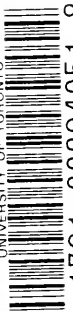


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Wilhelm GESENIUS'  
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**HEBREW GRAMMAR**

AS EDITED AND ENLARGED BY THE LATE

**E. KAUTZSCH**

PROFESSOR OF THEOLOGY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF HALLE

SECOND ENGLISH EDITION

REVISED IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE TWENTY-EIGHTH GERMAN  
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**A. E. COWLEY**

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A TABLE OF ALPHABETS BY M. LIDZBARSKI

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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 ATs nach der Überlieferung der babylonischen Juden*, Lpz. 1902 (giving on p. 51 ff. an outline of Hebrew accentuation 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>2.3-6.7.8-11.12.13.14.15.16.17</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  $\text{נָּנָּ}$  read  $\text{נָּנָּ}$  (as § 105 a).

[Editions often vary in individual passages, as regards the accentuation of the first syllable: but in the 7 occurrences of  $\text{נָּנָּ}$ , and the 6 of  $\text{נָּנָּ}$ , Baer, Ginsburg, and Kittel agree in having an accent on both syllables (as  $\text{נָּנָּ}$ ) 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  $\text{נָּנָּ}$ ) 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  $\text{נָּנָּ}$ .—S. R. D.]

Page 79, § 22 *s*, before  $\text{הִרְדֵּי יִפְהִי}$  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>13</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  $\text{הִרְהִי}$  read  $\text{הִרְהִי}$ .

Page 123, § 45 *e*, add: cf. also  $\text{לְהִפְכֶּה}$  followed by  $\text{אֵת}$ , 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"ב, 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 יִגְרֶהוּ, יִגְרֶל and יִגְרֶל, יָסַב and יָסַב, יִשָּׁם and יִשָּׁם), and elsewhere no doubt to dissimilate the vowels (as יָגַר, יִדַּל, never יִגַּר, יִדַּל, &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 הַנְּזֻקָה Ezr 4<sup>22</sup>.

Page 273, § 93 *q* end, add מוֹסְרוֹת Jer 5<sup>5</sup>, רַבְעִים, שְׁלֹשִׁים 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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THE SILOAM INSCRIPTION. From Müller-Benzinger, *Landeschaftsbilder* (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 (Tigrè, Tigrīna, 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. לָקַק, לָחַץ, לָעִיחוּ, *lingo*, Skt. *lih*, Eng. *to lick*, Fr. *lécher*, Germ. *lecken*; לָלַל (cf. לָלַל, לָלַל) *κυλιώ*, *volvo*, Germ. *quellen*, *wallen*, Eng. *to well*; לָרַר, לָרַט, לָרַת, *χαράττω*, Pers. *khâridan*, Ital. *grattare*, Fr. *gratter*, Eng. *to grate*, *to scratch*, Germ. *kratzen*; לָרַק *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 אָמַם (whence אָמַם *people*, properly *assembly*), אָמַם (*with*) *samt*, אָמַם also, *moreover*, Arab. أَمَمَ *to collect*; Pers. *ham*, *hamah* (*at the same time*); Skt. *samâ* (*with*), Gk. ἄμα (*ἀμφω*), ὄμος, ὄμοῦ (*ὄμλος*, *ὄμαδος*), and harder *κοινός*, Lat. *cum*, *cumulus*, *cunctus*; with the corresponding sibilant Skt. *sam*, Gk. σύν, ξύν, *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.); פַּרְדֵּיס (in Zend *pairidaēza*, circumvallation = παράδεισος) *pleasure-garden, park*; דַּרְיָהּ *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 קִיף 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. בַּיַּן *Bússos, byssus*; לְבָנָה *líbanos, λιβανωτός, incense*; קָנָה *kánē, κάννα, canna, cane*; כֻּמְזִין *kúmōn, cuminum, cumin*; קַסְיָה *kasíā, cassia*; גְּמֵל *kámēlos, camelus*; עֲרָבֹן *árhabōn, 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 *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.

iii 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 Shalmanezer 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-Arabian 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-Canaanitic, 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 that

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<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 (§ 3 a). The name Hebrew language (לְשׁוֹן עִבְרִית) γλώσσα 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 2<sup>6 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 *'ebraiyā*, '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>26</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 διάλεκτος 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 Me), 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־צִיָּרָק, 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 יְשַׁלְּחֵי (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 יִרְבֵּעַם 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 כְּנַעֲנִי 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*, שיש *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*, חנבעל *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 *צידון* for כהנים *priests*, אלנם (in Plaut. *atonim*) *gods*; the fem., even in the absolute state, ending in ת (*ath*) (§ 80 b) as well as נ (*ô*), the relative אש (Hebr. אשר), &c. The differences in pronunciation are more remarkable, especially in Punic, where the *i* was regularly pronounced as *û*, e.g. שפט *sûfêl* (judge), שלש *sâlûs* (three), רש *rûs* = ראש *head*; *i* and *e* often as the obscure dull sound of *y*, e.g. מַעַנְנִי *ymnyynu* (ecce eum), אַת (אית) *yth*; the *ç* as *o*, e.g. מעקר *Mocar* (cf. מַעַכָּה LXX, Gn 22<sup>24</sup> Μωχά). 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 = עלל (with hard *ç*; cf. § 6 c, and Assyr. *humri* = עָמְרִי, *hazzatu* = עָזָה); *iazkur* = יָזַכַּר, *zuruhu* = זָרַע, *abadat* = אָבָדָה, *šahri* = שָׁעַר, *gate*; *baḥnu* = בָּטַן, *belly*; *kilûbi* = כִּלְבֹּב, *net*; *šaduk* = צָדִיק (צדיק), &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.

*l* 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 נַעַר *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. Responson*, *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.  $\text{אָנֹשׁ}$  *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*; צֶרַח *enemy for אֵיב*.

Of word-forms, we may note, e. g. the longer forms of prepositions of place (§ 103 n) עָלַי = עָלַי, אֵלַי = אֵלַי, עָרַי = עָרַי; the endings וֹ, וּ in the noun (§ 90); the pronominal suffixes מוֹ, מוֹ, מוֹ for ׀, ׀, ׀ (§ 58); the plural ending יִ for ׀ (cf. § 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 †); 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. אָרְוָה declaration, אָנָּס compel, בֶּן son, בַּיַּת chalk, זָמַן = עַתָּה time, רָוַץ raise up, חָסַד Pi. reproach, טַלל 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, רָקָה rock, מִלֵּךְ advise, סוֹף = קֵץ end, לָקַח = קָח take, רָצַץ = רָצַץ break, שָׂנְאִים be many, שִׁלְטָה = מְלָכָה rule, תָּמַץ = 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. רָוִיד<sup>1</sup> (elsewhere רָוִד), even קָרַשׁ for קָרַשׁ, רֹב for רֵב; the interchange of ה and ח final; the more frequent use of substantives in ו, ו, ו, &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 שֵׁ, a common form in Phœnician (as well as שֵׁא), for שֵׁן (§ 36), which afterwards recurs in Jonah, Lamentations, the Song of Songs, the later Psalms, and Ecclesiastes.

Rem. 1. Of dialectal varieties in the old Hebrew language, only one<sup>20</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<sup>a</sup> becoming extinct, and the formation of the O. T. canon was

<sup>1</sup> רָוִיד 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 ve sedivision 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 (תַּרְגּוּמִים 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 הַבְּרִיחַ; מַסְרָה, i. e. מְוַסְרָה, being an equally legitimate form) is rightly rejected by König, l. c. The correctness of the form מְסַרְתָּ (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 מְסוֹרְתָּ (*JQR.* xii. 241). The remark of Levias (l. c.) deserves notice, that with the earlier Masoretes מְסוֹרָה 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 מְסַרְתָּ 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. Hayyim [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>rê (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 Hayyûg (also called Abu Zakarya Yahya, 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 פָּעַל, certain *voces memoriales*, as פָּנִיָּךְ פָּנִיָּךְ 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>2ff.</sup> = Mi 4<sup>1ff.</sup>, Is 36-39 = 2 K 18<sup>13-20</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>14ff.</sup> =  $\psi$  70,  $\psi$  108 =  $\psi$  57<sup>8ff.</sup> and 60<sup>7ff.</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, *Deuterocesaja*, 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. Hayyim (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 *inflection*, 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. Gramm.*, 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.; Nöwack, *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 Entwicklungsgesch. 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* (פְּתֻב מִרְבַּע), also the *Assyrian character* (פְּ אֲשֻּׁרִי),<sup>1</sup> are not those originally employed.

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

<sup>1</sup> The name אֲשֻּׁרִי (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>4f</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 Semitic 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 ערביה.

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>Bēth</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>Dālēth</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>Hēth</i>	<i>h</i> , a strong guttural	8
ט	<i>Tēth</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>Pē</i>	<i>p</i> ( <i>f</i> , see § 6 n)	80
צ, final ץ	<i>Ṣādē</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>Šīn</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 κόμμα).

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

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  $\text{קַמְנֶפְהֶס}$  *Kamnèphäs*, or better, with A. Müller and Stade,  $\text{קַמְנֶפְהֶס}$  i. e. *as the breaker in pieces*.<sup>1</sup> Of these,  $\text{ך}$ ,  $\text{ך}$ ,  $\text{ך}$ ,  $\text{ך}$  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  $\text{ם}$  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:  $\text{ם ר ל ה נ}$  (mnemonic word  $\text{מְחַלְתֵּם}$  *'ahaltèm*). In some MSS. other letters suitable for the purpose are also employed in this way, as  $\text{ך}$ ,  $\text{ך}$ ,  $\text{ך}$ ; 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.  $\text{יָד}$ ), but as a letter simply the sound *y*, with which this word begins; *'Ayin*, originally a circle, properly an *eye* ( $\text{עֵינַי}$ ), stands for the consonant *ay*. 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 ( $\text{ג}$ ,  $\text{ו}$ ,  $\text{ז}$ ,  $\text{ט}$ ,  $\text{ש}$ ) 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:  $\text{א ב ג ד ה ו ז ח ט י כ ל מ נ ס ע פ צ ק ר ש ת}$  *ox, f*

<sup>1</sup> In the Talmud, disregarding the alphabetical order,  $\text{קַמְנֶפְהֶס}$  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  $\text{קַמְנֶפְהֶס}$  = *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, *1raep. 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 פֶּרֶן *axe or pick-axe*), דְּלָת *door* (properly *folding door*; according to Lidzbarski, perhaps דָּר *the female breast*), אֵי *air-hole* (?), לַחֲצוֹת *lattice-window* (?), וַי *hook, nail*, יָרֵךְ *weapon* (according to Nestle, comparing the Greek  $\xi\eta\rho\alpha$ , rather יָרֵךְ *olive-tree*), חֵטֶם *fence, barrier* (but perhaps only differentiated from הָ by the left-hand stroke), טֵיב *a winding* (?), according to others a *leather bottle* or a *snake* (but perhaps only differentiated from תָּ by a circle round it), יָד *hand*, בָּעַת *bent hand*, לֶמֶד *ox-goad*, מַיִם *water*, נֶשֶׁן *fish* (Lidzbarski, 'perhaps originally נֶשֶׁן *snake*,' as in Ethiopic), סֶמֶךָ *prop* (perhaps a modification of לוֹ), עֵין *eye*, פֶּה *mouth* (פִּי) *mouth*, צַרְיָה *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 dargelegt.*, 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  $\psi\psi$  111, 112, 119, but with many variations from the customary forms, which rest on the traditional *Jewish* pronunciation. The forms *Deleth* (and *delth*), *Zai*, *Sen* (LXX also  $\chi\sigma\epsilon\tau$ , 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 *alf*, *bêt*, *dalt*, *wāw*, *tāw*, *pei* = *pé*, *pi*, *mouth*, and the vowel of  $\rho\hat{\omega}$  = *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 יָה, 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>  $\text{h}$ ), and  $\nu\nu$ <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>  $\text{b}$ ,  $\text{h}$ ,  $\text{d}$  exactly fit in between  $\text{p}$ ,  $\text{b}$ ,  $\text{y}$ , and that  $\psi$  10<sup>1-3-5</sup> therefore has the reverse order  $\text{h}$ ,  $\text{b}$ ,  $\text{y}$ ; also  $\psi\psi$  25 and 34 (both without a separate  $\text{y}$ -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>  $\text{h}$ ,  $\text{tôrâ}$ ,  $\text{edüth}$ , &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 1<sup>2-10</sup> 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 Böhmer, *ZAW*. 1908, p. 53 ff., the combinations  $\aleph\aleph$ ,  $\gamma\gamma$ ,  $\eta\eta$ , &c., were used in magical texts;  $\text{Dy}$  was excluded, but by a rearrangement  $\text{y}$  we get  $\eta\text{D}$  and  $\gamma\text{y}$ .

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  $\mathfrak{I}$  to  $\mathfrak{L}$  is partly disturbed or obscured. If  $\gamma$  before  $\mathfrak{Y}$  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 (*Yôd*, *Kaph*), as also two (if *Qôph* = back of the head) which represent the head, and in general several forms denoting objects naturally connected (*Mêm* and *Nûn*, *'Ayîn* and *Pê*), 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  $\Upsilon$  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 ת (= 400), with the addition of the remaining hundreds, e.g. תק 500. In compound numbers the greater precedes (on the right), thus א 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 יי, 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. א̇ 1000.

*l* *b.* The reckoning of the years in Jewish writings (generally ליצירה *after the creation*) follows either the *full chronology* (לפ' ג' or לפ'רט ג'רול) with the addition of the thousands, or the *abridged chronology* (לפ' קטן) 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>2</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. 'ש' for 'ישׂראֵל', 'פ' for 'פְּלִנִי' *aliquis*, 'ר' for 'דְּבָר' *aliquid*, 'וּגו' 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 יי or יי (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 מְנִיָּה), 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> (הַפְּקוּרִים). (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>23-28</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 *ŷ*, 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, אָשָׁם 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 ה 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. נָחַק nāhpakh; at the end of a word the consonantal ה 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 ו is related to א, but is a much stronger guttural. Its strongest sound is a rattled, guttural *g*, cf. e. g. וָעַץ, LXX Γάζα, וְעִמְרָן Γόμορρα; elsewhere, a weaker sound of the same kind, which the LXX reproduce by a *spiritus (lenis or asper)*, e. g. וָלִי 'חלִי, וְעִמְרָן '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 ו

<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 *Hieronymi 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*, עֲמֶלֶק *Amalek*), as to pronounce it exactly like *g* or like a nasal *ng*. The stronger sound might be approximately transcribed by *gh* or *ʳg*; but since in Hebrew the softer sound was the more common, it is sufficient to represent it by the sign ʿ, as אֲרַבַּע '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 *ʿ* 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. סָפַר 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 סָפַר for שָׂכַר to hire, Ezr 4<sup>b</sup>; שָׂבִילֹת for סָבִילֹת *folly*, Ec 1<sup>17</sup>.

י (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 (בְּנִדְכַפְת)

have a twofold pronunciation, (י) 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 Habaschilisch-punische Dialekte in Südarabien*, Munich, 1902, pp. 19 ff.—On the phonetic value of צ see G. Hüsing, *OLZ.* 1907, p. 467 ff.



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 ׳ 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 *ʾ* pronunciation became more and more neglected and finally were lost. Thus e.g. the stronger *ʾ* *ʾg*, which was known to the LXX (see above, e), became in many cases altogether lost to the later Jews; by the Samaritans and Galileans *ʾ* and *ḥ* were pronounced merely as *ḥ*, and so in Ethiopic, *ʾ* like *ḥ*, *ḥ* like *h*, *ʾ* 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. *ḥ*, ו, ׳ (as to ḥ, cf. § 23 k), or those which are most frequently affected by the changes described in § 19 b-l, as again *ḥ*, ו, ׳, and *ḥ*, and in certain cases *ḥ* and *ʾ*; finally the gutturals and *ḥ* 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 *عَيْنَيْن* 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*, יָוֵם 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. סוּתָה, עֵירָה Gn 49<sup>11</sup>, cf. § 91 e; so throughout the Mēša' inscription אַרְצָה, בֵּיתָה (also בֵּיתָה), בְּנָה, בָּה, לָה, הַלְתַחְמָה; on the other hand already in the Siloam inscription רֵעוּ.<sup>4</sup> מֵשָׁא, l. 8 = יָמָיו *his days* is unusual, as also רֵשָׁה l. 20 if it is for רֵאשִׁיו *his chiefs*. The verbal forms with ה suffixed are to be read אֶחְלַפְהָ (l. 6), וְאֶסְחַבְהָ (l. 12 f.) and וַיְגַרְשֶׁהָ (l. 19).

d As an example of the original consonant being retained, we might also include the י 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 אַרְצָה, קְרִימָה.

<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 *é*, nor any other final vowel.<sup>1</sup>

(b) The employment of ו to denote *ó*, *ú*, and of י to denote *é*, *í*, may *e* have resulted from those cases in which a ו with a preceding *a* was contracted into *au* and further to *ó*, or with a preceding *u* coalesced into *ú*, and where י with *a* has been contracted into *ai* and further to *é*, or with a preceding *i* into *í* (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 א also will in the first instance have established itself as a vowel letter only where a consonantal א with a preceding *a* had coalesced into *á* or *ā*.

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 אש, חצבם, חצבן, מימן (or מימן); אמת, קל, שלש, צר. On the other hand מוצא (from *mauša'*), עור (from *'aud*); מימן also, if it is to be read מימן, is an instance of the retention of a י which has coalesced with *i* into *i*. Instances of the retention of an originally consonantal א as a vowel letter are מאתים, מוצא, and קרא, as also ראש. Otherwise final *ā* is always represented by ה: אמה, היה, זרה, נקבה, זרה. To this ם alone would form an exception (cf. however the note on יום, § 96), instead of יום (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, ריבן (= *Daibōn*, as the *Δαιβών* of the LXX proves), הורבן (*ó* from *au*), and ביתה (*é* from *ai*), but also even השעני instead of הושעני (from *haus-*), ואשב, ואושב, ואושב, four times, ביתה once, for בית and ביתה (from *bait*); לילה = לילה, אן = אן or אן.

<sup>1</sup> Thus there occurs, e.g. in Melit. 1, l. 3 שנבנ = בני שני the two sons; elsewhere כ for פי (but כי in the Mēša' and Siloam inscr.), ו for וה (the latter in the Siloam inscr.), בנת = בנתי (so Mēša') or בנתי, &c. Cf. on the other hand in Mēša', אנכ = אנכי (unless it was actually pronounced *'anōkkh* by the Moabites!). As final *ā* is represented by ה and א and final *i* by י, so final *ú* is almost everywhere expressed by ו 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 ו and י) were not added in all cases. So Chwolson, 'Die Quiescentia הוי in der althebr. Orthogr.', in *Travaux du Congrès . . . des Orientalistes*, Petersb. 1876; cf. numerous instances in Ginsburg, *Introd.*, p. 146 ff.

<sup>2</sup> השעני is the more strange since the name of king הושע 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*, *qāṭūl*, *qāṭōl*, *qēṭōl*, *qōṭēl*, *qittēl*, *qattēl*, *quṭtal*, *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 Streites 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. Vocalisation,' 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  $\bar{\_}$ ,  $\underline{\_}$ ,  $\_$  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  $\text{שֶׁבַע מְלָכִים}$  *seven kings* were reckoned (*vox memor.* in Elias Levita  $\text{אֵלֶּימָר אֶלְיָהוּ}$ ), 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  $\_$  for  $\bar{o}$  or  $\bar{ö}$ , e. g.  $\text{קָבַר}$  and  $\text{קָבֵן}$ , out of pause  $\text{kābēd}$ ,  $\text{qā'ōn}$  (form  $\text{קָבַל}$ ), but in pause  $\text{kābēd}$ ,  $\text{qā'ōn}$ .

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  $\text{קָבַר} = \text{kābēd}$ , &c., is as impossible as e. g.  $\text{עָנַב} = \text{'ēnab}$  or  $\text{בָּרַךְ} = \text{bōrakh}$ , 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> *Qāmēš* denotes either  $\bar{a}$ ,  $\bar{ä}$ , more strictly  $\bar{ā}$  (the obscure Swedish  $\bar{a}$ ) and  $\hat{a}$ ,<sup>2</sup> as  $\text{יָד}$  *yād* (hand),  $\text{רָאשִׁים}$  *rā'shim* (heads), or  $\bar{ä}$  (in future transcribed as  $\bar{o}$ ), called *Qāmēš ḥātūph*, i. e. hurried *Qameš*. The latter occurs almost exclusively as a modification of  $\bar{u}$ ; cf. c and § 9 u.
2. — *Pāthāh*,  $\bar{a}$ ,  $\text{בָּת}$  *bāth* (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, *Introd.*, p. 609.

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



Also 3.  $\text{—}$  *S<sup>e</sup>gól*, an open *e*,  $\bar{e}$  ( $\bar{a}$  or  $\bar{ä}$ ), as a modification of  $\bar{a}$ ,<sup>1</sup> either in an untoned closed syllable, as in the first syllable of  $\text{יָדְךָ}$  *yädkkhèm* (your hand) from *yädkkhèm*—or in a tone-syllable as in  $\text{פְּסָח}$  *pēsah*; cf.  $\text{πᾶσχα}$ , and on the really monosyllabic character of such formations, see § 28 *e*. But *S<sup>e</sup>gól* in an open tone-syllable with a following  $\bar{a}$ , as in  $\text{יָדְךָ}$  *g<sup>e</sup>lènā* (cf. § 75 *f*),  $\text{יָדְךָ}$  *yädèkhā* (cf. § 91 *i*), is due to contraction from *ay*.

Second Class. I- and E-sounds.

- |   |   |  |
|---|---|--|
| I | { | 1. $\bar{a}$ <i>Hirēq</i> with <i>yod</i> , almost always $\bar{e}$ , as $\text{צַדִּיק}$ <i>šaddiq</i> (righteous). <span style="float: right;">b</span>  |
|   |   | 2. $\text{—}$ either $\bar{e}$ (see below, <i>i</i> ), as $\text{צַדִּיקִים}$ <i>šaddiqim</i> , only orthographically different from $\text{צַדִּיקִים}$ ( $\text{צַדִּיקִים}$ ),—or $\bar{e}$ , as $\text{צַדִּיק}$ <i>šidqō</i> (his righteousness).   |
| E | { | 3. $\bar{e}$ <i>Serē</i> or <i>Šerē</i> with <i>yod</i> = $\bar{e}$ , e. g. $\text{בֵּיתוֹ}$ <i>bêthō</i> (his house).<br>$\text{—}$ either $\bar{e}$ , but rarely (see below, <i>i</i> ), or $\bar{e}$ as $\text{שֵׁם}$ <i>šēm</i> (name).<br><i>Sere</i> can only be $\bar{e}$ , in my opinion, in few cases, such as those mentioned in § 29 <i>f</i> . |
|   |   | 4. $\text{—}$ <i>S<sup>e</sup>gól</i> , $\bar{ä}$ , a modification of $\bar{e}$ , e. g. $\text{חִפְּזִי}$ <i>hüfsi</i> (ground-form <i>hifs</i> ); $\text{שָׁן}$ <i>šän</i> (ground-form <i>šin</i> ).   |

Third Class. U- and O-sounds.

- |   |   |  |
|---|---|--|
| U | { | 1. $\bar{u}$ <i>Šärēq</i> , usually $\bar{u}$ , $\text{מָוֶת}$ <i>mūth</i> (to die), rarely $\bar{u}$ . <span style="float: right;">c</span>   |
|   |   | 2. $\text{—}$ <i>Qibbūs</i> , either $\bar{u}$ , e. g. $\text{סֻלָּאָם}$ <i>süllām</i> (ladder), or $\bar{u}$ , e. g. $\text{קָמוּ}$ <i>qūmū</i> (rise up), instead of the usual $\text{קָמוּ}$ .  |
| O | { | 3. $\bar{o}$ and $\text{—}$ <i>Hölēm</i> , $\bar{o}$ and $\bar{o}$ , $\text{קוֹל}$ <i>qōl</i> (voice), $\text{רֹב}$ <i>rōbh</i> (multitude).<br>Often also a defective $\text{—}$ for $\bar{o}$ ; rarely $\bar{o}$ for $\bar{o}$ .<br>On the question whether $\text{—}$ under some circumstances represents $\bar{o}$ , see § 93 <i>r</i> . |
|   |   | 4. $\text{—}$ On <i>Qāmēs hātūph</i> = $\bar{o}$ , generally modified from $\bar{u}$ , as $\text{חֹק}$ <i>höq</i> (statute), see above, <i>a</i> .   |

retained  $\bar{a}$ ,  $\bar{ä}$  in this grammar, as being typographically simpler and not liable to any misunderstanding. For *Qames ha'uph*, in the previous German edition expressed by  $\bar{ä}$ , we have, after careful consideration, returned to  $\bar{o}$ . The use of the same sign  $\text{—}$  for  $\bar{ä}$  ( $\bar{ä}$ ) and  $\bar{ä}$ , 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 *Qames rāhāb*, or broad *Qames*, and *Qames ha'uph*, or light *Qames*. It is quite impossible that in the living language an  $\bar{a}$  lengthened from  $\bar{ä}$ , as in *dābār*, should have been indistinguishable from e. g. the last vowel in  $\text{יָשָׁב}$  or the first in  $\text{יָשָׁב}$ .—The notation  $\bar{a}$ ,  $\bar{e}$ ,  $\bar{o}$  expresses here the vowels essentially long, either naturally or by contraction; the notation  $\bar{a}$ ,  $\bar{e}$ ,  $\bar{o}$  those lengthened only by the tone, and therefore changeable;  $\bar{a}$ ,  $\bar{e}$ ,  $\bar{o}$  the short vowels. As regards the others, the distinction into  $\bar{a}$  and  $\bar{e}$ ,  $\bar{u}$  and  $\bar{u}$  is sufficient; see § 9.—The mark  $\bar{a}$  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.  $\text{יָשָׁב}$ .

<sup>1</sup> These *S<sup>e</sup>gól*s, modified from  $\bar{ä}$ , 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 (= י) breaking, parting (cf. the Arab. *kasr*); הִיָּרֶק (also הִרֶק) narrow opening; הוּלָם closing, according to others fullness, i. e. of the mouth (also מְלֵא פִּימָה<sup>1</sup> fullness of the mouth). קָמִין<sup>2</sup> also denotes a slighter, as שׁוּרֶק and קְבוּץ (also קְבוּץ פִּימָה) a firmer, compression or contraction of the mouth. *S'göl* (סְגוּל bunch of grapes) takes its name from its form. So שְׁלֵשׁ נְקֻדּוֹת (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 קָמִין, פִּתַח for פִּתַח, צִיָּרִי for צִיָּרִי); in order to carry this out consistently some even write *Sägöl*, *Qomeš-hatûf*, *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*, רִ *rē*, רֵ *rē*, רֹ *rū*, &c. The *Pathah* called *furtivum* (§ 22 f) alone forms an exception to this rule, being pronounced before the consonant, רִיחַ *rūah* (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 *Helem* when *ō* (of course without *wāw*) is pronounced after *sin* or before *šin*. Hence שִׁנְאָה *šōnē* (hating), נִשְׂאָה *nēšō* (to bear), מוֹשֶׁה *mōšē* (not מוֹשֶׁה); but שִׁמְרָה *šōmēr* (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'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 *lōwē*, lending) or *wō*, when a vowel already precedes the ו, e. g. עוֹן *āwōn* (iniquity) for עוֹן. 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>).

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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 *metu 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), קָמִין and פִּתַח are rather Aram. participles, like *Dagesš*, &c., and consequently to be transliterated *Qimēs* and *Pāthah*.

<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  $\overset{\cdot}{\text{א}}$  in  $h$  the middle and  $\overset{\cdot}{\text{א}}$ ,  $\overset{\cdot}{\text{ב}}$ ,  $\overset{\cdot}{\text{ג}}$  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:  $\overset{\cdot}{\text{א}}$  =  $\overset{\cdot}{\text{a}}$ ,  $\overset{\cdot}{\text{א}}$ ,  $\overset{\cdot}{\text{ב}}$  = tone-bearing  $\overset{\cdot}{\text{a}}$  and  $\overset{\cdot}{\text{e}}$ ,  $\overset{\cdot}{\text{ב}}$  =  $\overset{\cdot}{\text{e}}$ ,  $\overset{\cdot}{\text{ג}}$ ,  $\overset{\cdot}{\text{ג}}$  =  $\overset{\cdot}{\text{i}}$ ,  $\overset{\cdot}{\text{ד}}$  =  $\overset{\cdot}{\text{o}}$ ,  $\overset{\cdot}{\text{ד}}$ ,  $\overset{\cdot}{\text{ה}}$  or  $\overset{\cdot}{\text{ה}}$  =  $\overset{\cdot}{\text{u}}$ . In an unsharpened syllable  $\overset{\cdot}{\text{א}}$  = toneless  $\overset{\cdot}{\text{a}}$  and  $\overset{\cdot}{\text{e}}$ , and also  $\overset{\cdot}{\text{א}}$  Pathah;  $\overset{\cdot}{\text{ב}}$  = toneless  $\overset{\cdot}{\text{e}}$  and  $\overset{\cdot}{\text{א}}$  S $\overset{\cdot}{\text{e}}$ ghol;  $\overset{\cdot}{\text{ג}}$  =  $\overset{\cdot}{\text{i}}$ ,  $\overset{\cdot}{\text{ד}}$  =  $\overset{\cdot}{\text{u}}$ ,  $\overset{\cdot}{\text{ה}}$  =  $\overset{\cdot}{\text{o}}$ , and  $\overset{\cdot}{\text{א}}$  Qames. Lastly in toneless syllables before Dageš,  $\overset{\cdot}{\text{א}}$  =  $\overset{\cdot}{\text{a}}$ ,  $\overset{\cdot}{\text{ב}}$  =  $\overset{\cdot}{\text{e}}$ ,  $\overset{\cdot}{\text{ג}}$  =  $\overset{\cdot}{\text{i}}$ ,  $\overset{\cdot}{\text{ד}}$  =  $\overset{\cdot}{\text{u}}$ ,  $\overset{\cdot}{\text{ה}}$  =  $\overset{\cdot}{\text{a}}$ . Š $\overset{\cdot}{\text{w}}$ â is  $\overset{\cdot}{\text{a}}$

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* (לְפָתוּחַ וְקָמֶץ), 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 Petropolitanus* (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  $\overset{\cdot}{\text{א}}$  =  $\overset{\cdot}{\text{v}}$ ). 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 $\overset{\cdot}{\text{א}}$  (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 (ا), 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*, *ê*, *ô* is called *scriptio defectiva* in contrast to *scriptio plena*. קוֹל, קוֹם are written *plene*, קֹל, קֹם *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*, *ô*, *ô*, *ê*, *ê*, *ê*, as well as for *ê* in קוֹה &c. (§ 9 f), also generally with *a*, *â* (cf. however § 9 d), e.g. מַלְכֵי, יְדֵי, קַטְלֵתִי, קַטְלֵי. (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> גֹּיִי instead of גֹּיִי; Zp 2<sup>9</sup> גֹּיִי [perhaps an error due to the following י] for גֹּיִי; Is 40<sup>21</sup> יְקוֹי [followed by י] for יְקוֹי; Jer 38<sup>11</sup> בְּלוֹיִי [בְּלוֹיִי].) 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. גֹּיִם (*nations*) for גֹּיִים, 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. הִקְיִמוֹתֵי Ez 16<sup>60</sup>: הִקְמֹתֵי and also הִקְמוֹתֵי 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 נְבִיאִים; צַדִּיק but צַדִּיקִים; קוֹל but קוֹלוֹת; 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. יֶ, יִ, יֶ, יֶ, יֶ, 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.).



a consonant, as  $\text{ד}$ ,  $\text{בּוֹכֵב}$  (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.  $\text{רָבֵר}$ ,  $\text{יָרֵר}$ ,  $\text{לָבֵם}$ . 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  $\acute{S}ewá$  (§ 27 i):  $\text{רָבֵר}$ , constr. state  $\text{רָבֵר}$  (*h<sup>a</sup>khām*);  $\text{רָבֵר}$ ,  $\text{רָבֵר}$  (*d<sup>e</sup>bhār*);  $\text{לָבֵם}$ ,  $\text{לָבֵם}$ . 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 ( $\text{רָבֵר}$  in the 2nd sing. masc. perf.,  $\text{רָבֵר}$  in the 2nd pl. fem. of the imperat., as well as in the 3rd and 2nd pl. fem. of the imperf.), in  $\text{רָבֵר}$  *thou* (masc.) and in the suffixes  $\text{רָבֵר}$  and  $\text{רָבֵר}$ ; the final  $\bar{a}$  can stand even without a vowel letter. A  $\text{רָבֵר}$  is, however, in these cases (except with  $\text{רָבֵר}$ ) frequently added as a vowel letter.

On  $\text{רָבֵר}$  for  $\check{a}$  see below, *f*.

e 2. *Pathah*, or short  $\check{a}$ , stands in Hebrew almost exclusively in a closed syllable with or without the tone ( $\text{לָבֵם}$ ,  $\text{לָבֵם}$ ). 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  $\bar{a}$  ( $\text{רָבֵר}$ ), see above, *c*.

On the very frequent attenuation of  $\bar{a}$  to  $\check{y}$ , cf. below, *h*. On the rare, and only apparent union of *Pathah* with  $\text{רָבֵר}$  ( $\text{רָבֵר}$ ), 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.  $\text{רָבֵר}$  (for *yadkhèm*), or with the tone, e.g.  $\text{רָבֵר}$  from *'ars*,  $\text{רָבֵר}$  Arab. *qārn*,  $\text{רָבֵר}$  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  $\text{רָבֵר}$ ,  $\text{רָבֵר}$  (*mālākh, sādāq*). As a rule, however, in such cases the *Pathah* which underlies the *Segól* is lengthened into *Qameṣ*, e.g.  $\text{רָבֵר}$ ,  $\text{רָבֵר}$ . A *Segól* apparently lengthened from  $\acute{S}ewá$ , but in reality traceable to an original  $\check{a}$ , stands in pausal forms, as  $\text{רָבֵר}$  (ground-form *pāry*),  $\text{רָבֵר}$  (*yāhy*), &c. On the cases where a ' (originally consonantal) follows this *Segól*, see § 75 *f*, and § 91 *k*.



תִּן from תִּן (*give*), יִצְרֵךְ (*thy creator*) from יִצַּר, or in the case discussed in § 93 o, הִלֵּק, יִצַּר from the ground-forms *hilq*, *izr*; cf. also § 64 f. *Seḡôl* appears as a simple helping-vowel in cases such as סִפְרָה for *siphr*, יִגֵּל 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, וֹ *Šureq*, e.g. גְּבוּל (*boundary*), or (b) defectively written — *Qibbûs* גְּבוּלוֹ, יִמְחוֹן;

(2) the short *û*, mostly represented by *Qibbûs*, 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 וֹ, e.g. הַיְבֵהָ ψ 102<sup>5</sup>, יִגֵּל Jb 5<sup>7</sup>, בּוֹלָם Jer. 31<sup>34</sup>, מְשׁוֹכְתוֹ Is 5<sup>5</sup>, עֲרוּמַיִם Gn 2<sup>25</sup> for הַיְבֵהָ, &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. אֲמַר = 'Εμμήρ. The pronunciation of the *Qibbûs* 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 *bûbûl* for the Persian *bûbul*, 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 *ô* which is contracted from *aw* (= *au*), § 7 a, and accordingly is mostly written fully; וֹ (*Holem plenum*), e.g. שׁוֹט (*a whip*), Arab. *saut*, עוֹלָה (*iniquity*) from עוֹלָה. More rarely *defectively*, as שׁוֹר (*thine ox*) from שׁוֹר Arab. *šaur*.

q (2) The long *ô* which arose in Hebrew at an early period, by a general process of obscuring, out of an original *â*,<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. *gâbbâr*; חוֹתָם (*seal*), Arab. *hâtâm*; רְמוֹן (*pomegranate*), Arab. *rûmmân*; שְׁלֵטוֹן (*dominion*), Aram. *šlîṭôn* and שְׁלֵטָן Arab. *sûlṭân*; שְׁלוֹם (*peace*), Aram. *šlâm*, Arab. *sâlâm*. Sometimes the form in *â* also occurs side by side with that in *ô* as שְׁרִין and שְׁרִיין (*coat of mail*; see however § 29 u). Cf. also § 68 b.

r (3) The tone-long *ô* which is lengthened from an original *û*, or from an *ô* arising from *û*, 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 *â*, 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 *qūḏš*) *sanctuary*; בִּרְרָה for *burrakh*, בִּרְרָהּ, בִּרְרָהּ, ψ 104<sup>23</sup>, as well as (with *Metheg*) in the secondary tone-syllable; אִיִּי, אִיִּיִּי. But the original *ō* (*ū*) is retained in a toneless closed syllable, whereas in a toneless open syllable it is weakened to *Šewā*. Cf. אֵל *all*, but אֵלֵךְ (*köl*), אֵלֵךְ (küllām); אֵלֵךְ, אֵלֵךְ־ךָ and אֵלֵךְ־ךָ, where original *ū* is weakened to *Šewā*: *yiqī<sup>el</sup>ū*, Arab. *yaqtūlū*. This tone-long *ō* is only as an exception written fully.

(4)  $\text{—}$  *Qameš-ḥaṭuph* represents *ō* (properly *ǎ*, cf. § 8 a, note 2) modified from *ū* and is therefore classed here. It stands in the same relation to *Holem* as the *S<sup>e</sup>gól* of the second class to *Sere*, אֵלֵךְ *köl*, אֵלֵךְ־ךָ *wayyāqōm*. 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 אֵ־ $\text{—}$ ).	אֵ־ <i>é</i> , from original <i>ay</i> ( <i>ai</i> ).  אֵ־ or $\text{—}$ long <i>i</i> .	אִ־ <i>ō</i> , from original <i>aw</i> ( <i>au</i> ). אִ־ or $\text{—}$ <i>ō</i> obscured from <i>ā</i> . אִ־ or $\text{—}$ <i>ú</i> .
$\text{—}$ tone-long <i>ā</i> (from original <i>ā</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>ū</i> ) in the tone-syllable, otherwise in an open syllable.
$\text{—}$ (as a modification of <i>ā</i> ) sometimes a tone-long <i>ē</i> , sometimes <i>ē</i> . $\text{—}$ short <i>ǎ</i> . [ $\text{—}$ <i>i</i> attenuated from <i>ā</i> ; see <i>h</i> .] Utmost weakening to $\text{—}$ <sup>a</sup> , $\text{—}$ <sup>ē</sup> , $\text{—}$ <sup>e</sup> .	$\text{—}$ <i>ē</i> .  $\text{—}$ short <i>i</i> .  Utmost weakening to $\text{—}$ <sup>a</sup> , $\text{—}$ <sup>ē</sup> , or $\text{—}$ <sup>e</sup> .	$\text{—}$ <i>ō</i> , modified from <i>ū</i> .  $\text{—}$ short <i>ū</i> , especially in a sharpened syllable.  Utmost weakening to $\text{—}$ <sup>a</sup> , $\text{—}$ <sup>ē</sup> , $\text{—}$ <sup>o</sup> , or $\text{—}$ <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 *ō* or *ǎ* (*Qameš-ḥaṭuph*) are in manuscripts and printed texts generally expressed by the same sign ( $\text{—}$ ), e.g. אֵלֵךְ *qām*, אֵלֵךְ *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.  $\text{הַחֲנֹנֵנִי}$  *hōnnēnī* (have mercy upon me); but  $\text{בְּחַיִּים}$  (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>6</sup> with  $\text{עָרַב}$ , and Ez 37<sup>8</sup> with  $\text{וַיִּקְרָם}$  (so Baer after Qimhi; ed. Mant., Ginsburg, Kittel  $\text{וַיִּקְרָם}$ ).

(d) In a closed final syllable without the tone, e.g.  $\text{וַיָּקֹם}$  *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.  $\text{בְּבֵרְתֶיךָ}$  Est 4<sup>8</sup>,  $\text{שְׂתִילִי}$  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  $\bar{a}$ .

v 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.  $\text{עֹז־גֹּדֵד}$  *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>18</sup>); *Hateph-Pathah* follows in  $\text{לְמַשְׁחֶה}$  (so Ginsburg; Baer  $\text{לְמַשְׁחֶה}$ ) 1 S 15<sup>1</sup>,  $\text{לְהַרְגֵהוּ}$  24<sup>11</sup>, and  $\text{יַפְנֹשֶׁה}$  (so Baer, Gn 32<sup>18</sup>, others  $\text{יַפְנֹשֶׁה}$ ); (b) before another *Qameš-hatuph*, e.g.  $\text{פְּעָלֶיךָ}$  *thy work*; on  $\text{אֲרַהֲלִי}$  and  $\text{קְבַהֲלִי}$  Nu 23<sup>7</sup>, see § 67 o; (c) in the two plural forms  $\text{קְדָשִׁים}$  *sanctuaries* and  $\text{שְׁרָשִׁים}$  *roots* (also written  $\text{קְדָשִׁים}$  and  $\text{שְׁרָשִׁים}$ ). In all these cases the Jewish grammarians regard the *Metheg* accompanying the  $\text{ֿ}$  as indicating a *Qameš raḥabh* (broad *Qameš*) and therefore read the  $\text{ֿ}$  as  $\bar{a}$ ; thus *pā-<sup>o</sup>lō*, *dā-<sup>r</sup>e-bān*, *pā-<sup>o</sup>l'khā*, *qā-dāšīm*. 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 Qames is here used loosely for  $\ddot{a}$ , as the equivalent of  $\bar{o}$ , on the analogy of  $\text{לְעָלָי}$  &c., § 93 q. As a matter of fact, however, we ought no doubt to divide and read  $p\ddot{o}'-l\ddot{o}$  (for  $p\ddot{o}'-l\ddot{o}$ ),  $p\ddot{o}'\ddot{o}-l\ddot{e}kh\ddot{a}$ ,  $q\ddot{o}d\ddot{a}-\ddot{s}im$ .—Quite as inconceivable is it for *Metheg* to be a sign of the lengthening into  $\bar{a}$  in  $\text{בְּרִיחֵי הַיָּם}$  (Ex 11<sup>8</sup>), although it is so in  $\text{בְּרִיחֵי הַיָּם}$   $\bar{a}\ddot{a}'-ni$  (in the navy), since here the  $\bar{a}$  of the article appears under the  $\text{כ}$ .

### § 10. The Half Vowels and the Syllable Divider ( $\check{S}ew\ddot{a}$ ).

1. Besides the full vowels, Hebrew has also a series of vowel *a* sounds which may be called *half vowels* (Siewers, *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  $\check{S}ew\ddot{a}$ . 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  $\check{e}$  ( $\text{ְ}$ ). It is called  $\check{S}ew\ddot{a}$ ,<sup>1</sup> which may be either *simple*  $\check{S}ew\ddot{a}$  ( $\check{S}ew\ddot{a}$  *simplex*) as distinguished from the compound (see *f*), or *vocal*  $\check{S}ew\ddot{a}$  ( $\check{S}ew\ddot{a}$  *mobile*) as distinguished from  $\check{S}ew\ddot{a}$  *quiescens*, which is silent and stands as a mere syllable divider (see *i*) under the consonant which closes the syllable.

The vocal  $\check{S}ew\ddot{a}$  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  $\text{קָטַלְתָּ}$   $q\ddot{o}-t\ddot{e}l\ddot{a}$ ,  $\text{יָקַטְלִי}$   $yiq-t\ddot{e}l\ddot{a}$ .

In former editions of this Grammar  $\check{S}ew\ddot{a}$  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 Siewers, *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>ph</sup>ath letter (§ 6 n) remains spirant instead of taking *Dage's lene*, is explained by Siewers on the 'supposition that the change from hard to spirant is older than the elision

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

of the vowel, and that the prehistoric *malakai* became *malakhai* before being shortened to *malkehē*. In cases like מַלְכֵי (from מַלְכִּים), יְקָרִי (from יְקָרִים) 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*, ἀλληλοῦια, more frequently by *α*, ἀλλοῦια, but very frequently by assimilating its indeterminate sound to the following principal vowel, e. g. סָרַם סָרָמָה, סָרָמָה סָרָמָה (as well as סָרָמָה), סָרָמָה סָרָמָה, סָרָמָה סָרָמָה. 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 סָרָמָה 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 *Hātēph* (*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):—

(—) *Hātēph-Páthah*, e. g. מֹמֶר *h<sup>a</sup>môr*, ass.

(—) *Hātēph-S<sup>g</sup>ól*, e. g. מֹמֶר *'emôr*, to say.

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

These *Hātēphs*, 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 *Hātēph* as compared with — cf. § 27 v.

g Rem. A. Only — and — occur under letters which are not gutturals. *Hātēph-Pathah* 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, מֹמֶר 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. מֹמֶר *Malaga*, מֹמֶר *gubulim* (Schröder, *Die phöniz. Spr.*, p. 139 ff.). Cf. the Latin augment in *momordi*, *pupugi*, with the Greek in τέτυφα, τετυμμένος, and the old form *memordi*.

<sup>2</sup> See especially *Yehuda* Παγγύς, 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 *Saḥoth*, 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 Šwā (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 Šwā the same consonant follows (to separate them more sharply, and hence with a *Metheg* always preceding), e. g. סוּרְרִים ψ 68<sup>8</sup>; קָלְלָתָךְ (ed. Mant. and Ginsb. קָלְלָהּ) Gn 27<sup>13</sup> (but not without exceptions, e. g. חֲקִיקֶיךָ Ju 5<sup>15</sup>, Is 10<sup>1</sup>; צִלְלֵי Jer 6<sup>4</sup>, and so always הִנְנִי *behold me*, הִנְנִי *behold us*; on ק before the suffix ך, see § 20 b); also in certain forms under *Kaph* and *Rēš* after a long vowel and before the tone, e. g. הַאֲבִלְנָה Gn 37<sup>17</sup>; בְּרַכְיָי ψ 103<sup>1</sup>; וַתִּשְׂרְתָהוּ 1 K 1<sup>4</sup> (but וַתִּבְרַכְנוּ 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 Šwā remains even before the tone, as בְּרַכְנוּ, &c.; but before *Maqqef* אֲלַכְתֶּנָּה Baer Ex 4<sup>18</sup>, 2 S 15<sup>7</sup>, Jer 40<sup>15</sup>, but ed. Mant., Jabl., Ginsb. אֲלָ) <sup>2</sup>; (b) under initial sibilants after ו copulative, e. g. וַיְהִיב Gn 2<sup>12</sup>; cf. Jer 48<sup>20</sup>; וַיִּסְחַר Is 45<sup>14</sup>; וַיִּשְׂרָה 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 Šwā. For the same reason under the emphatic ט in הוֹטְלוּ Jer 22<sup>28</sup>; cf. Jb 33<sup>25</sup>; after *Qōph* in וַיִּקְרָרְתִּי (so Baer, but ed. Mant., Jabl., Ginsb. וַיִּקְרַ) Ez 23<sup>41</sup>; וַיִּרְבֹּ-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>11</sup>; under ב Est 2<sup>8</sup>; וַיִּבְרַךְ 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) אֲמָרוֹת ψ 12<sup>7</sup>; הַהֲמַלְךָ Jer 22<sup>15</sup>; בְּנִירוֹת Jos 11<sup>2</sup>; בְּבִסְבָּךְ ψ 74<sup>5</sup>,—for the same reason as the cases under b<sup>3</sup>; according to Baer also in שִׁפְמוֹת 1 S 30<sup>28</sup>; יִפְנִישֶׁךְ Gn 32<sup>18</sup> after ם (cf. § 9 v), as well as after א in הַקְּשִׁיבָה Dn 9<sup>19</sup>; הַבְּרָכָה Gn 27<sup>38</sup>; הַיִּצְרָעִים 2 K 7<sup>8</sup>.

B. The *Ḥateph-Qameš* is less restricted to the gutturals than the first two, *h* and stands more frequently for a simple Šwā mobile when an original O-sound requires to be partly preserved, e. g. at the beginning, in רֵאִי (ground-form *rū'y*) *vision* (cf. § 93 z); בְּנִיָּהוּ 2 Ch 31<sup>12</sup>, &c., *Q'rē* (*K'ethi*. "בונִי") *Ammonitish women*, 1 K 11<sup>1</sup> (sing. עֲמוֹנִית); יִרְבֶּךָ for the usual יִרְבְּךָ Ez 35<sup>6</sup>, from יִרְדָּךְ Nu 23<sup>25</sup>, Jer 31<sup>38</sup>, and elsewhere before suffixes, cf. § 60 a; קִרְקָרוּ *his pate* (from קִרְקָר) ψ 7<sup>17</sup>, &c.; אֲשַׁקְטָה Is 18<sup>4</sup> *Q'rē*. Further, like —, it stands under consonants, which ought to have *Dageš forte*, as in לִקְחָהּ (for לִקְחָהּ) Gn 2<sup>23</sup>. In this example, as in וַיִּסְעָרָה 1 K 13<sup>7</sup>; וַיִּסְעָרָה 2 K 7<sup>18</sup>; and וַיִּצְעָקִי 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 Šwā quiescens) generally before a guttural or ר; hence Baer reads in 2 S 15<sup>5</sup> בְּקִרְבֶּ-ψ 18<sup>7</sup> אֲקָרָא; 49<sup>15</sup> לְשֵׂאוֹל; 65<sup>5</sup> תִּבְחָר; 68<sup>24</sup> תִּמְחֹח; Pr 30<sup>17</sup> תִּלְעַג; 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-Palḥah* is preferred, see above, *b*; but with  $\text{לִקְהָה}$  cf. also  $\text{סָבְלוּ}$  Is 9<sup>3</sup>, 10<sup>27</sup>, 14<sup>25</sup>, where the U-sound must necessarily be admitted to have an influence on the  $\check{S}ewā$  immediately following.) In  $\text{וַיִּתְּרָה}$  (*ú-<sup>th</sup>ör*) 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  $\text{קָסֻם}$ , where again the  $\bar{o}$  represents an  $\bar{o}$ . 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>;  $\text{אִפְשָׁעָה}$  Is 27<sup>4</sup>;  $\text{וַאֲשַׁעָה}$  Dn 8<sup>13</sup>;  $\text{שִׁמְעָה}$   $\psi$  39<sup>13</sup>;  $\text{בְּסַעְרָה}$  2 K 2<sup>1</sup> (Baer's ed. also in ver. 11);  $\text{הַקְּהָתִים}$  2 Ch 34<sup>12</sup> (ed. Mant., Opitius, &c. *הִקְּ*). Finally in most of the examples which have been adduced, the influence of an emphatic sound ( $\text{ך}$ ,  $\text{ט}$ , cf. also  $\text{אֲלֵקְטָה}$  Ru 2<sup>27</sup>), or of a sibilant is also to be taken into account.

*i* 3. The sign of the simple  $\check{S}ewā$   $\text{ֿ}$  serves also as a mere syllable divider. In this case it is disregarded in pronunciation and is called  $\check{S}ewā$  *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*,  $\text{אָתְךְ}$  *thou fem.* (for *ant*),  $\text{רָמַלְתְךְ}$  *thou fem. hast killed*,  $\text{וַיִּשְׁקְךְ}$  *and he watered*,  $\text{וַיִּשָׁבְךְ}$  *and he took captive*,  $\text{אַל־תִּשְׁתְךְ}$  *drink thou not*; but  $\text{וַיִּרְאָה}$ ,  $\text{הִטָּה}$ .

*k* However, in the examples where a mute closes the syllable, the final  $\check{S}ewā$  comes somewhat nearer to a vocal  $\check{S}ewā$ , especially as in almost all the cases a weakening of a final vowel has taken place, viz.  $\text{אָתְךְ}$  'att<sup>e</sup> from  $\text{אָתְתִי}$  'atti ('anti),  $\text{רָמַלְתְךְ}$  from  $\text{רָמַלְתִּי}$  (cf. in this form, the 2nd sing. fem. perf. Qal, even  $\text{בָּאָתְךְ}$ , after a vowel, Gn 16<sup>8</sup>, Mi 4<sup>10</sup>, &c., according to the readings of Baer),  $\text{וַיִּשְׁבְךְ}$  *yisb<sup>e</sup>* from  $\text{וַיִּשְׁבֵּה}$ , &c. The Arabic actually has a short vowel in analogous forms. In  $\text{נָרְךְ}$  borrowed from the Indian, as also in  $\text{קִשְׁבְךְ}$  (*qōš<sup>t</sup>*) Pr 22<sup>21</sup>; and in  $\text{אַל־תוֹסַרְךְ}$  *ne addas* (for which we should expect  $\text{תוֹסַרְךְ}$ ) Pr 30<sup>6</sup> the final mute of itself attracts a slight vowel sound.

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

### § 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  $\text{יָתְךְ}$  as an ending of the 2nd sing. fem. perf. Qal of verbs  $\text{ל'ה}$ , 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 מִּנְּפִתָּהּ (Dageš lene). For a variety of the latter, now rarely used in our printed texts, see § 13 c.

The root נִשְׁנָה 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 נִשְׁנָה 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. נִשְׁנָה *acuens (literam)* would then be a sign of sharpening and hardening (like *Mappiq* מִּפְּיָהּ *proferens, as signum prolationis*), for which purposes a *prick of the pen, or puncture*, was selected. The opposite of *Dageš* is רַפָּהּ *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 שְׂרֵעָה (וּ); in the latter case the point should stand higher up. The וּ 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  $\text{בְּבִיבְבִי}$  letters (§ 6 n) as a sign that they should be pronounced with their original hard sound (without aspiration), e. g.  $\text{מֶלֶךְ}$  *mèlèkh*, but  $\text{מַלְכוֹ}$  *ma'-kô*;  $\text{תָּפַר}$  *tāphār*, but  $\text{יִתְפַּר}$  *yith-pōr*;  $\text{שָׂתָה}$  *šāthā*, but  $\text{יִשְׂתֶּה}$  *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,  $\text{רַבִּים}$  *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 *Hatefs* discussed in § 10 g. It is inserted in consonants other than the *B'gadhēphath* to call attention expressly to the beginning of a new syllable: (a) when the same consonant precedes in close connexion, e. g.  $\text{בְּבִיבְבִי}$   $\psi$   $\rho^2$ , where, owing to the *Dageš*, the coalescing of the two *Lameds* is avoided; (b) in cases like  $\text{מַחְסֵי}$   $\psi$  62<sup>8</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  $\text{לֵל לֵל}$  Dt 32<sup>5</sup>, or  $\text{לֵל לֵל}$  Hb 1<sup>6</sup>, 2<sup>6</sup> &c. (so always also in Ginsburg's text, except in Gn 38<sup>9</sup>); see also § 20 e and g.—Delitzsch appropriately gives the name of *Dageš orthophonium* to this variety of *Dageš* (*Bibl. Kommentar*, 1874, on  $\psi$  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'gadhēphath*, 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  $\text{ו וי וי}$  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  $\text{ה}$  at the end of words (since  $\text{ה}$  can never be a vowel letter in the middle of a word), e. g.  $\text{גָּבְהָהּ}$  (*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  $\text{ה}$  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  $\aleph$  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 N*, § 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* ( $\aleph$  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  $\aleph$  letter has either *Dageš lene* or *Rāphè*, e. g.  $\aleph$  *mèlèkh*,  $\aleph$ . 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,  $\aleph$  *א* [The Laws of the Accents], Rödelheim, 1808 (a compilation from older Jewish writers on the accents, with a commentary); W. Wickes (see also below),  $\aleph$  *א* [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  $\aleph$ ), ed. by Heinemann, Frankf. a. M. 1896; Prätorius, *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  $\aleph$  (see below, h), S. Baer,  $\aleph$  *א* [Accental Laws of the Books  $\aleph$ ], 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,  $\aleph$  *א* [Accents of the Poet. Books], Oxford, 1881; Mitchell, in the *Journal of Bibl. Lit.*, 1891, p. 144 ff.; Baer and Strack, *Dikduke ha-š'amim*, p. 17 ff.

1. As Prätorius (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. מִלְרָע i.e. accented below<sup>3</sup>), e.g. קָטָל *qātāl*; a word which has the tone on the penultima is *Mil'el* (Aram. מִלְעֵל, accented above), e.g. מַלְכָּה *mēlēkh*. Besides this, in many cases a *secondary tone* is indicated in the word by *Mèthēg* (cf. § .16). Examples such as נְעֻמָּה יְחִיר 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 מִקְחָה, from the initial consonants of the names, תְּהִלִּים Psalms, מִשְׁלֵי Proverbs, אֵינוֹב Job, or more correctly, according to their original sequence, תְּאִמִּים (תָּאִים *twin*), so that מִקְחָה 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. *'Athnāh* 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. : אֲרָץ יְרֵדָה.
2. (—) אֲתַנַּח 'Athnâh or אֲתַנַּחְתָּא 'Athnahtā (*rest*), the principal divider within the verse.
- 3 a. (—) סֶגוֹלְתָא Sogôltā, *postpositive*, marks the fourth or fifth subordinate division, counting backwards from 'Athnâh (e.g. Gn I<sup>7,28</sup>).
- 3 b. (|—) שַׁלְשֵׁלֶת Šalšëleth (i.e. *chain*), as disjunctive, or Great Šalšëleth, 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־מִצְרַיִם *Reges* and מְשִׁיבֵי־רוּחַ *Servi*. The division of the disjunctive accents into Imperatores, Reges, Duces, Comites, which became common amongst Christian grammarians, originated in the *Scrulinum 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 טַעְמֵי (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. Kennedy, *The Note-line in the Heb. Scriptures*, Edinb. 1903, with an index of all the occurrences of *Paseq*, p. 117 ff. According to Kennedy 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 Masoretes, 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 זָקֵף Zâqêph gādôl, and  
 4 b. (—) זָקֵף קָטוֹן Zâqêph qâţôn. The names refer to their musical character. As a disjunctive, Little Zâqêph is by nature stronger than Great Zâqêph; but if they stand together, the one which comes first is always the stronger.
5. (—) טִפְחָא Tiphhâ or טַרְחָא Tarhâ, 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>15</sup>), but also in longer verses (Gn 3<sup>21</sup>).
6. (—) רֵבִיעַ Rebhîa'.
7. (—) זַרְקָא Zarqâ, *postpositive*.
- 8 a. (—) פַּשְׁטָא Paştâ, *postpositive*,<sup>1</sup> and  
 8 b. (—) יֶתִיב Yethibh, *prepositive*, and thus different from Mehup-pâkh. Yethibh is used in place of Paştâ when the latter would stand on a monosyllable or on a foretoned word, not preceded by a conjunctive accent.
9. (—) תֵּבְחִיר Telbhir.
- 10 a. (—) גֵּרֵשׁ Gêres̄ or טְרֵס Têres, and  
 10 b. (—) גֵּרֵשִׁים Gerâşâyim<sup>2</sup> or Double Gêres̄, used for Gêres̄, when the tone rests on the ultima, and 'Azlâ does not precede.
- 11 a. (—) פָּזֵר Pâzêr, and  
 11 b. (—) פָּזֵר גָּדוֹל Pâzêr gādôl (Great Pâzêr) or קַרְנֵי פָּרָה Qarnê phârâ (cow-horns), only used 16 times, for special emphasis.
12. (—) תֵּלִישָׁא גדולה Telişâ gedôlâ or Great Telişâ, *prepositive*.
13. (—) לְגַרְמֵהּ Legarmêh, i.e. Mûnah̄ (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, Paştâ is placed over it also, e.g. תֵּבְחִיר Gn 1<sup>2</sup>; cf. below, l.

<sup>2</sup> Wickes requires Geršâyim (גֵּרֵשִׁים).

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

g

14. (—) מִוְנַח Múnaḥ.  
 15. (—) מְהֻפָּךְ Mehuppākh or מַהֻפָּךְ Mahpākh.  
 16 a. (—) מֵרֵכָה or מְרֵכָה Mérékhā, and  
 16 b. (—) מְרֵכָה כְּפֻלָּה Mérékhā khēphúlā or Double Mérékhā.  
 17. (—) דַּרְגָּא Dargā.  
 18. (—) אֲזֵלָא 'Azlā, when associated with Gèreš (see above) also called Qadmā.  
 19. (—) תְּלִישָׁא קֶטַנָּה Telišā qeṭannā or Little Telišā, *postpositive*.  
 20. (—) גַּלְגַּל Galgal or יְרַח Yèrah.  
 [21. (—) מַעְיְיֵלָא Me'ayyēlā or מַיְיֵלָא Mâyēlā, a variety of Tiphḥa, serves to mark the secondary tone in words which have Sillûq or 'Athnāḥ, or which are united by Maqqēph with a word so accentuated, e.g. גַּלְגַּל יְרַח Gn 8<sup>18</sup>.]

II. *The Accents of the Books* מִתְּנֵי.

## A. DISTINCTIVE.

h

1. (—) Sillûq (see above, I, 1).  
 2. (—) עֹלֶה וְיֹרֵד 'Ôlè weyôréd,<sup>1</sup> a stronger divider than  
 3. (—) 'Athnāḥ (see above, I, 2). In shorter verses 'Athnāḥ suffices as principal distinctive; in longer verses 'Ôlè weyôréd serves as such, and is then mostly followed by 'Athnāḥ as the principal disjunctive of the second half of the verse.  
 4. (—) Rebbhiā' gādôl (Great Rebbhiā').  
 5. (—) Rebbhiā' mugrāš, i.e. Rebbhiā' with Gèreš 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 Mérékhā or Mahpākh.  
 8. (—) Rebbhiā' qāṭôn (Little Rebbhiā') immediately before 'Ôlè weyôréd.  
 9. (—) דְּהִי Dēḥi or Tiphḥā, *prepositive*, to the right underneath the initial consonant, e.g. דְּהִי גַלְגַּל (consequently it does not mark the tone-syllable).

<sup>1</sup> Wrongly called also Mérékhā mehuppākh (*Mérékha mahpakhatum*), although the accent underneath is in no way connected with Mérékhā; 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. (  $\overset{\vee}{\text{—}}$  ) Mērekhā (see above, I. 16 a).  
 13. (  $\overset{\vee}{\text{—}}$  ) Mūnaḥ (see above, I. 14).  
 14. (  $\overset{\vee}{\text{—}}$  ) עֲלִי 'Illūy or Mūnaḥ superior.  
 15. (  $\overset{\vee}{\text{—}}$  ) טַרְחָה 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. (  $\overset{\vee}{\text{—}}$  ) Šinnórith, 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 *iššabbū* Gn 19<sup>4</sup>; so the prepositive sign in cases like יִדְבְּבוּ *iddabbū* 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 (*ditiō*) 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'bhīā) 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 םתא, the *R'bhîa' mugrāš* before *Sillūq*, and the *D'hi* before *'Athnāh*, must be changed into conjunctives, unless at least two toneless syllables precede the principal disjunctive. For this purpose *Š'wā mobile* after *Qameš*, *Sere*, or *Holem* (with *Metheg*) is to be regarded as forming a syllable. After 'Olè w'yōréd the 'Athnāh does not necessarily act as pausal (cf. Delitzsch on  $\psi$  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 ויזכב onward (where  $\rho$ ) 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 *Sillūq* (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'bhîa'*. Again פני, regarded as closing v. 3, is pointed פני (pausal *Qameš* with *Sillūq*), 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*, עד־ *until*, על־ *upon*, עם־ *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. מעם, מעל, 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 אל־כֹּל;  $\psi$  47<sup>5</sup>, 60<sup>2</sup>, Pr 3<sup>12</sup> in the case of אֵת, 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<sup>7</sup>; or two words of more than one syllable, e.g. שִׁבְעָה־עָשָׂר *seventeen*, Gn 7<sup>11</sup>. Cf. the Greek proclitics *ἐν, ἐκ, εἰς, ἐι, ὤς, οὐ*, which are *atonic*, and lean on the following word.

**C 2.** Mètheg (מֶתֶג *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 *Mu'arikh*, *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. הָאֲרָבַעִים (also in such cases as עֲבָד־הַמֶּלֶךְ), 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. לִשְׁבַע־עֲתִידֶיכֶם. 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 *ו* copulative, consequently we do not find וּבְנֵים, &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, *ו* copulative, see above), which are followed by a *Šewā mobile* preceding the tone-syllable; e.g. יִשְׁנֶנּוּ, &c. (β) To emphasize a long vowel in a closed syllable immediately before Maqqēph, e.g. שֶׁת־לִי Gn 4<sup>25</sup> (not *šūth-li*); hence also with בָּל־ψ 138<sup>2</sup>, and אֶת־Jb 41<sup>26</sup> (for בָּל־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 *Sēghôl*, e.g. אֶהְבֶּה־דַעַת Pr 12<sup>1</sup> (not *'ôhēbh*). (δ) With all vowels before composite *Šewā*, e.g. עֹמֵר, &c. (except when the following consonant is strengthened, e.g. יִקְבְּנוּ 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 עֹמְדֵי, &c. (ε) In the preformative syllable of all forms of הִיָּה *to be*, and חִיָּה *to live*, when *Šewā quiescens* stands under the ה or ח, e.g. הִיָּה, חִיָּה (*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. הַתִּימִים 2 Ch 34<sup>11</sup>, &c.

2. The *grave Mèthëg* (*Ga'yā* in the more limited sense) is especially employed 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. הַמְּסֻלָּה, הַמְּסֻלָּה, &c., but not before י (before which י also remains without Mèthëg, with the exception of וַיְהִי and וַיְהִי, 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 ה with Pathah (except when it precedes י, Dageš forte or the tone-syllable of the word), e. g. הֲאֵלֹהִים. When a Š<sup>wā</sup> follows the ה 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>gol</sup> of the article before a guttural (which cannot take Dageš), e. g. הַחַיִּים, הַהַרִּים.—The Š<sup>wā</sup>-*Ga'yā* (,) is especially important in the accentuation of the תנ"ך, for purposes of musical recitation; it stands chiefly in words whose principal tone is marked by a disjunctive without a preceding conjunctive, e. g. וַיְהִי ψ 1<sup>3</sup>.

3. The *euphonic Ga'yā*, to ensure the distinct pronunciation of those consonants which in consequence of the loss of the tone, or because they close a syllable, might easily be neglected, e. g. לֹו וַיִּשְׁבַּע לוֹ Gn 24<sup>9</sup>; פָּרְדָּנָה אָרָם (here to avoid a hiatus) 28<sup>2</sup>, or in such cases as רִוַח־אֵל Jb 33<sup>4</sup>, &c.; תְּרִשָּׁא 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-kh<sup>o</sup>lā (she has eaten), but אֲכָלָה 'okhlā (food), since the א stands here in a toneless closed syllable, and must therefore be a short vowel; thus also יָרְאוּ יְיָ yī-r<sup>o</sup>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-ʿamim*, 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 *a* 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>14</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 **פְּתִיב**, 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 אָנֹכִי קָרִי. Read אָנֹכִי *we* (or according to Jewish tradition אָנֹכִי) in the text, in the margin אָנֹכִי קָרִי. 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 **פְּתִיב וְלֹא קָרִי** (*scriptum et non legendum*), e.g. אֵת Jer 38<sup>16</sup>, אִם 39<sup>12</sup>, יִרְדַּךְ 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 כְתִיב**, 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> נָעָרָה) always, except in Dt 22<sup>19</sup> (but the Sam. text always has הוּא). 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 נָעָרָה 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>13</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 אֲרִי) יְהוָה (Q. אֱלֹהִים) properly יְהוָה *Yahwè* (cf. § 102 m, and § 135 q, note); on שְׁתִּי, שְׁנִי for שְׁתִּי, שְׁנִי, 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>er</sup>i*, 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.

אִתְּ letter. אֵלֶּיךָ nisi, except. אֶמְצָע middle. אֶסְמִיךָ in the formula אֶסְמִיךָ בְּלֹא אֵתְּ without 'Athnah or Soph-pasug i. e. although no 'Athnah or Soph-pasug is written.

אֶ with, before names of vowels or accents, as אֶמְצָעִיךָ Qames with Zaqeph used instead of Pathah (§ 29 i).—'ב' as a numeral = two, as in אֶבְיָאִים ב' טַעֲמִים two accents. בְּמַקְצֵת, see מַקְצֵת. בְּנִינָא = בְּנִינָא אֲחֵרִינָא (Aramaic) in another copy; pl. בְּנִינָא אֲחֵרִינָא.—בְּסִימָא = בְּסִימָא אֲחֵרִינָא in other books. בְּתַר (Aram.) after.

דְּגוּשׁ fem. דְּגוּשָׁהּ marked with Dagesh (or Mappiq). דְּף leaf, page.

זָעִיר fem. זָעִירָה (Aram.) small.

חֹל profane, not sacred, e.g. חֹלֵי אֱלֹהִים Gn 19<sup>9</sup> because not referring to God. חֹלִין except. חֹלֵר written defectively, also wanting as 'א 'ח 'aleph is omitted.

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

תֵּיר superfluous.

תָּא here. תָּא (Aram.) total, as adv. in general.

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

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

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

סִימָא see ב. סִימָא σημεῖον, sign, esp. a mnemonic word or, frequently, sentence.

סְךָ סְכִימָא total. סְךָ אֶסְמִיךָ (§ 15 f).

עַמּוּד column of a page.

פְּסוּקָא a masoretic verse. פְּסוּקָא a space, esp. in the phrase פְּסוּקָא אֶמְצָעִיךָ 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.

קָרָא fem. קְמוּצָה pointed with Qames. קָרָא reader of the sacred text.

רַבָּתָא fem. רַבָּתָה (Aram., all fem. sing.) large.

רַבָּתָא word (consisting of more than one letter). רַבָּתָא suspensa (§ 5 n. 3). רַבָּתָא (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*, לָחִין and נָחִין *to press*, סָנַר and סָכַר *to close*, מָלַט and פָּלַט *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. צַחַק into חֲסַח *to laugh*, נָעַל 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 וָלַר, &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*, σλλαμβάνω for συναμβάνω. 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 ן, e.g. מִן־שָׁם (for *min-šām*) from there, מִן־זֶה (for *min-zè*) from this, יָתַן (for *yintēn*) he gives. ן 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. שָׁכַחְתָּ (cf. however נָתַתָּ 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 הִגְדִּיר and הִתְדַּרְךָ ψ 68<sup>3</sup>, see § 51 k, and § 66 f.

(b) Less frequently and only in special cases with ל, ת, ד, e.g. יָלַקַח d (for *yilqah*) he takes; מִדְּבַר for *mīhdabbēr*; יָטַמְמָא for *yithtammā*; תִּיחֲכֹנֵן for *tīhkōnēn*; תִּתְנַשֵּׂא for *tītnāššā*; אָחַד for *'ahadt*; but in 1 S 4<sup>19</sup> for לָלַח read probably לָלַחְךָ.

(c) In isolated cases with ה, ו, י, e.g. אָפְרִיחֵי! if from אָפְרָה; ע' ו and י mostly before sibilants in the verbal forms enumerated in § 71.

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. אָנַף nose (from *'anp*), תַּתַּ 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). אָסַף for אָסַלַף (§ 66 e) is an Aramaism.

3. Complete *rejection* takes place only in the case of weaker consonants, especially the sonants ן 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, ן) are not supported by a full vowel, but have only Šewâ, e.g. נָחַמְנוּ *we*, also אָנַחְמוּ; יָדַע for יָדַעַ; קַח for לְקַח; נָשַׁשׁ for נָשַׁשׁ; הִי for הִיְ Ez 2<sup>10</sup>.

Aphaeresis of a weak consonant with a full vowel is supposed to occur in יָרַד i Ju 19<sup>11</sup> for יָרַדַּ; in נָתַתָּה 2 S 22<sup>41</sup> for נָתַתָּה; in שָׁוִיב for שָׁוִיב Je 42<sup>10</sup>; on קַח Ez 17<sup>6</sup> for לְקַח, and on קָחַם Ho 11<sup>3</sup> for לְקַחַם, 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 אָפְרִיחֵי! if this stands for אָפְרִיחֵי (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 לְקָרַאת. Syncope occurs frequently in the case of ה, e.g. לְהַפְלִיךָ for לְהַפְלִיךָ (§ 23 k and § 35 n), יִקְטִיל for יִהְיֶה־יִקְטִיל (§ 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); וְנִרְאָה, 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 ת־āth to ה־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. אֶרְוֶע and אֶרְוֶע *arm* (cf. χθές, ἐχθές; *spiritus*, French *esprit*).—A prosthetic ע occurs probably in עֶרְבִי *scorpion*; cf. Arab. 'usfûr bird (stem *şafara*).
- n 5. *Transposition*<sup>3</sup> occurs only seldom in the grammar, e.g. הַשְׁתַּמֵּר for הַשְׁמֵר (§ 54 b) for the sake of euphony; it is more frequent in the lexicon (בְּבֵשׁ and בְּשֵׁב *lamb*, שְׂמֹלֶה and שְׂמֹלֶה *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*); טוֹפּוֹפוֹת *phylacteries* for *ʔaph-ʔaphʔth*; 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 בְּלֶה Jos 19<sup>3</sup> for בְּעֶלֶה (as in 15<sup>29</sup>). Probably, however, וְנִשְׁקָה and בְּלֶה are only clerical errors, as is undoubtedly כָּאֵר Am 5<sup>8</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 for נָתַןְנִי *nāthān-nū* and שָׁתַּתִּי for שָׁתַּתְנִי.

(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. גַּמְלִים *camels* for *gēmālīm*; 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, קָקֵלֵת, &c. (cf. §§ 10g, 16f). This pointing is not used before the suffix הַ, e.g. תִּכְרְבֶהָ 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 הָלַלְוֹ = *hal-leū*. 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 שָׂרְרוּ Jer 49<sup>28</sup>, and in the imperf. יִשְׂרְרוּ 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 דְּחִיק (i. e. *compressed*) by the Jewish grammarians.

The term monosyllable here and in f (by § 28 e) includes Segholates like בָּקָר, שָׁחַר, &c., as well as forms like פָּרִי, שָׂאֵל, שָׂמוּ, and even בָּנָעַן.

<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 ך).

<sup>2</sup> לָאָמַר alone, although having the tone on the ultima, invariably takes the *Dageš forte conj.* when מִטָּה 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־נָזַח Nu 22<sup>6</sup>; לְקַחְתָּהּ־זֹאת Gn 22<sup>3</sup>; יַצִּיחַ־לָךְ ψ 91<sup>11</sup>; and even with *Rēš*, מַעֲנֶה־רָךְ 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 הַ 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 וְהָ־שָׂמוֹ Jer 23<sup>6</sup>, but also in וְהָ־פָרִיָה Nu 13<sup>27</sup>, 1 Ch 22<sup>1</sup>. In וְהָ־הִנֵּה 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>ghöl* 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 גָּאָה־נָאָה Ex 15<sup>1,21</sup>, the 2nd כָּמֹכָה in ver. 11, וְנִאֲלַתְּ ver. 13, וְכִאֲבָן ver. 16, do not belong here. In these the *Dageš* can only be intended for *Dag. lene*, 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 הַ or ה־. Such a *mil'el* is called by the Jewish grammarians אָחִי מִרְחִיק (Aram. = Heb. אָתָה 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־שָׁבִי 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־בְנַעַן 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, כִּ, לְ and י alone do not take a *Dageš* in this case, except in לָךְ, always, and לְלִילָה־ךָ ψ 19<sup>3</sup>. Such forms as הוֹשִׁיעָה־לִי Gn 21<sup>23</sup>, שְׁחַר־מַלְאָה־שָׁחַר ψ 26<sup>10</sup>, רַחֲמֵה־מִנִּי Jb 21<sup>16</sup>, and even נַעֲמְדָה־יָחַד 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. חָרָה־לָךְ Gn 4<sup>6</sup>, not לָךְ since the first *ā* of חָרָה 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>; הִנִּיחָה־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־יִרְשֵׁוּ ψ 37<sup>9</sup>; אֲלֶה־יַעֲקֹב Is 44<sup>21</sup>; עֲשִׂיתָ־קַעֲרֵתִי 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. אֲלֶה תוֹלְדוֹת Gn 2<sup>4</sup>).

g Rem. Such cases as קָנָךְ Dt 32<sup>8</sup>, and בְּשִׂיתָ־ךָ 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 לָא Gn 19<sup>2</sup>, 1 S 8<sup>19</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>; בְּרוּעַ Jer 49<sup>30</sup>; בְּרוּעַ 1 S 15<sup>8</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 *Šewâ*. The extension of the use of *Dageš* to consonants with a strong vowel, seems, however, to indicate that these are cases of the אֲחִי מְרַחֵק, which was required by some Masorettes but not consistently inserted. On the other hand, the *Dageš forte* in ם 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 *Šewâ* is strengthened by *Dageš forte h* *dirimens* to make the *Šewâ* 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. Na 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 עֲבָבִי Ju 5<sup>22</sup>, Ct 1<sup>8</sup> and עֲקָבוֹת 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>28</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> (תִּרְגְּלוּ), Jb 29<sup>21</sup> (וַיִּחַלְלוּ), 22<sup>12</sup> (רִפְּנוּ); Ez 27<sup>19</sup> (in נ); in ת Is 33<sup>12</sup>, 41<sup>17</sup>, Jer 51<sup>68</sup>, perhaps also Jb 21<sup>13</sup> (וַיִּחַתְנוּ).

(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, *whereby?* בַּמָּה *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 l* *forte* occurs,

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

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

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

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 *Sewa 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, 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 מְאַסְפִּי with compensatory lengthening, and others even מְאַסְפִּי Gn 27<sup>28,39</sup>; מְשַׁלֵּשׁ 38<sup>24</sup> for מְשַׁשׁ 1 K 7<sup>28</sup>; מְשַׁקֵּה 1 K 19<sup>20</sup> from מְשַׁקֵּה, Ez 40<sup>43</sup> and מְשַׁפְּנִים ψ 104<sup>18</sup>; מְשַׁחֲתִים 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>; ד in בְּדָחִי Is 11<sup>12</sup> 56<sup>9</sup>, ψ 147<sup>2</sup> (*not* in Jer 49<sup>56</sup>), supposing that it is the Participle Niph'al of בָּחַ; lastly, ח in הַתְּחַצֵּי Is 22<sup>10</sup>. Examples, עֲוִירִים, וְיִהִי (so always the preformative ו in the *imperf.* of verbs), מְלַמְעֵלָה, לְמַנְצַח, הַנְּנִי, הַלְּלוּ, מְלֵאוּ, בְּסֵאוֹ, יִשְׂאוּ, יִקְחוּ, יִקְחוּ, מְקַצֵּה, מְקַלֵּחַ, &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. יִהְיֶה he makes them afraid, for יִהְיֶה Hb 2<sup>17</sup> (where, however, it is perhaps more correct to suppose, with König, a formation on the analogy of verbs עָוִי, and moreover to read יִהְיֶה with the LXX), יִקֹּחַ Is 50<sup>11</sup> for יִקֹּחַ.

- 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. *talles*; *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> הַמְקַרֵּה who layeth the beams, but הַמְקַרֵּה the roof Ec 10<sup>18</sup> (cf. הַמְלַאכָה the work, &c.).

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

מְעוֹנִיָּה Is 23<sup>11</sup>, read מְעוֹנִיָּה (or מְעוֹנִיָּה); and for תְּמַנֵּי La 3<sup>22</sup>, read תְּמַנֵּי. In Nu 23<sup>13</sup> קָבְנוּ is not an instance of compensation (see § 67 o, end).

### § 21. The Aspiration of the Tenues.<sup>1</sup>

The *harder* sound of the six *B<sup>e</sup>gadh<sup>e</sup>phath* letters, indicated by *a* *Dageš lene*, is to be regarded, according to the general analogy of languages, as their older and original pronunciation, from which the softer sound was weakened (§ 6 n and § 13). The original hard sound is maintained when the letter is initial, and after a consonant, but when it immediately follows a vowel or *Š<sup>e</sup>wā mobile* it is softened and aspirated by their influence, e. g. פָּרַץ *pāras*, יִפְרֹץ *yiphros*, כֹּל *kōl*, לְכֹחַ *lekhō*. Hence the *B<sup>e</sup>gadh<sup>e</sup>phath* take *Dageš lene*

(1) at the beginning of words: (a) without exception when the *b* preceding word ends with a vowelless consonant, e. g. עֲלֵ-כֵן *al-kēn* (therefore), פְּרִי עֵץ *ēs p<sup>e</sup>rī* (fruit-tree); (b) at the beginning of a section, e. g. בְּרֵאשִׁית Gn 1<sup>1</sup>, or at the beginning of a sentence, or even of a minor division of a sentence after a distinctive accent (§ 15 d), although the preceding word may end with a vowel. The distinctive accent in such a case prevents the vowel from influencing the following tenuis, e. g. וַיְהִי בְּאַשְׁרַי *and it was so, that when*, Ju 11<sup>5</sup> (but וַיְהִי כֵן Gn 1<sup>7</sup>).

Rem. 1. The vowel letters ה, ו, א, as such, naturally do not close a *c* syllable. In close connexion they are therefore followed by the aspirated *B<sup>e</sup>gadh<sup>e</sup>phath*, e. g. בָּהּ וּמִצָּא בָּהּ, &c. On the other hand, syllables are closed by the consonantal ו and א (except קִרְתָּהּ Is 34<sup>11</sup>; וְשִׁבְתָּ Ez 23<sup>42</sup>; וְאֲדָנִי בָּם; ψ 68<sup>18</sup>), and by ה with *Mappiq*; hence e. g. there is *Dageš lene* in עֲלֵ פִיהֶם and always after הָהוּא, since the *Q<sup>r</sup>é perpetuum* of this word (§ 17) assumes the reading וְאֲדָנִי.

2. In a number of cases *Dageš lene* is inserted, although a vowel precedes in *d* close connexion. This almost always occurs with the prefixes בּ and פּ in the combinations בֶּב, בֶּכ, בֶּפ (i. e. when a *B<sup>e</sup>gadh<sup>e</sup>phath* with *Š<sup>e</sup>wā* precedes the same or a kindred aspirate) and בֶּמ (see Baer, *L. Psalmorum*, 1880, p. 92,<sup>2</sup> on ψ 23<sup>3</sup>); cf. e. g. 1 S 25<sup>1</sup>, Is 10<sup>9</sup>, ψ 34<sup>2</sup>, Jb 19<sup>2</sup>; כֵּן is uncertain; כֶּב, כֶּר, and כֶּפ according to David Qimhi do not take *Dageš*, nor כֶּנ, כֶּכ, and כֶּפ according to the *Dikduke ha-š'amim*, p. 30. Sometimes the *B<sup>e</sup>gadh<sup>e</sup>phath* letters, even with a full vowel, take *Dageš* before a spirant (and even before ה in בְּהַמִּשָּׁה 1 K 12<sup>32</sup>); cf. the instances mentioned above, § 20 e (mostly *tenues* before א). In all these cases the object is to prevent too great an accumulation of aspirates. The LXX, on the other hand, almost always represent the כ and

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Delitzsch, *Ztschr. f. luth. Theol. u. Kirche*, 1878, p. 585 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Also *L. Proverbiorum*, 1880, Praef. p. ix; and *Dikduke ha-š'amim*, p. 30 (in German in König's *Lehrgeb.*, i. p. 62).

פ, even at the beginning of a syllable, by χ and φ; Χερούβ, Καλδαῖοι, Φαρφάρ, &c.—The forms פִּרְכּוֹר (after וְשִׁמְתִּי) Is 54<sup>1</sup>, and פִּלְבָּל (after וְנִלְאִיתִי) Jer 20<sup>9</sup> are doubly anomalous.

- c (2) In the middle of words after *Šewā quiescens*, i.e. at the beginning of a syllable immediately after a vowelless consonant,<sup>1</sup> e.g. יִרְפֵּא *yirpā* (he heals), יִקְטֹלֶנּוּ *ye have killed*; but after *Šewā mobile*, e.g. רִפֵּא *rēphā* (heal thou), שִׁבְרָה *she was heavy*.

f On קִטְלֵנּוּ, יִשְׁבֵּב and similar forms, see § 10 i.

Whether *Šewā* 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. רִפֵּי *pursue ye* (not רִפֵּו) from רִדְדֵי; מִלְכֵי (not מִלְכֵי), because originally *mälākhē*, but מִלְכֵי from the ground-form *malk*.

(b) With the ו of the pronominal suffixes of the 2nd pers. הָ, ךְּ, ם, ן, since *Šewā mobile* is characteristic of these forms (see § 58 f; § 91 b).

Rem. Forms like שְׁלַחְתְּךָ *thou (fem.) hast sent*, in which we should expect an aspirated ה after the vowel, cf. וְיַחַדְךָ Ex 18<sup>9</sup>, have arisen from שְׁלַחְתְּךָ, 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 פ.

<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 *Sēghōl*, 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, יְהִבֵּא (for *yihhābhē'*); also אָחַר, הָחַג, הָהָרִים, הָעֵנִי (see more fully on the pointing of the article before ׀ in § 35).—Of (b) הָחֹזֵט, מְחֹזֵט (from *minhūṭ*), הָהָר, בָּעַר, נָאִין, &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, ן, ׀, ׀ closing a syllable) takes the place of another short vowel or of a rhythmically long ē or ō, e.g. בָּחַךְ *sacrifice*, not *zēbhē*; שָׁמַע *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, שֶׁלַח *send thou*, יִשְׁלַח *he will send* (not *yīšlōh*); Perf. Pi'el שָׁלַח (but in Pausa שִׁלַח); יִחַמֵּר *he will desire* (not *yihmōd*); וַיֵּנַח *and he rested* (not *wayyānōh*); נָעַר *a youth*. In שֶׁלַח and יִחַמֵּר *ā* is the original vowel.

Rem. In such cases as דָּשַׁן, טָנַן, פָּלַן, פָּרַן, the א has no consonantal *ℓ* 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 *ā* (*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. רוּחַ *rū<sup>a</sup>h*, נוּעַ, רַעַ, הַשְׁלִיחַ, גְבוּהַ (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. יָשִׁיב, יָצִיר would also be pronounced *yasi<sup>i</sup>bh*, *yašū<sup>u</sup>dh* although the short intermediate vowel was not so noticeable as before a guttural.

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

g *I<sup>a</sup>ch* 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. נַחְוֵ *Nāwε*, יְדוּעַ *Ieddōua* (also *Iaddōū*).

h Rem. 1. The guttural may also have an influence upon the following vowel, especially in Segholate forms, e. g. נַעַר (not *na'ēr*) a youth, פְּעַל (not *pō'el*) deed. The only exceptions are אָהַל, בָּהֵן, 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>g</sup>hōl* as being between *ā* and *i* is frequently used instead, e. g. יְחַבֵּשׁ (also יְחַבֵּשׁ), יְהַגֵּי, יְהַבֵּי, יְהַבֵּי, &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, חַפָּה, הִנֵּה, הִלֵּל; but when this sharpening is removed, *S<sup>g</sup>hōl* is again apt to appear, e. g. הַיּוֹן constr. הַיּוֹן, הַיּוֹן constr. הַיּוֹן.

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

m 4. When a guttural with *quiescent Š<sup>e</sup>wā* happens to close a syllable in the middle of a word, the strongly closed syllable (with *quiescent Š<sup>e</sup>wā*) 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>e</sup>wā*, and in particular that *Hateph* which repeats the sound of the preceding vowel, e. g. יְחַשֵּׁב (also יְחַשֵּׁב); יְחַזֵּק (also יְחַזֵּק); פְּעֵלוֹ (*pō'elō* for *pō'lō*). But when, owing to a flexional change, the strong vowel following the *Hateph* is weakened into *Š<sup>e</sup>wā mobile*, then instead of the *Hateph* its full vowel is written, e. g. יְעַמְרוּ (from יְעַמְרוּ), יְעַמְרוּ (from יְעַמְרוּ). The original forms, according to § 28 c, were *ya'mēdhū*, *ne'remū*, *pō'elkhā*. Hence יְעַמְרוּ, &c., are really only different orthographic forms of יְעַמְרוּ, &c., and would be better transcribed by *ya'anēdhū*, &c.

n Rem. 1. On the use of simple or compound *Š<sup>e</sup>wā* 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 אֶלִי) *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  $\text{־ִי}$ . Likewise  $\text{־ִי}$  is naturally found under  $\aleph$  in cases where the *Haṭeph* arises from a weakening of an original  $\check{a}$  (e.g.  $\text{לִי־אֵלִי־לִי־אֵלִי}$  lion, ground-form 'ary), and  $\text{־ִי}$  if there be a weakening of an original  $u$  (e.g.  $\text{לִי־אֵלִי־לִי־אֵלִי}$  a fleet,  $\text{לִי־אֵלִי־לִי־אֵלִי}$  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 *Šewā mobile*, e.g.  $\text{לִי־אֵלִי־לִי־אֵלִי}$  (see § 63 p); but if a short vowel precedes, the choice of the *Haṭeph* is generally regulated by it, e.g. *Perf. Hiph.*  $\text{לִי־אֵלִי־לִי־אֵלִי}$  (see above, i), *Infm.*  $\text{לִי־אֵלִי־לִי־אֵלִי}$  (regular form  $\text{לִי־אֵלִי־לִי־אֵלִי}$ ); *Perf. Hoph.*  $\text{לִי־אֵלִי־לִי־אֵלִי}$  (regular form  $\text{לִי־אֵלִי־לִי־אֵלִי}$ ); but cf.  $\text{לִי־אֵלִי־לִי־אֵלִי}$  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.  $\text{לִי־אֵלִי־לִי־אֵלִי}$  he has blessed for *birrahh*,  $\text{לִי־אֵלִי־לִי־אֵלִי}$  to bless for *barrēkh*.

(b) The preference for  $\check{a}$  as a preceding vowel, e.g.  $\text{לִי־אֵלִי־לִי־אֵלִי}$  and he saw  $\aleph$  (from  $\text{לִי־אֵלִי־לִי־אֵלִי}$ );  $\text{לִי־אֵלִי־לִי־אֵלִי}$  both for  $\text{לִי־אֵלִי־לִי־אֵלִי}$  and he turned back, and for  $\text{לִי־אֵלִי־לִי־אֵלִי}$  and he caused to turn back.

The exceptions to *a* are  $\text{לִי־אֵלִי־לִי־אֵלִי}$  *mōrrāth*, Pr 14<sup>10</sup>;  $\text{לִי־אֵלִי־לִי־אֵלִי}$  *khōrrāth* and  $\text{לִי־אֵלִי־לִי־אֵלִי}$  *šōrrēkh*, S Ez 16<sup>4</sup> (cf. Pr 3<sup>8</sup>);  $\text{לִי־אֵלִי־לִי־אֵלִי}$  Ct 5<sup>2</sup>;  $\text{לִי־אֵלִי־לִי־אֵלִי}$  1 S 1<sup>6</sup>;  $\text{לִי־אֵלִי־לִי־אֵלִי}$  1 S 10<sup>24</sup>, 17<sup>25</sup>, 2 K 6<sup>32</sup>;  $\text{לִי־אֵלִי־לִי־אֵלִי}$  Ju 20<sup>43</sup> (cf. § 20 h);  $\text{לִי־אֵלִי־לִי־אֵלִי}$  1 S 23<sup>28</sup>, 2 S 18<sup>16</sup>; also on account of  $\text{לִי־אֵלִי־לִי־אֵלִי}$  (§ 20 c), Pr 15<sup>1</sup>, 20<sup>22</sup>, 2 Ch 26<sup>10</sup>; and on account of  $\text{לִי־אֵלִי־לִי־אֵלִי}$  (§ 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  $\text{לִי־אֵלִי־לִי־אֵלִי}$ ) is found in  $\text{לִי־אֵלִי־לִי־אֵלִי}$  Is 14<sup>3</sup>. In Samaritan and Arabic this strengthening has been retained throughout, and the LXX write e.g.  $\text{לִי־אֵלִי־לִי־אֵלִי}$  for  $\text{לִי־אֵלִי־לִי־אֵלִי}$ .

§ 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.  $\text{לִי־אֵלִי־לִי־אֵלִי}$  (but when a syllable is added with an introductory vowel, according to *b* below, we have, e.g.  $\text{לִי־אֵלִי־לִי־אֵלִי־לִי־אֵלִי}$ , since the  $\aleph$  then stands at the beginning of the syllable, not  $\text{לִי־אֵלִי־לִי־אֵלִי־לִי־אֵלִי}$  (for *māša'tā*),  $\text{לִי־אֵלִי־לִי־אֵלִי־לִי־אֵלִי}$ ). Similarly in cases like  $\text{לִי־אֵלִי־לִי־אֵלִי}$ ,  $\text{לִי־אֵלִי־לִי־אֵלִי}$ , &c. (§ 19 l), and even in  $\text{לִי־אֵלִי־לִי־אֵלִי}$  (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.  $\text{לִי־אֵלִי־לִי־אֵלִי}$ , or when it is protected by a *Haṭeph* after a short syllable, e.g.  $\text{לִי־אֵלִי־לִי־אֵלִי}$ , and finally,

when it stands in a closed syllable with quiescent *Šewā* after a preceding *S'ghōl* or *Pathah*, e.g. נַאֲדָר וַיֵּאָכֵר *nā'dār* וַיֵּאֲדִמוּ *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 *rē'āšim*), מאתיים *two hundred* (for *mē'āthāyim*), שָׁאֲטָף Ez 25<sup>6</sup> for שָׁאֲטָף; בּוֹרָאִים Neh 6<sup>8</sup> for בּוֹרָאִים; מְאִים Jb 31<sup>7</sup>, Dn 1<sup>4</sup> for מְאִים; פְּאָרָה for פְּאָרָה Is 10<sup>33</sup>; חֲטָאִים *hōtām*, 1 S 14<sup>33</sup> for חֲטָאִים (cf. § 74 h, and § 75 oo); הֲרֵאוּבֵנִי Nu 34<sup>14</sup>, from רֵאוּבֵן; so always חֲטָאִת 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. מְלֵאכָה *work* for מְלֵאכָה (as in the Babylonian punctuation), יִשְׁמְעָאֵל for יִשְׁמְעָאֵל; שְׂמָאֵל or שְׂמָאוֹל *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. וַיֵּאָצֵּל Nu 11<sup>25</sup> for וַיֵּאָצֵּל (cf. Ju 9<sup>41</sup>), and פְּאָרָרִיר Jo 2<sup>6</sup> for פְּאָרָרִיר; לְאָמֵר for לְאָמֵר; לְאֱלֹהִים for לְאֱלֹהִים; but the contraction does not take place in לְאֱלֹהֵי Is 10<sup>11</sup>. The short vowel is retained, although the consonantal power of א is entirely lost, in וַאֲרֵנִי, &c. (see § 102 m), וַאֲתָ Is 41<sup>25</sup>, וַאֲבָרְךָ Ez 28<sup>16</sup> for וַאֲבָרְךָ; 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 *ó* and the latter with *é* 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; מְלֵתִי Jb 32<sup>18</sup> for מְלֵתִי; מְצָתִי Nu 11<sup>11</sup>; וַתְּהִי 2 S 20<sup>9</sup>; וַיִּרְפּוּ Jer 8<sup>11</sup> for וַיִּרְפּוּ; וַתְּהִי 2 S 22<sup>40</sup>, but וַתְּהִי ψ 18<sup>40</sup>; תּוֹמֵם Gn 25<sup>24</sup> for תּוֹמֵם; אֲחַטָּנָה 31<sup>39</sup> for אֲחַטָּנָה; שְׁלֵתָךְ 1 S 17<sup>17</sup> for שְׁלֵתָךְ; רְאִים ψ 22<sup>22</sup> for רְאִים; גְּוָה Jb 22<sup>29</sup> for גְּוָה; חֲבֵרְתִי 1 Ch 11<sup>39</sup> for חֲבֵרְתִי, and so חֲבֵרְתִי 1 Ch 12<sup>38</sup> for חֲבֵרְתִי; לְהַשׁוֹת 2 K 19<sup>25</sup> *Kethibh* for לְהַשׁוֹת (cf. Is 37<sup>26</sup>); חֲמָה Jb 29<sup>6</sup> for חֲמָה. In מְכַלֵּת

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



1 K 5<sup>25</sup> (for "מַצֵּב") the strengthening of the following consonant by Dageš compensates for the loss of the א; in מַסְרַת Ez 20<sup>37</sup>, if for "מַצֵּב" (but read מוֹסֵר, with Cornill), the preceding vowel is lengthened; cf. above, c. On אִמֵּר for אַמֵּר, 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 Qames; 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 *u*, *i*, or *o*, e.g. *i* אֲלֹהֵי for אֱלֹהֵי Jos 10<sup>24</sup> (before א!), אֲבֹנָה Is 28<sup>12</sup>. These examples, however, are not so much instances of 'Arabic orthography', as early scribal errors, as in יִשְׁנֹא Je 10<sup>6</sup> for יִשְׁנָא; and in נִשְׂאָה ψ 130<sup>20</sup> for נִשְׂאָה. Cf. also אֲהִיא Ec 11<sup>3</sup> (§ 75 s); אֲקִי for אֱקִי *pure*; אֲלוֹ for אֱלוֹ *if*; אֲפֹה for אֱפֹה *then (enclitic)*; אֲרִבּוֹה for אֱרִבּוֹ *myriad*, Neh 7<sup>66-71</sup>. On אֲהִיא and אֲהִיא 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 ה̄, 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 יָהֶה (from יָהֶה) in proper names like יִרְמִיָּהּ, &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); בְּיֹמִים for בְּהַיּוֹמִים [but see § 35 n], בְּשָׂמַיִם for בְּהַשְּׁמַיִם; 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. סִסּוֹ (also written סִיסָה) from *sūsahu* (a + u = o).—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 עֲשָׂהֶל, פְּרָהֶצוֹר, which are compounded of two words and hence are sometimes even divided. Cf. forms like חֲזָהֶל for חֲזָהֶל. Another exception is יִפְהַפְּיָהּ, the reading of many MSS. for the artificially divided form יִפְהַפְּיָהּ in the printed texts, Je 46<sup>20</sup>.

l Rem. In connexion with  $\delta$  and  $\epsilon$ , a  $\eta$  which only marks the vowel ending is occasionally changed into  $\imath$  or  $\iota$  (אָרְאֵה = רְאֵה, קִי = קִיָּה 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*; יִיָּקַשׁ for *yiyqas*; so also at the end of the word, e. g. עֲבָרִי a Hebrew, properly 'ibrîy, fem. עֲבָרִיָּה, pl. עֲבָרִיִּים (and עֲבָרִים; עֲשִׂו 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. נְשִׁיָּה quiet, וַי the month of May, גּוֹי nation, גְּלִיָּה revealed. But with a preceding  $\bar{a}$  the  $\imath$  and  $\iota$  are mostly contracted into  $\delta$  and  $\epsilon$  (see below, f), and at the end of a word they are sometimes rejected (see below, g).

Complete syncope of  $\imath$  before  $\epsilon$  occurs in אִי island for אִיָּי; עֵי ruins for עֵיָּי; רִי watering Jb 37<sup>11</sup> for רִיָּי; [בִּי burning Is 3<sup>21</sup> for בִּיָּי, 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  $\imath$  פִּי, § 69 a. Apart from a few proper names, initial  $\imath$  occurs only in וַי hook, וְלִי child Gn 11<sup>30</sup>, 2 S 6<sup>23</sup> *Kethibh* [elsewhere וְלִיָּי], and the doubtful וַי Pr 21<sup>8</sup>.

Thus an initial י after the prefixes בּ, וּ, כּ, לּ, which would then be *c* pronounced with *i* (see § 28 a), and also almost always after מּ (see § 102 b), coalesces with the *i* to *i*, e. g. בִּיהוּדָה in *Judah* (for בִּי), וַיְהוּדָה and *Judah*, כְּבִיאַר as the *Nile*, לְיְהוּדָה for *Judah*, מִיְרֵי 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 'Ιουδά for יְהוּדָה, 'Ισαάκ 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>36</sup> for וַיִּלְלָה (so Baer), כִּיתְרוֹן Ec 2<sup>13</sup> for כִּיתְרוֹן, cf. also the examples in § 20 h, note 2; even וַיִּחְלֶי Jb 29<sup>21</sup> (in some editions) for וַיִּחְלֶי. According to Qimḥi (see § 47 b) יִקְטֹל was pronounced as *iqṭōl*, and therefore the 1st pers. was pointed יִקְטֹל 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. מִיטִיב from מִיטִיב; 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, מִימִינִים 1 Ch 12<sup>2</sup>; אִיסִירִם He 7<sup>12</sup> (but cf. § 70 b); הַיִּשְׁרַי ψ 5<sup>9</sup> *Qerê*; the locatives בִּיתָהּ, מִצְרֵימָה, &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; עֵינַי (ground-form 'ayn ['ain]) *eye*, constr. עֵין.

verbs הָלַךְ, e. g. originally הָלַךְ = הָלַךְ = הָלַךְ, 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 הָשַׁלַּח for *šālav*.<sup>1</sup> On the origin of הָשַׁלַּח, see § 75 e; on הָשַׁלַּח as perf. and part. of הָשַׁלַּח, see § 72 b and g; on הָשַׁלַּח, &c., from הָשַׁלַּח, see § 69 b.—On the weakening of *ʾ* and *ʿ* to *ʿ*, 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*, *e*, *ā*, *ô*, can often be recognized by means of the vowel letters which accompany them (ױ, ײ, ׳, ״); e. g. הַיְיָבֵיט *he does well*, הַיְיָבֵיט *palace*, גְּבֻלַּת *boundary*, קוֹל *voice*. The *defective* writing (§ 8 i) is indeed common enough, e. g. הַיְיָבֵיט and הַיְיָבֵיט for הַיְיָבֵיט; גְּבֻלַּת for גְּבֻלַּת; קוֹל for קוֹל, but this is merely an orthographic licence and has no influence on the quantity of the vowel; the *ā* in גְּבֻלַּת is just as necessarily long, as in גְּבֻלַּת.

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

c 2. The essentially or naturally long *ā* (*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 *ʿ*; on the few instances of this kind in Hebrew, cf. § 9 b, § 23 g. The naturally long *ā* 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 הָשַׁלַּח, but pronounces *galā*. So the LXX סִינַי *šwâ*, Vulg. *Sina*; cf. Nestle, *ZAW*. 1905, p. 362 f. But even in Arabic هَالِاح is written for هَالِاح and pronounced *salā*.

<sup>2</sup> By *vocales impurae* the older grammarians meant vowels properly followed by a vowel letter. Thus הַיְיָבֵיט *kethābh* was regarded as merely by a licence for הַיְיָבֵיט, &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 *Dages 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 ׀, have arisen by lengthening from the corresponding short vowels, and now stand in an open syllable, e. g. מַיִן for *mā''ēn*; 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 ׀ and ׀ (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 ׀ *and* is resolved into the corresponding vowel ׀ before *Šewa*, and the labials, e. g. וְרַבֵּר, וְיִמְלֹךְ; the Babylonian punctuation in the latter cases writes ׀, i. e. ׀ 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 מִלְבָּשׁ 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 קַטַּל, לֶבֶב. See below, *o, p*. Such are also the syllables ending in a strengthened consonant, as the first in קַטַּל *qat-tēl*. See below, *q*.

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

3. *Open* or *simple* syllables have a long vowel, whether they have *c* the tone as in תֵּי in *thee*, הֵיִלֵּי *he goes*, or are toneless as in קַטַּל, עֲבֵר *a bunch of grapes*.<sup>3</sup> A long vowel (Qameṣ, 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 י or י, see § 24 e, and especially § 47 b, note; nor of certain other cases in which י 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. מִלֵּךְ, יָקִים, קָטַל, 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 מִלֵּךְ *brook*, בַּיִת *house*, יָרֵב *let him increase*, from *nahl*, *bayt*, *yirb* ; cf. also מִיֵּם the ending of the dual (§ 88). But see § 28 e.

g (b) In the verbal suffix of the 1st pers. sing. מֵי (me), e. g. קָטַלְתִּי (Arab. *qātālāni*). The uncommon form מֵי, however (Gn 30<sup>e</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 מֵי (102 m) *Pathah* is retained in the counter-tone after the *N* has become quiescent.

h (c) Sometimes before the toneless הֶ local (§ 90 c), e. g. מִדְּבָרָה *towards the wilderness* ; only, however, in the constr. state (1 K 19<sup>1v</sup>), since the toneless suffix הֶ does not affect the character of the form (especially when rapidly pronounced in close connexion) ; otherwise it is 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 מֵי above, *g* ; cf. the effect of the *arsis* on the short vowel in classical prosody.

i (d) In the combinations מֵי מֵי, מֵי מֵי, מֵי מֵי, e. g. מֵי נַעֲרוֹ *his boy*, יֵאָמַר *he will bind*, מֵי פְעֻלוֹ *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. יֵאָמַר and יֵאָמַר). The same vowel sequence arises wherever a preposition מֵ, מִ, לְ, or 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 *bi-kā, 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 Broeckelmann, *ZA*. xiv. 343 f., from the transcription of Hebrew proper names in the Nestorian (Syriae) punctuation, and e. g. from the Arabic 'Ibrāhīm = אִבְרָהִים. 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, yāqīm, &c.*), the Aramaic simply a vocal *Šēwā* (אִהִים, יֵקִים, קָטַל, לָבַב) ; and even in Hebrew, when the tone is thrown forward the pretonic vowel almost always becomes *Šēwā*, see § 27. It would, however, be incorrect to assume from this that the pretonic vowel has taken the place of *Šēwā* 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 *Šēwā*.

contained in the *Ha'teph* (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. בְּרֵבֶר, בְּרֵבֶרֶר, &c.

(e) In forms like יִהְיוּ yāhū-šē-qū (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 הִתְחַדַּשׁ, אָחִים (§ 96), הִתְחַתָּה, הִתְחַתָּה (§ 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. הִתְחַתָּה), 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'dhū. 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, בִּכְּ 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, וְיָשְׁבוּן understanding, חֵכְמָה wisdom, וְיָסַר and he turned back, וְיָקַם, וְיָקַם (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, ū; of the short vowels, only ä, ě, not ĩ, ũ, ö (but on ĩ and ũ, see § 29 g). Thus יִקְטְלוּ (3rd pl. masc. Imperf. Hiph.) but תִּקְטְלֶנָּה 3rd pl. fem., and קָרְאֵם (2nd pl. masc. Imperat. Qal) but קְרִמְנָה fem.

<sup>1</sup> In exceptions such as יִשְׁתַּלֵּי 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. עֵיִן Gn 2<sup>13</sup>; עֵיִן Gn 2<sup>16</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> See § 9 e, f. ĩ 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 וְיָשְׁבוּ § 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, כֹּלֵל kûl-lô. If without the tone, they have, like the rest, short vowels; but, if bearing the tone, either short vowels as קָלִי, הֶזְנִי, or long, as הַשָּׁמַיִם, הַהַרְמָה.

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

7. Syllables ending with *two* consonants occur only at the end of words, and have most naturally short vowels, קִטְלֹת, וַיִּשְׁכַּח; but sometimes *Sere*, as נִרְדָּה, וַיִּבְרַח, or *Holem*, הוֹסִיף קִשְׁטוֹ. 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 (*Šewâ mobile*), where there originally stood a full short vowel, e. g. עֲגָלָה (ground-form 'ägälât) a waggon, צְדָקָה (ground-form šädüqât) righteousness, קָטְלוּ (Arab. qätälü), יִקְטְלוּ (Arab. jüqattilü).

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, *a* 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 *Šewâ mobile*, or, finally, are entirely lost through a change in the division of syllables; e. g. מָטָר (Arab. mätär) rain, when in close dependence on a following genitive in the *construct state*, becomes מֵטָר; עֶקֶב (Arab. 'aqīb) heel, dual עֶקְבַיִם, dual *construct* (with attenuation of the original *ā* of the first syllable to *i*) עֶקְבַי [on the *pe*, see § 20 h]; יִקְטְלוּ (Arab. yäqtül), plur. יִקְטְלוּ (Arab. yäqtülü). 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־יְהוָה *the hand of Yahwe*; בֶּן *son*, but בֶּן־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 אֹיֵב־ךָ *thy enemy*; finally, when the tone recedes, יָקָם, but יָקָמוּ (*wayyāqôm*); יָלַד, but יָלְדוּ.

(b) To the same category belong cases like סֵפֶר *book*, but סֵפֶר־י *my book*; קֹדֶשׁ *holiness*, but קֹדֶש־י *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 *i* or *ö* (properly *ü*) reappears.

The same is true of syllables with a virtually sharpened final consonant: the lengthening of original *i* to *ē* and *ü* to *ō* takes place only in a tone-bearing syllable; in a toneless syllable the *i* or *ö* (or *ü*) remains, e.g. אִם *mother*, but אִמִּי *my mother*; חֹן *law*, plur. חֲנָיִם; but עוֹ *strength*, עֹץ (and עֹץ) *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, קָטַלְוֹ *he has killed him*; סוֹדֵקִיתִי primarily from סוֹדֵקֵת. Similarly *ā* mostly becomes *ā* even before a suffix beginning with *šewā mobile*; e.g. קָטַלְךָ from קָטַל, סוֹדֵקֵתְךָ from סוֹדֵקֵת.

(b) When a syllable has become open by complete loss of the *f* strengthening of its final consonant (a guttural or *Rés*), e.g. בִּרְרַחֵךְ 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. אָצַף for אָצַף, 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. צְדָקָתָה; an example of the second case is, בְּרָכָה *blessing*, constr. st. בְּרַבָּה. Whether the vowel is retained or becomes *Šewā* (דָּם, דְּמִי, but שָׁם, שְׁמִי), 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—

- i (a) The  $\bar{a}$  and  $\bar{e}$  of the first syllable, especially in the inflexion of nouns, e. g. דָּבָר *word*, plur. דְּבָרִים; גְּדוֹלָה *great*, fem. גְּדוּלָה; לֵבָב *heart*, מִי לִבִּי *my heart*; but also in the verb, תָּשׁוּב *she will return*, plur. תִּשְׁוּבוּנָה, 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  $\bar{a}$  lengthened from  $\bar{a}$  before the tone is retained in the *Perfect consecutive* of Qal even in the secondary tone, e. g. תִּקְטְלוּהָ; 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. קָטְלָה *qāt'elā*; יִקְטְלוּ, יִקְטְלוּ *yiq'telū*; but note also יִלְקְטוּ, תִּרְבְּקוּ, &c., according to § 47 m and o. The helping vowels are either entirely omitted, e. g. מַלְכָּה *king* (ground-form *malk*), מִלְכִי *my king*; or, under the influence of a guttural, are weakened to Hatafep, e. g. נַעַר *boy*, נַעְרוֹ *his boy*. If the tone remains unmoved, the vowel also is retained, notwithstanding the lengthening of the word, e. g. יִקְטְלוּ *pausal-form* for יִקְטְלוּ.
- iii 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. דָּבָר *word*; in the plur. דְּבָרִים; with heavy suffix דְּבָרֵיהֶם (cf. § 28 a) *their words*. On the attenuation of the  $\bar{a}$  to  $\bar{i}$ , see further, s, t.
- ii Rem. i. An  $\acute{o}$  arising from  $aw = au$ , or by an obscuring of  $\bar{a}$  (see § 9 b), sometimes becomes  $\acute{u}$ , when the tone is moved forward, e. g. נְקוּמָה, נְקוּמָה *נקום* (see Paradigm *Perf. Niph.* of קוּם); מְנוּחָה, מְנוּחָה *מנוח* (see Paradigm *Perf. Niph.* of קוּם); מְנוּחָה, מְנוּחָה *מנוח* (see Paradigm *Perf. Niph.* of קוּם). The not uncommon use of  $\bar{i}$  in a sharpened syllable, as בְּחִיבָה Ez 20<sup>18</sup> (for בְּחִיבָה, cf. also the examples in § 9 o), is to be regarded as an orthographic licence, although sometimes in such cases  $\acute{u}$  may really have been intended by the K<sup>ethibh</sup>.
- o Of the vowels of the U-class,  $\acute{u}$  and tone-long  $\bar{o}$  stand in a tone-bearing

closed final syllable, and *ö* in a toneless syllable, e.g. יָקִים *he will arise*, יָקָם jussive, *let him arise*, יָקָם and *he arose*. The only instance of *ü* in an ultima which has lost the tone is וָרָם 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*, יָקָם *let him raise*, יָקָם and *he raised*. The only instance of *ï* in an ultima which has lost the tone is וָרָם 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 אֲבִיקָף, 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. יְהִרָף, but also יָרְכֶם *your hand*, for *yad<sup>a</sup>khém*. 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 *Qames* or *IIateph Qames*, *q* where the strengthening has been dropped, provided that a lengthening of the *Pathah* into *Qames* be not necessary, e.g. אֶחָיו *his brothers*, for *'ahāw*; שֶׁבַח *false*, for *kahāš*; פֶּהָה *governor*, constr. st. פֶּתַח; פֶּחַם *coal*; הַחַי *the living* (with the article, הֶ for הֵ); וַיִּתְנַחֵם Nu 23<sup>19</sup>, &c., and so always before הֶ and הֵ, as חֳדָשִׁים *the months*, see § 35 k. Before הֶ and שֶׁ *S<sup>e</sup>ghöl* generally stands only in the second syllable before the tone, e.g. הַהָרִים *the mountains*; הַעֲוֹן *the guilt*; immediately before the tone *Pathah* is lengthened into a (pretonic) *Qames*, e.g. הַהָרָה, הַעֵם; but cf. also הַטְּהָרִי Nu 8<sup>i</sup>. Before the weak consonants א and ר (cf. § 22 c, q), the lengthening of the *Pathah* into *Qames* 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*; יְבִרְכֶהוּ (pr. name) for יְבִרְכֶהוּ. On הֶ as a form of the interrogative הֶ (הֵ), see § 100 n; on מֶה for מֵה (מֵה), § 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 יְחַזְקֶאל *Ezekiel* for יְחַזְקֶאל = יְחַזְקֶאל *God strengthens*.

(c) As a modification of the original *Pathah* in the first class of the segholate 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 קֶלֶב (also in modern Arabic pronounced *kelb*),<sup>1</sup> *yarh* (*month*), with a helping *Pathah*, יָרַח. The same phenomenon appears also in the formation of verbs, in cases like יָגֵל (jussive of the Hiph'il of נָגַל), with a helping *S<sup>e</sup>ghöl*, for *yagl*.

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

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

from the ground-form *qaṭl*, when combined with singular suffixes, e.g. צְדִיקִי *my righteousness*, for *ṣadqī*.

t (b) In a loosely-closed syllable, i. e. one followed by an aspirated *Begadkephath*, as רַמְבֶּם *your blood*, for רַמְבֵּם, and so commonly in the *st. constr. plur.* of segholates from the ground-form *qaṭl*, e. g. בְּנֵי from בָּנָה (ground-form *bagd*) *a garment*. In most cases of this kind the attenuation is easily intelligible from the nature of the surrounding consonants. It is evident from a comparison of the dialects, that the attenuation was consistently carried out in a very large number of noun and verb-forms in Hebrew, as will be shown in the proper places.<sup>1</sup>

u 4. *S'ghöl* arises, in addition to the cases mentioned in o and p, also from the weakening of *ā* of the final syllable in the isolated cases (הַ־ for ה־) in 1 S 28<sup>15</sup> (? see § 48 d), ψ 20<sup>4</sup> (?), Is 59<sup>5</sup>, Pr 24<sup>14</sup> (see § 48 l); for examples of Locative forms in הַ־ see § 90 i end.

v 5. Among the *Haṭeph*-sounds ֿֿֿ is shorter and lighter than ֿֿֿֿ, and consequently the vowel group ֿֿֿֿֿֿ is shorter than ֿֿֿֿֿֿֿֿ; e.g. אֶדוֹם *Edom*, but אֶדְמִי (*Edomite*), shortened at the beginning because the tone is thrown forward; אֶמֶת (*emeth*) *truth*, אֶמְתָּה *his truth*; נֶעְלָם *hidden*, pl. נֶעְלָמִים; הַעֲבֹרְתִי but also conversely נֶעְשֵׂה *fem. נֶעְשֵׂתָה*, cf. § 63 f, 3.

w 6. To the chapter on vowel changes belongs lastly the *dissimilation* of vowels, i. e. the change of one vowel into another entirely heterogeneous, in order to prevent two similar, or closely related vowels, from following one another in the same word.<sup>2</sup> Hence לֹלֵא for *lū lō* (unless). Cf. also חִיצוֹן from חוּץ; עֵרָשׁוֹן from עָרַשׁ; תּוֹךְ from תִּכּוֹן; נִכְחַח from נִכְחַח; עֵרָשׁוֹן from עָרַשׁ; יָלֹד *offspring*, קַפּוֹד *porcupine*, for 'לָ, 'קַפּ, see § 68 c, note.—On the proper names אֶהוּזָא and יִשָּׁעִי, which were formerly explained in the same way, see now Prätorius, *ZDMG*. 1905, p. 341 f.

## § 28. The Rise of New Vowels and Syllables.

a 1. According to § 26 m a half-syllable, i. e. a consonant with *Šewā* mobile (always weakened from a short vowel), can only occur in close dependence on a full syllable. If another half-syllable with simple *Šewā* follows, the first takes a full short vowel again.<sup>3</sup> This vowel is almost always *Hireq*. In most cases it is probably an attenuation of an original *ā*, and never a mere helping vowel. In some instances analogy may have led to the choice of the *ī*. Thus, according to § 102 d, the prefixes בְּ, פְּ, לְ before a consonant with *Šewā* mobile become בַּ, פַּ, לַ, e. g. בַּפְּרִי, פַּפְּרִי, לַפְּרִי; before יְ they are pointed as in בַּיְהוּדָה (from *bi-yehūdā*, according to § 24 c); so too with *Wāw* copulative, e. g. בַּיְהוּדָה for 'יְ attenuated from 'י. The first half-

<sup>1</sup> Analogous to this attenuation of *ā* to *i* is the Lat. *tango, attingo; laxus, prolixus*; to the transition of *ā* to *ē* (see above, a), the Lat. *carpo, decerpo; spargo, conspergo*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Barth, *Die Nominalbildung in den semit. Spr.*, p. xxix; A. Müller, *Theol. Stud. u. Krit.*, 1892, p. 177 f., and Nestle, *ibid.*, p. 573 f.

<sup>3</sup> Except יְ *and*, which generally becomes יַ before a simple *Šewā*, cf. § 104 c.

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 קִיבֵר 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*, לְחָלִי *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); לְאָסֵר but also לְאָסֵר; 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 מָן, 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 *Ṣewā*, 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 *Ṣewā*, as an echo of the preceding short vowel, e. g. יַעֲמֹד *he will stand* (for יַעֲמֹד), but plur. יַעֲמֹדֵי for *ya'amēdhū*, and נִהְפְּכוּ for *nēhāphkhu* (*they have turned themselves*), עֲבַדְתָּ *thy work*, cf. § 26 k. The syllables are to be divided *ya'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, ג, ד, 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>3</sup> read תִּאֲרָנִי not (with Opius, Hahn and others) תִּאֲרָנִי.

<sup>2</sup> With a final ה, the only example is הִטָּבַח 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 הִטָּבַח.

<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, ḥ, ḡ*; cf. Spitta, *Gramm. des arab. Vulgärdialektes von Aegypten*, Lpz. 1880, § 43 d.

*Seghôl*, but with medial or final gutturals a *Pathah*,<sup>1</sup> and after *ʾ* a *Hireq*, e. g. **וַיִּגְלוּ** and he revealed, for *wayyigyl*; **וַיִּרְבּוּ** let it multiply, for *yirb*; **קִדְּוֹשׁ** 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. **קִדְּוֹשִׁי** 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 **א** for **אָ**, 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. **קָטַלְתָּ**, **דָּבַרְתָּ**, **דָּבַרְתָּ**, **דָּבַרְתָּ**, **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, e.
- 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. **דָּבַרְתָּ** word, plur. **דָּבַרְתֶּם**; **דָּבַרְתֶּם** your words; **קִדְּוֹשׁ** holy thing, plur. **קִדְּוֹשִׁים**; **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 **וַיִּשְׁפָּט**, &c., cf. § 22 e; other instances in which **א** has entirely lost its consonantal value, and is only retained orthographically, are **חַטָּא** sin, **נַיָּא** valley (also **נַיָּא**), **שְׂוָא** vanity (Jb 15<sup>31</sup> *Kethibh* **שְׂוָא**).

<sup>2</sup> In this form (§ 65 g) the *Dages lenē* 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 **יְהִי** *yihād* from **יָהָה** (§ 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 לִקְרָא 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, לָן, 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 הֵיָה, and before א; cf. Qimhi, *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'ghôl*, 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'ghôl* does take place, e. g. הוֹלֵם פְּעֵם *who smiteth the anvil*, Is 41<sup>7</sup>, for הוֹלֵם פְּעֵם; מִצֶּת שֶׁפָּרַח 1 K 16<sup>24</sup>.—The retraction of the tone even occurs when a half-syllable with a *Šewâ* mobile precedes the original tone-syllable, e. g. וַיֹּאמְרוּ לוֹ Gn 19<sup>5</sup>, and frequently; וַיִּרְדּוּ בּוֹר 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 *Darhe 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. וּבִרְיָהּ 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 פָרִי 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*; וּבְחַשׁ 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 הַקָּם עַל 2 S 23<sup>1</sup>; נִבְרָ שׁוּעַ Jb 34<sup>19</sup>; cf. also יְקַם-קָוֶן Gn 4<sup>24</sup>, with Metheg of the secondary tone. We should read either הַקָּם, or, with Frensdorff, *Massora Magna*, p. 167, Ginsb., Kittel, after Bomb., הַקָּם. Other abnormal forms are וַיְחַזֵּק 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*, *'Athmâh*, 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*, *Rebhêw*, 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; גָּיִם, גָּיִם; קָטַלְתָּ, קָטַלְתָּ. An *ä* which has been modified to *S'ghôl* 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) ו (cf. e.g. Ex 21<sup>31</sup>, Jer 3<sup>9</sup> [but Ginsb. וּתְחַנֵּן], Ru 4<sup>4</sup>, Ec 11<sup>6</sup> [but Ginsb. וַיִּבְשַׁר]; before ו Jer 17<sup>11</sup>) [see also § 29 *w*]. אָתָּה וַיִּשְׁפֹּט אֶת-וַאֲרָץ 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'ûl*. In the same way הַיְצִלָּה Ez 17<sup>15</sup> (with Mahpakh before הַ) and וַיִּקְרַם Ez 37<sup>8</sup> (with Darga before וַ) are to be explained. The four instances of אָנִי for אָנִי 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).—בָּרַךְ becomes in *pause* בָּרַךְ.

Sometimes, however, the distinct and sharper *ä* is intentionally retained *l* in *pause*, especially if the following consonant is strengthened, e. g. יִבְתּוּ Jb 4<sup>20</sup>, or ought to be strengthened, e. g. בָּבַת 2 S 12<sup>3</sup>, בָּן Is 8<sup>1</sup>, &c.; but also in other cases as וְקָנְתִי Gn 27<sup>2</sup>, because from וְקָנָה, cf. below, *q*; וְקָנְתִי Gn 49<sup>27</sup>; וְהִקְנִי שָׁנָה 2 Ch 29<sup>19</sup> (so Baer, but Ginsb. 'הִקְנִי, ed. Mant. 'הִקְנִי); 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 '*Ôlè 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* קָטַלְהָ; שָׁמְעִי (*šim'û*), in *pause* שָׁמְעִי (from sing. שָׁמַע); מְלֵאָה, מְלֵאָה, מְלֵאָה; יִקְטְלוּ, יִקְטְלוּ (sing. יִקְטַל). The fuller endings of the Imperfect בִּי and י'— (§ 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. הָצִי, in *pause* הָצִי; original *ö* (*ü*) becomes *ō*, הָלִי (ground-form *huly*), in *pause* הָלִי (§ 93 *x, y, z*).

On the analogy of such forms as לָחִי, &c., the shortened Imperfects *n* יְהִי and יִחִי become in *pause* יְהִי, יִחִי, because in the full forms יְהִיָּה *he will be*, and יִחִיָּה *he will live*, the *î* is attenuated from an original *ä*. Similarly שָׁכַם *shoulder*, in *pause* שָׁכַם (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. תְּבַרְךָ *thy word*, in *pause* תְּבַרְךָ; יִשְׁמְרֶךָ *he guards thee*, in *pause* יִשְׁמְרֶךָ; but after the prepositions בְּ, לְ, חַ (אֵת) the suffix תְּ— in *pause* becomes תְּ—, e. g. בְּךָ, לְךָ, אֵתְךָ.

(*c*) This tendency to draw back the tone in *pause* to the *penultima* *o* appears also in such cases as אֲנִכְּי *I*, in *pause* אֲנִכְּי; אַתָּה *thou*, in *pause* אַתָּה (but in the three poetically accented books also אַתָּה, since in those books '*Athnah*', especially after '*Ôlè w'yôred*', has only the force of a *Zaqeph*; hence also יִמְלֵאוּ Pr 24<sup>4</sup> instead of יִמְלֵאוּ); עַתָּה *now*, עַתָּה; and in other sporadic instances, like בָּלִי  $\psi$  37<sup>20</sup> for בָּלִי; 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> יִפְלֹא  $\psi$  45<sup>6</sup>, cf. also יִפְלֹא  $\psi$  40<sup>15</sup>, is to be explained in the same way, but not הִפְלֹאֵי Zc 2<sup>11</sup>, where, on the analogy of הִשְׁמְרוּ Je 6<sup>3</sup>, we should expect הִפְלֹאֵי.

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>); שָׁשֶׁר Jer 22<sup>14</sup>; סָפָרָד Ob 20; וַיִּנְצַשׁ Ex 31<sup>17</sup>; וַיִּאֲנַשׁ 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>; הָשַׁבֵּב ψ 40<sup>18</sup>; הָרַחַק Jb 13<sup>21</sup>, mostly before liquids or sibilants (but also הָשַׁבֵּב Is 42<sup>22</sup>, and without the *pause* הָרַר La 3<sup>48</sup>). So also הָיָה (shortened from הָיָה) becomes in *pause* הָיָה; cf. הָיָה La 3<sup>2</sup>; הָיָה for הָיָה Ju 19<sup>20</sup>. On *S'ghöl* in *pause* instead of *Sere*, cf. § 52 n, 60 d, and especially § 75 n, on הָיָה 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 לְעוֹלָם וָעַד (for עַד) for ever and ever.

