
 48 8 . . . . . 52 k, 157 a  
 9 . . . . . 119 hh

## Isaiah

48	11	. . . . .	67 t
	14	. . . . .	119 hh
	17	. . . . .	61 h, 93 qq
	18	. . . . .	111 x, 151 e
49	6	67 t, 115 a, 142 f N <sup>2</sup>	
	7	. . . . .	111 q
	11	. . . . .	145 u
	13	. . . . .	126 o
	15	. . . . .	160 b
	18	. . . . .	32 c
	19	. . . . .	67 dd
	21	. . . . .	72 p
	23	. . . . .	122 f N., 156 c
	26	. . . . .	135 l
50	2	133 c, 150 m, 152 y	
	8	. . . . .	15 c, 20 f
	9	. . . . .	136 c
	10	. . . . .	137 c
	11	. . . . .	20 n
51	1	. . . . .	155 k
	2	. . . . .	107 b N.
	3	. . . . .	146 e
	9	72 s, 118 u, 124 q	
	10	. . . . .	93 pp, 138 k
	12	. . . . .	61 h, 111 m
	13	. . . . .	52 k
	15	. . . . .	65 d
	17	. . . . .	128 q
	19	. . . . .	47 b, 122 q
	21	. . . . .	50 f, 130 b
52	1	. . . . .	120 c
	5	. . . . .	55 b
	7	. . . . .	75 x, 106 g
	8	. . . . .	117 a N <sup>2</sup> , 146 b
	11	. . . . .	67 t
	12	. . . . .	61 h
	14	. . . . .	93 q
53	1	. . . . .	151 a
	2	. . . . .	166 a
	3	. . . . .	96, 128 q
	4	. . . . .	116 l, 117 ii
	5	. . . . .	121 a, 128 q
	8	. . . . .	103 f N.
	9	. . . . .	160 c
	10	. . . . .	74 k, 75 ii
	11	. . . . .	117 n, 120 h, 132 b
54	1	67 ff, 144 p, 155 f	
	4	. . . . .	91 l
	5	. . . . .	124 k, 124 k N.
	6	. . . . .	58 g
	10	. . . . .	103 b
	11	. . . . .	152 a N.
	12	. . . . .	21 d
	14	. . . . .	54 c, 110 c
	15	. . . . .	137 c, 159 w
55	2	. . . . .	152 a N.
	3	. . . . .	93 m
	9	. . . . .	161 b
56	3	. . . . .	138 k

## Isaiah

56	4	. . . . .	138 f
	5	. . . . .	112 mm
	8	. . . . .	20 m
	9	. . . . .	29 t
	12	. . . . .	29 t
57	4	. . . . .	93 m
	5	. . . . .	67 u
	6	. . . . .	20 h
	8	. . . . .	47 k
	17	. . . . .	113 h
	20	. . . . .	113 d
58	3	19 c, 20 h, 150 m	
	9	. . . . .	115 b
	13	. . . . .	119 hh
59	3	. . . . .	51 h
	5	. . . . .	73 d, 80 i
	9	. . . . .	93 r
	10	. . . . .	152 v
	12	. . . . .	67 k
	13	52 e, 75 n, 113 d	
	14	. . . . .	72 ee
	21	. . . . .	143 a
60	3	. . . . .	107 b N.
	4	. . . . .	51 m, 122 v
	7	. . . . .	60 e
	9	. . . . .	58 g
	14	. . . . .	118 q, 125 h
61	1	. . . . .	84 v n
	7	. . . . .	119 hh
62	2	. . . . .	16 f
	9	. . . . .	20 m, 52 p
	12	. . . . .	152 a N.
63	3	. . . . .	53 p, 76 c
	11	. . . . .	128 c
	16	. . . . .	60 d
	19	. . . . .	151 e, 155 m
64	3	. . . . .	75 hh
	6	. . . . .	72 cc
65	1	. . . . .	51 c, 155 n
	2	. . . . .	126 z
	5	. . . . .	117 x
	11	. . . . .	35 g
	14	. . . . .	70 d
	17	. . . . .	29 i N., 51 m
	18	. . . . .	110 c
	20	. . . . .	75 oo
	24	. . . . .	107 c
66	13	. . . . .	155 d
	15	. . . . .	119 i
	18	. . . . .	167 b

## Jeremiah

1	10	. . . . .	45 g
	13	. . . . .	90 e
2	2	. . . . .	49 k
	8	. . . . .	155 n
	11	. . . . .	72 e, 155 n
	12	. . . . .	46 d
	15	. . . . .	44 m

## Jeremiah

2	16	. . . . .	117 u
	17	. . . . .	116 g N.
	19	. . . . .	60 a
	20	. . . . .	44 h N.
	21	. . . . .	126 z
	24	. . . . .	60 e, 122 d
	27	. . . . .	59 h, 69 s
	31	. . . . .	85 h
	33	. . . . .	44 h
	35	. . . . .	114 d
	36	. . . . .	68 h
3	1	. . . . .	113 ee, 159 w
	5	. . . . .	47 k, 66 f, 69 r
	6	. . . . .	75 ii, 132 b
	7	. . . . .	84 a k
	8	. . . . .	91 l
	9	. . . . .	112 ss
	15	. . . . .	113 h
	22	. . . . .	75 pp, 75 rr
4	1	. . . . .	143 d
	2	. . . . .	10 g
	5	. . . . .	120 h
	7	. . . . .	20 h, 93 t
	11	. . . . .	67 v
	13	. . . . .	67 ee
	18	. . . . .	75 n
	19	44 h, 108 g, 133 l N.	
	30	. . . . .	145 t
5	6	. . . . .	20 b, 67 cc
	7	. . . . .	65 b
	13	. . . . .	52 o, 138 i
	22	. . . . .	58 i, 58 k, 60 e
	26	. . . . .	67 p
6	4	. . . . .	10 g
	8	. . . . .	51 c, 152 a N.
	10	. . . . .	108 g
	17	. . . . .	112 dd
	20	. . . . .	126 x
	28	. . . . .	133 i
	29	. . . . .	67 u
7	4	. . . . .	133 l N.
	9	. . . . .	112 o, 113 ee
	19	. . . . .	57 N <sup>4</sup> , 135 k
8	4	. . . . .	150 m
	5	. . . . .	128 c
	11	. . . . .	75 qq, 133 l
	13	. . . . .	72 aa, 113 w
	14	. . . . .	67 dd
	19	. . . . .	100 m, 102 m
9	1	. . . . .	108 f, 151 b
	2	. . . . .	53 n, 119 u
	3	. . . . .	63 c
	4	. . . . .	53 q, 113 d
	11	. . . . .	109 i
	12	. . . . .	114 r
	17	. . . . .	74 k
	23	. . . . .	113 d, 113 g, 144 e
10	3	. . . . .	145 u N <sup>3</sup>
	4	. . . . .	109 g

## Jeremiah

10 5 23 i, 47 n, 75 oo,  
113 b  
11 . . . . . 1 c  
17 . . . . . 46 d, 90 n  
18 . . . . . 67 ee  
19 . . . . . 63 c, 126 y  
22 . . . . . 146 b  
23 . . . . . 72 z  
11 7 . . . . . 113 k  
15 . . . . . 53 n, 90 g, 91 e  
16 . . . . . 84<sup>a</sup> a  
19 . . . . . 45 g  
12 4 . . . . . 145 k  
5 . . . . . 55 h  
9 . . . . . 68 i  
13 4 . . . . . 127 e  
10 . . . . . 52 s  
16 . . . . . 144 c  
17 . . . . . 69 p  
19 . . . . . 75 m, 118 q  
20 . . . . . 145 m  
21 . . . . . 64 a  
14 1 . . . . . 138 e N.  
16 . . . . . 103 g  
18 . . . . . 155 h, 159 p  
15 10 . . . . . 61 h, 91 c N.  
18 . . . . . 50 f, 102 l  
16 16 . . . . . 73 b, 132 b  
17 2 . . . . . 28 a, 45 g  
7 . . . . . 93 oo  
11 . . . . . 161 a  
17 . . . . . 75 hh  
18 . . . . . 53 m, 72 y, 74 l  
18 7 . . . . . 45 g  
16 . . . . . 119 q  
23 . . . . . 75 ii  
19 5 . . . . . 144 b  
11 . . . . . 75 qq  
15 . . . . . 74 k  
20 9 21 d, 112 kk, 132 d  
15 . . . . . 59 f  
17 . . . . . 111 l, 122 n N.  
21 1 . . . . . 115 t  
13 . . . . . 66 f  
22 14 . . . . . 87 g  
15 . . . . . 10 g, 55 h, 142 g  
16 . . . . . 144 p  
19 . . . . . 113 h  
20 . . . . . 10 h, 46 d  
22 . . . . . 22 s  
23 23 f N., 80 d, 90 n  
24 . . . . . 58 i  
26 . . . . . 72 k  
28 . . . . . 10 g  
29 . . . . . 133 l N.  
23 6 . . . . . 20 d, 60 c, 74 e  
9 . . . . . 126 p  
14 . . . . . 113 h N<sup>2</sup>, 152 x  
32 . . . . . 52 s  
33 . . . . . 117 m N.

## Jeremiah

23 37 . . . . . 58 g, 75 ll  
39 . . . . . 23 l  
24 7 . . . . . 115 c  
25 3 . . . . . 53 k  
15 . . . . . 131 k  
26 . . . . . 127 g  
27 . . . . . 76 h  
34 . . . . . 91 l  
36 . . . . . 24 e  
28 5 . . . . . 113 k  
6 . . . . . 8 k, 37 b  
9 . . . . . 75 qq  
27 16 . . . . . 90 e  
18 . . . . . 72 o, 76 g  
20 . . . . . 53 q  
29 1 . . . . . 53 p  
8 . . . . . 53 o  
17 . . . . . 132 e  
23 . . . . . 64 e  
25 . . . . . 124 b N.  
30 11 . . . . . 113 n  
16 . . . . . 67 s  
26 . . . . . 134 m  
31 1 . . . . . 75 hh  
2 . . . . . 113 dd  
3 . . . . . 117 x  
8 . . . . . 119 q  
15 . . . . . 145 m  
18 . . . . . 51 c  
21 . . . . . 44 h, 126 y  
22 . . . . . 47 o  
28 . . . . . 45 g  
32 . . . . . 63 o, 138 b N.  
33 . . . . . 60 a  
38 . . . . . 17 b  
40 . . . . . 127 g  
32 4 . . . . . 51 k  
10 . . . . . 126 s  
12 . . . . . 127 h  
14 . . . . . 124 b N.  
35 . . . . . 74 k  
33 20 . . . . . 128 d, 131 r  
22 . . . . . 116 g  
34 9 . . . . . 132 d  
36 33 . . . . . 117 l  
37 3 . . . . . 53 q  
11 . . . . . 112 uu  
12 . . . . . 53 q  
15 . . . . . 112 tt  
16 . . . . . 87 i  
38 4 . . . . . 75 rr  
6 . . . . . 127 f  
9 . . . . . 111 l  
11 . . . . . 8 k  
12 . . . . . 93 x  
14 . . . . . 126 w  
16 . . . . . 17 b  
23 . . . . . 144 i  
26 . . . . . 115 a  
28 . . . . . 112 qq

## Jeremiah

39 7 . . . . . 53 q, 72 z  
12 . . . . . 22 s  
14 . . . . . 115 c  
40 3 . . . . . 112 qq  
4 . . . . . 35 d  
5 . . . . . 72 s  
16 . . . . . 75 hh  
41 6 . . . . . 113 u  
12 . . . . . 119 g  
42 2 . . . . . 75 ff  
6 . . . . . 17 a, 32 d  
10 . . . . . 19 i  
16 . . . . . 112 y  
44 7 . . . . . 114 o  
8 . . . . . 8 k  
18 . . . . . 67 c  
19 . . . . . 53 k, 58 g, 144 u  
21 . . . . . 52 o  
23 . . . . . 74 g  
25 . . . . . 72 k, 146 g  
46 1 . . . . . 138 e N.  
5 . . . . . 117 q  
8 . . . . . 68 i  
16 . . . . . 126 w  
20 . . . . . 84<sup>b</sup> n  
47 4 . . . . . 45 g, 67 cc  
48 2 . . . . . 67 t  
11 . . . . . 72 dd  
15 . . . . . 145 u  
31 . . . . . 70 d  
32 . . . . . 127 f  
36 . . . . . 80 g  
44 . . . . . 131 n N<sup>1</sup>  
45 . . . . . 119 w  
49 3 . . . . . 54 b  
8 . . . . . 46 a N<sup>2</sup>  
10 . . . . . 75 pp  
11 . . . . . 47 k, 60 a N.  
12 . . . . . 141 h  
16 . . . . . 90 l, 147 c  
25 . . . . . 80 g  
28 . . . . . 20 b, 67 cc  
30 . . . . . 20 g  
36 . . . . . 20 m  
37 . . . . . 67 aa  
50 5 . . . . . 51 o  
11 . . . . . 80 h  
34 . . . . . 53 l, 73 d  
51 3 . . . . . 17 b, 152 h N.  
9 . . . . . 75 qq  
13 . . . . . 90 n  
14 . . . . . 163 d  
29 . . . . . 111 w N.  
33 . . . . . 53 l  
56 . . . . . 20 h, 52 k  
58 . . . . . 20 i  
59 . . . . . 134 p  
52 12 . . . . . 155 d  
20 . . . . . 128 d

