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GESENIUS-KAUTZSCH
HEBREW GRAMMAR

COLLINS AND COWLEY

HENRY FROWDE, M.A.

PUBLISHER TO THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD



LONDON, EDINBURGH, AND NEW YORK

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GESENIUS'

HEBREW GRAMMAR

AS EDITED AND ENLARGED BY

E. KAUTZSCH

PROFESSOR OF THEOLOGY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF HALLE

TRANSLATED FROM THE TWENTY-FIFTH GERMAN EDITION

BY THE LATE

REV. G. W. COLLINS, M.A.

*THE TRANSLATION REVISED AND ADJUSTED
TO THE TWENTY-SIXTH EDITION*

BY

A. E. COWLEY, M.A.

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TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

THE Hebrew Grammar of William Gesenius—originally published in 1813—has long been regarded as a standard work in Germany, and has been repeatedly re-edited, first by Rödiger and afterwards by Professor Kautzsch, with a view to keeping it abreast of the progress of scholarship. Various English translations of it have also appeared; but the original work has gained so considerably in value in the latest editions, thanks to the scholarly revision of Professor Kautzsch, that the time seemed to have come for a new translation of what is practically a new book. Moreover, no Hebrew Grammar exists in English combining in one volume a thorough treatment both of the accidence and of the syntax. The Delegates of the Clarendon Press accordingly arranged with the German publisher, Herr Vogel, of Leipzig, to issue such a translation, and entrusted the work to the late Rev. G. W. Collins (of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, and Keble College, Oxford), with whom I was afterwards associated. His translation of the twenty-fifth edition (1889) was already approaching completion when a new edition of the German was announced as being in preparation, and the Delegates decided to await its publication in order that Professor Kautzsch's latest improvements might be incorporated in the English translation. The new German edition, however, did not appear so soon as was expected, and in the meantime Mr. Collins died. The task of revising the translation, and of seeing it through the press, thus devolved upon me. Its accomplishment has been somewhat

delayed, partly by the intervention of other work, and partly owing to the numerous additions and improvements introduced by Professor Kautzsch into the twenty-sixth edition (1896), which of course had to be incorporated. With regard to the method pursued, 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. At the same time, every effort has been made to state the principles of the grammar in a form that would be clearly and readily apprehended by English students. The sheets have been submitted while in proof to the Regius Professor of Hebrew, Dr. Driver, who has made numerous valuable suggestions as to translation. Some slight additions have occasionally been made—in no case, however, affecting the substance of Professor Kautzsch's work—chiefly consisting of supplementary references to English works, or now and then completing a list of citations. These have been enclosed within brackets [] wherever it was possible to do so without too much complication. A few notes added by Mr. Collins have been marked with his initials, G. W. C. Some evident printer's errors in the German have been tacitly corrected. It would be too much to hope that in so large a mass of details mistakes have been entirely avoided, but my endeavours to secure accuracy and uniformity have been very materially aided by the skill and experience of Mr. J. C. Pembrey, the oriental reader to the Clarendon Press. In conclusion, I wish to express my gratitude to Dr. Driver for his ever-ready help in all matters of difficulty, and for the encouragement I have received from him throughout a rather toilsome piece of work.

A. E. COWLEY.

WADHAM COLLEGE, OXFORD.

FROM THE PREFACE TO THE GERMAN EDITION.

BETWEEN the appearance of the twenty-fifth and twenty-sixth editions of this Grammar¹ more than six years elapsed. During that period so many important works appeared on the textual criticism and exegesis of the Old Testament, as well as on the grammar of the Hebrew and other Semitic languages, that the editor again found abundant materials for amplifying and re-casting the work. . . .

For the Biblical text, constant use has been made of the critical editions of Dr. S. Baer: *Jeremia*, Lipsiae, 1890; *Josua et Judices*, 1891; *Samuel*, 1892; *Reges*, 1895. Warm praise is also due to the admirable edition of the Old Testament text by David Ginsburg (London, 1894, 2 vols.), based primarily on the earliest printed editions,—seven of the entire Bible, dated between 1488 and 1525, and thirteen of various parts, 1477–1525,—and containing a selection of readings from the LXX, Peshittâ, Targums, and Vulgate. In the course of his work, the present writer has learnt to value this edition more and more. The critically revised text in the handsome series of ‘Sacred Books of the Old Testament²,’ published under the editorship of Prof. P. Haupt (Leipzig and Baltimore, 1893, &c.), has also been consulted

¹ The first edition appeared at Halle in 1813 (pp. 202, small 8vo); the next thirteen editions were issued by Gesenius himself; the fifteenth to the twenty-first (1845–1872) by E. Rödiger; the twenty-second to the twenty-fifth (1878–1889) by the present editor.

² Distinguishing the various documents of the Pentateuch and historical books by colours, and hence also called the ‘Polychrome Bible.’ The following parts have appeared: Job by Siegfried, 1893; I and II Samuel by Budde, Leviticus by Driver and White, 1894; Jeremiah by Cornill, Joshua by Bennett, the Psalms by Wellhausen, Chronicles by Kittel, 1895; Genesis by Ball, Daniel by Kamphausen, 1896.

as occasion required. But this twenty-sixth edition has especially benefited by the systematic study of the Old Testament, undertaken with a view to the new translation of it, published by the editor in 1894¹. Independently of the criticism of the text, this afforded opportunity for a much fuller notice of all striking forms, as well as for considerable additions to the examples in the Syntax.

Among the works consulted on special grammatical questions, the first place must be assigned to those of De Lagarde, Barth, and Ed. König, cited on p. 231. König's *Lehrgebäude*, starting with Hebrew, includes a comprehensive comparison of the other Semitic dialects, and is distinguished by an almost exhaustive presentation of the facts, as well as by the regard paid systematically to phonetic and philological principles. De Lagarde and Barth, embracing in their survey the entire system of Semitic noun-formation, suggest, independently of each other, such an abundance of new and important points of view, that the editor felt no little embarrassment in deciding on the extent of the changes required in §§ 81–86, 93 and 94. However, the consideration that, in spite of very remarkable agreement on fundamental questions, the two scholars often differ widely in details, and that the controversy on the subject (see the literature on p. 231) has led to no definite conclusions, finally left no doubt as to the course to be pursued. I have endeavoured in an excursus (§ 83. *d*) to give, as far as possible, an unbiassed statement of the principles followed by both scholars, and in § 84 sqq. have altered or omitted whatever has so far been proved to be certainly untenable. Though starting with grave doubts, I must admit that Barth's fundamental principle—that all nouns may be referred to either perfect or imperfect stems—appears to me more and more to be correct and fruitful, although at the same time it is true that *all* nouns cannot now be traced to one or the other stem with the certainty claimed by the author in his *Nominalbildung*.

¹ *Die heilige Schrift des Alten Testaments*, Freiburg and Leipzig, 1894. Of the readings discussed in pp. 1 to 88 of the appendix to this translation, a considerable number have also been noticed in the Grammar.

Among smaller monographs the studies of Knudtzon, mentioned on p. 320, note, as also V. Baumann's *Hebräische Relativsätze* (see p. 466), Herner's *Syntax der Zahlwörter* (see p. 454), and Diehl's *Pronomen personale suffixum 2. und 3. plur. des Hebräischen*, deserve special mention. The last-named Dissertation was available only from § 91 onwards. Besides these, abundant material is contained in the numerous discussions of grammatical and syntactical questions in Driver's *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Samuel* (Oxford, 1890), and in the lists of the linguistic features of particular books in Driver's *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament* (sixth edition, Edinburgh, 1897), in Siegfried and Stade's *Hebräisches Wörterbuch zum A. T.* (Leipzig, 1893), and last but not least in the greatly improved twelfth edition of Gesenius' *Handwörterbuch*, edited by Frants Buhl, with the assistance of A. Socin and H. Zimmern, in 1895. The sparing use of such valuable works as Friedrich Delitzsch's *Assyrische Grammatik* (Berlin, 1889¹), P. Haupt's *Semitische Sprachlaute* (see p. 27), &c., was due to the limitations necessarily imposed by a Grammar intended primarily for theological students in the widest sense of the term. At the same time, the greatest possible care has been taken to give a full account of the literature which has appeared since 1889.

For notes and corrections relating to particular points, I have to thank Professors Budde (Strassburg), Dalman (Leipzig), Haupt (Baltimore), Kamphausen (Bonn), Ley (Kreuznach), G. Moore (Andover), Nestle (Ulm), Philippi (Rostock, in a review of the twenty-fifth edition in the *Theologische Litteraturzeitung*, 1890, no. 17), Praetorius (Halle), Stade (Giessen), and Messrs. S. Preiswerk, junior (Bâle), and Ziegert (Breslau); also for notes on a more considerable scale, Dr. Mayer-Lambert (Paris), Prof. Socin (Leipzig), and Prof. Strack (Berlin). The two last-mentioned scholars placed at my disposal their own copies of the twenty-fifth edition, containing numerous marginal annotations. Lastly, I must pay a tribute of gratitude to the cherished memory of my friend Prof. August Müller (Halle). The criticisms,

¹ English translation, Berlin and London (Williams and Norgate), 1889.

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¹ English translation, Berlin and London (Williams and Norgate), 1889.

which, according to the close of his review of the twenty-fifth edition, Prof. Müller intended for me, were found indicated in his private copy by lines and crosses of various colours. These led me in numerous cases to re-consider, and, I hope, also sometimes to improve the text.

In the correction of the proofs of the twenty-sixth edition, my young colleague Mr. Steuernagel deserves my thanks for his unwearying and skilful help.

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The old complaint that reference to the Grammar was rendered difficult by the numerous subdivisions of the sections, has now been met by the addition of marginal letters. By this means the number of the section and one letter suffice for reference in nearly all cases. In very long sections (§§ 67, 72, 75, 93, 112, 113, 117, 119, 126, 159) double letters had to be used (*aa, bb, &c.*) after the single alphabet was exhausted. At the same time, the old subdivisions had to be retained on account of the numerous references in existing commentaries, and in the four editions of the Exercise Book.

Finally, the Paradigms (p. 536 sqq.) have been subjected to a very thorough revision for this edition. From Paradigm G onward forms not actually occurring have been enclosed within brackets.

The principal abbreviations used are—*ZDMG*=*Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*: *ZAW*=*Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* (edited, since its commencement in 1881, by Prof. B. Stade, Giessen): *ZDPV*=*Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästinavereins* (edited, since 1878, by Prof. H. Guthe, Leipzig).

E. KAUTZSCH.

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EARLY SEMITIC ALPHABETS.

Mēša' inscription early 9th cent. B.C. § 2. d. § 5. a.	Phoenician coins and inscriptions.	Neo- punic.	Old Hebrew coins and gems.	Sama- ritan.	Egyptian- Aramaic 5th to 1st cent. B.C.	Palmyrene 1st cent. B.C. to 4th cent. A. D.	Hebrew in- scriptions beginning of 1st cent. A. D.	Square charac- ter.	Rashi.
𐤀 𐤀	^{carh.} 𐤀 𐤀	𐤀	𐤀 𐤀 𐤀 𐤀	𐤀 𐤀	𐤀 𐤀 𐤀 𐤀	𐤀 𐤀	𐤀 𐤀	א	א
𐤁 𐤁	𐤁 𐤁 𐤁	𐤁	𐤁 𐤁 𐤁	𐤁	𐤁 𐤁 𐤁	𐤁 𐤁	𐤁 𐤁	ב	ב
𐤂 𐤂	𐤂 𐤂 𐤂	𐤂	𐤂 𐤂 𐤂	𐤂	𐤂 𐤂 𐤂	𐤂 𐤂	𐤂 𐤂	ג	ג
𐤃 𐤃	𐤃 𐤃 𐤃	𐤃	𐤃 𐤃 𐤃 𐤃	𐤃	𐤃 𐤃 𐤃	𐤃 𐤃	𐤃 𐤃	ד	ד
𐤄 𐤄	𐤄 𐤄 𐤄	𐤄	𐤄 𐤄 𐤄 𐤄	𐤄	𐤄 𐤄 𐤄 𐤄	𐤄 𐤄	𐤄 𐤄	ה	ה
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del. l. E. 35

Transcription.

הנקבה . וזה . היה . דבר . הנקבה . בעוד
הגרזן . אש . אל . רעו . ובעוד . שלש . אמות . להב . קל . אש . ק
רא . אל . רעו . כי . הית . וזה . בצר . מימן . וכים . ה
נקבה . הכו . החצבם . אש . לקרת . רעו . גרזן . על . גרזן . וילכו
המים . מן . המוצא . אל . הברכה . במאתים . ואלף . אמה . ומ(א)
ת . אמה . היה . גבה . הצר . על . ראש . החצב(ם)

HEBREW GRAMMAR.

INTRODUCTION.

§ 1. *The Semitic Languages in General.*

SEE Gesenius, Introduction to his *Hebr. Handwörterb.*, 2nd to 10th editions; E. Renan, *Histoire générale et système comparé des langues sémitiques*, 3rd ed., Paris, 1863; B. Stade, *Lehrb. der hebr. Gramm.*, Lpz. 1879, § 2 sqq.; E. König, *Hist.-krit. Lehrgeb. der hebr. Spr.*, Lpz. 1881, § 3; H. Strack, 'Einl. in das A. T.,' in Zöckler's *Handb. der theol. Wissenschaften*, Nördl. 1883, i. 190 sqq.; 4th ed. Munich, 1895; F. Hommel, *Die semit. Völker u. Sprachen*, Lpz. 1883, i. 1; Th. Nöldeke, article 'Semitic Languages,' in the 9th ed. of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, in German with corrections and additions, *Die semit. Sprachen*, Lpz. 1887; W. Wright, *Lectures on the Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages*, Cambr. 1890. Much relating to the subject may also be found in Diestel's *Gesch. des A. T. in der christl. Kirche*, Jena, 1869.—The material contained in inscriptions has been in process of collection since 1881 in the Paris *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*.

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 languages* (based upon the fact that according to Gen. 10, 21 sqq. almost all nations speaking these languages are descended from Shem) is however now generally accepted and has accordingly been retained here ¹.

¹ From Shem are derived (Gen. 10, 21 sqq.) the Aramaean and Arab families as well as the Hebrews, but not the Canaanites (Phoenicians), who are traced back to Ham (vv. 6. 15 sqq.), although their language belongs decidedly to what

b 2. The better known Semitic languages may be subdivided 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. 1) 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 Mêša', 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.' This latter dialect is represented in the Old Testament by two words in Gen. 31, 47, by the verse Jer. 10, 11, and the sections Dan. 2, 4—7, 28; Ezr. 4, 8—6, 18, and 7, 12—26, as well as by a considerable portion 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 so-called 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 sqq.

d IV. The East Semitic branch¹, the language of the Assyrio-

is now called Semitic. The language of the Babylonians and Assyrians, about which uncertainty long prevailed, has proved to be Semitic, just as Aššur (Gen. 10, 22) is included among the sons of Shem.

¹ Cf. especially Hommel, 'On the philological position of the Ass.-Babylonian as compared with Western Semitic,' in *Aufsätze u. Abhandlungen arabistisch semitologisch-inhalts*, Munich, 1892, p. 92 sqq.

Babylonian inscriptions, the third line of the Achaemenian inscriptions.

On the importance of Assyrian for Hebrew philology especially from a lexicographical point of view comp. Friedr. Delitzsch, *The Hebrew Language viewed in the light of Assyrian research*, Lond. 1883, and *Prolegomena eines neuen hebr.-aram. Wörterbuchs zum A. T.*, Lpz. 1886; P. Haupt, 'Assyrian Phonology, &c.,' in *Hebraica*, Chicago, Jan. 1885, vol. i. 3; Delitzsch, *Assyrische Grammatik*, Berlin, 1889.

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.

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 Phoenician 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 (Tigrê, Amharic), and Hebrew among some modern Jews (except in so far as they attempt a 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, since it comprises, in the most varied ramifications, the Indian (Sanskrit), Old and New Persian, Greek, Latin, Slavonic as well as Gothic, along with 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 C. Abel, *Einleitung in ein ägyptisch-semitisch-indo-europäisches Wurzelwörterbuch*, Lpz. 1887; and *Ueber Wechselbeziehungen der ägyptischen, indo-europäischen u. semitischen Etymologie*, Lpz. 1889, pt. i; Hommel, 'On the extent of the relation between ancient Egyptian and Semitic,' in the *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, ii. 342 sqq.; Erman, *Das Verhältnis des Aegyptischen zu den semitischen Sprachen*, in the *ZDMG*. xlvii, 1892, p. 93 sqq.

3. The *grammatical structure* of the Semitic family of languages, *f* 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 proceeding from the three primary sounds (*a, i, u*)

are subject, within the same consonantal frame-work, to great changes in order to express various modifications in the signification of the same stem; (*b*) the word-stems are almost invariably trilateral, i. e. composed of three consonants; (*c*) the verb is restricted to two tense-forms, with a peculiarly regulated use; and (*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 oblique cases of the personal pronoun, as well as of all the possessive pronouns and the pronominal object of the verb, are denoted by forms immediately attached (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, however, forms a not unimportant exception as regards the last mentioned point.

§ 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 here apparently more agreement than in the grammar. A considerable number of Semitic roots and stems¹ agree in sound with synonyms in the Indo-Germanic family. But apart from expressions directly borrowed (see below), the actual similarity might be restricted 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, to establish which an agreement in grammatical structure would also be necessary.

Comp. Friedr. Delitzsch, *Studien über indogermanisch-semitische Wurzel-verwandtschaft*, Lpz. 1873; Nöldechen, *Semit. Glossen zu Fick und Curtius*, Magdeb. 1876 sq.; McCurdy, *Aryo-Semitic Speech*, Andover, U. S. A., 1881.

As onomatopoeic words, or as stem-sounds of a similar character, we may compare, e. g. לָקַק, לָחַק, λείχω, *lingo*, Sans. *lih*, Eng. *to lick*, Fr. *lécher*, Germ. *lecken*; גָּלַל (kindr. גָּלַל, גָּלַל) κίλλω, κέλλω, κυλίω, *volvo*, Germ. *quellen, wallen*, Eng. *to well*; גָּרַר, גָּרַר, חָרַר, חָרַר, χαράττω, Pers. *khârdan*, Ital. *grattare*, Fr. *gratter*, Eng. *to grate, to scratch*, Germ. *kratzen*; פָּרַק פָּרַק *frango*, Germ. *brechen*, &c.; Reuss, *Gesch. der hl. Schriften A. T.'s*, Braunsch. 1881, p. 38, draws attention moreover to the Semitic equivalents for *earth, six, seven, horn, to sound, to measure, to mix*,

[¹ On the distinction between stems and roots, see § 30, Rem. 1 and 2.—G. W. C.]

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*; in Hebrew אָמַם (from which אָמַם *people*, properly *assembly*), אָמַם (*with*) *samt*, אָמַם also, *moreover*, Arab. عَمِمَ to collect; Pers. *ham*, *hamah* (*at the same time*); Sans. *amā* (*with*), Gk. ἄμα (*ἄμφω*), ὄμος, ὄμοῦ (ὄμιλος, ὄμαδος), and harder κοινός, Lat. *cum*, *cumulus*, *cunctus*; with the corresponding sibilant Sans. *sam*, Gk. σύν, ξύν, ξυνός = κοινός, Goth. *sama*, Germ. *samt*, *sammeln*; but many of these instances are doubtful.

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 Hebr.: some names of objects which were originally indigenous in Egypt, Persia or India, e.g. אָוֶר, Egyptian properly *aur āa*, the great river, Coptic *yaro* or *yero*¹, nearly always of the Nile; אָוֶר (Egyptian) Nile-reed; אָוֶר (in Zend *pairidaēza*, circumvallation = παράδεισος) *pleasure-garden*, *park*; אָוֶר *daric*, Persian gold coin; אָוֶר *peacocks*, perhaps from the Malabar *tōgai* or *tōghai*. Some of these words are also found in Greek, as אָוֶר (Sans. *kāpi*) *ape*, *κῆπος*, *κῆβος*; אָוֶר (Pers. *kirbās*, Sans. *karpāsa*) *cotton*, *κάρπασος*, *carbasus*.

(b) In Greek, &c.: some originally Semitic names of Asiatic products and articles of commerce, e.g. אָוֶר *bússos*, *byssus*; אָוֶר *líbanos*, *λιβανωτός*, *incense*; אָוֶר *kánē*, *κάννα*, *canna*, *cane*; אָוֶר *kúminon*, *cuminum*, *cumin*; אָוֶר *kaśsiá*, *cassia*; אָוֶר *kámēlos*, *camelus*; אָוֶר *árrhabón*, *arrhabo*, *arrha*, *pledge*. Such transitions have probably been brought about chiefly by Phoenician trade. (Comp. A. Müller, 'Semitische Lehnwörter im älteren Griechisch,' in *Beiträge zur Kunde der Indo-germ. Sprachen*, Göttingen, 1877, vol. i. p. 273 sqq.; E. Ries, *Quæ 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 sqq.; H. Lewy, *Die semitischen Fremdwörter im Griech.*, Berlin, 1895; J. H. Bondi, *Dem hebr.-phöniz. Sprachzweige angehör. Lehnwörter in hieroglyph. u. hieratischen Texten*, Lpz. 1886.)

5. No system of writing is ever so perfect as to be able to reproduce *k* the sounds of a language in all their various shades, and the *writing of the Semites* has essentially one remarkable defect, viz. that only the consonants (which indeed form the substance of the language) are *arranged in line* as real letters², whilst of the vowels only the longer are indicated by representative consonants (comp. below, § 7). It was only later that special small marks (points or strokes below

¹ According to Delitzsch, however (*Prolegg.* 145, v. sup. p. 2), אָוֶר is a genuine Semitic word.

² 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 p. 6, note 1, ad fin.

or above the consonants) were invented to represent to the eye all the vowels (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 left¹.

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, now represented most faithfully by the characters used on the stele of Mêša', king of Moab (see below, § 2. 2), and in the old Phœnician inscriptions. The old Hebrew writing, as it appears on the oldest monument, the Siloam inscription (see below, § 2. 2), exhibits essentially the same character. The old Greek, and indirectly all European alphabets, are descended from the old Phœnician writing.

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' *Scripturæ linguæque Phœniciaë monumenta*, Lips. 1837, 4to, pt. i. p. 15 sqq., and pt. iii. tab. 1-5, also his article 'Palæographie' in Ersch and Gruber's *Encykl.* Sect. iii. Bd. 9. From numerous monuments since discovered, our knowledge of the Semitic characters, especially the Phœnician, has become considerably enlarged and more accurate. Comp. especially the Tables of De Vogüé in vol. xi. of the *Revue archéol.*, Paris, 1865, and in the *Mélanges d'archéologie orientale*, Paris, 1868, after p. 141; further Paul Schröder, *Die phöniz. Sprache*, Halle, 1869, p. 75 sqq.; Lenormant, *Essai sur la propagation de l'Alphabet Phénicien dans l'ancien monde*, Paris, 1875, tom. i. 2^me éd. (to be used with some caution); Schlottmann, article 'Schrift u. Schriftzeichen' in Riehm's *Handwörterb. des bibl. Altert.*, p. 1434 sqq.; Isaac Taylor, *The Alphabet, &c.*, Lond. 1883, 2 vols.; Phil. Berger, *Histoire de l'écriture dans l'antiquité*, Paris, 1891.—For the development of the Hebrew characters and the best Tables of Alphabets, comp. § 5. a, note 2.

m 6. As regards the relative age of the Semitic languages, the oldest writings are to be met with in the Assyrio-Babylonian (cuneiform) inscriptions²; with which are to be classed the earliest Hebrew fragments occurring in the Old Testament (see § 2).

¹ The Sabæan (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 prevailing one; 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.

² Comp. Friedr. Delitzsch, *Prolegomena*, p. 57, 'We possess written monuments of

The Jewish-Aramaic writings begin about the time of Cyrus (comp. Ezr. 6, 3 sqq.), those of the Arabic branch first appear in the earliest centuries A. D. (Sabæan inscriptions, Ethiopic translation of the Bible in the fourth to fifth century, North-Arabic literature from the sixth century A. D.) It is, however, another question which of these languages has adhered longest and most faithfully to the original character of the Semitic, and which consequently represents to us the earliest phase of its development. For the more or less rapid transformation of the sounds and forms of a language, as spoken by nations and races, is dependent on causes quite distinct from the growth of a literature, and oftentimes the organic structure of a language is even considerably impaired before it has developed a literature, especially by early contact with people of a strange tongue. Thus in the Semitic department, the Aramaic dialects exhibit the earliest and greatest decay, next to them the Hebrew-Canaanitish, and in its own way the Assyrian. Arabic, owing to the seclusion of the desert tribes, was the longest to retain the original fullness and purity of the sounds and forms of words¹. Even here, however, there appeared, through the revolutionary influence of Islam, an ever-increasing decay, until Arabic at length reached nearly the stage at which we find Hebrew as early as the Old Testament.

the Assyrian kings Isme-Dagan and Samsi-Ramman I, who reigned about 1830 or 1816 B. C.: but Babylonian antiquities and Babylonian literature precede the Assyrian by a development of more than a thousand years.' According to Hilprecht, *The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania*, i. p. 11 sqq., the inscriptions found at Nippur embrace the period from 3800 to 450 B. C.

¹ Even now the language of some of the Bèdawî is much purer and more archaic than that of the town-Arabs. It must, however, here 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 the Semitic character in its 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 emphasized some of the most important Semitic characteristics in a most one-sided manner.'

[In modern conversational Arabic, the Tènwin and the endings of inflectional forms are almost always neglected. Mr. E. T. Rogers, late British Consul at Cairo, told me that they are still pronounced in the neighbourhood of Timbuctoo.—G. W. C.]

11 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. Thus it occupies amongst these a position similar to that which Sanskrit holds among the Indo-Germanic languages, or Gothic in the narrower circle of the Germanic. But even the toughest organism of a language often deteriorates, at least in single forms and derivatives, while on the contrary, in the midst of what is otherwise universal decay, there still remains here and there something original and archaic, and this is the case with the Semitic languages.

Fuller proof of the above statements belongs to the comparative grammar of the Semitic languages. It follows, however, from what has been said: (1) that the Hebrew language, as found in the sacred literature of the Jews, has, in respect 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 the priority to the latter; (3) that it is a mistake to consider with some that the Aramaic, on account of its simplicity (which was only caused by 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 article, 'Sprache, hebräische,' in Schenkel's *Bibel-Lexikon*, Lpz. 1875, Bd. v; Bertheau, 'Hebräische Sprache,' in Herzog's *Realencyklopädie*, 2. Aufl. Bd. 5; W. Robertson Smith, 'Hebrew Language and Literature,' in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 9th ed., Edinb. 1880, vol. xi. p. 594 sqq.

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 Neo-Hebrew in Jewish writings of the post-biblical period (§ 3. 1). The name Hebrew language (לְשׁוֹן עִבְרִית γλωσσα τῶν Ἑβραίων, ἑβραϊστί) does not occur in the Old Testament itself. Instead of it we find in Is. 19, 18 the term *language of Canaan*¹, and יהוֹרִית in the *Jews' language* 2 Ki. 18, 26. 28 (comp. Is. 36, 11. 13), Neh. 13, 24. 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 *Hebrews* (עִבְרִים 'Εβραῖοι) and *Israelites* (בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל) is that the latter was rather a national name of honour, with also

¹ That Hebrew in its present form was actually developed in Canaan appears from such facts as the use of *yam* (sea) for the west, *négéb* (properly dryness, afterwards as a proper name for the south of Palestine) for the south, comp. Reuss, l. c., p. 53 sq.

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 (Gen. 40, 15. Ex. 2, 7. 3, 18 and elsewhere; Jon. 1, 9) or when it is put in the mouth of those who are not Israelites (Gen. 39, 14. 17. 41, 12 and elsewhere) or, finally, when it is used in opposition to other nations (Gen. 14, 13. 43, 32. Ex. 2, 11. 13. 21, 2). Its use in 1 Sam. 13, 3. 7 and 14, 21 is exceptional. In the Greek and Latin authors, as well as in Josephus, the name 'Ἑβραῖοι, Hebraei', &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 '— (§ 86. 2, 5) 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 Euphrates (or perhaps more correctly the Jordan?), and would therefore originally be only appropriate when used by the nations on this side of the Euphrates or Jordan. We must, then, suppose that after the crossing of either river it had been retained (by the Abrahamidae) as an old-established name, and within certain limits (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 Gen. 10, 21 (Num. 24, 24 does not apply) Shem is called the *ancestor of all the children of 'Eber*, and to the latter there also belonged according to Gen. 22, 20 sqq. and 10, 25 sqq. Aramean and Arab races, the name, afterwards restricted in the form of the gentile 'ibri, exclusively to the Israelites, must have originally included a decidedly larger variety of countries and nations. The etymological significance of the name must in that case not be insisted upon.

The term 'Ἑβραῖοι 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, Rev. 9, 11. On the other hand it serves in John 5, 2. 19, 13. 17 perhaps also 19, 20 and Rev. 16, 16 to denote what was then the vernacular (Aramaic) of Palestine as opposed to the Greek. The meaning of the expression 'Ἑβραῖς διάλεκτος in Acts 21, 40. 22, 2 and 26, 14 is doubtful (comp. Kautzsch, *Gramm. des Bibl.-Aram.*, p. 19 sq.). Josephus also uses the term *Hebrew* both of the old Hebrew and the Aramaic vernacular of his time.

The Hebrew language is first called the *sacred language* in the Jewish-Aramaic versions of the Old Testament for 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 ^d the Phoenician inscriptions; see below, § 2. 3), 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

¹ The Graeco-Roman form of the name is not directly derived from the Hebrew עִבְרִי, but from the Palestinian Aramaic 'ebṛāyā, 'the Hebrew.'

ruins of the city of Dîbôn (now Dhîbân), inhabited in earlier times by the Gadites, afterwards by the Moabites. In it, the Moabite king Mêša' (at the beginning of the ninth century B.C.) recounts his battles with Israel (comp. 2 Ki. 3, 4 sqq.), his buildings, and other matters¹; of old Hebrew (2) an inscription of six lines (probably of the eighth century B.C.²) discovered in June, 1880, in the tunnel between the Virgin's Spring and the Pool of Siloam at Jerusalem; (3) twenty engraved seal-stones, some of them pre-exilic but bearing little except proper names³; (4) coins of the Maccabæan prince John Hyrkanus (from 135 B.C.) and his successors⁴, and the coinage of the revolts in the times of Vespasian and Hadrian.

¹ 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. Comp. Ch. Clermont-Ganneau (at that time head of the French consulate in Jerusalem), *La stèle de Mesa roi de Moab*, Paris, 1870, and 'La stèle de Dhiban,' in the *Revue Archéol.*, March, 1870, p. 184 sqq. (with an improved copy), also the *Journal Asiat.*, 1887, p. 72 sqq. Comp. for the history of the discovery and for the earlier literature relating to the stone, especially the article in *Ausland*, 1874, No. 48, p. 951 sqq. A photograph of the two largest fragments was prepared by the Palestine Exploration Fund from drawings by Sir C. Warren. All preceding facsimiles are now, however, antiquated, owing to the excellent reproduction and translation of the inscription by Smend and Socin, who from the fragments of the stone, and the squeeze taken in 1869 before its destruction, have established about eighty new characters (Freiburg im Baden, 1886). Cf. also Driver, *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Samuel*, Oxford, 1890, p. lxxxv sqq.

² Comp. for this inscription—unfortunately not dated, but linguistically and palaeographically very important—which refers to the boring of the tunnel, Kautzsch in the *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palestina-Vereins*, 1881, pp. 102 sqq. and 260 sqq. (with a copy from a plaster-cast of the inscription), also 1882, p. 205 sqq.; Guthe, *ibid.* 1881, p. 250 sqq. and *ZDMG.* 1882, p. 725 sqq.; W. Wright in the *Proceedings of Soc. of Bibl. Archaeol.*, Feb. 7, 1882; J. Derenbourg in the *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscriptions*, 1881, tom. iv, and in the *Revue des études Juives*, 1881, Parts 3 and 4; in the *Oriental Series of the London Palaeographical Soc.*, Plate 87; Beswick in the *Quarterly Statements of the Palestine Explor. Fund*, Oct. 1884. The inscription was removed in 1890, and broken into six or seven pieces in the process: v. Guthe in *ZDPV.* xiii. 286 sqq. If, as can hardly be doubted, the name מִשָּׁה (i.e. *emissio*) Is. 8, 6 refers to the discharge of water from the Virgin's Spring, through the tunnel (so Stade, *Gesch. Isr.* p. 594), then the latter, and consequently the inscription, was already in existence about 736 B.C.

³ See Rödiger in *ZDMG.* iii, 1849, pp. 243 and 347; de Vogüé, *Mélanges d'archéologie orientale*, Par. 1868, pp. 131-140; M. A. Levy, *Siegel u. Gemmen, &c.*, Bresl. 1869, p. 33 sqq.

⁴ De Saulcy, *Recherches sur la numismatique judaïque*, Paris, 1854, and his

3. In the whole series of the ancient Hebrew writings, as found *e* in the Old Testament and also in non-biblical monuments (see above, § 2. 2), the language (to judge from its consonantal formation) remains, as regards its general character, and apart from slight changes in form and differences in style (see letters *b* 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.

To this old Hebrew, the language of the Canaanitish or Phoenician ^f 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 signification which occur in the Old Testament (e.g. מִלְכֵי צִדְקָה, קְרִית סֶפֶר, &c.; on 'Canaanite glosses' to Assyrian words in the cuneiform tablets of Tell-el-Amarna [fourteenth century B.C.] cf. Zimmern, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, 1891, p. 154 sqq.²), and partly from the extant remains of the Phoenician and Punic languages.

The latter we find in their peculiar writing (§ 1. 5) in a great number of inscriptions and on coins, copies of which have been collected by Gesenius, *Monum. Phœnicia*, Judas, Bourgade, Davis, de Vogüé, Levy, P. Schröder, v. Maltzan, Euting, but especially in Part I of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*, Paris, 1881 sqq., edited by the Paris Academy of Inscriptions. 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; first accurately reproduced in *Mémoire sur le sarcophage et l'inscription funéraire d'Esmunazar, roi de Sidon*, Paris, 1856, by the Duc de Luynes; fully explained by Schlottmann, Halle, 1868, and by Kaempf, Prague, 1874; comp. also the reproduction in the *Corpus Inscr. Semit.*, tom. i, fasc. 1. 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 those 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 this language and its relation to Hebrew.

Numismatique de la terre sainte, Par. 1874; M. A. Levy, *Gesch. der jüd. Münzen*, Breslau, 1862; Madden, *History of Jewish Coinage*, Lond. 1864, and *The Coins of the Jews*, Lond. 1881 (vol. ii. of the *International Numismat. Orient.*); Reinach, *Les monnaies juives*, Paris, 1888.—Comp. the literature in Schürer's *Geschichte des Jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter J. C.*, Lpz. 1890, i. p. 17 sqq.

¹ פְּנִיעֵי, 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 Phoenicians, while they called themselves כְּנַעַן on their coins. The people of Carthage also called themselves so.

² Cf. inter alia: zu-ru-'u = רוּעַ, abada = אֲבָדָה, ša'ari or ša'ri = שַׁעַר, baṭmu = בָּטְמוֹ, kilubi = כִּלּוּבִי, saduug = צִדְקָה (צִדְקִי) &c.

g Phoenician (Punic) words occurring in inscriptions are, e.g. אל *God*, 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*, מצבת *monument*, מקום *place*, משכב *bed*, כל *all*, אחד *one*, שנים *two*, שלש *three*, ארבע *four*, חמש *five*, שש *six*, שבע *seven*, עשר *ten*, כן (= Hebr. היה) *to be*, שמע *to hear*, פתח *to open*, נדר *to vow*, ברך *to bless*, בקש *to seek*, &c. Proper names: צרן *Sidon*, צר *Tyre*, חנא *Hanno*, חנבעל *Hannibal*, &c. Comp. A. Bloch, *Phoenic. Glossar.*, Berl. 1890.

h Variations from Hebrew in Phoenician orthography and inflection are, e.g. the almost invariable omission of the vowel letters (§ 7. 2), as בת for בית *house*, קל for קול *voice*, צרן for צִרוֹן; כהנם for כְּהֹנִים *priests*, אלנם (in Plaut. *alonim*) *gods*; the fem., even in the absolute state, ending in ת (*ath*) (§ 80. 2) beside א (*θ*), the relative אש (Hebr. אִשָּׁה) &c. The differences in pronunciation are more remarkable, especially in Punic, where the *i* was regularly pronounced as *û*, e.g. שִׁפְטִי *sîfēt* (judge), שָׁלוֹשׁ *salûs* (three), רִישׁ *rîûs* = ראש *head*; *i* and *e* often as the obscure dull sound *y*, e.g. הַיְנִי *yinyynu* (ecce eum), אֵת (*ait*) *yth*; the *ע* as *o*, e.g. מעקר *Mocar* (comp. מַעְכָּה LXX, Gen. 22, 24 Μωχά). See the collection of the grammatical peculiarities in Gesenius, *Monumenta Phoenicia*, p. 430 sqq.; in Movers' article, 'Phönizien,' in Ersch and Gruber's *Encyklopädie*, Sect. iii, Bd. 24, p. 434 sqq.; 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.

i 4. As the Hebrew writing on monuments and coins mentioned in § 2. 2, consists only of consonants, so also the writers of the Old Testament books used merely the consonant-signs (§ 1. 5), 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 sqq.) introduced by Jewish scholars about the seventh century A. D.; comp. § 3. 2.

k An earlier stage of the development of the Canaanitish-Hebrew language, i.e. a form of it anterior to the written documents in our possession, and when it must have stood nearer to the original 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 obviously point back 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. 6). 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 primitive Semitic ground-forms 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.

5. Even in the language of the Old Testament, notwithstanding its general uniformity, there is noticeable an undoubted progress from an earlier to a later character. 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.

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, most of the Pentateuch and Joshua, Judges, Samuel, and Kings; (b) of the poetical, a part of the Psalms and Proverbs; (c) the writings of the earlier prophets in the following chronological order: Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, Micah, Nahum, Zephaniah, Habakkuk, Obadiah (?), Jeremiah, Ezekiel. The last two continued to flourish during the exile, to the close of which also some portions of Isaiah (especially chapters 40–66) belong.

The beginning of this period, and consequently of Hebrew literature generally, is undoubtedly to be placed as early as the time of Moses, although the Pentateuch in its present form, in which very different hands 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 ad fin. The linguistic character of the various strata of the Pentateuch has been examined by Ryssel, *De Elohistae Pentateuchici sermone*, Lpz. 1878; König, *De critica sacrae argumenti e linguae legibus repetito*, Lpz. 1879 (Analysis of Gen. 1–11); F. Giesebrecht, 'Der Sprachgebr. des hexateuchischen Elohisten,' in *Ztschr. f. d. Alttest. Wissensch.* 1881, p. 177 sqq., partly modified by Driver in the *Journal of Philology*, vol. xi. p. 201 sqq. Abundant matter is afforded also by Holzinger, *Einleitung in den Pentateuch*, Freib. 1893; Driver, *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament*, 5th ed., Edinburgh, 1894; Strack, *Einleitung ins A. T.*⁴, Munich, 1895; and with regard to the linguistic character of the Old Testament writings in general, König, *Einleitung in das A. T.*, Bonn, 1893. On the linguistic

character of Deutero-Isaiah, comp. König, *Der Offenbarungsbegriff des A. T.*, Lpz. 1882, i. 211 sq.; Cheyne, *Introd. to the Book of Isaiah*, p. 255 sqq.

o Moreover, there occur even in Jeremiah, and still more so in Ezekiel, decided approximations to the Aramaizing language of the second period (see § 2. 7); comp. Zimmer, *Aramaismi Jeremiani*, Halle, 1880, pt. i.

ð 6. Even in the writings of this first period, which embraces nearly a thousand years, we meet, as might be expected, with some considerable differences in linguistic form and style, which are due partly to differences in the time and place of their composition, and partly to the individuality and power 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.

q But the *poetic language* is in many ways distinguished from prose, not only by a *rhythm* consisting of more strictly balanced (parallel) members, 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 language¹.

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.

¹ 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 Ki. 18, 26 (Is. 36, 11).

On the *rhythm* of Hebrew poetry, see besides the Commentaries on the Psalms by De Wette, Delitzsch, Hupfeld, and others, especially H. Ewald, 'Allgemeines über die hebr. Dichtung und über das Psalmenbuch,' in *Dichter des Allen Bundes*, Gött. 1839, 2nd ed., 1866, Th. i. 1 Hälfte; J. Ley, *Grundzüge des Rhythmus*, &c., Halle, 1875; *Leitfaden der Metrik der hebr. Poesie*, Halle, 1887; Reuss, *Gesch. der hl. Schriften A. T.'s*, Braunsch. 1881, p. 141 sqq.

Of all views of this matter, the only sound one so far is Budde's discovery of the Qina- or Lamentation-Verse (*ZAW.* 1882, 6 sqq.; 1891, 234 sqq.; 1892, 31 sqq.), consisting of two members, the second at least one full word shorter than the other. The probability that a regular repetition of an equal number of syllables in *arsis* and *thesis* was observed by other poets, has been established by Duhamel, Gunkel, and others, especially Zimmern, who adduces a Babylonian hymn in which the members are definitely marked (*Ztschr. für Assyriologie*, x. 1 sqq.). All the details, however, are as yet uncertain.

The ancient practice of writing certain poetical passages in verse-form (Ex. 15, 1-19. Dent. 32, 1-43. Jud. 5. 1 Sam. 2, 1-10. 2 Sam. 22, 23, 1-7. Ps. 18. 136. Prov. 31, 10-31. 1 Chron. 16, 8-36; cf. also Josh. 12, 9-24. Eccles. 3, 2-8. Est. 9, 7-10) has nothing to do with any question of metre.

Words are used in poetry, for which others are customary in prose, e.g. אֲנִישׁ *man* = אָדָם; אֲרַח *path* = דֶּרֶךְ; מִלָּה *word* = דְּבָר; חָזָה *to see* = רָאָה; אָתָּה *to come* = בֹּא.

To the poetic *significations of words* belongs the use of certain poetic epithets for the substantive; thus, for example, אֲזַבִּיר *the strong one* for God; אֲזַבִּיר *the strong one* for ox, horse; לְבָנָה *alba* for luna.

Of word-forms, we may note, e.g. the longer forms of prepositions of place (§ 103. 3) עָלַי = עַל־י, אֶלַי = אֶל־י, עָדַי = עַד־י; the endings י־, ו־ to the noun (§ 90); the pronominal suffixes מוֹ, מוֹ־, מוֹ־ for ׀, ׀־, ׀־־ (§ 58); the plural ending ׀־־ for ׀־־־ (§ 87. 1, a). 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. 2, b, Rem.), and in general a forcible brevity of expression.

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 people¹. 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, 8, 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, Malachi, Joel, Jonah, Daniel; of the poetical books, part of Proverbs, Job, Song of Songs, Ecclesiastes, and a large part of the Psalms. As literary compositions, these books are sometimes far inferior to those of the first period, although there are parts which in purity of language and aesthetic value fall little short of the writings of the golden age; such, e.g. as the later Psalms, 120 sqq., 137, 139.

v *Later words* (Aramaisms) are, e.g. זמן = עת *time*; קבל = לקח *to take*; סוף = קץ *end*; מלך = שׂלט *to govern*; תָּקַף = נָחַץ *to be strong*.—Later meanings are, e.g. צַוָּה (to say) *to command*; עָנָה (to answer) *to begin a conversation*.—*Orthographical and grammatical peculiarities* are, the frequent *scriptio plena* of ו and ך, e.g. דְּוִיר² (elsewhere דְּוִיר), even קוֹדֶשׁ for קֹדֶשׁ, רוב for רב; the interchange of ה־ and ח־ final; the more frequent use of substantives in ון, ך, ת, &c. (Comp. for the Psalms, especially, Chcyne, *Origin of the Psalter*, p. 461 sqq.)

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 שׂ, the common form in Phœnician (as well as אִשׁ), for אִשָּׁר (§ 36), which afterwards recurs in Lamentations, the Song of Songs, the later Psalms, and Ecclesiastes.

¹ The very frequent employment of Hebrew in popular religious literature, which is partly preserved to us in the Midrašim, indicates, moreover, that Hebrew was widely understood much later than this.

² דְּוִיר in the Minor Prophets throughout (Hos. 3, 5, &c.) is due merely to a caprice of the Masoretes.

Rem. 1. Regarding dialectical varieties in the old Hebrew language, only 20 one express statement occurs in the Old Test., namely in Jud. 12, 6, according to which the Ephraimites in certain cases pronounced the Ψ as \mathfrak{D} . (Comp. Marquart in *ZAW.* 1888, p. 151 sqq.) Whether in Neh. 13, 24 by the *speech of Ashdod* a Hebrew, or a (wholly different) Philistine dialect, should be understood cannot be determined. On the other hand, many of the peculiarities in the above-mentioned North Palestine books (Judges and Hosea) are to be regarded as differences in dialect, and so also some exceptional forms in the Moabite inscription of Mêsâ' (see above, § 2. 2).

2. It is evident, that in the extant remains of old Hebrew literature¹, the entire store of the ancient language is not preserved. The canonical literature of the Old Testament formed certainly only a fraction of the once extant national literature of the ancient Hebrews.

§ 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 sqq. (in the 2nd ed. revised by Nestle, p. 314 sqq.). Comp. also the literature cited above in the headings of §§ 1 and 2; also Böttcher, *Ausführl. Lehrb. der hebr. Spr.*, Lpz. 1866, i. p. 30 sqq.; L. Geiger, *Das Studium der Hebr. Spr. in Deutschl. vom Ende des 15. bis zur Mitte des 16. Jahrh.*, Breslau, 1870; B. Pick, 'The Study of the Hebrew Language among Jews and Christians,' in *Bibliotheca Sacra*, 1884, p. 450 sqq., and 1885, p. 470 sqq.

1. At the time when the old Hebrew language was gradually a becoming extinct and the formation of the Old Test. canon was approaching conclusion, the Jews began to explain and critically revise the sacred text, and sometimes to translate it into the vernacular languages which in various countries had come into use 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 not completed until a later date. It was drawn up by 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 (תרגומים i. e. *interpretations*) were gradually formed from recensions made in Palestine and Babylonia. The *explanations*, derived in part from alleged tradition, refer almost exclusively to civil and ritual

¹ According to the calculation of the Dutch scholar Leusden, the Old Test. contains 5,642 different Hebrew and Aramaic words. [Including proper names, 9,285.—G. W. C.]

law and dogmatic theology, and are no more scientific in character than much of the textual tradition of that period. Both kinds of traditions 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 part (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; while 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 Old Testament, according to the pronunciation traditional in the Synagogues and Schools (§ 7. 3), as well as the greater part of the collection of critical remarks which bears the name of *Masōra* (מסורה *traditio*)¹. From this the text which has since been transmitted with rigid uniformity by the MSS., and is still the received text of the Old Testament, has obtained the name of the Masoretic Text.

c E. F. K. Rosenmüller already (*Handbuch für d. Liter. der bibl. Kritik u. Exegese*, 1797, i. 247; *Vorrede zur Stereotyp-Ausg. des A. T.*, Lpz. 1834) maintained that our Old Test. 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 (*Proverbiën*, 1863, p. 1 sqq.) have even made it probable that the original Masoretic text was derived from a single standard manuscript. Comp., however, E. König in *Ztschr. f. kirchl. Wiss.*, 1887, p. 279 sq. On the history of the Masora and the fixing of the Masoretic tradition, work has been done recently by Geiger, *Jüdische Ztschr.* iii. 78 sqq., and after him by Harris in the *Jewish Quarterly Review*, i. 128 sqq., 243 sqq.; S. Frensdorff, by his edition of the *Ochla W'ochla*, Hanover, 1864; and his *Massor. Wörterb.*, Hanover and Lpz. 1876, part i; and Ch. D. Ginsburg, *The Massora compiled from Manuscripts*, &c., Lond. 1880 sqq., 3 vols.²; on the use of the Masora for the critical

¹ On the name Masora (or Massora, as Strack in the *Prot. Real-Enc.*, 2nd ed., ix. 388 sqq., who compares 'Kappōreth,' &c., E. König, *Einleitung in das A. T.*, p. 38 sqq.; *Lehrgeb. d. hebr. Sprache*, ii. 358 sqq.), and the great difficulty of satisfactorily explaining it, comp. De Lagarde, *Mitteilungen*, i. 91 sqq.; W. Bacher's derivation of the expression (in *Jewish Quarterly Review*, 1891, p. 785 sqq.) from Ezek. 20, 37 (מְסֹרֶת; מסרה, i.e. מוֹסְרָה, being an equally legitimate form) is rightly rejected by König, l. c. The correctness of the form מְסֹרֶת (by the side of the equally well-attested form מִפְרֶת) does not seem to us to be invalidated by his arguments.

² See Baer's criticism of this work in *ZDMG.* 1886, p. 743 sqq.

construction of the Text, especially by S. Baer, in his excellent editions of the several books (only Exod.-Deut. have still to appear), edited since 1869 conjointly with Fr. Delitzsch and G. Dalman, and recently by Baer alone. Comp. also § 7. 3, Rem.

The various readings of the Qerê (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 compiling 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 *d* that the Jews, following the example of the Arabs, began their grammatical compilations. Of the numerous grammatical and lexicographical works of R. Sa'adya¹, 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 Old Testament 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 Zakaria Yaḥya, about the year 1000) and R. Yona (Abû 'l-Walîd 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. 1235) especially gained a classical reputation by their Hebrew grammatical writings.

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 פִּעֵל, certain *voces memoriales*, as בִּנְיָן־כִּפֵּת and the like².

¹ On his independent attitude towards the Masoretic punctuation, see Delitzsch, *Comm. zu den Psalmen*, 4th ed., p. 39.

² On the oldest Hebrew grammarians, see Strack and Siegfried, *Lehrb. d. neuhebr. Spr. u. Liter.*, Carlsr. 1884, p. 107 sqq., 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-masorethische Lehrstücke*, Lpz. 1879; 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, 4; W. Bacher, 'Die Anfänge der hebr. Gr.', in *ZDMG.* 1895, 1 sqq.; and *Die hebr. Sprachwissenschaft vom 10. bis zum 16. Jahrh.*, Trier, 1892. On Abu Zakaria, Jastrow in *ZAW.* 1885, p. 193 sqq., and B. Drachmann, Breslau, 1885. A fragment of his Arabic work on the weak verbs is given by Peritz in *ZAW.* 1893, p. 193 sqq. Munk, 'Notice sur Abou 'l-Walid et sur quelques autres grammairiens hébreux du x^e et du xi^e

e 4. The father of Hebrew philology among Christians was John Reuchlin (ob. 1522), 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 century¹ 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 endeavoured to refer linguistic formations to general laws and rationally to explain 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 (see the bibliography at the head of § 3) endeavoured to present an exhaustive synopsis of the linguistic phenomena, as well as to give an explanation of them from the sphere of Hebrew alone. B. Stade, on the other hand (*Lehrb. der hebr. Gr.*, pt. i. Lpz. 1879), adopted the strictly scientific method of endeavouring to reduce the systems of Ewald and Olshausen to a more fundamental unity.

siècle,' in the *Journ. Asiatique*, 1850. The grammatical *Opuscules et traités* of Abu 'l-Walid have been edited by J. and H. Derenbourg, Paris, 1880; comp. also W. Bacher, 'Jos. Kimchi et Abulw. Mer.' &c. in vol. vi. of the *Revue des études Juives*; and *Die hebr.-arab. Sprachvergleichung des Abulw. Mer.*, Vienna, 1884; *Leben und Werke des Abulw. Mer.*, &c., Lpz. 1885; also by the same author, *Abr. ibn Esra als Grammatiker*, Strassb. 1882; and *Die gramm. Terminologie des Jehuda ben David Hajjug*, Vienna, 1882.

¹ Of the literature of the subject down to the year 1850, see a tolerably full account in Steinschneider's *Bibliograph. Handbuch für hebr. Sprachkunde*, Lpz. 1859.

E. König¹ in his very thorough researches into phonology and etymology 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.—Among the works of Jewish scholars, special attention is to 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*² 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).

§ 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

¹ *Historisch-krit. Lehrgeb. der hebr. Sprache mit steter Beziehung auf Qimchi und die anderen Autoritäten.* 1st part, 'Lehre von der Schrift, der Aussprache, dem Pron. u. dem Verbum,' Lpz. 1881; 2nd part, vol. i. 'Abschluss der speciellen Formenlehre u. generelle Formenl.,' Lpz. 1895.

² Such observation has more and more led to the belief that the original text of the O. T. is corrupted to a greater degree than was formerly supposed. Advance in grammar is therefore closely dependent on the progress of *textual criticism*. The systematic pursuit of the latter has only begun in recent years. Cf. especially Doorninck on *Jud. 1-16, Leyden*, 1879; Wellhausen, *Text der Bb. Sam.*, Gött. 1871; Klostermann, *Bb. Sam. u. d. Kön.*, Nördl. 1887; Driver, *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Samuel*, Oxf. 1890; Cornill, *Ezechiel*, Lpz. 1886; Klostermann, *Sammlung hebr.-deutscher Bibeltexte mit krit. Anmerk.* (pt. i. Deutero-Isaiah), Munich, 1893. A critical edition of the O. T. with full textual notes, and with the various documents distinguished by colours, is being published in a handsome form by P. Haupt in *The Sacred Books of the O. T.* (Lpz. and Baltimore). Parts already published: *Job*, by Siegfried, 1893; *Leviticus*, by Driver and White, and *Samuel*, by Budde, 1894; *Joshua*, by Bennett; *Jeremiah*, by Cornill; *The Psalms*, by Wellhausen; *Chronicles*, by Kittel.

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

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

The third part (syntax, the principles of the arrangement of words): (1) shows how the word-formations and inflexions which are met with 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 strict sense of the term).

FIRST PART.

ELEMENTARY PRINCIPLES OR THE SOUNDS AND CHARACTERS.



CHAPTER I.

THE INDIVIDUAL SOUNDS AND CHARACTERS.

§ 5. *The Consonants: their Form and Names.*

(Comp. the Table of Alphabets.)

1. The Hebrew letters now in use, in which both the manu- *a*
scripts of the Old Testament are written and our editions of the
Bible are printed, commonly called the *square character* (פְּתֻחַ מִרְבָּע),
also the *Assyrian character* (אֲשִׁירִי אֲשִׁירִי)¹, are not those originally
employed.

Old Hebrew (or *Old Canaanitish*) writing, as it was used on public
monuments in the beginning of the ninth and towards the end of the
eighth century B. C., is to be seen in the inscription of *Méša'*, as well
as in that of Siloam. The characters on the Maccabæan coins of the
second century B. C., and also on ancient gems, bear much resemblance
to those found in these inscriptions (comp. § 2. 2). With this Old
Hebrew writing the Phœnician is nearly identical (see § 1. 5, § 2. 3 and
the Table of Alphabets). According to the analogy of the history

¹ The name אֲשִׁירִי (Assyria) is here used in the widest sense, to include the
countries on the Mediterranean inhabited by Aramaeans; comp. Stade in *ZAW.*
1882, p. 292 sq. On some other names for Old Hebrew writing, comp. G. Hoff-
mann, *ibid.*, 1881, p. 334 sqq.; Buhl, *Kanon u. Text des A. T.*, Lpz. 1891,
p. 202.

of other kinds of writing, it may be assumed that out of and along with the writing on stone, a less antique and somewhat more conveniently rounded style was early developed, owing to the use of softer materials, skins, bark and the like. This the Samaritans retained after their separation from the Jews, while the Jews gradually (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-Aramæan, the Nabatean and especially the Palmyrene. Of Hebrew inscriptions in the older square character, one belongs to the year 176 B. C.¹

b 2. The Alphabet consists, like all Semitic alphabets, solely of consonants, 22 in number, some of which, however, have also a kind of vocalic power (§ 7. 2). The following Table shows their form, names, pronunciation and numerical value (Rem. 3):—

¹ De Vogüé, in *Revue archéol.*, nouvelle série, ix. 1864, p. 205 sq., and Table vii. No. 2; comp. Nöldeke, in *ZDMG.* xix. p. 640; for the development of Hebrew writing in general, Merx, art. 'Schreiben,' in Schenkel's *Bibellexicon*, vol. v; Phil. Berger, art. 'Ecriture,' in Lichtenberger's *Encyclop. des sciences relig.*, Par. 1878, tom. iv. p. 227 sqq. (also published separately); H. Strack, 'Schreibkunst u. Schrift bei den Hebräern,' in Herzog's *Realencyklopädie*, 2nd ed., xiii. p. 689 sqq.; Driver, *Notes on the Books of Samuel*, Oxford, 1890, p. ix. sqq.; L. Blau, *Zur Einleitung in d. hl. Schrift*, Budapest, 1894, p. 49 sqq.; Benzinger, *Hebr. Archäologie*, Freib. 1894, p. 278 sqq.; Nowack, *Lehrb. der hebr. Archäologie*, i. 279 sqq. On the palaeography of the Hebrew square character, Harkavy, *Altjüd. Denkmäler aus der Krim*, Petersb. and Lpz. 1876, p. 108 sqq. The best Tables of Alphabets are those by J. Euting, in G. Bickell's *Outlines of Hebrew Grammar* (trans. into English by S. J. Curtiss, Lpz. 1877); the Hebrew Alphabet, in pt. vii. of the *Oriental Series of the Paleogr. Society*, London, 1882; and lastly (the most complete of all) in Chwolson's *Corpus Inscriptionum Hebraicarum*, Petersb. 1882.

FORM.	NAME.	PRONUNCIATION.	NUMERICAL VALUE.
א	' <i>Ālēph</i>	' <i>spiritus lenis</i>	1
ב	<i>Bēlh</i>	<i>ḏ (ḏh)</i>	2
ג	<i>Gimēl (Giml)</i>	<i>g (gh)</i>	3
ד	<i>Dālēth</i>	<i>d (dh)</i>	4
ה	<i>Hē</i>	<i>h</i>	5
ו	<i>Wāw</i>	<i>w¹</i>	6
ז	<i>Zāyīn</i>	<i>z</i> , as in French (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>Yōd</i>	<i>y¹</i>	10
כ, final ך	<i>Kaph</i>	<i>k (kh)</i>	20
ל	<i>Lāmēd</i>	<i>l</i>	30
מ, final ם	<i>Mēm</i>	<i>m</i>	40
נ, final ן	<i>Nūn</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 (ph)</i>	80
צ, final ץ	<i>Ṣādē</i>	<i>ṣ</i> , emphatic <i>s</i>	90
ק	<i>Qōph</i>	<i>q</i> , a strong <i>k²</i> formed at the back of the palate	100
ר	<i>Rēš</i>	<i>r</i>	200
ש	<i>Śīn</i>	<i>ś</i>	} 300
װ	<i>Śīn</i>	<i>ś</i> , pronounced <i>sh</i>	
ת	<i>Tāw</i>	<i>t (th)</i>	400

3. As the Table shows, five letters have a special form at the end of the word. They are called final letters, and were combined by the Jewish grammarians in the mnemonic word *קמנפז* *Kamnāphās*, or better, with König, *קמנפז* i. e. *as the breaker in pieces*.

¹ Philippi, 'Die Aussprache der semit. Consonanten ו and י,' in *ZDMG*. 1886, p. 639 sqq., 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;' comp. § 8. 5.

² As a representation of this sound the Latin *q* is very suitable, as it occupies in the alphabet the place of the Semitic ק (Greek *κόπια*).

Of these \aleph , \beth , \daleth , \yod are distinguished from the common form by the shaft being drawn straight down, while in the usual form it is bent round towards the left¹. In the case of \mem the letter is completely closed.

d 4. Hebrew is read and written from right to left. Words must not be divided at the end of the lines; 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: \mem \aleph \beth \daleth \yod (mnemonic word $\aleph\daleth\aleph\aleph$). In MSS. other letters suitable for the purpose are also employed in this way, as \beth , \daleth , \yod ; comp. Strack in the *Theol. Lehrb.* 1882, No. 22.

e Rem. 1. The forms of the letters originally represent the rude outlines of perceptible objects, the names of which, respectively, begin with the consonant represented (akrophony). Thus *Yöd*, in the earlier alphabets the rude picture of a hand, properly denotes *hand* (Heb. \yod), but as a letter simply the sound ' (\yod), with which this word begins; *Ayîn*, originally a circle, properly an *eye* (\ayin), stands for the consonant \ayin . 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 (\aleph , \beth , \daleth , \yod , \mem , \shin) the similarity is still preserved in the square character.

f The most probable meaning of the names of the letters of the alphabet² is: \aleph *ox*, \beth *house*, \daleth *camel*, \yod *door*, \mem *air-hole* (?), *lattice-window* (?), \ayin *hook, nail*, \kaph *weapon* (unless, with Nestle, we are to infer from the Greek $\kappa\eta\tau\alpha$, that the original name was \yod *olive-tree*), \lamed *fence, barrier*, \mem *a winding* (?), perhaps *leather bottle*, according to others *snake*, \yod *hand*, \daleth *bent hand*, \ayin *ox-goad*, \beth *water*, \daleth *fish*, \yod *prop* (?), \ayin *eye*, \mem (also \beth) *mouth*, \yod *fish-hook* (?), \beth *eye of a needle*, according to others *back of the head*, \yod *head*, \shin *tooth*, \daleth *sign, cross*.

g There is no doubt that this alphabet was first drawn up by Semites. It may be questioned, however, whether the Egyptian Hieroglyphics, and the Hieratic writing derived from it, did not serve as the model,—perhaps less as regards the forms than the (akrophonic) principle. For the hieroglyphic pictures likewise

¹ Chwolson, *Corpus Inscr. Hebr.* col. 68, rightly observes that the original forms of these letters are practically preserved in the *literae finales*.

² Cf. Conder, 'The Alphabet (the Semitic Names),' in the *Quarterly Statements of the Palestine Exploration Fund*, 1889, p. 17 sqq. The LXX give transcriptions of the Hebrew names in Lam. 1-4, as do also many Codices of the Vulgate (e.g. the Cod. Amiatinus) in Pss. 111. 112. 119, but with many variations from the customary forms, which rest on the traditional *Jewish* pronunciation. The forms *Deleth, Zai, Sen* (the LXX also $\chi\sigma\epsilon\nu$, comp. Hebr. \yod *tooth*) are to be noticed, amongst others, for *Daleth, Zain, Shin*.

indicate mostly the initial sound of the name of the pictured object; e.g. *tot*, the hand, the letter *t*; *laboi*, the lion, the *l*¹.

2. As to the order of the letters, we possess an ancient testimony in the alphabetic poems of the Old Test.: Pss. 9 (א-ב, comp. Ps. 10, 1 ב, and vv. 12-17 ב-ה); 25 and 34 (both without a separate ו-verse and with ה repeated at the end); 37. 111. 112. 119. 145; Lam. 1-4; Prov. 31, 10-31 (in the LXX with ה before ו); also in Nah. 1, 2-10, Frohnmeyer detected traces of an alphabetic arrangement; so Bickell, *Ztschr. f. kath. Theol.*, 1882, p. 319 sqq., in the assumed Hebrew original of Jesus the son of Sirach, chap. 51, 18-38 (without ו and with ה repeated at the end). The sequence of the three softest labial, palatal, and lingual sounds א, ב, ג, and of the three liquids ד, ה, ו, 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*, *Ayin* and *Pê*), stand next to one another.

Both the order and the names of the letters, together with their numerical values, have passed over from the Phoenicians to the Greeks, in whose alphabet the letters Α-Υ 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.

3. a. In default of special arithmetical figures, the consonants were used also as numerical signs. The earliest traces of this usage are, however, first found on the Maccabean coins (see above, § 2. 2, 4). These numerical letters were afterwards employed principally for marking the numbers of chapters and verses in the editions of the Bible. The units are denoted by א-ב, the tens by י-כ, 100-400 by פ-ת, the numbers from 500-900 by ט (=400), with the addition of the remaining hundreds, e.g. קת 500. In compound numbers the greater precedes (on the right), thus יי 11, כב 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)². For

¹ Comp. above, § 1. 5, *l*; also Hitzig, *Die Erfindung des Alphabets*, Zürich, 1840; J. Olshausen, *Über den Urspr. des Alphabets*, Kiel, 1841; F. Böttcher, *Unseres Alphabets Ursprünge*, Dresd. 1860; Ed. Böhmer, 'Das Alphabet in organischer Ordnung,' in *ZDMG*. xvi. 579 sqq.; E. de Rougé, *Mémoire sur l'origine égyptienne de l'alphabet phénicien*, Paris, 1874; E. van Drival, *De l'origine de l'écriture*, 3rd ed., Paris, 1879. The attempt of Wuttke, in the 2nd ed. of his *Gesch. der Schrift*, and W. Deecke, *ZDMG*. xxxi. 102 sqq., to derive the Old Semitic alphabet from the later Assyrian cuneiform characters, fails even on chronological grounds. According to Peters, *Proceedings Am. Orient. Soc.*, 1880, p. xi sq., and Hommel, 'Gesch. Babyloniens u. Assyriens,' p. 50 sqq., in Oncken's Series, 1885, it is derived from the old Babylonian writing. According to Ball, *Proceedings of the Society of Bibl. Archaeol.*, xv. 392 sqq., from the archaic Assyrian cuneiform.

² Compare for the rise of this custom (after יה had been originally written, and afterwards הי), Nestle in *ZAW*. 1884, p. 250, where a trace of this method of writing occurring as early as Origen is referred to.

a similar reason טו is also mostly written for יו, instead of יי, which in compound proper names, like יוֹאֵל, also represents the name of God, יהוה.

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

- l b. The reckoning of the years in Jewish writings (generally ליצירה *after the creation*) follows either the *full chronology* (לפֿרט נְדוֹל or לפ' ג'), with the addition of the thousands, or the *abridged chronology* (לפ' קטוֹן), 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, the thousands of the Creation era being omitted.
- III 4. Abbreviations of words are not found in the text of the Old Testament, but they occur on coins, and their use is extremely frequent amongst the later Jews. A point, or later an oblique stroke, serves as the sign of abridgement in old MSS. and editions, e.g. יֵשׁ for יִשְׂרָאֵל, פ' for פְּלִנִי *aliquis*, ר' for רֵבֶר *aliquid*, ונו' for וְנוֹמֵר *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 *vox memorialis* (comp. e.g. § 15. 3 ט"ח). Two such strokes are employed, from § 41, c Rem., onward, to mark the different classes of weak verbs; comp. moreover יי' or יי' (also ה') for יהוה.
- II 5. Peculiarities in the tradition of the Old Testament text, which are already mentioned in the Talmud, are—(1) The *puncta extraordinaria* over single consonants (e.g. Gen. 16, 5. 19, 33), or whole words (e.g. Gen. 33, 4. Deut. 29, 28. Is. 44, 9. Ezek. 41, 20 and elsewhere), and both over and under Ps. 27, 13, all no doubt originally critical marks; cf. Strack, *Prolegomena Critica*, p. 88 sqq.; L. Blau, *Masoretische Untersuchungen*, Strassburg, 1891, p. 6 sqq., 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 sqq. (2) The *literae majusculae* (e.g. ב Gen. 1, 1, ו Lev. 11, 42 as the middle consonant of the Pentateuch, י Num. 14, 17, &c.), and *minusculae* (e.g. ה Gen. 2, 4). (3) The *literae suspensae* נ Jud. 18, 30 (which points to the reading מִשְׁפָּה for מִנְשָׁפָה), ע Ps. 80, 14 (the middle of the Psalms)² and Job 38, 13. 15. (4) The 'mutilated' *Wāw* in שְׁלוֹם Num. 25, 12, and ק Ex. 32, 25 (בְּקַמִּיהֶם), and Num. 7, 2 (הַפְּקוּדִים). (5) *Mēm clausum* in לְמַרְבֵּה Is. 9, 6, and *Mēm apertum* in הֵם פְּרוּצִים Neh. 2, 13. (6) *Nān inversum* before Num. 10, 35, and after ver. 36, as also before Ps. 107, 23–28 and 40.

§ 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, Lpz. 1889, i. 249 sqq.

- a 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 sqq.) only become intelligible from the nature and pronunciation of the sounds. This

¹ Cf. Jo. Buxtorf, *De abbreviaturis Hebr.*, Basel, 1613, &c.; Ph. Lederer, *Hebr. u. Chald. Abbreviaturen*, Frankfurt, 1893.

² See *Qiddūšim*, chap. i. fol. 39.—G. W. C.]

knowledge is obtained partly from the pronunciation of the kindred dialects, especially the still living Arabic, partly by observing the affinity and interchange of sounds in Hebrew itself (§ 19), and partly from the tradition of the Jews¹.

The pronunciation of Hebrew by the modern Polish and German Jews, which partly resembles the Syriac, 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.

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 letters². As however corresponding signs for several sounds (ח, פ, צ, ק, ש) 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 time³.

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. Derenbourg, *Manuel du lecteur*, &c. (from a Yemen MS. of the year 1390), Paris, 1871, Extrait 6 du *Journ. Asiat.* 1870.

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

1. Among the gutturals, ח is the lightest, corresponding to the *spiritus lenis* of the Greeks, the use of which results from the correct observance of the fact, that a soft aspiration precedes every initial vowel in virtue of its nature. It may stand

¹ Comp. C. Meinhof, 'Die Aussprache des Hebr.,' in *Neue Jahrb. f. Philol. u. Pädag.*, 1885, Bd. 132, p. 146 sqq.; M. Schreiner, 'Zur Gesch. der Ausspr. des Hebr.,' in *ZAW.* 1886, p. 213 sqq. More exact physiological observations of the whole phonetic system and its formation by the organs of speech, are also important for this purpose; comp. E. Brücke, *Grundzüge der Physiologie u. Systematik der Sprachlaute*, Vienna, 1856, 2nd ed. 1876; C. L. Merkel, *Physiologie der menschl. Sprache*, Lpz. 1866; F. Delitzsch, *Physiologie u. Musik in ihrer Bedeutung für die Gramm., bes. die Hebräische*, Lpz. 1868; E. Sievers, *Grundzüge der Lautphysiologie*, Lpz. 1876 (2nd-4th ed. entitled *Grundzüge der Phonetik*, 1881, 1885, 1893); H. Sweet, *Handbook of Phonetics*, Oxford, 1877, 2nd ed. 1889, and *A Primer of Phonetics*, Oxford, 1890; F. Techmer, *Phonetik*, Lpz. 1880, pt. i; Trautmann, *Die Sprachlaute*, &c., Lpz. 1884-86, 2 pts.; P. Tassy, *Études sur les changements phonétiques et leurs caractères généraux*, Paris, 1891; Bremer, *Deutsche Phonetik*, Lpz. 1893.

² Comp. on this, Frankel, *Vorstudien zu der Septuag.*, Lpz. 1841, p. 90 sqq.; C. Könneke, 'Gymn.-Progr.,' Stargard, 1885.

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

either at the beginning or end of a syllable, e.g. אָמַר 'āmār, עֲשֵׂה יָשָׁם. 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'a; see further, § 23. 1, 27. 2 c.

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. נָהַפְּךָ nāhpakh; at the end of a word the consonantal ה has a point—Mappiq—in it, according to § 14), or it stands inaudible at the end of a word, generally as a mere orthographical indication of a preceding vowel, e.g. גָּלָה gālā; cf. § 7. 2 and 75. 1.

e ע is related to **א**, but is a much stronger guttural. Its strongest sound is a rattled *g* formed at the back of the palate, comp. e.g. עָצָה, LXX Γάξα, עֲמֹרָה Γόμορβα; elsewhere, a weaker sound of the same kind, which the LXX reproduce by a *spiritus (lenis or asper)*, e.g. עָלִי 'חֲלִי, עֲמֹלֶק 'Αμαλέκ. 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 *ע* entirely, in reading and transcribing words (עָלִי *Eli*, עֲמֹלֶק *Amalek*), as to pronounce it exactly like *g* or like a nasal *ng*. The stronger sound might be approximately transcribed by *gh* or *r'g*; but since in Hebrew the softer sound was the more common, it is sufficient to represent it by the sign ' as אַרְבַּע 'arba', עַד 'ad.

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

g As regards ק, its pronunciation as a palatal (with a vibrating uvula) seems to have been the prevailing one. Hence it is not merely classed with the liquids (*l, m, n*), but in some respects also with the gutturals (§ 22. 5). On the *lingual* ק, comp. § 6. 4.

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

i ש and שׁ were originally represented (as is still the case in the unpointed texts) by only one form ש; 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 (comp. Nöldeke in *Ztschr. f. wissenschaft. Theol.*, 1873, p. 121). In the Masoretic punctuation they were distinguished by means of the diacritical point as שׁ (*sh*) and שׁ (*ś*)¹.

k The original difference between the sounds שׁ and שׁ sometimes occasions

¹ The modern Samaritans, however, in reading their Hebrew Pentateuch pronounce שׁ invariably as שׁ.

² The original value of שׁ, and its relation to the original value of שׁ and שׁ, is still undetermined, despite the valuable investigations of D. H. Müller, 'Zur

a distinction in meaning, e.g. קָבַר to close, שָׁכַר to hire, קָבַל to be foolish, שָׁכַל to be prudent, to be wise. The Syrians always represent both sounds by ס, and in Hebrew also they are sometimes interchanged; as קָבַר for שָׁכַר to hire, Ezr. 4, 5; שְׁכָלֹת for סְכָלֹת *folly*, Eccles. 1, 17.

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

3. ט, ק, and צ are pronounced with a strong articulation and 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 are often aspirated (see below, no. 3). 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 *f*.

3. Six consonants, the weak and middle hard *mutae*

ב נ ד כ פ ת (בְּנִדְכָּפֶת)

have a twofold pronunciation, (1) a harder sound as *tenuis* like *k*, *p*, *t*, or as *mediae* like *b*, *g* hard, *d*; and (2) a softer sound as *spirantes*¹. The harder sound is the original. It is retained at the beginning of syllables, when there is no vowel immediately preceding to influence the pronunciation, and is denoted by a point *Dageš lene* (§ 13), placed in the consonants, viz. בּ *b*, גּ *g*, דּ *d*, כּ *k*, פּ *p*, תּ *t*. The weaker pronunciation appears as soon as a vowel sound immediately precedes. It is occasionally denoted, esp. in MSS., by *Rāphè* (§ 14. 2), but in printed texts usually by the mere absence of the *Dageš*. In the case of ב, ג, and ד, the distinction is less noticeable to our ear. Yet the German dialects mostly distinguish, e.g. in *beben*, the second *b*, influenced by the preceding² vowel, from the first, and in the same way the two *g*-sounds in *gegen*. In the case of כ, פ, ת, the two sounds are clearly distinguishable even to our ear as *k* and German (weak) *ch*, *p* and *ph*, *t* and English *th*. The Greeks too express this twofold pronunciation by special characters: ב κ, כ χ; פ π, פ φ; ת τ, ת θ.

Geschichte der semit. Zischlaute,' in the *Verhandlungen des Wiener Orient. Congresses*, Vienna, 1888, Semitic section, p. 229 sqq.; De Lagarde, 'Samech,' in the *Nachrichten der Gött. Gesellschaft d. Wiss.*, 1891, no. 5, esp. p. 173; Aug. Müller, *ZAW*. 1891, p. 267 sqq.; Nöldeke, *ZDMG*. 1893, p. 100 sq.

¹ So at any rate at the time when the present punctuation arose, replacing an earlier pronunciation as *aspiratae*. However, it cannot be determined whether the transition from *aspiratae* to *spirantes* took place in *all* these sounds and in *every* case.

² And also by the following vowel; for at the end of a word the *b* after a vowel is pronounced as a *tenuis*, comp. *gieb*, *bleib*, and on the other hand *Sieg*, *schweig*.

For more precise information on the cases in which the one or the other pronunciation takes place, see § 21. The modern Jews pronounce the aspirated כ as *v*, the aspirated ת as *s*, e.g. רב *rav*, בית *bais*.

0 4. According to the organ of speech with which the consonants are pronounced, they are divided into—

(a) Gutturals	א ה ח ע	(אֶחָחֶע);
(b) Palatals	ק נ ג י	(גִיבֶק);
(c) Linguals	ט ד ת with נ and ל	(תִטְלָנֶת);
(d) Dentals or Sibilants	צ ש (שׁ and שׂ) ז ס	(זִסְצִשׁ);
(e) Labials	פ ב ו מ	(בִויֶמֶפ).

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

Comp. on the twofold pronunciation of *r* in Tiberias, Delitzsch, *Physiol. und Musik*, Lpz. 1868, p. 10 sqq.; Baer and Strack, *Dikduke ha-ʿamim*, Lpz. 1879, p. 5, note *a*, and § 7 of the Hebrew text, as well as p. 82.

Independently of the organs of speech the liquids (ל, מ, נ, ר) are also grouped together as a distinct class.

p The Hebrew phonetic system may be more precisely represented in the following table:—

	MUTAE.			LIQUIDAE.			SIBILANTES.			EXPLOSIVE SPIRANTES.
	w.	m.	e.	vibr.	nasal	semivow.	w.	m.	e.	
Guttural				ר						א ה ח ע
Palatal	ג	כ	ק			י				
Lingual				[ר] ל	נ					
Dental	ד	ת	ט				ז	שׁ שׂ	צ	
Labial	ב	פ				ו מ				

q Rem. 1. The meaning of the letters in the heading 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. מ and נ as liquids). On their homorganic character and homogeneity depends the possibility of a change of sound, as well within Hebrew itself as between 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, middle, or final letter; since e.g. the change in a letter when

medial does not always prove the possibility of its 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 accident as the instances occur.

Rem. 2. Very probably as the pronunciation was handed down, in course of time certain nicer distinctions became more and more neglected and finally were lost. Thus e.g. the stronger g , which was known to the LXX (see above letter e), became in many cases altogether lost to the later Jews; by the Samaritans and Galileans g , as well as h , was pronounced only like h (as in Ethiopic g like h , h like h , w like s).

Rem. 3. The consonants which it is usual to designate especially as *weak*, are those which readily coalesce with a preceding vowel to form a long vowel, viz. h , g , d ; as to h , comp. § 23. 4; or those which are most frequently affected by the changes described in § 19. 2, 3, as again h , g , d , and in certain cases h and g ; finally g for the reason assigned in § 22. 5 a.

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

1. The original vowels in Hebrew, as in the other Semitic tongues, are a , i , u . E and o always arise from an obscuring or contraction of these three pure sounds, viz. e by a modification from i or \check{a} ; short δ from \check{u} ; e from a contraction of ai (properly ay); and δ sometimes from a modification (obscuring) of \check{a} , sometimes from a contraction of au (properly aw).

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. *saut*, and أينين Arab. *'ainain*. It was only in later Arabic that they became in pronunciation e and δ , at least after weaker or softer consonants; comp. بأن Arab. *bain*, بن , دأف Arab. *yaum*, *yöm*. The same contraction appears also in other languages, e.g. in Greek and Latin (Καῖσαρ , *Caesar*; θαῦμα , Ionic θῶμα ; *plaustrum* = *plostrum*), in the French pronunciation of ai and au , and likewise in the German popular dialects (*Oge* for *Auge*, *Steen* for *Stein*, &c.). Similarly, the obscuring of the vowels plays a part in various languages (cf. e.g. the a in modern Persian, Swedish, English, &c.)¹.

2. The partial expression of the vowels by certain consonants (h , g , d ; h), which sufficed during the lifetime of the language, and for a still longer period afterwards (comp. § 1. 5), must in the main have passed through the following stages²:—

(a) The need of a written indication of the vowel to be read first made itself felt in cases where, after the rejection of a consonant,

¹ 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 .

² Comp. especially, Stade, *Lehrb. der hebr. Gr.*, p. 34 sqq.

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 on the Mêša' stone, 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 ה"ל, the vowels \bar{a} ¹, \bar{e} , \bar{e}). After the employment of ו as a vowel letter for *o* and *u*, and of י for \bar{e} and \bar{i} , had been established (see below, letter *e*), these consonants were also employed—although not consistently—for the same vowels at the end of a word.

c According to § 91. 1 and Rem. 1. *b*, the suffix of the 3rd sing. masc. in the noun (as in the verb) was originally pronounced הו. But in the places where this הו with a preceding *a* is contracted into *o* (after the rejection of the ה), we find the ה still frequently retained as a vowel letter, e. g. עִירָהּ סוּתָהּ Gen. 49, 11, comp. § 91. 1, Rem. 2; so throughout, on the Mêša' stone, אֶרְצָהּ, בְּיָתָהּ (also בְּתָהּ), בָּנָהּ, בָּהּ, לָהּ, הֶלְתָּמָהּ; on the other hand already in the Siloam inscription רָעוּ יָמָהּ Mêša', l. 8 = יָמָיו *his days* is unusual, as also רָשָׁה l. 20 if it = רָשָׁיו *his chiefs*. The verbal forms with ה suffixed are to be read וַיְחַלְפָהּ (l. 6), וַאֲסַחְבָהּ (l. 12 sq.) and וַיְנַרְשָׁהּ (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 \bar{e} (according to § 89. 2 *c*, Rem.) has arisen from an original *ay*. Against this assumption it may however be urged that the Phoenician inscriptions do not usually express this \bar{e} , nor any other final vowel².

¹ According to Stade, l. c. p. 35, the employment of ה for \bar{a} perhaps first took place in the case of the locative accusatives which originally ended in הַ, as קָרְיָהּ, אֶרְצָהּ.

² Thus there occurs, e. g. in Melit. 1, l. 3 שְׁנֵי בְנֵי שַׁנְבָּן = שְׁנֵי בְנֵי שַׁנְבָּן *the two sons*; elsewhere כ for כּ (the inscriptions of Mêša' and Siloam exhibit the latter), ו for וּ (the latter in the Siloam inscription), בַּנְתּ = בְּנֵיתֵי (so Mêša') or בְּנֵיתֵי, &c. Comp. on the other hand in Mêša', אַנְכּ = אַנְכֵי (unless it was actually pronounced 'anókħ by the Moabites!). As final \bar{a} is represented by ה and א and final \bar{e} by י, so final \bar{u} is almost everywhere expressed by ו in Mêša', 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, in 'Die Quiescentia הוי in der althebr. Orthogr.,' in *Travaux du Congrès international des Orientalistes*, Petersb. 1876, with many

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

The orthography of the Siloam inscription corresponds almost exactly with the above assumptions. Here (as on the Mêsâ' stone) we find all the long vowels, which have not arisen from original diphthongs, *without* vowel letters, thus שׂא, חֲצַבִּים, מִיָּמִן (or מִיָּמִן); אַפְּחָה, קָל, שְׁלֵשׁ, צָר. On the other hand מוֹצָא (from *mausa'*), עוֹד (from *'aud*); מִיָּמִן also, if it is to be read מִיָּמִן, is an instance of the retention of a ם which has coalesced with *i* into *i*. Instances of the retention of an originally consonantal ם as a vowel letter are מֵאֲתָיִם, מוֹצָא, and קָרָא, as also רֵאשִׁית. Otherwise final *o* is always represented by ה: אַפְּחָה, זָרָה, הֵיָהּ, נִקְבָה. To this ם alone would form an exception (comp. however the note on יוֹם, § 96), instead of יוֹם (Arab. *yaum*) *day*, which one would expect. If the reading be correct, this is to be regarded as an argument that a consciousness of the origin of many long vowels was lost at an early period, so that (at least in the middle of the word) the vowel letters were omitted in places where they should stand, according to what has been stated above, and added where there was no case of contraction. This view is in a great measure confirmed by the orthography of the Mêsâ' inscription. There we find, as might be expected, רִיבִן (= *Daibôn*, as the Δαιβών of the LXX proves), חוֹרֶזֶן (*o* from *au*), and בֵּיתָה (*e* from *ai*), but also even הַשְׁעֲנִי instead of הַשְׁעֲנִי (from *hanš-*), וְאוֹשִׁיב = וְאוֹשִׁיב, בֵּית four times, בֵּיתָה once, בֵּית and בֵּיתָה (from *bait*); לֵלָה = לֵלָה, אֵן = אֵן or אֵין.

(c) In the present state of Old Testament orthography 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 (comp. § 9. 1 at the end, and the very doubtful cases in § 8. 4), indicated by a vowel letter—and almost always by the same letter

proofs. It cannot be proved (as L. Bardowicz, *Studien zur Geschichte der Orthographie im Althebräischen*, Frankfurt, 1894, seeks to show) that in Bible MSS. of the time of the Talmud and Midrash, the letters ם were not so frequently used as in the Masoretic text.

¹ הַשְׁעֲנִי is the more strange since the name of king הַשְׁעֲנִי is represented as *A-u-si'* in cuneiform as late as 728!

in certain nominal and verbal endings. In many cases the use of ם to mark an *o* or *u*, arising from contraction, and of ץ for *e* or *i*, 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 ת׳) 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 considered, 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 admissible¹.

ℓ 3. When the language had died out, and the ambiguity of such a writing must have been found continually more troublesome, and there was 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 Old Testament text, yet we may at least infer, from a comparison of other historical facts, that it was gradually developed by Jewish grammarians under the influence of different Schools in the sixth and seventh centuries A. D., traces of which have been preserved to the present time in various differences of reading². They mainly followed, though with independent regard

¹ Thus e.g. לִבְּרָא can be read *qāḇal*, *qāḇāl*, *qāḇāl*, *qēḇōl*, *qōḇēl*, *qittēl*, *qattēl*, *quḇal*, *qōḇel*, and several of these forms have also different significations.

² The most important of these differences are, (a) those between the Orientals, i. e. the scholars of the Babylonian Schools (comp. for their peculiar vowel system, p. 40, note, below), and the Occidentals, i. e. the scholars of Palestine (Tiberias, &c.); (b) amongst the Occidentals, between Ben-Naphtali and Ben-Asher, who flourished in the first half of the tenth century at Tiberias. Both sets of variants are given by Baer in the appendices 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 numerous later corruptions.

to the peculiar nature of the Hebrew, the example and pattern of the older Syrian punctuation¹.

See Gesenius, *Gesch. d. hebr. Spr.* p. 182 sqq.; Hupfeld, in *Theol. Studien u. Kritiken*, 1830, pt. iii. (where it is shown that neither Jerome nor the Talmud mentions vowel signs². Comp. also Berliner, *Beiträge zur hebr. Gramm. im Talm. u. Midrasch*, p. 26 sqq.; and B. Pick, in *Hebraica*, i. 3, p. 153 sqq.); Abr. Geiger, 'Zur Nakdanim-[Punctuators-]Literatur,' in *Jüd. Ztschr. für Wissensch. u. Leben*, Breslau, 1872, x. p. 10 sqq.; H. Strack, *Prolegomena critica in Vet. Test. Hebr.*, Lips. 1873; 'Beitrag zur Gesch. des hebr. Bibel-textes,' in *Theol. Stud. u. Krit.*, 1875, p. 736 sqq., as also in the *Ztschr. f. die ges. luth. Theol. u. K.*, 1875, p. 619 sqq.; 'Massorah,' in the *Protest. Real-Enc.* ed. 2, ix. p. 388 sqq.; M. Schwab; *Des points-voyelles dans les langues sémitiques*, Paris, 1879; A. Merx, in the *Verhandlungen des Orientalistencongresses zu Berlin*, Berlin, 1881, i. p. 164 sqq. and p. 188 sqq.; H. Graetz, 'Die Anfänge der Vokalzeichen im Hebr.,' in *Monatsschr. f. Gesch. u. Wissensch. d. Judenth.*, 1881, pp. 348 sqq. and 395 sqq.; Hersmann, *Zur Gesch. des Streites über die Entstehung der hebr. Punctuation*, Ruhrort, 1885, 4; Harris, 'The Rise . . . of the Massorah,' *J. Q. R.* 1889, i. 128 sqq. and 223 sqq.; Mayer-Lambert, *Revue des études juives*, 1893, xxvi. p. 274 sqq. On the hypothesis of the origin of punctuation in the Jewish schools for children, comp. J. Dérenbourg in the *Rev. Crit.*, 1879, xiii. no. 25.

4. This vowel system is really based on the pronunciation *i* of the Jews of Palestine, as it was then in use (about the sixth century A. D.). This again is based on a much older tradition, followed in the solemn public reading of the sacred writings in the Synagogues and Schools. The consistency of the system, as well as the analogy of the kindred languages, testifies to a high degree of faithfulness in the tradition. This was represented with such exactness, that special signs were invented even for the more minute gradations of the vowels and vowel trills (§ 10), as well as for the involuntary helping vowels which in other languages are but seldom indicated by the writing. At the same recension of the text also the various other signs for reading (§§ 11-14, 16) were added, and the accents (§ 15).

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

² Jerome expressly states that punctuation was not found in the texts of his time. He refers however to the vowel signs, see his Commentary on Is. 26, 14. Jer. 9, 21, &c.; also Bleek's *Einleitung*, 3rd ed. § 330.—G. W. C.]

§ 8. *The Vowel Signs in particular.*

a 1. The full vowels (in contrast to the half-vowels or vowel trills, § 10. 1, 2), classified according to the three principal vowel sounds (§ 7. 1, 2), are as follows:—

First Class. A-sound.

A { 1. —¹ *Qāmēš*, *ā*, *á*²; *יָ* *yōd* (hand); *רָאִים* *rāsīm* (chiefs).
2. — *Páthāh*, *ā*, *בַּת* *bāth* (daughter).

Also 3. — *Sghól*, an open *e*, *è* (*ǎ*), as a modification of *ǎ*³, either in an untuned syllable and consequently as a short⁴ vowel, as in the first syllable of *יָדְךָ* *yăd'khēm* (your hand) from *yăd'khēm*—or in a tone-syllable as a half lengthening of *ā*, (the full lengthening would require *Qāmēš*), as in *פְּסָח* *pēsāh* (*πίσχα*). Also with a following *י*, as *גְּלֵנָה* *g'lēnā* (cf. § 75. 2); *יָדְדֵךְ* *yādēkhā* (cf. § 91. 2, end).

Second Class. I- and E-sounds.

b *I* { 1. '— or — (defectively written, see No. 4) *Hírëq longum* (*magnum*), *í*, e. g. *שָׁדִיקִים* *šaddíqím* (righteous).
2. — *Hírëq breve* (*parvum*), *í*, *יָקִוֶל* *yāqīl*.
E { 3. '— *Šērí* or *Šērē* with *yod*, and — *Šērē* without *yod*, the former *é*, the latter mostly *ē*, e. g. *בֵּית* *bēth* (house), *שֵׁם* *šēm* (name). Less frequently — (defective, see No. 4) for *é*.
4. — *Sghól*, *ě*, a modification of *í*, e. g. *פְּסָח* (ground-form *hīphš*); *שֵׁן* (ground-form *šīm*).

¹ 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 sq.), *Pathāh* with *Holem*, the latter suggesting the obscure pronunciation of *Qameš* as *ā* or *o*.

² The notation *á*, *é*, *ò* expresses here the vowels essentially long, either naturally or by contraction; the notation *ā*, *ē*, *ō* those lengthened only by the tone, and therefore changeable; *ǎ*, *ĕ*, *ǒ* the short vowels. (On *è* comp. the remark at the end of the A-class.) As regards the others, the distinction into *í* and *i*, *ú* and *ü* is sufficient; see § 9.—The mark [˘] stands in the following pages over the tone-syllable, especially if this is not the last, as is usual, but the penultimate syllable of the word, e. g. *פְּסָח*. Comp. § 15, Rem. 2.

³ These *Sghóls*, modified from *ǎ*, are very frequent in the language. The Babylonian punctuation (see below, p. 40, note) has for it and tone-bearing *Pathāh* only one sign; see also Gaster in *ZAW.* 1894, p. 60 sqq.

⁴ It must be mentioned that the Masoretes 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

Third Class. U- and O-sounds.

- U { 1. א Šūrēq, ú, מוּת *múth* (to die), rarely also for ũ. c
 2. — Qibbúš, both for ũ, e.g. סֵלָם *süllām* (ladder), and ú, e.g. קָמוּ (rise up) instead of the usual קָמוּ.
- O { 3. י and — Hölēm, δ and ō, קוֹל *qōl* (voice), רַב *rōbh* (multitude). Often also a defective — for δ; rarely י for ō.
 4. — Qāmēš-ḥātúph, ö, e.g. חֻק *ḥōq* (statute).
 5. The tone-bearing è in אַתֶּם *'attēm* (you), and a few other cases (comp. § 27, Rem. 4 δ), is perhaps to be considered as a weakening of an original *u*.

The names of the vowels are nearly all taken from the form and action of the mouth in producing the various sounds, as פֶּתַח *opening*; דִּבְרוּ *division, parting* (of the mouth), also שִׁבְרָה *breaking* (comp. the Arab. *kasr*); חֵירָק (also חֵירָק) *gnashing*; חֵלָם *closing*, according to others *fullness*, i.e. of the mouth (also מִלֵּא פִּי *fullness of the mouth*); שׁוֹרֵק *a whistle* (*συσφύσις*); קִבּוּץ *contraction* (of the mouth). קָמִין¹ has also the same signification.

That the long *a* and the short *o* (קָמִין חֲטוּבָה *Qāmēš correptum*) have the same sign and name, arises from the fact that the inventors of the vowel signs pronounced the *ā* rather obscurely and similarly to *o*, just as it afterwards passed into a full *o* among modern German and Polish Jews (comp. the Syriac *ā* in the West-Syrian pronunciation = δ, the Swedish *ä*, and the early weakening of *d* to δ, even in Hebrew, § 9. 10, 2)². On the rules for distinguishing *ā* and *ö*, see § 9. 12, Rem. *S^eghôl* (סִגּוּל *bunch of grapes*) takes its name from its form. So שְׁלֹשׁ נִקּוּדוֹת (*three points*) is another name for *Qibbúš*.

Moreover the names were mostly so formed, that the sound of each vowel is heard in the first syllable; in order to carry out this consistently some even write *Sägöl*, *Qomesḥ-ḥatúf*, *Qübbúš*.

possible, by means of writing. For a long time only שִׁבְעָה מְלָכִים *seven kings* were reckoned (*vox memor.* in Elias Levita, וַיֵּאמְרוּ אֱלֹהֵינוּ, Šureq and Qibbúš 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 Masoretes (Qimchi, *Mikhlol*, ed. Rittenb. 136 *a*, distinguishes the five long, as *mothers* from their five daughters).

¹ The usual spelling קָמִין takes the word (as also פֶּתַח) as a Hebrew substantive; according to De Lagarde (*Gött. gel. Anz.* 1886, p. 873, and so previously Luzzatto), קָמִין and פֶּתַח are rather Aram. participles, like *Dages*, &c., and consequently to be transliterated by *Qāmēš* and *Páthah*.

² In the *Babylonian* punctuation (see the following note) *ā* and *ö* are carefully distinguished, as well as in many manuscripts with the common punctuation, and so in Baer's editions since 1880 (by addition of a *S^ewá* to indicate even the full vowel *ö*). It is however probable that the two signs were identical in the original system.

f 2. As the above examples show, the vowel sign stands regularly *under* the consonant, *after* which it is to be pronounced, רָ *rā*, רֶ *rā*, רֵ *rē*, רֹ *rū*, &c. The *Pathah* called *furtivum* (§ 22. 2 *b*) alone forms an exception to this rule, being pronounced *before* the consonant, רִיחַ *rū^ah* (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 באַ, ראֹשׁ. On the other hand, e.g. באֶפֶס, since א is here at the same time the initial sound of a syllable.

g No dot is placed for the *Hōlēm* when *ō* (of course without *wāw*) is pronounced after *šīn* or before *šīn*. Hence שִׁנְיָ *šōnē* (hating), נִשְׂאָ *nēšō* (to bear), מִשְׁתֵּה *mōšē* (not מִשְׁתֵּה); but שִׁמְרֹ *šōmēr* (a watchman). When *ō* precedes the *šīn*, the dot is placed over its right arm, e.g. יִרְפֹּשׁ *yirpōš* (he treads with the feet), הַנְּשִׂאִים *hannōš^eīm* (those who carry).

In the sign י, the י may be also a consonant. The י is then either to be read *ōw* (necessarily so when a consonant otherwise without a vowel precedes, e.g. לְוֹהַל *lōwə*, lending) or *wō*, when a vowel already precedes the י, e.g. עֲוִיָּה *‘āwōn* (iniquity) for עֲוִיָּה. In more exact printing, a distinction is at least made between י (*wō*) and י (i. e. either *ō*, when another vowel follows the *wāw*, *ōw*¹).

¹ Since 1846 we have become acquainted with a system of vocalization different in many respects from the common method. The vowel signs, all except י, are there placed *above* the consonants, and differ almost throughout in form, and some even as regards the sound which they denote: ֶ = *ā*, ֵ = tone-bearing *ā* and *ē*, ֹ = *ē*, ֻ = *ī*, ֺ = *ī*. In an unsharpened syllable ֶ = toneless *ā* and *ē*, and also *Ḥaṭeph Pathah*; ֵ = toneless *ē* and *Ḥaṭeph Səghōl*; ֹ = *ī*, ֻ = *ī*, ֺ = *ī*, and *Ḥaṭeph Qameš*. Lastly before Dageš, ֶ = *a*, ֵ = *ē*, ֹ = *i*, ֻ = *ī*, ֺ = *ī*. Šēwā is ֶ. The accents differ less and stand in many cases under the line of the consonants. For the older literature on this *Babylonian punctuation* (נקודת בבלית), as it is called, see A. Harkavy and H. L. Strack's *Katalog der hebr. Bibelhandschr. der Kaiserl. öffentl. Bibliothek zu St. Petersburg.*, S. Petersburg and Leipzig, 1875, parts i. and ii. p. 223 sqq. A more thorough study of the system was made possible by H. Strack's facsimile edition of the *Prophetarum posteriorum codex Babylonicus Petropolitanus* (S. Petersburg, 1876, gr. fol.) of the year 916, which Firkowitsch discovered in 1839, in the Synagogue at Tschufutkale in the Crimea (comp. Strack's *Prolegomena* on the history of the Codex, the entire literature on the Babylonian punctuation, and other MSS. with that system). Strack edited a fragment of this Codex in *Hosea et Joel prophetae ad fidem cod. Babylon. Petrop.*, S. Petersburg, 1875. Comp. also the publication by A. Merx, quoted above at the end of § 7. 3, and his *Chrestomathia Targumica*, Berlin, 1888; and G. Margoliouth, in the *Proceedings of the Society of Bibl. Archaeology*, xv. 4. 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

3. The vowels of the first class are, with the exception of אָ *h* in the middle and הָ , סָ , הָ at the end of the word (§ 9. 1, 3), represented *only* by vowel signs (§ 7. 2), but the long vowels of the I- and U-class largely by vowel letters. The vowel sound to which the letter points, is determined more precisely by the vowel sign standing before, above, or within them. Thus—

י may be combined with *Hírëq*, *Şērë*, *S'ghöl* (יָ , יֵ , יֹ).

י with *Şárëq* and *Hölëm* (יַ and יִ)¹.

In Arabic the long *a* is also regularly expressed by a vowel letter, viz. *Ālëph* (أَ), so that in that language three vowel letters correspond to the three vowel classes. In Hebrew אָ is rarely used as a vowel letter; see § 9. 1 and § 23. 3, Rem. 1.

4. The omission of the vowel letters with the long vowels of the I- and U-class, is called *scriptio defectiva* in contrast to *scriptio plena*. קִים , קִים are written *plene*, קִלֵּם , קִם *defective*.

So far as the choice of the full or defective mode of writing *k* 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 *ú*, *ó*, *ô*, *î*, *ë*, *ê*, as well as for *è* in חֹזֶה &c. (§ 9. 3), also generally with *á*, *â* (comp. however § 9. *d*), e. g. קָטְלוּ , קָטְלֵמִי , קָטְלֵי , מְלֵכֵי (but the Masora requires in Jer. 26, 6. 44, 8; Ezr. 6, 21; 2 Chr. 32, 13 גִּוִּי which is for גִּוִּיִּי ; Zeph. 2, 9 גִּוִּי for גִּוִּיִּי ; Is. 40, 31 וְקוֹי for וְקוֹיִי ; Jer. 38, 11 בְּלוֹי for 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. גִּוִּיִּם (*nations*) for גִּוִּיִּים , מִצְוֹת (*commandments*) for מִצְוֹתִים .

or Tiberian system. Of these 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 sqq., has proved, 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. G. Moore, *Proceedings of the American Or. Society*, Oct. 1888, established the probability that the vowels of the superlinear punctuation arose under *Arab* influence from the vowel letters אָ (so previously Pinsker and Graetz), while the Tiberian system shows *Syrian* influence.

¹ 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*).

l That much is here arbitrary (see § 7. 2 c), follows from the fact that now and then the same word is written very differently, e.g. הַקִּימוֹתַי Ez. 16, 60: הַקִּמּוֹתַי or even הַקִּמּוֹתַי Jer. 23, 4; comp. § 25. 1. Only it may be observed,

(a) That the defective mode of writing was chosen in preference, when the word included also other vowel letters, so that the accumulation of them was avoided; comp. e.g. צַדִּיק, but צַדִּיקִים; קוֹל, קוֹלוֹת; יְהוֹשֻׁעַ, מִצְאָהוּ.

(b) That in the later Books of the Old Test. the full form, in the earlier the defective, is more usual.

iii 5. In the cognate dialects, when a vowel precedes a vowel letter which is not kindred (heterogeneous), e.g. וָ, וֹ, וֵ, וֶ, וִ, a diphthong (*au*, *ai*) is formed if the heterogeneous vowel be *a*. This is also to be regarded as the Old Hebrew pronunciation, as the transcription of Hebrew names in the LXX further testifies. Thus such words as וָ, וֵ, וִ, עֲשֵׂי, וָ, בַּיִת are not to be pronounced according to the usual Jewish custom¹ as *wāw*, *hay*, *gōy*, *'āsīy*, *gēw*, *bayith*, (or even as *waw*, &c.; comp. modern Greek *av*, *ev* for *av*, *ev*), but with the Italian Jews more like *wāu*, *hai*, &c. The sound of וֵ is the same as וָ, i.e. almost like *āu*, so that וָ is often written defectively for וֵ.

§ 9. Character of the several Vowels.

a Numerous as are the vowel signs in Hebrew writing, they are yet inadequate to express completely the various modifications of the vowel sounds, especially with respect to length and shortness. To understand this better a short explanation of the character and value of the several vowels is required, especially in regard to their length and shortness as well as to their changeableness (§§ 25, 27).

I. First Class. *A-sound*.

1. *Qames* (ֶ) is everywhere long *a*, but according to its nature and origin is of two kinds:—

(1) the essentially long *ā* (in Arabic regularly written אֶ), which is not readily shortened and never wholly dropped (§ 25. 2), e.g. כְּתָבִי *kthābh* (writing), כְּנֵזֵי *gānnābh* (thief); very seldom with a following א, as שִׁנְאֵי 2 Sam. 12, 1. 4 (see the examples in § 72, Rem. 1)².

¹ In MSS. וָ and וֵ, in such combinations as וָ, וֵ, are occasionally even marked with Mappiq (§ 14. 1).

² Of a different kind are the cases in which א has lost its consonantal sound by coalescing with a preceding *a*, § 23. 1, 2.

The writing of **דָּגָה** Hos. 10, 14 for **דָּג** would only be justifiable, if the *ā* of *b* this form were to be explained as a contraction of *āā*; comp. however the note on § 72. 2; **דָּגָה** Neh. 13, 16 for **דָּג** (*dāg*) is certainly incorrect. The rarity of the naturally long *ā* in Hebrew arises from the fact that it has for the most part become an obtuse *ō*; see below, No. 10. 2.

(2) *ā*, lengthened only by prosody (i.e. tone-long or at all events *c* lengthened under the influence of the tone, according to the laws for the formation of syllables, § 27. 2), as well in the tone-syllable itself, (or in the secondary tone-syllable indicated by *Methëg*, see below,) as before or after it. This sound is invariably lengthened¹ from an original *ā*, and is found in open syllables, i.e. syllables ending in a vowel (§ 26. 3), e.g. **לָקַח**, **קָטַל**, **יָקוּם**, **יָסִיר** (Arab. *lākā*, *qātālā*, *yāqūm*, *āsīr*), as well as in closed syllables, i.e. those ending in a consonant, as **יָד**, **כֹּכַב** (Arab. *yād*, *kaukab*). In a closed syllable however it can only stand when this has the tone, **דָּבָר**, **עוֹלָם**; whereas in an open syllable it is especially frequent *before* the tone, e.g. **יָדָבַר**, **יָקָם**. Where the tone is moved forward or weakened (as happens most commonly in what is called the construct state of nouns, comp. § 89. 1) the short *ā* (*Pathah*) is apt to re-appear in a closed syllable; while in an open syllable *Qames* becomes *S^wwā* (§ 27. 3); **דָּבַר**, constr. state **דְּבַר** (*h^akhām*); **דָּבַר**, **דְּבַר** (*ābhār*); **קָטַל**, **קְטַלְם**. For examples of the retention, in the secondary tone-syllable, of *ā* lengthened from *a*, see § 16. 2 *a* and *b*, *a*; also § 93. 4, Rem. 3.

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

2. *Pathah*, or short *ā*, stands in Hebrew almost exclusively in *e* a closed syllable with or without the tone (**קָטַלְם**, **קָטַלְתֶּם**). In places where it now appears to stand in an open syllable the syllable was originally closed, and became half open only by the insertion of a helping vowel (*ā*, *i*, *ē*) in the second syllable, e.g. **נָחַל** (ground-form *nahl*), **בַּיִת** (Arab. *bait*), see § 28. 4, and with regard to two cases of a different kind, § 26. 3 *b* and *c*. Otherwise *Pathah* in an

¹ In Arabic this *ā* is everywhere retained in an open syllable.

open syllable has almost without exception passed into \bar{a} ($\bar{\text{—}}$), see above, No. 1. 2.

On the very frequent attenuation of \check{a} to \check{i} , comp. below, No. 5. On the rare, and only apparent union of Pathah with \aleph ($\aleph\text{—}$), see § 23. 2. On \check{a} as a helping-vowel, § 22. 2 *b* (*Pathah furtivum*), and § 28. 4.

f 3. *Seghól* (\check{e} , \check{e}) by origin belongs sometimes to the second, more rarely to the third, and most frequently to the first vowel class (§ 27, Rem. 1, 2, 4). It belongs to the first class when it is a modified form of *a*, (as the Germ. *Bad*, pl. *Bäder*; *Land*, pl. *Länder*,) either in a toneless syllable, e. g. יִרְכֹם (for *yad'khèm*), or with the tone, e. g. יִרְכֹם from 'arš, קָרְנָה Arab. *qār'n*, קָמְחָה Arab. *qām'h*. This *Seghól* is often retained even in the strongest tone-syllable, at the end of a sentence or of a prominent division of a sentence, (in *pause*,) as קָמְחָה, יִרְכֹם. As a rule however in such cases the *Pathah* which underlies the \check{e} is lengthened into *Qameš*, e. g. קָמְחָה, יִרְכֹם. A *Seghól* apparently lengthened from *Šwā*, but in reality traceable to an original \check{a} , stands in pausal forms, as יִרְכֹם (ground-form *pāry*), יִרְכֹם (*yāhy*), &c. On the cases where a '^1 (originally consonantal) follows this *Seghól*, see § 75. 2, and § 91. 2, Rem. 1.

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

g 4. The long \check{i} is frequently even in the consonantal writing indicated by the letter '^1 (a *fully* written *Hireq* $\text{'}^1\text{—}$); but a naturally long \check{i} can, by an orthographic license, be also written *defectively* (§ 8. 4), e. g. יִרְכֹם (*righteous*), plur. יִרְכֹם *šaddiqīm*; יִרְכֹם (*he fears*), plur. יִרְכֹם. Whether a *defectively* written *Hireq* is long, may be best known from the origin of the form; often also from the nature of the syllable (§ 26), or as in יִרְכֹם from the *Metheg* attached to it (§ 16. 2).

h 5. The *short Hireq* (always¹ written *defectively*) is especially frequent in sharpened syllables (קָמְחָה, יִרְכֹם), and in toneless closed syllables (קָמְחָה *psalm*); comp. however יִרְכֹם in a closed tone-syllable, and even יִרְכֹם in a loosely closed tone-syllable. It has arisen very frequently by attenuation from \check{a} , as in יִרְכֹם from יִרְכֹם, יִרְכֹם (ground-form *šādq*)², or else it is the original \check{i} , which in the tone-syllable

¹ At least according to the Masoretic orthography; cf. Wellhausen's *Text der Bb. Sam.* p. 18, Rem.

² Jerome (cf. Siegfried, *ZAW.* 1884, p. 77) in these cases often gives \check{a} for \check{i} .

had become \bar{e} , as in אֵיבִיךָ (*thy enemy*) from אֵיב (ground-form 'áyib). It is sometimes a simple helping vowel, as in אֵיבִי, § 28. 4.

The earlier grammarians call every *Hireq* written fully, *Hireq magnum*; every one written defectively, *Hireq parvum*,—an inaccurate distinction, so far as quantity is concerned.

6. The longest \bar{e} ' (more rarely defective —, e.g. עֵינִי for עֵינִי *i* Is. 3, 8; at the end of a word also הֵ—) is as a rule contracted from '— *ay* (*ai*), § 7. 1, e.g. הַיְבֵל (*palace*), Arab. and Syriac *haikal*.

7. The *Sere* without *Yôdh* mostly represents the tone-long \bar{e} , *k* which, like the tone-long \bar{a} (No. 1. 2), is very rarely retained except *in* and *before* the tone-syllable, and is always lengthened from an original \bar{i} . It stands in an open syllable with or before the tone, e.g. סִפְרָה (ground-form *siph̄r*) *book*, שֵׁנָה (Arab. *sināt*) *sleep*, or with *Metheg* (see § 16. 2 *a* and *b*, *a*) in the secondary tone-syllable, e.g. שְׁאֵלָתִי *my request*, גַּלְגָּה *let us go*. On the other hand in a closed syllable it is almost always with the tone, as בֶּן *son*, אִם *dumb*.

Exceptions: (*a*) \bar{e} is sometimes retained in a toneless closed syllable, in monosyllabic words before *Maqqeph*, e.g. עֵינִי Num. 35, 18, as well as in the examples of *nāsôg 'āhôr* mentioned in § 29. 3 *b*; (*b*) in a toneless open final syllable, *Sere* likewise occurs in examples of the *nāsôg 'āhôr*, as אֵץ Ex. 16, 29; comp. Jud. 9, 39.

8. The *S'eghól* of the I(E)-class is most frequently an obtuse \check{e} , *m* a modification of an original \bar{i} , either replacing (on loss of the tone) a tone-long \bar{e} , e.g. תִּן from תֵּן (*give*), יִצְרָךְ (*thy creator*) from יִצֵר, or in the case discussed in § 93. 1, Rem. 2, עֲוֵרִי, הִלְקִי from the ground-forms *hilq*, 'izr; comp. also § 64, Rem. 1. *S'eghól* appears as a simple helping-vowel in cases such as סִפְרָה for *siph̄r*, יִגְלִי for *yigl* (§ 28. 4).

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

9. In the U-sound there is to be distinguished—

(1) the long *û*, either (*a*) written fully, שְׁוֵרֵךְ (*S'ureq* (corresponding to the '— of the second class), e.g. גְּבוּל (*boundary*), or (*b*) defectively written — *Qibbûs* (analogous to the long — of the second class), גְּבוּל, וּמְחוֹן;

(2) the short *û*, *Qibbûs* proper (corresponding to the short *Hireq*), in a toneless closed syllable and especially in a sharpened syllable, in e.g. שְׁלֵחָן (*table*), סִבְּהָ (*booth*).

o Sometimes also *ü* in a sharpened syllable is written *plene*, e.g. הַזְּבָה Ps. 102, 5, בְּזִלְמִים Jer. 31, 34 for הַזְּבָה, בְּזִלְמִים.

For this *u* the LXX put *o*, e.g. עֲדָלְתִּים 'Ὀδολλάμ, from which however it only follows, that this *ü* was pronounced somewhat indistinctly. The LXX also express the sharp *Hireq* by *ε*, e.g. אֶמֶר = 'Εμμήρ. The pronunciation of the *Qibbûs* like the German *ü*, which was formerly common, is incorrect, although the occasional pronunciation of the U-sounds as *ü* in the time of the punctators must be admitted, at least as regards Palestine¹; comp. the Turkish *bülbiil* for the Persian *bulbul*, and the pronunciation of the Arabic *dunyā* in Syria as *dünyā*.

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

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

q (2) The long *o* which arose in Hebrew at an early period, through an extensive obscuring, out of an original *ā*², 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. *qátīl*, Aram. *qátīl*, אֵלֹהִים Arab. 'ilāh, Aram. 'ilāh, plur. אֱלֹהִים; שׁוֹק (*leg*). Arab. *sāq*; גִּבּוֹר (*hero*), Arab. *gābbār*; חוֹתָם (*seal*), Arab. *ḥātām*; רְמוֹן (*pomegranate*), Arab. *rūmmān*; שְׁלֵטוֹן (*dominion*), Aram. שְׁלֵטָן and שְׁלֵטוֹן Arab. *sullān*; שְׁלוֹם (*peace*), Aram. שְׁלָם, Arab. *sālām*. Sometimes the form in *ā* also occurs side by side with that in *o*, as שְׁרֵן and שְׁרֵיִן (*coat of mail*; see however § 29 at the end). Comp. also § 68. 1.

r (3) The tone-long *ō* which is lengthened from an original *ü*, or from an *ō* arising from *ü*, by the tone, or in general according to the laws for the formation of syllables. Besides the tone-syllable it also occurs in an open syllable before the tone, e.g. קֹדֶשׁ (ground-form *quḏš*) *sanctuary*; בְּרַחַּה for *burrakh*, יְלֻקָּטוֹן Ps. 104, 28, as well as (with *Metheg*) in the secondary tone-syllable; בְּעֵלוֹ, אֱהָלִים. As soon as the tone is lost, or the other reasons for the lengthening are no longer operative, either the original *ō* (*ü*), in a closed syllable, returns, or, in an open syllable, a weakening to *Šwā* takes place. Comp. כָּל (*all*). כֹּל (*köl*), כֻּלָּם (*küllām*); יִקְטֹל, יִקְטָלָהּ and יִקְטָלוּ, where it is weakened

¹ Comp. Delitzsch, *Physiologie u. Musik*, Lpz. 1868, p. 15 sq.

² Cf. § 8. 1 end. On Jerome's transliteration of *o* for *ā*, see *ZAW.* 1884, p. 75.

to *Šwá*; *yiqṭ'á*, Arab. *yaqtúlá*. This tone-long *o* is only as an exception written fully.

(4) $\overline{\text{Qames}}$ -*ḥaṭuḥ*, always short *ö*, stands in the same relation to the *Holem*, as the *S'ghól* of the second class to the *Sere*, $\overline{\text{קל}}$ *kál*, $\overline{\text{קל}}$ *wayyāqóm*. On the distinction between this and *Qames*, see the Rem. after No. 12.

11. On the *S'ghól* as an obtuse sound of an original *u*, comp. § 27, Rem. 4 *b*.

12. 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.
$\overline{\text{Qames}}$ original long <i>á</i> (Arabic $\overline{\text{Qames}}$).	$\overline{\text{Qames}}$ <i>é</i> , formerly diphthongal, from <i>ay</i> (<i>ai</i>).	$\overline{\text{Qames}}$ <i>ó</i> , formerly diphthongal, from <i>aw</i> (<i>au</i>).
	$\overline{\text{Qames}}$ or $\overline{\text{Qames}}$ long <i>i</i> .	$\overline{\text{Qames}}$ or $\overline{\text{Qames}}$ <i>o</i> obtuse from <i>á</i> .
		$\overline{\text{Qames}}$ or $\overline{\text{Qames}}$ long <i>ú</i> .
$\overline{\text{Qames}}$ tone-long <i>ā</i> (from <i>ā</i> or $\overline{\text{Qames}}$) chiefly in the tone-syllable but also before it.	$\overline{\text{Qames}}$ tone-long <i>ē</i> (from <i>ī</i>) generally in the tone-syllable but also before it.	$\overline{\text{Qames}}$ tone-long <i>ō</i> (from <i>ō</i> or <i>ū</i>) in the tone-syllable, otherwise in an open syllable.
$\overline{\text{Qames}}$ (as a modification of <i>ā</i>) sometimes a tone-long <i>è</i> or at least one which bears the tone, sometimes <i>é</i> .	$\overline{\text{Qames}}$ <i>é</i> .	$\overline{\text{Qames}}$ short <i>ö</i> .
$\overline{\text{Qames}}$ short <i>ä</i> .	$\overline{\text{Qames}}$ short <i>í</i> .	$\overline{\text{Qames}}$ short <i>ü</i> , especially in a sharpened syllable.
[$\overline{\text{Qames}}$ <i>ī</i> attenuated from <i>a</i> ; see No. 5.]		
Utmost weakening to $\overline{\text{Qames}}$ ^a , $\overline{\text{Qames}}$ ^é , or $\overline{\text{Qames}}$ ^e .	Utmost weakening to $\overline{\text{Qames}}$ or $\overline{\text{Qames}}$.	Utmost weakening to $\overline{\text{Qames}}$ or $\overline{\text{Qames}}$.

Rem. On the distinction between *Qames* and *Qames-ḥaṭuḥ*¹.

11

According to § 8. 1, long *ā* (*Qames*) and short *ö* (*Qames-ḥaṭuḥ*) are in manuscripts and printed texts generally expressed by the same sign ($\overline{\text{Qames}}$), e.g. $\overline{\text{קל}}$ *qām*, $\overline{\text{קל}}$ *kál*. (On the marking of the *ö* by the addition of a *Šewá* ($\overline{\text{Qames}}$) which is regularly done in many manuscripts, see Baer-Del., *Liber Jobi*, p. 43.) The beginner who does not yet know the grammatical origin of the words in

¹ These statements, in order to be fully understood, must be studied in connexion with the theory of syllables (§ 26) and *Metheg* (§ 16. 2).

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

1. *The sign (◌) is ǝ in a closed syllable which has not the tone, since such a syllable can have only a short vowel (§ 26. 5). The above case occurs—*

(a) When *Šwá* follows as a syllable-divider, as in חֵכֶם הַחֵכֶם *hōkh-má* (wisdom), אֹכֵלֶת 'ōkh-lá (food). With *Metheg* on the other hand (◌) is *ā* and stands in an open syllable. The following *Šwá* is then a half-vowel (*Šwá mobile*), e. g. אָכַלְתָּ 'ā-kh'lá (she ate), according to § 16. 2.

(b) When a closed syllable is formed by *Dageš forte*, e. g. הַחֲנֻנִי *hōnnēnī* (have mercy upon me); but אֲתִים (with *Metheg*, § 16. 2, 1 b) *báltím*.

(c) When the syllable in question loses the tone on account of a following *Maqqēph* (§ 16. 1), e. g. כֹּל־הָאָדָם *kōl-hā-'ādām* (all men). In Ps. 35, 10 and Prov. 19, 7 *Maqqēph* with כֹּל is replaced by a conjunctive accent (*Mer'kha*); so by *Darga*, Jud. 19, 5 with קָעַר, and Ez. 37, 8 with יִקְרָם (so Baer after Qimḥi; ed. Mant. ויקרם).

(d) In a closed final syllable without the tone, e. g. וַיָּקֹם *wayyáqōm* (and he stood up). In the cases where *á* or *ā* has in the final syllable become toneless through *Maqqēph* (§ 16. 1) and yet must remain, e. g. פָּתַח־בַּהֲרָה Esth. 4, 8, נָתַתְּ לִי Gen. 4, 25, it has in correct manuscripts and printed texts a *Metheg* beside it.

In cases like הֶלְלָהּ, לָמָּה *lāmmā*, the tone shows that (◌) is to be read as *ā*.

2. The places in which (◌) appears to stand in an open syllable and yet is to be read as *ǝ* require special consideration. This is the case, (a) when *Haṭeph-Qameš* follows (e. g. פָּעָלוּ *his work*), or simple vocal *Šwá* (e. g. הָרְבִן *ox goad*; בָּעֲבָרוּ Jos. 4, 7; שָׁמְרָה *preserve* Ps. 86, 2, comp. 16, 1; other examples are Obad. 11. Jud. 14, 15); *Haṭeph-Pathaḥ* follows in לְמִשְׁתַּחֲוֹתָ 1 Sam. 15, 1, לְהַרְגֵהוּ 24, 11, and יַפְנִישֶׁהוּ (so Baer, Gen. 32, 18, others יַפְנִישֶׁהוּ); (b) before another *Qameš-ḥaṭuḥ*, e. g. פָּעַלְתָּ *thy work* (but יַרְבְּעָם *Yārob'am*, because from imperf. יָרַב; אָרְחָלָי and קַבְּהֵלָי Num. 23, 7, see § 67, Rem. 2); (c) in the two plural forms קְדָשִׁים *sanctuaries* and שְׁרָשִׁים *roots* (also written קְדָ' and שְׁרָ'). In all these cases the Masora puts a *Metheg* beside the (◌), which according to the statement of the Jewish grammarians, is intended to indicate that the Masora reads the ◌ as *ā*¹; thus *pā-^olō, dā-^rbān, pā-^lkhā, qā-dāšīm*. This tradition is in point of fact expressly confirmed by the Babylonian punctuation (see above, § 8. 2, note), which carefully distinguishes between *ǝ* and *ā*. Nevertheless, neither the origin of these forms, nor the analogous formations in Hebrew and in the cognate languages, nor lastly the transcribing of the proper names in the LXX, admits of this tradition being regarded as correct, whether the *Metheg* originally had

¹ Comp. Baer-Delitzsch, *Liber Jobi*, Lpz. 1875, Preface, p. vi.

another meaning or is due to an error¹. It is better to divide and read pð^o-lô (for pð^o-lô), pðð-l^ekhâ, qðdâ-šîm (strictly orthographic for q^odâšîm). Quite as inconceivable is it for *Metheg* to be a sign of the lengthening into *ā* in הָרִיבֵּי הַיָּם (Ex. 11, 8), although it is so in בָּנֵי הַיָּם bā^o-nî (in the navy), since here the *ā* of the article appears under the ב.

✠ § 10. *The Half Vowels and the Syllable Divider* (Š^ewâ).

1. Besides the full vowels, Hebrew has also a series of vowel sounds which may be called *half vowels*. 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 Š^ewâ. Under some circumstances however the original short vowel may re-appear.

To these belongs first of all the sign — , which indicates an extremely short, slight, and (as regards pronunciation) indeterminate vowel sound, something like an obscure half *ě* (°). It is called Š^ewâ² or *simple Š^ewâ* (Š^ewâ *simplex*) to distinguish it from the compound (see No. 2), and *vocal Š^ewâ* (Š^ewâ *mobile*) to distinguish it from Š^ewâ *quiescens*, which is silent and stands as a mere syllable divider (see No. 3) under the consonant which closes the syllable. Of the *vocal Š^ewâ* the following kinds are further to be distinguished:

1. The real Š^ewâ *mobile* under a consonant which is closely united, as a kind of grace-note, with the following syllable, whether it be (a) at the beginning of the word, as קָטַל q^otâl (to kill), מִמַּלֵּא m^omallē (filling), or (b) in the middle of the word, as קוֹטְלָהּ qð-t^olā, יִיקְטְלוּ yiq-t^olū, קִיקְטְלוּ qit-t^olū.

2. What is called Š^ewâ *medium* or *wavering Š^ewâ* under a consonant which stands at the end of a syllable containing a short vowel, and thus causes at least a partial closing of it, while serving at the same

¹ It is just conceivable that הָרִיבֵּי &c. (§ 93. I, A. 3) were really intended, and that *ð* was inaccurately represented by the similarly sounding *ā*.

² Instead of שְׁוָא it would be more correct to write שְׁבָא, since the name is very probably to be referred to Aram. שְׁבָת *rest*, and hence originally, like the Arab. *sukūn* (*rest*), indicated only the Š^ewâ *quiescens*. Cf. C. Levias, *American Journ. of Philology*, xvi. 1, who considers שְׁיָבָה or שְׁבָה (a translation of *sukūn*) to be the original form.

time as a grace-note to the following syllable (§ 26. 2 *b*, Rem.). The *Šwā medium* accordingly stands half-way between the *Šwā quiescens* and the real *Šwā mobile*. In regard to pronunciation and other characteristics it is however to be reckoned with the latter; comp. e.g. לְקַנְפֵּהּ *la-m'naššē^ah* (for לְקַנְפֵּי, *ma-l'kkē*, בִּנְפֵּל *bin'phōl*, כִּנְפֵּל *kin'phōl*).

e The sound *š* may be regarded as normally representing simple *Šwā mobile*, although it is certain that it often became assimilated in sound to other vowels. The LXX express it by *ε*, even by *η*, כְּרוּבִים *Xερουβίμ*, הַלְלֵיהֶּן *ἀλληλοῦια*, more frequently by *α*, שְׂמוּאֵל *Σαμουήλ*, but very frequently in such a way that this slight sound accords with the following principal vowel, e.g. קָדַם *Σόδομα*, שְׁלֹמֹה *Σολομών* (as well as *Σαλωμών*), יְבָבֹת *Σαβαώθ*, נְתַנְיָאֵל *Ναθαναήλ*¹. A similar account of the pronunciation of *Šwā* is given by Jewish grammarians of the middle ages².

How the *Šwā* sound has arisen through the vanishing of a full vowel is seen, e.g. in בְּרָכָה from *bārākhā*, as the word is still pronounced in Arabic. The latter language still regularly employs the full short vowel for the Hebrew *Šwā mobile*.

f 2. With the simple *Šwā mobile* is connected the compound *Šwā* or *Hátēph* (*correptum*), i.e. a *Šwā* the pronunciation of which is more accurately fixed by the addition of a short vowel. There are three compound *Šwās* formed in this way, corresponding to the three vowel classes (§ 7. 1):—

(ֿֿֿ) *Hátēph-Páthāh*, e.g. מֹדֵר *h^amōr*, ass.

(ֿֿֿֿ) *Hátēph-Sgól*, e.g. מֹדֵר *'mōr*, to say.

(ֿֿֿֿֿ) *Hátēph-Qāmēs*, e.g. מְלִי *h^elí*, sickness.

These *Hátēphs*, or at least the first two, stand chiefly under the four guttural letters (§ 22. 3), instead of a simple *Šwā mobile*, since these letters by their nature require a more precise utterance of the otherwise indeterminate simple *Šwā mobile*. Accordingly a guttural at the beginning of a syllable, where the *Šwā* is necessarily vocal, can never have a mere *Šwā simplex*.

g Rem. A. Only (ֿֿֿ) and (ֿֿֿֿ) occur under letters which are not gutturals. *Hateph-Pathah* is found instead of simple *Šwā* (especially *Šwā mobile*), chiefly

¹ The same occurs frequently also in the Greek and Latin transcriptions of Phoenician words, e.g. מַלְאָגָה *Malaga*, גּוּבּוּלִים *gubulim* (Schröder, *Die phöniz. Spr.*, p. 139 sqq.). Comp. the Latin augment in *momordi*, *pupugi*, with the Greek in τέτυφα, τετυμμένος, and the old form *memordi*.

² See especially *Yehuda Hayyūg*, pp. 4 sq. and 130 sq. of the edition by Nutt (Lond. 1870), corresponding to p. 200 of the edition by Dukes (Stuttg. 1844); Ibn Ezra's *Šaḥoth*, p. 3; Gesenius, *Lehrgebäude der hebr. Sprache*, p. 68. The *Manuel du lecteur*, mentioned above, § 6. 1, also contains express rules for the various ways of pronouncing *Šwā mobile*: so too the *Dikduke ha-š'amim*, ed. by Baer and Strack, Lpz. 1879, p. 12 sqq. Cf. also Schreiner, *ZAW.* vi. 236 sqq.

(a) under doubled consonants, since this doubling causes a more distinct pronunciation of the *Šewâ mobile*, שְׁבִלֵי *branches*, Zach. 4, 12. According to the rule given by Ben-Asher, the *Hateph* is necessary¹ when, in a doubled medial consonant with *Šewâ* (consequently not in cases like וַיְהִי, &c.), preceded by a Pathah, the sign of the doubling (*Dageš forte*) has fallen away, e.g. הַלְלוּ *praise ye!* וַתֵּאֱלָצוּהוּ Jud. 16, 16; no less universally, where after a consonant with *Šewâ* the same consonant follows (for a sharper separation of the two, and hence with a *metheg* always preceding), e.g. קוֹרְרִים Ps: 68, 7; קָלְלָתָךְ Gen. 27, 13 (but not without exceptions, comp. e.g. חֲקָקִיר Jud. 5, 15. Is. 10, 1; צִלְלִי Jer. 6, 5, and so always הַנְּנִי *behold me*, הַנְּנִי *behold us*; on ק before the suffix ה, comp. § 20. 1 c, Rem.); also in certain forms under *Kaph* and *Rêš* after a long vowel and before the tone, e.g. הַאֲבִיבָה Gen. 3, 17; בְּרָכִי Ps. 103, 1 (but וַיְבָרְכֵנו Ps. 72, 17, cf. Jer. 4, 2. 1 Chr. 29, 20, because the tone is thrown back on to the *ā*. After *ē Šewâ* remains even before the tone, as בְּרָכֵנו, &c.)²; (b) under initial sibilants after ו copulative, e.g. וַיְהִי Gen. 2, 12; cf. Jer. 48, 20; וַיִּבְחַר Is. 45, 14; וַיִּשְׂרָה Lev. 25, 34; וַיִּשְׁקָה Gen. 27, 26; וַיִּשְׁמַע Num. 23, 18. Is. 37, 17. Dan. 9, 18, cf. Jud. 5, 12. 1 Ki. 14, 21. 2 Ki. 9, 17. Job 14, 1. Eccl. 9, 7—to emphasize the vocal character of the *Šewâ*. For the same reason under the emphatic ט in הוֹטְלוּ Jer. 22, 28; cf. Job 33, 25; after *Qôph* in וַיִּקְרַב Ps. 55, 22; cf. Jer. 32, 9; under *Rêš* in וַיִּרְעַם Ps. 28, 9; even under ת Ez. 26, 21; under ב Esth. 2, 8; (c) under liquids, sibilants or *Qôph* after י, e.g. וַיִּצְחַק Gen. 21, 6, comp. 30, 38 and Ez. 21, 28 (under ק); וַיִּמְרוּ Ps. 12, 7; וַיִּתְמַלֵּךְ Jer. 22, 15; וַיִּבְנֶה Josh. 11, 2; וַיִּסְבְּקֵה־ Ps. 74, 5, for the same reason as the cases under (b)³; according to Baer also in וַיִּשְׁבַּחְמוּ 1 Sam. 30, 28; וַיִּבְנֶה־ Gen. 32, 18 after ם (comp. § 9. 12, Rem. 2), as well as after a in וַיִּקְשִׁיבָה Dan. 9, 19; וַיִּבְרַכָּה Gen. 27, 38; וַיִּמְצָרְעִים 2 Ki. 7, 8.

B. The *Hateph-Qames* is less restricted to the gutturals than the first two, and stands frequently for a simple *Šewâ mobile* when an O-sound was originally in the syllable, and requires to be partly preserved, e.g. at the beginning, in רָאִי (ground-form *rô'y*) *vision* (comp. § 93. 1, Rem. 6); וַיִּבְנֶה־ 2 Chr. 31, 12, &c., *Qere* (*Keith*). וַיִּבְנֶה־ *Ammonitish women*, 1 Kings 11, 1 (sing. וַעֲמוֹנִית. כּוֹנֵן); וַיִּרְדֹּף Ez. 35, 6, from וַיִּרְדֹּף; וַיִּקְבְּנוּ Num. 23, 25. Jer. 31, 33, and elsewhere before suffixes, comp. § 60; וַיִּקְרָא *his pate* (from וַיִּקְרָא) Ps. 7, 17 and elsewhere; וַיִּשְׁקָה Is. 18, 4 *Qere*. Further, like ׀, it stands under consonants, which ought to have *Dageš forte*, as in וַיִּלְקַחְהָ (for וַיִּלְקַחְהָ) Gen. 2, 23. In this example, as in וַיִּסְעָרָה 1 Ki. 13, 7; וַיִּסְאָה 2 Ki. 7, 18; and וַיִּצְעָקִי Jer. 22, 20, the *Hateph-Qames* is due to the influence of the following guttural as well as of the preceding

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

² On the uncertainty of the MSS. in some cases which come under (a), see *Minhat shay* on Gen. 12, 3 and Jud. 7, 6.

³ Ben-Asher requires ׀ for ׀ (even for *Šewâ quiescens*) generally before a guttural or ק; therefore Baer reads in Ps. 18, 7 וַיִּקְרָא; 49, 15 וַיִּשְׁאוּל; 65, 5 וַיִּבְחַר; 68, 24 וַיִּתְמַחֵן; Prov. 30, 17 וַיִּלְעַגֵּן; Job 29, 25 וַיִּבְחַר; comp. Delitzsch, *Psalms*, 4th ed. p. 149, note.

U-sound. (Elsewhere indeed in similar cases after *Ḥateph-Patah* is preferred, see above letter *ḥ*; but with לָקַח compare also סָבְלוּ Is. 9, 3, where the U-sound must necessarily be admitted to have an influence on the *Šwā* immediately following.) In וְטָהַר (A-*l*^o *hδr*) Job 17, 10 it is also due to the influence of the following O-sound. In קָמַי 1 Sam. 28, 8 *Q^erē*, the original form is קָמֹם, where again the *ō* represents an *ō*. It is only through the influence of a following guttural that we can explain the forms נִקְרָאָה Esth. 2, 14; נִבְהַל Prov. 28, 22; נִכְרָחָה Jer. 49, 7; אֶשְׁמְעָה Is. 27, 4; וְאֶשְׁמְעָה Dan. 8, 13; שְׁמְעָה Ps. 39, 13; בִּכְעָרָה 2 Ki. 2, 1 (Baer's ed. also in ver. 11); הִקְהָתִים 2 Chr. 34, 12 (the Mantua edition and Opitius have הִקְהָתִים). Finally in most of the examples which have been adduced, the influence of an emphatic sound (*p*, *t*, comp. also אֶלְקָטָה Ruth 2, 2, 7), or of a sibilant is at the same time to be taken into consideration.

i. 3. The sign of the simple *Šwā* — serves also as a mere syllable divider. In this case it is disregarded in pronunciation and is called *Šwā 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* ך (to distinguish it better from final ן), e. g. מֶלֶךְ *king*, and in the less frequent case, where a word ends with a mute after another vowelless consonant as in נָרַךְ *nard*, תָּתְּתְּ *thou fem.*, קָטַלְתְּ *thou fem. hast killed*, וַיַּשְׁקֵן *and he watered*, וַיִּשָּׁבֶן *and he took captive*, אַל-תִּשְׁתֵּן *drink thou not*; comp. on the other hand וַיִּרְאֵהוּ, חָטָא, &c.¹

k. However, in the examples where a mute closes the syllable, the final *Šwā* comes somewhat nearer to a vocal *Šwā*, especially as in almost all the cases a weakening of a final vowel has taken place, viz. אָתְּ *'att^e* from אָתִי *'atti*, קָטַלְתְּ from קָטַלְתִּי (comp. in this form, the 2nd sing. fem. perf. Qal, even בָּאתְּ, after a vowel, Gen. 16, 8. Mic. 4, 10 and elsewhere according to the readings of Baer), יִשָּׁבֶן *yisb^e* from יִשְׁבֶּה, &c. The Arabic actually has a short vowel in analogous forms. In נָרַךְ borrowed from the Indian, as also in קָטַטְּ (*qōṣṣ*) Prov. 22, 21; and in אַל-תּוֹסַדְּ (*ne addas*) Prov. 30, 6 the final mute of itself attracts a vowel sound, although a very slight one.

l. Rem. The proper distinction between *simple Šwā mobile* and *quiescens* depends on a correct understanding of the formation of syllables (§ 26). The beginner may observe for the present, that (1) *Šwā* is always *mobile* (*a*) at the beginning of a word (except in תִּשְׁתִּי § 97. 1, note 1); (*b*) under a consonant with *Dageš forte*, e. g. גִּיד-אֶפְרוֹ *gid-^aphū*; (*c*) after another *Šwā*, e. g. יִקְטְלוּ *yiq^llū* (except at the end of the word, see above No. 3). (2) *Šwā* is *quiescens* (*a*) at the end of a word (even in the ך); (*b*) before another *Šwā*.

¹ On יְתִי — as an ending of the 2nd sing. fem. perf. Qal of verbs ל'ה, see § 75, Rem. 1.

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

In very close connexion with the vowel points stand the *reading-signs*, which were probably adopted at the same time. Besides the diacritic point over ψ and ψ , a point is placed *within* a consonant to show that it has a stronger sound, or is even doubled. On the other hand a horizontal stroke (*Rāphè*) *over* a consonant is a sign that it has *not* the stronger or double sound. According to the different purposes for which it is used the point is either (1) *Dageš forte*, a sign of doubling (§ 12); or (2) *Dageš lene*, a sign of the hard (not aspirated) pronunciation of certain consonants (§ 13); or (3) *Mappiq*, a sign to bring out the full consonantal value of letters which may otherwise serve as vowel letters (§ 7. 2) especially in the case of η at the end of the word (§ 14. 1). The *Rāphè*, which excludes the insertion of any of these points, has almost entirely gone out of use in our printed texts (§ 14. 2).

§ 12. *Dageš in general¹, and Dageš forte in particular.*

1. *Dageš*, a point standing in the middle of a consonant², *a* denotes, according to § 11, (a) the *doubling*³ of a consonant (*Dageš forte*), e. g. קִּיִּלֵּל *qitlél*; or (b) the *harder* pronunciation of the letters תְּנִיִּף (*Dageš lene*). For a variety of the latter, now rarely used in our printed texts, see § 13. 2, Rem.

The root שָׁרַף signifies in Syriac *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 שָׁרַף might have the meaning which the Masora assigns to it: *acuere (literam)*, i. e. to *sharpen* a letter (by doubling it), as well as to *harden* it, i. e. to pronounce it as hard and without aspiration. Consequently שָׁרַף *acuens (literam)* is a sign of sharpening and hardening

¹ Comp. Graetz, 'Die mannigfache Anwendung u. Bedeut. des Dagesch,' in *Monatsschr. für Gesch. u. Wiss. d. Judent.*, 1887, pp. 425 sqq. and 473 sqq.

² *Wāw* with *Dageš* (א) cannot in our printed texts be distinguished from a *wāw* pointed as *Šūrāq* (א); in the latter case the point should stand higher up. The א *ā* is however easily to be recognized since it cannot take a vowel before or under it.

³ Stade, *Lehrb. der hebr. Gr.*, Lpz. 1879, pp. 44, 103, requires, instead of the term *doubling*, that of *strengthened pronunciation*, since the consonant in question is only once represented. No doubt this is correct, but the common expression is in some degree justifiable, since the transcription of one of these *strengthened* consonants can only be effected by writing it as double.

(like *Mappiq* מַפִּיק *proferens* as *signum prolationis*), for both of which purposes the same *prick* of the *pen*, or *puncture*, was selected. The opposite of *Dageš* is רַפָּה *soft*, § 14. 2 (comp. for this § 22. 4, Rem. 1).

- c* 2. Its use in the Grammar as *Dageš forte* or a *sign of doubling* is especially important, corresponding to the *sicilicus* of the Latins (*Luculus* for *Lucullus*) or to the stroke over the German *m̄* and *n̄*. In the unpointed text it is omitted, like the vowels and other reading signs.

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

§ 13. *Dageš lene*.

- a* 1. *Dageš lene*, the sign of *hardening*, is in ordinary printed texts placed only within the בְּנִדְבָת letters (§ 6. 3) as a sign that they should be pronounced with their original hard sound (without aspiration), e. g. מֶלֶךְ *mèlèkh*, but מַלְכוֹ *mal-kò*; תָּפַר *tāphár*, but יִתְפַּר *yith-pōr*; שָׂתָה *šāthā*, but יִשְׂתֶּה *yis-tè*.
- b* 2. The cases in which a *Dageš lene* is to be inserted may be learned from § 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 אֲפִי *'appí*, רַבִּים *rabbím* must be *forte*, but in יִגְדַל *yigdál* it is *lene*.
- c* A variety of the *Dageš lene* is the point which in many manuscripts, as well as in Baer's editions, is employed in consonants other than the *B^ggadk^ephath* to call attention expressly to the beginning of a new syllable: (*a*) when the same consonant precedes in close connexion, e. g. בְּבָל־לְבִי Ps. 9, 2, where, owing to the *Dageš*, the coalescing of the two *Lameds* is avoided; (*b*) in cases like מַחֲסִי Ps. 62, 8 = *maḥ-sí* (not *māḥ^o-sí*); (*c*) according to some (including Baer; not in ed. Mant.) in לָלוּ in the combination לָלוּ לוּ Deut. 32, 5, or לָלוּ לָלוּ Gen. 38, 9. Hab. 1, 6. 2, 6 and elsewhere. For other cases see below, § 20. *e* and *g*.—Delitzsch appropriately gives the name of *Dageš orthophonikum* to this variety of *Dageš* (*Bibl. Kommentar*, 1874, on Ps. 64, 12); comp. 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^ggadk^ephath*, the doubling excludes its aspiration, since the latter of the two consonants would necessarily have *Dageš lene*, e. g. אֲפִי (from אֲפִי) properly *'ap-pí*.

§ 14. Mappîq and Rāphè.

1. *Mappîq*, like *Dageš*, also a point *within* the consonant, serves in *a* the letters ך ן ה ם 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 confined solely to the consonantal ה at the end of words (since ה can never be a vowel letter in the middle of a word), e. g. גָּבְהָהּ (to be high), אֶרְצָהּ 'arṣāh (her land) which has a consonantal ending (shortened from *-hā*), different from אֶרְצָא 'arṣā (to the earth) which has a vowel ending.

Rem. 1. Without doubt such a *Hē* was distinctly aspirated like the Arabic *Hā* *b* at the end of a syllable. There are however examples where the consonantal character of this ה is lost (the *Mappîq* of course disappearing too), so that it has only the significance of a vowel letter; comp. § 91. 1, Rem. 2 on the 3rd fem. sing.

The name מַפְּיָק signifies *proferens*, i. e. a sign which distinctly brings out *c* the sound of the vowel letter 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 No. 2) is the opposite of both.

2. In MSS. *Mappîq* is also found with ם, ן, ך, to mark them as consonants, *d* e. g. גֹּבְיָ (gōby), גֹּבְיָ (gāw). Comp. for the various statements of the Masora (where these points are treated as *Dageš*), Ginsburg, *The Massorah, letter ם*, § 5, and 'The Dageshed Alephs in the Karlsruhe MS.' (where these points are extremely frequent), in *Die Verhandlungen des Berliner Orientalisten-Kongresses*, Berlin, 1882, i. p. 136 sqq. The great differences in the statements found in the Masora point to a difference of the schools on this subject; one school appears to have intended that every audible ם should be pointed. In the printed editions the point occurs only four times with ם (ם̣ or ם̣), Gen. 43, 26. Lev. 23, 17. Ezr. 8, 18 and Job 33, 21 (ך̣; where the point can be taken only as an orthophonetic sign, not with König as *Dageš forte*)¹.

Comp. Delitzsch, *Hiob.*, 2nd ed. p. 439 sqq.

2. *Rāphè* (רַפֵּה i. e. soft), a horizontal stroke over the letter, is the *e* opposite of both *Dageš* and *Mappîq*, but especially of *Dageš lene*. In exact manuscripts every בּוֹרַכְּכָה letter has either *Dageš lene* or *Rāphè*, e. g. מֶלֶךְ מְלֶכְךָ. In the more modern editions of the text, *Rāphè* is used only when the absence of a *Dageš* or *Mappîq* is to be expressly pointed out.

[¹ The Masora takes the point to be *Dageš* in these four cases.—G. W. C.]

§ 15. *The Accents.*

a Cf. generally: A. Büchler, *Untersuchungen zur Entstehung u. Entwicklung d. hebr. Accente*, I. 'Die Ursprünge der vertikalen Bestandteile,' &c., Vienna, 1891; (cf. also *Theolog. Lit. Zeitung*, 1893, no. 17). Of later works on the ordinary accents (see below, 3 *a*), W. Heidenheim, מִשְׁפָּטֵי הַטְּעָמִים [*The Laws of the Accents*], Rödelheim, 1808 (A compilation from older Jewish writing on the accents, with a commentary); W. Wickes (see also below), טעמי כ"א ספרים [*The Accents of the Twenty-one Books*], Oxford, 1887, an exhaustive investigation in English; A. Davis, London, 1892; S. P. Nathan, Hamb. 1893. The enumeration given below, follows Delitzsch's summary in Curtiss' English translation of Bickell's *Grundriss*, Lpz. 1877, pp. 18-21, with some modifications suggested by Wickes. On the accents of the Books ת"א (see below, 3 *b*), S. Baer, תורת אמות [*Accentual Laws of the Books* ת"א], Rödelheim, 1852, and his addendum to Delitzsch's *Psalmencommentar*, Lpz. 1860, vol. ii, and in the 5th ed., 1894 (an epitome of this is to be found in Baer-Delitzsch's *Liber Psalmorum hebr.*, Lpz. 1861, 1874, 1880); comp. also Delitzsch's most instructive 'Accentuologischer Commentar' to Psalms 1-3, in his *Psalmencommentar* of 1874, as well as the numerous contributions to the critical accentology of the text, &c., in the editions of the text by Baer and Delitzsch, and in the commentaries of the latter; W. Wickes, טעמי א"ת, Oxford, 1881; Mitchell, in the *Journal of Bibl. Lit.*, 1891, p. 144 sqq.; Baer and Strack, *Dikduke ha-š'amim*, p. 17 sqq.

b 1. The design of the accents is *primarily* to regulate most minutely the musical enunciation (chanting) of the Sacred Text, and thus they are first of all a kind of musical notes¹. 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 the grammar (and syntax), viz. their value (*a*) as *marking the tone*, (*b*) as *marks of punctuation* to point out the logical (syntactical) relation of single words to their immediate surroundings, and thus to the whole sentence².

c 2. As a mark of the tone the accent stands almost invariably with that syllable which has the principal tone in the word. This

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

² At the same time however it must not be forgotten that the value of the accent as a mark of punctuation is always relative; thus, e. g. 'Athnâh as regards the logical structure of the sentence may at one time indicate a very strong caesura (thus Gen. 1, 4); at another, one which is almost imperceptible (thus Gen. 1, 1).

is mostly the ultima, less frequently the penultima. Amongst the Jewish grammarians a word which has the tone on the ultima is called *Milra'* (Aram. מְלַרַע i.e. accented *below*), e.g. קָטַל *qāṭál*; a word which has the tone on the penultima, *Mil'él* (Aram. מְלַעִיל, accented *above*), e.g. מְלֶכְךָ *mèlèkkh*. Moreover, in many cases a secondary tone is indicated in the word by *Mèthëg* (comp. § 16). Examples such as נֶעְמְדָה יְחָרֵד Is. 50, 8 (comp. 40, 18. Ex. 15, 8. Lam. 2, 16) are regarded by the Jewish grammarians as even *proparoxytone*¹.

3. As marks of interpunctuation the accents are subdivided into *d* those which *separate* (*Distinctivi* or *Domini*) and those which *connect* (*Conjunctivi* or *Servi*). There is further to be distinguished a twofold system of accentuation: (a) that which is common in twenty-one Books (the כ"א i.e. twenty-one), and (b) the system of accents in the first three Books of the *Hagiographa*, Psalms, Proverbs and Job (*vox memor.* אָמַת, from the initial consonants of the names, תְּהִלּוֹת Psalms, מְשָׁלִי Proverbs, אִיּוֹב Job, or more correctly, according to their sequence, תַּא''ם; thus מְעַמְּי תַּא''ם signifies the accents [sing. טַעַם] of the three mentioned Books). The latter system is not only richer and more complicated in itself, but also musically more significant than the ordinary accentuation.

I. The Common Accents.

Preliminary remark. The accents which are marked as *prepositive* stand *e* 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 (comp. however below, Rem. 2).

A. DISJUNCTIVE ACCENTS (*Distinctivi* or *Domini*)².

1. (—) Sillûq (*end*) always with the tone-syllable of the last word before (:) sôph pāsûq or verse-divider, e.g. הָאָרְץ׃.

¹ Comp. Delitzsch on Is. 40, 18.

² The earlier Jewish accentuologists already distinguish between מְלָכִים *Reges* and מְשָׁרְתִים *Servi*. The division of the disjunctive accents into Imperatores, Reges, Duces, Comites, which has become common amongst Christian grammarians, originated from the *Scrutinium S. S. ex accentibus* of Sam. Bohlius, Rost. 1636, and, as the source of manifold confusion, had better be given up. The order in which the accents are arranged in respect to their power as disjunctives, follows in general from the above classification revised according to Wickes. In respect to the height of tone (in chanting) 1, 2, 5, 4, 8, which were *low* and long sustained

2. (—) 'Athnâḥ or 'Athnaḥtā (*rest*), the principal divider in the middle of the verse.
- 3 a. (—) Segôltā, *postpositive*, marks the fourth or fifth subordinate division, counting backwards from the 'Athnâḥ (e.g. Gen. 1, 7. 28).
- 3 b. (| —) Šalšêleth (i.e. *chain*), as disjunctive, as Great Šalšêleth, distinguished by the following Pâsêq¹-stroke from the conjunctive in the poetic accentuation, is used for Segôltā (seven times altogether) when this would stand at the head of the sentence; comp. Gen. 19, 16 and elsewhere.
- 4 a. (—) Zâqêph gādôl, and
- 4 b. (—) Zâqêph qāḥôn. The names refer to their musical character. As a disjunctive, Little Zâqêph is stronger than Great Zâqêph; but if they stand together, the one which comes first is always the stronger.
5. (—) Tiphhâ or Tarḥâ, a subordinate disjunctive before Sillûq and 'Athnâḥ, but very often the principal disjunctive of the whole verse instead of 'Athnâḥ; always so when the verse consists of only two or three words (e.g. Is. 2, 18); also however in longer verses (Gen. 3, 21).
6. (—) Rebhîa'.
7. (—) Zarqâ, *postpositive*.
- 8 a. (—) Pašîā, *postpositive*², and

notes, are to be distinguished from the *high* notes (7, 3^a, 6, 13, 9), and the highest (3^b, 11, 12, 10); comp. Wickes, נ"ב 'ב p. 12 sqq.

¹ Pâsêq (i.e. the 'restrainer,' also incorrectly called Pêsiq) nowhere appears as an independent but only as a constituent part of certain accents (comp. below, No. 13 and II. 11 a, b). Moreover Pâsêq is very frequently 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 sqq., where Pâsêq is divided into *distinctivum*, *emphaticum*, *homonymicum*, and *euphonicum*). The conjecture of Olshausen (*Lehrb.*, p. 86 sq.), that Pâsêq and other accents also served to point out marginal glosses subsequently interpolated, has been further developed by E. v. Ortenberg, 'Die Bedeutung des Pâsêq für Quellenscheidung in den BB. d. A. T.,' in *Progr. des Domgymn. zu Verden*, 1887, as well as in the article, 'Pâsêq u. Legarmeh,' in the *ZAW.* 1887, p. 301 sqq. (on the other hand, Wickes, *ibid.* 1888, p. 149 sqq.). See also E. König, in the *Ztschr. f. kirchl. Wiss. u. kirchl. Leben*, 1889, parts 5 and 6; Maas, in *Hebraica*, v. 121 sqq., viii. 89 sqq.

² If the word in question has the tone on the penultima, Pašîā is placed also over it, e.g. פִּשְׁיָא Gen. 1, 2; comp. here Rem. 2 below.

- 8b. (→) Yethîbh, *prepositive*, and thus different from Mehuppākh. Yethîbh is used in place of Paštā when the latter would stand on a monosyllable or on a foretoned word, not preceded by a conjunctive accent.
9. (→) T^ebhîr.
- 10a. (→) Gèrēš or Tèrēš, in conjunction with Qadmā (see below) also called 'Azlā, and
- 10b. (→) Gerāšáyim¹ or Double Gèrēš, used for Gèrēš, when the tone rests on the ultima, and 'Azlā does not precede.
- 11a. (→) Pázēr, and
- 11b. (→) Pázēr gādôl (Great Pázēr) or Qarnê phārā (*cow-horns*) only used in sixteen places, always to express special emphasis.
12. (→) Telîšā gedôlā or Great Telîšā, *prepositive*.
13. (→) Legarmēh, i.e. Mûnâh (see below) with a following Pâsēq.

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

g

14. (→) Mûnâh.
15. (→) Mehuppākh or Mahpākh.
- 16a. (→) Mêrēkhā, and
- 16b. (→) Mêrēkhā kephûlā or Double Mêrēkhā.
17. (→) Dargā.
18. (→) 'Azlā, when associated with Gèrēš (see above) also called Qadmā.
19. (→) Telîšā qeṭannā or Little Telîšā, *postpositive*.
20. (→) Galgal or Yèrah.
- [21. (→) Mâyelā, a variety of Tiphḥa, serves to mark the secondary tone in words which have Sillûq or 'Athnâh, or which are united by Maqqēph with a word so accentuated, e.g. מִן־אֶשְׁרָיִם].

II. The Accents of the Books מ'אח.

A. DISTINCTIVI.

h

1. (→) Sillûq (see above).
2. (→) 'Ôlè weyôrēd², a stronger divider than

¹ Wickes requires Geršáyim (מִן־אֶשְׁרָיִם).

² Wrongly called also Mêrēkhā m^ehuppākh (*Mêrēkha mahpakhatum*), although the accent underneath is in no way connected with Mêrēkhā; comp. Wickes as above, p. 14.

3. (—) 'Athnâḥ (see above). In shorter verses 'Athnâḥ suffices as principal distinctive; in longer verses 'Ôlè w'yôrêd serves as such, and is then mostly followed by 'Athnâḥ as the principal disjunctive of the second half of the verse.
4. (—) Rebhîa' gādôl (Great Rebhîa').
5. (—) Rebhîa' mugrāš, i.e. Rebhîa' with Gêreš on the same word.
6. (—) Great Šalšëleth (see above, I. 3 b).
7. (—) Šinnôr (Zarqā), as *postpositive*, is easily distinguished from Šinnôrîth similarly placed, which is not an independent accent, but stands only over an open syllable before a consonant which has Mêekhā or Mahpākh.
8. (—) Rebhîa' qāṭôn (Little Rebhîa') immediately before 'Ôlè weyôrêd.
9. (—) Deḥî or Ṭiphhā, *prepositive*, to the right underneath the initial consonant, e.g. 'îāṭ (consequently it does not mark the tone-syllable).
10. (—) Pázēr (see above).
- 11 a. (| —) Mēhuppākh leḡarmēh, i.e. Mahpākh with Pásēq.
- 11 b. (| —) 'Azlā leḡarmēh, i.e. 'Azlā with Pásēq.

i

B. CONJUNCTIVI.

12. (—) Mêekhā (see above).
13. (—) Mûnâḥ (see above).
14. (—) 'Illûy or Mûnâḥ superior.
15. (—) Ṭarḥā (under the tone-syllable, and thus easily distinguished from No. 9).
16. (—) Galgal or Yèrah (see above).
17. (—) Mēhuppākh or Mahpākh (see above).
18. (—) 'Azlā (see above).
19. (—) Šalšëleth qeṭannā (Little Šalšëleth).

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

[20. (—) Šinnôrîth, see above under No. 7.]

REMARKS ON THE ACCENTS.

I. As Signs of the Tone.

1. As in Greek and English (comp. εἰμί and εἶμι, *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. בָּנִי *baní* (they built), בָּנִי *bánu* (in us); קָמָה *qáma* (she stood up), קָמָה *qamá* (standing up, *fem.*).

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 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 Paššā (see above, I. 8 a, note); e.g. בָּנִי *baní* Gen. 19, 4; so the prepositive sign in cases like וַיְהִי *vayihí* Gen. 8, 13.

II. As Signs of Punctuation.

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

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 *Maqqêph* is added (§ 16. 1).

5. The consecution of the several accents (especially the correspondence of 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 Books ד'תא, the *Rêbhîa'* *mugrâš* before *Sillûq*, and the *Dêhî* before *'Athnâh*, must be changed into conjunctives, unless at least two toneless syllables precede the principal disjunctive. For this purpose *S'wâ mobile* after *Qameš*, *Sere*, or *Ĥolem* (with *Metheg*) is to be regarded as forming a syllable. After *'Ôlè w'eyôred* the *'Athnâh* does not necessarily act as pausal (comp. Delitzsch on Ps. 45, 6). In the corrupt condition of our common texts, the system of accents can only be studied with the help of such correct editions as those of Baer.

6. A double accentuation occurs in Gen. 35, 22, from וישכב onward (where the later accentuation aims at uniting verses 22 and 23 into one); and in the Decalogue, Ex. 20, 2 sqq.; Deut. 5, 6 sqq. The later accentuation which closes the first verse with ענדים (instead of פני) is adopted here also simply for the purposes of public reading, in order to reduce the original twelve verses to ten, the number of the Commandments; Geiger, *Urschrift u. Übersetzungen der Bibel*, p. 373.

§ 16. *Of Maqqēph and Mèthëg.*

a These are both closely connected with the accents.

1. Maqqēph (מַקְּפָה 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 to be regarded as one, and therefore have only one accent. Two, three, or even four words may be connected in this way, e.g. כָּל-אָדָם *every man*, אֶת-כָּל-עֵשֶׂב *every herb*, Gen. 1, 29, אֶת-כָּל-אֲשֶׁר-לוֹ *all that he had*, Gen. 25, 5.

b Certain monosyllabic prepositions and conjunctions, such as אֶל- *to*, עַד- *until*, עַל- *upon*, עִם- *with*, אֶל- *ne*, אִם- *if, whether*, מִן- *from*, כִּי- *lest*, are almost always found with a following Maqqēph, provided they have not become independent forms by being combined with prefixes, e.g. מֵעַל, מֵעַם, in which case Maqqēph as a rule does not follow. Occasionally Maqqēph is replaced by a conjunctive accent (see above, § 9. 12, Rem. 1. *c*), as, according to the Masora, in Deut. 27, 9. 2 Sam. 20, 23. Jer. 25, 30. 29, 25. Eccl. 9, 4 in the case of אֶל-כָּל; Ps. 47, 5. 60, 2. Prov. 3, 12 in the case of אֶת-, the objective particle. Longer words are however connected by Maqqēph with a following monosyllable, e.g. הַתְּהַלְּקֵנִי Gen. 6, 9. וַיְהִי-כֵן Gen. 1, 7, also two words of more than one syllable, e.g. שִׁבְעָה-עָשָׂר *seventeen*, Gen. 7, 11. Comp. the Greek proclitics ἐν, ἐκ, ἐκ, ἐι, ὦς, οὐ, which as ἄτονα lean on the following word.

c 2. Mèthëg (מֶתְּגָה 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 the other names of *Mèthëg*, *Mā'arikh*, i.e. *lengthener*, or *Gā'yā*, i.e. *raising* of the voice; and even *Great Gā'yā* with long vowels, elsewhere *Little Gā'yā*¹.

d Further it is to be distinguished into: 1. The *light Mèthëg*. This is divided again into (*a*) the ordinary Mèthëg of the counter-tone, as a rule on the second (open) syllable before the tone, e.g. הָאָדָם (comp. also such cases as הַיָּצֵר); but also in the third when the second is closed, e.g. הָאָרְבָּעִים (also in such cases as

¹ Comp. as the source of this article on *Mèthëg*, the exhaustive statement by S. Baer upon the 'Mèthëg-Setzung nach ihren überlieferten Gesetzen,' in A. Merx's *Archiv für die wissenschaftl. Erforschung des A. Test.*, Halle, 1867, Heft i. p. 56 sqq., and 1868, Heft ii. p. 194 sqq.; Baer and Strack, *Dikduke ha-ʿamim*, p. 30 sqq.

עֲבֹר־הַמֶּלֶךְ), and when the third is not suitable for it, even on 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. שָׁבַעְתִּיכֶם. 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. בְּנִי־יִשְׂרָאֵל, on the other hand רִשְׁפֵי־קִשְׁתָּא (לא־אֶהְיֶה, or to a word beginning with an initial Š^{wā} before the tone-syllable, e. g. מִירְלָךְ, שְׁלֹמֹה־בְנִי, &c.; the object is to prevent the Š^{wā} becoming *quiescent*.

The ordinary *light Mèthëg* never stands with a moveable ו *copulative*, consequently we do not find וּבְנִים, &c. (nor even וּבְנִי, &c., contrary to *b*, *a*; but וְזֶה, &c., according to *b*, *δ*, comp. § 10. 2, Rem.).

(*b*) The *firm or indispensable Mèthëg*. (*α*) With all long vowels (except in certain cases, ו *copulative*, see above), which are followed by a Š^{wā} *mobile* preceding the tone-syllable, e. g. קִטְלָה, יִרְאוּ, יִשְׁנוּ, &c. (*β*) To emphasize a long vowel immediately before Maqqēph, e. g. נִשְׁתַּלֵּי Gen. 4, 25 (not *šl-lî*); hence also with פֶּלֶל Ps. 138, 2, and אֶת־ Job 41, 26 (for פֶּלֶל and אֶת־; cf. also מֵאֶת־ Jos. 15, 18 al.). (*γ*) With Šere, which has become toneless through retraction of the tone, in order to prevent its being pronounced as *S^{ghl}*, e. g. אֶהְיֶה־רֵעִיתָ Prov. 12, 1 (not *šhšbh*). (*δ*) With all vowels before composite Š^{wā}, e. g. יַעֲמֹד, צִעֲקִים, &c., except when the following consonant is doubled, e. g. יִקְבְּנוּ Is. 62, 2, because the sharpening by *Dageš* excludes the retarding of the vowel by *Mèthëg*; so in the cases discussed in § 28. 3, where instead of a *Ḥateph* a short vowel has arisen, as יַעֲמֹדוּ, &c. (*ε*) In the initial syllable of all forms of הֵיָה *to be*, and הָיָה *to live*, to emphasize more sharply the Š^{wā} *quiescens* when it stands under the ה or ח, e. g. יִהְיֶה, תִּהְיֶה (*yih-yè, tih-yè*), &c., comp. § 63, Rem. 5. (*ζ*) With the *Qameš* of the plural forms of בַּיִת *house* (thus בַּתִּים *bâtîm*, comp. § 96 under בַּיִת), and with אֲנִי ¹ *prithē!* to guard against the pronunciation *böttîm, önnā*. Every kind of *light Mèthëg* may in certain circumstances be changed into a conjunctive accent, e. g. בְּתִים 2 Chr. 34, 11, and elsewhere.

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^{wā}: (*a*) with the *Pathaḥ* of the article or of the prefixes ב, כ, ל, when followed by Š^{wā} under a consonant without *Dageš*, e. g. הַמֶּלֶךְ, לְמִסְלָה, &c., but not before י (before which י also remains without *Mèthëg*, with the exception of וְיָהִי and וְיָהִי, when they are followed by *Maqqēph*, or accented with *Paš(ā)*, nor before the tone-syllable of a word, and neither *before* nor *after* the common *Mèthëg*; likewise not in words which are connected by a conjunctive accent with the following word; (*b*) with the interrogative הַ with *Pathaḥ* (except when it precedes י, *Dageš forte* or the tone-syllable of the word), e. g.

¹ The common form is אֲנִי, or even with an accent on both syllables, in which case, according to *Qimḥi*, the tone is always to be placed on the former. For the above mode of writing and position of the tone comp. Is. 38, 3. Jon. 1, 14. 4, 2. Ps. 116, 4.

הַאֵלֶּה. When a Š^w follows the ה and after the Š^w there is an untoned syllable, the *Mèthēg* stands to the right of the *Pathah*, e. g. הַבְּרָכָה Gen. 27, 38. The Š^w-*Ga'yā* (ֿ) is especially important in the accentuation of the Poetical Books, for purposes of musical recitation; it stands chiefly in words whose principal tone is marked by a disjunctive without a preceding conjunctive, e. g. וְהָיָה Ps. 1, 3.

h 3. The *euphonic Ga'yā*, for the distinct pronunciation of those consonants which in consequence of the loss of the tone might easily be neglected, e. g. וַיִּשָּׁבַע לוֹ Gen. 24, 9; פָּרְנָה אָרָם (here to avoid an hiatus) 28, 2, or in such cases as רַחֲמֵי־אֱלֹהִים Job 33, 4, &c.

i *Mèthēg* (especially in the cases mentioned in 1. b, a) gives an indication of the correct pronunciation, since it distinguishes *ā* from *ō*, and *ī* from *ī*; e. g. אֵכְלָה 'ā-kh'ā (she has eaten), but אֵכְלָה 'ōkhlā (food), since the (ֿ) stands here in a toneless closed syllable, and must therefore be a short vowel; thus also יִרְאוּ יְיָ (they fear), but יִרְאוּ יִרְאוּ (they see), יִשְׁנוּ (they slept), but יִשְׁנוּ (they repeat). The Jewish grammarians however do not consider the syllables lengthened by *Mèthēg* as open. They regard the Š^w as *quiescent* in cases like אֵכְלָה, and belonging to the preceding syllable (comp. Baer, *Thorat 'Emeth*, p. 9, and in Merx's *Archiv*, i. p. 60, Rem. 1, and especially *Dikduke ha-ḥ'amim*, p. 13); although, as König rightly maintains, the absence of Dageš in the consonant which follows Š^w (as e. g. בְּתִבְּהָ) is opposed to this.

§ 17. *Of the Q^{rē} and K^{ethibh}.*

α 1. The margin of Biblical MSS. and editions exhibits various readings of an early date (§ 3. 2), called קְרִי¹ *to be read*, since, according to the opinion of the Jewish critics, they are to be preferred to the כְּתִיב, i. e. what is *written* in the text, and are to be read instead of it.

On this account the vowels of the marginal reading (the *Q^{rē}*) are placed under the consonants of the text, and in order to understand both readings properly, the vowels in the text must be attached to the marginal reading, while for the reading of the text (the *K^{ethibh}*) its own vowels are to be used. Thus in Jer. 42, 6 אָנֹכִי occurs in the text, in the margin קְרִי אָנֹכִי. Read אָנֹכִי *we* (or according to Jewish tradition אָנֹכִי) in the text, in the margin אָנֹכִי. A small circle or asterisk over a word in the text always refers to the marginal reading.

¹ On the necessity of the punctuation קְרִי (instead of קְרִי *Q^{rē}*, formerly common, and used in earlier editions of this Grammar), comp. Kautzsch, *Gramm. des Bibl.-Aram.*, p. 81, note.

2. Words or consonants which are to be passed over in reading, and are therefore left unpointed, are called קְרִי וְלֹא כְתִיב (*scripta et non legenda*), e.g. אַתְּ Jer. 38, 16; אַם 39, 12; יִרְדּוּ 51, 3. Conversely, words not preserved in the text, but required by the Masora (as indicated by the insertion of their vowels), are called קְרִי וְלֹא כְתִיב, e.g. 2 Sam. 8, 3. Jer. 31, 38. See further Strack, *Prolegomena Critica*, p. 85; *Diqduqe ha-š'amim*, §§ 62, 64; Blau, *Masoretische Untersuchungen*, p. 49 sqq.

3. In the case of some very common words, which are *always* to be read otherwise than according to the *Kethîbh*, it has not been considered necessary to place the *Qerê* in the margin, but its vowels are simply attached to the word in the text. The instances in which this *Qerê perpetuum* occurs, are הוּא (Q. הוּא) in the Pentateuch wherever הוא stands for the feminine (§ 32, Rem. 6); נַעַר (Kethîbh נַעַר, Qerê נַעֲרָה) always in the Hebrew (*not* in the Samaritan) Pentateuch, except Deut. 22, 19. The ordinary explanation, on the analogy of Greek ὁ παῖς and ἡ παῖς, our *child*, is inadequate, since there is no trace elsewhere of this epicene use; cf. § 2. 5, Rem. Other instances are: יִשְׁבֵּר (Q. יִשְׁבֵּר) Gen. 30, 18 &c., comp. Ges. *Lexicon*, and Baer and Delitzsch, *Genesis*, p. 84, and below, note to § 47. 2; יְרֻשָׁלַם (Q. יְרֻשָׁלַיִם), properly יְרֻשָׁלַיִם; יְהוָה (Q. יְהוָה the Lord), or (after יְהוָה (Q. יְהוָה), properly יְהוָה *Yahwè* (comp. § 102. 2, Rem.); perhaps also שְׁתִּי, שְׁתִּי for שְׁתִּי, שְׁתִּי, comp. § 97. 2.

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*¹ may take place between consonants which are either *homorganic* or *homogeneous* (comp. § 6. *q*), e. g. עָלִין, עָלָם, עָלוּ *to exult*, לָאָה, לָהָה, Aram. לָעָא *to labour*, לָחִין and נָחִין *to press*, קָנַר and קָבַר *to close*, מָלַט and פָּלַט *to escape*. In process of time, and partly under the influence of Aramaic, the harder and rougher sounds were changed into the softer, e. g. צָחַק into שָׁחַק *to laugh*, נָעַל into נָאָל *to reject*, and the sibilants into the corresponding mutes: ך 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.

¹ Cf. Barth, *Etymologische Forschungen*, Lpz. 1893, p. 15 sqq. ('Lautverschiebungen').

The interchange of consonants, however, belongs rather to the lexicographical treatment of roots¹ than to grammatical inflexion. To the latter belong (a) the interchange of מ and ט in *Hithpa'el* (§ 54. 2); (b) of ו and י in verbs *primae Yôd* (§ 69), ילר for ולר, &c.

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 double sound, as *illustris* for *inlustris*, *affero* for *adfero*, συλλαμβάνω for συλλαμβάνω. In Hebrew this occurs,

(a) most frequently with מ, e.g. מִשָּׁם (for *min-šām*) from there, מִזֶּה (for *min-zè*) from this, יָתַן (for *yintēn*) he gives. מ is not assimilated after the prefix ל, e.g. לִמְנָה, nor as a rule before gutturals (except sometimes before מ), nor when it is the third consonant of the stem, e.g. מִשְׁבָּחַת (comp. however מִשְׁבָּחַת for *nāthántā*), except when another *Nun* follows, comp. § 44, Rem. 6; nor in some isolated cases, as Deut. 33, 9. Is. 29, 1. 58, 3, all in the principal pause; on מְנַדֵּם and מְנַדֵּם Ps. 68, 3, cf. § 51, Rem. 1, and § 66, Rem. 1.

(b) Less frequently and only in special cases with ל, מ, נ, e.g. יָלַקַח (for *yilqah*) he takes; מְנַדֵּם for מְנַדֵּם; מְנַדֵּם for 'ahadt.

(c) In isolated cases with ה, ו, י, e.g. מְנַדֵּם *prilhee!* from מְנַדֵּם; 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* appears in the following consonant. *Dageš*, however, is omitted when the doubled consonant would stand at the end of the word, since the doubling would then be inaudible (§ 20. 3 a), e.g. מְנַדֵּם *nose* (from 'anp), מְנַדֵּם *to give* (from *tinl*).

The cases are less frequent where a following weaker sound is lost in pronunciation², and in place of it the stronger sound preceding is sharpened, i. e. takes *Dageš*, e.g. מְנַדֵּם from מְנַדֵּם (§ 59, Rem. 3). מְנַדֵּם for מְנַדֵּם (§ 66. 2) is an Aramaism.

3. Complete *rejection* takes place only in the case of weaker consonants, especially the liquids מ and ל, the aspirates א and ה, and the two half vowels ו and י. Rejection takes place,

(a) at the beginning of a word (*aphaeresis*), when these weak consonants (א, ו, ל, מ) are not supported by a full vowel, but have

¹ See in the *Lexicon*, the preliminary remarks on the several consonants.

² The German grammarians inaccurately call such a suppression of a sound 'Rückwärts-Assimilation.'

only Šewâ, e.g. נָהַנּוּ *we*, also נָהַנּוּ; וְרַע for רָע; לָקַח for קָח; נָשׂוּ for נָשׂוּ, נָהַי for נָהַי Ezek. 2, 10.

i Aphaeresis of a weak consonant with a full vowel perhaps occurs in נָרָד Jud. 19, 11 for נָרָד; in נָתַתָּה 2 Sam. 22, 41 for נָתַתָּה; in נָשׁוּב for נָשׁוּב Jer. 42. 10; on קָח Ezek. 17, 5 for לָקַח, and in לָקַח Hos. 11, 3 for לָקַח, see § 66, Rem. 2 ad fin. In reality, however, these forms are to be regarded rather as old textual errors.

k (*b*) In the middle of a word (*syncope*), when Šewâ precedes the weak consonant¹; thus in the case of א (see further § 23. 2, 3, and § 68, Rem. 1, 2), e.g. in מוֹם for מוֹאֵם. As a rule in such cases, however, the א is orthographically retained, e.g. לְקַרְאֵת for לְקַרְאֵת. Syncope occurs frequently in the case of ה, e.g. לְהַמְלִיךָ for לְהַמְלִיךָ (§ 23. 4 and § 35, Rem. 2), יְהַקְטִיל for יְהַקְטִיל (§ 53, 1).

Syncope of א with Šewâ occurs in such cases as בְּאַרְנֵי for בְּאַרְנֵי (comp. § 102. 2 *d*, Rem.)²; וְאַעֲשֶׂה Zech. 11, 5. On the cases where א is wholly omitted after the article, see § 35. 2, 1 Rem.

Finally, the elision of ו and י in verbs לֵ"ה (§ 75. 3) is an instance of syncope. On the syncope of ה between two vowels, comp. § 23. 4 *b*.

l (*c*) At the end of a word (*apocope*), e.g. גִּלְוָה pr. name of a city (comp. גִּילְוֵי Gilonite); וַיִּרְאֵה, where א really rejected is orthographically retained, &c. On the apocope of ו and י in verbs לֵ"ה, see § 24. 2, Rem. and § 75.

Bolder changes, (especially the apocope of strong consonants,) were made in earlier periods of the language. For instance, especially the weakening of the feminine ending תֵּ— *āth* to הֵ— *ā*, see § 44. 1 and § 80. 1.

m 4. To avoid harshness in pronunciation a helping sound, Aleph prosthetic³ with its vowel, is prefixed to some words, e.g. אֶרְוֹעַ and אֶרְוֹעַ *arm* (comp. χθές, ἐχθές; *spiritus*, French *esprit*).

n 5. *Transposition*⁴ seldom occurs in the grammar, e.g. הַשְׁתַּמֵּר for

¹ Syncope of a strong consonant (ע) occurs in בִּי *prithē!* if this stands for בְּעֵי (see *Lexicon*), also in וּנְשָׁקָה Am. 8, 8, *K^eththb* for וּנְשָׁקָה (comp. וּנְשָׁקָה 9, 5), and in בְּלָה Jos. 19, 3 for בְּעָלָה (as in 15, 29). Probably however וּנְשָׁקָה and בְּלָה are only clerical errors, as is undoubtedly בָּאֵר Am. 8, 8 for בִּיאֵר (9, 5).

² Frensdorff, *Ochla W'ochla*, p. 97 sq., gives a list of forty-eight words with quiescent א.

³ This term is at any rate as suitable as the name *Aleph prostheticum* proposed by Nestle, *Marginalien u. Materialien*, Tübingen, 1893, p. 67 sqq.

⁴ Cf. Barth, *Etymologische Studien*, Lpz. 1893, p. 1 sqq.; Königsberger, in *Zeitschrift f. wissenschaftliche Theologie*, 1894, p. 451 sqq.

הַשְׁמֵר (§ 54. 2) for the sake of euphony; it is more frequent in the lexicon (שֶׁבֶט and שֶׁבֶב *lamb*, שִׁמְלָה and שִׁלְמָה *garment*), but is mostly confined to sibilants and liquids.

6. *Softening* occurs e.g. in כּוֹבֵב *star*, from *kaukabh* = *kawkabh* or for *kabhhkabh* (comp. Syriac *raurab* = *rabrab*); מִטְּפוֹת *phylacteries* for *taphṭāphōth*; according to the common opinion, also in אִישׁ *man* from *'ins*, comp. however § 96.

§ 20. The Doubling (strengthening and sharpening) of Consonants.

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

(a) when the same consonant would be written twice in succession without an intermediate vowel or *Šwā mobile*; thus we have נָתַנּוּ for נָתַן נָתַן *nāthän-nū* and שִׁתִּי for שִׁתִּי שִׁתִּי;

(b) in cases of assimilation (§ 19. 2), 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*, לָמַד *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. 3), e.g. מַלְמִים *camels* for *g'mālīm*; cf. § 93. 2, Rem. 1 and Rem. 2 ad fin.; § 93. 3, Rem. 1.

This coalescing of two consonants does not take place when the first has a vowel or *Šwā mobile*. In the latter case, according to the correct Masora, it should be written with a *compound Šwā* preceded by *Methög*, e.g. הוֹלְלִים, קַלְלִים, &c. (comp. § 16). This pointing is not found before the suffix ך, e.g. הַבְּרִכָּה Gen. 27, 4, although the first כ has a *vocal Šwā*, otherwise the second כ would have *Dageš lenē*. Also when the former of the two consonants has been already doubled by *Dageš forte*, since as it must have at least a *vocal Šwā*, any further contraction is impossible. This applies also to cases where *Dageš forte* has been omitted (see below 3. b), e.g. הַלְלִי properly הַלְלִי = *hal-lā*. The form הַנְּנִי Ps. 9, 14 (not הַנְּנִי) might be explained as imperat. Pi'el = *hannē*; in the imperat. *Qal* the non-contraction of the monosyllabic root would be as strange as it is in שִׁרְדוּ Jer. 49, 28, and in the imperf. יִשְׂרְדוּ Jer. 5, 6.

2. A consonant is sometimes doubled merely for the sake of *euphony* (*Dageš euphonicum*), and the doubling is then not so essential. This occurs¹—

¹ Comp. Baer, 'De primarum vocabulorum literarum dagessatione,' in his

(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 on the first syllable¹, which is preceded by a word closely connected with it by *Maqqēph*, and ending in a tone-bearing ה־ with *Šwá mobile* preceding (except when ה־ is the ending of the 3rd masc. sing. perf. of a verb ה'ל), or tone-bearing ה־, the ה־י (i.e. *compressed*) of the Jewish grammarians.

Some limit the use of the *Dhíq* to the closest union of a monosyllable with a following *B'gadh'phath*. However, it also applies to cases like לְכֹהֵנָה Num. 22, 6; לְקַחְהָ זֹאת Gen. 2, 23; יַעֲנֶה לָךְ Ps. 91, 11; and even in רָעַל מִעֲנֵה רָעָה Prov. 15, 1; וְאַמְשַׁנֶּה-בְּסוֹף Gen. 43, 15. 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 the short words וְזֶה *this*, and מָה (properly מַה) *what?* have *Maqqēph* after them, 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 וְזֶה-שָׂמוֹ Jer. 23, 6 (where שָׂמוֹ is counted as *one* syllable), but also in מַה-פָּרַצְתָּ Gen. 38, 29, comp. 28, 17. 31, 36. 44, 16; וְזֶה-פָּרַחְתָּהּ Num. 13, 27. 1 Chr. 22, 1. In הִנֵּה נָאֵר Gen. 19, 2 (where *Maqqēph* is represented by a conjunctive accent, § 9. 12, Rem. 1. c, and § 16. 1, Rem.), the *S'ghól* belongs to the secondary-tone syllable.

e 2. Such cases as נָאֵה נָאֵה Ex. 15, 1. 21; כְּמִכָּה ver. 11, and perhaps also בְּאֵלֶם בְּאֵלֶת ver. 13, בְּאֵבֶן ver. 16, do not belong here. In these the *Dageš* can only be intended for *Dag. lenē*, see § 21. 1, Rem. 2.

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 ה־ or ה־. Such a *mil'el* is called by the Jewish grammarians מְרַחֵק אֲתֵי מֵרַחֵק *veniens e longinquo* (in respect of the tone). The attraction of the following tone-syllable by *Dageš forte conj.* is for the sake of rhythm, e.g. שְׁבִיתָ שְׁבִיתָ Ps. 68, 19; הֲרַחֵבְהָ שְׂאוֹל Is. 5, 14; עָשָׂה פָּרִי Gen. 1, 11; אֲרָצָה בְּנֵעַן 11, 31; הֲשַׁבְּעָה לִּי 21, 23. The prefixes כִּי, כִּי, לִי and וְ alone do not take a *Dageš* in this case, except in לָךְ, which has always *Dageš*, and לְלִילָה Ps. 19, 3. Such forms as מְלֻאָה Ps. 26, 10; וְנִחַמְתָּהּ פִּנִּי Job 21, 16; and even נִעְמְדָה יַחַד Is. 50, 8,

Introduction to *Liber Proverbiorum*, Lpz. 1880, pp. vii-xv; F. Praetorius, 'Über den Ursprung des Dag. f. conjunctivum,' in *ZAW.* 1883, p. 17 sqq.

¹ לְאֵמֹר alone, although having the tone on the ultima, invariably retains the *Dageš forte conj.* when מִשָּׁה with a conjunctive accent precedes, Ex. 6, 10. 29. 15, 24, &c.

i. e. the cases where the accent of the ultima is thrown back on the syllable which otherwise would have *Metheg*, are likewise regarded as *mit'él*. On the other hand, e. g. תָּרָה לָךְ Gen. 4, 6, not לָךְ since the first *ā* of תָּרָה could not have *Metheg*. The Imperfects and Participles of verbs ל'ה are, however, exceptions. When words are closely united by *Maqqēph* the same rules apply as above, except that in the first word *Metheg*, as a secondary tone, appears instead of the accent, comp. עֲשֵׂה-פָרִי Gen. 1, 12; הַגִּידָה-נָא Gen. 32, 30, and elsewhere. Finally, the *Dageš* is used when the attracted word does not begin with the principal accent, but with a syllable having *Metheg*, הַמָּה יִירָשִׁי Ps. 37, 9; אֲלֶהָ יַעֲקֹב Is. 44, 21; עֲשִׂיתָ קַעֲרֹתַי Ex. 25, 29, provided that the second word does not begin with a *B'gadk'phath* letter (comp. e. g. תּוֹלְדוֹת אֲלֶהָ Gen. 2, 4).

Rem. Such cases as קָנָךְ Deut. 32, 6, and כְּשִׁיתָ 32, 15, and נְעוֹת (so *g* Baer, but not ed. Mant., &c.) 1 Sam. 1, 13 are therefore anomalous; also, because beginning with a *B'gadk'phath*, בְּאֵלֶם Ex. 15, 11 (comp. however above, Rem. 2); הָלַל Jos. 8, 28; בְּזִרְוֹעַ Ps. 77, 16; בְּנִהִיא Job 5, 27. It is doubtful whether we should include here those cases in which *Dageš forte* occurs after a word ending in a toneless *ā*, such as קָיְמוּ צְאוּ Gen. 19, 14; comp. Ex. 12, 31; Ex. 12, 15 (שָׂאֵר). Deut. 2, 24; also לֹא Gen. 19, 2. 1 Sam. 8, 19; לוֹ Judg. 18, 19. Esth. 6, 13; מָעַט Hos. 8, 10; נָרַו Jer. 49, 30; רָרַו 1 Sam. 15, 6. When we explained the *Dageš* in these examples not as conjunctive, but orthophonic (see above, § 13. 2, Rem., and Delitzsch, *Psalms*, 4th ed. on Ps. 94, 12 a), we especially referred to those cases in which the consonant with *Dageš* has a *Š'wā*. The extension of the use of *Dageš* to consonants with a strong vowel, seems however to indicate that these are cases of the מְרַחֵק, which was required by some Masoretes but not consistently inserted. On the other hand, the *Dageš forte* in י after a preceding *i* (Ps. 118, 5. 18), and even after *ā* (Ps. 94, 12), is to be explained as an attempt to preserve its consonantal power by sharpening; see König, *Lehrgeb.* p. 54, b.

(b) When a consonant with *Š'wā* is sharpened by *Dageš forte* *h* *dirimens* to make the *Š'wā* more audible. In almost all cases the sharpening can be easily explained from the character of the consonant itself, which is almost always a Liquid, Sibilant or the emphatic *Qóph*; comp. עֲנִי Lev. 25, 5. Deut. 32, 32 (for עֲנִי); בְּנִלְתָךְ Is. 33, 1 (where, however, בְּבִלְוֹתָךְ is to be read); comp. Nah. 3, 17. Job 9, 18. 17, 2. Joel 1, 17 (with מ); Is. 57, 6 (with ל); Judg. 20, 43¹. 1 Sam. 1, 6 (with ר); Gen. 49, 10. 17 (and so always in עֲקִבִי Judg. 5, 22. Song 1, 8

¹ The ordinary reading הַרְרִיפָהוּ, where ר is without *Dageš*, assumes the ר to have *Dageš*.

and עִקְבוֹת Ps. 77, 20. 89, 52); Ex. 15, 17. Deut. 23, 11. Judg. 20, 32. 1 Sam. 28, 10 (ק); Ex. 2, 3. Is. 58, 3. Am. 5, 21. Ps. 141, 3. Prov. 4, 13. 15, 13 (צ); Prov. 27, 25 (שׁ); Is. 5, 28. Ps. 37, 15. Jer. 51, 56. Neh. 4, 7 (שׁ). Moreover, with כ Hos. 3, 2; with כ Is. 9, 3. Jer. 4, 7; with ח 1 Sam. 10, 11. In many instances of this kind the influence of the following consonant is also observable.

i (c) When a vowel is to be made more emphatic, especially in the principal *pause*, by a *Dageš forte affectuosum* in the following consonant. Thus in a following Liquid, Judg. 5, 7 (חֲרָלִי); Job 29, 21 (וַיַּחֲלִי); 22, 12 (רַמְזִי); Ezek. 27, 19 (in נ); in ח Is. 33, 12. 41, 17. Jer. 51, 58, perhaps also Job 21, 13 (יַחֲרִיעַ).

k (d) When a Liquid is doubled by *Dageš forte firmativum* in the pronouns הַמָּוֶה, הַהֲנֶה, הַאֲלֶה, and in לָמָּה *why?* cf. also בַּמָּה, בַּמָּה *whereby?* בַּמָּה *how much?* (§ 102. 2 d), to give greater firmness to the preceding tone-vowel.

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

(a) *almost always* at the end of a word, since here a double consonant cannot easily be pronounced¹. In such cases the preceding vowel is frequently lengthened (§ 27. 2 b), e. g. רַב *multitude*, from רַבב; עַם *people*, with a distinctive accent and after the article עַם, from עַמם; but e. g. גַּן *garden*, בַּת *daughter*, with the final consonant sharpened. On the exceptions תָּא *thou* (fem.) and נָתַתָּ *thou hast given* Ezek. 16, 33, comp. § 10. 3, Rem.

m (b) Very frequently in certain consonants with *Šwā mobile*, since the absence of a strong vowel causes the doubling to be less audible. This occurs principally in the case of ו and י (on ו and י after the article, see § 35. 1, Rem.; on ו after מַה, § 37. 1, Rem.), and in the liquids מ², נ and ל, less frequently in the sibilants, and this chiefly when a guttural follows; (comp., however, Is. 62, 2, מְאֻסְפִּי, as ed. Mant. correctly reads, while Baer has מְאֻסִּי with compensatory

¹ 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 the Old High German), e. g. *val* (*Fall*), gen. *valles*; *swam* (*Schwamm*), &c., Grimm, *Deutsche Gramm.*, 2nd ed., i. 383.

² *Dageš forte* is almost always omitted in ו when it is the prefix of the participle, hence Ps. 104, 3 הַמְקַרֵּה *who layeth the beams*, but הַמְקַרֵּה *the roof* Eccles. 10, 18 (comp. הַמְלַאכָה *the work*, &c.).

lengthening, and others even מִשְׁמַנִּי ; מִאֲסִי Gen. 27, 28. 39; 38, 24 מְשַׁלֵּשׁ for מִשְׁשׁ הַשְּׁלֵבִים, I Ki. 7, 28; אֲשַׁקֶּה I Ki. 19, 20 from נִשְׁקַע, הִשְׁפַּתִּים Ezek. 40, 43 and לְשַׁפְּנִים Ps. 104, 18; מִשְׁתִּים Jon. 4, 11, הִצְפַּרְדְּעִים Ex. 8, 1 and elsewhere), and finally in the emphatic ק¹.

Of the *B'gadk'phath* letters, ב occurs without *Dageš* in מְבַצֵּר Judg. 8, 2, ג in מְגַבְּרֵתָם Ezek. 32, 30, ד in נְדָחִי (Is. 11, 12. 56, 8. Ps. 147, 2; *not* in Jer. 49, 36), supposing that it is the Participle Niph'al of נָדַח; lastly, ת in תְּתַצֵּוּ Is. 22, 10. Comp. moreover, הִיָּוֶן and וְכָרוֹן, the *constr. st.* of הִיָּוֶן and וְכָרוֹן, also שְׁנִינֹת the *constr. st. plur.* of שָׁיָו.—Examples, וְיִהִי, עֲוִרִים (so always the preformative י in the *imperf.* of verbs), מְקַלֹּת, יִקְחוּ, יִשְׂאוּ, כִּסְאוֹ, מְלֵאוּ, הִלְלוּ, הִנְנִי, לְקַנְצָח, &c. In correct MSS. the omission of the *Dageš* is indicated by the *Rāphē* stroke (§ 14) over the consonant. Moreover, the preceding short vowel, which would be lengthened in an open syllable, indicates that at least a *virtual* doubling takes place by means of a *Dageš forte implicitum* (see § 22. 1, Rem.).

(c) In the Gutturals, see § 22. 1.

Rem. 1. Contrary to rule the doubling is omitted (especially in the later ¹¹ Books), owing to the lengthening of the preceding short vowel, which is mostly *hireq* (comp. *mīle* for *mille*), e. g. יִחַיְתָן *he makes them afraid*, for יִחַתָּן (Hab. 2, 17, where perhaps however it is more correct to suppose with König, a formation after the analogy of verbs ו'ע, and moreover to read יִחַיְתָךְ with the LXX), וְיִקְוֹת Is. 50, 11 for וְקוֹת.

2. Very doubtful are the instances in which compensation for the doubling ^o is supposed to be made by the insertion of a following נ. Thus for מְעוֹנִיָּה Is. 23, 11, מְעוֹנִיָּה (or מְעוֹנִיָּה) is to be read; and for תִּמְנוֹ Lam. 3, 22, תִּמְנוֹ is the correct reading. קָבְנוֹ Num. 23, 13 is not an instance of compensation (see § 67, Rem. 2 at the end).

§ 21. The Aspiration of the Tenues².

The *harder* sound of the six *B'gadk'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. 3 and § 13). The original hard

¹ According to some also in ט in תִּמְעִי Is. 17, 10; but see Baer on this passage.

² Comp. Delitzsch, *Ztschr. f. luth. Theol. u. Kirche*, 1878, p. 585 sqq.

pronunciation is maintained when the letter is initial, and after a consonant, but when it immediately follows a vowel or *Š'wā mobile* it is softened and aspirated by their influence, e. g. פָּרִיץ *pāraš*, יִפְרוֹץ *yiphros*, כֹּל *kōl*, לְכֹל *l'khōl*. Hence the *B'gadk'phath* take *Dageš lene*,

b (1) at the beginning of words: (a) without exception when the preceding word ends with a vowelless consonant, e. g. עַל־כֵּן *'al-kēn* (therefore), עֵץ פְּרִי *'ēs p'ri* (fruit-tree); (b) at the beginning of a chapter, e. g. בְּרֵאשִׁית Gen. 1, 1, and at the beginning of a sentence, or even of a minor division of a sentence after a distinctive accent (§ 15. 3), although the preceding word may end with a vowel. The distinctive accent in such a case prevents the vowel having an influence on the following tenuis, e. g. וַיְהִי בְּאֲשֶׁר וַיְהִי־כֵן Gen. 1, 7.

c Rem. 1. The vowel letters ה, י, ו, א, as such, naturally do not close a syllable. In close connexion they are therefore followed by the aspirated *B'gadk'phath*, e. g. וּמְצָא כָהֵן, &c. On the other hand, syllables are closed by the consonantal ו and י (exceptions קִרְתָּהּ Is. 34, 11; שָׁלַן עֲבֹה Ezek. 23, 42; and אֲרָנִי Ps. 68, 18), as well as by ה with *Maḥḥaḥ*, hence e. g. there is *Dageš lene* in עֲלֵי פִיהֶם and always after יְהוָה, since the *Qere perpetuum* of this word (§ 17) presupposes the reading אֲרָנִי.

d 2. In a number of cases *Dageš lene* is inserted, although a vowel precedes in close connexion. This almost always occurs in the prefixes בּ and פּ when in the combinations בֶּב, בִּב, בִּפ (i. e. in the *B'gadk'phath* with *Š'wā* before the same or a kindred aspirate) and בַּמ (see Baer, *L. Psalmorum*¹, 1880, p. 92, on Ps. 23, 3); comp. e. g. 1 Sam. 25, 1. Is. 10, 9. Ps. 34, 2. Job 19, 2; כִּנ is uncertain; כֶּב, כִּב, and כֶּפ according to David Qimḥi should remain aspirated, also כִּנ, כֶּב, and כֶּפ according to the *Dikduke ha-š'amim*, p. 30. Sometimes the *B'gadk'phath* letters, even with a full vowel, take *Dageš* before a spirant (and even before ה in בְּחִמְצָה 1 Ki. 12, 32). Here also belong the cases mentioned above, § 20. *e* (mostly *tenuis* before א). In all these cases the object evidently is to prevent too great an accumulation of aspirates. The LXX, on the other hand, almost always represent the כ and פ, even at the beginning of a syllable, by χ and φ; Χερούβ, Χαλδαίοι, Φαφάρ, &c. The forms בְּרִכְבֶּד (after וַיִּשְׁמְתֵי) Is. 54, 12, and בְּלִבֶּל (after וַיִּנְלֵאֵיתִי) Jer. 20, 9 are doubly anomalous.

e (2) In the middle of words after *Š'wā quiescens*, i. e. at the beginning of a syllable immediately after a vowelless consonant²,

¹ Also *L. Proverbiorum*, 1880, Praef. p. ix; and *Dikduke ha-š'amim*, p. 30 (in German in König's *Lehrgeb.* i. p. 62).

² יִקְתָּאֵל Jos. 15, 38 (see *Minḥat shay*, on this passage), 2 Ki. 14, 7, and יִקְרָעֵם Jos. 15, 56 are inexplicable exceptions.

e. g. יִרְפָּא *yirpā* (*he heals*), קָטְלִתֶם *ye have killed*; on the other hand after *Šwā* mobile there is the soft pronunciation, e. g. רָפֵא *r^hphā* (*heal thou*), כְּבֵדָה *she was heavy*.

On קָטְלִתֶם, וַיִּשָּׁב, and similar forms, see § 10. 3.

Whether *Šwā* be vocal and consequently causes the aspiration of a following *tenuis*, depends upon the origin of the respective forms. It is almost always vocal,

(a) When it has arisen from the weakening of a strong vowel, e. g. רָפֵא *pursue ye* (not רָרְפוּ) from רָדַף; מַלְכֵי (not מְלִכֵי), because it is properly *mäläkkē* (but מְלִכֵי from the ground-form *malk*).

(b) With the כ of the pronominal suffixes of the 2nd pers. הָ—, כֶּם—, כֶּן—, since the *Šwā* mobile is characteristic of this form (see § 58. 3 *b*; § 91. 1).

Rem. Forms like שְׁלַחְתְּ *thou (fem.) hast sent*, in which we should expect an aspirated ח after the vowel, were originally שְׁלַחַחְתְּ, &c.; *Pathah* being here simply a helping vowel has no influence on the *tenuis*; comp. § 28. 4.

§ 22. Peculiarities of the Gutturals.

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.

1. They do not admit of *Dages forte*, since, in consequence of a gradual weakening of the pronunciation (see below, note 1), the doubling of the aspirates was hardly audible to the Masoretes. But a distinction must be drawn here between (a) the complete omission of the doubling, and (b) the mere *trace* of the doubling, commonly called *half*, or better, *virtual* doubling.

In the former case, the short vowel before the guttural would stand in an open syllable, and must accordingly be lengthened¹. But a distinction must be again 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 ע, less frequently before ה, and least often before ה—and the half lengthening of *Pathah* into *Sghól*, mostly before a guttural with *Qameṣ*. In the other case (*virtual*

¹ Comp. *terra* and the French *terre*, the German *Rolle* and the French *rôle*; German *drollig* and French *drôle*. The omission of the doubling shows a deterioration of the language. The fresher and more original phonetic system of the Arabic (§ 1. 6) still admits everywhere of the doubling of the gutturals.

doubling) the *Dageš* is omitted, but the doubling is regarded as having taken place, and therefore the preceding vowel remains short. This *virtual* doubling consequently occurs most frequently with ח, usually with ה, less frequently with ע, and very seldom with א. Examples of (a) מַאֵן for *mi"ēn*; הָאָדָם for *ha"ādām*; הָהָר, הָעֵם, יְהִיבֵּה (for *yihhābē*); further אָהָר, אָהָג, אָהָרִים, אָהָעֵנִי (see more fully on the pointing of the article before ע in § 35).—Of (b) מַחֲוֹט, הַחֲרָשׁ (from *minhūṭ*), הַהוּא, נִאֲזִן, בְּעָר, &c.—In all these cases of virtual doubling the *Dageš forte* is to be regarded at least as implied (hence called *Dageš forte implicitum, occultum, or delitescens*).

d · 2. They prefer before them, sometimes also after them, a short A-sound (comp. Rem. 1), because this vowel is organically the nearest akin to the guttural sounds¹.

Hence (a) before a guttural, *Pathah* readily takes the place of another short vowel as well as of a rhythmically long *ē* and *ō*, e.g. חָבַח *sacrifice*, not *zèbèḥ*; שָׁמַע *report*, not *šēmē*. This is more especially so, when *a* was the original vowel of the word, or is otherwise admissible. Thus in the Imper. and Imperf. Qal of guttural verbs, שָׁלַח *send thou*, יִשְׁלַח *he will send* (not *yislōḥ*); Perf. Pi'el שָׁלַח (not *šillēḥ*); יִחְמוֹד *he will desire* (not *yihmōd*); נָעַר *a youth*. In the last three cases *ā* is the original vowel.

e Rem. That *S'ghôl* remains before א in such cases as דָּשָׁא, טָנָא, פָּלָא, בָּרָא, is to be explained from the fact that א here has lost its consonantal value, and is only retained as a vowel letter (see § 23. 1).

f (b) After a heterogeneous long vowel, i. e. after all except *Qames*, the hard gutturals (consequently not א) require, when standing at the end of the word, the insertion of a rapidly uttered *ă* (*Pathah furtive*) between themselves and the vowel. This *Pathah* is placed under the guttural, but sounded before it. It is, therefore, merely an orthographic indication not to neglect the guttural sound in pronunciation, e.g. רוּחַ *rūḥ*, נוּעַ, רַע, הַשְׁלִיחַ, נְבוּחַ (when consonantal ה is final it necessarily takes *Mappiq*). But at the beginning of a syllable, e.g. רוּחִי &c., since here the rapidly uttered *ă* is no longer heard.

¹ Like the gutturals, the A-sound is produced by opening the mouth and directly emitting a breath, while the vowels of the I-class are formed partly by the palate, and those of the U-class by the lips.

I'ach for *ich*, &c., are analogous instances amongst some of the Swiss¹; a *g Pathah furtive* is here involuntarily intruded before the deep guttural sound. In Arabic the same may be heard in such words as *mesīah*, although it is not expressed in writing. The LXX (and Jerome, cf. *ZAW.* iv. 79) write ε, sometimes α, instead of *Pathah furtive*, e. g. נָח Nōε, יָרֵעַ 'Ιεδδοῦα (also 'Ιαδδου).

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

2. Where in the present form of the language *ʿ*, attenuated from *Pathah*, would stand before or after a guttural in the first syllable of a word, a *S^eghôl* as being between *ā* and *ʿ* is frequently used instead, e. g. יְחַבֵּשׁ (also יְחַבֵּשׁ), יְחַבֵּשׁ, עֲמָדָה, נִצְּרָה, חֲבָלִי.

On the other hand, the slighter and sharper *Hireq* is retained even under gutturals when the syllable is sharpened by *Dages forte*, e. g. חֲטָהּ, הֲנִיחַ, הֲלֵל; but when this sharpening falls away, *S^eghôl* is apt to reappear, e. g. הֲנִיחַ constr. חֲנִיחַ, חֲנִיחַ constr. חֲנִיחַ.

3. Instead of *simple Š^ewā mobile*, the gutturals take without exception a *compound Š^ewā*, e. g. שְׁחַטוּ, אֲמַלְטוּ, אֲמַר, אֲחַלְמוּ, &c.

4. When a guttural with *quiescent Š^ewā* happens to close a syllable in the middle of a word, the strong closed syllable (with *quiescent Š^ewā*) can remain, especially with *ח* and *ע* at the end of the tone syllable, e. g. שְׁלַחְתָּ, יִרְעָתָ, but also before the tone (see examples under No. 2, Rem. 2), and similarly with *ה* and *א*.

But in the syllable before the tone and further back, the closed syllable is generally opened artificially, by a *Hateph* taking the place of a *quiescent Š^ewā* (owing to the nature of the gutturals), and especially the *Hateph* which repeats the sound of the preceding vowel, e. g. יְחַשְׁבֵּ (also יְחַשְׁבֵּ); יְחַנֵּק (also יְחַנֵּק); פֶּעַל (for פֶּעַל). But when, owing to a flexional change, the strong vowel following the *Hateph* is weakened into *Š^ewā mobile*, then instead of *Hateph* its vowel alone is written, e. g. יְעַמְדוּ (from יְעַמְדוּ), נִעְרְמוּ, פֶּעַל (from פֶּעַל). The original forms, according to § 28. 3, were *ya'm'dhā*, *ne'r mā*, *ṭō'kkhā*. Hence יְעַמְדוּ, &c., are really only different orthographic forms of יְעַמְדוּ, &c., and would be better transcribed by *ya'm'dhā*, &c.

Rem. 1. The grammarians call *simple Š^ewā* under the gutturals *hard* (חֲדָשׁ), and the *compound Š^ewā* they call *soft* (רַחֵם). See further in the observations on verbs with gutturals, §§ 62-65.

[¹ Comp. also our use of a furtive *e* before *r* after *ē*, *i*, *ū* and *ou*, e. g. *here* (pronounced *hē'r*), *fire* (*fī'r*), *pure* (*pū'r*), and *our* (*ou'r*).—G. W. C.]

o 2. Respecting the choice between the three *compound Šwās*, it may be remarked, (a) ח, ה, ע at the beginning of a syllable prefer --- , but א prefers --- , e. g. חָמוֹר *ass*, הָרַג *to kill*, אָמַר *to say*; when however the tone syllable is moved further forward, the --- under א changes into the lighter --- , e. g. אָלִי (poetic for אֶל־) *to*, but אֶלְיָכֶם *to you*, אָכַל *to eat*, but אֶכְלֶה (^a*khl*, toneless on account of Maqqēph). Comp. § 27, Rem. 5. Likewise --- is naturally found under א in cases where the *Haṭēph* arises from a weakening of an original *ā* (e. g. אַרְי *lion*, ground-form 'ary), and --- if there be a weakening of an original *u* (e. g. אַנְי *a fleet*, אַנְי *affliction*, comp. § 93, Rem. 3 and 6. c).

p (b) In the middle of a word after a long vowel, a *Haṭēph-Pathah* occurs instead of a *simple Šwā mobile*, e. g. מְאַנְהָ, הַעֲלֶהָ (see § 63, Rem. 4); but if a short vowel precedes, the choice of the *Haṭēph* is regulated by it, e. g. *Perf. Hiph.* הַעֲמִיר (see above, No. 2, Rem. 2), *Infin.* הַעֲמִיר (after the form הַקְטִיל); *Perf. Hoph.* הַעֲמִיר (after הַקְטִל); but cf. שָׁחַדוּ Job 6, 22 (§ 64. 1).

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

(a) The exclusion of the doubling, to compensate for which the preceding vowel is almost always lengthened, e. g. בִּרְךָ *he has blessed* for *birrakh*, בָּרַךְ *to bless* for *barrēkh*.

r (b) The preference for *ā* as a preceding vowel, e. g. וַיֵּרָא *and he saw* (from יֵרָאֵה); וַיָּסַר for וַיִּסַּר *and he turned back*, also for וַיִּסַּר *and he caused to turn back*.

s The exceptions to letter *a* are מְרַת *mōrrāth*, Prov. 14, 10; כְּרַת *khōrrāth* and שְׂרַת *šōrrāth*, Ezek. 16, 4 (comp. Prov. 3, 8); שְׂרַאשִׁי Song 5, 2; הַרְעִמָּהוּ 1 Sam. 1, 6; הַרְאִיתָם 1 Sam. 10, 24. 17, 25. 2 Ki. 6, 32; הַרְדִּיפָהוּ Jud. 20, 43 (cf. § 20. 2 b); מְרַדָּהוּ 1 Sam. 23, 28. 2 Sam. 18, 16; also on account of רַחִיק (§ 20. c) Jer. 22, 22. Prov. 15, 1. 20, 22. 2 Chron. 26, 10; and אֲתִי מֵרַחִיק (§ 20. f) 1 Sam. 15, 6. Jer. 39, 12. Hab. 3, 13. Prov. 11, 21. Job 39, 9. Ezra 9, 6. A kind of virtual doubling (after מַ for מֶן) is found in מְרַנְנֶהוּ Is. 14, 3. In Samaritan and Arabic this doubling has been retained throughout, and the LXX write e. g. Σάββα for שָׁבָּע.

§ 23. *The Feebleness of the Aspirates א and ה.*

a 1. The א, a light and scarcely audible guttural, as a rule entirely loses its slight consonantal power whenever it stands without a vowel at the end of a syllable. It then serves (like the German *h* in *roh, geh, nahle*) merely as a sign of the preceding long vowel, e. g. מְצָא, הוֹצִיא (but when a syllable is added with an introductory vowel, according to No. 2, e. g. מְצָאֵנִי, הוֹצִיאֵנִי, since the א then stands at the

beginning of the syllable, not מְצַאֲנִי, הוֹצִיאֲנִי, מְצַא, פְּלוֹא (comp., however, § 74. 1), מְצַאֲחָה (for *māṣa'tā*), הַמְצַאֲנָה. Similarly in cases like חֲטָא, וְיָרָא, וְשָׂא, &c. (§ 19. 1), and even in רָשָׁף, פֶּלֶא (see above, § 22. e), the א has only an orthographic significance.

2. On the other hand, א is generally retained as a strong consonant *b* whenever it begins a syllable, e.g. אָמַר, מְצַאֲסוּ, or when it is protected by a *Ḥateph* in a partially closed syllable, e.g. לְאֲכַל, and, as an exception, even in a closed syllable with quiescent *Šwā* after a preceding *Sēghōl*, e.g. וְיִאָּמַר, וְיִאָּדָר *ne'dār*. Even in such cases the consonantal power of א may be entirely lost,

(a) when it would stand with a long vowel in the middle of *c* a word after *Šwā mobile*. The long vowel is then occasionally thrown back into the place of the *Šwā*, and the א is only retained orthographically, as an indication of the etymology, e.g. רָאשִׁים *heads* (for *r'āšīm*), מֵאֲתַיִם *two hundred* (for *m'ātāyim*), שְׁאֲמַרְךָ Ezek. 25, 6 for שְׁאֲמַרְךָ; בּוֹרְאִים Neh. 6, 8 for בּוֹרְאִים; מֵאִים Job 31, 7. Dan. 1, 4 for מֵאִים; פְּאָרָה for פְּאָרָה Is. 10, 33; הֹלֵטִים *hōlīm*, 1 Sam. 14, 33 for הֹלֵטִים (comp. § 74, Rem. 2, and § 75, Rem. 21); הִרְאִיבִנִי Num. 34, 14, from הִרְאִיבִנִי; so always חֲטָאֲת or חֲטָאֲוֹת 1 Kings 14, 16. Mic. 1, 5, &c., for חֲטָאֲוֹת. Sometimes a still more violent suppression of the א occurs at the beginning of a syllable, which then causes a further change in the preceding syllable, e.g. מְלָאכָה *work* for מְלָאכָה, יִשְׁמְעָאֵל for יִשְׁמְעָאֵל; שְׂמָאוֹל or שְׂמָאוֹל *the left hand*, ground-form *sam'āl*.

(b) When it originally closed a syllable. In Hebrew א is then generally *d* (by § 22. 4) pronounced with a *Ḥateph*, אֲ or אַ. The preceding short vowel is, however, sometimes lengthened and retains the following א only orthographically, e.g. וְיִאָּצֵּל Num. 11, 25 for וְיִאָּצֵּל (comp. Judg. 9, 41), and פְּאָרָר for פְּאָרָר; יִאֲכַל obscured from יִאֲכַל for יִאֲכַל (comp., however, § 68. 1); לְאָמַר for לְאָמַר, &c. The short vowel is retained, although the consonantal power of א is entirely lost, in וְאֲרָנִי, &c. (see § 102. 2), וְיִאָּת Is. 41, 25, וְאֲבָרְךָ Ezek. 28, 16 for וְאֲבָרְךָ; comp. Deut. 24, 10. 1 Kings 11, 39. Is. 10, 13.

Instead of this א which has lost its consonantal value, there is often written one of *e* the vowel letters ו and י according to the nature of the sound, the former with *o* and the latter with *e* and *i*, e.g. בּוֹר *cistern* for בּוֹר, בּוֹרָא *buffalo* for בּוֹרָא; comp. also לֹא for לֹא *not* 1 Sam. 2, 16 and frequently in the *Kethibh*. At the end of the word ה also is written for א, יִמְלֵא *he fills* for יִמְלֵא Job 8, 21 (see below, No. 4, Rem.).

f 3. When א is only a vowel letter or an indication of the etymology (quiescent), it is also sometimes entirely dropped (cf. § 19. *k*), e. g. יצתי Job 1, 21 for יצאתי; מלתי Job 32, 18 for מלאתי; תומם Gen. 25, 24 for תאומם; אַחַטְאָנָה 31, 39 for אַחַטְאָנָה; שְׁלַתְךָ 1 Sam. 1, 17 for "שְׁאֵלְךָ"; רמיים Ps. 22, 22 for רמיים; גוה Job 22, 29 for גוה; הברתי 1 Chron. 11, 39 for הברתי, and so 2 Sam. 23, 37; שרית 1 Chron. 12, 38 for שרית; להשות 2 Ki. 19, 25 *K^ethibh* for להשאות (comp. Is. 37, 26); חמץה Job 29, 6 for חמץה. In מכלת 1 Ki. 5, 25 (for "מִאֵב") the strengthening of the following consonant by Dageš compensates for the loss of the א; but in מסרת Ezek. 20, 37 (if for "מֵאֵם") the preceding vowel is lengthened; cf. above, No. 2. On אמר for אמר see § 68. 2.

g Rem. 1. In Aramaic the א is much weaker and more liable to change than in Hebrew. In literary Arabic, on the other hand, it is almost always a firm consonant. According to Arabic orthography, א serves also to indicate a long *a*, whereas in Hebrew it very rarely occurs as a mere vowel letter after Qameš; as in קאם Hos. 10, 14 for קם *he rose up*; ראש Prov. 10, 4, 13, 23 for ראש *poor*; but in 2 Sam. 11, 1 the *K^ethibh* הפולאים *the messengers*, is the proper reading; comp. § 7. 2.

h 2. In some cases at the beginning of a word, the א, instead of taking a compound *S^wā*, retains the corresponding long vowel, e. g. אזור *girdle* for אזור; cf. § 84. *a*, No. 12, Rem., and the analogous cases in § 52, note, § 63, Rem. 4, § 76. *d*, and § 93, Rem. 3 (אהלים).

i 3. An א is sometimes added at the end of the word to a final *ā*, *ī*, and *ō*, e. g. הלכוא for הלכו Jos. 10, 24 (before א!), אבוא Is. 28, 12. These examples, however, are not so much instances of 'Arabic orthography,' as early scribal errors, as in ינשוא Jer. 10, 5 for ינשוא; and in נשוא Ps. 139, 20 for נשוא. Comp. also יהוא Eccl. 11, 3 (§ 75, Rem. 3. *e*); נקיא for נקי *pure*; לוא for לו *if*; אפוא for אפו *thus*; רבוא רבו *myriad*, Neh. 7, 66. 72. On הוא and היא see § 32, Rem. 6.

k 4. The ה is stronger and firmer than the א, and never loses its consonantal sound (i. e. *quiesces*) in the middle of a word²; on the other hand, at the end of a word it is always a mere vowel letter, unless it is expressly marked by *Mappiq* as a strong consonant (§ 14. 1). Yet at times the consonantal sound of ה at the end of a word is lost,

¹ In Jer. 22, 23, נחנת is unquestionably a corruption of ננחת for נאנחת.

² Only apparent exceptions are such *proper names* as פדהצור, עשהאל, which are compounded of two words and consequently are sometimes divided. Cf. forms like תואל for תוהאל. Here belongs also יפהפיה, which occurs in many MSS. for the artificially divided form יפהפיה in the printed texts, Jer. 46, 20.

and a simple ה or more correctly ה̄ (with *Rāphè* as an indication of the weakening) takes its place, e.g. לָהּ *to her* for לֶהּ, Zech. 5, 11 and elsewhere (comp. § 103. g, also § 58. g, and § 91. e). 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 *Š'wā mobile* (see above, letter *c*, with א), e.g. לְבַקֵּר for לְהַבְקֵר (the ה of the article being syncopated as it almost always is); בְּהַאֲרִיז for בְּהָאֲרִיז; Impf. *Hiph'il* יְהַפְקִיד for יְהִפְקִיד; יְהוֹנְתָן for יְהוֹנָתָן; בְּנֵיהֶם for בְּנֵיהֶיֶם Ezek. 27, 32. (b) By contraction of the vowels preceding and following the ה, e.g. סוּסוּ (also written סוּסָה) from *sūsahu* ($a + u = o$). A violent suppression of ה together with its vowel occurs in בָּם (from בְּהֶם), &c.

Rem. In connexion with \bar{o} and \bar{e} , a ה which only marks the vowel ending is occasionally changed into ו or י (וָאָה = רָאָה, חַיִּי = חַיָּה Hos. 6, 9), and in all cases into א in the later Aramaic orthography, especially with \bar{a} , e.g. שָׁנָא *sleep* Ps. 127, 2 for שָׁנָה; נָשָׂא Jer. 23, 39 for נָשָׂה, &c. Thus it is evident that final ה as a vowel letter has only an orthographical importance.

§ 24. Changes of the Weak Letters ו and י.

The ו *w* and י *y* are, as consonants, so weak, and approach so nearly *a* to the corresponding vowels *u* and *i* (comp. § 5. b, note 1), that under certain conditions they very readily merge into them. This fact is especially important for the formation of those weak stems, in which ו or י occurs as one of the three radical consonants (§ 69 sqq., § 85, § 93).

1. The cases in which ו and י 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 consonants¹,

The cases are to be further distinguished—

(a) When either ו or י with *quiescent Š'wā* stands at the end of *b* a syllable immediately after a *homogeneous* vowel (*u* or *i*), it has not strength enough in this position to maintain the consonantal sound, but merges in the homogeneous vowel. More accurately they pass into vowels (ו into *u*, י into *i*), and are thus contracted with the preceding vowel into *one* vowel which is necessarily long, but they are mostly retained orthographically as vowel letters. Thus הוֹשֵׁב for הוֹשֵׁב;

¹ ו for י *and*, alone is a standing exception, see § 26. 1 and § 104. e. [It is more probable a ו is here written defectively after י, than that this should be an exception to such a fundamental principle.—G. W. C.] On the cases where י is softened to *i* at the beginning of a word, comp. § 47. 2; note.

יִיזֵן for יִיזֵן; so also at the end of the word, e. g. עֵבְרִי a Hebrew, properly 'ibrîy, hence fem. עֵבְרִיָּה; עֵשׂוּ Job 41, 25 for עֵשׂוּ (comp. עֵשׂוּת 1 Sam. 25, 18 *K'thibh*). On the other hand, if the preceding vowel be heterogeneous, ו and י are retained as strong consonants (see § 8. 5), e. g. שָׁלוֹ quiet, וְ the month of May, גּוֹ nation, נִלְוִי revealed. But with a preceding *ā* the ו and י are mostly contracted into *ō* and *ē* (see below, 2, *b*), though at the end of a word they are sometimes rejected (see below, 2, *b*, Rem.).

c Thus an initial י coalesces after the prefixes בְּ, וְ, לְ, which are then pronounced with *ī* (comp. § 28. 1), and also almost always after מְ (see § 102. *b*), with the *ī* to *ī*, e. g. בְּיְהוּדָה in Judah (for בְּיָ), וְיְהוּדָה and Judah, בְּיַאֲר as the Nile, לְיְהוּדָה for Judah, מִיְּדֵי from the hands of.

d (*b*) When ו and י without a vowel would stand at the end of the word after *quiescent Šwā*, they are either wholly rejected and only orthographically replaced by ה (e. g. בָּבְהָ from *bakhy*, as well as the regularly formed בָּבְיָ weeping; comp. for these forms, § 93. 1, Rem. 6) or become again vowel letters. In the latter case י becomes homogeneous *Hireq*, and also attracts to itself the tone, whilst the preceding vowel becomes *Šwā* (e. g. פְּרִי from *piry*, properly *pary*); ו is changed sometimes into a toneless *u* (e. g. תוּרוּ from *tuhw*).

e Rem. In Syriac, where the feeble letters more readily become vowel sounds, a simple *i* may stand at the beginning of words instead of י or י. The LXX also, in accordance with this, write 'Ioudá for יְהוּדָה, 'Ioudák for יְצַחֵק. Hence may be explained the Syriac usage (occurring also in Hebrew) of drawing back the vowel *i* to the preceding consonant, when it properly had a simple *vocal Šwā*, e. g. (according to the reading of Ben-Naphtali) וַיִּלְלֵת Jer. 25, 36 for וַיִּלְלֵת (so Baer), בְּיַתְרוֹן Eccles. 2, 13 for בְּיַתְרוֹן, even וַיַּחֲלֹ Job 29, 21 (in some editions) for וַיַּחֲלֹ. According to Qimhî יִקְטֹל was pronounced as *iqṭōl*, and therefore the pointing in the 1st pers. was יִקְטֹל to avoid confusion. In fact the Babylonian punctuation always has *ī* for *ē* in the 1st pers. In Ps. 45, 10 and Prov. 30, 17, instead of בִּיקְרוֹתֶיךָ and לִיקְהַת (so Ben-Naphtali), Baer has recently adopted the readings of Ben-Ašer, בִּיקְרֹתֶיךָ and לִיקְהַת (comp. *Dikduke ha-t'amim*, p. 14).

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

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

(a) With a short *homogeneous* vowel ו and י are contracted into their corresponding long vowel (ā or ē), see above, 1, a.

(b) With ā they form the diphthongs o and e according to § 7. 1, e. g. מִיטִיב from מִיטִיב; יִשִּׁיב from יִשִּׁיב, &c.¹

Rem. The above-mentioned rejection of the half vowels ו and י (letter *b*) occurs especially at the end of words after a heterogeneous vowel (ā), when according to the nature of the form the contraction appears impossible. So especially in verbs ה'ל', e. g. originally יִגְלִי = (י)גְלִי = גְלִי, since ā after the rejection of the י stands in an open syllable, and consequently must be lengthened to ā. The ה is simply an orthographic sign of the long vowel. So also שָׁלָה for šālāw². On the development of יִגְלִי from יִגְלִי, see § 75. 1; on קָם as perf. and part. of קָמָה, see § 72. 2 and 4; on וְלָד, &c., from וְלָד, see § 69. 1.

§ 25. Firm or Immovable Vowels.

What vowels in Hebrew are firm and immovable can be known, *a* certainly and fully, only from the nature of the grammatical forms, and in some cases from a comparison with Arabic (comp. § 1. m). This holds especially of the *essentially* long vowels, i. e. those long by *nature* or *contraction*, as distinguished from those which are only lengthened for the sake of *rhythm*, 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 Š'wā*.

1. The essentially long and consequently, as a rule, unchangeable *b* vowels of the *second* and *third* class, i, ē, ā, o, can mostly be recognized by means of the vowel letters which accompany them (יִ, יֵ, יֹ, יוּ); e. g. יִטִּיב *he does well*, הֵיכַל *palace*, גְּבוּל *boundary*, קוֹל *voice*. The *defective* writing (§ 8. 4) is indeed common enough, e. g. יִטִּב and יִטִּיב for יִטִּיב; גְּבֹל for גְּבוּל; קָל for קוֹל, but this is merely an orthographic

¹ Instances in which no contraction takes place after ā are, מִימִינִים 1 Chron. 12, 2 (comp. § 70. 2); אִיִּסְרָם Hos. 7, 12; הַיִּשָּׁר Ps. 5, 9 *Q^{er}ē*; the locatives פִּיִּתָּה, מִצְרָיִם, &c. Sometimes both forms are found, as עוֹלָה and עוֹלָה; comp. חַי *living*, constr. state חַי. Analogous is the contraction of מוֹת (ground-form *mawt*) *death*, constr. מוֹת; עַיִן (ground-form 'ayn ['ain]) *eye*, constr. עַיִן.

² The Arabic, in such cases, often writes etymologically גְּלִי, but pronounces *galā*. So the LXX סִינִי סינᾱ. But even in Arabic سَلَا is written for سَلَوُ and pronounced *salā*.

licence and has no influence on the quantity of the vowel; the *ā* in לָבֵל is just as necessarily long, as in לָבֵל, comp. § 8. 4.