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

*t* (4) The restoration of a final *Yodh* which has been dropped from the stem, together with the preceding vowel, e. g. אֶתְּוּ Is 21<sup>12</sup>, for אֶתְּוּ, 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 3<sup>27</sup>, Is 21<sup>12</sup>.

*u* (5) The transition from  $\bar{o}$  or  $\bar{ö}$  to  $\bar{a}$  in *pause*: as שָׂאֵלָה Is 7<sup>11</sup>, if it be a locative of שָׂאֵל, and not rather imperat. Qal of שָׂאֵל; שָׂבַלְתִּי Gn 43<sup>14</sup> for שָׂבַלְתִּי; עוּ Gn 49<sup>3</sup>; שָׂרָה Gn 49<sup>27</sup>; perhaps also שָׂרָה I K 22<sup>34</sup>, Is 59<sup>17</sup>, and מִשְׂבַּלְתִּי Is 28<sup>17</sup>, cf. 2 K 21<sup>18</sup>. On the other hand the regular *pausal* form יִהְיֶינָה (ordinary imperfect יִהְיֶינָה) corresponds to a perfect הָיָה (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'ghöl*, according to § 22 c and § 27 g, e. g. אֶחָי my brothers, in *pause* אֶחָי. 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. יִתְנַחֵם, but in *pause* יִתְנַחֵם. 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'ghöl*, in *infin.*, imperat., and imperf. of verbs  $\bar{h}$ , 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> יַעֲבֹרוּ, 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 (עַמְקַ or עֵמֶק; the 3rd pers. sing. perf. does not occur) *it was deep*, עֵמֶק *deep*, עֲמֻק *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*, קִדְשׁוֹ *holiness*, קֹדֶשׁ *holy*.

Sometimes the language, as we have it, exhibits only the verbal stem without any corresponding noun-form, e. g. סָקַל *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 'abūnā (*to become compact, hard*) corresponds to סָקַל, and the Aramaic verb *nēgab* (*to be dry*) to נָבֵב.

Rem. 1. The Jewish grammarians call the stem (i. e. the 3rd pers. sing. Perf. Qal) שְׁרָשׁ *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 § 4.

<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>

e 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. מָלַךְ from *qāwām*; or from stems whose second and third consonants are identical, e. g. מָלַךְ and מָלַךְ (but see below, §§ 67, 72). The dissyllabic forms have themselves no doubt arisen, through a loss of the final vowel, from trisyllables, e. g. מָלַךְ from *qātālā*, 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 אָבִי *father*, אִמִּי *mother*, אָחִי *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 כָּרַח, כָּרַה, כָּרַח, כָּרַח. 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 כָּרַח, כָּרַח, כָּרַח, כָּרַח may all be traced to the idea of *striking, breaking*, and the root common to them all is evidently the two strong consonants כר (*dukh*). 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*, Leipz. 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: קצץ and קצה to *cut, to cut off*; the latter also metaph. to *decide, to judge* (whence קצין, 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; גָּוּן to *cut off, to shear*; גָּוָה to *hew stone*; גָּוּז, גָּוַע, גָּוַם, גָּוַל, גָּוַר to *cut off, to tear off, eat up*; similarly גָּרַד to *cut into*, גָּרַע to *cut off*; cf. also גָּרַה, גָּרַף, גָּרַד. 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, חָרַשׁ, and further חָצַר, חָצִין, חָצַה, חָצַב, חָסַף, חָסַם, חָסַל, חָטַף, חָטַט, חָטַב, חָזוּ, חָזוּה, חָזַן, חָזַם in the Lexicon.

The root הַח expresses the sound of *humming*, which is made with the mouth closed (μύω); hence הָמַם, הָמָה, הָמָה, נְהָם (נְהָם), Arab. *hāmhamā, 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 (פַּר) 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 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. פּוֹר and בּוֹר, שַׁחַק and צַחַק, צַעַק and זַעַק, עֵלָם and עֵלָן, 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 קַצַּץ to cut, נוֹן 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. קִין, קֵט, כֵּם, נוֹ, נָר, נֶר, נִין, גִּין, גֵּט, גֵּם, קוֹ. Within (triliteral) stems the first and second consonants are never identical. The apparent exceptions are either due to reduplication of the root, e.g. רָרָה (ψ 42<sup>5</sup>, Is 38<sup>15</sup>), Arabic رَأَرَأ, or result from other causes, cf. e.g. בָּכָה 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. צִוּן, נִוּן; note, however, נָתַן, נָתַן, שָׁמַשׁ, שָׁמַשׁ, and on עֵלַע 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 עִוְאוּל Lv 16<sup>8</sup> if it is for עִוְלוּל.

*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. כְּלָבֵל from כּוּל or כִּיל, סְחָרְחָר from סַחַר, are usually not regarded as *quadrilateral*s or *quinquilateral*s, but as *conjugational* forms (§ 55); so also the few words which are formed with the prefix שׁ, as שְׁלֵהָבַח flame from לָהַב, correspond to the Aramaic conjugation Šaph'el, שְׁלֵהַב.

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

<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. גֵּב, גֵּב, גֵּב, רַט, בַּק, בַּק, תַּט, בַּף, בַּף, זֹד, זֹס, זִין, צַם, 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. עָרַגְל to roll, expanded from עָגַל (conjugation Pa'el, corresponding to the Hebrew Pi'el). 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 ן, e. g. אֵרֶן axe, בְּרִמְלֵ garden-land (from בְּרִמְלֵ, גִּבְעֵל corolla (גִּבְעֵל cup); cf. § 85, xi.

Rem. on (b). Forms such as צַפְרִירֵץ frog, מִבְּצִילֵת meadow-saffron, צִלְמוֹת shadow 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 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. Lörrwald, '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 צִלְמוֹת 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, σύ, 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> (אֲנֵנוּ, in <i>pause</i> אֲנַחְנוּ), (אֲנֵנוּ) }
2. { <i>m.</i> אַתָּה (אַתָּה), in <i>pause</i> אַתָּה or אַתָּה } <i>thou.</i> { <i>f.</i> אַתְּ (אַתְּ) properly אַתְּ, } in <i>pause</i> אַתְּ }	2. { <i>m.</i> אַתֶּם <i>f.</i> אַתֶּנָּה (אַתֶּנָּה); 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", הֵמָּה } <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. 'āna). 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>°</sup>hi), 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 167<sup>8</sup>, Nu 32<sup>32</sup>, La 3<sup>42</sup>; אָנָּן in *pause*, Gn 42<sup>11</sup>; in Arabic *nāḥnu* 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 אָנָּן, אָנָּן, אָנָּן, אָנָּן, &c., are contracted from 'antā, &c. The kindred languages have retained the *n* before the א, e. g. Arab. 'antā, fem. 'anti, thou; pl. 'antum, fem. 'antūna, ye. In Syriac אָנָּן, fem. אָנָּן are written, but both are pronounced 'at. In Western Aramaic אָנָּן is usual for both genders.

g אָנָּן (without ה) occurs five times, e. g. ψ 64, always as *Kethibh*, with אָנָּן as *Qere*. In three places אָנָּן 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 אָנָּן 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 4<sup>30</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 אָנָּן אָנָּן, § 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 אָנָּן to indicate the *Qere* אָנָּן (see § 17). The same final ' appears in the rare (Aramaic) forms of the suffix אָנָּן, אָנָּן (§§ 58, 91).

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

<sup>1</sup> In Phoenician and Moabite (inscription of Mēša', line 1) it is written אָנָּן, 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>11-10</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 א (corresponding to the 'Elif of pro-*k* longation in Arabic, cf. § 23 i) might be regarded only as an orthographic addition closing the final long vowel, as in אָנִי, הִיאַ, &c. The א 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 אַי, while הִיאַ becomes הַי. In Arabic (as in Syriac) they are written הַי and הִי but pronounced hūwā and hiyā, and in Vulgar Arabic even hūwca and hiyya. 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'eti* (= hu'a-tū) for אָנִי, *ye'eti* (= hi'a-ti) for הִיאַ (cf. also the Assyrian *ya-u-a* for אָנִי) show that the א 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*, אַי from *ha-yā*.

(b) The form אָנִי also stands in the consonantal text (*K<sup>e</sup>thibh*) 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 *Q<sup>r</sup>re* אָנִי (*Q<sup>r</sup>re 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>5</sup>, 38<sup>25</sup>, Nu 5<sup>13,14</sup> אָנִי and אַי are found close to one another; (3) that outside the Pentateuch the distinction is found in the oldest documents, so that the אַי 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 אַי 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 אַי for אָנִי in 1 K 17<sup>15</sup>, Is 30<sup>33</sup>, Jb 31<sup>11</sup>, or אָנִי for אַי in ψ 73<sup>16</sup>, Ec 5<sup>8</sup>, 1 Ch 29<sup>16</sup>. The Samaritan recension of the Pentateuch has the correct form in the *K<sup>e</sup>thibh* 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 אֵינָם (אֵינָם) and אֵינָהֶן (after prefixes הֵן, הֵן) are of doubtful origin, but אֵינָם, אֵינָהֶן have probably been assimilated to אֵינָהֶן which goes back to a form *hinmā*. In Western Aram. הַמֹּן, הַמֹּן (הַמֹּן), 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 'Esmun'azar, line 22, for אַי, but in the Zenjirli inscriptions (see § 1 m) both אָנִי and אַי 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 מוּ—, מוּ—, 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 עָרִיבָה 2 K 9<sup>18</sup> read עָרִיבָהּ (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 קָטַלְתִּי, קָטַלְתָּהוּ or (with *āhû* contracted into *ô*) קָטַלְתָּו *thou hast killed him*; אֹרְוּ (also אֹרְוהוּ) *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. בֵּינִי, literally *interstitium mei, between me* (cf. *mea causa*); but הִנְיִהּ *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. לְּ *to him (ei)* and *to himself (sibi)*, בּוֹ *in him, מֵנִי (usually מִמֶּנִּי) 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 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>  
*f.* זֹאת (הִיא, הִיא)<sup>2</sup> } *this.* *Plur. com.* הֵאֵלֶּה (rarely הֵאלֵּה) *these.* *a*

Rem. 1. The feminine form זֹאת has undoubtedly arisen from זֹאת, by obscuring of an original *ā* to *ō* (for זֹאת = הִיא 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 זֹאת. In ψ 132<sup>12</sup> הִיא is used as a *relative*, cf. הִיא below. In Jer 26<sup>6</sup>, *K'thibh, הַזֹּאת* (with the article and the demonstrative termination הַזֹּאת) is found for זֹאת. The forms הֵאֵלֶּה and הֵאלֵּה are the plurals of הַזֶּה and זֹאת by usage, though not etymologically. The form הֵאלֵּה occurs only in the Pentateuch (but not in the Samaritan text), Gn 19<sup>8,25</sup>, 26<sup>3,4</sup>, &c. (8 times), always with the article, הַזֶּה [as well as הֵאֵלֶּה, הֵאלֵּה frequently], and in 1 Ch 20<sup>8</sup> without the article [cf. Driver on Dt 4<sup>22</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 הַזֶּה *c* to *this* (cf. for הַזֶּה, § 102 g), לְזֹאת, לְזֹאת to *this* (fem.), לְהֵאֵלֶּה, לְהֵאלֵּה to *these*; אֶת־זֶה *hunc*, אֶת־זֹאת *hanc*, אֶת־הֵאֵלֶּה *hos*, also without אֶת־, even before the verb ψ 75<sup>8</sup>, &c. Note also הַזֶּה קִמְחֵיר *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>, ψ 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 הֵאלֵּה 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 הֵאלֵּה, 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 אִשָּׁר (§ 36), it serves for all numbers and genders.

*c* Rem. 1. This pronoun takes the article (הַאֵל, הַאֲלֵהָ, הַאֲתָה, הַאֲהָה) according to the same rule as adjectives, see § 126 u; e. g. הַאִישׁ הַזֶּה *this man*, but הַאִישׁ *this is the man*.

*f* 2. Rarer secondary forms, with strengthened demonstrative force, are הַלְלוּהַ Gn 24<sup>65</sup>, 37<sup>19</sup>; הַלְלוּ *fem.* Ez 36<sup>35</sup>; and shortened הַלְלו, 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 *Pa'al* (see § 52 c) before הַ, ע and ר, except when the guttural (or ר) has under it a short vowel in a sharpened syllable; thus הַפְּהוּכָה Ez 22<sup>5</sup>, הַפְּעֵרָה *the cave*, פְּפָרְעִים 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>); הַמְּעַשְׂקָה Is 23<sup>12</sup>; הַמְּרַנְלִים 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*, הָרָאשׁ *the head*, הָרָשָׁע *the wicked*.

*d* So also הַשִּׁפּוֹת Neh 3<sup>13</sup>, because syncopated from הַאֲשִׁפּוֹת (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 הָאֵלֹהִים Jer 40<sup>d</sup> (cf. בְּאֵלֶיךָ verse 1); הַסִּיָּרִים Ec 4<sup>14</sup> for הָאֵסִים; הַרְפָּיִים 2 Ch 22<sup>5</sup> for הָרָאֵר (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 ה 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  $\bar{o}$  (ֹ). *f* then

(1) before the stronger sounds ה and ה the article regularly remains ה; e. g. הַהוּא *that*, הַחֹדֶשׁ *the month*, הַחֵיל *the force*, הַחֵכְמָה *the wisdom*. Before ה,  $\bar{a}$  occurs only in הַחֵי Gn 6<sup>19</sup> [not elsewhere], הַחֵרִיטִים Is 3<sup>22</sup>, הַחֵפְזִים Is 17<sup>8</sup> [not elsewhere]; before ה, always in הַחֵמָה, הַחֵם.

(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 הַעֲפֹרֶת Ex 15<sup>10</sup>, הַעֲרִים 2 S 5<sup>6,8</sup>, Is 42<sup>18</sup>, הַעֲבָרִים Is 24<sup>2</sup>, הַעֲרִכִים Is 65<sup>11</sup>, הַעֲשֵׂק Ez 22<sup>7</sup>, הַעֲוִבִים Pr 2<sup>13</sup> and הַעֲוֹבֹת Pr 2<sup>17</sup>, הַעֲיִנִים 1 S 16<sup>7</sup>, Ec 11<sup>7</sup>; but הַעֲנִי 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 ה or ע the article is always ה, otherwise it is ה; 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 ה the article is invariably ה without regard to the tone; *i* e. g. הַחָכָם *the wise man*, הַחֵג *the festival*.

C. When the guttural has  $\bar{o}$  (ֹ) the article is ה before ה; e. g. הַחֲדָשִׁים *the months*; הַחֲרָבוֹת *in the waste places* (without the article 'בְּחֲרָבוֹת *bôh'orābhôth*) Ez 33<sup>27</sup>, הַחֲרָבוֹת Ez 36<sup>35,38</sup>, cf. 2 Ch 27<sup>4</sup>; but ה before ע, 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 ה is generally considered to have been ה, 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 ه (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 בַּמָּה, בַּמָּה, &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 אֱלֹהֵימִים 2 Ch 2<sup>7</sup>, 9<sup>10,11</sup>), sandal-wood (?), and in אֱלֹהֵי הַיָּם *ha'il*, ice = גִּבֵּישׁ (Arab. *gibs*) 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 אֱלֹהֵי מִדְבָּר 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. אֱלֹקִים Pr 30<sup>31</sup>, commonly explained as = Arab. *al-gaum*, the militia, is also quite uncertain.

n 2. When the prefixes ה, ל, ב, פ ( § 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. בַּשָּׁמַיִם in the heaven for בְּהַשָּׁמַיִם (so ψ 36<sup>6</sup>); לְעַם לְהָעָם to the people, בְּהַרִּים on the mountains, בְּחַרְשֵׁים in the months; also in Is 41<sup>2</sup>, read בַּעֲפָר instead of the impossible בְּעַפָּר. 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 *Qere*. 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. הַיּוֹם.

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, הָחַג, 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 אָרוֹן), 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 Ugnad, '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 Lihyanite 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 **בֵּת-מִי** *whose daughter?* Gn 24<sup>23</sup>; **לְמִי** *to whom?* **מִי-אֵת** *whom?*—**מָה**, **מַה** (see *b*) *what?* (of things).—**אֵי-יָדָה** *which? what?*

The form **מָה**, **מַי**, &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 **וַי** 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-לָּךְ** *what is it to thee?* and even in *one* word, as **מִלָּכֶם** *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־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 **י**—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**, **הֵימָה**, 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**, **ף**, 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 *c* 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 **בְּמָה**, **בְּמָה**, 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, **מָה** 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 **מָה** as indefinite pronouns in the sense of *quicumque*, *g* *quodcumque*, and as relatives, *is qui*, *id quod*, &c., see § 137 *c*.

and in the *Poenulus* of Plautus—**שׁ** (*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 פִּיזַל, *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. לָבַן *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*); קָיַן *to pass the summer* (from קָיַן *summer*, stem קָיַן *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 קָטַלְ, 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. דָּן 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, לָמַדְ to teach; שָׁכַב to lie, הִשְׁכַּיְב to lay; שָׁפַט to judge, נִשְׁפַּט 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. *saugen*), *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, קָטַלְ; קוּטַל, קוּטַלְ; cf. *to lie, to lay; to fall, to fell*), or in the repetition of one or two of the stem-consonants (קָטַלְל, קָטַלְלְ), or finally in the introduction of formative additions (נִקְטַל), which may also be accompanied by internal change (הִתְקַטַּל, הִתְקַטַּלְ). 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, אִתְ 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>
f	1. <i>Qal</i> קָטַל <i>to kill.</i>	(Cf. § 52 e.)
	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> הֻטַל.
	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 Qimhi. 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.	יָ	.	.		2. f.	יָ	.	.	.
1. c.	יָ	.	.		1. c.	יָ	.	.	.

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 שָׁנָה, קָל, קָמ, §§ 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 יָשַׁב, אָצַק, הָלַךְ.
- d* Taking the old paradigm לָעָם 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 לָעָם, with *ā* (*Pathah*) in the second syllable, especially in *transitive verbs* (but see § 44 *c*). There is also a form with *ē* (*Ṣere*, originally *ī*), and another with *ō* (*Holem*, originally *ū*) 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>5</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 ō* 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. קָטַלְתֶּם 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) *i* 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, יָרְאוּתֶם ye were fearing = יָרָא אָתָּם. The ending of the 1st pers. plur. (נִי—) is also certainly connected with the termination of אֲנִי, אֲנִי 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 י) *b*

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. יִבְרַךְ it cleaveth, Jb 29<sup>10</sup> (not יִבְרַךְ, cf. 2 S 1<sup>23</sup>, Jb 41<sup>15</sup>; even (contrary to § 29 *q*) in a closed pausal syllable, e. g. יִשְׁבֵּן, Dt 33<sup>12</sup> (out of pause יִשְׁבֵּן, Is 32<sup>16</sup>); but יִשְׁבֵּן 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 shalt possess it, Dt 17<sup>14</sup>; יִרְשֶׁתָּהּ Dt 19<sup>1</sup>; יִרְשֶׁתָּהּ Dt 4<sup>1</sup>, and frequently; from יִלְךְ to bring forth, to beget; יִלְךְ ψ 2<sup>7</sup> (cf. Nu 11<sup>12</sup>, Jer 2<sup>27</sup>, 15<sup>10</sup>); from פִּישָׁתָּם Mal 3<sup>20</sup>; from שְׁאַלְתִּי; I have asked him, 1 S 1<sup>20</sup> (Ju 13<sup>6</sup>), and three times שְׁאַלְתֶּם 1 S 12<sup>13</sup>, 25<sup>5</sup>, Jb 21<sup>29</sup>. Qimhī 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 ō*, the *Holem* is retained in the tone-syllable, e. g. יִרְדָּהּ thou di'st 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*; יִכְבְּלוּ I have prevailed against him, ψ 13<sup>5</sup>; יִכְבְּלוּ (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. יִכְלוּ, יִכְלוּ.

*f* 4. Rarer forms<sup>1</sup> are: *Sing. 3rd fem.* in תִּ— (as in Arabic, Ethiopic, and

<sup>1</sup> Many of these forms, which are uncommon in Hebrew, are usual in the



Aramaic), e. g.  $\text{חָלָה}$  *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  $\text{הָלַךְ}$ , either in the form *āth* (which is frequent also in stems  $\text{לָלַךְ}$  § 74 g), or with the *Pathah* weakened to vocal *šewā* before the pleonastic ending  $\text{הָלַךְ}$ , e. g.  $\text{וְגַלְתָּהּ}$  § 75 i. In Ez 31<sup>5</sup> the Aramaic form  $\text{וְנִבְרָהּ}$  occurs instead of  $\text{וְנִבְרָהָהּ}$ .

2nd *masc.*  $\text{תָּהּ}$  for  $\text{תָּ$  (differing only orthographically), e. g.  $\text{בְּגִרְתָּהּ}$  *thou hast dealt treacherously*, Mal 2<sup>14</sup>; cf. 1 S 15<sup>3</sup>, Gn 3<sup>12</sup> ( $\text{וְנִתְתָּהּ}$  which is twice as common as  $\text{וְנִתְתָּ}$ , 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  $\text{וְהִלַּכְתִּי}$  *thou wentest*, Jer 31<sup>21</sup>;  $\text{לְ$  cf. 2<sup>33</sup>, 3<sup>4.5</sup>, 4<sup>19</sup> (but read the ptep.  $\text{שָׁמַעַתְּ}$ , 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>3.4</sup>.  $\text{וְהִלַּכְתִּי}$ , &c., is really intended, for the vowel signs in the text belong to the marginal reading  $\text{וְהִלַּכְתְּ}$  (without *י*)<sup>1</sup> as in the corresponding pronoun  $\text{אֲתִי}$  ( $\text{אֲתִי}$ ) § 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  $\text{וְיָרַעַתְּ}$   $\psi$  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>e</sup>rê*; in 2 K 18<sup>20</sup> also  $\text{וְיָרַעַתְּ}$  is really intended, as appears from Is 36<sup>5</sup>. The *Q<sup>e</sup>rê* 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 e), but is probably a copyist's error. *Plur. 2nd fem.* in  $\text{וְהִלַּכְתְּ}$  (according to others  $\text{וְהִלַּכְתְּנָהּ}$ ) Am 4<sup>3</sup>, but the reading is very doubtful; since  $\text{הָ}$  follows, it is perhaps merely due to dittography; cf., however,  $\text{וְהִלַּכְתְּנָהּ}$  § 32 i.

3rd *plur. comm.* has three times the very strange termination  $\text{וְיָרַעַתְּ}$  Dt  $\text{ל}$  33<sup>16</sup> (both before *N*, and hence, no doubt, if the text is correct, to avoid a hiatus), and in the still more doubtful form  $\text{וְיָרַעַתְּ}$  Is 26<sup>16</sup>; on  $\text{וְיָ}$  in the Imperf. see § 47 m; on the affixed *N* 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  $\text{וְקָמְתִי}$ , 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 *Nūn* 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 הַ, as in Biblical Aramaic. Nöldeke (*ZDMG.* 38 [1884<sup>1</sup>, 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 הַ, and to Gn 48<sup>10</sup> in the Samaritan Pentateuch, Gn 49<sup>22</sup>, 1 S 4<sup>15</sup>, ψ 18<sup>53</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 הַ is often found as a mistake for וְ. 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 ψ 73<sup>2</sup>, Jer 50<sup>6</sup> (?), and (against Nöldeke) 1 K 22<sup>49</sup> (where הַ is undoubtedly the article belonging to the next word), Jb 16<sup>16</sup> (where the *masc.* פְּנִי requires the marginal reading), also Jer 48<sup>41</sup>, 51<sup>66</sup>, Ez 26<sup>2</sup>, ψ 68<sup>14</sup>, as remains of the 3rd *fem. plur.* in 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 הַ, as היה K<sup>e</sup>thibh six times in the above examples.

*n* 5. The affirmatives הַ, (הַ), הַ, הַ are generally toneless, and the forms with these inflexions are consequently *Mi'el* (הַטְּלֵה, &c.); with all the other affirmatives they are *Milra'* (§ 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 הַטְּלֵה for הַטְּלֵה (הַטְּלֵה for הַטְּלֵה), and הַטְּלֵה for הַטְּלֵה (הַטְּלֵה for הַטְּלֵה); (b) in certain cases after *wāw* consecutive of the *Perfect* (see § 49 h).

*O* 6. Contraction of a final הַ with the הַ of the affirmative occurs e.g. in הַטְּלֵה 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 שַׁחַת; Is 21<sup>2</sup>, &c., in the *Hiph'il* of שָׁבַת. Contraction of a final וְ with the affirmative הַ occurs in הַטְּלֵה 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 הַ in the *Imperfect Qal* Ez 17<sup>23</sup>; *Pi'el* ψ 71<sup>23</sup>, where with Baer and Ginsburg הַטְּלֵה is to be read, according to others הַטְּלֵה (cf. in *Po'el* הַטְּלֵה Ez 32<sup>16</sup>), but certainly not הַטְּלֵה with the *Mantua* ed., Opius and Hahn; with הַ in the *Imperat. Hiph.* Gn 4<sup>23</sup>, Is 32<sup>9</sup>.

### § 45. The Infinitive.

F. Präterorius, '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* הַטְּלֵה,<sup>1</sup> sometimes incorrectly הַטְּלֵה), 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 (הַטְּלֵה 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* הַטְּלֵה, sometimes also הַטְּלֵה, obscured from original *qātāl*), 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. שָׁכַב 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 שָׁכַב, 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 לָטַח (verse 20, in pause לָטַח) as an Infinitive = לָטַח; probably לָטַח 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>, אֶהְבֶּה to love, שִׂנְאָה to hate; לְיִרְאָה, often in Dt., to fear; וְזָקְנָה to be old; קָרָא to meet (in לְקָרְאתָ § 19 k); לְרַבְּעָה to lie down, Lv 20<sup>16</sup>; לְמַשְׁחָה to anoint, Ex 29<sup>29</sup>; לְרַחֵץ to wash, Ex 30<sup>18</sup>, &c.; לְטִמְאָה (also a subst. = uncleanness, like טִמְאָה) to be unclean, Lv 15<sup>52</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 לְרַחֵק to be far off, Ez 8<sup>6</sup>; הִמְלָה to pity, Ez 16<sup>5</sup>; cf. Ho 7<sup>4</sup>. On the other hand in הִמְלָה Gn 19<sup>16</sup>, the original *ā* has been modified to *ē*; cf. חִזְקָה Is 8<sup>11</sup>, &c.

(c) In the Aramaic manner (מִקְטַל 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 מִפְּעַע to depart, Nu 1c<sup>2</sup> (Dt 10<sup>11</sup>); מְקַח 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) קטלת in יבִּישֶׁת Gn 8<sup>7</sup>; יבִּלַח Nu 14<sup>16</sup>; probably also חִרְשֶׁת 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 לקטל *ad interficiendum*, לנפל *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 *qāṭūl*). 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-tōl*, &c.; but בְּנַפֵּל *bin'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 וְלַנְתוּיִן Jer 1<sup>10</sup>, 18<sup>7</sup>, 31<sup>28</sup>; לְשַׁרְדוּ Jer 4<sup>7</sup>; לְטַבּוּחַ Jer 11<sup>19</sup>, &c., ψ 37<sup>14</sup>; לְבָרוּק 2 Ch 34<sup>10</sup>; according to some also לְסַכֵּב Nu 21<sup>4</sup> and לְכַבֵּשׁ 2 Ch 28<sup>10</sup> (Baer לְכַבֵּשׁ); on the other hand בְּשִׁפְנָן Gn 35<sup>22</sup>; כְּפִנֶר 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 *ē*) make their Imperative of the form קְטַל, e. g. לְבַשׁ *dress!* (Perf. לְבַשׁ and לְבַשְׁ); לִיֵּשְׁבֵי *lie down!* in pause לִישְׁבֵי 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'li*, *qit'lu*, and so שִׁפְכֵי, &c., without *Dageš lene*, and even מִשְׁכְּבוֹ with *Metheg*, Ex 12<sup>21</sup>; but cf. אֶסְכְּבֵי Jer 10<sup>17</sup>, and with the same phonetic combination חִשְׁפֵי 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>; מִשְׁכְּבוֹ *draw*, Ez 32<sup>20</sup>; חָרְבוֹ Jer 2<sup>12</sup> (cf. חָרְבֵי Is 44<sup>27</sup>); on קְסַמֵי 1 S 28<sup>8</sup> *Q'erē*, צַעֲקֵי 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.

אַמְרִי, חֲנִרִי, מְכַרִי, עֲבָרִי) arise from a weakening of the characteristic vowel  $\ddot{a}$ . They, or at least some of them, must rather be regarded with Barth (*ZDMG.* 1889, p. 182) as analogous to the original  $\ddot{i}$ -imperfects. See further analogies in §§ 47 i and 48 i; 61 b, 63 n.

The *pausal* form of the 2nd plur. masc. is נִזְרִי 1 K 3<sup>26</sup>; from שָׁמְעוּ, שְׁמַעוּ, 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>; קְסוֹמִי 1 S 25<sup>8</sup>, K<sup>eth.</sup> (cf. with this also מְלוֹכָה, &c., § 48 i); from שָׁמַח, שְׁמַחֵי Jo 2<sup>21</sup>.

3. In the 2nd plur. fem. שְׁמַעְנָן occurs once, in Gn 4<sup>23</sup> (for שְׁמַעְנָה) with loss of the ה and insertion of a helping vowel, unless it is simply to be pointed שְׁמַעְנָן. 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 לְבָן 1<sup>12</sup>).

On the examples of a 2nd plur. fem. in  $\ddot{a}$ , Is 32<sup>11</sup>, see § 48 i.

### § 47. The Imperfect and its Inflexion.

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 (קְטַל). 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 (׳, ף, ם, ן) 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.  $\text{לְקַטֵּל}$ , plur.  $\text{לְקַטְלוּ}$ ,  $\text{ל}$  is probably connected with  $\text{לָא}$ , and  $\text{ל}$  with  $\text{לְהַיְיב}$ ; 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>g</sup>hōl* 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  $\text{לְקַטֵּל}$  (which is the Babylonian punctuation) and  $\text{לְקַטְלוּ}$ , which, according to this view, was likewise pronounced *iqṭōl*.<sup>1</sup>

c The preformative  $\text{ת}$  of the *second* persons ( $\text{תְּקַטֵּל}$ , ground-form *tāqtūl*, &c.) is, without doubt, connected with the  $\text{ת}$  of  $\text{תָּמָה}$ ,  $\text{תָּמָם}$ , &c., and the *affirmative*  $\text{—}$  of the 2nd fem. sing.  $\text{תְּקַטְלִי}$  with the *i* of the original feminine form  $\text{תִּי}$  (see § 32 h). The *affirmative*  $\text{י}$  of the 2nd masc. plur.  $\text{תְּקַטְלוּ}$  (in its more complete form,  $\text{יִי}$ , 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*  $\text{נָ}$  (also  $\text{,י}$ ) of the 3rd and 2nd plur. fem. is probably connected with  $\text{נָהֵן}$  *eae* and  $\text{נָתְנָה}$  *vos* (fem.).

d The preformatives of the *third* persons ( $\text{י}$  in the masc.  $\text{יְקַטֵּל}$ , ground-form *yāqtūl*, plur.  $\text{יְקַטְלוּ}$ , ground-form *yāqtūlū*;  $\text{ת}$  in the fem.  $\text{תְּקַטֵּל}$ , plur.  $\text{תְּקַטְלוּ}$ ) 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  $\text{שֵׁן}$  (in Pr 18<sup>24</sup>  $\text{שֵׁן}$ ), 2 S 14<sup>19</sup> (unless, with Perles,  $\text{שֵׁן}$  is to be read), Mi 6<sup>10</sup>, for  $\text{שֵׁן}$ , and  $\text{שֵׁן}$  1 Ch 2<sup>13</sup> (as verse 12). Also  $\text{הַאֲזִיבָה}$  Mi 6<sup>11</sup> is probably for  $\text{הַאֲזִיבָה} = \text{הַאֲזִיבָה}$ ,  $\text{אֲפַקֵּר}$  Is 10<sup>12</sup> for  $\text{אֲפַקֵּר}$ ;  $\text{אֲנַחֲמֶךָ}$  Is 51<sup>19</sup> for  $\text{אֲנַחֲמֶךָ}$ ; and conversely  $\text{יִשְׁכַּר}$  is for  $\text{שֵׁן} = \text{שֵׁן}$ . Similarly,  $\text{שֵׁן}$  1 S 14<sup>19</sup> is probably for  $\text{שֵׁן}$  or  $\text{שֵׁן}$ ; in 2 S 23<sup>8</sup>  $\text{שֵׁן בִּשְׁבַת}$  is, according to the LXX, an error for  $\text{שֵׁן} = \text{שֵׁן}$ . In Assyrian also the simple  $\text{י}$  corresponds to the Hebrew  $\text{י}$  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>tālén*, in Western Aram. *q<sup>e</sup>tālū*, fem. *q<sup>e</sup>tālā*; in Arab. *qātālū*, fem. *qātālānā*, Eth. *qātālū*, *qātālā*.

ending ת— of nouns, and of the 3rd fem. sing. perfect. For the affirmatives י (י) and נָה, see c.

3. The characteristic vowel of the second syllable becomes *Šewā* e before tone-bearing affirmatives which begin with a vowel, but is retained (as being in the tone-syllable) before the toneless affirmative נָה. Thus: יִקְטְלוּ, תִּקְטְלוּ, תִּקְטְלוּ (but in *pause* תִּקְטְלוּ, &c.).

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 *Qames ḥatuph*, e.g. וַיִּכְתֹּב יֵשׁוּעַ 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 *Šewā* before the tone-bearing affirmatives י— and ו (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 *Šewā*, exhibit a long *ū*: הֵם יִשְׁפֹּטוּ 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 לֹא-תִעְבְּרוּי מִזֶּה Ru 2<sup>8</sup>; תִּשְׁמְרוּם (in principal pause) Pr 14<sup>3</sup>. In the first two cases perhaps יִשְׁפֹּטוּ and תִּעְבְּרוּי (for יִשְׁפֹּטוּ, &c.) are intended, in virtue of a retrogressive effect of the pause; in Pr 14<sup>3</sup> תִּשְׁמְרוּם 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. יִרְבֵּץ, רָבַץ to couch, יִשְׁכַּב, שָׁכַב to lie down (לָמַד, לָמַד to learn is also originally intransitive = to accustom oneself); יִגְדַל, גָּדַל to become great (but cf. יִשְׁכַּן and שָׁכַן imperf. יִשְׁכֹּן to dwell and to inhabit, נָבַל imperf. יִבַּל to wither); also from verbs middle *ō*, as קָטַן to be small, the imperf. has the form יִקְטַן.

Sometimes both forms occur together; those with *ō* having a transitive, *i* and those with *ā* an intransitive meaning, e.g. יִקְצַר he cuts off, יִקְצַר he is cut off, i.e. is short; יִחַלֵּץ 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. יִשְׁתֶּה and יִשְׁתֶּה he bites, יִחַפֵּץ and יִחַפֵּץ 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 יָתַן for *yintēn* from יָתַן to give, instead of *ā* or *ō* a movable *šere* (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 טָמַן 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. תִּקְטְלוּ (= *tiq-tōl*), Baer requires in 1 S 25<sup>20</sup> תִּפְנֹשׁ ל (but read with ed. Mant., &c. תִּפְנֹשׁ). For the 2nd sing. fem. (תִּקְטְלִי) 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.

הַקָּטָל 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 'בַּתְּרָעִין is to be read with Marti for תְּרָעִינָה.—For the 3rd plur. fem. הַקָּטָלָה we find in Jer 40<sup>11</sup>, in pause הַבְּתָחוּ (for הַתְּבַחְתֶּנָּה), and thrice (as if to distinguish it from the 2nd pers.) the form יִקְטָלְנָה with the preformative י (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, הַקָּטָלָה 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 הַשְּׁלַחְנָה Ju 5<sup>26</sup> (where, however, perhaps הַשְּׁלַחְנָה is to be read), and Ob<sup>13</sup>, for 2nd sing. masc., according to Olshausen a corruption of הַשְּׁלַחְרִי; in Pr 1<sup>20</sup>, 8<sup>3</sup> for הַתְּרַנֶּה read הַתְּרַנֶּה as in Jb 30<sup>23</sup>; in Ex 1<sup>10</sup> read הַקְּרִינָה with the Samaritan.—In Is 27<sup>11</sup>, 28<sup>3</sup>, as also in Jb 17<sup>16</sup> (if we read מִכֹּבְרָי with LXX for the 2nd תְּקוּרֵי), 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 הָהָ we frequently find, especially in the Pentateuch and mostly after *wāw* consecutive, simply הָהָ, e.g. Gn 19<sup>33.36</sup>, 37<sup>7</sup>, Ex 1<sup>18.19</sup>, 15<sup>20</sup>, Nu 25<sup>2</sup>, Ez 3<sup>20</sup>, 16<sup>65</sup>; in Arab. always *nā*. According to Elias Levita הַלְּבִיָּן (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 הָ inserted after the manner of verbs עָעָ and עָיָ, § 67 d; § 72 i; according to Olshausen it is an error caused by the following form.

m 4. Instead of the plural forms in הָ there are, especially in the older books, over 300 forms<sup>1</sup> with the fuller ending הָן (with *Nūn paragogicum*), always bearing the tone; cf. § 29 m and § 44 l; on its retention before suffixes, see § 60 e; also defectively יִרְבֹּן 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 יִקְטָלִין *they collect*, ψ 104<sup>28</sup>; יִרְגְּזִין *they tremble*, Ex 15<sup>14</sup>; יִשְׁמָעוּן *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> קִשְׁתָּהּ יִדְרֹכֶנָּה, cf. 4<sup>3</sup>, Gn 18<sup>28.29.30</sup> אֲנִי, 44<sup>1</sup>, Nu 32<sup>23</sup>, Jos 4<sup>6</sup> (יִשְׁאַלְהָ); Is 8<sup>12</sup>, 1 S 9<sup>13</sup>, Ru 2<sup>9</sup> (יִקְרְאוּן) and (יִשְׁאַבְּנוּ); 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 נ or ע. 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-יַחְזִיזוּן יַחְזִיזוּ וַיִּבְשׂוּ *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 *ünā*) is the regular termination; but in some dialects of vulgar Arabic it has also become *ū*.

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 יִשְׁוֹן.—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. *inā*), 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 יִתְּבַקֵּי Ru 2<sup>8.21</sup>, cf. 3<sup>4.18</sup>, 1 S 1<sup>4</sup> (יִתְּבַקֵּי), Jer 31<sup>22</sup>, Is 45<sup>10</sup>.

6. On the reappearance in pause of the *ō* which had become *šwā* in the forms יִתְּבַקֵּי, &c., see above, *e*; similarly, the imperfects with *ā* restore this vowel in pause and at the same time lengthen it (as a tone-vowel) to *ā*, hence, e.g. יִתְּבַקֵּי, יִתְּבַקֵּי. This influence of the pause extends even to the forms without affirmatives, e.g. יִתְּבַקֵּי, in pause יִתְּבַקֵּי. But the fuller forms in *ūn* and *in* have the tone always on the ultima, since the vowels *ū* 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 *yāqtülü*, (*a*) a subjunctive, *yāqtülü*; (*b*) a

<sup>1</sup> It is to be observed that the Chronicles often omit the *Nūn*, 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, *yāqtūl*; (c) a double 'energetic' mood of the impf., *yāqtūlānnā* and *yāqtūlān*, in pause *yāqtūlā*, 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. הַקָּטָל from אָקַט. 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 ו and ' 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 אֲשַׁמְרֶה *I will observe*, in Pi'el בְּנַתְּקֶהָ *let us break asunder*, ψ 2<sup>3</sup>; on אֲשַׁמְרֶה Is 18<sup>4</sup> *Qerē* (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 יִשְׁפּוּטוּ, &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. אֲשַׁבְּיָהּ *I will praise*. In pause (as before *ā* and *i*), the vowel which became *Šewā* is restored as tone-vowel; thus for the cohortative אֲשַׁמְרֶה the pausal form is אֲשַׁמְרֶה 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, וְאֶקְרָא and וְאֶקְרָה; 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, אֲשַׁמְרֶה—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 *Qerē*, but in both these cases without any effect on the meaning. Probably another instance occurs in Jb 11<sup>17</sup>, although there תַּעֲרַפֶּה might also, with *Qimḥi*, be regarded as 2nd masc. For the doubly irregular form תִּבְוֹאֶתָהּ Dt 33<sup>16</sup> (explained by Olshausen and König as a scribal error, due to a confusion with תְּבוֹאֶת in verse 14), read תִּבְוֹאֶתָהּ. For תִּבְוֹאֶתָהּ Jb 22<sup>21</sup> the noun תִּבְוֹאֶתָהּ *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 ותְּבֹאֶתִי 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 § 58 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.* ויִשָּׁב, juss. יִשָּׁב; from מִוֹת, יָמִית and יָמָת; also in *Qal* of the verbs עָו and עָו, as יָמָת, ind. מִוֹת; יָגַל, ind. יִגִּיל; in all conjugations of verbs הָל, so that the rejection (*apocope*) of the ending הַ in *Qal* and *Hiph.* gives rise to monosyllabic forms, with or without a helping vowel under the second radical, e. g. *Qal* ind. יִנְקֶה, juss. יִנְקֶה; *Hiph.* ind. יִנְקֶה, juss. יִנְקֶה; and in the *Pi'el* יָצַ 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 הִ. Neither do the forms of the 2d sing. fem., as תִּקְטְלִי, תִּמָּוֶתִי, תִּגְלִי, &c., admit of any change in the jussive, nor any forms, whether singular or plural, to which suffixes are attached, e. g. תִּמָּוֶתֶי 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 2d or 3d 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 הַ, Arab. *imper. energicus*, with the ending -ānnū 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> (*šom'ra*, cf. קָטְלִי *qit'li*, § 46 *d*); עֹבֶה, עֹבָה, Jer 49<sup>11</sup>; שָׁכַב, שָׁכְבָה *lie down*; שָׁמַע, שָׁמְעָה *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. *šān'ra*, 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 נִקְרְבִי 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; וַיְמַכְרֵהּ Jb 33<sup>5</sup> (cf. עָרַב Jer 46<sup>3</sup>), but impf. יִעָרֵךְ; וַיִּעְרָךְ *collect*, Nu 11<sup>16</sup> (for 'אִס' cf. § 63 l and the plural אִסְפּוּ), but 2nd masc. אִסַּף; וַיִּצְרָה 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. וַיִּרְשָׁה Dt 33<sup>23</sup>. But also without the pause we find מְלוּכָה Ju 9<sup>8</sup> *Keth.* and צָרוּפָה ψ 26<sup>2</sup> *Keth.*, on which see § 46 e. On the other hand, רָנְיָה, פָּשְׁטָה, עָרָה, חֲגָרָה 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 פָּלִיָה. 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. קוּמָה *rise up*, קוּמָה *up! give*, תֵּן *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 יִצָּא (from יָצָא) 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 *Mēša'* inscription, which is practically identical with Old Hebrew. It also appears in the inscription of זֹכַר 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. וְהָיָה) *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* *Pathuh* and a *Dageš forte* in the next letter, as וַיִּקְטַל and *he killed*; before *א* of the 1st pers. sing. (according to § 22 *c*) with *Qames*, as וַיִּקְטַל and *I killed*. Exceptions are, וַיִּבְרַח Ez 16<sup>10</sup> according to the *Dikduke ha-ʿamim*, § 71; also וַיִּמְחַדְתִּיהוּ 2 S 1<sup>10</sup> according to *Qimḥi*; but in Ju 6<sup>9</sup> וַיִּשְׂרַח should be read according to *Baer*, and וַיִּשְׂרַח in both places in Ju 20<sup>6</sup>. *Dageš forte* is always omitted in the preformative ו, 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. וַיִּקְרַע, *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 (*ā* to *ō*, *î* to *ē*, and then to *ǝ* and *ǝ̄*) are not usual,<sup>2</sup> at least according to the Masoretic punctuation, and the apocope in verbs הָ occurs more rarely; e.g. always אָרָם (or אָרָם, a merely orthographic difference) and I arose; *Hiph.* אָרַם (but generally written אָרַם, implying the pronunciation *wā'āqem*, as אָרַם implies *wā'āqōm*); אָרָה and I saw, more frequently than אָרָה, § 75 t. On the other hand, the form with final הָ is often used in the 1st pers. both sing. and plur., especially in the later books, e.g. אָרַח and I sent, Gn 32<sup>6</sup>, 41<sup>11</sup>, 43<sup>21</sup>, Nu 8<sup>19</sup> (אָרַח, 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>55</sup>, Jb 1<sup>15π</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>, אָרַח before א, for euphonic reasons. In Is 8<sup>2</sup> אָרַח may have been originally intended; in ψ 73<sup>16</sup> אָרַח and in Jb 30<sup>26</sup> אָרַח. In Ez 3<sup>3</sup> read אָרַח or אָרַח.

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. בָּמָה, בָּמָה, בָּמָה (for בָּמָה), where the prepositions בָּ and לָּ, and the particle בָּ, 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 הָ also occur less frequently after *wāw* consecutive; cf., however, אָרַח 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 אָרַח never occurs after *wāw* consecutive.

<sup>2</sup> In the 1st plur. אָרַח Neh 4<sup>3</sup> is the only instance in which the vowel remains unreduced (cf. וְנָשׁוּב, i. o. 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>1</sup>, and ו); e. g. וְהָיָה, 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. וְהָלַכְתִּי I went, consecutive form וְהָלַכְתִּי 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. וְיִכְלְמוּ 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. וַיִּשְׁבְּנוּ Gn 34<sup>16</sup>; (b) regularly in Hiph'il before the affirmatives הַ— and ו, see § 53 r; and (c) in many cases in verbs נ"ל and ה"ל, almost always in the 1st sing. of נ"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> <sup>π</sup>, Ju 6<sup>26</sup>, &c., except in Qal (only Lv 24<sup>5</sup>, before נ) and the 2nd sing. masc. of Hiph'il-forms before נ, 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 נ, 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 נ"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 וַיִּרְאוּ 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 *a* in the penultima the form is וְנִשְׂאָה Is 14<sup>4</sup>, and probably also וְקָרְאוּ 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 <sup>l</sup> נ the ultima mostly bears the tone on phonetic grounds, e. g. וְבָאָהּ אֵלַי Gn 6<sup>1</sup>, Ex 3<sup>18</sup>, Zc 6<sup>10</sup> (by the side of וְבָאָהּ), &c. (cf., however, וְקָרְאוּ, before נ, Gn 17<sup>19</sup>, Jer 7<sup>27</sup>, Ez 36<sup>29</sup>); וְהִכִּיתָּ Ju 6<sup>16</sup>, cf. Ex 25<sup>11</sup>, Lv 24<sup>5</sup> (but also וְצִוִּיתִי אֹתָם 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, וְקָרְאוּ עָלָיו, Ez 38<sup>21</sup>); on verbs ע"ע, see § 67 k and ez.

(d) The tone always keeps its place when such a perfect stands in *pause*, <sup>m</sup> e. g. וְשָׁבַע Dt 6<sup>11</sup>, 11<sup>15</sup>; וְאָמְרָה 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 וְיִשְׁבְּתָה Dt 17<sup>14</sup>, Ez 14<sup>18</sup>, 17<sup>22</sup>, Am 1<sup>4.7.10.12</sup>—but also וְהִשְׁקִיףָהּ 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 (פֹּעֵל), and a passive, *Pā'ul* (פֹּעֵל).<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 *qu'āl* are better regarded as remnants of the passive participle Qal (see § 52 s), so that פֹּעֵל must be considered as an original verbal noun; cf. Barth, *Nominalbildung*, 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 יָשָׁן; 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 אָנַח *to hate*, part. אָנַח). The *ô* of these forms has arisen through an obscuring of the *â*, and is therefore unchangeable, cf. § 9 g. The form קָטַל (with a changeable *Qames* 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 (קָטְלָהּ or קָטְלָהּ) 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 *â* of the form יָשָׁן is lengthened from *ä*, and consequently changeable (e. g. fem. יָשָׁנָה); and that the *ô* of קָטַל on the other hand is obscured from an unchangeable *â*.<sup>1</sup> In Arabic the verbal adjective of the form *qātīl* corresponds to the form *qātēl*, and the part. *qātīl* to *qātēl*. In both cases, therefore, the *ē* of the second syllable is lengthened from *i*, and is consequently changeable (e. g. קָטַל, plur. קָטְלִים; פָּבַר, constr. pl. פְּבָרִי).

**e** הַיּוֹסֵף ψ 16<sup>b</sup>, instead of the form *qātēl*, is an anomaly; it is possible, however, that הַיּוֹסֵף (incorrectly written fully) is intended (cf. סְבִיב 2 K 8<sup>21</sup>), or even the imperfect *Hiph'il* of יָסַף. The form יָסַף in Is 29<sup>14</sup>, 38<sup>5</sup> appears to stand for יָסַף, but most probably the Masora here (as certainly in יָסַף Ec 1<sup>18</sup>) intends the 3rd sing. imperf. *Hiph.*, for which the better form would be יָסַף; יוֹסֵף 1 Ch 27<sup>30</sup>, being a proper name and a foreign word, need not be considered.—אָבַר (constr. state of אָבַר), with *â* 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 אֲנָשׁ *desperate*, Jer 15<sup>18</sup>, &c.; אֱמוּנָה *trustful*, Is 26<sup>3</sup>, ψ 112<sup>7</sup>; עָצוּם *strong*; שָׂכָר *drunken*, Is 51<sup>21</sup>; and even from transitive verbs, אֲחָז *handling*, Ct 3<sup>5</sup>; אֲחָז *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. נִאֵם in the formula נִאֵם יְהוָה *the word* (properly the *whispering*) of the Lord, &c., is always written defectively.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Vollers, 'Das Qātīl-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-qātāl*, participle לְבַטַל, infinitive absolute sometimes לְבַטַל; (b) the (later) proclitic *in* (as in all the forms of the corresponding Arabic conjugation VII. 'inqātālā), found in the imperfect יִבְטַל for *yinqātēl*, in the imperative and infinitive construct, with a secondary *n* added, לְבַטַל (for *hinqātēl*), and in the infinitive absolute לְבַטַל. 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. יָבַטַל to thrust oneself (against), לָבַטַל to take heed to oneself, φυλάσσεισθαι, ἔκρυπτο to hide oneself, לְבַטַל to redeem oneself; cf. also יַעֲנֶה to answer for oneself. Equally characteristic of *Niph'al* is its frequent use to express emotions which react upon the mind; חָבַטַל to trouble oneself, חָנַטַל 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. שָׁרַטַל 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 מָצַטַל to find, יָרַטַל to warn, to correct, Jer 6<sup>8</sup>, 31<sup>18</sup>, &c.

(b) It expresses *reciprocal* or mutual action. e.g. דִּבְרַטַל to speak, Niph. *d* to speak to one another; שָׁפַטַל to judge, Niph. to go to law with one another; יָצַטַל to counsel, Niph. to take counsel, cf. the middle and deponent verbs βουλευέσθαι (יָצַטַל), μάχεσθαι (חָבַטַל), altercari, luctari (חָצַטַל 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>6,28</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; כָּבַד 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); נִלְבָּב cordatum fieri, Jb 11<sup>12</sup> (from לָבַב cor); doubtless also נִבְנָה to obtain children, Gn 16<sup>2</sup>, 30<sup>8</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 (*inqātālā*) 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 נִנְאָלוּ 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, נִנְאָלוּ, perf. Niph., and נִנְאָלוּ, 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 *ā*. Examples are, נִבְכָּה Gn 31<sup>30</sup>; נִלְחָם Ju 11<sup>25</sup>; נִשְׂאָל 1 S 20<sup>6,28</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 אֲדַרֵּשׁ Ez 14<sup>3</sup>, where, perhaps, the subsequent אֲדַרֵּשׁ 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, כָּהֲנָרַף should simply be read for the wholly abnormal כָּהֲנָרַף ψ 68<sup>3</sup> (commonly explained as being intended to correspond in sound with the subsequent הִתְנַחַם, but probably a 'forma mixta', combining the readings כָּהֲנָרַף and כָּהֲנָרַף).

<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 qātūl) 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 בְּעֵטָף La 2<sup>11</sup>; also in verbs לָהֵן Ex 10<sup>3</sup> (לָעֵנוֹת); 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 *III* in pause, e.g. וַיִּנְמַל Gn 21<sup>8</sup>; cf. Ex 31<sup>17</sup>, 2 S 12<sup>16</sup> (with final שׁ); 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. תִּבְרָנָה Is 65<sup>17</sup>; *Sere* occurs only in תַּעֲנֶנָּה Ru 1<sup>13</sup>, from עָנָן, and hence, with loss of the doubling, for תַּעֲנֶנָּה; cf. even תַּאֲמֶנָּה Is 60<sup>4</sup>.—With *Nún paragogicum* (see § 47 m) in the 2nd and 3rd plur. masc. are found, וַיִּלְכְּדוּ, וַיִּלְחַמוּ, &c., in pause וַיִּבְהִלוּ, וַיִּשְׁמְדוּ, &c.; but Jb 19<sup>24</sup> (cf. 24<sup>24</sup>) וַיִּחַצְבוּ.

3. When the imperfect, the infinitive (in *ē*), or the imperative is followed *II* 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>26</sup>), shifted back from the ultima to the penultima, while the ultima, which thus loses the tone, takes *S'ghôl* instead of *Sere*; e.g. וַיִּבְטֹל בָּהּ Ez 33<sup>12</sup>; לוֹ וַיַּעֲטֶר Gn 25<sup>21</sup>; in the imperative, 13<sup>9</sup>.—So always הִשְׁמַר לָךְ (since לָךְ counts as *one* syllable) Gn 24<sup>6</sup>, &c., cf. 1 S 19<sup>2</sup>; and even with *Pathah* in the ultima, תַּעֲוֹב אֲרִין Jb 18<sup>4</sup> (but cf. וַיַּעֲתֵר אֲלֵהֶם 2 S 21<sup>14</sup>). Although in isolated cases (e.g. Gn 32<sup>26</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. וַיִּשְׁפָּר Gn 7<sup>23</sup>; וַיִּלְחָם Nu 21<sup>1</sup> and frequently, וַיִּצְמַד 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*, Ze 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, וַיִּפְלִט, &c.

In the *imperative*, הִקְבִּצוּ, 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־ *paragogicum*) לִי הִשְׁבַּעָה swear to me, Gn 21<sup>23</sup>, &c. (also לִי הִשְׁבַּעָה Gn 47<sup>31</sup>, 1 S 30<sup>16</sup>).

4. For the 1st sing. of the *imperfect*, the form אֶקְטֹל is as frequent as אֶקְטֹל *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 20<sup>36</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 שָׁפַח (§ 69 l). The Babylonian punctuation admits only *i* 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'āl*; 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 *Seghōl*, see below, *l*.—Hence, for the 3rd sing. masc. *perfect*, there arise forms like אָבַר, קָרַשׁ, לָפַר, קָבַר, נָדַר, &c.—Before affirmatives beginning with a consonant, however, *ā* is always retained, thus קָטַלְתָּ, קָטַלְתֶּם, קָטַלְנוּ, &c. In the *infinitives* (*absol.* קָטַל, obscured from *qattāl*; *constr.* לְקָטַל), *imperfect* (לְקַטֵּל), *imperative* (קַטֵּל), and *participle* (קֹטֵל) the original *ā* of the first syllable reappears throughout. The vocal *Šewā* of the preformatives is weakened from a short vowel; cf. the Arabic imperfect *yūqattīl*, participle *mūqattīl*.

**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 *Šewā* under it (cf. § 20 m), e. g. שָׁחַח for שָׁחַח Ez 17<sup>17</sup>; בָּקַשׁוּ 2 Ch 15<sup>16</sup> (but in the *imperative* always בָּקַשׁוּ 1 S 28<sup>7</sup>, &c.), and so always in הִלְלוּ *praise*. The vocal character of the *Šewā* under the *litera dagessanda* is sometimes in such cases (according to § 10 h) expressly emphasized by its taking the form of a *Hatēph*, as in לָקַחַח Gn 2<sup>28</sup>, with ֿ owing to the influence of the preceding *u*, cf. פָּעַלּוּ for פָּעַלוּ, &c.; Gn 9<sup>14</sup>, Ju 16<sup>16</sup>. In the *imperfect* and *participle* the *Šewā* under the preformatives (*Ĥatēph-Pathah* under נ in the 1st sing. *imperfect*) serves at the same time as a characteristic of both conjugations (Gn 26<sup>14f.</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-lumā'*, p. 161. Cf. especially Barth, 'Das passive Qal und seine Participien,' in the *Festschrift zum Jubiläum Hildesheimer* (Berlin, 1890), p. 145 ff.

passives of Qal. He reckons as such all those *perfects*, of which the *Pi'el* (which ought to express the corresponding active) is either not found at all, or only (as in the case of יָלַד) with a different meaning, and which form their *imperfect* from another conjugation, generally Niph'al. Such *perfects* are the *quttal* form of the stems אָבַל (*imperfect* תִּאֲבָלוּ Is 1<sup>20</sup>), חָפַשׁ, טָרַף, יָלַד, יָצַר, שָׁפַף, שָׁטַף, שָׁנַל, עָבַד, לָקַח. Barth (see below) adds to the list the apparent *Pu'al-perfects* of אָסַר, בּוּז, וּנָה, כָּרַת, חָצַב, נָפַח, כָּרַת, עוּב, עָשָׂה, עוּב, נָפַח, כָּרַת, חָצַב, וּנָה, בּוּז, אָסַר, and of verbs with middle ר (hence with ũ of the first syllable lengthened to *ō*), הָרַג, הָרָה, הָרַג, הָרָה [זרה, see § 67 m], זָרַע, זָרַק, טָרַף, מָרַט, קָרַא, שָׁרַף; also the infinitives absolute הָרוּ וְהָגוּ Is 59<sup>13</sup>. In these cases there is no need to assume any error on the part of the punctuators; the sharpening of the second radical may have taken place in order to retain the characteristic ũ of the first syllable (cf. Arab. *qūtūlā* as passive of *qātūlā*), and the *a* of the second syllable is in accordance with the vocalization of all the other passives (see § 39 f). Cf. § 52 s and § 53 u.

2. The fundamental idea of *Pi'el*, to which all the various shades of meaning in this conjugation may be referred, is *to busy oneself eagerly* with the action indicated by the stem. This intensifying of the idea of the stem, which is outwardly expressed by the strengthening of the second radical, appears in individual cases as—(a) a *strengthening* and *repetition* of the action (cf. the *intensives* and *iterative* nouns with the middle radical strengthened, § 84<sup>b</sup>),<sup>1</sup> e. g. צָחַק *to laugh*, *Pi'el to jest*, *to make sport* (to laugh repeatedly); שָׁאַל *to ask*, *Pi'el to beg*; hence when an action has reference to *many*, e. g. קָבַר *to bury* (a person) Gn 23<sup>4</sup>, *Pi'el to bury* (many) 1 K 11<sup>15</sup>, and often so in Syr. and Arab. Other varieties of the *intensives* and *iterative* meaning are, e. g. פָּתַח *to open*, *Pi'el to loose*; סָפַר *to count*, *Pi'el to recount*: [cf. פָּתַח, הֵלֵךְ, הָשִׁיב, פָּתַח, תִּפְּשׂוּ, תִּפְּשׂוּ, רָפֵא, מָרַצְחָ, מָאֵהָב, תִּפְּשׂוּ, תִּפְּשׂוּ, רָפֵא].

The eager pursuit of an action may also consist in *urging* and *causing* others to do the same. Hence *Pi'el* has also—(b) a *causative* sense (like *Hiph'il*), e. g. לָמַד *to learn*, *Pi'el to teach*. It may often be turned by such phrases as *to permit to*, *to declare or hold as* (the *declarative Pi'el*), *to help to*, e. g. הֵיָה *to cause to live*, צָרַק *to declare innocent*, יָלַר *to help in child-bearing*.

(c) *Denominatives* (see § 38 b) are frequently formed in this conjugation, and generally express a being occupied with the object expressed by the noun, either to form or to make use of it, e. g. קָנָה *to make a nest, to nest* (from קָן), עָפַר *to throw dust, to dust* (from עָפַר),

<sup>1</sup> Analogous examples, in which the strengthening of a letter has likewise an *intensives* force, are such German words as *reichen*, *rechen* (Eng. *to reach*, *to rack*); *streichen* (*stringo*), *strecken*: cf. *Strich* (a stroke), *Strecke* (a stretch); *wacker* from *wachen*; others, in which it has the *causative* sense, are *stechen*, *stehen*; *wachen* (*watch*), *wecken* (*wake*); τέλλω *to bring to an end* (cf. the stem τέλω *to end*, in τέλος, τελέω); γεννάω *to beget*, from the stem γένω *to come into being* (cf. γένος).

יָצַד to gather the clouds together (from יָצַד, עָנָן to divide in three parts, or to do a thing for the third time (from שָׁלַשׁ); 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, וַיִּבּו prop. to injure the tail (וַיִּבּוּ), hence to rout the rear of an army, to attack it; לָבַב to ravish the heart; רָצַח to remove the ashes (רָצַח), 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>; פָּחַד to tremble, Is 51<sup>13</sup>, Pr 28<sup>14</sup>; רָוָה 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, קָטַלְתִּי (but always דִּבַּרְתִּי and לָמַדְתִּי), קָטְלוּנִי. In the 3rd *sing. perf.* דִּבַּר to speak, כָּפַר to pardon, and בָּבַם to wash clothes (also בָּבַם Gn 49<sup>11</sup>) take *S'ghöl*, but become in *pause* דִּבַּר, בָּבַם (2 S 19<sup>25</sup>); the pausal form of כָּפַר does not occur.
- m *Pathah* in the first syllable (as in Aramaic and Arabic) occurs only once, Gn 41<sup>51</sup>, נָשַׁנִּי he made me forget, to emphasize more clearly the play on the name מְנַשֶּׁה.
- 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'ghöl*, e. g. יִבְקַשׁ-לּוֹ he seeks for himself, Is 40<sup>20</sup>; קִדְּשֵׁנִי sanctify unto me, Ex 13<sup>2</sup>. Pausal-forms with *S'ghöl* 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 *Hateph-Pathah*, under the preformative א; אִוְרָה Lv 26<sup>38</sup>, Ez 5<sup>12</sup>, 12<sup>14</sup> and וְאִסְעָרִים 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. הַתְּבַרְוּן ψ 58<sup>2</sup> (but Gn 32<sup>20</sup> הַתְּבַרְוּן, 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 הַתְּפַלְּנָה, forms like הַתְּפַלְּנָה are also found, e. g. Is 3<sup>16</sup>, 13<sup>18</sup>, in both cases before a sibilant and in *pause*. Also פַּלְּנָה ψ 55<sup>10</sup> occurs as the 2nd sing. imperative (probably an intentional imitation of the sound of the preceding בַּלְּעַ and קָרַב (for *qarrabh*) Ez 37<sup>17</sup>.

3. The *infinitive absolute* of *Pi'el* has sometimes the special form קָבַל 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> שָׁלְחוּ; 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> (נָאִיץ נֹאֲצָה). On the other hand, שָׁלַח Dt 32<sup>36</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 תְּחַלֵּת), 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 1 p אִוְרָה Lv 26<sup>18</sup>; אִוְרָה ψ 147<sup>1</sup>; with ת of the *fem.* before a suffix אִוְרָתְךָ Ez 16<sup>62</sup>. On the verbal nouns after the form of the *Aram. inf.* *Pa'el* (אִוְרָה), see § 84<sup>b</sup> e.

Instead of the abnormal מְאִסְפִּי (so Baer, Is 62<sup>9</sup>) as *ptcp.* *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> שְׂדֵדָה; Ez 16<sup>4</sup>, ψ 72<sup>20</sup>, 80<sup>11</sup>. According to Baer's reading also in תְּרַצְחוּ ψ 62<sup>4</sup>, and so also Ben Ašer, but Ben Naphtali תְּרַצְחוּ. It is merely an orthographic licence when *ū* is written fully, e. g. יוֹלֵד Ju 18<sup>29</sup>.

5. As *infinitive absolute* of *Pu'al* we find נָלַב Gn 40<sup>16</sup>.—No instance of the *inf. constr.* occurs in the strong verb in *Pu'al*; from לָה with suffix עָנֹתוֹת ψ 132<sup>1</sup>.

6. A few examples occur of the *participle Pu'al* without the preformative (מְ), S e. g. אֶבֶל Ex 3<sup>2</sup>; יוֹלֵד (מְיֹלֵד) Ju 13<sup>8</sup>; לָקַח 2 K 2<sup>10</sup>; מְעַרָה 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 יוֹקְשִׁים, according to § 20 n, stands for 'יִקְ' = 'מִיִּקְ'); but, according to the *Masora*, not Ez 26<sup>17</sup>, since הַהֲלֵלָה as *Mi'el* can only be the *perfect*. The rejection of the מְ may be favoured by an initial מ, as in Is 18<sup>2.7</sup> (but also מְאִשְׁף); 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 אִם, 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 אֶבֶל 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'êl*), 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 הִקְטַלְתָּ, beside הִקְטַלְתָּ 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 הִקְטַלְתָּ, and in the imperfect and participle הִקְטַלְתָּ and מִקְטַלְתָּ, which are syncopated from הִקְטַלְתָּ and מִקְטַלְתָּ; § 23 k. The corresponding Arabic forms (*juqtûl* and *muqtûl*) 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 הִקְטַלְתָּ, הִקְטַלְתָּ 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.* הִקְטַלְתָּ or הִקְטַלְתָּ, *Imperf.* יִקְטַלְתָּ (syncopated from הִקְטַלְתָּ) or יִקְטַלְתָּ, *Part.* מִקְטַלְתָּ or מִקְטַלְתָּ (from מִקְטַלְתָּ); but the *infinitive absolute* has the form הִקְטַלְתָּ.

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* *ô* or *û*.

c 2. The *meaning* of *Hiph'ûl* is primarily, and even more frequently than in *Pi'êl* (§ 52 g), *causative* of *Qal*, e. g. הִצֵּיטָּ to go forth, *Hiph.* to bring forth, to lead forth, to draw forth; הִקְדַּשְׁתָּ to be holy, *Hiph.* to sanctify. Under the *causative* is also included (as in *Pi'êl*) the *declarative* sense, e. g. הִצִּדִיקָּ to pronounce just; הִרְשִׁיעָּ to make one an evil doer (to pronounce guilty); cf. הִקְשַׁח, 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'êl* and *Hiph'ûl* occur side by side in the same sense, e. g. הִפְרִיטָּ *peritit*, *Pi'êl* and *Hiph'ûl*, *perdidit*; as a rule,

<sup>1</sup> This *î* may have been transferred originally from the imperfects of verbs יִקְטַל, 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 *to be bright, to shine* (to give forth brightness); opposed to חשך *to become dark*; אמן, נבר, 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, סכת, 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*; באשׁ *to become stinking*; זור *to become boiling, to boil over*; חלה *to become ill*; הסר *to come to want*; חרה *to become hot*; יבשׁ *to become dry, to become ashamed*; יתר *to attain superiority*; סכן *to become familiar*; קיץ *to become awake*; קשה *to become hard*; רנע *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: נגשׁ *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 *to act wickedly, godlessly*; שחת, תעב, 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>18</sup> (unless אֲצַרָה is to be read, as in Neh 7<sup>2</sup>); בבר *to bring forth a firstborn*; נשם *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*; שבל *to produce abortion*; שלג *to become snow-white*; שמן *to grow fat*; שרשׁ *to put forth roots, &c.*; so also according to the ordinary acceptation הֶאֱזִיחוּ Is 19<sup>6</sup>, they have become stinking, from אֲנַחַח *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*; שָׁבֵר to sell corn; שָׂמַח 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 הִשְׁלֵךְ *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 *ē* (or, under the influence of gutturals, *ā*) takes its place. In an open syllable the *i* is retained almost throughout; only in very isolated instances has it been weakened to *Šewā* (see *n* and *o*).

k 2. The *infinitive absolute* commonly has *Sere* without *Yodh*, e. g. הִקְדֵּשׁ Ju 17<sup>3</sup>; less frequently it takes *y*, 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 לְהַעֲשִׂיךָ) 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* (בַּעֲשֵׂיךָ) was intended, as in I S 8<sup>15,17</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* הִקְטִיל 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 הִקְצוּ for הִקְצוּת 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 עָד), 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>56</sup>].

With *ā* in the second syllable there occurs הִזְכֵּרְכֶם Ez 21<sup>29</sup> (cf. the substantival infin. הִפְצֵר 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 הָ— *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 הִצְלִיחָה ibid. v. 25<sup>b</sup>. On the other hand, in the 2nd sing. masc. the original *i* (cf. Arabic *'aqtīl*) is lengthened to *ē*, e. g. הִשְׁמֵן make fat, and becomes *S'ghöl* before *Maqqeph*, e. g. הִסְבֵּרְנָה Jb 22<sup>21</sup>.—The form הִקְטִיל 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> הִבִּיטָה is required by the *Qere* for הִבִּיט.

<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 *Šere* prevails for the jussive *l* in the 3rd masc. and fem. and 2nd masc. sing., e.g. אֲל־תַּגְדֵּל make not great, Ob 12; יַכְרֵת let Him cut off! ψ 12<sup>4</sup>; even incorrectly תַּחַיֵּד Ex 19<sup>3</sup> and גַּיֵּד Ec 10<sup>20</sup>; cf. also יִבְעֶר Ex 22<sup>4</sup>, where the jussive form is to be explained according to § 109 h, and יֵאָבֵד Jb 39<sup>26</sup> before the principal pause. Similarly, after ו 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) וַיִּגֵּשׁ Ju 6<sup>19</sup>; in the lesser pause וַיִּקַּף La 3<sup>5</sup>. Before *Maqqeph* the *Šere* becomes *S'ghöl*, e.g. וַיְהוֹקֵבוּ Ju 19<sup>4</sup>. In the plural again, and before suffixes, *i* remains in the forms תִּקְטְלוּ, יִקְטְלוּ, even in the jussive and after ו consecutive, e.g. וַיִּדְבְּקוּ Ju 18<sup>22</sup>. The only exceptions, where the *i* is weakened to *S'ewä*, are וַיִּרְכְּבוּ Jer 9<sup>2</sup>; וַיִּדְבְּקוּ 1 S 14<sup>22</sup>, 31<sup>2</sup>, 1 Ch 10<sup>2</sup>; וַיַּעֲבְרוּ Jer 11<sup>15</sup>; וַאֲוֹצְרָה Neh 13<sup>13</sup>, if it is *Hiph'il* of אָצַר, but probably וַאֲצַנְיָה is to be read, as in 7<sup>2</sup>; perhaps also תַּהַכְרֵדוּ 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>50</sup>, unless the form be *Pi'el* = וַיַּעֲקֹשְׁנִי, 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, *yaqtíl*, or an Aramæism. 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. יִשְׁלַם 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> תַּרְשִׁיאַ, with euphonic Ga'ya (see § 16 h).

5. In the *participle*, מִוְצֵא ψ 135<sup>7</sup> appears to be traceable to the ground-form, *U maqtíl*; yet the *Šere* may also possibly be explained by the retraction of the tone. The Masora appears to require the weakening of the vowel to *S'ewä* (see above, n) in מְהַלְכִים Zc 3<sup>7</sup> (probably, however, מְהַלְכִים should be read), also in מְחַלְמִים Jer 29<sup>8</sup>, מְעוֹרִים 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're* מְחַצְרִים 1 Ch 15<sup>24</sup> &c. (where the *Kethüb* מְחַצְצְרִים is better).—The fem. is ordinarily pointed as מוֹצֵאת Nu 5<sup>15</sup>, מַיְצֵאת Lv 14<sup>21</sup>; in pause מִשְׁבֵּלַת 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 וְהִרְאֵתִי Na 3<sup>5</sup>.—In אֲנִי אֶלְהֵתִי <sup>1</sup> I have stained, Is 63<sup>3</sup>, א stands at the beginning instead of ה, cf. above, k, on אֲשַׁבֵּים. On the other hand, הִיאֲוִיחֵנוּ

<sup>1</sup> Most probably, however, אֶלְהֵתִי (*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, וְאֶדְרַכְכֶם 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, יִהְיֶה יְהוָה He will save for יִשְׁעֵי 1 S 17<sup>47</sup>, ψ 116<sup>6</sup> (in pause); יִהְיֶה יְהוָה He will praise for יִהְיֶה יְהוָה 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 יִבְלֵ 38<sup>1</sup> [and יְהוֹבֵל ψ 81<sup>6</sup>]); [יְהִילֵנוּ] (§ 70 *a*) Is 52<sup>5</sup>, יְהִילֵנוּ Jer 9<sup>4</sup>, תְּהִלְנוּ Jb 13<sup>9</sup> and מְהִקְצְעוּת 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 לְהַסְתִּיר; לְנַפֵּל and לְצַבּוֹת Nu 5<sup>22</sup>; לְעִבֵיר 2 S 19<sup>19</sup>; לְהִלֵּק Jer 37<sup>12</sup>; לְחַטֵּא Ec 5<sup>5</sup>; לְלַבֵּן (doubly anomalous for לְהַלְבִּין) 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 וּלְשַׁבֵּית 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>8</sup>, ψ 78<sup>17</sup>; לְנַחֲוֹת Ex 13<sup>21</sup>; בְּנִלוֹת (see, however, § 20 *h*) Is 33<sup>1</sup>; לְרַאֲתֶכֶם Dt 1<sup>33</sup>: cf. further, from verbs לָ"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 לְמַמְחוֹת.

**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 ḥaṭuph in the first syllable (הִקְטִיל), 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. הִשָּׁבַב Ez 32<sup>32</sup> (beside הִשָּׁבַבָה 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: מְהִקְצְעוֹת Ez 46<sup>22</sup>; on the other hand, verbs פִּי always have *ü* (in a sharpened syllable): הִנֵּד, יִנֵּד (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>; הִנֵּד 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 יִקָּם, cf. *yuqtālū* as imperfect *Qal* in Arabic) and יָתַן, from נָקַם and נָתַן יָקַח from לָקַח (cf. § 66 *g*); יָאָר Nu 22<sup>8</sup> from אָרַר יָחַן from חָנַן יִשְׁאָר Ho 10<sup>14</sup> (cf. Is 33<sup>1</sup>) from שָׁרַד; Barth adds the verbs פִּי: תִּתֵּשׂ Ez 19<sup>12</sup> from נָתַשׂ Lev 11<sup>35</sup> from נָתַן; the verbs עָעַ יִחַקוּ Jb 19<sup>23</sup> from חָקַק יָבַת &c. from פָּתַת; the verb עָעַ from יָדַשׁ; the verbs עָעַ יִשְׁאָר, יִחַל from יָשַׁע, יִשְׁאָר and יָשַׁע; the verbs עָעַ יִשְׁאָר, יִחַל from יָשַׁע, יִשְׁאָר and יָשַׁע. On וַיִּיטֵם &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 ה (הָה) of *Niph'al*, הָה has also a reflexive force.

2. The ה of the prefix in this conjugation, as also in *Hothpa'al* *b* (see *h*), *Hithpa'el*, *Hithpa'el* and *Hithpalpel* (§ 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 הַשְׁתַּפֵּר to take heed to oneself, for הַתְּשִׁימֵר; הִתְּבַל to become burdensome, for הַתְּבַל; הִצְטַדֵּק to justify oneself, from צָדַק. The only exception is in Jer 49<sup>3</sup>, וְהִתְּשׁוּטְטָנָה, 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 the preformative is assimilated to it (§ 19 d), e.g. דִּבְרַר speaking, conversing; הִדְּבַא to be crushed, הִטְהַר to purify oneself, הִטְבִּיא to defile oneself, הִתְּמַיִם 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 הִתְּנַבֵּא (cf. Nu 24<sup>7</sup>, Ez 5<sup>13</sup>, Dn 11<sup>14</sup>); הִתְּבַנֵּן Nu 21<sup>27</sup> (cf. Is 54<sup>14</sup>, ψ 59<sup>5</sup>); הִתְּבַסֵּה 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. הִתְּאָוֵר to gird oneself, הִתְּקַדֵּשׁ to sanctify oneself. Although in these examples the intensive meaning is not distinctly marked, it is so in other cases, e.g. הִתְּנַקֵּם 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 הִתְּחַבֵּר 2 Ch 20<sup>36</sup>; cf. ψ 76<sup>6</sup> (אֲשִׁיתוּלֵלָהּ).

affect to be of a certain character. E. g. הַתְּנַדֵּל *to make oneself great, to act proudly*; הַתְּחַכֵּם *to show oneself wise, crafty*; הַתְּחַלֵּה *to pretend to be ill*; הַתְּעַשֵּׂר *to make, i. e. to feign oneself rich*; הַשְּׁתַּרְרֵר Nu 16<sup>13</sup>, *to make oneself a prince*; הַתְּנַבֵּא 1 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. אָבַל *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. הַתְּרַאָה *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. הַתְּפָרֵק Ex 32<sup>3</sup> and הַתְּנַצֵּל Ex 33<sup>6</sup> *to tear off from oneself*; הַתְּפָשֵׁט *exuit sibi (vestem)*, הַתְּפַתַּח *solvit sibi (vincula)*; הַתְּצַטִּיר Jos 9<sup>12</sup>, *to take (something) as one's provision*; without an accusative, הַתְּהַלֵּךְ *to walk about for oneself (ambulare)*; הַתְּפַלֵּל *sibi intercedere* (see Delitzsch on Is 1<sup>15</sup>); הַתְּחַקֵּה *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. הָיָא הַתְּהַלֵּל Pr 31<sup>30</sup> *she shall be praised*; הַשְּׁתַּבַּח *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 הִכְבַּם *to be washed*, Lv 13<sup>55,56</sup>; הִדְרִשְׁנָה (for הַתְּדַרְשְׁנָה, the נָה being treated as if it were the affirmative of the fem. plur.) *it is made fat*, Is 34<sup>6</sup>. On הַתְּפַקְדוּ, see l.

i Denominatives with a reflexive meaning are הַתְּנַיֵּד *to embrace Judaism*, from יהוד (יהודה) *Judah*; הַתְּצַטִּיר *to provision oneself for a journey*, from צִירָה *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 נ, 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. הַתְּאַנַּף Dt 4<sup>21</sup>, &c.; cf. 2 Ch 13<sup>7</sup>, 15<sup>8</sup>; with ו consecutive Is 8<sup>21</sup>; so also in the imperfect and imperative, e. g. הַתְּחַבֵּם 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>11</sup>, 64<sup>11</sup>, ψ 55<sup>2</sup>; הַתְּחַוֵּךְ 1 K 20<sup>22</sup>, ψ 37<sup>4</sup>, Est 5<sup>10</sup>; וַאֲתַאֲפֵק 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 *Hithpo'el*, *Hithpa'el*, *Hithpalel*, § 55) the original *a* always returns in *pause* as *Qamez*, e. g. הַתְּאַוֵּךְ ψ 93<sup>1</sup>; יַתְּאַבֵּל Ez 7<sup>27</sup>; יַתְּהַלֵּךְ Jb 18<sup>8</sup>; יַתְּלַפְדוּ 38<sup>31</sup>; יַתְּקַדְשׁוּ Jos 3<sup>5</sup>; cf. Jb 33<sup>5</sup> and § 74 b.—The *a* also appears before the fuller ending ך 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 הִתְהַלְכָּנָה 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 *e* only in La 4<sup>1</sup>.—In the Aramaic manner an *infinitive Hithpa'el* הִתְהַפְּרוּת 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>13,17</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 *l* 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 *q* being abnormally omitted.—Such a reflexive of *Qal*, with the *n* 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, בְּהִלְתַּחַמָּהּ 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 *h* 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. *Pō'el* קוּטַל, passive *Pō'al* קוּטַל, reflexive *Hithpō'el* הִתְקוּטַל, corresponding to the Arabic conj. III. *qātālā*, pass. *qūtālā*, and conj. VI. reflexive *lāqātālā*; *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* מְשִׁפְטִי mine adversary, who would contend with me, Jb 9<sup>15</sup>; מְלִשְׁנִי (denominative from לְשׁוֹן the tongue) slandering (as if intent on injuring with the tongue) ψ 101<sup>5</sup> *Keth.* (The *Qere* requires מְלִשְׁנִי *mēlōšni* as Na 1<sup>3</sup> אֲנִדְרֹל); יָרְמוּ they have poured out, ψ 77<sup>18</sup> (if not rather *Pu'al*); יוֹרְעִי I have appointed, 1 S 21<sup>3</sup> (unless הוֹרְעִי should be read); יִסְעַר Ho 13<sup>3</sup>; יִשְׁרַשׁ 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 ל"ה שׁוּשְׁרִי, Is 10<sup>13</sup>. The participle מְנַאֵץ Is 52<sup>5</sup> is probably a *forma mixta* combining the readings מְנַאֵץ and מְתַנַּאֵץ.

- c *Pô'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 101<sup>5</sup>, and עוֹיֵן 1 S 18<sup>9</sup> *Q'érê* (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'lel*, generally with the *ä* attenuated to *ï*=*Pi'lel*<sup>1</sup> (*Pi'lat*), קְטֵל and קְטֵלֵל; the *ë* in the final syllable also arises from *ï*, and this again from *ä*; passive *Pu'lat* קְטֵלֵל, reflexive *Hithpa'lel* הִתְקַטְּלֵל, like the Arabic conjugations ix. 'iqtällä and xi. 'iqtällä, the former used of permanent, the latter of accidental or changing conditions, e.g. of colours; cf. the examples שָׁאֵן to be at rest, רֵעֵן to be green, passive אֲמַלֵּל to be withered, all of them found only in the *perfect* and with no corresponding *Qal* form. (For the barbarous form צִמְתְּהוּנִי ψ 88<sup>17</sup> read צִמְתְּהוּנִי; for נִפְלֵל Ez 28<sup>23</sup>, which has manifestly arisen only from confusion with the following חלל, read נִפְלֵל). 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*: קְטֵלֵלֵל with repetition of the last two radicals, used of movements repeated in quick succession; e.g. סִתְּרָהּ to go about quickly, to palpitate (of the heart) ψ 38<sup>11</sup>, from סָהַר to go about; passive הִמְרַמֵּר 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*, 1 Ch 15<sup>24</sup> &c. *K'th.*) 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 יִפְיֵתָּ ψ 45<sup>3</sup> read יִפְיֵתָּ. In both these cases a scribal error (*dittography*) has been perpetuated by the punctuation, which did not venture to alter the *K'thibh.* 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. *Pilpēl* (pass. *Pölpal*), with a strengthening of the two essential radicals in stems ע"ע, ע"ו, and ע"י, e.g. גָּלַגַּל to roll, from גָּל = גָּלַל; reflexive הִתְגַּלְּגַל to roll oneself down; כָּלַכַּל from כוּל, passive כָּלַכַּל; 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> קָרַקַר) and Is 22<sup>5</sup>, in the *participle*; and שָׁגַשְׁגַּשׁ Is 17<sup>11</sup> to hedge in, acc. to others make to grow. Probably to this form also belongs יִלְעֵלֵנוּ, the emended reading of Jb 39<sup>30</sup> instead of the impossible יִעֲלֵנוּ; also

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Wolfensohn, 'The Pi'lel in Hebrew,' *Amer. Journ. of Or. Studies*, xxvii (1907), p. 303 ff.



הָאָפָּה Is 27<sup>8</sup>, if that form is to be referred to an *infinitive* אָפָּה; perhaps also אָפָּה Ez 39<sup>2</sup> for אָפָּה. 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. צִפְצִף to chirp; cf. in the Lexicon the nouns derived from צָפַץ, עוּף, and צָלַל.

As *Hithpa'el* we find יִשְׁתַּקְטְקוּן 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 אָרְדָּה Is 38<sup>15</sup>, if contracted from אֶתְרִידָה or אֶתְרִידָה from the root רָד or רִי), 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 מָהַם, and not *Hithpa'el* from מָהַם.

Only examples more or less doubtful can be adduced of—

5. *Tiph'el* (properly *Taph'el* <sup>2</sup>): תִּקְטַל, with ת prefixed, cf. תִּלְמַד to teach to walk, to lead (denominative from רָגַל a foot?) Ho 11<sup>3</sup>; from a stem ל"ה, the imperfect יִתְחַרְחַר to contend with, Jer 12<sup>5</sup>; participle, 22<sup>15</sup> (from חָרַה 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 in Hebrew שִׁלְהַבַת flame. Perhaps of the same form is שִׁבְלִיל a snail (unless it be from the stem שָׁבַל), and שִׁקְעָרוֹת 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. קִטַּל, passive קִטְלַם; as מִחִסָּם peeled off, like scales, Ex 16<sup>14</sup>, from חָסַף, חִשָּׁף to peel, to scale.

8. קִטַּל, in וַיִּרְוּף a rain-storm, from וָרַף.

9. נִתְקַטַּל (regularly in Mishnic Hebrew <sup>3</sup>) a form compounded of *Niph'al* and *Hithpa'el*; as וַיִּנְסְרוּ for וַיִּנְסְרוּ that they may be taught, Ez 23<sup>48</sup>; נִכְפַּר probably an error for הִתְכַּפַּר 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 *wirrcarr, 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*: פָּרַשׁ, *imperfect* יִבְרַחְמוּנָהּ he doth ravage it, ψ 80<sup>14</sup> from פָּרַשׁ, cf. גָּוַם. *Passive* רָטַפְּשׁוּ 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 פָּרַשׁוּ 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 פָּרַשׂ to spread out, with euphonic change of the first שׁ to שׁ, and the second to י. Moreover, the reading פָּרַשׁוּ 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*: הִשְׁמָאִיל, by syncope הִשְׁמָאִיל and הִשְׁמִיל to turn to the left (denom. from שָׂמַל) Gn 13<sup>9</sup>, Is 30<sup>21</sup>, &c. On הִאֲזִינְיָהוּ 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 קָטַלְוֹ 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 קָדַשׁוּ, 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 נבניא'ים ראשונים, 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. הִי	הִי (in pause הִי־, also הִי־)	הִי thee.
f. הִי	הִי־, הִי־, rarely הִי־	הִי
3. m. הִי, י	הִי, י (הִי)	הִי him.
f. הִי	הִי	הִי her.
Plur. 1. com. נֵנוּ	נֵנוּ	נֵנוּ us.
2. m. כִּמְךָ	כִּמְךָ	כִּמְךָ you (vos).
f. . . . . <sup>1</sup>		
3. m. הִי, ד	הִי (from הִי־), דִּי	הִי (from הִי־) eos.
poet. הִי	הִי	הִי
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 הִי, 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, דִּי and הִי 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 הִי (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 *āhū*; 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, כִּמְךָ occurs only once with the perfect (see § 59 *e*), 7 times with the imperfect, but never in pre-exilic passages, whereas the accus. כִּמְךָ occurs 40 times in Jer. and 36 times in Ezek.—הִי occurs only once as a verbal suffix (Dt 32<sup>26</sup>, unless, with Kahan, *Infinitive u. Participien*, p. 13, הִי from הִי is to be read), while the forms יִי (2nd *f. pl.*) and יִי and הִי (3rd *f. pl.*), added by Qimḥi, 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 וְיִ, וְהִ, וְ (only after *i*), וְנִ, (וְהִ), וְ, &c. These are attached to verbal forms which end with a vowel, e. g. וְקָטְלֵנִי; וְקָטְלֵתִי, for which by absorption of the ה we also get וְקָטְלֵנִי, pronounced *q'atliu*; cf. § 8 m.

f (b) A second and third with what are called *connecting vowels*<sup>1</sup> (וְיִ, וְנִ), 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. וְקָטְלֵנִי, וְקָטְלֵנִי, וְקָטְלֵנִי (on וְקָטְלֵנִי, 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. וְקָטְלֵנִי, וְקָטְלֵנִי; 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 וְהִ (cf., however, § 60 d). With וְ, וְ, the connecting sound is only a vocal *šewā*, which has arisen from an original short vowel, thus וְ, וְ, e. g. וְקָטְלֵנִי (*q'atli-khā*), or when the final consonant of the verb is a guttural, וְ, e. g. וְקָטְלֵנִי. In *pause*, the original short vowel (*ā*) reappears as *Seghōl* with the tone וְ (also וְ, see g). On the appending of suffixes to the final וְ of the imperfect (§ 47 m), see § 60 e.

g Rem. 1. As *rare* forms may be mentioned *sing.* 2nd pers. masc. וְהִ Gn 27<sup>7</sup>, 1 K 18<sup>44</sup>, &c., in *pause* also וְהִ (see below, i); *fem.* וְיִ, וְיִ ψ 103<sup>4</sup>, 137<sup>6</sup>. Instead of the form וְ, which is usual even in the perfect (e. g. Ju 4<sup>20</sup>, Ez 27<sup>26</sup>), וְ 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. וְ Ex 32<sup>25</sup>, Nu 23<sup>8</sup>; in the 3rd fem. וְ 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.* וְקָטְלֵתִי. Observe e. g. the Hebrew form *q'atāni* in connexion with the Arabic *qatala-ni*, contrasted with Hebrew *q'atālat-ni* and Arabic *qatalat-ni*. König accordingly prefers the expression 'vocalic ending of the stem', instead of 'connecting syllable'. The connective *ā*, *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 מְחַיֵּי (מְחַיֵּי) from *m'ḥāimī*, 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  $\text{שָׁמַר לְנַצֵּחַ}$ .—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>8</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  $\text{יֹ}$  and  $\text{יֹ}$  as suffixes of the 3rd fem. plur. of the imperfect, § 60 d.—In Gn 48<sup>9</sup>  $\text{קָהָן־וְיָדָהְיָה}$  (cf.  $\text{וְיָדָהְיָהְיָה}$  1 Ch 14<sup>11</sup> according to Baer),  $\text{וְיָדָהְיָה}$  has lost the tone before *Maqqeph* and so is shortened to  $\text{וְיָדָהְיָה}$ .—In Ez 44<sup>8</sup>  $\text{וְהָיָה־שִׁמּוֹן}$  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 ( $\text{אֵת}$  in  $\text{אֵת־יִי}$ , &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>),  $\text{יִכְבְּרֶנּוּנִי}$  *he will honour me* ( $\psi$  50<sup>23</sup>) is unusual; rarely in the perfect, Dt 24<sup>13</sup>  $\text{יְבַרְכֶנּוּ}$ . On examples like  $\text{יְנַנֵּי}$  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 ( $\text{נ}$ ,  $\text{כ}$ ), or the latter is lost in pronunciation (so  $\text{ה}$ ), 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  $\text{וְיָדָהְיָה}$  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 *i*, 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  $\text{נָה}$ ,  $\text{נָה}$ , . . . 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*, Lp: 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.  $\text{אָנִי}^{\text{c}}$  (even in pause, Jb 7<sup>14</sup>, &c.),  $\text{אָנִי}^{\text{c}}$  (for  $\text{אָנִי}^{\text{c}}$ ,  $\text{אָנִי}^{\text{c}}$ ).
- 2nd pers.  $\text{אַתָּה}^{\text{c}}$  (Jer 22<sup>24</sup> in pause  $\text{אַתָּה}^{\text{c}}$ ) and, only orthographically different,  
 $\text{אַתָּה}^{\text{c}}$  (Is 10<sup>24</sup>, Pr 2<sup>11</sup> in pause).
- 3rd pers.  $\text{הוּ}^{\text{c}}$  (for  $\text{הוּ}^{\text{c}}$ ),<sup>1</sup> fem.  $\text{הִיא}^{\text{c}}$  for  $\text{הִיא}^{\text{c}}$ .  
 [1st pers. plur.  $\text{אֲנִי}^{\text{c}}$  (for  $\text{אֲנִי}^{\text{c}}$ ), 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  $\text{הוּ}^{\text{c}}$  as 1st plur. occurs perhaps in Jb 31<sup>15</sup> [but read  $\text{הוּ}^{\text{c}}$  and cf. § 72 *cc*], hardly in Ho 12<sup>5</sup>; cf.  $\text{הוּ}^{\text{c}}$  behold us, Gn 44<sup>16</sup>, 50<sup>18</sup>, Nu 14<sup>40</sup> for  $\text{הוּ}^{\text{c}}$  (instead of  $\text{הוּ}^{\text{c}}$ ; see § 20 *m*).— In Ez 4<sup>12</sup> the Masora requires  $\text{הוּ}^{\text{c}}$ , 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  $\text{אָנִי}^{\text{c}}$  or  $\text{אָנִי}^{\text{c}}$  is used for  $\text{אָנִי}^{\text{c}}$ .

(b) In the 2nd sing. masc. besides  $\text{אַתָּה}^{\text{c}}$  we find  $\text{אַתָּה}^{\text{c}}$ , to which the connecting vowel is directly attached, but the only clear instances of this are with  $\text{אָנִי}^{\text{c}}$ .<sup>2</sup>

(c) In the 2nd sing. fem.  $\text{הִיא}^{\text{c}}$ , the original form of  $\text{הִיא}^{\text{c}}$ , appears; cf.  $\text{הִיא}^{\text{c}}$ ,  $\text{הִיא}^{\text{c}}$ , § 32 *f*; § 44 *g*. This form can be distinguished from the 1st pers. only by the context.

(d) 2nd plur. masc.  $\text{אַתָּה}^{\text{c}}$  for  $\text{אַתָּה}^{\text{c}}$ . The only examples are Nu 20<sup>5</sup>, 21<sup>5</sup>, Zc 7<sup>5</sup>. The fem.  $\text{הִיא}^{\text{c}}$  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  $\text{הוּ}^{\text{c}}$  =  $\text{הוּ}^{\text{c}}$  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 *ē*, e. g. אָהֵבִיךָ 1 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'ghól*, and sometimes into vocal *Šewá*.

Rem. 1. The suffixes of the 2nd and 3rd pers. plur. קֹם and הֵם, 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 קִן and הֵן) with the *noun*, § 91. With a perfect קֹם alone occurs,  $\psi$  118<sup>26</sup>. The form קטל which is usually given as the connective form of the 3rd sing. masc. before קֹם and קִן is only formed by analogy, and is without example in the O. T.

2. In the *3rd sing. masc.* קטלָהוּ (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. קטלתָהוּ to קטלתו.—As a suffix of the 1st sing. קִי 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-

conjunctive accent, as הָרָנִי Jb 30<sup>19</sup>; עָנִי 1 S 28<sup>15</sup> (where, however, the reading עָנִי is also found). With a sharpened נ : הָרָנִי Gn 30<sup>6</sup>, יִסְרְפֵי ψ 118<sup>18</sup>.

g 3. The 3rd sing. fem. קָטַלְתְּ (= קָטַלְתָּ) has the twofold peculiarity that (a) the ending *ath* always takes the tone,<sup>1</sup> and consequently is joined to those suffixes which form a syllable of themselves (נִי, הֵ, הִ, הָ, הֵ, הִ, הָ), without a connecting vowel, contrary to the general rule, § 58 f; (b) before the other suffixes the connecting vowel is indeed employed, but the tone is drawn back to the *penultima*, so that they are pronounced with shortened vowels, viz. הֵ־, הִ־, הָ־, e.g. אֲהַבְתְּךָ she loves thee, Ru 4<sup>15</sup>, cf. Is 47<sup>10</sup>; נִגְנַבְתֶּם she has stolen them, Gn 31<sup>32</sup>; שָׂרְפַתְם it burns them, Is 47<sup>14</sup>, Jos 2<sup>6</sup>, Ho 2<sup>14</sup>, ψ 48<sup>7</sup>. For תָּנִי, תָּךְ &c., in pause תָּנִי is found, Jer 8<sup>21</sup>, ψ 60<sup>10</sup>, and תָּךְ Ct 8<sup>5</sup>; and also without the pause for the sake of the assonance חֲבַלְתְּךָ she was in travail with thee, ibid. The form קָטַלְתְּוּ (e.g. Ru 4<sup>15</sup>) has arisen, through the loss of the ה and the consequent sharpening of the ת (as in נוֹ and נוֹה for נוֹה and נוֹה, cf. § 58 i), from the form קָטַלְתְּהוּ, which is also found even in pause אֲהַבְתְּהוּ 1 S 18<sup>28</sup>; elsewhere it takes in pause the form סָמַכְתְּהוּ Is 59<sup>16</sup>); so קָטַלְתְּהוּ from קָטַלְתְּהָ; cf. 1 S 1<sup>8</sup>, Is 34<sup>17</sup>, Jer 49<sup>24</sup>, Ru 3<sup>6</sup>; in pause Ez 14<sup>15</sup>, always, on the authority of Qimḥi, without *Mappiq* in the ה, which is consequently always a mere vowel-letter.

h 4. In the 2nd sing. masc. the form קָטַלְתָּ is mostly used, and the suffixes have, therefore, no connecting vowel, e.g. פָּרַצְתָּנוּ וְנָחַתָּנוּ פָּרַצְתָּנוּ thou hast cast us off, thou hast broken us down, ψ 60<sup>3</sup>; but with the suff. of the 1st sing. the form קָטַלְתָּנִי is used, e.g. חָרַתְתָּנִי ψ 139<sup>1</sup>; in pause, however, with *Qames*, e.g. עוֹבַדְתָּנִי ψ 22<sup>2</sup>; Ju 1<sup>15</sup> (with *Zaqeph qaton*); but cf. also צָרַפְתָּנִי ψ 17<sup>3</sup> with *Mer'kha*.—In the 2nd sing. fem. הִי is also written defectively, רָמִיתְּנִי 1 S 19<sup>17</sup>, Ju 11<sup>35</sup>, Jer 15<sup>10</sup>, Ct 4<sup>9</sup>. Occasionally the suffix is appended to the ordinary form תָּ, viz. הִשְׁבַּעְתָּנוּ thou (fem.) dost adjure us, Ct 5<sup>9</sup>, Jos 2<sup>17.20</sup>; cf. Jer 2<sup>27</sup>, and, quite abnormally, with *Sere* הוֹרַדְתָּנוּ thou (fem.) didst let us down, Jos 2<sup>18</sup>, where הוֹרַדְתָּנוּ would be expected. In Is 8<sup>11</sup> יִסְרְפֵי is probably intended as an *imperfect*.

i 5. In verbs *middle ē*, the *ē* remains even before suffixes (see above, c), e.g. אֲהַבְתְּךָ Dt 15<sup>18</sup>, אֲהַבְתְּהוּ 1 S 18<sup>28</sup>, cf. 18<sup>22</sup>; יִרְאוּהוּ Jb 37<sup>24</sup>. From a verb *middle ō* there occurs יִכְלַתִּי I have prevailed against him, ψ 13<sup>5</sup>, from יָכַל with *ō* instead of *ō* in a syllable which has lost the tone (§ 44 e).

### § 60. Imperfect with Pronominal Suffixes.

a In those forms of the *imperfect* Qal, which have no affirmatives, the vowel *ō* of the second syllable mostly becomes  $\bar{\text{—}}$  (simple *Šewā mobile*), sometimes  $\bar{\text{—}}$ ; thus in the principal pause, Nu 35<sup>20</sup>, Is 27<sup>3</sup>, 62<sup>2</sup>, Jer 31<sup>33</sup>, Ez 35<sup>6</sup>, Ho 10<sup>10</sup>; before the principal pause, ψ 119<sup>33</sup>; before a secondary pause, Ez 17<sup>23</sup>; even before a conjunctive accent, Jos 23<sup>5</sup>. Before הֵ־,

<sup>1</sup> חֲבַלְתְּךָ Ct 8<sup>5</sup> is an exception. כָּם would probably even here have the tone (see e); but no example of the kind occurs in the O. T. In Is 51<sup>2</sup> the *imperfect* is used instead of the *perfect* with a suffix.



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 תִּקְטְלֶנָּה, the form תִּקְטְלֶי 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. יִהְבְּרֶךָ ψ 94<sup>20</sup> is an anomalous form for יִהְבְּרֶךָ (cf. the analogous *b* יִהְבְּרֶךָ § 67 n) and יִפְגַּשְׁךָ (so Baer; others יִפְגַּשְׁךָ) Gn 32<sup>18</sup> for יִפְגַּשְׁךָ. To the same category as יִהְבְּרֶךָ belong also, according to the usual explanation, תִּעְבְּדֶם (from תִּעְבְּדוּ), Ex 20<sup>6</sup>, 23<sup>24</sup>, Dt 5<sup>9</sup>, and נִעַבְּדוּ 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 יַעֲבֹדֶנִי)? 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 *Sewa* before suffixes; but the *Pathah*, coming to stand in an open syllable before the tone, is lengthened to *Qames*, e.g. וְיִלְבַּשְׁנִי Jb 29<sup>14</sup>; וַיִּנְאֲלֵהוּ 3<sup>5</sup> וַיִּשְׁלַחֵם Jos 8<sup>3</sup>; וַיִּקְרָאָהוּ ψ 145<sup>18</sup>; but יִקְרָאוּ Jer 23<sup>6</sup>, is probably a *forma mixta* combining the readings יִקְרָאוּ and יִקְרָאוּ, cf. § 74 e.

2. Not infrequently suffixes with the connecting vowel *a* are also found *d* with the imperfect, e.g. תִּדְבַּרְבָּנִי Gn 19<sup>19</sup>, cf. 29<sup>82</sup>, Ex 33<sup>50</sup>, Nu 22<sup>33</sup>, 1 K 2<sup>24</sup> *Qere*, Is 56<sup>3</sup>, Jb 9<sup>18</sup>; also בָּנִי, Gn 27<sup>19,31</sup>, Jb 7<sup>14</sup>, 9<sup>34</sup>, 13<sup>21</sup> (in principal *pause*); וַיִּכְרֶה Gn 37<sup>33</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>; וַיִּכְרֶה Is 63<sup>16</sup> (manifestly owing to the influence of the preceding וַיִּדְעֵנּוּ; וַיִּלְבַּשְׁם Ex 29<sup>10</sup>, cf. 2<sup>17</sup>, Nu 21<sup>30</sup>, Dt 7<sup>15</sup>, ψ 74<sup>8</sup>; even אֲמַיִלִם 118<sup>10-12</sup>; וַיִּוֹשִׁיעֵן Ex 2<sup>17</sup>, and יִחִיתֶן Hb 2<sup>17</sup> (where, however, the ancient versions read וַיִּחַתְּךָ); even יִרְפֵּי *ō* from *āhu*) Ho 8<sup>3</sup>; cf. Ex 22<sup>29</sup>, Jos 2<sup>4</sup> (but read וַחֲצִפְנָם); 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 וַיִּגֵּן); Jer 23<sup>6</sup> (see § 74 e), ψ 35<sup>8</sup>, Ec 4<sup>12</sup>.—On pausal *S<sup>e</sup>ghol* for *Sere* in וַאֲבָרְכֶם Gn 48<sup>9</sup> and וַתִּאֲלָצֵהוּ (so Baer, but ed. Mant., Ginsb. וַתִּאֲלָצֵהוּ) Ju 16<sup>16</sup>, see § 29 g.

3. Suffixes are also appended in twelve passages to the plural forms in וְ, *e* viz. תִּרְכַּאֲוֵנִי *will ye break me in pieces?* Jb 19<sup>2</sup>; וַיִּשְׁתַּחֲוֶה (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; וַיִּקְרָאֵנִי with two other examples Pr 1<sup>28</sup>, 8<sup>17</sup>, Ho 5<sup>15</sup>; cf. וַיִּגְךָ ψ 63<sup>4</sup>, 91<sup>12</sup>; וַיִּנְהוּ Jer 5<sup>22</sup>; וַיִּנְהוּ Jer 2<sup>24</sup>, all in principal *pause*. [See Böttcher, *Lehrb.*, § 1047 f.]

4. In *Pi'el*, *Pō'el*, and *Po'el*, the *Sere* of the final syllable, like the *ō* in *Qal*, *f* becomes vocal *Sewa*; but before the suffixes תְּ and כֶם it is shortened to *S<sup>e</sup>ghol*, e.g. וַיִּקְבְּצֶךָ Dt 30<sup>4</sup>, ψ 34<sup>12</sup>, Is 51<sup>2</sup>. With a final guttural, however, וַיִּשְׁלַחֵךָ Gn 32<sup>27</sup>; also in Pr 4<sup>8</sup>, where with *Qimh* 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 וַתִּקְרָבוּ is probably to be regarded, with König, as a clumsy correction of the original וַיִּקְרָבוּ, intended to suggest the reading וַתִּקְרָבוּ, to agree with the usual gender of עֲצָמֹת.

retained in the tone-syllable; an analogous case in *Hiph'il* is  $\text{וַיִּגְדֹּל}$  Dt 32<sup>7</sup>. Less frequently *Sere* is sharpened to *Iireq*, e.g.  $\text{וַיִּמְצָקֵם}$  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>,  $\psi$  30<sup>2</sup>, 37<sup>54</sup>, 145<sup>1</sup>, and probably also in *Qal*  $\text{וַיִּסְפָּד}$  1 S 15<sup>6</sup>; cf. § 68 h.

g 5. In *Hiph'il* the *i* remains, e.g.  $\text{תִּלְבִּישֵׁנִי}$  Jb 10<sup>11</sup> (after *wāw* consecutive it is often written defectively, e.g.  $\text{וַיִּלְבִּשֵׁם}$  Gn 32<sup>1</sup> and often); but cf. above, *f*, Dt 32<sup>7</sup>. Forms like  $\text{תַּעֲשִׂרְנָה}$  thou enrichest it,  $\psi$  65<sup>10</sup>, 1 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 ון; cf.  $\text{וַיִּמְלֵאֵם}$  Gn 26<sup>15</sup> (previously also with a perf.  $\text{סִתְּמֵם}$ ); Gn 26<sup>18</sup>, 33<sup>13</sup>, Ex 2<sup>17</sup> (where  $\text{וַיִּוְשַׁעַן}$  occurs immediately after); 39<sup>18,20</sup>, 1 S 6<sup>10</sup> (where also  $\text{בְּנִיֵּהֶם}$  is for  $\text{בְּנֵיהֶן}$ , a neglect of gender which can only be explained by § 135 o).—For  $\text{וַיִּהְרֹגֵן}$  Zc 11<sup>5</sup> read perhaps  $\text{וַיִּהְרֹגֵן}$  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.  $\text{לִּרְשָׁאֵנִי}$  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.  $\text{עָבְרִי}$  my passing by;  $\text{מְלִכּוֹ}$  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.  $\text{בְּכַתְּבוֹ}$  in his writing, Jer 45<sup>1</sup>; cf., however,  $\text{הִפְּבִי}$  Gu 19<sup>21</sup>;  $\text{נִנְפוֹ}$  (so ed. Mant.; others  $\text{נִנְפוֹ}$ ) Ex 12<sup>27</sup>;  $\text{עָצְבִי}$  1 Ch 4<sup>10</sup>; before  $\text{ךְ}$  and  $\text{ם}$ —also the syllable is completely closed, e.g.  $\text{בְּאַסְפָּךְ}$  Ex 23<sup>16</sup>, Lv 23<sup>39</sup> (but in pause  $\text{לְהִרְגֶךָ}$  Gn 27<sup>42</sup>), unless the vowel be retained in the second syllable; see d. With the form  $\text{קָטַל}$  generally, compare the closely allied nouns of the form  $\text{קָטַל}$  (before a suffix  $\text{קָטַל}$  or  $\text{קָטַל}$ ). § 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 *qil* before suffixes, e.g.  $\text{בְּבִנְדּוֹ}$  Ex 21<sup>8</sup>;  $\text{מְכָרָם}$  Am 2<sup>6</sup> (but  $\text{מְכָרָה}$  Ex 21<sup>8</sup>),  $\text{נִפְלוֹ}$  2 S 1<sup>10</sup> (but  $\text{נִפְלוֹ}$  1 S 29<sup>8</sup>),  $\text{לְשִׁטְנּוֹ}$  Zc 3<sup>1</sup>,  $\text{שִׁבְרִי}$  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  $\text{קָטַל}$  (§ 45 c) in verbs middle or third guttural (but cf. also  $\text{לְשִׁבְבָה}$  Gn 19<sup>33,35</sup>—elsewhere  $\text{לְשִׁבְבָךְ}$  and  $\text{לְשִׁבְבוֹ}$ ) before suffixes sometimes take the form *qatl*, as  $\text{וַיַּעֲפוֹ}$  Jon 1<sup>16</sup> (and, with the syllable loosely closed.

עָמַו Ju 13<sup>25</sup>), מִחָאֵךְ and רָקַעַךְ Ez 25<sup>6</sup>; sometimes *qill*, with the *a* attenuated to *i*, especially in verbs third guttural; as בָּטַחְךָ, בָּלַעְי, בָּקַעַם, בָּנְעוּ, פָּתַחְי, פָּנְעוּ, רָבַעְיָה.—Contrary to § 58 f נִי (1 Ch 12<sup>17</sup>) and נָנִי (Ex 14<sup>11</sup>) are sometimes found with the *infinitive* instead of נִי and נָנִי. On יִרְפוּ my following ψ 38<sup>21</sup> (but *Qéré* יִרְפִּי), cf. the analogous examples in § 46 e.

2. With the suffixes הָ and כֶּם, contrary to the analogy of the corresponding nouns, forms occur like אָכַלְךָ *thy eating*, Gn 2<sup>17</sup>; אָכַלְכֶם Gn 3<sup>5</sup>; עָמַרְךָ (others עָמַרְךָ) Ob 1<sup>1</sup>, 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 מִאֲסַכְכֶם (read *mō'ōs'khēm*) *your despising*, Is 30<sup>12</sup>; cf. Dt 20<sup>2</sup>; on בְּמִצְאֶכֶם Gn 32<sup>20</sup> (for בְּמִצְאֵי), see § 74 h.—Very unusual are the infinitive suffixes of the 2nd sing. masc. with *energeticum* (on the analogy of suffixes with the *imperfect*, § 58 i), as יִפְרֶךָ 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, יִשְׁמְרֶךָ Ex 14<sup>18</sup>; יִשְׁמְרֶךָ Dt 28<sup>20</sup> (in *pause*, יִשְׁמְרֶךָ verse 24); יִשְׁפֹּטוּ ψ 37<sup>38</sup>; הִזְכִּירְכֶם Ez 21<sup>29</sup>; יִשְׁמְרֶם Dt 7<sup>23</sup>. In the *infinitive of Pi'el* (as also in the *imperfect*, see § 60 f) the *ē* before the suff. הָ, כֶּם, becomes *S'ghōl*, e. g. יִבְרַךְ Ex 4<sup>10</sup>, and with a sharpening to *ī* פָּרַשְׁבֶּךָ Is 1<sup>16</sup> (see § 60 f). In the *infinitive Po'el*, בּוֹיֵסְכֶם occurs (with *a* for *ē* or *i*) Am 5<sup>11</sup>, but probably בּוֹיֵסְכֶם, 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 (קָטַלְךָ) 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. כָּתַבְךָ Is 30<sup>8</sup>; cf. 2 S 12<sup>28</sup>.—The forms קָטַלְי, קָטַלְיָ, which are not exhibited in Paradigm C, undergo no change. Instead of קָטַלְיָהּ, the masc. form (קָטַלְיָ) is used, as in the *imperfect*.

In verbs which form the *imperative* with *a*, like שָׁלַח (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. שָׁלַחְנִי *send me*, Is 6<sup>8</sup>, בָּחַנְנִי ψ 26<sup>2</sup>, קָרְאֵנִי ψ 50<sup>15</sup>, שָׁמְעוּנִי Gn 23<sup>8</sup>. In Am 9<sup>1</sup>, בָּצַעַם (so ed. Mant., Baer, Ginsb., instead of the ordinary reading בָּצַעַם) is to be explained, with Margolis, *AJSL*. xix, p. 45 ff., from an original בָּצַעְמוּ, as הִרְגַּתֶּם Am 9<sup>4</sup> from original הִרְגַּתְמוּ.—In the *imperative Hiph'il*, the form used in conjunction with suffixes is not the 2nd sing. masc.

<sup>1</sup> שָׁמְרֶנִּי *šām'renī* required by the Masora in ψ 16<sup>1</sup> (also שָׁמְרֶךָ ψ 86<sup>2</sup>, 119<sup>167</sup>; cf. Is 38<sup>14</sup> and עָמַרְךָ Ob 1<sup>1</sup>), belongs to the disputed cases discussed in § 9 c and § 48 i note.

הקטיל, but הקטיל (with *i* on account of the open syllable, cf. § 60 g), e. g. הקריבֿהּ *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 קטיל: קטיל, &c.; but before *S<sup>e</sup>wá mobile* קטיל, &c., or with the original *z*, קטיל Ex 23<sup>4</sup>, &c., קטיל 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 (קטיל, קטיל); with a third guttural, קטיל Is 43<sup>1</sup>, but קטיל Jer 28<sup>16</sup>, cf. § 65 d. The form קטיל, with suffix קטיל; before *S<sup>e</sup>wá* sometimes like קטיל Is 48<sup>17</sup>, קטיל 51<sup>12</sup>, sometimes like קטיל 52<sup>12</sup>. In Is 47<sup>10</sup> קטיל is irregular for קטיל; instead of the meaningless קטיל Jer 15<sup>10</sup> read קטיל.

Also unusual (see above, d) with participles are the suffixes of the 2nd sing. masc. with *energicum*, as קטיל Jb 5<sup>1</sup>; cf. Dt 8<sup>5</sup>, 12<sup>14,28</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 קטיל, which elsewhere is attenuated to *z*, קטיל.—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"ב (§ 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 *Mappôq*.—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 to 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, אָכַל to eat, and the *perfects, 2nd plur. masc.* עָמַדְתֶּם, אָכַלְתֶּם from עָמַד, אָכַל to be inclined, correspond to the forms קָטַל and קָטַלְתֶּם; also אָכְלוּ to אָכַל, 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 *e* of the preformative (always with *ō* in the second syllable, except אֶעֱבֹד Ez 23<sup>5</sup>, אֶעֱרָה &c. from עָרָה to adorn oneself, and אֶעֱטָה; but cf. *e*): אֶחַמַּד, אֶחַמַּל, אֶחַשֵׁב, אֶחַשֵׁף, אֶעֱקֹב Jer 9<sup>3</sup> (probably to distinguish it from the name אֶעֱקֹב, just as in Jer 10<sup>19</sup>, &c., the participle fem. Niph'al of אָחַד is אֶחָדָה to distinguish it from אֶחָדָה), &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. אֶחַשֵׁב, &c. The same form appears also in the *imperfect Hiph'il* אֶחַסִּיר, &c. Very rarely the original *ā* is retained in a closed syllable under the preformative *u* of the *perfect Niph'al*: אֶחַפֵּאָה Gn 31<sup>27</sup>; cf. 1 S 19<sup>2</sup>, Jos 2<sup>16</sup>; also the *infinitive absolute* אֶחַתוּם Est 8<sup>8</sup>, אֶעֱתוּר 1 Ch 5<sup>20</sup>, and the *participle fem.* אֶחָדָה (see above), *plur.* אֶעֱתָרוּת 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 אֶחַלֵּה, e. g. אֶעֱשֶׂה, &c.; in the *infinitive absolute*, אֶחַפִּיֹה Est 9<sup>1</sup>; in the *participle* אֶעֱרִיץ ψ 89<sup>8</sup>, &c.

(*b*) Of the corresponding *Hateph* after the original vowel: אֶחַבֵּשׁ *d* (but אֶחַבֵּשׁ Jb 5<sup>18</sup> in pause), אֶחַלֵּם, אֶעֱמַד, אֶחַרֵּם, and so almost always with *y* and often with *h* in the *imperfects* of *Qal* and *Hiph'il*; in *Hoph'al*, אֶעֱמַד, אֶעֱמַר; but cf. also אֶחַבֵּאוּ Is 42<sup>22</sup>, אֶחַחֵל 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. אֶחַבֵּשׁ, אֶחַסֵּר, אֶעֱמַר, אֶחַשֵׁם, always with *ā* in the second syllable, corresponding to the *imperfects* of verbs *y'ē*,

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 יאָסר, יאָפּד, and יהִדִּיף; in *Niph.*, e. g. נִהַפֵּן; נִחַלִּי Am 6<sup>6</sup>, &c.; in *Hiph.* הִחֲסִיר, הִעֲלִים 2 K 4<sup>7</sup>, &c.: sometimes

(*d*) followed by *Hateph-S'ghôl*, e. g. יחֲזֹק, יאָסֵר, יחַשֵּׁף, יעַרֵב in *imperfect Qal*; יעַמְדֵּר *Hiph'ûl*; יעַנֵּשׂ *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 *h* invariably takes *S'ghôl*, whether in a firmly or loosely closed syllable, e. g. אֶהְיֶה (with the cohortative אֶהְיֶה), אֶחָסֵר (in *pause*), &c. In Jb 32<sup>17</sup> אֶעֱנֶה must unquestionably be *Hiph'ûl*, since elsewhere the pointing is always אֶעֱנֶה. Cohortatives like אֶהְרַג Gn 27<sup>41</sup> and אֶחַדֵּל 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 *S'ghôl*, and vice versa, e. g. אֶעֱשֶׂה, but נַעֲשֶׂתָה 3rd *sing. fem.*; יאָסֵר, but תִּאָסֵר, יעַמְדֵּר, but יעַמְדֵּר, וְהַעֲמִדְתָּ, &c.; so וְיַחֲסְרוּ Gn 8<sup>3</sup> the plur. of וְיַחֲסֵר, cf. Gn 11<sup>8</sup>; and thus generally a change of the stronger *Hateph-S'ghôl* group (אֶעֱשֶׂה) into the lighter *Ha'eph-Pathah* group takes place whenever the tone is moved one place toward the end (cf. § 27 *v*).

*g* 3. When in forms like יעַמְדֵּר, נַעֲמְדֵּר, the vowel of the final syllable becomes a *vocal Šewâ* in consequence of the addition of an affirmative (י, י־, ה־) or suffix, the *compound Šewâ* of the guttural is changed into the corresponding short vowel, e. g. יעַמְדֵּר, plur. יַעֲמְדוּ (ya'-a-me-dhû as an equivalent for ya'-me-dhû); נַעֲזָבָה she is forsaken. But even in these forms the hard combination frequently occurs, e. g. יַחַבְלוּ they take as a pledge (cf. in the *sing.* תִּחַבֵּל, also תִּחַבְלוּ); יַחֲזִקוּ (also יַחֲזִקוּ) 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 (יַקְטִיל, יַקְטִיל), the strengthening is always omitted, and the vowel of the preformative lengthened to *Sere*; יַעֲמֵד for yi'âmêd,<sup>1</sup> &c. Cf. § 22 *c*.—For תִּיעַשָׂה Ex 25<sup>31</sup> (according to Dillmann, to prevent the pronunciation תִּעַשָׂה, which the LXX and Samaritan follow) read תִּיעַשָׂה.

## REMARKS.

I. On *Qal*.

*i* 1. In verbs א"פ the *infinitive construct* and *imperative* take *Hateph-S'ghôl* in the first syllable (according to § 22 *v*), e. g. אָרִי gird thou, Jb 38<sup>3</sup>, אָהֵב love thou,

<sup>1</sup> יַעֲמֵד Jb 19<sup>7</sup> (so even the Mantua ed.) is altogether abnormal: read יַעֲנֵה, with Baer, Ginsb.

Ho 3<sup>1</sup>, אָחֹז *seize thou*, Ex 4<sup>4</sup> (on אָפּוּ *bake ye*, Ex 16<sup>23</sup>, see § 76 d); אָכַל *to eat*; infinitive with a prefix לֶאֱחֹז, לֶאֱכַל, כִּבְּאֶכֶל Is 5<sup>24</sup>; לֶאֱהֹב Ec 3<sup>8</sup>. Sometimes, however, *Hateph-Pathah* is found as well, e. g. infinitive אָחֹז I K 6<sup>6</sup>; בִּאֶכַל הָאִישׁ Nu 26<sup>10</sup> (before a suffix אֶכְלֶךָ, אֶמְרֶךָ, אֶכְלֶכֶם, אֶמְרֶכֶם § 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> (אֶמְרֶלְךָ), 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>2 f.</sup> (on Is 2<sup>20</sup>, cf. § 84<sup>b n</sup>); לְחַתוֹת Is 30<sup>14</sup>, Hag 2<sup>16</sup>; רָחֹשׁב Ex 31<sup>4</sup>, &c.; לְעוֹר 2 S 18<sup>3</sup> *Qéré*, but also בְּעוֹר I Ch 15<sup>26</sup>.

הִחְדַּלְתִּי Ju 9<sup>9, 11, 13</sup> is altogether anomalous, and only a few authorities give *h* הִחְדַּלְתִּי (Hiph'il), adopted by Moore in Haupt's Bible. According to Qimhi, Olshausen, and others, the Masora intended a *perfect Hoph'al* with syncope of the preformative after the ה interrogative = הִחְדַּלְתִּי, or (according to Olshausen) with the omission of the ה interrogative. But since the *Hiph'il* and *Hoph'al* of חָדַל nowhere occur, it is difficult to believe that such was the intention of the Masora. We should expect the *perfect Qal*, הִחְדַּלְתִּי. But the *Qames* under the ה, falling between the tone and counter-tone, was naturally less emphasized than in חָדַלְתִּי, without the ה interrogative. Consequently it was weakened, not to simple *S<sup>e</sup>wá*, but to *—*, in order to represent the sound of the *Qames* (likewise pronounced as *á*) at least in a shortened form. The *S<sup>e</sup>ghól* 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 חָדַל, 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>e</sup>ghól*, e. g. אֶסְפָּה *gather thou*, Nu 11<sup>16</sup>; עֲרְבָה *set in order*, Jb 33<sup>5</sup>; חִטְּשֵׁי *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>15</sup>; cf. also in verbs לִ"ה עֲנוּ *sing ye*, Nu 21<sup>17</sup>, ψ 147<sup>7</sup> (compared with עֲנוּ *answer ye*, I S 12<sup>3</sup>) and אֶלִּי 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> (חַנְּנִי).—As a pausal form for חָרְבֵי (cf. the plur. Jer 2<sup>12</sup>) we find in Is 44<sup>27</sup> חָרְבֵי (cf. the imperf. יִחַרְבּוּ) with the *ó* repeated in the form of a *Hateph-Qames*. 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>e</sup>ghól* under the preformative in a firmly closed syllable (e. g. יִחַדְּלֻ, יִחַפְּסוּ) regularly gives way to the soft combination in verbs which are at the same time ל"ה, e. g. יִחַדְּלוּ, יִחַפְּסוּ &c. (but cf. יִהְיֶה &c., יִהְיֶה Pr 6<sup>27</sup>, אֶעֱשֶׂה ed. Mant., Ex 3<sup>20</sup>). Even in the strong verb יִחַוֵּק 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 וַיַּעֲקֵב); וַתַּחֲלֵק Nel 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, זָנַב, § 93 *t*.—On יַחְבְּרֶהָ  $\psi$  94<sup>20</sup> for יַחְבְּרֶהָ (according to Qimḥi, and others, rather *Pu'al*) cf. § 60 *b*.

- n  $\psi$  8<sup>5</sup> and יַעֲרֶם to deal subtly, 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  $\psi$  83<sup>4</sup>.—Instead of the unintelligible form וַיַּחְלֶקֶם (so ed. Mant.; Baer and Ginsb. as in 24<sup>3</sup>) 1 Ch 23<sup>6</sup> and וַיִּחַ 24<sup>3</sup> (partly analogous to וַתַּעֲבֶרֶם § 60 *b*) the Qal וַיַּחְלֶקֶם is to be read. The form יַרְדֶּהָ  $\psi$  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 (יַרְדֶּהָ) and *Pi'el* (יַרְדֶּהָ), can only be understood as a development of יַרְדֶּהָ (cf. § 64 *h* on יַצַּחֵק, and § 69 *x* on תַּהַלֵּךְ Ex 9<sup>23</sup>,  $\psi$  73<sup>9</sup>). Pathah has taken the place of *Hateph-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 יַרְדֶּהָ (impf. Qal) and יַרְדֶּהָ (impf. *Pi'el*).

### II. On *Hiph'il* and *Hoph'al*.

- O 3. The above-mentioned (*f*, 3) change of  $\overline{\text{wāw}}$  to  $\overline{\text{wāw}}$  occurs in the perfect *Hiph'il*, especially when *wāw* consecutive precedes, and the tone is in consequence thrown forward upon the affirmative, e. g. הַעֲמַרְתָּ, but הַעֲמַרְתָּ; Nu 3<sup>6</sup>, 8<sup>13</sup>, 27<sup>19</sup>; הַעֲבַרְתִּי, but הַעֲבַרְתִּי Jer 15<sup>14</sup>, Ez 2c<sup>37</sup>; even in the 3rd *sing.* וַיִּחַ 77<sup>2</sup>.—On the contrary  $\overline{\text{wāw}}$  occurs instead of  $\overline{\text{wāw}}$  in the imperative *Hiph'il*, Jer 45<sup>8,30</sup>; and in the infinitive Jer 31<sup>32</sup>. The preformative of עָתֵר in *Hiph'il* always takes *a* in a closed syllable: Ex 8<sup>4</sup> הַעֲתִירוּ; verse 5 אֶעֱתִיר; also verse 25 and Jb 22<sup>27</sup>.