Ezekiel	Ezekiel	Ezekiel
1 6 . . . . . 87 t, 88 f	16 50 . . . . . 47 l	26 2 . . . . . 67 t
11 . . . . . 91 l	51 . . . . . 96	10 . . . . . 130 b
14 . . . . . 113 s N.	52 52 p, 91 n, 95 p, 96	14 . . . . . 47 k
20 . . . . . 123 d N <sup>2</sup>	53 . . . . . 91 e, 91 f	15 . . . . . 51 l
2 3 . . . . . 126 x	54 . . . . . 103 b	17 . . . . . 52 s, 138 k
10 . . . . . 19 h	55 . . . . . 72 k	21 . . . . . 10 g
3 3 . . . . . 49 e	57 . . . . . 72 p	27 3 . . . . . 90 m
15 67 cc, 154 a N. (b)	59 . . . . . 44 i	7 . . . . . 121 b
4 9 . . . . . 87 e	17 5 . . . . . 19 i, 66 g	19 . . . . . 20 i
12 . . . . . 58 k, 95 e	7 . . . . . 52 d	31 . . . . . 80 h
5 11 . . . . . 72 r, 109 d	9 45 e, 93 m, 150 a	32 . . . . . 23 k
12 . . . . . 52 n, 75 hh	N <sup>1</sup>	34 . . . . . 116 g N.
13 . . . . . 54 c	15 . . . . . 29 i, 93 rr	35 . . . . . 117 q
16 . . . . . 109 d	19 . . . . . 67 v	28 4 . . . . . 32 g
6 3 . . . . . 93 v	21 . . . . . 117 m	16 23 d, 68 k, 75 qq,
6 . . . . . 67 p N., 67 dd	18 6 . . . . . 131 c	111 w N.
8 . . . . . 91 l	7 . . . . . 131 r	17 . . . . . 75 n
9 . . . . . 72 dd	10 . . . . . 119 w N., 139 d	23 . . . . . 55 d
10 . . . . . 119 ii	14 . . . . . 103 l	24 . . . . . 72 p
11 . . . . . 128 c	28 . . . . . 75 t	29 3 . . . . . 117 x, 124 e
12 . . . . . 91 e	29 . . . . . 145 u	7 . . . . . 127 c
14 . . . . . 133 l	32 . . . . . 139 d	30 9 . . . . . 93 y
7 7 . . . . . 127 g	19 1 . . . . . 124 e	12 . . . . . 124 e
14 . . . . . 72 z, 113 z N.	2 . . . . . 80 h	16 . . . . . 73 d
24 . . . . . 93 oo	12 . . . . . 53 u	31 3 . . . . . 67 v
8 2 . . . . . 90 f	20 9 . . . . . 67 t	5 . . . . . 44 f
3 . . . . . 75 qq	16 . . . . . 117 m	7 . . . . . 76 f
16 . . . . . 75 kk	22 . . . . . 112 tt	16 . . . . . 128 a N <sup>1</sup>
9 2 . . . . . 116 k	37 . . . . . 23 f	32 12 . . . . . 51 n
3 . . . . . 116 k, 121 d N <sup>1</sup>	38 . . . . . 145 u	19 . . . . . 46 a N <sup>2</sup>
7 . . . . . 112 tt	41 . . . . . 119 i	30 . . . . . 20 m, 72 n
8 . . . . . 64 i	21 12 . . . . . 67 t	32 . . . . . 53 s
11 . . . . . 116 k	15 . . . . . 75 n	33 17 . . . . . 143 a N <sup>3</sup>
10 3 . . . . . 131 n, 131 n N <sup>2</sup>	18 . . . . . 64 d	26 . . . . . 44 k
15 . . . . . 72 dd	21 . . . . . 73 a	34 2 . . . . . 57 N <sup>4</sup>
17 . . . . . 72 q, 72 dd	22 . . . . . 124 o	8 . . . . . 57 N <sup>4</sup>
11 3 . . . . . 150 a N <sup>1</sup>	29 . . . . . 53 l	10 57 N <sup>4</sup> , 149 c, 167 b
13 . . . . . 150 a N <sup>1</sup>	31 . . . . . 113 bb N <sup>3</sup>	21 . . . . . 103 b
24 . . . . . 90 c	32 . . . . . 133 l	31 . . . . . 32 i
18 2 . . . . . 93 oo	33 . . . . . 45 c, 68 i	35 6 . . . . . 10 h
3 . . . . . 152 x, 155 n	35 . . . . . 72 y	9 . . . . . 72 k
11 . . . . . 35 m	22 4 . . . . . 47 k	10 . . . . . 117 m
18 . . . . . 87 f, 103 f N <sup>2</sup>	20 . . . . . 66 f	12 . . . . . 84 b e
19 . . . . . 72 k, 93 r	23 5 . . . . . 63 m	36 3 . . . . . 67 r, 75 y, 113 g
20 . . . . . 32 i, 91 l	20 . . . . . 48 d	5 . . . . . 91 e
14 3 . . . . . 51 k, 51 p	28 . . . . . 91 e, 138 e	11 . . . . . 70 e
14 . . . . . 112 ll	32 . . . . . 47 k	12 . . . . . 69 s
22 . . . . . 117 l, 126 w	42 . . . . . 21 c	25 . . . . . 34 f
16 4 22 s, 52 q, 53 s,	44 . . . . . 96	32 . . . . . 152 d
64 e, 71	45 . . . . . 103 b	37 2 . . . . . 112 pp
5 . . . . . 71	47 . . . . . 103 b	7 . . . . . 60 a N.
6 . . . . . 123 d N <sup>2</sup>	48 . . . . . 55 k, 91 f	8 . . . . . 9 u, 29 i
10 . . . . . 49 c	49 . . . . . 74 k, 76 b, 144 a	11 . . . . . 116 t, 119 s
27 . . . . . 131 r	24 11 . . . . . 67 q	16 . . . . . 66 g, 119 u
31 . . . . . 91 l	19 . . . . . 75 m	17 . . . . . 52 n, 64 h
32 . . . . . 117 d	26 . . . . . 53 e, 54 k	19 . . . . . 117 m N.
33 . . . . . 20 l, 64 c	25 3 . . . . . 67 u	38 21 . . . . . 49 l
34 . . . . . 121 a	4 . . . . . 91 e	23 . . . . . 54 k
45 . . . . . 96	6 . . . . . 23 c, 74 e	39 2 . . . . . 55 f
47 . . . . . 103 m	15 . . . . . 117 q	9 . . . . . 66 e

**Ezekiel**

39	26	. . . . .	75 <i>qq</i>
40	3	. . . . .	74 <i>l</i>
	4	. . . . .	74 <i>d</i>
	5	. . . . .	134 <i>n</i>
	16	. . . . .	91 <i>l</i>
	17	. . . . .	121 <i>d</i>
	19	. . . . .	80 <i>k</i>
	27	. . . . .	134 <i>g</i>
	28	. . . . .	126 <i>w</i>
	31	. . . . .	93 <i>ss</i>
	43	. . . . .	20 <i>m</i>
	45	. . . . .	136 <i>d N.</i>
	48	. . . . .	92 <i>g</i>
41	7	. . . . .	67 <i>dd</i>
	15	. . . . .	91 <i>l</i>
	18	. . . . .	121 <i>d</i>
	20	. . . . .	5 <i>n</i>
	22	. . . . .	141 <i>b</i>
	25	. . . . .	131 <i>n N<sup>1</sup></i>
42	5	. . . . .	68 <i>h, 131 n</i>
43	7	. . . . .	117 <i>m</i>
	17	. . . . .	103 <i>o</i>
	27	. . . . .	75 <i>rr</i>
44	3	. . . . .	117 <i>m</i>
	8	. . . . .	58 <i>g</i>
	9	. . . . .	93 <i>hh, 143 e</i>
	12	. . . . .	112 <i>e N.</i>
45	2	. . . . .	65 <i>d</i>
	12	. . . . .	97 <i>e</i>
	16	. . . . .	127 <i>g</i>
46	6	. . . . .	132 <i>g N.</i>
	9	. . . . .	93 <i>q</i>
	17	. . . . .	72 <i>o</i>
	19	. . . . .	127 <i>f</i>
	22	. . . . .	53 <i>q, 53 s</i>
	23	. . . . .	121 <i>d</i>
	24	. . . . .	124 <i>r</i>
47	3	. . . . .	128 <i>n</i>
	4	. . . . .	131 <i>e</i>
	7	. . . . .	91 <i>e</i>
	8	. . . . .	75 <i>oo</i>
	15	. . . . .	127 <i>f and N.</i>
	17	. . . . .	117 <i>m</i>
48	14	. . . . .	72 <i>dd</i>

**Hosea**

1	2	. . . . .	52 <i>o, 130 d</i>
	6	. . . . .	120 <i>c, 152 a N.</i>
	7	. . . . .	119 <i>o</i>
2	1	. . . . .	130 <i>c</i>
	3	. . . . .	96
	5	. . . . .	72 <i>w</i>
	6	. . . . .	52 <i>n</i>
	11	. . . . .	120 <i>e</i>
	14	. . . . .	91 <i>e</i>
	21	. . . . .	133 <i>l</i>
	25	. . . . .	152 <i>a N.</i>
3	1	. . . . .	125 <i>c</i>
	2	. . . . .	20 <i>h</i>

**Hosea**

3	5	. . . . .	2 <i>v N.</i>
4	2	. . . . .	113 <i>ff</i>
	3	. . . . .	119 <i>i</i>
	8	. . . . .	145 <i>m</i>
	14	. . . . .	155 <i>f</i>
	15	. . . . .	145 <i>m</i>
	16	. . . . .	150 <i>a</i>
	18	. . . . .	55 <i>e</i>
5	2	. . . . .	64 <i>a</i>
	3	. . . . .	135 <i>a</i>
	8	. . . . .	147 <i>c</i>
	15	. . . . .	60 <i>e</i>
6	1	. . . . .	109 <i>k</i>
	2	. . . . .	119 <i>y N., 134 s</i>
	3	. . . . .	155 <i>g</i>
	4	. . . . .	120 <i>g</i>
	6	. . . . .	119 <i>w, 133 b</i>
	9	. . . . .	23 <i>l, 75 aa, 93 s</i>
	10	. . . . .	114 <i>l</i>
7	2	. . . . .	157 <i>a</i>
	4	. . . . .	80 <i>k</i>
	5	. . . . .	93 <i>ss</i>
	6	. . . . .	91 <i>c</i>
	12	. . . . .	24 <i>f, 70 b</i>
	14	. . . . .	70 <i>d</i>
	16	. . . . .	34 <i>b N.</i>
8	3	. . . . .	60 <i>d</i>
	4	. . . . .	67 <i>v</i>
	7	. . . . .	90 <i>f</i>
	9	. . . . .	119 <i>s</i>
	10	. . . . .	20 <i>g, 111 w N.</i>
9	6	. . . . .	130 <i>a</i>
	9	. . . . .	120 <i>g</i>
	11	. . . . .	69 <i>m</i>
	12	. . . . .	159 <i>m</i>
	15	. . . . .	109 <i>d</i>
10	4	. . . . .	75 <i>n</i>
	6	. . . . .	121 <i>b</i>
	10	. . . . .	60 <i>a, 71</i>
	11	. . . . .	90 <i>l</i>
	14	. . . . .	9 <i>b, 23 g, 53 u, 72 p, 156 c</i>
	15	. . . . .	133 <i>i</i>
11	1	. . . . .	68 <i>f</i>
	3	. . . . .	19 <i>i, 55 h, 66 g</i>
	4	. . . . .	68 <i>c</i>
	7	. . . . .	75 <i>rr</i>
12	1	. . . . .	124 <i>h</i>
	5	. . . . .	58 <i>k</i>
	11	. . . . .	112 <i>dd</i>
	14	. . . . .	118 <i>q</i>
13	2	. . . . .	91 <i>e, 128 l</i>
	3	. . . . .	120 <i>g</i>
	8	. . . . .	122 <i>e</i>
	10	. . . . .	150 <i>l</i>
	14	. . . . .	93 <i>q</i>
	15	. . . . .	75 <i>rr</i>
14	1	. . . . .	84 <sup>a</sup> <i>a, 145 u</i>
	3	. . . . .	128 <i>e</i>
	4	. . . . .	68 <i>f</i>

**Hosea**

14	5	. . . . .	118 <i>g</i>
	10	. . . . .	69 <i>b, 166 a N.</i>

**Joel**

1	2	. . . . .	100 <i>n, 126 e, 150 g</i>
	5	. . . . .	126 <i>e</i>
	6	. . . . .	152 <i>v</i>
	7	. . . . .	113 <i>n</i>
	8	. . . . .	63 <i>l, 116 k</i>
	12	. . . . .	102 <i>b</i>
	15	. . . . .	147 <i>d</i>
	17	. . . . .	20 <i>h</i>
	18	. . . . .	148 <i>a</i>
	20	. . . . .	145 <i>k</i>
2	2	. . . . .	109 <i>d</i>
	4	. . . . .	72 <i>u, 126 p</i>
	6	. . . . .	23 <i>d</i>
	13	. . . . .	152 <i>g</i>
	17	. . . . .	150 <i>e</i>
	21	. . . . .	46 <i>e</i>
	22	. . . . .	144 <i>a</i>
	24	. . . . .	93 <i>r</i>
	26	. . . . .	114 <i>o</i>
4	1	. . . . .	125 <i>k</i>
	3	. . . . .	69 <i>u</i>
	11	. . . . .	51 <i>o, 64 h</i>
	14	. . . . .	123 <i>e, 147 c</i>
	18	. . . . .	117 <i>z</i>
	21	. . . . .	49 <i>k, 75 z</i>