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

- c* 2. The essentially and naturally long *ā* (*Qames impure*)¹, unless it has become *ē* (comp. § 9. *q*), has as a rule in Hebrew no representative among the consonants, while in Arabic it is regularly indicated by *ā*; on the few instances of this kind in Hebrew, comp. § 9. 1, § 23. *g*. The naturally long *ā* and the merely tone-long *ā* can only be distinguished by an accurate knowledge of the forms.
- d* 3. Short vowels in sharpened syllables, i.e. before *Dageš forte*, are as a rule unchangeable, e.g. תֵּבֵב thief, also generally in closed syllables (§ 26. 2, *b*) which are not final, e.g. מְלִבֵּשׁ garment, מְדִבְרָה wilderness, מְמִלְכָה kingdom.
- e* 4. Finally, those long vowels are unchangeable which, owing to the omission of the doubling in a guttural or *g*, have arisen by lengthening from the corresponding short vowels, e.g. מִי'עֵן for מִי'עֵן; בִּרְרָה for burrah.

§ 26. Syllable-formation² and its Influence on the Quantity of Vowels.

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

1. The *initial* syllable. Every syllable necessarily begins with a consonant, or, in the case of initial *h* and *'* (cf. note on § 5. *b*), a consonantal vowel³. The copula is the only exception to this rule⁴. According to the Tiberian pronunciation *h* and is softened into the corresponding

¹ The older grammarians (see Gesenius, *Lehrgeb.*, p. 160) called those vowels *impure* which should be properly followed by a vowel letter. Thus תֵּבֵב was regarded as merely by licence for תֵּבֵבֵב, &c.

² Comp. C. H. Toy, 'The Syllable in Hebrew,' *Amer. Journal of Philol.*, 1884, p. 494 sqq.; H. Strack, 'The Syllables in the Hebrew Language,' *Hebraica*, Oct. 1884, p. 73 sqq.

³ The only exceptions are the few instances in which initial *Yodh* is represented as simple *i*, by being written י' or י, see § 24. *e*, and especially § 47. *b*, note.

[⁴ This is not really an exception, *Šureq* was no doubt here written defectively, i.e. ה' for ה.—G. W. C.]

י before Šwá, and the labials, e. g. וְיָרַבְר, וְיָמְלֵךְ: the Babylonian punctuation, however, even in these cases has י, i. e. י. On the other hand, in such cases as וְיָמַר the מ is to be regarded as an initial consonant.

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

(a) With a vowel, and is then called an *open* or *simple* syllable, e. g. in קָטַלְתָּ where the first and last are open. See No. 3.

(b) With *one* consonant, and is then called a *simple closed* or *compound* syllable, as the second in קָטַל, לֵבַב. See No. 5. Such are also the syllables *sharpened* by a following Dageš, as the first in קָטַל qat-ṭēl. See No. 6.

Rem. Between a and b comes the *loosely closed* or *wavering* syllable, e. g. מַלְכֵי mal^hkhē, בְּתֻבוּ kith^hbhū (not mal-ke, kith-bu); compare for the Šwá (medium) § 10. d.

(c) With *two* consonants, a *doubly closed* syllable, as קִשְׁטָה qōšt, קָטַלְתָּ. Comp. for this, No. 7 below and § 10. i-l.

3. *Open* or *simple* syllables have, as a rule, a long vowel, whether they have the tone as in בָּרָךְ in *thee*, סֵפֶר *book*, קְדֻשָׁה *sanctuary*, or are toneless as in קָטַל, עֲנַב *a bunch of grapes*¹. A long vowel (Qameš, less frequently Šere) is especially common in an open syllable before the tone (pretonic vowel), e. g. לְהָם, יָקוּם, קָטַל, לֵבַב.²

Short vowels in *open* syllables occur more or less apparently:

(a) In dissyllabic words formed by means of a helping vowel (§ 28. 4) from monosyllables, as נַחַל *brook*, בַּיִת *house*, יָרַב *let him increase*, from nahl, bayt,

¹ In opposition to this fundamental law in Hebrew (a long vowel in an open syllable), the original short vowel is always found in Arabic, and sometimes in the other Semitic languages, except of course in the case of *naturally* long vowels. The above examples are pronounced in Arabic as bikā, sifr, qūds, qātālā, 'ināb. Although accordingly it is certain that in Hebrew also, at an earlier period, *short* vowels were pronounced in open syllables, it may still be doubted whether the present pronunciation depends *entirely* upon an artificial custom arising out of the solemn recitation of the text of the Old Testament. On this hypothesis we should have still to explain, e. g. the undoubtedly very old lengthening of *t* and *š* in an open syllable into ē and ō.

² For this pretonic vowel the Arabic regularly has a short vowel (lāhūm, yaqūm, &c.), the Aramaic simply a vocal Šwá (לְהוֹן, יָקוּם, קָטַל, לֵבַב); and even in Hebrew, when the tone is thrown forward the pretonic vowel almost always becomes vocal Šwá, see § 27. It would, however, be incorrect to assume from this that the pretonic vowel takes the place of Šwá only on account of a following tone-syllable. It rather 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 further forward it becomes vocal Šwá.

yirb; comp. also $\text{דִּי-}^{\text{ע}}$ the ending of the dual (§ 88). But the helping vowel cannot in such cases be regarded as a full vowel, i.e. it does not completely open the closed syllable.

g (b) In the verbal suffix of the 1st pers. sing. ($\text{נִי-}^{\text{ע}}$ *me*), e.g. קָטַלְנִי (Arab. *qātālānī*). The not infrequent form $\text{נִי-}^{\text{ע}}$ (Gen. 30, 6. Ps. 118, 18) proves that the tone-bearing *Pathah* produces a sharpening of the following liquid, and thus virtually stands in a closed syllable, even when the *Nun* is not expressly written with *Dageš*. In cases like $\text{נִי-}^{\text{ע}}$ (§ 102 at the end) *Pathah* is retained with the counter-tone after the *N* has become quiescent.

h (c) Sometimes before the toneless $\text{ה-}^{\text{ע}}$ *local* (§ 90. 2), e.g. מִדְּבָרָה *towards the wilderness*; only, however, in the const. state (1 Ki. 19, 15), since the toneless $\text{ה-}^{\text{ע}}$ 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 supported by the tone (or principal tone) of the word (compare the effect of the *Arsis* on the short vowel in classical prosody). Elsewhere it has at least the support of the counter-tone (*Metheg*), viz.

i (d) In the combinations $\text{---}^{\text{ע}}$, $\text{---}^{\text{ע}}$, $\text{---}^{\text{ע}}$, e.g. נַעֲרוֹ *his boy*, יֹאכֹר *he will bind*, פַּעְלֹו *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 compare, e.g. יֹאכֹר with יֹאכֹר). The same vowel sequence arises wherever a preposition בְּ , כִּי , לְ , or ו copulative is prefixed to an initial syllable which has a *Haṭeph*, since the former then takes the vowel contained in the *Haṭeph* (see § 102. 2 and § 104. 2, Rem.). In such cases the prefix forms with the *Haṭeph* one loosely closed syllable. To the same category belong also the cases where these prepositions with *Hireq* stand before a consonant with simple *Šewâ* mobile, e.g. בְּדָבָר , בְּדָבָר , &c.

k (e) In forms like יְחַזְּקוּ *yeḥzē-ṣ^o-qū* (they are strong), פַּעְלֶךָ *p^o-l^o-khā* (thy deed). These again are cases of the subsequent opening of closed syllables (hence, e.g. יְחַזְּקוּ also occurs); פַּעְלֶךָ ought properly to be pronounced *p^o-l^o-khā*; compare generally § 22. 4 at the end, and § 28. 3.

l Such cases as הַחַיִּים (§ 96), הַחַיִּים (§ 67, Rem. 6) do not come under this head, since they all have *ā* in a virtually sharpened syllable; nor does the tone-bearing *S^oghōl* which is lengthened from *ā* in suffixes (e.g. בְּרָךְ), and other cases, nor *S^oghōl* for *ā* before a guttural with *Qameš* (§ 22. c). On נִשְׂרָטִים and קָרָטִים (*š* for $\text{---}^{\text{ע}}$), see above, § 9. v.

m 4. The independent syllables with a firm vowel which have been 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^hhī*; חֲלִי (sickness) *h^lhī*; יְלִמְדוּ *yl-^o-m^o-dhū*. This concerns especially the prefixes ו , בְּ , כִּי , לְ . See § 102.

n The *Šewâ* mobile was no doubt in all such cases weakened from an original full vowel (e.g. יְקַטְלוּ Arab. *yaqtūllū*, בָּךְ Arab. *bl^okā*, &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 in No. 3. Even the use of Metheg with Šwâ in particular cases (see § 16. 2) 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 words¹, e.g. מַלְכָּה *queen*, הַשְׁבוּן *understanding*, חֵכְמָה *wisdom*, וָרָחַץ *and he turned back*, וַיָּקָם, וַיָּקָם (wayyāqôm).

In a *tone-bearing* closed syllable there may be either a long or *p* short vowel, but if the latter, it must as a rule be either Pathah or Seghâl². The tone-bearing closed penultima admits, of the *long* vowels, only the tone-long \bar{a} , \bar{e} , \bar{o} , not the longest \acute{i} , \acute{e} , \acute{o} , \acute{u} ; of the *short* vowels, only \check{a} , \check{e} , not \check{i} , \check{u} , \check{o} . Thus יִקְרָאֻךְ (3rd pl. masc. Imperf. Hiph.) but תִּקְרָאֵנִי (3rd pl. fem.), and קָמוּ (2nd pl. masc. Imperat. Qal) but קָמוּנִי fem.

6. A special kind of closed syllables are the *sharpened*, i. e. those *q* which end in the same consonant with which the following syllable begins, e. g. אִמִּי 'im-mí, כֹּל כֹּל küll-lól. If without the tone, they have, like the rest, short vowels; but if bearing the tone, either short vowels as בָּרַב, הִנְנִי, or long, as שָׁפָה, הִפָּה.

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

7. Syllables ending with two consonants occur only at the end of *r* words, and have most naturally short vowels, קָטַלְתָּ, וַיִּשָּׁב; but sometimes *Sere*, as גָּרַךְ, וַיִּבְרַךְ, or *Holem*, הוֹסֵפֶה קִשָּׁט. Compare, however, § 10. 3. Usually the harshness of pronunciation is avoided by the use of a helping vowel (§ 28. 4).

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

The changes in sound through which the Hebrew language passed, *a* before it assumed the form in which we know it from the Masoretic

¹ In exceptions such as שִׁתְּלִי Gen. 4, 25 (where *šāt* 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; sometimes also \bar{e} is retained before Maqqeph, e.g. שָׁם Gen. 2, 13; עָץ Gen. 2, 16.

² See § 9. 2, 3. \acute{i} occurs thus only in the particles אִם, עִם, מִן; but these usually (מִן always) are rendered toneless by a following Maqqeph. Compare also such forms as וַיִּשָּׁב § 75. *q* and בָּחַשׁ § 29. *g*.

text of the Old Test. (see § 2. 4), have especially affected its vowel system. A precise knowledge of these vowel changes, which is indispensable for the understanding of the greater part 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 (*Šwá mobile*), where there originally stood a full short vowel, e. g. עֲגָלָה (*ground-form 'ägälät*) a waggon, צְדָקָה (*ground-form šädäqäl*) righteousness, קָטָל (Arab. *qätälü*), יָקָטֵל (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, *ä* into *ā*, *i* into *ē*, *ü* into *ō* (see § 9, No. 1. 2, No. 7, and No. 10. 3). If however the tone be shifted or weakened, these tone-long vowels mostly revert to their original shortness, or, occasionally, are still further shortened, and vanish into a mere *Šwá mobile*, or, finally, are entirely lost through a change in the division of syllables; e. g. מָטָר (Arab. *mätär*) rain, in close dependence on a following genitive (in the *construct state*), becomes מֵטָר; עֲקֵב (Arab. *'äqib*) heel, dual עֲקֵבַיִם, dual *construct* (with attenuation of the original *ä* of the first syllable to *i*) עֲקֵבַי; יָקָטֵל (Arab. *jäqtül*), plur. יָקָטְלוּ (Arab. *jäqtülü*). For instances of complete loss, as in בְּסָפֵי, comp. § 93. *m*.

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

- d* 1. In place of a tone-lengthened vowel, the original, or a kindred short vowel reappears—

(*a*) When a closed syllable loses the tone (§ 26. 5). Thus, יָד *hand*, but when the tone is moved forward יַד-יְהוָה *the hand of Yahwe*; בֵּן *son*, but בֶּן-הַמֶּלֶךְ *the son of the king*; כֹּל *the whole*, but כָּל-הָעָם *the whole of the people*; so also when an accented closed syllable becomes, through inflexion, loosely closed, e. g. אֵיב *enemy*, אֵיבֶךָ *thy enemy*; finally, when the tone recedes, יָקָם, וַיָּקָם (*wäyyäqöm*); וַיֵּלֶךְ, וַיֵּלֶךְ.

(*b*) When in place of an open syllable with a tone-long vowel there arises, through lengthening of the word, a fully or half-closed toneless syllable, e. g. סֵפֶר *book*, סֵפֶרִי *my book*; קֹדֶשׁ *sanctuary*, קֹדֶשִׁי *my sanctuary*.

In such cases, according to what has been said, *e* passes into *i* or *ē* (under certain circumstances also into *ǎ*; comp. § 93, Parad. II, *c* and *e*), and *o* into *ō*, rarely into *ū*. On the change of a closed syllable with a long vowel into a sharpened syllable, *e* reverts to the original *i*, *o* mostly to *ū*, e. g. מִן *mother*, מִי *my mother*; קַח *law*, plur. מִקְחֶיךָ; but יָצַח *strength*, יָצוּחַ *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. קָטַלְתָּ לּוֹ, קָטַלְתָּ לּוֹ he has killed him; מִיָּסַחְתִּי primarily from מִיָּסַחְתָּ: so *ǎ* mostly becomes *ā* even before a suffix beginning with *šwā* mobile; e. g. קָטַלְתָּךְ from קָטַלְתָּ.

(b) When a syllable has become open by complete loss of the *f* doubling in its final consonant, a guttural or a *Rēš*, e. g. בִּרְרַחְּ for *birrahk*, see § 22. 1. Comp. also § 20. n.

(c) When a weak consonant (א, ו, י) following the short vowel, *g* according to § 23. 1, 2, 24. 2, quiesces in this vowel, e. g. נִצַּחְתָּ for נִצַּחְתָּ, 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 principal tone in the last word of a sentence or clause (§ 29. 4). 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 the change in the division of syllables, be weakened to *šwā* mobile (or *šwā* medium), or even be entirely lost, so that its place is taken by the mere syllable-divider (*šwā* quiescens). Examples of the first case are, שֵׁם *name*, pl. שְׁמוֹת, but שְׁמִי *my name*, שְׁמוֹתָם *their names*, דְּבַר *word*, constr. st. דְּבַרְךָ; צְדָקָה *righteousness*, constr. st. צְדָקַת (with *šwā* medium); an example of the second case is, בְּרָכָה *blessing*, constr. st. בְּרַכַּת. Whether the vowel is retained or becomes vocal *šwā* (דָּם, דְּמִי, but שֵׁם, 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 vocal *šwā*.

Thus the change into *Šwā* takes place in—

- k* (a) The \bar{a} and \bar{e} of the first syllable (especially in the inflexion of nouns), e. g. דְּבָרַי *word*, plur. דְּבָרַיִם; גְּדוֹלָה *great*, fem. גְּדוֹלָהּ; לֵב *heart*, לֵבִי *my heart*. Compare, however, also in the verb, תִּשׁוּבָה *she will return*, plur. תִּשׁוּבָתָהּ; and so always, when the original short vowel of the prefixes of the Imperfect comes to stand in an open syllable. On the other hand, the \bar{a} , which, before the tone, has been lengthened from \check{a} , is retained in the *Perfect consecutive* of Qal even in the secondary tone, e. g. וְקָטַלְתָּ; comp. § 49. *i*.
- l* (b) The short, or merely tone-long, vowels *a, e, o* of the ultima, especially in verbal forms, e. g. קָטַלְתָּ, fem. קָטַלְתְּ qāṭalā; יִקְטַל, יִקְטְלוּ yiqṭalū; comp., however, also יִלְקָטוּן, יִלְקָטוּן, &c., according to § 47. *m* and *o*. The helping vowels are either entirely omitted, e. g. מֶלֶךְ *king* (ground-form *malk*), מֶלְכִי *my king*; or become weakened into *Šwā mobile*, or *Šwā medium*, 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. יִקְטַלְתָּ pausal-form for יִקְטַלְתָּ.
- m* Where the tone moves forward two places, the former of the two vowels of a dissyllabic word may be shortened, and the second changed into *Šwā*. Comp. דְּבָרַי *word*; in the plur. דְּבָרַיִם; with heavy suffix דְּבָרַיִהֶם (comp. § 28. 1) *their words*. On the shortening (attenuation) of the \check{a} to \check{i} , see further, Rem. 3.
- n* Rem. 1. An δ arising from *aw = au*, or by an obscuring of \hat{a} (see § 9), sometimes becomes \acute{u} , when the tone is moved forward, e. g. נִקְוָמוֹת, נִקְוָמוֹתָּ (see *Paradigm Perf. Niph.*); מְנוּסָה *flight*, fem. מְנוּסָהּ, with suffix מְנוּסָהּ. Similarly the \acute{e} , arising from *ay = ai*, in the Perfect of verbs לָהֵל (§ 75. 2) frequently becomes \acute{i} . The not uncommon use of \check{i} in a sharpened syllable, as בְּהַזְעִי Ez. 20, 18 (for בְּהַזְעִי), is to be regarded as an orthographic licence, although sometimes in such cases \acute{u} may really have been intended by the *Kethibh*.
- o* Of the vowels of the *U*-class, \acute{u} and tone-long \bar{o} stand in a tone-bearing closed final syllable, and \check{o} in a toneless syllable, e. g. יָקוּם *he will arise*, יָקָם jussive, *let him arise*, וַיָּקָם and *he arose*. The only instance of \acute{u} in an ultima which has lost the tone is וַיִּרָם Ex. 16, 20 (see § 67. *n*). Similarly, of vowels of the *I*-class, \acute{i} , \acute{e} , and \bar{e} stand in a tone-bearing closed final syllable, and \check{i} in a toneless syllable, e. g. יָקוּם *he will raise*, יָקָם *let him raise*, וַיָּקָם and *he raised*. The only instance of \acute{i} in an ultima which has lost the tone, is וַיִּתְרַץ Judg. 9, 53 (see § 67. *x*).
- p* 2. In the place of a *Pathah* we not unfrequently find (according to § 9. 3) a *Šghól*, \acute{x} or \acute{z} , as a modification of \check{a} :
- (a) In a closed antepenultima, e. g. אֲבִיתָר (pr. name) for אֲבִיתָר; or in a closed penultima (e. g. יְהִדְהָ) or half-closed penultima (e. g. יְדָכְמַי *your hand*, for *yad^hkhèm*).

In all these cases the character of the surrounding consonants (see § 6. *q*) has no doubt had some influence.

(*b*) Regularly before a guttural with *Qames*, where the doubling *q* has been dropped, provided that a lengthening of the *Pathah* into *Qames* be not necessary, e. g. אָחָיו *his brothers*, for 'ahāw; כָּחֵשׁ *false*, for kahāš; פְּחָם *coal*; הַחַי *the living* (with the article הַ); יְחִנֵּחַ Num. 23, 19, &c., and so always before ח. Before ה and ע *S'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. הָהָר, הָעָם; but cf. also הַמְהָרִי Num. 8, 7. Before the weak consonants א and ר (comp. § 22. 1, 5), the lengthening of the *Pathah* into *Qames* almost always takes place, e. g. הָאָב *the father*, pl. הָאָבוֹת; הָרֵאשׁ *the head*, pl. הָרֵאשִׁים. Exceptions, הָרָה *towards the mountain*, Gen. 14, 10, in the tone-syllable, for hārrā; יְבִרְכָהּ (pr. name) for יְבִרְכֶיהָ. On ה as a form of the interrogative הַ (הַ), see § 100. 4; on מָה for מַה (מַה), § 37. 1. Finally, אֶבְלָךְ Ex. 33, 3 also comes partly under this head, in consequence of the loss of the doubling, for אֶבְלֶךְ.

(*c*) As a modification of the original *Pathah* in the first class of the segholate *r* forms (§ 93, Rem. 1), when a helping vowel (§ 28. 4) is inserted after the second consonant. Thus the ground-form *kalb* (*dog*), after receiving a helping *S'ghöl*, is modified into קָלֶב (also in modern Arabic pronounced *kelb*)¹, יָרַח (*month*) with a helping *Pathah*, יָרַח. The same phenomenon appears also in the forms of verbs, in cases like יִגַּל (jussive of the Hiph'il of גָּלָה), with a helping *S'ghöl*, for יַגַּל.

3. The attenuation of *ā* to *i* occurs very frequently in a toneless, closed, or *s* half-closed syllable.

(*a*) In a firmly closed syllable, מִדּוֹ *his measure*, for מִדּוֹ (in a sharpened syllable); יִלְדֶיךָ *I have begotten thee*, from יִלְדֶיךָ with the suffix יך; comp. Lev. 11, 44. Ez. 38, 23 and § 44. *d*. Especially is this the case in a large number of *segholates* from the ground-form *qatl*, when combined with singular suffixes, e. g. צַדִּיקִי *my righteousness*, for *šadqī*.

(*b*) In a half-closed syllable, דְּמָמְךָ *your blood*, for דְּמָמְךָ, and so commonly in *t* the *st. constr. plur.* of *segholates* from the ground-form *qatl*, e. g. בְּגָדֶיךָ from בְּגָד (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 place².

¹ So the LXX write Μελαχισδέκ for מְלַכִּי־צֶדֶק.

² Analogous to this attenuation of *ā* to *i*, is the Lat. *tango, attingo; latus, prolixus*; to the transition of *ā* into *e* (see above, Rem. 2), the Lat. *carpo, decerpo; spargo, conspergo*.

- u 4. *S^eghôl* arises, in addition to the cases mentioned in Rem. 1 and 2, also—
 (a) From the weakening of *ā* of the final syllable in the isolated cases (הַ— for הַ—) in 1 Sam. 28, 15 (? see § 48. d). Ps. 20, 4 (?). Is. 59, 5. Prov. 24, 14 (see § 48. d); for examples of Locative forms in הַ— see § 90. 2 end.
- v (b) Perhaps from the obtusion of *u*, in אַתָּם *you* (Arab. 'āntūm), see § 32. i and *m*, and in לָהֶם *to them* (Arab. lahūm); comp. § 8. c, 5.
- w 5. Among the *Ḥateph*-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 (^emèth) *truth*, אֶמְתּוֹ *his truth*; נֶעְלָם *hidden*, pl. נֶעְלָמִים; הַעֲבָרְתִּי but וְהַעֲבָרְתִּי.
- x 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 at least closely related vowels, from following one another in the same word¹. Hence לֹלֵא for *lā lā* (unless); the proper names יְהוּא and יִשָּׁע stand most probably for *Yôhâ, Yôshâ*^a (= יְהוֹשֻׁעַ). Cf. also הִצִּיּוֹן from הִצִּי; רִאשׁוֹן from רִאשׁ; תִּיבוֹן from תִּבוֹן; עִירָם from stem עִיר, and the second foot-note on § 68. 1.

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

- a 1. According to § 26. 4 a half-syllable, i. e. a consonant with Šewâ, (always weakened from a short vowel,) can only occur in close dependence on a full syllable. If another half-syllable with simple Šewâ would follow, the former becomes again a full short vowel². This vowel is almost always *Hireq*. In most cases it is probably an attenuation of an original *ǎ*, and never a mere helping vowel. In some instances analogy may have led to the choice of the *ǐ*. Thus, according to § 102. 2, the prefixes בְּ, כִּ, לְ before a consonant with (—) become בַּ, כַּ, לַ, e.g. בַּפְּרִי, כַּפְּרִי, לַפְּרִי, before י they are pointed as in בִּיהוּדָה (from *bi-yêhûda*, according to § 24. b); so too with *Wāw copulative*, e.g. וְיְהוּדָה for *w'yehûdâ*. The first half-syllable, after the restoration of the short vowel, combines with the second to form a firmly closed syllable, e.g. לִנְפֹל Num. 14, 3 for *lînp̄hōl*, and so almost always in the infin. constr. after ל (§ 45. g); in isolated cases also with כִּ, as כִּנְפֹר Jer. 17, 2.
- b 2. Before a guttural with *Ḥateph* the consonant of the half-syllable takes the short vowel contained in the *Ḥateph*, and thus arise the

¹ Cf. Barth, *Die Nominalbildung in den semitischen Sprachen*, p. xxix; A. Müller, *Theologische Studien u. Kritiken*, 1892, p. 177 sq.; with Nestle, *ibid.* p. 573 sq.

² ו and is the only exception. It becomes ו before a simple Šewâ, comp. § 104. e.

vowel groups $\frac{\text{אָ}}{\text{אָ}}$, $\frac{\text{וֵ}}{\text{וֵ}}$, $\frac{\text{יֵ}}{\text{יֵ}}$, e. g. וְאֲנִי and I, בְּאֲשֶׁר as, לְעִבֹר to serve, לֶאֱכֹל 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 consonant of the half-syllable retains the short vowel, which would have belonged to the suppressed *Ḥaṭeph*, e. g. לְחָטֵב for לְחָטֵב; לְחָמֵם Is. 47, 14 for לְחָמֵם (see § 67. cc); לְאָסֵר but also לְאָסֵר; and even וְעָצַר Job 4, 2, comp. Gen. 32, 16. 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 מִן, as מְהָיוֹת, for which compare § 102. b: וְהָיָה and be! וְחָיָה and live, for וְהָיָה, וְחָיָה, alone have *ě* instead of *ĭ* under the prefix. For the Metheg, comp. § 16. f, ε.

3. When a *Ḥaṭeph* in the middle of a word, owing to flexional changes, would stand before a vocal *Šwā*, it is changed into the short vowel, with which it is compounded. This includes especially the cases in which the *Ḥaṭeph* stands under a guttural instead of a quiescent *Šwā*, as an echo of the preceding short vowel, e. g. יַעֲמֹד he will stand (for יַעֲמֹד), but plur. יַעֲמֹדוּ for *ya^am'dhū*, and נִהְפְּכוּ for *nēh'ph'k'hū* (they have turned themselves), פְּעֹלֶיךָ thy work, comp. § 26. k. The syllables are to be divided *ya^a-m'dhū*, and the second *ā* is to be regarded exactly as the helping *Pathah* in נָעַר, &c.¹

4. At the end of words, syllables occur which close with two consonants (§ 10. 3, § 26. 7), but only when the latter of the two is an emphatic consonant (ט, ק) or a tenuis (viz. ב, ד, ג, ת²), e. g. יִשָּׁב let him turn aside, וַיִּשְׁבֶּה and he caused to drink, אָמַרְתְּ thou (fem.) hast said, וַיִּבְקֶה and he wept, וַיִּרְדֵּה and let him have dominion, וַיִּשָּׁב and he took captive.

This harsh combination of letters is however commonly avoided *e* by inserting between the two final consonants a helping vowel, which is mostly *Sghól*, but with gutturals *Pathah*³, and after *Ḥireq*, e. g. וַיִּגַּל and he revealed, for *wayyigl*; יִרְבַּי let it multiply, for *yirb*; קֳדָשׁ sanctuary, ground-form *qudš*; נַחַל brook, ground-form *nahł*; שָׁלַחְתָּ for שָׁלַחְתָּ thou hast sent; בַּיִת ground-form *bayt*. These helping

¹ In Judges 16, 13 read תִּאֲרָנִי not (with Opatius, Hahn and others) תִּאֲרָנִי.

² With a final ה, the only example is תוֹסֶה Prov. 30, 6, where several MSS. and printed editions incorrectly have ה without Dageš.

³ On the apparent exceptions קֳדָשׁ, &c., comp. § 22. e; other instances in which *š* has entirely lost its consonantal value, and is only retained orthographically, are סִין *sin*, נָי valley (also נַי), נְוָא vanity (Job 15, 31 *K^vthibh* נָו).

⁴ In this form (§ 65. 2) *Dageš lene* remains in the final *Tūw*, although a vowel

vowels are of course always without the tone, and disappear before formative suffixes, e. g. קִדְשִׁי *my sanctuary*, בֵּיתָה *home-ward*.

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

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

a 1. The principal tone rests, according to the Masoretic accentuation (comp. § 15. 2), as a rule on the final syllable¹, e. g. דְּבָר, קִטְל, דְּבָרָ, דְּבָרִים, דְּבָרִים, קִטְלָם, קִטְלו, קִדְרוֹן—in the last five examples on the formative additions to the stem. Less frequently it rests on the penultima, as in לַיְלָה *night*, קִטְלָה, קָמוּ, קָמוּ; but a closed penultima can only have the tone if the ultima is open (e. g. קִטְלָה, לְבָנָה, קָמוּהָ), whilst a closed ultima can as a rule only be without the tone, if the penultima is open, e. g. וַיָּקָם, וַיָּקָם; compare also below, No. 3.

b A kind of counter tone or secondary stress, as opposed to the principal tone, is marked by *Metheg* (§ 16. 2). Words which are closely united by *Maqqeph* with the following word (§ 16. 1) 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. דְּבָר *word*, plur. דְּבָרִים; דְּבָרַיְכֶם *your words*; קִדְשׁ *sanctuary*, plur. קִדְשֵׁים; קִטְלָה with קִטְלָתָהּ. On the consequent vowel-changes, see § 27. 1, 3.

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

(*a*) In many forms of the Imperfect, when *Wāw consecutive* (וַיְ see § 49. 2) is prefixed, e. g. יֹאמֵר *he will say*, וַיֹּאמֶר *and he said*; יֵלֵךְ *he will go*, וַיֵּלֶךְ *and he went*.

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 help the correct pronunciation. An analogous case is יִחַד *yihād* (from *חָדַד*, see § 75. *r*).

¹ This was not originally the case. Various linguistic phenomena tend to show that the principal tone originally rested as a rule on the penultima. See the proofs in Praetorius, *ZAW.*, 1883, p. 211 sqq., and Mayer Lambert, *Revue des études juives*, vol. xx, 1890, p. 73 sqq.; vol. xxv, 1892, p. 111 sq., and xxvi, p. 53.

(b) For rhythmical reasons, when a monosyllable, or a word with ^e the tone on the first syllable, follows a word with the tone on the ultima, in order to avoid the concurrence of two tone-syllables¹. This rhythmical retraction of the tone, however, (נסוג אָחור *receding*, as it is called by the Jewish grammarians,) is only admissible according to No. 1 above, provided that the penultima, which now receives the tone, is an open syllable, (with a long vowel; see however the Rem.,) whilst the ultima, which loses the tone, must be either an open syllable with a long vowel, e.g. קָרָא לְיֵהָא Gen. 1, 5. 4, 17. 27, 25. Ex. 16, 29. Ps. 5, 11. 104, 14. Dan. 11, 13, or a closed syllable with a short vowel, e.g. תָּאכַל לֶחֶם Gen. 3, 19. Job 3, 3. 22, 28². The grave suffixes בָּם-, בָּן-, הֶם-, הֶן-, are exceptions, as they never lose the tone.

Šere alone of the long vowels can remain in a closed ultima which ^f has lost the tone, but it then has, in correct editions, a retarding *Metheg* in order to prevent its being pronounced as *Sghól*, e.g. לְבַעַר קֶן Num. 24, 22; comp. Num. 17, 23. Jud. 20, 2. Is. 66, 3. Jer. 23, 29. Ezek. 22, 25. Ps. 37, 7. Prov. 1, 19. In other cases the shortening into *Sghól* does take place, e.g. הוֹלֵם פָּעַם *who smiteth the anvil*, Is. 41, 7, for הוֹלֵם פָּעַם. The retraction of the tone even occurs when a half-syllable with a Šewâ mobile precedes the original tone-syllable, e.g. וַיֹּאמְרוּ לוֹ Gen. 19, 5, and frequently; יוֹרְדֵי בּוֹר Ps. 28, 1; מִטְּעֵנִי חֶרֶב Is. 14, 19; as also when the tone-syllable of the second word is preceded by a half-syllable, e.g. לָחַת לְךָ Gen. 15, 7 (comp. § 20. c).

According to the above, it must be regarded as anomalous when the Masora ^g throws back the tone of a closed ultima upon a *virtually* sharpened syllable with a short vowel, e.g. אָחַר בֶּן 1 Sam. 10, 5; וְכָחַשׁ בּוֹ Job 8, 18, cf. Lev. 5, 22; לְעִזָּק בָּנוֹ Gen. 39, 14. 17. Hos. 9, 2; 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

¹ 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 *Darche hannesigah sive leges de accentus Hebraicae linguae ascensione*, Lugd. Bat. 1881, endeavours to explain, on euphonic and syntactical grounds, the numerous cases in which the usual retraction of the tone does not occur, e.g. וּבֹרָא הַשֶּׁן Is. 45, 7, where the object probably is to avoid a kind of hiatus; comp., however, Amos 4, 13.

² The reading עָרִיִּים (so even Opatius and Hahn) Ezek. 16, 7 for עָרִיִּים is rightly described by Baer as 'error turpis.'

עַל הַקָּמֶה 2 Sam. 23, 1 (comp. נִבְרָ שׁוּעַ Job 34, 19; יִקָּמֶה־קִיִּין Gen. 4, 24, with Metheg of the secondary tone). We should read either הַקָּמֶה, or, with Frensdorff, *Massora Magna*, p. 167, and others, הַקָּמֶה. As abnormal forms, comp. further, בּוֹ וַיִּתְּקֶן Ex. 4, 4 and וַיְהִי שָׁם Deut. 10, 5.

h (c) In *pause*, see No. 4.

The meeting of two tone-syllables (No. 3, *δ*) is avoided also by connecting the words with Maqqeph, in which case the first word entirely loses the tone, e. g. וַיִּבְתָּב־שָׁם and *he wrote there*, Jos. 8, 32.

i 4. Very essential 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 (a verse) or clause. It is represented by a great *distinctive accent*, *Sillúq*, 'Athnád, and in the accentuation of the books ת"א 'Ólè w'yóbréd. Apart from these principal pauses (*the great pause*), there are often pausal changes (*the lesser pause*), with the lesser distinctives, especially *S'golta*, *Zaqeph qaton*, *R'bhí^a*, and even with *Pašta*, *Tiphha*, *Gereš*, and *Pazer*¹. 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; מַיִם, מַיִם; קָטַלְתָּ, קָטַלְתָּ. An *ä* which has been modified to *S'ghól* usually becomes *ā* in *pause*, e. g. קָשָׁר (ground-form *qašr*) in *pause* קָשָׁר 2 Ki. 11, 14; אָרְזוּ, אָרְזוּ Jer. 22, 29; also in 2 Ki. 4, 31 read קָשָׁב with ed. Mant, &c. (Baer קָשָׁב!); רָבַרְבַּר becomes in *pause* רָבַרְבַּר.

l Sometimes, however, the distinct and sharper *ä* is intentionally retained in *pause*, especially if the following consonant be doubled, e. g. יִבְרָנִי Job 4, 20, or ought to be doubled, e. g. בָּו Is. 8, 1, &c.; and even without the doubling, e. g. עַר Gen. 49, 27; וַהֲקִרְשָׁנִי 2 Chron. 29, 19 and regularly in the numeral אַרְבַּע *four*, Lev. 11, 20, &c. Compare the list of instances of pausal *ä* and *è* in the Appendices to Baer's editions.

¹ In most cases, probably on account of a following guttural or ו (comp. e. g. Ex. 21, 31. Jer. 3, 9. Ruth 4, 4. Eccles. 11, 6; before ו Jer. 17, 11). שָׁבַט אֶת־ 1 Sam. 7, 17, where *ā* has *munaḥ*, is very irregular, but the lengthening here is probably only to avoid the cacophony *šāphāṭ 'ét*. In the same way הִיִּצְלַח Ezek. 17, 15 (with *Mahpakh* before ה) and וַיִּקְרָם Ezek. 37, 8 (with *Darga* before ע) 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 divine service, 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.

(b) When a full vowel in a tone-bearing final syllable has lost the tone before an affirmative, and has become *vocal Šewā*, it is restored in *pause* to its position as tone-vowel, and, if short, is lengthened, e.g. קָטַל, *fem.* קָטַלָּה (qāt^elā), in *pause* קָטַלָּה (qātālā); שִׁמְעוּ *šim^eā*, in *pause* שִׁמְעוּ (from sing. שִׁמַּע); מָלְאָה, מְלֵאָה, יִקְטְלוּ, יִקְטְלוּ¹ (sing. יִקְטֹל). The fuller endings of the Imperfect וִי and וְיִ- (§ 47. *m* and *o*) alone retain the tone even when the original vowel is restored. In segholate forms, like לָהִי, פָּרִי (ground-form *lahy, pary*), the original *ā* returns, though under the form of a tone-bearing *S^ghól*, thus לָהִי, פָּרִי; original *ī* becomes *ē*, e.g. הָצִי, in *pause* הָצִי; original *ö* (*ü*) becomes *ō*, e.g. הָלִי (ground-form *huly*), in *pause* הָלִי (§ 93. *x, y, z*).

On the analogy of such forms as לָהִי, &c., the shortened Imperfects וְיִהִי and יְהִי become in *pause* יְהִי, יְהִי, because in the full forms יְהִי *he will be* and יְהִי *he will live* the *ī* is attenuated from an original *ā*. We may also mention here. שֵׁבַע *the neck*, in *pause* שֵׁבַע (ground-form *šakhm*), and the pron. אֲנִי *I*, in *pause* אֲנִי, as well as the restoration of the original *ā* 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, אֶת (אִת) the suffix תְּ- in *pause* becomes תְּ-, e.g. בְּךָ, לְךָ, אֶתְךָ.

(c) This tendency to draw back the tone in *pause* to the *penultima* (as being the original tone-syllable?), shows itself also in such cases as אֲנִי *I*, in *pause* אֲנִי; אַתָּה *thou*, in *pause* אַתָּה (but in the three poetically accented Books also אַתָּה, since in those Books 'Athnaḥ, especially after 'Ólè *w^eyóbrēd*, has only the force of a *Zaqeph*; hence also יִמְלֵאָה Prov. 24, 4 instead of יִמְלֵאָה²; עַתָּה *now*, עַתָּה; and in other sporadic instances, like בָּלָה Ps. 37, 20 for בָּלָה: but in 1 Sam. 12, 25 Baer's reading הִסְפִּי is to be preferred to that of ed. Mant, &c.

(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* וַיָּמָת.

¹ Such a pausal syllable is sometimes further strengthened by doubling the following consonant, see § 20. *z*.

² יִמְלֵאָה Ps. 45, 6, comp. also יִבְלָמוּ Ps. 40, 15, is to be explained in the same way, but not הִמְלֵאָה Zech. 2, 11, where, on the analogy of הִשְׁמְרֶךָ Jer. 9, 3, we should expect הִמְלֵאָה.

- q Of other effects of the *pause* we have still to mention, (1) the transition of an \bar{e} (lengthened from \acute{e}) to the more distinct \bar{a} (see above, letter *l*), e.g. הָתוֹ for הִתּוֹ Is. 18, 5 (comp. § 67. *v*; § 72. *dd*); קָטַל Is. 33, 9; אָצַל 1 Chron. 8, 38 (beside אֲצַל [see *v*. 37. Cf. טָבַאֲלִל Is. 7, 6 (טָבַאֲלִל Ezr. 4, 7); שָׁשָׁרְ; קִפְרָר Ob. 20; וַיִּנְבֹּשׁ; וַיִּאֲנָשׁ; 2 Sam. 12, 15 (below, § 51. *m*)—S. R. D.]; הִפַּר Gen. 17, 14; הִפְצַר 1 Sam. 15, 23; הִנְאִהֵר Ps. 40, 18; הִרְחַק Job 13, 21, &c., mostly before liquids or sibilants (but also הִשָּׁב Is. 42, 22, and without the *pause* הִרַר Lam. 3, 48). So also וַיִּלֶּךְ (shortened from וַיִּלְכֶּה) becomes in *pause* וַיִּלְכֶּה; compare וַיִּלְכֶּה Lam. 3, 2; וַיִּלְכֶּה for וַיִּלְכֶּה Jud. 19, 20. On *S^eghôl* in *pause* instead of *Sere*, comp. § 52. *n*, and especially § 75. *n*, on וַחִיָּה Prov. 4, 4 and 7, 2.
- r (2) The transition from \bar{a} to \bar{e} in the ultima; so always in the formula לְעוֹלָם לְעוֹד (for עַד) for *ever and ever*.
- s (3) The *pausal Qameṣ* in *Hithpa'el* (but not in *Pi'el*) for *Sere*, e.g. יִתְהַלֵּךְ Job 18, 8 for יִתְהַלֵּךְ. According to § 54. *k*, this Qameṣ is lengthened from an original \bar{a} .
- t (4) The restoration of a final *Yodh* which has been dropped from the stem, together with the preceding vowel, e.g. בָּעֵינֵי אֶתְיִי Is. 21, 12, for בָּעֵינֵי אֶתְיִי, the latter also without the *pause* Is. 56, 9. 12; comp. Job 12, 6, and the same occurrence even in the word *before* the *pause* Deut. 32, 37. Is. 21, 12.
- u (5) The transition from δ or \bar{o} to \bar{a} in *pause*: as שָׂאֲלָה Is. 7, 11, if it be a locative of שָׂאֵל, and not rather imperat. Qal of שָׂאֵל; שָׂכַלְתִּי Gen. 43, 14 for שָׂכַלְתִּי; עָו Gen. 49, 3; יִטְרָף Gen. 49, 27; perhaps also שָׂרִין 1 Ki. 22, 34. Is. 59, 17, and מִשְׁעַלְתָּ Is. 28, 17, comp. 2 Ki. 21, 13. On the other hand the regular pausal form יִחַפֵּינִי, which is found as well as the ordinary Imperfect יִחַפֵּינִי, must be referred to a Perfect חָפִין (see § 47. *h*).
- v (6) When a *Pathah* both precedes and follows a virtually doubled guttural, the second becomes \bar{a} in *pause*, and the first *S^eghôl*, according to § 22. *c* and § 27. *g*, e.g. אַחֵי my brothers, in *pause* אַחֵי; comp. יִתְנַחֵם Deut. 32, 36. Num. 8, 7. 23, 19. Ezek. 5, 13. Ps. 135, 14.—On pausal *Sere*, for *S^eghôl*, in infin., imperat., and imperf. of verbs ל'ה, see § 75. *hh*.

SECOND PART.

ETYMOLOGY, OR THE PARTS OF SPEECH.

§ 30. *Stems and Roots*¹: *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. עָמַק *he was deep*, עֲמֻק *deep*, עֲמֻקָּה *depth*, עֲמֻקָּה *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*, חָכָם *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. צָדִיק *he was righteous*, צִדְקָה *righteousness*, צַדִּיק *righteous*, &c.

Sometimes the language, as we have it, exhibits only the verbal stem without any corresponding noun-form, e.g. סָקַל *to stone*, זָהַק *to bray*; and on the other hand, the noun is sometimes without the corresponding verb, e.g. אֶבֶן *stone*, דְּבַר *south*. Since, however, the nominal or verbal stems, which are not now found in Hebrew, for the most part 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 'ābīnā (*to become compact, hard*) corresponds to אָבַן, and the verb n'gab (*to be dry, arid*) in Aramaic to נָגַב.

¹ On the questions discussed in this section compare the bibliography at the head of § 79.

- c Rem. 1. The Jewish grammarians call the stem (i.e. the 3rd pers. sing. Perf. Qal), שָׁרַשׁ *root*. Hence it became customary among Christian grammarians to call the stem *radix*, and its three consonants *literae radicales*, in contradistinction to the *literae serviles* or *formative letters*. On the correct use of the term *root*, see letter g.
- 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: מֶלֶךְ, the indeterminate idea of *ruling*.

Verb-stem, מָלַךְ *he has reigned*.

Noun-stem, מֶלֶךְ *king*.

For the investigation of the actual condition of the language, however, this hypothesis of unpronounceable roots, with indeterminate meaning, is fruitless. Moreover, the term *root*, as it is generally understood by linguists, cannot be applied to the Semitic trilateral stem (see No. 2)¹.

- 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. קָטַל. The monosyllabic forms have only arisen through contraction (according to the traditional explanation), from stems which had a weak letter (ו or י) for their middle consonant, e.g. קָם from *qāwām*; or from stems whose second and third consonants are identical, e.g. צָר and צָרַר (compare, however, below, § 67). The dissyllabic forms have themselves no doubt arisen, through a loss of the final vowel, from trisyllables, e.g. קָטַל from *qātālā*, as it is still in 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. יָדָם for יָד, in the Imperfect Qal of verbs עָוָה. Even such nouns, as אָב *father*, אָמָה *mother*, אָחָא *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

¹ Compare Philippi, 'Der Grundstamm des starken Verbums im Semitischen und sein Verhältniss zur Wurzel,' in *Morgenländische Forschungen*, Leipz. 1875, pp. 69-106.

by the sign $\sqrt{\quad}$, e.g. $\sqrt{\text{כר}}$ as the root of כָּרַר , כָּרַה , כּוּר , אָכַר . 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 דָּבַק , דָּבַקָה , דָּבַקָה may all be traced to the idea of *striking, breaking*, and the root common to them all is evidently the two strong consonants דך (*dakh*). Very frequently, however, the extension of the root into a stem is effected by the addition of a strong consonant, especially, it seems, a sibilant, liquid or guttural. Finally, further modifications of the same root occur when either the consonants of the root, or the letter which has been added, changes into a kindred letter, according to the laws of sound-change (see the examples given below). Usually such a change in the sound is accompanied by a change in the shade of meaning.

Examples: from the root קץ (no doubt *onomatopoeitic*, or imitating a sound), which represents the fundamental idea of *carving off, cutting in pieces*, are derived immediately: קָצַץ and קָצַה to *cut, to cut off*; the latter metaph. to *decide, to judge* (whence קָצִין , Arab. *qaḍi*, a judge); also קָצַב to *cut off, to shear*, קָצַף to *tear, to break*, קָצַע to *cut into*, קָצַר to *cut off, to reap*. With a softer sibilant קש , קס , whence קָסַם to *cut off*, קָשַׁשׁ and קָשָׁה to *peel off, to rub off*. With a lingual instead of the sibilant, קט , קר , whence קָטַב to *cut in pieces, to destroy*, קָטַל to *cut down, to kill*, קָטַף to *tear off, to pluck off*, קָרַד to *cut in pieces, to cleave*. With the initial letter softened, the same root becomes כס , whence כָּסַח to *cut off*, and כָּסַם to *shave*; comp. also נכס Syr. to *slay (to sacrifice), to kill*. With the greatest softening to גו and גר ; גָּוַן to *cut off, to shear*; גָּוַה to *hew stone*; גָּוַז , גָּוַם , גָּוַע , גָּוַל , גָּוַר to *cut off, to tear off, eat up*; similarly גָּרַד to *cut into*, גָּרַע to *cut off*; comp. also גָּרַה , גָּרַף , גָּרַר . Allied to this root also is the series of stems which instead of a palatal begin with a guttural sound (ח), e.g. חָרַד to *split, cut*; comp. also חָדַל , חָדַק , חָדַר , חָדַשׁ , and further חָוַם , חָוַין , חָוַה , חָוַז , חָטַב , חָטַט , חָטַף , חָטַל , חָטַם , חָטַף , חָטַב , חָטַר in the Lexicon.

The root הם expresses the sound of *humming*, which is made with the mouth closed ($\mu\acute{\upsilon}\omega$); hence הָמַם , הָוַם , הָמָה , נָהַם (נָאָם), Arab. *hámhama*, to *buzz, to hum, to snarl*, &c.

As developments from the root רע comp. the stems רָעַד , רָעַל , רָעַם , רָעַע , רָעַץ , רָעַז . Not less numerous are the developments of the root בר (פּר , פּל) and many others.

On closer investigation of this subject the following observations suggest themselves:

(a) These roots are mere *abstractions* from stems in actual use, and are themselves not in use. They merely represent 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. הַם to *be finished*, קַל *light*. The ascertaining of the root and its meaning, although in many ways very difficult and

uncertain, 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 merely *biliteral* roots, either rigidly isolated 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 in order 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 beyond our critical grasp. At the most only the gradual extension of *stems* by means of sound-change (see below) can be historically proved.

- k* (b) Many of these monosyllabic words are clearly imitations of sounds, and sometimes coincide with roots of a similar meaning in the Indo-Germanic family of languages (§ 1. *k*). 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, whilst a number of later stems probably arose from them, through softening of the consonants; compare פור and בור, שחק and צחק, צעק and זעק, עלץ and עלץ, עלם; רבף and רקק, and the almost invariable change of initial ך to ך. In other instances, however, the harder stems have only been adopted at a later period from Aramaic, e. g. טעה, Hebr. תעה. Finally in many cases the harder and softer stems may have been in use together from the first, since frequently, by a kind of sound-painting, the intensive action was thus distinguished from the less intensive; see above קצץ *to cut*, גוז *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. קץ, קט, כס, גז, בין never גז, גז, גז, גט, גט, קז. Within (triliteral) stems the first and second consonants are never identical. The apparent exceptions are either cases where the root is reduplicated, e. g. דדה (Ps. 42, 5. Is. 38, 15), Arabic דאדא, or result from other causes, comp. e. g. בבה in the Lexicon. The first and third consonants are very seldom identical except in what are called concave stems (with middle ו or י), e. g. צוץ, נון; comp., however, ננן, נתן, שמש, נשם, and on עלע Job 39, 30, see § 55. *f*. The second and third consonants are on the other hand very frequently identical, see § 67¹.
- n* (e) The softening mentioned under letter *l* is sometimes so great, that strong consonants, especially when in the middle of the stem, actually pass into vowels: compare § 28. *o*, and עוואל for עוואל Lev. 16, 8 sqq. The numerous instances adduced by Gesenius, *Thesaurus*, i. 393, require a good deal of sifting.
- 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. To a secondary stage in the development of the language belong stems of four, or even (in the case of nouns) of five con-

¹ Consonants which are not found together in roots and stems are called *incompatible*. They are chiefly consonants belonging to the same class, e. g. כב, נכ, גכ, בך, טכ, חכ, &c., or in the reverse order.

sonants¹. They arise from an extension of the trilateral stem: (a) by addition of a fourth stem-consonant; (b) in some cases perhaps by composition and contraction of two trilateral stems, by which means even *quinquilateral*s are produced. Stem-forms which have arisen from the mere repetition of one or two of the three original stem-consonants, e.g. סַחֲרָרַח from סַחַר, are usually not regarded as *quadrilateral*s, but as *conjugational* forms (§ 55); so also the few words which are formed with the prefix שׁ, as שְׁלֵהֶבֶת *flame* from לֵהַב, corresponding to the Aramaic conjugation Šaph'ēl, שְׁלֵהַב.

Rem. on (a) The letters *r* and *l*, especially, are inserted between the first and second radicals, e.g. בָּסַם, בְּרָסַם *to eat up*; שְׂרָבִיט = שְׂבִיט *sceptre*; וּלְעָפָה *hot wind* from וְעָף *to glow*. The insertion of an *r* is especially frequent in Syriac.

Comp. Aram. עֲרִיגַל *to roll*, expanded from עִיגַל (conjugation Pa'ēl, corresponding to the Hebrew Pi'ēl). In Latin there is a similar expansion of *fid*, *scid*, *tud*, *jug* into *fundo*, *scindo*, *tundo*, *jungo*. At the end of words the expansion is principally made by ל and ן, e.g. אֲרִיזֶן *axe*, בְּרִמְלָל *orchard* (from בְּרָרַם), גְּבִיעַל *corolla* (גְּבִיעַ *cup*); comp. § 85. xi.

Rem. on (b) Forms such as צַפְרִירֵעַ *frog*, חֲבַצְצִילָה *meadow-saffron*, 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 drop out of the question.

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 immediate 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 formation² require special treatment (§ 32 sqq.). 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 sqq.).

¹ In Hebrew they are comparatively rare, but more numerous in the other Semitic languages, especially in Ethiopic.

² Comp. Hupfeld, 'System der semitischen Demonstrativbildung und der damit zusammenhängenden Pronominal- und Partikelbildung,' in the *Zeitschr. für die Kunde des Morgenl.*, vol. ii. pp. 124 sqq., 427 sqq.

§ 31. *Grammatical Structure.*

- a* 1. The formation of the parts of speech from the stems (derivation) and 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 periphrastically by means of separate words (e.g. the comparative degree and some case-relations in Hebrew) belongs, not to etymology, but to syntax.
- b* The external method (letter (*b*)) of forming words, viz. by affixing formative syllables, 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.
- c* 2. Both methods of formation exist together in Hebrew. The internal mode of formation by means of vowel changes is tolerably extensive (קָטַל, קָטִיל, קָטַל; קָטַל, קָטִיל, &c.). This is accompanied in numerous cases by external formation also (הִתְקַטַּל, הִקְטִיל, נִקְטַל, &c.), and even these formative additions again are subject to internal change, e.g. הִתְקַטַּל, הִקְטַל. 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.

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

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

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

<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
1. <i>Com.</i> אֲנִי, in pause אֲנִי; } אֲנִי, in pause אֲנִי } <i>I.</i>	1. <i>Com.</i> אֲנֵנוּ, in pause אֲנֵנוּ } (נָחֵנוּ, in pause נָחֵנוּ), (אֲנֵנוּ) } <i>we.</i>
2. { <i>m.</i> אַתָּה (אתָּ), in pause אַתָּה or אַתָּה } { <i>f.</i> אַתְּ (אתְּ) properly אַתְּי, } <i>thou.</i> in pause אַתְּ	2. { <i>m.</i> אַתֶּם { <i>f.</i> אַתֶּנָּה (אתֶּנָּה); 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>f.</i> הֵנָּה after <i>prefixes</i> הֵן, הֵן } <i>they.</i>

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 אֲנִי¹. The former occurs in Phoenician, *c*

¹ On the prevalence of אֲנִי in the earlier Books compare the statistics collected by Giesebrecht in *ZAW*. 1881, p. 251 sqq., partly contested by Driver in the *Journal of Philology*, 1882, vol. xi. p. 222 sqq., (but cf. his *Introduction to the Old*

Moabite and Assyrian, but in no other of the kindred dialects¹; from the latter the suffixes are derived (§ 33). The *ô* most probably results from an obscuring of an original *a* (comp. Aram. אָנָּה, Arab. 'ana). The pausal form אָנָּה occurs not only with small disjunctive accents, but even with conjunctives; so always in אָנָּה יְיָ as *I live!* also Is. 49, 18 with *Munah*, Ps. 119, 25 with *Merkha* (which however has been altered from *Dehîf*) and twice in Mal. 1, 6. In all these cases there is manifestly a disagreement between the vocalization already established and the special laws followed by 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 אָנָּה (אָנָּה) from which the suffix is derived occurs only in Jer. 42, 6 *Kethibh*. The form אָנָּה (comp. § 19. h) only in Ex. 16, 7. 8, Num. 32, 32, Lam. 3; 42; אָנָּה in *pause*, Gen. 42, 11; in Arabic *nāhnu* is the regular form. In the *Mišna* אָנָּה (אָנָּה) 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 אָנָּה, אָנָּה, אָנָּה, אָנָּה, &c., are contracted from *anta*, &c. The kindred languages have retained the *n* before the א, e.g. Arab. 'ánta, fem. 'ánti, thou; pl. 'ántum, fem. 'ántinna, ye. In Syriac אָנָּה, fem. אָנָּה are written, but both are pronounced 'at. In Western Aramaic אָנָּה is usual for both genders.

g אָנָּה (without ה) occurs five times, e.g. Ps. 6, 4, always as *Kethibh*, with אָנָּה as *Qere*. In three places אָנָּה appears as a masculine, Num. 11, 15. Deut. 5, 24. Ezek. 28, 14.

h The feminine form was originally אָנָּה as in Syriac, Arabic and Ethiopic. This form is found seven times as *Kethibh* (Jud. 17, 2. 1 Ki. 14, 2. 2 Ki. 4, 16. 23. 8, 1. Jer. 4, 30. Ezek. 36, 13) and appears also in the corresponding personal ending of verbs (see § 44. f) especially, and necessarily, before suffixes, as אָנָּה אָנָּה, § 59. 1, c; comp. also *ê* as the ending of the 2nd fem. sing. of the Imperative and Imperfect. The final *ê* was, however, gradually dropped in pronunciation, just as in Syriac (see above, letter f) it was eventually only written, not pronounced. The ' therefore

Testament, p. 147, bottom, ed. 6, p. 155,) as well as by Delitzsch, *Genesis*, 1887, p. 28; fundamentally established by König in *Theologische Studien u. Kritik*, 1893, pp. 464 sqq. and 478, and in his *Einleitung in das A. T.*, p. 168, &c. In some of the latest Books (see the Lexicon) אָנָּה is not found at all, and hardly at all in the Talmud.

¹ In Phœnician and Moabite (the inscription of Mēša', line 1) it is written אָנָּה, without the final '—'. In Punic it was pronounced *anec* (Plaut. *Poen.* 5, 1, 8) or *anech* (5, 2, 35). Comp. Schröder, *Phöniz. Sprache*, p. 143. In Assyrian the corresponding form is *anaku*, in ancient Egyptian *anek*, Coptic *anok*, *nok*.

finally disappeared, and hence the Masoretes, even in these seven passages, have pointed the word in the text as הָיָה to indicate the *Q^rrê* הָיָה (see § 17). The same final ה appears in the rare (Aramaic) forms of the suffix כִּי־הָיָה , כִּי־הָיָה (§§ 58, 91).

5. The plurals הָיָהוּ and הָיָהוּ (הָיָהוּ), with the tone on the ultima (comp. § 29. a), *i* are obtuse forms (comp. § 27. v) from הָיָהוּ (Arab. *'antüm*, Aram. הָיָהוּ , הָיָהוּ) and הָיָהוּ or הָיָהוּ (Arab. *'antünna*, Aram. הָיָהוּ , הָיָהוּ). Hence, no doubt, the fact, that the suffixes with the 2nd person plur. perf. are added to the termination הָיָה , instead of הָיָה , הָיָה . The form הָיָהוּ is found only in Ezek. 34, 31 (so *Qimhi* expressly, others הָיָהוּ); הָיָהוּ (for which some MSS. have הָיָהוּ) only four times, viz. Gen. 31, 6. Ezek. 13, 11. 20. 34, 17; in 13, 20 הָיָהוּ (before a ו) is also used as feminine.

III. Third Person.

6. (a) In הָיָה and הָיָה (*hü* and *hü*) the ה (corresponding to the *'Elif of prolongation* in Arabic, comp. § 23. i) might have been added only as an orthographic closing *k* of the final long vowel, as in הָיָה , הָיָה , &c. The ה is, however, always written in the case of the separate pronouns¹, and only as a toneless suffix (§ 33. a) does הָיָהוּ appear as הָיָהוּ , while הָיָהוּ becomes הָיָהוּ . In Arabic (as in Syriac) they are written הָיָהוּ and הָיָהוּ but pronounced *hüwä* and *hüyä*, and in Vulgar Arabic even *hüwwa* and *hüyya*. 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'tü* (= *hu'a-tü*) for הָיָהוּ , *ye'tü* (= *hi'a-tü*) for הָיָהוּ (compare also the Assyrian *ya-u-a* for הָיָהוּ) shew that the ה was original and indicated an early consonantal termination of the two words: comp. Nöldeke, *ZDMG.* xx. 459. According to Philippi (ibid. xxviii. 172. and xxix. 371 sqq.) הָיָהוּ arose from a primitive Semitic *ha-va*, הָיָהוּ from *ha-ya*.

(b) The form הָיָהוּ also stands in the consonantal text (*K^ethibh*) of the Pentateuch² (with the exception of eleven places) for the fem. הָיָהוּ . In all such cases the Masora, by the punctuation הָיָהוּ , has indicated the *Q^rrê* הָיָהוּ (*Q^rrê perpetuum*, see § 17). The common explanation regards this phenomenon as an archaism (similar to the epicene use of נַעַר for *boy* and *girl*) 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 Gen. 20, 5. 38, 25. Num. 5, 13. 14 הָיָהוּ and הָיָהוּ are close to one another; (3) that outside the Pentateuch it is found throughout the oldest documents, so that the הָיָהוּ 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 הָיָהוּ . Consequently there only *l*

¹ In the inscription of King Mêša' (see § 2. 2), lines 6 and 27, we even find הָיָהוּ for הָיָהוּ ; and in the inscription of 'Ešmun'azar, line 22, for הָיָהוּ .

² Also in twelve places in the Babylonian Codex of 916 A. D.; comp. Baer, *Ezechiel*, p. 108 sq.; Buhl, *Kanon u. Text des A. T.* (Lpz. 1891), p. 243.

remains the hypothesis, that the writing of הוּא for הִוא 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 Masorettes. The orthography was, however, peculiar to the Pentateuch-text alone, since it is unnecessary to follow the Masora in writing הִוא for הוּא in 1 Ki. 17, 15. Is. 30, 33. Job 31, 11, or הוּא for הִוא in Ps. 73, 16. Eccles. 5, 8. 1 Chron. 29, 16. The Samaritan recension of the Pentateuch has the correct form in the *K^ethibh* throughout. The conjecture of Levy is deserving of every consideration, viz. that originally הִוא was written for both forms (see letter *k*, note), and was almost everywhere, irrespective of gender, expanded into הוּא. Comp. for the whole question Delitzsch in the *Zeitschrift für Kirchliche Wissenschaft und Kirchliches Leben*, i. 393 sqq., and Kuenen, *Einleitung ins A. T.*, 2nd ed. i. § 16 n. 7 (= *The Hexateuch*, p. 321 f.), [also Driver, *Leviticus*, in Haupt's Bible, p. 25 f.]

11 7. The plural forms הֵם (הֵמָּה) and הֵנָּה (after *prefixes* הֵן, הֵן) appear to be formed from הוּא and הִוא, as אֵתָם is from אֵתָהּ. In Arabic, where they are pronounced *hūm*, *hūmma*, the obscure vowel-sound has remained, while in Hebrew, in the suffix-forms הֵם and הֵן, it becomes an obtuse *S^eghōl* (comp. § 27. *v*). The הֵן in הֵמָּה and הֵנָּה has no doubt a demonstrative force. In Western Aram. הַמּוֹן, הַפּוֹן (אֲנּוֹן, הַנּוֹן), Syr. *henūn* (*enūn*), Arab. *hūmū* (the archaic form of *hum*), and Ethiop. *lūmū* there is an *o* or *u* appended, which in Hebrew seems to reappear in the poetical suffixes מוֹ, מוֹ, מוֹ (§ 58. *g*).

12 In some passages הֵמָּה stands for the feminine (Zech. 5, 10. Cant. 6, 8. Ruth 1, 22; comp. the use of the suffix of the 3rd masc. for the 3rd fem., § 135. *o* and § 145. *l*). The quite anomalous עֲרֵיהֶם 2 Ki. 9, 18 should be altered into עֲרֵיהֶם, comp. Job 32, 12.

0 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.

α 1. The independent principal forms of the personal pronoun (the *separate pronoun*), given in the preceding section, express only the nominative¹. The accusative and genitive, on the contrary, 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 *āhū*) *eum* and *eius*, קָטַלְתִּיהוּ *I have killed him* (also קָטַלְתִּיו), קָטַלְתָּהוּ or (with *āhū* contracted into *ō*) קָטַלְתָּהוּ *thou hast killed him*; אֹרְהוּ (also, rarely [see § 91. *d*], אֹרְהוּ) *lux eius*.

The same method is employed in all the other Semitic languages, as well as in the Egyptian, Persian, Finnish, Tartar, and others; in Greek, Latin, and German we find only slight traces of the kind, e.g. German, *er gab's* for *er gab es*; Greek, *πατήρ μου* for *πατήρ ἐμοῦ*; Latin, *eccum*, *eccos*, &c. in Plautus and Terence for *ecce eum*, *ecce eos*.

¹ On apparent exceptions see § 135. 2.

2. The *case* which these suffixes represent is—

(a) When joined to verbs, the accusative (comp., however, § 117. x), e.g. קָטַלְתָּהוּ I have killed *him*.

(b) When affixed to substantives, the genitive (like πατήρ μου, *pater eius*). They then serve as *possessive pronouns*, e.g. אָבִי ('ābh-ī) *my father*, סוּסוֹ *his horse*, which may be either *equus eius* or *equus suus*.

(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* (comp. *mea causa*); but הִנְנִי *behold me, ecce me*.

(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 (ִּ sign of the dative, בְּ *in*, מִן *from*, § 102), e.g. לוֹ *to him (ei)* and *to himself (sibi)*, בּוֹ *in him*, מֵנִי (usually מִנִּי) *from me*.

3. The suffixes of the 2nd person (ָ, &c.) are all formed with 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) are the same in most of their forms, but some differ, e.g. מֵ *me*, מִ *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 sqq., 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. $\left. \begin{array}{l} m. \text{ הַזֶּה}^1 \\ f. \text{ הַזֹּאת} \text{ (הִיא, זוֹ)}^2 \end{array} \right\} \text{this.}$ Plur. com. הֵלֵךְ (rarely הֵלֵךְ) *these.* a

¹ In many languages the demonstratives begin with a *d*-sound (hence called the *demonstrative sound*) which is, however, sometimes interchanged with a sibilant. Comp. Aram. הַזֶּה, הַזֹּאת *masc.*, הַזֵּה, הַזֵּאת *fem.* (this); Sansk. *sa, sā, tat*; Gothic *sa, sō, thata*; Germ. *da, der, die, das*; and Eng. *the, this, that, &c.*

² That הַזֵּה may stand for the feminine, cannot be proved either from Jud. 16, 28 or from the certainly corrupt passage in Jós. 2, 17.

- b* Rem. 1. The feminine form וְאֵת has undoubtedly arisen from וְאֵתָ, by obscuring of an original *ā* to *ē* (for אֵתָ = הֵתָ comp. the Arab. *hā-dā*, *this*, masc.; for תָ as the feminine ending § 80), and the forms וְהִי, וְהִי, both of which are rare¹, are shortened from וְאֵתָ, by rejection of the ת. In Ps. 132, 12 וְהִי is used as a *relative*, comp. וְהִי below. In Jer. 26, 6, *Kethibh*, הַוְאֵתָהּ (with the article and the demonstrative termination הַ) is found for וְאֵתָהּ. The forms אֵלָהּ and אֵלָהּ are plurals of הֵתָ and וְאֵתָ by usage, not etymologically. The form אֵלָהּ occurs only in the Pentateuch (but not in the Samaritan text), Gen. 19, 8. 25. 26, 3, 4, &c. [8 times], always with the article, אֵלָהּ, and in 1 Chron. 20, 8 without the article [cf. Driver on Deut. 4, 42]². Both the singular and the plural may refer to things as well as persons.
- c* 2. In combination with prepositions to denote the oblique case we find הֵתָ to *this* (comp. for הֵתָ, § 102. *g*), לְוְאֵתָ, לְוְאֵתָ to *this* (fem.), לְאֵלָהּ, לְאֵלָהּ to *these*; הֵתָ hunc, וְאֵתָ hanc, אֵתָ-אֵלָהּ hos, also without וְאֵתָ, even before the verb Ps. 75, 8 and elsewhere. Note also הֵתָ כְּהֵתָ pretium huius (1 Ki. 21, 2), &c.
- d* 2. The secondary form וְהִי occurs only in poetic style, and is used mostly for the relative, like our *that* for *who*. Like אֵתָ (§ 36), it serves for all numbers and genders.
- e* Rem. 1. This pronoun takes the article (הַהֵתָ, הַוְאֵתָ, הַאֵלָהּ, הַאֵלָהּ) according to the same rule as adjectives, see § 126. 5; e.g. הַהֵתָ הַזֶּה *this man*, but הַהֵתָ הַזֶּה *this is the man*.
- f* 2. Rarer secondary forms, with strengthened demonstrative force, are הַהֵתָ Gen. 24, 65. 37, 19; הַהֵתָ fem. Ezek. 36, 35, and shortened הַהֵתָ, sometimes *masc.*, as in Jud. 6, 20. 1 Sam. 17, 26. 2 Ki. 23, 17. Zech. 2, 8. Dan. 8, 16, once *fem.*, 2 Ki. 4, 25; cf. 1 Sam. 14, 1 [and 20, 19 LXX]. In Arabic the corresponding form *'allāḍī* is the relative pronoun.
- g* 3. The personal pronouns of the 3rd person also often have a demonstrative sense, see § 136.

§ 35. The Article.

- 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 הֵתָ, with a sharply pronounced *ā* and a doubling of the following consonant, e.g. הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ *the sun*, הַיָּאֵר *the river*, הַלְוִיִּם *the Levites* (according to § 20. *m* for הַיָּאֵר, הַלְוִיִּם).
- b* Rem. With regard to the *Dageš* in הֵתָ after the article, the rule is, that it is inserted when a ה or ו follows the הֵתָ, e.g. הַיהוּדִים *the Jews*, הַיְעֵפִים *the weary*

¹ וְהִי 2 Ki. 6, 19, Ez. 40, 45, and Eccles. (6 times); וְהִי only Hos. 7, 16, Ps. 132, 12.

² According to Kuenen (comp. above, § 2. *n*) the form אֵלָהּ dates from a time when the vowel of the second syllable was not yet indicated by a vowel letter; later copyists accidentally omitted the addition of the ה.

(כִּי־עֲנִים Lam. 4, 3 *Q'el* is an exception), but הַיָּאֹר, הַיְלָרִים, הַיְסוּד, &c. *Dageš forte* also stands after the article in the prefix הַ in certain nouns and in the participles *Pi'el* and *Pu'al* (see § 52. c) before ה, ע and ר, except when the guttural has under it a short vowel in a sharpened syllable; thus הַפְּהוּמָה Ezek. 22, 5, הַפְּעֵרָה *the cave* (comp. Job 38, 40. 1 Chron. 4, 41); but הַמְּהַלֵּךְ Ps. 104, 3 (Eccles. 4, 15. 2 Chron. 23, 12; before ע Ps. 103, 4); הַמְּעַשֶׂקָה Is. 23, 12. Before letters other than gutturals this הַ remains without *Dageš*, according to § 20. m.

2. When the article stands before a guttural, which (according to § 22. 1) cannot properly be doubled, the following cases arise, according to the character of the guttural (compare § 27. g).

(1) In the case of the weakest guttural, א, and also with ר (§ 22. 1 and 5), the doubling is altogether lost. Consequently, the *Pathah* of the article (since it stands in an open syllable) is always lengthened to *Qames*; e.g. הַאָּב *the father*, הַאֲחֵר *the other*, הַאִם *the mother*, הַאִישׁ *the man*, הַאֹר *the light*, הַאֵלֶּהִים ὁ θεός, הַרְגֵּל *the foot*, הַרֹאשׁ *the head*, הַרְשָׁע *the wicked*.

So also הַשִּׁפּוֹת Neh. 3, 13, because syncopated from הַשִּׁפּוֹת (comp. verse 14 and Baer on the passage); הַאֲנָקִים (as in Num. 11, 4. Jud. 9, 41. 2 Sam. 23, 33, with the א orthographically retained, for הַאֲנָן) Jer. 40, 4 (comp. בְּאֵן verse 1); הַסּוּרִים Eccles. 4, 14 for הַאִסִּים; הַרְפּוּיִם 2 Chron. 22, 5 for הַאֲרִי (comp. 2 Ki. 8, 28).

(2) In the case of the other gutturals there occurs either the virtual or weak doubling (§ 22. 1)—especially with the stronger sounds ח and ה, less often with ע—or the doubling 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 slightly lengthened into *S'ghól* or fully into *Qames*. That is to say:—

(A) When the guttural has any other vowel than \bar{a} (א) or δ (ח), *f* then

(1) before the stronger sounds ח and ה the article regularly remains הַ; e.g. הַחֹדֶשׁ *that, the month*, הַחֵיל *the force*, הַחֲכָמָה *the wisdom*. Before ח, \bar{a} occurs only in הַחַי Gen. 6, 19; הַחַרִּיטִים Is. 3, 22; הַחַפְּנִים Is. 17, 8; before ה, always in הַהֶמְהָה, הַהֶם, הַהֶנָּה.

(2) before ע the *Pathah* is generally lengthened to *Qames*, e.g. הַעֵיִן *the eye*, הַעִיר *the city*, הַעֲבָד *the servant*, plur. הַעֲבָדִים; הַלְעֲנָלִים 1 Ki. 12, 32; also in Gen. 10, 17 הַעֲרָקִי is the more correct reading. Exceptions are הַעֲוֹפֹתָה Exod. 15, 10; הַעֲוֹרִים 2 Sam. 5, 6. 8. Is. 42, 18; הַעֲרָבִים Is. 24, 2; הַעֲרָבִים Is. 65, 11; הַעֲשָׂקָה Ezek. 22, 7; הַעֲוֹבִים Prov.

2, 13 and הַעֲוֹבֹת Prov. 2, 17; לְעֵינַיִם 1 Sam. 16, 7. Eccles. 11, 7; but לְעֵינַיִ Gen. 3, 6. Prov. 10, 26. Comp. Baer on Is. 42, 18.

h (B) When the guttural has \bar{a} (ֶ) then

(1) before a tone-bearing הָ or וּ the article is always הָ, otherwise it is הֶ; e.g. הָעָם *the people*, הַהָר *the mountain*, הָעֵינָן (in pause), הַהָרָה *towards the mountain*; but (according to § 22. c) הַהָרִים *the mountains*, הָעֵוֹן *the guilt*.

i (2) before הֶ the article is invariably הָ without regard to the tone; e.g. הַחָכָם *the wise man*, הַחֲגִי *the festival*.

k (3) When the guttural has \bar{a} the article is הֶ before הָ, e.g. הַחֲדָשִׁים *the months*; בְּתַרְבוֹת *in the waste places* (without the article 'בָּתָּ) Ezek. 33, 27, comp. 2 Chron. 27, 4; but הֶ before וּ, as הַעֲמֻרִים *the sheaves* Ruth 2, 15.

The gender and number of the noun have no influence on the form of the article.

l Rem. 1. The original form of the Hebrew (and the Phoenician) article הָ is generally considered to have been הֶל, the ל of which (owing to the proclitic nature of the article) has been invariably assimilated to the following consonant, as in יָקַח from יֶלְקַח, § 19. d. This view is certainly supported by the form of the Arabic article هَل (pronounced *hal*¹ by some modern Bedâwî, see Wallin in the *ZDMG.* vi. 195, 217), the ל of which is also assimilated at least before all letters like *s* and *t* and before *l*, *n*, and *r*, e.g. 'al-Qur'ân but 'as-sânâ (Bed. *has-sana*) = Hebr. הַשָּׁנָה *the year*. It is, however, a question whether the Hebr. הֶ is not distinct from the Arab. 'al, and whether the sharpening of the following consonant should not be explained in the same way as the sharpening of the consonant after ו consecutive (§ 49. f; comp. also cases like בָּמָה, בְּמָה, &c., § 102. k).

m The Arabic article itself perhaps occurs in the Old Testament in אֱלִבְנָיִם 1 Ki. 10, 11. 12 (also אֱלִבְנָיִם 2 Chron. 2, 7. 9, 10. 11), probably *sandal-wood*, also in אֱלִבְנֵי שֵׁשׁ *hail, ice* = אֱלִבְנֵי שֵׁשׁ (Arab. *gibs*) Ezek. 13, 11. 13. 38, 22. On the other hand, in the proper name אֱלִמֹרֶדֶד Gen. 10, 26 the first syllable may perhaps be אֱלִ God, as D. H. Müller (comp. Gesenius' *Lexicon*, 11th ed. s. v.) and Nöldeke (*Sitzungsber. der Berl. Akad.* 1882, p. 1186) suppose. אֱלִקָּחַם Prov. 30, 31, commonly explained as = Arab. *alqaum*, the militia, is quite uncertain.

n 2. When the prefixes הָ, לְ, בְּ (§ 102) come before the article, the הֶ is syncopated, and its vowel is thrown back to the prefix, in the place of the Š'wâ (§ 19. k, and

¹ In the Lihyanitic inscriptions collected by Euting (ed. by D. H. Müller in *Epigraphische Denkmäler aus Arabien*, Wien, 1889) the article is הֶ, before gutturals הַנ (han). The Dageš forte in Hebrew would then be due to assimilation of a ה. This is the opinion of Halévy (*Revue des études juives*, xxiii. p. 117), while D. H. Müller regards the five forms in dispute as participles Niph'al.

§ 23. *k*), e.g. בַּשָּׁמַיִם in the heaven for בְּהַשְׁמַיִם (so Ps. 36, 6); לָעָם for לְהָעָם to the people, בְּהַרִּים on the mountains, בְּחַרְשֵׁים in the months¹. Exceptions to this rule occur almost exclusively in the later Books: Ezek. 40, 25, 47, 22. Eccles. 8, 1. Dan. 8, 16. Neh. 9, 19, 12, 38. 2 Chron. 10, 7, 25, 10, 29, 27; comp., however, 1 Sam. 13, 21. 2 Sam. 21, 20. Elsewhere, e.g. 2 Ki. 7, 12, the Masora requires the syncope in the *Qrd*. A distinction in meaning is observed between בְּהַיּוֹם about this time (Gen. 39, 11. 1 Sam. 9, 13, &c.) and בַּיּוֹם first of all (Gen. 25, 31, &c.). After the copula וְ (and) syncope of the ה does not take place, e.g. וְהָעָם.

3. The words אֶרֶץ earth, הַר mountain, חַג feast, עַם people, בַּר bull, always appear after the article with a long vowel (as in *pause*); הָאֶרֶץ, הָהָר, הַחַג, הָעָם, הַבַּר; compare also אֲרוֹן ark, 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 late Psalms,—also Lam. (4 times), Jon. (3 times), Chron. (twice), Ezra (once),—and always in Canticles (cf. Jud. 6, 17, 7, 12, 8, 26. 2 Ki. 6, 11;—Gen. 6, 3. Job 19, 29 are both doubtful), שֶׁ is used instead; more rarely שִׁ Jud. 5, 7. Cant. 1, 7 (Job 19, 29?); once שָׁ before אֲ Jud. 6, 17 (elsewhere before a guttural שֶׁ), before ה even שָׁ Eccles. 3, 18, and according to some (e.g. Qimhi) also in Eccles. 2, 22².

§ 37. *The Interrogative and Indefinite Pronouns.*

1. The interrogative pronoun is מִי *who?* (of persons, even before *a* plurals, Gen. 33, 5. Is. 60, 8. 2 Ki. 18, 35; comp. also בַּת־מִי *whose daughter?* Gen. 24, 23; לְמִי *to whom?* אֶת־מִי *whom?*) and מַה *what?* (of things).

The form מַה, מִי, &c. (followed by *Dageš forte conjunct.*: even in מַה, Hab. 2, 1, &c. *b* against § 20. *m*) may be explained 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 (מַה, as Olshausen), which goes back through the intermediate forms *math, mat* to an original *mant*: so W. Wright, *Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages*, Cambridge, 1890, p. 124, partly following Böttcher, *Hebräische Grammatik*, § 261. Socin calls

¹ Also in Is. 41, 2, read בְּעַפְרָא instead of the impossible בְּעַפְרָא.

² The full form אֲשֶׁר does not occur in Phœnician, but only אַש (= אֲשֶׁר?), pronounced *asse, esse* (also *as, es, is, ys, us*), or—especially in the later Punic and in the *Poenulus* of Plautus—ש (*sa, si, sy, su*). Also in New Hebrew שֶׁ is the common form. Cf. Schröder, *Phön. Sprache*, p. 162 sqq. and below, § 155.

attention to the Arabic *mah* (in pause with an audible *h*: *Mufaṣṣal*, 193, 8). Observe further that—

- c* (a) In the closest connexion, by means of *Maqqeph*, ׀ַה stands with a following *Dageš* (§ 20. *d*), e. g. ׀ַה־לָּךְ *what is it to thee?* and even in *one* word, as ׀ַה־לָּךְ *what is it to you?* Is. 3, 15; comp. Ex. 4, 2. Mal. 1, 13, and even before a guttural, as ׀ַה־הֵךְ Ezek. 8, 6 *K^ethibh*.
- d* (b) Before gutturals in close connexion, by means of *Maqqeph* or a conjunctive accent, it is either ׀ַה with a virtual doubling of the guttural (§ 22. *c*), so especially before ה, and, in Gen. 31, 36. Job 21, 21, before ׀, or the doubling is wholly omitted. In the latter case either *d* is fully lengthened to *Qames* (comp. § 35. 2)—so always before א and ׀—or half-lengthened to *S^eghôl*, especially before ׀, ׀, ׀ (before ׀ however also ׀ַה). The omission of the doubling also takes place as a rule with the hard gutturals, when they have not *Qames*, and then the form is either ׀ַה or ׀ַה, the latter especially before ׀ or ׀, when *Maqqeph* follows.
- e* The longer forms ׀ַה and ׀ַה also remain before letters which are not gutturals, if they are not connected by *Maqqeph* but only by a *conjunctive accent*. As a rule ׀ַה is then used, but ׀ַה when at a greater distance from the principal tone of the sentence, Is. 1, 5. Ps. 4, 3 (on ׀ַה in the combinations בַּמָּה, בַּמָּה, and even בַּמָּה^ל, 1 Sam. 1, 8, comp. § 102. *k* and *l*).
- f* (c) In the principal pause ׀ַה is used without exception; also as a rule with the smaller *disjunctives*, and especially almost always before gutturals (׀ַה only in very few cases). On the other hand, ׀ַה more often stands before letters which are not gutturals, when at a greater distance from the principal tone of the sentence, e. g. 1 Sam. 4, 6. 15, 14. 2 Ki. 1, 7. Hag. 1, 9 (see Köhler on the passage). Ps. 10, 13. Job 7, 21; comp., however, Prov. 31, 2, and Delitzsch on the passage.
- g* 2. On ׀ַי and ׀ַה as indefinite pronouns in the sense of *quicumque*, *quodcumque*, and as relatives, *is qui*, *id quod*, &c., see the *Lexicon*.

CHAPTER II.

THE VERB¹.

§ 38. General View.

Verbal stems are either original or derived. They are usually *a* divided into—

(*a*) Verbal stems proper (*primitive verbs*), which exhibit the stem without any addition, e.g. מָלַךְ *he has reigned*.

(*b*) Verbal derivatives, i.e. secondary verbal stems, derived from the pure stem (letter *a*), e.g. קָדַשׁ *to sanctify*, הִתְקַדַּשׁ *to sanctify oneself*, from קָדַשׁ *to be holy*. These are usually called *conjugations* (§ 39).

(*c*) Denominatives, i.e. verbs derived from nouns (like the Latin *causari, praedari*, and Eng. *to skin, to poll*), either in a primitive or derivative form, e.g. אָהַל, *Qal and Pi'el, to pitch a tent*, from אֹהֶל *tent*; הִשְׁרִישׁ and שָׁרַשׁ *to take root*, and שִׁרְשׁוּ *to root out*, from שָׁרַשׁ *root* (§ 52. *h*).

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. לִבְנָה *a brick* (verbal stem לָבַן *to be white*), denomin. לָבַן *to make bricks*; דָּג *a fish* (verbal stem דָּגַהּ *to be prolific*), denomin. דָּגַג *to fish*; חָרַף *to winter* (from חֹרֵף *autumn, winter*, stem חָרַף *to pluck*); קָיַן *to pass the summer* (from קָיִץ *summer*, stem קָיַן *to be hot*).

§ 39. Ground-form and Derived Stems.

1. The 3rd sing. masc. of the *Perfect* in the form of the pure stem *a* (i.e. in *Qal*, see No. 4) is generally regarded, lexicographically and grammatically, as the fundamental or ground-form of the verb (§ 30. *a*), e.g. קָטַל *he has killed*, כָּבֵד *he was heavy*, קָטַן *he was little*². From

¹ Comp. M. Schultze, *Zur Formenlehre des semit. Verbs*, Vienna, 1886.

² 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*.

this form the other persons of the *Perfect* are derived, and the *Participle* also is connected with it. קָטַל or קָטַל, 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.

b In verbs י'ע (i.e. with י for their second radical) the stem-form, given both in *Lexicon* and *Grammar*, is not the 3rd sing. masc. Perfect (consisting of two consonants), but the form with medial י, which appears in the Imperative and Infinitive; e.g. שׁוּב *to return* (3rd pers. perf. שָׁב): the same is the case in most stems with medial י, e.g. דִּין *to judge*.

c 2. From the pure stem, or *Qal*, the derivative stems are formed according to an unvarying analogy, in which the idea of the stem assumes the most varied shades of meaning, according to the changes in its form (intensive, frequentative, privative, causative, reflexive, reciprocal; some of them with corresponding passive forms), e.g. לָמַד *to learn*, לָמַד *to teach*; שָׁבַב *to lie*, הִשְׁבִּיב *to lay*; שָׁפַט *to judge*, נִשְׁפָּט *to contend*. In other languages such formations are regarded as new or *derivative* verbs, e.g. Germ. *fallen* (to fall), *fällen* (to fell); *trinken* (to drink), *tränken* (to drench); Lat. *lactere* (to suck, Germ. *saugen*), *lactare* (to give suck, Germ. *säugen*); *iacere* (to throw), *iacere* (to lie down); γίνομαι, γεννάω. In Hebrew, however, these formations, which are incomparably more regular and systematic than (e.g.) in Greek, Latin, or English, are usually called, since the time of Reuchlin, *conjugations* (among the Jewish grammarians קְיָוִיּוֹת, i.e. *formations*, or more correctly *species*) of the primitive form, and are always treated together in the grammar and lexicon¹.

d 3. The changes in the primitive form consist either in internal modification by means of vowel-change and doubling of the middle consonant (קָטַל, קָטַל; קוּטַל, קוּטַל; comp. *to lie, to lay; to fall, to fell*), or in the repetition of one or two of the stem-consonants (קָטַלְל, קָטַלְל), or finally in the introduction of formative additions (נִקְטַל), which may also be accompanied by internal change (הִקְטַל, הִתְקַטַּל). Comp. § 31. *b*.

In Aramaic the formation of the conjugations is effected rather 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

¹ The term *Conjugation* in Hebrew accordingly differs entirely from its meaning in Greek and Latin grammar.

wealth in both methods of formation, while Hebrew in this, as in other respects, holds the middle place (§ 1. 6).

4. Grammarians differ as to the *number* and *arrangement* of these *e* conjugations. The common practice, however, of calling them by the old grammatical terms, prevents any misunderstanding. The simple form is called *Qal* (קַל *light*, because it has no formative additions); the others (קָבֵרִים *heavy*, being weighted, as it were, with the strengthening of consonants or formative additions) take their names from the paradigm of פָּעַל *he has done*¹, which was used in the oldest 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 only very few verbs exhibit them all:

	<i>Active.</i>	<i>Passive.</i>	
1. Qal	קָטַל <i>to kill.</i>	(Comp. § 52. e.)	<i>f</i>
2. Niph'al	נִקְטַל <i>to kill oneself</i> (rarely passive).		
3. Pi'el	קָטַל <i>to kill many, to massacre.</i>	4. Pu'al	קָטַל.
5. Hiph'il	הִקְטִיל <i>to cause to kill.</i>	6. Hoph'al	הִקְטַל.
7. Hithpa'el	הִתְקַטַּל <i>to kill oneself.</i> [Very rare, Hothpa'al	הִתְקַטַּל.]	

There are besides several less frequent conjugations, some of which, *g* 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).

¹ 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. קַתַל) in all of them. It is true that in Hebrew it occurs only three times in *Qal*, and even then only in poetic style (Ps. 139, 19. Job 13, 15. 24, 14); 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^egadh^ephath* letters, and consequently as to the correct division of the syllables.

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. *Po'el* and *Po'al* (see § 55. *b*); 4. *Hiph'il* and *Hoph'al*; 5. *Hithpa'el* and *Hothpa'al*; 6. *Hithpo'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*.

§ 40. Tenses. Moods. Flexion.

- a* 1. While the Hebrew verb, owing to these derivative forms or 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 sqq.), or by syntactical combinations. Of *moods* properly so called (besides the *Imperfect* and *Imperative*), only the *Jussive* and *Optative* are sometimes indicated by express modifications of the *Imperfect*-form (§ 48).
- b* 2. The *inflexion* of the *Perfect* and *Imperfect* as to 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.
- c* The following Table will serve for the beginner as a provisional scheme of the formative syllables (*affirmatives* and *preformatives*) of the two *tenses*. The three stem-consonants of the strong verb are denoted by dots. Compare § 44 sqq. and the Paradigms.

PERFECT.

Singular.		Plural.	
3. <i>m.</i>	. . .	3. <i>c.</i>	י . . .
3. <i>f.</i>	הַ . . .		
2. <i>m.</i>	תָּ . . .	2. <i>m.</i>	הֵם . . .
2. <i>f.</i>	תְּ . . .	2. <i>f.</i>	הֵנָּה . . .
1. <i>c.</i>	אֵ . . .	1. <i>c.</i>	וְ . . .

IMPERFECT.

Singular.				Plural.			
3. m.	.	.	י	3. m.	י	.	י
3. f.	.	.	ת	3. f.	ת	.	ת
2. m.	.	.	ת	2. m.	י	.	ת
2. f.	י	.	ת	2. f.	ת	.	ת
1. c.	.	.	א	1. c.	.	.	א

§ 41. Variations from the Ordinary Form of the Strong Verb.

The same laws which are normally exhibited in stems with strong *a* (unchangeable) consonants, hold good for all other verbs; and deviations from the model of the strong verb are only modifications occasioned by 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) When a stem-consonant (*radical*) disappears by assimilation *b* (§ 19. 2), or when the stem originally consisted of only two consonants (*verbs* י'פ, ע'ע, and ו'ע, as נָנַשׁ, סָבַב, קָיַם, §§ 66, 67, 72).

(c) When one of the stem-consonants (*radicals*) is a weak letter. *c* In this case, through aphaeresis, elision, &c., of the weak consonant, various deviations from the regular form occur. Comp. § 68 sqq. for these 'quiescent' verbs, such as יָשַׁב, מָצָא, נָלַח.

Taking the old paradigm פָּעַל as a model, it is usual, following the example *d* of the Jewish grammarians, to call the first radical of any stem פ, the second ע, and the third ל. Hence the expressions, *verb* א"פ for a verb whose first radical is א (*primae radicalis*, [*sc. literae*] א); ו'ע for *mediae radicalis* ו; ע'ע for a verb whose second radical is repeated so as 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 קָטַל, with *ä* (*Pathah*) in the second syllable, especially in *transitive* verbs (but see § 44. *c*). There is also a form with *ē* (*Ṣere*, originally *i*), and another with *ō* (*Holem*, originally *ü*) in the second syllable, both of which, however, have almost always an *intransitive*¹ meaning, 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 E*, and a verb *middle O* are accordingly given side by side. The second example קָבֵר is chosen as showing, at the same time, when the *Dageš lene* is to be inserted or omitted.

b Rem. 1. The vowel of the second syllable is the principal vowel, and hence on it depends the distinction between the transitive and intransitive meaning. The *Qameṣ* of the first syllable is lengthened from an original *ä* (comp. in Arabic *qātāllā*), 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 vocal *Ṣ^wā*, e.g. קָטַלְהֶם 2nd plur. masc. In the Aramaic dialects the vowel of the first syllable is always reduced to *Ṣ^wā*, as קָטַל = Hebr. קָטַל. The intransitive forms are pronounced in Arabic as *qātīllā*, *qātīllā*; in Hebrew (after the rejection of the final vowel) *i* in the tone-syllable has been regularly lengthened to *ē*, and *ü* to *ō*.

c 2. Examples of *denominatives* in *Qal* are: קָפַר *to cover with pitch*, from קָפַר *pitch*; קָטַח *to salt*, from קָטַח *salt*; נָשַׁבַר (usually *Hiph.*) *to buy or sell corn*, from נָשַׁבַר *corn*; see above, § 38. *c*.

§ 44. Flexion of the Perfect of Qal².

a 1. The formation of the persons of the Perfect is effected by the 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*³. For the 3rd pers. sing. masc. *Perfect*, the pronominal or subject idea inherent in the

¹ But comp. such instances as Jer. 48, 5. In Arabic also, transitive verbs are found with middle *i*, corresponding to Hebrew verbs with *ē* in the second syllable. Hence P. Haupt (*Proceedings of the American Oriental Society*, 1894, p. ci. sq.) prefers to distinguish them as *verba voluntaria* and *involuntaria*.

² Comp. Nöldeke, 'Die Endungen des Perfects' (*Untersuchungen zur semit. Gramm. II.*) in *ZDMG.*, vol. 38, p. 407 sqq.

³ On the connexion between the *Perfect* and the *verbal adjective* see §§ 39. *a*, 50. *b*. In intransitive verbs they both have exactly the same form, e.g. מָלֵא *he was full and full*; קָטַן *he was small and small*. In transitive verbs the participle has

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* = אָתָּה קָטַל; יָרָא *he was fearing*, יָרְאוּ אַתֶּם *ye were fearing* = אַתֶּם יָרְאוּ. The ending of the 1st pers. plur. (אֲנִי—) is just as certainly to be connected with the termination of אֲנִי, אֲנִי *we*. The affirmative of the 1st pers. sing. (אֲנִי) is to be referred, by an interchange of כ and ת (cf. § 33. f), to that form of the pronoun which also underlies אֲנִי, I¹. In the *third* person הִיא (originally הִיא—, comp. below, letter f) is a mark of the feminine, as in a great number of nouns (§ 80. c), and י is the termination of the plural; comp., for the latter, the termination of the 3rd and 2nd pers. plur. Imperf. *úna* in Arabic and *ú* (often also ון) in Hebrew, also *úna* (in the construct state *ú*) as the termination of the masc. plur. of nouns in literary Arabic.

2. The characteristic *Pathah* of the second syllable becomes *Š'wá* ^b before an affirmative beginning with a vowel, where it would otherwise stand in an open syllable (as קָטַלְתָּ, קָטַלְתָּ; but in *pause* קָטַלְתָּ, קָטַלְתָּ). Before an affirmative beginning with a consonant the *Pathah* remains, whether in the tone-syllable (קָטַלְתָּ, קָטַלְתָּ, קָטַלְתָּ; in *pause* קָטַלְתָּ &c.) or *before* it. In the latter case, however, the *Qameš* of the first syllable, being no longer a pretonic vowel, becomes vocal *Š'wá*; as קָטַלְתָּ, קָטַלְתָּ; comp. § 27. i and § 43. b. On the retention of *á* with *Metheg* of the counter tone in the Perf. consecutive, comp. § 49. i.

Rem. 1. Verbs *middle E* 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 *Šere*, and never of a *Hireq*, of which the *Šere* is a lengthening (comp. § 26. p). On the other hand, *Šere* is retained in an open syllable; regularly so in the weak stems א'ל' (§ 74. g), before suffixes (§ 59. i), and in the pausal forms of the strong stem in an open tone-syllable, e.g. יִדְבַּקָה *it cleaveth*, Job 29, 10 (not יִדְבַּקָה), comp. 2 Sam. 1, 23. Job 41, 15; even (contrary to § 29. g) in a *closed* pausal syllable, e.g. שָׁבַן, Deut. 33, 12 (out of *pause* שָׁבַן, Is. 32, 16).

a different form (קָטַל); but with קָטַל may be compared the noun-form קָטַל, which very frequently expresses an inherent quality, as חָכָם *wise*, חָדָשׁ *new*, וְזָהָב (prop. *bright yellow*) *gold*. Comp. § 84. a. II. 3.

¹ According to Nöldeke, l.l., p. 419, the original Semitic termination of the 1st sing. Perf. was most probably *ká*; comp. the Ethiopic *qatalku*, Arabic *qataltu*. Halévy declares himself against the interchange of כ and ת, in *Les irrégularités du parfait sémitique* (Mélanges Renier, 1886, p. 447 sq.).

- d 2. In some weak stems *middle A*, the *Pathah* under the second radical sometimes, in a closed toneless syllable, becomes — , and, in one example, — . Thus from וַיִּרְשָׁתָּהּ : וַיִּרְשָׁתָּהּ and *thou shalt possess it*, Deut. 17, 14; וַיִּרְשָׁתָּם Deut. 19, 1; וַיִּרְשָׁתָּם Deut. 4, 1, and frequently; from וַיִּלְרַחֵם to *bring forth, to beget*; וַיִּלְרַחֵם Ps. 2, 7 (comp. Num. 11, 12; Jer. 2, 27, 15, 10); from וַיִּפְשָׁטָם *פּוֹשֵׁט* Mal. 3, 20; from וַיִּשְׁאַלְתִּיו *שֹׁאֵל* I have asked him, 1 Sam. 1, 20 (Jud. 13, 6), and three times וַיִּשְׁאַלְתֶּם 1 Sam. 12, 13, 25, 5. Job 21, 29. Qimḥi already indicates the explanation, that the ֵ (ֶ) of these forms of שֹׁאֵל and וַיִּרְשָׁתָּהּ is the original vowel, since along with שֹׁאֵל and וַיִּרְשָׁתָּהּ are also found שֹׁאֵל and וַיִּרְשָׁתָּהּ (see the Lexicon). The possibility of this explanation cannot be denied (especially in the case of וַיִּרְשָׁתָּהּ , see § 69. s); the ֵ in these forms might, however, equally well have arisen from an attenuation of ֶ (§ 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 ֵ is favoured by the character of the following consonant (a sibilant or lingual), and in most of them also by the tendency towards assimilation of the vowels (comp. § 54. k, and 64. f).
- e 3. In verbs *middle O*, the *Hôlēm* is retained in the tone-syllable, e. g. וַיִּנְרָץ *thou didst tremble*; וַיִּבְלוּ in *pause* for וַיִּבְלוּ *they were able*; but in a toneless closed syllable the original short vowel reappears in the form of a *Qames-ḥatuph*; וַיִּבְלָתִיו I have prevailed against him, Ps. 13, 5; וַיִּבְלָתָּהּ (see § 49. h) *then shalt thou be able*, Ex. 18, 23; in a toneless open syllable it becomes vocal ֶ , e. g. וַיִּבְלָהּ , וַיִּבְלוּ .
- f 4. Rarer forms¹ are: *Sing. 3rd fem.* in — (as in Arabic, Ethiopic, and Aramaic), e. g. וַיִּנְאֶלְתָּהּ *it is gone*, Deut. 32, 36 (but $\text{וַיִּנְשַׁבְּחָתָּהּ}$ Is. 23, 15, which Qimḥi and others so explain, is more correctly to be taken as a Participle); from a verb $\text{וַיִּשְׁבַּחְתָּהּ}$, comp. § 72. o. This original feminine ending *-at* is regularly retained before suffixes, see § 59. 1, a; and similarly in stems ל' , both in the form ֵ (which is frequent also in stems ל' § 74. g), and also with the *Pathah* weakened to vocal ֶ before the pleonastic ending — , e. g. וַיִּנְאֶלְתָּהּ § 75. i. In Ezek. 31, 5 the Aramaic orthography, וַיִּנְבְּהָהּ occurs instead of וַיִּנְבְּהָהּ .
- g 2nd *masc.* וַיִּנְרָתָהּ for וַיִּנְרָתָהּ (differing only orthographically), e. g. וַיִּנְרָתָהּ *thou hast dealt treacherously*, Mal. 2, 14; comp. Gen. 3, 12 (וַיִּנְתַּתָּהּ which is twice as common as וַיִּנְתַּתָּהּ , comp. § 66. h); Gen. 21, 23. 2 Sam. 2, 26. 2 Ki. 9, 3. Is. 2, 6. Ps. 56, 9 (so also in *Hiph'il*; 2 Ki. 9, 7. Is. 37, 23. Ps. 60, 4).
- h 2nd *fem.* has sometimes a Yodh at the end, as in וַיִּלְכַּתִּי *thou wentest*, Jer. 31, 21 (comp. 2, 33. 3, 4. 5. 46, 11, especially common in Jeremiah, and Ezek. 16; see, however, Mic. 4, 13. Ruth 3, 3. 4). וַיִּלְכַּתִּי is really intended, for the vowel signs in the text belong to the marginal reading וַיִּלְכַּתִּי (without י)² as in the corresponding

¹ Many of these forms, which are uncommon in Hebrew, are usual in the other Semitic dialects, and may, therefore, be called Aramaisms (Syriasm) or Arabisms. They must not, however, be regarded as cases of borrowing, but as a return to original forms.

² Where the Masora apparently regards the וַיִּלְכַּתִּי as the termination of the 2nd *sing. fem.*, e. g. in Jer. 2, 20 (twice), Mic. 4, 13, it has rather taken the form

אָתָּי (אָתָּי) § 32. *h*. The ordinary form has rejected the final *i*, but it regularly reappears when pronominal suffixes are added (§ 58. 1, *c*).

1st *pers. comm.* sometimes without Yodh, as יָדַעְתָּ Ps. 140, 13. Job 42, 2. 1 Ki. 8, 48. Ezek. 16, 59 (all in *K^ethîbh*), Ps. 16, 2 without a *Q^rê*; in 2 Ki. 18, 20 also יָדַעְתָּ is really intended, as appears from Is. 36, 5. The *Q^rê* requires the ordinary form, to which the vowels of the text properly belong, whilst the *K^ethîbh* is probably to be regarded as the remains of an earlier orthography, which omitted vowel-letters even at the end of the word.

תָּ as the termination of the 2nd *plur. m.* for תָּ Ezek. 33, 26, might just possibly be due to the following ת (comp., for an analogous case, Mic. 3, 12, § 87. *e*), but is probably a copyist's error. *Plur. 2nd fem.* in תָּנָה- (according to others תָּנָה-) Am. 4, 3, but since ה follows, it is perhaps merely due to dittography; comp., however, אָתָּנָה § 32. *i*.

3rd *comm.* has three times the termination וֹן¹; יָדַעְוֹ Deut. 8, 3. 16 (each time before א, and hence, no doubt, if the text is correct, to avoid a hiatus), and in the still more doubtful form יָקֻוֹן Is. 26, 16; on וֹן in the Imperf. see § 47. *m*; on the affixed א in Jos. 10, 24. Is. 28, 12, see § 23. *i*.

As in most Semitic languages (see § 47. *c*, note), the 3rd *fem. plur.* in Hebrew seems originally to have been distinguished from the 3rd *masc. plur.* by the termination תָּ, as in Biblical Aramaic. Nöldeke (*ZDMG.* 1884, p. 411) referred doubtfully for this to the textual readings in Deut. 21, 7. Jos. 15, 4. 18, 12. 14. 19. Jer. 2, 15. 22, 6, where the Masora uniformly inserts the termination א, as well as Gen. 48, 10 in the Samaritan Pentateuch, and Gen. 49, 22. 1 Sam. 4, 15. Ps. 18, 35. Neh. 13, 10. Mayer Lambert (*Une série de Qerê ketîb*, Paris, 1891, p. 6 sqq.) definitely explains all these *K^ethîbh*, as well as Ps. 73, 2. Jer. 50, 6 (?), and (against Nöldeke) 1 Ki. 22, 49. Job 16, 16, also Jer. 48, 41. 51, 56. Ezek. 26, 2. Ps. 68, 14, as remains of the 3rd *fem. plur.* in תָּ. This was abandoned as being indistinguishable from the (later) form of the 3rd *fem. sing.*, but tended to be retained in the perfect of verbs ל'היה, as היה *K^ethîbh* six times in the above examples.

5. The affirmatives תָּ, (תָּ), תָּי, וֹן are generally toneless, and the forms with these inflexions are consequently *Mil'êl* (תָּתָּלָה, &c.); with the other affirmatives they are *Milra'* (§ 15. *c*). The place of the tone may, however, be shifted: (*a*) by the *pause* (§ 29, 4), whenever a vowel which has become vocal Šwâ under the second stem-consonant is restored by the *pause*; as קָטַלְהָ for קָטַלְהָה (דָּבַקְהָ for דָּבַקְהָה), and קָטַלְוֹ for קָטַלְוֹה (מָלְאוֹ for מָלְאוֹה); (*b*) in certain cases after *wāw* consecutive of the *Perfect* (see § 49. *h*).

as 1st *pers. sing.* (comp. Stade, *Gramm.* p. 253); so in Jud. 5, 7, where קָמַתִּי, 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 קָמַת as קָמַתָּ instead of 3rd *sing. fem.* קָמַת (as LXX).

¹ That these examples can hardly be referred to a primitive Semitic ending *ân* in the 3rd *plur. Perf.*, has been shown by Nöldeke in the *ZDMG.*, vol. 38, p. 409 sqq.; comp. also *ZDMG.*, vol. 32, p. 757 sq., where G. Hoffmann proves that the terminations in *Nun* of the 3rd *plur.* in Aramaic, formerly adduced by us, are secondary forms. [See also Driver, *Heb. Tenses*³, p. 6 note.]

- o 6. Contraction of a final ׀ with the ׀ of the affirmative occurs e.g. in כָּרְתִי Hag. 2, 5, &c.; cf. Is. 14, 20, &c. in the *Perf. Pó'el* and Deut. 4, 25 in the *Hiph'il* of שָׁחַת; Is. 21, 2, &c. in the *Hiph'il* of שָׁבַת. Contraction of a final ׀ with the affirmative וְ occurs in וְתָנִי Gen. 34, 16; in *Niph.* Ezr. 9, 7, comp. 2 Chron. 14, 10; in *Hiph.* 2 Chron. 29, 19; with the affirmative וְהָ in the *Imperfect Qal* Ezek. 17, 23; *Pi'el* Ps. 71, 23, where with Baer הַתְרַנֵּנָה is to be read, according to others הַתְרַנְּנָה (comp. in *Pil.* הַתְקוּנָה Ezek. 32, 16), but certainly not הַתְרַנֵּנָה with the Mantua ed., Opatius and Hahn; with וְהָ in the *Imperat. Hiph.* Gen. 4, 23. Is. 32, 9.

§ 45. The Infinitive.

- a 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 קָטַל¹, sometimes incorrectly קָטוּל), 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 (לְקָטַל *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 קָטוּל, sometimes also קָטַל), is restricted to those cases in which it emphasizes the abstract verbal idea, without regard to the subject or object of the action. It stands most frequently as an adverbial accusative along with a finite verb of the same stem (see further § 113. 2)².
- b The flexibility and versatility of the Infin. constr. and the rigidity 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 קָטַל, according to § 93. t, goes back to the ground-form *quṭl (qoṭl)*; hence e. g. with a suffix, קָטַלִי *qōṭli, my killing*.
- c Other forms of the Infin. constr. Qal of the strong verb are—
 (a) קָטַל, e. g. שָׁבַב *to lie*, Gen. 34, 7; שָׁפַל *to sink*, Eccles. 12, 4; especially with verbs which have *ā* in the second syllable of the Imperf.: hence sometimes with those, whose second or third radical is a guttural (frequently besides the ordinary form). All the examples (except שָׁבַב, see above) occur in the closest connexion with the following word, or with suffixes (see § 61. c). In Ezek. 21, 33

¹ Comp. the analogous forms of the noun, § 93. t.

² The terms *absolute* and *construct* are of course not to be understood as implying that the Infin. constr. קָטַל forms the *construct state* (see § 89) of the Infin. absol. (קָטוּל ground-form *qāṭāl*). In the Paradigms the *Inf. constr.*, as the principal form, is placed before the other, under the name of Infinitive simply.

the Masora seems to treat לְטַבַּח (verse 20, in *pause* לְטַבַּח) as an Infinitive = לְטַבַּח; probably לְטַבַּח should be read.

(b) קַטְלָה and, attenuated from it, קַטְלָה; קַטְלָה and קַטְלָה (which are feminine forms¹ of קַטַל and קַטַל, mostly from intransitive verbs, and sometimes found along with forms having no feminine ending in use), e. g. לְאַשְׁמָהּ *to be guilty*, Lev. 5, 26, אֶהְבֶּה *to love*, שִׂנְאָה *to hate*; לְיִרְאָה, often in Deut., *to fear*; זָקְנָה *to be old*; קָרְאָה *to meet* (in לְקִרְאָתָא § 19. k); לְרַבְעָה *to lie down*, Lev. 20, 16; לְמִשְׁחָהּ *to anoint*, Ex. 29, 29; לְרַחֲצָהּ *to wash*, Ex. 30, 18, &c.; לְטִמְאַהּ (also a subst. = *uncleanness*, like טִמְאַהּ, *to be unclean*, Lev. 15, 32; קָרְבָהּ *to approach*, Ex. 36, 2 and elsewhere; comp. Deut. 11, 22. Is. 30, 19. Ezek. 21, 16. Hag. 1, 6; also רַחֲקָהּ *to be far off*, Ezek. 8, 6; חַמְלָהּ *to pity*, Ezek. 16, 5; comp. Hos. 7, 4. On the other hand in חַמְלָהּ Gen. 19, 16, the original *ā* has been modified to *ē*; comp. חֻזְקָהּ Is. 8, 11 and elsewhere.

(c) In the Aramaic manner (מְקַטַל but cf. also Arab. *maqṭal*), there occur as *e* *Inf. Qual.* מְנִירַשׁ *to cast out*, Ezek. 36, 5; מְשִׁלוּחַ *to send*, Est. 9, 19; מְקָרָא *to call* and מִפֶּעַע *to depart*, Num. 10, 2 (Deut. 10, 11); מְקַחַח *to take*, 2 Chron. 19, 7 and elsewhere; מְשִׂאָא *to carry*, Num. 4, 24 and elsewhere (comp. even לְמִשְׁאוֹת Ezek. 17, 9); also with a feminine ending מְעַלָהּ *to go up*, Ezr. 7, 9, &c.; comp. for these forms (almost all very late) Ryssel, *De Elohistae Pentateuchici sermone*, p. 50, and Strack in his *Commentary* on Num. 4, 24.

2. A kind of *Gerund* is formed by the *Inf. constr.* with the preposition לְ; as לְקַטַל *ad interficiendum*, לְנַפַל *ad cadendum* (see § 28. a).

The blending of the לְ with the *Inf. constr.* into a single grammatical form *g* seems to be indicated by the firmly closed syllable, comp. לְשָׁבַב Gen. 34, 7; לְנַפַל Ps. 118, 13, with *Dageš lene* in the פ = *lin-pōl*; hence, also *liq-īṣōl*, &c.; but בְּנַפַל *bin^e-phōl*, Job 4, 13; בְּנַפַל 2 Sam. 3, 34. Exceptions לְצַבָא Num. 4, 23. 8, 24; לְנְתוּשׁ וּלְנְתוּץ Jer. 1, 10. 18, 7. 31, 28; לְשִׁרְוֹר Jer. 47, 4; לְטַבּוּחַ Jer. 11, 19, &c., Ps. 37, 14; according to some also לְסַבַב Num. 21, 4 and לְקַבַשׁ 2 Chron. 28, 10 (Baer לְקַבַשׁ); on the contrary בְּשִׁפְזַן Gen. 35, 22; בְּזִפְזַר Jer. 17, 2. For the meaningless לְרִיּוּשׁ Ezr. 10, 16 read לְרִישׁ.

§ 46. The Imperative.

1. The ground-forms of the Imperative, קַטַל (properly *q^etūl*, which *a* is for an original *qūṭūl*), and קַטַל (see below, letter *c*), the same in pronunciation as the forms of the *Inf. constr.* (§ 45), are also the basis for the formation of the Imperfect (§ 47)². They represent

¹ According to the remark of Elias Levita in Qimḥi's *Mikhlol*, ed. Rittenb., 14 a, these feminine forms occur almost exclusively in connexion with the preposition לְ.

² The *Inf. absol.*, like the Greek *Inf.*, is also sometimes used for the Imperative (§ 113. bb). Comp. in general, Koch, *Der semitische Inf.* (Schaffhausen, 1874).

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'el¹.

- 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. 2). 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 קְטַל (sometimes also *plene*, e.g. שָׁמֹר Eccles. 12, 13; before *Maqqeph* -קְטַל with *Qames-hatuph*), those verbs which have an *a* in the final syllable of the Imperf. (i. e. especially verbs middle *e*) make their Imperative of the form קְטַל, e.g. לְבַשׁ *dress!* (Perf. לָבַשׁ and לְבַשׁ); שָׁבַב *lie down!* in *pause* שָׁבַב I Sam. 3, 5. 6. 9.
- d* 2. The first syllable of the sing. fem. and plur. masc. are usually to be pronounced with *Sewa medium* (qîlêll, qîlêllh, and so שָׁבַב, &c. without *Dageš lenz*, and even מְשַׁבּוּ with *Metheg*, Ex. 12, 21; but compare אֶסְבִּי Jer. 10, 17, and with the same phonetic combination חָשַׁבְתִּי Is. 47, 2; see analogous cases in § 93. *m*); less frequently we find an *ø* instead of the *i*, e.g. מָלַכְתִּי *rule*, Jud. 9, 10; מְשַׁבּוּ *draw*, Ez. 32, 20; חָרְבוּ Jer. 2, 12 (comp. חָרְבִי Is. 44, 27); on קָסַמְתִּי I Sam. 28, 8 *Qere*; יָצַעְתִּי Jer. 22, 20 (comp. I Ki. 13, 7), see § 10. *g*. This *ø* arises (see above, letter *a*) from a singular ground-form qûlîl, not from a retraction of the original *il* of the second syllable. We must abandon the view that the forms with *i* in the first syllable (cf. also אֶמְרִי, הִנְרִי, מְבַרִי, עֲבָרִי) arise from a weakening of the characteristic vowel *ø*. They, or at least some of them, must rather be regarded with Barth (*ZDMG.* 1889, p. 182) as analogous to the original *i*-imperfects. See further analogies in §§ 47. *i* and 48. *i*; 61. *b*, 63. *n*.
- e* The *pausal* form of the 2nd plur. masc. is נָזַרְוּ I Ki. 3, 26; from שָׁמַע, שָׁמְעוּ, &c.; similarly the 2nd sing. fem. in *pause* is עֲבָרִי Is. 23, 12; even without the *pause* מָלַכְתִּי Jud. 9, 10. 12, *Keth.*; קָסַמְתִּי I Sam. 28, 8, *Keth.* (comp. with this also מָלַכְתָּ, &c., § 48. *i*); from שָׂמַח, שָׂמַחְתִּי Joel 2, 21.
- f* 3. In the 2nd plur. fem. שָׁמְעֵנָּה occurs once, in Gen. 4, 23 (for שָׁמְעֵנָּה) with loss of the הַ- and insertion of a helping vowel, unless it is simply to be pointed שָׁמְעֵנָּה. Also instead of the abnormal קָרָאָן Ex. 2, 20 (for קָרָאָנָה) we should perhaps read as in Ruth 1, 20 קָרָאָן (comp. מִצָּאָן I, 9 and לָבָן I, 12).

¹ In *Hoph'al* an Imperative is found only twice (Ezek. 32, 19. Jer. 49, 8), and closely approximating in meaning to the reflexive.

§ 47. *The Imperfect and its Inflexion.*

1. The persons of the Imperfect¹, in contra-distinction to those *a* of 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 (לְטַל). 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 (׳, ׀, ך, ן) remaining in each form. But as this preformative united to the stem-form was not always sufficient to express at the same time differences both of gender and number, the distinction had to be indicated, in several cases, by special *affirmatives*. Comp. the Table, § 40. *c.*

2. The derivation and meaning, both of the preformatives and the *b* affirmatives, can still, in most cases, be recognized.

In the *first pers.* לְטַלְטַל, plur. לְטַלְטַלְטַל, ך is probably connected with לְטַלְטַל, and ן with לְטַלְטַל; here no indication of gender or number by a special ending was necessary. As regards the vocalization, the

¹ On the use of the Semitic Perfect and Imperfect cf. § 106 sqq. and the literature cited in § 106. For our present purpose the following account will suffice:—The name *Imperfect* is here used in direct opposition 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 primary 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.

Arabic points to the ground-forms *äqtül* and *näqtül*: the *i* of the 1st plur. is, therefore, as in the other preformatives, attenuated from *a*. The *S^ghöl* of the 1st sing. is probably to be explained by the preference of the *n* for this sound (comp. § 22. *o*, also § 51. *p*); according to Qimḥi, it arises from an endeavour to avoid the similarity of sound between *תְּקַטְל* (which is the Babylonian punctuation) and *יְקַטְל*, which, according to this view, was likewise pronounced *iqṭöl*¹.

- c* The preformative *n* of the *second* persons (*תְּקַטְל*, ground-form *täqtül*, &c.) is, without doubt, connected with the *n* of *תָּקַם*, *תָּקַם*, &c., and the *affirmative* *ʾ* of the 2nd fem. sing. *תְּקַטְלִי* with the *i* of the original feminine form *תָּקַמִּי* (see § 32. *h*). The *affirmative* *ʾ* of the 2nd masc. plur. *תְּקַטְלוּ* (in its more complete form, *יִן*, see Rem. 4) is the sign of the plural, as in the 3rd pers., and also in the Perfect (§ 44. *l*). In the Imperfect, however, it is restricted in both persons to the masculine², while the *affirmative* *נָה* (also *וּ*) of the 3rd and 2nd plur. fem. is probably connected with *הִנָּה eae* and *הִנָּה vos* (fem.).
- d* The preformatives of the *third* persons (*ʾ* in the masc. *יְקַטְל*³, ground-form *yäqtül*, plur. *יְקַטְלוּ*, ground-form *yäqtülû*; *n* in the fem. *תְּקַטְלִי*, plur. *תְּקַטְלִנָּה*) have not yet met with any satisfactory explanation. With *n* might most obviously be compared the original feminine

¹ Compare § 24. *e*. In favour of the above view of Qimḥi may be urged the phonetic orthography *תְּקַטְל* (in Prov. 18, 24 *תְּקַטְל*), 2 Sam. 14, 19. Mic. 6, 10, for *תְּקַטְל*, and *תְּקַטְלִי* 1 Chron. 2, 13 for *תְּקַטְלִי* (as verse 12). Also *תְּקַטְלִי* Mic. 6, 11 is probably for *תְּקַטְלִי* = *תְּקַטְלִי*, *תְּקַטְלִי* Is. 10, 12 for *תְּקַטְלִי*; *תְּקַטְלִי* Is. 51, 19 for *תְּקַטְלִי*; and conversely (according to Wellhausen, *Text der BB. Sam.* p. 5) *תְּקַטְלִי* was written for *תְּקַטְלִי*. Similarly, *תְּקַטְלִי* 1 Sam. 14, 49 is probably for *תְּקַטְלִי* or *תְּקַטְלִי*; in 2 Sam. 23, 8 *תְּקַטְלִי* is, according to the LXX, an error for *תְּקַטְלִי* = *תְּקַטְלִי*. In Assyrian also the simple *i* corresponds to the Hebrew *ʾ* as the preformative of the Impf. Qal.

² This is also the proper gender of the plural syllable *û*, *ûn*. In Hebrew, certainly, it is used in the 3rd plur. Perfect for both genders, but in the kindred languages only for the masculine, e. g. in Syriac *q^etälû*, *q^etälûn*, with the feminine form *q^etälên*, in Western Aramaic *q^etälû*, fem. *q^etälâ*; in Arabic *qätälû*, fem. *qätälû*, Ethiopic *qätälû*, *qätälû*.

³ The usual derivation of the *ʾ* from the *ʾ* of the pronoun *תָּה*, comparing *תְּקַטְלִי* for *תְּקַטְלִי* (§ 69), has little in its favour, and does not explain the *Yodh preformative* of the plural. Rödiger conjectured that there formerly existed a corresponding pronoun of the 3rd pers. (*ya?*), and compared the Amharic *yêh* (this) and *ya* (who), on the assumption that these are old Semitic forms. It is deserving of notice, moreover, that in Arabic and Western Aramaic *Yodh* also appears as the preformative of the 3rd fem. plur. (see below, letter *k*).

ending η — of nouns, and of the 3rd fem. sing. perfect. For the affirmatives ו (וִי) and הָ, see letter *c*.

3. The characteristic vowel of the second syllable becomes $\check{S}^wá e$ before tone-bearing affirmatives which begin with a vowel, but is retained (as being in the tone-syllable) before the toneless affirmative הָ. Thus: תִּקְטְלוּ, יִקְטְלוּ, תִּקְטְלוּ (but in *pause* תִּקְטְלוּ, &c.), תִּקְטְלוּהָ.

Rem. 1. The \bar{o} of the second syllable (as in the inf. constr. and imper.), being *f* lengthened from an original \bar{u} in the tone-syllable, is only tone-long (§ 9. *r*). Hence it follows that: (*a*) it is only incorrectly, although somewhat frequently, written *plene*; (*b*) before *Maqqeph* the short vowel reappears as *Qames-haṭuph*, e. g. וִיכְתֹב-שָׁם and he wrote there, Jos. 8, 32 (but compare also Ex. 21, 37. Jos. 18, 20); (*c*) it becomes $\check{S}^wá$ before the tone-bearing affirmatives וֹ— and ו (see above, No. 3; but Jerome still heard e. g. *iezbuleni* = וַיִּבְלִי; cf. *ZAW.* iv. 83).

Quite anomalous are the three examples which, instead of a shortening to $\check{S}^wá$, *g* exhibit a long \bar{u} : הֵם יִשְׁפּוּטוּהֶם Ex. 18, 26, immediately before the principal pause, but according to Qimḥi (ed. *Rittenb.* p. 18^b), and against our editions, with the tone on the ultima; likewise הֵם יִשְׁפּוּטוּהֶם Ruth 2, 8; and תִּשְׁמְרוּם (in principal pause) Prov. 14, 3. In the first two cases perhaps יִשְׁפּוּטוּ and תִּשְׁמְרוּ (for יִשְׁפּוּטוּ, &c.) are intended, in virtue of a retrogressive effect of the pause, while in Prov. 14, 3 תִּשְׁמְרוּם is to be read, with August Müller.

The \bar{o} of the second syllable is to be found almost exclusively with verbs *middle a*, like קָטַל. Intransitives *middle a* and *e* almost always keep \check{a} (*Pathah*)¹, in the imperf., e. g. רָבַץ, יִרְבֹּץ to couch, שָׁכַב, יִשְׁכַּב to lie down (לָמַד, יִלְמַד to learn is also originally intransitive = to accustom oneself); גָּדַל, יִגְדַל to become great (but comp. שָׁכַח and שָׁכַח imperf. יִשְׁכַּח to dwell and to inhabit, נָבַל imperf. יִבַל to wither); also from verbs *middle o*, as קָטַן to be small, the imperf. has the form יִקְטַן.

Sometimes both forms occur together; those with \bar{o} having a transitive, and *i* those with \check{a} an intransitive meaning, e. g. יִקְצַר he cuts off, יִקְצַר he is cut off, i. e. is short; חָלַשׁ imperf. \bar{o} , to overcome, Ex. 17, 13; imperf. \check{a} , to be overcome, Job 14, 10. More rarely both forms are used without any distinction, e. g. יִשָּׁף and יִשָּׁף he bites, יִחַפֵּץ and יִחַפֵּץ he is inclined (but only the latter with a transitive meaning = he bends, in Job 40, 17). On the *a* of the imperf. of verbs *middle* and *third guttural*, comp. § 64. *b*; § 65. *b*. In some verbs first guttural (§ 63. *n*), ע'ע' (§ 67. *p*), ו'ו' (§ 69. *i*), and נ'נ' (§ 68. *i*), and in יָתַן for *yintēn* from נָתַן to give, instead of \check{a} or \bar{o} a moveable *Sere* (originally \check{y}) is found in the second syllable. A trace of these *i*-imperfects² in the ordinary strong verb is probably to be found in וַיִּכְתְּבוּ 2 Ki. 7, 8, since טָבַח otherwise only occurs in *Qal*. We call these three forms of the imperfect after their characteristic vowel imperf. *a*, imperf. *a*, imperf. *e*.

¹ This \check{a} is, however, by no means restricted to intransitives in the strong verb; apart from verbs third guttural (§ 65. *b*), it is to be found in פ'פ' and ע'ע', and in many verbs נ'נ' and ו'ו' (§§ 69–71).

² Cf. Barth, 'Das \check{y} -Imperfekt im Nordsemitischen,' *ZDMG.* 1889, p. 177 sqq.

k 3. For the 3rd *sing. fem.* תִּקְטֹל (= *tig-tōl*), Baer requires in 1 Sam. 25, 20 תִּפְנֹשׁ (read with ed. Mant. &c. תִּפְנֹשׁ). For the 2nd *sing. fem.* (תִּקְטְלִי) the form תִּקְטֹל is found in Is. 57, 8. Jer. 3, 5. Ezek. 22, 4. 23, 32, in every case after the regular form; but cf. also Ezek. 26, 14. For the 3rd *plur. fem.* תִּקְטְלֶנָּה we find in Jer. 49, 11, in pause תִּבְטְחוּ (for תִּבְטְחֶנָּה), and thrice (as if to distinguish it from the 2nd pers.) the form יִקְטְלֶנָּה with the preformative י (as always in Western Aram., Arab., Eth., and Assy.), in Gen. 30, 38. 1 Sam. 6, 12. Dan. 8, 22. On the other hand, תִּקְטְלֶנָּה appears in some cases to have been incorrectly used even for the fem. of the 3rd pers. or for the masc. of the 2nd pers. *sing.* as תִּשְׁלַחְנָה Jud. 5, 26, where, however, perhaps תִּשְׁלַחְנָה is to be read, and Obad. 13, for 2nd *sing. masc.*, according to Olshausen a corruption of תִּשְׁלַח יָדְךָ; comp. Prov. 1, 20. 8, 3. In Ex. 1, 10 read תִּקְרְאוּ; in Is. 27, 11. 28, 3, as also in Job 17, 16, 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 *ānā*.

l For נָה we frequently find, especially in the Pentateuch and mostly after *wāw consecutive* (see § 49. 2), simply נָה, e. g. Gen. 19, 33. 36. 37, 7. Ex. 1, 18. 19. 15, 20. Num. 25, 2. Ezek. 3, 20. 16, 55; in Arab. always *nā*. According to Elias Levita, תִּלְכְּשֵׁן (2 Sam. 13, 18) is the only example of this kind in the strong verb. The form וַתִּנְבְּהֶנָּה (so both Qimḥi and ed. Mant.; but Baer וַתִּנְבְּהֶנָּה) for וַתִּנְבְּהֶנָּה *they were high*, Ezek. 16, 50, is irregular, with וַ inserted after the manner of verbs וַע' and וַע', § 67. *d*; § 72. *i*; according to Olshausen it is an error caused by the following form.

m 4. Instead of the plural forms in ה there are, especially in the older Books, over 300 forms¹ with the fuller ending הִי (with *Nūn paragogicum*), always bearing the tone; compare § 29. *m* and § 44. *l*; on its retention before suffixes § 60. *e*; also defectively הִי Ex. 21, 18. 22, 8, &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 יִלְכְּטוּ they collect, Ps. 104, 28; יִרְגְּזוּ they tremble, Ex. 15, 14; תִּשְׁמְעוּ ye shall hear, Deut. 1, 17; comp. Jos. 24, 15, with *Segolta*; Is. 17, 12 twice, in verse 13 with *Zaqeph qaton*, 41, 5 after *wāw consec.* Without the pause, e. g. Ps. 11, 2 יִדְרְכוּ קִשְׁתָּהּ, comp. 4, 3. Gen. 18, 28. 29. 30 sqq. 44, 1. Jos. 4, 6 (יִשְׁאֲלוּ); Is. 8, 12. 1 Sam. 9, 13. Ruth 2, 9 (יִקְצְרוּ and יִשְׁאֲבוּ); Jud. 11, 18 after *wāw consec.*

Some of these examples may be partly due to euphonic laws, e. g. certainly Ex. 17, 5. Num. 16, 29. 32, 20. 1 Sam. 9, 13. 1 Ki. 9, 6, and often, to avoid

¹ [See details in Böttcher, § 930; and cf. Driver on 1 Sam. 2, 15.]

a hiatus before נ or ׅ. 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, 11: $\text{וַיִּבְשׂוּ וַיִּחְזְרוּ וַיִּבְשׂוּ וַיִּחְזְרוּ}$ *they see not; may they see and become ashamed.* All this applies also to the corresponding forms in the Imperfect of the derived conjugations¹. In Aramaic and Arabic this earlier ן (old Arabic *ânā*) is the regular termination; but in some dialects of vulgar Arabic it has also become *ā*.

With an affixed נ we find (in the imperf. Niph'al) יִשְׁנֶה Jer. 10, 5, evidently an error for יִשְׁנֶהָ , caused by the preceding נִשְׁנֶה .—In יִשְׁנֶהָ Is. 35, 1, the ending ן is changed into ם before the following ן.

5. Corresponding to the use of ן for ם there occurs in the 2nd sing. fem., although much less frequently, the fuller ending ן־ (as in Aram. and Arab.; old Arab. *inā*), always with the tone, for ן־, generally again in the principal pause, and almost in all cases with retention of the vowel of the penultima; thus תִּרְבְּקִין Ruth 2, 8. 21, cf. 3, 4. 18. 1 Sam. 1, 14 (תִּשְׁתַּבְּרִין). Jer. 31, 22. Is. 45, 10.

6. On the reappearance in pause of the *ō* which had become *šwā* in the forms תִּקְטָלִי , &c., see above, letter *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. יִנְדָּלִי , יִנְדָּלוּ . This influence of the pause extends even to the forms without affirmatives, e. g. יִנְדָּל , in pause יִנְדָּל־ . Only the fuller forms in *ân* and *in* have the tone always on the ultima, since the vowels *ā* and *i* in a closed final syllable never allow of the retraction of the tone.

§ 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*)². 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;

¹ It is to be observed that the Chronicles often omit the *Nûn*, where it is found in the parallel passage in the Books of Kings; comp. 1 Ki. 8, 38. 43 with 2 Chron. 6, 29. 33; 1 Ki. 12, 24. 2 Ki. 11, 5 with 2 Chron. 11, 4. 23, 4.

² The perfect has only *one* form, since it cannot be used, like the imperfect, to express mood-relations (see § 106. *p*).

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 *yāqtūlū*, (a) a subjunctive, *yāqtūlā*; (b) a 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 consists in a long הָֿ affixed to the 1st pers. sing. or plur., e.g. אֶשְׁמְרָה from אֶשְׁמֵר¹. It occurs in almost all conjugations and classes of the strong and weak verb (except of course in the passives), and this final הָֿ has the tone wherever the affirmatives י and '־ would have it. As before these endings, so also before the הָֿ cohortative, the moveable vowel of the last syllable of the verbal form becomes *Šwā*, e.g. in Qal אֶשְׁמְרָה *I will observe*, in Pi'el בְּנַחֲמֵהָ *let us break asunder*, Ps. 2, 3; on אֶשְׁמְרָה Is. 18, 4 *Q'erē* (comp. also 27, 4. Ezr. 8, 25, &c.), see § 10. *h*; with the *K'ethibh* 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 הָֿ, as (e.g.) in Hiph. אֶזְבְּרָה *I will praise*. Finally (as before *ū* and *ī*), the vowel which became *Šwā* is restored in pause as tone-vowel; thus for the cohortative אֶשְׁמְרָה the pausal form is אֶשְׁמְרָה, Ps. 59, 10; comp. Gen. 18, 21. Is. 41, 26.

d The change of הָֿ into the obtuse הָֿ seems to occur in 1 Sam. 28, 15, unless, with Nestle, we are to assume a blending of readings, אֶשְׁמְרָה and אֶשְׁמְרָה; and with the 3rd pers. Ps. 20, 4, in a syllable sharpened by a following *Dageš forte conjunct.*; compare similar cases of the change of הָֿ into the obtuse הָֿ in § 80. *d*; perhaps, however, אֶשְׁמְרָה—with suffix—is rather intended. An הָֿ cohort. is also found with the 3rd pers. in Is. 5, 19 (twice); Ezek. 23, 20, and again in verse 16 according to the *Q'erē*, but in both these cases without any influence on the meaning, as also Prov. 1, 20 and 8, 3; see above, § 47. *k*. Probably another instance occurs in Job 11, 17, although there תִּעָפֵף might also, with *Qimhī*, be regarded as 2nd masc. The doubly irregular form תְּבוֹאֲתָה Deut. 33, 16 (for תְּבוֹאֲתָה = תָּבֵא) is to be explained with Olshausen and König as a scribal error, due to a confusion with תְּבוֹאֲתָה in verse 14. For תְּבוֹאֲתָה Job 22, 21 the noun תְּבוֹאֲתָה *thine increase*, might be meant, but the Masora has evidently intended an imperfect with the ending *at*, instead of הָֿ, before the

¹ Probably this *ā* is abridged from the syllable *an*, which in Arabic (see above, Rem. to letter *b*) is used for the formation of the 'energetic' mood, and in Hebrew (see the foot-note to § 58. *i*) often stands before suffixes.

suffix; on the analogy of the 3rd sing. fem. perfect, see § 59. 1, *a*; on ותבאתי 1 Sam. 25, 34, see § 76. *g*.

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.

4. The general characteristic of the *jussive* form of the imperfect *f* is rapidity of pronunciation, combined with a tendency to retract¹ 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, letter *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. יִקְטֹל, ind. יִקְטִיל), and similarly in the weak verb, wherever the imperfect indicative has *l* in the second syllable, e. g. from יִשָּׁב impf. *Hiph.* יוֹשִׁיב, juss. יוֹשֵׁב; from יָמַח and יָמַח; also in *Qal* of the verbs ו'ע' and ו'ע', as יָמַח, ind. יָמַח; יָגַל, ind. יָגִיל; in all conjugations of verbs ל'ה', so that the rejection (*apocope*) of the ending ה־ in *Qal* and *Hiph.* gives rise to monosyllabic forms, with or without a helping vowel under the second radical, e. g. *Qal* ind. יָגַל, juss. יָגַל; *Hiph.* ind. יָגַל, juss. יָגַל; also in the *Pi'el* יָצוּ from the indic. יִצְוּהוּ (called the apocopated imperfects). But even so almost all² the plural forms of the jussive coincide with those of the indicative, except that the jussive excludes the lengthened ending ה־. Neither do

¹ According to Praetorius, however (*ZAW.* 1883, p. 24 sq.), those cases in which the penultima of the jussive, or of the imperfect consecutive (see § 49. 2) bears the tone, are survivals of the oldest Hebrew tone-system; see notes on § 44. *b*, and § 75. *hh*.

² Only in 1st plur. do we find a few shortened forms, as נִשְׁאָר 1 Sam. 14, 36, parallel with cohortatives; and נָרָא Is. 41, 23 *Keth.*

the forms of the 2nd sing. fem., as תְּמַלִּי, תְּמַלִּי, &c., admit of any change in the jussive, nor any forms of the singular or plural to which suffixes are attached, e.g. תְּמַלִּי as ind. Jer. 38, 15, as jussive Jer. 41, 8.

h The meaning of this form is similar to that of the cohortative, except that in the jussive the command or wish is limited almost exclusively to the 2nd or 3rd pers. On special uses of the jussive, e.g. in hypothetical sentences (even in the 1st pers.), see § 109. 2.

i 5. The imperative, in accordance with its other points of connexion with the imperfect in form and meaning, admits of a similar lengthening (by הַ, Arab. *imper. energicus*, with the ending -*ännä* or -*än*, in pause -*ā*) and shortening. Thus in *Qal* of the strong verb, the lengthened form of שָׁמַר *guard* is יִשְׁמְרָה (*šöm'rá*, comp. קָטְלִי *qit'li*, § 46. *d*); עֹזֵב Jer. 49, 11; שָׁבַב *lie down*; שָׁמַע *hear*, in lesser pause שְׁמָעָה Dan. 9, 19. Comp., however, also מָכַרָה *sell*, Gen. 25, 31, notwithstanding the impf. יִמְכַרָה; עָרְבָה Job 33, 5 (comp. עָרְבוּ Jer. 46, 3), but impf. יַעֲרֹב; אָסַפָה *collect*, Num. 11, 16 (for אָסַף comp. § 63. *l* and the plural אָסַפּוּ), but 2nd masc. אָסַף; נָצְרָה Ps. 141, 3. Barth (see above, § 47. *i* note) finds in these forms a trace of old imperfects in *i*, cf. § 63. *n*. On the other hand, נָרְבָה Ps. 69, 9, but impf. יִקְרַב. Without הַ, we have the form לָךְ *go*, Num. 23, 13. Jud. 19, 13. The form קָטַל in pause becomes קָטְלָה, the form קָטַל becomes קָטְלָה, e.g. תִּחַנְוֶרָה and רָגַנָה (in both cases with *Tiphtha*) Is. 32, 11; יִרְשָׁה Deut. 33, 23. But also without the pause we find פָּשַׁטָה Is. 32, 11; מְלוּכָה Jud. 9, 8 *Keth.* and צְרוּפָה Ps. 26, 2 *Keth.*, on which see § 46. *e*.

k The shortened imperative is found only in verbs ה'ל', e.g. in *Pi'el* גַּל from גָּלָה. The shade of meaning conveyed by the imperatives with הַ is not always so perceptible as in the cohortative forms of the imperfect, but the longer form is frequently emphatic, e.g. קוּם *rise up*, קוּמָה *up!* הֵן *give*, תִּנֶּה *give up!*

l Rem. The form דְּעָה for דַּעָה, accepted in Prov. 24, 14 by the best authorities, is evidently due to the influence of the הַ (*hā*) which follows it in close connexion, and is therefore analogous to the cases discussed in § 22. *c*, and § 37. *d*, of an *a* passing into *S'ghöl*; for other examples of the kind, see above, letter *d*, § 73. *d*, and § 80. *i*. On the other hand, it is doubtful whether רָבָה Jud. 9, 29 (from

¹ On the reading יִשְׁמְרָה (i.e. *šäm'erā*, according to the Jewish grammarians), required by the Masora in Ps. 86, 2. 119, 167 (cf. also Is. 38, 14, and שְׁמַרְנִי Ps. 16, 1), see § 9. *v*; on מְלוּכָה, Jud. 9, 8 *Keth.*, see § 46. *e*.

רָבָה) is intended for רָבָה, and not rather for the common form of the imperative *Pf'zl* רָבֵה. In favour of the former explanation it may be urged that the imperative הִצַּק (from הִצַּק) follows immediately after; in favour of the latter, that the ending הִצַּק, with imperatives of verbs הִצַּק, is not found elsewhere, and also that here no guttural follows (as in Prov. 24, 14).

§ 49. *The Perfect and Imperfect with Wāw Consecutive.*

1. The use of the two tense-forms, as is shown more fully in the *a* Syntax (§§ 106, 107, comp. above, § 47, note on letter *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 tenses¹, is the phenomenon that, in representing a series of past events, only the first 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 Ki. 20, 1, *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, 17, *the Lord shall bring* (imperf.) *upon thee . . . days, &c.*; 18, *and it shall come to pass* (perf. הִיָּה) *in that day . . .*

This progress in the sequence of time, is regularly indicated by *b* a pregnant *and* (called *wāw consecutive*)², which in itself is really only a variety of the ordinary *wāw copulative*, but which sometimes (in the

¹ The other Semitic languages do not exhibit this peculiarity, excepting the Phœnician, the most closely related to Hebrew, and of course the Moabitish dialect of the *Māsa'* inscription, which is practically identical with Old Hebrew.

² 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. Compare, 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 respective tenses into their opposites, i. e., according to the old view, the future into the preterite, and vice versa.

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.

c 2. The *wāw consecutive* of the *imperfect* is (*a*) pronounced with *Pathah* and a *Dageš forte* in the next letter, as וַיִּקְטֹל and he killed; before *א* of the 1st pers. sing. (according to § 22. 1) with *Qames*, as וַיִּקְטֹל and I killed. Exceptions are, וַיִּכְבְּדֵךְ Ezek. 16, 10 according to the *Diqduqe ha-f' amim*, § 71; also וַיִּמְתְּתֵהוּ 2 Sam. 1, 10 according to *Qimḥi*; but in Jud. 6, 9 וַיִּנְרִישׁ should be read according to *Baer*, and וַיִּנְרִישׁ in both places in Jud. 20, 6. *Dageš forte* is always omitted in the preformative ו, in accordance with § 20. *m*.

d (*b*) When a shortening of the imperfect form is possible (comp. § 48. *g*), it takes effect, as a rule (but cf. § 51. *n*), after *wāw consec.*, e.g. in Hiphil וַיִּקְטֹל (§ 53. *n*). The tendency to retract the tone from the final syllable¹ 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. וַיִּקְמָה, juss. וַיִּקְמָה, with *wāw consec.* וַיִּקְמָה and he arose (§ 67. *n* and *x*, § 68. *d*, § 69. *p*, § 71, § 72. *t* and *aa*, § 73. *e*)².

e In the *first* pers. sing. alone the retraction of the tone and even the reducing of the long vowel in the final syllable (*ū* to *ō*, *ī* to *ē*) are not usual³, and the apocope in verbs וֹל occurs more rarely; e.g. always וַיִּקְמָה (or וַיִּקְמָה, a merely orthographic difference), and I arose, Hiph. וַיִּרְאֶה : וַיִּרְאֶה and I saw, more frequently than וַיִּרְאֶה, § 75. *t*. On the other hand, the form with final הֹ is often used in the 1st pers. both sing. and plur., especially in the later Books, e.g. וַיִּשְׁלַחֵהּ and I sent, Gen. 32, 6. 41, 11. 43, 21. Jud. 6, 9. 10. 1 Sam. 2, 28. 28, 15. 2 Sam. 22, 24. Ps. 3, 6. 7, 5. 90, 10. 119, 55. Job 1, 15 sqq. Ezra 7, 28. 8, 25. 9, 3. Neh. 2, 13. 5, 7. 8. 13. 6, 11. 13, 7-11. 21 sqq., &c.—

¹ Compare, however, above, note on § 48. *f*.

² The plural forms in וַי also occur less frequently after *wāw consecutive*; comp., however, וַיִּרְיבֵן Jud. 8, 1. 11, 18. Am. 6, 3. Ezek. 44, 8. Deut. 4, 11. 5, 20. The 2nd fem. sing. in וַי never occurs after *wāw consecutive*.

³ In the 1st plur. וַיִּנְעַמְיָד Neh. 4, 3 is the only instance in which the vowel remains unreduced (comp. וַיִּנְשׂוּב, i. e. וַיִּנְשׂוּב, 4, 9 *Keth.*; וַיִּנְשׂוּב *Qeth.*). On the treatment of the tone in the imperfect, imperative, and infinitive *Niph'al*, see § 51. *n*.

Sometimes, as in Ps. 3, 6, not without a certain emphasis of expression. In Is. 8, 2 וַאֲשַׁעֲרָהּ may have been originally intended; in Ps. 73, 16 וַאֲשַׁעֲרָהּ and in Job 30, 26 וַאֲשַׁעֲרָהּ.

This וַ is in meaning a strengthened *wāw copulative*, and resembles in pronunciation the form which is retained in Arabic as the ordinary copula (*wā*)¹. 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. Comp. בַּמָּוֶה, בַּמָּוֶה, בַּמָּוֶה (for בַּמָּוֶה), where the prepositions בַּ and הַ, and the particle וַ, are closely connected with מָוֶה in the same way.

The retraction of the tone also occurs in such combinations, as in לְמָוֶה (for לְמָוֶה, § 102. I).—The coincidence 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 form².

3. The counterpart of *wāw consecutive* of the *imperfect*, is *wāw consecutive* of the *perfect*, by means of which perfects are placed as 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 (וַ, וּ, וְ, as 2 Ki. 7, 4, and וְ); 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. הָלַכְתִּי I went, consecutive form וְהָלַכְתִּי and I will go, Jud. 1, 3, where it is co-ordinated with another *perfect consecutive*, which again is the consecutive to an *imperative*; הִבְדֵּילָהּ, consecutive וְהִבְדֵּילָהּ and it shall divide, Ex. 26, 33, but this removing of the tone from an *î* in the second syllable in *Hiph'il*, as well as in the *perf. Qal* of verbs ה'ל' (see below, letter *k*), is exceptional; comp. § 53. r. See further on this usage in § 112.

As the first of the above examples shows, the *Qames* of the first syllable is retained in the strong *perf. consec. Qal*, as formerly before the tone, so now in the

¹ In use the Hebrew *wāw* does duty for the Arabic *fā* as well as *wā*, on which see further in the Syntax.

² The opinion of earlier grammarians (shared by De Lagarde in *Uebersicht über die . . . Bildung der Nomina*, p. 213), that וַיִּקְטַל arose by contraction from הָיָה וַיִּקְטַל (= הָיָה) it happened (that) he killed, is as untenable as the derivation from וְהָיָה וַיִּקְטַל.

secondary tone, and therefore necessarily takes *Metheg*. On the other hand, the δ of the second syllable in verbs *middle o* upon losing the tone becomes δ , e.g. וַיִּכְלְתָהּ Ex. 18, 23.

k The shifting forward of the tone after the *wāw* consecutive of the *perfect*, is however not consistently carried out. It is omitted—(a) always in the 1st *pers. pl.*, e.g. וַיִּשְׁבְּנוּ Gen. 34, 16; (b) generally (especially in *Qal*) in verbs א"ל and ל"ל, e.g. Ex. 17, 6. 26, 4. 6. 7. 10 sqq. Lev. 19, 14. 32. 25, 17. 36. 43. Is. 14, 4. Jer. 29, 14. Joel 4, 21. Ps. 19, 14, also regularly in *Hiph'il* before the affirmatives הַ— and ו (cf. § 53. *r*), and always in the 1st *sing.* of verbs א"ל (but cf. וַקָּרָאתָ, Jer. 2, 2, &c.)¹.

l But before a following א the ultima mostly bears the tone on phonetic grounds, e.g. וּבְצֵאתְךָ אֶל־ Gen. 6, 18. Ex. 3, 18. Zech. 6, 10 (by the side of וּבְצֵאתְךָ etc. (comp., however, וַקָּרָאתָ, before א, Gen. 17, 19. Jer. 7, 27. Ezek. 36, 29); וְהִפִּיתָ אֶת־ Jud. 6, 16, cf. Lev. 24, 5 (but also וַעֲזַבְתִּי אֶת־ Lev. 25, 21). Likewise, before ע, e.g. וְהִיָּתָּה 2 Sam. 15, 33 (comp., however, וַקָּרָאתִי עָלָיו, Ezek. 33, 21); on verbs ע"ע, see § 67. *k* and *ee*.

(*i*) The tone always keeps its place when such a perfect stands in *pause*, e.g. וַיִּשְׁבַּעְתָּ Deut. 11, 16; וְאָמַרְתָּ Is. 14, 4. Jud. 4, 8; sometimes even in the lesser pause, as Deut. 2, 28. Ezek. 3, 26. 1 Sam. 29, 8 (where see Driver), with *Zaqeph qaton*; and frequently also immediately before a tone-syllable (according to § 29. *e*), as in וַיִּשְׁבַּחְתָּהּ בָּהָא Deut. 17, 14, comp. 23, 13; Ezek. 14, 13. 17, 22. Amos 1, 4. 7. 10. 12—but also וְהִשְׁקַחְתָּ בָּהָא Deut. 21, 11. 23, 14. 24, 19.

§ 50. The Participle.

a 1. Qal has both an active participle, called *Pō'el* from its form (פֹּעֵל), and a passive, *Pā'ul* (פָּעוּל).

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 *Pō'el* and *Hiph'il* are lost, except in the participles. But the form פֹּעֵל is also used actively (see letter *f*), and instances of the form *quṭṭāl* 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 sqq.

b 2. In the intransitive verbs *mid. e* and *mid. o*, the form of the participle active of Qal coincides in form (according to § 44. *a*, note 3) with the 3rd *sing.* of the perfect, e.g. יֹשֵׁן sleeping, from יָשַׁן; (only orthographically different from the perf. יָגַר) fearing; comp. the formation of the participle in *Niph'al*, § 51. *a*. On the other hand, the participle of verbs *mid. a* takes the form קָיֵל (so even from the

¹ The irregularity in the tone of these perfects manifestly results from following conflicting theories, not that of Ben Ašer alone.

transitive שָׂנֵא to hate, part. שֹׂנֵא). The *š* of these forms has arisen through an obscuring of the *ā*, and is therefore unchangeable, comp.

§ 9. *q*. The form קָטַל (with a changeable *Qames* in both syllables), which would correspond to the forms קָטַל and קָטַל, is only in use as a noun, comp. § 84. *a*, 3. The formation of the participle in *Pi'el*, *Hiph'il*, and *Hithpa'el* follows a different method.

3. Participles form their feminine (הַקְטִילָה or הַקְטִילָת) and their plural *c* like other nouns (§ 80, § 84. *a*, Nos. 13, 15, § 94).

Rem. 1. From the above it follows, that the *ā* of the form קָטַל is lengthened *d* from *ā*, and consequently changeable (e.g. fem. קָטַלָה); and that the *š* of קָטַל on the other hand is weakened from an unchangeable *š*. In Arabic the verbal adjective of the form *qātil* corresponds to the form *qātil*, and the part. *qātil* to *qātil*. In both cases, therefore, the *ē* of the second syllable is lengthened from *i*, and is consequently changeable (e.g. קָטַל, plur. קְטִילִים; קָטַל, constr. pl. קְטִילֵי).

תּוֹמִיָּה Ps. 16, 15, instead of the form קָטַל, is an anomaly; it is possible, *e* however, that תּוֹמִיָּה (incorrectly written fully) is intended (comp. סְבִיב 2 Ki. 8, 21), or even the imperfect *Hiph'il* of תּוֹמִיָּה. The form יוֹסִיף, which in Is. 29, 14. 38, 5. Eccles. 1, 18 appears to be a partic. (for יוֹסִיף), is better explained in all these places as the 3rd sing. imperf. *Hiph.* (comp. for the construction Is. 28, 16); אֹזְבִיל 1 Chron. 27, 30, being a proper name and a foreign word, need not be considered.—אָבַד (constr. state of אָבַד), with *ā* in the second syllable, occurs in Deut. 32, 28 (comp. moreover, § 65. *d*). On הוֹלֵם Is. 41, 7 (for הוֹלֵם), see § 29. *f*.

2. A *Pā'ul* is sometimes formed even from *intransitive verbs*, which properly do not admit of a passive. It then denotes an inherent quality, e.g. אֲנָשׁ נְאֻשׁ *desperate*, Jer. 15, 18, &c.; בְּטוּחַ *trustful*, Is. 26, 3. Ps. 112, 7; עָצוֹם *strong*; שָׂכּוֹר *drunken*, Is. 51, 21; and even from a transitive verb, חָזוֹן *handling*, Cant. 3, 8; נְכוֹן *mindful*, Ps. 103, 14; comp. § 84. *a*, No. 9.

B. VERBA DERIVATIVA, OR DERIVED CONJUGATIONS.

§ 51. Niph'al¹.

1. The characteristic of this conjugation consists essentially in *a* a prefix² to the stem. This probably from the first had two forms: (*a*) the prepositive *nā*, as in the Hebrew perfect, although in the strong verb the *ā* is always attenuated to *i*: נִקְטַל for the original *nā-qāḏāl*, participle נִקְטַל, infinitive absolute sometimes נִקְטֹל; (*b*) the

¹ Comp. A. Rieder, *De linguae Hebr. verbis, quae vocantur derivata nifal et hitpael*, Gumbinnen (Progr. des Gymn.), 1884, a list of all the strong Niph'al forms (81) and Hithpa'el forms (36) in the Old Testament.

² See Philippi in *ZDMG*. 1886, p. 650, and Barth, *ibid.* 1894, p. 8 sq.

proclitic *in*, as in all the forms of the corresponding Arabic conjugation VII. 'inqātālā; in Hebrew *hin*, as in the imperfect הִקְטִיל (for *y^hhin-qātēl* with syncope of the ה, and assimilation of the נ), in the imperative and infinitive construct הִקְטִיל (for *hinqātēl*), and in the infinitive absolute הִקְטִיל. The inflexion of *Niph'al* is perfectly analogous to that of *Qal*.

b The features of *Niph'al* are accordingly in the perfect and participle the 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 doubling invariably causes the lengthening of the preceding vowel (see § 63. *h*).

c 2. As regards its meaning, *Niph'al* bears some resemblance to the Greek *middle voice*, in being—(a) primarily *reflexive* of *Qal*, e.g. נִלְחֵץ to thrust oneself (against), נִשְׁמַר to take heed to oneself, φυλάσσεσθαι, נִסְתַּר to hide oneself, נִגְאָל to redeem oneself; comp. also נִעֲנֶה to answer for oneself. Equally characteristic of *Niph'al* is its frequent use to express emotions which react upon the mind; נָחַם to trouble oneself, נִאָּנַח to sigh (to bemoan oneself, comp. ὀδύρεσθαι, lamentari, contristari); as well to express actions which the subject allows to happen to himself, or to have an effect upon himself (*Niph'al tolerativum*), e.g. דָּרַשׁ to search, to inquire, Niph. to allow oneself to be inquired of, Is. 65, 1. Ezek. 14, 3 and elsewhere; מָצָא to find, Niph. to allow oneself to be found, Is. 65, 1, &c.; נִוָּחַר to allow oneself to be admonished, or warned; so the Niph. of יָסַר to warn, to correct, Jer. 6, 8. 31, 18, &c.

d (b) It expresses *reciprocal* or mutual action, e.g. דִּבְּרָהּ to speak, Niph. to speak to one another; שָׁפַט to judge, Niph. to go to law with one another; יָעִין to counsel, Niph. to take counsel, comp. the middle and deponent verbs βουλευέσθαι (נוֹעֵין), μάχεσθαι (נִלְחָם), altercari, luctari (נִצָּה to strive with one another) proeliari.

e (c) It has also, like *Hithpa'ēl* (§ 54. *f*) and the Greek *middle*, the meaning of the active, with the addition of *to oneself (sibi)*, for oneself, e.g. נִשְׁאַל to ask (something) for oneself (1 Sam. 20, 6. 28. Neh. 13, 6), comp. 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*¹ of *Qal*, e.g. יָלַד to bear, Niph. to be born; קָבַר to bury, Niph.

¹ Comp. Halfmann, *Beiträge zur Syntax der hebräischen Sprache*, 1. St.,

to be buried. In cases also where *Qal* is intransitive in meaning, or is not used, *Niph'al* appears as the passive of *Pi'el* and *Hiph'il*, e.g. *בָּכַר* to be in honour, *Pi'el* to honour, *Niph.* to be honoured (as well as *Pu'al* *בָּכַר*); *בָּחַר* *Pi'el* to conceal, *Hiph.* to destroy, *Niph.* passive of either. In such cases *Niph'al* may again coincide in meaning with *Qal* (*חָלָה*) *Qal* and *Niph.* to be ill) and even take an accusative.

Examples of denominatives are, *נִזְכָּר* to be born a male, Ex. 34, 19 (from *זָכַר*; *g* but perhaps *הִזְכָּר* should here be read); *נִלְבַּב* *cordatum fieri*, Job 11, 12 (from *לָבַב* *cor*); doubtless also *נִבְנָה* to obtain children, Gen. 16, 2. 30, 3.

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, not only do the forms mentioned in § 52. *e* point to a differently formed passive of *Qal*, but even a passive of *Niph'al* itself appears to occur in the form *נִנְאֵלוּ* Is. 59, 3. Lam. 4, 14, although König prefers to regard it as a *forma mixta*, in the sense that the punctuators intended to indicate also the possibility of another reading, *יִנְאֵלוּ*, the imperf. *Pu'al* [cf. also Wright, *Compar. Gramm.*, p. 224]. Although the use of *Niph'al* as a passive was introduced at an early period, and became tolerably common, it is nevertheless quite secondary to the reflexive use¹.

Rem. 1. The *infin. absol.* *נִקְטַל* is connected in form with the perfect, to which it bears the same relation as *קָטַל* to *קָטַל* in *Qal*, the *δ* in the second syllable being weakened from an original *ā*. Examples are, *נִבְסַף* Gen. 31, 30; *נִלְחַם* Jud. 11, 25; *נִשְׂאֵל* 1 Sam. 20, 6. 28, all in connexion with the perfect.

Examples of the form *הִקְטַל* (in connexion with imperfects) are, *הִנְתַּן* Jer. 32, 4; *הִאָּכַל* Lev. 7, 18; once *הִאָּדַרֶשׁ* Ezek. 14, 3, where, perhaps, the subsequent *הִאָּדַרֶשׁ* has led to the corruption of *א* for *ה*.—Moreover, the form *הִקְטַל* is not infrequently used also for the *infin. absol.*², e.g. Ex. 22, 3. Num. 15, 31. Deut. 4, 26. 1 Ki. 20, 39. On the other hand, for the wholly abnormal *בְּהִנְדָּה* Ps. 68, 3 (commonly explained as being intended to correspond in sound with the subsequent *הִנְדָּה*, but probably a 'forma mixta,' combining the readings *בְּהִנְדָּה* and *בְּהִנְדָּה*), should simply be read.

Wittenb., 1888, 2. St. 1892 (Gymn.-Programm), statistics of the *Niph'al* (*Pu'al*, *Hoph'al*, and *qātāl*) 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.

¹ In other languages, also, this transition from reflexive to passive may be observed. Thus in Sanskrit and Greek it is still easy to see how the middle precedes the passive form.

² But, like *הִקְטַל*, only in connexion with imperfects. Barth is therefore right in describing (*Nominalbildung*, p. 74) both forms as later analogous formations (in addition to the original Semitic *נִקְטַל*), intended to assimilate the infinitive to the imperfect which it strengthens.

- 1 Syncope of the ה after prepositions is required by the Masora in בְּשִׁטְלוֹ Prov. 24, 17 (for בְּהַפְּרֵי, בְּהֵרֵג, בְּהֵרֵג Ezek. 26, 15 and בְּעֵטָף Lam. 2, 11; also in verbs ל'ה Ex. 10, 3 (לְעֵנֹת); 34, 24 and Is. 1, 12 (לְרֵאִית); in verbs ו'ע Job 33, 30 (לְאוֹר). It is, however, extremely doubtful whether the *infin. Qal* of the *K'thibh* is not rather intended in all these examples; it certainly is so in Lam. 2, 11, as appears from comparison with Ps. 61, 3.
- 11 2. Instead of the *Sere* in the ultima of the imperfect, the original *Pathah* often occurs in pause, e.g. וַיִּנְמַל Gen. 21, 8; comp. Ex. 31, 17. 2 Sam. 12, 15 (with final שׁ); 17, 23 (with ק); Jon. 1, 5 (with ט); see § 29. q. In the 2nd and 3rd plur. fem. *Pathah* predominates, e.g. תִּזְכְּרֶנָּה Is. 65, 17; *Sere* occurs only in הִעֲנֶנָּה Ruth 1, 13, from עָנָן, and hence, with loss of the doubling, for הִעֲנֶנָּה; comp. even הִתְאַמְנָה Is. 60, 14.—With *Nūn paragogicum* (see § 47. m) in the 2nd and 3rd plur. inasc. are found, יִלְכְּדוּן, יִלְחָמוּן, &c., in pause יִבְהִילוּן, יִשְׂמְרוּן, &c.; but Job 19, 24 (comp. 24, 24) יִחַצְבוּן.
- 11 3. When the imperfect, the infinitive (in ē), or the imperative is followed in close connexion by a monosyllable, or by a word with the tone on the first syllable, the tone is, as a rule (but cf. וַיִּאֲבֹק אִישׁ Gen. 32, 25), shifted back from the ultima to the penultima, while the ultima, which thus loses the tone, takes *S'ghól* instead of *Sere*; e.g. יִשְׁלַח בָּהּ Ezek. 33, 12; וַיַּעֲתֶר לוֹ Gen. 25, 21; in the imperative, 13, 9.—So always לֶךְ הִשְׁמֹר לְךָ (since לְךָ counts as *one* syllable) Gen. 24, 6, &c., comp. 1 Sam. 19, 2; and even with *Pathah* in the ultima, תַּעֲוֹב אֶרְיָן Job 18, 4 (but comp. וַיַּעֲתֶר אֱלֹהִים 2 Sam. 21, 14). Although in isolated cases (e.g. Gen. 32, 25. Ezra 8, 23) the tone is not thrown back, in spite of a tone-syllable following, the retraction has become general in certain forms, even when the next word begins with a toneless syllable; especially after 1 *consec.*, e.g. וַיִּשְׁאָר Gen. 7, 25; וַיִּלָּחֶם Num. 21, 1 and elsewhere frequently, וַיִּצְמַד 25, 3; and always so in the imperative הִשְׁמֹר Ex. 23, 21. Job 36, 21, and (before Metheg of the counter-tone) Deut. 24, 8. 2 Ki. 6, 9. On the avoidance of pausal-forms in the imperative (Zech. 2, 11), and imperfect (Prov. 24, 4, &c.), see § 29. o, and note; on the other hand, always הִפְלִיט, יִפְלִיט, &c.
- o In the *imperative*, נִקְבְּצוּ, with the rejection of the initial ה, occurs in Ps. 43, 9 (Joel 4, 11 in pause נִקְבְּצוּ; comp. נָלוּ Jer. 50, 5) for הִקְבְּצוּ; but in all these examples either the reading or the explanation is doubtful. With ה־ *paragogicum*, הִשְׁבַּעָה לִּי swear unto me, Gen. 21, 23, &c.
- p 4. For the 1st sing. of the *imperfect*, the form אֶקְטִיל is as frequent as אֶקְטִיל, e.g. אֶדְרֹשׁ I shall be inquired of, Ezek. 14, 3; אֶשְׁבַּע I will swear, Gen. 21, 24; cf. 16, 2. Num. 23, 15. Ezek. 20, 36, and so always in the cohortative, e.g. אֶנְקַמָּה I will avenge me, Is. 1, 44, comp. 1 Sam. 12, 7. Ezek. 26, 2, and see § 69. t. The Babylonian punctuation only admits *š* under the preformative of the 1st person.

§ 52. Pi'el and Pu'al.

- a 1. The *characteristic* of this conjugation consists in the doubling of the middle radical. From the simple stem *qaṭal* (comp. § 43. b) the

form קָטַל (comp. the Arabic conj. II. *qāttālā*) would naturally follow as the *perfect* of the active (*Pi'el*). The *Pathah* of the first syllable is, however, with one exception (see letter *m*), always attenuated to *i* in the *perfect*. In the second syllable, *ā* has been retained in the majority of cases, so that the conjugation should more correctly be called *Pi'al*; but very frequently¹ this *ā* also is attenuated to *i*, which is then regularly lengthened to *ē*, under the influence of the tone. Comp. 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 *Šeghol*, see below, letter *l*.—Hence, for the 3rd *sing. masc. perfect*, there arise forms like אָבַד, לָפַד, קָרַשׁ, גָּדַף, בָּבַד, &c.—Before affirmatives beginning with a consonant, however, *ā* is always retained, thus קָטַלְתָּ, קָטַלְתָּם, קָטַלְנוּ, &c. In the *infinitives* (*absol.* קָטַל, obscured from *qāttāl*; *constr.* קָטַל), *imperfect* (יִקְטַל), and *participle* (מְקַטֵּל) the original *ā* of the first syllable reappears throughout. The vocal *Šewā* of the preformatives is weakened from a short vowel; comp. the Arabic imperfect *yūqāttīl*, participle *mūqāttīl*.

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 otherwise analogous to that of *Qal*.

Rem. 1. The preformative ה, which in the remaining conjugations also is the prefix of the participle, is probably connected with the *interrogative* or *indefinite* (comp. § 37) pronoun מִי *quis? quicumque* (fem. מִה); comp. § 85, No. 48.

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 (comp. § 20. *m*), e.g. שָׁלַחַח for שָׁלַחַח Ezek. 17, 7; בָּקַשְׁהוּ 2 Chron. 15, 15 (but in the *imperative* always בָּקַשׁוּ 1 Sam. 28, 7, &c.), and so always in הַלְלוּ *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 *Haṭeph*, as in קָטַחַח Gen. 2, 23, with $\frac{\text{---}}{\text{---}}$ owing to the influence of the preceding *u*, comp. פָּעַלוּ פָּעַלוּ, &c.; Gen. 9, 14. Jud. 16, 16. In the *imperfect* and *participle* the *Šewā* under the preformatives (*Haṭeph-Pathah* under א in the 1st *sing. imperfect*) serves at the same time as a characteristic of both conjugations.

¹ In all verbs which end in *Nun*, and in almost all which end in *Lamed* (Olsh. p. 538). Barth is probably right in supposing (*ZDMG*. 1894, p. 1 sqq.) that the vowels of the strengthened perfects have been influenced by the *imperfect*.

e 3. According to the valuable suggestion of Böttcher (*Ausführliches Lehrbuch*, § 904 sqq. and § 1022¹), many supposed perfects of *Pi'al* are in reality 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, 20), חָפַשׁ, טָרַף, יָלַד, יָצַר, לָקַח, עָבַד, נִשְׁגַּל, נִשְׁגַּל, שָׁפַף, שָׁפַף. Barth (see below) adds to the list the apparent *Pi'al-perfects* of אָסַר (hence with *ū* of the first syllable lengthened to *ō*), רָאָה, עָשָׂה, עֹזֵב, נָפַח, כָּרַת, חָצַב, וָזַה, בָּוּז, אָסַר (hence with *ū* of the first syllable lengthened to *ō*), הָרַג, הָרַה, הָרַע, זָרַק, זָרַע, הָרַג, הָרַה, הָרַע, זָרַק, זָרַע, מָרַט, שָׂרַף, קָרַה, מָרַט; also the infinitives absolute הָרַוּ וְהָנִוּ Is. 59, 13. In these cases there was 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 *š* of the first syllable (comp. Arab. *qūtlā* as passive of *qātālā*), and the *a* of the second syllable would be in accordance with the vocalization of all the other passives (see § 39. f). Comp. § 52. s and § 53. u.

f 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 sharpening of the first syllable, appears in individual cases as—(a) a *strengthening* and *repetition* of the action (comp. the *intensive* and *iterative* nouns with the middle radical doubled, § 84. b)², 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) Gen. 23, 4, *Pi'el* to bury (many) 1 Ki. 11, 15, and often so in Syr. and Arab. Other modifications of the *intensive* or *iterative* meaning are, e.g. פָּתַח to open, *Pi'el* to loose; סָפַר to count, *Pi'el* to recount: [cf. בָּתַב, בָּתַב, חָשַׁב, חָשַׁב, הִלְכָה, הִלְכָה, רָפֵא, רָפֵא, חָפַשׁ, חָפַשׁ, תַּפֵּשׁ, תַּפֵּשׁ, מָאֵהַב, מָאֵהַב, מָרַצַח, מָרַצַח].

¹ As Mayer Lambert observes, the same view was already expressed by Ibn Ġanāḥ (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 sqq.

² Analogous examples, in which the doubling of a letter has likewise an *intensive* force, are such German words as, *reichen*, *recken* (Eng. *to reach*, *to rack*); *streichen* (*stringo*), *strecken*; comp. *strich* (*a stroke*), *strecke* (*a stretch*); *wacker* from *wachen*; others in which it has the *causative* sense, are *stechen*, *stecken*; *wachen*, *wecken*; τέλλω *to bring to an end* (comp. the stem τέλω *to end*, in τέλος, τελέω); γεινάω *to beget*, from the stem γένω *to come into being* (comp. γένος). The above examples also show that in German when the *ch* is doubled, in consequence of the preceding diphthong becoming a short vowel, it takes the form of *ck* (*ck*); similarly in Hebrew, according to § 13. 3, an aspirated *B^ggadk^ephath* letter, when doubled, necessarily becomes a *tenuis*.

The eager pursuit of an action may also consist in urging and *g* 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. הִיָּה to cause to live, צִדַק to declare innocent, יָלַד to help in child-bearing.

(c) *Denominatives* (see § 38. b) are frequently formed in this conju- *h* gation, and generally express a being occupied with the object expressed by the noun, either to form or to make use of it, e.g. קָנַן to make a nest, to nest (from קָן), עָפַר to throw dust, to dust (from עָפָר), עָנַן to gather the clouds together (from עָנָן), שָׁלַשׁ to divide in three parts, or to do a thing for the third time (from שָׁלַשׁ); probably also דִּבֵּר 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*, comp. our to skin, to behead, to bone), e.g. שָׁרַשׁ from שָׁרַשׁ to root out, to extirpate, וָנַב prop. to injure the tail (וָנַב), hence to rout the rear of an army, to set upon it; לָבַב to ravish the heart; דָּשַׁן to remove the ashes (דָּשָׁן), הִטָּא to free from sin (הִטָּא), עָצַם to break any one's bones (עָצַם; comp., in the same sense, גָּרַם from גָּרַם); כָּעַף to lop the boughs, Is. 10, 33 (from כָּעַף a bough). Some words are clearly denominatives, although the noun from which they are derived is no longer found, e.g. סָבַל to stone, to pelt with stones (also used in this sense in *Qal*), and to remove stones (from a field), to clear away stones; comp. 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. בִּגְלוּשׁ, *Pi'el* to seek, *Pu'al* to be sought.

In *Pi'el* the literal, concrete meaning of the verb has sometimes been retained, *i* when *Qal* has acquired a figurative sense, the former being regarded as the stronger and more striking, e.g. גָּלָה, *Pi'el* to uncover, *Qal* to reveal, also to emigrate, i. e. to make the land bare.

Also with an intransitive sense *Pi'el* occurs as an intensive form, but only in *h* poetic language, e.g. חָתַת in *Pi'el* to be broken in pieces, Jer. 51, 56; פָּחַד to tremble, Is. 51, 13. Prov. 28, 14; פָּתַח to be open, Is. 48, 8. 60, 11; רָדָה to be drunken, Is. 34, 5. 7; [מָעַט to be few, Eccl. 12, 3.]

Rem. 1. The (more frequent) form of the perfect with *Pathah* in the second *l* syllable appears especially before *Maqqeph* (Eccles. 9, 15. 12, 9) 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. Comp. גָּדַל Is. 49, 21 with גָּדַל Jos. 4, 14. Esth. 3, 1; מָלַט Ezek. 33, 5 with מָלַט Eccles. 9, 15; קָצַץ 2 Ki. 8, 16

with קָצַץ Ps. 129, 4. The 3rd *sing. fem.* in *pause* is always of the form קָטְלָהּ, except קָבְצָה Mic. 1, 7; the 3rd plur. always as קָטְלוּ; the 2nd and 1st *sing.* and 1st *plur.* of course as קָטַלְתָּ, קָטַלְתְּ, קָטַלְתִּי, קָטַלְתִּי (but always יִדְבַּרְתִּי, יִדְבַּרְתִּי), קָטְלוּנִי. In the 3rd *sing. perf.*, דִּבֶּר to *speak*, כִּפַּר to *pardon*, and כָּבַם to *wash clothes* (also כָּבַם Gen. 49, 11) take *S^gghöl*, but become in *pause* דִּבֶּר, כִּפַּר, כָּבַם (2 Sam. 19, 25); the *pausal* form of כִּפַּר never occurs.

m Pathah in the first syllable (as in Aramaic and Arabic) occurs only once, Gen. 41, 51, נִשְׁכַּחְתִּי he made me forget, to emphasize more clearly the play on the name מִנְשָׁח.

n 2. In the *imperfect, 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^gghöl*, e. g. יִבְקֶשׁ-לּוֹ he seeks for himself, Is. 40, 20; קִדְּשָׁנִי sanctify unto me, Ex. 13, 2. *Pausal-forms* with *S^gghöl* instead of *Sere*, as יִרְחַף Deut. 32, 11, אֲרַחֵם Hos. 2, 6 (comp. Ex. 32, 6 in the infinitive, and Gen. 21, 9 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 in *pause*; comp. § 29. *s* and § 65. *e*. In the 1st *sing. imperfect* the *e*-sound occurs in two words for *Hateph-Pathah*, under the preformative א; אֲנַרְהָ Lev. 26, 33. Ezek. 5, 12. 12, 14 and וְאִסְעָרֶם Zech. 7, 14 (in accordance with § 23. *h*).—Before the full plural ending ון (see § 47. *m*) the *Sere* is retained in *pause*, e. g. תִּדְבַּרְוּ Ps. 58, 2 (but Gen. 32, 20 תִּדְבַּרְוּ, comp. 2 Ki. 6, 19. Deut. 12, 3; so before *Silluq* Ps. 58, 3. Job 21, 11 and even before *Zaqeph qaton* Deut. 7, 5. Instead of תִּקְטַלְנָהּ, forms like תִּקְטַלְנָה are also found, e. g. Is. 3, 16. 13, 18, in both cases before a sibilant and in *pause*. Also פִּלְלֵנִי Ps. 55, 10 occurs as the 2nd *sing. imperative* (probably an intentional imitation of the sound of the preceding בִּלְעַ and קָרַב (for *qarrabh*) Ezek. 37, 17.

o 3. The *infinite absolute* of *Pi'el* has sometimes the special form קָטַל given in the paradigm, e. g. יַפֵּר castigando, Ps. 118, 18; comp. Ex. 21, 19. 1 Ki. 19, 10 (from a verb ל'א); Ps. 40, 2 (from a verb ל'ה); 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 *š* attenuated to *š* as in the *perfect*), e. g. in 1 Chron. 8, 8 שָׁלַח; probably also קָטַר Jer. 44, 21; and for the sake of assonance even for *infinitive absolute* in 2 Sam. 12, 14 (נִאֲצָה). On the other hand, שָׁלַם Deut. 32, 35 and דִּבֶּר Jer. 5, 13 are better regarded as substantives, while דִּבֶּר Ex. 6, 28. Num. 3, 1. Deut. 4, 15 (in each case after בְּיוֹם), Hos. 1, 2 (after תִּהְיֶינָה), in all of which places it is considered by König (after Qimḥi) to be *infinitive construct*, is really *perfect* of *Pi'el*.

p The *infinitive construct Pi'el*, with the *fem.* ending, occurs in יַפְרָה Lev. 26, 18; וַנְּפָרָה Ps. 147, 1; with ת of the *fem.*, שִׁלְכֶת Is. 6, 13; before a suffix עֲדָקְתָהּ Ezek. 16, 52. On the verbal nouns after the form of the Aram. inf. *Pa'il* (קָטַלְתָּ), see § 84*b*, No. 22.

q 4. In *Pu'al* *š* is sometimes found instead of *š* in the initial syllable, e. g. מְדֻמָּה dyed red, Ex. 25, 5 &c. Nah. 2, 4, comp. 3, 7 שִׁדְדָה; Ezek. 16, 4. Ps. 72, 20. 80, 11. According to Baer's reading also in תִּרְצָחוּ Ps. 62, 4, and so also Ben

Ašer, but Ben Naphtali הַרְצִחוּ. It is merely an orthographic licence when *š* is written fully, e. g. יוֹלֵךְ Jud. 18, 29.

5. As *infinitive absolute* of *Pu'al* we find גָּנַב Gen. 40, 15.—No instance of the *inf. constr.* occurs in the strong verb in *Pu'al*.

6. A few examples occur of the *participle Pu'al* without the preformative (מְ), e. g. אָבָל Ex. 3, 2; יוֹלֵךְ (for מְיֹלֵךְ) Jud. 13, 8; לָקַח 2 Ki. 2, 10. These *participles* are distinguished from the *perfect* (as in *Niph'al*) by the *ā* of the final syllable. For other examples, see Is. 30, 24. Eccles. 9, 12 (where יוֹקֵשׁוּם, according to § 20. *n*, stands for 'קָ = מְיֹקָ); but, according to the Masora, *not* Ezek. 26, 17, since הִתְלַלַּח as *Mil'el* can only be the *perfect*. The rejection of the מְ might be favoured by an initial מ, as in Is. 18, 2. 7 (but also מְשַׁמֵּן); Prov. 25, 19; so also in the *participle Pi'el* מֵאֵן Ex. 7, 27 &c. &c. (always after אָם, but cf. also הַמְאִינִים Jer. 13, 10) and מְהַר Zeph. 1, 14 (and Is. 8, 1. 3?). Notice, however, Barth's suggestion (*Nominalbildung*, p. 273) that, as the active of forms like אָבָל only occurs in *Qal*, they are perfect participles of former *passives* of *Qal* (see letter *e*), as Jer. 13, 10, and perfect participles of *Pi'el*, as in Jer. 23, 32.—On מְרַבֵּעַ Ezek. 45, 2, see § 65. *d*.

§ 53. Hiph'il and Hoph'al.

1. The characteristic of the active (*Hiph'il*) is a prefixed ה, in the perfect הִ (with the *ā* attenuated to *š*, as in *Pi'el*), which forms a closed syllable with the first consonant of the stem. The second syllable of the perfect had also originally an *ā* (comp. the Arabic conj. iv. *aqtālā*, and in Hebrew the return of the *Pathah* in the 2nd and 1st pers. הִקְטִילָהּ &c.); after the attenuation of this *ā* to *š*, it ought by rule to have been lengthened to *ē* in the tone-syllable, as in Aramaic אִקְטִיל, beside הִקְטִיל in Biblical Aramaic. Instead of this, however, it is always replaced in the strong verb by *i*¹, יִ, but sometimes written defectively —; cf. § 9. *g*.

Similarly in the infinitive construct הִקְטִיל, and in the imperfect and participle יִקְטִיל and מִקְטִיל, which are syncopated from יִהְיֶה הִקְטִיל and מִהְיֶה הִקְטִיל; § 23. *k*. The corresponding Arabic forms (*juqtīl* and *muqtīl*) point to an original *š* in the second syllable of these forms. In Hebrew the regular lengthening of this *š* to *ē* appears in the strong verb, at least in the *jussive* and in the *imperfect consecutive* (see letter *n*), as also in the *imperative* of the 2nd sing. masc. (letter *m*);

¹ This *i* may have been transferred originally from the imperfects of verbs י'ע, as a convenient means of distinction between the indicative and jussive, to the *imperfect* of the strong verb and afterwards to the whole of *Hiph'il*; so Stade, Philippi, Praetorius, *ZAW.* 1883, p. 52 sq.

on הַקָּטִילָה , הַקָּטִילָה comp. § 26. *p.* On the return of the original \ddot{a} in the second syllable 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 \ddot{a} (in pause \bar{a}), as its characteristic, thus:—*Perf.* הִקְטִיל or הִקְטִיל , *Imperf.* יִקְטִיל (syncopated from יִהְיֶה־קֹטֵל) or יִקְטִיל , *Part.* מִקְטִיל or מִקְטִיל (from מִיְהַקְטִיל); but the *infinitive absolute* has the form הִקְטִיל . On the origin of the preformative ה , comp. § 55. *i.*

Thus the characteristics of both conjugations are the ה preformative in the *perfect*, *imperative* and *infinitive*; in the *imperfect* and *participle Hiph'il*, Pathah; under the preformatives, in the *Hoph'al* δ or \dot{u} .

c 2. The signification of *Hiph'il* is primarily, and even more frequently than in *Pi'el* (§ 52. *g.*), *causative* of *Qal*, e.g. יָצָא to go forth, *Hiph.* to bring forth, to lead forth, to draw forth; קָדַשׁ to be holy, *Hiph.* to sanctify. Under the *causative* is also included (as in *Pi'el*) the *declarative* sense, e.g. הִצְדִּיק to pronounce just; הִרְשִׁיעַ to make one an evil doer (meaning to pronounce guilty); comp. עָקַט , in *Hiph'il*, Job 9, 20, to represent as perverse. If *Qal* has already a transitive meaning, *Hiph'il* then takes two accusatives (see § 117. *cc.*). In some verbs, *Pi'el* and *Hiph'il* occur side by side in the same sense, e.g. פָּרַח *perit*, *Pi'el* and *Hiph'il*, *perdidit*; as a rule, 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. נָטַח to bow oneself, *Hiph.* to bow, to bend.

d Among the ideas expressed by the *causative* and *transitive* are included, moreover, according to the *Hebrew* point of view (and that of the *Semitic* languages generally, 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'ls* 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 אָהַל , זָהַר , יָפַע , צִוִּין to be bright, to shine (to give forth lustre); opposed to $\text{הִשְׁתָּהַר$ to become dark; חָזַק , גָּבַר , אָמַן to be strong (to develop strength), עָטַף to be weak; אָרַף to be long (to acquire length); $\text{גָּבַהַ$ to be high; הוּם to be in tumult, זָעַק to cry out, רָוַע , רָנַן to make a noise, to exult; חָלַף to sprout (to put forth shoots), comp. פָּרַח to bloom, עָרַף , שׁוֹף to overflow; חָרַשׁ , חָשָׂה , סָכַת , צָמַת to be silent (*silentium facere*,

Pliny); מותק *to be sweet*; צלח *to have success*; שפל *to be low*; אדם *to become red*, לבן *to become white*.

(b) Stems which express in *Hiph'il* the entering into a certain condition and, *e* further, the being in the same: אמן *to become firm, to trust in*; באש *to become stinking*; וור *to become boiling, to boil over*; חלה *to become ill*, חלם *to become healthy*; חסר *to come to want*; חרה *to become hot*; יבש *to become dry, to become ashamed*; יתר *to attain superiority*; סכן *to become familiar*; עור, קוין *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: נגש *to draw near*, קרב *to come near*; רחק *to withdraw far off* (all these three are besides used as causatives); קדם *to come before*.

(c) Stems which express action in some particular direction: חלק *f* *to flatter (to act smoothly)*; יטב *to act well, to do good*; סבל *to act foolishly*, שכל *to act wisely*; ערם *to act craftily*; צנע *to act submissively*; רשע, רעע *to act wickedly, godlessly*; שחת, תעב, תעב *to act corruptly, shamefully*; שלם *to act peacefully, to be at peace, to be submissive*.

Further, there are in *Hiph'il* a considerable number of *denominatives* which *g* express, the *bringing out*, the *producing* of a thing, and so are properly regarded as causatives¹, e. g. אצר *to set over the treasury*, Neh. 13, 13 (unless וְאֶצְרָה is to be read, as in Neh. 7, 2); בכר *to bring forth a firstborn*; גשם *to cause to rain*; זרע *to produce seed*; ימון (*Hiph'il* הַיְמוֹן) *to go to the right*, cf. השמאל *to go to the left*; פרם *to get or to have hoofs*; קרן *to get or to have horns*; שכל *to produce abortion*; שלג *to become snow-white*; שמון *to grow fat, to become fat*; שרש *to put forth roots, &c.*; so also according to the ordinary acceptance האזניחוי Is. 19, 6, they have become stinking, from אֶזְנֵיחַ stinking or stench, with retention of the *ס* prosthetic, § 19. *m* (but see below, letter *p*).

Of a different kind are the *denominatives* from: און (scarcely *to prick up the ears*, but) *to act with the ears, to hear*; comp. לשון *to move the tongue, to slander*, and the German *äugeln (to make eyes), füßeln, näseln, schwänzeln*; שבר *to sell corn*; שכם *to set out early (to load the back [of the camel, &c.] ?)*; opposed to העריב.

3. The meaning of *Hoph'al* is (a) primarily that of a *passive of* *h* *Hiph'il*, e. g. השלף *proiecit*, השלף or השלף *proiectus est*; (b) sometimes *Hoph'al* also takes the place of a passive of *Qal*, as נקם *to avenge*, *Hoph. to be avenged* (but see below, letter *u*).

Rem. 1. The *י* of the 3rd sing. masc. perf. *Hiph'il* remains, without exception, *i* 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

¹ The same ideas are also paraphrased by the verb עשה *(to make)*, e. g. *to make fat*, for, to produce fat upon his body, Job 15, 27; *to make fruit, to make branches*, for, to put forth, to yield, Job 14, 9. Hos. 8, 7, comp. the Lat. *corpus, robur, sobolem, divitias facere*, and the Ital. *far corpo, far forze, far frutto*.

the *imperative* and *imperfect* where \bar{e} (or, under the influence of gutturals, \bar{a}) takes its place. In an open syllable the \bar{e} is retained almost throughout; only in very isolated instances has it been weakened to \bar{e}^w (see letters *n* and *o*).

k 2. The *infinitive absolute* commonly has *Sere* without *Yodh*, e.g. הַקְטִילֵם Jud. 17, 3; less frequently it takes \bar{y} , e.g. הַשְׁמִיד Am. 9, 8; comp. Deut. 15, 14. Is. 59, 4. Jer. 3, 15. 23, 32. 44, 25. Job 34, 35. Eccles. 10, 10. With \aleph instead of ה (probably a mere scribal error, not an Aramaism) we find אֲשַׁבֵּים Jer. 25, 3. Rare exceptions, where the form with *Sere* stands for the *infinitive construct*, are, e.g. Deut. 32, 8. Jer. 44, 19. 25. Prov. 25, 2. Job 13, 3(?); on the other hand, for לַעֲשֶׂה Deut. 26, 12 (which looks like an infinitive Hiph'il with syncope of the ה, for לְהַעֲשֶׂה) the right reading is simply לַעֲשֶׂה, since elsewhere the Pi'el alone occurs with the meaning to *tithe*; for בַּעֲשֶׂה Neh. 10, 39 perhaps the inf. Qal (בַּעֲשֶׂה) was intended, as in 1 Sam. 8, 15. 17 (=to take the tithe). At the same time it is doubtful whether the present punctuation does not arise from a combination of two different readings, the Qal and the Pi'el.

l Instead of the ordinary form of the *infinitive construct* הַקְטִיל the form הַקְטִיל sometimes occurs, e.g. הַשְׁמִיד to destroy, Deut. 7, 24. 28, 48; comp. Lev. 14, 46. Jos. 11, 14. Jer. 50, 34. 51, 33 and הַקְצוֹת for הַקְצוֹת Lev. 14, 43 from קָצַח; scarcely, however, Lev. 7, 35. 2 Sam. 22, 1 (Ps. 18, 1). 1 Ki. 11, 16 (after עָד), and in the passages so explained by König (p. 276) where הַשְׁאִיר appears after prepositions¹; [cf. Driver on Deut. 3, 3. 4, 15. 7, 24. 28, 55.]

With \bar{a} in the second syllable there occurs הַזְבִּירֶם Ezek. 21, 29 (comp. the substantival infin. הַפְּצֵר 1 Sam. 15, 23).—In the Aram. manner לְהַשְׁמַעוֹת is found in Ezek. 24, 26 (as a construct form) for the *infinitive Hiph'il* (comp. the *infinitive Hithpa'el*, Dan. 11, 23). On the syncope of the ה after prefixes, see letter *q*.

m 3. In the *imperative* the \bar{e} is retained throughout in the open syllable, according to letter *i*, and consequently also before suffixes (see § 61. 2), and הַפְּרֹגִי *paragogic*, e.g. הַקְטִיבָה attend to (but in Ps. 118, 25 with the tone at the end, הַצְלִיחָה). On the other hand, in the 2nd sing. masc. the original \bar{e} (comp. Arabic *áqtíl*) is lengthened to \bar{e} , e.g. הַשְׁמֵן make fat, and becomes $S^e g h \bar{e} l$ before *Maqqeph*, e.g. הַסְכֵּן-נָא Job 22, 21.—The form הַקְטִיל for הַקְטִיל appears anomalously a few times: Ps. 94, 1. Is. 43, 8. Jer. 17, 18 (comp. § 69. *v* and § 72. *y*); elsewhere the Masora has preferred the punctuation הַקְטִיל, e.g. 2 Ki. 8, 6; comp. Ps. 142, 5.—In Lam. 5, 1 הַבִּיטָה is required by the $Q^e r \bar{e}$ for הַבִּיט.

n 4. In the *imperfect Hiph'il* the *shorter* form with *Sere* prevails for the jussive in the 3rd masc. and fem. and 2nd masc. sing., e.g. אַל-תִּגְדַּל make not great, Obad. 12; יַכְרֵת let Him cut off! Ps. 12, 4; even incorrectly תִּגְדַּל Ex. 19, 3, and יַגִּיד Eccles. 10, 20; comp. also יַבְעֵר Ex. 22, 4, where the jussive form is to be explained according to § 109. *h*, and יַאֲבֵר Job 39, 26 before the principal pause. Similarly, after ו consec., e.g. וַיִּבְדֵּל and He divided, Gen. 1, 4. On the other hand, \bar{e} is almost always retained in the 1st sing., e.g. וְאֲשַׁמִּיד Am. 2, 9; comp.

¹ 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 sq.

§ 49. *e* and § 74. *l*, but also § 72. *aa*; in 1st plur. only in Neh. 4, 3; in the 3rd sing. Ps. 105, 28. With *ä* in the principal pause וְהוֹתֵר Ruth 2, 14, and in the lesser pause, Gen. 49, 4; before a sibilant (see § 29. *g*) וַיִּגַּשׁ Jud. 6, 19; in the lesser pause וַיִּקְרָא Lam. 3, 5. Before *Maqqeph* the *Şere* becomes *S^gghöl*, e.g. וַיִּהְיוּקְרְבוּ Jud. 19, 4. In the plural, on the other hand, and before suffixes, *ä* remains in the forms יִקְרְבוּ, תִּקְרְבוּ, also in the jussive and after ו consecutive, e.g. וַיִּדְבְּקוּ Jud. 18, 22. The only exceptions, where the *ä* appears weakened, in the Aramaic manner, to *S^ewä*, are וַיִּדְרְכוּ Jer. 9, 2; וַיִּדְבְּקוּ 1 Sam. 14, 22. 31, 2. 1 Chron. 10, 2; וַעֲבְדוּ Jer. 11, 15; וַאֲזַצְרָה Neh. 13, 13, if it is *Hiph'il* of אֲצַר, but probably וַאֲזַצְרָה is to be read, as in 7, 2; perhaps also תִּהְבְּרוּ Job 19, 3 (according to others, *imperfect Qal*). The same weakening occurs also in the imperfect in 3rd and 2nd masc. sing. before suffixes, 1 Sam. 17, 25. 1 Ki. 20, 33. Ps. 65, 10, and in Job 9, 20, unless the form be *Pi'el* = וַיַּעֲשֶׂינִי, 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, *yaqt'il*. More probably they are due partly to a misunderstanding of the defective writing, which is found, by a purely orthographical licence, in numerous other cases (even in 3rd sing. יִשְׁלֵם Is. 44, 28), 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 Gen. 1, 11 תִּדְרִישָׁא, with *Metheg*.

5. In the *participle*, מוֹצֵא Ps. 135, 7 appears to be traceable to the ground-form, *maq't'il*; yet the *Şere* may also possibly be explained by the retraction of the tone. The Masora appears to require the weakening of the vowel into *S^ewä* (see above, letter *n*) in מְהַלְכִים Zach. 3, 7 (probably, however, מְהַלְכִים should be read), also in מְהַלְמִים Jer. 29, 8, מְעַזְרִים 2 Chron. 28, 23 (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, letter *n*), and in the *Q^{re}* מְחַצְרִים 1 Chron. 15, 24 &c. (where the *K^ethibh* מְחַצְרִים is better). The fem. is ordinarily pointed as מוֹבְרָת Num. 5, 15, מְשַׁנֶּת Lev. 14, 21; in pause מְשַׁבְּלַת Prov. 19, 14.

6. In the *perfect* there occur occasionally such forms as הִכְלַמְנוּ 1 Sam. 25, 7; *p* comp. Gen. 41, 28. 2 Ki. 17, 11. Jer. 29, 1. Mi. 6, 3. Job 16, 7; with the original *ä* in the first syllable וְהִרְאִיתִי Nah. 3, 5.—In אֲנִינְאִיתִי ¹ *I have stained*, Is. 63, 3, א stands at the beginning instead of ה, cf. above, letter *k*, on אֲשַׁבֵּים. On the other hand, וְהִאֲנִיחוּ Is. 19, 6 (see above, letter *g*) is to be regarded, with Olshausen and others, simply as a scribal error for וְהִנְוּ.

¹ Most probably, however, גִּאֲלַתִּי (*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 the punctuation, וְאֲדַרְכֶם and וְיִזוּ (instead of וְאֲדַרְוּ and וְיִזוּ) are made future instead of past. Jewish exegesis applied these Edom-oracles to the Roman (i.e. Christian) empire. So G. Moore in *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, 1887, col. 292.

- q 7. In the *imperfect* and *participle* the characteristic ה is regularly syncopated after the preformatives, thus יִקְטִיל, מִקְטִיל; but it is retained in the *infinitive* after prepositions, e.g. לְהִקְטִיל. Exceptions in the imperfect are, e.g. יְהוֹשִׁיעַ *He will save* for יוֹשִׁיעַ 1 Sam. 17, 47. Ps. 116, 6 (in *pause*); יְהוֹדָה *He will praise* for יוֹדָה Neh. 11, 17. Ps. 28, 7. 45, 18 (comp. the proper name יְהוֹכָד Jer. 37, 3, for which 38, 1 יוֹכָד, and מְהַקְצְעוֹת Ezek. 46, 22). For examples of this kind from verbs פ' see § 69. v and § 70; from ע'ע 1 Ki. 18, 27. Jer. 9, 4. Job 13, 9 (תְּהַלֵּל); in the *infinitive* (where, however, as in *Niph'al*, § 51. l, the *infinitive Qal* is generally to be read) לְמַתַּר Is. 29, 15 for לְהַסְתִּיר; לְנַבֵּל Num. 5, 22; לְעֵבִיר 2 Sam. 19, 19; לְחַלֵּק Jer. 37, 12; לְחַטֵּא Eccl. 5, 5; לְלַבֵּן (doubly anomalous for לְהַלְבִּין) Dan. 11, 35; לְשַׁמֵּעַ Ps. 26, 7; לְאַרְיֵב 1 Sam. 2, 33; לְשַׁמֵּד Is. 23, 11; לְשַׁבִּית Am. 8, 4; בְּעִיר for בְּהַעִיר Ps. 73, 20; לְבִיא Jer. 39, 7 (2 Chron. 31, 10); לְמַחוֹת Prov. 31, 3; לְמַרוֹחַ Is. 3, 8. Ps. 78, 17; לְנַחֲוֹתָם Ex. 13, 21; בְּנִלוֹת (see, however, § 20. h) Is. 33, 1; לְרַאֲתָבָם Deut. 1, 33: comp. further, from verbs ל'ה, Num. 5, 22. Jer. 27, 20; on Deut. 26, 12 and Neh. 10, 39, see above, letter *k*.
- r 8. With regard to the tone it is to be observed that the affirmatives ה and ה־ in Hiph'il have *not* the tone, even in the *perfect* with *waw consecutive* (except in Ex. 26, 33 before ה, Lev. 15, 29 before א, to avoid a hiatus); but the plural ending ון (see § 47. m) here, as elsewhere, always has the tone, e.g. תִּקְרְבוּ Deut. 1, 17.
- s 9. The passive (Hoph'al) has *š* or *š'* in the first syllable (הִקְטַל), in the strong verb less frequently in the perfect and infinitive, but generally, through the influence of the initial ט, in the participle; e.g. הַשְּׂכַב Ez. 32, 32 (beside הַשְּׂכַבָה 32, 19); הַשְּׁלֵף *impf.* יִשְׁלֹף, *part.* מִשְׁלֹף 2 Sam. 20, 21 (beside הַשְּׁלֵבָה Is. 14, 19); הַמְלַחַח Ez. 16, 4; in the partic. Hoph. without syncope of the ה: מְהַקְצְעוֹת Ez. 46, 22; on the other hand, verbs פ' always have *š'* (in a sharpened syllable): הַיָּד, הַיָּדָה (comp. § 9. n).
- t 10. The *infinitive absolute* has in Hoph'al (as in Hiph'il) *Sere* in the last syllable, e.g. הַחֲתֹל and הַמְלַחַח Ez. 16, 4; הַיָּדָה Jos. 9, 24. An *infinitive construct* does not occur in the strong verb.
11. With regard to the *imperative Hoph'al*, see above, § 46. a, note 1.
- u 12. According to Böttcher (*Ausführliches Lehrbuch*, § 906) and Barth (see above, § 52, letter *e*) a number of supposed imperfects Hoph'al are, in fact, imperfects of the passive of Qal. As in the case of the perfects supposed by Böttcher to be 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 יָפַם (for יִנָּפֵם, comp. *yufāḥ* as imperfect Qal in Arabic) and יָתַן, from נָפַם and נָתַן; יָפַח from לָפַח (comp. § 66. *g*); יָאָרָר Num. 22, 6 from אָרָר; יָתַן from הִנָּן; יָאָרָר Hos. 10, 14 (cf. Is. 33, 1) from אָרָר; Barth adds the verbs יָתַן from נָתַן; the verbs ע'ע: ע'ע' Ezek. 19, 12 from תָּתַשׁ; ע'ע' Lev. 11, 35 from נָתַשׁ; the verbs ע'ע' Job 19, 23 from חָקַק; יָבַת &c. from בָּתַת; the verb ע'ע' from יוֹדַשׁ; the verbs ע'ע' from יוֹדַחַל, יוֹדַשׁ, יוֹדַשׁת, חִיל, שִׁיר and נְשִׁית. On יוֹכָד from יָכַל,

see § 69. *r*; on וַיִּשָּׂם &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.

§ 54. Hithpa'el.

1. The *Hithpa'el* is connected with *Pi'el*, being formed by prefixing *a* to the *Pi'el*-stem (*qatt'el*, *qatt'al*) the syllable הֵת (Western Aramaic הֵת, but in Biblical Aramaic הֵת; Syr. *et*¹). Like the preformative ה (הֵת) of *Niph'al*, הֵת has also a reflexive force.

2. The ת of the prefix in this conjugation, as also in *Hothpa'al* *b* (see letter *h*), *Hithpō'el*, *Hithpa'lēl* 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 ת and the sibilant change places (comp. on this *Metathesis*, § 19. *n*), and at the same time the ת after a צ becomes the emphatic ט: thus הִשְׁתַּמֵּר *to take heed to oneself*, for הִתְשַׁמֵּר; הִסְתַּמֵּל *to become burdensome*, for הִתְסַמֵּל; הִצְטַדֵּק *to justify oneself*, from צָדַק. The only exception is in Jer. 49, 3, with שׁ, to avoid the cacophony which would result from the succession of three *t*-sounds.

(*b*) When the stem begins with a *d*- or *t*-sound (ד, ט, ת), the ת of *c* the preformative is assimilated to it (§ 19. *d*), e.g. מְדַבֵּר *speaking, conversing*; הִרְבָּא *to be crushed*, הִטְהַר *to purify oneself*, הִטְמִיא *to defile oneself*, הִתְקַוָּם *to act uprightly*. (An exception occurs in Jud. 19, 22.) The assimilation of the ת occurs also with נ and כ, e.g. הִנְבִּיא *to prophesy*, as well as הִתְנַבֵּא (comp. Num. 24, 7. Ezek. 5, 13. Dan. 11, 14); הִתְבַּיֵּן Num. 21, 27 (comp. Is. 54, 14. Ps. 59, 5); הִתְבַּסֵּה Prov. 26, 26; with ש Eccles. 7, 16; with ר Is. 33, 10.

Rem. Metathesis would likewise be expected, as in the cases under letter *a*, when ת and י come together, as well as a change of ת to ד. Instead of this, in the only instance of the kind (הִדְבִּיר Is. 1, 16) the ת is assimilated to the י, — unless indeed הִדְבִּיר, *imperative Niph'al* of דָּבַר, is intended.

3. As in form, so also in meaning, *Hithpa'el* is primarily (*a*) *reflexive e* of *Pi'el*, e.g. הִתְאַוָּר *to gird oneself*, הִתְקַדְּשׁ *to sanctify oneself*. Although in these examples the intensive meaning is not distinctly marked, it is so in other cases; e.g. הִתְנַקֵּם *to show oneself revengeful* (*Niph.* simply *to take revenge*), and in the numerous instances where the

¹ So also in Hebrew אֶתְחַבֵּר 2 Chron. 20, 35; comp. Ps. 76, 6.

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 affect* to be of a certain character. E.g. הִתְגַּדַּל *to make oneself great, to act proudly*; הִתְחַכֵּם *to show oneself wise, crafty*; הִתְחַלֵּף *to pretend to be ill*; הִתְעַשֵּׂר *to make i.e. to feign oneself rich*; הִשְׁתַּרַר Num. 16, 13, *to make oneself a prince*; הִתְנַבֵּא 1 Sam. 18, 10, *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. הִתְרְאָה *to look upon one another*, Gen. 42, 1; comp. Ps. 41, 8;—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 especial interest (comp. *Niph'al*, § 51. *e*). *Hithpa'el* in such cases readily takes an accusative, e.g. הִתְפָּרַק Ex. 32, 3, *to tear off from oneself*; הִתְפַּשֵּׁט *exuit sibi (vestem)*, הִתְפַּתַּח *solvit sibi (vincula)*; הִצְטִיךְ Jos. 9, 12, *to take (something) as one's provision*; without an accusative, הִתְהַלֵּךְ *to walk about for oneself (ambulare)*; הִתְפַּלֵּל *sibi intercedere* (see Delitzsch on Is. 1, 15); הִתְחַקֵּה *to draw a line for oneself*, Job 13, 27; on Is. 14, 2, see § 57 note.

g (d) Only seldom is it *passive*, e.g. הִשְׁתַּבַּח *to be forgotten*, Eccles. 8, 10, where the reflexive sense (*to bring oneself into oblivion*) has altogether disappeared. Comp. *Niph'al*, § 51. *f*.

h The passive form *Hothpa'al* is found only in the few following examples: הִטְפְּאוּ *to be defiled*, Deut. 24, 4; infinitive הִכְבַּסְתָּ *to be washed*, Lev. 13, 55. 56; הִדְשֵׁנָה (for הִתְדַשְׁנָה, the נָה being treated as if it were the affirmative of the *fem. plur.*) *it is made fat*, Is. 34, 6. On הִתְפַּקְדוּ, see letter *l*.

i Denominatives with a reflexive meaning are הִתְיַהֵד *to embrace Judaism*, from יהוד (יהודיה) *Judah*; הִצְטִיךְ *to provision oneself for a journey*, from צִיָּה *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 ג, 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 *ʿ* and then lengthened to *ē*), e.g. הִתְאַפַּח Deut. 4, 21 and elsewhere, comp. 2 Chron. 13, 7. 15, 8; with *consecutive* Is. 8, 21; so also in the imperfect and imperative, e.g. תִּתְחַכֵּם Eccles. 7, 16; comp. Deut. 9, 8. 18. 1 Sam. 3, 10. 2 Sam. 10, 12. 1 Ki. 11, 9. Is. 55, 2. 58, 14. 64, 11. Ps. 55, 2; הִתְחַנֵּן 1 Ki. 20, 22. Ps. 37, 4. Esth. 5, 10.—In Lev. 11, 44.

20, 7 and Ezek. 38, 23 *ř* for *ä* occurs before ש (comp. § 44. *d*), and in the last passage before ל . In the *perfect*, *imperfect* (with the exception of Eccles. 7, 16), and *imperative* of *Hithpa'el* (as well as of *Hithpō'el*, *Hithpa'el*, *Hithpalp'el*, § 55) the original *ä* always returns in *pause* as *Qames*, e. g. הִתְאַזַּר Ps. 93, 1; יְתַאָּבֵל Ezek. 7, 27; יְתַלְכֶּנּוּ Job 18, 8; יְתַלְכְּרֵי 38, 30; הִתְקַדְּשׁוּ Jos. 3, 5; comp. Job 33, 5 and § 74. *b*. The *ā* also appears before the fuller ending וּן in the plural of the imperfect (comp. § 47. *m*) as in Ps. 12, 9. Job 9, 6. 16, 10.—Like the *Pi'el* הִקְטִילָהּ (§ 52. *n*), forms occur in *Hithpa'el* like תְּתַלְכְּנָהּ Zech. 6, 7; comp. Am. 8, 13, and so in *Hithpō'el*, Jer. 49, 3. Am. 9, 13; with *ē* only in Lam. 4, 1.—In the Aramaic manner an *infinitive* *Hithpa'el* הִתְחַבְּרִיתָ occurs in Dan. 11, 23 (cf. the *Hiph'il* inf. הִשְׁמַעְוִיתָ in Ezek. 24, 26).

2. As instances of the *reflexive* הִתְקַטֵּל (connected with *Pi'el*) a few reflexive 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. הִתְפַּקְדֵי Judges 20, 15. 17, *imperfect* יְתַפַּקְדוּ 20, 15. 21, 9. The corresponding passive form הִתְפַּקְדוּ also occurs four times, Num. 1, 47. 2, 33. 26, 62. 1 Ki. 20, 27. According to others, these forms are rather reflexives of *Qal*, in the sense of *to present oneself for mustering*, *to be mustered*, like the Aramaic *'Ithpe'el* (Western Aramaic אַתְקַטֵּל , Syr. אַתְקַטֵּל) and the Ethiopic *taqa^lla*, Arab. *'iqtatata*, the last with the *t* always placed after the first radical (comp. above, letter *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*, also with the *h* transposed, occurs in הִלְתַּחֵם (on the analogy of Old Test. Hebrew הִלְתַּחֵם) in the inscription of the Moabite king *Mēša'*, with the meaning of the Old Test. *Niph'al* נָלַחַם *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 וְנִלְחַחֵם ; in line 19 in the *infinitive* with suffix, $\text{בִּיהִלְתַּחֵמָה בִּי}$ *in his fighting against me*.

§ 55. Less Common Conjugations.

Of the less common conjugations (§ 39. *g*) some may be classed *α* with *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 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. *qātillā*, and conj. VI. reflexive *tāqātālā*;

imperfect יְקוּטַל, *participle* מְקוּטַל, *imperfect passive* יִקוּטַל &c. Hence it appears that in Hebrew the *o* of the first syllable is in all the forms obscured from *á*, 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* מְלִשְׁנִי *mine adversary, who would contend with me*, Job 9, 15; מְלִשְׁנִי (denominative from לִשׁוֹן *the tongue*) *slandering* (as if *intent on injuring with the tongue*) Ps. 101, 5 *Keth.* The *Q^{erl}* requires, without apparent reason, מְלִשְׁנִי (*m^elōšni*); וְרָמוּ *they have poured out*, Ps. 77, 18 (if not rather *Pu'al*); יוֹדָעְתִּי *I have appointed*, 1 Sam. 21, 3 (unless הוֹדָעְתִּי should be read); יִסְעַר Hos. 13, 3; שָׁרַשׁ *to take root*, passive שֹׁרֵשׁ, *denominative* from שָׁרַשׁ *root* (on the other hand, שָׁרַשׁ is *to root out*); from a verb ל'ה שׁוֹשֵׁתִי Is. 10, 13; *Hithp^{al}él* Jer. 25, 16. 46, 8; Is. 52, 5 (*participle* מְשַׁאֵץ for מְתַנָּאֵץ).

c *Po'el* proper (as distinguished from the corresponding conjugations of verbs ע'ע § 67. *l* and ע'ע § 72. *m*, which take the place of the ordinary causative *Pi'él*) expresses an aim or endeavour to perform the action, especially with hostile intent, and is hence called, by Ewald, the stem expressing the *aim* (Ziel-stamm), *endeavour* (Suche-stamm) or *attack* (Angriffs-stamm); comp. the examples given above from Job 9, 15. Ps. 101, 5, and עוֹיֵן 1 Sam. 18, 9 *Q^{erl}* (probably for מְעוֹיֵן, comp. § 52. *s*; § 55. *f*: *seeking to cast an evil eye*).

With קוּטַל is connected the formation of quadrilaterals by the insertion of a consonant between the first and second radicals (§ 30. 3, § 56).

d 2. *Pa'lél*, generally with the *ä* attenuated to *ý*=*Pi'lél* (*Pi'lal*), קָטַל and קָטַל; the *é* in the final syllable also arises from *š*, and this again from *ä*; passive *Pu'lal* קָטַל, reflexive *Hithpa'lél* הִתְקַטַּל, like the Arabic conjugations IX. 'iqṭállā and XI. 'iqṭállā, the former used of permanent, the latter of accidental or changing conditions, e.g. of colours; comp. שָׁאֵן *to be at rest*, רֵעֵן *to be green*, passive אֶמַל *to be withered*, all of them found only in the *perfect* and with no corresponding *Qal* form. (For the barbarous form צִמְתוּנִי Ps. 88, 17 read צִמְתוּנִי; for נָפַל Ezek. 28, 23, which has manifestly arisen only from confusion with the following חָלַל, read נָפַל). These forms are more common in verbs ע'ע, where they take the place of *Pi'él* and *Hithpa'él* (§ 72. *m*). Comp. also § 75. *kk*.

e 3. *P^eal'al*: קָטַל with repetition of the last two radicals, used of movements repeated in quick succession; e.g. סָהַרְהַר *to go about quickly, to palpitate* (of the heart) Ps. 38, 11, from סָהַר *to go about*; passive הִמְרַמַּר *to be in a ferment, to be heated, to be red*, Job 16, 16. Lam. 1, 20. 2, 11. Probably this is also the explanation of הִצְוֹצַר (denom. from הִצְוֹצַרָה *a trumpet*, but only in the *participle*, 1 Chron. 15, 24 &c. *Keth.*) for הִצְרַצַּר, by absorption of the first ר, lengthening of *ä* in the open syllable, and subsequent obscuring of *ä* to *o*. On the other hand, for the meaningless הִבּוּ הִבּוּ Hos. 4, 18 (which could only be referred to this conjugation if it stood for הִבְהִיבּוּ) read הִבּוּ, and for the equally meaningless יִפְיִיִּת Ps. 45, 3 read יִפְיִת. In both these cases a scribal error (*ditto-graphy*) has been perpetuated by the punctuation which did not venture to alter the *K^ethibh*. On the employment of *P^eal'al* in the formation of nouns, comp. § 84 *b*, viii. Closely related to this form is—

4. *Pilpəl* (pass. *Pölpal*), with a doubling of the two essential radicals in stems *ע'ע*, *ו'ע*, and *ו'ו*, e. g. *נָלַל* to roll, from *נָל = נָלַל*; *בָּלַבַל* from *בָּיל*, passive *בָּלַבַל*; reflexive *הִתְנַלְנַל* to roll oneself down; comp. also *טַאטַטַט* (so Baer after Qimhī; others *טַאטַטַט*) Is. 14, 23, and with *ā* in both syllables owing to the influence of *ר*, *קָרַקַר* from *קוּר* Num. 24, 17 (comp. however, in the parallel passage, Jer. 48, 45 *קָרְקַרְר*) and Is. 22, 5, in the *participle*. Probably to this form also belongs *יִלְעֵלְעוּ*, the emended reading of Job 39, 30, instead of the impossible *יִעֲלֵעוּ*; also the participle *לְצַצִּים* Hos. 7, 5 for *מְלֹצִ'י* (comp. § 52. *s*), and *סַאסַא* Is. 27, 8, if that form is to be referred to an *infinitive סַאסַא*; perhaps also *שִׁשַׁא* Ezek. 39, 2 for *שַׁאשַׁא*. This form also commonly expresses rapidly repeated movement, which all languages incline to indicate by a repetition of the sound¹, e. g. *צָפַצַפַּף* to chirp; comp. in the *Lexicon* the nouns derived from *נָרַר*, *עוּף*, and *צָלַל*.

As *Hithpalpel* we find *יִשְׁתַּקְשְׁקוּן* Nah. 2, 5; *וַתְּחַלְחַל* Esth. 4, 4; *וַיִּתְמַרְמַר* *ג* Dan. 8, 7. *II*, *II*. Of the same form is *אָדְדָה* Is. 38, 15, if contracted from *אָדְדִּידָה* or *אֶתְדִּידָה* (from the root *דו* or *די*), and also *הִתְמַמְמָהוּ* tarry ye, Is. 29, 9, *וַיִּתְמַמְמָהוּ* (in pause) Gen. 19, 16 &c., if it is to be derived from *מָההוּ*.

Only examples more or less doubtful can be adduced of—

5. *Tiph'el* (properly *Taph'el*²): *תַּקְטַל*, with *ת* prefixed, comp. *תִּרְנִילְתִּי* to teach to walk, to lead (denominative from *רָנַל* a foot?) Hos. 11, 3; from a stem *ל'ה*, the *imperfect* *יִתְחַרְחַר* to contend with, Jer. 12, 5; *participle*, 22, 15 (from *חַרַה* to be hot, eager). Similarly in Aramaic, *תַּרְגַּם* to interpret, whence also in Hebrew the *passive participle* *מְתַרְגַּם* Ezr. 4, 7.

6. *Šaph'el*: *שַׁקְטַל*, frequent in Syriac, e. g. *שַׁלְהַב* from *להב* to flame; whence in Hebrew *שַׁלְהֶבֶת* flame. Perhaps of the same form is *שַׁבְּלוּל* a snail (unless it be from the stem *שבַל*), and *שַׁקְעוּרוֹת* hollow strakes, comp. § 85, No. 50. This conjugation is perhaps the original of *Hiph'el*, 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. *קַטְטַלַט*, passive *קַטְטַלַט*; as *מַחְסַפַס* peeled off, like scales, Ex. 16, 4, from *חַסַף*, *חַשַׁף* to peel, to scale.

8. *קַטְטַל*, in *וַרְוִיף* a sudden shower of rain, from *רַף*.

¹ Comp. Lat. *tinnio*, *tintinnus*, our *tick-tack*, *ding-dong*, and the German *wirrwarr*, *klingklang*. The repetition of the same letter in verbs *ע'ע* produces the same effect; as in *לָקַק* to lick, *דָּבַדַּב* to pound, *טַפַּף* 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.

² The existence of a *Taph'el* is contested on good grounds by Barth, *Nominalbildung*, p. 279.

9. נִתְקַטַּל (frequent in New Hebrew¹) a form compounded of *Niph'al* and *Hithpa'el*; as וְנִתְּוֹפְרֵי וְנִתְּוֹפְרֵי that they may be taught, Ezek. 23, 48; נִבְּפָר probably an error for הִתְּבַפֵּר to be forgiven, Deut. 21, 8. On נִשְׁתַּוְּהוּ Prov. 27, 15, see § 75. x.

§ 56. Quadrilaterals.

On the origin of these altogether secondary formations comp. § 30. p. While the quadrilateral nouns are tolerably numerous, only the following examples of the verb occur :

(a) On the analogy of *Pi'el*: בָּרַסִּים, imperfect יִבְרַסְמֶנָּה he doth ravage it, Ps. 80, 14 from בָּרַסִּים, comp. גָּנַם. Passive הִתְּבַשׁ to grow fresh again, Job 33, 25. Participle מִכְרָבַל girt, clothed (comp. Aramaic כְּבַל to bind) 1 Chron. 15, 27. It is usual also to include among the quadrilaterals פָּרְשָׁו Job 26, 9, as a perfect with *Pathah* not attenuated, in the Aramaic manner. It is more correctly, however, regarded, with Delitzsch, as the infinitive absolute of a *Pi'el* formation, from פָּרַשׁ to spread out, with euphonic change of the first שׁ to שׁ, and the second to ׀. Moreover, the reading פָּרְשָׁו also is very well attested, and is adopted by Baer in the text of Job; comp. the Rem. on p. 48 of his edition.

(b) On the analogy of *Hiph'il*: הִשְׁמָאֵל, by syncope הִשְׁמָאֵל and הִשְׁמָאֵל to turn to the left (denom. from שָׂמַל) Gen. 13, 9. Is. 30, 21, and elsewhere. On הִאֲנִיחֵהוּ comp. § 53. p.

C. STRONG VERB WITH PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES².

§ 57.

The accusative of the personal pronoun, depending on an active verb³, may be expressed (1) by a separate word, אֵת the accusative sign (before a suffix אֵת, אֵת) with the pronominal suffix, e.g. קָטַל אֵתוֹ he has killed him; or (2) by a mere suffix, קָטַלְהוּ or קָטַלוּ he has killed him. The latter is the usual method (§ 33), and we are here con-

¹ [See Strack and Siegfried, *Lehrbuch der Neuhebräischen Sprache*, Leipzig, 1884, § 91. S. R. D.]

² 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.

³ An accusative suffix occurs with *Niph'al* in Ps. 109, 3 (since נִלְחַם is used in the sense of to attack), and according to some, in Is. 44, 21; with *Hithpa'el* Is. 14, 2 (הִתְּנַחֵל to appropriate somebody to oneself as a possession); comp. above, § 54. f, and § 117. w.

cerned with it alone¹. 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. הִתְקַדְּשׁ he sanctified himself, not קִדְּשׁוּ, which could only mean he sanctified him².

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).

§ 58. *The Pronominal Suffixes of the Verb.*

Cf. the statistics collected by H. Petri, *Das Verbum mit Suffixen im Hebr.*, part ii, in the נְבִיאִים רִאשׁוֹנִים, Leipzig, 1890.

1. The *pronominal suffixes* appended to the verb express the accusative of the *personal pronoun*. They are the following:—

A.	B.	C.
<i>To a form ending in a Vowel.</i>	<i>To a form in the Perf. ending in a Consonant.</i>	<i>To a form in the Imperf. ending in a Consonant.</i>
Sing. 1. com. נִי	נִי (in pause נִי־)	נִי me.
2. m. ך־	ך־ (in pause ך־, also ך־)	ך־ thee.
f. ך־	ך־ ך־, rarely ך־	ך־
3. m. הִי, םִ	הִי, םִ (הִי)	הִי him.
f. הִי	הִי	הִי her.
Plur. 1. com. נו	נו	נו us (nos).
2. m. ך־	ך־	ך־ you (vos).
f. ³		
3. m. םִ, םִ	ם־ (from ם־), ם־	ם־ (from ם־) eos.
poet. מו	מו	מו
f. ן־	ן־, ן־	. . . . .³ eas.

¹ On the cases where תָּ is necessary, see § 117. e.

² Jer. 7, 19. Ezek. 34, 2. 8. 10 are only apparent exceptions. In all these instances the sharp antithesis between תָּ (themselves) and another object could only be expressed by retaining the same verb; also in Ex. 5, 19 תָּ after an active verb serves to emphasize the idea of themselves.

³ ם־ occurs only once as a verbal suffix (Deut. 32, 26, unless, with Kahan, *Infinitive u. Participien*, p. 13, ם־ from ם־ is to be read), while the forms ן־ (2nd f. pl.) and ן־ and ן־ (3rd f. pl.), added by Qimhi, never occur.

b 2. That these suffixes are connected with the corresponding forms of the personal pronoun (§ 32) is for the most part self-evident, and only a few of them require elucidation.

c The suffixes וְי, וְי, וְה and וְ (also וְ, when a long vowel in an open syllable precedes) never have the tone, which always rests on the preceding syllable; on the other hand, דָּו and דָּו always take the tone.

d In the 3rd pers. masc. from וְהָ, by contraction of *a* and *u* after the rejection of the weak ה, there frequently arises *ō* (§ 23. *k*), ordinarily written *i*, much less frequently ה (see § 7. *c*). In the feminine, the suffix וְ should be pronounced with a preceding *a* (comp. below, letter *f*, note), as וְָ or וְָ, on the analogy of *āhū*; instead of וְָ, however, it was simply pronounced וְָ, with the rejection of the final vowel, and with *Mappiq*, since the ה is consonantal; but the weakening to וְָ is also found, see below, letter *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 וְָ, וְָ, ו (only after *i*), וְָ, (וְָ) ו, &c. These are attached to verbal forms which end with a vowel, e.g. וְָ; וְָ; וְָ, for which by absorption of the ה we also get וְָ, pronounced *q^etallū*; cf. § 8. *m*.

f (*b*) A second and third with what are called *connecting vowels*¹ (וְָ, וְָ), 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. וְָ; וְָ; וְָ; and *e* (less frequently *a*) with the forms of the imperfect and imperative, e.g. וְָ; וְָ; also with the infinitive and participles, when these do not take noun-suffixes (comp. § 61. *a* and *h*). The form *i* also belongs to the suffixes of the perfect, since it has arisen from וְָ (comp., however, § 60. *d*). With וְ, וְ, the connecting sound is only a vocal *Šwā*,

¹ We have kept the term *connecting vowel*, although it is rather a superficial description. Most probably these *connecting syllables* are really the remains of old verbal terminations, like the *i* in the 2nd pers. fem. sing. וְָ. Observe e.g. the Hebrew form *q^etāl-ani* in connexion with the Arabic *qatala-ni*, contrasted with Hebrew *q^etālat-ni* and Arabic *qatalat-ni*. König accordingly prefers the expression 'vocalic ending of the stem,' instead of 'connecting syllable.'

which has arisen from an original short vowel, thus קָטַף , דָּקַף , e.g. $\text{קָטַף$ (*q^otāl^ekhā*), or when the final consonant of the verb is a guttural, קָטַף , e.g. $\text{קָטַף$. In *pause*, the original short vowel (*ă*) reappears as *S^gghōl* with the tone קָטַף (comp., however, קָטַף Deut. 28, 24 and frequently; even without the *pause* קָטַף Jer. 23, 37). On the appending of suffixes to the final *ן* of the imperfect (§ 47. *m*), see § 60. *e*.

Rem. 1. As *rare* forms may be mentioned *sing.* 2nd pers. *masc.* קָטַף Gen. 8^g 27, 7. 1 Ki. 18, 44, &c., in *pause* also קָטַף (see below, letter *ē*); *fem.* קָטַף , קָטַף Ps. 103, 4. 137, 6. Instead of the form קָטַף , which is usual even in the perfect (e.g. Jud. 4, 20. Ezek. 27, 26), קָטַף occurs as *fem.* Is. 60, 9 (as *masc.* Deut. 28, 45. Is. 30, 19. 55, 5 always in *pause*); with *Munah* Is. 54, 6.—In the 3rd *masc.* קָטַף Ex. 32, 25. Num. 23, 8; in the 3rd *fem.* קָטַף without *Mappiq* (comp. § 91. *e*) Ex. 2, 3. Jer. 44, 19; Am. 1, 11, with retraction of the tone before a following tone-syllable.—The forms קָטַף , קָטַף , קָטַף are wholly poetic¹ (with the exception of Ex. 23, 31); instead of קָטַף there occurs in Ex. 15, 5 קָטַף . On the origin of these forms, see § 32. *m*; on the use of קָטַף as a singular, see the 2nd note on § 103. *f*; on קָטַף and קָטַף as suffixes of the 3rd fem. plnr. of the imperfect, § 60. *d*.—In Gen. 48, 9 קָטַף (cf. קָטַף 1 Chron. 14, 11 according to Baer), קָטַף has lost the tone before *Maqqeph* and so is shortened to קָטַף .—In Ezek. 44, 8 קָטַף is probably an error for קָטַף .