- P 4. In the perfect *Hiph'il*  $\overline{\text{wāw}}$  is sometimes changed into  $\overline{\text{wāw}}$ , and in *Hoph'al*  $\overline{\text{wāw}}$  into  $\overline{\text{wāw}}$  (cf. § 23 *h*); הַעֲבַרְתָּ Jos 7<sup>7</sup>, הַעֲלָהּ Hb 11<sup>15</sup>, הַעֲלָהּ Ju 6<sup>28</sup>, 2 Ch 2c<sup>34</sup>, Na 2<sup>8</sup>, always before *y*, and hence evidently with the intention of strengthening the countertone-syllable (הָ or הֶ) before the guttural. On a further case of this kind (וַעֲמָה) see § 64 *c*. Something similar occurs in the formation of segholate nouns of the form *qōll*; cf. § 93 *q*, and (on אֲמוֹן &c. for אֲמוֹן) § 84<sup>a</sup> *q*.—In the imperfect consecutive בוּ וַיַּחֲזֶק the tone is thrown back on to the first syllable. On the *Hoph'al* וַתַּעֲבֶרֶם Ex 20<sup>6</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* הָיָה (2nd *plur.* וַהֲיִיתֶם Jos 2<sup>13</sup>, and even without *wāw* consecutive, Ju 8<sup>19</sup>). Initial *h* always has *Hateph-Seghol* instead of vocal *šwā*; הָיָה, הָיִיתֶם, הָיִיתָ 1 S 25<sup>7</sup>, הָיִיתָ (except הָיִי be thou! fem. Gn 24<sup>60</sup>). The 2nd *sing. fem. imperative* of חָיָה is חַיִּי live thou, Ez 16<sup>6</sup>; the infinitive, with suffix, חַיִּיתֶם Jos 5<sup>8</sup>. After the prefixes הָ, הָ, הָ, הָ, הָ (= הָ) both הָ and חָ retain the simple *šwā* (§ 28 *b*) and the prefix takes *i*, as elsewhere before strong consonants with *šwā*; hence in the perfect Qal חַיִּיתָ, imperative וַחַי, infinitive לְחַיִּיתָ, &c. (cf. § 16 *f*, *e*). The only exception is the 2nd *sing. masc.* of the imperative after *wāw*; וַחַי Gn 12<sup>2</sup>, &c., וַחַיִּי Gn 20<sup>7</sup>.



§ 64. Verbs Middle Guttural, e.g. שָׁחַט to slaughter.

The slight deviations from the ordinary inflexion are confined 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 *Ḥateph*, and almost always *Ḥateph-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 *Ḥateph-Pathah*, thus, וְעָקַב, וְעָקַב, &c.; in שָׁחַט the preference of the *ā* for *S<sup>e</sup>ghōl* (but cf. also אֶחָיו Jer 13<sup>21</sup>) has caused the change from *ā* to *ē*; in שָׁחַט Jb 6<sup>22</sup>, even *i* remains before a *hard* guttural.

So in the *infinitive Qal fem.*, e.g. אֲהַבָה to love, אֲהַבָה to pine; and in the *infinitive* with a suffix לְמַעַרְהָ Is 9<sup>6</sup>; the doubtful form שָׁחַטָה Ho 5<sup>2</sup>, is better explained as *infinitive Pi'el* (= שָׁחַתָה).

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* הַחֲזָה and הַחֲזָה, cf. § 45 *b*), but generally also the *Sere* in the *imperfect Niph'al* and *Pi'el*, e.g. יִלְחֶם he fights, יִנַחֵם he comforts, and even the more feeble *S<sup>e</sup>ghōl* after *wāw* consecutive in such forms as ותִּלְחֶם, ותִּלְחֶם 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. שָׁחַט, יִשְׁחַט; וְעָקַב, וְעָקַב; יִבְחַר, יִבְחַר; with *suffixes* (according to § 60 *c*), *imperative* שָׁחַטִי, *imperfect* יִשְׁחַטֵנִי.

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.* אָחַזָה Ru 3<sup>15</sup> (with the unusual repetition of the lost *ō* as *Ḥateph-Qames*; 2nd *plur. masc.* in *pause* אָחַז Neh 7<sup>3</sup>; without the *pause* אָחַז Ct 2<sup>15</sup>); סָעַר- Ju 19<sup>8</sup>.<sup>2</sup> Finally אָעַמָה for אָעַמָה, 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 אָחַז, יָחַז, תִּמְעַל Lv 5<sup>15</sup>, Nu 5<sup>27</sup> (but אָעַמָה 2 Ch 26<sup>16</sup>); cf. אָשַׁחֵר Ez 16<sup>38</sup>; תִּפְעַל- Jb 35<sup>6</sup>. Also in the *perfect Pi'el*, *Pathah* occurs somewhat more frequently than in the strong verb, e.g. נַחֵם to comfort (cf., however, בָּחַר, בָּחַר, בָּחַשׁ);

<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 *Pi'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. *Pi'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>; יְהִלֶּתָּ Ex 15<sup>13</sup>, but in the *imperfect* and *participle* יְהִלֶּה, &c.; in verbs ל"ה, e. g. רָעָה), *infinitive* שָׁחַק, *Pu'al* רָחַץ (but cf. רָחַץ ψ 36<sup>13</sup> from דָּרָה, also the unusual position of the tone in בָּחַן<sup>1</sup> Ez 21<sup>18</sup>, and in the *perfect* *Hithpa'el* הִתְרַחֵצְתִּי 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 (כִּרְתָּ Ez 16<sup>4</sup> is an exception; כִּרְתָּה also occurs, Ju 6<sup>28</sup>), e. g. בָּרַךְ (in *pause* בָּרַךְ), *imperfect* יִבְרַךְ, *Pu'al* בִּרְךָ. Before *א* it occurs regularly in the stems בָּאֵר, גָּאֵל, מָאֵן, פָּאֵר, and in the *Hithpa'el* of בִּאֵשׁ, רָאָה, and שָׂאָה; on the other hand, *א* is *virtually* strengthened in the *perfects*, נִאָּף (once in the *imperfect*, Jer 29<sup>23</sup>) *to commit adultery*, נִאָּץ *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>), נִאָּר *to abhor* La 2<sup>7</sup> (also נִאָּרְתָּה ψ 89<sup>40</sup>) and נִשְׂאֵל ψ 109<sup>10</sup>; moreover, in the *infinitive* יֵאָשׁ 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 *Sere* when the vowel of the *א* stands in an open syllable, cf. שָׂאֵלְךָ Gn 32<sup>18</sup>, Ju 4<sup>20</sup>; שָׂאֵלְנוּ ψ 137<sup>5</sup>; but in a closed syllable, even without a suffix, שָׂאֵלְתֶם 1 S 12<sup>13</sup>, 25<sup>5</sup>, Jb 21<sup>29</sup>; שָׂאֵלְתִיהוּ 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 הִשְׂאֵלְתִיהוּ 1 S 1<sup>28</sup> the *א* is merely attenuated from *ā*.

*g* 2. In *Pi'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 *Sere* of the ultima to be shortened to *S'ghöl*. Thus (a) before monosyllables, according to § 29 e, e. g. לְשָׂרְתָּ 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. וַיְבָרֶךְ and he blessed, Gn 1<sup>22</sup> and frequently, וַיִּנְרָשׁ and he drove out, Ex 10<sup>11</sup>, וַתִּתְפַּעֵם 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 יִצְחָק, &c., in *pause* יִצְחָק, cf. § 10 *g* (c) and § 63 *n*); וָאָחָר Gn 32<sup>6</sup> (for וָאָחָר); in the *perfect P'él* אָחָרָה Ju 5<sup>23</sup> (perhaps primarily for אָחָרָה; according to Gn 34<sup>19</sup> אָחָרָה would be expected), and similarly יִחַמְתִּי ψ 51<sup>7</sup> for יִחַמְתִּי; in the *imperative P'él* 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* מְתִיחֵשִׂים Neh 7<sup>64</sup>; Baer, however, reads in all these cases, on good authority, הִתְיַחֵשׂ, &c.—The quite meaningless *Kethibh* וַאֲשָׂאֵר Ez 9<sup>8</sup> (for which the *Q'ré* requires the equally unintelligible וַאֲשָׂאֵר) evidently combines two different readings, viz. וַאֲשָׂאֵר (*part. Niph.*) and וַאֲשָׂאֵר (*imperf. consec.*); cf. König, *Lehrgebäude*, i. p. 266 f.—In יִתְאַרְהוּ Is 44<sup>13</sup> (also יִתְאַרְהוּ in the same verse) an *imperfect P'él* 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> *Q'ré*; on the other hand *Qimḥi*, with whom Delitzsch agrees, explains the form as *P'él*, with an irregular יִ for יִ, 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. שְׁלַח 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 'ֹ, 'ִ, 'ֵ (§ 25 *b*) are always retained, even under such circumstances; hence *inf. abs. Qal* שְׁלַחַ, *part. pass.* שְׁלֹחַ, *Hiph.* הִשְׁלִיחַ, *imperf.* יִשְׁלִיחַ, *part.* מִשְׁלִיחַ. So also the less firm *o* in the *inf. constr.* שְׁלַחַ is almost always retained: cf., however, שְׁלַחַ, in close connexion with a substantive, Is 58<sup>9</sup>, and שְׁלַחַ Nu 20<sup>3</sup>. Examples of the *infinitive* with suffixes are שְׁלַחַתְּךָ Gn 35<sup>1</sup>; שְׁלַחַתְּךָ Nu 35<sup>19</sup>; לְרַבְעָה Lv 18<sup>23</sup>, &c.

(b) The *imperfect* and *imperative Qal* almost always have *ā* in the second syllable, sometimes, no doubt, due simply to the influence of the guttural (for a tone-long *o*, originally *ū*), but sometimes as being the original vowel, thus שְׁלַחַ, שְׁלַחַ, &c.; with suffixes יִשְׁלַחַנִי, יִשְׁלַחַנִי, see § 60 *c*.

<sup>1</sup> Verbs הִלַּח in which the ה is consonantal obviously belong also to this class, e.g. הִלַּחַ to be high, הִלַּחַ to be astonished, הִלַּחַ (only in *Hithpa'el*) to delay.

Exceptions, in the *imperfect* אָמַלְוֹ Jer 5<sup>7</sup>, *K<sup>th</sup>*. (אָמַלְוֹ *Q<sup>th</sup>*); in the *imperative* טָבַחְהוּ Gn 43<sup>16</sup>. On such cases as אֲשַׁעְהֵם 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. שְׁלַחִי, but שְׁלַחְךָ), מְשַׁלַּח (with suff. מְשַׁלַּחְךָ), and מְשַׁתַּחֵף are used exclusively; except in verbs שָׁלַח where we find, in close connexion, also נָטַע  $\psi$  94<sup>9</sup>, רָנַע 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>, שָׁעַע 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>; וַיִּשָּׁבַע Dt 1<sup>34</sup>, even with retraction of the tone in the *inf. abs.* *Niph'al* הִשָּׁבַע Nu 30<sup>3</sup> (elsewhere הִשָּׁבַע Jer 7<sup>9</sup>, 12<sup>16</sup> twice, in each case without the pause); הִתְבַּקַּע Hb 3<sup>9</sup>, with הִתְבַּקַּע Ez 13<sup>11</sup>; בִּלְעוּ to devour Hb 1<sup>13</sup>, Nu 4<sup>20</sup> with בִּלְעוּ 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>.—יִזְבַּח Hb 1<sup>16</sup> has  $\bar{e}$ , though not in *pause*, and even יִזְבַּח 2 K 16<sup>4</sup>, 2 Ch 28<sup>4</sup>; but  $\bar{a}$  in *pause* in the *imperative Niph'al* הֶאֱנַח Ez 21<sup>11</sup>; *jussive Pi'el* תִּאָחַז  $\psi$  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 בְּתַרְרֵהוּ Jb 36<sup>2</sup>, in the *imperfect Niph'al* וַתַּעֲצֵר Nu 17<sup>13</sup>, &c.—In יִפְרַח 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,  $\bar{a}$  alone occurs, e. g. הִצְלַח הִצְלַחְךָ let him make to trust, וַיִּצְבַּח וַיִּצְבַּחְךָ and he made to grow (so in *Hithpalpel* יִתְמַדְמַדְהוּ, &c., Hb 2<sup>3</sup>); even in *pause* וַיִּצְלַח 1 Ch 29<sup>23</sup>, and, with the best authorities, וַיּוֹכַח 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. הִנְבִּיחַהוּ to make high; as *infinitive construct* הוֹכַח also occurs in close connexion (Jb 6<sup>26</sup>); on הוֹשִׁיעַ 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. שְׁלַחְתִּי, שְׁלַחְתָּ. But in the 2nd *sing. fem. perfect* a *helping-Pathah* takes the place of the *S<sup>e</sup>wa*, שְׁלַחְתְּ, Jer 13<sup>23</sup> (§ 28 e); also in 1 K 14<sup>3</sup>, לְקַחְתְּ is to be read, not לְקַחְתְּ.

**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. יָדַעְנוּךָ 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 ךָּ, e. g. אֶשְׁלַחְךָ I will send thee, 1 S 16<sup>1</sup>; וְאֶשְׁלַחְךָ Gn 31<sup>27</sup>; אֶשְׁמַיְעֶךָ 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"פ), 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 שְׁבַח, but always lengthened by the feminine termination ה to the segholate form שְׁבַחְתִּי<sup>2</sup>; with *suffix* שְׁבַחְתִּי Gn 33<sup>3</sup>; with the concurrence of a guttural נִשְׁבַּח to touch, *imperfect* נִשְׁבַּח, *infinitive* שְׁבַחְתִּי (also נִשְׁבַּח, see below); with *suffix* נִשְׁבַּחְתִּי to plant, *infinitive* שְׁבַחְתִּי (also נִשְׁבַּח, see below); on the verb נָתַן 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. נָפַל to fall, *imperfect* יִפֹּל, *infinitive* נָפַל, with *suffix* נָפַלוּ, also נָפְלוּ; נָתַר Nu 6<sup>2</sup>, &c.; cf., moreover, לָבַע Gn 20<sup>6</sup>, &c., נִנְעַע Ex 19<sup>12</sup> (even לָבַעוּעַ Jb 6<sup>7</sup>; cf. Jer 1<sup>10</sup>); with *suffix* בָּנְנָעוּ Lv 15<sup>23</sup>. Also לָבַעוּ Is 51<sup>16</sup> (but לָבַעוּ Ec 3<sup>2</sup>); נִשָּׂא Is 1<sup>14</sup>, 18<sup>3</sup>; with *suffix* בָּנְשָׂאָה ψ 28<sup>2</sup> (elsewhere נִשָּׂאת, cf. § 74 i and § 76 b), לָבַעוּעַ 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* שְׁבַח (more frequently with *paragogic ā*, נִשְׁבַּח; before *Maqqeph* also נִשְׁבַּח Gn 19<sup>9</sup>), *plur.* נִשְׁבְּחוּ, &c. Parallel with these there are the curious forms with *ō*, נִשְׁבַּחְתִּי Ru 2<sup>14</sup> (with *retarding* *Metheg* in the second syllable, and also *nasog 'ahor*, according to § 29 e, before הַלֵּם) and נִשְׁבַּחְתִּי Jos 3<sup>9</sup> (before הַלֵּם), 1 S 14<sup>38</sup> (before הַלֵּם) and 2 Ch 29<sup>31</sup>; in all these cases without the *pause*. With Nûn retained, as if in a strong verb, נִדְּבַח drive, 2 K 4<sup>24</sup> (*imperfect* נִדְּבַח, without assimilation of the Nûn), נִנְבַעוּ 2 K 19<sup>29</sup>, Is 37<sup>30</sup>, Jer 29<sup>5,28</sup>; cf. also the verbs נִלְּחַ, which are at the same time נִלְּחוּ; נִלְּחוּ Ez 32<sup>18</sup>, נִלְּחוּ Ex 32<sup>34</sup>, נִלְּחוּ Ex 8<sup>1</sup>, &c.; the verb נִלְּחוּ נִלְּחוּ ψ 10<sup>12</sup> (usually נִלְּחוּ); cf. § 76 b. But, as in the *infinitive*, the *aphaeresis* never takes place in verbs which have *ō* in the *imperfect*, e.g. נִתְּנָה, &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. יפֹל for *yinpōl*, *he will fall*; יִנְגַס for *yingas*; 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* נִגַּס for *ningas*; throughout *Hiph'il* (הִנְיִשׁ, &c.) and *Hoph'al* (which in these verbs always has *Qibbuṣ*, in a sharpened syllable, cf. § 9 n) הִנְיִשׁ.

The other forms are all quite regular, e.g. the *perfect, infinitive absolute* and *participle Qal*, all *Pi'el*, *Pu'al*, &c.

In Paradigm H, only those conjugations are given which differ from the regular form.

e 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 פִּי (§ 71), and even in verbs עִי (§ 67). The *infinitive* יִשָּׁתַּח and the *imperative* שָׁח, also יִשָּׁח (Gn 19<sup>9</sup>) and יִתֵּן, resemble the corresponding forms of verbs פִּי (§ 69).—On יִקַּח, יָחַח, and יִקַּחְתָּ, from לָקַח to *take*, see *g*.—In יָקוּם (*imperfect Niph'al* of קָם), and in similar forms of verbs עִי (§ 72), the full writing of the *ō* indicates, as a rule, that they are not to be regarded as *imperfects Qal* of קָם, &c.—Also יִסָּעַק (ψ 139<sup>8</sup>) is not to be derived from יָסַע, but stands for יִסָּעַק (with a sharpening of the *ס* as compensation for the loss of the *ל*), from יָסַע 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. יִנְטַר, *imperfect Jer* 3<sup>5</sup> (elsewhere יִפְרוּ); also from יִצַּר the pausal form is *always* יִנְצַר (without the *pause* יִצַּר 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, הִתְנַדַּח is intended), 140<sup>2,5</sup>, Pr 21<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.* הִתְנַדַּח ψ 68<sup>3</sup>, cf. § 51 k), in *Hiph'il* and *Hoph'al* very seldom; e.g. לְהִנְתִּיחַ Ez 22<sup>20</sup>, הִנְתִּיחוּ Ju 20<sup>31</sup>; for לְנַפֵּל Nu 5<sup>22</sup> read לְנַפֵּל, 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. יִיחַל *he will possess*, although there are rare cases like יִחַת (also יִנְחַת) *he will descend*, Jer 21<sup>13</sup> (even יִחַת Pr 17<sup>10</sup>; without apparent reason accented as *Mil'el*), plur. יִחַתוּ Jb 21<sup>13</sup> (cf. § 20 i; the Masora, however, probably regards יִחַת and יִחַתוּ as *imperfect Niph'al* from יַחַת); *Niph'al* נָחַם for נִנְחַם *he has grieved*.

g 2. The *ל* of לָקַח to *take* is treated like the *Nûn* of verbs פִּי (§ 19 d). Hence *imperfect Qal* יִקַּח, cohortative אֶקַּח, *imperative* קַח, in *pause* and

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Mayer Lambert, 'Le futur qal des verbes פִּי, פִּי, פִּי,' in the *REJ.* xxvii. 136 ff.

<sup>2</sup> An *imperfect* in a (יִנְיִשׁ) is given in the Paradigm, simply because it is the actual form in use in this verb.

before suffixes קָהַ (on נָהַם-קָהַ Gn 48<sup>9</sup>, see § 61 g), *paragogic form* קָהַה; קָהַי, &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 קָהַי לָהַ, cf. LXX and Lucian); *infinitive construct* קָחַח (once קָחַח 2 K 12<sup>9</sup>, cf. § 93 h); with לָ, קָחַחְלָ; with suffix קָחַחְי; *Hoph'al* (cf., however, § 53 u) *imperfect* קָחַחְי; *Niph'al*, however, is always קָחַחְנִי.—The meaningless form קָחַח Ez 17<sup>5</sup> is a mistake; for the equally meaningless קָחַחְח Ho 11<sup>3</sup> read קָחַחְחָי.

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* נָתַןְי, &c.), and a corresponding *imperative* נָתַן or (very frequently) נָתַנָה (but in ψ S<sup>2</sup> the very strange reading נָתַנָה is no doubt simply meant by the Masora to suggest נָתַנְנָה); before *Maqqeph* נָתַנְי, *sem.* נָתַנְי, &c. Moreover, this very common verb has the peculiarity that its final *Nún*, as a weak nasal, is also assimilated; נָתַנְי for *nāthānti*, נָתַנְי or, very frequently, נָתַנְתָה, with a kind of orthographic compensation for the assimilated *Nún* (cf. § 44 g); *Niph'al perfect* נָתַנְתָה 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 נָתַתְי from נָתַתְי), but contracted to *titt*, which is then correctly lengthened to נָתַתְי, with the omission of *Dageš forte* in the final consonant, see § 20 l; but with suffixes נָתַתְי, נָתַתְי, &c.; before *Maqqeph* with the prefix לָ=לָתַתְי, 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 נָתַתְי Nu 20<sup>21</sup> and נָתַתְי Gn 38<sup>9</sup>; cf. § 69 m, note 2. On the other hand, for לָתַתְי 1 K 6<sup>19</sup> read either לָתַתְי or simply לָתַתְי, just as the *Q'ré*, 1 K 17<sup>14</sup>, requires לָתַתְי תַתְי.

In other stems, the *h* is retained as the third radical, e. g. נָתַתְי, נָתַתְי, cf. § 19 c and § 44 o. On the entirely anomalous aphaeresis of the *Nún* with a strong vowel in נָתַתְי (for נָתַתְי) 2 S 22<sup>41</sup>, cf. § 19 i.—On the *passive imperfect* נָתַתְי, cf. § 53 u.

§ 67. *Verbs ע"ע, e. g. קָבַח to surround.*

Brockelmann, *Semil. 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 ע"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>6</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 (י"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, חָלְלֵהוּ), 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*, סֹבֵב, סֹבֵב.

*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. חָמַד answering to חָמַדְלָה to the ground-form *qāṭālūt*, חָמַדְלָה to the ground-form *qāṭālūt*; *infinitive*, חָמַד to חָמַדְלָה.

*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. חָמַד, חָמַד, not חָמַד; but it appears again on the addition of affirmatives or suffixes, e. g. חָמַדְלָה, חָמַדְלָה, &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* ו, e. g. חָמַדְלָה, חָמַדְלָה, *imperfect* חָמַדְלָה (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. 698 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* תִּמְנַנְי (for תִּמְנֹנְי) Nu 17<sup>28</sup>, ψ 64<sup>7</sup> (Jer 44<sup>18</sup> תִּמְנַנְי with *Silluq*), owing to omission of the separating vowel, approximates, if the text is right, to the form of verbs י"ע (cf. תִּמְנַנְי from קוּם).

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 *yā-sēb*, *imperative* יִסֵּב for *hā-sēb*, &c. Where the preformatives in the strong verb have *ī*, either the original *ā* (from which the *ī* was attenuated) is retained and lengthened, e.g. יִסֵּב in *imperfect Qal* for *yā-sōb*, or the *ī* itself is lengthened to *ē*, e.g. יִסֵּב *perfect Hiph'il* for *hī-sēb* (see further under *h*). The vowel thus lengthened can be maintained, however, only before the tone (except the *ū* of the *Hoph'al*, יִסֵּב for *hū-sāb*); when the tone is thrown forward it becomes *S<sup>e</sup>wā*, according to § 27 k (under *א* and *ה* *compound S<sup>e</sup>wā*), e.g. יִסֵּב, but תִּסְבֵּינָה; *imperfect Hiph'il* יִסֵּב, but תִּסְבֵּינָה; *perfect* יִסֵּב, &c.

Besides the ordinary form of the imperfects, there is another (common in *g Aramaic*), in which the *imperfect Qal* is pronounced יִפֵּב or יִפֵּב, the *first* radical, not the second, being strengthened by *Dageš forte*, cf. יִשֵּׁם 1 K 9<sup>8</sup>, יִקְרָה Gn 24<sup>26</sup>; with *a* in the second syllable, יִנְרָה Lv 11<sup>7</sup>, יִדְלָה Is 17<sup>4</sup>, יִשָּׁח Is 2<sup>9</sup>, &c., יִדָּם Am 5<sup>13</sup> and frequently, יִנְפָּח Dt 9<sup>21</sup>, &c., יִפֵּב (*turn intrans.*) 1 S 5<sup>8</sup>, &c., יִקְבָּה Lv 24<sup>11</sup>, יִחָם Ez 47<sup>12</sup>, &c., יִחָם (with *Dageš forte implicitum*) 1 K 1<sup>1</sup>; in the plural, יִתְפָּו Nu 14<sup>35</sup>, &c. (in pause יִתְפָּו ψ 102<sup>28</sup>); perhaps also יִפְּלָה, יִפְּוּ (unless these forms are rather to be referred to *Niph'al*, like יִפְּלוּ 1 S 2<sup>9</sup>; יִפְּלוּ Jb 24<sup>24</sup>); with suffix תִּקְבְּנוּ occurs (cf. § 10 *h*) in Nu 23<sup>25</sup>; *Imperfect Hiph'il* יִתָּם, *Hoph'al* יִתָּם, &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. יִקְרָה Gn 43<sup>28</sup>, &c., for יִקְרָה and they bowed the head; יִנְפָּחוּ and they beat down, Dt 1<sup>44</sup> (from פָּתַח); יִתְפָּחוּ Dt 32<sup>8</sup>; יִדְמָו Ex 15<sup>16</sup>, Jb 29<sup>21</sup> (cf., however, יִנְפָּחוּ Ju 18<sup>23</sup>, 1 S 5<sup>8</sup>, יִתְחָו Jer 46<sup>5</sup>, Jb 4<sup>20</sup>). To the same class of apparently strong formations belongs תִּצְלָיְנָה (without the separating vowel, for תִּצְלָיְנָה, 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 לָ"ה. We must, however, regard סִבּוּת as formed on the analogy not of גָּלִיית, but (with P. Haupt) of a form גָּלֹאֲתָ (= *gālaūtā*, cf. Arab. *ǧazautā*), while תִּסְבֵּינָה follows the analogy of תִּנְלֵינָה. [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 יָעַ § 72); (b) in the *perfect Niph'al* נִסַּב for *nā-sāb* (§ 51 *a*); (c) in *Hoph'al* הִיִּסַּב, with irregular lengthening (no doubt on the analogy of verbs יָעַ) for *hōsāb* from *hū-sab*, *imperfect* יִיִּסַּב 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* הִמַּר from *hū-sēb* (ground-form הִמַּל, § 53 *a*), as well as of the participle מִמַּר (ground-form מִמַּל), on the analogy of the perfect. In the second syllable of the Perf. the underlying vowel is *ī*, 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. הִמַּרְתָּ. 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 הִמַּרְתָּ, יִיִּסַּב and יִיִּסַּבְתְּ (2nd *sing. fem. imperfect*); e. g. 3rd *sing. fem. perfect* הִמַּרְתָּ, in *pause* הִמַּרְתָּ; with *ר* and gutturals מִרַּרְתָּ (for מִרַּרְתָּ), ψ 44<sup>26</sup>; on the other hand, with *wāw* consecutive וּמַרְתָּ Is 6<sup>12</sup> (but וּמַרְתָּ Ex 1<sup>16</sup>). In the 3rd *plur. perfect* the tone-syllable varies; along with מִרַּרְתָּ, מִרַּרְתָּ, we also find מִרַּרְתָּ and מִרַּרְתָּ Is 59<sup>12</sup>, מִרַּרְתָּ Hb 3<sup>6</sup>, &c.; but in *pause* always מִרַּרְתָּ, מִרַּרְתָּ, &c. The tone likewise remains on the stem-syllable in the *imperfect Qal* in מִיִּסַּבְתָּ, מִיִּסַּבְתָּ; *perfect Hiph'il* הִמַּרְתָּ, הִמַּרְתָּ; *imperfect* מִיִּסַּבְתָּ, מִיִּסַּבְתָּ, &c. In the forms with separating vowels, the tone is moved forward to these vowels (or to the final syllable, cf. *ce*), e. g. מִיִּסַּבְתָּ, מִיִּסַּבְתָּ, &c.; except before the endings הִיִּסַּבְתָּ and הִיִּסַּבְתָּ 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 *ī* and *ū* (or *ō*, see *n*), hence הִמַּרְתָּ from הִמַּרְתָּ, מִיִּסַּבְתָּ from מִיִּסַּבְתָּ; on cases in which the vowel of the preformative becomes *Šewā*, see above, *f*.
- l** 8. In several verbs יָעַ, instead of *P'ēl*, *Pu'al* and *Hithpa'ēl*, the less frequent conjugation *Pō'ēl*, with its passive and reflexive, occurs (most probably on the analogy of the corresponding forms of verbs יָעַ, cf. § 72 *m*), generally with the same meaning,<sup>1</sup> e. g. עוֹלֵל to *ill-treat*, passive עוֹלֵל, reflexive הִתְעוֹלֵל (from עָלַל; cf. the *Hithpō'ēl* from יָעַ

<sup>1</sup> Sometimes both *P'ēl* and *Pō'ēl* are formed from the same stem, though with a difference of meaning, e. g. רָצַץ to *break in pieces*, רָצַץ to *oppress*; הִנֵּן to *make pleasing*, הוֹנֵן 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. גָּלְגַל to roll, *Hithpalpāl* הִתְגַּלְגַל to roll oneself (from גָּלַל); imperative with suffix פִּלְסָלָה exalt her, Pr 4<sup>8</sup>; נִיַּעֲשֵׂע to comfort, to delight in; passive נִשְׁעֲשַׂע to be caressed (from שָׁעַע). These forms cannot appear in a biliteral form any more than *Pī'el*, *Pu'al*, and *Hithpa'el*; cf. עָעִים (Is 19<sup>14</sup>) and קָקוּ (Is 18<sup>2,7</sup>).—For תִּתְבָּר 2 S 22<sup>27</sup> read, according to ψ 18<sup>27</sup>, תִּתְבָּרָר.

## 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. רָפּוּ they are exalted, Jb 24<sup>24</sup> to רָמוּם; רָבּוּ they shot, Gn 49<sup>23</sup> to רָבַב; 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, יָמַר, יָעוּ, יָרַן, יָרַע (trans. he breaks in pieces, but יָרַע intrans. = he is evil); 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, סָבַב) 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; לָבּוּ for לָבוּ to plunder, Est 3<sup>13</sup>, S<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 *ö* are: (a) in a toneless final syllable, i. e. before *Maqqeph* or in the *imperfect consecutive*, רָן (rōn) to rejoice, Jb 38<sup>7</sup>; יָסַב Ju 11<sup>18</sup> (once even with *ū* in a toneless final syllable, וָיָרַם Ex 16<sup>21</sup>); on the other hand, in the plur. fem. וַיִּסְבּוּ, וַיִּתְסַפְּינָה; (b) before a tone-bearing affirmative or suffix, e. g. imperative 2nd sing. fem. רָנִי, רָנִי (cf. ff); חַנְּנִי pity me; סָלְוָה Jer 50<sup>26</sup>; יִשְׂדָם Pr 11<sup>3</sup> *Qere*; תְּחַנְּנֵהוּ Ex 12<sup>14</sup> (for the defective writing, cf. יִסְבְּהוּ Jb 40<sup>22</sup>). In יַחְנֶךָ Gn 43<sup>29</sup>, Is 30<sup>19</sup> (for יַחְנֶךָ) this *ö* is thrown back to the preformative.

On the 2nd plur. fem. imperat. עֲרֶה make yourselves naked Is 32<sup>11</sup>, cf. the (I) analogous forms in § 48 i.—Quite abnormal is the *infinitive absolute* רָעָה Is 24<sup>19</sup> (as ה follows, probably only a case of dittography for רָע, cf. קָב Nu 23<sup>25</sup> and שָׁל Ru 2<sup>16</sup>); so also are the *imperatives* קָבֵה-לִי Nu 22<sup>11,17</sup>, and אָרֵה-לִי 22<sup>6</sup>, 23<sup>7</sup>, with ה *paragogic*. We should expect קָבֵה, אָרֵה. If these forms are to be read *qāballi*, 'ōralli, they would be analogous to such cases as מִכְרַבֶּרָה (§ 90 i), the addition of the *paragogic* ה—causing no change in the form of the word (—קָב like רָן above). If, however, as Jewish tradition requires, they are to be read *qāballi*, 'āralli, then in both cases the *Qames* must be explained, with

Stade, as the equivalent of  $\delta$  (קָבַה־לִי) &c.; cf. § 9 v). Still more surprising is קָבַנו *curse him*, Nu 23<sup>13</sup>, for קָבַנו or 'קָבַ<sup>1</sup>

3. Examples with *Pathah* in the infinitive, imperative, and imperfect are בַּר (in לְבָרֵם *to prove them*, Ec 3<sup>18</sup>); רָר Is 45<sup>1</sup>; נָשָׂה Jer 5<sup>26</sup>; בָּשָׂגוּם *in their error*, Gn 6<sup>3</sup> (so ed. Mant., but there is also good authority for בָּשָׂגוּם, from בָּשָׂ = בָּשָׂ = בָּשָׂר 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>; יָחַשׁ *it is desolate*, Ez 12<sup>19</sup> (in pause תִּישָׂם Gn 47<sup>19</sup>); וַתִּקַּל *she was despised*, Gn 16<sup>4</sup> (but elsewhere in the *impf. consec.* with the tone on the penultima, e. g. וַיִּצָּר Gn 32<sup>8</sup>, &c.; וַיִּרָע Gn 21<sup>11</sup>, &c., cf. Ez 19<sup>7</sup>); in the 1st sing. imperfect אֵיתָם<sup>2</sup> ψ 19<sup>14</sup>, abnormally written fully for אֵתָם, unless אֵתָם is to be read, as in some MSS., on the analogy of the 3rd sing. אֵתָם.—In the *impf. Qal* of שָׁלַל the reading of Hb 2<sup>8</sup> varies between יִשְׁלֹךְ (Baer, Ginsb.) and יִשְׁלֹךְ (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: וַיִּגַּל Gn 29<sup>10</sup>; יָגוּ Is 31<sup>5</sup>, &c.; וַיִּסָּךְ Ex 4c<sup>21</sup>, ψ 91<sup>4</sup>, &c.; perhaps also תִּעָלֶינָה 1 S 3<sup>11</sup> and יָהַל Jb 31<sup>28</sup>, &c.; in accordance with this last form, יָהַל (בָּ) Jb 29<sup>8</sup> would also be an *infinitive Qal*, not Hiph'il (for בָּהֵל), as formerly explained below, under *w*. Finally the very peculiar form וַתִּרְיַן Ju 9<sup>58</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. יָרִין, if the text is correct, in Pr 29<sup>6</sup>; יָשַׁר ψ 91<sup>6</sup> (unless it be simply an imperfect from שָׁר *to be powerful, to prevail*); יָרִין (if from רָצִין Is 42<sup>4</sup>, &c. (also defectively יָרִין ψ 18<sup>30</sup>; but in Ec 12<sup>6</sup>, according to Baer, וַתִּרְיַן); תָּתַם Ez 24<sup>11</sup> (on the sharpening of the ת cf. *g* above).<sup>3</sup>

5. A similar analogy with verbs ע"ו is seen in the infinitives לָבִיר (for בָּר) Ec 9<sup>1</sup>; בָּחֲקוּ Pr 8<sup>27</sup> (cf. בָּחֲוִקוּ Pr 8<sup>29</sup>) for בָּחֲקוּ, and in the imperfect אֲמַשֶּׁךְ Gn 27<sup>21</sup>. (The forms חָנוּת in ψ 77<sup>10</sup>, שְׂמוּת Ez 36<sup>8</sup>, חָלוּתִי ψ 77<sup>11</sup>, formerly treated here as infinitives from ע"ע 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*.

6. 4. In the *participle*, the aramaizing form שָׁאֲסִיךְ for שָׁסְסִיךְ occurs in K<sup>thibh</sup>, Jer 30<sup>16</sup> (the *Q<sup>re</sup>* indicates a *participle* from שָׁסַס); רָעָה Pr 25<sup>19</sup> appears to be a contraction from רָעָעָה, *part. fem.* = *breaking in pieces*.

<sup>1</sup> For נָ as suffix of the 3rd person a parallel might be found in יִשְׁנֹנָה, § 100 o, and probably also in the *Nún* of the Phoenician suffix נָם: cf. Barth, *ZDMG.* xli. p. 643, and the note on § 100 o.

<sup>2</sup> Also in Ez 6<sup>6</sup>, instead of תִּישָׂמָה, which could only come from יִשָּׂם, 'יִשָּׂם' is intended, and יִשָּׂמָה in the same verse is probably only an error for יִשָּׂמָה.

<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* נָסַב) and the *participle* נֹסֵב with *Qames* 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>; נִמְסָה (for נִמְסָה) Ez 26<sup>2</sup>; *part.* נֹמֵס *molten*, 1 S 15<sup>9</sup>, Na 21<sup>1</sup>; נִקָּל *it is a light thing*, 2 K 20<sup>10</sup>, Is 49<sup>6</sup> (*perf.* נִקָּל); with *ō*, 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 *ō* in the second syllable, on the analogy of verbs ו"ע (from which König would also explain the *perfects* with *ō*), 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>; תִּירוּן (for *tirrōs*) Ez 29<sup>7</sup>; with *ē* in the second syllable תִּחַל *she profanes herself*, Lv 21<sup>9</sup>, but וַיִּחַל 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*, ψ 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 הִבוּן *to be plundered*, and הִבוֹק *to be emptied*, Is 24<sup>3</sup>; in the *imperative*, only הִפְרוּ *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, וַחַל *it is profaned*, Ez 22<sup>16</sup>, 25<sup>3</sup> (from חָלַל); נָחַר (from חָרַר) ψ 69<sup>4</sup>, 102<sup>4</sup> (also נָחַר Jer 6<sup>29</sup>); נָחַח *fractus est* (from חָחַח) Mal 2<sup>5</sup>; cf. with this in the *participle*, נִחְמִים (for *nihhāmim*) 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 *u* instead of *ō* 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*, *U* 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.* הִפְרוּ Is 24<sup>5</sup>. In הִפִּיר ψ 33<sup>10</sup>, Ez 17<sup>19</sup>, cf. ψ 89<sup>34</sup>, and in הִשְׁייר Ho 8<sup>4</sup> (perhaps also in יִחִיתָן Hab 2<sup>17</sup>, but cf. § 20 *n*) there is an assimilation to the corresponding forms of verbs ו"ע, see *z*. Also הִצִּיר Dt 28<sup>52</sup>, הִתּוּ (in *pause*) Is 18<sup>5</sup>; *inf.* לְהִבְרַר *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. הִרְעוּ); *imper.* הִשְׁעוּ *besmear*, Is 6<sup>10</sup>; *plur.* הִשְׁטּוּ *be astonished*, Jb 21<sup>6</sup>; *imperfect* תִּרְעַח *Thou dost afflict*; *part.* מִצַּל (on *ē* in the first syllable, see under *ē*) *shadowing*, Ez 31<sup>3</sup> (but מִסִּיָּה Ju 3<sup>24</sup> is assimilated to the form of verbs ו"ע, unless, with Moore, we simply read מִסִּיָּה, or, with incorrect spelling, מִסִּיָּה). So in the *imperative* הִמְיִשְׁנִי Ju 16<sup>26</sup> *Q<sup>e</sup>ré*, and in the *infinitive* הִתְמַקְּהוּ Is 33<sup>1</sup>).

The *ē* of the second syllable, when without the tone, may become *ē*, e.g. הִחַלּוּ Gn 31<sup>7</sup> (see also *x*). It is unusual (cf. § 53 *k*) to find the *ē* written fully as in the *infinitive* לְהִפְרִי 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 ה (with a virtual sharpening of the ה) in such forms as הִחַתְתֵּהּ 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 ה.—On בִּהְלוֹ Jb 29<sup>3</sup>, see above, *p*: on הִחַתְתֵּנִי 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. וַיִּרְעוּ 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 וַיִּפֹּר Neh 4<sup>9</sup>.

*y* 8. Aramaizing forms (but cf. Rem. : § 67 *g*) in *Hiph'il* and *Hoph'al* are, וַיִּסַּב Ex 13<sup>18</sup>, &c.; cf. Ju. 18<sup>23</sup>; אֶל-תִּמְרָה Ex 23<sup>21</sup>, but read אֶל-תִּמְרָה from תִּמְרָה: וַיִּכְתְּבוּ Dt 1<sup>44</sup> (cf. Nu 14<sup>45</sup>), but וַיִּסְבּוּ Ju 18<sup>28</sup>, 1 S 5<sup>8</sup>, 2 Ch 29<sup>6</sup>; אֶחָל *profanabo*, Ez 39<sup>7</sup>; תִּתָּם Jb 22<sup>3</sup>; without elision of the ה (cf. § 53 *q*), וַיִּהְיֶה 1 K 18<sup>27</sup>, but Jer 9<sup>4</sup> יִהְיֶה־לִּי, Jb 13<sup>9</sup> וַיִּהְיֶה־לִּי; with *i* in the second syllable יָשִׁים Jer 49<sup>20</sup>, 50<sup>45</sup>; cf. וַיִּנְשִׂים Nu 21<sup>30</sup>; in the *perfect* הוֹלִי־הָ La 1<sup>8</sup>. In *Hoph'al*, הֵבִיאוּ they are brought low, Jb 24<sup>21</sup>; יָבֵת he is smitten, Is 24<sup>12</sup> (*plur.* יָבֵתוּ Jer 46<sup>5</sup>, Mi 1<sup>7</sup>); in *pause*, יִחַקוּ Jb 16<sup>28</sup>, but also יָבֵתוּ Jb 4<sup>20</sup> (so Baer, Ginsb., but ed. Mant., Jabl. יָבֵתוּ); with *ö* in the initial syllable, הַשְׁמָה (*infinitive with suffix* = הַשְׁמָה, cf. § 91 *e*) Lv 26<sup>34</sup> *f*, cf. 2 Ch 36<sup>21</sup>; בִּהְשָׁמָה, with irregular syncope for בִּהְשָׁה, Lv 26<sup>43</sup>.

#### IV. In General.

*z* 9. Verbs ע"ע are most closely related as regards inflexion to verbs ע"ו (§ 72). The form of verbs ע"ע is generally the shorter (cf. e.g. יָסַב and יָקַם, יָקַם and יָסַב); 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, שָׁדוּנִי, סָבַבְנִי, &c.; אָמַם, אָבַפּוּ, &c. Sometimes the contracted, as well as the uncontracted form, is found, e.g. בָּזְזוּ to plunder, *plur.* בָּזְזוּ; in other parts, only בָּזְזוּ Dt 2<sup>35</sup>, as well as בָּזְזוּ Dt 3<sup>7</sup>; וּמָמְתִי Zc 8<sup>14.15</sup> and וּמָמְתִי 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 וַיִּחַתְתֵּנִי 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> דָּק; elsewhere always a transitive verb); חָח, *fem.* חָחָה; מָר, *fem.* מָרָה (for *marrā*); צָר, *fem.* צָרָה (cf. וְחָרָה Ez 24<sup>11</sup>); שָׁח, *fem.* שָׁחָה, &c.; *plur.* חָחוּ, חָחָו, &c. (but on the tone, cf. *ee* below). Exception, עִשְׂשָׁה ψ 6<sup>8</sup>.

*cc* The intransitive but developed perfects דָּלַל (also דָּלָה), חָלַל (also חָלָה), נָדָד (also נָדָדָה), נָדָדוּ (also נָדָדוּ), עִשְׂשָׁה (also עִשְׂשָׁהוּ ψ 31<sup>11</sup>), צָלַל (also צָלַלוּ), שָׁחָה (also שָׁחָהוּ), almost all have, as Mayer Lambert observes, at least an active, not a stative meaning. Triliteral forms of the *infinitive* after ה are לְסַבֵּב Nu 21<sup>4</sup>; לְשָׁדוּר Jer 47<sup>4</sup>; לְזַנּוּ Gn 31<sup>19</sup> (also לְזַנּוּ Gn 38<sup>13</sup>); cf. also לְחַמֵּם Is 47<sup>14</sup>, in *subordinate pause*, for לְחַמֵּם; with *suffix* לְחַנְּנֶכֶם Is 30<sup>13</sup>, and, from the same

form **חָנַן**, with retraction and modification of the vowel, **לְחַנְנָה**  $\psi$  102<sup>14</sup>; also **שָׁחַח** Is 60<sup>14</sup>, **בָּנְזוּ** 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* **שָׂרַדְרָד** Jer 49<sup>28</sup> (cf. § 20 *b*, and *ibid.* also on **הִנְנִי**  $\psi$  9<sup>14</sup>); in the *imperfect*, **יָרוֹד** Na 3<sup>7</sup> ( $\psi$  68<sup>13</sup>; cf. Gn 31<sup>40</sup>) from **נָדַד**; the strong form here, after the assimilation of the *Nūn*, was unavoidable. On the other hand, **יִשְׁרָדֵם** Jer 5<sup>6</sup> is anomalous for **יִשְׁרָדֵם** (Pr 11<sup>3</sup> *Qere*; the eastern school read the *Po'el* **יִשְׁוֹרֵם** in the *Kethibh*); the strengthening of the second radical has been afterwards resolved by the insertion of a vocal *Šewa*. Cf. also **יָחַן** Am 5<sup>15</sup> (elsewhere **יָחַן**). In *Niph'al*, the trilateral form **יִלְבַּב** is found, Jb 11<sup>12</sup>; in *Hiph'il*, all the forms of **רָנַן**, thus *imperative* **הִרְנִינוּ**, *imperfect* **תִּרְנִין**; *infinitive* **הִשְׂמִים** Mi 6<sup>13</sup>; *participle* **מִשְׂמִים** 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 (**סִבּוּי נִסְבּוּי**).

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 **תִּמְנוּ** Nu 17<sup>28</sup> (Jer 44<sup>18</sup>; cf. above, *e*); *imperfect* **נָבְזָה** 1 S 14<sup>36</sup> (**הָ** *parag.* without any influence on the form, cf. *o*); even with the firm vowel reduced to vocal *Šewa*; **יָבֵלָה** Gn 11<sup>7</sup> for **נָבֵלָה** (cohortative from **בָּלַל**); **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>12</sup> (*plur. masc.* Jb 18<sup>7</sup>); **יִרְעוּ** Neh 2<sup>3</sup>; also **תִּישְׂמְנָה** Ez 6<sup>6</sup> (for which read **תִּישׁ** = **תִּישׁ**) might be explained in the same way.—*Perfect Niph'al* **נִסְכָּה** for **נִסְכָּה** Ez 41<sup>7</sup>; **נָלוּ** Ju 5<sup>5</sup> for **נָלוּ**; **נִמְלָחֵם** for **נִמְלָחֵם** Gn 17<sup>11</sup> (as if from **מָלַל** not **מָלַל** to *circumcise*), cf. Is 19<sup>3</sup>, Jer 8<sup>14</sup>; *imperfect* **תִּפְקֶנָה** Zc 14<sup>12</sup>; *participle* **נִחְמִים**, cf. *u*. So also **נָפִין** 1 S 13<sup>11</sup>, **נָפְצָה** Gn 9<sup>19</sup> (cf. Is 33<sup>3</sup>), are *perfects Niph'al* from **פָּצַץ** (= **פָּרַץ**), not *Qal* from **נָפַץ**.—In *Hiph'il* **תִּהְלַחַתְּ** (for **תִּהְלַחַתְּ**) Ju 16<sup>10</sup> (2 S 15<sup>34</sup>); **תִּעָזָה** for **תִּעָזָה** 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* **תִּלְיוּ** 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. **וְהִצְרַחְתִּי** 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> (**חַמוּתִי** before **ר**);  $\psi$  92<sup>11</sup> (but the text is certainly corrupt; see the *Lexicon*), 116<sup>6</sup>, perhaps also Jb 19<sup>17</sup>, **וְחִלַּחְתִּי** (though in this passage, and in  $\psi$  17<sup>3</sup>, the form might be an *infinitive* in *ôth*; see Delitzsch on Jb 19<sup>17</sup>); in the 2nd *sing.* **וְקִצְרָתָהּ** (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>; **וְנָבּוּ** *they are pure*, Jb 15<sup>15</sup>, 25<sup>5</sup>, La 4<sup>7</sup>; **שָׂחוּ** *they did bow*, Hb 3<sup>6</sup>; **חָרּוּ** *they are burned*, Is 24<sup>6</sup>. A *by* form of **שָׂחוּ** ( $\psi$  72 *da*) is **שָׂחוּ**  $\psi$  49<sup>15</sup>, 73<sup>9</sup>.

(b) In the *imperative* (a command in an emphatic tone) **רַנֵּי** *sing.*, Is 54<sup>1</sup>, Zp 3<sup>14</sup>, Zc 2<sup>14</sup>; **רַנּוּ** Is 44<sup>23</sup>, 49<sup>13</sup>, Jer 31<sup>7</sup> (but **רַנֵּי** *lament*, La 2<sup>19</sup>), **חִנֵּי** *keep (thy feasts)*, Na 2<sup>1</sup>, Jer 7<sup>29</sup>; **עָזָה** (= **עָזָה**) before **א**,  $\psi$  68<sup>29</sup>. On the retention of the short vowels *ü* (*ü*) 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 *Šewa*, when it no longer stands before the tone, see *g*.

THE WEAKEST VERBS (*Verba Quiescentia*).

## § 68. Verbs נ"פ e. g. אָכַל to eat.

Brockelmann, *Semit. Sprachwiss.*, p. 140 ff.; *Grundriss*, p. 589 ff.

- a* So far as נ 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 נ 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 נ 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, *he collects*. This *ô* has primarily arisen from an obscuring of *â* (§ 9 *q*), and the *â* from נָ—, the weak consonant נ 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 *î*, 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 I 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 *S<sup>e</sup>golta*; cf. also תֹּאכַל I 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. לְעֹרֵךְ תֹּאכַד  $\psi$  9<sup>19</sup>, but in *pause* תֹּאכַד  $\psi$  1<sup>6</sup>; cf. a similar interchange of *ê* and *ä* in § 65 *c*. The 3rd *fem. plur. impf.* always has the form תֹּאכְלֶינָה 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. יֹאבֹד יום Jb 3<sup>3</sup>, יֹאכַל 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 *î*) 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* אָכַל, the Arabic *ya'kul* and the Aramaic יֹאכַל, as well as by the fact that יֹאחֹז and יֹאסַף are found along with יֹאחֹז and יֹאסַף.



(but never in the 1st *sing.* וַאֲמַר; cf. וַיֹּאבֵל), and then the final syllable, if without the *pause*, always takes *S<sup>e</sup>ghöl*, וַיֹּאמֶר and he said (except לוֹ וַתֹּאמֶר Pr 7<sup>13</sup>).

In *pause*, however, the *imperfect consecutive* (except the 1st pers. of אָבֵל, see below) always has the form וַיֹּאבֵל (but *plur.* always וַיֹּאבְלוּ, וַיֹּאבְלוּ), וַיֹּאמֶר; except וַיֹּאמֶר 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. וַיֹּאבֵל Gn. 3<sup>12.13</sup> in *pause*.—אָבָה and אָפָה are, at the same time, verbs א"ל, hence *imperfect* יֹאבָה (§ 75 c).

Before *light* suffixes the vowel of the second syllable becomes vocal Š<sup>e</sup>wā, as אֶבֶל, but אֶבֶלְכֶם.—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 אָהֵבֶהוּ 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>5</sup>. The *infinitive construct* of אָמַר with ל is always לֵאמֹר *dicendo*, for לֵאמֹר.—According to Barth (ZDMG. 1889, p. 179) וַיֹּאמֶר 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 אָצַל elsewhere occurs only in the *perfect Qal* and *Niph'al*; on the original *i* in the second syllable, see above, § 67 p. For וַתֹּאבְלוּ Jb 20<sup>26</sup> we should simply emend וַתֹּאבְלוּ; 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 *Pī'el* (וַתֹּאבְלוּ = וַתֹּאבְלוּ) rests on no analogy whatever. It would be more admissible to suppose that וַתֹּאבְלוּ stands for וַתֹּאבְלוּ, *Pu'al* (cf. וַתֹּאבְלוּ for וַתֹּאבְלוּ, § 27 q); but no reason has been discovered for this departure from the natural punctuation וַתֹּאבְלוּ.

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 אֶמַר<sup>1</sup> (for אֶאמַר), &c., and even *plene* וַאֲמַר Neh 2<sup>7</sup>, &c., וַאֲמַרָה  $\psi$  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 אָ 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. 'á'kūlū, not 'á'kūlū.

the 1st pers. Mi 4<sup>6</sup> and אִסְפַּךְ I 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, אִסְפַּךְ (with *z*, according to § 60 f). But תִּאֲכַפֵּן Ex 5<sup>7</sup> (for 'תֹּסֵן), וַיִּאֲכַף I S 18<sup>29</sup> (for 'וִיִּסְפַךְ), 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, יִמְרוֹךְ ψ 139<sup>20</sup> (where certainly 'יִמְר' is to be read); תִּבֵּן Pr 1<sup>10</sup> (cf. § 75 *hh*); וַתִּפְּהוּ I S 28<sup>24</sup>; יוֹכְלוּ Ez 42<sup>5</sup>; הִמְרוּ 2 S 19<sup>14</sup>; וַתִּחַז 2 S 20<sup>9</sup>; תוּ גַדְדִּיתָ אֵת הַתְּהוֹמֹתַי (from 'תְּהוֹ), Jer 2<sup>36</sup>; וַתִּתֵּן Dt 33<sup>21</sup> (for 'תִּתְּנָה), according to other readings (on the analogy of the cases mentioned in § 75 *p*) וַתִּתֵּן, וַתִּתְּנָה or וַתִּתְּנָה.

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* נִאֲחַזוּ 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, I S 15<sup>5</sup>, and אָוִן I listen, Jb 32<sup>11</sup> (on the analogy of verbs ע'ו); cf. also אוֹכִיל (ô from á) I give to eat, Hos 11<sup>4</sup>; אֲבִירָה (ô from á) I will destroy, Jer 46<sup>8</sup>; וַיִּוָּחַר 2 S 20<sup>5</sup> *Qéré* (for 'וַיִּאֲחַר'); the *Kethibh* appears to require the *Pi'el* וַיִּיחַר, from יָחַר as a secondary form of אָחַר; but וַיִּיחַר = 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> (= לְהִאֲכַל unless it is rather *infin. Hiph.* from כוּל); *Participle* מוֹיִן giveth ear, Pr 17<sup>4</sup> (clearly by false analogy of verbs ע'ו, for 'מִאֲזוֹן); *Imperative* הִתִּיּוּ bring (from 'תָּתָה) 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 *n* is sometimes elided (like ה in יִהְיֶה, יִקְטִיל, thus כִּיִּלָּה (as in Aramaic and Samaritan) teaching, for 'מִאֲלָה Jb 35<sup>11</sup>; יָהֵל (if not a mere scribal error) for 'יִהְיֶה Is 13<sup>20</sup>; וַתִּמְרָנִי thou hast girded me, 2 S 22<sup>40</sup>, for 'וַתִּמְרָנִי, as ψ 18<sup>40</sup>; וַאֲבַרְךָ Ez 28<sup>16</sup>; cf. § 23 *c*.

§ 69. Verbs פ'ב. 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* יָרַע, יִשָּׁב with an unchangeable<sup>1</sup> *Sere* in the first syllable and original *š* in the second, which in the tone-syllable (according to § 27 c) becomes *ē* (thus יָלַד, יָצָא, יָרַד, יָלָה; see *x*), or, under the influence of a guttural, with *ā* in the second (יָרַע, יָקַע, יָחַר).

The tone-long *ē* of the second syllable is of course liable to be shortened or to become *Šewā*, e. g. יִשָּׁב, וְיִשָּׁב, &c.; in the same way *ā* becomes *Šewā* in such cases as יִרְעֵי, &c., but is lengthened to *Qames* in *pause* (יִרְעֵי).

B. *Imperative* יִשָּׁב with *aphaeresis* of the *Wāw* and with tone-long *ē*, from *š*, as in the *imperfect*.

C. *Infinitive* שָׁבַת 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 יָרַע, לָרַה (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 שָׁבַת, &c., the ground-form *šibt* (which, therefore, reappears in שָׁבַתִּי, &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. יִרְעֵים Ho 14<sup>10</sup>), but also in אֶרְעֶךָ 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 יִקַּר) 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 יִרְעֵי.—Of the various explanations of the *ē* the most satisfactory is that of Philippi (*ZDMG.* xl. p. 653) that an original *yūlid*, for example (see above), became *yūid* 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* יִצַּק, יִרַשׁ, and *infinitives* יָסַר, יָרַא, as a strong consonant, but

in the *imperfect* יִרַשׁ, properly *yiyrašš*, merges with the preceding י into י.

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>11</sup> and יִצַּק *pour*, Ez 24<sup>3</sup> (cf. יִצַּקוּ 1 K 18<sup>34</sup> and the *infin.* יִצַּקוּ Ex 38<sup>27</sup>); יָרַשׁ *take possession*, Dt 1<sup>21</sup>, 1 K 21<sup>15</sup> (but cf. *s*), יִרַשׁ (in pause for יָרַשׁ) Dt 2<sup>24.31</sup>; plur. יִרְשׁוּ Dt 1<sup>8</sup>, 9<sup>23</sup>, but also, with הַ— *paragogic*, יִרְשׁוּהוּ Dt 33<sup>23</sup>. In the *imperfect* יִיקַר Dt 32<sup>22</sup> and יִיקַר Is 10<sup>16</sup> *it shall be kindled*; יִיקַר *it was precious*, 1 S 18<sup>30</sup> and יִיקַר ψ 49<sup>9</sup> (cf. יִיקַר 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 יִרַד and יָשׁוּב Jer 42<sup>10</sup> for the *infinitive absolute* יִשׁוּב, cf. § 19 *i*.—But יָרַד Ju 5<sup>13</sup> (twice) is not intended by the Masora either as *perfect* (for יִרַד, which really should be restored) or as *imperative* of יָרַד, but as an apocopated *imperfect Pi'el* from יָרַדְהוּ (= יִרְדְהוּ) *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, to dwell*, יָרַד *to descend*, also הִלַּךְ *to go* (cf. below, *x*); and with *ä* in the second syllable of the *imperfect*, יָדַע *to know*, יָחַד *to be united*, יָקַע *to be dislocated*. Examples of the other formation (יִירַשׁ, &c.) are יָעָף *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. הַיִּשָּׁב, הַיִּרַשׁ, which are consequently strong forms like הַקָּטַל, הַקָּטַל; (b) in the *Hithpa'el* of some verbs, e. g. הַתְּיַדַע from יָדַע, הַתְּיַקַע from יָקַע, הַתְּיַרַד from יָרַד; otherwise a radical *Wāw* at the beginning of a word is now found only in a few nouns, e. g. הַיִּלָּךְ *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 Mēšā'-inscription, l. 21, the *infinitive* is written לְסַפַּת (cf. יִסַּפְתִּי, l. 29); hence read in Is 30<sup>1</sup> (Nu 32<sup>14</sup>, Dt 29<sup>18</sup>) סַפַּת for סַפּוֹת. The 2nd plur. masc. *imperative* סַפּוּ Is 29<sup>1</sup>, Jer 7<sup>21</sup> corresponds to שָׁבוּ; thus in proof of a supposed סַפַּף *addere*, there remains only אֲסַפְּהוּ Dt 32<sup>21</sup>, for which, according to 2 S 12<sup>8</sup>, read אֲסַפְּהוּ.

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 *hūwšūbh*.

The first radical always appears as *Yêdh* in the *perfect* and *participle k* *Qal*, וְיָשַׁב, &c., יָשַׁב, יָשׁוּב, even when ! precedes, e. g. וְיָשַׁב (but וְיָשַׁבְתֶּם, according to § 24 *b*), also throughout *Pî'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, הִתְיַלֵּךְ (as against הִתְנַדַּע, &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"ן. Similarly *Hoph'al* has the same form as in verbs ע"ע and ע"ע.

Rem. 1. The *infinitive Qal* of the weaker form (נִשְׁבַּח, ground-form *šibt*, *m* *וְנִשְׁבַּח*; cf. above, *c*) with suffixes is pointed as נִשְׁבַּחְתִּי<sup>1</sup>, רָשַׁחְתוּ (the strong form only in לִרְשַׁחְנִי 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>, לָרָה Is 37<sup>3</sup> (2 K 19<sup>8</sup>); Jer 13<sup>21</sup>, Ho 9<sup>11</sup>; מְרַרָה<sup>2</sup> to descend, Gn 46<sup>3</sup>, where the change of the *e* 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 יָצַח, יָצַח. From יָרַד there occurs in ψ 30<sup>4</sup> in *Q<sup>ere</sup>* מְיַרְדִּי (the *K<sup>eth</sup>*. requires מְיַרְדִּי) a very remarkable case of the strong form (for מְיַרְדִּי). For לַח I S 4<sup>19</sup> (generally explained as a case of assimilation of *ṛ* to *ṭ* in the supposed ground-form *ladt*; according to Mayer Lambert pausal of לַח = *ladt*, see above, *c*) read simply לָחַת.

Examples of the strong form of the *infinitive* are יִרָא to fear, Jos 22<sup>25</sup>, with preposition לִיִּסר Is 51<sup>16</sup> (but 2 Ch 31<sup>7</sup> according to Ben Naphthali לִיִּסר, where the *y* is only retained orthographically, but is really assimilated to the *ṣ*; the reading of Ben Asher, לִיִּסור, accepted by Baer, is meaningless); לִישׁוֹן Ec 5<sup>11</sup>; לִרָא I S 18<sup>29</sup> is irregular, but probably לִרָא (for לִירָא) is intended. With *sufl.* בִּיִּסְרוּ Jb 38<sup>4</sup>, cf. Ju 14<sup>15</sup>, Ezr 3<sup>12</sup>; with *fem.* יִכְלֶה to be able, Nu 14<sup>16</sup>. On יִבְשָׁח, 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 רָרָה belong to the source marked E (Dillmann's B) in the modern criticism of the Pentateuch. The same document also has נָחַן to give, for תָּחַת; הֵלֵךְ to go, for לָכַח; 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*, יֵרֵד *descend thou*. From הִבְּ 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.* הִבְּהָ Ru 3<sup>15</sup>, *Milra'* on the analogy of the plural הִבְּהָ (once in Jb 6<sup>22</sup> הִבְּהָ before the tone-syllable; but cf. Dt 32<sup>3</sup>), whilst, on the analogy of other *imperatives Qal* of verbs פֹּה, הִבְּהָ, הִבְּהָ would be expected.—On הִבְּהָ Pr 24<sup>14</sup>, cf. § 48 l.

P 3. The *imperfect* with ו elided takes *ā* in the second syllable, besides the cases mentioned above (under *f*), also in הִרְרָ 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 נָה (תִּרְדָּהּ &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'ghól*, when the tone is drawn back (before a tone-syllable or after *wāw* consecutive), e.g. יִשְׁבְּנָה Gn 44<sup>33</sup>; וְיִרְדָּהּ, וְיִשְׁבְּנָה; but *ē* is retained in an open syllable, even with *Mil'el*-tone, in יִצָּא 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 יִשְׁבְּנָה Ru 4<sup>1</sup> or וְיִרְדָּהּ ψ 18<sup>19</sup>; the 1st pers. sing., whether in or out of pause, is וְיִרְדָּהּ, וְיִשְׁבְּנָה, &c., except וְיִצָּא Jb 19<sup>10</sup>, see *x*.—For וְיִרְדָּהּ ψ 13<sup>56</sup> (cf. the note above, on *b* and the analogous cases in § 70 *d*) *ī* is intended.

Q 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 *Methey* (see § 16 *f*), e.g. יִירָשׁוּ Is 40<sup>20</sup>, יִירָשׁוּ Is 65<sup>23</sup>; and so always יִירָאוּ *they fear*, as distinguished from יִירְאוּ *they see* (*imperf. Qal* of רָאָה).—On יִירָשׁוּ Gn 50<sup>26</sup>, 24<sup>33</sup> *Keth*, and יִירָשׁוּ Ex 30<sup>32</sup>, see § 73 *f*.

R From יִכַּל *to prevail, to be able*, the *imperfect Qal* is יִיכַל, which can only have arisen through a depression of the vowel from יִיכַל (ground-form *yaukhal* = *yaukhal*), to distinguish it, according to Qimhī, from אוֹכַל, just as, according to § 47 *b*, אֶקַּטַּל is differentiated from יִקַּטַּל. 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 יִיכַל as an *imperfect Hoph'il* (*he is enabled = he can*), always used instead of the *imperfect Qal*; cf., however, § 53 *u*.—וְיִיכַל occurs in Jer 3<sup>5</sup> as 2nd *sing. fem.* for וְיִיכַלְיָ, according to König because the 2nd *fem.* had been sufficiently indicated previously.—Further יִירָהּ or יִרָהּ is to be regarded with M. Lambert (*REJ.* xxxvii, no. 73) as *impf. Qal* (not *Hiph'il*) of יָרָה *to throw, shoot* (the supposed *impf. Qal* וְיִירָם Nu 21<sup>30</sup> is critically very doubtful). This is shown especially by the passages in which the *impf. Qal* יִירָהּ 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*).

S 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 פֹּה in a few forms of יִלַּח 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>14</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 וְרַשׁ (cf. § 44 *d*) is probably to be assumed, since in Arabic also the verb is *wāriṭā*. The forms

וַיִּשְׁנֶה Ez 36<sup>12</sup> and וַיִּרְשָׁהוּ 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* ו, 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>13</sup>; 1 S 13<sup>8</sup> *Kethibh*.—The first person always has the form אָנֹשֶׁב, not אָנֹשְׁב, cf. § 51 p.—In the *participle* the plural נֹגְיִי (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 נִלְכְּדוּ *null'dhû*, 1 Ch 3<sup>5</sup>, 20<sup>8</sup>, for נִלְכְּדוּ 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 ו after *wāw* consec. (as in the case of א, § 68 k), e.g. וַיִּנְיָהּ for וַיִּנְיָהּ and he has grieved, La 3<sup>33</sup>, וַיִּירְדוּ for וַיִּירְדוּ and they have cast, verse 53, from יָרַה, which may also be a true verb פ" (on the other hand, in יָרְדוּ גִזְרֵל they have cast lots, Jo 4<sup>3</sup>, Ob 11, Na 3<sup>10</sup>, a *perfect Qal* of יָרַד is required by the context; but as this, being a *transitive* perfect, ought to have the form יָרְדוּ according to § 67 a, perhaps we should read יָרְדוּ). So from a verb פ" of the second class, וַיַּבְשֵׁהוּ for וַיַּבְשֵׁהוּ 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 ו 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 הוֹדַע, הוֹשַׁע, cf. also הִקַּר Pr 25<sup>17</sup> (as in the *infin. constr.* הִבַּח Jb 6<sup>23</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. וְזָמַח 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-; in *pause*, however, also תוֹסַף as *jussive*, Jb 40<sup>32</sup> (usual *jussive* in *pause* יוֹשֵׁב, &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 יִרַע and יוֹכַח (*jussive*) and יוֹיכַח, &c.; with a final ו in *pause* וַתִּתֵּר Ru 2<sup>14</sup>: on וַיִּשְׁעֶכֶם Is 35<sup>4</sup>, cf. § 65 f).—On forms like וַהֲוֹשִׁיעַ, see § 53 q.

In *Hoph'al* *o* stands instead of ו, in הוֹדַע (for הוֹדַע) Lv 4<sup>23, 28</sup>, הִנָּה 2 S 20<sup>13</sup>, and perhaps in יוֹרָא (for יוֹרָה) Pr 11<sup>25</sup>; but cf. Delitzsch on the passage.—*Ptcp.* מוֹדַעַת Is 12<sup>5</sup> *Qere* (מִדַּעַת *Keth.*).—An *infinitive Hoph'al* with feminine ending occurs in הִלְכָת Gn 40<sup>20</sup>, for הִלְכָת = הִגַּל; cf. above, t, on נִלְכְּדוּ, and § 71 at the end.

8. The verb הִלְכָה to go, also belongs in some respects to the פ" class, since it ו forms (as if from הִלְכָה) *imperfect* וַיִּלְכֶּה, with *wāw* consecutive וַיִּלְכֶּה (in *pause* וַיִּלְכֶּה Gn 24<sup>61</sup>, &c.), 1st sing. וַאֲלַכֶּה (but in Jb 19<sup>10</sup> וַאֲלַכֶּה); *infinitive construct* לִכְתֹּחַ with suff. לִכְתִּי (*S'ghöl* under the influence of the following palatal, as in נִכְבְּדִי, cf. also נִגְדִי); *imperative* לָךְ, לָךְ, in the lengthened form לָכֶה (as an interjection referring even to a *feminine*, Gn 19<sup>32</sup>, or a *plural*, Gn 31<sup>44</sup>) and לָךְ (Nu 23<sup>13</sup>, Ju 19<sup>13</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 *הִינָקְהוּ*; *imperfect* *יִנְקוּ*, but in the 1st sing. of the *imperfect consecutive* always *וְיִנְקֶנָּה* Lv 26<sup>13</sup>, Am 2<sup>10</sup>, &c. Rarely, and almost exclusively late or in poetry, the regular inflexions of *הִנְקֶה* are also found: *imperf.* *יִנְקֶה* (ψ 58<sup>9</sup>, &c.; but *תִּנְקֶה* Ex 9<sup>23</sup>, ψ 73<sup>9</sup>; cf. § 64 a and h); *אִנְקֶה* Jb 16<sup>22</sup>, also Mēša' inscription, line 14, *אִנְקֶה*; *infn.* *הִנְקֶה* (Ex 3<sup>19</sup>, Nu 22<sup>18 f. 16</sup>, 1 Ec 6<sup>8.9</sup>); *imperative plur.* *הִנְקֶוּ* Jer 51<sup>50</sup>. On the other hand, the *perfect Qal* is always *הִנְקֶה*, *participle* *הִנְקֶה*, *infinitive absolute* *הִנְקֶה*, *Niph'al* *נִנְקֶה*, *Pi'el* *הִנְקֶה*, *Hithpa'el* *הִתְנַקְּהוּ*, so that a *י* never appears unmistakably as the first radical. The usual explanation of the above forms is nevertheless based on a supposed obsolete *יִנְקֶה*. It is, however, more correct to regard the apparent פ"פ forms of *הִנְקֶה* with Praetorius (*ZAW.* ii. 310 ff.) as originating with the Hiph'il, of which the ground-form *hahlikh* became *hālikh*, and this again, on the analogy of the *imperfect Qal* of verbs פ"פ, *hōlikh*. This *hōlikh* being referred to a supposed *haukikh* (properly *haukikh*) gave rise to new formations after the manner of verbs פ"פ.

§ 70. Verbs פ"פ. *Second Class, or Verbs properly פ"פ*,  
e. g. *יָטַב* to be good. *Paradigm L.*

Brockelmann, *Semit. Sprachwiss.*, p. 143 ff.; *Grundriss*, p. 603 ff.

Verbs properly פ"פ differ from verbs פ"פ in the following points:

- a 1. In *Qal* the initial Yôdh never suffers aphaeresis or elision; hence the *infinitive* has the form *יָטַב*,<sup>2</sup> the *imperfect* *יִטַּב*, *יִטֵּב*, *יִטֶּב* (in *pause* *יִטֶּב*), also written *יָטַב*, &c.; and so always with a tone-bearing *ā* in the second syllable, even after *wāw consec.*, e. g. *וַיִּטֵּב*, except *וַיִּטֶּב* Gn 9<sup>24</sup>, and *וַיִּצַר* Gn 27<sup>19</sup>, unless *יָצַר* is to be included among verbs פ"פ (cf. *נִצַּר* Is 43<sup>10</sup>).
- b 2. In *Hiph'il* the original form *הִיטִיב* is regularly contracted to *הִיטֵב* (rarely written *הִיטִיב*, *הִיטֵב*, &c.); *imperfect* *יִיטֵב*, *יִיטֶב*. Instances of the uncontracted form are *יִיטֵרוּ* 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*; *הִיטֵר* (*imperative*) ψ 5<sup>9</sup> *Qerê* (the *Keth.* requires *הִיטֵר* according to the form of verbs פ"פ; cf. Is 45<sup>2</sup>, *אִיטֵר* *Keth.*, *אִיטֵר* *Qerê*), cf. Gn 8<sup>17</sup> *Qerê*; *מִימִינִים* 1 Ch 12<sup>2</sup>, to be explained as a denominative from *יָמִין*; *אִיטֵרִים* Ho 7<sup>12</sup> (§ 24 f, note), but perhaps the punctuation here is only intended to suggest another reading *אִיטֵרִים*.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. above, m, note 2.

<sup>2</sup> This may be inferred from *בִּיבֵשׁ* (= *בִּי'שׁ*) Is 27<sup>11</sup>, which with its fem. *יִבֵּשׁ* 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 *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), נָקַח to suck, יָקַח 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* הִיָּמִין (denominative from יָמַן), infin. לְהִמָּן 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>; יִאִילִל 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 *Yôdh* and *He*, arising from the unsynopated forms יְהִילֵּל, &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* וְהִיטַבְתִּי Ez 36<sup>11</sup> with separating vowel (for הִיטַבְתִּי) on the analogy of verbs עָוָה; imperfect יִיטִיב for יִיטִיב 1 K 14<sup>7</sup>; תִּיטַבִּי (imperfect *Qal* for תִּיטַבִּי) Na 3<sup>8</sup>; וְתִינָקְהוּ imperfect *Hiph'il* Ex 2<sup>9</sup>, either an error for וְתִינָק', or an irregular shortening of the first syllable, caused by the forward movement of the tone. Similarly, the *Hiph'il* הִקְיִין (from קָרַן) is always used instead of הִיקְיִין from יָקַן; hence also הִקְיִצְתִּי, הִקְיִצְוֹת, imperat. הִקְיִצָּה, infin. הִקְיִין.—On וַיִּבְשֶׁהוּ Na 1<sup>4</sup>, see § 69 u).

§ 71. Verbs פ"י. Third Class, or Verbs with *Yôdh* assimilated.

In some verbs פ"י, the *Yôdh* (or the original *Wāw*) does not quiesce in the preceding vowel, but is regarded as a full consonant, and, like *Nûn*,<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 (prop. וַצַּע) to spread under; *Hiph'il* הִצַּע, *Hoph'al* הִצַּע; יָצַת to burn, imperfect יָצַח, *Niph'al* נִצַּח, *Hiph'il* הִצַּח (in Is 27<sup>4</sup> also אֲצַיִתְהָה is to be read with König; in 2 S 14<sup>30</sup> the Masora has rightly emended the *Kethibh* הוֹצִיִתִּיהָ, which could only be the 1st sing. perf. of a verb פ"ו, to the imperative הִצַּיִתִּיהָ in agreement with the context and all the early versions); יָצַג, *Hiph'il* הִצַּיִג to place, *Hoph'al* הִצַּיִג; and probably also in the forms ordinarily derived from יָצַב, viz. נִצַּב (*Niph'al*), הִצַּיִב, נִצַּיִב, הִצַּב; at any rate a stem יָצַב is implied by the *Hithpa'el* הִתְצַב; instead of the anomalous וַתְּצַב Ex 2<sup>4</sup> read with the Samaritan וַתְּצַב, i.e. וַתְּצַב. Besides the commou 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 עָוָה (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>; וַיִּשְׁרְנָה (for 'רַת according to § 47 k) 1 S 6<sup>12</sup>; לָיִסר 2 Ch 31<sup>7</sup> (cf. § 69 n) and מוֹסֵר Is 28<sup>16</sup>. This assimilation is found always with sibilants (most frequently with צ) except in the case of וַיִּזְיֵן 1 K 3<sup>15</sup> (εο cd. Mant., Ginsb., Kittel; but Jabl., Baer וַיִּזְיֵן) and in הִלְקֹת Gn 40<sup>20</sup>, Ez 16<sup>5</sup> (cf. הִלְקֹת verse 4), *infinitive Hoph'al* of יָלַר (cf. נִזְרָה § 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 ' 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 *Pi'el* (עָרַד), the ' usually passing into ' 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 *qawūm*, the *participle passive* קָם to original *qawūm*. It must, however, be admitted: (1) that forms like עָרַד, 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-rowel* 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 רָחַץ, 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 Abulwa'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 ' and ' as consonants has been recently revived by Philippi, Barth, M. Lambert, and especially Brockelmann (op. cit.).

2. As in the case of verbs ו"ע, the monosyllabic stem of verbs ו"ע ב 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.* יָקַם, *fem.* יָקְמָה, *plur.* יָקְמוּ, but in a closed *penultima* יָקְמָה, &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 יָמַת *he c is dead*; verbs *middle o* have the form יָאֹר *he shone*, בָּשָׁה *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 *l 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 *ä* is the basis of the form and not the *i* attenuated from *ä* (§ 67 *h*; but cf. also *h* below, on יִבְרָא), hence יָקַם, for *yäqûm*; נָקַם for *näqôm*; on the other hand, in the *perfect Hiph'il* הִקַּם for *häqîm*; *participle* מְקַם (on the *Şere* cf. *z*); *perfect Hoph'al* הִקַּם for *häqam*.

A vowel thus lengthened before the tone is naturally changeable and *c* becomes vocal *Šewä* when the tone is moved forward, e. g. יִמְיִתְנִי *he will kill him*; so also in the 3rd *plur. imperfect Qal* with *Nûn paragogic*; יִמְיִתְנִי (without *Nûn* יִמְיִתְנִי). The wholly abnormal *scriptio plena* of *ë* in הִיִּימִיר Jer 2<sup>11</sup> (beside הִיִּמִיר in the same verse) should, with König, be emended to הִיִּמִיר; the incorrect repetition of the interrogative necessarily led to the pointing of the form as *perfect* instead of *imperfect*.—But in *Hoph'al* the *ä* is retained throughout as an unchangeable vowel, when it has been introduced by an abnormal lengthening for the tone-long *ö* (as in the *Hoph'al* of verbs ו"ע).

<sup>1</sup> In Aramaic, however, always יָקְמָה; also in Hebrew grammars before *Qimhi* יָקְמָה, יָקְמָה, &c., are found, but in our editions of the Bible this occurs only in *pause*, e. g. יָקְמָה Mi 7<sup>8</sup>, יָקְמָה 2 K 7<sup>3.4</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> According to Städe (*Grammatik*, § 385 *e* and *f*) the *e* in יָמַת is of the nature of a diphthong (from *ai*, which arose from the union of the vowel *i*, the sign of the intransitive, with the *ä* of the root), and likewise the *o* in יָאֹר, &c. (from *au*). But *ö* (from *au*) could not, by § 26 *p*, remain in a closed *penultima* (בָּשָׁה, &c.); consequently the *o* of these forms can only be tone-long, i. e. due to lengthening of an original *ü*, and similarly the *ë* of יָמַת to lengthening of an original *i*. This is confirmed by the fact that the *ö* in בָּשָׁה, בָּשָׁה, בָּשָׁה is always, and in בָּשָׁה, 3rd *plur. perfect*, nearly always (the instances are 11 to 2), written defectively. Forms like בָּרָשָׁה, בָּרָשָׁה, &c., are therefore due to orthographic licence.

*f* 4. The cases of unusual vowel lengthening mentioned in *b* are: *imperfect Qal* קָמַי (also in Arabic *yāqūmu*), but *jussive* with normal lengthening (§ 48 *g*), קָמַי, with retraction of the tone קָמַי (yāqōm), קָמַי (in *pause* קָמַי); *imperative* קָמַי, with normal lengthening of the *ā* in the 2nd *plur. fem.* קָמַי, since, according to § 26 *p*, the *ū* cannot be retained in a closed penultima; *infinitive construct* קָמַי. In *Hiph'ūl* the original *ī* is naturally lengthened to *ī* (קָמַי, *imperfect* קָמַי, *jussive* קָמַי, with retraction of the tone קָמַי, קָמַי); on the transference of this *ī* to the *Hiph'ūl* of the strong verb, cf. § 53 *a*.

*g* The following forms require special consideration: the *participle Qul* קָמַי is to be traced to the ground-form with *ā* unobscured, Arab. *qātil*, § 9 *q*, and § 50 *b*. On this analogy the form would be *qāim*,<sup>1</sup> which after absorption of the *ī* became קָמַי, owing to the predominating character of the *ā*. The unchangeableness of the *ā* (*plur.* קָמַי, *constr.* קָמַי, &c.) favours this explanation.

*h* In the *imperfect Qal*, besides the forms with original *ū* (now *ū*) there are also forms with original *ā*. This *ā* was lengthened to *ā*, and then further obscured to *ō*; hence especially יָבֹא (יָבֹא, יָבֹא, &c.), from the *perfect* בָּא *he has come*. In the *imperfects* יָאֹר (but cf. וְתִאָּרְנָה I S 14<sup>27</sup>) and יָבוֹשׁ from the *intransitive perfects* אָוֹר, אָוֹר, בָּשׁ (see above, *c*), most probably also in יָאֹתוּ 2 K 12<sup>9</sup>, יָאֹתוּ Gn 34<sup>15</sup> from an unused אָוֹת *to consent*, and perhaps in וְתִהְיֶה 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.* נָקַי (nā-qām), *imperfect* נָקַי 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'ūl* a *ī* is inserted before the affirmatives beginning with a consonant in the 1st and 2nd persons, and יָ regularly (but see Rem.) in the *imperfect Qal*, sometimes also in the *imperfect Hiph'ūl* (as in תְּבִיאָנָה Lv 7<sup>30</sup>, cf. תְּהִיאָנָה 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'ūl*, however, before the *ī*, instead of the *ī* 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. *qāim*, since the two vowels are kept apart by the insertion of an *n*, cf. Aram. קָמַי; but also contracted, as *šāk, hār*, for *šā'ik*, &c. (cf. Wright's *Gramm. of the Arabic Language*, 2nd ed. vol. i. p. 164).

<sup>2</sup> וְהִיאָבְתָם I S 67 (cf. 2 Ch 6<sup>25</sup>) could only be an orthographic licence for וְהִיאָבְתָם; perhaps, however, וְהִיאָבְתָם 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 הַקִּיִּם, הַקִּיִּמוֹת, הַקִּיִּם (or הַקִּי; on הַעֲוִיָּתָה Ex 19<sup>23</sup>, cf. *x*), but הַהִקְמַת, &c., Ex 26<sup>30</sup>, &c.; Dt 4<sup>39</sup>, Nu 18<sup>26</sup> (cf., however, הַקְּמִנִי 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* (הַקְּמִנִי); cf. *v*. In the imperfect *Qal* and *Hiph'il* the separating vowel ' always bears the tone (הַקְּמִינָה).

Without the separating vowel and consequently with the tone-long *o* and *k*: *z* instead of *u* and *i* we find in imperfect *Qal* תִּבְּאֵנָה (see § 76 *g*); הַשִּׁבְּךָ Ez 16<sup>55</sup> (also תִּשְׁבִּינָה in the same verse); וְתִשְׁבְּנָה 1 S 7<sup>14</sup> (cf. Ez 35<sup>9</sup> *Qéré*; on the *Kethibh* תִּשְׁבְּנָה cf. above, note on § 69 *b*); וְתִאָּרְנָה 1 S 14<sup>27</sup> from אָרַן (*Kethibh* וְתִאָּרְנָה and they saw, see § 75 *w*); in *Hiph'il*, e.g. הַנְּפִתָה Ex 20<sup>25</sup>, also הַנִּיפֹתִי Jb 31<sup>21</sup>; וְהִטַּלְתִּי Jer 22<sup>26</sup>; תִּשְׁבְּנָה Jb 20<sup>10</sup>; with a separating vowel, e.g. תִּבְּיִנָה Lv. 7<sup>30</sup> from בּוֹא. *Sghöl* without ' occurs in the imperfect *Qal* in הַמּוֹתְנָה Ez 13<sup>19</sup>, Zc 1<sup>17</sup>; and in *Hiph'il* 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 תִּקְיִמְנָה Jer 44<sup>25</sup>, probably an erroneous transposition of יִמ (for תִּקְיִמְנָה), unless it originates from an incorrect spelling תִּקְיִמְנָה or תִּקְיִמְנָה.

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, י, ' ; thus קָמָה (but also לָהּ בָּוָה 2 K 19<sup>21</sup>, probably for the sake of rhythmical uniformity with the following לָהּ לַעֲנֶה; after *wāw consecutive* וְשָׁבָה Is 23<sup>17</sup>); קָמוּ (but also קָמוּ, 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>; וְרָצוּ 1 S 8<sup>11</sup>; so especially before a following א, cf. § 49 *l*, Nu 13<sup>32</sup>; וְנָעוּ Is 19<sup>1</sup>; before ע, ψ 131<sup>1</sup>, Pr 30<sup>13</sup>, La 4<sup>14</sup>); תִּקְיִמִי, יִקְוִי, but before a suffix or with *Nûn paragogic* וַיִּסְכְּבוּ 2 Ch 28<sup>15</sup>; יִקְוִי Dt 33<sup>11</sup>, &c.

7. The formation of the conjugations *P'ēl*, *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 *P'ēl* עָוֵר to surround, only in עָוֵרְנִי ψ 119<sup>61</sup>; and with change of ו to י, קָיַם Est 9<sup>31</sup>, קָיַמוּ Est 9<sup>27</sup>, *impf.* וְאִצְרִימָה ψ 119<sup>106</sup>, *inf.* קָיַם Ez 13<sup>6</sup>, Ru 4<sup>7</sup> &c., Est 9<sup>21</sup> &c., *imperat.* קָיַמְנִי ψ 119<sup>28</sup>; וְהִיבַחְתֶּם Dn 1<sup>10</sup> from חָיַב to be guilty. The *Hithpa'el* הִצְטִינִי Jos 9<sup>12</sup>, which belongs to the older language, is probably a denominative from צָיַר. On the other hand the otherwise less common conjugation *P'ēl'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. קִיָּמִים *to set up* from קָיָם; מוֹתֵת *to slaughter*, 1 S 14<sup>13</sup>, 17<sup>51</sup>, 2 S 19<sup>9</sup>, from מוֹת; רוֹמֵם *to exalt*, passive רוֹמָם, from רוֹם; reflexive הִתְעוֹרֵר *to stir up oneself* (cf. יִתְעַרֵּר Jb 17<sup>8</sup> in *pause*) from עִיר; reciprocal הִתְבַּשִּׁישׁ *to be ashamed before one another*, Gn 2<sup>25</sup>. The conjugation *Pilp'el* (§ 55 *f*), on the analogy of verbs עָע, is less common, e. g. טָלַטַל *to hurl away* from טָל; בָּלַבַּל *to contain* from בָּל; קָרַר *to destroy* from קָר.

## REMARKS.

I. On *Qal*.

11. 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.* מְתָה, 2nd *masc.* מָתָה (cf. § 44 *g*; § 66 *h*); 1st *sing.* מָתִי, וְמָתִי (even in *pause*, Gn 19<sup>19</sup>); *plur.* מָתוּ, 1st *pers.* מָתַנּוּ, in *pause* מָתַנּוּ בֶשׁ *he was ashamed*, בְּשָׁתָּ, בְּשָׁתִי, בְּשָׁנוּ, בְּשָׁנוּ, אֹר *it has shone, plur.* אֹרוּ; טוֹב *to be good*, טָבוּ. *Participles* מֵת *a dead man (plur. מֵתִים, מֵתִי)*; בוֹשִׁים *ashamed*, Ez 32<sup>20</sup>. For נָד Is 27<sup>11</sup> read נָד, or, with LXX, עָד.
12. Isolated anomalies in the *perfect* are: וְשָׁבְתָּ (with the original ending of the *fem.* for וְשָׁבְתָּ) Ez 46<sup>17</sup> (see § 44 *f*); יָקַדּוּ Is 26<sup>16</sup> (see § 44 *l*).—In בָּנּוּ 1 S 25<sup>8</sup> (for בָּאָנוּ from בָּאָ) the *א* has been dropped contrary to custom. In יָבֵאוּ Jer 27<sup>18</sup> (instead of בָּאוּ) the *Masora* seems to point to the *imperfect* יָבֵאוּ which is what would be expected; as *Yōdh* precedes, it is perhaps simply a scribal error.
13. 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>, רָאֵם *poor*, 2 S 12<sup>1,4</sup>, Pr 10<sup>4</sup>, *plur.* 13<sup>23</sup>; שְׁאֵם *doing despite unto* (unless שְׁאֵמִים is to be read, from a stem שְׂאֵם whence שְׁאֵם 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> רָאֵם is to be read with Ben-Naphtali for רָאֵמָה. On the analogy of participles of verbs *middle o* (like בוֹשִׁים, see above) קָיָם occurs for קָיָם 2 K 16<sup>7</sup> and even with a transitive meaning לוֹט *occultans*, Is 25<sup>7</sup>; בוֹסִים Zc 1c<sup>5</sup>.—*Participle passive*, מוּל *circumcised*; but סוּג *a backslider*, Pr 14<sup>14</sup>, and סוּרָה *put aside*, Is 49<sup>21</sup> (cf. Jer 17<sup>13</sup> *Q'rè*), are verbal adjectives of the form *qātāl* (§ 50 *f*), not passive participles. For חָשִׁים *hastening*, Nu 32<sup>17</sup>, read חָשִׁים as in Ex 13<sup>18</sup>; for שָׁבִי Mi 2<sup>8</sup> read שָׁבִי.
14. 2. Imperfects in *ū* almost always have the corresponding *imperative* and *infinitive construct* in *ū*, as יָקָם, *imperative* and *infinitive* קָם (also defectively written יָקָם, יָקָם); but יָדוּשׁ *he threshes (inf. דָּוַשׁ)*, has *imperative* דָּוֹשִׁי (*fem.*), Mi 4<sup>13</sup>; יָמוּט *it slippeth, infinitive* מוּט (ψ 38<sup>17</sup>, 46<sup>3</sup>); cf. נוּחַ (also נוּחַ) Nu 11<sup>25</sup> and נוּעַ Is 7<sup>2</sup> (elsewhere נוּעַ) with the *imperfects* יָנוּחַ and יָנוּעַ; לָעוּז Is 30<sup>2</sup>; שׁוּב Jos 2<sup>16</sup>; רוּם Ez 10<sup>17</sup> (verse 16 רוּם).
15. Where the *imperfect* (always intransitive in meaning) has *ō* the *imperative* and *infinitive* also have it; thus *imperfect* יָבֹא (*יָבֵא*), *inf. and imper.* בּוֹא or בֵּא<sup>1</sup>; וַיָּאֵר 2 S 2<sup>32</sup>, אֹרִי, אֹרוּ; יָבוֹשׁ, בּוֹשׁ, &c.—יָקוּם Jb 8<sup>14</sup> (if it be a verb at all and not rather a substantive) is formed on the analogy of verbs עָע,

<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 קוּם appears as אָקוּם 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"). The *imperfect* יָדוֹן, 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 דָּיִן, ע"י). Or can יָדוֹן be a *jussive* after לֹא (cf. § 109 d)? Similarly לֹא תַחֲוֶם עֵינַי (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 תַחֲוֶם 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. יִקְוֶם קוּם Jer 44<sup>29</sup>.

3. In the *imperative* with affirmatives (קָוֶמוּ, קָוִמִי) the tone is on the stem syllable (cf., however, עֲיָרִי Ju 5<sup>12</sup> intentionally varied from עִירִי; also עֲוִרִי Ze 13<sup>7</sup> and Is 51<sup>9</sup> beside עֲוִרִי בְיָמַי; עֲוִרִי גִלְגָּלִי Ze 9<sup>9</sup>; עֲוִרִי Is 21<sup>2</sup>, שְׁוֹבִי  $\psi$  116<sup>7</sup>, likewise for rhythmical reasons). So also the lengthened form, as שְׁבֹכָה Jer 3<sup>12</sup>,  $\psi$  7<sup>8</sup>, and עֲוֶרָה 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 יְהוּהָ, *Q<sup>er</sup>e perpetuum* אֲרָכִי (§ 17 c), e.g.  $\psi$  3<sup>8</sup>, 7<sup>7</sup> קוּמָה (cf., however, in the same verse עֲוֶרָה and in Jer 40<sup>5</sup>, שְׁבֹכָה 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 *t* (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 יָקוּם (cf. Jer 46<sup>6</sup>). In the *imperfect consecutive* (יִקְוֶם), in *pause* יִקְוֶם (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; וַיִּנְעַע 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 וַיִּנָּגַר from both נָגַר *to sojourn*, and נָגַר *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 יָעַף is intended. For וַחלוּשׁ 2 S 13<sup>8</sup> *K<sup>eth</sup>.*, the *Q<sup>er</sup>e* rightly requires וַחלוּשׁ. On the other hand, in an open syllable always וַיִּקְוֶמוּ, וַיִּסָּרוּ, &c. On וַאֲקוּם (וַאֲקָם), see § 49 e.

Examples of the full plural ending וִן with the tone (see above, l) are וַחלוּשׁ Gn 3<sup>3,4</sup>; וַיִּנְדָּמוּ  $\psi$  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, וִ) נִפְוַמְתִּי, cf. also the *ptcp. plur.* נִבְוִימִים Ex 14<sup>3</sup>), serves as a model for the 2nd *sing.* נִקְוַמְתָּ, נִקְוַמְתִּי, 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. **נִפְּזוּתֶם** *ye have been scattered*, Ez 11<sup>17</sup>, 2c<sup>34,41</sup>, and **וַיִּקְטֹבוּתְכֶם** and *ye shall loathe yourselves*, Ez 2c<sup>43</sup>, 3b<sup>31</sup>.—To the *i* (instead of *ä*) 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* **יַעוֹר** for *yi'ôr*.—The *infinitive construct* **הַדְּוִשׁ** occurs in Is 25<sup>10</sup>; in **לְאֹרֹר** Jb 3, 3<sup>30</sup>, the Masora assumes the elision of the *h* (for **לְהֹאֹרֹר**); but probably **לְאֹרֹר** (*Qal*) is intended (see § 51 l).—**נִמְוֹנֹנִי** Is 14<sup>31</sup>, **נִסְוֹנִי** Is 59<sup>13</sup> are to be regarded as *infinitives absolute*.

### III. On *Hiph'il*, *Hoph'al*, and *P'il'el*.

6. Examples of the *perfect* without a separating vowel (see above, *k*) are: **הִבְּאֵתָהּ**, &c. (see further, § 76 *g*); **הִמְתָּהּ** (from **מִוֹת**) for *hēmāth-tū* (cf. § 2c *a*); **הִכְּפִנוּ** 1st plur. *perfect* *Hiph'il* from **כִּיּוּן** 2 Ch 29<sup>19</sup>, even **הִמְתָּמֶם** (§ 27 *s*) Nu 17<sup>6</sup>, &c.; cf. 1 S 17<sup>36</sup>, 2 S 13<sup>28</sup>, also **וַהֲמַתְּמוּן** Ex 1<sup>16</sup>, and **וַהֲמַתְּיָהּ** He 2<sup>5</sup>; but elsewhere, with *wāw* consecutive **וַהֲמַתְּי** Is 14<sup>30</sup>; cf. **וַהֲמַלְתִּי** Jer 16<sup>13</sup>, and **וַהֲנַפְתִּי** Ex 29<sup>24</sup>, &c.—In these cases the *ē* 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>19</sup>) and *fem.*, and in the 3rd plur., the vowel of the initial syllable is *Ḥateph-Seghol*, in the other persons always *Ḥateph-Pathah* (König); on **הִקְמַתוּ** 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.* **הִסְתָּתָהּ** 1 K 21<sup>23</sup> is quite abnormal for **הִסְתָּתָהּ** from **סִוֵּת** or **סִית**.
- As in verbs **עָע** with *h* for their first radical (§ 67 *w*), all the forms of **עָר** Ex 19<sup>23</sup> (where against the rule given under *i* we find **הַעֲרִיתָהּ** with *ē* instead of *i*), Dt 8<sup>19</sup>, Neh 9<sup>34</sup>, Jer 42<sup>19</sup>, and **עָרָר** Is 41<sup>25</sup>, 45<sup>13</sup>, take *Pathah* in these conjugations instead of **ֶֿֿֿ**. The irregular **וְהוֹשִׁיבוּתֵיכֶם** Zc 1c<sup>6</sup> has evidently arisen from a combination of two different readings, viz. **וְהוֹשִׁיבְתֵיכֶם** (from **וְיֹשֵׁב**) and **וְהוֹשִׁיבוּתֵיכֶם** (from **וְיֹשֵׁב**): the latter is to be preferred.—On **הִכְבִּישׁ** and **הוֹכִיֵּשׁ** as a (metaplastic) *perfect Hiph'il* of **בוֹשׁ**, cf. § 78 *b*.
7. In the *imperative*, besides the short form **הִקֵּם** (on **הַשֵּׁב** Is 42<sup>22</sup> with *Silluq*, cf. § 29 *q*); but in Ez 21<sup>35</sup> for **הַשֵּׁב** read the *infinitive* **הַשִּׁיב** the lengthened form **הִקְיֵמָהּ** is also found. With suffix **הִקְיֵמֵנִי**, &c. The *imperative* **הִבִּיא** Jer 17<sup>18</sup> is irregular (for **הִבֵּא** Gn 43<sup>16</sup>); perhaps **הִבִּיא** (as in 1 S 2c<sup>40</sup>; cf. 2 K 8<sup>6</sup>) is intended, or it was originally **הִבִּיאָהּ**.
- In the *infinitive*, elision of the *h* occurs in **לְבִיא** Jer 39<sup>7</sup>, 2 Ch 31<sup>10</sup> (for **לְהִבִּיא**); **הֶֿֿֿֿֿ** *fem.* is added in **לְהִנְפֵּהּ** Is 3c<sup>38</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 *ē*, 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'athibh*), see § 74 *k*.
- On the shortened forms of the *imperfect* (**יִקֵּם**, **יִקֵּם**), but always **יִבֵּא**; in the *jussive* also with retraction of the tone **אֵל־הִתְיַשֵּׁב** 1 K 2<sup>20</sup> see above, *f*. With a guttural or *ḥ* the last syllable generally has *Pathah* (as in *Qal*), e.g. **וַיְעָר** and *he testified*, 2 K 17<sup>13</sup>; **יִרַח** *let him smell*, 1 S 26<sup>19</sup>; **וַיִּרַח** Gn S<sup>21</sup>; **וַיִּסֵּר**



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 וְאָעַר 1 K 2<sup>42</sup>, less frequently the form וְאֵשֵׁב 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. וְתִתְבַּנְּנֵנִי Pr 14<sup>34</sup>; לֹא תִחַלְלֵנִי Jb 35<sup>14</sup>; cf. Pr 25<sup>23</sup>, and acc. to Baer וְתִתְבַּנְּנֵנִי Jb 30<sup>20</sup> (ed. Mant., Ginsb. וְתִתְבַּנְּנֵנִי), always in principal pause; on the *Metheg* with *Sere*, cf. § 16 f. γ.—As Pôlal cf. יִרְעֶע Is 16<sup>10</sup>.

As *participle Hoph'al* הַמוֹשֵׁב 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 וְיִכְנַנְנִי Jb 31<sup>15</sup>, יְעוֹרְנִי 41<sup>2</sup>, וְתִמְוִינֵנִי Is 64<sup>6</sup> for וְיִכְנַנְנִי, &c. [but read וְיִכְנַנְנִי (§ 58 k), יְעוֹרְנִי or יְעוֹרְנִי; וְתִמְוִינֵנִי]; also הִתְרַמְּמֵם Jb 17<sup>4</sup>, for הִתְרַמְּמֵם.—In Is 15<sup>5</sup> יְעִעְרֵוּ appears to have arisen from the *Pîpel* יְעִעְרֵוּ, the *ä* after the loss of the *ṛ* having been lengthened to *ä*, which has then been obscured to *ä*.—For the strange form בְּתִקְוִמְיָךְ ψ 139<sup>21</sup>, which cannot (according to § 52 s) be explained as a *participle* with the *ṁ* omitted, read בְּמִתְקָךְ.

IV. In General.

8. The verbs י"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 Pîlél of verbs י"ע, and the Pôlél of verbs ע"ע; see § 67 z. Owing to this close relation, verbs י"ע sometimes have forms which follow the analogy of verbs ע"ע, e.g. perfect Qal בָּו he has despised (from בָּוּ, as if from בָּוּן) Zc 4<sup>10</sup>; perfect Niph'al נָמַר Jer 48<sup>11</sup> (for נָמַר from מָוַר, as if from מָרַר). The same explanation equally applies to נָקַטָה Jb 10<sup>1</sup> for נָקַטָה (cf. § 67 dā) = נָקוּטָה from קוּט, and נָקַטָו Ez 6<sup>9</sup> (for נָקוּטָו); יָרֹמוּ Ez 10<sup>17</sup> and יָרְמוּ verse 15; הִרְמוּ (imperative) Nu 17<sup>10</sup>; יָסַג Mi 2<sup>6</sup>; Hiph'il perfect הִתּוּ Is 18<sup>5</sup> for הִתּוּ (cf. § 29 q), which is for הִתּוּ from הִתּוּ. 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 י"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 סוּג), also Hoph'al הִסַּג Is 59<sup>14</sup> (on הִסַּם 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 הִנִּיחָה (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 הִנִּיחָה 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* הריים 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> *Qere* (*Kethibh* תָּלוּנוּ; conversely, verse 2 *Kethibh* יָלַנו, *Qere* יָלוּנוּ), participle מְלַין 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 יָלָן is found, Ex 17<sup>3</sup>. Other examples are *Niph'al* נְמֹול he was circumcised, Gn 17<sup>26 f.</sup>; participle 3<sup>422</sup> (from מֹול, not נְמֹול); נְעוּר he is waked up, Zc 2<sup>17</sup> (see above, v); *Hiph'il* הִזְלִיגָה La 1<sup>8</sup>; יָלַיוּ 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 חַיֵּשׁ) Jb 31<sup>5</sup>; וְנַעַם (another reading is וְנַעַט) וְנַעַט I S 15<sup>19</sup>, 25<sup>14</sup> (14<sup>32</sup> *Qere*) from עוֹיט or עֵיט to fly at anything. Both, as far as the form is concerned, would be correct *apocopated imperfects* from חַשַׁה 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. חָוַר, imperfect יַחְוֹר to be white; נָוַע, imperfect יִנְוַע to expire; רָוַח to be wide; צָוַח to cry; *Pi'el* עוּגַל, imperfect יַעְוִיל to act wickedly; עָוַת to bend, *Hithpa'el* הִתְעוּוֹת to bend oneself; and this is especially the case with verbs which are at the same time ל"ה, e. g. צָוָה, *Pi'el* צִוָּה to command, קָוָה to wait, רָוַח to drink, *Pi'el* רָוַח (on נִרְוִיָּה 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-*i* verbs, from the characteristic vowel of the *impf.*, *imper.*, and *infm. 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 *infm. constr.*—the "ע verbs having *i* lengthened from original *ū* and "ע having *i* lengthened from original *ī*. 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 *ā* lengthened from *ā*, thus: שָׁת he has set; *infinitive* שֵׁת, *infinitive absolute* שוֹת, *imperative* שֵׁת, *imperfect* יִשֵּׁת, *jussive* יִשֶּׁת (§ 48 *g*), *imperfect consecutive* יִשֶּׁת.—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 בִּינְתִי and רִיבֹתִי 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. בִּינִי Dn 10<sup>1</sup>; בִּינִיתִי Dn 9<sup>2</sup>, also בָּנָתָהּ ψ 139<sup>2</sup>; רִיבֹתָ thou strivest, Jb 33<sup>13</sup>, also רִבָּתָהּ La 3<sup>5a</sup>. The above *perfects* (בִּין, רִיב, &c.) might no doubt be taken as forms *middle ē* (properly *ī*), the *ī* of which has been lengthened to *î* (like the *ā* lengthened to *â* in the *imperfect Qal* of קָם). 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 בִּין, the shortened forms are few and probably all late, while the corresponding unshortened forms with the same meaning are very numerous, e. g. *perfect* בִּינִי (but בִּין only in Dn 10<sup>1</sup>), הִבְיִנְוֹתָם, *infinitive* הִבְיִן (but *infin. abs.* בִּין only in Pr 23<sup>1</sup>), *imperative* הִבֵּן (only in Dn 9<sup>23</sup> בִּין immediately before הִבֵּן, also בִּינֵי three times, and בִּינָה ψ 5<sup>2</sup>), *participle* מְבִין.<sup>1</sup> Elsewhere *Hiph'il*-forms are in use along with actual *Qal*-forms with the same meaning, thus: מְרִיב (also רִב), מְשִׂים *placing* (but only in Jb 4<sup>20</sup>, which, with the critically untenable הִשְׂמִי Ez 21<sup>21</sup>, is the only instance of שִׂים in *Hiph'il*), מְבִיחַ *breaking forth* Ju 20<sup>33</sup>, with *infin. Qal* בָּיְחוּ they rushed forth Ju 20<sup>37</sup>, with *imperat. Qal* מְצִיץ glancing, also in *perfect* צָץ; הִקִּיא he spat out, with *imperat. Qal* קִי. As *passives* we find a few apparent *imperfects Hoph'al*, which are really (according to § 53 u) *imperfects passive of Qal*, e. g. יָחַל Is 66<sup>8</sup> from הָיִל to turn round, יִשָּׁר from יָשַׁר to sing, יִשֵּׁת from שָׂיַת to set.

2. The above-mentioned *Hiph'il*-forms might equally well be derived *b* from verbs ע"ו; and the influence of the analogy of verbs ע"ו is distinctly seen in the *Niph'al* נָבַח (ground-form *nabān*), פִּלְלָהּ בִּינָה, and *Hithpōlāl* הִתְבַּוְּנָה. 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 הָיִל to turn round, *imperative* also הִיֵּל Mi 4<sup>10</sup>; שִׂים to place, *infinitive construct* commonly שִׂים (2 S 14<sup>7</sup> שִׂים *Qere*), *imperfect* יִשִּׁים, but Ex 4<sup>11</sup> יִשִּׁים. In other verbs one form is, at any rate, the more common, e. g. בָּיַל to exult (בָּיִל only Pr 23<sup>21</sup> *Kethibh*); from לָלַח (perhaps denominative from לָלַח) to spend the night, לָלַח occurs six times as *infinitive construct*, לָלַח only in Gn 24<sup>23</sup>; but the *imperative* is always לָלַח, &c.—Of verbs ע"ו the most common are שָׂיַת to set, רִיב to strive, דָּן to judge, שִׂישׁ to rejoice; cf. also *perfect* קָל (*middle*

<sup>1</sup> Since בָּנָתָהּ ψ 139<sup>2</sup> might be intended for בָּנָתָהּ, there remains really no form of בִּין which must necessarily be explained as a *Qal*, except the *plur. plur.* בָּנִים 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* יִבִּין, יִשִּׁים, &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>; עַיַט (as in Arabic and Syriac) to rush upon, and the denominative perfect קָיַן (from קָיַן) to pass the summer, Is 18<sup>6</sup>. On the other hand, וַיִּרְיַגוּם and they shall fish them, Jer 16<sup>16</sup>, generally explained as perfect *Qal*, denominative from יָרַיַשׁ fish, probably represents a denominative *Pi'el*, וַיִּרְיַיַגוּם.

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, הָיַה to become, to be, הָיַה to live.

d Rem. 1. In the perfect *Qal* 3rd fem. sing. וְלָכְנָה occurs once, Ze 5<sup>4</sup>, for וְלָכְנָה, with the weakening of the toneless *ā* to *ē* (as in the fem. participle וּזְרָה Is 59<sup>8</sup>); cf. the analogous examples in § 48 *l* and § 80 *i*.—2nd sing. masc. שָׁתָהָה ψ 90<sup>8</sup>, *Qéré* (before ע; cf. § 72 *s*); 1st sing. once שָׁתָהָה 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, הַיְיָהוּה ψ 35<sup>1</sup>; see further, § 72 *s*.—Examples of the infinitive absolute are: רַב *litigando*, Ju 11<sup>26</sup>, Jb 4c<sup>2</sup>; שׂוֹם Jer 42<sup>15</sup>; שָׁתָה *ponendo*, Is 22<sup>7</sup>. On the other hand, רַב יָרַיַב (for רַב) Jer 5c<sup>34</sup>, בֵּין בָּבִין 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 יָבַן, יָשַׁח, יָשַׁח; more rarely, with the tone moved back, e.g. לֹא יָרַב Ju 6<sup>31</sup>, cf. Ex 23<sup>1</sup>, אֶל-תִּשָּׁחַח 1 S 9<sup>20</sup>. So with *wāw* consecutive וַיִּשָּׁח and he placed, וַיִּבֶן and he perceived; with a middle guttural הָיַהם 1 S 25<sup>14</sup> (see § 72 *ee*); with ר as 3rd radical, וַיִּתְשַׁח Ju 5<sup>1</sup>. As jussive of לָיַן, לָיַן is found in Ju 19<sup>20</sup> (in pause) and Jb 17<sup>2</sup>, for הָיַן.—For אֶל-תִּתְרוּב Pr 3<sup>30</sup> *Keth.* (*Qéré* תִּתְרוּב) read תִּתְרוּב.

f 3. As participle active *Qal* לָיַן spending the night, occurs once, Neh 13<sup>21</sup>; participle passive שָׁיַם Nu 24<sup>21</sup>, 1 S 9<sup>24</sup>, Ob 4; feminine שׂוֹמָה 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 שָׁיַח. A passive of *Qal* (cf. above, § 52 *e* and *s*, and § 53 *u*) from שָׁיַם may perhaps be seen in וַיִּשָּׁח Gn 5c<sup>26</sup> (also Gn 24<sup>38</sup> *Kethibh* וַיִּשָּׁח, *Qéré* וַיִּשָּׁח; the Samaritan in both places has וַיִּשָּׁח), and also in יִסְקָה Ex 3c<sup>32</sup>, Samaritan יוּסַח. Against the explanation of יִסַּח as a *Hoph'al*-form from סָקַח, Barth (*Jubelschrift*. . . *Hildesheimer*, Berlin, 1890, p. 151) rightly urges that the only example of a *Hiph'il* of סָקַח is the doubtful וַיִּסְקָה, which is probably an *ī*-imperfect of *Qal*.—The explanation of יִשָּׁח, &c., as a passive of *Qal* arising from *yisam*, &c. = *yusam* (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"ע the ע always retains its consonantal value; these stems are, therefore, to be regarded as verbs *middle Guttural* (§ 64). An exception is יָנַח Ec 12<sup>6</sup> if it be imperfect *Hiph'il* of נָחַח (for יָנַחַח); but if the form has really been correctly transmitted, it should rather be referred to נָחַח, and regarded as incorrectly written for יָנַחַח. On נָחַח (from נָחַח), which was formerly treated here as ע"ע, see now § 75 *x*.

## § 74. Verbs נ"ל, e.g. מצַץ 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, מִצָּץ, מִצְצָה, הַמְצִיץ, 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, מִצָּץ, &c.

The *imperfect* and *imperative Qal* invariably have *ā* in the final syllable, on *b* 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>14</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* (תִּצַּץ for תִּצָּץ, &c.); but in the *perfect* of all the other active and reflexive conjugations, so far as they occur, it is preceded by *Sere* (תִּצַּץ, &c.), and in the *imperative* and *imperfect* by *S'ghöl*, מִצַּצְנָה, מִצָּצְנָה.

(a) The *S'ghöl* of these forms of the imperfect and imperative might be *d* 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. 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'ghöl* are due to the analogy of verbs נ"ל (§ 75 *f*) in consequence of the close relation between the two classes, cf. § 75 *nn*.—No form of this kind occurs in *Pu'al*; in the *perfect Hoph'al* only the 2nd *masc. sing.* הִצַּצְתָּ 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 ת and כּ, e.g. יִקְרָאֵנִי Ct 8<sup>1</sup>; יִקְרָאֵנִי Ez 28<sup>13</sup> (cf. § 65 *h*), not יִקְרָאֵנִי, &c., since these suffixes, by § 58 *f*, are likewise attached to the verb-form by a connecting vowel in the form of *S'ewa mobile*.—As *infinitive Qal* with suffix notice יִקְרָאֵנִי Ez 25<sup>6</sup>; *participle* with suffix יִקְרָאֵנִי Is 43<sup>1</sup>; *infinitive Pi'el* בְּטַמְּאֵנִי.—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. מִצָּהָה *māṣṣā*, &c. (in *paruse* מִצָּהָה, מִצָּהָה).

## REMARKS.

*g* 1. Verbs *middle e*, like מָלֵא *to be full*, retain the *Ṣere* also in the other persons of the *perfect*, e. g. מָלְאָהּ (מָלְאוּ 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 מִצָּהָה 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 לְעַפְרָה with the LXX); in *Niph'al* נִפְלְאתָ 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 (גָּלוּת, &c., see § 75 *un*) in the feminine form; so always מְלֵאת *to fill* (as distinguished from מְלֵא *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 מְלֵאוֹת Jer 25<sup>12</sup>, Jb 20<sup>22</sup>, &c., and מְלֵאוֹת Est 1<sup>5</sup>. Cf. further, קָרְאת Ju 8<sup>1</sup>; שָׁנְאת Pr 8<sup>13</sup>; before suffixes, Ez 33<sup>12</sup>, and likewise in *Niph.* זֶע 13<sup>4</sup>; also in *Piel* לְמֵלֵאת Ex 31<sup>5</sup>, 35<sup>33</sup>, or לְמֵלֵאוֹת 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 לְקָרְאת *obviam*, § 19 *k*.—בְּמִצָּאתֵם when ye find, Gn 32<sup>20</sup>, stands, according to § 93 *q*, for מִצָּאתֵם. The tone of the lengthened *imperative* רַפְּאֵה Ps 41<sup>5</sup> as *Mil'ra'* (before נִפְשִׁי) 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 מִצָּאֵי and in verse 20 קָרְאֵי; on the other hand, the Mantua edition and Ginsburg, on good authority, read מִצָּאֵי, קָרְאֵי.

*i* 3. The *participle fem.* is commonly contracted, e. g. מִצָּאת (for מִצָּאתָ) 2 S 18<sup>22</sup>, cf. Est 2<sup>15</sup>; so *Niph'al* נִפְלְאת Dt 30<sup>11</sup>, Zc 5<sup>7</sup> (but נִשְׁאָה Is 30<sup>25</sup>), and *Hoph'al*, Gn 38<sup>29</sup>; less frequent forms are מְוִצָּאת Ct 8<sup>10</sup>; נִשְׁאָת 1 K 10<sup>22</sup> (cf. § 76 *b*, שָׁאת beside לְשָׁאת as *infinitive construct* from נִשְׁאָה) and without א (see *k*) יוֹצֵת (from יָצָא) Dt 28<sup>57</sup>. In the forms חָטְאִים *sinning*, 1 S 14<sup>33</sup>, cf. ψ 99<sup>6</sup>; בָּרְדָא *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. בָּנִי 1 S 25<sup>8</sup>; מִצָּתִי Nu 11<sup>11</sup>, cf. Jb 1<sup>21</sup>; צִמְתִּי 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 *Yódh* 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* אֶחְפְּנֶה (after elision of the א, cf. § 75 *oo*) Gn 31<sup>39</sup>; and also in *Niph'al* נִטְמַתָּ Lv 11<sup>43</sup>; cf. Jos 2<sup>16</sup>. (b) at the end of the word; יוֹבֵב 1 K 12<sup>12</sup> *Kethibh*; *Hiph'il* הִחְבִּי 2 K 13<sup>6</sup>, cf. Is 53<sup>10</sup> הִחְלִי for הִחְלִיא *perfect Hiph'il* of חָלָה formed

after the manner of verbs א"ל); in the *imperfect Hiph'il* יִשֵּׁי ψ 55<sup>16</sup> *K<sup>e</sup>thibh*; יָיִ 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 *K<sup>e</sup>thibh* (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. אִשֵּׁי Is 36<sup>14</sup> (in the parallel passages 2 K 18<sup>29</sup>, 2 Ch 32<sup>15</sup> אִשֵּׁי); אִבִּי Neh 8<sup>2</sup> (before ע); וְיִהְיֶה 2 K 21<sup>11</sup> (cf. 1 K 16<sup>2</sup>, 21<sup>22</sup>); וְתִחַבֵּא 2 K 6<sup>29</sup>; וְיִוָּעַא Dt 4<sup>20</sup>, 2 K 11<sup>12</sup>, ψ 78<sup>16</sup>, 105<sup>43</sup>; *imperative* הִבִּיא Jer 17<sup>18</sup>; הוֹצִיא Is 43<sup>8</sup> (in both cases before ע). 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 ע considerations of euphony may also have had some influence (cf. § 75 *hh*).—In Ez 40<sup>3</sup>, Baer reads with the Western school וְיִבִּיא, while the Orientals read in the *K<sup>e</sup>thibh* ויבוא, and in the *Q<sup>ere</sup>* ויבא.

On the transition of verbs א"ל to forms of ה"ל see § 75 *nn*.

### § 75. Verbs ה"ל, e. g. גָּלָה to reveal. Paradigm P.

Brockelmann, *Semil. Sprachwiss.*, p. 149 ff.; *Grundriss*, p. 618 ff.—G. R. Berry, 'Original Waw in ה"ל verbs' in *AJSL*. xx. 256 f.

These verbs, like the verbs פ"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 ה"ל, e. g. גָּלָה for גָּלַי *he has revealed*; שָׁלַח for שָׁלַי *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.

הִשָּׁלַח to be at rest may be recognized as originally א"ל, in the forms in which *l* the *Wāw* appears as a strong consonant, cf. 1st *sing. perfect Qal* שָׁלַחְתִּי Jb 3<sup>26</sup>, the *participle* שָׁלַח and the derivative שָׁלַחְתָּ *rest*; on the other hand the *imperfect* is אִשָּׁלַח (with *Yódh*). In עָנָה (Arab. عني) to answer, and עָנָה (Arab. عانو)<sup>2</sup> to be afflicted, are to be seen two verbs originally distinct, which have been assimilated in Hebrew (see the *Lexicon*, s. v. עָנָה).

<sup>1</sup> According to Wellhausen, 'Ueber einige Arten schwacher Verba' in his *Skizzen*, vi. p. 255 ff., the ה"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"י verbs did after the 1st radical. But although there is much to be said for this view, it fails to explain pausal forms like הִסָּחָה (see *u*). It seems impossible that these should all be late formations.

<sup>2</sup> In the *Méša'* inscription, line 5, ויענו and he oppressed occurs as 3rd *sing. masc. imperfect Pi'el*, and in line 6, אענו 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 *tertiaę 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 הַיְיָ, &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, הֵה, הֶה, &c.

ה־ in all imperfects and participles, הֵה, הֶה, &c.

ה־ in all imperatives, הֵה, הֶה, &c.

ה־ in the infinitive absolute (הֵה, &c.), except in *Hiph'ûl*, *Hoph'al*, 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, יָה; and so also some derived nouns (§ 84<sup>a</sup>, *c*, *e*, &c.).

The *infinitive construct* always has the ending הֵה (with ה *feminine*); *Qal* הָה, *Pi'êl* הֵה, &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)ָה, and, similarly, in *Niph'al*, *Pu'al*, and *Hoph'al*. The *Pi'êl* and *Hithpa'el* may be based on the forms הָה, הֵה (§ 52 *l*; and § 54 *k*), and *Hiph'ûl* on the form הֵה, on the analogy of the *ā* in the second syllable of the Arabic 'aqūlā (§ 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 Philipp'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'ghôl* in the last syllable merely follows the analogy of the *impf. Qal*, and secondly, that the *S'ghôl* of the *impf. Qal* does perhaps ultimately represent a contraction of the original termination י־ (= *ai*), although elsewhere (e.g. in the *imperative* of ה"ל) *ai* is usually contracted to *é*.



2. When the original *Yôdh* stands at the end of the syllable before 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*, אֶֿ with the tone always appears before the affirmative תָּ. On the most probable explanation of this אֶֿ, 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 אֶֿ, 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'êit* (but 1st pers. sing. תָּלִי), and so too the Western Aramaic תָּלִי, but also תָּלִי.

3. Before the vocalic affirmatives (י, אֵ, אֵ) the *Yôdh* is usually *h* dropped altogether, e.g. תָּלִי (ground-form *gâlâyâ*), 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 תָּֿ *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 תָּֿ was added pleonastically to the ending תָּֿ. Before the תָּֿ the vowel of the ending תָּֿ, 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*.

*h* 5. Finally, a strongly-marked peculiarity of verbs ה"ל is the rejection of the ending הַֿ 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 הַֿ (see *cc*, *gg*).

*l* 6. The ordinary form of the *imperfect* with the ending הַֿ 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 הַֿ there occur only: in *Qal*, אֲשַׁעֲךָ ψ 119<sup>17</sup>, אֲשַׁחֲמִיחָהּ (with the ' retained, see below, *u*) ψ 77<sup>4</sup>; and in *Hithpa'el* וְנִשְׁחַחְתָּ 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.* גָּלַת, mentioned above, under *i* (cf. § 74 *g*), is preserved in עָשַׂת (before א) Lv 25<sup>21</sup> (cf. 2 K 9<sup>37</sup> *Kethibh*)<sup>1</sup>; likewise in *Hiph'il* הִרְצַת (before א) Lv 26<sup>34</sup>; הִלְלַת Ez 24<sup>12</sup>; and in *Hoph'al* הִגְלַת (before י) Jer 13<sup>19</sup>.—The 2nd *sing. fem.* is also written יָתַֿ; thus in the *textus receptus* וְהָיִיתְי 2 S 14<sup>2</sup>, and always in Baer's editions (since 1872), as in most other verbs; הָיִיתְי and גָּלִיתְי Is 57<sup>8</sup>; עָשִׂיתְי Jer 2<sup>23</sup>, Ez 16<sup>48</sup>, &c. (so וְהִצַּאתְי 1 K 17<sup>13</sup> from יָצַֿ). In the 3rd *pers. plur.* the tone, instead of keeping its usual place (גָּלַת, &c.), is retracted in ψ 37<sup>20</sup>, כָּלֹּל, both on account of the *pause* and also in rhythmical antithesis to the preceding כָּלֹּל; also in Is 16<sup>8</sup> תַּעֲנֵנִי (according to Delitzsch for the sake of the assonance with נִנְעֵנֵנִי); and in Jb 24<sup>1</sup> הָוֹוֹ.—On the tone of the *perfect consecutive* see § 49 *k*.

*n* 2. The *infin. absol.* frequently has י (probably a survival of the older orthography) for הַֿ, e. g. הָיִי Gn 18<sup>18</sup>; עָשֵׂי Jer 4<sup>16</sup>, &c., Ez 31<sup>11</sup>; קָנוּ 2 S 24<sup>24</sup>; אָרָא Gn 26<sup>28</sup>, Is 6<sup>9</sup> (cf. 1 S 6<sup>12</sup>), &c., beside רָאָה. The form שָׁתוּת Is 22<sup>15</sup> (beside שָׁתוּ in the same verse) appears to have been chosen on account of its similarity in sound to שָׁחַט; so in Is 42<sup>20</sup> *Q're* and Ho 10<sup>4</sup>, אָלוּת (unless it is a substantive, *oaths*) and כָּרַת; cf. also עָרוּת Hb 3<sup>13</sup>.—Conversely, instead of the *infinitive construct* גָּלוּת such forms are occasionally found as גָּלוּהּ or גָּלוּ, cf. רָאָה Gn 48<sup>11</sup>; קָנָה Pr 16<sup>16</sup>; עָשָׂה Gn 50<sup>20</sup>, ψ 101<sup>3</sup>, also עָשֵׂנוּ Gn 31<sup>28</sup> (cf. Pr 31<sup>4</sup>), and even with the *suffix* הַי the very remarkable form עָשֵׂהוּ Ex 18<sup>18</sup>.<sup>2</sup>—The feminine form רָאוּהָ (for רָאוּת) 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 הָיוּ and הָיוּ 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* הָיִי 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, הָיִת may be read הָיִת quite as well as [הָיִת].

<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 a Masoretic school, which in general marked the difference between certain forms by the use of  $\bar{e}$  for  $\bar{e}$ , and conversely  $\bar{e}$  for  $\bar{e}$ ; cf. the analogous examples in § 52 n, and especially § 75 hh, also Kautzsch, *Grammatik des Bibl.-Aram.*, § 17, 2, Rem. 1.—On the reading  $\text{וְרָאָהּ}$  Ct 3<sup>11</sup> (for  $\text{וְרָאָהּ}$ , on the analogy of the reading  $\text{מָצְאָנָה}$ , &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>ghôl*, or, if the second radical is a guttural, a helping *Pathah* (according to § 28 e). Thus  $\text{וַיִּבֹּן}$  for  $\text{וַיְבִן}$ ;  $\text{וַיִּבְּרָא}$  and he despised, Gn 25<sup>34</sup>;  $\text{וַיִּבְּנֶה}$  and he built;  $\text{וַיִּשַׁע}$  he looks;  $\text{וַיִּמַח}$  and he destroyed, Gn 7<sup>23</sup>.

(b) The  $\bar{i}$  of the preformative is then sometimes lengthened to  $\bar{e}$ , e.g.  $\text{וַיִּרְא}$  he sees. This, however, mostly happens only after the preformative ת, whilst after י the homogeneous  $\bar{i}$  remains, e.g.  $\text{וַיִּתְּבַל}$  (but  $\text{וַיִּתְּבַל}$ ),  $\text{וַיִּתְּבַן}$  (but  $\text{וַיִּתְּבַן}$ ),  $\text{וַיִּתְּבַר}$  (but  $\text{וַיִּתְּבַר}$ ); with middle guttural  $\text{וַיִּתְּחַע}$ ,  $\text{וַיִּתְּחַה}$  Jb 17<sup>7</sup> (from  $\text{בָּהָה}$ ). The unusual position of the tone in  $\text{וַיִּתְּרָא}$  Zc 9<sup>5</sup>,  $\text{וַיִּתְּרָא}$  Mi 7<sup>10</sup> (so Baer and Ginsb.; ed. Mant.  $\text{וַיִּרְא}$ ,  $\text{וַיִּרְא}$ ) is best explained (except in  $\text{וַיִּרְא}$  Gn 41<sup>33</sup>, before פ) on the analogy of  $\text{וַיִּקְרָא}$ , &c., § 72 s, as due to the following נ. But cf. also hh.