**Amos**

1	3	. . . . .	134 <i>s, 158 c</i>
	4	. . . . .	49 <i>m</i>
	5	. . . . .	145 <i>c</i>
	8	. . . . .	145 <i>e</i>
	9	. . . . .	114 <i>r, 158 c</i>
	11	. . . . .	58 <i>g, 112 t, 114 r</i>
2	6	. . . . .	61 <i>b</i>
	7	. . . . .	126 <i>b</i>
	9	. . . . .	53 <i>n</i>
	10	. . . . .	69 <i>x</i>
	12	. . . . .	51 <i>n</i>
	16	. . . . .	118 <i>n, 128 y</i>
3	4	. . . . .	163 <i>c</i>
	5	. . . . .	113 <i>q</i>
	7	. . . . .	163 <i>c</i>
	8	. . . . .	159 <i>h</i>
	9	. . . . .	124 <i>e</i>
	11	. . . . .	67 <i>t, 154 a N.</i>
	12	. . . . .	88 <i>f, 126 r</i>
	13	. . . . .	125 <i>h</i>
4	1	. . . . .	135 <i>o, 144 a</i>
	2	. . . . .	75 <i>oo, 112 x</i>
	3	. . . . .	44 <i>k</i>
	4	. . . . .	113 <i>z</i>
	7	. . . . .	112 <i>h N., 144 c</i>

## Amos

- 4 8 . . . . . 134 s  
 9 . . . . . 126 n  
 10 . . . . . 154 a N.  
 11 . . . . . 115 d  
 13 . 29 e N., 116 g N.  
 5 2 . . . . . 128 k  
 3 . . . . . 117 z, 129 g  
 4 . . . . . 110 f  
 5 . . . . . 122 h  
 7 . . . . . 126 b  
 8 . . . . . 111 u, 117 ii  
 11 . . . . . 61 e  
 14 . . . . . 109 k, 152 g  
 15 . . . . . 67 cc  
 18 . . . . . 152 d  
 19 . . . . . 112 m, 126 r  
 21 20 h, 106 g, 154 a  
 N.  
 26 . . . . . 112 x, 112 rr  
 6 1 . . . . . 112 n  
 2 . . . . . 125 h, 126 y  
 6 63 e, 93 k, 119 m  
 N.  
 10 114 l, 145 m, 152 s  
 12 . 123 a N., 144 d  
 13 . . . . . 152 a N.  
 14 . . . . . 125 c  
 7 1 . . . . . 86 i, 147 b  
 2 . . . . . 112 uu  
 4 . . . . . 112 tt  
 7 . . . . . 156 b  
 14 . . . . . 128 v  
 15 . . . . . 119 b  
 8 4 . . . . . 53 q  
 8 . . . . . 125 e  
 9 . . . . . 49 l  
 10 . . . . . 128 h, 135 p  
 13 . . . . . 54 k, 146 g  
 9 1 . . . . . 61 g, 144 e  
 3 . . . . . 112 p  
 7 . . . . . 150 e  
 8 53 k, 113 n, 113 v  
 11 . . . . . 116 d, 118 u  
 13 . . . . . 54 k

## Obadiah

- 3 . . . . . 90 l, 93 x  
 10 . . . . . 128 h  
 11 . 9 v, 61 f N., 69 u  
 13 . . . . . 47 k

## Jonah

- 1 3 116 d, 122 l, 135 p  
 5 . . . . . 51 m  
 6 . . . . . 120 b  
 7 . . . . . 150 k  
 9 . . . . . 2 b  
 10 . . . . . 117 q  
 11 . . . . . 113 u, 165 a

## Jonah

- 1 14 . . . . . 16 f  
 15 . . . . . 61 c  
 2 2 . . . . . 122 s  
 4 . . . . . 117 r  
 3 5 . . . . . 133 g  
 4 1 . . . . . 117 q  
 2 . . . . . 16 f, 114 n N.  
 6 . . . . . 117 q  
 9 . . . . . 113 k  
 10 . . . . . 96, 128 v  
 11 20 m, 97 b, 150 a

## Micah

- 1 2 109 k, 135 r, 144 p  
 5 . . . . . 23 c, 137 a  
 7 . 52 l, 67 y, 117 ii  
 8 . . . . . 69 b N., 118 n  
 10 . . . . . 113 v  
 11 122 s, 131 c, 145 m  
 13 . . . . . 110 k  
 15 . . . . . 74 k  
 2 3 . . . . . 118 q  
 4 67 u, 144 d, 148 b  
 6 . . . . . 72 dd, 145 o  
 7 . . . . . 100 n, 118 n  
 8 . . . . . 72 p, 116 h  
 12 . . . . . 72 k, 127 i  
 3 1 . . . . . 114 l, 150 e  
 4 . . . . . 109 k  
 6 . . . . . 119 w, 144 c  
 12 . . . . . 87 e, 121 d  
 4 3 . . . . . 91 n, 145 c  
 6 68 h, 84<sup>a</sup> s, 122 s  
 8 . . . . . 68 f  
 9 . . . . . 117 q  
 10 . 10 k, 76 g, 145 n  
 11 . . . . . 119 dd  
 12 . . . . . 90 i  
 13 . 44 h, 72 q, 117 ii  
 14 . . . . . 119 o  
 5 1 . . . . . 135 g, 142 g  
 2 . . . . . 106 o, 155 l  
 4 . 72 i, 128 l, 134 s  
 6 1 . . . . . 138 e  
 3 . 53 p, 75 ee, 163 b  
 5 . . . . . 117 gg  
 8 . . . . . 163 d  
 9 . . . . . 146 b  
 10 . . 47 b N., 118 g  
 11 . . . . . 47 b  
 13 . . . . . 115 c  
 7 1 . . . . . 93 p  
 2 117 ff, 119 i, 152 k  
 3 . . . . . 135 f  
 4 . . . . . 133 e, 133 g  
 8 . . . . . 122 s  
 10 75 p, 75 w, 75 hh  
 145 n

## Micah

- 7 11 . . . . . 126 x  
 12 . . . . . 126 aa  
 14 . . . . . 90 m  
 17 . . . . . 116 h  
 18 . . . . . 148 c  
 19 . . . . . 129 g

## Nahum

- 1 2 . . . . . 5 h, 128 u  
 3 . . . . . 75 hh, 143 a  
 4 . . . . . 69 u  
 5 . . . . . 126 k  
 12 . . . . . 67 t  
 2 4 . . . . . 52 q  
 5 . . . . . 55 g, 93 ss  
 8 . . . . . 63 p, 91 c  
 9 . . . . . 130 d N.  
 11 . . . . . 67 t, 133 l  
 14 . . . . . 91 l  
 3 5 . . . . . 53 p  
 7 . . . . . 52 q, 67 cc  
 8 . . . . . 70 e, 133 b  
 9 . . . . . 91 e  
 10 . . . . . 69 u  
 11 . . . . . 145 p  
 15 . . . . . 110 a, 110 k  
 17 . . . . . 20 h

## Habakkuk

- 1 5 . . . . . 116 s  
 6 . . . . . 13 c, 155 e  
 8 . . . . . 67 ee  
 11 . . . . . 138 h  
 14 . . . . . 152 u  
 15 . . . . . 63 p  
 16 . . . . . 103 g  
 17 . . . . . 114 k, 156 g  
 2 1 . . . . . 37 b  
 3 . . . . . 72 dd  
 6 . . . . . 147 c  
 10 . . . . . 116 s, 118 p  
 12 . . . . . 112 n  
 14 . . . . . 116 f N.,  
 155 g  
 15 . . . . . 90 m, 113 z  
 17 . . 20 n, 60 d, 67 v  
 19 . 100 g N., 152 p  
 3 2 . . . . . 75 mm  
 6 . . . . . 67 k, 67 ee  
 8 . . . . . 131 r  
 9 . . . . . 117 q  
 10 . . . . . 91 l  
 13 22 s, 75 aa, 75 n,  
 113 h  
 15 . . . . . 144 m  
 17 . . . . . 95 f, 145 u  
 19 . . . . . 86 i

**Zephaniah**

1 2 . 72 aa, 113 w N.  
 14 . . . . . 52 s, 90 o  
 2 2 . . . . . 152 y  
 7 . . . . . 135 p  
 9 . . . . . 8 k  
 15 . . . . . 152 s  
 3 1 . . . . . 75 rr  
 7 . . . . . 120 g  
 11 . . . . . 135 n  
 16 . . . . . 145 p  
 18 . . . . . 69 t  
 20 . . . . . 91 l

**Haggai**

1 1 . . . . . 129 f  
 4 126 z, 131 h N.,  
 135 g  
 6 . . . . . 113 z  
 9 . . . . . 37 f  
 2 5 . . . . . 44 o, 117 l  
 7 . . . . . 145 e  
 12 . . . . . 159 w  
 17 . 117 m N., 152 n

**Zechariah**

1 2 . . . . . 117 q  
 8 . . . . . 132 d  
 13 . . . . . 131 c  
 14 . . . . . 117 q  
 17 . . . . . 72 k  
 2 8 . . . . . 118 r  
 10 . . . . . 154 b  
 11 . . . . . 29 o N.  
 17 . . . . . 72 v, 72 ee  
 3 1 . . . . . 61 b, 115 c  
 4 . . . . . 113 z  
 7 . . . . . 53 o  
 8 . . . . . 126 e  
 9 . 88 f, 97 c, 122 n  
 4 2 . . . . . 91 e, 97 c  
 7 . . . . . 126 x  
 10 . . . . . 72 dd, 127 h  
 12 . . . . . 10 g  
 5 2 . . . . . 134 n  
 4 . . . . . 73 d, 75 mm,  
 80 i  
 7 . . . . . 74 i, 136 d N.  
 9 . . . . . 74 k  
 10 . . . . . 32 n  
 11 . 23 k, 72 ee, 103 g  
 6 7 . . . . . 54 k  
 10 . . . . . 49 l  
 12 . . . . . 155 e  
 7 1 . . . . . 134 p  
 5 59 a, 113 z, 117 x,  
 135 e  
 7 . . . . . 117 l

**Zechariah**

7 10 . . . . . 139 c  
 14 . . . . . 52 n  
 8 2 . . . . . 117 q  
 5 . . . . . 132 d  
 6 . . . . . 150 a  
 17 . . . . . 117 l  
 23 . . . . . 157 a  
 9 5 . . . . . 75 p, 75 hh  
 9 72 s, 124 o, 154 a  
 N.  
 11 . . . . . 135 f, 152 u  
 12 . . . . . 116 s  
 10 2 . . . . . 124 h  
 5 . . . . . 72 p  
 6 . . . . . 72 x  
 11 2 . . . . . 126 w  
 5 . . . . . 19 k  
 7 96, 130 g, 132 c,  
 133 h  
 10 . . . . . 67 w  
 17 . . . . . 90 l  
 12 10 . . . . . 138 e N<sup>1</sup>  
 12 . . . . . 123 d  
 13 7 . 72 s, 110 k, 144 a  
 14 4 . . . . . 93 v, 128 w N.  
 10 . . . . . 72 p, 126 w  
 12 . . . . . 67 dd, 145 m

**Malachi**

1 2 . . . . . 68 f  
 6 . . . . . 32 c  
 10 . . . . . 151 a, 153  
 13 . . . . . 37 c, 147 c  
 14 . . . . . 80 d N.  
 2 5 . . . . . 67 u  
 14 . . . . . 95 k  
 15 . . . . . 144 p  
 16 . . . . . 116 s, 155 n  
 3 1 . . . . . 150 g  
 2 . . . . . 126 k  
 9 . . . . . 67 u, 144 p  
 14 . . . . . 100 g  
 20 . . . . . 44 d

**Psalms**

1 2 . . . . . 163 a  
 3 16 g, 107 g, 119 cc  
 6 . . . . . 68 c  
 2 1 . . . . . 106 l  
 2 . . . . . 119 dd, 126 h  
 3 . . . . . 91 l, 108 b  
 4 . . . . . 126 h  
 6 135 a, 135 n, 154 b  
 7 . . . . . 44 d, 69 s  
 10 . . . . . 126 h, 154 b  
 12 . 118 g N., 130 a  
 3 1 . . . . . 129 c  
 2 . . . . . 67 ee