2. From a comparison of these verbal suffixes with the noun-suffixes (§ 91) 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; comp. e.g. קָטַף , קָטַף , קָטַף (*me*) with קָטַף (*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 (קָטַף &c.).

4. A verbal form with a suffix gains additional strength, and sometimes intentional emphasis, when, instead of the mere connecting vowel, a full connecting-syllable² (*ăn*) is inserted between the suffix and the verbal stem. Since, however, this syllable always has the tone, the *ă* is invariably (except in the 1st pers. sing.) lengthened

¹ In Ps. 2 קָטַף — occurs five times, and קָטַף only twice.

² 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 the Rem. at the end) and probably also appearing in the Hebrew cohortative (see the foot-note on § 48. *c*). According to Berliner, *Beiträge zur hebr. Gramm. im Talmud u. Midrasch*, the form with *Nān* is used to express the simple future and to lay stress upon the object, while the ordinary form is used to express the optative or after *wāw consecutive*, a remark which is almost always confirmed by the facts.

to *S'ghöl*. This is called the *Nûn energeticum*¹ (less suitably *demonstrativum* or *epentheticum*), and occurs principally (see, however, Deut. 32, 10) in pausal forms of the imperfect, e.g. יְבַרְכֶנּוּהוּ *he will bless him* (Ps. 72, 15, comp. Jer. 5, 22), יִכְבְּדֵנִי *he will honour me* (Ps. 50, 23); rarely in the perfect, Deut. 24, 13. On examples like הִנְנִי Gen. 30, 6, comp. § 26. g. In far the greatest number of cases, however, this *Nûn* is assimilated to the following consonant (נ, כ), or the latter is lost in pronunciation (so ה), and the *Nûn* consequently sharpened. Hence we get the following series of suffix-forms:—

1st pers. נִי־ (even in pause, Job 7, 14 and elsewhere), נִי־ (for נִי־נִי, נִי־נִי).

2nd pers. נִי־ (Jer. 22, 24 in pause נִי־) and, only orthographically different,

הִי־ (Is. 10, 24. Prov. 2, 11 in pause).

3rd pers. נִי־ (for נִי־נִי)², fem. נִי־ for נִי־נִי.

[1st pers. plur. נִי־ (for נִי־נִי), see the Rem.

In the other persons *Nûn energeticum* does not occur.

Rem. The uncontracted forms with *Nûn* are rare, and occur only in poetic or elevated style (Ex. 15, 2. Deut. 32, 10. Jer. 5, 22. 22, 24); 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 נִי־ as 1st plur. occurs perhaps in Job 31, 15 (but hardly in Hos. 12, 5); comp. הִנְנֵנוּ *behold us*, Gen. 44, 16. 50, 18. Num. 14, 40 for הִנְנֵנוּ.—In Ezek. 4, 12 the Masora requires הִנְנֵנוּ, without Dageš in the *Nûn*.

That the forms with *Nûn energeticum* are intended to give greater emphasis to the verbal form is seen from their special frequency in *pause*. Apart from the verb, however, *Nûn energeticum* occurs also in the union of suffixes with certain particles (§ 100. o).

This *Nûn* 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.

1. The endings (*affirmatives*) of the perfect occasionally vary somewhat from the ordinary form, when connected with pronominal suffixes; viz.:—

¹ So König, *Lehrgeb.* i. p. 226.

² On הִי־ = נִי־ Num. 23, 13, see § 67. o.

(a) In the 3rd *sing. fem.* the original feminine ending ת־ or ת־־ is used for ת־־.

(b) 2nd *sing. masc.* besides תָּ we find תִּ, to which the connecting vowel is closely attached, but the only clear instances of this are with נִי¹.

(c) 2nd *sing. fem.* תִּי, the original form of תָּ; comp. אֲתִי, קָטַלְתִּי, § 32. f; § 44. g. This form can be distinguished from the 1st pers. only by the context.

(d) 2nd *plur. masc.* תִּי for תָּי, a change which is explained by the Arabic 'antum, qatallum², Aram. קָטַלְתִּי, אֲתִי for Heb. אֲתִי, קָטַלְתֶּם (§ 32. i). The only examples are Num. 20, 5. 21, 5. Zech. 7, 5. The *fem.* קָטַלְתִּי never occurs with suffixes; probably it was not distinguished in pronunciation from the masculine.

We exhibit first the forms of the perfect *Hiph'il*, as they are pronounced when connected with suffixes, since here no further changes take place in the stem itself, except as regards the tone (see No. 2).

<i>Singular.</i>		<i>Plural.</i>
3. m. הַקָּטִיל		3. c. הַקָּטִילוּ
3. f. הַקָּטִילַת		
2. m. הַקָּטַלְתָּ, הַקָּטַלְתֶּה		2. m. הַקָּטַלְתֶּמוּ
2. f. הַקָּטַלְתִּי, הַקָּטַלְתֵּי		
1. c. הַקָּטַלְתִּי		1. c. הַקָּטַלְתֵּנוּ

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 letter d).

2. The addition of the suffix generally causes the tone to be thrown forward towards the end of the word, since it would otherwise fall, in some cases, on the ante-penultima; with the *heavy* suffixes (see letter 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*, now reappears, and, in an open syllable before the tone, is even

¹ Even here it is extremely probable that the *á* belongs originally to the verbal form, see § 58. f, note.

² According to Nöldeke, *ZDMG.* 38, p. 415, the ground-form of the 2nd *plur. masc.* probably terminated in *tumá*.

lengthened to *Qameṣ*; similarly original *i* (as in the 3rd *sing. masc. without* a suffix) reappears, and is lengthened to *ē*, e. g. אֶהְיֶה *i* Sam. 18, 22. Prov. 19, 7.

d The forms of the perfect of Qal consequently appear as follows:—

Singular.	Plural.
3. <i>m.</i> קָטַל	3. <i>c.</i> קָטְלוּ
3. <i>f.</i> קָטַלְתָּ (קָטַלְתָּ, letter <i>g</i>)	
2. <i>m.</i> קָטַלְתָּ (קָטַלְתָּ, letter <i>h</i>)	2. <i>m.</i> קָטַלְתֶּם
2. <i>f.</i> קָטַלְתִּי (קָטַלְתִּי, letter <i>h</i>)	
1. <i>c.</i> קָטַלְתִּי	1. <i>c.</i> קָטַלְנוּ

The connexion of these forms with all the suffixes is shown in *Paradigm C*. It will be seen there also, how the *Sere* in the Perfect *Pi'el* changes sometimes into *S'ghöl*, and sometimes into *vocal Š'wä*.

e Rem. 1. The suffixes of the 2nd and 3rd pers. plur. כֶּם and הֶם, since they 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 כֶּן and הֶן) with the *noun*, § 91. With a perfect כֶּם alone occurs, Ps. 118, 26. The form קָטַל which is usually given as the connective form of the 3rd *sing. masc.* before כֶּם and כֶּן is only formed by analogy, and is without example in the Old Testament.

f 2. In the 3rd *sing. masc.* קָטַלְהוּ (especially in verbs ל'ה; in the strong verb only in Jer. 20, 15 in *Pi'el*) is mostly contracted to קָטְלוּ, according to § 23. *k*; likewise in the 2nd *sing. masc.* קָטַלְתֶּהוּ to קָטַלְתֶּם.—As a suffix of the 1st *sing.* נִי occurs several times with the 3rd *sing. masc. perf. Qal* of verbs ל'ה, not only in *pause* (as עָנְנִי Ps. 118, 5; קָנְנִי Prov. 8, 22 with *D'hi*), but also with a conjunctive accent, as הִרְנִי Job 30, 19; עָנְנִי 1 Sam. 28, 15 (where, however, the reading עָנְנִי is also found).

g 3. The 3rd *sing. fem.* קָטַלְתָּ (= קָטַלְתָּ) has the twofold peculiarity that (*a*) the ending *ath* always takes the tone¹, and consequently is joined to those suffixes, which form a syllable of themselves (נִי, הֶן, הוּ, הָ, נוּ), 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. הֶן־, דֶּם־, e. g. אֶהְבֶּתְךָ *she loves thee*, Ruth 4, 15; שָׁנְבָתָם *she has stolen them*, Gen. 31, 32; שָׂרְפָתָם *it burns them*, Is. 47, 14. Jos. 2, 6. Hos. 2, 14. Ps. 48, 7. For תִּנִּי, תִּךְ

¹ הֶבֶתְךָ Cant. 8, 5 is an exception. כֶּם would probably even here have the tone (letter *e*); but no example of the kind occurs in the Old Testament. In Is. 51, 2 the *imperfect* is used instead of the *perfect* with a suffix.

&c., in *pause* תָּנִי is found, Jer. 8, 21. Ps. 69, 10, and תָּךְ Cant. 8, 5; and also without the *pause* for the sake of the assonance תָּךְ, she was in travail with thee, in the same verse (Cant. 8, 5). The form קָטַלְתָּהוּ (e.g. Ruth 4, 15) has arisen, through the loss of the ה and the consequent sharpening of the ת (as in נָהָה and נָהָה for נָהָה and נָהָה, comp. § 58. 2), from the form קָטַלְתָּהוּ, which is also found even in *pause* אֶהְבֶּתְהוּ 1 Sam. 18, 28; elsewhere it takes in *pause* the form סָמַכְתָּהוּ Is. 59, 16); so קָטַלְתָּהּ from קָטַלְתָּהָ; comp. 1 Sam. 1, 6. Is. 34, 17. Jer. 49, 24. Ruth 3, 6; in *pause* Ezek. 14, 15, always, on the authority of Qimḥi, without *Mappiq* in the ה, which is consequently always a mere vowel-letter.

4. In the 2nd *sing. masc.* the form קָטַלְתָּ is mostly used, and the suffixes have, therefore, no connecting vowel, e.g. פָּרַצְתָּנוּ וְנָחַתָּנוּ thou hast cast us off, thou hast broken us down, Ps. 60, 3; but with the suff. of the 1st *sing.* the form קָטַלְתָּנִי is used, e.g. חָקַרְתָּנִי Ps. 139, 1; in *pause*, however, with *Qames*, e.g. עֹבַרְתָּנִי Ps. 22, 2; Jud. 1, 15 (with *Zaqeph qaton*); comp., however, also צָרַפְתָּנִי Ps. 17, 3 with *Mer^ekha*.—In the 2nd *sing. fem.* תִּי— is also written defectively, רָמִיתְנִי 1 Sam. 19, 17. Jud. 11, 35. Jer. 15, 10. Cant. 4, 9. Occasionally the suffix is appended to the shorter form (תִּי), viz. הִשְׁבַּעְתָּנִי thou (*fem.*) dost adjure us, Cant. 5, 9. Jos. 2, 17. 20; comp. Jer. 2, 27, and, quite abnormally, with *Sere* הוֹרַדְתָּנִי thou (*fem.*) didst let us down, Jos. 2, 18, where הוֹרַדְתָּנוּ would be expected. In Is. 8, 11 וַיִּסְרְנִי is probably intended as an *imperfect*.

5. In verbs *middle e*, the *e* remains even before suffixes (see above, letter *c*), e.g. אֶהְבֶּךָ Deut. 15, 16, אֶהְבֶּתְהוּ 1 Sam. 18, 28, comp. 18, 22; יִרְאוּהוּ Job 37, 24. From a verb *middle o* there occurs יִבְלֹתִיו I have prevailed against him, Ps. 13, 5, from יָבַל with *δ* instead of *ō* in a syllable which has lost the tone (§ 44. e).

§ 60. Imperfect with Pronominal Suffixes.

In those forms of the *imperfect Qal*, which have no affirmatives, the vowel *ō* of the second syllable mostly becomes *e* (simple vocal *S^ewā*), sometimes *o* (—); thus in the principal *pause*, Num. 35, 20. Is. 27, 3. 62, 2. Jer. 31, 33. Ezek. 35, 6. Hos. 10, 10; before the principal *pause*, Ps. 119, 33; before a secondary *pause*, Ezek. 17, 33; even before a conjunctive accent, Jos. 23, 5. Before תָּךְ, כָּךְ, however, it is shortened to *ō* (*Qames-haṭuph*), e.g. יִשְׁמְרֶךָ (but in *pause* יִשְׁמְרֶךָ or יִשְׁמְרֶךָ; with *Nún energicum*, see § 58. 4), יִשְׁמְרֶכֶם, &c. Instead of תִּקְטַלְנָה, the form תִּקְטַלְנִי is used for the 2nd and 3rd *fem. plur.* before suffixes; Jer. 2, 19. Job 19, 15. Cant. 1, 6.

¹ This form is also found as *feminine* without a suffix, Jer. 49, 11. Ezek. 37, 7. 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 וַתִּקְרָבְנָה, to agree with the usual gender of עֲצָמוֹת.

- b* Rem. 1. יְהַבְרֶה Ps. 94, 20 is an anomalous form for יְהַבְרֶה (comp. the analogous יְהַבְרֶה § 67. *n*) and יִבְנֶשֶׁךְ (so Baer; others יִבְנֶשֶׁךְ) Gen. 32, 18 for יִבְנֶשֶׁךְ. To the same category as יְהַבְרֶה belong also, according to the usual explanation, תִּעְבְּרֶם (from תִּעְבֵּר), Ex. 20, 5. 23, 24. Deut. 5, 9, and נִעַבְ' Deut. 13, 3. 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 *o* taken place only in these examples (beside numerous forms like יִעְבְּרֶנִי)? Could the Masora in the two Decalogues and in Ex. 23, 24, (on the analogy of which Deut. 13, 3 was then wrongly pointed,) have intended an imperfect *Hoph'al* with the suffix = *thou shalt not allow thyself to be brought to worship them*?
- c* Verbs which have *a* in the second syllable of the *imperfect*, and imperative, *Qal* (to which class especially *verba tertiae* and *mediae guttur.* belong, § 64 and § 65) do *not*, as a rule, change the *Pathah* of the *imperfect* (nor of the imperative, see § 61. *g*) into vocal *Šewâ* before suffixes; but the *Pathah*, coming to stand in an open syllable before the tone, is rather lengthened to *Qames*, e. g. וְיִלְבְּשֵׁנִי Job 29, 14; וְיִנְאָלוּהוּ 3, 5; וְיִשְׁלַחֵם Jos. 8, 3; וְיִקְרָאוּהוּ Ps. 145, 18; but also וְיִקְרָאוּ Jer. 23, 6.
- d* 2. As exceptions, though they are not rare, suffixes with the connecting vowel *a* are found with the imperfect, e. g. תִּבְרַבְּנִי Gen. 19, 19, comp. 29, 32. Ex. 33, 20. Num. 22, 33. 1 Ki. 2, 24 *Q'ré*, Is. 56, 3. Job 9, 18; also וְנִי, Gen. 27, 19. Job 7, 14. 9, 34. 13, 21 (in principal *pause*); וְיִבְרֶה Gen. 37, 33, comp. 16, 7. 2 Sam. 11, 27. Is. 26, 5. Job 28, 27. 1 Chron. 20, 2; וְיִבְרֶנּוּ Is. 63, 16 (manifestly owing to the influence of the preceding וְיִרְעֶנּוּ); וְיִלְבְּשֵׁם Ex. 29, 30, comp. 2, 17. Num. 21, 30. Deut. 7, 15. Ps. 74, 8; even וְיִמְיִלֵם 118, 10–12; וְיִוֹשִׁיעֶנּוּ Ex. 2, 17, and וְיִהְיֶתָּה Hab. 2, 17 (where, however, the old versions read וְיִהְיֶתָּה); even יִרְדְּפוּ (*ō* from *āhu*) Hos. 8, 3; comp. Ex. 22, 29, Jos. 2, 4. 1 Sam. 18, 1 *K^oth.*, 21, 14 (where, however, the text is corrupt); 2 Sam. 14, 6 (where it would be better to read וְיִבֹנּוּ, or with the old versions וְיִוֶּה); Jer. 23, 6 (see § 74. *e*). Ps. 35, 8. Eccles. 4, 12.—On pausal *Seghôl* for *Šere* in וְאֶבְרַכֶם Gen. 48, 9 and וְתִאֲלָדוּ (so Baer, but not ed. Mant.) Jud. 16, 6, see § 29. *q*.
- e* 3. Suffixes are sometimes also appended to the plural forms in וְ, e. g. תִּבְרַבְּאֵנִי *will ye break me in pieces?* Job 19, 2; וְיִשְׁרֹתֶנּוּ (here necessarily with a connecting vowel) Is. 60, 7. 10; Prov. 5, 22 (*i*); elsewhere always without a connecting vowel; וְיִקְרָאֵנִי with two other examples Prov. 1, 28. Hos. 5, 15; comp. וְיִגִּדְךָ Ps. 63, 4. 91, 12; וְיִגִּדְךָ Jer. 5, 22; וְיִגִּדְךָ Jer. 2, 24 — all in principal *pause*.
- f* 4. In *Pi'el*, *Pö'el*, and *Po'lel*, the *Šere* of the final syllable, like the *ō* in *Qal*, becomes vocal *Šewâ*; but before the suffixes וְ and כֶם it is shortened to *Seghôl*, e. g. וְיִקְבְּצֶךָ Deut. 30, 4. Ps. 34, 12. Is. 51, 2. With a final guttural, however, *ē* is retained in the tone-syllable וְיִשְׁבְּתֶךָ Gen. 32, 27; also Prov. 4, 8, where with *Qimhi* תִּבְבְּרֶךָ is to be read; an analogous case in *Hiph'el* is וְיִגְדְּךָ Deut. 32, 7. Less frequently *Šere* is sharpened into *Hireq*, e. g. וְאֶמְצָכֶם Job 16, 5, comp. Ex. 31, 13. Is. 1, 15. 52, 12; so in *Po'lel*, Is. 25, 1. Ps. 30, 2. 37, 34. 145, 1, and probably also in *Qal* וְאֶסְבֶּךָ 1 Sam. 15, 6; comp. § 68. *h*.
- g* 5. In *Hiph'el* the long *ē* remains, e. g. תִּלְבְּשֵׁנִי Job 10, 11 (after *wāw* con-

secutive often written defectively, e. g. וַיִּלְבָּשִׁם Gen. 3, 21 and passim). Forms like תַּעֲשִׂרְנָהּ *thou enrichest it*, Ps. 65, 10. 1 Sam. 17, 25, are rare. Comp. § 53. n.

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; comp. וַיִּמְלֵאֵם Gen. 26, 15 (previously also with a perf. סִתְּמוּם); Gen. 26, 18. 33, 13. Ex. 2, 17 (where וַיִּשְׁעֶן occurs immediately after); 39, 18. 20. 1 Sam. 6, 10 (where also בְּנִיהֶם is for בְּנֵיהֶן, a neglect of gender which can only be explained by § 135. o).

§ 61. *Infinitive, Imperative and Participle with Pronominal Suffixes.*

1. The *infinitive construct* of an *active verb* may be construed with *a* an accusative, and therefore can take a *verbal suffix*, i. e. the *accusative* of the personal pronoun. The only undoubted instances of the kind, however, in the Old Testament are infinitives with the verbal suffix of the 1st pers. sing., e. g. לְרַשְׁנִי *to inquire of me*, Jer. 37, 7. As a rule the infinitive (as a *noun*) takes *noun-suffixes* (in the *genitive*), e. g. עָבְרִי *my passing by*; מְלִכּוֹ *his reigning*, see § 115. a and e. The infinitive *Qal*, then, usually has the form *qōʾl*, the short vowel returning to the first radical (on the probable ground-form *qūʾl*, see § 46. a). The result is, as a rule, a half-closed syllable, e. g. בְּכַתְּבוֹ *in his writing*, Jer. 45, 1, not כְּתַבּוֹ *kōth-bō*, see § 21. f; comp., however, הַפְּרִי Gen. 19, 21; נִגְפּוֹ (so ed. Mant.; others נִגְפּוֹ) Ex. 12, 27; עָצְבִי 1 Chron. 4, 10; before ה־ and כ־ also the syllable is completely closed, e. g. בְּאַסְפְּדָה Ex. 23, 16. Lev. 23, 39 (but in pause לְהַרְגֶהָ Gen. 27, 42), unless the vowel be retained in the second syllable; see letter *d*. With the form קָטַל generally, compare the closely allied nouns of the form קָטַל (before a suffix קָטַל or קָטַל), § 84 a, 1; § 93. q.

Rem. 1. The infin. of verbs which have *ō* in the last syllable of the *imperfect* *b* of *Qal*, sometimes takes the form *qūʾl*, before suffixes, e. g. בְּבִנְדּוֹ Ex. 21, 8; מְכַרְם Am. 2, 6 (but מְכַרְהָ Ex. 21, 8), נִפְלוֹ 2 Sam. 1, 10 (but נִפְלוֹ 1 Sam. 29, 3), שְׁבִרִי Lev. 26, 26. Ezek. 30, 18 &c. According to Barth (see above, § 47. i with the note) these forms with *i* in the first syllable point to former *i*-imperfects.

Infinitives of the form קָטַל (§ 45. c) in verbs middle or third guttural (but cf. *c* also שְׁכַבְהָ Gen. 19, 33. 35—elsewhere שְׁכַבְךָ and שְׁכַבְוֹ) before suffixes sometimes take the form *qatʾl*, as וְעָפּוֹ Jon. 1, 15 (and, with the syllable only half closed, בְּעָמוֹ Jud. 13, 25), מְחַאֲדָה and רִקְעָה Ezek. 25, 6; sometimes *qūʾl*, with the *a* attenuated to *i*, especially verbs third guttural; as בְּטַחָהּ, בְּלַעִי, בְּקַעַם, בְּנָעוֹ, בְּנָעוֹ, בְּנָעוֹ.—Contrary to § 58. f (1 Chron. 12, 17) and נָנוֹ (Ex. 14, 11) are found with the *infinitive* instead of נָנִי and נָנִי. On רְדוּבִי *my following*

Ps. 38, 21, for which the *Qere* requires **רָדַף**, comp. the analogous examples in § 46. c.

d 2. With the suffixes **ִי** and **ִם**, contrary to the analogy of the corresponding nouns, forms occur like **אֲכַלְתִּי** *thy eating*, Gen. 2, 17; **אֲכַלְתֶּם** Gen. 3, 5; **עֲמַדְךָ** (others **עֲמַדְךָ**)¹ Obad. 11, i. e. with *ō* shortened in the same way as in the *imperfect*, see § 60. But the analogy of the nouns is followed in such forms as **קָצַרְתָּ** *your harvesting*, Lev. 19, 9, 23, 22 (with a return of the original *ā*), and **כִּי־אֲסַפְתָּ** (read *mōss^ekhēm*) *your despising*, Is. 30, 12; comp. Deut. 20, 2; on **בְּמַצְאֵם** Gen. 32, 20 (for **בְּמַצֵּי**), see § 74. h.

e Examples of the *infinitive Niph'al* with suffixes are, **הִשְׁמַדְךָ** Ex. 14, 18; **הִשְׁמַדְךָ** Deut. 28, 20 (in *pause*, **הִשְׁמַדְךָ** verse 24); **הִשְׁפֹּטוּ** Ps. 37, 33; **הִזְכַּרְתֶּם** Ezek. 21, 29; **הִשְׁמַדְתֶּם** Deut. 7, 23. In the *infinitive* of *Pi'el* (as also in the *imperfect*, see § 60. f) the *ē* before the suff. **ִי**; **ִם** becomes *S^eghōl*, e. g. **רָבַדְךָ** Ex. 4, 10, and with a sharpening to *ī* **רָבַדְתֶּם** Is. 1, 15 (see § 60. f). In the *infinitive Pō'el*, **בּוֹשְׁתֶּם** occurs (with *a* for *ē* or *ī*) Am. 5, 11, but probably **בּוֹשְׁתֶּם**, with Wellhausen, is the right reading; the correction **ד** has crept into the text alongside of the *corrigendum* **ש**.

f 2. The leading form of the *imperative Qal* before suffixes (**קָטַלְתָּ**) is due probably (see § 46. d) to the return of the original short vowel of the first syllable (ground-form *qūṭāl*). In the *imperative* also *ō* stands in a half-closed syllable, e. g. **כֹּחַ־בְּהֶם** (not *kōth-bēm*), &c.¹ As in the *imperfect* (§ 60. d) and *infinitive* (see above, letter c), so also in the *imperative*, suffixes are found united to the stem by an *a*-sound; e. g. **בְּתַבְּחָה** Is. 30, 8; comp. 2 Sam. 12, 28. — The forms **קָטַלְתִּי**, **קָטַלְתֶּם**, which are not exhibited in Paradigm C, undergo no change. Instead of **קָטַלְתָּנָה**, the masc. form **קָטַלְתִּי** is used, as in the *imperfect*.

g In verbs which form the *imperative* with *a*, like **שְׁלַח** (to which class 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 *Qameṣ* (just as in *imperfects Qal* in *a*, § 60. c), e. g. **שְׁלַח־נִי** *send me*, Is. 6, 8, **שְׁלַח־נִי** Ps. 26, 2, **קָרָא־נִי** Ps. 50, 15, **שְׁמַע־נִי** Gen. 23, 8. In Am. 9, 1, **בְּצַעַם** (so Baer, instead of the ordinary reading **בְּצַעַם**) for **בְּצַעַם** is irregular. The retraction of the tone, which causes the

¹ **שְׁמַרְתִּי** *šām^erēnī* required by the Masora in Ps. 16, 1 (also **שְׁמַרְתָּ** Ps. 86, 2, 119, 167; comp. Is. 38, 14 and **עֲמַדְךָ** Obad. 11), belongs to the disputed cases discussed in § 9. v and § 48. i, note. According to Delitzsch, the short *ā*, which is the value of the *Qameṣ haṭuṭḥ* of the Masora (see above, § 8. d), is here simply lengthened to long *ā*.

change of \bar{e} to \bar{a} , is doubtless to be explained, with König, as a case of *nasog 'ahor* (comp. 29. *e*, and the analogous קָה־ם־נָא *bring them, I pray thee*, Gen. 48, 9).—In the imperative *Hiph'il*, the form used in conjunction with suffixes is not the 2nd *sing. masc.* הַקְטִיל, but הַקְטִיל (with \dot{i} on account of the open syllable, comp. § 60. *g*), e. g. הַקְרִיבֵהוּ *present it*, Mal. 1, 8.

3. Like the infinitives, the participles can also be united with either verbal or noun-suffixes; see § 116. 3. In both cases the vowel of the participles is shortened or becomes \check{S}^{ewa} before the suffix, as in the corresponding noun-forms, e. g. from the form קָטַל, קָטְלִי, קָטְלוּ, &c.; but before \check{S}^{ewa} mobile קָטְלִי, &c., or with sharpening קָטְלִי Ex. 23, 4 and elsewhere, מִסְפָּרִי 2 Kings 22, 20 (coinciding in form with the 1st *sing. imperfect Qal*, 1 Sam. 15, 6; comp. § 68. *h*). On the other hand, with a middle guttural (קָטְלִי), קָטְלִי; with a third guttural, קָטְלִי Is. 43, 1, but קָטְלִי, comp. § 65. *d*. The form קָטְלִי, with suffix קָטְלִי; before \check{S}^{ewa} sometimes like מִלְפָּדִי Is. 48, 17, מִנְהַמְכֵם 51, 12, sometimes like מִסְפָּדֵם 52, 12. In Is. 47, 10, רִאֲנִי is irregular for רִאֲנִי; instead of the quite meaningless מְקַלְלִי Jer. 15, 10, the true reading is מְקַלְלִי.

§ 62. Verbs with Gutturals.

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 complete loss of the doubling in some of the verbs *middle guttural* (as well as in the *imperfect Niph'al* of verbs *first guttural*) can be called a real weakness (§§ 63. *h*, 64. *d*). On the other hand, some original elements have been preserved in guttural stems, which have degenerated in the ordinary strong verb; e. g. the \bar{a} of the initial syllable in the *imperfect Qal*, as in יִקְטֹר, whilst elsewhere it is attenuated to \check{i} , יִקְטֹל.—In guttural verbs \aleph and η are only taken into consideration when they are actual consonants, and not vowel-letters like the \aleph in some verbs $\aleph''\text{פ}$ (§ 68), in a few $\aleph''\text{ע}$ (§ 73. *g*), and in most $\aleph''\text{ל}$ (§ 74). In all these cases, however, the \aleph was at least originally a full consonant, while the η in verbs $\eta''\text{ל}$ was never

anything but a vowel letter, comp. § 75. The really consonantal ה at the end of the word is marked by *Mappiq*.—Verbs containing a ר also, according to § 22. 5, share some of the peculiarities of the guttural verbs. For more convenient treatment, the cases will be distinguished, according as the guttural is the first, second or third radical. (Comp. 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.

α In this class the deviations from the ordinary strong verb may be referred to the following cases:—

1. Instead of a *simple Šwā mobile*, the initial guttural takes a *compound Šwā* (*Ḥaṭeph*, § 10. f, § 22. l). Thus the *infinitives* עָמַד, אָכַל to eat, and the *perfects, 2nd plur. masc.* עָמַדְתֶּם, אָכַלְתֶּם from עָמַד to be inclined, correspond to the forms אָכַל and אָכַלְתֶּם, and אָבָל to אָבָלְתֶּם, and so always with initial א before a suffix for an original *ā*, according to § 22. o.

β 2. When a preformative is placed before an initial guttural, the two may either form a closed syllable, or the vowel of the preformative is repeated as a *Ḥaṭeph* 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 is attenuated to *ī*.

γ Examples: (a) of firmly closed syllables with the original vowel of the preformative (always with *ō* in the second syllable; but cf. letter *e*): יָחַמַד, יָחַמַל, יָחַשֵׁב, יָחַשֶׁה, יָעֲקֵב Jer. 9, 3 (probably to distinguish it from the name יָעֲקֵב, just as in Jer. 10, 19, &c., the participle fem. Niph'al of חָלָה is נָחַלָה to distinguish it from נָחַלָה), &c., and so generally in the *imperfect Qal* of stems beginning with ה, although sometimes parallel forms exist, which repeat the *ā* as a *Ḥaṭeph*, e. g. יָחַשֵׁב, &c. The same form appears also in the *imperfect Hiph'il* יָחַסִּיר, &c. Very rarely the original *ā* is retained in a closed syllable under the preformative ה of the *perfect Niph'al*: נָחַשְׂתָּ Gen. 31, 27; comp. 1 Sam. 19, 2. Jos. 2, 16, also the *infinitive absolute* נָחַתוּם Esth. 8, 8, נָעֲתוּר 1 Chron. 5, 20, and the *participle fem.* נָחַלָה (see above, letter *c*), *plur.* נָעֲתָרוּת Prov. 27, 6. In these forms the original *ā* is commonly kept under the preformative followed by *Ḥaṭeph-Pathah*;

thus in the *perfect* of some verbs ל'ה , e. g. נָעִשָׂה , &c.; in the *infinitive absolute*, נִהְיֹוּ Esth. 9, 1; in the *participle*, נֹעָרִי Ps. 89, 8, &c.

(*b*) Of half-closed syllables (where a *Hateph* follows) with the original vowel: יִחַבֵּשׁ (but יִחַבֵּשׁ Job 5, 18 in *pause*), יִחַלֵּם , יַעְמֹד , יִהְיֶה , and so almost always with *y* and *h* in the *imperfects* of *Qal* and *Hiph'il*; in *Hoph'al*, הַעֲמִיד , הַעֲמִיר .

The *i* of the preformative, attenuated from *ä*, before a guttural almost always (§ 22. *i*) becomes *S^eghöl* (comp., however, letter *g*). This *S^eghöl* again appears sometimes (*c*) in a closed syllable, e. g. יִחַבֵּשׁ , יִחַסֵּר , יַעֲמֵר , יֹאשֵׁם , always with *ä* in the second syllable, corresponding to the imperfects of verbs *y'w*, with original *i* in the first and *ä* in the second syllable, § 67. *p*, and also to the imperfects of verbs *y'h*, § 72. *h*; but cf. also יִאָסֵר and יִהָדֶף ; in *Niph.*, e. g. נִחְלוּ , נִהְיֶה , Am. 6, 6, &c., in *Hiph.* הִחַסֵּר , הִעֲלִים 2 Kings 4, 27, &c.: sometimes (*d*) in a half-closed syllable (followed by *Hateph-S^eghöl*), e. g. יֹאכֶף , יִחַשְׁנָה , יַעֲרֶב in *imperfect Qal*; הַעֲמִיר *Hiph'il*; נִעְמַד *Niph'al*.

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 half-closed syllable (the soft combination). (2) In the 1st *sing. imperfect Qal* the preformative *n* invariably receives *S^eghöl*, whether in a firmly or half-closed syllable, e. g. אָחַבֵּשׁ (with the cohortative אָחַבֵּשׁה), אָחַסֵּר (in *pause*) &c. In Job 32, 17 אָנַעְנֶה must unquestionably be *Hiph'il*, since elsewhere the pointing is always $\text{אָנַעַ$. Cohortatives like אָהַרְנֶה Gen. 27, 41, and אָחַדְלֶה Job 16, 6, 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^eghöl*, and *vice versa*, e. g. נָעִשָׂה , but נִעֲשֶׂתָה 3rd *sing. fem.*; יֹאכֶף , but יַאֲכֶפִי ; הַעֲמִיר , but with *wāw* consecutive וְהַעֲמִירָתָה &c.; so וַיִּחַסְרֵנִי Gen. 8, 3 the plur. of וַיִּחַסֵּר , comp. Gen. 11, 8; and thus generally a change of the stronger *Hateph-S^eghöl* group (---) into the lighter *Hateph-Pathah* group (---) takes place whenever the tone is moved one place toward the end (comp. § 27. *w*).

3. When in forms like יַעֲמֵר , יַעֲמִיר , the vowel of the final syllable becomes a *vocal Š^ewā* in consequence of the addition of an affirmative (ו , י , ה) or suffix, the *compound Š^ewā* of the guttural is changed into the corresponding short vowel, e. g. יַעֲמִירוּ , plur. (*ya'-a-m^e-dhū* as an equivalent for *ya'-m^e-dhū*); יַעֲזֹבָה she is forsaken. But even in these forms the hard combination frequently occurs, e. g. יִחַבְּלוּ they take as a pledge (comp. in the *sing.* יִחַבֵּל , also יִחַבֵּל); יִחַזְּקוּ (also יִחַזְּקוּ) they are strong. Comp. letter *m* and, in general, § 22. *m*, § 28. *c*.

h 4. In the *infinitive, imperative, and imperfect Niph'al*, where the first radical should regularly be doubled (הִקְטִיל, הִקְטִיל), the doubling is always omitted, and the vowel of the preformative lengthened to *Sere*; יַעֲמֵד for *yi'āmēd*¹, &c. Comp. § 22. 1.—For תַּעֲשֶׂה Ex. 25, 31 (according to Dillmann, to prevent the pronunciation תַּעֲשֶׂה, which the LXX and Samaritan follow) read תַּעֲשֶׂה.

REMARKS.

I. On *Qal*.

i 1. In verbs נ'פ the *infinitive construct and imperative* take *Haṭeph-S'ghôl* in the first syllable (according to § 22. o), e.g. נָאֹר *gird thou*, Job 38, 3, אַהֲב *love thou*, Hos. 3, 1, אַחֲז *seize thou*, Ex. 4, 4 (on אַפּוּ *bake ye*, Ex. 16, 23, see § 76. d); אֲכַל *to eat*; infinitive with a prefix אַחֲז, אֲכַל, אֲכַל Is. 5, 24; אַהֲב Eccles. 3, 8. Sometimes, however, *Haṭeph-Pataḥ* is found as well, e.g. *infinitive* אַחֲז 1 Ki. 6, 6; אֲכַל האֲשׁ Num. 26, 10 (before a suffix אֲכַלְךָ § 61. d); comp. Deut. 7, 20. 12, 23. Ezek. 25, 8. Ps. 102, 5. Prov. 25, 7 (אֲמַר-לֶךָ), Job 34, 18, always in close connexion with the following word. With a firmly closed syllable after ל comp. נְחַסוֹת Is. 30, 2; לְחַתוֹת 30, 14. Hag. 2, 16; לְחַשְׁבֵּן Ex. 31, 4, &c.; לְעוֹר 2 Sam. 18, 3 *Q'el*, but also לְעוֹר 1 Chron. 15, 26.

k הַחֲרַלְתִּי Jud. 9, 9. 11. 13 is altogether anomalous. According to Qimḥi, Olshausen, and others, the Masora intended a *perfect Hoph'al* with syncope of the preformative after the ה interrogative = הַחֲרַלְתִּי, or (according to Olshausen) with the omission of the ה interrogative. But since the *Hiph'fl* and *Hoph'al* of הַחֲרַלְתִּי nowhere occur, it is difficult to believe that such was the intention of the Masora. We should expect the *perfect Qal*, הַחֲרַלְתִּי. But since the *Qames* under the ה, falling between the tone and counter-tone, was naturally less emphasized than in הַחֲרַלְתִּי, without the ה interrogative, it was weakened, not to simple *S'wâ*, but to $\frac{w}{v}$, in order to represent the sound of the *Qames* (likewise pronounced as *o*) at least in a shortened form. The *S'ghôl* of the ה interrogative is explained, in any case, from § 100. n (comp. the similar pointing of the article, e.g. in הַחֲרַלְתִּים, § 35. k).

l 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 *e*, e.g. אֶסְפֵה *gather thou*, Num. 11, 16; עֲרְכֵה *set in order*, Job 33, 5; חֲשִׁפֵי *strip off*, Is. 47, 2 (comp. on this irregular *Dageš* § 46. d), especially when the second radical is also a guttural, e.g. אַהֲבו Am. 5, 15. Ps. 31, 24; comp. Zech. 8, 19; אַחֲזוּ Cant. 2, 15; comp. also in verbs ל'ה עֲנֵי *sing ye*, Num. 21, 17. Ps. 147, 7 (compared with עֲנֵי *answer ye*, 1 Sam. 12, 3) and אֲלֵי Joel 1, 8.—*Pathah* occurs in חַבְלָהוּ *hold him in pledge*, Prov. 20, 16, and probably also in Ps. 9, 14 (חַבְנֵנִי).—As a pausal form for חַרְבֵי (comp. the *plur.* Jer. 2, 12) we

¹ אַעֲמֵה Job 19, 7 (so even the Mantua ed.) is altogether abnormal: read אַעֲמֵה, with Baer.

find in Is. 44, 27 חרבי (comp. the imperf. יהרב) with a repetition of the *δ* 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 *ā* with *S^ghbl* under the preformative in a firmly closed syllable (e. g. יחַדֵּל, יחַבֵּם) regularly gives way to the soft combination in verbs which are at the same time *h'ā*, e. g. יחַזֵּה, יחַצֵּה &c. (bnt comp. יחַנֵּה &c., יחַתֵּה Prov. 6, 27, אַעֲטֵה ed. Mant., Ex. 3, 20). Even in the strong verb וַיַּחֲזֹק is found along with יחַזֹּק. Comp. also וַתַּעֲנֵב Ezek. 23, 5; וַיַּעֲבִיב Gen. 27, 36 (so Ben-Asher; but Ben-Naphtali וַיַּעֲבֵב); וַתַּחֲלֹק Neh. 9, 22, and so always in the *imperfect Qal* of עוֹר with suffixes, Gen. 49, 25 &c.—וַתַּאֲהִבוֹ Prov. 1, 22 (for וַתַּאֲהִבוֹ) is to be explained from the endeavour to avoid too great an accumulation of short sounds by the insertion of a long vowel; comp. the analogous instances under letter *p*, and such nouns as בַּאֲרַח, וַאֲבַח, § 93. *t*.—On יחַבֵּרָה Ps. 94, 20 for יחַבֵּרָה (according to Qimḥi, and others, rather *Pu'al*) comp. § 60. *b*.

יַאֲמַם Ps. 58, 5 and יַעֲרַם to deal subtilly, 1 Sam. 23, 22. Prov. 15, 5. 19, 25, 12 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 Ps. 83, 4.—Instead of the unintelligible form וַיַּחֲלֹקֶם (so ed. Mant.; Baer as in 24, 3) 1 Chron. 23, 6 and וַיַּחֲוֶה 24, 3 the *Qal* וַיַּחֲלֹקֶם is to be read. The form יַרְדֵּף Ps. 7, 6, which is, according to Qimḥi (in *Mikhlol*); but in his Lexicon he explains it as *Hithpa'el*, a composite form of *Qal* (יַרְדֵּף) and *Pi'el* (יַרְדֵּף), can only be understood as a development of יַרְדֵּף (comp. § 64. *h* on יַצַּחֵק, and § 69. *x* on תַּהַלֵּף Ex. 9, 23. Ps. 73, 9). Pathah has taken the place of *Hateph-Pathah*, but as a mere helping-vowel (as in שִׁמְעֵתָ § 28. *e*, note 4) and without preventing the closing of the syllable.

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

3. The above-mentioned (No. 2, Rem. 3) change of $\text{---}\text{---}\text{---}$ to $\text{---}\text{---}\text{---}$ occurs in the *perfect Hiph'il*, especially when the *wāw consecutive* precedes, and the tone is in consequence thrown forwards upon the affirmative, e. g. הַעֲמַדְתָּ, but הַעֲמַדְתָּ Nnm. 3, 6. 8, 13. 27, 19; הַעֲבַרְתָּ, but וַהֲעֲבַרְתָּ Jer. 15, 14. Ezek. 20, 37; even in the 3rd *sing.* וַהֲאִיִּין Ps. 77, 2.—On the contrary $\text{---}\text{---}\text{---}$ occurs instead of $\text{---}\text{---}\text{---}$ in the *imperative Hiph'il*, Jer. 49, 8. 30; and in the *infinitive* Jer. 31, 32. The preformative of עָתַר in *Hiph'il* always takes *a* in a closed syllable: Ex. 8, 4 הַעֲתִירָה; verse 5 אַעֲתִיר; also verse 25 and Job 22, 27.

4. In the *perfect Hiph'il* $\text{---}\text{---}\text{---}$ is sometimes changed into $\text{---}\text{---}\text{---}$, and in *Hoph'al* $\text{---}\text{---}\text{---}$ into $\text{---}\text{---}\text{---}$ (comp. § 23. *h*), the short vowel supported by *Metheg* being lengthened; הַעֲבַרְתָּ Jos. 7, 7, הַעֲלָה Hab. 1, 15, הַעֲלָה Jud. 6, 28. 2 Chron. 20, 34. Nah. 2, 8. On a further case of this kind (וַעֲמָה) see § 64. *c*. Something similar occurs in the formation of segholate nouns of the form *qāḏl*; comp. § 93. *q*, and (on אַמּוֹן &c. for אַמּוֹן) § 84. *a*, III. 12. On the *Hoph'al* הַעֲבַרְתָּ Ex. 20, 5, and elsewhere, see § 60. *b*.

III. הִיָּה and חִיָּה.

5. In the verbs הִיָּה to be, and חִיָּה to live, the guttural hardly ever affects the addition of preformatives; thus *imperfect Qal* יִהְיֶה and יַחֲיֶה, *Niph'al* נִהְיֶה;

but in the *perfect Hiph'el* הִחִיָּה (2nd plur. וְהִחִיתֶם Jos. 2, 13, and even without *wāw consecutive*, Jud. 8, 19). Initial ה always has *Ḥaṭeph-S^ghōl* instead of vocal *Š^ewā*; הִיָּה, הִיֹּת, הִיֹּתֶם 1 Sam. 25, 7, הִיִּתָּם (except הִיִּי *be thou! fem.* Gen. 24, 60). The 2nd *sing. fem. imperative* of הִיָּה is חִיִּי *live thou*, Ezek. 16, 6; the infinitive, with suffix, חִיֹּתֶם Jos. 5, 8. After the prefixes י, ב, ק, ל, מ (= מן) both ה and ח retain the *simple Š^ewā* (§ 28. b) and the prefix takes י, as elsewhere before strong consonants with *Š^ewā*; hence in the *perfect Qal* וְחִיִּיתָ, *imperative* וְחִי, *infinitive* לְחִיֹּת, לְחִיֹּתֶם &c. (comp. § 16. f, ε). The only exception is the 2nd *sing. masc.* of the *imperative* after *wāw*; וְחִיָּה Gen. 12, 2 and elsewhere, וְחִיָּה Gen. 20, 7.

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

a The slight deviations from the ordinary inflexion are confined chiefly to the following¹:—

1. When the guttural would stand at the beginning of a syllable with *simple Š^ewā*, it necessarily takes a *Ḥaṭeph*, and almost always *Ḥaṭeph-Pathah*, e.g. *perfect* שָׁחַטוּ, *imperfect* יִשְׁחַטוּ, *imperative Niph'al* הִשְׁחַטוּ. In the *imperative Qal*, before the affirmatives *י* and *א*, the original *Pathah* reappears in the first syllable, and is followed by *Ḥaṭeph-Pathah*, since the syllable is only half closed, thus, יִשְׁחַטוּ, &c.; in אִשְׁחַטוּ the preference of the א for *S^ghōl* (but cf. also אִשְׁחַטוּ Jer. 13, 21) has caused the change from *ā* to *ě*; in אִשְׁחַטוּ Job 6, 22, the *י* remains even before a *hard* guttural.

So in the *infinitive Qal fem.*, e.g. אֲהַבָּהּ to love, רִנָּהּ to pine; and in the *infinitive* with a suffix לְכַעֲרָה Is. 9, 6; to the same form also belongs, according to König, שְׁחַטָּה Hos. 5, 2, which Ewald and others explain as *infinitive Pi'el*.

b 2. As the preference of the gutturals for the *a*-sound has less influence on the following than on the preceding vowel, not only is *Ḥolem* retained after the middle guttural in the *infinitive Qal*, both in the *construct* שָׁחַט (with the fem. ending and retraction of the *o* רַחֲנָהּ and רַחֲקָהּ, comp. § 45. b) and in the *absolute* שָׁחַט, but also, for the most part, the *Ṣere* in the *imperfect Niph'al* and *Pi'el*, e.g. יִלָּחֵם *he fights*, יִנְחֵם *he comforts*, and even the more feeble *S^ghōl* after *wāw consecutive* in such forms as וַיִּלָּחֵם, וַיִּנְחֵם Gen. 41, 8 (comp., however, וַיִּנְחֵם 1 Kings 12, 6 and elsewhere). But in the *imperative* and *imperfect Qal*, the final syllable, through the influence of the guttural, mostly

¹ *Hoph'al*, which is not exhibited in the paradigm, follows the analogy of *Qal*; *Hiph'el* is regular.

takes *Pathah*, even in transitive verbs, e. g. *שָׁחַט*, *יִשְׁחַט*; *זָעַק*, *יִזְעַק*; *בָּחַר*, *יִבְחַר*; with *suffixes* (according to § 60. c), *imperative* *בְּחַנְנִי*, *שְׁאַלְנִי*, *imperfect* *יִנְאַלְוֶהוּ*.

With *ō* in the *imperative Qal*, the only instances are *נָעַל* 2 Sam. 13, 17; *אָהוּ* Ex. 4, 4. 2 Sam. 2, 21, *fem.* *אָהוּ* Ruth 3, 15 (with the unusual repetition of the lost *ō* as *Haṭeph-Qameṣ*; 2nd *plur. masc.* in *pause* *אָהוּ* Neh. 7, 3; without the *pause* *אָהוּ* Cant. 2, 15); *קָעַר* Jud. 19, 8¹. Finally *זָעַמָה* for *זָעַמָה*, Num. 23, 7, is an example of the same kind, see § 63. *p*. Just as rare are the imperfects in *ō* of verbs *middle guttural*, as *יָנַחַם*, *יִנְחֹם*, *תִּמְעַל* Lev. 5, 15, &c. (but *יִמְעַל* 2 Chron. 26, 16); cf. *וַתִּשְׁחָדֵי* Ezek. 16, 33; *תִּפְעַל* Job 35, 6. Also in the *perfect Pi'el*, *Pathah* occurs somewhat more frequently than in the strong verb, e. g. *נָחַם* to comfort (comp., however, *בָּהוּ*, *בְּחָר*, *בָּחַשׁ*, *בָּחַח*); but *א* and *ע* always have *ē* in 3rd *sing.*—On the *infinitive* with suffixes, comp. § 61. *b*.

3. In *Pi'el*, *Pu'al* and *Hithpa'el*, the *Dageš forte* is inadmissible in *d* the middle radical; but in the majority of cases, especially before *ה*, *ח* and *ע*, the preceding vowel, nevertheless, remains short, and the guttural is consequently to be regarded as, at least, *virtually* doubled, comp. § 22. *c*; e. g. *Pi'el* *שָׁחַק*, *נָחַל* Jos. 14, 1, *יִבְעֲרָתִי* 1 Ki. 14, 10, *נָהַג* Ex. 10, 13 (comp., however, *אָחַר* Gen. 34, 19; *נָהַלְתָּ* Ex. 15, 13, but in the *imperfect* and *participle* *יִנְהַל*, &c.; in verbs *ל"ה*, e. g. *רָעָה*), *infinitive* *שָׁחַק*, *Pu'al* *רָחַץ* (but comp. *רָחַץ* Ps. 36, 13 from *רָחַץ*, also the unusual position of the tone in *בָּחַן*² Ezek. 21, 18, and in the *perfect Hithpa'el* *הִתְרַחֲצִיתִי* Job 9, 30); *Hithpa'el perfect* and *imperative* *הִטְהַרְרִי*, &c.; in *pause* (see §§ 22. *c*; 27. *q*; 29. *v*; 54. *k*) *הִטְהַרְרִי* Num. 8, 7. 2 Chron. 30, 18; *יִתְנַחֵם* Num. 23, 19, &c.

The complete omission of the doubling, and a consequent *e* lengthening of the preceding vowel, occurs invariably only with *ר* (*פָּרַח* Ezek. 16, 4 is an exception; *פָּרַחָה* also occurs, Jud. 6, 28), e. g. *פָּרַח* (in *pause* *פָּרַחָה*), *imperfect* *יִפְרַח*, *Pu'al* *פָּרַח*. Before *א* it occurs regularly in the stems *פָּאֵר*, *פָּאֵל*, *פָּאֵן*, and in the *Hithpa'el* of *בָּאֵשׁ*, *רָאֵה*, and *שָׂאֵה*; on the other hand, *א* is *virtually* doubled in the

¹ Also Jud. 19, 5 (where Qimḥi would read *s^eād*), read *s^eād*, and on the use of the conjunctive accent (here *Darga*) as a substitute for Metheg, cf. § 9. *u* (c) and § 16. *b*.

² *בָּחַן* is explained by Abulwalīd as the 3rd pers. *perfect Pu'al*, but by Qimḥi as a noun.

perfects, נָאָר (once in the imperfect, Jer. 29, 23) to commit adultery, נָאָן to despise (also in the imperfect with *ä*, Ps. 74, 10; in the participle, Num. 14, 23. Is. 60, 14. Jer. 23, 17), נָאָר to abhor Lam. 2, 7 (also נִאָרְתָה Ps. 89, 40) and שָׂאָל Ps. 109, 19; moreover, in the infinitive נִאָשׁ Eccles. 2, 20, according to the best reading. On the *Mappiq* in the *Pu'al* נִאָשׁ Job 33, 21, comp. § 14. d.

f Rem. 1. In the verb שָׁאַל to ask, to beg, some forms of the perfect *Qal* appear to be based upon a secondary form middle *e*, comp. שָׁאַלְךָ Gen. 32, 18. Jud. 4, 20; שָׁאַלְנוּ Ps. 137, 3; שָׁאַלְתָּם 1 Sam. 12, 13. 25, 5. Job 21, 29; שָׁאַלְתִּיהוּ Jud. 13, 6. 1 Sam. 1, 20 (also *Hiph'il* הִשְׁאֲלִיתִיהוּ 1 Sam. 1, 28). Comp., however, similar cases of attenuation of an original *ä*, § 69. s, and especially § 44. d. In the first three examples, if explained on that analogy, the *ä* attenuated from *ä* would have been lengthened to *ē* (before the tone); in the next three *ä* would have been modified to *ä*.

g 2. In *Pi'el* and *Hithpa'el* the lengthening of the vowel before the guttural not infrequently 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. לָשֶׁרֶת שָׁם to minister there, Deut. 17, 12, even in the case of a guttural which is virtually doubled, Gen. 39, 14. Job 8, 18 (see § 29. g). (*b*) after *wāw* consecutive, e. g. וַיְבָרֶךְ and he blessed, Gen. 1, 22 and frequently, וַיִּנְרֹשׁ and he drove out, Ex. 10, 11.

h 3. The following are a few rarer anomalies; in the imperfect *Qal* יִצְחַק Gen. 21, 6 (elsewhere תִּצְחַק &c., in pause יִצְחַק, comp. § 10. g (*c*) and § 63. n); וְאָחַר Gen. 32, 5 (for וְאֶחְאָר); in the perfect *Pi'el* אָחַרוּ Jud. 5, 28 (perhaps primarily for אָחַרוּ; according to Gen. 34, 19 אָחַרוּ would be expected), and similarly יִחְמֹתֵנִי Ps. 51, 7 for יִחְמֹתֵנִי; in the imperative *Pi'el* קַרְבַּ Ezek. 37, 17 (comp. above, § 52. n); finally, in the imperative *Hiph'il* הִרְחַק Job 13, 21 and הִמְעֵד Ps. 69, 24, in both cases probably influenced by the closing consonant, and by the preference for *Pathah* in pause (according to § 29. g); without the pause הִרְחַק Prov. 4, 24, and elsewhere; but also הִנְחַח Joel 4, 11.

i 4. As infinitive *Hithpa'el* with a suffix we find הִתְיַחֲשֵׁם Ezr. 8, 1, and elsewhere, with a firmly closed syllable, also the participle מְתַיַחֲשִׁים Neh. 7, 64; Baer, however, reads in all these cases, on good authority, הִתְיַחֲשֵׁם &c.—The quite meaningless *Kethibh* וְנִאָשָׁר Ezek. 9, 8 (for which the *Qere* requires the equally unintelligible וְנִאָשָׁר) evidently combines two different readings, viz. וְנִאָשָׁר (*part. Niph.*) and וְנִאָשָׁר (*imperf. consec.*); comp. the exhaustive discussion by König, *Lehrgebäude*, p. 266 sq.—In יִתְאַרְהוּ Is. 44, 13 (also יִתְאַרְהוּ in the same verse) an imperfect *Pö'el* appears to be intended by the Masora (*y^etho^orēhū* with an irregular shortening of the *ö* for יִתְאַרְ; comp. מוֹלְטֵנִי Ps. 101, 5 *Qere*); on the other hand Qimḥi, with whom Delitzsch agrees, explains the form as *Pi'el*, *y^ethā^arēhū* with an irregular $\overline{\text{—}}$ for $\overline{\text{—}}$, as in the reading אֲלִקְטָה Ruth 2, 2. 7; comp. § 10. h.

5. A few examples in which *ä*, as a middle guttural, entirely loses its consonantal value and quiesces in a vowel, will be found in § 73. g.

§ 65. Verbs Third Guttural, e. g. שָׁלַח to send¹.

1. According to § 22. 2, when the last syllable has a vowel *a* 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—

(a) The unchangeable vowels אָ, י, ו (§ 25. b) are always retained, even under such circumstances; hence *infinitive absolute Qal* שָׁלַח, *participle passive* שְׁלֹחַ, *Hiph'il* הַשְּׁלִיחַ, *imperfect* יִשְׁלַח, *participle* מְשַׁלֵּחַ. So also the less firm *ō* in the *infinitive construct* שְׁלַח is almost always retained: comp., however, שְׁלַח, in close connexion with a substantive, Is. 58, 9, and וְנָע Num. 20, 3. Examples of the *infinitive* with suffixes are שְׁלַחְךָ Gen. 35, 1; שְׁלַחְנוּ Num. 35, 19; שְׁלַחְךָ Lev. 18, 23, &c.

(b) The *imperfect* and *imperative Qal* almost always have *ä* in the second syllable, sometimes, no doubt, due simply to the influence of the guttural (for a tone-long *ō*, originally *ü*), but sometimes as being the original vowel, thus יִשְׁלַח, שְׁלַח, &c.; with suffixes יִשְׁלַחְנִי, שְׁלַחְנִי, see § 60. c.

Exceptions, in the *imperfect* אִסְלוּ Jer. 5, 7, *Keth.* (חֲסִלָּה *Q^erel*); in the *imperative* טַבַּח Gen. 43, 16. On such cases as אֲשַׁעֲךָ Is. 27, 4, comp. § 10. h.

(c) Where *Sere* would be the regular vowel of the final syllable, *c* both forms (with *ē^a* and *ä*) are sometimes in use; the choice of one or the other is decided by the special circumstances of the tone, i. e.

Rem. 1. In the *absolute state* of the *participle Qal*, *Pi'el* and *Hithpa'el*, the forms שְׁלַח (with suff. שְׁלַחִי, but שְׁלַחְךָ), מְשַׁלֵּחַ (with suff. מְשַׁלֵּחְךָ) and מְשַׁלֵּחַ are used exclusively; on the other hand, the closer connexion in the case of the *construct state participle Qal* causes the sharper pronunciation שְׁלַח, e. g. רָעַע Is. 42, 5. Ps. 136, 6, comp. 94, 9. Lev. 11, 7 (no example of a *construct state* is found in the *participle Pi'el*); so also in the *participle Pu'al* מְרַבֵּעַ Ezek. 45, 2.

2. Similarly, in the *imperfect* and *infinitive Niph'al*, and in the *perfect, infinitive* and *imperfect Pi'el* the (probably more original) form with *ä* commonly occurs in the body of the sentence, and the fuller form with *ē^a* in *pause* (and even with the lesser distinctives, e. g. with *D^ohi* Ps. 86, 4 in the *imperative Pi'el*; with *Tiph'ha* 1 Ki. 12, 32 in the *infinitive Pi'el*; Jer. 4, 31 *imperfect Hithpa'el*; Jer. 16, 6 *imperfect Niph'al*), comp. e. g. יִנְרַע Num. 27, 4, with יִנְרַע 36, 3, וַיִּשְׁבַּע Deut. 1, 34; even with retraction of the tone in the *infinitive Niph'al* הִשְׁבַּע Num. 30, 3

¹ Verbs ה'ל in which the ה is *consonantal* obviously belong also to this class, e. g. גָּבַהּ to be high, תָּמַה to be astonished, מָרַה (only in *Hithpalpel*) to delay.

(elsewhere הִשָּׁבַע Jer. 7, 9, 12, 16 twice, in each case without the pause); תִּבְקַע־ Hab. 3, 9, with תִּבְקַע Ezek. 13, 11; בָּלַע to devour Hab. 1, 13. Num. 4, 20 with בָּלַע Lam. 2, 8; for *infinitive Hithpa'el*, comp. Is. 28, 20. The *infinitive absolute Pi'el* has the form שָׁלַח Deut. 22, 7. 1 Ki. 11, 22; the *infinitive construct*, on the other hand, when without the pause is שָׁלַח, except לְשַׁלַּח Ex. 10, 4.—וַיִּבֶח־ Hab. 1, 16 has *ē*, though not in *pause*, and even וַיִּוֹבַח 2 Ki. 16, 4. 2 Chron. 28, 4; but *a* in *pause* in the *imperative Niph'al* הֶאֱבַח Ezek. 21, 11; *jussive Pi'el* תִּאָּחַר Ps. 40, 18; comp. § 52. *n*. An example of *ā* in the *imperative Pi'el* under the influence of a final ר is פַּהֲרֵה Job 36, 2, in the *imperfect Niph'al* וְהִתְעַצֵּר Num. 17, 13, &c.—In יִפְרֹחַ Job 14, 9 (cf. Ps. 92, 14. Prov. 14, 11), Barth (see above, § 63. *n*) finds an *i-imperfect of Qal*, since the intransitive meaning is only found in *Qal*.

f 3. In the 2nd *sing. masc.* of the *imperative*, and in the forms of the *jussive* and *imperfect consecutive* of *Hiph'il* which end in gutturals, *a* alone occurs, e. g. הִצְלַח הִצְלַח prosper thou, יִבְטַח let him make to trust, וַיִּצְמַח and he made to grow (so in *Hithpalpel* וַיְחַמְּכֵהוּ, &c., Hab. 2, 3); even in *pause* וַיִּצְלַח 1 Chron. 29, 23 (but also with the pausal lengthening of the *ā* to *ā̄* יוֹבַח 1 Chron. 12, 17); וַיִּשְׁעֶבְדְּ Is. 35, 4 is to be emended into וַיִּשְׁעֵן (= וַיִּוֹשְׁעֵן).—In the *infinitive absolute Sere* remains, e. g. הִגְבִּיהַ to make high; as *infinitive construct* הוֹבִיחַ also occurs in close connexion (Job 6, 26); on הוֹשִׁיעַ as *infinitive construct* (1 Sam. 25, 26. 33), comp. § 53. *k*.

g 2. When the guttural with *quiescent S^{wā}* stands at the end of a syllable, the ordinary strong form remains when not connected with suffixes, e. g. שָׁלַחְתִּי שָׁלַחְתָּ. But in the 2nd *sing. fem. perfect* a *helping-Pathah* takes the place of the *S^{wā}*, שָׁלַחְתְּ Jer. 13, 25 (§ 28. *d*); also in 1 Ki. 14, 3, לָקַחְתְּ is to be read according to Qimhi, not לָקַחְתְּ.

h Rem. The soft combination with *compound S^{wā}* occurs only in the 1st *plur. perfect* with suffixes, since in these forms the tone is thrown one place farther forward, e. g. יָדַעְנִיךָ we know thee, Hos. 8, 2 (comp. Gen. 26, 29. Ps. 44, 18. 132, 6). Before the *suffixes* ך and ךֿ, the guttural must have *—*, e. g. אֶשְׁלַחְךָ I will send thee, 1 Sam. 16, 1; וְאֶשְׁלַחְךָ Gen. 31, 27; אֶשְׁמִיעֶךָ Jer. 18, 2.

On the weak verbs א'ל, see especially § 74.

II. The Weak Verb¹.

§ 66. Verbs *Primae Radicalis Nún* (נ'), e. g. נָשַׁבַּח to approach.

a The weakness of initial נ consists chiefly in its suffering *aphaeresis* in the *infinitive construct* and *imperative* in some of these verbs (comp. § 19. *h*). On the other hand, the assimilation of the נ (see

¹ Cf. the Table, § 41.

below) cannot properly be regarded as weakness, since the trilateral character of the stem is still preserved by the doubling of the second consonant. The special points to be noticed are—

1. The *aphaeresis* of the Nûn (*a*) in the *infinitive construct*. This ^b occurs only (though not necessarily) in those verbs which have *a* in the second syllable of the *imperfect*. Thus from the stem נגש, *imperfect* שָׁגַשׁ, *infinitive* properly שָׁגַשׁ, but always lengthened by the feminine termination תּ to the segholate form שָׁגַשְׁתִּי¹; with *suffix* שָׁגַשְׁתִּי Gen. 33, 3; with the concurrence of a guttural נָגַע *to touch*, *imperfect* עָשָׂה, *infinitive* נָגַעַת (also נָגַעַת, see below); נָטַע *to plant*, *infinitive* לְנָטַע (also נָטַעַת, see below); on the verb נָתַן *to give*, see especially letters *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* יָפַל, *infinitive* לְנָפַל, with *suffix* יָפַלְתִּי, also יָפַלְתִּי; נָבַרְךָ Num. 6, 2 and elsewhere; comp., moreover, לְנָבַרְךָ Gen. 20, 6 and elsewhere, וְנָבַרְךָ Ex. 19, 12 (even לְנָבַרְךָ Job 6, 7; comp. Jer. 1, 10); with *suffix* בְּנָבַרְךָ Lev. 15, 23. Also לְנָטַע Is. 51, 16 (but לְנָטַע Eccles. 3, 2); נָשָׂא Is. 1, 14. 18, 3; with *suffix* בְּנָשָׂא Ps. 28, 2 (elsewhere שָׂאָתָּ, comp. § 74. *i* and § 76. *b*), לְנָשָׂא 2 Sam. 20, 9.

(*b*) In the *imperative*. Here the *Nûn* is always dropped in verbs ^c with *a* in the *imperfect*, e. g. נָגַשׁ, *imperative* שָׁגַשׁ (frequently with *paragogic ā*, שָׁגַשְׁהָ; before *Maqqeph* also שָׁגַשׁ Gen. 19, 9), *plur.* שָׁגַשְׁוּ, &c. Parallel with these there are the curious forms with *ō*, שָׁשִׁי Ruth 2, 14 (with *retarding* *Metheg* in the second syllable, and also *nasog 'ahor*, according to § 29. *e*, before הָלַם) and שָׁשׂו Jos. 3, 9 (before הָיָה), 1 Sam. 14, 38 (before הָלַם) and 2 Chron. 29, 31; in all these cases without the *pause*. The only instance of *Nûn* being retained, as if in a strong verb, is נָהַג *drive*, 2 Ki. 4, 24 (*imperfect* יָנַהַג, without assimilation of the *Nûn*); comp. also the verbs הָלַל, which are at the same time הָלַל; נָהַה Ezek. 32, 18, נָהַה Ex. 32, 34, נָטַה Ex. 8, 1 and elsewhere; the verb הָלַל, נָשָׂא Ps. 10, 12 (usually שָׂאָ). Here also the *aphaeresis* does not take place in verbs which have *ō* in the *imperfect*, e. g. נָצַר, נָחַן, &c.

2. When, through the addition of a *preformative*, *Nûn* stands at ^d

¹ 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).

the end of a syllable, it is readily assimilated to the second radical (§ 19. 2); thus in the *imperfect Qal*¹, e. g. יִפֹּל for *yinpōl*, *he will fall*; יִשָּׂא for *yingsāš*; יִתֵּן for *yintēn*, *he will give* (on this single example of an *imperfect* with original *i* in the second syllable, cf. letter *h*)²; also in the *perfect Niph'al* שָׂא for *ningāš*; throughout *Hiph'il* (הִשָּׂא, &c.) and *Hoph'al* (which in these verbs always has *Qibbuš*, in a sharpened syllable, comp. § 9. *n*) הִשָּׂא.

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 פ"פ (§ 71), and even in verbs ע"ע (§ 67). The *infinitive* שָׂא and the *imperative* שָׂא, also שָׂא (Gen. 19, 9) and יִתֵּן, resemble the corresponding forms of verbs פ"פ (§ 69).—On יִקַּח, קַח, and יִקַּח, from לָקַח *to take*, see letter *g*.—In יָקוּם (*imperfect Niph'al* of קוּם), and in similar forms of verbs ע"ע (§ 72), the full writing of the *š* indicates, as a rule, that they are not to be regarded as *imperfects Qal* of נָקַם, &c.—Also אָפַק (Ps. 139, 8) is not to be derived from נָסַק, but stands for אָפַק (with a sharpening of the *ד* as compensation for the loss of the *ל*), from קָלַק *to ascend*, see § 19. *f*, and Kautzsch, *Gramm. des Bibl. Aram.*, § 44.

f Rem. 1. The instances are comparatively few in which the forms retain their *Nûn* before a firm consonant, e. g. נָטַר, imperfect יִנְטַר Jer. 3, 5 (elsewhere יִטַר); also of נָצַר the pausal form is always יִנְצַרו (without the *pause* יִצַרו Prov. 20, 28); similarly in Is. 29, 1. 58, 3. Ps. 61, 8. 68, 3 (where, however, תִּנְדַּר is intended), 140, 2. 5. Prov. 2, 11. Job 40, 24, the retention of the *Nûn* is always connected with the *pause*. In *Niph'al* this never occurs (except in the irregular *inf.* קָהַנְדַּף Ps. 68, 3, cf. § 51. *k*), in *Hiph'il* and *Hoph'al* very seldom; e. g. לְהַנְתִּיף Ezek. 22, 20, הִנְהִיקוּ Jud. 20, 31; for לָבַל Num. 5, 22 read לְנַבַּל, according to § 53. *g*. On the other hand, the *Nûn* is regularly retained in all verbs, of which the second radical is a guttural, e. g. יִנְחַל *he will possess*, although there are rare cases like יִחַת (also יִנְחַת) *he will descend*, Jer. 21, 13 (even יִחַת Prov. 17, 10; without any apparent reason accented as *Mil'el*), plur. יִחַתוּ Job 21, 13 (comp. § 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 פ"פ (§ 19. *d*). Hence

¹ Cf. Mayer Lambert, 'Le futur qal des verbes פ"פ, פ"פ, א"פ,' in the *Revue des études Juives*, xxvii. 136 sqq.

² An imperfect in *a* (יִשָּׂא) is given in the Paradigm, simply because it is the actual form in use in this verb.

imperfect Qal יָקַח, cohortative (§ 20. *m*) אֲקַח, *imperative* קַח, in *pause* and before *suffixes* קַח (on אֲקַח־נָפֶר Gen. 48, 9, see § 61. *g*), *paragogic* form קַחְהוּ; קַחְי, &c. (but comp. also לָקַח Ex. 29, 1. Ezek. 37, 16. Prov. 20, 16, לָקַחְי 1 Ki. 17, 11); *infinitive construct* קַחַת (once קַחַת 2 Ki. 12, 9, comp. § 93. *h*); with לְ, לְקַחַת; with *suffix* קַחְתִּי; *Hoph'al* (comp., however, § 53. *u*) *imperfect* יִקַּח; *Niph'al*, however, is always יִקַּח.—On קַח Ezek. 17, 5 and קַחַם Hos. 11, 3, see above, § 19. *i*.

3. The verb נָתַן *to give*, mentioned above, letter *d*, is the only example of a verb י'פ with *imperfect* in *ē* (נָתַן for *yintēn*; נָתַן only in Jud. 16, 5, elsewhere before *Maqqeph* נָתַן, &c.), and a corresponding *imperative* נָתַן or (very frequently) נָתַן, which the Masora must intend even in Ps. 8, 2, although the text is certainly corrupt; before *Maqqeph* נָתַן, *fem.* נָתַנִּי, &c. Moreover, this very common verb has the peculiarity that its final *Nûn*, as a weak nasal, is also assimilated; נָתַנְתִּי for *nāthāntī*, נָתַנְתָּ or, very frequently, נָתַנְתָּ, with a kind of orthographic compensation for the assimilated *Nûn* (comp. § 44. *g*); *Niph'al perfect* נָתַתָּ Lev. 26, 25. Ezr. 9, 7.

In the *infinitive construct Qal* the ground-form *tint* is not lengthened to *tēneth* *i* (as נָתַתָּ from נָתַתָּ), but contracted to *titt*, which is then correctly lengthened to נָתַתָּ, with the omission of *Dageš forte* in the final consonant, see § 20. *l*; but with suffixes נָתַתִּי, נָתַתָּ, &c.; before *Maqqeph* with the prefix לְ = לְנָתַתָּ, e. g. Ex. 5, 21, and even when closely connected by other means, e. g. Gen. 15, 7; however, the strong formation of the *infinitive construct* also occurs in נָתַן Num. 20, 21 and נָתַן Gen. 38, 9; comp. § 69. *m*, note 2. On the other hand, לְנָתַתָּ 1 Ki. 6, 19 could not be an *infinitive*: it might conceivably be an *imperfect* with לְ in a final sense, but probably we ought simply to read לְנָתַתָּ, just as the *Qeṣē*, 1 Ki. 17, 14, requires נָתַתָּ for נָתַתָּ.

In other stems, the *Ṣ* is retained as the third radical, e. g. נָתַתִּי, נָתַתָּ, comp. § 19. *c* and § 44. *n*. On the entirely anomalous aphaeresis of the *Nûn* with a strong vowel in נָתַתָּ (for נָתַתָּ) 2 Sam. 22, 41, comp. § 19. *i*.—On the *passive imperfect* יִתֵּן, comp. § 53. *u*.

§ 67. Verbs *y'v*, e. g. קָבַב *to surround*.

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 trilateral by a *repetition of the second radical*, hence called verbs *y'v*. Forms with two radicals were formerly explained (in this grammar, as by others) on a general theory of contraction from original forms with three radicals. It is more correct to regard them as representing the original stem (with two radicals), and the forms with the second radical repeated as subsequently augmented from the monosyllabic

stem¹. 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 augmentation of biliteral to trilateral stems (ע'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. קָבַב, סָבְבָה, סָבְבוּ : קָבַבְנָה Gen. 33, 5 (but with suffix חֲנִי, 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 letter *aa*. The augmentation of the stem *must* always take place wherever the ordinary strong form has an unchangeable vowel in the second syllable (e. g. קָבוֹב, קָבוּב), or where the strengthening of the second radical is required by the character of the form, e. g. שָׂדֵר, חֲלִיל, &c.

- b* 2. The biliteral stem always (except in *Hiph'il* and the *imperfect Niph'al*, see below) receives the vowel which would have been required in the *second* syllable of the ordinary strong form, or which stood in the ground-form, since that vowel is characteristic of the form (§ 43. *b*), e. g. תָּם answering to קָטַל, תָּמָה to the ground-form *qāṭālāt*, תָּמוּ to the ground-form *qāṭālū*; *infinitive*, טַל to קָטַל.
- c* 3. The insertion of *Dageš forte* (mentioned under letter *a*), for the purpose of strengthening the second radical, never takes place (see § 20. *l*) in the final consonant of a word, e. g. תָּם, טַל, not תָּם, טַל; but it appears again on the addition of affirmatives or suffixes, e. g. תָּמוּ, טָמוּ, טָמוּנִי, &c.
- d* 4. When the affirmative begins with a consonant (ג, ח), 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* ו, in the *imperative* and *imperfect* וְ, e. g. טָמוּנִי, טָמוּנִי, *imperfect* תָּסַבְּנָה (for *sabb-ta*, *sabb-nu*, *tasobb-na*). The artificial opening of the syllable by means

¹ So (partly following Böttcher) A. Müller, *ZDMG.* xxxiii. p. 698 sqq.; Stade, *Lehrbuch*, § 385. *b, c*; Nöldeke, &c.

of a separating vowel is merely intended to make the strengthening of the second radical audible¹.

The *perfect* תָּמַנְהוּ (for תָּמַנְוְהוּ) Num. 17, 28. Ps. 64, 7 (Jer. 44, 18 תָּמַנְוְהוּ with *e Silluq*), owing to omission of the separating vowel, approximates, if the text is right, to the form of verbs *ו'ע* (comp. תָּמַנְהוּ from תָּמַנְוְהוּ).

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. 2, a), e. g. *imperfect Hiph'il* יִסֵּב for *yä-sēb*, *imperative* הִסֵּב for *hā-sēb*, &c. Where the preformatives in the strong verb have *ī*, either the original *ä* (which was attenuated to *ī*) is restored and lengthened, e. g. יִסֵּב in *imperfect Qal* for *yä-sōb*, or the *ī* itself is lengthened to *ē*, e. g. הִסֵּב *perfect Hiph'il* for *hī-sēb* (see further under letter *h*). The vowel thus lengthened can be retained, however, only before the tone (except the *ū* of the *Hoph'al*, lengthened from an original *ū*, הִסֵּב for *hū-sāb*); when the tone is thrown forward it becomes *Šewā*, according to § 27. 3 (under *š* and ה *compound Šewā*), e. g. תָּסַב, but תָּסַבְיָה; *imperfect Hiph'il* תָּסַב, but תָּסַבְיָה; *perfect f* תָּסַבְיָה, &c.

Besides the ordinary form of the imperfections, there is another which predominates *g* in *Aramaic*, in which the *imperfect Qal* is pronounced יִסֵּב, the *first* radical, not the second, being strengthened by *Dageš forte*, comp. יִשֵּׁב 1 Ki. 9, 8, יִקֵּר Gen. 24, 26, יִתֵּב; with *a* in the second syllable, יִתֵּב Lev. 11, 7, יִתֵּב (with *Dageš forte implicitum*) 1 Ki. 1, 1; in the plural, יִתֵּבוּ Num. 14, 35, &c. (in pause יִתֵּבוּ).

¹ No satisfactory explanation of these separating vowels has as yet been found. In none of the forms can it be said that the original vowel has returned, although König calls both separating vowels vocalic endings of the stem (*Vokalstamm- auslaute*), and regards the *ı̇* of the imperfect as differentiated from *u*, *ä*. Consequently there remains only the supposition that we have here the insertion of a really new vowel, as an aid to pronunciation, with the object mentioned above. Rödiger, both for the *perfect* and *imperfect* (Ewald and Stade, for the *imperfect* at least), points to the analogy of verbs ה'ל in formations like תָּלִיתָ, תָּלִיתָ; but in those instances, the tone-bearing vowel is no new importation, but was there from the first. On the other hand, Rödiger notes the analogy of the vulgar Arabic (comp. Spitta's *Gr.*, p. 216), which for the classical Arabic *madádtā, madádti, madádtu*, uses the forms *maddēt, maddēti, maddēt*, and even *maddāt*. The last of these forms might indicate that the *ö* in the *perfect* of Hebrew verbs *ו'ע* is obscured from an original *á*; comp., however, G. Hoffmann in *ZDMG*. xxxii. p. 756, according to whom *maddáta* has arisen rather from *maddautā*, which he holds to be also the ground-form of תָּוִרְוֹת. [See also Wright, *Comp. Gr.* 229 f.]

Ps. 102, 28); perhaps also יִפֹּל , יִדָּל , יִפְּה , יִשַּׁח (unless these four forms are rather to be referred to *Niph'al*, as certainly יִדְּפֹו is, 1 Sam. 2, 9); with suffix תִּקְבְּנוּ occurs (comp. § 10. *h*) in Num. 23, 25; *Imperfect Hiph'il* יִתָּם , *Hoph'al* יִבַּח , &c. This sharpening of the first radical obviously only serves the purpose of giving to a biliteral stem at least a trilateral appearance¹; at the same time, the vowel of the preformative (which before *Dageš* is, of course, short) follows the analogy of the ordinary strong form (comp., also, letters *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 doubled, e. g. וַיִּקְרֹו Gen. 43, 28 and elsewhere for וַיִּקְרֹוּ and they bowed the head; וַיִּבְּתוּ and they beat down, Deut. 1, 44 (from בָּתַת); וַיִּתְּמוּ Deut. 32, 8; וַיִּדְּמוּ Exod. 15, 16. Job 29, 21 (comp., however, וַיִּסְבּוּ Jud. 18, 23, וַיִּבְּתוּ Jer. 46, 5. Job 4, 20). To the same class of apparently strong formations belongs תִּצְלְּנָה (without the separating vowel, for תִּצְלְּיָנָה , comp. 1 Sam. 3, 11 and below, letter *p*) they shall tingle, 2 Ki. 21, 12. Jer. 19, 3. On the various forms of the *Niph'al*, see Rem. 5.

h 6. The restoration of the original vowel, as mentioned in No. 5, occurs (*a*) in the preformative of the *imperfect Qal* יִסַּב for *yä-söb* (comp. §§ 47. *b*, 63. *b*, and for verbs ו'ע' § 72); (*b*) in the *perfect Niph'al* נִסַּב for *nä-säb* (§ 51. *a*), as well as in the *imperfect יִסַּב* (comp. on *ä* in the final syllable of strong *imperfects Niph'al*, § 51. *m*); (*c*) in *Hoph'al* הוֹסַב , with irregular lengthening for *hösäb* from *hü-sab*, *imperfect יִסַּב* from *yü-sab*, &c.

i On the other hand, an already attenuated vowel (*i*) underlies the intransitive *imperfects Qal* with *ä* in the second syllable (probably for the sake of dissimilating the two vowels), e. g. יִמַּר for *yä-mär* (see letter *p*); and in the preformative of *Hiph'il* הִסַּב from *hi-sëb* (ground-form הִקְטַל , § 53. 1). In the second syllable of this form the underlying vowel is *i*, attenuated from an original *ä*, which in the strong verb is abnormally lengthened to *i* (§ 53. 1). The *ē* lengthened from *i* is, of course, only tone-long, and hence when without the tone, and before *Dageš forte* we have e. g. הִסְבֹּת . On the return of the original *ä* in the second syllable, comp. letter *v*.

k 7. The tone, as a general rule, tends to keep to the stem-syllable, and thus does not (as in the strong verb) pass to the affirmatives הִסַּבְתִּי , וַיִּסַּבְתִּי and וַיִּסַּבְתְּ (2nd *sing. fem. imperfect*); e. g. 3rd *sing. fem. perfect* הִסַּבְתָּ , in *pause* הִסַּבְתָּ ; with *ר* and gutturals מָרַה (for מָרְהָ), שָׁחַה Ps. 44, 26; on the other hand, with *wāw* consecutive וַיִּרְבֶּה Is. 6, 12 (but וַיְהִי

¹ Possibly the analogy of verbs ו'פ' may also have had some influence, as Paul Haupt has suggested verbally to the writer.

Ex. 1, 16). In the 3rd plur. perfect the tone varies; along with רָלוּ, קָלוּ, we also find רָלוּ and קָלוּ Is. 59, 12, שָׁרוּ Hab. 3, 6, &c.; but in *pause* always הָרוּ, קָרוּ, &c. The tone likewise remains on the stem-syllable in the imperfect Qal in יִכְבוּ, תִּכְבוּ; perfect Hiph'il הִכְבֶּה, הִכְבֵּה; imperfect תִּכְבוּ, יִכְבוּ, &c. In the forms with separating vowels, the tone is moved forward to these vowels (or to the final syllable, comp. Rem. 12), e. g. תִּסְבְּינָה, סִבְּוֹתָ, &c.; except before the endings הָהּ and הֵן in the perfect, which always bear the tone. This shifting of the tone naturally causes the shortening of the merely tone-long vowels \bar{e} and \bar{o} to \dot{i} and \dot{u} (δ , see letter *n*), hence הִסְבֹּתָ from הִסֵּב, תִּסְבְּינָה from יִסֵּב: on the vowel of the preformative becoming $\check{S}^w\acute{a}$, see above, letter *f*.

8. In numerous verbs ע'ע, instead of *Pi'el*, *Pu'al* and *Hithpa'el*, ^l the less frequent conjugation *Po'el* (§ 55. 1), with its passive and reflexive, occurs, generally with the same meaning¹, e. g. עוֹלֵל to treat ill, passive עוּלָל, reflexive הִתְעוּלָל (from עָלַל; comp. the *Hithpo'el* from רָעַע and פָּרַר Is. 24, 19 sq.); in a few also *Pilp'el* (§ 55. 4) is found, e. g. גִּלְגַּל to roll, *Hithpalp'el* הִתְגִּלְגַּל to roll oneself (from גָּלַל); שִׁעֲשַׁע to comfort, to delight in; passive נִשְׁעֲשַׁע to be caressed (from שָׁעַע). These forms cannot appear in a biliteral form any more than *Pi'el*, *Pu'al* and *Hithpa'el*.—For תִּתְבָּרָר 2 Sam. 22, 27 read, according to Ps. 18, 27, תִּתְבָּרָר.

REMARKS.

I. On Qal.

1. In the perfect, isolated examples are found with *Hölēm* in the first syllable, ^{III} which it is customary to refer to trilateral stems with middle \bar{o} (like יָכַל, § 43. a); viz. רָמוּם רָמוּם they are exalted, Job 24, 24; רָבוּ רָבּוּ they shot, Gen. 49, 23; אָרוּ Is. 1, 6 to אָרוּ. But this explanation is very doubtful: אָרוּ especially is rather to be classed among the passives of Qal mentioned in § 52. e.

2. Imperfects Qal with \bar{o} in the second syllable keep the original *a* in the pre- ^{II} formative, but lengthen it to \bar{a} , as being in an open syllable, hence יָחוּ, יָמוּר, יָעוּ, יָרוּ; imperfects with \check{a} have, in the preformative, an \bar{e} , lengthened from \check{e} . See examples below, letter *p*, and § 63. c and e, § 72. h, and specially Barth in ZDMG. 1894, p. 5 sq.

¹ Sometimes both *Pi'el* and *Po'el* are formed from the same stem, though with a difference of meaning, e. g. רָצַץ to break in pieces, רָצַץ to oppress; חָיַן to make pleasing, חוּיָן to have pity; הָלַל to praise, הוּלַל to make foolish; סָבַב to turn, סוּבַב to go round, to encompass.

The *Hölēm* of the *infinitive*, *imperative*, and *imperfect* (יֹסֵב, סֵב) is only tone-long, and therefore, as a rule, is written defectively (with a few exceptions, chiefly in the later orthography, e.g. צֹר *bind up*, Is. 8, 16; גֹּל Ps. 37, 5; דֹּם ver. 7; לָבוֹז for לָבוּז *to plunder*, Esth. 3, 13, 8, 11). When this *ō* loses the tone, it becomes in the final syllable *ō̄*, in a sharpened syllable *ō̄̄*, or not infrequently even *ō̄̄̄* (see above, letter *k*). Examples of *ō̄̄̄* are: (a) in a toneless final syllable, i. e. before *Maqqeph* or in the *imperfect consecutive*, וַיִּרְצֶה (רֹצֵה) *to rejoice*, Job 38, 7; וַיִּרְכַּב Jud. 11, 18 (once even with *ō̄̄̄* in a toneless final syllable, וַיִּרְכַּם Ex. 16, 20); on the other hand, in the *plur.* וַיִּסְבּוּ, *fem.* וַתִּסְבְּיָנָה; (b) before a tone-bearing *affirmative* or *suffix*, e.g. *imperative 2nd sing. fem.* רַבִּי, פְּנִי (comp. letter *ff*); וַיִּנְיֵי *pity me*; סֵלָה; Jer. 50, 26; יִשְׁדֶּם Prov. 11, 3 *Q^{erš}*; וַתִּתְנַהֵז Ex. 12, 14; for the defective writing, cf. וַיִּסְבְּהוּ Job 40, 22. In וַיִּחַנֶּךָ Gen. 43, 29. Is. 30, 19 (for וַיִּחַנְךָ) this *ō̄̄̄* is thrown back to the preformative.

o Quite abnormal is the *infinitive absolute* רָעָה Is. 24, 19 (as ה follows, probably only a case of dittography for רָע, comp. קָב Num. 23, 25 and שָׁל Ruth 2, 16); so also are the *imperatives* קַבְּה־לִּי Num. 22, 11, 17, and אֲרַה־לִּי 22, 6, 23, 7, with ה *paragogic*. We should expect קַבְּה, אֲרַה (comp. עֲרַה Is. 32, 11). If these forms are to be read *qōballi*, 'ōralli, they would be analogous to such cases as מְרַבֵּרָה (§ 90. 2), the addition of the *paragogic* ה causing no change in the form of the word (קַבְּה *qōb* like רָן above). If, however, as Jewish tradition requires, they are to be read *qāballi*, 'āralli, then in both cases the *Qames* would have to be explained, with Stade, as the equivalent of an *ō̄̄̄* (קַבְּה־לִּי, &c.; comp. § 9. v). Still more striking is קַבְּנוּ *curse him*, Num. 23, 13, for קַבְּנוּ or 'קַבְּ¹.

p 3. Examples with *Pathah* in the *infinitive*, *imperative*, and *imperfect* are בִּר (in לְבַרְם *to prove them*, Eccles. 3, 18); רַד *to trample down*, Is. 45, 1; שֶׁהָ Jer. 5, 26; perhaps also בִּשְׁנֵם *in their error*, Gen. 6, 3 (Baer, following the versions and the Masora, בִּשְׁנֵם). Also נָל *take away*, Ps. 119, 22; and the *imperfects* יַחַם *it is hot*, Deut. 19, 6 &c. (on the *ē* cf. letter *n*); יַמַּר *it is bitter*, Is. 24, 9; יַצַּר *it is straitened*; יַרֵּךְ *it is soft*, Is. 7, 4; יַחֵם *it is desolate*, Ezek. 12, 19 (in *pause* יַחֵם Gen. 47, 19); וַתִּקַּל *she was despised*, Gen. 16, 4 (but elsewhere in the *impf. consec.* with the tone on the penultima, e.g. וַיִּצַּר Gen. 32, 8 and elsewhere; וַיִּרַע Gen. 21, 11 and elsewhere, comp. Ezek. 19, 7); in the 1st *sing. imperfect* יַיִתָּם² Ps. 19, 14, contrary to rule written fully for יַיִתָּם, unless יַיִתָּם is to be read, as in some MSS., on the analogy of the 3rd *sing.* יַיִתָּם.—The following forms are to be explained with Barth (*ZDMG.* xliii. p. 178) as *imperfects Qal* with original *ī* in the second syllable, there being no instances of their *Hiph'il* in the same sense: וַיִּנְגַל Gen. 29, 10; יִגַּן Is. 31, 5, &c.; וַיִּסְקֶה Ex. 40, 21. Ps. 91, 4, &c.; perhaps also וַתִּצְקֶנָה I Sam. 3, 11 and וַיִּהַל Job 31, 26, &c.; in accordance

¹ For נֵז as suffix of the 3rd person a parallel might be found in וַיִּשְׁנֵנוּ, § 100. o, and probably in the *Nān* of the Phoenician suffix נַם; cf. Barth, *ZDMG.* xli. p. 643.

² Also in Ezek. 6, 6, instead of וַתִּשְׁמַנְהָ, which could only come from יַשְׁמֵן, יַיִשְׁמֵן is intended, and וַיִּשְׁמֵנוּ in the same verse is probably only an error for וַיִּשְׁמֵנוּ.

with this last form, הָלוּ (בְּ) Job 29, 3 would also be an *infinitive Qal*, not *Hiph'il* (for בְּהָלוּ), as formerly explained below, letter *w*. Finally the very peculiar form יָרַץ Jud. 9, 53 may probably be added to the list.

Imperfects, with an original *u* in the second syllable, are also found with this *u* lengthened to *u* (instead of *o*), e. g. יָרוּץ, if the text is correct, in Prov. 29, 6; יָשׁוּר Ps. 91, 6 (unless it be simply an imperfect from יָשׁוּר *to be powerful, to prevail*); יָרוּץ (if from רָצַץ) Is. 42, 4 and elsewhere (also defectively written יָרַץ Ps. 18, 30; but in Eccles. 12, 6, according to Baer, (וְתָרוּץ); וְתָרַץ Ezek. 24, 11 (on the sharpening of the ת cf. letter *g* above)¹.

A similar analogy with verbs ע'ע is seen in the infinitives לְבַר (בָּר) Eccles. 9, 1; בְּחָקוּ Prov. 8, 27 (comp. בְּחָקוּ Prov. 8, 29) for בְּחָקוּ, and in the *imperfect* אֲמַשֶּׁךְ Gen. 27, 21. Infinitives in וְת (on the analogy of verbs ל'ה) are אֲמַשֶּׁךְ in Ps. 77, 10, שְׂפֹת Ezek. 36, 3; also with a suffix הִיא תְּלֹתֵי הִיא Ps. 77, 11. On other similar cases, see below, letter *ee*. For examples of the *aramaizing imperfect*, see above, letter *g*.

4. In the *participle*, the aramaizing form שֶׁסָּסְיָהּ for שֶׁסָּסְיָהּ occurs in K^ethîbh, Jer. 30, 16 (the *Q^{re}* points to a *participle* from שָׁסַף); in רָעָה Prov. 25, 19, there appears to be a contraction from רָעָעָה, *part. fem.* = *breaking in pieces*.

II. On *Niph'al*.

5. Besides the ordinary form of the *perfect* נָסַב with *Pathah* (in פָּאזֶה נָסַב) and the *participle* נָסַב with *Qames* in the second syllable, there is also another with *Sere*, and a third with *Holem*, e. g. *perfect* נָקַל *it is a light thing* (also נָקַל), Is. 49, 6; נָסָבָה (for נָסַבָה) Ezek. 26, 2; *part.* נָמַם (comp., however, § 75. *y*), *molten, refuse*, 1 Sam. 15, 9; with *o*, e. g. נָלְלוּ *they are rolled together*, Is. 34, 4; comp. 63, 19. 64, 2. Amos 3, 11. Nah. 1, 12. Eccles. 12, 6 *b*. In the *imperfect*, on the analogy of verbs ע'ע (from which König would also explain the *perfects* with *o*), we find תִּרְמִי *thou shalt be brought to silence*, Jer. 48, 2 (unless this form should be referred to *Qal*); תִּירוּץ (for *tirrōs*) Ezek. 29, 7; with *e* in the second syllable יִתַּחַל *she profanes herself*, Lev. 21, 9, but וַיִּתַּחַל Ezek. 22, 26, and יִתַּחַל Is. 48, 11. For *infinitives*, cf. הִמַּם *to melt*, Ps. 68, 3 (as *inf. constr.*; 2 Sam. 17, 10 as *inf. absol.*); moreover, with compensatory lengthening in the first syllable, יִתַּחַל Ezek. 20, 9. 14, 22, but with suffix הִחְלוּ Lev. 21, 4; also הִבּוּז *to be plundered*, and הִבוּק *to be emptied*, Is. 24, 3; in the *imperative* only, הִבְרוּ *be ye clean*, Is. 52, 11. On הִרְפוּ *get you up*, Num. 17, 10, *imperf.*, Ezek. 10, 17 and elsewhere, comp. § 72. *dd*.

Examples of the *perfect Niph'al* with sharpening of the initial syllable are, נִחַל *it is profaned*, Ezek. 22, 16. 25, 3 (from חָלַל); נִחַר (from חָרַר) Ps. 69, 4. 102, 4 (also נִחַר Jer. 6, 29); נִחַת *fractus est* (from חָתַת) Mal. 2, 5; comp. with this in the *participle*, נִחַמִּים (for *nihhāmîm*) Is. 57, 5, and נִחַרִּים Mal. 3, 9: in the

¹ According to Stade, *Grammatik*, § 95, Rem., the pronunciation with *u*, since it also appears in Neo-Punic [and in Western Syriac, see Nöldeke, *Syr. Gramm.*, § 48], was that of everyday life.

imperative and *infinitive Niph'al* such a virtual doubling of the guttural after preformatives never occurs.—The occurrence of *u* instead of *o* as a separating vowel in the *perfect* נִשְׁרָנוּ Mic. 2, 4 is abnormal.

III. On *Hiph'il* and *Hoph'al*.

6. The second syllable in *Hiph'il* has *Pathah* instead of *Sere*, especially under the influence of *ר* and the gutturals, e. g. *perfect* הִמַּר *he made bitter*, הִשָּׁח *he bowed*, הִפַּר *he hath broken*, Gen. 17, 14, in *pause*, comp. § 29. *q*; otherwise הִפַּר, *plur.* הִפְרוּ Is. 24, 5; in הִפִּיר Ps. 33, 10. Ezek. 17, 19, comp. Ps. 89, 34, and also in הִשִּׁירוּ Hos. 8, 4 (perhaps also in יִהְיֶינָה Hab. 2, 17, but comp. § 20. *n*) there is an assimilation to the corresponding forms of verbs ו'ע', see letter *z*, while conversely, in הִתּוּ Is. 18, 5 from הִתִּין, an ו'ע' verb is assimilated to a ו'ע' verb. Also הִצַּר Deut. 28, 52; *inf.* לְהַבֵּר *to cleanse*, Jer. 4, 11, in *pause*; but also with other consonants, e. g. הִרַק 2 Ki. 23, 15, הִקַּל Is. 8, 23; הִרַף Job 23, 16; *plur.* הִרְבוּ 1 Sam. 5, 9. 10 (and so usually in the 3rd *plur. perf.*, except before *ר* and gutturals, e. g. הִרְעוּ); *imper.* הִשָּׁע *besmear*, Is. 6, 10; *plur.* הִשְׁכוּ *be astonished*, Job 21, 5; *imperfect* תִּרַע *Thou dost afflict*; *part.* מַצֵּל *shadowing*, Ezek. 31, 3 (but מִסִּיף Jud. 3, 24 is assimilated to the form of verbs ו'ע'). So in the *imperative* הִמַּיְשִׁנִּי Jud. 16, 26 *Qrd*, and in the *infinitive* הִתְמַדְךָ Is. 33, 1).

7. The *e* of the second syllable, when without the tone, may become *z*, e. g. בִּי הִחַל Gen. 31, 7 (comp. also letter *x*). It is unusual (cf. § 53. *k*) to find the *e* written fully as in the *infinitive* לְהִפִּיר Zech. 11, 10. Instead of *Hateph-Pathah* a *Hateph-Sghol* is found under the Preformative in הִקְלַתְנִי 2 Sam. 19, 44, and a *Pathah* occurs before ה (with a virtual sharpening of the ה) in such forms as הִהֲרִיתָ Is. 9, 3; comp. Gen. 11, 6. Deut. 2, 31. 3, 24. 1 Sam. 22, 15. Esth. 6, 13—in all these cases before ה. On בָּהֲלוּ Job 29, 3, see above, letter *p*: on וְהִחַתְתֵּנִי Jer. 49, 37, see below, letter *dd*.

7. In the *imperfect consecutive* of verbs, whose second radical is a guttural, *a* is retained (§ 22. *d*) in the second syllable instead of *z*, e. g. וַיִּרַע 1 Ki. 6, 11: so also when the second radical is ר, as וַיִּצַר 2 Chron. 28, 20. Deut. 2, 9—but cf. also וַיִּפַּר Neh. 4, 9.

8. Aramaizing forms in *Hiph'il* and *Hoph'al* are, וַיִּסַּב Ex. 13, 18; comp. Jud. 18, 23; וַיִּתְמַר Exod. 23, 21; וַיִּכְתּוּ Deut. 1, 44 (comp. Num. 14, 45); אִחַל *profanabo*, Ezek. 39, 7; תִּתָּם Job 22, 3; without syncope of the ה (comp. § 53. *g*) וַיִּהְתַּל 1 Ki. 18, 27; with *l* in the second syllable וַיִּשָּׂם Jer. 49, 20. 50, 45; comp. וַנִּשָּׂים Num. 21, 30; in the *perfect* הִזְלִיָּה Lam. 1, 8. In *Hoph'al*, הִפְכוּ *they are brought low*, Job 24, 24; יִבַּח *he is smitten*, Is. 24, 12 (*plur.* Jer. 46, 5. Mic. 1, 7); in *pause*, יִחֲקוּ Job 19, 23, but also יִבְרֶה Job 4, 20; with *o* in the initial syllable, הִשְׁמָה (*infinitive* with *suffix* = הִשְׁמָה, comp. § 91. *e*) Lev. 26, 34 sq., comp. 2 Chron. 36, 21; בְּהִשְׁמָה, with irregular syncope for בְּהִשָּׁ, Lev. 26, 43.

IV. In General.

9. Verbs ו'ע' are most nearly related as regards inflexion to verbs ו'ע' (§ 72). The form of verbs ו'ע' is generally the shorter (comp. e. g. יָסַב and יָסַב).

and הָקִים); in a few cases, however, both classes exactly coincide, e.g. in the *imperfect Qal* and *Hiph'el* with *wāw consecutive*, in *Hoph'al* and in the less frequent conjugations (see above, letter *l*).

10. The augmented forms (with three radicals), as mentioned in letter *a*, are *aa* especially frequent in the 3rd *sing. masc.* and *fem.*, and the 3rd *plur.* (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. סָבְבוּ, סָבַב (but before a suffix also סָבְבוּנִי, as well as סָבְבוּנִי, שָׂדְוִנִי, &c.); אָפְפוּ, אָפַף, &c. Sometimes the contracted, as well as the uncontracted form, is found, e.g. בָּזוּ *to plunder, plur.* בָּזוּוּ, בָּזוּוּנִי Deut. 2, 35, as well as בָּזוּנוּ Deut. 3, 7 (other examples of biliteral forms in 2nd *sing. masc.*, Deut. 25, 12; in 1st *sing.*, Jos. 5, 9); but in the 1st pers. זָמְמָתִי Zech. 8, 14. 15 is the only instance of the augmented form.

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; comp. דָּק Deut. 9, 21 (Ex. 32, 20 דָּק; elsewhere always a transitive verb); חָתָה, *fem.* חָתְתָה, מָרָה, *fem.* מָרָה (for *marrā*); צָרָה, *fem.* צָרָה (comp. וְחָרָה Ezek. 24, 11); שָׂחָה, *fem.* שָׂחָה, פָּסָה, &c.; *plur.* חָתְמוּ, חָתְמוּ, &c. (but on the tone, comp. letter *ee* below).

The intransitive but augmented perfects דָּלְלוּ (also דָּלְלוּ), נָדְדָה, חָלַל, נָדְדוּ *cc* (in *pause* נָדְדוּ), עָשָׂשָׂה, סָרַר, עָשָׂשָׂו (plur. in *pause* עָשָׂשָׂו Ps. 31, 11), שָׂחָחוּ, שָׂחָחוּ (also שָׂחָחוּ), almost all have, as Mayer Lambert observes, at least an active, as opposed to a stative meaning. Triliteral forms of the *infinitive* after לְ are, לְסָבַב Num. 21, 4; לְשָׂדוּר Jer. 47, 4; לְגִזּוֹ Gen. 31, 19 (also לְגִזּוֹ Gen. 38, 13); comp. also לְחַמֵּם Is. 47, 14, in *subordinate pause*, for לְחַמֵּם; with *suffix* לְחַנְנֵכֶם Is. 30, 18, and, from the same form חָנַן, with retraction and modification of the vowel, לְחַנְנֵהָ Ps. 102, 14; also נִשְׂחָחָה Is. 60, 14; בָּנִין I Sam. 25, 2; בְּמִסֵּם Is. 10, 18, Prov. 8, 28.—*Imperative* שָׂדְדוּ Jer. 49, 28 (comp. § 20. *b*, and *ibid.* also on חָנְנִי Ps. 9, 14); in the *imperfect*, יָדוּר Nah. 3, 7 (Ps. 68, 13; comp. Gen. 31, 40) from נָדַד; the strong form here, after the assimilation of the *Nān*, was unavoidable. On the other hand, יִשְׂרְדֵם Jer. 5, 6 for יִשְׂרְדֵם (Prov. 11; 3 *Qerē*) is anomalous; the strengthening of the second radical has been afterwards resolved by the insertion of a *vocal Šewā*. Comp. also יִחְנֵן Am. 5, 15 (elsewhere יָחוּן). In *Niph'al*, the triliteral form יִלְכָּב is found, Job 11, 12; in *Hiph'el*, all the forms of רָנַן, thus *imperative* הִרְנִינוּ, *imperfect* תִּרְנִין; *infinitive* הִשְׂמֵם Mic. 6, 13; *participle* מִשְׂמִים Ezek. 3, 15. That the augmented (triliteral) forms possess a certain emphasis, is seen from their frequent use in *pause*, as in Ps. 118, 11 (סָבְבוּנִי גַם־סָבְבוּנִי) after a biliteral form.

11. The above-mentioned (letter *g*) neglect of the doubling in aramaizing forms, *dd* as יָדְמוּ and the like, occurs elsewhere tolerably often; in the *perfect Qal* תָּמְנוּ for תָּמוּנוּ Num. 17, 28 (Jer. 44, 18; comp. above, letter *e*); *imperfect* נָבְוָה I Sam. 14, 36 (הָ— *parag.* without any influence on the form, comp. letter *o*); even with the firm vowel reduced to *vocal Šewā*; נָבְלָה Gen. 11, 7 for נָבְלָה (cohortative from בָּלַל); יָזְמוּ for יָזְמוּ *ibid.* ver. 6, *they purpose*; following the analogy of verbs עָוָה, עָוָה (see above, letter *r*); from *intransitive imperfects*

Qal, הִצְרִי Is. 49, 19 (*plur. masc.* Job 18, 7); יָרְעוּ Neh. 2, 3; תִּישָׁמְנָה Ezek. 6, 6 (for which תִּישׁ = תִּישׁ ought to be read) might also be explained in the same way.—*Perfect Niph'al* נִסְכָּה for נִסְכָּה Ezek. 41, 7; נָזְלוּ Jud. 5, 5 for נָזְלוּ; נִמְלָהֶם for נִמְלָתָם Gen. 17, 11 (as if from מָלַל not מוּל to *circumcise*), comp. Is. 19, 3. Jer. 8, 14; *Imperfect* תִּמְכֶּנָּה Zech. 14, 12; *Participle* נִתְּמִים, comp. letter *u*. So also נִפְּיָן 1 Sam. 13, 11, נִפְּצָה Gen. 9, 19 (comp. Is. 33, 3), are perfects *Niph'al* from פָּעִין (= פָּוִין), not *Qal* from נִפְּיָן.—In *Hiph'il* הִתְּלַתְּ (for הִתְּלַתְּ) Jud. 16, 10 (2 Sam. 15, 34); הִעָּוָה for הִעָּוָה Prov. 7, 13 (cf. Cant. 6, 11. 7, 13), and the very strange form וְהִתְּתִי Jer. 49, 37 (from *hahtath-tf*) from הִתְּתִי.

No less irregular is the suppression of the vowel of the stem-syllable in לְהַפְּרֹם Lev. 26, 15.—On the perfect רָלִיו Prov. 26, 7, comp. § 75, letter *u*.

ee 12. Instances in which the tone is thrown forward on the affirmatives (see letter *k*) are (*a*) in the *perfect*, the 1st *sing.* regularly (but cf. וְהִצְרִתִּי Jer. 10, 18 before לָהֶם) after 1 *consec.*, Ex. 33, 19. 22. 2 Ki. 19, 34, &c., also Is. 44, 16 (חֲמוּתִי before ר); Ps. 17, 3. 92, 11. 116, 6, perhaps also Job 19, 17, וְחֲזִתִּי (though in this passage, and in Ps. 17, 3, the form might be an *infinitive* in *6th*; see above, letter *r*, and Delitzsch on Job 19, 17); in the 2nd *sing.* וְקִצְתָּה (before א) Deut. 25, 12; in the 3rd *plural*, רַבּוּ *multi sunt*, Ps. 3, 2. 104, 24. Jer. 5, 6. 1 Sam. 25, 10; רַבּוּ *they are soft*, Ps. 55, 22; קָלוּ *they are swift*, Jer. 4, 13. Hab. 1, 8; וְכֹּוּ *they are pure*, Job 15, 15. 25, 5. Lam. 4, 7; נִשְׁחָוּ *they did bow*, Hab. 3, 6; חָרּוּ *they are burned*, Is. 24, 6. A by-form of שָׁתוּ (ע'ו), comp. § 72. *dd*) is שָׁתוּ Ps. 49, 15. 73, 9.

ff (*b*) In the *imperative* (a command in an emphatic tone) רָנִי *sing.*, Is. 54, 1. Zeph. 3, 14. Zech. 2, 14; רָנִי Is. 44, 23. 49, 13. Jer. 31, 7 (but רָנִי *cry out*, Lam. 2, 19), קִפֵּי *keep (thy feasts)*, Nah. 2, 1. Jer. 7, 29; עֲזָרָה (= עֲזָרָה) before א, Ps. 68, 29. On the return of the short vowels *ä* (*ø*) and *ɛ* before *Dageš forte*, in place of the tone-long *ō* and *ē*, see above, letter *k*; on the change of the vowels of the preformative into *Schwä*, when they no longer stand before the tone, see letter *g*.

THE WEAKEST VERBS (*Verba Quiescentia*).

§ 68. Verbs א"פ, e.g. אָכַל to eat.

a So far as א retains its full consonantal value as a guttural, these verbs share all the peculiarities of verbs *primae gutturalis*, mentioned in § 63. They are, however, to be treated as *weak* verbs, when the א loses its value as a consonant, and coalesces with the preceding vowel (originally short) to form one long syllable. This takes place only in the following very common verbs and forms, as if through phonetic decay:—

b 1. In the *imperfect Qal*, five verbs (viz. אָבַד to *perish*, אָבָה to *be willing*, אָכַל to *eat*, אָמַר to *say*, אָפָה to *bake*) regularly allow the א to

quiesce in a long *ō*, e. g. יֹאכַל¹. In a few others the ordinary (strong) form is also in use, as יֹאחֹז (18 times) and יֹאחֹז (3 times) *he takes hold*; יֹאסֵף (see letter *h*), also יֹאסֵף, *he collects*. This *ō* has primarily arisen from an obscuring of *ā* (§ 9. *q*), and the *ā* from אָ—, the weak consonant א coalescing with *ā* to *ā*; comp. § 23. *a*.

In the second syllable the *ō* (for the original *ū*) never appears, but either *ē*² or *ā*; and in *pause* almost always *ē*, even before the tone-bearing *heavy* affirmative וַיִּ, e. g. יֹאכַלְוִן Deut. 18, 1, without the pause יֹאכַלְוִן Deut. 4, 28. In the 3rd *sing. masc.* and 1st *sing.* of יֹאמַר, however, *ā* is always retained in *pause*, יֹאמַר and יֹאמַר, cf. also תֹּאבֵל 1 Sam. 1, 7, &c. But with conjunctive accents in continuous discourse, *ā* (as being a lighter vowel) is used, e. g. תֹּאבֵר לְעַד Ps. 9, 19, but in *pause* תֹּאבֵר Ps. 1, 6; תֹּאמַר 1 Ki. 5, 2; comp. a similar interchange of *ē* and *ā* in § 65. *c*.

When the tone moves back, the final syllable of the *imperfects* of אָבֵר and אָבֵל, with a conjunctive accent, always takes *Pathah*, e. g. יֹאבֵר יוֹם Job 3, 3, יֹאבֵל and *he did eat*; in יֹאמַר the loss of the tone from the final syllable only occurs in the form with *wāw* consecutive (but never in the 1st *sing.*, יֹאמַר; cf. יֹאבֵל), and then the final syllable, if without the *pause*, always takes *S̄ghól*, יֹאמַר and *he said*.

In *pause*, however, the *imperfect consecutive* always has the form יֹאבֵל (but *plur.* always יֹאבְלוּ, יֹאבְלוּ, יֹאמְרֵי; except יֹאמַר in the poetic portion of the Book of Job, as 3, 2. 4, 1, &c., but not in 32, 6, in the middle of the verse; comp. also יֹאמַרְקוֹ Prov. 7, 13. The weak *imperfect* of אָחַז is always יֹאחֹז and יֹאחֹז, but in the 1st *sing.*, according to § 49. *e*, יֹאחֹז Jud. 20, 6; comp. יֹאבֵל Gen. 3, 12. 13 in *pause*.—אָבֵר and אָבֵל are, at the same time, verbs ל"ה, hence *imperfect* יֹאבֵר (§ 75. *c*).

Before *light* suffixes the vowel of the second syllable becomes vocal Šewâ, as יֹאבְלוּ, יֹאבְלוּ, but יֹאבְלוּם.—In a few cases, instead of the *ō* in the first

¹ So in the vulgar Arabic as now spoken in South Palestine, *ya'kul* (*he eats*) becomes *yōkul*.

² On this *ē* (originally *ī*) as a dissimilation from *ō* (originally *ū*), cf. § 27. *x*, and F. Philippi in the *Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie und Sprachwissenschaft*, Bd. xiv. 2, p. 178. The latter rightly observes that the existence of an original *u* in the *imperfect* of אָבֵל is indicated by the form of the *imperative* אָבֵל, the Arabic *ya'kul*, and the Aramaic יֹאבֵל, as well as by the fact that יֹאחֹז and יֹאסֵף are found along with יֹאחֹז and יֹאסֵף.

syllable an *é* is found, which is due to contraction from the group $\text{---} \text{---} \text{---}$ (or $\text{---} \text{---} \text{---}$) in place of $\text{---} \text{---} \text{---}$; e.g. תָּאֵתָה *it shall come*, Mic. 4, 8, from תָּאֵתָה (from אֵתָה); אֶהֱב (for אֵהֱב) *I love*, Prov. 8, 17, also אֶהֱב Mal. 1, 2, &c., with suffixes אֶהֱבֶהוּ Hos. 11, 1. 14, 5, &c. (but only in 1st *sing.*, otherwise יֶאֱהֱב , &c., from אֶהֱב , אֵהֱב); וַיֵּאָחֵר and *I stayed*, Gen. 32, 5. The *infinitive construct* of אָמַר with ל is always לֵאמֹר *dicendo*, for לְאָמַר .—According to Barth (*ZDMG.* 1889, p. 179) וַיֵּאָצֵּל Num. 11, 25 is to be regarded as an *imperfect Qal*, without the obscuring of א to ב , 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 וַתֵּאָכְלֶהוּ Job 20, 26 we should simply emend וַתֵּאָכְלֶהוּ ; for the view that it is *imperfect Pō'ēl* (which nowhere else occurs) can, as regards the change of ב to ב , be supported only by the very doubtful analogies of Ps. 62, 4 (see § 52. *q*) and Ps. 101, 5 *Q^or²* (see § 55. *b*), while the view that it is *Pi'ēl* ($\text{וַתֵּאָכְלֶהוּ} = \text{וַתֵּאָכְלֶהוּ} = \text{וַתֵּאָכְלֶהוּ}$) rests on no analogy whatever. It would be more admissible to suppose that וַתֵּאָכְלֶהוּ stands for וַתֵּאָכְלֶהוּ , *Pi'al* (comp. וַיֵּאָכְלֶהוּ for וַיֵּאָכְלֶהוּ , § 27. *q*); but no reason has been discovered for this departure from the natural punctuation וַתֵּאָכְלֶהוּ .

g 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 אָמַר ¹ (for אֵאמַר), &c., and even *plene* וַיֵּאָמַר Neh. 2, 7, &c., וַיֵּאָמְרָה Ps. 42, 10. In the other cases, also, where the א is ordinarily regarded as *quiescing* in ב or ב , it is only retained orthographically, and on etymological grounds. Hence the possibility of its being dropped in the following cases:—

h Always in the contracted forms of אָסַף , as תֵּאָסַף for תֵּאָסַף Ps. 104, 29; יֵאָסַף 2 Sam. 6, 1 (but for יֵאָסַף Job 27, 19 read יֵאָסַף with the LXX); comp. also in the 1st *pers.* Mic. 4, 6 and אֵסַפְךָ 1 Sam. 15, 6, which is apparently, from the *Metheg* with *i*, intended for an *imperfect Hiph'il*; instead of it, however, read, with the Mantua edition, אֵסַפְךָ (with א , according to § 60. *f*). But וַתֵּאָסַפּוּן Ex. 5, 7 (for וַתֵּאָסַפּוּן) and וַיֵּאָסַף 1 Sam. 18, 29 (for וַיֵּאָסַף) are due to a mistake, since both forms must be derived from the stem יָסַף . Furthermore, וַיֵּמְרֶהוּ Ps. 139, 20 (where certainly וַיֵּמְרֶהוּ is to be read); וַתֵּבֵא Prov. 1, 10 (comp. § 75. *hh*); וַתֵּיָחַז 2 Sam. 20, 9; וַיֵּיכְלוּ Ezek. 42, 5; וַתֵּמְרוּ 2 Sam. 19, 14; וַתֵּחָזוּ 2 Sam. 20, 9; וַתֵּהוֹלֵךְ *thou gaddest about* (from וַתֵּהוֹלֵךְ), Jer. 2, 36; וַיֵּתֵא Deut. 33, 21 (for וַיֵּתֵא), according to other readings (on the analogy of the cases mentioned in § 75. *p*) וַיֵּתֵא , וַיֵּתֵא or וַיֵּתֵא .

¹ The regularity of this orthography indicates that the contraction of אָא to א 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.*, Bd. xxxii. p. 593) infers this from the fact that also in Arabic the 3rd and 2nd *pers.* are still written yā'kūlū , tā'kūlū , but the 1st *pers.* 'ā'kūlū , not 'ā'kūlū .

Paradigm I shows the weak forms of the *imperfect Qal*, and merely indicates the other conjugations, which are regular.

Rem. 1. In the derived conjugations only isolated weak forms occur: *Perfect i Niphal* נִאָחַז Num. 32, 30. Jos. 22, 9; *Hiph.* וַיִּרְבַּ (for וַיִּנְאָרַב?) and he laid wait, 1 Sam. 15, 5; אָזַן *I listen*, Job 32, 11; אוֹכִיל (*ð* from *á*) *I give to eat*, Hos. 11, 4; אֲבִיֶדָה (*ð* from *á*) *I will destroy*, Jer. 46, 8; וַיּוֹחֶר 2 Sam. 20, 5 *Q^ereš* (for וַיִּנְאָח); the *K^ethibh* appears to require the *Pi'el* וַיִּיחֶר, from יָחַר as a secondary form of יָחַר; but וַיִּיחֶר = וַיִּנְאָחַר for וַיִּנְאָחַר as *imperfect Qal* is not impossible. On וַאֲזַעְרָה Neb. 13, 13, comp. § 53. n.—*Infinitive* לְהַכִּיל Ezek. 21, 33 (= לְהַאֲכִיל unless it is rather *inf.* *Hiph.* from כָּיִל); *Participle* מְזַיֵּן giveth ear, Prov. 17, 4. *Imperative* הִתְיַיֵּב bring (from אָתַהּ) Jer. 12, 9. (On the same form used for the *perfect* in Is. 21, 14, comp. § 76. d.)

2. In the *Pi'el* the *ס* is sometimes dropped by syncope, like ה in וַיִּקְטִיל, *ק* וַיִּקְטִיל, thus מִלָּמַד (as in Aramaic and Samaritan) *teaching*, for מִלְמַדָּה Job 35, 11; יָהֵל for יָאֵהֵל Is. 13, 20; וַתְּגַדְּנִי thou hast girded me, 2 Sam. 22, 40, for וַתְּגַדְּנִי, as Ps. 18, 40; וַאֲבַדְּךָ Ezek. 28, 16; comp. § 23. d.

§ 69. Verbs ו'פ. First Class, or Verbs originally ו'פ, e. g. יָשַׁב to dwell.

Verbs which at present begin with *Yôdh* in their simple form (i. e. *α* when without preformatives), are divided into two classes according to their origin and hence frequently in their 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 (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 *Nún* in verbs פ'ץ (see § 71).

With regard to verbs ו'פ (i. e. ו'פ with original *Wāw*) it is to be *β* 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 letter *h*) on the analogy of the following:

A. *Imperfect* יִשֵּׁב, יִרַע with an unchangeable¹ *Sere* in the first syllable and original *i* in the second, which in the tone-syllable (according to § 27. c) becomes *ē* (thus יִלָּךְ, יִצֵּא, יִרַד, יִלְכֶּךָ), or under the influence of a guttural with *ā* in the second (יִרַע, יִקַּע, יִחַד).

The tone-long *ē* of the second syllable is of course liable to the shortening to *S'ghól* or vocal *S'wá*, e.g. יִשָּׁב, יִשָּׁבוּ, &c.; in the same way *ā* becomes *S'wá* in such cases as יִרְעֵי, &c., but is lengthened to *Qameš* in *pause* (יִרְעִי) and before suffixes (יִרְעִים).

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

C. *Infinitive* יִשְׁבֶּת from original *išibh*, by addition of the feminine ending (ת) lengthened to a *segholate* form; as in verbs פִּי' (comp. § 66. b) this lengthening affords a certain compensation for loss of the initial consonant.

¹ The *e* of the first syllable is really *ē*, not tone-long *ē*; thus *yiwšib*, with the first *i* attenuated from *ā*, after elision of the *Wāw* must have been lengthened to *yēšēb*, as it was still explained, with Ewald and others, in the twenty-third edition of this Grammar. The character of this *e* is seen from the fact that it is retained not merely before the tone, and in the counter-tone (e. g. יִרְעִים Hos. 14, 10), but also in אִרְעֵךְ Ex. 33, 13. 17. Its explanation, however, presents great difficulty. The view that original *yawšib* became *yayšib*, and then *yēšib*, *yēšēb* (so still König, *Lehrgeb.*, p. 401), seems to be supported by the fact that, in Arabic, besides such *imperfects* as *yālidū*, *yāyibū* (with complete elision of the *Wāw*) we also find in the dialects *yūlid*, *yūšal*, &c., 1st *sing. aulid*, *aušal*, &c.; comp. Spitta, *Gramm. des Arab. Vulgärdial. v. Ägypten*, p. 223 sq.; on the corresponding strong formation in Ethiopic, comp. Dillmann, *Gramm.*, p. 146; Praetorius, § 93. But how comes then the almost invariable *scriptio defectiva* of this *ē*? From an original יִ we should expect, according to § 7. g, a prevalence of the *scriptio plena*; in reality it occurs (with the exception of יִקַּר Ps. 72. 14, elsewhere pointed יִיקַר) only in Mic. 1, 8 and Ezek. 35, 9 *K^eth.*; in Ps. 138, 6 the Masora prefers to point יִירַע.—According to Stade (*Gramm.*, §§ 108, 117 a) the original *i* of the second syllable has exercised a backward influence upon the original *ā* of the first syllable, 'in consequence of which an *i* forces itself in after this *ā*, as it were by anticipation. The two coalesce into a diphthong, which is then merged into *ē*: הֵקִים *hēqim* for *haiqim* from *haqim*, Aramaic *'aqim*; מִקִּים from *maqim*, &c. The latter comparison must indeed be rejected, since the *e* in הֵקִים and מִקִּים is not unchangeable; but Stade's view has the advantage of attempting to explain at any rate the unchangeableness of the first *e* in יִשֵּׁב and יִרַע, which he likewise refers to an original *yadi*.—According to Philippi (*ZDMG.* xl. p. 653) an original *yālid*, for example (see above), became *yilid* by assimilation of the vowel of the first syllable to that of the second; this then became *yēlēd* instead of *yēlēd*, in an attempt to raise the word again in this way (by writing *ē* instead of *ē*) to a trilateral form.

Rem. Since the infinitives בָּעָה, לָרָה (see below, letter *m*) point to a ground-form *dī'at, lidat*, we must, with Philippi (*ZDMG.* xxxii. p. 42) and Barth (*ibid.* xli. p. 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 *t* of the stem-syllable is changed into *a* whenever the syllable becomes doubly closed by the addition of the vowelless feminine ending.

In more than half the number of verbs פ' the original *Wāw* in the above-mentioned forms gives place to *Yōdh*, which in the imperatives יָרַשׁ, יָרַשׁ (see letter *f*) and infinitive יָרַשׁ is a strong consonant, but in the imperfect יִרְשׁ, properly *yirāš*, merges with the preceding *i* into *ī*.

In the second syllable imperfects of this form regularly have *ā*.

(a) That the latter forms are derived from verbs with an original *Wāw* (not *Yōdh*) 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' likewise exhibit a twofold formation; comp. *wāllādā*, imperf. *yāllidu*, with elision of the *Wāw*, and *wāǧīlā*, *yauǧalu*, with retention of the *Wāw*.

(b) Sometimes both forms, the weaker and the stronger, occur in the same verb; comp. צָק 2 Ki. 4, 41 and יָצַק *pour*, Ezek. 24, 3 (comp. יָצַק 1 Ki. 18, 34 and the infin. יָצַק Ex. 38, 27); יָרַשׁ *take possession*, Deut. 1, 21. 1 Ki. 21, 15 (comp., however, letter *s*), יָרַשׁ (in *pause* for יָרַשׁ) Deut. 2, 24. 31; plur. יָרַשׁוּ Deut. 1, 8. 9, 23, but also, with ה—*paragogic*, יָרַשׁוּ Deut. 33, 23. In the imperfect יִקַּר Deut. 32, 22 and יָקַר Is. 10, 16 *it shall be kindled*; יִיָּקַר *it was precious*, 1 Sam. 18, 30 and יָקַר Ps. 49, 9 (comp. יִיָּקַר Ps. 72, 14).—The form יִחַמְנוּ Gen. 30, 39, for יִחַמְנוּ, beside יִחַמְנָה verse 38, is remarkable.

(c) On יָרַד Jud. 19, 11 for יָרַד and יָרַד Jer. 42, 10 for the infinitive absolute יָרַד, comp. § 19. *i*.—But יָרַד Jud. 5, 13 *a* and *b* is not intended by the Masora either as *perfect* (for יָרַד, which really should be restored) or as *imperative* of יָרַד, but as an apocopated *imperfect Pi'el* from יָרַד (= יָרַדָּה) *to have dominion*.

(d) The eight verbs¹, of which the initial consonant in the above-mentioned forms always suffers elision or aphaeresis, are יָלַד *to bring forth*, יָצָא *to go forth*, יָשַׁב *to sit, to dwell*, יָרַד *to descend*, also הֵלֵךְ *to go* (comp. below, letter *x*); and with *ā* in the second syllable of the imperfect, יָדַע *to know*, יָחַד *to be united*, יָקַע *to be dislocated*. Examples of the other formation (יָרַשׁ &c.) are יָעָף *to be wearied*, יָעַץ *to counsel*, יָשַׁן *to sleep*, יָרָא (imperfect יִירָא) *to fear*.

¹ A ninth יָסַף *to add*, is also to be included. For since on the Mēša' stone, l. 21, the infinitive is not written לִסְפוֹת but לִסְפַת (comp. יִסְפַתִּי, l. 29), we must also read in Is. 30, 1 (Num. 32, 14. Deut. 29, 18) סִפַּת for סְפוֹת. The 2nd plur. masc. imperative סִפּוּ Is. 29, 1. Jer. 7, 21 corresponds to שָׁבּוּ; thus in proof of a supposed סִפַּת *addere*, there remains only אִסְפָּה Deut. 32, 23, for which, according to 2 Sam. 12, 8, אִסְפָּה is to be read.

- i* 2. The original *Wāw* is retained as a firm consonant: (a) in the *infinitive*, *imperative*, and *imperfect Niph'al*, being protected by the doubling, e. g. הַיָּשֵׁב, הַיָּשֵׁב, which are consequently strong forms like הַקָּטָל, הַקָּטָל; (b) in the *Hithpa'el* of some verbs, e. g. הִתְיַדַע from יָדַע, הִתְיַפַח from יָפַח, הִתְיַדָּה from יָדָה; otherwise a radical *Wāw* at the beginning of a word is now found only in a few nouns, e. g. וְלָרָ *proles* from יָלַר *to bear*. At the end of a syllable *Wāw* with the homogeneous vowel *ū* coalesces into *ū*; so throughout *Hoph'al*, e. g. הַיָּשֵׁב for *hūwšabh*; but with a preceding *a* the *Wāw* is contracted into *ō* (ו); so in the *perfect* and *participle Niph'al* and throughout *Hiph'il*, e. g. נִיָּשֵׁב from an original *nāwšābh*, הַיָּשֵׁב from an original *hāwšābh*.
- k* The first radical always appears as *Yōdh* in the *perfect* and *participle Qal*, יָשַׁב &c., יָשֵׁב, יָשׁוּב, even when י precedes, e. g. וַיָּשֵׁב (but וַיִּשְׁבָּתָם, according to § 24. b), also throughout *Pi'el* and *Pu'al*, e. g. יַחַל *to wait*, יָלַר *to be born*, and in the *imperfect* and *participle יִחַל מְיַדַע known* (from יָדַע), and, as a rule, also in *Hithpa'el*, e. g. הִתְיַלַד, הִתְיַצַּב, הִתְיַחַשׁ (as against הִתְיַדַע, &c. with *Wāw*).
- l* The beginner may recognize verbs פ' in the *imperfect Qal* partly by the *Sere* under the preformatives; in *Niph'al*, *Hiph'il*, and *Hoph'al* by the *Wāw* (ו, ו, ו) before the second radical. (The defective writing, as in הַלִּיד, is rare). Verbs פ' have forms like יָשַׁב (יָשַׁב, יָשַׁב), in common with verbs פ'. Similarly *Hoph'al* has the same form as in verbs ע' and ו'.
- m* Rem. 1. The *infinitive Qal* of the weaker form (שָׁבַת, ground-form *šibt*, comp. above, letter c) with suffixes is pointed as יָשַׁבְתִּי, &c. The masculine form is very rare, e. g. יָדַע *to know*, Job 32, 6. 10, as also the feminine ending הָ, e. g. יָדַעְתָּ² Ex. 2, 4, לָדָה Is. 37, 3 (2 Ki. 19, 3); Jer. 13, 21. Hos. 9, 11; מְרָדָה² *to descend*, Gen. 46, 3, where the change of the *z* into vocal *šwā* is to be explained, with König, from its position between the principal and secondary tone. From יָדַע, under the influence of the guttural, יָדַעַת is formed, with *suff.* יָדַעְתִּי &c.; but from יָצַא, יָצַאת for *š'z'ath*, see § 94. f. From יָרַד there occurs in Ps. 30, 4 in *Qel* מְיָרְדִי (the *K²th.* requires מְיָרְדִי) a very remarkable case of the strong form (for מְיָרְדִי). For לָת 1 Sam. 4, 19 (generally explained as a case of

¹ יָשַׁבְתִּי Ps. 23, 6 can hardly be intended for an *infinitive* with suffix from יָשַׁב, but rather for a *perfect consecutive* from יָשׁוּב; we should, however, read יָשַׁבְתִּי.

² The infinitives יָדַעַת and יָדַעַת belong to the source marked E (B by Dillmann) in the modern criticism of the Pentateuch. The same document also has נָתַן *to give*, for נָתַת; הִלְךְ *to go*, for הִלְכַת; and עָשָׂה *to make*, for עָשׂוֹת. See Dillmann, *Die BB. Num., Deut., Jos.*, p. 618.

assimilation of **ר** to **ת** in the supposed ground-form *ladt*; according to Mayer Lambert pausal of לִת = *lidt*, see above, letter *c*) read simply לָרַת.

Examples of the strong form of the *infinitive* are יִרָא *to fear*, Jos. 22, 25, with preposition לִיִּסֹד Is. 51, 16 (but 2 Chron. 31, 7 according to Ben Naphtali לִיִּסֹד, where the *y* is only retained orthographically, but is really assimilated to the **ס**; the reading of Ben Asher, לִיִּסֹד, accepted by Baer, is meaningless); לִישׁוֹן Eccles. 5, 11; לָרָא 1 Sam. 18, 29 is irregular, probably, however, לָרָא (for לִירָא) is intended. With *suffix* בִּיִּסְרִי Job 38, 4, comp. Jud. 14, 15. Ezr. 3, 12; with *fem.* יִכְלֶתָ *to be able*, Num. 14, 16. On יִבְשֶׁת, which is likewise usually referred to this class, comp. the note on § 70. *a*.

2. The *imperative Qal* frequently has the lengthening by הֶּ, e. g. שִׁבְהָ *sit thou*, רְדָה *descend thou*. From יָהֵב *to give*, Arab. *wāhābā*, only the *imperative* is used in Hebrew; it has the form הֵב *give*, lengthened הֶבָה generally with the meaning *age, go to* (Gen. 29, 21 הֶבָה before **א** to avoid the hiatus); *fem.* הָבִי Ruth 3, 15, *Mil'ra'* on the analogy of the plural הָבוּ (in Job 6, 22 הָבוּ before the tone-syllable; but comp. Deut. 32, 3), whilst, on the analogy of other *imperatives Qal* of verbs פ', הָבִי, הָבוּ would rather be expected.—On דַּעָה Prov. 24, 14, comp. § 48. *l*.

3. The *imperfect* with *v* elided takes *ā* in the second syllable, besides the cases mentioned above (letter *f*), also in תִּרְדַּר Jer. 13, 17 (comp. Lam. 3, 48) and in the pausal form יִלְךָ Job 27, 21 &c. (from הִלְךָ, see letter *x*); on יִקְדַּר Is. 10, 16 see above, letter *f*. The *ā* in the second syllable, when followed by the affirmative נָה (תִּרְדְּנָה &c.), is in accordance with the law mentioned above (letter *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^eghōl*, when the tone is drawn back (before a tone-syllable or after *wāw* consecutive), e. g. יִשְׁבְּנָא Gen. 44, 33; וְיִרְדַּר; וְיִשָּׁב; but *ē* is retained in an open syllable, even with *Mil'el*-tone, in יִצָּא Ex. 16, 29. Jud. 9, 39, in both cases with *nasog 'ahor*, § 29. *e*. The *pausal* is either of the form וְיִשָּׁב Ruth 4, 1 or וְיִרְדַּר Ps. 18, 10; the 1st pers. sing., whether in or out of pause, is וְאִרְדַּר, וְאִלְדַּר &c., except וְאִלְךָ Job 19, 10, see letter *x*. For יִרְדַּע Ps. 138, 6 (comp. the note above, on letter *b* and the analogous cases, § 70. *d*) יִרְדַּע is intended.

The *imperfect* of the form יִירָשׁ is frequently (especially before affirmatives) written defectively, in which case the *ī* can always be recognized as a long vowel by the *Metheg* (see § 16. *f*), e. g. יִעֲפִי Is. 40, 30, יִנְעִי Is. 65, 23; and so always יִירָאוּ *they fear*, as distinguished from יִירָאוּ *they see* (*imperf. Qal* of רָאָה).—On וְיִישָׁם Gen. 50, 26. 24, 33 *K^eth.*, and יִיִסְךָ Ex. 30, 32, see § 73, letter *f*.

From יִיבֹל *to prevail; to be able*, the *imperfect Qal* is יִיבֹל, which can only have arisen through a depression of the vowel from יִיבֹל (ground-form *yaukhal* = *yaw-khal*), to distinguish it, according to Qimḥi, from אוֹבֹל, just as, according to § 47. *b*, אֶקְטֹל is differentiated from יִקְטֹל. Comp. the Arabic *yauru'u* (*yōru'u*) from *war'u'a*, *yaugalu* (*yōgālu*) from *wag'ila*, as also the vulgar Arabic (among towns-people) *yūḡal* &c. from *waḡala*. Others regard יִיבֹל as an *imperfect Hoph'al* (*he is enabled* = *he can*), always used instead of the *imperfect Qal*; comp., how-

ever, § 53. *u.*—וְהוֹבִיל occurs in Jer. 3, 5 as 2nd *sing. fem.* for וְהוֹבִילָה, according to König, because the 2nd *fem.* was already sufficiently indicated.

4. The attenuation of *ā* to *ī* in the *perfect* (in a toneless, closed syllable) which is discussed in § 44. *d* (comp. § 64. *f*) occurs in verbs פ"י in a few forms of יָלַד Num. 11, 12. Jer. 2, 27. Ps. 2, 7, &c. (always after י), as well as of יָרַשׁ, e. g. וַיִּרְשָׁתֶם, &c., Deut. 4, 1. 8, 1. 17, 14. 19, 1. 26, 1. 31, 3 (always after יוּ for יוֹ). In both cases the attenuation might be explained from the tendency to assimilate the vowels, especially if the initial י was pronounced, as in Syriac, like *i* (§ 47. *b*). In the case of יָרַשׁ, however, a secondary form יָרַשׁ (comp. § 44. *d*) is probably to be assumed, since in Arabic also the verb has the form *wārītā*. The forms וַיִּרְשָׁה Ezek. 36, 12 and וַיִּרְשָׁהּ Ps. 69, 36, &c., are most simply explained from the return of this *ī*.

5. As an exception, the *imperfect Niph'al* sometimes has a *ī* instead of the *u*, e. g. וַיִּנְהַל and he stayed, Gen. 8, 12 (unless the *Pi'el* or וַיְהַל, as in ver. 10, is to be read), comp. Ex. 19, 13; 1 Sam. 13, 8 *Kethibh*.—The first person always has the form אֶנְשֵׁב, not אֶנְשֵׁב, comp. § 51. *p*.—In the plural of the *participle* נִנְיָ (from-יָנָה, with depression of *o* to *u*, comp. § 27. *n*) is found in Zeph. 3, 18; comp. Lam. 1, 4. 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* נִוְלְדוּ *null'dhū*, 1 Chron. 3, 5. 20, 8, for נִוְלְדוּ which appears to be required by the *wāw* in the initial syllable.

6. In the *imperfect Pi'el* syncope of the first radical (י) sometimes takes place after *wāw consec.* (as in the case of נ, § 68. *k*), e. g. וַיִּנְהַ for וַיִּנְהַ and he has grieved, Lam. 3, 33, וַיִּדְּו for וַיִּדְּו and they have cast, verse 53: on the other hand, in וַיִּדְּו נִוְלְדוּ they have cast lots, Joel 4, 3. Ob. 11. Nah. 3, 10, a *perfect Qal* of יָדַד is required by the context. So from a verb פ"ו, of the second class, וַיִּבְשָׁה for וַיִּבְשָׁה and he made it dry, Nah. 1, 4; comp. וַיִּשְׁרַם 2 Chron. 32, 30 *Qere* (the *Keth.* points either to *Pi'el* וַיִּשְׁרַם or *Hiph'il* וַיִּשְׁרַם).

7. In the *imperative Hiph'il* instead of the usual form הוֹשֵׁב, *ī* is also found in the second syllable; הוֹצִיא Is. 43, 8; הוֹפִיעַ Ps. 94, 1 (before ה, hence probably a mere mistake for הוֹפִיעַ); הוֹבִיחַ Prov. 19, 25. When closed by a guttural the second syllable generally has *ā*, as הוֹדַע, הוֹשֵׁעַ, comp. also הִקַּר Prov. 25, 17 (as in the *infin. constr.* הוֹבַח Job 6, 26; see § 65. *d*). On the other hand, *ī* always reappears when the syllable becomes open, thus הוֹשִׁיבָה, הוֹשִׁיבֵי, הוֹשִׁיעָה, and so also before suffixes (§ 61. *g*). הוֹצִיא Gen. 8, 17 *Qere* (*Keth.* הוֹצִיא, see § 70. *b*) is irregular.—The *jussive* and the *imperfect consecutive Hiph'il* when the tone is drawn back take *S'ghōl* in the second syllable, as in *Qal*, e. g. יוֹסֶף that he may increase, Prov. 1, 5, before יוֹסֶף; cf. Ex. 10, 28. Deut. 3, 26; יוֹסֶף (יוֹסֶף Prov. 30, 6 is anomalous); in *pause*, however, also תוֹסֶף as *jussive*, Job 40, 32 (usual *jussive* in *pause* יוֹשֵׁב &c., which occurs even without the *pause* after *wāw consecutive*, Gen. 47, 11. Josh. 24, 3. 2 Sam. 8, 4, &c.). With a final guttural יָדַע and יוֹבַח (*jussive*) and יוֹבַח, &c.; with a final ר in *pause* וַתִּתֵּן Ruth 2, 14: on וַיִּשְׁעֶכֶם Is. 35, 4, comp. § 65. *f*).—On forms like יוֹהִשִׁיעַ, see § 53. *q*.

In *Hoph'al* *h* stands instead of ה, in הוֹרַע (for הוֹרַע) Lev. 4, 23, 28, הִזְנָה 2 Sam. 20, 13, and perhaps in יוֹרָא (for יוֹרָה) Prov. 11, 25; but comp. Delitzsch on the passage.—An *infinitive Hoph'al* with feminine ending occurs in הִלְרַת Gen. 40, 20, for הִלְרַת = הוֹל; comp. above, letter *t*, on נוֹלְרָב, and § 71 at the end.

8. The verb הִלֵּךְ *to go*, belongs in some respects to the פ"ב class, for it forms (as if from הִלֵּךְ) *imperfect* יִלְכֶּה, with *wāw consecutive* וַיֵּלֶךְ (in *pause* וַיֵּלֶךְ Gen. 24, 61, &c.), 1st sing. וּלְכֶה (but in Job 19, 17 וּלְכֶה); *infinitive construct* לֵכֶה with suff. לְכֶהְי, &c.; *imperative* לֵךְ, לֵךְ, in the lengthened form לֵכֶה (as an interjection referring even to a *feminine*, Gen. 19, 32, or a *plural*, Gen. 31, 44) and לֵךְ (Num. 23, 13. Jud. 19, 13. 2 Chron. 25, 17, and the Mēša' inscription, line 14); *Hiph.* הוֹלִיכֵי (also in Ex. 2, 9 הוֹלִיכֵי 2nd *fem. imperative* is to be read for הוֹלִיכֵי, which probably arose merely through confusion with the following הוֹלִיכֵה; *imperfect* יוֹלִיכֶה, but in the 1st sing. of the *imperfect consecutive* always וּלְכֶה Lev. 26, 13. Amos 2, 11, &c. Rarely, and almost exclusively in the later Books or in poetry, the regular inflexions of הִלֵּךְ are also found: *imperf.* יִהְלֶכֶה (Ps. 58, 9, &c.; but תִּהְלֶכֶה Ex. 9, 23. Ps. 73, 9; comp. § 64. *a* and *k*); וְהִלְכֶה Job 16, 22, also Mēša' inscription, line 14, אהלך; *infin.* הִלְכֶה (Ex. 3, 19. Num. 22, 13 sq. 16¹. Eccles. 6, 8, 9), *imperative plur.* הִלְכוּ Jer. 51, 50. On the other hand, the *perfect Qal* is always הִלֵּךְ, *participle* הוֹלֵךְ, *infinitive absolute* הִלְוֶה, *Niph'al* הִלְוֶה, *P'el* הִלְוֶה, *Hithpa'el* הִתְהַלְוֶה, so that a *y* never appears unmistakably as the first radical. The usual explanation of the above forms is nevertheless based on a supposed obsolete הִלֵּךְ. It is, however, more correct to regard the apparent פ"ב forms of הִלֵּךְ with Praetorius (*ZAW.* ii. 310 sqq.) as originating with the *Hiph'il*, of which the ground-form *hahlīkh* became *hālīkh*, and this again, on the analogy of the *imperfect Qal* of verbs פ"ב, *hōlīkh*. This *hōlīkh* being referred to a supposed *haulīkh* (properly *hawlīkh*) gave rise to new formations after the manner of verbs פ"ב.

§ 70. Verbs פ"ב. Second Class, or Verbs properly פ"ב,

e. g. יֵטַב *to be good.* Paradigm L.

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

1. In *Qal* the initial *Yôdh* never suffers aphaeresis or elision; hence the *infinitive* has the form יֵטַב², the *imperfect* יֵטַב, יֵטַב, יֵטַב (in *pause* יֵטַב), also written יֵטַב, &c.; and so always with a tone-bearing *ā* in the second syllable, even after *wāw consec.*, e. g. וַיֵּטַב, except יֵטַב Gen. 9, 24,

¹ Comp. above, letter *m*, second note.

² This may be inferred from בִּיבֵשׁ (= בִּי) Is. 27, 11, which with its fem. בִּישָׁת Gen. 8, 7, is the only example of an *infinitive construct Qal* of these verbs. No example of the *imperative Qal* is found: consequently יֵטַב, &c. (in Paradigm L of the earlier editions of this Grammar), are only inferred from the *imperfect*.

and וַיִּצַר Gen. 2, 7. 19, unless יִצַר is to be included among verbs פ' (comp. נִצַר Is. 43, 10).

b 2. In *Hiph'il* the original form הִיטִיב is regularly contracted to הִיטִיב (rarely written הִטִיב, הִיטִב, &c.); *imperfect* וַיִּטֵּב, וַיִּטֵּב. Instances of the uncontracted form are וַיִּשְׂרוּ Prov. 4, 25, according to Barth (see above, § 67. p), an example of an *i-imperfect* of *Qal*, since the *Hiph'il* is otherwise always *causative*; הִיִּשֵׁר (*imperative*) Ps. 5, 9 *Q^{eré}* (the *K^{eth}*. requires הוֹשֵׁר according to the form of verbs פ' ; comp. Is. 45, 2, אוֹשֵׁר *K^{eth}*., אֲשִׁיטֵר *Q^{eré}*), comp. Gen. 8, 17 *Q^{eré}*; סָמְיִינִים 1 Chron. 12, 2, to be explained as a denominative from יָמִין; אֲפִסְרִים Hos. 7, 12 (§ 24. f, note); but perhaps the punctuation here is only intended to suggest another reading אֲפִסְרִים.

c Rem. 1. The only verbs of this kind are: יֵטֵב *to be good* (only in the *imperfect Qal* and in *Hiph'il*; in the *perfect Qal* טוֹב, a verb ע' is used instead), יָצַק *to suck*, יָקַץ *to awake*, יָצַר *to form* (but see above, letter a), הִילִיל *Hiph'il* הִילִיל *to bewail*, יָשַׁר *to be straight, right*, also יָבֵשׁ (Arabic *yābīsā*) *to be dry* (but *Hiph'il* הוֹבִישׁ 2 Sam. 19, 6, on the analogy of verbs פ' ; on Is. 30, 5, comp. § 72. x), and the *Hiph'il* הִימִין (denominative from יָמִין) *to go to the right*.

d 2. In some examples of the *imperfect Hiph'il* the preformative has been subsequently added to the contracted form: וַיִּטֵּב Job 24, 21; וַיִּלִּיל Is. 15, 2. 3. 16, 7; וַיִּלִּיל Jer. 48, 31; plur. וַיִּלְלוּ Hos. 7, 14, comp. Is. 65, 14. Qimḥi and others explain the above forms from a phonetic interchange of *Yōdh* and *He*, arising from the unscopated forms וַיְהִיל, &c. (comp. Is. 52, 5). It would, perhaps, be more correct to suppose that the regular forms (וַיִּטֵּב, וַיִּלִּיל) 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.

e Isolated anomalies are: *perfect Hiph'il* וַהֲיִטְבֹתִי Ezek. 36, 11 with separating vowel (for הִיטְבֹתִי) on the analogy of verbs ע'; *imperfect* וַיִּטֵּב for וַיִּטֵּב 1 Ki. 1, 47; תִּיטְבִי (*imperfect Qal* for תִּיטְבִי) Nah. 3, 8; וַתִּנְיָקְהוּ *imperfect Hiph'il*, Ex. 2, 9, either an error for וַתִּינְקוּ, or an irregular shortening of the first syllable, caused by the forward movement of the tone. Similarly, the *Hiph'il* הִקִּיץ (from קִיץ) is always used for הִקִּיץ from יָקַץ. On וַיִּבְשֶׁהוּ Nah. 1, 4, see § 69. u.

§ 71. Verbs פ'. Third Class, or Verbs with *Yōdh* assimilated.

In some verbs פ', the *Yōdh* (or the original *Wāw*) does not quiesce in the preceding vowel, but is regarded as a full consonant, and, like *Nūn*¹, is assimilated to the following consonant. These forms,

¹ These verbs, like verbs ע' (cf. above, note on § 67. g), may perhaps have been influenced by the analogy of verbs פ'.

therefore, belong properly to the class of strong verbs. Assimilation invariably takes place in יצע (prop. וצע) to spread under; Hiph'il הציע, Hoph'al הצע; יצת to burn, imperfect יצת, Niph'al נצת, Hiph'il הצית (in Is. 27, 4 also אצייתנה is to be read with König; in 2 Sam. 14, 30 the Masora has rightly emended the *Kethibb* והוצייתיה, which could only be the 1st sing. perf. of a verb פ'ו, to the imperative והצייתיה in agreement with the context and all the early versions); יצי, Hiph'il הצי to place, Hoph'il הצינ; and probably also in the forms ordinarily derived from נצב, viz. נציב (Niph'al), הציב, יציב, הציב; at any rate a stem יצב is implied by the *Hithpa'el* התיצב; instead of the anomalous ותיצב Ex. 2, 4 read with the Samaritan ותיצב, i. e. ותיצב. Besides the common form we find once אצק in Is. 44, 3 (from יצק to pour) with a *transitive* meaning, beside יצק *intransitive*, 1 Ki. 22, 35. Elsewhere the *imperfect consecutive* has the form ויצק Gen. 28, 18. 35, 14. &c., comp. § 69. f, where also other forms of יצק are given; ויצר and יצר (Is. 44, 12. 49, 8. Jer. 1, 5 *Qere'*), from יצר to form, are, however, used in the same sense. Comp. also אפרם Hos. 10, 10; וישרנה (for ושרנה according to § 47. k) 1 Sam. 6, 12; ליפר 2 Chron. 31, 7 (comp. § 69. n) and מוסר Is. 28, 16. This assimilation is found only with sibilants (most frequently with צ) except in the case of וישן 1 Ki. 3, 15 (where, however, others read וישן) and in הקרת Gen. 40, 20. Ezek. 16, 5 (comp. הולדת verse 4), *infinitive Hoph'al* of ילר (comp. נילר § 69. l).

§ 72. Verbs ו'ע (*vulgo* ו'ע), e. g. קום to rise up. *Paradigm M.*

1. According to § 67. a a large number of monosyllabic stems were brought into agreement with the triliteral 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 *u* of which is characteristic also of the *imperative* and of the *imperfect indicative Qal*. These stems are consequently termed verbs ו'ע or more correctly (see Rem.) ו'ע¹.

¹ The term ו'ע was consequent on the view (formerly accepted in this Grammar) that the *Wāw* (or ו in the case of verbs ו'ע) in these stems was originally

- b* 2. As in the case of verbs $\text{y}'\text{e}$, the monosyllabic stem of verbs $\text{y}'\text{e}$ generally retains the vowel which would have been required in the *second* syllable of the ordinary strong form, since this belongs essentially to the character 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 letter *d*), e. g. 3rd *sing. masc. perf.* קָם, *fem.* קָמָה, *plur.* קָמוּ, but in a closed *penultima* קָמָה, &c.¹; (*b*) that in the forms as we now have them the lengthening of the original short vowel sometimes takes place irregularly. Comp. letter *f*.
- c* . Intransitive verbs *middle E* in the *perfect Qal* have the form מָת *he is dead*; verbs *middle O* have the form אָוֹר *luxit*, בּוֹשׁ *he was ashamed*². Comp. letters *n* to *r*.

consonantal. This view seemed especially to be supported by the return of the *Wāw* in *Pi'el* (עָוַר), the *v* usually passing into *v* as in קָנִים, cf. Arabic *qāwawmā*), and by certain forms of the *absolute state* of the nouns of such stems, e. g. מָוֹת *death*, compared with מוֹת *to die*. Hence in explaining the verbal forms a supposed stem *qawam* (in verbs $\text{y}'\text{e}$ e. g. *sayat*) was always assumed, and יָקוּם was referred to an original *yaqwūm*, the *infinitive absolute* קוּם to original *qāwūm*, the *participle passive* קוֹם to original *qāwūm*. It must, however, be admitted: (1) that forms like עָוַר, קָנִים (letter *m*) are only to be found in the latest Books, and are hence evidently secondary as compared with the pure Hebrew forms קוּמִים, &c.; (2) that to refer the verbal forms invariably to the stem קָנִים, leads in many cases to phonetic combinations which are essentially improbable, whereas the assumption of original *middle-vowel* stems renders a simple and natural explanation almost always possible. These $\text{y}'\text{e}$ stems are therefore to be rigidly distinguished from the real $\text{y}'\text{e}$ stems of the strong form, such as רָוַח, גָּוַע, &c. (see below, letter *gg*). As early as the eleventh century the right view with regard to $\text{y}'\text{e}$ stems was taken by Samuel Hannagîd (cf. Bacher, *Leben und Werke des Abulwalîd*, p. 16), recently by Böttcher (*Lehrbuch*, § 1112), and especially by Müller and Stade (see above, p. 182, note) with regard both to $\text{y}'\text{e}$ and $\text{y}'\text{e}$ verbs.

¹ In Aramaic, however, always קָמָה; also in Hebrew Grammars before Qimhî קָמָה, קָמָתִי, &c. are found, but in our editions of the Bible this occurs only in *pause*, e. g. קָמָתִי Mic. 7, 8, מָתִי 2 Ki. 7, 3. 4.

² According to Stade (*Grammatik*, § 385. *e* and *f*) the *e* in מָת 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 *a* of the root), and likewise the *o* in אָוֹר, &c. (from *au*). But *o* (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 *ā*, and similarly the *ē* of מָת to lengthening of an original *i*. This is confirmed by the fact that the *ō* in בָּשָׁה, בָּשָׁתִי, בָּשָׁנוּ is always, and in בָּשָׁה,

3. In the *imperfect Qal*, *perfect Niph'al* and throughout *Hiph'il* and *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 *ī* attenuated from *ä* (§ 67. *h*; but cf. also below, letter *h* on *יבוש*), hence *יקום* for *yäqûm*; *נָקום* for *näqôm*; on the other hand, in the *perfect Hiph'il* *הִקִּים* for *hîqîm*; *participle* *מְקִים* (on the *Şere* cf. letter *z*); *perfect Hoph'al* *הִקֵּם* for *hûqam*.

A vowel thus lengthened before the tone is naturally changeable and becomes *vocal Šewâ* when the tone is moved forward, e. g. *יִמְוֹתָנוּ* *he will kill him*; so also in the 3rd *plur. imperfect Qal* with *Nûn paragogic*; *יִמְוֹתוּ* (without *Nûn* *יִמְוֹתוּ*). The wholly abnormal *scriptio plena* of *ē* in *הִימִיר* Jer. 2, 11 (beside *הִמִּיר* in the same verse) should, with König, be emended into *הִימִיר*; the incorrect repetition of the interrogative, however, necessarily led to the form being pointed as *perfect* instead of *imperfect*.—Only in *Hoph'al* is the *û* retained throughout as an unchangeable vowel, when it has been introduced by an abnormal lengthening for the tone-long *ō* (as in the *Hoph'al* of verbs *ע'ע*).

4. The cases of unusual vowel lengthening mentioned in letter *b* are: *imperfect Qal* *יקום* (also in Arabic *yäqûmu*), but *jussive* with normal lengthening (§ 48. *g*), *יקם*, with retraction of the tone *יָקַם* (*yāqôm*), *וְיָקַם* (in *pause* *וְיָקַם*); *imperative* *קום*; the normal lengthening of the *û* occurs in the 2nd *plur. fem.* *קִמְנֶה*, since, according to § 26. *p*, *û* cannot be retained in a closed penultima; *infinitive construct* *קום*. In *Hiph'il* the lengthening of the original *ī* to *î* (*הִקִּים*, *imperfect* *יקים*, *jussive* *יָקַם*, with retraction of the tone *יָקַם*, *וְיָקַם*) exactly agrees with the analogy of the strong verb (comp. § 53. *a*).

The following forms require special consideration: the *participle Qal* *קם* is to be traced to the ground-form with *ä* unobscured, Arab. *qâtil*, § 9. *g*, and § 50. *b*. The analogous form *qâim*¹, after absorption of the *ī*, became *קם*, owing to the predominating character of the *ä*. The unchangeableness of the *ä* (*plur.* *קָמִים*, *constr.* *קָמֵי*, &c.) favours this explanation.

3rd *plur. perfect*, nearly always (the instances are 11 to 2) written defectively. Forms like *בָּרַשָׁה*, *בָּרַשָׁה*, *בָּרַשָׁה*, &c. are therefore to be treated as orthographic licences.

¹ So in Arabic (prop. *qâ'im*, since the two vowels are kept apart by the insertion of an *ä*, comp. Aram. *קָמִים*); but also contracted, as *šâk*, *hâr*, for *šâ'ik*, &c. (comp. Wright's *Gramm. of the Arabic Language*, 2nd ed. vol. i. p. 164).

h In the *imperfect Qal*, besides the forms with original *ū* (now *û*) there are also forms with original *ǎ*. This *ǎ* was lengthened to *ā*, and then further obscured to *ō*; hence especially יָבוֹא (יָבֹא), &c., from the *perfect* בָּא *he has come*. In the *imperfects* יֵאָדָר and יֵבוֹשׁ from the *intransitive perfects* אָדָר, בָּשׁ (see above, letter *c*), most probably also in יֵאָתֵי 2 Ki. 12, 9, יֵאָחַט Gen. 34, 15 from an unused אָחַט *to consent*, and perhaps in יֵתְהַחֵם 1 Sam. 4, 5, &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 the original *ǎ*) and thus *yī-bāš* became *yī-bāš̄*, and finally *yē-bōš̄*. Finally the *Niph.* יֵקֹם (*nā-qām*), *imperfect* יֵקֹם from *yē-hinqām* (§ 51. *a*) = *yiqqām*, arises in the same way from the obscuring of *ā* lengthened from *ǎ*.

i 5. In the *perfect Niph'al* and *Hiph'il* a *i* is inserted before the affirmatives beginning with a consonant in the 1st and 2nd persons and יָֿ regularly in the *imperfect Qal*, sometimes also in the *imperfect Hiph'il*, before the termination יָה (see, however, the Rem.). As in verbs *y'ē* (§ 67. *d*) these *separating vowels* serve as an artificial opening of the preceding syllable, in order that it may retain its long vowel; in the *perfect Hiph'il*, however, before the *ī*, instead of the *ī* an *ē* is somewhat frequently found¹ (as a normal lengthening of the original *ī*), especially after *wāw consecutive*, Deut. 4, 39. 30, 1, as well as before the affirmatives יָה and יָהּ or before suffixes, Deut. 22, 2. 1 Sam. 6, 8. 1 Ki. 8, 34. Ezek. 34, 4. For in all these cases the tone is removed from the *ī* to the following syllable, and this forward movement of the tone produces at the same time a weakening of the *ī* to *ē*; thus הִקִּים, הִקִּימוֹת (or 'הִקִּי), but וְהִקִּמְתָּ, &c., Ex. 26, 30, &c.; Deut. 4, 39. Num. 18, 26 (comp., however, וְהִקִּמְנִי Mic. 5, 4). In the same way in the 1st pers. sing. of the *perfect Niph'al* the *ō* before the separating vowel is always modified to *ū* (יֵקִימוֹתִי); comp. letter *v*. In the *imperfect Qal* and *Hiph'il* the separating vowel יָֿ always bears the tone (תִּקְיִינָה).

k Without the separating vowel and consequently with the tone-long *ō* and *ē* instead of *ū* and *ī* we find in *imperfect Qal* תִּבְאֵנָה (see § 76. *g*); תִּשְׁבְּךָ Ezek. 16, 55 (also תִּשְׁבְּינָה in the same verse); וְתִשְׁבְּנָה 1 Sam. 7, 14 (comp. Ezek. 35, 9 *Q^erē*;

¹ וְהִשְׁיבְתֶם 1 Sam. 6, 7 (comp. 2 Chron. 6, 25) could only be an orthographic licence for 'וְהִשְׁב' ; perhaps, however, 'וְהִשְׁב' was originally intended.

on the *K^ethibh* תִּישָׁבְנָה comp. above, note on § 69. *b*); תִּאָרְנָה 1 Sam. 14, 27 from אֹר (K^ethibh תִּרְאֵנָה they saw, see § 75. *w*); in *Hiph'il*, e.g. הִנְפֹּתָ Ex. 20, 25, also הִנְיֹפֹתִי Job 31, 21; וְהִטְלֵתִי Jer. 22, 26; תִּשָׁבְנָה Job 20, 10; with a separating vowel, e.g. תִּבְיֹאֵינָה Lev. 7, 30 from בֹּא. *S^oghöl* without ו occurs in the *imperfect Qal* in תִּמְוֹתָנָה Ezek. 13, 19. Zech. 1, 17; and in *Hiph'il* Mic. 2, 12: the Dageš in the *Nún* is, with Baer, to be rejected in all three cases according to the best authorities. Wholly abnormal is תִּקְיֹמְנָה Jer. 44, 25, probably an erroneous transposition of ימ (for תִּקְיֹמְיָנָה), unless it originates from an incorrect spelling תִּקְיֹמְנָה or תִּקְיֹמְנָה.

6. The tone as in verbs ו'ע (comp. § 67. *k*) is also retained in verbs ו'ע before the affirmatives הַ, אֵ, וְ, generally on the stem-syllable; thus קָמָה (but also לָמָה 2 Ki. 19, 21, probably for the sake of rhythmical uniformity with the following לָמָה; after *wāw* consecutive וְשָׁבָה Is. 23, 17); קָמוּ (but also קָמוּ, comp. Is. 28, 7. 29, 9. Nah. 3, 18. Ps. 76, 6. Lam. 4, 18; וְרָצוּ 1 Sam. 8, 11; so especially before a following א, cf. § 49. *l*, Num. 13, 32; וְנָעוּ Is. 19, 1; before ע, Lam. 4, 14); תִּקְוִי, but before a *suffix* or with *Nún paragogic* וַיִּבְכּוּ 2 Chron. 28, 15; וַיִּקְוִיֹּנָה Deut. 33, 11, &c.

7. The formation of the conjugations *Pi'el*, *Pu'al* and *Hithpa'el* is, strictly speaking, excluded by the nature of verbs ו'ע. It is only in the latest Books that we find a few secondary formations, probably borrowed from Aramaic, on the analogy of verbs ו'ע (with consonantal ו, see below, letter *gg*); e.g. the *Pi'el* עָוַר to surround, Ps. 119, 61, and with change of ו to ו, קִים, *infinitive* קִים Esth. 9, 31. 32, &c., from קוים; וְהִיבְתֵם Dan. 1, 10 from הוּב to be guilty. The *Hithpa'el* הִצְטִיר Josh. 9, 12, which belongs to the older language, is probably a denominative from צִיר. On the other hand the otherwise less common conjugation *Pi'lēl* (properly *Pa'lēl*, see § 55. *d*), with its passive and reflexive, is usually employed in the sense of *Pi'el* and as a substitute for it, e.g. קוים from *qāmēm* with obscuring of ā to ō (comp. § 55. *b*) to set up from מוּתַח to slaughter, 1 Sam. 14, 13. 17; 51. 2 Sam. 1, 9, from מוּתַח; רוּמַם to exalt, passive רוּמַם from רוּם; reflexive הִתְעוּרַר to stir up oneself (comp. וְהִתְעוּרַר Job 17, 8 in *pause*) from עוּר; reciprocal הִתְבַּשֵּׁשׁ to be ashamed before one another, Gen. 2, 25. The conjugation *Pilpēl* (§ 55. *f*) is less common, e.g. טִלְטַל to hurl away from טוּל; קָרַר to destroy from קוּר.

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.* מִתָּה, 2nd *masc.* מִתָּה (comp. § 44. *g*; § 66. *h*); 1st *sing.* מִתִּי, מִתִּי (even in *pause*, Gen. 19, 19); *plur.* מִתְּנוּ, 1st *pers.* מִתְּנוּ, in *pause* מִתְּנוּ; *נָד* *it fleeth away*, Is. 17, 11; *בָּשָׁה* *he was ashamed*, בָּשָׁה, בָּשָׁה, בָּשָׁה; *אֹר* *it has shone, plur.* אֹרוּ; *טוֹב* *to be good*, טָבוּ. *Participles* מֵת *a dead man* (*plur.* מֵתִים, מֵתִי); *בוּשָׁה* *ashamed*, Ezek. 32, 30.
- 0 Isolated anomalies in the *perfect* are: *וְשָׁבַת* (with the original ending of the *fem.* for *וְשָׁבָה*) Ezek. 46, 17 (see § 44. *f*); *צָקוֹן* Is. 26, 16 (*Nûn* *paragogic* with the *perfect* elsewhere only in Deut. 8, 3. 16).—In *בָּנָו* 1 Sam. 25, 8 (for *בָּאָנוּ* from *בּוֹא*) the *N* has been dropped contrary to custom. In *בָּאָו* Jer. 27, 18 (instead of *בָּאוּ*) the *Masora* seems to point to the *imperfect* *יבאו* which is what would be expected; as *Yôdh* precedes, it is perhaps simply a scribal error.
- p The form *קָם* occurs (cf. § 9. *b*) with *N* in the *perfect*, *קָמָם* Hos. 10, 14, also in the *participles* *לָאֵט* *softly*, Jud. 4, 21, *רָאֵשׁ* *poor*, 2 Sam. 12, 1. 4. Prov. 10, 4, *plur.* 13, 23; *פְּעֹלִים* *doing despite unto*, Ezek. 28, 24. 26; *fem.* 16, 57; also in Zech. 14, 10 *רָאָמָה* is to be read with Ben-Naphtali for *רָאָמָה*. On the analogy of participles of verbs *middle O* (like *בוֹשִׁים*, see above) *קָמִים* occurs for *קָמִים* 2 Ki. 16, 7 and even with a transitive meaning *לוֹט* *occultans*, Is. 25, 7; *בוֹסִים* Zech. 10. 5. *Participle passive*, *מוֹל* *circumcised*; but *סוֹג* *a backslider*, Prov. 14, 14, and *סוֹרָה* *put aside*, Is. 49, 21 (cf. Jer. 17, 13 *Q^{er}*), are verbal adjectives of the form *qātûl* (§ 50. *f*), not passive participles. For *הַשִּׁיִּם* *hastening*, Num. 32, 17, read *הַשִּׁיִּים* as in Ex. 13, 18.
- q 2. With imperfects in *û* there are almost always the corresponding *imperative* and *infinitive construct* in *û*, as *יָקוּם*, *imperative* and *infinitive* *קוּם* (also defectively written *יָקָם*, *קָם*); but with *רָדַשׁ* *he threshes* (*insin.* *רָדַשׁ*) the *imperative* *רָדֵשׁ* (*fem.*) occurs in Mic. 4, 13; with *יָמוּט* *it slippeth*, the *infinitive* *מוֹט* (Ps. 38, 17. 46, 3); comp. *נוּחַ* (also *נוּחַ*) Num. 11, 25 and *נוּעַ* Is. 7, 2 (elsewhere *נוּעַ*) with the *imperfects* *יָנוּחַ* and *יָנוּעַ*; *לָעוֹז* Is. 30, 2; *שׁוּב* Josh. 2, 16; *רוּם* Ezek. 10, 17 (vers. 16 *רוּם*).
- r Where the *imperfect* has *ð* the *imperative* and *infinitive* also have it; thus *imperfect* *יבוא* (*יבֹא*), *infinitive*, &c., *בּוֹא* or *בֹּא*¹; *וַיֵּאָר* 2 Sam. 2, 32, *אֹרִי*; *אֹרִי*; *יבֹשׁ*, *בוֹשׁ*, &c.—*יָקוּם* Job 8, 14 (if it be a verb at all and not rather a substantive) is formed on the analogy of verbs *ע"ע*, since the *imperfect* of *קוּם* appears as *אָקוּם* in Ps. 95, 10. On the other hand *יָקִשׁוּן* (as if from *קָשׁ*) occurs as *imperfect* of *יָקַשׁ* (*פ"י*), on the analogy of *יבוא*, &c. The *imperfect* *יָרוּן*, with *ð*, Gen. 6, 3 probably in the sense of *to rule*, *to govern* has no corresponding *perfect*, and is

¹ In 1 Ki. 14, 12 (*בְּבֹאָה* before a genitive), the text is evidently corrupt: read with Klostermann after the LXX *בְּבֹאָה*.

perhaps intentionally differentiated from the common verb יָדִין *to judge* (from יָדַן, ע"ו). Or can יָדִין be a *jussive* after לֹא (cf. § 109. a)? Similarly לֹא תַחֲסוּ (עִינֶיךָ) might be taken as a case of a *jussive* after לֹא, with irregular *scriptio plena* (as in Jud. 16, 30), in Deut. 7, 16. 13, 9. 19, 13. 21. 25, 12. Ezek. 5, 11. 7, 4. 9. 8, 18. 9, 10. But perhaps in all these cases לֹא תַחֲסוּ was originally intended, as in Is. 13, 18. Jer. 21, 7. The *infinitive absolute* always has *δ*, e. g. יִקְוֹמוּ קוֹם Jer. 44, 29.

3. In the *imperative* with affirmatives (קָוֵמוּ, קָוֵמִי) the tone is on the stem syllable; comp., however, עֲוֹרֵי Jud. 5, 12 intentionally varied from עֲוֹרֵי; also עֲוֹרֵי Zech. 13, 7 and Is. 51, 9 beside עֲוֹרֵי בְיָמֵי; עֲוֹרֵי נִילֹי Zech. 9, 9; עֲוֹרֵי Is. 21, 2, שֹׁבְרֵי Ps. 116, 7 likewise for rhythmical reasons. So also the lengthened form, as עֲוֹרָה Jer. 3, 12 Ps. 7, 8, and עֲוֹרָה verse 7. But if an א, ה, or ו follows in close connexion, the lengthened *imperative* usually has the form קָוֵמָה, &c.¹, in order to avoid a hiatus, e. g. Jud. 4, 18. Ps. 82, 8; hence also before יְהוֹה, *Orè perpetuum* יִבְרָכֵי (§ 17), e. g. Ps. 3, 8. 7, 7 קָוֵמָה (comp., however, in the same verse עֲוֹרָה before א; קָוֵמָה Ps. 44, 7, and רִוְמָה Ps. 57, 6. 12, before ע; שֹׁבָה before א Jer. 40, 5, and before ה 2 Sam. 15, 27), and even before ר Ps. 43, 1. 74, 22 and elsewhere (רִיבָה).

4. In the *jussive*, besides the form יָקֵם (see above, letter *f*), יָקוּם also occurs (as subjunctive, Eccles. 12, 4; נִסּוּג Ps. 80, 19 may also, with Delitzsch, be regarded as a voluntative), incorrectly written *plene*, and יָקֵם (Gen. 27, 31; comp. Jud. 6, 18. Prov. 9, 4. 16), which, however, is only orthographically different from יָקוּם (comp. Is. 46, 6). In the *imperfect consecutive* (וַיִּקָּם, in *pause* וַיִּקָּם, see above, letter *f*) if there be a guttural or ר in the last syllable, *δ* often takes the place of *δ*, e. g. וַיִּנַּח and he rested; וַיִּנָּע and it was moved; וַיִּסַּר and he turned aside, Jud. 4, 18. Ruth 4, 1 (different only in meaning from *Hiph'il* וַיִּסַּר and he removed, Gen. 8, 13); וַיִּצַר 2 Ki. 5, 23. 17, 5 (but also וַיִּנָּר both from נָגַר *to sojourn*, and נָגַר *to fear*); וַיַּעַף (to be distinguished from וַיִּעַף and he flew, Is. 6, 6) and he was weary, Jud. 4, 21. 1 Sam. 14, 28. 31. 2 Sam. 21, 15, but probably in all these cases וַיַּעַף for וַיִּעַף from יַעַף is intended. On the other hand, in an open syllable always וַיִּקְוֹמוּ, וַיִּסְאוּ, &c. On וַאֲקָם (וַאֲקָם), see § 49. e.

Examples of the full plural ending וִן with the tone (see above, letter *l*) are וַתִּמְתָּנוּ Gen. 3, 3. 4; יִנְסֹנוּ Ps. 104, 7; יִרְצֹנוּ Joel 2, 4. 7. 9.

II. On *Niph'al*.

5. The form of the 1st *sing. perf.* נִקְוַמְתִּי, which frequently occurs (נִסְגַּמְתִּי, נִפְגַּמְתִּי), serves as a model for the 2nd *sing.* נִקְוַמְתָּ, and the 1st *plur.* נִקְוַמוּ given in the paradigm, although no instances of these forms are found;

¹ Comp. Delitzsch's *Commentary* on Ps. 3, 8.

but of the 2nd plur. the only examples found have *ō* (not *ū*), viz. *נִפְּוֹצֹתֵם* *ye have been scattered*, Ezek. 11, 17. 20, 34. 41, and *נִקְטַתֶּם* *and ye shall loathe yourselves*, Ezek. 20, 43. 36, 31.—To the *ī* (instead of *ū*) of the preformative may be traced the *perfect* *נָעוּר* Zech. 2, 17 (analogous to the *perfect* and *participle* *נָמוּל*; see below, letter *ee*), *imperfect* *יַעוּר* for *yi''ōr*.—The *infinitive construct* *הַדּוּשׁ* occurs in Is. 25, 10; in *לְאוּר* Job 33, 30, the Masora assumes the syncope of the ה (for *לְהַאוּר*); but probably *לְאוּר* (*Qal*) is intended (see § 51. *l*).—*נָמוּג* Is. 14, 31, *נָסוּג* Is. 59, 13 are to be regarded as *infinitives absolute*.

III. On *Hiph'el*, *Hoph'al*, and *Pi'lēl*.

70 6. Examples of the *perfect* without a separating vowel (see above, letter *k*) are: *הִכָּאתָ*, &c. (see further, § 76. *g*); *הִכְמַתָּה* (from *כמות*) for *hēmāth-tā* (comp. § 20. *a*, and such cases as *הִכְמַתָּה* 3rd fem. *perfect Hiph'el* from *סודת* or *סית* 1 Ki. 21, 25; *הִכְנִי* 1st plur. *perfect Hiph'el* from *כּוּן* 2 Chron. 29, 19), even *הִמַּתֶּם* (§ 27. *s*) Num. 17, 6, and elsewhere; cf. 2 Sam. 13, 28, also *וְהִמַּתְוּן* Ex. 1, 16, and *וְהִמַּתְיָהוּ* Hos. 2, 5; but elsewhere, with *twāw consecutive* *וְהִמַּתְיָהוּ* Is. 14, 30; comp. *וְהִטְלִיתִי* Is. 16, 13, and *וְהִנַּפְתָּ* Ex. 29, 24, and elsewhere.—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 Chron. 15, 12, &c.) or more frequently —, and in the syllable before the antepenultima it is necessarily — (e. g. *וְהִקְמַתִי* Gen. 6, 18). Before a suffix in the 3rd sing. masc. (except Gen. 40, 13) and fem., and in the 3rd plur., the vowel of the initial syllable is *Haṭeph-Seghol*, in the other persons always *Haṭeph-Pathah* (König); on *הִקְמַתוּ* 2 Ki. 9, 2. Ps. 89, 44, comp. Ex. 19, 23. Num. 31, 28. Deut. 4, 39. 22, 2. 30, 1. Ezek. 34, 4, and above, letter *i*.

x As in verbs *ע'ע* with ה for their first radical (§ 67. *w*) all the forms of *עוּר* Ex. 19, 23, &c., and *עוּר* Is. 41, 25. 45, 13, take *Pathah* in these conjugations instead of —. The irregular *וְהוֹשִׁבוּתִים* Zech. 10, 6 has evidently arisen from a combination of two different readings, viz. *וְהוֹשִׁבוּתִים* (from *יִשָּׁב*) and *וְהוֹשִׁבוּתִים* (from *שׁוּב*): the latter is to be preferred.—On *הוֹבִישׁ* and *הוֹבִישׁ* as a (metaplastic) *perfect Hiph'el* of *בוֹשׁ*, cf. § 78.

y 7. In the *imperative*, besides the short form *הִקֵּם* (on *הִשָּׁב* Is. 44, 22 with *Silluq*, comp. § 29. *q*; but in Ezek. 21, 35 for *הִשָּׁב* the *infinitive* *הִשָּׁב* is to be read) the lengthened form *הִקְיִמָה* is also found. With suffix *הִקְיִמֵנִי*, &c. The *imperative* *הִבֵּיא* Jer. 17, 18 is irregular (for *הִבֵּיא* Gen. 43, 16); perhaps *הִבֵּיא* (as in 1 Sam. 20, 40; comp. 2 Ki. 8, 6) is intended, or it was originally *הִבֵּיאָה*.

z In the *infinitive* syncope of the ה occurs in *לְבִיא* Jer. 39, 7. 2 Chron. 31, 10 (for *לְהִבֵּיא*); הִ— fem. is added in *לְהִנַּפֵּה* Is. 30, 28; comp. Esth. 2, 18 and the analogous *infinitive Haph'el* in Biblical Aramaic, Dan. 5, 20.—As *infinitive absolute* *הִכִּין* occurs in Ezek. 7, 14 (perh. also Jos. 4, 3. Jer. 10, 23).—The *participles* have *ē* as the vowel of the preformative, like verbs *ע'ע*. On *מִבִּי* 2 Sam. 5, 2, &c. (in *K^ethibh*), see § 74. *k*.

aa On the shortened forms of the *imperfect* *יִקֵּם*, *וְיִקֵּם*, but always *וְיִבֵּא* see above, letter *f*. If the final radical be a guttural or ר the last syllable generally has

Pathah (as in *Qal*), e.g. יָרַח *he smells*, 1 Sam. 26, 19; וַיִּרַח Gen. 8, 21; וַיֵּסֶר *and he took away*, Gen. 8, 13. The 1st *sing.* of the *imperfect consecutive* commonly has the form וְאֵשִׁיב Neh. 2, 20, less frequently the form וְאָשִׁיב Jos. 14, 7; וְאָעַד 1 Ki. 2, 42 and elsewhere. For אָסַף Zeph. 1, 2 (after אָסַף) and in verse 3, read אָסַף from אָסַף, on the analogy of אָמַר § 68. g: similarly in Jer. 8, 13 אָסַפְּם instead of אָסַפְּם.

In the *imperfect Pi'lel* the tone is moved backwards before a following tone-syllable, but without a shortening of the vowel of the final syllable; e.g. תִּרְוֹמֶם גּוֹי Prov. 14, 34; תְּהוֹלֵל לוֹ Job 35, 14; comp. also תִּתְפַּנֵּן בִּי Job 30, 20; always in principal pause; on the *Metheg* with *Sere*, comp. § 16. f, γ.—As *participle Hoph'al* הַמוֹשֵׁב occurs in close connexion, Gen. 43, 12; comp. § 65. d.

Peculiar contracted forms of *Pi'lel* (unless they are transitives in *Qal*) are Job 31, 15, יַעֲרֹנּוּ 41, 2, וְחִמּוֹנְנוּ Is. 64, 6 for וַיִּכְנַנּוּ, &c.; also תִּרְמֵם Job 17, 4 for תִּרְמֵם.—In Is. 15, 5 יַעֲרֹי appears to have arisen from the *Pilpel* יַעֲרֵרוּ, the *ä* after the loss of the *ר* having been lengthened to *ā*, which has then been changed into the obscure *ö*.—The strange form בְּתִקּוּמֶיךָ Ps. 139, 21 cannot (according to § 52. s) be explained as a *participle* with the *ו* omitted, but must be emended to בְּמִתְקֶךָ.

IV. In General.

8. The verbs ע"ו are primarily related to the verbs ע"ע (§ 67), which were also originally biliteral, so that it is especially necessary in analyzing 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 *Pi'lel* of verbs ע"ע, and the *Pö'el* of verbs ע"ע; see § 67. 2. Owing to this close relation, verbs ע"ע sometimes have forms which follow the analogy of verbs ע"ע, e.g. *perfect Qal* בּוֹ *he has despised* (from בּוֹז, as if from בּוֹז) Zech. 4, 10, טַח (for טָח) *he hath daubed*, Is. 44, 18; *perfect Niph'al* נָמַר Jer. 48, 11 (for נָמוֹר from מוֹר, as if from מָרַר). The same explanation equally applies to נִקְטָה Job 10, 1 for נִקְטָה (comp. § 67. dd) = נִקְטָה from קוּט, and נִקְפוּ Ezek. 6, 9 (for נִקְוּטוּ); יָרוּמוּ Ezek. 10, 17 and וַיִּרְמוּ verse 15; הִרְפוּ (*imperative*) Num. 17, 10; יָסַג Mic. 2, 6; *Hiph'il perfect* הִתּוּ Is. 18, 5 for הִתּוּ (comp. § 29. g), which is for הִתּוּ from הִתּוּ. On the other hand the *imperfects* יָמַר Ezek. 48, 14 (unless it be intended for יָמַר, comp. Ps. 15, 4) and יָפַח Hab. 2, 3 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 ע"ו sometimes have in *Niph'al* and *Hiph'al* 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 יָסִית, יָסִית); הִסִּיג, imperfect יָסִיג *to remove* (from סִיג), also *Hoph'al* הִסִּיג Is. 59, 14 (on הִסִּיג comp. § 29. g); sometimes with a difference of meaning, as הִנִּיחַ *to cause to rest*¹, but הִנִּיחַ

¹ As the passive of this *Hiph'il* we should expect the *Hoph'al* הִנִּיחַ, which is, no doubt, to be read for הִנִּיחַ in Lam. 5, 5.

(*imperfect* יָנַח, *consecutive* וַיִּנַּח Gen. 39, 16; *imperative* הַנִּיחָה, *plur.* הַנִּיחוּ) to set down; for וְהִנִּיחָה (Baer, Ginsburg וְהִנֵּי) Zech. 5, 11 (which at any rate could only be explained as an isolated passive of *Hiph'il* on the analogy of the Biblical Aramaic הִקִּימַת Dan. 7, 4) we should probably read וְהִנִּיחָה with Klostermann and the LXX; in Dan. 8, 11 the *Kethibh* הַרִים is intended for a *perfect Hiph'il*. The same distinction in meaning is also noticeable between יָלַין to spend the night, to remain, but יָלַין Ex. 16, 7 *Q'rê* (הִלְוִנוּ; on the contrary, verse 2 *Kethibh* יָלִינוּ, *Q'rê* יָלִינוּ), *participle* כּוֹלִין Ex. 16, 8. Num. 14, 27. 17, 20, to be stubborn, obstinate: in the latter sense from the form יָלַין only וַיִּלְךְ is found, Ex. 17, 3. Other examples are *Niph'al* נִפְּוֹל he was circumcised, Gen. 17, 26 sq.; *participle* 34, 22 (from מוֹל, not כּוֹל); גָּעוֹר he is waked up, Zech. 2, 17 (see above, letter v); *Hiph'il* הִזְלִיחָה Lam. 1, 8; יָלִיוּ Prov. 4, 21.

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. וַתַּחֲשׂ for וַתַּחֲשׂ and she hastened (from חוּשׂ) Job 31, 5; וַיַּעַט (another reading וַיַּעַט, וַיַּעַט) 1 Sam. 15, 19. 25, 14 (14, 32 *Q'rê*) from עוּט or עֵיט to fly at anything. Both, as far as the form is concerned, would be correct *apocopated imperfects* from חָשָׂה 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. חָוֵר, *imperfect* יִחְוֹר to be white; גָּוַע, *imperfect* יִגְוַע to expire; רָוַח to be wide; צָוַח to cry; *Pi'el* עָוַל, *imperfect* יַעְוֹל to act wickedly; עָוַת to bend, *Hithpa'el* הִתְעַוַּת 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, רָוָה to drink, *Pi'el* רָוָה (on אֶרְוֶנָה Is. 16, 9, see § 75. *dd*) and *Hiph'il* הִרְוָה to give to drink, &c.

§ 73. Verbs middle *I* (*vulgo* ע"י), e. g. בִּין to discern. *Paradigm N.*

a 1. These verbs agree, as regards their structure, exactly with verbs ע"י, and in contrast to them may be termed verbs *'ayin-i*, from the characteristic vowel of the *imperfect*, *imperative*, and *infinitive construct*. In the *perfect Qal* the monosyllabic stem, as in ע"י, has *ā* lengthened from *ä*, thus: שָׁת he has set; *infinitive absolute* שׁוּת, *imperative* שִׁית, *imperfect* יִשִּׁית, *jussive* יִשֵּׁת (§ 48. *g*), *imperfect consecutive* וַיִּשֵּׁת.—The *perfect Qal* of some verbs used to be treated as having a double set of forms, a regular series, and others like *Hiph'il* without the preformative, e. g. בִּין Dan. 10, 1; בִּינִיתִי Dan. 9, 2, also בִּנְתָה Ps. 139, 2; רִיבֹתָ thou strivest, Job 33, 13, also רִבְתָּ Lam. 3, 58. 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 *ī* (like

the *û* lengthened to *ú* in the *imperfect Qal* of קים). 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 בּי, the shortened forms are few and probably all late, while the corresponding unshortened forms with the same meaning are very numerous, e. g. *perfect* הָבִין (but בּי Dan. 10, 1), *infinitive* הָבִין (but *inf. abs.* בּי Prov. 23, 1), *imperative* הָבִין (but Dan. 9, 23 יבּי immediately before הָבִין), also בּיני three times, and בּינה Ps. 5, 2), *participle* מְבִין¹. 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 *Job* 4, 20, which, with the critically untenable הָשִׂמוּ Ezek. 21, 21, is the only instance of שִׂים in *Hiph'il*), מְצִיץ *glancing*, also in *perfect* צָץ. As *passives* we find a few apparent *imperfects Hoph'al*, which are really (according to § 53. u) *imperfects passive* of *Qal*, e. g. יִשָּׁר from שָׁר *to sing*, יִשָּׁת from שָׁת *to set*.

2. The above-mentioned *Hiph'il*-forms might equally well be derived from verbs ע"ו²; and the influence of the analogy of verbs ע"ו is distinctly seen in the *Niph'al* נָבִין, *Pi'lél* בּוֹנִין and *Hithpa'lél* הִתְבּוֹנֵן. The very close relation existing between verbs ע"ו and ע"ו is evident also from the fact that from some stems both forms occur side by side in *Qal*, thus from הָלַח *to turn round*, *imperative* also חָלִי Mic. 4, 10; שִׂים *to place*, *infinitive construct* commonly שִׂים, *imperfect* יִשִּׁים, but Ex. 4, 11 יִשִּׂים. In other verbs שִׂים form is, at any rate, the more common, e. g. גָּיל *to exult* (גָּיל only Prov. 23, 24 *Kethibh*); from לָאֵן (perhaps denominative from לָאֵל) *to spend the night*, לָאֵן occurs six times as *infinitive construct*, לָאֵן only in Gen. 24, 23; the *imperative* is always לָאֵן, &c.—Of verbs ע"ו the most common are, שָׁת *to set*, רָבַח *to strive*, דָּין *to judge*, שָׂשׂ *to rejoice*; comp. also *perfect* כָּל (*middle Yôdh* in Arabic) *to comprehend, to measure*, Is. 40, 12; עִיט (as in

¹ Since בנת Ps. 139, 2, might be intended for בנת, there remains really no form of בּי which must necessarily be explained as a *Qal*. Nevertheless it is not impossible that all the above instances of *Hiph'il*-forms, parallel with *Qal*-forms of the same meaning, might be merely due to a secondary formation from the *imperfects Qal* יִבּין, יִשִּׁים, &c., which were wrongly regarded as *imperfects Hiph'il*: so Barth, *ZDMG.* xliii. p. 190 sq., and *Nominalbildung*, p. 119 sq.

² Against the view of earlier grammarians that all supposed ע"ו-forms are alike to be classed as ע"ו, compare the exhaustive statement of the case by Nöldeke in *ZDMG.* 1883, p. 525 sqq.

Arabic and Syriac) to *rush upon*, and the denominative *perfect* רָזַח (from רָזַח) to *pass the summer*, Is. 18, 6. On the other hand, וְרִיגוּם and they shall fish them, Jer. 16, 16, generally explained as *perfect Qal*, denominative from רָגַח *fish*, probably represents a denominative *Pi'el*, וְרִיגוּ.

c Corresponding to verbs properly וָע, mentioned in § 72. gg, there are certain verbs וָע with consonantal *Yôdh*, as אָבַח to *hate*, עָפַח to *faint*, הָיַח to *become, to be*, הָיַח to *live*.

d Rem. 1. In the *perfect Qal 3rd fem. sing.* וְלָנָה occurs once, Zech. 5, 4, for וְלָנָה, with the weakening of the toneless *ā* to *ē* (like the *fem. participle* וּזְרָה Is. 59, 5); comp. the analogous examples in § 48. l and § 80. i.—2nd *sing. masc.* שָׁתָה Ps. 90, 8, *Q^{erê}* (before ע; cf. § 72. s); 1st *sing.* once שָׁתִי Ps. 73, 28, *mil'ra'*, without any apparent reason; 1st *plur.* וְלָנָה Jud. 19, 13 for *lân-nû*. The lengthened *imperative* has the tone on the ultima before gutturals, יוֹרְבָה יהוה Ps. 35, 1; see further, § 72. s.—Examples of the *infinite absolute* are: רָב *litigando*, Jud. 11, 25. Job 40, 2; שׁוּם Jer. 42, 15; שׁוּת *ponendo*, Is. 22, 7. On the other hand, רִיב יָרִיב Jer. 50, 34, תָּבִין בֵּין תָּבִין Prov. 23, 1, חוֹל תְּחוּל Ezek. 30, 16 *K^{eth.}*, are irregular; for the last the *Q^{erê}* requires חוֹל תְּחוּל; comp. § 113. x.

e 2. The *shortened imperfect* usually has the form וְיָשַׁח, וְיָשַׁם; more rarely the tone is moved back, e. g. לֹא יָרַב Jud. 6, 31; cf. Ex. 23, 1. 1 Sam. 9, 20. So with *wāw consecutive* וְיָשַׁח and he placed, וְיָרַב and he perceived; with a middle guttural וְיָעַט בָּהֶם 1 Sam. 25, 14 (see § 72. ee). As *jussive* of לָיִן, תָּלַן is found in Jud. 19, 20 (in *pause*) and Job 17, 2, for תָּלַן.

f 3. As *participle active Qal* לָיִן *spending the night*, occurs once, Neh. 13, 21; *participle passive* שָׁיִם Num. 24, 21. 1 Sam. 9, 24. Obad. 4; *feminine* שׁוּמָה 2 Sam. 13, 32, in the *Q^{erê}*, even according to the reading of the Oriental schools (see p. 36, note 2): the *K^{ethibh}* has שְׁיָמָה.—A *passive of Qal* (cf. above, § 52. e and s, § 53. u) from שָׁיִם may perhaps be seen in וְיָשַׁח Gen. 50, 26 (also Gen. 24, 33 *K^{ethibh}* וְיָשַׁח, *Q^{erê}* וְיָשַׁח); the Samaritan in both places has (וְיָשַׁח), and also in יָסַח Ex. 30, 32, Samaritan יוֹסַח. Against the explanation of יוֹסַח as a *Hoph'al*-form from סָחַח, Barth (*Jubelschrift . . . des Dr. I. Hildesheimer*, Berlin, 1890, p. 151) rightly urges that the only example of a *Hiph'il* of סָחַח is the doubtful וְיָסַח, which is probably an *î*-imperfect of *Qal*.—The explanation of יָשַׁח as a *passive of Qal* arising from *yisyan*, &c. = *yusyan* (so Barth, *ibid.*, note 1) is certainly also unconvincing, so that the correctness of the traditional reading is open to question.

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g 4. In verbs וָע the *ā* almost always retains its consonantal value; they are, therefore, to be regarded as verbs *'Ayin Guttural* (§ 64). The only exception is נָאוּ they are beautiful (from נָאוּה *Pi'el* of נָאוּה, properly נָאוּ) Is. 52, 7. Cant. 1, 10.—Very doubtful on the other hand is וְנָאֵץ Eccles. 12, 5 as *imperfect Hiph'il* (for וְנָאֵץ); if the form has been correctly transmitted, it should rather be referred to וְנָאֵץ, and regarded as incorrectly written for וְנָאֵץ.

§ 74. Verbs נ"ל, e. g. מצַד to find. Paradigm O.

The נ in these verbs, as in verbs נ"ם, is treated in some cases *a* as 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 has always the regular long vowels, e. g. מִצַּד, מִצָּדָה, מִצָּדָהּ, הַמִּצְדִּי, i. e. the נ simply quiesces in the long vowel, without the latter being subject to any change whatever. It is just possible that after the altogether heterogeneous vowel *ä* the נ may originally have preserved a certain consonantal value. On the other hand, if the final נ unites with 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. מִצָּדָה, מִצָּדָהּ, &c.

The *imperfect* and *imperative Qal* invariably have *ā* in the final syllable, on *b* the analogy of verbs *tertiæ gutturalis*; comp., however, § 76. *e*.—In the *imperfect Hithpa'el* *ā* occurs in the final syllable not only (according to § 54. *k*) in the principal pause (Num. 31, 23), or immediately before it (Job 10, 16), or with the lesser disjunctives (Lev. 21, 1. 4. Num. 19, 13. 20), but even without the pause with *Mer'kha*, Num. 6, 7, and even before *Maqqeph* in Num. 19, 12.

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; e. g. in the *perfect Qal* (and *Hoph'al*, see below) quiescing with *ä* it regularly becomes *Qames* (תִּצְדָּךְ for תִּצְדָּךְ, &c.); but in the *perfect* of all the other active and reflexive conjugations it is preceded by *Sere* (נִמְצָדְךָ, &c.), and in the *imperative* and *imperfect* by *S'ghól*, מִצְדָּנָה, מִצְדָּנָהּ.

(*a*) The *S'ghól* of these forms of the imperfect and imperative might be *d* considered throughout 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 *ä* (as in other cases the *ē* and *ī* in the final syllable of the 3rd *sing. masc. perfect* of these conjugations), although this *ä* may have only been attenuated from an original *ä*. According to another, and perhaps a more correct explanation, both the *Sere* and the *S'ghól* are due to the analogy of verbs ה"ל (§ 75. *f*) in consequence of the close relation between the two classes, comp. § 75. *nn*.—No form of this kind occurs in *Pu'al*; in the *perfect Hoph'al* only the 2nd *masc. sing.* הִבְצַדְתָּ Ezek. 40, 4, lengthened according to rule.

(*b*) As before the suffixes attached by a connecting vowel (e. g. וְיִקְרָאֲנִי) the *e* נ retains its consonantal value, so also before הַ and כֵּן, e. g. הִמְצָדְךָ Cant. 8, 1; הִבְצַדְתָּ Ezek. 28, 13 (comp. § 65. *h*), not הִמְצָדְךָ, &c., since these suffixes, by

§ 58. *f*, are likewise attached to the verb-form by a connecting vowel in the form of *Šewā mobile*.—As *infinitive Qal* with suffix notice מְהַצֵּךְ Ezek. 25, 6; *participle* with suffix בְּרַצֵּךְ Is. 43, 1; as *infinitive Pi'el* בְּמַצְאֵכֶם.—Instead of the doubly anomalous form יִקְרְאוּ Jer. 23, 6 (for יִקְרְאוּהוּ) probably יִקְרְאוּ is intended.

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. מְצַאָה *māṣṣā*, מְצַאי, &c. (in pause מְצַאָה, מְצַאי).

REMARKS.

g 1. Verbs *middle E*, like מְלֵא *to be full*, retain the *Šere* also in the other persons of the *perfect*, e. g. מְלֵאתִי; יִרְאֲתֶם; מְלֵאוּ Est. 7, 5 are due to their transitive use. Instead of מְצַאָה the form קְרֵאת *she names*, on the analogy of the ל' forms noticed in § 75. *m*, occurs in Is. 7, 14 (from קְרֵאת, comp. § 44. *f*), and with a different meaning (*it befalls*) in Deut. 31, 29. Jer. 44, 23, in both places before א, and hence, probably, to avoid a hiatus (on the other hand, וְהִטָּאת Ex. 5, 16, could only be the 2nd *sing. masc.*; the text which is obviously corrupt should probably with the LXX be emended to וְהִטָּאתָ לְעַמֶּךָ); in *Niph'al* נִפְלֵאת Ps. 118, 23; in *Hoph'al* הִפְלֵאת Gen. 33, 11.

h 2. The *inf. Qal* occurs sometimes on the analogy of verbs ל' (לִילוֹת, &c., see § 75. *nn*) in the feminine form; so always מְלֵא *to fill* (as distinguished from מְלֵא *fullness*), Lev. 8, 33. 12, 4. 6. 25, 30. Jer. 29, 10. Ezek. 5, 2, also written מְלֵאוֹת Jer. 25, 12. Job 20, 22, and elsewhere, and מְלוֹאת Est. 1, 5. Comp. further, קְרֵאת Jud. 8, 1; שְׁנֵאת Prov. 8, 13; before suffixes, Ezek. 33, 12, and likewise in *Niph.* זֶחַךְ, 13, 4; also in *Pi'el* לְמַלֵּאת Ex. 31, 5. 35, 33, or לְמַלְאוֹת Dan. 9, 2, and elsewhere *K'ethbh*; with suffix 2 Sam. 21, 2.—On the (aramaizing) *infinitives* מְשֵׂאת and מְשֵׂאוֹת, see § 45. *e*; on לְקַרְאת *obviam*, § 19. *k*.—מְצַאֲכֶם *when ye find*, Gen. 32, 20, stands, according to § 93. *g*, for מְצַאֲכֶם. The tone of the lengthened *imperative* רַפְּאָה Ps. 41, 5 as *Mil'ra'* (before נִפְשִׁי) is to be explained on rhythmical grounds; comp. the analogous cases in § 72. *s*.—The 2nd *fem. plur. imperative* in Ruth 1, 9 has, according to Qimḥi, the form מְצַאֲנִי and in verse 20 קְרֵאֲנִי; on the other hand, the Mantua edition and Ginsburg, on good authority, read מְצַאֲנִי, קְרֵאֲנִי.

i 3. The *participle fem.* is commonly contracted, e. g. מְצַאת (for מְצַאֲת) 2 Sam. 18, 22, comp. Est. 2, 15; so *Niph'al* נִפְלֵאת Deut. 30, 11. Zech. 5, 7, and *Hoph'al*, Gen. 38, 25; less frequent forms are, מְצַאֲת Cant. 8, 10; נִשְׂאֲת 1 Ki. 10, 22 (comp. § 76. *b*, שְׂאֲת beside לִשְׂאֲת as *infinitive construct* from נִשְׂאֲת) and without א (see letter *k*) יוֹצֵת (from יִצֵּא) Deut. 28, 57. In the forms חֲטָאִים *sinning*, 1 Sam. 14, 33, comp. Ps. 99, 6; מְצַאֲתָם *feigning them*, Neh. 6, 8, the א is syncopated, and is only retained orthographically (§ 23. *c*) after the retraction of its vowel; see the analogous cases in § 75. *oo*.

k 4. Frequently an א which is quiescent is omitted in writing (§ 23. *f*): (*a*) in the middle of the word, e. g. בְּנִי 1 Sam. 25, 8; מְצַתִּי Num. 11, 11, comp. Job

1, 21; צָמְתִי Jud. 4, 19, comp. Job 32, 18. In the *imperfect* תִּשְׁנָה Jer. 9, 17. Zech. 5, 9. Ruth 1, 14 (on the other hand, the same form occurs with *Yōdh* pleonastic after the manner of verbs ל"ה Ezek. 23, 49, according to the common reading; comp. § 76. *b* and Jer. 50, 20); in *Pi'el* אֶחְטֹנָה Gen. 31, 39; and also in *Niph'al* נִטְמַמְתָּם Lev. 11, 43; comp. Jos. 2, 16. (*ḥ*) at the end of the word; ויבו 1 Ki. 12, 12 *Kethibh*; *Hiph'il* הִחְטִי 2 Ki. 13, 6, comp. Is. 53, 10 (ל"ה for הִחְלִי *perfect* *Hiph'il* of חָלָה formed after the manner of verbs ל"ה); in the *imperfect* *Hiph'il* יִשִּׁי Ps. 55, 16 *Kethibh*; ויני Ps. 141, 5; ויני 1 Ki. 21, 19. Mic. 1, 15; in the *infinitive*, Jer. 32, 35; in the *participle*, 2 Sam. 5, 2. 1 Ki. 21, 21. Jer. 19, 15. 39, 16, all in *Kethibh* (מְבִי, always before א, hence perhaps only a scribal error).

5. In the *jussive*, *imperfect consecutive*, and *imperative* *Hiph'il* a number of cases occur with *ḥ* in the final syllable; comp. יִשָּׂא Is. 36, 14 (in the parallel passages 2 Ki. 18, 29. 2 Chron. 32, 15 יִשִּׂיא); ויביא Neh. 8, 2 (before ע); ויחטא 2 Ki. 21, 11 (comp. 1 Ki. 16, 2. 21, 22); ויחטבא 2 Ki. 6, 29; ויוציא Deut. 4, 20. 2 Ki. 11, 12. Ps. 78, 16. 105, 43; *imperative* הִבִּיא Jer. 17, 18; הוֹצִיא Is. 43, 8 (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 *ḥ* is to be accounted for by the open syllable; while in the closed syllable of the 3rd *sing. masc.* and *fem.*, and the 2nd *sing. masc.* after *consecutive* the *ḥ* is always reduced to *ḥ̄*. In the examples before ע considerations of euphony may also have had some influence (comp. § 75. *hh*).—In Ezek. 40, 3, Baer reads with the Western school ויביא, while the Orientals read in the *Kethibh* ויבוא, and in the *Qere* ויבא.

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

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

These verbs, like the verbs פ"י (§§ 69, 70), comprise two different *a* classes, viz. those originally ל"ו and those originally ל"י, 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 appears as a purely orthographic indication of a final vowel (§ 23. *k*); hence both classes are called ל"ה, e.g. גָּלָה for גָּלִי *he has revealed*; שָׁלָה for שָׁלוּ *he has rested*. By far the greater number of these verbs are, however, treated as originally ל"י; only isolated forms occur of verbs ל"ו.

שָׁלָה *to be at rest* may be recognized as originally ל"י, in the forms in which *b* the *Wāw* appears as a strong consonant, comp. 1st *sing. perfect* *Qal* שָׁלַחְתִּי Job 3, 26, the *participle* שָׁלוּ and the derivative שָׁלוּהָ *rest*; on the other hand the *imperfect* is יִשְׁלִי (with *Yōdh*). In עָנָה (Arab. عني) *to answer*, and עָנָה (Arab. عانو)¹ *to be afflicted, oppressed*, are to be seen two verbs originally distinct,

¹ On the Mēša' stone, line 5, ויענו *and he oppressed* occurs as 3rd *sing. imperfect* *Pi'el*, and in line 6, אענו *I will oppress* as 1st *sing.*

which have been assimilated in Hebrew (see the *Lexicon*, s. v. עָנָה).—In Aramaic, the confusion of these forms is carried still farther, verbs א״ל also coinciding with verbs ה״ל, i. e. with verbs י״ל and ו״ל of the Arabic.

Of quite a different class are those verbs of which the third radical is a *consonantal* ה (distinguished by *Mappéq*). These are inflected throughout like verbs *tertiæ gutturalis*. Comp. § 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 have to stand at the end of the word, it is dropped (comp. § 24. *g*) and ה takes its place as an orthographic indication of the preceding long vowel. Such an indication would have been indispensable, even 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 \bar{a} in הַטְּלֵה, &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, הָלָה, הִנְיָלָה, הִנְיָלָה, &c.

ה־ in all imperfects and participles, הִנְיָלָה, הִנְיָלָה, &c.

ה־ in all imperatives, הִנְיָלָה, הִנְיָלָה, &c.

ה־ in the infinitive absolute (הִנְיָלָה, &c.), except *Hiph'il*, *Hoph'al*, and generally also *Pi'el*, see letters *aa* and *ff*.

The *participle passive Qal* alone forms an exception, the original י reappearing at the end, הִנְיָלָי; and so also some derived nouns (§ 84*a*, letter *c*, ϵ , and elsewhere).

The *infinitive construct* always has the ending הִי (with ה *feminine*); *Qal* הִנְיָלוּת, *Pi'el* הִנְיָלוּת, &c., except הִרְיָאוּהָ Jud. 13, 21. 1 Sam. 3, 21.

d These forms may be explained as follows:—in the *perfect Qal* הִנְיָלָה stands, according to the above, for (י)הִנְיָלָה, and, similarly, in *Niph'al*, *Pu'al* and *Hoph'al*. The *Pi'el* and *Hithpa'el* may be based on the forms הִנְיָלָה, הִנְיָלָה (§ 52. *l*; and § 54. *k*), and *Hiph'il* on the form הִנְיָלָה, on the analogy of the \bar{a} in the second syllable of the Arabic 'áqtālā (§ 53. \bar{a}). Perhaps, however, the final \bar{a} of these conjugations simply follows the analogy of the other conjugations.

e The explanation of the final tone-bearing ה־ of the *imperfect* is a matter of dispute. The least probable is the view that it is a contraction of the original *Yôdh* (resolved into *i*) with a preceding \bar{a} ; for the language elsewhere always has \bar{e} as the contraction of the diphthong *ai*, which can only be weakened to *i* (see letter *f*). According to Rödiger the \bar{e} (ה־) represents the more precise

characteristic vowels of the corresponding strong formations, which have been retained in Arabic and Ethiopic with greater purity in these verbs. Thus יִגְלֶה corresponds to the Arab. *yaġlū* (vulgar *yaġlī*), Eth. *yēglū*; יִבְכֶה Arab. *yabkī*, Eth. *yēbki*; יִחַיֶה Arab. *yahyā*, Eth. *yēhyaw*; יִרְעֶה Arab. *yar'ā*, Eth. *yēr'ay*. So also in *Pi'el* יִנְקֶה Arab. *yusallī*; *Hiph'il* יִרְאֶה Arab. *jur'ī*, &c. Just as, according to these examples, the characteristic vowel has been retained throughout in Arabic and Ethiopic, so also in Hebrew it might be inferred that in the imperfects of the several conjugations of ל'ה verbs, various vowels were originally used, which only later, in an endeavour after a complete analogy, uniformly became *S^eghōl*. In favour of this explanation is the uniformity of inflexion in the *perfect*, *imperfect*, and *participle*. It may, however, be questioned, whether it is further necessary to assume an *ā* as the original vowel of the final syllable throughout the *imperfects*, and, hence, to regard the tone-bearing *S^eghōl* in all the forms, as a modification and partial lengthening of the *ā* (as in יִמְלֶךְ for *malk*) instead of the full lengthening to *ā*. According to Barth, *Nominalbildung*, i. p. xxx sqq., with § 136, Rem., and *ZDMG*. xlv. p. 695 sq. (against Philippi's objections in the *Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie und Sprachwissenschaft*, 1890, p. 356 sq.), the termination הַ in the *imperfect* and *participle* of the active conjugations arose from an original *iy*, and in the passives from original *ay*, as יִגְלֶה from *yiglīy*, יִגְלֶה from *yiggallīy*, יִנְקֶה from *yūgnallīy*, &c.¹, but יִנְקֶה from *y^ogullay*, יִנְקֶה from *yūgnlay*. This theory has the advantage of tracing the active participles of *Qal* not to forms with *ā*, but, as would be expected, to forms with *i* in the second syllable. It still remains unexplained, however, why final *iy* should have become הַ in these forms, and not יַ as in other cases. Nor does this view supply any satisfactory explanation of the הַ in the *construct state sing.* of the active participles.

2. When the original *Yōdh* stands at the end of the syllable before *f* an affirmative beginning with a consonant (ת, נ) there arises (*a*) in the *perfects*, primarily the diphthong *ay* (יַ). In the middle of the word this ought always to be contracted to *ē* (יֶ), but this *ē* is only found consistently in the passive conjugations, whilst regularly in *Qal*, and frequently in the other active and reflexive conjugations (especially in *Pi'el*), it is weakened to *ī* (comp. letters *x, z, ee*, and § 27. *n*).—(*b*) In the *imperfects* and *imperatives*, יַ with the tone always appears before the affirmative הַ. Here again the question recurs (see above) whether this יַ is to be regarded as an equivalent for יֶ (i.e. *ē* contracted from *ay*), or whether after the rejection of the *Yōdh* (as in the 3rd *sing.*) *ā* has been modified to *S^eghōl*. In the latter case the *Yōdh*, which is almost always written after

¹ So also M. Lambert, *Journal Asiatique*, 1893, i. p. 285, but with the further modification that *ay* was always substituted for the original *iy* (with *Yōdh* radical).

S^eghôl, must be regarded simply as an orthographic survival of the original form.

g **Summary.** Accordingly before affirmatives beginning with a consonant the principal vowel is—

In the perfect *Qal* *i*, e. g. גָּלִיתָ;

In the perfects of the other active and reflexive conjugations, sometimes *é*, sometimes *i*, גָּלִיתָ and גָּלִיתָ; גָּלִיתָ and גָּלִיתָ;

In the perfect passive always *é*, e. g. גָּלִיתָ;

In the imperfects and imperatives always *y*, e. g. גָּלִינָה, תִּגְלִינָה.

The diphthongal forms have been throughout 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, also has in *Qal* 2nd *pers. sing. g^elait* (but 1st *pers. sing. גָּלִיתָ*), and so too the Western Aramaic גָּלִיתָ, but also גָּלִיתָ.

h **3.** Before the vocalic affirmatives (וְ, יְ, הַ) the *Yôdh* is usually dropped altogether, e. g. גָּלָה (ground-form *gälâyû*), תִּגְלִי, *participle fem. גָּלָה*, *plur. masc. גָּלִים*; yet the old full forms also not infrequently occur, especially in *pause*, see letter *u*. The elision of the *Yôdh* takes place regularly before *suffixes*, e. g. גָּלָה (letter *ll*).

i **4.** In the 3rd *sing. fem. perfect*, the feminine ending ׀— is appended to the stem; hence, after elision of the *Yôdh*, arose properly forms like גָּלָה, with *ā* in the final syllable with the tone. This form, however, has been but rarely preserved (see below, letter *m*). The analogy of the other forms has had so much influence, that the common ending ׀— was added pleonastically to the ending ׀—. Before the ׀— the vowel of the ending ׀—, which thus loses the tone, becomes *š^ewā*, and thus there arise such forms as גָּלָה, נִגְלָה, &c. (but in *pause* גָּלָה, &c.).

For similar cases see § 70. *d*; § 91. *m*.

k **5.** Finally, a strongly-marked peculiarity of verbs ה'ל is the rejection of the ending ׀— 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 Rems. 3, 8, 11, 16). Similarly, in some conjugations a *shortened imperative* (comp. § 48. *k*) is formed by *apocope* of the final ׀— (see Rems. 12, 16).

l **6.** The ordinary form of the *imperfect* with the ending ׀— serves in verbs ה'ל to express the cohortative also (§ 48. *c*); comp. Gen. 1, 26.

2, 18, &c. With a final ה־ there occur only: in *Qal*, אֲשַׁעָה Ps. 119, 117, אֲהַמְיָה (with the י retained, see below, letter *u*) Ps. 77, 4; and in *Hithpa'el*, וְנִשְׁחַעָה Is. 41, 23 (with *Tiphha*, therefore in lesser pause).

REMARKS.

I. On *Qal*.

1. The older form of the *fem.* of the 3rd *sing. perf.* בָּלַת, mentioned above, ¹¹¹ letter *i* (cf. § 74. *g*), also occurs in עָשַׁת (before א) Lev. 25, 21 (comp. 2 Ki. 9, 37 *Kethibh*)¹; likewise in *Hiph'el* הִרְצַח (before א) Lev. 26, 34; הִלָּאֵת Ezek. 24, 12; and in *Hoph'al* הִנְלַח (before י) Jer. 13, 19.—The 2nd *sing. fem.* is also written יָת־; thus in the *Textus receptus* וְהִיִּיתָ 2 Sam. 14, 2, and always in Baer's editions (since 1872), as in most other verbs; הָיִיתָ and בָּלִיתָ Is. 57, 8; עָשִׂיתָ Jer. 2, 23. Ezek. 16, 48, &c. (so וְהוֹצֵאתָ 1 Ki. 17, 13 from הִצָּא). In the 3rd *pers. plur.* the tone, instead of keeping its usual place (בָּלַת, &c.), is retracted in Ps. 37, 20, בָּלַי, both on account of the *pause* and also in rhythmical antithesis to the preceding בָּלַי; also in Is. 16, 8 הָעֵנִי (according to Delitzsch for the sake of the assonance with נִנְעָעֵנִי); and in Job 24, 1 הָוִי.—On the tone of the *perfect consecutive* see § 49. *k*.

2. The *infim. absol.* frequently has ה (probably a survival of the older ortho- ¹¹²graphy) for ה־, e. g. הִיו Gen. 18, 18; עָשׂוּ Jer. 4, 18, &c. Ezek. 31, 11; קָנוּ 2 Sam. 24, 24; רָאוּ Gen. 26, 28. Is. 6, 9 (comp. 1 Sam. 6, 12), &c., beside רָאָה. The form שָׁתוּת Is. 22, 13 (beside שָׁתוּ in the same verse) appears to have been chosen on account of its similarity in sound to נִשְׁחַת; so in Is. 42, 20 *Q^{er}el* and Hos. 10, 4, אָלוּת (unless it is a substantive, *oaths*) and בָּרוּת; cf. also עָרוּת Hab. 3, 13.—Conversely, instead of the *infinitive construct* בָּלוּת such forms are occasionally found as בָּלוּ or בָּלוּה, comp. רָאָה Gen. 48, 11; קָנָה Prov. 16, 16; עָשָׂה Gen. 50, 20. Ps. 101, 3, also עָשׂוּ Gen. 31, 28 (comp. Prov. 31, 4), and even with the *suffix* הוּ the very remarkable form עָשְׂהוּ Ex. 18, 18².—The feminine form רָאוּה (for רָאוּת) Ezek. 28, 17, analogous to nouns like נָאִוָּה (comp. § 45. *d*), is strange, but הִיָּה as *infim.* Ezek. 21, 15 is quite inexplicable.—The forms הָנוּ and הָרוּ Is. 59, 13 are to be regarded with Barth, *Nominalbildung*, § 51. *a*, as *infinitives absolute* of the *passive* of *Qal* (see above, § 53. *u*), not of *Pō'el*.—The 2nd *sing. masc. imperative* וְחִיָּה occurs in the principal pause in Prov. 4, 4 and 7, 2; but 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 *ê* for *ē*, and conversely *ē* for *ê*; comp. the analogous examples in § 52. *n*, and especially § 75. *hh*, also Kautzsch, *Grammatik des Bibl. Aram.* § 17. 2, Rem. 1.—On the reading וְרָאִינָה Cant. 3, 11 (for וְרָאִינָה, on the analogy of the reading מִצְאָנָה, &c., § 74. *h*), see Baer's note on the passage.

¹ In the Siloam inscription also (see above, § 2. *d*), line 3, הִית may be read הִית quite as well as [ה]יִת.

² All these infinitives construct in *ê*, in the Pentateuch, belong to what is called document E; comp. § 69. *m*, second note.

o 3. The *shortening* of the *imperfect* (see above, letter *k* and the note on letter *hh*) occasions in *Qal* the following changes :

(a) As a rule the first radical receives a helping *S^eghôl*, or, if the second radical is a guttural, a helping *Pathah* (according to § 28. e). Thus יָנַל for יָנַל; וַיָּבֹּ and he despised, Gen. 25, 34; וַיִּבְנוּ and he built; יֵשֶׁע he looks; וַיִּמָּח and he destroyed, Gen. 7, 23.

p (b) The *ř* of the preformative under these circumstances is sometimes lengthened to *ē*, e.g. רָאָה he sees. This, however, mostly happens only after the preformative *h*, whilst after *ʾ* the homogeneous *ř* remains, e.g. וַיִּתְבַּל (but וַיִּבַל); וַיִּתְפַּן (but וַיִּפַּן); with middle guttural וַיִּתְעַב, וַיִּתְבַּח, Job 17, 7 (from וַיִּתְעַב). The unusual position of the tone in וַיִּתְרָא (Baer and Ginsburg וַיִּתְרָא) Zech. 9, 5, וַיִּתְרָא (Baer and Ginsburg וַיִּתְרָא) Mic. 7, 10, and וַיִּרָא (with *ē*) Gen. 41, 33, can only partially be explained on rhythmical, or orthophonic grounds. Comp. below, letter *hh*.

q (c) The helping vowel is elsewhere not used under the circumstances mentioned in § 28. d; וַיִּשָּׂב Num. 21, 1. Jer. 41, 10, comp. וַיִּפְתָּ Job 31, 27; on the other hand, with *ř* lengthened into *ē* (see letter *p*) וַיִּשְׂתָּ, וַיִּבְרַךְ, וַיִּגְרַךְ, וַיִּשְׂמַט. The form וַיִּרָא he sees, occurs parallel with וַיִּרָא and he saw (but 3rd fem. always וַיִּרְא), the latter with the original *Pathah* on account of the following *ř*, and identical with the 3rd sing. masc. of the *imperfect consecutive* Hiph'îl, 2 Ki. 11, 4.

r (d) Examples of verbs *primae gutturalis* (§ 63), and at the same time *ל'ה*, are וַיַּעַשׂ, in pause וַיַּעַשׂ and he made, from עָשָׂה; וַיַּעַן and he answered, from עָנָה, the shortened imperfect in such verbs being always identical with the corresponding forms in *Hiph'îl*. On some similar forms of פ'א see § 76. d.—In the following cases the initial (hard) guttural does not affect the form: וַיִּחַר and he was wroth, וַיִּחַן and he encamped (3rd plur. וַיִּחַנּוּ), וַיִּחַר (with *Dages lene* and *S^ewâ*) let it rejoice, Job 3, 6; cf. Ex. 18, 9.—On וַיִּזַּח, וַיִּזַּח, וַיִּזַּח as well as וַיִּזַּח, &c., see § 76. b, c, f.

s (e) The verbs הָיָה to be, and חָיָה to live, of which the shortened imperfects ought to be *yihy* and *yihy*, change these forms to יָהִי and יָהִי, the second *Yôth* being resolved into *l* at the end of the word; but in pause (§ 29. n) יָהִי, יָהִי, with the original *ä* modified to *S^eghôl* with the tone, (comp. also nouns like בָּכִי for *bakhy*, in pause בָּכִי; עָנִי for 'ony, &c., § 84 a, letter c, and § 93. x). For הָשִׂי, however, in Deut. 32, 18, since no verb שָׂה exists, we must read either הָשִׂה, or better הָשִׂה (Samaritan תָּשָׂה) as *imperfect Qal* of נָשָׂה to forget.—Analogous to יָהִי from הָיָה, there occurs once, from הָוָה to be, the form יָהוּה for יָהִי he will be, Eccles. 11, 3 (on the ה see § 23. i).

t Moreover, the full forms (without apocope of the ה, comp. § 49. c) frequently occur after *wāw consecutive*, especially in the 1st pers. and in the later Books, e.g. וַיִּרְאָה and I saw, twenty times, and Jos. 7, 21 in *K^ethhbh*, but never in the Pentateuch (וַיִּרְאָה fifteen times, of which three are in the Pent.); וַיַּעַשׂ and he made, four times (but וַיַּעַשׂ over 200 times); comp. also 1 Ki. 10, 29 (וַיַּעֲלֶה); Deut. 1, 16 (וַיַּצְוֶה), and Gen. 24, 48. So also frequently for the *jussive*, comp.

Gen. 1, 9, 6, 14, 41, 34. Jer. 28, 6.—For the well attested, but meaningless תִּירָאוּ Job 6, 21 (doubtless caused by the following וּתִירָאוּ) read תִּירָאוּ *ye see*.

4. The original י sometimes appears before the affirmatives beginning with a vowel (comp. above, letters *h* and *l*), especially in and before the *pause*, and before the full plural ending וְנִ—, or where for any reason an emphasis rests on the word. *Perfect* חָסִיָּה Ps. 57, 2, חָסִיָּי Deut. 32, 37, comp. Ps. 73, 2 *Q^lre*; *imperative* בְּעֵי Is. 21, 12. *Imperfect* יֵאָתִי Job 16, 22, 30, 14 (without the *pause*, Ps. 68, 32); יִשְׁלִיָּי Ps. 122, 6. Job 12, 6, comp. Ps. 77, 4; יִרְבִּיָּן Deut. 18, 13; Ps. 36, 9: more frequently like יִשְׁתַּיָּי Ps. 78, 44; Is. 17, 12, 21, 12, 26, 11, 31, 3, 33, 7, 41, 5. Ps. 36, 8, 39, 7, 83, 3; before a suffix, Job 3, 25. Also in Prov. 26, 7 דְּלִיָּי, as *perf. Qal* from דָּלָה, was perhaps originally intended, but hardly דְּלִיָּי, since these full forms, though they may stand out of *pause*, do not begin sentences; דְּלִיָּי probably points to דְּלִי from דָּלַל as the right reading, since the sense requires an intransitive verb. Cf. further, letters *v*, *x*, *dd*, *gg*.

5. The *participle active*, besides forms like עֹלָה Jud. 20, 31, &c., רָאָה Prov. 20, 12, *v* has also a *feminine* which retains the 3rd radical י, viz. בּוֹכֶיָּה (= בָּכָה) *weeping*, Lam. 1, 16; הוֹמֶיָּה *tumultuous*, Is. 22, 2 (*plur.* Prov. 1, 21); צוֹפֶיָּה *spying*, Prov. 31, 27, פְּרִיָּה *fruitful*, Ps. 128, 3, *plur.* אֲחִיּוֹת *the things that are to come*, Is. 41, 23. With the ordinary strong inflexion י appears in עֹטְמָה Cant. 1, 7, but perhaps there also עֹטְמָה was intended. For רָאֵנִי Is. 47, 10, רָאֵנִי is to be read.—In the *participle passive* the 3rd radical still sometimes appears as י (§ 24. *b*), comp. עָשׂוּ *made*, Job 41, 25, צָפּוּ Job 15, 22, contracted from עָשׂוּוּ, עָשׂוּוּ; and before a formative ending, it even has its consonantal sound, העֲשׂוּם (read הַעֲשׂוּם) 2 Ki. 23, 4; עֲשׂוּת (read *a'sūwōth*) 1 Sam. 25, 18 *K^ethibh*, נִטּוּת (read *n'ētūwōth*) Is. 3, 16 *K^ethibh*. The shortening of the *ā* in רָאִיוֹת Est. 2, 9 is irregular.

6. The defective writing is rare in such forms as וְהִיָּתָּ 2 Sam. 15, 33 (comp. *w* § 49. *l*); בְּנִיָּי 1 Ki. 8, 44, comp. 1 Ki. 9, 3; וְהִרְלֵנָּה Ex. 2, 16 (comp. Jer. 18, 21, 48, 6. 1 Chron. 7, 15. Job 17, 5 and elsewhere), and the pronunciation תִּרְאֵינָה Mic. 7, 10, comp. תִּעֲנַנְתָּ Jud. 5, 29 (according to others *sing.* with *suff.* of the 3rd *sing. fem.*). Both cases must probably be explained according to § 20. *i*.

II. On Niph'al.

7. Here the forms with י in the 1st and 2nd *pers. sing.* of the *perfect* are those commonly in use (with י only in נִפְיָתָּ Gen. 24, 8); on the other hand in the 1st *plur.* always י, as נִגְלֵנוּ 1 Sam. 14, 8. No examples of the 2nd *plur.* occur.—With י retained in *pause* נִפְיָו Num. 24, 6; once with an initial guttural נִחְרוּ Cant. 1, 6 for נִחְרוּ, probably arising from the ordinary strong form *nihru*, but the harshness of ח immediately followed by ר is avoided by pronouncing the ח with *Haṭeph-Pathah*.—In the 3rd *sing. fem.* נִשְׁתַּחֲוּהוּ Prov. 27, 15 (in *pause* for נִשְׁתַּחֲוּהוּ) ו and ה may be transposed for euphonic reasons; but probably we should simply read נִשְׁתַּחֲוּהוּ.

8. The *apocope* of the *imperfect* causes no further changes beyond the rejection of the ה, e. g. יִפֵּל from יִפְלָה; in one verb *middle guttural*, however, a form *y*

occurs with the *Qames* shortened to *Pathah*, viz. יָפַח (for יִפַּח) Ps. 109, 13, as in verbs עָע; but in *pause* הִפַּח in the same Psalm, verse 14. Comp. letter *bb*.—The *infinitive absolute* נָגְלוֹת emphasizing an *infinitive construct*, 2 Sam. 6, 20. is very extraordinary; probably it is a subsequent correction of an erroneous repetition of הגְלוֹת.—On the *infinitive Niph'al* with syncope of the ה see § 51. *l*.—The irregular הִעָלִי Ezek. 36, 3 has probably arisen from a combination of the readings הִעָלִי (*Qal*) and הִעָלִי (*Niph'al*). Similarly the solecism נִמְבָּהוּ 1 Sam. 15, 9 might be due to a combination of the *participle fem. Niph'al* (נִבְּוָה) with the *Hoph'al* (מִבְּוָה); but it is more correct, with Wellhausen, to explain the מ from a confusion with נָמַס and to read, in fact, נִבְּוָה וְנִמְבָּאָסֶת.