(c) The helping vowel is elsewhere not used under the circumstances mentioned in § 28 d;  $\text{וַיִּשְׁב}$  Nu 21<sup>1</sup>, Jer 41<sup>10</sup>, cf.  $\text{וַיִּפְתַּח}$  Jb 31<sup>27</sup>; on the other hand, with  $\bar{i}$  lengthened into  $\bar{e}$  (see p)  $\text{וַיִּשְׁתַּח}$  and  $\text{וַיִּשְׁתַּח$ . The form  $\text{וַיִּרְא}$  he sees, occurs parallel with  $\text{וַיִּרְא}$  and he saw (but 3rd fem. always  $\text{וַיִּתְּרָא}$ ), 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,  $\text{וַיַּעַשׂ}$  in pause  $\text{וַיַּעַשׂ}$  and he made, from  $\text{עָשָׂה}$ ;  $\text{וַיַּעַן}$  and he answered, from  $\text{עָנָה}$  (always identical with the corresponding forms in *Hiph'il*),  $\text{וַיַּחַץ}$  and he divided, from  $\text{חָצַח}$ . On some similar forms of נ"פ see § 76 d.—In the following cases the initial (hard) guttural does not affect the form:  $\text{וַיִּחַר}$  and he was wroth,  $\text{וַיִּחַן}$  and he encamped (3rd plur.  $\text{וַיִּחַנו}$ ),  $\text{וַיִּחַד}$  (with *Dageš tene* and *Šewâ*) let i rejoice, Jb 3<sup>6</sup>; cf. Ex 18<sup>9</sup>.—On  $\text{וַיִּוַן}$ ,  $\text{וַיִּוַן}$ ,  $\text{וַיִּוַן}$  (ל"ה as well as פ"), &c., see § 76 b, c, f.

(e) The verbs  $\text{וַיְהִי}$  to be, and  $\text{וַיִּחַי}$  to live, of which the shortened imperfects S ought to be *yihy* and *yihy*, change these forms to  $\text{וַיְהִי}$  and  $\text{וַיִּחַי}$ , the second *Yôd* being resolved into  $\bar{i}$  at the end of the word; but in pause (§ 29 n)  $\text{וַיְהִי}$ ,  $\text{וַיִּחַי}$ , with the original  $\bar{a}$  modified to *S<sup>g</sup>ghôl* with the tone (cf. also nouns like  $\text{בָּכִי}$  for *bakhy*, in pause  $\text{בָּכִי}$   $\text{עָנִי}$  for *'öny*, &c., § 84<sup>a</sup> c, and § 93 x). For  $\text{וַיִּשִׁי}$ , however, in Dt 32<sup>18</sup>, since no verb  $\text{וַיִּשִׁי}$  exists, we must read either  $\text{וַיִּשִׁי}$ , or better  $\text{וַיִּשִׁי}$  (Samaritan  $\text{וַיִּשִׁי}$ ), as *imperfect Qal* of  $\text{וַיִּשִׁי}$  to forget.—Analogous to  $\text{וַיְהִי}$  from  $\text{וַיְהִי}$ , there occurs once, from  $\text{וַיְהִי}$  to be, the form  $\text{וַיְהִי}$  for  $\text{וַיְהִי}$  he will be, Ec 11<sup>3</sup>, but no doubt  $\text{וַיְהִי}$  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.  $\text{וַיִּרְאָה}$  and I saw, twenty times, and Jos 7<sup>21</sup> in *Kethibh*, but never in the Pentateuch ( $\text{וַיִּרְאָה}$  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>16</sup> (וַאֲצַדֶּה), 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>8</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 הַן, or where for any reason an emphasis rests on the word. *Perfect* הָסִיף  $\psi$  57<sup>2</sup>, הָסִיף Dt 32<sup>37</sup>, cf.  $\psi$  73<sup>2</sup> *Qere*; *imperative* בְּעֵינַי Is 21<sup>12</sup>. *Imperfect* יֵאָתִי Jb 16<sup>22</sup>, 30<sup>14</sup> (without the *pause*,  $\psi$  68<sup>32</sup>); יֵשְׁלִי  $\psi$  122<sup>6</sup>, Jb 12<sup>6</sup>, cf.  $\psi$  77<sup>4</sup>; יֵרָבֵן Dt 8<sup>13</sup>;  $\psi$  36<sup>9</sup>: more frequently like יֵשְׁתִּינֶן  $\psi$  78<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>3</sup>,  $\psi$  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> הָלִי, as *perf. Qal* from הָלַח, was perhaps originally intended, but hardly הָלִי, since these full forms, though they may stand out of *pause*, do not begin sentences; הָלִי probably points to הָלִי from הָלַח 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>21</sup>, &c., רֹאֵה Pr 20<sup>12</sup>, has also a *feminine* which retains the 3rd radical *y*, viz. בּוֹכֵיהּ (= בָּכָה) weeping, La 1<sup>16</sup>; הוֹמִיָּה tumultuous, Is 22<sup>2</sup> (*plur.* Pr 1<sup>21</sup>); צוֹפֵיהּ spying, Pr 31<sup>27</sup>; פְּרִיָּהּ fruitful,  $\psi$  128<sup>8</sup>, *plur.* אֲתִיּוֹת the things that are to come, Is 41<sup>28</sup>. With the ordinary strong inflexion *y* appears in עֹמֵיהּ Ct 1<sup>7</sup>, but perhaps there also עֹמֵיהּ was intended, unless it should be טְעֵיהּ a wanderer. For רֹאֵנִי Is 47<sup>10</sup>, רֹאֵנִי 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>22</sup>, contracted from עָשָׂו, עָשָׂו; and before a formative ending, it even has its consonantal sound, הַעֲשִׂיּוֹם (read הַעֲשִׂיּוֹם) 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 רֹאִיּוֹת Est 2<sup>9</sup> is irregular.
- u 6. The defective writing is rare in such forms as וְהִיָּת 2 S 15<sup>33</sup>; בָּנִיתִי 1 K 8<sup>44</sup>, cf. 1 K 9<sup>3</sup>; וְתִרְלָנָה Ex 2<sup>18</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 תִּירָאֵינָה Mi 7<sup>10</sup>, cf. תִּעֲנֵנָה 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 נִקְיִית Gn 24<sup>8</sup>); on the other hand in the 1st *plur.* always *y*, as נִגְלֵנִי 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 נִחְרוּ, probably arising from the ordinary strong form *nihru*, but the harshness of *n* immediately followed by *r* is avoided by pronouncing the *n* with *Ḥateph-Pathah*.—In the 3rd *sing. fem.* נִשְׁתָּהּ Pr 27<sup>15</sup> (in *pause* for נִשְׁתָּהּ) *y* and *n* may be transposed for euphonic reasons; but probably we should simply read נִשְׁתָּהּ.—Among Niph'al forms of ל"ה must be classed, with Buxtorf and

others (cf. Nöldeke, *ZDMG.* xxx. 185), נִאֲוָה from נִאָה, not Pi'el of נִאוּ = נִאוּ; hence, according to § 23 d, נִאֲוִי they are beautiful (for נִאֲוִי) Is 52<sup>7</sup>, Ct 1<sup>10</sup>; but in ψ 93<sup>5</sup>, where Baer requires נִאֲוָה, read נִאֲוָה with ed. Mant., Ginsb.

8. The *apocope* of the *imperfect* causes no further changes beyond the rejection *y* of the ה, e.g. יִגְלֵ from יִגְלֶה; in one verb *middle guttural*, however, a form occurs with the *Qames* shortened to *Pathah*, viz. יִמַח (for יִמַח) 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 הגלוֹת.—The *inf.* *constr.* לְחַרְרֵהָ occurs in Ju 13<sup>21</sup>, 1 S 3<sup>21</sup> for לְהַרְרֵהָ; cf. above, n.—On the *infinitive Niph'al* with the ה elided, see § 51 l.—The irregular תַּעֲלֵ Ez 36<sup>3</sup> has probably arisen from a combination of the readings תַּעֲלֵ (Qal) and תַּעֲלֵה (Niph'al). Similarly the solecism נִמְבְּוֶה 1 S 15<sup>9</sup> might be due to a combination of the *participle fem.* Niph'al (נִמְבְּוֶה, cf. נַחֲלָה, נַחֲפָה, נַעֲשָׂה) with the Hoph'al (מִבְּוֶה); but it is more correct, with Wellhausen, to explain the מ from a confusion with נָמַס and to read, in fact, נִבְּוֶחַ וְנִמְאָסָת.

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 ~ most of the instances has ' on the analogy of Qal (see f), as קִיִּיתִי, 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 שׁוֹשִׁיתִי (= שׁוֹסִיתִי) occurs in Is 10<sup>13</sup>.

10. The *infinitive absolute* Pi'el takes the form בִּלְהַ, קֹהַ (like קַטַּל, the more frequent form even in the strong verb, see § 52 o); with ô only in ψ 40<sup>2</sup> קֹהַ; with ôth Hb 3<sup>18</sup> עָרִית (cf. above, n). On הוּנו and הוּרו, *infinitives absolute* of the passive of Qal, not of Pô'el, see above, n.—As *infinitive construct* חֲכִי occurs in Pi'el, Ho 6<sup>9</sup> (only orthographically different from חֲכֶה, if the text is correct); לְכַלֵּא Dn 9<sup>24</sup> (on the כ 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 וַיְצַו and he commanded, תַּעַר (for תַּעְרֶה = t'arrè) ψ 141<sup>8</sup>; cf. Gn 24<sup>20</sup>; even in the principal pause אֶל־תִּגְלֵ Pr 25<sup>9</sup>; Hithpa'el וַיִּתְּגַלֵּ 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 וַיִּתֶּן, and instead of the meaningless וַיִּשְׁנֵן *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 יִתְאָו, תִּתְאָו ψ 45<sup>12</sup>, Pr 23<sup>3, 8</sup>, 24<sup>1</sup>, 1 Ch 11<sup>17</sup>, whilst Baer and Ginsburg read with the best authorities יִתְאָו, תִּתְאָו (but cf. König, *Lehrgebäude*, i. 597).<sup>1</sup>—On אֶחָדֶךָ Jb 15<sup>17</sup> (for אֶחָדֶךָ cf. § 20 m; on אֶכְלֶךָ Ex 33<sup>3</sup>, see § 27 q;

<sup>1</sup> In Nu 34<sup>7, 8</sup>, according to verse 10, תִּתְאָו (= תִּתְאָוּ) is intended to be read for תִּתְאָו (*imperfect* Pi'el from תִּאָה).

on ירר Ju 5<sup>13</sup>, see § 69 g. Finally, on דלִי, 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*, פל open thou, ψ 119<sup>13,22</sup>; מן prepare thou, ψ 61<sup>8</sup>; נס for נסה *prove thou*, Dn 1<sup>12</sup>; התחל *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> ערו *raise it*, is found twice instead of ערו (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* התרפיון Is 40<sup>18</sup>, cf. verse 25 and 46<sup>6</sup>; כיסוּם they cover them, Ex 15<sup>5</sup>; *participle* Pu'al מרחים Is 25<sup>6</sup>; for ארנה Is 16<sup>9</sup> (from רוה) read with Margolis, ארנה.

#### 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 הנלה (but *perfect consecutive* והנלה 2 K 24<sup>14</sup>), הראה, הלאה; also with *suffixes*, e. g. הנלם 1 Ch 8<sup>7</sup>, הלאני Jb 16<sup>7</sup>, והפדה Ex 21<sup>8</sup>. The *S<sup>e</sup>ghól* also occurs in the 1st *sing.*, e. g. הלאתי Mi 6<sup>3</sup>. On והראתי Na 3<sup>5</sup>, cf. § 53 p. The forms with *e* in the second syllable (also written defectively, as והפתי 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 ' occurs in the 2nd syllable.

ff 15. In the *infinitive Hiph'il* of רבה *to be abundant*, besides the *construct* הרבות we find the *absolute* הרבה taking the place of the common form הרבה, 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 הרבת for the *K<sup>e</sup>thibh* הרבית, an evident scribal error for הרבות. Cf. Gn 41<sup>49</sup>, 22<sup>17</sup>, Dt 28<sup>63</sup>; the pointing הרבה Jer 42<sup>2</sup> probably arises from regarding this form as a noun.—On המרות Jb 17<sup>2</sup> (with *Dageš f. dirimens*) see § 20 h.—In 2 K 3<sup>24</sup> הכות (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 פת let him enlarge, Gn 9<sup>27</sup>; ירד he shall subdue, Is 41<sup>2</sup>; וישק and he watered, Gn 29<sup>10</sup>, &c.; וירא and he showed, 2 K 11<sup>4</sup> (see § 28 d): or else has a helping vowel, as יגל (for יגל, see § 27 r), e. g. 2 K 18<sup>11</sup>; ויפך ψ 105<sup>24</sup>; ותמר Ez 5<sup>6</sup>; ויתע 2 Ch 33<sup>9</sup>; i. e. probably ויארב Jos 24<sup>5</sup> *K<sup>e</sup>thibh* (וארבה *Q<sup>ere</sup>*).—Examples of verbs *first guttural*: ויעל Nu 23<sup>2</sup>, ויאעל, &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. הך, הט, § 76 c) has a helping vowel, *S<sup>e</sup>ghól* or *Pathah*, e. g. הרב increase thou (for *harb*, הרבה) ψ 51<sup>4</sup> *Q<sup>ere</sup>*, also Ju 20<sup>38</sup>; where, however, it cannot be explained the text stands; הרף let alone (for הרף הרפה Dt 9<sup>14</sup>, &c.; העל (for העלה) Ex 8<sup>1</sup>, 33<sup>12</sup>; but for השע ψ 39<sup>14</sup>, which could only be *imperative Hiph'il* of שטע (= smear over, as in Is 6<sup>10</sup>), read with Baethgen שטעה look away.—The *imperfect Hiph'il* with *Yódh* retained occurs only in תונין Jb 19<sup>2</sup>, from ינה. Cf. u.

## V. In General.

17. In Aramaic the *imperfect* and *participle* of all the conjugations terminate in  $\text{h}$  or  $\text{h}$ . The Hebrew *infinitives*, *imperatives*, and *imperfects* in  $\text{h}$ , less frequently  $\text{h}$  or  $\text{h}$ , may be due to imitation of these forms. On the *infinitive construct* *Pi'el*  $\text{h}$ , see above, *aa*; *imperative Qal*  $\text{h}$  Jb 37<sup>6</sup> (in the sense of *fall*); *imperfect*  $\text{h}$  let him look out, Gn 41<sup>33</sup> (but see above, *p*);  $\text{h}$  he will do, Is 64<sup>3</sup>;  $\text{h}$  Jer 17<sup>17</sup>;  $\text{h}$  consent thou not, Pr 1<sup>10</sup>;  $\text{h}$  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're*);  $\text{h}$  (so Baer and Ginsburg, after cod. Hillel, &c.) I will let, Jer 31<sup>1</sup>;  $\text{h}$  Jos 9<sup>24</sup>;  $\text{h}$  Dn 1<sup>13</sup>. Cf. also in *Niph'al*  $\text{h}$  Lv 5<sup>9</sup>;  $\text{h}$  (according to Qimhi) Nu 21<sup>27</sup>; in *Pi'el*  $\text{h}$  Lv 18<sup>7,8,12-17</sup>, 20<sup>19</sup>, in each case  $\text{h}$ , beside  $\text{h}$  with a minor distinctive;  $\text{h}$  (Baer  $\text{h}$ ) Na 1<sup>8</sup>;  $\text{h}$  Ez 5<sup>12</sup> (with *Zaqeph*; Baer  $\text{h}$ ). 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 *šere* 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>13</sup>; according to Baer also Mi 7<sup>10</sup>, Zc 9<sup>5</sup>) the pronunciation with  $\text{é}$  is probably intended to soften the hiatus caused by a following  $\text{h}$  or  $\text{h}$ ; cf. the analogous cases above, § 74 *l*.

The ending  $\text{h}$  appears to stand for  $\text{h}$  in the *imperfect Qal* in  $\text{h}$  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*  $\text{h}$  Jer 18<sup>23</sup>; but the *Mil'el*-tone probably points to  $\text{h}$  as the correct reading (cf. Neh 13<sup>14</sup>). The  $\text{h}$  stands for  $\text{h}$  in the *perfect Hiph'il*  $\text{h}$  he made sick, Is 53<sup>10</sup>, which is probably for  $\text{h}$  from  $\text{h}$ , a secondary form of  $\text{h}$ ; see *rr*. The *plur.*  $\text{h}$  (Baer  $\text{h}$ ) 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:  $\text{h}$  archers, Gn 21<sup>16</sup> (from  $\text{h}$ ); but most frequently in  $\text{h}$  to bend, *Pa'el*  $\text{h}$  not in use, whence reflexive  $\text{h}$  to bow oneself, to prostrate oneself, 2nd *pers.* in  $\text{h}$  and 1st *pers.* in  $\text{h}$ ; *imperfect*  $\text{h}$ , consecutive 3rd *sing. masc.*  $\text{h}$  for  $\text{h}$  (analogous to the noun-forms, like  $\text{h}$  for  $\text{h}$ ); 3rd *plur.*  $\text{h}$ .—Instead of the aramaizing *infinitive* with suffix  $\text{h}$  2 K 5<sup>18</sup> read with König  $\text{h}$ ; in Ez 8<sup>16</sup>  $\text{h}$  is still more certainly a scribal error for  $\text{h}$ .

19. Before *suffixes* in all forms ending in  $\text{h}$ , a connecting vowel is employed instead of the  $\text{h}$  and the connecting vowel which precedes it (§ 58 *f*), e. g.  $\text{h}$  Gn 24<sup>27</sup>; in *pause*  $\text{h}$  1 K 2<sup>80</sup>, &c., even with lesser disjunctives,  $\text{h}$  Pr 8<sup>22</sup>, or with a conjunctive accent,  $\text{h}$  2 S 28<sup>15</sup> (but Baer  $\text{h}$ , Jb 30<sup>19</sup>; cf. § 59 *h*;  $\text{h}$ , in *pause*  $\text{h}$ , Is 30<sup>19</sup> (and even when not in *pause* Jer 23<sup>37</sup>) or like  $\text{h}$  Dt 32<sup>6</sup>;  $\text{h}$ ;  $\text{h}$  Gn 28<sup>8</sup>; cf. also  $\text{h}$ ,  $\text{h}$ , *imperfect*  $\text{h}$ ,  $\text{h}$ , *Hiph'il*  $\text{h}$ ,  $\text{h}$ .

Only very seldom does the *imperat.* or *impf.* end in  $\text{h}$  before suffixes, e. g. *mm*

<sup>1</sup> Possibly these examples (like the cases of *S<sup>c</sup>ghöl* in *pause*, see *n*) represent the view of a particular Masoretic school, which was intended to be consistently carried out.

הָאֵימָהּ Dt 32<sup>26</sup>; יִכְפְּימוּ ψ 140<sup>10</sup> *Q<sup>r</sup>rê*; הִכְיִי 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 נָלַת (see *i*) is always used before a suffix, e. g. בָּלַתָּהּ (for בָּלַתְהוּ) Zc 5<sup>4</sup>; in *pause* עָשַׂתָּנִי Jb 33<sup>4</sup>; רָאִיתָּהּ 42<sup>5</sup>.

### VI. The Relation between Verbs ל"ה and ל"א.

nn 20. The close relation existing between verbs ל"א and ל"ה 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>; נִשְׂאָה *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>; רָפְאוּ I heal, 2 K 22<sup>1</sup>; cf. Jer 51<sup>9</sup>; *imperfect* יִגְמֹא 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>39</sup>, קָרְאִים ψ 99<sup>6</sup>, נִרְפְּאוּ Ez 47<sup>8</sup>, תִּרְבְּאוּנִי, according to the correct reading, Jb 19<sup>2</sup> (cf. Gn 31<sup>39</sup> אֶחְפְּנֶה), and יִרְאוּ *imperative plur. masc.* from 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 יִנְשְׂאוּ 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* אֲרַפֶּה 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>33</sup>; מָלוּ they are full, Ez 28<sup>16</sup>, cf. 39<sup>26</sup>; *infinitive* חָטָו (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* יִכְלֶה (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>6</sup>; *plur.* צָבִיָּה Is 29<sup>7</sup>; *participle passive* נִשְׁנִי ψ 32<sup>1</sup>; *Niph'al* נִרְפְּתָהּ Jer 51<sup>9</sup>; נְבִיָּתָּ thou hast prophesied, Jer 26<sup>9</sup> (cf. ψ 139<sup>14</sup>, Jb 18<sup>9</sup>); *imperfect* וַיִּרְפֵּי 2 K 2<sup>22</sup> (*infinitive* Jer 19<sup>11</sup>); *Pi'el imperfect* יִרְפֵּי Jer 8<sup>11</sup>, cf. Gn 31<sup>39</sup>; *Hiph'il participle* מְקַנֵּה Ez 8<sup>3</sup>; *Hithpa'el* הִתְנַבְּיָתָּ 1 S 10<sup>6</sup>; *infinitive* הִתְנַבְּוֹתָ 1 S 10<sup>13</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 אָתָּא he comes, Is 21<sup>12</sup>; בָּרָא 2 S 12<sup>17</sup> (*textus receptus* בִּרְהָ); וַיִּרְצְאוּ Ez 43<sup>27</sup>; יִשְׂנֵא Jb 8<sup>11</sup>; יִשְׂנֵא La 4<sup>1</sup>; וַיִּגְלֵא 2 Ch 16<sup>12</sup>; תִּקְרָאָהּ Ex 1<sup>10</sup>, Lv 10<sup>19</sup>; חִלְּאִים Dt 28<sup>66</sup> (cf. Ho 11<sup>7</sup>); נִקְרָא (*infin. absol. Niph'al* beside נִקְרִיתִי) 2 S 1<sup>6</sup>; שָׁנֵא 2 K 25<sup>29</sup>; מִרְפָּא



Jer 38<sup>4</sup>; אֲשַׁנָּא Ec 8<sup>1</sup>: in their vowels, אָתְנוּ Jer 3<sup>22</sup>; יִקְרָה Dn 10<sup>14</sup>; תְּכַלֶּה; 1 K 17<sup>14</sup>: in both, יִקְרָא Gn 49<sup>1</sup>; cf. 42<sup>4</sup>, Is 51<sup>19</sup>; תְּלַאֲמוּ 2 S 21<sup>12</sup> *Q'rê*; לִירוּא 2 Ch 26<sup>15</sup> (cf. וִירָאוּ הַמּוֹרְאִים 2 S 11<sup>24</sup> *K'ethibh*); כְּזֹרְעָה (*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 = פָּרַה, 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 יִדְוֹר in Na 3<sup>7</sup> and יִדֵּר in Gn 31<sup>40</sup> (on the analogy of verbs פ"ן); *Hiph'il* הִדְוֵר (like a verb ע"ע), but the *imperfect Hoph'al* again יִדֵּר (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 שֵׂא (*ψ* 10<sup>12</sup> נָשָׂא, of which נָסָה *ψ* 4<sup>7</sup> is probably only an orthographic variation); *infinitive construct* שֵׂאת (for שֵׂאת; see the analogous noun-formations in § 93 *l*), also נָשָׂא Is 1<sup>14</sup>, 15<sup>3</sup>; Gn 4<sup>23</sup> נָשָׂא; *ψ* 89<sup>10</sup> שָׂוא (perhaps only a scribal error); after the *prefix* ל always לְשֵׂאת (otherwise the contracted form only occurs in מִשְׁתּוֹ Jb 41<sup>17</sup>, with rejection of the א); *imperfect* תִּשְׂנֶנֶה for תִּשְׂנָנֶה 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 נִשְׂאת 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* יִטֶּה, *apocopated* וַיִּט (Gn 26<sup>25</sup> וַיִּט־) and he bowed; וַיִּז (so, probably, also Is 63<sup>3</sup> for וַיִּז) 2 K 9<sup>33</sup> and he sprinkled (from נָזָה); *perfect Hiph'il* הִכָּה he smote, *imperfect* יִכֶּה, *apocopated* יָכָה, יָכָה (even with *Athnah* 2 K 15<sup>16</sup>; but also ten times יָכָה) וַיִּכֶּה Dt 2<sup>33</sup>; so also וַיִּז Lv 8<sup>11.30</sup>; וַיִּלְתֵּם *ψ* 141<sup>4</sup> (cf. Jb 23<sup>11</sup>); *imperative* הִכֶּה, *apocopated* הִךְ smite thou (like הִט *incline*, with הִטָּה), *infinitive* הִכּוֹת, *participle* מִכֶּה; *Hoph'al* הִכָּה, *participle* מִכָּה.

(c) Verbs פ"א and ל"ה (cf. § 68 and § 75), as אָכָה to *be willing*, אָפָה to *bake*, אָתָה to *come*. E.g. *imperfect Qal* יִאכֶה, יִאפֶה, *plur.* יֵאָפוּ; וַיֵּתָא (cf. § 68 *h*) Dt 33<sup>21</sup> for וַיֵּאתָה (= וַיֵּאתָה); *imperfect apocopated* וַיֵּאת Is 41<sup>26</sup> for וַיֵּאתָה; *imperative* אֲתִי Is 21<sup>12</sup>, 56<sup>9.12</sup> (cf. אָפּוּ bake ye, Ex 16<sup>23</sup>) for אָתִי, אֲתִי (§ 23 *h*; § 75 *u*); *Hiph'il perfect* הִתִּי הִתִּי הִתִּי Is 21<sup>14</sup>; *imperfect apocopated* וַיֵּאָל and he adjured, 1 S 14<sup>24</sup>, properly יֵאָלָה (יֵאָלָה) from אָלָה, whence יֵאָלָה, and, with the obscuring to *ô*, יֵאָלָה; instead of the simple *apocope* (יֵאָל) 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 יָאָל).

*c* (d) Verbs פָּי and לָ"א (cf. § 69, § 70, and § 74), as יָצָא to go forth, *imperative* יָצֵא go forth, with הַ—paragogic יָצָא Ju 9<sup>29</sup> in principal pause for יָצָא; 2nd fem. plur. יָצָאָה Ct 3<sup>11</sup>; *infinitive* יָצֵאת; *Hiph'il* הוֹצִיא to bring forth.—יָרָא to fear, *imperfect* יִירָא and יִירָא (or יִירָא), *imperative* יָרָא; *imperfect Niph'al* יִירָא ψ 130<sup>4</sup>, *participle* יֹרָא.

*f* (e) Verbs פָּי and לָ"ה (cf. § 69, § 70, and § 75), e.g. יָרָה to throw, *Hiph'il* to confess, to praise, and יָרָה to throw (both properly verbs פָּ"ו), and יָפָה to be beautiful. *Infinitive* יָרָה, יָרוּת, יָרֵה; *imperative* יָרֵה; *imperfect consecutive* וַיָּרֵה Ez 31<sup>7</sup> (cf. also וַתִּיפֵי 16<sup>13</sup>); with *suffixes* וַיִּרְדּוּ we have shot at them (from יָרָה) Nu 21<sup>30</sup>; perhaps, however, it should be read with the LXX וַיִּנָּמּוּ and their race (also in the very corrupt passage ψ 74<sup>8</sup> וַיִּנָּמּוּ is probably a *substantive*, and not the *imperfect Qal* with *suffix* from יָרָה); *Pi'el* וַיִּרְדּוּ for וַיִּרְדּוּ (§ 69 u). *Hiph'il* הוֹרָה, הוֹרָה; *infinitive* הוֹרָת (as *infinitive absolute* 2 Ch 7<sup>3</sup>); *imperfect* וַיֹּרָה, cf. אֶל-תָּנוּ Jer 22<sup>3</sup>; *apocopated* וַיֹּרָה 2 K 13<sup>17</sup>.

*g* (f) Verbs עָ"ו and לָ"א, particularly בָּוא 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 בָּאתָ 1 S 25<sup>8</sup>; for בָּוא Jer 27<sup>18</sup>, which is apparently the *perfect*, read יָבֵאת. In the *imperfect Qal* the separating vowel occurs (הַבְּאִינָה instead of the more common הַבְּאִינָה, cf. also הַבְּאִינָה 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 וַתְּבִאת 1 S 25<sup>34</sup> *Q<sup>e</sup>rê* (the *K<sup>e</sup>thibh* וַתְּבִאתִי evidently combines the two readings וַתְּבִאתִי and וַתְּבִאִי; cf. Nestle, *ZAW.* xiv. 319), read וַתְּבִאִי; on the impossible forms Dt 33<sup>16</sup> and Jb 22<sup>21</sup> cf. § 48 d.—In the *perfect Hiph'il* הִבִּיאַת, הִבִּיאַת and (only before a suffix) הִבִּיאַתָּ; the latter form is also certainly intended in Nu 14<sup>31</sup>, where the Masora requires וַהֲבִיאַתִּי, 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 *ê* of the first syllable in the 3rd *sing.* always becomes *Haṭeph-S<sup>e</sup>ghôl*, e.g. הִבִּיאַתִּי, הִבִּיאַתִּי; elsewhere invariably *Haṭeph-Pathah*, e.g. הִבִּיאַתִּי or הִבִּיאַתִּי. On the other hand, *ê* is retained in the secondary tone in the *perfect consecutive* when without suffixes, e.g. וַהֲבִיאַתִּי. Cf. moreover, וַהֲקִיאַתוּ (וַהֲקִיאַתוּ in Opius and Hahn is altogether incorrect), Pr 25<sup>16</sup>, from קִיא; but קִיא *spue ye*, Jer 25<sup>27</sup> (perhaps only a mistake for קִיא), is not to be referred to קִיא but to a secondary stem קִיא. In the *imperfect* וַתְּקִיא is found once, Lv 18<sup>25</sup>, besides וַתְּקִיא (analogous to וַתְּקִיא).—On אָבִי (for אָבִיא), מְבִי, וְנִי, see § 74 k.

*i* (g) The form חָיִי to live, in the *perfect Qal*, besides the ordinary development to חָיָה (*fem.* חָיִיתָה), is also treated as a verb עָ"ע, and then becomes חָי in the 3rd *pers. perfect*, in *pause* חָי, and with *wāw consecutive* וַחָי Gn 3<sup>22</sup>, and frequently. In Lv 25<sup>36</sup> the contracted form וַחָיִי is perhaps *st. constr.* of חָי life, but in any case read וַחָיִי *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 דָּבַף, דָּבַף, דָּבַף *to strike, to crush*; and from the root נד there are נָד, נָד, נָד *to flee*.

In this manner the following classes are related in form and *b* meaning:

1. Verbs ע"ע and ע"ע in which the first and third consonants are the same in both, as being essential to the meaning; e. g. מָוַף and מָכַף *to become poor*; מָשַׁף and מָשַׁף *to feel*; נָד and נָד *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"י) are frequently related also to verbs פ"י and פ"ן, e. g. יָרַח and יָרַח *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. אָדַשׁ 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 דָּבַח and דָּבַח *to crush*, קָרַא and קָרַח *to meet* (cf. § 75 *nm*); to verbs of the other classes, in מָצַח and מָצַח *to suck*, דָּחַח and דָּחַח *to thrust, &c.*

4. Verbs ע"ה and ל"ה, on which cf. Grimm, *Journal of Bibl. Lit.*, 1903, p. 196; e. g. אָנַח and אָנַח *to sigh*, דָּמַח and דָּמַח *to be quiet*, חָנַח and חָנַח *to incline*, בָּלַח and בָּלַח *to end*, קָלַח and קָלַח *to despise*, שָׁנַח and שָׁנַח *to err*, שָׁחַח and שָׁחַח *to bend down*, שָׁסַח and שָׁסַח *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 לָט *secret*, from לוֹט.

§ 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—

בש to be ashamed. *Hiph'ul* הִבִּישׁ (inferred from הִבִּישׁוֹת), but also הִבִּישׁ, as if from יבש, 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 בָּאֵשׁ.

טוב to be good. *Perfect* טוב; but *imperfect* יִטַּב and *Hiph'ul* יְטַב from יטב (but cf. הִטִּיבָה 2 K 10<sup>30</sup>).

יָזַר to be afraid. *Imperfect* יִנָּר (from נָר).

יָקַץ to awake, only in the *imperf.* יִקַּץ; for the *perfect*, the *Hiph'ul* יִקְצֵץ is used (from קָצַץ).

נָפַץ 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'ul* הִפְצִץ. Also פִּצְצֵץ Jb 16<sup>12</sup>.

נָצַב (*Qal* in post-biblical Hebrew, in Aramaic and Arabic) to place, whence (possibly) *Niph'al* נִצַּב and *Hiph'ul* 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 (הִלָּךְ) 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'ul* הוֹסִיף, הוֹסִיף (on יוֹסִיף as *imperfect indicative*, see § 109 d, cf. also § 109 i).

כָּשַׁל 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* יִגַּשׁ, *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'ul*.

נָתַךְ to be poured out. *Perfect* *Niph'al* נִתְךָ with *imperfect* *Qal* יִתְךָ, 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*, אִתָּה *a she-ass*, אִתָּה *a she-goat*, אִתָּה *an ewe* (cf. § 122 *b*). As a rule, however, the *feminine* had originally the ending תָּ, as in the 3rd *sing. perfect* of verbs (§ 44 *a*). This תָּ, 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 תָּ<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 תָּ, e. g. סוּסָה *equus*, סוּסָה *equa*. Of nouns ending in תָּ, like אִתָּה, the feminine (by § 24 *b*) is אִתָּה, cf. § 86 *h*. As in the 3rd *sing. fem. perfect* (אִתָּה, &c.), this תָּ 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 אִתָּה for אִתָּה, § 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> מִשְׁחָתָה (so e. g. ed. Mant.) would stand for מִשְׁחָתָה, the ptp. fem. Hoph'al; but מִשְׁחָתָה (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 הַ־.

(b) Simple ת with nouns ending in a vowel, e. g. יהודית *Jew*, יהודית *Jewess*. The same ending 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, *fem.* קטלת, *killing*; 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> *Q<sup>erê</sup>*, also משרת I K 1<sup>15</sup>, *participle fem.* *Pi'el*, properly *m<sup>e</sup>sāratt* = 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 ת־ is in general less frequent, and occurs *el* almost exclusively when the form in הַ־ 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 לרה.

2. Rarer feminine endings are—(a) ת־ 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 ת־ 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; אונת Gn 26<sup>26</sup>: on the reading גלית cf. g. Cf., moreover, נגינת ψ 61<sup>1</sup> (prob. originally נגינת חית; חיות LXX 74<sup>19a</sup>); פונת La 2<sup>18</sup>; [בת much, in ψ 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) ת־, 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>, ψ 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*, ψ 16<sup>6</sup> (either again for נחלתי *my heritage*, or for נחלתה, cf. § 90 g, as probably also עזרת *help*, ψ 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, הבמת זאה *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 *secunda* (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); שָׁנָה *sleep* (for שָׁנָה) *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 מָחָרָה *the morrow*, but in *construct state* always מִמָּחָרָה.—תְּהֵלֶת Jer 45<sup>25</sup> *Q'rè* is no doubt intended to indicate the reading תְּהֵלֶת, parallel to מְשֻׁשִׁי; cf. above, on וְמָרָת, &c.

h (c) אֲ, the Aramaic orthography for הֲ, chiefly in the later writers; לֹאֲ *loathing*, Nu 11<sup>20</sup>; חֲנָא *a terror*, Is 19<sup>17</sup>; שָׁנָא *sleep*, *ψ* 127<sup>2</sup>; לִבְיָא *a lioness*, Ez 19<sup>2</sup> (unless לִבְיָא is intended); מִפְּרָא *a mark*, La 3<sup>12</sup>; cf. also תְּשָׁא *threshing* (*participle Qal* from רָדָשׁ) Jer 50<sup>11</sup>; מְרָא *bitter*, Ru 1<sup>20</sup>. On the other hand, according to the western Masora, קְרָחָה *baldness* is to be read in Ez 27<sup>31</sup>; see Baer on the passage.

i (d) הֲ, an obtuse form of הֲ ( § 27 u), only in הַוְוֵרָה for הַוְוֵרָה Is 59<sup>5</sup> (unless it is again a *forma mixta* combining the *active ptcp. masc.* הַוְוֵרָה and the *passive ptcp. fem.* הַוְוֵרָה); cf. לְנָה for לְנָה Zc 5<sup>4</sup>; אֲנָה 1 K 2<sup>36.42</sup> ( § 90 i, and § 48 d).

k (e) הֲ without the tone, e. g. רְחָמָה Dt 14<sup>17</sup> [Lv 11<sup>18</sup> רְחָם]; 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 הֲ 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) יֲ, 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 הֲ<sup>2</sup> as the original termination of the feminine, and the consonantal ending הֲ 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, *Diwan 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. גָּמַח *high*, גִּמְחָה *high place*, מְרוֹם *height*, from גָּמַח *to be high*, or less frequently *Derivativa denominativa* (§ 86), e. g. מְרִגְלוֹת *the place at the feet*, from רִגְלָא *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 ה' א' ט' נ' י' ו' (הַאֲמַנְתִּיו),<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*), יְהוֹנָדָב (*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 קַרְנֵי *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 צִלְמֹת (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 **קָטְלָת**, **קָטְלָה**, **קָטְלָה**, **קָטְלָה** (§ 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*, *qatûl*), or else through the displacement of the accent and the consequent reduction of the noun to a monosyllabic form (*qat*, *qul*, *qitl*), or, finally, by their being formed from the derived stems (or conjugations), e. g. *qattal*, *qattil*; *qitil*, *qittil*, &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 *qitl*, 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*, *qitl*, *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, *קָטַר*, *קִירַע*, &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 *קָדַר*, *קִירַה*, *קָבַד*, *קִיתָה*, the connective forms of *קָדַר*, *קִירַה*, &c., which latter can only come from ground-forms *gādīr*, *yārik*, *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 *—ים*, fem. *—ות*, 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*,<sup>3</sup> *קִיתַל*, *קָטַל* (cf. § 27 r and in § 93 the explanations of Paradigm I, a-c); without a helping vowel (§ 28 d) *קִשְׁטַת* *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*, *אַבָּן*), 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 *kābu*, *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>l</sup>ākḥim*, *m<sup>l</sup>ākḥōth* is inserted merely to facilitate the pronunciation. From *qatlim* arose *qat<sup>a</sup>lim*, then *qat<sup>a</sup>alim* and finally *q<sup>a</sup>tālim*. See, however, Nöldeke, 'Zur semit. Pluralendung,' *ZA*. 1904, p. 68 ff., who points out that the Semitic nouns *fa'l*, *f<sup>i</sup>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>l</sup>ākḥim* as a *pluralis fractus*.

<sup>3</sup> It is worthy of notice that St. Jerome also (cf. Siegfried, *ZA*W. iv. 76) frequently represents the vowel of the first syllable by *a*, e.g. *gader*, *aben*, *ader*, *areb*, for *קָדַר*, *אַבָּן*, *אָדַר*, *הָרַב*, but *cedem*, *secel*, *deber*, &c., for *קָדַם*, *שֶׁקֶל*, *דְּבַר*, &c.

or third radical be a guttural, a helping *Pathah* takes the place of the helping *Seghôl*, according to § 22 d, e.g. זֶרַע *seed*, עֶדְוָה *eternity*, מְעַל *work*; but with middle ה or ח, note לֶחֶם *bread*, רֶחֶם (as well as רִחֵם) *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 *ä* to *è* does not occur, e.g. נָעַר, רֶהַב (exceptions, again, לֶחֶם, רֶחֶם). 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 *malak, king*), סִתְרָה *a covering* (also סִתָּר); אֹכֶלֶת *food* (also אֹכֵל); with a middle guttural נַעֲרָה *girl*, טְהוּרָה *purity* (also טוֹהַר). Cf. § 94, Paradigm I.

(b) From weak stems: (a) from stems ע"ו, e.g. אָף *nose* (from 'ānp, hence C with formative additions, e.g. אֲפִי for 'ānpī, *my nose*); עֹז *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 עם; with article הָעַם, הָעָם, &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 הֶרָע; with the *ä* always lengthened to *ā*, יָם *sea*; fem. חַיָּה *life*, and with attenuation of the *ä* to *i*, מִדָּה *measure*; from the ground-form *qīl*, אִם *mother*; fem. מִנָּה *a shearing*; from the ground-form *qūll*, חֹק *statute*, fem. חֻקָּה. (γ) from stems ע"י (Paradigm I, g and i); מָוֶת *death* (from *mā-ut*, the *u* passing into the corresponding consonant, as in הַמְוֶתֶת *middle*) or contracted יוֹם *day*, שׁוֹט *whip*, שׂוֹר *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 *Seghôl*) from *zā-it*, the *i* passing into the corresponding consonant; or contracted חַיִּק *bosom*, חַיִּל 2 K 18<sup>17</sup> (elsewhere חֹלִי) *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*, הִנָּה *murmuring*, נִדָּה *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. שָׁלוּחַ *rest*, נִאֲוָה *exaltation*; from stems ל"ז, אֲלִיָּה *a fat tail*, and with attenuation of *ä* to *i* שְׁבִיָּה *captivity*, also שְׁבִיָּת, formed no doubt directly from the masc. שְׁבִי with the fem. termination ת; from the ground-form *qīl*, חֲצִי (from *hīsy*); fem. חֲרוּגָה *joy*, עֲרִיָּה and עֲרוּגָה *nakedness*; from the ground-form *qūll*, בָּהוּ (from *būhw*) *waste*, תְּהוּ *emptiness*; דְּלִי, for דְּלִי, *bucket*; fem. מִנִּיָּה *a ship* (directly from מִנִּי *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*; אָכַל *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 *qīl*-form is especially used for concretes (in nouns without gutturals he reckons twenty concretes as against two abstracts), and the *qūll*-form, and less strictly the *qūl*, 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*, חֲתַח *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 *dibāš*) 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'ūš* 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. *qātālūt*, 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 אֲשָׁם *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 *am alone*, בָּדָד *alone*, עָנָן *cloud*; passive חָלַל *pierced*.—In verbs ל"ה a final *Yōdh* 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. שָׁנָה *year*; cf. § 95, Paradigm II, c. From a verb ל"ו the strong form עָנָן *afflicted* occurs.

*g* 4. The ground-form *qātīl*, fem. *qātīlūt*, 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*, אֲפֵלָה and חֲשֵׁכָה *darkness*.—From verbs פ"ו: irregularly, דְּלִיזוֹתָיו *the branches of it*, Jer 11<sup>16</sup>, &c., generally referred to a *sing.* דְּלִית (stem רָלָה), and הִרְיוֹתָיו Ho 14<sup>1</sup> *their women with child* (from הָרָה, *st. constr.* הָרַת, plur. *st. absol. and constr.* הָרוֹת).—From a verb ל"ו with consonantal *Wāw*: שָׁלוֹ *at ease*, incorrectly written *plene* שָׁלוֹ Jb 21<sup>23</sup>.

*h* 5. The ground-form *qātūl*, developed to קָטַל (also written קָטְלִ), generally forms adjectives, e. g. אִים *terrible*, בָּרָד *piebald*, מְתוּק *sweet*, נֶקֶד *speckled*, עֲבַת *interwoven*, עֵגֶל *round*, עֵמֹק *deep*, עֵקֶב *hilly*, צָהָב *golden*; קָטַן *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), *šaca* (צַעֲקָה), *nabala* (נִבְלָה), &c., see Siegfried, *ZAW*. iv. 79. Moreover, the numerous abstracts of this form (e. g. even קִצְפָּה *a splintering*, צִוּחָה *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. אִיפָה, 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, נְקָדִים, 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 לָוה, probably of this class is רֵעָה, generally contracted to רֵעַ *friend*, ground-form *rī'ay*: the full form is preserved in רֵעֵהוּ *his friend*, for רֵעֵיהוּ.

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 קָטוּל, the *k* *ā* becoming an obscure *ō*. 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 גְּדוּל *great*, קְרוֹשׁ *holy*, fem. גְּדוּלָה, the short vowel becoming Š<sup>wā</sup>, whereas in גְּדוּל, &c., before the tone it is lengthened to *ā*; (b) the infinitives absolute of the form קָטוּל (§ 45 a) as representing the abstract idea of the verb, and abstract substantives like כְּבוֹד *honour*, שָׁלוֹם *peace* (Arab. *sālām*); (c) substantives and adjectives in an active sense, as בַּחוּן *assayer* (of metals), עֹשֶׁק *an oppressor*, אֹמֵץ *oppressing*; in the feminine בְּנוּדָה *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 *qātūl* 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 *qātūl*-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 *rv*), 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 קָטוּלָה. 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*, עֲצוּם *strong*, עָרוּם *subtil*, or even transitive, as אֲחֹז *holding*; (c) active substantives, as יְקוֹשׁ *a Fowler*. 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>wā</sup>, *n*

<sup>1</sup> In Na 1<sup>3</sup> only the *Q<sup>r</sup>é* requires גְּדוּלָה (in the constr. state) for the *K<sup>t</sup>hibh* גְּדוּלָה.

<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 עֲרֵת *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. *kiláb*), 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. *būšārāt*); עֲבוּדָה *service*, כְּתָבָת *(Arab. kilābāt) tattooing*.

o 11. The ground-form *qīṭil* seems to occur e. g. in Hebrew אֵייל *foolish*, אֵיל *vanity*, בְּרִיל *lead*, כְּסִיל *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. קְטוּל, e. g. גְּבוּל *a boundary*, לְבָשׁ *a garment*; fem. גְּבוּרָה *strength*, אֱמוּנָה *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-Ṣeḡhōl*; cf. אֲבוֹם *a crib*, אֲטָוּן *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-Ṣeḡhōl* 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 (קוֹטֵל), e. g. עוֹלָם (§ 93, Paradigm III, a), Arab. *'alām*, *eternity*; הוֹתָם (Arab. *ḥātām*) *a seal* (according to Barth a loan-word of Egyptian origin), fem. הוֹתָמָת (from *ḥōtāmt*); תוֹלַעַ *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 אופָן (or אופֵן Ez 10<sup>9</sup> in the same verse) *a wheel*; גוֹזָל *a young bird*, דוֹנָג *wax*, &c.

s 14. The ground-form *qāṭil* also becomes in Hebrew almost invariably קוֹטָל (קוֹטֵל). Besides *participles active masc. Qal* this class includes also feminines of the form קוֹטָלָת, if their ground-form *qōṭall* (§ 69 c) goes back to an original *qāṭill*. 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. יֹלְדָה *a woman in travail* (cf. also בְּגֵרָה *the treacherous woman*, Jer 3<sup>8</sup>; הַצֹּלֵעָה *her that halleth*, Mi 4<sup>6 f</sup>, Zp 3<sup>19</sup>; כֹּחֲרָה *a buckler*, ψ 91<sup>4</sup>); and the participles as a rule have the form יֹלְדָה, &c., the original *i* having become *Ṣeṡwā*; however, the form with *Ṣere* occurs also in the latter, Is 29<sup>8, 34</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. עֵינָב *a pipe*, commonly עֵנָב, and to be so read, with Baer, also in ψ 150<sup>4</sup>, not עֵנָב.

#### 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* (*qīṭāl* ?), 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 *qäffäl* is mostly lengthened in Hebrew to קָפַל; cf. *b* אֵיל a stag, fem. אֵילָה, constr. st. אֵילָהַת (from 'äyyält); cf. also the fem. (originating from *Qal*) אֵלְהָה a flame (according to § 27 *g* for lähhäbhā), אֵלְהָהַת dry land (for ḥarrābhā), אֵלְהָהַת and אֵלְהָהַת a burning fever, אֵלְהָהַת and אֵלְהָהַת dry land, אֵלְהָהַת a seal-ring, אֵלְהָהַת consumption. Adjectives of this class ('intensified participles of the active verb', Barth, *ibid.*, § 33) are אֵלְהָהַת sinful, אֵלְהָהַת went to gore, אֵלְהָהַת jealous, אֵלְהָהַת (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 *qäffäl* points to an original (unchangeable) *ä* in the second syllable; cf. אֵלְהָהַת a thief, אֵלְהָהַת a judge (constr. st. אֵלְהָהַת ψ 68<sup>b</sup>), אֵלְהָהַת a cook, אֵלְהָהַת (for ḥarrāš) artificer (constr. st. אֵלְהָהַת, but plur. constr. אֵלְהָהַת); אֵלְהָהַת horseman (for parrāš), constr. st. אֵלְהָהַת Ez 26<sup>10</sup>.

18. The ground-form *qiffäl* appears in אֵלְהָהַת dry, אֵלְהָהַת haughty (the *i* being C lengthened to *e* 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 *qiffül*; moreover, אֵלְהָהַת, ground-form of the fem. אֵלְהָהַת foolishness, goes back to an original *i* *w*ill, see § 69 *c*.

19. The ground-form *qiffäl* and *qiffül*; cf. the fem. אֵלְהָהַת spelt, אֵלְהָהַת coat.

20. The ground-form *qäffül*; from the intensive stem, the infinitives *Pi'el* of *d* the form אֵלְהָהַת.

21. The ground-form *qiffül*, in Hebrew lengthened to אֵלְהָהַת. Of this form are a considerable number of adjectives which denote a bodily or mental fault or defect. Cf. אֵלְהָהַת disabled, אֵלְהָהַת dumb, אֵלְהָהַת hump-backed, אֵלְהָהַת blind, אֵלְהָהַת deaf (for ḥirräš), אֵלְהָהַת lame, אֵלְהָהַת bald, אֵלְהָהַת perverse; אֵלְהָהַת open-eyed follows the same analogy.

22. The ground-form *qäffäl*, cf. the remarks in *b* above, on the *nomina opificum*; moreover, to this class belong infinitives *Pi'el* of the Aramaic form אֵלְהָהַת a searching out; אֵלְהָהַת a request; with middle guttural (see § 22 *c*) אֵלְהָהַת contumely; but cf. also אֵלְהָהַת Ez 35<sup>12</sup>, with full lengthening of the original *ä* before א; אֵלְהָהַת comfort. From the attenuation of the *ä* of this form to *i*, arises undoubtedly:

23. The ground-form *qiffäl*, e. g. אֵלְהָהַת husbandman (Arab. 'äkkār).

24. The ground-form *qäffäl*, most probably only a variety of the form *qäffäl* with the *ä* attenuated to *i* (as in No. 23), and the *ä* obscured to *ö* (as in *n* and

r); cf. גָּבוּר *hero* (Arab. *gābbār*), יָסוּר *caviller*, צִפּוּר (*piper* or *chirper*) a bird, שָׁבוּר *drunkard*. On the other hand, יָלוּד *born* probably arises from *yullōd*, 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 *qāṭṭil*, קָטִיל, almost exclusively of persons, who possess some quality in an intensive manner, e.g. אֲבִיר *strong*, צַדִּיק *righteous*, בְּרִיחַ *fugitive* (for *barri<sup>a</sup>h*), עָרִיץ *violent* (for *'arris*).

That some of these are only by-forms of the *qāṭil*-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.* אֲבִיר (but also אֲבִיר I S 21<sup>8</sup>) of אֲבִיר. However, the form אֲבִיר, as a name of God, may be intentionally differentiated from אֲבִיר, a poetic term for the bull.

In the same way אֲסִיר *prisoner*, כְּרִים *eunuch* (*constr. st.* always כְּרִים, plur. כְּרִים, *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 *qāṭil*-class with passive meaning, see § 84<sup>a</sup> l.

g 26. The ground-form *qāṭṭul*, קָטוּל, e.g. חַנּוּן *gracious*, רַחוּם *compassionate* (with virtual strengthening of the ח), קָרוֹן *diligent* (for *harrūs*), probably, again, to a large extent by-forms of the *qāṭil*-class, § 84<sup>a</sup> m. The same applies to substantives like אֲשֶׁר *a step* (in אֲשֶׁרִי, as well as אֲשֶׁר, &c.), עַמּוּד *pillar*; fem. חַבּוּרָה *a stripe* (also חַבּוּרָתוֹ), בְּטַחוּת *security*: cf. Barth, *ibid.*, § 84.

h 27. The ground-form *qāṭṭōl*; besides the infinitives absolute *Pī'el* of the form קָטַל, also קָנָא *jealous* (as well as קָנָא, an obscured form of *qāṭṭul*, see e).

i 28. The ground-form *qāṭṭul*, קָטוּל, e.g. צָפוּי *a coating of metal*, שְׂלוּם *requital*, עָזוּז *drink*, שְׂקִיץ *detestable thing*; with concrete meaning לְמוּד *a disciple*, עָזוּז *strong*; frequently in the plural in an abstract sense, as גְּדוּפִים *reproach*, מְלֵאִים *filling* (the induction of a priest), נְחֻמִּים *consolations, compassion*, שְׂבָלִים *bereavement*, שְׁלָחִים *dismissal*, שְׂמֵרִים *observance*.

#### VII. Nouns with the Third Consonant repeated.

k 29. The ground-form *qāṭṭāl*, e.g. שָׁאֵן *quiet*, fem. שְׂאֵנָה (with sharpening of the second *Nūn*, in order to keep the preceding vowel short); רֵעֵן *green*, plur. רֵעֵנִים.

l 30. The ground-form *qāṭṭil*, in Hebrew קָטַל; of this form are e.g. the infinitives *Pī'el* (prop. *Pa'til*), cf. § 55 d.

m 31. The ground-form *qāṭṭul*; so the plur. גְּבִנִּים *ridges* (with sharpening of the *Nūn*, as in No. 29).

32. The ground-form *qūṭṭāl*, in פְּרָחַח *a brood*.

33. The ground-form *qūṭṭāl*, in אֲמַלֵּל *faint*.

34. The ground-form *qāṭṭil*, e.g. עֲבָטִים *plunder*, סְבִיר *rain-storm*, שְׂפִיר *glittering tapestry*, Jer 43<sup>10</sup> *Q<sup>e</sup>rē*; with attenuation of the *ā* to *i* בְּמִרְיִים *all that maketh black*, Jb 5<sup>8</sup> (but the better reading is בְּמִרְיִי).

35. The ground-form *qāṭṭul*, e.g. שְׂבָרוֹר Jer 43<sup>10</sup> *K<sup>e</sup>th.*; נְאֻפּוֹת *adulteries*.

#### VIII. Nouns with the Second and Third Consonants repeated.

n 36-39. *Q<sup>e</sup>lālṭūl*, *Q<sup>e</sup>ālṭūl*, *Q<sup>e</sup>lālṭūl*; *Q<sup>e</sup>lālṭūl*, *Q<sup>e</sup>lālṭūl* (in *fem.* and *plur.* often with the last consonant sharpened for the reason given in a above); cf. הַפְּכָפְךָ.

crooked, חֲלָקָלוֹת *slippery places*; עֲקָלְלוֹת *crooked (ways)*; פְּתִילָה *tortuous*; also words denoting colours, אֲדָמָה (Lv 13<sup>42, 49</sup> in pause) *reddish*, fem. אֲדָמָה, plur. אֲדָמָה; יִרְקֶרֶק *greenish*, plur. fem. יִרְקֶרֶת; *q'*(alt'il, יִפְיָהָ, *very fair* (to be read in Jer 46<sup>20</sup> for *יִפְהָיָה*); *q'*(alt'ül, שְׁחֻחָתָהּ (fem.) *blackish*; אֲסָפָה *a rabble* (augmented from אָסַף *collected*). From a verb פִּי with aphaeresis of the initial syllable אֲפִיצָאִים *offspring*. Moreover, of the same form, probably, is חֲצוּצָרָה *a trumpet* (for חֲצוּצָרָה, cf. § 55 e). Also in Is 2<sup>20</sup> לְחַפְּרוֹת is to be read instead of לְחַפְּרוֹת (from the sing. חֲפְּרוּהָ *a digging or burrowing animal, perhaps the mole*). But פְּתָחֶיךָ *opening*, Is 61<sup>1</sup> (ed. Mant., Baer, Ginsb. פְּתָחֶיךָ), is an evident mistake due to dittography; read פְּתָחֶיךָ 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 ĩ, גִּלְגַּל (from גָּלַל); fem. חֲלָחָלָה *anguish* (from חָלַל or חִיל); כֶּפֶר (for kirkar) *a talent*; cf. also כּוֹכַב *a star* (from kawküb, Arabic kauküb, for כֶּכֶב, טוֹטֶפֶת *bands*, for טַפְּטַפַּת; צִלְצִל probably *a whirring locust*.
41. פִּלְפֵּל infin. *Filpēl* (prop. *Palpūl*) from פָּוַל; fem. טֹטְלוּלָה *a hurling* (from טָוַל טוּל).
42. כֶּכֶד perhaps *a ruby* (for kädküd), from כָּדַד.
43. קִקְוֹד *the crown of the head* (for qūdqud), from קָדַד; fem. גִּלְגֻּלָּתָהּ *a skull* (for gūlgūl), from גָּלַל.
44. זִרְוִיר *girded*, from זָרַר; בֶּקְבֵּק *a bottle*, from בָּקַק; פִּרְפְּרִים *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 quinqueliterals 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); אֲצָפֵעַ *a finger*, אֲרֶבֶה *a locust*, אֲרֹוּף *fist* (others *maitock, or clod*), אֲשִׁמְרָה or אֲשִׁמְרָתָהּ *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*, אֲיָתָן *perennial* (for 'aitan) [=the Arab. 'elative', used for expressing the compar. and superl. degrees]. The fem. אֲנִפְרָה *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>2</sup>, &c.

c 46. Nouns with ה prefixed. Besides the ordinary infinitives of *Hiph'il* הַקְטִיל and הַקְטִיל, of *Niph'al* הִקְטַל, הִקְטַל (for *hinq.*), and of the conjugations formed with the prefix הִתְ, this class also includes some rare *nomina verbalia* derived from *Hiph'il* (cf. § 72 z), viz. הִפְרָה appearance (from הִפְרֵךְ), Is 3<sup>9</sup>; הִנְפָה a swinging (from הִנֵּף), [Is 30<sup>28</sup>; הִנְתָּה a rest-giving, Est 2<sup>18</sup>]; הִצִּיל deliverance (from הִצִּיל), [Est 4<sup>14</sup> an Aram. form: cf. הִזְדָּה Dn 5<sup>20</sup>]; perhaps also הִיבַל palace, from *haikäl*, unless it is borrowed from the Assyrian; see the Lexicon.

d 47. Nouns with י prefixed, as יִצְהָר oil, יִלְקוּט wallet, יִנְשׂוּף owl (?); from verbs יָעַר, e. g. יָקוּם a living thing, יָתוּר a range; from a verb יָעַר, יָרִיב an adversary. Of a different character are the many proper names which have simply adopted the imperfect form, as יָעֻקֵב, יָצֻחֵק, &c.

e 48. Nouns with מ prefixed. This *preformative Mém*, 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 *Pr'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 מִפֶּתַח a key, &c. (4) מ local, as in מִדְּבָר 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 ā, is lengthened to ē), and in מִגִּן shield (with suff. מִגִּנִּי) it even becomes unchangeable á. But in an open syllable which does not stand before the tone, the ä necessarily becomes *S<sup>e</sup>vā*.

g The following forms are especially to be noticed: (a) ground-form *māqtāl*, in Hebrew מִקְטַל, e. g. מִמְּאֹכֶל food; fem. מִמְּלֶכֶת kingdom, מִמְּאֹכֶלֶת a knife, מִמְּלֶכֶת (for מִמְּלֶכֶת 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 *maītāb*); with י (or י) assimilated, מִצָּע a bed; from verbs מָסַף 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 מָעַר, probably of this class is מִקְוִים place, the ä lengthened to ā and obscured to ô (Arabic *māqām*); from verbs מָרָא appearance, מָעַן (for מִכְּעֵנָה) prop. intention, only in מִמְּעַן on account of, in order that.

h (b) Ground-form *miqtāl* (the usual form of the infn. *Qal* in Aramaic), Hebr. מִקְטַל, e. g. מִדְּבָר (in Jer 2<sup>31</sup> also, where Baer requires הַמְדְּבָר, read with ed. Mant., Ginsburg, &c. הַמְדְּבָר) a cattle-drive, fem. מִלְחָמָה war, מִדְּבָרָה a chariot (with *S<sup>e</sup>ghöl* instead of ĩ, but in constr. st. מִדְּבָרָת Gn 41<sup>43</sup>; cf. מִדְּרָח distance), מִשְׁמָרָה a watch; from verbs מָסַב surroundings (from *mī-sāb*; ĩ in the open syllable being lengthened to ē; but cf. also מִשְׁצָק Is 33<sup>4</sup> as constr. state from שָׁקַק with sharpening of the first radical; cf. § 67 g); from verbs מָה a possession, fem. מִקְנָה.

<sup>1</sup> In מִכְּמֶתְקִים 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 *māqtāl*, Hebr. מקטל, e. g. משׂען *a support* (fem. מְשׂעֵנָה), *i* מְסַגֵּר *a smith*, מְעֵשֵׂר *a tithe*; fem. מְבִשְׁלָה *a ruin*; from a verb פָּ"ן *an overthrow*, מְצַבָּה *a pillar*; from verbs ע"ע מִגֵּן *a shield*; fem. מְנִלָּה *a roll* (from גָּלַל), מְאַרְהָ *a curse* (for *m<sup>e</sup>irrā* from אָרַר); from a verb פ"ו מוֹקֵשׁ *a snare* (from *māwqīš*).

(d) Ground-form *mīqtāl*, Hebr. מקטל, e. g. מְסַפֵּד *mourning*, מִזְבֵּחַ *an altar* *h* (place of sacrifice); from a verb ע"ע מִסֵּב (מִסֵּב?) *concessus*; (e) ground-form *māqtāl*, Hebr. מקטל, e. g. מְאֻכָּלֹת *food*, מְשַׂבְּרֹת *wages*; from a verb ע"ע, fem. מְסַכָּה *a covering* (from סָכַף). Also from ע"ע, according to the Masora, מְעוֹן *a refuge*, with suffixes מְעוֹנֵי and מְעוֹנֵי, plur. מְעוֹנִים, 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 מְעוֹנֵי, &c. The form מְעוֹן, if derived from the stem עוּן, would mean *stronghold*.—Cf. also מְרֵיבָה *faintness*, developed to a segholate, probably from מְרָה, for *mārōkh* from מְרָבָה, like מְרָחַם *soundness of body*, from חָמַם.

With a long vowel in the second syllable: (*f*) ground-form *maqṭāl*, with *ā* *l* always obscured to *ō*, e. g. מְחַסֵּר *want*, מְלֻקָּח *booty*; from verbs ע"ו, e. g. מְנוֹרָה *fear*, fem. מְנוֹרָה and מְנוֹרָה (with the *ō* depressed to *ū* in a toneless syllable; cf. § 27 n), מְהוּמָה, &c., Is 22<sup>5</sup>. (*g*) Ground-form *mīqtāl*, in Hebr. again מקטול, e. g. מְסַתְוֵר *a covert*, מְבִשְׁוֹל *a stumbling-block* (cf. above under *i*, *mākhšēlā*); fem. מְבִמְרֵת *a fishing-net*; (*h*) the ground-forms *maqṭil*, *miqtāl* (cf. מִקָּיִם) are found only in participles *Hiph'il*; the fem. מְבִלְיִינִית, *cheerfulness*, is a denominative formed from a participle *Hiph'il*; (*i*) ground-form *māqtāl*, as מְלֻבְּוֶשׁ *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 מְזַמְרֵת *snuffers*, מְשַׁחֵת *destroyer, destruction*.

49. Nouns with נ prefixed. Besides the participles *Niph'al* (ground-form *n* *nāqtāl*, still retained e. g. in נוֹלָד for *nāwlad*, but commonly attenuated to *nīqtāl*, Hebr. נִקְטַל) and the infinitive *Niph'al* of the form נִקְטַל, the prefix נ is found in נִפְתוּלִים *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. שְׁלֵהָבֶת *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 פ"ו and ע"ו. They may be classified as follows:—(a) the ground-form *tāqtāl* in תַּחֲמָם *ostrich* (?); from verbs פ"ו תוֹשֵׁב *a settler*; fem. תוֹחֵלֶת *expectation*, תוֹכַחַת (from the *Hiph'il* correction); from a verb פ"ו תִּימֹן *the south*; from verbs פ"ו and ל"ה תוֹרָה *thanksgiving*, and תוֹרָה *law*, both from *Hiph'il*; from a verb פ"ו and ל"ה תוֹצְאוֹת *issues*; probably belonging to this class, from verbs ע"ע תְּבִל *confusion*, and תָּמַם *a melting away* (developed from תְּבַל and תָּמַם, from בָּלַל and מָסַם).

(b) *Tīqtāl*, e. g. fem. תְּפָאֲרֵת and תְּפָאֲרֵת *glory*; from a verb ל"ה, e. g. תְּקוּהָה *hope*; (c) *tāqtāl*, e. g. תְּשַׁבֵּץ *chequer work*; fem. תְּרֵדָמָה *deep sleep* (probably from the *Niph'al* תְּרַדֵּם); from a verb פ"ו תְּכַחָה *correction* (from the *Hiph'il*-stem, like the constr. *st. plur.* תוֹלְדוֹת *generations*); from verbs ע"ע תְּהַלָּה *praise*, תְּפִלָּה *prayer* (from the *Pi'el* of the stems הָלַל and פָּלַל).

- 7 With a long vowel in the second syllable: (d) *tiqāl*, as תהום *the ocean, the deep* (for *tihām*; in Assyrian the fem. *tiāmtu*, constr. st. *tiāmat*, is the usual word for sea), unless it is to be derived with Delitzsch, *Prolegomena*, p. 113, from the stem תהם; (e) *tiqīl* (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. תְּבִלִּית *completeness*; תְּרִבִּית *increase, usury*, with a parallel form מְרִבִּית; in a passive sense, תַּלְמִיד *a disciple*; (f) תַּקְטִיל, e.g. תַּפּוּחַ *an apple* (for *tānpā'āh*); very frequently used to form abstracts, e.g. תַּנְמוּל *a benefit* (also נְמוּל); from verbs עִיָּבָה *a treading down*, תְּנוּפָה *a waving* (like תְּרוּמָה *a lifting up*, from the *Hiph'il* stem), תְּשׁוּקָה *a longing*, &c.; very frequently also as an abstract plural, e.g. תְּהַפְכוּת *perverseness*, תְּחַבְלוֹת *guidance*, תְּמַרְרוּרִים *bitterness*, תְּנַחֲמִים and תְּנַחֲמוֹת *consolation*; from a verb עִיָּבָה, תַּאֲוִים *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, מְיוּטַל (*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 עָרָם) *naked* (from עוּר), plur. עִירָמִים Gn 3<sup>7</sup>, parallel form עָרוּם, 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 גְּרִישוֹם, and גְּרִישוֹן (*patronymic* גְּרִישָׁנִי), מְלָפָם, עֲמָרָם, &c.; but for פְּרִיוֹם *ransom* (?), Nu 3<sup>49</sup>, probably פְּרִוִים is to be read.
- ‡ 54. Nouns with ן affixed. The ן is added by means of a simple helping vowel in כְּנָעַן *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 אֲחֻרְנִית and קִדְרְנִית); e.g. קָנִין *a possession*, שֻׁלְחָן *a table*, קָרְבַּן *an offering*. From an original *ā* being changed into an obscure *ō* we may probably explain such forms as דָּאָבוֹן *a pining away*; דָּרְבוֹן (also דָּרְבָן) *a goad*; רָעָבוֹן *hunger*; from verbs ל"ה גָּאוֹן *pride*, הָמוֹן *noise*, חָזוֹן *a vision*; שָׂרְיוֹן *a coat of mail*; from a verb פָּאֵן מִשְׂאוֹן *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. זְכָרוֹן and בְּלִיּוֹן), &c.; cf. also הָרִיוֹן *pregnancy* (for הָרָה) and § 93 *uu*; יְקָלוֹן *shame*, for יְקָלָוֹן. 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 קְשִׁטִּים *thorns* appear to be formed directly from the singulars נֶצֶן (cf. נֶצֶה) and קִשׁוּט 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), עֹבֹנִים *wares*, Ez 27<sup>14, 16</sup> from עֹבֵב = 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 וְי־. The subsequent rejection of the final *Nūn* 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> *Kēthibh* אֲבֵהָהּ, *Q̄rē* אֲבֵהָהּ for אֲבֵהָהּ *destruction*), also by the fact that for שְׂלֵמָה the LXX give the form Σολωμών or Σαλωμών, and especially that in patronymics and tribal names (§ 86 h) a *Nūn* appears before the termination *i*, as גִּילְנֵי *Gilonite* from גִּלְהָ and שְׂיֵלְנֵי from שְׂיֵלָה (modern name *Sailin*). Wetzstein, however (in *Delitzsch's Commentary on Job*, 1st ed., p. 599), explained the *Nūn* in מְגִדוֹן as a secondary addition to the common old-Palestinian termination *ō* (יְרִיחוֹ, עֵבֹ, רְפוּנוֹ, &c.), and Barth (*Nominalbildung*, § 224 b) has since shown the unsoundness of the prevailing view on other grounds: the rejection of the *Nūn* would be much more likely to occur in the numerous appellatives in *ōn* than in proper names, and גִּילְנֵי and שְׂיֵלְנֵי are due to the necessity of avoiding, for euphonic reasons, such forms as *gīlō-i*, *šīlō-i*, &c.; cf. also שְׂלֵנֵי from שְׂלָה.

On the affirmatives י־, י־, וְהָ, יֵת, see below, § 86 h-l.

## XII. *Quadrilaterals and Quinquilaterals.*

55. בָּרֵן בְּלִמְדָּר *barren*, חֶלְמִיט *a flint*, and the fem וְלָעֶפֶה *heat*, &c., have probably *ט* arisen from the insertion of a ל ; חֶרְזָל *a locust*, קֶרֶם *an axe*, סְרַעְפָּה *a branch*, *Ez* 31<sup>6</sup> (verses 6, 8 סְרַעְפָּה, יִרְעָפִים, also יִרְעָפִים) *anxious thoughts*, שְׂרַבִּיט *sceptre*, from insertion of a ר, which is common in Aramaic. Cf., moreover, חֶרְמִישׁ *a sickle*, סְקָרָה *vine-blossom*; with an initial ע, עֵטְלָה *a bat*, עֶפְבֵּיט *a spider*, עֶכְבָּר *a mouse*, עֶקְרָב *a scorpion*,<sup>1</sup> &c.—Quinqueliteral, 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. קְדִמּוֹן *eastern*, immediately from קִדְמָה *the east* (verbal stem קָדַם *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*; בִּקָּר *a herdsman*, from בָּקָר *a herd*; בִּרְסָר *a vinedresser*, from בָּרַם *a vineyard*.

2. Those like the form *qāttāl* (§ 84<sup>b</sup> b), e.g. חֹשֶׁת *an archer*, from חֹשֶׁת *a bow*.

<sup>1</sup> Derenbourg (*REJ.*, 1883, p. 165) infers from the above examples and a comparison of the Arabic *'usfūr*, *sparrow* (from *šafara*, *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*; *מַרְאֲשׁוֹת* the place about the feet, from *רַגְלֹת*; *מַרְאֲשׁוֹת* the place about the head, from *רֹאשׁ*; *מִקְשָׁה* (for *מִקְשָׁה*) a cucumber field, from *קִישָׁא* cucumber. Cf. *ἀμπελῶν* from *ἀμπελος*.

*f* 4. Nouns with the termination **י** or **וִן** expressing adjectival ideas: *קְרָמוֹן* eastern, from *קָרַם*; *אַחֲרוֹן* posterior, from *אַחַר*; *חַיצוֹן* exterior, from *חָצוֹן*; probably also *לְוִיָּהּ* coiled, hence *coiled animal, serpent*, from *לָוְיָהּ* a winding; *נְחָשֶׁת* brazen, from *נְחָשֶׁת* brass. Also abstracts, e. g. *עֵוָר* blindness, from *עָוָר*. Cf. § 85 u.—With a double termination (*ón* or *án* with *i*) *אֲדָמְנִי* reddish, *יָדְעָנִי* a knowing (spirit); *צַפְפְּעָנִי* basilisk; *רַחֲמָנִיּוֹת* merciful [fem. plur.].

*g* **וִן** appears to be used as a diminutive ending (cf. the Syriac **וִן**) in *אִישׁוֹן* little man (in the eye), *אַפְּסוֹן* apple of the eye, from *אִישׁ*<sup>1</sup>; on the other hand *שְׂפִיפָן* 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* (= *יִשְׂרָ*), properly upright (righteous people), and not a diminutive (pious little people, and the like); finally, *שְׂהָרוֹן* is not lunula, but an artificial moon (used as an ornament), and *צְוָרְנִים* not little neck, but necklace (from *צְוָר* neck). Cf. Delitzsch on Ct 4<sup>o</sup>.

*h* 5. Peculiar to denominatives is the termination **י**, 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 *רַגֵּל* foot; *נְכָרִי* strange, from *נְכָר* strangeness, *תַּחְתִּי* lower, from *תַּחַת* below, fem. *תַּחְתִּית* and *תַּחְתִּיָּה*, plur. *תַּחְתִּיּוֹת*, *תַּחְתִּיּוֹת* the sixth, from *שֵׁשׁ* six; *מוֹאָבִי* Moabite, from *מוֹאָב*, plur. *מוֹאָבִים*, fem. *מוֹאָבִיָּה* and *מוֹאָבִית*, plur. *מוֹאָבִיּוֹת*; *עִבְרִי* Hebrew, plur. *עִבְרִים* and *עִבְרִיִּים*, fem. *עִבְרִיָּה*, plur. *עִבְרִיּוֹת*; *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 **י** we find in a few cases (a) the ending **י** (as in Aram.), e. g. *בְּיָלִי* (crafty, or, according to others, churlish) if it stands for *נְבִילִי* and is not rather from a stem *כלא* or *כלה*; *חֹרֵרִי* white cloth, Is 19<sup>o</sup> in pause; perhaps also *לְבַי* a swarm of locusts, Am 7<sup>1</sup> *נֹבֵי* Na 3<sup>17</sup>; hardly *נְנִינֹתִי* Is 38<sup>20</sup>, Hb 3<sup>19</sup>; but certainly in proper names as *בַּרְזִילַי* (*ferreus*) Barzillai;<sup>2</sup> and (b) **ה**,

[<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. *עוּלְיָמָא*, 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 *שְׁבִיסִים* Is 3<sup>18</sup> (as though a foreign dialectical form for *šumais*, little sun), and *אַמְיִנֹן* 2 S 13<sup>20</sup>, as a contemptuous diminutive form of *אַמְנֹן*; 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 **י** 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, מְלָכוֹת kingdom (the omission of the Dageš in כ shows that the *Šewā* is weakened from a full vowel; on *malik* as underlying the present form מְלָךְ cf. § 84<sup>a</sup> a); אֲלֻמְנוּת widowhood, from אֲלֻמָּן widower, אֲלֻמָּה 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>26</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 אֲכֹרְיוֹת cruelty, and קוֹמְמִיּוֹת upright position (Lv 26<sup>13</sup>, used adverbially).

The ending יָתְ is found earlier, e.g. in שְׂאֵרֵית שְׂאֵרֵית remainder, רֵאשִׁית prin-  
cipium, from ראש = ראשית (head) princeps. The termination *ōth* 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 הוֹלְלוֹת Ec 1<sup>17</sup>, &c., with the parallel form הוֹלְלוֹת 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. חֲנִינִים Gn 1<sup>21</sup>. Nouns in יָ make their plural in יָם, e.g. עֵבְרִי a Hebrew, plur. עֵבְרָיִם (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 *ū* ending, e.g. הָזֶה seer, plur. הָזִים (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 יָם is sometimes assumed also by feminines (cf. *c* שָׂמַיִם women, § 96 under אֵשָׁה; 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 יָם 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 *ani* (acc. to P. Haupt originally *ami*, cf. § 88 d); Aramaic has *in*; Arabic *ina* (nominative) and *ina* (in the oblique cases, but in vulgar Arabic *in* is also used for the nominative); Ethiopic *an*. 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) ׀, 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>, ארנין 1 K 11<sup>33</sup>, רצין *the guard*, 2 K 11<sup>13</sup>, חפין *wheat*, Ez 4<sup>9</sup>; defectively אִיִּין *islands*, Ez 26<sup>18</sup>; ימיין *days*, Du 12<sup>13</sup>. Cf. also מדיין *carpets*, Ju 5<sup>10</sup>, in the North-Palestinian song of Deborah, which also has other linguistic peculiarities; עיין *heaps*, Mi 3<sup>12</sup> (before ת; cf. § 44 k); מליין *words* (from the really Aram. מלה), Jb 4<sup>2</sup>, and twelve other places in Job (beside מלים, ten times in Job); further, חייין Jb 24<sup>22</sup>, אחרין 31<sup>10</sup>, and שוממין La 1<sup>4</sup>, תפין 4<sup>3</sup>.—The following forms are doubtful:

f (b) ׀ (with the ׀ rejected, as, according to some, in the dual ירי for ריים; Ez 13<sup>18</sup>, cf. § 88 c), e. g. מניי *stringed instruments*, ψ 45<sup>9</sup> for מניים (unless it is to be so written)<sup>3</sup>; עמי *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 עמי *my people*; cf. in the parallel passage ψ 18<sup>44</sup> עם; also in Ct 8<sup>2</sup> the *i* of רמניי 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) ׀ (like the constr. state in Syriac), which is supposed to appear in e. g. שריי *princes*, Ju 5<sup>15</sup> (perhaps *my princes* is intended: read either the constr. st. שריי, which also has good authority, or with LXX שרים); for חלוניי *rooms* Jer 22<sup>14</sup> (according to others *dual*, see § 88 c, or a loan word, cf. Z. A. iii. 93) read חלוניו כפון. On חורי and גובי, which have also been so explained, see above, § 86 i.—חשיפיי Is 20<sup>4</sup> (where the right reading is certainly חשיפי) must be intended by the Masora either as a singular with the formative syllable ׀ = *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>sūfē šēl<sup>4</sup>*; in אדני *the Lord* (prop. *my lord*, from the plur. *majestatis*, ארניים *lord*), the *ay* was originally a *suffix*, § 135 q.

h (d) ׀, a supposed *plural* ending in כננים = כנים *gnats* (or *lice*), and כלים *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 ות (often written defectively ת—, e. g. תהלה *song of praise, psalm*, plur. תהלות (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 חשיפיי as an instance of the affix of endearment (cf. כלבוי, אחומי) 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*); אֵיזְרָת a letter, plur. אֵיזְרוֹת; בְּאֵר a well, plur. בְּאֵרוֹת. Feminines in יָת־ form their plural in יוֹת־, e.g. מִצְרִיָּת an Egyptian woman, plur. מִצְרִיּוֹת; and those in וֹת either make יוֹת־, as מְלֻכּוֹת kingdom, plur. מְלֻכּוֹת, Dn 8<sup>22</sup> (cf. תְּנִיּוֹת cells, Jer 37<sup>16</sup>), or are inflected like עֲדוּת testimonies (pronounced 'ēdhēwōth for 'ēdhūwōth).

It is only from a mistake or disregard of these feminine endings וֹת־ and יָת־ that some words ending with them form their plural by the addition of יִם־ or וֹת־, e.g. הַנִּיָּת spear, plur. הַנִּיָּתוֹת and הַנִּיָּתוֹת; וְנוֹת whoredom, plur. וְנוֹתִים (by the side of וְנוֹתִים; אֶלְמְנוּתִים widowhood; וְנוֹתִים pits, בְּקֻחוֹת 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. § 8o 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. עָב cloud, plur. עָבִים and עָבוֹת; 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. דּוֹרִים and דּוֹרוֹת; 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. אֲרִיּוֹת 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>, 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 וֹת expresses something like them, but without life (§ 122 u), e.g. יָדִים hands, יָדוֹת artificial hands, also e.g. the arms of a throne; כַּפָּיִם hands, כַּפּוֹת hands (Lat. *manubria*); פְּעָמַיִם foot, פְּעָמוֹת artificial feet (of the ark), קַרְנָיִם horns, קַרְנוֹת horns (of the altar); עֵינָיִם eyes, עֵינּוֹת fountains; cf. also אֲרִיִּים lions, אֲרִיּוֹת the figures of lions on Solomon's throne, תְּמָר palm, תְּמָרָה a palm-like column, plur. תְּמָרִים and תְּמָרוֹת.

4. A considerable number of masculines form their plural in וֹת, *p* while many feminines have a plural in יִם־. 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**), **הבלה** *a cake of figs*, **חטה** *wheat*, **לבנה** *a brick*, **מלה** (only in poetry) *a word*, **סאה** *seā, a dry measure*, **שעורה** *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. **שלהפה** *sheaf* and **שנה** *year* (see above, n) take both **ים** and **ות**; cf. finally **שפלה** *an ear of corn*, plur. **שפלים**, and without the fem. termination in the singular **פילגש** *concubine*, plur. **פילגשים**.

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*.

S 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>thé*, Is 14<sup>14</sup>, Jb 9<sup>8</sup>, &c., sometimes as *Q<sup>er</sup>* 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 **חומתי** *doub'le 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.* **מרו** 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; Brockelmann, *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 c). 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 יָמִים־ָ, e. g. שְׂפָה *lip*, שְׂפָתַיִם *both lips*. From a feminine with the ending ת־ָ, e. g. נְחֻשֶׁת (from *nēhušt*) the dual is formed like נְחֻשֶׁתַיִם *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. כַּנְף *wing* (ground-form *kānāph*), dual כַּנְפָיִם, 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 כַּבְרָיִם (which should be כַּבְרָיִם) evidently merely points to the *constr. st.* כַּבְרֵי, which would be expected before פֶּסֶם; cf. כַּבְרָיִם 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. רֶגֶל *foot* (ground-form *rāgl*), dual רַגְלָיִם; cf., however, קַרְנָיִם (only in the book of Daniel), as well as קַרְנֵיִם from קַרְן *horn*, and לְחַיִם from לַחַי *cheek* (as if from the plurals קַרְנוֹה, קַרְנוֹיִם).—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 יָ־ָ and י־ָ, e. g. דְּתֵיִן Gn 37<sup>17a</sup> (locative דְּתֵינָה, but in 17<sup>b</sup> דְּתֵיִן), and דְּתֵיִן 2 K 6<sup>13</sup>; קְרֵתַיִן Jos 21<sup>32</sup>, identical with קְרֵתַיִם in 1 Ch 6<sup>61</sup> (cf. also the Moabite names of towns in the Meša' inscription, line 10 קְרֵיתַיִן = Hebrew קְרֵיתַיִם; line 30 בַּת דְּבַלְתַיִם = בַּת דְּבַלְתַיִם Jer 48<sup>22</sup>; lines 31, 32 חֲרוֹנַיִם = חֲרוֹנַיִם Is 15<sup>6</sup>, &c.); (b) in ם־ָ, Jos 15<sup>34</sup> הָעֵינַם (= עֵינַיִם Gn 38<sup>21</sup>). The view that יָ־ָ and ם־ָ arise from a contraction of the dual terminations יָ־ָ (as in Western Aramaic, cf. also nom. *āni*, accus. *aini*, of the dual in Arabic) and ם־ָ seemed to be supported by the Meša' inscription, where we find (line 20) כַּמְאֵתַיִן *two hundred* = כַּמְאֵתַיִן, 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 יָ־ָ and ם־ָ in these place-names only arise from a subsequent expansion of the terminations יָ־ָ and ם־ָ: 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'ri perpetuum* (§ 17 *c*) יְרוּשָׁלַיִם for יְרוּשָׁלַם (so, according to Strack, even in old MSS. of the Mišna; cf. *Urusalim* in the Tel-el-Amarna tablets, and the Aramaic form יְרוּשָׁלַם): 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, גְּהָרִים, the river country (in the Tel-el-Amarna letters *nārīma*, *na'rīma*), מִצְרַיִם *Egypt*, Phoenician מִצְרָם; also the words denoting time, צַהֲרָיִם *midday* (Mēša' inscription, line 15 צהרם), and perhaps עֶרְבָיִם *in the evening*, if the regular expression בֵּי-הָעֶרְבָיִם Ex 12<sup>6</sup>, 16<sup>12</sup>, &c., is only due to mistaking עֶרְבָיִם for a dual: LXX πρὸς ἑσπέραν, τὸ δειλινόν, ὕψέ, 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 יְרָיִם. On חַלּוּנַי (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) *māni*, *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 *ل*, for *tarḡay + ina*, corresponding to *taḡtulīna* in the strong verb; also bibl.-Aram. פְּנִיָּן the abs. st. plur. of the ptc. *Qal* of בָּנָה (ל"י), which otherwise always ends in *in* with the tone, e.g. in the ptc. *Qal* of the strong verb, דְּבַחֲיִן *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. יְרָיִם *both hands*, אָזְנַיִם *both ears*, שִׁנַּיִם *teeth* (of both rows), also גַּעְלָיִם *a pair of sandals*, מִאֲזָנַיִם *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*; אַמְתָּיִם *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>23</sup>; שֵׁשׁ כַּנְפָיִם *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) דְּרָכַיִם 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 אֱלֹהִים 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; דְּבָרֵי הָעָם words, דְּבָרֵי הָעָם 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  $\text{ָ} \text{ְ} \text{ְ}$ , e. g. סוּסִים horses, פִּרְעֹה סוּסֵי the horses of Pharaoh; עֵינָי eyes. עֵינֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ the eyes of the king.

*d* Rem. The  $\text{ָ} \text{ְ} \text{ְ}$  of the dual has evidently arisen from  $\text{ָ} \text{ְ} \text{ְ}$  (cf. דְּוָיִם), but the origin of the termination  $\text{ָ} \text{ְ} \text{ְ}$  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  $\text{ָ} \text{ְ} \text{ְ}$ , 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 הַנְּרִי (so Philippi, *ThLZ.* 1890, col. 419; Barth, *ZDMG.* 1904, p. 431 ff.), must be left undecided.

*e* (*b*) The original  $\text{ָ} \text{ְ} \text{ְ}$  is regularly retained as the feminine termination in the *construct state* sing. of those nouns which in the *absolute state* end in  $\text{ָ} \text{ְ} \text{ְ}$ , e. g. מְלִכָּה queen, מְלִכַת שֶׁבַע the queen of Sheba. But the feminine endings  $\text{ָ} \text{ְ} \text{ְ}$ ,  $\text{ָ} \text{ְ} \text{ְ}$ , and also the plural  $\text{ָ} \text{ְ} \text{ְ}$ , remain unchanged in the *construct state*.

*f* (*c*) Nouns in  $\text{ָ} \text{ְ} \text{ְ}$  (cf. § 75 e) from verbs  $\text{ָ} \text{ְ} \text{ְ}$  (§ 93, Paradigm III c) form their *constr. st.* in  $\text{ָ} \text{ְ} \text{ְ}$ , e. g. רֵאָה seer, constr. רֵאָה. If this  $\text{ָ} \text{ְ} \text{ְ}$  is due to contraction of the original  $\text{ָ} \text{ְ} \text{ְ}$ , with  $\text{ָ} \text{ְ} \text{ְ}$  added as a vowel letter, we may compare רֵאָה, constr. רֵאָה sufficiency; חַיָּה, constr. חַיָּה life; נָיִן (נָיִן), constr. נָיִן valley.

On the terminations  $\text{ָ} \text{ְ} \text{ְ}$  and  $\text{ָ} \text{ְ} \text{ְ}$  in the *constr. st.* see § 90.

### § 90. Real and Supposed Remains of Early Case-endings.

$\text{ָ} \text{ְ} \text{ְ}$  local,  $\text{ָ} \text{ְ} \text{ְ}$  in compound proper names,  $\text{ָ} \text{ְ} \text{ְ}$  and  $\text{ָ} \text{ְ} \text{ְ}$  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  $\eta$  as an old genitive sign, which, as being no longer understood in Hebrew, was used for quite different purposes, and the view that  $\eta$  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 *ā*, 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 § 2f); 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 *יָמָהּ, הָרָהּ, בַּיְתָהּ* 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. *מַחֲנֵימָה* 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, *בְּבָבֶלָהּ* Jer 29<sup>15</sup>, and *וּבְלָהּ* Hb 3<sup>11</sup>, are to be regarded as ordinary accusatives of direction, *to Babylon, into the habitation*; also expressions like *פָּאֵת צְפוֹנָהּ* *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 *עַרְאֵלָהּ* *how long* ?), and this not only after *לְ*, *אֶל-* or *עַד-* (which are easily explained), e.g. *לְמַעְלָהּ* *upwards*, *לְמַטָּהּ* *downwards*, *לְשָׁאוֹלָהּ* *to Sheol*, ψ 9<sup>18</sup>; *עַד-אַפְהֵקָהּ* *unto Aphek*, Jos 13<sup>4</sup>, *אֶל-הַצְּפוֹנָהּ* *toward the north*, Ez 8<sup>14</sup>, cf. Ju 20<sup>16</sup>; but also after *בְּ*, and even after *מִן*, e.g. *בְּבִנְיָמִן* *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>; *מִבְּבֶלָהּ* *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) *לַיְלָהּ*, in pause *לַיְלָהּ*, 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, *לַיְלָהּ* 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 *מְאֹמָהּ* *something*, probably from *מְאֹמִים*, *spot, point*, generally with a negative = *nothing*. Similarly *אַרְצָהּ* Is 8<sup>23</sup> and (in pause) Jb 34<sup>13</sup>, *סוּפָתָהּ* IIo 8<sup>7</sup>, and the place-name *יַצְהָרָהּ* 1 Ch 6<sup>63</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 *אַרְצָהּ* (in pause) Jb 37<sup>12</sup>; *הַמּוֹתָהּ* *death*, ψ 116<sup>15</sup>; *גְּנְדֵה-רֵגָהּ* ψ 116<sup>14,18</sup>; *נַחְלָהּ* *stream*, ψ 124<sup>4</sup>; *הַחֵטְמָהּ* *amber*, Ez 8<sup>2</sup> [in 1<sup>4</sup> *הַחֵטְמָל*, cf. § 80 k], &c. In Jos 15<sup>12</sup> *הַיָּמָהּ* is probably only a scribal error (dittography). In Ju 14<sup>18</sup> instead of the quite unsuitable poetic word *הַחֲרָסָהּ* (towards the sun??) read as in 15<sup>1</sup> *הַחֲרָרָהּ* *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 *לַיְלָהּ*, like *אֲנָהּ* from *אָנָהּ*.

(b) In the termination הַֿ often used in poetry with feminines, viz. ג' 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 הַֿ usually has reference to *place* (hence called הַֿ *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 הַֿ is almost always toneless (except in מוֹרָתָה *constr. st. i* Dt 4<sup>41</sup>; נָתָה 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.* מַדְבָּרָה Jos 18<sup>12</sup>, 1 K 19<sup>15</sup>, and in the proper names נָתָה 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>, צִרְתָּה 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 פִּדְן, with modification of the *a* to *è*; also בְּרַמְלָה 1 S 25<sup>5</sup> from בְּרַמְלָה). In segholate forms, as a general rule, the הַֿ *local* is joined to the already developed form of the *absol. st.*, except that the helping-vowel before הַֿ naturally becomes *Sëwa*, e.g. בֵּיתָה הַאֲהֵלָה Gn 18<sup>6</sup>, &c.; הַיְעָרָה Jos 17<sup>15</sup>, הַשְּׂעִירָה<sup>3</sup> Ju 20<sup>16</sup>, &c., but also נַחְלָה 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 יַעֲרָה Is 28<sup>6</sup> (with *Silluq*); cf. נִבְפָּה 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 הַֿ the הַֿ *local* is added to the original feminine ending הַֿ (§ 80 b), the *ä* of which (since it then stands in an open tone-syllable) is lengthened to *ä*, e.g. תִּרְנָתָה.—Moreover the termination הַֿ is even weakened to הַֿ in לָבָה to *Nob*, 1 S 21<sup>2</sup>, 22<sup>2</sup>; אָנָה *whither*, 1 K 23<sup>6.42</sup> and רִדְנָה to *Dedan*, Ez 25<sup>13</sup>.

3. Of the three other terminations ḥ may still be regarded as a *l* survival of the old nominative ending. It occurs only in the middle

[<sup>1</sup> The form elings also to a few place-names, as נִרְנָה Dt 10<sup>7</sup>; שְׁלִישִׁי 1 S 9<sup>4</sup>, 2 K 4<sup>42</sup>; קְהֵלָתָה Nu 33<sup>22 f.</sup>; יִטְבְּתָה verse 33 f.; תִּמְנִתָּה Jos 19<sup>43</sup>, &c.; אֲבָרְתָה Mi 5<sup>1</sup>, &c.]

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Sarauw, 'Der hebr. Lokativ,' ZA. 1907, p. 183 ff. He derives the הַֿ 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 הַשְּׂעִירָה), i.e. locative from שָׁעַר (Is 7<sup>20</sup>). The reading הַשְּׂעִירָה (Opit., Ginsb.) implies a feminine in הַֿ.

of a few (often undoubtedly very old) proper names,<sup>1</sup> viz. אַחֲוִי (if compounded of אחו and מי), קְמוּטָל (for which in Jer 52<sup>1</sup> אֶתְחַמְטָל), מְתוֹשָׁאֵל and מְתוֹשָׁלַח (otherwise in Hebrew only in the plur. מְתִים men; to מְתוֹ corresponds most probably בְּתוֹ in בְּתוֹאֵל, בְּתוֹאֵל Gn 32<sup>31</sup> (but in ver. 32 פְּנֵי־אֵל) face of God (otherwise only in the plur. פְּנִים constr. st. פְּנֵי).<sup>2</sup>—שְׂמוֹנֵי Neh 6<sup>6</sup> (elsewhere שְׂמוֹנֵי), is the name of an Arab, cf. 6<sup>1</sup>. On the other hand the terminations וֹ— and י 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* וֹ— and י 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 הֹ— 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, אֲבִי, אֲחִי, אֲחִי, אֲבִי from אָב father, אָח brother, חָם father-in-law (cf. § 96). The instances given under *l* and *m* followed this analogy.

Like *i*, י 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 י corresponds to a primitive Semitic *ä* (cf. § 9 g) and is traceable to 'abä, 'ahä, the accusatives of terms of relationship in the *constr. st.*, which have *ä* only before a genitive. Against this explanation it may be objected that there is no trace of the supposed Hebrew accusatives אָבוֹ, אָחוֹ, אָחוֹ, and only of the analogous בְּנוֹ. It is also remarkable that so archaic a form should have been preserved (except in בְּנוֹ) 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 י in compound proper names like בְּתוֹאֵל, &c. (see above), as due to the analogy of terms of relationship with nominative in י. But this in no way militates against the view expressed above, that in some very old names, like פְּנֵי־אֵל, בְּתוֹאֵל, &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 שְׂמוֹאֵל formerly regarded as a compound of שְׂמוֹ = שְׂמוֹ name and אֵל, is better explained with Prätorius, *ZDMG.* 1903, p. 777, as a name of affection, for אֵל שְׂמוֹעַ = אֵל שְׂמוֹעַ [but see Driver on 1 S 1<sup>20</sup>]; similarly, according to Prätorius, פְּתוֹאֵל = אֵל פְּתוֹ 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 רֵעֵי הָאֱלִיל *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 רַבְּתֵי *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 רַבְתִּי and שִׁרְתִּי, see below, follow the example of רַבְתִּי, although no tone-syllable follows; cf. also Ho 10<sup>11</sup> below); עַל-דְּבָרָתִי מִלְכִּי-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. בְּנֹיַם רַבְתִּי *she that was great among the nations*, שִׁרְתִּי בְּמִדְיָנוֹת *princess among the provinces*, La 1<sup>1</sup>; אֲהַבְתִּי לְרֹדֶשׁ *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 יְהוָה, but perhaps we should read נֶאֱדָרְתָּ as predicate to יְיָיִךְ.

Further, the *Hireq compaginis* is found with certain particles which are really also nouns in the *constr. st.*, as מִזֵּי (וּלְתִי (= וּלְתִי) *except*, מִן) *from*, בְּלֹתִי *not*, אֲפָסִי *not* (thrice in the formula אֲנִי אֲפָסִי *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 מֶלֶךְ-בְּרִי-צְדָקָה *(king of righteousness)*, גְּבַר־יֵאֵל *(man of God)*, חַנְיָאֵל *(favour of God)*, and others (cf. also the Punic name *Hannibal*, i. e. חַנְיָבַעַל *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> (הִקְנִי and הִצְבִּי, 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־יְהוּדָה Jer 10<sup>17</sup>, 22<sup>23</sup> (before בְּ), Ez 27<sup>8</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> יוֹשֶׁבֶת; cf. *ibid.* מִקְנֵנְתִי *Keth.*, מִקְנֵנְתָּ *Qere*, and finally Jer 51<sup>19</sup> שְׂבֵנְתִי *Keth.*, שְׂבֵנְתָּ *Qere*. Perhaps יוֹשֶׁבֶתִי and שְׂבֵנְתִי are *formae mixtae*, combining the readings יוֹשֶׁבֶת, &c. and שְׂבֵנְתָּ (2nd fem. perf.), &c., but מִקְנֵנְתִי may be merely assimilated to יוֹשֶׁבֶתִי which immediately precedes it.

The following are simply textual errors: 2 K 4<sup>23</sup> הַהֶלְכְתִי *Keth.*, due to the preceding אֶתִּי, and to be read הַהֶלְכְתָּ as in the *Qere*; ψ 30<sup>8</sup> (read הַהֲרִי, 113<sup>8</sup> (read לְהוֹשִׁיבוּ, 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  $\dot{\iota}^1$  (always with the tone): in prose only in the Pentateuch, but in elevated style, Gn 1<sup>24</sup> הַיְתוֹ-אָרְיִן *the beast of the earth* (= מִית הָאָרְיִן 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 מַעְיֵינוּ 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	יְ	<i>my.</i>
2.	{ m. ה	הְ (pause הֶ-)	} <i>thy.</i>
	{ f. ה		
3.	{ m. הו, ו	וְ (הוְ), הוְ	<i>his.</i>
	{ f. ה	הוְ, הוְ	<i>her.</i>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Kaila, l.c., p. 59 ff.

Vowel.		Consonant.	
Plur. 1.	c. נו	נו	our.
2.	{ m. כם	} כם	your.
	{ f. כן		
3.	{ m. הם	} הם	eorum.
	{ f. הו (הו)		
		הו	earum.

Rem. 1. There is less variety of forms in these than in the verbal suffixes; 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, אֲבֵיהֶם, אֲבֵיהֶם, אֲבֵיהֶן, אֲבֵיהֶן, sometimes also to segholate forms ending in *i* from ל<sup>h</sup> 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, חֲלָבָהֶן 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>. *i* 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>et</sup>. perhaps intends the singular, לְמִינֶהָ, &c., but the Masora requires the plural with defective *i*.

(b) The forms with connecting vowels (§ 58 f) are joined to nouns ending in a consonant. The connecting vowel is regularly *a* in the 3rd sing. fem. הָ (for *aha*) and 3rd plur. ם, מו, ם, also in the 3rd sing. masc. הִ (הִ), since the *o* is contracted from *ā[h]ū*, and in the pausal form of the 2nd masc. הָ (a modification of original הָ).

The forms with *ē* in the above-mentioned persons are common only with nouns in הָ (from stems ל<sup>h</sup>), constr. st. הָ (cf. § 89 f), e. g. שָׂדֵהוּ (from *sadaihū*) his field; עֶלְהָ its leaf, Is 1<sup>30</sup>; מְרֵאָהּ the appearance thereof, Lv 13<sup>4</sup> (from *mar'aihā*; on the *Sēghōl* see k); but שָׂדֵהָ her field. The orthographic retention of the *v*, e. g. מְעֵשִׂיו, מְעֵשֵׂיךָ, gives to many forms the appearance of plurals; see the instances in § 93 ss.

Apart from these ל<sup>h</sup> forms the connecting vowel *ē* in the 3rd pers. occurs only in isolated cases; אִרְהוּ his light, Jb 25<sup>3</sup>; לְמִינֶהוּ after its kind, Gn 1<sup>12,25</sup> [+ 12 times]; Na 1<sup>13</sup>; in Ju 19<sup>24</sup> read פִּילִגְשׁוֹ as in vv. 2, 25. On the other hand הָ in the 2nd sing. fem. and נו in the 1st plur. are by far the more common forms, while הָ, נו are of rare occurrence; see c.—Instead of הָ (with *Sēuā mobile*), if the last consonant of the noun is a guttural, the forms are הָ, כם, כן, e. g. רִיחֶךָ thy spirit, בְּרֵאֶךָ thy creator, Is 43<sup>1</sup>, רֵיעֶכָּם your friend, Jb 6<sup>27</sup> (on such cases as בְּחֹזְכֶם Hag 2<sup>5</sup>, see § 10 g).—With *Nan energicum* (cf. § 58 i, and on עֹנֶךָ 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 בְּשִׁבְנִי Ez 47<sup>7</sup> (certainly only a scribal error, caused *l* 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 אֲפָהָם for אֲפָהָם.

2nd pers. *m.* in pause כָּה־ךְ, e.g. כַּפְּכָה (thy hand),  $\psi$  139<sup>5</sup>, cf. Pr 24<sup>10</sup>; once חַנְּךָ  $\psi$  53<sup>6</sup> (cf. the analogous cases in the verbal suffix § 75 l); *fem.* הִיְךְ Ez 5<sup>12</sup> (in 16<sup>53</sup> also for שְׁבִיתֶיךָ probably שְׁבִיתֶיךָ is intended), כִּיְךְ 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 כָּה־ךְ Na 2<sup>14</sup>, cf. l), לְכִי *Keth.* 2 K 4<sup>2</sup>, Ct 2<sup>13</sup>. Also הִיְךְ Is 22<sup>1</sup>, Ez 23<sup>28</sup>, 25<sup>4</sup>.

3rd pers. הִיְךְ (cf. § 7 c), e.g. אֶהְלֶה Gn 9<sup>21</sup>, 12<sup>8</sup>, 13<sup>3</sup>, 35<sup>21</sup> (always with *Qere* אֶהְלֶה); נָהָה Nu 10<sup>36</sup>; לָהָה Dt 34<sup>7</sup>; בָּלָה Jer 20<sup>7</sup>, Na 2<sup>1</sup> *Qere*; קָצָה 2 K 19<sup>23</sup> *Keth.*, 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> (*Qere* עִירָה); סָכָה  $\psi$  10<sup>9</sup>, 27<sup>5</sup> *Keth.*; הִמּוֹנָה Ez 31<sup>18</sup>, &c., *Keth.*; 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.* הִיְךְ for הִיְךְ (with the softening of the *Mappiq*, cf. § 23 k, and the analogous cases in § 58 g) occurs repeatedly before *Beghadhkephath* and other soft consonants, Ex 9<sup>18</sup> (before ךְּ, if the text is right), Lv 13<sup>4</sup> (before ךְּ), 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 כְּ), 1 S 20<sup>20</sup>, 2 K 8<sup>8</sup>, Pr 12<sup>28</sup> (before ךְּ), Na 3<sup>9</sup> (before וְ),  $\psi$  48<sup>14</sup> (before פְּ), Ez 47<sup>10</sup>, Jb 31<sup>22</sup> twice (before תְּ), Is 21<sup>2</sup>, Jer 20<sup>17</sup> (before הִיְךְ), Nu 32<sup>42</sup>, Am 1<sup>11</sup> (before ךְּ), Lv 6<sup>2</sup> (before ץְּ); even in *pause*, Lv 12<sup>4</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 אֶךְ Ez 36<sup>6</sup>.—Sometimes the Masora appears (but this is very doubtful) to regard the הִיְךְ with feminines as a shortening of הִיְךְ, e.g. נָצָה Gn 4c<sup>10</sup> for נָצָתָה, פָּנָה Pr 7<sup>8</sup> for פָּנָתָה; also םְךְ for םְךְ בְּתוֹבִינָם Ho 13<sup>2</sup>, and עֵרְמָם 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, and in Zc 4<sup>2</sup> to נָגְלָה, Jb 11<sup>9</sup> to מְדָה, Neh 5<sup>14</sup> to פְּחָה. [See also, after prepositions, § 103 g.]

*f* *Plur.* 1st pers. נֹנְךְ, in *pause* קִימְנֹךְ Jb 22<sup>20</sup> (where, however, קִימְנֹךְ is certainly to be read); cf. Ru 3<sup>2</sup> [Is 47<sup>10</sup>, cf. § 61 c, h], and so always בְּלֹנְךְ *all of us*, Gn 42<sup>11</sup>, &c [cf. בְּנֹךְ, לְנֹךְ, אֶתְנֹךְ, עֵפְנֹךְ].

2nd pers. *fem.* כְּנָה Ez 23<sup>48,49</sup>.

3rd pers. *masc.* מוּךְ  $\psi$  17<sup>10</sup> (on מוּךְ in פִּימוּךְ in the same verse, and in  $\psi$  58<sup>7</sup> see l); הִםְךְ 2 S 23<sup>8</sup>, according to Sievers probably to call attention to the reading כְּלָהֶם. *Fem.* הִנְךְ 1 K 7<sup>37</sup>, Ez 16<sup>53</sup> (in *pause*); נָהְךְ Gn 41<sup>21</sup>; נָהְךְ Gn 30<sup>41</sup>; נָהְךְ Ru 1<sup>18</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 הִיְךְ as suffix to a noun, only in Is 31<sup>7</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* (ׁ־ךְ, cf. § 89 d). This ending, however, has been preserved unchanged only in the 2nd *fem.* In most cases it is contracted to ׁ־ךְ, as in the *constr. st.* without suffixes (so throughout the plur. and in the poetical suffix יהִיְךְ of the 3rd *sing. masc.*); in the 2nd *masc.* and 3rd *fem. sing.* it is ׁ־ךְ (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. '—, pause '— my.	1. c. ינוּ— our.
2. { m. יָיָ— f. יָיָ—, pause יָיָ— } thy.	2. { m. יְכֶם— f. יְכֶן— } your.
3. { m. יָיָ—, poet. יָיָ— his. f. יָיָ— her.	3. { m. יְהֶם—, poet. יְמוּ— f. יְהֶן— } their.

Thus the original '— is (a) contracted in the 3rd sing. masc. *i* יָיָ— and throughout the plural, as סוּסַיְנוּ, &c.; (b) retained unchanged in the 1st sing. סוּסִי, the real suffix-ending ' (see b) being united with the final *Yôdh* of the ending '—; and in the 2nd fem. sing. סוּסַיְתִי, with a *helping-Hireq* after the *Yôdh*. On the other hand (c) the *Yôdh* of '— is lost in pronunciation and the *ā* lengthened to *ā* in the 3rd masc. sing. סוּסַיְוּ, i. e. *sūsāw* (pronounced *susā-u*).<sup>1</sup> The 2nd masc. sing. סוּסַיְךָ and the 3rd fem. sing. סוּסַיְתֵי were formerly also explained here as having really lost the ' , 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 סוּסַיְנוּ represents *sūsai-nū*, so סוּסַיְךָ and סוּסַיְתֵי 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 יְקַטְלָהּ as compared with יְקַטְלָהּ. In support of the view formerly adopted by us that the ' 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. יְרֵכֶךָ *thy ways* (probably יְרֵכֶךָ 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. (מִנְרֵשָׁה; but in 1 Ch 6<sup>40</sup> ff. always יָיָ—), 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 ' before suffixes cf. רַעֵיהוּ for רַעֵיהוּ *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*); עוֹנֵנוּ *our iniquities*, Is 64<sup>5.6</sup>, Jer 14<sup>7</sup>; Ex 10<sup>9</sup>, Neh 10<sup>1</sup> (לֹוֹנוּ from לֹוֹים which is always written defectively); Nu 29<sup>33</sup>; Jer 44<sup>9</sup>; יְרֵכֶם; ψ 134<sup>4</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, ויקרשיו occurs for ויקרשהו 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 י represent *aiû* or *eû*. 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 ' after the termination *ôth*? Cf. below, n.

defective writing is especially frequent in the 3rd masc. *sing.* וְ, which in *Q<sup>re</sup>* is almost always changed to וְ, e.g. אִצְוֹ his arrows, ψ 58<sup>8</sup>, *Q<sup>re</sup>* וְצִוִּי. On וְ, only three times וְהִרְוִי, cf. § 135 r.

- l 2. Unusual forms (but for the most part probably only scribal errors) are—  
*Sing.* 2nd pers. *fem.* הִי (after אֲשֶׁרִי happy! Ec 10<sup>17</sup>, which has become stereotyped as an interjection, and is therefore unchangeable; cf. Delitzsch on the passage); יְכִי (cf. Syr. כִּי) 2 K 4<sup>3</sup>, and 7 in *K<sup>eth.</sup>*, ψ 103<sup>3-5</sup>, 116<sup>7</sup> (יְכִי in *pause*).—In Ez 16<sup>31</sup> הִי (so יְכִי in 6<sup>8</sup>) occurs with an *inf.* ending in וְ, the וְ being therefore treated as a plural ending; similarly, the plural suffix is sometimes found with the feminine ending וְ (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>re</sup>*, and Zp 3<sup>20</sup>), with the ending *ith* (Lv 5<sup>24</sup>, reading וְהִמְשִׁיחֵנִי), and even with the ordinary feminine ending *ath*; Is 47<sup>13</sup>, Ez 35<sup>11</sup>, ψ 9<sup>15</sup>, Ezr 9<sup>15</sup>.—Wholly abnormal is מְלָאֲכָנָה thy messengers, Na 2<sup>4</sup>, evidently a case of dittography of the following הִי: read מְלָאֲכָנָה.

3rd masc. יהוֹ Hb 3<sup>10</sup>, Jb 24<sup>23</sup>; הוֹ I S 30<sup>26</sup>, Ez 43<sup>17</sup>, Na 2<sup>4</sup>; וְהִי (a purely Aramaic form) ψ 116<sup>12</sup>.—3rd fem. אִהִי Ez 41<sup>15</sup>.

*Plur.* The strange 2nd pers. *masc.* הַפּוֹצְוֹתֵיכֶם (with *i*, so Qimḥi; cf. Norzi) Jer 25<sup>34</sup>, is probably a mixed form combining הַפּוֹצְוֹתֵיכֶם and הַפּוֹצְוֹתֵיכֶם; *fem.* הַפּוֹצְוֹתֵיכֶם Ez 13<sup>20</sup>.

3rd masc. יְהִיָּה Ez 40<sup>16</sup>; *fem.* יְהִיָּהָה Ez 11<sup>1</sup>.

3. The termination מוֹ (also with the *dual*, e.g. ψ 58<sup>7</sup>, 59<sup>13</sup>), like מוֹ and מוֹ, occurs with the noun (as with the verb, § 58 g) almost exclusively in the later poets [viz. with a substantive in the singular, ψ 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>, ψ 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>, ψ 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 *Yōdh* 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 וְ, even to the feminine plural in וְ (קִיסוֹתֵינִי), (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 וְ (probably through the influence of Aramaic), e.g. עֲרוֹתֵי ψ 132<sup>12</sup> (unless it be *sing.* for עֲרוֹתֵי, as, according to Qimḥi in his *Lexicon*, 2 K 6<sup>8</sup> is for תַּחֲנוּתֵי); מִכְתָּבְךָ Dt 28<sup>59</sup> (treated on the analogy of an *inf.* לֵה);

<sup>1</sup> See an analogous case in § 87 s. Cf. also the double feminine ending in the 3rd *sing. perf.* of verbs לֵה, § 75 i.

אֲחֵי־וְיָהוָה Ez 16<sup>32</sup>. On the other hand מִצֹּתֶךָ (so Baer, Ginsb.; but Opit. יָהֲרִיבֶךָ) ψ 119<sup>98</sup>, Dn 9<sup>5</sup> is merely written defectively, like נִרְרָהֶךָ according to Baer (not Ginsb.) in Pr 1<sup>9</sup>, &c. In the 3rd 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 נְשֵׁמוֹתָם, נְשִׁמוֹתָם *their names*, דִּירוֹתָם *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 אֲבֹתֵיהֶם can only subsequently have taken the place of אֲבוֹתָם.

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 *ā* of this ending is only retained before the *grave* suffixes כֶּם and קֵן; 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>	סוּסֶיךָ <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>	סוּסָתֶיהָ <i>equa eius (sua).</i>
Plur. 1. <i>com.</i>	סוּסֵינוּ <i>our horse.</i>	סוּסָתֵנּוּ <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>	סוּסָתָם <i>equa eorum (sua).</i>
{ <i>f.</i>	סוּסָן <i>equus earum (suus).</i>	סוּסָתָן <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>	סוּסֵיהָ <i>equi eius (sui).</i>	סוּסוֹתֵיהָ <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 יִם־ 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, דְּבָרָנִי; plur. דְּבָרַי, דְּבָרֵיךְ, &c.; קָנָה wing, dual קַנְפָּיִם. With an unchangeable vowel in the second syllable: פְּקִיד overseer, plur. פְּקִידִים; with the suffix of the sing. פְּקִידֵי, פְּקִידָנִי, &c.; with the suff. of the plur. פְּקִידַי, פְּקִידֵיךְ, &c. With an unchangeable vowel in the first syllable: עוֹלָם eternity, plur. עוֹלָמִים, with suff. עוֹלָמֵי, &c.<sup>1</sup>

*c* But in participles of the form קָטַל, with tone-lengthened  $\bar{e}$  (originally  $\bar{i}$ ) in the second syllable, the  $\bar{e}$  regularly becomes *Šewā mobile* before a tone-bearing affix, e. g. אֶבֶר enemy, plur. אֶבְרִים, with suff. אֶבְרַי, &c. Likewise in words of the form קָטַל, קָטַל, &c. (with  $\bar{e}$  in the second syllable; § 84<sup>b</sup> *d, l, p*; § 85 *i* and *k*), e. g. אֵלֵם dumb, plur. אֵלָמִים.

*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  $\bar{i}$  of the first syllable is attenuated from an original  $\bar{a}$ ).

<sup>1</sup> The participles *Niph'al* נִדְּרָה Dt 30<sup>4</sup>, נִדְּרָהוּ 2 S 14<sup>13</sup>, and some plurals of the participle *Niph.* of verbs נִלְּ form an exception; cf. § 93 oo.

In the segholate forms in the singular and mostly in the dual the suffix is appended to the ground-form (מְלִכִּי *my king*, מְלִכָּיו, &c.); on the other hand, before the endings מִ—, וְ, (sometimes also before מִ—) a *Qames* regularly occurs,<sup>1</sup> before which the vowel of the first syllable then becomes vocal *Šewā* (מְלִכִּים, מְלִכוֹת). 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 מְלִכֵיךְ, &c., מְלִכֵיךְ from דְּלִתֵּיךְ *folding-doors*.

(c) Before the *Šewā mobile* which precedes the suffix ה when 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 מְלִכָּי in the same position it reverts to its original shortness, as דְּבַרְךָ (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; חֲצֵר הַבַּיִת; (from חֲצֵר).

Rem. The Masora (cf. *Diqduqe ha-š'amim*, p. 37) reckons thirteen words 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); מַצֵּב ψ 65<sup>6</sup>, Pr 25<sup>19</sup>; מַצֵּב I S 13<sup>28</sup> (so Baer, but ed. Mant., Ginsburg, &c. מַצֵּב); 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 ה of לִי stems before all formative additions (cf. § 91 d), the sharpening of the final consonant of ע"ע stems in such cases as חַק, חַקִּי, &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, קָטַלָּה, קָטַלְתָּ), but in a noun, the first (דְּבַר, דְּבַרְךָ, דְּבַרְיָם), 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** (**וֹתָם**—, **וֹתָן**—, **וֹתָם**—, **וֹתָן**—), 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, *mālk*, *sīphr*, *qūdš* have been developed by the adoption of a helping *Seghōl* to **מֶלֶךְ** (with *ā* modified to *è*), **סֶפֶר** (*i* lengthened to *è*), **קֹדֶשׁ** (*ā* lengthened to *ō*).<sup>2</sup> The next three examples, instead of the helping *Seghōl*, 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 *ō* takes the place of the original *ā*, and in *d* and *f* the guttural requires a repetition of the *ā* and *ō* in the form of a *Haṭeph* (**מַלְכִי**, **סֶפְרִי**); before a following *Šewā* this *Haṭeph* passes into a simple helping vowel (*ā*, *ō*), according to § 28 *c*; hence **מַלְכֵי**, &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 **סֶפֶר** and the *o* in **קֹדֶשׁ** are not long but accented, and hence to be pronounced *σέφρ*, *ὄζν* (קֹדֶשׁ), 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 *S<sup>e</sup>wd*. 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 *Dagesh* in a following *Begadkephath* (מַלְכֵי, not מַלְכֵי, &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. אָפִי, אָפִים, &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*, זָרַע, זָרַע *seed* (from זָרַע), and so always (except ψ 48<sup>11</sup>), in יָרְדֵי *earth* with the article, הַיָּרְדֵי, according to § 35 o (cf. also in the LXX the forms 'Αβέλ, 'Ιαφίθ for הַבֵּל, הַיֶּפֶת). However, the form with *è* is also sometimes found in *pause*, along with that in *ā*, e.g. הָסָר together with הָסָר; and very frequently only the form with *S<sup>e</sup>ghôl*, e.g. מִלְּקָה *grass*, נֶצְחָה *perpetuity*, מִלְּפָא *a wonder*, צְדָקָה *righteousness*, קָרָה *the East*, יִשְׁעָה *help*, &c.—With two *S<sup>e</sup>ghôls*, although with a middle guttural, we find לֶחֶם *bread* (in *pause* חֶמֶס) and רֶחֶם *womb* (in *pause* רָחַם), besides רָחַם Ju 5<sup>30</sup> (in *pause* חֶמֶס). A helping *S<sup>e</sup>ghôl* always stands before a final א, as טָנָה, דָּיָנָה (with  *suff.* טָנָה, פָּלָה, פָּרָה (also written פָּרָה), except in נִינָה, 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), c.g. נָבַר ψ 18<sup>26</sup>; זָרַע

## 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>	מֶלְכֶךָ	סִפְרֶךָ	קֹדְשֶׁךָ	נְעָרֶךָ	נֶצְחֶךָ	פְּעוּלֶךָ
<i>Plur. absolute</i>	מְלָכִים	סִפְרִים	[קֹדְשִׁים]	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)	קַבְצִיִּים (two heaps)	מַתְנִיִּים (loins)	נַעֲלָיִם (sandals)		
„ <i>construct</i>	רַגְלֵי	[proper name.]	מַתְנֵי	נַעֲלֵי		

## II.

	a.	b.	c.	d.	e.	f.
<i>Sing. absolute</i>	דָּבָר (word)	חָכֶם (wise)	זָקֵן (an old man)	פְּתָף (shoulder)	חֲצֵר (court)	שָׂדֶה (field)
„ <i>construct</i>	דָּבָר	חָכֶם	זָקֵן	פְּתָף	חֲצֵר	שָׂדֶה
„ <i>with light suff.</i>	דְּבָרִי	חֲכָמִי	זָקֵנִי	פְּתָפִי	חֲצָרִי	שָׂדֵי
„ <i>with grave suff.</i>	דְּבָרְךָ	חֲכָמְךָ				שָׂדֶךָ
„ <i>with grave suff.</i>	דְּבָרֶיכֶם	חֲכָמֶיכֶם				
<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>	כַּנְפָּיִם (wings)	חֲלָצִיִּים (loins)	יֵרֵכִים (thighs)			
„ <i>construct</i>	כַּנְפֵי					(face)



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, יָם	אִם	חֵק
מוֹתֵי	זַיִתֵי	שׁוֹטֵי	פְּרִיֵי	יָמֵי	אִמֵי	חֻקֵי
מוֹתֶיךָ	זַיִתְךָ	שׁוֹטְךָ	פְּרִיְךָ	יָמֶךָ	אִמְךָ	חֻקְךָ
מוֹתֵיכֶם	זַיִתְכֶם	שׁוֹטְכֶם	פְּרִיְכֶם	יָמֵיכֶם	אִמְכֶם	חֻקְכֶם
[מוֹתֵי]	זַיִתִּים	שׁוֹטִים	פְּרִיִים	יָמִים	אִמוֹת	חֻקִּים
מוֹתֵי	זַיִתֵי	שׁוֹטֵי	פְּרִיֵי	יָמֵי	אִמוֹת	חֻקֵי
	זַיִתֵי	שׁוֹטֵי	(kids)	יָמֵי	אִמוֹתֵי	חֻקֵי
	זַיִתְכֶם	שׁוֹטְכֶם		יָמֵיכֶם	אִמוֹתֵיכֶם	חֻקְכֶם
	עֵינַיִם	יוֹמִים	לְחָיִים	כַּפָּיִם	שֵׁנַיִם	
	(eyes)	(two days, biduum)	(cheeks)	(hands)	(teeth)	
	עֵינֵי		לְחָיֵי	כַּפָּי	שֵׁנֵי	

III.

IV.

<i>a.</i>	<i>b.</i>	<i>c.</i>	<i>a.</i>	<i>b.</i>	<i>c.</i>
עוֹלָם	אֵיב	חֹה	פְּקִיד	עָנִי	כְּתָב
(eternity)	(enemy)	(seer)	(overseer)	(poor)	(writing)
עוֹלָם	אֵיב	חֹה	פְּקִיד	עָנִי	כְּתָב
עוֹלָמֵי	אֵיבֵי	חֹוֵי	פְּקִידֵי		כְּתָבֵי
עוֹלָמְךָ	אֵיבְךָ	חֹוְךָ	פְּקִידְךָ		כְּתָבְךָ
עוֹלָמְכֶם	אֵיבְכֶם	חֹוְכֶם	פְּקִידְכֶם		כְּתָבְכֶם
עוֹלָמִים	אֵיבִים	חֹוִים	פְּקִידִים	עָנִיִּים	[כְּתָבִים]
עוֹלָמֵי	אֵיבֵי	חֹוֵי	פְּקִידֵי	עָנִי	[כְּתָבֵי]
עוֹלָמֵי	אֵיבֵי	חֹוֵי	פְּקִידֵי		[כְּתָבֵי]
עוֹלָמֵיכֶם	אֵיבֵיכֶם	חֹוֵיכֶם	פְּקִידֵיכֶם	עָנִיֵיכֶם	[כְּתָבֵיכֶם]
מְלָקָחִים	מֵאֻנָּים		שָׁבָעִים		
(pair of tongs)	(balance)		(two weeks)		
	מֵאֻנֵי				

(only in Nu 11<sup>7</sup>, before Maqqeph), חָרַר Ju 3<sup>24</sup> (but Ct 3<sup>4</sup> חָרָר), נָטַע, as well as וָרַע, &c.; cf., moreover, קָחַת 2 K 12<sup>9</sup> (for קָחַת, *infin. constr.* from לָקַח).

i C. The הַ־ locale is, according to § 90 i, regularly added to the already developed form, e.g. הַבְּתָחָה Gn 19<sup>6</sup>, to the door; but also with a firmly closed syllable הַבְּתָחָה Ex 4c<sup>24</sup>; under the influence of a guttural or ר, הַרְרָה, אַרְרָה, in pause אַרְרָה (cf. הַרְרָה 1 Ch 14<sup>16</sup>, from הַרְרָה).

k D. The suffixes of the singular are likewise added to the ground-form, but forms with middle guttural take *Haṭeph-Pathah* instead of the *S<sup>wā</sup> quiescens*; גַּעְרִי, &c. (but also לְחַמִּי, וְעַמִּי, &c.). In a rather large number of *qāṭl*-forms, however, before suffixes in the sing., as well as in the *constr. st. plur.* and dual, the *ā* of the first syllable is attenuated to *ī*,<sup>1</sup> thus בְּטַנִּי *my womb*, יַתְרוֹ; so in בְּנָדָר, בְּנָצַע, בְּנָע, בָּבַח, בָּבַח, פָּשַׁע, פָּתַח, צָצַק, קָרַב, קָרַב, רָשַׁע, שָׁמַשׁ, and many others. In some cases of this kind besides the form with *ā* there most probably existed another with original *ī* in the first syllable; thus certainly with אִשָּׁע beside אִשָּׁע, אִשָּׁע beside אִשָּׁע, &c. (According to the *Diquḏe ha-ṯamim*, § 36, the *absolute st.* in such cases takes *ē*, the *constr. ā*; cf. חָרַר Nu 30<sup>4</sup> (*absol.*) and חָרַר 30<sup>10</sup> (*constr.*); שָׁבַר Lv 24<sup>20</sup> (*absol.*) and שָׁבַר Am 6<sup>6</sup> (*constr.*). According to this theory<sup>2</sup> פָּלֵא (so the best authorities) Is 9<sup>5</sup> would be the *constr. st.*, although the accentuation requires an *absol. st.*)—A weakening of the firmly closed syllable occurs in בְּנָדָר, &c. from בְּנָדָר and יִקְבֹּךְ Dt 15<sup>14</sup>, 16<sup>13</sup>, in both cases evidently owing to the influence of the palatal in the middle of the stem. With *S<sup>ghól</sup>* for *ī*: הַבְּלִי, יִשְׁעָךְ, נְנָדִי, &c.

l E. In the plural the termination וֹת is found as well as יִם, e.g. נְפִשׁוֹת, עֲצָמוֹת together with נְפִשִׁים (Ez 13<sup>20</sup> [but read חֲפִשִׁים; see comm.]), &c., *constr. st.* נְפִשׁוֹת. Other nouns have only the ending וֹת, e.g. אַרְצוֹת, *constr.* אַרְצוֹת from אַרְצָה. Without *Qames* before the ending יִם we find רַחֲמִים (*bowels*) *mercy*. On the numerals עֶשְׂרִים *twenty*, &c., cf. § 97 f, note 2. Moreover a *is* not inserted before plural suffixes with the tone on the penultima in אִשְׁרֵיךְ, &c., properly *thy happiness!* (a word which is only used in the *constr. st. pl.* and at an early period became stereotyped as a kind of interjection).

m F. In the *constr. st. plural* a firmly closed syllable is sometimes found, contrary to the rule, e.g. בְּסַפִּיָּהֶם Gn 42<sup>25, 25</sup>; רִשְׁפֵי Ct 8<sup>6</sup> (רִשְׁפֵי ψ 76<sup>4</sup>); טַרְפֵי Ez 17<sup>9</sup>; צַמְדֵי Is 5<sup>10</sup>, and so always in נְסַפִּיָּכֶם Nu 29<sup>39</sup>, נְסַפִּיָּהֶם ψ 16<sup>4</sup>, &c. (on the other hand, according to the best authorities *not* in חֲסֵרֵי Is 55<sup>3</sup>, &c., though in ψ 107<sup>43</sup> Ginsburg reads חֲסֵרֵי); cf. § 46 d. Even with a middle guttural בְּעֵלְיָהֶן Est 1<sup>17, 20</sup>.—The attenuation of *ā* to *ī* also occurs sometimes in this form (see above, k), e.g. וְבַחִי, &c., even יִלְרֵי Is 57<sup>4</sup> beside יִלְרֵי Ho 1<sup>2</sup>, &c.

n G. In the *dual absol.* beside forms like רַגְלָיִם *feet*, with suff. רַגְלָיִךְ, &c. רַגְלָיו, &c. אֲלֵפָיִם *two thousand*, גַּעְלָיִם *sandals*, בְּרַפְיָם *knees* (*ā* attenuated to *ī*, *constr. st.* בְּרַפְיִי with a firmly closed syllable), with suffixes בְּרַפְיִי, &c. (cf., however, בְּרַפְיָהֶם Ju 7<sup>6</sup>), forms with pretonic *Qames* are also found (in consequence of the

<sup>1</sup> According to M. Lambert, *REJ.* 1896, p. 21, *a* tends to remain with labials; so in 14 cases out of 22 masculines, and in 3 out of 6 feminines.