**Psalms**

3 3 . . . . . 90 g, 152 n N.  
 5 . . . . . 144 m  
 6 . . . . . 49 e  
 8 . . . . . 72 s, 117 ll  
 4 1 . . . . . 124 f  
 3 . 37 e, 47 m, 156 d  
 4 . . . . . 154 b  
 7 . . . . . 76 b  
 8 . . . . . 133 e N., 155 l  
 5 4 . . . . . 118 i  
 5 107 s, 116 f, 117 bb  
 7 . . . . . 128 a, 128 t  
 8 . . . . . 107 s  
 9 . . . . . 24 f N., 70 b  
 10 122 q, 124 e, 145 m,  
 152 o  
 11 . . . . . 29 e  
 12 . . . . . 116 g, 156 d  
 13 . . . . . 117 ee  
 6 2 . . . . . 152 h  
 4 . . . . . 147 c  
 6 . . . . . 152 o  
 7 . . . . . 106 g  
 10 . . . . . 142 f  
 7 3 . . . . . 152 l  
 4 . . . . . 159 m  
 5 . . . . . 49 e  
 6 . . . . . 63 n  
 7 72 s, 119 gg, 156 d  
 10 124 g, 132 h, 158 a  
 12 . . . . . 127 b  
 13 . . . . . 120 g  
 16 . . . . . 155 h  
 17 . . . . . 10 h  
 8 2 . . . . . 66 h  
 3 . . . . . 128 a  
 4 . . . . . 159 dd  
 5 107 v, 111 m, 150 h  
 6 . . . . . 117 cc  
 9 1 . . . . . 5 h  
 2 . . . . . 13 c  
 7 . . . . . 135 f  
 11 . . . . . 106 k  
 14 . . . . . 20 b, 63 l  
 15 . . . . . 91 l  
 16 . . . . . 138 g  
 19 . . . . . 152 z  
 21 . . . . . 157 a  
 10 1 . . . . . 5 h  
 5 . . . . . 141 c  
 9 . . . . . 91 e  
 10 . . . . . 93 x, 154 N.  
 11 . . . . . 106 g  
 12 . . . . . 66 c, 76 b  
 11 1 118 r, 129 c, 148 b  
 2 . . . . . 47 m  
 4 . . . . . 145 u, 155 e  
 6 . . . . . 109 k  
 7 . . . . . 103 f  
 12 2 . . . . . 123 b

**Psalms**

12	3 . . .	117 t, 123 f
	4 . . .	122 q
	7 . . .	10 g, 97 h
	8 . . .	126 y
	9 . . .	54 k
13	4 . . .	117 r N.
	5 . . .	44 e, 59 i, 152 z
14	1 . . .	154 a N.
	3 . . .	152 o
	5 . . .	117 p
	7 . . .	151 b
	2 . . .	118 n
15	2 . . .	118 n
16	1 . . .	48 i N <sup>2</sup> , 61 f N.
	2 . . .	44 i, 152 t
	3 . . .	130 d, 143 e
	4 . . .	93 m, 145 p, 155 f
	5 . . .	50 e
	6 . . .	80 g, 122 q
	8 . . .	116 s
	9 . . .	111 r
	10 . . .	114 m
	11 . . .	122 q, 124 e
17	3 . . .	59 h
	4 . . .	143 e
	5 . . .	113 gg
	9 . . .	138 g
	10 . . .	91 f
	12 . . .	126 p
	13 . . .	144 m
18	1 . . .	2 r, 53 t, 130 d, 154 a N.
	3 . . .	93 pp, 155 i
	4 . . .	116 e, 132 b
	7 . . .	10 g N <sup>3</sup> , 107 b
	10 . . .	69 p
	12 . . .	109 k
	17 . . .	117 g
	18 . . .	126 z
	22 . . .	119 ff
	26 . . .	93 h, 93 s
	28 . . .	132 f
	30 . . .	67 q, 119 o
	31 . . .	126 c, 140 d, 143 a
	33 . . .	116 f, 116 x, 117 cc
	35 . . .	145 k
	38 . . .	107 b N <sup>2</sup>
	40 . . .	116 i
	41 . . .	117 ii N.
	49 . . .	116 i
19	3 . . .	20 f
	4 . . .	152 t
	5 . . .	135 p
	6 . . .	122 o
	8 . . .	116 g
	10 . . .	126 b, 141 c
	11 . . .	116 e
	14 . . .	49 k, 67 p
20	3 . . .	135 m
	4 . . .	48 d
21	2 . . .	109 k, 126 h, 148 b

**Psalms**

21	4 . . .	117 ff
	7 . . .	117 ii, 124 e
	13 . . .	117 ii N., 156 d
22	2 . . .	59 h
	3 . . .	152 d
	4 . . .	117 bb
	6 . . .	112 h
	7 . . .	116 l
	8 . . .	119 q
	9 . . .	144 p
	14 . . .	118 r
	15 . . .	67 t
	16 . . .	121 c, 122 n
	18 . . .	107 s
	22 . . .	23 f, 119 ff
	29 . . .	116 s
	32 . . .	116 e
23	2 . . .	124 e, 128 p
	4 . . .	107 x, 159 bb
	5 . . .	126 n, 141 c, 141 d
	6 . . .	69 m N.
24	1 . . .	129 c, 130 a
	2 . . .	107 b, 124 e
	4 . . .	128 y
	10 . . .	136 c
25	1 . . .	5 h
	10 . . .	141 c
	11 . . .	112 nn
	14 . . .	114 i
26	2 . . .	48 i
	3 . . .	112 rr
	4 . . .	128 t
	7 . . .	53 q
	10 . . .	20 f
	12 . . .	93 qq
27	7 . . .	144 m
	13 . . .	5 n, 159 dd, 167 a
28	1 . . .	119 ff
	7 . . .	53 q
	9 . . .	10 g
29	1 . . .	124 g, 128 v
	4 . . .	141 c N <sup>2</sup>
	10 . . .	111 r
30	2 . . .	60 f
	4 . . .	69 m
	8 . . .	90 n, 93 aa
31	2 . . .	108 c
	21 . . .	93 r
32	1 . . .	75 qq, 116 k
	2 . . .	155 i
	6 . . .	143 e, 153
	8 . . .	107 q, 138 g, 156 c
	9 . . .	114 a, 114 k, 114 s
33	5 . . .	116 s
	7 . . .	118 w
	8 . . .	145 e
	10 . . .	67 v
	12 . . .	155 h
	15 . . .	126 b
34	1 . . .	5 h

**Psalms**

34	2 . . .	21 d
	6 . . .	109 e
	9 . . .	155 f
	12 . . .	60 f, 126 o
35	1 . . .	73 d
	8 . . .	156 g
	10 . . .	9 u
	14 . . .	93 hh
	16 . . .	113 h
	19 . . .	131 q N.
36	6 . . .	35 n
	8 . . .	75 u
	9 . . .	75 u
	13 . . .	64 d
37	1 . . .	5 h, 35 b, 75 bb
	5 . . .	67 n
	9 . . .	20 f
	14 . . .	45 g
	15 . . .	20 h
	16 . . .	129 b
	20 . . .	29 o, 75 m
	23 . . .	121 f
	24 . . .	159 bb
	31 . . .	145 k
38	11 . . .	55 e
	13 . . .	124 e
	21 . . .	61 c
39	13 . . .	10 h
	14 . . .	75 gg
40	2 . . .	75 aa
	5 . . .	93 oo
	6 . . .	108 f
	15 . . .	29 o N.
	18 . . .	29 q
41	3 . . .	109 e
	5 . . .	74 h
	8 . . .	54 f
42	2 . . .	122 f, 155 g
	4 . . .	115 e N.
	5 . . .	117 x
	6 . . .	111 t
	10 . . .	68 g, 102 l
43	1 . . .	72 s
	2 . . .	102 l
	3 . . .	124 b
44	3 . . .	144 m
	6 . . .	119 o
	18 . . .	156 f
	20 . . .	119 q
	23 . . .	128 q
	26 . . .	67 k
	27 . . .	72 s
45	1 . . .	124 e
	3 . . .	55 e
	5 . . .	131 c, 154 a N.
	6 . . .	15 o, 29 o N.
	7 . . .	128 d
	8 . . .	117 ee
	9 . . .	87 f, 141 d
	10 . . .	20 h N <sup>2</sup>

**Psalms**

45 12 75 *bb*, 109 *h*, 124 *i*  
 16 . . . . . 76 *g*  
 18 . . . . . 53 *q*, 123 *c*  
 46 3 . . . . . 115 *g*  
 4 . . . . . 132 *h* N.  
 5 . . . . . 124 *b*, 132 *c*  
 7 . . . . . 119 *q*  
 48 6 . . . . . 164 *b* N.  
 11 . . . . . 93 *g*, 93 *x*  
 15 . . . . . 126 *aa*  
 49 6 . . . . . 102 *l*  
 7 . . . . . 126 *b*  
 8 . . . . . 113 *v*  
 14 . . . . . 155 *e*  
 15 10 *g*, 67 *ee*, 114 *k*  
 N.  
 50 3 . . . . . 109 *e*, 144 *c*  
 4 . . . . . 115 *b*  
 10 . . . . . 90 *n*  
 12 . . . . . 159 *m*, 159 *r*  
 17 . . . . . 142 *d*  
 21 112 *cc*, 113 *x*, 157 *a*  
 22 . . . . . 116 *b*  
 23 . . . . . 58 *i*  
 51 4 . . . . . 75 *gg*, 120 *g*  
 5 . . . . . 142 *f*  
 7 . . . . . 64 *h*  
 9 . . . . . 165 *a*  
 10 . . . . . 155 *h*  
 14 . . . . . 117 *ff*  
 18 . . . . . 108 *f*  
 19 . . . . . 128 *h*  
 52 5 . . . . . 119 *v*  
 15 . . . . . 58 *i*  
 53 6 . . . . . 91 *e*, 116 *i*  
 54 6 . . . . . 119 *i*  
 55 3 . . . . . 108 *g*  
 10 . . . . . 52 *n*  
 16 . . . . . 74 *k*  
 18 . . . . . 108 *g*  
 19 . . . . . 119 *gg*  
 22 . . . . . 10 *g*  
 23 . . . . . 117 *x*  
 56 4 . . . . . 155 *l*  
 57 2 . . . . . 75 *u*  
 5 . . . . . 117 *bb*, 144 *m*  
 58 2 . . . . . 52 *n*  
 5 . . . . . 63 *n*  
 9 . . . . . 69 *x*, 96, 118 *r*  
 59 6 125 *h*, 128 *x*, 131 *s*  
 8 . . . . . 151 *a*  
 16 . . . . . 159 *s*  
 60 4 . . . . . 75 *pp*  
 5 . . . . . 131 *c*  
 13 . . . . . 80 *g*, 158 *a*  
 61 1 . . . . . 80 *f*  
 8 . . . . . 75 *cc*  
 62 4 . . . . . 52 *q*  
 5 . . . . . 145 *m*  
 8 . . . . . 13 *c*

**Psalms**

63 2 . . . . . 132 *d*  
 4 . . . . . 60 *e*  
 6 . . . . . 117 *t*  
 64 5 . . . . . 69 *r*  
 7 . . . . . 67 *e*  
 8 . . . . . 117 *ff*  
 9 . . . . . 130 *a*  
 65 6 . . . . . 92 *g*  
 10 . . . . . 53 *n*, 60 *g*  
 11 . . . . . 117 *y*  
 66 6 . . . . . 108 *g*  
 13 . . . . . 119 *n*  
 17 . . . . . 144 *m*  
 68 3 . . . . . 19 *c*, 51 *k*, 67 *t*  
 5 . . . . . 119 *i* N<sup>s</sup>, 122 *t*  
 7 . . . . . 117 *bb*, 124 *e*  
 9 . . . . . 136 *d* N.  
 17 . . . . . 131 *c*  
 18 . . . . . 21 *c*, 97 *h*  
 19 . . . . . 20 *f*, 117 *bb*  
 22 . . . . . 128 *c*  
 23 . . . . . 75 *u*  
 24 . . . . . 10 *g*, 103 *m*  
 34 . . . . . 119 *q*  
 69 4 . . . . . 118 *p*  
 5 . . . . . 131 *q* N.  
 9 . . . . . 48 *i*  
 10 . . . . . 95 *b* N.  
 11 . . . . . 144 *l* N<sup>s</sup>  
 24 . . . . . 64 *h*  
 33 . . . . . 69 *s*  
 71 1 . . . . . 108 *c*  
 7 . . . . . 131 *r*  
 23 . . . . . 44 *o*  
 72 2 . . . . . 107 *n*  
 13 . . . . . 72 *r*  
 14 . . . . . 69 *f*  
 17 . . . . . 10 *g*  
 20 . . . . . 52 *q*  
 73 2 . . . . . 75 *u*  
 7 . . . . . 145 *o*  
 9 . . . . . 63 *n*, 69 *x*  
 14 . . . . . 123 *c*  
 16 . . . . . 49 *e*, 108 *e*  
 17 . . . . . 108 *h*  
 20 . . . . . 53 *q*, 119 *y* N.  
 27 . . . . . 119 *ff*  
 28 . . . . . 73 *d*  
 74 7 . . . . . 119 *gg*  
 8 . . . . . 76 *f*  
 10 . . . . . 64 *e*  
 19 . . . . . 80 *f*  
 75 4 . . . . . 116 *w*, 146 *g*  
 76 6 . . . . . 54 *a* N<sup>2</sup>  
 11 . . . . . 124 *e*  
 77 2 . . . . . 63 *o*  
 4 . . . . . 75 *l*, 75 *u*  
 10 . . . . . 67 *r*  
 11 . . . . . 67 *r*  
 16 . . . . . 20 *g*, 125 *c*