III. On *Pi'el*, *Pδ'el*, *Pu'al*, and *Hithpa'el*.

z 9. In the 1st and 2nd persons of the *perfect Pi'el* the diphthong *ai* in the second syllable is in most of the instances weakened to *i*, as קָוִיתִי, דִּפְיִיתִי; always so in the first *plur.*, and before *suffixes*, e. g. דִּפְיִיתָנוּ Gen. 37, 26, דִּפְיִיתָנוּ Ps. 44, 20. The form with *ai* is found only in the 1st *sing.* (e. g. Joel 4, 21; Is. 8, 17 along with the form with *i*).—*Hithpa'el* has (besides *ai* Jer. 17, 16) as a rule *i* (Prov. 24, 10. 1 Ki. 2, 26. Jer. 50, 24). On the other hand, *Pu'al* always has *ai*, e. g. עֲשִׂיתִי Ps. 139, 15.—A 1st *sing. perfect Pδ'el* שִׁוִּיתִי (= שִׁוִּיטִי) occurs in Is. 10, 13.

aa 10. The *infinitive absolute Pi'el* takes the form קָנָה, פִּלְהָה (like קָטַל, the more frequent form even in the strong verb, see § 52. *o*); with *δ* only in Ps. 40, 2 קָוָה; with *δth*, Hab. 3, 13 עָרוֹת (comp. above, letter *n*). On הוּרָה and הוּרָה, *infinitives absolute* of the passive of *Qal*, not of *Pδ'el*, see above, letter *n*.—As *infinitive construct* חָבִי occurs in *Pi'el*, Hos. 6, 9 (only orthographically different from חָבָה, if the text is correct); in *Pu'al* עָנֹת Ps. 132, 1.

bb 11. The apocopated *imperfect* must (according to § 20. *l*) lose the *Dageš forte* of the second radical, hence וַיִּצַּו and he commanded, הִעָרָה (for הִעָרָה = *i'arrè*) Ps. 141, 8; comp. Gen. 24, 20; *Hithpa'el* וַיִּתְגַּל and he uncovered himself, Gen. 9, 21; הִתְרַע Prov. 22, 24; comp. Ps. 37, 1. 7. 8. With the lengthening of *Pathah* to *Qames*, וַיַּתֵּן and he made marks, occurs in 1 Sam. 21, 14 (read, however, with Thenius וַיַּתֵּן, and instead of the meaningless וַיִּשְׁנֶן in the same verse, וַיִּשְׁנֶן). In *Hithpa'el* אֶל-הִתְגַּר, in close connexion, Deut. 2, 9. 19; הִתְשַׁתַּע Is. 41, 10; according to Qimḥi also יִתְאָוּ, יִתְאָוּ Ps. 45, 12. Prov. 23. 3. 6. 24, 1. 1 Chron. 11, 17, whilst Baer and Ginsburg read with the best authorities יִתְאָוּ, הִתְאָוּ (comp., however, König, *Lehrgebäude*, i. p. 597)¹.—On אֶחָדָה Job 15, 17 (for אֶחָדָה) comp. § 20. *m*; on אֶבְלָה Ex. 33, 3, see § 27. *q*; on יָרָה Jud. 5, 13, see § 69. *g*. Finally, on רָלִי, which is referred to *Pi'el* by some, as a supposed *imperative*, see above, letter *u*.

cc 12. Examples of apocopated *imperatives* in *Pi'el* and *Hithpa'el* are: צַו, also צִוָּה command thou, פָּל open thou, Ps. 119, 18. 22; מִן prepare thou, Ps. 61, 8;

¹ In Num. 34, 7 sq., according to verse 10, הִתְאָוּ (= הִתְאָוּ) is intended to be read for הִתְאָוּ (*imperfect Pi'el* from הִתְאָה).

נָס for נִפָּה *prove thou*, Dan. 1, 12; הִתְחַל *feign thyself sick*, 2 Sam. 13, 5; comp. Deut. 2, 24.—On רָבָה Jud. 9, 28, comp. § 48. l.—In Ps. 137, 7 עָרַו *raise it*, is found twice instead of עָרוּ (for עָרוּ) for rhythmical reasons (comp., however, וַיֵּעָרוּ in the *imperfect*, 2 Chron. 24, 11).

13. Examples of forms in which the *Ydth* is retained are the *imperfects* הִרְפִּיּוּן *dd* Is. 40, 18, comp. verse 25 and 46, 5; *participle Pu'al* יִכְסִימוּ *they cover them*, Ex. 15, 5; *participle Pu'al* מְמַחִים Is. 25, 6; for אֲרִיָּה Is. 16, 9 (from רָוָה) read with Stade, &c., אֲרִיָּה.

IV. On *Hiph'il* and *Hoph'al*.

14. In the *perfect Hiph'il* 3rd *sing.* *S^gghôl* is found in the first syllable *ee* as well as *î* (§ 53. p), especially in הִנְלָה (but *perfect consecutive* וְהִנְלָה 2 Ki. 24, 14), הִרְאָה, הִלְאָה; also with *suffixes*, e. g. הִנְלָם 1 Chron. 8, 7, הִלְאָנִי Job 16, 7, וְהִפְדָּה Ex. 21, 8. The *S^gghôl* also occurs in the 1st *sing.*, e. g. הִלְאֵתִי Mic. 6, 3. On וְהִרְאֵתִי Nah. 3, 5, cf. § 53. p. The forms with *ê* in the second syllable (also written defectively, as וְהִפְתָּי Jer. 21, 6) are found throughout in the 1st *sing.* (except Prov. 5, 13), rarely in the 2nd *sing. masc.*, and never in the 1st *plur.* In the other persons they are about equally common with *î*. Before *suffixes* the forms with *î* (Gen. 18, 4, and elsewhere) predominate throughout as being somewhat shorter; comp., however, *ê* in Ex. 4, 12. Mic. 6, 3. Prov. 4, 11. In *Hoph'al* only *î* occurs.

15. In the *infinitive Hiph'il* of רָבָה *to be abundant*, besides the *infinitive ff* *construct* הִרְבּוֹת we find the *absolute* הִרְבָּה taking the place of the common form הִרְבָּה, which came to be used invariably (but König calls attention to its use as *infinitive construct* in Ezek. 21, 20) as an adverb. in the sense of *much*; in 2 Sam. 14, 11 the *Q^rê* requires הִרְבַּת for the *K^ethibh* הִרְבִּית, an evident scribal error for הִרְבּוֹת. Comp. Gen. 41, 49. 22, 17. Deut. 28, 63; the pointing הִרְבָּה Jer. 42, 2 perhaps arises from regarding this form as a noun.—On הַפְּרוֹת Job 17, 2 (with *Dageš f. dirimens*) see § 20. h.—In 2 Ki. 3, 24 הַפּוֹת (before א) is probably *infinitive absolute*, used in order to avoid the hiatus, comp. § 113. x, and on a similar case in *Qal*, see above, letter n.—On the *infinitive* with syncope of the ה, comp. § 53. q.

16. The *shortened imperfect Hiph'il* either takes no helping vowel, as יַפֶּה *gg* *let him enlarge*, Gen. 9, 27; יַרְדֵּי *he shall subdue*, Is. 41, 2; וַיִּשְׁקֵם *and he watered*, Gen. 29, 10, and elsewhere; וַיִּרְאֵם *and he showed*, 2 Ki. 11, 4 (see § 28. d): or else has a helping vowel, as וַיִּנְלֵם (for וַיִּנְלֵם, see § 27. r), e. g. וַיִּנְלֵם 2 Ki. 18, 11; וַיִּפְרֵם Ps. 105, 24; וַיִּתַּע 2 Chron. 33, 9; וַיִּאָרְבֵם i. e. probably וַיִּאָרְבֵם Jos. 24, 3 *K^ethibh* וַיִּאָרְבָּה *Q^rê*).—Examples of verbs *P^ê* guttural: וַיַּעַל Num. 23, 2, וַיַּעַל &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', e. g. הַט, הַף, § 76. c) has a helping vowel, *S^gghôl* or *Pathah*, e. g. הִרְבֵּה *increase thou* (for הִרְבָּה, הִרְבֵּה) Ps. 51, 4 *Q^rê*, also Jud. 20, 38, where, however, it cannot be explained with the context; הִרְרֵה *let alone* (for הִרְרָה, הִרְרֵה) Deut. 9, 14, and elsewhere; הִעֲלֵה (for הִעֲלֵה) Ex. 8, 1. 33, 12; but

for הִשָּׁע Ps. 39, 14, which could only be *imperative Hiph'il* of שָׁעַע (= smear over, as in Is. 6, 10), read with Baethgen שָׁעָה look away.—The *imperfect Hiph'il* with *Yôdh* retained occurs only in הִוְנִינִי Job 19, 2, from וָנָה . Comp. letter *u*.

V. In General.

hh 17. In Aramaic, where, as before remarked, verbs ל'ה and ל'א form one class, the *imperfect* and *participle* of all the conjugations terminate in א or ה . The Hebrew *infinitives*, *imperatives*, and *imperfects* in ה , less frequently א or י , may be due to imitation of the Aramaic form. On the *infinitive construct* פִּי'עַל פִּי'עַל , see above, letter *aa*; *imperative Qal* הוֹא Job 37, 6 (in the sense of fall); *imperfect* יִרָא let him look out, Gen. 41, 33 (see, however, above, letter *p*); *imperfect* יַעֲשֶׂה he will do, Is. 64, 3; אֶל-תְּהִיָּה Jer. 17, 17; אֶל-תִּבָּא consent thou not, Prov. 1, 10; אֶל-תַּעֲשֶׂה do thou not, 2 Sam. 13, 12 (the same form in Gen. 26, 29. Jos. 7, 9. Jer. 40, 16 *Qrd*); אֶהְיֶה (so Baer and Ginsburg, after cod. Hillel, &c.) I will be, Jer. 31, 1; וַיַּעֲשֶׂה Jos. 9, 24; תִּרְיָאָה Dan. 1, 13. Comp. also in *Niph'al* יִפְעֶה Lev. 5, 9; תִּבְנֶה (according to Qimhi) Num. 21, 17; in *Pi'el* תִּנְלָה Lev. 18, 7. 8. 12-17. 20, 19, in each case לֹא תִנְלָה , beside תִּנְלָה with a minor distinctive; יִנְקָה (Baer, however, יִנְקָה) Nah. 1, 3; אִנְרָה Ezek. 5, 12 (with *Zaqeph*; Baer אִנְרָה). 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, 9), suggests the view that the long vowel may be used in order 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*. Elsewhere (Gen. 26, 29. Lev. 5, 9. Jer. 40, 16. Dan. 1, 13; according to Baer also Mic. 7, 10. Zech. 9, 5) the pronunciation with *ê* is probably intended to soften the hiatus caused by a following א or ע ; comp. the analogous cases above, § 74. *l*.

ii The ending י appears to stand for ה in the *imperfect Qal* in $\text{וַתִּוְנִינִי-שָׁם}$ and there hath she played the harlot, Jer. 3, 6; perhaps, however, the 2nd *sing. fem.* is intended, or it may have been introduced into the text of Jeremiah from Ezek. 16, 15, &c. Still more strange is it in the *imperfect Hiph'il* אֶל-תִּמְהִי Jer. 18, 23; but the *Mil'el*-tone probably points to תִּמַּח as the correct reading (comp. Neh. 13, 14). The י stands for ה in the *perfect Hiph'il* הִחִי he

¹ Possibly these examples (like the cases of *S^{gh}ôl* in *pause*, letter *n*) represent the view of a particular Masoretic school, which was intended to be consistently carried out.—According to Praetorius (in *ZAW*. 1883, p. 25) traces of the (original) *jussive* of verbs ל'ה appear in the forms ending in ה , and were already rightly recognized as such by Ewald, while on the other hand the apocopated mood of verbs ל'ה is quite a late(?) phenomenon, and simply the final result of actual biliteral forms, such as יִנְלָה . According to this view, therefore, we cannot point to this mood in confirmation of the supposed tendency of the *jussive* to retract the tonic, since in its origin it is altogether different from the *jussive*, although the language uses it in the sense of the *jussive*, which was becoming obsolete. Cf. also § 48. *g*, note.

made sick, Is. 53, 10, which is probably for החליא from חלא, a secondary form of חלה; see letter *rr*. The plur. המסיו (המסיו) they made to melt, Jos. 14, 8, is a purely Aramaic form.

18. In three verbs the rare conjugation *Pa'lél* or its reflexive (§ 55. *d*) occurs: *kk* נאָה¹ (in Ps. 93, 5 the Masora requires נאָה), contracted to נאָה to be beautiful, from נאָה; מטָחוי Gen. 21, 16 archers (from טָחָה); but most frequently in שָׁחָה to bend, *Pa'lél* שָׁחָה not in use, whence reflexive הִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה to bow oneself, to prostrate oneself, 2nd pers. in יִתְּ and 1st pers. in יִתִּי, imperfect הִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה, consecutive 3rd sing. masc. וַיִּשְׁתַּחֲוֶה for wayyishṭahw (analogous to the noun-forms, like שָׁחָה for saḥw); 3rd plur. יִשְׁתַּחֲוּוּ. — Instead of the Aramaic infinitive with suffix בְּהִשְׁתַּחֲוִיתִי 2 Ki. 5, 18 read with König בְּהִשְׁתַּחֲוִיתִי; מִשְׁתַּחֲוִיתִים Ezek. 8, 16 is still more certainly a scribal error for מִשְׁתַּחֲוִיתִים.

19. Before suffixes in all forms ending in ה, a connecting vowel is employed *ll* instead of the ה and the vowel which precedes it (§ 58. *f*), e. g. נָחֵנִי Gen. 24, 27; in pause עָנְנִי 1 Ki. 2, 30, &c., even with lesser disjunctives, Ps. 118, 5. Prov. 8, 22; or with a conjunctive accent, 1 Sam. 28, 15 (but Baer עָנְנִי, Job 30, 19; comp. § 59. *h*; עָנְנָה, in pause עָנְנָה, Is. 30, 19 (and even when not in pause Jer. 23, 37) or like קָנְךָ Deut. 32, 6; וַיִּרְבֶּךָ Gen. 28, 3; comp. also עָנְהוּ, עָנָם, imperfect הִפְּחָה, הִפְּחֶךָ, הִפְּחִי, הִפְּחִי, *Hiph'íl* יִעֲנֶה, יִעֲנֶךָ, יִעֲנֶהוּ.

Only very seldom does י take the place of the final ה or ה, e. g. *mm* אֶפְיָהֶם Deut. 32, 26; יִכְפְּרִימוּ Ps. 140, 10 *Q^oré*; הִפְּיֵנִי smite me, 1 Ki. 20, 35. 37; comp. Hab. 3, 2. Is. 38. 16. In these examples, again, 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 letter *z*) is always used before a suffix, e. g. כָּלַתוּ (כָּלַתְהוּ) Zech. 5, 4; in pause עֲשָׂתִי Job 33, 4; רָאִיתִךָ 42, 5.

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

20. The close relation existing between verbs ל"א and ל"ה, which in Aramaic *nn* has resulted in a complete similarity, 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.

21. Thus there are forms of verbs ל"א—(*a*) which have adopted the vowels *oo* of verbs ל"ה, e. g. *perfect Qal* כָּלַתִּי I have refrained, Ps. 119, 101; *participle* חוֹטֵא (חָטָא) *sinning*, Eccles. 2, 26. 8, 12. 9, 2. 18; comp. Is. 65, 20; מוֹצֵא Eccles. 7, 26; נוֹשֵׂא *lending*, 1 Sam. 22, 2; *Pi'él perfect* מָלֵא he has filled, Jer. 51, 34; comp. 1 Ki. 9, 11. Amos 4, 2 (where, however, the *perfect Niph.* is perhaps intended), Ps. 89, 11. 143, 3; רָפֵאתִי I heal, 2 Ki. 2, 21; comp. Jer. 51, 9; *imperfect* יִנְמָא Job 39, 24; *Niph'al perfect* נִבְלַמְתָּה (like נִבְלַמְתָּה) it was wonderful, 2 Sam. 1, 26; *Hiph'íl perfect* הִפְּלֵאתָה Deut. 28, 59; הִתְּבַלְמְתָה (in the *Textus*

¹ According to Buxtorf and others (comp. Nöldeke, *ZDMG.* xxx. 185) נאָה is rather *Niph'al* from אָוה.

receptus incorrectly אָתָה —, comp. above, 2 Sam. 1, 26) *she hid*, Jos. 6, 17. On the other hand, forms like הִטָּאִים 1 Sam. 14, 33, קָרְאִים Ps. 99, 6, נִרְפְּאוּ Ezek. 47, 8, הִרְפֵּאוּנִי, according to the correct reading, Job 19, 2 (comp. Gen. 31, 39 אֶחְפְּנָה), and יִרְאוּ *imperative plur. masc.* from יָרָא, Jos. 24, 14. 1 Sam. 12, 24. Ps. 34, 10, are due to the syncope of the א, see § 74. *i*. On יִנְשׂוּא Jer. 10, 5 and נִשְׂוָא Ps. 139, 20, see § 23. *i*.

קפ (b) Forms in ה, but with ל"א pointing, e. g. *imperfect Qal* אֶרְפָּא Jer. 3, 22; *imperative* רַפֵּה *heal thou*, Ps. 60, 4; *Niph'al* נִחַפֶּה Jer. 49, 10 (which must evidently be a *perfect*; read with Ewald the *infinitive absolute* נִחַפֶּה as in verse 23), and הִחַפֶּה *to hide oneself*, 1 Ki. 22, 25, comp. Jer. 19, 11; *Pi'el* יִמְלֵא *imperfect* יִמְלֵא *he will fill*, Job 8, 21.

קק (c) Forms entirely of a ל"ה character, e. g. *perfect Qal* וְצִמָּתָה *and when thou art athirst*, Ruth 2, 9, comp. 2 Sam. 3, 8; בָּלוּ *they shut up*, 1 Sam. 6, 10; comp. 25, 33; מָלְאוּ *they are full*, Ezek. 28, 16, comp. 39, 26; *infinitive* חָטָו (see above, letter *n*) *to sin*, Gen. 20, 6 (on מִלֵּאת see above, § 74, letter *h*); *imperative sing. fem.* חֲבִי Is. 26, 20; *imperfect* יִכְלֵה (for יִכְלֵא) *he will keep back*, Gen. 23, 6; תִּרְפִּינָה *they heal*, Job 5, 18; *participle* בּוֹטָה Prov. 12, 18; *fem.* יִצָּא Eccles. 10, 5; *plur.* צָבִיחַ Is. 29, 7; *participle passive* נִשְׂוִי Ps. 32, 1; *Niph'al* נִרְפָּתָה Jer. 51, 9; נְבִייתָ *thou hast prophesied*, Jer. 26, 9 (comp. Ps. 139, 14. Job 18, 3); *imperfect* וַיִּרְפֹּב 2 Ki. 2, 22 (*infinitive* Jer. 19, 11); *Pi'el* וַיִּרְפֹּב Jer. 8, 11, comp. Gen. 31, 39; *Hiph'il* *participle* מִקְנֵה Ezek. 8, 3; *Hithpa'el* הִתְנַבֵּיתָ 1 Sam. 10, 6; *infinitive* הִתְנַבֵּוֹת 1 Sam. 10, 13. For the *Kethibh* לְהִשְׂוֹת 2 Ki. 10, 25, Jablonski and others require as *Qere* the form לְהִשְׂאוֹת (so Is. 37, 26); the *Kethibh* would have to be read לְהִשְׂוֹת, with syncope of the א and retraction of the vowel.

קק 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 אָתָא *he comes*, Is. 21, 12; בָּרָא 2 Sam. 12, 17 (*Textus receptus* בָּרָה) וְרִצְּאתִי Ezek. 43, 27; יִשְׂנָא Job 8, 11; יִשְׂנָא Lam. 4, 1; וַיִּחַלֵּא 2 Chron. 16, 12; תִּקְרָאָה Ex. 1, 10. Lev. 10, 19; תִּקְרָאִים Deut. 28, 66 (comp. Hos. 11, 7); נִקְרָא (*inf. absol. Niph'al* beside נִקְרִיתִי) 2 Sam. 1, 6; שְׂנָא 2 Ki. 25, 29; מִרְפָּא Jer. 38, 4; יִשְׂנָא Eccles. 8, 1; in their vowels, אָתָנָּו Jer. 3, 22; יִקְרָה Dan. 10, 14; תִּכְלֵה 1 Ki. 17, 14; in both, יִקְרָא Gen. 49, 1; comp. 42, 4. Is. 51, 19; תִּלְאֹם 2 Sam. 21, 12 *Qere*; לִירוּא 2 Chron. 26, 15 (comp. וִירָאוּ הַמּוֹרָאִים 2 Sam. 11, 24 *Kethibh*); מִרְפָּא (*participle fem. Qal*) Zeph. 3, 1; יִפְרִיא Hos. 13, 15; מִסְלָאִים Lam. 4, 2.— For פִּרְאוֹת (so Baer, Ezek. 17, 6, comp. 31, 8), which can only be intended for פִּרְאוֹת as *participle fem. plur.* from פִּרְא = פָּרָה, read, according to Ezek. 31, 5, &c., פִּאֲרוֹת *branches*.

§ 76. Verbs Doubly Weak.

a 1. In a tolerably large number of verbs two radicals are weak 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 in the verb.

Thus e.g. from *נָדַד* to flee, the *imperfect* is *יָדוּד* in Nah. 3, 7 and *יָדַד* in Gen. 31, 40 (on the analogy of verbs פ'פ); *Hiph'il* *הִדָּד* (like a verb ע'ע), but the *imperfect Hoph'al* again *יָדַד* (as פ'פ).

2. The following are examples of difficult forms, which are derived from doubly weak verbs:

(a) Verbs פ'פ and ל'ל (comp. § 66 and § 74), e.g. *נָשָׂא* to bear, imperative *נִשֵּׂא* (Ps. 10, 12 *נִשֵּׂא*, of which *נָסָה* Ps. 4, 7 is probably only an orthographic variation); *infinitive construct* *שָׂאתָ* (for *שָׂאתָ*; see the analogous noun-formations in § 93. *t*), also *נִשָּׂא* Is. 1, 14. 18, 3; Gen. 4, 13 *נִשְׂאוּ*; Ps. 89, 10 *שׂוּא* (perhaps only a scribal error); after the *prefix* ל always *לְשָׂאתָ* (the contracted form only occurs in *מִשְׂתוּ* Job 41, 17, with rejection of the ל); *imperfect* *תִּשְׂנֶה* for *תִּשְׂנֶה* Ruth 1, 14; wholly irregular are *תִּשְׂנֶה* Ezek. 23, 49 (so Baer after Qimhi; *Textus receptus*, and also the Mantua ed., and Ginsburg, *תִּשְׂנֶה*) and *נִשְׂאתָ* 2 Sam. 19, 43 as *infinitive absolute Niph'al* (on the analogy of the *infinitive construct Qal?*); most probably *נִשָּׂא* is to be read, with Driver.

(b) Verbs פ'פ and ל'ל (comp. § 66 and § 75), as *נָטָה* to bow, to incline, *נָכָה* to smite. Hence *imperfect Qal* *יָטָה*, *apocopated* *וַיִּט* (Gen. 26, 25 *וַיִּט*) and *he bowed*; *וַיִּז* (so, probably, also Is. 63, 3 for *וַיִּז*) 2 Ki. 9, 33 and *there was sprinkled* (from *נָזָה*); *perfect Hiph'il* *הִכָּה* he smote, *imperfect* *יָכָה*, *apocopated* *יָךְ*, *וַיָּךְ* (even with *Athnah* 2 Ki. 15, 16; but also ten times *וַיָּכָה*, *וַיָּךְ* Deut. 2, 33; so also *וַיִּז* Lev. 8, 11. 30; *אֶל־תָּט* Ps. 141, 4 (comp. Job 23, 11); *imperative* *הִכֵּה*, *apocopated* *יָךְ* smite thou (like *הִט* incline, with *הִטָּה*), *infinitive* *הִכּוֹת*, *participle* *מִכָּה*; *Hoph'al* *הִכָּה*, *participle* *מִכָּה*.

(c) Verbs פ'פ and ל'ל (comp. § 68 and § 75), as *אָפָה* to be willing, *אָפָה* to bake, *אָתָה* to come. E.g. *imperfect Qal* *יָאָפָה*, *יָאָפָה*, plur. *יָאָפוּ*; (comp. § 68. *h*) Deut. 33, 21 for *וַיָּאָתָה* (= *וַיָּאָתָה*); *imperfect apocopated* *וַיָּאָתָה* Is. 41, 25 for *וַיָּאָתָה*; *imperative* *אָתִי* Is. 21, 12. 56, 9. 12 (comp. *אָפוּ* bake ye, Ex. 16, 23) for *אָתִי* (§ 23. *h*; § 75. *u*); *Hiph'il perfect* *הִתִּי* for *הִתִּי* (הִתִּי) Is. 21, 14; *imperfect apocopated* *וַיָּאָל* and *he adjured*, 1 Sam. 14, 24, properly *וַיָּאָל* (בְּאָלָה) from *אָלָה*, whence *וַיָּאָל*, and, with the obscuring to *θ*, *וַיָּאָל*; instead of the simple *apocope* (וַיָּאָל) the ל which had already become quiescent, is made audible again by the helping *S^eghōl* (unless perhaps there is a confusion with the *imperfect consecutive Hiph'il* of *וַיָּאָל*).

(d) Verbs פ'פ and ל'ל (comp. § 69, § 70, and § 74), as *יָצָא* to go forth, *יָצָא* imperative *יָצֵא* go forth, with *הַ* *paragogic* *יָצָאָה* Jud. 9, 29 in principal pause for *יָצָאָה*; 2nd fem. plur. *יָצָאָנָה* Cant. 3, 11; *infinitive* *יָצֵאתָ*; *Hiph'il* *הוֹצִיא* to bring forth.—*יָרָא* to fear, *imperfect* *יָרָא* and *וַיָּרָא* (or *וַיָּרָא*), *imperative* *יָרָא*; *imperfect Niph'al* *יָרָא* Ps. 130, 4, *participle* *נוֹרָא*.

(e) Verbs פ'פ and ל'ל (comp. § 69, § 70, and § 75), e.g. *יָדָה* to throw, *יָדָה*

Hiph'il to confess, to praise, and יָרָה to throw (both properly verbs פ'ו), and יָפָה to be beautiful. Infinitive יָרָה, יָרוּת; imperative יָרֵה; imperfect consecutive יִיָּרֶה Ezek. 31, 7 (comp. also וְיָיִפּוּ 16, 13); with suffixes וַיִּיָּרֶם we have shot at them (from יָרָה) Num. 21, 30; perhaps, however, it should be read with the LXX וַיִּיָּנֶם and their race (also in Ps. 74, 8 וַיִּיָּנֶם is probably a substantive, and not the imperfect Qal with suffix from יָנַה); Pi'el וַיִּיָּדוּ for וַיִּיָּדוּ (§ 69. u). Hiph'il הוֹרָה, הוֹרָה; infinitive הוֹרֵת (as infinitive absolute 2 Chron. 7, 3), הוֹרֵת, imperfect יוֹרָה, comp. אֶל-הַנִּיּוֹן Jer. 22, 3; apocopated וַיִּוֹר 2 Ki. 13, 17.

g (f) Verbs פ'ע and פ'ל, particularly בוא to come. Perfect בָּאָה, בָּאָתָּה, בָּאָתָּה or בָּאתָ (Gen. 16, 8. 2 Sam. 14, 3. Mic. 4, 10; comp. § 75. m), once בָּאָנוּ for בָּאָנוּ 1 Sam. 25, 8; for בָּאוּ Jer. 27, 18, which is apparently the perfect, read יָבֵאוּ. In the imperfect Qal the separating vowel occurs (הַבָּאִינָה) instead of the more common הַבָּאָה, comp. also הַבָּאוּ Gen. 30, 38) only in Jer. 9, 16. Ps. 45, 16 and 1 Sam. 10, 7 *K^ethibh*.

h For וַתְּבֹאָה 1 Sam. 25, 34 *Q^re* (the *K^ethibh* וַתְּבֹאָה evidently combines the two readings וַתְּבֹאָה and וַתְּבֹאָה; cf. Nestle, *ZAW*. 14, p. 319), read וַתְּבֹאָה; on the impossible forms Deut. 33, 16 and Job 22, 21 comp. § 48. d. In the perfect Hiph'il הִבִּיאַה and (only before a suffix): הִבִּיאָתָּה; the latter form is also certainly intended in Num. 14, 31, where the Masora requires וַהֲבִיאָתָּה, comp. 2 Ki. 9, 2. 19, 25. Is. 43, 23. Jer. 25, 13. Cant. 3, 4. Before suffixes the *e* of the first syllable in the 3rd sing. always becomes *Hateph-S^ghöl*, e.g. הִבִּיאָנִי, הִבִּיאָךְ; elsewhere invariably *Hateph-Pathah*, e.g. הִבִּיאָנוּ or הִבִּיאָתָּה. On the other hand, *e* is retained in the secondary tone in the perfect consecutive when without suffixes, e.g. וַהֲבִיאָתָּה. Cf., moreover, וַהֲקִיאָתָּה in Opius and Hahn is altogether incorrect), Prov. 25, 16, from קִיא; but קִיא *spue ye*, Jer. 25, 27 (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, Lev. 18, 25, besides וַתְּקִיא (analogous to וַתְּקִיא).—On אָבִי (for אָבִי), see § 74. k.

i (g) The verb תִּי to live, in the perfect Qal, besides the ordinary development to תִּיָּה (fem. תִּיָּה), is also treated as a verb פ'ע, and then has the form תִּי in the 3rd pers. perfect, in pause תִּי, and with *wāw* consecutive וַתִּי Gen. 3, 22, and frequently. In Lev. 25, 36 even the contraction to תִּי occurs in the perfect consecutive. The form וַתִּיָּה stands in Ex. 1, 16 in pause for וַתִּיָּה (3rd fem.) with *Dages* omitted on account of the pausal lengthening of *ä* to *ā*.

§ 77. Relation of the Weak Verbs to one another.

a The close relation which exists between some classes of the weak verbs (e.g. between פ'פ and פ'ל and פ'ה and פ'ע and פ'ע and פ'ע) appears not only from 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 ךך there occur with the same meaning ךָכָה , ךָכָה , ךָכָה to strike, to crush; and from the root נר — נָרַד , נָרַד , נָרַד 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. מוֹךְ and מָכַךְ to become poor; מוֹשׁ and מָשַׁשׁ to feel; נוֹר and נָרַד to flee.

2. Verbs פ'פ and פ'פ ; e. g. יָצַב and נָצַב to place, נָקַשׁ and יָקַשׁ (*yāqōš*) to lay *c* snares. Moreover, stems belonging to the classes mentioned in 1. (especially ע'ע) are frequently related also to verbs פ'פ and פ'פ , e. g. יָנַח and יָנַח to fear; טוֹב and יָטַב to be good; נָפַח and פּוּחַ to blow; נָפַץ and פּוּץ to dash to pieces. Verbs פ'א are less frequently connected with these classes, e. g. אָשַׁם and אָשַׁם to be destroyed, אָרַשׁ and רָוַשׁ to thresh, &c.

3. Verbs ל'ה and ל'ה (in which the first two consonants form the real body *d* of the stem) are sometimes related to each other, and sometimes to the above classes. To each other, in רָכַח and רָכַח to crush, קָרַא and קָרַה to meet (comp. § 75, letter *nn*); to verbs of the other classes, in מָצַח and מָצַח to suck, רָחַח and רָחַח to thrust, &c.

§ 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 $\epsilon\rho\chi\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$, aor. $\eta\lambda\theta\omicron\nu$, fut. $\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$, 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.

The most common verbs of this kind are—

בוֹשׁ to be ashamed. *Hiph'el* הִבִּישׁוֹת (inferred from הִבִּישׁוֹת), but also הִבִּישׁ , הִבִּישׁ , as if from יָבַשׁ , on the analogy of verbs פ'פ ; also in Is. 30, 5 the *Q^{er}* requires הִבִּישׁ , where the *K^{ethibh}* has הִבִּישׁ from בָּאֵשׁ .

טוֹב to be good. *Perfect* טוֹב ; but *imperfect* יִטַּב and *Hiph'el* הִיטִיב from יָטַב (comp., however, הִטִּיבְתָ 2 Ki. 10, 30).

יָנַח to be afraid. *Imperfect* יָנַח (from נָרַח).

קָוִין *to awake*, only in the *imperf.* יִקְוִין; for the *perfect*, the *Hiph'il* הִקְוִין is used (from קוִין).

נָפִין *to break in pieces*. *Imperfect* יִפִּין (from פִּין). *Imperative* פִּין. *Niph'al* נִפִּין. *Piel* נִפִּין (from נִפִּין). *Pi'el* פִּוִּין (from פִּין). *Reflexive* הִתְפִּין. *Hiph'il* הִפִּין. Also פִּפִּין Job 16, 12.

נָצַב (*Qal* in post-biblical Hebrew, in Aramaic and Arabic) *to place*, whence (possibly) *Niph'al* נִצַּב and *Hiph'il* הִצִּיב (see above, § 71); but *Hithpa'el* הִתְצַב.

שָׁתָה *to drink*, used in *Qal*; but in *Hiph.* הִשָּׁתָה *to give to drink*, from a *Qal* שָׁתָה which is not used in Hebrew.

On הִלָּךְ (*ילך*) *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:

יִסַּף *to add*. The *infinitive* (comp., however, § 69. *h*, note) and *imperfect*, unused in *Qal*, are supplied by the *Hiph'il* הוֹסִיף, יוֹסִיף (on יוֹסַף as *imperfect indicative*, see § 109. *d*, and 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* מִגַּשׁ from *Qal* only are in use.

נָהַג *to lead*. *Perfect* usually נָהַג in *Qal*, so *imperative* נַהֲג, but *imperfect* and *infinitive* always in *Hiph'il*.

נָתַךְ *to be poured out*. *Perfect Niph'al* נִתַּךְ with *imperfect Qal* יִתַּךְ, while the *perfect Qal* and *imperfect Niph'al* are not in use.

d 2. The early grammarians often speak of *mixed forms* (*formae mixtae*), i. e. forms in which are united 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 erroneous, though often intentional, combination of two different readings.

CHAPTER III.

THE NOUN.

§ 79. General View.

For the literature, see De Lagarde, *Uebersicht über die im Aramäischen, Arabischen und Hebräischen übliche Bildung der Nomina*, Göttingen, 1889; Index and Additions, 1891; J. Barth, *Die Nominalbildung in den semitischen Sprachen*, first half, *the 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 sqq. (against De Lagarde and Hommel: Barth, *ibid.*, p. 679 sqq.), and dealing with the Index, *ZDMG.* xlv. p. 340 sqq.—Against Barth (though with many points of agreement): Philippi in the *Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie und Sprachwissenschaft*, 1890, p. 344 sqq. (answered by Barth in *ZDMG.* xlv. p. 692 sqq.), and *ZDMG.* xlvi. p. 149 sqq. (answered again by Barth, *ibid.* xlviii. p. 10 sqq.), also in the *Beiträge zur Assyriologie und vergleichenden semitischen Sprachwissenschaft*, ii. 1892, p. 359 sqq. ‘Die semitische Verbal- und Nominalbildung in ihrem Verhältnisse zu einander,’ and lastly, in *ZDMG.* xlix. p. 187 sqq.—Cf. also A. Müller, ‘Semitische Nomina. Bemerkungen zu de Lagarde und Barth,’ *ZDMG.* xlv. p. 221 sqq.—The main points at issue in the works of De Lagarde and Barth are indicated below, § 83. d.

1. Since, according to § 30. a, most word-stems are developed *a* into verbal stems as well as into noun-stems, it has become customary (especially in the Lexicon) to trace back 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 classified with a corresponding verbal stem (*Nomina verbalia* or *derivativa*, § 83 sqq.), 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.

b 2. Strictly speaking, the inflexion of the noun to express the various cases does not exist in Hebrew; in fact, hardly more than 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 sqq.). 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*¹.

§ 80. The Indication of Gender in Nouns.

a 1. The Hebrew, like all Semitic languages, recognizes only two genders in the noun, a *masculine* and a *feminine*. Inanimate objects or things, 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. *g*).

b 2. The *masculine*, as being the more common and important gender, has no special indication. The feminine had originally the ending םֿ, as in the 3rd *sing. perfect* of verbs (§ 44. *a*). This םֿ, however, is regularly retained 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 ן (see below, letter *d*). Otherwise, the feminine ending of the independent form (the *absolute state*, § 89. *a*) is—

c (*a*) Most commonly a tone-bearing םֿֿ, e. g. סוּס equus, סוּסָה equa. Of nouns ending in םֿֿ, like עֶבֶרָה, the feminine (by § 24. *b*) is עֶבֶרָהָ, cf. § 86. *h*. As in the 3rd *sing. fem. perfect* (הִטְלָהָ, &c.), this םֿֿ has arisen by the rejection of the final ן, and the lengthening of the *ä* in the open syllable, whereupon the ן was added as an orthographic

¹ To speak of these changes as a declension of the Hebrew noun, as is usually done, is accordingly incorrect.

indication of the final long vowel: comp. the exactly similar origin of such forms as גָּלָה for גָּלִי , § 75. *c*.

(*b*) Simple ה with nouns ending in a vowel, e.g. יְהוּדִי *Jew*, יְהוּדִית *d Jewess*. The same ending ה 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^eghôl*, but after gutturals *Pathah*, e.g. קָטַל , *fem.* קָטַלְתָּה , *killing*; before suffixes, e.g. קָטַלְתִּי , according to the rule given in § 69. *c*, comp. also § 84 *a*, letter *s*; מוֹרֵעַ *an acquaintance*, *fem.* מוֹרֵעָה . 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 used even for the connective form (*construct state*); except יֹלְדָה (for יֹלְדָתָה , which is used elsewhere) Gen. 16, 11. Jud. 13, 5. 7; comp. Jer. 22, 23 and 51, 13 *Q^rêl*, also מְשַׁרְתָּה 1 Ki. 1, 15, *participle fem.* *Piⁱêl*, contracted from *m^ešâratt* = מְשַׁרְתָּת ; also מְבַעֲרָה (*participle fem.* *Piⁱêl* with suffix) arises from the form מְבַעֲרַת contracted from מְבַעֲרָתָה .

Rem. 1. The fem. form in תְּ- is in general less frequent, and occurs almost exclusively when the form in הְ- is also in use. It is only in the participles and infinitives that it is the commoner, e.g. קָטַלְתָּ more common than קָטַלְתָּה than לָרַח .

2. Rarer feminine endings are—(*a*) תְּ- with the tone, viz. בְּרָקָתָה *emerald*, *f* Ezek. 28, 13 (also בְּרָקָתָה Ex. 28, 17); שִׁפְעָתָה *a company*, 2 Ki. 9, 17, unless the reading is wrong; more frequently in proper names, especially of places among the Canaanites or Phoenicians (in whose language תְּ- was the usual fem. ending, § 2. *d*) and other neighbouring tribes², e.g. צָרְפָתָה *Sarepta*, גִּבְעָתָה *Gib'ath*, קִירְיָתָה *Qiryath*, אֵילָתָה Greek *Ailana* in Idumea; אַחְזָתָה Gen. 26, 26: on the reading גִּלְיָתָה cf. letter *g*. Comp. moreover, מְחַלָּתָה Ps. 53, 1. 88, 1; גִּנְיָתָה Ps. 61, 1 (prob. originally גִּנְיָנָתָה); חַיָּתָה (LXX חַיֹּת) 74, 19 *a*; פּוֹנֵתָה Lam. 2, 18; רַבְתָּה *much*, in Ps. 65, 10. 120, 6. 123, 4. 129, 1. 2, 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*) תְּ- , which likewise occurs in some names of places, e.g. הַחֲלָקָתָה , בְּעֵלְתָה , *g* as well as in the *masc.* proper name גִּלְיָתָה 1 Sam. 17, 4, &c. (in 17, 23, and 21, 10, ed. Mant. has גִּלְיָתָה), and in the *fem.* proper name שִׁמְעָתָה ; otherwise, almost

¹ מְשַׁחָתָה Mal. 1, 14 (so e.g. the Mantua ed.), might stand for מְשַׁחָתָה as *participle fem.* *Hoph'al*; but מְשַׁחָתָה (so Baer and Ginsburg) is also supported by good authority.

² Comp. the Méša' stone, line 3, זַמַּת *this high place*; line 26, הַמַּסְלָתָה *the highway*; [see also Driver, *Tenses*, § 181, note.]

only in poetry, viz. זְמִירָה Ex. 15, 2. Is. 12, 2. Ps. 118, 14 (for זְמִירָתִי *my song*; the absorption of the *z*, however, can scarcely have 'taken place in the Aramaic manner,' as suggested by Duhm on Is. 12, 2, nor is it due merely to the following *Yôdh*, but is intended 'to facilitate the absorption of *y*;' so Geiger, *Urschrift*, p. 277 sq.); נַחֲלָתָהּ *heritage*, Ps. 16, 6 (either again for נַחֲלָתִי *my heritage*, or for נַחֲלָתָהּ, comp. § 90. g, as probably also עֲזָרָה *help*, Ps. 60, 13. 108, 13). Comp. also פְּרִתָּהּ *fecunda* (a fruitful tree) Gen. 49, 22; יְתֵרָה *abundance*, Jer. 48, 36 (before *ע*; but in Is. 15, 7 (יְתֵרָה); שְׁנָתָהּ *sleep* (for שְׁנָהּ) Ps. 132, 4; and in prose קָאָתָהּ *pelican* (which reading is also preferable, in Is. 34, 11, to the form קָאָתָהּ), also מַחֲרָתָהּ *the morrow*, but in *construct state* always מִמַּחֲרָתָהּ.¹—תְּהִלָּתִי Jer. 49, 25 *Q^orê* is no doubt intended to indicate the reading תְּהִלָּתִי, parallel to מִשׁוֹשֵׁי; comp. above, on זְמִירָה &c.

h (c) הֶּ־ the Aramaic orthography for הֶ־, chiefly in the later writers; לֹאֲרָה *loathing*, Num. 11, 20; הֶרָאָה *a terror*, Is. 19, 17; שְׁנָאָה *sleep*, Ps. 127, 2; לְבִיָּאָה *a lioness*, Ezek. 19, 2 (unless לְבִיָּאָה is intended); מִשְׁרָאָה *a mark*, Lam. 3, 12; cf. also דִּשְׂאָה *threshing* (participle *Qal* from דִּישָׁה) Jer. 50, 11; מְרָאָה *bitter*, Ruth 1, 20. On the other hand, according to the western Masora, קָרְחָהּ *baldness* is to be read in Ezek. 27, 31; see Baer on the passage.

i (d) הֶ־, an obtuse form of הֶ־ (§ 27. u), only in זִרְחָהּ for זִרְחָהּ Is. 59, 5; comp. לִנְיָהּ for לִנְיָהּ Zech. 5, 4; אֲנָהּ I Ki. 2, 36. 42 (§ 90. i, and § 48. d).

k (e) הֶ־ without the tone, e. g. רֶחֶמָהּ Deut. 14, 17 [Lev. 11, 18 רֶחֶם]; בִּעֲרָהּ *an oven heated*, Hos. 7, 4; comp. Ex. 28, 19. Ezek. 7, 25. 40, 19. 2 Ki. 15, 29. In all these examples the usual tone-bearing הֶ־ is probably 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 Ki. 16, 18. Is. 24, 19. Ezek. 21, 31 (note in each case the following הֶ־), as also in Job 42, 13, the text is probably in error.]

l (f) הֶ־, as an old feminine termination, preserved also in Syriac (*ai*), in Arabic and (contracted to *ê*) in Ethiopic, very probably occurs in the proper name שְׂרִי, cf. Nöldeke, *ZDMG.* xl. p. 183; also עֲשִׂרָה *ten* (*fem.*) probably 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 הֶ־² as the original termination of the feminine, and the *consonantal* ending תֶ־ as derived from it. The Ethiopic still has the ת throughout, so too the Assyrian (*at, it*); in Phoenician also the feminines end for the most part in ת, which is pronounced

¹ In 1 Sam. 20, 27 also, where the Masora (see Baer on Jos. 5, 11) for some unknown reason requires מַמַּחֲרָתָהּ, read with ed. Mant., Jablonski, Opitius, and Ginsburg, מַמַּחֲרָתָהּ.

² In this ending the ה *h* can only be considered consonantal in the sense that the ת was originally aspirated, and afterwards 'the mute ת was dropped before *h*, just as the old Persian *mithra* became in modern Persian *mihra*;' so Socin, who also points to the Arabic pausal form in *ah*, and observes that among some of the modern Bedwân an *h* is still heard as a fem. ending. In Hebrew this consonantal termination was entirely abandoned, at any rate in later times.

at in the words found in Greek and Latin authors; less frequently in א (see Gesenii, *Monum. Phoen.*, pp. 439, 440; Schröder, *Phön. Sprache*, p. 169 sqq.). The ancient Arabic has the obtuse vowel ending scarcely anywhere but in *pause*; in modern Arabic the relation between the two endings is very much as in Hebrew.

§ 81. Derivation of Nouns.

Nouns are by their derivation either *primitive*, i. e. cannot be connected with any verbal stem at present extant (see § 82), such as אבֹּת *father*, אִמֹּת *mother* (but see both words in the Lexicon; according to Stade and others אבֹּת, אִמֹּת, &c., are children's words and terms of endearment, and so really primitive nouns), or *derivative*, i. e. either *Derivativa verbalia* (§§ 83–85) in the sense indicated above in § 30. a and § 79. a, e. g. רָם *high*, רֶמָה *high place*, מָרוֹם *height*, from רוּם *to be high*, or less frequently *Derivativa denominativa* (§ 86), e. g. מְרִגְלוֹת *the place at the feet*, from רָגַל *foot*.

Rem. 1. The earlier grammarians consider the verb alone as stem and, 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. מְלִכּוֹת, מְמַלְכֵה. The formative letters used for this purpose are ה א מ נ ת יו (הֶאֱמַנְתִּיו)¹, and the treatment of nouns formerly followed this order.

According to the view of roots and stems presented in § 30. d, nouns (other 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. Comp. § 79. a.

2. Compound nouns as *appellatives* are very rare in Hebrew, e. g. בְּלִיעַל *worthlessness, baseness*. On the other hand, they very frequently occur as proper names, e. g. אֱבֵרִיָּאל (*man of God*), יְהוֹיָקִים (*Yahwe raises up*), יְחִזְקִיָּהוּ (*Yahwe strengthens*), &c.²

§ 82. Primitive Nouns.

The number of *primitive* nouns in the sense used in § 81 is small, since those nouns, which in other languages are represented as independent noun-stems, can easily be traced back in Hebrew to the

¹ From this *vox memorialis* the *nomina aucta* are also called by the older grammarians *nomina heemantica*.

² G. Rammelt (*Über die zusammengesetzten Nomina im Hebr.*, Halle, 1883, and Leipzig, 1884) recognizes as appellatives only אֲפַרְדֵּי (comp. below, § 85. w) and צִלְמָוֹת (the latter certainly incorrectly [see, however, Nöldeke, *ZATW.* 1897, p. 183 sqq.]). In p. 8 sqq. the author gives a list of 'logical compounds,' i. e. new terms formed by composition with the negatives לֹא, בְּלִי, מְבַלִּי.

verbal idea, e.g. names of animals and natural objects, as שְׁעִיר *he-goat* (prop. *shaggy*, from שָׁעַר), שְׁעֵרָה *barley* (prop. *prickly*, also from שָׁעַר), הַסִּידָה *stork* (prop. *pia*, 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), e.g. קַרְנֵי *horn*, עֵינַי *eye*.

§ 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. אֹיֵב *enemy*, יָדָעַת *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 קָטַלְתָּ, קָטַלְתָּ, קָטַלְתָּ, קָטַלְתָּ (§ 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. The 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 (*qutul*, *qitil*), sometimes by the lengthening of the characteristic vowel (*qatûl*, *qatîl*, *qatâl*), or else through the displacement of the accent and the consequent reduction of the noun to a monosyllabic form (*qatl*, *qull*, *qitl*), or, finally, by their being formed from the derived stems (or conjugations), e. g. *qattal*, *qattâl*; *qitil*, *qittâl*, &c. Further modifications arise from the use of the various imperfect and infinitive-forms, and also from the employment of the prefix *m*. Lastly, *denominalia* are formed from *deverbalia* by appending certain suffixes.

De Lagarde does not, however, claim to be able to show in the case of each particular noun the sense it conveyed in primitive times; the origin of a number of nouns can now no longer be detected. In those, however, which are clearly derived from verbs, the original meaning is chiefly determined by the characteristic vowel.

Barth's system is based on the thesis that 'all Semitic nouns, adjectives, and participles are derived from either the perfect or the imperfect stem.' Thus, e. g. קטול is the infinitive of the perfect stem, קטל the infinitive of the imperfect stem, קטל infinitive of קטל, &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 *yaqtûlû* is imperfect of the transitive perfect *qatala*, and *yaqtâlû* 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 subjects the development of the language to a much too abstract mechanism, and further, that the meanings of words as we find them may in many cases be due to a perversion 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 regular, 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.

§ 84a. Nouns derived from the Simple Stem.

a 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.

1. Nouns with one of the three short vowels after the first radical, ground-form *qätl*, *qitl*, *quṭl*.

The supposition of *monosyllabic* ground-forms was rendered necessary by the character of forms now existing in Hebrew, as well as in Arabic, &c. But there are various reasons for believing that originally a toneless *ä* was heard after the second radical. The corresponding *qätl*-forms in Assyrian (v. Delitzsch, *Assyrische Gramm.* p. 157 sq.), with the case-ending, are *kalbu*, *šamsu*, *abnu* (= *קָלַבּ*, *שָׁמֶשׁ*, *אָבֹן*), but without the case-ending, *kalab*, *šamas*, *aban*. In Delitzsch's opinion the vowel is only sounded after the second radical in order to avoid the double consonant at the end. The *plurals* of the Hebrew segholates however (see § 92. *c* and § 93. *d*) and the forms mentioned below, letter *c*, point rather to the ground-forms *mälak*, *säphar*, *qüdaš*; cf. Philippi, *Beiträge zur Assyriologie und vergleich. sem. Sprachwissenschaft*, ii. 372 sqq.—The explanation, formerly adopted also in this Grammar, of *qätl*-forms as originally *qätül*-forms (cf. De Lagarde, *Übersicht*, p. 72 sqq.) is supported by the Arabic *mälük* (rarely *malk*), and still more by *قَادِرٌ*, *يَارِيكُ*, *كَابِدٌ*, *كَالِيفٌ*, the connective forms of *قَادِرٌ*, &c., from ground-forms *gädür*, *yärükh*, *käbid*, *kälif*. Even so the *a* of the plural *מְלָכִים* remains as before, unexplained. The same objection applies equally to deriving at least *some* of the segholates from original monosyllabic forms, corresponding to the Arabic infinitives *qatl*, *qitl*, *quṭl*, unless it be assumed that their plurals have been affected by the analogy of the (more numerous) forms with *ä* in the second syllable.

(*a*) From the strong stem the above three ground-forms are further developed to *קָטַל*¹, *קִטַּל*, *קֻטַּל* (comp. § 27. *r* and in § 93 the explanations of Paradigm I, *a-c*); without a helping vowel (§ 28. *d*) *קִשְׁטָה* *truth*. If the second or third radical be a guttural, a helping *Pathah* takes the place of the helping *S^gghöl*,

¹ It is worthy of notice that St. Jerome also (cf. Siegfried, *ZAW.* iv. 76) frequently represents the vowel of the first syllable by *a*, e.g. *gader*, *aben*, *ader*, *areb*, for *قَادِرٌ*, *أَبْنٌ*, *أَدْرٌ*, *أَرَبٌ*, but *cedem*, *secel*, *deber*, &c., for *קָדַם*, *שֵׁקֶל*, *דְּבַר*, &c.

according to § 22. *d*, e. g. זֶרַע *seed*, נֶצַח *eternity*, פֶּעַל *work*; but, with middle ה or ח, also לֶחֶם *bread*, רֶחֶם (as well as רִחַם) *womb*, אֹהֶל *tent*, בָּהֶן *thumb*; so with final א, פָּרָא *a wild ass*, &c.; with a middle guttural also the modification of the principal vowel *ā* to *ē* does not occur, e. g. רֶהֱב, נָעַר, לַחִין (exceptions, again, לָחֶם, רֶחֶם). On the inflexion, comp. § 93, Paradigm I, *a-f*, and the explanations. In חַטָּא *sin*, the א has wholly lost its consonantal value.

Examples of feminines: מַלְכָּה (directly from the ground-form *malk, king*), סִתְרָה *a covering* (also סִתֵּר), אֹכֶלָה *food* (also אֹכֵל); with a middle guttural נַעֲרָה *girl*, טַהֲרָה *purity* (also טַהֵר). Comp. § 94. Paradigm I.

(*b*) From weak stems: (*a*) from stems ע״ן, e. g. אָף *nose* (from 'ānp, hence with formative additions, e. g. אַפִּי for 'anpī, *my nose*); עֵז *a she-goat* (ground-form 'inz), fem. חֲמָה *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 עָם; with article הָעַם, לְעַם, &c.); רַב in the sense of *much*, but רַב *great, numerous* (also in close connexion רַב); רָע *evil*, with the article in close connexion הָרָע, unconnected הָרַע (on the various vocalization of עַם, רַב, רַע, see further in Stadel, *Grammatik*, § 193. *b*); with the *ā* always lengthened to *ā*, יָם *sea*; fem. חַיָּה *life*, and with attenuation of the *ā* to *ī*, מִדָּה *measure*; from the ground-form qīl, אִמָּה *mother*, fem. גִּנָּה *a shearing*; from the ground-form qūtl, חֵק *statute*, fem. חֻקָּה. (*γ*) from stems ע״י (Paradigm I, *g* and *i*); מָוֹת *death* (from mā-ut, the *u* passing into the corresponding consonant, as in הַמְּוָה *middle*) or contracted יוֹם *day*, שׁוֹט *whip*, שׂוֹר *a bull*; fem. עוֹלָה *perverseness* (also contracted עוֹלָה); from the ground-form qūtl, צוֹר *a rock*, fem. סוּפָה *a storm*. (*δ*) from stems ע״י (Paradigm I, *h*); יוֹת *an olive-tree* (with a helping Hīreq instead of a helping Sēghōl) from zā-it, the *i* passing into the corresponding consonant; or contracted תִּיק *bosom*, חֵיל 2 Ki. 18, 17 (elsewhere הַיֵּל) *host*; fem. שֵׂיבָה *grey hair*; from the ground-form qīl, דִּין *judgement*, fem. בִּינָה *understanding*. (*ε*) from stems ע״ה (Paradigm I, *k*); partly forms such as בָּכָה *weeping*, הִנְּהָה *murmuring*, נָּרָה *a present*, קִצָּה *the end*, partly such as אַרְיָ *a lion* (ground-form bāky, 'āry); comp. also the forms from stems originally ע״ו *swimming* (ground-form sāhw); fem. שֵׁלָה *rest*, גִּיאָה *exaltation*; from stems ע״י *a fat tail*, and with attenuation of *ā* to *ī* נִשְׁבִּיָה *captivity*, also נִשְׁבִּית, formed directly from the masc. שְׁבִי with the fem. termination ת; from the ground-form qīl, חֲצִי (from hīsy); fem. חֲרוּהָ *joy*, עֲרִיהָ and עֲרוּהָ *nakedness*; from the ground-form qūtl, בָּהוּ (from bōhw); fem. דְּלִי, for דְּלִי, *bucket*; fem. אֲנִיָּה *a ship* (directly from אֲנִי *a fleet*).

The masculines as well as the feminines of these *segholate* forms may have either an *abstract* or a *concrete* meaning. In the form קָטַל the *passive* or at any rate the *abstract* meaning is by far the more common (e. g. נָעַר *youthfulness*, abstract of נָעַר; אֹכֵל *food*, &c.).

2. Nouns with one of the three short vowels under the second radical (present ground-form q^eīl, q^eīl, q^eīl), e. g. דְּבִשׁ *honey*, דָּוִי *sickness*, חֲתָת *terror*; and so always with middle א, בָּאֵר *a well*, וְאֵב *a wolf*, בְּאֵשׁ *stench*. In reality these

forms, like the segholates mentioned in No. 1 (see above, letter *a*), are, probably, for the most part to be referred to original dissyllabic forms, but the tone has been shifted from its original place (the penultima) on to the ultima. Thus *dibāš* (originally *dibaš*) as ground-form of דְּבִשׁ is supported both by the Hebrew דְּבִשִּׁי (with suffix of the first person), and by the Arabic *dibs*, the principal form; *bi'tr* (according to Philippi with assimilation of the vowel of the second syllable to that of the first) as ground-form of בְּיָר is attested by the Arabic *bi'r*; for בְּאִשׁ (Arabic *bu's*) similarly a ground-form *bu'is* may be inferred, just as a ground-form *qūṭūl* underlies the infinitives of the form קָטַל¹.

II. *Nouns with an original Short Vowel in both Syllables.*

- f* 3. The ground-form *qāṭāl*, fem. *qāṭālāt*, develops in Hebrew to קָטַל (§ 93, Paradigm II, *a, b*) and קָטְלָה (§§ 94, 95, Paradigm II, *a, b*), mostly adjectives, as חָכֵם *wise*, הַרְיֵשׁ *new*, יָשָׁר *upright*; but also substantives, as דְּבָר *a word*, and even abstracts, as אֲשָׁם *guilt*, רָעֵב *hunger*, שָׂבֵעַ *satiety*; in the fem. frequently abstract, as צְדָקָה² *righteousness*; with an initial guttural אֲרָמָה *earth*.—Of the same formation from verbs ע'ו' are בָּדָד *alone*, עָנָן *cloud*: passive הִלָּל *pierced*.—In verbs ה'ל' the final *Yōdh* is almost always rejected, and the *ā* of the second syllable lengthened to *è*. Thus שָׂרִי *field*, after rejection of the *y* and addition of ה as a vowel-letter, becomes שָׂרָה (comp. § 93, Paradigm II, *f*); fem., e.g. יָפָה (masc. יָפָה *beautiful*); comp. § 95, Paradigm II, *c*. From a verb ל'ו' the strong form עָנָו, *afflicted*, occurs.
- g* 4. The ground-form *qāṭīl*, fem. *qāṭīlāt*, 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; comp. זָקֵן *old, an old man*; כָּבֵד *heavy*; fem. בְּהֵמָה *cattle*, אֲפֵלָה and חִשְׁכָּה *darkness*, probably also אֵימָה *terror* if it be contracted from אֵימָה.—From verbs פ'ו' חֵמָה *heat*, שָׁנָה *sleep*. Irregular, דְּלִיזוֹתַי *the branches of it*, Jer. II, 16, &c., generally referred to a *sing.* דְּלִית (stem דלה), and הַרְיוֹתַי Hos. 14, 1 *their women with child* (from הָרָה, *st. constr.* הַרַת, *plur. st. absol. and constr.* הָרוֹת).—From a verb ל'ו' with consonantal Wāw: שָׁלוֹ *at ease*, incorrectly written *plene* שָׁלִי Job 21, 23.
- h* 5. The ground-form *qāṭūl*, developed to קָטַל (also written קָטוּל), generally forms adjectives, e.g. אִים *terrible*, בָּרָד *piebald*, מְתוּק *sweet*, נֶקֶד *speckled*, עֵבֶת *interwoven*, עֵגֶל *round*, עֶמֶק *deep*, עֵקֶב *hilly*, צָהָב *golden*; קָטַן *small*, only in

¹ On this theory cf. Stadc, *Hebräische Grammatik*, § 199. *b*; De Lagarde, *Übersicht*, p. 57 sq.; A. Müller, *ZDMG*. xlv. p. 226, and especially Philippi, *ZDMG*. xlix. p. 208.

² In St. Jerome's time these forms were still pronounced *šadaca* (צְדָקָה), *šaaca* (צְעָקָה), *nabala* (נִבְלָה), &c., see Siegfried, *ZAW*. iv. 79. Moreover, the numerous abstracts of this form (e.g. even קִצְפָּה *a splintering*, צְוֹחָה *a crying*, &c.) are undoubtedly to be regarded (with Barth, *Nominalbildung*, p. 87) as feminines of infinitives of the form *qāṭāl*, the lengthening of the second syllable being balanced, as in other cases, by the addition of the feminine termination.

sing. masc., with a parallel form קָטַן of the class treated under letter *f*, fem. קָטְנָה, plur. קָטַנִּים. These forms are not to be confounded with those in No. III, from the ground-form *qāṭāl*.—Fem. אֲיֻמָּה, פְּבוּדָה (*glorious*), עֲבֻתָּה, עֲנֻנָּה (*delicate*), עֲנֻלָּה, עֲמֻקָּה, with sharpening of the third radical, in order to keep the original *ā* short, and, similarly, in the plurals בְּרָדִים, נְקָדִים, עֲנֻלִּים, אֲסָפִים *stores*, &c.

6. The ground-form *qāṭāl* develops to קָטַל (comp. § 93, Paradigm II, Rem. 1), *i* e. g. לֵבָב *heart*, עֲנַב *a bunch of grapes*, שֶׁמֶר *temētum*; from a verb ל"ל, probably of this class is רֵעֵה, generally contracted to רַע, *friend*, ground-form *ri'ay*: the full form is preserved in רֵעֵהוּ *his friend*, for רַעֵהוּ.

III. *Nouns with an original Short Vowel in the First and a Long Vowel in the Second Syllable.*

7. The ground-form *qāṭāl* in Hebrew always develops to the form קָטוּל, *k* the *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 *qāṭūl*¹. Comp. גָּדוּל *great*, קָדוּשׁ *holy*, חָמוּץ *oppressing*; also the *infinitives absolute* of the form קָטוּל (§ 45. a) as representing the abstract idea of the verb, and abstract substantives like כְּבוֹד *honour*, שְׁלוֹם *peace* (Arab. *sālām*); also in an active sense, as אֲמוֹן *an architect*, בַּחוּן *assayer* (of metals), עֹשֶׂוּק *an oppressor*; fem. גְּדוּלָּה (with the change of the short vowel to vocal *š'wā*, while in גָּדוּל, &c., before the tone it is lengthened to *ā*; בְּגוּדָּה *treacherous* (fem.) Jer. 3, 7. 10, with irregular retention of the *ā* in the third syllable from the end.

8. The ground-form *qāṭāl* develops to קָטִיל (comp. § 93, Paradigm IV, a and b), *l* e. g. אֲסִיר *a prisoner*, מְשֻׁיחַ *an anointed one*; besides the passive it has also the intransitive sense (probably as a simple strengthening of the *qāṭūl*-form), e. g. צָעִיר *small*, and even the active, e. g. נְבִיא *a speaker* (prophet), פְּקִיד *an overseer*.—From verbs ל"י: נָקִי *pure*, עָנִי *poor*, see § 93. *sv.* Of a different kind again (according to De Lagarde, *infinitives*) are אֲסִיף *the ingathering*, בְּצִיר *vintage*, חֲרִישׁ *ploughing time*, קְצִיר *harvest*. On *qāṭūl*-forms with a kindred meaning, cf. § 84 b, letter *f*.

9. The ground-form *qāṭāl* develops to קָטוּל. Of this class are all the passive participles of *Qal*, and (probably as a strengthening of the *qāṭūl*-form) some stative adjectives (§ 50. f), like אֲנֻשׁ *incurable*, עָצוּם *strong*, עָרֹם *subtil*; as substantives, e. g. יֹקֵשׁ *a fowler*. Fem., e. g. בְּתוּלָּה *virgo* (prop. *the secluded*). Further, some of the forms mentioned in § 84 b, letter *g*, belong to this class; see above, the remark on letter *l*.

10. The ground-form *qāṭāl* or *qūṭāl* in Hebrew changes the *ā* to vocal *š'wā*, *ll* and develops to קָטַל (comp. § 93, Paradigm IV, c) or קָטוּל, with *ā* obscured to *ō* (as above, letter *k*). Comp. שְׁאֵר *remnant*, יָקָר *honour*, כְּתָב *book* (Arab. *kitāb*), קָרַב *war* (the last three probably loan-words from the Aramaic); of the

¹ In Nah. 1, 3 only the *Q'erē* requires גְּדוּל (in the constr. state) for the *K'ethibh* גְּדוּל.

other form, חֶלֶם a dream, חֲמֹר an ass (Arab. *ḥimār*), אֱלֹהִים God (Arab. 'ilāh); with **N** prosthetic (§ 19. m), אֶרְוַע arm (twice: usually אֶרְוַע); fem. בְּשׂוֹרָה good news (Arab. *bišārāt*); עֲבוּדָה service, כְּתָבָה (Arab. *kitābāt*) tattooing.

o 11. The ground-form *qāʾl* seems to occur, e.g. in Hebrew אֵייל foolish, אֵילִי vanity, בָּרִיל lead, בָּסִיל a fool, חוּיר a swine (the prop. name חוּיר points to the ground-form *qāʾil*, comp. Arab. *ḥiṣṣār*).

p 12. The ground-form *qāʾl* or *qūʾl*, Hebr. קָטוּל, e.g. גְּבוּל a boundary, לְבִישׁ a garment; fem. גְּבוּרָה strength, אִמּוּנָה faithfulness.

q Rem. When the forms *qāʾl* and *qūʾl* begin with **N**, they almost invariably take in the singular, instead of the ordinary *Ḥaṭeph-Seghōl*, a *Ṣere* under the **N**; comp. אֲבוּם a crib, אֲמוּן thread, אֲמוּן faithful, אֲזוּב hyssop, אֲזוּר a waist-band, אֲסוּר a bond, אֲפוּר an 'ephod'; comp. § 23. h, and the analogous cases of *Ṣere* for *Ḥaṭeph-Seghōl* in verbal forms § 52. n, § 63. p, § 76. d.

IV. Nouns with a Long Vowel in the First Syllable and originally a Short Vowel in the Second Syllable.

r 13. The ground-form *qātāl*, in Hebrew, always changes the *ā* into an obscure *ō* קוֹטַל (קָטַל), e.g. עוֹלָם (§ 93, Paradigm III, a), Arab. 'ālam, eternity; חוֹתָם (Arab. *ḥātām*) a seal (according to Barth rather of Egyptian origin), fem. חוֹתָמָה (from *ḥōtām*); תוֹלַע worm (unless from a stem וּלַע, like תוֹשֵׁב from וּשַׁב; see the analogous cases in § 85. b). On the participles *Qal* of verbs לָיָה (comp. § 93, Paradigm III, c), formerly referred to this class, cf. § 75. e; on the feminines of the participles *Qal*, which are formed with ת of the fem., see below, letter s.

Rem. Of a different kind (probably from a ground-form *qauʾal*) are such forms as אופָן (or אופֵן Ezek. 10, 9 in the same verse) a wheel; גּוֹלֵץ a young bird, דּוֹנֵג wax, &c.

s 14. The ground-form *qātāl* also becomes in Hebrew almost invariably קוֹטַל (קָטַל). Besides participles active masc. *Qal* this class includes also feminines of the form קוֹטַלָּה, if their ground-form *qōʾalt* (§ 69. c) goes back to an original *qātāʾil*. 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 *ʾ*) retained before the tone, e.g. יֹלְדָה a woman in travail (comp. also בְּגִדָה the treacherous woman, Jer. 3, 8; הַצֹּלֵעָה her that halteth, Mic. 4, 6 sq., Zeph. 3, 19; כֹּחֲרָה a buckler, Ps. 91, 4); the participles as a rule have the form יֹלְדָה, &c., the original *ʾ* having become *Ṣewā*; however, the form with *Ṣere* occurs also in the latter, Is. 29, 6. 8. 34, 9. Ps. 68, 26. 118, 16 (all in principal pause; in subordinate pause 2 Sam. 13, 20. Is. 33, 14; with a conjunctive accent, Cant. 1, 6).

t 15. The ground-form *qātāl*, Hebrew קוֹטַל (as יוֹבֵל river, Jer. 17, 8) or קוֹטַלָּה, e.g. עוֹנֵב a pipe, commonly עָנַב, and to be so read, with Baer, also in Ps. 150, 4, not עָנַב.

V. Nouns with Long Vowels in both Syllables.

u 16. קִיטוּל, e.g. קִיטוּר smoke. The few forms of this kind are probably derived from the ground-form *qītāl* (*qītāʾl*?), i. e. the original *ā* has become an obscure *ō*.

§ 84 b. *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 (comp. § 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 condition. 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 letters *f* and *g*, and Barth, *Nominalbildung*, Introd. p. xi.

17. The ground-form *qāttāl*, in Hebrew (except in *infinitives Pi'el*, like שֶׁלַח, &c.), *b* is mostly lengthened to קָטַל; comp. אֵיל *a stag*, fem. אֵילָה, *constr. st.* אֵילָת (from 'āyyāl); comp. also the fem. (originating from *Qal*) לֶהֱבֵה *a flame* (according to § 27. *q* for lāhhābhā) הַרְבָּה *dry land* (for ḥarrābhā), רִקְקָה and קָרַחַת *a burning fever*, יָבֵשׁת and יִבְשֵׁת *dry land*, טַבַּעַח *a seal-ring*, שֶׁחָפַת *consumption*. Adjectives of this class ('intensified participles of the active verb,' Barth, *ibid.*, § 33) are נָגַח *went to gore*, קָנָא *jealous*, בָּחַשׁ (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 *qāttāl* points to an original (unchangeable) *ā* in the second syllable; comp. גָּנַב *a thief*, דִּין *a judge* (*constr. st.* דִּינַן Ps. 68, 6), טָבַח *a cook*, חָרַשׁ (for ḥarrāš) *faber* (*constr. st.* חָרַשׁ, but in the plur. חָרָשִׁי); פָּרַשׁ *horseman* (for parrāš), *constr. st.* פָּרָשׁ Ezek. 26, 10.

18. The ground-form *qāttāl* appears in צָהָה *dry*, גָּאָה *haughty* (the *ʔ* being *c* lengthened to *ē* according to § 22. *c*), if these forms go back to original *sthhāy*. *gr'āy*. On the analogy, however, of the adjectives denoting defects (see letter *d* below), we should rather expect a ground-form *qāttīl*; moreover, *iwwalt*, ground-form of the fem. אֵילָת *foolishness*, goes back to an original *iwwill*, see § 69. *c*.

19. The ground-form *qāttāl*; comp. the fem. בִּפְטָמַת *spelt*.

20. The ground-form *qāttīl*; as אַחַר *alius*; from the intensive stem, the *d* infinitives *Pi'el* of the form קָטַל.

21. The ground-form *qāttīl*, in Hebrew lengthened to קָטַל. Of this form are a considerable number of adjectives which denote a bodily or mental fault or defect. Comp. אֵטַר *disabled*, אֵלֵם *dumb*, גִּבֵּן *hump-backed*, עוֹר *blind*, חֵרֵשׁ *deaf* (for ḥirrēš), פֶּסֶחַ *lame*, קַרַח *bald*, עָקָשׁ *perverse*; פֶּקַח *open-eyed* follows the same analogy.

22. The ground-form *qāttāl*, comp. the remarks in letter *b* above, on the *e* *Nomina opificum*; moreover, to this class belong infinitives *Pi'el* of the Aramaic form בִּקְרָה *a searching out*; בִּקְשָׁה *a request*; with middle guttural (see § 22. *c*) נִאָצַח *contumely*, but cf. also נִאָצוּתִיךְ Ezek. 35, 12, with full lengthening of the original *ā* before *Ṣ*; נִחַמָה *comfort*. From the attenuation of the *ā* of this form to *ʔ*, arises undoubtedly:

23. The ground-form *qāṭṭāl*, e. g. אָבֵר husbandman (Arab. 'akkār).

24. The ground-form *qāṭṭōl*, most probably only a variety of the form *qāṭṭāl* with the *ā* attenuated to *i* (as in No. 23), and the *ā* obscured to *ō* (as in letters *n* and *r*); comp. גִּבּוֹר hero (Arab. gābbār), צִפּוֹר caviller, צִפּוֹר (piper or chirper) a bird, שׁוֹבֵר 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 sq.

f 25. The ground-form *qāṭṭil*, קָטִיל, almost exclusively of persons, who possess some quality in an intensive manner, e. g. אָבֵר strong, צַדִּיק righteous, פְּרִיחַ fugitive (for *barrī^{ah}*), עָרִיץ violent (for 'ārriṣ).

That some of these are only by-forms of the *qāṭṭil*-class (see above, remark on letter *a*), appears from the *constr. st.* פְּרִיץ ravenous, Is. 35, 9 (but פְּרִיצִי, פְּרִיצִי always), and according to Barth (*ibid.* 35. *a*) also from the *constr. st.* אָבֵר (but cf. also אָבִיר I Sam. 21, 8) of אָבֵר. However, the form אָבֵר, as a name of God, may be intentionally differentiated from אָבֵר, a poetic term for the bull.

In the same way אָסִיר prisoner, קָרִים eunuch (*constr. st.* always קָרִים, plur. קָרִים, *constr. st.* קָרִים Gen. 40, 7, but in the book of Esther always קָרִים, with *suffix* always קָרִים, &c.), and עִתִּיק weaned, may be regarded as by-forms of the *qāṭṭil*-class with passive meaning, see § 84 a, letter *l*.

g 26. The ground-form *qāṭṭūl*, קָטוּל, e. g. חַנּוּן gracious, רַחוּם full of compassion (with virtual doubling of the *h*), הָרִיץ diligent (for *harrīṣ*), probably, again, to a large extent by-forms of the *qāṭṭūl*-class, § 84 a, letter *m*. The same applies to substantives like אֶשֶׁר a step (in אֶשְׂרֵי, as well as אֶשְׂרוֹ, &c.), עַמּוּד pillar; fem. חֲבִירָה a stripe (also חֲבִירָתוֹ), בִּטְחוֹת security: cf. Barth, *ibid.*, § 84.

h 27. The ground-form *qāṭṭōl*; besides the infinitives absolute *Pi'el* of the form קָטַל, also קָנָא jealous (as well as קָנָא, consequently an obscure form of *qāṭṭōl*, letter *e*).

i 28. The ground-form *qāṭṭūl*, קָטוּל, e. g. צָפוּי a coating of metal, שְׂלִים requital, שָׁקִי drink, עֲקָיִן detestable thing; with concrete meaning לְפוֹד a disciple, עוֹז strong; frequently in the plural in an abstract sense, as גְּדוּפִים reproach, מְלֵאִים filling (the induction of a priest), נְחֻמִּים consolations, compassion, שְׁבֵלִים a childless state, שְׁלָחִים dismissal, שְׁמֵרִים observance.

VII. Nouns with the Third Consonant repeated.

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

l 30. The ground-form *qāṭlil*, in Hebrew קָטַל; of this form are e. g. the infinitives *Pi'lēl* (prop. *Pa'lēl*) of verbs עָע, as רוּמִם, comp. § 72. *m*.

m 31. The ground-form *qāṭlūl*; so the plur. גְּבֻגֵּימִים ridges (with sharpening of the *Nān*, as in No. 29).

32. The ground-form *qāṭlāl*, in פְּרָחָה a brood.

33. The ground-form *qūṭlāl*, in אֲמָלֵל faint.

34. The ground-form *qātlil*, e.g. עֲבָטִיט *plunder*, סְנִירִי *heavy rain*, שִׁפְרִיר *glittering tapestry*, Jer. 43, 10 *Q^rè*; with attenuation of the *ā* to *i* בְּמִרְיִים *all that maketh black*, Job 3, 5.

35. The ground-form *qātlāl*, e.g. שִׁפְרוֹר Jer. 43, 10 *K^oth.*; נְאֻפוֹפִים *adulteries*.

VIII. Nouns with the Second and Third Consonants repeated.

36-39. *Q^otālāḏ, q^otālīl, q^otālūl, q^otālāl, q^otālōl* (in fem. and plur. often with *n* the last consonant sharpened for the reason given in letter *a* above); comp. הַפְּכָפֶךְ *flexuosus*, חֲלַקְלָקוֹת *slippery places*, עֲקֻלְקָלוֹת *crooked (ways)*; פְּתֻלְתָּל *perversus*; also words denoting colours, אֲדָמָדָם (Lev. 13, 42. 49 in pause) *reddish*, fem. אֲדָמָדָמָת, plur. אֲדָמָדָפּוֹת. יִרְקָרֵק *greenish*, plur. fem. יִרְקָרֵקָת; *q^otālīl*, יִפְיִיָּה *very fair* (to be read in Jer. 46, 20 for יִפְיָהוּ); *q^otālūl*, שְׁחֻרְחֻרָת (fem.) *blackish*; אֲסָפְסָף *a rabble* (augmented from אָסוּף *collected*). From a verb פ' with aphaeresis of the initial syllable צִאצְּצָיִם *offspring*. Moreover, of the same form, probably, are חֲצֻצְרָה *a trumpet* (for חֲצֻצְרָה, comp. § 55. c) and פְּקֻקוֹת *an opening*, Is. 61, 1. Also in Is. 2, 20 לְחַפְּרוֹת is to be read instead of לְחַפְּרוֹת (from the *sing.* חֲפְרָה *a digging or burrowing animal, perhaps the mole*).

IX. Nouns in which the Whole (Bilateral) Stem is repeated.

Naturally this class includes only isolated forms of the stems ע'ע' and ע'ע'ע'.¹ *o*
Thus:—

40. גִּלְגָּל *a wheel*, and, with attenuation of the first *ā* to *ī*, גִּלְגִּל (from גִּלָּל); fem. חֲלִיחָה *anguish* (from חוּל or חִיל); כִּכָּר (for *kirkar*) *a talent*; comp. also כּוֹכַב *a star* (from *kāwkāb*, Arabic *kaukāb*, for כִּכָּב).

41. פִּלְפֵּל infin. *Pilpēl* (prop. *Palpēl*) from פוּל; fem. מְטִלְטֵלָה *a hurling p* (from מוּל).

42. כִּרְכֵּר perhaps *a ruby* (for *kādkūd*), from כָּרָר.

43. קִרְקָר *the crown of the head* (for *qūdqud*), from קָרָר; fem. גִּלְגֵּלָת *a skull* (for *gūlgūl*), from גָּלָל.

44. גִּרְדָּד *girded*, from גָּרָד; בִּקְבוּק *a bottle*, from בָּקָק.

§ 85. Nouns with Preformatives and Affirmatives.

These include nouns which are directly derived from verbal forms *a* having preformatives (*Hiph'ūl, Hoph'al, Hithpa'el, Niph'al, &c.*), as well as those which are formed with other preformatives (א, י, נ, מ, ת), and finally those which are formed with affirmatives. The quadrilaterals and quinquilaterals also are taken in connexion with these formations, inasmuch as they arise almost always by the addition or insertion of one or two consonants to the trilateral stem.

¹ On בִּיפִיּוֹת see § 96 under פָּה.

X. Nouns with Preformatives.

- b* 45. Nouns with א prefixed. Comp. the substantives with א prosthetic (§ 19. *m*), such as אַרְוַע *arm* (Jer. 32, 21. Job 31, 22; elsewhere always אַרְוַע); אֶצְבַּע *a finger*, אֶרְבֵּה *a locust*, אֶנְרוּף *fist*. In these examples the א is a 'euphonic' prefix (Barth, *ibid.*, § 150. *b*); in other cases it is 'essential': cf. especially the adjectives, אֶכּוֹב *deceitful*, אֶכּוֹר *cruel*, אֶיֶתֶן *perennis* (for 'aitan) [= the Arab. 'elative,' used for expressing the compar. and superl. degrees]. The fem. אֶזְבֵּרָה *fragrant part* (of the meal-offering) is a *nomen verbale* of *Hiph'ʿl*, answering to the Aramaic infinitive of the causal stem ('*Aph'ʿl*).
- c* 46. Nouns with ה prefixed. Besides the ordinary infinitives of *Hiph'ʿl* הִקְטִיל and הִקְטִיל, of *Niph'al* הִקְטִיל, הִקְטִיל (for *hinq.*), and of the conjugations formed with the prefix הִתְ, this class also includes some rare *nomina verbalia* derived from *Hiph'ʿl* (cf. § 72. *z*), viz. הִתְבָּרָה *appearance* (from הִבָּרַח, Is. 3, 9; הִתְנַפְּהָ *a swinging* (from הִנִּיף, Is. 30, 28; הִתְנַחֵהָ *a rest-giving*, Est. 2, 18; הִתְצַלְהָ *deliverance* (from הִצִּיל), Est. 4, 14 (an Aram. form: cf. הִוָּדָה Dan. 5, 20); perhaps also הִתְפַּלְהָ *palace*, from *haikāl*, unless it be a foreign word from the Assyrian; see the Lexicon.
- d* 47. Nouns with י prefixed, as יֶצְהָר *oil*, יֶלְקוּט *wallet*, יֶנְשִׁיף *owl* (!); from verbs י'ע', e. g. יֶקוּם *a living thing*, יֶתוּר *a range*; from a verb י'ע', יֶרִיב *an adversary*. Of a different character are the many proper names which have simply adopted the imperfect form, as יֶעֱלֵב, יֶעֱחֵק, &c.
- e* 48. Nouns with מ prefixed. This *preformative Mêm*, which is no doubt connected with מִי *who*, and מָה *what* (see § 37 and § 52. *c*), appears in a very large number of nouns, and serves to express the most varied modifications of the idea of the stem: (1) מ *subjective*, when preformative of the participles *Pi'ʿl*, *Hiph'ʿl*, *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 מִדְּבַר *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 *i*; in an open syllable before the tone it is lengthened to *ā* (so also the *i*, attenuated from *ä*, is lengthened to *ē*), and in מִנֵּן *shield* (with suff. מִנֵּנִי) it even becomes unchangeable *ä*. But in an open syllable which does *not* stand before the tone, the *a* necessarily becomes vocal *Šwä*.
- g* The following forms are especially to be noticed: (*a*) ground-form *mäqṭäl*, in Hebrew מִקְטֵל, e. g. מִאֲכָל *food*, fem. מִמְלָכָה *kingdom*, מִאֲבָלָה *a knife*, מִלְאָכָה (for מִלְאָכָה by § 23. *c*) *business*; from a verb מִתֵּן, מִתּוֹן *a gift*; from verbs מִצֵּא, מִצֵּאת *a going forth*, מִשֵּׁב, מִשֵּׁב *a seat*; from verbs מִיטֵב, מִיטֵב *the best* (from *maîtäb*); with י (or *i*) assimilated, מִצֵּעַ *a bed*; from verbs מִסָּךְ, מִסָּךְ *a screen*, and with the shortening of the *ä* under the preformative, מִמָּר *bitterness* (from מִמָּר developed to a segholate), fem. מִשִּׁמּוֹה *desolation*; from a verb מִי'ע',

¹ In מִמְתֵּקִים Cant. 5, 16. Neh. 8, 10, the first syllable is artificially opened to avoid the cacophony; on the *ä* of the second syllable comp. § 93. *cc*.

probably of this class is מקום *place*, the *ä* lengthened to *ā* and obscured to *ð* (Arabic *māqām*); from verbs מראה *appearance*, ל'ה מ'ען (for מ'ענה) prop. *intention*, only in ל'מ'ען *on account of, in order that*.

(b) Ground-form *miqtāl* (the usual form of the infin. *Qal* in Aramaic), Hebr. מ'קטל *he*, e.g. מ'דבר ¹ *a cattle-drive*, fem. מ'לחמה *war*, מ'רפדה *a chariot* (with *S^gghōl* instead of *l*, but in *constr. st.* מ'רפדת Gen. 41, 43; comp. מ'רחק *distance*), מ'שמרת *a watch*; from verbs ע'ע, e.g. מסב *a round* (from *mi-sāb*; *l* in the open syllable being lengthened to *ē*; but comp. also משק *Is. 33, 4* as *constr. state* from שקק with sharpening of the first radical; comp. § 67. g); from verbs ל'ה, מ'קנה *a possession*, fem. מ'קנה.

(c) Ground-form *māqtāl*, Hebr. מ'קטל, e.g. מ'שען *a support* (fem. מ'שענה), מ'סדר *a smith*, fem. מ'כשלה *a ruin*; from a verb פ'פ'נה *an overthrow*; from verbs ע'ע, מ'גן *a shield* (from *māgin*), fem. מ'גלה *a roll* (from ג'לל), מ'ארה *a curse* (for *m^e'irra* from א'רר); from a verb פ'פ'ש *a snare* (from *māwqš*).

(d) Ground-form *miqtāl*, Hebr. מ'קטל, e.g. מ'ספד *mourning*, מ'זבח *an altar* (place of sacrifice); from a verb ע'ע, e.g. מסב *consensus*; (e) ground-form *māqtāl*, Hebr. מ'קטל, as fem. מ'אכלת *food*; from a verb ע'ע, fem. מ'ספה *a covering* (from ס'בה), and also according to the Masora מעוז *a refuge*, with suffixes מעוני and מעוני, plur. מעונים. Very probably, however, most if not all of these forms are to be referred to the stem ע'זו *to flee for safety*, and therefore should be written מעוני, &c. The form מעוז, if derived from the stem ע'זו, would mean *stronghold*.—Cf. also מ'רה *faintness*, developed to a segholate, probably from מ'רה, for *mārōkh* from ר'בה, as מ'תם *soundness of body*, from ת'תם.

With a long vowel in the second syllable: (f) ground-form *maqāl*, in Hebr. always obscured to *ð*, e.g. מ'חסור *want*, מ'לקוח *booty*; from verbs ע'ע, e.g. מ'גור *fear*, fem. מ'גורה and מ'גורה (with the *ð* depressed to *ā* in a toneless syllable; comp. § 27. n), מ'הומה, &c., Is. 22, 5.

(g) Ground-form *miqtāl*, in Hebr. again מ'קטול, e.g. מ'סתור *a covert*, מ'כשול *a stumbling-block* (comp. above, letter *i*, *mākhšēlā*); fem. מ'כמרת *a fishing-net*;

(h) the ground-forms *maqāl* and *miqtāl* (comp. מ'קים) are found only from participles *Hiph'il*; the fem. מ'בלינית *cheerfulness*, is a denominative formed from a participle *Hiph'il*; (i) ground-form *māqtāl*, as מ'לבוש *a garment*.

Rem. On מ as preformative of the participles of all the conjugations except *Qal* and *Niph'al*, comp. § 52. c. Many of these participles have become substantives, as מ'ומרת *snuffers*, מ'שחית *destroyer, destruction*.

49. Nouns with נ prefixed. Besides the participles *Niph'al* (ground-form *nāqtāl*, still retained e.g. in נ'ולד for *nāwlād*, but commonly attenuated to *niqtāl*, Hebr. נ'קטל) and the infinitive *Niph'al* of the form נ'קטל, the prefix נ is found in נ'בהלים *wrestlings*, Gen. 30, 8, which is also to be referred to *Niph'al*.

50. With ש prefixed, e.g. ש'להבת *a flame*. On this *Šaph'el* formation, cf. § 55. i.

¹ In Jer. 2, 31 also, where Baer requires ה'מדרב, read with ed. Mant., Ginsburg, &c. ה'מדרב.

- p 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'פ' and ע'ע'. They may be classified as follows:—(a) the ground-form *tāqtāl* in תַּחְמָס *ostrich* (?); from verbs פ'פ' תוֹשֵׁב *a settler*, fem. תוֹחֵלָה *expectation*, תוֹכַחַת (from the *Hiph'il* הוֹכִיחַ *correction*); from a verb פ'פ' תִּימֹן *the south*; from verbs פ'פ' and ל'ל', תוֹרָה *thanksgiving*, and תוֹרָה *law*, both from *Hiph'il*; from a verb פ'פ' and א'א', תוֹצְאוֹת *issues*; probably belonging to this class, from verbs ע'ע' תְּבִילָה *confusion*, and תְּמַסָּה *a melting away* (developed from תְּבִילָה and תְּמַסָּה, from בְּלָל and מָסָה).
- q (b) *Tāqtāl*, e. g. fem. תְּפָאֲרָה and תְּפָאֲרֹת *glory*; from a verb ל'ל', e. g. תִּקְוָה *hope*; (c) *tāqtāl*, e. g. תְּשֻׁבֵיץ *chequer work*, fem. תְּרִדְמָה *deep sleep* (probably from the *Niph'al* נִרְדַּם); from a verb פ'פ' תוֹבִיחָה *correction* (from the *Hiph'il*-stem, like the *constr. st. plur.* תוֹלְדוֹת *generations*); from verbs ע'ע' תְּהַלְּהָה *praise*, תְּפִלָּה *prayer* (from the *Pi'el* of the stems הִלַּל and פָּלַל).
- r With a long vowel in the second syllable: (d) *tāqtāl*, as תְּהוֹם *the ocean, the deep* (for *tihām*; in Assyrian the fem. *tihāmtu*, *constr. st. tihāmat*, is the usual word for *sea*), unless it is to be derived with Delitzsch, *Prolegomena*, p. 113, from the stem תהם; (e) *tāqtāl* (in Arabic the usual form of the infinitive of conjugation II. which corresponds to the Hebrew *Pi'el*), e. g. from a verb ל'ל', fem. תְּכִלְוִית *completeness*; תְּרִבִּית *increase, usury*, with a parallel form מְרִבִּית; in a passive sense, תְּלַמִּיד *a disciple*; (f) תְּקַטּוּל, e. g. תְּפֹוחַת *an apple* (for *tānpā'āh*); very frequently used to form abstracts, e. g. תְּנַמוּל *a benefit* (also נְמוּל), תְּפִיבֹכָה *perverseness*; from verbs ע'ע' תְּבוֹסָה *a treading down*, תְּנוּפָה *a waving* (like תְּרוּמָה *a lifting up*, from the *Hiph'il* stem), &c.; very frequently also as an abstract plural, e. g. תְּחַבְּלוֹת *guidance*, תְּמָרוֹרִים *bitterness*, תְּנַחֲמוֹת and תְּנַחֲמוּם *consolation*; from a verb ע'ע' תְּאָנִים *toil*.

XI. Nouns with Affirmatives.

- s 52. Nouns with ל affixed. Perhaps חֲשֵׁמֶל *amber* (?), and certainly בְּרוֹץ *iron*, בְּרִמָּל *a fruitful field* (*S^ghōl* in both cases is probably an intensification of the original *ā* in the tone-syllable), גִּבְעֵל *bloom*, comp. § 30. q.
- t 53. Nouns with ם affixed. With an original *ām* as affirmative, אֹלָם *vestibule* (although the *ā* in the *sing.* remains unchangeable), plur. אֹלָמִים; בָּנָם *a swarm of gnats* (if from בָּנָה), סֶלָם *a ladder* (if from סָלַל); with original affirmative *ām*, עֵרוֹם (also עָרוֹם) *naked* (from עוּר), plur. עֵרְמוֹת Gen. 3, 7, parallel form עָרוֹם, plur. עֵרוּמוֹת Gen. 2, 25.—To this class also belong the adverbs in *ām* and *ōm*, mentioned in § 100. g, and many proper names, as גִּרְשָׁם, also גִּרְשָׁוֹם, and גִּרְשָׁוֹן, *patronymic* גִּרְשָׁוִי, מְלָכָם, עֲמָרָם, &c.; on the other hand, the form פְּרִיּוֹם *ransom*, Num. 3, 49, from a verb ל'ל', probably stands merely for the ordinary פְּרִיּוֹן, on account of the following מ.
- u 54. Nouns with ך affixed. The ך is added by means of a simple helping vowel in כְּנַעֲן *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^ghōl* (as גִּרְוֹן *axe*)

or lengthened to \bar{a} (but cf. also אַחֲרַנִּית and קִדְרַנִּית ; e. g. קִנְיֹן a possession, שִׁלְחָן a table, קָרְבָן an offering. From an original δ being changed into an obscure θ there probably arise such forms as דָּאָבוֹן a pining away; דָּרְבוֹן (also דִּרְבָן) a goad; רָעָבוֹן hunger; from verbs ל'ה גָּאוֹן pride, הָמוֹן noise, חֲזוֹן a vision; שָׂרְיוֹן a coat of mail; from a verb פ'ן מִשְׁטָאוֹן guile (the only instance with both מ preformative and ֹן affirmative)¹; very frequently from the simple stem with an unorganic sharpening of the second radical, e. g. זְכוֹרֹן memorial, בְּלִיּוֹן destruction (*constr. st.* וְכַהוֹן and בְּלִיּוֹן), &c.; comp. also הָרִיּוֹן pregnancy (for הָרָה) and § 93. *uu.* Proper names occur with the termination ֹן , as יִשְׂרָאוֹן , § 86. *g.*

Rem. A large number of proper names now ending in ה' or ו' used to be classed as nouns originally formed with the suffix ֹן . The subsequent rejection of the final *Nûn* seemed to be confirmed by the form מְגִדּוֹן , once used (Zech. 12, 11) for מְגִדּוֹ (and conversely in Prov. 27, 20 אַבְדָה קֶרֶבֶת , *Q^{er}* אַבְדוֹ for אַבְדוֹן destruction), also by the fact that for שְׁלֹמָה the LXX give the form Σολωμών or Σαλωμών , and especially that in the patronymics and tribal names (§ 86. *h.*) a *Nûn* appears before the termination ֹן , as גִּילּוֹנִי Gilomite from גִּלְהָ and שִׂילּוֹנִי from שִׁילָה (modern name *Sailân*). Wetzstein, however (in Delitzsch's *Commentary on Job*, 1st ed., p. 599), explained the *Nûn* in מְגִדּוֹן as a secondary addition to the common old-Palestinian termination ֹן (יְרִיחוֹ , עֲבוֹנוֹ , רַמּוֹנוֹ , &c.), and Barth (*Nominalbildung*, § 224. *b.*) has since shown the unsoundness of the prevailing view on other grounds: the rejection of the *Nûn* would be much more likely to occur in the numerous appellatives in ֹן than in proper names; גִּילּוֹנִי and שִׂילּוֹנִי are due to the necessity of avoiding, for euphonic reasons, such forms as גִּילְלֹ-ֹן , שִׂילְלֹ-ֹן , &c.; cf. also שִׁלְנִי from שִׁלָה .

On the affirmatives ֹן , ֹת , ֹת , see below, § 86. *h-1.*

XII. Quadrilaterals and Quinquilaterals.

55. גְּלָמוֹר *sterilis*, חֶלְמִישׁ a flint, and the fem. וּלְעָפָה a glow, &c., have probably arisen from the insertion of a ל ; חֶרְגָל a locust, קֶרֶם an axe, כֶּרְעָפָה a branch, Ezek. 31, 5 (verses 6. 8 כֶּעָפָה), from insertion of a ר . Comp., moreover, חֶרְמִישׁ a sickle, סְמֶרֶר vine-blossom; with an initial ע , עֲטַלְף a bat, עֶבְבִישׁ a spider, עֶכְבָר a mouse, עֶקְרָב a scorpion², &c. Quinquilateral, צַפְרִידַע a frog.

¹ The plurals נִצְנָיִם flowers, Cant. 2, 12, and קַמִּישָׁנִים thorns appear to be formed directly from the singulars נִיץ (comp. נִצָה) and קַמִּישׁ with the insertion of $\bar{a}n$ (which becomes obscured to $\bar{o}n$). See Nöldeke, *Mand. Gr.*, p. 169, Rem. 3; similarly, according to Hoffmann, 'Einige phöniz. Inschriften,' p. 15 (*Abhandlungen der Göttinger Gesellschaft der Wissensch.*, xxxvi), עֲבוֹבוֹנִים wares, Ezek. 27, 14. 16, from $\text{עֲבוֹב} = \text{עָבוֹב}$.

² Derenbourg (*Revue des études juives*, 1883, p. 165) infers from the above examples and a comparison of the Arabic 'usfir, sparrow (from *şafara*, to chirp), that ע was especially employed to form quadrilateral names of animals.

§ 86. *Denominative Nouns.*

- a* 1. Such are all nouns formed *immediately* from another noun, whether the latter be primitive or derived from a verb, e.g. קְרָמוֹן *eastern*, immediately from קָרַם *the east* (verbal stem קָרַם *to be in front*).
- b* 2. Most of the forms which nouns of this class assume have already 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 letter *e*).
- c* The most common forms of denominatives are—
1. Those like the *participle Qal* (§ 84 *a*, letter *s*), e.g. שְׁעָר *a porter*, from שָׁעַר *a gate*; בָּקָר *a herdsman*, from בָּקַר *a herd*; בָּרֵם *a vinedresser*, from בָּרַם *a vineyard*.
- d* 2. Those like the form *qāttāl* (§ 84 *b*, letter *b*), e.g. קִשֶׁת *an archer*, from קִשַׁת *a bow*. Both these forms (letters *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 (comp. § 85. *e*), or its neighbourhood, e.g. מַעְיָן *a place of fountains*, from עָיַן; מַרְגְּלוֹת *the place about the feet*, מַרְאֲשׁוֹת *the place about the head*, from רָגַל; מִקְשָׁה (מִקְשָׁאָה) *a cucumber field*, from קִשָּׂא *cucumber*. Comp. ἀμπελῶν from ἀμπελος.
- f* 4. Nouns with the termination יָ or וֹן to express adjectival ideas: קְרָמוֹן *eastern*, from קָרַם; אַחֲרוֹן *posterior*, from אָחַר; חַיצוֹן *exterior*, from חָצַן; probably also לְוִיחָן *coiled*, hence *coiled animal, serpent*, from לָוַיַּח *a winding*; נְחֹשֶׁת *brazen*, from נָחַשׁ *brass*. Also abstracts, e.g. עֵוְרוֹן *blindness*, from עָוַר. Comp. § 85. *u*.—With a double termination (*bn* or *ān* with *ē*) אֲדָמִי *reddish*, יָדְעָנִי *a knowing (spirit)*; צַפְעָנִי *basilisk*; רַחֲמָנִיּוֹת *merciful* [fem. plur.].
- g* וֹן appears to be used as a diminutive ending (comp. the Syriac וֹן) in אִישׁוֹן *little man (in the eye)*, אִפְּלוֹן *apple of the eye*, from אִישׁ¹; on the other hand שְׂפִיפֹן

[¹ 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. עֻלְיָמָא, Syr. حَكْمَا, Arab. غُلَيْمٌ *a very young man, kulaib, a little dog*, &c. Since Olshausen (§ 180), וְעִיר *a little* (Is. 28, 10. 13. Job 36, 2) has commonly been regarded as an example of the same form, to which others have added שְׂבִיטִים Is. 3, 18 (as though a foreign dialectical form for *shumats, little sun*), and אֲמִינוֹן 2 Sam. 13, 20, as a contemptuous diminutive form of אֲמִנוֹן; cf. Ewald, § 167, W. Wright, *Arab. Gramm.*² i. § 269, De Lagarde, *Nominalbildung*, pp. 85–87, König, ii. 1, p. 143 sq. The existence of the form in Hebrew is disputed by Barth, § 192. *d*.]

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 יִשְׂרָוֶן is a *denominative* from יִשָּׁר (= יִשְׂרָ), and not a *diminutive* (*pious little people*, and the like), but properly *upright* (*righteous people*); finally, שֶׁהָרוֹן is not *lunula*, but an *artificial moon* (used as an ornament), and צְוֹרְנִים not *little neck*, but *necklace* (from צוּר neck). Comp. Delitzsch on Cant. 4, 9.

5. Peculiar to this class of nouns is the termination יָ, which converts *h* 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. רַגְלֵי *footman*, plur. רַגְלָיִם, from רַגֵּל *foot*; אֲכָרִי *cruel*, נְכָרִי *strange*, from נָכַר *strangeness*, תַּחְתָּי *lower*, from תַּחַת *below*, fem. תַּחְתֵּית and תַּחְתֵּיהָ, plur. תַּחְתֵּימִים; תַּחְתֵּי שֵׁשִׁי *the sixth*, from שֵׁשׁ *six*; מוֹאָבִי *Moabite*, from מוֹאָב, plur. מוֹאָבִים, fem. מוֹאָבִיָּה and מוֹאָבִית, plur. מוֹאָבִיּוֹת; עֵבְרִי *Hebrew*, plur. עֵבְרִיִּים and עֵבְרִיָּה, fem. עֵבְרִיָּה, plur. עֵבְרִיּוֹת; יִשְׂרָאֵלִי *Israelite*, from יִשְׂרָאֵל. When the original substantive is a *compound*, it is resolved again into two words, e. g. בְּנֵי־יַמִּי *Benjamite*, from בְּנֵי־יָמִין (comp. on the use of the article in such cases, § 127. d').

Instead of יָ we find in a few cases (a) the ending יָ (as in Aram.), *i* e. g. כְּפִילֵי (*crafty*, or, according to others, *churlish*) if it stands for נְכִילֵי and is not rather from a stem כָּלָא or כָּלָה; הוֹרֵי *white cloth*, Is. 19, 9 in pause; perhaps also גּוֹבֵי *a swarm of locusts*, Am. 7, 1. Nah. 3, 17; hardly נְגִינוֹתֵי Is. 38, 20. Hab. 3, 19; but certainly in proper names as בְּרִזְלֵי (*ferreus*) Barzillai¹; and (b) הָ, arising from *hy*, in אֵשָׁה *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, [יָ] (§ 95. l), *h* comp. our terminations *-dom*, *-hood*, *-ness*, e. g. יְלָדוֹת *youth*, מְלְכוּת *kingdom* (the loosely closed syllable seems to show that the *Schw* is weakened from a full vowel); אֲלֻמְנוֹת *widowhood*, from אֲלָמָן *widower*, אֲלֻמְנָה *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 (comp., as substantival infinitives of this kind, הַשְׁמְעוֹת *the announcing*, Ezek. 24, 26, and הַתְּחַבְּרוֹת *the making of a league*, Dan. 11, 23); in Hebr. וֹת as a termination to express abstract ideas (as well as those which appear to be directly derived from the verbal stem, as סְבָלוֹת *folly*, רְפָאוֹת *a healing*²) becomes more common only in the later Books. It is affixed to adjectives ending in *i* (see above, letter *h*) in אֲכָרִיּוֹת *cruelty*, קוֹמְמִיּוֹת *upright position* (Lev. 26, 13, used adverbially).

The ending יָ is found earlier, e. g. in שְׂאֵרִית *remainder*, רְאִשִׁית *princ-* *i* *cipium*, from רָאשׁ = רֵאשׁ *princeps*. The termination *ôth* seems to occur in חֲכָמוֹת *wisdom* (in Prov. 1, 20, 9, 1, joined to a *singular*; so also חֲכָמוֹת Prov. 14, 1, where, probably, חֲכָמוֹת should likewise be read) and in הוֹלְלוֹת Eccles. 1, 17, &c., with the parallel form הוֹלְלוֹת Eccles. 10, 13.

¹ On יָ as an old fem. ending, see above, § 80. l.

² See a complete list of instances in König, *Lehrgebäude*, ii. 1, p. 205 sq.

§ 87. *Of the Plural*¹.

- a* 1. The regular *plural* termination for the *masculine gender* is ם־, e. g. סוּם *horse*, plur. סוּסִים *horses*; but also very often written defectively ם־, especially when in the same word one of the vowel letters, ו or י; precedes, e. g. Gen. 1, 21 תַּיִנִּים. Nouns in י־ make their plural in יִים־, e. g. עֵבְרִי *a Hebrew*, plur. עֵבְרִיִּים (Ex. 3, 18); but usually contraction takes place, e. g. עֵבְרִים; שָׁנִים *crimson garments*, from שָׁנִי.
- b* Nouns in ה־ lose this termination when they take the plural ending, e. g. חֹזֶה *seer*, plur. חוֹזִים (comp. § 75. *h*).—In regard to the loss of the tone from the ם־ in the two old plurals מַיִם *water* and שָׁמַיִם *heaven*, comp. § 88. *d* and § 96.
- c* The termination יִם־ is sometimes assumed also by feminines (comp. נְשִׁים *women*, § 96 under אִשָּׁה; שָׁנִים *years*, from שָׁנָה; רְחֵלִים *ewes*, from רְחֵל), and is employed besides to represent intensive ideas (§ 124. *e*), so that an indication of gender is not necessarily combined with it (comp. also below, letters *m-p*).
- d* This ending *im* is also common in Phoenician, e. g. צִדְנִים *Sidonii*; Aramaic has *im*; Arabic *ina* (nominative) and *ina* (in the oblique cases, but in vulgar Arabic *im* is also used for the nominative); in Ethiopic *an*. Comp. also the verbal ending וִין².
- e* Less frequent, or only apparent terminations of the plur. masc. are—
(*a*) י־, as in Aramaic³, found almost exclusively in the later Books of the Old Testament (apart from the poetical use in some of the older and even the oldest portions), viz. מְלָכִין *kings*, Prov. 31, 3, אֲדָרְגִין 1 Ki. 11, 33, רִצִּין *the guard*, 2 Ki. 11, 13, חֲטִיִּין *wheat*, Ezek. 4, 9; defectively אִין *islands*, Ezek. 26, 18; יָמִין *days*, Dan. 12, 13. Comp. also מְדִיִּין *carpets*, Jud. 5, 10 (in the North-Palestinian song of Deborah, which has also other linguistic peculiarities); עֵיִין *heaps*, Mic. 3, 12 (? caused by the following ת); מְוָלִין *words* (from the Aram. מְוָלָה), Job 4, 2, and twelve other places in Job (beside מְוָלִים, ten times in Job); further, תִּיִּין Job 24, 22, אֲחֵרִין 31, 10, and שְׁוִימְטִין Lam. 1, 4, תַּנִּין 4, 3.—The following form is doubtful:
- f* (b) י־ (with the ם rejected, as, according to some, in the *dual* יָדִי for יָדִים Ezek. 13, 18, comp. § 88. *c*), e. g. מְנִיִּין *stringed instruments*, Ps. 45, 9 for מְנִיִּים

¹ Cf. Mayer Lambert, 'Remarques sur la formation du pluriel hébreu,' in the *Revue des études juives*, xxiv. p. 99 sqq.

² On the connexion between all these endings see Dietrich's *Abhandl. zur hebr. Grammatik*, Leipzig, 1846, p. 51 sqq.; Halévy, *Revue des études juives*, 1887, p. 138 sqq.; [cf. also Driver, *Tenses*, § 6, *Obs.* 2.]

³ So also always on the Mésa' stone, e. g. line 2 שלשן *thirty*; line 4 מלכין *kings*; line 5 ימן רבין *many days*, &c.

(unless it is to be so written)¹; עַמִּי *peoples*, Ps. 144, 2, and, probably, also Lam. 3, 14 (in 2 Sam. 22, 44 it may be understood as עַמִּי *my people*; comp. in the parallel passage Ps. 18, 44 עַם; also in Cant. 8, 2 the *ל* of רַמְנֵי is better regarded as a *suffix*); see also 2 Sam. 23, 8 as compared with 1 Chron. 11, 11; 1 Sam. 20, 38 *K^{oth}*, and on the whole question Gesenius, *Lehrgebäude*, p. 524 sqq. More doubtful still is—

(c) יָ— (like the constr. state in Syriac), which is supposed to appear in e. g. שָׂרֵי *princes*, Jud. 5, 15 (perhaps *my princes* is intended: read with LXX שָׂרִים); for תְּלוּנֵי קָפוֹן Jer. 22, 14 (according to others *dual*, see § 88. c) read תְּלוּנֵי וּסְ. On תְּלוּנֵי and חוּרֵי, which were formerly so explained, see above, § 86. i.— חֲשׂוּפֵי (for which the right reading is certainly חֲשׂוּפֵי) Is. 20, 4 can only be intended by the Masora as a singular with the formative syllable יָ— = *bareness*; in אֲדֹנָי *the Lord* (prop. *my lord*, from the plur. *majestatis*, אֲדֹנִים *lord*), the *ay* was originally a suffix, § 135. q.

(d) מָ— a supposed *plural* ending in בְּנָם = בְּנִים *gnats* (or *lice*), which, however, is probably rather a collective sing. (from the stem בָּנָן) with the formative syllable מָ—; so סֻלָּם *ladder* (supposed by some to be a plur. like our *stairs*) appears to be similarly formed from סָלַל; comp. on both, § 85. z.

2. The plural termination of the *feminine gender* is generally indicated by the termination וֹת (often written defectively ת'—, e. g. תְּהִלָּה *song of praise, psalm*, plur. תְּהִלוֹת (only in post-biblical Hebrew סֵפֶר תְּהִלוֹת, as in the titles of the printed editions, as well as תְּהִלִּים *the Book of Psalms*); אִפְרָת *a letter*, plur. אִפְרוֹת; בְּאֵר *a well*, plur. בְּאֵרוֹת. Feminines in יָת— form their plural in יוֹת—, e. g. מִצְרִית *an Egyptian woman*, plur. מִצְרִיּוֹת; and those in יֵת either make יוֹת—, as מַלְכוּת *kingdom*, plur. מַלְכוּתוֹת, Dan. 8, 22 (cf. תְּנִיּוֹת *cells*, Jer. 37, 16), or are inflected like עֲדוֹת *testimonies* (pronounced 'ēdh^hwōth 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 יָ— or ת'—, e. g. תְּנִיָּה *spear*, plur. תְּנִיּוֹת and תְּנִיּוֹת; זְנוּת *whoredom*, plur. זְנוּתִים (by the side of זְנוּתִים); אִלְמָנוּת *widowhood*; שְׁחִיתוֹת *pits*, &c.

The termination -ōth stands primarily for -āth (which is the form it has in Arab., Eth., in the *constr. st.* of Western Aramaic, in Eastern Syriac, and also in Assyrian, Delitzsch, *Assyrische Gramm.*, p. 187; 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* (comp. § 80. b).

¹ According to some this *ל* is simply due to a neglect of the point (§ 5. m), which in MSS. and elsewhere marked the abbreviation of the plur. ending. Hence Cheyne (after Lowth) emends Is. 5, 1 into שִׁירַת דְּוִרִים *a love-song*.

How the changeable vowels of a noun are shortened or become vocal *šwā* in consequence of the addition of the plural endings is explained in §§ 92–95.

m 3. Words which in the singular are used both as masculine and 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 the plural forms remains the same as in the singular, e. g. אֲרִי masc. *a lion*, plur. אֲרִיֹּת masc., Zeph. 3, 3, דּוֹרוֹת masc., Job 42, 16.

n 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.* Deut. 32, 7, Ps. 90, 15) and שָׁנוֹת (also only in the *constr. st.* and before suffixes) are rarer poetic forms.

o A difference of meaning appears in several names of members of the body, 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. יָדַיִם *hands*, יָדוֹת *artificial hands*, also e. g. the *arms* of a throne; כַּפָּיִם *hands*, כַּפּוֹת *handles* (Lat. *manubria*); פֶּעַם *foot*, פֶּעָמוֹת *artificial feet* (of the ark), קַרְנָיִם *horns*, קַרְנוֹת *horns* (of the altar); עֵינָיִם *eyes*, עֵינּוֹת *fountains*.

p 4. A considerable number of masculines form their plural in וֹת, while many feminines have a plural in יִם. The gender of the singular, however, as a rule remains the same in the plural, e. g. אָב *father*, plur. אָבוֹת; פְּרָעוֹת *princes*, from פָּרַע; מְאוֹר *a light*, plur. מְאוֹרִים and מְאוֹרֹת, comp. Gen. 1, 16; שֵׁם *name*, plur. שְׂמוֹת; פִּילֹגֶשֶׁת *concubine*, plur. פִּילֹגֶשֶׁתִּים.

q Feminines ending in הַ which take in the plural the termination יִם are אֶלְהָ *terebinth*, אִימָה *terror*, דְּבֵלָה *a cake of figs*, חֶטָּה *wheat*, לְבֵנָה *a brick*, מִלָּה (only in poetry) *a word*, סֵאָה *a dry measure*, שְׁעוֹרָה *barley*, and the following names of animals דְּבוֹרָה *a bee* and יוֹנָה *a dove*; also, for בִּיציִם fem. *eggs*, a singular בִּיצָה is to be assumed. אֶלְמָה *sheaf* and שָׁנָה *year* (see above, letter *n*) take both יִם and וֹת; comp. finally שִׁבְלֵת *an ear of corn*, plur. שִׁבְלֵיִם.

r 5. A strict distinction in gender between the two plural endings is found, in fact, only in adjectives and participles, e. g. טוֹבִים *boni*, טוֹבוֹת *bonae*, קְטָלִים masc., קְטָלוֹת fem. So also in substantives of the

same stem, where there is an express distinction of sex, as בָּנִים *filii*, בָּנוֹת *filiae*; מְלָכִים *reges*, מְלָכוֹת *reginae*.

Rem. 1. In some few words there is added to the plural ending וְת a second masculine plural termination (in the form of the *constr. st.* וְתֵי, comp. § 89. c), or a dual ending וְתֵי, e. g. בְּמָה a high place, plur. בְּמֹתַי, *constr. st.* בְּמֹתַי (also בְּמֹתַי *bām^othē*, Is. 14, 14, Job 9, 8, &c., sometimes as *Q^{erē}* to the K^{ethibh} בְּמֹתַי; see § 95. o); מִרְאֲשֵׁי שָׂאוּל from Saul's head, 1 Sam. 26, 12; חוֹמָה wall, plur. חוֹמוֹת *moenia*, whence dual חוֹמֹתַי *double walls*. This double indication of the plural appears also in the connexion of suffixes with the plural ending וְת (§ 91. m).

2. Some nouns are only used in the singular (e. g. אָדָם *man*, and collectively *men*); a number of other nouns only in the plural, e. g. מְתִים *men* (the old *sing.* מֵת is only preserved in proper names, see § 90. o; in Eth. the *sing.* is *mēt*, man); some of these have, moreover, a singular meaning (§ 124. a), as פָּנִים *face*. In such cases, however, these forms can also express plurality, e. g. פָּנִים means also *faces*, Gen. 40, 7. Ezek. 1, 6; comp. אֱלֹהִים *God*, and also *gods* (the *sing.* אֱלֹה, except in Job and Daniel, occurs only ten times. [In Job it occurs forty-one and in Daniel four times]).

§ 88. Of the Dual.

Comp. the literature on the Semitic dual in Grünert, *Die Begriffs-Präponderanz und die Duale a potiori im Altarab.* (Wien, 1886), p. 21.

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 letter *e*). The dual termination is never found in adjectives, verbs or pronouns. In the noun it is indicated in both genders by the termination וְתֵי (no doubt connected with the plural ending וְתֵי) appended to the ground-form¹, e. g. יָדַי *both hands*, יוֹמַי *two days*. Instead of the feminine ending הָ, the dual form is always added to the old ending *ath*, but necessarily with *ā* (since it is in an open syllable before the tone), thus תַּיִם, e. g. שִׁפָּה *lip*, שִׁפְתַּיִם *both lips*. From a feminine with the ending תֵּי, e. g. נְחֹשֶׁת (from *n^ehušt*) the dual is formed like נְחֹשֶׁתַיִם *double fetters*.

With nouns which in the singular have not a feminine ending, the dual termination is likewise really added to the ground-form; but the latter generally undergoes certain changes in consequence of the

¹ On dual endings appended to the plural see § 87. s and § 95. o at the beginning.

shifting of the tone, e. g. כַּנָּף *wing* (ground-form *kānāph*), dual כַּנְפַיִם, the first *ā* becoming *Šwā*, since it no longer stands before the tone, and the second *ā* being lengthened before the new tone syllable. In 1 Ki. 16, 24. 2 Ki. 5, 23 the form כַּנְפַיִם evidently merely points to the *constr. st.* כַּנְפָי, which would be expected before כֶּסֶף; cf. כַּנְפַיִם in 2 Ki. 5, 23, and on the syntax see § 131. *d*. In the segholate forms (§ 84 *a*, letter *a*) the dual ending is mostly added to the ground-form, e. g. רַגְלַיִם *foot* (ground-form *rāgl*), dual רַגְלַיִם; comp., however, קַרְנַיִם (only in the book of Daniel), as well as קַרְנַיִם from קַרְנֵי *horn*, and לְחַיִם from לְחֵי *cheek* (as if from the plurals קַרְנוֹת, לְחָיִם).

- c* Rem. 1. Certain place-names were formerly reckoned as dual-forms (so in earlier editions of this Grammar, and still in König's *Lehrgebäude*, ii. p. 437) as—
 (a) those in יָיִן and יָיִן, e. g. דִּתָּן Gen. 37, 17, and דִּתָּן 2 Ki. 6, 13; קִרְתָּן Jos. 21, 32, identical with קִרְיָתִים in 1 Chron. 6, 61 (cf. also the Moabite names of towns in the Méša' inscription, line 10 קִרְיָתִים = Hebrew קִרְיָתִים; line 30 בַּת דְּבַלְתָּן = בַּת דְּבַלְתָּיִם Jer. 48, 22; lines 31, 32 חֹרֶנֶן = חֹרֶנֶיִם Is. 15, 5, &c.); (b) in דָּן, so הַעֵינָם Jos. 15, 34 (= עֵינָיִם Gen. 38, 21). The view that יָיִן and דָּן arise from a contraction of the dual terminations יָיִן (as in Western Aramaic, cf. also nom. *āni*, accus. *aini*, of the dual in Arabic) and דָּן seemed to be supported by the Méša' inscription, where we find (line 20) מֵאתַיִן *two hundred* = מֵאתַיִם, Hebrew מֵאתַיִם. 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 יָיִן and דָּן in these place-names only arise from a subsequent expansion of the terminations יָיִן and דָּן: so Wellhausen, *Jahrbücher für Deutsche Theologie*, xxi. 433; Philippi, *ZDMG*. xxxii. 65 sq.; Barth, *Nominalbildung*, p. 319, note 5; Strack, *Kommentar zur Genesis*, p. 139. The strongest argument in favour of this opinion is that we have a clear case of such an expansion in the *Q^rē 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 שְׁמַרְיָן = שְׁמַרְיָן for the Hebrew שְׁמַרְיָן *Samaria*.—We may add to this list נְהַרְיָם, אֶפְרַיִם (*the river country*), מִצְרַיִם *Egypt*, Phoenician מִצְרָם; also the words denoting time, צַהֲרַיִם *midday* (Méša' inscription, line 15 צַהֲרָם), and perhaps עֶרְבַיִם *in the evening*, if the regular expression בֵּין הָעֶרְבַיִם Ex. 12, 6. 16, 12, &c., is only due to mistaking עֶרְבַיִם for a dual: LXX πρὸς ἑσπέραν, τὸ δειλινόν, ὕψέ, and only in Lev. 23, 5 ἀνὰ μέσον τῶν ἑσπερινῶν.

Instead of the supposed dual יְרֵי Ezek. 13, 18 read יְרֵים. On חַלְוַיִן (generally taken to be a *double window*) Jer. 22, 14, see above, § 87. *g*.

- d* 2. Only apparently dual-forms are the words מַיִם *water* and שָׁמַיִם *heaven*, the termination *im* having abnormally lost the tone, which it otherwise always takes (§ 87. *a*), and become shortened. Only of מַיִם is the sing. מַי preserved in the

proper name אַחוּמִי; cf., however, Arab. *ma'un* and *sāmā'un*, Eth. *māy* and *samāy*¹, Assy. *mū* (plur. *mē* and *māmē*) and *šamū* (plur. *šamē* and *šamāmē*).

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, comp. זְרָעִים and זְרָעוֹת *arms*, never in the dual), e. g. יָדַי *both hands*, אָזְנוֹי *both ears*, שֵׁנַי *teeth* (of both rows); also נְעָלַי *a pair of sandals*, מֵאֲזֵנַי *a pair of scales*, Lat. *bilanx*, &c., or things which are at least thought of as forming a pair, e. g. יוֹמַי *two* (successive) *days*, Lat. *biduum*; שָׁבָעַי *two weeks*; שְׁנָתַי *two years* (in succession), Lat. *biennium*; אַפְתָּי *two cubits*².

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 רַגְלַי *four feet*, Lev. 11, 23; שֵׁשׁ כְּנָפַי *six wings* (i. e. three pairs), Is. 6, 2. Ezek. 1, 6; even שִׁבְעָה עֵינַי *seven eyes*, Zech. 3, 9, כָּל-כַּרְפֵּי *all knees*, Ezek. 7, 17; כָּל-יָדַי *all hands*, Ezek. 21, 7; מִצְלָתַי *cymbals*, Ezr. 3, 10; שְׁפָתַי *double-hooks*, Ezek. 40, 43.—To express a certain emphasis the numeral *two* is used with the dual, as in Jud. 16, 28. Amos 3, 12.—See some other remarks on the use of the dual in § 87. *o* and *s*.

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 in the language. The 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.

¹ According to Barth, *ZDMG.* xlii. p. 341, the Hebrew *māy*, *šāmāy* also are only shortened from original *māy* and *šamāy*, while the plurals מַיִם, שָׁמַיִם are, in his opinion, formed on a false analogy, due to the fact that the forms with suffixes (שָׁמַיִךְ, שָׁמַיִנִי) appeared to represent plurals.

² But for דְּרָכַי Prov. 28, 6. 18 (which the Masora takes as two roads leading from the cross-ways) דְּרָכַי is to be read.

§ 89. *The Genitive and the Construct State.*

Philippi, *Wesen und Ursprung des Stat. Constr. im Hebr. Ein Beitrag zur Nominalflexion im Semitischen überhaupt*, Weimar, 1871, p. 98 sqq. : on which cf. Nöldeke in the *Göttingische Gel. Anzeigen*, 1871, p. 23.

a 1. The Hebrew language no longer makes a living use of *case-endings*¹, but indicates the *relations of case* externally, either not at all (this is so for the *nominative*, generally also for the *accusative*) or by means of prepositions (§ 119), while the *genitive* relation is mostly indicated by a close connexion (or interdependence) between 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 latter², and the consequently weakened tone of the former word, then usually involves further changes within 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 vocal Š^ewá (comp. § 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*, in German *Gotteswort*, *housetop*, *landlord*); יָד hand, יַד הַמֶּלֶךְ the hand of the king; דְּבָרִים words, דְּבַרֵי 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.

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.

¹ On some remains of obsolete case-endings see § 90.

² 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.

2. The *vowel changes* which are occasioned in many nouns by the *construct state* are more fully described in §§ 92-95. Moreover, 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 ־ִי , e. g. סוּסִים horses, פָּרְעֵה סוּסֵי the horses of Pharaoh; עֵינַיִם eyes, הַפֶּלֶךְ עֵינֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ the eyes of the king.

Rem. The ־ִי of the dual has evidently arisen from ־ִי (cf. רִימִים), but the origin of the termination ־ִי in the *constr. st.* plur. is disputed. The Syriac *constr. st.* in *ay* and the form of the plural noun before suffixes (סוּסִים, סוּסֵי, &c., § 91. *h*) would point to a contraction of an original ־ִי , as in the dual. But whether this *ay* was only transferred from the dual to the plural (so Olshausen), or is to be regarded as the *abstract, collective* termination, as in אִשָּׁה (letter *f*) and חוֹרֵי (so Philippi, *Theologische Litteraturzeitung*, 1890, col. 419), must be left undecided.

(*b*) The original ־ִי is regularly retained as the feminine termination in the *construct state* sing. of those nouns which in the *absolute state* end in ־ִי , e. g. מַלְכַּת שֶׁבַע queen, מַלְכַּת שֶׁבַע the queen of Sheba. But the feminine endings ־ִי , ־ִי , and also the plural ending ־ִי , remain unchanged in the *construct state*.

(*c*) Nouns in ־ִי (cf. § 75. *e*) from verbs ל'ה (§ 93, Paradigm III, *c*) form their *constr. st.* in ־ִי , e. g. רֵאָה seer, constr. רֵאָה; probably this ־ִי is due to contraction of the original ־ִי , with ה added as a vowel letter. The same contraction occurs in רֵי, constr. רֵי sufficiency; חַי, constr. חַי life; גַּי (גַּי), constr. גַּי (גַּי) valley.

On the terminations ־ִי and ־ִי in the *constr. st.* see § 90.

§ 90. *Probable Remains of Early Case-endings, ־ִי local, ־ִי and ־ִי in the Construct State.*

K. U. Nylander, *Om Kasusändelserna i Hebräiskan*, Upsala, 1882.

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. In Hebrew, however, they have for the most part lost their original signification, and hence can only be regarded now as decayed fragments of a fuller and more vigorous organic period, since the language, in the condition in which we find it in the Old Testament, no longer distinguishes the cases by terminations.

b In Assyrian the rule is that *u* marks the nominative, *i* the genitive, and *a* the accusative, '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 Bedâwi, 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 sq., and especially Spitta, *Gramm. des arab. Vulgärdialekts von Ägypten*, Leipz. 1880, p. 147 sqq.). Even as early as the Sinaitic inscriptions, their regular use is not maintained (Beer, *Studia Asiatica*, iii. 1840, p. xviii; Tuch, *ZDMG.* iii. 139 sq.). Ethiopic has preserved only the *-a* (in proper names *-hd*), 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.

c 2. The *accusative* relation is preserved in Hebrew most clearly in the (usually toneless) ending הַ־, which is appended to the substantive:

(*a*) Most commonly to express *direction towards* an object, or *motion to a place*¹, e. g. יָפִיָּה *sea-ward, westward*, קִרְמָה *eastward*, צְפוֹנָה *northward*, אֲשׁוּרָה *to Assyria*, בְּבָבֶלָה *to Babylon*, הַרְהָ (from הַר) *to the mountain*, Gen. 14, 10, אֶרֶץ *to the earth*, בֵּיתָה *to the house*, תִּרְצָהָ *to Tirzah* (תִּרְצָה) 1 Ki. 14, 17 and elsewhere, עֲזָתָה *to Gaza* (עֲזָה) Jud. 16, 1; with the article הַהֲרֵה *to the mountain*, הַבֵּיתָה *into the house*, הַחֲבֵרָה *into the chamber*, 1 Ki. 1, 15; הָאֹהֶלָה² *into the tent*, Gen. 18, 6 and elsewhere; even with the *constr. st.* before a genitive יוֹסֵף *into Joseph's house*, Gen. 43, 17. 24; אֶרֶץ הַצֶּנֶב *toward the land of the south*, Gen. 20, 1; אֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם *to the land of Egypt*, Ex. 4, 20; מִדְּבָרָה רַפְיִשָׁק *to the wilderness of Damascus*, 1 Ki. 19, 15; מִזְרְחָה שָׁמֶשׁ *toward the sunrising*, Deut. 4, 41; and even with the plural בְּשָׂרֵימָה *to the Chaldeans*, Ezek. 11, 24; הַשָּׁמַיִמָה *towards the heavens*.

¹ 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*. This view of the locative as an old accusative is, however, not undisputed. Olshausen (*Lehrbuch*, § 130. *a*) considers the termination הַ־ although 'of great antiquity, a new invention' in Hebrew; in the opinion of Praetorius (*ZAW.* iii. 215 sqq.) it was originally compatible only with certain forms of the *constr. st.* (such as מִזְרְחָה שָׁמֶשׁ, &c.) and was then secondarily transferred to the more common uses of the *constr. state* and to the *absolute state*.

² הָאֹהֶלָה in Baer's text, Gen. 18, 6, is an error, according to his preface to Isaiah, p. v.

Rem. The above examples are mostly rendered definite by the article, or by a following genitive of definition, or are proper names. But cases like *יָמָה*, *הָרָה*, *בַּיְתָה* show that the locative form of *itself* possessed a defining power.

(b) In a somewhat weakened sense, merely indicating the place *d* where something is or happens (cf. § 118. d), e. g. *מַחֲנֵימָה* in *Mahanaim*, 1 Ki. 4, 14; *שָׁמָּה* there (usually *thither*), Jer. 18, 2, comp. 2 Ki. 23, 8, and the expression *to turn a sacrifice into sweet smoke* *הַמִּזְבֵּחַ*, properly *towards the altar* for *on the altar*. On the other hand, *בְּבָלָה* Jer. 29, 15, and *וּבְבָלָה* Hab. 3, 11, are to be regarded as ordinary accusatives of direction, *to Babylon, into the habitation*; also expressions like *פָּצְאוֹנָה* *the quarter towards the north*, Jos. 15, 5 (at the beginning of the verse; *הַגְּבוּל הַקֶּרְמָה* *the border toward the east*), comp. 18, 15. 20. Ex. 26, 18. Jer. 23, 8.

(c) The original force of the ending *הַ* is also disregarded when *e* it is added to a substantive with a preposition prefixed, and this not only after *לְ*, *אֶל-* or *עַד-* (which are easily explained), e. g. *לְמַעְלָה* upwards, *לְמַטָּה* downwards, *לְשָׁאוֹלָה* to *Sheol*, Ps. 9, 18; *עַד-אַפְּסָה* unto *Aphēq*, Jos. 13, 4, *אֶל-הַצָּפוֹנָה* toward the north, Ezek. 8, 14, comp. Jud. 20, 16; but also after *בְּ*, and even after *מִן*, e. g. *בְּיַבֵּיבָה* in the south, Jos. 15, 21, comp. Jud. 14, 2. 1 Sam. 23, 15. 19. 31, 13. 2 Sam. 20, 15. Jer. 52, 10; *מִבְּבָלָה* from *Babylon*, Jer. 27, 16; comp. 1, 13. Jos. 10, 36. 15, 10. Jud. 21, 19. Is. 45, 6.

Rem. Old locative forms (or original accusatives) are, according to the Masora, *f* still to be found in

(a) *לַיְלָה*, in *pause* *לַיְלָה*, the usual word in prose for *night*, which is always construed as masculine. The nominative of this old accusative appeared to be preserved in the form *לַיִל*, only used in poetry, Is. 16, 3, *constr. st.* *לַיִל* (even used for the *absol. st.* in *pause* Is. 21, 11). Most probably, however, *לַיְלָה* is to be referred, with Nöldeke and others, to a reduplicated form *לַיְלִי*; cf. especially the western Aramaic *לַיְלִיָּא*, Syr. *lilya*, &c. If the final vowel belongs to the ground-form, the Masoretic marking of the tone on the penultima is inexplicable.—Another instance is *מִזְאוֹמָה* *something*, probably from *מְאוֹם*, *מְאוֹם* *spot, point*, generally with a negative = *nothing*. Similarly *אֶרְצָה* Is. 8, 23 and (in *pause*) Job 34, 13, *סוּפְתָה* Hos. 8, 7, and the place-name *יְהֻצָה* Jos. 21, 36, 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 *אֶרְצָה* (in *pause*) Job 37, 12; *הַמָּוֶתָה* *death*, Ps. 116, 15; *נַחְלָה* *stream*, Ps. 124, 4; *הַחֲשֵׁמְלָה* *amber*, Ezek. 8, 2 [in 1, 4 *הַחֲשֵׁמֶל*, cf. § 80. *h*]. In Jos. 15, 12 *הַיָּמָה* is probably only a scribal error (dittography). In Jud. 14, 18 instead of the quite unsuitable poetic word *הַחֲרוֹסָה* (towards the sun??) read according to 15, 1 *הַחֲרָה* to the *bride-chamber*.

g (b) In the termination $\text{תָּה}^{\text{־}}$ often used in poetry with feminines, viz. אִימָתָה *terror* (= אִימָה), Ex. 15, 16; עֲזָרָתָה *help* (= עֲזָרָה), Ps. 44, 27. 63, 8. 94, 17; יִשׁוּעָתָה *salvation* (= יִשׁוּעָה), Ps. 3, 3. 80, 3. Jon. 2, 10; עוֹלָתָה *unrighteousness*, Ezek. 28, 15. Hos. 10, 13. Ps. 125, 3; עֲלָתָה Ps. 92, 16 *Kth*. Job 5, 16; צָרָתָה Ps. 120, 1; עֵיפָתָה *darkness*, Job 10, 22; הַמְּזִמָּתָה Jer. 11, 15 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 עֲזָרָתָה *for help* (Ps. 44, 27) this is still quite apparent, but elsewhere it has become meaningless and is used merely for the sake of poetical emphasis¹.

h This termination $\text{הָ}^{\text{־}}$ usually has reference to *place* (hence called $\text{הָ}^{\text{־}}$ *locale*); sometimes, however, its use is extended to time, as in $\text{מִיָּמִים מִיָּמִים}$ *from year to year*; probably also (in spite of the tone on the ultima) in עַתָּה *now, at this moment* (from עֵת). Its use in חֻלְלֵיָהּ , properly *ad profanum!* = *absit!* is peculiar.

i As the termination $\text{הָ}^{\text{־}}$ is properly toneless (comp., however, עַתָּה above, מִוְרָהּ *constr. st.* Deut. 4, 41; נָתָה and עָתָה Jos. 19, 13, &c.) it generally, as the above examples show, exercises no influence whatever upon the vowels of the word; in the *constr. st.* מִוְרָהּ Jos. 18, 12. 1 Ki. 19, 15, and in the proper names נָתָה 1 Ki. 2, 40, רָנָה 2 Sam. 24, 6, צַפְתָּה 2 Chron. 14, 9, צַרְפָּתָה 1 Ki. 17, 9, צַרְתָּנָה 1 Ki. 4, 12, the *ä* is retained even in an open tone-syllable (comp., however, הָרָה Gen. 14, 10, פְּרָנָה Gen. 28, 2 from פָּרַן , with half lengthening of the *a* to *ä*; also בְּרָמְלָה 1 Sam. 25, 5 from בְּרָמַל). In segholate forms, as a general rule, the $\text{הָ}^{\text{־}}$ *local* is joined to the already developed form of the *absol. st.*, except that the helping-vowel before $\text{הָ}^{\text{־}}$ naturally becomes vocal *šwāw*, e. g. בְּיָתָהּ , הָאֱהָלָה Gen. 18, 6, and elsewhere; הַיְעָרָה Jos. 17, 15, הַיְעָרָה ² Jud. 20, 16, &c., but also נָחְלָה Num. 34, 5 (*constr. st.*; likewise to be read in the *absolute* in Ezek. 47, 19. 48, 28) and שָׁעָרָה Is. 28, 6 (with *Silluq*); comp. נִנְבָה Ezek. 47, 19 and נִנְבָה (Baer, incorrectly, נִנְבָּה) Mic. 4, 12 (both in *pause*).—In the case of feminines ending in $\text{הָ}^{\text{־}}$ the $\text{הָ}^{\text{־}}$ *local* is added to the original feminine ending $\text{תָּ}^{\text{־}}$ (§ 80. b), the *ä* of which (since it then stands in an open tone-syllable) is lengthened to *ā*, e. g. תִּרְצָתָה .—Moreover the termination $\text{הָ}^{\text{־}}$ is even weakened to $\text{הָ}^{\text{־}}$ in נָבָה *to Nob*, 1 Sam. 21, 2. 22, 9; אֵנָה *whither*, 1 Ki. 2, 36. 42 and דְּרָגָה *to Dedan*, Ezek. 25, 13.

[¹ The form clings also to a few place-names, as גְּרִזָּה Deut. 10, 7; שָׁלֵשָׁה 1 Sam. 9, 4. 2 Ki. 4, 42; קַהֲלָתָה Num. 33, 22 sq.; יִטְבָּתָה verse 33 sq.; תַּמְנָתָה Jos. 19, 43, &c.; אֶפְרָתָה Mic. 5, 1, &c.]

² So Qimhi, and the Mant. ed. (Text. recept. שָׁעָרָה), i. e. locative from שָׁעַר (Is. 7, 20).

3. Less frequent, and almost exclusively retained in poetic style, *ל* is the use of two other endings, which, along with the accusative in הַ—, at one time probably corresponded to the Arabic case-endings, viz. the so-called *literae compagini* '—, the original genitive ending, and י, in proper names also י, corresponding to the Arabic nominative ending. The language is, however, *entirely unconscious* of any sense of *case* in these endings, and they remain merely as *archaic* forms, which occasionally come to be used in poetry or in exalted style, and have also been unconsciously handed down from early times in several compound proper names. In such names, as also elsewhere, these endings now occur almost exclusively in the closest connexion of one noun with another, i. e. in the *construct state*¹.

(a) The ending '—, as has been just remarked, is especially frequent in the *constr. st.*, and almost always has the tone, viz. בְּנֵי אֲתָנּוּ *his ass's colt*, Gen. 49, 11; ver. 12 חֶכְלִילֵי עֵינַיִם *dark red of eyes*; עֲנֹבֵי הַצֹּאֵן *that leaveth the flock*, Zech. 11, 17 (comp. the preceding רֹעֵי הָאֵלֶּילִי); (רֹעֵי הָאֵלֶּילִי); (רֹעֵי הָאֵלֶּילִי) שֹׁכֵנֵי סִנְיָה *the dweller in the bush*, Deut. 33, 16; appended to the feminine יוֹם וַיִּגְנַבְתִּי לַיְלָה *whether stolen by day or stolen by night*, Gen. 31, 39 (in prose, but in very emphatic speech); מְלֵאֲתֵי מִשְׁפָּט *plena iustitiae*, Is. 1, 21; עַם רַבָּתִי *full of people*, Lam. 1, 1; עַל־דִּבְרֹתַי *after the manner of Melchizedek*, Ps. 110, 4. To the same category belong the rather numerous cases, in which a preposition is inserted between the *construct* and *absolute state* (comp. § 130. a), without actually abolishing the dependent relation, e. g. רַבָּתִי בְּגוֹיִם *she that was great among the nations*, Lam. 1, 1 (the removal of tone from the '— is here due apparently to the preceding עַם רַבָּתִי, where the retraction of the tone was required by the following tone-syllable; but comp. also *ibid.* שָׁרְתִי בַּמְדִּינֹת and אֵהָבְתִי לְרוּשׁ Hos. 10, 11); אֶסְרֶי לְגִפְּן *binding unto the vine*, Gen. 49, 11; comp. Ex. 15, 6 (?). Jer. 10, 17 *K^eth.* 22, 23 *K^eth.* 49, 16 (bis). 51, 13 *K^eth.* Obad. 3. Ps. 113, 5-9 (some of these in less close connexion; in ver. 8 even with the *infinitive* [but read probably לְהֵשִׁיבוּ]). Lam. 4, 21 *K^eth.*; perhaps also Lev. 26, 42 (ter); Jer. 33, 20 (bis); Ps. 116, 1].

¹ In other ancient combinations of words also, old endings are often retained which have elsewhere disappeared, or become rare, e. g. the feminine ending תַּ— in the *constr. st.* (§ 89. e), and in the verb before suffixes (§ 59. a). In the same way various archaic forms have been preserved in proper names and in poetry.

- ^m Otherwise than in the *construct state*, *Hireq compagini* is also found in Is. 22, 16 (bis). Ezek. 27, 3 *Keth.* Mic. 7, 14. Ps. 101, 5. 114, 8. 123, 1. Moreover, with a few particles, which are properly nouns in the *construct state*, as זִילְתִּי (= וּזְלַת) *besides*, מִנִּי (poet. = מִן) *from*, בְּלִתִּי *not*, אֲפָסִי *not* (thrice in the formula אֲנִי וְאֲפָסִי עוֹד *I am, and there is none else beside me*) Is. 47, 8. 10. Zeph. 2, 15. [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, as מְלִכֵי־צֶדֶק (*king of righteousness*), גְּבֻרֵי־אֵל (*man of God*), חַנּוּיָאֵל (*favour of God*), and others (comp. also the Punic name *Hannibal*, i. e. חַנּוּיָאֵל *favour of Ba'al*).
- ⁿ (b) The ending *i* (always with the tone) is of much rarer occurrence, and is found in prose only once, and then in elevated style, Gen. 1, 24 חַיְתוֹ־אָרֶץ *the beast of the earth* (= חַיַּת הָאָרֶץ ver. 25); in poetry, in the same word, Ps. 50, 10. 79, 2. 104, 11. 20. Is. 56, 9. Zeph. 2, 14; otherwise only in בְּנוֹ צִפּוֹר *son of Zippor*, Num. 23, 18; בְּנוֹ בְּעוֹר *son of Beor*, Num. 24, 3. 15; and מַעְיֵינוֹ מַיִם *a fountain of waters*, Ps. 114, 8.— On the ending *i* see the Rem.
- ^o Rem. Although the terminations '— and *i* have now wholly lost their case-meaning, in all probability they at one time in the language had the force of case-endings, in the same way as ה־ (letter *c*), especially as ancient Arabic exhibits exactly corresponding terminations as real flexional endings, and only at a later period confused or wholly rejected them (see above). The same phenomenon also recurs in other languages. In Latin, for instance, we still find a restricted use of the locative case (in names of towns, *ruri, domi, &c.*) with the same endings as in Sanskrit; in modern Persian the plural endings *ân* and *hâ* are ancient case-terminations, which, however, no longer have any vital existence as such, not to mention the Romance and Germanic languages.—Even where the ancient Arabic incorporated the case-endings with the stem, and so pronounced them more strongly, as in *âbû, âbî, âbâ* (with *âbî* comp. the Hebrew *constr. st.* אָבִי from אָב *father*), the modern language, though still using all three forms, makes no strict distinction between the three cases. Hence also, probably, in the common Hebrew *constr. st.* אָבִי, אָחִי we have really a genitive ending; and in Western Aramaic אָבוּ, Hebr. מְתוּ (in proper names as מְתוּשָׁלַח and מְתוּשֶׁלַח; comp. also בְּתוּאֵל שָׁמוּ, (שְׁמוּאֵל) פְּנוּ, (פְּנוּאֵל) a nominative ending; and this is the more intelligible as we find פְּנוּאֵל (Gen. 32, 31) by the side of פְּנוּאֵל (verse 32), and אָחִי־מְלִךְ together with אָחִי־מְלִכִּי.

§ 91. *The Noun with Pronominal Suffixes.*

W. Diehl, *Das Pronomen pers. suffixum 2 u. 3 pers. plur. des Hebr. in der alttestamentlichen Überlieferung*, Giessen, 1895.

With regard to the connexion of the noun with pronominal suffixes, *a* 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 sqq.), 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 sqq. Comp. 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.

1. The Suffixes of the singular are—

b

With nouns ending in a—

Vowel.	Consonant.
Sing. 1. <i>c.</i> י	י־ <i>my</i> .
2. { <i>m.</i> ך	ך־ (pause ך־) } <i>thy</i> .
{ <i>f.</i> ך	
3. { <i>m.</i> הו, ו	ו־ (ה'), הו־ <i>his</i> .
{ <i>f.</i> הַ	
	הו־, הו־ <i>her</i> .

Vowel.	Consonant.
Plur. 1. <i>c.</i> נו	נו־ <i>our</i> .
2. { <i>m.</i> ם	ם־ } <i>your</i> .
{ <i>f.</i> ם	
3. { <i>m.</i> ם (poetic ם־)	ם־ } <i>eorum</i> .
{ (poet. םו)	
{ <i>f.</i> םו (םו)	
	ו־ <i>earum</i> .

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 joined to nouns of a peculiar form (see § 96), the *constr. st.* of which ends in a vowel, as אֲבִיָּהוּ, אֲבִיָּהוּ and אֲבִיו, אֲבִיָּהוּ, אֲבִיָּהוּ, אֲבִיָּהוּ, אֲבִיָּהוּ, אֲבִיָּהוּ, sometimes also to segholate forms ending in *i* from ל'ה stems (see § 93. *x, y*), e. g. פְּרִיָּהֶם *the fruit of them*, Am. 9, 14 (also פְּרִיָּם Is. 37, 30 and elsewhere), פְּרִיָּהֶן Jer. 29, 28 (also פְּרִיָּן verse 5); comp., moreover, חֻלְבָּתָן Lev. 8, 16. 25 and similar examples with הֶן (Is. 3, 17 הֶן)

c

Gen. 21, 28. Ezek. 13, 17. 16, 53¹ (in other cases, e. g. Gen. 1, 21. 4, 4. Ezek. 10, 12. Nah. 2, 8, the Masora by the punctuation הָיָה , הָיָה avoids recognizing these suffixes as attached to singular nouns).

d (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.* הָיָה (for *aha*) and 3rd *plur.* הָיוּ , הָיוּ , הָיוּ , also in the 3rd *sing. masc.* הָיָה (since the *h* is contracted from *ahū*, and in the pausal form of the 2nd *masc.* הָיָה (a half lengthening of an original הָיָה)).

The forms with *e* in the above-mentioned persons are common only with nouns in הָיָה (from stems ל'ה), *constr. st.* הָיָה (cf. § 89. f), e. g. שָׂדֵהָ (from *sadayhū*) *his field*; $\text{עֵלֶףָּ$ *its leaf*, Is. 1, 30; $\text{מַרְאֵהָּ$ *the appearance thereof*, Lev. 13, 4 (from *mar'ay-hā = mar'āhā*, with rejection of the *Yôdh* and half-lengthening of the *ā* to *S^gghôl* in the open tone-syllable); but $\text{שָׂדֵהָּ$ *her field*, from *sāda[γ]hā*. The orthographic retention of the *y*, e. g. מַעֲשֵׂיָּהּ , מַעֲשֵׂיָּהּ , gives to many forms the appearance of plurals; see instances in § 93. ss.

Apart from these הָיָה forms the connecting vowel *e* in the 3rd pers. occurs only in isolated cases; אֹרְהוּ *his light*, Job 25, 3; $\text{לְמִינֶהָּ$ *after its kind*, Gen. 1, 12. 21. 25 and elsewhere; Jud. 19, 24. Nah. 1, 13. On the other hand הָיָה in the 2nd *sing. fem.* and הָיוּ in the 1st *plur.* are by far the most common forms, while הָיָה , הָיוּ are of rare occurrence; see letter *e*.—Instead of הָיָה (הָיָה) in Gen. 10, 19. Ex. 13, 16. Jer. 29, 25 and elsewhere, comp. הָיָה , הָיָה § 103. g), הָיָה , הָיָה (with *S^gwā* mobile or medium), if the last consonant of the noun is a guttural, the forms are הָיָה , הָיָה , הָיָה , e. g. רוּחָּהּ *thy spirit*, בְּרֵאָהּ *thy creator*, Is. 43, 1, רֵיבֵעֶכֶם *your friend*, Job 6, 27 (on such cases as בְּהוֹכְכֶם Hag. 2, 5, see § 10. g).

2. Rare or incorrect forms are—

e *Sing.* 1st pers. הָיָה in בְּשִׁבְעֵינִי Ezek. 47, 7 (certainly only a scribal error, caused by וַיִּשְׁבְּעֵנִי in verse 6).

2nd pers. *m.* in pause הָיָה , e. g. בְּפִתְּחָהּ (*thy hand*), Ps. 139, 5, comp. Prov. 24, 10; once הָיָה Ps. 53, 6 (comp. the analogous cases in the verbal suffix § 75. ll); *fem.* הָיָה Ezek. 5, 12 (in 16, 53 also for שְׁבִיתֶיהָ probably שְׁבִיתֶיהָ is intended), הָיָה Jer. 11, 15. Ps. 103, 3. 116, 19. 135, 9 (corresponding to the Aramaic suffix of the 2nd *fem. sing.*; on the wholly abnormal הָיָה Nah. 2, 14, comp. letter *l* below). Also הָיָה Is. 22, 1, Ezek. 23, 28. 25, 4.

3rd pers. הָיָה (cf. § 7. c), e. g. אֶהְיֶה Gen. 9, 21. 12, 8. 13, 3. 35, 21 (always with *Q^{er}ê* אֶהְיֶה); נֶחָה Num. 10, 36; לֶחָה Deut. 34, 7; בְּלָה Jer. 20, 7. Nah. 2, 1 *Q^{er}ê*; קָצָה 2 Ki. 19, 23 *K^eth.*, for which קָצוּ is read in Is. 37, 24; עִירָה and סִאתָה Gen. 49, 11, cf. Ex. 22, 26 (*Q^{er}ê* עִירוּ , סִאתוּ); כָּחָה Ps. 10, 9. 27, 5 *K^eth.*; הַמּוֹנָה Ezek. 31, 18 and elsewhere, *K^eth.*; הַבּוֹאָתָהּ Ezek. 48, 18 [altogether fourteen times in the Pentateuch, and some forty times in other Books: see Driver, *Samuel*, p. xxxv, and on 2 Sam. 2, 9. 21, 1].

¹ Also in Jer. 15, 10 read (according to § 61. h, end) $\text{בְּלֶהֶם קָלְלוּנִי}$; in Hos. 7, 6 probably אֶפְהֶם for אֶפְהֶם .

3rd fem. הָֿ for הַֿ (with the softening of the *Mappiq*, comp. § 23. *k*, and the analogous cases in § 58. *g*) occurs repeatedly before *B^oghadhk^ophath* and other soft consonants, Ex. 9, 18 (before ׀, if the text is right), Lev. 13, 4 (before לְ), Num. 15, 28. 31. 1 Sam. 1, 9. Ezek. 16, 44. 24, 6 (before בּ), 1 Sam. 20, 20. 2 Ki. 8, 6. Prov. 12, 28 (before א), Nah. 3, 9 (before וּ), Ps. 48, 14 (before פּ), Ezek. 47, 10. Job 31, 22 twice (before תּ), Is. 21, 2. Jer. 20, 17 (before הָ), Num. 32, 42. Amos 1, 11 (before נּ), Lev. 6, 2 (before עֵ); even in *pause*, Lev. 12, 4 *a* and 5 *b*; Is. 23, 17. Prov. 21, 22, also with *Zaqeph*, Is. 45, 6. Jer. 6, 6 (probably), 44, 19; on הַשְׁמֵרָה Lev. 26, 34 and elsewhere, see § 67. *y*. Cf. also אֶֿ Ezek. 36, 5. — Sometimes the Masora appears to regard the הָֿ with feminines as a shortening of תָֿ, e. g. נָצְוָה Gen. 40, 10 for נִצְוָתָהּ Prov. 7, 8 for פִּנְתָּהּ; also דָֿ for תָֿ in בְּתוֹבוֹנָם Hos. 13, 2, and עֲרִמָם Job 5, 13. The examples, however, are for the most part uncertain, e. g. in Is. 28, 4 the reading is simply to be emended to בְּבִוְרָה, and in Zech. 4, 2 to בְּנִלָּה, Job 11, 9 to מִדְּרָה, Neh. 5, 14 to שְׂפָתָהּ.

Plur. 1st pers. נוֹֿ, in *pause* קִימוֹנוּ Job 22, 20 (where, however, קִימוֹנִי is certainly *f* to be read); comp. Ruth 3, 2. Is. 42, 10, and so always בָּלָנוּ *all of us*, Gen. 42, 11 and elsewhere.

2nd pers. fem. נָנָהֿ Ezek. 23, 48. 49.

3rd pers. masc. מוֹֿ Ps. 17, 10 (on מוּ in מִימוּ in the same verse, and in Ps. 58, 7 see letter *l* below); הֵםֿ 2 Sam. 23, 6. *Fem.* הִנָּהֿ 1 Ki. 7, 37. Ezek. 16, 53 (in *pause*); נָהֿ Gen. 41, 21; נָהֿ Gen. 30, 41; נָהֿ Ruth 1, 19, elsewhere generally in *pause* (Gen. 21, 29. 42, 36. Jer. 8, 7. Prov. 31, 29. Job 39, 2); finally הֵן as suffix to a noun, only in Is. 3, 17.

For examples of singulars with plural suffixes see letter *l* below.

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* (ֿׁ, comp. § 89. *d*). This ending, however, has been preserved unchanged only in the 2nd *fem.* In most cases it is contracted to ֿׁ, as in the *constr. st.* without suffixes (so throughout the plur.), whilst in the 2nd *masc.* and 3rd *masc.* and *fem. sing.* (except in the poetic suff. יהוֹֿ) the *Yôdh*, which has really been dropped, is orthographically retained. The preceding *ä* is then either fully lengthened by the tone to *ā* (as in the 3rd *masc. sing.*), or is modified to tone-bearing *S^eghôl* (as in the 2nd *masc.* and 3rd *fem. sing.*). On the 1st *pers. sing.* see below, letter *i*.—Thus there arise the following

Suffixes of Plural Nouns.

Singular.	Plural.	<i>h</i>
1. <i>c.</i> ֿׁ, <i>pause</i> ֿׁ <i>my</i> .	1. <i>c.</i> נוֹֿ <i>our</i> .	
2. { <i>m.</i> הָֿ <i>f.</i> הָֿ } <i>pause</i> הָֿ } <i>thy</i> .	2. { <i>m.</i> הָֿ <i>f.</i> הָֿ } } <i>your</i> .	
3. { <i>m.</i> יוֹֿ, poet. יהוֹֿ } <i>his</i> . <i>f.</i> הָֿ } <i>her</i> .	3. { <i>m.</i> הָֿ, poet. יוֹֿ } } <i>their</i> . <i>f.</i> הָֿ }	

i Thus the original '— is (*a*) contracted in the 3rd *sing. masc.* יהוֹ— and throughout the *plural*, as סוֹיִסְיָהוּ, סוֹיִסְיָנוּ, &c.; (*b*) retained unchanged in the 1st *sing.* סוֹיִסְיָ, the real suffix-ending י (see letter *b*) being united with the final *Yôdh* of the ending '—; and in the 2nd *fem. sing.* סוֹיִסְיָהּ, with a *helping-Hireq* after the *Yôdh*. On the other hand (*c*) the *Yôdh* of '— is lost in pronunciation and (*a*) the *ă* lengthened to *ā* in the 3rd *masc. sing.* סוֹיִסְיוּ, i. e. *sūsāw* (pronounced *sūsā-u*); or (*β*) *ă* is modified to tone-bearing *S̄ghôl* in the 2nd *masc. sing.* סוֹיִסְיָהּ from *sūsākhā*, and in the 3rd *fem. sing.* סוֹיִסְיָהּ from *sūsāhā*.

k Rem. 1. The fact that *ai* elsewhere is always contracted to *é* is against deriving סוֹיִסְיָ, &c., from *susai-ka*, &c.; cf. the analogous cases of the impf. of verbs ל'יָה, § 75. *e* and *f*. Since the *Yôdh* in these suffixes (except in the 1st *sing.* and 2nd *fem. sing.*) is retained only orthographically, it is occasionally omitted¹, although this in unpointed writing easily caused confusion with the *sing. noun*, e. g. דְּרָכָיִךְ for דְּרָכָיִךְ *thy ways*, Ex. 33, 13. Jos. 1, 8. Ps. 119, 37; for other examples, see Jos. 21, 11 sqq. (מִנְרֵטָה); but in 1 Chron. 6, 40 sqq. always יָהֵ—) Jud. 19, 9. 1 Ki. 8, 29. Is. 58, 13. Ps. 119, 41. 43. 98 (probably, however, in all these cases the *sing.* is intended); רַעֲיוֹהוּ for רַעֲיוֹהוּ *his friends*, 1 Sam. 30, 26. Prov. 29, 18; Job 42, 10 (it is, however, possible to explain it here as a *collective singular*); אֲסִרְתָּ Num. 30, 8; מִכְתָּהּ Jer. 19, 8. 49, 17; מְבִיאָהּ Dan. 11, 6; עֲוֹנוֹנוּ *our iniquities*, Is. 64, 5. 6. Jer. 14, 7; Ex. 10, 9. Neh. 10, 1; נִסְבְּכֶם Num. 29, 33; רַעֲתֶכֶם Jer. 44, 9; יִרְבֶּם Ps. 134, 2; לְמִינֵהֶם *after their kinds*, Gen. 1, 21, comp. 4, 4 and Nah. 2, 8. The defective writing is especially frequent in the 3rd *masc. sing.* וְ—, which in *Qerê* is almost always changed to וִי—, e. g. הִצִּוּ *his arrows*, Ps. 58, 8, *Qerê* הִצִּוּוּ, and so almost invariably יִחַדּוּ (see the *Lexicon*), only three times יִחַדּוּ.

l 2. Unusual forms (but for the most part probably only scribal errors) are—

Sing. 2nd pers. fem. יָהֵ— (after אֲשֶׁרִי *happy!* Eccles. 10, 17, which has become stereotyped as an interjection, and is therefore unchangeable; comp. Delitzsch on the passage); יָהֵ— (comp. Syr. כִּי—) 2 Ki. 4, 3, and 7 in *K^eth.*, Ps. 103, 3-5. 116, 7 (יָהֵ— in *pause*).—In Ezek. 16, 31 יָהֵ— (so יָהֵ— in 6, 8) occurs with an *insfn.* ending in וְת, the וְת being therefore treated as a plural ending; similarly, the plural suffix is sometimes found with the feminine ending וְת (Num. 14, 33. Is. 54, 4. Jer. 3, 8. Ezek. 16, 15. 23, 7, as well as in 16, 20 *Qerê*, and Zeph. 3, 20), with the ending *lth* (Lev. 5, 24, reading תְּחַמְשֶׁתוּ), and even with the ordinary feminine ending *ath*; Is. 47, 13. Ezek. 35, 11. Ps. 9, 15. Ezra 9, 15.—Wholly abnormal is מְלָאכְכֶּה *thy messengers*, Nah. 2, 14, evidently a case of dittography of the following ה: read מְלָאכְכֶּיָהּ.

¹ So in the Mêša' inscription, l. 22 מגדלתה *its towers* (along with שעריה *its gates*). Can it have been the rule to omit י after the termination *ôth*? Comp. below, letter *u*. In many of the above examples, however, the *sing.* was certainly intended.

3rd *masc.* יהוֹ [־] Hab. 3, 10. Job 24, 23; הוּ [־] 1 Sam. 30, 26. Ezek. 43, 17. Nah. 2, 4; הוּי [־] (a purely Aramaic form) Ps. 116, 12.—3rd *fem.* אִתָּהָ [־] Ezek. 41, 15.

Plur. 2nd pers. *masc.* תְּפוצוֹתַיִם (with *ל*, so Qimḥi; comp. Norzi: the word is, however, really corrupt) Jer. 25, 34; *fem.* יִבְנֶהָ [־] Ezek. 13, 20.

3rd *masc.* יִהְיֶהָ [־] Ezek. 40, 16; *fem.* יִהְיֶהָ [־] Ezek. 1, 11.

3. The termination מוֹ [־] (also with the dual, e.g. Ps. 58, 7. 59, 13), like מוֹ and מוֹ [־], occurs with the noun (as with the verb) almost exclusively in the later poets, and cannot, therefore, by itself be taken as an indication of archaic language. But even in later writings, as Diehl (see above, before letter *a*) has pointed out, it is confined to particular poets and groups: certain Psalms, Ex. 15, Deut. 32 and 33, 26–29, &c. The instances are not to be regarded as Aramaisms, but are due to the artificial use of old forms, as is shown by the evidently intentional frequency of them, e.g. in Ex. 15. Ps. 2 and 140, and also by the fact that in Ex. 15 they occur *only* as verbal suffixes, in Deut. 32 *only* as noun suffixes.

3. It is clear and beyond doubt that the *Yōdh* in these suffixes *m* 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 י־, even to the feminine plural in וְתִסְוֹתֵינִי (וְתִסְוֹתֵיךְ, &c.), so that in reality the result is a double indication of the plural¹.

Such is the rule: the singular suffix, however (letter *b*), also occurs with the ending וְ (probably through the influence of Aramaic), e.g. עָרוֹתַי Ps. 132, 12 (unless it be *sing.* for עָרוֹתַי, as, according to Qimḥi in his *Lexicon*, תְּחַלְתֵּי 2 Ki. 6, 8 is for תְּחַלְתֵּיךְ; מִכְתָּבְךָ Deut. 28, 59 (treated on the analogy of an *infin.* ל'וּ); מִצְוֹתֶךָ Ps. 119, 98. Dan. 9, 5; אֲחֵיוֹתֶךָ Ezek. 16, 52. In the 3rd *plur.* this is even the rule in the earlier Books (see the instances in Diehl, l. c., p. 8), אֲבוֹתָם (*their fathers*) oftener than אֲבֹתֵיהֶם (this only in 1 Ki. 14, 15, and in Jer., Ezra, Neh., and Chron.); so always שְׁמוֹתָם שְׁמוֹתָן *their names*, דְּוֹרוֹתָם *their generations*. From parallel passages like 2 Sam. 22, 46 compared with Ps. 18, 46; Is. 2, 4 with Mic. 4, 3, it appears that in many cases the longer form in י־ can only subsequently have taken the place of בְּ־.

4. The following Paradigm of a masculine and feminine noun with suffixes is based upon a monosyllabic noun with an 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

¹ See an analogous case in § 87. *s.* Comp. also the double feminine ending in the 3rd *sing. perf.* of verbs ל'וּ, § 75. *i.*

retained before the *grave* suffixes **םָ** and **ןָ**; before all the others (the *light* suffixes) it is lengthened to *ā*.

p

Singular.

		Masculine.	Feminine.
		סוּם <i>a horse.</i>	סוּסָה <i>a mare.</i>
Sing. 1.	com.	סוּסִי <i>my horse.</i>	סוּסָתִי <i>my mare.</i>
2.	{ m.	סוּסְךָ <i>thy horse.</i>	סוּסְךָ <i>thy mare.</i>
	{ f.	סוּסֶיךָ <i>thy horse.</i>	סוּסְתֶיךָ <i>thy mare.</i>
3.	{ m.	סוּסָיו <i>equus eius (suus).</i>	סוּסָתָיו <i>equa eius (sua).</i>
	{ f.	סוּסֵיהָ <i>equus eius (suus).</i>	סוּסֵתָהּ <i>equa eius (sua).</i>
Plur. 1.	com.	סוּסֵינוּ <i>our horse.</i>	סוּסֵינָנוּ <i>our mare.</i>
2.	{ m.	סוּסֵיכֶם <i>your horse.</i>	סוּסֵיכֶם <i>your mare.</i>
	{ f.	סוּסֵיכֶן <i>your horse.</i>	סוּסֵיכֶן <i>your mare.</i>
3.	{ m.	סוּסֵיהֶם <i>equus eorum (suus).</i>	סוּסֵיהֶם <i>equa eorum (sua).</i>
	{ f.	סוּסֵיהֶן <i>equus earum (suus).</i>	סוּסֵיהֶן <i>equa earum (sua).</i>

q

Plural.

		Masculine.	Feminine.
		סוּסִים <i>horses.</i>	סוּסוֹת <i>mares.</i>
Sing. 1.	com.	סוּסֵי <i>my horses.</i>	סוּסוֹתַי <i>my mares.</i>
2.	{ m.	סוּסֵיךָ <i>thy horses.</i>	סוּסוֹתֶיךָ <i>thy mares.</i>
	{ f.	סוּסֵיךָ <i>thy horses.</i>	סוּסוֹתֶיךָ <i>thy mares.</i>
3.	{ m.	סוּסָיו <i>equi eius (sui).</i>	סוּסוֹתָיו <i>equae eius (suae).</i>
	{ f.	סוּסֵיהָ <i>equi eius (sui).</i>	סוּסוֹתֶיהָ <i>equae eius (suae).</i>
Plur. 1.	com.	סוּסֵינוּ <i>our horses.</i>	סוּסוֹתֵינוּ <i>our mares.</i>
2.	{ m.	סוּסֵיכֶם <i>your horses.</i>	סוּסוֹתֵיכֶם <i>your mares.</i>
	{ f.	סוּסֵיכֶן <i>your horses.</i>	סוּסוֹתֵיכֶן <i>your mares.</i>
3.	{ m.	סוּסֵיהֶם <i>equi eorum (sui).</i>	סוּסוֹתֵיהֶם <i>equae eorum (suae).</i>
	{ f.	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).

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, ות, and ים־ are affixed, as well as with all monosyllabic or paroxytone suffixes, then in dissyllabic nouns the originally short vowel of the first syllable (which was lengthened as being in an open syllable before the tone) becomes vocal *Šwā*, 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, דְּבָרִי, דְּבָרְנִי; plur. דְּבָרַי, דְּבָרֶיךָ, &c.; כַּנָּף wing, dual כַּנְפָיִם. With an unchangeable vowel in the second syllable: פְּקִיד overseer, plur. פְּקִידִים; with the suffix of the sing. פְּקִידִי, פְּקִידָנִי, &c.; with the suff. of the plur. פְּקִידַי, פְּקִידֶיךָ, &c. With an unchangeable vowel in the first syllable: עוֹלָם eternity, plur. עוֹלָמִים, with suff. עוֹלָמִי, &c.¹

But in participles of the form קוֹטֵל, with tone-lengthened *ē* (originally *i*) in the second syllable, the *ē* regularly becomes *Šwā* mobile before a tone-bearing affix, e. g. אֹיֵב enemy, plur. אֹיְבִים, with suff. אֹיְבִי, &c. Likewise in words of the form קִטֵּל, קִטְלָה, &c. (with *ē* in the second syllable; § 84 *b*, letters *d*, *l*, *p*; § 85. *i* and *k*), e. g. אִלֵּם dumb, plur. אִלְמִים.

(*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 vocal *Šwā*, while the vowel of the first syllable reverts to its original shortness, e. g. דְּבָרֵי הָעָם the words of the people, דְּבָרַיְכֶם your words, דְּבָרֵיהֶם their words (in all which instances the *i* of the first syllable is attenuated from an original *ā*).

¹ The participles *Niph'al* נִדְּחָה Deut. 30, 4, נִדְּחָה 2 Sam. 14, 13, and some plurals of the participle *Niph.* of verbs א"ל form an exception; comp. § 93. *oo*.

e In the segholate forms in the singular the suffix is always appended to the ground-form (מֶלֶךְ *my king*, מֶלְכֵי, &c.); on the other hand, before the endings ם־, ן־ (sometimes also before ם־) a *Qames* regularly occurs¹, before which the vowel of the first syllable then becomes vocal *Šewá* (מְלֹכִים, מְלֹכוֹת). This *Qames* (on which comp. § 84*a*, letter *a*) remains even before the light suffixes, when attached to the plur. masc. (מְלֹכִי, מְלֹכֵי, &c.). On the other hand, the *constr. st.* plur. and dual, regularly, according to letter *d*, has the form מְלֹכֵי, with grave suffix מְלֹכֵיךָ &c., מְלֹכֵיךָ from דְּלָתַי *folding-doors*.

f (*c*) Before the *Šewá 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, דְּמֶרְךָ, &c. (on the forms with *ē* in the second syllable, see § 93. *qq*); but before the grave suffixes ם־ and ן־ in the same position it reverts to its original shortness, as דְּבַרְכֶם (*a^ebhār^ekhèm*), &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 הַצֵּר (from חֲצֵר).

g Rem. The Masora (comp. *Diqduq ha-ʿamim*, p. 37) reckons thirteen words which retain *Qames* in the *constr. st.*, some of which had originally *á* and, therefore, need not be considered. On the other hand, אֱלֹהִים or אֱלֹם 1 Ki. 7, 6. Ezek. 40, 48, &c. (in spite of the *constr. st.* plur. אֱלֹהֵי); מִבְּטָח Ps. 65, 6. Prov. 25, 19; מִצָּב 1 Sam. 13, 23 (so Baer, but ed. Mant., Ginsburg, &c. מִצֵּב); מִשְׁקָל Ezra 8, 30 and מִתָּן Prov. 18, 16 are very peculiar.

h 3. The vowel changes in the inflexion of *feminine nouns* (§ 95) are not so considerable, since generally in the formation of the feminine either the original vowels have been retained, or they have already been shortened to vocal *Šewá*.

i Besides the vowel changes discussed above in letters *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 ה־ stems before all formative additions (comp. § 91. *d*), the sharpening of the final consonant of *ʿʿ* stems in such cases as חָקִי, חָקֵי, &c.

k There is this striking difference between the vowel changes in the verb and

¹ For the rare exceptions see § 93. *l* and § 97. *f*, first note.

noun, namely, that in a verb when terminations are added, it is mostly the second of two changeable vowels which becomes vocal *šwā* (קָטַל, קָטְלָה, קָטְלוּ), but in a noun, the first (דָּבַר, דְּבָרִי, דְּבָרִים), comp. § 27. 3.

§ 93. Paradigms of Masculine Nouns¹.

Masculine nouns from the simple stem may, as regards their form *a* and the vowel changes connected with it, be divided into *four* classes. A synopsis of them is given in the following table, 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. הַחֶבֶד *f.* sword, like הַמֶּלֶךְ *m.* king, except that in the *plural* they usually take the termination וֹת—; thus הַחֲרָבוֹת, *constr.* הַחֲרָבוֹת (and so always before *suffixes*, see § 95).

(*b*) That in the plural of the first three classes a changeable vowel *b* is always retained before the light suffixes as a lengthened pretonic vowel, whenever it also stands before the plural ending ים—. All suffixes, except כֶּם, כֶּן, הֶם, הֵן (יָכֶם—, יָכֶן—, יָהֶם—, יָהֶן—), are called *light*. Comp. § 92. *e*.

¹ A sort of detailed commentary on the following scheme of Hebrew declensions is supplied by E. König in his *Hist.-krit. Lehrgebäude der hebräischen Sprache*, ii. 1 (see above, § 3. *f*).

Paradigms of

I.						
	a.	b.	c.	d.	e.	f.
<i>Sing. absolute</i>	מֶלֶךְ (king)	סֵפֶר (book)	קֹדֶשׁ (sanctuary)	נָעַר (a youth)	נֶצַח (perpetuity)	פְּעַל (work)
„ <i>construct</i>	מֶלֶךְ	סֵפֶר	קֹדֶשׁ	נָעַר	נֶצַח	פְּעַל
„ <i>with light suff.</i>	מֶלְכִי	סִפְרִי	קֹדְשִׁי	נְעָרִי	נֶצְחִי	פְּעָלִי
„ <i>with grave suff.</i>	מֶלְכֶךָ	סִפְרְךָ	קֹדְשְׁךָ	נְעָרְךָ	נֶצְחֶךָ	פְּעָלְךָ
<i>Plur. absolute</i>	מְלָכִים	סִפְרִים	קֹדְשִׁים	נְעָרִים	נֶצְחִים	פְּעָלִים
„ <i>construct</i>	מְלָכֵי	סִפְרֵי	קֹדְשֵׁי	נְעָרֵי	נֶצְחֵי	פְּעָלֵי
„ <i>with light suff.</i>	מְלָכֵי	סִפְרֵי	קֹדְשֵׁי	נְעָרֵי	נֶצְחֵי	פְּעָלֵי
„ <i>with grave suff.</i>	מְלָכֵיכֶם	סִפְרֵיכֶם	קֹדְשֵׁיכֶם	נְעָרֵיכֶם	נֶצְחֵיכֶם	פְּעָלֵיכֶם
<i>Dual absolute</i>	רַגְלַיִם (feet)	קַבְצָיִם (two heaps)	מַתְנַיִם (loins)	נַעֲלָיִם (sandals)		
„ <i>construct</i>	רַגְלֵי	[proper name.]	מַתְנֵי	נַעֲלֵי		

II.						
	a.	b.	c.	d.	e.	f.
<i>Sing. absolute</i>	דָּבָר (word)	חָכָם (wise)	זָקֵן (an old man)	כְּתֹף (shoulder)	חֲצַר (court)	שָׂדֶה (field)
„ <i>construct</i>	דָּבָר	חָכָם	זָקֵן	כְּתֹף	חֲצַר	שָׂדֶה
„ <i>with light suff.</i>	דְּבָרִי	חֲכָמִי	זָקֵנִי	כְּתָפִי	חֲצָרִי	שָׂדֵי
„ <i>with grave suff.</i>	דְּבָרְךָ	חֲכָמְךָ				שָׂדֶךָ
<i>Plur. absolute</i>	דְּבָרִים	חֲכָמִים	זָקֵנִים		חֲצָרִים	
„ <i>construct</i>	דְּבָרֵי	חֲכָמֵי	זָקֵנֵי		חֲצָרֵי	
„ <i>with light suff.</i>	דְּבָרֵי	חֲכָמֵי	זָקֵנֵי		חֲצָרֵי	
„ <i>with grave suff.</i>	דְּבָרֵיכֶם	חֲכָמֵיכֶם	זָקֵנֵיכֶם		חֲצָרֵיכֶם	
<i>Dual absolute</i>	כַּנְפָּיִם (wings)	חֲלָצָיִם (loins)	יָרְכָיִם (thighs)			
„ <i>construct</i>	כַּנְפֵי					

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 (<i>death</i>)	זַיִת (<i>olive</i>)	שׁוֹט (<i>whip</i>)	פְּרִי (<i>fruit</i>)	יָם (<i>sea</i>)	אֵם (<i>mother</i>)	חֵק (<i>statute</i>)
מוֹת	זַיִת	שׁוֹט	פְּרִי	יָם, יָם	אֵם	חֵק
מוֹתֵי	זַיִתִּי	שׁוֹטֵי	פְּרִיִּי	יָמֵי	אֵמִי	חֵקִי
מוֹתֶיךָ	זַיִתְךָ	שׁוֹטֶיךָ	פְּרִיֶיךָ	יָמֶךָ	אֵמֶךָ	[חֵקֶיךָ]
[מוֹתֵינוּ]	זַיִתֵּנוּ	שׁוֹטֵינוּ	פְּרִיֵינוּ	יָמֵינוּ	אֵמוֹת	חֵקִים
מוֹתֵי	זַיִתִּי	שׁוֹטֵי	פְּרִיִּי	יָמֵי	אֵמוֹת	חֵקִי
	זַיִתִּי	שׁוֹטֵי	(<i>kids</i>)	יָמֵי	אֵמוֹתֵי	חֵקֵי
	זַיִתְכֶם	שׁוֹטֵיכֶם		יָמֵיכֶם	אֵמוֹתֵיכֶם	חֵקֵיכֶם
	עֵינַיִם (<i>eyes</i>)	יוֹמֵיִם (<i>two days, biduum</i>)	לְחָיִם (<i>cheeks</i>)	כַּפָּיִם (<i>hands</i>)	שֵׁנַיִם (<i>teeth</i>)	
	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 (<i>eternity</i>)	אֵיב (<i>enemy</i>)	חֹזֶה (<i>seer</i>)	פְּקִיד (<i>overseer</i>)	עָנִי (<i>poor</i>)	כְּתָב (<i>writing</i>)
עוֹלָם	אֵיב	חֹזֶה	פְּקִיד	עָנִי	כְּתָב
עוֹלְמִי	אֵיבִי	חֹזִי	פְּקִידִי		כְּתָבִי
עוֹלְמְךָ	אֵיבְךָ	חֹזֶיךָ	פְּקִידְךָ		כְּתָבְךָ
עוֹלְמֵנוּ	אֵיבֵנוּ	חֹזְכֵנוּ	פְּקִידְכֶם		כְּתָבְכֶם
עוֹלְמֵינוּ	אֵיבֵינוּ	חֹזֵינוּ	פְּקִידֵינוּ	עָנִינֵינוּ	[כְּתָבֵינוּ]
עוֹלְמֵי	אֵיבֵי	חֹזֵי	פְּקִידֵי	עָנִי	[כְּתָבֵי]
עוֹלְמֵי	אֵיבֵי	חֹזֵי	פְּקִידֵי		[כְּתָבֵי]
עוֹלְמֵיכֶם	אֵיבֵיכֶם	חֹזֵיכֶם	פְּקִידֵיכֶם	עָנִיכֶם	[כְּתָבֵיכֶם]
מְלַקְחָיִם (<i>pair of tongs</i>)	מְאָזְנֵי (<i>balance</i>)		שְׁבָעִים (<i>two weeks</i>)		
	מְאָזְנֵי				

Explanations of the Paradigms (see pp. 274, 275).

- c* 1. Paradigm I comprises the large class of *segholate* nouns (§ 84 *a*, letters *a-e*). In the first three examples, from a strong stem, the ground-forms *mālk*, *sīphr*, *quḏḏ* have been developed by the adoption of a helping *S^eghól* to מַלְכָּ (with *ā* modified to *ē*), סִפְרָ (ī lengthened to *ē*), קִדְּשׁ (ī lengthened to *ō*). The next three examples, instead of the helping *S^eghól*, have a helping *Pathah*, on account of the middle (*d, f*) or final guttural (*e*). In all these cases the *construct state* 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 *ī*, and in *d* and *f* the guttural requires a repetition of the *ā* and *ō* in the form of a *Ḥaṭeph* (חֶטֶף, חֶטֶף אֵי, חֶטֶף אָ); before a following *Š^ewā* this *Ḥaṭeph* passes into a simple helping vowel (*ā, ō*), according to § 28. *c*; hence קִדְּשׁוֹ, &c.
- d* In the plural an *a*-sound (which, according to § 84 *a*, letter *a*, is most probably original) appears before the tone-bearing affix יָם־, in the form of a pretonic *Qameṣ*, whilst the short vowel of the first syllable becomes vocal *Š^ewā*. This *Qameṣ* again in the *construct state* becomes vocal *Š^ewā*, so that the short vowel under the first radical then stands in a half-closed syllable (מִלְכָּי, not מַלְכָּי, &c.). On the other hand, the pretonic *Qameṣ* 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 comp. *k*). The *construct state* of the dual is generally the same as that of the plural, except, of course, in cases like *m*.
- e* Paradigms *g* and *h* exhibit forms with middle *u* and *i* (§ 84 *a*, letter *c, γ* and *δ*); the ground-forms *maut* and *zait* are always contracted to *mót*, *zét*, 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 *a*, letter *c, ε*)
- f* Paradigms *l, m, n* are forms from stems י"ו, and hence (see § 67. *a*) originally biliteral, *yam*, 'im, *huq*, with the regular lengthening to

ים, חק, אים. Before formative additions a sharpening, as in the inflexion of verbs ע'ע, takes place in the second radical, e. g. אפי, אים, &c. (see § 84 a, letter c, β).

REMARKS.

1. A. On I. a and d (ground-form *qatl*). In *pause* the full lengthening to \bar{a} \bar{g} generally takes place, thus כרם *vineyard*, נער, זרע *seed* (from זרע), and so always (except Ps. 48, 11), in ארץ *earth*, with the article, הארץ according to § 35. o (comp. also in the LXX the forms 'Αβέλ, 'Ιαφέθ for הבל, יפת). However, the form with \bar{e} is also sometimes found in *pause, along with that in \bar{a} , e. g. חקר together with חקר; and very frequently only the form with *S^eghöl*, e. g. קנה *grass*, נצח *perpetuity*, פלא *a wonder*, צדק *righteousness*, קדם *the East*, יצע *help*, &c.—With two *S^eghöls*, although with a middle guttural, we find לחם *bread* (in *pause* לחם) and רחם *womb* (in *pause* רחם), besides רחם Jud. 5, 30 (in *pause* רחם). A helping *S^eghöl* always stands before a final א, as אשן, אשן (with *suffix* אשן), אשן (also written אשן), except in אשן, see letter v.*

B. The *constr. st.* is almost always the same as the *absolute*. Sometimes, however, under the influence of a final guttural or ר, Pathah appears in the second syllable as the principal vowel (see below, letter s), e. g. זרע (only in Num. 11, 7, before Maqqeph), תרר (Cant. 3, 4; elsewhere חרר), נטע, סחר as well as זרע, &c.; comp., moreover, קחת 2 Ki. 12, 9 (for קחת, *inf. constr.* from לקח).

C. The ה *locale* is, according to § 90. i, regularly added to the already developed form, e. g. ננדה Ps. 116, 14. 18: הפתחה Gen. 19, 6, *to the door*; but also with a firmly closed syllable ננדה Ex. 40, 24; under the influence of a guttural or ר, חדרה, ארצה, in *pause* ארצה (cf. ארצה I Chron. 14, 16, from אר).

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^ewā quiescens*; נערי, &c. (but also לחמי, ועמי, &c.). In a rather large number of *qatl*-forms, however, before suffixes in the sing., as well as in the *constr. st.* plur. and dual, the \bar{a} of the first syllable is attenuated to \bar{y} , thus בטני *my womb*, and יתרו; so in בצע, בנר, נוע, ובה, טבה, פישע, פתח, צדק, קרב, קרב, רישע, שמש and many others. In some cases of this kind besides the form with \bar{a} there most probably existed another with original \bar{y} in the first syllable; thus certainly with יצע beside אשן, &c. (According to the *Diqude ha-ʿamim*, § 36, the *absolute st.* in such cases takes \bar{e} , the *constr. e*; comp. נר Num. 30, 4 (*absol.*) and נר 30, 10 (*constr.*); שר Lev. 24, 20 (*absol.*) and שר Amos 6, 6 (*constr.*). According to this theory¹ פלא (so the best authorities) Is. 9, 5 would be the *constr. st.*, although the accentuation requires an *absol. st.*)—A half-opening of the firmly closed syllable

¹ 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.

occurs in בְּנָדִי, &c. from בָּנָד and יִקְבֶּדָה Deut. 15, 14, 16, 13, in both cases evidently owing to the influence of the palatal in the middle of the stem. With *S^eghôl* for *š*: הַבְּלִי, יִשְׁעֶךָ, נְנָדִי, &c.

l E. In the plural the termination וֹת is sometimes found along with the termination יִם, e.g. נְפֻשׁוֹת, נְפֻשׁוֹת together with נְפֻשִׁים (Ezek. 13, 20), &c., *constr. st.* נְפֻשׁוֹת. Other nouns have only the ending וֹת, e.g. אֲרָצוֹת, *constr.* אֲרָצוֹת from אֲרָץ. Without *Qameš* before the ending יִם we find רַחֲמִים (*bowels*) *mercy*. On the numerals עֶשְׂרִים *twenty*, &c., comp. the note on § 97. *f.* Moreover a is not inserted before plural suffixes with the tone on the penultima in אֲשֻׁרִיָּהּ, &c., properly *thy happiness!* (a word which is only used in the *constr. st.*, and at an early period became stereotyped as a kind of interjection), nor in יַחְדָּו *together*, according to § 135. *r* from יַחַד, nor with the preposition תַּחַת § 103. *o.*

11 F. In the *constr. st. plural* a firmly closed syllable is sometimes found, contrary to the rule, e.g. בְּסִפִּי Gen. 42, 25. 35 (before suffixes); רִשְׁפִי Cant. 8, 6 (רִשְׁפִי Ps. 76, 4); טַרְפֵי Ezek. 17, 9; צַמְדֵי Is. 5, 10, and so always in נִסְכֵי before suffixes, Ps. 16, 4 and elsewhere (on the other hand, according to the best authorities *not* in חֲסָדֵי Is. 55, 3 and elsewhere, though in Ps. 107, 43 Ginsburg reads חֲסָדֵי); comp. § 46. *d.* Even with a middle guttural בְּעֵלְיָהוּן Est. 1, 17. 20.—The attenuation of *š* to *š* also occurs very frequently in this form (see above), e.g. וְבַחֵי, &c., even יִלְדֵי Is. 57, 4 beside יִלְדֵי Hos. 1, 2 and elsewhere.

11 G. In the *dual absol.* beside forms like רַגְלַיִם *feet*, with suff. רַגְלָיָהּ, &c., רַגְלָיו, &c., אֲלָפִים *two thousand*, נַעְלָיִם *sandals*, בְּרַפְּיִם *knees* (*š* attenuated to *š*, *constr. st.* בְּרַפְּיִ with a firmly closed syllable), with suffixes בְּרַפְּיִ, &c. (comp., however, בְּרַפְּיָהּ Jud. 7, 6); forms with pretonic *Qameš* are also found (in consequence of the tendency to assimilate the dual to the plural in form: so König, *Lehrgeb.* ii. 17), as קַרְנָיִם *horns*, with suff. קַרְנָיו (Dan. 8, 3 sqq.; elsewhere always קַרְנָיִם, קַרְנָיו, &c.), and so always דְּלָתַיִם, *constr. st.* דְּלָתָיִם *folding-doors*, דְּרַבְּרָיִם *double way*.

o 2. On Paradigms *b* and *e.* With a final *š* rejected (but retained orthographically) we find חַטָּא *sin*. An initial guttural before suffixes generally receives *S^eghôl* instead of the original *š*, e.g. חַלְקֵי, עֲנָרֵי, &c., so in the *constr. st. plur.* עֲנָלֵי, &c.; חַטָּא forms חַטָּאֵי 2 Ki. 10, 29 and elsewhere, retaining the *Qameš* of חַטָּאֵי before the weak *š*.—On עֲשׂוֹבוֹת (*constr. st. plur.* of עֲשׂוֹבָה) Prov. 27, 25 comp. § 20. *h*; עֲשׂוֹבוֹת without *Qameš* before the termination יִם (see above, letter *l*) is probably from the sing. עֲשׂוֹבָה found in the Mišna.

p 3. On Paradigms *c* and *f.* קִשְׁטָה occurs in Prov. 22, 21 without a helping vowel; with a middle guttural פָּעֵל, &c., but with ה also אֶהָלָה; בָּהֶן, אֶהָלָה; with a final guttural רָבַע, &c., but with א, נִמָּא; with a firmly closed syllable אֶסְפִי Mic. 7, 1.

q Before suffixes the original *š* sometimes reappears in the sing., e.g. גְּדָלוֹ (Ps. 150, 2), beside גְּדָלוֹ, from גְּדָלָה *greatness*; קְבָלוֹ (with *Dageš forte dirimens*, and the *š* repeated in the form of a *Haateph-Qameš*) Is. 9, 3 and elsewhere; נִשְׁמָה Ezek. 22, 24.—Corresponding to the form פְּעֻלְכֶם *phl' khêm* we find קִטְבָּה Hos. 13, 14, even without a middle guttural; similarly קִטְבָּנִי (so Jablonski and Opatius)

1 Ki. 12, 10. 2 Chron. 10, 10, from קָטָן *little finger*; but the better reading is, no doubt, קָטְנִי (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 קָטַן. The reading קָטְנִי (Baer and Ginsburg) is probably not due to a confusion of the above two readings, but *ֿ* is merely intended to mark the vowel expressly as *δ*. In the forms פָּעֵלוֹ Is. 1, 31 (for פָּעֵלוֹ) and הָאָרוֹ Is. 52, 14 (for הָאָרוֹ 1 Sam. 28, 14), the lengthening of the original *ü* to *ō* has been retained even before the suffix; comp. § 63. *p* and § 74. *h* (בְּמִצְאֵכֶם Gen. 32, 20).—In the same way *ō* remains before הֿ *locale*, e.g. הַגֵּרְנָה, הָאֲהֶלָה Gen. 18, 6. 24, 67 and elsewhere.

In the *absol. plur.* the original *ü* generally becomes vocal *Šewâ* before the *Qames*, e.g. בְּקָרִים from בָּקָר *morning*, פְּעָלִים *works*, רִמְחִים *lances*, שְׁעָלִים *handfuls* (*constr. st.* שְׁעָלֵי Ezek. 13, 19); on the other hand, with an initial guttural the *u*-sound reappears as *Hateph Qames*, e.g. חֳדָשִׁים *months*, עֲפָרִים *gazelles*, אֲרָחוֹת *ways*; and so even without an initial guttural, הַגֵּרְנוֹת *the threshing-floors*, 1 Sam. 23, 1. Joel 2, 24; קְדָשִׁים *sanctuaries*, and שְׁרָשִׁים *roots* (*qôdhâšîm*, &c., with *δ* for *ֿ*); also before light suffixes קְדָשֵׁי &c., where, however, the reading frequently fluctuates between 'ק' and 'קְ'; with the article 'הַקְּ', 'בַּקְּ', 'לַקְּ', according to Baer and Ginsburg. Comp. further on these forms, especially § 9. *v*. From אֶהֱלָה *tent*, both בְּאֶהֱלָיִם and אֶהֱלָיִם (in the Syriac form; comp. § 23. *h* and פָּעֵלוֹ above) are found; with light suffixes אֶהֱלֵי &c.; so from אֶרֶב *way*, אֲרָחֶתִּי (also אֲרָחֶתִּי)—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 אֲרָחָה *caravan*, and of אֶרֶב *way*; however, אֲרָחוֹת is also found in the former sense (in *constr. st.* Job 6, 19) and אֲרָחוֹת in the latter (e.g. Job 13, 27 according to the reading of Ben Naphtali and Qimhi); comp. also אוֹנִיּוֹת 2 Chron. 8, 18 *Keeth*. (אֹנִי *Qerê*).—The *constr. st.* plural of בָּהֶן *thumb* is בְּהֵנוֹת Jud. 1, 6 sq., as if from a sing. בָּהֶן: of בְּהֵנָה *brightness*, Is. 59, 9 נְהוֹת (on these *qêl*-forms, cf. letter *t*).—If אֲפָנִי Prov. 25, 11 is not dual but plural (see the Lexicon) it is then analogous to the examples, given in letters *l* and *o*, of plurals without a pretonic *Qames*; cf. בְּטָנִים *pistachio nuts*, probably from a sing. בְּטָנָה. According to Barth, *ZDMG.* xlii. p. 345 sq. אֲפָנִי is a sing. (אֲפָנִי, the ground-form of אֲפָנָה, with suffix).

In the *constr. st. plur.* the only example with original *ü* is רַכְסֵי Ps. 31, 21; otherwise like קְדָשֵׁי, אֶהֱלֵי &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 *a*, letter *e*). Thus (*a*) of the form קָטַל (comp. § 84 *a*, letter *e*); מְעַט *honey*, דְּבַשׁ *little*; in *pause*, דְּבַשׁ, מְעַט; גֵּבֵר *man* (as *constr. st.*, see above, letter *h*), Ps. 18, 26 (elsewhere always גֵּבֵר), and *infinitives* like שֹׁכֵב (§ 45. *c*; on קָחַת, see above, letter *h*); שֹׁכֵם *shoulder*, *ä* being modified to *è* (but in *pause* שֹׁכֵם); locative שֹׁכְמָה, also שֹׁכְמָה Hos. 6, 9. With suffixes in the usual manner שֹׁכְמֵי, שֹׁכְבָה Gen. 19, 33. 35 (an infin. with *Šewâ medium*, not שֹׁכְבָה). On the other

hand, the *ā* is retained in the *plur. absol.* by sharpening the final consonant: אַנְנָמִים (constr. אַנְנָמִי) *marshes*, מַעֲטִים הַרְרִים *myrtles*.

t (b) Of the form קָטַל בָּיֵא well, וְזָב wolf, &c.; *locative* בְּאַרְהָ with *suff.* בְּאַרְי, *plur.* וְזָבִים, וְזָבִי; on the other hand בְּאַרוֹת, *constr.* בְּאַרוֹת; on the *inf. constr.* שָׂאת, cf. § 76. *b.*—(c) of the form קָטַל בָּאֵשׁ *stench* (with *suff.* בְּאֵשׁוֹ, as קָבְבוּ occurs Jer. 4, 7 along with the *constr. st.* קָבְבָה׃ Ps. 74, 5; comp. for the Dageš, § 20. *h*), perhaps also לְאֵם *nation*, pl. לְאֵמִים.

u 5. Paradigms *g-i* comprise the segholate forms with middle ו or י: (a) of the form *qāṭl* with *Wāw* as a strong consonant, in which cases the original *ā* is almost always lengthened to *ā* (Paradigm *g*), thus מָוֹת *vanity*, עוֹל *iniquity*, מִדְּבַר *midst*; with final א, שׁוֹא *falsehood*; comp., however, also רֹחַ *width*. In the *constr. st.* contraction always occurs, מוֹת, &c. (from original *maut*), and likewise before suffixes מוֹתוֹ, &c. Exception, עוֹל as *constr. st.* Ezek. 28, 18 (according to Qimḥi) and with *suff.* עוֹלוֹ. The contraction remains also in all cases in the plural (see, however, below, letter *w*).

v (b) Of the form *qāṭl* with consonantal *Yōdh* (Paradigm *h*). With final א, גֵּיא (also גֵּי), in Is. 40, 4 גֵּיא, in the *constr. st.* (also *absol.* Zech. 14, 4) גֵּיא (also גֵּי); plur. 2 Ki. 2, 16 and Ezek. 6, 3 *K^{eth}*. according to Baer נֵאוֹת, i. e. doubtless גֵּאוֹת (cf. גֵּאוֹתֶיךָ Ezek. 35, 8; according to another reading [and so Ginsburg] גֵּאוֹת, i. e. doubtless גֵּאוֹת), but in *Q^{ere}*, and all other passages, גֵּאוֹת. The uncontracted form (in the *absol. st.* with helping *Hireq*) remains also before הֶ־ *locale*, e. g. בְּיַתָּה (but in the *constr. st.* e. g. יוֹכַף).—עִירוֹ (from עִיר) Gen. 49, 11 is peculiar, so also נְשִׂיתוֹ Is. 10, 17 (from נְשִׂית).—In the *plural absol.* uncontracted forms occur, like עֵינֹת *springs*, עֵצִים *young asses*, הֵישִׁים *he-goats*, &c.; as *constr. st.* Prov. 8, 28 עֵינֹת for עֵינֹת; comp. for an analogous weakening of *ē* to *i*, § 75. *f*.

w (c) With the contraction of the ו and י even in the *absol. st.* sing. (Paradigm *i*). In this way there arise formations which are unchangeable throughout; thus from the ground-form *qāṭl*: יום (comp., however, § 96) שׁוֹר, סוֹף, &c.; with middle *Yōdh*, חֵיל 1 Chron. 9, 13 (elsewhere חֵיל, לֵיל Is. 21, 11 (elsewhere לֵיל, in prose לֵילָה, see above, § 90. *f*); from the ground-form *qāṭl*, דִּין, נְשִׂיר, עִיר (see, however, § 96); from the ground-form *qāṭl*, גֹּר, רוֹחַ, &c. The plurals חוֹרִים *pots*, שׁוּקִים *streets*, שׁוֹרִים *oxen*, have a strong formation (but for חוֹרִים 1 Sam. 13, 6 read חוֹרִים as in 14, 11). Finally, forms with a quiescent middle א also belong to this class, such as רֵאשׁ *head* (obscured from ראשׁ = *ra's*, see § 96) and צֹאן *sheep*.

x 6. On Paradigm *k*: segholate forms from ל' stems. Besides the strong formations mentioned in § 84 *a*, letter *c*, ε, like בְּכָה &c., also שָׁחוּ Ezek. 47, 5, with the original ו resolved, according to § 24. *d* (comp. the *constr. plur.* חַנְּיִ clefts, Obad. 3 and elsewhere, and קַצְוִ ends, Ps. 48, 11 and elsewhere, where the ו becomes again a strong consonant, from חָנּוּ and קָצוּ or חָנוּ and קָצוּ), there occur also (a) commonly, of the ground-form *qāṭl*, forms like פָּרִי, בְּבִי, נְדִי, נְדִי, בְּבִי, פָּרִי &c.; in *pause* פָּרִי, בְּבִי, לָחִי, צָבִי, אָרִי &c.; in *pause* פָּרִי, בְּבִי, לָחִי, צָבִי (comp. § 29. *m*), but אָרִי Jud. 14, 18; with suffixes פָּרִי (attenuated from *parvō*), but also פָּרִיךְ &c.;

before a grave suffix פְּרִיָּהֶם, but also פְּרִיָּבָם. Plur. נְדָוִי (constr. נְדָוִי, see above, letter *o*, תַּטָּאִי, אַרְוִי, and אַרְוִיֹּת; with softening of the *ʾ* to *א* (as elsewhere in בְּלוֹאִי Jer. 38, 12, for which there is בְּלוֹי in verse 11, according to § 8. *k*; לְלוֹאֹת, דְּוֹרָאִים 2 Chron. 17, 11, comp. 26, 7 *K^{eth.}*, probably in דְּוֹרָאִים from דְּוִי and לוֹי; also חֲלֻבָּאִים Ps. 10, 10 *K^{eth.}*, divided into two words by the Masora, is to be referred to a sing. חֲלָבִי *hapless*): חֲלָאִים *jewels*, Cant. 7, 2 (from חָלִי), טְלָאִים *lambs*, 1 Sam. 15, 4. Is. 40, 11 (from טָלִי); but instead of חֲלָאִים and צְבָאִים (from פָּתִי and צָבִי) the Masora requires חֲחָאִים and צְבָאִים; dual: חֲחָיִם, constr. st. לְחָי, with suff. לְחָי &c. On דֶּלֶד *door*, cf. § 95. *f*, and on such formations generally, see Barth on biliteral nouns in *ZDMG.* 1887, p. 603 sqq., and *Nominalbildung* (isolated nouns), p. 1 sqq.

(b) From the ground-form *qāṭl*, חָצִי *half*, in pause חָצִי, with suff. חָצִי &c.—*y* From stems with middle *Wāw* arise such forms as אֵי (from *ʾiwy* = אָוִי), עֵי, צֵי *ship*, plur. אֵיִם, צֵיִם &c.; instead of the extraordinary plur. צֵים Num. 24, 24 read with the Samaritan אֵוִצָּאִים, and for בְּצֵים Ezek. 30, 9 read probably with Cornill אֵצָּאִים.

(c) From the ground-form *qāṭl* sometimes forms like בָּהוּ, תָּהוּ (from *tūhw*, *z būhw*), sometimes like חָלִי, עָנִי, and even without an initial guttural יָפִי, דָּמִי, יָפִי, צָרִי, רָאִי &c.; in pause חָלִי &c., with suff. חָלִי, plur. חָלָיִם. From עֵפָי *branch*, there occurs in Ps. 104, 12 the plur. עֵפָאִים (analogous to חֲחָאִים &c., see above, letter *x*); the *K^{eth.}* obviously intends עֵפָאִים (so *Opitius* and others). Dual, with suff. דְּלִי Num. 24, 7 from דְּלִי, for דְּלִי *bucket*.

7. On Paradigms *l-n*: segholate forms from stems ע״ע (see § 84 *a*, letter *c*, *β*). *aa*

(a) In the *qāṭl*-form the *ā* 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 *Māqqeph*, יַם־הַמֶּלַח *the salt sea*), sometimes it remains short, e.g. פֶּת *morsel*, עַם *people*, but even these formations generally have *Qames* in pause, as well as after the article (e.g. הָעַם). Adjectives of this class (formerly treated under letter *ff*) are, e.g. דָּל *poor*, קָל *light*, plur. דְּלָיִם, קָלָיִם; under the influence of a guttural either forms like לְחַיִּים, צָחִים arise, or, with *compensatory lengthening*, רָעִי, רָעִים. In the *constr. st.* חַי *life*, and דִּי *sufficiency*, are contracted to חַי¹ and דִּי. As a locative form notice הָרֶה *to the mountain*, Gen. 14, 10 (see § 27. *q*) beside הַרְהָה. The stem is expanded to a trilateral form in הַרְרִי Jer. 17, 3 (on the analogy of the *qāṭl*-forms; but in Ps. 30, 8 for הַרְרִי read הַרְרִי) and הַרְרָם Gen. 14, 6; plur. *constr.* הַרְרִי Num. 23, 7, &c. (but only in poetical passages); plur. *constr.* עַמְמִי Jud. 5, 14. Neh. 9, 22; עַמְמִי Neh. 9, 24: elsewhere עַמִּי, עַמִּים.—Before *suffixes* and in the plur. *ā* is some-

¹ חַי only in Dan. 12, 7 as *constr. st.*; since in the asseverative formulae חַי נִפְשְׁךָ, חַי יְהוּוֹה (otherwise only in 2 Sam. 15, 21, after יהוה, and Amos 8, 14) חַי is a contracted form of the *absol. st.* (prop. *living is Pharaoh!* &c.), in use along with the equally regular חַי אֲנִי (Deut. 32, 40) and חַי יְהוּוֹה (= חַי אֲדֹנָי).

times attenuated to *i*, e. g. פְּתִים, פְּתִים, from פֶּת; קָפִים and קָפֹת (also קָפֹת 2 Sam. 17, 28) from קָפ. Before ח *ä* is retained in a virtually sharpened syllable, e. g. חֲפִים *traps*.

bb (b) *Qitl*-forms: אֵשׁ, אֵשׁ *fire* (with suff. אֵשִׁי, but comp. also אֵשְׁבֶתִּים Is. 50, 11), חֵן *favour*, &c.; of a trilateral form, the plur. חֲצִצְיִיךָ Ps. 77, 18. (c) *Qitl*-forms: חֹל, חֹל *totality*, before *Maqqeph* חֲקֶה, חֲקֶה, with suff. חֲקִי &c., with omission of *Dageš forte* (according to § 20. m) always חֲקֶה, חֲקֶה, חֲקֶה and חֲקֶה are bracketed in the Paradigm as being simply analogous formations on the model of חֲזִי, חֲזִי, חֲזִי, for which חֲזִי and חֲזִי are also found). חֲקִי, expanded to a trilateral form, Jud. 5, 15 and Is. 10, 1, generally explained as a secondary form of חֲקִי with abnormal weakening of the *ä* to *i*, is more probably to be referred to a *qitl*-form = Arabic *hiqq*.

cc The forms with assimilated middle *Nûn* likewise follow the analogy of Paradigms *l-n*, e. g. חֲנִי *nose, anger* (חֲנִי, dual חֲנִים, also *face*) for 'anp; חֲנִי *palate* for *hink*, חֲנִים *fetters*, חֲנִי *goat*, plur. חֲנִים, for 'inz, probably also חֲנִי *green herb*, for 'inb.

dd 2. Paradigm II comprises all formations with original short vowels, whether in the first or second syllable; comp. § 84 a, letters *f-i*, and the general laws of formation, § 92. *b-g*.

Rem. 1. On Paradigms *a* and *b*: ground-form *qätäl*. The lengthening of the *ä* to *ā* is maintained in the *constr. st.* sing. only in חֲלִי-forms, e. g. חֲלִי *army*, חֲלִי. For the construct forms חֲלִי *milk*, חֲלִי *white*, Gen. 49, 12, instead of the ordinary *absolutes* חֲלִי, חֲלִי, a secondary form חֲלִי, חֲלִי must be assumed; from חֲשֵׁן *smoke*, the *constr. st.* חֲשֵׁן occurs once, Ex. 19, 18, beside חֲשֵׁן. The plur. חֲפִי *horses*, Is. 21, 7 (instead of חֲפִים, ground-form *päräs*) is no doubt due to a confusion with the *qattäl*-form חֲפִי *horseman*.

ce Sometimes a sharpening of the third radical takes place, in order to keep the preceding vowel short, e. g. חֲמִלִים *camels*, חֲמִלִים *small ones*, חֲמִלִים *brooks* (see § 20. a).—The attenuation of the *ä* of the first syllable to *i* does not take place in the *constr. st.* plur. before a middle guttural, e. g. חֲנִי; nor (according to König, owing to the influence of the nasal) in the non-guttural forms חֲנִי *tails*, חֲנִי, and (in the dual) חֲנִי *wings*, from חֲנִי, חֲנִי.—The dual חֲנִי from חֲנִי *river*, shows an abnormal omission of the lengthening of the *ä* before a tone-bearing termination.

ff B. From חֲע' stems, forms like חֲחִלִי, חֲחִלִי, &c. belong to this class.

gg C. The few nouns of the ground-form *qitäl* follow the same analogy, such as חֲחִי *heart*, חֲחִי *temetum*, חֲחִי *grape*, &c. From חֲחִי *hair*, besides the *constr. st.* חֲחִי the form חֲחִי is also found (perhaps a survival of a secondary form like those in Paradigm I, *a*); so from חֲחִי *rib*, חֲחִי and even חֲחִי 2 Sam. 16, 13, both, probably, also old secondary forms (also used for the *absol. st.*) of חֲחִי; comp. also חֲחִי and חֲחִי, as well as the *constr. st.* plur. חֲחִי; also from חֲחִי *strangeness*, the *constr. st.* חֲחִי is found, Deut. 31, 16.

2. On Paradigms *c-e*: ground-form *qāṭīl*, developed to *qāṭēl*, with a final *hh* guttural, e.g. שָׂבַע *satisfied*. In the *constr. st.* the original *l* of the second syllable, probably on the analogy of the forms discussed in § 69. *c*, becomes *ā*, e.g. וְזָן, חָסַר, &c., but not before suffixes, בְּתָפִי, &c., nor in forms from ל"א stems, e.g. מָלֵא *full*, מָלֵא; comp., moreover, עָקַב Gen. 25, 26 from עָקַב *heel*, and אָבַל- Ps. 35, 14, *mourning*. Paradigm *d* represents forms which in the *constr. st.* instead of the ordinary בְּתָף, &c., have a segholate form, as אָרַךְ, גָּרַר, יָרַף, גָּוַל, עָרַל (Ezek. 44, 9), *constr. st.* of אָרַךְ *long*, גָּרַר *wall*, יָרַף *thigh*, גָּוַל *robbery*, עָרַל *uncircumcised*. In Is. 11, 14 בְּכַתֵּף would be altogether without precedent as a *constr. st.* (for בְּכַתֵּף); most probably the *absol. st.* is intended (wrongly) by the Masora (according to Nöldeke, *Gött. Gel. Anzeigen*, 1871, No. 23 [p. 896] אָהַר *בכ' with one shoulder*, i. e. *shoulder to shoulder*); cf. Driver, *Tenses*, § 190, *Obs.*

In the plur. *constr.* the *ē* lengthened from *ī* is frequently retained in verbal *ii* adjectives of this formation, e.g. שָׂבַחִי, שְׂמַחִי, אֲבִלִי, יִשְׁנִי, חֲפָצִי; comp. also יִתְרָתִי (under the protection of the secondary tone) from יִתְרַף *tent-peg*. On the other hand from יָרַא *fearing*, always יָרַא; comp. also רִנְעִי Ps. 35, 20 from רִנַּע.—With *ā* retained in the initial syllable comp. אָחַר *alius* (with a virtual sharpening of the ח).—From ע"י stems come forms like מֵת *dead person*, יָר *resident stranger*, עַד *witness*, with unchangeable *Ṣērē*; hence מֵתִי, מֵתִים, &c.

Kindred in character are the formations from the ground-form *qātūl*. This *kk* ground-form is regularly lengthened to *qātōl*, e.g. עָוַל *round*, עָמַק *deep*, אָדָם *red*; on the other hand before formative additions the short *ū* returns, protected by the sharpening of the following consonant (see letter *ee* above), as עֲנָלִים, &c. (but in stems with a third guttural or ר, גְּבָהָה, גְּבָהָרִים). The form עָוַל, 1 Ki. 10, 19, is abnormal; likewise עֲמוּקָה Prov. 23, 27, Jablonski (Baer and Ginsburg עֲמוּקָה).

3. On Paradigm *f*: ground-form *qātāl* from ל"ה stems. As in verbs ל"ה § 75. *h*, *ll* 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 שָׁרָה the form שָׁרִי, with the final *Yōdh* retained, is also found in poetry; in the same way final *l* is retained in עֲנָוִים *the poor*, *constr.* עֲנָוִי. The plur. of שָׁרָה is שָׁרוֹת, *constr.* שָׁרוֹת (also שָׁרִי, unless this is a *sing.*, contracted from שָׁרִי; so Barth, *ZDMG*. xlii. p. 351). The *qātāl*-form (see § 84 *a*, letter *i*) רָעָה 2 Sam. 15, 37. 16, 16. 1 Ki. 4, 5 is remarkable as a *constr. st.* (the reading רָעָה of Opatius 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.

In a few formations of this kind the vowel of the second syllable appears to have *mm* been already lost in the *absol. st. sing.*; so according to the ordinary view, in יָד *hand*, *constr.* יָד, with *suff.* יָדוּ, but יָדָם; plur. יָדוֹת, *constr.* יָדוֹת, dual יָדָיִם, יָדָי, with *suff.* יָדֵי, יָדֵיכֶם, &c., and in דָּם *blood*, *constr.* דָּם, with *suff.* דָּמִי, but דָּמָם (*ā* attenuated to *l*), plur. דָּמִים, דָּמִי. But perhaps both these nouns are to be regarded as primitive (§ 81), and as original monosyllabic formations.

3. Paradigm III comprises forms with an unchangeable vowel *mm* 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 vocal *S^ewā* (Paradigm *a*, to which examples like אֹפְנִים *wheels*, for אֹפְנִים, comp. אֹפְנִים *porches*, are to be referred), the cases in which the vowel becomes vocal *S^ewā* even *before* the tone (Paradigm *b*), and finally, those in which the termination of the ה' ל' formations of this class is entirely lost (Paradigm *c*).

00 Rem. 1. On the model of עוֹלָם (which, moreover, is obscured from 'ālam), the following forms are also inflected: מְקַטֵּל (§ 85. *h*), in some cases with virtual sharpening of the third radical (see § 20. *a*), as מְבַטְחוּ Jer. 17, 7. Ps. 40, 5. Job 8, 14, &c.; ל' nouns of this form maintain the *Qames* in the *constr. st. plur.*, e. g. מְקַרְאֵי from מְקַרְאָה¹; on the other hand, in the plur. of the *participles Niph.* (§ 85. *n*) of verbs ל' (which likewise belong to this class), are found not only regular forms like נִקְרְאִים but also נִקְרְבָאִים Jos. 10, 17, נִמְצָאִים Ezek. 20, 30 sq., and so always נִבְאִים (except Ezek. 13, 2 הִנְבְּאִים) and נִמְצָאִים (except Ezra 8, 25 הִנְמְצָאִים).

pp Moreover, the other participles in *ā* also follow the analogy of עוֹלָם as regards the final syllable (מְקַטֵּל, מְקַטֵּל; comp., however, הַמּוֹדֵשׁ Gen. 43, 12 in close connexion; see the analogous cases in § 65. *d*); also שֹׁלְחָן *table* (§ 85. *u*; plur. שֹׁלְחָנוֹת, *constr. שֹׁלְחָנוֹת*, קָרְבָן, *constr. קָרְבָן*, hence in plur. *constr.* with *suff.* קָרְבָנֵיהֶם Lev. 7, 38; עֲקָרָב (§ 85. *w*), plur. עֲקָרָבִים (with sharpening of the final consonant for עֲקָרָבִים, comp. also עֲרֹם *naked*, plur. עֲרֹמִים Gen. 3, 7 [but in 2, 25 מְעֲרָמִים from עֲרֹם], מְעֲרָמִים *nakedness*, 2 Chron. 28, 15; קָרְדָמוֹ, קָרְדָם; מְעֲרָמִי Is. 51, 10, נִבְבְּרֵי Is. 23, 8 sq.; even with attenuation of the *ā* to *i*, מוֹרְגִים *threshing instruments*, 2 Sam. 24, 22. 1 Chron. 21, 23, from מוֹרְגָה (§ 85. *g*), מְגִן (§ 85. *i*), מְעוֹ (§ 85. *k*), inasmuch as they retain the *ā* of the first syllable, contrary to rule, even when not pretonic, e. g. מוֹשֵׁב (§ 85. *g*); הוֹשֵׁב (§ 85. *p*), *constr. st. plur.* הוֹשְׁבֵי 1 Ki. 17, 1; finally, also isolated forms according to § 84*a*, letter *t*, and § 84*b*, letters *b, c, k, m, n, o*. Cf. further, צַוָּאר *neck* (from *šāw'ār*), *constr. st. plur.* צַוָּאֲרֵי Jer. 28, 10 sq., *constr. st. plur.* צַוָּאֲרֵי Gen. 45, 14, &c.

99 2. (Paradigm *b*; comp. § 84*a*, letter *s*.) Instead of the original *t* in such forms as אֵיבֹכָם (cf. 2 Ki. 22, 29), the second syllable more frequently has *z*, e. g. יֹצְרֵךְ *thy creator*; with a closing guttural (according to § 91. *d*; but cf. also אֶבֶר Deut. 32, 28) forms are found sometimes like שֹׁלְחָךְ, sometimes like בְּרָאךְ; *constr. st.* without *suff.* נִטְעָ Ps. 94, 9 (according to § 65. *d*); with a middle guttural נִצְלָךְ Is. 48, 17; comp. 43, 14.—The same analogy also is followed in the flexion of the other participles which have *ē* in the final syllable (מְקַטֵּל, מְקַטֵּל, &c.); see further, in § 84*b*, letter *d*, נִבְנָן, &c. (but with exceptions, as רַבְעִים, שְׁלִשִׁים),

¹ מְקַרְשֵׁיהֶם Ezek. 7, 24 for מְקַרְשֵׁי (from מְקַרְשֵׁי) is wholly irregular; perhaps, however, the *part. Pi'el* is intended, without *Dages* in the 7 (according to § 20. *m*).

and letters *l, p*; § 85. *i, k* (מִזְבֵּחַ *altar, constr. st.* מִזְבְּחִים, plur. מִזְבְּחֵימִים), and letter *q*, but here also there are exceptions like מִקְהָלִים Ps. 26, 12.

3. (Paradigm *c: part. Qal* of verbs ה'ל, differing from Paradigm II, *f* in the unchangedness of the vowel of the first syllable.) In Ezek. 17, 15 *ē* in the *absol. st.* is abnormal, and *S^eghöl* in the *constr. st.* in 2 Sam. 24, 11 (so Opatius, Ginsburg; but Baer הוֹה), Eccles. 2, 15 (according to Baer, but not the Mantua ed.; מִקְהָה Eccles. 3, 19^a is in the *absol. st.*). To this class belong, as regards their formation, the ה'ל-forms mentioned in § 84 *a*, letter *r*, § 85. *g* (with *suffix*, e. g. הַמְעַלְיָה Deut. 20, 1, which brought thee up), and letter *h*.

In a few instances, before a suffix beginning with a consonant, the original *āy* of the termination has been contracted to *ē*, and thus there arise forms which have apparently *plural suffixes*; as מִשְׁתִּיחֵם Is. 5, 12. Dan. 1, 10. 16; מְרֵאֵיהֶם *their appearance*, Dan. 1, 15. Gen. 41, 21, cf. Nah. 2, 5; נוֹטִיחֵם *who stretched them forth*, Is. 42, 5; defectively אִפְהֵם Hos. 7, 5 (comp. נָהֵם Ezek. 34, 14); on the other hand, the examples from Is. 14, 11. Gen. 47, 17. 1 Sam. 19, 4, which were formerly classed with the above, are really plurals. But מְהַנְיָה *thy camp*, Deut. 23, 15 (מְחַנְיָה occurs just before), מְקַנְיָה *thy cattle*, Is. 30, 23, מְרֵאֵיָה Cant. 2, 14, and מְרֵאֵיו *the sight of him*, Job 41, 1 (with the *y* here retained orthographically), מְעַלְיָה Ezek. 40, 31, &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 מְמַחֵם Is. 25, 6 (*part. Pu.* from מַחָה).

4. Paradigm IV comprises the forms with a changeable vowel (*a, b*), or a vowel which has already become vocal *S^ewā* (*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 בְּתָב) cannot undergo any vowel changes.

Rem. 1. Analogous to פָּקִיד (ground-form *pāqīdā*) are § 84 *a*, letter *k*, גָּדוּל, &c. (with *ō*, not changeable *ō* for *ū*); in substantives like שְׁלֹום, this *ō* is demonstrably obscured from *ā* (Arab. *sāllām*); letters *l, m*, אָסִיר, אָסוּר, &c.; § 85. *u*, וְבָרוֹן, *constr.* וּבְרוֹן; חַיִּיּוֹן, *constr.* חַיִּיוֹן; בְּלִיּוֹן, *constr.* בְּלִיוֹן (comp., however, the forms in the *constr. st.* עֲצָבוֹן, קַנְמוֹן, and with plural suffix עֲבוֹבוֹנֵיהֶם Ezek. 27, 12 sqq.); § 85. *w*, חַלְמִישׁ, *constr.* חַלְמִישׁ; § 85. *l*, מְקוֹם, &c.

2. עֲנִי (ground-form *'ānty*, stem עֲנָה) represents forms in which a closing *Yōdh* has been resolved into *ē*; before formative additions the *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 vocal *S^ewā*; comp. § 84 *a*, letter *l*, נְקִי, plur. נְקִיִּים, and § 87. *a*.

3. בְּתָב with unchangeable *ā* in the second syllable, whilst the *S^ewā* is weakened from a short vowel (Arab. *kittāb*); *constr. st.* בְּתָב־ Est. 4, 8 (readings like בְּתָב 2 Chron. 35, 4 are incorrect, although יָקַר Est. 1, 4 and בְּתָב־ 4, 8 are supported

by fairly good authority; however, these *qāṭl*-forms in Hebrew are probably all loan-words from the Aramaic). The plural forms are given in the Paradigm within brackets, since they are not found in the Old Testament. In a narrower sense the forms enumerated in § 84 *a*, letters *n-p*, belong to this class; in a wider sense all those which have unchangeable vowels throughout, thus § 84 *a*, letter *n*, § 84 *b*, letter *e* (קָטַל, comp., however, the anomalous forms mentioned there), letters *f-i, m* (No. 34 sq.), *n* (No. 39), *p* (No. 44), also partly § 85. *b-w* (especially letters *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 ante-penultima (with the secondary tone); comp. above, letters *ii* and *pp*, also of the form קָטִיל (properly *qāṭīl*) the examples קָרִיִּים, פְּרִיִּים, שְׁלִישִׁים, whilst the *constr. st.* sing. according to the rule, changes the *ā* into vocal *S'wā* (סָרִיס, פְּרִיִן). (These are not to be confounded with forms like עֲרִיִן *tyrant*, which is for עָרִיִן, and consequently has an unchangeable *Qames*.) Of the form קָטִיל (*qāṭīl*) in this class, are שָׁבִיעַ *week*, plur. שְׁבָעִים and שְׁבָעוֹת, *constr.* שְׁבָעוֹת, but with *Metheg* of the secondary tone in the fifth syllable from the end, שְׁבָעֲתִיכֶם.

§ 94. Formation of Feminine Nouns.

- a* 1. The feminine ending הַ, when appended to the masculine 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.
- b* Paradigm I: segholate forms, with the feminine ending always added to the ground-form, (*a*) מַלְכָּה *queen*, בְּבִשָּׁה, and with attenuation of *ā* to *ī* בְּבִישָׁה *lamb*, רֶצֶפֶה *hot stone*, Is. 6, 6 (elsewhere always רֶצֶפֶה; see Baer on Ezek. 40, 17), הִזְקָה *strength* (unless belonging to Paradigm *b*); (*b*) סִתְרָה *covering* (masc. סִתֵּר), not to be confounded with the unchangeable forms with a prefixed *מ*, derived from ל"ה stems, as מִצְוָה *command*, plur. מִצְוֹת; עֲרֵנָה *grace, pleasure* (עֲרֵן); (*c*) חֲלֻדָּח, proper name (חֲלֹד *mole*), אֲכָלָה *food* (אָכַל); (*d*) נַעֲרָה *girl* (נָעַר); (*f*) בְּאִשָּׁה *weed*, טְהָרָה *purity* (טָהַר); (*g*) עוֹלָה *wrong* (also עוֹלָה, Paradigm *i*); (*i*) צִידָה *vituals* (masc. צִיד, comp. Paradigm *h*); from *qīl* and *quṭl*-forms, בִּינָה *understanding*, סוּפָה *tempest*; (*k*) אֲלָהָה *fat tail* (as if from אָלַי), שְׁבִיָּה (*ā* attenuated to *ī*) *captivity* (שָׁבַי), לְוִיָּה *wreath* (probably an original *qīl*-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*) וְפִה *plan*; (*n*) חֻקָּה *statute* (חֻק).

Paradigm II: ground-form *qātālāt*, &c., (*a*) נִקְמָה *vengeance* (נִקְמָה); ^c (*b*) אֲרָמָה *earth*; (*c*) נִבְלָה *corpse*; (*d*) עֵיפָה *languida*; (*f*) יָפָה *beautiful*, עָרָה *end* (from יָפָה, עָרָה). From stems ע'ו' arise such forms as עֵרָה (masc. עָר, properly *part. Qal* from עוֹר) *female witness*. From the ground-form *qātūl*, עֲמֻקָּה *profunda* (masc. עֲמֻק), עֲבֻדָּה *servitude*, &c.

Paradigm III: unchangeable vowel in the first, changeable in the ^d second syllable, (*a*) יִלְדָּה *a woman with child* (comp. the examples in § 84 *a*, letter *s*, and the retention of the *ē* in the *part. Pi'ēl*, Ex. 22, 17. 23, 26; in the *Hithpa'ēl*, 1 Ki. 14, 5 sq.), but also with the change of the *ē* (originally *ī*) into *Š'wā*, יֹשְׁבָה *dwelling*, Nah. 3, 8. However, in these participial forms the feminine is mostly indicated by ת־ (see below, letter *h*); (*c*) גּוֹלָה *those of the captivity* (masc. גּוֹלָה), but also with a recurrence of the final *Yōdh*, הַמְיָה *clamorous*, Prov. 7, 11, and the examples in § 75. *v*. On the *d* of the participles of verbs ע'ו', which also belong to this class, such as זָרָה *peregrina*, comp. § 72. *g*.

Paradigm IV: original changeable vowel in the first syllable, ^e unchangeable in the second, (*a*) גְּדֹלָה *magna*, חֲסִידָה *stork*, properly *pia*; בְּתוּלָה *virgin*, properly *seiuncta*; (*b*) עֲנִיָּה *misera*.

2. A simple ת is added as feminine ending in forms like בְּכִית ^f *weeping* (masc. בָּכִי, § 93. I, *k*), בְּרִית *covenant*; but *feminine participles* of verbs ל'ו', as מוֹצֵאת, יוֹצֵאת, may be due to contraction from *yōš'ēl*, &c., whilst forms like מוֹצֵאת, נִשְׂאת (see § 74. *i*) may be explained on the analogy of the forms treated in § 93. *l*. Apart from the ל'ו' formations, the only examples with simple ת are יִלְדָּתִי (construct *st.*) Gen. 16, 11. Jud. 13, 5. 7 for יִלְדָּתִי (Gen. 17, 19. Is. 7, 14), and מִשְׁרַת 1 Ki. 1, 15, contracted from מִשְׁרַתָּה; comp. § 80. *d*.