<sup>2</sup> Probably only a theory of one particular school and not generally accepted, or at any rate not consistently carried out; cf. König, *Lehrgeb.*, ii. 22.

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. דְּלָתַי דְּלָתַי 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>20</sup>, &c., retaining the *Qameṣ* 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 עֲשׂוֹב*) Pr 27<sup>25</sup>, cf. § 20 *h*; שַׁקְמִים *sycamores*, without *Qameṣ* before the termination אִ— (see above, *l*), is probably from the sing. שַׁקְמָה found in the Mišna.

3. On Paradigms *c* and *f*. קִשְׁטַּי occurs in Pr 22<sup>21</sup> without a helping vowel; *p* with a middle guttural בָּעַל, &c., but with ה also אָהָל, בָּהֶן; with a final guttural גָּבַהּ, רָבַע, &c., but with א, גָּמָא; with a firmly closed syllable אִסְפֵּי Mi 7<sup>1</sup>.

Before suffixes the original *ü* sometimes reappears in the sing., e.g. גָּדְלוּ (*ψ* 150<sup>2</sup>) beside גְּדָלוּ, from גְּדָל greatness; סִבְלוּ (with *Dageš forte dirimens*, and the *ü* repeated in the form of a *Ḥateph-Qameṣ*, cf. § 10 *h*) Is 9<sup>3</sup>, &c.; גִּשְׁמָה Ez 22<sup>24</sup>.—Corresponding to the form פִּעְעֵלְכֶם *pō'ol'khēm* 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 קִטְנִי 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 קִטְנוּ, not *qūtūn*, 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 קִטְנִי is merely intended to mark the vowel expressly as *ö*. In the forms פִּעְעֵלוּ Is 1<sup>31</sup> (for פִּעְעֵלוּ) and תִּאָּרוּ Is 52<sup>14</sup> (for תִּאָּרוּ 1 S 28<sup>14</sup>), the lengthening of the original *ü* to *ō* has been retained even before the suffix; cf. § 63 *p* and § 74 *h* (בְּמַעֲבָאֵם Gn 32<sup>20</sup>).—In the same way *ō* remains before הֶ— *locale*, e.g. גִּרְנָה הַגְּאֵהָה Gn 18<sup>6</sup>, 24<sup>67</sup>, &c. Dissimilation of the vowel (or a by-form נִבְחָ?) seems to occur in נִכְחוּ Ex 14<sup>2</sup>, Ez 46<sup>9</sup>, for נִכְחוּ.

In the *absol. st. plur.* the original *ü* generally becomes *Š<sup>e</sup>wā* before the *Qameṣ*, *r* e.g. בְּקָרִים from בְּקָר morning, פְּעָלִים 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-Qameṣ*, e.g. חֳדָשִׁים months, עֲפָרִים gazelles, אֲרָחוֹת ways; and so even without an initial guttural הַגְּרָנוֹת the threshing-floors, 1 S 23<sup>1</sup>, Jo 2<sup>24</sup>; קִדְשִׁים sanctuaries, and שְׁרָשִׁים roots (*qudḥāšīm*, &c., with *ö* for הֶ—); also קִדְשֵׁי [but קִדְשֵׁי, קִדְשָׁיו, once 'ק], where, however, the reading frequently fluctuates between 'ק and 'ק; with the article הַקֵּ, בְּקֵ, לְקֵ, according to Baer and Ginsburg. On these forms cf. especially § 9 *v*. From אָהָל tent, both בְּאֵהָלִים and אֵהָלִים (cf. § 23 *h* and פִּעְעֵלוּ above) are found; with light suffixes אֵהָלֵי, &c.; so from אֲרָחַתְּוֵי (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>29</sup>) and אַרְחֹת in the latter (e.g. Jb 13<sup>27</sup> according to the reading of Ben Naphtali and Qimḥi); cf. also אַרְחֵי־וַיֹּת 2 Ch 8<sup>18</sup> K<sup>eth.</sup> (אַרְחֵי Q<sup>erē</sup>).—The *constr. st.* plural of בָּהֶן *thumb* is בְּהֹנוֹת Ju 16<sup>1</sup>, as if from a sing. בְּהֵן: of נְהֵה *brightness*, Is 59<sup>9</sup> נְהֹת (on these *q<sup>e</sup>lōl*-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. (אַפְּנֵי, the ground-form of אַפְּנָה, with suffix).

In the *constr. st. plur.* the only example with original *ä* is רְכֵי־וַיֹּת  $\psi$  31<sup>21</sup>; otherwise like קְדֵי־וַיֹּת, אֲהֵי, &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 קַטֵּל; רֵבֶשׁ *honey*, מְעַט *little*; in *pause*, רֵבֶשׁ, מְעַט; מְעַט *man* (as *constr. st.*, see above, *h*),  $\psi$  18<sup>26</sup> (elsewhere always מְעַטְּ), and *infinitives* like שֶׁכַּב (§ 45 c; on קַחַת, see above, *h*); שֶׁכַּם *shoulder*, *ä* being modified to *è* (but in *pause* שֶׁכַּם); locative שֶׁכַּמָּה, also שֶׁכַּמָּה Ho 6<sup>9</sup>. With suffixes in the usual manner שֶׁכַּמִּי, שֶׁכַּכָּה Gn 19<sup>38.35</sup> (an *inf.* with suffix, therefore not שֶׁכַּכָּה). On the other hand, the *ä* is retained in the *plur. absol.* by sharpening the final consonant: אֲנַמִּים (*constr.* אֲנַמִּי) *marshes*, הַרְפִּים *myrtles*, מְעַטִּים *few*.

*t* (*b*) Of the form קַטֵּל; בְּאֵר *a well*, זֶאֵב *wolf*, &c.<sup>1</sup>; locative בְּאֵרָה, with *suff.* בְּאֵרֵי, *plur.* זֶאֵבִים, זֶאֵבֵי; but בְּאֵרוֹת, *constr.* בְּאֵרוֹת; on the *inf.* *constr.* שֶׁאֵת, cf. § 76 b.

(*c*) of the form קַטֵּל; בְּאֵשׁ *stench* (with *suff.* בְּאֵשׁוֹ, just as סִבְכֵן occurs in Jer 4<sup>7</sup> along with the *constr. st.* סִבְכֵר  $\psi$  74<sup>5</sup>; cf. for the Dages, § 20 *h*), perhaps also לְאֵם *nation*, *pl.* לְאֵמִים.

¶ 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 מְוֹת אֵו, *vanity*, עֵוֹל *iniquity*, מִדְּסֵת *midst*; with final א, שְׁוֹא *falsehood*; cf. however, also רְוֹחַ *space*. In the *constr. st.* contraction always occurs, מוֹת, &c. (from original *maut*), and likewise before suffixes מוֹתוֹ, &c. Exception, עֵוֹל as *constr. st.* Ez 28<sup>18</sup> (according to Qimḥi) and with *suff.* עֵוֹלוֹ. The contraction remains also in all cases in the plural (but see below, *w*).

¶ (*b*) Of the form *qätl* with consonantal *Yódh* (Paradigm *h*). With final א, נֵיא (also נֵי), in Is 40<sup>4</sup> נֵיא, in the *constr. st.* (also *absol.* Zc 14<sup>4</sup>) נֵיא (also נֵי); *plur.* 2 K 2<sup>16</sup> and Ez 6<sup>3</sup> K<sup>eth.</sup> according to Baer נֵאות, i. e. doubtless נֵאות (cf. נֵאוֹתֵי Ez 35<sup>8</sup>; according to another reading [and so Ginsburg] נֵאוֹת,

<sup>1</sup> The proposal of Haupt (*SBOT*. 'Proverbs', p. 34, l. 44 ff.) to read נֵאב, &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 תֵּאָרְבֵי, no doubt on the analogy of בְּאֵר, &c., for תֵּאָרְבֵי, which was probably intended, see § 63 *m*.

i. e. doubtless נִיאֹות, but in *Q'ré*, and all other passages, נִיאֹות. 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. בֵּיתָהּ יוֹסֵף).—עִירָהּ (from עִירָהּ) Gn 49<sup>11</sup> is peculiar, so also שִׁתּוֹ Is 10<sup>17</sup> (from שִׁתּוֹ).—In the *plural absol.* uncontracted forms occur, like חֲלִילִים *hosts*, עֵינֹות *springs*, עֵצִים *young asses*, הַיִּשָּׁים *he-goats*, &c.; as *constr. st.* Pr 8<sup>28</sup> עֵינֹות for עֵינֹות.

(c) With the contraction of the ו and י even in the *absol. st. sing.* (Paradigm *4*). In this way there arise formations which are unchangeable throughout; thus from the ground-form *qātl*: יוֹם (cf., however, § 96), סוֹף, &c.; with middle *Yōdh*, חֵיל 1 Ch 9<sup>13</sup> (elsewhere חֵילִי, לֵיל Is 21<sup>11</sup> (elsewhere לֵילִי, in prose לֵילָהּ, see above, § 90 *f*); from the ground-form *qīl*, דִּין, עֵיר (see, however, § 96); from the ground-form *qūl*, גּוֹר, רוּחַ, &c. The plurals דְּרוֹדִים *pots*, שְׁוֹקִים *streets*, שְׁוֹרִים *oxen*, have a strong formation (but for חוֹרִים 1 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 ראשׁ *head* (obscured from ראשׁ = *ra's*, see § 96) and צֹאן *sheep*.

6. On Paradigm *k*: segholate forms from ל"ה stems. Besides the formations (2) mentioned in § 84<sup>a</sup> c, e, like בְּבָהּ, &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 חֲנִי and קֶצְוִי or חֲנִי and קֶצְוִי), there occur also (a) commonly, of the ground-form *qāl*, forms like פָּרִי, בָּבִי, גָּרִי, לָחִי, צָבִי, אָרִי, &c.; in *pause* פָּרִי, בָּבִי, לָחִי, צָבִי (cf. § 29 *m*), but יָרִי Ju 14<sup>18</sup>; with suffixes פָּרִי (attenuated from *pāryō*), ψ 6<sup>9</sup>, but also לָחִי, פָּרִי, &c.; before a grave suffix פָּרִיָהּ, but also פָּרִיָהּ. Plur. גְּדִיִּים (*constr.* גְּדִיִּי, see above, o, חֲטָאִי, אֲרִיִּים and אֲרִיֹות; with softening of the י 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> *K<sup>eth.</sup>*; probably in דְּוִדִּים and לְוִלִי; also חֲלֻכָאִים ψ 10<sup>10</sup> *K<sup>eth.</sup>*, divided into two words by the Masora, is to be referred to a sing. חֲלֻבִי *hapless*): חֲלָאִים *jewels*, Ct 7<sup>2</sup> (from חָלִי), טְלָאִים *lambs*, Is 40<sup>11</sup> (from טָלִי); but instead of פְּתָאִים and צְבָאִים (from פְּתִי and צְבִי) the Masora requires פְּתָאִים and צְבָאִים; dual: לְחַיִּים, *constr. st.* לְחַיִּי, with *suffix* לְחַיִּי. &c. On דֶּל *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 *qīl*, חֲצִי *half*, in *pause* חֲצִי, with *suffix* חֲצִי, &c.—*y* From stems with middle *Wāw* arise such forms as אִי (from 'iwy), עֵי, צֵי *ship*, plur. אֵיִם, צֵיִם, &c.; instead of the extraordinary plur. צֵים Nu 24<sup>24</sup> read with the Samaritan וְצֵאִים, and for בְּצֵים Ez 30<sup>9</sup> read probably with Cornill אֲצֵים.

(c) From the ground-form *qūl* sometimes forms like תָּהוּ, בָּהוּ (from *tāhu*, ≈ *bāhu*), 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 קֶצְוִי would be קֶצְוִה, קֶצְוֹת, קֶצְוֹת, קֶצְוֹת, קֶצְוֹת, קֶצְוֹת, קֶצְוֹת, קֶצְוֹת.

צָרִי (also יָפִי, דָּמִי, צָרִי, רָאִי, &c.; in *pause* חָלִי, &c., with suff. חָלִי, plur. חָלִיִּים. From עָפְרִי *branch*, there occurs in  $\psi$  104<sup>12</sup> the plur. עָפְרָיִם (analogous to אֲפָרָיִם, &c., see above, x); the *K<sup>eth</sup>*. evidently intends עָפְרָיִם (so Opatius and others). Dual, with suff. דְּלָיו Nu 24<sup>7</sup>, *bucket* (from דָּלִי, for דְּלָי), more correctly, with the Masora, דְּלָיו with Munah for Metheg. This unusual Metheg is to be treated as following the analogy of the cases mentioned in § 9 v.

uu 7. On Paradigms l-n: segholate forms from stems ע"ע (see § 84<sup>a</sup> c,  $\beta$ ).

(a) In the *qatl*-form the *ä* of the contracted formation is sometimes lengthened in the *absol. st.*, sing. as in יָם (so also in the *constr. st.*, except in the combination יַם־סוּף *the Red sea*; and even before *Maqqeph*, יַם־הַפְּלִיחַ *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 לְחַיִּים, צַחִים 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 הֶרְרָה. The stem is expanded to a trilateral form in הֶרְרִי (unless it is simply derived from a by-form הֶרֶר on the analogy of *qätäl*-forms) Jer 17<sup>3</sup> (but in  $\psi$  30<sup>8</sup> for הֶרְרִי read הֶרְרִי) and הֶרְרָם Gn 14<sup>6</sup>; plur. *constr.* הֶרְרִי Nu 23<sup>7</sup>, &c. (but only in poetical passages), with suffix, הֶרְרִיָּה Dt 8<sup>9</sup>; with suffix, עַמְמִים Ju 5<sup>14</sup> (where, however, read probably בַּעֲמֹךְ), Neh 9<sup>22</sup>; עַמְמִי Neh 9<sup>24</sup>: elsewhere עַמִּים, עַמִּי.—Before *suffixes* and in the plur. *ä* is sometimes attenuated to *i*, e.g. פָּתִי, פָּתִים, from פַּת; סָפִים and סָפוֹת (also סָפוֹת 2 S 17<sup>28</sup>) from סָף. Before ה *ä* is retained in a virtually sharpened syllable, e.g. פָּחִים *traps*.

bb (b) *Qätl*-forms: אֵשׁ, אֵשׁ־אֵשׁ *fire* (with suff. אֵשִׁי, but cf. also אֵשְׁכֶם Is 50<sup>11</sup>), חֵן *favour*, &c.; of a trilateral form, the plur. חֵנִים  $\psi$  77<sup>18</sup>.

(c) *Qätl*-forms: חֵק, כֹּל *totality*, before *Maqqeph* חֶק, -בָּל, with suff. חֶקִּי, &c., with omission of *Dageš forte* (according to § 20 m) always חֶקֶךְ, חֶקְכֶם, but from עוֹ, עוֹנֶךְ, עוֹנֶכֶם, עוֹנֶיךָ, עוֹנֶיכֶם, for which עוֹנֶיךָ and עוֹנֶיכֶם are also found. חֶקְכֶי, expanded to a trilateral form, Ju 5<sup>15</sup> and Is 10<sup>1</sup>, generally explained as a secondary form of חֶקְכֶי with abnormal weakening of the *ä* to *i*, is more probably to be referred to a *qätl*-form = Arabic *hiqq*.

CC The forms with assimilated middle *Nún* likewise follow the analogy of Paradigms l-n, e.g. אָף *nose, anger* (אָפִים, dual אָפִים, also *face*) for 'any; חֶךְ *palate* for *hink*, חֶךְ *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 נִפְשֶׁךְ (otherwise only in 2 S 15<sup>21</sup>, after תִּי יְהוּה, 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 אֲנִי (חַי אֲנִי Dt 32<sup>40</sup>) and חַי יְהוּה (= חַי אֲדָנִי).

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 חֵלֶב לֶבָן *milk*, לָבָן, Gn 49<sup>12</sup>, instead of the ordinary *absolutes* חָלֶב, חָלָב, a secondary form חֵלֶב לָבָן must be assumed; from עָשָׁן *smoke*, the *constr. st.* עָשָׁן occurs once, Ex 19<sup>18</sup>, beside עֲשָׁן, from הָדָר *ornament* the *constr. st.* הָדָר Dn 11<sup>20</sup>, beside the common form הִדָּר.—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 *cc* keep the preceding vowel short, e.g. פְּלִגּוֹת 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 חֲכָמֵי, עֲנוּי, but חֲזָקֵי, 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 וְנִבּוֹת, בְּנִפּוֹת, and (in the dual) בְּנִפֵי *wings*, from וְנָבָה, בְּנָה.—The dual נְהַרֵי from נְהָר *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 חֵלֶל, עָנָן, &c., belong to this class.

C. The few nouns of the ground-form *qāṭāl* follow the same analogy, such as לֵבָב *heart*, שֵׁכָר *strong drink*, עֵנָב *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 צֶלַע *rib*, צָלַע and even צָלַע 2 S 16<sup>13</sup> (so ed. Mant., Ginsb.; but Baer צָלַע), both, probably, old secondary forms (also used for the *absol. st.*) of צָלַע; cf. also צָלַע and צָלַע, as well as the *constr. st. plur.* צָלַעוֹת; also from נֶבֶר *strangeness*, the *constr. st.* נֶבֶר is found, Dt 31<sup>16</sup>.

2. On Paradigms *c-e*: ground-form *qāṭil*, developed to *qāṭel*; 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. וְנָן, חָדַל, חָסַר, &c., but not before suffixes, כִּתְפֵי, &c., nor in forms from *א"ל* stems, e.g. מָלֵא *full*, מָלֵא; 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 בָּתָר, &c., have a segholate form, as אָרַךְ, יָרַךְ, גָּזַל, עָרַל (Ez 44<sup>9</sup>), *constr. st.* of אָרַךְ *long*, יָרַךְ *wall*, יָרַךְ *thigh*, גָּזַל *robbery*, עָרַל *uncircumcised*. In Is 11<sup>14</sup> בְּבִתָּהּ would be altogether without precedent as a *constr. st.* (for בְּבִתָּהּ); most probably the *absol. st.* is intended by the Masora (according to Nöldeke, *Gött. Gel. Anzeigen*, 1871, No. 23 [p. 896] for בכ' אֶחָד *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. חֲפָצֵי, יִשְׁנֵי, אֲבָלֵי, שְׂמֹחֵי, שְׂכַחֵי; cf. also יִתְרָתֵי (with *ē* under the protection of the secondary tone) from יִתֵר *tent-peg*. On the other hand from יָרַא *fearing*, always יָרֵא; cf. also רִנְעֵי ψ 35<sup>20</sup> from רִנַּע.—With *ā* retained in the initial syllable cf. אָחָר *alius* (with a virtual sharpening of the ח).—From *ע"ע* stems come forms like מֵת *dead person*, גֵּר *resident stranger*, עֵד *witness*, with unchangeable *Šeré*; hence מֵתִי, מֵתֵי, &c.

Kindred in character are the formations from the ground-form *qāṭil*. This *kk*

ground-form is regularly lengthened to *qāṭōl*, e.g. עָלַל *round*, עָמַק *deep*, אָרָם *red*; but before formative additions the short *ū* returns, protected by the sharpening of the following consonant (see *ee* above), as עָנְלִים, &c. (but in stems with a third guttural or ר, נָבְהָה, נִשְׁתָּרִים). The form עָנְלוֹל, 1 K 10<sup>18</sup>, is abnormal; likewise עֲמֻקָּה Pr 23<sup>27</sup>, Jablonski (ed. Mant. עֲמֻקָּה, Baer and Ginsburg עֲמֻקָּה).

ll 3. On Paradigm *f*: ground-form *qāṭāl* 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 מִשְׁתִּיהֶם, 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 *qāṭāl*-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.

mmm 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 *suff.* יָדוֹ, but יָדְכֶם; plur. יָדוֹת, constr. יָדוֹת, dual יָדָי, יָדֵי, with *suff.* יָדֵיכֶם, יָדֵי, &c., and in דָּם *blood*, constr. דָּם, with *suff.* דָּמִי, but דָּמְכֶם (*ā* attenuated to *ē*), plur. דָּמִים, דָּמֵי. But perhaps both these nouns are to be regarded as primitive (§ 81), and as original monosyllabic formations.

nnn 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>ewa</sup>* (Paradigm *a*, but cf. also examples like אֲפָנִים *wheels*, for אֲפָנִים, and אֲלֻמִּים *porches*), secondly, the cases in which the vowel becomes *S<sup>ewa</sup>* 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 מְקַטְחוֹ 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. מְקַרְיָא from מְקַרְיָא<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 נְקַרְיָאִים but also נְקַבְיָאִים 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 ר (according to § 20 *m*).



and so always נְבָאִים (except Ez 13<sup>2</sup> הַנְּבָאִים) and נִמְצְאִים 1 S 13<sup>15</sup>, 2 K 14<sup>14</sup>, &c. (except Ezr 8<sup>25</sup> הַנְּמִצְאִים in pause).<sup>1</sup>

Moreover, the other participles in *ā* also follow the analogy of עֹלָם as *pp* regards the final syllable (מִקְטָל, מִקְטַל; cf., however, הַפּוֹשֵׁב 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. קִרְבָּן*, hence in plur. *constr.* with *suff.* קִרְבָּנֵיהֶם Lv 7<sup>38</sup>; עֲקָרָב (§ 85 *w*), plur. עֲקָרְבַיִם (with sharpening of the final consonant for עֲקָרְבַיִם, cf. also עֵרֹם *naked*, plur. עֵרְפָּיִם Gn 3<sup>7</sup> [but in 2<sup>25</sup> מְעֲרָפָיִם, according to § 90 an orthographic licence for עֲרָפָיִם from עֵרֹם], עֲרָפָיִם *nakedness*, 2 Ch 28<sup>15</sup>; קָרְדָּמוֹ, קָרְדָּמָיִ, מְעַמְמָיִ Is 51<sup>10</sup>; נִבְכְּדָיִ Is 23<sup>8 f.</sup>; מִשְׁנֵבֵי ψ 18<sup>3</sup>; even with attenuation of the *ā* to *ī*, מוֹרְגָיִם *threshing instruments*, 2 S 24<sup>22</sup>, 1 Ch 21<sup>23</sup>, from מוֹרְגָן, מוֹתָן (§ 85 *g*), מִיָּגָן (§ 85 *l*), מְעוֹן (§ 85 *k*), inasmuch as they retain the *ā* of the first syllable, contrary to rule, even when not pretonic, e.g. מְעוֹנֵי, מְעוֹנֵי; מוֹשָׁב (§ 85 *g*), מוֹשָׁבֵי (§ 85 *p*), *constr. st. plur.* הַשִּׁבְי 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, צְוָאֵר *neck* (from *šāw'ār*), *constr. st.* צְוָאֵר Jer 28<sup>10 ff.</sup>, *constr. st. plur.* צְוָאֵרֵי Gn 45<sup>14</sup>, &c.

2. (Paradigm *b*; cf. § 84<sup>a</sup> *s*.) Instead of the original *ī* in such forms as אֱבֹהָבִים (cf. 2 K 22<sup>29</sup>), the second syllable more frequently has *ē*, e.g. יִצְרָרִי *thy creator*; with a closing guttural (according to § 91 *d*; but cf. also אֲבָר Dt 32<sup>28</sup>) forms are found sometimes like שֹׁלְחָךְ, sometimes like בְּרִאֲךְ; *constr. st.* without *suff.* נָטַע ψ 94<sup>9</sup> (according to § 65 *d*); with a middle guttural נֶאֱלָךְ 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*, נִבַּן, &c. (but with exceptions, as שְׁלֵשִׁים, (רִבְעִים, and *ibid.* *l, p*; § 85 *i, k* (מִזְבֵּחַ *altar*, *constr. st.* מִזְבְּחָת, 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 מִשְׁפָּיִהֶם 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>; נִזְטִייהֶם *who stretched them forth*, Is 42<sup>5</sup>; defectively אֲפֵיהֶם Ho 7<sup>5</sup> (cf. נִהָהֶם 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 מַחֲנֵיךְ *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> הַנְּמִצְאִים is always followed by a preposition governing a word, so that the punctuators perhaps intended to indicate a sort of *constr. st.*

מִרְאִיו *thy cattle*, Is 30<sup>23</sup> (probably also שְׂרִירָה 1 K 2<sup>26</sup>), מִרְאֵי Ct 2<sup>14</sup>, and מִרְאִיו *the sight of him*, Jb 41<sup>1</sup> (with the *ʾ* here retained orthographically), מִעֲלָיו 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 מִמְחִים 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*, גָּדוֹל, &c. (with *ô*, not changeable *ô* for *î*); in substantives like שְׁלָמִים, this *ô* is demonstrably obscured from *â* (Arab. *sālām*); *ibid.* *l, m*, אָסִיר, אֶסִיר, &c.; § 85 *u*, וְזָרוֹן, *constr.* וְזָרוֹן; חָזִיוֹן, *constr.* חָזִיוֹן; בְּלָיוֹן, *constr.* בְּלָיוֹן (cf., however, the forms in the *constr. st.* עֲצָבוֹן, קִנְמוֹן, and with the plural suffix עֲבוּלָיִךָ Ez 27<sup>12</sup>); § 85 *w*, חֲלָמִישׁ, *constr.* חֲלָמִישׁ; § 85 *l*, מְקוֹם, &c.

*uv* 2. עָנִי (ground-form *ʾāniy*, 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*.

*uwv* 3. פֶּתַח with unchangeable *ā* in the second syllable, whilst the  $\check{S}^{ew\acute{a}}$  is weakened from a short vowel (Arab. *kūtāb*); *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 *q̄tāl*-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 סָרִיסִים, פְּרִיצִים, שְׁלֵיִשִּׁים, whilst the *constr. st. sing.* according to the rule, changes the *ā* into  $\check{S}^{ew\acute{a}}$  (פְּרִיִן, סָרִיסִים). (These are not to be confounded with forms like עֲרִיִן *tyrant*, which is for עָרִיִן, and consequently has an unchangeable *Qameṣ*.) Of the form קָטַל (*qāṭil*) in this class are שָׁבֹעַ *week*, plur. שָׁבָעִים and שְׁבָעוֹת, *constr.* שְׁבָעוֹת, but with *Metheg* of the secondary tone in the fifth syllable from the end, שְׁבָעוֹתֵיכֶם.—On מָעוֹן, &c., cf. § 85 *k*.

## § 94. Formation of Feminine Nouns.

1. The feminine ending הַ־, 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*) מַלְּכָה *queen*, כְּבִשָּׂה, and with attenuation of *ā* to *ī* כְּבִשָּׂה *lamb*, רֶצֶפָה *hot stone*, Is 6<sup>6</sup> (from another root רֶצַפָה; see Baer on Ez 40<sup>17</sup>), חִזְקָה *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 מִצְוָה *command*, plur. מִצְוֹת; (*c*) חִלְדָּה, proper name (חִלְדָּה *mole*), אֲכָלָה *food* (אָכַל); (*d*) נַעֲרָה *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 *qutl*-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*, מִדָּה *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*) נִבְלָה *corpse*; (*d*) עֵינָה *languida*; (*f*) יָפָה *beautiful*, קֶצֶה *end* (from יָפָה, קֶצֶה). From stems ע"י arise such forms as עֵרָה (masc. עָר, properly *part. Qal* from עָרָה) *female witness*. From the ground-form *qātūl*, עֲמִיקָה *profunda* (masc. עָמַק), עֲבָדָה *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. Pēl*, Ex 22<sup>17</sup>, 23<sup>26</sup>; in the *Hithpā'el* 1 K 14<sup>5f.</sup>), but also with the change of the *ē* (originally *ī*) into *Šēwā*, יִשְׁבָּה *dwelling*, Na 3<sup>8</sup>. However, in these participial forms the feminine is mostly indicated by הַ־ (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) *מַגְּלָה* *magna*, *מְסִירָה* *stork*, properly *pia*; *בְּתוּלָה* *virgin*, properly *seiuncta*; (b) *עֲנִיָּה* *misera*.

f 2. A simple ה is added as feminine ending in forms like *בְּכִית* *weeping* (masc. *בָּכַי*, § 93 x, a), *בְּרִית* *covenant*; but *feminine participles* of verbs ל"א, as *יִצְאָת*, *מִצְאָת*, may be due to contraction from *yôšè et*, &c. (hardly to lengthening of the *î* in the ground-form *môšî*), whilst forms like *מִוְצָאָת*, *נְשָׂאָת* (see § 74 i) are to be explained on the analogy of the forms treated in § 93 t. Apart from ל"ה formations, we find the simple ה in the participle *מִשְׁרָת* 1 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>re</sup>* *שָׁבָת*, &c., discussed in § 90 n.

g The forms which arise by appending the ה 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 *עַד גְּבִירָת* are to be taken together; the *absolute st.* is *גְּבִירָה*); from *מַלְכָת*, *מַלְכָת* *queen* (in Paradigm II, a); *פְּחָתָת* (= *פְּחָת = pit*) Lv 13<sup>55</sup>; (c) *גִּירָת* *wall*, *גִּירָת* (from *גִּירָת = g<sup>e</sup>dirt*; cf. *וְאֵן* as *construct st.* of *וְאֵן*); on the other hand, *חַמִּישָׁת* is *construct st.* of *חַמִּישָׁה* *five*, with lengthening of the original *î* of *חַמִּישָׁת*.

h Formations with a changeable *ô* in the second syllable belonging to this class are *נְחֹשֶׁת* *bronze* (from *נְחֹשֶׁתָת* the *constr. st.* of *בְּתֹנֶת* *coat*, perhaps also *בְּתֹבָת* *writing* (unless it be obscured from *בְּתָב*, § 93, Paradigm IV, c).—Paradigm III, (a) *הַחֲמָת* (from *הַחֲמָתָת*), masc. *חֲתָם* *seal*; (b) *יוֹנְקָת* (properly *sucking*) *sprout* (in *pause*, e.g. *הַבְּרָת* Ex 26<sup>4</sup>, &c.), and so most feminines of participles *קַטְלָת*. On this transition of the ground-form *qôtilt* to *קַטְלָת* (regularly before suffixes in *יוֹנְקָתוֹ*, *יִלְדָתוֹ*, &c.), cf. § 69 c; *qôlalt* serves as the ground-form under the influence of a guttural as well as before suffixes, e.g. *יִרְעָת*, feminine of *רָע* *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  $\check{e}w\check{a}$ ; on the other hand, before a vowel which had thus become  $\check{e}w\check{a}$  the  $\check{a}$  in the first syllable which had hitherto also been reduced to  $\check{e}w\check{a}$  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  $\check{e}w\check{a}$ . 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)	(mistress)
„ construct		מְלִכָּת		חֲרַפַּת	חֲרַבַּת	חֻקַּת	גְּבִירַת
„ with light suff.		מְלִכָּתִי		חֲרַפַּתִּי	חֲרַבַּתִּי	חֻקַּתִּי	גְּבִירַתִּי
„ with grave suff.		מְלִכְתְּכֶם		חֲרַפְתְּכֶם	חֲרַבְתְּכֶם	חֻקְתְּכֶם	גְּבִירְתְּכֶם
plur. absolute		מְלִכּוֹת	בְּלִיּוֹת	חֲרַפּוֹת	חֲרַבּוֹת	חֻקּוֹת	
„ construct		מְלִכּוֹת	בְּלִיּוֹת	חֲרַפּוֹת <sup>1</sup>	חֲרַבּוֹת	חֻקּוֹת	
„ with suff.		מְלִכּוֹתִי	בְּלִיּוֹתִי		חֲרַבּוֹתִי	חֻקּוֹתִי	
dual absolute			רִקְמָתַיִם				מְצַלְתַּיִם
			(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>	צָדָקְתִי	זַעֲקְתִי	שָׁנַתִּי	יוֹנְקַתִּי	גִּלְגָּלַתִּי
„ <i>with grave suff.</i>	צָדָקְתְּכֶם	זַעֲקְתְּכֶם	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]		שִׁפְתַיִם		
	(fettors of brass)		(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. חֹזְקָה *strength* (cf. חֹרְפָה under b). A *dual* of this form occurs in שִׁבְעָתַיִם *seven times* (cf. שִׁבְעָה *seven*, fem.).

Analogous to masculine forms like דִּבְשׁ (§ 93 s) is הִרְסָה *myrtle*.—From masculines of the form פָּרִי (ל"ה, cf. § 93 I, k) arise feminines sometimes like נֶאֱוָה, שְׁלֵה, אֱלִיָּה (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 נְדִיָּה (cf. אֲנִיָּה, a *qūtl* form) are derived directly from the masculine forms נְדִי *kid*, אֲנִי *a fleet*.—(b) From a-stem עֵין חֲטָה *wheat* (for חֲנֻטָה), plur. חֲטָיִם.—(c) From עֶרְלָה *foreskin*, the plur. absol. is עֶרְלוֹת (cf. פְּעֻלִים, § 93, Paradigm I, f), constr. עֶרְלוֹת.—(d) Example of a feminine segholate form from a stem ע"ע (ground-form *qūtl*, like חֲיָה of the form *qātl*, וְנָה of the form *qūl*), with *ö* for *ü*, חֲנָה *terror*, Is 19<sup>17</sup> (Aramaic orthography for חֲנָה).

*e* (e) To the list of segholate forms with ת fem. belong also the infinitives of verbs פ"ו and פ"ן, which have rejected the weak consonant at the beginning, as שָׁבַת (from יִשָּׁב), רָעַת (from יִרַע), גָּיַחַת (from יִגַּשׁ), as well as כָּחַת (from לָקַח); cf. § 69 m and § 66 b and g. The infinitives of verbs פ"ו are, however, also found in the form רָעָה, לָרָה, צָאָה, and of the same origin also are יְדָה *congregation* (from יַעַד), עֲצָה *counsel* (from יַעֲזֵן), שָׁנָה *sleep* (from יִשָּׁן), constr. עֲרַת, שָׁנַת, while in the constr. forms זַעַת *sweat*, Gn 3<sup>19</sup> (from יַזַּע *to flow*), and צָאָת *excrement*, Ez 4<sup>12</sup>, the *Şere* has remained firm.

*f* From a stem ע"ו (cf. בּוֹשׁ *to be ashamed*) is בָּשַׁת *shame*, with suffix בְּשֻׁתִי.

<sup>1</sup> On שָׁנוֹת as a less frequent (poetic) form for שָׁנִים see § 87 n.

From a stem ל"ה (לָהָה, cf., however, Barth, *ZDMG.* 1887, p. 607, who assumes a stem ירל) the masculine רָל appears to have been formed after the rejection of the final *Yôdh*, and afterwards the feminine הָלָה door; but in the plural הָלָהּ, constr. הָלָהּ, the ה of the termination is retained (see above, *d*, הָלָהּ). In a similar way רָפָהּ stalls, Hb 3<sup>17</sup>, has arisen, if it is from the stem רָפָה, and שָׁקָה trough (from שָׁקָה), of which the masc. must have been שָׁק = שָׁקִי; on the other hand, the plur. constr. שָׁקָהּ Gn 30<sup>38</sup> (again retaining the feminine ה as an apparent radical) can only be an abnormal formation from the singular שָׁקָה, not from a kindred form שָׁקָה or שָׁקָהּ.

2. Paradigm II: ground-form *qāṭālāt*, &c., cf. § 94 c, Paradigm II, *a* and *b*. Analogous to the masculine forms like קָטָן, plur. קָטָנִים, we find קָטָנָה *parva*, &c.—The constr. forms, like צָרְקָה (*sidh<sup>o</sup>qāth*), are distinguished by the vocal *Ṣ<sup>wā</sup>* (§ 10 *d*) from the segholate forms, like כִּבְשֵׁת (*kibh-sāth*). Consequently the constr. st. בְּרַבַּת Gn 28<sup>4</sup>, &c. (from בְּרַכָּה *blessing*), and חֲרִידַת I S 14<sup>15</sup>, &c. (from חֲרָה *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 אֲרָמָה *earth*, אֲרָמַת); in other cases it is modified to *Ṣ<sup>ghōl</sup>*, e.g. עֲנָלָה *wagon*, עֲנָלָהּ. Frequently from an *absol. st.* in ה— the constr. is formed with the termination ת, e.g. עֲטָרָה *crown*, constr. עֲטָרָתָהּ (from עֲטָרָה); along with עֲצָרָה *assembly*, עֲצָרָתָהּ is found usually, even in the *absol. st.*; יָבֵמַת (from יָבֵמַת *levir*) before suffixes is pointed as יָבֵמַתִּי, and thus entirely agrees with נְבִיָּה (Paradigm I *e*). From a stem ל"ן (אָמֵן) is formed אָמַת *truth* (from 'āmān, and this no doubt for an original 'āminā, § 69 *c*) before suffixes אָמַתִּי, &c.

From the masc. form קָטָל (*qāṭil*) are formed, according to rule, גְּרָה *wall*, הָלָה *corpse*, constr. נְבִלָה; בָּהֵמָה *cattle*, constr. בְּהֵמָתָהּ (for בְּהֵמַת), with suffix retained before the termination *ath* of the constr. st.; thus from נְבִלָה once נְבִלָתִי Is 26<sup>19</sup>, and always בְּרִיכַת *pool*, גְּזֵלָה *prey*, טִמְאָה *unclean*, מְלֵאָה *full*, Is 1<sup>21</sup> (with *Hireq compaginis*, see § 90 *l*), מְרִדָּה *Jb* 16<sup>13</sup>, שְׂאֵלָה I S 17<sup>27</sup>, &c. (with elision of the א, שְׂלָתָה I S 17<sup>17</sup>), also שְׂאֵלָתִי *Jb* 6<sup>8</sup>. Cf. the analogous forms of the constr. st. מִגַּפָּת *plague*, תְּרִדָּמַת *deep sleep*, from מִגַּפָּה.

As dual we find יָרְכָתִים *sides* (cf. יָרְכָתוֹ Gn 49<sup>13</sup>, from the obsolete יָרְכָה, *i* feminine of יָרָה); the constr. st. יָרְכָתִי is perhaps to be referred to a segholate form (יָרְכָה, cf. יָרָה as constr. st. of יָרָה), unless the closed syllable be due to the analogy of בְּרִיכַת and חֲרִידַת (see *g*).

In the forms with simple ת feminine the ground-form *qāṭilt* is developed (*h* § 69 *c*) to *q<sup>e</sup>talt*, and this again regularly to קָטָלָהּ. Thus the feminine of חֶבֶר *companion* is חֶבְרָתָהּ (with suffix חֶבְרָתָהּ Mal 2<sup>14</sup>, cf. שְׂבִנְתָהּ Ex 3<sup>22</sup>), of חֶבֶר fem. חֶבְרָתָהּ besides חֶבְרָה.—Of ע"ו stems the segholate forms נַחַת *rest* and שָׁחַת *pit* (from נָחַח, שָׁחַח) belong to this class; Böttcher (*Gram.* i. 411) rightly distinguished the latter from שָׁחַת *corruption* (stem שָׁחַח); in the same way also נַחַת *rest* is distinct from נַחַח *a lighting down* (stem נַחַח).

The feminines of the form *qāṭil* from stems ע"ו, as מְתָה *mortua*, עָרָה fem. *l*

witness (from מוֹת, 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. שָׁנַת; moreover, חָמָה anger, constr. st. חָמַת (but חָמַת a leathern bottle, in pause חָמַת [so Baer, Ginsb., but Kittel חַ] Gn 21<sup>13</sup>, constr. st. חָמַת מַיִם Gn 21<sup>14</sup>, perhaps from a stem חַמַת).

m The feminines of the form qātūl, like עִמְקָה (masc. עִמְקָה), maintain the original ā by sharpening the following consonant (cf. § 93 k); on the other hand, by appending the fem. ת, segholate forms arise like נְחִשֶׁת, before suff. נְחִשְׁתָּם, &c. Dual נְחִשְׁתַּיִם (see Paradigm II, a); but cf. נְחִשְׁתַּי La 3<sup>7</sup>.

n 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 מְנָת portion (for mānāyāth or mānāwāth), קֶצֶת end (also קֶצֶה and קֶצֶה), plur. מְנָתוֹת (constr. st. Neh 12<sup>47</sup>, 13<sup>10</sup>) and מְנָאוֹת (Neh 12<sup>44</sup>); קֶצֶוֹת Ex 38<sup>5</sup>; cf. 37<sup>8</sup> and 39<sup>4</sup> K<sup>eth</sup>.; on נְאִיִּת valleys, see § 93 v.—אוֹת sign (stem אוֹה) is obscured from אָת, and this is contracted from 'āyāth = 'āwāyāth; plur. אָתוֹת, 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.

o 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 נְדָרַתַּיִם Jos 15<sup>36</sup>).—Among the forms resembling participles Qal of verbs ו"י, such as זָרַה (masc. זָר from zār, hence with unchangeable ā), must be reckoned also בְּמָה high place (from בָּוּם), which has for its constr. st. plur. the pleonastic form בְּמוֹתַי, or written defectively בְּמַתַּי (see § 87 s); for this the Masora everywhere requires בְּמַתַּי, which is to be read bām<sup>o</sup>thē (not bōm<sup>o</sup>thē), with an anomalous shortening of the ō to ֶ; but with suffixes בְּמוֹתַי, &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. דִּלְקָת inflammation (from dallāqt), with suff. צִדְקָתָה Ez 16<sup>52</sup>; טַבַּעַת signet; also fem. of the forms קָטַל and קָטַל (§ 84<sup>b</sup> c and d), as אֶלְתַּת folly (for 'iwāll), 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. מְמַלְכָה kingdom, constr. always מְמַלְכַת; מְמַמְרָה (not used in the sing.) pruning-hook, plur. מְמַמְרוֹת; מְשַׁבְּרַת reward, with suff. מְשַׁבְּרַתַּי; cf. also the examples given in § 85 g and p, like מוֹלְדָת birth (but from מ"א, ל"א, מוֹלְדָת outgoing), תּוֹלְדָת generation, תּוֹעֵבָת abomination, constr. תּוֹעֵבַת, &c.

q Sometimes the plural of these forms is to be traced to a secondary form, e.g. אֶלְתֵּרַת a letter, plur. אֶלְתֵּרוֹת (as if from אֶלְתֵּרָה); 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. מְחַרְשׁוֹת (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 תּוֹכְחַת.

<sup>1</sup> עִשְׂתָּרַת Astarte (plur. עִשְׂתָּרוֹת), which was formerly included among these examples, is most probably due to an intentional alteration of the



In בְּחִנָּת *coat* the original *ū* of the first syllable is maintained by the *r*' sharpening of the following consonant (cf. Arab. *qūṭān*), with suff. בְּחִנָּתִי, the *constr. st.*, however, is בְּחִנָּת (as also in the *absol. st.* in Ex 28<sup>39</sup>); plur. בְּחִנָּתוֹת, *constr.* בְּחִנָּתוֹת.—The form בְּחִנָּתָה given in Paradigm III, *b* is a *Pūlpūl*-form of the stem בְּחִנָּת, cf. קְרָקַד, § 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 *Šewā*, 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'il* of verbs ע"ע, e.g. מְאִירָה *enlightening* (from מְאִיר), and generally the feminines of ע"ו stems which are compounded with the *preformative* מ, as מְנוּחָה *rest* (מְנוּחַ), see § 85 *l*; from ל"ה stems perhaps also תְּעֻלָּה *conduit* (*constr. st.* תְּעֻלַּת 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 *uw*).

5. The feminine ending ית־ (apart from ל"ה-forms like בְּכִיחַ, § 94*f*) 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 וּת, mentioned there, is attached, in *segholat* forms, sometimes to the ground-form, as עֲשֻׁתוֹת Jb 12<sup>6</sup> (v.l. עֲשֻׁתוֹת), 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 לְוּת *perverseness* from לוּ), sometimes like בְּכוֹת *weeping*, גְּלוּת *exile*, חֲזוֹן *vision*; the latter retain the *ā* of the first syllable even in the *constr. st.* and before *suffixes*. From a *qūlūl*-form is formed כְּבֻדוֹת *heaviness*; from a *qūlūl*-form פְּקָדוֹת, &c.

In the plural of these forms different methods of treatment may be distinguished. In some cases the whole ending וּת is retained, as if belonging to the stem (cf. above, *f*), e.g. אֲלֻמְנוֹתַי from אֲלֻמְנוֹת, in others this ending is resolved, as in מְלֻכִּיּוֹת Dn 8<sup>22</sup> (no doubt for *māl'khuwucōth*), and עֲדוּת *'edh'e wōth*, from עֲדוּת *testimony*, but only with *suffixes*, עֲדוּתַי ψ 119<sup>14</sup>, &c.; עֲדוּתַי I 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 עֲשֻׁתָּתָה, like מְלֻכָּה Lv 18<sup>21</sup>, &c. (for מְלֻכָּה), with the vowels of בְּשִׁת *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>	אָבִינוּ	אָחִינוּ	אָחוֹתֵנוּ		
„ <i>2 masc.</i>	אָבִיכֶם	אָחִיכֶם	[אָחוֹתְכֶם]		
„ <i>2 fem.</i>	אָבִיכֶן				
„ <i>3 masc.</i>	אָבֵיהֶם	אָחֵיהֶם	אָחוֹתֵם		
„ <i>3 fem.</i>	אָבֵיהֶן				
<i>Plur. absolute</i>	אָבוֹת	אָחִים		אָנָשִׁים	נָשִׁים
„ <i>construct</i>	אָבוֹת	אָחִי		אָנָשִׁי	נָשִׁי
„ <i>with suff. of I sing.</i>	אָבֹתִי	אָחִי, pause	אָחוֹתִי	אָנָשִׁי	נָשִׁי
„ <i>2 masc.</i>	אָבֹתֶיךָ	אָחֶיךָ		אָנָשֶׁיךָ	נָשֶׁיךָ
„ <i>2 fem.</i>		אָחֶיךָ	אָחוֹתֶיךָ		
„ <i>3 masc.</i>	אָבוֹתָיו	אָחוֹיו	אָחוֹתָיו	אָנָשָׁיו	נָשָׁיו
„ <i>3 fem.</i>		אָחֵיהָ		אָנָשֶׁיהָ	
„ <i>1 Pl.</i>	אָבֹתֵינוּ	אָחֵינוּ		אָנָשֵׁינוּ	נָשֵׁינוּ
„ <i>2 masc.</i>	אָבֹתֵיכֶם	אָחֵיכֶם	אָחוֹתֵיכֶם		נָשֵׁיכֶם
„ <i>3 masc.</i>	אָבוֹתֵיהֶם (אָבֹתֵיהֶם)	אָחֵיהֶם	אָחוֹתֵיהֶם	אָנָשֵׁיהֶם	נָשֵׁיהֶם
„ <i>3 fem.</i>				אָנָשֵׁיהֶן	

## 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. אֲבִישָׁלוֹם, beside אָבִישָׁלוֹם, &c.; also Gn 17<sup>4</sup> *f*. אֲבִיהֶמוֹן for the purpose of explaining the name אֲבִירָהֶם. On the plur. אָבוֹת see § 87 *p*.

אָח *brother*. The plur. *absol.* אָחִים has *Dageš forte implicitum* (§ 22 *c*); אָחִיו 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 *Patha* short, as in גְּמֻלִים, &c. (§ 93 *ce*).

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>		כֵּלְךָ
	בֵּיתְךָ	בְּנֶךָ			
אִמְתּוֹ	בֵּיתוֹ	בְּנוֹ	בַּתּוֹ	יוֹמוֹ	
אִמְתָּהּ	בֵּיתָהּ	בְּנָהּ	בַּתָּהּ		
		בְּנֶנּוּ			
	בֵּיתְכֶם		בַּתְכֶם		
	בֵּיתָם			יוֹמָם	
אִמְהוֹת	בְּתִים	בְּנִים	בָּנוֹת	יָמִים	כֵּלִים
אִמְהוֹת	בְּתֵי	בְּנֵי	בָּנוֹת	יָמֵי	כֵּלֵי
אִמְהַתִּי		בְּנֵי	בְּנֹתֵי	יָמֵי	כֵּלֵי
	בְּתֵיךָ	בְּנֵיךָ	בְּנֹתֵיךָ	יָמֵיךָ	כֵּלֵיךָ
	בְּתֵיךָ	בְּנֵיךָ	בְּנֹתֵיךָ	יָמֵיךָ	כֵּלֵיךָ
אִמְהַתּוֹ		בְּנָיו	בְּנֹתָיו	יָמָיו	כֵּלָיו
אִמְהַתְּיָהּ		בְּנֵיהָ	בְּנֹתֶיהָ	יָמֶיהָ	כֵּלֶיהָ
	בְּתֵינִי	בְּנֵינִי	בְּנֹתֵינִי	יָמֵינִי	כֵּלֵינִי
אִמְהַתְּיָכֶם	בְּתֵיכֶם	בְּנֵיכֶם	בְּנֹתֵיכֶם	יָמֵיכֶם	כֵּלֵיכֶם
	בְּתֵיהֶם	בְּנֵיהֶם	בְּנֹתֵיהֶם	יָמֵיהֶם	כֵּלֵיהֶם
אִמְהַתְּיָהוּ	בְּתֵיהֶן	בְּנֵיהֶן			

Zc 11<sup>7</sup>; and especially before מֶן (מ) 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. אַחַת *una* (for אַחַדְתָּ, according to § 19 *d*), in *pause* אַחַתְתָּ. Once חַד masc. (by aphaeresis, § 19 *h*), Ez 33<sup>30</sup>, as in Aramaic; plur. אַחַדִּים *some*, but also *idem*.

אָחוֹת *sister*, from 'ahāwāt or 'ahāyāt, with elision of the ו or י, and with the ā, which has arisen from āā, obscured to ō.<sup>1</sup> In Nu 6<sup>7</sup> אַחֹתוֹ stands for אַחֹתוֹ (with virtual sharpening of the ח). The plur. *absol.* (אַחֹתוֹת) does not happen

<sup>1</sup> This explanation of אַחֹת (and חֲמוֹת 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. st.* of the accusative, with ת feminine (so Barth, *ZDMG.* 1899, p. 598).

<i>Sing. absolute</i>	[מַי]	עִיר	פֶּה	רֹאשׁ	שֵׁם	[שָׁמַי]
	(water)	(city)	(mouth)	(head)	(name)	(heaven)
„ <i>construct</i>		עִיר	פִּי	רֹאשׁ	שֵׁם-	שָׁמַי
„ <i>with suff. of 1 sing.</i>		עִירִי	פִּי	רֹאשִׁי		שָׁמַי
„ <i>2 masc.</i>		עִירְךָ	פִּיךָ	רֹאשְׁךָ	שָׁמְךָ, pause	שָׁמְךָ
„ <i>2 fem.</i>				רֹאשֶׁךָ		שָׁמְךָ
„ <i>3 masc.</i>		עִירוֹ	פִּיהוּ, פִּיו	רֹאשׁוֹ		שָׁמוֹ
„ <i>3 fem.</i>		עִירָהּ	פִּיהָ	רֹאשֶׁהּ		שָׁמָּהּ
„ <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>	סִיָּם	עִירִים	פִּיּוֹת	רֹאשִׁים	שֵׁמוֹת	שָׁמַיִם
„ <i>construct</i>	מֵיָּם, מֵי	עִרֵי		רֹאשֵׁי	שֵׁמוֹת	שָׁמַי
„ <i>with suff. of 1 sing.</i>	מֵיָּי	עִרֵי				
„ <i>2 masc.</i>	מֵיָּיךָ	עִרְיָךְ				שָׁמַיְךָ
„ <i>2 fem.</i>		עִרְיָךְ				
„ <i>3 masc.</i>	מֵיָּיו	עִרְיוֹ		רֹאשֵׁיו		שָׁמְיוֹ
„ <i>3 fem.</i>	מֵיָּיהָ	עִרְיָהּ		רֹאשֶׁיהָ		
„ <i>1 Pl.</i>	מֵיָּינוּ	עִרְיָנוּ		רֹאשֵׁינוּ		
„ <i>2 masc.</i>		עִרְיָכֶם		רֹאשֵׁיכֶם		שָׁמַיְכֶם
„ <i>3 masc.</i>	מֵיָּיהֶם	עִרְיָהֶם		רֹאשֵׁיהֶם	שֵׁמוֹתָם	
„ <i>3 fem.</i>				רֹאשֵׁיהֶן	שֵׁמוֹתָן	

to occur. In Ez 16<sup>62</sup> אַחֲוִיתָךְ occurs (for אַחֲוִיתֶיךָ). In the forms אַחֲוִיתִי Jos 2<sup>13</sup> *Keth.*, אַחֲוִיתֶיךָ Ez 16<sup>61, 65, 61</sup> (to be read also in verse 45 for אַחֲוִיתָךְ, which has been erroneously assimilated to the singular occurring in vv. 48, 49, 56), and אַחֲוִיתֶיכֶם Ho 2<sup>3</sup> (for which, however, read אַחֲוִיתֶכֶם), 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 אָנַשׁ), 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 אָנַשׁ *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 אָנַשׁ with the stem אָנַשׁ.

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. רַלְהַת from רַלְת, also Arab. 'abahât (fathers), 'ummahât (mothers), with an artificial expansion into a trilateral stem.

אִשָּׁה woman, probably for אֲנָשָׁה; from אָנַשׁ i. e. not (as Aram. אַתְתָּא shows) אָנַשׁ to be sociable (see above, on אִישׁ) but אָנַשׁ to be weak (Arab. 'anûti). 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 *ē*) 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 בַּיְתָהּ, הַבַּיְתָהּ, in pause הַבַּיְתָהּ, constr. בַּיְתָהּ, 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 אָנֹן, 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 *n*, 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 *ā*.

בֵּן son (Gn 30<sup>19</sup> בְּנֵי-שֵׁשִׁי 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 הָרִשׁ, 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-בְנֵי, and in the proper names בְּנֵי-יַמִּי [but בְּנֵי-יַמִּי 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 *aššātu* (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, ptp. Qal of בִּיתָהּ, 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 *bāt* passed into *bēt* (?), and this was resolved into *bait*, as *Y'erūsālem* 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 בְּנִתִי. 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. אָב, אָמָּה, and especially אָחוֹת.

יוֹם *day* (Arab. *yaum*),<sup>1</sup> dual יוֹמַיִם; the plur. יָמִים is probably from a different sing. (יָמָּה), constr. יָמִי and (poetically) יָמוֹת, Dt 32<sup>7</sup>, ψ 90<sup>15</sup>.

כֵּל *vessel*, in pause כְּלִי (with suff. כְּלִיךָ Dt 23<sup>25</sup>) from כָּלָה *to contain*, plur. כְּלָיִם (as if from כָּל, כְּלָה; 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*, *funm*, bibl. Aram. פִּם, פִּמָּא, Syr. *pûm*, *pûmā*, so that Barth, *ZDMG.* xli, p. 634, assumes two forms of development from the same stem (פִּמוּ), viz. *fm* and *fo*. פִּי *my mouth*, from *pi-y*; for פִּיָּה we find in ψ 17<sup>10</sup>, 58<sup>7</sup>, 59<sup>13</sup> פִּימוֹ. The supposed plur. פִּים I 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 I S 14<sup>34</sup> and שֵׂיו 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 יָמִי, יָמִים. Barth, however, *Orient. Studien*, p. 791 (see above on אֲשָׁה), sees in יָמִי, יָמִים, יָמוֹת new formations in Hebrew, caused by the naturally close connexion and association of these plurals with שָׁנָה, שָׁנָה, שָׁנָה, *years*, to which they became assimilated in form. The view that יָמִים is merely an incorrect obscuring of יָמִים, and therefore distinct from the Arab. *yaum*, is contradicted by the invariable spelling יָוֹם, &c., notwithstanding the spelling וְבַיִם (= וְבַיִם?) 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 *πεντάς*, *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. *fili*, 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, *fili 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 *שְׁלֹשׁ עָשָׂר* 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 *עָשָׂרָה*. 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 *שְׁלֹשׁ עָשָׂרָה*, &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. *אֶחָת* (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	אֶחָת	אֶחָת
2.	שְׁנַיִם	שְׁנַיִ	שְׁתַּיִם <sup>1</sup>	שְׁתַּיִ
3.	שְׁלֹשָׁה	שְׁלֹשֶׁת	שְׁלֹשׁ	שְׁלֹשׁ
4.	אַרְבָּעָה	אַרְבַּעַת	אַרְבַּע	אַרְבַּע
5.	חֲמִישָׁה <sup>2</sup>	חֲמִישֶׁת	חֲמִישׁ	חֲמִישׁ
6.	שֵׁשָׁה	שֵׁשֶׁת	שֵׁשׁ	שֵׁשׁ
7.	שִׁבְעָה	שִׁבְעַת	שִׁבַּע	שִׁבַּע <sup>3</sup> [שִׁבַּע]
8.	שְׁמֹנֶה	שְׁמֹנַת	שְׁמֹנָה	שְׁמֹנָה
9.	תְּשַׁעָה	תְּשַׁעַת	תְּשַׁע	תְּשַׁע <sup>3</sup> [תְּשַׁע]
10.	עָשָׂרָה	עָשָׂרַת	עָשָׂר	עָשָׂר

<sup>1</sup> Shortened from *שְׁנַתַּיִם*, which would be the regular feminine form of *שְׁנַיִם*. Nevertheless, the *Dageš* in *שְׁתַּיִם*, &c. (even after *מן*; *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*, *štē* (with *Dageš lenē*), cf. *אֶשְׁתַּיִם*, representing the later Palestinian pronunciation (Philippi, *ZDMG.* xlix, p. 206), and Arab. *šintāni* (with a kind of prosthetic *š*; cf. § 19 m), as a further feminine form of



On the connective forms שְׁבַע, הִשָּׁע, cf. the analogous forms in § 93 h.

The other Semitic languages also exhibit the same peculiarity in the 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 נָשִׁים 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 הַנְּפוֹת '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 הַדָּשִׁים (but in the Samaritan נְשֵׁי הַדָּשִׁים).—For שֶׁבַע *seven*, there occurs in Jb 42<sup>13</sup> the strange form שְׁבַעֲנָה, 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 נְשֵׁי and שְׁתֵּי in the numeral 12 are undoubtedly true *constructs*, like אַחַד and the fem. numerals 13–19. But instead of נְשֵׁי (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 שְׁנָיִם and שְׁתַּיִם. Two explanations have been given of these forms: (1) that the *Kethibh* really intends שְׁנָיִם, שְׁתַּיִם, in the *absol. st.*, which was first introduced in the case of שְׁנָיִם, on the analogy of עֶשְׂרֵה, &c., and then extended to שְׁתַּיִם; the Masora, however, required נְשֵׁי, שְׁתֵּי (but see below), and therefore pointed שְׁנָיִם, שְׁתַּיִם as a *Qerê perpetuum* (see § 17).—(2) that the *absolute* forms שְׁנָיִם, שְׁתַּיִם (introduced on the analogy of שְׁלֹשָׁה, &c.) were contracted to שְׁנָיִם, 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. שְׁנָיִם where the *Šewa mobile* is normal.

<sup>2</sup> With Dageš probably on the analogy of שְׁשָׁה, as שְׁשָׁת on the analogy of חֲמִשָּׁה. Cf. also J. K. Blake on חֲמִשָּׁה, חֲמִשִּׁים in *JAOS.* 1905, p. 117 ff.

<sup>3</sup> שְׁבַע 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>e</sup>rê perpetuum*.

e Accordingly the numbers from 11 upwards are—

	<i>Masculine.</i>	<i>Feminine.</i>
11.	אֶחָד עָשָׂר עֶשְׂתֵּי עָשָׂר	אַחַת עֶשְׂרֵה עֶשְׂתֵּי עֶשְׂרֵה
12.	שְׁנַיִם עָשָׂר שְׁנַיִם עָשָׂר	שְׁתַּיִם עֶשְׂרֵה שְׁתַּיִם עֶשְׂרֵה
13.	שְׁלֹשָׁה עָשָׂר	שְׁלֹשָׁה 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>28</sup>.—Connected by וְ we find עֶשְׂרֵה וְחֲמִשָּׁה 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> עֶשְׂתֵּי, which remained for a long time unexplained, was recognized (first by J. Oppert) in the Assyro-Babylonian inscriptions in the form *istin* or *išten*; cf. Friedr. Delitzsch, *Assyrische Grammatik*, p. 203, and P. Haupt, in the *American Journal of Philology*, viii. 279. Accordingly, עֶשְׂתֵּי 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 עֶשְׂתֵּי עָשָׂר for עָחָד עָשָׂר and אַחַת עָשָׂר see Giesebrecht in *ZAW*. 1881, p. 226; עֶשְׂתֵּי 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*, *\*šbhārim*, *\*tšārim*. 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 ׀; 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 אֶלְפָיִם 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 aramaising<sup>2</sup> forms רְבוּ, רְבוּא, רְבוּת (properly *multitude*, cf. *μυριάς*).

20000 רִבְתָּיִם dual (see below, *h*); but שְׁתֵּי רְבוּת Neh 7<sup>70</sup> (also שְׁתֵּי רְבוּא Neh 7<sup>71</sup>).

40000 אַרְבַּע רְבוּא Neh 7<sup>66</sup>.

60000 שֵׁשׁ־רְבָאוֹת Ezr 2<sup>69</sup> (Baer and Ginsburg רְבָאוֹת, as in Du 11<sup>12</sup>). רְבָבָה אֲלָפֵי 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. אַרְבַּעַתָּיִם fourfold, 2 S 12<sup>6</sup>; שִׁבְעֵתָּיִם 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 שְׁנָאן 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 עֶשְׂרוֹת 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. שְׁלֹשָׁתְּךָ 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 חֲמִשִּׁי 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. Hermer (*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 in 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 אַרְבַּע, רִבְעָה, רִבְעִים, without the prosthetic א, which appears in אַרְבַּע, &c.), חֲמִישִׁי or חֲמִישִׁי (which, according to Strack, is always to be read for חֲמִישִׁי), שֵׁשִׁי, שֶׁבְעִי, שְׁמִינִי, תְּשִׁיעִי, עֲשָׂרִי. The ordinal *first* is expressed by רִאשׁוֹן (cf. § 27 *w*), from ראש *head, beginning*, with the termination וֹן (§ 86 *f*). On the use of אֶתֶר 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 יָה—, more rarely (and only in the case of 3 and 10) יָהִה—. They are employed also to express fractions, e. g. חֲמִישִׁית *fifth* or *fifth part*, עֲשָׂרִית and עֲשָׂרִיָה *tenth part*. Side by side with these, in the same sense, there are also forms like רְבִיעָה and רְבִיעִית *a quarter*, חֲמִישִׁת *a fifth part*, and with the affirmative וֹן, עֲשָׂרוֹן (plur. עֲשָׂרוֹנִים) *a tenth part*; these are to be regarded as abstracts, and are denominatives from the cardinal numbers. Cf. finally שְׁבִיעַת הַיָּמִים *a week*; עֲשָׂרֵת הַיָּמִים *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.  $\alpha\beta\acute{o}$ , *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;  $\dot{\iota}$  (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  $\text{וַי}$  becomes at a later period  $\text{ו}$ ; in modern Arabic, e. g. *hallaq* (now) is from *hahlaqt*; *lēs* (why?) from *li-ayyi-šaiñ*, &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  $\text{מַדּוּעַ}$  *wherfore?* for  $\text{מַה־יָדוּעַ}$  *quid edoctus?* ( $\tau\acute{\iota}\ \mu\alpha\theta\acute{\omega}\nu$ ;) or *quid cognitum?*;  $\text{בְּלַעֲרֵי}$  (from  $\text{בַּל}$  and  $\text{עָרַי}$ ) *besides*;  $\text{מִלְמַעְלָה}$  (from  $\text{מִן}$ ,  $\text{לְ}$ ,  $\text{מַעְלָה}$ ) *from above, above*.

More frequent is the combination of two words into one without contraction, e. g.  $\text{אֲחֵרֵיכֶן}$ ,  $\text{אֲחֵרֵיכֶן}$ ,  $\text{אֲחֵרֵיכֶן}$ ; cf. also the compounds of  $\text{אֵי}$  with demonstrative pre-nouns, as  $\text{אֵי־מָה}$  *from what?*;  $\text{אֵי לָמָּה}$  *wherfore?* [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*,  $\text{אִפְסָם}$  (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.  $\text{סְבִיבֵי}$ , plur.  $\text{סְבִיבוֹת}$  and  $\text{סְבִיבוֹת}$ , *circuít*, as adverb

<sup>1</sup> Generally derived from the *ptcp.*  $\text{מִאֲחָר}$  *m<sup>o</sup>šhār* (= *m<sup>o</sup>šhār*) and hence to be read *mōšhār* (cf.  $\text{מִחָרָת}$  *morning*); but according to P. Haupt (notes to Esther, p. 159) from  $\text{יָחַד}$ .

*circum, around*; others have quite ceased to be so used, e.g. כָּבֵר (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. רֵאשׁוֹנָה *primum, formerly* (more frequently בְּרֵאשׁוֹנָה, also לְרֵאשׁוֹנָה); 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'ul*, 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*; הִשְׁפֵּם (*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 עָן and עָנָה = עָרְהוּ); אַחַת, שֶׁתַּיִם, שֶׁבַע, מֵאָה, *once, twice, seven times, a hundred times*; שֵׁנִית *for the second time*.

3. Some adverbs are formed by the addition of formative syllables *g* (most frequently מֶ-ת) to substantives or adjectives, e.g. מְאֵמָה and מְאֵמָה *truly* (from אֵמֶן *truth*); חִנָּם (by favour) *gratis* (from חֵן *gratia*); רֵיקָם *in vain, frustra*, but also *empty* (from רֵיקָ *empty, emptiness, vanum*), Ru 1<sup>21</sup>, parallel with the fem. מְלֵאָה *full*; בְּיּוֹמָם *by day* (from יוֹם)<sup>1</sup>; with *o* in the last syllable, פְּתָעָם, for פְּתָעִים, *in a twinkling, suddenly* (from פָּתַע *a twinkling*, the *o* being probably obscured from an original *o*).<sup>2</sup>—Moreover, cf. אַחֲרֵינִי *backward*, and קִרְרֵינִי *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 מֶ-ת occurs also in the formation of substantives, e.g. אֵילָם *porch*, and hence the above adverbs may equally well be regarded as nouns used adverbially, so that מֶ-ת, מֶ-ת, would correspond to מֶ-ת, מֶ-ת (§ 85, Nos. 53, 54), cf. בְּפִתְאֵם (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 *an* in Arabic.

<sup>1</sup> Is this מֶ-ת an instance of the locative or temporal termination (cf. especially צֹהַרָם) mentioned in § 88 *c*? Nöldeke, *ZDMG*. xl. p. 721, considers מְיּוֹמָם 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 *am* is an adverbial termination.

<sup>2</sup> דּוֹקָם *silent* (an adjective in Is 47<sup>5</sup>, La 3<sup>28</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 עוֹלָל, שׁוֹבֵב, so that דּוֹקָם (perhaps assimilated to דּוֹמָה) stands for original דּוֹקָם.

*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.  $\text{אָן}$  *then*,  $\text{הֵן}$  *here* (according to Barth, *Sprachwiss. Abhandlungen*, p. 16, formed from the two demonstrative elements *hin* and *na*),  $\text{כֵּן}$ ,  $\text{כֵּן}$  *thus* (cf.  $\text{אֵיכָּהּ}$ ,  $\text{אֵיכָּהּ}$  *how?*),  $\text{אָן}$  *only*,  $\text{אָן}$  *truly* (on all these adverbs, see the Lexicon), and especially the interrogative  $\text{הֵן}$  (*Hē interrogativum*), e.g.  $\text{הֵלֵּא}$  (Dt 3<sup>11</sup>  $\text{הֵלֵּא}$ ) *nonne?*,  $\text{הֵנִים}$  *num etiam?* This *Hē interrogativum* is perhaps shortened from  $\text{הֵלֵּא}$ , 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  $\text{הֵן}$  interrogative takes—(1) *Hateph-Pathah* generally before non-gutturals (even before  $\text{ה}$ ), with a firm vowel, e.g.  $\text{הֵשִׁמְתָּ}$  *hast thou set?* see the interrogative clause, § 150 *c* ( $\text{הֵי־טַב}$ ) Lv 10<sup>19</sup> is an exception).

*l* (2) Before a consonant with *Šewâ*, usually *Pathah* without a following *Dageš forte*, e.g.  $\text{הֵבֶרְכָה}$  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.  $\text{הֵבֶרְכָה}$  *num in via*, Ez 20<sup>80</sup>,  $\text{הֵלֵכֵן}$  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  $\text{ה}$ , 1 S 10<sup>24</sup>, 17<sup>25</sup>, 2 K 6<sup>32</sup>.

*m* (3) Before gutturals, not pointed with either *Qames* or *Hateph-Qames*, it takes *Pathah*, e.g.  $\text{הֵאֵלֵךְ}$  *shall I go?*,  $\text{הֵאֵתָהּ}$  *num tu?*,  $\text{הֵאֵם}$  *num si*;  $\text{הֵאֵרָצָה}$  Mal 1<sup>13</sup>; also in Ju 6<sup>31</sup> read  $\text{הֵאֵתָם}$  (not  $\text{הֵאֵרָא}$ ), likewise  $\text{הֵן}$  in Ju 12<sup>5</sup>, Jer 8<sup>19</sup>, Neh 6<sup>11</sup>.—In  $\text{הֵאֵי־שֵׁשׁ}$  Nu 16<sup>22</sup>, the Masora intends the article; read  $\text{הֵאֵי־שֵׁשׁ}$ , and cf. Dt 20<sup>19</sup>; in Ec 3<sup>21</sup> read  $\text{הֵעֲלָה}$  and  $\text{הֵי־רָרַת}$ ; the article is a correction due to doctrinal considerations.

*n* (4) The  $\text{הֵן}$  takes *Seghōl* before gutturals pointed with *Qames* or (as in Ju 9<sup>3ff.</sup>) *Hateph-Qames*, e.g.  $\text{הֵאֵמֹר}$  Mi 2<sup>7</sup>;  $\text{הֵאֵלֵכֵי}$  Jb 21<sup>4</sup>;  $\text{הֵהֵי־תָהּ}$  Jo 1<sup>2</sup>;  $\text{הֵהֵי־שֵׁב}$  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  $\text{הֵשֶׁךְ}$  *thou art there*, 3rd sing. masc.  $\text{הֵשֶׁכְּ}$ <sup>2</sup> (but see note below), 2nd plur. masc.  $\text{הֵשֶׁכְּם}$ ;  $\text{הֵי־נִי}$  *I am not*, 2nd sing. fem.  $\text{הֵי־נִיךְ}$ , 3rd sing. fem.  $\text{הֵי־נִיָּהּ}$ , 2nd plur. fem.  $\text{הֵי־נִינָהּ}$ , 3rd plur. masc.  $\text{הֵי־נִיָּם}$ .—Also  $\text{עוֹדֵנִי}$  *I am yet* ( $\text{עוֹדֵי}$  only in  $\text{בְּעוֹדֵי}$  and  $\text{בְּעוֹדֵי}$ ),  $\text{עוֹדֵךְ}$ ,  $\text{עוֹדֵהּ}$ ,  $\text{עוֹדֵינִי}$  (La 4<sup>17</sup> *Qerê*;  $\text{עוֹדֵינָהּ}$  *עוֹדֵינָהּ*).

<sup>1</sup> The separation of the  $\text{הֵן}$  at the beginning of Dt 32<sup>6</sup>, expressly noticed by Qimhi (ed. Rittenb., p. 40 b) as an unique instance, is perhaps a protest against admitting a particle  $\text{הֵלֵּא}$ .

<sup>2</sup> This form, which occurs in Dt 29<sup>14</sup>, 1 S 14<sup>39</sup>, 23<sup>28</sup>, Est 3<sup>8</sup>, is textually very doubtful, and cannot be supported by the equally doubtful  $\text{הֵשֶׁכְּנִי}$  (for  $\text{הֵשֶׁכְּנִי}$ ) Nu 23<sup>13</sup>. Most probably, with Stade, *Gramm.*, § 370 b, and P. Haupt, *SBOT Numbers*, p. 57, line 37, we should read  $\text{הֵשֶׁכְּנִי}$ .



*Keth.*; the oriental school [see above, p. 38, note 2] recognize only the reading עוֹרְיִינוּ (עוֹרְיִינוּ), עוֹרְםָ. — אַיְכָּהּ *where art thou?*, אֵינִי *where is he?*, אֵימָם *where are they?* The same applies to הִן (הִן־) and הִנֵּה *behold!* (prop. *here, here is*; see § 105 b), only in Gn 19<sup>2</sup> הִנֵּה־נָא; with suffixes, הִנֵּנִי, once הִנֵּנִי (Gn 22<sup>7</sup> with *Munah*), in *pause* הִנֵּנִי *behold me (here am I)*, הִנֵּךְ (*pause* הִנֵּךְ ψ 139<sup>8</sup>), הִנֵּךְ, הִנֵּוּ, and הִנֵּהוּ [both very rare], הִנֵּנוּ (*behold us*), and הִנֵּנוּ (in *pause* הִנֵּנוּ), הִנֵּכֶם, הִנֵּם; [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. יִשְׁנֹוּ *there is, he is*), is at least inadmissible for forms (like אֵינִי, בְּעוֹרִי) 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 כֵּן אַחֲרֵי Lv 14<sup>36</sup>, Dt 21<sup>13</sup>, 1 S 10<sup>5</sup>; וְאֶחָד 2 Ch 32<sup>9</sup>); אֶצֶל (side) *close by*; בֵּין (intermediate space\*) *between*; בְּעֵר, בְּעֵר (distance?) *behind, around*; וּבֵלַת, or with *Hireq compaginis* וּבֵלַתִּי (removal, want) *except*; לְעוֹ (purpose) *on account of*; מִבֵּל (מִבֵּל only in Dt 1<sup>1</sup>) *before, over against*; מִן (separation; cf. § 119 v) *from, out of*; מִבְּרֵ (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 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.* בְּעֵר, 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, בְּבִלְי, מְבִלְי, בְּלֵתִי, בְּאִיוֹן, 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־הָאֲרָיִם, and sometimes occurs before the softer consonants, e. g. מִן־אֵז 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 ר; also before ק in ψ 15<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 *Šewâ* (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־שָׁנִי Dn 12<sup>2</sup>; מִי־שָׁנֵתָהּ 2 Ch 20<sup>11</sup>); before gutturals it becomes מִ (according to § 22 c), e. g. מִ־אֲדָם, מִ־עַם; before ה the מ occurs with the guttural virtually sharpened in מַחוּיִן *on the outside*, and in מַחוּט Gn 14<sup>29</sup>; before ה in מַהוּיֹת (cf. § 28 b and § 63 q. The closed syllable here is inconsistent with the required virtual sharpening of the ה; probably מַהוּיֹת is merely due to the analogy of לַהוּיֹת); similarly Is 14<sup>3</sup> before ר; but in 1 S 23<sup>23</sup>, 2 S 18<sup>16</sup> מַה־רָּף 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 *Šewâ* (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 *Šewâ 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 *Šewâ*: before *Šewâ simplex*

<sup>1</sup> König, *Einkleitung 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 *Hateph* the prefix takes the vowel of the *Hateph*, e. g. לְפֵרִי for *fruit*, בְּאַרִי as a *lion*, בְּעֵנִי *bo'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. לְהוֹרֶה for *לְהִי*. When the prefixes בְּ, וְ, כְּ, לְ precede אֱלֹהִים *God*, the *S<sup>e</sup>riä* and *Hateph S<sup>e</sup>ghöl* regularly coalesce in *S<sup>e</sup>ré*, e. g. בְּאֱלֹהִים, &c., for בְּאֵלִי; so with suffixes וְאֱלֹהֵיו, &c. (once also in the sing. לְאֱלֹהֵוּ Hb 11<sup>1</sup>); also regularly לְאָמַר to *say*, for לְאָמַר, see § 23 *d*.

(b) When the prefixes precede the article, the ה is almost always dropped, *c* 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 לְתַתּוֹת to *give*, לְרִיז to *judge*, לְבֹז to *plunder*, לְגַז to *shear*, לְהַג to *keep a festival*, לְלָרַתּוֹת to *bring forth*, לְלָכַתּוֹת to *go*, לְלָקַחַתּוֹת 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. לְיָצַתּוֹת Ex 19<sup>1</sup>, לְשָׁבַתּוֹת Gn 16<sup>3</sup>, and so always לְבָא חַמַּתּוֹת Nu 13<sup>21</sup>, &c. (in such cases as לְתַתּוֹת חֶרֶב 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. בְּוָה (so also in 1 S 21<sup>10</sup>; not בְּוָה), לְוָה, לְוָה, בְּוָה, לְזֹאת, לְזֹאת (in close connexion, however, לְזֹאת Gn 2<sup>23</sup>; בְּזֹאת Gn 45<sup>23</sup>); בְּאֵלֵהָ 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 פֶה *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. לְעַד to *eternity*, לְרַב in *multitude*, לְבִטְחָה in *security*, לְנֶצַח to *eternity*, but לְנֶצַח נְצַחִים 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>16</sup>, in close connexion, and at a greater distance from the *pause*. The *S<sup>e</sup>ghöl* in these forms arises from a modification of the original *ä*, while the מ 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 18 לְמָה, all *Mil'äl*, and hence the *ä* in the tone is lengthened to *ä*) 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 יְהוָה, which has not its original vowels (יְהוָה) but those of אֲדֹנָי (see § 17 c), except that the י has simple not compound *S<sup>e</sup>wa*, takes the prefixes also, after the manner of אֲדֹנָי, thus וַיְהוָה, וַיְהוָה, לַיהוָה, בַּיהוָה, מִיְהוָה (since they are to be read וַאֲדֹנָי, וַאֲדֹנָי, לְאֲדֹנָי, בְּאֲדֹנָי, 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>17</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 הַיְהוָה, i.e. הַאֲדֹנָי, not הַיְהוָה). Hence the rule, מִשָּׁה מוֹצִיא *Moses brought out* (i.e. מ, שׁ, ה make the א audible), וְכַלֵּב מְבִינִים *and Caleb brought in* (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 אֲדֹנָיו, thus לְאֲדֹנָיךְ, לְאֲדֹנָיִךְ, &c.; but לְאֲדֹנָיִךְ, &c., לְאֲדֹנָיִינוּ, &c., לְאֲדֹנָיֵהֶם, &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*, תַּחְתָּם (in their place) *instead of them*, like the Latin *mea causa, for my sake*.

b Rem. 1. The preposition אֵת (usually אֶת) *near, with*, is distinguished from אַת (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 אִתְּךָ, 2nd fem. אִתְּךָ (Is 54<sup>10</sup> אִתְּךָ, אִתּוֹ, אִתָּהּ, אִתְּכֶם, אִתְּנוּ, אִתְּם, also in the later books, especially in Kings, and always in Jer. and Ezek., incorrectly אֹתִי *with me*; מֵאֹתְךָ *from thee*, 1 K 20<sup>25</sup>; מֵאֹתוֹ *from him*, 1 K 22<sup>7</sup>; אִתְּם *with them*), while the latter retains its *ô* (obscured from *â*) before the light suffixes, but before grave suffixes is pointed with *S<sup>e</sup>ghôl*. This *S<sup>e</sup>ghôl* is to be explained, with Praetorius, *ZDMG*. lv. 369 f., as the modification of an *â* which again was shortened from original *â* (in 'âthi, 'âthô, &c.) in a closed syllable ('âth-hem, &c.). The same shortening and modification of the original *â* takes place before words in close connexion, hence אֶת-כֹּל, &c. When not in close connexion, the toneless אֵת becomes tone-long אִת, e. g. אִת 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> אִתְּךָ } <i>thee</i> .		אִתְּכֶם <i>you</i> .
	{ <i>f.</i> אִתְּךָ . . . . . }		. . . . .
3.	{ <i>m.</i> אִתּוֹ <i>him</i> .		אִתְּם, rarely אִתְּהֶם } <i>them</i> .
	{ <i>f.</i> אִתָּהּ <i>her</i> .		אִתְּהֶן, rarely אִתְּנָהן }

<sup>1</sup> Another *vox memor.* is כָּל-בּוֹ נִסְתָּרִים *all is hidden in him*.

Less common are the *plene* forms אֹתִי, אֹתְךָ (Nu 22<sup>33</sup> אֹתְכָה before ה), אֹתָהּ (Ex 29<sup>56</sup> אֹתְכָה), אֹתוֹ, אֹתָהּ, אֹתָנִי, אֹתָם. 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 אֹתְהֶן (Gn 19<sup>8</sup>, &c. [13 times]), אֹתָן (only found in Ez 16<sup>64</sup>; Ex 35<sup>26</sup> אֹתְנָה; Ez 34<sup>21</sup> אֹתְנָה), 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>6</sup> עִמְכָה], in *pause* עָמַע; 2nd fem. עָמַע; עָמִי) is united with the suffixes נוּ, כֶּם, and הֶם by a (pretonic) *Qames*, which causes the sharpening of the *Mém* to be distinctly audible: עָמַנִּי, עָמַכֶּם, עָמַהֶם (so in Nu 22<sup>12</sup>, Dt 29<sup>16</sup>, both in principal pause, and often in very late passages, otherwise עָמַם is generally used). In the first person, besides עָמִי, we also find עָמַדִּי (probably from original עָמַדִּי; cf. Arab. 'inda, beside, with).

3. It is but seldom that prepositions occur with verbal suffixes, as תַּחְתָּי 2 S 22<sup>37.40.48</sup> (for which ψ 18<sup>37.40.48</sup> תַּחְתָּי, תַּחְתָּנָה Gn 22<sup>1</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, אֶךָ, אֶתְךָ, אֶתְךָ, אֶעֱמֶךָ (not *bēkhā*, &c.); (*b*) in the similar forms with the suffix of the 2nd sing. fem. (not *bēkh*, &c.) and in אֶנִּי, אֶנִּי, אֶעֱמֶנִי, &c. (not *bēnū*, &c.).

(a) אֶ with Pronominal Suffixes. f

Sing.		Plur.
1. לִי to me.		לָנוּ to us.
2. { m. לְךָ (לְכָה), in <i>pause</i> אֶךָ } to thee.		לָכֶם } to you.
{ f. אֶךָ . . . . . }		[לְכֶנָּה <sup>2</sup> ] } to you.
3. { m. לוֹ to him.		לָהֶם, לְהֶמָּה, poet. לָמוֹ } to them.
{ f. לָהּ to her.		[53 times] <sup>3</sup> } to them.
		לָהֶן, לְהֶנָּה <sup>4</sup> } to them.

<sup>1</sup> *Fini* and *bini* (in me), in vulgar Arabic for *fiyya* and *bi*, are compared by Socin. Brockelmann, ZA. xiv. 347, note 1, suggests that תַּחְתָּנִי, תַּחְתָּנָה, בְּעֵרְנִי are later formations on the model of מִמְּנִי when its origin from the reduplication of the preposition had become obscured, but see below, *m*.

<sup>2</sup> לְכֶנָּה does not occur in the O. T., by a mere accident, no doubt; Ez 13<sup>18</sup> לְכֶנָּה.

[For notes 3 and 4 see next page.]

g <sup>ר</sup> <sup>ק</sup> takes suffixes in the same manner: <sup>ק</sup> <sup>י</sup>, <sup>ק</sup> <sup>י</sup> (Ex 7<sup>29</sup>, 2 S 22<sup>30</sup>,  $\psi$  141<sup>8</sup> <sup>ק</sup> <sup>י</sup>, as in Gn 27<sup>37</sup>, 2 S 18<sup>22</sup>, Is 3<sup>6</sup> לְקָהּ [for 2nd fem. לְקָהּ the *Kethibh* לְבִי occurs in 2 K 4<sup>2</sup>, Ct 2<sup>13</sup>, cf. § 91 e)], <sup>י</sup>, &c.; except that for the 3rd plur., besides <sup>י</sup> <sup>י</sup> (especially in the later books) and <sup>י</sup> <sup>י</sup> (only in Ex 30<sup>4</sup>, 36<sup>1</sup>, Hb 1<sup>16</sup>; <sup>י</sup> <sup>י</sup> only in Jer 14<sup>16</sup>), the form <sup>י</sup> <sup>י</sup> is also used; and for the feminine, besides <sup>י</sup> <sup>י</sup> (three times), <sup>י</sup> <sup>י</sup> is found fifteen times, and <sup>י</sup> <sup>י</sup> 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) <sup>ק</sup> with Pronominal Suffixes.

	Sing.	Plur.	
1.	<sup>י</sup> <sup>י</sup> as I.	<sup>י</sup> <sup>י</sup> as we.	
2.	{ m. <sup>י</sup> <sup>י</sup> } as thou.	<sup>י</sup> <sup>י</sup> , <sup>י</sup> <sup>י</sup> , rarely <sup>י</sup> <sup>י</sup> }	} as ye.
	{ f. . . . }	. . . . . }	
3.	{ m. <sup>י</sup> <sup>י</sup> } as he.	<sup>י</sup> <sup>י</sup> , [ <sup>י</sup> <sup>י</sup> , <sup>י</sup> <sup>י</sup> ], <sup>י</sup> <sup>י</sup> }	} as they.
	{ f. <sup>י</sup> <sup>י</sup> } as she.	[ <sup>י</sup> <sup>י</sup> ], <sup>י</sup> <sup>י</sup> }	

<sup>8</sup> The question whether <sup>י</sup> <sup>י</sup> 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-humā*) 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) <sup>י</sup> <sup>י</sup> can be better explained as plural (in reference to collective nouns); and in Is 53<sup>8</sup> for <sup>י</sup> <sup>י</sup> we should read with the LXX לְמִוֹת. 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—<sup>י</sup> <sup>י</sup>  $\psi$  11<sup>7</sup> and <sup>י</sup> <sup>י</sup> Jb 27<sup>23</sup>, as well as <sup>י</sup> <sup>י</sup>, three times, Jb 20<sup>23</sup>, 27<sup>23</sup> (beside <sup>י</sup> <sup>י</sup>), 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 (= <sup>י</sup> <sup>י</sup>, <sup>י</sup> <sup>י</sup> <sup>י</sup>).—On the question of the antiquity of the suffixes in <sup>י</sup> <sup>י</sup> see § 91 l.

<sup>4</sup> The form <sup>י</sup> <sup>י</sup> in Ru 1<sup>13</sup> is Aramaic (= therefore).

<sup>5</sup> The use of <sup>י</sup> here for <sup>י</sup> (cf. above, d) might be due to euphonic reasons.—<sup>י</sup> <sup>י</sup> (defectively) only in the Pentateuch, <sup>י</sup> <sup>י</sup> 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. מִמְּךָ, in pause } from thee. f. מִמֶּךָ }	{ מִמְּכֶם } from you. מִמֶּכֶן }
3. { m. מִמֶּנּוּ, Jb 4 <sup>12</sup> in pause } from him. or מִנֵּהוּ: see below }	{ מִמֶּהֶם [twice], } from Jb 11 <sup>20</sup> מִמֵּהֶם } f. מִמֶּנָּה from her. מִמֵּנָה [7 times] } them.

The syllable מו (in Arabic *mā* מָא = Heb. מָה what) in כְּמוֹנִי (probably from לְאֵנִי בְּמָה, prop. according to what I, for as I) is, in poetry, appended to the three simple prefixes בּ, פּ, לְ, even without suffixes, so that בְּמוּ, פְּמוּ, לְמוּ appear as independent words, equivalent in meaning to בּ, פּ, לְ. 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 בְּמָה, enclosed in brackets above, occurs only in 2 K 17<sup>15</sup> (in *l* pause), בְּהֵמָה only in Jer 36<sup>32</sup> (in *pause*); בְּהֵן (Baer following Qimḥi בְּהֵן) only in Ez 18<sup>14</sup>. Cf. Frensdorff, *Massora Magna*, p. 234 ff.—For בְּכֶם as ye, Qimḥi requires בְּכֶם (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 בְּכֶם.

With regard to מִן with suffixes, מִמֵּנִי from me is usually explained as arising, *III* by a reduplication of מִן, from an original מִנְמֵנִי, just as מִמֵּנּוּ from him, from מִנְמֵנוּ, identical in form with מִפָּנָנוּ<sup>1</sup> from us, from מִנְמֵנוּ, while מִמֶּנָּה from her, goes back to מִנְמֵנָה. Far simpler, however, is Mayer Lambert's explanation (*REJ.* xxiii. 302 ff.), that מִמֵּנִי, &c., have arisen from מִנְנֵי, &c., and that the forms of the suffixes are to be explained on the analogy of תַּחֲתָנָה, עוֹרָנּוּ, אֵינָנִי, &c.—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 מִמֵּנּוּ?) Is 18<sup>2.7</sup> is very strange.—מִמֵּהֶם occurs only in Jer 10<sup>2</sup>, Ec 12<sup>12</sup> (Jb 11<sup>20</sup> מִמֵּהֶם); מִמֵּהֶן (so Baer and Ginsburg, following the best authorities, instead of the ordinary reading מִמֵּהֶן) only in Ez 16<sup>47.52</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> The Babylonian Masora writes מִמֵּנִי (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 אַלְ, עַדְ, עַלְ with plural suffixes is explained from the ground-forms of those prepositions (from stems ל"ה אֲלִי (אַלִי), עֲדִי, עַלִי (contracted to אֲלִי, אֲלִי, &c.).<sup>1</sup>

*o* Without suffixes these prepositions are—

אַחֲרַי, more frequently אַחֲרַי (prop. *hinder parts*) *behind, after*.

אַלְ,<sup>2</sup> poet. [4 times in Job] also אֲלִי (*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; בֵּינָי, 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.

כָּרִיב (*circuit*) *around*, as a preposition, always has the plural form, sometimes masc. כָּרִיבַיךָ, &c. [10 times], but much more frequently in the fem. סְבִיבוֹת (*surroundings*). In Ez 43<sup>17</sup> סְבִיבֵי אֹתָהּ is a corruption of סְבִיבוֹתָיָהּ; [in 1 K 6<sup>5</sup> אֶת סְבִיבֵי אֶת also is so contrary to usage, that it must be due to some textual error].

עַדְ (*continuation, duration, from* עָדָה) *as far as, unto*, poet. עֲדִי [12 times]. In Jb 32<sup>12</sup> עֲדִיכֶם, with the *ā* retained in the secondary tone, is abnormal. Also in 2 K 9<sup>18</sup> for עֲדִיהֶם read עָדִיהֶם.

עַלְ *upon, over* (cf. the rare subst. עֶלְ *height* [see Lexicon], from עָלָה *to ascend*), poet. עֲלִי [40 times, and 2 *Qerê*].

תַּחַתְּ *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., תַּחַתִּיךָ, &c., was only formed on the analogy of עֲלִיךָ, &c., and אַחֲרֶיךָ, &c., only on the analogy of לְפָנַי, &c., since the real plural forms ought to be אַחֲרֵיךָ, תַּחַתֵּיךָ, &c.; cf., however, König, *Lehrgebäude*, ii. 305 f.

<sup>2</sup> On the use of this particle see § 119 *g*.



*With Suffixes.*

<i>Sing.</i>	אַחֲרַי	בֵּינִי	סְבִיבוֹתַי	תַּחְתַּי	אֵלַי	עָרִי	עָלַי
	(after me)	(between me)	(around me)	(beneath me)	(to me)	(unto me)	(on me)
<i>S. m.</i>	אַחֲרָיְךָ	בֵּינֶךָ	סְבִיבוֹתֶיךָ & סְבִיבֶיךָ	תַּחְתֶּיךָ	אֵלֶיךָ	עָרֶיךָ	עָלֶיךָ
<i>S. f.</i>	אַחֲרַיִךְ		סְבִיבוֹתֶיךָ & סְבִיבֶיךָ		אֵלֶיךָ		עָלֶיךָ
<i>S. m.</i>	אַחֲרָיו	בֵּינוֹ	סְבִיבוֹתָיו	תַּחְתָּיו	אֵלָיו	עָרָיו	עָלָיו
			& סְבִיבָיו				
<i>S. f.</i>	אַחֲרֶיהָ		סְבִיבוֹתֶיהָ & סְבִיבֶיהָ	תַּחְתֶּיהָ	אֵלֶיהָ	עָרֶיהָ	עָלֶיהָ
<i>Plur.</i>	אַחֲרֵינוּ	בֵּינֵנוּ	סְבִיבוֹתֵינוּ	תַּחְתֵּינוּ	אֵלֵינוּ		עָלֵינוּ
	&	בֵּינוֹתֵינוּ <sup>1</sup>					
<i>Pl. m.</i>	אַחֲרֵיכֶם	בֵּינֵיכֶם	סְבִיבוֹתֵיכֶם	תַּחְתֵּיכֶם	אֵלֵיכֶם	עָרֵיכֶם	עָלֵיכֶם
<i>Pl. m.</i>	אַחֲרֵיהֶם	בֵּינֵיהֶם	סְבִיבוֹתֵיהֶם	תַּחְתֵּיהֶם	אֵלֵיהֶם	[עָרֵיהֶם]	עָלֵיהֶם
		& בֵּינוֹתָם	& סְבִיבוֹתָם	usually תַּחְתָּם	& אֵלֵיהֶם		[עָלֵיהֶם <sup>2</sup> ]
					[אֵלֵיהֶם <sup>2</sup> ]		
<i>Pl. f.</i>	אַחֲרֵיהֶן			תַּחְתֵּיהֶן	אֵלֵיהֶן		עָלֵיהֶן
					& אֵלֵיהֶן		

§ 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 כִּי *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 כִּי; 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 וּבֵינֵיכֶם) 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 מִטָּרָם is also used. On the combination of two particles to express complex ideas (e. g. אֲחֵרֵי אֲחֵרֵי 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 אֲשֶׁר because, prop. on account of the fact that; אַחֲרֵי אֲשֶׁר, and more frequently אַחֲרֵי אֲשֶׁר, after that; כִּי אֲשֶׁר according as (with כִּי); וְעַל כֵּן אֲשֶׁר and אֲשֶׁר עַל כֵּן 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), אֲלֵּי also, וְ and, and others.

- d Rem. The pointing of the וְ (originally ו, as still before *Hateph 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 בּ, פּ, 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, וְחֲלִי and sickness. On וְאֵלֶיךָ, וְאֵלֶיךָ &c., see § 102 d; on וְאֵדְנִי, &c., see § 102 m; on such cases as וְעֵצֶר 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 בּ, מּ, פּ, hence וְכָל. On the cases in which simple *Šewā* has become a *Hateph* after וְ copulative (e. g. וְהָיָה Gn 2<sup>12</sup>), cf. § 10 g.

- f (d) With a following וְ the וְ coalesces to form וְ according to § 24 b, as וְהִיא 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. וְהִיא Jos 8<sup>4</sup>, וְהִיא Gn 20<sup>7</sup>), cf. § 63 q.

- g (e) Immediately before the tone-syllable it frequently takes *Qames*, like בּ, פּ, לְ (see § 102 f), but in most cases only at the end of a sentence or clause (but cf. also וְבָא 2 K 22<sup>30</sup>), e. g. וְמָת 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>8</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 ו, 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. וְהָיָה וְכֹה־גַם Gn 1<sup>2</sup>, וְכֹה־גַם Gn 8<sup>22</sup> (see also the previous examples); Gn 13<sup>14</sup> (thrice); Ex 25<sup>3</sup> וְכֹה־גַם; ψ 96<sup>7</sup> וְכֹה־גַם; Gn 7<sup>18</sup> וְכֹה־גַם; 1 K 21<sup>10</sup> וְכֹה־גַם; Est 1<sup>8</sup> וְכֹה־גַם at the end of the verse, but in ψ 87<sup>5</sup> וְכֹה־גַם in spite of the *D'hi* with the second וְכֹה־גַם, because it is closely connected with the following predicate. Also with three words פַּחַד פַּחַת וּפַחַת Is 24<sup>17</sup>. On the other hand, the rapid pronunciation ו 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. צֶאן וְעֶבֶד 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 ו is intended to ensure the slow and solemn recitation of the promise, but also וַיִּזְכֹּר Jos 15<sup>55</sup>, וַעֲתָר 19<sup>7</sup>, וַיִּבְטֵן 19<sup>25</sup>, all immediately before the pause.) For the same rhythmical reason ו (not ו) is used regularly with certain monosyllables which, by their nature, lean more closely upon the following word, thus וְהָיָה, וְכֹה, וְגַם, וְלֹא (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), אַחְּ אַחְּ *aha!* (cf. this אַחְּ also in אַחְּלִי and אַחְּלִי *utinam!*), אַחְּ Ex 32<sup>31</sup>. &c. (Gn 50<sup>17</sup> אַחְּ) *ah!* (from אָהָה and אָהָה), otherwise written אַחְּ 2 K 20<sup>3</sup>, Jn 1<sup>14</sup>, ψ 116<sup>4</sup>; also הַם (in pause הַם, even in the plural הַם *hold your peace!* Neh 8<sup>11</sup>) *hush!* הַיִּי (Am 5<sup>16</sup> הַיִּי) *ha! woe!* אַיִי (ψ 120<sup>5</sup>), אַיִי (in אַיִלִּי Ec 4<sup>10</sup>; אַיִלִּי 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. הִן (הִיא) or הִנֵּה *behold!* (prop. *here*); רֵאָה *behold!* (prop. imperative); הִבֵּה, plur. הִבֵּי (prop. *give*, imperative of הִבֵּה; as to the tone, cf. § 69 o), *come*, the Latin *age, agite!* לָכֵה (also לָכֵה), לָכֵה (prop. *go*, imperative of הִלָּךְ) with the same meaning<sup>1</sup>; הַלֵּלָה *far be it!* (prop. *ad profanum!*)

<sup>1</sup> רֵאָה (Dt 1<sup>8</sup>), הִבֵּה and לָכֵה are also used in connexion with the feminine and the plural, which proves that they have become quite stereotyped as interjections.

יָּ (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 אָּ: נָּ-לָּ *ne quaeso* and נָּ-אָּ *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 אָּ-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 *Über 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* (לֹא צָחַקְתִּי); . . . . .; *and he said, Nay, but thou didst laugh* (צָחַקְתְּ); Gn 3<sup>11</sup> *וְהָיָה לְךָ מִי הַיָּדוּר 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>7</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 יַעֲקֹב אֶת רָחֵל) . . . , 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 הַקָּטָן *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>18</sup>, Nu 22<sup>34</sup>, the context requires *I knew not*; זָכַרְנוּ *we remember* Nu 11<sup>5</sup>; מָאָנָה *she refuseth* Jb 6<sup>7</sup>; עָלְזָן *it exulteth*; שָׂמַחְתִּי *I rejoice* 1 S 2<sup>1</sup>; בִּקֵּשׁ *he requireth* Is 1<sup>12</sup>; קָוִיתִי *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 1<sup>11</sup>, &c.)); אָהַבְתִּי *I love* Gn 27<sup>4</sup>; שָׂנְאתִי *I hate*  $\psi$  31<sup>7</sup>; מֵאֲסֹתִי *I despise* Am 5<sup>21</sup>; תִּעַבְבוּנִי *they abhor me* Jb 30<sup>10</sup>; בָּטַחְתִּי *I trust*  $\psi$  25<sup>2</sup>; הִטֵּיתִי *I put my trust*  $\psi$  31<sup>2</sup>; צָדִיקְתִּי *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 גָּדַלְתָּ *thou art great*  $\psi$  104<sup>1</sup>; קָטַנְתִּי *I am little* Gn 32<sup>11</sup>; גָּבְהוּ *they are high* Is 55<sup>9</sup>; הִחָקוּ *they stand aloof* Jb 30<sup>10</sup>; טָבוּ *they are goodly* Nu 24<sup>5</sup>; יָאוּ *they are beautiful* Is 52<sup>7</sup>; זָקַנְתִּי *I am old* Gn 18<sup>13</sup>; יָגַעְתִּי *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 עָרַמְתִּי *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 עָרַאֲנָה 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*; ὄδα, μέμνημαι, εἶκα, δέδορκα, κέκραγα; in the New Testament, ἤλπικα, ἠγάπηκα.

sented as already accomplished in the conception of the speaker, e. g. **יָרַמְתִּי** *I lift up* (my hand in ratifying an oath) Gn 14<sup>22</sup>; **נִשְׁבַּעְתִּי** *I swear* Jer 22<sup>5</sup>; **הִעֲדֵתִי** *I testify* Dt 8<sup>19</sup>; **יַעֲצֵתִי** *I counsel* 2 S 17<sup>11</sup> (but in a different context in ver. 15, *I have counselled*); **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. **פָּשַׁתְּ** 9<sup>11</sup> *for thou, Lord, hast not forsaken* (**לֹא-עָזַבְתָּ**) *them that seek thee*. Cf. ver. 13, also **פָּשַׁתְּ** 10<sup>3</sup>, 119<sup>40</sup> and Gn 49<sup>12</sup> (**בְּבָסִים**).

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, **לֹא יָכַלְתִּי** *I am not able* **פָּשַׁתְּ** 40<sup>13</sup> and **לֹא אֶנְכַּל** 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>, **פָּשַׁתְּ** 2<sup>16</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* (**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, **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> **בְּלֵנֵנו אֲבָרְנוּ בְּלֵנֵנו אֲבָרְנוּ** *behold, we perish, we are undone, we are all undone*. Gn 30<sup>13</sup>, Is 6<sup>5</sup> (**נִרְמֵיתִי** *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 ὄλωλα (*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 **אֵין בִּי**; 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 **נִקְבְּצֵנִי** is *imperative* (see § 51 o) or we must read **נִקְבְּצֵנִי**, corresponding to **יִקְבְּצֵנִי** 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* (הִלָּהֵם); 9<sup>1st</sup>, 10<sup>28</sup>, 11<sup>9</sup> (after הִי, 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>1</sup> הִיָּן רָחַץ אֶם *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 אֶם אֲשַׁר עָרַע, as in Gn 28<sup>15</sup>, Nu 32<sup>17</sup>; also 2 S 17<sup>13</sup> after אֲשַׁר עָרַע, Gn 24<sup>19</sup> after אֶם עָרַע and elsewhere frequently after temporal conjunctions); Mi 5<sup>2</sup> (וְלָרְהָ); Gn 43<sup>14</sup> וְאִנִּי שָׂבָרָה וְאִנִּי שָׂבָרָה וְאִנִּי שָׂבָרָה *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> (הִכִּי); 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>13</sup>, 23<sup>10</sup> (בְּתַנְיָי), 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 מָתַנּוּ *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* (עָלָה), 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>3</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> (אֶפְרַיִם), 17<sup>10 f.</sup>, 51<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> (אֲדִירָעָה), 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 אָז *then*, טָרָם *not yet*, בְּטָרָם *before*, עַד־ *until*, e.g. Ex 15<sup>1</sup> אָז 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 אָז 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> אָז 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>3,7</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> הֵיטָא 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*, הַטְּבָעוּ, 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>3</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>3 ff.</sup> and the note on § 53 p.

<sup>3</sup> After אָז *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 עָרַר 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 עָרַר 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 יֵצֵא Gn 2<sup>10</sup> represent the river of Paradise as going out of Eden in a continuous, uninterrupted stream, but וַיִּפְרַר, which immediately follows, describes how the parting of its waters is always taking place afresh. In the same way וַיֵּעָלֶה 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 וַתִּבְלַעַמוּ 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 *e* at fixed intervals or occasionally (the *modus rei repetitae*), e.g. Jb 1<sup>5</sup> thus did (וַיַּעַשׂ) 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* (רָעָה), &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 יְאֵב *a wolf that ravineth* (properly, is accustomed to ravin). Finally, compare also the formulae יֵאָמֵר *it is* (wont to be) *said* (to introduce proverbial expressions) Gn 10<sup>9</sup>, 22<sup>14</sup>, &c.; לֹא יֵעָשֶׂה כֵּן *it is not* (wont to be) *so done* (and hence may not, shall not be, see *w*), 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* (תִּשְׁאַל) *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 1<sup>7</sup> (2<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* (לֹא יִאֱמִינוּ) *me, nor hearken* (וְיִשְׁמְעוּ) *unto my voice: for they will say* (וְיֹאמְרוּ), &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* (יֹאמֵר)? 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*, וְיֵלְדוּ *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 יֵצֵא *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>50</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> ( $\text{תְּהִי}$ );  $\psi$  61<sup>7</sup> ( $\text{תִּסְיֶה$ ); Pr 22<sup>17</sup> ( $\text{תִּשְׁוֶה}$ ); 23<sup>1</sup>, Jb 6<sup>23</sup> (co-ordinated with the imperative), 10<sup>20</sup> *Keth.*; so probably also  $\text{יִדְּן}$  *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  $\text{הִיָּה$  and  $\text{אֶנְבֵּל}$  Lv 10<sup>18</sup>, Nu 35<sup>28</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,  $\text{אַל־תִּפְּטֹם}$  Gn 19<sup>17</sup>,  $\text{אַל־תִּסְדֹּר}$  Jos 17,  $\text{אַל־נָא יִשְׂיִם}$  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>19</sup>. Also to express the conviction that something cannot happen,  $\text{אַל־יִנָּמֵד}$  *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 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> Ez 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 אֲפֹר 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> בְּדֶרֶךְ־יְהוָה תֵּלֶךְ 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 (אֲכַל תֹּאכַל) 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> קִוִּי־אֲמַר 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־אֶרְחֹץ 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 which an event might have been expected to take place, e. g. Gn 43<sup>7</sup> נִרְעָה הֲיָרִיעַ 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 (בִּי אֲנִי) that I should (ought, could) go? 16<sup>7</sup>, Nu 11<sup>12</sup>, Ju 9<sup>2</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> אֲפֹר 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>, ψ 8<sup>5</sup>, 114<sup>5</sup>, the context shows that the 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 <sup>w</sup> should not happen, e. g. Gn 32<sup>13</sup> לֹא יִסְפָּר כְּרֹב אֲשֶׁר לֹא יִסְפָּר *which cannot be numbered for multitude*; 20<sup>9</sup> *deeds* (לֹא יַעֲשֶׂוּ אֲשֶׁר לֹא יַעֲשֶׂוּ) *that ought not to be done* (cf. above, g); ψ 5<sup>5</sup>.

(5) In *conditional clauses* (the *modus conditionalis* corresponding <sup>w</sup> to the Latin present or imperfect conjunctive) both in the protasis and apodosis, or only in the latter, ψ 23<sup>4</sup> רָע רָע לֹא אֵיךָ . . . יִסְרִיִּלְךָ *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>14</sup>, ψ 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 *a* plur. of the imperfect lengthened by the ending הַיִּתְּ, <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 *b* cohortative, and frequently strengthened by the addition of the particle אֲנִי:

(a) To express self-encouragement, e. g. Ex 3<sup>3</sup> אֲנִי אֲנִי אֲנִי אֲנִי *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 הַיִּתְּ, according to § 75 l, even in the cohortative, almost always have the ending הַיִּתְּ; cf. e. g. in Dt 32<sup>20</sup> אֲנִי אֲנִי אֲנִי אֲנִי after אֲנִי אֲנִי.

[<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>  $\text{אֶעֱבְרָה} may I be allowed to pass through (let me pass through)!$  Nu 20<sup>17</sup>  $\text{נִעְבְּרָה} may we be allowed to pass through!$  Jer 40<sup>15</sup>  $\text{לֵךְ} let me go, I pray thee!$  &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> ( $\text{אֶל-אִבְיֹשָׁה} let me not be ashamed;$  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  $\text{לְעֵלֶּיךָ}$ ) on an imperative or jussive to express an intention or intended consequence, e. g. Gn 27<sup>4</sup>  $\text{בְּרִיחַ} that I may eat, prop. then will I eat;$  Gn 19<sup>5</sup>, 23<sup>4</sup>, 24<sup>86</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>  $\text{אִם-אֶדְבַּר} should I determine to speak, my grief is not assuaged, וְאִחֲרָלָה and should I forbear, what am I eased?$  without  $\text{אִם}$  Jb 19<sup>18</sup>, 30<sup>26</sup> (where, however,  $\text{וְאִחֲלָה}$  is probably intended);  $\psi$  73<sup>16</sup> (unless  $\text{וְאִחֲרָ}$  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>  $\text{אִם-נִרְדְּפָה} if I determined to pursue, then . . .$ , 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 . . .*,  $\text{אֶרְעָה} then let me sow;$  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  $\text{וְאִשְׁפֹּחַ} \psi$  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  $\text{כִּי-יִתְּנֵנִי, כִּי-יִתְּנֵנִי}$ , e. g. Jer 9<sup>1</sup> *oh, that I had . . .*,  $\text{וְאֶעֱזָבָה} then$  (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>  $\text{אֶלְכָּה};$  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,  $\text{שָׁכַבְתָּ}$  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> וְנִאֲתַעְבְּרָה; 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 עַד־ $\psi$  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  $\psi$ ); עַד־אֲרִינֶיָּעָה 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־אֵי with a similar meaning), as long as I (intentionally) wink with the eyelashes (shall wink). On the other hand, in Ex 32<sup>30</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 *α* 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> יְהִי אֹרֶךְ 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 יִהְיֶה 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> . . . וְהִנְעִר יָעַל . . . יִשְׁבֶּנָא עַבְרָךְ 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 לָחַץ, 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־יִרְאֶה Jb 3<sup>9</sup> (but previously יִקֹּן let it look for!): especially in (Neh 2<sup>3</sup>) and immediately before the principal pause, Gn 1<sup>9</sup> תִּרְאֶה; Ju 6<sup>39</sup> יִהְיֶה, but previously יִהְיֶנָּא; Is 47<sup>3</sup> תִּרְאֶה, previously תִּנְגַּל;  $\psi$  109<sup>7</sup>. On the attempt to distinguish such jussives from the imperfect by means of a special meaning הִנְּ, see § 75 hh.

אֲלֹנֶיָּא); e.g. Ex 34<sup>3</sup> אִישׁ אֲלֵי־רֹא אֵינֶה neither let any man be seen! Pr 3<sup>7</sup> be not (אֲלֵ־תִהְיֶה) wise in thine own eyes! Jb 15<sup>31</sup> אֲלֵ־יִאֲמְרוּ ne confidat. In the form of a request (prayer), Dt 9<sup>26</sup> אֲלֵ־תִשְׁחַת 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 לֹא יִוֹסֶף 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 לֹא־תַחֲוֹם עֵינֶיךָ, &c., Dt 7<sup>16</sup>, 13<sup>9</sup>, &c., Ez 5<sup>11</sup>, &c., cf. § 72 r, according to which תַּחֲוֹם should probably be read in every case.—The jussive appears in the place of the cohortative after לֹא 1 S 14<sup>36</sup> (וְלֹא־נִשְׁאַר) co-ordinated with two cohortatives), 2 S 17<sup>12</sup>; cf. Is 41<sup>23</sup> K<sup>eth</sup>. (וְנָרָא), i.e. וְנִרְאָה, after another cohortative); also (see above) אֲסַף לֹא Dt 18<sup>16</sup>, Ho 9<sup>15</sup>, and even without לֹא 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) וְאֲלֵ־תִשָּׂא 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> (אֲלֵ־יִתֵּן); Pr 3<sup>25</sup>, Jb 5<sup>22</sup> אֲלֵ־תִירָא 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 . . . , וְהִעֲשֶׂה 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> אֲמַלְּטָה נָא שְׂפִיחָהּ 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 בְּהִי) 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  $\text{לֹא־יִמָּד}^{\text{ל}}$  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  $\text{לֹא־יִמָּד}^{\text{ל}}$  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  $\text{לֹא־יִמָּד}^{\text{ל}}$  with jussive, Lv 10<sup>9</sup>, 11<sup>43</sup>, 16<sup>2</sup>, 2 S 13<sup>25</sup>, Jer 25<sup>6</sup>, 37<sup>20</sup>, 38<sup>24 f.</sup>; after the asseverative  $\text{אִם}$  with the impft., Gn 14<sup>23</sup>; even after a simple imperfect, Jer 10<sup>4</sup> *with nails . . . they fasten it* ( $\text{וְלֹא־יִמָּד}^{\text{ל}}$ ) *that it move not*; after a participle, Jb 9<sup>7</sup>.

(b) Frequently in conditional sentences (as in Arabic), either in the *h* protasis or in the apodosis, cf.  $\psi$  45<sup>12</sup>  $\text{יִתְאֵי}$  *should he desire . . . then . . .*; 104<sup>20</sup>  $\text{וְיִהְיֶה}$  . . .  $\text{תִּשָּׁחַךְ}$  *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> ( $\text{וְיִעָל}$ ), 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> ( $\text{לֹא־תִסְמָךְ}$ ), but see above, d). In 2 K 6<sup>27</sup>  $\text{אֶל־וְיִשְׁעֶיךָ}$  (*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 *i* 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> ( $\text{מִה־יִסְמָךְ}$ ), but cf. above, a); Jb 9<sup>33</sup> *there is no daysman betwixt us, that might lay* ( $\text{יִשָּׁחַךְ}$ ), hence plainly a *subjunctive* = *qui ponat*; also in Nu 23<sup>19</sup>  $\text{וְיִכָּבֵד}$  *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, וְיִבִּין* *qui intelligat hoc?*; Ho 14<sup>10</sup>.

Moreover, in not a few cases, the jussive is used, without any collateral *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, 30, 32</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> *Qeré* ( $\text{מִה־יִסְמָךְ}$ ), *Keth.*  $\text{וְיִנָּיֵל}$ , 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  $\text{וְיִשָּׁב}$ ), but immediately afterwards ( $\text{תִּשָּׁב}$ ), Dn 8<sup>12</sup>,—but also in shortened forms, such as  $\text{יִהְיֶה}$  Gn 49<sup>17</sup> (Sam.  $\text{יִהְיֶה}$ ), 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>21</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 אַךְ 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>, Jn 10<sup>14</sup>, Is 47<sup>12</sup> (with אַךְ), Jer 7<sup>21</sup>, Ez 20<sup>39</sup>, Am 4<sup>1</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> אַתָּה תִּשְׁבָּע וְהָאֲחֵיכֶם יִשְׁבָּעוּ *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 אַךְ *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 הֲלִי Gn 23<sup>18</sup> (at the end of verses 5 and 14 also read הֲלִי for הֲלִי and join it to the following imperative) is due to an anacoluthon. Instead of the imperfect which would be expected here after הֲלִי, 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> (וְיִהְיֶה־שְׁעֵי), Jer 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> אַךְ 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 וְחָתְרוּ (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 *h* 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 הַחֵלֶךְ (where רָשׁ is virtually, as it were, an object to הַחֵלֶךְ) *begin, take in possession for to take in possession* (cf., however, Ju 19<sup>6</sup> הוֹאֵל־נָחַ וְלֵין *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 (לְכֹנֵן), קוּם (קָמוּ), 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, וְיָחִיָּהּ 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> וְהוֹצֵאתָ *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, וְיִבְרַכְבִּי 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> הָעֶמְרִי (עֶמְרִי, according to Qimḥi an infinitive, in which case, however, the infinitive absolute עֶמְרִי should be read; but probably we should simply read עֶמְרִי with Moore), Mi 1<sup>18</sup> and Zc 13<sup>7</sup> (after עֶמְרִי); 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* (וַיִּהְיֶה) *more subtil . . . and he said* (וַיֹּאמֶר) *unto the woman*; 4<sup>1</sup>, 6<sup>9ff.</sup>, 10<sup>9f.</sup>, 15<sup>19</sup>, 11<sup>12ff. 27ff.</sup>, 14<sup>5f.</sup>, 15<sup>1f.</sup>, 16<sup>1f.</sup>, 21<sup>1ff.</sup>, 24<sup>1f.</sup>, 25<sup>19ff.</sup>, 36<sup>2ff.</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 וַיִּהְיֶה 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>65</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 וַיִּהְיֶה 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> וַיֵּרָא . . . וַיֵּשֶׁב 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> (וַיִּמְלֹךְ), 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> ff.

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 וּ 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>, כִּי אֲשֶׁר 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>5,26</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, וַיִּמְאַסֶּךָ 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> וַיִּבְלֵגְנֶנּוּ and (as to) his concubine . . ., וַיִּבְלֵגְךָ 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 אֲתָּ.

<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 בִּשְׂמֵעַ.

*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> וְגַם הָיָה לְאַבְרָהָם וְלְיִצְחָק וְלְיַעֲקֹב *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*, וְגַם הָיָה כִּי יִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה וְלֹא יִתְּנֶה *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> וְיִתְּנֶה *so that my mother should have been . . .* Another instance of the kind perhaps (if the text be correct) is Jer 38<sup>9</sup> וְיָמָת *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*), וְיִתְּנֶה *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> (וְיִשְׁלַח); 31<sup>27</sup> וְיִשְׁלַח *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>39</sup>, 18<sup>13</sup>, &c.; also in Is 49<sup>7</sup> וְיִבְרַחְךָ is the continuation of a preterite, contained, according to the sense, in the preceding וְיִשְׁפָּרְךָ. —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*, וְיִשְׁמַח וְיִשְׂמַח *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* (שָׂפָרָה) *and my glory rejoiceth* (לִבִּי); Is 3<sup>16</sup> (parallel with a simple imperfect). Cf. also such examples as  $\psi$  29<sup>10</sup> וָשָׁב (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* (וַיִּפֹּל); *he fleeth* (וַיִּבְרַח) *also as a shadow, 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* (וַיִּחַלֵּשׁ), &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> (וַתִּהְיֶינִי for which in verse 12 and in 43<sup>5</sup> we have וַמָּה־תִּהְיֶינִי *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* (וַיִּתְאַבֵּל) *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> לֵאלֹהֵי קָרָא *who called upon God*, 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 *v*); 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>5,10f.</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>16</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 אִם־קָרָאתִי אִם־עָנֵתָּ לִּי if I had called, and he had answered me, yet . . . ; ψ 139<sup>11</sup> וַיֹּאמֶר אִם־אֶשְׁכַּח 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 וַיִּהְיֶה 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>18</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 (וַיְהַרְגוּ אֹתִי) but thee they will save alive (וַיַּחְיֶיךָ).

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> וַיַּעֲלֶה אֱלֹהִים מִן הָאָרֶץ (again and again) from the earth, וַיַּשְׁקֵהּ 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, וַיִּצֹּף 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> (וַיִּלְכְּח), 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> (וַיִּלְדֵי), as a continuation of יבואי, 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, וַעֲפַר 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> (וַעֲשֶׂה 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, וַשְׂחַח 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> (וְהִקְרָא), &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, וַאֲכָלוּ 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) . . . וַדְּבַק 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 וַיִּהְיוּ and וַיִּשְׁרְתוּ) 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 ; מִנְעָהּ 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 וַיִּלְכְּבוּ (necessarily an imperfect, since it is separated from וְ by הֵם) and וַיִּבְלָהּ ; on the other hand in verse 18 וַיִּרְאֵהָ and וַיִּלְכְּבוּ 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>3</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 וָמֵת (instead of מַכֶּה there is in verse 20, &c. וְכִי יַכֶּה 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 אֶחָפֵשׂ וְלִקְחֹתִים 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 ׀־אִם Gn 32<sup>9</sup>, Ex 19<sup>5</sup>, 1 S 1<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 אֲשֶׁר Dt 2<sup>25</sup>, or כִּי־גֵן 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>26</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 1<sup>14<sup>f</sup></sup> וְהָיוּ . . . יְהִי מְאֹרֹת 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 הֲלֵךְ (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 *s* (cf. § 106 m and n), e.g. Gn 17<sup>20</sup> וְהִפְרֵתִי אֹתוֹ 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> for yet seven days, וְאֶנְכִי מְמַטֵּיר and I will cause it to rain . . . וְמִחֵיתִי 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 אֵלֶיךָ, 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 הַיְנֵה, e.g. Gn 6<sup>17</sup><sup>t</sup>.; with a different subject 1 K 20<sup>36</sup>, Am 6<sup>14</sup>; after a complete noun-clause introduced by הַיְנֵה (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>14</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>t</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 וְהוֹדַעְתִּי אֵלַיךָ עַד-בּוֹאִי אֵלָיךָ 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 הַיְנֵה 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 f.</sup> (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> וְהָיָה (before הַחֶרֶב), and in Jer 42<sup>17</sup> וַיְהִי (before בְּלִי אֲנִישִׁים).

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 אֲנִי). 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 (וְנִמְלְתִם 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.

(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), וְעַבְדְּתַנִּי and shouldst thou then serve me for naught? or with a positive statement, e.g. Ex 5<sup>5</sup> וְהִשְׁבַּתָּם 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> (וְהִחַרְשֵׁתִי).

(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> (וְהָבֵה), i.e. every time, therefore continued by means of וְלֹא יִחַיָּה; 1 K 5<sup>7</sup> (וְכִלְכְּלוּ),

<sup>1</sup> On the various combinations with וְהָיָה see König'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 repetitae*) 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.

*ee* 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 וַיִּשְׁרָף אֱלֹהִים 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 repetitae*), 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 אֲלֵךְ 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 אֲנִי with the imperfect, e. g. 2 K 7<sup>4b</sup> וְאִם יָמִיתֵנוּ אֲנִי וְאִם יָמִיתֵנוּ if they kill us, (well then) we shall but die; here the perfect consecutive is used obviously with greater emphasis than the imperfect (יָמִיתֵנוּ) 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 11<sup>1</sup>, 20<sup>6</sup>, 1 K 3<sup>14</sup>, Na 3<sup>12</sup>, Ec 4<sup>11</sup>.

*gg* (*β*) After אֲנִי 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>1f</sup>.; as precative apodosis after אֲנִי-אֲמַר with the *perf. preteritum*, Gn 33<sup>10</sup>; as a frequentative perfect consecutive, to represent past events in the apodosis after אֲנִי with a perfect, Gn 38<sup>9</sup>, Nu 21<sup>9</sup>, Ju 6<sup>3</sup>, Jb 7<sup>4</sup>; after אֲנִי with imperfect, Gn 31<sup>8</sup>.

*hh* (*γ*) After אֲנִי (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 אֲנִי 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, אֲנִי should be read for וְאֲנִי.



(δ) After אֲשֶׁר with the imperfect, Gn 44<sup>9</sup> וְנָתַתְּ . . . אֹתוֹ אֲשֶׁר יִמְצָא אֹתוֹ *ii* 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> וְיִלְקַחְתֶּם גַּם-אֶת-זֶה . . . וְהוֹרַדְתֶּם *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>23</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 וְלֹא 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 וַיִּאֶסְפֵהוּ suggests the special case, rather than a repeated occurrence; cf. 2 S 15<sup>2</sup>. Conversely, in 1 S 21<sup>6</sup> (וַיִּאֲמַר) perhaps a mere mistake for וְאָמַר, 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' *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 31<sup>6f.</sup>; after אֲשֶׁר with perfect, 1 K 20<sup>28</sup>; after לְעֵקֶב with perfect, Nu 14<sup>21</sup>; also after what are equivalent to causal clauses, e. g. ψ 25<sup>11</sup> וּסְלַחְתָּ . . . לְמַעַן שְׁמִי *for thy name's sake . . . pardon . . .*; Is 37<sup>29</sup> after עַל with an infinitive.

(c) The perfect consecutive occurs as the apodosis to temporal clauses or their equivalents, e. g. 1 S 2<sup>15</sup> וּבָא . . . בְּתָרְם יִקְטְרוּ 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 . . . כְּל-אִישׁ זָבַח וְזָבַח *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  $\text{וַיִּבְרָךְ}$  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>  $\text{וַעֲרַב יְרַעְמָה}$  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  $\text{ו}$  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>  $\text{וַהֲעִמִּיר}$ ; 2 K 11<sup>1</sup> *Keeth.*  $\text{וַרְאֵהוּ}$ ; 14<sup>14</sup>  $\text{וְלָקַח}$  (in the parallel passage, 2 Ch 25<sup>24</sup>, the word is wanting); 2 K 23<sup>4</sup>  $\text{וַנִּטָּא}$ , &c.; verse 10  $\text{וַיִּטָּא}$ , &c.; verse 12  $\text{וַהֲשִׁיבֵהוּ}$ , &c.; verse 15  $\text{וַיִּשְׂרַף}$ , &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 *infim. 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  $\text{ו}$  can no doubt be explained as frequentatives, e. g. 1<sup>18</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  $\text{ו}$ , 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  $\text{ו}$ . He considers that the whole section, 2 K 23<sup>4</sup> from  $\text{וַנִּטָּא}$  to verse 5 inclusive, is to be regarded as a gloss, since the continuation of an imperfect consecutive by means of a perfect with  $\text{ו}$  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>6</sup>  $\text{וַהֲשִׁבֵת}$ , verse 8  $\text{וַנְתִּין}$ , and verse 14  $\text{וַיִּשְׂרַף}$ .

ואמר); Jer 38<sup>28</sup>, where the narrative breaks off in the middle of the sentence; 40<sup>3</sup> (והיה), &c., wanting in the LXX); also in Ju 7<sup>13</sup> ונפל האהל is altogether redundant; in 1 S 13<sup>18</sup> read, with Klostermann, the 2<sup>nd</sup> sing. masc. instead of והגרת; in 1 K 21<sup>12</sup> והשיבו 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 וואמר 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 ו (as a variety of the frequentative perfect with ו), in Gn 15<sup>6</sup>, 34<sup>5</sup>, Nu 21<sup>20</sup>, Jos 9<sup>12</sup>, 22<sup>5b</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 ויהי 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 וינעלו), 1 S 4<sup>19</sup>, 17<sup>38</sup>, 2 S 16<sup>5</sup>, 19<sup>18f</sup>. (read ונעלו and ויעברו), 1 K 3<sup>11</sup> (where וישאלה 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, ואת-הסלע תפש should be read); 14<sup>14</sup>, 18<sup>4</sup> (where, at any rate, וישבר might be taken as a frequentative, but not וברת, &c.; evidently the perfects are co-ordinated only in form with והוא הקיר; 18<sup>9</sup>, 21<sup>15</sup>, 24<sup>14</sup>, Jer 37<sup>15</sup> (where ונהפז, but not ונתנו, might be frequentative); Ez 9<sup>7</sup> (omit ויציא with Stade, and read והכו); 20<sup>22</sup> (והשבתי *Mil'el* before an imperfect consecutive); Am 7<sup>4</sup> (ואכלה after an imperfect consecutive); Jb 16<sup>12</sup>.