**Psalms**

77 18 . . . . . 55 *b*, 93 *bb*  
 20 . . . . . 20 *h*  
 78 6 . . . . . 107 *k*  
 15 . . . . . 132 *h* N.  
 16 . . . . . 74 *l*  
 21 . . . . . 66 *e*  
 44 . . . . . 75 *u*, 124 *e*  
 54 . . . . . 138 *g*  
 80 8 . . . . . 131 *s*  
 11 . . . . . 52 *q*, 121 *d*  
 14 . . . . . 5 *n*, 56  
 15 . . . . . 125 *h*  
 19 . . . . . 72 *t*  
 81 9 . . . . . 109 *b*  
 11 . . . . . 116 *f*  
 83 12 . . . . . 131 *o*  
 19 . . . . . 144 *l* N<sup>2</sup>  
 84 9 . . . . . 125 *h*  
 86 2 9 *v*, 48 *i* N., 61 *f* N.  
 9 . . . . . 117 *n*  
 87 3 . . . . . 121 *d* N<sup>1</sup>, 145 *u*  
 5 . . . . . 123 *c*  
 88 5 . . . . . 152 *u*  
 6 . . . . . 116 *h*  
 17 . . . . . 55 *d*  
 89 7 . . . . . 124 *g*, 128 *v*  
 10 . . . . . 76 *b*  
 40 . . . . . 64 *e*  
 48 . . . . . 135 *f*  
 51 . . . . . 132 *b*  
 52 . . . . . 20 *h*  
 90 2 . . . . . 107 *c*, 152 *r*  
 3 . . . . . 109 *k*, 111 *t*  
 4 . . . . . 118 *r*  
 5 . . . . . 155 *g*  
 6 . . . . . 112 *m*  
 8 . . . . . 73 *d*  
 10 . . . . . 49 *e*  
 13 . . . . . 147 *c*  
 15 . . . . . 87 *n*, 130 *d*  
 91 4 . . . . . 67 *p*, 109 *k*  
 6 . . . . . 67 *q*, 118 *i*  
 9 . . . . . 117 *ii*  
 11 . . . . . 20 *c*  
 12 . . . . . 60 *e*  
 92 12 . . . . . 132 *b*  
 93 5 . . . . . 75 *x*  
 94 1 . . . . . 53 *m*, 69 *v*  
 9 . . . . . 93 *qq*  
 12 . . . . . 20 *g*  
 20 . . . . . 60 *b*, 63 *m*  
 99 6 . . . . . 74 *i*, 75 *oo*, 119 *i*  
 100 3 . . . . . 103 *g*  
 101 5 . . . . . 55 *b*, 64 *i*, 90 *m*  
 102 4 . . . . . 67 *u*  
 9 . . . . . 116 *i*  
 14 . . . . . 67 *cc*  
 19 . . . . . 106 *e*  
 28 . . . . . 67 *g*, 135 *a* N<sup>1</sup>  
 103 1 . . . . . 10 *g*

## Psalms

103	3	. . . 91 e, 91 l
	4	. . . 58 g
	5	. . . 145 k, 156 d
	9	. . . 117 g
104	1	. . . 106 g
	3	20 m N <sup>2</sup> , 35 b, 126 b
	8	. . . 138 g
	11	. . . 90 n
	12	. . . 93 z
	18	. . . 20 m, 126 x
	20	. . . 109 h, 159 d
	21	. . . 114 p
	25	. . . 136 d
	26	. . . 138 g
	28	. . . 47 m, 159 c
105	12	. . . 118 x
	28	. . . 53 n
	43	. . . 78 l
107	23	. . . 5 n, 17 e
	43	. . . 93 m
108	7	. . . 144 m
109	2	. . . 117 t
	3	. . . 57 N <sup>2</sup>
	10	. . . 64 e
	13	. . . 75 y
110	1	. . . 164 f
	2	. . . 110 c
	3	. . . 141 c
	4	. . . 90 l
111	1	. . . 5 h
112	1	. . . 5 h
	8	. . . 164 f
	9	. . . 120 g
113	5	. . . 90 m
	7	. . . 90 m
	8	. . . 90 n
	9	. . . 90 n
114	1	. . . 128 a N <sup>2</sup>
	8	. . . 90 m, 90 n
115	7	. . . 143 d, 147 e
116	1	. . . 90 n
	4	. . . 16 f
	6	. . . 53 q
	7	. . . 72 s, 91 l
	12	. . . 91 l
	15	. . . 90 f
118	5	20 g, 59 f, 119 g g
	7	. . . 119 i
	10	. . . 60 d
	11	. . . 67 cc
	13	. . . 113 p
	14	. . . 80 g
	18	. . . 20 g, 59 f
	23	. . . 74 g
	25	. . . 53 m
	26	. . . 59 e
119	1	. . . 5 n, 75 oo
	18	. . . 75 cc
	28	. . . 91 n

## Psalms

119	117	. . . 75 l
	128	. . . 130 f N.
	136	. . . 155 n
	137	. . . 145 r
120	1	. . . 90 g, 127 e
	5	. . . 117 bb
	6	. . . 119 s
	7	. . . 141 c N <sup>3</sup>
121	1	. . . 127 e
	3	. . . 107 p, 109 e
	5	. . . 124 k
122	6	. . . 75 u
123	1	. . . 90 m
	4	. . . 119 s, 127 g
124	4	. . . 90 f
125	1	. . . 155 g
126	6	. . . 113 p, 113 u
127	1	. . . 118 i
	2	23 l, 80 h, 114 n
128	3	. . . 75 v, 96
	5	. . . 110 i
131	1	. . . 72 l
132	1	. . . 52 r
	3	. . . 128 m
	4	. . . 80 g
	12	34 b, 91 n, 138 g
133	2	. . . 126 x
135	7	. . . 53 o
136	1	. . . 2 r
	3	. . . 102 m
	6	. . . 65 d
137	1	. . . 124 e
	3	. . . 117 gg
	5	. . . 159 m
	6	. . . 58 g
	7	. . . 75 cc, 116 d
138	2	. . . 16 f
	6	. . . 69 b N., 69 p
139	1	. . . 59 h
	2	. . . 73 a N.
	5	. . . 91 e
	8	. . . 66 e, 159 m
	11	103 d, 111 x, 159 f
	12	. . . 133 b N <sup>2</sup>
	14	. . . 75 qq, 118 p
	18	. . . 159 c N.
	20	23 i, 68 h, 75 oo
	21	. . . 72 cc
	22	. . . 117 q, 128 r
140	4	. . . 91 l
	10	. . . 75 mm
	13	. . . 44 i
141	3	. . . 20 h, 48 i
	4	. . . 96
	5	. . . 74 k
	8	. . . 75 bb
	10	. . . 145 m
142	5	. . . 113 bb
143	6	. . . 106 g
144	2	. . . 87 f

## Psalms

144	14	. . . 122 e
145	1	. . . 5 h
	7	. . . 132 b
	13	. . . 123 c
147	1	. . . 52 p
	2	. . . 20 m
149	2	. . . 124 k

## Proverbs

1	9	. . . 91 n
	10	. . . 68 h, 75 hh
	16	. . . 145 u
	19	. . . 29 f
	20	. . . 47 k, 48 d, 86 l
	21	. . . 75 v
	22	. . . 63 m, 93 t N.
	23	. . . 159 d
	28	. . . 60 e
2	8	. . . 114 i N.
	10	. . . 145 u
	11	. . . 58 i
	14	. . . 128 w
	19	. . . 116 i
	22	. . . 144 g
3	3	. . . 110 f
	8	. . . 22 s
	12	. . . 16 b
	25	. . . 109 e
	26	. . . 119 i
4	4	. . . 75 n
	8	. . . 60 f, 67 l
	13	. . . 20 h
	21	. . . 72 ee
	25	. . . 70 b
5	2	. . . 145 u
	4	. . . 96
	6	. . . 72 l
	13	. . . 75 ee
	16	. . . 150 a
	17	. . . 152 o
	22	. . . 60 e, 131 m N.
6	24	. . . 114 i N., 128 w
7	2	. . . 75 n
	5	. . . 114 i N.
	7	. . . 108 h
	8	. . . 91 e
	11	. . . 94 d
	13	. . . 67 dd, 68 e
	26	. . . 116 l
8	3	. . . 47 k
	4	. . . 96
	12	. . . 117 bb
	13	. . . 122 v
	17	. . . 68 f
	22	. . . 59 f
	25	. . . 107 c, 152 r
	26	. . . 124 l
	27	. . . 67 r
	28	. . . 93 v
	30	. . . 122 f

**Proverbs**

8 32 . . . 130 *d*, 155 *n*  
 9 1 . . . . . 86 *l*  
   5 . . . . . 119 *m*  
   9 . . . . . 109 *h*  
  10 . . . . . 124 *h*  
  12 . . . . . 159 *ff*  
  13 . 137 *c*, 152 *u* *N.*  
  18 . . . . . 116 *l*  
 10 4 . 23 *g*, 72 *p*, 117 *t*  
  26 . . . . . 124 *k*  
  31 . . . . . 117 *z*  
 11 3 . . . . . 67 *n*  
  14 . . . . . 123 *b*  
  15 . . . . . 67 *t*  
  21 . . . . . 22 *s*  
  25 . . . . . 69 *w*  
 12 1 . . . . . 16 *f*  
  10 . . . . . 145 *h*  
  17 . . . . . 159 *c*  
  18 . . . . . 75 *qq*  
  19 . . . . . 108 *h*  
  28 . . . . . 152 *g*  
 13 4 . . . . . 131 *n*  
  6 . . . . . 142 *f*  
  10 . . . . . 153  
  21 . . . . . 117 *c*  
  23 . . . . . 23 *g*  
  24 . . . . . 117 *ff*  
 14 1 . 86 *l*, 145 *k* *N.*  
  2 . . . . . 116 *k*  
  3 . . . . . 47 *g*  
  7 . . . . . 152 *u* *N.*  
  10 . . . . . 22 *s*  
  13 . . . . . 131 *n* *N*<sup>*I*</sup>  
  14 . . . . . 72 *p*  
  20 . . . . . 121 *f*  
  30 . . . . . 124 *d*  
  34 . . . . . 72 *bb*  
  35 . . . . . 114 *i* *N.*  
 15 1 . . . . . 20 *c*, 22 *s*  
  5 . . . . . 63 *n*  
  20 . . . . . 107 *f*  
 16 3 . . . . . 124 *e*  
  4 . . . . . 127 *i*  
  11 . . . . . 128 *a* *N.*  
  30 . . . . . 141 *i* *N.*  
  33 . . . . . 121 *b*  
 17 4 . . . . . 68 *i*  
  10 . . . . . 66 *f*  
  12 113 *cc*, 133 *b* *N.*,  
   152 *g*  
  15 . . . . . 154 *a* *N.* (*c*)  
  21 . . . . . 114 *i* *N.*  
  26 . . . . . 153  
 18 6 . . . . . 145 *u*  
  16 . . . . . 92 *g*  
  22 . . . . . 159 *h*  
  24 . . . . . 47 *b*  
 19 7 . . . . . 9 *u*  
  8 . . . . . 114 *i*

**Proverbs**

19 25 . . . . . 63 *n*, 144 *h*  
 20 2 . . . . . 128 *h*  
   9 . . . . . 107 *t*  
  10 . . . . . 123 *f*  
  13 . . . . . 110 *h*  
  16 . . . . . 63 *l*  
  22 . . . . . 22 *s*  
  25 . . . . . 114 *i*  
 21 6 . . . . . 128 *c*  
  12 . . . . . 125 *c*  
 22 21 10 *k*, 124 *k*, 131 *c*  
 23 1 . . . . . 73 *a*, 73 *d*  
   7 . . . . . 152 *t*  
   2 . . . . . 138 *g*  
  24 . . . . . 159 *i*  
  29 . . . . . 131 *q*  
  35 . . . . . 120 *c*  
 24 1 . . . . . 5 *h*  
   4 . . . . . 29 *o*  
  14 . . . . . 48 *l*  
  17 . . . . . 51 *l*  
  22 . . . . . 151 *a*  
  31 . . . . . 117 *z*  
 25 2 . . . . . 53 *k*  
   3 . . . . . 29 *i* *N.*  
   5 . . . . . 126 *n*  
   9 . . . . . 75 *bb*  
  11 . . . . . 93 *r*  
  12 . . . . . 161 *a* *N.*  
  13 . . . . . 124 *k*  
  16 . . . . . 76 *h*, 91 *d*  
  17 . . . . . 69 *v*  
  19 . 52 *s*, 67 *s*, 92 *g*  
  23 . . . . . 72 *bb*  
  26 . . . . . 53 *s*  
  27 . . . . . 113 *b*  
 26 7 . . . . . 75 *u*  
   8 . . . . . 67 *cc*  
  17 . . . . . 155 *e*  
  23 . . . . . 145 *u*  
  28 . . . . . 122 *n*  
 27 6 . . . . . 63 *c*  
   7 . . . . . 143 *a*  
   9 . . . . . 146 *e*  
  15 . . . . . 75 *x*  
  24 . . . . . 150 *g* *N.*  
  25 . . . . . 20 *h*  
 28 6 . . . . . 88 *e* *N.*  
  22 . . . . . 10 *h*  
 29 6 . . . . . 67 *q*  
 30 1 . . . . . 96  
   3 . . . . . 124 *h*, 166 *a*  
   6 . . . . . 10 *k*, 69 *v*  
  13 . . . . . 72 *l*  
  14 . . . . . 114 *i* *N.*  
  17 10 *g* *N.*, 20 *h* *N.*  
  18 . . . . . 134 *s*  
  24 . . . . . 133 *g*  
  28 . . . . . 144 *h*  
  30 . . . . . 152 *b*