The forms which arise by appending the ת feminine to masculine ^g 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 גְּבִירָתִי (for original *g^ebirt*; § 69. *c*), the form גְּבִירָתִי *mistress* (but only in *construct st.*; the *absolute st.* is גְּבִירָה); from מַלְכָּתִי (מַלְכָּה = מַלְכָּה) *queen*; in Paradigm II, (*a*) יָבִימָה *levir*, fem. יָבִימָה (from יָבִימָה); פַּחַתָּה = פַּחַתָּה *pit* Lev. 13, 55; (*c*) גְּדֵרָה *wall*, גְּדֵרָה (from גְּדֵרָה = *g^edirt*; comp. יָבִימָה as *construct st.* of יָבִימָה); on the other hand, חֲמִישָׁתִי is *construct st.* of חֲמִישָׁה, with lengthening of the original *ī* of חֲמִישָׁה.

h Formations with a changeable \bar{o} in the second syllable belonging to this class are, נְהַשֵּׁת *bronze* (from נְהַשֵּׁת); perhaps also כְּתִיב *writing* (unless it be obscured from כְּתִיב , § 93, Paradigm IV, *c*).—Paradigm III, (*a*) הַתְּמָחַת (from הַתְּמָחַת), masc. הוֹחֵם *seal*; (*b*) יוֹנְקָה (properly *sucking*) *sprout* (in *pause*, e. g. הַבְּרֵחַ Ex. 26, 4, &c.), and so most feminines of the participle קָטַל . On this transition of the ground-form $q\bar{o}l\bar{i}l\bar{i}$ to קָטַלְתָּ (in יוֹנְקָה , לְרֵחַת , see above), cf. § 69: *c*; $q\bar{o}l\bar{i}l\bar{i}$ regularly serves as the ground-form before suffixes, and under the influence of a guttural, e. g. יֹדְעָה , feminine of יָדַע *knowing*; in a wider sense, גִּלְגָּלִית *skull* may also be included here, see § 95, Paradigm IV, *c*.

On the endings וֵית and וֵית —, 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 וֵית becomes again \bar{a} in the *construct st.* וֵית). On the other hand, even an originally short vowel is retained as (a long) pretonic vowel before the ending וֵית , e. g. צִדְקָה ; (2) without the tone or foretone an originally short vowel almost always becomes vocal $\check{S}^e w\bar{a}$; on the other hand, before a vowel which had thus become vocal $\check{S}^e w\bar{a}$ the \bar{a} in the first syllable which had hitherto also been reduced to vocal $\check{S}^e w\bar{a}$ returns, although usually attenuated to \check{i} , e. g. צִדְקָה from $\check{s}\bar{a}d\check{h}\bar{a}q\bar{a}l\bar{h}$; (3) in the plural of the feminines of segholate forms before the termination וֵית or וֵית —, and in formations of the latter kind also before the light suffixes, a pretonic *Qameṣ* reappears, while the short vowel of the first syllable becomes vocal $\check{S}^e w\bar{a}$. This short vowel, however, returns in the *construct st.*, whether ending in וֵית or וֵית —; in formations of the latter kind also before the grave suffixes.

The following Paradigms deal only with such of the forms treated in § 94 (with the exception of I, *d*) as incur some vowel changes or other. All forms with unchangeable vowels follow the analogy of Paradigm I, *d*.

	I.				
	a.	b.	c.	d.	e.
<i>Sing. absolute</i>	מַלְכָּה	חֲרָפָה	חֲרָבָה	חֲקוּה	[גְּבִירָה]
	(queen)	(reproach)	(waste)	(statute)	(mistress)
„ <i>construct</i>	מַלְכַּת	חֲרַפַּת	חֲרַבַּת	חַקַּת	גְּבִירַת
„ <i>with light suff.</i>	מַלְכָּתִי	חֲרַפָּתִי	חֲרַבָּתִי	חַקָּתִי	גְּבִירָתִי
„ <i>with grave suff.</i>	מַלְכֹתְכֶם	חֲרַפֹתְכֶם	חֲרַבֹתְכֶם	חַקֹתְכֶם	גְּבִירֹתְכֶם
<i>Plur. absolute</i>	מַלְכוֹת	חֲרָפוֹת	חֲרָבוֹת	חַקוֹת	
„ <i>construct</i>	מַלְכוֹת	חֲרָפוֹת ¹	חֲרָבוֹת	חַקוֹת	
„ <i>with suff.</i>	מַלְכוֹתִי		חֲרָבוֹתִי	חַקוֹתִי	
<i>Dual absolute</i>		רַקְמָתַיִם			מַצְלָתַיִם
		(embroidery on both sides)			(cymbals)

	II.			III.	
	a.	b.	c.	a.	b.
<i>Sing. absolute</i>	צְדָקָה	זַעֲקָה	שָׁנָה	יוֹנֵקָת	גִּלְגָּלֶת
	(righteousness)	(outcry)	(year)	(sprout)	(skull)
„ <i>construct</i>	צְדַקַּת	זַעֲקַת	שָׁנַת	יוֹנֵקַת	גִּלְגָּלַת
„ <i>with light suff.</i>	צְדָקָתִי	זַעֲקָתִי	שָׁנָתִי	יוֹנֵקָתִי	גִּלְגָּלָתִי
„ <i>with grave suff.</i>	צְדַקְתְּכֶם	זַעֲקַתְּכֶם	שָׁנַתְכֶם	יוֹנֵקַתְכֶם	גִּלְגָּלָתְכֶם
<i>Plur. absolute</i>	צְדָקוֹת		שָׁנוֹת ²	[יוֹנֵקוֹת]	
„ <i>construct</i>	צְדָקוֹת		שָׁנוֹת	יוֹנֵקוֹת	גִּלְגָּלוֹת
„ <i>with suff.</i>	צְדָקוֹתִי		שָׁנוֹתִי	יוֹנֵקוֹתִי	גִּלְגָּלוֹתִי
<i>Dual absolute</i>			שִׁפְתַיִם		[זַחְשִׁתַיִם]
			(lips)		(fettors of brass)
„ <i>construct</i>			שִׁפְתַי		

REMARKS.

I. Paradigm I: feminines of segholate forms. (a) The locative of this class has the form מִגְּבֵעָה 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. חֲקוּה strength (comp. חֲרָפָה under b). A dual of this form occurs in שִׁבְעָתַיִם seven times (comp. שִׁבְעַתְּ seven, fem.).

¹ Only in Ps. 69, 10, contrary to rule, with a firmly closed syllable, comp.

§ 93. m.

² On שָׁנוֹת as a less frequent (poetic) form for שָׁנַיִם see § 87. n.

Analogous to masculine forms like דִּבְשׁ (§ 93. s) is הַדְּרָסָה myrtle.—From masculines of the form פָּרִי (ל"ה, comp. § 93. I, k) arise feminines sometimes like גַּאֲוָה, אֲלִיָּה, שְׁלָה (see above, § 94. b), sometimes like בְּבִית (§ 94. f); occasionally the final ת is retained before the plural ending, as if it belonged to the stem (comp. § 87. k), e. g. חַנִּיתוֹת spears. Forms like גְּדִיָּה (comp. אֲנִיָּה, a *qūtl* form) are derived directly from the masculine forms גְּדִי *kid*, אֲנִי *a fleet*.—(b) From a stem ע'וֹן הַחֶטָּה wheat (for הַחֲטָה), plur. חֲטָיִם.—(c) From עָרְלָה foreskin, the plur. absol. is עָרְלוֹת (comp. פְּעָלִים, § 93, Paradigm I, f), constr. עָרְלוֹת.—(d) Example of a feminine segholate form from a stem ע'ע' (ground-form *qūtl*, like חִיָּה of the form *qūtl*, וְחָה of the form *qūtl*), with *š* for *š*, חֲזָה terror, Is. 19, 17 (Aramaic orthography for חֲזָה).

e . (e) To the list of segholate forms with ת fem. belong also the infinitives of verbs פ'וֹ and פ'וֹן, which have rejected the weak consonant at the beginning, as שָׁבַת (from אֲשַׁב), רָעַת (from וְרַע), שָׁנַת (from וְנִשַׁת), as well as קָחַת (from לָקַח); comp. § 69. m and § 66. b and g. The infinitives of verbs פ'וֹ are, however, also found in the form רָעָה, לָרָה, צָאָה, and of the same origin also are עָרָה congregation (from וְעָר), יַעֲצָה counsel (from וְיַעֲצוּ), נִשְׁנָה sleep (from וְיַשְׁנוּ), constr. יַעֲרַת, נִשְׁנַת, while in the constr. forms וַעֲתָ sweat, Gen. 3, 19 (from וַיַּע to flow), and צָאָת excrement, Ezek. 4, 12, the *šere* has remained firm.

f From a stem ע'וֹ (cf. בֹּשֵׁת to be ashamed) is בִּשְׁתָּה shame, with suffix בְּשִׁתִּי. From a stem ל'וֹה (דָּלָה, comp., however, Barth, ZDMG. 1887, p. 607, who assumes a stem וִרְל) the masculine דָּל appears to have been formed after the rejection of the final *Yōdh*, and afterwards the feminine דָּלָת door; in the plural דָּלוֹת, constr. דָּלוֹת, the ת of the termination is, however, retained (see above, letter d, חַנִּיתוֹת). In a similar way שָׁקַת trough has arisen (from שָׁקָה), of which the masc. must have been שָׁק = שָׁקִי; on the other hand, the plur. constr. שָׁקָתוֹת Gen. 30, 38 (again retaining the feminine ת as an apparent radical) can only be derived from a kindred form (שָׁקַת or שָׁקַת).

g 2. Paradigm II: ground-form *qūtlāt*, &c., comp. § 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 צָרְקַת (*sidh^e qāth*), are distinguished by the *S^ewā medium* (§ 10. d) from the segholate forms, like קִבְּשַׁת (*kibh-sāth*). Consequently the constr. st. בְּרַבַּת Gen. 28, 4 and elsewhere (from בְּרָכָה blessing), and חֲרִידַת I Sam. 14, 15 and elsewhere (from חָרַד a trembling), are abnormal.—Under the influence of a guttural (see Paradigm b) the original *š* is retained in the first syllable in the constr. st. (comp. also אֲדָמָה earth, אֲדָמַת); in other cases it is modified to *S^eghōl*, e. g. עֲגָלָה wagon, עֲגָלָתוֹ. Frequently from an absol. st. in ה— the constr. is formed with the termination ת, e. g. עֲטָרָה crown, constr. עֲטָרַת (from עֲטָרָה); along with עֲצָרָה assembly, עֲצָרַת is found usually, even in the absol. st.; יִבְמַת (from יָבַם levir) before suffixes is pointed as in יִבְמַתִּי, and thus completely agrees with נִבְרַת (Paradigm I, e). From a stem ל'וֹן (אֲמוֹן) is formed אֲמַת truth (from 'āmant, and this no doubt for an original 'āmint, § 69. c) before suffixes אֲמַתִּי &c.

h From the masc. form קָטָל (*qātl*) are formed, according to rule, גְּרָרָה wall,

נְבֵלָה *corpse*, constr. נְבֵלָה; בְּהֵמָה *cattle*, constr. בְּהֵמָה (for בְּהֵמַת). More frequently, however, the *ē* of the second syllable is retained before the termination *āth* of the *constr. st.*; thus from נְבֵלָה once נְבֵלָתִי Is. 26, 19, and always בְּרֵכֶת *pool*, נֶזֶלַת *prey*, טִמְאַת *unclean*, מְלֵאֲתִי *full*, Is. 1, 21 (with *ē compaginīs*, see § 90. *l*), מְרֵרֵתִי Job 16, 13; שְׂאֵלֵתִי 1 Sam. 1, 27 and elsewhere (with syncope of the *ā*, שְׂאֵלֶתְךָ 1 Sam. 1, 17) also שְׂאֵלֵתִי Job 6, 8.

As dual we find יְרֵכָיִם *sides* (comp. יְרֵכָו Gen. 49, 13, from the obsolete יְרֵכָה *i* feminine of יָרַךְ); the *constr. st.* יְרֵכָתִי is perhaps to be referred to a segholate form (יְרֵכָה, comp. יָרַךְ as *constr. st.* of יָרַךְ), unless the closed syllable be due to the analogy of בְּרֵכֶת and חֲרֵדַת (letter *g*).

In the forms with simple *t* feminine the ground-form *qātīl* is developed (§ 69. *c*) *k* to *q'alt*, and this again regularly to קָטְלָת. Thus the feminine of חֶבֶר *companion* is חֶבְרָת, of גֶּדֶר fem. גְּדֵרַת besides גְּדָרָה.—Of ו'ע stems the segholate forms נַחַת *rest* and שַׁחַת *pit* (from נוּחַ, שוּחַ) belong to this class; Böttcher (*Gram. i.* 411) rightly distinguished the latter from שַׁחַת *corruption* (stem שַׁחַת); in the same way also נַחַת *rest* is distinct from נַחַת *a lighting down* (stem נַחַת).

The feminines of the form *qātīl* from stems ו'ע, as מְתָה *mortua*, עָרָה fem. *l* *witness* (from מוּת, עוּר), have likewise an unchangeable vowel in the first syllable. Comp., on the other hand, the forms from פ'י stems mentioned above, letter *e*, such as שָׁנָה *sleep*, constr. st. שָׁנַת; moreover, חָמָה *anger*, constr. st. חָמַת (but חָמָה *a leathern bottle*, in *pause* חָמָה Gen. 21, 15, *constr. st.* חָמַת מַיִם Gen. 21, 14, perhaps from a stem חַמַת).

The feminines of the form *qātūl*, like עֲמֻקָּה (masc. עֲמֻק), maintain the original *m* *ā* by sharpening the following consonant (comp. § 93. *k*); on the other hand, by appending the fem. *t*, segholate forms arise, like נֹחֶשֶׁת, before suff. נֹחֶשֶׁתָם &c. Dual נֹחֶשֶׁתַיִם (placed under Paradigm III, *c*); comp., however, נֹחֶשֶׁתַי Lam. 3, 7.

A few feminines from ל'ה stems (Paradigm II, *c*) are found with the ending *āth*, *n* 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*, plur. מְנֵיחוֹת (*constr. st.* Neh. 12, 47. 13, 10) and מְנָאוֹת (Neh. 12, 44); קֶצוֹת Ex. 38, 5; comp. 37, 8 and 39, 4 *K^eth.*; on גְּאֵית *valleys*, see § 93. *v.*—אוּת *sign* (stem אוּה) is obscured from אָת, and this is contracted from 'āyāth = 'āwāyāth; plur. אוּתוֹת, with double feminine ending; comp. above, letter *f* and § 87. *k.*—The retention of the *ā* in the first syllable in אֵלֵתִי, &c., Gen. 24, 41 and elsewhere, is abnormal.

3. Paradigm III, comp. the various forms in § 94. *d* and *f-h*. The *dual* *o* הוֹמְתַיִם *two walls*, Is. 22, 11 and elsewhere, taken directly from the plur. הוֹמוֹת, for הוֹמְתַיִם, is abnormal (comp. § 87. *s*, and the proper name גְּדֵרַתַיִם Jos. 15, 36).—Among the forms resembling participles *Qal* of verbs ו'ע, such as וָרָה (masc. וָרַ from *zātr*, hence with unchangeable *d*), must be reckoned also בְּמָחָה *high place* (from בּוּחַ)¹, which has for its *constr. st.* plur. the pleonastic form בְּמֹחַתַי, or written

[¹ This etymology is extremely doubtful.—G. W. C.]

defectively בַּמְתִּי (see § 87. *s*); for this the Masora everywhere requires בְּמִתִּי, which is to be read *bām^othē* (not *bōm^othē*), with an anomalous shortening of the *ō* to $\frac{1}{2}$; with suffixes on the contrary בְּמִוְתִי, &c.

p In a wider sense the feminines of the form קָטַל (§ 84 *b*, letter *e*) belong to this class, in so far as they shorten the *ā* of the second syllable before the termination ת, e. g. דָּלְקַת *inflammation* (from *dallāqt*), with suff. צְדָקָתָה Ezek. 16, 52; טַבַּעַת *signet*; also fem. of the forms קָטַל and קָטַל (§ 84 *b*, letters *c* and *d*), as אֲפֹלַת *folly* (for *'iwvāllt*), 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. מַמְלָכָה *kingdom*, constr. always מַמְלֻכַת; מְזַמְרָה (not used in the sing.) *pruning-hook*, plur. מְזַמְרוֹת; מְשַׁבְּרַת *reward*, with suff. מְשַׁבְּרָתִי; comp. also the examples given in § 85. *g* and *p*, as מוֹלְדָת *birth* (from ל'א, on the other hand, מוֹצְאָה *outgoing*), תּוֹלְדָת *generation*, תּוֹעֵבָה *abomination*, constr. תּוֹעֵבַת, &c.

q Sometimes the plural of these forms is to be traced to a secondary form, e. g. אֲנִיָּה *a letter*, plur. אֲנִירוֹת (as if from אֲנִירָה); 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. Comp., moreover, מְחַרְשֵׁת *ploughshare*, plur. מְחַרְשׁוֹת (as if from מְחַרְשָׁה)¹; on the other hand, כְּתוּרוֹת *capitals* (of columns), and הַעֲכָחוֹת *reproofs*, are the regular plurals of כְּתוּרָה and תּוֹכַחַת.

r In כִּתְנֵת *coat* the original *ū* of the first syllable is maintained by the sharpening of the following consonant (comp. Arab. *quṭūn*), with suff. בְּתֵנְתִי, the constr. *st.*, however, is כִּתְנֵת (as also in the *absol. st.* in Ex. 28, 39); plur. כִּתְנֹת, constr. כִּתְנֹת.—The form גַּלְגַּלְתָּ given in Paradigm III, *b* is a *Pūlpūl*-form of the stem גַּלַּל, comp. קָרַקַר § 84 *b*, letter *p*.

s 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 vocal *S^ewd*, 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 feminines of the participle *Hiph'il* of verbs ע'ע', e. g. מְאִירָה *enlightening* (from מְאִיר), and generally the feminines of ע'ע' stems which are compounded with the *preformative* מ, as מְנוּחָה *rest* (from מְנוּחַ), see § 85. *l*; from ל'ה' stems perhaps also הַעֲלָה *conduit* (constr. *st.* תְּעַלַּת Is. 7, 3 and elsewhere) and תְּלַאָּה *travail*. Thus all these forms coincide externally with those which already, as masculines, have unchangeable vowels throughout (see the list of them in § 93. *ww*).

t 5. The feminine ending ית־ (apart from ל'ה'-forms like בְּכִית, § 94. *f*) arises from the addition of the feminine ת to the ending י־, which is employed to form

¹ עֲשֻׁתָּרַת *Astarte* (plur. עֲשֻׁתָּרוֹת), which was formerly included among these examples, is most probably due to an intentional alteration of the original עֲשֻׁתָּרַת, like מִלָּךְ Lev. 18, 21, &c. (for מִלְּךָ), with the vowels of בִּשְׁתָּה *shame*, the latter word having been substituted in reading for the name of the goddess.

adjectives, &c., see § 86. *d*, *h*, and *k*. The ending וֹת, mentioned in the same place, is attached, in segholate forms, sometimes to the ground-form, as עֲשֵׂתוֹת Job 12, 5, sometimes to forms with a half-closed syllable, as מְלָכוֹת; from ל'ה stems we find forms sometimes like שְׁבוּת *captivity*, sometimes like בְּכוֹת *weeping*, גְּלוּת *exile*, הוֹת *vision*; the latter retain the *ā* of the first syllable even in the *constr. st.* and before *suffixes*. From a *qāṭīl*-form is formed בְּרִית *difficulty*; from a *qāṭīl*-form פְּקָדוֹת &c.

In the plural of these forms different methods of treatment may be distinguished. ¹¹ In some cases the whole ending וֹת is retained, as if belonging to the stem (comp. above, letter *f*), e. g. אֲלֻמְנֵיךָ from אֲלֻמְנוֹת, in others this ending is resolved, as in מְלָכוֹת Dan. 8, 22 (no doubt for *māl^ekhuwwōth*), as well as in עֲרוֹת 'ēdh^ewōth, from עֲרוֹת *testimony*, but only in connexion with suffixes, עֲרוֹתֶיךָ Ps. 119, 14, &c.; עֲרוֹתָיו I Ki. 2, 3, &c.

§ 96. Nouns of Peculiar Formation.

In the following Paradigms¹, pp. 294 to 296, 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.

¹ The only omissions from these Paradigms are אָהָר, הָם and הָמוֹת (on which see the remarks), and all the forms which are not found in the Old Testament.

<i>Sing. absolute</i>	אָב	אָח	אָחוֹת	אִישׁ	אִשָּׁה
	(father)	(brother)	(sister)	(man)	(woman)
„ <i>construct</i>	אָבִי	אָחִי	אָחוֹת	אִישׁ	אִשָּׁת
„ <i>with suff. of 1 sing.</i>	אָבִי	אָחִי	אָחָתִי	אִישִׁי	אִשְׁתִּי
„ <i>2 masc.</i>	אָבִיךָ	אָחִיךָ	אָחוֹתְךָ	אִישְׁךָ	אִשְׁתְּךָ
„ <i>2 fem.</i>	אָבִיךָ	אָחִיךָ	אָחוֹתְךָ	אִישְׁךָ	אִשְׁתְּךָ
„ <i>3 masc.</i>	אָבִיו (אָבִיהוּ)	אָחִיו (אָחִיהוּ)	אָחוֹתוֹ	אִישׁוֹ	אִשְׁתּוֹ
„ <i>3 fem.</i>	אָבִיהָ	אָחִיהָ	אָחוֹתָהּ	אִישָׁהּ	
„ <i>1 Pl.</i>	אָבֵינוּ	אָחֵינוּ	אָחוֹתֵנוּ		
„ <i>2 masc.</i>	אָבֵיכֶם	אָחֵיכֶם	[אָחוֹתְכֶם]		
„ <i>2 fem.</i>	אָבֵיכֶן				
„ <i>3 masc.</i>	אָבֵיהֶם	אָחֵיהֶם	אָחוֹתֶם		
„ <i>3 fem.</i>	אָבֵיהֶן				
<i>Plur. absolute</i>	אָבוֹת	אָחִים		אָנָשִׁים	נָשִׁים
„ <i>construct</i>	אָבוֹת	אָחִי		אָנָשִׁי	נָשִׁי
„ <i>with suff. of 1 sing.</i>	אָבוֹתִי	אָחִי, pause	אָחוֹתִי	אָנָשִׁי	נָשִׁי
„ <i>2 masc.</i>	אָבוֹתֵיךָ	אָחֵיךָ		אָנָשֶׁיךָ	נָשֶׁיךָ
„ <i>2 fem.</i>		אָחֵיךָ	אָחוֹתֵיךָ		
„ <i>3 masc.</i>	אָבוֹתָיו	אָחָיו	אָחוֹתָיו	אָנָשָׁיו	נָשָׁיו
„ <i>3 fem.</i>		אָחֵיהָ		אָנָשֶׁיהָ	
„ <i>1 Pl.</i>	אָבוֹתֵינוּ	אָחֵינוּ		אָנָשֵׁינוּ	נָשֵׁינוּ
„ <i>2 masc.</i>	אָבוֹתֵיכֶם	אָחֵיכֶם	אָחוֹתֵיכֶם		נָשֵׁיכֶם
„ <i>3 masc.</i>	אָבוֹתֵיהֶם (אָבוֹתֵיהֶם)	אָחֵיהֶם	אָחוֹתֵיהֶם	אָנָשֵׁיהֶם	נָשֵׁיהֶם
„ <i>3 fem.</i>				אָנָשֵׁיהֶן	

REMARKS.

אָב *father*; the *constr.* אָבִי, like אָחִי and בְּנִי (which occurs once), may perhaps be reckoned among the remains of an earlier linguistic period, discussed in § 90. *l*. However, אָב also occurs in compound proper names, e. g. אָבִישָׁלוֹם, אָבִישָׁלוֹם, &c.; also Gen. 17, 4 sq. אָבִיהֶמוֹן for the purpose of explaining the name אָבִירָהֶם. On the plur. אָבוֹת see § 87. *p*.

אָח *brother*. The plur. *absol.* אָחִים has *Dageš forte implicitum* (§ 22. *c*); אָחָיו stands for אָחִיו according to the phonetic law stated in § 27. *q*, and so also אָחִי in *pause* for אָחִי. The sharpening of the ה merely serves to keep the preceding *Pathah* short, as in נְמַלְיִים, &c. (§ 93. *ee*).

אָחָד *one* (for אָחָד, likewise with *Dageš forte implicitum*, § 22. *c*, comp. § 27. *q*), *constr.* and otherwise in close connexion, אָחָד (Gen. 48, 22. 2 Sam. 17, 22. Is. 27, 12.

אָמָה	בַּיִת	בֵּן	בַּת	יוֹם	כֵּלִי
(handmaid)	(house)	(son)	(daughter)	(day)	(vessel)
	בֵּית	בָּן	בַּת	יוֹם	כֵּלִי
אָמְתִי	בֵּיתִי	בְּנִי	בַּתִּי		
אָמְתֶךָ	בֵּיתְךָ	בְּנֶךָ, pause	בַּתְּךָ, pause		כֵּלֶיךָ
	בֵּיתְךָ	בְּנֶךָ			
אָמְתוֹ	בֵּיתוֹ	בְּנוֹ	בַּתּוֹ	יוֹמוֹ	
אָמְתָהּ	בֵּיתָהּ	בְּנָהּ	בַּתָּהּ		
		בְּנָנִי			
	בֵּיתְכֶם		בַּתְּכֶם		
	בֵּיתֵם			יוֹמֵם	
אָמְהוֹת	בְּתִימִים	בְּנִים	בָּנוֹת	יָמִים	כֵּלִים
אָמְהוֹת	בְּתִי	בְּנִי	בָּנוֹת	יָמִי	כֵּלִי
אָמְהוֹתִי		בְּנִי	בְּנֹתִי	יָמִי	כֵּלִי
	בְּתֶיךָ	בְּנֶיךָ	בְּנֹתֶיךָ	יָמֶיךָ	כֵּלֶיךָ
	בְּתֶיךָ	בְּנֶיךָ	בְּנֹתֶיךָ	יָמֶיךָ	
אָמְהוֹתָיו		בְּנָיו	בְּנֹתָיו	יָמָיו	כֵּלָיו
אָמְהוֹתֶיהָ		בְּנֶיהָ	בְּנֹתֶיהָ	יָמֶיהָ	כֵּלֶיהָ
	בְּתֵינִי	בְּנֵינִי	בְּנֹתֵינִי	יָמֵינִי	כֵּלֵינִי
אָמְהוֹתֵיכֶם	בְּתִיכֶם	בְּנֵיכֶם	בְּנֹתֵיכֶם	יָמֵיכֶם	כֵּלֵיכֶם
	בְּתֵיהֶם	בְּנֵיהֶם	בְּנֹתֵיהֶם	יָמֵיהֶם	כֵּלֵיהֶם
אָמְהוֹתֵיהֶן	בְּתֵיהֶן	בְּנֵיהֶן			

Zech. 11, 7; and especially before מן [מ] Gen. 3, 22. Ex. 30, 14. Num. 16, 15. Jud. 17, 5. 1 Sam. 9, 3. Ezek. 18, 10); fem. אַחַת una (for אַחְדָּת, according to § 19. d), in pause אַחַת. Once חַד masc. (by aphaeresis, § 19. h), Ezek. 33, 30, as in Aramaic; plur. אַחְדִּים some, but also *iidem*.

אָחוֹת sister, from 'āḥāwāt or 'āḥāyāt, with elision of the ו or י, and the א, which has arisen from āā, obscured to ā. In Num. 6, 7 אָחוֹתוֹ stands for אָחוֹתוֹ (with *Dageš forte implicitum* in the ח). The plur. *absol.* (אָחוֹת) does not happen to occur. In Ezek. 16, 52 אָחוֹתֶיךָ occurs (for אָחוֹתֶיךָ). In the forms אָחוֹתִי Jos. 2, 13 *Keth.*, אָחוֹתֶיךָ Ezek. 16, 51. 55. 61 (to be read also in verse 45 for אָחוֹתֶיךָ, which has been erroneously assimilated to the singular occurring in vv. 48. 49. 56), and אָחוֹתֵיכֶם Hos. 2, 3 (for which, however, read אָחוֹתְכֶם) the third radical has been entirely lost.

<i>Sing. absolute</i>	[מַי]	עִיר	פֶּה	רֹאשׁ	שֵׁם	[שָׁמַי] (name) (heaven)
	(water)	(city)	(mouth)	(head)		
„ <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>				רֹאשְׁךָ		שָׁמְךָ
„ <i>3 masc.</i>		עִירוֹ	פִּיו	רֹאשׁוֹ		שָׁמוֹ
„ <i>3 fem.</i>		עִירָהּ	פִּיהָ	רֹאשָׁהּ		שָׁמָהּ
„ <i>1 Pl.</i>			פִּינוֹ	רֹאשֵׁנוּ		שָׁמָנוּ
„ <i>2 masc.</i>			פִּיכֶם	רֹאשֵׁיכֶם		שָׁמְכֶם
„ <i>3 masc.</i>		עִירָם	פִּיהֶם	רֹאשֵׁם		שָׁמָם
„ <i>3 fem.</i>			פִּיהֶן	רֹאשֵׁן		
<i>Plur. absolute</i>	מַיִם	עָרִים	פִּיּוֹת	רֹאשִׁים	שָׁמוֹת	שָׁמַיִם
„ <i>construct</i>	מֵימַי	עָרַי		רֹאשֵׁי	שָׁמוֹת	שָׁמַי
„ <i>with suff. of 1 sing.</i>	מֵימִי	עָרַי				
„ <i>2 masc.</i>	מֵימֶיךָ	עָרֶיךָ				שָׁמַיְךָ
„ <i>2 fem.</i>		עָרֶיךָ				
„ <i>3 masc.</i>	מֵימָיו	עָרָיו		רֹאשָׁיו		שָׁמָיו
„ <i>3 fem.</i>	מֵימֶיהָ	עָרֶיהָ		רֹאשֶׁיהָ		
„ <i>1 Pl.</i>	מֵימֵינוּ	עָרֵינוּ		רֹאשֵׁינוּ		
„ <i>2 masc.</i>		עָרֵיכֶם		רֹאשֵׁיכֶם		שָׁמֵיכֶם
„ <i>3 masc.</i>	מֵימֵיהֶם	עָרֵיהֶם		רֹאשֵׁיהֶם	שָׁמוֹתָם	
„ <i>3 fem.</i>				רֹאשֵׁיהֶן	שָׁמוֹתָן	

אִישׁ *man*, according to the common opinion either incorrectly lengthened for אִישׁ (from 'āš, with assimilation of the *Nûn* of the ground-form 'inš from the stem אָנַשׁ, which again has been attenuated from 'anš), or softened directly from 'inš. It is, however, probable that a separate stem (אִישׁ *to be strong?*) is to be assumed for the singular¹; consequently the stem אָנַשׁ *to be sociable*, would be connected only with the plur. אֲנָשִׁים (אִישִׁים is found only in Is. 53, 3. Ps. 141, 4. Prov. 8, 4).

אִמָּה *slave, handmaid*; with the plur. אֲמָהוֹת, with consonantal ה, comp. in Aram. אֲבָהֵן *fathers*, and similarly in Phoen. דִּלְהַת from דִּלְת, also Arab. 'abahât

¹ So already Gesenius in his *Thes. linguae Hebr.* i. 83 sq., and recently again Friedr. Delitzsch, *Prolegg.*, p. 160 sqq., Praetorius in Kuhn's *Orient. L. B.*, 1884, p. 196; König, *Lehrgeb.* ii. 38; while Nöldeke (*ZDMG.* 1886, p. 739 sqq.), against Delitzsch, would connect both אִישׁ and אֲנָשִׁים with the stem אָנַשׁ.

(fathers), 'ummahāt (mothers), with an artificial expansion into a trilateral stem.

אִשָּׁה *woman*, probably for אִשָּׁה; ? from אִשָּׁה *to be weak* (= Arabic 'anūṭā), and therefore distinct from אִשָּׁה *to be sociable* (see above, on אִשָּׁה). So De Lagarde, *Uebersicht*, p. 68; König, *Lehrgeb.* ii. 159 sq. The form אִשָּׁה (for 'āst, with ת fem. from 'āst, after rejection of the doubling and lengthening of the *š* to *z*, comp. תְּמִינָה as *constr. st.* of תְּמִינָה *five*) occurs in Deut. 21, 11. 1 Sam. 28, 7. Ps. 58, 9, even in *absol. st.* [cf., however, below, § 130. 4, 5].—In Ps. 128, 3 אִשָּׁה is found for אִשָּׁה. Instead of the plur. אִשָּׁה (by aphaeresis from אִשָּׁה ? according to Friedr. Delitzsch, from another distinct stem, נִשָּׁה), we find in Ezek. 23, 44 אִשָּׁה¹.

בַּיִת *house*, plur. בָּתִּים (only in Deut. 6, 11. 1 Chron. 28, 11 בָּתִּים without *Metheg*), pronounced *bātim*. The explanation of the Dageš in the ת is still a matter of dispute. According to Jewish tradition (comp. Delitzsch, *Jesaja*, ed. 3, p. 79), the *Dageš forte* (after firm *Metheg*; comp. § 16. f. ζ) serves merely to distinguish this word from בָּתִּים *passing the night* (*part. Qal* of בִּית); the Syriac *bāttin*, however, shows that the *Dageš* is original, and belongs to the character of the form. According to Wright, *Comparative Grammar*, p. 88, בָּתִּים is simply contracted from *bai-tim* (as אֵן from אֵין, עֵינִים from עֵינִים, &c.), and the *Dageš*, therefore, is *lene*; König, *Lehrgeb.* ii. 56, proposes the name *Dageš forte orthoconsonanticum*; Philippi, *ZDMG.* xlix. p. 206, assumes for the plural a stem distinct from that of the singular. The incorrectness of the formerly common pronunciation *bottim* is sufficiently shown by the Babylonian punctuation (see § 8. d, note 2), which leaves no doubt as to the *š*.

בֵּן *son* (Gen. 30, 19 בֵּן-שֵׁשִׁי, *constr.* usually בֶּן- (also with a conjunctive accent as an equivalent for *Maqqeph*, Gen. 17, 17. Is. 8, 2, and elsewhere, 1 Chron. 9, 21; even with smaller disjunctives, especially in the combination מִבְּנֵי, Ex. 30, 14. Lev. 27, 3, and elsewhere [בֶּן- only after וְאִם and before הוֹדֵשׁ, also in Is. 51, 12; see Strack on Ex. 30, 14]), rarely בֶּן- (Deut. 25, 2. Jon. 4, 10 twice, Prov. 30, 1, and so always in the combination בֶּן-נֶנֶן, and in the proper names בְּנֵימִין [but בְּנֵי-בִנְיָמִין *Benjamite*] and בֶּן-יִקָּה Prov. 30, 1), once בְּנִי (comp. § 90. l) Gen. 49, 11, and בְּנִי (§ 90. n) Num. 23, 18. 24, 3. 15.—In Gen. 49, 22 בֶּן, for which בֶּן ought to be read, is intended by the Masora for the *absol. st.*, not the *constr.*

בַּת *daughter* (from *bant*, and this again, according to the law stated in § 69. c, for *bint*, fem. of בֵּן), with suff. בְּתִי for בְּנִתִי. Plur. בָּנוֹת, from the sing. בְּנָה, comp. בָּנִים *sons*.

אָב *husband's father*, only with suff. אָבִי, אָבִי; and אִמָּה *husband's mother*, only with suff. אִמָּה, אִמָּה. Comp. אָב, אָח, אָחִי.

יּוֹם *day* (Arab. *yaum*), dual יּוֹמַיִם; the plur. יָמִים is probably from a different sing. (יָם *yām*)², *constr.* יָמִי and (poetically) יָמוֹת, Deut. 32, 7. Ps. 90, 15.

¹ Friedr. Delitzsch (in the Babylonian glosses to Baer's text of Ezekiel, p. xi) on Ezek. 23, 44, remarks that the Assyro-Babylonian forms from *aššatu* (*woman*), the plur. *aššāti* corresponding, therefore, to אִשָּׁה, not to the ordinary plur. אִשָּׁה.

² The supposition (put forward also in earlier editions of this Grammar) that the plur. יָמִים arose from יּוֹמַיִם through elision of the ו, is invalidated by the fact

בָּלִי *vessel*, in *pause* בָּלִי (with suff. בָּלִיךָ Deut. 23, 25) from בָּלָה *to contain*, plur. בָּלִים (as if from בָּל, בָּלָה; according to König, ii. 63, simply shortened from *kilyfm*).

מַיִם *water*; comp. on the plur. § 88. *d*.

עִיר *city*. The plur. עָרִים is scarcely syncopated from עִירִים, as it is pointed in Jud. 10, 4 (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 = פִּיה?). Its origin is still disputed. According to Gesenius and König (ii. 103), פֶּה stands for פָּאָה (ground-form *pā'ay*) from פָּאָה *to breathe, to blow*; according to Olshausen, for פִּי, from a stem פִּיה or פִּוה. But parallel with the Hebrew פֶּה are Assyr. *pû*, Arab. *fû*, *fam*, *famm*, *fumm*, 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 *fw*. פִּי *my mouth*, from *pi-y*; for פִּיהָ we find in Ps. 17, 10, 58, 7, 59, 13 פִּימוֹ. The supposed plur. פִּים I Sam. 13, 21 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 Prov. 5, 4; reduplicated פִּיפִּיּוֹת Is. 41, 15. Ps. 149, 6.

רֹאשׁ *head* (obscured from רֹאשׁ = *rāš*); plur. רֹאשִׁים (for רֹאשִׁים, § 23. *c*); ראשֵׁי only in Is. 15, 2.

שֵׁה *a head of small cattle (sheep or goat)*, *constr. st.* שֵׁה, with suff. שֵׁהוּ I Sam. 14, 34 and שֵׁיוֹ Deut. 22, 1, according to König, ii. 131, from a ground-form *si'ay*, but according to De Lagarde, *Uebersicht*, 81 sq., from a stem ושי (*shay* = *say* = *wisay*).

שֵׁם *name*, *constr.* generally שֵׁם (only six times שֵׁם); comp. בֵּן.

שָׁמַיִם *heaven* (§ 88. *d*).

§ 97. Numerals. (a) Cardinal Numbers.

- a* 1. The cardinal numbers from 2 to 10, in Hebrew, are substantives with an abstract meaning, like *trias*, *decas*, *nevrás*, and were, therefore, originally attached in the *construct st.* to the word numbered, e. g. בְּנֵי־שָׁלֹשׁ *trias filiorum*. However, the appositional construction of the numerals was likewise in use, side by side with this, at an early date, e. g. שָׁלֹשָׁה בָּנִים, *trias*, sc. *filii*, and from the latter was developed the use of the abstract numerals as adjectives (placed after their noun), see § 134. *c* (אֶחָד *unus*, fem. אַחַת *una*, see § 96, show even

that the *a* becomes vocal *šwā* in the *constr. st.* The view that יום is merely an incorrect obscuring of יָם, and therefore distinct from the Arab. *yaum*, is contradicted by the invariable spelling יום, &c., notwithstanding the spelling וְבַיִם (= וְבָיִם?) in the Siloam inscription, line 3 (cf. § 7. *f*), and יָמִים Hos. 6, 2. Cf. also the note on § 100. *g*.

by their form that they are adjectives, although even in this case combinations like אחד ההרים *unus e montibus* are possible). The consequence of the appositional, and finally adjectival, construction was, that for numerals connected with feminine nouns a special (and, with the exception of שְׁתַּיִם, a shorter) form came to be used, whilst the original forms, with the abstract feminine ending, were used in connexion with masculine nouns. Hence, with the numerals from 3 to 10, it comes to appear as if the masculine form of the numeral were connected with the feminine substantive, and the feminine with the masculine substantive. For the expression of duality, dual forms are naturally used, with the usual distinction of gender. Accordingly, the numerals from 1 to 10 are as follows :

	With the Masculine.		With the Feminine.		
	Absol.	Constr.	Absol.	Constr.	b
1.	אֶחָד	אֶחָד	אֶחָת	אֶחָת	
2.	שְׁנַיִם	שְׁנַיִ	שְׁתַּיִם ¹	שְׁתַּיִ	
3.	שְׁלֹשָׁה	שְׁלֹשָׁת	שְׁלֹשׁ	שְׁלֹשׁ	
4.	אַרְבָּעָה	אַרְבָּעַת	אַרְבַּע	אַרְבַּע	
5.	חֲמִישָׁה	חֲמִישָׁת	חֲמִישׁ	חֲמִישׁ	
6.	שֵׁשָׁה	שֵׁשָׁת	שֵׁשׁ	שֵׁשׁ	
7.	שִׁבְעָה	שִׁבְעַת	שִׁבְעַ	שִׁבְעַ	
8.	שְׁמֹנֶה	שְׁמֹנַת	שְׁמֹנֶה	שְׁמֹנֶה	
9.	תְּשֻׁעָה	תְּשֻׁעַת	תְּשֻׁעַ	תְּשֻׁעַ	
10.	עֶשְׂרֵה	עֶשְׂרֵת	עֶשְׂרֵה	עֶשְׂרֵה	

¹ Shortened from שְׁנַיִתִים, which would be the regular feminine form of שְׁנַיִם. Nevertheless, the *Dageš* in שְׁתַּיִם, &c. (even after מִן; comp. מִשְׁתַּיִם Jon. 4, 11; comp., however, מִשְׁתַּיִ Jud. 16, 28) 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 (comp. Arab. *šīnāni*). It is rather to be read *šāyim*, *šē* (with *Dageš lenē*), comp. אֲשַׁתַּיִם, representing the later Palestinian pronunciation (Philippi, *ZDMG.* xlix. p. 206), and Arab. *šīnātāni* (with a kind of prosthetic *š*; comp. § 19. *m*), as a further feminine form of *šīnāni*, *duo*.—Philippi gives a very thorough treatment of the subject in his article, 'Das Zahlwort Zwei im semitischen' (*ZDMG.* xxxii. p. 21 sqq.), according to which the original form was *šīny*, which, however, even in the primitive language, was shortened to *šīn*. In his opinion, שְׁנַיִם goes back to the dual form *šīnaimā*, שְׁתַּיִם to *šīnataimā*, *šīntaimā*, so that in that case שְׁתַּיִם, which in the Babylonian Codex of 916 has been almost always substituted by a later hand for שְׁתַּיִם, would be the more original and correct form.

On the connective forms *שָׁבַע*, *הִשָּׁע*, comp. the analogous forms in § 93. *h*.

c The other Semitic languages also exhibit the same peculiarity in the external differentiation of the numerals from 3 to 10 as regards gender. The full form of the numeral abstracts is only rarely found in connexion with feminine nouns¹, e. g. *שְׁלֹשָׁת נָשִׁים* Gen. 7, 13. 1 Sam. 10, 3. Job 1, 4. Ezek. 7, 2 *Keth.*; probably also Jos. 17, 11, where we should read with Dillmann *שֵׁשׁ הַנְּפוֹת*. In apposition, Zech. 3, 9. 4, 2, comp. Jer. 36, 23. Conversely in Gen. 38, 24 *שְׁלֹשׁ חֳדָשִׁים* (but in the Samaritan *שְׁלֹשָׁת*).—For *שִׁבְעָה* *seven*, there occurs in Job 42, 13 the strange form *שִׁבְעָנָה*, according to Ewald an old feminine substantive (comp. the German *ein Siebend*, a set of seven), but more probably a scribal error.

d 2. The numerals from 11 to 19 are formed by placing the units, without the *copula*, before the number ten (in the form *עָשָׂר* masc., *עֶשְׂרָה* fem.), but without the two words being joined into one. However, owing to their rapid pronunciation in one breath, the units almost invariably appear in the form of the *construct st.* (without pretonic vowels); comp., in the following table, *אַחַד* and *אַחַת* in the numeral 11, and the units in the feminine numerals from 13 upwards. The proper connective forms, however, of the masculine abstracts, like *שְׁלֹשָׁת*, &c., are not admitted in combination with *עָשָׂר*, since the units are merely in apposition, and not in a genitive relation. Also *שְׁנֵי* and *שְׁתֵּי*, in the number 12, are only apparently in the *construct st.*, although formed in the same way (by contraction of the *ay*, and the loss through phonetic decay of the *ם* of *שְׁנַיִם*, *שְׁתַּיִם*), and for the same reason, viz. their close connexion with the following noun. In *שְׁנַיִם* and *שְׁתַּיִם* the language has contented itself with the contraction of the *ay* (without rejecting the *ם*), unless both forms are to be regarded as the Masoretic *Qere perpetuum* (§ 17), viz. *שְׁנֵי*, *שְׁתֵּי*, for *שְׁנַיִם*, *שְׁתַּיִם*, as really intended by the *Kethibh*.

e Accordingly the numbers from 11 upwards are—

	<i>Masculine.</i>	<i>Feminine.</i>
I I.	אַחַד עָשָׂר עֶשְׂרִי ² עָשָׂר	אַחַת עֶשְׂרָה עֶשְׂרֵי עֶשְׂרָה

¹ 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*).

² *עֶשְׂרִי*, which remained for a long time unexplained, was recognized (first by J. Oppert) in the Assyro-Babylonian inscriptions in the form *ēštin* or *ēštēn*; comp. Friedr. Delitzsch, *Assyrische Grammatik*, p. 203, and P. Haupt, in the *American Journal of Philology*, viii. 269. Accordingly, *עֶשְׂרֵי עֶשְׂרִי* is a compound, like the

	<i>Masculine.</i>	<i>Feminine.</i>
12.	{ שָׁנַיִם עָשָׂר שְׁנֵי עָשָׂר	{ שְׁתַּיִם עָשָׂרָה שְׁתֵּי עָשָׂרָה
13.	שְׁלֹשָׁה עָשָׂר	שְׁלֹשׁ עָשָׂרָה

&c., on the analogy of the last. These numerals regularly have only the above form. In regard to their syntax, comp. § 134. *f*.

Very rarely the units appear in the masc. in the *constr. st.*, as חֲמֵשֶׁת עָשָׂר *fifteen*, Jud. 8, 10. 2 Sam. 19, 18; שְׁמֹנֶת עָשָׂר *eighteen*, Jud. 20, 25.

3. The tens from 30 to 90 are expressed by the plural forms *f* of the units (so that the plural here always stands for *ten times* the unit, thus, שְׁלֹשִׁים 30, אַרְבָּעִים 40, חֲמִשִּׁים 50, שִׁשִּׁים 60, שִׁבְעִים 70, שְׁמוֹנִים 80, תְּשַׁעִים 90. But *twenty* is expressed by עָשָׂרִים, plur. of עָשָׂר *ten*¹. 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 may precede (*two and twenty*, as in Arabic and English), e. g. Num. 3, 39. 26, 14. Very frequently, however, the reverse order is found (*twenty and two*, as in Syriac, cf. French and English *twenty-two*), e. g. 1 Chron. 12, 28. 18, 5². In all cases the units and tens are connected by the *copula*, ordinarily ׀, but ׀ before numerals with the tone on the penultima, ׀ before ׀, ׀ before *šwā*; see § 104. *d, e, g*.

The remaining numerals are the substantives—

100 מֵאָה fem., *constr.* מֵאֹת.

200 מֵאֹתַיִם dual (contracted from מֵאֹתָיִם; comp. § 23. *c*).

Sansk. *ékādaśan*, *éwdeka*, *undecim* (analogous to the combination of units and tens in the numerals from 12–19), and is used at the same time in the composition of the feminine numeral eleven. On the gradual substitution of עָשָׂרֵי עָ for אֶחָד עָ and אֶחָת עָ see Giesebrecht in *ZAW*. 1881, p. 226; עָשָׂרֵי עָ occurs only in the Priestly Code, in Jer., Ezek., in the prologue to Deuteronomy (i. 3), and in passages undoubtedly post-exilic, so that it may very well be a loan-word from the Babylonian.

¹ For the irregular plural forms עָשָׂרִים, שִׁבְעִים, שִׁשִּׁים (from the *segholates* עָשָׂר, תְּשַׁע, שִׁבְעָה, we should expect עָשָׂרִים, שִׁבְעִים, שִׁשִּׁים. Is this very unusual deviation from the common formation (see above, § 93. *l, o, r*) connected with the special meaning of these plurals?

² According to the conclusions of König (*De Criticæ Sacrae Argumento*, p. 61, and *Lehrgeb.* ii. p. 215 sqq.), the smaller number more commonly precedes in Ezek. and the Priestly Code, but the larger always elsewhere. S. Herner (*Syntax der Zahlwörter im A. T.*, Lund, 1893, p. 71 sqq.) arrives at the same conclusion by a full examination of the statistics; cf. also his remarks on König in *ZAW*. 1896, i.

- 300 שְׁלֹשׁ מֵאוֹת plur. (but in 2 Ki. 11, 4. 9. 10. 15, *K^{eth}* הַמֵּאוֹת).
- 1000 אֶלֶף masc.
- 2000 אֶלְפִים dual.
- 3000 שְׁלֹשַׁת אֲלָפִים plur., and so on (except עֶשְׂרֵה אֲלָפִים in 2 Sam. 18, 3. 2 Ki. 24, 14 *K^{eth}*.; elsewhere always עֶשְׂרֵת אֲלָפִים).
- 10000 רִבְבָה, in the later Books רְבוּ, רְבוּ, רְבוּא (properly *multitude*, comp. *μυριάς*).
- 20000 רִבְתַּיִם dual (see below, letter *h*); but נְשֵׂתֵי רְבוּת Neh. 7, 70 (also נְשֵׂתֵי רְבוּא Neh. 7, 71).
- 40000 אַרְבַּע רְבוּא Neh. 7, 66.
- 60000 נְשֵׁש־רְבָאוֹת Ezra 2, 69 (Baer and Ginsburg רְבָאוֹת, as in Dan. 11, 12). אֲלָפֵי רִבְבָה *thousands of myriads*, Gen. 24, 60.

- h* Rem. 1. The dual form which occurs in some of the units has the meaning of our ending *-fold*, e. g. אַרְבַּעַתַּיִם *fourfold*, 2 Sam. 12, 6; שִׁבְעַתַּיִם *sevenfold*, Gen. 4, 15. 24. Is. 30, 26. Ps. 12, 7. 79, 12 (comp. § 134. *r*). The dual רִבְתַּיִם Ps. 68, 18 (explained by אֲלָפֵי טַנְנָן *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.—Besides the plural, which denotes the tens, there are also the plurals אַחָדִים *some*, also *iidem*, and עֶשְׂרוֹת *decades* (not *decem*) Ex. 18, 21. 25.
- i* 2. The *suffixes* to numerals are, as with other nouns, properly genitives, although they are translated in English as nominatives, e. g. שְׁלֹשַׁתְּכֶם *your triad*, i. e. *you three*, Num. 12, 4.

§ 98. Numerals. (*b*) Ordinal Numbers.

- a* The ordinal numbers from 2 to 10 are formed from the corresponding cardinals by adding the termination ׀ (§ 86. *h*), before which another ׀ also is generally inserted between the second and third stem radicals. They are as follows: שְׁנֵי *second*, רְבִיעִי, שְׁלִישִׁי (like רִבְעִי, רִבְעִי, רְבִיעִים, without the prosthetic א, which appears in אַרְבַּע, &c.), תְּמִישִׁי or תְּמִישִׁי (which, according to Strack, is always to be read for תְּמִישִׁי), שְׁבִיעִי, שְׁמִינִי, עֶשְׂרִי, הָשִׁיעִי, שְׁמִינִי, שְׁבִיעִי, שְׁשִׁי, תְּמִישִׁי (cf. § 27. *x*), ראשון (cf. § 27. *x*), ראש *head, beginning*, with the termination ׀ (§ 86. *f*). On the use of אָתָּר as an ordinal in numbering the days of the month, comp. § 134. *p*; in such cases as Gen. 1, 5. 2, 11, the meaning of *first* is derived solely from the context.

The feminine forms have the termination ית־, more rarely (and only in the case of 3 and 10) יָה־. They are employed also to express fractions, e. g. חֲמִישִׁית *fifth* or *fifth part*, עֲשִׂירִית and עֲשִׂירִיה *tenth part*. Side by side with these, in the same sense, there are also forms like שְׁלִישׁ *a third*, רִבֵּעַ and רִבְעָה *a quarter*, חֲמִישׁ *a fifth part*, and with the affirmative וְ, עֲשָׂרֹן (plur. עֲשָׂרֹנִים) *a tenth part*; these are to be regarded as abstracts, and are denominatives from the cardinal numbers. Comp. finally שָׁבוּעַ *εβδομάς, a week*; עֲשׂוֹר *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.*

a 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 sq.

b 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; comp. 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 $\text{D}\eta\text{'}^i$ *by day*, from $\text{D}\eta\text{'}$ (comp., 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.

Comp. in German *gen*, from *gegen*, *Gegend*; *seit*, from *Seite*; *weil* (originally a particle of time, like our *while*), from *Weile*.

Still more violent abbreviations occur in Greek, Latin, and the Romance languages, e. g. $\alpha\pi\acute{o}$, *ab*, *a*; $\acute{\epsilon}\xi$, *ex*, *e*; *ad*, Fr. \grave{a} ; *aut*, Fr. *ou*, Ital. *o*; *super*, Ital. *su*¹.

¹ 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. *iù* (to give), and also the sign of the dative; λ (to make use of), hence *to*, *for*; *nèi* (the interior), hence *in*.

The greatest shortening occurs in those particles which have *c* entirely lost the character of an independent word, by being reduced to a single consonant with its vowel (generally short) or *š'wad*. According to the laws of syllable formation in Hebrew (§ 26. *m*), such particles cannot stand independently, but are united, as prefixes, with the following word (§ 102), very much like the preformatives of the imperfect (§ 47. *a-d*).

The view that this shortening of whole words to single letters has actually taken *d* place in the gradual course of linguistic development, is rendered highly probable by the fact that similar abbreviations in later Hebrew and Aramaic, i. e. as the development of the original Semitic speech progresses, become more and more striking and frequent. Thus the Biblical Aramaic וי becomes at a later period וי; in modern Arabic, e. g. *hallaq* (now) is from *halwaqt*; *lā* (why?) from *li-ayyi-saiin*, &c. Comp. also the analogous cases mentioned above from the Western languages. Nevertheless, the use of the simplest particles belongs already to the earliest periods of the Hebrew language, or, at any rate, to the earliest documents which have come down to us.

3. Less frequently particles are formed by *composition*; as מרוע *e* *wherefore?* for מה-ירוע *quid edoctus?* (τί μαθών); or *quid cognitum?* בלערי (from בל and ערי) *besides*; מלמעלה (from מן, ל, מעלה) *from above, above*.

More frequent is the combination of two words into one without contraction, e. g. ביעל-בן, ביהם, אה-בי, אחר-בן.

§ 100. Adverbs.

1. The negative לא *not*, and a few particles of place and time, *a* as שם *there*, are of obscure origin.

2. Forms of other parts of speech, which are used adverbially *b* without further change, are—

(*a*) Substantives with prepositions, e. g. במאד (with might) *very*; לבד *alone* (prop. *in separation*, Fr. *à part*), with suffix לבדי *I alone*; מבית *from within, within*; cf. also בנאחד (as one) *together*.

(*b*) Substantives in the accusative (the adverbial case of the Semites, *c* § 118. *m*), comp. τὴν ἀρχήν, δωραάν, e. g. מאד (might) *very*, נאפם (cessation) *no more*, היום (the day) *to-day* (comp. § 126. *δ*), אחד (union) *together*. Several of these continued to be used, though rarely, as substantives, e. g. סביב, plur. סביבים and סביבות, *circuit*, as adverb *circum, around*; others have quite ceased to be so used, e. g. בקר (length) *long ago*; עוד (repetition, duration) *again or further, longer*.

d (c) Adjectives, especially in the feminine (corresponding to the Indo-Germanic neuter), e.g. רִאשׁוֹנָה *primum, formerly* (more frequently בְּרִאשׁוֹנָה, also לְרִאשׁוֹנָה); רַבָּה and רַבַּת *multum, much, enough*; נִפְלְאוֹת *wonderfully* (properly *mirabilibus, sc. modis*), יְהוּדִית *Jewish*, i.e. in the Jewish language.

e (d) Verbs in the infinitive absolute, especially in *Hiph'il*, which are likewise to be regarded as accusatives (§ 113. *h*), e.g. הִרְבָּה (prop. *a multiplying*) *much*, לְהִרְבֶּה *in multitude*; הִשְׁבֵּם (*mane faciendo*) *early*; הִעָרַב (*vespere faciendo*) *in the evening*.

f (e) Pronouns and numerals, e.g. זֶה (prop. *there = at this place*) *here*, הֵנָּה *here, hither* (also of time, comp. עָדָן and עַדְרָנָה = עֲדֵהוּן *till now*); אַחַת, שְׁתַּיִם, שִׁבְעַת, מֵאָה *once, twice, seven times, a hundred times*; שְׁנִיית *for the second time*.

g 3. Some adverbs are formed by the addition of formative syllables (most frequently ם־) to substantives or adjectives, e.g. אֲמָנָם and אֲמָנָם *truly* (from אֱמֶן *truth*); חִנָּם (by favour) *gratis* (from חֵן *gratia*); רִיקָם *in vain, frustra*, but also *empty*, Ruth 1, 21, parallel with the fem. מְלֵאָה *full* (from רִיק *empty, emptiness, vacuum*); יוֹמָם *by day* (from יוֹם ¹). Comp. also דְּיוֹמָם (an adj. in Hab. 2, 19. Lam. 3, 26; an adv. in Is. 47, 5), and, with ם in the last syllable, בְּתָאָם, for בְּתָעָם, *in a twinkling, suddenly* (from בְּתָתַע *a twinkling*), and תְּלִישׁוֹם *the day before yesterday* (from שְׁלֹשׁ *three*), the ם in both cases being probably obscured from an original *d*.—Moreover, comp. אֶחָרְבָּיִת *backward*, and קָרְבָּיִת *sordidate*, Mal. 3, 14. 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.

h The termination ם־ occurs also in the formation of substantives, e.g. סֻלָּם *ladder* (from סָלַל), and hence the above adverbs may equally well be regarded as nouns used adverbially, so that ם־, ם־, would correspond to ׁ־, ׁ־ (§ 85, Nos. 53, 54), comp. פְּרִיּוֹם, equivalent to פְּרִיּוֹן *redemption*, בְּפִתְאָם (with prep.)

¹ Is this ם־ an instance of the locative or temporal termination (cf. especially צהרם) mentioned in § 88. *c*? Nöldeke, *ZDMG*. xl. p. 721, considers יוֹמָם a secondary substantival form (used adverbially like לַיְלָה *noctu*), corresponding to the Phoenician and Aramaic ימם, Syr. 'ʿmāmā; cf., on the other hand, König, ii. 255: the Phoen. ימם is probably plural, and in the case of the parallel Syriac 'ʿmāmā, the derived form (occurring in יוֹמָם) is also used to express *day*, beside the ordinary *yām*.—De Lagarde's opinion (*Novae psalt. gr. editionis specimen*, p. 12 sq.) that יוֹמָם should be read ימם is altogether improbable.

suddenly, 2 Chron. 29, 36. According to others, this *am* is an obsolete accusative ending, to be compared with the indeterminate accusative sing. in *an* in Arabic.

4. A number of forms standing in very close relation to the *i* demonstrative pronoun may be regarded as primitive adverbs, since they arise directly from a combination of demonstrative sounds. Some of these have subsequently suffered great mutilation, the extent of which, however, can now very rarely be ascertained with certainty. Such are e. g. *אָז* *then*, *בֵּן, בָּכָה, כֵּן* *thus* (cf. *אֵיכָה, אֵיכָכָה, הוֹרֵה*), *אָז* *only*, *אֲמֵן* *truly* (on all these adverbs, see the Lexicon), and especially the interrogative *הֵ* (*Hē interrogativum*), e. g. *הֲלֵא* (Deut. 3, 11 *הֲלֵא*) *nonne?* *הֲגַם* *num etiam?* This *Hē interrogativum* is perhaps shortened from *הָל*, which is still used in Arabic, and, according to the view of a certain school of Masoretes, occurs also in Hebrew in Deut. 32, 6¹.

The *ה* interrogative takes—(1) *Hateph-Pathah* generally before non-gutturals (*k* even before *ר*), with a firm vowel, e. g. *הֲשַׁמְתָּ* *hast thou set?* see the interrogative clause, § 150. *ע* *הֲיִיטֵב* Lev. 10, 19 is an exception).

(2) Before a consonant with *S^ewab*, usually *Pathah* without a following *Dageš l forte*, e. g. *הֲבִרְכָה* Gen. 27, 38, comp. 18, 17. 29, 5. 30, 15. 34, 31; less frequently (in about ten passages), *Pathah* with a following *Dageš forte*, e. g. *הֲבִרְכֶּה* *num in via*, Ezek. 20, 30, *הֲלִכְנָה* Gen. 17, 17. 18, 21. 37, 32. Num. 13, 19. Job 23, 6; even in *ר*, 1 Sam. 10, 24. 17, 25. 2 Ki. 6, 32.

(3) Before gutturals, not pointed with either *Qames* or *Hateph-Qames*, it takes *Pathah*, e. g. *הֲאֵלֵךְ* *shall I go?* *הֲאַתָּה* *num tu?* *הֲאִם* *num si;* *הֲאֶרְצָה* Mal. 1, 13; also in Jud. 6, 31 read *הֲאַתָּם* (not *הָא*), likewise *הֵ* in Jud. 12, 5. Jer. 8, 19. Neh. 6, 11.—In *הֲאִישׁ* Num. 16, 22, the Masora intends the article; we should read *הָאִישׁ*, and comp. Deut. 20, 19; in Eccl. 3, 21 read *הֲעֵלָה* and *הֲיִרְדָּת*; the article is a correction due to doctrinal motives.

(4) The *ה* takes *S^eghol* before gutturals which have *Qames* or (as in Jud. 11, 9, 9 sqq.) *Hateph-Qames*, e. g. *הֲאֶמֹר* Mic. 2, 7; *הֲאֶנְכִי* Job 21, 4; *הֲהִיִּתָּה* Joel 1, 2; *הֲהִשָּׁב* Gen. 24, 5 (comp. the analogous instances in § 22. *c*, § 35. *k*, § 63. *k*). The place of this interrogative particle is always at the beginning of the clause.

5. Some adverbs occur also in connexion with suffixes, thus *יִשְׁךָ* *o thou art there*, 3rd sing. masc. *יִשְׁנֹו*, 2nd plur. masc. *יִשְׁכֶּם; יִשְׁנֵי* *I am not*, 2nd sing. *אִינְךָ*, fem. *אִינֶה*, 3rd sing. *אִינָה; אִינֶה*, fem. *אִינֶה*, 2nd plur. *אִינְכֶם*, 3rd plur. masc. *אִינֶם*.—Also *עוֹדְךָ* *I am yet* (*עוֹדִי* only in *בְּעוֹדִי* and *בְּעוֹדֵי*, *עוֹדְךָ*, *עוֹדֶה*, *עוֹדֶה*, *עוֹדֶיךָ* (Lam. 4, 17 *K^eth.*; *עוֹדֶיךָ* *Q^ere^e*), *עוֹדָם*.—

¹ The separation of the *ה* at the beginning of Deut. 32, 6, expressly noticed by Qimhi (ed. Rittenb., p. 40 b) as an unique instance, is perhaps a protest against admitting a particle *הָל*.

אָפּבּוּ where art thou? אַיזוּ where is he? אַיזוּ where are they? The same applies to הִנּוּ (הִנֵּה) and הִנֵּה behold! (prop. here, here is; see § 105. b), only in Gen. 19, 2 הִנֵּה־נָא; with suffixes, הִנֵּנִי and הִנֵּנִי (Gen. 22, 7 with *Munah*), in pause הִנֵּנִי behold me (here am I), הִנֵּךְ (pause הִנֵּךְ Ps. 139, 8), הִנֵּךְ, and הִנֵּנוּ, הִנֵּנוּ (behold us), and הִנֵּנוּ, in pause הִנֵּנוּ, הִנֵּנוּ, הִנֵּנוּ.

♢ The usual explanation of these suffixes (especially of the forms with *Nün epentheticum*) as verbal suffixes, which ascribes some power of verbal government even to forms originally substantival (e. g. יִשְׁנֶנּוּ there is, he is), is at least inadmissible for forms (like אַיזוּ, אַיזוּ) evidently connected with noun-suffixes; even for the other forms it is questionable.

§ 101. Prepositions.

a 1. All words, which by usage serve as prepositions, were originally 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, comp. in German *statt dessen, kraft dessen*, in Greek *τούτου χάριν*, in Latin *huius rei causa*, or *gratia, montis instar*¹. Comp. אַחֲרֵי (hinder part*) behind, after (*Mil'el* in בֵּן אַחֲרֵי Lev. 14, 36. Deut. 21, 13. 1 Sam. 10, 5; אַחֲרֵי 2 Chron. 32, 9); אֲצֵל (side*) close by; בֵּין (intermediate space*) between; בְּעַד, בְּעַד (distance) behind, around; וּבִלְתִּי, or with *Hireq compaginis* וּבִלְתִּי (removal, want) except; עֲלֵי (purpose) on account of; מִלְּפָנֶיךָ (only in Deut. 1, 1) before, over against; מִן (separation; cf. § 119. v) from, out of; בְּפָנֶיךָ (coming in front, that which is over against) before, over against; עַד (progress, duration*) during, until; עַל־ (height, upper part*) upon, over; עִמְּךָ (connexion?) with; it is doubtful whether this is to be derived from the same stem as עִמְּךָ, עִמְּךָ near, beside, like; תַּחַת (under part*) under, instead of.

b (b) Substantives in the construct state, but to be regarded as in the genitive, since they depend on prepositions (especially the inseparable), e. g. לְפָנֶיךָ (in the face of*) before; בְּפִי, לְפִי (according to the mouth, i. e. the command of*) according to; בְּגִבְלֵךָ (in the concern of) on account of; לְמַעַן (for the purpose of) on account of.

c 2. Substantives used adverbially very frequently become preposi-

¹ In the examples which follow, the meaning of the noun is added in parentheses, and, when it is actually in use, is marked with an asterisk.—On a similar use in other languages, see W. von Humboldt, *Über die Kawisprache*, iii. p. 621.

tions in this way, e.g. בְּלִי, בְּבִלִי, מִבְּלִי, בְּאִין, בְּאַפְסָם (with cessation) *without*, בְּעוֹר (in the duration of) *during*; בְּרִי, בְּרִי (according to the requirement of) *for, according to*.

§ 102. Prefixed Prepositions.

1. Of the words mentioned in § 101, מִן *from, out of*, frequently *a* occurs as a prefix (§ 99. *c*), and even with its *Nún* assimilated to the following consonant (by means of *Dageš forte*), e.g. מִן־עֵר *out of a forest*.

Rem. The separate מִן (always with a following *Maqqeph*) is usual (but not necessary, comp. Jud. 20, 14 with verse 15. Ezek. 43, 6, &c.) only before the article, e.g. מִן־הָאָרֶץ, and sometimes occurs before the softer consonants, e.g. מִן־אֶרֶץ Jer. 44, 18, מִן־בְּנֵי Joel 1, 12. 1 Chron. 5, 18; cf. Ex. 18, 14. Lev. 1, 14. 14, 30. Jud. 7, 23. 10, 4. 19, 16. Ps. 104, 7 (2 Ki. 23, 36 before ר; also before ק in Ps. 18, 49), and elsewhere in the later Books (as in Aramaic)¹; there is besides a poetic by-form מִנִּי (comp. § 90. *m*) and מִינִי Is. 30, 11. Its form is most commonly מִ with a following *Dageš*, which may, however, be omitted in letters which have *Šewâ* (comp. § 20. *m*). With a following י the מ is, as a rule, contracted to מי, e.g. מִיָּדִי = מִיָּדִי or מִיָּדִי (but comp. מִיָּשָׁנִי Dan. 12, 2; מִיָּשָׁתֶּךָ 2 Chron. 20, 11); before gutturals it becomes מִ (according to § 22, *c*), e.g. מִמָּעַם, מִמָּאָרֶם; מִ occurs before ה with the guttural virtually sharpened in מִחוּץ *on the outside*, and in מִחוּט Gen. 14, 23; before ה in מִהוּיֹת (comp. § 28. *b* and § 63. *q*). The closed syllable here is inconsistent with the supposed virtual sharpening of the ה; probably מִהוּיֹת is merely due to the analogy of מִלְהוּיֹת; similarly Is. 14, 3 before ר; but in 1 Sam. 23, 28. 2 Sam. 18, 16 מִדֶּרֶךְ is to be read, according to § 22. *s*.

2. There are also three other particles, the most commonly used *c* prepositions and the particle of comparison, which have been reduced by abbreviation (§ 99. *c*) to a single prefixed consonant with *Šewâ* (but see below), viz.:

כִּי *in, at, with.*

לִּי *towards, to, for, Lat. ad.*

כִּי *like, as, according to* (no doubt the remnant of a substantive with the meaning of *matter, kind, instar*).

With regard to the pointing it is to be observed that—

(*a*) The *Šewâ mobile*, with which the above prefixes are usually pronounced, *d* has resulted from the weakening of a short vowel (an original *ä*, according to

¹ König, *Einleitung ins A. T.*, p. 393 (cf. also the almost exhaustive statistics in his *Lehrgebäude*, ii. 292 sqq.), enumerates eight instances of מִן before a word without the article in 2 Samuel and Kings, and forty-five in Chronicles.

letter *f*)¹; the short vowel is regularly retained before *S^ewā*: before *S^ewā simplex* in the form of an *i*, attenuated from *ā*: before a *Ḥaṭeph* the prefix takes the vowel of the *Ḥaṭeph*, e. g. לְפָרִי for *fruit*, כְּאַרְיִי as *a lion*, בְּעֵנִי *bō'eni*, in *affliction* (sometimes with the syllable subsequently closed, comp. § 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 יְהוָה *God*, the *S^ewā* and *Ḥaṭeph S^eghōl* regularly coalesce in *S^erē*, e. g. בְּיְהוָה, &c., for בְּיָהוּ; so with suffixes וְאֵלֶיךָ, &c. (once also in the sing., לְאֵלֶיךָ Hab. 1, 11); also regularly לְאמֹר *to say*, for לְאָמֹר, see § 23. *d*.

e (*b*) When the prefixes precede the article, the ה is almost always dropped, and they take its vowel. See further in § 35. *n*.

f (*c*) Immediately before the tone-syllable, i. e. before monosyllables and dissyllables with the tone on the penultima (in the fore-tone), they take *Qames*; (undoubtedly a lengthening of an original *ā*, comp. § 26. *e*, § 28. *a*), but only in the following cases:

(*aa*) לְ before infinitives of the above-mentioned form, as לְרִין *to give*, לְרִיף *to judge*, לְבוֹ *to plunder*, לְנוֹ *to shear*, לְחַג *to keep a festival*, לְרָחַץ *to bring forth*, לְלָכֵת *to go*, לְקַחַת *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. לְיָאֵת Ex. 19, 1, לְשִׁבֶתָּה Gen. 16, 3 (in such cases as לְתַת־הָרֵב Ex. 5, 21 the *ā* is protected by the secondary tone; before infinitives of verbs וְעַ', the לְ is retained even in close connexion; comp. Ezek. 21, 20. 25. 22, 3);

g (*bb*) before many pronominal forms, e. g. בְּוָה (so also in 1 Sam. 21, 10; not בְּוָה, לְוָה, בְּוָה, לְוָה, בְּוָה, לְוָה (in close connexion, however, לְוָה Gen. 2, 23; בְּוָה Gen. 45, 23); בְּאַלֶּהָ as *these*; and especially בְּכֶם, לְכֶם, בְּכֶם (בְּכֶם) and בְּהֶם, לְהֶם, see § 103. *e*;

h (*cc*) before monosyllables or fore-toned nouns in such combinations as פֶּה לְפֶה *mouth to mouth*, 2 Ki. 10, 21, בֵּין מַיִם לְמַיִם *between waters and waters*, Gen. 1, 6; לְטָרַח *for a trouble*, Is. 1, 14, but always before the principal pause. The instructive example in Deut. 17, 8, also shows that the punctuation לְ requires at least the lesser pause after it; in Is. 28, 10 and 13 the לְ is twice repeated, even before the small and smallest distinctives;

i (*dd*) in certain standing expressions, which have become stereotyped almost as adverbs, e. g. לְעַד *to eternity*, כָּרֵב *in multitude*, לְבִטָּח *in security*, לְנֶצַח *to eternity*, but לְנֶצַח נְצָחִים *to all eternity*, Is. 34, 10. Cf. also לְנַפְשָׁם *for the dead*, Lev. 19, 28. Num. 5, 2. 9, 10.

k (*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 Eccles. 3, 22, בְּמָה; comp. Delitzsch, *Jesaja*, 4th ed., on Is. 2, 22); בְּמָה *how much?* but also בְּמָה 2 Chron. 18, 15, in close connexion, and at a greater distance from the *pause*. The *S^eghōl* in these forms arises from a partial lengthening of the

¹ Jerome (see Siegfried, *ZAW*. iv. 79) almost always represents בְּ by *ba*.

original *ā*, while the *ḡ* is sharpened in order to maintain the original *ā* of the prefixes.

When לְ (prop. *la*) is united to מָה, it takes, according to § 49. *f, g*, the form לְמָה (Job 7, 20 לְמָה, 1 Sam. 1, 8 לְמָה, all *Mil'él*, and hence the *ā* in the tone is lengthened to *ā*) for *what? why?* Before the gutturals א, ה, ע, לְמָה is used for euphonic reasons (exceptions 1 Sam. 28, 15. 2 Sam. 14, 31. Jer. 15, 18, before ה; 2 Sam. 2, 22. Ps. 49, 6; before א) לְמָה, however, remains before ח. Before letters which are not gutturals, לְמָה is found in Ps. 42, 10. 43, 2 (immediately after a tone-syllable).

Rem. The divine name יהוה, which has not its own original vowels (probably *יהוה*) but those of אֲדֹנָי (see § 17. *c*), takes the prefixes also, after the manner of אֲדֹנָי, thus וְיְהוָה, לְיְהוָה, בְּיְהוָה, מִיְהוָה (since they are to be read וְאֲדֹנָי, וְאֲדֹנָי, וְאֲדֹנָי, וְאֲדֹנָי); for the א of אֲדֹנָי, as of אֲדֹנָי, &c. (see below), *quiesces* after the prefixes ב, כ, ל, ז, but is *audible* after מ (for מן), ש (no instance in the O. T.), and ה (in הַאֲדֹנָי, the article, not ה interrog., is intended, since the only example with ה interrog., Jer. 8, 19, is to be pointed הַיְהוָה, i. e. הַאֲדֹנָי, not הַיְהוָה). Hence the rule, מֹשֶׁה מוֹצִיא מִשָּׁה מוֹצִיא (i. e. מ, ש, ה make the א audible), וְכַלֵּב מְבִיא מְבִיא and *Caleb brought in* (i. e. ו, כ, ל, ב allow it to quiesce)¹.—As regards the other plural forms of אֲדֹנָי, syncope of the א always takes place after ב, כ, ז, except in the form אֲדֹנָי, thus לְאֲדֹנָי, לְאֲדֹנָי, &c.; but לְאֲדֹנָי, &c., לְאֲדֹנָי, &c., &c., לְאֲדֹנָי, &c.

§ 103. *Prepositions with Pronominal Suffixes and in the Plural Form.*

1. As all prepositions were originally nouns (§ 101) in the accusative, *a* they may be united with the noun-suffixes (§ 91. *b-l*), e. g. אֵצְלַי (prop. at my side) *by me*, אֵתַי (in my proximity) *with me*, בְּתַחְתָּם (in their place) *instead of them*, like the Latin *mea causa, for my sake*.

Rem. 1. The preposition אֵת (usually אֵת) *near, with*, is distinguished from אַת (comp. note 1, p. 380), the sign of the definite accusative (§ 117. *a*), in its connexion with suffixes, by a difference of pointing, the former making אֵתַי, אֵתַךְ, in *pause* אֵתַי, 2nd fem. אֵתַי (Is. 54, 10 אֵתַי), אֵתַי, אֵתַי, אֵתַי (also in the later Books, especially in Kings, and in Jer. and Ezek., incorrectly אֵתַי *with me*; מֵאֵתַי *from thee*, 1 Ki. 20, 25; מֵאֵתַי *from him*, 1 Ki. 22, 7; אֵתַם *with them*), while the latter retains its original *o* before the light suffixes. Hence the following forms arise:—

	Sing.		Plur.
1.	אֵתַי <i>me.</i>		אֵתַנּוּ <i>us.</i>
2.	{ <i>m.</i> אֵתַי, <i>pause</i> אֵתַי } <i>thee.</i>		אֵתַיְכֶם <i>you.</i>
	{ <i>f.</i> אֵתַי . . . . . }		. . . . .
3.	{ <i>m.</i> אֵתוֹ <i>him.</i>		אֵתַיְהֶם, אֵתַיְהֶם } <i>them.</i>
	{ <i>f.</i> אֵתָהּ <i>her.</i>		אֵתַיְהֶן, אֵתַיְהֶן }

¹ Another *vox memor.* is כֻּלְּבִי נִסְתָּר בְּלִבּוֹ *all is hidden in him.*

Less common are the *plene* forms אֹתִי, אֹתְךָ (Num. 22, 33 אֹתְכָה before ה), אֹתָהּ (Ex. 29, 35 אֹתְכָה), אֹתוֹ, אֹתָהּ, אֹתְנוּ, אֹתְכֶם. Moreover, for אֹתְכֶם we find אֹתְכֶם Jos. 23, 15; for אֹתָם, five times (Gen. 32, 1. Ex. 18, 20, &c.), אֹתָהֶם, and in Ezek. 23, 45 אֹתָהֶם; for אֹתָן (only found in Ezek. 16, 54; 35, 26 אֹתָנָה; 34, 21 אֹתָנָה) also אֹתָנָן (Gen. 19, 8, &c. [13 times]) and אֹתָנָן Ezek. 23, 47.—No instance of the 2nd fem. plur. אֹתְכֶן occurs in the O. T.; in Cant. 2, 7, &c., אֹתְכֶם is used instead.

c 2. The preposition עִמָּךְ with (with suffixes on the model of stems עָמַי, עָמְךָ [1 Sam. 1, 26 עִמְכָה], in *pause* עִמְךָ; 2nd fem. עִמְךָ, עִמְּוֹ, עִמְּהָ) is united with the suffixes נוּ, כֶּם and הֶם by a (pretonic) *Qames*, which causes the sharpening of the *Mém* to be distinctly audible: עִמְּנוּ, עִמְּכֶם, עִמְּהֶם (so in Num. 22, 21, and often in very late passages, otherwise עִמָּם is generally used). In the first person, besides עִמָּי, we also find עִמְּרִי (probably from original עִנְרִי; cf. Arab. 'inda, beside, with).

d 3. It is but seldom that prepositions occur with verbal suffixes, as תַּחֲתָיִךְ 2 Sam. 22, 37. 40. 48 (for which Ps. 18, 37. 40. 48 תַּחֲתָיִי), תַּחֲתֶיךָ Gen. 2, 21 and תַּחֲתֵיךָ Ps. 139, 11 (here probably for the sake of the rhyme with יְשׁוּבָיִי)¹.

e 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 אֶל is appended the syllable מו (see the Rem.), and אֶל and אֵל take at least a full vowel, אֶל and אֵל (§ 102. d, f).—The following deviations from the analogy of the noun with suffixes are to be noticed (a) in the pausal forms אֶלְךָ, אֵלְךָ, אֶתְךָ, אֵתְךָ, אֶמְךָ (not *bèkha*, &c.); (b) in the similar forms with the suffix of the 2nd sing. fem. (not *bèkh*, &c.), and in אֶלְּךָ, אֵלְּךָ, &c. (not *bēnâ*, &c.).

f (a) אֵלְּ with Pronominal Suffixes.

	Sing.		Plur.
1.	אֵלַי to me.		אֵלָנוּ to us.
2.	{ m. אֵלְךָ (אֵלְכָה), in <i>pause</i> אֵלְךָ } to thee.		{ אֵלְכֶם } to you.
	{ f. אֵלְּךָ }		{ אֵלְכֶנָּה ² }
3.	{ m. אֵלָיו to him.		{ אֵלָיהֶם, אֵלָיהֶם, poet. אֵלָמוּ ³ } to them.
	{ f. אֵלָיהָ to her.		{ אֵלָיהֶן ⁴ , אֵלָיהֶן }

¹ *Ffin* and *bfni* (in me), in vulgar Arabic for *fi* and *bi*, are compared by Socin.

² אֵלְכֶנָּה does not occur in the Old Testament, by a mere accident, no doubt; Ezek. 13, 18 אֵלְכֶנָּה.

³ The question whether אֵלָמוּ can also stand for the sing. אֵלָי, which Rödiger positively denied, must now decidedly be answered in the affirmative, since the

בְּ takes suffixes in the same manner: בִּי, בָּךְ (Ex. 7, 29. 2 Sam. 8^g 22, 30. Ps. 141, 8 בָּךְ, as in Gen. 27, 37. 2 Sam. 18, 22. Is. 3, 6 לְךָ), בוֹ, &c.; except that for the 3rd plur., besides בָּהֶם (especially in the later Books) and בְּהֵמָה (only in Ex. 36, 1. Hab. 1, 16; לְהֵמָּה only in Jer. 14, 16), the form בָּם is also used; and for the feminine, besides בְּהֵנָּה (which occurs three times), בָּהֶן is found fifteen times, and בְּהֵן, but only in 1 Sam. 31, 7. Is. 38, 16. Ezek. 42, 14.—According to the Masora, לָּ is found fifteen times for לוֹ (as conversely in 1 Sam. 2, 16. 20, 2 לוֹ for לָּ), e. g. Ex. 21, 8. 1 Sam. 2, 3. Is. 9, 2. Ps. 100, 3 (and, as has been conjectured, also Job 41, 4); comp. Delitzsch on Ps. 100, 3.—In Num. 32, 42. Zech. 5, 11. Ruth 2, 14, the Masora requires לָּהֶ instead of לָּהֵ (in all three places before a following tone-syllable; comp. § 23. *k*, and the analogous cases of the loss of *Mappiq* in § 58. *g*, § 91. *e*).

(b) בְּ with Pronominal Suffixes.

h

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	בְּמֹנִי ⁵ as <i>I</i> .	בְּמוֹנֵי as <i>we</i> .
2.	{ <i>m.</i> בְּמֹדָךְ ⁵ } as <i>thou</i> . { <i>f.</i> . . . }	{ בְּכֶם, בְּכֶם, seldom בְּמוֹכֶם } as <i>ye</i> . { }
3.	{ <i>m.</i> בְּמֹהוּ as <i>he</i> . { <i>f.</i> בְּמֹהָ as <i>she</i> .	{ בָּהֶם, [בְּהֵמָה, בְּהֵמָה], בְּמוֹהֶם } as <i>they</i> . { [בְּהֵן], בְּהֵנָּה }

Phoenician suffix of the 3rd pers. sing. in ם has been universally recognized as the ground-form of the Hebrew suffixes in מו (comp. Schröder, *Phöniz. Sprache*, p. 153 sqq. and p. 154 for Schlottmann's explanation of this ם). It is true that in such places as Gen. 9, 26. 27. Deut. 33, 2. Is. 30, 5. Ps. 73, 10 (all *in* or immediately before the principal pause; in Deut. 33, 2 with *Zaqeph qaton* at least) בְּמוֹ can be better explained as plural (in reference to collective nouns); and in Is. 53, 8 for בְּנַע לְמוֹ we should read with the LXX בְּנַע לְמוֹת. On the other hand, in Is. 44, 15 its explanation as plural would be extremely forced. Even then there would remain—presuming the traditional text to be correct—בְּנִימוֹ Ps. 11, 7 and בְּנִימוֹ Job 27, 23, as well as עָלֵינוּ, the last occurring three times, Job 20, 23. 27, 23 (beside עָלֵינוּ), and especially Job 22, 2. In all these places the most extreme exegetical artifices can only be avoided by simply admitting a singular suffix (= בְּנִי, בְּנִי, עָלֵינוּ).

⁴ The form בְּהֵן occurs in Ruth 1, 13 in the sense of *therefore*.

⁵ The use of בְּנִי here for בְּנִי (cf. above, letter *d*) might be due to euphonic reasons. Probably, however, it is a case of contraction from בְּנִי, see letter *k*.—בְּמוֹנֵי (defectively) only in the Pentateuch, Ex. 15, 11.

i

(c) מִן with Pronominal Suffixes.

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	מִמֶּנִּי, poet. מִנִּי, in <i>pause</i> also מִמֶּנִּי <i>from me.</i>	מִמֵּנֵינוּ <i>from us.</i>
2.	{ m. מִמְּךָ, in <i>pause</i> מִמֶּךָ } <i>from thee.</i> { f. מִמֶּךָ }	{ מִמֵּכֶם } <i>from you.</i> { מִמֵּכֶן }
3.	{ m. מִמֶּנּוּ, Job 4, 12 in <i>pause</i> מִמֶּנּוּ, [מִמֵּהוּ or מִמֶּהוּ] <i>from him.</i>	{ מִמֵּהֶם, poet. } <i>from</i> { מִמֵּהֶם } <i>them.</i> { f. מִמֶּנָּה } <i>from her.</i> { [מִמֵּהֶן], מִמֶּנָּה }

k The syllable מו (in Arabic *mā* ما = Heb. מָה *what*) in מִמֶּנּוּ (probably from מִמֶּנּוּ, prop. *according to what I, for as I*) is, in poetry, appended to the three simple prefixes מִ, מִ, לִ, even without suffixes, so that מִמוּ, מִמֶּמוּ, לִמוּ appear as independent words, equivalent in meaning to מִ, מִ, לִ. 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.

l The form מִמֶּנּוּ, enclosed in brackets above, occurs only in 2 Ki. 17, 15 (in *pause*), מִמֶּנּוּ only in Jer. 36, 52 (in *pause*); מִמֶּנּוּ (Baer following Qimḥi מִמֶּנּוּ) only in Ezek. 18, 14. Comp. Frensdorff, *Massora Magna*, p. 234 sqq.—For מִמֶּנּוּ as *ye* Qimḥi requires מִמֶּנּוּ (invariably or only in Job 16, 4?); in Jos. 1, 15. Jud. 8, 2. Ezra 4, 2 Baer gives מִמֶּנּוּ.

m With regard to מִן with suffixes, מִמֶּנִּי *from me* is usually explained as arising, by a reduplication of מִן, from an original מִנִּי, just as מִמֶּנּוּ *from him*, from מִנִּי, identical in form with מִמֶּנּוּ ¹ *from us*, from מִנִּי-נוּ, while מִמֶּנָּה *from her* goes back to מִנִּי-נָה. Far simpler, however, is Mayer Lambert's explanation (*Revue des études juives*, xxiii. 302 sqq.), that מִמֶּנִּי, &c., have arisen from מִנִּי, &c., and that the forms of the suffixes are to be explained on the analogy of מִנִּי, מִנִּי, עוֹרְנִי, תַּחֲתָנִי, § 100. o.—The bracketed form מִמֶּהוּ, for which Baer, following Qimḥi and others, writes מִמֶּהוּ, occurs only in Ps. 68, 24, and is there regarded by Delitzsch, Hupfeld and others (following Simonis) as a substantive (מִן = *portion*). The expression מִן-הוּא (for מִמֶּנּוּ?) Is. 18, 2. 7 is very strange.—מִמֶּנּוּ occurs only in Jer. 10, 2. Eccles. 12, 12 (Job 11, 20 מִמֶּנּוּ); מִמֶּנּוּ (so Baer and Ginsburg, following the best authorities, instead of the ordinary reading מִמֶּנּוּ) only in Ezek. 16, 47. 52.

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

¹ The Babylonian Masora writes מִמֶּנּוּ (to distinguish it from the 3rd sing.), which is justly blamed by Ibn Ezra.

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 *אל*-, *עד*-, *על*- with plural suffixes is explained from the ground-forms of those prepositions (from stems *ל"ה*) *אלי* (*אלי*), *עדי*, *עלי* (contracted to *אלי*, *אלי*, &c.)¹.

Without suffixes these prepositions are—

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

אל-, poet. also *אלי* (*region, direction*), *towards, to, according to*.

בין (*interval*) *between*; the suffixes indicating the singular are added to the singular *בין*, thus *בני*, *ביןך*, *ביןי*, &c. (Gen. 16, 5 *ביןיך*, the second *Yôdh* is, however, marked with a point as critically doubtful; *בניו*, which occurs three times, is only the Masoretic *Qeré* for *בינו*, which is found e.g. in Gen. 30, 36). On the other hand, the suffixes indicating a plural are attached to the plural forms *בני* or *בנות*.

סביב (*circuit*) *around*, with suffixes always has the plural form, sometimes masc. *סביבך*, &c., sometimes, and more frequently, in the fem. *סביבות* (*surroundings*). In Ezek. 43, 17 *סביב אותה* is abnormal for *סביביה*.

עד (*continuation, duration, from עדה*) *as far as, unto*, poet. *עדי*. In Job 32, 12 *עדיכם*, with the *ā* retained in the secondary tone, is abnormal. Also in 2 Ki. 9, 18 for *עדיהם* read *עדיהם*.

על *upon, over* (comp. the subst. *על* *height, the top*, from *עלה* *to ascend*), poet. *עלי*.

תחת *under* (prop. *what is beneath*). On *תחתני*, &c., comp. above, letter *d*.

¹ The reference of these forms to original plurals has been again expressly supported by De Lagarde, *Symmicta*, ii. 101 sqq.; *Nachrichten der G. g. G.*, 1881, p. 376, cf. *Mittheilungen*, 1884, p. 63; also *GGA.*, 1884, p. 280 sq. According to Barth, *ZDMG.* xlii. p. 348 sqq., and *Nominalbildung*, p. 375 sqq., *תחתיה*, &c., was only formed on the analogy of *עליך*, &c., and *אחריך*, &c., only on the analogy of *לפני*, &c., since the real plural forms ought to be *תחתיהם*, *אחריהם*, &c.; cf., however, König, *Lehrgebäude*, ii. 305 sq.

With Suffixes.

1 <i>Sing.</i>	אַחֲרַי	בֵּינִי	סְבִיבוֹתַי	תַּחְתַּי	אֵלַי	עָרִי	עָלַי
	(after me)	(between me)	(around me)	(beneath me)	(to me)	(unto me)	(on me)
2 <i>S. m.</i>	אַחֲרָיָךְ	בֵּינָךְ	סְבִיבוֹתָיָךְ & סְבִיבָיָךְ	תַּחְתָּיָךְ	אֵלָיָךְ	עָרֶיךָ	עָלֶיךָ
2 <i>S. f.</i>	אַחֲרַיֶּךָ		סְבִיבוֹתַיֶּךָ & סְבִיבַיֶּךָ		אֵלַיֶּךָ		עָלַיֶּךָ
3 <i>S. m.</i>	אַחֲרָיו	בֵּינוֹ	סְבִיבוֹתָיו & סְבִיבָיו	תַּחְתָּיו	אֵלָיו	עָרָיו	עָלָיו
3 <i>S. f.</i>	אַחֲרֵיהֶן		סְבִיבוֹתֵיהֶן & סְבִיבֵיהֶן	תַּחְתֵּיהֶן	אֵלֵיהֶן	עָרֵיהֶן	עָלֵיהֶן
1 <i>Plur.</i>	אַחֲרֵינוּ	בֵּינֵינוּ	סְבִיבוֹתֵינוּ	תַּחְתֵּינוּ	אֵלֵינוּ		עָלֵינוּ
		& בֵּינוֹתֵינוּ ¹					
2 <i>Pl. m.</i>	אַחֲרֵיכֶם	בֵּינֵיכֶם	סְבִיבוֹתֵיכֶם	תַּחְתֵיכֶם	אֵלֵיכֶם	עָרֵיכֶם	עָלֵיכֶם
3 <i>Pl. m.</i>	אַחֲרֵיהֶם	בֵּינֵיהֶם	סְבִיבוֹתֵיהֶם	תַּחְתֵּיהֶם	אֵלֵיהֶם	[עָרֵיהֶם]	עָלֵיהֶם
		& בֵּינוֹתָם	& סְבִיבוֹתָם	usually תַּחְתָּהֶם	& אֵלֵיהֶם		[עָלֵיהֶם] ²
					[אֵלֵיהֶם] ²		
3 <i>Pl. f.</i>	אַחֲרֵיהֶן			תַּחְתֵּיהֶן	אֵלֵיהֶן		עָלֵיהֶן
					& אֵלֵיהֶן		

§ 104. Conjunctions.

a 1. The conjunctions serve to connect sentences, and to express their 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 probably *אֲשֶׁר* (see § 36), which is sometimes used to express the general idea of relation, sometimes as a relative pronoun (= *qui, quae, quod*), and in many cases stands simply for *כִּי*; also *אֵל־* (nothing), that not; *אֵין* that not (the Greek *μη* of prohibition), &c. To these may be added the

¹ As Mayer Lambert observes, usage (cf. esp. Gen. 26, 28) distinguishes between the two forms: *בֵּינוֹתֵינוּ* means *between us and you*, whereas *בֵּינֵינוּ* (Jos. 22, 25. 27. 28 before *וביניכם*) means *between us on the one hand*.

² The poetical form *אֵלֵיהֶם* only in Ps. 2, 5; *עָלֵיהֶם*, on which see note 3 on letter *f*, frequently.

adverbial combination of substantives with prepositions, e. g. בְּתָרָם (in the not yet) earlier, before, for which מִתְּרָם is also used. On the combination of two particles to express complex ideas (e. g. אֲדַבְּרֶיךָ added to this, that = much more), see Syntax.

(c) Prepositions, which with the addition of the conjunction אֲשֶׁר or וְ together form one single conjunction, e. g. אֲשֶׁר because, prop. on account of the fact that; אַחֲרֵי אֲשֶׁר, and more frequently אַחֲרֵי אֲשֶׁר, after that; כַּאֲשֶׁר according as (with כִּי); וְעַל אֲשֶׁר and עַל אֲשֶׁר 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 אֲשֶׁר-עַל) although, Job 16, 17.

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*.

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.

Rem. The pointing of the וְ (originally וַ, as still before *Ḥaṭeph 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 וּבְ, וּפְ, וּלְ (§ 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. וְחָכֶם and be thou wise, וְעֲבָדִים and servants, וְעוֹז and strength, וְאָכַל and eat thou, וְחֲלִי and sickness. On וְאֱלֹהִים, וְאֱלֹהֵי, &c., see § 102. *d*; on וְאֲדַבְּרֶיךָ, &c., see § 102. *m*; on such cases as וְעָצָר Job 4, 2, comp. § 28. *b*.

(c) Before words with simple *Šewā* under the first consonant (except in the cases under letter *f*), the *Wāw* becomes the vowel *ū*, e. g. וְלֹכֵל and to all, so also (except in the case under letter *g*) before the cognate labials ב, מ, פ, hence וְמִלְכָּה. On the cases in which simple *Šewā* has become a *Ḥaṭeph* after וְ copulative (e. g. וְנָהָב Gen. 2, 12), comp. § 10. *h*.

(d) With a following וְ the וְ coalesces to form וַ according to § 24. *b*, e. g. וַיְהִי 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. וַהֲיִיתָם Jos. 8, 4, וַחֲיֶיהָ Gen. 20, 7), comp. § 63. *q*.

g (e) Immediately before the tone-syllable it frequently takes *Qames*, like בְּ, פְ, לְ (see § 102. f), but in most cases only at the end of a sentence or clause (but cf. also וְבֵן 2 Ki. 22, 30), e.g. וַיִּמָּחַר Ex. 21, 12 (on the other hand, in verse 20 וַיִּמָּחַר is in closer logical connexion with what follows); 2 Ki. 7, 4 $\text{וַיִּמָּחַר$, $\text{וַיִּמָּחַר$ and וַיִּמָּחַר ; Ruth 3, 3 $\text{וַיִּכְתֶּה$; Ps. 10, 15 וַיִּרַע ; 1 Sam. 9, 4 וַיִּאֲוֶן ; 2 Sam. 13, 26 וַיִּלֵּא ; Ezek. 47, 9 וַיְהִי ; comp. also (with *Tiphḥā*) Gen. 33, 13. 2 Sam. 15, 12. The very frequent connexion of nouns expressing kindred ideas, by means of וְ , 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. וְהָיוּ וְבָהוּ Gen. 1, 2, וְלֵילָה יוֹם Gen. 8, 22 (see also the previous examples); Gen. 13, 14 (thrice); Ex. 25, 3 וְהָב וְכִסֶּף ; Ps. 96, 7 וְעֹזוּ ; Ps. 76, 7 כֹּה וְכֹה ; Gen. 7, 13 $\text{וַיִּפֹּת וַיִּשְׁמְרוּם וַיִּפֹּת}$; 1 Ki. 21, 10 $\text{וְאֵלֶיהֶם וְמִלְכָּה}$ *thus and thus*; Est. 1, 8 אִישׁ וְאִישׁ at the end of the verse, but in Ps. 87, 5 אִישׁ וְאִישׁ , in spite of the *D^{hi}* with the second אִישׁ , because it is closely connected with the following predicate. Also with three words $\text{וַיִּפְחַח וַיִּפְחַח וַיִּפְחַח}$ Is. 24, 17. On the other hand, the rapid pronunciation וְ 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. וְעָבַד Gen. 32, 6; comp. Gen. 31, 40. Lev. 7, 23. Deut. 2, 21, and among the examples given above, Gen. 7, 13 and Ps. 76, 7. (Exceptions: וְקִדְמָה Gen. 13, 14, where evidently the וְ is intended to ensure the slow and solemn recitation of the promise, but also וַיִּהְיֶה Jos. 15, 55, וַיַּעֲתֵר 19, 7, וַיִּבְטְוּ 19, 25, all immediately before the pause.) For the same rhythmical reason וְ (not וְ) is used regularly with certain monosyllables which, by their nature, lean more closely upon the following word, thus $\text{וְהָא, וְהָא, וְהָא}$ and others (to be distinguished from וְהָא if not, with *Zaqeph gadol*, 2 Ki. 5, 17).

§ 105. Interjections.

- a 1. Among the interjections some (as in all other languages) are simply natural sounds, or, as it were, vocal gesticulations, called forth involuntarily by certain impressions or sensations, e.g. אָהֵה (Ezek. 30, 2 אָהֵה), אָהֵה *aha!* (comp. this אָהֵה also in אָהֵה and אָהֵה *utinam!*), אָהֵה Ex. 32, 31, &c. (Gen. 50, 17 אָהֵה) *ah!* (from אָהֵה and אָהֵה), otherwise written אָהֵה 2 Ki. 20, 3. Jon. 1, 14. Ps. 116, 4; also הָם (in pause הָם , even in the plural הָם *hold your peace!* Neh. 8, 11) *hush!* הוּי (Amos 5, 16 הוּי) *ha! woe!* אָהֵה (Ps. 120, 5), אָהֵה (in אָהֵה Eccles. 4, 10; אָהֵה 10, 16) *woe!*
- b 2. Others, however, originally expressed independent ideas, and become interjections only by rapid pronunciation and by usage, e.g. הֵן (הָא) or הֵנָּה *behold!* (prop. *here*); הֵנָּה *behold!* (prop. imperative); הֵנָּה , plur. הֵבֵנוּ (prop. *give*, imperative of הֵב ; comp. as to the tone,

§ 69. *o*), the Latin *age, agile, come on!* לָבָה (also לָבָה), לָבוּ (prop. *go*, imperative of לָבָה) with the same meaning¹; חָלִילָה *far be it!* (prop. *ad profanum!*) בִּי (see the Lexicon) *I beseech, hear me!* נָפַד *pray*²! used to emphasize a demand, warning, or entreaty, and always placed after the expression to which it belongs³.

¹ רָאָה (Deut. 1, 8), הִבָּה and לָבָה are also used in connexion with the feminine and the plural, which proves that they have become quite stereotyped as interjections.

² נָפַד 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*, Gen. 40, 14; (*d*) after various particles: הִנֵּה נָפַד *behold now*; particularly after the conjunctions לֵאמֹר and אִם: אֵל-נָפַד *ne quaeso* and אִם-נָפַד *if now*, εἴπερ, εἴποτε, *if*, in a deprecatory sense, expressive of politeness or modesty. In Num. 12, 13 נָפַד stands after a noun; but we ought certainly to read אֵל-נָפַד.—In polite language this particle is used constantly in a variety of ways, Gen. 18, 3 sq. 19, 7 sq. 19, and 50, 17.

³ Against the usual view which regards נָפַד as a hortatory particle (= *up!* *come!* analogous to the original imperatives הִבָּה and לָבָה and the Eth. *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 נָפַד as an emphatic particle. Haupt's suggested identification of this נָפַד 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.



CHAPTER I.

THE PARTS OF SPEECH.

I. Syntax of the Verb.

A. USE OF THE TENSES AND MOODS¹.

§ 106. *Use of the Perfect.*

a The perfect serves to express actions, events, or conditions, which the speaker wishes to represent as in a state of completion, whether they belong to a determinate past time, or extend into the present, or, while still future, are thought of 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 in letters *b-p*: hence the above modification based on the arguments of Knudtzon (for the title see note 1, and cf. further § 107. *a*).

More particularly the uses of the perfect may be distinguished as follows:—

b 1. To represent actions, events, or conditions, which, after a shorter

¹ Comp. 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. in Hebr.* appeared in the *Transactions of the Oriental Congress at Stockholm*, section sémitique *b*, p. 73 sqq. (Leyden, 1892). Cf. also Knudtzon's articles, 'Zur assyrischen und allgemein semitischen Grammatik' in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, especially vi. 422 sqq. and vii. 33 sqq.

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 *b* perfect definite, in assertions, negations, confirmations, interrogations, &c., e.g. Gen. 18, 15 *then Sarah denied, saying, I laughed not* (לֹא צָחַקְתִּי); *and he said, Nay, but thou didst laugh* (צָחַקְתָּ); Gen. 3, 11 *מִי הִגִּיד לְךָ* *who told thee*? Comp. 3, 13. 14. 17. 22. Also pointing to some undefined time in the past, e.g. Is. 66, 8 *מִי־שָׁמַע בְּזוֹחַת* *who hath (ever yet) heard such a thing?*

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, 5 *as I was* (הָיִיתִי) *with Moses, so will I be* (אֶהְיֶה) *with thee*; Jos. 1, 17. Ex. 10, 14. Deut. 32, 21. 1 Ki. 2, 38. Is. 46, 4. 11. Joel 2, 2. Eccles. 1, 9. *c*

(b) As a simple *tempus historicum* (corresponding to the Greek *d aorist*) in narrating past events, e.g. Gen. 4, 4 *and Abel, he also brought* (הִבִּיֵּא), &c.; Gen. 7, 20 *the waters did prevail* (גָּבְרוּ), &c.; Job 1, 1 *there was a man* (אִישׁ הָיָה) *in the land of Uz, &c.*; even in relating repeated actions, 1 Sam. 18, 30.

Rem. As the above examples indicate, the perfect of *narration* occurs especially *e* at the head of an entire narrative (Job 1, 1; comp. Dan. 2, 1) or an independent sentence (e.g. Gen. 7, 11. 13), but in co-ordinate sentences, as a rule, only when the verb is separated from the copulative ו by one or more words (comp. above Gen. 4, 4 and 7, 20). 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 (comp. 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*.

(c) To represent actions, &c., which were already completed in *f* the past, at the time when other actions or conditions took place (pluperfect), e.g. 1 Sam. 28, 3 *now Samuel was (long since) dead*¹ . . . *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. Comp. 1 Sam. 9, 15. 25, 21. 2 Sam. 18, 18.—Gen. 20, 18 (*for the Lord had fast closed up, &c.*); 27, 30. 31, 19. 34. Deut. 2, 10; and in a negative

¹ Incorrectly e.g. in the Vulgate, *Samuel autem mortuus est . . . et Saul abstulit magos, &c.*

statement, Gen. 2, 5 *for the Lord God had not* (up to that time) *caused it to rain*, &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. Gen. 2, 2 *and he rested . . . from all his work which he had made* (עָשָׂה); Gen. 7, 9. 19, 27, &c.; 29, 10 *now when Jacob had seen Rachel* (בְּאִשְׁרָרָה) . . . , *Jacob went near*, &c.; so also in clauses which express the completion or incompleteness of an action, &c., on the occurrence of another event, as in Gen. 24, 15. 27, 30, &c.; cf. § 164. *b*, with the note, and letter *c*.

g 2. To represent actions, events or conditions, which, although completed 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. Ps. 10, 11 הִסְתִּיר פְּנֵי פָנָיו *he hath hidden his face (and still keeps it hidden)*; Ps. 143, 6 פָּרַשְׁתִּי I *have spread forth my hands (and still keep them spread forth)*. This applies particularly to a large number of perfects (almost exclusively of intransitive¹ verbs, denoting affections or conditions of the mind) which in English can be rendered only by the present, or, in the case mentioned above under letter *f*, by the imperfect². Thus, יָדַעְתִּי I *know* (prop. *I have perceived, have experienced*) Job 9, 2. 10, 13, לֹא יָדַעְתִּי I *know not* Gen. 4, 9, &c.; on the other hand, e. g. in Gen. 28, 16. Num. 22, 34, the context requires *I knew not*; זָכַרְנוּ *we remember* Num. 11, 5; גִּיּוֹנָהּ *she refuseth* Job 6, 7; עָלִין *it exulteth*; שָׂמְחָתִי I *rejoice* 1 Sam. 2, 1; בִּקֵּשׁ *he requireth* Is. 1, 12; קָוִיתִי I *wait* Gen. 49, 18. Ps. 130, 5 (parallel with הוֹדִיָּתִי); הִפְעֵתִי I *delight* Ps. 40, 9 (mostly negative, Is. 1, 11 and elsewhere); אָהַבְתִּי I *love* Gen. 27, 4; שִׂנְאָתִי I *hate* Ps. 31, 7; מָאֲסָתִי I *despise* Amos 5, 21; תִּעְבְּבוּנִי *they abhor me* Job 30, 10; בָּטַחְתִּי I *trust* Ps. 25, 2; חִסִּיתִי I *put my trust* Ps. 31, 2; צַדִּיקָתִי I *am righteous*. Job 34, 5.—We may further include a number of verbs which express bodily characteristics or states, such as גְּדֹלָתְךָ *thou art great* Ps. 104, 1; קְטַנּוֹתִי I *am little* Gen. 32, 11;

¹ With regard to the great but very natural preponderance of intransitive verbs (expressing an existing condition), cf. the lists in Knudtzon (see above, note on letter *a*), pp. 117 and 122 in the Danish text.

² Cf. *novi, odi, memini; oïda, μέμνημαι, εἶοικα, δέδορκα, κέκραγα*; in the New Testament, ἤλπικα, ἠγάπηκα.

גְּבֹהֵי *they are high* Is. 55, 9; רָחֲקֵי *they stand aloof* Job 30, 10; טָבוֹי *they are goodly* Num. 24, 5; נְאוֹי *they are beautiful* Is. 52, 7; זָקֵנִי *I am old* Gen. 18, 13; יָבֵעֵתִי *I am weary* Ps. 6, 7; שָׂבֵעֵתִי *I am full* Is. 1, 11, &c.

Rem. To the same category probably belong also the perfects after עֲדַמְתִּי *h* Ex. 10, 3 *how long hast thou already been refusing* (and refusest still . . . ? which really amounts to *how long wilt thou refuse?*) Ps. 80, 5. Prov. 1, 22 (co-ordinate with the imperf.), and after עָרַאֲנָה Ex. 16, 28. Hab. 1, 2.

(b) In direct narration to express actions which, although really *i* only in process of accomplishment, are nevertheless meant to be represented as already accomplished in the conception of the speaker, e. g. הִרְמַתִּי *I lift up* (my hand in ratifying an oath) Gen. 14, 22; נִשְׁבַּעְתִּי *I swear* Jer. 22, 5; הִעֲדַתִּי *I testify* Deut. 8, 19; יַעֲצֵתִי *I counsel* 2 Sam. 17, 11 (but in a different context in ver. 15, *have I counselled*); אָמַרְתִּי (prop. *I say*) *I decide* (*I consider as hereby settled*) 2 Sam. 19, 30; אֶדְבַּר *I declare* Job 9, 22. 32, 10.

(c) To express facts which have formerly taken place, and are *k* still of constant recurrence, and hence are matters of common experience (the Greek *gnomic aorist*), e. g. Ps. 9, 11 *for thou, Lord, hast not forsaken* (לֹא-עָזַבְתָּ) *them that seek thee*. Comp. ver. 13, also Ps. 10, 3. 119, 40 and Gen. 49, 11 (בְּבִים).

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* Ps. 40, 13 and לֹא אוּכַל *Gen. 31, 35* 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, 12. Ps. 2, 1 sq. Prov. 1, 22. Job 3, 17.

3. To express *future* actions, when the speaker intends by an *m* 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), e. g. Gen. 23, 11 *the field I give* (נִתַּתִּי) *thee*; comp. ver. 13 and '48, 22. 2 Sam. 14, 21. 24, 23. Jer. 40, 4; in a threat, 1 Sam. 2, 16. 15, 2. 2 Sam. 5, 6 (unless, with Wellhausen, יִסְרַךְ is to be read).—Especially in promises made by God, Gen. 1, 29. 15, 18. 17, 20. Jud. 1, 2.

(b) To express facts which are undoubtedly imminent, and, therefore, *n* in the imagination of the speaker, already accomplished (*perfectum*

confidentiae), e. g. Num. 17, 27 אֲבָרְנוּ בְּלֵנוּ אֲבָרְנוּ הִן בְּרָאוּ, we perish, we are undone, we are all undone. Gen. 30, 13. Is. 6, 5 (נִדְרַמִּיתִי I am undone¹). Prov. 4, 2. Even in interrogative sentences, Gen. 18, 12. Num. 17, 28. 23, 10. Jud. 9, 9. 11. Zech. 4, 10 (?). Prov. 22, 20². This use of the perfect occurs most frequently in prophetic language (*perfectum propheticum*). The prophet so transports 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, 13 therefore my people are gone into captivity (וְגָלָה); 9, 1 sqq. 10, 28. 11, 9 (after כִּי, as frequently elsewhere); 19, 7. Job 5, 20. 2 Chron. 20, 37. Not infrequently the imperfect interchanges with such perfects either in the parallel member or further on in the narrative.

o (c) To express actions or facts, which are meant to be indicated as existing in the future in a completed state (*futurum exactum*), e. g. Is. 4, 4 אִם רָחַץ אֵם רָחַץ 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, 11 (after אֵם אֲשֶׁר אֵם אֲשֶׁר, as in Gen. 28, 15. Num. 32, 17; also 2 Sam. 17, 13 after אֲשֶׁר אֵם אֲשֶׁר, Gen. 24, 19 after אֵם אֵם and elsewhere frequently after temporal conjunctions); Mic. 5, 2 (אֵם אֵם); Gen. 43, 14 וְאֵם אֵם אֵם אֵם and I—if I am bereaved (*orbis fuero*), I am bereaved, an expression of despairing resignation. Comp. Prov. 23, 15. Est. 4, 16.

p 4. To express actions and facts, whose accomplishment in the past is to be represented, not as actual, but only as possible (generally corresponding to the Latin imperfect or pluperfect subjunctive), e. g. Gen. 31, 42 except the God of my father . . . had been with me, surely now hadst thou sent me away empty (שְׁלַחְתָּנִי); Gen. 43, 10. Ex. 9, 15 (שְׁלַחְתִּי I had almost put forth, &c.); Num. 22, 33. Jud. 13, 23. 14, 18. 1 Sam. 13, 13 (הִבִּינִי); 2 Ki. 13, 19; so frequently after בְּמַעַט easily, almost, Gen. 26, 10. Is. 1, 9 (where בְּמַעַט is probably to be connected

¹ Comp. the similar use of ἄλωλα (*διέφθορας*, II. 15, 128) and *perii!* On the kindred use of the perfect in conditional sentences, comp. below, letter p.

² In Gen. 40, 14 a *perf. confidentiae* (after אֵם אֵם, as in 2 Ki. 5, 20. 23, 9) 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 *precativæ* perfect in Hebrew. In Job 21, 16. 22, 18 also, translate *the counsel of the wicked is far from me*. Comp. Driver, *The Use of the Tenses*, p. 29 sqq.

with the word after it); Ps. 73, 2. 94, 17. 119, 87. Prov. 5, 14. Cf. also Job 3, 13. 23, 10 (בְּתַנְיִי). Ruth 1, 12 (*if I should think, &c.*; comp. 2 Ki. 7, 4); in the apodosis of a conditional sentence, 1 Sam. 25, 34.—So also to express an unfulfilled desire, Num. 14, 2 לוֹ מָתוּנוּ *would that we had died . . . !* (לוֹ with the imperfect would mean *would that we might die !* 1 Sam. 14, 30). Finally, also in a question indicating astonishment, Gen. 21, 7 מַי מֵלֵל *who would have said . . . ? quis dixerit?* Ps. 73, 11.

§ 107. Use of the Imperfect¹.

The imperfect, as opposed to the perfect, represents actions, events or conditions, 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).

Knudtzon (see above, Rem. on § 106. *a*) 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 speaker².

More precisely the imperfect serves—

1. In the sphere *past time* :

(*a*) To express actions, &c., which *continued* throughout a longer or shorter period³, e. g. Gen. 2, 6 *a mist went up* continually (יַעֲרָה), 2, 25. 37, 7. 48, 10. Ex. 1, 12. 8, 20. 13, 22. 15, 6. 12. 14. 15. — Num. 9, 15 sq. 20 sq. 23, 7. Jud. 2, 1. 5, 8. 1 Sam. 3, 2. 13, 17 sq. 2 Sam. 2, 28. 23, 10. 1 Ki. 3, 4. 7, 8. 21, 6. Is. 1, 21. 6, 4 (יִפְּלֵא), 17, 10 sq. 51, 2 *a*. Jer. 13, 7. 36, 18. Ps. 18, 7. 14. 17 sqq. 38 sqq. 24, 2. 32, 4. 5 (אִוִּירְעָה), 47, 5. 68, 10. 12. 104, 6 sqq. 106, 19. 107, 18. 29. 139, 13. Job 3, 3. 11. 4, 12. 15 sq. 10, 10 sq. 15, 7 sq.—

¹ Comp. the literature cited above, p. 320, note.

² This is undoubtedly the view of De Lagarde also (*Übersicht über die Bildung der Nomina*, p. 6), when he defines the perfect as serving to express that of which we are immediately sensible, the imperfect that at which we arrive by comparison and imagination.

³ Comp. the Mēša' inscription, l. 5, כִּי יֵאָנֵף כְּמֹשׁ בְּאַרְצָה *for Chemosh was angry with his country.*

very frequently alternating with a perfect (especially with a frequentative perfect; cf. Num. 9, 15-23 and § 112. e), or when the narration is continued by means of an imperfect consecutive¹.

- 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, 1 **אָז יָשִׁיר-מֹשֶׁה** *then sang Moses*, &c.; Num. 21, 17. Deut. 4, 41. Jos. 10, 12. 1 Ki. 3, 16. Ps. 126, 2. Job 38, 21. (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. Gen. 4, 26 **אָז הוּחַל** *then began*, &c.; Gen. 49, 4. Ex. 15, 15. Jos. 22, 31. Jud. 5, 11. Ps. 89, 20².) After **טָרָם** e.g. Gen. 19, 4 **טָרָם יִשְׁבְּנו** *before they lay down*; Gen. 2, 5. 24, 45. 1 Sam. 3, 3. 7, always in the sense of our *pluperfect*. (In Gen. 24, 15 instead of the perf. **בָּלָה**, the imperf. should be read, as in verse 45; so also in 1 Sam. 3, 7 **יָרַע** an imperf. is co-ordinated with **יָרַע**.) After **בְּטָרָם** (sometimes also simply **טָרָם** Ex. 12, 34. Jos. 3, 1), e.g. Jer. 1, 5 **בְּטָרָם תֵּצֵא** *before thou camest forth*; Gen. 27, 33. 37, 18. 41, 50. Ruth 3, 14 (perhaps also in Ps. 90, 2 an imperf. was intended instead of **יָלְדוּ**; comp. Wellhausen on 2 Sam. 3, 2). After **עַד** Jos. 10, 13. Ps. 73, 17 (*until I went*), 2 Chron. 29, 34; on the other hand, with the perf., e.g. Jos. 2, 22³.
- d 2. Driver (*The Use of the Tenses*, p. 32) rightly lays stress upon the inherent distinction between the *participle* as expressing *mere* duration, and the *imperfect* as expressing *progressive* duration (in the present, past, or future). Thus the words **יֵצֵא וְנָהָר** Gen. 2, 10 represent the river of Paradise as going out of Eden in a continuous, uninterrupted stream, but **וַיִּפָּרֵד**, which immediately follows, describes how the parting of its waters is always taking place afresh. In the same way **וַעֲלָה** Gen. 2, 6 represents new mists as constantly arising, and **וַיִּפְּלֵא** Is. 6, 4 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 **תִּבְלַעְמוּ** Ex. 15, 12 (after a *perf.* as in verse 14) represents the Egyptians, in a vivid, poetic description, as being swallowed up one after another, and **וַיִּנְהַגְוּ** Num. 23, 7 the leading on by stages, &c.

¹ According to the Masora such imperfects occur in Is. 10, 13 *bis* (where, however, **וַאֲסִיר** might also mean *I am wont to remove*, &c.), Is. 48, 3. 57, 17. Ps. 18, 38^b, also (according to § 49. c) in 2 Sam. 1, 10 and Ezek. 16, 10. In some other cases **וְ** is no doubt a dogmatic emendation for **וַ** (*imperf. consec.*) in order to represent historical statements as promises; comp. Is. 42, 6. 51, 2 *bis*, 63, 3 sqq. and the note on p. 151.

² After **אָז** *then* (to announce future events) the imperf. is naturally used in the sense of a future, Gen. 24, 41. Ex. 12, 48. Mic. 3, 4. Zeph. 3, 9. Ps. 51, 21.

³ As after **אָז**, so also after **טָרָם**, **בְּטָרָם** and **עַד** the imperf. may be used, according to the context, in the sense of our *future*, e.g. 2 Ki. 2, 9. Is. 65, 24. Job 10, 21; after **עַד** e.g. Is. 22, 14. The imperf. is used in the sense of our *present* after **טָרָם** in Ex. 9, 30. 10, 7.

(b) To express actions, &c., which were *repeated* in the past, either *e* at fixed intervals or occasionally (the *modus rei repetitae*), e. g. Job 1, 5 *thus did* (יַעֲשֶׂה) *Job continually* (after each occasion of his sons' festivities); 4, 3 sq. 22, 6 sq. 23, 11. 29, 7. 9. 12 sq. Gen. 6, 4. 29, 2. 30, 38. 42. 31, 39 (*I used to bear* the loss of it), Ex. 1, 12. 19, 19. 33, 7 sqq. (לֶקַח *used to take* every time). 40, 36 sqq. Num. 9, 17 sq. 20 sqq. 11, 5. 9. Jud. 6, 4. 14, 10. 21, 25. 1 Sam. 1, 7. 2, 22. 9, 9. 13, 19. 18, 5. 27, 9. 2 Sam. 1, 22. 12, 3. 13, 18. 1 Ki. 5, 25 (of tribute repeated year by year). 10, 5. 13, 33. 14, 28. 2 Ki. 4, 8. 8, 29. 13, 20. 25, 14. Jer. 36, 23. Ps. 42, 5. 44, 3. 78, 15. 40. 103, 7. Est. 2, 14; even in a negative dependent clause, 1 Ki. 18, 10.

2. In the sphere of *present time*, again

(a) To express actions, events, or conditions, which are *continued* *f* for a shorter or longer time¹, e. g. Gen. 37, 15 מַה תִּבְקֶשׁ *what seekest thou?* 19, 19 לֹא אֵיכָל *I cannot*; 24, 50. 31, 35. Is. 1, 13. Other examples are Gen. 2, 10. 24, 31. 1 Sam. 1, 8. 11, 5. 1 Ki. 3, 7. Ps. 2, 2. So especially to express facts known by experience, which occur at all times, and consequently hold good at any moment, e. g. Prov. 15, 20 *a wise son maketh a glad father*; hence especially frequent in Job and Proverbs. In an interrogative sentence, e. g. Job 4, 17 *is mortal man just before God?* In a negative sentence, Job 4, 18, &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 (comp. above, letter *e*), e. g. Deut. 1, 44 *as bees do* (are accustomed to do); Gen. 6, 21. 32, 33. 43, 32. Jud. 11, 40. 1 Sam. 2, 8. 5, 5. 20, 2. 2 Sam. 15, 32. Is. 1, 23. 3, 16. Ps. 1, 3. So again (see letter *f*) especially to express facts known by experience which may at any time come into effect again, e. g. Ex. 23, 8 *a gift blindeth* (יְעִוֶּר), &c.; Gen. 2, 24. 22, 14. Is. 32, 6. Am. 3, 7. Mal. 1, 6. Job 2, 4, &c. Of the same kind also is the imperfect in such relative clauses (see § 155), as Gen. 49, 27 *Benjamin is* יִטְרֶה יְאֵב *a wolf that ravineth* (properly, is accustomed to ravin). Finally, compare also the formulae יִאָמֵר *it is* (wont to be) *said* (to introduce proverbial

¹ It is not always possible to carry out with certainty the distinction between *continued* and *repeated* actions. Some of the examples given under letter *f* might equally be referred to letter *g*.

expressions) Gen. 10, 9. 22, 14, and elsewhere; לֹא־תֵשֶׁה בָּן *it is not* (wont to be) *so done* (and hence *may not, shall not be*, see letter *u*), Gen. 29, 26. 20, 9. 34, 7. 2 Sam. 13, 12.

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. Gen. 32, 30 *wherefore is it that thou dost ask* (תִּשְׁאַל) *after my name?* 24, 31. 44, 7. Ex. 5, 15. 2 Sam. 16, 9. In such cases, naturally, the perfect is also admissible, and is sometimes found in the same formula as the imperfect, e. g. Job 1, 7 (2, 2) מֵאַיִן תָּבֵא *whence comest thou* (just now)? but Gen. 16, 8 (comp. 42, 7) אֵי־מָהָ בָּאתָ *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, 1 *they will not believe* (יִאֲמִינוּ) *me, nor hearken* (יִשְׁמְעוּ) *unto my voice: for they will say* (יֹאמְרוּ), &c., 6, 1. 9, 5, &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. Gen. 43, 7 *could we in any wise know that he would say* (יֹאמֵר)? 2, 19. 43, 25. Ex. 2, 4. 2 Ki. 3, 27. אֲשֶׁר־יִמְלֹךְ *qui regnaturus erat*; 13, 14. Jon. 4, 5. Job 3, 3. Eccles. 2, 3. Ps. 78, 6 *that the generation to come might know*, יִגְדְּרוּ בְּנִים *the children which should be born* (*qui nascituri essent*; the imperfect here with the collateral idea of the occurrence being repeated in the future).

l (c) To represent a *futurum exactum*; comp. Is. 4, 4. 6, 11 (co-ordinated with a perfect used in the same sense, see § 106. 0); so also sometimes after the temporal particles עַד Ps. 132, 5 and אֲשֶׁר עַד *until* Gen. 29, 8. Num. 20, 17, &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 conditions, 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—

n (a) As an expression of will, whether (a) be a definite intention and arrangement, or a simple desire, viz.:

(1) Sometimes in positive sentences in place of the cohortative (comp. e. g. Ps. 59, 17 with verse 18; 2 Sam. 22, 50 with Ps. 18, 50; Jud. 19, 11, &c.), of the imperative (Is. 18, 3), or of the jussive (which, however, in most cases, does not differ from the ordinary form of the imperfect), e. g. תִּרְאֶה *let it appear* Gen. 1, 9, 41, 34. Lev. 19, 2, 3. 2 Sam. 10, 12 (and so frequently in verbs ל'ה; comp. § 109. a, note); Zech. 9, 5 (תִּחִיל); Ps. 61, 7 (תוֹסִיף); Prov. 22, 17 (תִּשִׁית); 23, 1. Job 6, 23 (co-ordinated with the imperative), 10, 20 *Keth.*; so probably also יִרְן *let him judge!* Ps. 72, 2.—So also in the 1st pers., to express a wish which should have been subsequently accomplished at a fixed point of time in the past, e. g. Job 10, 18 אֲנִינֶנִּי *I should have* (then, immediately after being born) *given up the ghost*; comp. verse 19 אֲהִיָּה and אֲבָל. Even to express an obligation or necessity according to the judgement of another person, e. g. Job 9, 29 אֲרִשָּׁע *I am to be guilty*; 12, 4. Comp. Job 9, 15, 19; 16; in a question, Ps. 42, 10, 43, 2.

(2) To express the definite expectation that something will not happen. The imperfect with לֹא represents a more emphatic form of prohibition than the jussive¹ with אַל- (comp. § 109. c), and corresponds to our *thou shalt not do it!* with the strongest expectation of obedience, while אַל- with the jussive is rather a simple warning, *do not that!* Thus לֹא with the imperfect is especially used in enforcing the divine commands, e. g. לֹא תִגְנוֹב *thou shalt not steal* Ex. 20, 15; comp. verses 3. 4. 5. 7. 10 sqq. So לֹא with the 3rd pers. perhaps in Prov. 16, 10.

Rem. The *jussive*, which is to be expected after אַל-, does not, as a rule (according to letter *n* above, and § 109. a, note), differ in form from the simple imperfect. That many supposed jussives are intended as simple imperfects is possible from the occurrence after אַל- of what are undoubtedly imperfect forms, not only from verbs ל'ה (comp. for these § 109. a, note), but also from verbs ע'ע: to express a prohibition or negative wish, אַל-תִּבְיֹט Gen. 19, 17, אַל-תִּסּוֹר Jos. 1, 7, אַל-יָנֹא יְשִׁים 1 Sam. 25, 25. Even with the 1st pers. plur. (after an imperative) אַל-נָמוּת *that we die not* 1 Sam. 12, 19. Also to express the conviction that something cannot happen, אַל-יִנּוּם *he will not slumber*² Ps. 121, 3; comp. Jer. 46, 6. 2 Chron. 14, 10.

¹ As stated in § 46. a, a prohibition cannot be expressed by אַל- and the imperative.

² 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 לֹא with the imperf., of the conviction which was previously only subjective.

- q (3) In dependent clauses after final conjunctions (§ 165. *b*), as *אִשֶּׁר*, Gen. 11, 7 (*לֹא יִשְׁמְעוּ* *אִשֶּׁר* *that they may not understand*); *בְּעֵבֹר* Gen. 21, 30. 27, 4. 19. Ex. 9, 14, and elsewhere; *אִשֶּׁר לְמַעַן* Num. 17, 5; *לְמַעַן* Deut. 4, 1. Ps. 51, 6. 78, 6, and *אִשֶּׁר יַעַן*¹ Ez. 12, 12 *that*²; *לְבַלְתִּי* *that . . . not* Ex. 20, 20. 2 Sam. 14, 14; also after *פֶּן* *that not, lest* Gen. 3, 22. 11, 4. 19, 15, and elsewhere³. In Lev. 9, 6 such an imperfect (or jussive? see the examples in § 109. *f*) is added to the expression of the command by an asyndeton, and in Lam. 1, 19 to the principal clause simply by *!*: *while they sought them food וְיִשְׂבוּ אֶת־נַפְשָׁם* *to refresh their souls* (cf. also Lam. 3, 26 *it is good and let him hope*, i. e. *that he should hope*); so after an interrogative clause, Ex. 2, 7. Finally also in a relative clause, Ps. 32, 8 *בְּדַרְךְ-וּ תֵלֵךְ* *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 use of the auxiliaries *can, may, should*⁴). More particularly such imperfects are used—
- s (1) In a permissive sense, e. g. Gen. 2, 16 *of every tree of the garden (אֲכַל תֹּאכַל)* *thou mayest freely eat* (the contrary in verse 17); 3, 2. 42, 37. Lev. 21, 3. 22. Job 21, 3. In the 1st pers. Ps. 5, 8. 22, 18 (*I may, or can, tell*); in a negative sentence, e. g. Ps. 5, 5.
- t (2) In interrogative sentences, e. g. Prov. 20, 9 *מִי יֹאמֵר* *quis dixerit?* Comp. Gen. 17, 17. 18, 14. 31, 43. 1 Sam. 11, 12. 2 Ki. 5, 12 *הֲלֹא־אֶרְחֵץ בָּהֶם* *may I not wash in them?* Is. 33, 14. Ps. 15, 1. 24, 3. Eccles. 5, 5. So especially in a question expressing surprise after *אִיךָ*, e. g. Gen. 39, 9 *how then can I . . .?* 44, 34. Is. 19, 11. Ps. 137, 4, and even with regard to some point of time in the past, looking forward from which an event might have been expected to take

¹ But *אִשֶּׁר יַעַן* in a causal sense (*because, since*), e. g. Jud. 2, 20 (as *אִשֶּׁר* Gen. 34, 27) is followed by the perfect. On Jos. 4, 24 see above, § 74. *g*.

[² R.V. *because he shall not see*.]

³ 2 Ki. 2, 16 *פֶּן* occurs with the perf. in a vivid presentment of the time, when the fear is realized and the remedy comes too late. (In 2 Sam. 20, 6, since a *perfect consec.* follows, read with Driver *וַיִּמְצָא*.)

⁴ 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.

place, e. g. Gen. 43, 7 **הַיָּדוּעַ גִּרְעַ** *could we in any wise know . . . ?*
Comp. 2 Sam. 3, 33 (**מִיָּוֶת** *was Abner to die as a fool, i. e. was he destined to die . . . ?*), and so probably also Gen. 34, 31 (*should he deal . . . ?*).

Very closely connected with this is the use of the imperfect—

(3) In a consecutive clause depending on an interrogative clause, *u*
e. g. Ex. 3, 11 *who am I* (**כִּי אֲלֹהֵי**) *that I should (ought, could) go ?*
16, 7. Num. 11, 12. Jud. 9, 28. 1 Sam. 18, 18. 2 Ki. 8, 13. Is. 29, 16.
Job 6, 11. 21, 15, similarly after **אֲשֶׁר** Gen. 38, 18. Ex. 5, 2.

Rem. In such passages as 1 Sam. 11, 5. Ps. 8, 5. 114, 5, the context shows that *v*
the imperfect corresponds rather to our present. In such sentences the perfect
also is naturally used in referring to completed actions, e. g. Gen. 20, 10. Jud. 18, 23.
2 Sam. 7, 18. Is. 22, 1.

(4) In *negative sentences* to express actions, &c., which cannot or *w*
should not happen, e. g. Gen. 32, 13 **אֲשֶׁר לֹא יִסְפָּר מֵרַב** *which cannot be numbered for multitude*; 20, 9 **לֹא יַעֲשֶׂה** (**אֲשֶׁר לֹא יַעֲשֶׂה**) *that ought not to be done* (comp. above, letter *g*); Ps. 5, 5.

(5) In *conditional clauses* (the *modus conditionalis* corresponding *x*
to the Latin present or imperfect conjunctive) both in the protasis and apodosis, or only in the latter, Ps. 23, 4 **בְּמִן בְּרֵאֲלֹהֵי . . . לֹא אֶירָא רָע** *yea, though I walk (or had to walk) . . . I fear (or I would fear) no evil*; Job 9, 20 *though I be righteous, mine own mouth shall condemn me*. After a perfect in the protasis, e. g. Job 23, 10. Very frequently also in an apodosis, the protasis to which must be supplied from the context, e. g. Job 5, 8 *but as for me, I would seek unto God (were I in thy place)*; 3, 13. 16. 14, 14 sq. Ps. 55, 13. Ruth 1, 12. However, some of the imperfects in these examples are probably intended as jussive forms. Comp. § 109. *h*.

§ 108. Use of the Cohortative.

The cohortative, i. e. according to § 48. *c*, the 1st pers.¹ sing. or *a*
plur. of the imperfect lengthened by the ending **ה־יָ**², represents in general an endeavour directed expressly towards a definite object. While the corresponding forms of the indicative rather contain the mere announcement that an action will be undertaken, the cohortative

¹ For the few examples of cohortatives in the 3rd sing., see § 48. *d*.

² But verbs **לִיָּה**, according to § 75. *l*, even in the cohortative, almost always have the ending **ה־יָ**; comp. e. g. in Deut. 32, 20 **אֲרָאָה** after **אֲסַתִּירָה**.

lays stress on the determination underlying the action, and the personal interest in it.

Its uses may be divided into—

- b* 1. The cohortative, whether standing alone or co-ordinated with another cohortative, and frequently strengthened by the addition of the particle **אָנִי**:

(*a*) To express self-encouragement, e. g. Ex. 3, 3 **אָנִי אֶמְדַּבֵּר וְאֶרְאֶה** *I will turn aside now, and see . . . !* So especially as the result of inward deliberation (in soliloquies), e. g. Gen. 18, 21. 32, 21 (rarely so used after **אַל**, Gen. 21, 16 *let me not look . . . !* Jer. 18, 18), and also as a more or less emphatic statement of a fixed determination, e. g. Is. 5, 1 *I will sing*¹. . . ! 5, 6. 31, 8. Comp. also Gen. 46, 30 *now let me die (I am willing to die), since I have seen thy face*; and Ps. 31, 8. In the 1st pers. plur. the cohortative includes a summons to others to help in doing something, e. g. Ps. 2, 3 **בְּנִתְקַח** *come! let us break asunder!* &c., and Gen. 11, 3.

- c* (*b*) To express a wish, or a request for permission, that one should be allowed to do something, e. g. Deut. 2, 27 **אֶעְבְּרָה** *may I be allowed to pass through (let me pass through)!* Num. 20, 17 **נִעְבְּרָה נָא** *may we be allowed to pass through!* Jer. 40, 15 *let me go, I pray thee!* &c.; 2 Sam. 16, 9; so after **אַל** 2 Sam. 24, 14. Jer. 17, 18. Ps. 25, 2, &c., 69, 15. After **אַל־נָא** Jon. 1, 14.

- d* 2. The cohortative in dependence on other moods, as well as in conditional sentences: (*a*) In dependence (with *wāw* copulative, Ps. 9, 15 after **לְמַעַן**) on an imperative or jussive to express an intention or intended consequence, e. g. Gen. 27, 4 *bring it to me, וְאֹכְלָהּ* *that I may eat, prop. then will I eat*; Gen. 19, 5. 23, 4. 24, 56. 27, 25. 29, 21. 30, 25 sq. 42, 34. 49, 1. Deut. 32, 1. Hos. 6, 1. Ps. 2, 8. 39, 14. Job 10, 20 *Q'ré*; Is. 5, 19 *and let the counsel of the Holy One of Israel draw nigh and come, וְנִדְעָה* *that we may know it!* Gen. 26, 28. 1 Sam. 27, 5. Also after negative sentences, Gen. 18, 30. 32. Jud. 6, 39, and after interrogative sentences, 1 Ki. 22, 7. Is. 40, 25. 41, 26. Am. 8, 5.

- e* (*b*) In conditional sentences (with or without **אִם**) to express a contingent intention, e. g. Job 16, 6 **אִם־אֶדְבַּר** *should I determine to speak, my grief is not assuaged, וְאִחְזֶלְהָ* *and should I forbear, what am I eased?*

[¹ R.V. *let me sing.*]

without אִם Job 19, 18. 30, 26 (where, however, וְאִיחָלָה is probably intended); Ps. 73, 16 (unless וְאָחַח should be read), 139, 8 sq. After the 3rd person, Job 11, 17 *though it be dark*, &c. So perhaps also 2 Sam. 22, 38 אֲרִדְפָהּ if I determined to pursue, then . . ., comp., however, Ps. 18, 38.

(c) Likewise in the apodosis of conditional sentences, e.g. Job f 31, 7 sq. *if my step hath turned out of the way . . .*, אֲזָרְעָהּ then let me sow; comp. 16, 4 sq. *I also could speak as ye do, if . . .!* So even when the condition must be supplied from the context, e.g. Ps. 40, 6 *else would I declare and speak of them*; 51, 18 *else would I (gladly) give it*, i. e. if thou didst require it (comp. the precisely similar וְאִשָּׂא Ps. 55, 13); Job 6, 10. In the 1st plur. Jer. 20, 10. To the same category belong the cohortatives after the formula expressing a wish מִי־יִתֵּן, e.g. Jer. 9, 1 *oh, that I had . . .*, וְאֶעֱזָבָהּ then (i. e. if I had) *should I (or would I) leave my people*, &c.; Jud. 9, 29. Job 6, 8 sqq., without *Wāw* Is. 27, 4. Ps. 55, 7. Job 23, 4 (comp. also verse 7).

Rem. 1. The question, whether a resolution formed under compulsion (a *necessity*) g is also expressed by the cohortative (so, according to the prevailing opinion, Is. 38, 10 אֶלְכָה; Jer. 3, 25. 4, 19. 21. 6, 10. Ps. 55, 3. 18 (?); 57, 5, where, however, with Hupfeld, שֶׁכָּבַח should be read; 77, 7. 88, 16, and in the 1st plur. Is. 59, 10), 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 (comp. § 49. e, as also Ps. 66, 6 נִשְׂמְחָה שָׂם there did we rejoice¹; Ps. 119, 163 וְאֶתְעַבְּהָ; Prov. 7, 7), 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־ Ps. 73, 17 *until I went . . .* אֶבְיִנָּה h *I considered their latter end*; possibly a pregnant construction for 'until I made up my mind, saying, I will consider,' &c. (but אֶבְיִנָּה Prov. 7, 7 is still dependent on the preceding ו); עַד־אֶרְגִּיעָהּ Prov. 12, 19 is at any rate to be explained in the same way (for which in Jer. 49, 19. 50, 44 we have כִּי־אֶ with a similar meaning), *as long as I (intentionally) wink with the eye-lashes (shall wink)*. On the other hand, in Ex. 32, 30 אֶכַּפֵּר, with the Samaritan, is to be read instead of אֶכַּפְּרָה after אֶל־י.

¹ Analogous to this cohortative (as equivalent to the imperfect) after שָׂם is the use of the historic imperf. after אֶ, § 107. c.

§ 109. Use of the Jussive.

a As the *cohortative* is used in the 1st pers., so the *jussive* (comp. for its form, which frequently coincides with that of the ordinary *imperfect*¹, § 48. *f, g*) is especially 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. More particularly its uses may be distinguished as follows:

1. The *jussive*, either standing alone or co-ordinated with another jussive:

b (*a*) In affirmative sentences to express a command, a wish (or a blessing), advice, or a request; in the last case (the optative or precative) it is frequently strengthened by the addition of **נָא**. Examples: Gen. 1, 3 **יְהִי אֹר** *let there be light!* Gen. 1, 6. 9. 11. &c. (the 'creative commands'); Num. 6, 26 *the Lord lift up his countenance upon thee, and give thee peace!* comp. verse 25. After particles expressing a wish, Gen. 30, 34 **לִי יְהִי** *I would it might be*; Ps. 81, 9 **אִם-תִּשְׁמַע-לִי** *if thou wouldst hearken unto me!* As a humble request, Gen. 44, 33 . . . **וְהַנֶּעַר יַעֲלֶה . . . יֵשֶׁב-נָא עִבְדְּךָ** *let thy servant, I pray thee, abide, &c., and let the lad go up, &c.*, Gen. 47, 4.

c (*b*) In negative sentences to express prohibition or dissuasion, warning, a negative wish (or imprecation), and requests. As the prohibitive particle, **אַל** is used almost exclusively (according to § 107. *o*) before the jussive (in negative desires and requests frequently **אַל-נָא**); e. g. Ex. 34, 3 **אִישׁ אַל-יִרְאֶה** *neither let any man be seen!* Prov. 3, 7 *be not (אַל-תְּהַי) wise in thine own eyes!* Job 15, 31 **אַל-יִצְמַח** *ne confidat*. In the form of a request (prayer), Deut. 9, 26 **אַל-תִּשְׁחַת** *destroy not!* 1 Ki. 2, 20. Ps. 27, 9. 69, 18.

d Rem. 1. The few examples of **לֹא** 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 (**לֹא** with imperf. indic.); probably, however, they are either cases in which the defective writing has been misunderstood

¹ With regard to verbs **לֹא**, 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. **אַל-יִרְאֶה** Job 3, 9 (but previously **יִקַּח** *let it look for!*): especially *in* (Neh. 2, 3) and immediately *before* the principal pause, Gen. 1, 9 **יִרְאֶה**; Jud. 6, 39 **יְהִי**, but previously **יְהִי-נָא**; Is. 47, 3 **תִּרְאֶה**, previously **תִּנְגַל**; Ps. 109, 7. On the attempt to distinguish such jussives from the imperfect by means of a special ending **ה־**, see § 75. *hh*.

(as in 1 Ki. 2, 6. Ezek. 48, 14), or (as in Gen. 24, 8) instances of the purely rhythmical jussive form treated below, letter *k*. Moreover, cf. **לֹא יוֹסֵף** Joel 2, 2 and from the same verb Gen. 4, 12 (unless it is to be referred to letter *h*) and Deut. 13, 1. The same form, however, appears also to stand three times for the cohortative (see below), and in Num. 22, 19 for the ordinary imperfect (see, however, below, letter *z*). 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 **יֹסֵף**, &c. should not be restored.—On **לֹא-תָחוּם עֵינֶיךָ**, &c., Deut. 7, 16. 13, 9, &c. Ezek. 5, 11, &c., cf. § 72. *r*, according to which **תָחוּם** should probably be read in every case.—The jussive appears in the place of the cohortative after **לֹא** 1 Sam. 14, 36 (**וְלֹא-נִשְׁאַר** co-ordinated with two cohortatives), 2 Sam. 17, 12; comp. Is. 41, 23 *K^eth.* (**וְנִרְאָה**, i. e. **וְנִרְאָה**, after another cohortative); also (see above) **לֹא אֶסְפָּא** Deut. 18, 16. Hos. 9, 15, and even without **לֹא** Ezek. 5, 16.

2. **אֶל-** with the jussive (or imperf., comp. § 107. *p*) is used sometimes to *e* express the conviction that something cannot or may not happen; comp. Is. 2, 9 **וְאַל-תִּשָּׂא לְהֵם** and thou canst not possibly forgive them [R.V. therefore forgive them not]; Ps. 34, 6. 41, 3. 50, 3. 121, 3 (**אֶל-יִתֵּן**); Prov. 3, 25. Job 5, 22 **אֶל-תִּירָא** neither needest thou be afraid; 20, 17. 40, 32.

2. The jussive when depending on other moods, or in conditional *f* sentences:

(a) Depending¹ (with *Wāw*) on an imperative or cohortative to express an intention or an assurance of a contingent occurrence, e. g. Gen. 24, 51 *take her and go, and let her be* (**וְתָהִי** prop. and she will be) . . . ; 30, 3. 31, 37. 38, 24. Ex. 8, 4. 9, 13. 10, 17. 14, 2. Jos. 4, 16. Jud. 6, 30. 1 Sam. 5, 11. 7, 3. 1 Ki. 21, 10. Ps. 144, 5. Prov. 20, 22. Also after interrogative sentences, which include a demand, Est. 7, 2 (say) *what is thy desire . . .*, **וְתַעֲשֶׂה** and (i. e. in order that) *it shall be granted!* 1 Ki. 22, 20. Is. 19, 12. Job 38, 34 sq. Depending on a cohortative, e. g. Gen. 19, 20 **אֲמַלְטָה נָא שָׁמָּה** oh, let me escape thither . . . (**וְתָהִי נַפְשִׁי**) that my soul may live; even after a simple imperf. (comp. below, letter *g*), 1 Ki. 13, 33 *whosoever would, he consecrated him . . .* **וְיָהִי** that he might be a priest (read **כִּפְּתָן**) of the high places, but probably the LXX reading **וְיָהִי** is to be preferred.

Rem. In 2 Chron. 35, 21 a negative final clause with **וְאַל-** is dependent on an *g* imperative, *forbear from* (meddling with) *God . . . that he destroy thee not*. As a rule, however, negative clauses are attached to the principal sentence by means of **וְלֹא** and a following imperfect; so after an imperative, Gen. 42, 2. 1 Ki. 18, 44; after a jussive, Ex. 30, 20. Neh. 6, 9; after a perfect consec., Ex. 28, 35. 43. Num. 18, 5; after **לֹא** with an imperfect, Num. 18, 3. Deut. 17, 17

¹ 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. Gen. 20, 7. Ps. 27, 14, &c.

neither shall he multiply wives unto himself (וְלֹא יִסּוּר לְכַבּוֹ) that his heart turn not away; 1 Sam. 20, 14. 2 Sam. 21, 17. Jer. 11, 21; after אַל- with jussive, Lev. 10, 9. 16, 2. 2 Sam. 13, 25. Jer. 25, 6. 37, 20. 38, 24 sq. Even after a simple imperfect, Jer. 10, 4 with nails . . . they fasten it (וְלֹא יִפְּקִי) that it move not; after a participle, Job 9, 7.

h (b) Frequently in conditional sentences (as in Arabic), either in the protasis or in the apodosis, comp. Ps. 45. 12 יִתְּאוּ should he desire . . . then . . . ; 104, 20 וַיְהִי . . . תִּשְׁתַּח if thou makest darkness, then it is night; so also in the protasis, Ex. 22, 4. Lev. 15, 24. Is. 41, 28. Ezek. 14, 7 (וַיֵּלֶךְ). Job 34, 29; in the apodosis, Ex. 7, 9 then will it (not, then shall it) become a serpent; Job 10, 16. 13, 5. 22, 28. In a negative apodosis, Gen. 4, 12 לֹא-תִהְיֶה (but see above, letter g). In 2 Ki. 6, 27 אַל-יִשְׁעֶךָ (if the Lord do not help thee, &c.) is to be explained as a jussive in a negative protasis.

i Rem. Undoubtedly this use of the jussive (in conditional sentences) is based 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. Num. 22, 19 מֶה-יִסְּרָה, comp., however, above, letter d); Job 9, 33 there is no daysman betwixt us, that might lay (יִשֵּׁת, hence plainly a *subjunctive* = *qui ponat*; also in Num. 23, 19 וַיִּכְוֹב that he should lie is probably intended as a jussive); Eccles. 5, 14; so after interrogative sentences, Jer. 9, 11 who is the wise man, וַיִּבֶן *qui intelligat hoc*.

k Moreover, in not a few cases, the jussive is used, without any collateral sense, for the ordinary imperfect form, and this occurs not alone in those forms, which may arise from a misunderstanding of the defective writing, as Deut. 28, 21. 36. 32, 8. 1 Ki. 8, 1. Is. 12, 1. Mic. 3, 4. 5, 8. Ps. 11, 6. 18, 12. 25, 9. 47, 4. 72, 13. 90, 3. 91, 4. 107, 29. Prov. 15, 25. Job 13, 27. 15, 33. 18, 9. 20, 23 b. 27, 22. 33, 11. 27. 36, 14. 38, 24. Eccles. 12, 6 (verse 7 יִשָּׁב, but immediately afterwards תִּשָּׁב); Dan. 8, 12, but also in shortened forms, such as יְהִי Gen. 49, 17. Deut. 28, 8. 1 Sam. 10, 5. 2 Sam. 5, 24. Hos. 6, 1. 11, 4. Am. 5, 14. Zeph. 2, 13. Zech. 9, 5. Ps. 72, 16 sq. 104, 31. Job 18, 12. 20, 23. 26. 28. 27, 8. 33, 21. 34, 37. Ruth 3, 4. This use of the jussive can hardly be due merely to poetic license, but is rather to be explained on rhythmical grounds. In all the above-cited examples, namely, 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, 6. 50, 2. Ps. 68, 15. Prov. 23, 25. Job 24, 14. 29, 3. 40, 19), or actually *in* pause (Deut. 32, 18. Job 23, 9. 11. Lam. 3, 50), 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 (comp. § 107. k and m-x).

§ 110. The Imperative.

1. The imperative¹, 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 Ki. 18, 44. Is. 56, 1. 65, 18) with other imperatives: a

(a) To express real commands, e. g. Gen. 12, 1 *get thee out of thy country*; or (like the jussive) mere admonitions (Hos. 10, 12) and requests, 2 Ki. 5, 22. Is. 5, 3; on the addition of נִּי see the Rem. The imperative is used in the sense of an ironical request (often including a threat) in 1 Ki. 2, 22 *ask for him the kingdom also*; 22, 15. Jud. 10, 14. Is. 47, 12 (with נִּי). Jer. 7, 21. Ezek. 20, 39. Am. 4, 4. Job 38, 3 sq. 40, 10 sqq. Lam. 4, 21. The imperative has a concessive sense in Nah. 3, 15 (though thou *make thyself many*, &c.), and in the cases discussed under letter *f*, e. g. Is. 8, 9 sq. 29, 9.

(b) To express permission, e. g. 2 Sam. 18, 23 after previous dissuasion, (then) *run* (for my sake)! Is. 21, 12. 45, 11. b

(c) To express a distinct assurance (like our expression, *thou shalt have it*)² or promise, e. g. Is. 65, 18 *but be ye glad*, &c. (i. e. ye will have continually occasion to be glad); and Is. 37, 30. Ps. 110, 2; in a threat, Jer. 2, 19. So especially in commands, the fulfilment of which is altogether out of the power of the person addressed, e. g. Is. 54, 14 *be far from anxiety* (meaning, thou needst not fear any more); Gen. 1, 28 and elsewhere: (for other examples, such as 1 Ki. 22, 12. 2 Ki. 5, 13, see below, letter *f*). Most clearly in the case of the *imperative Niph'al* with a passive meaning, e. g. Gen. 42, 16 וְאַתֶּם הֵאֱסָרֶתֶם and ye shall be bound; Deut. 32, 50. Is. 49, 9 (Is. 45, 22, see below, letter *f*). c

Rem. 1. The particle נִּי *age!* (§ 105) is frequently added to the imperative, d as to the jussive, sometimes to soften down a command, or to make a request in a more courteous form (see above, letter *a*), Gen. 12, 13. 24, 2, sometimes to strengthen an exhortation uttered as a rebuke or threat (Num. 16, 26. 20, 10) or in ridicule (Is. 47, 12).

2. The imperative after the desiderative particle הִנֵּה Gen. 23, 13 (at the end of e

¹ On the close relation between the imperative and jussive (both in meaning and form), comp. § 46 and § 48 *i*.

² Analogous to these assurances in the form of an imperative are the threatening formulae in the Latin comic writers, e. g. *vapula*, Ter. Phorm. v. 6, 10 = *vapulare te iubeo*, Plaut. Curc. vi. 4, 12.

verses 5 and 14 also read לָבֵן for לָבֵן and join it to the following imperative) is due to an anacoluthon. Instead of the imperfect which would be expected here after לָבֵן 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 interrogative sentence, serves to express the distinct assurance or promise that an action or condition will take place 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 (comp. *divide et impera*), e. g. Gen. 42, 18 וְאַתָּה עֲשֵׂה וְחַיִּי *this do, and live*, i. e. thus shall ye continue to live. 1 Ki. 22, 12. 2 Ki. 5, 13. Is. 36, 16. 45, 22 (וְהִשְׁעוּ). Jer. 6, 16. Am. 5, 4. 6. Ps. 37, 27. Prov. 3, 3 sq. 4, 4. 7, 2. 13, 20 *Keth.*, Job 2, 9. 2 Chron. 20, 20; in Jer. 25, 5. Job 22, 21 אַף 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, 9 רַעוּ עַמִּים וְחִתּוּ (continue to) *make an uproar, O ye peoples, and ye shall be broken in pieces*; comp. verse 9 *b*.

g 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, 10. 55, 2.

h 2. In Prov. 20, 13 the second imperative (containing a promise) is attached by asyndeton; elsewhere two imperatives occur side by side without the copula, where the second might be expected to be subordinated to the first, e. g. Deut. 2, 24 הִחַל רָשׁ (where רָשׁ is virtually, as it were, an object to הִחַל) *begin, take in possession* for *to take in possession* (comp., however, Jud. 19, 6 הוֹאֵל־נָא וְלֵין *be content, I pray thee, and tarry all night*, and for this kind of co-ordination in general, comp. § 120. *d*). But such imperatives as הֵן (לָכֵן) קוּם, when immediately preceding a second imperative, are for the most part only equivalent to interjections, *come! up!*

i (b) The imperative, when depending (with *wāw copulative*) upon a jussive (cohortative), or an interrogative sentence, expresses also frequently a consequence which is to be expected with certainty, and often a consequence which is intended, or in fact an intention; comp. Gen. 20, 7 *and he shall pray for thee, וְחַיִּהּ and thou shalt live*; comp. Ex. 14, 13. 16. 2 Ki. 5, 10. Job 11, 6. Ps. 128, 5 *the Lord bless thee . . . so that (or in order that) thou seest, &c.*; Ruth 1, 9.

4, 11; after a cohortative, Gen. 12, 2. 45, 18. Ex. 3, 10 **וְהוֹצֵא** *that thou mayest bring forth*; Ex. 18, 22. 1 Sam. 12, 17. 1 Ki. 1, 12; Jer. 35, 15 (after imperative and jussive); after an interrogative sentence, 2 Sam. 21, 3 *wherewith shall I make atonement*, **וְבִרְכֵי** *that ye may bless*, &c.—In Num. 5, 19 the imperative without **!** (in 32, 23 with **!**) is used after a conditional clause in the sense of a definite promise.

Rem. The 2nd *sing. masc.* occurs in Jud. 4, 20 (**עֲמֹד**), according to Qimḥi an *k* infinitive, in which case, however, the infinitive absolute **עָמַד** should be read), Mic. 1, 13 and Zech. 13, 7 (after **עֲנִי**) in addressing feminine persons; and in Is. 23, 1. 32, 11 the 2nd *plur. masc.* Moreover, in the latter place there follow quite abnormally four imperatives of the 2nd *sing. masc.* lengthened by **הַ**. These can only be explained on the ground that the sharp commands, following closely upon one another, remain in the most obvious form (viz. the 2nd *sing. masc.* imperative), without any attention being paid to the gender or number of those addressed. In Nah. 3, 15 the interchange of *masc.* and *fem.* serves to express totality (the nation in all its aspects). Comp., moreover, § 145. *p* on other noticeable attempts to substitute the corresponding masculine forms for the feminine.

§ 111. *The Imperfect with Wāw Consecutive.*

1. The *imperfect with wāw consecutive* (§ 49. *a-g*) serves to express *a* actions, events, or conditions, which are to be regarded as the temporal or logical sequel of actions, events, or conditions mentioned immediately¹ 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* (comp. for this interchange of tenses § 49. *a*, and especially § 112. *a*), e. g. Gen. 3, 1 *now the serpent was* (**וְהָיָה**) *more subtil . . . and he said* (**וַיֹּאמֶר**) *unto the woman*; 4, 1. 6, 9 sqq. 10, 9 sq. 15. 19. 11, 12 sqq. 27 sqq. 14, 5 sq. 15, 1 sq. 16, 1 sq. 21, 1 sqq. 24, 1 sq. 25, 19 sqq. 36, 2 sqq. 37, 2.

Rem. 1. To this class belong some of the numerous *imperfects consec.* after *b* various expressions of time, whenever such expressions are equivalent in meaning to a perfect² (viz. **וְהָיָה** *it came to pass*), e. g. Is. 6, 1 *in the year that king Uzziab*

¹ On an apparent exception (the *imperf. consec.* at the beginning of whole Books) see § 49. *b* note.

² Comp. Is. 45, 4, where the *imperf. consec.* is joined to an abrupt statement of the cause, and Job 36, 7, where it is joined to an abrupt statement of the place.

died, I saw (וַיֵּרְאֵהוּ), &c.; Gen. 22, 4. 27, 34. Jud. 11, 16. 1 Sam. 4, 19. 17, 57. 21, 6. Hos. 11, 1 : on the use of וַיְהִי to connect expressions of time, see below, letter *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 Sam. 17, 55 (cf. Driver on the passage). 2 Chron. 12, 7. 15, 8, &c. Dan. 10, 11. 15. 19; the *Perfect* after וַי and the subject, 2 Chron. 7, 1.

c 2. The continuation of the narrative by means of the imperfect consec. may result in a series of such imperfects as long as may be desired, e.g. there are forty-nine in Gen. 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. Gen. 1, 5 and God called (וַיִּקְרָא) the light Day, and the darkness he called (וַיִּקְרָא) Night; verse 10. 2, 20. 11, 3 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. Gen. 28, 8 sq. וַיֵּלֶךְ . . . וַיֵּרָא עֵשָׂו when Esau saw that . . . , he went, &c.; so also, frequently וַיִּשְׁמַע, &c., Gen. 37, 21 and elsewhere. On the other hand, a second *imperfect consecutive* is seldom used in an explanatory sense, e.g. Ex. 2, 10 (וַתֹּאמֶר) for she said; comp. 1 Sam. 7, 12. 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 Gen. 2, 25 (וַיְהִי) they were; but Jos. 4, 9. 1 Ki. 8, 8 they are; 36, 14 (וַתִּלְךְ). 32 (וַיִּמְלֹךְ). 1 Ki. 1, 44.

e 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. Gen. 32, 31 and (yet) my life is preserved; 2 Sam. 3, 8 and yet thou chargest me; Job 10, 8. 32, 3; similarly in dependence on noun-clauses, Prov. 30, 25 sqq.

f 2. The introduction of independent narratives, or of a new section 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 an *imperfect consecutive* (Gen. 4, 3. 8. 8, 6. 11, 2. Ex. 12, 29. 13, 17, &c.), or *Wāw* with the perfect (separated from it), Gen. 7, 10. 15, 12. 22, 1. 27, 30, or even a perfect without *Wāw* (Gen. 8, 13. 14, 1 sq. 40, 1. Ex. 12, 41. 16, 22. Num. 10, 11. Deut. 1, 3. 1 Sam. 18, 30. 2 Ki. 8, 21, &c.), or finally a noun-clause introduced by *Wāw*, Gen. 41, 1.

g Rem. 1. This loose connexion by means of וַיְהִי is especially common, when the narrative or a new section of it begins with any expression of time, see above, letter *b*; comp., in addition to the above-mentioned examples (e.g. Gen. 22, 1 and it came to pass after these things, that God did prove Abraham), the similar cases in Gen. 19, 34. 21, 22. 1 Sam. 11, 11. Ruth 1, 1. Elsewhere the statement

of time is expressed by וַיִּבְרַח or וַיִּבְרַח with an infinitive (Gen. 12, 14. 19, 17. 29. 39, 13. 15. 18 sq. Jud. 16, 25) or by an independent sentence with the perfect (equivalent to a pluperfect, comp. § 106. f), e.g. Gen. 15, 17. 24, 15. 27, 30, or by a temporal clause introduced by כִּי when, Gen. 26, 8. 27, 1. Jud. 16, 16, כִּי־בָּאֲשֶׁר when, Gen. 12, 11. 20, 13, מֵאָז from the time that, Gen. 39, 5; or, finally, by a noun-clause (comp. § 116. u), e.g. 2 Ki. 13, 21 $\text{וַיְהִי־הֵם קֹבְרִים אִישׁ 21}$ and it came to pass, as they were (just) burying a man (prop. they burying), that . . . ; Gen. 42, 35. 2 Ki. 2, 11 (the apodosis in both these cases being introduced by וַיְהִי); 1 Sam. 7, 10. 2 Sam. 13, 30. 2 Ki. 6, 5. 26. 19, 37 (=Is. 37, 38).—In 1 Sam. 10, 11. 11, 11. 2 Sam. 2, 23. 15, 2 a noun standing absolutely follows וַיְהִי (as the equivalent of a complete sentence; see below, letter *h*), and then an *imperfect consecutive* follows.

2. Closely related to the cases noticed in letter *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. Comp. for (a) 1 Sam. 15, 23 *because thou hast rejected the word of the Lord, וַיִּמְצֵאֲךָ* he hath rejected thee (comp. Num. 14, 16. Is. 48, 4, where the causal clause precedes in the form of an infinitive with preposition), Ex. 9, 21; for (b) Gen. 22, 24 וַתִּבְרַח־לָהּ and (as to) his concubine . . . , וַתִּלְכֵּד she bare, &c.; Ex. 38, 24. Num. 14, 36 sq. 1 Sam. 14, 19. 17, 24. 2 Sam. 4, 10. 19, 41 *K^eth.* 21, 16. 1 Ki. 9, 20 sq. 12, 17. 2 Ki. 25, 22. Jer. 6, 19. 28, 8. 33, 24. 44, 25¹.—In 1 Ki. 15, 13. 2 Ki. 16, 14 the preceding noun, used absolutely, is regarded as the object of the following imperfect consecutive, and is therefore introduced by אֲדָרָה .

3. The *imperfect consecutive* serves, in the cases treated under *i* letters *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—

(a) As a final summing up of the preceding narrative, e.g. Gen. 2, 1. *k* 23, 20 $\text{וַיִּקָּם הַשָּׂדֶה וְגו'$ so (in this way) the field became (legally) the property of Abraham, &c.; 1 Sam. 17, 50. 31, 6.

(b) To express a logical or necessary consequence of that which immediately precedes, e.g. Gen. 39, 2. Job 2, 3 *and he still holdeth fast his integrity, וַיִּמָּצֵא וְגו' so that thou thus (as it now appears)*

¹ Comp. the Mēša' inscription, l. 5 (*Omri*) the king of Israel, וַיִּעֲבֹד who oppressed Moab, &c.—The peculiar imperfect consecutive in Gen. 30, 27 *b* (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.*

groundlessly movedst me against him; Ps. 65, 9 so that they are afraid . . .; even a consequence which happens conditionally, Jer. 20, 17 וְהָיָה so that my mother should have been . . . Another instance of the kind perhaps (if the text be correct) is Jer. 38, 9 וְיָמָת so that he dies (must die).

m Rem. Such consecutive clauses frequently occur after interrogative sentences, e. g. Is. 51, 12 who art thou (i. e. art thou so helpless), וְהִירָאִי that thou art (must needs be) afraid? Ps. 144, 3 (comp. Ps. 8, 5, where in a very similar context כִּי that is used with the imperfect); Gen. 12, 19 (וְאֶקַח); 31, 27 וְאֶשְׁלַחְךָ so that I might have sent thee away; Job 11, 3 וְתִלְעַג so that thou mockest.

4. As regards the range of time it is to be carefully noticed—

- n* (a) That the *imperfect consecutive* may represent all varieties of 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 conditions, 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* Comp. the examples given above, under letters *a* and *f*, of the imperfect consecutive as an historic tense. The imperfect consecutive also frequently occurs as the continuation of a perfect (*praeteritum*) in a subordinate clause; e. g. Gen. 27, 1. Num. 11, 20. Deut. 4, 37. 1 Sam. 8, 8. 1 Ki. 2, 5. 11, 33. 18, 13, &c.; also in Is. 49, 7 וְיִבְחַרְךָ is the continuation of a preterite, contained, according to the sense, in the preceding נִאֲמַן אֱשֶׁר. In Job 31, 26. 34 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 Gen. 26, 18. 28, 6 sq. 31, 19. 34 (now Rachel had taken the teraphim, וְהִשְׂמִים and had put them, &c.); Num. 14, 36. 1 Sam. 28, 3. 2 Sam. 2, 23. Is. 39, 1. 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.
- r* (2) To represent *present* actions, &c., in connexion with tenses, or their equivalents, which describe actions and conditions as being either present or lasting on into the present (continuing in their effect); so especially,

(α) In connexion with the present perfects, described in § 106. g, e. g. Ps. 16, 9 *therefore my heart is glad* (שָׂמַח) *and my glory rejoiceth* (וַיִּגְלַל); Is. 3, 16 (parallel with a simple imperfect). Comp. also such examples as Ps. 29, 10 וַיֵּשֶׁב (prop. he sat down, *and has been enthroned ever since*), Ps. 41, 13.

(β) In connexion with those perfects which represent experiences frequently confirmed (see § 106. k), e. g. Job 14, 2 *he cometh up* (יָצָא) *like a flower, and is cut down* (וַיִּמָּל); *he fleeth* (וַיִּבְרַח) *also as a shadow, וְלֹא יַעֲמֹד* *and continueth not*; Job 20, 15. 24, 2. 11. Is. 40, 24. Prov. 11, 2.

(γ) In connexion with imperfects which, in one of the ways described in § 107. 2, are used in the sense of the present; e. g. Job 14, 10 *but man dieth* (יָמוּת) *and wasteth away* (וַיִּתְלַשׁ), &c., i. e. remains wasted; Job 4, 5. 6, 21. Is. 44, 12 sqq. Hos. 8, 13. Hab. 1, 9 sq. Ps. 3, 5 (*I cry unto the Lord, and he answereth me*; cf. 55, 18); 90, 3. Job 5, 15. 7, 18. 12, 25. 34, 24. 37, 8 (parallel with a simple imperfect); 39, 15. In the apodosis of a conditional sentence, Ps. 59, 16, so also after an interrogative imperfect, 1 Sam. 2, 29. Ps. 42, 6 (וַתַּהַמֵּי for which in verse 12 and in 43, 5 we have וַמַּה־תַּהַמֵּי *and why art thou disquieted?*).

(δ) In dependence on participles, which represent what at present continues or is being repeated, e. g. Num. 22, 11. 1 Sam. 2, 6. 2 Sam. 19, 2 *behold the king weepeth* (בֹּכֶה) *and mourneth* (וַיִּתְאַבֵּל) *for Absalom*; Am. 5, 8. 9, 5 sq. Nah. 1, 4. Ps. 34, 8. Prov. 20, 26. Job 12, 22 sqq., but comp. e. g. Job 12, 4 קָרָא לְאֱלֹהֵי וַיַּעֲנֵהוּ *who called upon God, and he answered him*.

(ε) In dependence on other equivalents of the present, as in v Is. 51, 12. Ps. 144, 3 (see above, letter m); Job 10, 22. So especially as the continuation of an infinitive, which is governed by a preposition (comp. § 114. r), Is. 30, 12. Jer. 10, 13. Ps. 92, 8, &c.

(3) To represent *future* actions, &c., in dependence on—(α) an imperfect which refers to the future, Ps. 49, 15. 94, 22 sq.;—(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*); comp. Is. 5, 15 (parallel with a simple imperfect); 5, 16 (comp. 2, 11. 17, where the same threat is expressed by the perfect consecutive); 5, 25. 9, 5. 10 sq.

13. 15. 17 sqq. 22, 7 sqq. Joel 2, 23. Mic. 2, 13. Ezek. 33, 4. 6. Ps. 7, 13. 64, 8 sqq.;—(γ) a future participle, Jer. 4, 16¹.

- 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. Job 9, 16 וַיִּעֲנֵנִי אֲדַמְּךָ אֱתֵי וַיִּשְׁעֵנִי if I had called, and he had answered me, yet . . .; Ps. 139, 11 וְאִמַּר if I should say (previously, in verse 8 sq., hypothetical imperfects are used).—In Is. 48, 18 sq. an imperfect consecutive occurs in dependence on a sentence expressing a wish introduced by לִנְאֻמִּי *utinam* (וַיְהִי and it or so that it were equivalent to then should it be). Comp. also the examples mentioned above, under letter *l* (Jer. 20, 17) and *m* (Gen. 31, 27), where the imperfect consecutive expresses facts occurring *contingently*.

§ 112. The Perfect with Wāw Consecutive.

- a* 1. The perfect, like the imperfect (§ 111), is used with *wāw consecutive* (comp. § 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 conditions, 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; see the examples.

- 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 versa². The strict regularity of this alternation belongs indeed rather

¹ Also in Jer. 51, 29 the imperfects consecutive are attached to the threat virtually contained in the preceding imperatives. On the other hand וַיְהִי־לִי Hos. 8, 10 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־לִי.—In Ezek. 28, 16 (comp. Jer. 15, 6 sq.) וַיִּחַח־לִי appears to announce an action irrevocably determined upon, and therefore represented as already accomplished; comp. the prophetic perfects in verse 17 sqq.

² 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*

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* (comp. e. g. Ezek. 14, 13. Amos 5, 19. Ruth 3, 3, four perfects in each case, Is. 8, 7 five, Ex. 6, 6 sq. eight). It is true, however, of the perfect (as conversely of the *imperfect acc.* to § III. 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. Gen. 12, 12 *when the Egyptians shall see thee, that they shall say* (וַיֹּאמְרוּ), *This is his wife: and they will kill me* (וַיְהַרְגוּ אֹתָי) *but they will save thee alive* (וַיִּחַי וַיִּצִלְהוּ אֶתְּךָ).

2. The perfect consecutive, like the imperfect consecutive, always 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 letter e), (b) in loose connexion (see letter x) with the preceding, and (c) the perfect consecutive at the beginning of the apodosis to other sentences, or what are equivalent to sentences (see letter ff).

3. The perfect consecutive in immediate dependence on the preceding tense, or its equivalent, serves

(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. Gen. 2, 6 אָרַב וַיֵּלֶךְ there went up a mist (again and again) from the earth, וַיִּשְׁקֶה and watered (as it were, and it always watered afresh), &c. This frequentative use of the perfect consecutive is equally evident after frequentative imperfects,

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 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.

- Gen. 2, 10 (וְהָיָה) *and it became afresh every time*; וַיְהִי would mean, and it became so once for all); 29, 2 sq. (four perfects consecutive referring to actions repeated daily); Ex. 33, 7-11 וַיִּקַּח *he used to take at each new encampment the tent, וַיִּנָּקֵה and to pitch it again every time without the camp*; notice, amongst the numerous frequent. perf. consec., the imperf. in vv. 7. 8. 9. 11, always in a frequentative sense; 34, 34 sq. Num. 9, 19. 21 (among several simple imperfects). 10, 17. Jud. 2, 19. 1 Sam. 2, 19 הִעֲשֶׂה *she used to make . . . וְהֵעֵלְתָהּ and brought it to him from year to year*; 27, 9 (וַיִּלְקַח). 1 Ki. 14, 28. 2 Ki. 3, 25. 12, 15 (in verses 16 sq. imperfects occur again). So also in dependent sentences, Gen. 6, 4 (וַיִּלְרֹד) as a continuation of (וַיִּבְאֹר), Job 31, 29¹.
- f* (β) After an imperfect consecutive, e. g. Ex. 39, 3 (וַיִּקְצְצוּ). 1 Sam. 5, 7 (see § 112. rr). 7, 16. 2 Sam. 15, 2. 16, 13 *and he threw stones at him, וַיַּעֲפֵר and cast dust continually*; 12, 16. 31. 2 Ki. 6, 10. 12, 11 sqq. 15. Jer. 37, 15. Job 1, 5.
- 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, 26. 40, 31 sq. 1 Sam. 1, 4. 2 Sam. 15, 1 sq. 1 Ki. 14, 27 (comp. verse 28); 1 Ki. 18, 4. 2 Ki. 12, 10. For other examples of a loosely connected frequentative perfect consecutive, see below, letter *dd*.
- h* (γ) After a perfect, Gen. 37, 3 (וַיַּעֲשֶׂה לוֹ) i. e. as often as he needed a new garment)²; Num. 11, 8. 1 Sam. 16, 14. 2 Ki. 3, 4³; in interrogative sentences, 1 Sam. 26, 9 *who has ever, &c.*; Ps. 80, 13. Job 1, 1. 4. Ruth 4, 7; Gen. 26, 10, to express that which might possibly have happened, *one of the people might lightly . . . , and thou shouldest have brought guiltiness upon us*.
- i* (δ) After an infinitive, Amos 1, 11 עַל-רָדְפוֹ *because he did pursue his brother, וַיִּשְׁחָת and (on each occasion) did cast off all pity (then an imperfect consecutive)*; after an infinitive absolute, Jos. 6, 13. 2 Sam. 13, 19. Jer. 23, 14.

¹ Also in Ezek. 44, 12 (where Stade, *ZAW*. v. 293, would read וַיְהִי and וַיִּשְׁרָתוּ) the unusual tenses may have been intentionally chosen: *because they continually ministered and so always became afresh . . .*

² Driver, on this passage, rightly refers to 1 Sam. 2, 19.

³ Amos 4, 7 would also come under this head, if וַהֲמַטְרֹתַי is really intended, and the statement refers to the past; מִנְעֵתַי might, however, also be a perfect expressing positive assurance (§ 106. m), and the passage then belongs to letter *s*.

(ε) After a participle, Is. 6, 3 (וּקְרָא, &c., frequentative, as a continuation of עֲמִידִים, verse 2); 1 Sam. 2, 22. 2 Sam. 17, 17¹.

(ζ) After other equivalents of tenses, e. g. Gen. 47, 22 *the priests had a portion from Pharaoh, וְאָכְלוּ and did eat* (year by year), &c.; 1 Ki. 4, 7.

(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. Gen. 2, 24 *therefore a man leaves* (יָעֻזֵּךְ is accustomed to leave) . . . וְרִבֵּךְ and cleaves, &c., here, as frequently elsewhere, clearly with the secondary idea of purpose, i. e. in order to cleave; Is. 5, 11 (if וְהָיָה is to be taken as a continuation of וְיָרְלִיגוּם); Is. 28, 28. Jer. 12, 3. Hos. 4, 3. 7, 7. Ps. 90, 6. Job 14, 9; also in dependent clauses, Lev. 20, 18. Is. 29, 8. 11 sq. Amos 5, 19.

(β) After a participle, as the equivalent of a sentence representing a contingent action, &c., e. g. Ex. 21, 12 מִיָּמָה אִישׁ וְיָמָה (instead of מִיָּמָה there is in verse 20, &c. וְכִי יִכּוּ אִישׁ if one smite a man and (so that) he die, &c., Ex. 21, 16. Is. 29, 15. Amos 6, 1. Hab. 2, 12.

(γ) After an infinitive absolute, Jer. 7, 9 sq. *will ye steal, murder, and commit adultery* (simple infinitives absolute; comp. § 113. ee), וּבִאתֶם and then come and stand before me . . . and say, &c.; comp. below, letter u.

(c) To express *future* actions, &c., as the temporal or logical consequence 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. Amos 9, 3 sq. מְשָׁם אֶחָפֵשׂ וְלָקַחְתִּים I will search and take them out thence, &c.; Gen. 4, 14. 40, 13. 1 Sam. 17, 32. 2 Ki. 5, 11. Job 8, 6 sq. (also with a change of subject, Gen. 27, 12. Jud. 6, 16 and elsewhere); and in interrogative sentences, Gen. 39, 9. Ex. 2, 7. 2 Sam. 12, 18. 2 Ki. 14, 10. Amos 8, 8. Ps. 41, 6; comp. also Jud. 1, 11; in sentences

¹ That וְהִלְכָה, &c., are frequentatives (*the maidservant used to go repeatedly and tell them*) may be seen from וְלָכְדוּ (necessarily an imperfect, since it is separated from לָכְדוּ by הֵם) and וְיִכְלְלוּ; on the other hand in verse 18 וְיִרְאֶה and וְיִלְכְּבוּ of actions which happened but once.

expressing a wish, 2 Sam. 15, 4; as well as in almost all kinds of dependent clauses. Also in conditional clauses after אִם־ Gen. 32, 9. Ex. 19, 5. 1 Sam. 1, 11, or כִּי Gen. 37, 26 or הִנֵּן Jer. 3, 1; in final clauses after לְמַעַן Gen. 12, 13. Num. 15, 40. Is. 28, 13; after אֲשֶׁר Deut. 2, 25 or כִּי־ Gen. 3, 22. 19, 19. 32, 12. Is. 6, 10. Amos 5, 6; in temporal clauses, Is. 32, 15. Jer. 13, 16; and in relative clauses, Gen. 24, 14. Jud. 1, 12. 1 Sam. 17, 26.

q (β) After the jussive (or an imperfect in the sense of a jussive or optative) or cohortative, with the same or a different subject, e.g. Gen. 1, 14 sq. וְהָיוּ . . . יְהִי מְאֹרֹת יְהִי let there be lights . . . and let them be, &c.; Gen. 12, 3. 24, 4. 28, 3. 31, 44. 1 Ki. 1, 2. 22, 13. Ruth 2, 7. 1 Chron. 22, 11; after a jussive expressing an imprecation, Ps. 109, 10.

r (γ) After an imperative, also with the same or a different subject, e.g. 2 Sam. 7, 5 וְאָמַרְתָּ לָּהּ go and tell (that thou mayst tell), &c.; Gen. 6, 14. 8, 17. 27, 43 sq. 1 Sam. 15, 3. 18. 1 Ki. 2, 36. Jer. 48, 26.

s (δ) After perfects which express a definite expectation or assurance (comp. § 106. m and n), e.g. Gen. 17, 20 הִנֵּה בְרַכְתִּי אֹתוֹ וְהִפְרֵתִי אֹתוֹ behold, I have blessed him, and will make him fruitful, &c.; Is. 2, 11. 5, 14; on Amos 4, 7 see above, note 3 on letter h; in an interrogative sentence, Jud. 9, 9. 11, 13.

t (ε) After a participle, e.g. Gen. 7, 4 for yet seven days, אֲנֹכִי מְמַטֵּיר and I will cause it to rain . . . וּמְחִיתִי and I will (i.e. in order to) destroy, &c.; Jer. 21, 9; also with a different subject, Gen. 24, 43 sq. הַיְצִיאתָ (הַיְצִיאתָ) . . . וְאָמַרְתִּי אֵלֶיָּהּ, to whom I shall say . . . , וְאָמְרָה and she (then) shall say, &c. This use of the perfect consecutive is especially frequent after a participle introduced by הִנֵּה, e.g. Gen. 6, 17 sq.; with a different subject 1 Ki. 20, 36. Amos 6, 14; after a complete noun-clause introduced by הִנֵּה (comp. § 140), Ex. 3, 13 behold, I come (i.e. if I shall come) . . . וְאָמַרְתִּי לָהֶם and shall say unto them . . . , וְאָמְרוּ and they (then) shall say, &c.; 1 Sam. 14, 8 sqq. Is. 7, 14. 8, 7 sq. 39, 6.

u (ζ) After an infinitive absolute, whether the infinitive absolute serves to strengthen the finite verb (see § 113. t), e.g. Is. 31, 5, or is used as an emphatic substitute for a cohortative or imperfect (§ 113. dd and ee), e.g. Lev. 2, 6. Deut. 1, 16. Is. 5, 5. Ezek. 23, 46 sq.

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 Sam. 10, 8 **וְהוֹדַעְתִּי לְךָ עַד-בּוֹאִי אֵלֶיךָ** *till I come unto thee* (prop. until my coming) *and show thee, &c.*; Gen. 18, 25. 27, 45. Jud. 6, 18. Ezek. 39, 27; comp. 1 Ki. 2, 37. 42.

Rem. To the same class belong 1 Sam. 14, 24, where the idea of time precedes, *until it be evening and until I be avenged, &c.*, and Is. 5, 8, where the idea of place precedes, in both cases governed by **עַד**.

4. The very frequent use of the perfect consecutive in direct dependence upon other tenses (see above, letters *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. Gen. 41, 30 **וְקָמוּ** and two co-ordinate perfects consecutive, equivalent to *but then shall arise, &c.*; frequently so after **וַיֵּבֶן** with a following substantive (1 Sam. 9, 8), or a participial clause (comp. the analogous instances above, letter *t*), e. g. 1 Sam. 2, 31 *behold, the days come, וְגִרְעַתִּי that I will cut off, &c.*; Is. 39, 6. Amos 4, 2. 8, 11. 9, 13, and very often in Jeremiah; after an expression of time, Ex. 17, 4. Is. 10, 25. 29, 17. Jer. 51, 33. Hos. 1, 4. 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; comp. Is. 6, 7 *lo, this hath touched thy lips, וְסָר therefore thine iniquity shall be taken away, &c.*, Gen. 20, 11. 26, 22. Jud. 13, 3 (here in an adversative sense); Hos. 8, 14. In loose connexion with a noun-clause, a long succession of perfects consecutive occurs in Ex. 6, 6 sqq. Also in Amos 5, 26 **וְנִשְׂאוּתְכֶם** may be an announcement *yea, ye shall take up*; comp., however, below, letter *rr*.

Rem. 1. Very frequently the announcement of a future event is attached by means of **וְהָיָה** and *it shall come to pass* (comp. the analogous addition of a 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, Gen. 9, 14. 12, 12 **וְהָיָה כִּי** = *if*, as in 46, 33. Ex. 1, 10. 22, 26 and frequently). 1 Ki. 18, 12. Is. 14, 3 sq. Amos 8, 9; or in the imperfect, Gen. 4, 14. Is. 2, 2. 3. 24. 4. 3. 7, 18. 21 sqq. (comp. 29, 8); or in the jussive, Lev. 14, 9. It very rarely happens that the verb which is thus loosely added, agrees in gender and

number with the following subject, as in Num. 5, 27. Jer. 42, 16 וְהִיתָה (before בְּהַחֲרָק), and in Jer. 42, 17 וַיְהִי (before כָּל-הַאֲנָשִׁים).

2. The jussive form וַיְהִי occurs (in the sense described in letter *γ*) instead of וְהִיתָה in 1 Sam. 10, 5. 2 Sam. 5, 24 (1 Chron. 14, 15). 1 Ki. 14, 5. Ruth 3, 4, although in the first three places a jussive is wholly inadmissible as regards the meaning, and even in Ruth 3, 4 (where an admonition follows) וְהִיתָה would be expected (see below, letter *bb*). In 1 Ki. 14, 5, however, the form is merely 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 Sam. 10, 5, &c., the simply rhythmical jussive form takes the place, not of the full imperfect form, but (exceptionally) of the perfect consecutive.
- aa* (*b*) To introduce a command or wish: Deut. 10, 19 *love ye therefore the stranger*; 1 Sam. 6, 5. 24, 16. 1 Ki. 2, 6 (in Gen. 40, 14 the precative perfect consecutive, as elsewhere the cohortative, jussive, and imperative, is strengthened by means of נָתַן). So, also, in loose connexion with participial and other noun-clauses (see above, letter *x*), Gen. 45, 12 sq. 1 Ki. 2, 2 sq. Ruth 3, 3 sq. 3, 9.—In Gen. 17, 11 the perfect consecutive (וַיִּמְלֹאֵם *and ye shall be circumcised*, &c.) is used to explain a preceding command.
- bb* Rem. As in the cases mentioned above under letter *γ*, the connexion may be made by means of וְהִיתָה. Thus with a following perfect consecutive, e. g. Gen. 46, 33-47, 24. Jud. 4, 20. Comp. also Gen. 24, 14, where the real wish, at least as regards the sense, is contained in the next sentence.
- cc* (*c*) To introduce a question, whether in loose connexion with another interrogative sentence (see above, letter *p*), e. g. Gen. 29, 15 *art thou my brother* (equivalent to, Surely thou art my brother), וַעֲבַדְתִּי *shouldst thou then serve me for naught?* or with a positive statement, e. g. Ex. 5, 5 (וְהִשְׁבַּתֵּם *will ye then make them rest?*); 1 Sam. 25, 11, perhaps also Ps. 50, 21 (וְהִחַרְשֵׁתִי).
- dd* (*d*) To introduce actions frequently repeated (hence analogous to the numerous examples of a frequentative perfect consecutive, above, letter *e*), e. g. 1 Sam. 1, 3 (וַעֲלֶה of annual festival journeys); 13, 21 (where, however, the text appears radically corrupt); 27, 9 (וְהָבֵא, i. e. every time, therefore continued by means of וְלֹא יִחַיָּה); 1 Ki. 5, 7 (וַיִּבְלְבְּלִי, parallel with a simple imperfect); 9, 25. Jer. 25, 4. Dan. 8, 4.—In Job 1, 4 sq. a series of frequentative perfects consecutive is interrupted by an imperfect consecutive, while a simple imperfect (as the *modus rei repetitæ*) forms the conclusion. In Jer. 6, 17 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.

Rem. The loose connexion of *tempora frequentativa* by הַיְהִי (comp. the Rem. *ee* above, letters *y* and *bb*) is also very frequent in this sense; thus with a following perfect consecutive, Gen. 30, 41 sq. (but in verse 42 *a*, where the verb is separated from the *Wāw* by an insertion, we find לֹא יִשְׂמוּ he used not to put them in, according to § 107. *e*); Gen. 38, 9. Ex. 17, 11. 33, 7 sqq. (see above, letter *e*). Num. 21, 9. Jud. 6, 3. 19, 30. 1 Sam. 16, 23 (followed by five perfects consecutive); 2 Sam. 15, 5; with a following imperfect (as the *modus rei repetitae*), Jud. 2, 19. 2 Sam. 14, 26.—In Jud. 12, 5 והיה, contrary to what would be expected, is continued by means of the imperfect consecutive, and in 1 Sam. 13, 22 by לֹא יִלְךְ with the perfect (instead of the imperfect).

5. Finally the perfect consecutive is very frequently employed with *ff* a certain emphasis to introduce the apodosis after sentences (or what are equivalent to sentences) which contain a condition, a reason, or a statement of time. Moreover, 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 sentences¹ (§ 159. *g, o, s*):

(*a*) After אִם with the imperfect, e. g. 2 Ki. 7, 4 *b* אִם-יָמִיתֵנוּ וְמָתֵנוּ if they kill us, (well then) we shall but die; here the perfect consecutive is used obviously with greater emphasis than the imperfect (נִתְהַיָּה) which immediately precedes; Gen. 18, 26. 24, 8. 41. 32, 9. Num. 30, 15. Jud. 4, 20. 1 Sam. 1, 11. 20, 6. 1 Ki. 3, 14. Nah. 3, 12. Eccles. 4, 11.

(*β*) After אִם with the perfect (in the sense of a *futurum exactum*), *gg* Num. 5, 27. 2 Ki. 5, 20. 7, 4 *a*. Is. 4, 4 sq.; as precativ apodosis after אִם-יָבִי with the *perf. preteritum*, Gen. 33, 10; as a frequentative perfect consecutive, to represent past events in the apodosis after אִם with a perfect, Num. 21, 9. Jud. 6, 3. Job 7, 4; after אִם with imperfect, Gen. 31, 8.

(*γ*) After כִּי (in case, suppose that) with the imperfect, Gen. 12, 12. *hh* Ex. 18, 16. Jud. 13; 17. Is. 58, 7. Ezek. 14, 13². Frequentative with

¹ In a number of the examples of this kind the protasis is already loosely connected by means of והיה, and hence some of them had to be already mentioned above, letters *y, bb, ee*.

² In 1 Sam. 24, 19 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, וְכִי should be read for כִּי.

reference to the past, after פִּי with frequentative perfect, Jud. 2, 18. Job 7, 13 sq.

ii (δ) After $\text{אֲשֶׁר יִמָּצֵא אִתּוֹ} \dots \text{וְמָת}$. . . *it be found, let him die*; with the perfect, Ex. 21, 13 *and if a man lie not in wait, &c.*; Jud. 1, 12.

kk (ε) Very frequently after a perfect consecutive (one or more) containing the condition, e.g. Gen. 44, 29 $\text{וְיִהְיֶה לְכֹהֵן} \dots \text{וְלִקְחֶתֶם גַּם־אֶת־זֶה}$ *and if ye take (or shall have taken) this one also . . . ye shall bring down, &c.*; comp. Gen. 33, 13. 42, 38. 44, 4. 22, 47, 30. Num. 30, 12. Ruth 2, 9, and probably also Ezek. 39, 28.—Also frequentative in reference to the past, e.g. 1 Sam. 17, 34 sq. $\text{וַיֵּצֵא אֹתוֹ} \dots \text{וַיָּבֵא הַלֵּוֹי}$ *and when there came (as sometimes happened) a lion . . . I went out, &c.*; Ex. 33, 10. Num. 10, 17 sqq. 1 Ki. 18, 10. Jer. 20, 9 (the perfects consecutive being regularly continued in the apodosis by וְלֹא with an imperfect¹).

ll 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 Ezek. 14, 14 on account of הַיְפֹה ; 33, 4 on account of דְּמֹו .—In 1 Sam. 14, 52 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 וַיִּסְפְּרוּ suggests the special case, rather than a repeated occurrence; cf. 2 Sam. 15, 2. Conversely, in 1 Sam. 2, 16. 17, 35 *b* an imperfect consecutive stands in the protasis.

mm (ζ) After various equivalents of sentences, which contain a condition; thus, after a substantive standing absolutely, or a participle (a *casus pendens*), Gen. 17, 14 $\text{וַיִּבְרָתָהּ וְגו'}$. . . וְעָרַל זָכָר *and the uncircumcised male (in case such an one be found), he shall be cut off, &c.*; comp. Gen. 30, 32. Ex. 12, 15. 2 Sam. 14, 10. Is. 6, 13, and (after an infinitive with a preposition) 2 Sam. 7, 14; in a wider sense also Ex. 4, 21. 9, 19. 12, 44. Is. 9, 4.

nn (δ) The perfect consecutive serves as the apodosis to causal clauses; thus e.g. after יַעַן פִּי with the perfect, Is. 3, 16 sq.; after אֲשֶׁר יַעַן with perfect, 1 Ki. 20, 28; after לְעֵבֶב with perfect, Num. 14, 24; also after what

¹ 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. Gen. 44, 29 (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.

are equivalent to causal clauses, e. g. Ps. 25, 11 (וְסַלַחְתָּ . . . לְמַעַן שְׁמוֹךְ . . . *for thy name's sake . . . pardon . . .*); Is. 37, 29 after יֵצֵן with an infinitive.

(c) The perfect consecutive occurs as the apodosis to temporal clauses or their equivalents, e. g. 1 Sam. 2, 15 בְּטָרָם יִקְטְרוּן 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, 19; also after participial clauses (§ 116. w), e. g. 1 Sam. 2, 13 sq. וּבָא . . . *when(ever) any man offered sacrifice, then came*, &c. (so Jud. 19, 30. 2 Sam. 20, 12), 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 Gen. 3, 5. Ex. 32, 34 (after בְּיוֹם with the infinitive), comp. also such examples as Num. 44, 30. Jud. 16, 2. Jos. 6, 10. 1 Sam. 1, 22. 16, 23 (numerous frequentative perfects consecutive after the infinitive with a preposition; so 2 Sam. 15, 5, see above, letter *ee*); 1 Sam. 20, 18. 2 Sam. 14, 26. 15, 10. Is. 18, 5; moreover, Ex. 17, 4. Is. 10, 25. 29, 17. 37, 26; even after single disconnected words, e. g. Ex. 16, 6 עָרֵב וַיִּדְעָתֶם *at even (when it becomes evening) then ye shall know*; comp. verse 7. Lev. 7, 16. 1 Ki. 13, 31. Prov. 24, 27.

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. In a few instances we can do no more than merely call attention to the incorrectness of the expression.

(a) The influence of the Aramaic construction of the perfect with וַ as the narrative tense, instead of the Hebrew imperfect consecutive (comp. Kautzsch, *Gramm. des bibl. Aram.*, § 71. b), is certainly to be traced in *Qoheleth*, and sporadically in other very late Books¹, 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 Ki. 12, 32 וַהֲעֵמִיד; 2 Ki. 11, 1 וַרֵאֲתָה; 14, 14 וַלְקַח (in the parallel

¹ In the whole of *Qoheleth* the imperfect consecutive occurs only in 1, 17 and 4, 1. 7. Several of the perfects with וַ can no doubt be explained as frequentatives, e. g. 1, 13. 2, 5. 9. 11. 13. 15. 5, 18 compared with 6, 2; but this is impossible in such passages as 9, 14 sqq. In *Ezra*, Driver reckons only five examples of historical perfects with וַ, in *Nehemiah* only six, and in *Esther* six or seven.

passage, 2 Chron. 25, 24, the word is wanting); 2 Ki. 23, 4 וְנִשְׂאָה, &c.; verse 10 וְנִשְׂאָה, &c.; verse 12 וְהִשְׁלִיךְ, &c.; verse 15 וְשָׂרָף, &c.¹ Cf. also Ezek. 37, 2. 7. 10.

99 (b) The text is certainly corrupt in Is. 40, 6 (read with the LXX and Vulgate וְאָמַר); Jer. 38, 28, where the narrative breaks off in the middle of the sentence; 40, 3 (וְהָיָה, &c., wanting in the LXX); also in Jud. 7, 13 וְנִפְלְ הָאֱהָל is altogether redundant; in 1 Sam. 3, 13 read, with Klostermanu, the 2nd *sing. masc.* instead of וְהִגְדַּתִּי; in 1 Ki. 21, 12 וְהִשִּׁיבוּ is, no doubt, incorrectly repeated from verse 9, where it is an imperative.

100 Of other questionable instances, (a) the following, at any rate, may also be explained as frequentatives, Ex. 36, 38. 38, 28. 39, 3. 1 Sam. 5, 7. 17, 20. 24, 11 (but even so וְאָמַר would be expected); Is. 28, 26 (parallel with an imperfect); Amos 5, 26 (unless it is rather, *yea, ye shall take up*; see above, letter *x*); Ps. 26, 3. Ezra 8, 36.

101 (β) A longer or constant continuance in a past state is perhaps represented by the perfect with ׀ (as a variety of the frequentative perfect with ׀), in Gen. 15, 6. 34, 5. Num. 21, 20; also, according to Driver, especially Jos. 15, 3-11. 16, 2-8 (ultimately parallel with an imperfect, as in 17, 9 and 18, 20); 18, 12-21. 19, 11-14. 22, 26-29. 34; moreover, 1 Sam. 1, 12. 25, 20 (both times וְהָיָה); Is. 22, 14. Jer. 3, 9.

102 (γ) The following are due to errors in the text, or to incorrect modes of expression: Gen. 21, 25. Ex. 36, 29 sq. Jud. 3, 23². 16, 18. 1 Sam. 4, 19. 17, 38. 2 Sam. 16, 5. 19, 18 sq. (read וְיַעֲבֹר and וְצָלְחוּ. 1 Ki. 3, 11 (where וְשָׂאֵלֶת is, no doubt intentionally, assimilated to the four other perfects); 13, 3. 20, 21. 21, 12 (unless the imperative קָרָאוּ, &c., is intended); 2 Ki. 14, 7 (where, with Stade, וְאֶת־הַפֶּלַע תִּבְשֵׁשׁ should be read); 14, 14. 18, 4 (where, at any rate, וְשָׂבַר might be taken as a frequentative, but not וּכְרַת, &c.; evidently the perfects are co-ordinated only in form with הָיָא הַקִּיר); Jer. 37, 15 (where וְהָבֵנוּ, but not וְנִתְּנוּ, might be frequentative); Ezek. 20, 22 (וְהַשְׁבַּתִּי *Mil'el* before an imperfect consecutive); Amos 7, 4 (וְאִכְלָה after an imperfect consecutive); Job 16, 12.

103 Finally, in 1 Sam. 10, 9. 17, 48. 2 Sam. 6, 16. 2 Ki. 3, 15. Jer. 37, 11. Amos 7, 2 וְהָיָה is to be read throughout instead of וְהָיָה, but in Gen. 38, 5 וְהָיָה with the LXX.

¹ According to Stade, *ZAW.* v. 291 sqq., where he discusses, in connexion with 2 Ki. 12, 12, a number of critically questionable perfects with ׀, the whole section, 2 Ki. 23, 4 from וְנִשְׂאָה to verse 5 inclusive, is to be regarded as a gloss, since the continuation of an imperfect consecutive by means of a perfect with ׀ never occurs in pre-exilic documents, except in places where it is due to corruption of the original text. At the same time, the possibility of frequentative perfects consecutive (even immediately after imperfects consecutive), which has been supported above, letters *f* and *g*, by a large number of examples, does not appear to have been taken into account. In 2 Ki. 23, 5 also וְהִשְׁבִּיתִי, verse 8 וְנִתְּנִין, and verse 14 וְשָׂבַר may, at any rate, be understood as representing repeated actions.

² Or does וְנָעַל, as a frequentative, imply fastening with several bolts? It is, at all events, to be noticed, that in 2 Sam. 13, 18 also וְנָעַל follows an imperfect consecutive.

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., Leipzig, 1889.

1. The infinitive absolute is employed according to § 45 to *a* emphasize the idea of the verb *in the abstract*, i. e. it speaks of an action (or condition) without any regard to the agent or to the conditions 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, may form part of certain combinations (as a subject, predicate, or object, or even as a genitive¹, 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.

Examples of the use of the infinitive absolute :—

(a) As subject, Prov. 25, 27 **אֲכַל דְּבֶשׂ הַרְבוֹת לֹא טוֹב** *it is not good to eat much honey*; Jer. 10, 5. Job 6, 25. Eccles. 4, 17; as an explanation of a demonstrative pronoun, Is. 58, 5 sq. Zech. 14, 12.

(b) As predicate, Is. 32, 17 **הַשְׁקֵט וְבִטָּח** *quietness (is) quietness* (prop. *to find rest*) and *confidence*. *c*

(c) As object, Is. 1, 17 **לְמַדְרֵי הַיָּטֵב** *learn to do well*; Is. 7, 15. Prov. 15, 12; *d* according to the sense also Jer. 9, 23, 23, 14, as well as Is. 5, 5 (**פְּרִיץ** and **הָסִיר**) virtually depend on the idea of the wish contained in **עֲשֵׂה**; Is. 22, 13, where a long series of infinitives absolute is governed by **הִנֵּה**, and 59, 13 (six infinitives governed by **יִרְעֲנוּם** in verse 12); Deut. 28, 56 is strange since the object precedes the infinitive absolute which governs it², also Is. 42, 24, where the statement of place precedes the infinitive absolute.—In Jer. 9, 4. Job 13, 3 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, 20. Jer. 49, 23), so also in Lam. 3, 45 where it is the remoter object and co-ordinated with a substantive.

(d) As genitive, Is. 14, 23 **בְּמִטְאָטָא הַשְּׂמִד** *with the besom of destruction*; *e* so perhaps also 4, 4 **בְּרוּחַ בָּעָר**; comp. further, Prov. 1, 3. 21, 16. The infinitive

¹ The infinitive absolute can never be joined with a genitive or a pronominal suffix.

² Perhaps **הִצִּג** according to § 53. *k* should be explained as an infinitive construct, or should be written **הִצִּג**.

absolute is never used in immediate connexion with prepositions¹ (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 Sam. 22, 13 בַּתְּתִיק לֹא לָהֶם . . . וְשָׂאֵל לוֹ בְּאַלְהִים *in that thou hast given him bread . . . and hast enquired of God for him*; Ezek. 36, 3; 1 Sam. 25, 26. 33 (after מִן); after לְ Ex. 32, 6. Jer. 7, 18. 44, 17.

f (e) Governing an accusative of the object, e. g. Is. 22, 13 הָרַג בְּקֶר וְשָׁחַט צֹאן *slaying oxen and killing sheep*; comp. Ex. 20, 8. 23, 30. Deut. 5, 12. Is. 37, 19, and of the examples in *a-d*, Deut. 28, 56. Is. 5, 5. 58, 6 sq. Prov. 25, 27, &c.; followed by a preposition, e. g. Is. 7, 15 מָאֹס בָּרַע וּבָחַר בְּטוֹב *to refuse the evil and choose the good*; Prov. 15, 12 (הוֹכִיחַ לוֹ).

g If the object be a personal pronoun, then, since the infinitive absolute can never be united with a suffix (see above, note on letter *a*), it is affixed by means of the accusative-sign אֶת (את), e. g. Jer. 9, 23 וְיָדוּעַ אֶתִּי *and knoweth me*; Ezek. 36, 3.

h 2. Analogous to the use of the infinitive absolute as the accusative of the object, mentioned in letter *d*, is its employment as a *casus adverbialis*² 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 condition has taken place, or is taking place, or will take place; e. g. Jer. 22, 19 *he shall be buried with the burial of an ass*, קָחוּב וְהִשְׁלֵךְ *a drawing and casting forth*, i. e. being drawn and cast forth, &c.; Gen. 21, 16 (הִרְהַק *a removing*, i. e. distant; comp. Ex. 33, 7. Jos. 3, 16); Gen. 30, 32. Ex. 30, 36. Num. 6, 5. 23. 15, 35 (where a subject is added subsequently; see below, letter *gg*); Jos. 3, 17. 1 Sam. 3, 12 (הַחֵל וְכִלָּה *a beginning and ending*, i. e. from beginning to end); 2 Sam. 8, 2. Is. 7, 11 (הַעֲמִק and הַגְבִּיהַ, prop. *a making deep . . .*, and *a making high*, i. e. whether thy request extend to the world below or to the height above); 57, 17 (הִסְתֵּיר *in hiding*, sc. my face); Jer. 3, 15 (הָעֵה וְהַשְׂבִּיל *with knowledge and understanding*); Hab. 3, 13 (עָרוֹת, comp. for the form § 75. *aa*); Zech. 7, 3. Ps. 35, 16 (תְּרַק, to define more precisely קָרָעִי verse 15); Job 15, 3³.

¹ ואחרי שְׂתָה 1 Sam. 1, 9 is impossible Hebrew, and as the LXX shows, a late addition.

² 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.

³ Also in 2 Ki. 21, 13 for מָחָה וְהָפַךְ read with Stade and Klostermann מָחָה וְהָפַךְ.

Rem. 1. To an adverbial infinitive absolute of this kind, there may further ⁱ be added a *casus adverbialis* (the accusative of state or condition), or even a circumstantial clause, to define more exactly the manner in which the action is performed, e.g. Is. 20, 2 *and he did so* הָלַךְ עָרוֹם וְיָחָף *walking naked and barefoot*, prop. in the condition of one naked, &c.; Is. 30, 14 *a breaking in pieces* (acc. to the reading בְּתוֹת; the Masora requires בְּתוֹת) *without sparing*.

2. A few infinitives of this kind, all of which are in Hiph'il, have, through ^k frequent use, come to be treated by the language as simple adverbs; so especially הֵרִיבָה (comp. § 75. ff) *multum faciendo*, i. e. *multum*, very frequently strengthened by מְאֹד *very* and even used without connexion with a finite verb (see the Lexicon); also הֵיטֵב *bene faciendo*, i. e. *bene*, used especially to express the careful and thorough performance of an action (e.g. Deut. 13, 15); in Deut. 9, 21. 27, 8 it is added exegetically to another adverbial infinitive absolute, in Jon. 4, 9 it twice precedes the verb for the sake of emphasis. Finally, הַשְׁבִּים *mane faciendo*, i. e. *early in the morning*, then in general *early* with the additional idea of earnestness; in 1 Sam. 17, 16 joined with the infinitive absolute וְהָעֶרֶב a denominative from עָרַב *evening* (*morning and evening*, i. e. *early and late*), elsewhere (with the exception of Prov. 27, 14) always joined with the infinitive absolute of the governing verb, e.g. Jer. 11, 7 *for I earnestly protested* (הָעֵרַתִּי) *unto your fathers . . .* הַשְׁבִּים וְהָעֵר *rising early and protesting*, i. e. with earnest protestation; Jer. 25, 3. 26, 5 (where ^l should be omitted before ה); Jer. 29, 19. 32, 33. 2 Chron. 16, 15.

3. The infinitive absolute occurs most frequently in immediate ^l 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*¹.

These infinitives absolute joined immediately to the finite verb belong in a sense ^{ll} 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; comp. e.g. Ex. 22, 22 אִם יִצְעַק יִצְעַק אֵלַי *if it actually happens that he cries to me*, with Gen. 27, 34 (as it were, *he cried*, so that a great cry was heard).

We must further distinguish—

(a) The infinitive absolute used *before* the verb to strengthen the ^{ll} 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

¹ Comp. A. Rieder, *Die Verbindung des Inf. abs. mit dem Verb. fin. desselben Stammes im Hebr.*, Leipz., 1872; also his *Quae ad syntaxin Hebraicam, qua infini. abs. cum verbo fin. eiusdem radicis coniungitur, 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.

a corresponding adverb, but sometimes merely by putting greater stress on the verb; e.g. Gen. 2, 17 מוֹת תָּמוּת *thou shalt surely die*, comp. 18, 10. 18. 22, 17. 28, 22. 1 Sam. 9, 6 (*cometh surely to pass*); 24, 21. Am. 5, 5. 7, 17. Hab. 2, 3. Zech. 11, 17; with the infinitive strengthened by אָף Gen. 44, 28 (but 27, 30 *and Jacob was yet scarce gone out, &c.*); Gen. 43, 3 הָעֵד הָעֵד בָּנֵנוּ *he did solemnly protest unto us*; 1 Sam. 20, 6 נִשְׂאֵל נִשְׂאֵל (אֶל) *David earnestly asked leave of me*; Jos. 17, 13, Jud. 1, 28 וְהוֹרִישׁ לֹא הוֹרִישׁוּ *and did not utterly drive them out*; especially typical instances are Am. 9, 8 *I will destroy it from off the face of the earth* וְגַ' לֹא הִשְׁמִיד אֶשְׁמִיד *saving that I will not utterly destroy, &c.*; Jer. 30, 11 *and will in no wise leave thee unpunished*; comp. further Gen. 20, 18. 1 Ki. 3, 26. Joel 1, 7. Job 13, 5.

o The infinitive absolute is used before the verb with less emphasis:

(1) Frequently at the beginning of the statement; cf. Driver on 1 Sam. 20, 6. However, in these cases a special emphasis on the following verb is sometimes intended; cf. above, letter *n*, on Gen. 43, 3. 1 Sam. 20, 6; also Gen. 3, 16. 26, 28. 32, 17. 1 Sam. 14, 28. 20, 3. 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 Gen. 15, 13. 43, 7. 20. Jud. 9, 8. 1 Sam. 10, 16. 23, 10. 2 Sam. 1, 6. 20, 18.

(2) Very frequently in conditional sentences after אִם, &c. The infinitive absolute in this case emphasizes the importance of the condition on which some consequence depends, e.g. Ex. 15, 26 *if thou wilt diligently hearken, &c.*, Ex. 19, 5. 21, 5. 22, 3. 11 sq. 16. 22 (see above, letter *m*); 23, 22. Num. 21, 2. 1 Sam. 1, 11. 12, 25; after לִי 1 Sam. 14, 30.

p The infinitive absolute is used to give emphasis to an antithesis, e.g. 2 Sam. 24, 24 *nay; but I will verily buy (קָנִי אֶקְנֶה) it of thee, &c.* (not receive it as a gift); Jud. 15, 13 *no; but we will bind thee fast . . . but surely we will not kill thee*; comp. further Gen. 31, 30 (thou art indeed gone =) *though thou wouldst needs be gone (Vulg. esto), because thou sore longedst, &c.*; Ps. 118, 13. 18. 126, 6 (the second infinitive absolute as a supplement to the first—see below, letter *r*—comes after the verb).—Hence also, as permissive, Gen. 2, 16 sq. אָכַל תֹּאכַל *thou mayest freely eat, but, &c.* (so that verse 16 is in antithesis to verse 17); or concessive, 1 Sam. 2, 30 *I said indeed . . .*, 14, 43.

The infinitive absolute is used to strengthen a question, and especially in impassioned or indignant questions, e. g. Gen. 37, 8 *עָלֵינוּ תִּמְלֹךְ הַתְּמָלֶךְ* shalt thou indeed reign over us? Gen. 37, 10. 43, 7. Jud. 11, 25. 1 Sam. 2, 27. 2 Sam. 19, 43. Jer. 3, 1. 13, 12. Ezek. 28, 9. Amos 3, 5. Zech. 7, 5; but comp. also Gen. 24, 5 *מִי מֵעַתָּה יָבִיאוּ אֵת אֵלֵינוּ* must I needs bring again?

(b) The infinitive absolute *after the verb*, sometimes (as in letter n) to intensify¹ the idea of the verb (especially after imperatives and participles, since the infinitive absolute can never precede either, e. g. Num. 11, 15. Job 13, 17. 21, 2. 37, 2 *שְׁמַעוּ שָׂמוּעַ* hearken ye attentively; Jer. 22, 10; after participles, e. g. Is. 22, 17, also elsewhere, e. g. Num. 23, 11. 24, 10 *וְעַתָּה בְּרַכְתְּמוּ אֶת יְהוָה* thou hast altogether blessed them; Jos. 24, 10. 2 Ki. 5, 11. Dan. 11, 10, and with the infinitive absolute strengthened by means of *מְ* Gen. 31, 15. 46, 4. Num. 16, 13); sometimes to express the long *continuance* of an action; here again after an imperative, Is. 6, 9 *שְׁמַעוּ שָׂמוּעַ* hear ye continually; after a perfect, Jer. 6, 29; after a participle, Jer. 23, 17; after an imperfect consecutive, Gen. 19, 9. Num. 11, 32.

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 Sam. 6, 12 *וְלֹבְנוּ וְלֹבְנוּ* loving as they went (loving continually; so after a participle, Jos. 6, 13 *b Q'ré'*); Gen. 8, 7 *וַיֵּצֵא אֱלֹהִים אֶת נֹחַ וְאֶת אֲרָם וְאֶת שֵׁם וְאֶת חָם וְאֶת יָפֶת* it went forth to and fro²; Is. 19, 22 *וְיָצְאֵם וְיָצְאֵם* smiting and (i. e. but also) healing again; Joel 2, 26 (see above, letter m).

Rem. 1. Instead of a second infinitive absolute (see above) there is sometimes found a perfect consecutive (Jos. 6, 13 *a* and 2 Sam. 13, 19, in both places as perfect frequentative; Is. 31, 5 referring to the future, unless with Stade, *ZAW.* vi. 189, we read *וְהָיָה וְהָיָה*), or an imperfect consecutive (1 Sam. 19, 23. 2 Sam. 16, 13) or participle (2 Sam. 16, 5); comp. also letter *u*.

2. The idea of long *continuance* is very frequently expressed by the verb *הָלַךְ* 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, 13. 1 Sam. 6, 12. 2 Sam. 13, 19; comp. also, Is. 3, 16, where both infinitives stand *before* the verb, and Ps. 126, 6, where *הָלַךְ* precedes),

¹ In Arabic also, the intensifying infinitive regularly stands *after* the verb, but in Syriac *before* the verb.

² Also in Ezek. 1, 14 for the involved form *וַיֵּצֵא וַיֵּצֵא* read simply *וַיֵּצֵא*.

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, letter *t*) in a participle or verbal adjective. Examples, Gen. 8, 3 הַלֹּךְ וְשׁוֹב . . . הַיַּמִּים וַיָּשׁוּבוּ הַמַּיִם and the waters returned . . . continually; Gen. 8, 5. 12, 9. Jud. 14, 9. 2 Ki. 2, 11; with a participle following, Jer. 41, 6 (unless we read וּבָכָה, as in 2 Sam. 3, 16); with an adjective following, Gen. 26, 13. Jud. 4, 24. 1 Sam. 14, 19. 2 Sam. 5, 10 (1 Chron. 11, 9). 2 Sam. 18, 25¹.

On the other hand, in 1 Sam. 17, 41 the participle הִלֵּךְ is used instead of the infinitive absolute; of a different kind are the instances in which the participle הִלֵּךְ is used as predicate along with the co-ordinate adjective (Ex. 19, 19. 1 Sam. 2, 26. 2 Sam. 3, 1. 15, 12. Est. 9, 4. 2 Chron. 17, 12) or participle (1 Sam. 17, 12. Jon. 1, 11. Prov. 4, 18).

3. The regular place of the negative is between the intensifying infinitive absolute and the finite verb², e.g. Ex. 5, 23 וְהִצַּל לְאִתְּעַמְךָ neither hast thou delivered thy people at all, Jud. 15, 13. Jer. 13, 12. 30, 11; comp. Mic. 1, 10 (אֵל). Exceptions are Gen. 3, 4 (where the negation of the threat pronounced in 2, 17 is expressed in the same form of words); Amos 9, 8. Ps. 49, 8.

4. With a finite verb of one of the derived conjugations, not only the infinitive absolute of the same conjugation may be connected (Gen. 28, 22 Pi'el; 17, 13. Ex. 22, 3. Ezek. 14, 3 Niph'al; Gen. 40, 15 Pu'al; Hos. 4, 18 Hiph'il; Ezek. 16, 4 Hoph'al), but also (especially with Niph'al, rarely with Pi'el and Hiph'il; see Driver on 2 Sam. 20, 18) that of *Qal* as the simplest and most general representative of the verbal idea, 2 Sam. 20, 18 (with Pi'el), Gen. 44, 28 (with Pu'al; but in Gen. 37, 33 טָרַף is a passive of *Qal*, § 52. e); 46, 4 (with Hiph'il); Ex. 19, 13. 21, 20. 2 Sam. 23, 7. Is. 40, 30. Jer. 10, 5. Job 6, 2 (with Niph'al); Is. 24, 19 (with Hithpo'el; רָעָה in the same verse must, 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, Lev. 19, 20. 2 Ki. 3, 23 (Hoph'al for Niph'al); 1 Sam. 2, 16 (Pi'el for Hiph'il, unless יִקְטְרוּ is to be read); Ezek. 16, 4 (Hoph'al for Pu'al)³. Finally, the infinitive absolute may equally well be represented by a substantive of kindred stem⁴, 1 Sam. 1, 6. Is. 24, 16. 22. 35, 2 (אֶרֶץ-גִּילָת); Jer. 46, 5. Ezek. 25, 15.

¹ Comp. in French, *Le mal va toujours croissant, la maladie va toujours en augmentant et en empirant*, 'continually increases and becomes worse and worse.'

² Comp. Rieder, *Quo loco ponantur negationes לֹא et אֵל, coniunctio ׀, particula ׀, cum coniuncta leguntur cum infin., quem absolutum grammatici vocant, verbo finito eiusdem radices addito* (*Zeitschrift für Gymn.-Wesen*, 1879, p. 395 sqq.).

³ In three passages even the infinitive absolute of another stem kindred in sound occurs; but in Is. 28, 28 אָרִישׁ is no doubt a mere textual error for רָוֵשׁ, and in Jer. 8, 13, according to § 72. aa, we should read אֶסְפָּם, and in Zeph. 1, 2 אֶסְפָּ.

⁴ On these substantives (and on the use of the infinitive absolute generally as absolute object, see above, letter *m*), cf. the *schema etymologicum* treated in connexion with the government of the verb in § 117. p.

27, 35. Mic. 4, 9. Hab. 3, 9. Job 27, 12.—In Is. 29, 14 the substantive intensifying the verb is found *along with* the infinitive absolute.

5. Instead of the infinitive absolute immediately connected with the finite verb, an infinitive construct form appears (cf. § 73. *d*), in Num. 23, 25 (גַּם לֵב; comp. Ruth 2, 16 שָׁלַל; Jer. 50, 34 (רִיב יָרִיב); Prov. 23, 1 (פִּינֵי תִבְיִן)). 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 Ki. 3, 24 וַיָּבֵאוּ בָּא וַיִּבְּאוּ (read so with the LXX) before א, hence, no doubt due to the dislike of a hiatus; so in Ps. 50, 21. Neh. 1, 7 (חִבַּל), all in rapid style; after the verb, Jos. 7, 7, unless הֶעֱבִיר is intended.

4. Finally the infinitive absolute frequently appears as a *substitute* *y* for the finite verb, either when it is sufficient to mention simply the verbal idea (see letter *z*), or when the hurrying or otherwise excited discourse intentionally contents itself with this infinitive, in order to bring out the verbal idea in a clearer and more expressive manner (see letter *aa*).

(*a*) The infinitive absolute as the continuation of a preceding finite *z* verb. In the later Books especially it frequently happens that in a succession of several acts only the first (but sometimes several) of the verbs is inflected, while the second (or third, &c.) is added simply in the infinitive absolute. Thus after several perfects, Dan. 9, 5 (comp. 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, 7 (?). 1 Sam. 2, 28. Is. 37, 19. Jer. 14, 5. 19, 13. Hag. 1, 6 (four infinitives). Zech. 3, 4. 7, 5. Eccles. 8, 9. 9, 11. Est. 3, 13. 9, 6. 12, 6 sqq. Neh. 9, 8. 13. 1 Chron. 5, 20. 2 Chron. 28, 19¹; after the perfect consecutive, Zech. 12, 10; after the perfect frequentative, 1 Ki. 9, 25 (unless וְהִקְטִיר be intended); after the simple imperfect, Lev. 25, 14. Num. 30, 3. Jer. 32, 44 (three infinitives). 36, 23. 1 Chron. 21, 24; after the imperfect consecutive, Gen. 41, 43 (as a continuation of וַיִּרְכַּב); Ex. 8, 11. Jud. 7, 19. Jer. 37, 21. Neh. 8, 8. 1 Chron. 16, 36. 2 Chron. 7, 3; with אִו or after the jussive, Deut. 14, 21. Est. 2, 2. 6, 9; after the imperative, Is. 37, 30^b. Amos 4, 4 sq.; after the participle, Hab. 2, 15 (strengthened by אָף, and regarded, like the participle itself, as an adverbial accusative); Est. 8, 8.

(*b*) At the beginning of the narrative, or at least of a new section *aa*

¹ In Ezek. 7, 14 a perfect is continued by means of an infinitive construct; it is, however, plain that the text is wholly corrupt; Cornill reads הִקְעוּ תִקְעוּ הִכְנוּ הִכְנוּ.

of it. The special form of the finite verb which the infinitive absolute represents must be determined from the context. The infinitive absolute is most frequently used in this way, corresponding to the infinitive of command in Greek, &c.¹:—

- bb* (a) For an emphatic imperative, e.g. שָׁמֹר (thou shalt, ye shall) *observe* Deut. 5, 12; זָכוֹר (thou shalt) *remember* Ex. 13, 3. 20, 8 (the full form of expression occurs in Deut. 6, 17 הִשָּׁמְרֶהוּ; 7, 18 וְזָכַר תִּזְכֹּר); Lev. 2, 6. Num. 4, 2. 25, 17. Deut. 1, 16. 2 Ki. 5, 10. Is. 38, 5. Jer. 2, 2, followed by a perfect consecutive; Jos. 1, 13. 2 Ki. 3, 16. Is. 7, 4. 14, 31 (parallel with an imperative; in Nah. 2, 2 three imperatives follow). But הִבִּיט Ps. 142, 5 may be only an incorrect spelling of הִבִּיט imperative².
- cc* (β) For the jussive, Lev. 6, 7. Num. 6, 5. 2 Ki. 11, 15. Ezek. 23, 46; comp. also Prov. 17, 12 (*let it rather meet*).
- dd* (γ) For the cohortative, 1 Ki. 22, 30 (2 Chron. 18, 29), I will *disguise myself, and go into the battle*; Is. 22, 13 בִּזְמַנְךָ אֶכְבֹּל אֶשְׁתּוּ (the exclamation of the mocker); Ezek. 21, 31. 23, 30. 46; perhaps also Jer. 31, 2 (הֲלֹינָה). Jos. 9, 20, co-ordinated by means of וְ with a cohortative³.
- ce* (δ) For the imperfect in emphatic promises, e.g. 2 Ki. 4, 43 ye shall *eat and leave thereof*; 19, 29 (Is. 37, 30). 2 Chron. 31, 10; also in indignant questions, Job 40, 2 *shall he that cavilleth contend with the Almighty*⁴? (on the addition of the subject comp. the Rem. below); Jer. 3, 1 *and thinkest thou to return again to me*? Jer. 7, 9 sqq. (six infinitives, continued by means of the perfect consecutive; comp. § 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

¹ Comp. also such infinitives in French as *voir* (page so and so, &c.), *s'adresser . . . , se méfier des voleurs!*

² In Ezek. 21, 31, for the infinitives construct הָסִיר, הָרִים, הַשְׁבִּיל (beside הַגְּבֵהָ) read with Cornill the infinitives absolute הָסֵר, &c. The K^{thibh} probably intends הָסִיר, &c.

³ In 2 Sam. 3, 18 the infinitive construct appears instead of the cohortative, but הוֹשִׁיעַ should certainly be read for הוֹשִׁיעַ.

⁴ In Job 34, 18 in a similar question instead of the infinitive constr. we should rather expect the infinitive absolute (הָאָמַר), unless with the LXX and Vulg. the participle הָאָמַר is to be read.

place in present time, e.g. Hos. 4, 2 *swearing and breaking faith, and killing, and stealing, and committing adultery* (in these they are busied); 10, 4 (after a perfect); Is. 21, 5. 59, 4. Jer. 8, 15. 14, 19. Job 15, 35; comp. further Jer. 32, 33. Eccles. 4, 2.—In Ezek. 23, 30. Prov. 12, 7. 15, 22 and 25, 4, the infinitive absolute is best rendered by the passive.

Rem. The subject is sometimes added to the infinitive absolute when it takes *gg* the place of the finite verb, e.g. Lev. 6, 7. Deut. 15, 2. Prov. 17, 12. Job 40, 2. Eccles. 4, 2. Est. 9, 1 (so, probably, also in Gen. 17, 10. Ex. 12, 48, although here *כְּלִי-זָכָר* according to § 121. *a* might also be taken as *an object* with a passive verb; comp. Est. 3, 13); the subject follows an adverbial infinitive absolute in Num. 15, 35 (see above, letter *h*) and Ps. 17, 5; and in 1 Sam. 25, 26. 33 it follows an infinitive absolute which is co-ordinated with an infinitive construct, see above, letter *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 (comp. § 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. Gen. 2, 18 *לֹא-טוֹב הָיְוֹת לְבָדָד* *הָאָדָם*, literally, *not good is the being of man in his separation*; Gen. 30, 15. 1 Sam. 23, 20. Is. 7, 13. Prov. 17, 26. 25, 7. 24 (but comp. 21, 9 *טוֹב לְשָׁבֶת* in the same statement); Ps. 32, 9, prop. *there is not a coming near unto thee*, but the text is probably corrupt. With a *feminine* predicate, 1 Sam. 18, 23. Jer. 2, 17.

(*b*) As genitive, e.g. Eccles. 3, 4 *עַתַּת כְּפֹרֵד וְעַתַּת רִקּוֹד* *a time of mourning and a time of dancing*; Gen. 2, 17. 29, 7. Neh. 12, 46. 2 Chron. 24, 14. This equally includes, according to § 101. *a*, all those cases in which the infinitive construct depends on a preposition (see below, letter *d*).

(*c*) As accusative of the object, e.g. 1 Ki. 3, 7 *לֹא אֲדַע צֵאת וְבֵאת* *I know not the going out or the coming in* (*I know not how to go out and come in*); Gen. 21, 6. 31, 28. Num. 20, 21. Is. 1, 14. 37, 28 (even with *אֵת*). Jer. 6, 15. Job 15, 22 (comp. for the use of the infinitive absolute as object, § 113. *f*); as accusative with a verb expressing fullness, Is. 11, 9.