Finally, in 1 S 11<sup>2</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> ויהי is to be *uu* read throughout instead of והיה, but in Gn 38<sup>5</sup> והיא 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 ונעל, 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 ונעל 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> אָכַל הַבֶּשֶׂת הַרְבוּת 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 וְנִבְטַח 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> (הַיָּסֵר 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 יִרְעֻנוּם 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> בְּמַטְאֵיטָא הַשְׁמֵד *with the besom of destruction*; so perhaps also 4<sup>4</sup> בְּעַר 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> . . . בַּחֲתָדָּ לֹא לָחֵם . . . וְשָׂאוֹל לוֹ בְּאַלְהֵיִם *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>6</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 בְּקֶר וְשָׁחַט צֹאן *slaying oxen and killing sheep*; cf. Ex 20<sup>8</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> (הוֹכֵחַ 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>23</sup> וַיְדוּעַ אֹתִי *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> וְאָחֳרַי 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 *h* 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> (הִרְחִיק 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>35</sup> (where a subject is added subsequently; see below, *gg*); Jos 3<sup>17</sup>, 1 S 3<sup>12</sup> (הָחֵל וְכָלָה a beginning and ending, i. e. from beginning to end); 2 S 8<sup>2</sup>, Is 7<sup>11</sup> (הֵעִמֵּק and הֵרִיבָה, 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> הִסְתַּרְתָּ in hiding, sc. my face); Jer 3<sup>15</sup> (וְהִשְׁבִּילִי with knowledge and understanding); Hb 3<sup>13</sup> (עָרוּת, for the form cf. § 75 *aa*); Zc 7<sup>3</sup>, ψ 35<sup>16</sup> (הִרְקִי, to define more precisely קִרְעֵי verse 15); Jb 15<sup>3</sup>.<sup>2</sup>

Rem. 1. To an adverbial infinitive absolute of this kind, there may further *i* 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* וַיֵּחָף וַיֵּלֶךְ הֵלֵךְ עָרוֹם 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 frequent use, come to be treated by the language as simple adverbs; so especially הֵרִיבָה (cf. § 75 *f*) *multum faciendo*, i. e. *multum*, very frequently strengthened by מְאֹד *very* and even used without connexion with a finite verb (see the Lexicon); also הֵיטֵב *bene faciendo*, i. e. *bene*, used especially to express the careful and thorough performance of an action (e. g. Dt 13<sup>15</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, הֵשִׁבָּם *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 וְהָעֵרֵב 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* (וְהָעֵרֵתִי) *unto your fathers . . .* וְהָעֵרֵב הֵשִׁבָּם rising early and protesting, i. e. with earnest protestation; Jer 25<sup>3</sup>, 26<sup>5</sup> (where הֵ 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 וְהָפַךְ וְהָפַךְ read with Stade and Klostermann מָחָה וְהָפַךְ; similarly, with Stade, וְקָשָׁה in Ju 4<sup>24</sup>; וְחָזַק in Jer 23<sup>14</sup>, and on Is 31<sup>5</sup> cf. *l*.

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 אָז 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 הוֹרִישׁוּ לָא הוֹרִישׁוּ 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 וְגַ' אֶשְׂמֵר אֶשְׂמֵר כי 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 infiniter 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>21</sup> *nay; but I will verily buy (קָנִיתִי אֶתְּךָ) 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>. תֵּאָכַל חֵלֶבְךָ *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 *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 שְׂמֹעֵי שְׁמוֹעַ *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 עַם 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 שְׂמֹעֵי שְׁמוֹעַ *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> הִלְכּוּ הַלִּיכֵי הָלֶךְ *lowing as they went* (lowing continually; so after a participle, Jos 6<sup>13b</sup> *Qerê*); Gu 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 רָצוּא reads simply רָצוּא רָצוּא.

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>34</sup>) or participle (2 S 16<sup>6</sup>); cf. also *u.*

11 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 הִלֵּךְ 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 . . . הַלְוָה וְשׁוּב . . . *and the waters returned . . . 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 וַיִּבְכֶּה, 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 15<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>).

12 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>23</sup> לֹא־הֵצִילָהּ 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>.

13 4. With a finite verb of one of the derived conjugations, not only the infinitive absolute of the *same* conjugation may be connected (Gn 25<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, הִפְרָה and הִהָרַב); 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 אֶסְפֵּם, and in Zp 1<sup>2</sup> אָקַף. Barth, *Nom.-bildung*, § 49 *b*, sees in אָרוּשׁ and אֶסְפֵּם infinitives Hiph'il, exactly corresponding in form to \*qām[ā] the Aram. *infin.* 'Aph'el of קָמַ; 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> (שָׁלַג); Jer 50<sup>34</sup> (רִיב יָרִיב); Pr 23<sup>1</sup> (בִּין תִּקְבִּין). 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> וַיִּבְּאוּ 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>28</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, וְהִלְבֵּשׁוּ 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>6 ff.</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 וַיִּירָב); 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>30 b</sup>, Am 4<sup>4 f.</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 הִכִּינוּ 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> תִּשְׁמָרוּן תִּשְׁמָרוּן; 7<sup>18</sup> וְזָכַרְתֶּם תִּזְכָּרוּ); 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 הִיטִיטָה 142<sup>5</sup> may be only an incorrect spelling of הִיטִיטָה 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> אֲכֹל וְהָתוֹ (the exclamation of the mocker); Ez 21<sup>31</sup>, 23<sup>30,46</sup>; perhaps also Jer 31<sup>2</sup> (הֲלֹיָהּ).<sup>4</sup>
- ce (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> Prætorius, *op. cit.*, p. 547: the extraordinarily common use of the infinitive form *qātōl* in the sense of an imperative, jussive, or cohortative has long since caused it to be compared with the Arab. *fa'ālī*. It thus appears that the infin. *qātōl* 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 הִסִיר, הָרִים, הִשְׁפִּיל (beside הִנְבִּיחַ) read with Cornill the infinitives absolute הִסַרְתָּ, &c. The K<sup>e</sup>thibh probably intends הִסִיר, &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 וְאָבָא.

<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 (הִאָמַר), unless with the LXX and Vulg. the participle with the article (הִאָמַר) 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 הָיְוֹת 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־טוֹב לְשִׁבְתָּךְ 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 קְפֹרֵד 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 צֵאתָ וְבֹאִי 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> בְּפָגְעוֹ־בּוֹ in *his meeting him*, i. e. if (as soon as) he meets him; Gn 27<sup>45</sup> (עַד־שׁוּב); Is 30<sup>12</sup> יַעַן כִּי־אֶסְבֶּם *because ye despise*; Jer 2<sup>35</sup> עַל־אֶמְרֶיךָ *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 עַד or עַל 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> בְּהֵיחֹם בְּמִצְרַיִם when they were in Egypt; Gn 24<sup>30</sup> וַיְהִי כִּי רָאָה אֶת־הַחֶּטֶם . . . וּבִשְׁמָעוֹ וַיִּשְׁמָע . . . 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, לְרֹאֵת 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 לְהָיִית לְךָ לְאִשָּׁה to be (i. e. that she may be) thy wife; cf. Gn 28<sup>4</sup>, Jer 38<sup>26</sup> (לְמוֹת).—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 לְעֲשׂוֹת 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 לְעֲשׂוֹת 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 לְבוֹא 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>, יהוה לְהוֹשִׁיעֵנִי 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 כְּכַתֵּב, 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>; 2c<sup>25</sup>, Ec 3<sup>15</sup> 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 הַשָּׁעַר לְסָגוֹר and the gate was to be shut (had to be shut); Is 37<sup>26</sup>, ψ 109<sup>13</sup>.<sup>2</sup> Mostly with the omission of הַיָּה, e.g. 2 K 4<sup>13</sup> מָה לַעֲשׂוֹת לְךָ וְגַ' (הַיֵּשׁ לְרִבְרֵךְ) wouldst thou be (lit. is it to be) spoken for to the king, &c.? 2 K 13<sup>19</sup> לְהַכּוֹת לְךָ 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 11<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 אֵיךְ 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 לְ depends on the idea of an obligation or permission (or prohibition); especially in such forms of expression as 2 S 18<sup>11</sup> וְגַ' עָלַי לָתֵת לְךָ וְגַ' 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> וְגַ' לֹא לְךָ לְאֵלֵי אֲזַיִן with an infinitive expresses it is not permitted (nefas est), may not, e.g. Est 4<sup>2</sup> לֹא יֵאָמֵר לְבֹא for none might enter; 8<sup>8</sup>, 1 Ch 15<sup>2</sup>; לְאֵיךְ 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>5</sup>—With either meaning לָא can be used instead of אֵיךְ, e.g. Am 6<sup>10</sup> לֹא לְהוֹבִיר לְאֵלֵי הַיָּה 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> לֹא 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. 17c, 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 לְ is a survival of the emphatic לְ 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 לְ without difficulty.

<sup>2</sup> Somewhat different are the cases where הַיָּה 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>) לְכַעֵר for wasting, for which elsewhere frequently לְשָׂמָה and the like; probably also לְבַלּוֹת ψ 49<sup>15</sup> is to be explained in this way, the הַיָּה 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 וְלָנֶה and our part shall be the infinitive without לְ stands as the subject of the sentence.

<sup>5</sup> Quite different of course are such cases as Is 37<sup>3</sup> וְכַח אֵיךְ לְלָרֶה and there is not strength to bring forth; cf. Nu 20<sup>6</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>26,31</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.; חָדַל to cease from, to desist; כָּלַה to complete, to make an end of; תָּמַם 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>); חָפֵין to will, to desire; מָאָן to refuse (to be unwilling); בִּקֵּשׁ to seek; יָכַל to be able (with an infinitive without לְ, e.g. Gn 24<sup>60</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> הֵעֵתִידִם 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, הִגְבִּיחַ 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); הִרְבֶּה to make (it) much, הִפְלִא to make (it) wonderful (even with a passive infinitive 2 Ch 26<sup>16</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 אָבִו שְׁמֹעַ Is 28<sup>12</sup> is equivalent to they desired not obeying (לֹא אָבִו) also with the infin. abs. in Is 42<sup>24</sup>; cf. § 113 d); but לֹא אָבִו לְשִׁמְעַ Ez 20<sup>8</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 הִרְבֶּה (= often, abundantly), Ex 36<sup>6</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>2</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>18</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>3f.</sup>, 14<sup>8</sup>, Jer 44<sup>7f.</sup>, ψ 63<sup>3</sup>, 78<sup>18</sup>, 101<sup>8</sup>, 103<sup>20</sup>, 104<sup>14f.</sup>, 111<sup>6</sup>, Pr 2<sup>8</sup>, 8<sup>34</sup>, 18<sup>5</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>, 2 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>10f.</sup> וְלִהְיוֹת 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> וְלִשְׂבַח 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 וְגו' *until*

<sup>1</sup> לְאמֹר is very often so used after וַיְדַבֵּר 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>.

r 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> וְגַלְרָרְפוֹ 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>46</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 בְּיּוֹם 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*, וַאֲקִרָא קוֹלִי וְאֶקְרָא as *I lifted up my voice and cried, that* . . .; 1 K 10<sup>9</sup>, Jb 38<sup>13</sup> (after לְ); 1 K 18<sup>18</sup>, Is 33<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).

s 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-מִבְּלֹתִי אֶבְלֵנוּ *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) בְּלֹ 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> בְּיּוֹם הַקִּיּוֹם 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 לְהַמִּית 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> לְבַלְתִּי 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> לְבַלְתִּי 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>26</sup> לְהַמִּית צַדִּיק to slay the righteous (never as לְהַמִּית; 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> (שָׁלַח for שָׁלַח) 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 אֲתָנִי, 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 הִפִּינִי). Elsewhere the pronominal object is appended either by means of the accusative sign (e.g. Gn 25<sup>26</sup> אֲתָם בְּלֶדְתָּם prop. in the bearing them; לְרַעַת אֹתִי 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> לְהַכְתּוֹ (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 גְּדַלְךָ 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 יִכְלוּ דַבְּרוּ לְשָׁלֹם they could not speak to him peaceably, cf. Zc 3<sup>1</sup> לְשֹׁטְנוֹ 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 אֶבְיֵה בְּכַמִּי that he will not perform the duty of a husband's brother unto me; 1 Ch 4<sup>10</sup> לְבַלְתִּי עֹצְבִי 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; לִירָאָה אֹתִי to fear me, Dt 4<sup>10</sup>, 5<sup>26</sup>, 10<sup>12</sup>; an accusative follows לְאַהֲבָה Dt 10<sup>12,15</sup>, Is 56<sup>6</sup> (cf. also 1 K 10<sup>9</sup>, Ho 3<sup>1</sup>); לְהִנָּפֵה Is 30<sup>28</sup>; בְּשִׂנְאָת יְהוָה אֲתָנִי Dt 1<sup>27</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 1<sup>27</sup> בְּשִׂנְאָת 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 הָנָר); 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> לְהִפְתָּר שָׁם פְּעִלֵי אֹנָן 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 6<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> לְשׁוֹם הַפְּלֹקָה אֶל־לִבִּי,

<sup>1</sup> In Gn 24<sup>30</sup> the subject of כְּרָאת is wanting (but כִּשְׁמַעוּ follows); the original reading was undoubtedly כְּרָאתוֹ, 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 לְשֹׁנִים 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 הַנִּיחַ 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 הַנִּיחִי Ez 24<sup>13</sup>, הַקִּימוֹ Jer 23<sup>20</sup>, &c., we should expect הַנִּיחַ, 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> בְּהִרְמִי קוּלִי 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־מְרִימוֹי שֹׁבֵט בְּהִנְיֹו as *if a rod should shake them that lift it up* (for the plur. מְרִימוֹ cf. § 124 *k*), not בְּהִנְיֹו, as would be expected (see *g* above), if שֹׁבֵט 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> אֹתוֹ פָּרַנְזוּ 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 *qattu Zaidin* (gen. of subj.) '*Amran* (acc.), literally *Zaid's killing Amr*, or *qattu Amrin* (gen. of obj.) *Zaidun* (nom. of subj.), or even *el-qattu* (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 *qāfēl* (מִלְפָּד, מִלְאָן, &c.) or *qāfōl* (בְּהֵ, &c.), whereas the *transitive* Qal שָׂנֵא *to hate*, although it coincides in form with the intransitive Qal (as a verb middle *e*), nevertheless forms a participle active שֹׂנֵא, and participle passive שְׁנוּאָה (cf. the feminine שְׁנוּאָה).—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> לְעֵי שִׁפְהָ men of stammering lips, a character is ascribed to them which is inseparably connected with their personality. On the other hand בְּלֵעַן לֵי בְּלֵעַן 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> (שִׁבְחִי) with 50<sup>22</sup> (שִׁבְחִי).

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 מֵת may mean either *moriens* (Zc 11<sup>9</sup>), or *mortuus* (so commonly; with the article הַמֵּת regularly=*the dead man*), or *moriturus* (Dt 4<sup>22</sup>); בָּרֵךְ *coming, come* Gn 18<sup>11</sup>, &c., *venturus* 1 S 2<sup>31</sup>, &c.; נֹפֵל *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> (הַשֹּׁב that was returned; cf. Ezr 6<sup>21</sup>, &c., הַשֹּׁבִים 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> (אֲרָב), 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 לְקַחֵי Gn 19<sup>14</sup>. On the *futurum instans* (esp. after הֵינֵה) see *p* below.

e (b) Of the passive participles, that of Qal (e.g. כְּתוּב 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.; נְחָמָר *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 הַיִּזְלָר Ju 13<sup>8</sup>) *procreandus, nasciturus* 1 K 13<sup>2</sup>, ψ 22<sup>32</sup>; נִעְרָן *terribilis* ψ 89<sup>8</sup>; נִחְעָב *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> הַמְּוֹמָתִים; Is 12<sup>5</sup> מְוִרְעָתָהּ.<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> אִיב־אֶת־דָּוִד *hating David*; Gn 42<sup>29</sup>; with the suffix of the accusative, e. g. עָשִׂנִי *that made me* Jb 31<sup>15</sup>; מִי רֵאֵנִי *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> הַמְאַזְרֵנִי *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 רַפְּאֵה הַנְּבִי רַפְּאֵה *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 מְלֵא *full of the spirit of wisdom*; ψ 5<sup>5</sup> חִפְזָן 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 אֱלֹהִים יָרָא *one fearing*

<sup>1</sup> Such examples as נֹרָא, נְחָמָר, 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 לְיָם *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>.

Go!; Hb 2<sup>15</sup>; with an infinitive, ψ 127<sup>2</sup>; with a noun-suffix (which, according to § 33 c, also represents a genitive), e. g. Gn 4<sup>14</sup> כָּל־מֵצְאִי בְּל־מֵצְאִי *whosoever findeth me* (prop. my finder; cf. עֹשֵׂי my maker); 12<sup>3</sup> מְבַרְכֶיךָ מְבַרְכֶיךָ *that bless thee*, מְקַלְלֶיךָ מְקַלְלֶיךָ *that curseth thee* (but read either מְבַרְכֶיךָ, or מְבַרְכֶיךָ in the preceding clause); 27<sup>29</sup>, 1 S 2<sup>30</sup>, Is 63<sup>13</sup>, ψ 18<sup>49</sup>. In Jer 33<sup>22</sup> read מְשַׁרְתִּים אֵתִי.<sup>1</sup>

h) Rem. To the class of objective genitives belong also specifications of place after the participles בָּא *iniens* and יֵצֵא *egrediens*, since the verbs בּוֹא and יֵצֵא, in the sense of *ingredi, egredi*, can be directly connected with an accusative; e. g. Gn 23<sup>10,18</sup> בָּאִי שָׁעַר עִירוֹ *that went in at the gate of his city*; La 1<sup>4</sup>; after 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, יוֹרְדֵי־בוֹר, *they that go down into the p̄ (the grave)*; ψ 88<sup>6</sup> 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 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. ψ 18<sup>40,49</sup> קָמִי (for קָמִים עָלַי) *that rise up against me*; cf. Ex 15<sup>7</sup>, Dt 33<sup>11</sup>, ψ 44<sup>6</sup>, Ex 3<sup>25</sup>, Is 1<sup>27</sup> שָׁבְרָהּ *her converts*; ψ 53<sup>6</sup> (הֶחֱרַב); Pr 2<sup>19</sup> כָּל־בְּרָאִיהָ *all that go unto her*; the construction is especially bold in Is 29<sup>7</sup> כָּל־צִבְיָהּ וּמְצֻדָתָהּ *all that fight against her and her stronghold* (for בְּל־הַצִּבְיָהּ וְעַל־מִ' *?*); ψ 102<sup>9</sup> even with a participle Po'al, מְהוֹלְלִי *they that are mad against me* (?), but read perhaps with Olshausen מְהוֹלְלִי *who pierce me*.—In Is 1<sup>30</sup> as a terebinth עֲלֵה נֹבֶלֶת *fading as regards its leaf*, it remains doubtful whether עֲלֵה is in the absolute state, and consequently עֲלֵה in the accusative, or whether it is to be regarded as construct state, and עֲלֵה 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 הָעֹשֶׂה *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> מְשַׁרְתִּי אֵתִי *that minister unto me* (for which there is מְשַׁרְתִּי in verse 21). In Am 4<sup>13</sup> an accusative of the product follows the genitive of the object, עֹשֶׂה שָׁחַר עֵיפָה *maker of the morning into darkness*. In Jer 2<sup>17</sup> בָּעֵת כִּוְלֶיךָ *is supposed to mean at the time when he led thee*; perhaps the perfect (הוֹלֵךְ) should be read as in 6<sup>15</sup>. In Ez 27<sup>34</sup>, the ancient versions read נִשְׁבְּרָתָ עֵתָהּ *now thou art broken*, instead of the difficult עֵת נִשְׁבְּרָתָ. In 1 K 20<sup>46</sup> read עֹשֶׂה before הִנֵּה וְהִנֵּה.

<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 בְּדָרִים *clothed in linen*, cf. verse 3 הַלְּבָשׁ הַבְּדָרִים; (even with a suffix קָרוֹעַ בְּתַנְתּוֹ *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 הַבְּדָרִים *the one clothed with linen*; 2 S 13<sup>31</sup> קָרַעַי בְּגָדִים *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> נִשְׁתַּפְּטָע *forgiven in respect of transgression*, כִּסּוּי הַחַטָּאָה *covered in respect of sin*); with a suffix to the noun, Pr 14<sup>2</sup> נָלוֹחַ דְּרָבָיו *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> קָרְאֶיהָ *her invited ones*, i. e. those invited by her; cf. 7<sup>26</sup>, ψ 37<sup>2</sup>.

5. The use of the participle as predicate is very frequent in noun-*ll* 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> נִבְּאֵי דְּוָדוֹר וְדְּוָדוֹר *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>13</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 הָרָה *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> וְכָל-הָעָם רָאוּ 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* וְלוֹט יָשָׁב *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*, בְּיָמֶיךָ תִּבְרַח אֶת-חֶמְדַּת בֵּן *thou shalt embrace a son*; so after a specification of time, Gn 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 הִיָּה 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*.

וְנִשְׁבַּחְתָּהּ, with *Qimhi*, 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>26</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 אִין (non est) with a suffix, e.g. Ju 6<sup>36</sup> אִם-אֵי-שָׁךְ מוֹשִׁיעַ if thou wilt save; Gn 43<sup>5</sup> אִם-אֵי-נִשְׁלַח if thou wilt not send; 1 S 19<sup>11</sup>.—In such cases as Is 14<sup>27</sup> יָרָו הַנְּטוּיָה 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 הָיָה (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> הַבְּקָר הָיָו הַרְשׁוּת 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>; הָיָה 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 יוּהַ 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> ff., 25<sup>2</sup>, 26<sup>7</sup>.—הוּא is omitted in Lv 18<sup>28</sup>; הִנֵּה in Is 32<sup>12</sup>, Ez 8<sup>12</sup>, Neh 9<sup>8</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 וְלִבְחַת the 2nd fem. perf. וְלִבְחַתְּ 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>8</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 קָרָא 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. כֹּחַ עוֹר וְהָיָה כִּי יָבֹא אֲחֵרָהּ 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>3</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 וְיָהִי (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 19<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 שְׁלֹחָהּ 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> שֶׁפָּקַד דָּם הָאָדָם בְּאָדָם דָּמוֹ יִשְׁפָּקֶה 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 (waw apodosis), e. g. Ex 12<sup>15</sup> (with a following perfect consecutive), Nu 35<sup>30</sup>; 1 S 2<sup>13</sup> כָּל־אִישׁ זָבַח וְיָהִי בְּעֵר הַפִּהֵן 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>eth</sup>.; 29<sup>9</sup>. — As in the instances discussed under u, such sentences are sometimes preceded by וְיָהִי, cf. 1 S 10<sup>11</sup>, 11<sup>11</sup>, 2 S 2<sup>23</sup> כֹּל־הַבָּא וְיָהִי כַּמְּאֵלָה and it came to pass, that as many as came, &c. [or by הִנֵּה, frequentative, Ju 19<sup>30</sup>]. — On the other hand, וְהִנֵּה שֶׁבֶרֶת 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 הִלְךְ 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. וְיָהִי כִּי יִבְרָא). 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 הָרָם 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> ff., 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> ff., 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>4</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 הִפְיִן (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), שָׁרַב 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 אֹת (with a tone-long *ā*, אֹת only in Jb 41<sup>26</sup>), אֵת 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 אֹת with the tone), Phoenician אֵית 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. תֵּת, תֵּת. It was no doubt originally a substantive, meaning *essence*, *substance*, *self* (like the Syriac *yāth*; on the other hand, any connexion with the Hebrew אֹתֵא, Syriac 'ātā, 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 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> אֶרֶץ וְשָׂמַיִם); 1<sup>25</sup> and God made אֶת-הָאָרֶץ 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 אֵת 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 אֵת with suffixes than by verbal suffixes, even when none of the reasons mentioned under c 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-צָוָהּ יְהוָה אֱלֹהִים Gn 6<sup>22</sup> in the Priestly Code, beside אֲשֶׁר-צָוָהּ יְהוָה 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-אֶת-כָּל 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 אֶת-מִי *quem?* e. g. Is 6<sup>8</sup>, 37<sup>23</sup>, &c., but never אֶת-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 אֶת אֲשֶׁר 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 אֵת 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 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, אֵת 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 אֵת in the Mēša' inscription, seven stand directly and four indirectly before proper names.

(unless, with Beer and others, we read **וְאִם** for **וְאִתָּה**); 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> **בְּנֶגְדְךָ** 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 **שׂוֹר אִישׁ** (as in Nu 21<sup>9</sup> to avoid the cacophony **אִישׁ הַנָּחֵשׁ 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 מֵהֵם** 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 מֶה־אֶחָד אֶת־אֶחָד** may refer to some definite one of the men-servants. In Gn 21<sup>30</sup> we should read **אֶת־שִׁבְעַת הַכְּבָשֹׂת** 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 **הַמַּצְבֹּת**, 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־עַמּוֹתָם** 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> **וְאֶתְּךָ הִרְנִיתִי** *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 **ו** 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 אֹמְרִים** <sup>1</sup> *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 בְּרִית 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 נָטַר Jer 3<sup>5</sup> (beside נָטַר); נָשָׂא for נָשָׂא קוֹל *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 *to put forth* (sc. יָד *the hand*) equivalent to *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 מֹשֶׁה וַיִּבְכּוּ אֶת־הָעָם בְּכֹהָ and *Moses heard the people weeping*; Gn 7<sup>1</sup> אַתָּה רְאִיתִי צְדִיקָה 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 אַת serves apparently to introduce or to emphasize *i* a nominative. This cannot be regarded as a reappearance of the original substantival meaning of the אַת, 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 אַת to indicate a clause governed by the verb, necessarily led at length to the use of אַת generally as a defining particle irrespective of a governing verb. So in the Hebrew of the Mishna<sup>1</sup> (see above, § 3 a) אַתּוּ and אַתְּהּ are prefixed even to a nominative without any special emphasis.

Naturally the above does not apply to any of the places in which אַת is not *k* the *nota accusativi*, but a preposition (on אַת *with*, cf. § 103 b), e.g. Is 57<sup>15</sup>, 1 S 17<sup>34</sup> (וַאֲתֵּי־הַדָּבָר) and *that, with a bear*; אַתְּ 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> כָּבִיב 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> לָּ וַיְהִי 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>33</sup> and he had the brazier before him; in Ec 4<sup>3</sup> a verb like *I esteem* is mentally supplied before אַתְּ אֵשֶׁר. 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 וַאֲת; 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 אַת is probably

following examples, in which  $\text{אָת}$  in the later Hebrew manner (almost in the sense of the Latin *quod attinet ad*) introduces a noun with more or less emphasis, Nu 3<sup>46</sup>, 5<sup>10</sup>, 35<sup>6</sup>, Ju 20<sup>44,46</sup>, Ez 17<sup>21</sup>, 20<sup>16</sup>, 35<sup>10</sup>, 44<sup>3</sup>, Neh 9<sup>19,34</sup>, Dn 9<sup>13</sup>, 2 Ch 31<sup>17</sup>.—In Ez 47<sup>17-19</sup> (cf. also 43<sup>7</sup>) it is simplest to emend  $\text{אָת}$  for  $\text{וְאָת}$ , according to verse 20. However, even the LXX, who have *ταῦτα* only in verse 18, can hardly have known any other reading than  $\text{אָת}$ ; consequently in all these passages  $\text{אָת}$  must be regarded as virtually dependent on some governing word, such as *ecce* (LXX 43<sup>7</sup> *ἰώπακας*), and 47<sup>17 ff.</sup> as equivalent to *thou shalt have as a border*, &c.

l 8. Another solecism of the later period is finally the introduction of the object by the preposition  $\text{לְ}$  (prop. *in relation to, in the direction of*), as sometimes in Ethiopic<sup>1</sup> and very commonly in Aramaic.<sup>2</sup> Less remarkable is this looser connexion of the object with a participle, as with  $\text{אָתְּךָ}$  La 4<sup>5</sup>,  $\text{אָתְּךָ}$  Nu 10<sup>25</sup>,  $\text{וְאָתְּךָ}$  ψ 145<sup>14</sup> (but cf. 146<sup>8</sup>),  $\text{צָרָר}$  Nu 25<sup>13</sup>,  $\text{הַשְׁנִיָּא}$  and  $\text{נְשֻׁטָה}$  Jb 12<sup>23</sup>; before the participle Is 11<sup>9</sup>.—To introduce an object preceding the finite verb  $\text{לְ}$  is employed in Jb 5<sup>2</sup> (cf. also Dn 11<sup>31</sup>); also after  $\text{אָהַב}$  Lv 19<sup>18,34</sup>;  $\text{הִיאָרִיף}$  ψ 129<sup>3</sup>;  $\text{הַבְּדִיל}$  Ezr 8<sup>24</sup>, 2 Ch 25<sup>10</sup>;  $\text{הִבִּין}$  Jb 9<sup>11</sup>;  $\text{בָּרַךְ}$  1 Ch 29<sup>20</sup> (immediately before with an accusative);  $\text{הִנְלָה}$  1 Ch 5<sup>26</sup>;  $\text{דָּרַשׁ}$  Ezr 6<sup>21</sup>, 1 Ch 22<sup>19</sup>, 2 Ch 17<sup>13</sup>;  $\text{הַחִיָּה}$  Gn 45<sup>7</sup>, where, however, read  $\text{פְּלִיטָה}$  with the LXX for  $\text{לְפָלִיטָה}$  and take  $\text{לָכֶם}$  as a *dativus commodi*;  $\text{הִלָּל}$  1 Ch 16<sup>36</sup>, 2 Ch 5<sup>13</sup>;  $\text{הָרַג}$  2 S 3<sup>30</sup>, ψ 135<sup>11</sup> (verse 10 with accusative), 136<sup>19 f.</sup>;  $\text{חָבַשׁ}$  (*to bind up*) Is 61<sup>1</sup> (Ez 34<sup>4</sup> before the verb);  $\text{יָרַע}$  ψ 65<sup>6</sup>;  $\text{כָּפַר}$  ψ 86<sup>9</sup>;  $\text{לָקַח}$  Jer 40<sup>2</sup>, 2 Ch 23<sup>1</sup>;  $\text{הִמְלִיף}$  and  $\text{מִשַׁח}$  1 Ch 29<sup>22</sup>;  $\text{נִהַל}$  2 Ch 28<sup>15</sup>;  $\text{שָׂמַח}$  ψ 145<sup>14</sup>;  $\text{עֹבֵד}$  1 Ch 16<sup>37</sup>;  $\text{הִעֲלָה}$  Ez 26<sup>3</sup>;  $\text{פָּתַח}$  ψ 116<sup>16</sup>;  $\text{רָדַף}$  Jb 19<sup>28</sup>;  $\text{הִצְדִּיק}$  Is 53<sup>11</sup>;  $\text{שָׁכַר}$  2 Ch 24<sup>12</sup> (previously accusatives);  $\text{שִׁים}$  1 S 22<sup>7</sup> (but probably  $\text{וּבְלָכֶם}$  is to be read);  $\text{הִשִּׁיב}$  (*in the connexion, לְ*) 2 Ch 10<sup>6</sup> (but verse 9 and 1 K 12<sup>9</sup> with an accusative);  $\text{שָׁחַת}$  Nu 32<sup>15</sup>, 1 S 23<sup>10</sup>;  $\text{שָׁחַ$  ψ 73<sup>18</sup>;  $\text{שָׁחַ$  Ezr 8<sup>16</sup>, 2 Ch 2<sup>12</sup>, 17<sup>7</sup>;  $\text{שָׁמַר}$  1 Ch 29<sup>13</sup>, 2 Ch 5<sup>11</sup>.

O 9. Sometimes the verb, on which an accusative of the object really depends, is contained only in sense in the verb which apparently governs, e.g. Is 14<sup>17</sup>  $\text{אֶסְרִינִי לְאֶפְתַּח בְּיָתָהּ}$  *his prisoners he let not loose nor sent them back to their home*. On this *constructio praegnans* in general, see § 119 ff.

p 2. With the proper accusatives of the object may also be classed what is called the *internal* or *absolute object* (also named *schema etymologicum* or *figura etymologica*), i.e. the addition of the object in the form

derived from a text which read the Hiph'il instead of  $\text{נָפַל}$ . In Jer 23<sup>35</sup> instead of the artificial explanation *what a burden (is, do ye ask?)* we should read with the LXX and Vulg.  $\text{אָתְּכֶם הַמִּשָּׂא}$  *ye are the burden*. In Ez 10<sup>22</sup>  $\text{אֹתָם מִרְאֵיהֶם וְאֹתָם}$  is unintelligible; in 37<sup>19</sup> read with Hitzig  $\text{אֶל־}$  for  $\text{אָתְּ}$ ; in Hag 2<sup>17</sup> for  $\text{אֶתְּכֶם}$  read with the LXX  $\text{שָׁכְבֶם}$  [or  $\text{אֵינְכֶם}$ ; for the  $\text{אֶל}$  cf. 2 K 6<sup>11</sup>, Jer 15<sup>1</sup>, Ez 36<sup>9</sup>].

<sup>1</sup> Dillmann, *Grammatik der äthiopischen Sprache*, p. 349.

<sup>2</sup> With regard to Biblical Aramaic, see Kautzsch's *Grammatik des Bibl.-Aram.*, p. 151 f. In other ways, also, a tendency may be observed in later Hebrew to make use of the looser connexion by means of prepositions instead of the closer subordination of the noun in the accusative.

of a noun derived from the same stem,<sup>1</sup> e.g.  $\psi$  14<sup>5</sup> פָּחַדוּ פָּחַדוּ 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> יְרוּשָׁלַם יָרָאָה הַטָּאָה הַטָּאָה 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 עֲצָקָה נְדִלָּה וַיִּמְרָה עַד־מָאוֹד he cried (with) an exceeding great and bitter cry; cf. the Greek *νοστέιν 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 those 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 βουλευέειν*, 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*, הַפְּוֹת is only used pregnantly for שְׁנַת הַמְּוִת (cf. Jer 51<sup>39</sup>), as עֲרֻקוֹת Is 33<sup>15</sup> for עֲרֻקוֹת הַיָּרֵךְ. On the similar use of תְּמִים הַלֵּךְ 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 זָקָר a tongue of deceit, i. e. with a lying tongue; Pr 10<sup>4</sup> *he becometh poor* כְּהַרְמִיָּה עֵשֶׂה 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, *Schittschuhe 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 יְהִלְלֵנִי my mouth shall praise with joyful lips,  $\psi$  63<sup>6</sup>; cf.  $\psi$  12<sup>3</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*; שָׁכַב *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 אֵת is intended, e. g. אֶת־הָאִתָּהּ for אִתָּהּ; 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* לְבַשׁ *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*; קָנָה (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 נָאֵף *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. נָבֵא to prophesy, Jer 25<sup>13</sup>; נָסַב (prop. to put oneself round) to surround, Ju 19<sup>22</sup>; נָלַחַם to fight,  $\psi$  109<sup>3</sup> (where, however, the *Qal* וַיִּלְחַמּוּ should be read; cf.  $\psi$  35<sup>1</sup>); also הִתְנַחַל 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>; הִתְנַחַל to make some one an object of craft, Gn 37<sup>18</sup>; הִתְנַחַל to strip a thing off oneself, Ex 33<sup>6</sup>; הִתְעַבֵּר to bring on oneself the anger of any one, to anger him; 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 אֲתָנוּ. Cf. § 54f.

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>5</sup> הַצּוֹם 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> גִּדְּלָנִי כְּאָב 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 וְהִנְשִׁינִי; in Is 44<sup>21</sup>, instead of the *Niph'al*, read וְהִנְשִׁינִי; in Ez 29<sup>3</sup> either עֲשִׂיתִי is to be read with Olshausen or עֲשִׂיתִים (and previously יֵאָרִי) with Smend; in  $\psi$  42<sup>5</sup> אֶרְדָּה or אֶרְדֶּם; in  $\psi$  55<sup>23</sup> (where König takes יֵהָבֵךְ 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—  $y$

(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 מִשְׁבָּצִים זָהָב enclosed in gold, Ex 28<sup>20</sup>). Also in poetic expressions such as  $\psi$  65<sup>14</sup> לְבִשׁוּ כְרִים הַצֹּאן the pastures are clothed with flocks, cf.  $\psi$  109<sup>29</sup>; 104<sup>2</sup> (עָטָה); 65<sup>14b</sup> (עָטַף), &c.<sup>1</sup>

(b) Verba copiae and inopiae (also called verba abundandi and deficiendi), as מָלָא, to be full of something, Ex 8<sup>17</sup>; here, and also frequently elsewhere, construed with אָתָּה, and hence evidently with an accusative; Gn 6<sup>13</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>; נִרְעָה 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>; נָגַל 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>; נָבַח 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 וְעֵלְהָ תִמְרִיר 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 bereaved 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 גָּוַר;  $\psi$  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 גָּוַר, Gn 30<sup>20</sup> after וּבָל,  $\psi$  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 מִנִּי הַרְאֵנִי show me, I pray thee, thy glory. Thus very frequently הוֹדִיעַ to cause some one to know something; Ju 1<sup>10</sup> הוֹדִיעַ לְפָנָיו docere aliquem aliquid, &c.; cf. further, Gn 41<sup>42</sup> וַיְלַבֵּשׁ אֹתוֹ וַיְבָשֵׂת אֵת הַבְּגָדִים וַיַּשְׂשֵׁב אֵת הַבְּגָדִים 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>; עִטַּר to crown,  $\psi$  8<sup>6</sup>, &c.; חָסַר to cause some one to lack something,  $\psi$  8<sup>6</sup>; הֵאָכִיל to feed some one with something, Ex 16<sup>32</sup>; הִשְׁקָה to make some one drink something, Gn 19<sup>32</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—

cc (a) Verbs which express covering, clothing, overlaying, חָנַךְ Ex 29<sup>9</sup>, עָפָה Ex 26<sup>22</sup>, &c., טָחַח Ez 13<sup>10</sup>, עָטַר  $\psi$  5<sup>13</sup>; cf. also אָכַן Jos 7<sup>25</sup>, &c.; hence also verbs which express sowing (זָרַע 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>; בֵּרַךְ to bless some one with something, Gn 49<sup>25</sup>, Dt 15<sup>14</sup>; to give graciously, חָנַן Gn 33<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> (קָמַךְ); 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 הִגִּיד to declare something to some one, Jb 26<sup>4</sup>, &c., for הָגִיד 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> וַיִּצַר 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-בְּלוֹי עֲשֵׂה 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 f. 29</sup>, 27<sup>1</sup>, 36<sup>8</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 unheven stones shalt thou build the altar of the Lord.

(e) Verbs which express making, preparing, forming into anything, ii 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>1 b</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>, 91<sup>9</sup>); הַחֲשִׁיךְ to make dark, Am 5<sup>8</sup>. Of the same class also are instances like Jb 28<sup>2</sup> וַיִּקְרְעוּהָ שָׁנִים עֶשֶׂר 1 K 11<sup>30</sup> אֶבֶן יָצַק נְחוֹשֶׁת a stone they smelt into brass; 1 K 11<sup>30</sup> וַיִּקְרְעוּהָ שָׁנִים עֶשֶׂר 1 K 11<sup>30</sup> וַיִּקְרְעוּהָ שָׁנִים עֶשֶׂר and rent it (the garment) into twelve pieces; cf. Is 37<sup>26</sup>, accusative of the product before the object proper, after לְהַשְׂאוֹת to lay waste.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. a very pregnant expression of this kind in ψ 21<sup>13</sup> כִּי תִשְׂתַּמְּנוּ שֵׁבָעִם 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>) וַיִּתְּנֵם לִי עֲרָף; thou hast given mine enemies unto me as a back; cf. Jer 18<sup>17</sup>.

On a second object with *verba sentiendi* (as יָדַע to know something to be something, Ec 7<sup>25</sup>; הִנֵּה to see, find to be, Gn 7<sup>1</sup>; כִּבְשָׁה to esteem one to be something, Is 53<sup>4</sup>, elsewhere always construed with לְ or עַ), 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 אֲבָנֵי הַמִּזְבֵּחַ as the nearer object and אֲבָנֵי 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) אֲבָנֵי 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. פָּסַע 3<sup>8</sup> *for thou hast smitten all mine enemies* אֶת־הַצֵּדִיק (as to) *the cheek bone*, equivalent to *upon the cheek bone*; cf. Gn 37<sup>21</sup> *let us not smite him* שִׁבְרֵנוּ אֶת־הַחַיִּים in *the life*, i. e. let us not kill him; Dt 22<sup>26</sup>, 2 S 3<sup>27</sup>; also with שָׁחַב Gn 3<sup>15</sup>; with אָרַב 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 אָרַב).

### § 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* (אֶת) 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 φύγῃ ἕρκος ὑδόντων.

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): נִצַּח הַשָּׂדֶה let us go out into the field, 1 S 20<sup>11</sup>; cf. Gn 27<sup>3</sup>, 31<sup>4</sup>, Jb 20<sup>7</sup>; לְכֹת תַּרְשִׁישׁ to go to Tarshish, 2 Ch 20<sup>36</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 שָׁיב 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 אֲשֶׁר for שָׁמָּה . . . אֲשֶׁר 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 אֲבִיךָ 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>; פֶּתַח הָאֹהֶל 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 פֶּתַח) 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 הַגֵּנָה instead of the *K<sup>th</sup>* הַגֵּן.

<sup>3</sup> So in Ju 19<sup>18</sup> for אֶת-בֵּית ' 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 **בְּשֵׁי**, 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 **לְאָרְץ**.

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> **רַק בְּכִסֵּא אֲנִי וְאַתָּה מִלְּפָנֶיךָ** *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 לְמִסְפַּר 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 *nocturn*, בֹּקֶר *in the morning, early*, ψ 5<sup>4</sup>, &c., צַהֲרָיִם *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>; בְּתַחֲלֵת קְצִיר שְׁעָרִים (*Qerê* בְּתַחֲלֵת) *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*.

k (b) In answer to the question *how long?* e.g. Gn 3<sup>14</sup>, &c., כָּל-יְמֵי חַיֶּיךָ *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> אֶת 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 לְפַחַת שְׂמִיר* *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 וְיָחָף* *naked and barefoot*; cf. verse 3, 8<sup>21</sup>, Gn 15<sup>2</sup>, 33<sup>18</sup> (שְׁלֵם), 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>28</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> (מלאה parallel with the adverb ריקם).

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> ערום הלכו 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>6</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>8</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 נוראות in a fearful manner (ψ 139<sup>14</sup>) and נפלאות in a wonderful manner, Jb 37<sup>6</sup>, Dn 8<sup>24</sup>.—Also participles in connexion with genitives, as מתהלך Gn 3<sup>8</sup> (cf. also באה 1 K 14<sup>8</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 מוחל read מייחל.—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> ולא תלכו רומה neither shall ye walk haughtily (as opposed to שחוח 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 אחר גילו in his feet (2 Ch 16<sup>12</sup> ברגליו), 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> פה אחד with one accord, 1 K 22<sup>13</sup>; cf. Ex 24<sup>3</sup>, Zp 3<sup>9</sup>), 1 S 15<sup>32</sup>, 2 S 23<sup>3</sup>, Is 41<sup>3</sup> (unless שלים 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 רכיל תלך to go up and down as a tale-bearer; also אטח unawares, Gn 34<sup>25</sup>, Ez 30<sup>9</sup>; מישרים 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) ימותו אנשים they shall die as men, i. e. in the prime of life; cf. 1 S 2<sup>18</sup> (נער), 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> שְׁלוֹמִים wholly (?) is corrupt; read שְׁלֵמָה נְלֹאת with LXX for ש'הנְלֹאת]; 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> ויכרא אריה and he cried as a lion; cf. ψ 22<sup>14</sup>, Is 22<sup>18</sup> כדור like a ball; Is 24<sup>22</sup>, Zc 2<sup>8</sup>, ψ 11<sup>1</sup> (unless צפור be vocative); 58<sup>9b</sup> (unless the force of the preceding ׀ is carried on, as in ψ 90<sup>4</sup>); ψ 144<sup>12</sup>, Jb 24<sup>6</sup> פראים, 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 ׀,<sup>3</sup> since the ׀ 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 ׀, which is otherwise regularly prefixed (see s), has actually dropped out.

<sup>3</sup> On the use of ׀ 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>  $\text{בְּרִבְרָם}$  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>  $\text{בְּחִלּוֹם}$  as in a dream.

u (b) The time, especially in the combination  $\text{כִּי יוֹם}$  after the manner of the day, equivalent to *as in the day*, Is 9<sup>8</sup>, Ho 2<sup>5</sup>;  $\text{כִּי יָמִי}$  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  $\text{כִּי יוֹם כִּי יוֹם}$  as day by day = as in the former days, 1 S 18<sup>10</sup>;  $\text{כִּפְעֵם כִּפְעֵם}$  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>  $\text{כִּפְעֵת חַיָּה}$  at this time (not about the time), when it lives again, i. e. at the end of a year;  $\text{כִּפְעֵת מָחָר}$  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>  $\text{כִּימוֹ-אֵשׁ}$  as a fire, i. e. as it were by fire (cf. Is 1<sup>25</sup>  $\text{כִּיבַר}$  as with lye); Jb 29<sup>23</sup>  $\text{כִּימָטָר}$  as for the rain (they waited for me); Jb 38<sup>14</sup> (as in a garment); 38<sup>30</sup>  $\text{כִּיאֲבָן}$  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  $\text{כִּיאִישׁ אֱמֻת}$  a faithful man; cf. 1 S 20<sup>3</sup>  $\text{כִּיפִשֵׁעַ}$ , La 1<sup>20</sup>  $\text{כִּיפְנוֹת}$ . 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  $\text{כִּיאִישׁ אֱמֻת}$  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  $\text{כִּימְעֹט}$  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>  $\text{כִּיבְרָאשְׁנָה}$  and  $\text{כִּיבְרָחֲלָה}$ , Lv 26<sup>37</sup> ( $\text{כִּימְצַנֵּי}$ ) 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 הַצֹּאן 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 מִחוּץ *without*, מִתַּחַת *in the sense of below*,<sup>2</sup> מֵעַל

preposition and substantive had already become simply *one word* before the מִן 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> (פַּבְּחֵצִי), 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, מִבְּלִעְרֵי

above (so also in Gn 27<sup>39</sup>, 49<sup>25</sup>, not from above). These adverbs of place, however, may become prepositions by the addition of לְ, e.g. לְמִחוּץ לְ outside as regards . . ., i. e. outside of something, in 1 K 21<sup>13</sup> even after a transitive verb of motion; לְמִתַּחַת לְ below as regards . . ., i. e. under something (cf. לְעַד-מִתַּחַת לְ until they came under . . ., 1 S 7<sup>11</sup>), לְמַעַל לְ over something, &c.; לְבַד לְ 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 מֵאַחַר, מֵאַחֲרַי (see above) from behind something; מֵאַתָּה and מֵעִם from with (see above); מֵבֵינָם 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; מֵתַחַת away from under (see footnote 2 on p. 377).

c (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, מֵתַחַת, 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- (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 לְ by a pregnant construction is virtually dependent on the idea of coming into, contained in the preceding אֵינִי.

<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 hebreewesche 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-מִקּוֹם שְׁבִתְךָ אֶל-הַשְּׂמִימִים. 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 shall thou sacrifice, &c.), is the same as the Greek use of εἰς for ἐν, the Latin in potestatem, in amicitium ditionemque 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) ב. 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> בְּצַלְמֵנוּ כְּדְמוּתֵנוּ 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.

Thus the use of ב 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 *ḡ* essentialiae 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 כְּאֶחָד but he is (manifests himself as) one, i.e. he remains always the same; Dt 26<sup>5</sup>, 28<sup>62</sup> בְּמִתֵּי מְעוֹט 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 אֲדַנִּי בְּכִמְוִי נַפְשִׁי is not meant to refer to the Lord as belonging to the לְמַכְוִים, 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, *Thes. 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. anfassend = בְּ אָחַז, anrühren = בְּ נָנַע, &c. To the same category belongs also the construction of verbs denoting authority (מְשִׁל, מְלִיךְ, נָגַשׁ, the last prop. to tread on . . .) with ב, 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 ב 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. ב indole, vi, usu*, Jena, 1875.

<sup>2</sup> e.g. *res in praeda captae*, i.e. things taken as spoil; see Nägelsbach, *Lat. Stilistik*, § 123<sup>4</sup>. On the Hebrew ב essentialiae, 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 ב is used before the subject) as well as ψ 68<sup>5</sup> בִּיהַ 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, בָּשָׁבַע *iurare per aliquem*, בָּשָׁאָל to enquire of some one. Again; בָּרָאָה to look upon, בָּשָׁמַע 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 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. בָּהֶאֱמִין to trust in (to cleave trustingly to) somebody or something; בָּבָטַח to have confidence in . . . ; בָּשָׂמַח to rejoice in or at something, &c.; בָּדִבֶר 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 finally the *partitive* use of בָּ, e. g. בָּאָכַל 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 בָּלָחַם to eat of, and בָּשָׁתָה<sup>1</sup> to drink of something, Pr 9<sup>5</sup>; בָּשָׁמַע to hear a whisper of something, Jb 26<sup>14</sup>; בָּמָצְאָה they found remaining of her only. . . , 2 K 9<sup>35</sup>; בָּנָשָׂא to bear a share of something, Nu 11<sup>17</sup>, Ez 18<sup>20</sup>, Jb 7<sup>13</sup>. Cf. also בָּהִלַק to give a share of something, Jb 39<sup>17</sup>; בָּבָנָה 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> בָּנַפְשׁוֹ with the life thereof; 15<sup>14</sup>, 32<sup>11</sup> בָּמִקְלִי 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> בָּעֹבֶט they smite with the rod; Is 10<sup>24</sup>; ψ 18<sup>30</sup> בָּךְ by thee (so also 44<sup>6</sup>, parallel with בָּשָׁמַךְ); Is 10<sup>34</sup>, Ho 1<sup>7</sup>, 12<sup>14</sup>; cf. also בָּעֹבֵר 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>18</sup> (בָּרָחֵל); 30<sup>16</sup>, 33<sup>19</sup>, 34<sup>15</sup> (בָּזֹאֵת on this condition); 37<sup>28</sup>; also, in a wider sense, Gn 18<sup>28</sup> בָּ 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 בָּעֵלְמוֹת with the shadow of death; Jb 16<sup>10</sup> בָּפִיהֶם עָלֵי פִּעְרוֹ 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 בָּמִפְטָה the rod; Lv 16<sup>4</sup> הִגֵּר and צָנָה followed by בָּ; Jos 8<sup>18</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 בָּ שָׁתָה = 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 ποτηρίῳ (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  $\text{ל}$  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  $\text{ל}$  is used rather as a merely adverbial complement. An instructive example of this is  $\text{קול נָתַן}$  *voce[m] emittere, to utter a voice*, also to *thunder*, while in  $\text{בְּקוֹלוֹ נָתַן}$   $\psi$  46<sup>7</sup> (68<sup>34</sup>, Jer 12<sup>8</sup>),  $\text{נָתַן}$  has an independent sense = *he thundered with his voice* (i. e. mightily).

(c)  $\text{ל}^1$  *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  $\text{ל}$  as a periphrasis for the *genetivus possessoris* or *auctoris* (the idea of belonging to), see § 129; on  $\text{ל}$  with the passive, to introduce the author or the cause, see § 121 f; on  $\text{ל}$  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  $\text{ל}$  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  $\text{ל}$ , 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  $\text{ל}$  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>13</sup> (also in the feminine, Ct 2<sup>10,13</sup>);  $\text{לֵךְ וְנָטָה}$  *turn thee aside*, 2 S 22<sup>1</sup>;  $\text{סַעַד לָכֶם}$  *take your journey*, Dt 1<sup>7</sup>;  $\text{עָבְרוּ עֲבַרְוּ לָכֶם}$  *pass ye over*;  $\text{בְּרַח-לֵךְ}$  *flee* (to save thyself), Gn 27<sup>43</sup>;  $\text{עֲלִי-לֵךְ}$  *get thee up*, Is 40<sup>9</sup>;  $\text{פְּנוּ לָכֶם}$  *turn you*, Dt 1<sup>40</sup>;  $\text{שׁוּבוּ לָכֶם}$  *return ye*, Dt 5<sup>27</sup>;  $\text{קוּמִי לֵךְ}$  *rise up*, Ct 2<sup>10</sup>;  $\text{שְׁבוּ לָכֶם}$  *abide ye*, Gn 22<sup>5</sup>;  $\text{לֵךְ הִרַלְתִּי}$  *forbear thee*, 2 Ch 35<sup>21</sup> (in the plural, Is 2<sup>22</sup>);  $\text{לָכֶם הִבְנוּ}$  *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  $\text{לֵךְ הִשְׁמַרְתִּי}$  (see above, § 51 n) *cave tibi!* and  $\text{לָכֶם הִשְׁמְרוּ}$  *take heed to yourselves*;  $\text{רָמָה לֵךְ}$  *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>  $\text{לֵךְ וְהִבַּטְתָּ לָּהּ}$  *and puttest thy trust*.—In the 3rd person, e. g.  $\text{וַתֵּשֶׁב לָהּ}$  *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 *a*) and in English *to* are used as a periphrasis for the dative.—On the introduction of the nearer object by  $\text{ל}$ , 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 וְנָה (cf. verse 3, where the ל naturally is not used); Ez 37<sup>16</sup>.

ו (ā) 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>23</sup> *he hath rejected thee מִפְּלֶהָיָךְ away from (being) king*, instead of 'מְהֵיּוֹת מִ' (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 מִבְּבֵי 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 מִרְאֹת 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 מִבְּלֵי and מֵאִין *without*, cf. § 152 y.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. O. Molin, *Om prepositionen min i Bibellebteisen*, 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>; - מִבְּלֵ- Lv 4<sup>2</sup>; 1 K 18<sup>5</sup>; מִדַּם הַבֶּזֶק *some of the blood of the bullock*, Ex 29<sup>12</sup>, &c.; Jb 27<sup>6</sup> *my heart doth not reproach me מִיָּמִי for any*, i. e. for one, *of my days*; 38<sup>12</sup> מִיָּמֶיךָ *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 אֶחָד is equivalent to *ullus*; e. g. Lv 4<sup>2</sup> *and shall do מִיָּחַת מֵאֶחָת any one of these things*; 5<sup>13</sup>, Dt 15<sup>7</sup>, Ez 18<sup>10</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>) מִשְׁעַרַת רֵאשִׁיו *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 מן after ~ 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 מן *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* αἰ (ἐπι)<sup>2</sup> and *over* (ὑπέρ, *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 *bb* of *covering, protecting, guarding* -בָּקַשׁ על-, גָּנַן על-, also the combinations רָחַם על- *to have compassion upon . . .*, חָסַם על- חָסַל 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. ψ 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) Zc 4<sup>14</sup> (cf. Is 6<sup>2</sup>, where מִפְּעֵל לְ is used for על-); הִתְיַצֵּב על- *to present oneself by command* before some one, Jb 16<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 קָם 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. ψ 73<sup>20</sup> מִתְקַיֵּין *after awaking* (cf. *ἐξ ἀπίστου, ab itinere*), or *after the lapse of . . .*, e. g. Gn 3<sup>24</sup>, Ho 6<sup>2</sup>, and very frequently מִקֵּיץ *from the end of*, i. e. *after the lapse of . . .*, see the *Lexicon*; also for the use of מן 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 על *notwithstanding* is no doubt properly *in addition to*, e. g. Jb 16<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 . . . , עַל־ חָנָה 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> וַיִּמְקַרְנֵי רַגְמִים עִנְיָאֲנִי 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; 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 לָלַכְתָּ 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 חָרְרוּ they trembled, i.e. went trembling away from him; with אֶל־ Gn 43<sup>33</sup> חָמָה 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; אֶל־ חָרַשׁ Is 41<sup>1</sup> to turn in silence to some one; אֶל־ חָרַר Gn 42<sup>28</sup> to turn trembling to some one (cf. חָרַר לְקִרְאתָא to come trembling to meel, 1 S 21<sup>2</sup> [also with שָׂמַח, הֵרִיץ, שָׂאֵן and other verbs, Ju 14<sup>5</sup>, 15<sup>14</sup>, 19<sup>3</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 בְּשַׁדְרִים (for בְּבַשְׂרִים) on the Chaldaeans; 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); לְ־ Is 48<sup>9</sup>; מִן־ Is 58<sup>13</sup>, ψ 141<sup>9</sup> (unless וַיִּמְפְּקֵשׁוּת is to be read); עַד־ Is 15<sup>8</sup>; תַּחַת־ 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>; אַחֲרֵיכֶן 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> שׁוֹרֵר בְּהַתְּמַךְ 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 לְבִהוּת = לְבִהוּת, 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 חֲפִיץ . . . יַגְדִּיל *it pleased the Lord . . . to magnify, &c.*; Jb 30<sup>28</sup>, 32<sup>22</sup> לֹא יִרְעֵתִי אַכְנָה *I know not to give flattering titles*; after a perfect consecutive, 1 S 20<sup>19</sup> (where for תִּרְרַר we should read with the LXX תִּפְקַר); 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>11a</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 תוֹסִיפי עוד* (5) *for thou shalt no longer be called, &c.*; Ho 1<sup>6</sup> *לא אוֹסִיף עוד אֲרַחֵם* *I will no longer continue (and) have mercy, i. e. I will no more have mercy*; Is 52<sup>1</sup>, Pr 23<sup>36</sup>.—Nu 22<sup>6</sup> *peradventure I shall prevail (that) we may smite them, and (that) I may drive them of the land* (אֹיְלֵי may, however, be a scribal error for נִיבַל, due to the preceding אֹיְלֵי, and in that case the example would belong to No. 1); after a participle,

<sup>1</sup> In 1 S 16<sup>16</sup>, יִרְעֵ מִנְּגִין, which appears to be a case of this kind, two different readings are combined, יִרְעֵ לְנִינִן and the simple מִנְּגִין.

<sup>2</sup> This kind of subordination is frequent in Arabic and in Syriac (cf. e. g. the Peshittā, 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  $\text{וַיֵּשֶׁב}$  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, ו).<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  $\text{וַיֵּשֶׁב}$ ,  $\text{וַיִּסַּף}$ ,<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>  $\text{הוֹאִל־נָא וְלִין}$  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  $\text{הִפְיֵר}$  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>  $\text{וְיִלְמְדוּ וְיִרְאוּ אֶת־יְהוָה}$  may learn, and fear the Lord, i. e. to fear the Lord; Is 1<sup>19</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>  $\text{וְאִם־יָדַעְתָּ וְיִשְׁכַּח־בָּם}$  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  $\text{קָמִי}$  ( $\text{קָמְדָה}$ )  $\text{קָמִי}$ ,

<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 (לָכֵי, לָכֵי, &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> לָךְ הֵרָר *go, get thee down*; 1 S 3<sup>9</sup>; with a following cohortative, 1 S 9<sup>10</sup> לָכֵי גִלְכֵה *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> אֶל-תִּרְבּוּ תִרְבְּרוּ *do not multiply and talk*, i. e. talk not so much *arrogancy*; in the imperative, ψ 51<sup>4</sup>; הִחַל, Dt 2<sup>24</sup> רֵשׁ הִחַל *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> פָּזַר = *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>21</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>21</sup> יִרְאֶה יִשְׁפַּע *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 *a* 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> וַתָּמָת רָחֵל 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 לְחֲנוּךְ אֶת־עֵירָר 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 וְנִחַנְתָּ 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. יָמַם 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>3</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 יֵלְרָה for יֵלֶר; the Samaritan in Gn 35<sup>26</sup> and 46<sup>27</sup> also reads יֵלְרָה, and this (or יֵלֶר) should certainly be read instead of יֵלְרָה 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>4</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>55</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 אֶרְאֶהּ which I will show thee (Gn 12<sup>1</sup>) the passive is אֲשֶׁר אֶתָּה מְרָאָהּ (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>16</sup> מִדְּבַק 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>, חָרַב הָאֵבֶלֶךְ ye shall be devoured with the sword, חָרַב 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 צֶלֶמָה the mountains were covered with the shadow of it (the vine); Pr 19<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 2<sup>18</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> יִנְתֵּן is to be read or אָתָּר 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 הָאֵבֶלֶךְ.

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 *Ā* 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> וַיִּעָתֵר לוֹ יְהוָה 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> (בְּאָרְםִי 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, *ā* distinguishes only a *masculine* and *feminine* gender. To indicate 'he

<sup>1</sup> Analogous to הַנְּבוֹתָר הַלְּבָנִים הַבְּרִיִּים who was clothed in linen, Ez 9<sup>3</sup>, would be הַנְּבוֹתָר הַנָּה אֶת־הַמֶּמֶן הַנָּה 2 Ch 31<sup>10</sup>; but we must certainly read there וַנְּבוֹתָר 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, וַשְׁלִיחַ 1 K 14<sup>6</sup> may be explained with Ewald in the sense of *being charged with something*, so that, like צִיָּה, 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 הַתְּלָעִים 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>68</sup>; as feminine, Gn 32<sup>16</sup>; בקר collect. oxen, Ex 21<sup>97</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. אלהף 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 ארנבת 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> for אתון; איל hart, ψ 42<sup>2</sup> for 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 נָעַר נַאֲרָ, 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, אֲדָמ 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 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* (conjux) 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*, *bāṭin* (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 אִמָּנָת 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-abawāni*, the two fathers, i.e. *parentes*) *taghlib* 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), זֶמַח *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 (אִמָּ) in Israel, 2 S 20<sup>19</sup>. In the same way אִמָּ (like μήτηρ, *mater*) on Phœnician coins stands for *mother-city*, μητρόπολις. 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, e.g. Ez 16<sup>23</sup>, La 1<sup>1</sup>, &c.

Is 7<sup>6</sup>, fem., *Judaea*; אֲדָמָה 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 יהודה 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*, תֵּימָן *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), נַיָּא (נַי) *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 הָרֶבֶד *sword*, יֵתֶד *tent-peg*, בַּר *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 אָזֶן *ear* (and in general, members occurring in pairs, Albrecht, l. c., p. 73 f.), אֶצְבַּע *finger* (and so probably בֵּיתָן *thumb, great toe*), יָד and כַּף *hand*, יְמִין *right hand*, רֶגֶל *foot*, בְּרִיחַ *knee*, יָרֵךְ *thigh*, כַּתֵּף *shoulder*, לְחִי *cheek*, בֶּטֶן *belly*, כַּנֶּף *wing*, קֶרֶן *horn*, שֵׁן *tooth*; as a rule also זְרוּעַ *arm* (masc. Is 17<sup>5</sup>, &c.), לְשׁוֹן *tongue* (masc. ψ 22<sup>16</sup>, Pr 26<sup>28</sup>, &c.), עֵינַיִן *eye* (masc. Zc 3<sup>9</sup>, &c.), שׁוֹק *thigh* (masc. Ex 20<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 שֶׁשֶׁשׁ *sun* (but often also *masc.*, ψ 19<sup>6</sup>, 104<sup>19</sup>); אֵשׁ (*Ethiopic 'ēsât*)

<sup>1</sup> מַחֲנֵה *camp* is feminine only when it is a collective, denoting the persons in a camp.

<sup>2</sup> אֶף *nose*, נִיר *sinew*, זָנָב *tail*, חֶה *palate*, כֶּבֶד *liver*, לֵב *heart*, מְעֵים *intestines*, רְחִמִים *bowels*, רֵאשׁ *head*, צְוּאָר *neck*, מִצְחָ *forehead*, עוֹר *skin*, עֲרֵף *back of the neck*, פֶּה *mouth*, שֵׁכָם *shoulder*, also רְחֵם *womb*, except in Jer 20<sup>17</sup>, are invariably construed as masculine.—עֶצֶם *bone* is common.



fire (rarely masc.); *נְהָר* 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 *p* 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*, *עֹזְרָה* 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 *הַנִּשְׁפָּמָה* that which was desolate, *טוֹבוֹת* kindnesses, 2 K 25<sup>28</sup>, *נִכְחוֹת* 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> *לֹא תִקַּם וְלֹא תֵהְיֶה* 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 *p* ideas treated above, under *q*, 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 *פְּתָה* 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 *אָמַר* the words should rather be divided as *הַקְּאָמַר*; 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 *ḥalifa* (fem. from *ḥalif*, following after, taking the place of) in the sense of the successor or representative (of Muhammad), and *'allīma* (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); יוֹשְׁבֵי (that which inhabits) i. e. *the population*, Is 12<sup>6</sup>, Mi 11<sup>11</sup> f.; אֹיֵבֵת (prop. that which is hostile) *the enemy*, Mi 7<sup>8,10</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 1<sup>26</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. אֶנְבִּי *a fleet* (1 K 9<sup>26</sup>), אֶנְיָה *a single ship* (Jon 1<sup>3</sup> ff.); צִיד *hunting, game*, צִידָה Gn 27<sup>3</sup> *Keth.* (צִידָה *Qérê*) *a piece of venison*; שֵׁעַר *hair* (coll.), שֵׁעֶרָה *a single hair* (Ju 20<sup>16</sup>; in the plural, ψ 40<sup>13</sup>, 69<sup>5</sup>); שִׁיר *a poem*, frequently collective, שִׁירָה *a single song*; so probably also תֵּימָנָה *a fig* (the corresponding masculine *tin* is collective in Arabic); שִׁיטָנָה *a lily* (also שִׁשְׁוֹן); 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, יֵרֶכֶה or יֵרֶכֶה *back part, border* (of a country, house, &c.); מִצְנֶה *forehead*, מִצְחָה *greaves*. On a similar distinction between the masculine for natural, and the feminine for artificial objects, see § 87 o.

v 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 וּמִשְׁעָנָה *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>8</sup>, 49<sup>22</sup>, 60<sup>4</sup> (*sons and daughters*); 49<sup>23</sup>, Ec 2<sup>8</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 **שֵׂה** *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*; **רִנָּה** *fresh green herb, i. e. young plants*, **יָרֵק** *green, i. e. vegetation in general*; **עוֹף** *birds, fowl*; **רֶכֶב** *chariots or cavalcade*, **רֶמְסָה** *worms*, **רֶמָשׁ** *creeping things* (of small creatures), **שֹׁרֵץ** *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 gentile names) with the article (which may, however, be omitted in poetry, cf. e.g. ψ 12<sup>2</sup> **הַסִּיר**, Pr 11<sup>14</sup> **יוֹעֵץ**) 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 **בְּ** 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* **לְבֹקֶרִים** ψ 73<sup>14</sup>, **לְבֹקֶרִים** Jb 7<sup>18</sup> parallel with **לְרִנָּעִים** *every moment*. Somewhat different are the instances with **בְּ** 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 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>37</sup> (where according to the Mantua edition, Ginsburg, &c., even **צֹאנֵינוּ** *our sheep*, is also to be read; Baer, however, has **צֹאנֵנוּ**), and 2 Ch 4<sup>8</sup>. In Am 6<sup>12</sup> read, with Hitzig, **בְּבֹקֶר יּוֹם**.

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  $\text{כֹּל־}$  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 לְבַד *apart*, לְבַדּוֹ 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 superfine 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> בְּאֵרֵת בְּאֵרֵת *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>15</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 בְּלֵב *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 f.</sup> *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*; יָמִים (the broad surface of the sea) poetically for יָם *sea*; פְּנִים (prop. the side turned towards any one, then) *surface* in general, usually *face*; אַחֲרָיִם *the back*, Ex 26<sup>12</sup>, 33<sup>23</sup>, &c., צְוֹאנָיִם *neck, nape of the neck*<sup>1</sup>; also מְרִאשׁוֹת *the place at the head*, מְרַגְלוֹת *place at the feet*; עֲבָרִים *place on the other side* (of a river); מַעְמַקִּים *depth*, מְרַחֲקִים (also מְרַחֵק) *distance*, מִשְׁפָּכִים *bed*, Gn 49<sup>4</sup> (unless, with Dillmann, it is to be explained in the sense of *double bed*, i.e. *torus*), מִשְׁבְּנִים ψ 46<sup>5</sup>, and מִשְׁבְּנוֹת 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>5</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 (*qitūlim*, *qitūlim*, &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, בְּחֹרִים and בְּחֹרוֹת *youth*, זְקֵנִים *old age*, נְעוּרִים *youth*; בְּתוּלִים *maidenhood*, כְּלוּלוֹת *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*; אֲשֵׁרִי (according to § 93 l, only in the construct state plural or with suffixes = *the happiness of*), *happy*; כּוֹשְׁרוֹת (complete) *prosperity*, ψ 68<sup>7</sup>; בִּינוֹת Is 27<sup>11</sup> and תְּבוּנוֹת Is 40<sup>14</sup>, &c. (keen) *understanding*; עֲצוֹת (true) *counsel*, Dt 32<sup>28</sup>; הַעֵים Jb 37<sup>16</sup> and דְּעוֹת

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the same use of the plural in τὰ στέφρα, 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. סְפָרִים 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>, 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*; בְּטָחוֹת Jb 12<sup>6</sup> and מִבְּטָחִים Is 32<sup>18</sup> (full) *confidence*; בְּרִכּוֹת (abundant) *blessing*, ψ 21<sup>7</sup>; גְּבוּרוֹת (exceptional) *strength*, Jb 41<sup>4</sup>; הָבוֹת ψ 51<sup>10</sup> (very) *wickedness*; חֲמוּדוֹת Dn 9<sup>23</sup> (greatly) *beloved*; חֲמוֹת ψ 76<sup>11</sup>, &c. (fierce) *wrath*; חֲרָפוֹת Dn 12<sup>2</sup> (utter) *contempt*; יִשְׁעוֹת (real) *help*, Is 26<sup>18</sup>, &c.; מְרֵאָה Gn 46<sup>2</sup> (an important) *vision*; מִישָׁרִים מִישָׁרִים *uprightness*; תְּהַפְּכוֹת *perversity*; נְקָמוֹת (complete) *vengeance*, Ju 11<sup>36</sup>, &c.; וְהַשְׁכֵּם וְהַשְׁכֵּם (thick) *darkness*; צִהְצִחוֹת a (close) *hiding-place*; נְגִידִים *nobility*; שְׁמָנִים Is 28<sup>1</sup> *fatness*; שְׁעֵשְׁעִים (complete) *aridity*; מִמְתָּקִים *sweetness*; מְחַמְּדִים *preciousness*; שְׂשַׁעְשַׁעִים *delight*; עֲנָנִים and תַּעֲנִנִים *pleasure*; רַחֲמִים *compassion*; מְנוּחָה ψ 23<sup>2</sup> *rest, refreshment*; מְרוֹמֹת Am 3<sup>9</sup> *tumult*. Probably also יְדִידָת (heartfelt) *love*, ψ 45<sup>1</sup>; מְרוֹת (extreme) *bitterness*, Jb 13<sup>26</sup>; מְרֻמוֹת (base) *deceit*, ψ 38<sup>18</sup>; צְדָקוֹת (true) *righteousness*, Is 33<sup>15</sup>, &c.; שְׂמֹחוֹת (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 יְאֵרִים *the great river* (of the Nile, generally יְאֵר) 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 נְהָרוֹת 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*, שְׁלָמִים *retribution*, פְּתָחִים *engraving* (of a seal, &c.); אֲהָבִים *fornication*, זְנוּנִים *whoredom*, נְאָפִים *adultery*; נְחָמִים (prop. no doubt, warm compassion) *consolation*, תְּחֻנוּנִים *supplication*, נְרָדִים Jb 7<sup>4</sup> (restless) *tossing to and fro*, פְּלָאִים *wonder* La 1<sup>9</sup>, עֲלָלוֹת *gleaning*; perhaps also נְנִינּוֹת ψ 4<sup>1</sup>, 6<sup>1</sup>, &c., if it means the *playing on stringed instruments*, and שְׁלָמִים 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 צָרִיק  $\psi$  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 ה the plurals קִדְשִׁים *the Most Holy* (only of Yahweh), Ho 12<sup>1</sup>, Pr 9<sup>10</sup>, 30<sup>8</sup> (cf. אֱלֹהִים קִדְשִׁים Jos 24<sup>19</sup>, and the Aram. עֲלִיּוֹנִין *the Most High*, Dr 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, אֲדָנִים, as well as the singular אֲדֹנָי, (lordship) *lord*, e. g. אֲדָנִים קָשָׁה  $\dot{\iota}$  a *cruel lord*, Is 19<sup>4</sup>; אֲדֹנַי 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 אֲדָנֶיךָ  $\psi$  45<sup>12</sup>, אֲדָנָיו, &c., also אֲדָנֵינוּ (except 1 S 16<sup>16</sup>); but in 1st sing. always אֲדָנִי.<sup>2</sup> So also בָּעֲלִים (with suffixes) *lord, master* (of slaves, cattle, or inanimate things; but in the sense of *maritus*, always in the singular), e. g. בָּעֲלֵי 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 ה 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>6</sup>; עֹשֵׂיו  $\psi$  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>—נִגְשֵׂיוֹ 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); שִׁלְחָיו *him who sendeth him*, Pr 10<sup>28</sup>, 22<sup>21</sup> (so Baer, but Ginsburg שִׁלְחָךְ), 25<sup>13</sup> (in parallelism with אֲדָנֵינוּ). These latter plurals, however (including מְרִימוֹ), may probably be more simply explained as indicating an indefinite individual, cf.  $\sigma$  below.—For שִׁמְרֵיךְ  $\psi$  121<sup>6</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 and עֲלֵיהֶם, 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 אֲדָנִי (for אֲדָנִי) 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 Häyel commonly speak of their ruler as *šiyūkh*, a plur. majestatis = *the great sheikh*.

<sup>4</sup> בָּעֲלֵיךְ, which in Is 54<sup>6</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*, אֶפֶר *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, בְּרִים *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> זָהָב עֲפָרוֹת *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, הַטֵּיִם *wheat* in grain (threshed wheat), as distinguished from הַטָּה *wheat* (used collectively) in the ear; cf. the same distinction between בְּפִמִּים and בְּפִמָּת *spell*; עֲדָשִׁים and עֲדָשָׁה (the singular preserved only in the Mishna) *lentils*; שְׁעִירִים and שְׁעִירָה *barley*; also פְּשָׁתִים *linen*, פְּשֵׁת (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-שַׁעֲרֶיךָ *unto one of thy gates*; Ze 9<sup>9</sup> בְּנֹ-אֲתָנוֹת (cf. Ct 2<sup>9</sup>); Ex 21<sup>22</sup> יֶלְדֶּיךָ (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> בְּנֵי־בְנֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל 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), בְּעָרֵי 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. גִּבּוּרֵי הַיָּל *mighty men of valour* (prop. heroes of strength), 1 Ch 7<sup>2,9</sup>; so also in compounds, e.g. בְּנֵי יְמִינִי 1 S 22<sup>7</sup>, as the plur. of בְּנֵי יְמִינִי *Benjamite*; but also
- q (b) By using the plural of *both* nouns,<sup>1</sup> e.g. גִּבּוּרֵי 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., שְׁנֵי־לֶחֶת אֲבָנִים, *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 הָאָרְצוֹת, *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>, &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. עֵינָיו *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>5</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, פָּדָם 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, מֹאָב), are always determinate in themselves. Of gentilic names (e.g. הֶעֱבְרִי *the Hebrew*, הֶעֱבְרִים *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., הַפִּז); so always בְּפִתְרִים.—Evident appellatives (like such modern names as *the Hague*, *le Havre*) are הַגְּבֵעָה *the hill*, in the construct state נִבְעַת שְׂאֵל *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* [יַרְדֵּן, 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, הַמְּנַשֶּׁח Dt 3<sup>13</sup>, Jos 1<sup>2</sup>, &c. (in the Deuteronomist) in the combination הַמְּנַשֶּׁח שִׁבְטֵי הַמְּנַשֶּׁח (for which elsewhere מְנַשֶּׁח) 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> הַמְּנַשֶּׁח שֵׁשׁ הַלְוִיִּם is used, as in 10<sup>8</sup> הַלְוִיִּם שֵׁשׁ הַלְוִיִּם *the tribe of the Levites*, and in Ju 18<sup>1</sup> הַדָּנִי שֵׁשׁ הַדָּנִי *the tribe of the Danites*.—In Jos 13<sup>7</sup> הַמְּנַשֶּׁח (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>16.20</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 two rivers*; אֲרָם אֲרָם *Aram (the region) of the two rivers*; בֵּית לְחֶם יְהוּדָה *Bethlehem (the city) of Judah*; אֲבֵל בֵּית מַעֲכָה 2 S 20<sup>14</sup>, &c., to distinguish it from אֲבֵל מַיִם *Abel by the water*, 2 Ch 16<sup>4</sup>; יְבִישׁ גִּלְעָד 1 S 11<sup>1</sup>, &c.; יֶרֶדוֹ יֶרֶחוֹ Nu 22<sup>1</sup>, 26<sup>3.63</sup>, &c.; on Ju 3<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 צוֹפִי *a Zuphite*. Some of these examples (cf. also Am 6<sup>2</sup>) come very near to the actual construct state (cf. above, שְׁאוֹל גִּבְעַת שְׁאוֹל), 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. הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה *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 (הַזֶּה מְהִיר 1 K 21<sup>2</sup>), or finally when joined to a preposition (לְזוֹאת Gn 2<sup>23</sup>; בְּזוֹה 1 S 16<sup>8</sup>, see § 102 g).

So also the personal pronouns הֵיא, הֵיאָה, הֵם, הֵמָּה, הֵנָּה when they *h* are used as demonstratives (= *is, ea, id, ille, &c.*) are always determinate in themselves, e.g. הַזֶּה הַדְּבָר *that is the thing*, Gn 41<sup>28</sup>. They

<sup>1</sup> That various other words, such as אָנוֹשׁ *man*, צְלִמּוֹת *deep darkness*, רִנּוֹן *prince*, שְׂרֵי *field*, תְּהוֹשִׁיָה *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 תְּרֵדְמָה *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. הַיָּהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ *this man*; הָאֵלֹהִים הַנִּשְׁמָרִים *these men*; וּבַיָּמִים הַהֵמָּה וּבַעֲתָהּ 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, הֶ, § 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 הִיא (הַיָּהוָה) as the subject of a noun-clause; e. g. *ψ* 19<sup>10</sup> *the judgements of the Lord are true . . .*, verse 11 הַפְּחֻמְרִים וְגַם הַפְּחֻמְרִים *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> הַבְּמֹתִים 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> הַפֶּעַל הַזֶּה *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* (וַיַּבְרֵא אֱלֹהִים); 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 לְעֵשֶׂר 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*.

(b) With a title understood and recognized by every one, e. g. הַפְּלִיָּה שְׁלֹמֹה הַבַּיִת הַגָּדוֹל הַבְּנוּי הַבְּהֵרֶם הַבְּהֵרֶם הַבְּהֵרֶם ὁ βασιλεὺς Σαλωμών: Gn 35<sup>8</sup> *under the oak* (the well-known oak which was there).

(c) With appellatives to denote persons or natural objects which are unique, e. g. הַגִּבּוֹר הַכֹּהֵן הַגָּדוֹל *the high priest*, הַשֶּׁשֶׁשׁ הַשָּׁמֶשׁ *the sun*, הָאָרֶץ *the earth*.

(d) When terms applying to whole classes are restricted (simply by *ע* usage) to particular individuals (like ὁ ποιητής, meaning Homer) or things, e. g. הַשָּׂטָן *adversary*, הַשָּׂטָן הַשָּׂטָן *the adversary, Satan*; הַבַּעַל *lord*, הַבַּעַל הַבַּעַל *Baal* as proper name of the god; הָאָדָם *the (first) man, Adam*; הָאֱלֹהִים<sup>1</sup> or הָאֵל ὁ θεός, *the one true God* (cf. also ὁ Χριστός in the New Testament); also הַנָּהָר *the river*, i. e. *Euphrates*; הַכֶּרֶךְ *the circle*, sc. of the Jordan, *the Jordan plain* [Gn 19<sup>17</sup>, &c.].

(e) Very often with the vocative, e. g. 2 S 14<sup>4</sup> הַמֶּלֶךְ הַיְשָׁעָה *help, O king*; Zc 3<sup>8</sup> הַגִּבּוֹר הַכֹּהֵן הַיְשָׁעָה *O Joshua the high priest*; 1 S 17<sup>58</sup>, 24<sup>9</sup>, 2 K 9<sup>6</sup>; in the plural, Is 42<sup>18</sup>, Jo 1<sup>2,13</sup>; but cf. also Jos 10<sup>12</sup>, Is 1<sup>2</sup>, 49<sup>13</sup> (הַשָּׂמַיִם and הָאָרֶץ); 23<sup>16</sup>, Ho 13<sup>14</sup>, Jo 1<sup>5</sup>, ψ 34<sup>12</sup>, Ec 10<sup>17</sup>, 11<sup>9</sup>, &c.<sup>2</sup> The vocative occurs *without* the article in Is 22<sup>2</sup>, since it has been already defined by a preceding accusative.

Rem. Strictly speaking in all these cases the substantive with the article *f* is really in apposition to the personal pronoun of the 2nd person, which is either expressly mentioned or virtually present (in the imperative), e. g. 1 S 17<sup>58</sup> *thou, the young man*. But such passages as Is 42<sup>18</sup>, where the vocative precedes the imperative, prove that in such cases the substantive originally in apposition eventually acquired the value of a complete clause.

(f) With words denoting classes (see particulars under *l*).

(g) In a peculiar way, to specify persons or things, which are so far definite as to be naturally thought of in connexion with a given case, and must be assumed accordingly to be there (see *q-s*).

(h) With adjectives (also ordinal numbers and demonstrative pronouns used adjectivally) which are joined to substantives determined in some way (see *u*).

Rem. The article may be omitted in *poetry* in all the above-mentioned *h* cases; in general it is used in poetry far less frequently than in prose. Its use or omission probably often rests on rhythmical grounds;<sup>3</sup> it is sometimes omitted also for rhetorical reasons. Cf. e. g. הָאָרֶץ for הָאָרֶץ הַזֹּאת ψ 2<sup>2</sup>; מְלָכִים as vocative, verse 10; הַמֶּלֶךְ for הַמֶּלֶךְ הַזֶּה 21<sup>2</sup>; הַגִּבּוֹר הַגָּדוֹל וְהַנּוֹרָא *contrary to u, v* 99<sup>3</sup>. In the instances in which the ה of the article is omitted after a prefix (§ 35 *n*), the vowel of the article is often retained after the prefix even in poetry, e. g. בְּשָׂמַיִם ψ 2<sup>4</sup>, &c.

<sup>1</sup> On the subsequent change of הַשָּׂטָן, הָאָדָם, אֱלֹהִים into real proper names by the omission of the article, cf. above, § 125 *f*.

<sup>2</sup> For further exceptions see Nestle, *ZAW*. 1904, p. 323 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the useful statistics of J. Ley in the *Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie und Pädagogik*, 2te Abteilung, 1891, Heft 7-9, and M. Lambert, 'L'article dans la poésie hébr.', *REJ*. 37, 263 ff.

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>9</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 הַפֶּכֶב *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 neutest. 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 הַנְּבֻעוֹת, 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*; הַמְּשִׁחִית *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* וּבְזָהָב וּבְכֶסֶף וּבַמִּקְנֶה *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 (ב, ב, ל) 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>; העֶמְרָה 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 . . . בַּסִּנְוִיִּים with blindness; Am 4<sup>9</sup>, &c.; but in הַחֲטִיָּה 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 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 כְּפַפֵּר as a scroll; cf. Nu 11<sup>12</sup>, Ju 8<sup>18</sup>, 16<sup>9</sup> as פְּתִיל־הַנְּעִרָה 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> בְּעוֹף נֹדֵד קֵן מְשֻׁלָּח as wandering birds, (as) a scattered nest (but cf. 10<sup>14</sup> בְּקֵן); 14<sup>19</sup>, 29<sup>5</sup> כְּמֵין עֵבֶר (but ψ 1<sup>4</sup> כְּפִיִּין); 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 כְּנַבֹּר Jb 16<sup>14</sup> and seven other places (כְּנַבֹּר only in Is 42<sup>13</sup>), כְּאָב Jb 31<sup>18</sup>, כְּנָבֶר 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 (הַאֲרִי, 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 5<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>11, 18</sup> the servant, who is regarded as being constantly at hand and awaiting his commands; cf. 2 S 17<sup>17</sup> (but הַנְּעִר Nu 11<sup>27</sup> is used like הַפְּלִיט above); Gn 19<sup>30</sup>, unless בְּמַעְרָה means in the well-known cave; בְּמִקוֹם 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> (הַעֲלִמָהּ), 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>23</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 1<sup>6.13</sup>. In Gn 39<sup>11</sup> even כַּהַיּוֹם הַזֶּה.

- 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 הַגְּדוֹלָה *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>16</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> הַגָּבֹר וְהַנּוֹרָא וְהַגָּדֹל הָאֵל הַגָּדֹל הַגָּבֹר וְהַנּוֹרָא *the great God, the mighty, and the terrible*. Cf. also Ex 3<sup>3</sup>, Dt 1<sup>19</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—

- z (a) With the attribute alone, when it is added to an originally indefinite substantive as a subsequent limitation; so always with ordinal numbers after יום, e. g. Gn 1<sup>51</sup> (cf. 2<sup>3</sup>, Ex 20<sup>10</sup>, &c.) הַשֵּׁשִׁי 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 הַגָּדֹל הַגָּבֹר וְהַנּוֹרָא הַגָּדֹל 2 Ch 1<sup>10</sup> the adjective forms a further (fresh) addition to הַגָּדֹל הַגָּבֹר וְהַנּוֹרָא.

<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, *Einkl. 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. הַבְּנֵי הַגְּדֹלָה *the great synagogue*, in the Mishna; cf. Segal, *Mishnaic Hebrew*, p. 19 ff.) is certainly a later idiom.



the sixth; but יום שני a second day, Gn 1<sup>8</sup>; Ex 12<sup>15</sup> מיום הראשון from the first day onward (not before Dn 10<sup>12</sup> and Neh 8<sup>18</sup> is מן-היום הראשון used instead of it). On the other hand, the article is always found after ב, hence ביום הששי, &c., although it is possible that the original reading in these cases was ביום, 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>28</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> החרב היונה 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 וְהוֹרֵחַ, 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 בל, and in 1 S 14<sup>29</sup> (רַבֵּשׁ) by מעט.—In 1 S 12<sup>23</sup>, 2 S 12<sup>4</sup>, Is 7<sup>20</sup> (where, however, הַיִּצְבִּירָה might also be understood as a subsequent explanation of בְּהֶעֱרַר 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 רַחֵם אֱלֹהִים is to be read twice), Zc 4<sup>7</sup> (where however אֵת 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 א, 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 הַיִּצְבִּירָה, 17<sup>12</sup> (הַיִּצְבִּירָה) 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) הַטֹּיֵב 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 בְּשִׂמְן הַטֹּיֵב and in ψ 133<sup>2</sup> בְּשִׂמְן הַטֹּיֵב.

(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, הבמת זאת 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 הַיּא Gn 38<sup>21</sup>; with וְזוּ ψ 12<sup>8</sup> (according to the Masora וְזוּ is a relative pronoun here, as always elsewhere); with הַיֵּלֶה 1 S 2<sup>23</sup>, according to the present corrupt text (the original reading בְּלַעַם אֱלֹהִים became בְּלַעַם אֱלֹהִים, and אֱלֹהִים was then corrupted to הַיֵּלֶה); 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 חֲלִי, as in Jer 10<sup>19</sup>, has arisen by contraction from חֲלִי, or we should simply read חֲלִי (in all these passages with וְזוּ); Gn 24<sup>8</sup> (with וְזוּאת); Ex 10<sup>1</sup>, 1 K 22<sup>23</sup>, Jer 31<sup>21</sup> (with הַיֵּלֶה).

The article is sometimes omitted also with the attributes referring to proper names,<sup>1</sup> as צִידוֹן רַבֵּה Jos 11<sup>8</sup>, 19<sup>28</sup>, חַמַּת רַבֵּה 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 רַבֵּה is also a case of this kind, הוֹם being used (almost always without the article) as a sort of proper name; cf. also עֲלִיוֹן אֵל the most high

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Nöldeke, *Beiträge zur semit. Sprachwiss.*, p. 48, n. 1.

God and אֱלֹהִים חַי the living God. In Ju 1<sup>15</sup> נִלְכָּה עִלְיָה and גַּ' תַּחֲתִיּוֹת are strange; Jos 15<sup>19</sup> has עִלְיָוֹת גַּ' and תַּחֲתִיּוֹת גַּ'.

~ 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 לִים. 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 = וְיָהִם סְפִנִּים), 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> (שָׁנַיִם) 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> בְּחָצִים and בְּאַבְנִים are to be read, as in Jer 2<sup>21</sup> נִפְּן for הַנִּפְּן, in 22<sup>26</sup> אָרֶן for הָאָר; in 2 S 6<sup>3</sup> omit הַרְשָׁה, 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 הַיּוֹם in that day?, the article is omitted from both substantive and demonstrative, and in Ezr 3<sup>12</sup>, the demonstrative even precedes (וְהָ הַבַּיִת = הַבַּיִת הַזֶּה), 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 is either in apposition to the independent demonstrative וְהָ (= this our bread, &c.), as in verse 13 נֹאדוֹת is to אֲלֶהָ, 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 וְהָ. 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. יְהוָה דְּבַר יְהוָה the word of the Lord.

(b) By having the article, e. g. אִישׁ הַמִּלְחָמָה (prop. the man of the war) the soldier (but אִישׁ מִלְחָמָה Jos 17<sup>1</sup>, a soldier); אֲנִשֵּׁי הַמִּלְחָמָה

<sup>1</sup> The same reason no doubt also favoured the omission of the article before הַיּוֹם and אֲלֶהָ, see above, under y. Also in Is 23<sup>7</sup> (is this your joyous . . . ?) the article is omitted before עִלְיָה probably only for euphony.

Nu 31<sup>49</sup>, *the soldiers*; דְּבַר הַנְּבִיא *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־הַגֶּן מִפְּרֵי עֵץ־הַגֶּן *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־שֻׁלְחָנוֹת *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 כֻּלּוֹ *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>47</sup> instead of כָּל־אֲנָשִׁים 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>* לַבַּיִת יְמִינִי); בֵּית־הַשְּׁמִשִּׁי the Beth-shemite, 1 S 6<sup>14</sup>; אֲבִי 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> חַג יְהוָה a feast of the Lord (unless it is the spring festival), Dt 7<sup>25</sup>, and frequently הוֹעֵבֶת יְהוָה 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> חֶלְקֵת 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) כָּל־מָקוֹם.

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 ב' הָאֵל אֵל ב', Gn 31<sup>13</sup> (the LXX read בְּמִקְוֵם הָאֵל הַנִּרְאָה אֵלַיךְ בְּמִקְוֵם הָאֵל the God who appeared to thee 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>82</sup>, La 2<sup>13</sup>. On the other hand, שָׂרָה אִמּוֹ Gn 24<sup>67</sup> is no doubt

<sup>1</sup> According to Philippi (*St. Constr.*, p. 38) בֵּית־אֵל 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>, הַפְּלִקָּה 1 S 26<sup>22</sup> after הַחֲנִית (simplified by the Masora to חֲנִית *Qere*); עָלִיתָ אִתּוֹ 2 K 23<sup>12</sup>, אֲשׁוּר 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 הַחֲמִיר Dn 8<sup>13</sup>, and עָרַד 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 הַיּוֹם; in 2 K 10<sup>1</sup> restore אֶת־בְּנֵי, with the LXX and Lucian, before אֶהָאֵב; in 2 K 25<sup>19</sup> omit the article, as in Jer 52<sup>25</sup>, before סָפַר.

A similar ellipsis 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 אֶרֶץ); in הַיְתָד Ju 16<sup>14</sup> the Masora evidently combines two different readings הַיְתָד and יְתָד הָאָרֶץ; and similarly in Jer 25<sup>26</sup> (where הָאָרֶץ was only subsequently introduced into the text), the two readings הַמְּלִכּוֹת and מְמַלְכּוֹת 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 עָרַד; 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> הָאֵבֶן הַכְּבִילִי *the weight, the lead, i. e. the leaden weight*; Ex 39<sup>17</sup>, 2 K 16<sup>14</sup> הַנְּחֹשֶׁת, 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 הַמִּקְנֵה (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. הַמִּצְרֵי Is 9<sup>12</sup>, *the one smiling him*; in Dt 8<sup>15</sup>, 13<sup>6</sup> also ך is a verbal suffix, but hardly the ך in הַעֵשׂוֹ for הַעֵשָׂאוֹ Job 40<sup>19</sup>, nor the ה־ in הַלְּבָדָה Dn 11<sup>6</sup>; § 116 g. For הַעֶרְפֶּךָ Lev 27<sup>23</sup>, read עֶרְפֶּךָ as in verses 2, 3, 5, 7, 13, &c., twelve times (but cf. also the note on § 128 d).—Of the remaining examples בְּנִבְרָתָהּ Is 24<sup>2</sup> (probably an intentional alliteration with the eleven other words beginning with ב), 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 הָאֵהָלִי Jos 7<sup>21</sup>, הַחֲצִיֹּי Jos 8<sup>33</sup> (previously הַחֲצִיֹּי), הַהֲרוּתֶיהָ 2 K 15<sup>16</sup> (dittography of the ה), the article is simply to be omitted as syntactically impossible; the ן of הַדְּבָרָו 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 דָוִד); 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> *genitives* 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. 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> נְיֵאֵר־שְׁמָנִים הֶלְוִיָּם *the fat valley of them that are overcome with wine*. The usual explanation that נְיֵאֵר־שְׁמָנִים 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> (מְבַחַר וְזֹכֵר־לְבָנוֹן); 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 סִפָּר 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 יְיָ then depends, in reality explains nothing; the text is almost certainly corrupt. In Dt 15<sup>18</sup> מִשְׁנֵה would be expected; in Jos 3<sup>11</sup> הַפְּרִית is a later addition; in Is 32<sup>23</sup> (מְשׁוֹשׁ), and ψ 68<sup>22</sup> (עֲעֹר), the absolute for the construct state probably rests only on the authority of the Masorettes. In Ju 6<sup>25</sup> ff. 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 הָעֵ אָבִי הָעֵ as a gloss (from 6<sup>24</sup>); in Is 63<sup>11</sup> מִיטָה is probably a gloss on יַמֵּי-עוֹלָם which has crept into the text; in 2 S 4<sup>2</sup> לְאִישׁ-בִּשְׁתֶּן, 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 מִקְשֵׁי מִקְשֵׁי for מִבְּקֵשֵׁי); 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 הַעַם הַזֶּה 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 עֲרֶבְךָ after הִקְבֵר 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> מְדוּ בָרְ מְדוּ *his garment*, namely the garment of *linen*, unless simply in apposition, cf. § 131 d (or read מְדֵי ?); 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 יִהְיֶה אִם הַיּוֹם נְבִיאֲכֶם יִהְיֶה Nu 12<sup>6</sup> could not possibly mean *if your prophet be a prophet of the Lord*; the text is manifestly corrupt (probably נְבִיאֶךָ מִיְהוָה is to be read, with Marti). In ψ 45<sup>7</sup> בְּסֹאף אֱלֹהִים (usually explained as *thy divine throne*), אֱלֹהִים is most probably a later addition [another suggestion is to read בְּאֱלֹהִים *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 פְּלִ-הַבְּלִים. In Nu 25<sup>12</sup> שְׁלוֹם is in apposition to בְּרִיתִי. On הַרְבֵּה וְזָה 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> (תִּשָּׂא). 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 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 עֲרֶבְךָ.

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 אַחִיךָ 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> זַעַקַת סֹדֶם 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> אֲבָל יְהוּד only son; Dt 20<sup>14</sup> שָׁלַל אֵיבֶיךָ praeda hostibus tuis erepta; cf. Is 3<sup>14</sup>. In a wider sense this includes such examples as עֵץ הַחַיִּים הַדֶּרֶךְ 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 הַדֶּרֶךְ the way of (by) the sea, Is 8<sup>23</sup>; וּבְחַי אֱלֹהִים 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 לְמוֹאֵל 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. אַחֲזַת קֶבֶר a possession of a burying-place, i. e. hereditary sepulchre, Gn 23<sup>4</sup>, &c.; תְּאֵינִי הַבְּבוּרוֹת the early figs, Jer 24<sup>2</sup>; אֹהֶל בֵּיתִי the tabernacle of my house, i. e. my dwelling-place, ψ 132<sup>2</sup>.
- n** (g) Of the measure, weight, extent, number, e. g. מְתֵי מִסְפָּר people of number, i. e. few in number, Gn 34<sup>90</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. כֶּלִי חֶרֶשׁ a vessel of earthenware, Nu 5<sup>17</sup>; כְּסָף כְּלֵי כֶסֶף vessels of silver (cf. the French *des vases d'or*); אֲרוֹן עֵץ an ark of wood, שֵׁבֶט בַּרְזֶל 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 (אַרְזוֹ made of cedar, a denominative from אֲרִזָּה, and נְחוּשׁ 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, בְּרוּזִי *ferreus*.



(i) Of the attribute of a person or thing, e.g. Gn 17<sup>8</sup> אֶחָזַת עִוְלָם *an everlasting possession*; Pr 17<sup>8</sup> *a precious stone*; cf. Nu 28<sup>8</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 קָדוֹשׁ *holiness* very frequently serves as a periphrasis for the adjective קָדוֹשׁ (e.g. בְּגָדֵי הַקָּדוֹשׁ *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 קְדוֹשִׁים *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 צִדְקָה 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 purpose for which something is intended, e.g. צֹאן מִבְּחָרָה *sheep for the slaughter*, ψ 44<sup>23</sup>; מוֹסֵר שְׁלֹמֹנִי *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. 1 S 16<sup>20</sup> יָיִן וְנָאֵר לָחֶם *an ass laden with bread and a bottle of wine* (but probably עֵשֶׂרָה is to be read for חָמֹר); 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 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>16</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>23</sup>, &c.

2. To the periphrases expressing attributive ideas (see p above) by means of a genitive construction may be added the very numerous combinations of the construct states אִישׁ *a man*, בֹּעֵל *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 דָּעַת *a man of knowledge*, Pr 24<sup>5</sup>; אִישׁ חֲמוֹה *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 אִשְׁתׁ מְרִינִים *a contentious woman*, Pr 27<sup>15</sup>; in the plural, e.g. Gn 6<sup>4</sup> אֲנָשֵׁי לִבָּב *the men of renown, famous*; cf. Gn 47<sup>6</sup>, Is 41<sup>11</sup>, Jb 34<sup>8,10</sup> אֲנָשֵׁי לִבָּב *men of understanding*); with מְתֵי, e.g. Is 5<sup>13</sup> מְתֵי רָעַב *famished men*; but read probably מְוֵי רָעַב *weak with hunger*); ψ 26<sup>4</sup>, Jb 11<sup>11</sup>, 22<sup>15</sup>.

(b) Of בֹּעֵל, &c.: בֹּעֵל שְׁעָר *hairy*, 2 K 1<sup>8</sup>; בֹּעֵל הַחֲלָמוֹת *the dreamer*, Gn 37<sup>19</sup>; 2 cf. Na 1<sup>2</sup>, Pr 1<sup>17</sup>, 18<sup>9</sup> (*a destroyer*), 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 הַצִּיִּים *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-מֵאֵת 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-הַבֹּת *worthy to be beaten*. Feminine, e. g. בַּת-בְּלַעַל *a wicked woman*, 1 S 11<sup>6</sup>; frequently also בְּלַעַל, and even simply בְּלַעַל, 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 6<sup>2,4</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-הַרְפוּחִים 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 קָרָם *divellers in the East*.

- U 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>4 b</sup>, 6<sup>24</sup> (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. בְּדָמַי הִנָּם *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 חַיִל 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., *וַבַּשָּׂרָף וּבַחֵלֶב יִרְבֹּשׂ* a land flowing with milk and honey; or of the means, e. g. *חָלַל־בְּחֶרֶב* 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> *יָפְה־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> *אֲנִי בְּנֵי־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>1</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> *אֲנַמִּיר־נַפְשִׁי* 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*, 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 לְיֵשׁוּעַ* a son of Jesse (*בֶּן־יֵשׁוּעַ* 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 *מְזִמֹר 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 *לְדָוִד מְזִמֹר* (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 *σχημα 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 *لِ*, and the other by *مِنْ* [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 מְזוֹמָר is used epexegetically for the general term omitted before לְרוֹד (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 לְבִעוּ the portion of field belonging to Boaz (חֶ' שָׂדֶה בִּעוּ) 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 שִׁכְבְּתָהּ, on account of the suffix, cannot be used in the construct state; but Lv 15<sup>16</sup> ff., &c., שִׁכְבַת-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-רִבְעִים must be kept in the absolute state for the sake of conformity with עַל-שְׁלֹשִׁים, and for the same reason also לְאֵלִפִּים לְאֹהֲבֵי.

f (d) After statements of number in such cases as Gn 8<sup>14</sup> בְּשִׁבְעָה וְעֶשְׂרִים יוֹם בְּלַחֲרֹשׁ 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 לְדַרְיֹוֹשׁ 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 לְלִדְתִּי on the third day of my giving birth (i. e. after my giving birth). Cf. also the standing phrase בַּאֲחַד לְאֲחַד 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 לְבֵית יִשְׂרָאֵל originally depended on thus spake the Lord), and the remarks on מְזוֹמָר under c above.

h 2. The periphrastic expression of the genitive by means of לְ אִשֶּׁר לְ is used principally to state the possessor, e. g. Gn 29<sup>9</sup> הַצֹּאן אֲשֶׁר לְאֹבְדָהּ 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 וְהַחֹמֶר (belonged) to the king of Egypt; 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</sup>.

1 In New Hebrew אֲשֶׁר לְ = שֶׁל (derived from שֶׁל = אֲשֶׁר לְ, see § 36, and cf. Ct 1<sup>6</sup>, 3<sup>7</sup> שֶׁלִּי שֶׁלֹּמֹה) 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  $\text{בְּ, שִׂמְחַת בְּקַצִּיר}$  *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>  $\text{בְּלִיְהוֹסִי בּוֹ}$ ; 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  $\text{מִמְחֲרֵי בְּמִסְפָּם}$ );  $\psi$  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  $\text{לְ-}$ , 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  $\text{בְּלִיְהוֹסִי}$ , Is 14<sup>6</sup>;—before the *nota accus.*  $\text{את}$ , 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  $\text{הַחֲכֵמָה}$  Is 33<sup>6</sup>,  $\text{וַיִּלֶּת}$  35<sup>2</sup>,  $\text{וַיִּבְרַת}$  51<sup>21</sup> may be cases of an intentional reversion to the old feminine ending *ath*, in order to avoid the hiatus (וַיִּבְרַתְּ).

(3) When it governs the (originally demonstrative) pronoun  $\text{אֲשֶׁר}$ ; C so especially in the combination  $\text{מְקוֹם אֲשֶׁר}$ , 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  $\text{הַמְּקוֹם אֲשֶׁר}$ ,  $\text{בְּמְקוֹם אֲשֶׁר}$ , 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  $\text{בְּבֵנוֹי בְּהָהָלִים}$  *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  $\text{לְ בֵּית־לְ}$  meaning simply *within*);  $\text{לְ מִימִין־לְ}$  (2 K 23<sup>13</sup>, Ez 10<sup>3</sup>) *on the right hand* (i. e. south) *of*;  $\text{לְ מִצְפּוֹן־לְ}$  (Jos 8<sup>11,13</sup>, &c., Ju 2<sup>9</sup>) *on the north of*; cf. also Jos 15<sup>21</sup> and  $\text{לְפָנֵי מִן־לְ}$  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־הַשֵּׁלֶחַ prop. *by the hand of him whom thou wilt send*; Nu 23<sup>3</sup> מַה־יִרְאֶנִּי דָבָר the *matter of that which he shall show me*, i. e. whatever he shall; Is 29<sup>1</sup> הָנְהַרְוּ הָרָיִחַ הַזֶּה 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> (בְּלִישְׁלֹו) 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>; בְּעַתָּה 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>; תְּהִיָּה 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> אִשָּׁה בַעֲלַת־אֹיִב 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> Q<sup>eré</sup>; Jer 46<sup>9</sup>, ψ 35<sup>16</sup> (?), 78<sup>9</sup>, Jb 20<sup>17b</sup> (unless נְהַרְיִ or נְהַלִּי 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>17a</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 (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 הַגּוֹד 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> אֶבֶן־קַרְנַת a *corner stone of the preciousness* (קַרְנַת 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 בְּלִפְקוּדֵיךָ.

(6) The numeral אֶחָד *one* for אֶחָדָא 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 epeexegetical 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 בְתוּלָה *a damsel (that is) a virgin*, Dt 22<sup>23, 28</sup>, Ju 4<sup>1</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, נִשְׂתָּה 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 סִבָּל should be read instead of סִבָּל); Is 3<sup>24</sup> (unless נִשְׂתָּה is to be read), Jer 20<sup>1</sup>. Perhaps also בַּהֵן הָרֹאֵשׁ *the priest (who is) the chief man*, 2 K 25<sup>18</sup>, &c.; others take בַּהֵן as constr. st.—In 2 S 10<sup>7</sup> read פְּלִצְבָּא הַגִּבּוֹר with the LXX, as in the parallel passage 1 Ch 19<sup>9</sup> for פְּלִצְבָּא 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>) רִשָּׁע חֵלֶק אָדָם רִשָּׁע *this is the portion of a man, (who is) a wicked man* (but רִשָּׁע 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, בִּשְׂתָּה is most probably a gloss on עֲרִיָה)); 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 תִּרְעַלָּה *wine which is staggering* (intoxicating drink), which causes staggering<sup>2</sup>; 1 K 22<sup>27</sup>, 2 Ch 18<sup>26</sup> לַחֵיזֵן *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 צָרָה (צָרָה) *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> אֲבָנִים *undressed stones* which come from the *quarry*, probably a corruption of מִמְּפָעַ. 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 'הָעָרִיץ, 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> בְּמִצְבְּלֵי הַחֲשֹׁתִים *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 בָּנֵי אֲבָנִים); 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 כְּסָפָה *money, repetition*, i. e. twice as much money, Gn 43<sup>12</sup> (unless כְּסָפָה be constr. st.); מַיִם בְּרִכְוֹתַי *water* which was of the measure of the *knees*, which reached to the knees, Ez 47<sup>4</sup> (also מַיִם מִתְּחִילָתָם *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> תְּבִינָה 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 הַרְבָּה 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. *עֵיִר בְּהַרְרָם* in their *f* 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 הַמֶּלֶךְ שְׁלֹמֹה* 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>115</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> בְּירוּשָׁלַיִם 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> בְּהָרֵת לְבָנָה אֲרָמְדָמַת 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>20</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 הַחֶמֶץ 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, הַבָּשָׂר appears to be a late gloss); 21<sup>18</sup>, 2 K 16<sup>15</sup> *Keth.*, 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> בָּבֹאוּ הָאִישׁ הַזֶּה when he went in, the man; 42<sup>14</sup>; ? 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> הָאִישׁ לֹוּ הָאִישׁ woe to him, the one alone; with a repetition of the preposition, Nu 32<sup>38</sup>, Jos 1<sup>2</sup> לְבָנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל לָהֶם לְתֵם, 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 לְבָל־נִשְׂוּ, as in 2 K 10<sup>6</sup> after הָעִיר הַזֶּה, are used in 19<sup>3</sup> after a determinate accusative, and in Hag 1<sup>4</sup> after בְּבָתֵיכֶם, 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 מִים 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 וַיִּשְׁנֶה 1 S 21<sup>14</sup> either וַיִּשְׁנֶה is to be read or the *Kethibh* is to be explained according to § 75 b, note. Also וַיִּלְכְּדֵנוּ Pr 5<sup>22</sup> has hardly preserved the correct form.

Ez 4<sup>25</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>8</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>10</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>81</sup> (cf. also Ec 7<sup>16</sup> צְדִיק הַרְבֵּה מְאֹד righteous over much), and the very frequent מְאֹד הַרְבֵּה prop. a much-making exceedingly, i. e. exceedingly great, Gn 15<sup>1</sup>, 41<sup>49</sup>, also Pr 23<sup>29</sup> פְּצַעִים חֲנָם חֲנָם wounds without cause,<sup>3</sup> perhaps also Gn 34<sup>25</sup> (בְּמַח).

r (b) A few examples, in which an epeexegetical substantive is added to a substantive with a suffix; thus, Ez 16<sup>27</sup> מְהִרְבֵּה זָמָה 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 כְּעֹזִי 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 חֲבָלְתוֹ חוֹב 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 אֶלֶּה for אֶלֶּיָה, and in Pr 14<sup>13</sup> אֶחָרִית הַשְּׂמֹחָה; in Gn 2<sup>19</sup> נֶפֶשׁ חַיָּה is a late gloss upon לוֹ, and in Ez 41<sup>25</sup> אֶל־דִּלְתוֹת הַהִיכָל a gloss on אֶל־יָהוֹן.

<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 חֲנָם (like שְׂקַר 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> מוֹרֶשָׁה, perhaps לְקַהֲלֵת מוֹרֶ is to be read), 33<sup>27</sup> (מַעֲנָה), 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> עֵץ פְּלִילִים is evidently intended to combine the readings עֵץ פְּלִילִים and עֵץ 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>6,20</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 יָפָה 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 o, 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); קָלַי 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>29</sup>); רֹכֵץ a croucher, i. e. a crouching beast of prey, Gn 4<sup>7</sup>. Cf. also רָגִן (gravis, augustus) and נָשִׂיא (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>30</sup> עֲנִיָּה עֲתוּת *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> זָר and נְבָרִי are *predicates* preceding the substantives); Jer 3<sup>6.10<sup>t</sup></sup>, ψ 18<sup>4</sup> *him who is worthy to be praised will I call upon, the Lord*; 92<sup>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 הַאֲבָנִים *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> אֲבִיוֹנֵי אָדָם *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 גְּדֻלָּהּ (but read גְּדוּלָּהּ); 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 וְדַמְצוֹת 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 בְּיָצִים *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<sup>t</sup></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>13</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>; גְּלוּת = *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 צְדִיק; 2 K 19<sup>4.16</sup> (= Is 37<sup>4.17</sup>); Is 19<sup>4</sup>; but cf. אֱלֹהִים חַיִּים 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 תְּמִימִם 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>18</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 (מִ), e. g. 1 S 9<sup>2</sup> גְּבוּהַ 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>15</sup> מַה עוֹ מֵאֵרִי וְמָה עוֹ מִדָּבֶשׁ טַהֲרֵם וְמָה עוֹ מִלֵּוֹן *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>3f.</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> וַיִּגְבְּהַ 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 תְּהִמּוֹת 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, perennial*. 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 . . . יִתְרוֹ 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>20</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 מִדָּם 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 (קַטְנִיתִי) for all the mercies (I am not worthy of . . .), &c.; cf. also the expressions מִן כָּבֵד to be too heavy for one, Ex 18<sup>18</sup>, Nu 11<sup>14</sup>, ψ 38<sup>5</sup>; מִן קָשָׁה to be too hard for one, Dt 1<sup>17</sup>; מִן מְעַט to be too few for something, Ex 12<sup>4</sup>; מִן גָּבַר to be too strong for one, ψ 65<sup>4</sup>; מִן עֲצָם to be too mighty for one, Gn 26<sup>16</sup>; מִן רוּם to be too high for one, ψ 61<sup>3</sup>; מִן צָר to be too narrow for one, Is 49<sup>12</sup>; מִן קָצֵר to be too short for something, Is 50<sup>2</sup>, and very frequently מִן נִפְלְאָה to be too wonderful for one (and, consequently, inconceivable or unattainable), Gn 18<sup>14</sup>, Dt 1<sup>7</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 מְהֵבִיל 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 לָכֵם 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 מֵהֶם 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> וַפְּסִלֵיהֶם מִירוֹשָׁלַיִם 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 מִן צָרָק expresses not a comparison, but only a relation existing between one person and another; thus, in Gn 38<sup>26</sup> צָרָקָה מִפָּנַי 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. הֲמַעַט = 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>8</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> בְּנוֹ הַקָּטָן *his youngest son*; cf. Jos 14<sup>15</sup>; also with a following genitive, 2 Ch 21<sup>17</sup> בְּנֵי קָטָן הַקָּטָן *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>13</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 substantively (§ 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*; Ct 1<sup>1</sup> שִׁיר הַשִּׁירִים *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. חֵשֶׁךְ 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>8</sup>, Pr 20<sup>14</sup>; the adjective is even used three times in Is 6<sup>9</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 עֲלִיּוֹן *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 רָר (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> (עָוָה three times);<sup>2</sup> 35<sup>7</sup>, Na 1<sup>2</sup>; cf. also Ho 2<sup>21</sup> l. 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</sup> l., 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>5</sup>, 30<sup>18</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 'שׁ, cf. § 126 w,



Rem. In Lv 24<sup>22</sup> אָחָר follows the construct state מִשְׁפָּט, but here as in *d* Nu 15<sup>16</sup> מִשְׁפָּט 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> יוֹם עֶשְׂרִי אַחַד (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 f</sup>, 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), אַמּוֹת, מֵאֹתַיִם, אֶלְפִים, אַלְפִים, אַלְפַיִם] 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> (אַלְפֵי 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 1 S 25<sup>18</sup>, 1 K 7<sup>20</sup>; after אֶלְפָּיִם 1 S 25<sup>2</sup>, 1 K 3<sup>4</sup>, 5<sup>6</sup>, 2 K 3<sup>4</sup>, ψ 90<sup>4</sup>; after אֶלְפָּיִם 1 S 17<sup>5</sup>, Jb 42<sup>12</sup>; after אֶלְפָּיִם Mi 6<sup>7</sup>; after אֶלְפָּיִם Is 36<sup>8</sup>.— In Dn 12<sup>21</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 וְשֵׁשִׁים 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 1 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> מָאָה שָׁנָה וְעֶשְׂרִים שָׁנָה וְשִׁבְעֵי 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 *ו*, 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 מַלְכִּים כְּנֶגְדַּת חָמֵשׁ *four kings against the five* (enumerated in verse 2); cf. 1 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 (1 Ch 25<sup>19</sup>, 27<sup>15</sup>) or before עָשָׂר (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>, 1 S 17<sup>14</sup>, 1 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. 1 K 7<sup>27, 43 f.</sup> עֶשְׂרֵה 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>, 1 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 1 S 1<sup>2</sup> for הָאַחַת.

Such cases as *שָׁבַעַת הַיָּמִים* 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 2 S 3<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> *אַלְפָּה כֶּסֶף* a thousand (shekels) of silver; so also before *וְהָב* 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 שְׁעָרִים* six (ephahs) of barley; 1 S 10<sup>4</sup> *שְׁתֵּי לָחֶם* two (sc. loaves, see verse 3) of bread, cf. 17<sup>17</sup> *לָחֶם*; *עֵשָׂרָה*; 2 S 16<sup>1</sup>, where before *מֶרֶץ* 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>3</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> *בְּשִׁבְעָה עָשָׂר יוֹם* 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 *ובשלוש*); 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> *בְּשֵׁנֵת עָשָׂרִים וְשִׁבְעִים* 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. *בְּשֵׁנֵת שָׁתַיִם* 1 K 15<sup>25</sup>; *בְּשֵׁנֵת שָׁלֹשׁ* 2 K 18<sup>1</sup>, &c., cf. Dt 15<sup>9</sup>. The months themselves are always numbered by the ordinals (*בְּרֵאשִׁוֹן*, *בְּשֵׁנִי*, &c., up to *בְּעֵשְׂרִי*), but not the days of the month, e.g. *בְּאַחַר לַחֲדָשׁ* Gn 8<sup>5</sup>, &c., and *בְּאַרְבָּעָה בְּתַשְׁעָה לַחֲדָשׁ* Zc 7<sup>1</sup>; *בְּחֲמִשָּׁה לַחֲדָשׁ* Ez 11, &c., and *בְּשִׁבְעָה לַחֲדָשׁ* 2 K 25<sup>8</sup>, *בְּתַשְׁעָה לַחֲדָשׁ* Lv 23<sup>32</sup> (always, however, *בְּעֵשֶׂר לַחֲדָשׁ* on the tenth day of the month). On the

<sup>1</sup> Somewhat different from this is Ex 19<sup>15</sup> *בְּשֵׁלֹשֶׁת יָמִים* 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> *שָׁלֹשָׁה הַיּוֹם* *בִּי חָלִיתִי הַיּוֹם* 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 *שָׁנָה* or *בְּשֵׁנֵת* 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 § 123 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 עָרָבִים לְהַרְשֵׁת; Ezr 3<sup>6</sup> מְיוֹם אֶחָד לְהַרְשֵׁת.—Finally, when the year is stated by בְּשָׁנָה governing a determinate ordinal, viz. 2 K 17<sup>6</sup> בְּשָׁנָה 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>; 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> לְאֶחָד after *six wings* twice repeated; the simple distributive לְ is, however, sufficient (as in לְבָרִים, § 123 *c*), e. g. לְמֵאוֹת וְלְאַלְפִים *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, פְּעָמִים; 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 בְּשְׁתַּיִם (the latter also in 1 S 18<sup>21</sup>); or by the *dual* of the numeral, thus שְׁבַעֲתַיִם 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>; אַרְבַּעַתַיִם 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 הַזֹּאת with בְּ, like בְּאַחַת above), as פְּעַם אַחַת *once* (Neh 13<sup>20</sup> וּשְׁתַּיִם *once and twice*), פְּעַם שְׁלֹשׁ *twice*, שְׁלֹשׁ פְּעָמִים (for which in Ex 23<sup>14</sup>, Nu 22<sup>28,32</sup> שְׁלֹשׁ רְגָלִים *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-כַּמָּה פְּעָמִים *until how many times*, i. e. how often. Cf. also עֶשְׂרֵת מָנִים *ten times*, Gn 31<sup>7,14</sup>, and רַבּוֹת עָתִים *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>8</sup>; פְּעַם הַמִּישִׁית *a fifth time*, Neh 6<sup>5</sup>; בְּשִׁבְעִית *at the seventh (time)*, 1 K 18<sup>44</sup>, and בְּפְעַם 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 כְּפָלִים Jb 11<sup>6</sup> (from כָּפַל *doubling*) does not mean *doubled* but *manifest*.

<sup>3</sup> But אַרְבַּע הַיָּדוֹת 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 ׀,  $\psi$  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>19</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 *u* 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>,  $\psi$  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.; אֲתָה 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>; הִיא 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>,  $\psi$  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>,  $\psi$  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 *u* pronoun immediately after the verb (according to Delitzsch on Ct 5<sup>5</sup> perhaps

<sup>1</sup> Also הִיא, הִיא *he himself, she herself* (of persons and things), e. g. Is 7<sup>14</sup> אֲרָנִי 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*, הִיא is used in Is 41<sup>4</sup>, 43<sup>10, 13</sup>, 46<sup>4</sup>, 48<sup>12</sup> (always הוּא אֲנִי),  $\psi$  102<sup>28</sup> (אֲתָה הוּא), and probably also Jb 3<sup>19</sup>.—The position of אֲתָה, 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 Mēša' 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>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> בִּרְבֵנִי נִמְאָנִי 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> הִנְנִי אָנִי; 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> (אֲנֹכִי); 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> אָנִי נִם.

*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> אֶת־הַדָּמָדְךָ נִמְאָנִי 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 נִשְׁבַּחְנוּ, but without special stress; Neh 5<sup>2</sup> (?); by אתם 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> (אֲנֹכִי); Gn 40<sup>16</sup>, Is 45<sup>12</sup>, 1 Ch 28<sup>2</sup> (אָנִי); Zc 9<sup>11</sup> (את); Jos 23<sup>9</sup> (אתם); Ez 33<sup>17</sup> (הֵמָּה).—In ψ 89<sup>48</sup>, where אני might be taken as strengthening חלר (equivalent in sense to חֲלֹדִי), we should read אֲדָנִי for אני, as in verse 51.

*g* (c) On a suffix united with a preposition, 1 S 25<sup>24</sup> אָנִי בִּי upon me, upon me; 1 K 1<sup>26</sup> אָנִי . . . לִי; 2 Ch 35<sup>21</sup> אֶת־לֹא־עֲלֶיךָ אֶת־הָאֵל לֹא־עֲלֶיךָ not against thee; 1 S 19<sup>23</sup> עָלָיו נִם אָנִי upon him also; Dt 5<sup>3</sup> אֲנַחְנוּ בִּי אֲנַחְנוּ but with us, even us; Hag 1<sup>4</sup> לְכֶם אֲתֶם לְכֶם for you yourselves; Jer 25<sup>14</sup> בְּכֶם נִם־הֵמָּה בְּכֶם.—The separate pronominal precedes in 1 S 12<sup>23</sup> לִי . . . אֲנֹכִי; 1 K 1<sup>20</sup> עֲלֶיךָ . . . אֶת־הָאֵל; Mi 5<sup>1</sup> מִמֶּךָ . . . אֶת־הָאֵל, and 2 Ch 28<sup>10</sup> אֲתֶם עִמָּכֶם.

*h* The same principle also explains Gn 4<sup>26</sup> לְשֵׁת נִם־הוּא to Seth, to him also (not 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 נִמְאָנִי 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, אָתָם *se ipsos*, Ex 5<sup>19</sup>, Jer 7<sup>19</sup> in sharp antithesis to הֵאֵתָהּ; 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> יִשְׁלַח עֲזָרְךָ 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-בָּתָּיו *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> פְּרָמִי נְעֻלִי my *vineyard, which belongs to me*. Cf. Ct 3<sup>7</sup>, and the analogous pleonasm in 2 S 22<sup>2</sup> (but see ψ 18<sup>2</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>; כֶּסֶף 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>1f.</sup>, ψ 41<sup>10</sup>, 150<sup>1</sup>, Jb 18<sup>7</sup> אִינוּ 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>) עֲלֵיוּ נִאֲתִי *my proudly exulting ones*.—On the same analogy is the use of e. g. דְּלֵי מִלְחָמָתוֹ Dt 1<sup>41</sup> *his weapons of war* [cf. Is 41<sup>12</sup>]; Is 56<sup>7</sup> בַּיִת הַפְּלִינִי *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 אֲבִיהֶן, but also בְּעֵינֵיהֶם); Ju 19<sup>24</sup>, 21<sup>22</sup>, 1 S 6<sup>7.10b</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 הַלְרִיָּהֶן); 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>15.18.33</sup>, Ex 21<sup>7</sup>, 1 S 6<sup>10 a</sup> are to be explained according to § 60 h. On הָיְמָה 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 10<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> (אֲתָהּ *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 נִבְעֵי נִבְעֵי *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 בְּמִנְיָהֶן, where בְּמִנְיָנָהּ 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 מַצְבַּח], Jer 36<sup>23</sup>, Jb 6<sup>20</sup> (if the text is correct), 39<sup>16</sup> (read הַהֶמֶם 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 וְהַתְּפִינִים; in Is 30<sup>6</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 *Q* has become so weak that the language appears to be almost entirely unconscious of it. Thus in אֲרֹנִי *my Lord*, usually explained as being from the *pluralis maiestatis* אֲרֹנִים (§ 124 i) with the suffix of the 1st singular (always with *Qames* to distinguish it from אֲרֹנֵי *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 אֲרֹנִי as a *Q'ré 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* *7* *his unitedness*, i.e. *he &c. together*, e.g. בְּלִיְהוּעַם יַחְדוֹ Ex 19<sup>8</sup>; then, without regard to the suffix, even after the 1st person אֲנִיָּהוּ יַחְדוֹ 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 בָּלָם 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 לָבָם with the LXX).—On the redundant suffix in הִקְרַבְתָּ לָּם 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 מֵרִי *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 אֲרֹנִי as a holy name, and אֲרֹנִי 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 אֲרֹנִי is used by God himself, there is nowhere any necessity to regard the suffix as *entirely* meaningless, since אֲרֹנִי is always used either in an address to or (like אֲרֹנִי, 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 אֲרֹנִי and אֲרֹנִי it may be urged especially that when unconnected with suffixes the singular אֲרֹן is always used of God, and not the *pluralis maiestatis* presupposed by אֲרֹנִי.