**Proverbs**

30 31 . . . . . 35 *m*  
 31 1 . . . . . 128 *h*  
   2 . . . . . 37 *f*  
   3 . . . . . 53 *q*, 87 *e*  
   4 . . . . . 75 *n*  
  10 . . . . . 2 *r*, 5 *h*  
  30 . . . . . 54 *g*

**Job**

1 1 . . . . . 155 *e*, 156 *b*  
   3 . . . . . 123 *a*  
   4 . . . . . 97 *c*, 112 *dd*  
   5 107 *e*, 112 *f*, 118 *h*  
   164 *d*  
   6 119 *cc*, 126 *s*, 128 *v*  
   7 . . . . . 107 *h*  
  12 . . . . . 136 *d*  
  14 116 *r*, 119 *cc*, 122 *c*,  
   135 *o*, 141 *i*, 145 *c*  
  15 . 49 *e*, 122 *i*, 135 *o*  
  16 . . . . . 116 *u*, 164 *a*  
  18 . . . . . 116 *u*  
  19 . . . . . 122 *g*  
  21 . 23 *f*, 74 *k*, 118 *n*  
 2 1 . . . . . 128 *v*  
   3 . . . . . 111 *l*  
   9 . . . . . 110 *f*  
  10 . . . . . 150 *a*, 153  
 3 2 . . . . . 68 *e*  
   3 29 *e*, 68 *d*, 107 *k*,  
   155 *f*, 155 *i*  
   4 . . . . . 141 *c* *N.*  
   6 . . . . . 75 *r*  
   8 . . . . . 114 *m*  
   9 . 109 *a* *N.*, 152 *k*  
  11 . . . . . 152 *z*  
  13 . 106 *p*, 159 *dd*  
  15 . . . . . 155 *e*  
  17 . . . . . 106 *l*  
  19 . . . . . 135 *a* *N.*  
  20 . . . . . 128 *y*  
  24 . . . . . 145 *p*  
  25 . . . . . 75 *u*  
 4 2 . 28 *b*, 87 *e*, 150 *m*  
   3 . . . . . 107 *e*, 132 *f*  
   5 . . . . . 111 *t*, 144 *b*  
   6 . . . . . 143 *d*  
   7 . . . . . 136 *c*  
  17 107 *f*, 133 *b* *N.*,  
   150 *h*  
  19 . . . . . 144 *g*, 145 *t*  
  20 . 29 *l*, 67 *g*, 67 *y*  
  21 . . . . . 150 *m*  
 5 1 . . . . . 61 *h*, 91 *d*  
   2 . . . . . 117 *n*  
   3 . . . . . 135 *a*  
   5 . . . . . 119 *w*  
   7 . . . . . 128 *v*, 161 *a*  
   8 . . . . . 107 *x*

## Job

5	10	126 b
12		166 a
13		91 e
14		118 u
16		90 g
18		75 qf
19		134 s
22		109 e
24		159 g
27		20 g
6	2	113 w, 144 g
5		150 h
7		66 b, 106 g
8		95 h, 151 d
9		120 d
10		108 f
12		141 d, 150 f
13		150 g N.
16		126 b
17		130 d, 155 l
19		119 s
20		135 p, 145 u
21		75 t, 152 a
22		22 p, 64 a, 69 o
25		154 a
26		65 f, 69 v
28		120 g
7	2	155 g
3		121 c, 144 g
4		124 f
6		133 b
13		112 hh, 119 m
14		58 i, 60 d
15		133 b
18		123 c
20		102 l, 119 aa, 159 h
21		37 f
8	5	159 r
7		145 u
9		141 d
10		125 c
11		75 rr, 150 h, 152 a N.
14		72 r, 93 oo
18		29 g, 64 g
19		145 d
21		23 e, 75 pp
9	6	54 k
7		109 g, 165 a
8		87 s
11		117 n, 159 w
15		55 b, 159 n, 160 a
16		111 x
18		20 h, 114 m
19		147 b
20		53 n, 107 x
22		106 i
24		150 l N.
26		155 g, 161 a N.
27		159 u

## Job

9	29	107 n
31		126 r
32		116 s, 152 d, 166 a
33		109 i, 152 d
34		60 d
10	1	72 dd
7		119 aa N.
8		111 e
15		159 ff
16		109 h, 120 g
17		154 a N.
18		107 n
19		17 n
21		107 c
22		90 g, 152 a N.
11	2	128 t
3		111 t
5		151 b
6		110 i, 134 r N.
9		91 e
11		128 t
12		51 g, 131 c N.
15		119 w, 159 ee
17		48 d, 108 e, 133 e 144 c
20		103 m
12	3	152 d
4		111 u
6		29 t, 75 u, 124 e
7		145 k
11		135 i, 161 a
12		141 d
14		159 w
15		15 c
17		116 s, 116 x, 118 o
23		117 n
24		128 a, 152 u
13	3	53 k, 113 d
7		150 h
9		67 g
13		119 ff, 131 c
15		153
16		152 e
17		113 r
21		29 g, 60 d, 64 h
25		117 c
26		124 e
27		54 f, 93 r
28		144 p, 155 h
14	1	116 l
2		111 s
3		150 b, 153
4		151 b
6		109 f, 156 g
9		65 e, 112 m
10		111 t
11		161 a
19		145 k
22		153
15	3	113 h, 119 hh

## Job

15	6	145 u
7		121 d
10		131 q
11		133 c
13		125 c
15		67 ee
16		116 e
17		75 bb, 138 h, 143 d
20		146 a
21		118 f
22		75 v
23		147 c
26		128 r
16	3	150 g
4		103 l, 108 f, 119 g
5		60 f
6		63 f, 108 e, 159 ff
7		53 p, 75 ee, 144 p
8		120 c
9		118 q, 119 q
10		54 k, 119 q
12		112 tt
13		95 h
14		126 p
16		44 m, 55 e
17		152 a N., 160 a
19		124 b
22		69 x, 75 u, 145 u
17	1	124 c
2		20 h, 73 e, 75 ff
4		72 cc
5		75 w
7		75 p
9		10 h
10		120 e, 135 r
13		124 b
16		47 k
18	2	130 a
3		75 qq
4		51 n, 139 f
7		67 dd, 135 n
8		54 k
12		109 k
18		144 g
21		130 d
19	2	21 d, 60 e, 75 gg, 75 oo
3		53 n, 120 c
7		63 h N., 159 w
10		69 p, x
15		60 a
17		67 ee
18		159 e
19		138 h
23		53 u, 67 y, 126 s, 151 d
24		51 m
25		118 n
26		119 w, 144 g
28		117 n

Job  
 20 4 . . . . . 150 e  
 9 . . . . . 122 l  
 10 . . . . . 72 k  
 12 . . . . . 159 q  
 17 . . . . . 109 e, 130 e  
 19 . . . . . 154 a N.  
 22 . . . . . 74 h, 118 e  
 23 . . . . . 103 f N.  
 24 . . . . . 159 c  
 26 . 68 f, 145 u, 156 f  
 29 . . . . . 131 c, 135 m  
 21 4 100 n, 135 f, 143 a,  
 150 g  
 5 . . . . . 67 v  
 7 . . . . . 117 z  
 9 . 119 w, 141 c N<sup>s</sup>  
 11 . . . . . 52 n  
 13 . . . . . 20 i, 66 f  
 16 . . . . . 20 f, 106 n N<sup>2</sup>  
 17 . . . . . 150 h  
 21 . . . . . 37 d, 146 a  
 22 . . . . . 142 d  
 23 . . . . . 139 g  
 25 . . . . . 119 m  
 27 . . . . . 155 k  
 29 . . . . . 44 d, 64 f  
 32 . . . . . 124 c  
 22 2 . . . . . 103 f N<sup>s</sup>  
 3 . . . . . 67 y  
 7 . . . . . 152 e  
 9 . . . . . 121 b  
 12 20 i, 117 h, 141 c,  
 158 a  
 16 . . . . . 121 d, 149 a  
 18 . . . . . 106 n N.  
 20 . . . . . 91 f, 149 e  
 21 48 d, 110 f, 135 p  
 23 . . . . . 159 ff  
 29 . . . . . 23 f  
 30 . . . . . 152 q  
 23 2 . . . . . 119 aa  
 3 . . . . . 120 e  
 6 . . . . . 100 l  
 9 . . . . . 109 k  
 11 . . . . . 76 c  
 12 . . . . . 143 d  
 13 . . . . . 119 i  
 16 . . . . . 67 v  
 24 1 . . . . . 75 m, 121 f  
 5 . . . . . 118 r, 145 m  
 7 . . . . . 118 o  
 10 . . . . . 118 o, 152 u  
 14 109 k, 118 x, 120 c  
 19 . . . . . 161 a  
 21 . . . . . 70 d  
 22 . . . . . 87 e, 156 f  
 23 . . . . . 91 l  
 24 . 51 m 67 m, 67 y  
 25 . 150 l N., 152 a  
 25 2 . . . . . 116 z

Job  
 25 3 . . . . . 91 d  
 5 . . . . . 67 ee  
 26 2 152 a N., 152 u,  
 152 v  
 4 . . . . . 117 gg  
 5 . . . . . 119 c  
 7 . . . . . 116 s  
 9 . . . . . 56  
 14 . . . . . 119 m  
 27 3 . . . . . 128 e  
 5 . . . . . 149 a  
 6 . . . . . 119 w N.  
 7 . . . . . 118 x  
 12 . . . . . 117 q  
 19 . . . . . 68 h, 120 d N.  
 23 . . . . . 103 f N.  
 28 1 . . . . . 155 h  
 2 . . . . . 121 d, 127 ii  
 4 . . . . . 126 b  
 5 . . . . . 118 w  
 6 . . . . . 124 l  
 11 . . . . . 119 x  
 12 . . . . . 119 ff  
 17 . . . . . 152 z  
 25 . . . . . 114 r  
 27 . . . . . 60 d  
 29 2 118 u, 130 d, 151 b  
 3 67 p, 118 h, 131 o  
 6 . . . . . 23 f  
 8 . . . . . 120 g N.  
 10 . . . . . 44 c, 146 a  
 12 . . . . . 152 u, 155 n  
 15 . . . . . 141 d  
 16 . . . . . 130 d, 155 n  
 21 . . . . . 20 i, 24 e, 67 g  
 23 . . . . . 118 w  
 25 . . . . . 10 g, 126 p  
 30 3 . . . . . 126 b, 133 l  
 6 . . . . . 114 k, 133 h  
 10 . . . . . 106 g  
 13 . . . . . 152 u, 155 n  
 14 . . . . . 75 u  
 15 . . . . . 121 b  
 19 . . . . . 59 f, 75 ll  
 20 . . . . . 72 bb  
 26 . . . . . 49 e, 108 e  
 28 . . . . . 118 n, 120 c  
 31 1 . . . . . 148 a  
 5 . . . . . 72 ff  
 7 . . . . . 23 c, 108 f  
 9 . . . . . 159 m  
 10 . . . . . 87 e  
 11 . . . . . 32 l, 131 s  
 12 . . . . . 155 f  
 15 . . . . . 58 k, 72 cc  
 18 117 x, 126 p, 163 b  
 22 . . . . . 91 e  
 26 67 p, 111 q, 118 n,  
 118 q  
 27 . . . . . 75 q

Job  
 31 28 . . . . . 159 dd  
 29 . . . . . 112 e  
 31 . . . . . 151 b  
 34 . . . . . 156 f  
 35 . . . . . 151 b  
 32 6 . . . . . 68 c, 69 m  
 7 . . . . . 146 a  
 11 . . . . . 68 i  
 12 . . . . . 103 o  
 17 . . . . . 63 f  
 18 . . . . . 23 f, 74 k  
 22 . . . . . 120 c  
 33 4 . . . . . 16 h, 75 mm  
 5 . . . . . 48 i, 54 k  
 21 . . . . . 14 d, 64 e  
 25 . . . . . 56  
 30 . . . . . 51 l, 72 v  
 32 . . . . . 61 d  
 34 13 . . . . . 90 f  
 18 . . . . . 113 ee N.  
 22 . . . . . 115 g  
 36 . . . . . 159 cc  
 35 10 . . . . . 124 k  
 11 . . . . . 68 k  
 15 . . . . . 152 k  
 36 2 . . . . . 65 e  
 7 . . . . . 111 b N.  
 18 . . . . . 145 u  
 32 . . . . . 122 o  
 36 . . . . . 143 d  
 37 5 . . . . . 118 p  
 6 . . . . . 75 hh  
 12 . . . . . 90 f  
 14 . . . . . 117 w  
 16 . . . . . 124 e  
 18 . . . . . 150 b  
 24 . . . . . 59 i  
 38 2 . . . . . 136 c  
 3 . . . . . 126 p  
 5 . . . . . 159 dd  
 6 . . . . . 137 b  
 7 . . . . . 67 n, 128 v  
 12 . . . . . 119 w N.  
 13 . . . . . 5 n, 114 r  
 14 . . . . . 118 w, 134 r  
 16 . . . . . 150 h  
 18 . . . . . 122 q, 150 b  
 19 . . . . . 155 k  
 21 . . . . . 107 c, 146 a  
 24 . . . . . 165 a  
 26 . . . . . 152 u, 155 e  
 27 . . . . . 133 l  
 28 . . . . . 150 g  
 30 . . . . . 118 w  
 32 . . . . . 145 m  
 39 1 . . . . . 64 d  
 2 . . . . . 91 f, 150 b  
 3 . . . . . 135 o  
 9 . . . . . 22 s  
 13 . . . . . 150 f