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. Num. 35, 19 בְּפָגְעוֹ-בּוֹ *in his meeting him*, i. e. if (as soon as) he meets him; Gen. 27, 45 (עַד-שִׁיב) *because ye despise*; Jer. 2, 35 עַל-אָמַרְךָ *because thou sayest*; Gen. 27, 1 and his eyes were dim מֵרְאָתָא *from seeing*, i. e. so that he could not see.

e This use of the infinitive construct is especially frequent in connexion with בְּ 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 Sam. 2, 27 בְּהִיוֹתְכֶם בְּמִצְרַיִם *when they were in Egypt*; Gen. 24, 30 וַיְהִי כִּרְאֹת אֶת-הַחֲנָוִים . . . וּבְשִׁמְעוֹ וּג' *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. 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. Gen. 11, 5 and the Lord came down, לְרְאֹת אֶת-הָעִיר *to see the city*; also with a change of subject, e. g. 2 Sam. 12, 10 and thou hast taken the wife of Uriah the Hittite לְהִיֹּת לָךְ לְאִשָּׁה *to be (i. e. that she may be) thy wife*; comp. Gen. 28, 4. Jer. 38, 26 (לְמֹת).—If there is a special emphasis on the infinitive with לְ, it is placed, with its complement, before the governing verb, e. g. Gen. 42, 9. 47, 4. Num. 22, 20. Jos. 2, 3. 1 Sam. 16, 2 (cf. Driver on the passage) with בּוֹא; Jud. 15, 10. 1 Sam. 17, 25 with עָלָה.

¹ Comp. § 45. g, according to which the close union of the לְ with the first consonant of the infinitive (לְכַתֵּב with a firmly closed syllable, as opposed to בְּכַתֵּב, בְּכַתֵּב, &c.) seems to point to the formation of a special new verbal form. Quite distinct are the few examples where the infinitive with לְ serves to express time, as Gen. 24, 63 לְפָנוֹת עֶרֶב *at the eventide* (prop. at the time of the return of evening); comp. Deut. 23, 12; Ex. 14, 27. Jud. 19, 26; 2 Sam. 18, 29 *when Joab sent the king's servant*.

2. Just as clearly the idea of aiming at a definite purpose or turning towards an object may be seen in the combination of the verb הָיָה *to be*, with לְ and an infinitive. In fact הָיָה לַעֲשׂוֹת may mean, either (a) *he was in the act of, he was about to* (as it were, he set himself), *he was ready, to do something*, or (b) *he or it was appointed or compelled, &c., to do the action in question*. In the latter case הָיָה לַעֲשׂוֹת corresponds to the Latin *faciendum erat*, comp. also the English *I am to give*. In both cases הָיָה (as elsewhere when copula) is often omitted.

Examples of (a) Gen. 15, 12 וַיְהִי הַשָּׁמֶשׁ לָבוֹא *and when the sun was going down* (just about to set); 2 Chron. 26, 5 וַיְהִי לְרַשׁ אֱלֹהִים *and he set himself to seek God* (here with the secondary idea of a continuous action); with the omission of הָיָה Is. 38, 20, יְהוָה לְהוֹשִׁיעַנִי *the Lord is ready to save me*; 1 Sam. 14, 21 (?). Jer. 51, 49. Ps. 25, 14 (*et foedus suum manifestaturus est eis*); Prov. 18, 24 (?). 19, 8 (לְמַצָּא *consecuturus est*); 20, 25. Eccles. 3, 15 לְהַיּוֹת אֲשֶׁר *quod futurum est*; 2 Chron. 11, 22. 12, 12 (in a negative statement); in a question, Est. 7, 8 (*will he even . . . ?*). Comp. also 1 Sam. 4, 19.

Of (b) Jos. 2, 5 וַיְהִי הַשַּׁעַר לְסֹגֹר *and the gate was to be shut* (had to be shut); Is. 37, 26. Ps. 109, 13¹. Mostly with the omission of הָיָה, e.g. 2 Ki. 4, 13 וּנְיָ מָה לַעֲשׂוֹת לָךְ *what is to be done for thee?* (הֵיטָ לְרַב־רָךְ) *wouldst thou be* (lit. is it to be) *spoken for to the king, &c.?* 2 Ki. 13, 19 לְהַכּוֹת *it was to smite* equivalent to *thou shouldst have smitten*; Is. 5, 4. 10, 32. Ps. 32, 9. 68, 19 (?). Job 30, 6 (*habitandum est iis*). 1 Chron. 9, 25. 22, 5. 2 Chron. 8, 13 (?). 36, 19 (?). Hos. 9, 13. Hab. 1, 17. In a question 2 Chron. 19, 2.

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 Sam. 18, 11 וּנְיָ לָךְ עָלַי לָתֵת *it was upon me, i. e. it would have been my duty to give thee, &c.*²; comp. Mic. 3, 1 (2 Chron. 13, 5) *is it not for you to* (i. e. are ye not bound to)³? with a negative, 2 Chron. 26, 18 לֹא לָךְ וּנְיָ *it pertaineth not unto thee, Uzziah, to burn incense unto the Lord, but only to the priests*; also לֹא אִין לְ with an infinitive expresses *it is not permitted* (nefas est), *may not*, e.g. Est. 4, 2 אִין לְבוֹא *for none might enter*; 8, 8. 1 Chron. 15, 2⁴; לְ אִין לְ with an infinitive is used in a somewhat different sense, equivalent to *it is not*

¹ Somewhat different are the cases where הָיָה with the infinitive (which is then used exactly as a substantive) implies *to become something*, i. e. to meet with a particular fate, as Num. 24, 22 (comp. Is. 5, 5. 6, 13) לְבַעַר *for wasting*, for which elsewhere frequently לְשַׂמָּה and the like; probably also לְבַלּוֹת Ps. 49, 15 is to be explained in this way, the הָיָה being omitted.

² 2 Sam. 4, 10 (*cui dandum erat mihi*) appears to be similar; it may, however, be better, with Wellhausen, to omit the אֲשֶׁר.

³ But in 1 Sam. 23, 20 after וּלְנֵנוּ *and our part shall be* the infinitive without לְ stands as the subject of the sentence.

⁴ Quite different of course are such cases as Is. 37, 3 אִין לְלָרָה *and there is not strength to bring forth*; comp. Num. 20, 5. Ruth 4, 4.

feasible, not possible, e. g. in Ps. 40, 6. Eccles. 3, 14. 2 Chron. 5, 11¹.—With either meaning לא can be used instead of אין, e. g. Amos 6, 10 להִּזְבִּיר לא nefas est, to make mention of the name of the Lord: but Jud. 1, 19 for it was not possible to drive out, &c., perhaps, however, the text originally stood as in Jos. 17, 12 'לא יבְלֹוּ לָהּ'; 1 Chron. 15, 2.

3. A further class comprises the very numerous cases, in which the infinitive with ל is used as the object² of a governing verb (hence, again, the direction which an action takes). The verbs (or conjugations) which occur most frequently in this combination with ל and the infinitive are: הִחַל (with an infinitive without ל, e. g. Deut. 2, 25. 31. Jos. 3, 7), הוֹאִיל to begin, הוֹסִיף, הוֹסִיף, (prop. to add) to continue, very frequently, even in prose, with an infinitive without ל, as Gen. 4, 12. 8, 10. 12. 37, 5. 1 Sam. 3, 8. Job 27, 1, &c.; תָּרַל to cease from, to desist; כָּלָה to complete, to make an end of; תָּמַם to be finished; הִקְרִיב to come near to, Gen. 12, 11; מָהֵר to hasten (with an infinitive without ל Ex. 2, 18); אָפָה to be willing (with an infinitive without ל Is. 28, 12. 30, 9. Job 39, 9); תִּפְּץ to will, to desire; מָאָן to refuse (to be unwilling); בִּקֵּשׁ to seek; יָכַל to be able (with an infinitive without ל, e. g. Gen. 24, 50. 37, 4. Ex. 18, 23. Job 4, 2); נָתַן with an accusative of the person in the sense of to give up some one, to cause, to permit something to be done, e. g. Gen. 20, 6. Ps. 16, 11 (with an infinitive without ל Job 9, 18), יָדַע to understand how to do something (in Job 3, 8 הַעֲתִידִים עָרַר is analogous); לָמַד to learn; קָוָה to expect (with a change of subject, e. g. Is. 5, 2 and he looked that it should bring forth grapes).

11 We must further mention here a number of verbs in Hiph'il (partly denominatives), which express an action in some definite direction (comp. § 53. f), as הִגְדִּיל to do greatly, הִשְׁבִּיל to make (it) low, הִנְבִּיֵה to make (it) high, הִעֲמִיק to make (it) deep, הִרְחִיק to make (it) far, distant, הִיטִיב to make (it) good (with an infinitive without ל Ps. 33, 3, but 1 Sam. 16, 17, in the same combination, with ל); הִשְׁבִּיחַ to do anything early (Ps. 127, 2, along with its opposite אָחַר to do something late, with an infinitive without ל); הִרְבָּה to make (it) much, הִפְלִא to make (it) wonderful (even with a passive infinitive 2 Chron. 26, 15)³, &c.

¹ In 2 Sam. 14, 19 אִישׁ (= יֵשׁ 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.

² This view is based upon the fact, that in numerous expressions of this kind (see the examples above) the ל may be omitted, and the infinitive consequently stand as an actual accusative of the object (see above, letter 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 ל; thus לא אָבוּ שְׁמוֹעַ Is. 28, 12 is equivalent to they desired not obeying; but לא אָבוּ לְשָׁמַע Ezek. 20, 8 rather expresses they could not make up their mind as to hearkening. When connected with ל, the governing verb has a more independent sense than when it directly governs the accusative of the object.

³ In almost all these examples the principal idea is properly contained in the infinitive, whilst the governing verb strictly speaking contains only a subordinate

4. Finally, the infinitive with הַ is very frequently used in a much looser connexion to state motives, accompanying circumstances, or otherwise to define more exactly. In English, such infinitive constructions must frequently be turned by *that* or a gerund; e. g. 1 Sam. 12, 17 לְשׂאֵל לָכֶם מֶלֶךְ in *asking you a king*; 14, 33. Gen. 3, 22. 34, 7. 15. Ex. 23, 2. Lev. 5, 4. 22. 26. 8, 15. Num. 14, 36. 1 Sam. 19, 5. 20, 36. 1 Ki. 2, 3 sq. 14, 8. Ps. 63, 3. 78, 18. 101, 8. 103, 20. 104, 14 sq. 111, 6. Prov. 2, 8. 8, 34. 18, 5. Neh. 13, 18. Sometimes the infinitive with הַ is used in this way simply by itself, e. g. 1 Chron. 12, 8 *as the roes upon the mountains* לְמַהֵר (as regards hastening) *in swiftness*; Gen. 2, 3. 2 Sam. 14, 25 (לְהַלָּל); Is. 21, 1 (לְחַלּוֹף); Joel 2, 26. Prov. 2, 2. 26, 2 and so very frequently the infinitive לְאָמַר *dicendo* which has become stereotyped as an adverb to introduce direct narration (in the sense of *thus, as follows*).

5. In a number of instances—especially in the later Books—the infin. constr. with הַ appears to be attached by *Wāw* (like the infinitive absolute, § 113. 2), 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, 29 (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; comp. 1 Sam. 25, 31 (otherwise in verses 26 and 33 where the infinitive absolute is used, see § 113. e); Ps. 104, 21¹. Job 34, 8. Eccles. 9, 1. Neh. 8, 13. 2 Chron. 7, 17.—In Lev. 10, 10 sq. וְלֹא תִשְׂבֹּךְ 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 Chron. 30, 9 וְלִשְׂבֹּךְ depends on the idea of receiving a favour which lies in לְרַחֲמֵים. On the other hand, in 1 Sam. 8, 12 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, 28 translate *and he* (Cyrus) *shall perform all my pleasure, even saying of Jerusalem, &c.*

adverbial statement, and is therefore best rendered in English by an adverb; e. g. Gen. 27, 20 *how is it that thou hast found it so quickly?* (prop. how thou hast hastened to find!), Gen. 31, 27 *wherefore didst thou flee secretly?* So frequently with הַרְבֵּה (= *often, abundantly*), Ex. 36, 5. 1 Sam. 1, 12. 2 Ki. 21, 6. Is. 55, 7. Am. 4, 4. Ps. 78, 38, &c.; with שׁוּב (= *again*), Deut. 30, 9. 1 Ki. 13, 17. Hos. 11, 9. Ezra 9, 14; cf. also 2 Sam. 19, 4. Jer. 1, 12. Jon. 4, 2 and the analogous instances in § 120. g; also 2 Ki. 2, 10 *thou hast asked a hard thing*.

¹ When Delitzsch on Ps. 104, 21, referring to Hab. 1, 17, 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 true in this and a few other places mentioned above; but all these passages, in which the infinitive with וְ follows, are to be distinguished from the cases treated above under letter *h*, where the infinitive with הַ without *Wāw* corresponds to a Latin gerundive, or is actually used to express the *coniugatio periphrastica*.

9 3. The period of time to which an action or occurrence represented by the infinitive construct belongs, must sometimes be inferred from the context, or the character of the subordinate tenses; comp. e.g. Gen. 2, 4 *these are the generations of the heaven and of the earth*, בְּהִבְרָאֵם *when they were created* (prop. in their being created); Jud. 6, 18 עַד-עֲרִבְאִי וְנָ' *until I come unto thee, and bring forth, &c.* Cf. 1 Sam. 18, 19 (= *when she should have been given*); 2 Ki. 2, 1. Hos. 7, 1.

1' Rem. 1. The constructions of the infinitive with a preposition, described above in letter *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 לֹא), Jer. 9, 12 *because they have forsaken* (עַל-עֲוֹבָם) *my law . . . וְלֹא שָׁמְעוּ* *and have not obeyed my voice*; Gen. 39, 10. 1 Sam. 24, 12. Amos 1, 9; without לֹא Job 28, 25; by a perfect with וְ (comp. § 112. *i* and *v*) Amos 1, 11 וְ עַל-רַפְּדוֹ וְנָ' *because he did pursue his brother with the sword, וְשָׁחַת* *and did cast off continually all pity* (a frequentative perfect; for examples of the perfect consecutive proper see Gen. 27, 45. Jud. 6, 18. 1 Sam. 10, 8. 2 Ki. 18, 32 [Is. 36, 17], always after עַד-עֲרִבְאִי *until I come*); by a simple imperfect, e.g. Prov. 1, 27 (after בָּ); Is. 30, 26 (after בַּיּוֹם *in the day*, a temporal phrase which has here become equivalent to a preposition); Is. 5, 24 (after בָּ). 10, 2. 13, 9. 14, 25. 45, 1. 49, 5. 1 Sam. 2, 8. Prov. 2, 8. 5, 2. 8, 21 (always after הִלֵּל)¹; by an imperfect consecutive, e.g. Gen. 39, 18 *and it came to pass*, וַאֲקָרָא בְּהִרְיָמִי קוֹלִי *as I lifted up my voice and cried, that . . .*; 1 Ki. 10, 9. Job 38, 13 (after הִלֵּל); 1 Ki. 18, 18. Is. 38, 9. Job 38, 7. 9 sqq. (after בָּ); Is. 30, 12. Jer. 7, 13. Ezek. 34, 8 (after יָעַן).

5 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*, Num. 35, 23. Prov. 19, 2), but by בְּלֹאִי, originally a substantive (see the Lexicon), with הֵלְּ prefixed (comp., however, Num. 14, 16 (מִבְּלֹאִי), e.g. Gen. 3, 11 לְבִלְתִּי אֲכַל מִמֶּנִּי *not to eat of it*; in a final sense, 4, 15 *lest any finding him should smite him*; only in 2 Ki. 23, 10 is הֵלְּ repeated before the infinitive. In Ps. 32, 9 (if the text be right) בִּלְ negatives, not the infinitive, but the predicate which is understood.

¹ 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.

§ 115. *Construction of the Infinitive Construct with Subject and Object.*

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 verbs¹ *the accusative of the object*, e. g. Num. 9, 15 אֶת־הַמִּשְׁכָּן בְּיוֹם הַקִּיּוֹם on the day the tabernacle was reared up; 1 Sam. 19, 1 לְהַמִּית אֶת־דָּוִד that they should slay David; Gen. 14, 17. 19, 29. Ex. 38, 27. 1 Ki. 12, 15. 15, 4; with a negative, e. g. Lev. 26, 15 לֹבְלֹתַי עֲשׂוֹת אֶת־כָּל־מִצְוֹתַי so that ye will not do all my commandments; with the accusative of the personal pronoun, e. g. Deut. 29, 12 לְמַעַן הָקִים־אֹתְךָ that he may establish thee; Gen. 25, 26. Jer. 24, 7; with a verbal suffix, e. g. Ex. 2, 14 לְהַרְגֵנִי to kill me; Jer. 38, 26 לְבַלְתִּי הַשִּׁיבֵנִי that he would not cause me to return (on the suffix, cf. letter c). In Is. 49, 6 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. Gen. 41, 39 אֶתְּרִי הוֹדִיעַ אֱלֹהִים אֹתְךָ forasmuch as God hath showed thee all this; Deut. 21, 16.

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. Prov. 21, 15 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 רִאָה for רִאָה (פָּנִיךָ) Gen. 48, 11 (comp. Ps. 101, 3. Prov. 16, 16), would be unintelligible; (c) that certain infinitive forms, if they were to be regarded as in the construct state, could hardly retain the pretonic Qameṣ without exception, whereas, when connected with suffixes (i. e. with real genitives; comp. § 33. c), this Qameṣ necessarily becomes vocal *Ṣ^{wā}*; e. g. Gen. 18, 25 לְהַמִּית צַדִּיק to slay the righteous (never as לְהַמִּית; comp., on the other hand, above, הַשִּׁיבֵנִי); 2 Ki. 21, 8. Ezek. 44, 30. Similarly in such cases as Is. 3, 13 (Ps. 50, 4) instead of לְרִין עַמִּים we should rather expect לְרִין, if the infinitive were regarded as in the construct state, and עַמִּים as the genitive. Hence also in cases like Is. 58, 9 (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 לְהוֹצִיאָהוּ Jer. 39, 14) only the suffix of the 1st pers. sing. (besides the above examples comp. also 1 Sam. 5, 10. 27, 1. 28, 9. Ruth 2, 10. 1 Chron. 12, 17, &c.) and plural; e. g. לְהַשְׁמִידֵנוּ to destroy us, Deut. 1, 27 (immediately after אֶתְּנוּ, so that

¹ For examples of the accus. of the object with a pass. infin., see § 121. c.

נִּנְּ is doubtless a *verbal* not a *noun*-suffix, although in form it might be either); לְהִמְיִתְנִי Num. 16, 13. Jud. 13, 23 (after חִפֵּץ). Elsewhere the pronominal object is appended either by means of the accusative sign (e.g. Gen. 25, 26 בְּלָדָת אֹתָם prop. *in the bearing them*; לָרַעַת אֹתִי *to know me*, Jer. 24, 7) 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 Sam. 20, 33 לְהַכְתּוֹ (prop. for his smiting) *to smite him*, not, as the form might also mean, *in order that he might smite*; comp. 1 Ki. 20, 35; with the suffix of the 3rd sing. fem. Num. 22, 25; of the 3rd plur. Jos. 10, 20. 2 Sam. 21, 2, &c. Hence also the suffixes of the 2nd sing. with the infinitive, as לְהַבְתֵּךָ Jer. 40, 14, comp. Mic. 6, 13, and even גְּדַלְךָ *to magnify thee*, Jos. 3, 7, 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 Gen. 37, 4 לֹא יִבְלוּ רִבְרוּ לְשָׁלֹם *they could not speak to him peaceably*, comp. Zech. 3, 1 לְשֹׁטְנִי *to be an adversary to him*, but ultimately even in the 1st sing., as in Num. 22, 13 לְהַתִּי *to give me leave*, [Deut. 25, 7 לֹא אֲבֵה יַבְמִי *he will not perform the duty of a husband's brother unto me*; 1 Chron. 4, 10 לְבַלְתִּי עֵצְבִי *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, 9 דַּעַת אֶת־יְהוָה (prop. to know the Lord) *the knowledge of the Lord*; לִירְאָה אֹתִי *to fear me*, Deut. 4, 10. 5. 26. 10, 12; an accusative follows לְאֲהַבָּה Deut. 10, 12. 15. Is. 56, 6 (comp. also Hos. 3, 1); לְהִנָּפֵחַ Is. 30, 28; בְּשִׁנְאֵת יְהוָה אֹתָנוּ Deut. 1, 27; after verbal nouns formed by prefixing מ (comp. § 45. e), Num. 10, 2. Is. 13, 19. Amos 4, 11. Ezek. 17, 9. The accusative of the object likewise remains after infinitives (or their secondary forms) which have the article, e.g. Gen. 2, 9. Jer. 22, 16, or a suffix, e.g. Gen. 5, 4, &c., 28, 4. 6. 29, 19 sq. 30, 15. 38, 5. 2 Sam. 3, 11. Is. 29, 13.

e 2. The subject of the action represented by the infinitive is mostly placed immediately¹ 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 when the infinitive has the termination of the constr. st. fem. sing. (see letter *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

¹ In Gen. 24, 30 the subject of בָּרָאת is wanting (but בְּשִׁמְעוֹ follows); the original reading was undoubtedly בָּרָאתוֹ, and the text is now in a state of confusion; verse 30 a should come before verse 29 b. In Gen. 25, 26. Ex. 9, 16. 1 Sam. 18, 19. Ps. 42, 4 the subject, although not indicated, is easily supplied from the context. The infinitive in such cases is best rendered in English by a passive.

to certain indications (see letter *g*) very probably also in many other instances.

Rem. 1. Examples of genitives of the subject after infinitives in the connective form, are Deut. 1, 27 בְּשִׂנְאָת יְהוָה אֲתָנּוּ prop. *in the Lord's hating us*; comp. 7, 8. Gen. 19, 16. 1 Ki. 10, 9. Is. 13, 19. 47, 9. Hos. 3, 1. Am. 4, 11. The subject of the infinitive is probably also to be regarded as genitive in such cases as Ex. 17, 1 and there was no water לְשִׁתּוֹת הָעָם for the people to drink (prop. for the drinking of the people), and in cases like Gen. 16, 16 (בְּלִיַּת הַגֶּר); Gen. 16, 3. Ex. 19, 1. Num. 20, 3. 4. 33, 38. 1 Ki. 6, 1. Ps. 133, 1. 2 Chron. 7, 3, &c.

2. Examples in which the subject is separated from the infinitive by an insertion, and hence must certainly be regarded as a nominative, are Job 34, 22 לְהִפָּתֵר שָׁם אֲנִי that the workers of iniquity may hide themselves there (prop. for the hiding themselves there the workers of iniquity); cf. Gen. 34, 15. Num. 35, 6. Deut. 19, 3. Jud. 9, 2. 2 Sam. 24, 13. Ps. 76, 10, and below, letter *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 (comp. letter *b* above), e. g. 2 Sam. 19, 20 לְשׁוֹם הַמִּלְחָמָה, since, if the infinitive were used as a *nomen regens*, we should rather expect שׁוֹם according to § 102. *f*. That the subject of the infinitive is regarded elsewhere also as nominative, is again (see above, letter *b*) probable, since in such forms as הִנִּיחַ Deut. 25, 19. Is. 14, 3. הִמְיִר Ps. 46, 3, &c. the pretonic Qames is retained without exception, whereas on the analogy of הִנִּיחִי Ezek. 24, 13, הִקִּימוּ Jer. 23, 20, &c., we should expect הִנִּיחַ, הִמְיִר, &c., if the infinitive were regarded as a *nomen regens*. Or was the retention of the Qames (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-endings¹, a distinction between the genitival and nominative 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 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 letter *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. Gen. 39, 18 כִּי־רָמַעְתִּי אֶת־בְּהֵמַת־אֲדָמָי as I lifted up my voice (comp. 1 Ki. 13, 21, and the examples, Gen. 5, 4, &c., enumerated above, under letter *d*), and so also substantives which follow a connective form, Deut. 1, 27, &c.; see above, letters *d* and *f*.

¹ In Arabic, where the case-endings leave no doubt as to the construction, it is equally possible to say either *qatlu Zaidin* (gen. of subj.) 'Amran (acc.), literally *Zaid's killing 'Amr*, or *qatlu 'Amrin* (gen. of obj.) *Zaidun* (nom. of subj.), or even *el-qatlu* (with article) *Zaidun* (nom. of subj.) 'Amran (acc. of obj.).

i On the other hand, the subject appears necessarily to be in the nominative in such cases as Is. 10, 15 **אֶת־מְרִימֵיֶם יִשְׁבֹּט בָּהֶֿנִּיף** as if a rod should shake them that lift it up (for the plur. **מְרִימֵיֶם** comp. § 124. *k*), not **בָּהֶֿנִּיף**, as would be expected (see letter *g* above), if **יִשְׁבֹּט** were in the genitive; comp. Job 33, 17. And so probably also in other cases, as Gen. 5, 1. 13, 10. Jos. 14, 7. 1 Ki. 13, 4. 2 Ki. 23, 10. Is. 32, 7. The subject is separated from the infinitive by an insertion (and consequently must necessarily be in the nominative; see letter *g* above), e. g. in Jer. 21, 1.

k Rem. Less frequently the object is placed immediately after the infinitive, and then the nominative of the subject, as a subsequent complement, e. g. Is. 20, 1 **בְּשִׁלַּח אֹתוֹ כַּרְנֹן** when Sargon sent him; Gen. 4, 15. Jos. 14, 11. 2 Sam. 18, 29. Is. 5, 24. Ps. 56, 1. Prov. 25, 8. In Num. 24, 23 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 sqq., and Kahan, p. 11 sqq.

a 1. Like the two infinitives, the participles also occupy a middle place between the noun and the verb. In form they are simple nouns, 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 condition), 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 *condition* 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 a mere passive condition, is seen from the fact, that participles proper cannot be formed from the simple stative Qal, but only verbal adjectives of the form *qātāl* (**מֹלֵא**, **כֹּבֵד**, &c.) or *qātāl* (**מְבַהֵ**, &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 **שְׂנוּאָה** (comp. the feminine **שְׂנוּאָה**).—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, 11 **לְעֵנֵי שֹׁפָה** men of stammering lips, a character is ascribed to them which is inseparably connected with their personality. On the other hand **לְעֵנֵי לֵי** Jer. 20, 7, describes those about the prophet as continually engaged in throwing ridicule upon him. Cf. also Ps. 9, 18 (**שֹׁבְחֵי**) with 50, 22 (**שֹׁבְחֵי**).

On the difference between the participle as expressing *simple* duration and the imperfect as expressing *progressive* duration, comp. what has been stated above in § 107. *d*. Nevertheless the participle is sometimes used—especially in the later Books, comp. e. g. Neh. 6, 17. 2 Chron. 17, 11—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 (comp. Kautzsch, *Gramm. des Bibl. Aram.*, § 76. 2. *d* and *e*), is nevertheless quite foreign to Hebrew.

2. The period of time indicated by (*a*) a participle active, either *d* as an attribute or predicate, must be inferred from the particular context. Thus מֵת may mean either *moriens* (Zech. 11, 9), or *mortuus* (so commonly; with the article הַמֵּת regularly = *the dead man*), or *moriturus* (Deut. 4, 22); אָבֵן *coming, come* Gen. 18, 11 and elsewhere, *venturus* 1 Sam. 2, 31 and elsewhere; נֹפֵל *falling*, but also *fallen*, 1 Sam. 5, 3, and *ready to fall* (threatening ruin, Is. 30, 13. Amos 9, 11). For other examples of perfect participles see Gen. 27, 33. 43, 18 (הַשֹּׁבֵב *that was returned*; comp. Ezra 6, 21 and elsewhere, הַשֹּׁבִים *which were come again out of captivity*); Gen. 35, 3. Ex. 11, 5. Zech. 12, 1. Ps. 137, 7. Prov. 8, 9. Job 12, 4 (קָרָא), and letter *m* below. For future participles see Gen. 41, 25. 1 Ki. 18, 9. Is. 5, 5. Jon. 1, 3, &c., probably also לִקְחֵי Gen. 19, 14. On the *futurum instans* (esp. after הֵינִי) see letter *p* below.

(*b*) Of the passive participles, the participle *Qal* (e. g. כְּתוּב *scriptus*) *e* 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. נוֹרָא *metuendus, to be feared*, Ps. 76, 8 and elsewhere; נִחְמָד *desiderandus (desiderabilis)* Gen. 3, 6. Ps. 19, 11, &c.; נִבְרָא *creandus* Ps. 102, 19; נוֹלָד, usually *natus*, but also (like הַיּוֹלֵד Jud. 13, 8) *procreandus, nasciturus* 1 Ki. 13, 2. Ps. 22, 32; נִעְרָץ *terribilis* Ps. 89, 8; נִתְעַב *abominable* Job 15, 16; נִחְשָׁב *aestimandus* Is. 2, 22; הַנֵּאֱכָלָת *that may be eaten* (an animal) Lev. 11, 47. In *Pu'al*, מְהֻלָּל *laudandus, who is worthy to be praised* Ps. 18, 4. In *Hoph'al*, מְשֻׁלָּח 1 Sam. 19, 11. 2 Ki. 11, 2. הַמּוֹמָתִים; Is. 12, 5 *Qere* מוֹרֵעַת¹.

¹ Such examples as נוֹרָא, נִחְמָד, נִבְרָא, 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.* From such examples this use then appears to have been extended to other cases.

f 3. The participles active, in virtue of their partly verbal character, 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 Sam. 18, 29 אָיִב אֶת־דָּוִד prop. *one hating David*; Gen. 42, 29; with the suffix of the accusative, e. g. עָשִׂנִי *that made me* Job 31, 15; מִי רֹאֵנִי *who seeth us?* Is. 29, 15 (in Is. 47, 10 רֹאֵנִי is abnormal); רָדְמָם *ruling them* Ps. 68, 28 (also with the article, e. g. 2 Sam. 22, 33 [= Ps. 18, 33] הַמְאָרְרֵנִי *that girdeth me*, LXX ὁ κραταῖων με); Deut. 20, 1. 2 Sam. 1, 24. Is. 9, 12. 63, 11. Ps. 103, 4. 1 Ki. 9, 23 הַרְרִים בָּעָם *which bare rule over the people*; 2 Ki. 20, 5 הִנְנִי רֹפֵא לָךְ *behold, I will heal thee*¹.

By an exhaustive examination of the statistics, Sellin (see the title at the head of § 113), p. 40 sqq., 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 letter *g*) indicates repeated, enduring, or commonly occurring acts, occupations, and thoughts.

So also the verbal adjectives of the form *qāṭēl* may take an accusative of the person or thing, if the finite verb from which they are derived governs an accusative, e. g. Deut. 34, 9 מְלֵא רִיחַ *full of the spirit*; 1 Ki. 9, 23; Ps. 5, 5 הִפְיץ רָשָׁע *that hath pleasure in wickedness*.

g As a sort of noun the participle may, however, also exercise the same government as a noun, being in the construct state, and followed by the object of the action in the genitive (see § 89. *a*; comp. also § 128. *x*), e. g. Ps. 5, 12 אֲהַבֵּי שְׁמִי *that love thy name*; comp. Ps. 19, 8 sq.; also when a verbal adjective, e. g. Gen. 22, 12 יִרֵא אֱלֹהִים *one fearing God*, and Hab. 2, 15; with an infinitive, Ps. 127, 2; with a noun-suffix (which, according to § 33. *c*, also represents a genitive), e. g. Gen. 4, 14 כֹּל־מֵצֵאֵי *whosoever findeth me* (prop. my finder; comp. עָשִׂי *my maker*); 12, 3 מְבַרְכֶיךָ *that bless thee*, מְשַׁלְּלֶיךָ *that curseth thee*; 27, 29. 1 Sam. 2, 30. Is. 63, 13. Jer. 33, 2. Ps. 18, 49².

¹ On the other hand, in Is. 11, 9 *as the waters* לִים מְבַסִּים *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.*] Comp. Hab. 2, 14.

² When, as in Job 40, 19, the participle with the noun-suffix הָעִשָּׂו *he that made him*, also has the article (comp. § 127. *i*), the anomaly is difficult to understand, since a word determined by a genitive does not admit of being determined

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, egrèdi*, can be directly connected with an accusative; e. g. Gen. 23, 10. 18 בָּאֵי שַׁעַר עִירוֹ *that went in at the gate of his city*; Lam. 1, 4; after יֵצֵאִי Gen. 9, 10. 34, 24. 46, 26, and elsewhere.—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; comp. Is. 38, 18, and frequently, יוֹרְדֵי-בוֹר *they that go down into the pit (the grave)*; Ps. 88, 6 קָבְרֵי שְׁכְבֵי *that lie in the grave*; Deut. 32, 24 (Mic. 7, 17); 1 Ki. 2, 7. 2 Ki. 11, 5. 7. 9 *those that came in (or went out) on the sabbath*, Prov. 2, 7. 1 Chron. 5, 18, and elsewhere; instead of the construction with מִן, e. g. Is. 59, 20 (*those who turn from transgression*). Mic. 2, 8.

These genitives of nearer definition appear also in the form of a noun-suffix, e. g. Ps. 18, 40. 49 קָמִי (for קָמִים עָלַי) *that rise up against me*; comp. Ex. 15, 7. 32, 25. Deut. 33, 11. Ps. 44, 6. 53, 6 (הִנֵּנִי); 102, 9. Prov. 2, 19 כָּל-פְּאִוְהָ *all that go unto her*; the construction is especially bold in Is. 29, 7 כָּל-צְבִיָּהּ וּמְצֻדָתָהּ *all that fight against her and her stronghold* (for 'עָלֶיהָ וְעַל-מִ').—In Is. 1, 30 as a terebinth עֲלָה נִבְלַת עֲלָה *fading as regards its leaf*, it remains doubtful whether נִבְלַת is in the absolute state, and consequently עֲלָה in the accusative, or whether it is to be regarded as construct state, and עֲלָה as the genitive. In the latter case it would be analogous to Prov. 14, 2 (see letter *k*).

4. The passive participles also may either be in the absolute state, and take the determining word in the accusative¹, or may be connected with it in the construct state, e. g. Jud. 18, 11. 1 Sam. 2, 18. Ezek. 9, 2 הַלְבֹשׁ הַבְּדִים *clothed in linen*, comp. verse 3 הַלְבֹשׁ הַבְּדִים; (even with a suffix קָרוֹעַ בְּתַנְתּוֹ *rent as regards his coat* 2 Sam. 15, 32; with the participle following in Jud. 1, 7); but Ezek. 9, 11 הַלְבֹשׁ הַבְּדִים *the one clothed with linen*; 2 Sam. 13, 31 קָרְעֵי בְּגָדִים *rent in respect of clothes*,

by the article.—No less remarkable is the use of the constr. st. of the participle before the accusative in Jer. 33, 22 מְשֻׁרְתֵי אֹתִי *that minister unto me* (for which there is מְשֻׁרְתֵי in verse 21) and Amos 4, 13 where an accusative of the product follows the genitive of the object, עֹשֶׂה שַׁחַר עֵיפָה *maker of the morning into darkness*. In Jer. 2, 17 בָּעֵת מוֹלִבְךָ is supposed to mean *at the time when he led thee*; perhaps the perfect (הוֹלֵךְ) should be read as in 6, 15. In Ezek. 27, 34, the ancient versions read נִשְׁבַּרְתָּ (הוֹלֵךְ) *now thou art broken*, instead of the difficult הִנֵּה וְהִנֵּה *הִנֵּה*. In 1 Ki. 20, 40 read עֹשֶׂה before וְהִנֵּה *הִנֵּה*.

¹ On the proper force of this accusative when retained in the passive construction comp. below, § 117. *cc.*, &c., and § 121. *c.* So also Neh. 4, 12 is to be understood, *and the builders were girded every one with his sword on his side, and building*.

equivalent to *with their clothes rent* (comp. Jer. 41, 5); Num. 24, 4. Deut. 25, 10. Is. 3, 3. 33, 24. Joel 1, 8. Ps. 32, 1 (נִשְׁוִי-פָּשְׁעַי *forgiven in respect of transgression*, כָּסוּי הַטָּאָה *covered in respect of sin*); with a suffix to the noun, Prov. 14, 2 נָלוּז הִרְרָבִיו *he that is perverse in his ways*.

l Rem. The passive participle occurs in the construct state before a genitive of the *cause*, e.g. in Is. 1, 7 שָׂרְפוֹת אֵשׁ *burnt with fire*; comp. Gen. 41, 6. Ex. 28, 11. Deut. 32, 24; before a genitive denoting the *author*, e.g. Gen. 24, 31 בְּרוּךְ יְהוָה *blessed of the Lord* (but Ps. 115, 15 לַיהוָה *see* § 121. f); comp. Is. 53, 4. Ps. 22, 7. Job 14, 1 (15, 14. 25, 4); hence also with noun-suffixes (which are accordingly genitive) Prov. 9, 18 קָרְאֶיהָ *her invited ones*, i. e. those invited by her; comp. 7, 26. Ps. 37, 22.

m 5. The use of the participle as predicate is very frequent in noun-clauses (which, according to § 140. e, describe established facts and conditions), in which the period of time intended by the description must again (see above, letter d) be inferred from the context. Thus:

11 (a) As *present*, in speaking of truths which hold good at all times, e.g. Eccles. 1, 4 בָּא אֶת דּוֹר הָאֶלֶף וְדוֹר בָּא אֶת דּוֹר הָאֶלֶף *one generation goeth, and another generation cometh*; and the earth abideth (עַמְּדֶתָּה) *for ever*; comp. verse 7; also to represent incidental (continuous) occurrences which are just happening, Gen. 3, 5. 16, 8 (*I am fleeing*); 32, 12. Ex. 9, 17. 1 Sam. 16, 15. 23, 1. 2 Ki. 7, 9. Is. 1, 7; also when the subject is introduced by the emphatic demonstrative הִנֵּה *behold!* (§ 100. o and § 105. b), e.g. Gen. 16, 11 הִנֵּה הָרְבִיבָה *behold, thou art with child*, &c.; 27, 42; frequently also in circumstantial clauses (connected by *Wāw*), comp. § 141. e, e.g. Gen. 15, 2, and elsewhere.

o (b) To represent *past* actions or states, sometimes in independent noun-clauses, e.g. Ex. 20, 18 וְכָל-הָעָם רָאוּ אֶת-הַקּוֹלֹת *and all the people saw the thunders*, &c.; 1 Ki. 1, 5; in negative statements, e.g. Gen. 39, 23 a; sometimes in relative clauses, e.g. Gen. 39, 23 b. Deut. 3, 2, (comp. also the frequent combination of the participle with the article as the equivalent of a relative clause, e.g. Gen. 32, 10 הָאִמֹר *which saidst*; 12, 7. 16, 13. 35, 1. 3. 36, 35. 48, 16. 2 Sam. 15, 31, &c.); sometimes again (see letter n) in *circumstantial* clauses, especially those representing actions or states which occurred simultaneously with other past actions, &c., e.g. Gen. 19, 1 *and the two angels came to Sodom* וְלוֹט יָשָׁב *and Lot sat*, &c.; 18, 1. 8. 16. 22. 25, 26. Jud. 13, 9. 2 Chron. 22, 9; also with the subject introduced by הִנֵּה Gen. 37, 7. 41, 17. (On הָלַךְ with a following adjective or participle to express an action constantly or occasionally recurring, cf. § 113. u.)

p (c) To announce *future* actions or events, e.g. 1 Ki. 2, 2. 2 Ki. 4, 16, *at this season when the time cometh round*, בְּיָמֶיךָ תֵּלֵךְ בֶּן *thou shalt embrace a son*; so after a specification of time, Gen. 7, 4. 15, 14. 17, 19. 19, 13. Is. 23, 15 (where, however, after הִנֵּה we should rather expect a perfect consecutive; Qimḥi therefore explains וְנִשְׁכַּחַת as the 3rd sing. fem. of the perfect), Hag. 2, 6; or in relative clauses, Gen. 41, 25. Is. 5, 5 *what I am doing*, i. e. am in the act of doing; in a deliberative question, Gen. 37, 30; but especially often when the subject

is introduced by הִגֵּה (especially also if the subject be attached as a suffix to הִגֵּה 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. Gen. 6, 17. 15, 3. 20, 3. 24, 13 sq. 48, 21. 50, 5. Ex. 3, 13. 8, 25. 9, 3. 34, 10. Jos. 2, 18. Jud. 7, 17. 9, 33. 1 Sam. 3, 11. 2 Ki. 7, 2. Is. 3, 1. 7, 14. 17, 1. Jer. 30, 10. Zech. 2, 13. 3, 8; with a participle passive, 2 Sam. 20, 21 : comp. also § 112. *l.*

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 הִגֵּה the subject may be either a substantive, or (e. g. Gen. 37, 7) a separate personal pronoun, or a suffix attached to הִגֵּה. In the same way, the subject may also be introduced by יֵשׁ (*est*, see the Lexicon) with a suffix, and in negative sentences by אֵין (*non est*) with a suffix, e. g. Jud. 6, 36 מוֹשִׁיעַ אֶם-יִשְׁעֶךָ if thou wilt save; Gen. 43, 5 אֶם-תִּיַנְךָ אֶם-תִּשְׁלַח if thou wilt not send; 1 Sam. 19, 11.—In such cases as Is. 14, 27 יָרֹוּ הַנְּטוּיָה הַנְּטוּיָה *the stretched out hand is his*, הַנְּטוּיָה is not, like נְטוּיָה in 9, 11. 16, &c., the predicate (in which case the participle could not take the article), but the subject; comp. Gen. 2, 11. 45, 12. Is. 66, 9. Ezek. 20, 29. Zech. 7, 6 (cf. § 126. *k*), where the participle with the article likewise refers to the present, also Num. 7, 2. Deut. 3, 21. 4, 3, &c., and 1 Sam. 4, 16, where it refers to the past. In 1 Ki. 12, 8 and 21, 11 even in relative clauses after אֲשֶׁר.

2. To give express emphasis to an action continuing in the *past*, the perfect הִיָּה in the corresponding person is sometimes added to the participle, and similarly the imperfect יִהְיֶה (or the jussive יְהִי, or the imperfect consecutive) is used to emphasize an action continuing in the *future*, e. g. Job 1, 14 הַבֶּקֶר הָיָה הֹרְשֹׁת the oxen (cows) were plowing; Gen. 37, 2. 39, 22. Ex. 3, 1. Deut. 9, 24. Jud. 1, 7. 1 Sam. 2, 11. 2 Sam. 3, 6; the same occurs with a passive participle, e. g. Jos. 5, 5. Zech. 3, 3; יִהְיֶה with a participle is found e. g. in Is. 2, 2; the jussive in Gen. 1, 6. Ps. 109, 12¹; and יְהִי with a participle in Jud. 16, 21. Neh. 1, 4.

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, comp. Is. 26, 3. Ps. 16, 8. Job 9, 32) the pronoun of the 3rd pers. הוּא, e. g. Gen. 24, 30. 37, 15. 38, 24. 41, 1. 1 Sam. 10, 11. 15, 12. Is. 29, 8 (the participle always after הִגֵּה); comp., moreover, Gen. 32, 7. Deut. 33, 3. 1 Sam. 17, 25. 20, 1. Is. 33, 5. 40, 19. Ps. 22, 29. 33, 5. 55, 20. Job 12, 17. 19 sqq. 25, 2. 26, 7; הוּא is omitted in Lev. 18, 28; הָיָה in 1 Ki. 5, 1. Is. 32, 12. Ezek. 8, 12. Neh. 9, 3; in a relative clause, Gen. 39, 22. Is. 24, 2.—The personal pronoun of the 2nd pers. masc. (אַתָּה) is omitted in Hab. 2, 10; the 2nd fem. (אַתְּ) in Gen. 20, 16 (where, however, for the participle וְנִבְחַת the 2nd fem. perf. is really intended); the pronoun of the 1st sing. in Hab. 1, 5. Zech. 9, 12. Mal. 2, 16; the 2nd plur. (אַתֶּם) 1 Sam. 2, 24 (if the text be right), 6, 3. Ezek. 13, 7 (?).

¹ A jussive is practically to be supplied also in the formulae of blessing and cursing, בְּרִיךְ blessed be . . . Gen. 9, 26 and elsewhere; אָרְרָךְ cursed art thou . . . 3, 14 and elsewhere.

- t* Of a different kind are the cases in which some undefined subject is to be supplied with the participle; e.g. Is. 21, 11 אֲלֵי קָרָא there is one calling unto me (= one calleth; § 144. *d*); comp. Is. 30, 24. 33, 4.—So with participles in the plur., e.g. Ex. 5, 16 (אֲמָרִים sc. the taskmasters); Jer. 33, 5. 38, 23. Ezek. 13, 7 (?). 36, 13. 37, 11 (equivalent to *sunt qui dicant*).
- u* 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. Gen. 29, 9. Job 1, 16 sq. וְעוֹר זֶה מְרַבֵּר וְזֶה בָּא he was yet speaking, and (= when) another came, &c.¹; comp. 1 Sam. 9, 11. 27. 20, 36. 1 Ki. 14, 17 she was entering the threshold of the house, when the child died; 2 Ki. 2, 23. 4, 5. Dan. 9, 20 sq.; also in Jud. 19, 22. 1 Sam. 9, 14. 17, 23. 1 Ki. 1, 42. Job 1, 18 sq., in all which passages the apodosis is introduced by וְהִנֵּה.—On the other hand, in 1 Ki. 1, 14 the noun-clause itself is introduced by הִנֵּה (as in verse 22 by וְהִנֵּה), and denotes an action only just impending². Finally, when the whole sentence is introduced by means of וַיְהִי (comp. § 111. *g*), and the apodosis by וְהִנֵּה, Gen. 42, 35. 2 Ki. 2, 11. 13, 21; without הִנֵּה in the apodosis, 1 Sam. 7, 10. 2 Ki. 19, 37 (Is. 37, 38).
- v* 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. Gen. 38, 25 וְהִיא מוֹצֵאת וְהִיא שְׂלֵחָה she was being brought forth, when she sent, &c.; comp. Gen. 50, 24; [see further in Driver, *Tenses*, §§ 166–169.]
- w* 5. Different from the examples treated in letters *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. Gen. 9, 6 שֶׁפָּדַךְ דָּם הָאָדָם בְּאָדָם shedding man's blood, i.e. if any one sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed; Ex. 21, 12. Ps. 75, 4. Prov. 17, 14. Job 41, 18; so especially if כָּל- precedes the participle, Gen. 4, 15. 1 Sam. 3, 11 (2 Ki. 21, 12). The apodosis is generally introduced by וְ (*wāw apodosis*), e.g. Ex. 12, 15 (with a following perfect consecutive), Num. 35, 30; 1 Sam. 2, 13 כָּל-אִישׁ זָבַח וְזָבַח וּבָא נָעַר הַכֹּהֵן when any man offered sacrifice, the priest's servant came, &c.; 2 Sam. 14, 10 (participle with article); 22, 41 (where, however, the text is to be emended in accordance with Ps. 18, 41); 2 Sam. 23, 3 sq. Prov. 23, 24 *K^{eth}*;

¹ The independent noun-clause here lays stress upon the simultaneous occurrence (and consequently the overlapping) of the events far more forcibly than could be done by a subordinate expression of time (as e.g. וַיְהִי כִּדְבָרוֹ). 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.

² 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.

29, 9.—As in the instances discussed under letter *u*, such sentences are sometimes preceded by וַיְהִי, comp. 1 Sam. 10, 11. 11, 11. 2 Sam. 2, 23 וַיְהִי כִּלְהֵפָא *and it came to pass, that as many as came, &c.*—On the other hand, וַהֲשִׁבֶרֶת Dan. 8, 22 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 הִלּוּךְ comp. § 113. *u*.

7. Almost as a rule the participial construction beginning a sentence (like the infinitival construction according to § 114. *r*) is continued by means of a finite verb with or without ו, before which the English construction requires us to supply the relative pronoun implied in the participle; thus, continued by means of a perfect, Is. 14, 17 שָׁם תִּבְלַל בְּמִדְבָּר וְעָרָיו הָרַס *that made the world as a wilderness, and overthrew the cities thereof*¹; 43, 7. Ezek. 22, 3. Ps. 136, 13 sqq. Prov. 2, 17; by a perfect without *Wāw*, Gen. 49, 11; by a simple imperfect (as the *modus rei repetitae* in the present), Is. 5, 23. 46, 6. Prov. 7, 8. Job 12, 17. 19 sqq. 24, 21; by an imperfect without *Wāw*, e. g. 1 Sam. 2, 8. Is. 5, 8. Prov. 2, 14. 19, 26; by an imperfect consecutive, Gen. 27, 33. 35, 3. 1 Sam. 2, 6. Jer. 13, 10 (after several participles); Ps. 18, 33. 136, 10 sq.

C. THE GOVERNMENT OF THE VERB.

§ 117. *The Direct Subordination of the Noun to the Verb as Accusative of the Object. The Double Accusative.*

1. The simplest way in which a noun is subordinated to a verbal *a* form is by the addition of an accusative of the object to a transitive verb². In the absence of case-endings³, this accusative can now be recognized only from the context, or by the particle אֶת (את), before

¹ 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*.

² 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 הִפִּיץ (*to have pleasure*, usually with ב) *to desire*, מָלֵא (*to be full* of something, also transitive) *to fill*, were originally intransitive. Comp. also such cases as בָּכָה *to weep* (generally with עַל, אֶל, or ל), but also *to bewail* with an accusative; יָשַׁב *to dwell* (usually with ב), but also *to inhabit* with an accusative (comp. further, letter *u* below).—The examples are different in which verbs of motion such as בּוֹא *intrare*, also *aggredi*, יֵצֵא *egredi* (comp. § 116. *h* above), שׁוֹב *redire*, Is. 52, 8, take an accusative of the aim of the motion, while בּוֹא according to the Old Semitic usage, even takes an accusative of the person (at least in poetry, equivalent to אֶל בּוֹא in prose).

³ On traces of these endings, especially the remains of a former accusative ending in *a*, cf. § 90. *c* above.

suffixes also אֵת, אֹת¹ prefixed to it. The use of this *nota accusativi* 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, letter *c*), e. g. Gen. 4, 1 and she bare אֵת-חַיִּינָה Cain; 6, 10. 1, 1 God created אֵת הַשָּׁמַיִם וְאֵת הָאָרֶץ the heaven and the earth (but 2, 4 אֵת הַשָּׁמַיִם); 1, 25 and God made אֵת-חַיִּית הָאָרֶץ the beast of the earth; 2, 24.

b Rem. 1. The rare occurrence of the *nota accusativi* in poetic style (e. g. it never occurs in Ex. 15, 2-18. Deut. 32. Jud. 5. 1 Sam. 2, &c.; on the other hand, it is frequent in the late Psalms) may be explained from the fact that in this as in other respects (comp. § 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 names². 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 letter *c* can be assigned

¹ אֵת (toneless owing to the following Maqqeph), and אֹת (with a tone-long *z*, אֹת only in Job 41, 26), אֵת or אֹת before the light suffixes according to § 103. *b*, Phœnician אֵת i. e. probably *ıyyāth* (for the Phœnician form, cf. G. Hoffmann, *Einige phönik. Inschriften*, Göttingen, 1889, p. 39 sq.), Punic *yth* or (according to Euting) pronounced even as a mere prefixed *t*, Arabic, before suffixes, *ıyyā*, Aram. אֵת, אֹת, was no doubt originally a substantive, meaning *essence, substance, self* (like the Syriac *yāth*; on the other hand, any connexion with the Hebrew אֹת, Syriac *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, aŭtós*. [In later Assyrian the pronominal suffixes are attached to the substantive *at-tu, essence*, and the two together form an emphatic repetition of a preceding suffix, e. g. *zir-ya at-tū-a, my own race*, prop. *my race* (which is *mine*, G.W.C.) In common use, however (cf. Wilson, 'The particle אֵת in Hebrew,' *Hebraica*, vi. 2, 3), it has so little force (like the oblique cases *aŭtōŭ, aŭtŭ, aŭtŭn*, sometimes also *ıpsius, ıpsum*, and the Germ. *desselben*, &c.) that it merely serves to introduce a determinate object; אֵת הַשָּׁמַיִם prop. *aŭtŭn τὸν οὐρανόν* (comp. *aŭtŭn Χρυσήϊδα*, *Iliad* i. 143) is no stronger than the simple אֵת הַשָּׁמַיִם τὸν οὐρανόν.

² Thus, in Deut. 33, אֵת occurs only in verse 9 (twice with an object preceding the verb), in Gen. 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.

for it; comp. Giesebrecht in *ZAW.* 1881, p. 258 sqq., and the statistics of H. Petri, cited above at the head of § 58. Such examples as כָּבַל אֲשֶׁר צָנְחָה אֹתוֹ Gen. 6, 22 in the *Priestly Code*, beside כָּבַל אֲשֶׁר-צָנְחָה: יְהוָה 7, 5 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, comp. e. g. Gen. 1, 21. 30. 8, 21. Deut. 2, 34. 2 Ki. 25, 9. אֶת-כָּל is used absolutely in Gen. 9, 3, comp. 39, 23; similarly, מִי is determinate of itself, since it always denotes a person, hence אֶת-מִי *quem?* e. g. Is. 6, 8. 37, 23 and elsewhere, but never אֶת-מֶה *quid?* so also the relative אֲשֶׁר in the sense of *eum qui* or *quem*, &c., e. g. 1 Sam. 16, 3, or *id quod*, Gen. 9, 24 and elsewhere. Comp. also such examples as Jos. 2, 10. 1 Sam. 24, 19, where אֶת אֲשֶׁר is equivalent to *the circumstance, that*, &c.—Elsewhere אֶת 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 Lev. 26, 5. Is. 41, 7. 50, 4. Ezek. 13, 20. 43, 10. Prov. 13, 21 (where the צְרִיקִים are to be regarded as a distinct class); Job 13, 25; also Eccles. 7, 7 may be a quotation of an ancient maxim.

On the other hand אֶת occurs very seldom in prose before a noun actually or apparently undetermined. In 1 Sam. 24, 6 כָּנָה is more closely defined by means of the following relative clause; in 2 Sam. 4, 11 אִישׁ צְדִיק refers to Ishbosheth (as if it were *him, who was an innocent man*); also in 13, 17 וְאֵת refers to a definite person, and in 1 Ki. 6, 16 עֶשְׂרִים אַמָּה to the particular twenty cubits. In Ex. 21, 28 (otherwise in verse 29) perhaps the אֶת is used in order to avoid the combination שׁוֹר אִישׁ (as in Num. 21, 9 to avoid the cacophony אִישׁ הַנְּחֹשׁ אִישׁ ?); in Lev. 7, 8 and 20, 10 the accusatives are at any rate defined by the context.—In Num. 16, 15 אֶת-אֶחָד מֵהֶם probably means *even a single one* (and then *eo ipso* a definite one) of them, as also in 1 Sam. 9, 3 אֶת-אֶחָד מֵהַנְּעָרִים may refer to some definite one of the men-servants. In Gen. 21, 30 we should read אֶת-שִׁבְעַת הַכְּבָשֹׁת as in the Samaritan Pentateuch, since the seven lambs have been already mentioned; and in Ex. 2, 1 the original reading probably was אֵשֶׁת מִבְּנוֹת לִי; in Ex. 28, 9 read הַשָּׂהָם with the Samaritan; in Lev. 20, 14 אֶת-אִשְׁתָּה is probably a scribal error due to וְאֶת-אִמָּה; in 1 Sam. 26, 20 read נִפְשֵׁי with the LXX for אֶחָד; in 2 Sam. 5, 24 read הַצְּעָרָה according to 1 Chron. 14, 15; in 2 Sam. 15, 16 the אֶת is incorrectly inserted from 20, 3, where it refers to the women already mentioned; in 2 Sam. 18, 18 read הַמִּצְבֶּת, or omit both אֶת and אֲשֶׁר with the LXX and Lucian; in 1 Ki. 12, 31 and Est. 2, 3 omit אֶת; in 2 Ki. 23, 20 probably אֶת-עַצְמוֹתָם is to be read; in 2 Ki. 25, 9 the text is obviously corrupt. In Ezek. 16, 32 אֶת-זָרִים might refer to *the strangers in question*; see however, Smend on the passage.

3. The pronominal object *must* be represented by אֶת with a suffix (instead of a verbal suffix), when (a) it precedes the verb, e. g. Num. 22, 33 אֶתְכָּה הֲרַגְתִּי וְאוֹתָהּ הֵחַיִּיתִי *I had slain thee and saved her alive*; Gen. 7, 1. Lev. 22, 28. 1 Sam. 8, 7. Is. 43, 22. 57, 11. Jer. 4, 17. 22, 7, 19; (b) when a suffix is already

attached to the verb, and as a rule when a second accusative with ׀ follows, e. g. 2 Sam. 15, 25 וְהִרְאֵנִי אֹתוֹ and he will show me it; Ex. 17, 3 לְהַמִּית אֹתִי לְהַמִּית אֹתִי וְאֶת־בְּנֵי to kill us and our children; Num. 16, 32. 1 Sam. 5, 11. 2 Sam. 14, 16 (but cf. also Dent. 11, 6. 15, 16, &c., and Driver on 1 Sam. 5, 10); (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. Gen. 41, 39, or when the combination of a suffix with the infinitive might lead to a misunderstanding, e. g. Gen. 4, 15 לְבַלְתִּי הַפּוֹתֹת אֹתוֹ lest one should smite him, &c., where לְבַלְתִּי הַפּוֹתֹת 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* (שָׁמַעַ) and *dicendi*, e. g. Gen. 9, 22, &c., וַיִּנְדֹּב and he told (it); also after נָתַן to give, Gen. 18, 7. 24, 11 and elsewhere, לָקַח to take, הָבִיא to bring, שָׁיַם to lay, Gen. 9, 23 and elsewhere, מָצָא to find, Gen. 31, 33, and others. A personal object is omitted. e. g. in Gen. 12, 19. 24, 51 (after לָקַח).—The omission of the plural object is remarkable, because it leaves an opportunity for a misunderstanding, in Gen. 37, 17 שָׁמַעְתִּי אֶמְרֵיהֶם I heard them saying; perhaps, however, we should read שָׁמַעְתִּים with the Samaritan Pentateuch.

g 5. In common formulae the substantival object is also sometimes omitted (an elliptical expression); thus e. g. פָּרַת 1 Sam. 20, 16 and elsewhere (see the Lexicon) stands for פָּרַת בְּרִית like the English *to close* (sc. a bargain) with any one: נָטַר to keep (sc. אַף anger) equivalent to *to be resentful*, Ps. 103, 9 and elsewhere; so also נָטַר Jer. 3, 5 (beside נָטַר); נָשָׂא קוֹל for נָשָׂא קוֹל to lift up the voice, Is. 3, 7; נָשָׂא לְ for נָשָׂא עוֹן לְ to take away any one's sin (to forgive), Gen. 18, 24. 26. Is. 2, 9; נָשָׂא לְ for נָשָׂא לְ to put forth (sc. יָד the hand) equivalent to *to reach after something*. 2 Sam. 6, 6. Ps. 18, 17.

h 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 condition in which the object is perceived, e. g. Num. 11, 10 וַיִּשְׁמַע מֹשֶׁה אֶת־הָעָם וַיִּבְכֶּה and Moses heard the people weeping; Gen. 7, 1 וַיִּרְאֵהְךָ אֱתֶךָ 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. Gen. 1, 4 and God saw the light, that it was good; Gen. 6, 2. 12, 14. 13, 10. 49, 15. Ex. 2, 2. Ps. 25, 19. Prov. 23, 31. Job 22, 12. Eccles. 2, 24. 8, 17; so with יָדַע to know, Ex. 32, 22. 2 Sam. 3, 25. 17, 8 (with two objects); 1 Ki. 5, 17.

i 7. In certain instances אַת serves apparently to introduce or to emphasize 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

¹ According to the ordinary rules of syntax (comp. § 116. *t*) we should translate, *I heard men who said, &c.*

irrespective of a governing verb. So in the Hebrew of the Mishna¹ (see above, § 3. a) אֶתּוֹ and אֶתָּה are prefixed to a nominative even without any special emphasis.

Naturally the above does not apply to any of the places in which אֶת is not the *nota accusativi*, but a preposition (on אֶת with, comp. § 103. a), e.g. Is. 57, 15. 1 Sam. 17, 34 (וְאֶת־הַדּוֹב) *and that, with a bear*; אֶת־ here, however, has probably been interpolated from verse 36, where it is wanted); 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, 17 and Neh. 9, 32, see below, letter z. In Ezek. 43, 17 כְּבִיב אֶתָּה governs like a verb, being followed by אֶתָּה.

Other cases are clearly due to attraction to a following relative pronoun in the accusative (Ezek. 14, 22. Hag. 2, 5. Zech. 8, 17) 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 Num. 3, 26 (the verbal idea contained in וּמִשְׁמֶרֶת verse 25 is *they had to take charge of*); in Jos. 17, 11 לְ וַיְהִי implies *it was given up* or *they gave him*; 1 Sam. 26, 16 see, where is equivalent to *search now for*; in 2 Sam. 11, 25 אֶל־יָרַע בְּעֵינַיִךְ is used in the sense of *noli aegre ferre*²; Jer. 36, 33 *and he had the brazier before him*; in Eccles. 4, 3 a verb like *I esteem* is mentally supplied before אֶת אֲשֶׁר. On Jos. 22, 17. Neh. 9, 32, see below, letter aa.—Aposiopesis occurs in Deut. 11, 2 *for not your children* (do I mean); still more boldly in Zech. 7, 7, where either שְׂמַעְתֶּם or תִּשְׁמְעוּ (תִּשְׁמְעוּ) is to be supplied.

Setting aside a few undoubtedly corrupt passages³ there still remain the following examples, in which אֶת in the later Hebrew manner (almost in the sense of the Latin *quod attinet ad*) introduces a noun with more or less emphasis, Num. 3, 46. 5, 10. 35, 6. Jud. 20, 44. 46. Ezek. 17, 21. 20, 16. 35, 10. 44, 3. Neh. 9, 19. 34. Dan. 9, 13. 2 Chron. 31, 17.—In Ezek. 47, 17–19 (comp. also 43, 7) it is easy to emend וְאֶת for אֶת־, according to verse 20. However, even the LXX, who have *ταύτα* only in verse 18, can hardly have known any other reading than אֶת; consequently in all these passages אֶת must be regarded as virtually dependent on some governing word, such as *ecce* (LXX 43, 7 *ἐώρακας*), and 47, 17 sqq. as equivalent to *thou shalt have* as a border, &c.

8. Among the solecisms of a later period is finally the introduction of the object by the preposition לְ (prop. *in relation to, in the direction of*), as sometimes

¹ Comp. Weiss, *משפט לשון המשנה* (Vienna, 1867), p. 112.

² So also in 1 Sam. 20, 13 the Qal (יִיטב) is, with Wellhausen, to be read instead of the Hiph'il.

³ Thus 1 Sam. 26, 10, where וַיֵּאָרֶץ is to be read for וַיֵּאָתֶר; 1 Ki. 11, 25, where at present the predicate of the relative clause is wanting; in 2 Ki. 6, 5 the אֶת is probably derived from a text which read the Hiph'il instead of נִפְלַל. In Jer. 23, 33 instead of the artificial explanation *what a burden* (is, do ye ask?) we should read with the LXX and Vulg. אַתֶּם הַמְּשָׂא *ye are the burden*. In Ezek. 10, 22 מְרִאֵיהֶם וְאוֹתָם is unintelligible; in 37, 19 read with Hitzig אֶל־ for אֶת; in Hag. 2, 17 read with the LXX שְׂבַבְכֶם for אֶתְכֶם.

in Ethiopic¹ and very commonly in Aramaic². Less remarkable is this looser connexion of the object with a participle, as with אָבַל Lam. 4, 5; אָפַף Num. 10, 25; וָקַף Ps. 145, 14 (but cf. 146, 8), צָרַר Num. 25, 18, הִשְׁיִיא and שָׁטַח Job 12, 23; before the participle Is. 11, 9.—To introduce an object *preceding* the finite verb לְ is employed in Job 5, 2 (comp. also Dan. 11, 38); also *after* אָהַב Lev. 19, 18. 34; הָאָרֶץ Ps. 129, 3; הַבְּרִיל Ezra 8, 24. 2 Chron. 25, 10; הַכִּיִּן Job 9, 11; בְּרָף 1 Chron. 29, 20 (immediately before with an accusative); הַנִּלָּה 1 Chron. 5, 26; דָּרַשׁ Ezra 6, 21. 1 Chron. 22, 19. 2 Chron. 17, 13; הַלֵּל 1 Chron. 16, 36. 2 Chron. 5, 13; הָרַג 2 Sam. 3, 30. Ps. 135, 11 (verse 10 with accusative), 136, 19; חָבַט (*to bind up*) Is. 61, 1 (Ezek. 34, 4 *before* the verb); יָדַע Ps. 69, 6; לָקַח Jer. 40, 2; הַמְלִיךְ and מָשַׁח 1 Chron. 29, 22; נָהַל 2 Chron. 28, 15; סָמַךְ Ps. 145, 14; עֹבַד 1 Chron. 16, 37; הֶעֱלָה Ezek. 26, 3; פָּתַח Ps. 116, 16; רָרַף Job 19, 28; הִצְדִּיק Is. 53, 11; שָׂכַר 2 Chron. 24, 12 (previously accusatives); שָׂם 1 Sam. 22, 7 (but probably וְכַלְכַּם is to be read); הִשְׁיִב (*in the connexion לְ* הַשִּׁיב דָּבָר) 2 Chron. 10, 6 (but verse 9 and 1 Ki. 12, 9 with an accusative); טָהַר Num. 32, 15. 1 Sam. 23, 10; שָׂאת Ps. 73, 18; שָׁלַח Ezra 8, 16. 2 Chron. 17, 7; שָׁמַר 2 Chron. 5, 11.

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, 17 אֲסִירָיו לֹא־פָתַח בְּיָתָהּ *his prisoners he let not loose nor sent them back to their home*. Comp. Ps. 74, 15 and on this *constructio praeagnans* 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 an object in the form of a noun derived from the same stem³, e. g. Ps. 14, 5 פָּחַדוּ בַּפַּחַד *they feared a fear* (i. e. they were in great fear) Prov. 15, 27; also with the object preceding, e. g. Lam. 1, 8 חָטְאָה חָטְאָה יְרוּשָׁלַם *Jerusalem hath sinned a sin*; with a double accusative (see below, letter *cc*), e. g. 1 Ki. 1, 12 אֶיְעָצֶנָּה נָא עֲצֵה *let me, I pray thee, give thee counsel*; 1 Sam. 1, 6⁴.

q 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

¹ Dillmann, *Grammatik der Äthiopischen Sprache*, p. 349.

² With regard to Biblical Aramaic, see Kautzsch's *Grammatik des Bibl. Aram.*, p. 151 sq. 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.

³ On a kindred use of the infinitive absolute as an *internal object*, see above, § 113. w.

⁴ Comp. *βουλὰς βουλευέειν*, Il. x. 147.

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*¹! Hence it is intelligible that some intensifying attribute is very frequently (as in Greek usually) added to the internal object, e.g. Gen. 27, 34 וַיִּצְעַק צַעֲקָה גְדוֹלָה וּמְרָה עַד־מְאֹד *he cried (with) an exceeding great and bitter cry*; comp. the Greek *voseîn vóson kaîhn, éxárhσαν χαρὰν μεγάλην* (Mat. 2, 10); *magnam pugnare pugnam, tutiorem vitam vivere, &c.*

Examples of an internal object *after* the verb, and without further addition, are Ex. 22, 5. 2 Sam. 12, 16. Is. 42, 17. Ezek. 26, 15. Zech. 1, 2. Prov. 21, 26; with an intensifying attribute, Gen. 27, 33. Ex. 32, 31. Jud. 15, 8. 2 Sam. 13, 36. 1 Ki. 1, 40 (comp. Jon. 4, 6. 1 Chron. 29, 9); Is. 21, 7. 45, 17. Jon. 1, 10. Zech. 1, 14. 8, 2 a. Dan. 11, 3; along with an object proper the internal object occurs with an attribute in Gen. 12, 17. 2 Sam. 13, 15; comp. also Is. 14, 6. Jon. 4, 1.—An internal object with an attribute is found *before* the verb, in Jer. 14, 17. Zech. 1, 15 (comp. also Gen. 30, 8. Jer. 22, 19. 30, 14. Ps. 139, 22). Instead of the substantive which would naturally be expected, another of kindred meaning is used in Zech. 8, 2.

(b) Only in a wider sense can the *schema etymologicum* be made to include cases in which the denominative verb is connected with the noun from which it is derived, e.g. Gen. 1, 11. 9, 14. 11, 3. 37, 7. Ezek. 18, 2. Ps. 144, 6, probably also Mic. 2, 4, or where this substantive, made determinate in some way, follows its verb, e.g. Gen. 30, 37. Num. 25, 11. 2 Ki. 4, 13. 13, 14. Is. 45, 17. Lam. 3, 58², and, determinate at least in sense, Jer. 22, 16; or precedes it as in 2 Ki. 2, 16. Is. 8, 12. 62, 5. Zech. 3, 7; comp. also Ex. 3, 9. 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 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 above, letter *p*, which also, according to letter *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.

Examples of the accusative following the verb are וַיִּצְעַק קוֹל־גְּדוֹל and *I cried a loud voice* i.e. with a loud voice, Ezek. 11, 13. 2 Sam. 15, 23 (after the proper

¹ The Arab grammarians assign to the indeterminate cases generally an intensive sense in many instances; hence the commentators on the *Qorân* usually explain such cases by prefixing *and what kind of . . .!* see § 125. b.

² Also in Ps. 13, 4 *lest I sleep the sleep of death*, הַמָּוֹת is only used pregnantly for לְנִיחַת הַמָּוֹת (comp. Jer. 51, 39), as צַדִּיקוֹת Is. 33, 15 for צַדִּיקוֹת דְּרָהָהּ.

object, Deut. 5, 19. 1 Ki. 8, 55); Ps. 109, 2 *they have spoken unto me* שָׁקַר לְשׁוֹן אֶתְּךָ *a tongue of deceit*, i. e. with a lying tongue; Prov. 10, 4 *he becometh poor* עָשָׂה עֵשֶׂת כַּף־רַמְיָהָ *dealing a slack hand*, i. e. who dealeth with a slack hand; comp. the German *eine schöne Stimme singen*, to sing a fine voice, *eine tüchtige Klinge schlagen*, to smite a trusty sword, *Schlittschuhe laufen*, to run skates (i. e. to skate), and our *to write a good hand*, *to play ball*, &c.—Examples of the accusative preceding are יְהַלְלֵנִי רַנְּנוֹת יְהִלְלֵנִי *my mouth shall praise (thee) with joyful lips*, Ps. 63, 6; comp. Ps. 12, 3, where a *casus instrumenti* with בָּ follows the accusative.

11 4. Many verbs originally intransitive (sometimes even in form; see above, letter *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; comp. e. g. רִיב *to strive*, but also with an accusative *causam alicuius agere* (so even in Is. 1, 17, &c.; elsewhere with לְ of the person for whom one strives); יָבֵל *absolutely to be able*, with an accusative *to prevail over any one*; הִפְיָץ *to be inclined* and רָצָה *to have pleasure* (usually with בָּ), with an accusative *to wish for some one or something*; שָׁכַב *cubare*, then in the sense of *concumbere*, originally always joined with עִם *cum*, but in later Hebrew also with the accusative, Gen. 34, 2, equivalent to *comprimere (feminam)*, &c.

12 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*¹. 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 הִלְבִּישׁ *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, letter *y*.

13 2. The modification of the original meaning becomes especially evident when even reflexive conjugations (*Niph'al*, *Hithpa'el*, &c.) take an accusative (cf. § 57, note 3); e. g. נָבֵא *to prophesy*, Jer. 25, 13; נָסַב (prop. *to put oneself round*) *to surround*, Jud. 19, 22; נִלְחַם *to fight*, Ps. 109, 3 (where, however, the *Qal* וַיִּלְחַמוּנִי should be read; comp. Ps. 35, 1); also הִתְנַחַח *to shave (something) for oneself*, Num. 6, 19; הִתְנַחַח

¹ Thus e. g. עָנָה *to reply to* (ἀπεῖθεοθαί τινα), *to answer any one*; צָוָה *to command* (iubere aliquem); זָכַר *to remember*; קָנָה (also with לְ) *to wait for any one* (to expect any one); בָּשֹׂר *to bring glad tidings to any one* (see the Lexicon); נִאָּף and נָאָף *to commit adultery* (adulterare matronam); עָבַד *to serve* (colere); עָרַב *to become surety for . . .*, and many others.

to take some one for oneself as a possession, Is. 14, 2; הִתְנַבֵּל to make some one an object of craft, Gen. 37, 18; הִתְנַבֵּל to strip a thing off oneself, Ex. 33, 6; הִתְעַבֵּר to bring on oneself the anger of any one, to anger him; הִתְבַּוְּן to consider something, Job 37, 14. Cf. § 54. f.

3. So also it is only owing to a modification of the original meaning of 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. Zech. 7, 5 הַצּוֹם אָנִי הַצּוֹם אָנִי *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 Job 31, 18 הַיָּתוֹם הָיָה לִּי כְּאָבִי *he (the orphan) grew up to me as to a father*; comp. Is. 27, 4. 65, 5. Jer. 31, 3, and in Aramaic Dan. 5, 6; but אָרְצִי הֵנִיב נִתְחַנְּנִי Jos. 15, 19 is to be regarded as a double accusative after a verb of giving. In Is. 44, 21, instead of the Niph'al, read תִּנְשָׁנִי; in Ezek. 29, 3 either עֲשִׂיתִיו is to be read with Olshausen or עֲשִׂיתִים (and previously יִאָרִי) with Smend; in Ps. 42, 5 אֶרְדֶּה or אֶרְדֶּם.

4. Whole classes of verbs, which, according to letter *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—

(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 מְשַׁבְּצִים זָהָב enclosed in gold, Ex. 28, 20). Also in poetic expressions such as Ps. 65, 14 לָבָשׁוּ כְרִים הַצֹּאן the pastures are clothed with flocks, comp. Ps. 109, 29; 104, 2 (עָטָה); 65, 14 b (עָטָה), &c.¹

(b) Verba copiae and inopiae (also called verba abundandi and deficiendi), as מָלֵא to be full of something, Ex. 8, 17; here, and also frequently elsewhere, construed with אָת, and hence evidently with an accusative; Gen. 6, 13; with a personal object, Ex. 15, 9 *my lust shall be satisfied upon them*; with an accusative preceding the verb for the sake of emphasis, e. g. Is. 1, 15 יְדָמִים מָלְאוּ אֶת יְדָיִךְ are full of blood, comp. Is. 22, 2; so also the Niph. נִמְלֵא to fill oneself with something, e. g. Gen. 6, 11. Ex. 1, 7 (where the object is connected by אָת); Is. 2, 7 sq. 6, 4. Prov. 3, 10; נִזְרַע to be fructified with, Num. 5, 28; שָׂרִיץ to swarm with, Gen. 1, 20. 21. Ex. 7, 28; שָׂבַע (שָׂבַע) to be full of, Is. 1, 11. Joel 2, 19. Prov. 12, 11; נִבְרַח to become strong, to wax mighty in something, Job 21, 7; פָּרַח to overflow with something, Prov. 3, 10 (with the object preceding); יָרַד prop. to descend, poetically also to pour down, to overflow with something (comp. in Greek *ἠροπέειν ἕδωρ, δάκρυα στάειν*), e. g. Lam. 3, 48 פְּלָגֵי מַיִם תִּרְדַּע עֵינַי *mine eye runneth down with rivers of water*; 1, 16. Jer. 9, 17. 13, 17. Ps. 119, 136; so also הִלָּךְ to run over with, to flow with, Joel 4, 18; נִזְלַח to gush out with, Jer. 9, 17; נָטַף to drop, to overflow with, Jud. 5, 4. Joel 4, 18 a; פָּרַח to break forth, Ex. 9, 9; שָׂטַף to overflow, to pour forth, but also (transitively) to overflow with, Is. 10, 22; נִבַּח to bud with, Prov. 10, 31; so perhaps also עָבַר to pass over, to overflow with,

¹ From the idea of covering oneself with something, we might also, if necessary, explain Ex. 30, 20 יִרְחֲצוּ מַיִם יְרַחֲצוּ they shall wash themselves with water; but the reading is simply to be emended to the ordinary בַּמַּיִם.

Jer. 5, 28; יָצָא *to go forth* with, Amos 5, 3.—Especially bold, but still on the analogy of the above examples, is Is. 5, 6, where it is said of a vineyard וְעֵלְהָ וְשָׁמִיר וְחִשְׁתִּיתָ *but it shall come up* (it shall be overgrown) *with briars and thorns*; comp. Prov. 24, 31, and still more boldly, Is. 34, 13.

aa With the opposite idea, חָסַר *to be in want of, to lack*, Gen. 18, 28; הִמְעַט־לָנוּ *to be bereaved of* (as though it were *to lose*), Gen. 27, 45.—In Jos. 22, 17 even הִמְעַט־לָנוּ (prop. *was there too little for us of . . . ?*) as being equivalent to a verbum inopiae (= had we too little of . . . ?) is construed with an accusative; cf. Neh. 9, 32.

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 Gen. 4, 20 after יָשַׁב, cf. § 118. g; Jud. 5, 17. Is. 33, 14 after גָּוַר; Is. 33, 16 with שָׁכַן; or even the person (the people) with whom any one dwells or is a guest, as Ps. 5, 5. 120, 5 after גָּוַר.

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. קָלַל Gen. 47, 12 and elsewhere) of verbs which are simply transitive in *Qal*, and hence also of *verba induendi* and *exuendi*, &c. (comp. above, letters *a* and *u*, and also *y*, *z*), e. g. Ex. 33, 18 אֶת־בְּבִרְךָ נָא הַרְאֵנִי גֹדֶל־כְּבוֹד־ךָ *show me, I pray thee, thy glory*. Thus very frequently הוֹדִיעַ *to cause some one to know something*; לְמַד *docere aliquem aliquid*, &c.; comp. further, Gen. 41, 42 וַיִּלְבַּשׁ אֹתוֹ בְּגָדֵי־יִשְׁשׁ *and he caused him to put on vestures of fine linen* (he arrayed him in vestures, &c.); comp. in the opposite sense, Gen. 37, 23 (both accusatives after הִפְשִׁיט introduced by אֵת); so with מָלֵא *to fill, to fill up* with something, Gen. 21, 19. 26, 15. Ex. 28, 3; אָוַר *to gird some one with something*, Ps. 18, 33; עָטַר *to crown*, Ps. 8, 6 and elsewhere; חָסַר *to cause some one to lack something*, Ps. 8, 6; הִאָּכִיל *to feed some one with something*, Ex. 16, 32; הִשְׁקָה *to make some one drink something*, Gen. 19, 32 sqq.

dd (b) Many verbs (even in *Qal*) which express an influence upon the object through some external means. The latter, in this case, is attached as a second object. They are especially—

ee (a) Verbs which express *covering, clothing, overlaying*, הָגַר Ex. 29, 9, צָפָה Ex. 26, 29 and elsewhere, טוּחַ Ezek. 13, 10 sqq., עָטַר Ps. 5, 13; comp. also אָבֵן רִגַם אָבֵן Jos. 7, 25 and elsewhere; hence also verbs which express *sowing* (וָרַע Jud. 9, 45. Is. 17, 10. 30, 23), *planting* (Is. 5, 2), *anointing* (Ps. 45, 8) with anything.

ff (b) Expressions of *giving*, thus נָתַן Jos. 15, 19 where the accusative of the thing precedes; *endowing*, וָבַר Gen. 30, 20; and its opposite *taking away*, as קָבַע Prov. 22, 23; בָּרַךְ *to bless some one with something*, Gen. 49, 25. Deut. 15, 14;

to give graciously, הָנִן Gen. 33, 5; to sustain (i.e. to support, to maintain, to furnish) with anything, e.g. Gen. 27, 37. Ps. 51, 14 (כָּמֶנֶה); Jud. 19, 5 (כָּעָר); to do something to one, גָּמַל Gen. 50, 15. 17. 1 Sam. 24, 18; comp. also קָדַם to come to meet any one with something, Ps. 21, 4, שָׁלַם to repay some one with something (with two accusatives, Ps. 35, 12. Prov. 13, 21), and for the accusative of the person comp. εἰδ, καθὼς πᾶρτεν τινά. In a wider sense we may also include such phrases as they hunt every man his brother with a net, Mic. 7, 2; to shoot at one with arrows, Ps. 64, 8 (though this is against the accents), &c.

(γ) Expressions of asking some one for something, desiring something from some one (שָׁאַל Deut. 14, 26. Ps. 137, 3); answering any one anything (עָנָה Mic. 6, 5 and elsewhere; comp. in the other conjugations דָּבַר הַשִּׁיב prop. *verbum reddere* with an accusative of the person, 1 Ki. 12, 6 and elsewhere, also in the sense of announcing; sometimes also הִגִּיד to declare something to some one, Job 26, 4 and elsewhere, for הִגִּיד לְ; צָוָה to enjoin a person something, Ex. 34, 32. Deut. 1, 18. 32, 46. Jer. 7, 23.

(δ) Expressions which mean to make, to build, to form 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. Gen. 2, 7 וַיִּצְרֶה יְהוָה אֱלֹהִים אֱדָמָה וַיִּצְרֶה אֱדָמָה וַיִּצְרֶה אֱדָמָה וַיִּצְרֶה אֱדָמָה and *Yahweh God formed man of the dust of the ground*; so with יָצַר also in 1 Ki. 7, 15; further Ex. 38, 3 כָּל־בְּלֵי עֹשֶׂה נְחֹשֶׁת all the vessels thereof made he of brass (for another explanation of the accusative נְחֹשֶׁת, linguistically possible but excluded by the context, see below, letter *ii* with *kk*); comp. Ex. 25, 18. 28, 26, 1. 14 sq. 29, 27, 1. 36, 8. 1 Ki. 7, 27; with a preceding accusative of the material, Ex. 25, 29. 29, 2. Deut. 27, 6 אֲבָנִים שְׁלֵמוֹת תִּבְנֶה to build the altar of the Lord.

(ε) Verbs which express making, preparing, forming into anything, along with the object proper, take a second accusative of the product, e.g. Gen. 27, 9 אֶעֱשֶׂה אֹתָם מִטְעָמִים I will make them (the kids) into savoury meat; comp. Gen. 6, 14. 16. Ex. 26, 1 b. 30, 25. 32, 4. Is. 44, 15. Hos. 8, 4. 1 Ki. 18, 32 וַיִּבְנֶה אֶת־הָאֲבָנִים מִזֶּבֶחַ and he built the stones (into) an altar; so also אָפַק, with two accusatives, to bake something into something, Ex. 12, 39. Lev. 25, 4; שָׂם (prop. to set up for something, comp. Gen. 27, 37. 28, 18. Ps. 39, 9, and הִרִים Gen. 31, 45) to change into something, Jos. 8, 28. Is. 50, 2. 51, 10. Mic. 1, 7. 4, 13¹; with two accusatives of the person (to appoint, promote any one to the position of a . . .), Is. 3, 7; נָתַן is also used in the same sense with two accusatives, Gen. 17, 5, and נָשִׂית 1 Ki. 11, 34; as a rule, however, the description of the position, and also frequently of the product, is introduced by לְ to, § 119. *t*; also

[¹ This occurs also in Syriac, see Knös, *Chrest.*, p. 87, 15; and still more extensively in such languages as the Dyak. The Semitic languages dislike adjectival formations to indicate the material.—G.W.C.]

לַשִׁי to make a thing so and so (Is. 5, 6. 26, 1; with a personal object, Ps. 21, 7¹. 91, 9); *הַחֲשִׁיךְ* to make dark, Am. 5, 8. Of the same class also are instances like Job 28, 2 *אֶבֶן יָצוּק נְחוּשֶׁה* a stone they smelt into brass; 1 Ki. 11, 30 *וַיִּקְרַעְהָ שָׁנַיִם עֶשֶׂר קָרָעִים* and rent it (the garment) into twelve pieces; cf. Is. 37, 26, accusative of the product before the object proper, after *לְהַשְׁחִיתוֹת* to lay waste. On a second object with *verba sentiendi* (as *יָדַע* to know something to be something, Eccles. 7, 25; *רָאָה* to see, find to be, Gen. 7, 1; *הִשָּׁב* to esteem one to be something, Is. 53, 4, elsewhere always construed with *לְ* or *כִּי*), cf. letter *h*.

kk Rem. At first sight some of the examples given above appear to be identical in character with those treated under letter *hh*; thus it is possible, e.g. in 1 Ki. 18, 32, by a translation which equally suits the sense, *he built from the stones an altar*, to explain *מִזְבֵּחַ* as the nearer object and *אֶת-הָאֲבָנִים* as an accusative of the material, and the construction would then be exactly the same as in Deut. 27, 6. 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, 25 *thou shalt not build them* (the stones of the altar) *נִיִּית* as *hewn stones*, comp. also Gen. 1, 27. 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 Ki. 18, 32 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 Deut. 27, 6 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 action², e.g. Ps. 3, 8 *for thou hast smitten all mine enemies לְחִי* (as to) *the cheek bone*, equivalent to *upon the cheek bone*; comp. Gen. 37, 21 *let us not smite him נִפְשׁוֹ* in the life, i. e. let us not kill him; Deut. 22, 26. 2 Sam. 3, 27; also with *שִׁפָּה* Gen. 3, 15; with *רָעָה* Jer. 2, 16; in poetry the object specially concerned is, by a bold construction, even placed first, Deut. 33, 11 (with *מָחִיץ*).

¹ Comp. the very pregnant expression of the same character in Ps. 21, 13 *שִׁבְתוּם* *כִּי חֲשִׁיתָמוּ* for thou shalt make them (as) a neck, i. e. thou shalt cause them to turn their necks (backs) to me; similarly Ps. 18, 41 (2 Sam. 22, 41. Ex. 23, 27); *רָעָה* *אֵיבֵי נִתְתָּה לִי* thou hast given mine enemies unto me as a back; comp. Jer. 18, 17.

² Analogous to this is the *σχήμα καθ' ὅλον καὶ κατὰ μέρος* in Greek epic poetry, e.g. *ποῖόν σε ἔπος φύγε ἕρκος ὀδόντων*.

§ 118. *The Looser Subordination of the Accusative to the Verb.*

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.

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* (תא) may be prefixed; secondly from the fact that in one form of 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 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. loci*), either (a) in answer to the question *whither?* after verbs of motion¹, 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)² is frequently found in the cases mentioned under letter *f* (sometimes also in those under letter *g*) or the preposition אֶל־, especially before persons as the aim of the movement, or בְּ, usually to express being at a place.

Examples of (a): יֵצֵא הַשָּׂדֶה let us go out into the field, 1 Sam. 20, 11; comp. Gen. 27, 3. 31, 4. Job 29, 7; לָלֶכֶת תַּרְשִׁישׁ to go to Tarshish, 2 Chron. 20, 36;

¹ So commonly in Sanskrit; in Greek only poetically, e. g. Il. i. 317 *κνίσση δ' οὐρανὸν ἴκεν*: in Latin, e. g. *rus ire, Romam proficisci*.

² Hence e. g. in 1 Sam. 9, 26 the Masora requires הַגִּנָּה instead of the *Keth.* הַגֵּן.

³ So in Jud. 19, 18 for אֶת־בַּיִת the better reading is אֶל־בַּיִת.

comp. Gen. 10, 11, 13, 9, 24, 27, 26, 33, 31, 21. Ex. 4, 9, 17, 10. Jud. 1, 26, 2 Ki. 11, 19. Nah. 1, 8 (?). Ps. 134, 2; with נָתַן Jos. 6, 24; with the *accus. loci* emphatically preceding (cf. Driver on 1 Sam. 5, 8), 1 Ki. 2, 26. Is. 23, 12. Jer. 2, 10, 20, 6, 32, 5; with $\text{בֹּאֵה$ (in the sense of *aggrēdi* equivalent to עָלָה , comp. § 117. a, note 2) the *personal aim* also is poetically added in the accusative, Ezek. 32, 11, 38, 11. Prov. 10, 24, 28, 22. Job 15, 21, 20, 22; but in the last passage it is better taken as an accusative of the object (comp. the German *einen ankommen, überkommen*). See also Num. 10, 36 (where שָׁב can hardly be transitive); Jud. 11, 29. 1 Sam. 13, 20.—Finally, comp. also the use of אֵשֶׁר for שָׁמָּה . . . אֵשֶׁר *whither*, Num. 13, 27.—The *accus. loci* occurs after a passive, e. g. Gen. 12, 15.

g Examples of (b): Gen. 38, 11 *remain a widow* בֵּית אָבִיךָ *in thy father's house*; comp. Gen. 24, 23. 1 Sam. 17, 15. 2 Sam. 2, 32. Is. 3, 6. Hos. 12, 5. Mic. 6, 10. 2 Chron. 33, 20; בַּתַּח הַהֶאֱהָל *in the tent door*, Gen. 18, 1, 10, 19, 11 and frequently. As observed by Driver on 1 Sam. 2, 29, accusatives of this kind are almost without exception (but cf. Is. 16, 2. 2 Chron. 33, 20) 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 for euphonic reasons, in order to avoid the combination of such sounds as בְּבֶ and בְּפֶ ; comp., moreover, Gen. 2, 14, 4, 16. Ex. 18, 5. Lev. 6, 8 (הַמִּזְבֵּחַ instead of the usual הַמִּזְבֵּחַה Ex. 29, 13 &c.); Deut. 1, 2, 19¹. 2 Sam. 17, 26. 1 Ki. 7, 8. Prov. 8, 3, 9, 14. On Is. 1, 30 see § 116. i; on יָשַׁב , with the *accus. loci*, see § 117. bb. On the other hand, in Deut. 6, 3, according to the LXX, a verb of *giving* has dropped out before אָרְצָךְ .

h Examples of (c): Gen. 7, 20 *fifteen cubits upward did the waters prevail*; Gen. 31, 23, 41, 40 $\text{אֶנְדֵּל מִמְּנוֹהַ$ $\text{רַק הַכִּפֹּאֵה אֶנְדֵּל}$ *only in the throne will I be greater than thou*; Deut. 1, 19 *we went (through) all that great and terrible wilderness*; comp. Job 29, 3. Of the same kind also are such cases as Ex. 16, 16 (*according to the number of your persons*, for which elsewhere לְמִסְפָּר is used); 1 Sam. 6, 4 (with the *accus. preceding*); 6, 18. 2 Sam. 21, 20. Job 1, 5.—A statement of weight is put in the accusative in 2 Sam. 14, 26.

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 עָרֵב *at evening*, לַיְלָה *noctu*, בֶּקֶר *in the morning, early*, Ps. 5, 4 and elsewhere, צַהֲרַיִם *at noonday*, Ps. 91, 6; comp. also אֶחָד יוֹם *on one and the same day*, Gen. 27, 45; also שָׁנָא *in sleep*, Ps. 127, 2; $\text{הַתְּחִלַּת קָצִיר שְׁעָרַיִם}$ (*Q'eré 'bēt*) *at the beginning of barley harvest*, 2 Sam. 21, 9; in stating a date, Gen. 11, 10, 14, 4 *in the thirteenth year*.

k (b) In answer to the question *how long?* e. g. Gen. 3, 14 and

¹ In Ps. 2, 12 דַּרְכֵי הַיָּם 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, letter m.

elsewhere, כָּל-יְמֵי חַיֶּיךָ *all the days of thy life*; 7, 4 *forty days and forty nights*; 7, 24. 14, 4. 15, 13. 21, 34. 29, 18. Ex. 20, 9 (*for six days*); 23, 15. 31, 17; עוֹלָמִים *for ever*; 1 Ki. 8, 13; also with the accusative made determinate, Ex. 13, 7 אֶת שִׁבְעַת הַיָּמִים *throughout the seven days* in question, mentioned immediately before; comp. Jud. 14, 17. Deut. 9, 25.

4. The accusative is sometimes used of abstract ideas to state the reason (*accus. causae*), e. g. Is. 7, 25 *thou shalt not come thither* יִרְאַת שָׁמִיר *for fear of briars*.

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 condition 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—

(a) Adjectives expressing *condition*, placed *after* the verb to describe more accurately some bodily or other external state, e. g. Is. 20, 2 *walking naked and barefoot*; comp. verse 3. 8, 21. Gen. 15, 2. 33, 18 (שָׁלֵם). Jud. 8, 4. Mic. 1, 8. Ps. 15, 2 (unless הַיָּמִים be a substantive and directly dependent on הוֹלֵךְ = *he that walketh in uprightness*); 107, 5. Job 30, 28; after an accusative, e. g. Deut. 15, 18; to specify some mental state, e. g. Gen. 37, 35 (אֲבִיל).—*Before* the verb (and then with a certain emphasis), Am. 2, 16. Job 1, 21. Eccles. 5, 14; Lev. 20, 20. Job 19, 25. 27, 19. 31, 26 (unless יָקָר be a substantive); Ruth 1, 21 (רִיקָם parallel with the adverb מִלְּאָה). In Mic. 2, 7 the text is clearly corrupt.

These examples are especially instructive in which the adjective expressing condition, although referring to several, is nevertheless used in the singular, e. g. Job 24, 10 עָרוֹם הֵלְכוּ *naked, i. e. in the condition of one naked, they go about*; comp. verse 7; in 12, 17 and Is. 20, 4 the singular occurs *after* a plural object. This construction clearly proves that the term expressing the condition is not conceived as being in apposition, but as an indeclinable adverb.

(b) Participles, again either *after* the verb, Gen. 49, 11. Num. 16, 27. 1 Sam. 2, 18. Jer. 2, 27. 43, 2. Ps. 7, 3. Job 24, 5. Cant. 2, 8, or *before* it, Ex. 3, 18. Is. 57, 19. Ezek. 36, 35. Ps. 56, 2. 92, 14. Prov. 20, 14; comp. also the substantival use of the participles נִרְאֶה *in a fearful manner* (Ps. 139, 14) and נִפְלְאוֹת *in a wonderful manner*, Job 37, 5. Dan. 8, 24.—Also participles in connexion with genitives, as מִתְהַלֵּךְ Gen. 3, 8 (comp. also בָּאָה 1 Ki. 14, 6), are to be regarded as expressing a condition and not as being in apposition, since in the latter case they would have to take the article.—In 2 Sam. 13, 20. 1 Ki. 7, 7 and Hab. 2, 10 the *explicative Wāw* (equivalent to the German *und zwar*) is also prefixed to the participle. In Ps. 69, 4 for מִיַּחַל read מִיַּחַל.

(c) Substantives¹ in the most varied relations: thus, as describing an external

¹ Comp. above, § 100. c, on certain substantives which have completely become adverbs; and § 113. h and k on the adverbial use of the infinitive absolute.

condition, e.g. Mic. 2, 3 וְלֹא תִלְכּוּ רוּמָה neither shall ye walk haughtily (as opposed to שָׁחֹחַ Is. 60, 14); Lev. 6, 9 (accus. before the verb = as unleavened cakes), Deut. 2, 9. 4, 11. Jud. 5, 21. Is. 57, 2. Prov. 7, 10. Job 31, 26. Lam. 1, 9; as stating the position of a disease, 1 Ki. 15, 23 he was diseased אֶת-רַגְלָיו in his feet (2 Chron. 16, 12 בְּרַגְלָיו), analogous to the cases discussed in § 117. *ll* and § 121. *d* (*d*); as describing a spiritual, mental, or moral condition, e.g. Num. 32, 14. Jos. 9, 2 (בְּאֶחָדָהּ with one accord, 1 Ki. 22, 13; comp. Ex. 24, 3. Zeph. 3, 9), 1 Sam. 15, 32. 2 Sam. 23, 3. Jer. 31, 7. Hos. 12, 15. 14, 5. Ps. 56, 3. 58, 2. 75, 3. Prov. 31, 9. Job 16, 9. Lam. 1, 9; Lev. 19, 16, &c., in the expression הָקַף רַגְלֵי רַבִּיל to go up and down as a tale-bearer; also בְּטֹחַ unawares, Gen. 34, 25. Ezek. 30, 9; מִישְׁרִים uprightly, Ps. 58, 2. 75, 3 (in both places before the verb); as stating the age, e.g. 1 Sam. 2, 33 (if the text be right) יָמוּתוּ אַנְשֵׁים they shall die as men, i. e. when they be men; comp. 1 Sam. 2, 18 (נָעַר). Is. 65, 20, and Gen. 15, 16; as specifying the number more accurately, e.g. Jer. 13, 19 שְׁלֹמִים wholly; comp. Deut. 4, 27. 2 Ki. 5, 2. Jer. 31, 8; as stating the consequence of the action, Lev. 15, 18, &c.

r The description of the external or internal condition may follow, in poetry, in the form of a comparison with some well-known class, e.g. Is. 21, 8 וַיִּקְרָא אַרְיֵה and he cried as a lion; comp. Ps. 22, 14. Is. 22, 18 (כְּדֹרֶר like a ball); Is. 24, 22. Zech. 2, 8. Ps. 11, 1 (unless צְפוֹר be vocative); 58, 9 *b* (unless the force of the preceding $\ddot{\text{z}}$ is carried on, as in Ps. 90, 4); Ps. 144, 12. Job 24, 5 (פְּרָאִים), before the verb); 41, 7 shut up together as with a close seal¹.

s 6. To the expressions describing condition belong finally those nouns which are introduced by the comparative particle $\ddot{\text{z}}$ ², since the $\ddot{\text{z}}$ is to be regarded as originally a substantive³ in the sense of *amount*, *kind* (*instar*), standing in the accusative (so that $\ddot{\text{z}}$ is equivalent to *as a kind of*, *after the manner of*, *according to*), while the following noun represents a genitive governed by the $\ddot{\text{z}}$. From this, which is the proper meaning of the $\ddot{\text{z}}$, may be explained its power of representing a great many pregnant relations, which in English

¹ 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 $\ddot{\text{z}}$, which is otherwise regularly prefixed (see letter *s*), has actually dropped out.

² On the use of $\ddot{\text{z}}$ as a prefix, cf. § 102. *c*.

³ Schwabe ($\ddot{\text{z}}$ nach seinem Wesen und Gebrauch im alttestam. Kanon gewürdigt, Halle, 1883) has recently again contested this explanation (which is defended especially by Fleischer). He, with Gesenius and Ewald, places $\ddot{\text{z}}$ as a preposition on the same footing as $\ddot{\text{z}}$ and ל , and believes it to be probably connected with the stem בָּן as well as with בֵּי and בֵּין . The above view of $\ddot{\text{z}}$ 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 $\ddot{\text{z}}$ in numerical statements, in the sense of *about*, *nearly*, see the Lexicon.

can only be rendered by the help of prepositions¹. Thus the comparison may refer to—

(a) The *place*, e.g. Is. 5, 17 *בְּרִבְרָם* after the manner of, i.e. as in their pasture; *t* 23, 15 as (it is said) in the song of the harlot; 28, 21. 29, 7 *בְּחֵלֹם* as in a dream.

(b) The *time*, especially in the connexion *בְּיוֹם* after the manner of the day, *u* equivalent to as in the day, Is. 9, 3. Hos. 2, 5; *בְּיָמַי* as in the days . . . , Is. 51, 9. Hos. 2, 17. 9, 9. 12, 10. Am. 9, 11; comp., moreover, Lev. 22, 13. Is. 17, 6. Job 5, 14. 29, 2, and the expressions *בְּיוֹם בְּיוֹם* as day by day = as in former days, 1 Sam. 18, 10; *בְּפַעַם בְּפַעַם* as at other times, 1 Sam. 3, 10, &c.; *בְּשָׁנָה בְּשָׁנָה* as in former years, 2 Ki. 17, 4; cf. § 123. *c*. Of a different character is the use of *בְּ* as a simple particle of time, e.g. Gen. 18, 10 *בְּעֵת חַיָּה* at this time (not about the time), when it lives again, i.e. at the end of a year; *בְּעֵת מָחָר* to-morrow at this time; comp. Is. 23, 5, and the frequent connexion of *בְּ* with the infinitive construct to express a definite time, Gen. 12, 14. 27, 34. Ex. 9, 29, &c.

(c) The *person*, e.g. Gen. 34, 31 *כִּי יִדְבַּר אִישׁ אִתָּךְ* should he deal with our sister as with a harlot? *v*

(d) The *thing*, e.g. Is. 10, 14. Ps. 33, 7. Job 28, 5 *כִּי מוֹאֵשׁ* as a fire, i.e. as *z* it were by fire (comp. Is. 1, 25 *כִּי בַבַּר* as with lye); Job 29, 23 *כִּי מַטָּר* as for the rain (they waited for me); Job 38, 14 (as in a garment); 38, 30 *כִּי אֶבֶן* as to stone (the waters are contracted in freezing).

Rem. According to the earlier grammarians, *בְּ* is sometimes used pleonastically, *x* i.e. not to indicate a similarity (as in Lev. 14, 35 as it were, i.e. something like), but simply to introduce the predicate (*Kaph veritatis*), e.g. Neh. 7, 2 *כִּי הָיָה אִישׁ אֱמֻנָה* a faithful man; cf. 1 Sam. 20, 3 *כִּי יִשָּׁע*, Lam. 1, 20 *כִּי פָּוָה*. 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 *בְּ* with a certain emphasis (equivalent to *in every respect like*); thus *כִּי הָיָה אִישׁ אֱמֻנָה* in Neh. 7, 2 means simply of the nature of a faithful man, i.e. as only a faithful man can be; comp. Num. 11, 1. Is. 1, 7. 13, 6. Hos. 4, 4. 5, 10. Ob. 11. Job 24, 14. 27, 7. Lam. 1, 20. 2, 4; also *כִּי מְעַט* in such passages as Ps. 105, 12 *yea, very few*; but e.g. in Is. 1, 9 *only just, a very small . . .*

§ 119. *The Subordination of Nouns to the Verb by means of Prepositions.*

1. In general. As is the case with regard to the looser subordina- *a* tion of nouns to the verbal idea (§ 118), so also their subordination by means of prepositions is used to represent the more immediate

¹ It would be altogether unsuitable here also (see above, note on letter *r*) to assume a loss of the preposition. Such examples as Is. 1, 26 (*כִּי בְרָאשֵׁנָה* and *כִּי בְרִתְהָלָה*), Lev. 26, 37 (*כִּי מִפְּנֵי*) are to be explained from the fact that here the preposition and substantive had already become simply one word before the *כִּי* was prefixed. We find also *כִּי עָלָה* Is. 59, 18. 63, 7. Ps. 119, 14, and 2 Chron. 32, 19; cf. Driver on 1 Sam. 14, 14 (*כִּי בְרִתְהָלָה*), where the text is wholly corrupt.

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, comp. § 101, where a list of the prepositions is given with their original meanings. Comp. also § 102 on the prefixes, and § 103 on the union of prepositions with suffixes.

b 2. A not unimportant part is played in Hebrew by the *compounding* of prepositions to represent more accurately the relations of place, which may either precede or follow the action. In the former case מִן, and in the latter (which is not so frequent) אֶל- occurs before other prepositions of place; comp. e. g. Amos 7, 15 *the Lord took me from behind the flock*; 2 Ki. 9, 18 *turn thee אֶל-אֶחָרַי to behind me, i. e. turn thee behind me*; מֵעִם- מֵאֵת *from with . . .*, as in French *de chez, d'auprès, quelqu'un*¹. For further examples, see letter *c*.

c Rem. 1. We must *not* regard as combined prepositions in the above sense 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*, Gen. 4, 16, &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 מְחַרְזֵן *without*, מִתַּחַת *in the sense of below*², מֵעַל *above*

¹ 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*, comp. e. g. Is. 6, 6.

² Hence not to be confounded with מִתַּחַת *from under*, in such examples as Prov. 22, 27, 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 מִלְּבַדְּי מִבְּלִעְדֵי *without*, comp. also such examples as מִבְּלֵי, מִטּוֹל, מִנְּגַד, מִשָּׁם (there), &c. Since a מִן- is not usually repeated after מִלְּבַדְּי, it appears as if מִלְּבַדְּי by a transposition of the מִן- stood for the usual לְבַדְּי מִן-. In reality, however, the preposition which forms the adverb into a preposition is omitted here, as in מֵעַל, מִתַּחַת, without a following לְ (see above). Properly מִלְּבַדְּי has a purely adverbial meaning = *taken*

(so also in Gen. 27, 39. 49, 25, not *from above*). These adverbs of place, however, may become prepositions by the addition of לְ, e.g. מִחוּץ לְ outside as regards . . ., i.e. *outside of something*; מִתַּחַת לְ below as regards . . ., i.e. *under something* (cf. לְ עַד-מִתַּחַת לְ until they came under . . ., 1 Sam. 7, 11), מֵעַל לְ over something, &c.; לְבַד מִן-לְבַד 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. Job 26, 5 מִיַּם-מִתַּחַת מַיִם beneath the waters; Neh. 3, 28 (מֵעַל-).

2. Real combinations of prepositions (each retaining its full force) occur—

(a) With מִן- in מֵאַחֵר, מֵאַחֲרַי (see above) *from behind* something; מֵאֵת and מֵעִם *from with* (see above); מִבֵּין or מִבֵּינֹת *from between* something (with motion in either direction, see e.g. Gen. 49, 10); מִלְפָּנַי *from before* (see above); sometimes also מִפְּוֹל Lev. 5, 8 and elsewhere; מֵעַל- *from upon, i.e. up from*; מִתַּחַת *away from under* (see foot-note 2, on p. 396).

(β) With אֶל- in אֶל-אַחֲרַי to behind, אֶל-בֵּינֹת to between; אֶל-מִבֵּית לְ forth between, 2 Ki. 11, 15; אֶל-מִחוּץ לְ forth without, i.e. *out in front of*, Num. 5, 3; אֶל-תַּחַת down under¹.—In Job 5, 5 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*.

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 expressions².

(a) אֶל- (אֵלַי)³ 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, 12 they found him אֶל-מִים רַבִּים by the great waters; comp. Deut. 16, 6. 1 Ki. 13, 20, and a still more remarkable instance in 8, 30 אֶל-מָקוֹם שֶׁבָּתָד אֶל-הַשָּׁמַיִם. This combination of two different ideas, of motion to a place and being or acting in the place (very plainly seen in Deut. 16, 6 but to the place which the Lord thy God shall choose . . . shalt thou bring thine offering and there shalt thou sacrifice, &c.), is the same as the Greek use of εἰς, ἐς for ἐν, the Latin in potestatem, in amicitiam ditionemque esse, manere (Cic. Verr. 5, 38; Div. 2, 14, and elsewhere); cf. also the common German expressions zu Hause, zu Leipzig sein, zu Bette liegen, &c.

by itself, like מֵעַל מִלְמַעְלָה (Syriac men le'ēl) above (adv.), as distinguished from מֵעַל לְ or מֵעַל-לְ (Syriac le'ēl men) over, upon something.—Also לְמִן- from . . . onward is not for מִן-לְ, but the לְ serves merely (just like the Latin usque in usque a, usque ad, usque ex) to indicate expressly the starting-point in question, as an exact terminus a quo (of place or time).

¹ Also in 1 Sam. 21, 5 אֶל-תַּחַת לְ by a pregnant construction is virtually dependent on the idea of *coming into*, contained in the preceding אֵינִי.

² A summary of all the relations and senses in which a preposition may be used, belongs not to the Grammar but to the Lexicon.

³ Cf. Mitchell, 'The preposition el,' in the *Journal of the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis*, 1888, p. 143 sqq.

h (b) בְּ ¹. 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, 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, or in a comparison), or finally the idea of *relying* or *depending* upon . . . , or even of merely *striking* or *touching* something.

i Thus the use of בְּ is explained—

(1) In the sense of *among* (in the domain of), e.g. Mic. 7, 2 $\text{אֵין בְּאָדָם יָשָׁר}$ *there is none upright among men*; in the sense of *consisting of*, in specifying the constituents of a collective idea, e.g. Gen. 7, 21 *and all flesh died . . . in* (= consisting of) *fowl, &c.* Also after ideas of *appearing, manifesting oneself, representing, being*, in the sense of *as, in the capacity of* (prop. in the sphere, after the manner of, see above), *consisting of . . . , tanquam, the* בְּ *essentiae* of the earlier grammarians, corresponding to the Greek $\epsilon\upsilon$, the Latin *in*², and the French *en*, e.g. Ex. 6, 3 *I appeared unto Abraham . . . בְּאֵל שַׁדַּי* *as El Shaddai*; Ps. 68, 5 בְּיָהוָה שְׁמוֹ *his name is Jah* (comp. Is. 26, 4); Job 23, 13 וְהוּא בְּאֶחָד *but he is* (manifests himself as) *one*, i. e. he remains always the same; Deut. 26, 5-28, 62 בְּמִחֵי מְעוֹט *in the condition of being few*; Is. 40, 10. Ps. 39, 7. 55, 19.—Comp. also such examples as Ex. 18, 4 (Ps. 35, 2. 146, 5) בְּעֲזָרִי *as my help*; Prov. 3, 26, perhaps also Ps. 31, 22. 37, 20 (102, 4). For the origin of all these forms of expression Ps. 54, 6 is especially instructive, since $\text{אֲרֹנִי בְּכַמְכִי נִפְשִׁי}$ is not meant to refer to the Lord as *belonging to* the בְּכַמְכִי , but only to ascribe to him a similar character, i. e. *the Lord is one who upholds my soul*; so also Ps. 118, 7. Jnd. 11, 35 [the plur. as in § 124. g-i].—Comp. Gesenius, *Theol. Linguae Hebr.*, i. 174 sq., and Delitzsch on Ps. 35, 2.

k (2) To introduce the object after transitive verbs, which denote *touching, striking, reaching to* (thus to some extent a fastening on, see above) something, in English sometimes rendered by *at, on, &c.*, and in German generally by compounds with *an*, e.g. *anfassen* = אָחַז בְּ , *anrühren* = נָגַע בְּ , &c. To the same category belongs also the construction of verbs denoting *authority* ($\text{מָשַׁל, מָשַׁל, רָדָה, נָגַשׁ}$, the last prop. *to tread on . . .*) with בְּ , inasmuch as the exercise of the authority is regarded as a laying hold of the person ruled; so also, the introduction of the object by בְּ after certain *verba dicendi*, or when the mental action is to be represented as extending to some one or something; e.g. קָרָא בְּ to call *on* some one, נִשְׁבַּע בְּ *iurare per aliquem*, שָׁאַל בְּ to enquire of some one. Again, רָאָה בְּ to look upon, שָׁמַע בְּ to hearken to (bnt cf. also letter *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 רָאָה בְּ to see his desire on any one or anything; comp. however, Gen. 21, 16 *let me not look upon the death of the child*; 1 Sam. 6, 19 *because they had looked [irreverently] at the ark of the Lord*.

Closely related to this is the use of בְּ :

l (3) To introduce the person or thing, which is the object of a *mental act*,

¹ Comp. Wandel, *De particulae Hebr. בְּ indole, vi, usu*, Jena, 1875.

² E.g. *res in praeda captae*, i. e. things taken as spoil; see Nägelsbach, *Lat. Stilistik*, § 123, 4.

e.g. הָאִמּוֹן בְּ *to trust in* (to cleave trustingly to) somebody or something; בְּבִטָּחָה בְּ *to have confidence in . . .*; בְּשִׂמְחָה בְּ *to rejoice in or at something, &c.*; בְּדִבְרֵי בְּ *to speak of (about) some one or something, Deut. 6, 7. 1 Sam. 19, 3. sq. &c.*

(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 בְּ , e.g. בְּאֵכָל בְּ *to share in eating something, Ex. 12, 43 sqq. Lev. 22, 11*; also simply *to eat, to taste of something, Jud. 13, 16. Job 21, 25*; so also בְּלֶחֶם בְּ *to eat of, and בְּשִׂתְתָהּ¹ to drink of something, Prov. 9, 5*; בְּשִׁמְעָה בְּ *to hear a whisper of something, Job 26, 14*; בְּנִשָּׂא בְּ *to bear a share of something, Num. 11, 17. Ezek. 18, 20. Job 7, 13.* Comp. also בְּתַלְקָה בְּ *to give a share of something, Job 39, 17*; בְּבִנְיָה בְּ *to do building to, Neh. 4, 4.*

(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*; comp. Gen. 9, 4 בְּנַפְשׁוֹ בְּ *with the life thereof*; 15, 14. 32, 11 בְּמַקְלִי בְּ *with my staff.* Sometimes בְּ combined with a verb of motion (*to come with something*) expresses the idea of *bringing*, e.g. Jud. 15, 1 *Samson visited his wife with a kid*, i.e. he brought her a kid; Deut. 23, 5. 1 Chron. 15, 19 sqq. 16, 6.

(6) From the idea of connexion with something, being accompanied by something (see letter *n*), is developed, finally, the *instrumental* use of בְּ , 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; comp. Mic. 4, 14 בְּיִטְבֵּט בְּ *they smite with the rod*; Is. 10, 24; Ps. 18, 30 בְּךָ בְּ *by thee* (so also 44, 6, parallel with בְּשִׁמְךָ בְּ); Is. 10, 34. Hos. 1, 7. 12, 14; comp. also בְּעֵבֶר בְּ *to labour by means of some one, i.e. to cause him to labour at it, Ex. 1, 14 and elsewhere.* On בְּ with the passive to introduce the means or the author, see § 121. *f.*

A variety of the בְּ instrumenti is בְּ pretiï (the price being considered as the means of acquiring a thing), comp. Gen. 23, 9. 29, 18 בְּבְרָחַל בְּ ; 30, 16. 33, 19. 34, 15 בְּבֹאֵת בְּ *on this condition*); 37, 28; also, in a wider sense, Gen. 18, 28 בְּ *for the sake of*; 29, 18. 1 Sam. 3, 13.

Rem. The use of בְּ instrumenti to introduce the object is peculiar in such expressions as Ps. 44, 20 *and thou coveredst over us בְּצִלְמוֹתָ with the shadow of death*; Job 16, 10 $\text{בְּפִיָּהֶם עָלֵינוּ בְּעֵרוּ עָלֵינוּ בְּ}$ *they have opened wide their mouth against me* (prop. *have made an opening with their mouth*); comp. Ps. 22, 8. Ex. 7, 20 *he lifted up בְּמִטָּה בְּ the rod*; Jos. 8, 18. Lam. 1, 17. Analogous to some English expressions we find both *to gnash the teeth*, Ps. 35, 16, and *to gnash with the teeth*, Job 16, 9; *to wink the eye*, Prov. 10, 10, and *to wink with the eye*, Prov. 6, 13; so *to shake the head*, Ps. 22, 8, and *to shake with the head*, Jer. 18, 16. Job 16, 4.—In all these instances the verb (intransitive) construed with בְּ has a greater independence, and consequently more emphasis than the verb construed with a direct accusative; the latter conveys a sort of necessary specification of the action, while the noun introduced by בְּ is used rather as a merely adverbial

¹ To be distinguished from בְּשִׂתְתָהּ = *to drink from* (a cup, &c., Gen. 44, 5. Amos 6, 6), as in Arabic and Aramaic (Dan. 5, 2). Comp. also *ἐν ποτηρίοις* (Xen. Anab. 6, 1, 4), *ἐν χρυσώμασι πίνευ* (3 Ezra 3, 6), *in ossibus bibere* in Florus, and the French *boire dans une tasse*.

complement. An instructive example of this is *נָתַן קוֹל* *vocem emittere, to utter a voice*, also *to thunder*, while in *נָתַן בְּקוֹלוֹ* Ps. 46, 7 (68, 34. Jer. 12, 8), *נָתַן* has an independent sense = *he thundered with his voice* (i. e. mightily).

^r (c) *לְ*¹ *to*, a very general expression of *direction towards* anything, is used to represent the most varied *relations* of an action or condition with regard to a person or thing. On the use of *לְ* as a periphrasis for the *genetivus possessoris* or *auctoris* (the idea of belonging to), see § 129; on *לְ* with the passive, to introduce the author or the cause, see § 121. f; on *לְ* in a purely local sense (e. g. *לְיְמִינֶךָ* *at thy right hand*, prop. *towards thy right hand*), or temporal (e. g. *לְעָרֶב* *at evening*, &c.) or distributive, see the Lexicon.

The following uses of *לְ* properly belong to the government of the verb :

- ^s (1) As a *nota dativi*² to introduce the remoter object ; also
- (2) To introduce the *dativus commodi*. This *dativus commodi* (or *incommodi*, e. g. Ezek. 37, 11) is used—especially in colloquial language and in later style—in the form of a pronoun with *לְ*, as an apparently pleonastic *dativus ethicus*, with many verbs, in order to give emphasis to the significance of the occurrence in question for a particular subject. In this construction the person of the pronoun must always agree with that of the verbal form³. By far the most frequent use of this *לְ* is with the pronoun of the 2nd person after imperatives, e. g. *לֵךְ לְךָ* *go, get thee away*, Gen. 12, 1. 22, 2. Deut. 2, 13 (also in the feminine, Cant. 2, 10. 13); *לֵךְ לְךָ* *turn thee aside*, 2 Sam. 2, 21; *קַעַז לְכֶם* *take your journey*, Deut. 1, 7; *לְכֶם* *pass ye over*; *עָבְרוּ לְכֶם* *pass ye over*; *לְךָ* *flee!* (to save thyself), Gen. 27, 43; *עָלִי לְךָ* *get thee up*, Is. 40, 9; *לְכֶם* *turn you*, Deut. 1, 40; *לְכֶם* *return ye*, Deut. 5, 27; *לְךָ* *rise up*, Cant. 2, 10; *לְכֶם* *abide ye*, Gen. 22, 5; *לְךָ* *forbear thee*, 2 Chron. 35, 21 (in the plural, Is. 2, 22); *לְכֶם* *take you*, Deut. 1, 13. Jos. 18, 4. Jud. 20, 7. 2 Sam. 16, 20, and so almost regularly *לְךָ* *the שְׁמֹר* (see above, § 51. n) *cave tibi!* and *לְכֶם* *הִשְׁמְרוּ* *take heed to yourselves*; *לְךָ* *הִימָה* *be thou like*, Cant. 2, 17 (cf. verse 9). 8, 14, is remarkable; after a perfect consecutive, 1 Ki. 17, 3. 1 Sam. 22, 5; after an imperfect consecutive, e. g. Is. 36, 9 *וַתִּבְטַח לְךָ* *and puttest thy trust*.—In the 3rd person, e. g. *לָהּ* *וַתֵּשֶׁב* *and sat her down*, Gen. 21, 16; comp. Ex. 18, 26. Ps. 120, 6. 123, 4. Job 6, 19; even after a participle, Hos. 8, 9.—In the 1st person plural, Ezek. 37, 11.
- ^t (3) To introduce the result after verbs of making, forming, changing, 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.
- ^u (4) In loose connexion with some verbal idea in the sense of *in reference to*, *with regard to* . . . (§ 143. c); so after a *verbum dicendi*, Gen. 20, 13; after a circumstantial expression, 1 Ki. 10, 23; comp. Is. 36, 9; even before the verb, Jer. 9, 2.—To the same class belongs also the *Lamedh inscriptionis* (untranslatable

¹ Comp. Giesebrecht, *Die hebr. Präpos. Lamed*, Halle, 1876.

² Just as in the Romance languages the Latin preposition *ad* (Italian *a*, before vowels *ad*, French *à*, Spanish *á*) and in English *to* are used as a periphrasis for the dative.—On the introduction of the nearer object by *לְ*, cf. § 117. n.

³ Such expressions as the analogous English *he plucked me ope his doublet, but me no buts*, and the like, are accordingly inadmissible in Hebrew.

in English, and hardly more than a mere quotation-mark) which introduces the exact wording of an inscription or title; thus Is. 8, 1 *write upon it . . .* (the words) מִהָר שָׁלֵל וְגו' (comp. verse 3, where the ל naturally is not used); Ezek. 37, 16.

(d) מִן, originally (according to § 101. a) prop. *separation*¹, represents both *v* the idea of *distance, separation or remoteness from* something, and that of *motion away from* something, hence also *descent, origin from* a place, Amos 1, 1.

(1) From the idea of *separation* is naturally derived on the one hand the sense *w* of (*taken*) *from among . . . , e numero*, e.g. Gen. 3, 1 *subtil as none other of the beasts, &c.*; comp. 3, 14. Deut. 33, 24. 1 Sam. 15, 33. Jud. 5, 24 (so especially after the idea of choosing *out of*² a larger class, 1 Sam. 2, 28; comp. Ex. 19, 5 and elsewhere), and on the other hand, the sense of *without* (separated, free from . . .), e.g. Is. 22, 3 מִקֶּשֶׁת אֶסְרֵי without the bow (i. e. without one needing to bend a bow against them) *they were made prisoners*; comp. Jer. 48, 45 מִכֹּחַ without strength; Mic. 3, 6. Job 11, 15. 19, 26. 21, 9, also such examples as Num. 15, 24 *far from the eyes*, i. e. unobserved by the congregation; Prov. 20, 3.

Here also belongs the use of מִן after the ideas of *restraining, withholding from, x* *refusing to* any one, frequently in pregnant expressions, which we can render only by complete final or consecutive clauses, e.g. 1 Sam. 15, 23 *he hath rejected thee away from* (being) *king*, instead of מְהֵיוֹת מ' (as in verse 26), *that thou be no longer king*; comp. 1 Ki. 15, 13. Is. 17, 1 מְעִיר so that it is no longer a city; Jer. 17, 16. Job 28, 11 *he bindeth the streams* מִבְּכֵי that they trickle not; Gen. 16, 2. 23, 6 מִקְבֵר that thou shouldst not bury thy dead; Is. 24, 10.

The מִן has a still more pregnant force in those examples in which the idea of *y* *precluding from anything* is only indirectly contained in the preceding verb, e.g. Gen. 27, 1 *his eyes were dim* מִן־אֵת away from seeing i. e. *so that he could not see*; Is. 7, 8 *Ephraim shall be broken in pieces* מִן־עַם that it be not a people (just as in Is. 23, 1. Jer. 48, 2. 42. Ps. 83, 5); Lev. 26, 13. Is. 5, 6. 49, 15. 54, 9.

¹ Cf. O. Molin, *Om prepositionen min i Bibelhebreiskan*, 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.

² All the *partitive* uses of מִן come 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* מִן־יְשָׁרָאֵל מִן־מְצִרַי (divers) of the princes of Israel, 2 Chron. 21, 4; מִן־בָּלֶזְרִי Lev. 4, 2; 1 Ki. 18, 5; מִן־דַּם הַבָּקָר some of the blood of the bullock, Ex. 29, 12 and elsewhere; Job 27, 6 *my heart doth not reproach me* מִן־יָמַי for any, i. e. for one, of my days; 38, 12 מִן־יָמַיךָ one of thy days, i. e. ever in thy life (this explanation is confirmed by 1 Ki. 1, 6; comp. also 1 Sam. 14, 45. 25, 28). In this way also, the frequently misunderstood Hebrew (and Arabic) idiom is to be explained, by which מִן before אֶחָד, אֶחָת is equivalent to *ullus*; e.g. Lev. 4, 2 *and shall do* מִן־אֶחָת מֵהֵנָּה any one of these things; 5, 13. Deut. 15, 7. Ezek. 18, 10.—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 Gen. 7, 22 of all that was, i. e. *so far as it was*, probably also Gen. 6, 2 (= *whomsoever they chose*).

Ezra 2, 62¹ (for other pregnant constructions with מִן see below, letter *ff*); on מִבְּלִי and מִבְּלִיִּין without, cf. § 152. *y*.

z (2) On the sense of *motion away from* anything depends the use of מִן after such ideas as *to go away from, to beware, to be afraid of, to flee, to escape, to hide oneself from* (comp. *καλύπτω ἀπό, custodire ab*), sometimes again in pregnant expressions, e. g. Is. 33, 15. On the idea of *starting from* anything depends finally the very frequent *causative* use of מִן *on account of, in consequence of* (comp. our *that comes from . . .*), *prae*, e. g. מִרֶב for *multitude*, 1 Ki. 8, 3.

aa (e) -עַל². The two original local meanings of this preposition are *upon* (ἐπί)³ and *over* (ὑπέρ, *super*).

(1) From the original meaning *upon* is explained the use of -עַל after ideas of *commanding, commissioning* (-עַלְפָּקֵד), &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; comp. also, for the last, such examples as Is. 1, 14. Job 7, 20. 23, 2 and especially 2 Sam. 18, 11 וְעָלַי prop. *upon me* would it have been, it would have been incumbent *upon me*, &c.

bb (2). From the original meaning *over* is explained the use of -עַל after ideas of *covering, protecting, guarding* -עַלְבָּקָה, -עַלְגִּנָּן; also the combinations רַחַם עַל- *to have compassion upon . . .*, חוּס עַל-, חֲמַל עַל- *to spare* some one, arise from the idea of a compassionate or protective *bending over* something. Comp. also -עַלְנַלְחָם Jud. 9, 17 = *to fight for* some one, i. e. in his defence.

cc (3) Moreover -עַל is used after verbs of *standing* and *going*, to express 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. Gen. 41, 1 and elsewhere, *Pharaoh . . . stood עַל-הַיָּאֵר by the Nile* (above the water level; comp. Ps. 1, 3), and so especially עָמַד עַל- in the pregnant sense *to stand serving before* some one (prop. *over* one who sits or reclines at table) Zech. 4, 14 (comp. Is. 6, 2, where מִמַּעַל לְ is used for -עַל); הִתְיַצַּב עַל- *to present oneself by* command *before* some one, Job 1, 6 and elsewhere. Comp. also עַל-יְרֵי, עַל-יָד (Job 1, 14) *near, at (on) the side of* some one or something.

¹ On the use of מִן to express the comparative, which likewise depends on the idea of *distance from . . .*, comp. below, § 133. *a*; on מִן as expressing the distance of time from a fixed limit, in the sense of *after*, e. g. Ps. 73, 20 מֵהִקְיִין *after awaking* (comp. *ἐξ ἀπίστου, ab itinere*), or *after the lapse of . . .*, e. g. Gen. 38, 24. Hos. 6, 2, and very frequently מִמֵּיִן *from the end of* i. e. *after the lapse of . . .*, see the Lexicon; also for the use of מִן to represent *resting beside* anything, like the Latin *prope abesse ab . . .*

² Comp. Budie, *Die hebr. Präpos. 'Al* (עַל), Halle, 1882.

³ Since the placing *upon* anything is an addition to it, -עַל also implies *in addition to* something, comp. Gen. 28, 9 (31, 50); 30, 40. 32, 12 (probably a proverbial saying = *mother and children*); Deut. 22, 6. Also עַל *notwithstanding* is no doubt properly *in addition to*, e. g. Job 10, 7 *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.

(4) From the original meaning *above* (not, as formerly explained, *on to* 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 assailer endeavours to take up his position *over* the person attacked, so as to reach him from above, or to *overpower* him; comp. especially קום על to rise up *over* i.e. *against* some one, then with a transference of thought applied to any kind of hostile approach, נלחם על to *fight against* . . . , חנה על to *encamp against* . . . , נאסף על to *gathered together, to assemble against* (Mic. 4, 11; comp. Ps. 2, 2), &c.; even after verbs which express a mental action, e. g. חשב רעה על to *imagine evil against* any one, &c.

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.

Various examples of this *constructio praegnans* have been already noticed above in letters *x* and *y* under מן; for מן comp. also Ps. 22, 22 וּמַפְרִינִי רַמִּים וְעַיִתָּי וְעַיִתָּי and *thou hast answered and saved me from the horns of the wild oxen* (in Is. 38, 17, which Delitzsch translates by *thou hast loved and delivered my soul from the pit*, read חֲשַׁבְתָּ with the LXX); Gen. 25, 23. 2 Sam. 18, 19. Job 28, 12; comp. also וְנָהַ מִן Ps. 73, 27 to *go a whoring from any one* i.e. *to be unfaithful to him*; רָשַׁע מִן Ps. 18, 22 = *to depart wickedly from God*; חָרַשׁ מִן Ps. 28, 1 to *be silent from one* (to turn away in silence); comp. Job 13, 13.

Pregnant constructions with אַחֲרַי: Num. 14, 24 equivalent to וַיִּמְלֵא לְלֶכֶת אַחֲרַי and *he made full to walk* i.e. *walked fully after me*; 1 Sam. 13, 7 חָרְרוּ אַחֲרָיו they *trembled after him* i.e. *went after him trembling*; with אֵל Gen. 43, 33 דָּרַשׁ אֵל to *turn in astonishment to some one* (comp. Is. 13, 8); דָּרַשׁ אֵל Is. 11, 10 and elsewhere, to *turn inquiringly to some one*; חָרַשׁ אֵל Is. 41, 1 to *turn in silence to some one*; חָרַר אֵל Gen. 42, 28 to *turn trembling to some one* (comp. לִקְרֹאת חָרַר to *come trembling to meet*, 1 Sam. 21, 2); comp. further Jer. 41, 7. Ps. 7, 7. 2 Chron. 32, 1; with בָּ Ps. 55, 19 *he hath redeemed and hath put my soul in peace*, exactly like Ps. 118, 5; with לְ Ps. 74, 7 *they have profaned and cast . . . even to the ground*; comp. 89, 40.

5. In poetic parallelism the governing power of a preposition is sometimes extended to the corresponding substantive of the second member¹; e. g. בָּ Is. 40, 19. 48, 14 *he shall perform his pleasure בְּבָבֶל on Babylon, and his arm shall be בְּשַׁרְיָם (for בְּבַשְׂרָיִם) on the Chaldeans*; Job 15, 3; לְ Is. 28, 6. Ezek. 39, 4. Job 34, 10 (perhaps also Gen.

¹ Similarly the force of a negative is sometimes extended to the parallel member; see § 152. 2.

45, 8; מוֹטֵל may, however, be regarded here as a second accusative according to § 117. ii); לְמַעַן Is. 48, 9; מִן Is. 58, 13. Ps. 141, 9; עַד Is. 15, 8; תָּחַת Is. 61, 7.

- ii 6. Adverbs which have acquired a substantival value are sometimes governed by prepositions, e.g. אֶל-הַנֶּם *in vain*, Ezek. 6, 10; אַחֲרֵי-כֵן *after this*; בְּכֵן (Eccles. 8, 10. Est. 4, 16) *then*; לְכֵן and עַל-כֵּן *therefore*; עַד-כֵּן *hitherto*.

§ 120. *Verbal Ideas under the Government of a Verb. Co-ordination of Complementary Verbal Ideas.*

- a 1. When a *relative* verb (incomplete in itself) receives its necessary 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; comp. letters *d* and *g* below, and § 114. *n*, note 3.
- b (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, 1 בְּהִתְמַךְ שׁוֹרֵר (comp. for the form, § 67. *v*) *when thou hast ceased as a spoiler*, i.e. to spoil; Jer. 22, 30 יֹשֵׁב . . . לֹא יִצְלַח *he shall never prosper, sitting*, i.e. so as to sit, &c.; Jon. 1, 6 *what meanest thou, sleeping?* i.e. that thou sleepest¹; by a verbal adjective, 1 Sam. 3, 2 *now his eyes had begun as dim*, i.e. to wax dim.
- c (b) Examples of the subordination of the complementary verbal idea in the imperfect² (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, 21 יְהוֹה תִּפְיֵן . . . יִגְדִּיל *it pleased the Lord . . . to magnify*, &c.; Job 32, 22 לֹא יִדְעֵמִי אֲבִנָּה *I know not to give flattering titles*; after a perfect consecutive, 1 Sam. 20, 19 (where for תָּרַר we should read with the LXX תִּפְקֵד); after an imperfect, Ps. 88, 11. 102, 14.

¹ In יִדְעֵמִי 1 Sam. 16, 16, which appears to be a case of this kind, two different readings are combined, לֹא יִדְעֵמִי and the simple יִדְעֵמִי.

² This kind of subordination is frequent in Arabic and in Syriac (comp. e.g. the Peshittâ, Luke 18, 13); as a rule, however, a conjunction (corresponding to our *that*) is inserted. Comp., moreover, the Latin *quid vis faciam?* Terence; *volo hoc oratori contingat*, Cicero, Brut. 84; and our *I would it were*; *I thought he would go*.

Job 19, 3. 24, 14.—(2) with a difference in the persons: after a perfect, Lev. 9, 6 *this is the thing* תַּעֲשׂוּ יְהוָה הַזֶּה אֲשֶׁר-צִוָּה יְהוָה which the Lord commanded (that) ye should do; a negative imperfect follows צִוָּה in Lam. 1, 10; after the imperfect, Is. 47, 1 (5) יִקְרְאוּלְךָ עוֹד לֹא תוֹסִיפִי עוֹד for thou shalt no more continue (that) they call thee, i. e. thou shalt no longer be called, &c.; Num. 22, 6 *peradventure I shall prevail* (that) we may smite them, and (that) I may drive them out of the land (אֵיכָל may, however, be a scribal error for נוֹכַל, due to the preceding אֵוִל, and in that case the example would belong to No. 1); after a participle, 2 Sam. 21, 4.—A perfect is possibly subordinated in Lam. 1, 10; but the explanation of בָּאֵל as a relative clause is preferable.

2. Instead of subordination (as in the cases mentioned in letters a-c), *d* the co-ordination of the complementary verbal idea in the form of a finite verb (cf. above, letter c) frequently occurs, either—

(a) With the second verb co-ordinated in a form exactly corresponding to the first (but see below, letter e) by means of וְ (וּ, וֹ)¹. As a rule, here also (see above, letter a) the principal idea is introduced only by the second verb, while the first (especially שָׁנָה, הוֹסִיף,² הוֹסִיף) contains the definition of the manner of the action, e. g. Gen. 26, 18 וַיִּשָׁב וַיַּחְפֹּר and he returned and digged, i. e. he digged again; 2 Ki. 1, 11. 13; in the perfect consecutive, Is. 6, 13; with הוֹסִיף, e. g. Gen. 25, 1 and Abraham added and took a wife, i. e. again took a wife; Gen. 38, 5 and frequently; with הִחַל Gen. 9, 20; with הוֹאִיל in the jussive, Job 6, 9; in the imperative (comp. § 110. h), Jud. 19, 6 הוֹאִלְנָא וְלַיְלָה be content, I pray thee, and tarry all night (comp. the English *he was persuaded, and remained for to remain*); 2 Sam. 7, 29; with מָהֵר Gen. 24, 18. 20 and elsewhere; with חָפַד Cant. 2, 3.

Rem. 1. Instead of an exact agreement between co-ordinate verbal forms, other combinations sometimes occur, viz. imperfect and perfect consecutive (comp. § 112. d), e. g. Deut. 31, 12 that they וְיִרְאוּ אֶת-יְהוָה וְיִלְמְדוּ וְיִרְאוּ אֶת-יְהוָה may learn, and fear the Lord, i. e. to fear the Lord; Is. 1, 19. Hos. 2, 11. Est. 8, 6. Dan. 9, 25 b; perfect and imperfect, Job 23, 3 (O that I knew how I might find him); perfect and imperfect consecutive, Jos. 7, 7. Eccles. 4, 1. 7; jussive and imperative, Job 17, 10; comp., finally, Gen. 47, 6 וְאִם-יֹדַעְתָּ וְיִשְׁכַּם וְיִשְׁכַּם and if thou knowest and there are among them, &c., i. e. that there are among them.

¹ Comp. the English colloquial expression *I will try and do it*.

² Of a different kind are the cases in which וְיִסָּף with a negative is co-ordinated with a verb to emphasize the non-recurrence of the action; cf. Num. 11, 25 they prophesied and added not, sc. to prophesy, i. e. but they did so no more; Deut. 5, 19. Job 27, 19 (reading וְיִסָּף וְיִסָּף).

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. Gen. 42, 25 *then Joseph commanded and they filled*¹ (prop. that they should fill, and they filled . . . ; comp. the full form of expression in Gen. 50, 2); a further command is then added by means of ל and the infinitive; Ex. 36, 6; another instance of the same kind is Gen. 30, 27 *I have divined and the Lord hath blessed me, &c.*, i. e. that the Lord hath blessed me for thy sake.

g (β) With the second verb (which, according to the above, represents the principal idea) attached *without the copula*² in the same mood, &c. In this construction (cf. § 110. *h*) the imperatives קום (קומה), קומי, קומי, &c.) and לך (לכה), לכי, &c.) are exceedingly common in the form of interjections, before verbs which express a movement or other action, e.g. קום התהלך *arise, walk*, Gen. 13, 17. 19, 15. 27, 43; in the plural, Gen. 19, 14; Ex. 19, 24 לךרד *go, get thee down*; 1 Sam. 3, 9; with a following cohortative, 1 Sam. 9, 10 לכה גלגה *come, let us go*; Gen. 31, 44 and frequently.—Also with הוסיף, Hos. 1, 6 לא אוסיף עוד *I will not add further and have mercy*, i. e. will no longer have mercy; Is. 52, 1. Prov. 23, 35; שוב (likewise a periphrasis for *again*) in the perfect, Zech. 8, 15; in the imperfect, Mic. 7, 19. Ps. 7, 13. 59, 7. 71, 20; in the jussive, Job 10, 16; in the cohortative, Gen. 30, 31; in the imperative, Jos. 5, 2. 1 Sam. 3, 5 *lie down again*; הואיל (sometimes to express the idea of *willingly* or *gladly*) in the perfect, Deut. 1, 5. Hos. 5, 11; in the imperative, Job 6, 28; הרהבה = *much*, 1 Sam. 2, 3 אלה תרבו תדברו עתק *do not multiply and talk*, i. e. talk not so much *arrogancy*; in the imperative, Ps. 51, 4; החל, Deut. 2, 24 החל רש *begin, possess*; וכל, Lam. 4, 14 וכלו יגעו *without men's being able to touch, &c.*; מהר = *quickly*, in the perfect, Ps. 106, 13; in the imperative, Gen. 19, 22. Jud. 9, 48. Est. 6, 10.—Other examples are: Hos. 9, 9 העמיק = *deeply, radically*; Zeph. 3, 7 השקדים = *early* (even in the participle, Hos. 6, 4. 13, 3); Is. 29, 4 שפל = *low*, comp. Jer. 13, 18; Jos. 3, 16 תמם = *wholly*; Ps. 112, 9 פור = *plentifully*.

h Rem. This co-ordination without the copula belongs (as being more vigorous and bolder) rather to poetic or otherwise elevated style (comp. e.g. Is. 52, 1. Hos. 1, 6, with Gen. 25, 1, &c.). Asyndeton, however, is not wanting even in prose; besides the above examples (especially the imperatives of קום and הלך Gen. 30, 31. Deut. 1, 5. 2, 24. Jos. 3, 16. 1 Sam. 3, 5) cf. also Neh. 3, 20.

¹ Comp. the analogous examples in Kautzsch's *Gramm. des Bibl. Aram.*, § 102.

² 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, 9. Job 29, 8, and elsewhere.

1 Chron. 13, 2. For special reasons the verb representing the principal idea may even come first; thus Is. 53, 11 יִרְאֶה יִשְׁפָּע יְרָאָה *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, 5 קָרְאוּ מְלֵאוּ *cry, fill*, i. e. cry with a full (loud) voice.

§ 121. Construction of Passive Verbs.

1. Verbs which in the active take *one* accusative (either of the *a* proper object, or of the *internal* object, or of nearer definition; comp. § 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. Gen. 35, 19 וַתָּמָת רָחֵל וַתִּקָּבֵר *and Rachel died, and was buried*, &c. The passive, however, is very frequently used *impersonally* (in the 3rd sing. masc.), either absolutely, as Deut. 21, 3 sq. Ezek. 16, 34 (with a dative added, 2 Sam. 17, 16. Is. 53, 5. Lam. 5, 5), or with the object of the active construction still subordinated in the accusative¹, e. g. Gen. 27, 42 וַיִּגֵּד לְרֵבְקָה אֶת־דְּבָרֵי עֵשָׂו *and there were told* (i. e. one told) *to Rebekah the words of Esau*; 2 Sam. 21, 11. 1 Ki. 18, 13.

Other examples are: after Niph., Gen. 4, 18 וַיֵּלֶד לְחֵנוֹךְ אֶת־עִירָר *and unto b Enoch was born Irad* (comp. Num. 26, 60, and after an infinitive, Gen. 21, 5); Gen. 17, 5. 21, 8 (after an infinitive); 29, 27. Ex. 21, 28. 25, 28. Lev. 6, 13. Num. 7, 10 (after an infinitive); 26, 55 (comp. verse 53); Num. 16, 29. Deut. 20, 8 (where, however, for יָמִים the Hiph. יָמָם should be read, according to 1, 28); Jos. 7, 15; with the object preceding, Ex. 13, 7. Lev. 2, 8. 19, 20. Is. 16, 10. Dan. 9, 24².—Also after Pu'al, Jer. 50, 20; *before* Pu'al, Is. 14, 3 אֲשֶׁר equivalent to the internal object עֲבָרָה = *which they have caused to be performed by thee*); Job 22, 9; according to the Masoretic text also Gen. 46, 22, where, however, the Samaritan and LXX read יֵלְדָה for יֵלֵד; the Samaritan in Gen. 35, 26 and 46, 27 also reads יֵלְדוּ, and this (or יֵלֵד) should certainly be read instead of יֵלְדוּ in 2 Sam. 21, 22.—After Hoph., Ex. 10, 8. 27, 7. Lev. 10, 18. 16, 27. Num. 32, 5. 1 Ki. 2, 21. Job 30, 15; after the infinitive Hoph., Gen. 40, 20. Ezek. 16, 4 sq.; *before* Hoph., Is. 17, 1. 21, 2. Hos. 10, 6. Zech. 13, 6. Ps. 87, 3; after the infinitive Hothpa'el, Lev. 13, 55 sq.

¹ When this is not recognizable either by the *nota accusativi*, or by its disagreement with the passive form in gender, number, and person, it 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 (comp. § 144. *g*) of using the active without a specified subject as a periphrasis for the passive.

² In 2 Ki. 18, 30 יִתָּן is to be read or אֶת־ is to be omitted, as in the parallel passage Is. 36, 15.

- c* 2. Verbs which in the active take two accusatives (according to § 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 אָשֶׁר אֲרָאָהּ *which I will show thee* (Gen. 12, 1) the passive is אָשֶׁר אֶתָּה מְרָאָהּ (Ex. 25, 40) *which thou hast been shown*, i. e. which has been shown to thee; comp. Ex. 26, 30 (but in Lev. 13, 49 with an accusative of the person); Job 7, 3. In Ps. 22, 16 מְדַבֵּק מִלְּקוֹחַי governs two accusatives (= *my tongue is made to cleave to my jaws*); also in Is. 1, 20, הָרֶבֶב תִּאָּבְלוּ *ye shall be devoured with the sword*, הָרֶבֶב is not an *accus. instrumenti*, but most probably an accusative of the object retained from the active construction¹.
- d* Rem. 1. Examples of the retention of the second accusative are—(a) with *verba induendi* and *exuendi* (§ 117. *cc*), Ps. 80, 11 צֶלֶה הָרִים *the mountains were covered with the shadow of it* (the vine); Prov. 19, 23. So also some of the examples in § 116. *k* of passive participles of these verbs, Jud. 18, 11. 1 Sam. 2, 18. 17, 5. 1 Ki. 22, 10. Ezek. 9, 2. 3²; with the accusative preceding, Neh. 4, 12.—(b) with *verba copiae* and *inopiae*, Ex. 1, 7. Is. 38, 10 (equivalent to *I must forego the residue of my years*); Is. 40, 20.—(c) an accusative of the result (§ 117. *ii*) with the passive, Is. 6, 11. Zech. 14, 4. Job 28, 2; with the accusative preceding, Is. 24, 12. Mic. 3, 12 (Jer. 26, 18). Job 15, 7. 22, 16². Also in Ezek. 40, 17 and 46, 23, the accusative preceding (in 41, 18 following) עֲשֵׂי 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 עֲשֵׂי.—(d) an accusative of the member or part specially affected by the action (§ 117. *ll*), Gen. 17, 11. 14. 24. Jud. 1, 7 (accusative *before* part. pass.); 2 Sam. 15, 32 (accusative with suffix after the part. pass.).
- e* 2. Both accusatives are retained in an unusual manner after the passive of a *verbum implendi* in Num. 14, 21; instead, however, of the *Niph.* יִפְּלוּ the

¹ In the active, the sentence would be *I will cause the sword to devour you*; by the rule stated above, letter *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.

² Analogous to הִלְבִּישׁ הַפְּדִים *who was clothed in linen*, Ezek. 9, 3, would be וַיְנַוֵּתֵר אֶת־הַחֲמוֹן הָהָהּ 2 Chron. 31, 10; but we must certainly read there וַיְנַוֵּתֵר with the LXX.—Still less can Ps. 87, 3 be so explained, נִכְבְּדוֹת being not an accusative, but the subject of a noun-clause. On the other hand, שָׁלוּחַ 1 Ki. 14, 6 may be explained with Ewald in the sense of *being charged with something*, so that, like צָנָה, it may be construed with an accusative.

³ In reality וְיָרַם Ex. 16, 20. 26 (*it became putrid*) is equivalent to a passive (*it was changed*), to which תִּלְעִים is added as an accusative of the result.

Qal (which is sometimes used transitively elsewhere) should simply be read with the LXX; similarly in Ps. 72, 19, although there the LXX also translate the passive.

3. The efficient cause (or personal agent) is, as a rule, attached *f* to the passive by לְ (thus corresponding to the Greek and Latin dative), e. g. Gen. 25, 21 יְהוָה לִּי יַעֲקֹב *Yahweh let himself be intreated by him*; comp. 14, 19. Lev. 26, 23. 2 Sam. 2, 5 (Ps. 115, 15). Ps. 73, 10; *before* the verb, Prov. 14, 20 and frequently. Less commonly by מִן (called מִן of origin = *coming from*), e. g. Gen. 9, 11. Job 28, 4; *before* the verb, Ps. 37, 23. Job 24, 1; by בְּ (בְּ instrumenti), Gen. 9, 6 (בְּאָדָם *by man*); Num. 36, 2. Is. 14, 3. Hos. 14, 4, 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 sqq., and 1896, p. 61 sqq.

1. According to § 80. a, Hebrew, like the other Semitic languages, *a* distinguishes only a *masculine* and *feminine* gender. To indicate the 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; comp. § 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. אָבִי brother, אִמִּי sister; אֶלְמָן a young man, אֶלְמָנָה a young woman, maid; אִיּוּבֵנְס iuvençus, אִיּוּבֵנְסָה iuvençā; אֶנְטֵל vitulus, אֶנְטֵלָה vitula. On the other hand, the feminine plays an important part in denoting the gender of whole classes of ideas (see below, letter p, &c.), which the Hebrew regards as feminine. The language, however, is not restricted to the use of the feminine ending either for the purpose of distinguishing the *sex* of animate objects (see letter b), or as an indication of the (*figurative*) gender of inanimate things which are regarded as feminine (see letter h).

2. The distinction of *sex* may be effected even without the feminine *b* 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*, עז *she-goat*; חמור *he-ass*, שתון *she-ass*; אריה *lion*, לביא *lioness*. Sometimes with the additional feminine ending, e. g. עבד *male slave, man-servant*, אמה or שפחה *female slave, maid*; חתן *bridegroom*, בלה *bride*.
- d Of (b): גמל *camel*. Plur. גמלים construed as masculine, Gen. 24, 63; as feminine, Gen. 32, 16; בקר collect. *oxen*, Ex. 21, 37, construed as masculine, but Gen. 33, 13. Job 1, 14 as feminine. In Jer. 2, 24 the construction of פרה *wild ass*, changes directly from the masculine (intended as epicene) to the feminine. Comp. in Greek δ , η *παῖς* δ , η *βούς*.
- 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; comp. δ *λύκος*, η *χελιδών*, and the German *der Löwe, der Tiger, der Panther, der Wolf, der Adler*, &c., but *die Katze, die Taube, die Biene*, &c. Similarly in Hebrew, e. g. אלה *ox* (Ps. 144, 14 even referring to cows in calf), דוב *bear*, Hos. 13, 8 *דוב שפול* (*a bear that is bereaved of her whelps*; comp., however, 2 Ki. 2, 24. Is. 11, 7), 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 Sam. 19, 27 for שתון; איל *hart*, Ps. 42, 2 for אלה. In Gen. 23, 4 sqq. מת *a dead body*, refers more especially to the body of a woman; אלהים *god*, is used of a goddess, 1 Ki. 11, 5, elsewhere always masculine; אמון *a master workman*, in Prov. 8, 30 refers to wisdom (חכמה feminine, comp. Plin. 2, 1 *natura omnium artifex*; and our use of *friend, teacher, servant, neighbour*, either as masculine or feminine; in German, *Gemahl*¹ stands also for *Gemahlin*, &c.).
- g 2. Of words denoting persons נער *παῖς*, according to the commonly received opinion, was in early times used as epicene (see, however, above, § 2. n). The use of the plural נערים in Job 1, 19 and Ruth 2, 21 in the sense of *young people* (of both genders) does not, however, prove this. In this and in similar cases

¹ So in early Arabic, *ba'l* (lord) and *zauġ* (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 *hāmil*, *bāḥin* (*gravida*), and the like, which from the meaning of the word can only be used of females. Thus also אמן, at least in Num. 11, 12 (Is. 49, 23!), probably means *nurse* (for אמנת 2 Sam. 4, 4, &c.), not *nursing-father*.

(comp. e. g. אֲתָם Gen. 1, 27 and אֲתָהֶם 32, 1) the masculine as *prior gender* includes the feminine¹.

3. The following classes of ideas are usually regarded as *feminine*², although the substantives which express them are mostly without the feminine ending³:

(a) Names of *countries* and *towns*, since they are regarded as the mothers⁴ and nurses of the inhabitants; e. g. אֲשׁוּר *Assyria*, אֲדָם *Idumaea*, צֵר *Tyre*; comp. also such expressions as בַּת צִיּוֹן, בַּת בָּבֶל *daughter of Babylon, daughter of Zion*, &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*; thus יְהוּדָה *masc.* Is. 3, 8, and elsewhere, *Judaei*; but Is. 7, 6, *fem.*, *Judaea*; אֲדָם *masc.*, *Idumaei*, Num. 20, 20; *fem.*, *Idumaea*, Jer. 49, 17. Nevertheless, it sometimes happens that by a very common transference of thought (like our expression *Turkey concludes peace*) these names are construed as *feminine*, even when they denote not the country but the inhabitants; so יְהוּדָה Lam. 1, 3; comp. Gen. 41, 8. Ex. 10, 7. 12, 33. 1 Sam. 17, 21. 2 Sam. 8, 2. 24, 9. Is. 7, 2. 21, 2. 42, 11. Jer. 50, 10. Job 1, 15. Hence the frequent personification of nations (as well as of countries and towns, see below, note 4) as *female beings*, e. g. Is. 50, 1. 54, 1 sqq., and the transference of the expressions בַּת בָּבֶל Is. 47, 1 sqq., בַּת צִיּוֹן &c. (see above) from the town to the inhabitants.

(b) Appellative nouns, which denote a *circumscribed space*, such as אֶרֶץ *earth, land*, תֵּבֵל *world*, שְׂאֵל *the abode of the dead*, כְּכַר *circle* (of the Jordan valley), עִיר *a town*, בְּיָר *a well*, צָפוֹן *the north*, תֵּימָן *the south*.

¹ 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).—Comp. M. Grünert, *Die Begriffs-Präponderanz und die Duale a potiori im Altarab.*, Vienna, 1886.

² 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 sq.).

³ When, on the other hand, words *with* a feminine-ending, such as נְחֹשֶׁת *brass*, קֶשֶׁת *a bow* (stem קִשֵּׁת), עֵת *time* (see the *Lexicon*), are sometimes construed as *masculine*, this is owing probably in some cases to a misunderstanding of the formation of the word, the ך of the feminine being regarded as a radical.

⁴ Comp. *a city and a mother* (אִמָּה) in *Israel*, 2 Sam. 20, 19. In the same way, אִמָּה (like μήτηρ, *mater*) on Phoenician coins stands for *mother-city*, μητρόπολις. The same figure is used in such expressions as *sons of Zion*, Ps. 149, 2; *sons of Babylon*, Ezek. 23, 15, &c., as also in speaking of the suburbs of a city as its *daughters*, e. g. Jos. 15, 45 sqq., and elsewhere.—The comparison of Jerusalem to a woman is especially frequent in allegorical descriptions, e. g. Ezek. 16. Lam. 1, 1, and elsewhere.

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), גַּיְאָה (גַּי) valley, גַּן garden (fem. Gen. 2, 15, unless לְעִבְרָה, &c., is to be read), הַיְכָל palace, temple, חֲצֵר court, כְּרָם vineyard, שַׁעַר door¹, &c.; also מְקוֹם place, at least in Gen. 18, 24 (referring to Sodom), Job 20, 9, and 2 Sam. 17, 12 K^ethibh, is construed as feminine. The mountains and hills commanding the surrounding country are almost without exception masculine (see Albrecht, l. c., p. 60 sq.).

m (c) The names of instruments, utensils, and (on the same analogy) members and parts of the body in man or beast, since these are all regarded as subservient and subordinate (consequently as feminine).

n Thus חֶרֶב sword, יֵתֶד tent-peg, בַּד bucket, כּוֹס cup, נַעַל shoe, עֲרִישׁ bed, &c.; in other cases, as אָרוֹן chest, ark, תַּנּוּר 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 אָזָן ear, אֶצְבַּע finger (and so probably בְּהֵן thumb, great toe), יָד and כַּף hand, יְמִין right hand, רֶגֶל foot, בְּרֵךְ knee, יָרֵךְ thigh, שׁוֹמֵר shoulder, לֵהָי cheek, בֶּטֶן belly; כַּנָּף wing, קֶרֶן horn, עֵצָם bone, שֵׁן tooth; as a rule also אֶרְוַע arm (masc. Is. 17, 5 and elsewhere), לְשׁוֹן tongue (masc. Ps. 22, 16 and elsewhere), עֵין eye (masc. Zech. 3, 9 and elsewhere), שׁוֹךְ thigh (masc. Ex. 29, 27)².

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 sq.); thus feminine are שֶׁשׁ sun (but often also masc., Ps. 19, 6. 104, 19); אֵשׁ (Eth. 'ēsāt) fire (rarely masc.); נֹהַר brightness, אֶבֶן a stone, as a rule also רֵיחַ wind, spirit; נְפֶשׁ breath, soul; also אֹר light in Jer. 13, 16. Job 36, 32, and others.

p 4. The following classes of ideas, which are also regarded as feminine in Hebrew (see above, letter h), are usually indicated by the feminine form, notwithstanding their occasional transference to masculine persons (see letters r and s):

q (a) Abstracts³ (sometimes along with masculine forms from the same stem, as נִקְמָה vengeance, as well as נִקָּם, עֲזָרָה help, as well as עָזַר), e. g. אִמּוּנָה firmness,

¹ מַחֲנֶה camp is feminine only when it is a collective, denoting the persons in a camp.

² אָף nose, זָנַב tail, מִצַּח forehead, עֲקֵב heel, עֲרֵךְ back of the neck, פֶּה mouth, צַוָּאר neck, also רֶחֶם womb, except in Jer. 20, 17, are invariably construed as masculine.

³ Cf. the list of masculine and feminine abstracts in Albrecht, l. c., 1896, p. 111 sqq.

faithfulness, גְּבוּרָה *strength*, גְּדוּלָה *greatness*, מְלֵאָה *fullness*, מְמִשְׁלָה *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*, Ps. 5, 10, טוֹבָה *goodness*, רָעָה *evil*, Gen. 50, 20, נְקִלָּה *a light thing* (i.e. a trifling thing), Jer. 6, 14; so especially in the plural, e. g. גְּדֻלּוֹת *great things*, Ps. 12, 4; הַנְּהָרְסוֹת *the ruined places*, Ezek. 36, 36, along with הַנִּשְׁמָה *that which was desolate*, טְבוּחַת *kindnesses*, 2 Ki. 25, 28, נְכַחֻת *uprightness, honesty*, Is. 26, 10, נְפִלְאוֹת *amoenae*, Ps. 16, 11 (but in verse 6 in the same sense נְעִימִים *wonderful things*, Ex. 34, 10 and frequently, קְשׁוֹת *hard things, roughly*, Gen. 42, 7. 30 (but cf. also רֵיקִים *vain things*, Prov. 12, 11. 28, 19). Comp. moreover, the very frequent use of זֹאת הִיא (as well as הִיא and הִיא), Jud. 14, 4. Ps. 118, 23 and elsewhere, in the sense of *hoc, illud* (also הִנֵּה equivalent to *illa*, Is. 51, 19); also the use of the feminine form of the verb in Is. 7, 7 לֹא תִקֹּם לָא תִהְיֶה *it shall not stand, neither shall it come to pass*; Jud. 14, 41. Jer. 10, 7; so too the suffixes Gen. 15, 6. Ex. 10, 11. Job 38, 18, referring back to a whole statement¹.

(b) Titles and designations of office, properly a subdivision of the abstract ideas treated above, under letter *q*, and specially noticed here only on account of their peculiar transference to concrete male persons. Thus we have קְהֵלֶת Eccles. 1, 1, &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 Ezra 2, 55. Neh. 7, 57, and פְּכָרֶת Ezra 2, 57. Neh. 7, 59, and the foreign word פְּתָחָה *viceroyn*²; in the plural כְּנֻת prop. *cognomina*, then *like named, colleagues*; פְּרָעוֹת *princes* (if this be the true meaning)³. All these words, in accordance with their meaning, are construed as masculine (in Eccles. 7, 27 instead of אִמְרָה הִיא the words should rather be divided as אִמְרָה הִיא; comp. 12, 8).

¹ 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 the addition of a feminine substantive.

[² An Assyrian word, found at least as early as the time of Sargon, who appointed *paḥāti* over South Babylonia. The view that it is of Persian origin is a mistake: see Schrader's *Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament*, on 1 Ki. 10, 15.—G. W. C.]

³ This use of the feminine form is far more frequent in Arabic, Ethiopic and Aramaic; comp. e. g. in Arabic *ḥalīfa* (fem. from *ḥalīf*, following after, taking the place of) in the sense of *the successor or representative* (of Muḥammad), and *‘allāma* (*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.*

5 Abstract ideas include also—

(c) *Collectives* in the fem. form¹, generally fem. participles used substantively, especially as the comprehensive designation of a number of *persons*, e.g. אֲרָהָה (fem. of travelling), prop. *the travelling* (company), i.e. travelling persons (a caravan); גִּלְוָה (fem. of גָּלוּה *one going into exile*) *the company of exiles* (also frequently used of those who had returned home again); יוֹשְׁבֵת (that which inhabits) i.e. *the population*, Is. 12, 6. Mic. 1, 11 sq.; אֹיֶבֶת (prop. that which is hostile) *the enemy*, Mic. 7, 8. 10 (comp. Mic. 4, 6 sq. *the halting, cast off, driven away* i.e. *those who halt*, &c.); דַּלָּה (the abject) *the poorest sort*; of living beings which are not persons, comp. חַיָּה (that which lives) in the sense of *cattle, beasts*; דְּגָה *a shoal of fish*, Gen. 1, 26 (but in Jon. 2, 2 as a *nomen unitatis*, comp. letter *t*, for דָּג *a fish*, which in verses 1 and 11 is used as a *nomen unitatis*). Comp., moreover, נַבְלָה *dead body*, Is. 26, 19, and elsewhere (construed as masculine), for *a heap of dead bodies*.—On the poetic personifications, comprising the mass of a nation, by means of בַּת *daughter*, in בַּת בְּבָל *בַּת עַמִּי* (equivalent to בְּנֵי עַמִּי) *my countrymen*, see above, letter *i*.

† (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; comp. אֶנְיָ *a fleet* (1 Ki. 9, 26), אֶנְיָה *a single ship* (Jon. 1, 3 sqq.); שַׁעַר *hair* (coll.), שַׁעֲרָה *a single hair* (Jud. 20, 16; in the plural, 1 Sam. 14, 45. Ps. 40, 13); שִׁיר *a poem*, frequently collective, שִׁירָה *a single song*; so probably also הַתְּאֵנָה *a fig* (the corresponding masculine *tin* is collective in Arabic); שׁוֹשַׁנָּה *a lily* (also שׁוֹשָׁן); לְבִנְיָה *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; comp. יָרֵךְ *side* (of the body), *thigh*, יֶרְכָה or יֶרְפָּה *back part, border* (of a country, house, &c.); מִצְחָה *forehead*, מְצָחָה *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, 1 מְשַׁעֲנֵן וּמְשַׁעֲנָה *stay and staff*, i.e. every kind of support. For similar groupings in the case of persons, see Is. 43, 6. 49, 22. 60, 4 (*sons and daughters*); 49, 23. Eccles. 2, 8.

§ 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. i).

¹ Comp. in Greek ἡ ἵππος, *the cavalry* (as well as τὸ ἵππικόν), ἡ κάμηλος, Hd. 1, 80 and elsewhere, *the camel corps*.

Thus בקר *cattle, oxen*¹ (even joined with numerals, e. g. Ex. 21, 37 בקר חמשה *five head of cattle*), but שור *an ox*; צאן *small cattle*, i. e. sheep and goats (μῆλα), comp. Job 1, 3 שבעת אלפי צאן *seven thousand sheep*; but שׂה *a single head of small cattle* (a sheep or a goat). Other more or less common collectives are: וי (prop. that which prowls or roams) *wild beasts*, טף (perhaps prop. *tripping*) *a number of little children*; רִשָּׁא *fresh green herb*, i. e. young plants, ירק *green*, i. e. vegetation in general; עוף *birds, fowl*; רֶכֶב *chariots or cavalcade*, רְמוֹה *worms*, רִמָּשׁ *creeping things* (of small creatures), שְׂרָץ *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* (Jud. 21, 16. 1 Sam. 21, 6); אַרְבֶּה *a locust*, but usually *a swarm of locusts*; נַפְשׁ *soul* and *souls* (persons); מַגָּל *staff* and *staves* (Gen. 30, 37); עֵיט *a bird of prey* and *birds of prey*; עִיר *city* and *cities* (Jud. 19, 12. Jer. 4, 29); עֵלֶה *a leaf* and *foliage*; עֵשֶׂב *a plant* and *plants, herbs*; עֵץ *a tree* and *trees* (as it were *foliage*); פֵּרִי *fruit* and *fruits*; שִׁיחַ *a shrub* and *shrubs*; in isolated instances also nouns like עֶבֶד *man-servant*, שִׁפְחָה *maid-servant*, חֲמוֹר *ass*, שׂוֹר *ox* (comp. Gen. 32, 6).— On the singular (especially of gentile names) with the article to include all individuals of the same species, comp. § 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 *c* of 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 יוֹם יוֹם Gen. 39, 10, &c., *day by day, every day*; שָׁנָה שָׁנָה *year by year*, Deut. 14, 22; אִישׁ אִישׁ *every man*, Ex. 36, 4; with בּ before the second word (but only in late passages), e. g. יוֹם בְּיוֹם *day by day*, 1 Chron. 12, 22; שָׁנָה בְּשָׁנָה *year by year*, Deut. 15, 20. 1 Sam. 1, 7 (but in verse 3 מִיָּמִים יָמִימָה), כִּפְעֵם בְּכִפְעֵם Num. 24, 1. Jud. 16, 20. 20, 30 sq. 1 Sam. 3, 10 *as at other times*; or before both words, as בֹּקֶר בְּבֹקֶר Ex. 16, 21, *every morning* (so before a group of words, Lev. 24, 8); in the same sense also with the distributive לְ, לְבֹקֶר לְבֹקֶר 1 Chron. 9, 27; with a *single* plural, לְבֹקֶרִים Ps. 73, 14, or לְבֹקֶרֶם Job 7, 18 along with לְרִגְעֵים *every moment*. Also with the two words united by means of *wāw copulative*, אִישׁ וְאִישׁ Ps. 87, 5, or אִישׁ וְאִישׁ Est. 1, 8; דּוֹר וָדוֹר *all generations*, Deut. 32, 7;

¹ The plural form בְּקָרִים from בֶּקֶר is found only in very late Hebrew, Neh. 10, 37 (where according to the Mantua edition, Ginsburg, &c., צֹאנֵינוּ *our sheep*, is also to be read; Baer, however, has צֹאנֵנוּ), and 2 Chron. 4, 3. In Amos 6, 12 read, with Hitzig, בְּבֹקֶר.

יום ויום Est. 3, 4; comp. Est. 8, 9. Ezra 10, 14. 1 Chron. 26, 13 (cf. Cheyne, *Bampton Lectures*, p. 439, and Driver, *Introd.* p. 505, No. 35); sometimes (but with the exception of Ps. 45, 18 only in very late passages) with a pleonastic בל preceding, Ps. 145, 13. Est. 2, 11. 9, 28. 2 Chron. 11, 12 and elsewhere.

d 2. Repetition of words in an expressly *distributive* sense¹ (which may to some extent be noticed in the examples under letter c) equivalent to *one each*, &c., e.g. Num. 14, 34 *forty days* יום לְשָׁנָה יום לְשָׁנָה counting for every day a year; comp. Ezek. 24, 6. Ex. 28, 34 (three words repeated); also with the addition of לְבַד *apart*, עָרַר לְבַדּוֹ, עָרַר לְבַדּוֹ every drove by itself, Gen. 32, 17; comp. Zech. 12, 12. Most frequently with the addition of a numeral (comp. for the simple repetition of numerals for the same purpose, § 134. q), and with the words not only in groups of two (Lev. 24, 8. Num. 13, 2. 31, 4) or three (Num. 7, 11. 17, 21), but even of six (Ex. 26, 3) or seven (Ex. 25, 33. 26, 19. 21. 25); in Ex. 25, 35 five words even three times repeated².

e 3. Repetition to express an exceptional or at least superfine quality; e.g. 2 Ki. 25, 15 *which were of gold, gold, of silver, silver*, i.e. made of pure gold and pure silver; Deut. 2, 27 בְּדֶרֶךְ בְּדֶרֶךְ only along by the high way; comp. Num. 3, 9. 8, 16 *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 Ki. 3, 16 בְּיָמִים בְּיָמִים nothing but trenches; Gen. 14, 10 בְּאַרְתְּ חֶמֶר all asphalt-pits.—Repetition serves to intensify the expression to the highest degree in Jud. 5, 22 *by reason of the violent pransings of his strong ones*, Ex. 8, 10 (countless heaps), and Joel 4, 14 (countless multitudes); cf. also מְעַט מְעַט Ex. 23, 30 *by little and little, very gradually*; cf. § 133. k.

f 4. Repetition with the copula to express *of more than one kind*; thus Deut. 25, 13 (Prov. 20, 10) וְאֶבֶן וְאֶבֶן a weight and a weight, i.e. two kinds of weight (hence the addition *great and small*); Ps. 12, 3 וְלֵב בְּלֵב with two kinds of heart, i.e. *with a double-dealing heart*; cf. וְלֵב לֵב בְּלֵא 1 Chron. 12, 33.

§ 124. The Various Uses of the Plural-form³.

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*),

¹ Comp. in the New Testament St. Mark vi. 39 sq. *συμπόσια συμπόσια, πρασιαί πρασιαί* (Weizsäcker, *tischweise, beetweise*).

² 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 Ezek. 16, 6, where the repetition of four words serves to give greater solemnity to the promise, unless here, as certainly in 1, 20, it is a mere *dittography*; the LXX omit the repetition in both passages.

³ Comp. Dietrich, 'Über Begriff und Form des hebr. Plurals,' in the *Abhandl. sur hebr. Grammatik*, Leipzig, 1846, p. 2 sqq.

or (*b*) a more or less intensive focussing 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 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* (comp. also מְרוֹמִים *heights* of heaven, Is. 33, 16. Job 16, 19; elsewhere מְרוֹם); מַיִם *water*; יַמִּים (the broad surface of the sea) poetically for יָם *sea*; פָּנִים (prop. the side turned towards any one, then) *surface* in general, usually *face*; אַחֲרֵימָה *the back*, Ex. 26, 12. 33, 23, &c., צַוְנָאִים *neck, nape of the neck*¹; also מְרֵאשׁוֹת *the place at the head*, מְרֵלֹת *place at the feet*; עֲבָרִים *place on the other side* (of a river); מְעַמְקִים *depth*, מְרַחֲקִים (also מְרַחֵק) *distance*, מִשְׁכְּבִים *bed*, Gen. 49, 4 (unless, with Dillmann, it is to be explained in the sense of *double bed*, i. e. *torus*), מִשְׁבְּנִים Ps. 46, 5, and מִשְׁבְּנוֹת 132, 5, *dwelling* (perhaps also אֶהְלִים *encampment*, in passages like 1 Sam. 4, 10). The last four belong, however, to poetic style, and are better reckoned amongst the *plurals of amplification* treated under letters *d-f*. So perhaps יַצְעִים *bed* (Ps. 63, 7. Job 17, 13; but Gen. 49, 4. Ps. 132, 3, and elsewhere, 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 *c* explained as simply poetic plurals, e. g. Job 17, 1 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, Job 21, 32. 2 Chron. 16, 14; cf. 2 Ki. 22, 20.

Of (*b*): the tolerably numerous abstract plurals, mostly of a particular form *d* (*q̄tālīm, qittālīm, &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. Comp. for the first class, בְּחֹרִים and בְּחֹרוֹת *youth*, זְקֵנִים *old age*, נְעֻרִים *youth*; בְּתוּלִים *maidenhood*, בְּלוּלוֹת *bridal state*; מְנוּרִים *condition of a sojourner*, בְּשָׂרִים *fleshliness* (only in Prov. 14, 30; cf. Delitzsch); חַיִּים *life* (the abstract idea of the qualities of a living being); שְׁבוּלִים *childlessness*, סְנוּרִים *blindness*, עוֹשֵׂים *perverseness*.

¹ Comp. the same use of the plural in τὰ στέρνα, τὰ νῶτα, τὰ πρᾶχλα, *præcordia, cervices, fauces*; on plurals of extension in general, comp. 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 Ki. 21, 8 sqq. 2 Ki. 10, 1. 19, 14 (Is. 37, 14; referred to afterwards by the *singular* suffix); Is. 39, 1. Jer. 29, 25. 32, 14 (*after* being folded, previously סִפְרָה).

- e* There are also a number of plurals, found almost exclusively in poetry (sometimes along with the singular), which are evidently intended to intensify the idea of the stem, as אֹנִים *might*, Is. 40, 26; אֲמוֹנִים (as well as אֲמוֹנָה) and אֲמוֹנוֹת *faithfulness*; אֲשֵׁרֵי (according to § 93. *l*, only in the construct state plural or with suffixes = *the happiness of*), *happy*; בִּינוֹת Is. 27, 11 and תְּבוּנוֹת Is. 40, 14, &c. (keen) *understanding*; דַּעִים Job 37, 16 and הַעוֹת I Sam. 2, 3 (thorough) *knowledge*; בְּטָחוֹת Job 12, 6 and מְבִטְחִים Is. 32, 18 (full) *confidence*; בְּרֻכּוֹת (abundant) *blessing*, Ps. 21, 7; הָרוֹת Ps. 5, 10 (very) *destruction*; חַמּוּדוֹת Dan. 9, 23 (greatly) *beloved*; חַמוֹת Ps. 76, 11, &c. (fierce) *wrath*; חַרְפּוֹת Dan. 12, 2 (utter) *contempt*; מְרֵאוֹת Gen. 46, 2 (an important) *vision*; מִישָׁרִים *uprightness*; תְּהַפְּכוֹת *perversity*; חֲשִׁיכִים and חֲשִׁיבִים (thick) *darkness*; מַסְתָּרִים *a (close) hiding-place*; נְיָרִים *nobility*; שְׁמֵנִים Is. 28, 1 *fatness*; צְחָצְחוֹת (complete) *aridity*; מִתְקָאִים *sweetness*; מְחַמְדִים *preciousness*; שִׁשְׁשָׁעִים *delight*; עֲדָנִים and תַּעֲנִינִים *pleasure*; רַחֲמִים *compassion*; מְנוּחָה Ps. 23, 2 *rest, refreshment*; מְהוּמָה Am. 3, 9 *tumult*. On the other hand, חֲכָמוֹת *wisdom* (Prov. 1, 20 and elsewhere) can hardly be a *plural* (= the essence of wisdom, or wisdom personified), but is a *singular* (see § 86. *l*).
- f* The summing up of the several parts of an action is expressed in חֲנֻטִים *the 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*, וְנוֹנִים *whoredom*, גְּאָפִים *adultery*; נְחָמִים (prop. no doubt, warm compassion) *consolation*, תְּחִנּוּנִים *supplication*, נָרְדִים Job 7, 4 (restless) *tossing to and fro*, עֲלִלוֹת *gleaning*; perhaps also נְיָנוֹת Ps. 4, 1. 6, 1, and elsewhere, if it means *the playing on stringed instruments*, and שְׁלָמִים Is. 1, 23 *bribery*, unless it be a plural of number¹.
- 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 characteristics² belonging to the idea, besides possessing (like some of the substantives under letter *e*) the secondary sense of an *intensification* of the original idea; so especially אֱלֹהִים *Godhead, God* (to be distinguished from the numerical plural *gods*, Ex. 12, 12, and elsewhere). The supposition that אֱלֹהִים is to be regarded as merely a remnant of earlier polytheistic views (i. e. as originally only a

¹ Mayer Lambert in the *Revue des études juives*, xxiv. p. 106 sqq., enumerates no less than ninety-five words ending in *tm*, which in his opinion are to be regarded as *pluralia tantum*.

² The Jewish grammarians call such plurals רְבוּי הַכְּחוֹת *plur. virium* or *virtutum*; later grammarians call them *plur. excellentiae, magnitudinis*, or *plur. maiestaticus*. This last name may have been suggested by the *we* used by kings when speaking of themselves (comp. already I Macc. 10, 19. 11, 31); and the plural used by God in Gen. 1, 26. 11, 7. Is. 6, 8 has been incorrectly explained in this way. It is, however, either *communicative* (including the attendant angels; so at all events in Is. 6, 8, comp. also Gen. 3, 22), or according to others, an indication of *the fullness of power and might* implied in אֱלֹהִים (see Dillmann on Gen. 1, 26); 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.

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 (comp. § 132. *h*), e. g. אֱלֹהִים צַדִּיק Ps. 7, 10, and elsewhere. Accordingly, אֱלֹהִים must 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 ^l the plurals קְדוּשִׁים *the Most Holy* (only of Yahweh), Hos. 12, 1. Prov. 9, 10. 30, 3 (comp. קְדוּשִׁים אֱלֹהִים Jos. 24, 19, and the Aram. עֲלִיּוֹנִין *the Most High*, Dan. 7, 18); and probably הַתְּרַפִּים (usually taken in the sense of *penates*) the image of a god, used especially for obtaining oracles. Certainly in 1 Sam. 19, 13. 16 only *one* image is intended; in most other places only one image *may* be intended¹; in Zech. 10, 2 alone is it most natural to suppose a numerical plural. In Eccles. 5, 7 נְבֻהִים *supremus* (of God) is doubtful; according to others it is a numerical plural, *superiores*.

Further, אֲדָרְנִים, as well as the singular אֲדָרָן, (lordship) *lord*, e. g. אֲדָרְנִים קָשָׁה ⁱ *a cruel lord*, Is. 19, 4; אֲדָרְנֵי הָאָרֶץ *the lord of the land*, Gen. 42, 30, comp. Gen. 32, 20; so especially with the suffixes of the 2nd and 3rd persons אֲדָרְנֶיךָ, אֲדָרְנָיו, &c., also אֲדָרְנֵינוּ (except 1 Sam. 16, 16); but in 1st sing. always אֲדָרְנִי². So also בַּעֲלֵים (with suffixes) *lord, master* (of slaves, cattle, or inanimate things; but in the sense of *maritus*, always in the singular), e. g. בַּעֲלָיו Ex. 21, 29. Is. 1, 3, &c.

On the other hand, we must regard as doubtful a number of participles in the plural, which, being used as attributes of God, resemble *plurales excellentiæ*; thus, עֹשֵׂי *my Maker*, Job 35, 10; עֹשֵׂיךָ Is. 54, 5; עֹשֵׂיו Ps. 149, 2; עֹשֵׂיהָ Is. 22, 11; נֹטְיָהֶם *stretching them out*, Is. 42, 5; for all these forms may also be explained as singular, according to § 93. *ss*³.—נֹגְשֵׁיו Is. 3, 12 might also be regarded as another instance, unless it be a numerical plural, *their oppressors*; moreover, מְרִימָיו *him who lifteth it up*, Is. 10, 15; שֹׁלְחָיו *him who sendeth him*, Prov. 10, 26. 22, 21. 25, 13 (in parallelism with אֲדָרְנֵיו). These latter plurals, however (including מְרִימָיו), may probably be more simply explained as indicating an indefinite individual, comp. letter *o* below.—For שֹׁמְרֵיךָ Ps. 121, 5 (*textus receptus*) and בּוֹרְאֵיךָ Eccles. 12, 1 (*textus receptus*) the singular should be read, with Baer.

¹ Even in Gen. 31, 34, notwithstanding the plural suffix in וְהַעֲשִׂימָם and עֲלֵיהֶם, since the construction of these abstracts as numerical plurals is one of the peculiarities of the E-document of the Hexateuch; comp. Gen. 20, 13. 35, 7, and § 145. *i*.

² On אֲדָרְנִי (for אֲדָרְנֵי) as a name of God, cf. § 135. *q*.

³ בַּעֲלֵיךָ, which in Is. 54, 5 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, comp. אֲבָק *fine dust*, אֲפָר *ashes*, בֵּד *linen*, בְּרִיל *lead*, זָהָב *gold*, כֶּסֶף *silver*, נְחֹשֶׁת *brass*, חֶלֶב *milk*, יַיִן *wine*, עֶפְרָר *dust, 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, בְּדִים *linen garments*; כֶּסֶפִּים *silver pieces*, Gen. 42, 25. 35; נְחֹשֶׁתִּים (dual) *fetters of brass*; עֵצִים *ligna (timber for building or sticks for burning)*; also in a wider sense, בְּרִילִים *alloy to be separated by smelting*, Is. 1, 25; עֲפָרוֹת *fragments of earth*, Prov. 8, 26, comp. Job 28, 6 עֲפָרוֹת זָהָב *dust of gold*.
- 111 (b) To the class of *plurals of the result* belong also a few names of natural products, when represented in an artificial condition; thus, חֲטִיִּם *wheat in grain* (threshed wheat), as distinguished from חֲטָה *wheat* (used collectively) in the ear; comp. the same distinction between בְּסָמִים and בְּסָמֹת *spelt*; עֲדָשִׁים and עֲדָשָׁה (the singular only preserved in the Mishna) *lentils*; שְׁעָרִים and שְׁעָרָה *barley*; also פְּשָׁתִּים *linen*, פִּשְׁתָּה (to be inferred from פְּשָׁתִּי) *flax*.
- 112 (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 Num. 23, 24 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, 15) or as blood-marks (so evidently in Is. 9, 4). 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, 1 sq. and elsewhere.
- o 2. In some few cases the plural is used to denote an indefinite singular; certainly so in Deut. 17, 5 אֶל-שַׁעְרֶיךָ *unto one of thy gates*; Jud. 12, 7 בְּעָרֵי *בְּעָרֵי* *in the cities*, i. e. in one of the cities of Gilead; Zech. 9, 9 בְּעָתְנוֹת (comp. Cant. 2, 9); Ex. 21, 22 יֶלְדֶּיךָ (where evidently only *one* child is thought of, though certainly in connexion with a contingency which may be repeated); comp. also Eccles. 4, 10 (*if one of them fall*).—So probably also Gen. 8, 4. 1 Sam. 17, 43. Neh. 3, 8. 6, 2; but *not* Gen. 19, 29, since the same document (Gen. 13, 12) makes Lot dwell *in the cities* of the Jordan valley; in Gen. 21, 7 בְּנֵים denotes the class with which the action is concerned.
- 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. חִיָּלֵי גִבּוֹרֵי חַיִּל *mighty men of valour* (prop. heroes of strength), 1 Chron. 7, 2. 9; so also in compounds, e. g. בְּנֵי יְמִינִי 1 Sam. 22, 7, as the plur. of בְּנֵי יְמִינִי *Benjamite*; but also

(b) By using the plural of *both* nouns¹, e. g. *יְבוּרֵי הַיְלִים* 1 Chron. 7, 5; *וּבְבֵתַי כְּלָאִים* and in prison houses, Is. 42, 22; comp. Ex. 34, 1, &c. (*שְׁנֵי-לֶחֶת אֲבָנִים* two tables of stone; but Ex. 31, 18 *לֶחֶת אֶבֶן*); Num. 13, 32. Deut. 1, 28. Jos. 5, 2. 6, 4. 2 Ki. 14, 14. 25, 23. Jer. 41, 16. Ezra 3, 3, &c. *עַמֵּי הָאָרְצוֹת* the people of the country; 2 Chron. 26, 14; so perhaps *בְּנֵי אֱלֹהִים* sons of God, Ps. 29, 1. 89, 7 (according to others *sons of gods*); or finally even

(c) By using the plural of the *nomen rectum*; e. g. *בֵּית אָבוֹת* Ex. 16, 14. Num. 1, 2. 4 sqq. and elsewhere, as plur. of *בֵּית אָב* father's house, family; *בֵּית הַבָּמוֹת* the houses of the high places, 2 Ki. 17, 29 (also *בֵּיתֵי הַבָּמוֹת* 23, 19); *בֵּית עֲצָבֵיהֶם* the houses of their idols, 1 Sam. 31, 9. Ezek. 46, 24; comp. also Jud. 7, 25 the head of Oreb and Zeeb, i. e. the heads, &c.

Rem. When a substantive (in a distributive sense) with a suffix refers 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. *וּפְיָמוֹ* os (for *ora*) eorum, Ps. 17, 10; *יְמִינָם* their right hand, Ps. 144, 8 [so in the English RV.].

§ 125. Determination of Nouns in general. Determination of Proper Names.

1. A noun may either be determinate in itself, as a proper name or pronoun (see below, letters *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 *וְהָאֵלֶּם* in the sense of our indefinite article; comp. Ex. 16, 33. Jud. 9, 53. 13, 2. 1 Sam. 1, 1. 6, 7. 7, 9. 12. 27, 1. 1 Ki. 13, 11. 19, 4. 20, 13. 22, 9. 2 Ki.

¹ Cf. König, *Lehrgebäude*, ii. 438 sq., according to whom the plural of the principal word exercises an influence on the determining genitive.

4, 1. 7, 8. 8, 6. 12, 10. Ezek. 8, 8. 37, 16. Dan. 8, 3. 10, 5 (in 8, 13 אֶהְרֹשׁ קְרוֹשׁ i. e. *one*, viz. *a holy one*, is opposed to another).

c It is further to be noticed, that in Hebrew the phenomenon sometimes occurs, which the Arab grammarians call *indeterminateness for the sake of amplification*; e. g. Is. 31, 8 and he shall flee מִפְּנֵי הַחֶרֶב from a sword, i. e. *from an irresistible sword* (God's sword); comp. Is. 28, 2 בָּיֶרֶךְ; 2 Sam. 6, 2 נָשִׁים; Hos. 3, 1 אִשָּׁה *such a woman*, without doubt to be referred to the Gomer mentioned in cap. 1; Amos 6, 14 גְּוִי; Ps. 77, 16 בְּיָרֵעַ; Prov. 21, 12 צַדִּיק, if with Delitzsch it is to be referred to God; Job 8, 10 מְלִים meaning *important words*, but in 15, 13 מְלוֹן *reproachful words*. Comp. on this point, § 117. g, note 1, 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 הַיְהוָה, דָּוִד, יַעֲקֹב, בְּנֵינֵנוּ, סָרַם do not admit of the article¹, 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, אֲדָם, מוֹאָב), are always determinate in themselves. Of *Gentilic* names (e. g. הָעִבְרִי *the Hebrew*, הָעִבְרִים *the Hebrews*, Gen. 40, 15; הַכְּנַעֲנִי *the Canaanite*) the plural פְּלִשְׁתִּים, even when meaning *the Philistines*, is generally used without the article (but cf. 1 Sam. 4, 7, &c., הַפָּה); so always בְּפִתְרִים.—Evident appellatives (analogous to such modern names as *the Hague*, *le Havre*) are הַגִּבְעָה *the hill*, in the construct state גִּבְעַת שָׁאוּל, i. e. *the Gibeah named after Saul* to distinguish it from others; הַרְמָה *the height*; הֵעַי *the heap*; הַלְבָנוֹן (prop. *the white mountain*) *the Lebanon*; הַיַּאֲר (prop. *the river*) *the Nile*; comp. Amos 8, 8 בְּיַאֲוֹר מִצְרַיִם *like the river of Egypt*; הַיַּרְדֵּן *the Jordan* (according to Seybold, *Mittheil. und Nachr. des DPV.*, 1896, p. 11, probably, originally *the drinking-place*).

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

¹ Consequently, הַמְּנַשֶּׁה Deut. 3, 13. Jos. 1, 12, &c. (in the Deuteronomist) in the combination הַמְּנַשֶּׁה הַמְּנַשֶּׁה (for which elsewhere מְנַשֶּׁה מְנַשֶּׁה) is to be regarded *not* as a proper name but as a *Gentilic* name (= *the tribe of the Manassites*), for which in Deut. 29, 7 הַמְּנַשֶּׁה is used, as in 10, 8 הַלְוִי *the tribe of the Levites*, and in Jud. 18, 1 הַדָּנִי *the tribe of the Danites*.—In Jos. 13, 7 הַמְּנַשֶּׁה (like *Gentilic* names in '—) is even used adjectivally.

הַאֱלֹהִים *God*, to denote the one true God (as elsewhere יְהוָה) Gen. 1, 1 and so generally in this document of the Pent. up to Ex. 6, elsewhere sometimes הַאֱלֹהִים *gods* (comp. § 126. e); also the sing. אֱלֹהֵי *God*, עֲלִיּוֹן *the Most High* (after אֵל), and שׁוֹרֵי *the Almighty* never take the article.—Moreover, אָדָם *Adam* from Gen. 5, 1 onwards (previously in 2, 7, &c., אָדָם *the first man*); שָׂטָן *Satan*, 1 Chron. 21, 1 (but Zech. 3, 1. Job 1, 6 and elsewhere הַשָּׂטָן *the adversary*).

To the class of nouns originally appellative, which the language regards as *g* 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, Gen. 1, 2 and elsewhere; but Is. 63, 13. Ps. 106, 9 בְּתַהֲמוֹת *through the depths*, viz. of the Red Sea¹.

2. When nouns which the usage of the language always treats as proper names *h* 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 הַיְהוָה צְבָאוֹת as an abbreviation of the original (2 Sam. 5, 10, &c.), יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת *Yahweh, the God of hosts*. So also in geographical names such as אֹרֶן בְּשָׂרִים *Ur (the city) of the Chaldees*, Gen. 11, 28; אֲרָם נְהָרַיִם *Aram (the region) of the two rivers*; בֵּית לְחֶם יְהוּדָה *Bethlehem (the city) of Judah*; אֲבֶל בְּיַם מַעֲכָה 2 Sam. 20, 14, &c., to distinguish it from אֲבֶל מִים *Abel by the water*, 2 Chron. 16, 4; יְבִישׁ גִּלְעָד 1 Sam. 11, 1, &c.; יִרְחֹן יִרְחֹן Num. 22, 1. 26, 3. 63, &c.; צִיּוֹן קְדוֹשׁ יְהוָה *the Zion of the Holy One of Israel*, Is. 60, 14; הַרְמָתַיִם צוֹפִים 1 Sam. 1, 1. Some of these examples (comp. also Amos 6, 2) come very near to the actual construct state (comp. above, 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 (Gen. 5, 29) or as predicate (e. g. הַיּוֹם זֶה *this is the day*, Jud. 4, 14; אֵלֶּה הַדְּבָרִים *these are the words*, Deut. 1, 1), or as object (e. g. אֶת־זֹאת 2 Sam. 13, 17), or as genitive

¹ That various other words, such as אֲנוּשׁ *man*, צְלֻמוֹת *deep darkness*, רוֹן *prince*, שָׂדֵה *field*, הַדְּשִׁיפָה *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 תְּרֵמָה *deep sleep*, there is no occasion for the article in the passages we possess.

(מִהִיר זֶה 1 Ki. 21, 2), or finally when joined to a preposition (לְזוֹאת) Gen. 2, 23; בְּזֶה 1 Sam. 16, 8, see § 102. *g*).

- k* So also the personal pronouns הֵם, הִיא, הוּא when they are used as demonstratives (= *is, ea, id, ille, &c.*) are always determinate in themselves, e. g. הוּא הַדָּבָר *this is the thing*, Gen. 41, 28. They are made determinate by the article, when they are joined like adjectives (see § 126. *u*) with a determinate substantive, e. g. הָאִישׁ הַזֶּה *this man*; הָאֲנָשִׁים הָאֵלֶּה *these men*; בְּיָמִים הַהֵמָּה וּבְעֵת הַהִיא *in those days, and in that time*, Joel 4, 1. The demonstrative, however, even in this case, is frequently used *without* the article, as being sufficiently determinate in itself.

§ 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; comp. 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*) Comp. הַיּוֹם *this day, hodie* (§ 100. *c*); הַלַּיְלָה *this night*, Gen. 19, 34; הַפַּעַם *this time*, Gen. 2, 23; הַשָּׁנָה *this year* (= *in this year*) Is. 37, 30. Jer. 28, 16.

(*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 הוּא (הִיא, הֵמָּה) as the subject of a noun-clause; e. g. Ps. 19, 10 *the judgements of the Lord are true . . .*, verse 11 הַנְּחָמָדִים וְגו' 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*¹, &c.; comp. Gen. 49, 21. Is. 40, 22 sq. 44, 27 sq. 46, 6. Amos 2, 7. 5, 7. Ps. 33, 15. 49, 7 (הַבְּטָחִים in the parallel half of the verse continued by a finite verb); Ps. 104, 3. Job 6, 16. 28, 4. 30, 3. 41, 25 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 letter *i*, remains indeterminate; e. g. Job 5, 10 *who giveth (הַגִּשָׁח) rain, &c., and sendeth (וְשִׁלַּח), &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. Deut. 32, 4 הַצֹּרֶר הַתָּמִים וְעָלָו i. e. as a fresh statement (not in apposition to the preceding dative), really equivalent to *he is a rock, perfect is his work* (i. e. *whose work is perfect*); comp. Ps. 18, 31.

¹ On the analogous use of the article before participles which have a verbal suffix, as in Ps. 18, 33 and elsewhere, comp. above, § 116. *f*.

2. The article is, generally speaking, employed to determine a *d* 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. Gen. 1, 3 *and God said, Let there be light*: verse 4 *and God saw the light* (אֶת־הָאוֹר); 1 Ki. 3, 24 *fetch me a sword: and they brought the sword*; Eccles. 9, 15. (In 2 Sam. 12, 2 therefore לְעֶשְׂרִי must be read.)

(b) With a title understood and recognized by every one, e.g. הַמֶּלֶךְ שְׁלֹמֹה ὁ βασιλεὺς Σαλωμών: Gen. 35, 8 *under the oak* (the well-known oak which was there).

(c) With appellatives to denote persons or natural objects which are unique, e.g. הַכֹּהֵן הַגָּדוֹל *the high priest*, הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ *the sun*, הָאָרֶץ *the earth*.

(d) When ideas relating to whole classes are restricted (simply by *e* usage) to particular individuals (like ὁ ποιητής, meaning Homer) or things, e.g. שָׁטָן *adversary*, הַשָּׂטָן *the adversary, Satan*; בַּעַל *lord*, בַּעַל הַבַּעַל *Ba'al* as proper name of the god; הָאָדָם *the (first) man, Adam*; הָאֱלֹהִים¹ or הָאֵל ὁ θεός, *the one true God* (comp. also ὁ Χριστός in the New Testament); also הַנָּהָר *the river*, i. e. *the Euphrates*; הַכְּפָר *the circle*, sc. of the Jordan, *the Jordan plain* [Gen. 19, 17, &c.].

(e) As a rule, with the vocative, e.g. 2 Sam. 14, 4 הוֹשִׁיעָה הַמֶּלֶךְ *help, O king*; Zech. 3, 8 יהוֹשִׁעַ הַכֹּהֵן הַגָּדוֹל *O Joshua the high priest*; 1 Sam. 17, 58. 24, 9. 2 Ki. 9, 5; in the plural, Is. 42, 18. Joel 1, 2. 13; but cf. also Jos. 10, 12. Is. 1, 2 (שָׁמַיִם and אָרֶץ); 23, 16. Hos. 13, 14. Joel 1, 5. Eccles. 10, 17. 11, 9 (see König, *Lehrgebäude*, ii. 6). The vocative occurs *without* the article in Is. 22, 2, 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 Sam. 17, 58 *thou, the young man*. But such passages as Is. 42, 18, 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 more particularly under *g* letter *l*).

(g) In a peculiar way, to specify persons or things, which are

¹ On the subsequent change of שָׁטָן, אָדָם, אֱלֹהִים into real proper names by the omission of the article, cf. above, § 125. *f*.

so far definite as to be naturally thought of in connexion with a given case, and must be assumed accordingly to be there (see letters *q-s*).

(*h*) With adjectives (also ordinal numbers and demonstrative pronouns used adjectivally) which are joined to substantives determined in some way (see letter *u*).

h Rem. The article may be omitted in *poetry* in all the above-mentioned cases; in general it occurs in poetry far less frequently than in prose. Its use or omission probably often rests on rhythmical grounds¹; it is omitted also for rhetorical reasons. Comp. e.g. אֲרֵץ אֶרֶץ for אֶרֶץ Ps. 2, 2; מְלָכִים as vocative, verse 10; מְלָךְ for הַמְּלָךְ 21, 2; וְנוֹרָא שְׂמֵךְ גְּדוֹל (contrary to letters *u, v*) 99, 3. 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. בְּשֵׁמִים Ps. 2, 4 and elsewhere.

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. Gen. 29, 7 גְּדוֹל הַיּוֹם עוֹר *as yet the day is great*, i.e. it is yet high day; 33, 13. 40, 18. 41, 26. Is. 66, 3.

k Rem. 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. Gen. 2, 11 הוּא הַפֹּכֵב *it is the compassing*, i.e. *that is it which compasseth*; 42, 6. 45, 12. Ex. 9, 27. Deut. 3, 21. 8, 18. 11, 7. 1 Sam. 4, 16. Is. 14, 27 (cf. in Greek, e.g. St. Mat. 10, 20, where Winer, *Gram. des neutest. Sprachidioms*, § 58, 2, Rem., explains οὐ 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 subsumed under a general idea, but that the predicate is equated with it.

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, clearly circumscribed, and therefore well defined classes of persons or things. The special cases to be considered are—

(*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*, Eccles. 3, 17; *the woman*, i.e. *the female sex*, 7, 26; הָאֵיִב *the enemy*, i.e. *the enemies*, Ps. 9, 7; הָאֲרֵב *the liar in wait*, i.e. *the liars in wait*; הַחֲלָיִן *the armed man*, i.e. *soldiers*;

¹ Cf. the useful statistics of J. Ley in the *Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie und Pädagogik*, 2te Abteilung, 1891, Heft 7-9.

הַמֵּאַחֶרֶת *the rearguard*; הַמְשֻׁחָת הַמְשֻׁחָת *the spoiler*, 1 Sam. 13, 17¹; so also (as in English) with names of animals, when something is asserted of them, which applies to the whole species, e. g. 2 Sam. 17, 10 *as the courage of הַאֲרִיָּה the lion*. Especially also with Gentilic names, e. g. *the Canaanite*, Gen. 13, 7 (comp. 15, 19 sq.); so in English *the Russian, the Turk*, &c., in Attic writers δ Ἀθηναῖος, δ Συρακόσιος, &c.

(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 (comp., however, our *to fall into the water, into the fire*, &c.), e. g. Gen. 13, 2 *and Abram was very rich* וְגִבְוָהָ וְזָבָהָ בַבְּקָנָה בַבְּכֶסֶף וּבַזָּהָב *in cattle, in silver and in gold*; Jos. 11, 9 *and he burnt their chariots* בְּאֵשׁ *with fire*; comp. Gen. 6, 14. 41, 42 (unless this means, *the chain necessarily belonging to the official dress*); Ex. 2, 3. 31, 4 (35, 32). Is. 1, 22, &c. Similarly the article is used with terms of measurement, as הַאֲפָה Ex. 16, 36, &c.: הַחֶמֶר and הַבֵּית Ezek. 45, 11; הָעֶמֶר Ex. 16, 22; בְּחֶבֶל 2 Sam. 8, 2.

(c) The expression of abstract ideas of every kind, since they are likewise used to represent whole classes of attributes or conditions, physical or moral defects, &c.; e. g. Prov. 25, 5 (בְּצֶדֶק); Gen. 19, 11 *and they smote the men . . .* בַּפְּנִינֵיהֶם *with blindness*; Is. 60, 2 הַחֹשֶׁךְ *darkness*; Amos 4, 9, &c.

(d) *Comparisons*, since the object compared is treated not (as usually in English) individually but as a general term, e. g. Is. 1, 18 *white* בְּשֵׁלֶג *as snow*, בְּצֹמֶר *as wool*; *red* בְּתוֹלָע *like crimson*; Is. 34, 4 *and the heavens shall be rolled together* בַּסֵּפֶר *as a scroll*; comp. Num. 11, 12. Jud. 8, 18. 16, 9 *as* פְּתִיל־הַנְּעֵרֶת *a string of tow is broken*; 1 Sam. 26, 20. 1 Ki. 14, 15. Is. 10, 18. 24, 20. 27, 10. 29, 8. 53, 6. Nah. 3, 15. Ps. 33, 7. 49, 15; comp. also such examples as Gen. 19, 28. Jud. 14, 6, where the object compared is determined by a determinate genitive which follows (according to § 127).

Examples of indeterminate comparisons, such as כְּנִבְוֹר Ps. 17, 12, כְּנִבְוֹר Job 16, 14, כְּאֵב 31, 18, כְּנִבְוֹר 38, 3, are rare, and perhaps due only to the Masora, —so at least in the case of singulars, while in such plurals as those in Gen. 42, 30. Joel 2, 4, 7, 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, Ps. 17, 12), e. g. Is. 16, 2 מְשֻׁלַּח קֶן נֹדֵד *as wandering birds*, (as) *a scattered nest* (but comp. 10, 14 בְּקֶן); 14, 19. 29, 5 כְּמִין עֵבֶר (but Ps. 1, 4 בְּפִיץ); Jer. 2, 30. Prov. 27, 8. Job 30, 14.

4. Peculiar to Hebrew² is the employment of the article to denote a single person or thing (primarily one which is as yet unknown, and

¹ But in Ex. 12, 23 הַמ' is either to be explained as *the destroyer* (now mentioned for the first time) according to letter *q*, or a particular angel is meant whose regular function it was to inflict punishments. Others again take הַמ' even in Ex. 12, 23 impersonally = *destruction*.

² Comp., however, analogous examples in Biblical Aramaic in Kautzsch's *Gramm. des Bibl. Aram.*, § 79. *f*, e. g. Dan. 2, 14. 3, 2, and elsewhere.

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.

- 1^r Thus Amos 5, 19 *as if a man did flee from a lion* (הַיָּאֲרִי), i. e. the particular lion pursuing him at the time), and a bear (הַדָּב) *met him*, &c., comp. 3, 12. 1 Ki. 20, 36 (John 10, 12); also Gen. 8, 7 sq. 14, 13 (הַפְּלִיט), i. e. *one that had escaped*, the particular one who came just then; so also Ezek. 24, 26. 33, 21; comp. 2 Sam. 15, 13); Gen. 15, 1. 18, 7 *the servant*, who is regarded as being constantly at hand and awaiting his commands; comp. 2 Sam. 17, 17 (but הַנְּעִיר Num. 11, 27 is used like הַפְּלִיט above); בְּמִקּוֹם Gen. 28, 11, 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; Gen. 50, 26. Ex. 2, 15. 3, 2. 21, 20 (2 Sam. 23, 21). Lev. 24, 10 (Samaritan יִשְׂרָאֵלִי without the article); Num. 17, 11. 21, 9. 25, 6. Deut. 19, 5. Jos. 2, 15. Jud. 4, 18. 8, 25. 13, 19. 16, 19. 19, 29. 20, 16. 1 Sam. 17, 34. 19, 13. 21, 10. 2 Sam. 17, 17. 1 Ki. 6, 8. Is. 7, 14 (הַעֲלָמָה), i. e. *the particular maiden*, through whom the prophet's announcement shall be fulfilled; we should say *a maiden* [cf. Driver on 1 Sam. 1, 4. 6, 8. 19, 13].
- 5 So always *to write in the book* (or *on the scroll*, Num. 5, 23. Jer. 32, 10), 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, 14. 1 Sam. 10, 25. Job 19, 23. 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 Sam. 1, 4. 14, 1. 2 Ki. 4, 8. 11. 18. Job 1, 6. 13. In Gen. 39, 11 even בְּהַיּוֹם הַהוּא.
- 7 The article is sometimes used in this way before collectives in the singular, which are not meant to denote (like the examples given under letter *l*) a whole class, but only that part of it which applies to the given case; thus הַצְּרִיעָה Ex. 23, 28; הַנְּחִיטָה Num. 21, 7.
- 11 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. Gen. 10, 12 הַעִיר הַגְּדוֹלָה *the great city*; 28, 19 הַמָּקוֹם הַהוּא *that place*; Gen. 2, 2 בַּיּוֹם הַשְּׁבִיעִי *on the seventh day*; Deut. 3, 24 יָדְךָ הַחֲזָקָה *thy strong hand*. A genitive following the substantive may, according to § 127, be determined either by the article, e. g. 1 Sam. 25, 25 הָאִישׁ הַבְּלִיעֵל הַהוּא *this worthless man* (prop. *this man of worthlessness*; comp. also such examples as 2 Chron. 36, 18, where the article is prefixed only to a second genitive following the noun); or as a proper name, e. g. Deut. 11, 7 מַעֲשֵׂה יְהוָה הַגְּדוֹל *the great work*

of the Lord; or by a suffix, e. g. Is. 36, 9 *עֲבָרֵי אֲרָנֵי הַקְּטָנִים* *the least of my master's servants.*

When several attributes (either connected by *Wāw* or added by *v* asyndeton) follow a determinate substantive, each of them takes the article, e. g. Deut. 10, 17 *הַיָּלֵה הַגִּבּוֹר וְהַנּוֹרָא* *the great God, the mighty, and the terrible.* Comp. also Ex. 3, 3. Deut. 1, 19, in both of which places a demonstrative with the article also follows the adjective¹.

Rem. 1. The article is, however, not infrequently used also—

(a) With the attribute alone, when it is added to an originally indefinite substantive as a subsequent limitation; so especially with ordinals after יוֹם², e. g. Gen. 1, 31 (comp. 2, 3. Ex. 20, 10, and elsewhere) *יוֹם הַשֵּׁשִׁי* *the sixth day* (prop. *a day* namely *the sixth*; but *יוֹם שֵׁנִי* *a second day*, Gen. 1, 8); Ex. 12, 15 *מִיוֹם הָרֵאשִׁון* *from the first day onward* (not before Dan. 10, 12 and Neh. 8, 18 is *מִן־הַיּוֹם הָרֵאשִׁון* used instead of it; on the other hand, the article is *always* found after בָּ, hence *בַּיּוֹם הַשֵּׁשִׁי*, &c.); in Jud. 6, 25 the text is evidently corrupt (see verse 26).—Especially also in certain frequently recurring combinations, as in particularizing gates (Jer. 38, 14. Ezek. 9, 2, and elsewhere; Zech. 14, 10) or courts 1 Ki. 7, 8, 12, and elsewhere; Ezek. 40, 28), and very often when the attribute consists of a participle, e. g. Deut. 2, 23. Jud. 21, 19. 1 Sam. 25, 10. Jer. 27, 3. 46, 16 *הַחֶרֶב הַיּוֹנֶה* *the sword which oppresses*; Ezek. 14, 22. Zech. 11, 2 *Kth*. Prov. 26, 18. Ps. 119, 21.

Of the other examples, Gen. 21, 29 (where, however, the Samaritan Pentateuch reads *הַכְּבֻשׁוֹת*), 41, 26 (but cf. verse 4), Num. 11, 25. Jud. 16, 27. 1 Sam. 17, 17 and 20, 3 may at any rate be explained on the ground that the preceding cardinal number is equivalent to a determinant; in Gen. 1, 21. 28. 9, 10, and elsewhere, the substantive is already determined by כָּל־, and in 1 Sam. 14, 29 (*דְּבִשָׁה*) by מְעַט.—In 1 Sam. 12, 23. 2 Sam. 12, 2. 4. Is. 7, 20 (where, however, *הַשְּׂכִירָה* might also be understood as a subsequent explanation of *בְּחַעַר*) and Neh. 9, 35, the omission of the article after the preposition is certainly due merely to the Masora. In 1 Sam. 16, 23. Zech. 4, 7. Ps. 104, 18, the omission of the article (before ה, ה) may be due to a regard for euphony (see letter *z* below).

¹ The demonstrative used adjectivally is generally placed *after* the adjective proper; in such cases as *הָעַם הַזֶּה הַגָּדוֹל* the adjective forms a further (fresh) addition to *הָעַם הַזֶּה*.

² Cf. Driver, *Tenses*, 3rd ed., § 209.—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' (comp. Dillmann on Gen. 1, 31, and especially Driver in the *Journal of Philology*, xi. 229 sq., against Giesebrecht in *ZAW*. 1881, p. 265 sq.). On the other hand, the common omission of the article from the substantive before a determinate adjective (e. g. *בְּנִסְתַּת הַגְּדוֹלָה* *the great synagogue*, in the Hebrew of the Mishna) is certainly a later idiom.

On the other hand, in 1 Sam. 6, 18 (to be read הַהֶבְרֵן הַזֶּה). 17, 12 (הַהֶה is a later addition). 19, 22 (comp. the LXX). 2 Ki. 20, 13 (cf. Is. 39, 2). Jer. 6, 20. 17, 2. 32, 14. 40, 3 *K^eth*. Ezek. 2, 3 (omit גִּוִּים with Cornill). Mic. 7, 11. Ps. 62, 4, either the text is corrupt, or the expression incorrect.

γ (b) *No* article with the attribute, while the substantive is determined 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 (comp. also the Méša' inscription, 1. 3, *הַבַּמָּת זֹאת* *this high place*); thus with הוּא Gen. 19, 33 (evidently for euphony, and so probably often); 30, 16. 32, 23. 1 Sam. 19, 10; with הִיא Gen. 38, 21; with הוּ Ps. 12, 8 (according to the Masora הוּ is a relative pronoun here, as always elsewhere); with אֵלֶּה 1 Sam. 2, 23, according to the present corrupt text (the original reading יהוה בְּלִעָם became אֱלֹהִים בְּלִעָם, and אֱלֹהִים was then corrupted to אֵלֶּה); so, almost without exception, when the substantive is determined only by a suffix, e.g. Jos. 2, 20. Jud. 6, 14. 2 Ki. 1, 2 and 8, 8 sq., where חָלִי, as in Jer. 10, 19, arises by contraction from חָלָי, or we should simply read חָלִי (in all these passages with הָ); Gen. 24, 8 (with וְאֵת); Ex. 10, 1. 1 Ki. 22, 23. Jer. 31, 21 (with אֵלֶּה).

z Of the other remaining examples Is. 11, 9 explains itself; the direct connexion of the attribute with its substantive is interrupted by the insertion of לִים. In Ezek. 34, 12. Hag. 1, 4. Ps. 143, 10. Cant. 6, 12 (!) the substantive is also (see above) determined by a suffix, and consequently the demonstrative is less closely attached; the same applies to Gen. 37, 2. 42, 19. 43, 14. Ps. 18, 18, except that in these passages the omission of the article before ר, ש, ע may at the same time be due to considerations of euphony (as also in Jos. 16, 1 before ע, Gen. 7, 11 cf. Jos. 11, 8. Am. 6, 2. Num. 14, 37 before ר, 28, 4. Ezek. 10, 9 before ש, 21, 19 before ח)¹. In Num. 28, 4. 1 Sam. 13, 17 sq. (אֶחָד) and 2 Ki. 25, 16 (שְׁנַיִם) after a determinate substantive, the attribute again, being a numeral, is determinate in itself (see above, letter x); finally, in 2 Chron. 26, 15 בְּחַצְצִים and בְּאַבְנֵים are to be read, as in Jer. 2, 21 נֶפֶן for הֶפֶן, in 22, 26 אָרֶץ for הָאָרֶץ; in 2 Sam. 6, 3 omit חֲרָשָׁה, and in Ezek. 39, 27 omit רְבִיּוֹם. Without any apparent reason the article is omitted in Dan. 8, 13 and 11, 31.

aa 2. When, as in Mic. 7, 12 (יִום הַיּוֹם *in that day!*), the article is omitted from both substantive and demonstrative, and in Ezra 3, 12, the demonstrative even precedes (הַבַּיִת הַזֶּה equivalent to 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, 12 לֶחֶמֶנוּ is either in apposition to the independent demonstrative הַזֶּה (= *this our bread*, &c.), as in verse 13 נַאֲרוֹת is to אֵלֶּה, or they are complete sentences, *this is our bread*, &c. So also in Ex. 32, 1 מֹשֶׁה (= *that [iste] Moses*, &c.), in 1 Sam. 17, 55 הַנֶּעַר, in Ps. 48, 15 אֱלֹהִים are to be taken in apposition to הַזֶּה. On Ps. 68, 8 and Is. 23, 13, comp. § 136. d.

¹ The same reason no doubt also favoured the omission of the article before הוּא and אֵלֶּה, as also in such cases as 1 Ki. 10, 8 (where a vowel precedes the ה). Also in Is. 23, 7 (*is this your joyous . . . ?*) the article is omitted before עֲלִיזָה probably only for euphony.

§ 127. *The Noun determined by a following Determinate Genitive.*

When a genitive, determined in any way, follows a *nomen regens*, *a* 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. 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, 1, *a soldier*); אַנְשֵׁי הַמִּלְחָמָה Num. 31, 49, *the soldiers*; דְּבַר הַנְּבִיא *the word of the prophet*, Jer. 28, 9 (but e. g., on the other hand, מִצְוֹת אֲנָשִׁים מְלֻמָּדָה *a commandment of men which hath been taught*, Is. 29, 13; דְּבַר-שֶׁקֶר *word of falsehood*, Prov. 29, 12).

(*c*) By the addition of a pronominal suffix (see above), e. g. בֵּית-אָבִי *my father's house*.

(*d*) By construction with another genitive determined in some way, e. g. Gen. 3, 2 עֵץ-הַגֶּן מִפְּרֵי *of the fruit of the trees of the garden*. Thus in Is. 10, 12 four, and in 21, 17 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 substantive *b* 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*¹; cf. also Ex. 1, 22 (כָּל-הַבָּנוֹת *all sons*, כָּל-הַבָּתּוֹת *all daughters*); 18, 22. Num. 15, 13. Jer. 4, 29, and cases like Num. 4, 23. 47. 21, 8 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* (comp. *tout homme, à tout prix*), or distributively *each, every*, e. g. כָּל-עֵץ *every (kind of) tree*, Gen. 2, 9; comp. 4, 22. 24, 10. 1 Chron. 29, 2; כָּל-דָּבָר *any thing*, Jud. 19, 19; כָּל-יּוֹם *every day, every time*, Ps. 7, 12.

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 in question is to be regarded as determinate, e. g. כָּל-שֻׁלְחָנוֹת *all (the) tables*, Is. 28, 8.

¹ כָּל-הָאָדָם being a collective; in itself כָּל-הָאָדָם could also mean *the whole man*.

(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־הַחַי *each living thing*, i. e. *every* (not *every kind of*) *living thing*; כָּל־בְּשָׂר *all flesh*, i. e. *all men* or *all living creatures* (with the article only in Gen. 7, 15 before a relative clause, and in Is. 40, 6); 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, 5 *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, 11. 2 Ki. 23, 3. Ezek. 29, 7 *all* (i. e. *the whole of*) *their shoulders* . . . *all* (*the whole of*) *their loins*; 36, 5.—On כָּל with a suffix when it follows a noun in apposition (e.g. Is. 9, 8 בְּלוּ הָעַם *the people*, *all of it*, i. e. *the whole nation*, more emphatic than כָּל־הָעַם; cf. Driver on 2 Sam. 2, 9), as well as when it follows absolutely in the genitive (= *all men*, *every one*, e.g. Gen. 16, 12)¹, see the Lexicon.

d 2. Gentilic names (or patronymics), derived from compound proper names (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 genitive), e.g. בְּנֵי־יְמִינִי (see § 86. 5) *a Benjamite*; בְּנֵי־הַיְמִינִי Jud. 3, 15 and elsewhere, *the Benjamite*; בֵּית־הַלְּחָמִי *the Bethlehemite*, 1 Sam. 16, 1 and elsewhere (comp., however, 1 Chron. 27, 12 *Q'ré* (לְבַן יְמִינִי הַשְּׂמִי); בֵּית־הַשְּׂמִי *the Beth-shemite*, 1 Sam. 6, 14; אַבְי־הָעֵזְרִי *the Abiezrite*, Jud. 6, 11 and elsewhere, cf. 1 Ki. 16, 34.

e 3. In a few instances the nomen regens appears to be used indefinitely notwithstanding a following determinate genitive; it is not so, however, in Gen. 16, 7, where the reference is to a well-known fountain; 21, 28, where in the original context there must have been some reason for *the seven ewe lambs of the flock*; 2 Sam. 12, 30 *the spoil found in the city*; but probably (unless the article is to be omitted as a textual error) it is so in Lev. 14, 34 *in a house*, &c.; Deut. 22, 19 *a virgin of Israel*; 1 Sam. 4, 12 *a man of Benjamin*; so also in 1 Sam. 20, 20 *three arrows*; 2 Sam. 23, 11 הַלְּקַח הַשָּׂדֶה *a plot of ground* (but see Gen. 33, 19. Jos. 24, 32); Jud. 13, 6. Jer. 13, 4. 41, 16. Ps. 113, 9. Prov. 25, 1, and repeatedly in Cant. (1, 11. 13 sq. 5, 13. 7, 3. 8, 2; 2, 1. 3, 9). On the other hand, שִׁיר *שִׁיר לַמַּעֲלֹת* in the titles of Psalms 120 to 134 (except 121, 1 *שִׁיר לַמַּעֲלֹת*) 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, so Cheyne, *Bampton Lectures*, p. 59.

f 4. The deviations mentioned under letter 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. Num. 21, 14 הַמְּדִבְרֵי הַנְּחָלִים *the valleys*, namely the valleys of Arnon; 2 Ki. 23, 17 הַמְּדִבְרֵי הַנְּחָלִים *the valleys*, namely the valleys of Arnon;

¹ In Ezra 10, 17 instead of כָּל־הָאֲנָשִׁים read simply אֲנָשִׁים.

the altar, namely the altar of Bethel (i. e. with the suppression of the real nomen regens, מִזְבֵּחַ without the article; by the pointing הפּוֹנֵיחַ the Masora evidently intends to allow the choice either of reading הפּוֹנֵיחַ or correcting it to (מִזְבֵּחַ); הַפֶּלֶא the God of Beth-el¹ (equivalent to 'הָאֵל אֵל ב'), Gen. 31, 13; הַמֶּלֶךְ הַמֶּלֶךְ the king of Assyria, Is. 36, 16 (probably a scribal error due to verse 13; it does not occur in the parallel passage, 2 Ki. 18, 31), comp. 2 Ki. 25, 11. Jer. 38, 6; in the vocative, Jer. 48, 32. Lam. 2, 13. On the other hand, שָׂרָה אִמּוֹ Gen. 24, 67 is no doubt only a subsequent insertion; so also יִשְׂרָאֵל 2 Sam. 20, 23. 2 Ki. 7, 13, הַתְּמִיד Dan. 8, 13, and עֶדְרַת הַנְּבִיאַת 2 Chron. 15, 8. In Ex. 9, 18 read with the Samaritan לְמִיּוֹם; in 2 Sam. 19, 25 לְכַת might possibly be taken in apposition to לִמְנַח הַיּוֹם.

A similar ellipse must also be assumed in 2 Ki. 23, 17 *the sepulchre is the sepulchre of the man of God* (but most probably קָבֵר has dropped out after הַקָּבֵר) and Ps. 123, 4 (comp., however, the LXX, and observe that in the parallel member the genitive is paraphrased by הַ).—In Jos. 3, 14 הַבְּרִית has been added to the original הַאֲרוֹן by a redactor; comp. similar syntactically impossible additions in verses 11 and 17 (also in 1 Sam. 4, 3 and elsewhere, where the LXX still had simply יהוה); in הַיְתֵד Jud. 16, 14 the Masora evidently combines two different readings הַיְתֵד and הַאֲרֵג; and similarly in Jer. 25, 26 (where הַאֲרֵץ was only subsequently introduced into the text), the two readings הַמְּלִכּוֹת and הַמְּלִכּוֹת הָאֵל are combined.—In Jos. 8, 11. 1 Ki. 14, 24. Jer. 31, 40. Ezek. 45, 16 the article, being usual after בָּלָה, has been mechanically prefixed, and so also in 2 Chron. 8, 16 after עֶדְרַת; in 2 Ki. 9, 4 the second הַנְּעֵר (instead of נְעֵר) is occasioned by the first; in Ezek. 7, 7 מְהִימָה belongs as a nominative to what follows; in Ezra 8, 29 the meaning perhaps is *in the chambers, in the house of the Lord*, or the article is to be omitted; in 1 Chron. 15, 27 the text is manifestly corrupt.

Of another kind are the instances in which a determinate noun is followed by a definition of the material *in apposition* (hence, not in the genitive; comp. § 131), e. g. Zech. 4, 10 הַאֲבֹן הַבְּדִיל *the weight, the lead, i. e. the laden weight*; Ex. 39, 17. 2 Ki. 16, 14. (הַנְּהִישָׁת, both here and in verse 17, is probably only a later addition, while הַמְּסִנּוֹת הַמְּבִנּוֹת in verse 17 has arisen from a confusion of two readings, הַמְּסִנּוֹת הַמְּבִנּוֹת and הַמְּסִנּוֹת הַמְּבִנּוֹת). In Jer. 32, 12 also הַמְּקִנָּה (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 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. הַמְּפִיחֵהוּ Is. 9, 12, *the one smiting him*; in Deut. 8, 15. 13, 6 also הֵ is a verbal suffix, but hardly the הֵ in הַעֲשֵׂהוּ for הַעֲשֵׂהוּ Job 40, 19, nor the הֵ in הַיְלִדְהוּ Dan. 11, 6; § 116. g. In הַעֲרִבְהוּ Lev. 27, 23, the suffix, as appears from verses 1. 3. 5. 7. 13,

¹ According to Philippi (*St. Constr.*, p. 38) בֵּית־אֵל is rather a case of 'sub-position' in the accusative, as also הַדֶּרֶךְ הַתְּלֹן Ezek. 47, 15 (for which, however, in 48, 1 there is the correct reading הַדֶּרֶךְ הַתְּלֹן) *by the way to Hethlon*; and in fact, Ezek. 47, 15 may without difficulty be explained in this way; so שֵׁשׁ Ex. 39, 27 as an accusative of the material.

must have entirely lost its meaning (comp. also § 128. *d*).—Of the remaining examples *פְּנִיבְרָתָהּ* Is. 24, 2 (probably an intentional alliteration with the eleven other words beginning with *פ*), *לְמַעַנְהוּ* Prov. 16, 4, and *בְּעַרְיָנוּ* (so Baer, following the best authorities) Ezra 10, 14, rest only on the authority of the Masoretes, not of the authors. So also in *הָאֱהָלִי* Jos. 7, 21, *הַחֲצִיּוֹ* Jos. 8, 33 (previously *הַחֲצִיּוֹ*), *הַהֲרוֹתֶיהָ* 2 Ki. 15, 16 (dittography of the *ה*), the article is simply to be omitted as syntactically impossible; the *ו* of *הַדְּבָרוֹ* Mic. 2, 12 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 one *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*); comp. 1 Ki. 8, 28¹. The language even prefers to avoid a series of several *co-ordinate*² genitives depending upon one and the same *nomen regens* (such as occur in Gen. 14, 19. Num. 20, 5. 31, 54 [1 Chron. 13, 1]. Is. 22, 5. Ps. 8, 3), and rather tends to repeat the *nomen regens*, e. g. Gen. 24, 3 *אֱלֹהֵי הַשָּׁמַיִם וְאֱלֹהֵי הָאָרֶץ* *the God of heaven and the God of the earth* (so in Jer. 8, 1 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 (comp. § 127. *a* [*d*]); e. g. Gen. 47, 9 *יְמֵי שָׁנֵי חַיַּי אֲבֹתַי* *the days of the years of the life of my fathers*; comp. Job 12, 24, where there are three genitives, Is. 10, 12 four, and 21, 17 five. As a rule,

¹ Very rare, and only possible in very rapid utterance, are such exceptions as Ezek. 31, 16 (*מִבְּחַר וְטוֹב-לְבָנוֹן*); Prov. 16, 11.—In Is. 11, 2 *the spirit of knowledge and of the fear of the Lord*, *דַּעַת* may at any rate also be taken as an absolute genitive, so also *כֶּפֶר* Dan. 1, 4.

² In Ps. 114, 1 a second genitive is added even without the copula, but the parallelism of the members renders any misunderstanding impossible.

indeed, such an inconvenient accumulation of genitives is avoided by means of a circumlocution in the case of one of them (see § 129. d).