## § 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>3</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 הַזֶּה הַדְּבָרִים, plur. הַדְּבָרִים הַאֵלֶּה, but הֵמָּה בְּיָמֵים הָהֵם or בְּיָמֵים הָהֵם.—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, זאת* 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 הוּא נֹה *who now* (darkeneth, &c.) . . . ? 1 S 17<sup>55 f.</sup>, Is 63<sup>1</sup>, Jer 49<sup>19</sup>, ψ 24<sup>9</sup>, 25<sup>12</sup>, &c.; מַה הַנּוֹה *what now?* 1 S 10<sup>11</sup>; *how now?* Gn 27<sup>20</sup>; *why now?* Ju 15<sup>24</sup>; but before the verb עָשָׂה it is usually מַה הַנּוֹה Gn 3<sup>13</sup>, 12<sup>18</sup>, Ex 14<sup>5</sup>, Ju 15<sup>11</sup>; לְמַה הַנּוֹה *wherefore now?* Gn 18<sup>13</sup>, 25<sup>22</sup>, 1 S 17<sup>28</sup>, 2 S 1:23, &c.—So also מִי הַנּוֹה Is 50<sup>9</sup>, Jb 4<sup>7 ff.</sup>; and still more emphatically מִי הַנּוֹה 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 הַאֲתָה זֶה וְגַם הַאֲתָה *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> (זֶה הַיָּם), Is 23<sup>13</sup> (זֶה הַיָּם), Ju 5<sup>6</sup>, ψ 68<sup>9</sup> (זֶה סִינִי) 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 הַזֶּה הַיָּם is in apposition to וְזֹאת depending on הַיָּם, and also Ez 40<sup>45</sup>, where הַזֶּה הַיָּם is in apposition to זֶה; 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>25</sup> (הַאֲנֹכִי), 1 S 7<sup>23</sup>, Is 37<sup>16</sup>, ψ 44<sup>5</sup> (אַתָּה); and הֵם הַאֲלֵהֶם *these are*, Gn 25<sup>16</sup>, 1 S 4<sup>8</sup>; (b) *of time*: הַנִּיחַהּ *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>36</sup> הַנִּיחַהּ *twice, now*; cf. 31<sup>33</sup>, 2 S 14<sup>2</sup>, Jb 1<sup>12</sup>, 7<sup>3</sup>, 19<sup>3</sup>; separated from the numeral in Gn 31<sup>41</sup> הַנִּיחַהּ 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-אֵלֶּהָ Gn 33<sup>3</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-שֶׁשָּׁבָם *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 אֵי-יָהּ *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* אֵת מִי בַת-מִי *whose daughter art thou?* Gn 24<sup>23</sup>, 1 S 17<sup>55, 56, 58</sup>; מִי דְבַר מִי *whose word?* Jer 44<sup>28</sup>, 1 S 12<sup>3</sup>; in the accusative, אֶת-מִי *quemnam?* 1 S 28<sup>11</sup>, Is 6<sup>3</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 אַחֲרַי 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</sup>.<sup>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 מֵאֲדָמָה 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>13</sup>, Pr 9<sup>4, 16</sup>, 2 Ch 36<sup>23</sup>; even שְׂמַר-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 מַה (*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>3</sup> מַה-יִרְאֶנִי וְדַבַּר מַה-יִרְאֶנִי *and whatsoever he showeth me*. Cf. also מִי-אִשֶּׁר *whosoever* Ex 32<sup>33</sup>, 2 S 2c<sup>11</sup>, and מִי-הָאִישׁ אִשֶּׁר *any man who* Dt 2c<sup>5π</sup>,

corrupt. In Ju 5<sup>5</sup> in fact סִינִי הִנֵּה 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־שׁוֹ* that *which*, Ec 1<sup>9</sup>, 3<sup>15</sup> (just like the Syriac *ܡܗܐ*); cf. Est 8<sup>1</sup>, and *מה . . . ל* Pr 9<sup>13</sup>, *מה . . . לֹא* Neh 2<sup>12</sup>, *nothing whatever*.—On *מֵאֲרֻמָּה* *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 . . . יְהוָה 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 עָשָׂה מְלֶאכֶתוֹ* *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 (*יהוה*), 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 *אֶשֶׁל* and *אֶשֶׁר* (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 *שׁוֹ*, the ground-forms, of which the Phoenician and Punic *שׁוֹ* (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> לְרַקִּיעַ מֵתַחַת הַשָּׁמַיִם אֲשֶׁר מֵתַחַת 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 הָיָא; 7<sup>2</sup> הָיָא; 1 K 9<sup>20</sup> הָיָא; Dt 20<sup>15</sup> הָיָא; but cf. also הָיָא אֲשֶׁר הוּא הָיָא Gn 9<sup>3</sup>. The addition of הָיָא 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 אֵלֶיךָ לָכֶם אֲתָן לָכֶם אֵת הַמָּקוֹם הַהוּא 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> עָד-הַמָּקוֹם אֲשֶׁר-הָיָה שָׁם אָהֳלָה נֹשֵׁם אֵתָּהּ הָיָה שָׁמָּה thither, 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 בְּיָוֵשִׁי חַיִּי 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> יוֹאֵר תֵּאָר אֲשֶׁר תֵּאָר יוֹאֵר 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>, הֲיֵשׁ הַיָּשׁוּר 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 וַיִּמְצָא אֹתוֹ. *he—it (the cup) is found with him,—shall die (for the Wāv of the apodosis in וְמָת cf. § 143 d).* In such cases אֲשֶׁר preceded by the preposition is quite anomalous, as in Gn 31<sup>82</sup> 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 הֵן, הוּא, הִיא (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 הֵן, &c., the remarks on אֲשֶׁר, under *a* and *e*, also hold good.

Examples:—

(a) הֵן in apposition to a governing substantive in the nominative, ψ 104<sup>26</sup> לְוִיָּתָן הֵן 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; הוּא is used without it in ψ 132<sup>12</sup>); in apposition to a genitive dependent on a preposition, Pr 23<sup>22</sup> הֵן יִלְבֵּדְךָ הוּא יִלְבֵּדְךָ *hearken unto thy father, him—he begat thee, i. e. who begat thee*; ψ 17<sup>9</sup> (וְהוּא).—In ψ 104<sup>8</sup> הֵן אֶל-מְקוֹם הוּא יִסְדָּרְתָּ לָהֶם *unto the place which thou hadst founded for them* (cf. § 130 c), הוּא 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 מְפָנֵינוּ would be expected after העמיקו, is only possible in elevated poetic or prophetic language.

<sup>3</sup> The etymological equivalent הֵן, הִיא 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 הַזֶּה) and Ex 15<sup>13</sup> (עָמְדוּ נֹאֲלָתַתְּ), 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> כָּל הַהִקְדִּישׁ שֶׁמִּזְמַן אֵלָּהּ 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> הַיְהוֹנָכִים אֲתָם 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> הַיָּד הַעֲלִיָּהּ and that which was upon it (but see *k* below); 2 Ch 1<sup>4</sup> בְּהֵיכָן equivalent to בְּאֵשֶׁר הֵכִין הַיָּד to the place, that he had prepared.

In all the examples adduced except 1 S 9<sup>24</sup> (where הַיָּד הַעֲלִיָּהּ should probably *k* be read for הַיָּד הַעֲלִיָּהּ) 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> הַהִלְלָה Ru 1<sup>22</sup>, 2<sup>6</sup> and 4<sup>3</sup> הַשָּׂבָה, or by the punctuation, Gn 21<sup>3</sup> הַנּוֹלֵךְ; 1 K 11<sup>9</sup>, Dn 8<sup>1</sup> הַנִּרְאָה; Is 56<sup>3</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> הַהִלְלָה for הַמְהַלְלָה according to § 52 *s*, and in the other examples הַנּוֹלֵךְ, הַנִּרְאָה, 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 מִיָּדוּ Gn 9<sup>5</sup>, according to the usual explanation, stands for מִיַּד אִישׁ 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>25</sup> (according to the context = *to every one in his sack*); 42<sup>36</sup>, where צָרוּר־בְּסָפוֹ בְּשָׂקוֹ is virtually the predicate of אִישׁ; Ex 12<sup>4</sup>, 28<sup>21</sup>, Nu 5<sup>10</sup>, 26<sup>54</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 אֵל־ 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 אֵל־ Gn 19<sup>8</sup>; after לֹא Ec 8<sup>5</sup>.—Cf. finally, מֵאַחֵר *any one*, Dt 15<sup>7</sup>; *anything*, Ez 18<sup>10</sup> (but in Lv 4<sup>2</sup>, 5<sup>13</sup> מֵאַחֵת) 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 אחיו *his brother* or רֵעֵהוּ *his neighbour*, אִישׁ *one*, masc. (as אִשָּׁה *one*, fem., in connexion with אחותה *her sister* or רֵעֵיתָה *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 אִישׁ מֵעַל אָחִיו the one from the other*; Ex 26<sup>3</sup> *five curtains (יריעת) shall be coupled together אֵל־אַחֶתָהּ 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> אֵל־תִּחְשְׁבוּ וְרַעַת אִישׁ אָחִיו וְאִישׁ אֶת־רַעַת רֵעֵהוּ אֵל־תִּחְשְׁבוּ בְּלִבְבְּכֶם, which in the light of 8<sup>17</sup> 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>. In 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. בְּעֶצְמוֹ *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 בְּעֶצְמוֹ הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה in the selfsame day, Gn 7<sup>13</sup>, cf. Jos 10<sup>27</sup>, Ez 24<sup>2</sup>; בְּעֶצְמוֹ הַשָּׁמַיִם לְטָהָר as it were the very heaven for clearness, Ex 24<sup>10</sup>; בְּעֶצְמוֹ תַּמּוֹ in the very fullness of his strength (= in the midst of his full strength), Jb 21<sup>25</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>56</sup>, 4c<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> בְּיָמֵי אֲחָרָיִם; see § 96 under אֲחָרָיִם); שָׁנִים *some years*, Dn 11<sup>6,8</sup>.

בְּרֵאשִׁית or בְּעֶצְמוֹ *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> נִפְּשֵׁיהֶם *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 *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. *יְהוָה מֶלֶכְנוּ* *the Lord is our king*, Is 33<sup>22</sup>; *וְהָאֲנָשִׁי סָרָם 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>; *וַיִּבְרָל* *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 דְּרָבּוּ* *God—his way is perfect*, equivalent to *God's way is perfect*; Gn 34<sup>8</sup> *שָׂכָם בְּנֵי בְּנֵי שֵׁשׁוּ נַפְשׁוֹ הַשָּׂכָה* *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> וְזֹאת before a feminine predicate, as אִשָּׁה 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 מִפָּנָיו.<sup>1</sup>

2. The *predicate* of a noun-clause may be—

(a) A substantive, e. g. Dt 14<sup>1</sup> וְגו' בָּנִים אַתֶּם וְגו' *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> וְזֹהב 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> עֲשָׂר עֶבְרָיִךְ שְׁנַיִם *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 הכרמלח there is the bdellium, Gn 2<sup>12</sup>; אי הבל where is Abel? 4<sup>9</sup>; לעולם חסדו his mercy endureth for ever, ψ 136<sup>16</sup>; עשר בביתו riches are in his house, ψ 112<sup>3</sup>; לו 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 אמת חסד lovingkindness and truth (i. e. wholly lovingkindness, &c.; cf. Jer 10<sup>10</sup>); Ez 38<sup>5</sup>, ψ 10<sup>5</sup>, 19<sup>10</sup>, 23<sup>5</sup>, 88<sup>19</sup>, Pr 3<sup>17</sup>,<sup>3</sup> Jb 22<sup>12</sup>, 23<sup>2</sup>, 26<sup>13</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 נרבת 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> באי הכניס בתי 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 (בְּיֵינִים);<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> העת השמים the season is rain showers, i. e. the rainy season; with a bold enallage of the number, Gn 34<sup>30</sup> ואני מתי מספר and I (with my family) am persons few in number. For similarly bold expressions with הִיהָ 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 20<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 לְעֵינֵינוּ.

<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 הִיהָ (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>6</sup>, ψ 120<sup>7</sup>, &c., is not rather to be regarded as an adjective.

<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 כְּבִנְתֵי כַרְמֵי בְּנֵי כְּרִיךְ 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 *ℓ* 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 אֲהַבִּי *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 *f* 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 הַאֱלֹהִים *the Lord is the true God*; 1 S 9<sup>19</sup>; Is 31<sup>2</sup> גַּם־הוּא חָכָם *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> אֲנֹכִי 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 *g* 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 שָׁנִים הֵנָּה *they are seven* *ℓ* 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. אֲנֹכִי אֲנֹכִי הוּא Is 43<sup>25</sup> *I, even I, am he that bloteth 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 ὁ αὐτός; see above, § 135 a, note 1; or such cases as Dt 32<sup>39</sup> *see now* אֲנִי הוּא אֲנִי כִּי *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 בִּי 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 q, 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> אָמַרְתָּ אֵת אֲשֶׁר אָמַרְתָּ דֹּם הָאָדָם הֲוֵאֵלֶיךָ דֹּם הַבְּהֵמָה דֹּם הַחַיָּה דֹּם הַצֶּמָח דֹּם הָאָדָם דֹּם הַבְּהֵמָה דֹּם הַחַיָּה דֹּם הַצֶּמָח 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. Nominalsatze,' 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-שָׂם; 1<sup>29f</sup>. אֲשֶׁר-בּוֹ.

### § 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>13</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 28<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 יָשַׁב 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> הִנֵּה *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 מְצִנָּתָהּ וְהִיא שְׁלֵחָהּ *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>, 21<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 הַמְלִיכָהּ 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 בל).<sup>1</sup>

(e) A substantival complement of the verb היה is placed first in Is 18<sup>5</sup> יִבְרַח יְהוָה נֹצֵה וַיִּבְרַח פְּתִיל וַיִּבְרַח פְּתִיל וַיִּבְרַח פְּתִיל 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>2</sup>, Mi 5<sup>1</sup>, Est 9<sup>12</sup>; in Gn 29<sup>25</sup> בְּרִחִיל 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>27</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 עוֹר, 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 רָרְבוּ 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> וְאֲנִי זֹאת בְּרִיתִי אִתָּם and as for me, this is my covenant with them, &c.; Gn 9<sup>9</sup>, 17<sup>1</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> עִם-לִבִּי אֲנִי הָיִיתִי הָיִיתִי 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. 1. 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 הָהוּא בְּסוֹפָה (הָרִי); 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); 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>6 f.</sup>), § 112 t and m; 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>8</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> הָ עַתָּה וְאַנִּי עַבְדְּךָ *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*).

c 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, וְשָׂרִים should most probably be read); Ec 9<sup>4</sup>, 1 Ch 7<sup>1</sup>, 24<sup>20 ff.</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>, 119<sup>21</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 Méša' 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 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. וַיִּדְעָם Ez 23<sup>49</sup>; וַעֲשִׂיהֶם 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. וַתִּצָּר 1 S 30<sup>6</sup> (Ju 10<sup>9</sup>) וַתִּצָּר לְרוּר; Ju 11<sup>39</sup>, Jer 7<sup>31</sup>, Ez 12<sup>25</sup>, Jb 15<sup>32</sup> (unless הַמְּיֹרְתוֹ in verse 31 be the subject); cf. also the impersonal passives, Is 1<sup>6</sup> (רָפְקָה), 29<sup>6</sup> (תִּפְקַר). 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>16</sup> (in 2 K 24<sup>7</sup> בְּלִיאֵשֶׁר is used in this way with a feminine predicate, and in Jer 19<sup>5</sup> אֵשֶׁר 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. אֹר it *becomes light*, 1 S 29<sup>10</sup> (but with an explicit subject, Gn 44<sup>9</sup>); וַיֵּאֵר and *it became light*; so also הִחֲשֶׁה it *grows dark*, Jer 13<sup>16</sup>; but וַחֲשֶׁכָה 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 אִמְטֵר); 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, לָהּ, &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. אָרָר *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> (אֲשֶׁר); 46<sup>7</sup> (אֲעַק); Am 6<sup>12</sup>, Mi 2<sup>4</sup>, Jb 27<sup>23</sup>; by the 3rd singular feminine (הִיא) 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> יִרְרֶה 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 יִשְׁקוּ *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 מְנוּרָאֵי 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-תָבוֹא אֵיכָמָה *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> בִּבְאֲכָה) 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 מְבִיאִים (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 וַיֹּאמֶר 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 וַיִּגַּד the common form וַיְגַד is to be read; so in 50<sup>26</sup> for וַיִּשָּׂם (after a plural) either וַיִּשֶׂם 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> לְקִרְאָה אֶת הַחֵלֶל לְקִרְאָה *then (was it begun=) he began men to call upon, &c.* (but read הַחֵלֶל וְהָיָה *he began*).

4. A peculiar idiom, and one always confined to poetic language, *l* 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 אֶל־יְהוָה *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>; פִּי־קָרָאתִי אֵלֵינוּ *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 בְּנַפְשִׁי with my soul, i. e. fervently, and parallel with it אֶת־רִדְחֵי אֶת־נַפְשִׁי; but נַפְשִׁי ψ 57<sup>5</sup> is rather a periphrasis for the 1st pers. I.**

(b) Where the subject denoting the *thing* follows, צִחְלִי 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> (יִמְיִנְךָ); after a perfect, Hb 3<sup>15</sup> (סִיִּיךָ); after a cohortative, ψ 108<sup>2</sup> (אֶת־כַּבְּוִדִי). The subject denoting the *thing* stands between the personal subject and the predicate in ψ 44<sup>3</sup> יִרְדֵּךְ אֶת־הָאָרֶץ.<sup>4</sup>*

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> שְׁמִי is subordinated to the following passive נִוְרַעְתִּי (§ 121 b); in 1 S 25<sup>26, 33</sup> יָדִי, יָדְךָ are subjects to the infinitive absolute הוֹשַׁע, 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>, פִּי 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 **וַתִּחַם** either **עַל־יָדִי** has dropped out (through confusion with **עַל־יָדִי**) or we should read with the LXX **וַתִּחַם**. 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 **יִבְנֶה** 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>1,16</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 **הוּי** 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 **וְאַשְׁרֵי**, 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 *δευκτικῶς* 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. **זֹאת 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 תִּבְרָאֵן** (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> **לְאִוִּם**

<sup>1</sup> In prose, Lv 2<sup>8</sup>; but **וַתִּקְרִיבָהּ** 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> וַיִּגְסּוּ אֲרָם and the Syrians fled; 1 S 4<sup>5</sup>.—(β) with the predicate following, 1 K 8<sup>6</sup> צֹאן וּבָקָר sheep and oxen, construed with the plural in the following relative clause; Jb 1<sup>4</sup> הַבָּקָר הָיוּ הִירְשׁוֹת the cattle (cows) were ploughing; 2 S 3<sup>1</sup> and 1 Ch 10<sup>6</sup> בְּיַת = family (in 1 S 6<sup>13</sup> בֵּית שֵׁשֶׁם 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> נַבְלָה dead bodies; Is 27<sup>11</sup> קִצִּיר בּוֹגֵייר 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> וְזָקַר; 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> אֲחֵר = 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> שְׂאִרֵית remnant; (ψ 33<sup>8</sup> בְּלִיְהוּדָה).—(β) with the predicate following, Gn 41<sup>57</sup>, 2 S 15<sup>23</sup>, 1 K 10<sup>24</sup>, Gn 48<sup>6</sup> מוֹלָדָת issue; 1 S 2<sup>33</sup> בְּלִי־מִרְבִּית all the increase; Jb 30<sup>12</sup> פְּרָחָה rabble. In Hag 2<sup>7</sup> read חֲמֻדָת 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 12<sup>0</sup> וַיִּרְבּוּ הָעָם וַיַּעֲצִמוּ 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>3</sup>, &c. (but see the Rem.), מֶלֶךְ master, Ex 21<sup>4</sup> בָּעָלִים master, owner, Ex 21<sup>29</sup>; cf., moreover, פָּנִים with the singular, Jb 16<sup>15</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 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 תַעֲרֶגַּב *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>5</sup> (unless הַמַּחֲרֵשׁ is to be read for תַּחְתְּחַרֵּשׁ), Jb 14<sup>19</sup>, 27<sup>20</sup>; with the predicate following, Gn 49<sup>22</sup> (בְּנֹתוֹ = *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>) אֲרִיִּךְ אָרָר וְיִמְבְּרֶיךָ בְּרִיךְ *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 נְגִשְׁיוֹ 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, פִּימוֹ 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 הַבְּסִיל]; finally, the suffixes with prepositions in Is 2<sup>10</sup> אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה לִי *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> מְמֹנֵנִי after צַדִּיקִים (but read probably צַדִּיק with the LXX, &c.). Conversely in Mi 1<sup>11</sup> עֲבָרִי לָכֶם [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 167.]



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> וְעֵינַי לְאֵה רְבוּחַ 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>; יָדַי *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>; שְׂדָתַי *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 נְבָהוּת וְהִאָּדָרְםָ 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> וְנָהוּ אֵיִים וְנָהוּ אֵיִים 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 אֵתְרֵהָ לְמִנְיֹת וְהָיָה אֵתְרֵהָ לְמִנְיֹת *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 עֲוֹנֹתַי 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 אֶצֶל 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 אֶתְרֵהָ instead of וְהָיָה אֶתְרֵהָ); 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 אֶתְרֵהָ 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>5</sup> (according to the accents); 22<sup>23</sup>, Is 18<sup>5</sup> *וְבִכֹּר גִּמְלִל יְהִי נָצֶה* and a ripening grape the flower becometh.

r (b) The adjective in a noun-clause, e.g. *וְיָשָׁר מִשְׁפָּטֶיךָ* 119<sup>137</sup> *upright are thy judgements*; cf. verse 155.<sup>1</sup>—On the other hand, *רָעָה* in *וְרָעָה צִנָּן 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 1<sup>14</sup> *וְהָיָה . . . יְהִי כְאֹרֶת* (see o above); Nu 9<sup>6</sup>, Ez 14<sup>1</sup>; cf. also Gn 30<sup>59</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> *וְהָיָה עוֹרֵר* (but *עוֹרֵר* is better taken as an infin. abs. = *excitando*, reading *הַקָּים* for *הַקִּים*); 33<sup>9</sup> *אֲבֵל אֶרֶץ אֲמִלְלָהּ* 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 *i*, 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 *הָאֵחָת* instead of *הָאֵחָת*; *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 *וַיִּתְּבֵן* read the plural as in verse 25; so also Ez 20<sup>38</sup> for *וַיָּבוֹא*,<sup>2</sup> and in Jb 6<sup>20</sup> for *בִּנְתָּח*; 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 *וַיִּנְלִי*, *וְ* 11<sup>4</sup> (after *וַעֲיִנִי*), 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 *מִצְוֹתֵי*), *וְ* 102<sup>28</sup>, Jb 16<sup>22</sup> (after *שָׁנוֹת*), Dn 11<sup>41</sup> (read *וְרִבּוֹת*), 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> *וְהָיָה*, 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> *וַיָּבוֹא* probably an error for *וַיָּבֹאוּ*. The Masora on Lv 11<sup>34</sup> reckons fourteen instances of *וַיָּבֹאוּ*, 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 . . . הָיָה* the offerings of the Lord . . . that is his inheritance; in number and gender, Lv 25<sup>33</sup> *Q'ere*; 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 2<sup>7</sup> (יְהִיָּה 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 שְׂרָמֹת (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 8<sup>7</sup>, 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> קִשְׁת׃ גִּבּוֹרִים חֲתָמִים 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-) *entirely* 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> וַיְהִי כָל-יְמֵי אָדָם and all the days of Adam were, &c. (in 5<sup>23</sup>, 9<sup>29</sup> וַיְהִי; but the Samaritan reads ויהי 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  $\text{כֹּל-מְלֶאכֶה}$  is explained from the stress laid upon the latter,  $\text{כֹּל-מְלֶאכֶה}$  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* ( $\text{לֹא יִשְׁבְּחוּ}$ ); 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>  $\text{וְקִטְרֹת יִשְׂמַח-לֵב}$  *ointment and perfume rejoice the heart*, where the predicate agrees in gender with the masculine  $\text{יִשְׂמַח}$  (as in Is 51<sup>3</sup> with  $\text{שִׂשׂוֹן}$ ); 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>46</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>  $\text{וַיָּבֹא נֹחַ וּבָנָיו}$  *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>  $\text{וְכָל-יִשְׂרָאֵל וְכָל-יִשְׁבְּתֵיהֶּם}$  *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  $\text{וְנִשְׁכַּם אֲתָם}$  read  $\text{אֲתָם}$   $\text{הַנָּשִׁים}$  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*  $\text{אַחֲרָיִם}$  *after*;  $\text{אַחֲרָיִם}$  agrees with the masculine immediately preceding.

§ 147. *Incomplete Sentences.*

1. Sentences are called *incomplete*, in which either the subject or *a* 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 הַיָּה (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>22 b</sup> restore הַיָּה, with the LXX, before הַמְלִיכִים; 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 הֵינָא 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 (bis)</sup>, 18<sup>3</sup>.

2. The demonstrative particle הֵן, הֵינָה *en, ecce* may be used either *b* absolutely (as a kind of interjection, cf. § 105 *b*) before complete noun- or verbal-clauses, e. g. Gn 28<sup>15</sup> עִמָּךְ אֲנֹכִי וְהִנֵּה אֲנִי *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 הֵינָה the analogy of the corresponding Arabic demonstrative particle 'inna (followed by an accusative of the noun) is significant.<sup>2</sup> If הֵינָה 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 הֵינָה 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 הֵינָה 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 לֵךְ 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 הֵינָה must again be supplied after אֲשַׁחֲתֶיךָ.

<sup>2</sup> On the same analogy any substantive following הֵינָה 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 הֵינָה were felt to be accusatives.

<sup>3</sup> That these are real noun-clauses and that the participle (e. g. מַת in מַת הֵינָה 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>26</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 וְנִי** *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 **הָרַב**); 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>28</sup>, 13<sup>4</sup> (on the exclamatory **קוֹל** 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 **תִּפְלֵצְתֵךְ** be equivalent to *terror be upon thee!*); Jo 4<sup>14</sup>, Mal 1<sup>13</sup> (**הִנֵּה מְתוּלָאָה** *behold what a weariness!*); Jb 22<sup>29</sup>; perhaps also Gn 49<sup>4</sup> **פַּחַז בַּפִּיִם** *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> **אֵינֶה** *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 **הַבְּרִי** *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-כִּתִּי**; ψ 74<sup>9</sup> **עַד-מָה**.—On **וְלֹא** *and if not* (unless **וְלִי** 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 **אָהֵה, אוֹי, הוֹי, הֵם**;<sup>1</sup> cf. § 105. After the first two the object of the *threat* or *imprecation* follows regularly with **לְ** (cf. *vae tibi*) or **אֶל-** or **עַל-**, e.g. **אֵי לָנוּ** *woe unto us!* 1 S 4<sup>8</sup>, Is 6<sup>5</sup>; cf. also **אָהֵה לַיּוֹם** *alas for the day!* Jo 1<sup>1</sup>; on the other hand, the object of *commiseration* (after **הוֹי**) follows mostly in the vocative, or rather in the accusative of exclamation (cf. *vae te* in Plautus); so in lamentation for the dead, **אָהֵי הוֹי** *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. **הֵם** Ju 3<sup>19</sup>, Am 6<sup>9</sup>) stand quite disconnectedly (so always **אָתָּה** and **הָאָתָּה**).

Jer 22<sup>18</sup>; אַחַת הִיא גּוֹי חַטָּא *ah, sinful nation!* Is 1<sup>4</sup>, 5<sup>8,11,18,20,22</sup> (*ah! they that . . .*).—For אַחַת 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 יָדֵיהֶם and רַגְלֵיהֶם  $\psi$  115<sup>7</sup>, for יָדֵיהֶם *they have hands*, &c.; cf. verses 5 and 6 פִּה־לֵהֶם, &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 נְבִיאֵיכֶם 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 וְהִיא 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 אֵיךְ, 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־זֶּה); 38<sup>29</sup>, Nu 24<sup>5</sup> (*how goodly are . . .!*);  $\psi$  21<sup>2</sup>, Ct 7<sup>2</sup>; before the predicate of noun-clauses, e.g. Gn 28<sup>17</sup>,  $\psi$  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־זֶּאת; 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>,  $\psi$  73<sup>19</sup>; in scornful exclamation, Is 14<sup>4,12</sup>; in a lament (usually אֵיךְ, 2 S 1<sup>25,27</sup>; with the imperfect, in a reproachful question, Gn 39<sup>9</sup>, 44<sup>8</sup>,  $\psi$  11<sup>1</sup>, 137<sup>4</sup>; in a mocking imitation of lament, Mi 2<sup>4</sup>.

מָה 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 כְּמוֹךָ *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 חֲיִיהֶוָה,

חַי־נַפְשְׁךָ<sup>1</sup>, חַי אֲנִי, בִּי נִשְׁבַּעְתִּי, &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 חַלִּילָה לִּי *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>13</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־אֲתָה 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 וְנִ' *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> אִם כִּי; 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> מִיָּנֹן וְנִ' אִם־יִרְאָה וְרִמָּה וְנִ' *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 חַלִּילָה חַלִּילָה *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 חַי־יְהוָה). On חַי and חַי־י 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 בְנִי עֵשָׂו אֶתָּה *thou art my son Esau?* (but cf. note 1 below) Gn 18<sup>12</sup>, Ex 33<sup>14</sup> (פָּנֵי); 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> לְנַעַר *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>6</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 אֶחָיוֹם *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 21<sup>10</sup>, 10<sup>9</sup>; or when (as in some of the examples just given) it is negative (with לֹא for הֲלֵא *nonne?*), 2 K 5<sup>26</sup> (but cf. note 1), La 3<sup>3</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 הֲ or הִי occurs before a guttural.

2. As a rule, however, the simple question is introduced by *He c* interrogative הֲ (הִי; as to its form, cf. § 100 k-n), *ne? num?* the disjunctive question by הִי (*num? utrum?*) in the first clause, and אֵי<sup>3</sup> (also אֵי, less frequently אֵי) *an?* in the second, e. g. 1 K 22<sup>15</sup> . . . הֲנִלְכֶהּ

<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, הֲאֶתָּה as in verse 21, in 1 S 16<sup>4</sup> הֲשָׂלַמְתָּ, in 2 S 18<sup>29</sup> הֲשָׂלַמְתָּ 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 אֵל-לִמִּי (which according to the usual explanation would expect a negative answer) read either עַל-לִמִּי (עַל-לִמִּי) with the LXX, or better, אֵי (אֵי) *whither?* with the Targum. In 2 S 23<sup>5</sup> read הֲלֵא הֲפָצִי with Wellhausen.

<sup>3</sup> Quite exceptional is the use of the particle אֵי *num?* (common in Aramaic) in 1 S 21<sup>9</sup> אֵינִי יֵשׁ-פֶּה *num est hic?* The text is, however, undoubtedly corrupt; according to Wellhausen, *Text der Bücher Sam.*, the LXX express the reading הֲיֵשׁ-פֶּה; 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 כַּמָּה *how many?* מָה *why?* (see § 102 k), מָה *why?* (§ 99 e), or by אֵי *where?* אֵי, אֵי *how?* (§ 148), &c. On the transformation of

נָהַלְתָּ אִם נִהְיֶה לָּם shall we go . . . or shall we forbear? Cf. also אֵי where? whither? אֵיָּהּ 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> הֲעוֹד אֲבִיכֶם חַי הַיֵּשׁ לָכֶם אָח shall your father yet alive? have ye another brother? for הֲיִשׁ 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 הֲנֹו with 1 Ch 11<sup>25</sup>); for הֲאֵין is there not? 1 K 22<sup>7</sup>, &c.; or before verbal-clauses, e.g. Jb 2<sup>3</sup> הֲשִׁמְתָּ לְבָבְךָ (הַשְׁמַתָּ לְבָבְךָ) 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> הֲיִחַיֶּה אִם יָמוּת אִם יִחַיֶּה 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> הֲבֵנָה לִי בַיִת shall thou build me an house? (in the parallel passage 1 Ch 17<sup>4</sup> לֹא אֲבִנָה וְנִי thou shalt not, &c.); Gn 4<sup>9</sup> הֲאֵמֶנִי אָחִי אֶמְרָא 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>18</sup>, absol. Jb 40<sup>2</sup>; on both, see § 113 *ee*, with the note).—On the other hand, in 1 K 16<sup>81</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 הֵיא כְּתוּבָה Jos 10<sup>13</sup> or הֲלֹא הֵיא כְּתוּבָה 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 הֲנִה כְּתוּבָה 2 S 1<sup>18</sup>, and הֲנִם כְּתוּבָה 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 2<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 כִּיָּה 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־וְ** 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־וְ** 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־וְ**) **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, doubting, *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 **וְאֵין**, i. e. probably *if perchance*. In disjunctives (*whether—or*) **אֵין—וְ** Nu 13<sup>18</sup> at the end (or **אֵין־וְאֵין—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 **וְאֵין—וְ** Ec 2<sup>19</sup>. The formula **אֵין יודע־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 **וְשֵׁי** and **וְשֵׁר** owing to the following **לְמִי** 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 **אֵפֹאֵן** (for which **אֵפֹאֵן** five times in Job) *then, now*, Gn 27<sup>33</sup> **הוּא אֵפֹאֵן מִי** *who then is he?* Ju 9<sup>88</sup>, Is 10<sup>12</sup>, Jb 17<sup>15</sup>; **אֵפֹאֵן**

<sup>1</sup> **אֵין־וְ** occurs in Pr 27<sup>24</sup> after a negative statement; we should, however, with Dyserinck read **וְאֵין־וְ**. Not less irregular is **וְהָ־וְ** instead of **וְהָ־וְ** **אֵין** in the second clause of Ju 14<sup>15</sup>, but the text can hardly be correct (cf. Moore, *Ju'dges*, 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>28</sup> and in the third clause of Jb 6<sup>13</sup>, **וְהָ־וְ** is best taken with Ewald in the sense of **וְהָ־וְ**, 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 **וְהִבִּיר־לְ** 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 **וְהָ־וְ** and **וְהָ־וְ** (*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 מָרַעַיְתִי *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>6</sup>, Jer 8<sup>4</sup>, also Nu 16<sup>22</sup> (read אֲנִי); after אֲלֵה Jos 22<sup>20</sup>; after אֲפֹה 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 אֲנִי 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> מִי־יַשְׁפִּיטֵנִי שֹׁפֵט *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, אֲנִי 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 מִי־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 the אֲנִי, but appended to the conditional sentence.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the analogous sentences after אֲנִי *because*, Is 65<sup>12</sup>, Jer 35<sup>17</sup>; after causal אֲנִי 1 S 26<sup>23</sup>; after אֲנִי 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!*

וְיִסְגֵּר דְּלַתִּים וְיִסְגֵּר בְּכֶם 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 מְיִיתָן is still plainly discernible, *b* e. g. Ju 9<sup>29</sup> הֲנִה בְיָדִי הָיָה אֶת־הָעָם מְיִיתָן *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, מְיִיתָן is still equivalent to *O had I!* and in numerous other instances the idea of *giving* has entirely disappeared, מְיִיתָן 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> מְיִיתָן תְּחַמְדֶּיךָ *would that I had died for thee* (for אָנִי 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 מְיִיתָנִי Is 27<sup>4</sup> and Jer 9<sup>1</sup> with a following accusative is not simply equivalent to מְיִיתָן לִי, but is properly *who endows me with*, &c.; cf. § 117 *f*).—With a still greater weakening of the original meaning מְיִיתָן 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>53</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 = לוֹ; 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> לֹא מָתַנְנִי *would that we had died*; 20<sup>3</sup> and Jos 7<sup>7</sup> (both times וְלֹא); on the other hand, Is 48<sup>18</sup> and 63<sup>19</sup> (both times לֹא) 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>18</sup> cf. § 110 *e*. On the perfect after אִם כִּי 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* (לֹא יֵשֶׁר) *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*, -ἀ=μῆ (Jb 24<sup>25</sup> as a substantive), לוֹ (it is) *not*; וְלֹא *not yet*, אִם־לֹא *not*, אִם־לֹא־י (cf. § 90 *m*) *not*. The forms בִּלְבַד, בְּלִי, בְּלִי־י not belong almost entirely to poetry.—With regard to לֹא and לוֹ the main distinction is that verbal-clauses (rarely noun-clauses, see *e*) are regularly negated by לֹא (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־י and לֹא־יִּ that *not*, serve to negative dependent clauses. The particular uses of these particles are as follows:—

(*a*) לֹא (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 לֹא with the imperfect to express an unconditional prohibition, see § 107 *o*; on its use with the jussive, see § 109 *d*.—On לֹא for לוֹ־י *nonne*, in interrogative sentences, cf. § 150 *a*. In connexion with בִּלְבַד, בְּלִי (= *any*), לֹא is used to express an *absolute* negation, *nullus, none whatever* (cf. the French *ne . . . personne, ne . . . rien*), usually in the order בִּלְבַד . . . לֹא, e. g. Gn 3<sup>1</sup> הֲיֵן הָעֵץ מִכֹּל עֵץ הַגַּן לֹא תֹאכְלוּ מִכֹּל עֵץ הַגַּן לֹא *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> בְּלִי־דָבָר לֹא *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 verse 17, cf. Jer 5<sup>7</sup>, 2 Ch 13<sup>9</sup>; לֹא־עָם 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־אִישׁ, לֹא־אָדָם 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 לֹא־יִּ Jb 26<sup>21</sup>. לֹא־יִּ *helplessness, insipientia*); cf. also Is 55<sup>2</sup> לֹא־יִּשְׂבַעָה לֹא־יִּ *for what is unsatisfying*; ψ 44<sup>13</sup>, Jb 8<sup>11</sup>, 15<sup>32</sup>, 1 Ch 12<sup>33</sup>.—In Nu 20<sup>5</sup> a construct state with several genitives is negated by לֹא.—Also לֹא 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־יִּ and לֹא־יִּ *not strong*, Pr 30<sup>25</sup>. לֹא־יִּ *unsuitably*, 2 K 7<sup>9</sup>; לֹא־טוֹב *not-good*, Is 65<sup>2</sup>, Ez 20<sup>25</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 נִחַמָה in Is 54<sup>11</sup>, נִחַמָה in 62<sup>12</sup>, נִחַמָה in Jer 6<sup>8</sup>, נִחַמָה 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>25</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-כֵל and turneth *not* away for any; 2 Ch 32<sup>15</sup>; but cf. also the inverted order, Ex 12<sup>16</sup> בְּלֹא-מְלָאכָה לֹא-יַעֲשֶׂה *no manner of work shall be done*; 12<sup>43</sup>, 15<sup>28</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> בְּלוֹ 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 19<sup>2</sup> (לֹא according to the context for נִסּוּר &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 אֲתַנְנִי, and Jb 12<sup>3</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 אֲנֹכִי *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 וְ of the apodosis); 41<sup>2</sup>; in Jb 9<sup>33</sup> even לֹא יֵשׁ *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 בְּלִתִּי) read לֹא טוֹהָר with the LXX, for לֹא טוֹהוֹר. On 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>5</sup> לֹא according to the accentuation even stands at the end of the clause (*they offend him not*); but undoubtedly לֹא בָנִי 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>18</sup> אִל בָּנֹתַי *no, 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. שְׁנַיִם for שְׁנַיִם § 97 d) of אֵין non-existence (as also the absolute state, see below) is the negative of אֵין existence; cf. e.g. Gn 31<sup>29</sup> with Neh 5<sup>5</sup>. As אֵין (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 לְלַדָּה and strength does not exist to bring forth; Gn 2<sup>5</sup> אֵין was not present; Ex 17<sup>7</sup> אֵין אִם 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>19</sup>.—Cf. finally אֵין אִם 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 יָדַע וְאֵין מָקִיץ 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 מַחְרִיד 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 יְהוָה בְּקִרְבָּכֶם the Lord is not among you; Gn 37<sup>29</sup> אֵין יֹסֵף בְּבֹר Joseph was not in the pit.

m (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 אַתָּה, fem. אֵין אַתְּ, thou art not, &c.; אֵין אִנִּי, fem. אֵין אִנְהָ she, she is not, &c.; also absolutely, Gn 42<sup>13</sup> he is (5<sup>24</sup> he was) no longer alive; אֵין אֵינֶם 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>.

n 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 אֲנִי אֲנִי 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 Masorctes, 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>, שָׁמַיְמָה 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> וּפְתָר אֵין אֹתוֹ *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> (וְאֵין) = *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 כֵּל-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-נָקִי not innocent, Jb 22<sup>30</sup>; but the proper name אֵי-תִמְרָה is doubtful, and the fem. אֵי-בַל 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> הֲאֵינִי תֹדַע תֹּדַע 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 אֵין 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 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, = לֹא); 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 אִם 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> בָּקֹר לֹא עָבוֹת *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>0.32</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-אֵיל 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>2 a.3</sup>, Neh 8<sup>10</sup>.

70 (i) פֶּן *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. *δέιδω μή, vereor ne*), *taking heed*, frequently after הִשָּׁמֵר, 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 פֶּן 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), פֶּן-תִּהְיֶה דְבַרְךָ מֵנִי הִרְעָה *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 פֶּן. 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 פֶּן 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 פֶּן *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>2</sup> *and now, lest he put forth his hand*, &c., פֶּן 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 אֶחְמָדְתִּי *lest*, &c. = *I thought*, &c., *I must beware lest*, &c.

Rem. According to § 107 q, פֶּן 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> פֶּן-יִשְׁפָּח רֹאשׁוֹ *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 שׁוּב for שָׁבוּ, 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-יָבוֹאוּ בְּבִטְרָם *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>) מִמֵּין 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 מִן the מִן is causative, *because there is no water*; as also in Ex 14<sup>11</sup> הֲמִבְּלֵי אֵינֶן *is it because there were no . . . ?* 2 K 1<sup>3.6.16</sup>. In Ec 3<sup>11</sup> לֹא מִבְּלֵי אֲשֶׁר לֹא *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>, 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 אֵל, קִל *only*, serve to introduce restrictive clauses, and אֲנִי, אֵל *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 אֵל Gn 7<sup>23</sup>, 34<sup>15</sup>; קִל Gn 6<sup>3</sup>, Am 3<sup>2</sup>; even אֵל הֲרִק אֵל *hath he indeed only ?* Nu 12<sup>2</sup>; אֲנִי Gn 27<sup>34</sup>, Jb 7<sup>11</sup>; אֵל Dt 15<sup>17</sup>), but very frequently extends to the whole of the following sentence. Thus with אֵל, 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>; קִל Gn 20<sup>11</sup>, 24<sup>8</sup>, ψ 32<sup>6</sup>, Pr 13<sup>10</sup>; אֲנִי Gn 27<sup>33</sup>, 32<sup>21</sup> (אֲנִי הִנֵּה), 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>; אֵל Jb 14<sup>3</sup>, 15<sup>4</sup>.—In Mal 1<sup>10</sup> and Jb 2<sup>10</sup> אֲנִי 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> אֵין-בְּקֶסֶף goes with what precedes and must be emended, with the LXX and Lucian, to כִּי הִבְקֶסֶף.

§ 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 וַיִּ) 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 וַי (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>19</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 שְׁלֹשִׁים 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>3</sup> (in וַיִּמְסַכֶּה; 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 בְּעִירוֹ is to be omitted with the LXX); cf. also such combinations as כִּן—וְעַר 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*.

וַי is used to express emphasis (= *and especially*), e.g. in Gn 3<sup>16</sup> וְהָרָגְךָ; 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.

וַי—וַי is used in the sense of *both—and* in ψ 76<sup>7</sup>, Dn 1<sup>3</sup>, 8<sup>13</sup>. On וַי—וַי as meaning *sive—sive*, cf. § 162 b.

(c) See the Lexicon on adverbs used in a copulative sense, such as וְאֵלְּ also, moreover, summing up a number, e.g. וְאֵלְּ שְׁנַיִם both together, Gn 27<sup>45</sup>, Pr 17<sup>15</sup>; וְאֵלְּ 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!* וְאֵלְּ—וְאֵלְּ or וְאֵלְּ—וְאֵלְּ Gn 24<sup>44</sup> = *both—and*; וְאֵלְּ occurs three times in Gn 24<sup>25</sup> and 32<sup>20</sup>; also וְאֵלְּ, 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 וְאֵלְּ—וְאֵלְּ (also three times), equivalent to *both—and*; cf. וְאֵלְּ and even, Lv 26<sup>44</sup>; וְאֵלְּ 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  $\text{וְ}$  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  $\text{וְ}$  with imperatives to express inferences, e.g. 1 K 2<sup>22</sup>  $\text{אֲשַׁלְּחֶנְךָ אֶת־יָדְךָ אֶת־עַמְּךָ אֶת־אֶרֶץ־כְּנָעַן וְיָשִׁיבוּ אֶת־יָדְךָ אֶת־עַמְּךָ אֶת־אֶרֶץ־כְּנָעַן$  ask now rather; Ez 18<sup>2</sup> for I have no pleasure in the death of him that dieth . . . ,  $\text{וְיָשִׁיבוּ אֶת־יָדְךָ אֶת־עַמְּךָ אֶת־אֶרֶץ־כְּנָעַן$  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> ( $\text{וְיָשִׁיבוּ}$ ),  $\psi$  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> ( $\text{וְיָשִׁיבוּ}$ ), 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> ( $\text{וְיָשִׁיבוּ}$ ), 2 K 1<sup>10</sup>, 7<sup>19</sup> (cf. verse 2); Is 3<sup>14</sup>, Zc 2<sup>10</sup>,  $\psi$  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  $\text{וְיָשִׁיבוּ}$  Nu 11<sup>29</sup>, Ju 9<sup>29</sup>; on the disconnected use of  $\text{וְיָשִׁיבוּ}$  and  $\text{וְיָשִׁיבוּ}$  cf. § 159 ad.

### § 155. Relative Clauses.

See V. Baumann, *Hebräische Relativsätze*, Leipzig, 1894 (cf. the heading of § 138 above); G. Bergsträsser, 'Das hebr. Präfix  $\text{וְ}$ ,' *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  $\text{וְזֶה}$ ; see further in § 138 e. Similarly, incomplete relative clauses may also be introduced by  $\text{וְזֶה}$ , 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  $\text{וְ}$  (on the pronunciation see § 36) and  $\text{וְזֶה}$  there is syntactically no primary difference, but only a secondary distinction which arose in the course of the development of the language, namely that  $\text{וְזֶה}$  is preferred in combinations which are customary in the old literary language, and  $\text{וְ}$  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 לְשׂוֹן, &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> (גוֹי אֲשֶׁר לֹא-תִשְׁמַע לְשׂוֹן) 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 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, 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>, 20<sup>1</sup> (read prob. אֲשֶׁר for אֹהֶר), 2 Ch 15<sup>11</sup>; after בְּכָל I Ch 29<sup>3</sup>, 2 Ch 18<sup>23</sup>, 30<sup>17</sup>, 31<sup>13</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 עָמַר read עִמַר 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 שְׁבַע שְׂבוּיָו whose name was Sheba; Zc 6<sup>12</sup>, Jb 1<sup>1</sup>, 3<sup>15</sup> with princes לְהָם זָהָב that had gold; ψ 11<sup>4</sup>, Pr 22<sup>11</sup>; when referring to a noun-suffix, e. g. ψ 49<sup>14</sup> לָמוּ לָמוּ לָמוּ לָמוּ 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> עַל-אֲרָצֵינָא 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> לֹא לָהֶם לֹא בְּאֲרָצֵנָא in a land that belongs not to them; Dt 32<sup>17</sup> (לְשׂוֹן לֹא אֱלֹהִים); Hb 1<sup>6</sup>, Pr 26<sup>17</sup> (לֹא-לֹו).

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 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* יְחַסְדוֹ בּוֹ *that trusteth in him*; Jb 3<sup>3b</sup> הַלַּיְלָה אָמַר הַלַּיְלָה *the night which said*; after  $\psi$  71<sup>18</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 הִנְנִי Is 28<sup>16</sup>, prop. *behold me, who have laid, &c.*, but perhaps the participle יֹסֵר is to be read; 29<sup>14</sup>, 38<sup>5</sup> (but probably again the participle יוֹסֵף 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> וְאֵב יוֹסֵף *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> עַם לֹא-יָבִין *an undiscerning people*.

Rem. Very frequently such relative sentences are attached to substantives *g* which have the particle of comparison כִּי, e. g. Jb 7<sup>2</sup> כְּעֶבֶר יִשְׁאֲרֶה צֶלַע *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 כִּמּוֹ  $\psi$  58<sup>5</sup>; after a determinate substantive, e. g. Is 53<sup>7</sup> (but the better reading is כִּשְׁהָ 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 כִּי (for כִּי־אֲשֶׁר; 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 *h* accusative of the object, or would do so if not suppressed, as it usually is in such cases in relative clauses with אֲשֶׁר, cf. § 138 b. Examples with the retrospective pronoun are, Dt 32<sup>17</sup> אֱלֹהִים לֹא יָדְעוּם *gods whom they knew not* (see also the end of the verse); after a substantive with 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 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> יִתְרָה עֵשָׂה, for which Jer 48<sup>36</sup> יִתְרַת 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> הַמּוֹבֵחַ לֶקַח 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 בְּדִרְבָּרָה; but  $\psi$  32<sup>8</sup> בְּדִרְבָּרוֹ חִלָּה); Is 64<sup>2</sup>; Ec 10<sup>5</sup> (in 6<sup>1</sup> the same clause with אֲשֶׁר); moreover, in Jer 14<sup>18</sup> read with the LXX אֶל-אֶרֶץ לֹא יָדְעוּ *into a land (that) they know not*.

(3) The cases in which the retrospective pronoun is dependent on *i* a preposition, or its place is taken by the adverb שָׁם, as in Jer 2<sup>9</sup> end.

Thus after a determinate substantive,  $\psi$  18<sup>3</sup> צִרְיִי אֲהַסְהֶבּוּ 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 הַקְרַתָּם (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 יוֹם לְיָוִם Lv 7<sup>35</sup>,  $\psi$  56<sup>10</sup>; after מֵיּוֹם Jer 36<sup>2</sup>; after simple יוֹם  $\psi$  56<sup>4</sup> (אִיּוֹם אִירָא 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 לְבַחֵר); 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 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> שְׁלַחֲנָא בְּיַד־תְּשַׁלַּח 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־י 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 כָּל־ Gn 39<sup>4</sup>, but we must certainly read here, with the Samaritan and LXX, כָּל־אִשְׁרֵי יִשְׁרָאֵל as in verses 5 and 8; Ex 9<sup>4</sup>; verbal-clauses after כָּל־ 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 אֲהַרְיִי 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 הִפְקִימוּ אֱלֹהֵי-יִשְׂרָאֵל; 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> שָׁאֲלוּ לִי לְלוֹא 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, חָחָם וּבְבֵיתִי אֵין לֶחֶם וְלִבְשׁוֹ 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 מִיַּם וְהָעֵי מִקְדָּרִם 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-פְּנֵי אֶל-פְּנֵי 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 אָרְצָה in 1 K 1<sup>31</sup>, Is 49<sup>23</sup>).<sup>2</sup>—Cf. finally the formula אִם עַל-בָּנִים אִם 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>5</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 לוֹ 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 יִבְרִיל לֹא 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 יִקָּמוּ 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> לֹא יִחַמַּל unsparingly, Is 30<sup>14</sup> (after an infinitive absolute); Hb 1<sup>17</sup>, Jb 6<sup>10</sup> (but יִחַמַּל לֹא Jb 16<sup>13</sup>, 27<sup>22</sup>; see f at the end); לֹא כִּתְרוּ (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 (אָרְצָה) 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 אָרְצָה 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 שָׁם עַל-שִׁכְמָהּ וְאֶת-הַיֶּלֶד שָׁ עַל שֵׁשׁ. 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> בְּחֵרֵי בְּלִי חֲשֵׁךְ; (וְלֹא בְּחֵרֵי); (prop. *he restrains not*) *unceasingly*, Is 14<sup>6</sup>; בְּלִי-יָמוּט; Jb 41<sup>15</sup> (ψ 93<sup>1</sup> בְּבַל-תִּפְּוֹט) 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 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 אָמְרֵי-יְנָא אֲחֹתִי אָמַרְתָּ *say, I pray thee, thou art my sister*; ψ 10<sup>13</sup>, Jb 25<sup>2a, 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 הָיִיתִי-אֲהִיָּה I was surely like thyself [but read הָיִי for הָיִיתִי]; 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> וַיֵּרָא 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 *ὄρι recitativum*; 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>, 3<sup>23</sup>, 41<sup>61 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-הוֹדִיר *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 בְּגִבְלוֹ *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 נָסַח *to venture*; see § 113 d); Ju 11<sup>20</sup> (after הֵאֱמִין *to trust*); 1 K 19<sup>4</sup> (after שָׂאֵל *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 יָעַן Is 3<sup>16</sup>, &c., and יָעַן אֲשֶׁר because, prop. on account of the fact that; both, however, may also be shortened to the simple יָעַן 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>, Ze 1<sup>15</sup>; also בְּאֲשֶׁר Gn 39<sup>9,23</sup>. On the other hand, the simple יָעַן is sometimes repeated for emphasis, יָעַן וְיָעַן (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-כֵּי 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 אֲדֹת אֲשֶׁר for this very cause that, Jer 3<sup>8</sup>. But just as the simple יָעַן is used for אֲשֶׁר, so also the simple עַל- with the perfect stands for 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 עָקַב אֲשֶׁר Gn 22<sup>18</sup>, 26<sup>5</sup>, 2 S 12<sup>6</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; וְתַחַת אֲשֶׁר 1 S 26<sup>21</sup>, &c., and כִּי תַחַת 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-הַסִּיגָרָם 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. rē*, 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 *α* 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>, ψ 104<sup>28 ff.</sup> *C* יִלְקָטוּן לָהֶ֑ם וְהָיָה לָהֶ֑ם (if) *thou givest unto them, they gather, &c.*; ψ 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 וְשִׁפְעוּן is probably to be explained from its immediately preceding the greater *pause*. These terminations in verses 28-30 and ψ 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 אֶל־אֱמֹן 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> תַּשְׁתֵּחֶשְׁךָ יְהי לילה (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> יְהי 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 וַיְבַרְרֵבִי (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> וְעָזַב אָבִיו וְנָמַת 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 מַצָּא 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>81</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> K<sup>eth</sup>. יוֹלֵד הַחֵם בּוֹ וַיִּשְׂמַח 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>14f</sup>. בְּהַעֲוֹתוֹ וְהִכְהַתִּיּוּ אִנִּי if he commit iniquity, I will correct him; Ex 34<sup>34f</sup>. (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 לֹא (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 לֹא) if, negative אִם לֹא and לֹא לִי (לֹא לִי) 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 (אִם לֹא) and לֹא (לֹא לִי), 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 possible (or

<sup>1</sup> On לֹא 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,  $\text{אֲם}$  is followed by the perfect, in the latter (corresponding to the Greek  $\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\nu$  with the present subjunctive) by the imperfect or its equivalent (frequently in the apodosis also). On the other hand,  $\text{לִי}$  ( $\text{אֲלֵי}$ ) 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,  $\text{לִי}$  and  $\text{אֲלֵי}$  are necessarily followed by the perfect (mostly also in the apodosis) corresponding to the Greek  $\epsilon\iota$  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 *III* speaker (see under a), whether a condition is to be regarded as possible or impossible, we cannot wonder that the distinction between  $\text{אֲם}$  and  $\text{לִי}$  is not always consistently observed. Although naturally  $\text{לִי}$  and  $\text{אֲלֵי}$  cannot take the place of  $\text{אֲם}$  and  $\text{אֲלֵי אֲם}$  (on the strange use of  $\text{לִי}$  in Gn 50<sup>15</sup> see below), yet conversely  $\text{אֲם}$  is sometimes used where  $\text{לִי}$  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 ( $\text{אֲם}$  with the imperfect), may without difficulty be explained from the fact that the connexion of  $\text{לִי}$  with the imperfect was evidently avoided, because the imperfect by its nature indicates a still unfinished action, and consequently (as opposed to  $\text{לִי}$ ) a still open possibility. But  $\text{אֲם}$  is also used for  $\text{לִי}$  in connexion with the perfect, especially when an imprecation is attached by the apodosis to the condition introduced by  $\text{אֲם}$ , e.g.  $\psi$  7<sup>4</sup> *אֲם-עָשִׂיתִי וְזָאת . . . יִרְדֶּף וְג'* if I have done this . . . let the enemy pursue my soul, &c., cf. Jb 31<sup>9</sup> *אֲם*. 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  $\text{אֲם}$  see § 113 o above.

Examples:—

A.  $\text{אֲם}$  i. with *perfect* in the protasis to express conditions, &c., which have *II* 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> *אֲם-חָכְמָתְךָ חֲכָמָתְךָ לֵבְךָ* if thou art wise, thou art wise for thyself;  $\psi$  73<sup>15</sup> (see below on  $\text{לִי}$ ).

(b) *Imperfect*, e.g. Dt 32<sup>41</sup> *אֲם-שִׁנִּיתִי חֶרְבִּי* if I whet my glittering sword . . . אֶשִׁיב I will render vengeance, &c.; Jb 9<sup>15f.30</sup> (in both cases we should expect  $\text{לִי}$  rather than  $\text{אֲם}$ ; so also in  $\psi$  44<sup>21f.</sup>, with an interrogative imperfect in the apodosis); Jb 11<sup>18</sup> (the apodosis is in verse 15).

(c) *Jussive* (or *optative*), e.g. Jb 31<sup>9</sup> *אֲם*. (see m above); Gn 18<sup>8</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> אִם-לֹא הֵבִיאֲתוּ וְנִי אִם-לֹא הֵבִיאֲתוּ וְנִי 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 וְ 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> וּנְאֻמְךָ וְנִי אִם-נָא מָצָאתִי חֵן בְּעֵינֶיךָ דַּבֵּר נָא וְנִי 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>23</sup> וְאִם-לֹא תַעֲשׂוּן בְּנֵי הַיָּהוּהָ תַטְּאוּם 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-יִחְיֶינּוּ נִחֵיהּ if they save us alive, we shall live, &c.; Gn 13<sup>16</sup>, 18<sup>28.30</sup>, 28<sup>20</sup> אִם, 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> (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-כִּי יֹאמֶר יֹאמֶר if (ever) he said thus . . . , וַיִּלְכְּדוּ 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 יִפְקְדֵנִי אָבִיךָ וְאִם-פָּקַד יִפְקְדֵנִי אָבִיךָ 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 וַיִּלְכְּדוּ 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 וְ), 21<sup>10</sup>, Jb 33<sup>5</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 אִם-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 וְ, in a negative sentence to אִם (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> אִם-יִשָּׁע מוֹשִׁיעַ



if thou wilt save, &c. ; Gn 24<sup>49</sup> אַם־יִשְׁכַּחְךָ עֵשָׂאִם 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 נָפָא. With אִיִּן Gn 43<sup>5</sup> וְאִם־יִנְיֶךָ מִשְׁלַחַּח 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 16<sup>11</sup> (all with a participle also in the apodosis). But אִיִּן and אִיִּן may also be used after אַם without a suffix ; thus אִיִּן Gn 23<sup>8</sup>, 1 S 20<sup>8</sup>, 2 K 9<sup>15</sup>, &c., אִם־אִיִּן (if it be not the case) Gn 30<sup>4</sup>, Ex 32<sup>32</sup>, Ju 9<sup>15</sup>, 2 K 2<sup>10</sup> ; cf. also אִם־כֵּן 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 הֵנָה. 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 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 Dt 32<sup>27</sup>, אָנֹכִי probably as the *modus rei repetitae*, 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 אַם.

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 אַם 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 עָשִׂיתָ 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> נָם כִּי־אֶלֶךְ yea, though I walk bb (have to walk) . . . , I will fear no (לֹא־אֶיֶרָא) evil ; 37<sup>24</sup> ; Ex 21<sup>2</sup> כִּי־תִקְנֶה עֶבֶד 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 אַם ; so also the כִּי in verse 7 is followed in verses 8-11 by the special cases with אַם ; 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 אִבִּי (Masora אִבִּי, 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 הֵנָה 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 אִם or, e.g. Ex 21<sup>76</sup> אִם נִרְעָה וְגו' 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 אִם־אֵפֶר (which is interchangeable with כִּי in other senses also) Lv 4<sup>22</sup> (in verses 3 and 27 אִם), Dt 11<sup>27</sup> (verse 28 אִם), 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־לָאֵ 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 אֵלֶיךָ יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל) in the sense of *if it be so*.—In 2 S 13<sup>26</sup>, 2 K 5<sup>17</sup> וְלֹא־אֵלֶיךָ 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־יִשְׁלַח *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 עָתָה, in Jb 31<sup>28</sup> by כִּי, in 2 K 13<sup>19</sup> by אִם.—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 הִנֵּה must be supplied with כִּי תִרְעָה 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>; אִם כִּי 2 S 22<sup>7</sup>, 19<sup>7</sup>, Jb 11<sup>15</sup>; or עָתָה כִּי *now verily*, Nu 22<sup>29</sup>, 1 S 14<sup>30</sup> after לֵאמֹר, Gn 31<sup>42</sup>, 43<sup>10</sup> after לֵאמֹר, 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 **ל** governing a complete noun-clause, as Jb 16<sup>17</sup> **לֹא-הָיָה בְּיָדַי כֹּחַ** notwithstanding that no violence is in mine hands, or a verbal-clause, Is 53<sup>9</sup>. On **ל** 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 **ו** Jb 24<sup>19</sup> *drought and heat consume the snow waters*, **וְשָׂאֵל הַחֶטָּאִים** 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 *l* 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 **כָּל-עֲמֹתָי בְּכָל-עֵצָה** *in all points as*.

Rem. On the use of **כֵּן** *as*, with single nouns or pronouns to introduce *C* 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; **כַּמֶּנּוּ נְהַיְיָה** 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>23</sup>, 27<sup>21</sup> (called by Delitzsch, the 'emblematic Mashal'). The expressions **עִם נְחִישׁב** prop. *to be counted with some one*, ψ 88<sup>5</sup>, and **עִם נְמִישׁל** *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 **עִם** 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 **לְעֲמֹתָי**, like the Aramaic **כַּל-קַבְּלָא** for **כַּל-קַבְּלָא**; cf. M. Lambert, *REJ.* xxx. 47.

§ 162. *Disjunctive Sentences.*

- a* The introduction of another possible case, excluding that which preceded, is effected by וְאוּ 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> וְאוּ = *it would then happen that*, for which elsewhere וְאוּ.
- b* In the sense of *sive—sive* we find וְאוּ—וְאוּ, or וְאוּ—וְאוּ, or וְאוּ—וְאוּ (see the examples in the Lexicon), also וְאוּ—וְאוּ Lv 5<sup>3</sup>, Nu 9<sup>14</sup>, Dt 24<sup>7</sup>, Is 2<sup>13</sup><sup>ff.</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 וְאוּ—וְאוּ (see § 143 *e*); cf. also וְאוּ—וְאוּ (in Gn 24<sup>44</sup> וְאוּ—וְאוּ) *both—and*; but וְאוּ—וְאוּ (in Gn 21<sup>26</sup> וְאוּ—וְאוּ); Zp 1<sup>18</sup> וְאוּ . . . וְאוּ—וְאוּ) *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 וְאוּ וְאוּ, 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 וְאוּ alone, e.g. Gn 18<sup>15</sup>, 19<sup>2</sup>, or even simply connected with וְאוּ, Gn 17<sup>5</sup>, וְאוּ וְאוּ 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>3</sup><sup>f.</sup>) or of conditions which are to be regarded as not having been fulfilled (Jb 31<sup>18</sup>); וְאוּ or וְאוּ וְאוּ in such cases becomes equivalent to *nay, rather*.
- c* 2. *Exceptive* clauses, depending on another sentence, are introduced by וְאוּ וְאוּ *except that*, and (again after negative sentences, see *a* above) וְאוּ וְאוּ<sup>1</sup> *unless*; especially וְאוּ וְאוּ 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, וְאוּ וְאוּ *unless*, Am 3<sup>4</sup> (with perfect after a rhetorical question), or simply וְאוּ וְאוּ 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 וְאוּ וְאוּ arises from the original meaning *for if, surely if* (וְאוּ in an affirmative sense); so evidently in Ex 22<sup>22</sup> as a forcible resumption of the preceding וְאוּ. 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 וְאוּ וְאוּ *but* (before entire clauses as before single nouns); see *a* above.

Rem. The principal statement, to which **אֲנִי כִּי** appends an exception, *d* 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>eth</sup>.*, Jer 51<sup>14</sup>, Ru 3<sup>12</sup> *K<sup>eth</sup>.*, 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 *u* 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 **וְהִנֵּה**), e.g. Gn 7<sup>6</sup> *and Noah was six hundred years old* (prop. *a son of six hundred years*), **וְהַמְבּוּל 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 f.</sup> **וְהָיָה כִּי יִבְרַח** *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 וְזָבַח זֶבַח** *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> **וְתָבֵל לְהַשְׁקִיתוֹ וְתֹאמַר** *and when she had done giving him drink, she said, &c.*; 28<sup>8 f.</sup>, 29<sup>31</sup>, 30<sup>8</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> **וְלֹטָם בָּא וְגו' . . . וְהַשֶּׁמֶשׁ יָצָא** *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 f.</sup>, Ju 3<sup>24</sup>, 15<sup>14</sup>, 20<sup>39 f.</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> **וְהִשְׁתַּחֲוִיתָ וְאָמַרְתָּ אֲלֵהֶם**

<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 27<sup>30</sup> the immediate succession is especially emphasized by **אֲנִי** and the infinitive absolute, *Jacob was yet scarce gone out . . . then Esau his brother came*; in 1 K 9<sup>24</sup> by **אֲנִי** only in  $\psi$  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>) נָסְפוּ וְנָ . . . נִשְׁכְּבוּ וְאֲנֹשֵׁי 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 כִּי (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>9</sup>) and אֲשֶׁר<sup>2</sup> when (כִּי with the imperfect also = *as often as*, ψ 8<sup>4</sup>; with perfect Jb 1<sup>5</sup>); less frequently אֲזַם<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 כִּמּוֹ when, Gn 19<sup>15</sup>; כַּאֲשֶׁר 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>25</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); לֵאמֹר before that, Ec 12<sup>1-2,6</sup> with an imperfect, as in Pr 8<sup>26</sup> עַד with a perfect; אֲזַם until the time when; אֲחֵר־אֲשֶׁר (for which in Ez 40<sup>1</sup> אֲחֵר־אֲשֶׁר; Lv 25<sup>48</sup>, 1 S 5<sup>9</sup> simply אֲחֵרִי; Lv 14<sup>43</sup>, Jer 41<sup>16</sup>, Jb 42<sup>7</sup> simply אֲחֵר) 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; קִרְבַּת אֲשֶׁר (for קִרְבַּת אֲשֶׁר) before, ψ 129<sup>6</sup>.

- C* Rem. 1. With regard to the tenses used with the above conjunctions, the rules are practically the same as those given in § 155 *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 נָשׁוּב 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  $\text{בְּתָרָם}$ ,  $\text{בְּתָרָם}$ , and  $\text{עַר}$  with the imperfect as a *tempus historicum*, cf. 107 c.

2. Clauses introduced by  $\text{עַר}$ ,  $\text{עַד-כִּי}$ , or  $\text{עַד-אַשֶׁר}$ , sometimes express a limit <sup>f</sup> 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,  $\text{עַר}$  with the imperfect,  $\psi$  110<sup>1</sup>;  $\text{עַד-כִּי}$  with the perfect, Gn 26<sup>13</sup>, with i.npf. 49<sup>10</sup>;  $\text{עַד-אַשֶׁר}$  with the perfect, Gn 28<sup>15</sup>; with the imperfect,  $\psi$  112<sup>8</sup>.—Like the Arab.  $\text{حَتَّى}$ ,  $\text{עַר}$  may even introduce a main clause; e.g. Ex 15<sup>16</sup>  $\text{עַד-יַעֲבֹר}$  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 <sup>g</sup> frequently used as the equivalent of a temporal clause; the infinitive with  $\text{ב}$  may usually be rendered by *when*, *as*, or *whilst*; the infinitive with  $\text{בִּי}$  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  $\text{מֵן}$  by *since*. According to § 111 g such statements of time are generally preceded by  $\text{וַיְהִי}$  and the apodosis follows in the imperfect consecutive; hence in 1 S 17<sup>55</sup> (cf. Driver on the passage)  $\text{וַיְהִי וַיִּבְרָאֹת}$  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,  $\text{כִּי}$  appears to be used as the equivalent of a conjunction in  $\text{כִּי-יָשִׁיב}$  as *he drew back*, Gn 35<sup>29</sup> (unless we should read  $\text{כִּי-יָשִׁיב}$  [or  $\text{כִּי-יָשִׁיב}$ , cf. Gn 19<sup>19</sup>]), and in  $\text{כִּי-יִבְרָחַת}$  *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: (a) of a final imperfect (or jussive?) with a perfect by means of  $\text{ו}$ , 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,  $\psi$  51<sup>9</sup>; with an imperative, 1 K 11<sup>21</sup>; (β) of a cohortative with an imperative by  $\text{ו}$ , 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  $\text{ו}$ , Ex 9<sup>1</sup>, 2 S 16<sup>11</sup>, 1 K 5<sup>50</sup>,  $\psi$  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  $\text{ל}$ , Jon 1<sup>11</sup>  $\text{מָה}$  with the 1st plur. imperf., and 2 Ch 29<sup>10</sup>  $\text{עַם-לִבְבִי}$ , which are equivalent to cohortatives); (δ) of an imperative with a jussive, cohortative, or interrogative sentence by  $\text{ו}$ , § 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  $\text{וְלֹא}$  to the imperfect (so Ex 28<sup>43</sup>, 30<sup>20</sup>; and 2 S 13<sup>25</sup>) after  $\text{אֶל-לֵנָא}$  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  $\text{לֹא}$ .—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 וְלֹא, 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־שָׂאָה *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 מִן (if the text be right) in Dt 33<sup>11</sup> מִן-יִקְרָמוּן, with the imperfect, equivalent to *that . . . not* [in prose, מִיִּקְרָמוּ].

c Rem. All the conjunctions here mentioned are naturally always used with the imperfect, see § 107 q (on the apparent exception in Jos 4<sup>24</sup>, see § 74 g).—On the negative conjunctions אֶל and כִּן *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 וְיִכְיֶה וְיִרְאֶה 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 וְיָבִין אֵלֶּה נִבְּוֹן וְיִדְעֵם *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 וְיִכְיֶה 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 וְכִּי = *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 וְכִּי 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 כִּי; on כִּי וְכִּי = *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 וְ; 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> 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> ff., and Gn 28<sup>6</sup> ff.

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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.*  $\text{קָטְלָה}$  is the model for  $\text{קָטְלִי}$ , which likewise has only a vocalic affirmative, and  $\text{קָטְלֵךְ}$  is the model for  $\text{קָטְלֵךְ}$ ,  $\text{קָטְלֵיךְ}$  and  $\text{קָטְלֵינִי}$ , which in the same way have a toneless affirmative beginning with a consonant. On the other hand, the forms  $\text{קָטְלֵךְ}$  and  $\text{קָטְלֵיךְ}$ , 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. 1. comm.* אֲנִי, in pause אֲנִי;   
אֲנִי, in pause אֲנִי I.

אֲנִי; אֲנִי; אֲנִי me.

2. { *m.* אַתָּה (את), in pause } *thou.*  
אַתָּה  
{ *f.* אַתְּ (אתי) }

אֲתָּ; אֲתָּ, in pause אֲתָּ, } *thee.*  
אֲתָּ  
אֲתָּ; אֲתָּ; אֲתָּ, אֲתָּ }

3. { *m.* הוּא *he.*  
{ *f.* הִיא *she.*

הוּ; הוּ, in pause הוּ (ה), הוּ; הוּ *him.*

הָ; הָ; הָ, הָ *her (eam).*

*Plur. 1. comm.* אֲנַחְנִי (נַחְנִי), in  
pause אֲנַחְנִי (נַחְנִי) *we.*

אֲנַחְנִי; אֲנַחְנִי *us.*

2. { *m.* אַתֶּם  
{ *f.* אַתֶּן, אַתֶּן } *you.*

אֲתֶם; אֲתֶם } *you.*  
[אֲתֶם; אֲתֶם]

3. { *m.* הֵם, הֵם } *they.*  
{ *f.* הֵנָּה }

(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; אֲנִי	אֲנִי <i>my</i> (prop. gen. <i>mei</i> ).	אֲנִי <i>my</i> .
אֲנִי, (אֲנִי) not found.	אֲנִי, אֲנִי, in } <i>thy</i> pause אֲנִי } (prop. אֲנִי, אֲנִי, (אֲנִי) } <i>tui</i> .	אֲנִי } <i>thy</i> . אֲנִי }
(אֲנִי), אֲנִי; (אֲנִי)	אֲנִי; אֲנִי; אֲנִי ( <i>his</i> ( <i>eius</i> and <i>suus</i> ).	אֲנִי, אֲנִי, (אֲנִי*) <i>his</i> .
אֲנִי	אֲנִי; אֲנִי; אֲנִי <i>her</i> .	אֲנִי <i>her</i> .
אֲנִי? (see § 58 k)	אֲנִי; אֲנִי; (אֲנִי) <i>our</i> .	אֲנִי <i>our</i> .
these forms are not found.	אֲנִי; אֲנִי } <i>your</i> . אֲנִי; אֲנִי }	אֲנִי } <i>your</i> . אֲנִי }
	אֲנִי; אֲנִי, } <i>their</i> . אֲנִי* }	אֲנִי, אֲנִי* } <i>their</i> . אֲנִי }

<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*	נִקְטַל*	קָטַל, קָטַל*	
	3. f.	קָטְלָה*	כָּבְדָה*	קָטְנָה*	נִקְטְלָה*	קָטְלָה*	
	2. m.	קָטַלְתָּ*	כָּבַדְתָּ*	קָטַנְתָּ*	נִקְטַלְתָּ*	קָטַלְתָּ*	
	2. f.	קָטַלְתְּ*	כָּבַדְתְּ*	קָטַנְתְּ*	נִקְטַלְתְּ*	קָטַלְתְּ*	
	1. c.	קָטַלְתִּי	כָּבַדְתִּי	קָטַנְתִּי	נִקְטַלְתִּי	קָטַלְתִּי	
	<i>Plur.</i>	3. c.	קָטְלוּ	כָּבְדוּ	קָטְנוּ	נִקְטְלוּ	קָטְלוּ
		2. m.	קָטַלְתֶּם*	כָּבַדְתֶּם*	קָטַנְתֶּם*	נִקְטַלְתֶּם*	קָטַלְתֶּם*
		2. f.	קָטַלְתֶּן*	כָּבַדְתֶּן*	קָטַנְתֶּן*	נִקְטַלְתֶּן*	קָטַלְתֶּן*
	1. c.	קָטַלְנוּ	כָּבַדְנוּ	קָטַנְנוּ	נִקְטַלְנוּ	קָטַלְנוּ	
<i>Inf.</i>	שָׁבַב, קָטַל*			הִקְטַל*	קָטַל*		
<i>Inf. absol.</i>	קָטוּל*			הִקְטוּל, נִקְטַל*	קָטַל, קָטַל*		
<i>Imp. Sing.</i>	2. m.	קָטַל*	כָּבַד*	הִקְטַל*	קָטַל*		
	2. f.	קָטְלִי*	כָּבְרִי*	הִקְטְלִי*	קָטְלִי*		
	<i>Plur.</i>	2. m.	קָטְלוּ	כָּבְדוּ	הִקְטְלוּ	קָטְלוּ	
		2. f.	קָטְלֶנָה*	כָּבְדֶנָה*	הִקְטְלֶנָה*	קָטְלֶנָה*	
<i>Impf. Sing.</i>	3. m.	יִקְטַל*	יִכְבֵּד*	יִקְטַן*	יִקְטַל*	יִקְטַל*	
	3. f.	תִּקְטַל	תִּכְבֵּד		תִּקְטַל	תִּקְטַל	
	2. m.	תִּקְטַל	תִּכְבֵּד		תִּקְטַל	תִּקְטַל	
	2. f.	תִּקְטְלִי*	תִּכְבְּרִי*		תִּקְטְלִי*	תִּקְטְלִי*	
	1. c.	אִקְטַל	אִכְבֵּד		אִקְטַל	אִקְטַל	
	<i>Plur.</i>	3. m.	יִקְטְלוּ	יִכְבְּדוּ		יִקְטְלוּ	יִקְטְלוּ
		3. f.	תִּקְטְלֶנָה*	תִּכְבְּדֶנָה*		תִּקְטְלֶנָה*	תִּקְטְלֶנָה*
		2. m.	תִּקְטְלוּ	תִּכְבְּדוּ		תִּקְטְלוּ	תִּקְטְלוּ
		2. f.	תִּקְטְלֶנָה	תִּכְבְּדֶנָה		תִּקְטְלֶנָה	תִּקְטְלֶנָה
		1. c.	נִקְטַל	נִכְבֵּד		נִקְטַל	נִקְטַל
<i>Shortened Impf. (Jussive).</i>							
<i>Part. act.</i>		קָטַל*	כָּבַד	קָטַן	נִקְטַל*	מִקְטַל*	
	<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*
קָטַלְתִּי	הִקְטַלְתִּי	הִקְטַלְתִּי	הִתְקַטַּלְתִּי
קָטַלוּ	הִקְטִילוּ	הִקְטַלוּ	הִתְקַטַּלוּ
קָטַלְתֶּם	הִקְטַלְתֶּם	הִקְטַלְתֶּם	הִתְקַטַּלְתֶּם
קָטַלְתֶּן	הִקְטַלְתֶּן	הִקְטַלְתֶּן	הִתְקַטַּלְתֶּן
קָטַלְנוּ	הִקְטַלְנוּ	הִקְטַלְנוּ	הִתְקַטַּלְנוּ
wanting. קָטַל*	הִקְטִיל*	wanting. הִקְטַל*	הִתְקַטַּל*
	הִקְטַל*		הִתְקַטַּל*
wanting.	הִקְטַל*	wanting.	הִתְקַטַּל*
	הִקְטִיל*		הִתְקַטַּל*
	הִקְטִילוּ		הִתְקַטַּלוּ
	הִקְטַלְנָה*		הִתְקַטַּלְנָה*
יִקְטַל*	יִקְטִיל*	יִקְטַל*	יִתְקַטַּל*
תִּקְטַל	תִּקְטִיל	תִּקְטַל	תִּתְקַטַּל
תִּקְטַל	תִּקְטִיל	תִּקְטַל	תִּתְקַטַּל
יִתְקַטַּל*	יִתְקַטֵּל*	יִתְקַטֵּל*	יִתְקַטַּל*
אִקְטַל	אִקְטִיל	אִקְטַל	אִתְקַטַּל
יִקְטַלוּ	יִקְטִילוּ	יִקְטַלוּ	יִתְקַטַּלוּ
תִּתְקַטַּלְנָה*	תִּתְקַטַּלְנָה*	תִּתְקַטַּלְנָה*	תִּתְקַטַּלְנָה*
תִּקְטַלוּ	תִּקְטִילוּ	תִּקְטַלוּ	תִּתְקַטַּלוּ
תִּתְקַטַּלְנָה	תִּתְקַטַּלְנָה	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.
<i>Perf. Qal</i>	3. m.	{ קטלני שכחני }	קטלך	קטלה	{ קטלהו קטלו }	
	3. f.					קטלתני
	2. m.	קטלתני	—	—	{ קטלתהו קטלתו }	
	2. f.	קטלתני	—	—	קטלתיהו	
	1. c.	—	קטלתיד	קטלתיה	{ קטלתיו קטלתיהו }	
	<i>Plur.</i>	3. c.	קטלני	{ קטלוד אזהבדך }	קטלוד	קטלהו
		2. m.	קטלתני	—	—	קטלתהו
		1. c.	—	קטלנדך	קטלנהו	קטלנהו
	<i>Inf. Qal</i>		{ קטלי קטלני }	{ בתבדך קטלך }	קטלה	קטלו
<i>Imp. Qal</i> 2.		קטלני	—	—	קטלהו	
(from an <i>Imperf.</i> in <i>a</i> שְׁלַחְנִי, שְׁמַעְנִי)						
<i>Impf. Qal</i>	3. m.	{ יקטלני ילבשני }	{ יקטלך ילבשך }	{ יקטלה ילבשה }	{ יקטלהו ילבשהו }	
	3. m. with <i>Nûn</i> energ.	} יקטלני	} יקטלה	—	יקטלנו	
	<i>Plur.</i> 3. m.					יקטלני
	<i>Perf. Pûl</i> 3. m.		קטלני	קטלך	קטלה	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.
קָטְלָתֶיךָ	קָטְלָתֵנוּ	—	—	קָטְלָתָם	wanting.
קָטְלָתֶיהָ	—	קָטְלָתֵיכֶם	wanting.	קָטְלָתֵם	קָטְלָתֵין
קָטְלָהּ	קָטְלָנוּ	wanting.	wanting.	קָטְלוּם	קָטְלוּ
wanting.	קָטְלָתָנוּ	—	—	wanting.	wanting.
קָטְלָנָהּ	—	קָטְלָנוּכֶם	wanting.	קָטְלוּם	wanting.

קָטְלָהּ	קָטְלָנוּ	{ קָטְלָבְכֶם } { קָטְלָבָם }	wanting.	קָטְלָם	קָטְלוּ
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{ קָטְלָהּ } { קָטְלָהּ }	קָטְלָנוּ	—	—	קָטְלָם	—
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{ יִקְטָלָהּ } { יִלְבָּשֶׁהָ }	{ יִקְטָלָנוּ } { יִלְבָּשֵׁנוּ }	יִקְטָלְכֶם	wanting.	יִקְטָלָם	wanting.
יִקְטָלְנָהּ	יִקְטָלָנוּ	—	—	—	—
יִקְטָלָהּ	יִקְטָלָנוּ	יִקְטָלְכֶם	wanting.	יִקְטָלָם	wanting.

קָטְלָהּ	קָטְלָנוּ	wanting.	wanting.	קָטְלָם	קָטְלוּ
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D. Verbs *primae gutturalis*

	<i>Qal.</i>	<i>Niph'al.</i>	<i>Hiph'il.</i>	<i>Hoph'al.</i>
<i>Perf. Sing. 3. m.</i>	עָמַד	נִעְמַד *	הֶעֱמִיד *	הֵעֱמַד *
3. <i>f.</i>	עָמְדָה	נִעְמְדָה *	הֶעֱמִידָה	הֵעֱמַדָה *
2. <i>m.</i>	עָמַדְתָּ	נִעְמַדְתָּ	הֶעֱמַדְתָּ	הֵעֱמַדְתָּ
2. <i>f.</i>	עָמַדְתְּ	נִעְמַדְתְּ	הֶעֱמַדְתְּ	הֵעֱמַדְתְּ
1. <i>c.</i>	עָמַדְתִּי	נִעְמַדְתִּי	הֶעֱמַדְתִּי	הֵעֱמַדְתִּי
<i>Plur. 3. c.</i>	עָמְדוּ	נִעְמְדוּ	הֶעֱמִידוּ	הֵעֱמַדוּ
2. <i>m.</i>	עָמַדְתֶּם *	נִעְמַדְתֶּם	הֶעֱמַדְתֶּם	הֵעֱמַדְתֶּם
2. <i>f.</i>	עָמַדְתֶּן *	נִעְמַדְתֶּן	הֶעֱמַדְתֶּן	הֵעֱמַדְתֶּן
1. <i>c.</i>	עָמַדְנוּ	נִעְמַדְנוּ	הֶעֱמַדְנוּ	הֵעֱמַדְנוּ
<i>Inf.</i>	עָמַד *	הֶעֱמַד *	הֶעֱמִיד *	
<i>Inf. absol.</i>	עָמוּד	נִעְמוּד, הָאָסַף	הֶעֱמַד *	הֵעֱמַד *
<i>Imp. Sing. m.</i>	עָמַד *	חֹק *	הֶעֱמַד *	הֶעֱמַד
<i>f.</i>	עָמְדִי	חֹקִי	הֶעֱמְדִי	הֶעֱמְדִי
<i>Plur. m.</i>	עָמְדוּ	חֹקוּ	הֶעֱמְדוּ	הֶעֱמְדוּ
<i>f.</i>	עָמְדֶנָּה *	חֹקֶנָּה *	הֶעֱמְדֶנָּה	הֶעֱמְדֶנָּה
<i>Impf. Sing. 3. m.</i>	יַעְמַד *	יִחְזַק *	יַעְמַד *	יַעְמַד *
3. <i>f.</i>	תַּעְמַד	תִּחְזַק	תַּעְמַד	תַּעְמַד
2. <i>m.</i>	תַּעְמַד	תִּחְזַק	תַּעְמַד	תַּעְמַד
2. <i>f.</i>	תַּעְמְדִי *	תִּחְזְקִי *	תַּעְמְדִי	תַּעְמְדִי *
1. <i>c.</i>	אֶעְמַד *	אֶחְזַק	אֶעְמַד	אֶעְמַד
<i>Plur. 3. m.</i>	יַעְמְדוּ *	יִחְזְקוּ *	יַעְמְדוּ	יַעְמְדוּ
3. <i>f.</i>	תַּעְמְדֶנָּה	תִּחְזְקֶנָּה	תַּעְמְדֶנָּה	תַּעְמְדֶנָּה
2. <i>m.</i>	תַּעְמְדוּ	תִּחְזְקוּ	תַּעְמְדוּ	תַּעְמְדוּ
2. <i>f.</i>	תַּעְמְדֶנָּה	תִּחְזְקֶנָּה	תַּעְמְדֶנָּה	תַּעְמְדֶנָּה
1. <i>c.</i>	נַעְמַד	נִחְזַק	נַעְמַד	נַעְמַד
<i>Shortened Impf. (Jussive).</i>			יַעְמַד	
<i>Part. act.</i>	עָמֵד	נִעְמֵד *	מֵעֲמִיד *	
<i>pass.</i>	עָמוּד			מֵעֲמֵד

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*	בָּרַכָה	[בָּרַכָה]	הִתְבָּרַכָה
2. m.	שָׁחַטְתָּ	נִשְׁחַטְתָּ	בָּרַכְתָּ	בָּרַכְתָּ	הִתְבָּרַכְתָּ
2. f.	שָׁחַטְתְּ	נִשְׁחַטְתְּ	בָּרַכְתְּ	בָּרַכְתְּ	הִתְבָּרַכְתְּ
1. c.	שָׁחַטְתִּי	נִשְׁחַטְתִּי	בָּרַכְתִּי	בָּרַכְתִּי	הִתְבָּרַכְתִּי
<i>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.	שִׁיחַטִי*	הִשְׁחַטִי*	בָּרְכִי*	wanting.	[הִתְבָּרְכִי]
<i>Plur.</i> m.	שָׁחַטוּ	הִשְׁחַטוּ	בָּרְכוּ		[הִתְבָּרְכוּ]
f.	שָׁחַטְנָה	הִשְׁחַטְנָה	בָּרַכְנָה*		הִתְבָּרַכְנָה
<i>Impf. Sing.</i> 3. m.	יִשְׁחַט*	יִשְׁחַט	יְבָרַךְ*	יְבָרַךְ*	יִתְבָּרַךְ*
3. f.	תִּשְׁחַט	תִּשְׁחַט	תְּבָרַךְ	תְּבָרַךְ	תִּתְבָּרַךְ
2. m.	תִּשְׁחַטְתָּ	תִּשְׁחַטְתָּ	תְּבָרַכְךָ	תְּבָרַכְךָ	תִּתְבָּרַכְךָ
אֲשֶׁר־ f.	תִּשְׁחַטֵּי*	תִּשְׁחַטֵּי*	תְּבָרְכֵי	[תְּבָרְכֵי]	[תִּתְבָּרְכֵי]
אֲשֶׁר־ 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.	תִּשְׁחַטְתֶּם	תִּשְׁחַטְתֶּם	תְּבָרַכְתֶּם	תְּבָרַכְתֶּם	תִּתְבָּרַכְתֶּם
2. f.	תִּשְׁחַטְתֶּן	תִּשְׁחַטְתֶּן	תְּבָרַכְתֶּן	תְּבָרַכְתֶּן	תִּתְבָּרַכְתֶּן
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	נִשְׁלַח	שִׁלַּח*
3. f.	שָׁלְחָה	נִשְׁלַחָה	שִׁלְּחָה
2. m.	שָׁלַחְתָּ	נִשְׁלַחְתָּ	שִׁלַּחְתָּ*
2. f.	שָׁלַחְתְּ*	נִשְׁלַחְתְּ*	שִׁלַּחְתְּ*
1. c.	שָׁלַחְתִּי	נִשְׁלַחְתִּי	שִׁלַּחְתִּי
<i>Plur.</i> 3. c.	שָׁלְחוּ	נִשְׁלְחוּ	שִׁלְּחוּ
2. m.	שָׁלַחְתֶּם	נִשְׁלַחְתֶּם	שִׁלַּחְתֶּם
2. f.	שָׁלַחְתֶּן	נִשְׁלַחְתֶּן	שִׁלַּחְתֶּן
1. c.	שָׁלַחְנוּ	נִשְׁלַחְנוּ	שִׁלַּחְנוּ
<i>Inf.</i>	שָׁלַח*	הִשְׁלַח*	שִׁלַּח*
<i>Inf. absol.</i>	שִׁלְּח	נִשְׁלְּח	שִׁלַּח
<i>Imp. Sing.</i> m.	שָׁלַח*	הִשְׁלַח*	שִׁלַּח*
f.	שִׁלְּחִי	הִשְׁלְּחִי	שִׁלְּחִי*
<i>Plur.</i> m.	שִׁלְּחוּ	הִשְׁלְּחוּ	שִׁלְּחוּ
f.	שִׁלְּחֶנָּה*	הִשְׁלְּחֶנָּה	שִׁלְּחֶנָּה*
<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.	יִשְׁלְּחוּ	יִשְׁלְּחוּ	יִשְׁלְּחוּ <sup>1</sup>
3. f.	תִּשְׁלַחְנָה*	תִּשְׁלַחְנָה*	תִּשְׁלַחְנָה*
2. m.	תִּשְׁלְּחוּ	תִּשְׁלְּחוּ	תִּשְׁלְּחוּ
2. f.	תִּשְׁלַחְנָה	תִּשְׁלַחְנָה	תִּשְׁלַחְנָה
1. c.	נִשְׁלַח	נִשְׁלַח	נִשְׁלַח
<i>Shortened Impf. (Jussive).</i>			
<i>Impf. with Suff.</i>	יִשְׁלַחֲנִי		
<i>Part. act.</i>	שֹׁלֵחַ*	נִשְׁלֹחַ	שֹׁלְּחַ*
<i>pass.</i>	שֹׁלְּחִ*		

*tertiaie gutturalis.*

<i>Pu'al.</i>	<i>Hiph'il.</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*	הִשְׁשַׁלַּח*	
	הִשְׁלַח		הִשְׁשַׁלַּח*
wanting.	הִשְׁלִיחִי	wanting.	הִשְׁשַׁלַּחִי
	הִשְׁלִיחוּ		הִשְׁשַׁלַּחוּ
	הִשְׁלַחְנָה		הִשְׁשַׁלַּחְנָה*
יִשְׁלַח	יִשְׁלַח*	יִשְׁלַח	יִשְׁתַּלַּח
תִּשְׁלַח	תִּשְׁלַח	תִּשְׁלַח	תִּשְׁתַּלַּח
תִּשְׁלַח	תִּשְׁלַח	תִּשְׁלַח	תִּשְׁתַּלַּח
יִשְׁלַחְחִי	יִשְׁלַחְחִי	יִשְׁלַחְחִי	יִשְׁתַּלַּחְחִי
אִשְׁלַח	אִשְׁלַח	אִשְׁלַח	אִשְׁתַּלַּח
יִשְׁלַחוּ	יִשְׁלַחוּ	יִשְׁלַחוּ	יִשְׁתַּלַּחוּ
תִּשְׁלַחְנָה	תִּשְׁלַחְנָה	תִּשְׁלַחְנָה	תִּשְׁתַּלַּחְנָה*
תִּשְׁלַחוּ	תִּשְׁלַחוּ	תִּשְׁלַחוּ	תִּשְׁתַּלַּחוּ
תִּשְׁלַחְנָה	תִּשְׁלַחְנָה	תִּשְׁלַחְנָה	תִּשְׁתַּלַּחְנָה
נִשְׁלַח	נִשְׁלַח	נִשְׁלַח	נִשְׁתַּלַּח
	יִשְׁלַח		
	מִשְׁשַׁלַּח*		מִשְׁשַׁלַּח*
מִשְׁשַׁלַּח		מִשְׁשַׁלַּח	

## G. Verbs mediae geminatae

	Qal.	Niph'al.
<i>Perf. Sing.</i> 3. m.	קָבַב, תָּם*	נָקַב, נָמַם*
3. f.	קָבְבָה, תָּמְוָה	נָקְבָה*
2. m.	קָבַוְתָ*	נָקְבוֹתָ*
2. f.	קָבוֹת	נָקְבוֹת
1. c.	קָבוֹתִי	נָקְבוֹתִי
<i>Plur.</i> 3. c.	קָבְבוּ, תָּמוּ	נָקְבוּ
2. m.	קָבוֹתֶם	נָקְבוֹתֶם
2. f.	קָבוֹתֵן	נָקְבוֹתֵן
1. c.	קָבוֹנוּ	נָקְבוֹנוּ
<i>Inf.</i>	קָבַב*	הִקָּב
<i>Inf. absol.</i>	קָבוֹב	הִימַם, הִסוּב
<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)	יִמַּם*
3. f.	תִּקָּב	תִּמַּם
2. m.	תִּקָּב	תִּמַּם
2. f.	תִּקָּבִי*	תִּמַּםִּי
1. c.	אִקָּב	אִמַּם
<i>Plur.</i> 3. m.	יִקָּבוּ	יִמַּמוּ
3. f.	תִּקָּבְינָה*	[תִּמַּמְבְּנָה]
2. m.	תִּקָּבוּ	תִּמַּמוּ
2. f.	[תִּקָּבְינָה]	[תִּמַּמְבְּנָה]
1. c.	נִקָּב	נִמַּם
<i>Impf. with Wāw consec.</i>	וַיִּקָּב* (pause וימם)	
<i>Impf. with Suff.</i>	יִקָּבְנִי*	
<i>Part. act.</i>	קָבֵב	קָבֵב
<i>pass.</i>	קָבוֹב*	(fem. נִקָּבָה)

or double v.

Hiph'il.	Hoph'al.	Po'el.	Po'al.
הִסַּב, הִסַּב*	הוֹסַּב*	סוֹבַב*	סוֹבַב*
הִסְבָּה*	הוֹסְבָּה	סוֹבְבָה	[סוֹבְבָה]
הִסְבֹּת*	[הוֹסְבֹּת]	סוֹבְבֹת	סוֹבְבֹת
הִסְבֹּת	הוֹסְבֹּת	סוֹבְבֹת	סוֹבְבֹת
הִסְבֹּתִי	[הוֹסְבֹּתִי]	סוֹבְבֹתִי	סוֹבְבֹתִי
הִסְבֹּב, הִחֲלֹב	הוֹסְבֹּב	סוֹבְבוּ	סוֹבְבוּ
הִסְבֹּתֶם	[הוֹסְבֹּתֶם]	סוֹבְבֹתֶם	סוֹבְבֹתֶם
הִסְבֹּתֶן	הוֹסְבֹּתֶן	סוֹבְבֹתֶן	סוֹבְבֹתֶן
הִסְבֹּנוּ	[הוֹסְבֹּנוּ]	סוֹבְבָנוּ	[סוֹבְבָנוּ]
הִסַּב*		סוֹבַב	
הִסַּב	הִשָּׁמַח	סוֹבַב	[סוֹבַב]
הִסַּב*		סוֹבַב	
הִסְבִּי	wanting.	[סוֹבְבִי]	wanting.
הִסְבֹּב		סוֹבְבוּ	
[הִסְבִּינָה]		סוֹבְבָנָה	
יִסַּב, יִסַּב*	יֹסַּב, יֹסַּב*	יִסּוֹבַב	[יִסּוֹבַב]
תִּסַּב	[תִּיֹסַּב]	תִּסּוֹבַב	תִּסּוֹבַב
תִּסַּב	תִּיֹסַּב	תִּסּוֹבַב	תִּסּוֹבַב
[תִּסְבִּי]	*תִּיֹסְבִּי	[תִּסּוֹבְבִי]	תִּסּוֹבְבִי
אִסַּב	[אִיֹסַּב]	[אִסּוֹבַב]	אִסּוֹבַב
יִסְבֹּב, יִסְבֹּב	יֹסְבֹּב	יִסּוֹבְבוּ	יִסּוֹבְבוּ
*תִּסְבִּינָה	*[תִּיֹסְבִּינָה]	[תִּסּוֹבְבָנָה]	תִּסּוֹבְבָנָה
תִּסְבֹּב	תִּיֹסְבֹּב	תִּסּוֹבְבוּ	תִּסּוֹבְבוּ
תִּסְבִּינָה	תִּיֹסְבִּינָה	[תִּסּוֹבְבָנָה]	תִּסּוֹבְבָנָה
נִסַּב	[נִיֹסַּב]	נִסּוֹבַב	[נִסּוֹבַב]
וַיִּסַּב			
יִסְבְּנִי* (יִסְבְּנֶם)		יִסּוֹבְבָנִי	
מִסַּב*		מִסּוֹבַב	
	מִיֹסַּב		מִסּוֹבַב

## H. Verbs ז"ב.

	Qal.	Niph'al.	Hiph'il.	Hoph'al.
<i>Perf. Sing.</i> 3. m.	נָפַל [נָפַשׁ]	נָפַל*	הִנְפִישׁ*	הִנְפִישׁ*
3. f.		נָפְלָה	הִנְפִישָׁה	הִנְפִישָׁה
2. m.		נָפַשְׁתָּ	הִנְפִישְׁתָּ	הִנְפִישְׁתָּ
2. f.		נָפַשְׁתְּ	הִנְפִישְׁתְּ	הִנְפִישְׁתְּ
1. c.	regular.	נָפַשְׁתִּי	הִנְפִישְׁתִּי	הִנְפִישְׁתִּי
<i>Plur.</i> 3. c.		נָפְשׁוּ	הִנְפִישׁוּ	הִנְפִישׁוּ
2. m.		נָפַשְׁתֶּם	הִנְפִישְׁתֶּם	הִנְפִישְׁתֶּם
2. f.		נָפַשְׁתֶּן	הִנְפִישְׁתֶּן	הִנְפִישְׁתֶּן
1. c.		נָפַשְׁנוּ	הִנְפִישְׁנוּ	הִנְפִישְׁנוּ
<i>Inf.</i>	נִפְּשׁוּת*	נִפְּלוּ*	הִנְפִישׁ	הִנְפִישׁ*
<i>Inf. absol.</i>	נָפַשׁ	נָפַל	נָפַח, הִנְפִישׁ	הִנְפִישׁ*
<i>Imp. Sing.</i> m.	נִפֵּשׁ*	נִפְּלוּ*	הִנְפִישׁ	הִנְפִישׁ*
f.	נִפְּשִׁי	נִפְּלִי	הִנְפִישִׁי	
<i>Plur. m.</i>	נִפְּשׂוּ	נִפְּלוּ	הִנְפִישׁוּ	wanting.
f.	נִפְּשְׁנָה	נִפְּלְנָה	הִנְפִישְׁנָה	הִנְפִישְׁנָה
<i>Impf. Sing.</i> 3. m.	יִנְפֹּשׁ*	יִפֹּל*	[יִנְפֹּשׁ]	יִנְפִישׁ*
3. f.	תִּנְפֹּשׁ	תִּפֹּל		תִּנְפִישׁ
2. m.	תִּנְפֹּשׁ	תִּפֹּל		תִּנְפִישׁ
2. f.	תִּנְפִישִׁי	תִּפְּלִי		תִּנְפִישִׁי
1. c.	אִנְפֹּשׁ	אִפֹּל		אִנְפִישׁ
<i>Plur.</i> 3. m.	יִנְפֹּשׁוּ	יִפְּלוּ	regular.	יִנְפִישׁוּ
3. f.	תִּנְפִישְׁנָה	תִּפְּלְנָה		תִּנְפִישְׁנָה
2. m.	תִּנְפֹּשׁוּ	תִּפְּלוּ		תִּנְפִישׁוּ
2. f.	[תִּנְפִישְׁנָה]	[תִּפְּלְנָה]		[תִּנְפִישְׁנָה]
1. c.	נִנְפִישׁ	נִפֹּל		נִנְפִישׁ
<i>Shortened Impf. (Jussive).</i>				יִנְפִישׁ*
<i>Part. act.</i>	נִנְפִישׁ		נִנְפִישׁ*	מִנְפִישׁ*
<i>pass.</i>	נִנְפִישׁ			מִנְפִישׁ



## I. Weak Verbs, פ"א.

	Qal.	Niph'al.	Hiph'il.	Hoph'al.
Perf.	אָכַל	נִאָכַל*	הִאָכַל*	הֻאָכַל*

Like Verbs *primae gutturalis*.

Inf.	אָכַל, אֲכַל*	הֵאָכַל	הִאָכַל	הֻאָכַל
Inf. absol.	אָכַל	הֵאָכַל	wanting.	wanting.
Impf. Sing. m.	אֲכַל*	הֵאָכַל	הִאָכַל	
f.	אֲכָלִי	&c.	&c.	wanting.
Plur. m.	אֲכַלוּ			
f.	[אֲכַלְנָה]			
Impf. Sing. 3. m.	יֵאָכַל* (in pause	יֵאָכַל*	יֵאָכִיל*	יֵאָכַל*
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	נֹאֲכַל	מֵאָכִיל	
pass.	אֹכָל			מֵאָכַל

		Qal.	Niph'al.		
<i>Perf. Sing</i>	3. m.	יָשַׁב	נִישַׁב*		
	3. f.		נִישַׁבָּה*		
	2. m.		נִישַׁבְתָּ		
	2. f.		נִישַׁבְתְּ		
	1. c.	regular.	נִישַׁבְתִּי		
	<i>Plur.</i>		3. c.	נִישַׁבו	
			2. m.	נִישַׁבְתֶּם	
			2. f.	נִישַׁבְתֶּן	
1. c.		נִישַׁבְנוּ			
<i>Inf.</i>		יֹסֵד, רָשַׁת, נִשְׁבַּח*	הַיֹּשֵׁב*		
<i>Inf. absol.</i>		יֹשֵׁב	wanting.		
<i>Imp. Sing.</i>	m.	יֹשֵׁב, דַּע*	הַיֹּשֵׁב*		
	f.	יֹשְׁבִי	הַיֹּשְׁבִי		
	<i>Plur. m.</i>		יֹשְׁבוּ	הַיֹּשְׁבוּ	
		f.	יֹשְׁבָנָה	[הַיֹּשְׁבָנָה]	
<i>Impf. Sing.</i>	3. m.	יֹשֵׁב*	יִירָשׁ*	יִישַׁב*	
	3. f.	תִּישַׁב	תִּירָשׁ	תִּישַׁב	
	2. m.	תִּישַׁב	תִּירָשׁ	תִּישַׁב	
	2. f.	תִּישְׁבִי	תִּירָשִׁי	תִּישְׁבִי	
	1. c.	אִישַׁב	אִירָשׁ	אִישַׁב*	
	<i>Plur.</i>	3. m.	יִישְׁבוּ	יִירָשׁוּ	יִישְׁבוּ
		3. f.	תִּישְׁבָנָה	[תִּירָשְׁנָה]	[תִּישְׁבָנָה]
		2. m.	תִּישְׁבוּ	תִּירָשׁוּ	תִּישְׁבוּ
		2. f.	[תִּישְׁבָנָה]	[תִּירָשְׁנָה]	[תִּישְׁבָנָה]
		1. c.	נִישַׁב	נִירָשׁ	נִישַׁב

*Shortened Impf. (Jussive).**Impf. with Wāw consec.* וַיֹּשֵׁב\*

<i>Part. act.</i>	יֹשֵׁב	נִישַׁב*
<i>pass.</i>	יֹשֵׁב	

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
הוֹשִׁיבְתֶּן	הוֹשִׁיבְתֶּן		הִיטִיבְתֶּן
הוֹשִׁיבֵנוּ	הוֹשִׁיבֵנוּ		הִיטִיבֵנוּ
*הוֹשִׁיב	*הוֹשִׁיב	יָטַב	*הִיטִיב
*הוֹשִׁיב		יָטוּב	*הִיטִיב
*הוֹשִׁיב			*הִיטִיב
הוֹשִׁיבִי	wanting.		הִיטִיבִי
הוֹשִׁיבוּ			הִיטִיבוּ
[הוֹשִׁיבְנָה]			[הִיטִיבְנָה]
יוֹשִׁיב	*יוֹשִׁיב	*יִיטֵב	*יִיטֵב
תוֹשִׁיב	תוֹשִׁיב	תִּיטֵב	תִּיטֵב
תוֹשִׁיבִי	תוֹשִׁיבִי	תִּיטֵבִי	תִּיטֵבִי
אֹשִׁיב	אֹשִׁיב	אִיטֵב	אִיטֵב
יֹשִׁיבוּ	יֹשִׁיבוּ	יִיטֵבוּ	יִיטֵבוּ
[תֹּשִׁיבְנָה]	תֹּשִׁיבְנָה	תִּיטֵבְנָה	[תִּיטֵבְנָה]
תוֹשִׁיבוּ	תוֹשִׁיבוּ	תִּיטֵבוּ	תִּיטֵבוּ
[תוֹשִׁיבְנָה]	[תוֹשִׁיבְנָה]	[תִּיטֵבְנָה]	[תִּיטֵבְנָה]
נוֹשִׁיב	נוֹשִׁיב	נִיטֵב	[נִיטֵב]
*יוֹשֵׁב			יִיטֵב
וְיֹשֵׁב		וְיִיטֵב	וְיִיטֵב
*מוֹשִׁיב		מוֹטֵב	מוֹטֵב
	*מוֹשֵׁב	מוֹטֵב	

		Qal.	Niph'al.	Hiph'il.		
<i>Perf. Sing.</i>	3. m.	קָם*	מָת*	נָקוּם*	הִקִּים*	
	3. f.	קָמָה*	מָתָה*	נָקְוָה*	הִקְיָה*	
	2. m.	קָמַת*	מָתָה*	[נָקוּמוֹת]	הִקְיָמוֹת*	
	2. f.	קָמַת	[מָתָה]	[נָקוּמוֹת]	הִקְיָמוֹת	
	1. c.	קָמַתִּי	מָתִי	נָקוּמוֹתִי	הִקְיָמוֹתִי	
	<i>Plur.</i>	3. c.	קָמוּ	מָתוּ	נָקוּמוּ	הִקְיָמוּ
		2. m.	קָמַתֶּם	[מָתֶם]	נָקוּמוֹתֶם	הִקְיָמוֹתֶם
		2. f.	[קָמַתְנָן]	[מָתְנָן]	[נָקוּמוֹתְנָן]	[הִקְיָמוֹתְנָן]
1. c.	קָמַנּוּ	כָּתְנוּ	[נָקוּמוֹנּוּ]	הִקְיָמוֹנּוּ		
<i>Inf.</i>		קוּם*	הִקּוּם*	הִקְיָם*		
<i>Inf. absol.</i>		קוּם*	הִקּוּם, נָסוּג	הִקְיָם*		
<i>Imp. Sing.</i>	m.	קוּם*	הִקּוּם*	הִקְיָם*		
	f.	קוּמִי*	[הִקּוּמִי]	הִקְיָמִי*		
	<i>Plur.</i>	m.	קוּמוּ	הִקּוּמוּ	הִקְיָמוּ	
		f.	קוּמְנָה*		[הִקְיָמְנָה]	
<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*		
	1. c.	אִקּוּם	אִקּוּם	אִקְיָם		
	<i>Plur.</i>	3. m.	יִקְוּמוּ	יִקְוּמוּ	יִקְיָמוּ	
		3. f.	תִּקְוִינָה, תִּשְׁבְּנָה	תִּקְוִינָה*	תִּקְיָמְנָה, תִּקְיָטְנָה*	
		2. m.	תִּקְוּמוּ	תִּקְוּמוּ	תִּקְיָמוּ	
		2. f.	תִּקְוִינָח		[תִּקְיָמְנָה]	
1. c.	נִקּוּם	נִקּוּם	נִקְיָם			
<i>Shortened Impf.</i>		יִקּוּם*		יִקְיָם*		
<i>Impf. with Wāw consec.</i>		וַיִּקּוּם (pause וַיִּקְיָם*)		וַיִּקְיָם*		
<i>Impf. with Suff.</i>		יִשְׁוֹפְנִי*		יִקְיָנִי*		
<i>Part. act.</i>		קָם*	נָקוּם*	מִקְיָם*		
	<i>pass.</i>	קוּם*				

Verbs, ע"ו.

N. Weak Verbs, ע"י.

<i>Hoph'al.</i>	<i>Pólél.</i>	<i>Pólal.</i>	<i>Qal.</i>	<i>Niph'al.</i>
*הִקֵּם	*קִיָּם	*קִיָּם	*בָּן	*נָבוֹן
[הִקְמָהּ]	קִיָּמָהּ	[קִיָּמָהּ]	*בָּנָה	[נָבֹנָהּ]
הִקְמֹתָ	קִיָּמֹתָ	קִיָּמֹתָ	*בָּנֹתָ	נְבוֹנוֹתָ
הִקְמַתְּ	[קִיָּמַתְּ]	[קִיָּמַתְּ]	בָּנֹתַי	[נְבוֹנוֹתַי]
[הִקְמַתִּי]	קִיָּמַתִּי	קִיָּמַתִּי	[בָּנֹתַי]	
הִקְמוּ	קִיָּמוּ	קִיָּמוּ	בָּנֵי	
[הִקְמֻתֶם]	[קִיָּמֻתֶם]	[קִיָּמֻתֶם]	[בָּנִים]	See
הִקְמֹתוּ	קִיָּמֹתוּ	קִיָּמֹתוּ	[בָּנֹתָן]	ע"ו Verbs.
[הִקְמֻתֶנּוּ]	[קִיָּמֻתֶנּוּ]	[קִיָּמֻתֶנּוּ]	בָּנֵי	
*הִקֵּם	קִיָּם		*בִּין	
			בֵּן	
	קִיָּם		*בִּין	
	[קִיָּמִי]	wanting.	בֵּינִי	
	קִיָּמוּ		בֵּינֵנוּ	
	[קִיָּמֻתֶנּוּ]		—	
*יִקֵּם	יָקִים	יָקִים	יָבִיל	
הִקֵּם	הִקִּים	[הִקִּים]	תָּבִיל	
[הִקֵּם]	הִקִּים	הִקִּים	תָּבִילִי	
הִקִּמוּ	[הִקִּימוּ]	הִקִּימוּ	אָבִיל	
[הִקִּמוּ]	אָקִים	[אָקִים]	יָבִילוּ	
יָקְמוּ	יָקִמוּ	יָקִמוּ	תִּלְבָּלְנָהּ	
[הִקְמֻתֶנּוּ]	הִקִּימוּ	הִקִּימוּ	תָּבִילוּ	
הִקִּמוּ	הִקִּימוּ	[הִקִּימוּ]	תִּלְבָּלְנָהּ	
[הִקְמֻתֶנּוּ]	הִקִּימוּ	הִקִּימוּ	נָבִיל	
נִקֵּם	[נָקִים]	[נָקִים]		
			יָבִיל	
			וַיָּבִיל	
			יָרִיבֵנִי	
*מִקֵּם	מִקִּים	מִקִּים	לָנִים, שָׁב	נָבוֹן
			שִׁים, שֹׂם	

		Qal.	Niph'al.	Piel.	
<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	מָלְאוּ	מָצְאוּ
		2. m.	מָצַאתֶם	מָלַאתֶם	מָצַאתֶם
		2. f.	[מָצַאתֶן]	[מָלַאתֶן]	[מָצַאתֶן]
	1. c.	מָצַאתִנִּי	מָלַאתִנִּי	[מָצַאתִנִּי]	
<i>Inf.</i>	מָצֵא	הַמְצֵא	מָצֵא		
<i>Inf. absol.</i>	מָצוּא	נִמְצֵא	מָצֵא		
<i>Imp. Sing.</i>	m.	מָצֵא*	הַמְצֵא	מָצֵא	
	f.	מָצְאִי	[הַמְצְאִי]	[מָצְאִי]	
	<i>Plur. m.</i>	מָצְאוּ	הַמְצְאוּ	מָצְאוּ	
		f.	מָצְאֵנָה*	[הַמְצְאֵנָה]	[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"ב.

<i>Pu'al.</i>	<i>Hiph'il.</i>	<i>Hoph'al.</i>	<i>Hithpa'el.</i>
קרא [מְצֵא]	הִמְצִיא	[הִמְצֵא]	[הִתְמַצֵּא]
מְצָאָה	הִמְצִיָּה	הִמְצָאָה	הִתְמַצָּאָה
מִצְאֹת	*הִמְצִיֹּת*	*הִמְצֹאֹת*	*הִתְמַצִּיֹּת*
מִצְאֹת	הִמְצִיֹּת	הִמְצֹאֹת	[הִתְמַצִּיֹּת]
מִצְאֹתֵי	הִמְצִיֹּתֵי	הִמְצֹאֹתֵי	הִתְמַצִּיֹּתֵי
מִצְאוֹ	הִמְצִיאוֹ	הִמְצֹאוֹ	הִתְמַצִּיאוֹ
מִצְאֹתָם	הִמְצִיָּתָם	הִמְצֹאֹתָם	[הִתְמַצִּיָּתָם]
מִצְאֹתָן	[הִמְצִיָּתָן]	הִמְצֹאֹתָן	הִתְמַצִּיָּתָן
[מִצְאֹנֵנו]	[הִמְצִיָּנֵנו]	[הִמְצֹאֹנֵנו]	[הִתְמַצִּיָּנֵנו]
wanting.	הִמְצִיא הִמְצָא	wanting.	הִתְמַצֵּא wanting.
wanting.	הִמְצָא הִמְצִיָּי הִמְצִיאוֹ [הִמְצִיָּאָה]	wanting.	[הִתְמַצֵּא] הִתְמַצִּיָּי הִתְמַצִּיאוֹ [הִתְמַצִּיָּאָה]
יִמְצֵא	יִמְצִיא	[יִמְצֵא]	יִתְמַצֵּא
[תִּמְצָא]	תִּמְצִיא	תִּמְצָא	תִּתְמַצֵּא
תִּמְצָא	תִּמְצִיא	תִּמְצָא	תִּתְמַצֵּא
תִּמְצִיָּי	תִּמְצִיָּי	תִּמְצִיָּי	[תִּתְמַצִּיָּי]
אִמְצָא	אִמְצִיא	אִמְצָא	[אִתְמַצֵּא]
יִמְצִאוֹ	יִמְצִיאוֹ	יִמְצִאוֹ	יִתְמַצִּיאוֹ
*תִּמְצִיָּאָה*	*תִּמְצִיָּאָה*	*תִּמְצִיָּאָה*	[תִּתְמַצִּיָּאָה]
תִּמְצִאוֹ	תִּמְצִיאוֹ	תִּמְצִאוֹ	תִּתְמַצִּיאוֹ
תִּמְצִיָּאָה	תִּמְצִיָּאָה	תִּמְצִיָּאָה	[תִּתְמַצִּיָּאָה]
[נִמְצָא]	נִמְצִיא	נִמְצָא	[נִתְמַצֵּא]
	יִמְצֵא		
	יִמְצִיָּנֵי		
	מִמְצִיא		מִתְמַצֵּא
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, יָתְ	גִּלִּיתָ*
2. f.	גָּלִית	נִגְלִית	גִּלִּית
1. c.	גָּלִיתִי	נִגְלִיתִי	גִּלִּיתִי, גִּלִּיתִי
<i>Plur.</i> 3. c.	גָּלּוּ*	נִגְלוּ	גִּלוּ
2. m.	גָּלִיתֶם	נִגְלִיתֶם	גִּלִּיתֶם
2. f.	גָּלִיתֶן	נִגְלִיתֶן	[גִּלִּיתֶן]
1. c.	גָּלִינוּ	נִגְלִינוּ	גִּלִּינוּ
<i>Inf.</i>	גָּלוֹת*	הַגָּלוֹת*	גָּלוֹת*
<i>Inf. absol.</i>	גָּלָה	נִגְלָה, הַגָּלָה	גָּלָה, גִּלָּה
<i>Imp. Sing.</i> m.	גָּלֵה*	הַגָּלֵה*	גִּלֵּה, גָּל
f.	גָּלִי*	הַגָּלִי*	גִּלִּי*
<i>Plur. m.</i>	גָּלוּ	הַגָּלוּ	גָּלוּ
f.	גָּלִינָה*	[הַגָּלִינָה]	[גָּלִינָה]
<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*	גִּמְלָה*
<i>pass.</i>	גָּלִי*		



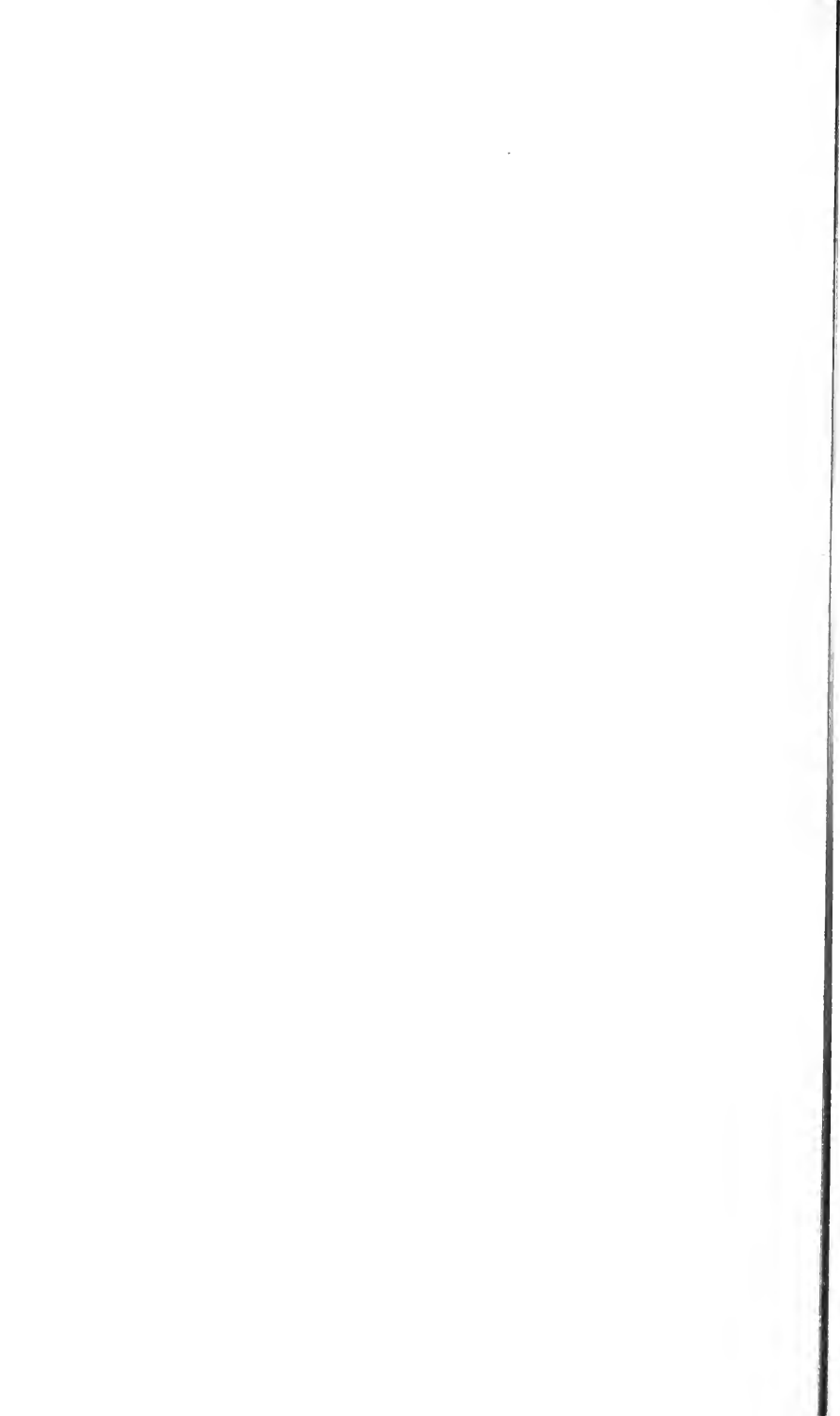
## Verbs, ל"ה.

<i>Pu'al.</i>	<i>Hiph'il.</i>	<i>Hoph'al.</i>	<i>Hithpa'el.</i>
נָלָה*	הִנָּלָה*	הִנָּלָה*	הִתְנָלָה*
נָלְתָה*	הִנָּלְתָה*	הִנָּלְתָה*	[הִתְנָלְתָה]
נָלִיתַי*	הִנָּלִיתַי, יָתַי	הִנָּלִיתַי	הִתְנָלִיתַי
[נָלִיתַי]	הִנָּלִיתַי, יָתַי	[הִנָּלִיתַי]	[הִתְנָלִיתַי]
נָלָו	הִנָּלוּ	הִנָּלוּ	הִתְנָלוּ
נָלְתוּם	הִנָּלְתוּם, יָתוּם	[הִנָּלְתוּם]	הִתְנָלְתוּם
נָלִיתוּ	[הִנָּלִיתוּ]	הִנָּלִיתוּ	[הִתְנָלִיתוּ]
[נָלִיתוּ]	הִנָּלִיתוּ	[הִנָּלִיתוּ]	הִתְנָלִיתוּ
נָלְלוּ*	הִנָּלְלוּ*	הִנָּלְלוּ*	הִתְנָלְלוּ*
	הִנָּלָה	הִנָּלָה*	
	הִנָּלָה*		[הִתְנָלָה] הִתְנָלָה
wanting.	הִנָּלִי*	wanting.	הִתְנָלִי
	הִנָּלוּ		הִתְנָלוּ
	[הִנָּלִינָה]		[הִתְנָלִינָה]
יִנָּלָה*	יִנָּלָה*	יִנָּלָה*	יִתְנָלָה*
יִנָּלְתָה	יִנָּלְתָה	יִנָּלְתָה	[יִתְנָלְתָה]
יִנָּלְתָה	יִנָּלְתָה	יִנָּלְתָה	יִתְנָלְתָה
[יִנָּלְתָה]	יִנָּלְתָה*	יִנָּלְתָה*	יִתְנָלְתָה*
[יִנָּלְתָה]	יִנָּלְתָה	יִנָּלְתָה*	יִתְנָלְתָה
יִנָּלוּ	יִנָּלוּ	יִנָּלוּ	יִתְנָלוּ
[יִנָּלְתָה]	יִנָּלְתָה*	יִנָּלְתָה*	[יִתְנָלְתָה]
יִנָּלוּ	יִנָּלוּ	יִנָּלוּ	יִתְנָלוּ
יִנָּלְתָה	יִנָּלְתָה	יִנָּלְתָה	[יִתְנָלְתָה]
[יִנָּלְתָה]	יִנָּלְתָה	[יִנָּלְתָה]	יִתְנָלְתָה
	יִנָּלְתָה*		יִתְנָלְתָה*
	יִנָּלְתָה, יִנָּלְתָה*		
	יִנָּלְתָה*		

	1. Sing.	2. Sing. m.	2. Sing. f.
<i>Perf. Qal. 3. m.</i>	נָחַנִּי	רָאָה, עָשָׂךְ	
	<i>P.</i> עָשָׂנִי	<i>P.</i> עָנָךְ	
3. f.	עָשָׂחֲנִי		
2. m.	רָאִיתָנִי		
	<i>P.</i> עָנִיתָנִי		
2. f.	<i>Pi.</i> רָפִיתָנִי		
1. c.		רָאִיתִיךְ	עָנִיתִיךְ
<i>Plur. 3. c.</i>	עָשָׂנוּ	רָאוּךְ	<i>Pi.</i> כָּסוּךְ
1. c.		<i>Pi.</i> קוֹרְאוּךְ	
<i>Imper. 2. m.</i>	נַחֲנִי } עֲנֵנִי }		
2. f.	<i>Hiph.</i> הִרְאִינִי		
<i>Plur. 2. m.</i>	<i>Pi.</i> כָּסוּנִי		
<i>Impf. 3. m.</i>	יִרְאֵנִי	יִכְרֹךְ } יִחַתֶּךְ }	
3. f.		תִּשְׁכַּךְ	
2. m.	תִּרְאֵנִי		
2. f.			
1. c.		אֶרְאֶךְ	אֶעֱרֶךְ
		אֶעֱנֶךְ	
<i>Plur. 3. m.</i>	יִעֲשִׂנוּ	<i>Pi.</i> יִכְתֹּרֶךְ	
2. m.	תִּעֲצֹנִי		
1. c.			

with Suffixes.

3. Sing. m.	3. Sing. f.	1. Plur.	3. Plur. m.
עָשָׂהוּ	רָאָהּ	עָשִׂנוּ	עָשׂוּם
<i>Pi.</i> בָּלַחְוּ	<i>Pi.</i> צָוָתָהּ		<i>Hiph.</i> הֶעֱלָתֵם
<i>Pi.</i> בָּפִיתוּ	עָשִׂיתָהּ	<i>Pi.</i> דִּבְרַתְנוּ	עָנִיתֵם
עָשִׂיתָהוּ } רָאִיתָיו }	רָאִיתָהּ		רָעִיתִים
עָשָׂהוּ <i>Pi.</i> קוֹיָנְהוּ	רָאָהּ		שָׁבוּם
		<i>Hiph.</i> הֶרְאֵנוּ	רָעִים
תִּלְוָהוּ			<i>Hiph.</i> הִכְבִּים
יִרְאָהוּ } יִלְוֶנוּ }	יִרְאָהּ } יִרְאָנָה }	<i>Pi.</i> יִצְוֵנוּ	יִחַצֵּם } יִעֲשִׂם }
<i>Hiph.</i> תִּשְׁקָרוּ	תַּעֲשֶׂהּ	<i>Hiph.</i> תִּתְעַנֶּנוּ	תִּזְרֵם
תַּעֲשִׂנוּ			<i>Pi.</i> תִּכְפִּים
אֶרְאֵנוּ	אֶעֱשֶׂנָהּ		אֶפְדֵּם
אֶעֱנֶהוּ			
<i>Pi.</i> יִפְתָּרוּ	יַעֲשֶׂהּ	<i>Pi.</i> יַעֲנֵנוּ	
נִשְׁקָנוּ	נַעֲשֶׂנָהּ		תִּצִּים



## I

## INDEX OF SUBJECTS

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Driver, *Introd.*<sup>8</sup>, p. 466: Segal, *Mišn. Hebr.*, p. 63.