## Job

39	15	. . . . .	135 p
	17	. . . . .	119 m
	24	. . . . .	75 oo
	26	. . . . .	53 n
	30	. . . . .	55 f
40	2	. . . . .	113 ee, 113 gg
	5	. . . . .	134 r, 134 ss
	8	. . . . .	150 g
	19	. . . . .	116 g N., 127 l
	22	. . . . .	67 n
	23	. . . . .	159 w
	24	. . . . .	66 f
	25	. . . . .	150 a N <sup>1</sup>
	30	. . . . .	150 b
	32	. . . . .	69 v
41	1	. . . . .	93 ss, 150 a N <sup>1</sup>
	2	. . . . .	. . . . . 72 cc
	4	. . . . .	103 g, 124 e
	7	. . . . .	118 r
	12	. . . . .	154 a N.
	15	. . . . .	156 g
	17	. . . . .	76 b
	20	. . . . .	128 v
	22	. . . . .	133 h
	25	. . . . .	24 b, 75 v, 126 b
	26	. . . . .	16 f, 117 a N <sup>4</sup>
42	2	. . . . .	. . . . . 44 i
	3	. . . . .	133 d, 156 f
	5	. . . . .	75 mm
	7	. . . . .	164 d
	8	. . . . .	163 d
	10	. . . . .	91 k
	13	. . . . .	97 c
	15	. . . . .	135 o, 145 o
	16	. . . . .	75 t

## Canticle

1	1	. . . . .	133 i
	6	. . . . .	60 u, 75 x
	7	. . . . .	36, 75 v
	8	. . . . .	20 h
	10	. . . . .	75 x, 141 c
	15	. . . . .	141 d
2	7	. . . . .	144 a
	12	. . . . .	85 u N.
	13	. . . . .	141 d
	14	. . . . .	69 v, 93 ss
	17	. . . . .	119 s
3	7	. . . . .	131 n
	8	. . . . .	50 f
	11	. . . . .	75 n
5	5	. . . . .	135 b
	8	. . . . .	137 b N.
	9	. . . . .	59 h
	16	. . . . .	85 g N., 141 c
6	8	. . . . .	32 n
	11	. . . . .	67 dd
7	1	. . . . .	137 b N.
	2	. . . . .	93 x

## Canticle

7	10	. . . . .	126 x, 133 h
8	2	. . . . .	87 f, 131 c N.
	4	. . . . .	137 b N.
	5	. . . . .	59 g N.
	6	. . . . .	93 m
	10	. . . . .	74 i
	14	. . . . .	119 s

## Ruth

1	1	. . . . .	49 b N.
	8	. . . . .	135 o, 144 a
	9	. . . . .	46 f, 74 h, 74 k, 110 i
	12	. . . . .	106 p, 107 x
	13	. . . . .	51 m, 103 f N., 152 g
	14	. . . . .	76 b
	16	. . . . .	138 e
	19	. . . . .	91 f
	20	. . . . .	46 f, 80 h
	21	. . . . .	118 n
	22	. . . . .	32 n, 138 k
2	2	. . . . .	10 h, 64 i
	3	. . . . .	129 d
	6	. . . . .	138 k
	8	. . . . .	47 g, 47 o
	9	. . . . .	75 qq, 112 kk
	14	. . . . .	53 n, 66 c, 69 v, 103 g
	15	. . . . .	35 k
	16	. . . . .	67 o
	20	. . . . .	121 f
	21	. . . . .	47 o, 122 g
3	2	. . . . .	91 f, 141 c
	3	. . . . .	44 h, 104 g
	4	. . . . .	47 o, 109 k, 112 z
	6	. . . . .	59 g
	12	. . . . .	163 d
	14	. . . . .	107 c
	15	. . . . .	64 c, 69 o, 134 n
	18	. . . . .	163 c and N.
4	1	. . . . .	69 p, 72 t
	3	. . . . .	129 h, 138 k
	4	. . . . .	29 i N., 152 o
	7	. . . . .	112 h
	15	. . . . .	59 g

## Lamentations

1	1	. . . . .	5 h, 90 l
	4	. . . . .	69 l, 87 e
	8	. . . . .	67 y, 72 ee, 117 p
	9	. . . . .	124 f
	10	. . . . .	120 c, 155 f
	14	. . . . .	130 d, 155 n
	16	. . . . .	75 v, 117 z
	19	. . . . .	107 q, 165 a
2	7	. . . . .	64 e
	11	. . . . .	51 l
	16	. . . . .	15 c

## Lamentations

2	18	. . . . .	80 f
3	1	. . . . .	144 p
	5	. . . . .	53 n
	12	. . . . .	80 h
	14	. . . . .	87 f
	22	. . . . .	20 o
	26	. . . . .	100 g N., 107 q
	33	. . . . .	69 u
	48	. . . . .	29 q, 69 p, 117 z
	50	. . . . .	109 k
	53	. . . . .	69 u
4	1	. . . . .	54 k, 75 rr
	2	. . . . .	75 rr
	5	. . . . .	117 n
	14	. . . . .	51 h, 120 g
	17	. . . . .	100 o
	21	. . . . .	90 n
5	5	. . . . .	72 ee N., 121 a
	10	. . . . .	145 u

## Ecclesiastes

1	1	. . . . .	122 r
	2	. . . . .	133 i
	4	. . . . .	116 l
	6	. . . . .	113 u
	9	. . . . .	137 c
	13	. . . . .	112 pp N.
	16	. . . . .	135 b
	17	. . . . .	86 l
2	1	. . . . .	135 b
	5	. . . . .	112 pp N.
	7	. . . . .	145 u
	8	. . . . .	122 v
	13	. . . . .	24 e, 133 b
	15	. . . . .	93 rr, 135 e
	19	. . . . .	150 g
	20	. . . . .	64 e
	21	. . . . .	131 m
	22	. . . . .	36
	26	. . . . .	75 oo
3	2	. . . . .	2 s
	4	. . . . .	114 b
	11	. . . . .	152 y
	14	. . . . .	165 b
	15	. . . . .	114 i
	18	. . . . .	36, 67 p
	19	. . . . .	93 rr
	21	. . . . .	100 m, 150 i N.
	22	. . . . .	102 k
4	2	. . . . .	113 gg
	3	. . . . .	117 l
	10	. . . . .	124 o, 131 n
	14	. . . . .	35 d
	17	. . . . .	133 e
5	5	. . . . .	53 q
	6	. . . . .	143 d
	7	. . . . .	124 h
	8	. . . . .	32 l

**Ecclesiastes**

5 11 . . . . . 69 *n*  
 14 . . . . . 109 *i*  
 15 . . . . . 161 *b*  
 16 . . . . . 147 *e*  
 18 . 112 *pp N.*, 141 *h*  
 7 7 . . . . . 117 *c*  
 16 . 54 *c*, 54 *k*, 131 *q*  
 24 . . . . . 133 *k*  
 26 . . . . . 75 *oo*  
 27 . . . . . 122 *r*  
 8 1 . . . . . 35 *n*, 75 *rr*  
 10 54*g*, 119*ii*, 128*w N.*  
 9 1 . . . . . 93 *w w*  
 4 . . . . . 143 *e*  
 12 . . . . . 52 *s*  
 14 . . . . . 112 *pp N.*  
 10 5 . . . . . 75 *qq*, 155 *h*  
 15 . . . . . 145 *m*  
 17 . . . . . 91 *l*  
 18 . . . . . 88 *b*  
 20 . . . . . 53 *n*  
 11 2 . . . . . 134 *s*  
 3 . . . . . 23 *i*, 75 *s*  
 12 1 . . . . . 124 *k*  
 4 . . . . . 72 *t*, 128 *v*  
 5 . . . . . 73 *g*  
 6 . . . . . 67 *q*, 67 *t*  
 7 . . . . . 109 *k*  
 9 . . . . . 145 *h*

**Esther**

1 4 . . . . . 93 *w w*  
 5 . . . . . 74 *h*  
 8 . . . . . 123 *c*  
 17 . . . . . 93 *m*  
 2 9 . . . . . 75 *v*  
 11 . . . . . 123 *c*  
 3 4 . . . . . 157 *c*  
 8 . . . . . 100 *o N.*  
 4 2 . . . . . 114 *l*  
 8 . . . . . 93 *w w*  
 6 13 . . . . . 20 *g*  
 7 2 . . . . . 109 *f*  
 5 . . . . . 74 *g*, 137 *a*  
 8 . . . . . 114 *i*  
 8 1 . . . . . 137 *c*  
 8 . . . . . 63 *c*  
 9 1 . . . . . 135 *a N.*  
 6 . . . . . 113 *z*  
 7 . . . . . 2 *s*  
 23 . 124 *c*, 145 *o N.*

**Daniel**

1 4 . . . . . 23 *c*, 128 *a N.*  
 5 . . . . . 135 *o*  
 10 . . . . . 93 *ss*  
 12 . . . . . 75 *cc*  
 13 . . . . . 75 *hh*

**Daniel**

1 15 . . . . . 93 *ss*  
 2 1 . . . . . 124 *o*  
 4 . . . . . 1 *c*  
 3 15 . . . . . 167 *a*  
 8 3 . . . . . 93 *n*  
 9 . . . . . 135 *o*  
 11 . . . . . 72 *ee*  
 13 125 *b*, 126 *z*, 127 *f*  
 22 47 *k*, 87 *i*, 95 *u*,  
 116 *w*  
 9 5 . . . . . 91 *n*  
 13 . . . . . 117 *m*  
 19 . . . . . 48 *i*  
 11 6 116*f*, 127 *i*, 139 *h*  
 11 . . . . . 131 *n*  
 20 . . . . . 93 *dd*  
 23 . . . . . 53 *l*, 54 *k*  
 35 . . . . . 53 *q*  
 12 2 . . . . . 102 *b*, 124 *e*  
 7 . . . . . 93 *aa N.*  
 11 . . . . . 134 *g*  
 13 . . . . . 87 *e*

**Ezra**

2 62 . . . . . 131 *r*  
 69 . . . . . 97 *g*  
 3 3 . . . . . 124 *q*, 147 *a*  
 6 . . . . . 134 *p*  
 12 . . . . . 126 *aa*  
 4 7 . . . . . 55 *h*  
 8 . . . . . 1 *c*  
 6 21 . . . . . 8 *k*  
 7 12 . . . . . 1 *c*  
 28 . . . . . 49 *e*  
 8 1 . . . . . 64 *i*  
 18 . . . . . 14 *d*  
 23 . . . . . 51 *n*  
 25 . . . . . 93 *oo*, 138 *i*  
 29 . . . . . 127 *g*  
 30 . . . . . 92 *g*  
 36 . . . . . 112 *rr*  
 9 6 . . . . . 22 *s*  
 10 13 . . . . . 141 *d*  
 14 . . . . . 127 *i*, 138 *i*  
 16 . . . . . 45 *g*  
 17 . . . . . 127 *c N.*

**Nehemiah**

2 3 . . . . . 67 *dd*  
 7 . . . . . 68 *g*  
 12 . . . . . 131 *e*, 137 *c*  
 13 . . . . . 5 *n*  
 3 8 . . . . . 124 *o*, 128 *v*  
 13 . . . . . 35 *d*  
 31 . . . . . 128 *v*  
 4 3 . . . . . 49 *e N.*, 53 *n*  
 4 . . . . . 119 *m*  
 7 . . . . . 20 *h*

**Nehemiah**

4 9 . . . . . 49 *c N.*, 67 *x*  
 12 . . . . . 116 *k N.*  
 17 . . . . . 152 *n*  
 5 14 . . . . . 91 *e*  
 6 6 . . . . . 90 *k*  
 8 . . . . . 23 *c*, 74 *i*  
 10 . . . . . 144 *i*  
 11 . . . . . 100 *m*  
 7 2 . . . . . 118 *x*  
 64 . . . . . 64 *i*  
 66 . . . . . 23 *i*  
 8 2 . . . . . 74 *l*  
 8 . . . . . 2 *t*  
 10 . 85 *g N.*, 128 *p*,  
 152 *v*, 155 *n*  
 11 . . . . . 105 *a*  
 9 13 . . . . . 132 *d*  
 35 . . . . . 126 *x*  
 10 37 . . . . . 123 *r N.*  
 39 . . . . . 53 *k*  
 11 17 . . . . . 53 *q*  
 12 44 . . . . . 95 *n*  
 47 . . . . . 95 *n*  
 13 9 . . . . . 165 *a*  
 13 . . . . . 53 *g*, 53 *n*  
 16 . . . . . 9 *b*  
 21 . . . . . 73 *f*  
 24 . . . . . 2 *a*, 2 *w*