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 the 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:

(a) Genitives after the absolute state, e. g. Is. 28, 1 *נִיא־שָׁמְנִים הַלְּוִיִּים יַיִן* *the fat valley of them that are overcome with wine.* The usual explanation, according to which *נִיא־שָׁמְנִים* forms one single idea (in German *Fettigkeitsthal*), on which the genitive *הַלְּוִיִּים* then depends, in reality explains nothing; the text is almost certainly corrupt. In Jos. 3, 11 *הַבְּרִית* is a later addition; in Is. 32, 13 (*מְשׁוֹשׁ*), and Ps. 68, 22 (*שִׁעָר*), the absolute for the construct state probably rests only on the authority of the Masoretes. In Jüd. 6, 25 sqq. the text is obviously in confusion. In Jud. 8, 32 (cf. 6, 24) *בְּעַפְרָה* should come either after *וַיִּקְבֹּר* or at the end of the verse; in Is. 63, 11 *מִשָּׁה* is probably a gloss on *יְמֵי־עוֹלָם* which has crept into the text; in 2 Sam. 4, 2 *לְאִישׁ־בִּשְׁתַּת*, according to the LXX, has dropped out before *בָּן*; *רְעוֹת* Ezek. 6, 11 is to be omitted with the LXX; if originally in the text, it could only be genitive (= *all abominations of evils*), not an adjective; Prov. 21, 6 the text is altogether uncertain (the LXX read *מִבְּקָשִׁי* for *מִקְשֵׁי*); in 1 Chron. 9, 13 the preposition *לְ* (after a *ל*) has dropped out before *מִלְאֲכַת* (comp. 12, 25).—Elsewhere (Deut. 3, 5. 1 Ki. 4, 13. 2 Chron. 8, 5) 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, 5 *יְרוּשָׁלַם* is either in apposition to *הַזֶּה הָעָם* or is better (since not in the LXX) omitted as a gloss.

(b) Genitives after a noun with a suffix (where the suffix prevents the direct government by the *nomen regens*). Thus in Lev. 27, 3. 5. 6, where *הַזֶּבֶב* after *עֲרֶבֶק* might be taken, contrary to the accents, as subject of the following clause; however, from verses 13 and 23 (see above, § 127. i) it appears that the suffix in this word had entirely lost its meaning. In Lev. 6, 3 *מְדוּ בָד* *his garment*, namely the garment of *linen*, unless simply in apposition, comp. § 131. d; Lev. 26, 42, where *וְגַי יַעֲקֹב* could at most be explained as an elliptical form of expression for *יַעֲקֹב בְּרִית*, comp. § 125. h (probably, however, it is a case of dittography of the *י*, which was repeated also before *אֲבָרָה*; so Valeton, *ZAW.* xii. 3); similarly, *בְּרִיתִי הַיּוֹם* Jer. 33, 20, &c. On the other hand, *אִם יִהְיֶה נְבִיאֵכֶם יְהוָה* Num. 12, 6 could not possibly mean *if your prophet be a prophet of the Lord*; the text is manifestly corrupt (probably *נְבִיאֵךְ מִיְהוָה* is to be read, with Marti). In Ps. 55, 7 *בְּסֵאֵךְ אֱלֹהִים* (usually explained as *thy divine throne*), *אֱלֹהִים* is most probably a later addition. In Jer. 52, 20 two readings are probably combined, *לְנִחְשָׁתָם* without any addition, and *לְנִחְשָׁתָם בְּלִהְיֵתָם*.

(c) The interposition of a word is assumed between *כָּל־* (*the whole*; comp. § 127. b) and the genitive governed by it in 2 Sam. 1, 9. Job 27, 3 (*עוֹד*), and Hos. 14, 3 (*הַשָּׂא*). In reality, however, in all three places the genitive

relation is destroyed by the transposition of the words (instead of עֹד כָּל־, &c.), and כָּל־ is rather to be taken adverbially (equivalent to *wholly*), e. g. 2 Sam. 1, 9 *because my life is yet wholly in me*, i. e. my whole life; comp. 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.

f 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 letters *g-i*). Very frequently the *nomen 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*, see the examples under letters *k-g*).

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. Obad. ver. 10 מַחֲמַם אָחִיךָ for the violence done to thy brother¹ (but in Ezek. 12, 19 מְחַמֵּם is followed by a subjective genitive); Prov. 20, 2 מִלֶּקֶה אֵימַת מְלֶכֶךְ the terror of a king; Gen. 18, 20 זַעַקַת קָדָם the cry concerning Sodom; Is. 23, 5 שִׁמְעֵ צָר the report of (about) Tyre, comp. 2 Sam. 4, 4; Am. 8, 10 אֲבֵל יְהִיר the mourning for an only son; Deut. 20, 14 שְׁלָל אֵיבֶיךָ praeda hostibus tuis erepta; comp. Is. 3, 14. In a wider sense this includes such examples as הַדֶּרֶךְ עֵין הַחַיִּים the way of (i. e. to) the tree of life, Gen. 3, 24; comp. Prov. 7, 27. Job 38, 20; הַדֶּרֶךְ הַיָּם the way of (by) the sea, Is. 8, 23; זְבָחֵי אֱלֹהִים the sacrifices of (i. e. pleasing to) God, Ps. 51, 19; שְׁבַעַת יְהוָה the oath of (i. e. sworn before) the Lord, 1 Ki. 2, 43.
- 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. חַכְמוֹת שְׂרוּתֶיהָ the wisest of her ladies, Jud. 5, 29; comp. for this way of expressing the superlative, § 133. *h*, and also letter *r* below.
- k* Merely formal genitives (*genit. explicativus* or *epexegeticus*) are those added to the construct state as nearer definitions—
- (d) Of the name, e. g. נְהַר פָּרָת the river Euphrates; אֶרֶץ כְּנָעַן the land of Canaan; בְּתוּלַת יִשְׂרָאֵל the virgin Israel (not of Israel), Am. 5, 2.
- l* (e) Of the genus, e. g. Prov. 15, 20 (21, 20) בְּסִיל אָדָם a fool of a man (= a foolish man); comp. Gen. 16, 12. Is. 29, 19. Mic. 5, 4, &c.
- m* (f) Of the species, e. g. אֲנָשֵׁי הַתְּרָמִים men of (the class of) merchants, 1 Ki. 10, 15; אֲחֻזַּת קָבֵר a possession of a burying-place, i. e. hereditary sepulchre, Gen. 23, 4, and elsewhere; תְּאֵינֵי הַבְּבֵרוֹת figs of (the class of) first ripe ones, Jer. 24, 2.

¹ Comp. 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, comp. εὐνοια τῶν φίλων, πίστις τοῦ θεοῦ, ὁ λόγος ὁ τοῦ σταυροῦ, 1 Cor. 1, 18.

(g) Of the *measure, weight, extent, number*, e. g. מְתֵי מִסְפָּר *people of number*, i. e. *few in number*, Gen. 34, 30. Deut. 26, 5; comp. also Ezek. 47, 3-5 *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 מֵיִם בְּרַפְּיִים.

(h) Of the *material*¹ of which something consists, e. g. כְּלֵי תְּרֵשׁ *a vessel of earthenware*, Num. 5, 17; כְּסָף כְּלֵי *vessels of silver* (comp. the French *des vases d'or*); עֵץ אֲרוֹן *an ark of wood*, בְּרֹזֶל יִטְבֵּט *a rod of iron*, Ps. 2, 9; comp. Gen. 3, 21. 6, 14. Jud. 7, 13, &c.

(i) Of the *attribute* of a person or thing, e. g. Gen. 17, 8 עוֹלָם עֲחָזָת *an everlasting possession*; Prov. 17, 8 *a precious stone*; comp. Num. 28, 6. Is. 13, 8. 28, 4. Ps. 23, 2. 31, 3. Prov. 5, 19. 14, 5. Job 41, 19, 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 קִדְּוֶשׁ *holiness* very frequently serves as a periphrasis for the adjective קְדוֹשׁ (e. g. בְּגָדֵי הַקִּדְּוֶשׁ *the holy garments*, Ex. 29, 29), since קְדוֹשׁ 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 קְדוֹשׁ *holy place*, Ex. 29, 31, and elsewhere; מַיִם קְדוֹשִׁים *holy water*, Num. 5, 17; קְדוֹשׁ as the predicate of יוֹם *day*, Neh. 8, 10 sq., and of מַחֲנֶה *camp*, Deut. 23, 15. So also the use of צְדִיק *righteous* is always confined to persons, except in Deut. 4, 8; elsewhere the periphrasis with צֶדֶק or צְדָקָה is always used, e. g. מֵאֻנֵּי צֶדֶק *just balances*, Lev. 19, 36.

In a wider sense this use of the genitive also includes statements of the purpose for which something is intended, e. g. צֹאן טְבַחָה *sheep for the slaughter*, Ps. 44, 23; מוֹסֵר שְׁלוֹמֵנו *the chastisement designed for our peace*, Is. 53, 5; comp. 51, 17 (*the cup which causes staggering*). Ps. 116, 13; finally, also, the description of the material, with which something is laden or filled, e. g. 1 Sam. 16, 20 חֵמֶר לֶחֶם וְנֹאֵר יַיִן *an ass laden with bread and a bottle of wine* (but probably עֶשְׂרָה is to be read for חֵמֶר); comp. Gen. 21, 14. Prov. 7, 20, and elsewhere.

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 Gen. 23, 6 קְבָרֵינוּ מְבַחֵר *the choice of our sepulchres*, i. e. our choicest sepulchres; Ex. 15, 4. Is. 22, 7. 37, 24; other examples are, Is. 1, 16 הַרְעָלָתְךָ *the evil of your doings*, emphatically for *your evil doings*; Is. 17, 4. 37, 24 (= *the tall cedars thereof*). Ps. 139, 22.—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 Sam. 17, 28, &c.

2. To the periphrases expressing attributive ideas (see letter *p* above) by means of a genitive construction, may be added the very numerous combination of the construct states אִישׁ *a man*, בַּעַל *master, possessor*, בֶּן *son*, and their feminines

¹ In the almost entire absence of corresponding adjectives (אֲרָז *made of cedar*, a denominative from אֲרָז, and נְחוֹשֶׁת *brazen* are the only examples), the language regularly has recourse to the above periphrasis. On the form *qāṭūl*, as expressing an inherent property, comp. § 50. f; comp. also the proper name, בְּרֹזֶל *ferreus*.

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:—

- t (a) Of אִישׁ אֵיט דְּבָרִים *an eloquent man*, Ex. 4, 10 (but אִישׁ שִׁבְתִּים Job 11, 2 *a man of lips*, i.e. *a boaster*); אִישׁ לְשׁוֹן = *a slanderer*, Ps. 140, 12; אִישׁ דַּעַת *a man of knowledge*, Prov. 24, 5; אִישׁ הַמָּה *a wrathful man*, Prov. 15, 18; אִישׁ דָּמִים *a man of blood*, 2 Sam. 16, 7. Ps. 5, 7; comp. further, 1 Sam. 16, 18. 1 Ki. 2, 26. Is. 53, 3. Prov. 19, 6. 26, 21. 29, 1. Ezra 8, 18; also אִשְׁתׁ אִישׁ הַשֵּׁם *a contentious woman*, Prov. 27, 15; in the plural, e.g. Gen. 6, 4 הַשֵּׁם הַזֶּה אִישׁ לְבָב *the men of renown, famous*; comp. Gen. 47, 6. Is. 41, 11. Job 34, 8. 10 (אִישׁ לְבָב *men of understanding*); with מְתֵי, e.g. Is. 5, 13 (מְתֵי הָעֵבֶר *famished men*); Job 11, 11.
- 11 (b) Of בַּעַל שֵׁעָר *hairy*, 2 Ki. 1, 8; בַּעַל הַחֲלֹמוֹת *the dreamer*, Gen. 37, 19; comp. Nah. 1, 7. Prov. 1, 17, 18, 9 (*a destroyer*). 22, 24. 23, 2 (*disposed to eat, greedy*). 24, 8; feminine בַּעַלְת־אָזָב *a woman that hath a soothsaying spirit*, 1 Sam. 28, 7; comp. Nah. 3, 4; in the plural, e.g. בַּעֲלֵי הַצִּים *archers*, בַּעֲלֵי בְרִית *confederates*, Gen. 14, 13; בַּעֲלֵי שְׂבוּעָה *sworn supporters*, Neh. 6, 18.
- v (c) Of בֶּן־חַיִל *a hero, warrior*; בֶּן־מִשְׁקָה *heir*, Gen. 15, 2; בֶּן־שָׁנָה *yearling*, Ex. 12, 5, and elsewhere; בֶּן־מֵאָת שָׁנָה *centum annos natus*, Gen. 21, 5; בֶּן־מָוֶת *worthy to die*, 1 Sam. 20, 31 (Luther, 2 Sam. 12, 5 *ein Kind des Todes*); comp. Deut. 25, 2 בֶּן הַבֹּת *worthy to be beaten*; feminine, e.g. אִשְׁת־בַּלְעֵל *a wicked woman*, 1 Sam. 1, 16; frequently also אִישׁ בַּלְעֵל, בְּנֵי ב', אֲנָשֵׁי ב', and even simply בַּלְעֵל, like the Latin *scelus* for *sceltestissimus*, 2 Sam. 23, 6. Job 34, 18; plural masculine, e.g. בְּנֵי־קֶדֶם *children of the east, orientals*; בְּנֵי מַרְי *children of rebellion*, Num. 17, 25. בֶּן־ is used poetically of things without life, e.g. Is. 5, 1 בֶּן־שֹׁמֶן *a fat*, i.e. *a fruitful (hill)*; Jon. 4, 10 בֶּן־לַיְלָה i.e. *grown in a night*; Job 41, 20 בֶּן־קַו *son of the bow* (i.e. *an arrow*); so also בְּנֵי רִשְׁפָה = *sparks*, Job 5, 7; Lam. 3, 13; בָּנוֹת Eccles. 12, 4 *the daughters of song*, probably meaning the individual notes.
- 21 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, as substantives, rather than as attributes in the same state, gender, and number as the noun which they qualify; thus, Is. 28, 4 צִיצֵת נִבֵּל *the flower of that which fades*, for which verse 1 has צִיץ נִבֵּל *the fading flower*; comp. further, Is. 22, 24. Jer. 22, 17 (?). 52, 13. Ps. 73, 10. 74, 15. 78, 49; also the use of רַע as a substantive, e.g. in Prov. 2, 14 b. 6, 24 (אִשְׁת־רַע) and elsewhere, analogous to the New Testament phrase *ὁ οικονόμος τῆς ἀδικίας*, Luke 16, 8, and the French *un homme de bien*¹.—Finally, an adverb (treated as a substantive) may likewise be used as

¹ On the other hand, in such passages as Is. 36, 2 (2 Ki. 18, 17). Zech. 14, 4. Eccles. 8, 10, and others, there is no apparent reason why the Masora requires the construct state instead of the absolute; hence חֵיל Is. 36, 2 and גַּיָּא Zech. 14, 4 must be intended as forms of the absolute state, shortened in consequence of their close connexion.

an exegetical genitive; comp. דָּמַי הַנֶּחֱמָה *blood shed without cause*, 1 Ki. 2, 31; Prov. 24, 28. 26, 2; Ezek. 30, 16 (יוֹמָם).

3. The exegetical genitives include finally the numerous nearer *x* definitions which follow the construct state of adjectives (and of active and passive participles, or verbal adjectives, comp. § 116. *f-l*). For, while the word of nearer definition is added to the verb in the accusative (e. g. הָלַה אֶת-רַגְלָיו *he was diseased in his feet*, 1 Ki. 15, 23), it may, with participles and verbal adjectives, be either in the accusative (§ 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, 8, &c. אֶרֶץ זָבַת חֶלֶב וְדָבַשׁ *a land flowing with milk and honey*; or of the *means*, e. g. חָלַל-יָחִיר *slain with the sword*, Is. 22, 2; or the *cause*, Cant. 2, 5 *sick of love*; or of the *scope of the attribute*¹, e. g. Gen. 39, 6 יָפֵה-תֹאֵר *fair of form*; cf. Gen. 41, 2. 4. Ex. 34, 6. 1 Sam. 16, 12. Jer. 32, 19. Nah. 1, 3. Ps. 119, 1. Job 37, 16; or of the *manner*, e. g. Ps. 59, 6 בְּנֵי אֵיזוֹ *faithless ones of wickedness* (wickedly faithless).

Especially frequent is the use of this genitive to name the part *y* of the body described as being affected by some physical or mental condition, e. g. Ps. 24, 4 נְקִי כַפַּיִם *clean as regards hands*, &c.; 2 Sam. 9, 3. Is. 6, 5. Job 17, 9; Is. 19, 10 אֲנִי-נִפְשָׁה *grieved in soul*; 1 Sam. 1, 10. Job 3, 20. Also such examples as Amos 2, 16. Prov. 19, 1, where a suffix is attached to the substantive, must be regarded as instances of the genitive construction, on the analogy of Prov. 14, 2, see § 116. *k*.

§ 129. Expression of the Genitive by Circumlocution.

Besides the construction of a *nomen rectum* dependent upon *α* a *nomen 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, also that of *belonging to*², or by the addition of a relative clause (לְאִשְׁרָהּ, see letter *h* below).

¹ Comp. the Latin *integer vitæ scelerisque purus; tristes animi*, &c.

² Comp. the σχῆμα Κολοφώνιον in Greek, e. g. ἡ κεφαλὴ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ for τοῦ ἀνθρώπου (Bernhardy's *Syntax*, p. 88).—The Arab grammarians distinguish

- b* 1. The introduction of a genitive by ל sometimes occurs even when the construction with the construct state would be equally possible, e.g. 1 Sam. 14, 16 הַצִּבּוֹת לְשָׂאוֹל *the watchmen of Saul*; Ps. 37, 16. 2 Chron. 28, 18 (where indeed the circumlocution makes the sense much plainer); as a rule, however, this use is restricted to the following cases:—
- c* (a) To prevent a nomen regens being determined by a following determinate genitive, e.g. 1 Sam. 16, 18 בֶּן יִשָּׁי a son of Jesse (בֶּן יִשָּׁי would be, according to § 127. a, *the son of Jesse*); comp. Gen. 14, 18. 36, 12. 41, 12. Num. 16, 22 (27, 16). 1 Sam. 17, 8. 2 Sam. 19, 21. 1 Ki. 2, 39 *two servants of Shimei*; Ps. 122, 5. Hence, regularly לְדָוִד מְזֻמָּר (Ps. 3, 1, &c.) *a psalm of David* (properly belonging to David as the author), for which לְדָוִד of David is used alone elliptically in Ps. 11, 1. 14, 1 and elsewhere. Such a case as לְדָוִד מְזֻמָּר (Ps. 24, 1 and elsewhere) is not to be regarded as a transposition, but מְזֻמָּר is used epexegetically for the general term omitted before לְדָוִד (as it were, *a poem of David, a psalm*). Moreover, the introduction of the author, poet, &c., by this *Lamed auctoris* is the customary idiom also in the other Semitic dialects, especially in Arabic.
- d* (b). When a genitive is to be made dependent on a nomen regens, which is itself composed of a nomen regens and rectum, and represents, as a compound, one united idea, e.g. חֶ' שָׂדֵה לְבִעוֹ הַלְקַחַת הַשָּׂדֵה לְבִעוֹ *the portion of field belonging to Boaz* (חֶ' שָׂדֵה לְבִעוֹ would be *the portion of the field of Boaz*); 2 Ki. 5, 9 *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 Ki. 14, 19 עַל-סֵפֶר דְּבָרֵי הַיָּמִים לְמַלְכֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל *in the book of the chronicles of the kings of Israel*; 15, 23 and elsewhere; comp. also Jos. 19, 51.
- e* (c) When for any reason the construction with the nomen regens in the construct state is impossible; comp. e.g. Lev. 18, 20, where שֶׁקֶבֶתְךָ, on account of the suffix, cannot be used in the construct state; but Lev. 15, 16 sqq. and elsewhere, שֶׁקֶבֶת-זֶרַע; Jud. 3, 28 *the Jordan fords of Moab* (יַרְדֵּן) as a *proper name* cannot be used in the construct state); Ex. 20, 5 *upon the third and upon the fourth generation of them that hate me*; וְעַל-רֵבֵעִים must be kept in the absolute state for the sake of conformity with וְעַל-שִׁלְשִׁים, and for the same reason also לְאַלְפִים לְאַהֲבֵי.
- f* (d) After statements of number in such cases as Gen. 8, 14 בְּשִׁבְעָה וְעֶשְׂרִים יוֹם *on the seven and twentieth day of the month*; comp. 7, 11. 16, 3 and frequently, or as in Hag. 1, 1 בְּשֵׁנַת 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 letter *b*) does not admit of being in the constr. st. with a genitive. The same naturally applies also to such examples as 1 Ki. 3, 18 בַּיּוֹם הַשְּׁלִישִׁי לְלִדְתִי *on the third day of my giving birth* (i.e. after my giving birth). Comp. also the standing phrase בְּאַחַד לַחֹדֶשׁ *on the first (day) of the month*, Gen. 8, 5 and frequently.

a twofold genitive, one of which may be resolved by ל, and the other by מן [see Wright's *Arabic Grammar*, vol. ii. § 75 sqq.—G.W.C.] The *de* of the Romance languages is a development of the latter idea; the Gascon, however, says c.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.

Rem. In cases like 2 Sam. 3, 2 *and his firstborn was Amnon* לְאַחִינֹעַם of *g* Ahinoam, the genitive expressed by circumlocution with לְ is in reality dependent on a regens which is omitted (בֶּן לְאַחִינֹעַם a son of Ahinoam); comp. 2 Sam. 3, 3. 5. 1 Ki. 14, 13. Am. 5, 3, and the remarks on לְדָוִד מִזְמוֹר in letter *c* above.

2. The periphrastic expression of the genitive by means of לְ אֲשֶׁר is used principally to state the *possessor*, e. g. Gen. 29, 9 הַצֹּאֵן אֲשֶׁר לְאָבִיהָ *her father's sheep* (prop. *the sheep which belonged to her father*); Gen. 47, 4 and frequently. So also (according to § 128. *a*) when a genitive depends on more than one substantive, e. g. Gen. 40, 5 *the butler and the baker who* (belonged) *to the king of Egypt* (וְאִפְּהָ מִלֶּךְ מִצְרַיִם) would indicate only the baker as belonging to the king); or when a genitive (as in the examples in letter *d* above) is added to a compound, which expresses one united idea (Ruth 4, 3); or when, as a fixed term (e. g. a title), it appears always in the same form, e. g. Cant. 1, 1 שִׁיר הַשִּׁירִים שִׁיר אֲשֶׁר לְשִׁלְמוֹהַ *the Song of songs, of Solomon*; 1 Sam. 21, 8. 2 Sam. 2, 8. 1 Chron. 11, 10; comp. also Gen. 41, 43¹.

§ 130. Wider Use of the Construct State.

The construct state, which, according to § 89. *a*, primarily represents 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, particularly in more elevated (prophetic or poetic) style, especially when the nomen regens is a participle. Thus before בְּ, שְׂמֵחַת בְּקִצִּיר *the joy in the harvest*, Is. 9, 2. 2 Sam. 1, 21. Ps. 136, 8 sq.; in participles, Is. 5, 11. 9, 1. 19, 8. Ps. 84, 7, and especially often when בְּ with a suffix follows the participle, e. g. Ps. 2, 12 בּוֹ בְּלַחֲוֹסֵי; comp. Nah. 1, 7. Jer. 8, 16 (Ps. 24, 1); Ps. 64, 9 (unless רָאָה should be read); 98, 7².—Before לְ, Hos. 9, 6. Ps. 58, 5 (before לָמוּ); Prov. 24, 9. Lam. 2, 18 (before לָךְ); 1 Chron. 6, 55. 23, 28; in participles, Ezek. 38, 11. Job 18, 2. 24, 5; before לְ with an infinitive, Is. 56, 10, and again before לְ with a suffix, Gen. 24, 21.

¹ In New Hebrew שֶׁל (derived from שֶׁל = אֲשֶׁר לְ, see § 36, and comp. Cant. 1, 6. 3, 7 שֶׁלִּי, שֶׁלְשִׁלְמוֹהַ) is used like the simple relative כִּי, דִּי in Aramaic, as an independent sign of the genitive.

² In Jud. 8, 11 the article is even used before a construct state followed by בְּ, in order to determine the whole combination שְׂכֹנֵי בָּאֵהָלִים *tent-dwellers*, taken as one word; comp., however, the remarks in § 127. *f-i*, on similar grammatical solecisms.

- Is. 30, 18. 64, 3¹;—before אֶל־, Is. 14, 19. Ezek. 21, 17;—before אֶת־ (*with*), Is. 8, 6;—before מִן, Gen. 3, 22. Is. 28, 9 (a participle); Jer. 23, 23. Ezek. 13, 2. Hos. 7, 5;—before עַל־, Jud. 5, 10; before בְּלִי, Is. 14, 6; before the *nota accus.* אֵת, Jer. 33, 22; before a locative (which in such cases also serves as a genitive), Ex. 27, 13. Jer. 1, 15.
- b* (2) Before *wāw copulative*, e.g. Ezek. 26, 10; but הִקְבַּחְתָּ Is. 33, 6, וַיִּלַּח 35, 2, and שִׁבַּרְתָּ 51, 21 may be cases of an intentional reversion to the old feminine ending *ath*, in order to avoid the hiatus (!) הַיְיָ.
- c* (3) When it governs the (originally demonstrative) pronoun אֲשֶׁר; so especially in the combination מְקוֹם אֲשֶׁר *the place where* (prop. of *that which*) . . ., Gen. 39, 20. 40, 3; or בְּמְקוֹם אֲשֶׁר Lev. 4, 24. 33. 2 Sam. 15, 21. 1 Ki. 21, 19. Jer. 22, 12. Ezek. 21, 35. Hos. 2, 1. We should expect אֲשֶׁר הַמְּקוֹם אֲשֶׁר, as in Gen. 35, 13 &c., *at the place which* . . ., cf. § 138; אֲשֶׁר is treated as a *nomen rectum* instead of as an attribute. Cf. also מִיּוֹם א' followed by a *perfect* in 1 Sam. 29, 8, and יְמֵי א' Lev. 13, 46. Num. 9, 18; also דְּבַר מַה־יִּרְאֵנִי (*the matter of that which*, i. e.) *whatsoever he showeth me*, Num. 23, 3².
- d* (4) When it governs independent sentences (cf. § 155), which virtually stand to the construct state (as *nomen regens*) in the genitive relation, e.g. Ex. 4, 13 בְּיַד־תִּשְׁלַח prop. *by the hand of* him whom *thou wilt send*; Is. 29, 1 קִרְיַת הַנָּה דָּוִד *the city where David encamped*; Jer. 48, 36. Ps. 16, 3 (if the text be right). 65, 5 (Prov. 8, 32). Ps. 81, 6. Job 18, 21 *the place of him that knoweth not God*; Job 29, 16. Lam. 1, 14 (if the text be right) *into the hands of* those against whom *I cannot* &c.³ In Gen. 39, 4 (בְּלִי־יִשְׁלוֹ) the בְּלִי takes after it a noun-clause, and

¹ These are to be distinguished from the cases where לְ follows a construct state, which in conjunction with מִן (and the following לְ) has become a sort of preposition or adverb of place; thus, we have מִבֵּית־לְ Ex. 26, 33 (for which in Ezek. 1, 27 merely לְ בֵּית־) meaning simply *within*; מִיְמִין לְ (2 Ki. 23, 13. Ezek. 10, 3) *on the right hand* (i. e. south) of; מִצְפוֹן לְ (Jos. 8, 11. 13. Jud. 2, 9) *on the north of*; comp. also Jos. 15, 21 and לְפָנֵי מִן Neh. 13, 4.

² In Dent. 23, 5 the construct state governs a sentence introduced by the conjunction אֲשֶׁר אֲשֶׁר (עַל־דְּבַר אֲשֶׁר *by reason of the fact that*, i. e. *because*); so also in 1 Sam. 3, 13.

³ Probably Gen. 22, 14 is also to be so explained (contrary to the accents), and certainly (contrary to the very unnatural division of the verses) 2 Chron. 30, 18, which should read on thus: יְהוָה הַטּוֹב יְכַפֵּר בְּעַד כָּל־לִבְבוֹ הַכִּין *the good Lord pardon every one that setteth his heart to seek God*. [See Wickes' *Accentuation of the Twenty-one Prose Books of the Old Testament*, p. 140.—G. W. C.]

in Ex. 9, 4, still more boldly, a subst. with לְ.—Very often a *time-determination* governs the following sentence in this way; thus, אֲחֵרֵי followed by a perfect, 1 Sam. 5, 9; מִיּוֹם Ps. 102, 3 (before a noun-clause). Ex. 6, 28. Num. 3, 1. Deut. 4, 15. 2 Sam. 22, 1. Ps. 18, 1. 59, 17. 138, 3 (in every case before a following perfect). Ps. 56, 10 (before an imperfect); מִיּוֹם followed by the perfect, Jer. 36, 2; בְּלַיְמִי Lev. 14, 46. 1 Sam. 25, 15. Job 29, 2 (בַּיָּמִי as in the days when . . .; comp. קִימוֹת and שְׁנוֹת before a perfect, Ps. 90, 15); בְּעֵת before a perfect, Jer. 6, 15 (cf. 49, 8. 50, 31); before an imperfect, Job 6, 17; הִתְחַלַּת before a perfect, Hos. 1, 2.

(5) Connected with a following word in apposition; certainly *e* so in such cases as בְּתוּלַת בַּת-צִיּוֹן the virgin, the daughter of Zion, Is. 37, 22; comp. 23, 12. Jer. 14, 17; also 1 Sam. 28, 7 אִשָּׁת בְּעֵלְת־אֹיֵב a woman, possessor of a soothsaying spirit; comp. Deut. 21, 11.—Gen. 14, 10. Jud. 19, 22. 2 Ki. 10, 6. 17, 13 *Q'rê'*; Jer. 20, 15. 46, 9. Ps. 35, 16 (?). 78, 9. Job 20, 17 *b* (unless נִתְהַרֵי or נִתְחַלֵי be a gloss); Dan. 11, 14.

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 suspensio*, in consequence of the insertion of some interrupting word, e. g. Is. 37, 22, &c.; Job 20, 17 *a*. Elsewhere (Deut. 33, 19. Ps. 68, 34) the *nomen regens* probably governs the following construct state directly¹.

(6) The numeral אֶחָד one for אֶחָד in close connexion, and even *g* with small distinctives, e. g. Gen. 48, 22. 2 Sam. 17, 22. Is. 27, 12. Zech. 11, 7.

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. Analogous to this are the apparent construct states שְׁנֵי, שְׁתֵּי, שְׁלֹשׁ, &c., in the compound numerals from eleven to nineteen, see § 97. *d*.

§ 131. Apposition.

1. Apposition in the stricter sense is the collocation of two sub- *a*stantives 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, letter *g*), the former by the latter. Apposition in Hebrew (as in the

¹ So also Is. 28, 16 a corner stone of the preciousness (יְקָרָת) is a substantive not an adjective) of a grounded foundation, i. e. a precious corner stone of surest foundation.—In 2 Sam. 20, 19 the text is wholly corrupt; in Ps. 119, 128 read בְּלִבְךָ בְּקוֹרְיָךְ.

other Semitic languages¹) is by no means confined to those cases in which it is used in English or in the classical languages. It is not infrequently found when either the *subordination* of one substantive to the other or some more circumstantial kind of epexegetical addition would be expected.

2. The principal kinds of apposition of nouns in Hebrew are the following:—

- b* (a) The collocation of *genus* and *species*, e.g. אִשָּׁה אֶלְמָנָה *a woman (who was) a widow*, 1 Ki. 7, 14; נַעֲרָה בְּתוּלָה *a damsel (that is) a virgin*, Deut. 22, 23. 28. Jud. 21, 12. 1 Sam. 30, 17. 1 Ki. 1, 2; comp. Gen. 13, 8. 21, 20 (where, however, נַשְׂת is probably an explanatory gloss); Ex. 22, 30. 24, 5 (1 Sam. 11, 15). Lev. 6, 13. 1 Sam. 7, 9. 2 Sam. 15, 16. 1 Ki. 3, 16. 5, 29 (but probably סִבְל should be read instead of סִבָּל); Is. 3, 24. Jer. 20, 1. No doubt also פֹּהֵן הַרְאֵשׁ *the priest (who is) the chief man*, 2 Ki. 25, 18, &c.—In 2 Sam. 10, 7 read פָּל־צִבְאָה הַגְּבִ' with the LXX.
- c* (b) Collocation of the *person* or *thing* and the *attribute*, e.g. Job 20, 29 (27, 13) וְהָ חֵלֶק־אָדָם רָשָׁע *this is the portion of a man, (who is) a wicked man*; comp. Prov. 6, 12.—Prov. 22, 21 אֲמָרִים אֱמֶת *words (which are) truth*; comp. Ex. 30, 2. 1 Sam. 2, 13. Mic. 1, 11 (where, however, בְּשֵׁת is most probably a gloss on עֲרִיָה); Zech. 1, 13 (= *comfortable words*); Ps. 45, 5 (?). 68, 17 (comp. verse 16). In a wider sense this includes also such cases as Ps. 60, 5 יַיִן תַּרְעֵלָה *wine which is staggering* (intoxicating drink), which causes staggering²; 1 Ki. 22, 27 (Is. 30, 20) מַיִם לַחֵץ *water which is affliction*, drunk in trouble (imprisonment). Still more boldly, 1 Ki. 5, 3 בָּקָר רְעִי *oxen* which were taken out of the *pastures*, and 1 Ki. 6, 7 *undressed stones* which come from the *quarry*, probably a corruption of מַטְפָּע.

¹ On certain uses of apposition peculiar to the Semitic languages, comp. the exhaustive discussion by Fleischer, 'Ueber einige Arten der Nominalapposition im Arab.' (*Kleine Schriften*, ii. 16); [and see also Driver, *Tenses*, Appendix IV.]

² Unless it is to be translated *thou gavest us intoxication to drink as wine* (and so in 1 Ki. 22, 27 *give him affliction to eat as bread*, &c.); comp. Ps. 80, 6 and the analogous examples of apposition in the form of a second accusative in § 117. *kk*. Moreover, having regard to יַיִן הַרְקָח *spiced wine*, Cant. 8, 2, and עֵיר פָּרָא *a wild ass's colt*, Job 11, 12 (in which passages יַיִן and עֵיר must certainly be in the construct state) we cannot but ask whether the Masora does not intend the יַיִן in Ps. 60, 5 to be taken as construct state (for which elsewhere יַיִן).

A person and a condition are in apposition in Ezek. 18, 6 (unless *בְּנֵי־הָאָדָמָה* is to be read).—In 1 Sam. 4, 1 read *אָבְנוֹ הָעֵץ*, according to 5, 1. 7, 12.

(c) Collocation of the *person* (Deut. 28, 36) or *thing* (form) and *d material*¹, or of the *place* or *measure* and its *contents*, e.g. 1 Chron. 15, 19 *בְּמִצְלֹתַיִם נְהַשְׁתָּ* with cymbals which were brass, i.e. of brass; Ezek. 22, 18, comp. Ex. 26, 25. Dan. 11, 8. 1 Chron. 28, 15. 18; Ex. 28, 17 *אַרְבַּע סָלֹת* (טוֹרֵי אֲבָנֵי); comp. 2 Chron. 4, 13. Lev. 6, 3 (see, however, § 128. d); 2 Ki. 7, 1 *סֵאֵה סֹלֶת* a seah of fine flour; comp. 2 Ki. 7, 16. 18. Gen. 18, 6. Ex. 16, 33. Lev. 3, 11. Ruth 2, 17. 1 Ki. 16, 24. 2 Ki. 5, 23 *כֶּסֶף שְׁנַיִם כֶּסֶף* two talents of silver²; comp. 5, 17. Ezek. 22, 18 (if the text be right). With the *material* placed before the *measure*, Ex. 30, 23 sq.—A *period of time* and its contents are placed in apposition in *חֹדֶשׁ יָמִים* a month of days, i.e. a month's time = for a whole month, Gen. 29, 14. Num. 11, 20. 21, comp. Deut. 21, 13. 2 Ki. 15, 13, and *שְׁנַתַּיִם יָמִים* two years' time, i.e. two full years, Gen. 41, 1. 2 Sam. 13, 23. 14, 28. 24, 13. Jer. 28, 3. 11. Dan. 10, 2 sq.

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. filii, § 97. a and § 134. b.

(d) Collocation of the *thing* and the *measure* or *extent*, *number*, &c., e e.g. Num. 9, 20 *יָמִים מְסָפָר* days, (a small) number, i.e. only a few days; *כֶּסֶף מְשֻׁנָּה* money, repetition, i.e. twice as much money, Gen. 43, 12; *מַיִם בְּרִבְעֵי* water which was of the measure of the knees, which reached to the knees, Ezek. 47, 4 (also *מֵי מְתַנְּיִם* 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, 12 *אֲנָשִׁים מְעַט* men, a few, i.e. some few men; 1 Ki. 5, 9 *הַבִּינָה הַרְבֵּה* understanding, much-making, i.e. much understanding: comp. 2 Sam. 8, 8 and elsewhere.

(e) Collocation of the *thing* and its *name*, e.g. *בְּהַרְרֵם שְׁעִיר* in their mountainous district, Seir (perhaps only a subsequent gloss), Gen. 14, 6;

¹ Comp. also the examples treated above in § 127. h.

² On the anomalous form *כֶּסֶף שְׁנַיִם* (instead of *כֶּסֶף שְׁנַיִם*; cf. *כֶּסֶף שְׁנַיִם* immediately before), cf. § 88, b.

פְּנֵי הָאָרֶץ הַחֵוֶן *the land Canaan*, Num. 34, 2; comp. Ezra 9, 1. 1 Chron. 5, 9 (see letter *g* below).—For examples of nouns in the construct state before a noun in apposition, see § 130. *e* above.

- g* Rem. 1. Only in certain combinations does the noun of nearer definition come first, e.g. הַמֶּלֶךְ דָּוִד הַמֶּלֶךְ שְׁלֹמֹה *king David, king Solomon* (less frequently הַמֶּלֶךְ דָּוִד &c. 2 Sam. 13, 39. 1 Ki. 2, 17. 12, 2. 2 Ki. 8, 29. 9, 15, &c.)
- h* 2. When the *nota accusativi* (אֵת, אֶת) or a preposition precedes the first substantive, it *may* be repeated before the noun in apposition, e.g. Gen. 4, 2. 22, 2. 24, 4. 47, 29. Is. 66, 21; this usually occurs when the nearer definition precedes a *proper name*. As a rule, however, the repetition does not take place (Deut. 18, 1. Jer. 33, 18. 1 Sam. 2, 14). A noun in apposition is made determinate, even after a noun with a prefix, in the ordinary way, e.g. 2 Chron. 12, 13 בִּירוּשָׁלַיִם הָעִיר *in Jerusalem, the city which, &c.*¹
- i* 3. Sometimes a second adjective is used in apposition to a preceding adjective, in order to modify in some way the meaning of the first, e.g. Lev. 13, 19 בְּהֵרֶת לְבָנָה אֲדַמָּה *a white-reddish (light red) bright spot*.
- k* 4. *Permutation* is to be regarded as a variety of apposition. It is not complementary like apposition proper (see letter *a* above), but rather *defines* the preceding substantive (or pronoun, see below), in order to prevent any possible misunderstanding. This includes cases like Gen. 9, 4 *with the life thereof* (which is) *the blood thereof*; Deut. 2, 26. 2 Ki. 3, 4 *an hundred thousand rams, the wool*, i. e. the wool of the rams; Jer. 25, 15 *this cup of the wine that is of fury* (but הַחֶמָּה is probably a gloss); Is. 42, 25 *he poured upon him fury, namely his anger*²; but especially the examples in which such a permutative is added to a preceding pronoun, viz.—
- l* (a) To a separate pronoun, e.g. Ex. 7, 11; with regard to the vocative, comp. § 126. *f*.
- m* (b) To an accusative suffix, e.g. Ex. 2, 6 *she saw him, the child* (unless אֶת-הַיֵּלֵד be a later gloss); Ex. 35, 5. Lev. 13, 59 *b*. 1 Ki. 19, 21 (where, indeed, הַבָּשָׂר appears to be a late gloss); 21, 13. 2 Ki. 16, 15 *Keth*. Jer. 9, 14. 31, 2. Ezek. 3, 21. Prov. 13, 24 (comp., however, Delitzsch on the passage); Eccles. 2, 21 (according to Delitzsch rather a double accusative)³.
- n* (c) To a noun-suffix, e.g. Ezek. 10, 3 בָּבֹאוּ הָאִישׁ *when he went in, the man*; 42, 14; comp. Prov. 13, 4 (?). Ezra 3, 12; so also after a preposition with suffix, e.g. Eccles. 4, 10 לֹא הָאֶחָד *woe to him, the one alone*; with a repetition

¹ In 1 Ki. 11, 8 participles after לְבַל-נִשְׂוִי, as in 2 Ki. 10, 6 after אֶת-יְרֵלִי הָעִיר, in 19, 2 after a determinate accusative, and in Hag. 1, 4 after בְּבִתְיֵכֶם, are used *without* the article; these, however, are probably to be explained not as in apposition, but according to § 118. *p*.

² But מִים Gen. 6, 17 (comp. 7, 6) is to be regarded as a later gloss upon the archaic מַבּוּל.

³ For וַיִּשְׁנֶוּ 1 Sam. 21, 14 either וַיִּשְׁנֶה is to be read or the *Kethibh* is to be explained according to § 75. *b*, note. Also וַיִּכְרְנוּ Prov. 5, 22 has hardly preserved the correct form.

of the preposition, Num. 32, 33. Jos. 1, 2 לָהֶם לְבָנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל *to them, to the children of Israel*; Jer. 51, 56. 2 Chron. 26, 14¹.—Comp., finally, Cant. 3, 7, where the suffix precedes the genitive periphrastically expressed by לְעַלְיָ (as in Ezra 9, 1, where the genitive is expressed by לְ) ².

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, 23 *when he* (or rather) *his children see*, &c. (but יִלְרִיּוֹ is clearly a gloss); comp. Ps. 83, 12, perhaps also Job 29, 3.

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:—

(a) Such phrases as מִשְׁנֵה בָּהֶן a double amount in money, Gen. 43, 15; comp. 2 Sam. 21, 20. Jer. 17, 18; 1 Sam. 17, 5 *five thousand shekels in brass*; certainly such cases as Job 15, 10 *older than thy father in days*, and the expression of the superlative by means of מְאֹד (originally a substantive), e. g. מְאֹד טוֹב *very good*, Gen. 1, 31 (comp. also Eccles. 7, 16 צְדִיק הַרְבֵּה *righteous over much*), and the very frequent מְאֹד הַרְבֵּה prop. *a much-making exceedingly*, i. e. *exceedingly great*, Gen. 15, 1 and elsewhere, also Prov. 23, 29 פְּצָעִים חֵנָם *wounds without cause*³, perhaps also Gen. 34, 25 (בְּטַח).

(b) A few examples, in which an exegetical substantive is added to a substantive with a suffix; thus, Ezek. 16, 27 מְדַרְבְּנָה זָמָה *of thy conduct in lewdness* (but it is also possible to explain this according to letter *c*, *of thy conduct*, which is *lewdness*); cf. Ezek. 24, 13. 2 Sam. 22, 33 מְעוֹזֵי חֵיל *my fortress in strength*, i. e. *my strong fortress* (comp., however, Ps. 18, 33); Hab. 3, 8. Ps. 71, 7. While even in these examples the deviation from the ordinary usage of the language (comp. § 135. *n*) is strange, it is much more so in חֹב הַבְּלָתוֹ Ezek. 18, 7, i. e. according to the context *his pledge for a debt*; Ezra 2, 62 הַמִּתְחַשְׁבִּים *their register*, namely of those that were reckoned by genealogy (but perhaps הַמִּתְּי is in apposition to the suffix in בְּתַבְּם), also the curious combinations

¹ But in Is. 17, 6 we should certainly divide the words differently and read בְּסַעֲפֵי הַפְּרִיָה, and in Prov. 14, 13 אֲחֵרִית הַשְּׂמֵתָה; in Gen. 2, 19 נָפֶשׁ חַיָּה is a late gloss upon לוֹ.

² 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. Ezek. 10, 3) is not due to the influence of Aramaic, in which it is the customary idiom; comp. Kautzsch's *Gramm. des Biblisch-Aram.*, § 81. *e* and § 88.

³ In Ps. 69, 5 חֵנָם (like נֶקַר *in a false way, falsely*, Ps. 35, 19 and 38, 20) is used as an *adverbial accusative* with a participle; comp. § 118. *q*.

(mentioned in § 128. *d*) of בְּרִיתִי with a proper name (Lev. 26, 42), and in Jer. 33, 20 with הַיּוֹם¹.

5 6. In Dent. 33, 4 (מִזְרָחָהּ), perhaps לְמִזְרָח is to be read), 33, 27 (מִעֵנָה), Jud. 7, 8 (צָרְחָה), and Job 31, 11 (עֵוֹן), 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 merely as a textual corruption.—On the other hand, the remarkable combination אֱלֹהִים צְבָאוֹת Ps. 80, 8. 15 arises from the fact, that in Pss. 42–83 אֱלֹהִים has almost throughout been subsequently substituted by some redactor for the divine name יְהוָה; on יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת comp. § 125. *h*. In Ps. 59, 6. 80, 5. 20 and 84, 9 יְהוָה has been reinstated in the text before אֱלֹהִים צְבָאוֹת².

t 7. Lastly, the nearer definition (qualification) of a noun may be effected by 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. Gen. 3, 6 and she gave also לְאִישָׁהּ עִפְוָה unto her husband with her (= her husband who was with her); in Gen. 9, 16 (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 Adjective³.

α 1. The adjective (like the participle used adjectivally), which serves as an *attribute* of a substantive, stands *after* the substantive, and agrees

¹ But in Num. 25, 12 שְׁלוֹם may also be explained according to letter *c*, as really in apposition. Comp. on the whole question Delitzsch, *Psalmen*, 4th ed., p. 203, note 1.

² 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.

³ On the expression of attributive ideas by substantives, comp. 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. אָבִיר *the strong one*, i. e. *God*; אָבִיר *the strong one*, i. e. *the bull* (Jer. 8, 16, and elsewhere, *the horse*); קַל *swift* = *the runner* (of the horse, Is. 30, 16); לְבָנָה *alba*, i. e. *luna*; פְּרִיָּה (*fructifera*) *a fruitful tree*, Is. 17, 6 (so פְּרֵת Gen. 49, 22); רֹבֵץ *a croucher*, i. e. *a crouching beast of prey*, Gen. 4, 7. Comp. also רֹגֵן (*gravis, augustus*) and נְשִׂיא (*clatus*?), i. e. *a prince*. This use of adjectives and participles for substantives is much more extensive in Arabic. In Greek and Latin poetical language comp. such examples as ὑγρή = *the sea*; merum for *vinum*, &c.

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 absolute state belonging to it are inseparably united, e. g. Est. 8, 15 עֲטָרַת זָהָב גְּדוּלָּה *a great crown of gold*.—On the attribute when attached to a *determinate* substantive, see above, § 126. *u*.

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, 30 עֲנִיָּה עֲנֹתוֹת *O thou poor one, Anathoth!* (but probably עֲנִיָּה *answer her*, is to be read); comp. 23, 12. 53, 11 (*a righteous man, my servant*; but in 28, 21 וְרַב and נִכְרִיָּה are *predicates* preceding the substantives); Jer. 3, 6. 10sq. Ps. 18, 4 *him who is worthy to be praised will I call upon, the Lord*; 92, 12 (apposition after participles). But רַבִּים and רַבּוֹת *many*, are sometimes placed, like numerals, before the substantive (Jer. 16, 16. Ps. 32, 10. 89, 51. Neh. 9, 28; in Ps. 145, 7 רַב is a *subst. regens*); an appositional relation can scarcely be intended in these instances.

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, 16 (unless גָּדֹל should be read); 1 Sam. 16, 7 (*the height of his stature*); in the plural, 1 Sam. 17, 40 חֲלָקֵי אֲבָנִים *smooth ones of (among) stones*, i. e. *smooth stones*; Is. 35, 9. Ezek. 7, 24. Ps. 46, 5, and with a following collective instead of a plural, e. g. Is. 29, 19 אֲבִיוֹנֵי אָרָם *the poor among men*, i. e. *poor men*; Jer. 49, 20. Zech. 11, 7; comp. 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*).

3. When *two* adjectives follow a feminine, sometimes only that standing next to it takes the feminine termination, e. g. 1 Ki. 19, 11 וְרֵחַ גְּדֻלָּהּ וְהוֹק וְגוֹי; 1 Sam. 15, 9 (comp., however, on this passage § 75. *γ*); Jer. 20, 9. Ps. 63, 2. A similar dislike of the feminine form may also be observed in the case of verbal predicates referring to feminine subjects, comp. § 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, 13 חֲקִים וּמְצוֹת טוֹבִים; Jer. 34, 9. Zech. 8, 5.

When *three* attributes follow a substantive, the first two may stand without a conjunction, and the last be attached by *wāw copulative*, comp. Zech. 1, 8.

4. After feminines plural ending in יִם (§ 87. *p*) the adjectival attribute (in accordance with the fundamental rule stated above, letter *a*) takes the ending וֹת, e. g. Is. 10, 14 עֲזוֹבוֹת בְּיַצִּים *forsaken eggs*; Gen. 32, 16. For a strange exception see Jer. 29, 17 (differently in 24, 2).

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. Ps. 18, 28 (Prov. 6, 17) עֵינַיִם רָמוֹת *haughty eyes*; Is. 35, 3. Job 4, 3 sq., comp. § 88. *a*.

(*b*) *Collective* ideas are not infrequently joined with the *plural* of the adjective or participle (*constructio ad sensum*); thus, e. g. עַם = *men*, 1 Sam. 13, 15. Is. 9, 1;

בְּלִי־יִשְׂרָאֵל = *all the Israelites*, 1 Sam. 2, 14; גְּלוּת = *the exiles*, Jer. 28, 4; comp. also נַפְשׁ שְׁנַיִם *two souls*, Gen. 46, 27¹.

h (c) The *pluralis excellentiae* or *pluralis maiestatis* is joined, as a rule, to the singular of the attribute, e. g. Ps. 7, 10 אֱלֹהִים צַדִּיק; 1 Ki. 19, 4. 16 (= Is. 37, 4. 17); Is. 19, 4; comp., however, חַיִּים אֱלֹהִים² Deut. 5, 23. 1 Sam. 17, 26. 36. Jer. 10, 10. 23, 36, perhaps also Ex. 20, 3 אֱלֹהִים אֲחֵרִים = *another god*, and Jos. 24, 19 אֱלֹהִים קְדָשִׁים (comp., however, above, § 124. g-k). On the other hand, 1 Sam. 4, 8 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 attribute, see § 145. i.

2. On the adjective (in the construct state) governing a following genitive, comp. § 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 1. Hebrew possesses no special forms either for the comparative or superlative of the adjective³. 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 (מ), e. g. 1 Sam. 9, 2 גְּבוּהָ מִבְּלֵהָ־הָעָם *higher than any of the people*. The fundamental idea evidently is, *tall away from all the people* (beyond all the people); comp. Jud. 14, 18 מַה־מֶּתוֹק מִדְּבַשׁ וְמָה עוֹ מִצָּרִי *what is sweeter than honey? and what is stronger than a lion?* Ezek.

¹ But it is impossible to take תְּמִימִים in Ezek. 46, 6 as an attribute of בָּקָר; probably it is a correction intended to harmonize the passage with Num. 28, 11, where *two* young bullocks are required.

² Comp. 1 Sam. 28, 13, where אֱלֹהִים (in the sense of a *spirit*) is followed by עֲלִים as a second accusative; conversely in 1 Sam. 19, 13. 16, a singular suffix refers back to הַתְּרַפִּים *household god* (but not so in Gen. 31, 34), as in Ps. 46, 4 to the plural of amplification יַמִּים *sea*. On the other hand, it is very doubtful whether רַבָּה Ps. 78, 15 is to be regarded as an attribute of תְּהוֹמוֹת and not rather as the adverb, *abundantly*.

³ 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 אֶכָּזֵב *daring, cruel*, אֶכָּזֵב *deceptive* (of a brook drying up), and its opposite אֶיִּתָּן (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*.

28, 3. Amos 6, 2. Frequently an infinitive appears as the object of the comparison, e. g. Gen. 29, 19 *it is better that I give her to thee, than that I should give her, &c.*; Ex. 14, 12. Ps. 118, 8 sq.¹

Rem. 1. This use of מֶן is also very common when the attributive idea is represented by an intransitive verb, e. g. 1 Sam. 10, 23 וַיִּנְבֵּה מִכָּל-הָעָם and he was higher than any of the people; Nah. 3, 8. Job 7, 6. Elsewhere, especially after transitive verbs, מֶן rather represents (on its different senses see § 119. v-2) the idea of a *separation, distinction* or *superiority* of one person or thing from or over others². This is evident in such cases as מֶן בָּחַר מֶן to choose something (to prefer it) before something else, e. g. Job 7, 15, comp. Deut. 14, 2 (also מֶן . . . יִתְרוֹן the excellence of . . . over . . ., Eccles. 2, 13); it is also seen in examples like Gen. 37, 3 וַיִּשְׂרָאֵל אֶהָב אֶת-יוֹסֵף מִכָּל-בְּנָיו now Israel loved Joseph more than all his (other) children; 29, 30. 1 Sam. 2, 29. Hos. 6, 6³.

2. A somewhat different idea underlies the use of מֶן 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, 13 הַמְעַט מִבָּמֶם is it a small thing (i. e. too little) for you to . . .? Job 15, 11; after an intransitive verb, e. g. Gen. 32, 11 I am too insignificant (קַטְנִיתִי) for all the mercies (I am not worthy of . . .), &c.; comp. also the expressions מֶן כָּבֵד מֶן to be too heavy for one, Ex. 18, 18. Num. 11, 14. Ps. 38, 5; מֶן קָשָׁה מֶן to be too hard for one, Deut. 1, 17; מֶן מְעַט מֶן to be too few for something, Exod. 12, 4; מֶן גָּבַר מֶן to be too strong for one, Ps. 65, 4; מֶן עָצָם מֶן to be too mighty for one, Gen. 26, 16; מֶן רַוַּח מֶן to be too high for one, Ps. 61, 3; מֶן צָר מֶן to be too narrow for one, Is. 49, 19; מֶן קָצַר מֶן to be too short for something, Is. 50, 2, and very frequently מֶן נִפְלְאָה מֶן to be too wonderful for one (and, consequently, inconceivable or unattainable), Gen. 18, 14. Deut. 17, 8. 30, 11. Jer. 37, 17. Prov. 30, 18.—This use is especially seen in the numerous instances in which the attribute is followed by מֶן with an infinitive, e. g. 1 Ki. 8, 64 the brazen altar . . . was קָטַן מִהַכִּיל too little to receive (to be able to receive) the burnt offering, comp. Gen. 4, 13. 36, 7 too great for them to dwell together; after verbs, e. g. Ex. 12, 4. Is. 28, 20. Ps. 40, 6. Finally, cf. רַב לָכֶם מֶן, followed by the infinitive, it is enough (prop. too much) for you to . . ., meaning ye have . . .

¹ In Jud. 11, 25 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 . . .?*

² Comp. 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.

³ On the other hand, the phrase מֶן צָרַק מֶן expresses not a comparison, but only a relation existing between one person and another; thus, in Gen. 38, 26 וַיִּצְדַּק מִפְּנֵי means, *she is in the right as against me*; comp. Job 4, 17. 32, 2.—In Prov. 17, 12 *rather* (to meet with so and so) *than . . .* is expressed by וְאֵל- before the second member.

long enough, 1 Ki. 12, 28; cf. Ex. 9, 28 and Ezek. 44, 6 (מִן־ followed by a substantive)¹.

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; comp. also the expression לֹא־יִבְצֵר מֵהֶם כֵּל וְגוֹר nothing will be unattainable for them (prop. there shall not be cut off from them anything which, &c.), Gen. 11, 6. Job 42, 3.

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, 10 וּפְסִילֵיהֶם מִירוּשָׁלַיִם whose graven images were more numerous than those at Jerusalem, &c.²; Mic. 7, 4 worse than a thorn hedge; Ps. 62, 10 lighter than a breath; Job 11, 17 clearer than the noonday; Eccles. 4, 17 better than, &c.

f 2. The correlative comparatives *greater—less* (*older—younger*) are expressed by the simple adjective with the article (*the great*, equivalent to *the greater*, &c.); Gen. 1, 16. 19, 31. 34. 27, 15. 29, 16. 18. 26.

g 3. To express the *superlative* it is also sufficient (see above, letter f) to 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 individuals³; e.g. 1 Sam. 9, 21 הַצְעֵרָה the least; 16, 11 הַקָּטָן the little one, i. e. the youngest of eight sons; 17, 14 David was הַקָּטָן the youngest, and the three great, i. e. elder, &c.; Gen. 42, 13. 44, 2. Cant. 1, 8.—So also with a qualifying adjective, e.g. Gen. 9, 24 בְּנוֹ הַקָּטָן his youngest son; comp. Jos. 14, 15; also with a following genitive, 2 Chron. 21, 17 קָטָן בְּנָיו the youngest of his sons; Prov. 30, 24 the least upon the earth; with suffix, Mic. 7, 4 טוֹבָם their good one, i. e. the best of them; Jon. 3, 5 וְעַד־קָטָנָם from the greatest of them even to the least of them; comp. the inverse order in Jer. 6, 13. 31, 34.

h Rem. 1. The above examples apply only to the most common *relative* 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. Deut. 33, 19 the most hidden treasures of the sand; Jud. 5, 29 the wisest amongst her ladies; Is. 19, 11. 23, 8 sq. 29, 19. Jer. 49, 20. Ezek. 28, 7.

¹ Comp. also 2 Ki. 4, 3, where the idea of *doing something too little* is paraphrased by the Hiph. הִמְעֵיט = *do not too little*, sc. לְשָׂאֵל in borrowing empty vessels.

² On this *comparatio decurtata*, cf. the still bolder pregnant construction in Ps. 4, 8, מַעַת greater gladness than at the time, &c.

³ Comp. also עֲלִיּוֹן the one above, i. e. the Most High.

Zech. 11, 7. Ps. 45, 13. Job 30, 6 (*in the most frightful of valleys*). 41, 22; probably also Ps. 35, 16. 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 (discussed in § 128. w) sometimes serves as a periphrasis for the superlative, e. g. Is. 22, 24 כל כְּלֵי הַקְּטָן *all the smallest vessels*; Cant. 7, 10 כַּיֵּין הַטּוֹב *like the best wine* (where indeed כַּיֵּין הַטּוֹב may have been originally intended).

2. Other periphrases for the superlative are the use of a substantive in the construct state before the plural of the same word (which is naturally to be regarded as a partitive genitive; comp. our *book of books*), e. g. Ex. 26, 33 קֹדֶשׁ הַקְּדוֹשִׁים *the most holy place*; שִׁיר הַשִּׁירִים (Cant. 1, 1) *the most excellent song*; comp. Gen. 9, 25 (= *servus servorum, the lowest servant*); Num. 3, 32. Deut. 10, 17¹ (Ps. 136, 3); 1 Ki. 8, 27. Is. 34, 10 (comp. Gal. 1, 5. Rev. 22, 5); Jer. 3, 19. Ezek. 16, 7. 26, 7 (*king of kings, of Nebuchadrezzar*; comp. 1 Tim. 6, 15. Rev. 17, 14. 19, 16, and another kind of circumlocution in Ps. 95, 3); Eccles. 1, 12. Similarly in Jer. 6, 28 two participles are combined, and in Hos. 10, 15 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 שְׁבָתוֹן *a sabbath of solemn rest, i. e. an obligatory day of rest, Ex. 31, 15, &c.*) or of the same meaning (e. g. אֶפְלֹה *a thick darkness, Ex. 10, 22*).

3. The intensification of attributes by means of repetition belongs rather to rhetoric than to syntax, e. g. Eccles. 7, 24 עֹמֵק עֹמֵק *exceeding deep*; 1 Sam. 2, 3. Prov. 20, 14; the adjective is even used three times in Is. 6, 3.—Comp. the repetition of adverbs for the same purpose in Gen. 7, 19. Num. 14, 7 (מָאֵד מָאֵד *exceeding, also בְּמָאֵד מָאֵד Ex. 1, 7 and elsewhere*); Ezek. 42, 15.—On the other hand, in Deut. 28, 43 the repetition expresses a continuous progress, i. e. *higher and higher . . . lower and lower*; in Deut. 2, 27 (see § 123. e) and 16, 20 (*nothing but justice*) the constancy of the action. Comp. Ex. 23, 30 מְעַט מְעַט *very gradually*².

The repetition of substantives serves also as a periphrasis for the superlative in such cases as לְרֹר דָּר (Ex. 3, 15) = *to the remotest generations*; comp. 17, 16. Jer. 6, 14. 8, 11 (*perfect peace*); Ezek. 21, 32 (עָוָה repeated three times)³; 35, 7. Nah. 1, 2. Sometimes the completeness of an action or condition is expressed by placing together two or even three substantives of the same stem and of similar sound, comp. Ezek. 6, 14 (33, 28sq. 35, 3); 32, 15. Nah. 2, 11. Zeph. 1, 15 (Job 30, 3. 38, 27).

¹ *God of gods, and Lord of lords*, just as the supreme god of the Babylonians is called *bēl bēli* (Tiele, *Compend. der Rel.-Gesch.*, p. 87).

² Adverbs of the same stem are connected in this way in Num. 6, 9. Is. 29, 5. 30, 13; of different stems in Is. 5, 26 and Joel 4, 4. In Num. 12, 2 the particles אֶךְ אֶךְ appear to be placed together for a similar purpose, equivalent to *simply and solely*.

³ Different in kind from the thrice repeated exclamation of the same words in 2 Sam. 18, 33. Jer. 7, 4 and 22, 29, and the double exclamation in Jer. 4, 19 and Lam. 1, 16 (?).

§ 134. *Syntax of the Numerals.*

Cf. the exhaustive statistics collected by Sven Herner, *Syntax der Zahlwörter im A. T.*, Lund, 1893.

- a* 1. The numerals from 2 to 10, as being originally abstract substantives, 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. בְּנוֹת שְׁלוֹשׁ. So especially in long lists, since in these the substantives naturally come first, e. g. Gen. 32, 15. Num. 7, 17. 28, 19. 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 substantival¹.
- d* Rem. In Lev. 24, 22 אָחֶיךָ follows the construct state מְשַׁבֵּט, but here as in Num. 15, 16 מְשַׁבֵּט should be read. In Gen. 42, 19 אָחֶיךָ is in apposition to a substantive with a suffix (= *one of you brethren*; but verse 33 *the one of you brethren*). In Num. 31, 28 אָחֶיךָ precedes the substantive in the Aramaic manner (= *one each*).—For מֵאָה־שָׁנָה (Gen. 7, 17, &c.) we find regularly in the Priestly Code (except in Gen. 17, 17. 23, 1) מֵאָת שָׁנָה (Gen. 5, 3, &c.) *an hundred years*. On the connexion of abstract numerals with suffixes, as שְׁנֵיהֶם *their duality*, i. e. *they two*, Gen. 2, 25 and elsewhere (also with a strengthening separate pronoun, as שְׁנֵינוּ אֲנַחְנוּ 1 Sam. 20, 42), comp. § 97. *i*.
- e* 2. The numerals from 2 to 10 take the object numbered in the plural², with very few exceptions, such as Ex. 16, 22 (where שְׁנֵי הַעֶמֶר

¹ 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, 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 and Jos. 13-24 nearly always *after*; in Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, and Daniel, nearly as often *after* as *before* the noun. In Ex. 28, 10 the Masora makes the numeral in the genitive follow the construct state of the substantive numbered; we should, however, read וְאֶת-שִׁמּוֹת הַשָּׁשָׁה; for the omission of the article before 'ש', cf. § 126. *w*.

² On examples such as Gen. 46, 27 נַפְשֵׁי שְׁנַיִם *two souls*, comp. § 132. *g* (collectives joined with the plural of the adjective).

= *the double of an omer*). 2 Ki. 22, 1. Ezek. 45, 1, comp. 2 Ki. 8, 17 and 25, 17 *K^{eth}*. 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 letter *f*). The tens (from 20 to 90), when they precede, take the singular (in the accusative, comp. § 131. *p*) of certain nouns frequently used with numerals (אלף *a thousand*, איש, יום, כר, נפש, שקל—but only in Ezekiel and the Priestly Code), otherwise the plural, as ערים, בנות, בנים (but cf. also Jud. 11, 33), &c.; on the other hand, the plural is necessary when they follow the object numbered in apposition (e. g. אמות עשרים *twenty cubits*, 2 Chron. 3, 3 sq.; with the exception of 2 Sam. 24, 24, only in late Books). After מאה and אלף the substantive numbered may be used either in the singular or plural, see further, letter *g* below.

Rem. 1. After the numerals from 11 to 19 the singular is used, as a rule, with *f*
יום *day*, שנה *year*, איש *man*, נפש *soul* (person), שבט *tribe*, מצבה *pillar* (Ex. 24. 4), sometimes with אמה *cubit*, חודש *month*, עיר *city*, שקל *shekel* (compare our *four-year-old* and the German *sechzig Pfund*), e. g. Deut. 1, 2 יום עשר יום (comp., however, such exceptions as Deut. 1, 23. Jos. 4, 2, and elsewhere).—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 Num. 7, 87 sq. 1 Chron. 4, 27. 25, 5.

2. After מאה (מאת) [so almost exclusively in the Priestly Code, e. g. always *g*
אלף (מאת אלף), מאות, מאתים) and אלפי (אלפים) the substantives איש, אמה, אלף, אמה (except in Ezek. 40, 27), יום, רגלי, צמר are regularly used in the singular, generally also שנה, כפר, כר, שקל (with the exception of Jos. 7, 21. 2 Sam. 14, 26, and elsewhere); comp., moreover, Gen. 33, 19. Est. 1, 1. Jud. 21, 12. Deut. 7, 9. 1 Ki. 5, 12. 2 Chron. 9, 15.—Examples of the *plural* after מאה are Gen. 26, 12. 1 Sam. 18, 25. 2 Sam. 16, 1. 1 Ki. 18, 4; after מאת Ex. 38, 27; after מאות Jud. 15, 4. 2 Sam. 8, 4. 1 Ki. 10, 17. Ezek. 42, 17; after מאתים 1 Sam. 25, 18. 1 Ki. 7, 20; after אלף 1 Sam. 25, 2. 1 Ki. 3, 4. 5, 6. 2 Ki. 3, 4. Ps. 90, 4; after אלפים 1 Sam. 17, 5. Job 42, 12; after אלפי Mic. 6, 7; after אלפים Is. 36, 8.—In Dan. 12, 11 the plural ימים precedes the numeral *twelve hundred*.

3. Numerals compounded of tens and units (like 21, 62) take the *h*
object numbered either *after* them in the singular (in the accusative), e. g. Gen. 5, 20 שנים וששים שנה *two and sixty years* (שנה in the singular, according to letter *e*, since it conforms to the ten immediately preceding; but also שנים וששמה שנה Deut. 2, 14), or *before* them in the plural, especially in the later Books, Dan. 9, 26 and elsewhere; or the object is repeated (but only in 1 Ki. 6, 1, and the Priestly

Code; sometimes even several times, e.g. Gen. 23, 1. 25, 7. 17 thrice) in the plural with the units (according to letter *δ*), and in the singular with the tens (see letter *e*) and hundreds, e.g. Gen. 12, 4 חָמֵשׁ שָׁנִים *five years*; Gen. 23, 1 מֵאָה שָׁנָה וְעֶשְׂרִים שָׁנָה *an hundred and twenty and seven years*. Comp. Gen. 5, 6 sqq.

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, 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 *ἀσυνδέτως*, without *י*, 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; comp., however, Lev. 25, 10 sq. Num. 16, 35. Jos. 4, 4. 2 Sam. 23, 13) to a number or list already mentioned, e.g. Gen. 2, 11 שֵׁם הָאֶחָד פִּישׁוֹן *the name of the one (the first) is Pishon*; Gen. 14, 9 *four kings against the five* (enumerated in verse 2); comp. 1 Chron. 11, 20 sq., and the determinate tens in Gen. 18, 29. 31 sq. A demonstrative with the article may also be added to a numeral determined in this way, e.g. Deut. 19, 9 (but comp. also Gen. 9, 19. 22, 23, 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 Chron. 25, 19. 27, 15) or before עֶשֶׂר (Jos. 4, 4); it is used before all three members of a compound number (273) in Num. 3, 46.

l In apposition with some determinate substantive the cardinal number is used *without* the article, not only when it precedes the substantive, as in Jos. 15, 14 (אֶת־שְׁלוֹשָׁה בְּנֵי הָעֵנָק), where שְׁלוֹשָׁה is equivalent to a substantive determinate in itself; comp. Gen. 18, 28. Jos. 6, 8. 22. 1 Sam. 17, 14. 1 Ki. 11, 31, and the passages discussed above in § 126. *x*; Gen. 21, 29, &c.), but also when it follows the substantive, e.g. 1 Ki. 7, 27. 43 sq. עֶשְׂרִים and עֶשְׂרֵה; the omission of the article may here, as in the cases noticed in § 126. *z*, be also due to the dislike of a hiatus. This would also be a very simple explanation of אֶחָד Num. 28, 4. 1 Sam. 13, 17 sq. Jer. 24, 2. Ezek. 10, 9, instead of the more usual הָאֶחָד, and of אַחַת 1 Sam. 1, 2 for הָאַחַת.

m Such cases as שְׁבַעַת הַיָּמִים Jud. 14, 17 (which is determined by a following determinate genitive) are explained from § 127. *b*; 1 Chron. 9, 25 perhaps from § 126. *q*; in Is. 30, 26 probably the light of all the seven days of the week is meant; on the other hand, in 1 Sam. 9, 20 and 25, 38 the article is, with Wellhausen, to be omitted.

n 3. Certain specifications of *measure*, *weight*, or *time*, are commonly omitted after numerals, e.g. Gen. 20, 16 אֶלֶף בְּכֶסֶף *a thousand (shekels) of silver*; so also before וְהָבָה Gen. 24, 22. 1 Ki. 10, 16. Is. 7, 23, comp. Ps. 119, 72. Moreover, Ruth 3, 15

שֵׁשׁ שְׁעָרִים *six* (ephabs) of barley; 1 Sam. 17, 17 עֶשְׂרֵה לֶחֶם *ten* (according to 10, 3 loaves) of bread; comp. 2 Sam. 16, 1, where before קִיץ a measure, or perhaps some term like *cakes*, is to be supplied.—The number of cubits is stated in the Priestly Code (Ex. 26, 2 and elsewhere) and in 1 Ki. 6 and 7 (otherwise only in Ezek. 40, 5. 21. 47, 3. Zech. 5, 2. 1 Chron. 11, 23. 2 Chron. 4, 2 sq.) by the addition of בְּאַמָּה prop. *by the cubit*. Also in Ex. 27, 11 the Samaritan and LXX read בְּאַמָּה after אֲרָבָה, and in 27, 15 אַמָּה after עֶשְׂרֵה.

4. The *ordinals* above 10 have no special forms, but are expressed by the corresponding cardinals, which may then stand either before or after the object numbered, e. g. Gen. 7, 11 בְּשִׁבְעָה עָשָׂר יוֹם *on the seventeenth day*; Deut. 1, 3 בְּאַרְבָּעִים שָׁנָה *in the fortieth year*; comp. Gen. 14, 5. 2 Ki. 25, 27, and, with repetition of שָׁנָה in a compound number, 1 Ki. 6, 1; such a cardinal occurs without בְּ (and therefore in the *accus. temporis*, according to § 118. k) in Gen. 14, 4 (the Samaritan, however, has *ובשלוש*); with the article (but without a numbered object, see above, letter k), 1 Ki. 19, 19¹. On the position of the numeral as a genitive following its noun, comp. e. g. 1 Ki. 16, 10 בְּשָׁנַת עֶשְׂרִים וְשִׁבְעָה *in the twenty and seventh year*, and with a determinate numeral, Ex. 12, 18. Num. 33, 38. Deut. 15, 9. In this case, however, שָׁנָה is very frequently repeated, e. g. Gen. 7, 11. 2 Ki. 13, 10; after a determinate numeral, Lev. 25, 10².

Rem. In numbering days of the month and years, the cardinals are very frequently used instead of the ordinals even for the numbers from 1 to 10, e. g. בְּשָׁנַת שְׁתַּיִם 1 Ki. 15, 25; בְּשָׁנַת שְׁלֹשׁ 2 Ki. 18, 1, &c., comp. Deut. 15, 9. The months themselves are always numbered by the ordinals (בְּרֵאשִׁית, &c., up to בְּעֶשְׂרִי), but not the days of the month, e. g. בְּאַחַד לַחֹדֶשׁ Gen. 8, 5 and elsewhere, בְּאַרְבָּעָה לַחֹדֶשׁ Zech. 7, 1; בְּחִמְשָׁה לַחֹדֶשׁ Ezek. 1, 1 and elsewhere, בְּשִׁבְעָה לַחֹדֶשׁ 2 Ki. 25, 8, בְּתֵשְׁעָה לַחֹדֶשׁ Lev. 23, 32 (always, however, בְּעָשָׂר לַחֹדֶשׁ *on the tenth day of the month*). On the omission of יוֹם in all these cases see above, letter n; only in late passages is יוֹם added, e. g. 2 Chron. 29, 17 בְּיוֹם שְׁמוֹנֶה לַחֹדֶשׁ; Ezra 3, 6 מִיּוֹם אֶחָד לַחֹדֶשׁ שְׁלֹשָׁה.—Finally, when the year is stated by בְּשָׁנַת governing a determinate ordinal, e. g. 2 Ki. 17, 6 בְּשָׁנַת הַתְּשִׁיעִית

¹ Somewhat different from this is Ex. 19, 15 *be ready* לְשָׁלֹשַׁת יָמִים prop. *after three days*, i. e. *on the third day* (in verses 11 and 16 and in Ezra 10, 8 the ordinal is used), also 1 Sam. 30, 13 בִּי חֲלִיתִי הַיּוֹם שְׁלֹשָׁה *because three days ago I fell sick*, prop. *to-day three* (days).

² All these expressions may indeed be explained by supposing that, e. g. in Lev. 25, 10, the proper meaning is *the year of the fifty years* which it completed, i. e. the fiftieth year; but it is more correct to regard שָׁנַת or בְּשָׁנַת in such cases not as a real *nomen regens*, but simply as a connective form to be explained on the analogy of the cases mentioned in § 128. k.

in the ninth year (comp. 25, 1. Jer. 28, 1 *K^{eth}*. 32, 1 *K^{eth}*. 46, 2. 51, 59. Ezra 7, 8), בַּשָּׁנָה in such cases is again (see note 2 on letter *o*) to be explained according to § 128. *k*. This is supported by the fact that the Masora on Jer. 28, 1. 32, 1, requires in the *Q^{er}* בַּשָּׁנָה for בִּשְׁנַת.

9 5. *Distributives* are expressed either by repetition of the cardinal number, e. g. Gen. 7, 9. 15 שְׁנַיִם וְשְׁנַיִם *two and two*; 2 Sam. 21, 20 שֵׁשׁ וְשֵׁשׁ *six each*; with the numbered object also repeated, e. g. Jos. 3, 12 אִישׁ אֶחָד לְשִׁבְטָם *for every tribe a man*; Num. 13, 2. 34, 18 (אֶחָד מֵן), as in Neh. 11, 1, *one out of every ten*); comp. § 123. *d*; or a periphrasis with אֶחָד is used, Num. 17, 18. Deut. 1, 23, comp. Is. 6, 2 לְאֶחָד after *six wings* twice repeated; the simple distributive לְ is, however, sufficient (as in לְבָקָרִים, § 123. *c*), e. g. לְמֵאוֹת וְלְאַלְפִים *by hundreds and by thousands*.

1 6. The *multiplicatives* are expressed either (like the ordinals above 10, see letter *o* above) by the cardinals (in the feminine, probably owing to the omission of פַּעַם, פְּעָמִים; so König, *Lehrgeb.*, ii. 228), as שְׁתַּיִם *twice*, Job 40, 5; שִׁבְעָה *seven times*, Lev. 26, 21. 24. Prov. 24, 16; comp. also אַחַת *once*, 2 Ki. 6, 10. Job 40, 5, for which in Job 33, 14 בְּאַחַת¹ along with שְׁתַּיִם (the latter also in 1 Sam. 18, 21); or by the *dual* of the numeral, thus שִׁבְעָתַיִם Gen. 4, 15 (in verse 24 along with the cardinal 77 for 77 times); Is. 30, 26. Ps. 12, 7. 79, 12; אַרְבַּעַתַּיִם 2 Sam. 12, 6²; or periphrastically by פַּעַם *a time* (prop. *a step*, with the article, הַפַּעַם *this time*; comp. also הַזֹּאת with אַ, like בְּאַחַת above), as פַּעַם אַחַת *once* (Neh. 13, 20 וְשְׁתַּיִם *once and twice*), פַּעַם שְׁלֹשׁ *twice*, פַּעַם שְׁלֹשׁ (for which in Ex. 23, 14. Num. 22, 28. 32 שְׁלֹשׁ רְגָלִים) *three times*; comp. Ezek. 41, 6 *thirty-three times*; 2 Sam. 24, 3 *an hundred times*; Deut. 1, 11 *a thousand times*; 1 Ki. 22, 16 עַד־כַּפְּפָה פַּעַמִּים *until how many times*, i. e. how often. Cf. also עֶשְׂרֵת מַנְיִם *ten times*, Gen. 31, 7. 14, and רַבּוֹת עֵתִים *many times*, Neh. 9, 28.—In Gen. 43, 34, *five times* is expressed by חַמֵּשׁ יָדוֹת (prop. *five hands*)³, and in Ex. 16, 5 the *double* is expressed by מִשְׁנָה עַל־ (prop. *a repetition over and above that which*, &c.).—Of the ordinals שְׁנַיִת is used as a numeral adverb, Gen. 22, 15, &c., *a second*

¹ But בְּאַחַת Num. 10, 4 is to be translated *on one* (trumpet).

² Probably also בְּכַפְּלִים Job 11, 6 (from כָּפַל *doubling*) does not mean *doubled* but *manifold*.

³ But אַרְבַּע הַיָּדוֹת Gen. 47, 24 means *the (other) four parts*; comp. 2 Ki. 11, 7. Neh. 11, 1.

time, comp. the Latin *tertium consul*; בְּשִׁלִּישִׁתַּיִךְ the third time, 1 Sam. 3, 8; אַחַד עֶשְׂרִים חֲמִישִׁית a fifth time, Neh. 6, 5; בְּשִׁבְעֵינָה at the seventh (time), 1 Ki. 18, 44, and בַּפְּעַם הַשְּׁטָיִי Jos. 6, 16.

Rem. The collocation of a numeral with the next above it (either in the 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, 6, *two or at the most three*), or a considerable number, e. g. Mic. 5, 4. Sometimes, however, this juxtaposition serves to express merely an indefinite total, without the collateral idea of a gradation from a lower to a higher number. Thus *one* and *two* are connected by וְ, Deut. 32, 30. Jer. 3, 14. Job 33, 14. 40, 5 (without וְ, Ps. 62, 12); *two* and *three*, Is. 17, 6 (Sirac. 23, 16. 26, 28), and without וְ, 2 Ki. 9, 32. Hos. 6, 2. Amos 4, 8; *three* and *four*, Jer. 36, 23. Amos 1, 3. 2, 4. Prov. 30, 18. 21. 29 (Sirac. 26, 5), and without וְ, Prov. 30, 15; *four* and *five*, without וְ, Is. 17, 6; *six* and *seven*, Job 5, 19. Prov. 6, 16; *seven* and *eight*, Mic. 5, 4. Eccles. 11, 2; (*nine* and *ten*, Sirac. 25, 7).

III. Syntax of the Pronoun.

§ 135. The Personal Pronoun.

1. The *separate* pronouns,—apart from their employment as the *a* subject in noun-clauses (comp. § 141. a) and the idiom mentioned under letters *d-h*,—are used, according to § 32. b, as a rule, only to give express emphasis to the subject; e. g. Gen. 16, 5. 2 Sam. 24, 17 אֲנִי i. e. *I myself*, so also אֲנִי 2 Sam. 12, 28. 17, 15 (after the verb). Ezek. 34, 15. Ps. 2, 6¹; but 1 Sam. 10, 18. 2 Sam. 12, 7. Is. 45, 12 אֲנִי *I* and none else; cf. also אֲנִי אֲנִי *I, I!* Hos. 5, 14, &c.; אֲתָה Gen. 15, 15. Jud. 15, 18. 1 Sam. 17, 56 (as in 20, 8. 22, 18. Ex. 18, 19. Deut. 5, 24. Jud. 8, 21, after the imperative); 1 Ki. 21, 7; אַתָּם Gen. 9, 7. Ex. 20, 19 (after the verb, Jud. 15, 12); fem. Gen. 31, 6; הִיא 1 Sam. 22, 18; הִיא Gen. 3, 20. Jud. 14, 3; הִמָּוֶה Jer. 5, 5. — Sometimes, however, the separate pronoun appears to be placed before the verb¹

¹ Also הוּא הִיא *he himself, she herself* (of persons and things), e. g. Is. 7, 14 הוּא אֲרֵנִי *the Lord himself*; Est. 9, 1 הַיְהוּדִים הִמָּוֶה *the Jews themselves*. In the sense of *the same* (*δ αὐτός*) or (*one and*) *the same*, הוּא is used in Is. 41, 4. 43, 10. 13. 46, 4. 48, 12 (always אֲנִי הוּא), Ps. 102, 28 (אֲתָה הוּא), and probably also Job 3, 19.—The position of הִמָּוֶה, as an accusative of the object, before a perfect in 1 Chron. 9, 22, can at most be explained on the analogy of Aramaic (Ezra 5, 12).

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 Gen. 14, 23. Ps. 139, 2, and most clearly in such passages as Gen. 21, 24. 47, 30. Ex. 8, 24. Jud. 6, 18. 11, 9. 1 Sam. 12, 20. 2 Sam. 3, 13. 21, 6. 1 Ki. 2, 18 (in solemn promises). The same explanation applies to אֲנִי at the beginning of sentences, e.g. Gen. 24, 45. Hos. 5, 3. 10, 11. 12, 11. Ps. 39, 11. 82, 6. Job 5, 3¹.

- b Rem. 1. Different from this is the pleonastic addition of the separate pronoun immediately *after* the verb (according to Delitzsch on Cant. 5, 5 perhaps a trace of popular language), e.g. 1 Sam. 23, 22 (?). Cant. 5, 5, and (like other indications of the very late origin of the book) very frequently in Ecclesiastes, e.g. 1, 16. 2, 1. 11. 15, 3, 17 sq. &c.; comp. Delitzsch, *Das Hohelied und Koheleth*, p. 207; in Aramaic, Dan. 5, 16.
- c 2. Substantival subjects also are somewhat frequently resumed, and thus expressly emphasized, by the insertion of the corresponding separate pronoun of the 3rd person before the predicate is stated, e.g. Gen. 3, 12 *the woman whom thou gavest to be with me, she* (אִתִּי) *gave me*, &c.; 14, 24 (אִתִּי); 15, 4. 24, 7, &c.; but אֲנִי in Is. 7, 14 after the predicate and subject is equivalent to *he himself*².
- d 2. Not infrequently the separate pronoun 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 pronoun can generally be rendered only by laying greater stress upon it, or sometimes by repeating it; comp., on the contrary, the French *mon livre à moi*. The separate pronoun 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 אֲנִי (אֲנִי), Gen. 27, 34 בִּרְבִּבֵי נִסְתָּאֲנִי *bless me, even me also* (prop. *bless me, I also* would be blessed); Zech. 7, 5; comp. also Ezek. 6, 3. 34, 11. 20 הִנְנִי אֲנִי; by אֲתָה (אֲתָה) Prov. 22, 19.—The separate pronoun *precedes* in Gen. 24, 27 (אֲנִי); 49, 8 אֲתָה not *Judah, thou art he whom*,

¹ As early as the Mêša' inscription (line 21 sqq.) אֲנִי frequently stands at the beginning of a new sentence after the dividing stroke.

² 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. Gen. 2, 17. 2 Sam. 6, 22. 2 Ki. 22, 18, or of an object by means of the *nota accusativi* אֲתָה with suffix, e.g. 1 Sam. 15, 9. Is. 8, 13.

but *Judah thee, thee thy brethren shall praise!* but the vocative would also be possible, *Judah! thou! thy brethren shall praise thee!* as in 24, 60), and Eccles. 2, 15 אֲנִי גַם.

(b) On a noun-suffix with a substantive, by means of אֲנִי 2 Sam. 19, 1. Prov. 23, 15, *f* perhaps also Lam. 1, 16 (against the accents); by אֲתָהּ 1 Ki. 21, 19 אֲתֶרְמֶךָ אֲתָהּ גַם-אֲתָהּ *thy blood, even thine*; by הוּא 2 Sam. 17, 5. Jer. 27, 7. Mic. 7, 3; by אֲנַחְנֶנּוּ 1 Sam. 20, 42, after שְׁנִינֵנוּ, but without special stress; Neh. 5, 2 (?); by אַתֶּם Num. 14, 32; by הֵם Ps. 38, 11 (without special stress), הִפּוֹה Ps. 9, 7.—The separate pronoun *precedes* in Job 21, 4 (אֲנֹכִי); Gen. 40, 16. Is. 45, 12. 1 Chron. 28, 2 (אֲנִי); Zech. 9, 11 (אֲתָ); Jos. 23, 9 (אַתֶּם); Ezek. 33, 17 (הִפּוֹה).—In Ps. 89, 48, where אֲנִי might be taken as strengthening חָלַר (equivalent in sense to חֲלָרֵי), we should read אֲרֵנִי for אֲנִי, as in verse 51.

(c) On a suffix united with a preposition, 1 Sam. 25, 24 אֲנִי בִי *upon me, upon g* *me*; 1 Ki. 1, 26 אֲנִי . . . לִי; 2 Chron. 35, 21 לֹא-עָלִיךָ אֲתָהּ *not against thee*; 1 Sam. 19, 23 הוּא גַם עָלָיו *upon him also*; Deut. 5, 3 אֲנַחְנֶנּוּ אֲתָם *but with us, even us*; Hag. 1, 4 אַתֶּם לָכֶם אַתֶּם *for you yourselves*; Jer. 25, 14 בָּם גַם-הִפּוֹה אַתֶּם.—The separate pronoun *precedes* in 1 Sam. 12, 23 לִי . . . אֲנֹכִי; 1 Ki. 1, 20 עָלֶיךָ . . . אֲתָהּ; Mic. 5, 1 מִפְּנֵךְ . . . אֲתָהּ, and 2 Chron. 28, 10 אַתֶּם עִמָּכֶם.

The same principle also explains Gen. 4, 26 לְשֵׁת גַם-הוּא *to Seth, to him also h* (not לֹלוֹ); comp. 10, 21, and Ex. 35, 34. Num. 4, 22.

3. The *oblique* cases of the personal pronouns expressed by means *i* of a preposition (or the *nota accus.* אַת) may be used either in a demonstrative or reflexive sense¹, as לוֹ *to him*, but also *to himself* (*sibi*), e. g. Jud. 3, 16 *and Ehud made לוֹ for himself a sword*, comp. Gen. 33, 17; so also לָהֶם *sibi*, Is. 3, 9; אִתּוֹ *with him*, and Gen. 22, 3 *with himself*; עִמָּהּ *with her*, and 1 Sam. 1, 24 *with herself*; אֵלָיו *unto him*, and Gen. 8, 9 *unto himself*; also apparently as a pleonastic *dativus ethicus* (see § 119. s), Job 12, 11. 13, 1.

Rarely, and only when marked emphasis is intended, is the *accusative k* of the reflexive pronoun represented by the *nota accusativi* אַת with a suffix (this being ordinarily expressed by the reflexive conjugations *Niph'al* and *Hithpa'el*²); thus, אִתּוֹ *himself* and his habitation, 2 Sam. 15, 25; אֲתָם *se ipsos*, Ex. 5, 19. Jer. 7, 19 in sharp antithesis to הָאֲרָצִי; Ezek. 34, 2. 8. 10. Comp. § 57 at the end, together with note 2.

Rem. There is a similar emphasis in Is. 49, 26 on בְּשָׂרָם וּבְדָמָם in the sense *l* 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.

¹ As in Luther's Bible *jm (ihm), jr (ihr)* for *sich*, and in our version *him, her* for *himself, herself*.

² *Niph'al* according to § 51. e (like *Hithpa'el* according to § 54. f) may also include the *dative* of the reflexive pronoun.

11 4. The *possessive pronouns* are, according to § 33. c, expressed by the *suffixes of the noun* (in the genitive)¹, which may represent either a *subjective genitive*, or (like the genitives proper, § 128. h) an *objective genitive*, e.g. הַמָּסִי the wrong done against me, Gen. 16, 5. Jer. 51, 35; comp. Gen. 9, 2. 18, 21. 27, 13 (2 Sam. 16, 12 *Keth.*); Gen. 30, 23. 39, 21 (comp. Ex. 3, 21 and elsewhere); 50, 4. Ex. 20, 20. 21, 35. Jud. 4, 9. 13, 12 (בְּעֵשָׂהוּ the treatment of him); Is. 56, 7. Jer. 9, 7. Nah. 3, 19. Prov. 1, 27. 24, 22. Job 20, 29. 23, 14. 34, 6. Comp. also such pregnant expressions as Ps. 20, 3 יִשְׁלַח עֲזָרְךָ he will send thy help (help for thee), i.e. he will send thee help; Gen. 30, 18. 39, 21. Ex. 2, 9. Is. 1, 26 (and I will restore judges for thee); Ezek. 37, 15.

When several substantives are co-ordinated, the pronominal suffix must be attached to each singly, e.g. Gen. 36, 6 and Esau took אֶת־נָשָׁיו וְאֶת־בָּנָיו וְאֶת־בָּנוֹתָיו his wives and his sons and his daughters, &c.; 38, 18, &c. In 2 Sam. 23, 5 the text is hardly correct.

12 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־קָדְשִׁי prop. the hill of my holiness, i.e. my holy hill, Ps. 2, 6 and elsewhere; thy holy city, Dan. 9, 24; אֱלִילֵי כֶסֶפּוֹ his idols of silver, Is. 2, 20. 30, 22. 31, 7²; comp. Deut. 1, 41. Is. 9, 3. 28, 4. 41, 11. Ezek. 9, 1 sq. Ps. 41, 10. 150, 1. Job 18, 7 צִעְרֵי אֹנֹו his steps of strength; 38, 6; after an adjective as *nomen regens*, Is. 13, 3 (Zeph. 3, 11) גִּאֲוֹתַי עֲלִיזוּ my proudly exulting ones.—On the same analogy is the use of e.g. Deut. 1, 41 כְּלֵי מִלְחָמָתוֹ his weapons of war [cf. Is. 41, 12]; Is. 56, 7 בַּיִת הַפִּלְתִּי my house of prayer, although the genitive here does not convey the idea of an attribute.

¹ Like the substantival genitive, according to § 129. h, the possessive pronoun may also be paraphrased by a relative clause, e.g. Ruth 2, 21 הַנְּעָרִים אֲשֶׁר לִי 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 Sam. 17, 40. In this case, however, the suffix also is sometimes attached pleonastically, e.g. Cant. 1, 6 בְּרַמִּי שְׁלִי my vineyard, which belongs to me. Comp. Cant. 3, 7, and the analogous pleonasm in 2 Sam. 22, 2 (but see Ps. 18, 2) and Ps. 27, 2.

² On the other hand, more explicitly in prose, Gen. 44, 2 נָבִיעַ הַכֶּסֶף my cup, the silver cup.

Rem. 1. Through an inaccuracy, which probably passed from the colloquial language¹ 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, 6. 25, 19. Jud. 11, 34²; in the plural, Gen. 31, 9. 32, 16. 41, 23. Ex. 1, 21. 2, 17. Num. 27, 7 (but the feminine suffix twice immediately after); 36, 6; Jud. 19, 24. 21, 22. 1 Sam. 6, 7. 10 *b* (בְּגִיָּהֶם); 9, 20. Is. 3, 16. Ezek. 23, 45. Amos 4, 1 sq. (but afterwards a feminine suffix); Job 1, 14. 39, 3 (חֲבַלֵּיהֶם in parallelism with יַלְדֵיהֶן); 42, 15. Cant. 4, 2. 6, 6. Ruth 1, 8 sqq. (along with feminine suffixes); verbal suffixes in the singular, Ex. 22, 25; in the plural, Jud. 16, 3. Prov. 6, 21. Job 1, 15. But Gen. 26, 15. 18. 33, 13. Ex. 2, 17. 1 Sam. 6, 10 *a* are to be explained according to § 60. *h*. On הִמָּוֶה as feminine, see § 32. *n*. On the use of the masculine in general as the *prior gender*, see § 122. *g*.

2. The suffix of the 3rd person singular feminine (as also the separate pronoun הִיא Num. 14, 41. Jos. 10, 13. Jud. 14, 4) sometimes refers to the verbal idea contained in a preceding sentence (corresponding to our *it*); thus the verbal suffix, Gen. 15, 6. Num. 23, 19. 1 Sam. 11, 2. 1 Ki. 11, 12. Is. 30, 8. Amos 8, 10; comp. Gen. 24, 14 (בָּהּ *thereby*), 42, 36. 47, 26. Ex. 10, 11 (אֲתָהּ *that*), Is. 22, 11. 47, 7.—Elsewhere the suffix of the 3rd singular feminine refers to the plurals of things, e. g. 2 Ki. 3, 3. Jer. 36, 23. Job 6, 20. 39, 15 (but previously הַחֲמִים), and to the plurals of names of animals, Is. 35, 7. Conversely, plural suffixes refer to collective singulars, e. g. in Gen. 15, 13. Num. 16, 3. 1 Sam. 2, 8. Zeph. 2, 7; and to a verbal idea contained in the preceding clause, in Ezek. 33, 18. Job 22, 21 (בָּהֶם *thereby*), Ezek. 18, 26. 33, 19 (עַל־יְהִיָּהֶם *on that account, thereby*)³. But the suffix in נִתְּנוּ Deut. 21, 10 refers to the collective idea contained in אֵיבֵיךָ; in Jon. 1, 3 עֲמֹהֶם refers to the sailors included in sense under the term אֲנֵיהָ. In Jos. 2, 4 read וַתִּצְפְּנֶם; in Is. 30, 6 (מֵהֶם). 38, 16. Ps. 19, 5 (בָּהֶם) the text is most probably corrupt.

3. In a few examples the force of the noun-suffix or possessive pronoun has become so weak that the language appears to be almost entirely unconscious of it. Thus in אֲרֵנִי *my Lord* from the *pluralis maiestatis* אֲרֵנִים (§ 124. *i*) with the suffix of the 1st singular (always with *Qames* and thus distinguished from אֲרֵנִי *my lords*, Gen. 19, 2), used exclusively of God, not only in addressing him (Gen. 15, 2. 18, 3. Ps. 35, 23), but ultimately (see, however, the note below), without any

¹ According to Diehl (see the title at the head of § 91. *a*), who adduces numerous instances on pp. 44 sqq. 54 sqq. 67 sq., 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.

² The Masora reckons six instances of מִמֶּנּוּ, where מִמָּנָה would be expected (Jud. 11, 34, where, however, the text is most probably corrupt), Ex. 25, 15 (?). Lev. 6, 8. 7, 18. 27, 9. Jos. 1, 7; almost all these passages can, however, be easily explained in other ways.

³ In 2 Ki. 7, 10 for שָׁעָר (the LXX read שַׁעַר) we should read שַׁעֲרֵי.

regard to the pronoun, as equivalent to *the Lord*¹. On אֲדֹנָי as a *Q^{re} perpetuum* of the Masoretes for יהוה see § 17 and § 102. *m*.

- r* A similar loss of vitality in the suffix occurs most probably in יְהִדְוֹ prop. *in his unitednesses*, i. e. *he &c. together*, e. g. כָּל־הָעַם יְהִדְוֹ Ex. 19, 8, then, without regard to the suffix, even after the 1st person אֲנִי־יְהִדְוֹ 1 Ki. 3, 18 in reference to two women; Is. 41, 1. Job 9, 32. Neh. 6, 2. 7; after the 2nd person, Is. 45, 20 and elsewhere. Also in כָּלָם prop. *their entirety*, but also after the 2nd person equivalent to *all together*, 1 Ki. 22, 28. Mic. 1, 2 *hear, ye peoples, all of you*, even before the 2nd person, Job 17, 10 (in 1 Sam. 6, 4 read לָכֶם with the LXX). On the redundant suffix in הָעֵרֶבְרָי Lev. 27, 23 and elsewhere, comp. § 127. *i*.

§ 136. The Demonstrative Pronoun.

- a* The demonstrative pronouns are הַזֶּה, fem. וְזֹאת, plur. אֵלֶּה (§ 34), *hic, haec (hoc), hi, &c.*, and the personal pronoun הוּא, 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 הוּא (like *is, ille, αὐτός, ἐκεῖνος*) refers to a person or thing already mentioned or known (see the examples below)².
- b* Rem. 1. Compare on the above the instructive examples in Gen. 32, 3. Jud. 7, 4 *of whom I say unto thee, this (זֶה) shall go with thee, he (הוּא) 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 (Gen. 26, 33 and elsewhere), but הַיּוֹם הַהוּא

¹ Comp. 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 מֹרִי *my lord*, and ultimately as a title *the lord*; in Italian *madonna*, French *Madame, Notre Dame, Monsieur, Monseigneur, &c.* It is, however, more than doubtful, whether the regular distinction between אֲדֹנָי as a holy name, and אֲדֹנִי as an ordinary appellative is not 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 אֲדֹנִי is used by God himself, there is nowhere any necessity to regard the suffix as *entirely* meaningless, since אֲדֹנִי is always used either in an address *to* or (like אֲדֹנִי, which also is never a mere phrase or title) in reverent language *about* God—as the Lord of the speaker—like the Assyrian *beli-ia, my Lord*. Against any original distinction between אֲדֹנִי and אֲדֹנִי it may be urged especially that when unconnected with suffixes the singular אֲדֹנִי is always used of God, and not the *pluralis maiestatis* presupposed by אֲדֹנֵי.

² On הַזֶּה and הוּא standing separately as determinate in themselves, see § 125. *i*. On the use of determinate demonstratives as adjectives, see § 126. *u*.

the day or period of which the historian has just been speaking (Gen. 15, 18. 26, 32) or of which the prophet has just been foretelling (Is. 5, 30. 7, 18. 20 sqq.) and of which he continues to speak or foretell. Nevertheless וְהָ and אֵלֶּה are also found in certain common combinations where הוּא and הַפֶּה would be expected, and vice versa; thus almost always הַדְּבָר הַזֶּה, plur. הַדְּבָרִים הָאֵלֶּה, but בַּיָּמִים הַהֵמָּה (or בַּיָּמִים הַהֵם), and only in Zech. 8, 9. 15 בַּיָּמִים הָאֵלֶּה, Est. 1, 5. 9, 28 הַיָּמִים הַהֵלֵךְ.—With a secondary sense of contempt (like Latin *iste*) וְהָ occurs, e.g. in 1 Sam. 10, 27. 21, 16. 1 Ki. 22, 27. Is. 6, 10, &c.; in the sense of the neuter, *this*, וְזֹאת is more common than וְהָ, as Is. 5, 25. 43, 9, &c., but הוּא more common than הִיא.

2. Both וְהָ and הוּא are sometimes used almost as enclitics to emphasize interrogative words (like the Latin *nam* in *quisnam*; comp. also *quis tandem*); e.g. Job 38, 2 מִי זֶה עַתָּה *who now* (darkeneth, &c.) . . . ? 1 Sam. 17, 55 sq. Is. 63, 1. Jer. 49, 19. Ps. 24, 8. 25, 12, and elsewhere; מַה זֶה עַתָּה *what now?* 1 Sam. 10, 11; *how now?* Gen. 27, 20; *why now?* Jud. 18, 24; but before the verb עָשָׂה it is usually מַה־זֹּאת Gen. 3, 13. 12, 18. Ex. 14, 5. Jud. 15, 11; לָמָּה־זֶּה *wherefore now?* Gen. 18, 13. 25, 22. 1 Sam. 17, 28. 2 Sam. 12, 23, and elsewhere.—So also מִי־הוּא Is. 50, 9. Job 4, 7 sqq.; and still more emphatically מִי־הוּא־זֶה Ps. 24, 10. Jer. 30, 21.

3. וְהָ is likewise used as an enclitic (see letter *c* above): (*a*) *of place*, in such passages as Gen. 27, 21 הֲאֵתָהּ זֶה וּגְרִי *whether thou (that art here) be my son Esau?* 2 Sam. 2, 20 *is it thou?* הִנֵּה־זֶה *behold, here*, 1 Ki. 19, 5. Is. 21, 9¹; cf. also the strengthening of the separate pronoun by הוּא Is. 43, 25 (אֲנֹכִי). 1 Sam. 7, 28. Is. 37, 16. Ps. 44, 5 (אֵתָהּ), and אֵלֶּה הֵם *these are*, Gen. 25, 16. 1 Sam. 4, 8. (*b*) *of time*: עַתָּה זֶה *now*, 1 Ki. 17, 24; *just now*, 2 Ki. 5, 22, and rather frequently before words denoting number, e.g. Gen. 27, 36 זֶה בַּעֲמִים *twice, now*; comp. 31, 38. Job 1, 12. 7, 3. 19, 3; separated from the numeral in Gen. 31, 41 זֶה־לִּי elliptically for *this*, i. e. *this present period, is to me*, or makes altogether, *twenty years, &c.* The other examples are similarly elliptical.

¹ On the other hand, it is very questionable whether וְהָ in Ps. 104, 25 (זֶה הַיָּם), Is. 23, 13 (זֶה הַיָּם), Jud. 5, 5. Ps. 68, 9 (זֶה סִינִי) can be taken, according to the common explanation, simply as a prefixed demonstrative particle (*the sea yonder, &c.*). In Ps. 104, 25 הַיָּם (unless in apposition to זֶה; comp. § 126. *aa*, and Zech. 5, 7, where אֵשֶׁה אֶת־הַיָּם is in apposition to זֹאת depending on הִנֵּה, and also Ezek. 40, 45, where הַלְשֶׁבֶת is in apposition to זֶה) is most naturally taken as the subject, *this is the sea*. Is. 23, 13. Jud. 5, 5, and Ps. 68, 9 would be most naturally explained in the same way; but in these passages the text is almost certainly corrupt. In Jud. 5, 5 in fact זֶה סִינִי is most probably to be regarded with Moore as a very early gloss, which subsequently found its way from this passage into Ps. 68.

§ 137. The Interrogative Pronoun.

- a* The interrogative pronoun **מִי** *who* may refer either to a masculine or feminine person (Cant. 3, 6), or even to a plural, e. g. **מִי אַתֶּם** *who are ye?* Jos. 9, 8; **מִי-אֵלֶּה** Gen. 33, 5. Num. 22, 9 (more minutely, **מִי וְמִי** Ex. 10, 8, 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-שָׁבָם** *who are the Shechemites?* Jud. 9, 28. 13, 17. Gen. 33, 8. Mic. 1, 5; even more boldly, with the repetition of a **מִי** used personally, in 1 Sam. 18, 18. 2 Sam. 7, 18.
- b* Moreover, **מִי** may also be used in the sense of a genitive, e. g. **אֵת-בֵּת-מִי אַתָּה** *whose daughter art thou?* Gen. 24, 23. 1 Sam. 17, 55. 56. 58; **דְּבַר מִי** *whose word?* Jer. 44, 28. 1 Sam. 12, 3; in the accusative. **אֵת-מִי** *quemnam?* 1 Sam. 28, 11. Is. 6, 8; with prepositions, e. g. **בְּמִי** 1 Ki. 20, 14 (in an abrupt question *by whom?*); **לְמִי** Gen. 32, 18; **מִי אֶחָד** 1 Sam. 24, 15.—Similarly **מָה**, **מַה**, **מָה** *what?* is used for the nominative, or accusative, or genitive (Jer. 8, 9), or with prepositions, e. g. **עַל-מָה** *whereupon?* Job 38, 6; **עַד-מָה** *quousque?* Ps. 74, 9.
- c* Rem. Both **מִי** and **מָה** are used also in indirect questions (on the merely relative distinction between direct and indirect questions in Hebrew, see the *Interrogative Sentences*), e. g. Gen. 39, 8. 43, 22. Ex. 32, 1.—On the meaning of **מִי** and **מָה** as interrogatives is based also their use as *indefinite pronouns* (equivalent to *quisquis, quodcunque* or *quicquam*), e. g. Jud. 7, 3. 1 Sam. 19, 3. 20, 4. Prov. 9, 4. 16; even **שְׂמֹר-מִי** *have a care, whosoever ye be, &c.*, 2 Sam. 18, 12; so also **מָה** (*whatever it be*) Job 13, 13. 2 Sam. 18, 22. 23; comp. Num. 23, 3 **וְדַבֵּר מָה-יִרְאֶנִּי** *and whatsoever he showeth me*. A still further weakening of the *indefinite* use of **מָה** is the combination **מָה-שֶׁ** *that which*, Eccles. 1, 9. 3, 15 (just like the Syriac **מָה דְ** *quod*).—On **מֵאֲמָה**¹ *quicquam, anything at all* (usually with a negative), and as an adverb *in any way*, 1 Sam. 21, 3, see the Lexicon.

§ 138. The Relative Pronoun.

The text of this section (and of § 155) has been entirely remodelled on the basis of V. Baumann's excellent essay *Hebräische Relativsätze*, Leipzig, 1894.

- a* Relative clauses are most frequently (but not necessarily; cf. § 155. *a*) introduced by the indeclinable **אֲשֶׁר** (see § 36)². This is

[¹ Comp. the Assyrian *ma-am-ma*, anybody; and *mi-im-ma*, anything.—G. W. C.]

² 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. **אֲתַר**

not, however, a relative pronoun in the Greek, Latin or English sense, nor is it a mere *nota relationis*¹, but an original *demonstrative* pronoun [as though *iste, istius, &c.*]². Hence it is used—

(1) In immediate dependence on the substantival idea to be defined, and virtually in the same case as that (hence belonging syntactically to the main clause); e. g. Gen. 24, 7 . . . הוּא יִשְׁלַח . . . יהוה אֱשֶׁר לָקַחְנִי *the Lord, iste, he took me . . . he shall send, &c. (= who took me)*; Is. 37, 4 *the words of Rabshakeh*, מֶלֶךְ אַשּׁוּר־שָׁלַח אֵלָיו *istius, the king of Assyria hath sent him (= whom the king of Assyria hath sent)*; Gen. 2, 2 *and God finished* עָשָׂה אֱשֶׁר מְלַאכְתּוֹ *his work, istud, he had made (it)*. Such qualifying clauses may be called *dependent relative clauses*.

Rem. 1. In the above examples אֱשֶׁר Gen. 24, 7 is virtually in the nominative, Is. 37, 4 in the genitive, Gen. 2, 2 in the accusative. A further distinction between the examples is that in Gen. 24, 7 the main idea (וְהוּא), to which אֱשֶׁר is added in apposition, is only resumed in the qualifying clause by the subject (*he*) inherent in לָקַחְנִי, in Is. 37, 4 it is resumed by the accusative suffix of שָׁלַח, while in Gen. 2, 2 it is not resumed at all. This suppression of the retrospective pronoun³ takes place especially when it (as in Gen. 2, 2) 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. Gen. 1, 7 הַמַּיִם אֲשֶׁר מִתַּחַת לְרָקִיעַ *the waters, those, under the firmament, &c.* In negative sentences, however, the retrospective

place, trace, Nöldeke urges (*ZDMG.* 1886, p. 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, אֱשֶׁר is really a compound of several pronominal roots; cf. Sperling, *Die Nota relationis im Hebräischen*, Leipzig, 1876, and König, *Lehrgeb.*, ii. 323 sqq., who follows Ewald and Böttcher in referring it to an original אֲשֶׁל. According to Hommel (*ZDMG.* xxxii. p. 708 sqq.) אֱשֶׁר is an original substantive, to be distinguished from אֲשֶׁ and אֲשֶ (an original pronominal stem), but used in Hebrew as a *nota relationis*, or (as וְהוּא and וְהוּא are also sometimes used, see below, letters *g* and *h*) simply for the *relative pronoun*. Baumann (op. cit., p. 44) sees in the Assyrian *ša*, Phoenician, Punic, and Hebrew אֲשֶ, the ground-forms, of which the Phoenician and Punic אֲשֶ (see above, § 36, note) and the Hebrew אֱשֶר are developments.

¹ Somewhat like Luther's *so*, e. g. *die fremden Götter, so unter euch sind*, Gen. 35, 2.

² This is the necessary conclusion both from the analogy of the Arabic *'alladi*, which is clearly a demonstrative (like the Hebr. הַלְלוּ, הַלְלוּ), and from the use of וְהוּא and וְהוּא as relatives.

³ The instances in which, instead of a retrospective pronoun, the main idea itself is repeated (Gen. 49, 30. 50, 13; Jer. 31, 32) are most probably all due to subsequent amplification of the original text by another hand.

pronoun is not infrequently added, e.g. Gen. 17, 12 הוּא; 7, 2 הִיא; 1 Ki. 9, 20 הַפֶּה; Deut. 20, 15 הִנֵּה; but cf. also אֲשֶׁר הוּא חַי Gen. 9, 3. The addition of הִיא in a verbal clause, 2 Ki. 22, 13, 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. Num. 10, 29 *we are journeying unto the place*, אֲשֶׁר אָמַר יְהוָה אֵתָּן לָכֶם *that place, the Lord said (of it), It will I give to you*; cf. Num. 14, 40. Gen. 3, 17. Deut. 28, 68. Jud. 8, 15. 1 Sam. 9, 17. 23. 24, 5. 1 Ki. 8, 29. Jer. 32, 43.

c 2. When the substantive followed by אֲשֶׁר and the qualifying clause expresses an idea of *place*, it may also be resumed by the adverbs of place שָׁם *there*, שָׁמָּה *thither*, מִשָּׁם *thence*, e.g. Gen. 13, 3 אֲשֶׁר-הָיָה שָׁם אֹהֶלָה *unto the place, that one, his tent had been there, i.e. where his tent had been*; cf. Gen. 3, 23 מִשָּׁם, Ex. 21, 13 שָׁמָּה. But even in this case the retrospective word may be omitted, cf. Gen. 35, 14. Num. 20, 13. Is. 64, 10, where שָׁם would be expected, and Gen. 30, 38. Num. 13, 27. 1 Ki. 12, 2, 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 Sam. 20, 31 *for all the days*, אֲשֶׁר בְּנוֹיֵשֵׁי חַי *those—the son of Jesse is living (in them)*; cf. Gen. 45, 6. Deut. 1, 46. 9, 7. 1 Ki. 11, 42; see Baumann, op. cit., p. 33.

d 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. Gen. 45, 4 *I am Joseph*, אֲשֶׁר-מָכַרְתָּם אֵתִי *he—ye sold me, i.e. whom ye sold*; Num. 22, 30. Is. 49, 23; 41, 8 *thou, Jacob*, אֲשֶׁר בָּחַרְתִּיךָ *he—I have chosen thee*; Jer. 32, 19. Eccles. 10, 16 sq.; Gen. 15, 7 *I am the Lord*, אֲשֶׁר הוֹצִאתִיךָ *he—I brought thee out, &c.*, Ex. 20, 2 (Deut. 5, 6).

e (2) Not depending (adjectivally) on a governing substantive, but 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.* 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. Num. 22, 6 אֲשֶׁר תֹּאֵר יוֹאֵר *is—thou cursest (him)—is cursed, i.e. he whom thou cursest, &c.*¹; Ex. 22, 8; אֲשֶׁר as object, Gen. 44, 1. 49, 1. 1 Sam. 16, 3 sqq. Mic. 6, 1 (את אֲשֶׁר), and even preceding the verb, e.g. Is. 52, 15. Ps. 69, 5; אֲשֶׁר as genitive, Ezek. 23, 28 *I will deliver thee into the hand of those—thou hatest (them)*; 1 Sam. 7, 7; depending on a preposition, e.g. לְאֲשֶׁר Gen. 44, 4. 2 Ki. 10, 22; בְּאֲשֶׁר Gen. 21, 17, בְּאֲשֶׁר הוּא שָׁם *in that (place)—he is there, i.e. where*

¹ 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, 1. 46, 1. 47, 1. 49, 34.

he is; cf. Jud. 17, 8 and Ruth 1, 16 אֵלֶּיֶךָ אֲשֶׁר־לְּמַיְמֵי־יָם *whither*¹; 1 Ki. 18, 12 עַל־אֲשֶׁר־ *whither*; מִן־אֲשֶׁר Ex. 5, 11.

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 preposition², e. g. Gen. 44, 9 sq. וַיָּמָת . . . אֲשֶׁר יִמָּצֵא אִתּוֹ *he—it* (the cup) *is found with him,—shall die* (for the *Wāw* of the apodosis in וַיָּמָת cf. § 143. *d*). In such cases אֲשֶׁר preceded by the preposition is quite anomalous, as in Gen. 31, 32 עִם אֲשֶׁר תִּמְצָא *with whomsoever thou findest*, where אֲשֶׁר is a relative pronoun in the English sense; on the other hand, in Is. 47, 12 (and probably also 56, 4) בְּאֲשֶׁר is to be explained (with Baumann, op. cit., p. 37) by reference to 47, 15, 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.’]

Like the original demonstrative pronoun אֲשֶׁר, the demonstratives *g* proper וְהָ, וְזֶ, וְזוֹ (the last commonly)³, 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 וְהָ, &c., the remarks on אֲשֶׁר, in letters *a* and *e*, also hold good.

Examples:—

(*a*) וְהָ in apposition to a governing substantive in the nominative, Ps. 104, 26 לְיוֹתָן וְהָ־צִרְתָּ (there is) *leviathan, he—thou hast formed* (him), i. e. *whom thou hast formed*; Is. 42, 24. Jer. 30, 21; in the accusative, Is. 25, 9. Ps. 74, 2 (in both cases with a retrospective pronoun; וְזֶ is used without it in Ps. 132, 12); in apposition to a genitive dependent on a preposition, Prov. 23, 22 שָׁמַע לְאָבִיךָ וְהָ־יִלְדֶךָ *hearken unto thy father, him—he begat thee*, i. e. *who begat thee*; Ps. 17, 9 (וְזֶ).—In Ps. 104, 8 אֶל־מְקוֹם וְהָ־יָסְדָתָּ לָהֶם *unto the place which thou hadst founded for them* (cf. § 130. *c*), וְהָ is in the genitive after the construct state מְקוֹם *to the place of that, thou hadst founded* (it) *for them*; on the same analogy we may also take, with Baumann (op. cit., p. 48), Ps. 78, 54 (הָ־רָה וְהָ) and Ex. 15, 13 עַם־זֶ (וְזֶ). 15, 16. Is. 43, 21. Ps. 9, 2. 10, 2. 31, 5. 32, 8. 142, 4. 143, 8 (all examples of וְזֶ).

¹ In Zech. 12, 10 also, instead of the unintelligible אֵלֶּי אֵת אֲשֶׁר, we should probably read אֵלֶּיֶךָ אֲשֶׁר, and refer the passage to this class.

² Such a strong ellipse as in Is. 31, 6, where מִמֶּנּוּ would be expected after הָעֲמִיקוֹן, is only possible in elevated poetic or prophetic language.

³ The etymological equivalent הָיִ, הָיִ in Aramaic is always a relative.

- h* To introduce independent relative clauses וְהֵן is used as a nominative in Job 19, 19; as accusative, Job 15, 17 and Ps. 68, 29 (after a preposition, Ex. 13, 8; but the text is evidently corrupt).
- i* (*b*) More certain examples of the use of the article as a relative pronoun (more correctly, perhaps, of the demonstrative which is otherwise used as article) are 1 Chron. 26, 28 כָּל הַהֶקְדִּישׁ שָׁמוּאֵל all that Samuel had dedicated, &c.; 2 Chron. 29, 8 (where כְּמוֹצֵא can only be *perfect Niph'al*); 29, 36. Ezra 10, 14. In connexion with a plural, Jos. 10, 24 the chiefs of the men of war אֲתוּ הַהֹלְכִי who went with him; Ezra 8, 25. 10, 17. 1 Chron. 29, 17. Finally, in the sense of *id quod*, Jer. 5, 13 (where, however, we should read with the LXX הַדָּבָר). Comp. moreover 1 Sam. 9, 24 the thigh וְהָעֵלְיָהּ and that which was upon it (but see below); 2 Chron. 1, 4 בְּהַכִּין equivalent to בְּאֶשֶׁר הֵכִין to the place, that he had prepared.
- k* In all the examples adduced except 1 Sam. 9, 24 (where וְהָעֵלְיָהּ should probably be read for וְהָעֵלְיָהּ) the הֵן is followed by undoubted perfects; almost all the examples, however, 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 Gen. 18, 21. 46, 27. Job 2, 11 הַבָּצָה; Is. 51, 10 הַשָּׂמָה; Ezek. 26, 17 הַהֶלְלָה; Ruth 1, 22. 2, 6 and 4, 3 הַשָּׂבָה, or by the punctuation, Gen. 21, 3 הַנּוֹלֵד; 1 Ki. 11, 9. Dan. 8, 1 הַנְּרָאָה; Is. 56, 3 הַנְּלוֹה, while no doubt the authors in all these cases intended participles (and indeed perfect participles, comp. § 116. *d*) with the article, thus הַבָּצָה &c., Ezek. 26, 17 הַהֶלְלָה for הַמְהַלֵּל according to § 52. *s*, and in the other examples הַנּוֹלֵד, הַנְּרָאָה, הַנְּלוֹה.

§ 139. Expression of Pronominal Ideas by means of Substantives.

- a* Analogous to the periphrases for expressing materials and attributes 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—
- b* 1. אִישׁ, אִשָּׁה *man, woman*, are used to express—
- (*a*) The idea of *each, every* (in the sense of each severally) with reference to persons¹, and even animals (Gen. 15, 10), e. g. Gen. 10, 5, feminine Ex. 3, 22; אִישׁ is the object, e. g. in Jer. 12, 15. On אִישׁ—אִישׁ comp. § 123. *c*.
- c* In a few passages אִישׁ in the above sense is placed for the sake of emphasis before the governing noun (always a substantive with a suffix), thus מִנֵּי אִישׁ אֶחָדוּ Gen. 9, 5, according to the usual explanation, stands for מִנֵּי אֶחָדוּ אִישׁ at the hand of the brother of every man. But although this explanation seems to be

¹ As a rule אִישׁ is used in the particularizing sense of *each man*, with the plural of the verb, e. g. Gen. 44, 11; sometimes, however, as subject to a verb in the singular, e. g. Gen. 44, 13.

supported by Gen. 42, 25 and Num. 17, 17, 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 (hence Gen. 9, 5 *at the hand of every man, his brother*, i. e. who is really his brother and is therefore so much the more guilty; so 15, 10 *and he laid each or, more exactly, one piece of it, &c.*, and so probably also Num. 17, 17 *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 Gen. 41, 12. 42, 25 (according to the context = *to every one in his sack*); 42, 35, where צָרוּר־כֶּסֶף בְּשֶׁקֶל is virtually the predicate of אִישׁ; Ex. 12, 4. 28, 21. Num. 5, 10. 26, 54. 2 Ki. 23, 35, and especially Zech. 7, 10¹.

(b) *Any one, some one*, e. g. Gen. 13, 16. Cant. 8, 7, with a negative *no one*²; *d* so after אֶל־ Ex. 16, 19, 29; before לֹא Gen. 23, 6 and frequently.—Instead of אִישׁ we sometimes find in a similar sense אָדָם *man, homo*, e. g. Lev. 1, 2 (comp. בְּאָחֵד הָאָדָם *as any one else*, Jud. 16, 7. 11), נַפְשׁ *(soul) person*, Lev. 2, 1. 5, 1, &c., and in a neuter sense דְּבָר (prop. word, thing) equivalent to *anything*, Gen. 18, 14, or כֹּל־דְּבָר Lev. 5, 2. Num. 31, 23. With a negative דְּבָר means *nothing*; thus after אֶל־ Gen. 19, 8; after לֹא Eccles. 8, 5.—Cf. finally, מֵאַחֵר *any one*, Deut. 15, 7; *anything*, Ezek. 18, 10 (but in Lev. 4, 2. 5, 13 מֵאַחֵת) and the expressions noticed in § 144. *e*. The latter include also instances like Ezek. 18, 32 *I have no pleasure בְּמוֹת הַמָּוֶת in the death of him that dieth*, i. e. *of any man*.

(c) In connexion with אָחִיו *his brother* or רֵעֵהוּ *his neighbour*, אִישׁ *one*, masc. *e* (as אִשָּׁה *one*, fem., in connexion with אָחוֹתָהּ *her sister* or רֵעִיתָהּ *her neighbour*) is used to represent the ideas of *alter—alter, the one—the other*³ (in reference to persons, animals, or things without life; see the Lexicon) or the idea of *one another*, e. g. Gen. 13, 11 *and they separated themselves אָחִיו מֵעַל אִישׁ the one from the other*; Ex. 26, 3 *five curtains (יריעתֹת fem.) shall be coupled together אִשָּׁה אֶל־אָחוֹתָהּ one to another*.

2. נַפְשׁ *soul, person* expresses the idea of *self*⁴, both in the singular, Prov. 19, 8. *f* 16. 18. 29, 24. Job 18, 4 (in all cases נַפְשׁוֹ equivalent to *himself*), and in the

¹ Comp. on the whole question the thorough discussion by Budde, *Die bibl. Urgeschichte*, p. 283 sqq.: according to him, אִישׁ אָחִיו came to be treated by the language as expressing a single idea 'one another;' and the words in Gen. 9, 5 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 Zech. 7, 10 וְרַעַת אִישׁ אָחִיו אֶל־תְּחַשְׁבוּ וְאִישׁ אֶת־רַעַת רֵעֵהוּ אֶל־תְּחַשְׁבוּ בְּלִבְבְּכֶם בְּלִבְבְּכֶם, which in the light of 8, 17, בְּלִבְבְּכֶם בְּלִבְבְּכֶם, can only, he observes, be rendered 'and devise not *the hurt of one another* in your heart.' So also König, *Syntax*, § 33.]

² Comp. also אִין־אִישׁ Gen. 39, 11. On the expression of the idea of *no one* by means of אִין with a following participle, see the *Negative Sentences*, § 152. *l*.

³ Elsewhere וְהָ . . . וְהָ are used in a similar sense, Ex. 14, 20. Is. 6, 3; also הָאָחֵר . . . הָאָחֵר 2 Sam. 14, 6, or the substantive is repeated, e. g. Gen. 47, 21 (*from one end . . . to the other end*).

⁴ On the representation of this idea by pronouns, separate and suffixed, see § 135. *a* and *k*.

plural, Jer. 37, 9 and elsewhere. Similar to this is the use of בְּקִרְבָּהּ Gen. 18, 12 (prop. *in her inward part*) in the sense of *within herself*¹.

g 3. עֵצָם *bone* (then metaphorically for *existence*) expresses the idea of *self, self-same, very same*, in reference to *things* (as נַפְשֵׁי to persons), e. g. הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה בְּעֵצָם *in the selfsame day*, Gen. 7, 13, comp. Jos. 10, 27. Ezek. 24, 2; הַשָּׁמַיִם הַלְּבָנוֹתִים בְּעֵצָם הַמָּוֶה *as it were the very heaven for clearness*, Ex. 24, 10; הַמָּוֶה בְּעֵצָם הַמָּוֶה *in the very fullness of his strength* (equivalent to *in the midst of his full strength*), Job 21, 23.

h 4. The simple plural of words denoting time sometimes includes also the idea of *a few, some*²; thus יָמִים *a few days*, Gen. 24, 55. 40, 4 (here even of a longer period, = *for some time*); Is. 65, 20. Dan. 8, 27 (on the other hand, Gen. 27, 44. 29, 20 יָמִים אַחֲרָיִם; see § 96 and אַחֲרָיִם); שָׁנִים *some years*, Dan. 11, 6. 8.

¹ In a similar way the idea of *self* in Arabic, as in Sanskrit (*âtman*), is paraphrased by *soul, spirit*; in Arabic also by *eye*; in Rabbinic by גּוּף *body*, גֵּרָם or עֵצָם *bone*, in Ethiopic and Amharic by *head*, in Egyptian by *mouth, hand, &c.*; comp. also the Middle High German *mîn lip, dîn lip*, for *ich, du*. However, נַפְשֵׁי in such cases is never (not even in Is. 46, 2 נַפְשֵׁיהֶם *they themselves*) a mere otiose periphrasis for the personal pronoun, but always involves a reference to the *mental* personality, as affected by the senses, desires, &c.

² *Some* in reference to persons in Ex. 16, 20 is expressed by אֲנֵשִׁים, and in Neh. 5, 2-4 by אֲנֵשֶׁתַיִם *sunt qui*, with a participle following.

CHAPTER II.

THE SENTENCE.

I. The Sentence in General.

§ 140. *Noun-clauses, Verbal-clauses, and the Compound Sentence.*

P. Dörwald, 'Zur hebr. Syntax (der hebr. Satz),' in *Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie und Pädagogik*, 1890, ii. p. 115 sqq.

1. Every sentence, the subject and predicate of which are nouns *a* or their equivalents (esp. participles), is called a *noun-clause*, e. g. יהוה מלכנו *the Lord is our king*, Is. 33, 22; וְאֲנָשֵׁי סְדֹם רָעִים וְחַפְּאִים *now the men of Sodom were wicked and sinners*, Gen. 13, 13; פֶּה לָהֶם *a mouth is theirs*, Ps. 115, 5; see further, § 141.

2. Every sentence, the subject of which is a noun (or pronoun *b* included in a verbal-form) and its predicate a finite verb, is called a *verbal-clause*, e. g. וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהִים *and God said*, Gen. 1, 3; וַיִּבְדֵּל *and he divided*, 1, 7; see further, § 142.

Rem. In the last example the pronominal subject is at least indicated by the *c* 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.

3. Every sentence, the subject or predicate of which is itself a full *d* clause, is called a *compound sentence*, e. g. Ps. 18, 31 הַיָּל תָּמִים דְּרָבּוֹ *God—his way is perfect*, equivalent to *God's way is perfect*; Gen. 34, 8 בְּנֵי הַשָּׂקָה נִפְשׁוּ בְּבִתָּם *my son Shechem—his soul longeth for your daughter*; see further, § 143.

4. The above distinction between different kinds of sentences— *e* 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.

f 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 editions of this Grammar), is rejected above, nos. 1-3, 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.

a 1. The *subject* of a noun-clause (see § 140. a) may be—

(a) A substantive, e. g. וְנָהָר יֵצֵא מֵעֵדֶן and a river went out (was going out) of Eden, Gen. 2, 10.

(b) A pronoun, e. g. Gen. 7, 4 אֲנִי מְמַטֵּיר I will cause it to rain; 14, 18 וְהוּא כֹהֵן and he was priest; 2, 23 (וְאֵת before a feminine predicate, as אֵלֶּה before a plural in Ex. 32, 4); מִי חָכָם who is wise? Hos. 14, 10.—In 1 Chron. 5, 2 וְלִגְנִיד מְמֹנֵה and of him one became a prince, the subject is contained in מְמֹנֵה¹.

b 2. The *predicate* of a noun-clause may be—

(a) A substantive, e. g. Deut. 14, 1 וְגו' בְּנִים אֵתֶם וְגו' ye are children of the Lord your God; Gen. 42, 13. 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. Ezek. 41, 22 הַמְּזֻבַּח עֵץ וְקִירָתָיו עֵץ . . . the altar (was) wood . . . and the walls thereof (were) wood, i. e. of wood. Cf. below, letter c.

(b) An adjective or participle, e. g. Gen. 2, 12 וְנָהָב הָאָרֶץ טוֹב and the gold of that land is good; וְעֶפְרוֹן יָשָׁב now Ephron was sitting, &c.,

¹ For other remarkable instances of ellipse in the Chronicler, see Driver, *Introduction*, p. 504 [ed. 6, p. 537], no. 27.

Gen. 23, 10¹. Very frequently such noun-clauses, attached by *Wāw* to a verbal-clause, are used to represent a state *contemporaneous* with the principal action; comp. letter *e* below.

(c) A numeral, e. g. Gen. 42, 13 עֶשְׂרֵי עֲבָדֶיךָ *the twelve* (of us) *are thy servants*.

(d) A pronoun, e. g. Gen. 10, 12 (הִיא), Ex. 9, 27 (אֲנִי), Gen. 24, 65 (מִי), 1 Ki. 9, 13 (מָה)².

(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. שָׁם הַבְּדִלְיָה *there is the bdellium*, Gen. 2, 12; הֵכָל אַי הָאֵל *where is Abel?* 4, 9; לְעוֹלָם חַסְדּוֹ *his mercy endureth for ever*, Ps. 136, 1 sqq.; עֵשֶׂר בְּבֵיתוֹ *riches are in his house*, Ps. 112, 3; אֲנִי לֹא הֵנּוּ *we are his*, Ps. 100, 3 *Q^{er}*.

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; comp. § 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 predicate³, where it represents something as *identical* with the subject (see above, letter *b* [a]), than upon an adjectival or verbal predicate; comp. Cant. 1, 10; Ps. 25, 10 *all the paths of the Lord are וְאֵמֶת וְחֶסֶד lovingkindness and truth* (i. e. *wholly lovingkindness, &c.*; comp. Jer. 10, 10); Ezek. 38, 5. Ps. 10, 5. 19, 10. 23, 5. 88, 19. Prov. 3, 17⁴. Job 22, 12. 23, 2. 26, 13. Ruth 3, 2. Sometimes the emphasis on the predicate is obtained by the use of the plural form (according to § 124. e), e. g. Ps. 110, 3 *thy people are יְרַבְּתוּ altogether willing-ness*; Cant. 5, 16. Dan. 9, 23.

Sometimes the boldness of such combinations is modified by the repetition of the subject, as *regens* of the predicate, e. g. Job 6, 12 אִם-כֹּחַ אֲבָנִים כֹּחִי *is my strength the strength of stones?* Prov. 3, 17. 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 Ps. 45, 9 *myrrh and aloes and cassia are all*

¹ Comp. the numerous examples in § 116. *n-p*.

² 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*.

³ The same naturally applies to most of those cases which are not simple noun-clauses, but have the substantival predicate connected with the subject by הִיא (e. g. Gen. 1, 2 *and the earth was a waste and emptiness*; comp. Ps. 35, 6. Prov. 8, 30. Job 3, 4) or where a preposition precedes the substantival predicate, as Ps. 29, 4 *the voice of the Lord is with power*, i. e. *powerful*.

⁴ שָׁלוֹם here, as in Job 21, 9, is evidently a substantive after a plural subject; on the other hand, it is doubtful whether שָׁלוֹם in such passages as Gen. 43, 27. 2 Sam. 20, 9. Ps. 120, 7, &c., is not rather to be regarded as an adjective.

thy garments (i.e. so perfumed with them that they seem to be composed of them); Cant. 1, 15 *thine eyes are doves*, i.e. dove's eyes (but 5, 12 כַּיּוֹנִים¹); Ps. 23, 5. 109, 4. Job 8, 9. 12, 12. In prose, e.g. Ex. 9, 31. Ezra 10, 13 הַעֵת וְשָׁמַיִם the season is rain showers, i.e. the rainy season; with a bold enallage of the number, Gen. 34, 30 וַאֲנִי מְתִי מִסָּפֵר and I (with my family) am few in number. For similarly bold expressions with הָיָה cf. Gen. 11, 1. 12, 2. Ex. 17, 12. Is. 5, 12. Jer. 2, 28, and again with a bold enallage of the number, Job 29, 15 I was eyes to the blind, and feet was I to the lame. Also in prose, Num. 10, 31 and thou shalt be to us לְעֵינַיִם.

e 2. The noun-clause connected by *wāw copulative* to a verbal-clause, or its equivalent, always describes a state *contemporaneous* with the principal action, or (when the predicate is a transitive participle) an action represented in constant duration (comp. § 107. d, as well as § 116. n and o), e.g. Gen. 19, 1 and the two angels came to Sodom at even, וְלוֹט יָשֵׁב while Lot sat, &c.; 18, 1. 8. 16. 22. 25, 26. Jud. 13, 9. 2 Sam. 4, 7. 11, 4 (always with a participle); with an adjectival predicate, Gen. 18, 12; with a substantival predicate, 18, 27; with an adverbial predicate, 9, 23. 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. Gen. 15, 2. 18, 27. 20, 3. 48, 14 (although he was the younger); Jud. 16, 15 how canst thou say, I love thee, וְלִבְךָ אֵין אִתִּי whereas thine heart is not with me? 2 Sam. 3, 39. Ps. 28, 3 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.

f 3. As the examples given under letters a and b show, the syntactical relation existing between the subject and predicate of a noun-clause, is as a rule expressed by simple juxtaposition, without a *copula* of any kind.

To what period of time the statement applies, must be inferred from the context; e.g. 1 Ki. 18, 21 יְהוָה הָאֱלֹהִים the Lord is the true God; 1 Sam. 9, 19; Is. 31, 2 וְגַם־הוּא חָכָם yet he also is wise; Gen. 42, 11; on the other hand, Gen. 19, 1 וְלוֹט יָשֵׁב and (=while) Lot sat; Ezek. 28, 15; Gen. 7, 4 אֲנִכִּי מִמָּטִיר I am raining, i.e. I will cause it to rain. Sometimes even a jussive or optative is to be supplied as predicate, Gen. 27, 13 upon me be thy curse; Gen. 11, 3. 20, 13. Ex. 12, 2. Cf. § 116. r, note.

g Not infrequently, however, a connexion is established between subject and predicate (a) by adding the separate pronoun of the

¹ As a rule, in such comparisons וְ (which is then to be regarded as *nominative*) stands before the predicate, e.g. Is. 63, 2 wherefore are thy garments כְּבָרֶחֶק בְּנֵת כְּבָרֶחֶק like those of one that treadeth in the wine-press? (prop. the like of one that treadeth, *instar calcantis*); Jer. 50, 9. Certainly, however, the comparison is then much less emphatic than in the noun-clauses cited above.

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.

Examples of (*a*): Gen. 41, 26 *the seven good kine* שֶׁבַע שָׁנִים הָיָה *they are seven* *h*
years; Deut. 1, 17, 4, 24; Eccles. 5, 18 *זֶה מַתַּת אֱלֹהִים הִיא* *this—it is a gift*
of God; Num. 3, 27 *אֲנִי הֵם*; in a question, Gen. 27, 38. Sometimes הוּא is
 used in this way to strengthen a pronominal subject of the first or second person¹,
 e. g. הוּא אֲנִי הוּא אֲנִי Is. 43, 25 *I, even I, am he that blotteth out, &c.*; 51, 12;
 הוּא אֲנִי 2 Sam. 7, 28. Is. 37, 16. Ps. 44, 5. Neh. 9, 6, 7; in an interrogative
 sentence, Jer. 14, 22²; in Jer. 49, 12 הוּא in a *verbal-clause* strengthens אֲנִי.

Of (*b*): naturally this does not apply to the examples, in which הָיָה, in the *i*
 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 Gen. 1, 2 *and*
the earth was (הִיְתָה) *waste and emptiness*, can scarcely be regarded as properly
 verbal clauses; הִיְתָה is used here really only for the purpose of referring to past
 time a statement which, as the description of a condition, might also appear in
 the form of a simple noun-clause; comp. Gen. 3, 1. 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. Jud. 1, 7. Job 1, 14
 (immediately afterwards a simple noun-clause). The imperfect of הָיָה announces
 what is future in Num. 14, 33 and elsewhere; comp. § 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
 Books³ than in the earlier.

Rem. On the employment of הָיָה *existence*, and אֵין *non-existence*, which were *k*
 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, Gen. 24, 42. 49. 43, 4 and elsewhere), see above,
 § 116. *g*, and the various kinds of subordinate clauses mentioned in §§ 150, 159.

4. The natural *arrangement* of words in the noun-clause, as describ- *l*
 ing 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

¹ On a similar use of the separate pronoun of the third person in Aramaic
 (Dan. 2, 38. Ezra 5, 11, &c.) see Kautzsch, *Gramm. des Bibl. Aram.*, § 87. 3.

² 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, p. 459, note; or
 in such cases as Deut. 32, 39 *see now* הוּא אֲנִי אֲנִי הוּא *that I, even I, am he*;
 1 Chron. 21, 17.

³ According to Albrecht, *ZAW*. 1888, p. 252, especially in Deuteronomy and in
 the Priestly Code.

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 predicate¹, or when it consists of an interrogative word; thus with a substantival predicate, e.g. Gen. 3, 19 אַתָּה עָפָר *dust thou art*; 4, 9. 12, 13 (*my sister*, not *my wife*); 20, 2. 12. 29, 14. Job 5, 24. 6, 12; with an adjectival predicate, e.g. Is. 6, 3. 28, 21. Jer. 10, 6; with a participle, Gen. 30, 1. 32, 12; with an interrogative pronoun, e.g. Gen. 24, 65²; with an adverbial interrogative, e.g. Gen. 4, 9.

^m Rem. Comp. on the above the exhaustive investigations of C. Albrecht, 'Die Wortstellung im hebr. Nominalsatze,' *ZAW*. 1888, pp. 218 sqq. and 249 sqq.; with a complete list of the exceptions to the order *subject—predicate*, p. 254 sqq. The predicate *must* precede for the reasons stated (an *adjectival predicate* is particularly emphatic when it has the force of a comparative, e.g. Gen. 4, 13; the predicate expressed by means of a preposition precedes with especial frequency when it serves to convey the ideas of *having*, *possessing*, e.g. Gen. 18, 14. 29, 16 and elsewhere; comp. also 26, 20. 31, 16. 43).

ⁿ The predicate *may* precede: (*a*) when the subject is a pronoun, for 'the person as being assumed to be generally known, does not excite the same interest as 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 Ki. 20, 19; (*c*) in interrogative sentences (with a substantival or adjectival predicate or one compounded with a preposition), e.g. 1 Sam. 16, 4; finally (*d*) when the predicate is adverbial or compounded with a preposition, in a relative clause, as a rule closely united (by Maqqeph) with אֲשֶׁר, e.g. Gen. 2, 11 אֲשֶׁר-עָשָׂם; 1, 29 sq. אֲשֶׁר-בּוֹ.

§ 142. The Verbal-clause.

a 1. By § 140. *f* there is an essential distinction between verbal-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 perfect consecutive or imperfect consecutive). Nevertheless, the subject does sometimes precede even in the verbal-clause proper, in the continuation of the narrative, e.g. Gen. 7, 19. 2 Sam. 19, 12; especially so if there is special emphasis upon it, e.g. Gen. 3, 13 (it is not I who am to blame, but) *the serpent beguiled me*, comp.

¹ For the same reason specifications of place (e.g. Gen. 4, 7) or other adverbial qualifications may stand at the beginning of the sentence.

² The only exceptions, according to Albrecht (see the Rem. above), are Ex. 16, 7. 8.

Gen. 2, 5 and elsewhere¹. 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; comp. the examples discussed above in § 106. *f* (1 Sam. 28, 3, &c.); also Gen. 6, 8 (not *Noah found grace*); 16, 1. 18, 17. 20, 4. 24, 1. 39, 1 (*and Joseph in the meanwhile had been brought down to Egypt*); 41, 10. Judg. 1, 16. 1 Sam. 9, 15. 14, 27. 25, 21. 1 Ki. 1, 1, &c.—In a wider sense this applies also to such verbal-clauses as Gen. 2, 6 (see further, § 112. *e*), where 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 Gen. 1, 2. 3, 1, &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; comp. § 141. *i*, and the examples of הָיָה, &c., with a participle, § 116. *r*); as an example of the second class, comp. e. g. Gen. 13, 12 אַבְרָם יָשָׁב בְּאֶרֶץ כְּנָעַן וְגו' *Abraham accordingly continued to dwell in the land of Canaan, but Lot dwelt, &c.*

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 וְ (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 circumstance which follows involves an antithesis; comp. Gen. 18, 18 *seeing that nevertheless Abraham shall surely become, &c.*; 24, 56. 26, 27. Is. 29, 13. Jer. 14, 15. Ps. 50, 17. Job 21, 22, and such examples as Gen. 4, 2. 4. 29, 17, where by means of וְ a new subject is introduced in express antithesis to one just mentioned. Moreover, in the examples treated above, in letters *b* and *c* (1 Sam. 28, 3, &c.), the subject is frequently introduced by וְ, which then corresponds to the Greek δέ, used to interpose an explanation, &c., see Winer, *Gramm. des neutest. Sprachidioms*, § 53. 7. *b*.

¹ This of course applies also to the cases, in which the subject consists of a strongly emphasized personal pronoun, e. g. Gen. 32, 13 אַתָּה *thou thyself*; 33, 3 הוּא *he himself*.

e 2. By a peculiar construction verbal-clauses may be joined by means of וְ and a following subject to participial clauses, e.g. Gen. 38, 25 וְהָיָה שְׁלֹחָהּ *she was already brought forth, when she sent, &c.*; 44, 3. 4. Jud. 18, 3. 19, 11. 2 Sam. 20, 8; for other examples, see § 116. *u* (according to the remarks there made, note 1, 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.

f 2. According to what has been remarked above, in letter *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 position¹. Thus the order may be:—

(*a*) *Object—Verb—Subject*: Gen. 30, 40. 1 Sam. 2, 9. 15, 1. 2 Ki. 23, 19 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. Gen. 3, 10. 14. 18. 6, 16. 8, 17. 9, 13. 37, 4. Ex. 18, 23. Jud. 14, 3. 1 Sam. 18, 17. 20, 9. 21, 10. 2 Ki. 22, 8. Prov. 13, 5 and elsewhere.

(*b*) *Verb—Object—Subject*: Gen. 21, 7. Num. 5, 23. 1 Sam. 15, 33. 2 Sam. 24, 16 (but הַמְלֶאךָ is probably only a subsequent addition); Is. 19, 13. Ps. 34, 22. Job 11, 19 and elsewhere.

(*c*) *Subject—Object—Verb*: Is. 3, 17. 11, 8. 13, 18. Hos. 12, 11. Ps. 6, 10. 11, 5. Job 29, 25².

¹ Not infrequently also the striving after *chiasmus* mentioned in § 114. *r*, note, occasions a departure from the usual arrangement of words.

² This sequence occurs even in prose (Gen. 17, 9. 23, 6 and elsewhere); 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 distinctives.—On the other hand, the sequence *Subject—Object—Verb* is quite common in Aramaic (e.g. Dan. 2, 7. 10); comp. Gesenius, *Comm.* on Is. 42, 24, 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 Lev. 19, 9. 21, 21. Deut. 28, 56. 2 Sam. 11, 19. Is. 49, 6. 2 Chron. 28, 10. 31, 7. 36, 19 (1).

(d) *Object—Subject—Verb* (very rarely): 2 Ki. 5, 13. Is. 5, 17. 28, 17. Ps. 51, 5¹.

(e) A substantival complement of the verb *היה* is placed first in Is. 18, 5 *יְהִי נָצֵחַ לְמַלְאכֵי הַשָּׁמַיִם וְיִבְרָךְ וְיִשְׂמַח וְיִשְׂתַּחֲוֶה וְיִשְׂתַּבַּח וְיִשְׂתַּחֲוֶה וְיִשְׂתַּבַּח* 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. Gen. 19, 2. 30, 16. 32, 5. Mic. 5, 1. Est. 9, 12; in Gen. 29, 25 *בְּרַחֵל* with *בְּ* *pretii* precedes for the sake of emphasis. Comp., however, in Gen. 35, 13 the order *verb—specification of place—subject*. The remoter object precedes for the sake of emphasis, e. g. in Gen. 13, 15 (26, 3). 15, 3; even before the interrogative, Gen. 27, 37 (cf. Jer. 22, 15 where the subject precedes an interrogative, and 1 Sam. 20, 8. Job 34, 31 where a prepositional specification precedes). Prepositional specifications of *time*, such as *בְּרֵאשִׁית* (Gen. 1, 1), *בַּיּוֹם*, *הַהוּא*, *בַּיּוֹם* &c. (but not *בְּרֵאשִׁיתָהּ*, nor the simple *רֵאשִׁיתָהּ*, *בְּתַחֲלֵהּ*, *לְעוֹלָם*), stand, as a rule, before the verb, provided it be not in the perfect consecutive or imperfect consecutive; so also certain adverbs of time, such as *אָז*, *עַתָּה*, whilst others like *עוֹד*, *תָּמִיד* regularly follow the verb.

§ 143. The Compound Sentence.

A compound sentence (§ 140. d) is formed by the juxtaposition *a* of a subject² (which always precedes, see letter *c*) and

(a) An independent noun-clause, which (*a*) refers to the principal subject by means of a pronoun, e. g. Nah. 1, 3 *יְהוָה בְּסוּפָהּ דְרָבּוּ* the Lord—in the storm is his way; 2 Sam. 23, 6. Ps. 18, 31. 104, 17. 125, 2. Eccles. 2, 14; comp. also Gen. 34, 23, where the predicate is an interrogative clause.—A personal pronoun is somewhat frequently used as the principal subject, e. g. Is. 59, 21 *וְאֲנִי וְאַתָּה בְּרִיתִי אֲתֵם* and as for me, this is my covenant with them, &c.; Gen. 9, 9. Is. 1, 7. 17, 4. 1 Chron. 28, 2³; with an interrogative noun-clause, Gen. 37, 30. Job 21, 4. 38, 19:—or (*β*) is without a retrospective suffix (in which case naturally the connexion between the subject and predicate is much looser), e. g. 1 Sam. 20, 23 and as touching the matter

¹ This sequence occurs more frequently in noun-clauses with a participial predicate, e. g. Gen. 37, 16. 41, 9. 2 Sam. 13, 4, &c., in interrogative sentences, e. g. 2 Ki. 6, 22. Jer. 7, 19; in all which cases the emphasized object is placed before the natural sequence of *subject—predicate*. [Cf. Driver, *Tenses*, § 208.]

² In Gen. 31, 40 a verbal-clause (*הָיִיתִי* *I was*) occurs instead of the subject, and is then explained by another verbal-clause.

³ In 1 Chron. 28, 2 (comp. also 22, 7 *אֲנִי וְאֲנִי הָיָה עִם־לִבִּי* 7) might also be taken as strengthening the pronominal suffix which follows (equivalent to *I myself had it in my mind*), as e. g. Ezek. 33, 17 *וְהָיָה עִם־דַּעַתָּהּ* whereas their own way is not equal; comp. § 135. f.

which, &c. . . behold the Lord is between thee and me for ever ;
Prov. 27, 2.

b (β) An independent verbal-clause: (α) with a retrospective suffix¹, e.g. Gen. 9, 6 (comp. § 116. *w*) ; 17, 15 *as for Sarai thy wife, thou shalt not call her name Sarai* ; 26, 15. 28, 13. 34, 8. Ex. 30, 37. 32, 1. 1 Sam. 2, 10. 2 Ki. 10, 29. Is. 9, 1. 11, 10. Ezek. 33, 2. Hos. 9, 11. Ps. 11, 4. 46, 5. 65, 4. 74, 17. Dan. 1, 17 ; with a pronoun as the principal subject, Gen. 24, 27 ; (β) without a retrospective suffix, Is. 19, 17 *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 distinctive, as a *casus pendens*²) in a manner which would be quite impossible in a simple noun or verbal-clause (e.g. Nah. 1, 3 if it were יהוה בְּסוֹפָה); comp. 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, Gen. 13, 15. 21, 13. 35, 12. 47, 21 (with the Samaritan and LXX read הַעֲבִירָה); 1 Sam. 25, 29 ; a specification of place, Gen. 2, 17. 2 Ki. 22, 18 and elsewhere ; a substantive with הַ, 1 Sam. 9, 20. 2 Sam. 6, 23 ; comp. the examples in § 135. *a*.—In Num. 15, 29 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, 19. 33, 24), cf. § 111. *h* ; with a following perfect consecutive (e.g. Ex. 4, 21. 12, 44. Num. 23, 3. 1 Sam. 25, 27. 2 Sam. 14, 10. Is. 9, 4. 56, 6 sq.), § 112. *t* and *mm* ; on the participle as *casus pendens*, § 112. *oo* and § 116. *w*.—In Job 15, 17 *wāw apodosis* follows with the cohortative ; in Job 23, 12. Ps. 115, 7 the imperfect is separated by אֲלֵ from the *wāw apodosis* ; in Job 4, 6 *as for thy hope, it is the integrity of thy ways*, and 36, 26, an incomplete noun-clause is appended by *wāw apodosis*. On *wāw apodosis* after disconnected specifications of time, comp. § 112. *oo* at the end, and Gen. 40, 9. 2 Sam. 15, 34 וְעַתָּה וְאֲנִי עַבְדְּךָ *and now (so far as the present is concerned) I will be thy servant*, Num. 12, 12.

e 3. Sometimes a substantive introduced by הַ (*in respect to* ; comp. § 119. *u*) serves the same purpose as the *casus pendens* beginning the sentence, as Num.

¹ Comp. the Mêsa' inscription, l. 31 and *Horonain, therein dwelt, &c.*

² 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.

18, 18 (unless the לְ here serves to introduce the object, according to § 117. n); Is. 32, 1 (where, however, וְיִשְׁרָיִם should most probably be read); Eccles. 9, 4. 1 Chron. 7, 1. 24, 20 sqq. 2 Chron. 7, 21. On the other hand, Ps. 16, 3. 17, 4. 32, 6. 89, 19. 119, 91 are very doubtful. The suggestion of P. Haupt (*Johns Hopkins University Circulars*, xiii. no. 114; Baltimore, 1894) also deserves attention, that in passages like Eccles. 9, 4, and in לְכֹל Gen. 9, 10. 23, 10. Ex. 27, 3. 19. Ezek. 44, 9, &c., לְ is not the preposition, but an emphasizing particle, answering to the Arab. *lā*, *surely*; Assyrian *lā*; with כֹּל it is equivalent to *in short*. Cf. also לְ—לְ *sive—sive, et—et*, Jos. 17, 16. Ezra 1, 11, Assyrian *lā—lā*.

§ 144. *Peculiarities in the Representation of the Subject*
(especially in the Verbal-clause).

1. According to § 40 sqq. most forms of the finite verb include *a* a specification of the subject in the form of *personal affirmatives* (in the imperfect also in the form of *preformatives*). Not infrequently, however, masculine forms are used with reference to the feminine, e.g. וְיִדְעֶתֶם Ezek. 23, 49; וְעִשִׂיתֶם Ruth 1, 8; in the imperfect, Joel 2, 22. Cant. 2, 7; in the imperative, Amos 4, 1. Zech. 13, 7 (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 frequently used impersonally, *b* especially in the masculine, e.g. וְיָרִי 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*, Gen. 4, 6 and elsewhere; לוֹ וַיִּצַר lit. *and it became strait to him, he was distressed*, Gen. 32, 8¹; even יֵשֵׁן like the German *es giebt, there is* (followed by an accusative), Prov. 13, 10. Job 37, 10; on Gen. 38, 28, see letter *d* below; also in the feminine, e.g. 1 Sam. 30, 6 (Jud. 10, 9) וַתִּצַר לְרוּחַ; Jud. 11, 39. Jer. 7, 31. Ezek. 12, 25. Job 15, 32; comp. also the impersonal passives, Is. 1, 6. 29, 6. Prov. 15, 6. Somewhat different are the instances in which the 3rd singular feminine occurs as the predicate of a feminine subject

¹ In Arabic and Ethiopic the masculine is commonly used in this case, in Syriac the feminine. The forms חַם *hot*, טוֹב *good, well*, מָר *bitter*, צָר *narrow*, רָע *evil* (frequently joined with לִי, לוֹ, &c.), which many regard as impersonal, are no doubt to be regarded in most cases not as forms of the 3rd pers. sing. perf., but, with Hupfeld on Ps. 18, 7, as adjectives.

which is not mentioned, but is before the mind of the speaker, e. g. Is. 7, 7. 14, 24. Jer. 10, 7. Job 4, 5. 18, 15 (in 2 Ki. 24, 7 בְּלִיאֶשֶׁר is used in this way with a feminine predicate, and in Jer. 19, 5 אֶשֶׁר alone); different, too, are the instances in which the 3rd singular masculine refers to an act just mentioned, e. g. Gen. 17, 11 וְהָיָה and *this* (the circumcision) *shall be a token of a covenant, &c.*

c Rem. The expressions for natural phenomena may be either in the 3rd sing. masculine or feminine, e. g. אֹר נֹרֵת *it becomes light*, 1 Sam. 29, 10 (but with an explicit subject, Gen. 44, 3); וַיֵּאָזֶר *and it became light*; so also יָהֵטֶה *it grows dark*, Jer. 13, 16; but וְהִשְׁדָּה Mic. 3, 6; תֵּעָפֵף *though there be darkness*, Job 11, 17; תִּמְטֵר *it rains*, Amos 4, 7 (where, however, the context requires the reading אֶמְטֵר); Ps. 50, 3 נִשְׁעָרָה *it is tempestuous*.

d 3. The indefinite personal subject (our *they*, *one*, the French *on*, and the German *man*¹) is expressed—

(a) By the 3rd person singular masculine, e. g. קָרָא *one* (sc. any *one who named it*, see the Rem.) *called* (or *calls*), Gen. 11, 9. 16, 14. Ex. 15, 23, comp. Is. 9, 5; וַיֹּאמֶר *one said*, Gen. 48, 1. 1 Sam. 16, 4. 19, 22²; other examples are Gen. 38, 28 *one put out a hand*; Num. 23, 21. 1 Ki. 22, 38. Is. 6, 10 וְרָפָא לוֹ *and one heals them*; 8, 4 (אֵשׁ); 46, 7 (יִצְעַק); Am. 6, 12. Mic. 2, 4. Job 27, 23; by the 3rd singular feminine (יָלְדָה) Num. 26, 59.

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 הַקָּרֵא. As a matter of fact, such a complement sometimes occurs, e. g. Is. 16, 10 יִרְרֵף הַרְרֵף *the treacher treads out*, for *one treads out*; 28, 4. 24 (*doth one plow continually?*); Deut. 17, 6 (Ezek. 18, 32). Deut. 22, 8. 2 Sam. 17, 9 (Ezek. 33, 4). Jer. 9, 23; with an indeterminate participle (as in Arabic, e. g. *qāla qā'ilun, a sayer says, i. e. some one says*), e. g. Num. 6, 9. Amos 9, 1; cf. above, § 116. *t.* [Comp. Driver, on 1 Sam. 16, 4.]

f (b) Very frequently by the 3rd plural masculine, e. g. Gen. 29, 2 *for out of that well יִשְׁקוּ they watered* (German *tränkte man*) *the flocks*; 26, 18. 35, 5. 41, 14. 49, 31. 1 Ki. 1, 2. Is. 38, 16. Hos. 12, 9. Job 18, 18. 34, 20. Est. 2, 2. Neh. 2, 7.

¹ In 1 Sam. 9, 9 הָאִישׁ (prop. *the man*) is used in exactly the same sense as our *one*.

² Elsewhere in such cases וַיֹּאמְרוּ usually occurs (but not in the perfect, e. g. 1 Sam. 23, 22), so that it is doubtful whether the present reading of Gen. 48, 1, &c., would not be better explained according to § 7. *d*, note 2. In Gen. 48, 2 for the extraordinary וַיִּנָּד the common form וַיִּנְד is to be read; so in 50, 26 for וַיִּשְׁטֹם (after a plural) either וַיִּשְׁטֹם or the 3rd plur.; in 2 Ki. 21, 26 וַיִּקְבְּרוּ.

Rem. The 3rd plur. also is sometimes used to express an indefinite subject, *g* where the context does not admit of a human agent or at least not of several, e.g. Gen. 34, 27. 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. Job 7, 3 *wearisome nights* מְנַדְּלִי *have they allotted to me* (equivalent to *were allotted to me*; to make 'invisible powers' the subject is a merely artificial device); Job 4, 19. 6, 2. 18, 18. 19, 26. 34, 20. Ezek. 32, 25. Ps. 63, 11. Prov. 2, 22 (in parallelism with a passive); 9, 11.

(c) By the 2nd singular masculine, e.g. Is. 7, 25 לֹא-תָבוֹא שָׁמָּה *h* *one will (or can) not come thither* (prop. *thou wilt . . .*); Jer. 23, 37. Prov. 19, 25. 30, 28 (unless the reading should be תִּתְּפֵשׂ). Comp. also עַד-בֹּאֲךָ or simply בֹּאֲךָ (Gen. 10, 19. 30. 13, 10 בְּבֹאֲךָ) prop. *until thy coming*, i.e. *until one comes*.

(d) By the plural of the participle, e.g. Jer. 38, 23 *and all thy wives* *i* *and thy children* מוֹצִיִּים (prop. *are they bringing out*) *they will bring out*, &c.; comp. Is. 32, 12. Ezek. 13, 7. Neh. 6, 10 (*for some are coming to slay thee*) and the passages discussed above, § 116. ¹. In 1 Ki. 5, 1 the text is corrupt.

(e) By the passive, e.g. Gen. 4, 26 אָז הִנְחַל לְקִרְאָה *then (was it* *k* *begun =) began men to call upon, &c.*

4. A peculiar idiom, and one always confined to poetic language, *l* is the not infrequent occurrence of two subjects in a verbal sentence ², 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 ³. They are thus distinguished from the *accusatives* treated in § 117. *s*, with which they are often confused.

¹ That this form of expression also (see letter *g*) comes to be equivalent to a passive, is seen from the analogy of such Aramaic passages as Dan. 4, 22, which exclude any idea of human agency. Comp. Kautzsch, *Gramm. des Bibl. Aram.*, § 76. 2. *e* at the end, and in post.-bibl. Hebrew, e.g. *Pirqe Aboth* 2, 16. 3, 5 and elsewhere.

² Two subjects occur in a noun-clause in Ps. 83, 19.

³ In Ex. 6, 3 נִשְׁמָוִי is subordinated to the following passive נִדְרַעְתִּי (§ 121. *b*); in 1 Sam. 25, 26. 33 יָדִי, יָדְךָ are subjects to the infinitive absolute הִרְשָׁע, according to § 113. *gg*. In Ps. 69, 11 read וְאַעֲנֶה for וְאַכְבֶּה.

m (a) Examples where the subject denoting the *thing* precedes, קוֹלִי אֶל־יְהוָה אֶקְרָא *my voice—I cry unto the Lord*, i. e. *I cry aloud unto the Lord*, Ps. 3, 5. 27, 7. 142, 2; פִּי־קָרָאתִי *my mouth—I cried*, i. e. *I cried aloud*, Ps. 66, 17 (comp. 17, 10); Is. 26, 9 נַפְשִׁי with *my soul*, i. e. *fervently*, and parallel with it אֶף־רִגְוִי; but נַפְשִׁי Ps. 57, 5 is rather a periphrasis for the 1st pers. *I*.

(b) Where the subject denoting the *thing* follows, צִהֵלִי קוֹלִי *cry—thy voice* (i. e. *aloud*), Is. 10, 30; so also after an imperative, Ps. 17, 13 (חַרְבֵךְ) and 14 (יָדֶךָ); 60, 7. 108, 7 (יְמִינֶךָ); after a perfect, Hab. 3, 15 (סוֹפֵיךָ); after a cohortative, Ps. 108, 2 (אֶף־כְּבוֹדִי). The subject denoting the *thing* stands between the personal subject and the predicate in Ps. 44, 3 יְרַךְ אֶתְּהָא¹.

n Rem. 1. Sometimes (as in other languages) an action is ascribed to a subject which can only have been performed at his direction by another person; comp. e. g. Gen. 40, 22 (41, 13). 41, 14. 43, 34 (*and he commanded to set before them*, &c.); 46, 29. 2 Sam. 12, 9.

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 Sam. 24, 11 after וַתִּקָּח either עֵינַי has dropped out (through confusion with עֵלְיָי) or we should read with the LXX וַתִּקָּח. In 2 Sam. 13, 39 (וַתִּבְלֶל דָּוִד) the text is obviously corrupt.

p 3. In poetic (or prophetic) language² 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 pers. (i. e. from an address to a statement), Gen. 49, 4 (?). Is. 22, 19. 31, 6 (?). 42, 20. Mal. 2, 15 (where, however, for יִבְזֹר we should undoubtedly read תִּבְזֹר); Ps. 22, 9; in a relative clause, Is. 54, 1, comp. also Is. 22, 16. 52, 14 sq. 61, 7. From the 3rd to the 2nd pers., Deut. 32, 15. Is. 1, 29 (?). 5, 8. Jer. 29, 19. Job 16, 7, comp. also Deut. 32, 17. From the 1st to the 3rd pers., Lam. 3, 1 (in a relative clause). In Job 13, 28 the 3rd pers. וְהוּא is probably employed δεικτικῶς for the 1st.

§ 145. Agreement between the Members of a Sentence, especially between Subject and Predicate, in respect of Gender and Number.

a 1. As in other languages, so also in Hebrew, the predicate in general conforms to the subject in gender and number (even when it is

¹ In several of the examples quoted above 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 treated 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, Ps. 89, 2. 109, 30. Job 19, 16, פִּי occurs with בְּ *instrumentale*, the explanation given above must nevertheless be accepted.

² In prose, Lev. 2, 8; but וַהֲקִיבָה here is hardly the original reading. Different from this is Gen. 26, 7, where there is a transition to direct narration.

a pronoun, e.g. **וְאֵת בְּרִיתִי** *this is my covenant*, Gen. 17, 10). 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 letters *b-l* below), partly to the position of the predicate (regarded as being without gender) *before* the subject.

2. Singular nouns which include in themselves a collective idea (*b* § 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:—

(*a*) Of collectives proper: (*a*) with the predicate preceding, Gen. 30, 38 *c* **תְּבֹאֵהוּ הַצֹּאֵן** (comp. verse 39. 31, 8 and 33, 13); Jud. 1, 22 sq. **בְּיַת** representing persons belonging to the tribe; Mic. 4, 3 **גֹּיִם**; 2 Ki. 25, 5 **חֵיל** *army*; Prov. 11, 26 **לְאֻמֹּת** *the people*; Num. 10, 3 **כָּל־הָעֵדָה** *all the congregation* (comp. 1 Ki. 8, 5); 1 Ki. 1, 40. Is. 9, 8. 25, 3. Amos 1, 5 **עַם**; 1 Sam. 17, 47. Ezra 10, 12 **קְהָל** *assembly*. Comp. also the construction of national names, as **אַרְם** (§ 122. *i*), e.g. 1 Ki. 20, 20 **וַיִּנְסוּ אַרְם** *and the Syrians fled*; 1 Sam. 4, 5.—(*β*) with the predicate following, 1 Ki. 8, 5 **צֹאֵן וּבָקָר** *sheep and oxen*, construed with the plural in the following relative clause; Job 1, 14 **הַבָּקָר הָיוּ חֹרְשׁוֹת** *the cattle (cows) were ploughing*; 2 Sam. 3, 1 and 1 Chron. 10, 6 **בְּיַת** = *family*, and in a place-name, 1 Sam. 6, 13; Hos. 11, 7. Ezra 4, 4 **עַם**; Ps. 68, 11 **חֲזָה** *herd*; Is. 26, 19 **נִבְלָה** *a heap of dead bodies*; Is. 27, 11 **קִצִּיר** *boughs*; 1 Sam. 4, 1 **יִשְׂרָאֵל**, preceded by a predicate in the singular.

(*b*) Of substantives occasionally used as collectives: (*a*) with the predicate *d* preceding, Gen. 34, 24 **וְזָכָר**; Jud. 9, 55. 15, 10 **אִישׁ**; Is. 16, 4 **רֵמֶס** *the treader down*.—(*β*) with the predicate following, Job 8, 19 **אַחֵר** = *others*; Ezek. 28, 3 **סֵתֵימִים** *a secret*.

(*c*) Of feminines as collective terms denoting masculine persons: (*a*) with the *e* predicate preceding, 1 Sam. 17, 46 **וַיִּדְעוּ כָּל־הָאָרֶץ** *that all the earth may know*, i. e. all the inhabitants of the earth; cf. Deut. 9, 28. Ps. 66, 1. 96, 1. 9, &c.; Amos 1, 8 **שְׁאֵרִית** *remnant*.—(*β*) with the predicate following, Gen. 41, 57. 2 Sam. 15, 23. 1 Ki. 10, 24. Ps. 33, 8 **(כָּל־הָאָרֶץ)**; Gen. 48, 6 **מוֹלְדֹת** *issue*; 1 Sam. 2, 33 **כָּל־מְרִבֵּית** *all the increase*; Job 30, 12 **פְּרִיחָה** *rabble*. In Hag. 2, 7 read **חֲמֹדֹת** with the LXX.

Examples of predicates in the singular, notwithstanding the collective meaning *f* of the subject, occur in Gen. 35, 11. Ex. 10, 24. 14, 10. Deut. 1, 39, &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 *g* the predicate precedes; see letter *o* below), but is carried on, after the collective

subject has been mentioned, in the plural; e.g. Ex. 1, 20 וַיִּרְבּוּ הָעָם וַיַּעֲצִמוּ מְאֹד and the people multiplied, and waxed very mighty; 33, 4.

h 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 Gen. 1, 1, 3, &c. (see, however, the Rem.); אֲדֹנָיִם *master*, Ex. 21, 4, בָּעֲלָיִם *master, owner*, Ex. 21, 29; comp., moreover, פְּנִים with the singular, 2 Sam. 10, 9. Job 16, 16 *Keth.*, רַחֲמִים Prov. 12, 10.—So feminine forms with a masculine meaning are construed with a masculine predicate, e.g. Eccles. 12, 9 הִיא קֹהֶלֶת חָכָם *the preacher was wise*.

i Rem. The construction of אֱלֹהִים *God* with the plural of the predicate may be explained (apart of course from such passages as 1 Ki. 19, 2, 20, 10, 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; comp. his commentary on Numbers—Joshua, p. 618, and above, § 124. *g*, note 2. So Gen. 20, 13 (but in conversation with a heathen); 31, 53. 35, 7, comp. also Jos. 24, 19. That this construction was afterwards studiously avoided from fear of misconception, is shown by such passages as Neh. 9, 18 compared with Ex. 32, 4, 8, and 1 Chron. 17, 21 compared with 2 Sam. 7, 23. Cf. Strack's excursus in *Die Bücher Gen. Exod. Lev. und Num.*, Munich, 1894, p. 67 sq.

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 predicate¹ (on the collective sense of the feminine form, cf. § 122. *s*); thus Joel 1, 20 בְּהֵמוֹת שָׂדֵה תַעֲרֹג *the beasts of the field long*; Jer. 12, 4 (where the predicate precedes), comp. also Job 12, 7; names of things with the predicate preceding occur in 2 Sam. 24, 13. Is. 34, 13. Jer. 4, 14. 51, 29. Ps. 18, 35. 37, 31. 73, 2 *Keth.* 103, 5. Job 14, 19. 27, 20; with the predicate following, Gen. 49, 22 (בְּנֹת = *branches*); Deut. 21, 7. 1 Sam. 4, 15 (וַיִּזְיֶינָהוּ קָמָה)².

¹ Comp. 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* (collective forms).

² 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. Joel 1, 20. Ps. 37, 31. 103, 5.

Is. 59, 12. Jer. 2, 15 *K^{eth.}*; 4, 14. 48, 41. 49, 24. Prov. 15, 22. 20, 18. Job 20, 11. 41, 10¹.

5. Moreover, the plurals of persons (especially in the participle) *l* are 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 Gen. 27, 29 (Num. 24, 9) אָרַר וּמָבְרַךְ those that curse thee, cursed be every one of them, and those that bless thee, blessed be every one of them; Ex. 31, 14. Lev. 17, 14 and 19, 8 (in both places the Samaritan has אָבְלוּ); Is. 3, 12 unless נִגְשִׁי is to be regarded as a *pluralis maiestatis* according to § 124. g; Prov. 3, 18. 35 (?). 18, 21 (?). 21, 27 b. 27, 16. 28, 1 b. 28, 16 *K^{eth.}*

Rem. Analogous to the examples above mentioned is the somewhat frequent² *m* use of suffixes in the singular (distributively) referring to plurals; comp. the verbal-suffixes in Deut. 21, 10. 28, 48. Amos 6, 10; and the noun-suffixes in Is. 2, 8. 30, 22. Jer. 31, 15. Hos. 4, 8. Zech. 14, 12. Ps. 5, 10 (where, however, פִּימוּ is clearly to be read with all the early versions); 62, 5. 141, 10 (?). Job 38, 32. Eccles. 10, 15; finally, the suffixes with prepositions in Is. 2, 20 אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה לָהּ which they made each one for himself; according to others, which they (the makers) made for him; 5, 26. 8, 20. Job 24, 5, in each case לָהּ; in Gen. 2, 19 לָהּ refers to the collectives חַיָּה and עוֹף; comp. further, Is. 5, 23 מְפַנְנֵי after צְדִיקִים, and 1 Sam. 5, 10 אֲלֵי after הַעֲקָרְנִים. Conversely in Mic. 1, 11 לְבָרִי [cf. Jer. 13, 20 *K^{eth.}*], but the text is undoubtedly corrupt.

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, Gen. 29, 17 לְאֵה רַבּוֹת and Leah's eyes were dull; 2 Sam. 24, 3. Is. 30, 20. Jer. 14, 6. Mic. 7, 10. Ps. 18, 28. 38, 11 (on the other hand, in 1 Sam. 4, 15 the predicate is in the feminine singular after the subject, and in Mic. 4, 11 before it; comp. for both, letter *k* above); so also אָזְנַיִם ears, 2 Chron. 6, 40; יָדַיִם hands, Is. 1, 15. Job 10, 8. 20, 10 (in Ex. 17, 12 even with the plural masculine פְּבַדִּים; cf. letter *p*); שְׁפָתַיִם lips, 1 Sam. 1, 13. Job 27, 4; שְׁדַיִם breasts, Hos. 9, 14.

7. Variations from the fundamental rule (see above, letter *a*) very *o* frequently occur when the predicate precedes the subject (denoting

¹ In Prov. 14, 1 an abstract plural חֲכָמוֹת (to be read thus with 9, 1, &c., instead of חֲכָמוֹת) is construed with the singular; but comp. § 124. e.

² In several of the above examples the text is doubtful, and hence Mayer Lambert (*Revue des études juives*, xxiv. 110) rejects the theory of distributive singulars generally.

animals or things¹). 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 indefinite². Thus inflexions are omitted in—

(a) The verb, with a following singular feminine, Is. 2, 17 **וְיִטַּח** **וְנִבְהוּת הָאָרֶץ** and bowed down shall be the loftiness of man; 9, 18. 14, 11. 28, 18. 47, 11; 1 Sam. 25, 27 (see note 1 below); 1 Ki. 8, 31. 22, 36. 2 Ki. 3, 26. Jer. 51, 46. Eccles. 7, 7; with a following plural masc., Is. 13, 22 **וְעָנָה אֵיִם** and there shall cry wolves, &c.; Jud. 13, 17 *Kth*. 20, 46. 1 Sam. 1, 2. 4, 10. 2 Sam. 24, 15. 1 Ki. 13, 33. Jer. 51, 48. Ps. 124, 5. Est. 9, 23 (see note 1 below); Gen. 1, 14 **יְהִי מְאֹרֹת** let there be lights; with a following plural feminine, Deut. 32, 35. Is. 8, 8. Jer. 13, 18. Mic. 2, 6. Ps. 57, 2; before collectives and mixed subjects, e.g. Gen. 12, 16. 13, 5. 30, 43. 32, 6, &c.; before a following dual, Is. 44, 18. Ps. 73, 7 (where, however, with the LXX **עֲוֹנָמוּ** should be read).

p Rem. 1. The instances in which a preceding predicate appears in the plural masculine before a plural (or collective singular) feminine of persons (Jud. 21, 21. 1 Ki. 11, 3), of animals (Gen. 30, 39) or of things (Lev. 26, 33. Jer. 13, 16. Hos. 14, 7. Ps. 16, 4. Job 3, 24. Cant. 6, 9), or before a dual (2 Sam. 4, 1. Zeph. 3, 16. 2 Chron. 15, 7) are to be explained not on the analogy of the examples under letter *o*, but from a dislike of using the 3rd plur. fem. imperf. (for this is the only form concerned in the above examples; comp., however, Nah. 3, 11 **תְּהִי** instead of **תְּהִי**); comp. the examples of a following predicate in the 3rd plur. masc., instead of the fem., under letters *t* and *u*, and on an analogous phenomenon in the imperative, see § 110. *k*.

q 2. As in the case of verbs proper so also the verb **הָיָה**, when used as a copula, frequently remains uninflected before the subject; comp. Gen. 5, 23 sqq. 39, 5. Dent. 21, 3 (according to the accents); 22, 23. Is. 18, 5 **נֶצְחָה יְהִיָּה נֶצְחָה** and a ripening grape the flower becometh.

r (b) The adjective in a noun-clause, e.g. Ps. 119, 137 **יָשָׁר מִשְׁפָּטֶיךָ** upright are thy judgements; comp. verse 155³. In German also the adjective as predicate remains uninflected.—On the other hand,

¹ Only rarely does an uninflected predicate precede a personal subject, as 1 Sam. 25, 27 (but **הִבְיָאָה** should probably be read, as in verse 35); Est. 9, 23 (before a plur. masc.). Such examples as Job 42, 15 are to be explained according to § 121. *a*.

² In a certain sense this is analogous to the German *es kommt ein Mann; eine Frau, &c.*

³ This does not include such cases as Job 24, 7. 10, where **עָרוֹם** is rather to be explained as an accusative denoting a state, § 118. *u*.

רָעָה in עֲבָדֶיךָ רָעָה צֵאן *thy servants are shepherds*, Gen. 47, 3, is either an unusual orthography or simply a misspelling for רָעִי.

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. Gen. 1, 14 וְהָיוּ . . . מְאֹרֹת יְהִי (see letter *o* above); Num. 9, 6. Ezek. 14, 1; comp. also Gen. 30, 39 (see letter *p* above).

2. The dislike mentioned in letter *p* above, of using the feminine form (comp., further, § 144. *a*, with the sections of the Grammar referred to there, and below, letter *u*), is exemplified sometimes by the fact that of several predicates only that which stands next to the feminine substantive is inflected as feminine; thus in Is. 14, 9 רָנְנָה, and afterwards עֹרֵר; 33, 9 אֲבַל אֲמַלְלָה אֲרָץ mourneth, languisheth the land. Comp. Jer. 4, 30, and the examples (§ 47. *k*) where only the earlier of several consecutive forms of the 2nd sing. fem. imperf. are provided with the affirmative *l*, Is. 57, 8. Jer. 3, 5. Ezek. 22, 4. 23, 32 (תִּשְׁתַּיִת after תִּהְיֶה); on the converse sequence of genders in imperatives, Nah. 3, 15, comp. § 110. *k*.—Of a different kind are instances like Lev. 2, 1. 5, 1. 20, 6, where נִפְשׁ person (fem.) as the narrative continues, assumes (in agreement with the context) the sense of a masculine person.

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. Gen. 32, 9 read with the Samaritan הִאֲחַת instead of הָאֲחַת; וְהָיָה then follows correctly; 1 Sam. 2, 20 read with Wellhausen שָׂאֵל, according to 1, 28, instead of שָׂאֵל; 1 Sam. 16, 4 read וַיִּאֲמָרוּ; 2 Sam. 14, 10 read וַהֲבִיאֶתוּ; Ezek. 18, 29 instead of יִתְּכֶן read the plural as in verse 25; so also Ezek. 20, 38 for יִבֹּא, and in Job 6, 20 for בְּמַתָּה; in Lam. 5, 10 read נִכְמָר, and comp. in general, § 7. *d*, note 2; 1 Chron. 2, 48 read יִלְרָה; in Jer. 48, 15 the text is certainly corrupt. Other instances are due to special reasons. The variations in Is. 49, 11. Hos. 14, 1. Prov. 1, 16 (after רִנְנִלְיוֹ), Ps. 11, 4 (after עֲיִנְיוֹ), Prov. 5, 2. 10, 21. 32. 18, 6. 26, 23. Job 15, 6 (all after שְׁפָתַיִם), Prov. 3, 2 (after מְצִוֹתַי), Ps. 102, 28. Job 16, 22 (after שְׁנוֹת), Dan. 11, 41 (read וַרְבוּת), and perhaps Gen. 20, 17 are also to be explained (see letter *p*) from the dislike of the 3rd plur. fem. imperf.; moreover, in Jer. 44, 19. Prov. 26, 23 even the plur. masc. of a participle occurs instead of the plur. fem.—In Gen. 31, 8 sq. וְהָיָה, after a plural subject, is explained as a case of attraction to the following singular predicate².—In Gen. 4, 7 רֹבֵץ is a substantival participle (*a lurker, a coucher*). In Gen. 47, 24 וְהָיָה remains undefined in gender (masc.), although the noun precedes for the sake of emphasis; so also in Ex. 12, 49. 28, 7. 32. Num. 9, 14. 15, 29. Jer. 50, 46. Eccles. 2, 7 (וְהָיָה לִי) as if the sentence began afresh, *and servants born in my*

¹ יִבֹּא probably an error for יִבְאוּ. The Masora on Lev. 11, 34 reckons fourteen instances of יִבֹּא, where we should expect the plural.

² So also the pronoun הוּא emphatically resuming the subject (see § 141. *h*) is attracted to the predicate in number in Jos. 13, 14 הוּא נַחֲלָתוֹ . . . אֲשֵׁי יְהוָה . . . that is his inheritance; in number and gender, Lev. 25, 33 *Q^rl*; Jer. 10, 3.

house . . . there fell to my lot this possession also).—In Job 20, 26 אֵשׁ־נִפְחָה may (unless אֵשׁ is regarded as masculine, § 122. o) be taken impersonally, *fire, without its being blown* upon it.—In Is. 16, 8 and Hab. 3, 17 the predicate in the singular is explained from the collective character of שְׂרָמוֹת (see letter *h* above); on the other hand, the masculine form of the predicate is abnormal in Ps. 87, 3. Prov. 2, 10. 12, 25. 29, 25. Job 8, 7.

§ 146. Construction of Compound Subjects.

a 1. When the subject is composed of a nomen regens (in the construct 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 subject¹. Thus 1 Sam. 2, 4 קֶשֶׁת גְּבִרִים חֲתִים *the bow of the mighty men is broken*, as if it were *the mighty men with their bow are broken*; Ex. 26, 12. Lev. 13, 9. 1 Ki. 1, 41. 17, 16. Is. 2, 11. 21, 17. Job 15, 20. 21, 21. 29, 10. 32, 7 (רַב שָׁנִים equivalent to *many years*); 38, 21; with the predicate preceding, 2 Sam. 10, 9, unless it is to be explained according to § 145. *k*.

b Rem. 1. The cases in which קוֹל (*voice, sound*) with a following genitive 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. Gen. 4, 10 *the voice of thy brother's blood, which crieth* (prop. as *crying*, § 108. *p*) . . .! = *hark! thy brother's blood is crying*, &c.; Lev. 13, 9. Is. 13, 4. 66, 6. In Is. 52, 8 an independent verbal-clause follows the exclamation *the voice of thy watchmen!* in Jer. 10, 22 and Cant. 2, 8 an independent noun-clause; in Is. 40, 3 קוֹל קָרָא *the voice of one that crieth!* i. e. *hark! there is one crying* is followed immediately by the direct discourse; in Mic. 6, 9 קוֹל *hark!* may be used disconnectedly (cf. the almost adverbial use of קוֹל in § 144. *m*) and יְהוָה be taken as the subject to יִקְרָא.

c 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, Gen. 5, 5 וַיְהִי כָּל־יְמֵי אָדָם *and all the days of Adam were*, &c. (in 9; 29 וַיְהִי; but the Samaritan reads וַיְהִי here also); Ex. 15, 20; with the predicate following, Ps. 150, 6 and elsewhere. Exceptions are, e. g. Lev. 17, 14 (but cf. § 145. *l*). Is. 64, 10. Prov. 16, 2. Nah. 3, 7. On the other hand, in such cases as Ex. 12, 16 the agreement of the predicate with כָּל- is explained from the stress laid upon the latter, כָּל־מְלֶאכֶת לֹא being equivalent to *nothing at all of work*.

¹ Sometimes, however, the attraction of the predicate to the genitive may be merely due to juxtaposition.

2. When the subject of the sentence consists of several nouns *d* connected by *wāw copulative*, usually

(a) The predicate *following* is put in the plural, e. g. Gen. 8, 22 *seed time and harvest, and cold and heat . . . shall not cease* (לֹא יִשְׁבְּתוּ); after subjects of different genders in the masculine (as the *prior gender*, cf. § 132. d), e. g. Gen. 18, 11 אֲבִרָהָם וְשָׂרָה וְקַיִם *Abraham and Sarah were old*; Deut. 28, 32. 1 Ki. 1, 21.

Rem. Rare exceptions are Prov. 27, 9 שִׁמּוֹן וְקִטְרֹת יִשְׂמְחוּ לֵב *ointment and e perfume rejoice the heart*, where the predicate agrees in gender with the masculine שִׁמּוֹן; on the other hand, in Ex. 21, 4 (where הָאִשָּׁה וְיֹלְדֶיהָ are the subjects) it agrees with הָאִשָּׁה as being the principal person; in the compound sentence, Is. 9, 4, it agrees with the feminine subject immediately preceding¹.

(b) The predicate *preceding* two or more subjects may likewise *f* be used in the plural (Gen. 40, 1. Job 3, 5 and elsewhere); 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 Gen. 9, 23. 11, 29. 21, 32. 24, 50. 34, 20. Jud. 14, 5; before a masculine and a feminine singular, e. g. Gen. 3, 8. 24, 55 *then said* (וַיֹּאמֶר) *her brother and her mother*; 33, 7; before a masculine singular and a plural, e. g. Gen. 7, 7 וַיִּבֶן נֹחַ וּבָנָיו *and Noah went in, and his sons, &c.*; Gen. 8, 18 (where feminines plural also follow); 44, 14. Ex. 15, 1. 2 Sam. 5, 21; before collectives feminine and masculine, 2 Sam. 12, 2.

Similarly, the feminine singular occurs before several feminines *g* singular, e. g. Gen. 31, 14 וַתַּעַן רָחֵל וְלֵאָה *then answered Rachel and Leah*; before a feminine singular and a feminine plural, e. g. Gen. 24, 61; before a feminine singular and a masculine singular, Num. 12, 1 וַתִּדְבַר מִרְיָם וְאַהֲרֹן *then spake Miriam and Aaron*; Jud. 5, 1; before a feminine singular and a masculine plural, e. g. Gen. 33, 7 (comp., on the other hand, Ps. 75, 4 וְכָל-יֹשְׁבֵיהָ אֶרֶץ נִמְזְגִים *dissolved are the earth and all the inhabitants thereof*). The plural feminine occurs before a plural feminine and a plural masculine in Amos 8, 13.—In Jer. 44, 25 אֲתֵם וְנִשְׁיֵכֶם read אֲתֵם הַנְּשִׁים with the LXX, and cf. verse 19.

(c) When other predicates follow after the subjects have been *h* mentioned, they are necessarily put in the plural; comp. Ex. 21, 32. 24, 61. 31, 4. 33, 7, &c., and § 145. s.

¹ Similarly with a mixed object, Gen. 33, 2 *he put . . . Leah and her children אַחֲרֵיהֶם after*; אַחֲרֵיהֶם agrees with the masculine immediately preceding.

§ 147. *Incomplete Sentences.*

- a* 1. Sentences are called *incomplete*, in which either the subject or the predicate or both must in some way be supplied from the context¹. Besides the instances enumerated in § 116. *s* (omission of the personal pronoun when subject of a participial clause) and the periphrases for negative attributes § 152. *u*, this description includes certain (noun-) clauses introduced by הִנֵּה (see letter *b* below), and also a number of exclamations of the most varied kinds (see letter *c* below).
- b* 2. The demonstrative particle הִנֵּה, הִנֵּה *en, ecce* may be used either absolutely (as a kind of interjection, comp. § 105. *b*) before complete noun- or verbal-clauses, e. g. Gen. 28, 15 וְהִנֵּה אֲנֹכִי עִמָּךָ *and, behold! I am with thee*; 37, 7. 48, 21. Ex. 3, 13. 34, 10, or may take the pronoun, which would be the natural subject of a noun-clause, in the form of a suffix, see § 100. *o*. Whether these suffixes are to be regarded as in the accusative has been shown to be doubtful in § 100. *p*. However, in the case of הִנֵּה the analogy of the corresponding Arabic demonstrative particle 'inna (followed by an accusative of the noun) is significant². If הִנֵּה with a suffix and a following adjective or participle (see the examples in § 116. *p* and *q*) forms a noun-clause, the subject proper, to which הִנֵּה with the suffix refers, must, strictly speaking, be supplied again before the predicate³. Sometimes, however, the pronoun referring to the subject is wanting, and the simple הִנֵּה takes the place of the subject and copula (as Gen. 18, 9 בְּאֵהָלָהּ הִנֵּה הִיא *behold she is in the tent*; 42, 28), 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

¹ This does not apply to such cases as Gen. 33, 8, where an infinitive with הִנֵּה appears alone in answer to a question, the substance of the question being presupposed as a main clause; comp. also Gen. 26, 7, where הִיא must again be supplied after אֲשַׁתִּי.

² On the same analogy any substantive following הִנֵּה would have to be regarded as originally a virtual accusative. Since, however, Hebrew does not possess case-terminations (as the Arabic does, and uses the accusative necessarily after 'inna), it is very doubtful whether, and how far, substantives following הִנֵּה were felt to be accusatives.

³ That these are real noun-clauses and that the participle (e. g. הִנֵּה in הִנֵּה גֵּרָה Gen. 20, 3) cannot be taken as a second accusative (something like *ecce te moriturum*), is also shown by the analogy of Arabic, where after 'inna with an accusative the predicate is expressly in the *nominative*.

an address. Elsewhere a substantive follows הַיְהִי (or הֵן Gen. 11, 6. Job 31, 35), and הַיְהִי then includes the meaning of a demonstrative pronoun and the copula, e.g. Gen. 22, 7 וְהָעֵצִים הָאֵשׁ הַיְהִי *here is the fire and the wood, &c.*; 12, 19 *behold thou hast thy wife!* Ex. 24, 8; with reference to the past, e.g. Amos 7, 1 וְהַיְהִי לְקֵשׁ וְג' *and, lo, it was the latter growth, &c.* By a very pregnant construction the simple הַיְהִי is used as the equivalent of a sentence in Job 9, 19 *lo, here am I!*

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. Jud. 7, 20 *a sword for the Lord and for Gideon!* (verse 18 without הַחֶרֶב); 2 Sam. 20, 1 and 2 Chron. 10, 16 (comp. also 1 Ki. 22, 36) *every man to his tents, O Israel!* (i.e. *let every man go to or remain in his tent!*); the same exclamation without אִישׁ 1 Ki. 12, 16; moreover, Is. 1, 28. 13, 4 (on the exclamatory קוֹל equivalent to *hark!* cf. § 146. b); 28, 10. 29, 16 (הַפְּכָכָם) *O your perversity!* i.e. *how great it is!*); Jer. 49, 16 (if תִּפְלִצְתָּךְ be equivalent to *terror be upon thee!*); Joël 4, 14. Mal. 1, 13 (הַיְהִי מִתְלַצָּה) *behold what a weariness!*); Job 22, 29; perhaps also Gen. 49, 4 פָּחוּ בַּמַּיִם *a bubbling over as water* (sc. happened), unless it is better to supply a subject אַתָּה (*thou wast*).—(b) With suppression of the subject, Job 15, 23 אַיִה *where* sc. is bread?—(c) With suppression of both subject and predicate, Jud. 7, 18 (see above); 1 Ki. 12, 16 (see above); 2 Ki. 9, 27 אִתּוֹ גַּם *him also!* explained immediately afterwards by הִבְהוּ *smite him!* Hos. 5, 8 *after thee, Benjamin!* sc. is the enemy (differently in Jud. 5, 14); Ps. 6, 4. 90, 13. Hab. 2, 6 עֲדֵר-מַתִּי; Ps. 74, 9 עֲדֵר-מָה.—On וְלֹא *and if not*, 2 Sam. 13, 26. 2 Ki. 5, 17, see § 159. dd.

Rem. 1. To the class of incomplete sentences naturally belong exclamations introduced by interjections אַתָּה, אֹי, הוּי, הֵם¹; comp. § 105. The object of the *threat* or *imprecation* (with אֹי) follows regularly (except Ezek. 24, 6. 9) with לְ (comp. *vae tibi*), e.g. לָנוּ אֹי *woe unto us!* 1 Sam. 4, 8. Is. 6, 5; on the other hand, the object of *commiseration* (with הוּי) follows mostly in the vocative, or rather in the accusative of exclamation (comp. *vae te* in Plautus); so in lamentation for the dead, אֲחִי הוּי *alas, my brother!* 1 Ki. 13, 30. Jer. 22, 18; גוֹי הַטָּמֵא הוּי *ah sinful nation!*

¹ We do not consider here the cases in which these interjections (e.g. הֵם Jud. 3, 19. Amos 6, 10) stand quite disconnectedly (so always הָאֵשׁ and הַחֶרֶב).

Is. 1, 4, 5, 8, 11, 18, 20, 22, &c. (with אֵל Jer. 48, 1; עַל 50, 27. Ezek. 13, 3; לֵי Ezek. 13, 18). אֲהָהּ occurs in the expression (יִהְיֶה) אֲהָהּ Jos. 7, 7, &c. (10 times); and in אֲהָהּ לַיּוֹם *alas for the day!* Joel 1, 15. For הָהּ comp. Hab. 2, 20. Zeph. 1, 7. Zech. 2, 17 absolutely, Jud. 3, 19. Am. 6, 10, 8, 3.

- e* 2. Finally, instances of noun-clauses shortened in an unusual manner may perhaps occur in יְרִיחֶם and רְגִלֵיחֶם Ps. 115, 7, for לָהֶם יְרִיחִים *they have hands*, &c.; comp. verses 5 and 6 פִּתְחֵי-לֶחֶם, &c. Perhaps also וּפְיִלְגִישׁוֹ Gen. 22, 24, and וְחַלְיוֹ Eccles. 5, 16 (but hardly נִבְיֵי-אֲכָם Num. 12, 6; cf. § 128. *d* above) are to be regarded in the same way.

II. Special Kinds of Sentences.

§ 148. Exclamations.

- a* The originally interrogative מָה is used to introduce exclamations expressing wonder or indignation = *O how!* or ridicule, *why! how!* sometimes strengthened by וְהָ or וְהֵאֵת 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 Job 31, 1) with the imperfect; an exclamation of lamentation by אֵיכָה, less frequently אֵיךְ *how!* in Joel 1, 18 by מָה.

Examples:—

- b* מָה (or מָה־רַחֵם with a following *Dageš*, see § 37) expressing admiration (or astonishment) before verbal-clauses, e.g. Gen. 27, 20 (מָה־רַחֵם); 38, 29. Num. 24, 5 (*how goodly are . . .!*); Cant. 7, 2; before the predicate of noun-clauses, e.g. Gen. 28, 17. Ps. 8, 2; mockingly before the verb, 2 Sam. 6, 20 (*how glorious was . . .!*); Jer. 22, 23. Job 26, 2 sq.; indignantly, Gen. 3, 13 מָה־רָאֵת; 4, 10, 20, 9, 31, 26 *what hast thou done!*

אֵיךְ with the perfect, e.g. Gen. 26, 9. Ps. 73, 19; in scornful exclamation, Is. 14, 4, 12; in a lament (usually אֵיכָה), 2 Sam. 1, 25, 27; with the imperfect, in a reproachful question, Gen. 39, 9, 44, 8. Ps. 11, 1, 137, 4; in a mocking imitation of lament, Mic. 2, 4.

אֵיכָה with the perfect, Is. 1, 21. Lam. 1, 1; with the imperfect, Lam. 2, 1, 4, 1.

- c* Rem. 1. The close relation between a question and an exclamation appears also in the interrogative personal pronoun מִי in such cases as Mic. 7, 18 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 § 151. *a*.

- d* 2. A weaker form of exclamation is sometimes produced by the insertion of a corroborative כִּי *verily, surely*, before the predicate, Gen. 18, 20; comp. 33, 11. Is. 7, 9, and the analogous cases in the apodoses of conditional sentences, § 159. *cc*.

§ 149. *Sentences which express an Oath or Asseveration.*

The particle אִם, in the sense of *certainly not*, and אִם-לֹא (rarely כִּי *a* Gen. 22, 16) in the sense of *certainly*, are used to introduce promises or threats confirmed by an oath (especially after such formulae as חַי־יְהוָה חַי־נַפְשֶׁךָ, חַי־אָנֹכִי, &c., as well as after imprecations, see below), and also simple asseverations, e.g. 2 Sam. 20, 20. Job 27, 5 after לֹא-יָלִיחַ מִי לִי *far be it from me*, but mostly without any introductory formula.

Rem. No certain explanation of these particles has yet been given. According *b* 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 spoken by Yahweh, as in Deut. 1, 34 sq. Is. 14, 24. 22, 14. Jer. 22, 6. Ezek. 3, 6. 35, 6. Ps. 95, 11. 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 Sam. 25, 22, where, instead of a self-imprecation, a curse is pronounced upon others, read לְרֹדֶךָ with the LXX for לְאַיְבֵי רֹדֶךָ.

Examples:—

(a) The particles אִם and אִם-לֹא used after the utterance of an oath and after *c* formulae of swearing, e.g. 2 Sam. 11, 11 (see note on letter *a*) חַי־יְהוָה וְחַי־נַפְשֶׁךָ אִם-אֶעֱשֶׂה אֶת-הַדָּבָר הַזֶּה *as the Lord liveth, and as thy soul liveth, I will not do this thing*; 1 Sam. 14, 45. 2 Ki. 5, 16 (after חַי־יְהוָה; in 1 Sam. 14, 39 and 28, 6 חַי־ is followed by a simple כִּי); Cant. 2, 7. 3, 5 (after הַשְׁבַּעְתִּי *I adjure you*); comp. also Gen. 14, 23. 21, 23. 26, 29; spoken by Yahweh, Deut. 1, 34 sq. 1 Sam. 3, 14. Ps. 95, 11; similarly אִם-לֹא Gen. 24, 37 sq.; spoken by Yahweh, Is. 14, 24, 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, 6; in Gen. 31, 52 the negative oath introduced by אִם-אָתָּה, אִם-אָנֹכִי is immediately afterwards continued by לֹא with the imperfect.—In Ezek. 34, 10 the threat introduced in verse 8 by אִם-לֹא is, after a long parenthesis, resumed with הִנְנִי.

(b) אִם and אִם-לֹא after formulae of cursing, e.g. 1 Sam. 3, 17 כֹּה יַעֲשֶׂה-לְךָ *d* כֹּה יְהוָה וְכֹה יִסְיַף אִם-תִּכְחַד מִמֶּנִּי דָבָר וְגו' *God do so to thee, and more also! thou shalt not hide anything from me, &c.*; comp. 1 Sam. 25, 22. On the other hand, כִּי introduces the facts sworn to, in 1 Sam. 14, 44. 1 Ki. 2, 23 (here with a perfect), and in 2 Sam. 3, 35 אִם כִּי; in 1 Sam. 25, 34 the preceding כִּי is repeated before אִם; in 1 Sam. 20, 13 the purport of the asseveration is repeated (after the insertion of a conditional sentence) in the perfect consecutive.

¹ Also combined חַי־יְהוָה וְחַי־נַפְשֶׁךָ 1 Sam. 20, 3. 25, 26 *as the Lord liveth, and as thy soul (i. e. thou) liveth!* (Also in 2 Sam. 11, 11 read חַי־יְהוָה instead of the impossible חַיֶּךָ). On חַי and חַיִּי in these noun-clauses (prop. *living is the Lord, &c.*), cf. § 93. *aa*, note.

- e* (c) אִם and אִם-לֹא as simple particles of asseveration, e.g. Jud. 5, 8 מִיָּגֵן אִם-יִרְאָה *truly, there was not a shield and spear seen, &c.*; Is. 22, 14. Job 6, 28 (in the middle of the sentence); after אִם-לֹא *absit*, twice repeated, 2 Sam. 20, 20; אִם-לֹא with the perfect, Job 22, 20.

§ 150. Interrogative Sentences.

- a* 1. A question need not necessarily be introduced by a special interrogative pronoun or adverb. Frequently the natural emphasis upon the words (especially when the most emphatic word is placed at the beginning of the sentence) is of itself sufficient to indicate an interrogative sentence as such; comp. Gen. 27, 24 אַתָּה זֶה בְּנִי עֵשָׂו *thou art my son Esau?* Gen. 18, 12. Ex. 33, 14 ('פָּנַי'); 1 Sam. 11, 12 וְיִמְלֹךְ עָלֵינוּ שָׁאוּל *Saul shall reign over us?* 1 Sam. 22, 7. 2 Sam. 16, 17. 18, 29 שְׁלוֹם לְבָעַר *is it well with the young man?* 1 Sam. 16, 4. 1 Ki. 1, 24. Zech. 8, 6 (should it also be marvellous in mine eyes?). So especially, when the interrogative clause is connected with a preceding sentence by וְ, e.g. Jon. 4, 11 וְאֲנִי לֹא אֲחַחֵם *and I should not have pity?* Ex. 8, 22 וְלֹא יִדְּמוּ אֲנִי *will they not stone us?* Jud. 11, 23. 14, 16. 1 Sam. 20, 9. 24, 20. 25, 11. 2 Sam. 11, 11. Is. 37, 11. Jer. 25, 29. 45, 5. 49, 12. Ezek. 20, 31. Job 2, 10. 10, 9; or when (as in some of the examples just given) it is negative (with לֹא for הֲלֵא *nonne?*), e.g. 2 Sam. 23, 5 וְיִצְמִיחַ בִּי-לֹא *verily will he not make it to grow?* 2 Ki. 5, 26. Lam. 3, 38¹.
- b* Rem. The omission of the interrogative particle (הֲ, הִ) occurs especially before a following guttural for the sake of euphony (comp. § 126. 2); thus before נ, Gen. 18, 12. 27, 24. 1 Sam. 30, 8. 1 Ki. 1, 24. 21, 7. Job 14, 3 (as Dan. 5, 13 in Aramaic); before ה, 1 Sam. 22, 15. 2 Sam. 19, 23. Hab. 2, 19. Job 38, 18; before ח, 1 Sam. 21, 16; before ע, Gen. 19, 12. Ex. 9, 17. Job 2, 9; but comp. also Job 37, 18 and 39, 2 (before ת); 40, 30 (before י).
- c* 2. As a rule, however, the simple question is introduced by *He interrogative* הֲ (הִ; as to its form, cf. § 100. *k-n*) *ne? num?* the disjunctive question by הֲ (num? *utrum?*) in the first clause, and אִם (also וְאִם, less frequently אִם) *an?* in the second², e.g. 1 Ki. 22, 15 אִם נִחַחְנָה . . . אִם נִחַחְנָה *shall we go . . . or shall we forbear?*

¹ But in 1 Sam. 27, 10 instead of אִם-לֹא (which according to the usual explanation would expect a negative answer) read either אִם-לֹא-מִי (עַל-מִי) with the LXX, or better, אִן (אֲנָה) *whither*, with the Targum.

² Quite exceptional is the use of the particle אִין *num?* (common in Aramaic) in 1 Sam. 21, 9 וְאִין יִשְׁפֹּה *num est hic?* The text is, however, undoubtedly

The particular uses are as follows:—

(a) The particle הַ 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. Gen. 43, 7 הַעוֹד אֲבִיכֶם חַי הַיֵּשׁ לָכֶם אָח *is your father yet alive? have ye another brother?* for הַיֵּשׁ comp. Gen. 24, 23. 1 Sam. 9, 11; for הַכִּי *is it that?* Job 6, 22; for הַהֲבִי יֵשׁ *is there yet?* 2 Sam. 9, 1 (but in 2 Sam. 23, 19 for הַכִּי read הַנּוֹ with 1 Chron. 11, 25); for הַאִין *is there not?* 1 Ki. 22, 7 and elsewhere; or before verbal-clauses, e. g. Job 2, 3 הַשְׁמַתָּ לְבָבְךָ (הַשְׁמַתָּ לְבָבְךָ) *my servant Job?* In other cases הַ (equivalent to *num?*) is used before questions, to which, from their tone and contents, a negative answer is expected, e. g. Job 14, 14 *if a man die, הַיְהוּיָהּ 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 refusal⁴, e. g. 2 Sam. 7, 5 הַאֲמַתָּה תִבְנֶה-לִּי בַיִת *shall thou build me an house?* (in the parallel passage 1 Chron. 17, 4 לֹא אֲמַתָּה וּג' *thou shalt not, &c.*); Gen. 4, 9 הַשְׁמַר אָחִי אֲנָכִי *am I my brother's keeper?* comp. 2 Ki. 5, 7, and the two passages where הַ is used before the infinitive (*constr.* Job 34, 18, *absol.* Job 40, 2; comp. for both, § 113, *ee*, with the note).—On the other hand, in 1 Ki. 16, 31 for הַנִּקְלָה (after וַיְהִי) read הַנִּקְלָה.

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, Gen. 27, 36 הַכִּי קָרָא *prop. is it so that one names? &c.*, equivalent to *of a truth he is rightly named Jacob*; Gen. 29, 15 *verily thou art my brother*; 1 Sam. 2, 27 *I did indeed, &c.*; 1 Ki. 22, 3 *ye know surely . . .*; Job 20, 4.—In 1 Sam. 23, 19 (comp. Ps. 54, 2) a surprising communication is introduced in this way (by הַלֹּא) in order to show it to be absolutely true, and in Amos 9, 7 a concession is expressed by הַלֹּא *I have, it is true, &c.* Finally, we may include the formula of quotation הַלֹּא הִיא הַתּוֹבָה Jos. 10, 13 or הַלֹּא הֵם כְּתוֹבִים equivalent to *surely it is, they are* written (the latter in 1 Ki. 11, 41. 14, 29, and very often elsewhere in the Books of Kings and Chronicles), synonymous with the simple formula of assertion הִנֵּה כְּתוֹבָה 2 Sam. 1, 18, and הִנֵּם כְּתוֹבִים 1 Ki. 14, 19. 2 Ki. 15, 11. 2 Chron. 27, 7. 32, 32.

corrupt; according to Wellhausen, *Text der Bücher Sam.*, the LXX express the reading הַיֵּשׁ הַיֵּשׁ.—The above does not apply to interrogative sentences introduced by interrogative pronouns (§ 37) or by the interrogatives compounded with מַה *what?* such as מַה בְּפֹה *how many?* מַה לָּמָּה *why?* (see § 102. *k*), מַה מְדַבֵּר *why?* (§ 99. *e*), or by אַיֵּה *where?* אַיֵּה אַיֵּה *how?* (§ 148, &c. On the transformation of pronouns and adverbs into interrogative words by means of a prefixed אַ, see the Lexicon.

³ On the use of the *imperfect* in deliberative questions, see § 107. *t*; on the so-called *perfectum confidentiae* in interrogative sentences, see § 106. *n*.

⁴ Analogous to this is the use of the interrogative מַה in the sense of a reproachful remonstrance instead of a prohibition, as Cant. 8, 4 מַה-תְּעִירֵי *why should ye stir up?* comp. also Job 31, 1; see above, § 148.

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. 1 Sam. 2, 22 *turn thee aside . . . wherefore should I smite thee to the ground? i. e. otherwise I will (or must) smite, &c.*; cf. 1 Sam. 19, 17, and Driver on the passage; 2 Chron. 25, 16; also Gen. 27, 45. Ex. 32, 12 (Joel 2, 17. Ps. 79, 10. 115, 2); Cant. 1, 7. Eccles. 5, 5. 7, 17. Dan. 1, 10.

f 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 Ki. 1, 27. Is. 29, 16. Job 6, 12. 39, 13.

g (b) Disjunctive questions are, as a rule, introduced by אֵין—הֲ (utrum—*an?*) or sometimes by אֵין¹—הֲ, e.g. Joel 1, 2. Job 21, 4 (even with הֲ repeated after אֵין in a question which implies disbelief, Gen. 17, 17). In Job 34, 17. 40, 8 sq. special emphasis is given to the first member by הֲאֵין prop. *is it even?* The second member is introduced by אֵין or in Job 16, 3. 38, 28. 31. 36, in each case before ו, and hence no doubt for euphonic reasons, to avoid the combination וְאֵין.

h Double questions with (אֵין) אֵין—הֲ need not always be mutually exclusive; frequently the disjunctive form serves (especially in poetic parallelism; but comp. also e.g. Gen. 37, 8) merely to repeat the same question in different words, and thus to express it more emphatically. So Job 4, 17 *shall mortal man be just before God? or (אֵין) shall a man be pure before his Maker?* Job 6, 5 sq. 8, 3. 10, 4 sq. 11, 2. 7. 22, 3. Is. 10, 15. Jer. 5, 29. The second member may, therefore, just as well be connected by a simple ו, e.g. Job 13, 7. 15, 7 sq. 38, 16 sq. 22. 32. 39; comp. also Ps. 8, 5 after לָמָּה; Job 21, 17 sq. after הֲאֵין; or even without a conjunction, Job 8, 11. 22, 4; after לָמָּה Ps. 144, 3.

i (c) With regard to *indirect* questions² after verbs of inquiring, doubting, examining³, &c., simple questions of this kind take either הֲ *whether*, Gen. 8, 8⁴, or אֵין Gen. 15, 5. 2 Ki. 1, 2. Cant. 7, 13; even before a noun-clause, Jer. 5, 1; in 1 Sam. 20, 10 the indirect question is introduced by אֵין, i. e. probably *if per-*

¹ אֵין occurs in Prov. 27, 24 after a negative statement; we should, however, with Dyserinck read וְאֵין. Not less irregular is הֲלֵאֵין instead of לֵאֵין אֵין in the second clause of Jud. 14, 15, but the text can hardly be correct (comp. Moore, *Judges*, New York, 1895, p. 337); in 1 Sam. 23, 11 the second הֲ introduces a fresh question which is only loosely connected with the first.—In Num. 17, 28 and in the third clause of Job 6, 13, אֵין is best taken with Ewald in the sense of הֲלֵאֵין, since אֵין from its use in oaths (see above, § 149. b) may simply mean *verily not*.

² 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). Comp. also § 137. c.

³ In Gen. 43, 6 the הֲ after לְהַגִּיד is explained from the fact that the latter, according to the context, implies *to give information upon a question*.

⁴ Also in Eccles. 3, 21 we should read הֲוֵאלֶּהָ and הֲוֵאֵלֶּהָ (*whether—whether*) instead of the article which is assumed by the Masora.

chance. In disjunctives (*whether—or*) אִם—וְ Num. 13, 18 at the end (or אִם—וְ—אִם—וְ Gen. 24, 21. 27, 21. 37, 22. Ex. 16, 4), and וְ—וְ Num. 13, 18, which is followed by אִם—וְ ; also אִם—וְ Eccles. 2, 19. The formula $\text{אִם יוֹדַעְתִּי מִי}$ has an affirmative force, *who knows whether . . . not*, like the Latin *nescio an*, Est. 4, 14.

In Jon. 1, 7 and 8 the relative pronouns מִי and מִי־שֶׁ owing to the following לְמִי have become also interrogative, *for whose cause?*

(d) וְ and הֲוֵא (comp. § 136. c) immediately after the interrogative serve to give vividness to the question; so also אֲנִי־נִינָא (for which אֲנִי־נִינָא five times in Job) *then, now*, Gen. 27, 33 $\text{הֲוֵא מִי־אֲנִי־נִינָא}$ *who then is he?* Jud. 9, 38. Is. 19, 12. Job 17, 15; אֲנִי־נִינָא *where then is . . .?* However, אֲנִי־נִינָא may also be placed at the end of the entire question (Ex. 33, 16. Is. 22, 1; also Hos. 13, 10, since either אֲנִי־נִינָא is a dialectical form of אֲנִי־נִינָא , or אֲנִי־נִינָא should be read instead of it) or at the beginning of the question proper, after a strongly emphasized word, as in Gen. 27, 37¹.

(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, 4 after מִדְּרִיעַ *wherefore looked I . . . and it brought forth*, equivalent to, *wherefore brought it forth, while I looked*, &c.; Is. 50, 2; after וְ Num. 32, 6. Jer. 8, 4, also Num. 16, 22 (read וְאִישׁ־וְ); after הֲלֵא Jos. 22, 20; after לְמַדָּה Is. 58, 3. 2 Chron. 32, 4². But וְ Job 4, 2 and הֲלֵא Job 4, 21 are separated from the verb to which they belong by the insertion of a conditional clause.

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, Gen. 24, 58. 27, 24. 29, 5. Jud. 13, 11), Gen. 29, 6. 37, 32 sq. 1 Sam. 23, 11. 26, 17. 1 Ki. 21, 10. Jer. 37, 17. (On וְיִי *if it be so* in the corrected text of 2 Ki. 10, 15, see § 159 *dd.*) As a negative answer the simple אֵל is sometimes sufficient, as in Gen. 19, 2 and elsewhere; comp. § 152. c; and in Jud. 4, 20 the simple אֵלֵּי equivalent to *no* or *no one*.

§ 151. Desiderative Sentences.

A wish may be expressed not only by the simple imperfect (§ 107. n), *a* 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 On the other hand, in Job 9, 24 and 24, 25 אֲנִי־נִינָא is not prefixed to the מִי , but appended to the conditional sentence.

² Comp. the analogous sentences after בְּעַלְמֵי *because*, Is. 65, 12. Jer. 35, 17; after causal אֲשֶׁר 1 Sam. 26, 23; after כִּי Is. 12, 1; likewise after דִּבְרֵי § 153 at the end; after בְּיַדְּךָ Deut. 8, 12–14. 25, 3. Jos. 6, 18.

1. By exclamations in the form of *interrogative* clauses¹, e. g. 2 Sam. 15, 4 *מִי־יִשְׁמָנֵי שֹׁפֵט* *who maketh me judge?* i. e. *O that I were made judge!* 1 Sam. 20, 10. 2 Sam. 23, 15. Especially frequent is the use of *מִי־יִתֵּן* (prop. *who gives?*) to introduce all kinds of desiderative clauses (see letter *b*).—In Mal. 1, 10 the desiderative clause proper is co-ordinated with an interrogative clause *מִי גַם־יִפְקֹם וְיִסְגֹר דְּלָתַיִם* *would that one were among you and would shut the doors*, i. e. *O that one would shut the doors!*

b Rem. Sometimes the original sense of *מִי־יִתֵּן* is still plainly discernible, e. g. Jud. 9, 29 *מִי־יִתֵּן אֶת־הָעָם הַזֶּה בְּיָדִי* *who gives this people into my hand?* equivalent to, *O that this people were given into my hand!* comp. Ps. 55, 7. In these examples, however, *מִי־יִתֵּן* is still equivalent to *O had I!* and in numerous other instances the idea of *giving* has entirely disappeared, *מִי־יִתֵּן* having become stereotyped as a mere desiderative particle (*utinam*). The construction is either—

(*a*) With the *accusative* (in accordance with its original meaning) of a substantive, (Deut. 28, 67 *would that it were even! . . . morning!*; Jud. 9, 29. Ps. 14, 7 (53, 7). 55, 7; with an accusative and a following infinitive, Job 11, 5; with two accusatives, Num. 11, 29. Jer. 8, 23; with the accusative of an infinitive, Ex. 16, 3. 2 Sam. 19, 1 *מִי־יִתֵּן מוֹתִי אֲנִי תַחֲפִידְךָ* *would that I had died for thee* (for *אֲנִי* cf. § 135. *f*); of a participle, Job 31, 35; of a personal pronoun (as a suffix), Job 29, 2 (with a following *כִּי*; but *מִי־יִתֵּנִי* Is. 27, 4 and Jer. 9, 1 with a following accusative is not simply equivalent to *לִי מִי־יִתֵּן*, but is properly *who endows me with, &c.*; comp. § 117. *ff*).—With a still greater weakening of the original meaning *מִי־יִתֵּן* is used with an adjective in Job 14, 4 *could a clean thing but come out of an unclean!* i. e. *how can a clean thing come, &c.*; similarly in Job 31, 31 *who can find one that hath not been satisfied!*

c (*b*) With a following perfect, Job 23, 3 (comp. § 120. *e*); with a perfect consecutive, Deut. 5, 26 *O that they had such an heart!*

d (*c*) With a following imperfect, Job 6, 8. 13, 5. 14, 13; in Job 19, 23 the imperfect is twice added with *Wāw* (comp. letter *a* above, on Mal. 1, 10).

On the cohortative in the apodosis to such desiderative clauses, comp. § 108. *f*.

e 2. The wish may also be expressed by the particles *אִם* (Ps. 81, 9. 95, 7. 139, 19. Prov. 24, 11. 1 Chron. 4, 10; always with a following imperfect) and *לֵב* (for which in Ps. 119, 5 we have *אֶחְלִי*, 2 Ki. 5, 3 *אֶחְלִי*, from *אָח* *ah!* and *לֵב* = *לֵב*; both with a following imperfect) *si, o si!* *utinam*². *לֵב* is followed by the imperfect, Gen. 17, 18.

¹ The transition from a question to a wish may be seen, e. g. in Num. 11, 4 *who shall give us flesh to eat?* i. e. *O that we had flesh to eat!*

² Comp. 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. Num. 22, 29 *if there were* (*לֵב יֶשׁ*) *a sword in my hand now had I surely killed thee!*

Job 6, 2; by the jussive, Gen. 30, 34 (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 (comp. § 106. *p*), Num. 14, 2 *לִי מָתַנּוּ* *לִי* would that we had died; 20, 3 and Jos. 7, 7 (both times *וְלִי*); on the other hand, Is. 48, 18 and 63, 19 (both times *לִי*) to express a wish that something expected in the future may already have happened.—On *לִי* with the imperative (by an anacoluthon) Gen. 23, 13 comp. § 110. *e*. On the perfect after *אִם* *יָי* Gen. 40, 14. 2 Ki. 5, 20, comp. § 106. *n*, note 2.

§ 152. Negative Sentences.

1. Independent sentences are made negative by the adverbs *לֹא* *a* (Job 6, 21 *K^eth.* perhaps preserved as a substantive)=the Greek *οὐ*, *not*, *לֹא־לֵא*=the Greek *μή* (Job 24, 25 as a substantive), *אִין* (*it is*) *not*; *טָרָם* *not yet*, *אָפָם* *not*, *אָפָסִי* (comp. § 90. *m*) *not*. The forms *בַּל*, *בְּלִי*, *בְּלִי* *not* belong almost entirely to poetry.—With regard to *לֹא* and *אִין* the main distinction is that verbal-clauses (rarely noun-clauses, see letter *e*) are regularly negated by *לֹא* (besides its use as negating single words¹), while *אִין* is used exclusively with noun-clauses (see the examples below).

¹ Especially in compounds, e.g. *לֹא־אֱלֹהִים* lit. *a not-God* (Germ. *Ungott*) who is indeed called a god, but is anything but really a god, Deut. 32, 21; *לֹא־אֱלֹהִים* verse 17, comp. Jer. 5, 7. 2 Chron. 13, 9; *לֹא־אָדָם* lit. *a not-people* (Germ. *Unvolk*), Deut. 32, 21; *לֹא־דָבָר* *a nothing*, Amos 6, 13; *לֹא־עֵץ* lit. *not-wood*, Is. 10, 15; *לֹא־אִישׁ* *not-man*, *לֹא־אָדָם* lit. *not-man, superhuman* (of God), Is. 31, 8; *לֹא־צַדִּיק* *un-righteousness*, Jer. 22, 13, comp. Ezek. 22, 29; *לֹא־סֶדְרִים* *disorder*, Job 10, 22; *לֹא־חַמָּס* *not-violence*, 16, 17; after *לֵ* Job 26, 2 sq. (*לֹא־כַחַת*, *helplessness*, *לֹא־חֲכָמָה* *insipientia*); comp. also Is. 55, 2 *בְּלֹא־לִשְׁבָּעָה* *for what is unsatisfying*; Ps. 44, 13. Job 8, 11. 15, 32. 1 Chron. 12, 33.—In Num. 20, 5 a construct state with several genitives is negated by *לֹא*.—*לֹא* is also used with an infinitive, Num. 35, 23; with an adjective, *לֹא־חָכָם* *unwise*, Deut. 32, 6. Hos. 13, 13; *לֹא־חַסִּיד* *impious*, Ps. 43, 1; *לֹא־עָצוּם* and *לֹא־עָצוּם* *not strong*, Prov. 30, 25 sq.; *לֹא־כָבֵן* *unsuitably*, 2 Ki. 7, 9; *לֹא־טוֹב* *not-good*, Is. 65, 2. Ezek. 20, 25, &c.; *לֹא־טָהוֹר* *not-clean*, 2 Chron. 30, 17; with a participle, e.g. Jer. 2, 2 (*unsovn*); 6, 8. Ezek. 4, 14. 22, 24. Zeph. 2, 1. 3, 5; the Masora, however, requires *נִחְמָה* in Is. 54, 11, *נִחְמָה* in 62, 12, *נִחְמָה* in Jer. 6, 8, *רַחֲמָה* in Hos. 1, 6, 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, 11. Hos. 1, 6, and especially 2, 25) 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 letter *u* below.

b The conjunctions וְלֹא and לֹא־בְלִי *that not*, serve to negative dependent clauses. The particular uses of these particles are as follows:—

(a) לֹא (less frequently לֹא־), like *oû, oûk*, 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 הֲלֹא *nonne*, in interrogative sentences, comp. § 150. *a*. In connexion with כָּל , כָּל־ (= *any*), לֹא is used to express an *absolute* negation, *nullus, none whatever* (comp. the French *ne . . . personne, ne . . . rien*), usually in the order כָּל . . . לֹא , e. g. Gen. 3, 1 $\text{וְלֹא תֹאכְלוּ מִכָּל עֵץ הַגָּן}$ *ye shall not eat of any tree of the garden*; 9, 11. Ex. 10, 15. 20, 10. Lev. 7, 23. Deut. 8, 9. Jer. 13, 7. 32, 17 (לֹא־בְלִי־דָבָר); . . . לֹא *nothing at all*; comp. the same statement in a rhetorical question, Jer. 32, 27); Prov. 12, 21. 30, 30 לֹא־מִפְּנֵי־כָל and turneth *not away for any*; 2 Chron. 32, 15; but comp. also the inverted order, Ex. 12, 16 $\text{לֹא־יֵעָשֶׂה בְּלִמְלֶאכָה}$ *no manner of work shall be done*; 12, 43. 15, 26. 22, 21. Lev. 16, 17. Job 33, 13. Dan. 11, 37. The meaning is different when כָּל by being determinate is used in the sense of *whole*, e. g. Num. 23, 13 $\text{לֹא תִרְאֶה בְּעֵינֶיךָ כָּל־אֶדְמָתָם}$ *thou shalt not see them all*, but only a part.

Analogous to כָּל . . . לֹא is the use of לֹא־אִישׁ Gen. 23, 6 and elsewhere, in verbal-clauses in the sense of *no one at all, not a single one*.

c Rem. 1. The examples in which לֹא is used absolutely as a negative answer, equivalent to *certainly not! no!* must be regarded as extremely short verbal-clauses, e. g. Gen. 19, 2 (לֹא according to the context for לֹא־נִסְוֶר &c.); 23, 11. 42, 10. Hag. 2, 12. Job 23, 6, sometimes with a following כִּי *but*, Gen. 19, 2 (see above); Jos. 5, 14. 1 Ki. 3, 22.

d 2. The negation of *noun-clauses* by לֹא (as opposed to the regular negation by אִין) always includes a certain emphasis, since the force of the negation falls rather upon a particular word (comp. e. g. Ezek. 36, 32), than upon the whole clause. In 2 Sam. 3, 34 $\text{לֹא־תִיָּדְךָ לֹא־תִבְדָּל}$ *thy hands were not bound*, a participle is thus specially negated by לֹא ; cf. Ps. 74, 9, where, however, לֹא is separated from the participle by אֶת־נִפְתָּי , and Job 12, 3. As a rule, noun-clauses with a pronominal subject are thus negated by לֹא , Gen. 20, 12. Num. 35, 23 (Deut. 4, 42. 19, 4); 1 Sam. 15, 29. 2 Sam. 21, 2. Jer. 4, 22. Ps. 22, 7. Job 28, 14, parallel with אִין ; generally with לֹא before a substantival predicate, e. g. Ex. 4, 10 $\text{לֹא־אִישׁ דְּבָרִים}$ *I am not a man of words*; Amos 5, 18.—Noun-clauses with a substantival subject, Gen. 29, 7. Num. 23, 19. Is. 22, 2. 44, 19. Hag. 1, 2. Ps. 22, 3. Job 9, 32. 18, 17. 21, 9. 22, 16. 36, 26 (with וְ of the apodosis); 41, 2; in Job 9, 33 even לֹא־יֵשׁ *non est* is used instead of אִין .—In Prov. 18, 5 לֹא־יֵשׁ is used before an adjectival predicate; in 1 Sam. 20, 26 (where a preceding noun-clause is negated by בְּלִי־תִי) read לֹא־טָהוֹר with the LXX, for לֹא־טָהוֹר . On לֹא for אִין in circumstantial clauses to express attributive ideas, see letter *u* below.

e 3. As a rule לֹא stands immediately before the verb, but sometimes is separated from it (frequently to bring into special prominence another word which follows it); thus Job 22, 7. Eccles. 10, 10 before the object and verb; Num. 16, 29 before the subject and verb; Deut. 8, 9. 2 Sam. 3, 34. Ps. 49, 18. 103, 10. Job 13, 16.