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בְּנִשִּׁי 66 *c*  
בְּנִשְׁמוֹ 90 *k*  
בְּנִבּוֹן 85 *u*  
בְּנִדָּא 9 *b*  
בְּנִבְקָה 44 *c*  
בְּנִדְּבָר 52 *o*  
בְּנִדְּרָאִים 93 *x*  
בְּנִדּוּם 67 *n*  
בְּנִדּוּמָם 100 *g*<sup>2</sup>  
בְּנִדּוּנָה 84 *a* *r*

בְּנִשִּׁי 72 *q*  
בְּנִחָה 64 *d*  
בְּנִחִיק 20 *c*  
בְּנִיךָ 91 *d*  
בְּנִי 84 *b* *b*  
בְּנִל 93 *x*, 95 *f*  
בְּנִלְיוֹ 67 *dd*, 75 *u*, *bb*  
בְּנִלְיוֹ 93 *z*  
בְּנִלְיוֹתָיו 84 *a* *g*  
בְּנִלְלוֹ 67 *cc*  
בְּנִלְתוֹת 95 *f*  
בְּנִלְתִּים 93 *n*  
בְּנִדָּם 93 *mm*  
בְּנִדָּמִים 124 *n*  
בְּנִדְּנִי 58 *i*, 59 *f*  
בְּנִדְּע 69 *m*  
בְּנִדְּעָה 69 *c*, *m*<sup>2</sup>  
בְּנִדְּעָה 48 *l*  
בְּנִדְּק 67 *bb*  
בְּנִדְּבּוֹן 85 *u*  
בְּנִדְּבִים 93 *n*  
בְּנִדְּבִיךָ ? 91 *k*  
בְּנִדְּשָׂא 80 *h*  
בְּנִדְּשָׂא 22 *e*  
בְּ with Mappiq  
14, as a weak consonant  
23 *k*, *l*, in verbs לִּי 75, as  
a mere vowel-letter 6 *d*,  
7 *b*, *c*, 24 *g*  
בְּ locale, origin  
90 *b*, use 90 *c*-*i*, with  
constr. st. before a geni-  
tive 90 *c*, sometimes oti-  
ose 90 *e*, mere poetic  
ornament 90 *f*, *g*, in place-  
names 90 *g*<sup>1</sup>, added in se-  
gholate nouns to the de-  
veloped form 90 *i*, 93 *i*  
בְּ (Article) punc-

tuation 35, syntax 126 :  
 see Article in Index I  
 הִי interrog. 100,  
 origin and pointing 100  
*i-n*, uses of 150; אֵם(?) ... הִי  
 150 *h*  
 הִי (with the tone),  
 ending of fem. nouns 80 *c*  
 הִי (toneless), end-  
 ing of the Cohortative and  
 Imperative 48 *c, d, i*; an old  
 case-ending 90 *a-i*  
 הִי—3rd masc. sing.  
 pronominal suffix 91 *e*  
 הִי (without Map-  
 piq) anomalous 3rd fem.  
 sing. pronom. suff. 91 *e*  
 הָא 105 *b*  
 הָאוֹבֶה (Mi 6<sup>11</sup>) 47 *b*<sup>1</sup>  
 הָאוֹנִיתוֹ 53 *g*  
 הָאוֹקִים 35 *d*  
 הָאֵח 105 *a*  
 הָאִישׁ *one*, 144 *d*<sup>1</sup>  
 הָאֵל בֵּית־אֵל 127 *f*<sup>1</sup>  
 הָאֵנֶח 65 *e*  
 הָאֵרוֹן 35 *o*  
 הַבָּת 74 *g*  
 הַכָּאֵתָה 74 *d*  
 הַכָּאֵת 72 *w*  
 הַבָּה 105 *b*  
 הַבִּיא 72 *y*, 74 *l*  
 הַבִּישׁוֹתָה 78 *b*  
 הַבִּישׁ 72 *x*, 78 *b*  
 הַבַּמַּת זֹאת (Moab.) 80 *f*<sup>1</sup>  
 הַפְּרו 67 *t*  
 הַבְּרָכָה 10 *g* (end)  
 הַבְּרָכָה 16 *g*  
 הַגָּנָה *Q<sup>e</sup>rê* for הַגָּנָה  
 118 *e*<sup>2</sup>  
 הַנַּח 69 *w*

הָנוּ 75 *n, aa*  
 הַגְּרָנוֹת 93 *r*  
 הַדֹּשׁ 72 *v*  
 הַדְּרֹךְ חֲתָלוֹן 127 *f*<sup>1</sup>  
 הַדְּשָׁנָה 54 *h*  
 הַהִימִיר ? 72 *e*  
 הַהִלַּכְתִּי 90 *n*  
 הַהִלְלָה 52 *s*  
 הוּא, הִיא, הוּא 32 *k*; הוּא with  
*Q<sup>e</sup>rê* הִיא 17 *c*, הוּא as fem.,  
 not an archaism 32 *l*  
 הוּא (הִיא, הַפָּה) =  
*ipse* or *idem* 135 *a*<sup>1</sup>, demon-  
 strative 136, for the copula  
 141 *h*, resuming the sub-  
 ject 145 *u*<sup>3</sup>, in questions  
 136 *e* (end), 150 *l*  
 הוּא 75 *hh*  
 הוֹבִישׁ 72 *x*  
 הוֹדַע 69 *w*  
 הוּי 105 *a*  
 הוֹכַח 65 *f*  
 הוֹלֶדֶת 71  
 הוֹלֵלוֹת 86 *l*  
 הוֹלֵם פָּעַם 29 *f*  
 הוֹנֵחַ ? 72 *ee*<sup>1</sup>  
 הוֹפִיעַ ? 69 *v*  
 הוֹצִיא 74 *l*  
 הוֹרֵתָנוּ 59 *h*  
 הוֹשִׁיעַ 65 *f*  
 הוֹזִירָה ? 80 *i*  
 הוֹלִירָה 67 *y*, 72 *ee*  
 הוֹבֵנוּ 54 *d*  
 הוֹפְרָכֵם 53 *l*  
 הוֹחֲבֵאתָה 75 *oo*  
 הוֹחֵבָה 75 *pp*  
 הוֹחֲלֵתִי 63 *k*  
 הוֹחִי, הוֹחִי 35 *f*, 27 *q*  
 הוֹחֵל 67 *t*  
 הוֹחֵלִי 74 *k*, 75 *ii*

הַחֲמִימִים 35 *f*  
 הַחֲרִיטִים 35 *f*  
 הַחֲרָה 90 *f*  
 הַחֲתָת 67 *w*  
 הַחֲרָר 27 *q*  
 הִיא 32 *k*  
 הִיָּה 16 *f*, 63 *q*, 75  
 with participle 116 *r*, with  
 ל before infin. 114 *h-k*,  
 copula 141 *g-i*. Cf. הִיָּה  
 הִיָּה 75 *n*  
 הַיּוֹם = *one day*  
 126 *s*  
 הַיּוֹם שְׁלֹשָׁה 134 *o*<sup>1</sup>  
 הַיִּטֵּב 113 *k*  
 הַיִּכַּל 9 *i*, 85 *c*  
 הַיִּלְכִי ? 69 *x*, 78 *b*  
 הַיִּפְחָה ? 90 *f*  
 הַיִּצָּא 69 *v*  
 הַיִּקְוִין 70 *e*  
 הַיִּשְׂרָה 24 *f*<sup>2</sup>, 70 *b*  
 הִית 75 *m*<sup>1</sup>  
 הַכּוֹת (inf. abs.) 75  
 הַכִּי 150 *d, e*  
 הַכִּין 72 *z*  
 הַכִּינִי 75 *mm*  
 הַכְּלַמְנוּ 53 *p*  
 הַכְּנוּ 72 *w*  
 הַלָּא expressing  
 assurance 150 *e*  
 הַלְּדָת 69 *w*, 71  
 הַלְּזוּ 34 *f*  
 הַלְּוָה 34 *f*  
 הַלְּוִזוּ 34 *f*  
 הַלְּוֹ inflexion  
 69 *x*, use of, to express con-  
 tinuance 113 *u*  
 הַלְּוֹ 69 *m*<sup>2</sup>  
 הַלְּכֹנָא ? 23 *i*

הִלַּכְתִּי 44 *h*  
הִלְלוּ 10 *g*  
הִלֵּם 50 *e*  
הִלְתֶּם (Moab.) 54 *l*  
הִם, הִפּוּהוּ 32 *m*, for the  
ninine, 32 *n*  
הִפְאוּת 97 *g*  
הִפּוּהוּ its Dageš 20 *k*  
הִמוּנָה 91 *e*  
הִפּוּשֵׁב in close con-  
xion 72 *bb*, 93 *pp*, cf.  
*d*  
הִמְשִׁינִי 67 *v*  
הִפְכוּ 67 *y*  
הִפְלִיטִי 29 *o*<sup>2</sup>  
הִמְנִישָׁה 125 *d*<sup>1</sup>  
הִפֵּם 67 *t*  
הִמְסִיו 75 *ii*  
הִמְסִלָּה (Moab.) 80 *f*<sup>1</sup>  
הִמְעָרָה 64 *h*  
הִמְעִיט 133 *c*<sup>3</sup>  
הִמְצַרְעִים 10 *g*  
הִפְרוֹת 75 *ff*  
הִפְשִׁיחִת 126 *m*<sup>1</sup>  
הִמְתָּה 72 *w*  
הִמְתָּם 72 *w*  
הִן with suffixes  
100 *o*, 147 *b*, origin 105 *b*,  
= *if* 159 *w*  
הִנֵּךְ 76 *a*  
הִנֵּה with suffixes  
100 *o*, 147 *b*, origin 105 *b*,  
with ptc. of present time  
16 *n*; more often of future  
time 116 *p*  
הִנֵּה 20 *k*  
הִנְזָקָה 85 *c* (A dit.)  
הִנִּחַ 72 *ee*  
הִנְחִית 64 *h*  
הִנִּיחַ, הִנִּיחַ 72 *ee*

הִנְיָחוּ 72 *ee*  
הִנְנוּ 10 *g*  
הִנְנוּ 58 *k*  
הִנְנִי 10 *g*  
הִנְפִת 72 *k*  
הִנְתִּקוּ 66 *f*  
הִם 105 *a*  
הִסַּג 72 *ee*  
הִסְרִים 35 *d*  
הִסִּיג 72 *ee*  
הִסִּית 72 *ee*  
הִסְתָּה 72 *w*  
הִעְבַּרְתָּ 63 *p*  
הִעֲזָרִים 35 *g*  
הִעֲזָבִים 35 *g*  
הִעֲזַבְתָּ 35 *g*  
הִעֲזָה 67 *dd*  
הִעֲלָה 63 *p*  
הִעֲלָה 63 *p*  
הִעֲרַב 113 *k*  
הִעֲרָכִים 35 *g*  
הִעֲשֹׂה 116 *g*<sup>1</sup>  
הִעֲשִׂים 75 *v*  
הִעֲתִיר 63 *o*  
הִפִּיר 67 *v*  
הִפְכִּי 61 *a*  
הִפְלָא 75 *oo*  
הִפְצָר 29 *q*, 53 *l*  
הִפִּר 29 *q*, 67 *v*  
הִצָּג ? 113 *d*<sup>2</sup>  
הִצְטִיר 72 *m*  
הִקְלַתְנִי 67 *w*  
הִקָּם ? 29 *g*  
הִקְמַתוּ 72 *w*  
הִקְשִׁיבָה 10 *g*  
הִרְאִיתָם 22 *s*  
הִרְבָּה 113 *k*  
הִרְבָּה 75 *ff*  
הִרְבָּה 75 *ff*

הִרְבִּית ? 75 *ff*  
הִרְדִּיפָהוּ 20 *h*<sup>1</sup>, 22 *s*  
הִרָה 27 *q*, 93 *aa*  
הִרוּ 75 *n*, *aa*  
הִרְחַק 29 *q*, 64 *h*  
הִרְחַק 64 *h*  
הִרְיוֹתִי 84 *g*  
הִרִים 72 *ee*  
הִרְפוּ 67 *t*, 72 *dd*  
הִרְפִּים 35 *d*  
הִרְנִין 67 *cc*  
הִרְעוּ 67 *v*  
הִרְעַמָּה 22 *s*  
הִרְרִי 90 *n*  
הִרְרִי 93 *aa*  
הִרְרִי 93 *aa*  
הִרְרִיהָ 93 *aa*  
הִרְרָם 93 *aa*  
הִשִּׁימוּ ? 73 *a*  
הִשִּׁקוּ 66 *e*  
הִשִּׁירוּ 67 *v*  
הִשְׁעָרָה 90 *i*  
הִשְׁאַלְתִּיהוּ 64 *f*  
הִשָּׁב 29 *q*, 72 *y*  
הִשָּׁבַע 65 *e*  
הִשָּׁבַעְתֶּנּוּ (fem.) 59 *h*  
הִשָּׁבַם 113 *k*  
הִשָּׁמָה 67 *y*  
הִשָּׁמִם 67 *cc*  
הִשַּׁע 75 *gg*  
הִשְׁעִנִּי 7 *f*  
הִשְׁפּוֹת 35 *d*  
הִשְׁתַּחֲוָה 75 *kk*  
הִתּוּ : 29 *q*, 67 *v*,  
72 *dd*  
הִתְחַבְּרוּ 54 *k*  
הִתִּיו 68 *i*  
הִתְיַחֲשָׁם ? 64 *i*  
הִתְלַת 67 *dd*

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.

וְאֶפְדֶּךָ 23 *d*, 68 *k*  
 וְאֶבְרַכְכֶם: 60 *d*  
 וְאֶאֱרָשׁ+ 49 *c*  
 וְאֶדְבִּי 23 *d*, 26 *g*, 102 *m*, 104 *d*  
 וְאוֹצְרָה. 53 *n, g*, 68 *i*  
 וְאֵלָיו 68 *e*  
 וְאֶחְלֶלְךָ 111 *w*<sup>1</sup>  
 וְאַחַר 64 *h*, 68 *e*  
 וְאַחֲרַי שָׁתָה 113 *e*<sup>3</sup>  
 וְאַחֲשָׁבָה? 49 *e*  
 וְאַחֲלָה? 49 *e*

וְאֵל 68 *e*  
 וְאֵלֶיךָ 49 *e*  
 וְאֶכְפֹּף 49 *c*  
 וְאַל- = *rather than* 133 *b*<sup>2</sup>  
 וְאַלְךָ 69 *p*  
 וְאֵלֵהֶם 102 *d*, 104 *d*  
 וְאַסְחַבְהָ (Moab.) 7 *c*  
 וְאַעֲיֶדָה? 49 *e*  
 וְאַקִּים 49 *e*, 72 *t*  
 וְאַקְרָא? 48 *d*  
 וְאַרְבֵּי 75 *gg*  
 וְאַרְצֵי 29 *i*<sup>1</sup>  
 וְבָטֹן 104 *g*  
 וְדִינָם 73 *b*  
 וְדַהֲאֲנִיחוּ 53 *g*  
 וְדַבֵּרְתִּי 76 *h*  
 וְדַלְתָּה 75 *ee*  
 וְדַוְשׁוּתָם? 72 *x*  
 וְדַחַתְתִּי 67 *dd*  
 וְדַחַלְתִּי 72 *k, w*  
 וְדַחַה in prophetic style 112 *y, z*  
 וְדַחַה 28 *b*  
 וְדַחַי 28 *b*  
 וְדַחַתְתִּי 70 *e*  
 וְדַחַתְתֶּם 63 *q*, 104 *f*  
 וְדַחַתְתֵּי (Am 4<sup>7</sup>) 112 *h*<sup>3</sup>  
 וְדַחַתִּי 72 *w*  
 וְדַחַתִּיהָ 72 *w*  
 וְדַחַתְתֶּן 72 *w*  
 וְדַחַתְתֶּה? 72 *ee*  
 וְדַחַתְתֶּה 72 *w*  
 וְדַחַתְתֶּה 71  
 וְדַחַתְתֵּי 67 *ee*  
 וְדַחַתְתֶּה 76 *h*  
 וְדַחַתְתֶּנּוּ 29 *l*  
 וְדַחַתְתֶּנּוּ 72 *i*  
 וְדַחַתְתֵּי 53 *p*, 75 *ee*

וְדַחַתְתֶּם 72 *i*<sup>2</sup>  
 וְדַחַתְתֶּנּוּ 54 *b*  
 וְדַחַב 16 *e*, 104 *e*  
 וְדַחַי 104 *g*  
 וְדַחַתְתֶּם (Ex 5<sup>16</sup>) 74 *g*  
 וְדַחַי? 76 *i*  
 וְדַחַי 76 *i*  
 וְדַחַתְתֶּם 72 *m*  
 וְדַחַיָּה 67 *k*  
 וְדַחַיָּה with *ē* for 28 *b*, 63 *q*, 104 *f*, in pause sometimes וְדַחַיָּה 75 *n*  
 וְדַחַתְתִּי 67 *ee*  
 וְדַחַל 76 *d*  
 וְדַחַר (in Jb) 68 *e*  
 וְדַחַסָּף 68 *h*  
 וְדַחַסָּר 23 *b*  
 וְדַחַעַל 23 *d*, 68 *e*  
 וְדַחַת 23 *d*  
 וְדַחַיָּה 74 *l*  
 וְדַחַיָּה 75 *q*  
 וְדַחַיָּה 64 *g*  
 וְדַחַשָּׁה 69 *u*, 70 *e*  
 וְדַחַה 69 *u*  
 וְדַחַל 67 *p*  
 וְדַחַשָּׁה 7 *c*  
 וְדַחַבָּק 53 *n*  
 וְדַחַ 69 *u*  
 וְדַחַכּוּ 53 *n*  
 וְדַחַה 102 *m*  
 וְדַחַי 104 *f*  
 וְדַחַי 16 *g*; as narrative formula 111 *f*  
 וְדַחַי שָׁם 29 *g*  
 וְדַחַתִּל 67 *y*  
 וְדַחַר? 68 *i*  
 וְדַחַעַן 64 *b*  
 וְדַחַיָּה 74 *l*  
 וְדַחַי 75 *r*

וַיִּזְ 75 r, 76 b  
 וַיִּזְבַּח 65 e  
 וַיִּחְזַק בּוֹ 29 g  
 וַיִּחְטָא 74 l  
 וַיְחִי 16 g  
 וַיִּחְלָא 75 rr  
 וַיַּחֲלוּ (Ho8<sup>10</sup>)? III w<sup>1</sup>  
 וַיַּחֲלוּ 24 e  
 וַיַּחֲלֶפֶה (Moab.) 7 c  
 וַיַּחֲלֶקְםָּ? 63 n  
 וַיַּחֲמוּ 69 f  
 וַיַּחֲמֶנָה 69 f  
 וַיִּחַז 75 r  
 וַיַּחֲרֵ 75 r  
 וַיִּט 75 r  
 וַיִּטְמֶנּוּ 47 i  
 וַיִּיחַל 69 t  
 וַיִּיף 76 f  
 וַיִּיצֵר 71  
 וַיִּישֶׁם 53 u, 73 f  
 וַיִּיבּוּ 60 d  
 וַיִּכְסֶּם-שָׁם 58 g  
 וַיִּכְבְּדוּ 72 cc  
 וַיִּכְתּוּ 67 g, y  
 וַיִּלְדֶּה? 80 d, 94 f  
 וַיִּלְלַת 24 e  
 וַיִּלֵּן 72 ee  
 וַיִּמְלֹאם 60 h  
 וַיִּנַּח 72 ee  
 וַיִּסַּב 67 y  
 וַיִּסְבּוּ 67 g  
 וַיִּסְדּוּ 67 p, 73 f  
 וַיִּסְרְנִי 59 h  
 וַיַּעַט 72 ff  
 וַיַּעֲנוּ (Moab.) 75 b<sup>2</sup>  
 וַיַּעַף 72 t  
 וַיַּעֲקֶבְנִי 63 m  
 וַיַּעֲקֹשְׁנִי? 53 n

וַיַּעֲרֹ 75 cc  
 וַיַּפֵּר 67 x  
 וַיַּפְּתָה 75 q  
 וַיַּצְלַח 65 f  
 וַיַּצֵּק 71  
 וַיַּצַּק 71  
 וַיַּקְדּוּ 67 g  
 וַיַּקְדּוּ 67 g  
 וַיַּקְצֵן? 71  
 וַיַּרְא 75 q  
 וַיַּרְאוּ הַמּוֹרָאִים 75 rr  
 וַיַּרְב 68 i  
 וַיַּרְדֵּף 75 q  
 וַיַּרְיבוּן 49 d<sup>1</sup>  
 וַיַּרְם 27 o, 67 o;  
 with accus. 121 d<sup>2</sup>  
 וַיַּרְפוּ 75 qq  
 וַיַּרְפוּ 23 f, 75 qq  
 וַיַּרְשׁוּךְ 69 s  
 וַיַּרְשִׁיעַ 69 s  
 וַיַּרְשִׁיעָה 44 d  
 וַיַּרְשִׁעֶם 44 d  
 וַיַּרְשִׁעוּ 26 p<sup>2</sup>, 75 q  
 וַיַּרְשִׁעוּם 69 k  
 וַיַּרְשִׁעוּ 60 d, 75 bb,  
 131 m<sup>3</sup>  
 וַיַּרְשִׁעוּם? 65 f  
 וַיַּרְשִׁעוּם 69 u  
 וַיַּרְשִׁיעָה 71  
 וַיַּרְשִׁיעָה 75 q  
 וַיַּרְשִׁיעוּהוּ 75 kk  
 וַיַּרְחֵא 68 h  
 וַיַּרְחִי 75 bb  
 וַיַּרְחִימָהּ 55 g  
 וַיַּרְחִימוּ 67 g  
 וַיַּרְחֹשׁ בּוֹ 29 g  
 וַיַּרְחֹשׁ 104 g  
 וַיַּרְחֹשׁ 73 d

וַיַּרְחֹשׁ 73 d  
 וַיַּרְחֹשׁ in perfect  
 (rare) 44 l; in imperfect  
 47 m, n; less frequent with  
 wāw consec. 49 d<sup>1</sup>. Cf.  
 וַיַּרְחֹשׁ  
 וַיַּרְחֹשׁ 64 i  
 וַיַּרְחֹשׁ? 69 r, 76 f  
 וַיַּרְחֹשׁ II 2 tt<sup>1</sup>  
 וַיַּרְחֹשׁ 49 e<sup>2</sup>  
 וַיַּרְחֹשׁ 75 h  
 וַיַּרְחֹשׁ 49 e<sup>2</sup>  
 וַיַּרְחֹשׁ 67 y  
 וַיַּרְחֹשׁ 44 f  
 וַיַּרְחֹשׁ? 19 k<sup>2</sup>  
 וַיַּרְחֹשׁ 75 l  
 וַיַּרְחֹשׁ 28 b, 104 d  
 וַיַּרְחֹשׁ 104 g  
 וַיַּרְחֹשׁ 44 d  
 וַיַּרְחֹשׁ 75 qq  
 וַיַּרְחֹשׁ 104 g  
 וַיַּרְחֹשׁ 8 k  
 וַיַּרְחֹשׁ 67 ee  
 וַיַּרְחֹשׁ 75 n  
 וַיַּרְחֹשׁ 75 rr  
 וַיַּרְחֹשׁ 44 f, 72 o  
 וַיַּרְחֹשׁ (ψ 23<sup>6</sup>)? 69 m<sup>1</sup>  
 וַיַּרְחֹשׁ nouns ending  
 in 86 k, 95 t, plur. of 95 u  
 וַיַּרְחֹשׁ 72 k  
 וַיַּרְחֹשׁ 76 h  
 וַיַּרְחֹשׁ 48 d  
 וַיַּרְחֹשׁ 47 l  
 וַיַּרְחֹשׁ 72 h  
 וַיַּרְחֹשׁ 69 r  
 וַיַּרְחֹשׁ 75 ii  
 וַיַּרְחֹשׁ for וַיַּרְחֹשׁ 23 f,  
 68 k  
 וַיַּרְחֹשׁ 74 l  
 וַיַּרְחֹשׁ 23 f

וַתִּחַלֶּקֶם 63 *m*  
 וַתַּחֲשׁ 72 *ff*  
 וַתִּיפִי 76 *f*  
 וַתִּלְוֶהָ ? 72 *t*  
 וַתִּמְוֶנֶנּוּ 72 *cc*  
 וַתִּנְיָהוּ 70 *e*  
 וַתַּעֲנֵב 63 *m*  
 וַתַּעֲט 72 *ff*  
 וַתַּעֲצֵר 65 *e*  
 וַתַּעֲצֵנוּ 60 *d*  
 וַתַּמְרְבוּ ? 60 *a*<sup>1</sup>  
 וַתֵּרָא 75 *p*  
 וַתִּרְצַן 27 *o*, 67 *p*  
 וַתִּשְׁמֹנוּ ? 58 *g*  
 וַתִּתְחַצֵּב 71  
 ז (Moab.) for יָהּ  
 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*  
 זֶלַת 90 *l*, 101 *a*  
 זִיָּה 73 *d*  
 זִיקוֹת 20 *n*  
 זָבָו 67 *ee*  
 זָמְמָתִי 67 *aa*  
 זָפְרָה 52 *p*  
 זָמְרָת ? 80 *g*  
 זָנְבוֹת 93 *ee*  
 זָעִיר 86 *g*<sup>1</sup>  
 זָעֻמָּה 63 *p*, 64 *c*  
 זָעַת 95 *e*  
 זָרָו 67 *m*  
 זָרְמוּ 55 *l*

ה with dageš f.  
 implicitum 22 *c*  
 הָבִי 75 *qq*  
 הִבְלִיחַ 63 *l*  
 הִבְלִיחַתִּי 59 *g*<sup>1</sup>  
 הִבְרַחְתוּ 84<sup>b</sup> *g*  
 הִנָּא 95 *d*  
 הִנְנוּ 93 *x*  
 הִנְנִי 67 *ff*  
 הִרָא (אָהָר) 96  
 הִרְלוּ 20 *i*  
 הִתְחַיִּים 93 *w*  
 הִוָּטָא 75 *oo*  
 הִוָּל תְּחִיל ? 73 *d*  
 הִוָּמְתִּים 95 *o*  
 הִנְפִי 27 *n*  
 הִוָּרִי 86 *i*, 87 *g*  
 הִוָּתָם 84<sup>a</sup> *r*  
 הִוָּל 23 *k*<sup>1</sup>  
 הִוָּה (2S24<sup>11</sup>)<sup>1</sup> 93 *rr*  
 הִוָּר 84<sup>a</sup> *o*  
 הִוָּר 84<sup>a</sup> *o*  
 הִוָּקָה 45 *d*  
 הִוָּקִי 93 *ee*  
 הִוָּטָאִים 23 *e*, 74 *i*,  
 75 *oo*  
 הִטּוּ 75 *qq*  
 הִי נִפְשָׁךְ, הִי יָהוּה, הִי 93 *aa*<sup>1</sup>,  
 149 *a*<sup>1</sup>, *c*  
 הִי אֲנִי 32 *c*  
 הִיָּה what forms  
 take Metheg 16 *f*, pointing  
 of 63 *g*, shortened forms of  
 in imperfect 75 *s*, perfect  
 forms as if from הִי 76 *i*  
 הִיָּצוּן 27 *w*  
 הִיָּת ? 80 *f*  
 הִיָּתוּ 90 *o*  
 הִנְנִי 23 *l*, 75 *aa*, *hh*  
 הִתְחַמְּוֹת 86 *l*

הִלָּב 93 *dd*  
 הִחְלוּנִי 87 *g*  
 הִלְוִיתִי הִיא 67 *r*  
 הִלְוִיָּה 105 *b*  
 הִלָּל 67 *cc*  
 הִלְכָאִים ? 93 *x*  
 הָם 96  
 הִכָּה 23 *f*  
 הִמְוָטָל 90 *k*  
 הִפְוִיתִי 67 *ee*  
 הִמְלָה, הִמְלָה 45 *b*  
 הִמְשִׁי 98 *a*  
 הִמְשִׁת 94 *f*  
 הִמְשִׁת עֲשָׂר 97 *e*  
 הִמְשִׁתוּ 91 *l*  
 הִנּוֹת 67 *r*  
 הִנְךָ 91 *e*  
 הִנָּם 118 *g*  
 הִנְנִי 67 *a*  
 הִנְנִי 20 *b*, 63 *l*,  
 67 *cc*  
 הִסְרִי 93 *m*  
 הִסְרִיה 82  
 הִצּוּ 91 *k*  
 הִצּוּצֵר 55 *e*  
 הִצּוּצֵרָה 55 *e*, 84<sup>b</sup> *n*  
 הִצּוּצֵיךְ 93 *bb*  
 הִקָּךְ 93 *bb*  
 הִקָּכָם 93 *bb*  
 הִקָּקִי 10 *g*, 93 *bb*  
 הִרְבּוּ 46 *d*  
 הִרְבִּי 63 *l*  
 הִרְדַּת 95 *g*  
 הִרְוּ 67 *ee*  
 הִרְשׁ 84<sup>b</sup> *b*  
 הִשְׁפִּי ? 87 *g*  
 הִשְׁפִּי 46 *d*, 63 *l*  
 הִשְׁפִּים 72 *p*  
 הִשְׁמַל 85 *s*



טָאָט 55 *f*  
 טָבַח 65 *b*  
 טָבַח 84<sup>b</sup> *b*  
 טוֹב 72 *c, n*, 78 *b*  
 טוֹטְפוֹת 19 *o*, 84<sup>b</sup> *o*  
 טָנָא 22 *e*  
 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. '  
 reappearing in poet. forms  
 of verbs לָהּ 75 *u, v*, *dd, gg*

יָאָבֵר 53 *n*  
 יָאוֹר 72 *h*  
 יָאִחוּז 68 *b*  
 יָאִחוּז 68 *b*  
 יָאִחוּזִי 64 *a*  
 יָאָטִם 63 *m*  
 יָאִבְלוֹן 68 *c*  
 יָאִמֵר 68 *c*  
 יָאִסַף 68 *b, h*  
 יָאִסַר 26 *i*, 63 *e*  
 יָאֵר 1 *i*  
 יָאֵשׁ 64 *e*  
 יָאִשְׁמוּ 67 *p*<sup>2</sup>  
 יָאִתָּו 72 *h*  
 יָבוֹא 72 *h*  
 יָבוֹשׁ 72 *h*  
 יָבֶעֱרֵר 53 *n*  
 יָבִשְׁתָּ 69 *n*, 70 *a n*  
 יָבִיד 53 *n*  
 יָנַפֵּא 75 *oo*  
 יָנַן 67 *p*  
 יָנַן impf. of 78 *b*  
 יָנַר 67 *g* (Addit.)  
 יָד 93 *mm*

יָדָה 76 *a*  
 יָדָה 76 *a*  
 יָדָה 76 *f*  
 יָדָה 69 *u*  
 יָדָד 67 *cc*, 76 *a*  
 יָדָן 72 *r*  
 יָדָי ? 87 *f*  
 יָדָם 91 *k*  
 יָדָל 67 *g* (Addit.)  
 יָדָפוּ 67 *g*  
 יָדָמוּ 67 *g*  
 יָדָעוּן 44 *l*  
 יָדָעַן טָנָן 120 *b*<sup>1</sup>  
 יָדָעַת 44 *i*  
 יָדָשְׁנָה ? 48 *d*  
 יָהֵב 69 *o*  
 יָהֵגָה 63 *m*  
 יָהֵדָף 63 *e*  
 יָהֵוֹא 27 *w*  
 יָהֵוֹא 23 *i*, 75 *s*  
 יָהֵוֹדָה 53 *q*  
 יָהֵוֹה 17 *e*, its pro-  
 nunciation with prefixes  
 102 *m*; יָצָאוֹת 125 *h*  
 יָהֵבֵל 53 *q*  
 יָהֵלְשִׁיעַ 53 *q*  
 יָהֵי 75 *s*  
 יָהֵי 9 *f*, 75 *s*  
 יָהֵל 67 *p*  
 יָהֵל ? 68 *k*  
 יָהֵצָה 90 *f*  
 יָיָאֵר 53 *u*  
 יָיִדְעָתִי ? 55 *b*  
 יָיָדָשׁ 53 *u*  
 יָיָחַל 53 *u*  
 יָיָבַח 65 *f*  
 יָיָבַל 53 *u*, 69 *r*  
 יָיָלָד (ptcp.) 52 *s*  
 יָיִם 96  
 יָיִמָם 100 *g*<sup>1</sup>

יָיִנְקוֹת 95 *q*  
 יָיִסָף ? 50 *e*  
 יָיָצַת 74 *i*  
 יָיָקְשִׁים (ptcp.) 52 *s*  
 יָיָרָא 69 *w*  
 יָיָרָה 69 *r*  
 יָיָשְׁבַתִּי 90 *n*  
 יָיָשָׁר 53 *u*  
 יָיָשָׁר 53 *u*, 73 *a*  
 יָיָשַׁת 53 *u*, 73 *a*<sup>1</sup>  
 יָיָבַח 65 *e*  
 יָיָמוּ 67 *dd*  
 יָיָבְלוּ 63 *g*  
 יָיָבְרָד 60 *b*, 63 *m*  
 יָיָבֶשׁ 63 *d*  
 יָיָבֶשׁ 63 *d*  
 יָיָחַד 28 *e*<sup>2</sup>, 75 *r*  
 יָיָחַדוּ 91 *k*  
 יָיָחַדוּ 135 *r*  
 יָיָחֲזִינוּ 47 *m*  
 יָיָחֲזָקֵל 27 *q*  
 יָיָחֲזָקִי 63 *g*  
 יָיָחִי 75 *s*  
 יָיָחִי 75 *s*  
 יָיָחֲזִינוּ ? 20 *n*, 60 *d*,  
 67 *v*  
 יָיָחֲלוּ 20 *i*  
 יָיָחַם 67 *g*  
 יָיָחֲמַתִּי 64 *h*  
 יָיָחוּ 53 *u*  
 יָיָחַנָּד 60 *b*, 67 *n*  
 יָיָחֲנַן 67 *cc*  
 יָיָחַם 72 *r*  
 יָיָחֲפִין 29 *u*  
 יָיָחֲצִינוּ 51 *m*  
 יָיָחֲקִי 53 *u*, 67 *y*  
 יָיָחַת 66 *f*  
 יָיָחַתָּה 63 *m*  
 יָיָחַתָּו 20 *i*  
 יָיָטָפֵא 19 *d*

יִדַע 69 b <sup>1</sup> , p	יָנַח 66 e	יְקַדְעִים 21 e <sup>1</sup>
יִיטִיב 70 d	יָנִי 74 k, 76 h	יְקוֹט 72 r
יִיטִיב 70 e	יָנִיחַ 72 ee	יְקוֹם 72 t
יִלְלִיל 70 d	יִנְצָרוּ 66 f	יְקוֹם 72 h
יִיכָף ? 73 f	יִנְקָה 75 hh	יְקַח 53 u
יִיקַר 69 b <sup>1</sup>	יִנְשׂוּא ? 23 i, 47 n, 75 oo	יְקַחוּ 20 m
יִישָׂרוּ 70 b	יִסַּב (Addit.) 67 g	יְקַטְלֵנָה 47 k
יִכְלָה 75 qq	יִסַּנ 72 dd	יְקַסְקִוּוּ 29 g
יִכְלִיתוּ 44 e	יִסִּיג 72 ee	יְקַם (juss.) 72 t
יִכְסִימוּ 75 mm	יִסִּית 72 ee	יְקַם 53 u
יִכְסִימוּ 75 dd	יִסְפְּרוּ 67 o	יְקַנ 78 b
יִכַּח 53 u, 67 g, y	יִסְפָּה 69 h <sup>1</sup> , 78 c	יְקַנֵּה 93 ww
יִלְבַּב 67 cc	יִסְפָּה 68 b	יְקַר 84 <sup>a</sup> n
יִלְדִיתִיךְ 27 s, 44 d	יִסְרָה 52 p	יְקַרָּא 75 rr
יִלְוֹד 27 w, 84 <sup>b</sup> e	יִסְרָךְ 61 d	יְקַרְאָהוּ 60 c
יִלְנֹה 72 ee	יִסְרִי 59 f	יְקַרְאוּ 60 c, 74 e
יִלְיוּ 72 ee	יִעֲבְרוּ 53 n	יְקַרְה 75 rr
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מִלּוּשָׁנִי 55 b, 90 m	מִעוֹרִים 53 o	מִרְפָּא 75 rr
מִלּוֹן 72 ee	מִעוּזוֹ 90 o	מִרְתָּ 22 s
מִלְכִי 46 d	מִעַל־לְ 119 c <sup>2</sup>	מִשְׁאוֹת, מִשָּׂא (infin.) 45 e
מִלְמַעְלָה 99 e, 119 c <sup>2</sup>	מִעֲלָה (infin.) 45 d	74 h
מִלָּף 68 k	מִעֲלוֹ 93 ss	מִשְׁאוֹן 85 u
מִלְפָּנַי 119 c	מִעֵת 133 e <sup>4</sup>	מִשְׁחַח? 80 b <sup>2</sup>
מִלְשָׁנִי 64 i	מִפְּנֵי 119 c	מִשְׁכֹּב 46 d
מִלְתִּי 23 f	מִצְאֵן, 74 h	מִשְׁלֹחַ (Inf.) 45 e
מִכּוּז 119 c <sup>2</sup>	מִצָּב 92 g	מִשָּׁם 119 c <sup>2</sup>
מִמְחִים 75 dd, 93 ss	מִצְוֹתָד 91 n	מִשְׁמִים 67 cc
מִפְּנֵי 103 m, 135 o <sup>3</sup>	מִצֵּל 67 v	מִשָּׁק 85 h
מִפְּעַל 119 c <sup>2</sup>	מִצְפֹּן לְ 130 a <sup>3</sup>	מִשְׁקָל 92 g
מִפְּרָם 85 g	מִצְרָיִם 88 c	מִשְׁרַת 80 d, 94 f
מִמְתָּחִים 85 g <sup>1</sup>	מִצְתִּי 23 f	מִשְׁרַתִּי אֹתִי 116 g <sup>1</sup>
מִן preposition	מִקְדְּשֵׁיהֶם 93 oo <sup>1</sup>	מִשְׁתַּחֲוִיָּתָם 75 kk
101 a; its punctuation	מִקְהָלִים 93 qq	מִשְׁתִּי, מִשְׁתִּים 97 b <sup>1</sup>
102 b; with suffixes		מִשְׁתִּיהֶם 93 ss
103 i, m; its meanings		מִת 72 c <sup>2</sup> , n
119 v-z; partitive 119 w <sup>2</sup> ;		מִתְאַשָּׁל 90 k
negative force of 119 w-y;		מִתְנַשֵּׁלַח 90 k
with the comparative		מִתְחַת 119 c <sup>2</sup>
		מִתְנַחֲשִׁים? 64 i

מָתָם 85 <i>k</i>	נָהָה 66 <i>c</i>	נִקְבְּרוּת 121 <i>d</i> <sup>1</sup>
מָתָן 92 <i>g</i>	נִהְלַחַת 64 <i>d</i>	נָכָה forms of 76 <i>c</i>
נ as preforma-	נִהְרִים 88 <i>c</i> , 93 <i>ee</i>	נִכְחוּ 27 <i>w</i>
tion of nouns 85 <i>n</i>	נִינִי 69 <i>t</i>	נִכְרַר 93 <i>gg</i>
נָא 105 <i>b</i> , em-	נִוְהֵם 93 <i>ss</i>	נִכְרַשׁוּעַ 29 <i>g</i>
phasizing a cohortative	נִוַחַ (inf. constr.) 72 <i>q</i>	נִלְוֹ (imper.) 51 <i>o</i>
103 <i>b, c</i> , a jussive 109 <i>b, c</i> ;	נִוְטִיהֶם 93 <i>ss</i>	נִמְכְּבוּהוּ 75 <i>y</i>
with an imperative 110 <i>d</i>	נִוְלְדוּ 69 <i>t</i>	נִמוֹנ 72 <i>v</i>
נָאדָר 23 <i>b</i>	נִוַעַ (inf. constr.) 72 <i>q</i>	נִמוּל 72 <i>ee</i>
נָאדָרִי? 90 <i>l</i>	נִוַה forms of 76 <i>c</i>	נִמְלִיחֶם 67 <i>dd</i>
נָאִוָּה 75 <i>x</i>	נִוְלוּ 67 <i>dd</i>	נִמְצָאִים 93 <i>oo</i>
נָאוּ 73 <i>g</i> , 75 <i>x</i>	נִחְבָּאִים 93 <i>oo</i>	נִכְרַר 72 <i>dd</i>
נָאוֹת 72 <i>h</i>	נִחְפָּאֶת 63 <i>c</i>	נִסְכָּה 67 <i>dd</i>
נָאחֲזוּ 68 <i>i</i>	נִחְפָּה 75 <i>pp</i>	נִסָּה 76 <i>b</i>
נָאם 50 <i>a</i> <sup>1</sup>	נִחַה forms of 78 <i>c</i>	נִסוֹג 72 <i>r, v</i>
נָאף 64 <i>e</i>	נִחַה 66 <i>c</i>	נִסוֹג אַחֲרֵי 29 <i>e</i>
נָאץ 52 <i>o</i> , 64 <i>e</i>	נִחַה 66 <i>c</i>	נִסְבְּחֶם 91 <i>k</i>
נָאצוּחֵיךְ 84 <sup>b</sup> <i>e</i>	נִחַה 91 <i>e</i>	נִעְבְּדֶם 60 <i>b</i>
נָאֵר 64 <i>e</i>	נִחַל 67 <i>u</i>	נִעוּר 72 <i>ee, v</i>
נָאֲרִים 67 <i>u</i>	נִחְלָה (from חֻלָּה) 63 <i>c</i>	נִעְתּוּר 63 <i>c</i>
נָאֲרִיחַ 64 <i>e</i>	נִחְלָה 90 <i>f</i>	נִעְתְּרוֹת 63 <i>c</i>
נָבִאִים 93 <i>oo</i>	נִחְלָה? 80 <i>g</i>	נִפְלֵאת 74 <i>g</i>
נָבִיחַ 67 <i>dd</i>	נִחַם 66 <i>f</i>	נִפְלֵאתָה 75 <i>oo</i>
נָבִיחַת 75 <i>gg</i>	נִחְמִים 67 <i>u, dd</i>	נִפְלוּ 61 <i>b</i>
נָבִיחַה 67 <i>dd</i>	נִחְנוּ 32 <i>d</i>	נִפְלֵל 55 <i>d</i>
נָבִיחוּ 51 <i>h</i>	נִגְחָנֶת 23 <i>f</i> <sup>1</sup>	נִפְיִן 67 <i>dd</i> , 78 <i>b</i>
נָבִיחַה 93 <i>i</i>	נִחַר 67 <i>u</i>	נִפְצָה 67 <i>dd</i>
נָבִיחוֹת 93 <i>r</i>	נִחְרוּ 75 <i>x</i>	נִפְשׁוּ שְׁנַיִם 132 <i>g</i> , 134 <i>e</i> <sup>1</sup>
נָבִיחוּתִי 86 <i>i</i>	נִחַת 95 <i>k</i>	נִצַּב forms of 78 <i>b</i>
נָבִיחַת? 80 <i>f</i>	נִחַת 67 <i>u</i>	נִצָּה 91 <i>e</i>
נָבִילוֹת 75 <i>x</i>	נִחַת 67 <i>u</i>	נִצָּנִים 85 <i>u</i> <sup>1</sup>
נָבִיפוּ 61 <i>a</i>	נִחַתוֹם 63 <i>c</i>	נִצָּרָה 48 <i>i</i>
נָבִישׁ forms of 78 <i>c</i>	נִחַתוֹ forms of 76 <i>c</i>	נִקְבְּצוּ (imper.) 51 <i>o</i>
נָבִי? 72 <i>n</i>	נִחַת 66 <i>c</i>	נִקּוּם 72 <i>h</i>
נָבִירָה 67 <i>cc</i>	נִחַתוֹת 75 <i>v</i>	נִקְטָה 72 <i>dd</i>
נָבִיחוּ 92 <i>b</i> <sup>1</sup>	נִפְיוּ 75 <i>x</i>	נִקְטָפוּ 72 <i>dd</i>
נָבִיחַי 20 <i>m</i>	נִסְמָאִים 93 <i>oo</i>	נִקְיָא 23 <i>i</i>
נָבִיחַת 92 <i>b</i> <sup>1</sup>	נִטַע 65 <i>d</i>	נִקְיָת 75 <i>x</i>
נָבִיחַת 66 <i>c</i>	נִיגַם 76 <i>f</i>	נִקְרָא 75 <i>rr</i>

נָרָא (Is 41 <sup>28</sup> Keth.)	סָפִי 69 <i>h</i> <sup>1</sup>	uses of 119 <i>aa-dd</i> ; causa
48 <i>g</i> <sup>1</sup>	סָפוֹת (from נָסַף) ?	with perfect 158 <i>b</i> , wit
נָרַד 26 <i>r</i>	69 <i>h</i> <sup>1</sup>	infin. 158 <i>c</i> ; concessiv
נָרְפָאִי 75 <i>oo</i>	סָפְרִים <i>a letter</i> 124 <i>b</i> <sup>1</sup>	160 <i>c</i>
נָרְפָתָה 75 <i>qq</i>	סָרִים 84 <sup>b</sup> <i>f</i>	עָלִיוֹן 133 <i>g</i> <sup>1</sup>
נָשָׂא 66 <i>c</i> , 76 <i>b</i>	סָרַר 67 <i>cc</i>	עָלְיָהּ Is 23 <sup>7</sup> without
נָשָׂא forms of 76 <i>b</i>	סָתָמוֹם 60 <i>h</i>	article 126 <i>z</i> <sup>2</sup>
נָשָׂאת 76 <i>b</i>	ע pronunciation	עָלִימוֹ 103 <i>f</i> <sup>3</sup>
נָשָׂאת 74 <i>i</i> , 94 <i>f</i>	6 <i>e</i> ; with dageš <i>f</i> . implici-	עַם its origin
נָשָׂא 23 <i>i</i> , 75 <i>oo</i>	tum 22 <i>a-c</i>	101 <i>a</i> ; pointing, with su-
נָשָׂי 75 <i>qq</i>	עָבְרִי 2 <i>b</i> , 9 <i>b</i>	103 <i>c</i>
נָשָׂקָה 66 <i>e</i>	עָגַב 84 <sup>a</sup> <i>t</i>	עָמְדָךְ 61 <i>d</i>
נָשָׂא 75 <i>oo</i>	עָנֹל 93 <i>kk</i>	עָמוּקָה ? 93 <i>kk</i>
נָשָׂאֵר 48 <i>g</i> <sup>1</sup>	עָדָהֶם 32 <i>n</i>	עָפִי plur. apoc
נָשָׂדְנוּ 67 <i>u</i>	עַד, poetic עָרִי 103 <i>o</i> ; with	87 <i>f</i>
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נָשָׂתָה ? 75 <i>x</i>	עָדוּתִי ? 91 <i>n</i>	עָנְבִי 20 <i>h</i>
נָשָׂתָה 75 <i>l</i>	עָדִים 29 <i>e</i> <sup>1</sup>	עָנִי 63 <i>l</i>
נָתַן forms of 78 <i>c</i>	עָדִיכֶם 103 <i>o</i>	עָנִי 63 <i>l</i>
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157 <i>b</i> <sup>2</sup>	עָוִן 55 <i>c</i>	עָזַן 9 <i>l</i> , 26 <i>o</i> <sup>1</sup>
נָתַן 66 <i>i</i> , 69 <i>m</i> <sup>2</sup>	עָוֹל 93 <i>u</i>	עָצְבוֹן 93 <i>uu</i>
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נָתַתָּה 44 <i>g</i> , 66 <i>h</i>	עָזָאוֹל 30 <i>n</i>	עָרְבֵי־אִם 93 <i>x</i>
נָסָאָה ? 55 <i>f</i>	עָזְבוֹנֶיךָ 93 <i>uu</i>	עָרְפִים 88 <i>c</i>
נָסָבוֹת 67 <i>d</i> <sup>1</sup>	עָרַת 80 <i>g</i>	עָרוֹ 75 <i>cc</i>
נָסָבִי 103 <i>o</i>	עָטָה 75 <i>v</i>	עָרוֹם 118 <i>n</i> , 146
נָסָבִי 50 <i>e</i>	עֵי 24 <i>b</i> , 93 <i>y</i>	עָרוּמִים 93 <i>pp</i>
נָסָלוֹ 10 <i>h</i> , 93 <i>q</i>	עֶז 82	עָרוֹת (Hb 3 <sup>13</sup> ) 7.
נָסַג 72 <i>p</i>	עֵינוֹת 93 <i>v</i>	עָרְכָה 48 <i>i</i>
נָסָפָתָה 90 <i>f</i>	עֵיר 96	עָרְכִי 48 <i>i</i>
נָסָרָה 72 <i>p</i>	עֵירָה 91 <i>e</i>	עָרְלָה 95 <i>d</i>
נָסָתָה 91 <i>e</i>	עֵירוֹ 93 <i>v</i>	עָרְמָם 91 <i>e</i>
נָסִינִי 24 <i>g</i> <sup>1</sup>	עֵירֹם 27 <i>w</i>	עָשָׁבוֹת 20 <i>h</i> , 93 <i>o</i>
נָסָה 91 <i>e</i>	עֵל 2 <i>f</i> <sup>1</sup>	עָשָׂה 69 <i>m</i> <sup>2</sup>
נָסָר 6 <i>k</i>	עֵל its origin	עָשָׂה־לִּי 23 <i>k</i> <sup>1</sup>
נָסָם 85 <i>t</i> , 87 <i>h</i>	עֵלִי 101 <i>a</i> ; poetic 103 <i>o</i> ;	עָשָׂהוּ 75 <i>n</i>



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  
עֲשִׂישָׁה 67 cc  
עֲשִׂישׁוּ 67 cc  
עֲשִׂיתִי 97 e<sup>1</sup>  
עֲשִׂיתָרְח 95 q<sup>1</sup>  
עֲתָה 90 h  
עֲתִיק 84<sup>b</sup> f  
עַת נִשְׁבְּרָה ? 116 g<sup>1</sup>  
פֶּאֶרָה 23 c  
פֶּדְהָצוֹר 23 k<sup>1</sup>  
פְּרִיּוֹם 85 t  
פֶּה 96  
פּוֹנֵת 80 f  
פָּחַם (Ne 5<sup>14</sup>) ? 91 e  
פִּיּוֹת 96  
פִּימוּ 91 f  
פִּלָּא 93 k  
פִּלָּא 22 e  
פִּלְנָ 52 n  
פֶּן with imperf.  
twice perf.) 107 q and  
note<sup>3</sup>, 152 w (end), after  
deas of fearing 152 w  
פִּנְהָ 91 e  
פִּנְיָאֵל 90 k  
פִּנְיִם 145 h  
פִּנְיִמוּ 103 f<sup>3</sup>  
פֶּעַל 39 e, 41 d  
פֶּעְלוּ 93 q  
פִּפְיּוֹת 96  
פִּתְקֻקֹּחַ 84<sup>b</sup> n  
פִּרְאָ 22 e

פִּרְאוֹת 75 rr  
פִּרְדָּם 1 i  
פִּרְיָ 93 x  
פִּרְיָ 9 f  
פִּרְיִין 84<sup>b</sup> f  
פִּרְשׁ 84<sup>b</sup> b  
פִּרְשׁוּ 56  
פִּרְשִׁים 93 dd  
פִּרְתָּ 80 g  
פִּתְאִים 93 x  
פֶּאֶן with 3rd fem.  
pl. 132 g, 145 c  
פִּצְאִינוּ ? 123 a<sup>1</sup>  
פִּצְאָת 69 m  
פִּצְאָת 95 e  
פִּצְבָּאוֹת 125 h  
פִּצְבָּאִים 93 x  
פִּצְבִּיָּה 75 qq  
פִּצְדַּק מֶן 133 b<sup>2</sup>  
פִּצְדַּקְתָּךְ 52 p  
פִּצְהָרִים 88 c  
פִּצּוֹר (verb) 67 n  
פִּצְרִי 72 s  
פִּצְרִינִים 86 g  
פִּצְחָה 84<sup>b</sup> c  
פִּצְיָ, צִי 93 y  
פִּצְלָלוּ 67 cc  
פִּצְלָלִי 10 g  
פִּצְלָמוֹת 30 r, 81 d<sup>2</sup>  
פִּצְלַע 93 gg  
פִּצְלַע 93 gg  
פִּצְפֹּתְתוֹנִי 55 d  
פִּצְעֻקִי 46 d  
פִּצְפּוֹ passive ptc.  
75 v  
פִּצְפְּרַע 81 d<sup>2</sup>, 85 w  
פִּצְצוֹן ? 44 l, 72 o

קָאֵם for קָם 9b, 23 g,  
analogous cases 72 p  
קָאָת 80 g  
קָבְהָלִי 9 v, 67 o  
קָבְנוּ the ן not com-  
pensatory 20 o, for קָבְנִי  
67 o, doubtful form 100 o<sup>2</sup>  
קָבְצָה 52 l  
קָרְבִּית 85 u  
קָרְשִׁים 9 v, 93 r  
קָרְשִׁים 124 h  
קָהֶלֶת 145 h  
קוֹל = hark !  
146 b  
קוֹלִי constr. st. 90 n  
קוֹמָה 72 s  
קוֹמוּ צָא 20 g  
קוֹמִים 72 p  
קוֹף 1 i  
קוֹרְתָהוּ 21 c  
קָח ? for לָקַח 19 i,  
66 g  
קָחָם ? for לָקַחַם 19 i,  
66 g  
קָחַם־נָא 58 g, 61 g,  
66 g  
קָחַת 66 g, 93 h  
קָחְבָּךְ 93 q  
קָחְלִנִי 26 g  
קָחְלָתִי 19 f  
קָחְנִי ? 93 q  
קָחַר 52 o  
קָיָא 76 h  
קָיָ 76 h  
קָיִטוֹר 84<sup>a</sup> u  
קָיִם 72 m  
קָיִטְנִי 91 f  
קָלֹו 67 ee  
קָם 72 g

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red for **שׁוּב** 19 *i*, 69 *g*; in-  
 fin. constr. (once) of **שׁוּב** 72 *g*  
**שׁוּבִי** (imper.) 72 *s*  
**שׁוּבִי** + 72 *b*  
**שׁוּשְׁתִּי** 75 *z*  
**שָׁחַדוּ** 22 *p*, 64 *a*  
**שָׁחַד** 67 *ee*  
**שָׁחַחוּ** 67 *cc*  
**שָׁחַחָהּ** ? 64 *a*  
**שָׁחַת** 95 *k*  
**שָׁחַלְתִּי** 85 *v*  
**שָׁחַתוּ** 93 *v*  
**שָׁכַב** 45 *c*  
**שָׁכַבָהּ** 61 *c*, 93 *s*  
**שָׁכַחְתָּ** 65 *g*  
**שָׁכַחוּ** 44 *c*  
**שָׁכַחְתִּי** 90 *n*  
**שָׁלַחְתָּ** 55 *i*, 85 *o*  
**שָׁלַח בָּהּ** 21 *c*  
**שָׁלַח** with accus.  
 121 *d*<sup>1</sup>  
**שָׁלוֹם** subst. and  
 adj. 141 *c*<sup>2</sup>  
**שָׁלַח** 65 *a*  
**שָׁלַחוּ** 52 *o*  
**שָׁלַחְתָּ** 61 *k*, 65 *d*  
**שָׁלַחְתָּ** 21 *f*, 28 *e*<sup>2</sup>  
**שָׁלַחְתִּי** 129 *h*<sup>1</sup>  
**שָׁלַחְתִּי** 84<sup>a</sup> *g*  
**שָׁלַחְתִּי** 52 *o*  
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**שָׁלַחְתִּי** 90 *k*  
**שָׁלַחְתִּי** (inf.) 67 *r*  
**שָׁלַחְתִּי** 88 *d*, 96  
**שָׁלַחְתִּי** see Additions

**שָׁמַחְתָּ** 97 *e*  
**שָׁמַחְתִּי** 46 *f*  
**שָׁמַחְתִּי** 80 *g*  
**שָׁמַחְתִּי** 48 *i*<sup>2</sup>, 61 *f*<sup>1</sup>  
**שָׁמַחְתִּי** 88 *c*  
**שָׁמַחְתִּי** 48 *i*<sup>2</sup>, 61 *f*<sup>1</sup>  
**שָׁמַחְתִּי** 23 *l*  
**שָׁמַחְתִּי** 75 *rr*  
**שָׁמַחְתִּי** (Phoen.) 7 *d*<sup>1</sup>  
**שָׁמַחְתִּי** 95 *c*<sup>1</sup>  
**שָׁמַחְתִּי** 97 *d*  
**שָׁמַחְתִּי** 80 *g*  
**שָׁמַחְתִּי** 65 *d*  
**שָׁמַחְתִּי** ? 135 *p*<sup>1</sup>  
**שָׁמַחְתִּי** 29 *i*<sup>1</sup>  
**שָׁמַחְתִּי** 86 *g*  
**שָׁמַחְתִּי** 10 *g*  
**שָׁמַחְתִּי** 80 *f*  
**שָׁמַחְתִּי** 84<sup>b</sup> *m*  
**שָׁמַחְתִּי** 93 *o*  
**שָׁמַחְתִּי** 95 *f*  
**שָׁמַחְתִּי** 22 *s*  
**שָׁמַחְתִּי** 23 *f*  
**שָׁמַחְתִּי** 22 *s*  
**שָׁמַחְתִּי** 9 *v*, 93 *r*  
**שָׁמַחְתִּי** 55 *f*  
**שָׁמַחְתִּי** 9 *u*, 26 *o*<sup>1</sup>  
**שָׁמַחְתִּי** (only Qal) 78 *b*  
**שָׁמַחְתִּי** 73 *d*  
**שָׁמַחְתִּי** 67 *ee*  
**שָׁמַחְתִּי** (inf. abs.) 75 *n*  
**שָׁמַחְתִּי** 73 *d*  
**שָׁמַחְתִּי** 97 *b*<sup>1</sup>  
**שָׁמַחְתִּי** 97 *d*

**ת** as preforma-  
 tive of nouns 85 *p-r*  
**ת**—, **ת**— original femi-  
 nine ending 80 *f, g*, 89 *e*  
**תָּאָהָבוּ** 63 *m*, 93 *t*<sup>1</sup>

**תָּאָחַר** 65 *e*  
**תָּאָכַל** 68 *c*  
**תָּאָכַלְתָּ** ? 68 *f*  
**תָּאָמְנָה** 51 *m*  
**תָּאָסַפְתָּ** 68 *h*  
**תָּאָרוּ** 93 *q*  
**תָּאָתָהּ** 68 *f*  
**תָּאָלְתָּבָא** 75 *hh*  
**תָּבִיאָהּ** 72 *k*  
**תָּבִיאָתָהּ** + 48 *d*  
**תָּבִיאָתְךָ** ? 48 *d*  
**תָּבַחְתָּ** 10 *g*<sup>3</sup>  
**תָּבַחְתִּי** as 3rd pl. fem.  
 47 *k*  
**תָּבַל** 85 *p*  
**תָּבְנָהּ** 75 *hh*  
**תָּעִיד** 53 *n*  
**תָּעַלָהּ** 75 *hh*  
**תָּדַבְּרוּ** 27 *l*  
**תָּדַבְּרוּ** 52 *n*  
**תָּדַבְּרוּנִי** 75 *oo*  
**תָּדַמְתִּי** 67 *t*  
**תָּדַמְתִּי** 75 *dd*  
**תָּדַשָׁא** 53 *n*  
**תָּהוֹם** 85 *r*  
**תָּהִיָּהּ** 75 *hh*  
**תָּהִימְנָה** 72 *k*  
**תָּהִכְרוּ** 53 *n*  
**תָּהִלְךָ** 69 *x*  
**תָּהִלְתָּ** ? 80 *g*  
**תָּהִלְתִּי** 53 *q*  
**תָּהִלְתִּי** 75 *gg*  
**תָּהִלְתִּי** 84<sup>a</sup> *r*  
**תָּהִלְתִּי** ? 50 *e*  
**תָּהִלְתִּי** 23 *f*  
**תָּהִלְתִּי** 26 *r*, 69 *v*  
**תָּהִלְתִּי** ? 51 *g*  
**תָּהִלְתִּי** 47 *k*  
**תָּהִלְתִּי** 72 *r*

תַּחֲנוּתַי	91 <i>n</i>	תַּמְקִנָּה	67 <i>dd</i>	תָּרַד	69 <i>p</i>
תַּחַת	103 <i>o</i>	תַּאֲל־תַּמְרָה	67 <i>y</i>	תַּרְדֵּמָה	85 <i>q</i>
תַּחַת	66 <i>f</i>	תַּנְדָּף ?	66 <i>f</i>	תַּרְוָמִים	(Jb 17 <sup>d</sup> ) 72 <i>c</i>
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תַּחֲתָנִי	103 <i>d</i>	תַּתְנַחַן אֶת־	121 <i>b</i> <sup>1</sup>	תַּרְנָנָה	44 <i>o</i>
תַּטְעִי	(Is 17 <sup>10</sup> )? 20 <i>m</i> <sup>3</sup>	תַּסְבִּינָה	67 <i>d</i> <sup>1</sup>	תַּרְפִּים	124 <i>h</i> , 132 <i>h</i>
תַּיֻּטְבִי	70 <i>e</i>	תַּעֲבָדִם	60 <i>b</i>	תַּרְפָּנָה	75 <i>qq</i>
תַּיְכוּן	27 <i>w</i>	תַּעֲבֹרִי	47 <i>g</i>	תַּרְצָחוּ ?	52 <i>q</i>
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תַּיִרְאוּ	(Jb 6 <sup>21</sup> +) 75 <i>t</i>	תַּעֲנֶנָּה	58 <i>k</i>	תַּשְׁנָה	(Ru 1 <sup>14</sup> ) 74 76 <i>b</i>
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תַּל־	20 <i>g</i>	תַּפּוּצוֹתֵיכֶם ?	91 <i>l</i>	תַּשְׁתַּע	75 <i>bb</i>
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תַּלְאִים	75 <i>rr</i>	תַּצְלֶנָּה	67 <i>g</i>	תַּתְאוּ ?	75 <i>bb</i> <sup>1</sup>
תַּלְבָּשׁוּן	47 <i>l</i>	תַּצְרִי	67 <i>dd</i>	תַּתְבֵּר	67 <i>l</i>
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### III

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142*b*  
7 . . 70*a*, 117*hh*  
9 . . 115*d*, 127*b*  
10 107*d*, 112*e*, 141*a*  
11 98*a*, 117*q*, 126*k*,  
134*k*, 141*n*  
12 . . . 10*g*, 141*b*  
13 . . . . 260 N.  
14 . . . . 118*g*  
15 . . . . 122*l*  
16 . . 260 N., 113*p*  
17 61*d*, 113*n*, 114*b*,  
135*c* N., 143*c*  
18 . . . 75*l*, 114*a*  
19 70*a*, 107*k*, 131*n*  
N., 145*m*

#### Genesis

- 2 21 . . . . 103*d*  
23 10*h*, 20*c*, 52*d*,  
102*g*, 125*i*, 126*b*,  
141*a*  
24 . . 107*g*, 112*m*  
25 9*o*, 72*m*, 85*t*,  
93*pp*, 107*b*, 111*d*,  
134*d*  
3 1 111*a*, 119*w*, 142*c*,  
152*b*  
2 . . . . 107*s*  
3 . . . . 72*u*  
4 . . . 72*u*, 113*v*  
5 61*d*, 112*oo*, 116*n*  
6 . 35*g*, 116*e*, 131*t*  
7 . . . 85*t*, 93*pp*  
8 . . . 118*p*, 146*f*  
10 . . . . 142*f*  
11 . . 114*s*, 150*e*  
12 . 44*g*, 68*e*, 135*c*  
13 136*c*, 142*a*, 148*b*  
14 116*r* N., 118*k*,  
119*w*  
15 . . . . 117*ll*  
16 . . . . 154*a* N.  
17 . . . . 10*g*  
19 . 29*e*, 95*e*, 141*l*  
21 . . . 60*g*, 128*o*  
22 76*i*, 96 (תרא),  
107*g*, 112*p*, 114*o*,  
124*g* N., 130*a*,  
152*w*  
24 . . . . 128*h*  
4 2 . . . 131*h*, 142*d*  
4 91*c*, 106*d*, 154*a*  
N.  
6 . . . 20*f*, 144*b*  
7 . . . . 145*u*  
9 . . . 106*g*, 150*d*  
10 . . 146*b*, 148*b*  
12 109*d*, 114*m*, 164*d*  
13 76*b*, 133*c*, 141*m*  
14 . . 112*p*, 116*g*  
15 97*h*, 114*s*, 115*k*  
116*w*, 117*e*, 134*r*  
16 . . . . 118*g*  
17 . . . . 29*e*  
18 . . . . 121*b*

#### Genesis

- 4 20 . . . . 117*bb*  
22 . . . . 127*b*  
23 . . . 44*o*, 46*f*  
24 29*g*, 134*r*, 159*bb*,  
159*dd*  
25 9*u*, 16*f*, 260 N.,  
157*b*  
26 107*c*, 135*h*, 144*k*  
5 1 115*i*, 119*h*, 125*f*  
3 . . . . 134*d*  
5 . . . . 146*c*  
20 . . . . 134*h*  
23 . . . 145*q*, 146*c*  
24 . . . . 152*m*  
6 1 . . . . 164*d*  
2 117*h*, 119*w* N.,  
128*v*  
3 . . . . 67*p*, 72*r*  
4 107*e*, 112*e*, 128*t*  
5 . . . . 157*b*  
8 . . . . 142*b*  
9 . . . . 16*b*  
11 . . . . 117*z*  
13 . . . . 117*z*  
14 112*r*, 117*ii*, 126*m*  
17 112*t*, 116*p*, 131*k*  
N., 158*a*  
18 . . . 49*l*, 72*w*  
19 . . . . 35*f*  
21 . . . . 107*g*  
22 . . . . 117*b*  
7 1 . . . 117*e*, 117*h*  
2 . . . . 138*b*  
4 112*t*, 116*p*, 118*k*,  
141*a*, 141*f*  
5 . . . . 117*b*  
6 . . . . 164*a*  
7 . . . . 146*f*  
9 . . . . 134*q*  
11 126*y*, 129*f*, 134*o*  
13 . 97*c*, 104*g*, 139*g*  
15 . . . . 127*c*  
19 . . 106*d*, 133*k*  
20 . . . . 118*h*  
21 . . . . 119*i*  
22 . . . 119*w* N.  
23 . . . 51*n*, 75*o*  
8 3 . . . 63*f*, 113*u*

## Genesis

- 8 4 . . . . . 124 o  
 5 . . . . . 129 f, 134 p  
 7 70 a N., 113 s,  
 126 r, 126 t  
 8 . . . . . 150 i  
 9 . . . . . 135 i  
 12 . . . . . 69 t  
 13 . 15 l, 72 t, 72 aa  
 14 . . . . . 129 f  
 17 . 69 v, 70 b, 119 i  
 18 . . . . . 15 g, 146 f  
 21 . . . . . 72 aa  
 22 . . . . . 104 g, 146 d  
 9 2 . . . . . 135 m  
 3 . . . . . 117 c, 138 b  
 4 . . . . . 119 n, 131 k  
 5 . . . . . 139 c  
 6 116 w, 121 f, 143 b  
 9 . . . . . 143 a  
 10 116 h, 119 i, 143 e  
 11 . . . . . 121 f, 152 b  
 14 52 d, 112 y, 117 r  
 15 . . . . . 159 g  
 16 . . . . . 131 t  
 19 . . . . . 67 dd, 134 k  
 20 . . . . . 120 b  
 21 . . . . . 75 bb, 91 e  
 22 . . . . . 117 f  
 23 117 f, 141 e, 146 f  
 24 . . . . . 70 a, 133 g  
 25 . . . . . 133 i  
 26 . . . . . 116 r N.  
 27 . . . . . 75 gg  
 10 5 . . . . . 139 b  
 9 . . . . . 107 g  
 11 . . . . . 118 f  
 17 . . . . . 35 g  
 19 . . . . . 91 d, 144 h  
 21 . . . . . 135 h  
 26 . . . . . 35 m  
 11 1 . . . . . 141 d  
 3 . . . . . 69 o, 117 r  
 4 . . . . . 107 q, 152 w  
 5 . . . . . 114 g  
 6 67 w, 67 dd, 133 d,  
 147 b  
 7 67 dd, 107 q, 124 g  
 N., 165 b  
 8 . . . . . 63 f  
 9 . . . . . 144 d  
 10 . . . . . 118 i  
 28 . . . . . 125 h  
 29 . . . . . 146 f  
 30 . . . . . 152 o  
 31 . . . . . 20 f  
 12 1 . . . . . 119 s, 121 c  
 2 63 a, 110 i, 141 d  
 3 . . . . . 116 g  
 4 . . . . . 134 h  
 7 . . . . . 116 o

## Genesis

- 12 8 . . . . . 91 e, 156 c  
 9 . . . . . 113 u  
 11 . . . . . 111 g, 114 m  
 12 112 c, 112 y, 112 hh,  
 164 d  
 13 110 d, 112 p, 141 l,  
 157 a, 165 b  
 14 111 g, 117 h, 118 u  
 15 . . . . . 118 f  
 16 . . . . . 145 o  
 17 . . . . . 117 q  
 19 111 m, 117 f, 147 b  
 13 2 . . . . . 126 m  
 3 . . . . . 138 c, 154 a N.  
 5 . . . . . 145 o  
 8 . . . . . 131 b  
 9 . 51 n, 56, 159 dd  
 10 . . . . . 144 h  
 11 . . . . . 139 e  
 12 . . . . . 142 c  
 13 . . . . . 140 a  
 14 . . . . . 104 g  
 15 . . . . . 142 g, 143 c  
 16 . . . . . 166 b  
 17 . . . . . 120 g  
 14 4 . . . . . 118 i, 134 o  
 5 . . . . . 134 o  
 6 . . . . . 93 aa, 131 f  
 9 . . . . . 134 k  
 10 27 g, 90 c, 90 i,  
 93 aa, 123 e, 130 e  
 13 . 2 b, 126 r, 128 u  
 17 . . . . . 115 a  
 18 . . . . . 129 c  
 19 . . . . . 121 f, 128 a  
 22 . . . . . 106 i  
 23 102 b, 109 g, 135 a,  
 149 c, 154 a N.  
 24 . . . . . 135 c  
 15 1 . . . . . 126 r, 131 q  
 2 116 n, 118 n, 128 v,  
 141 e  
 5 . . . . . 150 i  
 6 112 ss, 122 q, 135 p  
 7 . 29 f, 66 i, 138 d  
 10 . . . . . 139 b, 139 c  
 11 . . . . . 126 r  
 12 . . . . . 114 i  
 13 113 o, 135 p, 155 e  
 14 . . . . . 119 n  
 15 . . . . . 135 a  
 16 . . . . . 118 q  
 17 . . . . . 111 g  
 18 . . . . . 106 m, 136 b  
 16 1 . . . . . 142 b, 156 b  
 2 . 51 g, 51 p, 119 x  
 3 . . . . . 102 f  
 4 . . . . . 67 p  
 5 5 n, 103 o, 135 a,  
 135 m

## Genesis

- 16 7 . . . . . 60 d, 127 e  
 8 10 k, 76 g, 107 h,  
 116 n  
 10 . . . . . 166 a  
 11 . 80 d, 94 f, 116 n  
 12 127 c, 128 l, 156 b  
 16 . . . . . 115 f  
 17 1 . . . . . 110 f  
 4 . . . . . 143 a  
 5 117 ii, 121 b, 163 a  
 8 . . . . . 128 p  
 9 . . . . . 142 f N.  
 10 . . . . . 113 gg  
 11 67 dd, 112 aa, 121 d,  
 144 b  
 14 29 g, 67 v, 112 mm,  
 158 a, 167 b N.  
 15 . . . . . 143 b  
 17 96, 100 l, 107 t,  
 134 d, 150 g  
 19 . . . . . 49 l  
 20 . . . . . 106 m, 112 s  
 21 . . . . . 154 a  
 26 . . . . . 72 ee  
 18 1 116 o, 118 g, 141 e  
 5 . . . . . 158 b N.  
 6 . 90 c, 90 i, 131 d  
 7 . . . . . 117 f, 126 r  
 9 . . . . . 147 b  
 10 . . . . . 118 u  
 11 . . . . . 116 d, 146 d  
 12 106 n, 139 f, 141 e,  
 150 a, 150 b  
 13 . . . . . 106 g, 136 c  
 14 133 c, 139 d, 141 m  
 15 . . . . . 106 b, 163 a  
 17 . . . . . 100 l  
 18 . . . . . 75 n, 142 d  
 19 . . . . . 114 o, 165 c  
 20 128 h, 148 d, 159 ee  
 21 100 l, 108 b, 135 m,  
 138 k  
 24 . . . . . 117 g, 122 l  
 25 112 v, 115 b, 161 c  
 26 . . . . . 112 ff  
 27 . . . . . 141 e  
 28 47 m, 117 aa,  
 119 p, 134 l, 159 n  
 N., 159 r  
 29 . . . . . 134 k  
 19 1 116 o, 141 e, 141 f,  
 156 c  
 2 17 e, 20 d, 20 g,  
 100 o, 135 q, 142 g,  
 150 n, 152 c  
 4 15 l, 107 c, 152 r,  
 154 a N., 164 c  
 5 . . . . . 29 f  
 6 . . . . . 93 i  
 8 34 b, 103 b, 139 d

Genesis

19 9 . . . . . 66 c, 113 r  
 11 . . . . . 126 n  
 12 . . . . . 150 b  
 14 . . . . . 20 g, 116 d  
 15 . . . . . 152 w  
 16 15 f, 45 d, 55 g,  
 115 f  
 17 . . . . . 107 p  
 18 . . . . . 152 g  
 19 60 d, 72 n, 107 f,  
 152 w, 154 a  
 20 . . . . . 109 f  
 21 . . . . . 61 a  
 22 . . . . . 120 g  
 23 . . . . . 164 b  
 28 . . . . . 126 o  
 29 . . . . . 115 a, 124 o  
 30 . . . . . 126 r  
 31 . . . . . 133 f, 152 o  
 32 . . . . . 69 x, 117 cc  
 33 5 n, 47 l, 61 c, 93 s,  
 126 y  
 34 . . . . . 126 b  
 20 1 . . . . . 90 c  
 5 . . . . . 32 l  
 6 66 b, 75 qq, 114 m,  
 157 b N.  
 7 . . . . . 63 q, 110 i  
 9 . . . . . 107 w  
 10 . . . . . 107 v, 166 b  
 11 . . . . . 112 x, 153  
 12 . . . . . 152 d  
 13 119 u, 124 h N.,  
 127 e, 141 f, 145 i,  
 167 b  
 16 . . . . . 116 s, 134 n  
 17 . . . . . 145 u  
 18 . . . . . 106 f, 113 n  
 21 3 . . . . . 138 k  
 5 . . . . . 121 h, 128 v  
 6 . . . . . 10 g, 64 h, 114 c  
 7 106 p, 124 o, 142 f,  
 151 a  
 8 . . . . . 51 m  
 9 . . . . . 52 n  
 11 . . . . . 67 p  
 13 . . . . . 143 c  
 14 95 l, 128 q, 156 d  
 N<sup>4</sup>  
 16 75 kk, 108 b, 113 h,  
 119 k, 119 s  
 17 . . . . . 138 e  
 19 . . . . . 117 cc  
 20 . . . . . 131 b  
 23 . . . . . 20 f, 51 o  
 24 . . . . . 51 p, 135 a  
 25 . . . . . 112 rr  
 26 . . . . . 162 b  
 28 . . . . . 91 c, 127 e  
 29 . . . . . 91 f, 126 x

Genesis

21 30 . . . . . 117 d, 157 b  
 32 . . . . . 138 f, 146 h  
 22 1 . . . . . 111 g  
 3 . . . . . 135 i  
 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 *u*, 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 85 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 . . . . .	66 i, 102 f
	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 h
	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*q*  
 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*q*  
 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 . . . . 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*g*  
 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*ss* 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 i, 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 b  
 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 a, 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, 73 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 q, 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 x
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 q, 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 *x*  
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 *q*  
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 *g*, 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*

1 Samuel

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 b
	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 ad, 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 g
	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 ll
	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 ll
	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 n
	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 <i>l</i>
	33 . . . . .	53 <i>n</i>
	35 . . . . .	75 <i>mm</i> , 128 <i>v</i>
	39 . . . . .	51 <i>k</i>
	40 . . . . .	116 <i>g N</i>
21	2 . . . . .	34 <i>c</i>
	8 . . . . .	124 <i>b N</i>
	10 . . . . .	104 <i>g</i>
	11 . . . . .	116 <i>g</i> , 118 <i>q</i>
	12 . . . . .	112 <i>qq</i>
	13 . . . . .	119 <i>c</i>
	15 . . . . .	69 <i>f</i>
	19 . . . . .	74 <i>k</i> , 135 <i>f</i>
	21 . . . . .	74 <i>k</i> , 74 <i>l</i>
	25 . . . . .	72 <i>w</i>
22	3 . . . . .	150 <i>e</i>
	4 . . . . .	161 <i>c</i>
	7 . . . . .	108 <i>b</i>
	10 . . . . .	121 <i>d</i>
	12 . . . . .	110 <i>f</i>
	15 . . . . .	150 <i>c</i>
	16 . . . . .	102 <i>k</i> , 134 <i>r</i>
	23 . . . . .	126 <i>y</i>
	25 . . . . .	75 <i>pp</i>
	27 . . . . .	131 <i>c</i>
	28 . . . . .	135 <i>r</i> , 144 <i>p</i> , 159 <i>q</i>
	30 . . . . .	104 <i>g</i> , 113 <i>dd N</i>
	35 . . . . .	71
	49 . . . . .	44 <i>m</i>

## 2 Kings

1	1 . . . . .	49 <i>b</i>
	2 . . . . .	126 <i>y</i>
	3 . . . . .	152 <i>y</i>
	7 . . . . .	37 <i>f</i>
	9 . . . . .	97 <i>i</i>
	10 . . . . .	154 <i>b</i>
	11 . . . . .	120 <i>d</i>
2	1 . . . . .	10 <i>h</i> , 114 <i>q</i>
	9 . . . . .	107 <i>c</i>
	10 . . . . .	52 <i>s</i> , 114 <i>n N</i>
	16 . . . . .	93 <i>u</i> , 107 <i>q N</i> <sup>s</sup>
	20 . . . . .	72 <i>aa</i>
	21 . . . . .	75 <i>oo</i>
	22 . . . . .	75 <i>qq</i>
	24 . . . . .	122 <i>e</i>
3	3 . . . . .	135 <i>p</i>
	4 2 <i>d</i> , 112 <i>h</i> , 131 <i>k</i>	
	8 . . . . .	155 <i>d</i>
	15 . . . . .	112 <i>uu</i>
	16 . . . . .	113 <i>bb</i> , 123 <i>e</i>
	23 . . . . .	113 <i>w</i>
	24 . . . . .	75 <i>ff</i>
	25 . . . . .	112 <i>e</i>
	27 . . . . .	107 <i>k</i>
4	1 . . . . .	125 <i>b</i>
	3 . . . . .	91 <i>l</i> , 133 <i>c N</i>
	8 . . . . .	126 <i>s</i>
	13 . . . . .	114 <i>k</i> , 117 <i>r</i>

## 2 Kings

4	14 . . . . .	154 <i>b</i>
	16 . . . . .	32 <i>h</i> , 116 <i>p</i>
	23 . . . . .	90 <i>n</i>
	24 . . . . .	66 <i>c</i>
	25 . . . . .	34 <i>f</i>
	27 . . . . .	63 <i>e</i>
	31 . . . . .	29 <i>k</i>
	41 . . . . .	69 <i>f</i>
	43 . . . . .	113 <i>ee</i>
5	2 . . . . .	118 <i>q</i>
	3 . . . . .	151 <i>e</i>
	9 . . . . .	129 <i>d</i>
	10 110 <i>i</i> , 113 <i>bb</i> , 159 <i>d</i>	
	11 . . . . .	112 <i>p</i>
	12 . . . . .	107 <i>t</i>
	13 110 <i>f</i> , 142 <i>f</i> , 159 <i>cc</i>	
	17 . . . . .	104 <i>g</i> , 159 <i>dd</i>
	18 . . . . .	75 <i>kk</i>
	20 . . . . .	112 <i>gg</i> , 163 <i>d</i>
	22 . . . . .	136 <i>d</i>
	23 72 <i>t</i> , 88 <i>b</i> , 131 <i>d</i>	
	26 . . . . .	150 <i>a N</i> <sup>1</sup>
6	5 . . . . .	117 <i>m N</i>
	8 . . . . .	91 <i>n</i>
	9 . . . . .	51 <i>n</i>
	10 . . . . .	134 <i>r</i>
	11 . . . . .	36
	19 . . . . .	34 <i>b N</i> <sup>s</sup> , 52 <i>n</i>
	22 . . . . .	p. 457 <i>N</i> <sup>1</sup>
	27 . . . . .	109 <i>h</i> , 150 <i>g</i>
	29 . . . . .	74 <i>l</i>
	32 . . . . .	22 <i>s</i> , 100 <i>l</i>
7	1 . . . . .	131 <i>d</i>
	4 . . . . .	112 <i>ff</i>
	8 . . . . .	47 <i>i</i>
	10 . . . . .	135 <i>p N</i> <sup>1</sup>
	13 . . . . .	127 <i>f</i>
	18 . . . . .	10 <i>h</i>
8	1 . . . . .	32 <i>h</i>
	6 . . . . .	53 <i>m</i> , 72 <i>y</i> , 91 <i>e</i>
	8 . . . . .	126 <i>y</i>
	16 . . . . .	52 <i>l</i>
	17 . . . . .	134 <i>e</i>
	21 . . . . .	50 <i>e</i>
9	2 . . . . .	72 <i>w</i> , 76 <i>h</i>
	4 . . . . .	127 <i>g</i>
	17 . . . . .	80 <i>f</i>
	18 32 <i>n</i> , 103 <i>o</i> , 119 <i>b</i>	
	19 . . . . .	150 <i>a N</i> <sup>1</sup>
	27 . . . . .	147 <i>c</i>
	31 . . . . .	144 <i>p</i>
	33 . . . . .	76 <i>c</i>
	35 . . . . .	119 <i>m</i>
	37 . . . . .	75 <i>m</i>
10	1 . . . . .	124 <i>b N</i> <sup>s</sup> , 127 <i>f</i>
	6 . . . . .	131 <i>h N</i>
	15 . . . . .	159 <i>cc</i>
	21 . . . . .	102 <i>h</i>
	23 . . . . .	152 <i>w</i>
	29 . . . . .	93 <i>o</i>

## 2 Kings

11	1 . . . . .	112 <i>pp</i>
	2 . . . . .	116 <i>e</i>
	4 . . . . .	75 <i>gg</i> , 75 <i>q</i> , 97 <i>g</i>
	5 . . . . .	116 <i>h</i>
	12 . . . . .	74 <i>l</i>
	13 . . . . .	87 <i>e</i>
	15 . . . . .	113 <i>cc</i> , 119 <i>e</i>
12	9 . . . . .	72 <i>h</i> , 66 <i>g</i> , 93 <i>h</i>
	12 . . . . .	112 <i>pp N</i> <sup>s</sup>
13	6 . . . . .	74 <i>k</i>
	17 . . . . .	69 <i>r</i> , 76 <i>f</i>
	19 . . . . .	114 <i>k</i> , 159 <i>dd</i>
	21 . . . . .	111 <i>g</i>
14	7 . . . . .	21 <i>e</i> , 112 <i>tt</i>
	8 . . . . .	156 <i>o</i>
	14 93 <i>oo</i> , 112 <i>pp</i> , 112 <i>tt</i> , 124 <i>q</i>	
15	16 . . . . .	76 <i>c</i> , 127 <i>i</i>
	29 . . . . .	80 <i>k</i>
16	4 . . . . .	65 <i>e</i>
	7 . . . . .	72 <i>p</i>
	14 . . . . .	127 <i>h</i>
	17 . . . . .	127 <i>h</i>
	18 . . . . .	80 <i>k</i>
17	4 . . . . .	118 <i>u</i>
	6 . . . . .	134 <i>p</i>
	11 . . . . .	53 <i>p</i>
	15 . . . . .	103 <i>l</i>
	29 . . . . .	124 <i>r</i>
18	1 . . . . .	134 <i>p</i>
	4 . . . . .	112 <i>tt</i>
	17 . . . . .	128 <i>w N</i>
	20 . . . . .	44 <i>i</i>
	26 . . . . .	2 <i>a</i>
	28 . . . . .	2 <i>a</i>
	29 . . . . .	74 <i>l</i>
	30 . . . . .	121 <i>b N</i>
	36 . . . . .	112 <i>tt</i>
19	2 . . . . .	131 <i>h N</i>
	4 . . . . .	132 <i>h</i>
	14 . . . . .	124 <i>b N</i>
	21 . . . . .	72 <i>l</i>
	25 . . . . .	23 <i>f</i> , 75 <i>qq</i>
20	1 . . . . .	49 <i>a</i>
	19 . . . . .	126 <i>x</i> , 141 <i>n</i>
21	11 . . . . .	74 <i>l</i>
	12 . . . . .	67 <i>g</i>
	13 . . . . .	113 <i>h N</i>
	15 . . . . .	112 <i>tt</i>
	26 . . . . .	144 <i>d N</i>
22	1 . . . . .	134 <i>e</i>
	13 . . . . .	138 <i>b</i>
	20 . . . . .	61 <i>h</i> , 124 <i>c</i>
23	3 . . . . .	127 <i>c</i>
	4 75 <i>v</i> , 112 <i>pp</i> , 112 <i>pp</i> <i>N</i>	
	8 . . . . .	112 <i>pp N</i>
	10 . . . . .	112 <i>pp</i> , 114 <i>s</i>
	12 . . . . .	112 <i>rr</i> , 127 <i>f</i>
	14 . . . . .	112 <i>pp N</i>

## 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 g
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 . . . . .	109, 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 . . . . . 69*f*  
 17 . . . . . 93*v*  
 18 . . . . . 67*cc*  
 22 . . . . . 117*z*  
 24 . 58*i*, 119*o*, 156*d*  
 30 . . . 132*b*, 144*m*  
 32 . . . 114*k*, 119*o*  
 33 . . . . . 23*c*  
 34 . . . . . 119*o*  
 11 2 . . . . . 128*a*  
 7 . . . . . 122*e*  
 8 . . . . . 142*f*  
 9 106*u*, 114*c*, 115*d*,  
 116*fN.*, 117*n*, 126*z*  
 10 . . . . . 119*gg*  
 12 . . . . . 20*m*  
 14 . . . . . 93*hh*  
 12 1 . . . . . 109*k*  
 2 . . . . . 80*g*  
 5 . . . . . 116*e*  
 6 . . . . . 122*s*  
 13 3 . . . . . 135*n*  
 4 . . . 146*b*, 147*c*  
 6 . . . . . 118*x*  
 8 . . . 47*m*, 119*gg*  
 18 . . . . . 52*n*  
 19 . . . . . 115*d*  
 20 . . . . . 68*k*  
 22 . . . . . 145*o*  
 14 2 54*f*, 57*N<sup>a</sup>*, 117*w*  
 3 22*s*, 102*b*, 115*g*,  
 121*b*, 121*f*  
 4 . 49*k*, 49*m*, 148*b*  
 6 . . . 117*g*, 130*a*  
 9 . . . . . 145*t*  
 11 . . . 93*ss*, 145*o*  
 14 . . . . . 87*s*  
 17 . . . 116*x*, 117*o*  
 19 . 29*f*, 126*p*, 130*a*  
 23 . . . 55*f*, 113*e*  
 24 . . . 144*b*, 149*b*  
 27 . . . 116*g*, 126*k*  
 30 . . . 72*w*, 133*h*  
 31 . . . 72*v*, 113*bb*  
 15 2 . . . . . 70*a*, 96  
 5 . . . . . 72*cc*  
 7 . . . . . 155*h*  
 8 . . . . . 119*hh*  
 16 2 . . . . . 126*p*  
 4 . . . . . 145*d*  
 6 . . . . . 122*v*  
 7 . . . . . 70*d*  
 8 . . . 75*m*, 145*u*  
 9 . . . . . 75*dd*  
 10 72*bb*, 121*a*, *b*, 144*e*  
 17 1 . . . 119*x*, 121*b*  
 4 . . . . . 128*r*  
 5 . . . . . 122*n*  
 6 118*u*, 131*n* *N<sup>1</sup>*,  
 134*s*

## Isaiah

17 8 . 35*f*, 154*aN.* (*b*)  
 10 . . . 20*mN.*, 47*k*  
 11 . . . . . 72*n*  
 12 . . . . . 47*m*, 75*u*  
 18 1 . . . . . 124*e*  
 2 . . . . . 52*s*, 103*m*  
 3 . . . . . 66*b*  
 4 . . . . . 10*h*  
 5 29*g*, 67*v*, 72*dd*,  
 142*f*, 145*q*  
 6 . . . . . 73*b*  
 19 1 . . . . . 72*l*  
 3 . . . . . 67*dd*  
 4 . . . 124*i*, 132*h*  
 6 . 53*g*, 53*p*, 124*e*  
 9 . . . . . 86*i*  
 10 . . . . . 128*y*  
 11 . . . . . 133*h*  
 12 . . . . . 109*f*  
 13 . . . . . 142*f*  
 17 . 80*h*, 95*d*, 143*b*  
 18 . . . . . 2*a*  
 22 . . . . . 113*s*  
 20 1 . . . . . 115*k*  
 2 . . . 113*i*, 118*n*  
 4 . . . 87*g*, 118*o*  
 21 1 . . . . . 114*o*  
 2 . . . 44*o*, 72*s*, 121*b*  
 7 . . . 93*dd*, 117*q*  
 8 . . . . . 118*r*  
 9 . . . . . 136*d*  
 11 . 90*f*, 93*w*, 116*t*  
 12 29*t*, 75*u*, 75*rr*,  
 76*d*  
 14 . . . . . 76*d*  
 17 127*a*, 128*a*,  
 146*a*  
 22 1 . . . 91*e*, 150*l*  
 2 75*v*, 91*e*, 117*z*,  
 126*e*, 128*x*, 152*d*  
 3 . . . . . 119*w*  
 5 . . . 128*a*, 133*l*  
 7 . . . . . 128*r*  
 10 . . . . . 20*m*  
 11 . . . 95*v*, 124*k*  
 13 75*n*, 113*d*, 113*f*,  
 113*dd*  
 14 107*c*, 112*ss*, 149*b*,  
 149*e*  
 16 . . . 90*m*, 144*p*  
 17 . . . . . 113*r*  
 18 . . . . . 118*r*  
 19 . . . . . 144*p*  
 24 . . . 128*w*, 133*h*  
 23 1 . . . 110*k*, 119*y*  
 4 . . . . . 152*z*  
 5 . . . 118*u*, 128*h*  
 7 . . . . . 126*zN.*  
 8 . . . . . 93*pp*  
 11 . . . 20*o*, 53*q*

## Isaiah

23 12 . 35*b*, 46*e*, 118*f*,  
 130*e*, 132*b*  
 13 . . . . . 136*dN.*  
 15 . 44*f*, 116*p*, 118*t*  
 17 . . . 72*l*, 91*e*  
 24 2 . 35*g*, 116*s*, 127*i*  
 3 . . . . . 67*t*  
 10 . . . . . 119*x*  
 12 . . . . . 121*d*  
 16 . . . . . 117*q*  
 19 . . . 67*o*, 113*w*  
 22 . . . . . 117*q*  
 25 6 . . . 75*dd*, 93*ss*  
 7 . . . . . 72*p*  
 10 . . . . . 72*v*  
 26 4 . . . . . 119*iN.*  
 9 . . . . . 144*m*  
 10 . . . . . 159*c*  
 11 . . . . . 47*m*  
 16 . . . . . 44*l*, 72*o*  
 18 . . . . . 124*e*  
 19 . . . 95*h*, 122*s*  
 20 . . . . . 75*qq*  
 27 3 . . . . . 65*a*  
 4 10*h*, 65*b*, 71,  
 117*x*, 151*b*  
 5 . . . . . 162*a*  
 8 . . . . . 55*f*  
 9 . . . . . 156*f*  
 11 . . . 70*aN.*, 124*e*  
 18 . . . . . 152*x*  
 28 1 . . . 124*e*, 128*c*  
 2 . . . . . 125*c*  
 3 . . . . . 47*k*  
 4 91*e*, 128*w*, 135*n*,  
 144*e*  
 6 . . . 90*i*, 119*hh*  
 7 . . . 72*l*, 118*g*  
 8 . . . . . 127*c*  
 9 . . . . . 130*a*  
 10 . . . 102*h*, 147*c*  
 11 . . . . . 116*b*  
 12 . . . 23*t*, 114*mN.*  
 16 71, 119*i*, 130*f*  
*N.*, 155*f*  
 17 . . . 29*u*, 142*f*  
 18 . . . . . 145*o*  
 20 . . . . . 133*c*  
 21 . . . 118*t*, 132*b*  
 24 . . . . . 144*e*  
 26 . . . . . 112*rr*  
 27 . . . . . 152*z*  
 28 112*m*, 113*wN.*  
 150*a*  
 29 1 19*c*, 66*f*, 69*hN.*,  
 130*d*  
 4 . . . . . 120*g*  
 5 . . . 126*p*, 133*kN.*  
 6 . . . 84*as*, 144*b*  
 7 . 75*qq*, 116*i*, 118*t*

<b>Isaiah</b>	<b>Isaiah</b>	<b>Isaiah</b>
29 8 . . . . . 116 s	34 6 . . . . . 54 h	41 3 . . . . . 118 q
9 . . . . . 55 g, 72 l	10 . . . . . 102 i	4 . . . . . 135 a N.
13 115 d, 127 a, 142 d	11 . . . . . 21 c, 80 g	5 . . . . . 75 u
14 . 50 e, 113 w, 155 f	13 . . . . . 117 z	7 . . . . . 29 f
15 . . . . . 53 q, 112 n	17 . . . . . 59 g	8 . . . . . 138 d
16 . . . . . 147 c, 150 f	35 1 . . . . . 47 n	10 . . . . . 75 bb
19 128 l, 132 c, 133 h	2 . . . . . 117 q, 130 b	12 . . . . . 135 n
23 . . . . . 131 o	4 . . . . . 65 f	15 . . . . . 96
30 1 . . . . . 69 h N.	7 . . . . . 135 p	17 . . . . . 20 i
2 . . . . . 63 i, 72 q	9 . . . . . 84 <sup>b</sup> f, 132 c	23 48 g N., 75 l, 75 v, 109 d
5 . . . . . 78 b	36 2 . . . . . 128 w N.	24 . . . . . 155 n
6 . . . . . 135 p	8 . . . . . 127 f	25 . . . . . 23 d, 76 d
8 . . . . . 61 f, 135 p	9 . . . . . 119 s, 119 u	28 . 109 h, cf. 159 d
11 . . . . . 102 b	11 . . . . . 2 a	42 4 . . . . . 67 q
12 61 d, 111 v, 114 d, 114 r	14 . . . . . 74 l	5 . 65 d, 93 ss, 124 k
13 . . . . . 116 d	16 . . . . . 110 f, 127 f	6 . 107 b N., 109 k
14 . 63 i, 113 i, 156 g	17 . . . . . 114 r	13 . . . . . 126 p
18 . . . . . 67 cc, 130 a	37 3 . . . . . 69 m, 152 k	18 35 g, 126 e, 126 f
19 . 58 g, 67 n, 75 ll	11 . . . . . 150 a	20 . . . . . 75 n, 144 p
20 . . . . . 131 c, 145 n	14 . . . . . 124 b N.	21 . . . . . 120 c
21 . . . . . 56	17 . . . . . 10 g	22 29 q, 72 y, 119 hh, 124 q
22 . . . . . 135 n, 145 m	19 . . . . . 113 f, 113 z	24 113 d, 114 m N., 138 g
23 . . . . . 93 ss	22 . . . . . 130 e	25 . . . . . 131 k
24 . . . . . 52 s	24 . . . . . 128 r	43 1 . 61 h, 74 e, 91 d
25 . . . . . 74 i	25 . . . . . 124 e	2 . . . . . 159 dd, 159 ff
26 . . . . . 114 r, 134 r	26 75 qq, 114 k, 117 ii	6 . . . . . 122 v
28 . . . . . 72 z	28 . . . . . 114 c	8 . 53 m, 69 v, 74 l
31 . . . . . 156 d	29 . . . . . 112 nn	9 . 51 o, 106 n N <sup>2</sup>
33 . . . . . 32 l	30 113 z, 113 ee, 126 b	10 . . . . . 135 a N.
31 2 . . . . . 141 f	38 3 . . . . . 16 f N., 157 c	25 . . . . . 141 h
3 . . . . . 75 u	5 50 e, 113 bb, 155 f	44 3 . . . . . 71
5 . . . . . 67 p, 113 t	9 . . . . . 114 r	9 . . . . . 5 n
6 . 138 f N., 144 p	10 . . . . . 108 g, 121 d	13 . . . . . 64 i
8 . . . . . 125 c, 152 a	14 . 48 i N., 61 f N.	15 . . . . . 66 e, 103 f N.
32 1 . . . . . 143 e	15 . . . . . 55 g	16 . . . . . 67 ee
7 . . . . . 154 a N.	16 75 mm, 103 g, 135 p	19 . . . . . 150 a
9 . . . . . 44 o	17 . . . . . 119 ff	21 20 f, 57 N., 117 x
11 . 48 i, 67 o, 110 k	18 . . . . . 116 h, 152 z	24 . . . . . 65 d
12 . . . . . 116 s, 144 i	20 . . . . . 86 i, 114 i	28 . . . . . 53 n, 114 p
13 . . . . . 128 c	39 1 . . . . . 124 b N.	45 1 . . . . . 67 p
17 . . . . . 113 c	2 . . . . . 15 e N., 126 x	2 . . . . . 70 b
18 . . . . . 124 e	40 1 . . . . . 107 f	4 . 111 b N., 131 g
33 1 20 h, 53 q, 53 u, 67 v, 120 b, 156 f	3 . . . . . 146 b	9 . . . . . 152 u
3 . . . . . 67 dd	4 . . . . . 93 v	10 . . . . . 47 o
4 . . . . . 85 h	6 . . . . . 112 qq, 127 c	14 . . . . . 10 g
5 . . . . . 116 s	9 . . . . . 119 s	46 5 . . . . . 75 dd
6 . . . . . 130 b	10 . . . . . 119 i	47 1 . . . . . 120 c
7 . . . . . 75 u	11 . . . . . 93 x	2 . . . . . 46 d, 63 l
9 . . . . . 29 q, 145 t	14 . . . . . 124 e	5 . 100 g N <sup>2</sup> , 118 o
10 . . . . . 54 c, 133 l	18 . . . . . 15 c, 75 dd	7 . . . . . 94 g
12 . . . . . 20 i	19 . . . . . 119 hh	8 . . . . . 90 l, 144 p
14 . . . . . 84 <sup>a</sup> s, 117 bb	20 . . . . . 155 f, 156 g	10 59 g, 61 h, 75 v, 116 f
15 117 r N., 119 z, 124 e	22 . . . . . 126 b	12 . . . . . 138 f
16 . . . . . 124 b	25 . . . . . 150 m	14 . . . . . 28 b, 67 cc
20 . . . . . 152 t	26 . . . . . 124 e	48 8 . . . . . 52 k, 157 a
34 4 . . . . . 67 t, 126 o	29 . . . . . 152 v	9 . . . . . 119 hh
5 . . . . . 52 k	30 . . . . . 69 q	
	31 . . . . . 8 k	
	41 1 . . . . . 119 gg	
	2 35 n N., 75 gg, 155 n	

## 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 b 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*  
26 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	qq	
40	3	74	l	
	4	74	d	
	5	134	n	
	16	91	l	
	17	121	d	
	19	80	k	
	27	134	g	
	28	126	w	
	31	93	ss	
	43	20	m	
	45	136	a N.	
	48	92	g	
41	7	67	dd	
	15	91	l	
	18	121	d	
	20	5	n	
	22	141	b	
	25	131	n N <sup>1</sup>	
42	5	68	h, 131	n
43	7	117	m	
	17	103	o	
	27	75	rr	
44	3	117	m	
	8	58	g	
	9	93	hh, 143	e
	12	112	e N.	
45	2	65	d	
	12	97	e	
	16	127	g	
46	6	132	g N.	
	9	93	q	
	17	71	o	
	19	127	f	
	22	53	q, 53	s
	23	121	d	
	24	124	r	
47	3	128	n	
	4	131	e	
	7	91	e	
	8	75	oo	
	15	127	f and N.	
	17	117	m	
48	14	72	dd	

**Hosea**

1	2	52	o, 130	d
	6	120	c, 152	a N.
	7	119	o	
2	1	130	c	
	3	96		
	5	72	w	
	6	52	n	
	11	120	e	
	14	91	e	
	21	133	l	
	25	152	a N.	
3	1	125	c	
	2	20	h	

**Hosea**

3	5	2	v N.		
4	2	113	ff		
	3	119	i		
	8	145	m		
	14	155	f		
	15	145	m		
	16	150	a		
	18	55	e		
5	2	64	a		
	3	135	a		
	8	147	c		
	15	60	e		
6	1	109	k		
	2	119	y N., 134	s	
	3	155	g		
	4	120	g		
	6	119	w, 133	b	
	9	23	l, 75	aa, 93	s
	10	114	l		
7	2	157	a		
	4	80	k		
	5	93	ss		
	6	91	c		
	12	24	f, 70	b	
	14	70	d		
	16	34	b N.		
8	3	60	d		
	4	67	v		
	7	90	f		
	9	119	s		
	10	20	g, III	w N.	
9	6	130	a		
	9	120	g		
	11	69	m		
	12	159	m		
	15	109	d		
10	4	75	n		
	6	121	b		
	10	60	a, 71		
	11	90	l		
	14	9	b, 23	g, 53	u,
		72	p, 156	c	
	15	133	i		
11	1	68	f		
	3	19	i, 55	h, 66	g
	4	68	c		
	7	75	rr		
12	1	124	h		
	5	58	k		
	11	112	dd		
	14	118	q		
13	2	91	e, 128	l	
	3	120	g		
	8	122	e		
	10	150	l		
	14	93	q		
	15	75	rr		
14	1	84	a, 145	u	
	3	128	e		
	4	68	f		

**Hosea**

14	5	118	q	
	10	69	b, 166	a N.

**Joel**

1	2	100	n, 126	e, 150	g
	5	126	e		
	6	152	v		
	7	113	n		
	8	63	l, 116	k	
	12	102	b		
	15	147	d		
	17	20	h		
	18	148	a		
	20	145	k		
2	2	109	d		
	4	72	u, 126	p	
	6	23	d		
	13	152	g		
	17	150	e		
	21	46	e		
	22	144	a		
	24	93	r		
	26	114	o		
4	1	125	k		
	3	69	u		
	11	51	o, 64	h	
	14	123	e, 147	c	
	18	117	z		
	21	49	k, 75	z	

**Amos**

1	3	134	s, 158	c	
	4	49	m		
	5	145	c		
	8	145	e		
	9	114	r, 158	c	
	11	58	g, 112	i, 114	r
2	6	61	b		
	7	126	b		
	9	53	n		
	10	69	x		
	12	51	n		
	16	118	n, 128	y	
3	4	163	c		
	5	113	q		
	7	163	c		
	8	159	h		
	9	124	e		
	11	67	t, 154	a N.	
	12	88	f, 126	r	
	13	125	h		
4	1	135	o, 144	a	
	2	75	oo, 112	x	
	3	44	k		
	4	113	z		
	7	112	h N., 144	c	

## 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 c  
 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		Psalms		Psalms		
12	3 . . . 117 <i>t</i> , 123 <i>f</i>	21	4 . . . 117 <i>ff</i>	34	2 . . . . . 21 <i>d</i>	
	4 . . . . . 122 <i>q</i>		7 . . . 117 <i>ii</i> , 124 <i>e</i>		6 . . . . . 109 <i>e</i>	
	7 . . . . . 109 <i>g</i> , 97 <i>h</i>	13	117 <i>ii</i> N., 156 <i>d</i>		9 . . . . . 155 <i>f</i>	
	8 . . . . . 126 <i>y</i>	22	2 . . . . . 59 <i>h</i>		12 . . . . . 60 <i>f</i> , 126 <i>o</i>	
	9 . . . . . 54 <i>k</i>		3 . . . . . 152 <i>d</i>	35	1 . . . . . 73 <i>d</i>	
13	4 . . . . . 117 <i>r</i> N.		4 . . . . . 117 <i>bb</i>		8 . . . . . 156 <i>g</i>	
	5 . . . 44 <i>e</i> , 59 <i>i</i> , 152 <i>z</i>		6 . . . . . 112 <i>h</i>		10 . . . . . 9 <i>u</i>	
14	1 . . . . . 154 <i>a</i> N.		7 . . . . . 116 <i>l</i>		14 . . . . . 93 <i>hh</i>	
	3 . . . . . 152 <i>o</i>		8 . . . . . 119 <i>q</i>		16 . . . . . 113 <i>h</i>	
	5 . . . . . 117 <i>p</i>		9 . . . . . 144 <i>p</i>		19 . . . . . 131 <i>q</i> N.	
	7 . . . . . 151 <i>b</i>	14	. . . . . 118 <i>r</i>	36	6 . . . . . 35 <i>n</i>	
	2 . . . . . 118 <i>n</i>	15	. . . . . 67 <i>t</i>		8 . . . . . 75 <i>u</i>	
15	2 . . . . . 118 <i>n</i>	16	. . . . . 121 <i>c</i> , 122 <i>n</i>		9 . . . . . 75 <i>u</i>	
16	1 . . . 48 <i>i</i> N <sup>2</sup> , 61 <i>f</i> N.	18	. . . . . 107 <i>s</i>		13 . . . . . 64 <i>d</i>	
	2 . . . . . 44 <i>i</i> , 152 <i>t</i>	22	. . . . . 23 <i>f</i> , 119 <i>ff</i>	37	1 . . . 5 <i>h</i> , 35 <i>b</i> , 75 <i>bb</i>	
	3 . . . . . 130 <i>d</i> , 143 <i>e</i>	29	. . . . . 116 <i>s</i>		5 . . . . . 67 <i>n</i>	
	4 93 <i>m</i> , 145 <i>p</i> , 155 <i>f</i>	32	. . . . . 116 <i>e</i>		9 . . . . . 20 <i>f</i>	
	5 . . . . . 50 <i>e</i>	23	2 . . . . . 124 <i>e</i> , 128 <i>p</i>		14 . . . . . 45 <i>g</i>	
	6 . . . . . 80 <i>g</i> , 122 <i>q</i>		4 . . . . . 107 <i>x</i> , 159 <i>bb</i>		15 . . . . . 20 <i>h</i>	
	8 . . . . . 116 <i>s</i>		5 126 <i>n</i> , 141 <i>c</i> , 141 <i>d</i>		16 . . . . . 129 <i>b</i>	
	9 . . . . . 111 <i>r</i>		6 . . . . . 69 <i>m</i> N.		20 . . . . . 29 <i>o</i> , 75 <i>m</i>	
	10 . . . . . 114 <i>m</i>	24	1 . . . . . 129 <i>c</i> , 130 <i>a</i>		23 . . . . . 121 <i>f</i>	
	11 . . . . . 122 <i>q</i> , 124 <i>e</i>		2 . . . . . 107 <i>b</i> , 124 <i>e</i>		24 . . . . . 159 <i>bb</i>	
17	3 . . . . . 59 <i>h</i>		4 . . . . . 128 <i>y</i>		31 . . . . . 145 <i>k</i>	
	4 . . . . . 143 <i>e</i>	10	. . . . . 136 <i>c</i>	38	11 . . . . . 55 <i>e</i>	
	5 . . . . . 113 <i>gg</i>	25	1 . . . . . 5 <i>h</i>		13 . . . . . 124 <i>e</i>	
	9 . . . . . 138 <i>g</i>		10 . . . . . 141 <i>c</i>		21 . . . . . 61 <i>c</i>	
	10 . . . . . 91 <i>f</i>	11	. . . . . 112 <i>nn</i>	39	13 . . . . . 10 <i>h</i>	
	12 . . . . . 126 <i>p</i>	14	. . . . . 114 <i>i</i>		14 . . . . . 75 <i>gg</i>	
	13 . . . . . 144 <i>m</i>	26	2 . . . . . 48 <i>i</i>		2 . . . . . 75 <i>aa</i>	
18	1 2 <i>r</i> , 53 <i>t</i> , 130 <i>d</i> ,		3 . . . . . 112 <i>rr</i>		5 . . . . . 93 <i>oo</i>	
	154 <i>a</i> N.		4 . . . . . 128 <i>t</i>		6 . . . . . 108 <i>f</i>	
	3 . . . . . 93 <i>pp</i> , 155 <i>i</i>		7 . . . . . 53 <i>q</i>		15 . . . . . 29 <i>o</i> N.	
	4 . . . . . 116 <i>e</i> , 132 <i>b</i>	10	. . . . . 20 <i>f</i>	18	. . . . . 29 <i>q</i>	
	7 . . . . . 109 <i>g</i> N <sup>3</sup> , 107 <i>b</i>	12	. . . . . 93 <i>qq</i>	41	3 . . . . . 109 <i>e</i>	
	10 . . . . . 69 <i>p</i>	27	7 . . . . . 144 <i>m</i>		5 . . . . . 74 <i>h</i>	
	12 . . . . . 109 <i>k</i>		13 5 <i>n</i> , 159 <i>dd</i> , 167 <i>a</i>		8 . . . . . 54 <i>f</i>	
	17 . . . . . 117 <i>g</i>	28	1 . . . . . 119 <i>ff</i>	42	2 . . . . . 122 <i>f</i> , 155 <i>g</i>	
	18 . . . . . 126 <i>z</i>		7 . . . . . 53 <i>q</i>		4 . . . . . 115 <i>e</i> N.	
	22 . . . . . 119 <i>ff</i>		9 . . . . . 10 <i>g</i>		5 . . . . . 117 <i>x</i>	
	26 . . . . . 93 <i>h</i> , 93 <i>s</i>	29	1 . . . . . 124 <i>g</i> , 128 <i>v</i>		6 . . . . . 111 <i>t</i>	
	28 . . . . . 132 <i>f</i>		4 . . . . . 141 <i>c</i> N <sup>2</sup>	10	. . . . . 68 <i>g</i> , 102 <i>l</i>	
	30 . . . . . 67 <i>g</i> , 119 <i>o</i>	10	. . . . . 111 <i>r</i>	43	1 . . . . . 72 <i>s</i>	
	31 126 <i>c</i> , 140 <i>d</i> , 143 <i>a</i>	30	2 . . . . . 60 <i>f</i>		2 . . . . . 102 <i>l</i>	
	33 116 <i>f</i> , 116 <i>x</i> , 117 <i>cc</i>		4 . . . . . 69 <i>m</i>		3 . . . . . 124 <i>b</i>	
	35 . . . . . 145 <i>k</i>		8 . . . . . 90 <i>n</i> , 93 <i>aa</i>	44	3 . . . . . 144 <i>m</i>	
	38 . . . . . 107 <i>b</i> N <sup>2</sup>	31	2 . . . . . 108 <i>c</i>		6 . . . . . 119 <i>o</i>	
	40 . . . . . 116 <i>i</i>		21 . . . . . 93 <i>r</i>		18 . . . . . 156 <i>f</i>	
	41 . . . . . 117 <i>ii</i> N.	32	1 . . . . . 75 <i>qq</i> , 116 <i>k</i>		20 . . . . . 119 <i>q</i>	
	49 . . . . . 116 <i>i</i>		2 . . . . . 155 <i>i</i>		23 . . . . . 128 <i>q</i>	
19	3 . . . . . 20 <i>f</i>		6 . . . . . 143 <i>e</i> , 153		26 . . . . . 67 <i>k</i>	
	4 . . . . . 152 <i>t</i>		8 107 <i>q</i> , 138 <i>g</i> , 156 <i>c</i>		27 . . . . . 72 <i>s</i>	
	5 . . . . . 135 <i>p</i>	33	5 . . . . . 116 <i>s</i>	45	1 . . . . . 124 <i>e</i>	
	6 . . . . . 122 <i>o</i>		7 . . . . . 118 <i>w</i>		3 . . . . . 55 <i>e</i>	
	8 . . . . . 116 <i>g</i>		8 . . . . . 145 <i>e</i>		5 . . . . . 131 <i>c</i> , 154 <i>a</i> N.	
	10 . . . . . 126 <i>b</i> , 141 <i>c</i>		10 . . . . . 67 <i>v</i>		6 . . . . . 150, 29 <i>o</i> N.	
	11 . . . . . 116 <i>e</i>		12 . . . . . 155 <i>h</i>		7 . . . . . 128 <i>d</i>	
	14 . . . . . 49 <i>k</i> , 67 <i>p</i>		15 . . . . . 126 <i>b</i>		8 . . . . . 117 <i>ee</i>	
20	3 . . . . . 135 <i>m</i>		34	1 . . . . . 5 <i>h</i>		9 . . . . . 87 <i>f</i> , 141 <i>d</i>
	4 . . . . . 48 <i>d</i>					10 . . . . . 20 <i>h</i> N <sup>2</sup>
21	2 109 <i>k</i> , 126 <i>h</i> , 148 <i>b</i>					

**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 *w*  
 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 . . . . . 139 *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 *q*, 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		Psalms		Psalms	
103	3 . . . 91 e, 91 l	119	117 . . . . . 75 l	144	14 . . . . . 122 e
	4 . . . . . 58 g	128	. . . . . 130 f N.	145	1 . . . . . 5 h
	5 . . . 145 k, 156 d	136	. . . . . 155 n		7 . . . . . 132 b
	9 . . . . . 117 g	137	. . . . . 145 r		13 . . . . . 123 c
104	1 . . . . . 106 g	120	1 . . . . . 90 g, 127 e	147	1 . . . . . 52 p
	3 20 m N <sup>2</sup> , 35 b, 126 b		5 . . . . . 117 bb		2 . . . . . 20 m
	8 . . . . . 138 g		6 . . . . . 119 s	149	2 . . . . . 124 k
	11 . . . . . 90 n	121	1 . . . . . 127 e		
	12 . . . . . 93 z		3 . . . 107 p, 109 e		
	18 . . . 20 m, 126 a		5 . . . . . 124 k		
	20 . . . 109 h, 159 d	122	6 . . . . . 75 u		
	21 . . . . . 114 p	123	1 . . . . . 90 m		
	25 . . . . . 136 d		4 . . . 119 s, 127 g		
	26 . . . . . 138 g	124	4 . . . . . 90 f		
	28 . . . 47 m, 159 c	125	1 . . . . . 155 g		
105	12 . . . . . 118 x	126	6 . . . 113 p, 113 u		
	28 . . . . . 53 n	127	1 . . . . . 118 i		
	43 . . . . . 78 l		2 . 23 l, 80 h, 114 n		
107	23 . . . . . 5 n, 17 e	128	3 . . . . . 75 v, 96		
	43 . . . . . 93 m		5 . . . . . 110 i		
108	7 . . . . . 144 m	131	1 . . . . . 72 l		
109	2 . . . . . 117 t	132	1 . . . . . 52 r		
	3 . . . . . 57 N <sup>2</sup>		3 . . . . . 128 m		
	10 . . . . . 64 e		4 . . . . . 80 g		
	13 . . . . . 75 y	12	. 34 b, 91 n, 138 g		
110	1 . . . . . 164 f	133	2 . . . . . 126 x		
	2 . . . . . 110 c	135	7 . . . . . 53 o		
	3 . . . . . 141 c	136	1 . . . . . 2 r		
	4 . . . . . 90 l		3 . . . . . 102 m		
111	1 . . . . . 5 h		6 . . . . . 65 d		
112	1 . . . . . 5 h	137	1 . . . . . 124 e		
	8 . . . . . 164 f		3 . . . . . 117 gg		
	9 . . . . . 120 g		5 . . . . . 159 m		
113	5 . . . . . 90 m		6 . . . . . 58 g		
	7 . . . . . 90 m		7 . . . 75 cc, 116 d		
	8 . . . . . 90 n	138	2 . . . . . 16 f		
	9 . . . . . 90 n		6 . . . 69 b N., 69 p		
114	1 . . . . . 128 a N <sup>2</sup>	139	1 . . . . . 59 h		
	8 . . . . . 90 m, 90 n		2 . . . . . 73 a N.		
115	7 . . . 143 d, 147 e		5 . . . . . 91 e		
116	1 . . . . . 90 n		8 . . . . . 66 e, 159 m		
	4 . . . . . 16 f	11	. 103 d, 111 x, 159 f		
	6 . . . . . 53 q	12	. . . . . 133 b N <sup>2</sup>		
	7 . . . . . 72 s, 91 l	14	. . . . . 75 qq, 118 p		
	12 . . . . . 91 l	18	. . . . . 159 c N.		
	15 . . . . . 90 f	20	. 23 i, 68 h, 75 oo		
118	5 20 g, 59 f, 119 gg	21	. . . . . 72 cc		
	7 . . . . . 119 i	22	. . . . . 117 q, 128 r		
	10 . . . . . 60 d	140	4 . . . . . 91 l		
	11 . . . . . 67 cc		10 . . . . . 75 mm		
	13 . . . . . 113 p		13 . . . . . 44 i		
	14 . . . . . 80 g	141	3 . . . . . 20 h, 48 i		
	18 . . . 20 g, 59 f		4 . . . . . 96		
	23 . . . . . 74 g		5 . . . . . 74 k		
	25 . . . . . 53 m		8 . . . . . 75 bb		
	26 . . . . . 59 e		10 . . . . . 145 m		
119	1 . . . . . 5 n, 75 oo	142	5 . . . . . 113 bb		
	18 . . . . . 75 cc	143	6 . . . . . 106 g		
	28 . . . . . 91 n	144	2 . . . . . 87 f		

## 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
	21 . . . . . 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 e
	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>1</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*  
   22 . . . . . 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 *l*, 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 *e*  
   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 q
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 q, 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  
 25 . . . . . 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 a, 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 t, 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 c
	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*  
 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*  
 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*  
 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 *c*  
 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 *c*  
 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 *c*  
 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*

**I 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>

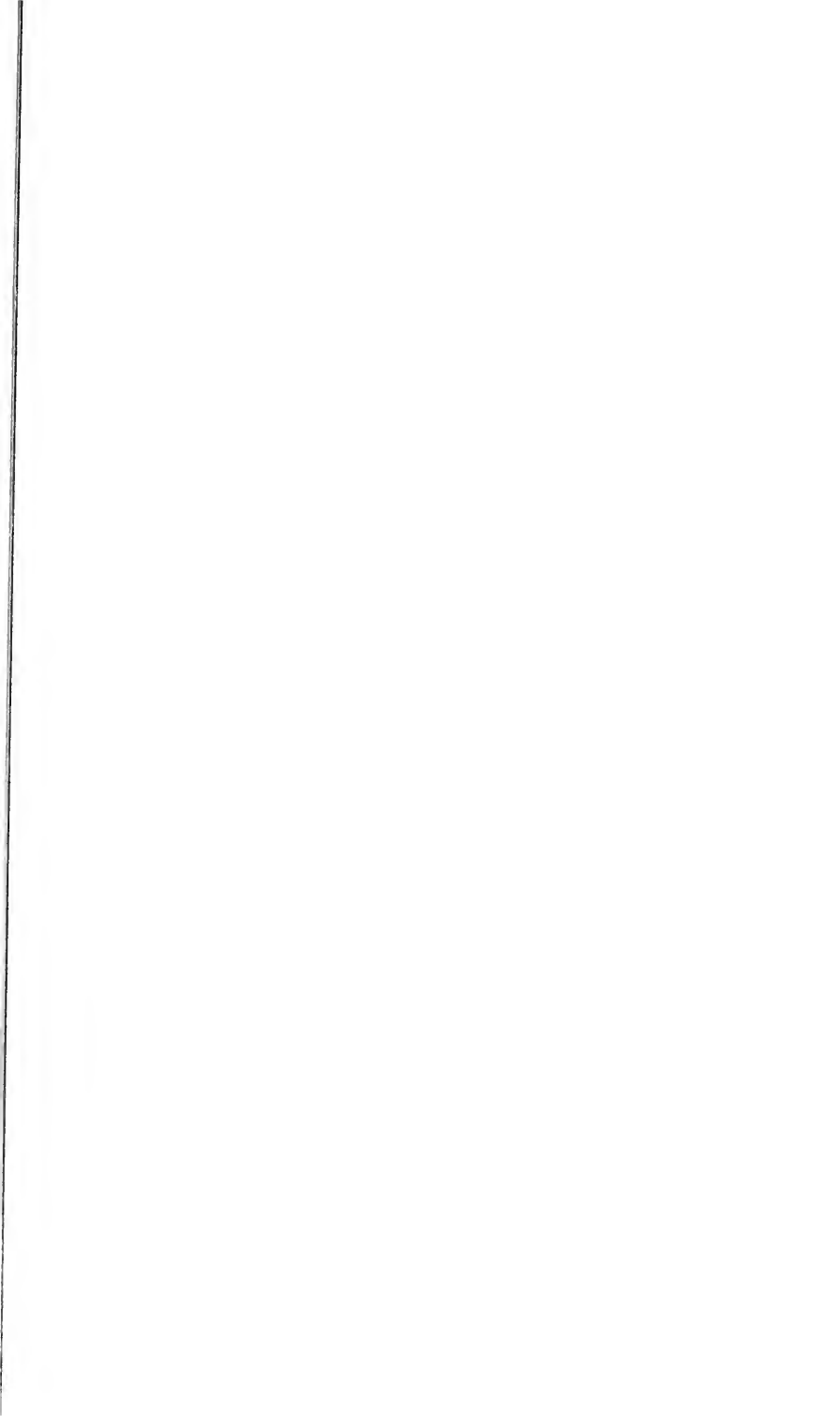
## 2 Chronicles

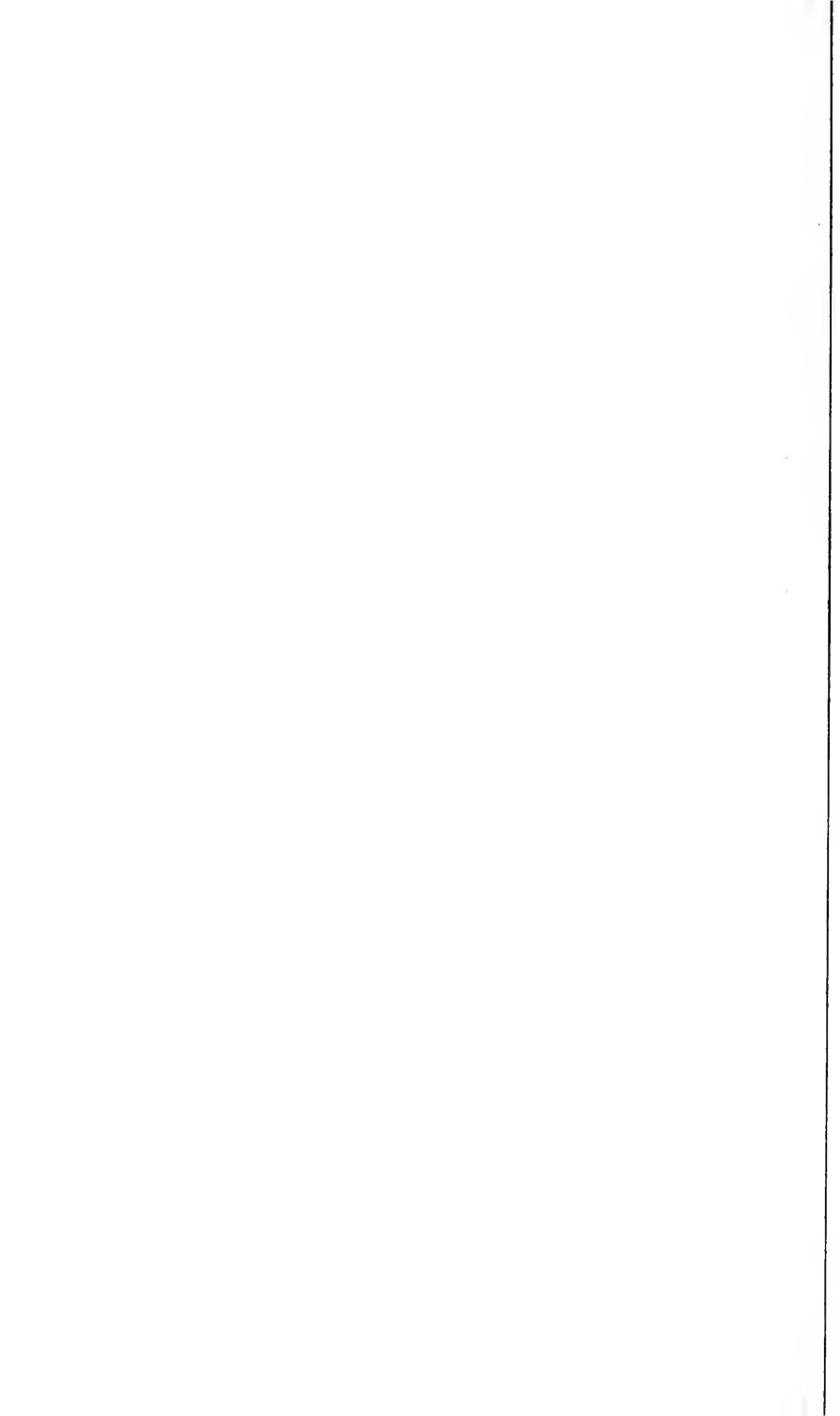
3	17 . . . . .	126 <i>k</i>
4	3 . . . . .	123 <i>a N.</i>
	13 . . . . .	131 <i>d</i>
5	11 . . . . .	114 <i>k</i>
8	18 . . . . .	93 <i>r</i>
11	22 . . . . .	114 <i>k</i> , 147 <i>a</i>
15	3 . . . . .	147 <i>a</i>
	8 . . . . .	127 <i>f</i>
16	4 . . . . .	125 <i>h</i>
	9 . . . . .	155 <i>n</i>
	10 . . . . .	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>z</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<sup>2</sup></i>
	19 . . . . .	155 <i>n</i>
31	7 69 <i>n</i> , 71, 142 <i>f N<sup>2</sup></i>	
	10 . . . . .	121 <i>d N<sup>1</sup></i>
	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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