**1 Chronicles**

2 13 . . . . . 47 *b*  
 30 . . . . . 152 *u*  
 48 . . . . . 145 *u*  
 3 5 . . . . . 69 *t*  
 4 10 . . . . . 61 *a*, 167 *a*  
 42 . . . . . 131 *n*  
 5 1 . . . . . 114 *k*  
 2 . . . . . 141 *a*  
 20 . . . . . 63 *c*  
 6 63 . . . . . 90 *f*  
 7 5 . . . . . 124 *q*  
 8 8 . . . . . 52 *o*  
 38 . . . . . 29 *q*  
 9 13 . . . . . 128 *c*  
 22 . 135 *a N*<sup>1</sup>, 155 *d*  
 25 . . . . . 134 *m*  
 27 . . . . . 123 *c*  
 33 . . . . . 147 *a*  
 10 2 . . . . . 53 *r*  
 13 . . . . . 114 *k*  
 11 6 . . . . . 116 *w*  
 39 . . . . . 23 *f*  
 12 2 . . . . . 24 *f N.*, 70 *b*  
 8 . . . . . 114 *b*  
 17 . . . . . 61 *c*  
 23 . . . . . 155 *d*  
 33 . . . . . 123 *f*  
 38 . . . . . 23 *f*

## 1 Chronicles

15	12 . . . . .	155 <i>n</i>
	19 . . . . .	131 <i>d</i>
	24 . . . . .	53 <i>o</i> , 55 <i>e</i>
	26 . . . . .	63 <i>i</i>
	27 . . . . .	56, 127 <i>g</i>
16	8 . . . . .	2 <i>s</i>
19	8 . . . . .	131 <i>b</i>
20	8 . . . . .	69 <i>t</i>
21	1 . . . . .	125 <i>f</i>
	17 . . . . .	141 <i>h N.</i>
22	7 . . . . .	143 <i>a N.</i>
23	6 . . . . .	63 <i>n</i>
	26 . . . . .	114 <i>k</i>
24	3 . . . . .	63 <i>n</i>
26	28 . . . . .	138 <i>i</i>
27	12 . . . . .	127 <i>d</i>
28	2 . . . . .	143 <i>a N.</i>
	11 . . . . .	96
	15, 18 . . . . .	131 <i>d</i>
29	1 . . . . .	155 <i>d</i>
	3 . . . . .	155 <i>n</i>
	8 . . . . .	138 <i>i</i>
	33 . . . . .	65 <i>f</i>

## 2 Chronicles

1	4 . . . . .	138 <i>i</i> , 155 <i>n</i>
2	12 . . . . .	117 <i>n</i>

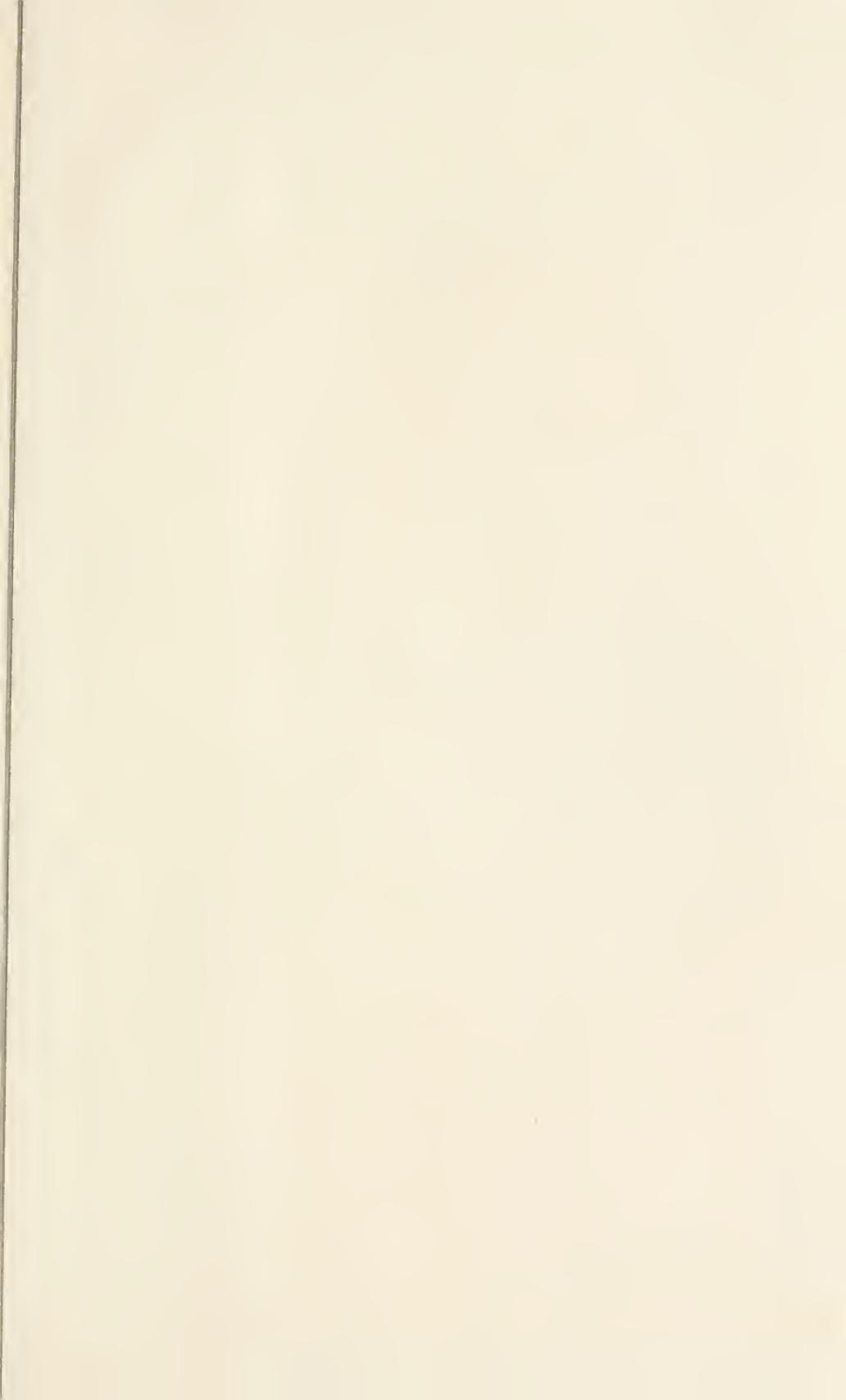
## 2 Chronicles

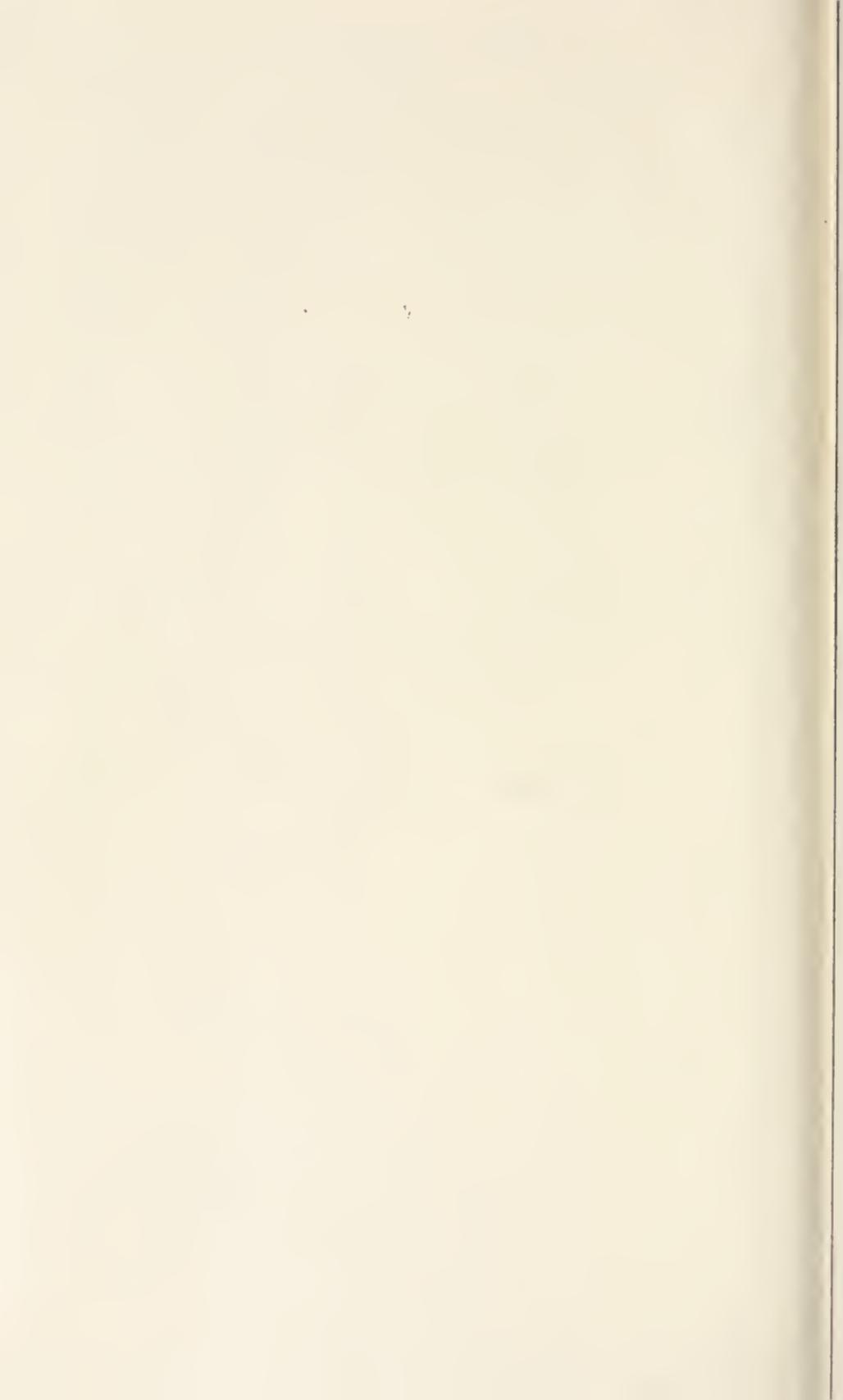
3	17 . . . . .	126 <i>k</i>
4	3 . . . . .	123 <i>a N.</i>
	13 . . . . .	131 <i>d</i>
5	11 . . . . .	114 <i>k</i>
8	18 . . . . .	93 <i>r</i>
11	22 . . . . .	114 <i>k</i> , 147 <i>a</i>
15	3 . . . . .	147 <i>a</i>
	8 . . . . .	127 <i>f</i>
16	4 . . . . .	125 <i>h</i>
	9 . . . . .	155 <i>n</i>
	10 . . . . .	147 <i>a</i>
	12 . . . . .	75 <i>rr</i> , 147 <i>a</i>
	14 . . . . .	124 <i>c</i>
17	11 . . . . .	93 <i>x</i>
18	3 . . . . .	147 <i>a</i>
	23 . . . . .	155 <i>d</i>
	26 . . . . .	131 <i>c</i>
19	2 . . . . .	114 <i>k</i>
	6 . . . . .	147 <i>a</i>
20	1 . . . . .	102 <i>b</i>
	19 . . . . .	128 <i>v</i>
	22 . . . . .	155 <i>l</i>
	34 . . . . .	63 <i>p</i>
	35 . . . . .	54 <i>a N.</i>
21	4 . . . . .	119 <i>w N.</i>
	17 . . . . .	133 <i>g</i>
22	5 . . . . .	35 <i>d</i>
23	1 . . . . .	117 <i>n</i>
25	17 . . . . .	156 <i>c N.</i>

## 2 Chronicles

26	5 . . . . .	114 <i>c</i>
	10 . . . . .	22 <i>s</i>
	15 75 <i>rr</i> , 114 <i>n</i> , 126 <i>x</i>	
	18 . . . . .	114 <i>l</i>
28	10 . . . . .	142 <i>f N.</i>
	21 . . . . .	147 <i>a</i>
	23 . . . . .	53 <i>o</i>
29	6 . . . . .	67 <i>y</i>
	10 . . . . .	165 <i>a</i>
	17 . . . . .	134 <i>p</i>
	18 . . . . .	117 <i>n</i>
	27 . . . . .	155 <i>l</i>
30	9 . . . . .	114 <i>p</i> , 147 <i>a</i>
	17 . . . . .	155 <i>d</i>
	18 . . . . .	130 <i>d N</i> <sup>2</sup>
	19 . . . . .	155 <i>n</i>
31	7 69 <i>n</i> , 71, 142 <i>f N</i> <sup>2</sup>	
	10 . . . . .	121 <i>d N</i> <sup>1</sup>
	17 . . . . .	117 <i>m</i>
32	9 . . . . .	101 <i>a</i>
	13 . . . . .	8 <i>k</i>
	30 . . . . .	69 <i>u</i>
34	10 . . . . .	45 <i>g</i>
	11 . . . . .	16 <i>f</i>
	12 . . . . .	10 <i>h</i>
35	4 . . . . .	93 <i>wv</i>
	21 109 <i>g</i> , 135 <i>g</i> , 147 <i>a</i>	
	23 . . . . .	69 <i>r</i>
36	23 . . . . .	137 <i>c</i>

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