34, 23, before a complementary adjunct. In Deut. 32, 5 לֹא according to the accentuation even stands at the end of the clause (*they offend him not*); but undoubtedly לֹא בָנִים are to be taken together.—On the position of לֹא with the infinitive absolute, see § 113. *v*.

(*b*) לֹא- 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 לֹא- with the imperfect, see § 107. *p*; on 2 Ki. 6, 27, see § 109. *h*.

Rem. 1. לֹא- (like לֹא, see letter *a*, note, above) may be used to form a compound word, as in Prov. 12, 28 אֶל-מָוֶת not-death (immortality); though all the early versions read אֶל-מָוֶת. The instances in which לֹא appears to stand absolutely, equivalent to *no*, *certainly not* (like μή for μη γένηται), e. g. Ruth 1, 13 אֶל בָּנֹתַי *ay, my daughters*, and Gen. 19, 18. 33, 10 (אֶל-נָא), are also due (see letter *c*) to extreme shortening of a full clause (in 2 Sam. 13, 25 such a clause is repeated immediately afterwards); thus in 2 Sam. 1, 21. Is. 62, 2. Ps. 83, 2 יְהִי is evidently to be supplied, and in Joel 2, 13. Amos 5, 14. Prov. 8, 10 the corresponding jussive from the preceding imperatives (in Prov. 17, 12 from the preceding infinitive absolute).

2. לֹא-, like לֹא, regularly stands immediately before the verb, but in Is. 64, 8. *h* Jer. 10, 24. 15, 15. Ps. 6, 2. 38, 2 before another strongly emphasized member of the sentence¹.

(*c*) אֵין construct state (unless it be sometimes merely a contracted form, cf. *i* אֵין שְׂנִים of שְׂנִים) of אֵין *not-being* (as also the absolute state, see below) is the negative of אֵין *being*; comp., for example, Gen. 31, 29 with Neh. 5, 5. As אֵין (*he, she, it is, was, &c.*) includes the idea of *being* in all tenses, so אֵין, אֵין includes the idea of *not being* in all tenses. Hence—

(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, 3 (2 Ki. 19, 3) אֵין לְבָרָה וְכַח אֵין *and strength does not exist to bring forth*; Gen. 2, 5 אֵין *was not present*; Ex. 17, 7 אֵין-אֵם *or is he not?* after אֵין *is he . . . ?* (cf. Num. 13, 20); Lev. 26, 37. Num. 20, 5. Jud. 4, 20 (אֵין *no*). In 1 Sam. 9, 4 and 10, 14 אֵין is used in reference to a plural; 1 Ki. 18, 10. Is. 41, 17. 45, 21. 59, 11. Mic. 7, 2. Prov. 13, 4. 25, 14. Job 3, 9 אֵין *and let there be none, let none come!* (comp. Prov. 5, 17); Eccles. 3, 19.—Also comp. finally אֵין-אֵם *if it be not so*, Gen. 30, 1. Ex. 32, 32. Jud. 9, 15. 2 Ki. 2, 10.—Quite anomalous is אֵין Job 35, 15 before a perfect as an emphatic negation; the text, however, can hardly be correct.

(2) The construct state אֵין stands in its natural position immediately before *l* 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 Sam. 26, 12 אֵין רֹאֶה וְאֵין יוֹדֵעַ *and there was not one seeing, &c., i. e. and no man*

¹ In Jer. 51, 3 the pointing לֹא- occurs twice instead of לֹא-, and is thus, in the opinion of the Masoretes, equivalent to *against him that bendeth*; but undoubtedly we should read לֹא-.

saw it, nor knew it, neither did any awake; so especially וַאֲיִן with a participle in subordinate *circumstantial* or *descriptive clauses*, such as Is. 5, 29 וַיִּפְּלִיט וַאֲיִן מְצִיל and he shall carry it away, while there is none delivering, i. e. without any one's delivering it; Ps. 7, 3, &c.; Lev. 26, 6 and elsewhere, וַאֲיִן מְחַרֵּד without any one's making you afraid; comp. § 141. e. אֵין is used as the negation of an entire noun-clause, e. g. Gen. 39, 23. Num. 14, 42 אֵין יְהוָה בְּקִרְבָּכֶם the Lord is not among you; Gen. 37, 29 אֵין יוֹסֵף בְּבוֹר 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. אֵינְנִי I am not, was not, shall not be; אֵינְךָ, fem. אֵינְךָ, thou art not, &c.; אֵינָנוּ, fem. אֵינָנָהּ he, she is not, &c.; also absolutely, Gen. 42, 13 he is (5, 24 he was) no longer alive; אֵינָם they are not, &c. When the accompanying predicate is a verb, it follows again (see letter *l*) in the form of a participle, since אֵין always introduces a noun-clause, e. g. Ex. 5, 10 אֵינְנִי נֹתֵן I will not give; 8, 17. Deut. 1, 32.

n Rem. In Neh. 4, 17 אֵין אֵינְנִי for אֵין אֵינְנִי is due to its being co-ordinate with three other (substantival) subjects; these are again expressly summed up in אֵין אֵינְנִי אֵינְךָ אֵינָנוּ.—In Hag. 2, 17 אֵין אֵתְכֶם the pronominal complement of אֵין appears to follow with the sign of the accusative¹; but most probably we should read with the LXX אֵתְכֶם for אֵתְכֶם.

o (4) The fact that אֵין (like אֵין) always includes the idea of a verb (*is not, 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. letter *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, 6, לוֹ Lev. 11, 10, 12, לָהּ Gen. 11, 30, נָם Ps. 14, 3, נָם Jud. 18, 10. Ex. 12, 30; but comp. also Ps. 5, 10. 6, 6. 32, 2, and אֵין used absolutely in Ex. 22, 2. 1 Ki. 8, 9. Ruth 4, 4.—Hence, finally, the transposition of אֵין and its noun was even possible, e. g. Gen. 40, 8 and 41, 15 אֵין אֵתוֹ וּפְתַר and there is none that can interpret it; Gen. 47, 13. Jud. 14, 6. 1 Sam. 21, 2. Is. 1, 30. Jer. 30, 13. Hab. 2, 19. Prov. 5, 17 (אֵין) = *neve sint*; comp. letter *k* above, on Job 3, 9); 30, 27. In Gen. 19, 31. Ex. 5, 16 אֵין is placed between the subject and predicate.

p Rem. 1. Like אֵין . . . לֹא or לֹא . . . אֵין (see letter *b* above) so also אֵין אֵין expresses an *absolute* negation, e. g. Eccles. 1, 9 אֵין אֵין כֵּל-חֲדָשׁ there is no new thing, &c.; Dan. 1, 4 (comp. also אֵין אֵין מְאֹמָה there is nothing, 1 Ki. 18, 43. Eccles. 5, 13); as also אֵין אֵין . . . אֵין Hab. 2, 19; comp. אֵין אֵין מְאֹמָה Jud. 14, 6.

q 2. Undoubtedly akin to אֵין in origin is the negative syllable אֵ occurring in the two compounds אֵי כָבוֹד (as a proper name, 1 Sam. 4, 21; Baer אֵי-כָבוֹד) and אֵי-נָקִי not innocent, Job 22, 30; but the proper name אֵי-תָמָר is doubtful, and the fem. אֵי-בָבֶל very doubtful. In Ethiopic this אֵ is the most common form of negation, prefixed even to verbs.

¹ According to De Lagarde, *Novae psalterii graeci editionis specimen*, p. 26, אֵין אֵין Ps. 3, 3 is also an accusative after אֵין.

(d) טָרַם *not yet*, when referring to past time is used, as a rule (§ 107. c), with the imperfect, Gen. 2, 5 טָרַם . . . בַּל *none . . . yet*; see letters *b* and *p* above; Gen. 19, 4. 24, 45. Jos. 2, 8. 1 Sam. 3, 3; with the imperfect in the sense of a present, Ex. 10, 7 הֲטָרַם תִּירַע *knowest thou not yet?* Ex. 9, 30.

(e) אָפַם (prop. a substantive, *cessation*) *no longer*, including the verbal idea of *existing*, comp. Deut. 32, 36. Is. 45, 6. 14. 46, 9; used absolutely, Amos 6, 10; used interrogatively הֲאָפַם עוֹר אֵישׁ *is there none left?* &c., 2 Sam. 9, 3; frequently also in the sense of *non nisi*; with אֲ— paragogic (§ 90. m) אֲפָסִי Is. 47, 8. 10. Zeph. 2, 15 וְאֲפָסִי עוֹר *I am, and there is none else.*

(f) בַּל¹, in poetic and prophetic style, and with a certain emphasis, = לֹא, is used with the imperfect, e. g. Is. 26, 14. 33, 20. 23 (immediately afterwards with a perfect); Hos. 7, 2. Ps. 49, 13. Prov. 10, 30 (but Is. 14, 21 before the jussive, equivalent to אֲלֵ—); before an adjective, Prov. 24, 23.

(g) בְּלִי with a perfect, Gen. 31, 20. Is. 14, 6; with an imperfect, Job 41, 18; to negative a participle, Hos. 7, 8. Ps. 19, 4; to negative an adjective, 2 Sam. 1, 21.

(h) בְּלִיתִי to negative an adjective, 1 Sam. 20, 26; on בְּלִיתִי Ezek. 13, 3, see letter *x*; on לְבִלְתִּי as the regular negative with the infinitive construct, see § 114. s; on לְבִלְתִּי as a conjunction, see letter *x* below.

On אֵם as a negative particle in oaths (*verily not*), see § 149. c above.

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 Sam. 23, 4 בִּקְרַ לֹא עֲבוֹת *a morning when there are not clouds*, i. e. *a cloudless morning*; comp. Job 12, 24. 26, 2 b. 38, 26 (לֹא-אִישׁ *where no man is*, i. e. *uninhabited*); 1 Chron. 2, 30. 32 לֹא בָנִים *childless*; so also בְּלִי e. g. Job 24, 10 and אֵין e. g. Ps. 88, 5 *I am as a man* אֵין-אֵיל *there is not help*, i. e. *like a helpless man*; Is. 47, 1. Hos. 7, 11; אֵין-מִסְפָּר *countless*, Cant. 6, 8, &c., but usually (Ps. 104, 25, &c.) like a proper circumstantial clause (comp. § 141. e) connected by *Wāw*, וְאֵין-מִסְפָּר.—Less frequently such periphrases take the form of relative clauses (comp. § 155. e), e. g. Job 30, 13 עוֹר לֹא עוֹר לְמוֹ *they for whom there is no helper*, i. e. *the helpless* (but probably עוֹר is only an intrusion from 29, 12, and we should read עוֹרֵר *without any one's restraining them*; in 29, 12 translate *the fatherless and him that had none to help him*; in Ps. 72, 12 וְאֵין-עֹרֵר is used in the same sense); Hab. 1, 14; with אֵין Is. 45, 9 *thy work is that of a man who hath no hands*; Zech. 9, 11 *out of the waterless pit*².

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, Joel 1, 6. Ps. 72, 12. Job 29, 12; comp. also Is. 59, 10, where בְּאֵין-עֵינַיִם is

¹ Evidently from בָּלָה *to waste away*, from which stem also בְּלִיתִי (whence בְּלִיתִי § 90. m), originally substantives, are formed.

² In Prov. 9, 13 (perhaps also 14, 7; but see Delitzsch on the passage) a verbal clause is used co-ordinately in this way as a periphrasis for an adjective.

parallel with **בְּעֵוְרִים**; partly from their being introduced by the sign of the dative **לְ**, e. g. Is. 40, 29 (= *and to the powerless*); Job 26, 2 a. 3. Neh. 8, 10.

w (2) **לֵּשׁ** *lest, that not*, at the beginning of a clause expressing a fear or precaution, hence especially after such ideas as *fearing*, Gen. 32, 12 and elsewhere (comp. *δειδω μή, vereor ne*), *taking heed*, frequently after **הִשָּׁמֵר**, **הִשְׁמָר** Gen. 24, 6. 31, 24 and elsewhere, *taking care*, 2 Ki. 10, 23, &c. Not infrequently the idea on which **לֵּשׁ** depends, is only virtually contained in the main clause, e. g. Gen. 19, 19 *I cannot escape to the mountain* (because I am afraid), **לֵּשׁ** **פְּנֵי אֵתְרִי בְּמִנִּי הָרָעָה** *lest some evil overtake me*; Gen. 26, 9. 38, 11; also in Gen. 44, 34 from the rhetorical question *how shall I . . . ?* we must understand *I cannot*, governing **לֵּשׁ**. 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 **לֵּשׁ** is simply equivalent to the final *ne*); comp. e. g. Gen. 11, 4. 19, 15. Num. 20, 18 (where **לֵּשׁ** *lest* is separated from the verb by a strongly emphasized substantive); Jud. 15, 12 after *swear unto me*; Prov. 24, 18.—In Gen. 3, 22 *and now, lest he put forth his hand*, &c., **לֵּשׁ** is to be regarded as virtually dependent on a cohortative, which immediately afterwards (verse 23) is changed into an historic tense; cf. also Gen. 26, 7. 31, 31. 42, 4. Ex. 13, 17. 1 Sam. 13, 19. 27, 11. Ps. 38, 17, in every case after **בִּי אֶמְרָתִי**, **בִּי אֶמֶר** &c. = *I thought*, &c., *I must beware lest*, &c.

Rem. According to § 107. *q*, **לֵּשׁ** is naturally followed by the imperfect (or jussive); for the exceptions, 2 Sam. 20, 6. 2 Ki. 2, 16, see § 107. *q*, note 3; comp., moreover, 2 Ki. 10, 23 **רְאוּ לֵּשׁ-יֵשׁ-פֹּה** *look lest there be here*, &c.

x (k) **לְבַלְתִּי** *that . . . not*, with the imperfect, Ex. 20, 20. 2 Sam. 14, 14 (in Jer. 23, 14 read the infinitive **שָׁבוּ** for **יָשָׁבוּ**, in 27, 8 **יָבֵאוּ** for **בָּאוּ**). In Ezek. 13, 3 **רְאוּ לְבַלְתִּי** is a relative clause governed by **לְ** = *according to things which they have not seen*.

y 2. Two negatives in the same sentence do not neutralize each other (as in *nonnulli, non nemo*), but make the negation the more emphatic (like *οὐκ οὐδείς, οὐκ οὐδαμῶς, nulli—non, nemo non*); e. g. 1 Ki. 10, 21 **לְמֵאֲזֹמָה . . . לֹא נִהְיָה כֶּסֶף לֹא נִהְיָה כֶּסֶף** *silver was accounted as nothing at all* (in 2 Chron. 9, 20 without **לֹא**); Zeph. 2, 2 (if the text is correct) **בְּתָרֵם לֹא-יָבוֹא** *before there shall (not) come*. This especially applies to the compounds formed by the union of **אִין** or **בְּלִי** with **מִן** *without* (§ 119. *y*), e. g. Is. 5, 9 (6, 11) **מֵאִין יִישָׁב** (for which in Jer. 2, 15 **יִשָּׁב** (**מְבִלִי יִשָּׁב**), prop. *without no inhabitant*, i. e. *so that no inhabitant is left there*. On the other hand, in Is. 50, 2 **מֵאִין מַיִם** the **מִן** is causative, *because there is no water*; as also in Ex. 14, 11 **הֲמִבְּלִי אֵין** *is it because there were no . . . ?* 2 Ki. 1, 3. 6. 16. In Eccles. 3, 11 **לֹא אִשֶּׁר לֹא מְבִלִי אִשֶּׁר** *except that (yet so that man cannot, &c.)*.

z 3. The negative sometimes extends its influence from the first to a second negative sentence parallel with it (which may or may not

have *Wāw*); e. g. 1 Sam. 2, 3 *talk not so much arrogancy; let* (not) *boasting come out of your mouth*; Ex. 28, 43. Lev. 19, 12. 22, 9. 15 sq. Num. 16, 14. 23, 19. Deut. 7, 25. Is. 23, 4. 28, 27. 38, 18. 47, 14. Ezek. 16, 47. Ps. 9, 19. 13, 5. 35, 19. 38, 2. 44, 19. 75, 6. Job 28, 17 (so לָמָּה לָמָּה *why . . . not?* in Job 3, 11 also affects the parallel clause).

§ 153. Restrictive and Intensive Clauses.

The particles אֲשֶׁר, כִּי *only*, serve to introduce restrictive clauses, and כִּי, אֲשֶׁר *also, besides, even*, intensive clauses. It is to be observed, that the force of these particles does not necessarily affect the word which immediately follows (as is the case with אֲשֶׁר Gen. 7, 23. 34, 15; כִּי Gen. 6, 5. Amos 3, 2; even אֲשֶׁר כִּי־אֵלֶּיךָ *hath he indeed only?* Num. 12, 2; כִּי Gen. 27, 34. Job 7, 11; אֲשֶׁר Deut. 15, 17), but very frequently extends to the whole of the following sentence. Thus with אֲשֶׁר, e. g. Num. 14, 9. 1 Ki. 17, 13. Prov. 17, 11. Job 13, 15. 14, 22. 16, 7. 23, 6; כִּי Gen. 20, 11. 24, 8. Ps. 32, 6. Prov. 13, 10; כִּי Gen. 27, 33. 32, 21 (הִנֵּה־כִּי); 1 Sam. 22, 7. 28, 20. Zech. 9, 11. Prov. 17, 26. 20, 11; אֲשֶׁר Job 14, 3. 15, 4.—In Mal. 1, 10 and Job 2, 10 כִּי is placed before two co-ordinate sentences, although, strictly speaking, it applies only to the second. Comp. the analogous examples in § 150. *m*.

§ 154. Sentences connected by *Wāw*.

*Wāw copulativum*¹ (וְ) serves to connect together two or more *a* sentences, or single words (on its various vocalization, cf. § 104. *d-g*).

¹ For further particulars of the use of *wāw copulativum*, see Gesenius' *Thesaurus*, i. 393 sqq. On its use in the co-ordination of similar tenses and moods (e. g. five imperfects consecutive in Gen. 25, 34, five perfects with וְ) as well as of dissimilar tenses and moods, the remarks made in the treatment of the tenses will suffice. With regard to the interconnexion of single *nouns* by וְ (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 Gen. 12, 16 *wāw copulativum* six times, 24, 35 seven times, 15, 19 sqq. nine times, and in Jos. 7, 24 ten times. Sometimes, however, only the last two words are joined (so in a series of three members, Gen. 5, 32. 10, 1. 11, 26. 13, 2. 14, 1. 30, 39, &c.; the last three out of a series of four, Jer. 2, 26); less frequently only the first two, Ps. 45, 9; cf. § 132. *d*. The formula אֵשֶׁת־יְשׁוּבָה־לְמָחָר *yesterday* (and) *the day before, yesterday*, Ex. 5, 8 and elsewhere, is always without the copula.

Its use, however, is by no means restricted merely to joining together sentences which are actually co-ordinate. Frequently the language employs merely the simple connexion by *Wāw*, even to introduce an antithesis (Gen. 17, 21. 19, 19. Lev. 2, 12. Job 6, 25, 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 $\dot{\text{ו}}$ 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 apodosis*, comp. § 143. *d*, and the sections there cited; on the use of *Wāw* in numerical sayings, comp. § 134. *s*.

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. Jud. 5, 27 *at her feet he bowed, he fell, he lay*; Ex. 15, 9. 1 Sam. 15, 6. Jer. 4, 7. Amos 5, 21. Ps. 14, 1. Job 20, 19. 28, 4. 29, 8. Cant. 2, 11. 5, 6.

(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. Gen. 4, 4 *and (i. e. namely) of the fat thereof*; Ex. 24, 12. 25, 12 (*to wit two*); 27, 14. 28, 23. 1 Sam. 17, 34 *and that too with the bear*; 2 Sam. 13, 20. Is. 57, 11. Jer. 17, 10. Amos 3, 11. 4, 10. Zech. 9, 9. Prov. 3, 12. Neh. 8, 13. 2 Chron. 23, 10 (but in 1 Sam. 28, 3 the $\dot{\text{ו}}$ before בְּעִירוֹ is to be omitted with the LXX); cf. also such combinations as מִן—וְעַד *from . . . and even to . . .*, Gen. 13, 3. 14, 23. 19, 4. 11, &c.—In 1 Sam. 6, 11 (see Driver on the passage), 2 Sam. 1, 23, &c., $\dot{\text{ו}}$ is equivalent to *yea, and*; in Is. 32, 7 *even*; 1 Ki. 1, 21. Job 6, 14 *else*.— $\dot{\text{ו}}$ is used to express emphasis (= *and especially*), e.g. in Gen. 3, 16 וְהָרַגְנָהּ ; Is. 2, 1. Ps. 18, 1, perhaps also in Job 10, 17 *yea, a whole host*; 2 Chron. 16, 14.—An undoubted example of what is called *wāw concomitantiae* occurs in Job 41, 12 *a seething pot with burning rushes*; cf. Ex. 10, 10 (*with your little ones*), 12, 8. Lev. 1, 12. Is. 42, 5. In Arabic this *wāw concom.* is followed by the accusative. $\dot{\text{ו}}$ — $\dot{\text{ו}}$ is used in the sense of *both—and* in Ps. 76, 7. Dan. 1, 3. 8, 13. On $\dot{\text{ו}}$ — $\dot{\text{ו}}$ as meaning *sive—sive*, comp. § 162. *b*.

(c) See the Lexicon on adverbs used in a copulative sense, such as גַּם *also, moreover*, summing up a number, e.g. גַּם—שְׁנַיִם *both together*, Gen. 27, 45. Prov. 17, 15; כֻּלָּם *all together*; as an intensive *and*, e.g. Gen. 30, 8. 37, 7. 1 Sam. 30, 8; comp. also such examples as 1 Sam. 24, 12 *see, yea see!* גַּם—גַּם or גַּם—גַּם Gen. 24, 44 = *both—and*; גַּם occurs three times in Gen. 24, 25 and 32, 20; also אֲנִי , 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*, Ps. 44, 10 and elsewhere; and אֲנִי—אֲנִי (also three times repeated), equivalent to *both—and*; comp. אֲנִי—אֲנִי *and even*, Lev. 26, 44; אֲנִי—כִּי prop. *add to this also that*, equivalent to *not to mention*, according to the context either *quanto magis* or *quanto minus*.

Rem. Sometimes wāw copulativum joins a sentence apparently to what immediately precedes, but in reality to a sentence which is suppressed and which must, therefore, be supplied from the context. So especially ׀ with imperatives to express inferences, e.g. 1 Ki. 2, 22 אֲשַׁלְּחֶנּוּ *ask now rather*; Ezek. 18, 32 *for I have no pleasure in the death of him that dieth* . . . , ׀ וְהִשִּׁיבוּ *wherefore turn yourselves*. Also at the beginning of a speech in loose connexion with an act or speech of another person, e.g. Ex. 2, 20. 2 Sam. 18, 11. 24, 3. 2 Ki. 4, 14. 4I. 7, 13. 2 Chron. 25, 9; comp. also Jos. 7, 7 (וְלֵב). Ps. 2, 10. 4, 4. Is. 8, 7. Sometimes the suppression of the protasis is due to passionate excitement or haste, which does not allow itself time as it were for the full expression of the thought; this is especially illustrated by Num. 12, 14. 20, 3 (וְלֵב). 1 Sam. 10, 12. 15, 14. 22, 14. 28, 16. 2 Sam. 18, 12. 24, 3. 1 Ki. 2, 22 (וְלֵבָהּ). 2 Ki. 1, 10. 7, 19 (comp. verse 2); Is. 3, 14. Zech. 2, 10. Ps. 2, 6 (at the same time a circumstantial clause *whereas I = and yet I have*, &c.); comp. also a new clause beginning with the formula of wishing וְיָמִי Num. 11, 29. Jud. 9, 29; on the disconnected use of וְלֵבָהּ and וְיָמִי cf. § 159. *dd*.

§ 155. Relative Clauses.

See V. Baumann, *Hebräische Relativsätze*, Leipzig, 1894 (cf. the heading of § 138 above).

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 *b* letter *n*), are introduced by the originally demonstrative pronoun אֵשֶׁר; see further in § 138. *e*. Similarly, incomplete relative clauses may also be introduced by אֲשֶׁר, or by some other demonstrative pronoun; see further in § 138. *a* and *g-k*. Very frequently, however, especially in poetic style, the attributive relation is expressed by simple co-ordination ¹.

The governing substantive or pronoun is frequently (in certain *c* cases *always*) resumed by a pronominal suffix or an adverb. The resumption may, however, be omitted, just as in relative clauses introduced by אֲשֶׁר, &c.; see § 138. *f*.

In Arabic a distinction is made between relative clauses used for the nearer *d* definition of a *determinate* substantive (*silā*), and those which are attached to an

¹ The old view that all these cases arise from the *omission* of אֲשֶׁר is unsatisfactory. 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*.

indeterminate substantive (*sifa*). 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 Deut. 28, 49 (גוי אשר לא־תשמע לִשְׁנוֹ) *a nation whose tongue thou shalt not understand*; cf. Is. 66, 13, and especially 1 Sam. 3, 11), the addition of אשר is explained from the special stress laid on the indeterminate substantive¹, *a nation of such a kind, thou understandest not their tongue*. On the other hand, in poetic style at least, אשר is somewhat frequently omitted even after a determinate noun, but only rarely in prose (except by the Chronicler; cf. 1 Chron. 12, 23. 29, 1. 2 Chron. 15, 11; after בֶּלֶל 1 Chron. 29, 3. 2 Chron. 30, 18 sq. 31, 19. Ezra 1, 5); so Ex. 18, 20. Jud. 8, 1. 20, 15. 1 Ki. 13, 12. 2 Ki. 3, 8. 2 Chron. 18, 23. Neh. 13, 23; after a pronominal subject, 1 Sam. 6, 9.

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 Sam. 20, 21 *a man of the hill country of Ephraim שְׁבַע שְׁמוֹ* whose name was Sheba; 1 Ki. 13, 2. Zech. 6, 12. Job 1, 6. 3, 15 *with princes לָהֶם זָהָב* that had gold; Ps. 111, 4. Prov. 22, 11; when referring to a noun-suffix, e. g. Ps. 49, 14 זֶה דְרָבָם בְּסֵל לָמוֹ *this is the way of them who have (self-)confidence*.—On periphrases of this kind to express negative attributes, as in Job 38, 26 *עַל־אֲרֶץ לֹא־אִישׁ* on a land where no man is, see § 152. u, and comp. for this very short form of the relative clause, Gen. 15, 13 *בְּאֲרֶץ לֹא לָהֶם* in a land that is not theirs; Deut. 32, 17 (לְעִרְיִים לֹא אֱלֹהִים); Hab. 1, 6. Prov. 26, 17 (לֹא־לוֹ).

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 verb; so after a determinate substantive, Ps. 34, 9 *happy is the man הַחֹסֵה בּוֹ* that trusteth in him; Job 3, 3 *ב הלילה אמר* the night which said; after הוא 1 Sam. 6, 9. Is. 50, 9. Job 13, 19; after בֶּלֶל Ps. 71, 18; after an indeterminate substantive, e. g. Job 31, 12 *it is a fire (that) devoureth unto Abaddon*; Deut. 32, 17 b. Is. 55, 13. 56, 2. Ps. 68, 31. 78, 6. Prov. 30, 17. Lam. 1, 10. 2 Chron. 28, 9; referring to the preceding suffix in הִנְנִי Is. 28, 16, prop. *behold me, who have laid*, &c.; 29, 14. 38, 5. Ezek. 25, 7; depending on a vocative, Is. 54, 1;

¹ So Baumann, op. cit., p. 14 sq., following Böttcher, *Lehrbuch*, ii. 80.

on a noun-suffix (see letter *e* above), Ps. 16, 4. The relative clause is used in this way, especially to supply the place of an adjective, e. g. Gen. 49, 27 יִטְרַף יָאֵב a wolf that ravineth, i. e. a ravining wolf; Is. 51, 12; to express a negative quality, e. g. Is. 40, 20. Hos. 4, 14 עַם לֹא־יָבִין an undiscerning people.

Rem. Very frequently such relative sentences are attached to substantives which have the particle of comparison כִּי, e. g. Job 7, 2 כְּעֶבֶד יִשְׁאֶף־צֶלַל as a servant that earnestly desireth the shadow, &c.; Deut. 32, 11. Is. 62, 1. Jer. 23, 29. Hos. 6, 3. Ps. 42, 2. 83, 15. 125, 1. Job 9, 26. 11, 16; so also after כִּמּוֹ Ps. 58, 5; after a determinate substantive, e. g. Is. 53, 7. 61, 10 sq. Hab. 2, 14. Ps. 49, 13. 21; see also the examples under letter *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־אִשֶּׁר; see *Comparative Clauses*, § 161. *b*) as a conjunction—a view which even Hupfeld was ready to accept, at least as regards Ps. 90, 5. 125, 1. Is. 53, 7. 61, 11. In all such cases, however, the Masora has provided rightly for the correct understanding of the passage by the use of greater or lesser distinctives; at the same time, in judging the accents, the rule mentioned in § 15. *o*, as to the change of certain distinctives into conjunctives, must not be forgotten.

(2) The cases in which the retrospective pronoun represents an 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, Deut. 32, 17 לֹא יָדְעוּם אֱלֹהִים gods whom they knew not (see also the end of the verse); Jer. 5, 15; after a substantive with כִּי (see above, letter *g*), Jer. 23, 9. Job 13, 28. Without a retrospective pronoun, after a determinate substantive, Jud. 8, 1. 1 Ki. 13, 12 (2 Ki. 3, 8. 2 Chron. 18, 23); Ps. 33, 12 (preceded by a relative clause with אֲשֶׁר); Prov. 23, 8. Job 23, 17. 28, 1. Other examples of this kind, though the article is omitted according to poetic usage, are Is. 15, 7 (יִתְּרָה עֲשָׂה), for which Jer. 48, 36 יִתְּרַת עֲשָׂה with the substantive in the construct state governing the relative clause, see § 130. *d*), Ps. 7, 16. 51, 10. Lam. 1, 21.—Without the retrospective pronoun, after an indeterminate substantive, e. g. Is. 6, 6 רִצְפָה בְּמִלְקָחַיִם רִצְפָה a live coal which he had taken with the tongs from off the altar; Ex. 15, 17. Is. 42, 16 (48, 17. Ps. 25, 12, all after בְּדֶרֶךְ; but Ps. 32, 8 תִּלְכֶּה בְּדֶרֶךְ־יְיָ); Is. 64, 2; Eccles. 10, 5 (in 6, 1 the same clause with אֲשֶׁר); moreover, in Jer. 14, 18 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 a preposition, or its place is taken by the adverb שָׁם, as in Jer. 2, 6 end. Thus after a determinate substantive, Ps. 18, 3 צִנְיֵי אַחֶסְדֶּה־בּוֹ

my rock in which I take refuge; Ex. 18, 20. Is. 42, 1; in Job 3, 3 *a* also, the omission of the article with **יוֹם** is only a poetic licence. After an indeterminate substantive, Jer. 2, 6, last clause but one; Ps. 32, 2.

k In this case also the retrospective word is not infrequently suppressed, giving rise to extremely short, bold expressions, such as Is. 51, 1 *look unto the rock* **הַצִּבְתָּהֶם** (whence) *ye were hewn, and to the hole of the pit* **נִבְרַתָּם** (whence) *ye were digged*; Job 21, 27 *the devices* (wherewith) *ye act violently against me*.—A retrospective adverb is suppressed in Job 38, 19 *where is the way* (to the place where) *the light dwelleth?* cf. 38, 24.

l Rem. 1. The omission of the retrospective word occurs most frequently in relative clauses which are governed by the construct state of a preceding substantive (especially an expression of time) and hence are virtually in the genitive. In addition to the instances already given in § 130. *d*, cf. the following: after **בְּיוֹם** Lev. 7, 35. Ps. 56, 10; after **מִיּוֹם** Jer. 36, 2; after simple **יוֹם** Ps. 56, 4 (**יוֹם אִירָא** *on the day when I am afraid*); after **בְּעַת הַחֵל** 2 Chron. 29, 27 (**בְּעַת הַחֵל** *at the time when the burnt offering began*); 20, 22. 24, 11; after **לְעֵת** Deut. 32, 35. Job 6, 17; after **עַרְעֵת** Mic. 5, 2; after **מִנְעַת** Ps. 4, 8 *thou hast put gladness in my heart more than* (their gladness) *at the time* (when) *their corn and their wine are increased*. In a wider sense also Job 8, 12 *it is yet in its greenness*, (while) *it is not cut down*.

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 Sam. 26, 14 *who art thou* (that) *criest?* Cf., however, Is. 63, 19 *we are become as they over whom* (**בָּם** not **בִּנְנוּ**) *thou never barest 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, 24 *an abomination* (is he) *that chooseth you*; Job 30, 13, cf. § 152. *u*.

(*b*) As object, Is. 41, 2, with a retrospective pronoun; Mal. 2, 16 **וְכַפֵּה** *and him that covereth*; Job 29, 12 *I delivered . . . the fatherless also, and him that had none to help him*.

(*c*) In the genitive governed by a substantive, Ex. 4, 13 **שְׁלַח־נָא בְיַד־הַשֵּׁלֶחַ** *send, I pray thee, by the hand of him whom thou wilt send*, i.e. by the hand of some one else; Ps. 65, 5 and Prov. 8, 32, verbal-clauses after **אֲשֶׁר־י** *O the happiness of the man, &c.*; Ps. 81, 6. 141, 9.

Job 29, 16. Lam. 1, 14; after בַּל־ Gen. 39, 4, but in verse 5 בַּל־אֲשֶׁר יִשְׁלוּ; Ex. 9, 4; verbal-clauses after בַּל־ 1 Chron. 29, 30, 18 sq. 31, 19. Ezra 1, 5.

(d) Governed by a preposition; so verbal-clauses after אַחֲרַי Jer. 2, 8; after אֵל־ (= *to the place where*), 1 Chron. 15, 12, but Ex. 23, 20 before the same verb אֲשֶׁר אֶל־הַמָּקוֹם אֲשֶׁר; after אֵל־ Jer. 8, 11. 2 Chron. 1, 4 (= *in the place where*); after לְ Is. 65, 1 לְלוֹא שֶׁאָלוּ by them *that asked not for me* . . . לֵאלֹהֵי בְקִשְׁנִי them *that sought me not*; Ezek. 13, 3 that which *they have not seen*; after עַל Ps. 119, 136, cf. § 158. b; after עַם 2 Chron. 16, 9.—A noun-clause follows לְ in Neh. 8, 10¹.

§ 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 letter c), or as verbal-clauses (see letters d-g).

Rem. Among relative clauses of this kind the commonest are the various noun-clauses, which are most closely subordinated to a preceding substantive without *אֲשֶׁר*, e.g. Gen. 16, 12; also statements of weight, Gen. 24, 22; of name, Job 1, 1 (also introduced by אֲשֶׁר Gen. 24, 29. 1 Sam. 1, 1, and elsewhere, or אֲשֶׁר־וּ Gen. 16, 1. 22, 24, and elsewhere); of a condition of body, Jud. 1, 7, 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*² (Gen. 19, 1, &c.). The former, however, are also to be regarded as circumstantial clauses, in so far as they describe a *condition* which is simultaneous with the principal action; thus Is. 3, 7 *I will not be an healer, אֵין לְחָם וּבְבִיתִי אֵין לְבָשׁם while in my house is neither bread nor clothing*; Is. 6, 6 (Amos 7, 7); 2 Sam. 13, 18. 16, 1.

¹ An analogous instance in Aramaic is Ezra 5, 14 *to one whose name was Shesh-bazzar*.

² In Deut. 32, 31 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 2. Characteristic examples of circumstantial *noun*-clauses are Gen. 12, 8 and pitched his tent *מִיָּם וְהָעֵי מִקְדָּם* בֵּית־אֵל with Bethel on the west and Ai on the east; Num. 22, 24. 2 Sam. 18, 14 through the heart of Absalom, *עוֹדְנִי חַי* while he was yet alive; Jer. 30, 6. Ezek. 9, 2 (comp. Cant. 3, 8). Nah. 3, 8. Zech. 14, 5. 2 Chron. 23, 10; with the predicate preceding, e.g. 1 Sam. 26, 13. Ps. 32, 8. — In Gen. 41, 29 a noun-clause serves to announce a future condition. — We may also include here certain set phrases, as *פָּנִים אֶל־פָּנִים* face to face (prop. while face was turned towards face), Gen. 32, 31. Ex. 33, 11. Deut. 34, 10, and elsewhere¹; so also to cast oneself down, *אִפְּסִים אֶרְצָה* the face being turned to the earth, Gen. 19, 1, and elsewhere (for *אִפְּסִים* we find *אֶרְצָה* in 1 Ki. 1, 31. Is. 49, 23)². — Comp. finally the formula *אִם עַל־בָּנִים* mother with children, Gen. 32, 12; comp. Hos. 10, 14 and § 119. *aa*, note 3.

Rem. On circumlocutions of this kind to express negative attributes by means of short noun-clauses (complete or incomplete), comp. § 152. *u*.

d 3. As circumstantial *verbal*-clauses³, we find (1) sometimes affirmative clauses (see below), but far more frequently (2) negative clauses (see letter *f*), and among these (3) a certain number of expressions which may be regarded simply as equivalent to negative adverbial ideas (see letter *g*).

Examples of (1) Is. 5, 11 *b* woe unto them, that tarry late in the evening, *יַיִן יִדְלִיקֵם* while wine inflames them; Is. 30, 31. Jer. 7, 26. 20, 15. Ps. 4, 3. 5, 12. 62, 5. The circumstantial verbal-clause is used to particularize an action which has before been expressed generally, e.g. Gen. 44, 12. 48, 14 = crossing his hands; Deut. 2, 27. Jud. 6, 19; antithetically, 1 Ki. 13, 18 *לֹא כִּחַשׁ לוֹ* where-with however he lied unto him. The verbal-clause seems to assign a reason in Ps. 7, 7 *מִשְׁפָּט צְוִיָּה* since thou hast commanded judgement; a consequence in Ps. 103, 5.

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*. Comp. also

¹ The expression *הִתְרָאָה פָּנִים* to look one another in the face (i.e. to contend in combat) 2 Ki. 14, 8. 11. 2 Chron. 25, 17. 21 is probably only a shortened form for *הִתְרָאָה פָּנִים אֶל־פָּנִים*.

² That *אִפְּסִים* (אֶרְצָה) is really to be regarded as a virtual predicate to *אִפְּסִים*, and not *אִפְּסִים* as a *casus instrumenti*, is seen from Is. 49, 23, where *אֶרְצָה* precedes the verb.

³ Some examples of these have been already discussed in another connexion above, § 120. *a-c*.

examples like Is. 5, 11 *a that they may follow strong drink*; Hab. 3, 16 *יגדפוּ that he may invade them*; Job 16, 8. 30, 28.

Of (2), subordinate verbal-clauses with לֹא (in English usually rendered by *f* *without* and the gerund, if the subject be the same as in the principal clause), e. g. Lev. 1, 17 *לֹא יבְדִיל לֹא without dividing it asunder*; Job 31, 34; לֹא with the perfect is so used in Gen. 44, 4. Ex. 34, 28. 1 Sam. 30, 2. Job 20, 26 (*without its being blown upon it*). With a different subject, equivalent to a consecutive clause in English, e. g. Is. 27, 9 *לֹא יִקְמוּ so that they shall rise up no more*.—Moreover, verbal-clauses in the same sense (*without* doing, &c.) are frequently connected by וְלֹא; comp. 1 Sam. 20, 2. Job 24, 22. 42, 3; in a concessive sense, Is. 33, 1. Ps. 44, 18.

Of (3), comp. לֹא יָדַע (prop. *he knows it not*) *unawares*, Ps. 35, 8. Prov. 5, 6 *g* לֹא יִחַמֵּל *unsparingly*, Is. 30, 14 (after an infinitive absolute); Hab. 1, 17. Job 6, 10 (but *יִחַמֵּל וְלֹא* Job 16, 13. 27, 22; see letter *f* at the end); לֹא כִּחְדוּ (prop. *they hide not*) *openly*, Is. 3, 9 (but *יִחְדוּ וְלֹא* Job 15, 18); בְּלִי חֲשָׁה (prop. *he restrains not*) *unceasingly*, Is. 14, 6; בְּלִי-יִמוּט Job 41, 15 (Ps. 93, 1 *בְּלִי-הִמּוּט*) and לֹא יִמוּט Is. 40, 20 equivalent to *without tottering, immovably*; comp. also לֹא אֲמַעַד *without wavering*, Ps. 26, 1.

§ 157. Object-Clauses.

Clauses which depend on a transitive verb, especially on what are *a* called the *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*.

Examples:—

(*a*) Object-clauses without a conjunction. Besides the passages mentioned in § 120 (especially under letter *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. Gen. 12, 13 *אָהֳתִי אָמַרְיִנָּה אָהֳתִי אַתָּה say, I pray thee, thou art my sister*; Zech. 8, 23 (after *שָׁמַע*); Ps. 9, 21 (after *יָדַע*); verbal-clauses, e. g. Ps. 50, 21 *תוּ חִשְׁבֹתָ כְּמוֹד הָיִוְתָהּ הִיא I was altogether like thyself*; Gen. 41, 15. Jud. 9, 48 *מַה רָאִיתָ עָלַי אֲנִי אֲשֶׁר עָשִׂיתָ לִּי what ye have seen me do*; Is. 48, 8. Hos. 7, 2.

(*b*) Object-clauses introduced by כִּי, e. g. Gen. 6, 5 *וַיִּרְא יְהוָה כִּי רַבָּה רָעַת בְּכִי and the Lord saw that the wickedness of man was great, &c.*—Direct narration also is very frequently introduced by כִּי (analogous to the *ŕi recitativum*; frequently, indeed, with the secondary idea of a particle of asseveration, as in Gen. 26, 9. 27, 20), e. g. Gen. 21, 30. 22, 16 sq. 26, 22. 29, 32. 37, 35. Jos. 2, 24, &c., even when the direct narration is not expressly indicated, Gen. 4, 25.

32, 31. 41, 51 sq. Ex. 18, 4.—On the expression of a second object by means of a clause introduced by **כִּי**, see § 117. *h*¹.

- c* (c) Object-clauses introduced by **אֲשֶׁר**, e.g. Est. 3, 4 **אֲשֶׁר הוּא** **כִּי־הִגִּיד לָהֶם** **אֲשֶׁר הוּא** **יְהוּדִי** for he had told them that he was a Jew; 1 Sam. 18, 15. Ezek. 20, 26. Eccles. 8, 12², even before direct narration, 1 Sam. 15, 20. 2 Sam. 1, 4. Somewhat frequently **אֲשֶׁר** is preceded by the *nota accusativi* **אֵת** (equivalent to the *circumstance, the fact, that*), e.g. Jos. 2, 10. 1 Sam. 24, 11. 19. 2 Sam. 11, 20. Is. 38, 3, but in Gen. 30, 29. Deut. 29, 15 equivalent to *the way in which*.

§ 158. Causal Clauses.

- a* A complete clause, which assigns the reason for statements, demands, threats, &c., sometimes follows with the simple *wāw* copulative, e.g. Ps. 60, 13 *give us help against the adversary, and (for) vain is the help of man*; Gen. 22, 12. Ex. 23, 9. Job 22, 12, perhaps also Ps. 7, 10; or even without *Wāw*, e.g. Gen. 17, 14. As a rule, however, special conjunctions in various combinations are used to introduce causal clauses.
- b* The most common causal conjunctions are **יַעַן כִּי** Is. 3, 16 and elsewhere, and **יַעַן אֲשֶׁר** *because, prop. on account of the fact that*; both, however, may also be shortened to the simple **יַעַן** Num. 20, 12 and elsewhere, or to **כִּי** *because*, Gen. 3, 14. 17 and elsewhere, or to **אֲשֶׁר** Gen. 30, 18. 31, 49. 34, 13. 27. 1 Sam. 15, 15. 20, 42. 26, 16. 23. 1 Ki. 3, 19. 8, 33. Hos. 14, 4. Zech. 1, 15; also **בְּאֲשֶׁר** Gen. 39, 9. 23. On the other hand, the simple **יַעַן** is sometimes repeated for emphasis, **יַעַן וַיַּעַן** (something like the German *sintemal und alldieweil*) Lev. 26, 43. Ezek. 13, 10 (without **וְ** 36, 3); also **עַל־אֲשֶׁר** 2 Sam. 3, 30, and **עַל־כִּי**³ Deut. 31, 17. Jud. 3, 12. Mal. 2, 14 *on the ground that*; **עַל־דִּבְרֵי אֲשֶׁר** *because of the circumstance that*, Deut. 23, 5; **עַל־בִּלְאֵדוֹת אֲשֶׁר** *for this very cause that*, Jer. 3, 8. But just as the simple **יַעַן** is used for **יַעַן אֲשֶׁר**, so also the simple **עַל־** with the perfect stands for **עַל־אֲשֶׁר** Ps. 119, 136. Ezra 3, 11; comp. **עַל־בְּלִי** Gen. 31, 20

¹ 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. Num. 21, 23 **וְלֹא־נָתַן כִּי־חַוֵּהוּ אֶת־יִשְׂרָאֵל עֲבַר בְּנַבְלֹו** and *Sihon did not suffer Israel to pass through his border*; 20, 21; followed by an infinitive with **לְ**, e.g. Gen. 20, 6. 31, 7. Ex. 3, 19. Comp. also the analogous examples in Deut. 28, 56 (after **נָפְחָה** *to venture*; see § 113. *d*); Jud. 11, 20 (after **הִאֲמִין** *to trust*); 1 Ki. 19, 4 (after **שָׁאַל** *to request*).

² In Jer. 28, 9 a *subject*-clause is thus introduced by **אֲשֶׁר** instead of the usual **כִּי**.

³ Also **כִּי־עַל־בֵּן** prop. *for therefore*, Gen. 18, 5. 19, 8. 33, 10. 38, 26. Num. 10, 31. 14, 43. 2 Sam. 18, 20 *Qrd*, and **אֲשֶׁר עַל־בֵּן** Job 34, 27 always mean *forasmuch as*.

and מִבְּלִי Deut. 28, 55, both with the perfect, equivalent to *because . . . not*.—Comp. further, עָקַב אֲשֶׁר Gen. 22, 18. 26, 5. 2 Sam. 12, 6, all with the perfect, and עָקַב כִּי (2 Sam. 12, 10 with the perfect; Amos 4, 12 with the imperfect) prop. *in return* for the fact *that*; similarly again the simple עָקַב Num. 14, 24 with the perfect, and Deut. 7, 12. 8, 20 with the imperfect; finally, מֵאֲשֶׁר Is. 43, 4 *arising* from the fact *that*, = *because*; תַּחַת אֲשֶׁר 1 Sam. 26, 21 and elsewhere, and כִּי תַחַת Deut. 4, 37. Prov. 1, 29 *for the reason that*.

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; comp., e. g. Amos 1, 3. 6. 13. 2, 1. 6. 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. Amos 1, 9 וְלֹא זָכְרוּ . . . עַל-הַסִּיּוֹם *because they delivered up . . . and remembered not, &c.*; 1, 11. 2, 4; without *Wāw*, Is. 30, 14.

2. The choice of tense is regulated by the general principles stated in § 106 sqq., viz. the perfect (comp. especially § 106. *f*) refers to causes already brought fully into effect, the imperfect to those which may contingently arise; comp. e. g. Deut. 7, 12. 8, 20. 1 Ki. 8, 33, where the imperfect leaves the possibility still open that the persons addressed will perhaps escape the threatened punishments by avoiding disobedience.—Comp. further, § 111. *h* on the imperfect consecutive, and § 112. *nn* on the perfect consecutive in the apodosis to causal clauses.

§ 159. Conditional Sentences.

Comp. 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.-Dissertation).—Driver, *Use of the Tenses*, 3rd ed., p. 174 sqq.

1. The great variety of construction in conditional sentences is owing to the fact that it frequently depends on the subjective judgement 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 sqq.¹ In the following sketch, for the sake of clearness, conditional sentences *without* conditional particles will be first discussed (letter *δ*), and afterwards sentences *with* these particles (letter *l*).

¹ 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.

b 2. The relation between condition and consequence may be expressed, 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:—

- c* (a) *Imperfect* (comp. § 107. *x*) in protasis and apodosis, Jos. 22, 18. Ps. 104, 28 sqq. וְיִלְקְטוּן^1 לָהֶם תִּתֵּן^2 *if thou givest unto them, they gather, &c.*; Ps. 139, 18. Job 20, 24. Eccles. 1, 18. Neh. 1, 8; with an interrogative imperfect in the apodosis, Jud. 13, 12; with the jussive, Job 10, 16; with the cohortative, Prov. 1, 23; with the perfect, Is. 26, 10 (*yet will he not learn righteousness*; the apodosis forcibly denies what the imperfect in the protasis had represented as still conceivable; comp. Hos. 8, 12); with the perfect consecutive, Gen. 47, 25. Ex. 33, 5; with the protasis suppressed, Job 5, 8 (see § 107. *x*).
- d* (b) *Jussive* in protasis (comp. § 109. *h*, 2) and apodosis, Ps. 104, 20 הַשֵּׁת־הַחֹשֶׁךְ $\text{וְיִהְיֶה לַיְלִיָּה$ *if thou makest darkness, it is night*; imperfect in the apodosis, Ps. 104, 29 *b*. Also in Ex. 7, 9 $\text{וְיִהְיֶה לְתַנְיִן}$ *it shall become a serpent*, is the apodosis to a suppressed protasis *if thou cast it down*; so in 2 Ki. 5, 10 וַיֵּשֶׁב 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, Ps. 40, 6; imperfect consecutive, Job 19, 18 וְיִדְבְּרוּ־בִי אֲקוּמָה *if I arise, they speak against me*; on the cohortative in the apodosis, comp. § 108. *f*.
- f* (d) *Imperfect consecutive* in the protasis (§ 111. *x*), Ps. 139, 11 וְאָמַר *if I say, &c.* (with a noun-clause as the apodosis); with a frequentative perfect consecutive in the apodosis, 1 Sam. 2, 16.
- g* (e) *Perfect consecutive* in the protasis and apodosis (see the examples, § 112. *kk* and *ll*), Gen. 44, 22 $\text{וְעוֹבֵב אָבִיו וּמָת}$ *and should he leave his father. his father would die*; 9, 15. 44, 29. Ex. 4, 14. 12, 13. 1 Sam. 16, 2. 19, 3. 2 Sam. 13, 28. 1 Ki. 8, 30; with frequentative perfects, Ex. 16, 21 (referring to the past, Jer. 20, 9); with imperfect in the apodosis (being separated from the *Wāw* by לָ), Num. 23, 20.

¹ On the termination הַן comp. § 47. *m*. In verse 28 *b* also וַיִּשְׁבְּעוּן is probably to be explained from its immediately preceding the greater *pause*. These terminations in verses 28–30 and Ps. 139, 18 can scarcely have any connexion with the conditional sentence, although it is strange that הַן in Num. 32, 23 appears after אִם־לֹא even in the protasis. In Num. 16, 29. 32, 20 הַן before אִם (as in Job 31, 10 in the apodosis) is to be explained from the dislike of hiatus.

Job 5, 24; separated by an infinitive absolute, 1 Ki. 2, 37; an interrogative clause in the apodosis, Lev. 10, 19; a noun-clause, Ps. 37, 10. Job 7, 21.

(f) *A simple perfect* (to represent actions which are to be regarded as completed) *h* in the protasis and apodosis, Prov. 18, 22 מָצָא אִשָּׁה מְצָא טוֹב has one found a wife he has found a good thing; 24, 10; an imperfect in the apodosis, Job 19, 4, 23, 10; an imperfect consecutive, Ex. 20, 25. Prov. 11, 2. Job 3, 25, 23, 13^b. 29, 11; an interrogative clause, Num. 12, 14. Job 7, 20 if I have sinned (prop., well, now I have sinned!) what can I do unto thee? 21, 31. 35, 6. Amos 3, 8; a noun-clause, Job 27, 19.

(g) *A participle as casus pendens* (comp. § 143. d, and the sections of the Grammar *i* there referred to) or a complete noun-clause in the protasis; the apodosis mostly introduced by *wāw apodosis*, e. g. Prov. 23, 24 קָח לְךָ חֵן בְּעֵינֵי הַיְלֵד if one begetteth a wise child, he shall have joy of him; with perfect frequentative in the apodosis, 1 Sam. 2, 13 and elsewhere; but also with a simple imperfect, e. g. Ex. 21, 12 (comp. § 112. n); with an interrogative imperfect, 2 Ki. 7, 2, 19; with an interrogative perfect, Jud. 6, 13.

(h) *Infinitive with preposition* (also as the equivalent of a conditional clause) *k* in the protasis, and a perfect consecutive in the apodosis (comp. § 112. mm), e. g. 2 Sam. 7, 14 sqq. וְגַם בְּהַעֲוֹתוֹ יִהְיֶה חֶסֶד וְחַנּוּן if he commit iniquity, I will correct him with the rod of men; Ex. 34, 34 sq. (with imperfect, followed by perfects frequentative in the apodosis).

Rem. On the expression of condition and consequence by means of two coordinate imperatives, see § 110. f.

3. Particles used to introduce conditional sentences are אִם (for *l* which in the later and latest Books sometimes וְ, see below, letter *w*) and לִי¹ (1 Sam. 14, 30. Is. 63, 19 לִי; Eccles. 6, 6. Est. 7, 4 אִלּוּ, from לִי אִם) if, negative לֹא אִם and לֹא אִלּוּ (לִי אִלּוּ) 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) and לִי (לִי אִלּוּ), it is to be observed, as a fundamental rule, that אִם is used if the condition be regarded either as already fulfilled, or if it, together with its consequence, be thought of as possibly (or probably) occurring in the present or future. In the former case, אִם is followed by the perfect, in the latter (corresponding to the Greek *εάν* with the present subjunctive) by the imperfect or its equivalent (frequently in the apodosis also). On the other hand, לִי (לִי אִלּוּ) is used when the condition is to be represented as *not fulfilled* in the past, or as *not capable of fulfilment* in the present or future, and the consequence accordingly as *not having occurred* or *never occurring*. In the former case, לִי and לִי אִלּוּ are necessarily followed by the perfect (mostly also in the

¹ On לִי cf. Kohler in Geiger's *Zeitschr. für Wiss. und Leben*, vi (1868), p. 21 sqq.

apodosis) corresponding to the Greek $\epsilon\iota$ with the indicative of an historic tense, and the Latin imperfect or pluperfect subjective. In the latter case (which is extremely rare) the perfect, or the participle, or even the imperfect, may be used.

m Rem. Since it again frequently depends on the subjective judgment of the speaker (see letter *a*), whether a condition is to be regarded as possible or impossible, we cannot wonder that the distinction between אם and לִּי is not always consistently observed. Although naturally לִּי and לִּי־אִם cannot take the place of אם and אִם־לִּי (on the strange use of לִּי in Gen. 50, 15, see below), yet conversely אם is sometimes used where לִּי would certainly be expected; comp. e.g. Ps. 50, 12. 137, 5. 139, 8. Hos. 9, 12 (comp. verse 11). These examples, indeed (אם with the imperfect), may without difficulty be explained from the fact that the connexion of לִּי with the imperfect was evidently avoided, because the imperfect by its nature indicates a still unfinished action, and consequently (as opposed to לִּי) a still open possibility. But אם is also used for לִּי in connexion with the perfect, especially when an imprecation is attached by the apodosis to the condition introduced by אם , e.g. Ps. 7, 4 sqq. $\text{וְיִרְדֵּף וְגו' . . . אִם־עָשִׂיתִי זֹאת}$ *if I have done this . . . , let the enemy pursue my soul, &c.*, comp. Job 31, 9 sqq. The speaker assumes for a moment as possible and even actual, that which he really rejects as inconceivable, in order to invoke the most severe punishment on himself, if it should prove to be the case.

On the frequent addition of an infinitive absolute to the verb in clauses with אם , see § 113. *o* above.

Examples:—

n A. אם 1. with *perfect* in the protasis to express conditions, &c., which have been completely fulfilled in the past or which will be completely fulfilled in the future (the perfect is here equivalent to the *futurum exactum*, § 106. *o*). The apodosis¹ takes—

(a) A *perfect* also, e.g. Prov. 9, 12 $\text{אִם־חִכְמָתְךָ חִכְמָתְךָ לְךָ}$ *if thou art wise, thou art wise for thyself*; Ps. 73, 15 (see below on לִּי).

(b) *Imperfect*, e.g. Deut. 32, 41 אִם־שִׁנֹּתִי *if I whet my glittering sword . . . אֶשִׁיב* *I will render vengeance, &c.*; Job 9, 15 sq. and 30 (in both cases we should expect לִּי rather than אם ; so also Ps. 44, 21 sq., with an interrogative imperfect in the apodosis); Job 11, 13 (the apodosis is in verse 15).

(c) *Jussive* (or *optative*), e.g. Job 31, 9 sqq. (see letter *m* above); Gen. 18, 3.

o (d) *Perfect consecutive* (see the examples in § 112. *gg*), e.g. Gen. 43, 9 $\text{אִם־לֹא־יָבִיאֵנִי וְגו'}$ *if I bring him not . . . then I shall have sinned, &c.*; Jud. 16, 17. 2 Sam. 15, 33. 2 Ki. 7, 4. On the other hand, e.g. Gen. 47, 6. Mic. 5, 7. Job 7, 4 refer to actions already completed; in Gen. 38, 9 and Num. 21, 9 the perfect with אם is a perfect frequentative and refers to past time.

¹ 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 Gen. 18, 28. 30. Jud. 11, 10. Ps. 63, 6 sq. 137, 6, and according to Dillmann Is. 4, 4.

(e) *Imperfect consecutive* (see § 111. q), e. g. Job 8, 4 *if thy children have sinned* (הַטָּאֵן) . . . , וַיִּשְׁלַחֵם he has delivered them, &c.

(f) *Imperative*, e. g. Gen. 50, 4 אִם־נָא מִצָּאתַי הֵן בְּעֵינַיְכֶם דַּבְּרִי־נָא וּג' *if now I have found grace in your eyes, speak, I pray you, &c.*; the imperative precedes in Gen. 47, 16 and Job 38, 4. 18.

(g) A (complete or incomplete) noun-clause, e. g. Jer. 14, 18 (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.*; Prov. 24, 14 (וַיֵּשׁ with *wāw apodosis*).

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. Num. 32, 23 הִנֵּה הִטָּאתֶם בְּזוֹ הַיְהוָה לֵאמֹר־לֹא תַעֲשׂוּן בְּזוֹ הַיְהוָה *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 Job 20, 12-14. On the other hand, Num. 16, 29 (as also 1 Sam. 6, 9 and 1 Ki. 22, 28) 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.*

(b) The *imperfect*, e. g. 2 Ki. 7, 4 אִם־יְחִינּוּ נְחִיָּה *if they save us alive, we shall live, &c.*; Gen. 13, 16. 18. 28. 30. 28, 20 sqq. Ex. 20, 25 (the second imperfect is equivalent to a jussive); Is. 1, 18. 10, 22. Amos 9, 2-4. Ps. 50, 12 (where אִם ironically represents an impossibility as possible); Job 8, 5 sq. (with the insertion of a second condition in the form of a noun-clause); 9, 3. 20. 14, 7; a frequentative imperfect referring to the past, Gen. 31, 8 אִם־עַבְדָּה יֹאמֵר *if (ever) he said thus . . . , וַיִּלְדוּ then they bare . . .*; Ex. 40, 37. In Gen. 42, 37 the consequence (on תְּמִית cf. § 107. s) precedes the condition.

(c) The *jussive* (or *optative*), e. g. Ps. 137, 5; comp. § 109. h.

(d) The *cohortative*, e. g. Gen. 13, 9. Job 31, 7; comp. § 108. f.

(e) The *perfect consecutive* (see the examples in § 112. ff and gg), e. g. 1 Sam. 20, 6 וְאִמְרָתִי אֲבִיד וְאִמְרָתִי אֲבִיד *if thy father miss me at all, then shalt thou say, &c.*; Gen. 24, 41. Jud. 4, 20; with a frequentative perfect consecutive, Gen. 31, 8 *if he said* (as often happened) . . . , *then, &c.*

(f) The *imperfect consecutive*; so perhaps Ps. 59, 16, if וַיִּלְכֶנּוּ is to be explained according to § 111. t.

(g) The *imperative*, e. g. Gen. 31, 50. 1 Sam. 20, 21 (with *wāw apodosis*, but in verse 22 simply לֵךְ). 21, 10. Job 33, 5.

(h) A noun-clause, e. g. Gen. 4, 7. Ps. 139, 8. Job 8, 6. 31, 26 sq.

3. אִם with *cohortative*, e. g. Gen. 30, 31; comp. the passages in § 108. e.

4. אִם with *infinitive*, Job 9, 27 אִם־אֶמְרִי אִם־אֶמְרִי prop. *if my saying is* (probably, however, we should read וְאִמְרִי).

5. אִם with a noun-clause, e. g. Deut. 5, 22 (in the apodosis a perfect with *wāw apodosis*), Gen. 27, 46. Jud. 9, 15 (imperative in the apodosis); 11, 9 (imperfect in the apodosis); 2 Sam. 12, 8 (cohortative in the apodosis); Hos. 12, 12; especially if the subject of the conditional clause be a personal pronoun. In an affirmative sentence this pronoun is often joined to וַיֵּשׁ, in a negative sentence to אִם (comp. on both, § 100. o), while the predicate (cf. § 116. q) is represented by a participle, usually expressing the future, e. g. Jud. 6, 36 sq. אִם־יִשְׁךָ מוֹשִׁיעַ

if thou wilt save, &c.; Gen. 24, 49 אַם-יִשְׁכַּם עֲשִׂים *if ye will deal, &c.*; 1 Sam. 23, 23. In Gen. 24, 42 sq. the condition is expressed in a more humble form by the addition of נָפָא. With יִיִן Gen. 43, 5 וְאִם-אֵינְךָ מִשְׁלָחַךְ *but if thou wilt not send, &c.*; 20, 7 (with imperative in the apodosis); Ex. 8, 17. 9, 2 sq. 1 Sam. 19, 11 (all with a participle also in the apodosis). But יִיִן and יִיִן may also be used after אַם without a suffix; thus יִיִן Gen. 23, 8. 1 Sam. 20, 8. 2 Ki. 9, 15, and elsewhere, אִם-יִיִן (*if it be not the case*) Gen. 30, 1. Ex. 32, 32. Jud. 9, 15. 2 Ki. 2, 10; comp. also אִם-יִיִן *if it be so*, Gen. 25, 22.

zv B. הִן *if*, according to the common opinion originally identical with הִן *behold!* Probably, however, הִן *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 הִן or הִנֵּה. Comp. Ex. 8, 22. Is. 54, 15. Jer. 3, 1. 2 Chron. 7, 13. But in Job 12, 14 and 23, 8 the meaning *behold* is to be preferred.

x C. לֹא *if*, לֹאִי (לֹאִי) *if not*.

1. With *perfect* in the protasis and apodosis (comp. § 106. *p*), e.g. 1 Sam. 14, 30 'וְג' אַף כִּי לֹא אָבַל אָבַל הַיּוֹם הָעֵם וְג' *how much more, if the people had eaten freely . . . , had there not been a great (= much greater) slaughter? &c.*; Jud. 8, 19; אִלַּי is used in the same sense as לֹא in Est. 7, 4, comp. Eccles. 6, 6 (with a question in the apodosis).—With the perfect in protasis and apodosis after לֹאִי Gen. 31, 42. 43, 10. Jud. 14, 18. 1 Sam. 25, 34. 2 Sam. 2, 27. Is. 1, 9. On the other hand, in Deut. 32, 29 לֹא with a perfect is followed by an imperfect in the apodosis, *if they were wise, they would understand this*; in Mic. 2, 11 by a perfect consecutive.

y 2. With *imperfect* after לֹאִי Deut. 32, 27, אָנֹכִי probably as the *modus rei repetitae*, *were it not that I ever and again feared, &c.*; so also the imperfect after לֹא with the apodosis suppressed, Gen. 50, 15 *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. Ps. 73, 15. Job 9, 15 sq. 30, לֹא would be more natural than אַם.

z 3. A noun-clause occurs after לֹא 2 Sam. 18, 12. 2 Ki. 3, 14. Ps. 81, 14, all with imperfect in the apodosis; Job 16, 4 לֹא יִשָּׂא, with cohortative in the apodosis.

D. כִּי *supposing that, if*:—

aa 1. כִּי with *perfect* in the protasis, e.g. Num. 5, 20 וְאָתָּה כִּי שָׁטִיתָ *but thou, if thou hast gone astray, &c.*; with a frequentative perfect consecutive in the apodosis, Job 7, 13 sq.; with an imperfect consecutive, Job 22, 29.

bb 2. כִּי with *imperfect* in the protasis, e.g. Ps. 23, 4 כִּי-אֶלֶךְ גַּם כִּי-אֶלֶךְ *yea, though I walk (have to walk) . . . , I will fear no evil*; 37, 24; Ex. 21, 2 'וְג' כִּי-תִקְנֶה עֶבֶד עִבְרִי וְג' *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 sqq.); comp. Gen. 4, 24. 24, 41. Job 38, 5; with a perfect consecutive in the apodosis, Gen. 32, 18 sq. Ex. 18, 16; with a noun-clause, Is. 1, 15.

3. כִּי with a *noun-clause* (and imperfect in the apodosis), 2 Sam. 19, 8.

REMARKS.

1. In 2 Ki. 5, 13 the particle אָבִי (Masora אָבִי, probably in the sense of *my father*) appears exceptionally for לִי; its meaning here is unquestionable, but its origin is obscure. Comp. the exhaustive discussion of Delitzsch and Wetzstein on Job 34, 36, where this אָבִי 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 אִּי or, e.g. Ex. 21, 36 אִּי נֹדַע וְג' or (another possible case) *it is known that, &c., i. e. but if it be known, &c.*, LXX ἐὰν δέ, Vulg. *sin autem*; comp. Lev. 4, 23. 28. 5, 1. 25, 49. 2 Sam. 18, 13; with a following imperfect, Ezek. 14, 17 sq.—On the hypothetical use of אִּי (which is interchangeable with כִּי in other senses also) Lev. 4, 22 (in verses 3 and 27 אִּי), Deut. 11, 27 (verse 28 אִּי), Jos. 4, 21, see the Lexicon.

2. The conditional sentence is frequently found in an abridged form, where the suppressed clauses can be easily supplied from the context; comp. Gen. 13, 9. 24, 49. 1 Sam. 2, 16 וְאִם-לֹא and *if not*, equivalent to *and if thou wilt not give it to me, then I take it* (perfect according to § 106. n) *by force*; comp. 1 Sam. 6, 9. The use of וְיֵשׁ alone in Jud. 6, 13 is peculiar, as also in 2 Ki. 10, 15 (where we should read with the LXX וְיֵשׁ וַיֵּאמֶר יְהוָה וְיֵשׁ in the sense of *if it be so*; so in 2 Sam. 13, 26. 2 Ki. 5, 17 וְלֹא alone is 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).—In 1 Sam. 13, 13. Job 3, 13 the condition must be supplied from the preceding clause to complete the sentence introduced by כִּי (Job 31, 28 by כִּי, 2 Ki. 13, 19 by אִּי).—The apodosis also appears sometimes in an abridged form (e.g. Gen. 4, 24. Is. 43, 2) or is entirely suppressed, e.g. Gen. 30, 27. 38, 17. 50, 15 (see letter *y* above), Ex. 32, 32. Ps. 27, 13. Job 38, 5, where properly הִנֵּן must be supplied with כִּי תִדַּע as in verses 4 and 18; cf. § 167. a.—In Ps. 8, 4, instead of the apodosis *I exclaim* which we should expect, the exclamation itself follows.

3. The absolute certainty with which a result is to be expected, is frequently emphasized by the insertion of כִּי Is. 7, 9; 2 Sam. 2, 27. 19, 7. Job 11, 15; or כִּי עַתָּה *now verily*, Num. 22, 29. 1 Sam. 14, 30 after לִי, Gen. 31, 42. 43, 10 after לוֹלִי, Job 8, 6 after אִּי. On this *corroborative* כִּי comp. such passages as Gen. 18, 20, &c., and § 148. d.

4. Sometimes the force of a hypothetical particle extends beyond the apodosis to a second conditional clause, as in the case of אִּי Prov. 9, 12. Job 10, 15. 16, 6. 22, 23, and כִּי Is. 43, 2.

5. In Ex. 33, 20 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*; comp. the similar passages, Deut. 22, 1. 4 *thou shalt not see . . . and hide thyself*, instead of *if thou seest . . . thou shalt not hide thyself*.

§ 160. Concessive Clauses.

Besides the use of the imperative in the sense of a concession, *a* 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 Job 9, 15 with perfect, *if (=though) I had been in the right*; Is. 1, 18 and 10, 22 with imperfect in reference to a contingent event.
- b (b) By **כִּי אֲנִי** *yea though*, Is. 1, 15 with imperfect; for which we find simply **אֲנִי** in Is. 49, 15 with imperfect, *yea, though these may forget, yet . . .*; on the other hand, with perfect, Jer. 36, 25. Ps. 95, 9. Neh. 6, 1; finally **אֲנִי אֲפִלּוּ** *even if, though*, Eccles. 4, 14.
- c (c) By the preposition **עַל־** governing a complete noun-clause, as Job 16, 17 **עַל לֹא־חַמָּס בְּכַפִּי** *notwithstanding that no violence is in mine hands*, or a verbal-clause, Is. 53, 9. On **עַל־** with the infinitive in a similar sense (equivalent to *in addition to the fact that = notwithstanding that*), comp. § 119. aa, note 2.

§ 161. Comparative Clauses.

- a 1. A comparison between two facts is sometimes established by 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. Job 5, 7 *man is born unto trouble, and the sons of flame fly upward*, i. e. as the sparks by nature fly upward, so man, &c.; Job 12, 11 (in an interrogative form; in 34, 3 the same comparison as a statement); more commonly in the opposite order, 14, 11 sq. Prov. 17, 3. 25, 3. 26, 3. 9. 14. 27, 21, &c.¹ Even without the connecting **וְ** Job 24, 19 *drought and heat consume the snow waters*, **וְשָׂאוֹל חָטָא** so doth *Sheël* those who have sinned (comp. § 155. n); comp. Jer. 17, 11.
- b 2. The conjunction **כַּאֲשֶׁר** (comp. § 155. g; the simple **אֲשֶׁר** occurs in the same sense in Ex. 10, 6. 14, 13. 34, 18) *as, quemadmodum*, is used as a comparative conjunction (Obad. 15), frequently with **כֵּן** *so*, corresponding to it in the apodosis, Is. 31, 4. 52, 14 sq. Sometimes, however, **כֵּן** (*so also*) occurs even after independent statements, Is. 55, 9. Jer. 3, 20.—Exact coincidence of two facts is expressed in Eccles. 5, 15 by **כָּל־עֵמֶת אֵשׁ** *in all points as*.

¹ On this *wāw adaequationis*, and in general on these *figurative* maxims of comparison, see Delitzsch, *Das Salomonische Spruchbuch*, p. 9 sq. Moreover, instead of entire clauses, the nouns alone (without predicates) are frequently grouped together, e. g. Prov. 25, 12. 25 sq. (called by Delitzsch, the 'emblematic *Mashal*'). The expressions **עִם נְחָשׁב** prop. *to be counted with some one*, Ps. 88, 5, and **עִם נְמֻשָּׁל** *to be likened with some one*, Ps. 28, 1. 143, 7, also arise from the idea of comparison implied in grouping things together. On this use of **עִם** cf. Job 9, 26, where *with* is equivalent to *like*.

Rem. On the use of כִּי *as*, with single nouns or pronouns to introduce comparisons, comp. § 118. *s*; on the alleged use of כִּי as a conjunction (equivalent to כִּי־כִּי), comp. § 155. *g*.—It is to be further remarked that כִּי־כִּי when used in correspondence with one another, *as—so* (e. g. Lev. 7, 7. Is. 24, 2. Hos. 4, 9; also *so—as*, Gen. 18, 25. 44, 18; in Jos. 14, 11. 1 Sam. 30, 24 כִּי־כִּי ; Ps. 127, 4 כִּי־כִּי , comp. Joel 2, 4), are not to be regarded as conjunctions, but as virtual substantives with a following genitive; כִּי־כִּי־יְהוָה Num. 15, 15 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. Lev. 24, 22.

§ 162. *Disjunctive Sentences.*

The introduction of another possible case, excluding that which preceded, is effected by אִם *or*, e. g. Ex. 21, 36, equivalent to the Latin *vel*; but also equivalent to *aut* with an exclusive antithesis, 2 Ki. 2, 16; so Is. 27, 5 אִם = *it would then happen that*, for which elsewhere כִּי אִם .

In the sense of *sive—sive* we find אִם—אִם , or אִם—אִם , or אִם—אִם (see the examples in the Lexicon), also אִם—אִם Lev. 5, 3. Num. 9, 14. Deut. 24, 7. Is. 2, 13 sqq. Jer. 32, 20. Ps. 76, 7. Job 34, 29, perhaps also Ex. 21, 16 (but not Prov. 29, 9; comp. Delitzsch on the passage), and אִם—אִם (see § 143. *e*); cf. also אִם—אִם (in Gen. 24, 44 אִם—אִם) *both—and*; but אִם—אִם (in Gen. 21, 26 אִם—אִם ; Zech. 1, 18 אִם—אִם) *neither—nor*. On disjunctive questions, see § 150. *g*.

§ 163. *Adversative and Exceptive Clauses.*

1. After negative sentences (especially after prohibitions) the antithesis (*but*) is introduced by אִם כִּי , e. g. 1 Sam. 8, 19 *and they said, Nay, but we will have a king over us*; Ps. 1, 2 and elsewhere; frequently also by כִּי alone, e. g. Gen. 18, 15. 19, 2, or even simply connected by אִם , Gen. 17, 5, אִם אִם as perfect consecutive; 42, 10; cf. Ex. 5, 18.

Rem. Sometimes the negation is only virtually contained in the preceding sentence, e. g. in the form of a rhetorical question (Mic. 6, 3 sq.) or of conditions which are to be regarded as not having been fulfilled (Job 31, 18); כִּי אִם or אִם כִּי in such cases becomes equivalent to *nay, rather*.

2. *Exceptive* clauses, depending on another sentence, are introduced by אִם אִם *except that*, and (again after negative sentences, see letter *a* above) אִם אִם *unless*; especially אִם כִּי with the perfect (equivalent

¹ Very probably this use of אִם כִּי arises from the original meaning *for if, surely if* (כִּי in an affirmative sense); so evidently in Ex. 22, 22 as a forcible

to *unless previously*) after imperfects which contain a declaration, e. g. Gen. 32, 27 *I will not let thee go, except thou hast previously blessed me*; Lev. 22, 6. Is. 55, 10. 65, 6. Amos 3, 7. Ruth 3, 18. Finally, בְּלִתִּי אִם *unless*, Amos 3, 4 (with perfect after a rhetorical question), or simply בְּלִתִּי Gen. 43, 3 with a noun-clause, *except your brother be with you*; Is. 10, 4 after a rhetorical question, with a verbal-clause.

- d Rem. The principal statement, to which אִם כִּי appends an exception, must sometimes be supplied from the context; thus, Gen. 40, 14 (*I desire nothing else except that thou remember me, equivalent to only do thou remember, &c.* (comp. § 106. *n*, note 2). Comp. Mic. 6, 8, where אִם כִּי, equivalent to *nothing but*, is used before an infinitive, and Job 42, 8, equivalent to *only*, before a noun.

§ 164. Temporal Clauses.

- a 1. The relations of time existing between two different actions or 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 וְהָיָה), e. g. Gen. 7, 6 *and Noah was six hundred years old* (prop. *a son of six hundred years*), הָיָה וְהַמַּבּוּל הָיָה *and* (i. e. *when*) *the flood was*. This is especially the case when the predicate of the noun-clause (frequently introduced by עוֹד *still*) is expressed by an active participle, e. g. Job 1, 16 sq. עוֹד זֶה מְדַבֵּר וְזֶה בָּא וְגו' *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 כִּלְ with a participial attribute in the sense of *whenever any one . . .*, e. g. 1 Sam. 2, 13 כִּלְ-אִישׁ זֶבַח וְבָא וְגו' *whenever any man offered sacrifice, then came, &c.*; 2 Sam. 2, 23 and elsewhere; see the examples (in which the second member is generally introduced by *wāw apodosis*) in § 116. *w*.

- b (b) Sequence is expressed by the juxtaposition (1) of two imperfects consecutive, e. g. Gen. 24, 19 וְהִשְׁקָתוֹ וְתָאָמַר *and when she had done giving him drink, she said, &c.*; 28, 8 sq. 29, 31. 30, 9. 32, 26, &c.; comp. § 111. *d*; (2) of a noun-clause with a passive participle as predicate, and a verbal-clause attached by וְ, e. g. Gen. 38, 25; comp. § 116. *v*; in Gen. 49, 29 an imperative follows without וְ; (3) of two perfects (frequently with the secondary idea of rapid succession¹ of the two actions or events in past time), e. g. Gen. 19, 23 . . . הִשְׁמַט יָצָא

resumption of the preceding אִם. Thus, e. g. Jud. 15, 7 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. Ruth 3, 18 *surely* (or *for*) *when he has finished it* (then the man will rest). It is far less natural to assume such an ellipse with אִם כִּי *but* (before entire clauses as before single nouns); see letter *a* above.

¹ 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*,

וְלֹזֵם בָּא וּגְ' *the sun was just risen . . . , and Lot came, &c.*, comp. 1 Sam. 9, 5, 2 Sam. 2, 24; Gen. 44, 3 sq. Jud. 3, 24. 15, 14. 20, 39 sq.—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. Gen. 44, 4 וְהִשָּׁנְתָם וְאָמַרְתָּ אֲלֵהֶם *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, 6, cf. § 112. *oo*.—In 1 Sam. 29, 10 an imperative with ׀ follows the perfect consecutive.

(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 (Gen. 24, 15¹), is then connected by ׀ (or וְהִנֵּה) as in the examples above, under no. 3, e. g. Gen. 19, 4 (comp. Jos. 2, 8) טָרָם יֵשְׁבֻּ וְאֲנִי׀ *they had not yet lain down, and (= when) the men of the city . . . compassed, &c.*; Gen. 24, 25.

2. Conjunctions used to introduce temporal clauses are כִּי and אֲשֶׁר² *d* when (כִּי with the imperfect also = *as often as*, Ps. 8, 4); less frequently אֲמַם³ (joined with a perfect), e. g. Gen. 38, 9. Num. 21, 9. Jud. 6, 3. Ps. 41, 7. 94, 18, comp. also Is. 24, 13 = *quotiescunque*; also in the same sense with an imperfect, Num. 36, 4; with a perfect equivalent to the *futurum exactum*, Is. 4, 4. Other conjunctions of time are the compounds כִּמוֹ when, Gen. 19, 15; כַּאֲשֶׁר when, after that; עַד־אֲשֶׁר until (also the simple עַד, e. g. Gen. 38, 11. Jos. 2, 22. 1 Sam. 1, 22 [with the imperfect = *only when*, as in 2 Sam. 10, 5]; 2, 5 and elsewhere; especially in the formula עַד־בְּלֹתִי הַשְּׂאִיר לוֹ until there was none left remaining to him, Num. 21, 35. Deut. 3, 3. Jos. 8, 22. 11, 8; but 1 Sam. 14, 19 while, as long as); עַד אֲשֶׁר לֹא before that, Eccles. 12, 1. 2. 6 with an imperfect, as in Prov. 8, 26 עַד with a perfect; עַד־אֲמַם until the time when; אֲחֵרֵי־אֲשֶׁר (for which in Ezek.

note 1) is implied in the co-ordination of a noun-clause with another clause. In Gen. 27, 30 the immediate succession is especially emphasized by אַךְ and the infinitive absolute, *Jacob was yet scarce gone out . . . then Esau his brother came*; in Ps. 48, 6 by כִּי and the addition of two more perfects without ׀.

¹ On the perfect in the protasis, which is critically doubtful, comp. § 107. *c*.

² On אֲשֶׁר as an original demonstrative, cf. § 138. *a*; hence עַד־אֲשֶׁר נָשׁוּב *we shall return* is properly *up to that (moment)*—*we shall return*.

³ Analogous to the frequent use of *wenn* [prop. *if*] for *wann* [= *when*] in German.

40, 1 אַחֲר־אֲשֶׁר; Lev. 25, 48. 1 Sam. 5, 9 simply אַחֲרֵי; Lev. 14, 43. Jer. 41, 16. Job 42, 7 simply אַחֲרַי *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*, Gen. 39, 5; בְּטָרָם (and simply טָרָם § 107. c) *before*; קִרְמַח אֲשֶׁר (for קִרְמַח) *before*, Ps. 129, 6.

e Rem. 1. With regard to the tenses used with the above conjunctions, the rules are practically the same as those given in § 158. d for causal clauses. The perfect indicates actions completed in the past or future (in the former case corresponding to the Latin pluperfect, § 106. f, and in the latter to the Latin *futurum exactum*, § 106. o), the imperfect denotes actions occurring contingently in the future. On טָרָם, בְּטָרָם, and עַד with the imperfect as a *tempus historicum*, comp. § 107. c.

f 2. Clauses introduced by עַד, עַד־כִּי, or עַד־אֲשֶׁר, sometimes express a limit which is not absolute (terminating the preceding action), but only relative, beyond which the action or condition described in the principal clause still continues; thus, עַד with the imperfect, Ps. 110, 1; עַד־כִּי with the perfect, Gen. 26, 13; עַד־אֲשֶׁר with the perfect, Gen. 28, 15; with the imperfect, Ps. 112, 8.—Like the Arab. حَتَّى עַד may even introduce a main clause; e. g. Ex. 15, 16 עַד־יַעֲבֹר עַד־חַתִּי prop. no doubt=thus it came to this—*they passed over*, i. e. *so they passed over*.

g 3. The infinitive construct governed by a preposition (§ 114. d, e) is very frequently used as the equivalent of a temporal clause; the infinitive with בְּ may usually be rendered in English by *when, as, or whilst*; the infinitive with מִן by *when, as soon as* (in Prov. 10, 25 followed by a noun-clause introduced by *wāw apodosis*), or, when referring to the future, by *if*; the infinitive after מִן by *since*. According to § 111. g such statements of time are generally preceded by יְהִי and the apodosis follows in the imperfect consecutive; hence in 1 Sam. 17, 55 (cf. Driver on the passage) וְכִרְאוֹת with a simple perfect following, is unusual. On the continuation of these infinitival constructions by means of the perfect consecutive, comp. § 112. v, and in general, § 114. r.—With the participle בֹּנֵה appears to be used as the equivalent of a conjunction in בֹּנֵה מִשִּׁיב *as he drew back*, Gen. 38, 29 (unless we should read בִּנְהִיב), and in בִּנְהִיבָת *when it budded*, 40, 10.

§ 165. Final Clauses¹.

a 1. Like most of the dependent clauses hitherto treated, the final 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 וְ, Lam. 1, 19, see § 107. q; with an interrogative sentence, 2 Sam.

¹ Comp. H. G. T. Mitchell, *Final Constructions of Biblical Hebrew*, Leipzig, 1879.

9, 1. 3. Job 38, 24; with an optative, Ps. 51, 9; (β) of a cohortative with an imperative by ׀, Gen. 29, 21. 1 Sam. 15, 16, or a jussive, Neh. 2, 5 (§ 108. *d*); (γ) of a jussive with an imperative by ׀, Ex. 9, 1. 2 Sam. 16, 11. 1 Ki. 5, 20. Ps. 59, 14. 86, 17; with a jussive, Job 21, 19, or cohortative, § 109. *f, g* (comp. also 2 Sam. 24, 21 the infinitive with ׀, Jon. 1, 11 מָה with the 1st plur. imperf., and 2 Chron. 29, 10 עִם-לִבְבִי, which are equivalent to cohortatives); (δ) of an imperative with a jussive, cohortative, or interrogative sentence by ׀, § 110. *i*; (ϵ) of a perfect consecutive after another perfect consecutive, Lev. 14, 36; after an imperfect, § 112. *m* and *p*; similarly after a jussive, § 112. *q*; after an imperative, § 112. *r*.—On negative final clauses joined by וְלֹא to the imperfect (so Ex. 28, 43. 30, 20; and 2 Sam. 13, 25 after אֶל-נָפֶא with a jussive in the main clause) see the Rem. on § 109. *g*. In Ex. 28, 32. 39, 23 the negative final clause is simply connected by לֹא.—On the use of an historical statement after verbs of commanding, where we should expect a final clause (e. g. Neh. 13, 9 *then I commanded, and they cleansed*, equivalent to *that they should cleanse, and they cleansed*; in Job 9, 7 a negative final clause is connected in this way by וְלֹא), comp. § 120. *f*.

For examples of the direct subordination of the final imperfect (without ׀) see § 120. *c*.

2. Final conjunctions are לְמַעַן אֲשֶׁר *to the end that*; also simply לְמַעַן Gen. 12, 13. 27, 25. Ex. 4, 5. Ps. 51, 6 and elsewhere; בְּעֵבֶיךָ אֲשֶׁר *prop. for the purpose that*, Gen. 27, 10, and simply בְּעֵבֶיךָ Gen. 27, 4. Ex. 9, 14. 20, 20; also the simple אֲשֶׁר¹ Deut. 4, 10. 40. 6, 3. 32, 46. Jos. 3, 7. Neh. 8, 14 sq.; negatively, לֹא אֲשֶׁר Gen. 11, 7. 24, 3. 1 Ki. 22, 16; or וְשֵׁ Eccles. 3, 14; also negatively, עַל-דְּבַרְתָּ שְׁלֹא *for the matter (purpose) that . . . not*, Eccles. 7, 14; לְבִלְתִּי with imperfect, Ex. 20, 20. 2 Sam. 14, 14 *that . . . not*.—Quite exceptional is the use of מִן (if the text be right) in Deut. 33, 11 מִן-יְקוּמוֹן, with the imperfect, equivalent to *that . . . not* [in prose, בְּמִקּוּיִם].

Rem. All the conjunctions here mentioned are naturally always used with the imperfect, see § 107. *q* (on Jos. 4, 24, see § 74. *g*).—On the negative conjunctions לֹא and לֹא־כִּי *that not, lest*, see § 152. *f* and *w*. On the infinitive with לְ (also לְמַעַן Gen. 18, 19. 37, 22 and elsewhere) as the equivalent of a final clause (Gen. 11, 5. 28, 4, &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 לְבִלְתִּי, § 114. *s*. On the preposition מִן with a substantive or infinitive as the equivalent of a negative final clause (Gen. 31, 29. 1 Sam. 15, 23, &c.), see § 119. *x* and *y*.

¹ In Ezek. 36, 27 a final clause is introduced by אֲשֶׁר אֵת, thus at the same time taking the form of an object-clause.

² On לְ as a supposed conjunction (equivalent to the Arabic *li*) 1 Ki. 6, 19, see § 66. *i*.

§ 166. Consecutive Clauses.

a 1. Consecutive clauses are added by means of simple *wāw* copulative with the jussive¹, especially after negative and interrogative sentences, e. g. Num. 23, 19 וַיִּכְנַב וַיִּכְנַב וַיִּתְנַחֵם וַיִּתְנַחֵם *God is not a man, that he should lie, and (i. e. neither) the son of man, that he should repent*; Is. 53, 2 וְנִהְיֶה חָכֵם וְנִהְיֶה חָכֵם *who is wise, that he may understand these things? prudent, that he may know them?* In Gen. 16, 10 a negative consecutive clause comes after a cohortative, and in Ex. 10, 5 after a perfect consecutive.—On the other hand, in Job 9, 32. 33 the jussive in the sense of a consecutive clause is attached without *Wāw* to the preceding negative sentence (in 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*.

b 2. Conjunctions introducing consecutive clauses are again (see § 157. *c*, note 2) וְ and אֲשֶׁר = *so that*; especially again after interrogative sentences, according to § 107. *u*; comp. Num. 16, 11, וְ with the imperfect, *that ye murmur*; on the other hand, in Gen. 20, 10 with the perfect in reference to an action already completed. On אֲשֶׁר with the imperfect (or jussive) equivalent to *so that*, comp. further Gen. 13, 16. 22, 14; with perfect and imperfect, 1 Ki. 3, 12 sq., with the demonstrative force clearly discernible, depending on לָב; on אֲשֶׁר לֹא = *ut non*, comp. Deut. 28, 35. 1 Ki. 3, 8. 2 Ki. 9, 37.

On מִן with a substantive or infinitive as the equivalent of a consecutive clause, see § 119. *y*.

§ 167. Aposiopesis, Anacoluthon, Involved Series of Sentences.

a 1. *Aposiopesis* is the concealment or suppression of entire sentences or clauses, which are of themselves necessary to complete the sense², and therefore must be supplied from the context. This is especially

¹ That such examples as וַיִּכְנַב are to be regarded as jussive, is probable from the analogy of Hos. 14, 10 and Job 9, 33.

² On the other hand, 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 ל; comp. § 147. *a*, note 1.

frequent after conditional clauses; besides the examples already given in § 159. *dd*, cf. also Ex. 32, 32 (the LXX and Samaritan supply נִשְׁׁ); Num. 5, 20. Jud. 9, 16 (in verse 19, after a long parenthesis, an imperative follows as the apodosis to this conditional clause); 1 Sam. 12, 14 sq. 2 Sam. 5, 8 (where indeed the text is probably very corrupt; comp. the addition in 1 Chron. 11, 6); 2 Sam. 23, 17. Ps. 27, 13. 1 Chron. 4, 10. For other examples of various kinds, see § 117. *l*, and especially § 147.—On Gen. 3, 22, comp. § 152. *w* at the end.

2. *Anacoluthon* is the change from a construction which has been 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 Gen. 20, 13. 31, 52 and Ezek. 34, 10 (comp. § 149 at the end); Num. 14, 21 sqq. 32, 20 sqq. Deut. 17, 2 sqq. 24, 1 sqq. 29, 21 sqq. Jud. 10, 11 (where, after a series of intermediate sentences, the predicate *I saved you* is suppressed); perhaps also Is. 66, 18 (comp., however, Delitzsch on the passage, which is certainly corrupt)¹. On Gen. 23, 13 (אֲנִי with the imperative), see § 110. *e*.

3. We may mention as instructive examples of *involved series* of sentences Gen. 24, 14 and 42 sqq., and Gen. 28, 6 sqq.

¹ 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. Gen. 17, 14. 17, nor even Gen. 31, 40 (comp. § 143).

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

- P. 19, note 2, line 9, *after* 'ZDMG. 1895, 1 sqq.' *add* 'and 335 sqq.'
- § 5. *k*, compare Dalman, *Aramäische Grammatik*, p. 99, note 1, and especially König, *Lehrgebäude*, ii. 230 sqq.
- § 9. *e*, line 5, *omit* *ě*.
- § 10. *g*, last line, *for* הַבְּרָכָה הַבְּרָכָה *read* הַבְּרָכָה ('הַבְּרָ' on p. 64, line 2, is a various reading).
- § 15. *a*, *add* 'J. M. Japhet, *Die Accente der heiligen Schrift*, Frankfurt, 1896.'
- § 28. *a*, line 11, *for* 'w^eyehūdā' *read* 'w^ey'hūdā.'
- § 45. *b*, line 4, *read* 'according to § 84*a*. *e*, goes back to the ground-form *qūṭūl*.'
- § 45. *g*, line 7, *after* '(Baer לְכַבֵּשׁ)' *add* 'in 2 Chron. 34, 10 Baer and Ginsburg *read* לְבָרוּק.'
- § 49. *e*, line 8, *omit* 28, 15.
- § 49. *l*, line 5, *after* '2 Sam. 15, 33' *add* 'but Baer and Ginsburg *read* וְהִיָּת.'
- § 51. *m*, תִּנְבְּאִי Amos 2, 10 (for תִּנְבְּאִי) should also have been mentioned.
- § 55. *c*, line 2; § 55. *d*, line 9; § 55. *f*, line 2; § 66. *e*, line 6; § 67. *e*, line 3, *for* ו'ע *read* ו'ע.
- § 58. *g*, line 5, *after* 'Deut.' *add* '6, 17 צִוְּהָ.'
- § 62, line 8, *read* '64. *e*.'
- § 63. *e*, line 2 end, *read* 'letter *q*'; in line 6, *read* '§ 67. *n*.'
- P. 234, line 1, *after* 'Ps. 118, 14' *read* 'but this is probably for,' &c.
- § 90. *d*, line 2, *read* מִחֲנִימָה.
- P. 285, line 1, *read* 'plur. מְוִבְחֹת.'
- P. 289, *under* רְקִמָּתַיִם *read* 'a double piece of richly woven stuff.'
- P. 296, *under* מִיָּמִים 3rd plur. masc. *read* מִיָּמִיהֶם.
- P. 308, line 5, *for* הַנְּנִי *read* הַנְּנִי.

THE PARADIGMS.

In the paradigms of the verbs, those forms which are to be especially noticed by the beginner are marked throughout by an asterisk as model forms. Thus e.g. in the strong verb the 3rd *sing. fem.* קָטְלָהּ is the model for קָטְלִי, which likewise has only a vocalic affirmative, and קָטְלֵתְּ is the model for קָטְלֵתְּ, קָטְלֵתִי and קָטְלֵנִי, which in the same way have a toneless affirmative beginning with a consonant. On the other hand, the forms קָטְלֵתֶם and קָטְלֵתֶן, 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 foot-note there.—The bracketed forms (from Paradigm G onwards) are merely analogous formations not occurring in the Old Testament.

A. The Personal

Nominative of the Pronoun,
or *Pronomen separatum*.

Accusative of the Pronoun,

A.

Simple form.

Sing. I. comm. אֲנִי, in pause אֲנִי;
אֲנִי, in pause אֲנִי I.

אֲנִי; אֲנִי; אֲנִי me.

2. { m. אַתָּה (אתָּ), in pause } thou.
אַתָּה }
f. אַתְּ (אתְּ)

אַתָּה; אַתָּה, in pause אַתָּה; } thee.
אַתָּה }
אַתְּ; אַתְּ; אַתְּ, אַתְּ

3. { m. הוּא he.
f. הִיא she.

הוּא; הוּא (הוּ), הוּ; הוּ him.

הִיא; הִיא; הִיא her (eam).

Plur. I. comm. אֲנִיחֵנּוּ (אֲנֵנוּ) we.

אֲנֵנוּ; אֲנֵנוּ; אֲנֵנוּ us.

2. { m. אַתֶּם } you.
f. אַתְּנָה, אַתְּנָה }

אַתֶּם; אַתְּנָה } you.
(אַתְּנָה; אַתְּנָה)

3. { m. הֵם, הֵמָּה } they.
f. הֵנָּה }

הֵם, הֵם; הֵם, הֵם, הֵם; הֵם*;
(הֵם), הֵם, הֵם* them (eos).
(הֵם), הֵם; הֵם, הֵם; (הֵם) them (eas).

Pronoun¹.

or *Suffixum Verbi*.

Genitive of the Pronoun, or *Suffixum Nominis*
(*Pron. possessivum*).

B.	A.	B.
With <i>nūn energicum</i> .	Attached to a sing. noun.	Attached to a noun plur. or dual.
יָמֵי; יָמֵי	יְמֵי <i>my</i> (prop. gen. <i>mei</i>).	יְמֵי <i>my</i> .
יָמֵי, (יָמֵי) not found.	יָ, יָמֵי, in } <i>thy</i> pause יָמֵי } (prop. יָ, יָמֵי, (יָמֵי) } <i>tui</i> .	יָמֵי } יָמֵי } <i>thy</i> .
יָמֵי, יָמֵי; (נֵי)	הָ, וְ; הָ, וְ (הָ) <i>his</i> (<i>eius</i> and <i>suus</i>).	יָ, וְ, יָמֵי * <i>his</i> .
יָמֵי	הָ; הָ; הָ <i>her</i> .	הָ <i>her</i> .
יָמֵי? (see § 58. k)	נֵי; נֵי; (נֵי) <i>our</i> .	יָמֵי <i>our</i> .
these forms are not found.	כֵּם; כֵּם } <i>your</i> . כֵּן; כֵּן }	יָכֵם } <i>your</i> . יָכֵן }
	הֵם; הֵם, } מו * } <i>their</i> . הֵן, הֵן, וְ	יָהֵם, יָמו * } יָהֵן } <i>their</i> .

¹ Forms with an asterisk are exclusively poetic, those in parentheses are rare.

	Qal.			Niph'al.	Pi'el.
<i>Perf. Sing.</i> 3. m.	קָטַל*	כָּבַד*	קָטַן*	נִקְטַל*	קָטַל, קָטַל*
3. f.	קָטַלָּה*	כָּבְדָּה*	קָטַנָּה*	נִקְטַלָּה*	קָטַלָּה*
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>	כָּבֹד, קָטַל*			הִקְטַל*	קָטַל*
<i>Inf. absol.</i>	קָטוּל*			הִקְטַל, נִקְטַל	קָטַל, קָטַל*
<i>Imp. Sing.</i> 2. m.	קָטַל*	כָּבֹד*		הִקְטַל*	קָטַל*
2. f.	קָטַלִּי*	כָּבְדִי*		הִקְטַלִּי*	קָטַלִּי*
<i>Plur.</i> 2. m.	קָטְלוּ	כָּבְדוּ		הִקְטְלוּ	קָטְלוּ
2. f.	קָטַלְנָה*	כָּבְדְנָה*		הִקְטַלְנָה*	קָטַלְנָה*
<i>Impf. Sing.</i> 3. m.	יִקְטַל*	יִכְבֹּד*	יִקְטַן*	יִקְטַל*	יִקְטַל*
3. f.	תִּקְטַל	תִּכְבֹּד		תִּקְטַל	תִּקְטַל
2. m.	תִּקְטַל	תִּכְבֹּד		תִּקְטַל	תִּקְטַל
2. f.	תִּקְטַלִּי*	תִּכְבְּדִי*		תִּקְטַלִּי*	תִּקְטַלִּי*
1. c.	אִקְטַל	אִכְבֹּד		אִקְטַל	אִקְטַל
<i>Plur.</i> 3. m.	יִקְטְלוּ	יִכְבְּדוּ		יִקְטְלוּ	יִקְטְלוּ
3. f.	תִּקְטַלְנָה*	תִּכְבְּדְנָה*		תִּקְטַלְנָה*	תִּקְטַלְנָה*
2. m.	תִּקְטְלוּ	תִּכְבְּדוּ		תִּקְטְלוּ	תִּקְטְלוּ
2. f.	תִּקְטַלְנָה	תִּכְבְּדְנָה		תִּקְטַלְנָה	תִּקְטַלְנָה
1. c.	נִקְטַל	נִכְבֹּד		נִקְטַל	נִקְטַל
<i>Shortened Impf. (Jussive).</i>					
<i>Part. act.</i>	קָטַל*	כָּבֹד	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*
קָטַלְהָ*	הִקְטִילְהָ*	הִקְטַלְהָ*	הִתְקַטַּלְהָ*
קָטַלְתָּ*	הִקְטַלְתָּ*	הִקְטַלְתָּ*	הִתְקַטַּלְתָּ*
קָטַלְתָּ	הִקְטַלְתָּ	הִקְטַלְתָּ	הִתְקַטַּלְתָּ
קָטַלְתִּי	הִקְטַלְתִּי	הִקְטַלְתִּי	הִתְקַטַּלְתִּי
קָטַלְוּ	הִקְטִילוּ	הִקְטַלוּ	הִתְקַטַּלוּ
קָטַלְתֶּם	הִקְטַלְתֶּם	הִקְטַלְתֶּם	הִתְקַטַּלְתֶּם
קָטַלְתֶּן	הִקְטַלְתֶּן	הִקְטַלְתֶּן	הִתְקַטַּלְתֶּן
קָטַלְנוּ	הִקְטַלְנוּ	הִקְטַלְנוּ	הִתְקַטַּלְנוּ
wanting. קָטַל*	הִקְטִיל*	wanting. הִקְטַל*	הִתְקַטַּל*
	הִקְטַל*		הִתְקַטַּל*
	הִקְטִיל*		הִתְקַטַּל*
wanting.	הִקְטִילְיִ*	wanting.	הִתְקַטַּלְיִ*
	הִקְטִילוּ		הִתְקַטַּלוּ
	הִקְטַלְנָה*		הִתְקַטַּלְנָה*
יִקְטַל*	יִקְטִיל*	יִקְטַל*	יִתְקַטַּל*
תִּקְטַל	תִּקְטִיל	תִּקְטַל	תִּתְקַטַּל
תִּקְטַל	תִּקְטִיל	תִּקְטַל	תִּתְקַטַּל
יִתְקַטַּלְיִ*	יִתְקַטַּלְיִ*	יִתְקַטַּלְיִ*	יִתְקַטַּלְיִ*
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.	{ קָטַלְנִי שָׁבַחְנִי }	קָטַלְךָ	קָטַלְהָ	{ קָטַלְהוּ קָטַלוּ }	
	3. f.					קָטַלְתָּנִי	קָטַלְתְּךָ	קָטַלְתְּהָ	{ קָטַלְתְּהוּ קָטַלְתְּהָ }
	2. m.	קָטַלְתָּנִי	—	—	{ קָטַלְתְּהוּ קָטַלְתְּהוּ }	
	2. f.	קָטַלְתְּנִי	—	—	קָטַלְתְּהָ	
	1. c.	—	קָטַלְתִּיךָ	קָטַלְתִּיךָ	{ קָטַלְתִּיךָ קָטַלְתִּיךָ }	
	<i>Plur.</i>	3. c.	קָטַלְנוּ	קָטַלְתֶּם	קָטַלְתֶּם	קָטַלְהוּ
		2. m.	קָטַלְתָּנוּ	—	—	קָטַלְתְּהוּ
		1. c.	—	קָטַלְנוּךָ	קָטַלְנוּךָ	קָטַלְנוּהוּ
	<i>Inf. Qal</i>		{ קָטַלְיָ קָטַלְנִי }	{ דְּקַחְךָ קָטַלְךָ }	קָטַלְךָ	קָטַלוּ
<i>Imp. Qal</i>	2.	קָטַלְנִי	—	—	קָטַלְהוּ	
(from an <i>Imperf.</i> in a שָׁלַחְנִי)						
<i>Impf. Qal</i>	3. m.	{ יִקָּטַלְנִי יִלְבָּשֵׁנִי }	{ יִקָּטַלְךָ יִלְבָּשֶׁךָ }	{ יִקָּטַלְהָ יִלְבָּשֶׁהָ }	{ יִקָּטַלְהוּ יִלְבָּשֶׁהוּ }	
	3. m. with <i>Nán energ.</i>	{ יִקָּטַלְנִי יִקָּטַלְנִי }	יִקָּטַלְךָ	—	יִקָּטַלְהוּ	
	<i>Plur.</i> 3. m.		יִקָּטַלְנוּ	יִקָּטַלְנוּ	יִקָּטַלְהוּ	
	<i>Perf. Pi'el</i>	3. m.	קָטַלְנִי	קָטַלְךָ	קָטַלְהָ	קָטַלוּ

with Suffixes.

3 Sing. f.	1 Plur.	2 Plur. m.	2 Plur. f.	3 Plur. m.	3 Plur. f.
קָטְלָהּ	קָטְלָנוּ	wanting.	wanting.	{ קָטְלָם } { לְבָשָׂם }	קָטְלוּ
קָטְלָתָהּ	קָטְלָתָנוּ	—	—	קָטְלָתָם	wanting.
קָטְלָתֶהּ	קָטְלָתֶנוּ	—	—	קָטְלָתֶם	wanting.
קָטְלָתֶיהָ	קָטְלָתֵינוּ	—	—	קָטְלָתֵימֶם	wanting.
קָטְלָתֶיהָ	—	קָטְלָתֵיכֶם	wanting.	קָטְלָתֵימֶם	קָטְלָתֵין
קָטְלוּהָ	קָטְלוּנוּ	wanting.	wanting.	קָטְלוּם	קָטְלוּן
wanting.	קָטְלוּהֶנוּ	—	—	wanting.	wanting.
קָטְלוּהָ	—	קָטְלוּכֶם	wanting.	קָטְלוּנֶם	wanting.
קָטְלָהּ	קָטְלָנוּ	{ קָטְלָתְכֶם } { קָטְלָתְכֶם }	wanting.	קָטְלָם	קָטְלוּ
{ קָטְלָתֶהּ } { קָטְלָתֶהּ }	קָטְלָנוּ	—	—	קָטְלָם	—
{ יִקְטְלָהּ } { יִלְבָּשֶׁהָ } { יִקְטְלָהּ }	{ יִקְטְלָנוּ } { יִלְבָּשֶׁנוּ }	יִקְטְלָכֶם	wanting.	יִקְטְלָם	wanting.
יִקְטְלָנָהּ	יִקְטְלָנוּ	—	—	—	—
יִקְטְלוּהָ	יִקְטְלוּנוּ	יִקְטְלוּכֶם	wanting.	יִקְטְלוּם	wanting.
קָטְלָהּ	קָטְלָנוּ	wanting.	wanting.	קָטְלָם	קָטְלוּ

D. Verbs primae gutturalis.

	Qal.	Niph'al.	Hiph'il.	Hoph'al.
<i>Perf. Sing.</i> 3. m.	עָמַד	נִעְמַד *	הֵעִמִּיד *	הֵעִמַּד *
3. f.	עָמְדָה	נִעְמְדָה *	הֵעִמְדָה	הֵעִמְדָה *
2. m.	עָמַדְתָּ	נִעְמַדְתָּ	הֵעִמַּדְתָּ	הֵעִמַּדְתָּ
2. f.	עָמַדְתְּ	נִעְמַדְתְּ	הֵעִמַּדְתְּ	הֵעִמַּדְתְּ
1. c.	עָמַדְתִּי	נִעְמַדְתִּי	הֵעִמַּדְתִּי	הֵעִמַּדְתִּי
<i>Plur.</i> 3. c.	עָמְדוּ	נִעְמְדוּ	הֵעִמְדוּ	הֵעִמְדוּ
2. m.	עָמַדְתֶּם *	נִעְמַדְתֶּם	הֵעִמַּדְתֶּם	הֵעִמַּדְתֶּם
2. f.	עָמַדְתֶּן *	נִעְמַדְתֶּן	הֵעִמַּדְתֶּן	הֵעִמַּדְתֶּן
1. c.	עָמַדְנוּ	נִעְמַדְנוּ	הֵעִמַּדְנוּ	הֵעִמַּדְנוּ
<i>Inf.</i>	עֲמֹד *	הֵעִמּוֹד *	הֵעִמִּיד *	
<i>Inf. absol.</i>	עֹמֵד	נִעְמָד, הָאֵסֵף	הֵעִמֵּד *	הֵעִמֵּד *
<i>Imp. Sing.</i> m.	עֲמַד *	חֲזֹק *	הֵעִמַּד *	הֵעִמַּד
f.	עֲמְדִי	חֲזִקִי	הֵעִמְדִי	הֵעִמְדִי
<i>Plur. m.</i>	עֲמְדוּ	חֲזִקוּ	הֵעִמְדוּ	הֵעִמְדוּ
f.	עֲמַדְנָה *	חֲזַקְנָה *	הֵעִמְדְנָה	הֵעִמְדְנָה
<i>Impf. Sing.</i> 3. m.	יֵעֲמַד *	יִחַזֵּק *	יֵעֲמַד *	יֵעֲמִיד *
3. f.	תֵּעֲמַד	תִּחַזֵּק	תֵּעֲמַד	תֵּעֲמִיד
2. m.	תֵּעֲמַד	תִּחַזֵּק	תֵּעֲמַד	תֵּעֲמִיד
2. f.	תֵּעֲמְדִי *	תִּחַזְקִי *	תֵּעֲמְדִי	תֵּעֲמְדִי
1. c.	אֵעֲמַד *	אִחַזֵּק	אֵעֲמַד	אֵעֲמִיד
<i>Plur.</i> 3. m.	יֵעֲמְדוּ *	יִחַזְקוּ *	יֵעֲמְדוּ	יֵעֲמְדוּ
3. f.	תֵּעֲמַדְנָה	תִּחַזְקְנָה	תֵּעֲמַדְנָה	תֵּעֲמַדְנָה
2. m.	תֵּעֲמְדוּ	תִּחַזְקוּ	תֵּעֲמְדוּ	תֵּעֲמְדוּ
2. f.	תֵּעֲמַדְנָה	תִּחַזְקְנָה	תֵּעֲמַדְנָה	תֵּעֲמַדְנָה
1. c.	נֵעֲמַד	נִחַזֵּק	נֵעֲמַד	נֵעֲמִיד
<i>Shortened Impf. (Jussive).</i>			יֵעֲמַד	
<i>Part. act.</i>	עֹמֵד	נִעְמָד *	מֵעִמֵּד *	
<i>pass.</i>	עֹמֵד			מֵעִמֵּד

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*	בָּרְכָה	[בָּרְכָה]	הִתְבָּרְכָה
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>	שַׁחֵט	הִשְׁחַט	בָּרַךְ*		הִתְבָּרַךְ*
<i>Inf. absol.</i>	שָׁחֹט	נִשְׁחֹט	בָּרַךְ*	wanting.	
<i>Imp. Sing.</i> m.	שָׁחַט*	הִשְׁחַט	בָּרַךְ*		הִתְבָּרַךְ*
f.	שָׁחַטִי*	הִשְׁחַטִי*	בָּרְכִי*		[הִתְבָּרְכִי]
<i>Plur.</i> m.	שָׁחֲטוּ	הִשְׁחַטוּ	בָּרְכוּ	wanting.	[הִתְבָּרְכוּ]
f.	שָׁחַטְנָה	הִשְׁחַטְנָה	בָּרְכֵנָה*		הִתְבָּרְכֵנָה
<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
2. f.	תִּשְׁחַטְתְּ*	תִּשְׁחַטְתְּ*	תְּבָרַכְכִי	[תְּבָרַכְכִי]	[תִּתְבָּרַכְכִי]
1. c.	אֶשְׁחַט	אֶשְׁחַט	אֶבָּרַךְ	אֶבָּרַךְ	אֶתְבָּרַךְ
<i>Plur.</i> 3. m.	יִשְׁחַטוּ	יִשְׁחַטוּ	יְבָרְכוּ	יְבָרְכוּ	יִתְבָּרְכוּ
3. f.	תִּשְׁחַטְנָה	תִּשְׁחַטְנָה	תְּבָרְכֵנָה	תְּבָרְכֵנָה	תִּתְבָּרְכֵנָה
2. m.	תִּשְׁחַטְתֶּם	תִּשְׁחַטְתֶּם	תְּבָרְכוּ	תְּבָרְכוּ	תִּתְבָּרְכוּ
2. f.	תִּשְׁחַטְתֶּן	תִּשְׁחַטְתֶּן	תְּבָרְכֵנָה	תְּבָרְכֵנָה	תִּתְבָּרְכֵנָה
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			מְבָרָךְ*	

		Qal.	Niph'al.	Pi'el.	
<i>Perf. Sing.</i>	3. m.	שָׁלַח	נִשְׁלַח	שִׁלַּח*	
	3. f.	שָׁלְחָה	נִשְׁלַחְהָ	שִׁלְּחָהּ	
	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>		שְׁלַח*	הִשְׁלַח*	שִׁלַּח*	
	<i>Inf. absol.</i>	שָׁלוּחַ	נִשְׁלוּחַ	שִׁלּוּחַ	
<i>Imp. Sing.</i>	m.	שָׁלַח*	הִשְׁלַח*	שִׁלַּח*	
	f.	שָׁלְחִי	הִשְׁלְחִי	שִׁלְּחִי*	
	<i>Plur.</i>	m.	שָׁלְחוּ	הִשְׁלְחוּ	שִׁלְּחוּ
		f.	שָׁלְחֶנָּה*	הִשְׁלְחֶנָּה	שִׁלְּחֶנָּה*
<i>Impf. Sing.</i>	3. m.	יִשְׁלַח*	יִשְׁלַח*	יִשְׁלַח*	
	3. f.	תִּשְׁלַח	תִּשְׁלַח	תִּשְׁלַח*	
	2. m.	תִּשְׁלַח	תִּשְׁלַח	תִּשְׁלַח	
	2. f.	תִּשְׁלְחִי	תִּשְׁלְחִי	תִּשְׁלְחִי	
	1. c.	אִשְׁלַח	אִשְׁלַח	אִשְׁלַח	
	<i>Plur.</i>	3. m.	יִשְׁלְחוּ	יִשְׁלְחוּ	יִשְׁלְחוּ
		3. f.	תִּשְׁלַחְנָה*	תִּשְׁלַחְנָה*	תִּשְׁלַחְנָה*
		2. m.	תִּשְׁלְחוּ	תִּשְׁלְחוּ	תִּשְׁלְחוּ
		2. f.	תִּשְׁלַחְנָה	תִּשְׁלַחְנָה	תִּשְׁלַחְנָה
		1. c.	נִשְׁלַח	נִשְׁלַח	נִשְׁלַח
<i>Shortened Impf. (Jussive).</i>					
<i>Impf. with Suff.</i>		יִשְׁלַחְנִי			
<i>Part. act.</i>		שֹׁלֵחַ*	נִשְׁלֵחַ	מְשַׁלֵּחַ*	
	<i>pass.</i>	שָׁלוּחַ*			

tertiaе gutturalis.

<i>Pu'al.</i>	<i>Hiph'ıl.</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
שָׁלַחוּ	הִשְׁלַחוּ	הִשְׁלַחוּ	הִשְׁתַּלַּחוּ
	הִשְׁלִיחַ*		הִשְׁתַּלַּח*
	הִשְׁלַח*	הִשְׁלַח*	
	הִשְׁלַח		הִשְׁתַּלַּח*
wanting.	הִשְׁלִיחִי	wanting.	הִשְׁתַּלַּחִי
	הִשְׁלִיחוּ		הִשְׁתַּלַּחוּ
	הִשְׁלַחְנָה		הִשְׁתַּלַּחְנָה*
יִשְׁלַח	יִשְׁלִיחַ*	יִשְׁלַח	יִשְׁתַּלַּח
תִּשְׁלַח	תִּשְׁלִיחַ	תִּשְׁלַח	תִּשְׁתַּלַּח
תִּשְׁלַח	תִּשְׁלִיחַ	תִּשְׁלַח	תִּשְׁתַּלַּח
תִּשְׁלַחֶי	תִּשְׁלַחֶי	תִּשְׁלַחֶי	תִּשְׁתַּלַּחֶי
אִשְׁלַח	אִשְׁלִיחַ	אִשְׁלַח	אִשְׁתַּלַּח
יִשְׁלַחוּ	יִשְׁלִיחוּ	יִשְׁלַחוּ	יִשְׁתַּלַּחוּ
תִּשְׁלַחְנָה	תִּשְׁלַחְנָה	תִּשְׁלַחְנָה	תִּשְׁתַּלַּחְנָה*
תִּשְׁלַחוּ	תִּשְׁלִיחוּ	תִּשְׁלַחוּ	תִּשְׁתַּלַּחוּ
תִּשְׁלַחְנָה	תִּשְׁלַחְנָה	תִּשְׁלַחְנָה	תִּשְׁתַּלַּחְנָה
נִשְׁלַח	נִשְׁלַח	נִשְׁלַח	נִשְׁתַּלַּח
	יִשְׁלַח		
	מִשְׁלִיחַ*		מִשְׁתַּלַּח*
מִשְׁלַח		מִשְׁלַח	

G. Verbs *mediae geminatae*

		<i>Qal.</i>	<i>Niph'al.</i>	
<i>Perf. Sing.</i>	3. m.	סָבַב, תָּם*	נָסַב, נָמַס*	
	3. f.	סָבְבָה, תָּמָה	נָסְבָה*	
	2. m.	סָבֹתָ*	נָסְבֹתָ*	
	2. f.	סָבֹת	נָסְבֹת	
	1. c.	סָבֹתִי	נָסְבֹתִי	
	<i>Plur.</i>	3. c.	סָבְבוּ, תָּמוּ	נָסְבוּ
		2. m.	סָבֹתֶם	נָסְבֹתֶם
		2. f.	סָבֹתֶן	נָסְבֹתֶן
1. c.		סָבֹנוּ	נָסְבֹנוּ	
<i>Inf.</i>		סָב*	הִסָּב*	
<i>Inf. absol.</i>		סָבוּב	הִמָּס, הִפּוּב	
<i>Imp. Sing.</i>	m.	סָב*	הִסָּב	
	f.	סָבִי*	הִסָּבִי*	
	<i>Plur.</i>	m.	סָבוּ	הִסָּבוּ
		f.	[סָפִינָה]	[הִסָּפִינָה]
<i>Impf. Sing.</i>	3. m.	יִסָּב* (67 § יקל, Rem. 3)	יִסָּב*	
	3. f.	תִּסָּב	תִּסָּב	
	2. m.	תִּסָּב	תִּסָּב	
	2. f.	תִּסָּבִי*	תִּסָּבִי	
	1. c.	אִסָּב	אִסָּב	
	<i>Plur.</i>	3. m.	יִסָּבוּ	יִסָּבוּ
		3. f.	תִּסָּפִינָה*	[תִּסָּפִינָה]
		2. m.	תִּסָּבוּ	תִּסָּבוּ
		2. f.	[תִּסָּפִינָה]	[תִּסָּפִינָה]
		1. c.	נִסָּב	נִסָּב
<i>Impf. with Wāw consec.</i>		וַיִּסָּב* (pause וַיִּסָּב)		
<i>Impf. with Suff.</i>		יִסָּפִי*		
<i>Part. act.</i>		סָבֵב	נָסֵב	
	<i>pass.</i>	סָבוּב*	(fem. נִסְבָּה)	

or double v.

<i>Hiph'il.</i>	<i>Hoph'al.</i>	<i>Po'el.</i>	<i>Po'al.</i>
הִסַּב, הִסַּב*	הוֹסַּב*	סוֹבַב*	סוֹבַב*
הִסְבֶּה*	הוֹסְבֶּה	סוֹבְבֶה	[סוֹבְבֶה]
הִסְבֹּת*	[הוֹסְבֹּת]	סוֹבְבֹת	סוֹבְבֹת
הִסְבֹּת	הוֹסְבֹת	סוֹבְבֹת	סוֹבְבֹת
הִסְבֹּתַי	[הוֹסְבֹתַי]	סוֹבְבֹתַי	סוֹבְבֹתַי
הִסְבֹּ, הִחְלוֹל	הוֹסְבֹ	סוֹבְבו	סוֹבְבו
הִסְבֹּחַם	[הוֹסְבֹחַם]	סוֹבְבָחֶם	סוֹבְבָחֶם
הִסְבֹּחָן	הוֹסְבֹחָן	סוֹבְבָחָן	סוֹבְבָחָן
הִסְבֹּנוּ	[הוֹסְבֹנוּ]	סוֹבְבָנוּ	[סוֹבְבָנוּ]
הִסַּב*		סוֹבַב	
הִסַּב		סוֹבַב	[סוֹבַב]
הִסַּב*		סוֹבַב	
הִסְבִּי	wanting.	[סוֹבְבִי]	wanting.
הִסְבִּי		סוֹבְבו	
[הִסְבִּינָה]		סוֹבְבָנָה]	
יִסַּב, יִסַּב*	יִוַּסַּב, יִסַּב*	יִסוֹבַב	[יִסוֹבַב]
תִּסַּב	[תִּוַּסַּב]	תִּסוֹבַב	תִּסוֹבַב
תִּסַּב	תִּוַּסַּב	תִּסוֹבַב	תִּסוֹבַב
[תִּסְבִּי]	*תִּוַּסְבִּי	[תִּסוֹבְבִי]	תִּסוֹבְבִי
אִסַּב	[אִוַּסַּב]	[אִסוֹבַב]	אִסוֹבַב
יִסְבֹּ, יִסְבֹּ	יִוַּסְבֹּ	יִסוֹבְבו	יִסוֹבְבו
*תִּסְבִּינָה	*[תִּוַּסְבִּינָה]	[תִּסוֹבְבָנָה]	תִּסוֹבְבָנָה
תִּסְבֹּ	תִּוַּסְבֹּ	תִּסוֹבְבו	תִּסוֹבְבו
תִּסְבִּינָה	תִּוַּסְבִּינָה	[תִּסוֹבְבָנָה]	תִּסוֹבְבָנָה
נִסַּב	[נִוַּסַּב]	נִסוֹבַב	[נִסוֹבַב]
וַיִּסַּב			
יִסְבִּנִי* (יִסְבְּכֶם)		יִסוֹבְבִנִי	
מִסַּב*		מִסוֹבַב	
	מִיִּסַּב		מִסוֹבַב

H. Verbs פ'ב.

	Qal.	Niph'al.	Hiph'il.	Hoph'al.
<i>Perf. Sing.</i> 3. m.	[נָּשׂ] נָּבַל	נָּשׂ*	הִנָּשׂ*	הִנָּשׂ*
3. f.		נָּשְׂה	הִנָּשְׂה	הִנָּשְׂה
2. m.		נָּשַׂת	הִנָּשַׂת	הִנָּשַׂת
2. f.		נָּשַׂת	הִנָּשַׂת	הִנָּשַׂת
1. c.		נָּשַׂתִּי	הִנָּשַׂתִּי	הִנָּשַׂתִּי
<i>Plur.</i> 3. c.	regular.	נָּשׂוּ	הִנָּשׂוּ	הִנָּשׂוּ
2. m.		נָּשַׂתֶּם	הִנָּשַׂתֶּם	הִנָּשַׂתֶּם
2. f.		נָּשַׂתֶּן	הִנָּשַׂתֶּן	הִנָּשַׂתֶּן
1. c.		נָּשַׂנוּ	הִנָּשַׂנוּ	הִנָּשַׂנוּ
<i>Inf.</i>	נָּשְׂתָּ*	נָּבַל*	הִנָּשׂ	הִנָּשׂ*
<i>Inf. absol.</i>	נָּשׂ	נָּשׂוּף, הִנָּשׂ	הִנָּשׂ*	הִנָּשׂ*
<i>Imp. Sing.</i> m.	נָּשׂ*	נָּבַל*	הִנָּשׂ	הִנָּשׂ*
f.	נָּשִׂי	נָּבְלִי	הִנָּשִׂי	הִנָּשִׂי
<i>Plur. m.</i>	נָּשׂוּ	נָּבְלוּ	הִנָּשׂוּ	הִנָּשׂוּ
f.	נָּשְׂנָה	נָּבְלָנָה	הִנָּשְׂנָה	הִנָּשְׂנָה
<i>Impf. Sing.</i> 3. m.	יִנָּשׂ*	יִבַּל*	[יִנָּשׂ]	יִנָּשׂ*
3. f.	תִּנָּשׂ	תִּבַּל		תִּנָּשׂ
2. m.	תִּנָּשׂ	תִּבַּל		תִּנָּשׂ
2. f.	תִּנָּשִׂי	תִּבְלִי		תִּנָּשִׂי
1. c.	נָּשַׂשׁ	נָּבַל		נָּשַׂשׁ
<i>Plur.</i> 3. m.	יִנָּשׂוּ	יִבַּלוּ	regular.	יִנָּשׂוּ
3. f.	תִּנָּשְׂנָה	תִּבְלָנָה		תִּנָּשְׂנָה
2. m.	תִּנָּשׂוּ	תִּבְלוּ		תִּנָּשׂוּ
2. f.	[תִּנָּשְׂנָה]	[תִּבְלָנָה]		[תִּנָּשְׂנָה]
1. c.	נָּשַׂשׁ	נָּבַל		נָּשַׂשׁ
<i>Shortened Impf. (Jussive).</i>			יִנָּשׂ*	
<i>Part. act.</i>	נָּשׂ		נָּשׂ*	מָנָשׂ*
<i>pass.</i>	נָּשׂוּף			מָנָשׂוּף

I. Weak Verbs, פ"א.

	Qal.	Niph'al.	Hiph'il.	Hoph'al.
Perf.	אָבַל	נִאֲבַל *	הִאֲבִיל *	הִאֲבַל *

Like Verbs *primae gutturalis*.

Inf.		אָבַל, אֶבֶל *	הֲאֲבַל	הֲאֲבִיל	הֲאֲבַל
Inf. absol.		אָבוֹל	הֲאֲבַל	wanting.	wanting.
Impf. Sing.	m.	אֶבֶל *	הֲאֲבַל	הֲאֲבִיל	-
	f.	אֶבְלִי	&c.	&c.	wanting.
Plur.	m.	אֶבְלוּ			
	f.	[אֶבְלָנָה]			
Impf. Sing.	3. m.	יֶאֱבַל * (in pause	יֶאֱבַל *	יֶאֱבִיל *	יֶאֱבַל *
	3. f.	תֶּאֱבַל (יֶאֱבַל)	&c.	&c.	&c.
	2. m.	תֶּאֱבַל			
	2. f.	תֶּאֱבְלִי			
	1. c.	אֶבַל *			
Plur.	3. m.	יֶאֱבְלוּ			
	3. f.	תֶּאֱבְלָנָה			
	2. m.	תֶּאֱבְלוּ			
	2. f.	[תֶּאֱבְלָנָה]			
	1. c.	נֶאֱבַל			
Impf. with Wāw consec.		וַיֶּאֱמַר *			
		וַיֶּאֱבַל *			
Part. act.		אֹבֵל	נֹאֲבַל	מֹאֲבִיל	
pass.		אֹבוֹל			מֹאֲבַל

K. Weak Verbs,

	Qal.	Niph'al.	
<i>Perf. Sing.</i> 3. <i>m.</i>	יָשַׁב	*נִישַׁב	
3. <i>f.</i>		*נִישַׁבָּה	
2. <i>m.</i>		נִישַׁבְתָּ	
2. <i>f.</i>		נִישַׁבְתְּ	
1. <i>c.</i>		נִישַׁבְתִּי	
<i>Plur.</i> 3. <i>c.</i>	regular.	נִישַׁבוּ	
2. <i>m.</i>		נִישַׁבְתֶּם	
2. <i>f.</i>		נִישַׁבְתֶּן	
1. <i>c.</i>		נִישַׁבְנוּ	
<i>Inf.</i>	יֹסֵד, *שָׁבַת	*הִנְיָשַׁב	
<i>Inf. absol.</i>	יָשׁוּב	wanting.	
<i>Imp. Sing.</i> <i>m.</i>	*יָשֵׁב, דַּע	*הִנְיָשֵׁב	
<i>f.</i>	שָׁבִי	הִנְיָשִׁי	
<i>Plur.</i> <i>m.</i>	שָׁבוּ	הִנְיָשִׁבוּ	
<i>f.</i>	שָׁבְנָה	[הִנְיָשְׁבְנָה]	
<i>Impf. Sing.</i> 3. <i>m.</i>	*יֹשֵׁב	*יֹרֵשׁ	*יִנְיָשֵׁב
3. <i>f.</i>	תֵּשֵׁב	תִּירֵשׁ	תִּנְיָשֵׁב
2. <i>m.</i>	תֵּשֵׁב	תִּירֵשׁ	תִּנְיָשֵׁב
2. <i>f.</i>	תֵּשְׁבִי	תִּירְשִׁי	תִּנְיָשִׁי
1. <i>c.</i>	אֵשֵׁב	אִירֵשׁ	*אִנְיָשֵׁב
<i>Plur.</i> 3. <i>m.</i>	יִשְׁבוּ	יִירְשׁוּ	יִנְיָשִׁבוּ
3. <i>f.</i>	תִּשְׁבְּנָה	[תִּירְשְׁנָה]	[תִּנְיָשְׁבְּנָה]
2. <i>m.</i>	תִּשְׁבוּ	תִּירְשׁוּ	תִּנְיָשִׁבוּ
2. <i>f.</i>	[תִּשְׁבְּנָה]	[תִּירְשְׁנָה]	[תִּנְיָשְׁבְּנָה]
1. <i>c.</i>	נִשְׁבַּ	נִירֵשׁ	נִנְיָשֵׁב
<i>Shortened Impf. (Jussive).</i>			
<i>Impf. with Wāw consec.</i>	*וַיֵּשֵׁב		
<i>Part. act.</i>	יֹשֵׁב		*נִישֵׁב
<i>pass.</i>	יֹשׁוּב		

פ"ו (for פ"ו).

L. Verbs properly פ"ו.

<i>Hiph'il.</i>	<i>Hoph'al.</i>	<i>Qal.</i>	<i>Hiph'il.</i>
הוֹשִׁיב* הוֹשִׁיבָה הוֹשִׁיבְתָּ הוֹשִׁיבְתִּי הוֹשִׁיבוּ הוֹשִׁיבְתֶּם הוֹשִׁיבְתֶּן הוֹשִׁיבֵנו	הוֹשִׁיב* הוֹשִׁיבָה הוֹשִׁיבְתָּ הוֹשִׁיבְתִּי הוֹשִׁיבוּ הוֹשִׁיבְתֶּם הוֹשִׁיבְתֶּן הוֹשִׁיבֵנו	יָטַב regular.	הִיטִיב* הִיטִיבָה הִיטִיבְתָּ הִיטִיבְתִּי הִיטִיבוּ הִיטִיבְתֶּם הִיטִיבְתֶּן הִיטִיבֵנו
הוֹשִׁיב* הוֹשִׁיב*	הוֹשִׁיב* 	יָטַב יָטוּב	הִיטִיב* הִיטִיב*
הוֹשִׁיב* הוֹשִׁיבִי הוֹשִׁיבו [הוֹשִׁיבְנָה]	wanting.		הִיטִיב* הִיטִיבִי הִיטִיבו [הִיטִיבְנָה]
יֹשִׁיב תֹּשִׁיב תֹּשִׁיב תֹּשִׁיבִי אֹשִׁיב יֹשִׁיבוּ [תֹּשִׁיבְנָה] תֹּשִׁיבוּ [תֹּשִׁיבְנָה] נֹשִׁיב	*יֹשִׁיב תֹּשִׁיב תֹּשִׁיב תֹּשִׁיבִי אֹשִׁיב יֹשִׁיבוּ תֹּשִׁיבְנָה תֹּשִׁיבוּ [תֹּשִׁיבְנָה] נֹשִׁיב	*יִיטִיב תִּיטִיב תִּיטִיב תִּיטִיבִי אִיטִיב יִיטִיבוּ תִּיטִיבְנָה תִּיטִיבוּ [תִּיטִיבְנָה] נִיטִיב	*יִיטִיב תִּיטִיב תִּיטִיב תִּיטִיבִי אִיטִיב יִיטִיבוּ [תִּיטִיבְנָה] תִּיטִיבוּ [תִּיטִיבְנָה] נִיטִיב]
*יֹשִׁיב וְיֹשִׁיב			יִיטִיב וְיִיטִיב
*מֹשִׁיב	*מֹשִׁיב	יָטַב יָטוּב	מִיטִיב יָטוּב

	Qal.	Niph'al.	Hiph'fl.
<i>Perf. Sing.</i> 3. m.	קָם*	מָת*	נָקֹם*
3. f.	קָמָה*	מָתָה*	נָקְמָה*
2. m.	קָמַתְּ*	מָתָה*	[נְקֹמֹתְךָ]
2. f.	קָמַתְּ	[מָתְךָ]	[נְקֹמֹתְךָ]
1. c.	קָמַתִּי	מָתִי	נְקֹמֹתַי
<i>Plur.</i> 3. c.	קָמוּ	מָתוּ	נָקְמוּ
2. m.	קָמַתְּם	מָתְּם	נְקֹמֹתְּם
2. f.	[נְקֹמֹתְכֶן]	[מָתְכֶן]	[נְקֹמֹתְכֶן]
1. c.	קָמַנּוּ	מָתְנוּ	נְקֹמֹנּוּ
<i>Inf.</i>	קֹם*	הִקְוֹם*	הִקְוֹם*
<i>Inf. absol.</i>	קֹם*	הִקְוֹם, נִסּוּג	הִקְוֹם*
<i>Imp. Sing.</i> m.	קֹם*	הִקְוֹם*	הִקְוֹם*
f.	קְוִי*	[הִקְוִי]	הִקְוִי*
<i>Plur.</i> m.	קְוִי	הִקְוִי	הִקְוִי
f.	קְוִינָה*	[הִקְוִינָה]	[הִקְוִינָה]
<i>Impf. Sing.</i> 3. m.	יִקְוֵם, יִבּוֹא*	יִקְוֹם*	יִקְוֵם*
3. f.	תִּקְוֵם	תִּקְוֹם	תִּקְוֵם
2. m.	תִּקְוֵם	תִּקְוֹם	תִּקְוֵם
2. f.	תִּקְוִי*	[תִּקְוִי]	תִּקְוִי*
1. c.	אִקְוֵם	אִקְוֹם	אִקְוֵם
<i>Plur.</i> 3. m.	יִקְוִי	יִקְוִי	יִקְוִי
3. f.	תִּקְוִינָה, תִּשְׁבְּנָה*		תִּקְוִינָה, תִּקְוִינָה*
2. m.	תִּקְוִי	תִּקְוִי	תִּקְוִי
2. f.	תִּקְוִינָה		[תִּקְוִינָה]
1. c.	נִקְוֵם	נִקְוֹם	נִקְוֵם
<i>Shortened Impf.</i>	יִקְם*		יִקְם*
<i>Impf. with Wāw consec.</i>	וַיִּקְם (pause וַיִּקְם*)		וַיִּקְם*
<i>Impf. with Suff.</i>	יִקְוִינִי*		יִקְוִינִי*
<i>Part. act.</i>	קָם*	נָקֹם*	מִקְוֵם*
<i>pass.</i>	קֹם*		

Verbs, ו"ע.

N. Weak Verbs, ו"ע.

Hoph'al.	Pi'l'el.	Pu'lal.	Qal.	Niph'al.
הִקָּמַם*	קִימָם*	קִימָם*	בָּן*	נָבֹן*
[הִקָּמָה]	קִימָמָה	[קִימָמָה]	בָּנָה*	[נָבֹנָה]
הִקָּמַתְּ	קִימַמְתְּ	קִימַמְתְּ	בָּנֶתְךָ*	נְבוֹנֹתְךָ
הִקָּמַתְּ	[קִימַמְתְּ]	[קִימַמְתְּ]	בָּנֶתְךָ	[נְבוֹנֹתְךָ]
[הִקָּמַתְּ]	קִימַמְתִּי	קִימַמְתִּי	[בָּנֶתִּי]	נְבוֹנֹתַי
הִקָּמַמוּ	קִימַמוּ	קִימַמוּ	בָּנָו	
[הִקָּמַמְתֶּם]	[קִימַמְתֶּם]	[קִימַמְתֶּם]	[בָּנֶתְכֶם]	See
הִקָּמַתְּוּ	קִימַתְּוּ	קִימַתְּוּ	[בָּנֶתְוּ]	Verbs ו"ע.
[הִקָּמַנּוּ]	[קִימַנּוּ]	[קִימַנּוּ]	בָּנָו	
הִקָּמַם*	קִימָם		בֵּין*	
	קִימָם		בֵּן*	
	קִימָם	wanting.	בֵּין*	
	[קִימַמִּי]		בֵּינִי	
	קִימַמוּ		בֵּינָו	
	[קִימַמְנָה]		—	
יִקָּמַם*	יִקָּמַם	יִקָּמַם	יָגִיל	
תִּקָּמַם	תִּקָּמַם	[תִּקָּמַם]	תִּגְיֹל	
[תִּקָּמַם]	תִּקָּמַם	תִּקָּמַם	תִּגְיֹל	
תִּקָּמַמִּי	[תִּקָּמַמִּי]	תִּקָּמַמִּי	תִּגְיֹלִי	
[תִּקָּמַם]	תִּקָּמַם	[תִּקָּמַם]	אִגְיֹל	
יִקָּמַמוּ	יִקָּמַמוּ	יִקָּמַמוּ	יִגְיֹלוּ	
[תִּקָּמַמְנָה]	תִּקָּמַמְנָה	תִּקָּמַמְנָה	תִּגְיֹלְנָה	
תִּקָּמַמוּ	תִּקָּמַמוּ	[תִּקָּמַמוּ]	תִּגְיֹלוּ	
[תִּקָּמַמְנָה]	תִּקָּמַמְנָה	תִּקָּמַמְנָה	תִּגְיֹלְנָה	
נִקָּמַם	[נִקָּמַם]	[נִקָּמַם]	נִגְיֹל	
			יִגֵּל	
			וַיִּגֵּל	
			יִרְבֵּינִי	
	מִקָּמַם			נָבֹן
מִקָּמַם*		מִקָּמַם		

		Qal.	Niph'al.	Pi'el.	
<i>Perf. Sing.</i>	3. m.	מָצָא*	מָלֵא	מָצָא*	
	3. f.	מָצְאָה	מָלְאָה	מָצְאָה [מָצְאָה]	
	2. m.	מָצְאָתָ*	מָלְאָתָ	מָצְאָתָ*	
	2. f.	מָצְאָת	מָלְאָת	מָצְאָת [מָצְאָת]	
	1. c.	מָצְאָתִי	מָלְאָתִי	מָצְאָתִי	
	<i>Plur.</i>	3. c.	מָצְאוּ	מָלְאוּ	מָצְאוּ
		2. m.	מָצְאָתֶם	מָלְאָתֶם	מָצְאָתֶם
		2. f.	[מָצְאָתֶן]	[מָלְאָתֶן]	[מָצְאָתֶן]
1. c.		מָצְאָנוּ	מָלְאָנוּ	מָצְאָנוּ [מָצְאָנוּ]	
<i>Inf.</i>	מָצֵא	הַמְצִיא	מָצֵא		
<i>Inf. absol.</i>	מָצוּא	נִמְצָא	מָצֵא		
<i>Imp. Sing.</i>	m.	מָצֵא*	הַמְצִיא	מָצֵא	
	f.	מָצְאִי	הַמְצִיאִי	[מָצְאִי]	
	<i>Plur. m.</i>	מָצְאוּ	הַמְצִאוּ	מָצְאוּ	
		f.	מָצְאָנָה*	הַמְצִאָנָה	[מָצְאָנָה]
<i>Impf. Sing.</i>	3. m.	יִמְצָא*	יִפְצֵא*	יִמְצָא	
	3. f.	תִּמְצָא	תִּפְצֵא	תִּמְצָא	
	2. m.	תִּמְצָא	תִּפְצֵא	תִּמְצָא	
	2. f.	תִּמְצְאִי	תִּפְצְאִי	[תִּמְצְאִי]	
	1. c.	אִמְצָא	אִפְצֵא	אִמְצָא	
	<i>Plur.</i>	3. m.	יִמְצְאוּ	יִפְצְאוּ	יִמְצְאוּ
		3. f.	תִּמְצְאָנָה*	תִּפְצְאָנָה*	תִּמְצְאָנָה*
		2. m.	תִּמְצְאוּ	תִּפְצְאוּ	[תִּמְצְאוּ]
		2. f.	תִּמְצְאָנָה	תִּפְצְאָנָה	תִּמְצְאָנָה
		1. c.	נִמְצָא	[נִמְצָא]	נִמְצָא
<i>Shortened Impf. (Jussive).</i>					
<i>Impf. with Suff.</i>	יִמְצְאָנִי, יִמְצְאָךְ			יִמְצְאָנִי	
<i>Part. act.</i>		מָצֵא	נִמְצָא	מִמְצָא	
	<i>pass.</i>	מָצוּא			

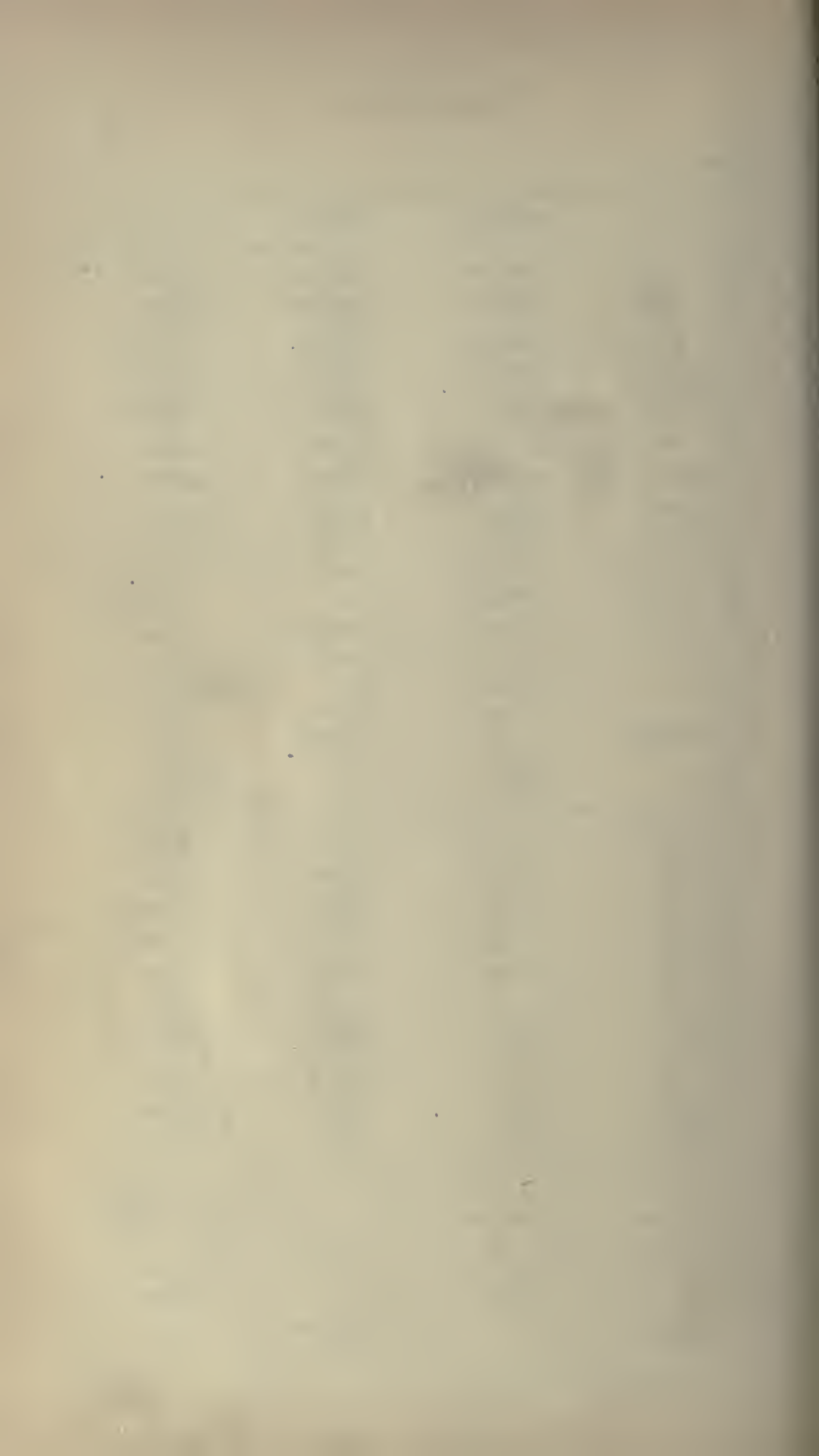
Verbs, א"ל.

<i>Pu'al.</i>	<i>Hiph'il.</i>	<i>Hoph'al.</i>	<i>Hithpa'el.</i>
קרא [מצא	המציא	[המצא]	[התמצא
מצאה	המציאה	המצאה	התמצאה
מצאת	המצאת*	[המצאת]*	התמצאת*
מצאת	המצאת	המצאת	[התמצאת]
מצאתי	המציאתי	המציאתי	התמצאתי
מצאו	המציאו	המצאו	התמצאו
מצאתם	המצאתם	המצאתם	[התמצאתם]
מצאתן	[המצאתן]	המצאתן	התמצאתן
[מצאנו]	[המצאנו]	[המצאנו]	[התמצאנו]
wanting.	המציא המצא	wanting.	התמצא wanting.
wanting.	המצא המציאי המציאו [המצאנה]	wanting.	[התמצא התמצאי התמצאו התמצאנה]
ימצא	ימציא	[ימצא]	יתמצא
[תמצא	תמציא	תמצא	תתמצא
תמצא	תמציא	תמצא	תתמצא
תמצאי	תמציאי	תמצאי	[תתמצאי
אמצא	אמציא	אמצא	אתמצא]
ימצאו	ימציאו	ימצאו	יתמצאו
*תמצאנה	*תמציאנה	*תמצאנה	[תתמצאנה]
תמצאו	תמציאו	תמצאו	תתמצאו
תמצאנה	תמציאנה	תמצאנה	[תתמצאנה
[נמצא	נמציא	נמצא	נתמצא]
	ימצא		
	ימציאני		
	ממציא		מתמצא
ממצא		ממצא	

	<i>Qal.</i>	<i>Niph'al.</i>	<i>Pi'el.</i>
<i>Perf. Sing.</i> 3. m.	גָּלָה*	נִגְלָה*	פָּלַח*
3. f.	גָּלְתָה*	נִגְלְתָה*	פָּלַחְתָּה*
2. m.	פָּלַחְתָּ*	נִגְלַחְתָּ, יָחַת	פָּלַחְתָּ*
2. f.	פָּלַחְתְּ	נִגְלַחְתְּ	פָּלַחְתְּ
1. c.	פָּלַחְתִּי	נִגְלַחְתִּי	פָּלַחְתִּי, פָּלַחְתִּי
<i>Plur.</i> 3. c.	פָּלְאוּ*	נִגְלוּ	פָּלְאוּ
2. m.	פָּלַחְתֶּם	[נִגְלַחְתֶּם]	פָּלַחְתֶּם
2. f.	פָּלַחְתֶּן	[נִגְלַחְתֶּן]	[פָּלַחְתֶּן]
1. c.	פָּלַחְנוּ	נִגְלַחְנוּ	פָּלַחְנוּ
<i>Inf.</i>	גָּלוּחַ*	הִגְלוּחַ*	גָּלוּחַ*
<i>Inf. absol.</i>	פָּלַח	נִגְלַח, הִקְלַח	פָּלַח, גָּלוּחַ
<i>Imp. Sing.</i> m.	גָּלֵה*	הִגְלֵה*	גָּלֵה, גַּל
f.	גָּלִי*	הִגְלִי*	גָּלִי*
<i>Plur. m.</i>	פָּלְאוּ	הִגְלוּ	פָּלְאוּ
f.	פָּלְיְנָה*	[הִגְלִינָה]	[פָּלְיְנָה]
<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, אֶפְלֶה	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>	יִגְלֶ*	יִגְלֶ*	יִגְלֶ*
<i>Impf. with Suff.</i>	יִגְלֶה, יִגְלִי		יִגְלֶה, יִגְלִי
<i>Part. act.</i>	פָּלַח*	נִגְלַח*	מִפְלַח*
<i>pass.</i>	פָּלוּחַ*		

Verbs, ל'ה.

<i>Pu'al.</i>	<i>Hiph'il.</i>	<i>Hoph'al.</i>	<i>Hithpa'el.</i>
גָּלָה*	הִגָּלָה*	הִגָּלָה*	הִתְגָּלָה*
גָּלְתָה*	הִגָּלְתָה*	הִגָּלְתָה*	[הִתְגָּלְתָה]
גָּלִיתִ*	הִגָּלִיתִ*, יָת־	הִגָּלִיתִ*	הִתְגָּלִיתִ*
[גָּלִיתִ]	הִגָּלִיתִ, יָת־	[הִגָּלִיתִ]	[הִתְגָּלִיתִ]
גָּלִיתִי	הִגָּלִיתִי, יָת־	הִגָּלִיתִי	הִתְגָּלִיתִי
גָּלוּ	הִגָּלוּ	הִגָּלוּ	הִתְגָּלוּ
[גָּלִיתֶם]	הִגָּלִיתֶם, יָת־	[הִגָּלִיתֶם]	הִתְגָּלִיתֶם
גָּלִיתָן	[הִגָּלִיתָן]	הִגָּלִיתָן	[הִתְגָּלִיתָן]
[גָּלִינוּ]	הִגָּלִינוּ	[הִגָּלִינוּ]	הִתְגָּלִינוּ
גָּלוּת*	הִגָּלוּת*	הִגָּלוּת*	הִתְגָּלוּת*
	הִגָּלָה		
wanting.	הִגָּלָה*	wanting.	[הִתְגָּלָה] הִתְגָּל
	הִגָּלִי*		הִתְגָּלִי
	הִגָּלוּ		הִתְגָּלוּ
	[הִגָּלִינָה]		[הִתְגָּלִינָה]
יִגָּלָה*	יִגָּלָה*	יִגָּלָה*	יִתְגָּלָה*
תִּגָּלָה	תִּגָּלָה	תִּגָּלָה	[תִּתְגָּלָה]
תִּגָּלָה	תִּגָּלָה	תִּגָּלָה	תִּתְגָּלָה
[תִּגָּלִי]	תִּגָּלִי*	תִּגָּלִי*	תִּתְגָּלִי*
[יִגָּלָה]	אִיגָּלָה	אִיגָּלָה*	אִיגָּלָה
יִגָּלוּ	יִגָּלוּ	יִגָּלוּ	יִתְגָּלוּ
[תִּגָּלִינָה]*	תִּגָּלִינָה*	תִּגָּלִינָה*	[תִּתְגָּלִינָה]
תִּגָּלוּ	תִּגָּלוּ	תִּגָּלוּ	תִּתְגָּלוּ
תִּגָּלִינָה	תִּגָּלִינָה	תִּגָּלִינָה	[תִּתְגָּלִינָה]
[גִּגָּלָה]	גִּגָּלָה	[גִּגָּלָה]	גִּתְגָּלָה
	יִגָּלִ*		יִתְגָּלִ*
	יִגָּלִ, יִגָּלִי*		
	מִגָּלָה*		מִתְגָּלָה*
מִגָּלָה*		מִגָּלָה*	



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 10 .27*q*, 90*c*, 90*i*,
 123*e*, 130*e*
 13 .2*b*, 126*r*, 128*u*
 17115*a*
 18129*c*
 19 . . .121*f*, 128*a*
 22106*i*
 23 .102*b*, 135*a*, 149*c*,
 154*a*, N.
 24135*c*
 15, 1126*r*, 131*q*
 2 .116*n*, 118*n*, 128
v, 141*e*
 5150*i*
 6 .112*ss*, 122*g*, 135*p*
 7 .29*f*, 66*i*, 138*d*

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- 15, 10139*b*, 139*c*
 12114*i*
 13 .113*o*, 135*p*, 155*e*
 14119*n*
 15135*a*
 16118*q*
 17111*g*
 18 . . .106*m*, 136*b*
 16, 1142*b*, 156*b*
 251*p*, 119*x*
 467*p*, 102*f*
 5 .5*n*, 103*o*, 135*a*,
 135*m*
 760*d*, 127*e*
 8 .10*k*, 76*g*, 107*h*,
 116*n*
 10166*a*
 11 .80*d*, 94*f*, 116*n*
 12 .127*c*, 128*l*, 156*b*
 16115*f*
 17, 5121*b*, 163*a*
 8128*p*
 9142*f*, N. 2
 10113*gg*
 11 .67*dd*, 112*aa*, 121*d*,
 144*b*
 14 .29*g*, 67*v*, 112*mm*,
 158*a*, 167*b*, N.
 15143*b*
 17 .96, 100*l*, 107*t*,
 134*d*, 150*g*
 1949*l*
 20 . . .106*m*, 112*s*
 21154*a*
 2672*ee*
 18, 1 .116*o*, 118*g*, 141*e*
 475*ee*
 5158*b*, N. 3
 6 .90*c*, 90*i*, 131*d*
 7117*f*, 126*r*
 9147*b*
 10118*u*
 11116*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*
 15106*b*, 163*a*
 17100*l*
 1875*n*, 142*d*
 20 .128*h*, 148*d*, 159*ee*
 21 .100*l*, 108*b*, 135*m*,
 138*k*
 24117*g*, 122*l*
 25 .112*v*, 115*b*, 161*c*
 26112*ff*
 27141*e*
 28 .47*m*, 117*aa*, 119*p*,
 134*l*, 159*n*, N.
 29134*k*

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19, 1 . . . 116 a, 141 e, 141 f,
156 c
2 . 20 d, 20 g, 100 a,
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
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 g
18 152 g
19 . 60 d, 72 n, 152 w,
154 a
20 107 f, 109 f
21 61 a
22 120 g
23 164 b
28 126 o
29 115 a, 124 o
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 qg, 114 m,
157 b, N. I
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. I, 141 f, 145 i,
167 b
16 116 s, 134 n
17 145 u
18 106 f, 113 n
21, 1 111 g
3 138 k
5 121 b, 128 v
6 . 10 g, 64 h, 114 c
7 . 106 p, 124 o, 142 f
8 51 m
9 52 n
10 145 m
11 67 p
13 143 c
14 95 e, 128 q
16 . 75 kk, 108 b, 113 h,
119 k, 119 s

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21, 17 138 e
19 117 cc
20 131 b
23 20 f, 51 o
24 51 p, 135 a
26 162 b
28 91 c, 127 e
29 91 f, 126 x
30 117 d, 157 b
32 138 f
22, 3 135 i
5 119 s
7 147 b
12 116 g, 158 a
14 130 d, N. 3
17 75 ff
23 134 k
24 111 h, 147 e
23, 1 134 d, 134 h
4 . 52 f, 122 f, 128 m
6 . 75 qg, 119 x, 128 r,
142 f, N. 2, 152 b
8 61 g
9 119 p
10 . 116 h, 141 b, 143 e
11 106 m, 152 c
13 110 d
15 112 cc
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
18 75 t, 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, 116 s
31 116 l
33 73 f
37 149 c
41 95 n
42 159 v, 167 c
43 112 s
44 . 154 a, N., 162 b
45 135 a
49 159 v
51 109 f, 117 f
55 139 h, 146 f
56 142 d
58 150 n

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24, 60 63 q, 97 g
61 140 g
63 114 f
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
31 35 n, 48 i
34 75 o
28, 7 . 144 p, N. 2, 147 a,
N. I
9 . 148 b, 152 w, 157 b
10 106 p, 112 h
13 113 u, 164 f
15 60 h, 135 o
16 133 c
18 . 60 h, 111 q, 120 d
25 76 c
28 . 75 n, 103 o, N. I
29 65 h, 75 hh
27, 1 . 111 q, 114 d, 119 y
3 118 e
4 . 20 b, 106 g, 108 d
7 58 g
9 117 ii
12 112 p
13 10 g, 141 f
19 60 d
20 . 114 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. I
31 72 t
33 . 107 c, 116 d, 117 q,
150 l, 153
34 . 113 m, 117 q,
135 e
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 81 a, 121 a
43 119 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

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28, 8 I11 *d*
 9 I19 *aa*, N. 3
 11 I26 *r*
 15 I06 *o*, I47 *b*
 16 I06 *g*
 17 20 *d*
 18 71
 29, 2 I11 *e*, I44 *f*
 6 I50 *n*
 7 I26 *i*, I52 *d*
 9 I16 *u*, I29 *h*
 10 . 67 *p*, 75 *gg*, I06 *f*
 14 I31 *d*
 15 I50 *e*
 17 I45 *n*
 18 I19 *p*
 19 I33 *a*
 21 69 *o*, I65 *a*
 25 I42 *g*
 26 I07 *g*
 27 I21 *b*
 30 I33 *b*
 32 60 *d*
 30, 3 51 *g*
 6 26 *g*
 8 . 85 *n*, I17 *q*, I54 *a*,
 N.
 13 I06 *n*
 15 I14 *a*
 16 I26 *y*
 18 I7 *c*, I35 *m*
 19 96
 20 I17 *ff*
 23 I35 *m*
 27 I11 *h*, I20 *f*
 29 I57 *c*
 31 I20 *g*, I20 *h*
 32 I12 *mm*
 34 I09 *b*, I51 *e*
 37 I17 *r*, I23 *b*
 38 . I0 *g*, 47 *k*, 76 *g*,
 95 *f*, I38 *d*, I45 *c*
 39 69 *f*, I45 *p*
 40 . I19 *aa*, N. 3, I42 *f*
 41 91 *f*, I12 *ee*
 31, 6 32 *i*
 7 67 *w*
 8 . I45 *u*, I59 *r*, I59 *s*
 9 I35 *o*
 13 I27 *f*
 14 I46 *g*
 15 I13 *r*
 19 67 *cc*
 23 I18 *h*
 27 . 63 *c*, I11 *m*, I14 *n*,
 I59 *dd*
 28 77 *n*
 29 I52 *i*
 30 51 *i*, I13 *p*
 32 59 *g*

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31, 34 . I11 *q*, I24 *h*, N. 1,
 I32 *h*, N. 2.
 35 I06 *l*
 36 20 *d*, 37 *d*
 39 . 23 *f*, 74 *k*, 75 *oo*,
 75 *qq*, 90 *l*, I07 *e*
 40 . 67 *cc*, 76 *a*, I04 *g*,
 I43 *a*, N. 2, I67 *b*, N.
 41 I36 *d*
 42 I06 *p*
 44 69 *x*
 45 I17 *ii*
 47 I *c*
 52 I49 *c*, I67 *b*
 53 I45 *i*
 32, 1 I03 *b*, I22 *g*
 3 I36 *b*
 5 64 *h*, 68 *f*
 6 . 49 *e*, I04 *g*, I23 *b*
 7 I16 *s*
 8 67 *p*, I44 *b*
 9 I12 *p*, I45 *u*
 10 I16 *o*
 11 . I06 *g*, I19 *n*, I33 *c*
 12 . I19 *aa*, N. 3, I52 *w*,
 I56 *c*
 13 I07 *w*
 15 I34 *c*
 16 . 28 *b*, I22 *c*, I32 *e*,
 I35 *o*
 17 I23 *d*
 18 . 9 *v*, I0 *g*, 60 *b*,
 64 *f*, I37 *b*
 20 . 20 *f*, 52 *n*, 61 *d*,
 74 *h*, I24 *i*
 25 51 *n*
 27 . 60 *f*, 63 *h*, I63 *c*
 30 I07 *h*
 31 . 90 *o*, I11 *e*, I56 *c*,
 I57 *b*
 33, 2 I46 *e*, N. 1
 3 66 *b*
 4 5 *n*
 5 . 37 *a*, 67 *a*, I17 *ff*,
 I37 *a*
 8 I47 *a*, N. 1
 10 . I12 *gg*, I58 *b*, N. 3
 11 74 *g*
 13 . 60 *h*, I04 *g*, I22 *c*,
 I26 *i*, I35 *o*
 18 I18 *n*
 19 I34 *g*
 34, 5 I12 *ss*
 7 45 *c*, 45 *g*
 8 I40 *d*
 15 72 *h*, I19 *p*
 16 44 *o*, 49 *k*
 19 64 *d*
 22 72 *ee*
 23 I43 *a*

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34, 24 I45 *d*
 25 I18 *q*, I31 *q*
 27 I44 *g*
 30 I28 *n*, I41 *d*
 31 I07 *t*, I18 *v*
 35, 1 65 *a*
 3 I16 *a*
 7 . I24 *h*, N. 1, I45 *i*
 8 I26 *d*
 11 I45 *f*
 13 I42 *g*
 14 I38 *d*
 22 I5 *p*, 45 *g*
 26 I21 *b*
 36, 7 I33 *c*
 37, 2 I26 *z*
 3 I12 *h*, I33 *b*
 4 I15 *c*
 7 47 *l*, I16 *o*
 8 I13 *q*, I50 *h*
 15 I07 *f*, I16 *s*
 16 p. 48¹, N. 1
 17 I17 *f*
 18 I17 *w*
 19 I28 *u*
 21 I17 *ll*
 23 I17 *cc*
 29 I52 *l*
 30 I16 *p*, I43 *a*
 33 60 *d*, I03 *w*
 35 I18 *n*
 38, 5 I12 *uu*
 9 . I3 *c*, 66 *i*, I59 *o*
 11 I18 *g*, I52 *w*
 17 I59 *dd*
 21 I26 *y*
 24 . 20 *m*, 97 *c*, I16 *s*,
 I19 *y*, N. 1
 25 . 32 *l*, 74 *i*, I16 *v*,
 I42 *e*
 26 I33 *b*, N. 3
 28 I44 *d*
 29 20 *d*, I64 *g*
 39, 1 I42 *b*
 4 I30 *d*, I55 *n*
 5 I45 *q*
 6 I28 *x*
 8 I37 *c*
 9 I07 *t*, I12 *p*
 10 I23 *c*
 11 35 *n*, I26 *s*
 14 . . 2 *b*, 29 *g*, 64 *g*
 16 72 *ee*
 18 I14 *r*
 20 I30 *c*
 22 I16 *s*
 23 I16 *o*, I52 *l*
 40, 4 I39 *h*
 5 I29 *h*
 7 84 *b* *f*, 87 *t*

Genesis

40, 8 152 o
 9 91 e, 143 d
 10 164 g
 13 72 w
 14 . 105 b, N. 2, 106 n,
 N. 2, 163 d
 15 2 b
 16 135 f
 20 . 69 w, 71, 121 b
 22 144 n
 41, 1 . 116 s, 119 c, 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
 25 . 93 m, 116 u, 120 f,
 124 l, 139 c
 28 119 gg
 30 124 i, 126 p
 33 134 d
 35 111 g, 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. 3
 7 . 107 k, 107 t, 113 g,
 150 d
 9 159 o
 10 106 p
 12 . 72 bb, 93 pp, 131 c
 14 29 u, 106 o
 15 20 c, 131 q

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43, 16 65 b
 17 90 c
 18 116 d
 21 49 e
 26 14 d
 27 141 c, N. 4
 28 67 g
 29 67 n
 33 119 gg
 34 134 r, 144 n
 44, 1 47 m, 138 e
 2 135 n, N. 2
 3 142 e, 144 c
 4 . 138 e, 156 f, 164 b
 5 119 m, N.
 9 112 ii, 138 f
 12 156 d
 16 20 d, 58 k
 22 159 g
 23 137 b
 28 113 w
 29 112 kk
 33 69 p, 109 b
 34 152 w
 45, 4 138 d
 8 119 hh
 14 93 pp
 23 102 g
 46, 2 124 e
 3 69 m
 4 113 w
 22 121 b
 27 121 b, 132 g
 30 108 b
 47, 3 145 r
 6 120 e
 9 128 a
 11 69 v
 17 93 ss
 19 67 p
 21 . 139 e, N. 3, 143 c
 22 112 l
 24 145 u
 48, 1 144 d
 2 144 d, N. 2
 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
 3 29 u
 4 . 53 n, 124 b, 144 p,
 147 c
 8 135 e
 10 20 h
 11 . 7 c, 52 l, 90 l, 91 e,
 93 v, 96, 106 k,
 116 x, 118 p
 12 90 l, 93 dd
 13 95 i

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49, 15 117 b, N. 2
 17 20 h, 109 k
 18 106 g
 21 126 b
 22 . 44 m, 80 g, 96,
 145 k
 23 67 m
 25 117 ff, 119 c
 27 . 29 l, 29 u, 107 g,
 155 f
 30 138 b, N. 3
 50, 13 138 b, N. 3
 15 117 ff, 159 y
 18 58 k
 20 75 n
 25 116 v
 26 . 73 f, 144 d, N. 2

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1, 1 49 b, N. 2
 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 e
 19 112 oo
 20 145 g
 21 135 o
 22 127 b
 2, 1 117 d
 2 117 h
 3 . 20 h, 58 g, 126 m
 4 69 m, 71
 6 131 m
 9 . 69 x, 70 e, 135 m
 10 111 d
 16 75 w
 17 . 60 d, 60 h, 135 o
 20 46 f, 154 b
 3, 2 52 s, 126 r
 3 108 b, 126 v
 8 128 x
 9 117 r
 10 110 i
 11 107 u
 13 112 t
 15 133 l
 18 49 l, 118 p
 19 . 69 x, 157 b, N. 1
 20 63 m
 22 139 b
 4, 1 107 i
 2 37 c
 4 29 g, 64 c
 10 . 61 c, 128 t, 152 d
 12 75 ee
 13 130 d, 155 n
 14 159 g
 21 . . 112 mm, 143 d

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5, 5	112 cc
7	68 h
10	152 m
11	138 e
16	74 g, 116 l, 152 o
18	163 a
19	57, N. 2, 135 k
21	66 i, 102 f
23	113 v
6, 3	119 i, 144 l, N. 3
6	112 x
10	p. 70, N. 1
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
22	150 a, 159 w
9, 4	130 d, 155 n
9	117 z
15	106 p
16	115 e
18	91 e, 127 f
23	63 n, 69 x
27	126 k
31	141 d
10, 1	126 y
3	51 l, 106 h
4	65 e
6	161 b
7	152 r
8	137 a
9	91 k
10	154 a, N.
11	135 p
22	133 i
11, 6	135 o
8	9 v
12, 4	133 c, 139 c
5	128 v
6	88 c
8	154 a, N.
12	124 g
13	159 g
14	67 n
15	20 g, 116 w, 126 w
16	146 c, 152 b
18	134 o
21	46 d
23	126 l, N. 1
27	61 a
31	20 g
34	107 c
39	117 ii
43	119 m

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12, 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, 11	61 c, 152 y
20	139 e, N. 3
15, 1	2 s, 20 e, 91 l, 107 c, 146 f
2	58 k, 80 g, 117 b
4	47 w, 128 r
5	58 g, 75 dd
7	116 i
8	15 c
9	117 z, 120 g, N. 2, 154 a, N.
10	35 g
11	20 e, 20 g
12	107 d
13	20 e, 64 d, 138 g
15	107 c
16	20 e, 67 g, 90 g, 132 c, 138 g, 164 f
17	20 h, 155 h
20	47 e, 146 c
21	20 e
24	20 c
26	113 o
18, 2	51 g, 72 ee
6	112 oo
7	32 d, 72 ee, 141 l, N. 2
8	72 ee
12	88 c
14	55 k
16	118 h
20	27 o, 67 n, 121 d, N. 3, 139 h, N. 2
21	123 c, 159 g
22	134 e
23	63 i, 76 d
29	9 l, 69 p, 139 d
32	117 cc
33	20 l, 125 b
17, 1	115 f
3	72 ee, 117 e
4	96
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

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18, 21	97 h
22	127 b
23	49 i
26	47 g, 112 g
19, 1	102 f
3	53 n
5	113 o, 134 o, N. 1
8	135 r
13	69 t
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
25	72 k, 117 kk
21, 2	159 bb
4	145 h, 146 e
5	113 o
8	61 b, 75 ee, 103 g
10	126 r
12	104 g, 112 n, 116 w
13	112 ii
18	47 m
28	117 d, 121 b
29	124 i
31	29 i, N.
35	135 m
36	159 cc
37	47 f, 123 a
22, 1	124 n
3	51 k, 113 o
4	53 n
5	117 g
8	138 e
11	113 o
17	94 d
22	113 m, 163 c, N.
25	135 o
29	60 d
30	131 b
23, 4	21 h
5	63 m
8	107 g
9	158 a
16	61 a
21	51 n, 67 y
22	113 o
24	60 b
26	94 g
27	p. 390, N. 1
28	126 t
30	123 e, 133 k
31	58 g
24, 3	118 q

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24, 4134 *f*
 10139 *g*
 12154 *a*, N.
 25, 552 *q*
 15135 *o*, N. 2
 2920 *f*, 117 *hh*
 3163 *h*
 33123 *d*
 35123 *d*
 40121 *c*
 26, 3123 *d*, 139 *e*
 1752 *s*
 19123 *d*
 3349 *h*, 53 *r*, 133 *i*
 27, 11134 *n*
 28, 9117 *d*
 10134 *c*, N. 1
 17131 *d*
 20117 *y*
 21139 *c*
 32165 *a*
 29, 166 *g*
 12119 *w*
 31128 *p*
 35103 *b*
 30, 20117 *y*, N.
 3273 *f*
 31, 463 *i*
 1360 *f*
 1751 *m*
 32, 1126 *aa*, 137 *c*
 354 *f*
 4145 *i*
 652 *n*, 113 *e*
 12150 *e*
 20108 *h*
 255 *n*, 58 *g*, 116 *i*
 29114 *p*
 32159 *dd*, 167 *a*
 34112 *oo*
 33, 327 *q*
 6117 *w*
 7107 *e*, 112 *e*, 113 *h*
 10112 *kk*
 11156 *c*
 1275 *gg*
 1369 *b*, 91 *k*
 14150 *a*
 1967 *ee*
 2060 *d*, 159 *gg*
 23124 *b*
 34, 1124 *q*
 10122 *q*
 1951 *g*
 2451 *l*
 34159 *k*
 36, 1103 *g*
 32152 *d*
 38, 3117 *hh*
 595 *n*

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39, 1860 *h*
 23165 *a*

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1, 149 *b*, N. 2
 17156 *f*
 2, 1139 *d*, 145 *t*
 8144 *p*, N. 2
 4, 2119 *w*, N. 2, 139 *d*
 2369 *w*
 5, 975 *hh*
 13119 *w*, N. 2
 6, 291 *e*
 3128 *d*
 7113 *gg*
 8118 *g*, 135 *a*, N. 2
 9118 *k*
 7, 8117 *d*
 3553 *l*, 155 *l*
 8, 1176 *c*
 1691 *c*
 9, 6107 *q*, 120 *c*
 10, 10114 *p*
 1975 *rr*, 100 *k*
 11, 767 *g*
 2388 *f*
 3553 *u*
 425 *n*
 4374 *k*
 4454 *k*
 13, 491 *d*
 19131 *i*
 34127 *e*
 14, 36101 *a*
 4353 *l*
 4653 *l*
 5554 *h*
 15, 2953 *r*
 16, 830 *n*
 17, 14145 *l*
 18, 775 *hh*
 2195 *q*, N.
 2576 *h*
 28116 *s*
 19, 961 *d*, 142 *f*, N. 2
 16118 *q*
 28102 *c*
 20, 754 *k*
 10117 *d*
 14117 *d*
 1975 *hh*
 21, 467 *t*
 7126 *t*
 967 *t*
 21142 *f*, N. 2
 23, 1714 *d*
 2261 *d*
 3961 *a*
 24, 22134 *d*
 25, 520 *h*

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25, 10134 *o*, N. 2
 2149 *l*, 75 *m*
 33145 *u*, N. 2
 3676 *i*
 26, 1567 *dd*
 1852 *p*
 3352 *n*
 3467 *y*, 75 *m*
 37118 *s*, N. 1
 42128 *d*
 4367 *y*
 27, 3128 *d*
 23127 *i*

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1, 149 *b*, N. 2
 2124 *r*
 16138 *e*
 4754 *l*
 2, 3354 *l*
 3, 152 *o*
 9123 *e*
 26117 *l*
 46117 *m*, 134 *k*
 4985 *t*
 4, 17152 *n*
 2345 *g*
 5, 2102 *i*
 3119 *e*
 10117 *m*, 139 *c*
 17128 *p*
 19110 *i*
 20167 *a*
 2253 *q*, 66 *f*
 27112 *y*
 6, 774 *b*, 96
 9133 *k*, N. 2, 144 *e*
 26109 *b*
 7, 25 *n*
 12123 *d*
 8, 727 *q*, 64 *d*
 2445 *g*
 9, 20131 *e*
 10, 3145 *c*
 4134 *r*, N. 1
 29138 *b*
 355 *n*
 36118 *e*
 11, 435 *d*, 151 *a*, N. 1
 5106 *g*
 793 *h*
 10117 *h*
 1174 *k*
 1269 *s*, 122 *f*, N.
 1532 *g*
 1648 *i*
 17119 *m*
 2080 *h*
 2523 *d*, 68 *f*, 72 *q*,
 120 *d*, N. 2, 126 *x*

Numbers

11, 27 . . . . .	.126 <i>r</i>
29 . . . . .	.154 <i>b</i>
12, 1 . . . . .	.146 <i>g</i>
2 . . . . .	.133 <i>k</i> , N. 2
4 . . . . .	.97 <i>i</i>
6 . . . . .	.128 <i>d</i>
13 . . . . .	.105 <i>b</i> , N. 2
14 . . . . .	.154 <i>b</i>
13, 27 . . . . .	.118 <i>e</i>
32 . . . . .	.72 <i>l</i>
14, 2 . . . . .	.106 <i>p</i> , 151 <i>e</i>
16 . . . . .	.69 <i>n</i> , 114 <i>s</i>
17 . . . . .	.5 <i>n</i>
21 . . . . .	.167 <i>b</i>
24 . . . . .	.119 <i>gg</i>
27 . . . . .	.72 <i>ee</i>
31 . . . . .	.76 <i>h</i>
33 . . . . .	.91 <i>l</i>
34 . . . . .	.123 <i>d</i>
35 . . . . .	.67 <i>g</i>
40 . . . . .	.58 <i>k</i>
41 . . . . .	.135 <i>p</i>
15, 15 . . . . .	.161 <i>c</i>
24 . . . . .	.119 <i>w</i>
29 . . . . .	.143 <i>c</i>
31 . . . . .	.51 <i>k</i>
16, 13 . . . . .	.54 <i>e</i>
15 . . . . .	.117 <i>d</i>
22 . . . . .	.100 <i>m</i> , 150 <i>m</i>
29 . . . . .	.159 <i>c</i> , N., 159 <i>q</i>
17, 6 . . . . .	.72 <i>w</i>
10 . . . . .	.67 <i>t</i> , 72 <i>dd</i>
17 . . . . .	.139 <i>c</i>
20 . . . . .	.72 <i>ee</i>
25 . . . . .	.128 <i>v</i>
27 . . . . .	.106 <i>n</i>
28 . . . . .	.67 <i>e</i> , 67 <i>dd</i> , 150 <i>g</i> , N. 1
18, 18 . . . . .	.143 <i>e</i>
19, 12 . . . . .	.74 <i>b</i>
20, 3 . . . . .	.65 <i>a</i> , 154 <i>b</i>
5 . . . . .	.59 <i>a</i> , 152 <i>a</i> , N.
18 . . . . .	.152 <i>w</i>
21, 1 . . . . .	.75 <i>q</i>
5 . . . . .	.59 <i>a</i>
14 . . . . .	.127 <i>f</i>
17 . . . . .	.63 <i>l</i>
20 . . . . .	.112 <i>ss</i>
23 . . . . .	.157 <i>b</i> , N. 1
27 . . . . .	.54 <i>c</i> , 75 <i>hh</i>
30 . . . . .	.76 <i>f</i>
35 . . . . .	.164 <i>d</i>
22, 1 . . . . .	.125 <i>h</i>
6 . . . . .	.20 <i>d</i> , 53 <i>u</i> , 67 <i>o</i> , 120 <i>c</i> , 138 <i>e</i>
13 . . . . .	.69 <i>x</i> , 115 <i>c</i>
17 . . . . .	.67 <i>o</i>
21 . . . . .	.103 <i>c</i>
23 . . . . .	.117 <i>e</i>
29 . . . . .	.151 <i>e</i> , N. 2

Numbers

22, 33 . . . . .	.103 <i>b</i>
23, 3 . . . . .	.130 <i>c</i> , 137 <i>c</i>
7 . . . . .	.64 <i>c</i> , 67 <i>o</i> , 93 <i>aa</i>
8 . . . . .	.58 <i>g</i>
13 . . . . .	.20 <i>o</i> , 48 <i>i</i> , 67 <i>o</i> , 69 <i>x</i> , 152 <i>b</i>
15 . . . . .	.51 <i>p</i>
18 . . . . .	.90 <i>n</i> , 96
19 . . . . .	.27 <i>q</i> , 64 <i>d</i> , 109 <i>i</i> , 166 <i>a</i>
20 . . . . .	.159 <i>g</i>
24 . . . . .	.124 <i>n</i>
25 . . . . .	.10 <i>h</i> , 67 <i>g</i>
24, 1 . . . . .	.123 <i>c</i>
3 . . . . .	.90 <i>n</i> , 96
4 . . . . .	.116 <i>k</i>
5 . . . . .	.148 <i>b</i>
6 . . . . .	.75 <i>x</i>
7 . . . . .	.54 <i>c</i> , 93 <i>z</i>
10 . . . . .	.113 <i>r</i>
17 . . . . .	.55 <i>f</i>
22 . . . . .	.29 <i>f</i>
24 . . . . .	.93 <i>y</i>
25, 12 . . . . .	.5 <i>n</i> , 131 <i>r</i> , N. 1
26, 62 . . . . .	.54 <i>l</i>
27, 7 . . . . .	.135 <i>o</i>
31, 28 . . . . .	.134 <i>d</i>
32, 6 . . . . .	.150 <i>m</i>
14 . . . . .	.69 <i>h</i>
17 . . . . .	.72 <i>p</i>
20 . . . . .	.159 <i>c</i> , N., 159 <i>q</i>
30 . . . . .	.68 <i>i</i>
32 . . . . .	.32 <i>d</i>
42 . . . . .	.103 <i>g</i>
34, 2 . . . . .	.131 <i>f</i>
7 . . . . .	.75 <i>bb</i> , N.
14 . . . . .	.23 <i>c</i>

Deuteronomy

1, 1 . . . . .	.101 <i>a</i>
2 . . . . .	.118 <i>g</i> , 134 <i>f</i>
3 . . . . .	.53 <i>q</i> , 134 <i>o</i>
5 . . . . .	.120 <i>g</i> , 120 <i>h</i>
7 . . . . .	.119 <i>s</i>
13 . . . . .	.119 <i>s</i>
16 . . . . .	.75 <i>t</i> , 112 <i>u</i>
17 . . . . .	.47 <i>m</i> , 53 <i>r</i> , 133 <i>c</i>
18 . . . . .	.117 <i>gg</i>
19 . . . . .	.118 <i>h</i> , 126 <i>v</i>
21 . . . . .	.69 <i>f</i>
23 . . . . .	.134 <i>f</i>
27 . . . . .	.115 <i>c</i> , 115 <i>f</i>
28 . . . . .	.124 <i>q</i>
34 . . . . .	.65 <i>e</i> , 149 <i>b</i>
41 . . . . .	.135 <i>n</i>
44 . . . . .	.67 <i>g</i> , 67 <i>y</i> , 107 <i>g</i>
46 . . . . .	.138 <i>d</i>
2, 9 . . . . .	.75 <i>bb</i> , 118 <i>q</i>
13 . . . . .	.119 <i>s</i>
14 . . . . .	.134 <i>h</i>

Deuteronomy

2, 23 . . . . .	.126 <i>w</i>
24 . . . . .	.20 <i>g</i> , 75 <i>cc</i> , 110 <i>h</i> , 120 <i>g</i>
27 . . . . .	.108 <i>c</i> , 123 <i>e</i> , 133 <i>k</i> , 156 <i>d</i> .
28 . . . . .	.49 <i>m</i>
31 . . . . .	.67 <i>w</i>
34 . . . . .	.69 <i>f</i>
3, 3 . . . . .	.72 <i>o</i> , 164 <i>d</i>
5 . . . . .	.128 <i>c</i>
11 . . . . .	.100 <i>i</i>
13 . . . . .	.125 <i>d</i> , N.
21 . . . . .	.126 <i>k</i>
4, 1 . . . . .	.44 <i>d</i> , 69 <i>s</i>
8 . . . . .	.128 <i>p</i>
10 . . . . .	.115 <i>d</i> , 165 <i>b</i>
15 . . . . .	.52 <i>o</i>
20 . . . . .	.74 <i>l</i>
21 . . . . .	.54 <i>k</i>
26 . . . . .	.51 <i>k</i>
39 . . . . .	.72 <i>w</i>
41 . . . . .	.90 <i>c</i>
5, 3 . . . . .	.135 <i>g</i>
6 . . . . .	.15 <i>p</i> , 138 <i>d</i>
9 . . . . .	.60 <i>b</i>
12 . . . . .	.113 <i>bb</i>
19 . . . . .	.120 <i>d</i> , N. 2
23 . . . . .	.126 <i>s</i> , 132 <i>h</i>
24 . . . . .	.32 <i>g</i>
26 . . . . .	.151 <i>c</i>
6, 3 . . . . .	.118 <i>g</i> , 165 <i>b</i>
7 . . . . .	.119 <i>l</i>
11 . . . . .	.96
7, 5 . . . . .	.52 <i>n</i>
15 . . . . .	.60 <i>d</i>
16 . . . . .	.72 <i>r</i> , 109 <i>d</i>
24 . . . . .	.53 <i>l</i>
8, 3 . . . . .	.44 <i>e</i>
15 . . . . .	.127 <i>i</i>
16 . . . . .	.44 <i>c</i>
19 . . . . .	.106 <i>i</i>
9, 8 . . . . .	.54 <i>k</i>
10, 5 . . . . .	.29 <i>g</i>
17 . . . . .	.126 <i>v</i> , 133 <i>i</i>
19 . . . . .	.112 <i>aa</i>
11, 2 . . . . .	.117 <i>l</i>
16 . . . . .	.49 <i>m</i>
12, 3 . . . . .	.52 <i>n</i>
13, 1 . . . . .	.109 <i>d</i>
3 . . . . .	.60 <i>b</i>
9 . . . . .	.109 <i>d</i>
14, 17 . . . . .	.80 <i>k</i>
15, 2 . . . . .	.113 <i>gg</i>
7 . . . . .	.119 <i>w</i> , N. 2, 139 <i>d</i>
14 . . . . .	.93 <i>k</i>
16, 6 . . . . .	.119 <i>g</i>
13 . . . . .	.93 <i>m</i>
20 . . . . .	.133 <i>h</i>
17, 2 . . . . .	.167 <i>b</i>
5 . . . . .	.124 <i>o</i>

Deuteronomy

17, 6	. . . . .	.144 e
8	. . . . .	.102 h
14	. . . . .	44 d, 49 m
17	. . . . .	.109 g
18, 1	. . . . .	68 c, 131 h
13	. . . . .	.75 u
16	. . . . .	.109 d
20, 2	. . . . .	.61 d
8	. . . . .	.121 b
14	. . . . .	.128 h
21, 3	. . . . .	.145 q
7	. . . . .	.44 m
8	. . . . .	.55 k
9	. . . . .	.117 d
10	. . . . .	.135 p
11	. . . . .	49 m, 96
13	. . . . .	.101 a
22, 1	. . . . .	159 gg
9	. . . . .	.17 c
19	. . . . .	109 d, 127 e
23	. . . . .	.131 b
23, 5	. . . . .	130 c, N. 2
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
23	. . . . .	.115 k
25, 2	. . . . .	96, 128 v
12	. . . . .	.67 ee
13	. . . . .	.123 f
26, 5	. . . . .	.119 i
12	. . . . .	.53 k
27, 6	. . . . .	117 hh
9	. . . . .	.16 b
28, 24	. . . . .	.58 f
36	. . . . .	.131 d
43	. . . . .	.133 k
48	. . . . .	.53 l
49	. . . . .	.155 d
52	. . . . .	.67 v
56	. . . . .	113 d, 142 f, N. 2
57	. . . . .	.74 i
59	. . . . .	.91 n
62	. . . . .	.119 i
66	. . . . .	.75 rr
67	. . . . .	.151 b
29, 15	. . . . .	.157 c
18	. . . . .	69 h, N.
21	. . . . .	.167 b
28	. . . . .	.5 n
30, 4	. . . . .	.92 b
31, 12	. . . . .	.120 e
16	. . . . .	.93 gg
29	. . . . .	.74 g
32, 1	. . . . .	2 s, 91 l, 117 b
3	. . . . .	.69 o

Deuteronomy

32, 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, 67 g, 109 k
10	. . . . .	.58 i, 58 k
11	. . . . .	.52 n, 155 g
15	. . . . .	.20 g, 144 p
17	. . . . .	144 p, 152 a, N., 155 e, 155 f, 155 h
18	. . . . .	.75 s, 109 k
20	. . . . .	.108 a, 167 b
21	. . . . .	152 a, N.
22	. . . . .	.69 f
23	. . . . .	.69 f
24	. . . . .	.116 h, 116 l
26	. . . . .	.58 a, N. 3, 75 mm
27	. . . . .	.159 y
28	. . . . .	.50 e, 93 qq
29	. . . . .	.159 x
30	. . . . .	.134 s
31	. . . . .	.156 b, N. 2
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, 3	. . . . .	.116 s
4	. . . . .	.131 s
9	. . . . .	19 c, 117 b, N. 2
11	. . . . .	116 i, 117 ll, 165 b
1244 c
1648 d, 90 l
19	130 e, 133 h
2168 h, 76 d
2348 i, 69 f
24119 w
2691 l
27131 s
34, 9116 f

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1, 1	49 b, N. 2
2131 n
5106 c
7	107 p, 135 o, N. 2
891 k
12125 b
2, 4	60 d, 135 p
5114 k
659 g
10117 c, 157 c
1363 q, 96
15126 r
16	63 c, 72 q, 74 k

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2, 17	34 a, N. 2, 59 h
1859 h
3, 554 k
7115 c
966 c
11128 c
12134 q
14127 g
16120 g
4, 372 z
4134 k
6	. . . . .	.47 m
7	. . . . .	.9 v
14	. . . . .	.52 l
24	. . . . .	.74 g
5, 2	. . . . .	.120 g, 124 q
8	. . . . .	.63 q
6, 13	. . . . .	.112 i, 113 t
17	. . . . .	.75 oo
7, 7	. . . . .	.63 p, 120 c, 154 a, N.
9	. . . . .	.75 hh
21	. . . . .	.127 g, 134 g
25	. . . . .	.117 ee
8, 11	. . . . .	.127 g
28	. . . . .	.20 g 117. u
33	. . . . .	.127 i
9, 2	. . . . .	.118 q
8	. . . . .	.137 a
12	. . . . .	.54 f, 72 m, 126 aa
20	. . . . .	.113 dd
24	. . . . .	.75 hh
10, 13	. . . . .	.107 c, 135 p, 150 e
17	. . . . .	.93 oo
24	. . . . .	.23 i, 138 i
36	. . . . .	.90 e
11, 14	. . . . .	.53 l
12, 9	. . . . .	.2 s
13, 7	. . . . .	.125 d
14	. . . . .	.145 u, N. 2
14, 1	. . . . .	.64 d
7	. . . . .	.72 ar
8	. . . . .	.75 ii
11	. . . . .	.161 c
15, 3	. . . . .	.112 ss
5	. . . . .	.90 d
12	. . . . .	.90 f
14	. . . . .	.134 l
18	. . . . .	.16 f
19	. . . . .	117 x, 117 ff
21	. . . . .	.90 e
36	. . . . .	.21 e
3821 e, N. 2
16, 2112 ss
17, 1197 c, 117 l
18, 1290 i, 112 ss
2047 f
19, 11112 ss
1390 i
21, 1191 k

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22, 9	68 <i>i</i>
17	117 <i>aa</i>
20	150 <i>m</i>
25	103 <i>o</i> , N. 1
23, 5	60 <i>a</i>
15	103 <i>b</i>
24, 14	75 <i>oo</i>
19	124 <i>h</i> , 145 <i>i</i>

Judges

1, 1	49 <i>b</i> , N. 2
2	106 <i>m</i>
3	49 <i>h</i>
6	93 <i>r</i>
7	116 <i>k</i> , 121 <i>d</i> , 141 <i>i</i> , 156 <i>b</i>
12	112 <i>ii</i>
15	59 <i>h</i>
19	114 <i>l</i>
22	145 <i>c</i>
28	113 <i>n</i>
2, 1	107 <i>b</i>
2	64 <i>i</i>
18	112 <i>hh</i>
19	112 <i>e</i> , 112 <i>ee</i>
3, 23	112 <i>tt</i>
24	67 <i>v</i>
28	129 <i>e</i>
4, 7	136 <i>b</i>
8	49 <i>m</i>
18	72 <i>s</i> , 72 <i>t</i> , 126 <i>r</i>
19	74 <i>k</i>
20	58 <i>g</i> , 64 <i>f</i> , 110 <i>k</i> , 150 <i>n</i> , 152 <i>k</i>
21	72 <i>p</i> , 72 <i>t</i>
5, 1	2 <i>s</i> , 117 <i>b</i> , 146 <i>g</i>
4	117 <i>z</i>
5	67 <i>dd</i> , 136 <i>d</i> , N.
7	20 <i>i</i> , 36, 44 <i>h</i>
8	149 <i>e</i>
10	87 <i>e</i> , 130 <i>a</i>
12	106, 72 <i>s</i>
13	69 <i>g</i>
14	93 <i>aa</i>
15	106, 87 <i>g</i> , 93 <i>bb</i>
17	117 <i>bb</i>
21	118 <i>q</i>
22	20 <i>h</i> , 123 <i>e</i>
24	119 <i>w</i>
26	47 <i>k</i>
27	154 <i>a</i> , N.
28	64 <i>h</i>
29	75 <i>w</i> , 128 <i>i</i> , 133 <i>h</i>
6, 9	49 <i>c</i> , 49 <i>e</i>
11	127 <i>d</i>
13	159 <i>dd</i>
14	126 <i>x</i>
16	49 <i>l</i>
17	36
18	114 <i>q</i> , 135 <i>a</i>

Judges

6, 19	53 <i>n</i> , 156 <i>d</i>
20	34 <i>f</i>
25	126 <i>w</i> , 128 <i>c</i>
28	63 <i>p</i>
31	73 <i>e</i> , 100 <i>m</i>
36	116 <i>q</i> , 159 <i>v</i>
7, 3	137 <i>c</i>
6	93 <i>n</i>
8	131 <i>s</i>
12	36
13	112 <i>qq</i>
19	113 <i>z</i>
20	147 <i>c</i>
23	102 <i>b</i>
25	124 <i>r</i>
8, 1	74 <i>h</i> , 155 <i>d</i> , 155 <i>h</i>
2	20 <i>m</i>
4	118 <i>n</i>
10	97 <i>e</i>
11	130 <i>a</i> , N. 2
19	63 <i>q</i> , 159 <i>x</i>
28	117 <i>ii</i>
32	125 <i>h</i> , 128 <i>c</i>
9, 8	113 <i>o</i>
9	63 <i>k</i> , 100 <i>n</i> , 106 <i>n</i>
10	46 <i>d</i> , 46 <i>e</i>
16	167 <i>a</i>
17	119 <i>bb</i>
28	137 <i>a</i>
29	48 <i>l</i> , 76 <i>e</i> , 151 <i>b</i> , 154 <i>b</i>
39	69 <i>p</i>
41	35 <i>d</i>
45	117 <i>ee</i>
48	157 <i>a</i>
53	27 <i>o</i> , 67 <i>p</i> , 125 <i>b</i>
55	145 <i>d</i>
10, 4	96
11	167 <i>b</i>
11, 5	21 <i>b</i>
10	159 <i>n</i> , N.
18	47 <i>m</i>
20	157 <i>b</i> , N. 1
25	51 <i>i</i> , 133 <i>a</i> , N. 1
29	118 <i>e</i>
33	134 <i>e</i>
34	135 <i>o</i> , 135 <i>o</i> , N. 2
35	119 <i>i</i>
39	144 <i>b</i>
12, 5	100 <i>m</i> , 112 <i>cc</i>
6	2 <i>t</i>
7	124 <i>o</i>
13, 2	125 <i>b</i>
5	80 <i>d</i>
6	44 <i>d</i> , 64 <i>f</i> , 127 <i>e</i>
8	52 <i>s</i>
12	135 <i>m</i>
16	119 <i>m</i>
21	75 <i>c</i>
25	61 <i>c</i>

Judges

14, 2	90 <i>c</i>
4	122 <i>q</i> , 135 <i>p</i>
6	152 <i>p</i>
8	133 <i>a</i>
15	9 <i>v</i> , 150 <i>g</i> , N. 1
17	134 <i>m</i>
18	90 <i>f</i> , 93 <i>x</i>
15, 1	119 <i>n</i>
7	163 <i>c</i> , N.
12	152 <i>w</i>
13	113 <i>p</i>
16, 5	66 <i>h</i>
6	60 <i>d</i>
9	126 <i>o</i>
10	67 <i>dd</i>
11	113 <i>o</i>
13	28 <i>c</i> , N. 1
14	127 <i>g</i>
15	141 <i>e</i>
16	106, 52 <i>d</i>
18	112 <i>tt</i>
20	123 <i>c</i>
26	67 <i>v</i>
27	126 <i>x</i>
28	34 <i>a</i> , N. 2, 88 <i>f</i> , 97 <i>b</i> , N.
30	72 <i>r</i>
17, 2	32 <i>h</i>
18, 3	142 <i>e</i>
19	20 <i>g</i>
23	67 <i>g</i> , 67 <i>y</i>
29	52 <i>q</i>
30	5 <i>n</i>
19, 5	9 <i>u</i> , 64 <i>c</i> , N. 1
6	110 <i>h</i> , 120 <i>d</i>
8	64 <i>c</i>
9	91 <i>k</i>
11	19 <i>i</i>
12	123 <i>b</i>
13	69 <i>x</i> , 73 <i>d</i>
18	118 <i>e</i> , N. 3
20	29 <i>q</i> , 73 <i>e</i>
22	54 <i>c</i>
20, 2	29 <i>f</i>
15	54 <i>l</i> , 155 <i>d</i>
16	90 <i>i</i>
31	66 <i>f</i>
32	20 <i>h</i>
38	75 <i>gg</i>
43	22 <i>s</i>
44	117 <i>m</i>
21, 9	54 <i>l</i>
16	123 <i>b</i>
17	155 <i>k</i>
21	145 <i>p</i>
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1, 1	49 <i>b</i> , N. 2, 125 <i>b</i> , 125 <i>h</i> , 156 <i>b</i>
2	134 <i>l</i> , 145 <i>o</i>

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1, 3112 *dd*
 4112 *g*, 126 *s*
 6 . 20 *h*, 22 *s*, 59 *g*,
 113 *w*, 117 *p*
 7107 *e*, 123 *c*
 837 *c*, 102 *l*
 9 . 91 *e*, 113 *e*, N. I
 10128 *y*
 11113 *o*
 12112 *ss*, 114 *n*
 1320 *g*
 1447 *o*
 16128 *v*
 1723 *f*, 95 *h*
 2044 *d*, 64 *f*
 22112 *oo*
 24135 *i*
 25148 *b*
 2795 *h*
 2864 *f*
 2, 1 . . 2 *s*, 106 *g*, 117 *b*
 3 . 103 *g*, 120 *g*, 124 *e*,
 133 *k*, 152 *z*
 4146 *a*
 6111 *u*, 116 *x*
 8 . 107 *g*, 116 *x*, 135 *p*
 967 *g*, 142 *f*
 13 . 112 *oo*, 116 *w*, 131 *c*,
 159 *i*, 164 *a*
 14131 *h*, 132 *g*
 15112 *oo*
 16 . 23 *e*, 103 *g*, 106 *m*,
 112 *ll*, 113 *w*,
 159 *f*, 159 *dd*
 18 . 116 *k*, 118 *p*, *q*,
 121 *d*
 19112 *e*
 20145 *u*
 22112 *k*
 23126 *y*
 24116 *s*
 26113 *u*
 27 . 113 *q*, 114 *e*, 150 *e*
 28 . 49 *e*, 113 *z*, 119 *w*
 29133 *b*
 30113 *p*, 116 *g*
 31112 *x*, 116 *d*
 33 . 53 *q*, 118 *q*, 145 *e*
 3, 2107 *b*, 120 *b*
 3107 *c*, 152 *r*
 5 . 46 *c*, 120 *g*, 126 *h*
 7107 *c*
 10 . 54 *k*, 118 *u*, 123 *c*
 11 . 67 *g*, 67 *p*, 116 *w*,
 155 *d*
 12113 *h*
 13 . 112 *qq*, 130 *c*, N. 2,
 119 *p*
 14149 *c*
 17149 *d*

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3, 2175 *c*
 4, 1131 *c*, 145 *c*
 3127 *g*
 572 *h*, 145 *c*
 634 *f*
 7125 *e*
 8 . 132 *h*, 136 *d*, 147 *d*
 10124 *b*, 145 *o*
 12127 *e*
 15 . 44 *m*, 145 *k*, 145 *n*
 16126 *k*
 1969 *m*, 112 *tt*
 21152 *q*
 5, 3116 *d*
 7112 *rr*
 9 . 67 *v*, 130 *d*, 164 *d*
 10115 *c*, 145 *m*
 11117 *e*
 6, 4118 *h*, 135 *r*
 7135 *o*
 9 . 155 *d*, 155 *f*, 159 *q*
 1060 *h*, 75 *qq*
 11154 *a*, N.
 12 . 47 *k*, 71, 75 *n*,
 113 *s*
 14127 *d*
 18126 *x*
 19119 *k*
 7, 7138 *e*
 9131 *b*
 10116 *u*, 119 *c*
 1472 *k*
 16112 *f*
 1729 *i*, N.
 20111 *d*
 8, 1172 *l*
 12114 *p*
 1920 *g*, 163 *a*
 9, 2133 *a*
 3 . . 96, 117 *d*, 145 *s*
 4104 *g*, 152 *k*
 9107 *e*
 10120 *g*
 11116 *u*
 1335 *n*, 47 *m*
 17138 *b*
 20 . 73 *e*, 134 *m*, 143 *c*
 21133 *g*
 24138 *i*, 138 *k*
 10, 397 *c*
 5 . 29 *g*, 101 *a*, 109 *k*,
 112 *z*
 675 *qq*
 8112 *v*
 9112 *uu*
 11 . 20 *h*, 111 *g*, 116 *s*,
 116 *w*, 136 *c*
 12154 *b*
 1375 *qq*
 14152 *k*

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10, 16113 *o*
 18135 *a*
 23133 *b*
 2422 *s*, 100 *l*
 25126 *s*
 27136 *b*
 11, 1125 *h*
 2135 *p*
 5107 *v*
 11111 *g*
 12150 *a*
 12, 3137 *b*
 751 *p*
 1344 *d*, 64 *f*
 14167 *a*
 17114 *o*
 19107 *p*
 20135 *a*
 23 . . 126 *x*, 135 *g*
 2475 *oo*
 2529 *o*, 113 *o*
 13, 32 *b*
 693 *w*
 7119 *gg*
 869 *t*
 1167 *dd*
 13159 *dd*
 15132 *g*
 17 . 126 *l*, 126 *z*, 134 *l*
 19152 *w*
 20118 *e*
 21 . 35 *n*, 96, 112 *dd*
 22112 *ee*
 2392 *g*
 14, 1126 *s*
 1372 *m*
 14118 *s*, N. I
 1595 *g*
 16129 *b*
 19111 *h*
 212 *b*
 2253 *n*
 2476 *d*, 112 *w*
 2772 *k*
 2872 *t*
 29126 *x*
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13	145 <i>h</i>
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20	135 <i>g</i>
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26	135 <i>g</i>
27	150 <i>f</i>
31	156 <i>c</i>
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3	95 <i>u</i> , 114 <i>o</i>
6	109 <i>d</i>
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31	128 <i>w</i>
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39	129 <i>c</i>
40	90 <i>i</i>
42	72 <i>aa</i>
43	128 <i>h</i>
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7	114 <i>c</i>
8	166 <i>b</i>
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7	112 <i>l</i>
12	90 <i>i</i>
13	128 <i>c</i>
14	90 <i>d</i>
16	116 <i>p</i>
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2	68 <i>c</i>
3	131 <i>c</i>
7	112 <i>dd</i>
9	131 <i>e</i>
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29	131 <i>b</i>
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22	74 <i>i</i>
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5	122 <i>f</i>
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2275 <i>qq</i>
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15112 <i>uu</i>
16113 <i>bb</i> , 123 <i>e</i>
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3129 <i>k</i>
4169 <i>f</i>
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 10 19 *i*
 16 112 *y*
 44, 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 p. 468, N.
 8 68 *i*
 16 126 *w*
 20 84 *b* 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*
 45 119 *vv*
 49, 3 54 *b*
 8 46 *a*, N. 1
 10 75 *pp*

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 12 141 *h*
 16 147 *c*
 25 80 *g*
 28 20 *b*, 67 *cc*
 30 20 *g*
 36 20 *uu*
 37 67 *dd*
 50, 5 51 *o*
 11 80 *h*
 34 53 *l*, 73 *d*
 51, 3 . . 17 *b*, 152 *h*, N.
 9 75 *qq*
 29 III *w*, N. 1
 33 53 *l*
 56 20 *h*, 52 *k*
 58 20 *i*
 59 134 *p*
 52, 20 128 *d*

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1, 6 87 *t*, 88 *f*
 11 91 *l*
 14 113 *s*, N. 2
 20 123 *d*, N. 2
 2, 3 126 *x*
 10 19 *h*
 4, 9 87 *e*
 12 58 *k*
 5, 11 72 *r*, 109 *d*
 12 . 52 *n*, 75 *hh*, 95 *e*
 13 54 *c*
 16 109 *d*
 6, 3 93 *v*
 6 . 67 *p*, N. 2, 67 *dd*
 8 91 *l*
 9 72 *dd*
 10 119 *ii*
 11 128 *c*
 12 91 *e*
 14 133 *l*
 7, 7 127 *g*
 14 . 72 *z*, 113 *z*, N.
 24 93 *oo*
 8, 2 90 *f*
 3 75 *qq*
 16 75 *kk*
 9, 2 116 *k*
 3 . 116 *k*, 121 *d*, N. 2
 8 64 *i*
 11 116 *k*
 10, 3 . 131 *n*, 131 *n*, N. 2
 15 72 *dd*
 17 72 *q*, 72 *dd*
 11, 24 90 *c*
 13, 2 93 *oo*
 3 152 *x*, 155 *n*
 11 35 *m*
 18 . 87 *f*, 103 *f*, N. 2
 19 72 *k*, 93 *r*

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13, 2032 *i*, 91 *l*
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 47103 *m*
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 52 . 52 *p*, 91 *n*, 95 *p*, 96
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 5944 *i*
 17, 519 *i*
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 1529 *i*, 93 *rr*
 1967 *v*
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 18, 6131 *c*
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 10 . 119 *w*, N. 2, 139 *d*
 14103 *l*
 29145 *u*
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 19, 280 *h*
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 20, 967 *t*
 16117 *m*
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 21, 1575 *n*
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 31 . 80 *k*, 113 *bb*, N. 2
 32133 *l*
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 22, 447 *k*
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 23, 2048 *d*
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 3247 *k*
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 49 . 74 *k*, 76 *b*, 144 *a*
 24, 1167 *q*
 1975 *m*
 2653 *e*, 54 *k*
 25, 367 *u*
 491 *e*
 623 *c*, 74 *e*
 26, 267 *t*
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 1447 *k*
 1551 *l*
 17138 *k*
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 27, 1920 *i*
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 3223 *k*
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 28, 432 *g*
 16 . 23 *d*, 68 *k*, 75 *qq*,
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 1775 *n*
 2355 *d*
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 29, 3117 *x*
 7127 *c*
 30, 993 *y*
 1673 *d*
 31, 367 *v*
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 33, 17143 *a*, N. 3
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 34, 257, N. 2
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 35, 610 *h*
 972 *k*
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 38, 3 . 67 *r*, 75 *y*, 113 *g*
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 1269 *s*
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 37, 2112 *pp*
 760 *a*, N.
 89 *u*, 29 *i*
 11116 *t*, 119 *s*
 1666 *g*, 119 *u*
 1752 *n*, 64 *h*
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 39, 255 *f*
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 40, 374 *l*
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 5134 *n*
 1691 *l*
 17121 *d*
 1980 *k*
 27134 *g*
 28126 *w*
 3193 *ss*
 4320 *m*
 45136 *d*, N.
 4892 *g*
 41, 767 *dd*
 1591 *l*
 18121 *d*
 205 *n*
 22141 *b*
 42, 568 *h*
 43, 7117 *m*
 17103 *o*
 2775 *rr*
 44, 3117 *m*
 858 *g*
 9 . . . 93 *hh*, 143 *e*
 12112 *e*, N. 1
 45, 265 *d*
 46, 6132 *g*, N. 1
 1772 *o*
 2253 *q*, 53 *s*
 23121 *d*
 24124 *r*
 47, 3128 *n*
 4131 *e*
 791 *e*
 875 *oo*
 17117 *m*
 48, 1472 *dd*

Hosea

1, 252 *o*, 130 *d*
 6120 *g*, 152 *a*, N.
 7119 *o*
 2, 1130 *c*
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 572 *w*
 652 *n*
 11120 *e*
 1491 *e*
 25152 *a*, N.
 3, 1125 *c*
 220 *h*
 52 *v*, N. 2
 4, 2113 *ff*
 14155 *f*
 15145 *m*
 1855 *e*

Hosea

5, 2	64 <i>a</i>
3	135 <i>a</i>
8	147 <i>c</i>
15	60 <i>e</i>
6, 1	109 <i>k</i>
2 . 119 <i>y</i> , N. 1,	134 <i>s</i>
3	155 <i>g</i>
4	120 <i>g</i>
6	133 <i>b</i>
9 . 23 <i>l</i> , 75 <i>aa</i> ,	93 <i>s</i>
10	114 <i>l</i>
7, 4	80 <i>k</i>
5	55 <i>f</i> , 93 <i>ss</i>
6	91 <i>c</i>
12	24 <i>f</i> , 70 <i>b</i>
14	70 <i>d</i>
16	34 <i>b</i> , N. 1
8, 3	60 <i>d</i>
4	67 <i>v</i>
7	90 <i>f</i>
9	119 <i>s</i>
10 . 20 <i>g</i> , III <i>w</i> ,	N. 1
9, 6	130 <i>a</i>
9	120 <i>g</i>
11	69 <i>m</i>
12	159 <i>m</i>
15	109 <i>d</i>
10, 4	75 <i>n</i>
6	121 <i>w</i>
10	60 <i>a</i> , 71
11	90 <i>l</i>
14 . 9 <i>b</i> , 23 <i>g</i> ,	53 <i>u</i> ,
72 <i>p</i> , 156 <i>c</i>	
15	133 <i>i</i>
11, 1	68 <i>f</i>
3	19 <i>i</i> , 55 <i>k</i>
4	68 <i>c</i>
7	75 <i>rr</i>
12, 1	124 <i>h</i>
5	58 <i>k</i>
13, 2	91 <i>e</i>
3	120 <i>g</i>
8	122 <i>e</i>
10	150 <i>l</i>
14	93 <i>q</i>
15	75 <i>rr</i>
14, 1	84 <i>ag</i> , 145 <i>u</i>
3	128 <i>e</i>
5	68 <i>f</i>
10 . 69 <i>b</i> , 166 <i>a</i> ,	N. 1

Joel

1, 2 . 100 <i>n</i> ,	126 <i>e</i> , 150 <i>g</i>
4	49 <i>m</i>
5	126 <i>e</i>
6	152 <i>v</i>
7	113 <i>n</i>
8	63 <i>l</i> , 116 <i>k</i>
12	102 <i>b</i>
15	147 <i>d</i>

Joel

1, 17	20 <i>k</i>
18	148 <i>a</i>
20	145 <i>k</i>
2, 2	109 <i>d</i>
4	72 <i>u</i> , 126 <i>p</i>
6	23 <i>d</i>
13	152 <i>g</i>
16	128 <i>y</i>
17	150 <i>e</i>
21	46 <i>e</i>
22	144 <i>a</i>
24	93 <i>r</i>
26	114 <i>o</i>
4, 1	125 <i>k</i>
4	133 <i>k</i>
11	64 <i>h</i>
14	123 <i>e</i> , 147 <i>c</i>
18	117 <i>z</i>
21	49 <i>k</i> , 75 <i>z</i>

Amos

1, 3	134 <i>s</i> , 158 <i>c</i>
5	145 <i>c</i>
8	145 <i>e</i>
9	114 <i>r</i> , 158 <i>c</i>
11 . 58 <i>g</i> ,	112 <i>i</i> , 114 <i>r</i>
2, 6	61 <i>b</i>
7	126 <i>b</i>
9	53 <i>n</i>
10	69 <i>x</i>
16	118 <i>n</i>
3, 4	163 <i>c</i>
5	113 <i>q</i>
7	163 <i>e</i>
8	159 <i>h</i>
9	124 <i>e</i>
11 . 67 <i>t</i> ,	88 <i>f</i> , 154 <i>a</i> , N.
12	126 <i>r</i>
4, 1	135 <i>o</i> , 144 <i>a</i>
2	75 <i>oo</i> , 112 <i>x</i>
3	44 <i>k</i> , 69 <i>u</i>
4	113 <i>z</i>
7 . 112 <i>h</i> ,	N. 3, 144 <i>c</i>
8	134 <i>s</i>
9	126 <i>n</i>
11	51 <i>o</i> , 115 <i>d</i>
13	116 <i>g</i> , N. 2
5, 2	128 <i>k</i>
3	117 <i>z</i> , 129 <i>g</i>
4	110 <i>f</i>
7	126 <i>b</i>
8	111 <i>u</i> , 117 <i>ii</i>
11	61 <i>c</i>
14	109 <i>k</i> , 152 <i>g</i>
15	67 <i>cc</i>
18	152 <i>d</i>
19	112 <i>m</i> , 126 <i>r</i>
21 . 20 <i>h</i> ,	106 <i>g</i> , 154 <i>a</i> , N.
26	112 <i>x</i> , 112 <i>rr</i>
6, 1	112 <i>n</i>

Amos

6, 2	125 <i>h</i> , 126 <i>z</i>
6 . 63 <i>c</i> ,	93 <i>k</i> , 119 <i>m</i> , N.
10	145 <i>m</i> , 152 <i>s</i>
12 . . 123 <i>a</i> ,	N., 144 <i>d</i>
13	152 <i>a</i> , N.
14	125 <i>c</i>
7, 1	86 <i>i</i> , 147 <i>b</i>
2	112 <i>uu</i>
4	112 <i>tt</i>
7	156 <i>b</i>
15	119 <i>b</i>
8, 4	53 <i>q</i>
8	125 <i>e</i>
10	128 <i>h</i> , 135 <i>p</i>
13	54 <i>k</i> , 146 <i>g</i>
9, 1	61 <i>g</i> , 144 <i>e</i>
3	112 <i>p</i>
7	150 <i>e</i>
8 . 53 <i>k</i> ,	113 <i>n</i> , 113 <i>v</i>
11	116 <i>d</i> , 118 <i>u</i>
13	54 <i>k</i>

Obadiah

1, 3	90 <i>l</i> , 93 <i>x</i>
10	128 <i>a</i>
11	9 <i>v</i> , 61 <i>f</i> , 69 <i>u</i>
13	47 <i>k</i>

Jonah

1, 3 . 116 <i>d</i> ,	122 <i>t</i> , 135 <i>p</i>
5	51 <i>m</i>
6	120 <i>b</i>
7	150 <i>k</i>
9	2 <i>b</i>
10	117 <i>q</i>
11	113 <i>u</i> , 165 <i>a</i>
14	16 <i>f</i>
15	61 <i>c</i>
2, 2	122 <i>s</i>
4	117 <i>r</i>
3, 5	133 <i>g</i>
4, 1	117 <i>q</i>
2 . 16 <i>f</i> ,	114 <i>n</i> , N. 3
6	117 <i>q</i>
9	113 <i>k</i>
10	96, 128 <i>v</i>
11 . 20 <i>m</i> ,	97 <i>b</i> , 150 <i>a</i>

Micah

1, 1	145 <i>m</i>
2	135 <i>r</i>
5	23 <i>c</i> , 137 <i>a</i>
7 . 52 <i>l</i> ,	67 <i>y</i> , 117 <i>ii</i>
8	69 <i>b</i> , N., 118 <i>n</i>
10	113 <i>v</i>
11	122 <i>s</i> , 131 <i>c</i>
13	110 <i>k</i>
15	74 <i>k</i>
2, 3	118 <i>q</i>

Micah

- 2, 4 . 67 *u*, 144 *d*, 148 *b*
 6 72 *dd*, 145 *o*
 7 100 *n*, 118 *n*
 8 116 *h*
 12 72 *k*, 127 *i*
 3, 1 114 *l*
 4 109 *k*
 6 119 *w*, 144 *c*
 12 87 *e*, 121 *d*
 4, 3 91 *n*, 145 *c*
 6 . 68 *h*, 84 *a s*, 122 *s*
 8 68 *f*
 9 113 *w*
 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*, 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*
 11 126 *x*
 12 126 *aa*
 14 90 *m*
 17 116 *h*
 18 148 *c*
 19 120 *g*

Nahum

- 1, 2 5 *h*
 3 75 *hh*, 143 *a*
 4 69 *u*
 12 67 *t*
 2, 4 52 *q*
 5 55 *g*, 93 *ss*
 8 63 *p*, 91 *c*
 11 133 *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*

Nahum

- 3, 17 20 *h*

Habakkuk

- 1, 5 116 *s*
 6 13 *c*, 155 *e*
 8 67 *ee*
 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 . 90 *n*, 116 *f*, N. 1,
 155 *g*
 15 90 *m*, 113 *z*
 17 . 20 *n*, 60 *d*, 67 *v*
 19 152 *p*
 3, 2 75 *mm*
 6 67 *k*, 67 *ee*
 8 131 *r*
 9 113 *w*
 10 91 *l*
 13 . 22 *s*, 75 *aa*, 75 *n*,
 113 *h*
 15 144 *m*
 16 156 *e*
 17 145 *u*
 19 86 *i*

Zephaniah

- 1, 2 . 72 *aa*, 113 *w*, N. 3
 14 52 *s*
 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. 1,
 135 *g*
 6 113 *z*
 9 37 *f*
 2, 5 44 *o*, 117 *l*
 7 145 *e*
 17 . 72 *v*, 117 *m*, N. 3,
 152 *n*

Zechariah

- 1, 8 132 *c*
 13 131 *c*

Zechariah

- 1, 14 117 *q*
 17 72 *k*
 2, 8 118 *r*
 10 154 *b*
 11 29 *o*, N. 2
 17 72 *ee*
 3, 1 115 *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*, 126 *w*, 127 *h*
 12 10 *g*
 5, 2 134 *n*
 3 75 *mm*
 4 73 *d*, 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*
 10 139 *c*
 14 52 *n*
 8, 2 117 *q*
 5 132 *d*
 6 150 *a*
 9 136 *b*
 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 p. 469, N. 1
 12 123 *d*
 13, 7 . 72 *s*, 110 *k*, 144 *a*
 14, 4 93 *v*, 128 *w*, N.
 10 72 *p*
 12 67 *dd*

Malachi

- 1, 2 68 *f*
 6 32 *c*

Malachi

1, 10	151 <i>a</i> , 153
13	37 <i>c</i> , 147 <i>c</i>
14	80 <i>d</i> , N. 1
2, 5	67 <i>u</i>
15	144 <i>p</i>
16	116 <i>s</i> , 155 <i>n</i>
3, 9	67 <i>u</i>
14	100 <i>g</i>
20	44 <i>d</i>

Psalm

1, 2	163 <i>a</i>
3 . 16 <i>g</i> , 107 <i>g</i> , 119 <i>cc</i>	
6	68 <i>c</i>
2, 1	91 <i>l</i> , 106 <i>l</i>
2	119 <i>dd</i> , 126 <i>h</i>
3	108 <i>b</i>
4	126 <i>h</i>
6 . 135 <i>a</i> , 135 <i>n</i> , 154 <i>b</i>	
7	44 <i>d</i> , 69 <i>s</i>
10	126 <i>h</i> , 154 <i>b</i>
12 . 118 <i>g</i> , N., 130 <i>a</i>	
3, 1	129 <i>c</i>
2	67 <i>ee</i>
3	90 <i>g</i> , 152 <i>n</i> , N.
5	111 <i>t</i> , 144 <i>m</i>
6	49 <i>e</i>
8	72 <i>s</i> , 117 <i>ll</i>
4, 1	124 <i>f</i>
3 . 37 <i>e</i> , 47 <i>m</i> , 156 <i>d</i>	
4	154 <i>b</i>
7	76 <i>b</i>
8 . 133 <i>e</i> , N. 2, 155 <i>l</i>	
5, 4	118 <i>i</i>
5	116 <i>f</i> , 117 <i>bb</i>
7	128 <i>t</i>
8	107 <i>s</i>
9	24 <i>f</i> , 70 <i>b</i>
10 . 122 <i>q</i> , 124 <i>e</i> , 145 <i>m</i> , 152 <i>o</i>	
11	29 <i>e</i>
12	116 <i>g</i> , 156 <i>d</i>
13	117 <i>ee</i>
6, 2	152 <i>h</i>
4	147 <i>c</i>
6	152 <i>o</i>
7	106 <i>g</i>
10	142 <i>f</i>
7, 3	152 <i>l</i>
4	159 <i>m</i>
5	49 <i>e</i>
6	63 <i>n</i>
7 . 72 <i>s</i> , 119 <i>gg</i> , 156 <i>d</i>	
10 . 124 <i>g</i> , 132 <i>h</i> , 158 <i>a</i>	
12	127 <i>b</i>
13	120 <i>g</i>
16	155 <i>h</i>
17	10 <i>h</i>
8, 2	66 <i>h</i>
3	128 <i>a</i>

Psalm

8, 4	159 <i>dd</i>
5 . 107 <i>v</i> , 111 <i>m</i> , 150 <i>h</i>	
6	117 <i>cc</i>
9, 1	5 <i>h</i>
2	13 <i>c</i> , 138 <i>g</i>
7	135 <i>f</i>
11	106 <i>k</i>
14	20 <i>b</i> , 63 <i>l</i>
15	91 <i>l</i>
19	152 <i>z</i>
10, 1	5 <i>h</i>
2	66 <i>c</i>
5	141 <i>c</i>
9	91 <i>e</i>
10	93 <i>x</i>
11	106 <i>g</i>
12	76 <i>b</i>
11, 1 . 118 <i>r</i> , 129 <i>c</i> , 148 <i>b</i>	
2	47 <i>m</i>
4	145 <i>u</i> , 155 <i>e</i>
6	109 <i>k</i>
7	103 <i>f</i>
12, 3 . . 117 <i>t</i> , 123 <i>f</i>	
4	122 <i>q</i>
7	10 <i>g</i> , 97 <i>h</i>
8	126 <i>y</i>
9	54 <i>k</i>
13, 4 . . . 117 <i>r</i> , N. 2	
5 . 44 <i>e</i> , 59 <i>i</i> , 152 <i>z</i>	
14, 1	154 <i>a</i> , N.
3	152 <i>o</i>
5	117 <i>p</i>
7	151 <i>b</i>
15, 2	118 <i>n</i>
16, 1	48 <i>i</i> , 61 <i>f</i> , N.
2	44 <i>i</i>
3	130 <i>d</i> , 143 <i>e</i>
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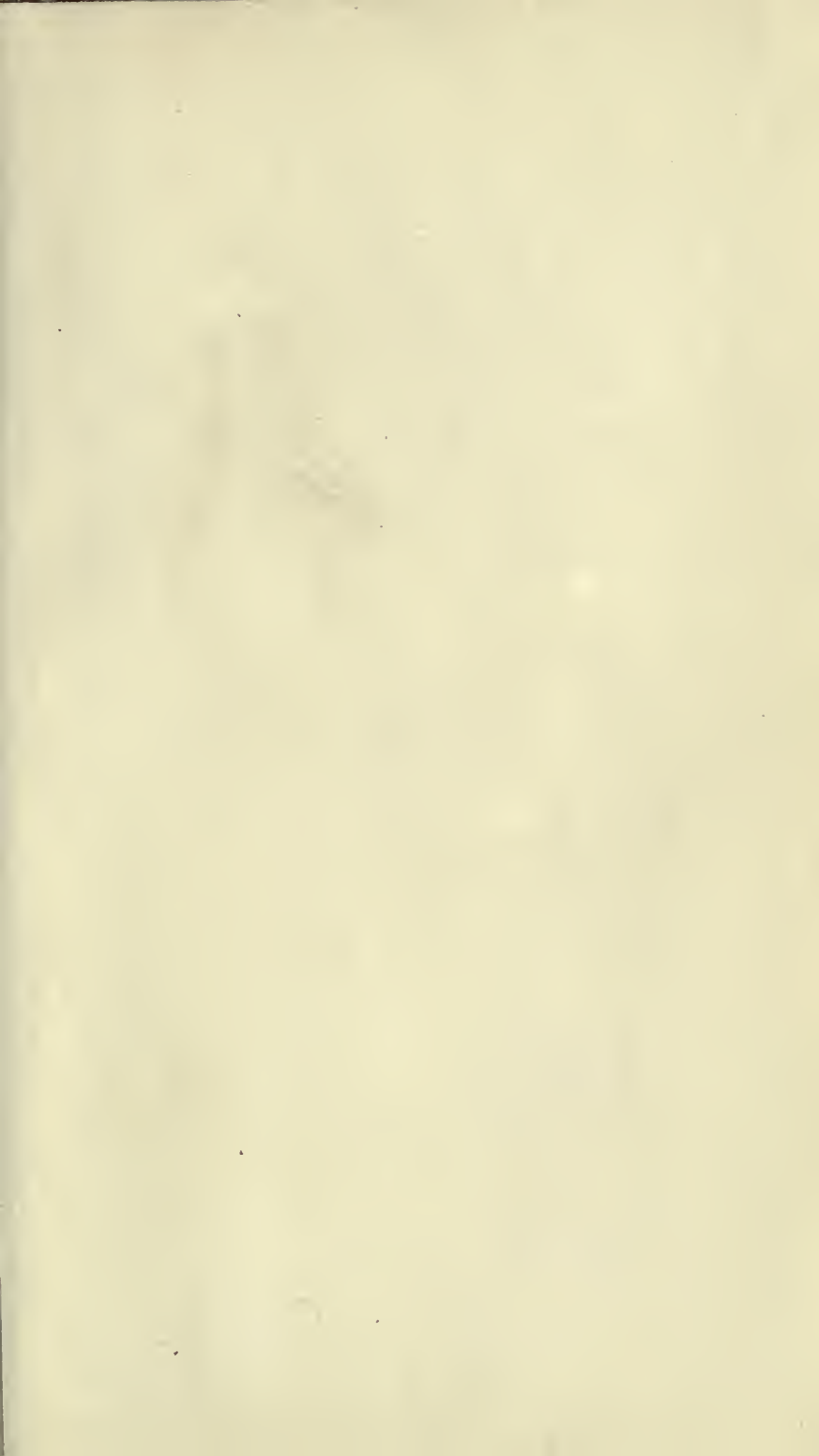
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